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INTRODUCTION

According to tradition, Plato was born in 427 B.C. and died in 347 B.C., leaving behind him as his last work the *Laws*. We may, therefore, suppose that the last decade of his life was mainly occupied with its composition. The internal evidence of the work itself sufficiently confirms tradition. Not only does it lack the charm and vigour of the earlier dialogues, but it is marked also by much uncouthness of style, and by a tendency to pedantry, tautology and discursive garrulity which seems to point to the failing powers of the author. Moreover, the author himself indicates his own advanced age by the artistic device of representing the three interlocutors in the dialogue as old men, and by the stress he repeatedly lays upon the fact of their age, as well as upon the reverence due from the young to the old.

The scene is laid in Crete, and it is during a walk from Cnosus to the grotto of Zeus on Mount Ida, on a long midsummer day, that the conversation here related is supposed to have taken place. Of the three old men, one is an Athenian, one (Clinias) a Cretan, one (Megillus) a Spartan. The protagonist is the Athenian, and nearly all the talking is done by him. His companions are little more than listeners, rather dull of wit, and incapable of adding
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anything original to the discussion. The choice of their nationality, however, is significant, since the main body of the laws framed for the Model City is derived from the codes actually in force in Athens, Sparta and Crete.

Voluminous and discursive as the *Laws* is, and framed, apparently, on no artistic plan, it is difficult for a reader to find his way through the maze and to see what connexion exists between the various parts and the relevance of each part to the argument as a whole. To help towards an understanding it may be well to give a brief analysis of the argument, book by book.

Book I.—Divine though their lawgivers were, the laws of Sparta and Crete are deficient, inasmuch as they aim solely at Courage, which is but one fraction of Virtue. A more important virtue is Temperance, or the right attitude towards pleasure and pain. For the promotion of temperance we need tests, and drinking-parties form admirable tests, although their educational value in this connexion has not hitherto been recognised.

Book II.—Another use of strong drink is to inspire age with something of the fire of youth, so that the old may take an active part in Music and may direct the musical training of the young on the right lines. A discussion of music and dancing leads up to the conclusion that we must form a "Dionysiac Chorus" of old men to act as an Academy of Music and to maintain a correct standard of taste in all that concerns Drama and the Arts.

Book III.—Beginning with primitive man, the survivors of the Flood, an historical survey is made of the origin and development of civic communities and
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their laws. The Dorian Confederacy, the Persian Empire, and the Athenian Democracy are examined in turn, and the seeds of political decay in each of them are pointed out. It is shown, from these examples, how the extremes of liberty and of tyranny are alike disastrous.

Book IV.—Clinias, it appears, has been appointed a joint-founder of a new Magnesian Colony. This gives a practical turn to the discussion, and henceforth the question is—how is such a colony to be rightly shaped? The conditions of the colony, as described by Clinias, suggest to the Athenian observations on the danger of a seaboard and foreign trade, and on the advantages of a heterogeneous population. If a "true polity" is to be successfully established, chance must aid skill, and a wise despot must cooperate with a divine lawgiver; for a "true polity" is one wherein Law reigns with undisputed sway, and where all the laws are framed in the interests of the community as a whole. To the Law, as also to God and to all superior powers, man is bound to render duty and service in all humility. In order to inculcate this attitude of voluntary and intelligent obedience, laws must be provided with preambles or preludes of an explanatory and hortatory description.

Book V.—As an example of such a hortatory prelude, the duty of paying due honour to the Soul, as the most divine part of man, is expounded at length. Then follow a number of detailed regulations regarding the selection of citizens, the number of households in the State, allotments and their arrangements, and property-holdings.

Book VI.—The State officials to be appointed
are enumerated, and the methods of their appointment prescribed—Law-wardens, Military Officers,—Council,—Religious Officials,—Stewards for Market, City and Country,—Presidents of Music and Gymnastics (chief of whom is the Superintendent of Education),—Judges. Then comes legislation dealing with the organisation of the households in tribes,—festivals and social functions,—marriage (which is a civic duty) and the ceremonies which attend it,—slaves and their treatment,—public and private buildings,—the regulation of private life and domestic affairs (discussing how far these should be legally controlled),—the time-limits proper for marriage, and for military service and the holding of public office.

Book VII.—Regulations for the education of the young. Up to the age of three continual movement is to be prescribed for children; from three to six, regulated play; after six, regular instruction in music and gymnastic, combined with play. Emphasis is laid on the need of left-hand training, and the value of ambidexterity. Then follows a discussion on the subjects of right selection in regard to dance and song, and the relation of Art and Religion to the ultimate aim of human life. It is laid down that the education of females must be identical with that of males, and that the supreme task for all is self-perfection. But the Lawgiver's work in regulating education is rendered specially difficult owing to the natural intractability of the child. Rules are given respecting instruction in reading, writing and lyre-playing, together with supplementary observations on gymnastic and dancing. A discourse on "mathematical necessity" serves as a preface to advice
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concerning arithmetic and geometry; and this is followed by regulations for field-sports.

Book VIII.—Regulations for military exercises and sham-fights, with a disquisition on the defects in the characters of States, such as the commercial spirit, which hinder due military training; and further observations regarding details of military training. Next to be dealt with are— the sex-instinct, with advice for its regulation,—the production and distribution of food,—laws for the control of agriculture,—artisans,—foreign trade,—the distribution of home and foreign produce,—markets.

Book IX.—Legal actions and penalties for the crimes of sacrilege and high treason, followed by a digression dealing with the art of legislation, the motives of crime, and the use of the terms "voluntary" and "involuntary" as applied to criminal actions. Cases of "Crimes against the person"—murder, wounding and assault.

Book X.—A discussion of atheism and irreligion, and how they are caused and promulgated, is followed by a threefold argument directed against three types of misbelievers, viz. (a) those who deny the existence of gods; (b) those who assert that the gods take no interest in men or their affairs (whereas it is a duty incumbent on all to believe firmly in a supreme Providence); (c) those who hold that the gods are corruptible by bribes. Laws are enacted to suppress these various forms of impiety, and also to prohibit private cults.

Book XI.—Regulations and observations concerning property-rights,—buying and selling,—commercial honesty,—retail trade and inn-keeping,—breaches of contract,—military rewards,—last wills and testa-
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ments,—orphans,—family disputes,—divorce,—the honour due to age,—injuries by means of drugs and witchcraft,—thefts and acts of violence,—insanity,—abusive language,—public ridicule,—mendicancy,—the responsibility of masters for the acts of their slaves,—witnesses in courts of law,—the employment of professional advocates.

Book XII.—Regulations and observations concerning the duties of ambassadors,—the wickedness of theft, especially of State property,—the benefit to the State of habits of discipline in the citizens,—hence military service, with carefully adjudged rewards and penalties, must be universally compulsory—the Court of Examiners, their appointment and their duties,—oaths forbidden in the law-courts,—promptness in executing sentences,—foreign travel by the citizens, when permissible, and in what respect beneficial to the State. Various minor regulations are added respecting stolen goods, rights of search, property-holdings, etc. Then follows a review of the judicial arrangements, including appeals, with further observations on the importance of the study of Law, and on executions. After some supplementary rules have been given concerning funerals and tombs, we come to a description of the Nocturnal Synod, its function and constitution, and the training of its members; and with this the work concludes.

It will be clear from this analysis that the title of Laws is a very insufficient—not to say misleading—description of its contents. Barely one-third of the work consists of "laws" in the literal sense of the term; the rest is a far-ranging discussion of all
INTRODUCTION

that concerns the life of man as a "political animal." Human nature in general is the main theme of the latter part of Book I, Book II, and large sections of Books V and VII; while the earlier part of Book I, Book III, and Book IV have for their main theme human nature in its social and civic aspect. In the other books, moreover, which do actually deal with "laws" Plato is enabled to introduce much that would otherwise be excluded by means of his novel theory of the twofold nature of law. Laws, he argues, ought not only to coerce but also to persuade; therefore to every law there should be prefixed a preamble or prelude, explaining and justifying the law. This legal prelude he compares (by a play on the double sense of νόμος—"law" and musical "chant") with the proem or prologue of an ode or drama. The whole of Book X, which purports to be a special prelude to the law against impiety, is in reality a general prelude, discussing the existence of the gods, and the nature of the soul, in fact, a disquisition de rerum natura. And in Book VII, again, we have what is more of a general than of a special prelude dealing with the subject of the sex-instinct and its indulgence.

In his view of the State Plato relaxes the rigidity of the communistic principles he had advocated in the Republic: he allows the individual citizen to possess a wife and family of his own and a certain amount of private property. None the less, he constantly insists on the entire subordination of the individual to the State, on the principle (which holds throughout the universe) that no part is independent, but every part exists for the sake of its whole. Consequently the State he pictures—the Model City of
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the Magnesians—although confessedly inferior to the Ideal Republic, is one in which the life of every man and woman, from the cradle to the grave, is strictly regulated by legal prescriptions. At all costs anarchy must be suppressed, discipline maintained.

The authority thus claimed for the State is justified by means of the deification of Law. The supreme Divinity is Reason (νοῦς), the Ruler of the Heavens, and Law (νόμος) is nothing else than the dispensation of Reason (νοῦ διανομή). Hence our State is, in fact, a Theocracy; and all the sanctions of religion can be invoked in support of its constitution and its laws. He that offendeth against the law, or its officers, offendeth against God.

The aim of Reason is always the Good, and this, therefore, is the objective of the State and its laws. They aim at the cultivation and conservation of virtue, or civic excellence (ἀρετή). But of Virtue as a whole there are two species which receive special attention in the Laws, namely, Temperance or Self-control (σωφροσύνη), and Wisdom (φρόνησις or νοῦς). The promotion of temperance is the main subject of Book I, and the elaborate regulations for the education of the young are all directed to foster this virtue. The main requisite for the bulk of the citizens is a self-controlled and law-abiding disposition: the key-notes of their lives should be reverence (αἰδώς) and "moderation" (μετριότης)—a "sweet reasonableness" which yields willing obedience to the higher powers. But for a select body of the highest officials (as for the "Guardian" class of the Republic) a higher type of education is required, calculated to promote the superior virtue of wisdom. The "Nocturnal Synod" described in Book XII is
designed to be the special repository of Wisdom in the Model City; and since it alone contains any element of divine Reason, it alone can be trusted to supplement or amend the divine ordinances handed down by the original Lawgiver.

But the main duty of the Nocturnal Synod—as, indeed, of all the State officials—is that of conservation (σωτηρία), the maintenance of the status quo. In the higher spheres of religion and science this duty devolves upon the Synod, in the sphere of Art it devolves upon the Dionysiac Chorus. Both these bodies are composed mostly of old men: the natural conservatism of the old will make them the best "saviours" (σωτῆρες) of the State, because the most stubborn opponents of every kind of innovation.

The concentration of all the political power in the hands of the old is, in truth, one of the most characteristic features of the Laws, and another sign of its author's age. The Model City would be only too likely, one thinks, to strike the youth of to-day as a Paradise for the old but a Purgatory for the young.

Since most of the power is thus given to a limited class, it is fair to describe the State of the Laws as a moderate oligarchy; although the historical survey in Book III, with its discussion of political types, might lead one to expect a rather different, and more liberal, combination of monarchy with democracy—the principle of order with the principle of freedom. As it is, the average citizen is given but little freedom, except the freedom to obey. And, though the State here pictured has been not unfitly described as "a mixture of Athenian constitutional forms and Athenian freedom with Spartan training
and Spartan order, a practical via media between the two extremes of contemporary Greece," \(^1\) yet it must be confessed that there is much more of the Spartan element in the mixture than of the Athenian, much less of democracy than of aristocracy. The "Athenian Stranger" of the Laws is no less of an anti-democrat than the "Socrates" of the Republic; and his conviction of the natural perversity and stupidity of the average man has increased with the passing of the years. The saying vox populi, vox dei is, for Plato, the supreme lie.

Politics and Ethics are, naturally, the subjects with which the Laws is mainly concerned; but in the Tenth Book we get something also of psychological and metaphysical doctrine. In his vindication of Religion in that Book—to which reference has been made above—Plato elaborates that view of Soul as the principle of self-movement which he had indicated, much earlier, in the Phaedrus. His discussion of the relation of Soul to Motion, on the one hand, and to Reason, on the other, together with his new classification of the kinds of motion, and his distinction between primary and secondary motions, form the most valuable additions to Platonic philosophy which the Laws contains.

In conclusion, be it said that besides much that is tedious in matter and ungraceful in style, the Laws also contains (to quote Jowett) "a few passages which are very grand and noble"; and "no other writing of Plato shows so profound an insight into the world and into human nature as the Laws." In it the philosopher-statesman has garnered the last

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fruits of many years of experience and of reflection; and, as he himself would have us believe, the principles it enunciates are valid for all time.

The only English commentary on the *Laws* is that by E. B. England, a work of fine scholarship and most valuable, the text being based on Burnet's. Schanz's text contains only the first six books. Of other recent contributions to the study of the work, those of C. Ritter (1896) and O. Apelt (1916) are the most important. The text here printed is based on that of the Zurich edition of Baiter, Orelli, and Winckelmann (1839), the chief deviations from which are indicated in the foot-notes.
NOMOI

TA TOU DIADOFOY PROSOPIA

AΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ, ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΡΗΣ, ΜΕΓΙΔΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ

A

ΑΘ. Θεὸς ἡ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὦ ξένοι, εἰληφέ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως;

ΚΛ. Θεός, ὦ ξένε, θεός, ὡς γε τὸ δικαίοτατον εἰπεῖν παρὰ μὲν ἦμιν Ζεὺς, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥθεν ὥδ' ἐστίν, οἵμαι φάναι τούτους Ἀπόλλωνα. ἦ γάρ;

ΜΕ. Ναὶ.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν καθ' Ὁμηρον λέγεις, ὡς τοῦ Β Μίνω φοιτῶντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκάστοτε συνομοῖον δι' ἐνάτου ἔτους καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου φήμας ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῖν θέντος τοὺς νόμους;

ΚΛ. Δέχεται γὰρ οὕτω παρ' ἦμιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γε αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθυν, ἀκούετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα, δικαίοτατον γεγονέναι. τούτου οὖν 625 φαίμεν ἄν ἥμεις γε οἱ Κρῆτες ἐκ τοῦ τότε δια- νέμειν τὰ περὶ τὰς δίκας ὅρθως τούτων τὸν ἐπαίνοιν αὐτῶν εἰληφέναι.

LAWS

[OR ON LEGISLATION, POLITICAL]

CHARACTERS

AN ATHENIAN STRANGER, CLINIAS OF CRETE,
MEGILLUS OF LACEDAEMON

BOOK I

ATH. To whom do you ascribe the authorship of your legal arrangements, Strangers? To a god or to some man?

CLIN. To a god, Stranger, most rightfully to a god. We Cretans call Zeus our lawgiver; while in Lacedaemon, where our friend here has his home, I believe they claim Apollo as theirs. Is not that so, Megillus?

MEG. Yes.

ATH. Do you then, like Homer,¹ say that Minos used to go every ninth year to hold converse with his father Zeus, and that he was guided by his divine oracles in laying down the laws for your cities?

CLIN. So our people say. And they say also that his brother Rhadamanthys,—no doubt you have heard the name,—was exceedingly just. And certainly we Cretans would maintain that he won this title owing to his righteous administration of justice in those days.
ΑΘ. Καὶ καλὸν γε τὸ κλέος υἱεῖ τε Δίας μᾶλα πρέπον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοιούτῳ ἢθεσθε τέθραβε νομικοῖς σὺ τε καὶ ὁδὲ, προσδοκῶ οὖν ἂν ἁγιῶς ἢμᾶς 1 περὶ τε πολιτείας τὰ ψύν καὶ νόμων τήν διατριβὴν λέγοντάς τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἁμα κατὰ τὴν πορείαν ποιήσασθαι. 2 πάντως ὅ γε έκ Β Κυνοσοῦ ὁδὸς εἰς τὸ τοῦ Δίας ἀντρον καὶ ἱερόν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, ἴκανή, καὶ ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τήν ὄδον, ὡς εἰκός, πυγίους ὄντος τὰ ψύν ἐν τοῖς ψυχλοῖς δενδρεῖς εἰσὶ σκιαραὶ, καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις πρέπον ἂν ἢμῶν εἴῃ τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι πυκνά ἐν αὐταῖς, λόγοις τε ἀλλήλους παραμυθουμένους τῆν ὄδον ἀπασαν οὖτω μετὰ ῥαστώνης διαπε-ράναι.

ΚΛ. Καὶ μὴν ἔστι γε, ὦ ἕξεν, προϊόντι κυπαρίττουν τε ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν ψυχὴ καὶ κάλλη

C θαυμάσια, καὶ λειμῶνες ἐν οἷσιν ἀναπαυόμενοι διατριβοιμεν ἄν.

ΑΘ. Ὤρθῶς λέγεις.

ΚΑ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ἰδόντες δὲ μᾶλλον φήσο-μεν. ἀλλ' ἰ'ῳμεν ἀγαθὴ τύχη.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτ' εἴη. καὶ μοι λέγε, κατὰ τὰ ψυσσίτια τε ψύν συνέταχεν ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν ὀπλών ἔξων;

ΚΛ. Οἴμαι μὲν, ὦ ἕξεν, καὶ παντὶ ράδιον ὑπο-λαβεῖν εἶναι τὰ γε ἡμέτερα. τὴν γὰρ τῆς χώρας

D πάσης Κρήτης φύσιν όράτε, ὡς οὖκ ἔστι, καθά-περ ἢ τῶν Ἐπταλῶν, πεδιάς. διὸ δὴ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἑπταῖς ἐκεῖνοι χρώοτατι μᾶλλον, δρόμοις δὲ ἡμεῖς· ἢδε γὰρ ἀνώμαλος αὐ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν

1 ἢμᾶς wanting in Paris MS.
LAWS, BOOK I

ATH. Yes, his renown is indeed glorious and well befitting a son of Zeus. And, since you and our friend Megillus were both brought up in legal institutions of so noble a kind, you would, I imagine, have no aversion to our occupying ourselves as we go along in discussion on the subject of government and laws. Certainly, as I am told, the road from Cnosus to the cave and temple of Zeus is a long one, and we are sure to find, in this sultry weather, shady resting-places among the high trees along the road: in them we can rest oftentimes, as befits our age, beguiling the time with discourse, and thus complete our journey in comfort.

CLIN. True, Stranger; and as one proceeds further one finds in the groves cypress-trees of wonderful height and beauty, and meadows too, where we may rest ourselves and talk.

ATH. You say well.

CLIN. Yes, indeed: and when we set eyes on them we shall say so still more emphatically. So let us be going, and good luck attend us!

ATH. Amen! And tell me now, for what reason did your law ordain the common meals you have, and your gymnastic schools and military equipment?

CLIN. Our Cretan customs, Stranger, are, as I think, such as anyone may grasp easily. As you may notice, Crete, as a whole, is not a level country, like Thessaly: consequently, whereas the Thessalians mostly go on horseback, we Cretans are runners, since this land of ours is rugged and more suitable

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1 The grotto of Dicte on Mt. Ida.

2 ποιήσασθαι Schanz: ποιήσεσθαι MSS.
πεζη δρόμων ἀσκησιν μᾶλλον σύμμετρος. ἐλα-
φρα δὴ τὰ ὄπλα ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ
κεκτήσθαι καὶ μὴ βάρος ἔχοντα θείαν τῶν δὴ
tόξων καὶ τοξευμάτων ἡ κοινότης ἀρμόττειν
dokei. ταῦτ' οὖν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἀπαντα
Ε ἐξήρτυται, καὶ πάνθ' ὁ νομοθέτης, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ
φαίνεται, πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων συνετάττετο, ἐπεὶ
cαὶ τὰ ἐυσσίτια κινδυνεύει ἐξουσαγαγεῖν ὅρων ὡς
πάντες, ὅπόταν στρατεύωνται, τὸθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
tοῦ πράγματος ἀναγκάζονται φυλακῆς αὐτῶν
ἐνεκα ἐυσσιτείν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀνοιαν δὴ
μοι δοκεῖ καταγνώναι τῶν πολλῶν ὡς οὐ μαν-
θανόντων ὅτι πόλεμος ἀεὶ πᾶσι διὰ βίου ἐξουσίας
ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις εἰ δὴ πολέμου
γε ὡντων φυλακῆς ἐνεκα δεὶ ἐυσσιτείν καὶ τινας
ἀρχοντας καὶ ἀρχομένους διακεκοσμημένοις εἰναι
626 φυλάκας αὐτῶν, τοῦτο καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ δραστέον.
ἡν γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων
eἰρήνην, τοῦτ' εἰναι μόνον ὄνομα, τῶν δ' ἐργὸς
πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πολέμου
ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ φύσιν εἶναι. καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνευ-
ρήσεις οὖτω σκοπῶν τὸν Κρητῶν νομοθέτην, ὡς
eἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἀπαντα δημοσία καὶ ἱδία τὰ
νόμιμα ἡμῖν ἀποβλέπων συνετάξατο, καὶ κατὰ
ταῦτα οὕτω φυλάττειν παρέδωκε τοὺς νόμους,
Β ὡς τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ὁφελος ὃν, οὔτε
κηρυμάτων οὔτ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἂν μὴ τῷ πολέμῳ
ἀρα κρατῇ τις πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν νικωμένων
ἀγαθὰ τῶν νικώντων γίγνεσθαι.

ἀ. Καλῶς γε, ὦ ξένε, φαίνει μοι γεγυμνάσθαι

6
for the practice of foot-running. Under these conditions we are obliged to have light armour for running and to avoid heavy equipment; so bows and arrows are adopted as suitable because of their lightness. Thus all these customs of ours are adapted for war, and, in my opinion, this was the object which the lawgiver had in view when he ordained them all. Probably this was his reason also for instituting common meals: he saw how soldiers, all the time they are on campaign, are obliged by force of circumstances to mess in common, for the sake of their own security. And herein, as I think, he condemned the stupidity of the mass of men in failing to perceive that all are involved ceaselessly in a lifelong war against all States. If, then, these practices are necessary in war,—namely, messing in common for safety’s sake, and the appointment of relays of officers and privates to act as guards,—they must be carried out equally in time of peace. For (as he would say) “peace,” as the term is commonly employed, is nothing more than a name, the truth being that every State is, by a law of nature, engaged perpetually in an informal war with every other State. And if you look at the matter from this point of view you will find it practically true that our Cretan lawgiver ordained all our legal usages, both public and private, with an eye to war, and that he therefore charged us with the task of guarding our laws safely, in the conviction that without victory in war nothing else, whether possession or institution, is of the least value, but all the goods of the vanquished fall into the hands of the victors.

ATH. Your training, Stranger, has certainly, as it
πρὸς τὸ διειδέναι τὰ Κρητῶν νόμιμα. τὸδε δὲ μοι φράζε ἔτι σαφέστερον· ὤν γὰρ ὅρον ἔθου
C τῆς ἐν πολιτευμένης πόλεως, δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν
οὕτω κεκοσμημένην οἰκεῖν δεῖν ὡστε πολέμῳ νικᾶν
tὰς ἄλλας πόλεις. ἢ γάρ;
κλ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶδε οὕτω
ξυνδοκεῖν.

ME. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἀποκρίνατο, ὥθει,
Δακεδαιμονίων γε ὁστισοῦν;
α. Πότερ’ οὖν δὴ πόλεσι μὲν πρὸς πόλεις
ὁρθὸν τοῦτ’ ἔστι, κόμη δὲ πρὸς κόμην ἔτερον;
κλ. Οὐδαμῶς.
α. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτόν;
κλ. Ναί.
α. Τί δὲ; πρὸς οἰκίαιν οἰκία τῶν ἐν τῇ
κόμῃ, καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα ἄνδρὶ ἐνὶ πρὸς ἐνα,
tαῦτόν ἕτει;
κλ. Ταῦτόν.

D

α. Αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πότερον ὡς πολεμίῳ
πρὸς πολέμιον διανοητέον, ἢ πῶς ἐτι λέγομεν;
κλ. Ἡ Ο ξένε Ἀθηναίε—οὐ γὰρ σε Ἀττικὸν ἐθέλοιμι ἀν προσαγορεύειν. δοκεῖς γὰρ μοι τῆς
θεοῦ ἐπωνυμίας ἄξιος εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπωνυμάζε-
σθαι τὸν γὰρ λόγον ἐπὶ ἀρχήν ὀρθῶς ἀν-
αγαγὼν σαφέστερον ἐποίησας, ὥστε ράον ἀνευρη-
σεις ὅτι νῦν δὴ υφ’ ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς ἐρρήθη τὸ
πολεμίους εἶναι πάντας πᾶσι δημοσίᾳ τε καὶ ἴδιᾳ
<καὶ> ¹ ἐκάστους αὐτοὺς σφίσιν αὐτοῖς.
κλ. 

E

α. Πῶς εἰρηκας, ὥ θαυμάσιε;
κα. Κανταῦθα, ὥ ξένε, τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν αὐτὸν

¹ < καὶ > added by Ast, Schanz.
seems to me, given you an excellent understanding of the legal practices of Crete. But tell me this more clearly still: by the definition you have given of the well-constituted State you appear to me to imply that it ought to be organised in such a way as to be victorious in war over all other States. Is that so?

CLIN. Certainly it is; and I think that our friend here shares my opinion.

MEG. No Lacedaemonian, my good sir, could possibly say otherwise.

ATH. If this, then, is the right attitude for a State to adopt towards a State, is the right attitude for village towards village different?

CLIN. By no means.

ATH. It is the same, you say?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. Well then, is the same attitude right also for one house in the village towards another, and for each man towards every other?

CLIN. It is.

ATH. And must each individual man regard himself as his own enemy? Or what do we say when we come to this point?

CLIN. O Stranger of Athens,—for I should be loth to call you a man of Attica, since methinks you deserve rather to be named after the goddess Athena, seeing that you have made the argument more clear by taking it back again to its starting-point; whereby you will the more easily discover the justice of our recent statement that, in the mass, all men are both publicly and privately the enemies of all, and individually also each man is his own enemy.

ATH. What is your meaning, my admirable sir?

CLIN. It is just in this war, my friend, that the
πασῶν νικῶν πρώτη τε καὶ ἥδιστη, τὸ δὲ ἠττᾶσθαι αὐτῶν υφ’ εαυτοῦ πάντων ἀσχιστῶν τε ἀμα καὶ κάκιστων. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς πολέμου ἐν ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν ὄντως πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σημαίνει.

α. Πάλιν τοίνυν τὸν λόγον ἀναστρέψωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἰς ἐκάστος ἡμῶν ὁ μὲν κρείττων 627 αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἦττων ἑστὶ, πότερα φῶμεν οἶκιαν τε καὶ κώμην καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν ταύτων τούτων ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ μὴ φῶμεν;

κα. Τὸ κρείττω τε αὐτῆς εἶναι λέγεις τινά, τὴν δ’ ἦττω;

α. Ναί.

κα. Καὶ τούτο ὅρθως ἦρον: πάνυ γὰρ ἑστὶ καὶ σφόδρα τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ἡκίστα ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν· ἐν ὅποσαὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀμείνονες νικῶσι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς χείρον, ὅρθως ἄν αὕτη κρείττων τε αὐτῆς λέγοιθ’ ἡ πόλις ἔπαινοιτο τε ἂν δικαιότατα τῇ τοιαύτῃ νίκῃ· τοῦνατὶν ὁποιν τάναντια.

β. α. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν εὔ ποτ’ ἑστὶ που τὸ χεῖρον κρείττων τοῦ ἀμείνονος έάσωμεν· μακροτέρου γὰρ λόγου· τὸ δὲ ὕπ’ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενον μανθάνον νῦν, ὡς ποτε πολίται ἐξυγγενεῖς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως γεγονότες ἄδικοι καὶ πολλοὶ ἐξυγγενεῖς δικαίους ἐλάττους ὡστας βιάζονται δουλοῦμενοι, καὶ ὡταν μὲν κρατήσωσιν, ἦττων ἡ πόλις αὐτῆς ὅρθως αὕτη λέγοιτ’ ἂν ἀμα καὶ κακὴ, ὡστ’ ἂν ἦττων τε καὶ ἀγαθή.

γ. κα. Καὶ μάλα ἀτοπον, ὡ ἐνε, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον· ὡμοὶ δ’ ὁμολογεῖν οὔτως ἀναγκαιότατον.

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victory over self is of all victories the first and best while self-defeat is of all defeats at once the worst and the most shameful. For these phrases signify that a war against self exists within each of us.¹

ATH. Now let us take the argument back in the reverse direction. Seeing that individually each of us is partly superior to himself and partly inferior, are we to affirm that the same condition of things exists in house and village and State, or are we to deny it?

CLIN. Do you mean the condition of being partly self-superior and partly self-inferior?

ATH. Yes.

CLIN. That, too, is a proper question; for such a condition does most certainly exist, and in States above all. Every State in which the better class is victorious over the populace and the lower classes would rightly be termed "self-superior," and would be praised most justly for a victory of this kind; and conversely, when the reverse is the case.

ATH. Well then, leaving aside the question as to whether the worse element is ever superior to the better (a question which would demand a more lengthy discussion), what you assert, as I now perceive, is this,—that sometimes citizens of one stock and of one State who are unjust and numerous may combine together and try to enslave by force those who are just but fewer in number, and wherever they prevail such a State would rightly be termed "self-inferior" and bad, but "self-superior" and good wherever they are worsted.

CLIN. This statement is indeed most extraordinary, Stranger; none the less we cannot possibly reject it.

I I
Εχε δή· καὶ τόδε πάλιν ἐπισκεψόμεθα. πολλοὶ ἄδελφοι ποὺ γένοιτ' ἀν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός τε καὶ μῖᾶς νείεις, καὶ δὴ καὶ θαυμαστῶν οὔτεν τοὺς πλείους μὲν ἄδικους αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἑλάττους δικαίους.

κα. Οὔ γὰρ οὖν.

α. Καὶ οὖκ ἂν εἴη γε πρέπον ἐμοὶ τε καὶ υμῖν τοῦτο θηρεύειν, ὅτι νικώντων μὲν τῶν ποιη-ρῶν ἢ τε οἰκία καὶ ἢ ξυνγένεια αὐτῇ πᾶσα ἤττων

D αὐτῆς λέγοιτ' ἂν, κρείττων δὲ ήττωμένων· οὔ γὰρ ενσχημοσύνης τε καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης ῥημάτων ἕνεκα τὰ νῦν σκοπούμεθα πρὸς τὸν τῶν πολλῶν λόγον, ἀλλ' ὀρθότητος τε καὶ ἀμαρτίας πέρι νόμων, ἢτις ποτὲ ἐστὶ φύσει.

κα. Ἀληθέστατα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεισ.

με. Καλῶς μὲν οὖν, ὡς γε ἐμοὶ ἤσφαλκοι τὸ γε τοσοῦτον τὰ νῦν.

α. Ὀδώμεν δὴ καὶ τόδε· τούτως τοῖς ἄρτι λεγομένωις ἄδελφοὺς γένοιτ' ἂν ποὺ τις δικαστής;

κα. Πάνω γε.

α. Πότερος οὖν ἀμείνων; ὡς δεῖτος τοὺς μὲν Ἐ ἀπολέσειεν αὐτῶν ὅσοι κακοὶ, τοὺς δὲ βελτίως ἄρχειν αὐτῶς αὐτῶν προστάξειεν, ἢ ὁδὲ ὅσαν τοὺς μὲν χρηστοὺς ἄρχειν, τοὺς χείρους δ' εὐάσας ζην ἄρχεσθαι ἐκόντας ποιήσειε; τρίτων δὲ ποὺ δικαστὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἰπωμεν, εἴ τις εἰη τοιοῦτος, 628 ὡς τις παραλαβὼν ξυγγένειαν μίαν διαφερομένην μῆτε ἀπολέσειε μηδένα, διαλλάξας δὲ εἰς τῶν ἑπιλοιπον χρόνων νόμους αὐτῶις θεῖς πρὸς ἀλλή- λους παραφυλάττειν δύνατο ὡστε εἶναι φίλους.
LAWS, BOOK I

ATH. Stay a moment: here too is a case we must further consider. Suppose there were a number of brothers, all sons of the same parents, it would not be at all surprising if most of them were unjust and but few just.

CLIN. It would not.

ATH. And, moreover, it would ill befit you and me to go a-chasing after this form of expression, that if the bad ones conquered the whole of this family and house should be called "self-inferior," but "self-superior" if they were defeated; for our present reference to the usage of ordinary speech is not concerned with the propriety or impropriety of verbal phrases but with the essential rightness or wrongness of laws.

CLIN. Very true, Stranger.

MEG. And finely spoken, too, up to this point, as I agree.

ATH. Let us also look at this point: the brothers we have just described would have, I suppose, a judge?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Which of the two would be the better—a judge who destroyed all the wicked among them and charged the good to govern themselves, or one who made the good members govern and, while allowing the bad to live, made them submit willingly to be governed? And there is a third judge we must mention (third and best in point of merit),—if indeed such a judge can be found,—who in dealing with a single divided family will destroy none of them but reconcile them and succeed, by enacting laws for them, in securing amongst them thence-forward permanent friendliness.
PLATO

κα. Μακρῷ ἀμείωνων γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος δικαστής τε καὶ νομοθέτης.

α. Καὶ μὴν τούναυτίον γε ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον ἂν βλέπων αὐτῶς τοὺς νόμους διανοοθέτοι.

κα. Τούτο μὲν ἄλληθες.

α. Τι δ' ὁ τήν πόλιν ξυναρμόττων; πρὸς πόλεμον αὐτῆς ἂν τὸν ἐξωθεὶν βλέπων τὸν βίον Β κοσμοῖ μᾶλλον, ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ γεγονόμενον ἐκάστοτε, ἢ δὴ καλεῖται στάσις; ὥν μάλιστα μὲν ἂπας ἂν βούλοιτο μῆτε γενέσθαι ποτὲ ἐν ἑαυτοῦ πόλει γενόμενον τὸν ἄρχον τὰχιστὰ ἅπαλλάττεσθαι.

κα. Δήλου ὦτι πρὸς τούτον.

α. Πότερα δ' ἀπολομένων αὐ τῶν ἑτέρων εἰρήνην τῆς στάσεως γενέσθαι, μικησάντων δὲ ποτέρων, δεξιαίτ' ἂν τις μᾶλλον ἢ φιλίας τε καὶ εἰρήνης ύπὸ διαλλαγὸν γενόμενης, <καί> 1 οὔτω

καὶ τοῖς ἐξωθεὶν πολεμίοις προσέχειν ἀνάγκην εἶναι τὸν νοῦν;

κα. Οὔτω πᾶς ἂν ἑθέλοι πρότερον ἢ 'κείνως περὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ γίγνεσθαι πόλιν.

α. Οὐκοῦν καὶ νομοθέτης ὡσαύτως;

κα. Τί μὴν;

α. 'Αρ' οὖν οὐ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἑνεκα πάντα ἂν τὰ νόμιμα τιθείη πᾶς;

κα. Πῶς δ' οὖ;' α. Τὸ γε μὴν ἅριστον οὔτε ὁ πόλεμος οὔτε ἢ στάσις, ἀπευκτὸν δὲ τὸ δεηθήναι τούτων, εἰρήνη δὲ πρὸς ἅλληλους ἄμα καὶ φιλοφροσύνη. καὶ δὴ

1 <καί> I insert (Schanz brackets εἰρήνην . . . γενέσθαι and ἀνάγκην εἶναι).
CLIN. A judge and lawgiver of that kind would be by far the best.

ATH. But mark this: his aim, in the laws he enacted for them, would be the opposite of war.

CLIN. That is true.

ATH. And what of him who brings the State into harmony? In ordering its life would he have regard to external warfare rather than to the internal war, whenever it occurs, which goes by the name of "civil" strife? For this is a war as to which it would be the desire of every man that, if possible, it should never occur in his own State, and that, if it did occur, it should come to as speedy an end as possible.

CLIN. Evidently he would have regard to civil war.

ATH. And would anyone prefer that the citizens should be obliged to devote their attention to external enemies after internal concord had been secured by the destruction of one section and the victory of their opponents rather than after the establishment of friendship and peace by terms of conciliation?

CLIN. Everyone would prefer the latter alternative for his own State rather than the former.

ATH. And would not the lawgiver do the same?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. Would not every lawgiver in all his legislation aim at the highest good?

CLIN. Assuredly.

ATH. The highest good, however, is neither war nor civil strife—which things we should pray rather to be saved from—but peace one with another and friendly feeling. Moreover, it would seem that the
PLATO

D καὶ τὸ νικᾶν, ὡς ἐοικεν, αὐτὴν αὐτῆς πόλιν οὖκ ἦν τῶν ἁρίστων ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὅμοιον ὡς εἰ κάμνου σώμα ιατρικῆς καθάρσεως τυχόν ἤγοιτά τις ἁριστα πράττειν τότε, τῷ δὲ μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν δεηθέντι σώματι μηδὲ προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν, ὧσαύτως δὲ καὶ πρὸς πόλεως ευδαιμονίαν ἦ καὶ ἰδιώτων διανοοῦμενος οὕτω τίς οὐτ' ἂν ποτὲ πολιτικὸς γένοιτο ὀρθῶς, πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν πολεμικὰ ἀποβλέπων μόνον καὶ πρῶτον, οὐτ' ἂν νομοθέτης ἀκριβῆς, εἰ μὴ χάριν εἰρήνης τὰ πολέμου νομοθετοῦσαι τις εἰρήνης.

κα. Φαίνεται μὲν πως ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὡς ἔχει, ὀρθῶς εἰρήσθην θαυμάζω γε μὴν εἰ τὰ τε παρ' ἡμῖν νόμιμα καὶ ἔτι τὰ περὶ Δακεδαίμονα μὴ πάσαν τὴν στοιχείων τούτων ένεκα πεποίηται.

ἀθ. Τάχ' ἂν ἰσως· δεῖ δ' οὐδὲν σκληρῶς ἡμᾶς 629 αὐτοῖς διαμάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν, ἄλλα ἠρέμα ἀνερωτάν, ὡς μάλιστα περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων στοιχείων τούτων. καὶ μοι τὸ λόγῳ εὐνακολούθησατε. προστησώμεθα γοὺς Τύρταίου, τὸν φύσει μὲν 'Ἄθηναίου, τῶν δὲ πολιτῆν γενόμενον, δὴ δὴ μάλιστα ἄνθρωπον περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι

οὗτ' ἂν μηναίμην οὗτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην

Β οὗτ' εἰ τις πλουσιώτατος ἄνθρωπων εἴη, φησίν, οὗτ' εἰ πολλὰ ἁγαθὰ κεκτημένος, εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἀπαντᾷ, δὴ μὴ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἁριστοῦ γίγνοιτ' ἀεί. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκίκοις που καὶ σὺ τὰ ποιήματα· ὅδε μὲν γὰρ, οἴμαι, διακορίῆς αὐτῶν ἐστι.
victory we mentioned of a State over itself is not one of the best things but one of those which are necessary. For imagine a man supposing that a human body was best off when it was sick and purged with physic, while never giving a thought to the case of the body that needs no physic at all! Similarly, with regard to the well-being of a State or an individual, that man will never make a genuine statesman who pays attention primarily and solely to the needs of foreign warfare, nor will he make a finished lawgiver unless he designs his war legislation for peace rather than his peace legislation for war.

Clin. This statement, Stranger, is apparently true; yet, unless I am much mistaken, our legal usages in Crete, and in Lacedaemon too, are wholly directed towards war.

Ath. Very possibly; but we must not now attack them violently, but mildly interrogate them, since both we and your legislators are earnestly interested in these matters. Pray follow the argument closely. Let us take the opinion of Tyrtaeus (an Athenian by birth and afterwards a citizen of Lacedaemon), who, above all men, was keenly interested in our subject. This is what he says: ¹ "Though a man were the richest of men, though a man possessed goods in plenty (and he specifies nearly every good there is), if he failed to prove himself at all times most valiant in war, no mention should I make of him, nor take account of him at all." No doubt you also have heard these poems; while our friend Megillus is, I imagine, surfeited with them.

¹ Tyrtaeus, xii. (Bergk). Tyrtaeus wrote war-songs at Sparta about 680 B.C.
ΠΛΑΤΟ

ΜΡ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΚΑ. Καὶ μὴν καὶ παρ’ ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε κομισθέντα ἐκ Δακεδαίμονος.

ΑΘ. "Ἰθι νῦν ἁνερώμεθα κοινῇ τοιτού τὸν Κ θείας, κοινῇ θεῇ τοιτατε. δοκεῖς γὰρ δὴ σοφὸς ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἁλαθός, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ διαφέροντας διαφέροντως ἐγκεκομιάκας. ἦδη οὖν τυγχάνομεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὅδε καὶ Κλεινίας ὁ Κνώστος οὕτως ξυμφερόμενοι σοι περὶ τούτου σφόδρα, ὡς δοκοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν ἀνδρῶν ἡ μή, βουλόμεθα σαφῶς εἰδέναι. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν, ἀρα εἶδη δύο πολέμου, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς, ἤγει καὶ σφόδρῳ; ἢ πῶς; Πρὸς ταύτα, οἶμαι, κἂν πολὺ φαυλότερος εἶποι ἐπειράτοι τις τάληθές, ὅτι δύο, τὸ μὲν ὁ καλοῦμεν ἀπαντες στάσιν, δι’ ὅτι πάντων πολέμην χαλεπῶτατος, ὡς ἐφαμεν ἡμεῖς νῦν δὴ τὸ δ’ ἄλλο πολέμου θήσομεν, οἶμαι, γένος ἀπαντες, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτόσος τε καὶ ἀλλοφύλους χρώμεθα διαφερόμενοι, πολὺ πραστερον εἴκεινο καὶ πολὺ γαρ οὖ;  

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;  

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ, ποτέρους καὶ πρὸς πότερον ἐπαμών τοῖν πολέμων οὕτως ὑπερεπήνεσας, τοὺς δ’ ἐφεξας τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ἔοικας μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸν ἐκτόσος εἰρηκας γοῦν ὅδε ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὡς σύνδαμος τοὺς τοιούτους ἄνεχόμενος. Οὐ μὴ τολμήσωσί μὲν ὅραν φόνου αἰματόεντα, καὶ δηνὸν ὑρεγοιντ’ ἐγγύθεν ἵσταμενοι.

Οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταύτα εἰπομεν ἀν ἡμεῖς ὅτι Σὺ

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1 νῦν Schanz: νῦν δὴ Zur.: νῦν Paris MS.
2 τοῖν πολέμων, C. Post: τὸν πόλεμον, MSS., edd.
MEG. I certainly am.

CLIN. And I can assure you they have reached Crete also, shipped over from Lacedaemon.

ATH. Come now, let us jointly interrogate this poet somehow on this wise: "O Tyrtaeus, most inspired of poets (for assuredly you seem to us both wise and good in that you have eulogised excellently those who excel in war), concerning this matter we three—Megillus, Clinias of Cnosus and myself—are already in entire accord with you, as we suppose; but we wish to be assured that both we and you are alluding to the same persons. Tell us then: do you clearly recognise, as we do, two distinct kinds of war?" In reply to this I suppose that even a much less able man than Tyrtaeus would state the truth, that there are two kinds, the one being that which we all call "civil," which is of all wars the most bitter, as we said just now, while the other kind, as I suppose we shall all agree, is that which we engage in when we quarrel with foreigners and aliens—a kind much milder than the former.

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. "Come, then, which kind of warriors, fighting in which kind of war, did you praise so highly, while blaming others? Warriors, apparently, who fight in war abroad. At any rate, in your poems you have said that you cannot abide men who dare not

'face the gory fray and smite the foe in close combat.'"

Then we should proceed to say, "It appears, O

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* For Baiter, Schanz: τοὺς MSS.
μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡς ἔοικαῖς, ὁ Τύρταις, μάλιστα τούς πρὸς τὸν ὀδυνεῖν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν πόλεμον γιγνομένους ἐπιφανεῖς. Φαίη ταῦτ’ ἄν ποιν καὶ ὀμολογοῖ;

630 κλ. Τί μήν;

ἀθ. Ἦμεις δὲ γε ἄγαθῶν ὄντων τούτων ἐτι φαμέν ἀμείνους εἶναι καὶ πολύ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ γιγνομένους ἀρίστους διαφανῶς. ποιήσῃ δὲ καὶ ἥμεις μάρτυρα ἕχομεν, Θέογνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων, ὃς φησὶ

πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσῷ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἀντερύσασθαι

ἀξίος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνη, διχοστασίᾳ.

tούτων δὴ φαμεν ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπτωτέρῳ ἀμείνουν ἐκεῖνον πάμπολυ γίγνεσθαι, σχεδὸν ὅσον ἀμείνουν δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ σωφροσύνῃ καὶ φρόνησις εἰς ταύτων

Β ἐλθοῦσαί 1 μετ’ ἀνδρίας <ἀυτῆς μόνης ἀνδρίας>. 2 πιστὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ύψης ἐν στάσεως ὡς ἂν ποτέ γένοιτο ἄνευ ἔμμπάσης ἀρετῆς· διαβᾶντες δ’ εὖ καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν γ’ 3 πολέμῳ φράξει Τύρταιος, τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰς πάμπολλοι, ὡς οἱ πλείστοι γίγνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταί καὶ ἀφρονεῖστατοι σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ἐκτὸς δὴ τινῶν μάλα ὀλίγων. ποιὶ δὴ τελευτάδ’ ὡς ἤμιν οὕτως ὁ λόγος, καὶ τί φανερὸν ποτε ποιήσαι βουληθεῖς λέγει ταῦτα; δὴλον ὅτι τόδε, ὡς παντὸς μάλλον καὶ ὁ τῆς παρὰ Δίδος νομοθέτης,

C πᾶς τε οὐ καὶ σμικρόν ὠφελος, οὐκ ἀλλοσε 4 ἦ

1 ἐλθοῦσαν Eusebius and Proclus: ἐλθοῦσα MSS.
2 <ἀυτῆς . . . ἀνδρίας > added by Euseb., Procl.
3 ἐν γ’ φ’ : ἐν τῷ MSS.: ἐν φ’ Euseb.: ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, φ’ φράξει Winckelmann.

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Tyrtæus, that you are chiefly praising those who achieve distinction in foreign and external warfare." To this, I presume, he would agree, and say "Yes"?

Of course.

ATH. Yet, brave though these men are, we still maintain that they are far surpassed in bravery by those who are conspicuously brave in the greatest of wars; and we also have a poet for witness,—Theognis (a citizen of Sicilian Megara), who says: ¹

"In the day of grievous feud, O Cyrnus, the loyal warrior is worth his weight in silver and gold."

Such a man, in a war much more grievous, is, we say, ever so much better than the other—nearly as much better, in fact, as the union of justice, prudence and wisdom with courage is better than courage by itself alone. For a man would never prove himself loyal and sound in civil war if devoid of goodness in its entirety; whereas in the war of which Tyrtæus speaks there are vast numbers of mercenaries ready to die fighting ² "with well-planted feet apart," of whom the majority, with but few exceptions, prove themselves reckless, unjust, violent, and pre-eminent foolih. What, then, is the conclusion to which our present discourse is tending, and what point is it trying to make clear by these statements? Plainly it is this: both the Heaven-taught legislator of Crete and every legislator who is worth his salt will most assuredly legislate always with a single eye to

¹ Theognis, v. 77–8 (Bergk). He wrote sententious poetry about 550 B.C.
² Tyrt. xi. 21.

⁴ ἀλλος Heindorf: ἄλλο MSS.
πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων ἀεὶ θήσει τοὺς νόμους· ἐστι δὲ, ὡς φησὶ Θεόγνις, αὕτη πιστότης ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἣν τις δικαιοσύνην ἀν τελέαν ὁνομάσειν. ἢν δ' αὖ Τύρταιος ἐπήνεσε

Δ μάλιστα, καλὴ μὲν καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν κεκοσμημένη τῷ ποιητῇ, τετάρτῃ μέντοι ὠμως ἀριθμῷ τε καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ τιμία εἶναι λέγοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότατα.

κλ. Ὡξένε, τὸν νομοθέτην ἡμῶν ἀποβάλλομεν εἰς τοὺς πόρῳ νομοθεσίας;

α. Ὑμὲις γε, ὃ ἀριστε, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, ὅταν οἰόμεθα πάντα τα τ' ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα βλέποντας Ἀνκόργγον τε καὶ Μίνω τίθεσθαι τὰ νόμιμα.

κλ. Τὸ δὲ πῶς χρῆν ἡμᾶς λέγειν;

α. Ὡσπέρ τοῖς ἀληθέσι, ὡμαί, καὶ τὸ δίκαιον

Ε ὑπὲρ γε θείον ἀνδρὸς διαλεγομένους λέγειν, οὐχ ὡς πρὸς ἀρετῆς τι μορίον, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ φαινότατον, ἐπὶθη βλέπον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, καὶ κατ' εἰδῆς ξητεῖν αὐτοὺς 3 τοὺς νόμους, οὐδὲ ἀπερ οἱ τῶν νῦν εἰδῆ προτιθέμενοι ξητοῦσιν οὐ γὰρ ἀν ἐκαστος ἐν χρεία γίγνεται, τούτῳ ξητεῖ νῦν παραθέμενος, ὦ μὲν τὰ περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων, ὦ δὲ τῆς αἰκίας πέρι, ἀλλοί δὲ ἄλλα

631 ἄττα μυρία τοιαῦτα· ἡμεὶς δὲ φαμεν εἶναι τὸ περὶ νόμους ξητήμα των εὖ ξητοῦντων, ὡσπέρ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἡρξάμεθα. καὶ σοῦ τὴν μὲν ἐπιχειρήσεις τῆς εξηγήσεως περὶ τοὺς νόμους παντάπασιν ἀγαμαί· τὸ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἄρχεσθαι, λέγοντα οὐς εἰτὴν ταύτης ἑνεκα τοὺς νόμους, ὥρθον· ὅτι δὲ πάντα εἰς

1 νομοθεσίας Ritter, Apelt: νομοθέτας MSS.
2 θείου ἀνδρὸς Badham: θείας MSS.
3 αὐτούς: αὐτῶν MSS.
the highest goodness and to that alone; and this (to quote Theognis) consists in "loyalty in danger," and one might term it "complete righteousness." But that goodness which Tyrtaeus specially praised, fair though it be and fitly glorified by the poet, deserves nevertheless to be placed no higher than fourth in order and estimation.¹

CLIN. We are degrading our own lawgiver, Stranger, to a very low level!

ATH. Nay, my good Sir, it is ourselves we are degrading, in so far as we imagine that it was with a special view to war that Lycurgus and Minos laid down all the legal usages here and in Lacedaemon.

CLIN. How, then, ought we to have stated the matter?

ATH. In the way that is, as I think, true and proper when talking of a divine hero. That is to say, we should state that he enacted laws with an eye not to some one fraction, and that the most paltry, of goodness, but to goodness as a whole, and that he devised the laws themselves according to classes, though not the classes which the present devisers propound. For everyone now brings forward and devises just the class which he needs: one man deals with inheritances and heiresses, another with cases of battery, and so on in endless variety.

But what we assert is that the devising of laws, when rightly conducted, follows the procedure which we have now commenced. Indeed, I greatly admire the way you opened your exposition of the laws; for to make a start with goodness and say that that was the aim of the lawgiver is the right way. But in your further statement that he legislated

¹ i.e. courage comes after wisdom, prudence and justice.
μόριον ἀρετῆς, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ σμικρότατον, ἐπαναφέροντα ἐφησθα αὐτῶν νομοθετεῖν, οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἔτι μοι κατεφάνης λέγων τὸν τε ὑστερον νῦν λόγον τούτου πάντα εἴρηκα διὰ ταῦτα. τι ἦ δὴ σὺν σε ἔτι ἀν ἐβουλόμην διελόμενον λέγειν αὐτὸς τε Β ἀκούειν; βούλει σοι φράζω; 

κα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

α. τ' Ω ἕνε, ἕχρην εἰπεῖν, οἱ Κρητῶν νόμοι οὐκ εἰσὶ μάτην διαφερόντως ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμοὶ τοῖς Ἐλληνσιν, ἔχουσι γὰρ ὀρθῶς τοὺς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους εὐδαιμονας ἀποτελοῦντες πάντα γὰρ τὰ ἁγαθὰ πορίζουσι. διπλὰ δὲ ἁγαθὰ ἐστὶ, τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα. ἦρτηται δ' ἐκ τῶν θείων θάτερα καὶ εὰν μὲν δέχθηται τις τὰ μείζονα, παρίσταται καὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα, εἰ δὲ μή, στέρεται ἀμφοῖν.

C ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐλάττονα δὲν ἤγειται μὲν ὑγίεια, κάλλος δὲ δεύτερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἴσχὺς εἰς τὲ δρόμον καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας πάσας κινήσεις τῷ σώματι, τέταρτον δὲ δὴ πλοῦτος, οὗ τυφλός, ἀλλ' ὁξὺ βλέπων, ἀντερ ἀμ', ἐπηταὶ φρονήσει. ο δὴ πρῶτον αὐ τῶν θείων ἡγεμονοῦν ἐστὶν ἁγαθῶν, ἡ φρόνησις, δεύτερον δὲ μετὰ νοῦ σώφρων ψυχῆς ἔξις. ἐκ δὲ τούτων μετ' ἀνδρίας κραθέντων τρίτον

D ἄν εἰς δικαιοσύνη, τέταρτον δὲ ἀνδρία. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκεῖνων ἐμπροσθεῖν τέτακται φύσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τακτέον οὕτω. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἄλλας προστάξεις τοῖς πολῖταις εἰς ταῦτα βλεποῦσας αὐτοῖς εἶναι διακελευστέον, τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα εἰς τὰ θεία, τὰ δὲ θεία εἰς τῶν ἡγεμόνων νοῦν ἤμπαντα βλέπειν. περὶ τε γάμους ἀλλήλους ἐπικοινονοῦμενοὺς, μετὰ τε ταῦτα ἐν

1 παρίσταται Badham, Schanz: τόλις, κτάται MSS.
LAWS, BOOK I

wholly with reference to a fraction of goodness, and that the smallest fraction, you seemed to me to be in error, and all this latter part of my discourse was because of that. What then is the manner of exposition I should have liked to have heard from you? Shall I tell you?

CLIN. Yes, by all means.

ATH. "O Stranger" (thus you ought to have said), "it is not for nothing that the laws of the Cretans are held in superlatively high repute among all the Hellenes. For they are true laws inasmuch as they effect the well-being of those who use them by supplying all things that are good. Now goods are of two kinds, human and divine; and the human goods are dependent on the divine, and he who receives the greater acquires also the less, or else he is bereft of both. The lesser goods are those of which health ranks first, beauty second; the third is strength, in running and all other bodily exercises; and the fourth is wealth—no blind god Plutus, but keen of sight, provided that he has wisdom for companion. And wisdom, in turn, has first place among the goods that are divine, and rational temperance of soul comes second; from these two, when united with courage, there issues justice, as the third; and the fourth is courage. Now all these are by nature ranked before the human goods, and verily the lawgiver also must so rank them. Next, it must be proclaimed to the citizens that all the other instructions they receive have these in view; and that, of these goods themselves, the human look up to the divine, and the divine to reason as their chief. And in regard to their marriage connexions, and to their
ταῖς τῶν παίδων γεννήσει καὶ τροφαῖς, ὡς τε ἄρρενες καὶ ὡς τε θῆλειαν, νέων τε ὄντων καὶ ἐπὶ Ἑ τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἱόντων μέχρι γῆρως, τιμῶντα ὅρθῳς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ ἀτιμάζοντα, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τοιῶν ὀμίλιαις τὰς τε λύπας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἱδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ξυμπάντων τε ἑρώτων τὰς σπουδᾶς ἐπεσκεμμένον καὶ παραπεφυ- λαχότα ψέγειν τε ὅρθῳς καὶ ἐπαίνεϊν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων. ἐν ὀργαῖς τε αὖ καὶ ἐν φόβοις, ὡς τε διὰ δυστυχίαν ταραχαί ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίγνονται καὶ ὡς ἐν εὐτυχίαις τῶν τοιῶν ἀποφυγαῖ, ὡς τε κατὰ νόσους ἢ κατὰ πολέμους ἢ πενίας ἢ τὰ τοῦτος ἐναντία γιγνόμενα προσπέπτει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παθήματα, ἐν πάσι τοῖς τοιῶτοις τῆς ἐκάστων διαθέσεως διδακτέον καὶ ὀριστέον τὸ τε καλὸν καὶ μῆ. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα ἀνάγκη τὸν νομο- θέτην τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀναλώ- ματα φυλάττειν, οὕτως ἄν γίγνηθαι τρόπον, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἄλληλοις πᾶσι τοῦτοις κοινωνίας καὶ διαλύσεις ἐκοινώσει τε καὶ ἀκούσει, καθ' ὁποῖον ἄν ἐκαστον πράττωσι τῶν τοιῶτων πρὸς ἄλλη- λοις, ἐπισκοπεῖν τὸ τε δίκαιον καὶ μῆ, ἐν ὃς ἐστὶ τε καὶ ἐν ὃς ἔλλειπεν, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθέσι τῶ νόμῳ 1 τιμᾶς ἀπονέμειν, τοῖς δὲ δυσπειθέσι

C δίκας τακτάς ἐπιτίθεναι, μέχριτερ ἄν πρὸς τέλος ἀπάσης πολιτείας ἐπεξελθὼν ὑδὴ τῶν τελευτη- σάντων τίνα δεῖ τρόπον ἐκάστοις γίγνεσθαι τὰς ταφᾶς καὶ τιμᾶς ἀστίνας αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμειν δει. κατιδών δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς νόμους ἀπασι τοῦτοις ἤλικας ἐπιστῆσαι, τοὺς ἄνεν διὰ φρονήσεως, τοὺς

1 τῷ νόμῳ Stephens: τῶν νόμων MSS.
subsequent breeding and rearing of children, male and female, both during youth and in later life up to old age, the lawgiver must supervise the citizens, duly apportioning honour and dishonour; and in regard to all their forms of intercourse he must observe and watch their pains and pleasures and desires and all intense passions, and distribute praise and blame correctly by the means of the laws themselves. Moreover, in the matter of anger and of fear, and of all the disturbances which befall souls owing to misfortune, and of all the avoidances thereof which occur in good-fortune, and of all the experiences which confront men through disease or war or penury or their opposites,—in regard to all these definite instruction must be given as to what is the right and what the wrong disposition in each case. It is necessary, in the next place, for the lawgiver to keep a watch on the methods employed by the citizens in gaining and spending money, and to supervise the associations they form with one another, and the dissolutions thereof, whether they be voluntary or under compulsion; he must observe the manner in which they conduct each of these mutual transactions, and note where justice obtains and where it is lacking. To those that are obedient he must assign honours by law, but on the disobedient he must impose duly appointed penalties. Then finally, when he arrives at the completion of the whole constitution, he has to consider in what manner in each case the burial of the dead should be carried out, and what honours should be assigned to them. This being settled, the framer of the laws will hand over all his statutes to the charge of Wardens—guided some by wisdom, others by true
δὲ δὲ ἂληθοῦς δόξης ἱόντας, ὅπως πάντα ταῦτα ἐξυνδήσας ὁ νοῦς ἔπομενα σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἀποφήγη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλούτῳ μηδὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ. 

D οὕτως, ὡς ᾿ένοι, ἔγγυτε ἡθελον ἀν ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐτί νῦν βουλόματι, διεξελθεὶν πῶς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Δίὸς λεγομένοις νόμοις τοῖς τε τοῦ Πυθίου ᾿Απόλλωνος, οὕς Μίνως τε καὶ Δυκοῦργος ἔθετην, ἐνεστὶ τε πάντα ταῦτα, καὶ ὅπῃ τάξιν τινὰ εἰληφότα διάδηλα ἔστι τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ τέχνῃ ἐπε καὶ τισιν ἔθεσι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἥμιν οὐδαμῶς ἔστι καταφανῆ.

κα. Πῶς οὖν, ὡς ᾿ένε, λέγειν χρὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα;

α. Ὁ ἄρχης πάλιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ χρήναι δι᾽ ἔξελθείν, καθάπερ ἡρξάμεθα, τὰ τῆς ἀνδρίας πρῶτον ἐπιτηδεύματα· ἐπείτα ἔτερον καὶ αὖθις ἔτερον εἰδὸς τῆς ἄρετῆς διέξιμεν, ἐὰν βούλησθε· ὅπως δὴ ἀν τὸ πρῶτον διεξέλθωμεν, πειρασόμεθα αὐτὸ παράδειγμα θέμενοι καὶ τάλλα οὕτω διαμυθολογοῦντες παραμύθια ποιήσασθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ· ὑστερον δὲ ἄρετῆς πάσης, ἢ γε νῦν δὴ διηλθομεν, ἐκεῖσε βλέποντα ἀποφανούμεν, ἀν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ.

633 με. Καλῶς λέγεις, καὶ πειρῶ πρῶτον κρίνειν τὸν τοῦ Δίὸς ἐπαίνετην τόνδε ἥμιν.

α. Πειράσομαι καὶ σὲ τε καὶ ἐμαυτὸν· κοινὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος· λέγετε οὖν· τὰ ἐξουσίαι φαμεν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξευρήσαθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ;
opinion—to the end that Reason, having bound all into one single system, may declare them to be ancillary neither to wealth nor ambition, but to temperance and justice." In this manner, Strangers, I could have wished (and I wish it still) that you had fully explained how all these regulations are inherent in the reputed laws of Zeus and in those of the Pythian Apollo which were ordained by Minos and Lycurgus, and how their systematic arrangement is quite evident to him who, whether by art or practice, is an expert in law, although it is by no means obvious to the rest of us.

CLIN. What then, Stranger, should be the next step in our argument?

ATH. We ought, as I think, to do as we did at first—start from the beginning to explain first the institutions which have to do with courage; and after that we shall, if you wish, deal with a second and a third form of goodness. And as soon as we have completed our treatment of the first theme, we shall take that as our model and by a discussion of the rest on similar lines beguile the way; and at the end of our treatment of goodness in all its forms we shall make it clear, if God will, that the rules we discussed just now had goodness for their aim.

MEG. A good suggestion! And begin with our friend here, the panegyrist of Zeus—try first to put him to the test.

ATH. Try I will, and to test you too and myself; for the argument concerns us all alike. Tell me then: do we assert that the common meals and the gymnasia were devised by the lawgiver with a view to war?
ME. Ἡ νεὶ.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον; ἵσως γὰρ ἂν οὗτῳ χρεία διαρθεμέναι καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀλλῆς ἀρετῆς εἴτε μερῶν εἴτε ἀττ σὲ αὐτὰ καλεῖν χρεών ἔστι, δηλούντα μονὸν ἃ λέγει.

Β ME. Τρίτον τοίνυν, ἐγωγε εἱποιμ' ἂν καὶ Λακε
dαιμονίων ὀστίσουν, τὴν θήραν εὑρε.

ΑΘ. Τέταρτον δὲ ἢ πέμπτον εἰ δυναῖμεθα λέγειν πειρώμεθα.

ME. Ἐτι τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἐγωγε πειρώ-
μην ἂν λέγειν τὸ περὶ τὰς καρτερῆσεις τῶν ἄλγη-
δόνων πολὺ παρ' ἡμῖν γιγνομενον ἐν τε ταῖς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ταῖς χεριν μάχαις καὶ ἐν ἀρπαγαῖς τισὶ
dia πολλῶν πληγῶν ἐκάστοτε γιγνομέναις. ¹ ἔτι
dὲ καὶ κρυπτεία τις ὁνομάζεται θαυμαστῶς πολύ-

C πονος πρὸς τὰς καρτερῆσεις, χειμώνων τε ἀνυπο-
δησίας καὶ ἀστρωσίας καὶ ἀνεεθραπόντων αὐτοῖς
ἐαυτῶν διακονήσεις, νύκτωρ τε πλαισιμένων διὰ
πάσης τῆς χώρας καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν. ἔτι δὲ κὰ
τὸς γυμνοπαιδιαίς δειναὶ καρτερῆσεις παρ' ἡμῖν
γίγνονται τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ρώμη διαμαχομένων,
καὶ πάμπολλα ἐτέρα, σχεδὸν ὁσα οὐκ ἂν παύ-
σαιτο τις ἐκάστοτε διεξιῶν.

ΑΘ. Εὑ γε, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιε ἥρεν, λέγεις. τὴν
ἀνδρίαιν δὲ, φέρε, τί θῶμεν; πότερον ἀπλῶς
οὗτως εἶναι πρὸς φόβους καὶ λύπας διαμάχην

D μονον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς πόθους τε καὶ ἢδονὰς καὶ τινὰς
dεινας θωπείας κολακικάς, αἰ καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν

¹ γιγνομέναι Ast, Schanz: γιγνόμενων MSS.
MEG. Yes.

ATH. And is there a third institution of the kind, and a fourth? For probably one ought to employ this method of enumeration also in dealing with the subdivisions (or whatever we ought to call them) of the other forms of goodness, if only one makes one’s meaning clear.

MEG. The third thing he devised was hunting: so I and every Lacedaemonian would say.

ATH. Let us attempt also to state what comes fourth,—and fifth too, if possible.

MEG. The fourth also I may attempt to state: it is the training, widely prevalent amongst us, in hardy endurance of pain, by means both of manual contests and of robberies carried out every time at the risk of a sound drubbing; moreover, the “Crypteia,”¹ as it is called, affords a wonderfully severe training in hardihood, as the men go bare-foot in winter and sleep without coverlets and have no attendants, but wait on themselves and rove through the whole countryside both by night and by day. Moreover in our games,² we have severe tests of endurance, when men unclad do battle with the violence of the heat,—and there are other instances so numerous that the recital of them would be well-nigh endless.

ATH. Splendid, O Stranger of Lacedaemon! But come now, as to courage, how shall we define it? Shall we define it quite simply as battling against fears and pains only, or as against desires also and pleasures, with their dangerous enticements and

¹ Or “Secret Service.” Young Spartans policed the country to suppress risings among the Helots.
² The “Naked Games,” held about midsummer.
οἰομένων εἶναι τοὺς θυμοὺς [μαλάττουσαι] κηρίνους ποιοῦσιν;

κ. Οἶμαι μὲν οὖτω, πρὸς ταύτα ξύμπαντα.

α. ἦγον μεμνήμεθα τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν λόγους,

κ. πάντως τινὰ οἴδε καὶ πόλιν ἔλεγεν αὐτὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνδρα. ἦ γὰρ, ὃ ξένει Κνώσιε;

καὶ πάνυ γε.

Εὰν οὖν πότερα λέγομεν τὸν τῶν λυπῶν

κ. Μάλλον, ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, τὸν τῶν ἦδονῶν· καὶ

πάντες ποι μᾶλλον λέγομεν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἦδονῶν

κ. κρατούμενον τούτου τὸν ἐπονειδίστος ἦττονα

εξαυτοῦ πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν λυπῶν.

ε34 Ἀ. Ὅ Διὸς οὖν δὴ καὶ ὁ Πυθικὸς νομοθέτης

κ. οὐ δὴ ποι χωλὴν τὴν ἀνδρίαν νεομοθετήκατον,

πρὸς τὰ ἄριστερὰ μόνον δυναμένην ἀντιβαίνειν,

πρὸς δὲ τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κομψὰ καὶ θωπευτικὰ

ἀδυνατοῦσαν; ἦ πρὸς ἀμφότερα;

καὶ. Πρὸς ἀμφότερα ἔγωγε ἄξιῶ.

Ἀ. Δέγομεν τοῖς πάλιν, ἔπιτηδεύματα ποία

ἐσθ' ὑμῖν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃ γενοῦτα

τῶν ἦδονῶν καὶ οὐ φεύγοντα αὐτὰς, καθάπερ τὰς

λύπας οὐκ ἑφευγεν ἀλλ' ἄγοντα εἰς μέσας ἦμαγ-

Β. καζέ καὶ ἔπειθε τιμαίς ὅστε κρατεῖν αὐτῶν· ποὺ

δὴ τοῦτ' ἐστι ταύτων περὶ τὰς ἦδονὰς 

συντηταγ-

μένον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις; λεγέσθω, τί τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὅ

καὶ ἀπεργάζεται ὑμῖν ὀμοίως πρὸς τε ἀλγηδόνας

καὶ πρὸς ἦδονὰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείους νικώντας

1 [μαλάττουσαι] omitted by best MSS.
flatteries, which melt men's hearts like wax—even men most reverenced in their own conceit.

MEG. The latter definition is, I think, the right one: courage is battling against them all.

ATH. Earlier in our discourse (if I am not mistaken) Clinias here used the expression "self-inferior" of a State or an individual: did you not do so, O Stranger of Cnosus?

CLIN. Most certainly.

ATH. At present do we apply the term "bad" to the man who is inferior to pains, or to him also who is inferior to pleasures?

CLIN. To the man who is inferior to pleasures more than to the other, in my opinion. All of us, indeed, when we speak of a man who is shamefully self-inferior, mean one who is mastered by pleasures rather than one who is mastered by pains.

ATH. Then surely the lawgiver of Zeus and he of Apollo did not enact by law a lame kind of courage, able only to defend itself on the left and unable to resist attractions and allurements on the right, but rather one able to resist on both sides?

CLIN. On both sides, as I would maintain.

ATH. Let us, then, mention once more the State institutions in both your countries which give men a taste of pleasures instead of shunning them,—just as they did not shun pains but plunged their citizens into the midst of them and so compelled them, or induced them by rewards, to master them. Where, pray, in your laws is the same policy adopted in regard to pleasures? Let us declare what regulation of yours there is which causes the same men to be courageous toward pains and pleasures alike,
PLATO

τε ἃ δεῖ νικᾶν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἥττους πολεμίων τῶν ἐγγύτατα ἑαυτῶν καὶ χαλεπωτάτων.

καὶ ἔχειν, καθάπερ πρὸς τάς ἁλγηδόνας εἰχόν νόμους ἀντιτεταγμένους πολλοὺς εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἵσως εὐποροῖν κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη καὶ διαφανῆ λέγων περὶ τῶν ἱδονῶν.

κατὰ δὲ σμικρὰ ἵσως εὐποροῖν ἂν.

καὶ οὐ μὴν οὔδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Κρήτην νόμοις ἐχομι ἐμφανὲς ὅμοιός ποιεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον.

καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ὡς Κλεινία, τηλικοῦς ἀνδράσι πρέποι τὸ τοιοῦτον.

καί ἔτι μὲν τοῖς ὅρθῳς ὡς ἡ μὴ τις ἐπιτιμά τῇ τε Λακωνικῇ καὶ τῇ Κρητικῇ πολιτείᾳ, [Ὁ] λόγος ἂν ἐτερος εἰη̄ τὰ δ' οὖν λεγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἵσως ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἐχομι ἂν ὑμῶν ἀφοτέρων λέγειν. ὑμῖν μὲν γὰρ, εἰπέρ καὶ μετρίως κατεσκεύασται τὰ τῶν νόμων, εἰς τῶν καλλίστων ἂν εἰη νόμουν μη ζητεῖν τῶν νέων μηδένα ἔγν ποιά

Ε καλῶς αὐτῶν ἡ μὴ καλῶς ἐχει, μιᾶ δὲ φωνῆ καὶ έξ ἐνὸς στόματος πάντας συμφωνεῖν ὡς πάντα καλῶς κεῖται θέντων θεῶν, καὶ ἐάν τις ἄλλως λέγη, μη ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀκούοντας· γέρων δὲ εἰ τίς τι ξυνυσεῖ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν, πρὸς
conquering where they ought to conquer and in no wise worsted by their nearest and most dangerous enemies.

MEG. Although, Stranger, I was able to mention a number of laws that dealt with mastery over pains, in the case of pleasures I may not find it equally easy to produce important and conspicuous examples; but I might perhaps furnish some minor instances.

CLIN. Neither could I in like manner give myself clear examples from the Cretan laws.

ATH. And no wonder, my most excellent friends. If then, in his desire to discover what is true and superlatively good, any one of us should find fault with any domestic law of his neighbours, let us take one another's remarks in good part and without resentment.

CLIN. You are right, Stranger: that is what we must do.

ATH. Yes, for resentment would ill become men of our years.

CLIN. Ill indeed.

ATH. Whether men are right or wrong in their censures of the Laconian polity and the Cretan—that is another story; anyhow, what is actually said by most men I, probably, am in a better position to state than either of you. For in your case (your laws being wisely framed) one of the best of your laws will be that which enjoins that none of the youth shall inquire which laws are wrong and which right, but all shall declare in unison, with one mouth and one voice, that all are rightly established by divine enactment, and shall turn a deaf ear to anyone who says otherwise; and further, that if any old man has any stricture to pass on any of your
PLATO

ἀρχοντά τε καὶ πρὸς ἡλικιώτην μηδενὸς ἐναντίον νέον ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους.

κα. Ὁ θρότατά γε, ὁ ξένε, λέγεις, καὶ καθάπερ 635 μάντις ἀπὸ τῆς τότε διανοίας τοῦ τιθέντος αὐτὰ νῦν ἐπιεικῶς μοι δοκεῖς ἐστοχάσθαι καὶ σφόδρα ἀληθῆ λέγειν.

ἀ. Οὐκοῦν ἦμιν τὰ νῦν ἔρημία μὲν νέον, αὐτοῖ δ' ἐνεκα γῆρως ἀφείμεθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου διαλεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων μόνου πρὸς μόνους μηδὲν ἂν πλημμελεῖν.

κα. Ἡστὶ ταῦτα: οὐτως[εἰς ἄ] 1 καὶ μηδέν γε ἂν ἐπιτιμών τοῖς νόμοις ἦμων· οὐ γὰρ τὸ γε γνώναι τι τῶν μή καλῶν ἀτιμον, ἀλλὰ ἵππων ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι τῷ μή φθόνῳ τὰ λεγό-

Β μενα ἀλλ' εὐνοία δεχομένω.

ἀ. Καλῶς. οὐ μὴν ἐπιτιμῶν γε ἐρῶ τοῖς νόμοις πω πρὶν βεβαίως εἰς δύναμιν διασκέψασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπορῶν. ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης μόνοις Ἐλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, οὐν ἡμεῖς πυνθανόμεθα, τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν καὶ παιδίων ἐπέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ γεύεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν λυπῶν καὶ φόβων, ὅπερ ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν, ἡγήσατο εἰ τις εκ παιδίων φευξεῖται διὰ τέλους, ὁπόταν εἰς C ἀναγκαίους ἔλθῃ πόνους καὶ φόβους καὶ λύπας, φευξεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἔκεινος γεγυμνασμένους καὶ δουλεύσειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δὴ τοῦτ', οἴμαι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἐδει διανοεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν νομοθέτην, λέγοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς ἔαντον ὡς ἦμιν ἐκ νέων ἐί ἀπειροὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν οἱ πολίται γεινη-

LAWS, BOOK I

laws, he must not utter such views in the presence of any young man, but before a magistrate or one of his own age.

CLIN. A very sound observation, Stranger; and just like a diviner, far away though you are from the original lawgiver, you have fairly spotted, as I think, his intention, and described it with perfect truth.

ATH. Well, there are no young people with us now; so we may be permitted by the lawgiver, old as we are, to discuss these matters among ourselves privately without offence.

CLIN. That is so. Do you, then, have no scruple in censuring our laws; for there is nothing discreditable in being told of some flaw; rather it is just this which leads to a remedy, if the criticism be accepted not peevishly but in a friendly spirit.

ATH. Good! But until I have investigated your laws as carefully as I can I shall not censure them but rather express the doubts I feel. You alone of Greeks and barbarians, so far as I can discover, possess a lawgiver who charged you to abstain from the greatest of pleasures and amusements and taste them not; but concerning pains and fears, as we said before, he held the view that anyone who shuns them continuously from childhood onward, when confronted with unavoidable hardships and fears and pains, will be put to flight by the men who are trained in such things, and will become their slave. Now I presume that this same lawgiver should have held the same view about pleasures as well, and should have argued with himself that, if our citizens grow up from their youth unpractised in the greatest pleasures, the consequence must be that, when they
σουταί, [καὶ] ¹ ἀμελέτητοι γυγνόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἤδοναῖς καρτερεῖν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἀναγγέλοντες καὶ μεῖον τοῖς ὑπέρτωμενοι τῶν φόβων δουλεύουσι τρόπον ἔτερον καὶ ἐν ἀλήχω τοῖς γε δυναμένοις καρτερεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἤδοναῖς καὶ τοῖς κεκτημένοις τὰ περὶ τὰς ἤδονας, ἀνθρώποις ἐνίοτε παντάπασι κακοῖς, καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ μὲν δούλην τῇ δὲ ἐλευθέραν ἐξουσί, καὶ οὐκ ἄξιοι ἀπλῶς ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ ἐλευθέριοι ἐσούνται προσαγορεύονται.

σκοπείτε οὖν εἰ τί τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ύμῖν κατὰ τρόπον δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι.

Ε Ἐκλ. Δοκεῖ μὲν ἡμῖν γε πως λεγομένου τοῦ λόγου, περὶ δὲ τηλικοῦτων εὐθὺς πεπιστευκέναι ῥαδίως μή νέων τε ἡ μᾶλλον καὶ ἀνοίτων.

ἀ. Ἀλλ᾽ εἰ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα διεξόμεν ὃν προϋθέμεθα, ὡς Κλεινία τε καὶ Δακεδαιμόνε ξένε, —μετ᾽ ἀνδρίαν γὰρ δὴ σωφροσύνης πέρι λέγομεν, —μῶν τι ² διαφέρον ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡνταῖς τῶν εἰκῇ πολιτευμένων ἀνευρήσομεν, ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ τῶν πόλεων νῦν δὴ;

με. Σχεδὸν οὐ ράδιον ἀλλ᾽ ἐοικε γὰρ τὰ τε ξυστίτια καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καλῶς εὐρήσθαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας.

ἀ. Ἑοικε δὴ τα, ὡς ξένοι, χαλεπὸν εἶναι τὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἀναμφισβητήτως ὁμοίως ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ γίγνεσθαι. κινδυνεύει γὰρ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, οὐ δυνατὸν εἶναι προστάξαι τι πρὸς ἐν σῶμα ἐν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐν οίς οὖν ἂν φανεῖ ἢ

¹ [καὶ] bracketed by W.-Möllendorff.
² μῶν τι Badham : τι MSS. (after ἡ I insert 'ν).
find themselves amongst pleasures without being trained in the duty of resisting them and of refusing to commit any disgraceful act, because of the natural attraction of pleasures, they will suffer the same fate as those who are worsted by fears: they will, that is to say, in another and still more shameful fashion be enslaved by those who are able to hold out amidst pleasures and those who are versed in the art of pleasure,—people who are sometimes wholly vicious: thus their condition of soul will be partly enslaved and partly free, and they will not deserve to be called, without qualification, free men and men of courage. Consider, then, whether you at all approve these remarks of mine.

CLIN. On the face of them, we are inclined to approve; but to yield quick and easy credence in matters of such importance would, I fear, be rash and thoughtless.

ATH. Well then, O Clinias, and thou, Stranger of Lacedaemon, suppose we discuss the second of the subjects we proposed, and take temperance next after courage: shall we discover any point in which these polities are superior to those framed at random, as we found just now in regard to their military organisation?

MEG. Hardly an easy matter! Yet probably the common meals and the gymnasia are well devised to foster both these virtues.

ATH. In truth, Strangers, it seems a difficult thing for State institutions to be equally beyond criticism both in theory and in practice. Their case resembles that of the human body, where it seems impossible to prescribe any given treatment for each case without finding that this same prescription is
ταύτων τούτο τά μὲν βλάπτον τά ἡμῶν σώματα,
Β τά δὲ καὶ ὄφελοῦν ἐπεὶ καὶ τά γυμνάσια ταύτα
καὶ τά ἐυσσίτια πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα νῦν ὄφελεῖ τὰς
τόλεις, πρὸς δὲ τὰς στάσεις χαλεπά· δηλοῦσι δὲ
Μιλησίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Θουρίων παίδες. καὶ
δὴ καὶ πάλαι ὄν νόμιμον 1 δοκεῖ τούτο τὸ ἐπιτή-
δευμα καὶ <τὰς> 2 κατὰ φύσιν [τὰς] περὶ τὰ
ἀφροδίσια ἡδονᾶς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἄλλα καὶ
θηρίων διεφθαρκέναι. καὶ τούτων τάς υμετέρας
τόλεις πρώτας ἂν τις αἰτίῳ καὶ ὅσαι τῶν
C ἄλλων μᾶλλον ἀπτοῦνται τῶν γυμνασίων καὶ
eἰτε παῖζοντα εἰτε σπουδάζοντα ἐννοεῖν δεῖ τὰ
tοιαῦτα, ἐνυπήδεν ὅτι τῇ θηλείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῶν
ἀρρένων φύσει εἰς κοινωνίαν λύσῃ τῆς γεννήσεως
ἡ περὶ ταύτα ἡδονή κατὰ φύσιν ἀποδεδόσθαι
δοκεῖ, ἀρρένων δὲ πρὸς ἀρρένας ἡ θηλείων πρὸς
θηλείας παρὰ φύσιν καὶ τῶν πρώτων τὸ τόλμημα
eἰναι δι' ἀκράτειαν ἡδονής. πάντες δὲ δὴ Κρητῶν
τὸν περὶ τὸν Γανυμήδη μύθον κατηγοροῦμεν, ὡς
D λογοποιησάντων τούτων· ἐπειδὴ παρὰ Δίως αὐτοῖς
οἱ νόμοι πεπιστευμένοι ἦσαν γεγονόντα, τούτων τὸν
μύθον προστεθεικέναι κατὰ τοῦ Δίως, ἴνα ἐπόμενοι
δὴ τῷ θεῷ καρπῶνται καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡδονήν.
τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ μύθου χαιρέτω, νόμοιν δὲ πέρι δια-
σκοπούμενον ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγου πᾶσα ἐστὶν ἡ
σκέψις περὶ τε τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς λύπας ἐν τε
πόλεσι καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις ἡθεσί· δύο γὰρ αὐτὰ πηγαὶ
μεθείναι φύσει ρεῖν, ὥν ὁ μὲν ἀρνομένος θεὶν
τε δεῖ καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὅποσον εὐδαιμονεῖ, καὶ πόλις

1 πάλαι ὄν νόμιμον Boeckh: παλαιὸν νόμον MSS.
2 <τὰς> added by Boeckh, bracketing the next [τὰς].
partly beneficial and partly injurious to the body. So these common meals, for example, and these gymnasia, while they are at present beneficial to the States in many other respects, yet in the event of civil strife they prove dangerous (as is shown by the case of the youth of Miletus, Bocotia and Thurii); and, moreover, this institution, when of old standing, is thought to have corrupted the pleasures of love which are natural not to men only but also natural to beasts. For this your States are held primarily responsible, and along with them all others that especially encourage the use of gymnasia. And whether one makes the observation in earnest or in jest, one certainly should not fail to observe that when male unites with female for procreation the pleasure experienced is held to be due to nature, but contrary to nature when male mates with male or female with female, and that those first guilty of such enormities were impelled by their slavery to pleasure. And we all accuse the Cretans of concocting the story about Ganymede. Because it was the belief that they derived their laws from Zeus, they added on this story about Zeus in order that they might be following his example in enjoying this pleasure as well. Now with the story itself we have no more concern; but when men are investigating the subject of laws their investigation deals almost entirely with pleasures and pains, whether in States or in individuals. These are the two fountains which gush out by nature’s impulse; and whoever draws from them a due supply at the due place and

1 Plato here ascribes the revolutions which occurred in these places to the intensive military training of the youth. Thurii was a Greek town in S. Italy, an off-shoot of Sybaris.
Ε ὁμοίως καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ ξώνον ἄπαν, ὁ δ’ ἀνεπιστημονος ἀμα καὶ ἐκτος τῶν καιρῶν τὰναντία ἀν ἐκείνῳ ξώῃ.

με. Δέγεται μὲν ταῦτα, ὁ ξένε, καλῶς πως, οὗ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἀφαισία γ’ ἡμᾶς λαμβάνει τί ποτε χρή λέγειν πρὸς ταῦτα. ὅμως δ’ ἐμοιγε ὅρθως δοκεῖ τὸ τὰς ἡδονὰς φεύγειν διακελεύεσθαι τὸν γε ἐν Λακεδαίμονι νομοθέτην· περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν Κυνωσῷ 637 νόμων ὁδε, ἂν ἐθέλη, βοηθήσει. τὰ δ’ ἐν Σπάρτῃ κάλλιστ’ ἀνθρώπων δοκεῖ μοι κείσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς· οὗ γὰρ μάλιστ’ ἀνθρωποι καὶ μεγίσταις προσπίπτουσιν ἡδονάις καὶ ὑβρει καὶ ἄνοια πάσῃ, τοῦτ’ ἐξέβαλεν ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ξυμπάσης, καὶ οὕτ’ ἂν ἐπ’ ἀγρῶν ἱδοις οὐτ’ ἐν ἀστειοῦσοιν ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει συμπόσια οὐδ’ ὁπόσα τούτοις ξυνεπόμενα πάσας ἡδονὰς κινεῖ κατ’ δύναμιν, οὐδέ ἔστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀπαντῶν κωμάζοντι τινι μετὰ μέθης οὐκ ἄν τὴν μεγίστην Β δίκην εὑθυς ἐπιθείη, καὶ οὐδ’ ἂν Διονύσια πρόφασιν ἔχοντ’ αὐτὸν ὑσαίτο,1 ὡσπερ ἐν ἀμάξαις εἰδὼν ποτε παρ’ ὑμῖν ἔγω. καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις πᾶσαν ἐθεασάμην τὴν πόλιν περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύονσαν· παρ’ ἡμῖν δ’ οὐκ ἔστ’ οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον.

ἀθ. Ὅ Λακεδαιμόνιε ξένε, ἔπαινετα μὲν πάντ’ ἐστι τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὁπον τινὲς ἔνεισι καρτερήσεις, οὔπον δ’ ἀνείνται, βλακικώτερα· ταχὺ γὰρ σον

1 ὑσαίτο Athenaeus, England: λύσαιτο MSS.
time is blessed—be it a State or an individual or any kind of creature; but whosoever does so without understanding and out of due season will fare contrariwise.

MEG. What you say, Stranger, is excellent, I suppose; none the less I am at a loss to know what reply I should make to it. Still, in my opinion, the Lacedaemonian lawgiver was right in ordaining the avoidance of pleasures, while as to the laws of Cnosus—our friend Clinias, if he thinks fit, will defend them. The rules about pleasures at Sparta seem to me the best in the world. For our law banished entirely from the land that institution which gives the most occasion for men to fall into excessive pleasures and riotings and follies of every description; neither in the country nor in the cities controlled by Spartiates is a drinking-club to be seen nor any of the practices which belong to such and foster to the utmost all kinds of pleasure. Indeed there is not a man who would not punish at once and most severely any drunken reveller he chanced to meet with, nor would even the feast of Dionysus serve as an excuse to save him—a revel such as I once upon a time witnessed "on the waggons" in your country; and at our colony of Tarentum, too, I saw the whole city drunk at the Dionysia. But with us no such thing is possible.

ATH. O Stranger of Lacedaemon, all such indulgences are praiseworthy where there exists a strain of firm moral fibre, but where this is relaxed they are quite stupid. An Athenian in self-defence

1 At the Feast of Dionysus in Athens it was customary for revellers mounted on waggons to indulge in scurrilous language during the processions.
λάβοιτ' ἂν τις τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀμυνόμενοι, δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἄνεσιν. ἀπασὶ δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ ἐν Γάραντι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν δέ, μία ἀπόκρισις ἀπολύσονθαι δοκεῖ τοῦ μὴ κακῶς ἔχειν ἄλλ' ὀρθῶς· πᾶς γὰρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἔρει θαυμάζοντι ξένω, τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀθέθιες ὀρὼντι, Μὴ θαυμάξε, ὥς ἔνει νόμος ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ὑμῖν, ἵσως δ' ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων

D ἐτερος. ἡμῖν δ' ἔστι νῦν, ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, ὡς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν τῶν ἄλλων ὁ λόγος, ἄλλα περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν αὐτῶν κακίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἔτι γὰρ οὖν εἴπωμεν πλείω περὶ ἀπάσης μέθης· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα οὐδὲ φαύλου διαγινώσκαν νομοθέτου. λέγω δ' οὖν οἰνῳ περὶ πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἡ μή, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς περὶ, πότερον ὥσπερ Σκύθαι χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι χρηστέον, καὶ ἐτὶ Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ

Ε Ἰβηρες καὶ Θράκες, πολεμικὰ ξύμπαντα ὅντα ταύτα γένη, ἡ καθάπερ ύμεῖς· ύμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε, Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θράκες ἀκράτω παντάπασι χρώμενοι, γυναῖκες τε καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἰματίων καταχέομενοι καλῶν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα ἐπιτηθεῖσθαι νεομίκασι. Πέρσαι δὲ σφόδρα μὲν χρῶνται καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τρυφαίς, ὅς ύμεῖς ἀποβάλλετε, ἐν τάξει δὲ μᾶλλον τούτων.

638 με. Ὡ λύστε, διώκομεν δὲ γε ἡμεῖς πάντας τούτους ὅταν ὅπλα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας λάβωμεν.

α. Ὡ ἀρίστε, μὴ λέγε ταῦτα· πολλαὶ γὰρ δὴ φυγαί καὶ διώξεις ἀτέκμαρτοι γεγόνασι τε καὶ ἐσονται, διὸ φανερὸν ὅρον τούτων οὐκ ἂν ποτε
might at once retaliate by pointing to the looseness of the women in your country. Regarding all such practices, whether in Tarentum, Athens or Sparta, there is one answer that is held to vindicate their propriety. The universal answer to the stranger who is surprised at seeing in a State some unwonted practice is this: "Be not surprised, O Stranger: such is the custom with us: with you, perhaps, the custom in these matters is different." But, my dear Sirs, our argument now is not concerned with the rest of mankind but with the goodness or badness of the lawgivers themselves. So let us deal more fully with the subject of drunkenness in general; for it is a practice of no slight importance, and it requires no mean legislator to understand it. I am now referring not to the drinking or non-drinking of wine generally, but to drunkenness pure and simple, and the question is—ought we to deal with it as the Scythians and Persians do and the Carthaginians also, and Celts, Iberians and Thracians, who are all warlike races, or as you Spartans do; for you, as you say, abstain from it altogether, whereas the Scythians and Thracians, both men and women, take their wine neat and let it pour down over their clothes, and regard this practice of theirs as a noble and splendid practice; and the Persians indulge greatly in these and other luxurious habits which you reject, albeit in a more orderly fashion than the others.

MEG. But we, my good Sir, when we take arms in our hands, put all these people to rout.

ATH. Say not so, my dear Sir; for there have been, in fact, in the past and there will be in the future many a flight and many a pursuit which are past explaining, so that victory or defeat in battle
Λέγομεν ἀλλ' ἀμφισβητήσιμον περὶ καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ μῆ, νῖκην τε καὶ ἠτταν λέγοντες μάχης. ἐπεί δὴ ¹ γάρ αἱ μείζονς τὰς ἐλάττους πόλεις νικῶσι μαχόμεναι καὶ κατα-
Βδουλοῦνται, Συρακόσιοι μὲν Δοκροῦς, οἳ δὴ δοκούσιν εὐνομώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τῶν τόπων γεγονέναι, Κείους δὲ 'Αθηναίοι υἱοί μῦρα δ' ἄλλα τοιαύτ' ἀν εὐροίμεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκάστουν ἐπιτηδεύματος πειρώμεθα λέγοντες πείθειν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, νικᾶς δὲ καὶ ἠτταν ἐκτὸς λόγου τὰ νῦν θῶμεν, λέγωμεν δ' ὡς τὸ μὲν τοιόνδε ἐστὶ καλὸν, τὸ δὲ τοιόνδε οὐ καλὸν. Πρῶτον δ' ἀκούσατε τί μου περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὡς δεῖ τὸ τε χρηστὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ σκοπεῖν.

C me. Πῶς οὖν δὴ λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Δοκοῦσί μοι πάντες οἳ λόγῳ τι λαβόντες ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ προθέμενοι ψέγειν αὐτὸς ἡ ἐπαινεῖν εὐθὺς ῥήθεν οὐδαμῶς δρᾷν κατὰ τρόπον, ἄλλα ταῦτα ποιεῖν οἷον εἰ δὴ τὶς ἐπαινεσαντός τινος τυρόν, ² βρῶμα ὡς ἀγαθόν, εὐθὺς ψέγοι, μὴ διαπυθόμενος αὐτῶν μῆτε τὴν ἐργασίαν μῆτε τὴν προσφοράν, ὄντων τρόπον καὶ οἶστι σι καὶ μεθ' ὅν καὶ ὅπως ἔχοντα καὶ ὅπως [προσφέρειν]⁳

D ἔχουσι: νῦν δὴ ταῦτά μοι δοκοῦμεν ἧμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ποιεῖν περὶ μέθης γὰρ ἀκούσαντες το-
σοῦτον μόνον εὐθὺς οἳ μὲν ψέγειν αὐτό, οἳ δ' ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ μᾶλα ἀτόπως. μάρτυς γὰρ καὶ ἐγγυηταῖς ⁴ χρῶμενοι ἐπαινοῦμεν ἐκάτεροι, καὶ

¹ ἐπεί δὴ England: ἐπειδὴ MSS.
² τυρόν: τυροῦς Cornarius: τυροῖς MSS.
³ [προσφέρειν] bracketed by Madvig, Schanz.
⁴ ἐγγυηταῖς C. J. Post: ἐπαινεταῖς MSS., edd.
LAWS, BOOK I

could never be called a decisive, but rather a questionable, test of the goodness or badness of an institution. Larger States, for example, are victorious in battle over smaller States, and we find the Syracusans subjugating the Locrians, who are reputed to have been the best-governed of the peoples in that part of the world: and the Athenians the Ceians,—and we could find countless other instances of the same kind. So let us leave victories and defeats out of account for the present, and discuss each several institution on its own merits in the endeavour to convince ourselves, and explain in what way one kind is good and another bad. And to begin with, listen to my account of the right method of inquiring into the merits and demerits of institutions.

MEG. What is your account of it?

ATH. In my opinion all those who take up an institution for discussion and propose, at its first mention, to censurate it or commend it, are proceeding in quite the wrong way. Their action is like that of a man who, when he hears somebody praising cheese as a good food, at once starts to disparage it, without having learnt either its effects or its mode of administration—in what form it should be administered and by whom and with what accompaniments, and in what condition and to people in what condition. This, as it seems to me, is exactly what we are now doing in our discourse. At the first mention of the mere name of drunkenness, straightway we fall, some of us to blaming it, others to praising it; which is most absurd. Each party relies on the aid of witnesses, and while the one
οἱ μὲν, ὃτι πολλοὺς παρεχόμεθα, ἀξιοῦμεν τι λέγειν κύριον, οἱ δὲ, ὃτι τοὺς μὴ χρωμένους αὐτὸ ὀρῶμεν νικῶντας μαχομένους· ἀμφισβητεῖται δ’ αὐτοὶ τοῦθ’ ἥμιν. εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ ἐκάστου ὀντοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν νομίμων διέξιμεν, οὐκ ἂν Ἔμοιγε κατὰ νοῦν εἶν. τρόπον δὲ ἄλλον ὃν ἐμοὶ φαίνεται δεῖν ἐθέλω λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦτον, τῆς μέθης, πειρώμενος ἃν ἄρα δύνωμαι τὴν περὶ ἀπάντησεν τῶν τοιοῦτων ὑπῆρθην μεθοδοῦ ἡμῖν δηλοῦν, ἐπειδῆ καὶ μυρία ἔπτυ μυρίοις ἔθνη περὶ αὐτῶν ἀμφισβητούντα ὑμῖν πόλεσι δυνεῖν τῷ λόγῳ διαμάχοιτ' ἂν.

ME. Καὶ μὴν εἰ τινὰ ἐχόμεν ὑποθῆν σκέψεως τῶν 639 τοιοῦτων, οὐκ ἀποκυνητέον ἀκούειν.

ΑΘ. Σκέψωμεθα δὴ πη τῇ τῇδε φέρε, εἰ τις αἰγῶν τροφὴν καὶ τὸ ἡώον αὐτό, κτῆμα ὡς ἐστὶ καλὸν, ἐπαινοῦτι, ἀλλος δὲ τις ἑωράκως αἰγας χωρίς νεμομένας αἰτόλομ εἰ ἑργασίμοις χωρίοις δρῶσας κακὰ διαψεόγοι, καὶ πάν τρέμμα ἄναρχον ἢ μετὰ [τῶν] κακῶν ἀρχόντων ίδὼν ὀντο μέρμοιτο, τὸν τοῦ τοιοῦτον ψόγον ἠγούμεθα ύγίεσ αν ποτὲ ψέξαι καὶ ὅτιον;

ME. Καὶ πῶς;

Β ΑΘ. Χρηστὸς δὲ ἀρχῶν ἐσθ’ ἥμιν ἐν πλοίοις πότερον ἓν τὴν ναυτικὴν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην μόνον, ἂν τ’ οὖν ναυτιὰ ἂν τε μή; ἥ πῶς ἂν λέγομεν;

ME. Οὐδαμῶς, ἂν γε πρὸς τῇ τέχνῃ ἔχῃ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος ὑι λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τί δ’ ἀρχὼν στρατοπέδων; ἅρ’ ἓν τὴν 48
party claims that its statement is convincing on the ground of the large number of witnesses produced, the other does so on the ground that those who abstain from wine are seen to be victorious in battle; and then this point also gives rise to a dispute. Now it would not be at all to my taste to go through all the rest of the legal arrangements in this fashion; and about our present subject, drunkenness, I desire to speak in quite another fashion (in my opinion, the right fashion), and I shall endeavour, if possible, to exhibit the correct method for dealing with all such subjects; for indeed the view of them adopted by your two States would be assailed and controverted by thousands upon thousands of nations.

MEG. Assuredly, if we know of a right method of investigating these matters, we are bound to give it a ready hearing.

ATH. Let us adopt some such method as this. Suppose that a man were to praise the rearing of goats, and the goat itself as a fine thing to own, and suppose also that another man, who had seen goats grazing without a herd and doing damage on cultivated land, were to run them down, and find fault equally with every animal he saw that was without a master or under a bad master,—would such a man's censure, about any object whatsoever, be of the smallest value?

MEG. Certainly not.

ATH. Do we call the man who possesses only nautical science, whether or not he suffers from seasickness, a good commander on a ship—or what?

MEG. By no means good, if along with his skill he suffers in the way you say.

ATH. And how about the army-commander? Is a
πολεμικήν ἔχῃ ἐπιστήμην, ἰκανὸς ἄρχειν, κἂν δειλὸς ὄν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦ φόβου ναυτιᾶ;

ME. Καὶ πῶς;

AΘ. "Ἀν δὲ αὐτό μὴ ἔχῃ τὴν τέχνην δειλός τῇ ἔργῳ;"  

ME. Παντάπασι τινα πονηρὸν λέγεις, καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἀνδρῶν ἄρχοντα, ἀλλὰ τινῶν σφόδρα γυναικῶν.

C AΘ. Τί δ’ ἐπαινέτην ἡ ψεκτὴν κοινωνίας ἡ στινωσοῦν, ἢ πέφυκε τε ἄρχον εἴναι μετ’ ἐκείνον τε φελέμων ἐστιν; ο δὲ μηθ’ ἔωρακός εἰη ποτ’ ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν αὐτὴν κοινωνοῦσαν μετ’ ἄρχοντος, αἱ δὲ ἀναρχοῦν ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἄρχοντων ξυνούσαν οἰώμεθα δὴ ποτὲ τοὺς τοιούτους θεωροῦς τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνιῶν χρηστὸν τι ψέξειν ἢ ἐπαινεσθαι;

ME. Πῶς δ’ ἂν; μηδέποτε γε ἱδόντας μηδὲ ξυγγειομένους ὀρθῶς γενομένου μηδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνημάτων;

AΘ. "Ἐχε δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κοινωνιῶν ξυμπότας καὶ ξυμπόσια θείμεν ἂν μίαν τινὰ ξυνοσίαν εἴην;"

ME. Καὶ σφόδρα γε.

AΘ. "Ταύτην οὖν μῶν ὀρθῶς γεγυγμένην ἤδη τις πώποτε ἔθεασατο; καὶ σφῶν μὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι ῥάδιον ὡς οὐδεπώποτε τὸ παράπαν’ οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριον ὡμεὶς τοῦτο οὐδὲ νόμιμου ἐγὼ δ’ ἐντετυχῆ τε πολλαῖς καὶ πολλαχοῦ, καὶ προσέτι πάσας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διηρώτηκα, καὶ σχεδὸν ἔδηλα μὲν οὐδεμίαν ὀρθῶς γεγυγμένην ἐώρακα οὐδ’

1 τοῦ: τοῦ MSS., edd.
man fit for command, provided that he has military science, even though he be a coward and sea-sick with a kind of tipsy terror when danger comes?

MEG. Certainly not.

ATH. And suppose he has no military skill, besides being a coward?

MEG. You are describing an utterly worthless fellow, not a commander of men at all, but of the most womanish of women.

ATH. Now take the case of any social institution whatsoever which naturally has a commander and which, under its commander, is beneficial; and suppose that someone, who had never seen the conduct of the institution under its commander, but seen it only when with no commander or bad commanders, were to commend the institution or censure it: do we imagine that either the praise or the blame of such an observer of such an institution is of any value?

MEG. Certainly not, when the man has never seen nor shared in an institution of the kind that was properly conducted.

ATH. Now stay a moment! Shall we lay it down that, of the numerous kinds of social institutions, that of banqueters and banquetings forms one?

MEG. Most certainly.

ATH. Now has anyone ever yet beheld this institution rightly conducted? Both of you can easily make answer—"Never yet at all," for with you this institution is neither customary nor legal; but I have come across many modes of banqueting in many places, and I have also inquired into nearly all of them, and I have scarcely seen or heard of a single one that was in all points rightly conducted;
PLATO

άκήκοα, μόρια δ’ εἰ ποιν σμικρά καὶ ὅλιγα, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ ἔξυμπανθ’ ὡς εἰπεῖν δημαρτημένα.

κλ. Πῶς δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις; εἰπὲ ἔτι σαφέστερον ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ, ὅπερ εἰπεῖς, ἀπειρίᾳ
tῶν τοιούτων, οὐδ’ ἐντυγχάνοντες ἀν ἴσως εὐθὺς
γε γνοίμεν τὸ τε ὅρθὸν καὶ μὴ γιγνόμενον ἐν
αὐτοῖς.

ἀθ. Εἰκὸς λέγεις’ ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ φράζοντος πειρόμενοι
μανθάνειν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσαις τε ἦξυνόδοις
καὶ κοινωνίαις πράξεων ὄντινωσόν ὡς ὅρθον
πανταχῦ ἐκάστοις ἄρχοντα εἰναι, μανθάνεις;
κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;
ἀθ. Καὶ μὴν ἐλέγομεν νῦν δὴ, μαχομένων ὡς
ἀνδρεῖον δὲ τῶν ἄρχοντα εἰναι.
κλ. Πῶς δ’ οὗ;
ἀθ. Ὁ μὴν ἄνδρεῖος τῶν δειλῶν ὑπὸ φόβων
ἰττον τεθορύβηται.

Β 
κλ. Καὶ τούτο οὕτως.

ἀθ. Εἰ ὥς ἴν τις μηχανῇ μηδὲν τὸ παράταν
dedióta μηδὲ θορυβοῦμεν ἐπιστήσαι στρατο-
pέδων στρατηγὸν, ἄρ’ οὐ τούτ’ ἀν παντὶ τρόπῳ
eπράττομεν;
κλ. Σφόδρα μὲν οὖν.

ἀθ. Νῦν δὲ γε οὐ στρατοπέδου περὶ λέγομεν
ἀρξοντος εἰν ἀνδρῶν ὀμιλίαις ἔχθρων ἔχθροις μετὰ
πολέμου, φίλων δ’ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πρὸς φίλους κοινωνι-
σόντων φιλοφρόσυνης.
κλ. Ὁρθῶς.

C ἀθ. Ἐστι δὲ γε ἡ τοιαύτη συνουσία, εἰπερ
ἐσται μετὰ μέθης, οὐκ ἄθορυβος ἢ γάρ;
for if any were right at all, it was only in a few
details, and most of them were almost entirely on
the wrong lines.

clin. What do you mean by that, Stranger? Explain yourself more clearly; for since we are
(as you observed) without any experience of such
institutions, even if we did come across them, we
would probably fail to see at once what was right in
them and what wrong.

ATH. That is very probable. Try, however, to
learn from my description. This you understand—
that in all gatherings and associations for any
purpose whatsoever it is right that each group should
always have a commander.

clin. Of course.

ATH. Moreover, we have recently said that the
commander of fighting men must be courageous.

clin. Of course.

ATH. The courageous man is less perturbed by
alarms than the coward.

clin. That is true, too.

ATH. Now if there had existed any device for
putting an army in charge of a general who was
absolutely impervious to fear or perturbation, should
we not have made every effort to do so?

clin. Most certainly.

ATH. But what we are discussing now is not the
man who is to command an army in time of war, in
meetings of foe with foe, but the man who is to
command friends in friendly association with friends
in time of peace.

clin. Quite so.

ATH. Such a gathering, if accompanied by
drunkenness, is not free from disturbance, is it?
κλ. Πῶς γὰρ; ἀλλ' οἶμαι πάν τοὺν τούναντίον.
α. Όυκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τούτοις ἀρχοντὸς
dei;
κλ. Τί μὴν; ὡς οὖνεύι γε πράγματι.
α. Πότερον οὖν ἀθόρυβον, εἰ δυνατὸν εἰη, τὸν
tοιοῦτον ἀρχοντα ἐκπορίζεσθαι dei;
κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;
α. Καὶ μὴν περὶ γε συνουσίας, ὡς ἐοικεν,
αὐτὸν φρόνιμον εἶναι dei. γγενεῖται γὰρ φύλαξ
D τῆς τε ὑπαρχοῦσης φιλίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι πλείον
νος ἐπιμελητῆς ὅπως ἑσται διὰ τὴν τότε ξυνουσίαν.
κλ. Ἀληθεστάτα.
α. Όυκοῦν νήφοντα τε καὶ σοφὸν ἀρχοντα
μεθύοντων dei καθιστάναι, καὶ μὴ τούναντίον;
μεθύοντων γὰρ μεθύον καὶ νέος ἀρχων μὴ σοφός,
ei μὴ κακὸν ἀπεργάσαιτο τι μέγα, πολλῆ χρῷτ
ἀν ἀγαθῆ τύχη.
κλ. Παμπόλλη μὲν οὖν.
α. Όυκοῦν εἰ μὲν γιγνομένων ὡς δυνατὸν ὀρθότατα
tούτων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ξυνουσίων
Ε μέμφοιτο τις, ἑπικαλῶν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι, τάχα
ἂν ὀρθῶς ἵσως μέμφοιτο· εἰ δὲ ἀμαρτανόμενον ὡς
οἰόν τε μάλιστα ἐπιτηδευμά τις ὀρῶν λοιδορεῖ,
pρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὡς ἀγνοεῖ τοῦτ αὐτὸ γιγνό-
μενον οὐκ ὀρθῶς, εἴθ᾽ ὅτι πάν τοῦτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ
φανεῖται πονηρόν, δεσπότου τε καὶ ἀρχοντος
νήφοντος χωρὶς πραττόμενον. ἡ οὖ ξυνουσίως
641 τοῦτ', ὅτι μεθύων κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς παντὸς
ἀρχῶν ἀνατρέπει πάντα εἰπὲ πλοία εἰτε ἀρμάτα
eite στρατόπεδον, εἴθ' ὅ τι ποτ' εἰη τὸ κυβερνώμε-
novn ὑπ' αὐτοῦ;
LAWS, BOOK 1

CLIN. Certainly not; quite the reverse, I imagine.

ATH. So those people also need, in the first place, a commander?

CLIN. Undoubtedly—they above all.

ATH. Should we, if possible, provide them with a commander who is imperturbable?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Naturally, also, he should be wise about social gatherings. For he has both to preserve the friendliness which already exists among the company and to see that the present gathering promotes it still further.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Then the commander we set over drunken men should be sober and wise, rather than the opposite? For a commander of drunkards who was himself drunken, young, and foolish would be very lucky if he escaped doing some serious mischief.

CLIN. Uncommonly lucky.

ATH. Suppose, then, that a man were to find fault with such institutions in States where they are managed in the best possible way, having an objection to the institution in itself, he might perhaps be right in doing so; but if a man abuses an institution when he sees it managed in the worst way possible, it is plain that he is ignorant, first, of the fact that it is badly conducted, and secondly, that every institution will appear similarly bad when it is carried on without a sober ruler and commander. For surely you perceive that a sea-captain, and every commander of anything, if drunk, upsets everything, whether it be a ship or a chariot or an army or anything else that is under his captaincy.
κα. Παντάπασι τούτο γε ἀληθὲς εἰρηκας, δὲ
ζένε· τούτι τόδε δ’ ἥμιν λέγε, τί ποτ’, ἀν γίγνηται
τούτο ὀρθῶς τὸ περὶ τὰς πόσεις νόμιμον, ἀγαθὸν
ἀν δράσειν ἡμᾶς; οἶον ὃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, εἴ
στράτευμα ὀρθῆς ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνοι, νίκη πολέ-
μον τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἀν γίγνοιτο, οὐ σμικρὸν
ἀγαθὸν, καὶ ταλλ’ οὕτω· συμποσίον δὲ ὀρθῶς

Β παιδαγωγηθέντος τί μέγα ἰδιώταις ἡ τῇ πόλει
γίγνοιτ’ ἂν;

ἄθ. Τί δέ; παιδὸς ἔνος ἢ καὶ χοροῦ παι-
δαγωγηθέντος κατὰ τρόπον ἔνος τί μέγα τῇ πόλει
φαίμεν ἀν γίγνεσθαι; η τούτο οὕτως ἐρωτη-
θέντες εἰποιμεν ἀν ὡς ἐνὸς μὲν βραχὺ τῇ πόλει
γίγνοιτ’ ἂν ὀφελὸς, εἰ δ’ ὀλὺς ἐρωτᾶς παιδείαν
tῶν παιδευθέντων, τί μέγα τὴν πόλιν ὀνύνησιν, οὐ
χαλεπῶν εἴπειν ὅτι παιδευθέντες μὲν εὐ γίγνοιτ’
ἀν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ, γενόμενοι δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰ τ’

C ἄλλα πράπτοιεν καλῶς, ἢτὶ δὲ κἀν νικήθην τοὺς
πολέμιους μαχόμενοι. παιδεία μὲν οὖν φέρει καὶ
νίκην, νῖκη δ’ ἐνίστο ἀπαϊδευθήσιαν πολλοὶ γὰρ
ὑβριστότεροι διὰ πολέμων νῖκας γενόμενοι μυρίων
ἄλλων κακῶν δὴ ὑβριν ἐνεπλήσθησαν, καὶ παι-
δεία μὲν οὐδεπόστε κέργον Καδμεία, νῖκαι δὲ
ἀνθρώποις πολλαὶ δὴ τοιαύται γεγονασί τε καὶ
ἐσονται.

κλ. Δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλε, τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἶνοις

D κοινὴν διατρβήσῃ ὡς εἰς παιδείας μεγάλην μοίραν
τείνουσαν λέγειν, ἀν ὀρθῶς γίγνηται.

1 ὀρθῶς Schanz: ὀρθῶν MSS.
LAWS, BOOK I

CLIN. What you say, Stranger, is perfectly true. In the next place, then, tell us this:—suppose this institution of drinking were rightly conducted, of what possible benefit would it be to us? Take the case of an army, which we mentioned just now: there, given a right leader, his men will win victory in war, which is no small benefit; and so too with the other cases: but what solid advantage would accrue either to individuals or to a State from the right regulation of a wine-party?

ATH. Well, what great gain should we say would accrue to the State from the right control of one single child or even of one band of children? To the question thus put to us we should reply that the State would benefit but little from one; if, however, you are putting a general question as to what solid advantage the State gains from the education of the educated, then it is quite simple to reply that well-educated men will prove good men, and being good they will conquer their foes in battle, besides acting nobly in other ways. Thus, while education brings also victory, victory sometimes brings lack of education; for men have often grown more insolent because of victory in war, and through their insolence they have become filled with countless other vices; and whereas education has never yet proved to be "Cadmeian," 1 the victories which men win in war often have been, and will be, "Cadmeian."

CLIN. You are implying, my friend, as it seems to us, that the convivial gathering, when rightly conducted, is an important element in education.

1 i.e. involving more loss than gain—a proverbial expression, possibly derived from the fate of the "Sparti" (sprung from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus, founder of Thebes) who slew one another: cp. "Pyrrhic" victory.
Τί μήν;

'Εχοις ἀν οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτʼ εἰπεῖν ὡς ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν εἰρημένου ἀληθές;

Τὸ μὲν ἀληθές, ὥς ἐξένε, διαστρέβεσθαι ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν, πολλῶν ἀμφισβητοῦντων, θεοῦ εἰ δὲ ὅπῃ ἐμοὶ φαίνεται δεῖ λέγειν, οὐδεὶς θόνος, ἐπείπερ ὀρμήκαμέν γε τοὺς λόγους περὶ νόμων καὶ πολιτείας ποιεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν.

Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δὴ πειράμεθα τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν Επερὶ τῶν νῦν ἀμφισβητουμένων καταμαθεῖν.

'Αλλὰ χρῆ ποιεῖν οὕτως, ύμᾶς τε ἐπὶ τὸ μαθεῖν καὶ ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δηλώσαι πειρώμενον ἀμῶς γέ πως ἔξυπνεῖται τὸν λόγον. πρῶτον δὲ μου ἀκούσατε τὸ τοιόντως τὴν πόλιν ἁπαντάς ἡμῶν Ἐνθυμεῖς ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ὡς φιλόλογος τὸ ἐστὶ καὶ πολύλογος, Λακεδαιμόνια δὲ καὶ Κρήτην, τὴν μὲν βραχύλογον, τὴν δὲ πολύνοιαν μᾶλλον ἡ πολυλογίαν ἀσκοῦσαν. σκοπῶ δὴ μὴ δόξαν ύμῶν παράσχωμαι περὶ σμικροῦ πολλά λέγειν, μέθης πέρι σμικροῦ πράγματος παμμήκη λόγον ἀνακαθαιρόμενος. τὸ δὲ ἡ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ διόρθωσις οὐκ ἂν δύνατο ἁνεμοδικῆς ὀρθότητος ποτε σαφές οὐδ᾿ ἱκανον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπολαβεῖν· μονσικὴ δὲ ἁνεμοδιαὶ τῆς πάσης οὐκ ἂν ἂν ποτε δύνατο· ταῦτα δὲ παμπόλλων ἐστὶ λόγων. ὃρατε οὖν τὶ ποιῶμεν· εἰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσαιμεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, μετεκβαίμεν δ᾿ εἰς ἐτερὸν τινα νόμων πέρι λόγων.

Ω ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, οὐκ οἶς οὐ ἰσως ὅτι τυγχάνει ἡμῶν ἡ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως οὖσα ύμῶν πρόευον. ἰσως μὲν οὖν καὶ πάσι τοῖς παισίν,
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ATH. Assuredly.

CLIN. Could you then show us, in the next place, how this statement is true?

ATH. The truth of my statement, which is disputed by many, it is for God to assert; but I am quite ready to give, if required, my own opinion, now that we have, in fact, embarked on a discussion of laws and constitutions.

CLIN. Well, it is precisely your opinion about the questions now in dispute that we are trying to learn.

ATH. Thus, then, we must do,—you must brace yourself in the effort to learn the argument, and I to expound it as best I can. But, first of all, I have a preliminary observation to make: our city, Athens, is, in the general opinion of the Greeks, both fond of talk and full of talk, but Lacedaemon is scant of talk, while Crete is more witty than wordy; so I am afraid of making you think that I am a great talker about a small matter, if I spin out a discourse of prodigious length about the small matter of drunkenness. But the fact is that the right ordering of this could never be treated adequately and clearly in our discourse apart from rightness in music, nor could music, apart from education as a whole; and these require lengthy discussions. Consider, then, what we are to do: suppose we leave these matters over for the present, and take up some other legal topic instead.

MEG. O Stranger of Athens, you are not, perhaps, aware that our family is, in fact, a "proxenus" of your State. It is probably true of all

1 A polite way of alluding to the proverbial mendacity of the Cretans (cp. Ep. Titus i. 12: κριτες άνελ ψευσται).
2 A "proxenus" was a native who acted as official representative of a foreign State.
PLATO

ἐπειδὰν ἀκούσωσιν ὅτι τινὸς εἰσὶ πόλεως προ-ζενοί, ταύτῃ τις εὐνοια ἐκ νέων εὐθύς ἐνδύεται ἐκαστον [ἡμῶν τῶν προζενῶν τῇ πόλει], 1 ὡς δευτέρα οὕση πατρίδι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν ταύτῳ τούτῳ ἐγγέγονεν. ἀκούων γὰρ τῶν παῖδων εὐθύς, εἰ τι μέμφοιτο ἡ καὶ ἔπαιναίεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν, ὁ Μέγαλλικε, ἔφασαν, ἡμᾶς οὐ καλῶς ἡ καλῶς ἔρρεξε, —ταύτα δὴ ἀκούων καὶ μαχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς τὴν πόλιν εἰς ψόγον ἄγοντας πᾶσαν εὐνοιαν ἔσχον, καὶ μοι νῦν ἢ τε φωνὴ προσφιλῆς ὑμῶν, τό τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ὁδοὶ Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως εἰσὶ τοιούτω, δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι μόνοι γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνώγκις, αὐτοφυὸς [θεία μοῖρα, ἀληθῶς καί οὐ τί πλαστῶς] 2 εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ. θαρρῶν δὴ ἐμοῦ γε ἑνεκα λέγοις ἄν τοσαῦτα ὁπόσα σοι φίλον.

κλ. Καὶ μὴν, ὁ ἡμέρα, καὶ τὸν παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγον ἀκούσας τε καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος θαρρῶν ὅπόσα βούλει λέγε. τήδε γὰρ ἐσως ἀκήκοας ὡς Ἐπι-μενίδης γέγονεν ἀνὴρ θείος, ὃς ἂν ἡμῶν οἰκεῖος, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν δέκα ἔτεσι πρότερον παρ’ ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαις θυσίας τε ἐθύσατο τινας, ἢς ὁ θεὸς ἀνείλε, καὶ δὴ καὶ φοβομένων τῶν Περσικῶν Ἀθηναίων στόλον Εἰπεν ὅτι δέκα μὲν ἐτῶν οὐχ ἡξούσιν, ἀτα καὶ ἐλθὼν, ἀπαλλαγὴσονταί πράξαντες οὐδὲν δὴν ἡλπίζον παθόντες τε ἡ δράσαντες πλείω κακά.

1 [ἡμῶν . . . πόλει] bracketed by Badham, Schanz,
2 [θεία . . . πλαστῶς] bracketed by Valckenaer.
children that, when once they have been told that they are "proxeni" of a certain State, they conceive an affection for that State even from infancy, and each of them regards it as a second motherland, next after his own country. That is precisely the feeling I now experience. For through hearing mere children crying out—whenever they, being the Lacedaemonians, were blaming the Athenians for anything or praising them—"Your State, Megillus, has done us a bad turn or a good one,"—through hearing such remarks, I say, and constantly fighting your battles against those who were thus decrying your State, I acquired a deep affection for it; so that now not only do I delight in your accent, but I regard as absolutely true the common saying that "good Athenians are always incomparably good," for they alone are good not by outward compulsion but by inner disposition. Thus, so far as I am concerned, you may speak without fear and say all you please.

CLIN. My story, too, Stranger, when you hear it, will show you that you may boldly say all you wish. You have probably heard how that inspired man Epimenides, who was a family connexion of ours, was born in Crete; and how ten years¹ before the Persian War, in obedience to the oracle of the god, he went to Athens and offered certain sacrifices which the god had ordained; and how, moreover, when the Athenians were alarmed at the Persians' expeditionary force, he made this prophecy—"They will not come for ten years, and when they do come, they will return back again with all their hopes frustrated, and after suffering more woes than

¹ Epimenides really lived about 600 B.C.
τότ' οὖν ἐξενώθησαν υμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, καὶ εὔνοιαν ἐκ τόσου ἐγὼγε υμῖν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι
643 ἔχουσι γονῆς.

ἈΘ. Τὰ μὲν τοῖνυν ὑμέτερα ἀκούειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔτοιμ' ἄν εἰή' τὰ δ' ἐμὰ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἐτοιμά, δύνασθαι δὲ οὐ πάνυ ράδια, ὡμώς δὲ πειρατέον.
πρῶτον δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὁρισώμεθα παι-
δείαν τι ποτ' ἔστι καὶ τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει· διὰ
γὰρ ταύτης φαμέν ἵτεον εἶναι τὸν προκεχειρια-
μένον ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγῳ ύφ' ἡμῶν, μέχριπερ ἀν
πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀφίκηται.

ΚΑ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν δρῶμεν ταῦτα, εἶπερ σοὶ
γε ᾧδυ.

Β ΑΘ. Δέχοντος τοῖνυν ἐμοὶ τί ποτε χρῆ φάναι
παιδείαν εἶναι, σκέψασθε ἂν ἀρέσκῃ τὸ λεξθὲν.

ΚΑ. Δέγος ἄν.

ἈΘ. Δέγω δὴ, καὶ φημὶ τὸν ὅτι οὐν ἀγαθόν
ἀνδρὰ μέλλοντα ἐσεσθαι τούτο αὐτὸ ἐκ παίδων
εὐθὺς μελετᾶν δειν παίζοντα τε καὶ σπουδάζοντα
ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πράγματος ἐκάστοις προσήκουσιν·
οἴον τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαθόν ἐσεσθαι γεωργὸν ἦ

C τινα οἰκοδόμου, τὸν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντα τι τῶν
παιδείων οἰκοδομημάτων παίζειν χρῆ, τὸν δ' αὐ
γεωργοῦντα, καὶ ὄργανα ἐκατέρφ σμικρά, τῶν
ἀληθινῶν μιμήματα, παρασκευάζειν τὸν τρέφοντα
αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον· καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ὀσα
ἀναγκαία προμεμαθηκέναι προμανθάνειν, οἷον
τέκτων μετέριν ἡ σταθμάσθαι καὶ πολεμικὸν
ἵππεύειν παίζοντα ἡ τι τῶν τοιούτων ἄλλο
ποιεῖν,1 καὶ πειράζον παρὰ διὰ τῶν παιδιῶν ἕκεισε
τρέπειν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τῶν παιδῶν,

1 ποιεῖν Boeckh, Schanz: ποιουντα MSS.

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they inflict." Then our forefathers became guest-friends of yours, and ever since both my fathers and I myself have cherished an affection for Athens.

ATH. Evidently, then, you are both ready to play your part as listeners. But as for my part, though the will is there, to compass the task is hard: still, I must try. In the first place, then, our argument requires that we should define education and describe its effects: that is the path on which our present discourse must proceed until it finally arrives at the god of Wine.

CLIN. By all means let us do so, since it is your wish.

ATH. Then while I am stating how education ought to be defined, you must be considering whether you are satisfied with my statement.

CLIN. Proceed with your statement.

ATH. I will. What I assert is that every man who is going to be good at any pursuit must practise that special pursuit from infancy, by using all the implements of his pursuit both in his play and in his work. For example, the man who is to make a good builder must play at building toy houses, and to make a good farmer he must play at tilling land; and those who are rearing them must provide each child with toy tools modelled on real ones. Besides this, they ought to have elementary instruction in all the necessary subjects,—the carpenter, for instance, being taught in play the use of rule and measure, the soldier taught riding or some similar accomplishment. So, by means of their games, we should endeavour to turn the tastes and desires of the children in the direction of that object which
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οἱ ἀφικομένους αὐτοὺς δεῖ τέλος ἔχειν. κεφάλαιοι

D δὴ παιδείας λέγομεν τὴν ὀρθὴν τροφήν, ἢ τοῖς
παίζοντος τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς ἑρωτα μᾶλιστα ἄξει
τούτων, δ ἰδίεςι γενόμενον ἀνδρὶ αὐτῶν τέλειον
εἶναι τῆς τοῦ πράγματος ἀρετῆς· ὀρᾶτε οὖν εἰ
μέχρι τούτου γε, ὅπερ εἶπον, ὡμῖν ἀρέσκει τὸ
λεχθὲν.

κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

α. Μὴ τοῖνυν μηδὲ ὁ λέγομεν εἰναι παιδείαν
ἀόριστον γένηται. νῦν γὰρ ονειδίζοντες ἐπαι-
νοῦντες θ' ἐκάστων τὰς τροφὰς λέγομεν ὡς τὸν
Ε μὲν πεπαιδευμένον ἥμῶν ὑμᾶν τινά, τὸν δὲ
ἀπαίδευτου, ἐνίοτε εἰς <τά> 1 τε καπηλείας καὶ
ναυκληρίας καὶ ἄλλων τοιοῦτων μάλα πεπαι-
δευμένου σφόδρα ἄνθρωπον ή, 2 οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα
ἡγομένων, ὡς έοικεν, εἰναι παιδείαν ὅ νῦν
λόγος ἀν εἰη, τὴν δὲ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκ παίδων
παιδείαν, ποιοῦσαν ἐπιθυμητήν τε καὶ ἔραστὴν
τοῦ πολίτην γενέσθαι τέλεον, ἀρχεῖν τε καὶ ἀρ-
χεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον μετὰ δίκης. ταύτην τὴν

614 τροφὴν ἀφορησάμενος ὁ λόγος οὕτος, ὡς ἐμοὶ
φαίνεται, νῦν βούλοιτ' ἀν μόνην παιδείαν προσ-
αγορεύειν, τὴν δὲ εἰς χρήματα τείνουσαν η τινὰ
πρὸς ἴσχυν η καὶ πρὸς ἁλλὴν τινὰ σοφίαν ἄνευ
νοῦ καὶ δίκης βάναυσον τ' εἶναι καὶ ἀνελεύθερον
καὶ οὐκ ἄξιαν τὸ παράπαν παιδείαν καλεῖσθαι.
ημεῖς δὴ μηδὲν ὁμοματὶ διαφερόμεθ' αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ
νῦν δὴ λόγος ἡμῖν ὠμολογηθεῖς μενέτω, ὡς οὐ̄
γε ὀρθῶς πεπαιδευμένοι σχεδὸν ἀγαθοὶ γίγνονται,
Β καὶ δεῖ δὴ τὴν παιδείαν μηδαμοῦ ἀτιμαζέων, ὡς

1 eis <τά>: eis MSS. (πιάγματα for μάλα Ast, alii alia).
forms their ultimate goal. First and foremost, education, we say, consists in that right nurture which most strongly draws the soul of the child when at play to a love for that pursuit of which, when he becomes a man, he must possess a perfect mastery. Now consider, as I said before, whether, up to this point, you are satisfied with this statement of mine.

CLIN. Certainly we are.

ATH. But we must not allow our description of education to remain indefinite. For at present, when censuring or commending a man’s upbringing, we describe one man as educated and another as uneducated, though the latter may often be uncommonly well educated in the trade of a pedlar or a skipper, or some other similar occupation. But we, naturally, in our present discourse are not taking the view that such things as these make up education: the education we speak of is training from childhood in goodness, which makes a man eagerly desirous of becoming a perfect citizen, understanding how both to rule and be ruled righteously. This is the special form of nurture to which, as I suppose, our present argument would confine the term “education”; whereas an upbringing which aims only at money-making or physical strength, or even some mental accomplishment devoid of reason and justice, it would term vulgar and illiberal and utterly unworthy of the name “education.” Let us not, however, quarrel over a name, but let us abide by the statement we agreed upon just now, that those who are rightly educated become, as a rule, good, and that one should in no case disparage education, since it stands
πρῶτον τῶν καλλίστων τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσι
παραγιγνόμενον· καὶ εἰ ποτὲ ἐξέρχεται, δυνατὸν
δὲ ἐστὶν ἑπανορθοῦσθαι, τοῦτ’ ἀεὶ δραστέον διὰ
βίου παντὶ κατὰ δύναμιν.

κλ. Ἄρθώς, καὶ συγχαροῦμεν ἃ λέγεις.

ἀ. Καὶ μὴν πάλαι γε συνεχωρήσαμεν ὡς ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων τῶν δυναμένων ἁρχεῖν αὐτῶν,
κακῶν δὲ τῶν μη.

κλ. Λέγεις ὅρθοτατα.

ἀ. Σαφεστερον ἐτὶ τοινυν ἀναλάβωμεν τοῦτ’

C αὐτὸ ὦ τί ποτε λέγομεν. καὶ μοι δ’ εἰκόνος
ἀποδέξασθε εἰνά πως δυνατός ῥμῖν γένωμαι
dηλώσαι τὸ τοιοῦτον.

κλ. Λέγε μόνον.

ἀ. οὐκοῦν ἕνα μὲν ἡμῶν ἐκαστοῦν αὐτῶν
tεθῶμεν;

κλ. Ναὶ.

ἀ. Δύο δὲ κεκτημένον εν αὐτῷ ἔμβολω
ἐναντίω τε καὶ ἄφρονε, ὁ προσαγορεύομεν ἡδονῆν
καὶ λύπην;

κλ. Ἅρστι ταῦτα.

ἀ. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοιν ἄμφοτερον αὐ τὸν ἄλλων,
οῖν κοινὸν μὲν ὄνομα ἐλπίς, ἔδοικεν δὲ
φόβος μὲν ἡ πρὸ λύπης ἐλπίς, θάρρος δὲ ἡ πρὸ

D τοῦ ἐναντίου. ἔτι δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις λογισμός, ὁ
τί ποτ’ αὐτῶν ἁμείνου ἡ χείρον: ὁς γενόμενος
dόγμα πόλεως κοινὸν νόμος ἑπωνόμασται.

κλ. Μόνης μὲν πως ἐφέσπομαι, λέγε μὴν τὸ
μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἐπομένου.
first among the finest gifts that are given to the best men; and if ever it errs from the right path, but can be put straight again, to this task every man, so long as he lives, must address himself with all his might.

CLIN. You are right, and we agree with what you say.

ATH. Further, we agreed long ago that if men are capable of ruling themselves, they are good, but if incapable, bad.

CLIN. Quite true.

ATH. Let us, then, re-state more clearly what we meant by this. With your permission, I will make use of an illustration in the hope of explaining the matter.

CLIN. Go ahead.

ATH. May we assume that each of us by himself is a single unit?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. And that each possesses within himself two antagonistic and foolish counsellors, whom we call by the names of pleasure and pain?

CLIN. That is so.

ATH. And that, besides these two, each man possesses opinions about the future, which go by the general name of "expectations"; and of these, that which precedes pain bears the special name of "fear," and that which precedes pleasure the special name of "confidence"; and in addition to all these there is "calculation," pronouncing which of them is good, which bad; and "calculation," when it has become the public decree of the State, is named "law."

CLIN. I have some difficulty in keeping pace with you: assume, however, that I do so, and proceed.
καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴν ταύτῳ τοῦτο πάθος ἐνι. 

ἐν. Περὶ δὴ τουτών διανοηθῶμεν οὕτωσί. θαύμα μὲν ἐκαστῶν ἡμῶν ἡγησόμεθα τῶν ζώων θείων, εἰτε ὡς παίγνιον ἐκείνον εἰτε ὡς σπουδῆ τινὶ ξυνεστικός. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τούτῳ γε γεγνώσκομεν. 

Εἰ τὸ δὲ ἦσμεν, ὅτι ταύτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν οἴνον νεῦρα ἡ μηρινθοὶ τινὲς ἐνοῦσαι σπώσί τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀλλήλας ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐναντίας οὐσαί ἐπ᾽ ἐναντίας πράξεις, οὐ δὴ διωρισμῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ κεῖται. μᾶ γὰρ φησών ὁ λόγος δεῖν τῶν ἐλξεων ξυνεπόμενον ἀεὶ καὶ μηδαμῇ ὑπολειπόμενον ἐκεῖνης ἀνθέλκειν τοῖς ἄλλοις νεύροις ἐκαστοῖς. 

ταύτην δὲ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγῆν χρυσῆν καὶ ἵεράν, τῆς πόλεως κοινῶν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην, ἀλλὰς δὲ σκληρὰς καὶ σιδηρὰς, τὴν δὲ μαλακάν <μίαν τε>1 ἀτε χρυσῆν οὖσαν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας παντοδαποῖς εἰδεσίων ὅμοιας. δεῖν δὴ τῇ καλλίστῃ ἀγωγῇ τῇ τοῦ νόμου ἀεὶ ξυλλαμβάνειν· ἀτε γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καλοῦ μὲν ὄντος, πρῶτον δὲ καὶ οὐ βιαίου, δεύσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγήν, ὅπως ἄν <ἐν> ἡμῖν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος νικᾶ τὰ ἄλλα γένη. καὶ οὕτω δὴ περὶ θαυμάτων ὡς οὕτων ἡμῶν ο ὁ μῦθος ἄρ' ἐτὶ 2 σεσωσμένος ἄν εἰη, καὶ τὸ κρείττων ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἦττω ἐναι τρόπον τινά φανεροῦ ἀν γύγνοιτο μᾶλλον ὁ νοεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πόλιν καὶ ἰδιώτην, τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀληθῆ λαβόντα ἐν ἐαυτῷ περὶ τῶν ἐλξεων τούτων τούτῳ ἐπόμενον δεὶ ξῆν, πόλιν δὲ ἡ παρὰ θεῶν τινὸς ἡ παρ᾽ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ γνόντος ταῦτα λόγον παραλαβοῦσαν, νόμον θεμέ-

1 <μίαν τε> I insert (Schanz marks lacuna after οὖσαν).
2 ἄρ᾽ ἐτὶ Badham: ἄρετὴς MSS.

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MEG. I am in exactly the same predicament.

ATH. Let us conceive of the matter in this way. Let us suppose that each of us living creatures is an ingenious puppet of the gods, whether contrived by way of a toy of theirs or for some serious purpose—for as to that we know nothing; but this we do know, that these inward affections of ours, like sinews or cords, drag us along and, being opposed to each other, pull one against the other to opposite actions; and herein lies the dividing line between goodness and badness.

For, as our argument declares, there is one of these pulling forces which every man should always follow and nohow leave hold of, counteracting thereby the pull of the other sinews: it is the leading-string, golden and holy, of "calculation," entitled the public law of the State; and whereas the other cords are hard and steely and of every possible shape and semblance, this one is flexible and uniform, since it is of gold.

With that most excellent leading-string of the law we must needs co-operate always; for since calculation is excellent, but gentle rather than forceful, its leading-string needs helpers to ensure that the golden kind within us may vanquish the other kinds. In this way our story comparing ourselves to puppets will not fall flat, and the meaning of the terms "self-superior" and "self-inferior" will become somewhat more clear, and also how necessary it is for the individual man to grasp the true account of these inward pulling forces and to live in accordance therewith, and how necessary for the State (when it has received such an account either from a god or from a man who knows) to make this into a law for itself and be

3 παρ' ἀνθρώπων τοῦ: παρὰ τούτου τοῦ MSS. (παρὰ αὐτοῦ τούτου Ensebius).
νην, αὐτῇ τε ὀμιλεῖν καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν.
Οὐτω καὶ κακία δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ σαφέστερον ἦμιν
dιηρθρωμένου ἂν εὖ. ἔναργεστέρου δ᾽ αὐτοῦ
γενομένου καὶ παιδεία καὶ τάλλα ἐπιτηδεύματα
ἳσως ἔσται μᾶλλον καταφανῆ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ
tῆς ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις διατριβῆς, δοξασθείη μὲν ἂν
εἶναι φαύλου πέρι μῆκος πολὺ λόγων περιττοῦν
eἰρημένον, φανείη ¹ δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως τοῦ μῆκος
γ' αὐτῶν ὑπ᾽ ἀπάξιον.
κα. Ἐν λέγεις, καὶ περαιώμεν ὁ τί περ ἂν
tῆς γε νῦν διατριβῆς ἄξιον γίγνηται.
Δ Ἀ. Λέγε δὴ; προσφέροντες τῷ θαύματι τούτῳ
τῆς μέθην ποιόν τί ποτε αὐτὸ ἀπεργαζόμεθα;
κα. Πρὸς τί δὲ σκοπούμενος αὐτὸ ἔπανερτᾶς;
ἀ. Οὐδὲν πω πρὸς ὃ τι, τούτῳ δὲ ὀλος κοινω-

νησαν τούτῳ ποιόν τι ξυμπίπτει γίγνεσθαι. ἐτι
dὲ σαφέστερον ὁ βούλομαι πειράσομαι φράξειν.
ἐρωτῶ γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε ἄρα σφοδροτέρας τὰς
ήδονὰς καὶ λύπας καὶ θυμοὺς καὶ ἔρωτας ἡ τῶν
οἰνῶν πόσις ἐπιτείνει;
κα. Πολὺ γε.
Ε. Ἀ. Τί δὲ αὐτὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ μνήμας καὶ
dόξας καὶ φρονήσεις; πότερον ὡσαύτως σφοδρο-
tέρας, ἡ πάμπαν ἀπολείπει ταῦτα αὐτῶν, ἂν
κατακορίης τις τῇ μέθη γίγνηται;
κα. Ναὶ, πάμπαν ἀπολείπει.
ἀ. Οὐκοῦν εἰς ταύτων ἀφικνεῖται τὴν τῆς
ψυχῆς ἕξων τῇ τότε ὅτε νέος ἢν παις;

¹ Zur. assigns φανείη . . . ἀπάξιον to Clin., Ἐν λέγεις . . .

γίγνηται to Ath., and Λέγε δὴ to Clin.: I follow Hermann

and later edd.

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LAWS, BOOK I

guided thereby in its intercourse both with itself and with all other States. Thus both badness and goodness would be differentiated for us more clearly; and these having become more evident, probably education also and the other institutions will appear less obscure; and about the institution of the wine-party in particular it may very likely be shown that it is by no means, as might be thought, a paltry matter which it is absurd to discuss at great length but rather a matter which fully merits prolonged discussion.

CLIN. Quite right: let us go through with every topic that seems important for the present discussion.

ATH. Tell me now: if we give strong drink to this puppet of ours, what effect will it have on its character?

CLIN. In reference to what particular do you ask this question?

ATH. To no particular, for the moment: I am putting the question in general terms—"when this shares in that, what sort of thing does it become in consequence?" I will try to convey my meaning still more clearly: what I ask is this—does the drinking of wine intensify pleasures and pains and passions and lusts?

CLIN. Yes, greatly.

ATH. And how about sensations and recollections and opinions and thoughts? Does it make them likewise more intense? Or rather, do not these quit a man entirely if he becomes surfeited with drink?

CLIN. Yes, they quit him entirely.

ATH. He then arrives at the same condition of soul as when he was a young child?
κλ. Τί μήν;

α.  "Ηκιστα δὴ τὸτ’ ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γύνοιτο ἐγκρατὴς.

646 κλ. "Ηκιστα.

α. 'Αρ’ οὖν ποιηρότατος, φαμέν, ὁ τοιοῦτος;

κλ. Πολύ γε.

α. Οὔ μόνον ἂρ’, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ γέρων δὲς παις γύνοιτ’ ἂν, ἄλλα καὶ ὁ μεθυσθεὶς.

κλ. "Ἀριστα ἐίπες, ὦ Ξένε.

α. Τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος ἐσθ’ ὅστις λόγος ἐπιχειρήσει πείθειν ἡμᾶς ὡς χρῇ γεύσθαι καὶ μὴ φεύγειν παντί σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν;


Β. α. Ἀληθῇ μέντοι μυθολογεῖς. καὶ νῦν γ’ εἰμι ἔτοιμος, ἐπειδήπερ σφῶ γε ἐδείκσειν προθύμως ἐφατον ἀκούειν.

κλ. Πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἀκουσόμεθα; κἂν εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου χάριν, ἄλλα τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ γε καὶ ἀτόπου, εἰ δεὶ ἐκόντα ποτὲ ἀνθρώπου εἰς ἀπασαν φαυλότητα ἐαυτῶν ἐμβάλλειν.

α. Ψυχῆς λέγεις. ἥ γάρ;

κλ. Ναι.

α. Τί δὲ σώματος, ὦ ἐταίρε, εἰς ποιηρίαν, λεπτότητα τε καὶ ἀίσχος καὶ ἀδύναμίαν; θαυμάζοιμεν ἄν εἰ ποτὲ τις ἐκών ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον C ἀφικνεῖται;

κλ. Πῶς γάρ οὖ;

α. Τί οὖν; τοὺς εἰς τὰ λατρεία αὐτοῦς βαδίζοντας ἐπὶ φαρμακοποσία ἄγνοειν οἴομεθα ὅτι μετ’ ὀλίγον ὑστερον καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
CLIN. He does.

ATH. So at that moment he will have very little control of himself?

CLIN. Very little.

ATH. And such a man is, we say, very bad?

CLIN. Very, indeed.

ATH. It appears, then, that not the greybeard only may be in his "second childhood," but the drunkard as well.

CLIN. An admirable observation, Stranger.

ATH. Is there any argument which will undertake to persuade us that this is a practice we ought to indulge in, instead of shunning it with all our might so far as we possibly can?

CLIN. It appears that there is: at any rate you assert this, and you were ready just now to argue it.

ATH. You are right in your reminder, and I am still ready to do so, now that you and Megillus have both expressed your willingness to listen to me.

CLIN. Of course we shall listen, if only on account of the surprising paradox that, of his own free will, a man ought to plunge into the depths of depravity.

ATH. Depravity of soul, you mean, do you not?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. And how about plunging into a bad state of body, such as leanness or ugliness or impotence? Should we be surprised if a man of his own free will ever got into such a state?

CLIN. Of course we should.

ATH. Well then, do we suppose that persons who go of themselves to dispensaries to drink medicines are not aware that soon afterwards, and for many days to come, they will find themselves in a bodily
PLATO

ἐξουσι τοιούτων τὸ σῶμα οίνον εἰ διὰ τέλους ἔχειν μέλλονεν ἢ ὥσ τὸν δέξιοντο; ὡς τούς ἐπὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πόνους ἱόντας οὐκ ἵσμεν ὡς ἀσθενεῖς εἰς τὸ παραχρῆμα γίγνονται;

κλ. Πάντα ταύτα ἵσμεν.

ἀ. Καὶ ὅτι τῆς μετὰ ταύτα ὥφελείας ἔνεκα ἕκόντες πορεύονται;

D κλ. Κάλλιστα.

ἀ. Οὐκοῦν χρὴ καὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων πέρι διανοεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον;

κλ. Πάνω γε.

ἀ. Καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οίνον ἀρὰ διατριβῆς ὡσαύτως διανοητέον, εἰπερ ἐνι τούτο ἐν τούτων ὀρθῶς διανοηθήναι.

κλ. Πῶς δ᾽ οὐ;

ἀ. Ἄν ἀρὰ τινὰ ἢμῖν ὥφελειαν ἔχουσα φαῖνηται μηδεν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐλάττω, τῇ γε ἀρχῇ τὴν σωμασκίαν νικᾷ τῷ τῇ μὲν μετ᾽ ἀλγηδόνων εἶναι, τῇ δὲ μὴ.

Ε κλ. Ὄρθως λέγεις, θαυμάζοιμι δ᾽ ἂν εἰ τὶ δυναῖμεθα τοιούτων ἐν αὐτῷ καταμαθεῖν.

ἀ. Τούτ᾽ αὐτὸ δὴ νῦν, ὡς ἐσιχ᾽, ἢμῖν ἢδη πειρατέον φράζειν. καὶ μοι λέγετ᾽ δύο φόβων εἰδὴ σχεδὸν ἐναντία δυνάμεθα κατανοῆσαι;

κλ. Ποια δῆ;

ἀ. Τὰ τοιάδε; φοβοῦμεθα μὲν ποὺ τὰ κακά, προσδοκῶντες γενίσσεσθαι.

κλ. Ναι.

ἀ. Φοβοῦμεθα δὲ γε πολλάκις δόξαν, ἤγοιμὲνοι δοξάζεσθαι κακοὶ πράττοντες ἢ λέγοντες τι 647 τῶν μὴ καλῶν. ὅν δὴ καὶ καλοῦμεν τὸν φόβον ἡμεῖς γε, οἴμαι δὲ καὶ πάντες, αἰσχύνην.
condition such as would make life intolerable if it were to last for ever? And we know, do we not, that men who go to the gymnasium for hard training commence by becoming weaker?

CLIN. All this we know.

ATH. We know also that they go there voluntarily for the sake of the subsequent benefit?

CLIN. Quite true.

ATH. Should one not take the same view of the other institutions also?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Then one must also take the same view of the practice of wine-drinking, if one can rightly class it amongst the others.

CLIN. Of course one must.

ATH. If then this practice should be shown to be quite as beneficial for us as bodily training, certainly at the outset it is superior to it, in so far as it is not, like bodily training, accompanied by pain.

CLIN. That is true; but I should be surprised if we succeeded in discovering in it any benefit.

ATH. That is precisely the point which we must at once try to make plain. Tell me now: can we discern two kinds of fear, of which the one is nearly the opposite of the other?

CLIN. What kinds do you mean?

ATH. These: when we expect evils to occur, we fear them.

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. And often we fear reputation, when we think we shall gain a bad repute for doing or saying something base; and this fear we (like everybody else, I imagine) call shame.

1 Evidently, drastic purgatives were commonly prescribed.
Τί δ' οὖ;  
ΑΘ. Τούτους δὴ δύο ἐλεγον φόβους: διὸ ἐπεργάζεται ἀναίδειαν τὰς ταῖς ἀληθῶς μὲν ταῖς ἀληθῶς φόβους, ἐπεργάζεται δ' ἐστὶ ταῖς πλείσταις καὶ μεγίσταις ἡδοναῖς.  

'Ὅρθως λέγεις.  
ΑΘ. 'Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ νομοθέτης, καὶ πᾶς οὖ καὶ σμικρὸν ὅπελος, τοῦτον τὸν φόβον ἐν τιμῇ μεγίστη σέβει καὶ, καλῶν αἶδῶ, τὸ τούτῳ θάρρος ἐπεργάζεται αναίδειαν τε προσαγορεύει καὶ μέγιστον Β' κακὸν ἓδια τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάσι νευόμικεν;  

'Ὅρθως λέγεις.  
ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τά τ' ἄλλα πολλά καὶ μεγάλα ὁ φόβος ἡμᾶς οὕτος σώζει, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐν πρῶς ἐν οὖν δὲ φόβῳ ἡμῖν ἀπεργάζεται. δῦο γὰρ οὖν ἐστὸν τά τὴν νίκην ἀπεργαζόμενα, θάρρος μὲν πολεμίων, φίλων δὲ φόβος αἰσχύνης περὶ κάκης.  

'Ἐστὶ ταύτα.  
ΑΘ. 'Αφοβοῦν ἡμῶν ἅρα δεῖ γίγνεσθαι καὶ Β' φοβερὸν ἑκαστόν' διὸ δ' ἐκάτερον ἔνεκα, διηρήμεθα.  

Πάνω μὲν οὖν.  
ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἄφοβον γε ἑκαστὸν βουληθέντες ποιεῖν φόβον πολλῶν τινῶν, εἰς φόβον ἄγοντες αὐτῶν μετὰ νόμου τοιοῦτον ἀπεργαζόμεθα.  

Φαινόμεθα.  
ΑΘ. Τί δ' ὅταν ἐπιχειρῶμεν τινὰ φοβερὸν

1 οὐ καὶ Ast.: οὐκ ἀν Zur., MSS.  
2 περὶ κάκης: πέρι κακῆς MSS., edd.
CLIN. Of course.

ATH. These are the two fears I was meaning; and of these the second is opposed to pains and to all other objects of fear, and opposed also to the greatest and most numerous pleasures.¹

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Does not, then, the lawgiver, and every man who is worth anything, hold this kind of fear in the highest honour, and name it "modesty"; and to the confidence which is opposed to it does he not give the name "immodesty," and pronounce it to be for all, both publicly and privately, a very great evil?

CLIN. Quite right.

ATH. And does not this fear, besides saving us in many other important respects, prove more effective than anything else in ensuring for us victory in war and security? For victory is, in fact, ensured by two things, of which the one is confidence towards enemies, the other, fear of the shame of cowardice in the eyes of friends.

CLIN. That is so.

ATH. Thus each one of us ought to become both fearless and fearful; and that for the several reasons we have now explained.

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Moreover, when we desire to make a person fearless in respect of a number of fears, it is by drawing him, with the help of the law, into fear that we make him such.

CLIN. Apparently.

ATH. And how about the opposite case, when we

¹ *i.e.* shame, which is fear of disgrace, induces fortitude under pain and the power of resisting vicious pleasures.
ποιεῖν μετὰ δίκης, ἢρ' οὖν ἀναισχυντία ἐνυμβᾶλλοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ προσγυμνάζοντας νικᾶν δεῖ ποιεῖν διαμαχόμενον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς; ἢ τῇ μὲν δειλίᾳ τῇ ἐν αὐτῷ προσμαχόμενον καὶ νικῶντα

D αὐτὴν δεῖ τέλεον οὔτω γίγνεσθαι πρὸς ἄνδριαν, ἀπειρος δὲ δήπον καὶ ἀγύμναστος ὡν τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀγώνων ὀστισοῦν οὐδ' ἂν ἢμισὺς ἐαυτοῦ γένοιτο πρὸς ἁρετὴν, σώφρων δὲ ἄρα τελέως ἐσται μὴ πολλαῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις προτρεποῦσαι ἀναισχυντεῖν καὶ ἰδικεῖν διαμεμαχημένους καὶ νενικηκὼς μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καὶ τέχνης ἐν τε παίδιαίς καὶ ἐν σπουδαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπαθῆς ὡν πάντων τῶν τοιοῦτων;

κα. Οὐκον τοῦ γ' εἰκότα λόγου ἄν ἔχοι.

Ε ἂν. Τί οὖν; φόβου φάρμακον ἔσθ' ὃς τις θεὸς ἐδωκεν ἄνθρωποις, ὡστε ὅποσον πλέον ἄν ἐθέλη τις πίνειν αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν νομίζειν

648 καθ' ἐκάστην πόσιν δυστυχὴ γίγνεσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῶ πάντα, καὶ τελευτῶντα εἰς πᾶν δέος ἵναι τὸν ἄνδρειότατον ἄνθρωπον, ἐκκοιμηθέντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ πῶματος ἀπαλλαγέντα πάλιν ἐκάστοτε τὸν αὐτὸν γίγνεσθαι;

κα. Καὶ τὶ τοιοῦτον φαίμεν ἄν, ὥς ξένε, ἐν ἄνθρώποις γεγονέναι πῶμα;

ἀν. Οὐδέν· εἰ δ' οὖν ἐγένετο ποθεὶν, ἔσθ' ὃ τι πρὸς ἄνδριαν ἥν ἂν νομοθέτην χρήσιμον; οἷον τὸ τοιόυτο περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μᾶλα εἰχόμεν ἂν αὐτῶ διαλέγεσθαι Φέρε, ὡς νομοθέτα, εἰτε Κρησίν, εἰθ' 78
attempt with the aid of justice to make a man fearful? Is it not by pitting him against shamelessness and exercising him against it that we must make him victorious in the fight against his own pleasures? Or shall we say that, whereas in the case of courage it is only by fighting and conquering his innate cowardice that a man can become perfect, and no one unversed and unpractised in contests of this sort can attain even half the excellence of which he is capable,—in the case of temperance, on the other hand, a man may attain perfection without a stubborn fight against hordes of pleasures and lusts which entice towards shamelessness and wrong-doing, and without conquering them by the aid of speech and act and skill, alike in play and at work,—and, in fact, without undergoing any of these experiences?

ATH. It would not be reasonable to suppose so.

ATH. Well then: in the case of fear does there exist any specific, given by God to men, such that, the more a man likes to drink of it, the more, at every draught, he fancies himself plunged in misfortune and dreads alike things present and things to come, till finally, though he be the bravest of men, he arrives at a state of abject terror; whereas, when he has once got relieved of the potion and slept it off, he always becomes his normal self again?

ATH. There is none. Supposing, however, that there had been one, would it have been of any service to the lawgiver for promoting courage? For instance, we might quite well have addressed him concerning it in this wise: "Come now, O lawgiver, whether it be Cretans you are legislating for or
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Β οίστισινοῦν νομοθετεῖς, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἃρ’ ἂν δέξαιο βάσανον δυνατὸς εἶναι λαμβάνειν ἀνδρίας τε πέρι καὶ δειλίας;

κλ. Ψαίη ποι σᾶς ἀν δῆλον ὅτι.

α. Τί δέ; μετ’ ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἀνευ κινδύνων μεγάλων ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντίων;

κλ. Καὶ τούτο <τὸ>¹ μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἐννομολογήσει πᾶς.

α. Χρόο δ’ ἂν εἰς τοὺς φόβους τούτους ἄγων καὶ ἐλέγχων ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν, ὡστε ἀναγκάζειν ἀφοβοῦν γίγνεσθαι, παρακελευόμενος καὶ νουθετῶν C καὶ τιμῶν, τὸν δὲ ἀτιμάζων, ὡστε σοι μὴ πείθοιτο εἶναι τοιούτος οἰον σὺ τάττοις ἐν πᾶσι; καὶ γυμνασάμενον μὲν εὗ καὶ ἀνδρείως ἀξίμιον ἀπαλλάττοις ἂν, κακῶς δὲ ξημίαν ἐπιτιθεῖς; ἢ τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἂν χρώο, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐγκαλῶν τῷ πόματι;

κλ. Καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν χρώτο, ὦ ξένε;

α. Γυμνασία γοῦν, ὦ φίλε, παρὰ τὰ νῦν θαυμαστὴ βραστώνης ἂν εἰή καθ’ ἔνα καὶ κατ’ D ὀλίγους καὶ καθ’ ὁπόσους τις ἀεὶ βούλοιτο καὶ εἰ τέ τις ἀρά μόνος ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐπίπροσθεν ποιοῦμενος, πρὶν εὗ σχεῖν ἡγούμενον ὀρᾶσθαι μὴ δεῖν, οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς φόβους γυμνά-ζοιτο, πῶμα μόνον ἀντὶ μυρίων πραγμάτων παρασκευαζόμενος, ὅρθως ἂν τι πράττοι, εἰ τέ τις ἑαυτῷ πιστεύων φύσει καὶ μελέτη καλῶς

¹ <τὸ> added by England.
anyone else,—would not your first desire be to have a test of courage and of cowardice which you might apply to your citizens?"

CLIN. Obviousy everyone of them would say "Yes."

ATH. "And would you desire a test that was safe and free from serious risks, or the reverse?"

CLIN. All will agree, also, that the test must be safe.

ATH. "And would you utilise the test by bringing men into these fears and proving them while thus affected, so as to compel them to become fearless; employing exhortations, admonitions and rewards,—but degradation for all those that refused to conform wholly to the character you prescribed? And would you acquit without penalty everyone who had trained himself manfully and well, but impose a penalty on everyone who had done so badly? Or would you totally refuse to employ the potion as a test, although you have no objection to it on other grounds?"

CLIN. Of course he would employ it, Stranger.

ATH. At any rate, my friend, the training involved would be wonderfully simple, as compared with our present methods, whether it were applied to individuals singly, or to small groups, or to groups ever so large. Suppose, then, that a man, actuated by a feeling of shame and loth to show himself in public before he was in the best of condition, should remain alone by himself while undergoing this training against fears and relying on the potion alone for his solitary equipment, instead of endless exercises,—he would be acting quite rightly: so too would he who, trusting in himself that by nature and practice he is already well equipped, should have no hesitation in
παρεσκευάσθαι μηδέν ὅκνοι μετὰ ξυμποτῶν πλειώνων γυμναζόμενος ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πῶματος ἀναγκαία διαφορὰ δύναμιν ὑπερθέων Ε καὶ κρατὼν, ὡστε ὑπ’ ἀσχημοσύνης μηδὲ ἐν σφάλλεσθαι μέγα μηδ’ ἀλλοιώσθαι δι’ ἀρετήν, πρῶς δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην πόσιν ἀπαλλάττοιτο πρὶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τὴν πάντων ἦτταν φοβούμενος ἀνθρώπων τοῦ πῶματος.

κλ. Ναί· σωφρονοὶ γ’ ἄν, ὁ ξένε, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος οὕτω πράττων.

649 α. Πάλιν δὴ πρὸς τὸν νομοθέτην λέγωμεν τάδε: Εἰεν, ὁ νομοθέτα, τοῦ μὲν δὴ φόβου σχέδον οὕτε θεός ἐδωκεν ἀνθρώπους τοιοῦτον φύρμακον οὕτε αὐτοῦ μεμηχανήμεθα: τοὺς γὰρ γόνης ὅν ἐν θοινή λέγω· τῆς δὲ ἄφοβίας καὶ τοῦ λίαν θαρρείν καὶ ἀκαίρως ἃ ἡ ἡραί, πότερον ἐστὶ πῶμα, ἡ πότε λέγομεν;

κλ. Ἐστι, φήσει ποι, τὸν οἶνον φράξων.

α. Ἡ καὶ τούναντίον ἐχει τοῦτο τῷ νῦν δὴ λεγομένῳ ; πιόντα τὸν ἀνθρώπουν αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ πρῶτον ἔλεων εὐθὺς μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, καὶ ὁπόσῳ ἄν πλέον αὐτοῦ γεύσηται, τοσοῦτος

β πλειώνων ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πληροῦσθαι καὶ δυνάμεως εἰς δόξαν; καὶ τελευτῶν δὴ πάσης ὁ τοιοῦτος παρρησίας ὡς σοφὸς ὑπὲρτυται καὶ ἐλευθερίας, πάσης δὲ ἄφοβίας ὡστε εἰπεῖν τε ἀόκυνως ὡστιοῦν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πραξεῖ; πᾶς ἡμῖν, οἶμαι, ταῦτ’ ἄν συνχωροῖ.

κλ. Τί μὴν;

1 γ’ ἀν conj. England: γάρ MSS. (γάρ ἄν Stallb.)
2 [ἀ μη χρή] I bracket.
training in company with a number of drinking companions and showing off how for speed and strength he is superior to the potency of the draughts he is obliged to drink, with the result that because of his excellence he neither commits any grave impropriety nor loses his head, and who, before they came to the last round, should quit the company, through fear of the defeat inflicted on all men by the wine-cup.

CLIN. Yes, Stranger, this man too would be acting temperately.

ATH. Once more let us address the lawgiver and say: “Be it so, O lawgiver, that for producing fear no such drug apparently has been given to men by God, nor have we devised such ourselves (for quacks I count not of our company); but does there exist a potion for inducing fearlessness and excessive and untimely confidence,—or what shall we say about this?”

CLIN. Presumably, he will assert that there is one,—naming wine.

ATH. And is not this exactly the opposite of the potion described just now? For, first, it makes the person who drinks it more jovial than he was before, and the more he imbibes it, the more he becomes filled with high hopes and a sense of power, till finally, puffed up with conceit, he abounds in every kind of licence of speech and action and every kind of audacity, without a scruple as to what he says or what he does. Everyone, I imagine, would agree that this is so.

CLIN. Undoubtedly.

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3 πληροῦσθαί MSS. : πληροῦται Zur.
4 Zur. gives πᾶς ... συγχωροῖ to Clin., and τι μὴν; to Meg.: I follow Cornarius, Ast, al.
Λ. Ἄναμμησθῶμεν δὴ τόδε, ὅτι δῦ ἐφαμεν ἡμῶν εν ταῖς ψυχαῖς δεῖν θεραπεύσεθαι, τὸ μὲν
C ὡπως ο τι μᾶλλον θαρρήσομεν, τὸ δὲ τοῦνατίον
ο τι μᾶλλον φοβησόμεθα.

κλ. "Α τῆς αἴδους ἔλεγες, ὡς οἰόμεθα.

Λ. Καλῶς μνημονεύετε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν τε ἀνδρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἐν τοῖς φόβοις δεῖ κατα-
μελετᾶσθαι, σκεπτέον ἀρα τὸ ἑναντίον ἐν τοῖς
ἐναντίοις θεραπεύσεθαι δέον ἂν εἰη.

κλ. 'Τὸ γ' οὖν εἰκὸς.

Λ. Ἀ παθόντες ἃρα πεφύκαμεν διαφερόντως
θαρραλεῖσιν τ' εἶναι καὶ θρασεῖς, ἐν τούτοις δέον ἂν,
ὡς ἐστί', εἰη τὸ μελετᾶν ὡς ἥκιστα εἶναι ἀναισχύν.

τοὺς τε καὶ θρασύτητος γέμουσας, φοβεροὺς δὲ εἰς
τὸ τι τολμᾶν ἐκάστοτε λέγειν ἢ πᾶσχειν ἢ καὶ
δρᾶν αἰσχρῶν ὀτιοῦν.

κλ. "Εοικεν.

Λ. Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα ἐστὶ πάντα ἐν οἷς ἐσμὲν
τοιοῦτοι, θυμός, ἐρως, ὑβρις, ἀμαθία, φιλοκέρδεια,
ἀφειδία,1 καὶ ἔτι τοιάδε, πλοῦτος, κάλλος, ἰσχύς,
καὶ πάνθος δι' ἱδονῆς αὐ μεθύσκοντα παράφρο-
νας ποιεῖ· τούτων δ' εύτελὴ τε καὶ ἁσυνέστερα
πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν πείραν, εἰτα εἰς τὸ
μελετᾶν, πλὴν τῆς ἐν οἷς βασάνου καὶ παιδιᾶς

Ε. τίνα ἐχόμεν μηχανήν;2 εἶπειν ἐμμετρὸν μᾶλλον, ἂν
καὶ ὁπωσιοῦν μετ' ἐυλαβείας γίγνηται; σκοποῦ-
μεν γὰρ δὴ δυσκόλον ψυχῆς καὶ ἀγρίας, ἔξ ἢ
ἀδικίαι μυρίαι γίγνονται, πότερον ιῶτα εἰς τὰ
ξυμβόλα τα πείραν λαμβάνειν, κινδυνεύοντα περὶ
αὐτῶν,3 σφαλερώτερον, ἡ ἐναγενόμενον μετὰ τῆς

1 ἀφειδία: δειλία MSS. (bracketed by Ast).
2 μηχανή G. G. Müller: ἱδονή MSS., edd.
3 αὐτῶ Bekker, Schanz: αὐτῶν MSS.
ATH. Let us recall our previous statement that we must cultivate in our souls two things—namely, the greatest possible confidence, and its opposite, the greatest possible fear.

CLIN. Which you called, I think, the marks of modesty.

ATH. Your memory serves you well. Since courage and fearlessness ought to be practised amidst fears, we have to consider whether the opposite quality ought to be cultivated amidst conditions of the opposite kind.

CLIN. It certainly seems probable.

ATH. It appears then that we ought to be placed amongst those conditions which naturally tend to make us exceptionally confident and audacious when we are practising how to be as free as possible from shamelessness and excessive audacity, and fearful of ever daring to say or suffer or do anything shameful.

CLIN. So it appears.

ATH. And are not these the conditions in which we are of the character described,—anger, lust, insolence, ignorance, covetousness, and extravagance; and these also,—wealth, beauty, strength, and everything which intoxicates a man with pleasure and turns his head? And for the purpose, first, of providing a cheap and comparatively harmless test of these conditions, and, secondly, of affording practice in them, what more suitable device can we mention than wine, with its playful testing—provided that it is employed at all carefully? For consider: in the case of a man whose disposition is morose and savage (whence spring numberless iniquities), is it not more dangerous to test him by entering into money transactions with him, at one’s own personal risk, than by associating
650 τοῦ Διονύσου θεωρίας; ἥ πρὸς τάφροδίσια ἡττημένης τινὸς ψυχῆς βάσανον λαμβάνειν, ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας τε καὶ νεῖς καὶ γυναῖκα,1 οὕτως ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις κινδύνευσαντα, ἢθος ψυχῆς θεάσασθαι; καὶ μυρία δὴ λέγων οὐκ ἂν τίς ποτε ἀνύσειν, ὅσῳ διαφέρει τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὴν ἄλλως ἄνευ μυσθοῦ ξημιώδους θεωρεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τούτῳ μὲν αὐτὸ περὶ γε τούτων οὕτ' ἂν Β Κρῆτας οὕτ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους οὐδένας οἰόμεθα ἀμφισβητήσαι, μὴ οὐ πειράν τε ἄλληλων ἐπιεικῆ ταύτην εἶναι τὸ τε τῆς εὐτελείας καὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τάχους διαφέρειν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας βασάνους.
κα. Ἀληθὲς τούτῳ γε.
ἀ. Τούτῳ μὲν ἁρ' ἂν τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐν εἴῃ, τὸ γνῶναι τὰς φύσεις τε καὶ ἔξεις τῶν ψυχῶν, τῇ τέχνῃ ἐκείνῃ ἢς ἐστὶ ταύτα θεραπεύειν ἡστὶ δὲ ποι, φαμέν, ὡς οἶμαι, πολιτικῆς. ἥ γάρ;
κα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

1 γυναῖκα Ast, Schanz: γυναίκας MSS.
with him with the help of Dionysus and his festive insight? And when a man is a slave to the pleasures of sex, is it not a more dangerous test to entrust to him one's own daughters and sons and wife, and thus imperil one's own nearest and dearest, in order to discover the disposition of his soul? In fact, one might quote innumerable instances in a vain endeavour to show the full superiority of this playful method of inspection which is without either serious consequence or costly damage. Indeed, so far as that is concerned, neither the Cretans, I imagine, nor any other people would dispute the fact that herein we have a fair test of man by man, and that for cheapness, security and speed it is superior to all other tests.

CLIN. That certainly is true.

ATH. This then—the discovery of the natures and conditions of men's souls—will prove one of the things most useful to that art whose task it is to treat them; and that art is (as I presume we say) the art of politics: is it not so?

CLIN. Undoubtedly.
652 ΑΘ. Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὡς ἔοικε, σκεπτέον ἐκεῖνο περὶ αὐτῶν, πότερα τοῦτο μόνον ἁγαθὸν ἔχει, τὸ κατιδεῖν πῶς ἔχομεν τὰς φύσεις, ἢ καὶ τι μέγεθος ὁφελείας ἀξίων πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἔνεστ' ἐν τῇ κατ' ὀρθὸν χρεία τῆς ἐν οἷῳ συνουσίᾳ. τί οὖν δὴ λέγομεν; ἐνεσθ', ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔοικε βούλεσθαι σημαίνειν ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὅτις ἀκούομεν προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, μὴ πὴ παραποδισθῶμεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.

ΚΑ. Λέγ' οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἀναμνησθῆναι τοίνυν ἔγωγε πάλιν ἐπὶ 653 θυμῶ τί ποτ' ἐλέγομεν ἡμῖν εἶναι τὴν ὀρθὴν παιδείαν. τοῦτον γὰρ, ὡς γ' ἔγω τοπάξω τὰ νῦν, ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιτηδεύματι τούτῳ καλῶς κατορθομένῳ σωτηρίᾳ.

ΚΑ. Μέγα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Λέγω τοίνυν τῶν παίδων παιδικὴν εἶναι πρώτην αἰσθησιν ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην, καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀρετὴ ψυχῆ ἐκακία παραγίγνεται πρῶτον, ταύτ' εἶναι φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ ἀληθείας δόξας βεβαιούς, εὐτυχῆς ὁτί καὶ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας παρεγένετο τέλεος δ' οὖν ἐστ' ἀνθρώπος ταῦτα καὶ τὰ Β ἐν τούτοις πάντα κεκτημένος ἁγαθά. παιδείαν δὴ λέγω τὴν παραγιγμομένην πρῶτον παίσιν ἀρετῆν, ἡδονὴ δὲ καὶ φιλία καὶ λύπη καὶ μῦσις ἀν ὀρθῶς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνονται μῆτω δυναμένων λόγον.

1 ποτ' ἐλέγομεν Madvig, Schanz: ποτε λέγομεν MSS.
2 εὐτυχῆς Ast: εὐτυχὲς MSS.
BOOK II

ATH. In the next place, we probably ought to enquire, regarding this subject, whether the discerning of men's natural dispositions is the only gain to be derived from the right use of wine-parties, or whether it entails benefits so great as to be worthy of serious consideration. What do we say about this? Our argument evidently tends to indicate that it does entail such benefits; so how and wherein it does so let us now hear, and that with minds attentive, lest haply we be led astray by it.

CLIN. Say on.

ATH. I want us to call to mind again our definition of right education. For the safe-keeping of this depends, as I now conjecture, upon the correct establishment of the institution mentioned.

CLIN. That is a strong statement!

ATH. What I state is this,—that in children the first childish sensations are pleasure and pain, and that it is in these first that goodness and badness come to the soul; but as to wisdom and settled true opinions, a man is lucky if they come to him even in old age; and he that is possessed of these blessings, and all that they comprise, is indeed a perfect man. I term, then, the goodness that first comes to children "education." When pleasure and love, and pain and hatred, spring up rightly in the souls of those who are unable as yet to grasp a rational

* λόγων Euseb., Schanz: λόγῳ MSS.
λαμβάνειν, λαβόντων δὲ τὸν λόγον συμφωνῆσωσι τῷ λόγῳ, ἄρθρος εἰθίσθαι ύπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἐθῶν: αὐτὴ ἔστι 2 ή ἕξυμφωνία ἔξυμπασα μὲν ἀρετῇ, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱδονὰς καὶ λύπας τεθραμμένων αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς, ὡστε μισεῖν μὲν ἄ χρη μισεῖν εὐθὺς
C εἰς ἀρχής μέχρι τέλους, στέργειν δὲ ἄ χρη στέργειν, τούτ' αὐτὸ ἀποτεμῶν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ παίδειαν προσ-
αγορεύων, κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν ὀρθῶς ἀν προσ-
αγορεύοις.
κλ. Καὶ γὰρ, ὃ ξένε, ἦμιν καὶ τὰ πρότερον ὀρθῶς σοι παίδειας πέρι καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρήσθαι
dokeί.

αθ. Καλῶς τοῖνυν. τούτων γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὀρθῶς
tεθραμμένων ἱδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν παιδείων ὀυσῶν
χαλάται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ διαφθείρεται τὰ
D πολλὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, θεοὶ δὲ οἰκτείρωντες τὸ τῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἐπίτοπον περικος γένος ἀναπαύλας τε
αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων ἐτάξαντο τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν
ἀμοιβὰς [τοῖς θεοῖς], 3 καὶ Μοῦσας Ἀπόλλωνα τε
μουσηγέτην καὶ Δίόνυσον ἕξυνερταστὰς ἐδοσαν, ἦν
ἐπανορθῶνται τὰς γε 4 τροφὰς γενόμενου 5 εἰν
tαῖς ἑορταῖς μετὰ θεῶν. ὄραν οὖν χρή πότερον
ἀληθῆς ἦμιν κατὰ φύσιν ὁ λόγος ὑμεῖται τὰ νῦν,
ἡ πώς. φησὶ δὲ τὸ νέον ἄπαν ὡς ἐπος εἴπειν τοῖς
tε σῶμασι καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς ἕσυχιαν ἄγειν οὐ
Ε δύνασθαι, κινεῖσθαι δὲ ἄει ζητείν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι.

1 <τῶ> Stallbaum.
2 αὕτη ἔστι Euseb.: αὐτὴ σθ Mss.: αὐτὴς θ' Zur.
3 [τοῖς θεοῖς] omitted by Schanz, after Clem. Alex.
4 γε Hermann : τε Mss.: omitted by Zur.
LAWS, BOOK II

account; and when, after grasping the rational account, they consent thereunto through having been rightly trained in fitting practices:—this consent, viewed as a whole, is goodness, while the part of it that is rightly trained in respect of pleasures and pains, so as to hate what ought to be hated, right from the beginning up to the very end, and to love what ought to be loved,—if you were to mark this part off in your definition and call it "education," you would be giving it, in my opinion, its right name.

CLIN. You are quite right, Stranger, as it seems to us, both in what you said before and in what you say now about education.

ATH. Very good. Now these forms of child-training, which consist in right discipline in pleasures and pains, grow slack and weakened to a great extent in the course of men's lives; so the gods, in pity for the human race thus born to misery, have ordained the feasts of thanksgiving as periods of respite from their troubles; and they have granted them as companions in their feasts the Muses and Apollo the master of music, and Dionysus, that they may at least set right again their modes of discipline by associating in their feasts with gods. We must consider, then, whether the account that is harped on nowadays is true to nature? What it says is that, almost without exception, every young creature is incapable of keeping either its body or its tongue quiet, and is always striving to move and to cry, leaping and skipping and delighting in dances and games, and uttering, also, noises of every description. Now, whereas all other creatures are devoid of any

5 γενόμενοι Wagner, Schanz: γενομένας MSS.
PLATO

αἰσθησιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινήσει τάξεων οὐδὲ ἀταξίῳν, οἷς δὴ ρυθμὸς ὄνομα καὶ ἁρμονία. ἡμῖν δὲ οὔς εἶπομεν τοὺς θεοὺς συγχορευτὰς δεδόσθαι, τούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας τὴν ἐνυψημὸν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἰσθησιν μεθ’ ἡδονῆς, ἢ δὴ κινεῖν
654 τε ἡμᾶς καὶ χορηγεῖν ἡμῶν τούτους, φθαίς τε καὶ ὀρχήσειν ἀλλήλους ξυνεῖροτας, χοροῦς τε ἀνωμακέναι παρὰ τῆς χαρᾶς ἐμφι ὠν ὄνομα. πρῶτον δὴ τούτο ἀποδεξώμεθα; θώμεν παίδειαν εἶναι πρῶτην διὰ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος; ἢ πῶς;
κλ. Οὐτώς.

ἀ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος ἀχόρευτος ἡμῖν
Β ἔσται, τὸν δὲ πεπαιδευμένον ἰκανῶς κεχορευκότα
θετέου; κλ. Τί μήν;

ἀ. Χορεία γε μήν ὀρχήσις τε καὶ ὁδὴ τὸ
ξύνολον ἔστιν.
κλ. Ἀναγκαῖον.

ἀ. Ὁ καλῶς ἀρα πεπαιδευμένος ἂδειν τε καὶ
ὄρχείσθαι δυνατός ἀν εἰή καλῶς.
κλ. Ἐοικεν.

ἀ. Ἱδωμεν δὴ τί ποτ’ ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν αὐ λεγό-
μενον.
κλ. Τὸ ποιον δὴ;

ἀ. Καλῶς ἂδει, φαμέν, καὶ καλῶς ὀρχεῖται.
κατέπερον εἰ καὶ καλὰ ἂδει καὶ καλὰ ὀρχεῖται
προσθῶμεν ἢ μή; κλ. Προσθῶμεν.

ἀ. Τί δ’, ἀν τὰ καλά τε ἡγούμενος εἶναι καλὰ
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perception of the various kinds of order and disorder in movement (which we term rhythm and harmony), to us men the very gods, who were given, as we said, to be our fellows in the dance, have granted the pleasurable perception of rhythm and harmony, whereby they cause us to move and lead our choirs, linking us one with another by means of songs and dances; and to the choir they have given its name from the "cheer" implanted therein. Shall we accept this account to begin with, and postulate that education owes its origin to Apollo and the Muses?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. Shall we assume that the uneducated man is without choir-training, and the educated man fully choir-trained?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Choir-training, as a whole, embraces of course both dancing and song.

CLIN. Undoubtedly.

ATH. So the well-educated man will be able both to sing and dance well.

CLIN. Evidently.

ATH. Let us now consider what this last statement of ours implies.

CLIN. Which statement?

ATH. Our words are,—"he sings well and dances well": ought we, or ought we not, to add,—"provided that he sings good songs and dances good dances"?

CLIN. We ought to add this.

ATH. How then, if a man takes the good for

1 Here χορός is fancifully derived from χαρά, "joy." For similar etymologies, see the Cratylus, passim.
καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχρὰ οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρῆται; βέλτιον οὐκ οὖσι πεπαιδευμένοις ἡμῖν ἔσται τὴν
χορεύαν τε καὶ μουσικὴν ὃς ἄν τῷ μὲν σώματι καὶ
τῇ φωνῇ τὸ διανοηθὲν εἶναι καλὸν ἰκανῶς ὑπηρετεῖν
dυνηθῇ ἐκκύστετε, χαίρῃ δὲ μὴ τοῖς καλοῖς μηδὲ
μισῇ τὰ μὴ καλά, η´κεῖνος ὃς ἄν τῇ μὲν φωνῇ
καὶ τῷ σώματι μὴ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἤ κατορθοῦν ἢ
Δ διανοεῖται, τῇ δὲ ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ κατορθοῦ, τὰ
μὲν ἀσπαζόμενος, ὅσα καλά, τὰ δὲ δυσχεραίνον, ὀπόσα μὴ καλά;

κλ. Πολὺ τὸ διαφέρουν, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις τῆς
παιδείας.

α. Ὅνυκοῦν εἰ μὲν τὸ καλὸν φῶδης τε καὶ
ὀρχήσεως περὶ γιγνώσκομεν τρεῖς οἴντες, ἵσμεν
καὶ τὸν πεπαιδευμένον τε καὶ ἀπαιδευτὸν ὀρθῶς:
eἰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦμέν γε τοῦτο, οὐδ' εἰ τις παιδείας ἐστὶ
Ε φυλακῇ καὶ ὅπου διαγιγνώσκειν ἄν ποτε δυναί-
μεθα. ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως;

κλ. Οὐτω μὲν οὖν.

α. Ταῦτ' ἀρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν αὖ, καθάπερ
κυσὶν ἰχνευούσαις, διερευνητέον, σχῆμα τε καλὸν
καὶ μέλος κατ' 2 φῶδην καὶ ὀρχήσιν. εἰ δὲ ταῦθ'
ἡμᾶς διαφυγόντα οἰχήσεται, μᾶταιος ο μετὰ ταῦθ'
ἡμῖν περὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς εἰθ' Ἑλληνικῆς εἰτε
βαρβαρικῆς λόγος ἄν εἰη.

κλ. Ναι.

α. Εἰςεν τί δὲ δὴ τὸ καλὸν χρῆ φάναι σχῆμα
ἡ μέλος εἶναί ποτε; φέρε, ἄνδρικῆς ψυχῆς ἐν
655 πόνοις ἐχομένης 3 καὶ δείλης ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ
ἴσοις ἄρ' ὁμοὶα τά τε σχῆματα καὶ τὰ φθέγματα
ξυμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι;

1 ἡ διανοεῖται Badham, Schanz: ἡ διανοεῖσ' α. MSS.
good and the bad for bad and treats them accordingly? Shall we regard such a man as better trained in choristry and music when he is always able both with gesture and voice to represent adequately that which he conceives to be good, though he feels neither delight in the good nor hatred of the bad,—or when, though not wholly able to represent his conception rightly by voice and gesture, he yet keeps right in his feelings of pain and pleasure, welcoming everything good and abhorring everything not good?

CLIN. There is a vast difference between the two cases, Stranger, in point of education.

ATH. If, then, we three understand what constitutes goodness in respect of dance and song, we also know who is and who is not rightly educated; but without this knowledge we shall never be able to discern whether there exists any safeguard for education or where it is to be found. Is not that so?

CLIN. It is.

ATH. What we have next to track down, like hounds on the trail, is goodness of posture and tunes in relation to song and dance; if this eludes our pursuit, it will be in vain for us to discourse further concerning right education, whether of Greeks or of barbarians.

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. Well then, however shall we define goodness of posture or of tune? Come, consider: when a manly soul is beset by troubles, and a cowardly soul by troubles identical and equal, are the postures and utterances that result in the two cases similar?

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2 καὶ Ritter, England: καὶ MSS.
3 ἐχωμένης Stephens, Ast: ἐρχωμένης MSS.
κλ. Καὶ πῶς, ὅτε γε μηδὲ τὰ χρώματα;

αθ. Καλῶς γε, ὦ ἑταῖρε ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ μουσικῇ καὶ σχῆματα μὲν καὶ μέλη ἔστει, περὶ ῥυθμῶν καὶ ἀρμονίαν οὐσίας τῆς μουσικῆς, ὡστε εὐρυθμον μὲν καὶ εὐάρμοστον, εὐχρων δὲ μέλος ἢ σχῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπεικάσαντα ὡσπερ οἱ χοροδιδάσκαλοι ἀπεικάζοντιν ὀρθῶς φθέγγεσθαι: τὸ δὲ τοῦ δειλοῦ τε καὶ ἀνδρείου σχῆμα ἢ μέλος ἔστι τε καὶ ὀρθῶς.

Β προσαγορεύειν ἔχει τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρείων καλά, τὰ τῶν δειλῶν δὲ αἰσχρά. καὶ ἣν δὴ μὴ μακρο-λογία πολλή τις γίγνηται περὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀπαντα, ἀπλῶς ἐστώ τὰ μὲν ἁρέτης ἐχόμενα ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος, εἰτε αὐτῆς εἰτε πίνους εἰκόνως, ξύμπαντα σχῆματα τε καὶ μέλη καλά, τὰ δὲ κακίας αὐτοῦ αντιόν ἀπαν.

κλ. Ὁρθῶς τε προκαλεῖ καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχειν ἀποκεκρίσθω τὰ νῦν.

αθ. Ἔτι δὴ τοῦτο: πότερον ἀπαντεῖς πᾶσας

C χορείαις ὁμοίως χαίρομεν, ἡ πολλοῦ δεῖ;

κλ. Τοῦ παντὸς μὲν οὕν.

αθ. Τί ποτ' ἄν οὐν λέγωμεν τὸ πεπλανηκὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι; πότερον οὐ ταυτά ἔστι καλὰ ἡμῖν πάσιν, ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτά, ἀλλ' οὗ δοκεῖ· ταυτά εἶναι; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ ἔρει γέ τις ὡς ποτὲ τὰ τῆς κακίας ἢ ἁρέτης καλλίονα χορεύματα, οὐδ' ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν χαίρει τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς σχῆμαις, οἱ δ' ἀλλοι ἐναντία ταῦτης Μουσῆς τινί. καὶ τοι λέγουσι γε οἱ πλείστοι μουσικῆς ὀρθότητα εἶναι τὴν ἱδονήν

1 "Music" comprises both dance and song (including instrumental accompaniment), whether executed by single
CLIN. How could they be, when even their complexions differ in colour?

ATH. Well said, my friend. But in fact, while postures and tunes do exist in music, which deals with rhythm and harmony, so that one can rightly speak of a tune or posture being "rhythmical" or "harmonious," one cannot rightly apply the choirmasters' metaphor "well-coloured" to tune and posture; but one can use this language about the posture and tune of the brave man and the coward, and one is right in calling those of the brave man good, and those of the coward bad. To avoid a tediously long disquisition, let us sum up the whole matter by saying that the postures and tunes which attach to goodness of soul or body, or to some image thereof, are universally good, while those which attach to badness are exactly the reverse.

CLIN. Your pronouncement is correct, and we now formally endorse it.

ATH. Another point:—do we all delight equally in choral dancing, or far from equally?

CLIN. Very far indeed.

ATH. Then what are we to suppose it is that misleads us? Is it the fact that we do not all regard as good the same things, or is it that, although they are the same, they are thought not to be the same? For surely no one will maintain that the choric performances of vice are better than those of virtue, or that he himself enjoys the postures of turpitude, while all others delight in music of the opposite kind. Most people, however, assert that the value of music consists in its power of affording pleasure

performers or by groups (\(\omega \rho \varepsilon \alpha\)). The "postures" are those of the dancer, the "tunes" those of the singer.
D taîs ψυχαῖς πορίζουσαν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἂνεκτὸν οὔτε ὅσιον τὸ παράπαν φθέγγεσθαι. τόδε δὲ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς πλανῶν ἡμᾶς.

κλ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ἀ. Ἐπειδὴ μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας, ἐν πράξει τε παντοδαπαῖς γιγνόμενα καὶ τύχαις, καὶ ἥθεσι καὶ μιμήσει διεξόντων ἐκάστων, οἷς μὲν ἂν πρὸς τρόπον τὰ ῥηθέντα ἢ μελῳδηθέντα ἢ καὶ ὀπωσοῦν χορευθέντα ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ ἔθος ἢ κατ’ ἀμφότερα, ἔτους μὲν καὶ τούτοις χαίρειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ προσαγορεῦειν καλὰ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷς δ’ ἂν παρὰ φύσιν ἢ τρόπον ἢ τινα ξυνηθεῖαν, οὔτε χαίρειν δυνατὸν οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν αἰσχρὰ τε προσαγορεῦειν. οἷς δ’ ἂν τὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὰ ξυμβαίνῃ, τὰ δὲ τῆς συνηθείας ἐναντία, ἢ τὰ μὲν τῆς συνηθείας ὀρθὰ, τὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἐναντία, οὕτως δὴ ταῖς ἴδιοναῖς τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐναντίους

656 προσαγορεύουσιν ἣδεα γὰρ τούτων ἐκαστὰ εἰναι φασί, πονηρὰ δὲ, καὶ ἐναντίον ἄλλων οὐς οἶονται φρονεῖν αἰσχύνονται μὲν κυνεῖσθαι τῷ σώματι τὰ τοιαῦτα, αἰσχύνονται δὲ ἄδειν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι καλὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς, χαίρουσι δὲ παρ’ αὐτοῖς.

κλ. Ὄρθοτα λέγεις.

ἀ. Μῶν οὖν τι βλάβην ἐσθ’ ἤμωνα φέρει τῷ χαίροντι πονηρίας ἢ σχήμασιν ἢ μέλεσιν, ἢ τιν’

1 μιμήσει: some MSS.: μιμήμασι other MSS., Zur.

1 i.e. music is commonly judged solely by the amount of pleasure it affords, without any regard to the quality of the pleasure. The Athenian proceeds to show how dangerous a
to the soul. But such an assertion is quite intolerable, and it is blasphemy even to utter it. The fact which misleads us is more probably the following—

CLIN. What?

ATH. Inasmuch as choric performances are representations of character, exhibited in actions and circumstances of every kind, in which the several performers enact their parts by habit and imitative art, whenever the choric performances are congenial to them in point of diction, tune or other features (whether from natural bent or from habit, or from both these causes combined), then these performers invariably delight in such performances and extol them as excellent; whereas those who find them repugnant to their nature, disposition or habits cannot possibly delight in them or praise them, but call them bad. And when men are right in their natural tastes but wrong in those acquired by habituation, or right in the latter but wrong in the former, then by their expressions of praise they convey the opposite of their real sentiments; for whereas they say of a performance that it is pleasant but bad, and feel ashamed to indulge in such bodily motions before men whose wisdom they respect, or to sing such songs (as though they seriously approved of them), they really take a delight in them in private.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Does the man who delights in bad postures and tunes suffer any damage thereby, or do those doctrine this is: music, he maintains, should not be used merely to pander to the low tastes of the populace, but rather treated as an educational instrument for the elevation of public morals.
ψφέλειαν αὖ τοῖς πρὸς τὰναντία τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀποδεχομένους;
κλ. Ἐικὸς γε.

Β ἈΘ. Πότερον εἰκὸς ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ταύτον εἶναι ὅπερ ὅταν τις πονηροὶ ἤθεσι ξυνῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων μὴ μισῆ, χαίρῃ δὲ ἀποδεχόμενος, ψέγη δὲ ὡς ἐν παιδιάς μοῖρα, οὐειρωττῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν; τότε ὁμοιούσθαι δὴ ποὺν ἀνάγκη τὸν χαίροντα, ὁποτέροις ἂν χαίρῃ, ἐὰν ἀρα καὶ ἐπαίνειν αἰσχύνηται. καὶ τοῦ τοῦ τοιοῦτον τὲ μεῖζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν φαίμεν ἃν ἡμῖν ἐκ πάσης ἀνάγκης γίγνεσθαι;
κλ. Δοκῶ μὲν οὐδέν.

C ἈΘ. "Ὅπον δὴ νόμοι καλῶς εἰσὶ κεῖμενοι ἢ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἑσονται <peri> 1 τὴν περὶ τὰς Μοῦσας παιδείας τε καὶ παιδιάν, οἰόμεθα ἐξέσεσθαι τοῖς ποιητικοῖς, ὥ τι περ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν τῇ ποιήσει τέρπῃ ῥυθμοῦ ἡ μέλους ἢ ῥήματος ἐχόμενον, τούτῳ διδάσκοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν εὐνόμων παιδάς καὶ νέους ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὁ τι ἂν τύχῃ ἀπεργάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡ μοχθηρίαν;
κλ. Οὐ τοι δὴ τοῦτο γε λόγον ἔχειν πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

D ἈΘ. Νῦν δὲ γε αὐτὸ ὡς ἐποιεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐξεστὶ δράν, πλὴν κατ᾽ Αἰγύπτων.
κλ. Ἐν Ἀἰγύπτῳ δὲ δὴ πῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον φῆς νενομοθέτησθαι;
ἀΘ. Θαύμα καὶ ἀκούσαι. πάλαι γὰρ δὴ ποτε, ὡς ἐοίκεν, ἐγνώσθη παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὁ ὅ τὰ νῦν λέγομεν ἥμεις, ὅτι καλὰ μὲν σχῆματα, καλὰ δὲ μέλη δεὶ μεταχειρίζεσθαι ταῖς συνηθείαις.
LAWS, BOOK II

who take pleasure in the opposite gain therefrom any benefit?

CLIN. Probably.

ATH. Is it not probable or rather inevitable that the result here will be exactly the same as what takes place when a man who is living amongst the bad habits of wicked men, though he does not really abhor but rather accepts and delights in those habits, yet censures them casually, as though dimly aware of his own turpitude? In such a case it is, to be sure, inevitable that the man thus delighted becomes assimilated to those habits, good or bad, in which he delights, even though he is ashamed to praise them. Yet what blessing could we name, or what curse, greater than that of assimilation which befalls us so inevitably?

CLIN. There is none, I believe.

ATH. Now where laws are, or will be in the future, rightly laid down regarding musical education and recreation, do we imagine that poets will be granted such licence that they may teach whatever form of rhythm or tune or words they best like themselves to the children of law-abiding citizens and the young men in the choirs, no matter what the result may be in the way of virtue or depravity?

CLIN. That would be unreasonable, most certainly.

ATH. But at present this licence is allowed in practically every State, with the exception of Egypt.

CLIN. How, then, does the law stand in Egypt?

ATH. It is marvellous, even in the telling. It appears that long ago they determined on the rule of which we are now speaking, that the youth of a State should practise in their rehearsals postures and

\[\text{\footnotesize\textsuperscript{1} \textregistered\pi\epsilon\rho\iota} \text{ added by Schanz.}\]
τούς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι νέους. ταξάμενοι δὲ ταύτα ἄττα ἔστι καὶ ὅποι ἄττα, ἀπέφηναν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, Ε καὶ παρὰ ταῦτ᾽ οὐκ ἔξιν οὔτε ἥξαρα ὑδατα καὶ ὅμοι ἄττα ι ἀπεργάζονται καὶ ὅμοι ἄττα ἣ τὰ πάτρια, οὐδὲ νῦν ἔξεστιν, οὔτ᾽ ἐν τούτοις οὔτ᾽ ἐν μουσικῇ ἐξίμπασῃ. σκοπῶν δὲ εὐρήσεις αὐτὸθεν τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα, 657 οὖν ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν μυριοστὸν ἁλλ᾽ ὅντως, τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργημένων οὔτε τι καλλίστα οὔτ᾽ αἰσχῶ, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα.

κλ. Θαυμαστὸν λέγεις.

α. Νομοθετικὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑπερ-βαλλόντως. ἀλλ᾽ ἔτερα φαίλ᾽ ἂν εἰροῖς αὐτοθυ-τοῦτο δ᾽ οὖν τὸ περὶ μουσικῆν ἀληθές τε καὶ ἀξιον ἐννοιάς, ότι δυνατόν ἀρ᾽ ἂν περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαιῶς θ᾽ ἱεροῦν τὰ 2 μέλη τὰ τὴν ὀρθότητα φύσει παρεχόμενα· τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ ἡ θείου τινὸς ἣν εἶν, καθάπερ ἐκεῖ φασὶ τὰ τὸν Β πολὺν τούτον σεσωσμένα χρόνον μέλη τῆς Ἰσιδος ποιῆματα γεγονέναι. ἀούθῳ, ὁπερ ἐλεγον, εἰ δυνάιτο τις ἐλείν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπωσον τὴν ὀρθότητα, θαρ-ροῦντα χρή εἰς νόμον ἄγειν καὶ τάξιν αὐτὰ· ὡς ἡ τῆς ἠδονῆς καὶ λύπης ξήτησις τοῦ καυχητικῆς ἐκεί μουσικῆς χρήσθαι σχεδον ὅπως μεγάλην τινὰ δύναμιν ἐχει πρὸς τὸ διαφθείρα τὴν καθιερωθεί-σαν χορείαν ἐπικαλοῦσα ἀρχαίτητα. τὴν γοῦν ἐκεὶ οὐδαμὸς ἐοικε δυνατή γεγονέναι διαφθείραι, πάν ἐν τούτων.
tunes that are good: these they prescribed in detail and posted up in the temples, and outside this official list it was, and still is, forbidden to painters and all other producers of postures and representations to introduce any innovation or invention, whether in such productions or in any other branch of music, over and above the traditional forms. And if you look there, you will find that the things depicted or graven there 10,000 years ago (I mean what I say, not loosely but literally 10,000) are no whit better or worse than the productions of to-day, but wrought with the same art.

**CLIN.** A marvellous state of affairs!

**ATH.** Say rather, worthy in the highest degree of a statesman and a legislator. Still, you would find in Egypt other things that are bad. This, however, is a true and noteworthy fact, that as regards music it has proved possible for the tunes which possess a natural correctness to be enacted by law and permanently consecrated. To effect this would be the task of a god or a godlike man,—even as in Egypt they say that the tunes preserved throughout all this lapse of time are the compositions of Isis. Hence, as I said, if one could by any means succeed in grasping the principle of correctness in tune, one might then with confidence reduce them to legal form and prescription, since the tendency of pleasure and pain to indulge constantly in fresh music has, after all, no very great power to corrupt choric forms that are consecrated, by merely scoffing at them as antiquated. In Egypt, at any rate, it seems to have had no such power of corrupting,—in fact, quite the reverse.
C    Кл. Φαινεται οὔτως ἄν ταῦτα ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὰ νῦν λεχθέντων.

ΑΘ. ΄Αρ' οὖν θαρροῦντες λέγωμεν τὴν τῇ μουσικῇ καὶ τῇ παιδίᾳ μετὰ χορείας χρείαν ὁρθὴν εἶναι τοιώδε τινι τρόπῳ; χαίρομεν ὅταν οἴωμεθα εὐ πράττειν, καὶ ὑπόταν χαίρωμεν, οἰόμεθα εὖ πράττειν αὐ; μῶν οὐχ οὔτως;

ΚΛ. Οὔτω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ τοιούτῳ χαίροντες ἰσχύειν οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄγειν.

ΚΛ. 'Εστι ταῦτα.

D ΑΘ. ΄Αρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡμῶν οἱ μὲν νέοι αὐτοὶ χορεύειν ἔτομοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνοις αὖ θεωροῦντες διάγειν ἡγούμεθα πρεπόντως, χαίροντες τῇ ἐκεῖνον παιδίᾳ τε καὶ ἔστασε, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλαφρῶν ἐκλείπει νῦν, ὃ ποθοῦντες καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι τίθεμεν οὕτως ἀγώνας τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡμᾶς ὅτι μάλιστα εἰς τὴν νεότητα μνήμη ἐπεγείρειν;

ΚΛ. 'Αληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν οἰόμεθα καὶ κομιδὴ μάτην τὸν

Ε νῦν λεγόμενον λόγον περὶ τῶν ἔστασις ζώων λέγειν τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὅτι τούτον δεὶ σοφώτατον ἡγεῖσαι καὶ κρίνειν νικάν, ὃς ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐφραίνεσθαι καὶ χαίρειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπεργάζηται; δεὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἐπείπερ ἄφειμεθα γε παῖζειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, τὸν πλείστους καὶ μάλιστα χαίρεις ποιοῦντα, τούτον μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ, ὅπερ εἶπον νῦν δὴ, τὰ νικηθήρια φέρειν. ᾧρ οὖκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται

658 τε τοῦτο καὶ πράττοιτ' ἄν, εἰ ταύτῃ γίγνοιτο;

ΚΛ. Τάχ' ἄν.
LAWS, BOOK II

CLIN. Such would evidently be the case, judging from what you now say.

ATH. May we confidently describe the correct method in music and play, in connexion with choristry, in some such terms as this: we rejoice whenever we think we are prospering, and, conversely, whenever we rejoice we think we are prospering? Is not that so?

CLIN. Yes, that is so.

ATH. Moreover, when in this state of joy we are unable to keep still.

CLIN. True.

ATH. Now while our young men are fitted for actually dancing themselves, we elders regard ourselves as suitably employed in looking on at them, and enjoying their sport and merry-making, now that our former nimbleness is leaving us; and it is our yearning regret for this that causes us to propose such contests for those who can best arouse in us through recollection, the dormant emotions of youth.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Thus we shall not dismiss as entirely groundless the opinion now commonly expressed about merry-makers,—namely, that he who best succeeds in giving us joy and pleasure should be counted the most skilful and be awarded the prize. For, seeing that we give ourselves up on such occasions to recreation, surely the highest honour and the prize of victory, as I said just now, should be awarded to the performer who affords the greatest enjoyment to the greatest number. Is not this the right view, and the right mode of action too, supposing it were carried out?

CLIN. Possibly
ΑΘ. 'Αλλ', ὡ μακάριε, μὴ ταχὺ τὸ τοιοῦτον κρίνωμεν, ἀλλὰ διακρινότες αὐτὸ κατὰ μέρη σκοπῶμεθα τοιῷδε τινὶ τρόπῳ· τί ἂν, εἰ ποτὲ τις οὕτως ἀπλόως ἀγῶνα θείη οντινοῦν, μηδὲν ἀφορίσας μήτε γυμνικὸν μήτε μουσικὸν μήθ' ἵππικόν, ἀλλὰ πάντας συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει προεῖπτο θεῖς νικητήρια τὸν Βουλόμενον ἥκειν ἀγωνιούμενον ἡδονῆς πέρι μόνον, δὲ ἂν τέρψῃ τοὺς θεατὰς Β μάλιστα, μηδὲν ἐπιταττόμενος ἄτιμιν τρόπῳ, νικήσῃ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ μάλιστα ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ κριθῆ τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων ἡδιστος γεγονέναι· τί ποτ' ἂν ἡγούμεθα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προβρήσεως ἐμμβαίνειν;

ΚΑ. Τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Εἰκός ποι τὸν μὲν τινα ἐπιδεικνύναι, καθ' ὅπερ "Ομήρος, ῥαγωδίαν, ἄλλον δὲ κιθαρῳδίαν, τὸν δὲ τινα ῥαγωδίαν, τὸν δ' αὖ κυμωδίαν· οὐ θυμαστὸν δὲ εἰ τις καὶ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύς Ε μάλιστ' ἂν νικᾶν ἡγοῖτο. τοῦτων δὴ τοιούτωι καὶ ἐτέρων ἀγωνιστῶν μυρίων ἐλθότων ἐχομεν εἴπειν τίς ἂν νικών δικαιός;

ΚΑ. "Ἀτοπον ἥρου· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀποκρίνοιτο σοι τοῦτο ὡς γνοὺς ἂν ποτε πρὶν [ἀκούσαι τε] 1 καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐκάστων αὐτήκος αὐτὸς γενέσθαι;

ΑΘ. Τί σὺν δή; βούλεσθε ἐγὼ σφῶν τὴν ἀτοπον ταύτην ἀπόκρισιν ἀποκρίνωμαι;

ΚΑ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν τὰ πάνυ σμίκρα κρίνωι παιδία, κρινοῦσι τὸν τὰ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύντα. ἡ γάρ;

1 'ἀκούσαί τε] bracketed by Schanz.
ATH. But, my dear sir, we must not decide this matter hastily; rather we must analyse it thoroughly and examine it in some such fashion as this: suppose a man were to organize a competition, without qualifying or limiting it to gymnastic, musical or equestrian sports; and suppose that he should assemble the whole population of the State and, proclaiming that this is purely a pleasure-contest in which anyone who chooses may compete, should offer a prize to the competitor who gives the greatest amusement to the spectators,—without any restrictions as to the methods employed,—and who excels all others just in doing this in the highest possible degree, and is adjudged the most pleasure-giving of the competitors: what do we suppose would be the effect of such a proclamation?

CLIN. In what respect do you mean?

ATH. The natural result would be that one man would, like Homer, show up a rhapsody, another a harp-song, one a tragedy and another a comedy; nor should we be surprised if someone were even to fancy that he had the best chance of winning with a puppet-show. So where such as these and thousands of others enter the competition, can we say who will deserve to win the prize?

CLIN. An absurd question; for who could possibly pretend to know the answer before he had himself actually heard each of the competitors?

ATH. Very well, then; do you wish me to supply you with the answer to this absurd question?

CLIN. By all means.

ATH. If the tiniest children are to be the judges, they will award the prize to the showman of puppets, will they not?
D  κα.  Πώς γὰρ οὗ;

α. Ἐὰν δὲ γ' οἱ μείζους παιδεῖ, τὸν τὰς κωμῳδίας τραγῳδίαν δὲ αἳ τε πεπαιδευμέναι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ νέα μειράκια καὶ σχεδὸν ἵσως τὸ πλήθος πάντων.

κα. Ἰσως δῆτα.

α. Ῥαψώδων δὲ, καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ἦ τι τῶν Ἰοιδείων διατιθέντα, τάχ' ἀν ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἔδιστα ἀκούσαντες νικᾶν ἄν φαίμεν πάμπολυ. τίς οὖν ὅρθως ἄν νευκηκὼς εἳ, τοῦτο μετὰ τούτον η γὰρ;

κα. Ναι.

Ε  α. Δῆλον ὡς ἐμοιγε καὶ ύμῖν ἀναγκάιον ἐστὶν φύναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἠλκιωτῶν κριθέντας ὀρθῶς ἄν νικᾶν. τὸ γὰρ ἐπος ἥμιν τῶν νῦν δῇ πάμπολυ δοκεῖ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις καὶ πανταχοῦ βέλτιστον γίγνεσθαι.

κα. Τί μὴν;

α. Συγχωρῶ δὴ τὸ γε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐγὼ τοῖς πολλοῖς, δεῖν τὴν μουσικὴν ἴδοινη κρίνεσθαι, μὴ μέντοι τῶν γε ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸ ἐκείνην εἶναι Μοῦσαν καλλίστην, ἦτις τοὺς βέλτιστους καὶ ικανῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει, μάλιστα δὲ ἦτις ἐνα τῶν ἀρετῆς τε καὶ παιδεία διαφέροντα. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρετῆς φαμὲν δεῖσθαι τοὺς τούτων κριτάς, ότι τῆς τε ἄλλης μετόχους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δεὶ φρονήσεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρίας. ὡστε γὰρ παρὰ θεάτρου δεὶ τῶν γε ἀληθῆ κριτὴν κρίνειν μανθάνοντα καὶ ἐκπληττόμενον ὑπὸ θορύβου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαίδευσιας, οὕτ' αὖ γι-

1 ἐπος Apelt: ἐθος MSS.
CLIN. Certainly they will.

ATH. And older lads to the exhibitor of comedies; while the educated women and the young men, and the mass of the people in general, will award it to the shower of tragedies.

CLIN. Most probably.

ATH. And we old men would very likely take most delight in listening to a rhapsode giving a fine recitation of the Iliad or the Odyssey or of a piece from Hesiod, and declare that he is easily the winner. Who then would rightly be the winner of the prize? That is the next question, is it not?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. Evidently we three cannot avoid saying that those who are adjudged the winners by our own contemporaries would win rightly. For in our opinion epic poetry is by far the best to be found nowadays anywhere in any State in the world.

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. Thus much I myself am willing to concede to the majority of men,—that the criterion of music should be pleasure; not, however, the pleasure of any chance person; rather I should regard that music which pleases the best men and the highly educated as about the best, and as quite the best if it pleases the one man who excels all others in virtue and education. And we say that the judges of these matters need virtue for the reason that they need to possess not only wisdom in general, but especially courage. For the true judge should not take his verdicts from the dictation of the audience, nor yield weakly to the uproar of the crowd or his own lack of education; nor again, when he knows the truth, should he give his verdict carelessly.
γνώσκοντα δι' ἀνανδριαν καὶ δειλίαν ἐκ ταύτων στόματος οὐπερ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεκαλέστατο μέλλων
Β κρίνειν, ἐκ τούτου ψευδόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι ῥαθύμως τὴν κρίσιν· οὐ γὰρ μαθητής, ἀλλὰ διδάσκαλος, ὡς γε τὸ δίκαιον, θεατῶν μᾶλλον ὁ κριτὴς καθίζει, καὶ ἐναυτισμόνος τοὺς τὴν ἠδονήν μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδοῦσι θεαταῖς, [ἐξῆν γὰρ δὴ τῷ παλαιῷ τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῷ νόμῳ] 1 καθάπερ ὁ Σικελικὸς τε καὶ Ἰταλικὸς νόμος νῦν τὸ πλῆθει τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιτρέπων καὶ τὸν νικῶντα διακρίνων χειροτονίας διέφθαρκε μὲν
C τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτοὺς—πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν κριτῶν ἠδονήν ποιούσων οὕσαν φαύλην, ὡστε αὐτοῖς αὐτοὺς οἱ θεαταὶ παιδεύουσι—διέφθαρκε δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεάτρου τὰς ἠδονὰς· δέον γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄει βελτίω τῶν αὐτῶν ἠθῶν ἀκούοντας βελτίω τὴν ἠδονήν ἑσχει, νῦν αὐτοῖς δρώσι τὰν τουραντῖον ἐμβαίνει. τί ποτ' οὖν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν αὐδαπερανθέντα τῷ λόγῳ σημαίνειν βούλεται; σκοπεῖσθ' εἰ τοδε.

κα. Τὸ ποιον;

α. Δοκεῖ μοι τρίτον ἡ τέταρτον ὁ λόγος εἰς

D ταύτων περιφερόμενος ἥκειν, ὡς ἀρα παιδεία μὲν ἐσθ' η παίδων ὀλκή τε καὶ ἀγωγή πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ὀρθῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτως καὶ πρεσβυτάτως δι' εμπειρίαν ξυνδεδογμένων ὡς ὄντως ὀρθός ἐστιν· ὃν' οὖν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ παιδὸς μὴ ἐναντὶα χαίρει καὶ λυπεῖσθαι ἑθίζηται τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πεπεισμένοις, ἀλλὰ ξυνέπηται χαίρουσά τε καὶ λυ-

1 [ἐξῆν... νόμῳ] bracketed by England.
through cowardice and lack of spirit, thus swearing falsely out of the same mouth with which he invoked Heaven when he first took his seat as judge.\(^1\) For, rightly speaking, the judge sits not as a pupil, but rather as a teacher of the spectators, being ready to oppose those who offer them pleasure in a way that is unseemly or wrong; and that is what the present law of Sicily and Italy actually does: by entrusting the decision to the spectators, who award the prize by show of hands, not only has it corrupted the poets (since they adapt their works to the poor standard of pleasure of the judges, which means that the spectators are the teachers of the poets), but it has corrupted also the pleasures of the audience; for whereas they ought to be improving their standard of pleasure by listening to characters superior to their own, what they now do has just the opposite effect. What, then, is the conclusion to be drawn from this survey? Is it this, do you suppose?

CLIN. What?

ATH. This is, I imagine, the third or fourth time that our discourse has described a circle and come back to this same point—namely, that education is the process of drawing and guiding children towards that principle which is pronounced right by the law and confirmed as truly right by the experience of the oldest and the most just. So in order that the soul of the child may not become habituated to having pains and pleasures in contradiction to the law and those who obey the law, but in conformity thereto, being pleased and pained at the same things

\(^1\) Judges at musical and gymnastic contests, like all State-officials, took an oath to discharge their duties with fidelity. See further, Bk. vi. 764 ff.
πομένη τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις οἴσπερ ὁ γέρων,
Ε τούτων ἔνεκα, ἃς ὃδες καλοῦμεν, ὅντως μὲν ἐπώδαι ταῖς ψυχαῖς φαίνονται
νῦν γεγονέναι, πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἣν λέγομεν συμφωνίαν ἐσπονδασμένα, διὰ δὲ τὸ σπονδήν μὴ δύνασθαι φέρειν
tὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς παρδιά τε καὶ ὃδει καλεῖσθαι καὶ πράπτεσθαι, καθάπερ τοῖς κάμμουσι
tε καὶ ἀσθενῶς ἴσχυσι τὰ σώματα ἐν ἡδείς τοῖς
660 σιτίοις καὶ πώμασι τὴν χρηστὴν πειρώνται
τροφὴν προσφέρειν οἷς μέλει τούτων, τὴν δὲ
tῶν πονηρῶν ἐν ἀγάδειν, ἵνα τὴν μὲν ἀσπάζωνται,
tὴν δὲ μυσεῖν ὀρθῶς ἐθίζωνται ταῦτα δὴ καὶ τὸν
ποιητικὸν ὁ ὀρθὸς νομοθέτης ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ ἐπαινετοῖς πείσει τε καὶ ἀναγκάσει μὴ πείθων
τὰ τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ ἀνδρείων καὶ πάντως ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τὲ ῥυθμοῖς σχῆματα καὶ ἐν
ἀρμονίας μέλῃ ποιοῦντα ὀρθῶς ποιεῖν.

Β κλ. Νῦν οὖν ὅτω δοκοῦσί σοι, πρὸς Διός, ὃ
ξένε, ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ
καθ' ὅσον άισθάνομαι, πλὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ παρὰ
Δακεδαιμονίας, ἃ σὺ νῦν λέγεις οὐκ οἶδα
πραττόμενα, καὶ δὲ ἄττα ἂεί γιγνόμενα περί
tε τὰς ὀρχήσεις καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην μουσικὴν
ξύμπασαν, οὐχ ὑπὸ νόμων μεταβαλλόμενα ἀλλ' ὑπὸ
tιυνὸν ἀτάκτων ἱδονῶν, πολλοῦ δεουσῶν τῶν
αὐτῶν εἶναι <ἀεὶ> καὶ κατὰ ταυτά, ὡς σὺ κατ'
Αἰγυπτον ἀφερημενεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδέποτε τῶν
αὐτῶν.

C άθ. Ὅ Ἀριστά γ', ὁ Κλεινία. εἰ δ' ἐδοξάσθη σοι ἃ
σὺ λέγεις λέγειν ὡς νῦν γιγνόμενα, οὐκ ἂν θαυ-

1 φαίνονται: αὖτα MSS., edd.
2 <ἀεὶ> I add.
as the old man,—for this reason we have what we call "chants," which evidently are in reality incantations seriously designed to produce in souls that conformity and harmony of which we speak. But inasmuch as the souls of the young are unable to endure serious study, we term these "plays" and "chants," and use them as such,—just as, when people suffer from bodily ailments and infirmities, those whose office it is try to administer to them nutriment that is wholesome in meats and drinks that are pleasant, but unwholesome nutriment in the opposite, so that they may form the right habit of approving the one kind and detesting the other. Similarly in dealing with the poet, the good legislator will persuade him—or compel him—with his fine and choice language to portray by his rhythms the gestures, and by his harmonies the tunes, of men who are temperate, courageous, and good in all respects, and thereby to compose poems aright.

CLIN. In Heaven's name, Stranger, do you believe that that is the way poetry is composed nowadays in other States? So far as my own observation goes, I know of no practices such as you describe except in my own country and in Lacedaemon; but I do know that novelties are always being introduced in dancing and all other forms of music, which changes are due not to the laws, but to disorderly tastes; and these are so far from being constantly uniform and stable—like the Egyptian ones you describe—that they are never for a moment uniform.

ATH. Nobly spoken, O Clinias! If, however, I seemed to you to say that the practices you refer to

1 *i.e.* charms or *magic formulae*, chanted over sick persons (or over snakes, *Euthyd.* 290 A): cp. 664 B.
μάζωμι εἰ μὴ σαφῶς λέγων ἀ διανοοῦμαι τούτῳ ἐποίησα καὶ ἐπαθον ἀλλ' ἄ βούλομαι γίγνεσθαι περὶ μουσικῆς, τοιαῦτ' ἀττα εἰπον ἐσώς, ὡστε σοὶ δόξαι ταύτα ἐμὲ λέγειν. λοιδορεῖν γὰρ πράγματα ἀνίατα καὶ πόρρω προβεβηκότα ἀμαρτίας οὐδαμῶς ἢδυ, ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐνιότ' ἐστίν. ἑπειδὴ δὲ ταύτα ξυνδοκεῖ καὶ σοῖ, φέρε φής παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖσδε μᾶλλον ἦ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ελλησὶ γίγνεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα;

κλ. Τί μήν;
αθ. Τί δ' εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις γίγνοιθ' οὕτω, πότερον αὐτὰ καλλιόνως οὕτως εἶναι φαὶμεν ἄν ἢ καθάπερ νῦν γίγνεται γιγνόμενα;

κλ. Πολύ που τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ καθάπερ παρὰ τε τοῖσδε καὶ παρ' ἦμῖν, καὶ ἐτι καθάπερ εἴπες σὺ νῦν δὴ δεῖν εἶναι, γίγνοιτο.

αθ. Φέρε δὴ, ξυνομολογησόμεθα τὰ νῦν. ἄλλο ἐτὶ παρ' υμῖν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ καὶ μουσικῇ τὰ λεγόμενα ἔστι τάδε; τοὺς ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζετε λέγειν ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὃν καὶ δίκαιος εὐφαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, εάν τε μέγας καὶ ἵσχυρὸς εάν τε σμικρός καὶ ἴσθενής ἦ, καὶ ἐὰν πλοῦτι καὶ μὴ· ἐὰν δὲ ἄρα πλοῦτι μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μᾶλλον, ἦ· δὲ ἄδικος, ἄθλιος τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνιαρῶς ζῇ· καὶ Οὐτ' ἄν μνησαίμην, φησίν υμῖν ὁ ποιητής, εἰπὲρ ὁρθῶς λέγει, οὔτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην, δὲ μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτύτο, καὶ δὴ καὶ δην' ὑν τοιοῦτος

1 Tyrtaeus xii. 6; see Bk. i. 629. Cinyras was a fabled king of Cyprus, son of Apollo and priest of Aphrodite. Midas, king of Phrygia, was noted for his wealth.
are in use now, very likely your mistake arose from my own failure to express my meaning clearly; probably I stated my own desires with regard to music in such a way that you imagined me to be stating present facts. To denounce things that are beyond remedy and far gone in error is a task that is by no means pleasant; but at times it is unavoidable. And now that you hold the same opinion on this subject, come, tell me, do you assert that such practices are more general among the Cretans and the Lacedaemonians than among the other Greeks?

**Clin.** Certainly.

**Ath.** Suppose now that they were to become general among the rest also,—should we say that the method of procedure then would be better than it is now?

**Clin.** The improvement would be immense, if things were done as they are in my country and in that of our friends here, and as, moreover, you yourself said just now they ought to be done.

**Ath.** Come now, let us come to an understanding on this matter. In all education and music in your countries, is not this your teaching? You oblige the poets to teach that the good man, since he is temperate and just, is fortunate and happy, whether he be great or small, strong or weak, rich or poor; whereas, though he be richer even "than Cinyras or Midas,"¹ if he be unjust, he is a wretched man and lives a miserable life. Your poet says—if he speaks the truth—"I would spend no word on the man, and hold him in no esteem," who without justice performs or acquires all the things accounted good; and again he describes how the just man

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661 ὁν ὀρέγοιτο ἐγγύθεν ἵστάμενος, ἀδικος δὲ ὃν μήτε τολμᾶτο ὦρῶν φόνον αἴματόεντα μήτε νικῶ τοὺν θεὸν ὘ρηκίου Βορέην, μήτε ἀλλο αὐτῷ μηδέν τῶν λεγομένων ἁγαθῶν γιγνοιτό ποτέ τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν λεγόμενα ἁγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται. λέγεται γὰρ ὃς ἁριστὸν μὲν ὑμαίνειν, δεύτερον δὲ κάλλος, τρίτον δὲ πλοῦτος. μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἁγαθὰ λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ ἕξιν ὄραν καὶ Β ἄκουειν καὶ πάντα ὁσα ἔχεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὐαισθήτως ἔχειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τυραννοῦντα ὃ τι ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ, καὶ τὸ δὴ τέλος ἀπάσης μακαριότητος εἶναι τὸ πάντα τάντα κεκτημένου ἁθάνατον εἶναι γενόμενον ὅτι τάχιστα. ύμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἑγὼ που τάδε λέγομεν, ὃς ταύτα ἐστὶ ξύμπαντα δικαίως μὲν καὶ ὅσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἁριστα κτήματα, ἁδίκους δὲ κάκιστα ξύμπαντα ἁρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ύμείας. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὄραν καὶ τὸ ἄκουειν καὶ Αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ξῆν μέγιστον μὲν κακὸν τὸν ξύμπαντα χρόνον ἁθάνατον ὄντα καὶ κεκτημένων πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα ἁγαθὰ πληθ δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἱρετῆς ἀπάσης, ἐλαττον δὲ, ἃν ὡς ὑλίγιστον ὅ τοιοῦτος χρόνον ἐπιζῶν ἢ. τὰντα δὴ λέγειν ὁμαί τοὺς παρ’ ὑμῖν ποιητάς, ἀπερ ἐγώ, πείσετε καὶ ἀναγκάσετε, καὶ ἐτι τοῦτος ἐπομένους ῥυθμοὺς τε καὶ ἀρμονίας ἀποδιδόντας παιδεύειν οὕτω τοὺς νέους ὑμῶν. ἢ γὰρ; ὅρατε. ἔγω μὲν γὰρ λέγω σαφῶς τὰ μὲν κακὰ λεγόμενα ἁγαθὰ τοῖς ἁδίκοις εἶναι, τοῖς δὲ δικαίως κακὰ, τὰ δ’ ἁγαθὰ τοῖς μὲν ἁγαθοῖς ὄντως ἁγαθὰ, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακὰ. ὅπερ οὖν ἠρόμην, ἀρα ξυμφωνοῦμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ύμεῖς ἢ τῶς;

1 ἐπιζῶν ᮒ Schanz: ἐπιζηθ MSS.
"drives his spear against the foe at close quarters," whereas the unjust man dares not "to look upon the face of bloody death," nor does he outpace in speed of foot "the north wind out of Thrace," nor acquire any other of the things called "good." For the things which most men call good are wrongly so described. Men say that the chief good is health, beauty the second, wealth the third; and they call countless other things "goods"—such as sharpness of sight and hearing, and quickness in perceiving all the objects of sense; being a king, too, and doing exactly as you please; and to possess the whole of these goods and become on the spot an immortal, that, as they say, is the crown and top of all felicity. But what you and I say is this,—that all these things are very good as possessions for men who are just and holy, but for the unjust they are (one and all, from health downwards) very bad; and we say too that sight and hearing and sensation and even life itself are very great evils for the man endowed with all the so-called goods, but lacking in justice and all virtue, if he is immortal for ever, but a lesser evil for such a man if he survives but a short time. This, I imagine, is what you (like myself) will persuade or compel your poets to teach, and compel them also to educate your youth by furnishing them with rhythms and harmonies in consonance with this teaching. Am I not right? Just consider: what I assert is that what are called "evils" are good for the unjust, but evil for the just, while the so-called "goods" are really good for the good, but bad for the bad. Are you in accord with me, then,—that was my question,—or how stands the matter?

\[ \text{\footnote{\(\nu\mu\nu\): \(\eta\mu\nu\) MSS., edd.}} \]
Τὰ μὲν ἐμοιγε φαινόμεθα πῶς, τὰ δ’ οὐδαμῶς.

'Αρ’ οὖν ὑγίειαν τε κεκτημένου καὶ πλούτου καὶ τυραννίδα διὰ τέλους, καὶ ἔτι προστίθημι ὑμῖν ἵσχυν διαφέρουσαν καὶ ἀνδρίαν μετ’ ἄθανατος καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο αὐτό τῶν λεγομένων κακῶν εἶναι γιγνόμενον, ἄδικιαν δὲ καὶ ὑβρινὰ ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ μόνον—τὸν οὖτω ξώνα ἵσως ὑμᾶς οὐ πείθω μή οὔκ ἀρα εὐθαίμονα ἄλλῳ ἀθλίου γίγνεσθαι σαφῶς;

Αὐθεστατὰ λέγεις.

'Εἶπεν τί οὖν τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ εἰπεῖν ὑμᾶς χρεών; ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ καλὸς καὶ πλούσιος, καὶ ποιῶν ὁ τί περ ἐπιθυμοῦ τὸν 662 βίον ἀπαντᾷ, οὐχ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰπερ ἄδικος εἰή καὶ ὑβριστής, εξ ἀνάγκης αἰσχρῶς ἄν ξῆν; ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἵσως ἄν συγχωρήσατε, τὸ γε αἰσχρῶς;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ; τὸ καὶ κακῶς;

Οὔκ ἄν ἔτι τοῦθ’ ὀμοίως.

Τί δέ; τὸ καὶ ἄγδως καὶ μὴ ἄνθρωπον τῶν αὐτῶν;

Καὶ πῶς ἄν ταῦτα γ’ ἐτι ἐνεχωροῖμεν;

"Ὅπως; εἰ θεὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐσεῖκεν, ὦ φίλοι, Β δοῖ ὑπὸ συμφωνίαν, ὡς νῦν γε σχεδόν ἀπάδομεν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων. ἔμοι γὰρ δὴ φαίνεσθαι ταῦτα οὕτως ἀναγκαία, ὡς οὔδε, ὦ φίλε Κλεινία, Κρήτη νῦσσος σαφῶς ταύτη πειρόμην ἄν τοὺς
CLIN. We are, apparently, partly in accord, but partly quite the reverse.

ATH. Take the case of a man who has health and wealth and absolute power in perpetuity,—in addition to which I bestow on him, if you like, matchless strength and courage, together with immortality and freedom from all the other "evils" so-called,—but a man who has within him nothing but injustice and insolence: probably I fail to convince you that the man who lives such a life is obviously not happy but wretched?

CLIN. Quite true.

ATH. Well, then, what ought I to say next? Do you not think that if a man who is courageous, strong, beautiful, and rich, and who does exactly as he likes all his life long, is really unjust and insolent, he must necessarily be living a base life? Probably you will agree at any rate to call it "base"?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. And also a bad life?

CLIN. We would not go so far as to admit that.

ATH. Well, would you admit the epithets "unpleasant" and "unprofitable to himself"?

CLIN. How could we agree to such further descriptions?

ATH. "How?" do you ask? Only (as it seems, my friend) if some god were to grant us concord, since at present we are fairly at discord one with another. In my opinion these facts are quite indisputable—even more plainly so, my dear Clinias, than the fact that Crete is an island; and were I a legis-

1 κακῶς κην, "to live badly" may mean either "to live wickedly" or "to live wretchedly": Clinias takes it in this latter sense.
τε ποιητᾶς ἀναγκάζειν φθέγγεσθαι καὶ πάντας
touς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ζημίαν τε ὀλίγου μεγίστην
ἐπιτιθεῖν ἂν, εἰ τις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φθέγγαζτο ὡς
C εἰσί τινες ἀνθρωποί ποτε ποιηροί μὲν, ἥδεως δὲ
ζωντες, ἣ λυσιτελοῦντα μὲν ἄλλα ἐστὶ καὶ κερδα-
λέα, δικαιότερα δὲ ἄλλα, καὶ πολλὰ ἀττ' ἂν παρὰ
tὰ νῦν λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τε Κρητῶν καὶ Δακεδαιμο-
νίων, ὡς έοικε, καὶ δὴ ποι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
dιάφορα πείθοιμ' ἂν τοὺς ποιήτας μοι φθέγγεσθαι·
φέρε γάρ, ὁ πρὸς Δίος τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃ
ἀριστοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, εἰ τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας νῦν
ἀυτοὺς τούτους ἐροίμεθα θεοῦς, ἃρ' ὁ δικαιότατος
D ἔστι βίος ἡδίστος, ἢ δ' ἐστὸν τινε βίον, οὐν ὁ μὲν
ἡδίστος ὃν τυγχάνει, δικαιότατος δ' ἐτέρος; εἰ
dὴ δύο φαίεν, ἐροίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως αὐτοὺς πάλιν,
eἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἐπανερωτῶμεν, ποτέρως δ' εὐδαιμο-
estέροις χρῆ λέγειν, τοὺς τὸν δικαιότατον ἡ τοὺς
tὸν ἡδίστον διαβιοῦντας βίον; εἰ μὲν δὴ φαίεν
tοὺς τὸν ἡδίστον, ἀτόπους αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος ἂν
γίγνοιτο. Βούλομαι δὲ μοι μὴ ἐπὶ θεῶν λέγε-
σθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἄλλ' ἐπὶ πατέρων καὶ νο-
Ε μοθετῶν μάλλον, καὶ μοι τὰ ἐμπροσθεν ἡρωτη-
μένα πατέρα τε καὶ νομοθέτην ἡρωτηθῶ, ὃ δ'
eἰπέτω ὡς ὁ ξῶν τὸν ἡδίστον βίον ἐστὶ μακα-
ριώτατος. εἰτὰ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐγώ' ἂν φαίην, Η
πάτερ, οὐχ ὡς εὐδαιμονεστάτα με ἐβούλου ζην;
ἄλλ' ἂει διακελεύομενος οὐδὲν ἐπαύου ζην με ὡς
dικαιότατα. ταῦτη μὲν οὖν ὁ τιθέμενος εἴτε νο-
μοθέτης εἴτε καὶ πατὴρ ἀτόπος ἂν, οἶμαι, καὶ
ἀπορος φαινοιτο τοῦ ξυμφωνοῦντος ἐαυτῷ λέγειν.
eἰ δ' αὐ τὸν δικαιότατον εὐδαιμονεστάτον ἄπο-
lutor, I should endeavour to compel the poets and all the citizens to speak in this sense; and I should impose all but the heaviest of penalties on anyone in the land who should declare that any wicked men lead pleasant lives, or that things profitable and lucrative are different from things just; and there are many other things contrary to what is now said, as it seems, by Cretans and Lacedaemonians,—and of course by the rest of mankind,—which I should persuade my citizens to proclaim. For, come now, my most excellent sirs, in the name of Zeus and Apollo, suppose we should interrogate those very gods themselves who legislated for you, and ask: "Is the most just life the most pleasant; or are there two lives, of which the one is most pleasant, the other most just?" If they replied that there were two, we might well ask them further, if we were to put the correct question: "Which of the two ought one to describe as the happier, those that live the most just or those that live the most pleasant life?" If they replied, "Those that live the most pleasant life," that would be a monstrous statement in their mouths. But I prefer not to ascribe such statements to gods, but rather to ancestors and lawgivers: imagine, then, that the questions I have put have been put to an ancestor and lawgiver, and that he has stated that the man who lives the most pleasant life is the happiest. In the next place I would say to him this: "O father, did you not desire me to live as happily as possible? Yet you never ceased bidding me constantly to live as justly as possible." And hereby, as I think, our lawgiver or ancestor would be shown up as illogical and incapable of speaking consistently with himself. But if, on the other hand, he were to
φαίνοιτο βίον εἶναι, ζητοῖ ποι πᾶς ἂν ὁ ἁκούων, οἴμαι, τί ποτ’ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς κρείττων ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλὸν ὁ νομοθέτης ἐνῶν ἐπαινεῖ; 
663 τί γὰρ δὴ δικαίως χωρίζομεν ἡδονῆς ἀγαθὸν ἄν γίγνοιτο; φέρε, κλέος τε καὶ ἐπαινοῦσ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεῶν ἂρ’ ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν μὲν καὶ καλὸν, ἄηδὲς δὲ, δύσκλεια δὲ τάναντία; 
ήκιστα, ὁ φίλε νομοθέτα, φήσομεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε τινὰ ἀδικεῖν μήτε ὑπὸ τινὸς ἀδικεῖσθαι μὸν ἄηδὲς μὲν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἡ καλὸν, τὰ δ’ ἐτερα ἢδεα μὲν, αἰσχρὰ δὲ καὶ κακά;

κλ. Καὶ πῶς;

α. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν μὴ χωρίζων λόγος ἢδυ τε καὶ δίκαιον [καὶ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλὸν] πιθανός

Β γ’, εἰ μηδὲν ἐτερον, πρὸς τὸ τινὰ ἐθέλειν ζῆν τὸν ὅσιον καὶ δίκαιον βίον, ὥστε νομοθέτη γε αἰσχιστος λόγων καὶ ἐναντιώτατος δὲ ἂν μὴ φῆ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν. οὔδεὶς γὰρ ἂν εἰκὼν ἑθέλοι πείθεσθαι πράττειν τούτο ὧτρ’ ὑπὸ τὸ χαίρειν τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι πλέον ἐπεταί. σκοτοδίνιαν 3 δὲ τὸ πόρρωθεν ὁρώμενον πάσι τε ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παρέχει νομοθέτης δ’ ἢμῖν δόξαν εἰς τοιναντίον τούτου καταστήσει τὸ σκότος ἀφελῶν,

C καὶ πείσει ἁμοῖς γε πῶς ἐθεσί καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ λόγοις ὡς ἐσκιαγραφημένα τὰ δικαία ἐστὶ καὶ ἀδικα, τὰ μὲν ἀδικα τῷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐναντίῳ 4 φαινόμενα, ἐκ μὲν ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ ἐαυτοῦ θεω-

1 νομοθέτης Badham, Schanz: νόμος MSS.
3 σκοτοδίνιαν England : σκοτοδίνιαν MSS.
4 ἐναντίῳ Apelt : ἐναντίως MSS.
declare the most just life to be the happiest, everyone who heard him would, I suppose, enquire what is the good and charm it contains which is superior to pleasure, and for which the lawgiver praises it. For, apart from pleasure, what good could accrue to a just man? "Come, tell me, is fair fame and praise from the mouths of men and gods a noble and good thing, but unpleasant, while ill-fame is the opposite?" "By no means, my dear lawgiver," we shall say. And is it unpleasant, but noble and good, neither to injure anyone nor be injured by anyone, while the opposite is pleasant, but ignoble and bad?

CLIN. By no means.

ATH. So then the teaching which refuses to separate the pleasant from the just helps, if nothing else, to induce a man to live the holy and just life, so that any doctrine which denies this truth is, in the eyes of the lawgiver, most shameful and most hateful; for no one would voluntarily consent to be induced to commit an act, unless it involves as its consequence more pleasure than pain. Now distance has the effect of befogging the vision of nearly everybody, and of children especially; but our lawgiver will reverse the appearance by removing the fog,¹ and by one means or another—habitation, commendation, or argument—will persuade people that their notions of justice and injustice are illusory pictures, unjust objects appearing pleasant and just objects most unpleasant to him who is opposed to justice, through being viewed from his own unjust and evil stand-

¹ i.e. the lawgiver will make justice clear and distinct by bringing citizens close up to it; discipline in just actions will give them a near and true view of it, and correct the wrong impression due to distance.
PLATO

ρούμενα, ἡδέα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια ἀγδέστατα, ἐκ δὲ δικαίου πάντα τάναντια πάντι πρὸς ἀμφότερα.

κα. Φαίνεται.

ἀ. Τὴν ὑ ἀλήθειαν τῆς κρίσεως ποτέραν κυριωτέραν εἶναι φῶμεν; πότερα τὴν τῆς χείρονος ψυχῆς ἢ τὴν τῆς βελτίωνος;

κα. Ἀναγκαῖον τοῦ τῆς ἀμείνονος.

δ. Ἀναγκαῖον ἀρα τὸν ἄδικον βίον οὗ μόνον αἰσχῶν καὶ μοχθηρότερον, ἄλλα καὶ ἀγδέστερον τῇ ἀλήθεια τοῦ δικαίου τε εἶναι καὶ ὀσίου βίου.

κα. Κινδυνεύει κατὰ γε τὸν υἱὸν λόγου, ὁ φίλοι.

ἀ. Νομοθέτης δὲ οὐ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὀφέλος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἢν οὗτως ἔχον, ὡς καὶ υἱὸν αὐτὸ ἡρήξε, ὥς καὶ τοῦτο ἐτόλμησεν ἢν ἐπ᾽ ἀγαθῷ ψεῦδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ἔστιν ὁ τι τοῦτον ψεῦδος λυστελέστερον ἢν ψευδότατο ποτε καὶ δυνάμενον μᾶλλον <πείθειν>2 ποιεῖν

Ε. μὴ βία ἀλλ᾽ ἐκόντας <πάντας>2 πάντα τὰ δίκαια;

κα. Καλὸν μὲν ἡ ἀλήθεια, ὁ ἔενε, καὶ μόνιμον ἐοικε μὴν οὐ ράδιον εἶναι πείθειν.

ἀ. Εἶεν τὸ μέντοι Σιδώνιον3 μυθολόγημα ῥάδιον ἐγένετο πείθειν, οὗτος ἀπίθανον ὡν, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία.

κα. Ποία;

ἀ. Τὸ σπαρέντων ποτὲ ὀδύντων ὀπλάτας ἐξ αὐτῶν φῦναι. καὶ τοι μέγα γ' ἐστὶ νομοθέτη

664 παράδειγμα τοῦ πείσειν ὃ τι ἢν ἐπιχειρῇ τις πείθειν τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχὰς, ὡστε οὐδὲν ἄλλο

1 <πείθειν> added by Stephens, Schanz.
2 <πάντας> added by Euseb.
point, but when seen from the standpoint of justice, both of them appear in all ways entirely the opposite.

CLIN. So it appears.

ATH. In point of truth, which of the two judgments shall we say is the more authoritative,—that of the worse soul or that of the better?

CLIN. That of the better, undoubtedly.

ATH. Undoubtedly, then, the unjust life is not only more base and ignoble, but also in very truth more unpleasant, than the just and holy life.

CLIN. It would seem so, my friends, from our present argument.

ATH. And even if the state of the case were different from what it has now been proved to be by our argument, could a lawgiver who was worth his salt find any more useful fiction than this (if he dared to use any fiction at all in addressing the youths for their good), or one more effective in persuading all men to act justly in all things willingly and without constraint?

CLIN. Truth is a noble thing, Stranger, and an enduring; yet to persuade men of it seems no easy matter.

ATH. Be it so; yet it proved easy to persuade men of the Sidonian fairy-tale,¹ incredible though it was, and of numberless others.

CLIN. What tales?

ATH. The tale of the teeth that were sown, and how armed men sprang out of them. Here, indeed, the lawgiver has a notable example of how one can, if he tries, persuade the souls of the young of any-

¹ About Cadmus; cp. Rep. 414 C.

² μέντοι Σιδώνιων England: μὲν τοῦ Σιδωνίου MSS.
PLATO

aútvν δεὶ σκοποῦντα ἀνευρίσκειν ἡ τὶ πείσας μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν ἐργάσαιτο ἂν πόλιν, τούτον δὲ πέρι πᾶσαν μηχανὴν εὐρίσκειν ὅντιν' ἂν1 ποτε τρόπον ἢ τοιαῦτη ξυνοικία πᾶσα περὶ τούτων ἐν καὶ ταύτων ὅτι μάλιστα φθέγγοιτ' ἂει διὰ βίου παντὸς ἐν τῇ φίδαις καὶ μῦθοι καὶ λόγοις. εἰ δ' οὖν ἄλλῃ πῇ δοκεῖ ἡ ταύτῃ, πρὸς ταύτα οὔδείς φθόνος ἀμφισβητήσαι τῷ λόγῳ.

Β κλ. 'Αλλ' οὖ μοι φαίνεται πρὸς γε ταύτα δύνασθαι ἡμῶν ἀμφισβητήσαι ποτ' ἂν οὐδέτεροις.

αθ. Τὸ μετὰ τούτο τοῖνυν ἐμὸν ἂν εἰῆ λέγειν. φημὶ γὰρ ἀπαντας δεῖν ἐπάδειν τρεῖς ὅντας τοὺς χοροὺς ἐτί νέαις οὐσαίς ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀπαλαίς τῶν παιδῶν, τά τε ἄλλα καλὰ λέγοντας πάντα ὅσα διεληλύθαμεν τε καὶ ἐτί διέλθοιμεν ἂν, τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἔστω· τὸν αὐτὸν ἡδιστὸν τε καὶ ἀριστὸν ὑπὸ θεῶν βίον λέγεσθαι φάσκοντες

C ἀληθέστατα ἐροῦμεν ἀμα καὶ μᾶλλον πελώμεν ὅσς δεὶ πείθεων ἡ ἓαν ἄλλως πως φθεγγόμεθα λέγοντες.

κλ. Συγχωρητέον ἃ λέγεις.

αθ. Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν ὁ Μουσῶν χορὸς ὁ παιδικός ὀρθότατ' ἂν εἰσίοι πρῶτος τα τοιαῦτα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἁγάμενος ἀπάσῃ σπουδῆ καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλει, δεύτερος δὲ ὁ μέχρι τριάκοντα ἔτων, τὸν τε Παιάνα ἐπικαλούμενος μάρτυρα τῶν λεγομένων ἀληθείας πέρι καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἔλεων μετὰ πειθοῦς

D γίγνεσθαι ἐπευχόμενος. δεὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐτὶ τρίτοις

1 ὅντιν' ἂν Schanz: ὅντινα MSS.

1 At Spartan festivals it was customary to have three choirs—of boys, young men, and older men.
thing, so that the only question he has to consider in his inventing is what would do most good to the State, if it were believed; and then he must devise all possible means to ensure that the whole of the community constantly, so long as they live, use exactly the same language, so far as possible, about these matters, alike in their songs, their tales, and their discourses. If you, however, think otherwise, I have no objection to your arguing in the opposite sense.

CLIN. Neither of us, I think, could possibly argue against your view.

ATH. Our next subject I must handle myself. I maintain that all the three choirs\(^1\) must enchant the souls of the children, while still young and tender, by rehearsing all the noble things which we have already recounted, or shall recount hereafter; and let this be the sum of them: in asserting that one and the same life is declared by the gods to be both most pleasant and most just, we shall not only be saying what is most true, but we shall also convince those who need convincing more forcibly than we could by any other assertion.

CLIN. We must assent to what you say.

ATH. First, then, the right order of procedure will be for the Muses' choir of children to come forward first to sing these things with the utmost vigour and before the whole city; second will come the choir of those under thirty, invoking Apollo Paian\(^2\) as witness of the truth of what is said, and praying him of his grace to persuade the youth. The next singers will be the third choir, of those

\(^{2}\) *i.e.* "the Healer." Cp. the medicinal sense of ἑπαθεῖν, "enchant," in B4 above. Music is to be a medicine of the soul.
PLATO

touσ ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα έτη μέχρι τῶν εξήκοντα
gεγονότας ἀδειν· τοὺσ δὲ μετὰ ταύτα, οὐ γὰρ ἔτι
dυνατοί φέρειν ὁδάς, μυθολόγους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
ηθῶν διὰ θείας φήμης καταλελείφθαι.

κα. Δέγεις δὲ, ὦ ξένε, τίνας τούτους τοὺς
χοροὺς τοὺς τρίτους; οὐ γὰρ πάνυ ἔννεμεν
σαφῶς ὃ τί ποτε βούλει φράζειν αὐτῶν πέρι.

α. Καὶ μὴν εἰσὶ γε οὕτωι σχεδὸν ὃν χάριν οἱ
πλεῖστοι τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἐρρήθησαν λόγων.

κα. Οὔτω μεμαθήκαμεν, ἀλλ’ ἐτι σαφέστερον
πειρῶ φράζειν.

α. Εἴπομεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, κατ’ ἀρχάς τῶν
λόγων ὡς ἡ φύσις ἀπάντων τῶν νέων διάπυρος
ὁμα γυγχιάν οὐχ οίᾳ τε ἀγειν οὕτη κατὰ τὸ
σῶμα οὕτε κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν εἰς, φθέγγοιτο δ’ ἀεὶ
ἀτάκτως καὶ πηδῶν· τάξεως δ’ αἰσθησιν τούτων
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἀλλων μὲν ξώων οὐδὲν ἐφάπτοτο,
η δὲ ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἔχοι μόνη τοῦτο· τῇ δὴ τῆς
κινήσεως τάξει ρυθμὸς ὀνόμα εἰς, τῇ δ’ αὐ τῆς
φωνῆς, τοῦ τε ὀξέους ἁμα καὶ βαρέος συγκερανυ-
μένων, ἀρμοία ὀνομα προσαγορεύοιτο, χορεία δὲ
tο ἐναμφότερον κληθεῖν. Θεοῦ δ’ ἔφαμεν ἔλεγ-
ούντας ἡμᾶς συγχορευτᾶς τε καὶ χορηγοῦς ἡμῶν
dεδωκέναι τὸν τε Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Μοῦσας, καὶ δὴ
cαὶ τρίτον ἔφαμεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, Διόνυσον.

κα. Πὸς δ’ οὐ μεμνήμεθα;

α. Ὁ μὲν τόινυν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν
Μοῦσῶν χορῶς εὑρήνται, τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τὸν
Βλοητῶν χορῶν ἀνάγκη τοῦ Διονύσου λέγεσθαι.

κα. Πῶς δή; λέγει μάλα γὰρ ἀτοπος γύγνοιτ'
over thirty and under sixty; and lastly, there were left those who, being no longer able to uplift the song, shall handle the same moral themes in stories and by oracular speech.

CLIN. Whom do you mean, Stranger, by these third choristers? For we do not grasp very clearly what you intend to convey about them.

ATH. Yet they are in fact the very people to whom most of our previous discourse was intended to lead up.

CLIN. We are still in the dark: try to explain yourself more clearly still.

ATH. At the commencement of our discourse we said, if we recollect, that since all young creatures are by nature fiery, they are unable to keep still either body or voice, but are always crying and leaping in disorderly fashion; we said also that none of the other creatures attains a sense of order, bodily and vocal, and that this is possessed by man alone; and that the order of motion is called "rhythm," while the order of voice (in which acute and grave tones are blended together) is termed "harmony," and to the combination of these two the name "choristry" is given. We stated also that the gods, in pity for us, have granted to us as fellow-choristers and choir-leaders Apollo and the Muses,—besides whom we mentioned, if we recollect, a third, Dionysus.

CLIN. Certainly we recollect.

ATH. The choir of Apollo and that of the Muses have been described, and the third and remaining choir must necessarily be described, which is that of Dionysus.

CLIN. How so? Tell us; for at the first mention
PLATO

ἀν ὡς γ’ ἐξαίφνης ἀκούσαντι Διονύσου πρεσβυτῶν χορὸς, εἰ ἀρα οἱ ύπερ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντήκοντα δὲ γεγονότες ἔτη μέχρι ἐξήκοντα αὐτῷ χορεύσουσιν.¹

ἀ. Ἀληθέστατα μέντοι λέγεις. λόγου δὴ δεὶ πρὸς ταῦτα, οἶμαι, ὅτι τοῦτο εὖλογον οὔτω γιγνόμενον ἄν γίγνοιτο.

κλ. Τι μὴν;

ἀ. 'Αρ' οὖν ἡμῖν τά γε ἐμπροσθεν ὁμολ. γεῖται;

κ. κλ. Τοῦ πέρι;

ἀ. Τὸ δεῖν πάντα ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα, ἐλευθερον καὶ δούλον, θηλύν τε καὶ ἄρρενα, καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλις ὅλην τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν αὐτῇ ἐπάδουσαν μὴ παύεσθαι ποτε ταῦτα ἄ διεληλύθαμεν ἄμολγος γε πως ἄ ἰδίως αἷπταλλόμενα καὶ πάντως παρεχόμενα ποικιλίαν, ὡστε ἀπληστίαν εἰναὶ τινὰ τῶν ὑμνῶν τοῖς ἄδουσι καὶ ἡδονῆς.

κλ. Πῶς δ’ οὖχ ὁμολογοῦτο ἄν δεῖν ταῦτα οὔτω πράττεσθαι;

δ. ἀ. Ποῦ δὲ τοῦθ’ ἡμῖν τὸ ἀριστον τῆς πόλεως, ἡλικίαις τε καὶ ἀμα φρονήσει πιθανῶτατον ἄν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅδον τὰ κάλλιστα μέγιστ’ ἄν ἔξεργάζοιτο ἀγαθά; ἡ τοῦτο ἀνοίγως οὔτως ἀφήσομεν, ὦ κυριώτατον ἄν εἰ ἦ τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ὁφελειμματῶν φίλῶν;

κλ. Ἐλλ’ ἀδύνατον τὸ μεθιέναι, ὡς γε τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα.

ἀ. Πῶς οὖν πρέπον ἄν εἰ ἦ τοῦτο; ὥρατε εἰ τῆδε.

κλ. Πὴ δὴ;

ἀ. Πᾶς ποι γιγνόμενος πρεσβύτερος ὕκοννα.
of it, a Dionysiac choir of old men sounds mighty strange,—if you mean that men over thirty, and even men over fifty and up to sixty, are really going to dance in his honour.

ATH. That is, indeed, perfectly true. It needs argument, I fancy, to show how such a procedure would be reasonable.

CLIN. It does.

ATH. Are we agreed about our previous proposals?

CLIN. In what respect?

ATH. That it is the duty of every man and child—bond and free, male and female,—and the duty of the whole State, to charm themselves unceasingly with the chants we have described, constantly changing them and securing variety in every way possible, so as to inspire the singers with an insatiable appetite for the hymns and with pleasure therein.

CLIN. Assuredly we would agree as to the duty of doing this.

ATH. Then where should we put the best element in the State,—that which by age and judgment alike is the most influential it contains,—so that by singing its noblest songs it might do most good? Or shall we be so foolish as to dismiss that section which possesses the highest capacity for the noblest and most useful songs?

CLIN. We cannot possibly dismiss it, judging from what you now say.

ATH. What seemly method can we adopt about it? Will the method be this?

CLIN. What?

ATH. Every man as he grows older becomes

1 χορεύονωσίν MSS. : χορεύουσίν Zur.
πρός τὰς ὁδὰς μεστός, καὶ χαίρει τε ήπτον πράττων τούτῳ καὶ ἀνάγκης γιγνομένης αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν Ἐ μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ πρεσβύτερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος γίγνεται, τόσῳ μᾶλλον. ἀρ' οὖν οὕτως;

κλ. Οὐτω μὲν οὖν.

α. Οὐκών ἐν θεάτρῳ γε καὶ παντοίοις ἀνθρώποις ἄδειν ἐστῶς ὀρθῶς ἐτί μᾶλλον αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν. καὶ ταυτά γ' εἰ καθάπερ οἱ περὶ νῦκης χορὸι ἀγωνιζόμενοι πεφωνασκηκότες ἵσχυοι τε καὶ ἁσιτοὶ ἀναγκάζοιτο ἄδειν οἱ τοιούτοι, παντάπασι ποι καὶ αἰσχυνηλώς ἁδοντες ἀπροθύμους ἀν τούτ' ἔργαζοιτο.

666 κλ. 'Αναγκαίοτατα μέντοι λέγεις.

α. Πῶς οὖν αὐτοῦς παραμυθησόμεθα προθύμους εἶναι πρὸς τὰς ὁδὰς; ἀρ' οὖν νομοθετήσομεν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς παίδας μέχρι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ παράπαν οἶνου μή γενέσθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὖ χρὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ όχετεύειν εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν, πρὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐγχειρεῖν πορεύεσθαι, τὴν ἐμμανὴ εὐλαβοῦμενοι ἐξιν τῶν νέων μετὰ δὲ τούτο οἶνου μὲν δὴ γενέσθαι τοῦ μετρίου μέχρι Β τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, μέθης δὲ καὶ πολυονίας τὸ παράπαν τῶν νέων ἀπέχεσθαι: τετταράκοντα δὲ ἐπιβαίνοντα ἐτῶν, ἐν τοῖς ξυσσιτίοις εὐωχιθέντα, καλεῖν τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ Διόνυσου παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρεσβύτων τελετὴν ἅμα καὶ παιδίαν, ἦν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπίκουρον τῆς τοῦ γῆρως αὐστηρότητος ἐδωρήσατο [τὸν οἶνον] ¹ φάρμακον ὡστ' ἀνηβάν ἠμᾶς, καὶ δυσθυμίας λήθη ² γίγνεσθαι μαλακῶτερον ἐκ σκληρωτέρου C τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἰθός, καθάπερ εἰς πῦρ σίδηρουν

¹ [τὸν οἶνον] I bracket (so too England).
reluctant to sing songs, and takes less pleasure in doing so; and when compelled to sing, the older he is and the more temperate, the more he will feel ashamed. Is it not so?

CLIN. It is.

ATH. Surely, then, he will be more than ever ashamed to get up and sing in the theatre, before people of all sorts. Moreover, if old men like that were obliged to do as the choristers do, who go lean and fasting when training their voices for a competition, they would assuredly find singing an unpleasant and degrading task, and they would undertake it with no great readiness.

CLIN. That is beyond a doubt.

ATH. How then shall we encourage them to take readily to singing? Shall we not pass a law that, in the first place, no children under eighteen may touch wine at all, teaching that it is wrong to pour fire upon fire either in body or in soul, before they set about tackling their real work, and thus guarding against the excitable disposition of the young? And next, we shall rule that the young man under thirty may take wine in moderation, but that he must entirely abstain from intoxication and heavy drinking. But when a man has reached the age of forty, he may join in the convivial gatherings and invoke Dionysus, above all other gods, invoking his presence at the rite (which is also the recreation) of the elders, which he bestowed on mankind as a medicine potent against the crabbedness of old age, that thereby we men may renew our youth, and that, through forgetfulness of care, the temper of our souls may lose its hardness and become softer and more

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2 ἀθην Burges, Burnet: ἀθην MSS.
PLATO

ἔντεθέντα τηκόμενον,¹ καὶ οὕτως εὐπλαστότερον εἶναι; πρῶτον μὲν δὴ διατεθεὶς οὕτως ἐκαστὸς ἂρ’ οὐκ ἂν ἔθελοι προθυμότερον γε, ἦττον αἰσχυνόμενος, οὐκ ἐν πολλοὶς ἀλλ’ ἐν μετρίοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ἀλλ’ ἐν οἰκείοις, άδειν τε καὶ ὁ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν ἐπάδειν;

κα. Καὶ πολύ γε.

α. Ἐκ μὲν γε τὸ προάγειν τοῖνυν αὐτοὺς

D μετέχειν ἕμων ὑδῆς οὕτως ὁ τρόπος οὐκ ἄν πανταπαῖν ἀσχήμων γέγυνοτο.

κα. Οὐδαμῶς.

α. Πολλὰν δὲ οἴσουσιν² οἱ ἄνδρες [φωνὴν ᾧ Μοῦσαν];³ ἡ δῆλον ὅτι πρέπουσαν αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ⁴ γέ τινα.

κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

α. Τίς ἂν οὖν πρέποι θείους ἀνδράσιν; ἂρ’ ἄν ἢ τῶν χορῶν;

κα. Ἡμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ οἴδε οὐκ ἄλλην ἂν τινα δυνάμεθα ὑδῆν ἢ ἦν ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐμάθομεν ἐμνήθεις ἄδειν γενόμενοι.

α. Εἰκότως γε: οὕτως γὰρ οὐκ ἐπῆξολοι

Εἰ γεγόνατε τῆς καλλίστης ὑδῆς. στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν ἄστεσι κατωκηκότων, ἀλλ’ οἴον ἀθρόους πῶλους ἐν ἀγέλῃ νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθε. λαβῶν δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδέις τοῦ αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῶν ξυννόμων σπάσας σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα, ἱπποκόμουν τε ἐπέστησεν ἰδία καὶ παιδεύει ψῆχων τε καὶ ἥμερῶν καὶ πάντα προσήκοντα ἀποδίδοις τῇ

¹ τηκόμενον: γεγυμόμενον MSS., edd.
² οἴσουσιν: αἴσουσιν MSS.: ἂσουσιν Porson, Schanz.
³ [φωνὴν ᾧ Μοῦσαν] bracketed by W.-Möllendorff.
ductile, even as iron when it has been forged in the fire. Will not this softer disposition, in the first place, render each one of them more ready and less ashamed to sing chants and "incantations" (as we have often called them), in the presence, not of a large company of strangers, but of a small number of intimate friends?

CLIN. Yes! much more ready.

ATH. So then, for the purpose of inducing them to take a share in our singing, this plan would not be altogether unseemly.

CLIN. By no means.

ATH. What manner of song will the men raise? Will it not, evidently, be one that suits their own condition in every case?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. What song, then, would suit godlike men? Would a choric song\(^1\)?

CLIN. At any rate, Stranger, we and our friends here would be unable to sing any other song than that which we learnt by practice in choruses.

ATH. Naturally; for in truth you never attained to the noblest singing. For your civic organisation is that of an army rather than that of city-dwellers, and you keep your young people massed together like a herd of colts at grass: none of you takes his own colt, dragging him away from his fellows, in spite of his fretting and fuming, and puts a special groom in charge of him, and trains him by rubbing him down and stroking him and using all the means

\(^1\) *i.e.* a song suited for singing by a chorus at a festival or other public occasion.
The following passage (down to 669 B) deals with the considerations of which a competent judge must take account in the sphere of music and art. He must have regard to three things—"correctness" (the truth of the copy to the original), moral effect or "utility," and "charm" or
proper to child-nursing, that so he may turn out not only a good soldier, but able also to manage a State and cities—in short, a man who (as we said at the first) is more of a warrior than the warriors of Tyrtaeus, inasmuch as always and everywhere, both in States and in individuals, he esteems courage as the fourth in order of the virtues, not the first.

CLIN. Once again, Stranger, you are—in a sort of a way—disparaging our lawgivers.

ATH. It is not intentionally, my friend, that I do so—if I am doing it; but whither the argument leads us, thither, if you please, let us go. If we know of a music that is superior to that of the choirs or to that of the public theatres, let us try to supply it to those men who, as we said, are ashamed of the latter, yet are eager to take a part in that music which is noblest.

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Now, in the first place, must it not be true of everything which possesses charm as its concomitant, that its most important element is either this charm in itself, or some form of correctness, or, thirdly, utility? For instance, meat and drink and nutriment in general have, as I say, for concomitant that charm which we should term pleasure; but as regards their correctness and utility, what we call the wholesomeness of each article administered is precisely the most correct element they contain.

CLIN. Certainly.

pleasure. Though this last, by itself, is no criterion of artistic excellence, it is a natural "concomitant" (in the mind of the competent judge) when the work of art in question possesses a high degree of both "utility" and "correctness."
Καὶ μὴν καὶ τῇ μαθήσει παρακολουθεῖν μὲν τὸ γε τῆς χάριτος τῆς ἢδονῆς, τὴν δὲ ορθότητα καὶ τὴν ωφέλειαν καὶ τὸ εὖ καὶ τὸ καλὸς τῆς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι τὴν ἀποτελοῦσαν.

κλ. Ἐστίν οὕτως.

D ΑΘ. Τί δὲ; τῇ τῶν ὀμοίων ἐργασία, ὡσι τέχναι εἰκαστικαῖ, ἃρ' οὐκ, ἄν τούτῳ ἐξεργάζωνται, τὸ μὲν ἢδονήν ἐν αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, παρεπόμενον ἕαν γίγνεται, χάριν αὐτὸ δικαιότατον ἂν εἰη προσαγορεύειν;

κλ. Ναι.

ΑΘ. Τὴν δὲ γε ορθότητα ποὺ τῶν τοιούτων ἡ ἴσοτης ἂν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν εἰπεῖν, ἔξεργαζόντο τοῦ τε τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον πρότερον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἢδονή.

κλ. Καλῶς.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἢδονὴ κρίνοιτ' ἂν μόνον ἔκεινο ἔροθὼς, δ' ἡμῖν τινὰ ωφέλειαν μήτε ἀλήθειαν μήτε ὀμοιότητα ἀπεργαζόμενον παρέχεται, μηδ' αὐ τῇ νεκα γίγνοιτο τοῦ ἐμπαρεπομένου τοῖς ἀλλοῖς, τῆς χάριτος, ἡν δὴ κάλλιστα τις ὁνομάζαι ἂν ἢδονήν, ὅταν μηδὲν αὐτῇ τούτων ἑπακολουθή.

κλ. Ἀβλαβῆς λέγεις ἢδονὴν μόνον.

ΑΘ. Ναι, καὶ παιδίαν γε εἶναι τὴν αὐτῇ ταύτῃ λέγω τότε ὅταν μήτε τῇ βλάπτῃ μήτε ωφελῇ σπουδῆς ἢ λόγου ἁξιον.

κλ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ πᾶσαι μίμησιν φαίμεν ἂν ἐκ τῶν νῦν λεγομένων ἡκιστα ἢδονὴ προσήκειν κρίνεσθαι καὶ δόξῃ μη ἀληθεί, καὶ δὴ καὶ πᾶσαι ἴσοτητα; οὔ γὰρ εἰ τῷ δοκεῖ ἡ [μὴ] ¹ τις χαίρει,
LAWS, BOOK II

ATH. Learning, too, is accompanied by the element of charm, which is pleasure; but that which produces its correctness and utility, its goodness and nobleness, is truth.

CLIN. Quite so.

ATH. Then how about the imitative arts which produce likenesses? If they succeed in their productions, should not any concomitant pleasure which results therefrom be most properly called "charm"?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. But, speaking generally, the correctness of these things would be the result not, primarily, of pleasure, but of equality in respect of both quality and quantity.¹

CLIN. Excellent!

ATH. Then we shall rightly judge by the criterion of pleasure that object only which, in its effects, produces neither utility nor truth nor similarity, nor yet harm, and which exists solely for the sake of the concomitant element of charm,—which element will best be named "pleasure" whenever it is accompanied by none of the other qualities mentioned.

CLIN. You mean only harmless pleasure.

ATH. Yes, and I say that this same pleasure is also play, whenever the harm or good it does is negligible.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Should we not then assert, as a corollary, that no imitation should be judged by the criterion of pleasure or of untrue opinion, nor indeed should any kind of equality be so judged? The reason

¹ [μῆ] bracketed by Cornarius.
τῷ τοῖ 1 τὸ γε ἵσον ἵσον οὔδὲ τὸ σύμμετρον ἀν εἰη σύμμετρον ὅλως, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀληθεὶ πάντων μά-
λιστα, ἥκιστα δὲ ὀτροῦν ἄλλως.
κα. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.
ἀο. Οὐκοὖν μουσικὴν γε πᾶσάν φα
tε εἶναι καὶ μιμητικὴν;
κα. Τί μήν;
ἀο. "Ἡκιστ" ἄρα ὅταν τις μουσικὴν ἡδονὴ φη
κρίνεσθαι, τούτων ἀποδεκτέον τὸν λόγον, καὶ
ξηπητέον ἥκιστα ταύτην ὡς σπουδαίαν, εἰ τις
Β ἄρα ποι καὶ γίγνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἔχουσαι
τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῷ τοῦ καλοῦ μιμήματι.
κα. Ἀληθέστατα.
ἀο. Καὶ τούτως δὴ τοῖς τὴν καλλίστην ὁδὴν
tε ξηποῦσι καὶ Μοῦσαν ξηπητέον, ὡς ἑοικεν, οὕχ
ἐτις ἡδεια, ἀλλ' ἐτις ὀρθή. μιμήσεως γὰρ ἢν, ὡς
ἐφαμεν, ὀρθότης, εἰ τὸ μιμηθὲν ὅσον τε καὶ οἶον
ἣν ἀποτελεῖτο.
κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;
ἀο. Καὶ μὴν τούτῳ γε πᾶς ἀν ὁμολογοῖ περὶ
tῆς μουσικῆς, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῆν ἔστι
C ποιήματα μίμησις τε καὶ ἀπεικασία. καὶ τούτῳ
gε μῶν οὖκ ἂν ξύμπαντες ὁμολογοῖεν ποιήται τε
καὶ ἀκροαταί καὶ ὑποκριταί;
κα. Καὶ μάλα.
ἀο. Δεῖ δὴ καθ' ἐκαστὸν γε, ὡς ἑοικε, γιγνό-
sκειν τῶν ποιημάτων, δ' ὑ ποτε ἔστι, τὸν μέλλοντα
ἐν αὐτῷ μὴ ἄμαρτήσεσθαι. μὴ γὰρ γιγνώσκων

1 τῷ τοί. Schmidt: τῷ MSS.
LAWS, BOOK II

why the equal is equal, or the symmetrical symmetrical, is not at all because a man so opines, or is charmed thereby, but most of all because of truth, and least of all for any other reason.

CLIN. Most certainly.

ATH. We assert, do we not, that all music is representative and imitative?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. So whenever a man states that pleasure is the criterion of music, we shall decisively reject his statement; and we shall regard such music as the least important of all (if indeed any music is important) and prefer that which possesses similarity in its imitation of the beautiful.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Thus those who are seeking the best singing and music must seek, as it appears, not that which is pleasant, but that which is correct; and the correctness of imitation consists, as we say, in the reproduction of the original in its own proper quantity and quality.

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. And this is certainly true of music, as everyone would allow,—that all its productions are imitative and representative;¹ that much, at least, they would all admit,—poets, audience, and actors alike,—would they not?

CLIN. They would.

ATH. Now the man who is to judge a poem² unerringly must know in each particular case the exact nature of the poem; for if he does not know

¹ Cp. 655 D, above. The music (songs and tunes) of dramatic compositions is specially alluded to.
² Or musical composition.
τὴν οὖσιαν, τί ποτε Βουλεται καὶ ὅτου ποτὲ ἐστὶν εἰκῶν ὄντως, σχολὴ τὴν γε ὀρθότητα τῆς Βουλήσεως ἢ καὶ ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοῦ διαγνώστεται.

κα. Σχολὴ: πῶς δ’ οὐ;

D ἀθ. 'Ὁ δὲ τὸ ὀρθῶς μὴ γιγνώσκων ἄρ’ ἄν ποτε τὸ γε εὖ καὶ τὸ κακῶς δυνατὸς εἰν’ διαγνώσαι; λέγω δ’ οὐ πάνυ σαφῶς, ἀλλ’ ὧδε σαφέστερον ἴσως ἄν λεχθεῖν.

κα. Πῶς;

ἀθ. Εἰσὶ δὴ ποι κατὰ τὴν ὑψιν ἡμῖν ἀπεικασίαι μυρίαι.

κα. Ναι.

ἀθ. Τί οὖν; εἰ τις καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγνοοῖ τῶν μεμμημένων ὁ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶν ἐκαστον τῶν σωμάτων, ἄρ’ ἄν ποτε τὸ γε ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν εἰργασμένον γνοίη; λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιοῦδε, οἶνον τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς [τοῦ σῶματος καὶ] ἐκάστων τῶν μερῶν Ε τάς <τε> θέσεις ἢ ἔχει, ὁσοι τε εἰσὶ καὶ ὅποια παρ’ ὅποια αὐτῶν κείμενα τὴν προσήκουσαν τάξιν ἀπείληφε, καὶ ἐτι δὴ χρώματά τε καὶ σχήματα, ἢ πάντα ταῦτα τεταραγμένως εἰργασται. μῶν δοκεὶ ταῦτ’ ἄν ποτε διαγρώναι τις τὸ παράπαν ἀγνοῶν ὁ τί ποτὲ ἐστὶ τὸ μεμμημένον ξώ ων;

κα. Καὶ πῶς;

ἀθ. Τί δ’; εἰ γιγνώσκοιμεν ὅτι τὸ γεγραμμένον ἢ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐστὶν ἀνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χρώματα ἁμα καὶ ἱδιαίως σχήματα ἀπειληφεὶν ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης, ἀρά γε ἀναγκαῖον ἢ ἐτι τὸ ταῦτα γνῶτι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐτοιμος γιγνώσκειν εἰτε καλὸν εἰτε ὅτι ποτὲ ἐλλιπές αὐτ εἰ ἐντ κάλλους;

1 [τοῦ σῶματος καὶ] I bracket, and add <τε> after τάς.
its essence,—what its intention is and what the actual original which it represents,—then he will hardly be able to decide how far it succeeds or fails in fulfilling its intention.

CLIN. Hardly, to be sure.

ATH. And would a man who does not know what constitutes correctness be able to decide as to the goodness or badness of a poem? But I am not making myself quite clear: it might be clearer if I put it in this way—

CLIN. In what way?

ATH. As regards objects of sight we have, of course, thousands of representations.

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. How, then, if in this class of objects a man were to be ignorant of the nature of each of the bodies represented,—could he ever know whether it is correctly executed? What I mean is this: whether it preserves the proper dimensions and the positions of each of the bodily parts, and has caught their exact number and the proper order in which one is placed next another, and their colours and shapes as well,—or whether all these things are wrought in a confused manner. Do you suppose that anyone could possibly decide these points if he were totally ignorant as to what animal was being represented?

CLIN. How could he?

ATH. Well, suppose we should know that the object painted or moulded is a man, and know that art has endowed him with all his proper parts, colours, and shapes,—is it at once inevitable that the person who knows this can easily discern also whether the work is beautiful, or wherein it is deficient in beauty?


**PLATO**

κα. Πάντες μενταύν, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξένη, τὰ
καλὰ τῶν ξών ἐγγυρόσκομεν.

ἀν. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις. ἂρ' οὖν οὐ περὶ ἐκά-
στην εἰκόνα καὶ ἐν γραφικῇ καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ
πάντη τὸν μέλλοντα ἐμφρονα κριτὴν ἐσεσθαί δεῖ

Β ταῦτα τρία ἔχειν, ὅ τε ἐστὶ πρῶτον γνωσκεῖν,
ἔπειτα ὡς ὅρθως, ἔπειθ' ὡς εὐ, τὸ τρίτον, εἴργασται
τῶν εἰκόνων ἡτίσον [ῥήμασί τε καὶ μέλεσι καὶ
toῖς ῥυθμοῖς];

κα. Ἐσθε γοῦν.

ἀν. Μὴ τοῖνυν ἀπείπωμεν λέγοντες τὸ περὶ
τὴν μουσικὴν ὡς χαλεπόν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑμεῖναι
περὶ αὐτὴν διαφέροντως ἢ τὰς ἄλλας εἰκόνας,
εὐλαβείας δὴ δεῖται πλείστης πασῶν εἰκόνων.
ἀμαρτῶν τε γὰρ τις μέγιστ' ἀν βλάπτοιτο, ἡθῇ

C κακὰ φιλοφρονούμενος, χαλεπώτατον τε αἰσθέ-
σθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ποιητὰς φαυλοτέρους εἰναι
ποιητὰς αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖνα
γε ἐξαμάρτοιεν ποτε τοσοῦτον, ὡστε ῥήματα
ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασαι τὸ σχῆμα γυναικῶν καὶ μέλος
ὑποδοῦναι, καὶ μέλος ἔλευθέρων ἀυ καὶ σχῆματα
ξυνθείσαι ῥυθμοῖς δούλων καὶ ἀνελευθέρων προσ-
αμοττειν, οὐδ' αὐ ῥυθμοῖς καὶ σχῆμα ἔλευ-
θέρων ὑποθείσαι μέλος ἢ λόγον ἐναντίον ἀπο-

D δοῦναι τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς: ἐτὶ δὲ θηρίων φωνᾶς καὶ
ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὀργάνων καὶ πάντας ψόφους εἰς
tαυτὸ ὡς ἂν ποτε ξυνθεῖν, ὡς ἐν τι μιμούμεναι.

1 [ῥήμασι ... ῥυθμοῖς] bracketed by England.

1 In what follows, the main features censured are—in-
congruity, when the words, tunes and gestures of an acted
piece of music are out of harmony; senselessness, when tunes
and gestures are divorced from words; barbarousness, when

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If that were so, Stranger, practically all of us would know what animals are beautiful.

You are quite right. In regard, then, to every representation—whether in painting, music or any other art—must not the judicious critic possess these three requisites: first, a knowledge of the nature of the original; next, a knowledge of the correctness of the copy; and thirdly, a knowledge of the excellence with which the copy is executed?

It would seem so, certainly.

Let us not hesitate, then, to mention the point wherein lies the difficulty of music. Just because it is more talked about than any other form of representation, it needs more caution than any. The man who blunders in this art will do himself the greatest harm, by welcoming base morals; and, moreover, his blunder is very hard to discern, inasmuch as our poets are inferior as poets to the Muses themselves. For the Muses would never blunder so far as to assign a feminine tune and gesture to verses composed for men, or to fit the rhythms of captives and slaves to a tune and gestures framed for free men, or conversely, after constructing the rhythms and gestures of free men, to assign to the rhythms a tune or verses of an opposite style. Nor would the Muses ever combine in a single piece the cries of beasts and men, the clash of instruments, and noises of all kinds, by way of representing a single object;

the thing represented is paltry or uncouth (such as a duck’s quack); virtuosity, when the performer makes a display of the control he has over his limbs and instruments, like a mountebank or “contortionist.” All these are marks of bad music from the point of view of the educationist and statesman, since they are neither “correct” nor morally elevating.
PLATO

ποιηταὶ δ' ἀνθρώπινοι σφόδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπλέκοντες καὶ συγκυκώντες ἀλόγως γέλωτ' ἀν παρασκευάζοιεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥσις ¹ φησὶν Ὄρφεὺς "λαχεῖν ὥραν τῆς τέρψεως:" ταυτά τε γὰρ ὀρθῶν πάντα κυκώμενα καὶ εἰ τί ² διασπῶσιν οἴ ποιηταὶ ρυθμὸν μὲν καὶ σχῆματα μέλους χωρίς, λόγους ψυλοὺς εἰς μέτρα τιθέντες, μέλος

Εδ' αὖ καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἀνευ ῥημάτων, ψυλῆ κιθαρίζει τε καὶ αὐλήσει προσχρόμενοι, ἐν οἷς δὴ παγχάλε-πον ἀνευ λόγου γεγομένου ρυθμὸν τε καὶ ἄρμονίαν γιγνώσκειν ὃ τί τε βούλεται καὶ ὡς ἔοικε τῶν ἀξιολόγων μηματών. ἀλλ' ὑπολαβέων ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτόν γε πολλὴς ἀγροκίας μεστῶν πάν, ὁπόσον τάχους τε καὶ ἀπταισίας καὶ φωνῆς θηριώδους σφόδρα <ἐρα> [φιλον], ³ ὥστ' αὐλήσει γε χρήσθαι καὶ κιθαρίζει πλην ὅσον ὑπὸ ὀρχησὶν τε καὶ ἔδην. ψηλ' δ' ἐκατέρω πᾶσα τις ἁμοισία καὶ θαυματουργία γίγνοιτ' ἀν τῆς χρήσεως. ταυτὰ μὲν ἔχει ταὐτὴ λόγον ἡμεῖσι δὲ γε οὐχ ὃ τι μὴ δεῖ ταῖς Μοῦσαις ἡμῶν προσχρήσθαι τοὺς ἕδη τριακοντοτάς καὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα πέραν γεγονότας σκοπούμεθα, ἀλλ' ὃ τί ποτε δεῖ. τόδε μὲν οὖν ἐκ τοῦτων ὁ λόγος ἡμῶν δοκεῖ μοι ση-μαίνειν ἕδη τῆς γε χορικῆς Μοῦσης ὧτι πεπαι-δεύσθαι δεῖ βέλτιον τοὺς πεντήκοντας, ὥσις

Β περ ἄν ἄδειν προσήκη. τῶν γὰρ ρυθμῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρμονίων ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς ἐστίν εὐαισθήτως ἔχειν καὶ γιγνώσκειν ἦ πῶς τις τῆς ὀρθότητας γνώσεται τῶν μελῶν [ὁ προσήκειν ἡ μὴ προσήκει τοῦ Δωριστὶ καὶ τοῦ ρυθμοῦ ὃν ὁ ποιητὴς αὐτῷ προσήκειν, ὥρθως ἡ μή]; ⁴

¹ ὥσις H. Richards: ὥσις MSS., edd.
whereas human poets, by their senselessness in mixing such things and jumbling them up together, would furnish a theme for laughter to all the men who, in Orpheus' phrase, "have attained the full flower of joyousness." For they behold all these things jumbled together, and how, also, the poets rudely sunder rhythm and gesture from tune, putting tuneless words into metre, or leaving tune and rhythm without words, and using the bare sound of harp or flute, wherein it is almost impossible to understand what is intended by this wordless rhythm and harmony, or what noteworthy original it represents. Such methods, as one ought to realise, are clownish in the extreme in so far as they exhibit an excessive craving for speed, mechanical accuracy, and the imitation of animals' sounds, and consequently employ the pipe and the harp without the accompaniment of dance and song; for the use of either of these instruments by itself is the mark of the mountebank or the boor. Enough, then, of that matter: now as to ourselves. What we are considering is, not how those of us who are over thirty years old, or beyond fifty, ought not to make use of the Muses, but how they ought to do so. Our argument already indicates, I think, this result from our discussion,—that all men of over fifty that are fit to sing ought to have a training that is better than that of the choric Muse. For they must of necessity possess knowledge and a quick perception of rhythms and harmonies; else how shall a man know which tunes are correct?

2 εί τι Badham, Schanz: ετι MSS.
3 <ερ> I add, and bracket φιλον.
4 [ά... μή] bracketed by England.
κλ. Δήλον ώς οὐδαμώς.

αθ. Γελοίος γὰρ ὦ γε πολὺς ὁχλὸς ἥγουμενος ἱκανῶς γεγυνώσκειν τὸ τ’ ευάρμοστον καὶ εὐρυθμον καὶ μή, ὅσοι προσάδειν αὐλῷ¹ καὶ βαίνειν ἐν ωρθῳ̃ γεγόνασι διηναγκασμένοι ὅτι δὲ δρῶσι ταῦτα ἁγνοοῦντες αὐτῶν ἔκαστα, οὗ συλλογίζονταί. τὸ δὲ ποτ’ προσήκοντα μὲν ἔχου πᾶν μέλος ὥρθως ἔχει, μὴ προσήκοντα δὲ ἡμαρτημένως.

κλ. Ἀναγκαίοτατα.

αθ. Τάς οὖν; ὁ μηδὲ τ’ τί ποτ’ ἔχει γεγυνώσκων ἀρά, τ’ τί περ εἴπομεν, ὡς ὥρθως γε αὐτὸ ἔχει γνώσεται ποτε ἐν ὁτροῦν;

κλ. Καὶ τις μηχανή;

αθ. Τοῦτ’ οὖν, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἀνευρίσκομεν αὐ τὰ νῦν, ὃτι τοῖς φῶδοῖς ἡμῖν, οὕς νῦν παρακαλοῦμεν D καὶ ἐκόντας τινὰ τρόπον ἀναγκάζομεν άδειν, μέχρι γε τοσοῦτον πεπαιδεύσθαι σχεδὸν ἀναγκαίον, μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ εἶναι ξυνακολουθεῖν ἕκαστον ταῖς τέ βάσει τῶν ρυθμῶν καὶ ταῖς χορδαῖς ταῖς τῶν μελῶν, ἵνα καθορῶντες τάς τε ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ρυθμοὺς ἐκλέγεσθαι τα τὰ προσήκοντα οἷοί τ’ ὄσιν, ἄ τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις τε καὶ τοιοῦτοις άδειν πρέπουν, καὶ οὕτως άδώσι, καὶ ἄδοντες αὐτοὶ τε ἡδονᾶς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἁσίνεις ἡδωνται καὶ τοῖς νεωτέροις ἡγεμόνες ἥθων χρηστῶν ἂστασιμὸν E προσήκοντος γύρωνται. μέχρι δὲ τοσοῦτον παι- δευθέντες ἀκριβεστέραν ἄν παιδείαν τής ἐπὶ τὸ

¹ αὐλῷ Badham, Schanz: αὐτῶν MSS.
Obviously he cannot know this at all.

It is absurd of the general crowd to imagine that they can fully understand what is harmonious and rhythmical, or the reverse, when they have been drilled to sing to the flute or step in time; and they fail to comprehend that, in doing each of these things, they do them in ignorance. But the fact is that every tune which has its appropriate elements is correct, but incorrect if the elements are inappropriate.

Undoubtedly.

What then of the man who does not know in the least what the tune’s elements are? Will he ever know about any tune, as we said, that it is correct?

There is no possible means of his doing so.

We are now once more, as it appears, discovering the fact that these singers of ours (whom we are now inviting and compelling, so to say, of their own free will to sing) must almost necessarily be trained up to such a point that every one of them may be able to follow both the steps of the rhythms and the chords of the tunes, so that, by observing the harmonies and rhythms, they may be able to select those of an appropriate kind, which it is seemly for men of their own age and character to sing, and may in this wise sing them, and in the singing may not only enjoy innocent pleasure themselves at the moment, but also may serve as leaders to the younger men in their seemly adoption of noble manners. If they were trained up to such a point, their training would be more thorough than

1 *i.e.* dance-steps and gestures; "chords" nearly equals "notes," with which the "steps" should "keep time."
πλήθος φερούσης εἶνεν μετακεχειρισμένοι καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτοὺς. τὸ γὰρ τρίτον οὗτος ἀνάγκη ποιητὴ γεγυνώσκειν, εἰτε καλὸν εἰτε μὴ καλὸν τὸ μίμημα, τὸ δ’ ἀρμονίας καὶ ρυθμοῦ σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη τοὺς δὲ πάντα τὰ τρία τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἐνεκα τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ δευτέρου, ἢ μηδὲτοτε ἰκανὸν ἐπώδον γίγνεσθαι νέοις πρὸς ἀρετήν. καὶ ὅπερ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐβουλήθη, τὴν τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου χορῷ βοήθειαν ἐπιδείξαν καλῶς λεγομένην, εἰς δύναμιν εἰρήκη. σκοπώμεθα δὴ εἰ τούθ’ οὕτω γέγονε. θορυβώδης μὲν ποῦ ὁ ξύλλογος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης προϊόνθησιν τῆς πόσεως ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ εὐμβαίνει γεγυνόμενος, ὅπερ ὑπεθέμεθα κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἀναγκαίον εἶναι Β γίγνεσθαι περὶ τῶν νῦν συγγεγυνομένων.\\n\\nκλ. Ἄναγκη.

α. Ἄν. Πᾶς δὲ γε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κοινοτερος αἰρεται καὶ γέγηθε τε καὶ παρῆσιας ἐμπίπλαταί καὶ ἀνηκουστίας ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ τῶν πέλας, ἀρχων δ’ ἰκανὸς ἀξιοὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι.

κλ. Τὶ μὴν;

α. Ὁκοῦν ἔφαμεν, δότας γίγνηται ταῦτα, καθάπερ τινὰ σίδηρον, τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πιθότων διαπύρους γεγυνομένας μαλθακωτέρας γίγνεσθαι C καὶ νεωτέρας, ὡςτε εὐαγώγους εὐμβαίνειν τῷ δυναμένῳ καὶ ἐπισταμένῳ παιδεύειν τε καὶ πλάττειν, καθάπερ ὅτ’ ἦσαν νέα; τοῦτον δ’


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that of the majority, or indeed of the poets themselves. For although it is almost necessary for a poet to have a knowledge of harmony and rhythm, it is not necessary for him to know the third point also—namely, whether the representation is noble or ignoble; but for our older singers a knowledge of all these three points is necessary, to enable them to determine what is first, what second in order of nobility; otherwise none of them will ever succeed in attracting the young to virtue by his incantations. The primary intention of our argument, which was to demonstrate that our defence of the Dionysiac chorus was justifiable, has now been carried out to the best of our ability. Let us consider if that is really so. Such a gathering inevitably tends, as the drinking proceeds, to grow ever more and more uproarious; and in the case of the present day gatherings that is, as we said at the outset, an inevitable result.

CLIN. Inevitable.

ATH. Everyone is uplifted above his normal self, and is merry and bubbles over with loquacious audacity himself, while turning a deaf ear to his neighbours, and regards himself as competent to rule both himself and everyone else.

CLIN. To be sure.

ATH. And did we not say that when this takes place, the souls of the drinkers turn softer, like iron, through being heated, and younger too; whence they become ductile, just as when they were young, in the hands of the man who has the skill and ability to train and mould them. And now, even as

1 i.e. the composer, as such, is not concerned with the moral (or psychological) effect of the piece.
διαιράζεται τῶν πλάστην τῶν αὐτῶν ὁσπερ τότε, τῶν ἀγαθῶν νομοθέτην, οὐ νόμους εἶναι δεῖ συμποτικούς, δυναμένους τῶν εὐθεῖας καὶ θαρραλέουν ἐκείνων γιγνόμενων καὶ ἀναίσχυντὸτερον τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουτα τάξιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος σιγῆς καὶ λόγου καὶ πόσεως καὶ μούσης ὑπομένειν, ἐθέλειν τοιεῖν πάντα τούτως τάναντια, καὶ εἰσίν τινὶ τῷ μὴ καλῶ θάρρει τῶν κάλλιστων διαιραχούμενον φόβον εἰσπέμπειν οίονς τ’ εἶναι μετὰ δίκης, οὐ αἰδῶ τε καὶ αἰσχύνην [θείον φόβον] ὡνομάκαμεν.

κλ. Ἑστὶ ταῦτα.

α. Τούτων δὲ γε τῶν νόμων εἶναι νομοφύλακας καὶ συνδημούργους αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀθορύβους καὶ νῆφουτας τῶν μὴ νηφότων στρατηγοὺς, ὡν δὴ χωρὶς μέθη διαιράχειαν δεινότερον ἡ πολεμίως εἶναι μὴ μετὰ ἀρχώτων ἀθορύβων, καὶ τὸν αὐ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι τούτως καὶ τοῖς Ε ἡγεμόσι τοῖς τοῦ Διονύσου, τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονόσιν, ἵσθι καὶ μείζω τὴν αἰσχύνην φέρειν ἢ τὸν τοῖς τοῦ Ἀρεός ἀπείδοοντα ἀρχοῦσιν.

κλ. Ὀρθῶς.

α. Οὐκοῦν εἰ γε εἰ ἑν τοιαύτη μὲν μέθη, τοιαύτη δὲ παιδιά, μῶν οὐκ ὄσελθεντες ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι συμπόται καὶ μᾶλλον φίλοι ἡ πρότερον ἀπαλλάττουτο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὀσπερ τὰ νῦν ἔχθροι, κατὰ νόμους δὴ τὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ξυνοσιάν ἐν πολλοὶ καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντες ὁπότε ἄφηγοτοι οἱ νῆφουτες τοῖς μὴ νῆφουσιν;

κλ. Ὀρθῶς, εἰ γε δὴ εἰ ἑν τοιαύτη οίαν νῦν λέγεις.

1 διαιραχούμενον H. Richards: διαιραχόμενον MSS.
then, the man who is to mould them is the good legislator; he must lay down banqueting laws, able to control that banqueter who becomes confident and bold and unduly shameless, and unwilling to submit to the proper limits of silence and speech, of drinking and of music, making him consent to do in all ways the opposite,—laws able also, with the aid of justice, to fight against the entrance of such ignoble audacity, by bringing in that most noble fear which we have named "modesty" and "shame."

CLIN. That is so.

ATH. And as law-wardens of these laws and co-operators therewith, there must be sober and sedate men to act as commanders over the un-sober; for to fight drunkenness without these would be a more formidable task than to fight enemies without sedate leaders. Any man who refuses willingly to obey these men and the officers of Dionysus (who are over sixty years of age) shall incur as much disgrace as the man who disobeys the officers of Ares, and even more.

CLIN. Quite right.

ATH. If such was the character of the drinking and of the recreation, would not such fellow-drinkers be the better for it, and part from one another better friends than before, instead of enemies, as now? For they would be guided by laws in all their intercourse, and would listen to the directions given to the un-sober by the sober.

CLIN. True, if it really were of the character you describe.

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2 [δειον φόβον] bracketed by Badham, Schanz.
3 δή England: δὲ MSS.
αθ. Μή τοίνυν ἐκεῖνό γ' ἐτι τής τοῦ Διονύσου
dωρεᾶς ψέγωμεν ἀπλῶς, ὡς ἐστι κακῆ καὶ εἰς
πόλιν οὐκ ἄξια παραδέχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι
πλεῖον τις ἀν ἐπεξέλθου λέγων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ
μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ὁ δωρεῖται λέγειν μὲν ὅκνος
eἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ κακῶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
Β αὐτὸ ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ γνῶναι λεχθὲν.

κλ. Τὸ ποίον δῆ;

αθ. Δόγας τις ἀμα καὶ φήμη ὑπορρέει πως,
ὡς ὁ θεὸς οὕτω ὑπὸ τῆς μητρινᾶς Ἡρας διεφο-
ρήθη τῆς ψυχῆς τῆν γνώμην, διὸ τὰς τε βακχείας
καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μανικήν ἐμβάλλει χορεύαν τιμω-
ροῦμενος· οἶθεν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπὶ τούτῳ αὐτό
dεδώρηται. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἁσφαλέοις
ήγουμένους εἶναι λέγειν περὶ θεῶν ἀφίημι λέγειν,
tὸ δὲ τοσόνδε οἶδα, ὅτι πᾶν ξῶν, ὅσον αὐτῷ
C προσήκει νοῦν ἔχειν τελεωθέντι, τοῦτον καὶ
tοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔχον ποτὲ φύεται. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ
tῶς χρόνῳ ἐν ω̣ μήπω κέκτηται τὴν οἰκείαν
φρόνησιν, πάν μαίνεται τε καὶ βοᾷ ἀτάκτως, καὶ
ὅταν ἀκταινώσῃ ἐαυτὸ τάχιστα, ἀτάκτως αὖ
πῆδι. ἀναμνησθώμεν δὲ ὅτι μούσικής τε καὶ
γυμναστικῆς ἐφαμεν ἀρχάς ταύτας εἶναι.

κλ. Μεμνήμεθα· τί δ' οὖ;

αθ. Ὄνικοῦν καὶ ὅτι τὴν ρυθμοῦ τε καὶ ἀρμονίας
D αἰσθησιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡμῖν ἐνδεδωκέναι τὴν
ἀρχήν ταύτην ἐφαμεν· Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Μούσας
καὶ Δίονυσον συναιτίους ¹ γεγονέναι ἔ

1 συναιτίους: θεῶν aitíous MSS.: τούτων aitíous Cornarius.

1 i.e. the "frenzied" motion ascribed to Dionysus is, rather
ATH. Then we must no longer, without qualification, bring that old charge against the gift of Dionysus, that it is bad and unworthy of admittance into a State. Indeed, one might enlarge considerably on this subject; for the greatest benefit that gift confers is one which one hesitates to declare to the multitude, since, when declared, it is misconceived and misunderstood.

CLIN. What is that?

ATH. There is a secret stream of story and report to the effect that the god Dionysus was robbed of his soul's judgment by his stepmother Hera, and that in vengeance therefor he brought in Bacchic rites and all the frenzied choristry, and with the same aim bestowed also the gift of wine. These matters, however, I leave to those who think it safe to say them about deities; but this much I know,—that no creature is ever born in possession of that reason, or that amount of reason, which properly belongs to it when fully developed; consequently, every creature, during the period when it is still lacking in its proper intelligence, continues all in a frenzy, crying out wildly, and, as soon as it can get on its feet, leaping wildly. Let us remember how we said that in this we have the origin of music and gymnastic.

CLIN. We remember that, of course.

ATH. Do we not also remember how we said that from this origin there was implanted in us men the sense of rhythm and harmony, and that the joint authors thereof were Apollo and the Muses and the god Dionysus?

a natural instinct exhibited in all child-life, and D. helps to reduce it to rhythm.  

1 Cp. 653 D ff.

2 Cp. 653 D ff.
κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; 
α. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν οίνον γε, ὡς ἐσικεῦν, ὦ τῶν ἀλλων λόγως ἦνα μανῶμεν φησὶν ἐπὶ τιμωρία τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεδομένην. ὦ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενος ὑφ' ἡμῶν φάρμακον ἐπὶ τοῦνιτὸν φησὶν αἴδους μὲν ψυχῆς κτήσεως ἐνεκα δεδομέναι, σῶματος δὲ ὑγιείας τὲ καὶ ἵσχυος.
κα. Κάλλιστα, ὃ ξένε, τὸν λόγον ἀπεμνημόνευκας.

Ε. α. Καὶ τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς χορείας ἡμίσεα διαπεπεράνθω τὰ δ' ἡμίσεα, ὅπως ἀν ἐτὶ δοκῆ, περανοῦμεν ἢ καὶ ἔασομεν;
κα. Ποῦα δὴ λέγεις, καὶ πῶς ἐκάτερα διαιρῶν;
α. Ὅλη μὲν πον χορεία ὅλη παιδεύσεις ἡ ἡμῖν, τούτου δ' αὖ τὸ μὲν ρυθμὸι τὲ καὶ ἀρμονία τὸ κατὰ τὴν φωνήν.
κα. Ναί.
α. Τὸ δὲ γε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σῶματος κίνησιν ρυθμὸν μὲν κοινὸν τῇ τῆς φωνῆς εἶχε κινήσει, σχῆμα δὲ ἱδιον. ἐκεῖ δὲ μέλος ἡ τῆς φωνῆς 673 κίνησις.
κα. Ἀληθεστάτα.
α. Τὰ μὲν τοῖνυν τῆς φωνῆς μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν παιδείας, ὁμοίως ὅτι τρόπον, ὑπομάσσεμεν μουσικῆς.
κα. Ὀρθῶς μὲν οὖν.
α. Τὰ δὲ γε τοῦ σῶματος, ἢ παιζοντων ὀρχησιν εὐπομεν, ἐάν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ σῶματος ἀρετῆς ἦ τοιαύτη κίνησις γίγνηται, τὴν ἐντεχνον ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ γυμναστικῆς προσεπώμεν.

1 ἀρετὴν παιδείας Ritter: ἀρετῆς παιδείαν MSS.
Certainly we remember.

Moreover, as to wine, the account given by other people apparently is that it was bestowed on us men as a punishment, to make us mad; but our own account, on the contrary, declares that it is a medicine given for the purpose of securing modesty of soul and health and strength of body.

You have recalled our account admirably, Stranger.

We may say, then, that the one half of the subject of choristry has now been disposed of. Shall we proceed at once to deal with the other half in whatever way seems best, or shall we leave it alone?

What halves do you mean? How are you dividing the subject?

In our view, choristry as a whole is identical with education as a whole; and the part of this concerned with the voice consists of rhythms and harmonies.

Yes.

And the part concerned with bodily motion possesses, in common with vocal motion, rhythm; besides which it possesses gesture as its own peculiar attribute, just as tune is the peculiar attribute of vocal motion.

Very true.

Now the vocal actions which pertain to the training of the soul in excellence we ventured somehow to name "music."

And rightly so.

As regards the bodily actions which we called playful dancing,—if such action attains to bodily excellence, we may term the technical guidance of the body to this end "gymnastic."
Β  κλ. Ὁρθότατα.

ἀθ. Τὸ δὲ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὅ νῦν δὴ σχεδὸν ἢμισυ διεληλυθέναι τῆς χορείας εἶπομεν καὶ διαπεπεράνθαι, καὶ νῦν οὕτως εἰρήσθω· τὸ δὲ ἢμισυ λέγωμεν, ἡ πῶς καὶ πῇ ποιητέον;

κλ. 'Ὡ ἀριστε, Κρησὶ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις διαλεγόμενοι, μουσικῆς πέρι διελθόντων ἠμῶν, ἐλλειπόντων δὲ γυμναστικῆς, τί ποτε ο��ει σοι πότερον ἠμῶν ἀποκρινεῖσθαι πρὸς ταύτην τήν ἐρώτησιν;

ἀθ. 'Ἀποκεκρίσθαι ἐγώγ' ἂν σε φαίνων σχεδὸν

C ταύτ' ἔρομενον σαφῶς, καὶ μανθάνω ὃς ἐρώτησις οὕσα αὕτη τὰ νῦν ἀπόκρισις τ' ἐστίν, ὡς εἴπον καὶ ἔτι πρόσταξις διαπεράνασθαι τὰ περὶ γυμναστικῆς.

κλ. 'Ἀρισθ' ὑπέλαβες τε καὶ οὕτω δὴ ποίει.

ἀθ. Ποιητέον' οὐδὲ γὰρ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐστιν εἴπειν ὑμῖν γε ἀμφοτέροις γνώριμα. πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ πλέον ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῃ μετέχετε.

κλ. Σχεδὸν ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ἀθ. Οὐκοῦν αὖ ταύτης ἄρχῃ μὲν τῆς παιδίας

D τὸ κατὰ φύσιν πηδὰν εἴθισθαι πάν ἧδων, τὸ δ' ἀνθρώπινον, ὡς ἐφαμεν, αἴσθησιν λαβὼν τοῦ ὑπομοιωσκόντος καὶ ἐγείροντος τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ, κοινωθέντ' ἀλλήλοις χορείαν καὶ παιδίαν ἐτεκέτην.

κλ. 'Ἀληθέστατα.

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CLIN. Quite rightly.

ATH. As to music, which was referred to when we said a moment ago that the one half of choristry had been described and disposed of,—let us say the same of it now; but as to the other half, are we to speak about it, or what are we to do?

CLIN. My good sir, you are conversing with Cretans and Lacedaemonians, and we have discussed the subject of music; what reply, then, to your question do you suppose that either of us will make, when the subject left still untouched is gymnastic?

ATH. You have given me a pretty clear answer, I should say, in putting this question; although it is a question, I understand it to be also (as I say) an answer—or rather, an actual injunction to give a full account of gymnastic.

CLIN. You have grasped my meaning excellently: please do so.

ATH. Do it I must; and indeed it is no very hard task to speak of things well known to you both. For you are far better acquainted with this art than with the other.

CLIN. That is about true.

ATH. The origin of the play1 we are speaking of is to be found in the habitual tendency of every living creature to leap; and the human creature, by acquiring, as we said, a sense of rhythm, generated and brought forth dancing; and since the rhythm is suggested and awakened by the tune, the union of these two brought forth choristry and play.

CLIN. Very true.

1 *i.e.* playful motion, or dancing, as contrasted with “music” (or “harmony”) which springs from the tendency to cry out.
αθ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν, φαμέν, ἡδη διεληλύθαμεν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ πειρασόμεθα ἐφεξῆς διελθεῖν.
κλ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
αθ. Ἐπὶ τοῖνυν τῇ τῆς μέθης χρεία τὸν κολο-Ε φῶνα πρῶτον ἑπιθῶμεν, εἰ καὶ σφῶν ξυνδοκεῖ.
κλ. Ποιον δὴ καὶ τίνα λέγεις;
αθ. Εἰ μὲν τις πόλις ὡς οὕσης σπουδῆς τῷ ἐπιτηθεύματι τῷ νῦν εἰρημένῳ χρῆσται μετὰ νόμων καὶ τάξεως, ὡς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἕνεκα μελέτης ἕνρωμεν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἒδονῶν μὴ ἀφέξεται ὡσαύτως καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτῶν λόγον, τοῦ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἕνεκα μηχανωμένη, τούτων μὲν τὸν τρόπον ἅπασι τούτως χρηστέον, εἰ δ' ὡς παιδία τε, καὶ ἔξεσται τῷ βουλομένῳ, καὶ 674 ὅταν βούληται, καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἄν βούληται, πίνειν μετ' ἐπιτηθευμάτων ὄντωνυμων ἄλλων, οὐκ ἄν τιθείμην ταύτῃ τὴν ψήφου, ὡς δὲὶ ποτὲ μὲθη χρῆσθαι ταύτῃ τὴν πόλιν ἦ τούτοις τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς Κρητῶν καὶ Δακεδαιμονίων χρείας προσθῆκαν ἄν ὑπὲρ τῶν Καρχηδονίων νόμων, μηδέποτε μηδένα ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γεύεσθαι τούτου τοῦ πόλιματος, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίαις εὐγενέσθαι τούτοις τὸν χρόνον ἁπάντα, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν μήτε δούλον μήτε δουλὴν γεύεσθαι μηδέποτε, μηδὲ Β ἄρχοντας τούτων τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ὅπο τὸν ἄρχωσι, μηδ', αὖ κυβερνήτας μηδὲ δικαστὰς ἐνεργοὺς ὀντας οἴνου γεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, μηδ' ὡστὶς βουλευ-σόμενος εἰς βουλὴν ἄξιαν τινὰ λόγου συνερχεται, μηδ' γε μεθ' ἑμεραν μηδένα τὸ παράπαν, εἰ μη σωμασκίας ἢ νόσων ἕνεκα, μηδ' αὖ νύκτωρ, ὅταν

1 μελέτη Euseb., Schanz: μελέτης MSS.
ATH. Of choristry we have already discussed the one part, and we shall next endeavour to discuss the other part.

CLIN. By all means.

ATH. But, if you both agree, let us first put the finishing stroke to our discourse on the use of drink.

CLIN. What, or what kind of, finish do you mean?

ATH. If a State shall make use of the institution now mentioned in a lawful and orderly manner, regarding it in a serious light and practising it with a view to temperance, and if in like manner and with a like object, aiming at the mastery of them, it shall allow indulgence in all other pleasures,—then they must all be made use of in the manner described. But if, on the other hand, this institution is regarded in the light of play, and if anyone that likes is to be allowed to drink whenever he likes and with any companions he likes, and that in conjunction with all sorts of other institutions,—then I would refuse to vote for allowing such a State or such an individual ever to indulge in drink, and I would go even beyond the practice of the Cretans and Lacedaemonians; and to the Carthaginian law, which ordains that no soldier on the march should ever taste of this potion, but confine himself for the whole of the time to water-drinking only, I would add this, that in the city also no bondsman or bondsmaid should ever taste of it; and that magistrates during their year of office, and pilots and judges while on duty, should taste no wine at all; nor should any councillor, while attending any important council; nor should anyone whatever taste of it at all, except for reasons of bodily training or health, in the day-time; nor

1 Cp. Bk. i. 637a, b.
PLATO

ἐπινοή τις παιδας ποιεῖσθαι ἀνήρ ἢ καὶ γυνή.
καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πάμπολλα ἀν τις λέγοι, ἐν οἷς τοῖς
νοῦν τε καὶ νόμον ἔχουσιν ὁρθὸν οὐ ποτέος οἶνος.
Ο ὡστε κατὰ τὸν λόγον τούτον οὐδ' ἀμπελώνων
ἀν πολλῶν δέοι οὐδ' ἤτινι πόλει, τακτὰ δὲ τὰ
τ' ἄλλα ἀν εἰη γεωργήματα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ δίαιτα,
καὶ δὴ τά γε περὶ οἶνου σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐμμετρο-
τατα καὶ ὀλίγιστα γίγνοιτ' ἀν. οὕτως, ὃ ξένοι,
ἡμῖν, εἰ ἐσνόδοκεί, κολοφόνων ἐπὶ τῷ περὶ οἴνου
λόγῳ ῥηθέντι εἰρήσθω.
κλ. Καλῶς, καὶ ξυνόδοκεί.

1 ἀμπελώνων Euseb. : ἀμπέλων MSS.
should anyone do so by night—be he man or woman—when proposing to procreate children. Many other occasions, also, might be mentioned when wine should not be drunk by men who are swayed by right reason and law. Hence, according to this argument, there would be no need for any State to have a large number of vineyards; and while all the other agricultural products, and all the foodstuffs, would be controlled, the production of wine especially would be kept within the smallest and most modest dimensions. Let this, then, Strangers, if you agree, be the finishing stroke which we put to our discourse concerning wine.

CLIN. Very good; we quite agree.
676 ΑΘ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὐν δὴ ταύτη τε πολιτείας δ' ἀρχὴν τίνα ποτὲ φῶμεν γεγονέναι; μῶν οὐκ ἐνθέειδε τις ἂν αὐτὴν ρᾶστα τε καὶ κάλλιστα κατίδοι;

ΚΑ. Πόθεν;

ΑΘ. "Οθεν περ καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἀρετὴν μεταβαινοῦσον ἓμα καὶ κακίαν ἐκάστοτε θεατέον.

ΚΑ. Λέγεις δὲ πόθεν;

ΑΘ. Οίμαι μὲν ἄπο χρόνου μῆκους τε καὶ Β ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ.

ΚΑ. Πῶς λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Φέρε, ἄφ' οὐ πόλεις τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἀνθρώποι πολιτεύομενοι, δοκεῖς ἂν ποτὲ κατανοΗ corruptionΤαι χρόνου πλήθος ὡςον γέγονεν;

ΚΑ. Οὔκουν ῥαδίον γε οὐδ' αμώς.

ΑΘ. Τὸ δὲ γε, ὡς ἀπλετὼν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον ἂν εἰη.

ΚΑ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν τούτῳ γε.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν οὐ μυρίας μὲν ἐπὶ μυρίαις ἢμῖν γεγόνασι πόλεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους λόγον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐφθαρ- C μέναι; πεπολιτευμέναι δ' ἀυ πᾶσας πολιτείας πολλάκις ἐκασταχοῦ; καὶ τοτε μὲν ἐξ ἐλαττώνυ μεῖζον, τοτε δὲ ἐκ μειζόνων ἐλάττους, καὶ χείρους ἐκ βελτιώνων γεγώνασι καὶ βελτίους ἐκ χειρόνων;

1 μεταβαινοῦσον Boeckh: μεταβαίνουσαν MSS.
BOOK III

ATH. So much for that, then! Now, what are we to say about the origin of government? Would not the best and easiest way of discerning it be from this standpoint?

CLIN. What standpoint?

ATH. That from which one should always observe the progress of States as they move towards either goodness or badness.

CLIN. What point is that?

ATH. The observation, as I suppose, of an infinitely long period of time and of the variations therein occurring.

CLIN. Explain your meaning.

ATH. Tell me now: do you think you could ever ascertain the space of time that has passed since cities came into existence and men lived under civic rule?

CLIN. Certainly it would be no easy task.

ATH. But you can easily see that it is vast and immeasurable?

CLIN. That I most certainly can do.

ATH. During this time, have not thousands upon thousands of States come into existence, and, on a similar computation, just as many perished? And have they not in each case exhibited all kinds of constitutions over and over again? And have they not changed at one time from small to great, at another from great to small, and changed also from good to bad and from bad to good?
κα. Ἀναγκαῖον.

α. Ταύτης δ' ἐπὶ λάβωμεν, εἰ δυναῖμεθα, τής μεταβολής τὴν αἰτίαν τάχα γὰρ ἄν ὠσως δείξει εἴ μήν τὴν πρώτην τῶν πολιτείων γένεσιν καὶ μετάβασιν.

κα. Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ προθυμεῖσθαι δεῖ σὲ μὲν ὁ διανοεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαινόμενον, ἣμᾶς δὲ ἐξυπνομένους.

677 α. Ἀρ' ὁδ' ὡμὶν οἱ παλαιοί λόγοι ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν τινὰ δοκοῦσιν;
κα. Ποιοὶ δή;

α. Τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυσμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν οἷς βραχύ τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος.
κα. Πάντως μὲν οὖν πιθανὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον πάνταν παντὶ.

α. Φέρε δή, νοήσωμεν μίαν τῶν πολλῶν ταύτην τῆς τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ποτὲ γενομένην.
κα. Τὸ ποιόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς διανοηθέντες;

Β α. Ὡς οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες τὴν φθορὰν σχεδόν ὅρειοι τινὲς ἂν εἰεν νομῆς, ἐν κορυφαῖς πον σμικρὰ ξύπτρα τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασεσσωμένα γένους.
κα. Δῆλον.

α. Καὶ δὴ τοὺς τοιούτους γε ἀνάγκη που τῶν ἄλλων ὑπείρους εἶναι τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀστεῖοι πρὸς ἄλληλους μηχανῶν εἰς τε πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλονεικίας, καὶ ὁπόδ' ἄλλα κακουργήματα πρὸς ἄλληλους ἐπινοοῦσιν.
κα. Εἰκὸς γοῦν.

C α. θωμεν δὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις πόλεις καὶ

1 Deucalion's Flood: cp. Polit. 270 C.
CLIN.  Necessarily.

ATH.  Of this process of change let us discover, if we can, the cause; for this, perhaps, would show us what is the primary origin of constitutions, as well as their transformation.

CLIN.  You are right; and we must all exert ourselves,—you to expound your view about them, and we to keep pace with you.

ATH.  Do you consider that there is any truth in the ancient tales?

CLIN.  What tales?

ATH.  That the world of men has often been destroyed by floods, plagues, and many other things, in such a way that only a small portion of the human race has survived.

CLIN.  Everyone would regard such accounts as perfectly credible.

ATH.  Come now, let us picture to ourselves one of the many catastrophes,—namely, that which occurred once upon a time through the Deluge.¹

CLIN.  And what are we to imagine about it?

ATH.  That the men who then escaped destruction must have been mostly herdsmen of the hills, scanty embers of the human race preserved somewhere on the mountain-tops.

CLIN.  Evidently.

ATH.  Moreover, men of this kind must necessarily have been unskilled in the arts generally, and especially in such contrivances as men use against one another in cities for purposes of greed and rivalry and all the other villainies which they devise one against another.

CLIN.  It is certainly probable.

ATH.  Shall we assume that the cities situated in the
πρὸς θαλάττη κατοικούσας ἁρδην ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ διαφθείρεσθαι;

κλ. Ὁδέμεν.

αθ. Όυκοίν ὀργανά τε πάντα ἀπόλλυσθαι, καὶ εἰ τι τέχνης ἢν ἔχομεν ουσιαίως εὐρημένον ἢ πολιτικῆς ἢ καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἔτερας, πάντα ἐρρευν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ φήσομεν; πῶς ἡ γὰρ ἂν, ὃ ἄριστε, εἰ γε ἔμενε τάδε οὐτώ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ὡς νῦν διακεκόμηται, καίνον ἀνευρίσκετο ποτέ καὶ ὁτιόν;

D κλ. <Ἠ οὐν> τοῦτο, ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ μυριάκων μῦρια ἐτή διελάβανεν ἀρὰ τοὺς τότε, χίλια δ' ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ δις τοσάντα ἐτη τὰ μὲν Δαίδάλω καταφανὴ [γέγονε], τὰ δὲ Ὄρφει, τὰ δὲ Παλαιμῖδει, τὰ δὲ περὶ μουσικῆς Μαρσύα καὶ Ὄλυμπῳ, περὶ λύραν δὲ Ἀρμῖον, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἄλλοις πάμπολλα, ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν χθὲς καὶ πρώην γεγονότα;

αθ. Ἀρ' οἶσθ', ὁ Κλεινία, τὸν φίλον ὅτι παρέλιπες, τὸν ἄτεχνος χθὲς γενόμενον;

κλ. Μῶν φράξεις Ἐπιμενίδην;

αθ. Ναὶ τοῦτον πολὺ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπερετήδησε τῷ μηχανήματι τοὺς ἔμπαντας, ὁ φίλε, ὁ λόγῳ μὲν Ἡσίοδος ἐμαντεύετο πάλαι, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ ἐκείνος ἀπετέλεσεν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατέ.

E κλ. Φαμὲν γὰρ οὖν.

1 With Immisch and Burnet, I assign τῶς ... ὁτιόν to Ath., not to Clin. (as Zur., al.)
2 <Ἠ οὖν> I add; Schanz reads ταῦτ' οὗ τί, Hermann τοῦτο δέ: Zur. omits τοῦτο.
3 [γέγονε] bracketed by Ast, Schanz.
plains and near the sea were totally destroyed at the time?

CLIN. Let us assume it.

ATH. And shall we say that all implements were lost, and that everything in the way of important arts or inventions that they may have had,—whether concerned with politics or other sciences,—perished at that time? For, supposing that things had remained all that time ordered just as they are now, how, my good sir, could anything new have ever been invented?

CLIN. Do you mean that these things were unknown to the men of those days for thousands upon thousands of years, and that one or two thousand years ago some of them were revealed to Daedalus, some to Orpheus, some to Palamedes, musical arts to Marsyas and Olympus, lyric to Amphion, and, in short, a vast number of others to other persons—all dating, so to say, from yesterday or the day before?

ATH. Are you aware, Clinias, that you have left out your friend who was literally a man of yesterday?

CLIN. Is it Epimenides you mean.

ATH. Yes, I mean him. For he far outstripped everybody you had, my friend, by that invention of his of which he was the actual producer, as you Cretans say, although Hesiod had divined it and spoken of it long before.

CLIN. We do say so.


νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσον πλέον ἦμισυ παντός,
οὐδ' ὅσον ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἄσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ἤνειαρ.

Hesiod’s allusion to the “great virtue residing in mallow and asphodel” is supposed to have suggested to Epimenides his “invention” of a herbal concoction, or “elixir of life.”
α. Οὐκοῦν οὕτω δὴ λέγωμεν ἔχειν τότε, ὅτε ἐγένετο ἡ φθορά, τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράγματα, μνήμιαν μὲν τινα φοβεράν ἔρημίαν, γῆς δ' ἀφθόνον πλήθος πάμπολυ, ζωῶν δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρρόντων βουκόλι' ἀττα, καὶ εἰ τὶ ποιν Αἰγῶν περιλειφθένει ἐτύγχανε γένος, σπάνια καὶ ταῦτα 678 νέμουσιν εἶναι ξὴν τὸ γει 1 κατ' ἀρχάς.

κα. Τί μήν;

α. Πόλεως δὲ καὶ πολιτείας πέρι καὶ νομοθεσίας, ὃν νῦν ὁ λόγος ήμῖν παρέστηκεν, ἀρ' ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν οἴομέθα καὶ μνήμην εἶναι τὸ παράπαν;

κα. Οὐδαμώς.

α. Οὐκοῦν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν διακειμένων οὕτω τὰ νῦν γέγονεν ἡμῖν ξύμπαντα, πόλεις τε καὶ πολιτείαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ νόμοι καὶ πολλῇ μὲν ποιηρίᾳ, πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ἀρετῇ;

κα. Πῶς λέγεις;

B α. 'Αρ' οἴομέθα, ὁ θαναμάσιε, τοὺς τότε ἀπείρους οὕτως πολλῶν μὲν καλῶν τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἀστή, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, τελέους πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ καὶ πρὸς κακίαν γεγονέναι;

κα. Καλῶς εἴπεις, καὶ μανθάνομεν ὅ λέγεις;

α. Οὐκοῦν προϊόντος μὲν τοῦ χρόνου, πληθύνοντος δ' ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους, εἰς πάντα τὰ νῦν καθεστηκότα προελήλυθε πάντα;

κα. 'Ορθότατα.

α. Ὅμως έξ αἰφνυθ' γε, ως εἰκός, κατὰ σμικρὸν δὲ ἐν παμπόλλῳ τινὶ χρόνῳ.

C κα. Καὶ μάλα πρέπει τοῦθ' οὕτως.

α. 'Εκ γὰρ τῶν ύψηλῶν εἰς τὰ πεδία καταβαίνειν, οίμαι, πᾶσι φόβος ἐναῦλος ἐγεγόνει.

1 τὸ γε: τότε MSS. (τὸ England).
LAWS, BOOK III

ATH. Shall we, then, state that, at the time when the destruction took place, human affairs were in this position: there was fearful and widespread desolation over a vast tract of land; most of the animals were destroyed, and the few herds of oxen and flocks of goats that happened to survive afforded at the first but scanty sustenance to their herdsmen?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. And as to the matters with which our present discourse is concerned—States and state-craft and legislation,—do we think they could have retained any memory whatsoever, broadly speaking, of such matters?

CLIN. By no means.

ATH. So from those men, in that situation, there has sprung the whole of our present order—States and constitutions, arts and laws, with a great amount both of evil and of good?

CLIN. How do you mean?

ATH. Do we imagine, my good Sir, that the men of that age, who were unversed in the ways of city life—many of them noble, many ignoble,—were perfect either in virtue or in vice?

CLIN. Well said! We grasp your meaning.

ATH. As time went on and our race multiplied, all things advanced—did they not?—to the condition which now exists.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. But, in all probability, they advanced, not all at once, but by small degrees, during an immense space of time.

CLIN. Yes, that is most likely.

ATH. For they all, I fancy, felt as it were still ringing in their ears a dread of going down from the highlands to the plains.
κα. Πῶς δ’ οὖ; 
α. Ἀρ’ οὐκ ἀσμεναὶ μὲν ἕαυτοὺς ἐώρων δι’ ὅλιγότητα ἐν τοῖς περιξ ἔκεινον τὸν χρόνον. 
<τὰ> ² πορεία δὲ, ὅστ’ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοις τότε πορεύεσθαι κατὰ γῆν ἢ κατὰ θάλατταν, σὺν ταῖς τεχναῖς ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπολώλει; ἐξεμισχεῖν οὖν ἀλλήλοις οὐκ ἦν, οἴμαι, σφόδρα 

D δυνατὸν σίδηρος γὰρ καὶ χαλκὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ μεταλλεῖα συγκεχυμένα ἡφάνιστο, ὡστε ἀπορία πάσα ἢν τὸν ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα, δρυστομίας τε εἴχον σπάνιν. εἰ γὰρ ποὺ τι καὶ περιγεγονὸς ἢν ὀργανὸν ἐν ὀρεσὶ, ταῦτα μὲν ταχὺ κατατριβέντα ἡφάνιστο, ἀλλα δ’ οὐκ ἐμελλῃ γενήσεσθαι πρὸν πάλιν ἢ τῶν μεταλλεῶν ἀφίκοιτο εἰς ἀνθρώπους τέχνη.

κα. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν; 
α. Γενεαῖς δὴ πόσαις ὑστερον οἴομεθα τοῦθ’ οὔτω γεγονέναι; 

Ε 
κα. Δὴλον ὅτι παμπόλλαις τισίν. 
α. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τέχναι ὀσαιπερ σιδῆρον δεόνται καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀπάντων, τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων καὶ ἐτὶ πλείονα ἡφανισμέναι ἄν εἰεν ἐν τῷ τότε;

κα. Τί μήν; 
α. Καὶ τοινυν στάσις ἄμα καὶ πόλεμος ἀπολώλει κατὰ τὸν τότε χρόνον πολλαχῇ. 

κα. Πῶς; 
α. Προτὸν μὲν ἡγάπτων καὶ ἐφιλοφρονοῦντο ἀλλήλους δι’ ἐρημίαν, ἐπειτα οὐ περιμάχητος ἦν 679 αὐτοῖς ἡ τροφή. νομίζῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἦν σπάνις, εἱ μὴ τισι κατ’ ἄρχας ὑσως, ἡ δὴ τὸ πλεῖστον διέξων ἐν

1 περιξ: περὶ MSS., edd. ² <τὰ> added by Schanz.
LAWS, BOOK III

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. And because there were so few of them round about in those days, were they not delighted to see one another, but for the fact that means of transport, whereby they might visit one another by sea or land, had practically all perished along with the arts? Hence intercourse, I imagine, was not very easy. For iron and bronze and all the metals in the mines had been flooded and had disappeared; so that it was extremely difficult to extract fresh metal; and there was a dearth, in consequence, of felled timber. For even if there happened to be some few tools still left somewhere on the mountains, these were soon worn out, and they could not be replaced by others until men had rediscovered the art of metal-working.

CLIN. They could not.

ATH. Now, how many generations, do we suppose, had passed before this took place?

CLIN. A great many, evidently.

ATH. And during all this period, or even longer, all the arts that require iron and bronze and all such metals must have remained in abeyance?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. Moreover, civil strife and war also disappeared during that time, and that for many reasons.

CLIN. How so?

ATH. In the first place, owing to their desolate state, they were kindly disposed and friendly towards one another; and secondly, they had no need to quarrel about food. For they had no lack of flocks and herds (except perhaps some of them at the outset), and in that age these were what men mostly
τῷ τότε χρόνῳ. γάλακτος γὰρ καὶ κρεῶν οὐδαμῶς ἐνδεεῖς ἦσαν, ἐτὶ δὲ θηρεύοντες οὐ φαινὴν οὐδ' ὀλίγῃν τροφῆν παρεῖχοντο. καὶ μὴν ἀμφεχώνης γε καὶ στρωμῆς καὶ οἰκῆσεως καὶ σκευῶν ἐμπύρων τε καὶ ἀπύρων εύπορουν· αἱ πλαστικαὶ γὰρ καὶ ὅσαι πλεκτικαὶ τῶν τεχνῶν οὐδὲ ἐν προσδέον-

Β ται σιδήρου· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα τούτῳ τῷ τέχνα θεός ἔδωκε πορίζειν τοῖς ἄνθρώποις, ἵν' ὅποτε εἰς τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν ἐλθοιεν, ἔχων βλάστην καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τὸ τῶν ἄνθρώπων γένος. πένητες μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον σφόδρα οὐκ ἦσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ πενίας ἀναγκαζόμενοι διάφοροι ἐαυτοῖς ἐγίνοντο· πλούσιοι δ' οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ἐγένοντο ἀχρυσοί τε καὶ ἀνάργυροι ὄντες [ὅ τότε ἐν ἐκείνοις παρήν]. 1 ἢ δ' ἂν ποτὲ ξυνοικία μῆτε πλούσιοι ξυνοικῆ μήτε πενία, σχεδὸν ἐν ταύτῃ γενναιότατα ἥθη γίγνοιτ' 

C ἂν· οὔτε γὰρ ὑβρις οὔτ' ἁδικία, ξηλοὶ τε αὖ καὶ φθόνοι οὐκ ἐγγίγνονται. ἀγαθοὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταὐτά τε ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τὴν λεγομένην εὐθείαν ἀ γὰρ ἤκουσον καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρὰ, εὐθείες ὄντες ἢγούντο ἀληθεστάτα λέγεσθαι καὶ ἐπειδόντο. χεῦδος γὰρ ὑπονοεῖν οὕδεις ᾤπιστάτῳ διὰ σοφίαν, ὥσπερ τὰ νῦν, ἄλλα περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἄνθρωπων τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ νομίζουτε ἐξων κατὰ ταῦτα· διὸπερ ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι παντάπασιν οἷους αὐτοὺς ἥμεισ ἀρτί διεληλύθαμεν.

D κλ. Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δὴ καὶ τῶδε οὕτω ταῦτα ξυνδοκεῖ.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν εἶπομεν ὅτι γενεαί διαβιοῦσαι πολλαὶ τούτων τὸν τρόπον τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων καὶ τῶν νῦν ἀτεχνότεροι μὲν καὶ ἄμα-

1 [ὁ . . . παρήν] omitted by Ficinus.
lived on: thus they were well supplied with milk and meat, and they procured further supplies of food, both excellent and plentiful, by hunting. They were also well furnished with clothing and coverlets and houses, and with vessels for cooking and other kinds; for no iron is required for the arts of moulding and weaving, which two arts God gave to men to furnish them with all these necessaries, in order that the human race might have means of sprouting and increase whenever it should fall into such a state of distress. Consequently, they were not excessively poor, nor were they constrained by stress of poverty to quarrel one with another; and, on the other hand, since they were without gold and silver, they could never have become rich. Now a community which has no communion with either poverty or wealth is generally the one in which the noblest characters will be formed; for in it there is no place for the growth of insolence and injustice, of rivalries and jealousies. So these men were good, both for these reasons and because of their simple-mindedness, as it is called; for, being simple-minded, when they heard things called bad or good, they took what was said for gospel-truth and believed it. For none of them had the shrewdness of the modern man to suspect a falsehood; but they accepted as true the statements made about gods and men, and ordered their lives by them. Thus they were entirely of the character we have just described.

CLIN. Certainly Megillus and I quite agree with what you say.

ATH. And shall we not say that people living in this fashion for many generations were bound to be unskilled, as compared with either the antediluvians
PLATO

θέστεροι πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας μέλλουσιν εἶναι τέχνας καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολέμικὰς, ὃσαι τε πεζαί καὶ ὃσαι κατὰ θάλασσαν γίγνονται τὰ νῦν, καὶ ὃσαι δὴ κατὰ πόλιν, ὅνομά ποὺ ¹ δίκαι καὶ στάσεις λεγόμεναι, λόγοις ἔργοις τε μεμηχανημέναι πάσας μηχανᾶς εἰς τὸ κακουργεῖν τε ἀλλήλους καὶ Ε ἀδικεῖν, εὐθέστεροι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεύτεροι καὶ ἄμα σωφρονέστεροι καὶ ξύμπαντα δικαιότεροι; τὸ δὲ τούτων αἶτιον ἦδη διεληλύθαμεν.

ΚΑ. 'Ορθῶς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Δελέχθω δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ξυνεπόμενα ἐτι πάντα εἰρήσθω τοῦδ' ἐνεκα, ὥν 680 νοήσωμεν τοὺς τότε νόμον τίς ποτ' ἦν χρεία καὶ τίς ἦν νομοθέτης αὑτοῖς.

ΚΑ. Καὶ καλῶς γε εἰρήκας.

ΑΘ. 'Αρ' οὖν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐτ' ἐδέοντο νομοθετῶν οὔτε πω ἐφίλει κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους γίγνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον; οὐδὲ γὰρ γράμματα ἐστὶ πώ τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς περιόδου γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις πατρίοις νόμοις ἐπόμενοι ζῶσιν.

ΚΑ. Εἰκὸς γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Πολιτείας δὲ γε ἦδη καὶ τρόπος ἐστὶ τις οὕτως.

ΚΑ. Τίς;

Β ΑΘ. Δοκοῦσι μοι πάντες τήν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολιτείαν δυναστείαν καλεῖν, ἢ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἐν "Ἐλλησι καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρους ἐστὶ· λέγει δ' αὐτὴν ποὺ καὶ "Ομηρος

¹ ὅνομα ποὺ: μόνον αὐτὸ MSS. (ὁνόματι Badham)

¹ Cp. Arist. Pol. 1252b 17 ff. This "headship," which is
or the men of to-day, and ignorant of arts in general and especially of the arts of war as now practised by land and sea, including those warlike arts which, disguised under the names of law-suits and factions, are peculiar to cities, contrived as they are with every device of word and deed to inflict mutual hurt and injury; and that they were also more simple and brave and temperate, and in all ways more righteous? And the cause of this state of things we have already explained.

CLIN. Quite true.

ATH. We must bear in mind that the whole purpose of what we have said and of what we are going to say next is this,—that we may understand what possible need of laws the men of that time had, and who their lawgiver was.

CLIN. Excellent.

ATH. Shall we suppose that those men had no need of lawgivers, and that in those days it was not as yet usual to have such a thing? For those born in that age of the world's history did not as yet possess the art of writing, but lived by following custom and what is called "patriarchal" law.

CLIN. That is certainly probable.

ATH. But this already amounts to a kind of government.

CLIN. What kind?

ATH. Everybody, I believe, gives the name of "headship" to the government which then existed, —and it still continues to exist to-day among both Greeks and barbarians in many quarters. And, of course, Homer mentions its existence in connexion the hereditary personal authority of the father of a family or chief of a clan, we should term "patriarchy."

2 Odyss. ix. 112 ff.
γεγονόναι περὶ τὴν τῶν Κυκλώτων οἰκήσιν, εἰπὼν

tοῖσιν δ’ οὔτ’ ἀγόραι βουληφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες,

ἀλλ’ οἱ γ’ υψηλῶν ὀρέων ναιοῦσι κάρηνα
ἐν σπέσσι γλαυροῦσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἐκαστὸς

παίδων ἦδ’ ἀλόχων, οὐδ’ ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν.

κα. "Εοικέ γε ὁ ποιητὴς ύμῖν οὗτος γεγονόναι
χαρίεις. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοῦ διελθῆλυ
θαμεν μάλ’ ἀστεία, οὐ μὴν πολλά γε’ οὐ γὰρ
σφόδρα χρώμεθα οἱ Κρῆτες τοῖς ξενικοῖς ποιή-

μασίν.

με. 'Ημεῖς δ’ αὖ χρώμεθα μὲν, καὶ έοικέ γε
κρατεῖν τῶν τοιούτων ποιητῶν’ οὐ μεντοι Δακῆ-

ικόν γε, ἀλλὰ τίνα μᾶλλον ’Ιωνικὸν βίον διεξέρ-

χεται ἐκάστοτε. νῦν μὴν εὖ τῷ σῷ λόγῳ έοικέ

μαρτυρεῖν, τὸ άρχαίον αὐτῶν ἑπὶ τὴν ἀγριότητα
diὰ μυθολογίας ἐπανενεγκόνων.

α. Ναί' ξυμμαρτυρεῖ γὰρ καὶ λάβωμέν γε

αὐτὸν μηνυτὴν ὅτι τοιαῦται πολιτείαι γγυνονταὶ

ποτε.

κα. Καλῶς.

α. Μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων τῶν κατὰ μίαν

οἰκήσιν καὶ κατὰ γένος διεσπαρμένων ὑπὸ ἀπορίας

τῆς ἐν ταῖς φθοραῖς, ἐν οἷς τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἀρχεί

diὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς

Ε γεγονόναι, οἷς ἐπόμενοι καθάπερ ὄρνιθες ἀγέλην

μῖαν ποιήσουσί, πατρονομοῦμενοι καὶ βασιλέιαν

πασῶν δικαιοτάτην βασιλεύομενοι;
with the household system of the Cyclopes, where he says—

“No halls of council and no laws are theirs,  
But within hollow caves on mountain heights  
Aloft they dwell, each making his own law  
For wife and child; of others reck they naught.”

clin. This poet of yours seems to have been a man of genius. We have also read other verses of his, and they were extremely fine; though in truth we have not read much of him, since we Cretans do not indulge much in foreign poetry.

meg. But we Spartans do, and we regard Homer as the best of them; all the same, the mode of life he describes is always Ionian rather than Laconian. And now he appears to be confirming your statement admirably, when in his legendary account he ascribes the primitive habits of the Cyclopes to their savagery.

ath. Yes, his testimony supports us; so let us take him as evidence that polities of this sort do sometimes come into existence.

clin. Quite right.

ath. Did they not originate with those people who lived scattered in separate clans or in single households, owing to the distress which followed after the catastrophes; for amongst these the eldest holds rule, owing to the fact that the rule proceeds from the parents, by following whom they form a single flock, like a covey of birds, and live under a patriarchal government and a kingship which is of all kingships the most just?
κα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

α. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν μεῖζον <ποιμνᾶς> ραιοῦντες [πόλεις] πλείουσα συνέρχονται, καὶ ἐπὶ γεωργίας τὰς ἐν ταῖς ὑπωρεῖαις τρέ- 

681 πονταὶ πρώτας, περιβόλους τε ἀιμασίῳδείς τινὰς τεῖχών <τ'> ἐρύματα τῶν θηρίων ἕνεκα ποιοῦν- 

ται, μίαν οἰκίαν αὖ κοινὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἀποτε- 

λοῦντες.

κα. Τὸ γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦθ' οὕτω γίγνεσθαι.

α. Τί δὲ; τόδε ἄρα οὐκ εἰκός;

κα. Τὸ ποιοῦν;

α. Τῶν οἰκήσεων τούτων μεῖζόνων αὐξανο- 

μένων ἐκ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ πρώτων, ἐκάστην 

τῶν σμικρῶν παρεῖναι κατὰ γένος ἔχουσαν τὸν 

Β τε πρεσβύτατον ἄρχοντα καὶ αὐτῆς ἐθν ἄττα 

ίδια διὰ τὸ χωρίς ἀλλήλων οἰκεῖν, ἄτερα ἀφ' 

ἔτερων οὕτων τῶν γεννητόρων τε καὶ θρεψάντων 

ἀ εἰθισθησαν περὶ θεοῦ τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς κοσμω- 

τέρων μὲν κοσμιώτερα καὶ ἀνδρικῶν ἀνδρικότερα: 

καὶ κατὰ τρόπον οὕτως ἐκάστους τὰς αὐτῶν ἀν 

αἱρέσεις 3 εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτυπομένους καὶ 

παῖδων παῖδας, ὁ λέγομεν, ήκειν ἔχοντας ἱδίους 

νόμους εἰς τὴν μείζονα ἐξυνοικίαν.

κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

ο. Καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε αὐτῶν νόμους ἀρέσκειν 

ἐκάστους ἀναγκαῖον ποιν, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων 

ὑστέρους.

κα. Οὕτως.

α. Ἀρχῇ δὴ νομοθεσίας οἰον ἐμβάντες ἐλα- 

θομεν, ὡς εἶδεν.

1 <ποιμνᾶς> I add, and bracket [πόλεις].

2 <τ'> added by W.-Möllendorff.
CLIN. Most certainly.

ATH. Next, they congregate together in greater numbers, and form larger droves; and first they turn to farming on the hill-sides, and make ring-fences of rubble and walls to ward off wild beasts, till finally they have constructed a single large common dwelling.

CLIN. It is certainly probable that such was the course of events.

ATH. Well, is not this also probable?

CLIN. What?

ATH. That, while these larger settlements were growing out of the original small ones, each of the small settlements continued to retain, clan by clan, both the rule of the eldest and also some customs derived from its isolated condition and peculiar to itself. As those who begot and reared them were different, so these customs of theirs, relating to the gods and to themselves, differed, being more orderly where their forefathers had been orderly, and more brave where they had been brave; and as thus the fathers of each clan in due course stamped upon their children and children's children their own cast of mind, these people came (as we say) into the larger community furnished each with their own peculiar laws.

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. And no doubt each clan was well pleased with its own laws, and less well with those of its neighbours.

CLIN. True.

ATH. Unwittingly, as it seems, we have now set foot, as it were, on the starting-point of legislation.

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3 ἐν αἰρέσεις Schneider, Hermann: ἀναίρεσις MSS.
κλ. Πάντα μὲν ὁμν.  
αθ. Τὸ γοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς συνελθόντας τοῦτοις κοινοῦς τινὰς έαυτῶν, ὥστε δὴ τὰ πάντων ἱδόντες νόμιμα, τὰ σφισιν ἄρεσκοντα αὐτῶν μάλιστα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἥγεμόσι καὶ ἀγαγοῦσι τοὺς δῆμους οίου βασιλεύσι φανερὰ δεῖξαντες ἐλέσθαι τε δόντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν νομοθέται κληθῆσονται, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχοντας καταστήσαντες, ἀριστοκρατίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῶν δυναστείων ποιήσαντες ἢ καὶ τινὰ βασιλείαν, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας ὁκῆσονσιν.  
κλ. Ἐφέξῃς γοῦν ἄν οὕτω τε καὶ ταύτῃ γίγνοιτο.  
αθ. Τρίτον τοίνυν εἰπὼμεν ἐτί πολιτείας σχήμα γεγομένου, ἐν ό δὴ πάντα εἰδὴ καὶ παθήματα πολιτείων καὶ ἀμα πόλεων ξυμπιπτει γίγνεσθαι.  
Ε κλ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ τούτο;  
αθ. Ὁ μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ὄμηρος ἐπεσημάνατο, λέγων τὸ τρίτον οὕτω γεγονέναι κτίσσει δὲ Δαρδανίην γὰρ ποῦ φήσιν, ἐπεὶ οὕτω Ἡλιος ἅρη ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερότων ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ' ἕθ' ὑπωρείας ὄκουν πολυπιδάκου Ἡδης.  
682 λέγει γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ καὶ ἕκεινα ἀ περὶ τῶν Κυκλώπων εἰρήκε κατὰ θεόν πως εἰρημένα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· θεῖον γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν τὸν θεῖον [ἐνθεαστικὸν] 1 ὧν γένος ὑμνῶν ὁμάδοις πολλῶν τῶν  

1 [ἐνθεαστικὸν] bracketed by Boeckh, Schanz.
LAWS, BOOK III

CLIN. We have indeed.

ATH. The next step necessary is that these people should come together and choose out some members of each clan who, after a survey of the legal usages of all the clans, shall notify publicly to the tribal leaders and chiefs (who may be termed their "kings") which of those usages please them best, and shall recommend their adoption. These men will themselves be named "legislators," and when they have established the chiefs as "magistrates," and have framed an aristocracy, or possibly even a monarchy, from the existing plurality of "headships," they will live under the constitution thus transformed.

CLIN. The next steps would certainly be such as you describe.

ATH. Let us go on to describe the rise of a third form of constitution, in which are blended all kinds and varieties of constitutions, and of States as well.¹

CLIN. What form is that?

ATH. The same that Homer himself mentioned next to the second, when he said that the third form arose in this way. His verses² run thus—

"Dardania he founded when as yet
The holy keep of Ilium was not built
Upon the plain, a town for mortal folk,
But still they dwelt upon the highland slopes
Of many-fountain'd Ida."

Indeed, these verses of his, as well as those he utters concerning the Cyclopes, are in a kind of unison with the voices of both God and Nature. For being divinely inspired in its chanting, the poetic tribe,

¹ For this "mixed" polity of the "city of the plain," cp. the description of democracy in Rep. 557 D ff.
² N. xx. 216 ff.
κατ' ἀλήθειαν γιγνομένων εἰν τις Χάρισι καὶ Μοῦσαις ἐφάπτεται ἐκάστοτε.

κ. Ἐκαὶ μάλα.

α. Εἰς δὴ τὸ πρόσθεν προέλθωμεν ἐτί τοῦ νῦν ἐπελθόντος ἡμῖν μύθου. τάχα γὰρ ἄν σημῆνετέ τι τῆς ἱμετέρας πέρι βουλήσεως. οὐκοῦν χρή;

B κ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

α. Κατωκίσθη δὴ, φαμέν, ἐκ τῶν ψηλῶν εἰς μέγα τε καὶ καλὸν πεδίον Ἰλιον, ἐπὶ λόφου τινὰ ὡρίζεται ποταμοὺς πολλοὺς ἀνωθεν ἐκ τῆς Ἰδής ωρμημένους.

κ. Φασὶ γοῦν.

α. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐν πολλοῖς τις χρόνος τοῖς μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τούτο οἰόμεθα γεγονέναι;

κ. Πῶς δ' οὖnicos ἐν πολλοῖς;

α. Δεινὴ γοῦν ἐοίκεν αὐτοῖς λήθη τότε παρ-

C εἴναι τῆς νῦν λεγομένης φθορᾶς, ὥθ' οὕτως ὑπὸ ποταμοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ψηλῶν ρέοντας πόλιν ὑπέθεσαν, πιστεύσαντες οὐ σφόδρα ψηλοῖς τισὶ λόφοις.

κ. Δῆλου οὖν ὡς παντάπασι τινα μακρὸν ἀπείχον χρόνον τοῦ τοιούτου πάθους.

α. Καὶ ἀλλαὶ γε, οἶμαι, πόλεις τότε κατόκουν ἦδη πολλαὶ πληθυνότων τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

κ. Τί μὴν;

α. Αἱ γέ που καὶ ἑπεστρατεύσαντο αὐτῇ, καὶ κατὰ θάλαταν δὲ ἰσως, ἀφόβως ἦδη πάντων χρωμένων τῇ θαλάττῃ.

D κ. Φαίνεται.

α. Δέκα δ' ἔτη που μείναντες Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀνάστατον ἐποίησαν.

κ. Καὶ μάλα.

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with the aid of Graces and Muses, often grasps the
truth of history.

CLIN. It certainly does.

ATH. Now let us advance still further in the
tale that now engages us; for possibly it may furnish
some hint regarding the matter we have in view.
Ought we not to do so?

CLIN. Most certainly.

ATH. Ilion was founded, we say, after moving
from the highlands down to a large and noble plain,
on a hill of no great height which had many rivers
flowing down from Ida above.

CLIN. So they say.

ATH. And do we not suppose that this took place
many ages after the Deluge?

CLIN. Many ages after, no doubt.

ATH. At any rate they seem to have been strangely
forgetful of the catastrophe now mentioned, since
they placed their city, as described, under a number
of rivers descending from the mount, and relied for
their safety upon hillocks of no great height.

CLIN. So it is evident that they were removed by
quite a long interval from that calamity.

ATH. By this time, too, as mankind multiplied,
many other cities had been founded.

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. And these cities also made attacks on Ilion,
probably by sea too, as well as by land, since by this
time all made use of the sea fearlessly.

CLIN. So it appears.

ATH. And after a stay of ten years the Achaeans
sacked Troy.

CLIN. Very true.
α. Οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, ὡςτὶ δεκέτει, ὅν τὸ Ἰλιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, τὰ τῶν πολιορκουμένων ἐκάστων οἶκοι κακὰ πολλὰ ἐνεβαίνει γιγνόμενα περὶ τὰς στάσεις τῶν νέων, οἶ καὶ ἀφικομένους τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰς τας αὐτῶν πόλεις τε καὶ Ἐοίκιας οὐ καλῶς οὖν ἐν δίκῃ ὑπεδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ὁστε βανάτους τε καὶ σφαγάς και φυγάς γενέσθαι παμπόλλας: οὔ πάλιν ἐκπεσόντες κατήλθον μεταβαλόντες ὄνομα, Δωρίης ἀντ' Ἀχαίων κληθέντες διὰ τὸ τὸν συνλέξαντα εἶναι τὰς τότε φυγὰς Δωριά. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα γε ἢδη πάνθε ὑμεῖς, ὁ Λακεδαίμονιοι, τάντευθεν μυθολογεῖτε τε καὶ διαπεράντεστε.

με. Τί μήν;

α. Ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ἀρχαῖ ἐξετραπόμεθα περὶ νόμων διαλεγόμενωι, περιπεσόντες μουσική τε καὶ ταῖς μέθαις, νῦν ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀφίγμεθα ὦσπερ κατὰ θεόν, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦμιν οἷον λαβὴν ἀποδίδωσιν; ἢκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα κατοίκισιν αὐτὴν, ἢν ὑμεῖς ὀρθῶς ἐφατε κατωκίσθαι καὶ Κρήτην ὡς ἄδελφος νόμοις. νῦν οὖν δὴ τοσοῦτο πλεονεκτοῦμεν τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ λόγου, διὰ πολιτειῶν τινῶν καὶ κατοικισμῶν διεξελθόντες· ἐθεασάμεθα πρώτην τε καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην πόλιν, ἀλλήλων, ὡς οἰόμεθα, ταῖς κατοικίσειςιν

1 κατωκίσθαι Ast: κατοικεῖσθαι MSS.

1 We do not hear of him elsewhere; and the account here is so vague that it is hard to say what events (or traditions) are alluded to. The usual story is that Dorian invaders drove out the Achaeans from S. Greece (about 900 B.C.).

2 Cp. 638 D.
LAWS, BOOK III

ATH. Now during this period of ten years, while the siege lasted, the affairs of each of the besiegers at home suffered much owing to the seditious conduct of the young men. For when the soldiers returned to their own cities and homes, these young people did not receive them fittingly and justly, but in such a way that there ensued a vast number of cases of death, slaughter, and exile. So they, being again driven out, migrated by sea; and because Dorieus¹ was the man who then banded together the exiles, they got the new name of "Dorians," instead of "Achaeans." But as to all the events that follow this, you Lacedaemonians relate them all fully in your traditions.

MEG. Quite true.

ATH. And now—as it were by divine direction—we have returned once more to the very point in our discourse on laws where we made our digression,² when we plunged into the subject of music and drinking-parties; and we can, so to speak, get a fresh grip upon the argument, now that it has reached this point,—the settlement of Lacedaemon, about which you said truly that it and Crete were settled under kindred laws. From the wandering course of our argument, and our excursion through various polities and settlements, we have now gained this much: we have discerned a first, a second and a third State,³ all, as we suppose, succeeding one another in the settlements which took place during

¹ i.e. (1) the family or clan, under patriarchal "headship"; (2) the combination of clans under an aristocracy (or monarchy); (3) the "mixed" State (or "city of the plain," like Troy); and (4) the confederacy, consisting, in the example, of three States leagued together.
Γίνωμενός ἐν χρόνῳ τινὸς μήκεσιν ἀπλέτοις. νῦν δὲ δὴ τετάρτη τις ἡμῶν αὐτή πόλις, εἰ δὲ βουλεσθε, ἔθνος ἦκε κατοικιζόμενον τέ ποτε καὶ νῦν κατωκισμένον. εἰ ὦν ἀπάντων εἰ τι ξυνείναι δυνάμεθα τί τε καλῶς ἡ μὴ κατωκίσθη, καὶ ποῖοι νόμοι σώζουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σωζόμενα καὶ ποῖοι φθείρουσι τὰ φθειρόμενα, καὶ ἀντὶ ποιῶν ποῖα μετατεθέντα εὐδαιμονία πόλιν ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἄν, ὃ Μέγιλλε τε καὶ Κλεινία, ταύτα δὴ πάλιν οἶον εἰς ἀρχῆς ἡμῶν λεκτέων, εἰ μήτι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν λόγοις. 

ΜΕ. Εἰ γοῦν, ὃ ξένε, τις ἡμῖν ὑπόσχοιτο θεὸς

C ὡς, εἰν ἐπίχειρήσωμεν τὸ δεύτερον τῇ τῆς νομοθεσίας σκέψει, τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων λόγων οὖ χείρως οὐδὲ ἐλάττους ἀκουσόμεθα, μακρὰν ἄν ἐλθοίμη ἐγώγε, καὶ μοι βραχεῖ ἄν δοξεῖν ἡ νῦν παροῦσα ἡμέρα γίγνεσθαι. καὶ τοι οἰκεός γ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ θερινῶν εἰς τὰ χειμερινὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τρεπόμενου.

ΑΘ. Χρὴ δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς ἐοίκε, σκοπεῖν.

ΜΕ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Γενώμεθα δὴ ταῖς διανοίασιν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, ὅτε Δακεδαίμων μὲν καὶ Ἀργος καὶ Μεσσήνη καὶ τὰ μετὰ τούτων ὑποχείρια τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ὃ Μέγιλλε, ἱκανῶς ἐγεγόνει: τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τὸ τούτο ἐδοξεῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς γε λέγεται τὸ τοῦ μύθου, τρικητὴ στράτευμα διανείματα τρεῖς πόλεως κατοικίζειν, Ἀργος, Μεσσήνη, Δακεδαίμων.

ΜΕ. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἀργοὺς ῥήμενός ἐγίγνετο, Μεσσήνης δὲ Κρεσφόντης, Δακεδαίμωνος δὲ Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης.
vast ages of time. And now there has emerged this fourth State—or "nation," if you so prefer—which was once upon a time in course of establishment and is now established. Now, if we can gather from all this which of these settlements was right and which wrong, and which laws keep safe what is kept safe, and which laws ruin what is ruined, and what changes in what particulars would effect the happiness of the State,—then, O Megillus and Clinias, we ought to describe these things again, making a fresh start from the beginning,—unless we have some fault to find with our previous statements.

Meg. I can assure you, Stranger, that if some god were to promise us that, in making this second attempt to investigate legislation, we shall listen to a discourse that is no worse and no shorter than that we have just been listening to, I for one would go a long way to hear it; indeed, this would seem quite a short day, although it is, as a matter of fact, close on midsummer.

Ath. So it seems that we must proceed with our enquiry.

Meg. Most certainly.

Ath. Let us, then, place ourselves in imagination at that epoch when Lacedaemon, together with Argos and Messene and the adjoining districts, had become completely subject, Megillus, to your forefathers. They determined next, according to the tradition, to divide their host into three parts, and to establish three States,—Argos, Messene and Lacedaemon.

Meg. Very true.

Ath. And Temenus became King of Argos, Cresphontes of Messene, and Procles and Eurysthenes of Lacedaemon.
πῶς γὰρ οὖ; 

Α. Ἡ τοῦτοι ὁμοσαν οἱ τότε ἔβοηθήσειν, εὰν τις τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν διαφθείρῃ; 

Μ. Τὶ μὴν; 

Α. Βασιλεία δὲ καταλύεται, ὦ πρὸς Δίως, ἢ καὶ τις ἄρχῃ πώποτε κατελύθη μόνῳ ὑπὸ τινῶν ἄλλων ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν; ἢ νῦν δὴ μὲν [ἤλιγον ἔμπροσθεν]¹ τοῦτοι περιτυχόντες τοῖς λόγοις οὕτω ταῦτ' ἐτίθεμεν, νῦν δὲ ἐπιλελήσθησθα; 

Μ. Καὶ πῶς; 

Α. Οὐκοῦν νῦν δὴ μᾶλλον βεβαιωσόμεθα τὸ τοιούτων περιτυχόντες γὰρ ἔργοις γενομένοις, ὡς ἑοικεν, ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγων ἐλπίθαμεν, ὡστε οὐ περὶ κενὸν τι ζητήσομεν [τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον],² ἀλλὰ περὶ γεγονός τε καὶ ἔχον ἄλλθειαν. γέγονε δὴ τάδε: βασιλεῖα τρεῖς βασιλευομέναι πόλεσι τριτταῖς ὁμοσαν ἄλληλαις ἐκάτεραί, κατὰ νόμους οὖς ἔθεντο τοῦ τε ἁρχεὶν καὶ ἁρχεσθαι κοινῶς, οἱ μὲν μὴ βιαιοτέραν τὴν ἄρχην ποιήσεσθαι προϊόντων τοῦ χρόνου καὶ γένους, οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐμπεδούντων τῶν ἁρχόντων μήτε αὐτοὶ τὰς βασιλείας ποτὲ καταλύσεις μὴτ' ἐπιτρέψειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἐτέροις, βοηθήσειν δὲ βασιλῆς τε βασιλείαν ἀδικομέναι καὶ δήμοις καὶ δήμοι δήμοις καὶ βασιλεύσιν ἀδικομένοις. ἀρ' οὖχ οὕτως; 

Μ. Οὐτὸς μὲν οὖν. 

Α. Οὐκοῦν τὸ γε μέγιστον ταῖς καταστάσει τῶν πολιτείων ὑπῆρχε ταῖς ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ πόλεσι νομοθετομέναις, εἰτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐνομοθέτουν εἰτ' ἄλλοι τινὲς; 

¹ [ἤλιγον ἔμπροσθεν] bracketed by Cobet, Schanz. 
² [τὸν ... λόγον] bracketed by Badham, Schanz.
MEG. Of course.

ATH. And all the men of that time swore that they would assist these kings if anyone should try to wreck their kingdoms.

MEG. Quite so.

ATH. Is the dissolution of a kingdom, or of any government that has ever yet been dissolved, caused by any other agency than that of the rulers themselves? Or, though we made this assertion a moment ago when we happened upon this subject, have we now forgotten it?¹

MEG. How could we possibly have forgotten?

ATH. Shall we further confirm that assertion now? For we have come to the same view now, as it appears, in dealing with facts of history; so that we shall be examining it with reference not to a mere abstraction, but to real events. Now what actually took place was this: each of the three royal houses, and the cities under their sway, swore to one another,² according to the laws, binding alike on ruler and subject, which they had made,—the rulers that, as time went on and the nation advanced, they would refrain from making their rule more severe, and the subjects that, so long as the rulers kept fast to their promise, they would never upset the monarchy themselves, nor would they allow others to do so; and they swore that the kings should aid both kings and peoples when wronged, and the peoples aid both peoples and kings. Was not that the way of it?

MEG. It was.

ATH. In the polities legally established—whether by the kings or others—in the three States, was not this the most important principle?

¹ Cp. 682 D, E. ² Cp. 692 B.
ME. Ποίον;
ΑΘ. Τὸ βοηθοῦς γε εἶναι τάς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν μίαν ἄεὶ πόλιν, τὴν τοῖς τεθεῖσι νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσαν.
ME. Δῆλον.
ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τούτο γε οἱ πολλοὶ προστάττουσι τοὺς νομοθέταις, ὅπως τοιούτους θήσουσι τοὺς νόμους οὐς έκόντες οἱ δήμοι καὶ τὰ πλήθη δέξονται, καθάπερ ἄν εἰ τις γυμνασταῖς ἢ ἰατροῖς προστάττωσι μεθ' ἥδονης θεραπεῦειν τε καὶ ίασθαι τὰ θεραπευόμενα σώματα.
ME. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.
ΑΘ. Τὸ δὲ γ' ἐστὶν ἀγαπητὸν πολλάκις εἰ καὶ τις μετὰ λύπης μὴ μεγάλης δύνατο εὐεκτικά τε καὶ ὑγίη σώματα ἀπεργάξεσθαι.
ME. Τί μὴν;

D ΑΘ. Καὶ τόδε γε ἐτί τοῖς τότε ὑπῆρχεν οὐ σμικρόν εἰς ῥαστώνῃν τῆς θέσεως τῶν νόμων:
ME. Τὸ ποίον;
ΑΘ. Οὔκ ἤν τοὺς νομοθέτας ἢ μεγίστη τῶν μέμφεων, ἴσοτητα αὐτῶς τινὰ κατασκεύαζοντος τῆς οὐσίας, ἦπερ ἐν ἄλλῃ νομοθετομέναις πόλεσι πολλαῖς γίγνεται, ἐάν τις ξερή γῆς τε κτῆσιν κινεῖν καὶ χρεῶν διάλυσιν, ὅρων ὡς οὐκ ἄν δύνατο ἄνευ τοῦτον γενέσθαι ποτὲ τὸ ἱσον ἰκανῶς· ως ἐπιχειροῦντι δὴ νομοθέτην κινεῖν τῶν ἔτοιμων τι πᾶς ἀπαντᾶ λέγων μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα, καὶ ἐπαράται γῆς τε ἀναδασμοῦς εἰσηγούμενος καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, ὡστε εἰς ἀπορίαν καθιστάσθαι πάντα ἁνδρά. τοῖς δὲ δὴ Δωριέυσι

1 ἄλλη England: ἄλλοις Zur., al.: ἄλλαίς MSS.
2 εἰσηγούμενον H. Richards, England: εἰσηγούμενον MSS.
MEG. What?

ATH. That the other two States should always help against the third, whenever it disobeyed the laws laid down.

MEG. Evidently.

ATH. And surely most people insist on this,—that the lawgivers shall enact laws of such a kind that the masses of the people accept them willingly; just as one might insist that trainers or doctors should make their treatments or cures of men's bodies pleasurable.

MEG. Exactly so.

ATH. But in fact one often has to be content if one can bring a body into a sound and healthy state with no great amount of pain.

MEG. Very true.

ATH. The men of that age possessed also another advantage which helped not a little to facilitate legislation.¹

MEG. What was that?

ATH. Their legislators, in their efforts to establish equality of property, were free from that worst of accusations which is commonly incurred in States with laws of a different kind, whenever anyone seeks to disturb the occupation of land, or to propose the abolition of debts, since he perceives that without these measures equality could never be fully secured. In such cases, if the lawgiver attempts to disturb any of these things, everyone confronts him with the cry, "Hands off," and they curse him for introducing redistributions of land and remissions of debts, with the result that every man is rendered powerless. But the Dorians had this further advan-

¹ Cp. 736 C.
καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτως ὑπήρχε καλῶς καὶ ἀνεμεσήτως,
γῆν τε ἀναμφισβητήτως διανέμεσθαι, καὶ χρέα
μεγάλα καὶ παλαιά οὐκ ἦν.

ME. Ἀληθῆ.

ΑΘ. Πή δὴ ποτε οὖν, ὦ ἀριστοι, κακῶς οὕτως
αὐτοῖς ἐχώρησεν ἢ κατοίκισις τε καὶ νομοθεσία;

685 ME. Πῶς δὴ, καὶ τί μεμφόμενος αὐτῶν λέγεις;

ΑΘ. "ΟΤΙ τριῶν γενομένων τῶν οἰκήσεων τὰ
dύο αὐτῶν μέρη ταχὺ τὴν τε πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς
νόμους διέφθειρε, τὸ δὲ ἐν μόνον ἔμεινε, τὸ τῆς
ὑμετέρας πόλεως.

ME. Οὐ πάνυ ράδιον ἐρωτᾶς.

ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν δεὶ γε ἡμᾶς τούτο ἐν τῷ νῦν
σκοποῦντας καὶ ἐξετάζοντας, περὶ νόμων παί-
ζοντας παιδιάν πρεσβυτικὴν σώφρονα, διελθεῖν
Β τὴν ὀδὸν ἀλῆπως, ὡς ἐφαμεν ἡνίκα ἡρχόμεθα
πορεύεσθαι.

ME. Τί μὴν; καὶ ποιητέον γε ὡς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τίν' οὖν ἄν σκέψιν καλλίω ποιησαίμεθα
περὶ νόμων ἢ τούτων οἱ ταύτας διακεκοσμήκασιν;
ἡ πόλεως περὶ τίνων εὐδοκιμωτέρων τε καὶ μει-
ζόνων κατακίσεων σκοποίμεθ' ἂν;

ME. Οὐ ράδιον ἀντὶ τούτων ἐτέρας λέγειν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν διενοοῦντο γε οἱ τότε τὴν
κατασκευὴν ταύτην οὐ Πελοποννήσῳ μόνον ἐσε-
C σθαί βοηθῶν ἴκανῆν, σχεδὸν δῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
"Ελλησι πᾶσιν, εἰ τις τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοὺς
ἀδικοί, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ τὸ "Ἰλιον οἰκοῦντες τότε,

1 i.e. the Dorian settlers, by right of conquest, were free
to do as they pleased: none of the old owners or creditors
could assert rights or claims.

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tage, that they were free from all dread of giving
offence, so that they could divide up their land
without dispute; and they had no large debts of
old standing. ¹

MEG. True.

ATH. How was it then, my good sirs, that their
settlement and legislation turned out so badly?

MEG. What do you mean? What fault have you
to find with it?

ATH. This, that whereas there were three States
settled, two of the three ² speedily wrecked their
constitution and their laws, and one only remained
stable—and that was your State, Megillus.

MEG. The question is no easy one.

ATH. Yet surely in our consideration and enquiry
into this subject, indulging in an old man’s sober
play with laws, we ought to proceed on our journey
painlessly, as we said ³ when we first started out.

MEG. Certainly, we must do as you say.

ATH. Well, what laws would offer a better subject
for investigation than the laws by which those
States were regulated? Or what larger or more
famous States are there about whose settling we
might enquire?

MEG. It would be hard to mention better instances
than these.

ATH. It is fairly evident that the men of that
age intended this organisation of theirs to serve as
an adequate protection not only for the Pelopon-
nesus, but for the whole of Hellas as well, in case
any of the barbarians should attack them—just as
the former dwellers around Ilium were emboldened

¹ viz. Argos and Messene,—the third being Laconia.
² Cp. 625 B.
πιστεύοντες τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων δυνάμει τῇ περὶ
Νίνον θεωμένην, θρασυνόμενοι τῶν πόλεμον ἔγει-
ραν τὸν ἑπτὰ Τροίαν. ἂν γὰρ ἔτη τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς
ἐκείνης σχῆμα τὸ σωζόμενον οὐ σμικρὸν. κα-
θάπερ οὖν τῶν μέγαν βασιλέα φοβούμεθα ἡμεῖς,
καὶ τότε ἐκείνη τὴν συνταθείσαν σύνταξιν ἐδέ-
δισαν οἱ τότε. μέγα γὰρ ἐγκλῆμα πρὸς αὐτοὺς

D ἡ τῆς Τροίας ἀλλοις τὸ δεύτερον ἐγερόντα τῆς
ἀρχῆς γὰρ τῆς ἐκείνων ἦν μόριον. πρὸς δὴ ταῦτ' ἦν
πάντα ἡ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τοῦ τότε διανεμη-
θείσα εἰς τρεῖς πόλεις κατασκευὴ μία ὑπὸ βασι-
λέων ἄδελφῶν, παῖδων Ἡρακλέων, καλὸς, ὡς ἐδόκει,
ἀνευρμένη καὶ κατακεκοσμημένη καὶ
diaφερόντως τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἀφικομένης.
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Ἡρακλείδας τῶν Πελο-
pιδῶν ἀμέινους ἤγοντο ἄρχοντων ἄρχοντας ἐχεῖν,

Ε ἔστη αὐτὸ τὸ στρατόπεδον τούτο τοῦ ἑπτὰ Τροίαν
ἀφικομένου διαφέρειν πρὸς ἄρετήν· νευκηκέναι
gὰρ τούτους, ἢττῆσθαι οὔτως ὑπὸ τούτων ἐκείνους,
Ἀχαιῶν ὄντας ὑπὸ Δωρίων. ἂρ' οὖν οὕτως
οἰόμεθα καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ ταύτῃ κατασκευάζεσθαι
tοὺς τότε;

ME. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ βεβαίως οἴεσθαι ταῦτ' ἔχειν εἰκὸς· αὐτοὺς καὶ χρόνον τιν' ἄν πολὺν
686 μένειν, ἀτε κεκοιμηκότας μὲν πολλῶν πόνων
καὶ κινδύνων ἄλληλοις, ὑπὸ γένους δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν
βασιλέων ἄδελφῶν οὐτῶν διακεκοσμημένους, πρὸς

1 ταύτ' ἦν Schneider: ταύτην MSS.: ταύτα Zur., vulg.
2 ὡς MSS., omitted by Steph., Zur.
3 ήττῆσθαι Boeckh, Schanz: ήττάσθαι MSS.
to embark on the Trojan War through reliance on
the Assyrian power as it had been in the reign of
Ninus.\(^1\) For much of the splendour of that empire
still survived; and the people of that age stood in
fear of its confederate power, just as we men of to-day
dread the Great King. For since Troy was a part of
the Assyrian empire, the second\(^2\) capture of Troy
formed a grave charge against the Greeks. It was
in view of all this that the Dorian host was at that
time organised and distributed amongst three States
under brother princes, the sons of Heracles;\(^3\) and
men thought it admirably devised, and in its equip-
ment superior even to the host that had sailed to
Troy. For men reckoned, first, that in the sons of
Heracles they had better chiefs than the Pelopidae,\(^4\)
and further, that this army was superior in valour to
the army which went to Troy, since the latter, which
was Achaean, was worsted by the former, which was
Dorian. Must we not suppose that it was in this
way, and with this intention, that the men of that
age organised themselves?

MEG. Certainly.

ATH. Is it not also probable that they would
suppose this to be a stable arrangement, and likely
to continue quite a long time, since they had shared
together many toils and dangers, and were marshal-
led under leaders of a single family (their princes
being brothers), and since, moreover, they had con-

\(^1\) The mythical founder of the Assyrian empire, husband
of Semiramis, and builder of Nineveh (dated about 2200 B.C.).
\(^2\) The first “capture” was by Heracles, in the reign of
\(^3\) viz. Temenus, king of Argos, Procles and Eurysthenes of
Laconia, Cresphontes of Messene.
\(^4\) viz. Agamemnon and Menelaus.
PLATO

tou'tois δ' ἔτι καὶ πολλοῖς μᾶντεσι κεχρημένους εἶναι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τῷ Δελφικῷ Ἀπόλλωνι;

me. Πῶς δ' οὐκ εἰκός;

ἀ. Ταύτα δὴ τὰ μεγάλα οὕτω προσδοκόμενα διέπτατο, ὡς ἔοικε, τότε ταχὺ, πλῆν ὅπερ εὑπομεν νῦν δὴ σμικροῦ μέρους τοῦ περὶ τὸν ύμέτερον B τόπον καὶ τούτο δὴ πρὸς τὰ δύο μέρη πολεμοῦν οὐ πῶς τοτε πέπταυται μέχρι τὰ νῦν ἐπεὶ γενομένη γε ἡ τοτε διάνοια καὶ ἀνιμφωνήσασα εἰς ἐν ἀν-υπόστατον ἁν τινα δύναμιν ἔσχε κατὰ πόλεμον.

me. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ἀ. Πῶς οὖν καὶ πῇ διώλετο; ἀρ' οὖν ἄξιον ἐπισκοπεῖν, τηλικοῦτον καὶ τοιούτου σύστημα ἣτε ποτε τύχη διεφθειρεν;

me. Σχολή γὰρ οὖν δὴ τις ἀν ἄλλοσε ¹ C σκοπῶν ἢ νόμους ἢ πολιτείας ἄλλας θεάσατο σωζούσας καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα ἢ καὶ τούναντιον διαφθειρούσας τὸ παράπαν, εἰ ἀμε- λήσει τούτων.

ἀ. Τούτο μὲν ἀρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, εὐτυχῶς πως ἐμβεβήκαμεν γε εἰς τινα σκέψιν ἱκανίν.

me. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ἀ. Ἀρ' οὖν, ὁ θαυμάσιε, λεληθαμεν ἀν-θρωποι πάντεσ, καὶ τὰ νῦν δὴ ἡμεῖς, οἰόμενοι μὲν ἐκάστοτε τι καλὸν ὡρὰν πράγμα γενόμενον καὶ θαυμαστά ἂν ἐργασάμενον, εἰ τις ἁρα ἡπισ-τήθη καλὸς αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τινα τρόπον,

D τὸ δὲ νῦν γε ἡμεῖς τὰς ἃν ἰσος περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ οὔτε ὀρθῶς διανοούμεθα ² οὔτε κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντες πάντα περὶ ὧν ἂν οὕτω διανοηθῶςιν;

¹ ἄλλοσε Ast, Badham: ἄλλο MSS.
sulted a number of diviners and, amongst others, the Delphian Apollo?

MEG. That is certainly probable.

ATH. But it seems that these great expectations speedily vanished, except only, as we said, in regard to that small fraction, your State of Laconia; and ever since, up to the present day, this fraction has never ceased warring against the other two. For if the original intention had been realised, and if they had been in accord about their policy, it would have created a power invincible in war.

MEG. It certainly would.

ATH. How then, and by what means, was it destroyed? Is it not worth while to enquire by what stroke of fortune so grand a confederacy was wrecked?

MEG. Yes; for, if one passed over these examples, one would not be likely to find elsewhere either laws or constitutions which preserve interests thus fair and great, or, on the contrary, wreck them totally.

ATH. Thus by a piece of good luck, as it seems, we have embarked on an enquiry of some importance.

MEG. Undoubtedly.

ATH. Now, my dear sir, do not men in general, like ourselves at the present moment, unconsciously fancy that every fine object they set eyes on would produce marvellous results, if only a man understood the right way to make a fine use of it? But for us to hold such an idea in regard to the matter before us would possibly be both wrong and against nature; and the same is true of all other cases where men hold such ideas.

2 διανοούμεθα H. Richards: διανοούμεθα MSS.
ME. Λέγεις δὲ δὴ τί, καὶ περὶ τίνος σοι φῶμεν μάλιστ' εἰρήσθαι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον;
ΑΘ. "Ω γαθέ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐμαυτοῦ νῦν δὴ κατεγέλασα. ἀποβλέψας γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν στόλον οὐ πέρι διαλεγόμεθα, ἐδοξέ μοι πάγκαλὸς τε εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἢν κτῆμα παραπεσεῖν τοῖς "Ελλησιν, ὅπερ εἴπον, εἶ τις ἁρα αὐτῷ τότε Ἐκαλὼς ἐχρήσατο.
ME. Οὐκοῦν εὖ καὶ ἐχόντως νοῦν σὺ τε πάντα εἴπες καὶ ἐπηνέσαμεν ἡμεῖς;
ΑΘ. "Ισως: ἐννοῶ γε μὴν ὡς πᾶς ὃς ἂν ἵδη τι μέγα καὶ δύναμιν ἔχον πολλὴν καὶ βάρμην εὐθὺς ἐπάθη τούτῳ, ὡς εἴπερ ἐπισταίτο ὁ κεκτημένος αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι τοιοῦτῳ τε ὅντι καὶ τηλικοῦτῳ, θαυμάστ' ἂν καὶ πολλὰ κατεργασάμενος εὐδαι-μονοῖ.

687 ME. Οὐκοῦν ὅρθων καὶ τοῦτο; ἡ πῶς λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Σκόπει δὴ ποῦ βλέπων ὁ τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον περὶ ἐκάστου τιθέμενος ὅρθως λέγειν. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πάντων λεγομένου, πῶς, εἰ κατὰ τρόπον ἡπιστήθησαν τάξιν τὸ στρατό-πεδον οἱ τότε διακοσμοῦντες, τοῦ καρυοῦ πῶς ἂν ἔτυχον; ἢρ' οὖκ εἰ ἔννεστησάν ταῖς ἀσφαλῶς αὐτῷ διέσωξαν τε εἰς τὸν ἄεὶ χρόνον, ὥστε αὐτοὺς τε ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ ἄλλων ἄρχοντας ἄν βουλή-

Β θείεν, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι καὶ "Ελλησι καὶ βαρβάροις πράττειν ὃ τι ἐπιθυμοῖεν αὐτοῖ τε καὶ οἱ ἐκγονοὶ; μῶν οὐ τοῦτων χάρων ἐπαινε-

θείεν ἢν;

ME. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
ΑΘ. 'Αρ' οὖν καὶ ὃς ἂν ἰδὼν πλοῦτον μέγαν ἢ

1 <ἀν> (after κτῆμα) C. J. Taylor.
2 ἐπαινεθείεν Orelli, Ritter: ἐπιθυμοῖεν MSS.
MEG. What is it you mean? And what shall we say is the special point of your remarks?

ATH. Why, my dear sir, I had a laugh at my own expense just now. For when I beheld this armament of which we are speaking, I thought it an amazingly fine thing, and that, if anyone had made a fine use of it at that time, it would have proved, as I said, a wonderful boon to the Greeks.

MEG. And was it not quite right and sensible of you to say this, and of us to endorse it?

ATH. Possibly; I conceive, however, that everyone, when he beholds a thing that is large, powerful and strong, is instantly struck by the conviction that, if its possessor knew how to employ an instrument of that magnitude and quality, he could make himself happy by many wonderful achievements.

MEG. Is not that a right conviction? Or what is your view?

ATH. Just consider what one ought to have in view in every instance, in order to justify the bestowal of such praise. And first, with regard to the matter now under discussion,—if the men who were then marshalling the army knew how to organise it properly, how would they have achieved success? Must it not have been by consolidating it firmly and by maintaining it perpetually, so that they should be both free themselves and masters over all others whom they chose, and so that both they and their children should do in general just what they pleased throughout the world of Greeks and barbarians alike? Are not these the reasons why they would be praised?

MEG. Certainly.

ATH. And in every case where a man uses the
τιμᾶς διαφερούσας γένους ἢ καὶ ὅτι οὖν τῶν τοιούτων εἴπη ταῦτα ταῦτα, πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων εἶπεν, ὡς διὰ τούτῳ αὐτῷ γενήσομεν ὅν ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ πάντα ἡ τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὁσα ἀξιότατα λόγου;

ME. 'Εοικε γοῦν.

C ἈΘ. Φέρε δῆ, πάντων ἄνθρωπων ἔστι κοινὸν ἐπιθυμήμα τὰ τὸ νῦν ὕπο τοῦ λόγου δῆλομενον [ὡς αὐτὸς φησίν ὁ λόγος]¹;

ME. Τὸ ποίον;

ἈΘ. Τὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπίταξιν τὰ γεγυγμόμενα γίγνεσθαι, μᾶλλον μὲν ἀπαντᾷ, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ γε ἄνθρωπινα.

ME. Τί μήν;

ἈΘ. Οὖκοιν ἐπείπερ βουλόμεθα πάντες τὸ τοιούτον ἄεὶ παῖδες τε ὄντες καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ πρεσβύται, τούτ' αυτὸ καὶ εὐχοίμεθ' ἂν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τέλους;

ME. Πῶς δ' οὖ;

D ἈΘ. Καὶ μήν τοῖς γε φίλοις ποιον ἔμυθοκύμεθ' ἂν ταῦτα ἀπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἐκατοθιν.

ME. Τί μήν;

ἈΘ. Φίλος μὲν νῦς πατρί, παῖς ὧν ἄνδρὶ.

ME. Πῶς δ' οὖ;

ἈΘ. Καὶ μήν ὧν γ' ὧν παῖς εὐχεταὶ ἐαυτῷ γίγνεσθαι, πολλὰ ὧν πατήρ ἀπεύξατ', ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς μηδαμῶς κατὰ τὰς τοῦ νίεός εὐχὰς γίγνεσθαι.

ME. 'Οταν ἀνόητος ὧν καὶ ἐτι νέος εὐχηται, λέγεις;

¹ [ὡς . . . λόγος] bracketed by England (after Stallb.).
language of eulogy on seeing great wealth or eminent family distinctions or anything else of the kind, would it not be true to say that, in using it, he has this fact specially in mind,—that the possessor of such things is likely, just because of this, to realise all, or at least the most and greatest, of his desires.

MEG. That is certainly probable.

ATH. Come now, is there one object of desire—that now indicated by our argument—which is common to all men?

MEG. What is that?

ATH. The desire that, if possible, everything,—or failing that, all that is humanly possible—should happen in accordance with the demands of one's own heart.

MEG. To be sure.

ATH. Since this, then, is what we all wish always, alike in childhood and manhood and old age, it is for this, necessarily, that we should pray continually.

MEG. Of course.

ATH. Moreover, on behalf of our friends we will join in making the same prayer which they make on their own behalf.

MEG. To be sure.

ATH. And a son is a friend to his father, the boy to the man.

MEG. Certainly.

ATH. Yet the father will often pray the gods that the things which the son prays to obtain may in no wise be granted according to the son's prayers.

MEG. Do you mean, when the son who is praying is still young and foolish?
αΘ. Καὶ ὅταν γε ὁ πατὴρ ὧν γέρων ἦ καὶ Ἐ σφόδρα νεανίας, μηδὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων γυνώσκων, εὐχηταί μάλα προθύμως ἐν παθή-
μασίν ἀδελφοῖς ὧν τοῖς γενομένοις Θησεὶ πρὸς 
τὸν δυστυχῶς τελευτήσαντα Ἰππόλυτον, ὁ δὲ παῖς γυνώσκῃ, τότε, δοκεῖς, παῖς πατρὶ συν-
eὐξηται:

ΜΕ. Μανθάνω ὃ λέγεις. λέγειν γάρ μοι δοκεῖς ὡς οὐ τοῦτο εὐκτέον οὔδε ἐπεικτέον, ἐπεσθαὶ 
πάντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βουλήσει, τὴν βούλησιν δὲ 
μηδὲν [μᾶλλον] τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φρονήσει· τούτῳ δὲ 
καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἕνα ἡμῶν ἑκαστὸν καὶ εὐχησθαὶ 
δεῖν καὶ σπεύδειν, ὡπὼς νοῦν ἔχει.

688 αΘ. Ναί, καὶ δὴ καὶ πολιτικὸν γε ἄλλα νομο-
θέτην ὡς αἰεὶ δεὶ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέποντα τιθέναι 
τὰς τάξεις τῶν νόμων, αὐτὸς τε ἐμνήσθην καὶ 
ὑμᾶς ἐπαναμιμησκόν κατ’ ἀρχάς, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, 
τὰ λεχθέντα, ὅτι τὸ μὲν σφὸν ἦν παρακέλευμα 
ὡς χρεῶν εἰ τὸν ἄγαθον νομοθέτην πάντα 
pολέμου χάριν τὰ νόμιμα τιθέναι, τὸ δ’ ἐμὸν 
ἐλεγον ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς μίαν ἁρετὴν οὐσῶν 
tεττάρων κελεύοι τίθεσθαι τοὺς νόμους, δεόι δὲ 
Β δὴ πρὸς πᾶσαν μὲν βλέπειν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ 
πρὸς πρῶτην τὴν τὴς ξυμπάσης ἡγεμόνα ἁρετῆς, 
φρονησὶς δ’ εἰ ἦν τοῦτο καὶ νοῦς καὶ δόξα μετ’ 
ἔρωτός τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τούτοις ἐπομένης. ἦκει 
δὴ πάλιν ὁ λόγος εἰς ταύτων, καὶ ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ 

νῦν λέγω πάλιν ἀπερ τότε, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, ὡς

1 [μᾶλλον] I bracket (πολὺ μᾶλλον Schanz).

1 Hippolytus was accused by his stepmother, Phaedra, of attempting to dishonour her: therefore his father (Theseus) invoked a curse upon him, and Poseidon (father of Theseus)
LAWS, BOOK III

ATH. Yes, and also when the father, either through age or through the hot temper of youth, being devoid of all sense of right and justice, indulges in the vehement prayers of passion (like those of Theseus against Hippolytus, when he met his luckless end), while the son, on the contrary, has a sense of justice,—in this case do you suppose that the son will echo his father’s prayers?

MEG. I grasp your meaning. You mean, as I suppose, that what a man ought to pray and press for is not that everything should follow his own desire, while his desire in no way follows his own reason; but it is the winning of wisdom that everyone of us, States and individuals alike, ought to pray for and strive after.

ATH. Yes. And what is more, I would recall to your recollection, as well as to my own, how it was said (if you remember) at the outset that the legislator of a State, in settling his legal ordinances, must always have regard to wisdom. The injunction you gave was that the good lawgiver must frame all his laws with a view to war: I, on the other hand, maintained that, whereas by your injunction the laws would be framed with reference to one only of the four virtues, it was really essential to look to the whole of virtue, and first and above all to pay regard to the principal virtue of the four, which is wisdom and reason and opinion, together with the love and desire that accompany them. Now the argument has come back again to the same point, and I now repeat my former statement,—in

sent a bull which scared the horses of H.’s chariot so that they upset the chariot and dragged him till he was dead.

1 630 Dff.
παίξων, εἰ δ', ὡς σπουδάζων, ὅτι δὴ φημὶ εὐχή
χρῆσθαι σφαλερὸν εἶναι νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένον,
ἀλλὰ τάναντια ταῖς θυσίας βουλήσειν οἱ γίγνεσθαι.
[σπουδάζοντα δ' εἰ με τιθέναι βούλεσθε, τίθετε.]¹

πάνω γὰρ οὐν προσδοκῶ νῦν ὑμᾶς εὐρήσειν τῷ
λόγῳ ἔπομένους, ὃν ὁλίγον ἐμπροσθεὶς προὺθε-
μεθα, τῆς τῶν βασιλείων ² τε φθορᾶς καὶ ὅλου
τοῦ διανοήματος οὐ δειλίαν οὔσαι τὴν αἰτίαν,
οὐδ' ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἥπισταντο
ἀρχοντές τε καὶ οὓς προσῆκεν ἄρχεσθαι, τῇ
λοιπῇ δὲ πάσῃ κακία διεφθαρμένα, καὶ μάλιστα
τῇ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων
ἀμαθία. ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς οὔτω γέγονε περὶ τὰ τότε
καὶ νῦν, εἶ ποιν, γέγνεται, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἑπείτα χρόνον
οὐκ ἄλλως συμβηκεῖται, ἐὰν βουλησθεῖ, πειράζομαι
ἰὼν κατὰ τὸν ἐξής λόγον ἀνευρίσκειν τε καὶ οὕμων
dηλοῦν κατὰ δύναμιν ὡς οὔσι φίλοις.

κλ. Δόγω μὲν τοῖς σε, ὃς ἔνε, ἑπαίνειν
ἐπαχθέστερον, ἔρημο δὲ σφόδρα ἐπαίνεσόμεθα: προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς λεγομένοις ἑπακολουθήσομεν,
ἐν οἷς ὃ γε ἐλευθέρως ³ ἑπαινῶν καὶ μὴ μάλιστα
ἐστὶ καταφανῆ.

ΜΕ. "Ἀριστ', ὃ Κλεινία, καὶ ποιῶμεν ἄ λέγεις.

ΚΛ. "Ἐσται ταῦτα, ἐὰν θεὸς ἔθελῃ. Λέγε μόνον.

ΑΘ. Φαμέν δὴ νυν, καθ' ὁδὸν ἄνετε τῆν λοιπήν
τοῦ λόγου, τὴν μεγίστην ἀμαθίαν τότε ἐκεῖνην
tῆν δύναμιν ἀπολέσαι καὶ νῦν ταύτων τούτω
πεφυκέναι ποιεῖν, ὡςτε τὸν γε νομοθέτην, εἰ
tούθ' οὕτως ἔχει, πειρατέον ταῖς πόλεσι φρόνησιν

¹ [σπουδάζοντα ... τίθετε] 1 bracket (after England's conj.).

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jest, if you will, or else in earnest; I assert that prayer is a perilous practice for him who is devoid of reason, and that what he obtains is the opposite of his desires. For I certainly expect that, as you follow the argument recently propounded, you will now discover that the cause of the ruin of those kingdoms, and of their whole design, was not cowardice or ignorance of warfare on the part either of the rulers or of those who should have been their subjects; but that what ruined them was badness of all other kinds, and especially ignorance concerning the greatest of human interests. That this was the course of events then, and is so still, whenever such events occur, and will be so likewise in the future,—this, with your permission, I will endeavour to discover in the course of the coming argument, and to make it as clear as I can to you, my very good friends.

CLIN. Verbal compliments are in poor taste, Stranger; but by deed, if not by word, we shall pay you the highest of compliments by attending eagerly to your discourse; and that is what best shows whether compliments are spontaneous or the reverse.

MEG. Capital, Clinias! Let us do just as you say.

CLIN. It shall be so, God willing. Only say on.

ATH. Well then, to advance further on the track of our discourse,—we assert that it was ignorance, in its greatest form, which at that time destroyed the power we have described, and which naturally produces still the same results; and if this is so, it follows that the lawgiver must try to implant in

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2 βασιλεῖς Boeckh, Schanz: βασιλέων MSS.
3 ἐλευθέρως Ast, Schanz: ἐλευθέρος MSS.
PLATO

μὲν ὅσην δυνατὸν ἐμποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ ἀνοιαν ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξαιρεῖν.
κλ. Δήλον.

689 Α. Τὸς οὖν ἡ μεγίστη δικαίως ἂν λέγοιτο ἀμαθία; σκοπεῖτε εἰ συνδόξει καὶ σφῶν λεγόμενον· ἐγώ μὲν δὴ τὴν τοιάνδε τίθεμαι.
κλ. Ποίαν;

Α. Τὴν ὅταν τῷ τῷ δόξαν καλὸν ἡ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι μὴ φιλὴ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ μισῆ, τὸ δὲ πονηρὸν καὶ ἄδικον δοκοῦν εἶναι φιλὴ τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται. ταῦτην τὴν διαφωνίαν λύμης τε καὶ ἡδονῆς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ λόγον δόξαν ἀμαθίαν φημὶ εἶναι τὴν ἑσχάτην, <τὴν> ἕ μεγίστην δὲ, ὅτι τοὺ πλῆθος

Β ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς· τὸ γὰρ λυπούμενον καὶ ἡδομένου αὐτῆς ὅπερ δήμος τε καὶ πλῆθος πόλεως ἐστίν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπιστήμαις ἡ δόξαις ἡ λόγῳ ἐναντιῶται, τοῖς φύσει ἀρχικοῖς, [ἡ ψυχή,] ἕ τοῦτο ἄνων προσαγορεῦσι, πόλεως τε, ὅταν ἀρχουσι καὶ νόμοις μὴ πείθηται τὸ πλῆθος, ταῦτον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐνὸς ἀνδρός, ὅποταν καλοὶ ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτητῇ λόγοι ἐνότητες μὴ δὲν ποιῶσι πλέον, ἀλλὰ δὴ τοὐτοῖς πᾶν τοῦ

C ναντίον. ταῦτας πάσας ἀμαθίας τὰς πλημμελεστάτας ἐγωγ' ἀνθεὶν πόλεως τε καὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλ' οὔ τὰς τῶν δημιουργῶν, εἰ ἄρα μοι καταμανθάνετε, ὦ ἕξενοι, ὦ λέγω.

1 <τὴν> I add.
2 [ἡ ψυχή] bracketed by Badham.

1 In this comparison between the Soul and the State both are regarded as consisting of two parts or elements, the ruling and the ruled, of which the former is the noblest, but the latter the “greatest” in bulk and extent. The ruling element in the Soul is Reason (νοῖς, λόγος), and in the State it is Law

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States as much wisdom as possible, and to root out folly to the utmost of his power.

CLIN. Obviously.

ATH. What kind of ignorance would deserve to be called the "greatest"? Consider whether you will agree with my description; I take it to be ignorance of this kind,—

CLIN. What kind?

ATH. That which we see in the man who hates, instead of loving, what he judges to be noble and good, while he loves and cherishes what he judges to be evil and unjust. That want of accord, on the part of the feelings of pain and pleasure, with the rational judgment is, I maintain, the extreme form of ignorance, and also the "greatest" because it belongs to the main mass of the soul,—for the part of the soul that feels pain and pleasure corresponds to the mass of the populace in the State.¹ So whenever this part opposes what are by nature the ruling principles—knowledge, opinion, or reason,—this condition I call folly, whether it be in a State, when the masses disobey the rulers and the laws, or in an individual, when the noble elements of reason existing in the soul produce no good effect, but quite the contrary. All these I would count as the most discordant forms of ignorance, whether in the State or the individual, and not the ignorance of the artisan,—if you grasp my meaning, Strangers.

(ρόμος) and its exponents: the subject element in the Soul consists of sensations, emotions and desires, which (both in bulk and in irrationality) correspond to the mass of the volgus in the State. Plato's usual division of the Soul is into three parts,—reason (νοῦς), passion (θυμός), and desire (ἐπιθυμία): cp. Rep. 435 ff.
κα. Μανθάνομεν τε, ὦ φίλε, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν ἃ λέγεις.

α. Τούτο μὲν τῶν ὑστώ κείσθω δεδογμένων καὶ λελεγμένων, ὡς τοῖς ταῦτ' ἀμαθαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδὲν ἐπιτρεπτέον ἄρχης ἐχόμενον καὶ ὡς ἀμαθέσιν ὑνειδιστέον, ἀν καὶ πάνιν λογιστικοί τε ὦσι καὶ πάντα τὰ κομψά καὶ ὁσα πρὸς τάχος

D τῆς ψυχῆς πεφυκότα διαπεπονημένοι ἀπαντά, τοὺς δὲ τούναντίον ἐχοντας τούτων ὡς σοφοῖς τε προσρητέον, ἀν καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον μήτε γράμματα μήτε νεῖν ἐπίστονται, καὶ τὰς ἄρχας δοτέον ὡς ἐμφροσί. πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ὦ φίλοι, ἀνευ χυμφωνίας γένοιτ' ἄν φρονήσεως καί τὸ σμικρότατον εἴδος; οὐκ ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἡ καλλίστη καὶ μεγίστη τῶν χυμφωνίων μεγίστη δικαιότατ' ἄν λέγοιτο σοφία, ἢς ὁ μὲν κατὰ λόγον ζῶν μέτοχος, ὁ δ' ἀπολείπετοφιοθόροις καὶ περὶ πόλιν οὐδαμῆ σωτηρία ἀλλὰ πάν τούναντίον ἀμαθαίνων εἰς ταύτα ἐκάστοτε φανεῖται. ταύτα μὲν οὖν, καθάπερ εὑρομεν ἄρτι, λελεγμένα τεθήτω ταύτη.

κλ. Κείσθω γὰρ οὖν.

α. Ἀρχοντας δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀρχομένους ἀναγκαῖον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν εἶναι ποιεῖ.

κλ. Τι μῆν;

690 α. Ἐλευ: ἀξιόματα δὲ δὴ τοῦ τέ ἄρχειν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ποῖά ἐστι καὶ πόσα, ἐν τε πόλεσι μεγάλαίς καὶ σμικραῖς ἐν τε οἰκίαις ὀσαύτως; ἃρ' οὐχὶ ἐν μὲν τὸ τε πατρός καὶ μητρός, καὶ ὅλως γονέας ἐκγόνων ἄρχειν ἀξίωμα ὀρθὸν παινταχοῦ ἂν εἰη;

1 λεγόμενον Badham: λεγόμενον MSS. (bracketed by Schanz).

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We do, my dear sir, and we agree with it.

Then let it be thus resolved and declared, that no control shall be entrusted to citizens thus ignorant, but that they shall be held in reproach for their ignorance, even though they be expert calculators, and trained in all accomplishments and in everything that fosters agility of soul, while those whose mental condition is the reverse of this shall be entitled "wise," even if—as the saying goes—"they spell not neither do they swim"¹: and to these latter, as to men of sense, the government shall be entrusted For without harmony,² my friends, how could even the smallest fraction of wisdom exist? It is impossible. But the greatest and best of harmonies would most properly be accounted the greatest wisdom; and therein he who lives rationally has a share, whereas he who is devoid thereof will always prove to be a home-wrecker and anything rather than a saviour of the State, because of his ignorance in these matters. So let this declaration stand, as we recently said, as one of our axioms.

Yes, let it stand.

Our States, I presume, must have rulers and subjects.

Of course.

Very well then: what and how many are the agreed rights or claims in the matter of ruling and being ruled, alike in States, large or small, and in households? Is not the right of father and mother one of them? And in general would not the claim of parents to rule over offspring be a claim universally just?

¹ i.e. are ignorant of even the most ordinary accomplishments.
² Cp. Rep. 430 E; 591 D.
κλ. Καὶ μάλα.

α. Τούτω δὲ γε ἐπόμενον γενναίους ἀγεννῶν ἄρχειν καὶ τρίτων ēτι τούτοις ξυνέπεται τὸ πρεσβυτέρους μὲν ἄρχειν δεῖν, νεωτέρους δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.

κλ. Τί μήν;

Β α. Τέταρτον δ’ αὖ δούλους μὲν ἄρχεσθαι, δεσπότας δὲ ἄρχειν.

κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

α. Πέμπτον γε, οἷμαι, τὸν κρέιττονα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὸν ἦττω δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.

κλ. Μάλα γε ἀναγκαῖαν ἄρχῃν εἰρήκας.

α. Καὶ πλείστην γε ἐν ξύμπασι τοῖς ξώοις οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς ὁ Ἡθβαῖος ἔφη ποτὲ Πίνδαρος. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀξίωμα ἐκτὸν ἄν γύγνοτο, ἐπεσθαί μὲν τὸν ἀνέπιστήμονα κελεύον, τὸν δὲ φρονοῦντα ἡγείσθαί τε καὶ ἄρχειν.

C καὶ τοῦ τούτῳ γε, ὁ Πίνδαρε σοφῶτατε, σχεδὸν οὖκ ἂν παρὰ φύσιν ἔγαγε φαιν ἡγείσθαι, κατὰ φύσιν δὲ τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἐκόντων ἄρχῃν ἅλλ’ οὐ βίαιον πεφυκιάν.

κλ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

α. Θεοφίλή δὲ γε καὶ εὐτυχὴ τινὰ λέγοντες ἐξ ὄνθην ἄρχῃν εἰς κλήρον τινὰ προάγομεν καὶ λαχόντα μὲν ἄρχειν, δυσκληροῦντα δὲ ἀπώντα ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δικαίοτατον εἶναι φαμεν.

κλ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

D α. Ὄρας δὴ, φαίμεν ἃν, οὐ νομοθέτα, πρὸς τινα παίζοντες τῶν ἐπὶ νόμων θέσιν ἱόντων ῥαδίως, ὡσα ἐστὶ περὶ ἀρχοντας ἀξιώματα καὶ

1 περὶ Madvig, Schanz: πρὸς MSS.
Certainly.

And next to this, the right of the noble to rule over the ignoble; and then, following on these as a third claim, the right of older people to rule and of younger to be ruled.

To be sure.

The fourth right is that slaves ought to be ruled, and masters ought to rule.

Undoubtedly.

And the fifth is, I imagine, that the stronger should rule and the weaker be ruled.

A truly compulsory form of rule!

Yes, and one that is very prevalent among all kinds of creatures, being "according to nature," as Pindar of Thebes once said. The most important right is, it would seem, the sixth, which ordains that the man without understanding should follow, and the wise man lead and rule. Nevertheless, my most sapient Pindar, this is a thing that I, for one, would hardly assert to be against nature, but rather according thereto—the natural rule of law, without force, over willing subjects.

A very just observation.

Heaven's favour and good-luck mark the seventh form of rule, where we bring a man forward for a casting of lots, and declare that if he gains the lot he will most justly be ruler, but if he fails he shall take his place among the ruled.

Very true.

"Seest thou, O legislator,"—it is thus we might playfully address one of those who lightly start on the task of legislation—"how many are the rights pertaining to rulers, and how they are..."
τι πεφυκότα πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναντίως; νῦν γὰρ δὴ στάσεως πηγῆν τινα ἀνευρήκαμεν ἥμεις, ἦν δὲι σε θεραπεύειν. πρῶτον δὲ μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἀνά-
σκεψαι πῶς τε καὶ τὶ παρὰ ταῦτα ἀμαρτώντες ὁι περὶ τε Ἀργος καὶ Μεσσήνην βασιλῆς αὐτοὺς ἀμα καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύναμιν οὕσαν θαυ-μαστὴν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ διεφθειράν. ἀρ’ οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντες τὸν Ἡσιόδον ὀρθότατα λέγοντα ὡς τὸ ἡμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πολλάκις ἐστὶ πλέον;
[ὅπόταν ἦ τὸ μὲν ὀλον λαμβάνειν ξημιώδὲς, τὸ δ’ ἡμισυ μέτριον, τότε τὸ μέτριον τοῦ ἀμέτρου πλέον ἡγήσατο, ἀμεινον ἄν χεῖρονον.] 1

κλ. Ὁρθότατά γε.

α. πότερον οὐν οἰόμεθα περὶ βασιλέας τούτο
ἐγγιγνώμενον ἑκάστοτε διαφθείρειν πρότερον ἦ
ἐν τοῖς δήμοις;

691 κλ. Τὸ μὲν εἰκὸς ὡς 2 τὸ πολὺ βασιλέων τοῦτο
eῖναι νόσημα ύπερηφάνως ξώντων διὰ τρυφᾶς.

α. Οὔκοιν δήλον ὡς πρῶτον τοῦτο οἱ τότε
βασιλῆς ἔσχον, τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν τῶν τεθέντων
νόμων, καὶ δ’ λόγῳ τε καὶ δρκῷ ἐπήμεραν, οὐ
ξυνεφώνησαν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ἡ διαφωνία, ὡς ἡμεῖς
φαμέν, οὕσα ἀμαθία μεγίστη, δοκοῦσα δὲ σοφία,
πάντ’ ἐκείνα διὰ πλημμέλειαν καὶ ἀμονοσίαν τὴν
πικρὰν διεφθείρειν;

κλ. Ἔοικε γοῦν.

β. α. Ἐἰεν’ τί δ’ τὸν νομοθέτην ἐδει τότε
τιθέντα εὐλαβηθῆναι τούτου περὶ τοῦ πάθους
τῆς γενέσεως; ἀρ’ ὦ πρὸς θεῶν νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν

1 [ὅπόταν . . . χεῖρονον] bracketed by Hermann, Schanz.
2 ὡς: kal MSS.: ἐπὶ Badham.
essentially opposed to one another? Herein we have now discovered a source of factions, which thou must remedy. So do thou, in the first place, join with us in enquiring how it came to pass, and owing to what transgression of those rights, that the kings of Argos and Messene brought ruin alike on themselves and on the Hellenic power, splendid as it was at that epoch. Was it not through ignorance of that most true saying of Hesiod \(^1\) that ‘oftimes the half is greater than the whole’?

CLIN. Most true, indeed.

ATH. Is it our view, then, that this causes ruin when it is found in kings rather than when found in peoples?

CLIN. Probably this is, in the main, a disease of kings, in whom luxury breeds pride of life.

ATH. Is it not plain that what those kings strove for first was to get the better of the established laws, and that they were not in accord with one another about the pledge which they had approved both by word and by oath; and this discord—reputed to be wisdom, but really, as we affirm, the height of ignorance,—owing to its grating dissonance and lack of harmony, brought the whole Greek world to ruin?

CLIN. It would seem so, certainly.

ATH. Very well then: what precaution ought the legislator to have taken at that time in his enactments, to guard against the growth of this disorder? Verily, to perceive that now requires no great sagacity,

\(^1\) Cp. \textit{Op. D.} 38 ff.; \textit{Rep.} 466 C.: the meaning is that when “the whole” is excessive, the moderate “half” is preferable; this maxim being here applied to excesses of political power.
σοφὸν γνώναι τοῦτο οὖν εἰπὲῖν χαλεπόν, εἰ δὲ προϊδεῖν ἦν τότε, σοφώτερος ἂν ἦν ἦμῶν ὁ προϊδῶν;

ME. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;
ΑΘ. Εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς παρ' ύμῖν, ὁ Μέγιλλε, ἔστι νῦν γε κατιδόντα γνώναι, καὶ γνῶντα εἰπὲῖν ῥάδιον, δὶ τότε ἐδει γίγνεσθαι.

ME. Σαφέστερον ἐτί λέγε.
ΑΘ. Τὸ τούτων σαφέστατον ἂν εἴη τὸ τοιόνδε.

ME. Τὸ ποῖον:

C ΑΘ. 'Εάν τις μείζονα διδῶ τοῖς ἐλάττωσι δύναμιν παρείς τὸ μέτριον, πλοῖοις τε ἵστια καὶ σώμασι τροφὴν καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀρχὰς, ἀνατρέπεται που πάντα καὶ ἐξυβρίζοντα τὰ μὲν εἰς νόσους θεὶ, τὰ δὲ εἰς ἐκγονον ὑβρεῖς ἀδικίαν. τὶ οὖν δὴ ποτε λέγομεν; ἀρά γε τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς οὐκ ἔστ', ὧ φίλοι ἄνδρες, θυντῆς ψυχῆς φύσις ἦτις ποτὲ δυνήσεται τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ἀνθρώπωι ἀρχὴν φέρειν νέα καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος, ὡστε μὴ τῆς μεγίστης

D νόσου ἄνοιας πληρωθεῖσα αὐτῆς τὴν διάνοιαν μίσος ἔχειν πρὸς τῶν ἑγγύτατα φίλων, ὁ γενόμενον ταχὺ διέφθειρεν αὐτὴν καὶ πάσαν τὴν δύναμιν ἥφανισεν αὐτῆς; τούτ' οὖν εὐλαβηθήναι γνῶντας τὸ μέτριον μεγάλων νομοθετῶν. ὡς οὖν δὴ <τὸ> 1 τότε γενόμενον νῦν ἔστι μετριώτατα τοπᾶσαι, τὸδ' ἐστικέν εἰναι.

ME. Τὸ ποῖον;
ΑΘ. Θεὸς ἦν πρῶτον 2 κενόμενος ύμῶν τις, ὃς τὰ μέλλοντα προορῶν, διδυμον ύμῶν φυτεύσας

1 <τὸ> added by Ast.
2 ἦν πρῶτον: εἶναι MSS.: εἴη ἂν Schanz.

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nor is it a hard thing to declare; but the man who foresaw it in those days—if it could possibly have been foreseen—would have been a wiser man than we.

MEG. To what are you alluding?

ATH. If one looks at what has happened, Megillus, among you Lacedaemonians, it is easy to perceive, and after perceiving to state, what ought to have been done at that time.

MEG. Speak still more clearly.

ATH. The clearest statement would be this—

MEG. What?

ATH. If one neglects the rule of due measure, and gives things too great in power to things too small—sails to ships, food to bodies, offices of rule to souls—then everything is upset, and they run, through excess of insolence, some to bodily disorders, others to that offspring of insolence, injustice. What, then, is our conclusion? Is it not this? There does not exist, my friends, a mortal soul whose nature, when young and irresponsible, will ever be able to stand being in the highest ruling position upon earth without getting surfeited in mind with that greatest of disorders, folly, and earning the detestation of its nearest friends; and when this occurs, it speedily ruins the soul itself and annihilates the whole of its power. To guard against this, by perceiving the due measure, is the task of the great lawgiver. So the most duly reasonable conjecture we can now frame as to what took place at that epoch appears to be this—

MEG. What?

ATH. To begin with, there was a god watching over you; and he, foreseeing the future, restricted

Ε τὴν τῶν βασιλέων γένεσιν ἐκ μονογενοῦς, εἰς τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον συνέστειλε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔτι φύσις τις ἀνθρωπίνη μεμγισμένη θεία τινὶ δυνάμει, κατιδούσα ύμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν φλεγμαίνουσαν ἔτι, μίγνυσι τὴν κατὰ γῆρας σώφρονα δύναμιν τῇ 692 κατὰ γένος αὐθάδει βόμη, τὴν τῶν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι γερόντων ἱσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ποιήσασα δυνάμει. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σωτήρ ὕμων ἔτι σπαργώσαν καὶ θυμουμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅρων οἶον ψάλλων ἐνέβαλεν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἐγνώς τῆς κληρωτῆς ἀγαγῶν δυνάμεως, καὶ κατὰ δὴ τούτον τὸν λόγον ἡ βασιλεία παρ᾽ ὕμων, ἐξ ὅν ἐδεί σύμμικτος γενομένην καὶ μέτρων ἐξουσία, σωθείσα αὐτῇ σωτηρίας τοῖς ἄλλοις Ὁ γέγονεν αἰτία: ἔπει ἔπι τῇ Τημένῳ καὶ Κρεσφόντῃ καὶ τοῖς τότε νομοθέταις, οἴτινες ἄρ’ ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες, οὐδ’ ἢ Ἀριστοδήμου μερίς ἐσώθη ποτ’ ἄν. οὐ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἦσαν νομοθεσίας ἐμπειρο科学发展, σχεδόν γὰρ οὔκ ἄν ποτ’ ὁμολογήσαν <ἀρκεῖν> τὸ ὁρκοὶς μετρίασαι ψυχῆς νέαν λαβοῦσαν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ὧς δυνατὸν ἦν τυραννίδα γενέσθαι. νῦν δ’ ὁ θεός ἐδείξεν ὦν ἐδει καὶ δεὶ δὴ τὴν μενοῦσαν μάλιστα ἀρχὴν γίγνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ παρ’ ἡμῶν ὡς γεγυνόσκεσθαι ταῦτα, ὅπερ εἴπον ἐμπροσθεν, νῦν μὲν γεγόμενον οὐδὲν σοφῶν ἐκ γὰρ παραδείγματος ὀρᾶν γεγονότος οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν. εἰ δ’ ἦν

1 <ἀρκεῖν> I add (μετρίασαι ἄν H. Richards).

1 Lycurgus.
2 Theopompus, king of Sparta about 750 B.C. The institution of the Ephorate is by some ascribed to him (as here), by others to Lycurgus. Cp. Arist. Pol. 1313a 19 ff.
3 See 683 D.

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within due bounds the royal power by making your kingly line no longer single but twofold. In the next place, some man,\(^1\) in whom human nature was blended with power divine, observing your government to be still swollen with fever, blended the self-willed force of the royal strain with the temperate potency of age, by making the power of the eight-and-twenty elders of equal weight with that of the kings in the greatest matters. Then your “third saviour,”\(^2\) seeing your government still fretting and fuming, curbed it, as one may say, by the power of the ephors, which was not far removed from government by lot. Thus, in your case, according to this account, owing to its being blended of the right elements and possessed of due measure, the kingship not only survived itself but ensured the survival of all else. For if the matter had lain with Temenus and Cresphontes\(^3\) and the lawgivers of their day—whosoever those lawgivers really were,—even the portion of Aristodemus\(^4\) could never have survived, for they were not fully expert in the art of legislation; otherwise they could hardly have deemed it sufficient to moderate by means of sworn pledges\(^5\) a youthful soul endowed with power such as might develop into a tyranny; but now God has shown of what kind the government ought to have been then, and ought to be now, if it is to endure. That we should understand this, after the occurrence, is—as I said before\(^6\)—no great mark of sagacity, since it is by no means difficult to draw an inference from an example in the past; but if, at the time, there had

\(^{1} i.e.\) Lacedaemon: Aristodemus was father of Eurysthenes and Procles (cp. 683 D).

\(^{2}\) Cp. 684 A.

\(^{3}\) 691 B.

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τις προορῶν τότε ταύτα καὶ δυνάμενος μετριάσαι
tὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ μίαν ἐκ τριῶν ποιῆσαι, τά τε
νοηθέντα ἀν καλὰ τότε πάντα ἀπέσωσε καὶ οὐκ
ἄν ποτε ὁ Περσικὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὕδ’ ἄλλος
οὐδεὶς στόλος ἄν ὠρμησε, καταφρονήσας ὡς
ὅντων ἡμῶν βραχέος ἀξίων.
κα. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

D ἈΘ. Ἀισχρῶς γοῦν ἡμῶν ἀυτοῦς, ὁ Κλει-
νία. τὸ δ’ αἰσχρὸν λέγω οὐχ ὡς οὐ νικῶντες γε
οἱ τότε καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καλὰς
νευκήκασι μάχας: ἀλλ’ ὃ φημι αἰσχρὸν τὸτ’
eῖναι τόδε λέγω, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκείνων τῶν
πόλεων τριῶν οὕσων μίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος
ἀμύναι, τῷ δὲ δύο κακῶς οὕτως εἶναι διεφθαρμένα,
ὡστε ἡ μὲν καὶ Δακεδαίμονα διεκόλυνεν ἐπαμύνειν
αὐτῆ, πολεμοῦσα αὐτῇ κατὰ κράτος, ἡ δ’ αὐ
πρωτεύουσα ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις τοῖς περὶ τὴν
Ε διανομῆν, ἡ περὶ τὸ "Ἀργος, παρακαλομένη ἀμύ-
νειν τὸν βάρβαρον οὐθ’ ὑπήκουσεν οὐτ’ ἡμυνε.
pολλὰ δὲ λέγων ἀν τις τὰ τότε γενόμενα περὶ
ἐκείνου τῶν πόλεων τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδαμῶς εὐσχῆ-
μονα ἄν κατηγοροῖ: οὐδ’ αὐ ἀμύνασθαι τὴν γε
ἡ Ἑλλάδα λέγων ὅρθως ἄν λέγοι, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ τὸ τε

693 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Δακεδαιμονίων κοινὴ διανόημα
ἡμυνε τὴν ἐπιούσαν δουλείαν, σχεδοῦ ἄν ἡδὴ
tάντ’ ἢν μεμιγμένα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένη ἐν
ἀλλήλοις καὶ βάρβαρα ἐν Ἑλλησί καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ
ἐν βαρβάροις, καθάπερ οὖν Πέρσαι τυραννοῦσι τὰ
νῦν διαπεφορημένα καὶ ξυμπεφορημένα κακῶς

1 Messene.
been anyone who foresaw the result and was able to moderate the ruling powers and unify them,—such a man would have preserved all the grand designs then formed, and no Persian or other armament would ever have set out against Greece, or held us in contempt as a people of small account.

CLIN. True.

ATH. The way they repulsed the Persians, Clinias, was disgraceful. But when I say "disgraceful," I do not imply that they did not win fine victories both by land and sea in those victorious campaigns: what I call "disgraceful" is this,—that, in the first place, one only of those three States defended Greece, while the other two were so basely corrupt that one of them\(^1\) actually prevented Lacedaemon from assisting Greece by warring against her with all its might, and Argos, the other,—which stood first of the three in the days of the Dorian settlement—when summoned to help against the barbarian, paid no heed and gave no help.\(^2\) Many are the discreditable charges one would have to bring against Greece in relating the events of that war; indeed, it would be wrong to say that Greece defended herself, for had not the bondage that threatened her been warded off by the concerted policy of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, practically all the Greek races would have been confused together by now, and barbarians confused with Greeks and Greeks with barbarians,—just as the races under the Persian empire to-day are either scattered abroad or jumbled together and live in a

\(^1\) Cp. Hdt. vii. 148 ff. The reference is to the Persian invasion under Mardonius in 490 B.C.; but there is no other evidence for the charge here made against Messene.
εφθαρμένα 1 κατοικεῖται. ταῦτ’, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Ἐκείνη, ἐχομεν ἐπιτιμάν τοῖς τε πάλαι πολιτικοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ νομοθέταις καὶ τοῖς νῦν, ἵνα τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῶν ἀναζητοῦντες ἀνευρίσκωμεν

Β τὸ παρὰ ταῦτα ἐδει πράττειν ἄλλο, οἷον δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὸν εἰπομεν, ὡς ἃρα οὐ δεὶ μεγάλας ἀρχὰς οὕτως αὖ ἀμίκτους νομοθετεῖν, διανοηθέντας τὸ τοιόνυν, ὅτι πόλιν ἑλευθέραν τε εἶναι δεὶ καὶ ἐμφρονα καὶ ἑαυτὴν φίλην, καὶ τὸν νομοθετοῦντα πρὸς ταῦτα βλέποντα δεὶ νομοθετεῖν. μὴ θαυμάσωμεν δὲ εἰ πολλάκις ἕδη προθέμενοι ἄττα εἰρήκαμεν ὅτι πρὸς ταῦτα δεὶ νομοθετεῖν βλέποντα τὸν νομοθέτην, τὰ δὲ προτεθέντα οὐ ταῦτά ἡμῖν φαίνεται ἐκάστοτε· ἀλλ' ἀναλογίζεσθαι χρή, ὅταν [πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν] 2 φῶμεν δεῖν βλέπειν [ἡ] πρὸς φρόνισιν ἡ φίλιαν, ὡς ἐσθ' οὕτος ὁ σκοπός οὐχ ἐτέρως, ἀλλ' ὁ αὐτὸς· καὶ ἄλλα δὴ πολλὰ ἡμᾶς τουαῦτα ἀν γίγνηται ρήματα, μὴ διαταραττέτω.

κλ. Πειρασόμεθα ποιεῖν οὕτως ἐπανώντες τοὺς λόγους· καὶ νῦν δὴ τὸ περὶ τῆς φιλίας τε καὶ φρονίσεως καὶ ἑλευθερίας, πρὸς ὅ τι βουλόμενον 3 ἐμελλεῖσι λέγειν δεῖν στοχάζεσθαι τὸν νομοθέτην,

D λέγε.

αἰ. "Ἀκουσον δὴ νῦν. εἰσὶ πολιτείων οἰον μητέρες δύο τινές, ἐξ ὧν τὰς ἄλλας γεγονέναι λέγων ἀν τῆς ὀρθῶς λέγοι. καὶ τὴν μὲν προσαγορεύειν μοναρχίαν ὀρθῶν, τὴν δ' αὖ δημοκρατίαν· καὶ τῆς μὲν τὸ Περσῶν γένος ἄκρον ἔχειν, τῆς δὲ ἡμᾶς. αἱ δ' ἄλλαι σχεδὸν ἀπασάι, καθάπερ

1 εφθαρμένα: ἐσπαρμένα MSS. (bracketed by Cobet, Schanz).
miserable plight. Such, O Megillus and Clinias, are the charges we have to make against the so-called statesmen and lawgivers, both of the past and of the present, in order that, by investigating their causes, we may discover what different course ought to have been pursued; just as, in the case before us, we called it a blunder to establish by law a government that is great or unblended, our idea being that a State ought to be free and wise and in friendship with itself, and that the lawgiver should legislate with a view to this. Nor let it surprise us that, while we have often already proposed ends which the legislator should, as we say, aim at in his legislation, the various ends thus proposed are apparently different. One needs to reflect that wisdom and friendship, when stated to be the aim in view, are not really different aims, but identical; and, if we meet with many other such terms, let not this fact disturb us.

CLIN. We shall endeavour to bear this in mind as we traverse the arguments again. But for the moment, as regards friendship, wisdom and freedom,—tell us, what was it you intended to say that the lawgiver ought to aim at?

ATH. Listen. There are two mother-forms of constitution, so to call them, from which one may truly say all the rest are derived. Of these the one is properly termed monarchy, the other democracy, the extreme case of the former being the Persian polity, and of the latter the Athenian; the rest are

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2 [πυὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν] bracketed by Schanz: the following [h] is absent from the best MSS.

2 Βουλόμενον: Βουλόμενος MSS. (bracketed by Baldham, Schanz).
εἰπον, ἐκ τοῦτων εἰσὶ διαπεποικιλμέναι. δεῖ δὴ ὁμοὶ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον μεταλαβεῖν ἀμφότερον τοῦτοι, εἴπερ ἐλευθερία τ' ἔσται καὶ φιλία μετὰ φρονή.

Ε σεως: ὃ δὴ βουλεῖται ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος προστάτευει, λέγων ὅσο σὺκ ἂν ποτε τοῦτων πόλεις ἀμοιρὸς γενομένη πολιτευθῆναι δύναιτ' ἂν καλῶς.

κλ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

α. Ἡ μὲν τοῖς τὸ μοναρχικὸν, ἡ δ' ἄλλοις ἐλεύθεροι ἀγαπήσασα μειζόνως ἢ ἐδεί μόνον, οὐδέτερα τὰ μέτρια κέκτηται τούτων ἢ δ' ὑμέροις, ἢ τε Δακωνικὴ καὶ Κρητική, μᾶλλον. Ἀδερναίοι δὲ καὶ Πέρσαι τὸ μὲν πάλαι οὔτω 694 πως, τὸ νῦν δὲ ἦττον. τὰ δ' αὕτη διελθῶμεν. ἡ γὰρ;

κλ. Πάντως, εἰ γε ποιοκα μέλλωμεν ὁ προφθήμεθα περαίνειν.

α. Ἀκούωμεν δὴ. Πέρσαι γὰρ ὅτε μὲν τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον δουλείας τε καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἥγον ἐπὶ Κύρου, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἐγένοντο, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀλλῶν πολλῶν δεσπόται. ἐλευθερίας γὰρ ἀρχοντες, μεταδιδόντες ἀρχομένως καὶ ἔπι τὸ ἵσον ἄγοντες μᾶλλον φίλου τε ἢςαν στρατιῶται

Β στρατηγοῖς καὶ προθύμους αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις παρείχοντο, καὶ εἰ τις αὐθαprependiculum

φρόνιμος ἢν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ βουλεύειν δυνατός, οὐ φθονερὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ὅντος, διδόντος δὲ παρῆρησιαν καὶ τι. μῶντος τοὺς εἰς τι δυναμένους συμβουλεύειν, κοινὴν τὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον παρείχετο δύναμιν, καὶ πάντα δὴ τότε ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ νοῦ κοινωνίαν.

1 Cp. 756 E; Arist. Pol. 1266a 1 ff.
practically all, as I said, modifications of these two. Now it is essential for a polity to partake of both these two forms, if it is to have freedom and friendliness combined with wisdom. And that is what our argument intends to enjoin, when it declares that a State which does not partake of these can never be rightly constituted.¹

CLIN. It could not.

ATH. Since the one embraced monarchy and the other freedom, unmixed and in excess, neither of them has either in due measure: your Laconian and Cretan States are better in this respect, as were the Athenian and Persian in old times—in contrast to their present condition. Shall we expound the reasons for this?

CLIN. By all means—that is if we mean to complete the task we have set ourselves.

ATH. Let us attend then. When the Persians, under Cyrus, maintained the due balance between slavery and freedom, they became, first of all, free themselves, and, after that, masters of many others. For when the rulers gave a share of freedom to their subjects and advanced them to a position of equality, the soldiers were more friendly towards their officers and showed their devotion in times of danger; and if there was any wise man amongst them, able to give counsel, since the king was not jealous but allowed free speech and respected those who could help at all by their counsel,—such a man had the opportunity of contributing to the common stock the fruit of his wisdom. Consequently, at that time all their affairs made progress, owing to their freedom, friendliness and mutual interchange of reason.
κλ. Ἐοικέ γέ πως τὰ λεγόμενα οὕτω γεγονέναι.

C α. Πὴ δὴ οὐν ποτὲ ἀπώλετο ἐπὶ Καμβύσου καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Δαρείου σχεδὸν ἐσώθη; βούλεσθε οἶνον μαντεία διανοηθέντες χρώμεθα;

κλ. Φέρει γοῦν ἡμῖν σκέψιν τοῦ γ' ἐφ' ὀπερ ὄρμηκαμεν.

α. Μαντεύομαι δὴ νῦν περὶ γε Κύρου τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν τῇ ἁγαθῇ εἶναι καὶ φιλόπολιν, παιδείας δὲ ὅρθής οὐχ ἦθοι τὸ παράπαν οἰκονομία τε οὖδὲν τὸν νῦν προσεχήκεναι.

κλ. Πῶς δὴ τὸ τοιούτων φῶμεν;

D α. Ἐοικὲν ἐκ νέου στρατεύεσθαι διὰ βίου, ταῖς γυναιξὶν παραδόοι τοὺς παιδὰς τρέψων, αἰ δὲ ὡς εὐδαίμονας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν παιδῶν εὐθὺς καὶ μακαρίους ἦδη γεγονότας καὶ ἐπιτιθεῖς ὅντας τούτων οὐδὲν ἐτρέφον· κωλύοιςκαὶ δὲ ὡς οὖσιν ἱκανῶς εὐδαίμοσι μήτε αὐτοῖς ἑναντιοῦσθαι μηδένα εἰς μηδὲν, ἐπαινεῖν τε ἀναγκάζονσαι <πᾶν> ἡ πάντας τὸ λεγόμενον ἢ πραττόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἐθρέψαν τοιούτων τινάς.

κλ. Καλὴν, ὡς ἐοικας, τροφὴν εὐρηκας.

Ε α. Γυναικεῖαν μὲν οὖν βασιλίδων γυναικῶν, νεωστὶ γεγοννυῖον πλουσίων καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐρημία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σχολάζειν ὑπὸ πολέμων καὶ πολλῶν κινδύνων, τοὺς παιδὰς τρεφοὺσων.

κλ. Ἐχεῖ γὰρ λόγον.

α. 'Ο δὲ πατήρ γε αὐτοῖς αὐ ποίμνα μὲν καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἀγέλας ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων πολ.-695 λῶν πολλὰς ἐκτάτο, αὐτοῖς δὲ ώς ταῦτα παρα-

1 τοῦ γ': τοῦτο MSS.: τοῦ Badham, Schanz.
2 <πᾶν> I add.
CLIN. Probably that is pretty much the way in which the matters you speak of took place.

ATH. How came it, then, that they were ruined in Cambyses' reign, and nearly restored again under Darius? Shall I use a kind of divination to picture this?

CLIN. Yes: that certainly will help us to gain a view of the object of our search.

ATH. What I now divine regarding Cyrus is this,—that, although otherwise a good and patriotic commander, he was entirely without a right education, and had paid no attention to household management.

CLIN. What makes us say this?

ATH. Probably he spent all his life from boyhood in soldiering, and entrusted his children to the womenfolk to rear up; and they brought them up from earliest childhood as though they had already attained to Heaven's favour and felicity, and were lacking in no celestial gift; and so by treating them as the special favourites of Heaven, and forbidding anyone to oppose them in anything, and compelling everyone to praise their every word and deed, they reared them up into what they were.

CLIN. A fine rearing, I should say!

ATH. Say rather, a womanish rearing by royal women lately grown rich, who, while the men were absent, detained by many dangers and wars, reared up the children.

CLIN. That sounds reasonable.

ATH. And their father, while gaining flocks and sheep and plenty of herds, both of men and of many other chattels, yet knew not that the children to whom he should bequeath them were without train-
δώσειν ἔμελλεν ἠγνοεί τὴν πατρίδαν ὦ παϊδευ-
ομένους τέχνην, οὕσαν [Περσικὴν, ποιμένων ὄντων
Περσῶν, τραχείας χώρας ἐκγόνων,]¹ σκληρᾶν καὶ
ἰκανὴν ποιμένας ἀπεργάζεσθαι μάλα ἰσχυροῖς
καὶ δυναμένους θυραυλεῖν καὶ ἁγρυπνεῖν καὶ, εἰ
στρατεύεσθαι δέοι, στρατεύεσθαι. διεθαρμένην
δὲ παϊδείαν ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης εὐδαιμονίας [τῆς
Μηδικῆν]² περείδειν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ ἑυνού-
χῶν παϊδευθέντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς νιεῖς, ὅθεν ἐγένοντο
Β οίνος ἦν αὐτοῦς εἰκὸς γενέσθαι, τροφῆ ἀνεπι-
πλήκτω τραφέντας. παραλαβόντες δὲ οὖν οἱ
παίδες τελευτῆσαντος Κύρου τρυφῆς μεστοὶ καὶ
ἀνεπιπληξίας, πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἔτερον ἄτερος
ἀπέκτεινε τῷ ἵσῳ ἁγανακτῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο
αὐτὸς μαυρόμενος ὑπὸ μέθης τε καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπώλεσεν ὑπὸ Μηδών τε καὶ τοῦ λε-
γομένου τότε ἑυνούχου, καταφρονήσαντος τῆς Καμ-
βισοῦ μωρίας.
κα. Δέγεται δὴ ταύτα γε, καὶ ἐσοικε σχεδὸν
C οὕτω πώς γεγονέναι.
α. Καὶ μὴν καὶ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἐλθεῖν τὴν
ἀρχὴν διὰ Δαρείου καὶ τῶν ἐπτὰ δέγεται ποῦ.
κα. Τί μὴν;
α. Θεωρῶμεν δὴ ἐξεπεπόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. Δα-
ρείος γὰρ βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν νῦς παιδεία τε σκο
διατρυφώσῃ τεθραμμένος, ἐλθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν
καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ἐξόρμος διείλετο ἐπτὰ μέρη
τεμόμενος, ὅν καὶ νῦν ἔτι σμικρὰ ὑνείρατα λέ-

¹ [Περσικὴν . . . ἐκγόνων] bracketed by Ast, Schanz.

¹ i.e. Cambyses killed Smerdis.
ing in their father's craft, which was a hard one, fit
to turn out shepherds of great strength, able to camp
out in the open and to keep watch and, if need be,
to go campaigning. He overlooked the fact that
his sons were trained by women and eunuchs and
that the indulgence shown them as "Heaven's
darlings" had ruined their training, whereby they
became such as they were likely to become when
reared with a rearing that "spared the rod." So
when, at the death of Cyrus, his sons took over the
kingdom, over-pampered and undisciplined as they
were, first, the one killed the other,¹ through annoy-
ance at his being put on an equality with himself,
and presently, being mad with drink and debauchery,
he lost his own throne at the hands of the Medes,
under the man then called the Eunuch,² who despised
the stupidity of Cambyses.

clin. That, certainly, is the story, and probably
it is near to the truth.

ath. Further, the story tells how the kingdom
was restored to the Persians through Darius and the
Seven.

clin. It does.

ath. Let us follow the story and see how things
went.³ Darius was not a king's son, nor was he
reared luxuriously. When he came and seized the
kingdom, with his six companions, he divided it into
seven parts, of which some small vestiges remain
even to this day; and he thought good to manage it
by enacting laws into which he introduced some

¹ i.e. the Magian, Gomates, who personated Smerdis and
claimed the kingdom. After seven months' reign this
usurper was slain by seven Persian nobles, of whom Darius
was one (521 B.C.).
² Cf. Hdt. iii. 68-88.
καὶ νόμους ἥξιον θέμενος οἰκεῖν ἴσότητα τινὰ κοινὴν εἰσφέρων, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κύρου δασμὸν ὑπέσχετο Πέρσαις εἰς τὸν νόμον ἐνέδει, φιλίαν πορίζων καὶ κοινωνίαν πᾶσι Πέρσαις, χρήμασι καὶ δωρεάς τὸν Περσῶν δῆμον προσαγόμενοι τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ τὰ στρατεύματα μετ' εὐνοίας προσεκτήσατο χώρας ὡς ἐλάττους ὑπὸ κατέλιπε Κύρος. μετὰ δὲ Δαρεῖον ὁ τῇ βασιλικῇ καὶ τριφώσῃ πάλιν παιδευθεὶς παιδείᾳ Ξέρξης. Ω Δαρεῖε, εἰπεῖν ἐστὶ δικαιότατον ἵσως, ὡς τὸ τοῦ Κύρου κακὸν οὐκ ἐμαθεῖς, ἐθρέψει δὲ Ξέρξην ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἥθεσιν ἐν ὀισπερ Κύρος Καμβύσην. οὐ δὲ, ἀτε τῶν αὐτῶν παιδείων γενόμενοι ἐκγονοι, παραπλῆσια ἀπετέλεσε τοῖς Καμβύσου παθήμασι καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ γε τοσοῦτον βασιλεὺς ἐν Πέρσαις οὐδεὶς πω μέγας ἐγγέγονεν ἄληθώς, πλὴν γε ὑνόματι. τὸ δὲ αἰτίου οὐ τύχης, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς χάριν, ἄλλῳ ὁ κακὸς βίος δυν ὁ τῶν διαφερόντων πλουσίων καὶ τυράννων παῖδες τὰ πολλὰ ἥξοντι, οὐ γὰρ μὴ ποτε γένηται παῖς καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ γέρων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς διαφέρων πρὸς ἀρετήν. ὃ δὴ, φαμέν, τῷ νομοθετῇ σκεπτέον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι. δίκαιον μὴν, ὁ Ὀσκεδαιμόνιον, τούτο γε τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ἀποδιδόναι, ὅτι πενία καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ἱδιωτείᾳ καὶ βασιλείᾳ διαφέρουσαν οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ὑποτίμω τιμήν καὶ τροφήν νέμετε, ἀς μὴ τὸ κατ' ἅρκας ὑμῶν θειὸν παρὰ θεοῦ διεμαντεύσατο τινὸς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ δεῖ κατα πόλιν

1 ὡς Stephens: ὡς MSS. (bracketed by Ast)

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measure of political equality, and also incorporated in the law regulations about the tribute-money which Cyrus had promised the Persians, whereby he secured friendliness and fellowship amongst all classes of the Persians, and won over the populace by money and gifts; and because of this, the devotion of his armies won for him as much more land as Cyrus had originally bequeathed. After Darius came Xerxes, and he again was brought up with the luxurious rearing of a royal house: "O Darius"—for it is thus one may rightly address the father—"how is it that you have ignored the blunder of Cyrus, and have reared up Xerxes in just the same habits of life in which Cyrus reared Cambyses?" And Xerxes, being the product of the same training, ended by repeating almost exactly the misfortunes of Cambyses. Since then there has hardly ever been a single Persian king who was really, as well as nominally, "Great." ¹ And, as our argument asserts, the cause of this does not lie in luck, but in the evil life which is usually lived by the sons of excessively rich monarchs; for such an upbringing can never produce either boy or man or greybeard of surpassing goodness. To this, we say, the lawgiver must give heed, —as must we ourselves on the present occasion. It is proper, however, my Lacedaemonian friends, to give your State credit for this at least,—that you assign no different honour or training whatsoever to poverty or wealth, to the commoner or the king, beyond what your original oracle ² declared at the bidding of some god. Nor indeed is it right that pre-eminent

¹ The Persian monarch was commonly styled "the Great King."
² The laws of Lycurgus.
γε εἶναι τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεχούσας, ὡς τίς ἐστι
πλοῦτων διαφέρων, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ ὁτι ταχὺς ἢ καλὸς ἢ
ἰσχυρὸς ἀνευ τινὸς ἀρετῆς, οὐδ’ ἀρετῆς ἢ ἄν
σωφροσύνη ἀπῆ.

με. Πῶς τούτο, ὃ ξένε, λέγεις;
α. Ἀνδρία ποις μόριον ἁρετῆς ἐν;
με. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
α. Δίκασον τοῖνυν αὐτὸς τὸν λόγον ἁκούσας,
εἰ σοι δέξαι ἂν σύνοικον ἢ γέιτονα εἶναι τινα
σφόδρα μὲν ἀνδρεῖον, μὴ σωφρονά δὲ ἀλλ’ ἀκόλαστον.

C με. Εὐφήμεις.
α. Τί δέ; τεχνικὸν μὲν καὶ περὶ ταύτα σο-
φόν, ἀδικον δέ;
με. Οὐδαμῶς.
α. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ γε δίκαιον οὐ φύεται χωρίς
tοῦ σωφρονεῖν.
με. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;
α. Οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ γε σοφὸν ἡμεῖς νῦν ἢ προ-
θέμεθα, τὸν τάς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας κεκτημένου
συμφώνους τοῖς ὀρθοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐπομένας.
με. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

D α. Ἔτι δὴ καὶ τὸδε ἐπισκεψόμεθα τῶν ἐν
tαῖς πόλεσι τιμήσεων ἕνεκα, ποιάς τε ὀρθαὶ καὶ
μὴ γύγονται ἐκάστοτε.
με. Τὸ ποῖον;
α. Σωφροσύνη ἀνευ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς
eν ψυχῇ τινὶ μεμοιμένη τίμιον ἢ ἄτιμον γίγνοι
ἀν κατὰ δίκην;
με. Καὶ μὴν εἰρηκάς γε μετρίως, εἴπον γὰρ

1 Cr. 689 D.
honours in a State should be conferred on a man because he is specially wealthy, any more than it is right to confer them because he is swift or comely or strong without any virtue, or with a virtue devoid of temperance.

MEG. What do you mean by that, Stranger?

ATH. Courage is, presumably, one part of virtue.

MEG. Certainly.

ATH. Now that you have heard the argument, judge for yourself whether you would welcome as housemate or neighbour a man who is extremely courageous, but licentious rather than temperate.

MEG. Don’t suggest such a thing!

ATH. Well then,—a man wise in arts and crafts, but unjust.

MEG. Certainly not.

ATH. But justice, surely, is not bred apart from temperance.

MEG. Impossible.

ATH. Nor is he whom we recently proposed as our type of wisdom,—the man who has his feelings of pleasure and pain in accord with the dictates of right reason and obedient thereto.

MEG. No, indeed.

ATH. Here is a further point we must consider, in order to judge about the conferment of honours in States, when they are right and when wrong.

MEG. What point?

ATH. If temperance existed alone in a man’s soul, divorced from all the rest of virtue, would it justly be held in honour or the reverse?

MEG. I cannot tell what reply to make.

ATH. Yet, in truth, you have made a reply, and a reasonable one. For if you had declared for either
δή ὁν ἡρόμην ὀποτερονοῦν παρὰ μέλος ἐμοιγ' ἀν δοκεῖς φθέγξασθαι.

ΜΕ. Καλὼς τοίνυν γεγονός ἀν εἶη.

ΑΘ. Εἰεν· τὸ μὲν δὴ πρόσθημα, ὁν τιμα' τε Ε καὶ ἂτιμαί, οὐ λόγου ἀλλὰ τινος μᾶλλον ἀλόγου συγῆς ἀξίου ἀν εἶη.

ΜΕ. Σωφροσύνην μοι φαίνει λέγειν.

ΑΘ. Ναί. τὸ δὲ τὸν ἀλλων πλεῖστα ἡμᾶς ὧφελοῦν μετὰ τὴς προσθήκης μάλιστ' ἀν τιμώμενον ὅρθοτατα τιμώτο, καὶ τὸ δεύτερον δευτέρως· καὶ οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τὸν ἑξῆς λόγον τὰς ἐφεξῆς τιμᾶς λάγχανον ἐκαστὸν ὀρθῶς ἀν λαγχάνοι.

697 ΜΕ. Ἑξει ταὐτη.

ΑΘ. Τὶ ὁν; οὐ νομοθέτοι καὶ ταῦτα αὐ φήσομεν εἶναι διανέμειν;

ΜΕ. Καὶ μάλα.

ΑΘ. Βούλει δὴ τὰ μὲν ἀπαντα καὶ ἐφ' ἐκαστὸν ἔργον καὶ κατὰ σμικρὰ ἐκεῖνο δῶμεν νεῖμαι, τὸ δὲ τρικῆ διελεῖν, ἐπειδὴ νόμων ἐσμέν καὶ αὐτοὶ πως ἐπιθυμηταί, πειραθώμεν διατεμεῦν χωρὶς τὰ τε μέγιστα καὶ δεύτερα καὶ τρίτα;

ΜΕ. Πάννυ μὲν ὁν.

ΑΘ. Λέγομεν τοίνυν ὅτι πόλιν, ὡς ἔοικε, τὴν Β μέλλουσαν σώζεσθαι τε καὶ εὐδαίμονίσεων εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην δεῖ καὶ ἄναγκαιον τιμᾶς τε καὶ ἂτιμίας διανέμειν ὀρθῶς. ἔστι δὲ ὀρθῶς ἀρα τιμώτατα μὲν καὶ πρῶτα τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν

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1 i.e. "temperance," regarded as merely an adjunct to civic merit, requires no further discussion at this point.

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of the alternatives in my question, you would have said what is, to my mind, quite out of tune.

Meg. So it has turned out to be all right.

Ath. Very good. Accordingly, the additional element in objects deserving of honour or dishonour will be one that demands not speech so much as a kind of speechless silence.¹

Meg. I suppose you mean temperance.

Ath. Yes. And of the rest, that which, with the addition of temperance, benefits us most would best deserve to be held in the highest honour, and the second in degree of benefit put second in order of honour; and so with each of the others in succession—to each it will be proper to assign the honour due to its rank.

Meg. Just so.

Ath. Well then, shall we not declare that the distribution of these things is the lawgiver’s task?

Meg. Certainly.

Ath. Is it your wish that we should hand over the whole distribution to him, to deal with every case and all the details, while we—as legal enthusiasts ourselves also—confine ourselves to making a threefold division, and endeavour to distinguish what comes first in importance, and what second and third?²

Meg. By all means.

Ath. We declare, then, that a State which is to endure, and to be as happy as it is possible for man to be, must of necessity dispense honours rightly. And the right way is this: it shall be laid down that the goods of the soul are highest

ἀγαθὰ κείσθαι, σωφροσύνης ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῇ, δεύτερα δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, καὶ τρίτα τὰ περὶ τὴν ούσιαν καὶ χρήματα λε-γόμενα. τούτων δὲ ἂν ἐκτός τις βαίνῃ νομοθέτης ἢ πόλις, εἰς τιμᾶς ἢ χρήματα προάγουσα ἢ τι 
C τῶν ύστερων εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τιμαῖς τάττουσα, οὔθ' ὅσιον οὔτε πολιτικὸν ἢν δράθ' πράγμα. εἰρήσθων ταῦτα ἡ πῶς ἦμῖν;

με. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν εἰρήσθω σαφῶς.

αθ. Ταῦτα μὲν τοῖνυν ήμᾶς ἐπὶ πλέον ἐποίησεν εἰπεῖν ἡ Περσῶν πέρι διάσκεψις τῆς πολιτείας. ἀνευρίσκομεν δὲ [ἐπὶ] ¹ ἐτὶ χείρως αὐτοὺς γεγονότας· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν φαμέν ὅτι τὸ ἐλεύθερον λίαν ἀφελόμενοι τοῦ δήμου, τὸ δεσποτικὸν δ' ἐπαγαγόντες μᾶλλον τοῦ προσήκοντος, τὸ φίλον

D ἀπώλεσαν καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει. τούτων δὲ φθαρέντος οὔθ' ἢ τῶν ἀρχόντων βουλῆ ὑπὲρ ἀρχομένων καὶ τοῦ δήμου βουλεύεται, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, ἡν τι καὶ σμικρὸν πλέον ἐκάστοτε ἤγονται ἐσεσθαί σφισίν, ἀναστάτους μὲν πόλεις, ἀνάστατα δὲ ἐθνὶ φίλια πυρὶ καταφθειάντες, ἔχθρῶς τε καὶ ἀνήλεως μισοῦντες μισοῦνται ὁταν τε εἰς χρείαν τοῦ μάχεσθαι περὶ ἑαυτῶν τοὺς δήμους ἀφικνώνται, οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἐν

Ε αὐτοῖς αὐ μετὰ προθυμίας τοῦ ἑθέλειν κινδυνεύειν καὶ μάχεσθαι ἀνευρίσκομεν, ἀλλὰ κεκτημένους μυριάδας ἀπεράντους λογισμῶ ἀχρήστους εἰς πόλεμον πάσας κέκτηνται, καὶ καθάπερ ἐνδεικνύεις ἀνθρώπων μισοῦμενοι, ὑπὸ μισθωτῶν καὶ ὀθενῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡγοῦνται ποτε σωθήσεσθαι πρὸς δὲ

¹ [ἐπὶ] bracketed by Stephens (ἐπὶ ἐτῇ Schneider).
in honour and come first, provided that the soul possesses temperance; second come the good and fair things of the body; and third the so-called goods of substance and property. And if any law-giver or State transgresses these rules, either by promoting wealth to honours, or by raising one of the lower goods to a higher rank by means of honours, he will be guilty of a breach both of religion and of statesmanship. Shall this be our declaration, or what?

MEG. By all means let us declare this plainly.

ATH. It was our investigation of the polity of the Persians that caused us to discuss these matters at greater length. We find that they grew still worse, the reason being, as we say, that by robbing the commons unduly of their liberty and introducing despotism in excess, they destroyed in the State the bonds of friendliness and fellowship. And when these are destroyed, the policy of the rulers no longer consults for the good of the subjects and the commons, but solely for the maintenance of their own power; if they think that it will profit them in the least degree, they are ready at any time to overturn States and to overturn and burn up friendly nations; and thus they both hate and are hated with a fierce and ruthless hatred. And when they come to need the commons, to fight in their support, they find in them no patriotism or readiness to endanger their lives in battle; so that, although they possess countless myriads of men, they are all useless for war, and they hire soldiers from abroad as though they were short of men, and imagine that their safety will be secured by hirelings and aliens. And besides all this, they
698 τούτοις ἀμαθαίνειν ἀναγκάζονται, λέγοντες ἐργοὶς ὅτι λήρος πρὸς χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργυρὸν ἐστὶν ἑκάστοτε τὰ λεγόμενα τῖμα καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλιν.

με. Πάντες μὲν οὖν.

α. Τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ γε Περσῶν, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὰ νῦν διοικεῖται διὰ τὴν σφόδρα δουλείαν τε καὶ δεσποτείαν, τέλος ἐχέτω.

με. Πάντες μὲν οὖν.

α. Τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐτοπολιτείαν τὸ μετὰ τούτο ὁσαυτὸς ἦμας διεξέλθειν χρεών, ὡς ἡ παντελής καὶ ἀπὸ πασῶν ἀρχῶν ἐλευθερία τῆς μέτρου ἔχουσις ἀρχῆς ὑπ’ αἰρέτων τοῦ συμικρὼν χείρων. ἦμῖν γὰρ κατ’ ἐκείνον τόν χρόνον ὅτε ἡ Περσῶν ἐπίθεσις τοῖς Ἐλλησίων, ἱκανὸς δὲ σχεδὸν ἀπασί τοῖς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκούσιν, ἐγίγνετο, πολιτεία τε ἡ παλαιὰ καὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων ἀρχαὶ τινες τεττάρων, καὶ δεσπότες ἐνὶ τοῖς αἰδῶς, δι’ ἦν δουλεύωντες τοῖς τότε νόμοις ξῆν ἡθέλομεν. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θαλατταὶ γενόμενον, φόβον ἀποροῦν ἐμβαλόν, δουλείαν ἐτὶ μείζονα ἐποίησεν.

μ. τὸ ἦμας τοῖς, τὸ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τοῖς νόμοις δουλεύσατο. καὶ διὰ πάντα ταῦτα ἦμῖν ἐννέαπτε πρὸς ἦμας αὐτοὺς σφοδρὰ φιλία. σχεδὸν γὰρ δεκά ἐτεσί πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμίνι ναυμαχίας ἀφίκετο Δάτις Περσικοῖς στόλοις ἅγων πέμψαντος Δαρείου διαρρήδην ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ερετρείας, ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι ἀγαγεῖν, θάνατον αὐτῶ προεπὶν μὴ πράξανι ταῦτα. καὶ οἱ Δάτις τοὺς μὲν Ἐρετρείας

1 αἰρέτων: ἐτέρων MSS., edd.

1 That of Solon.
inevitably display their ignorance, inasmuch as by their acts they declare that the things reputed to be honourable and noble in a State are never anything but dross compared to silver and gold.

MEG. Very true.

ATH. So let this be the conclusion of our account of the Persian empire, and how its present evil administration is due to excess of slavery and of despotism.

MEG. By all means.

ATH. We ought to examine next, in like manner, the Attic polity, and show how complete liberty, unfettered by any authority, is vastly inferior to a moderate form of government under elected magistrates. At the time when the Persians made their onslaught upon the Greeks—and indeed one might say on nearly all the nations of Europe—we Athenians had an ancient constitution,¹ and magistrates based on a fourfold grading; and we had Reverence, which acted as a kind of queen, causing us to live as the willing slaves of the existing laws. Moreover, the vastness of the Persian armament that threatened us both by sea and land, by the desperate fear it inspired, bound us still more closely in the bonds of slavery to our rulers and our laws; and because of all this, our mutual friendliness and patriotism was greatly intensified. It was just about ten years before the seafight at Salamis that the Persian force arrived under Datis, whom Darius had despatched expressly against the Athenians and Eretrians, with orders to bring them back in chains, and with the warning that death would be the penalty of failure. So within a very short time Datis, with his many myriads, captured by force the
Δέν τινὶ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παντάπασι κατὰ κράτος τε εἶλε μυρίάσι συναινεῖς, καὶ τίνα λόγον εἰς τὴν ἥμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκε φοβερόν, ὡς οὐδεὶς 'Ερετρεών αὐτὸν ἀποπεφευγός εἰς συνώφρατες γὰρ ἀρα τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιν πᾶσαν τὴν 'Ερετρικὴν οἱ στρατιώται τοῦ Δάτιδος. ὁ δὲ λόγος, εἴτε ἄληθῆς εἴτε καὶ ὅπη ἀφίκετο, τοὺς τε ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας καὶ δὴ καὶ 'Αθηναίους ἐξέπληττε, καὶ πρεσβευομένους αὐτοῖς πανταχόσε βοηθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἔθελε πλὴν για Λακεδαιμονίων. οὔτοι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσηνὴν ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ εἰ δὴ τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτοῦς, οὐ γὰρ ἵσμεν λεγόμενον, ύστεροι δ οὖν ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης μία ἡμέρα. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παρασκευαὶ τε μεγάλαι λεγόμεναι καὶ ἀπειλαὶ ἐφοίτων μυρία παρὰ βασιλέως. προϊόντως δὲ τοῦ χρόνου Δαρεῖος μὲν τεθνάναι ἐλέχητι, νέος δὲ καὶ σφοδρὸς οὐ γίος αὐτοῦ παρειληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὕδαμῶς ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ὀρμῆς. οἱ δὲ 'Αθηναίοι πᾶν τοῦτο ὄντο τοῦ σφαῖς αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται διὰ τὸ Μαραθῶνι γενομένον, καὶ ἀκούοντες 'Ἀθωνίδοι τε διορυττόμενον καὶ 'Ελλησποντου ξενισόμενον καὶ τὸ τῶν νεὼν πλήθος ἡγίσαντο οὔτε κατὰ γῆν σφίσιν εἶναι σωτηρίαν οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν οὔτε γὰρ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς οὕδαν, μεμνημένοι ύστεροι οὔ οὔδ' ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον ἠλθον καὶ τὰ περί 'Ερέτριαν διεπράξαντο, σφίσι γε οὕδας τοῦ ἐβοηθήσεσθαι οὕδ' Β ἐκείνων εὐμμαχὸμενος ταύτων δὴ προσεδοκοῦν καὶ τότε γενήσεσθαι τὸ γε κατὰ γῆν. καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν δ' αὐ πᾶσαν ἄπορίαν ἐώρων

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whole of the Eretrians; and to Athens he sent on an alarming account of how not a man of the Eretrians had escaped him: the soldiers of Datis had joined hands and swept the whole of Eretria clean as with a draw-net. This account—whether true, or whatever its origin—struck terror into the Greeks generally, and especially the Athenians; but when they sent out embassies in every direction to seek aid, all refused, except the Lacedaemonians; and they were hindered by the war they were then waging against Messene, and possibly by other obstacles, about which we have no information, with the result that they arrived too late by one single day for the battle which took place at Marathon. After this, endless threats and stories of huge preparations kept arriving from the Persian king. Then, as time went on, news came that Darius was dead, and that his son, who had succeeded to the throne, was a young hothead, and still keen on the projected expedition. The Athenians imagined that all these preparations were aimed against them because of the affair at Marathon; and when they heard of how the canal had been made through Athos, and the bridge thrown over the Hellespont, and were told of the vast number of vessels in the Persian flotilla, then they felt that there was no salvation for them by land, nor yet by sea. By land they had no hopes that anyone would come to their aid; for they remembered how, on the first arrival of the Persians and their subjugation of Eretria, nobody helped them or ventured to join in the fight with them; and so they expected that the same thing would happen again on this occasion. By sea, too, they saw no hope of safety, with more
σωτηρίας νεών χιλίων καὶ ἐτὶ πλεόνων ἐπιφερομένων. μιᾶν δὴ σωτηρίαν ξυνενόουν, λεπτὴν μὲν καὶ ἀπορον, μόνην δ’ οὖν, βλέψαντες πρὸς τὸ πρότερον γενόμενον, ὡς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ τότε ἐφαίνετο γενέσθαι τὸ νικήσαι μαχομένους. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὅχουμεν ταῦτας εὐρίσκουν καταφυγὴν αὐτοῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς μόνους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. ταῦτ’ οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντα πιλίαν ἀλλήλων ἐνεποίει, ὁ φόβος ὁ τότε παρὼν ὃ τε ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γεγονός, ὃν δουλεύουσιν τοῖς πρόσθεν νόμοις ἐκεκτυπτό, ἢν αἰῶν πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἰπομεν, ἢ καὶ δουλεύειν ἕφαμεν δεῖν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἁγάθους ἐσεσθαι, ἢς ὁ δειλὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἄφοβος· ὃν εἰ τότε μὴ λέως ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ξυνελθόν ἡμῶν τοῦ ἡμών ἱεροῖς τε καὶ τάφοις καὶ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκείοις
d τε ἀμα καὶ φίλοις, ὡσπερ τότ’ ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σμικρὰ ἂν ἐν τῷ τότε ἡμῶν ἔκαστος σκεδασθεὶς ἄλλος ἄλλοσ συμπάρῃ.

ΜΕ. Καὶ μάλα, ὁ ξένε, ὅρθως τε εἰρήκας καὶ σαυτῷ τε καὶ τῷ πατρίδι πρεπόντως.

ΑΘ. Ἡ ἑστὶ ταῦτα, ὃ Μέγιλλε πρὸς γὰρ σε τὰ ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ γεγομένα, κοινωνόν τῇ τῶν πατέρων γεγονότα φύσει, δίκαιον λέγειν. ἐπισκόπει μὴν καὶ σὺ καὶ Κλεινίας εἰ τῷ πρὸς τὴν Ἐνομοθεσίαν προσήκουτα λέγομεν· ὃ γὰρ μνθῶν ἐνεκα διεξέρχομαι, ὃν λέγω δ’ ἐνεκα· ὃρατε γὰρ· ἐπειδὴ τινὰ τρόπον ταυτὸν ἡμῖν ἐξμβεβήκει

1 λέως : δέος MSS. (δῆμος for δεῖλος Hermann)

1 Cp. 646 E, 647 C, 671 D.

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than a thousand war-ships bearing down against them. One solitary hope of safety did they perceive—a slight one, it is true, and a desperate, yet the only hope—and it they derived from the events of the past, when victory in battle appeared to spring out of a desperate situation; and buoyed up by this hope, they discovered that they must rely for refuge on themselves only and on the gods. So all this created in them a state of friendliness one towards another—both the fear which then possessed them, and that begotten of the past, which they had acquired by their subjection to the former laws—the fear to which, in our previous discussions, we have often given the name of "reverence," saying that a man must be subject to this if he is to be good (though the coward is unfettered and unaffrighted by it). Unless this fear had then seized upon our people, they would never have united in self-defence, nor would they have defended their temples and tombs and fatherland, and their relatives and friends as well, in the way in which they then came to the rescue; but we would all have been broken up at that time and dispersed one by one in all directions.

MEG. What you say, Stranger, is perfectly true, and worthy of your country as well as of yourself.

ATH. That is so, Megillus: it is proper to mention the events of that period to you, since you share in the native character of your ancestors. But both you and Clinias must now consider whether what we are saying is at all pertinent to our law-making; for my narrative is not related for its own sake, but for the sake of the law-making I speak of. Just reflect: seeing that we Athenians suffered practically
πάθος ὁπερ Πέρσαις, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν δουλείαν ἀγουσὶ τὸν δῆμον, ἁμῖν δὲ αὑ τούνατίον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐλευθερίαν προτρέπουσι τὰ πλήθη, πῶς δὴ καὶ τὰ λέγωμεν τούντεύθεν, <ei>περ>¹ οἱ προγεγονότες ἁμῖν ἐμπρόσθεν λόγοι τρόπον τινὰ καλῶς εἰσὶν εἰρημένοι;

700 me. Λέγεις εὐν πειρῶ δ' ἐτι σαφέστερον ἁμῖν σημηνάω τὰ νῦν λεγόμενον. 

α. Ἡσται ταῦτα. οὐκ ἦν, ὁ φίλοι, ἁμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν παλαιών νόμων ὁ δῆμος τινῶν κύριος, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ ἐκὼν ἐδούλευε τοῖς νόμοις. 

me. Ποίοις δὴ λέγεις; 

α. Τοῖς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν πρῶτον τὴν τότε, ἵνα ἐξ ἀρχῆς διέλθωμεν τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου λίαν ἐπίδοσιν βίου. διηρημένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἁμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἰδὴ τε ἐναυτῆς ἄττα καὶ ἐκχώματα, καὶ τι ἦν εἰδὸς ώδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεοὺς, ὅνομα δὲ ὑμνοὶ ἑπεκαλοῦντο. καὶ τούτω δὴ τὸ ἐναυτίον ἦν ώδῆς ἑτερον εἰδὸς, θρήνους δὲ τὶς ἀν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐκάλεσε καὶ παίωνες ἑτερον, καὶ ἄλλο Διονύσου γ' αἴνεσες,² οἴμαι, διδύραμβος λεγόμενος. νόμους τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐκάλουν, ώδην ὡς τινα ἑτέραν ἐπέλεγον δὲ κιθαρῳδικοὺς. τούτων δὴ διατεταγμένων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν οὐκ ἔξην ἄλλῳ εἰς ἄλλο καταχρησθαι μέλους

C εἰδὸς. τὸ δὲ κύρος τοῦτων γνώναι τε καὶ ἁμα γνώνα δικάσαι ξημιοῦν τε αὐ τὸν μή πειθόμενον οὐ σύριγξ ἦν οὐδὲ τινες ἀμοισι βοαι πλήθους, καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, οὐδ' αὐ κρότοι ἐπαίνους ἀποδί

¹ <ei>περ> I add (Schanz marks a lacuna).
² γ' αἴνεσες (so too Post): γένεσες MSS., edd.
the same fate as the Persians—they through reducing their people to the extreme of slavery, we, on the contrary, by urging on our populace to the extreme of liberty—what are we to say was the sequel, if our earlier statements have been at all nearly correct?

MEG. Well said! Try, however, to make your meaning still more clear to us.

ATH. I will. Under the old laws, my friends, our commons had no control over anything, but were, so to say, voluntary slaves to the laws.

MEG. What laws do you mean?

ATH. Those dealing with the music of that age, in the first place,—to describe from its commencement how the life of excessive liberty grew up. Among us, at that time, music was divided into various classes and styles: one class of song was that of prayers to the gods, which bore the name of "hymns"; contrasted with this was another class, best called "dirges"; "paeans" formed another; and yet another was the "dithyramb," named, I fancy, after Dionysus. "Nomes" also were so called as being a distinct class of song; and these were further described as "citharoedic nomes."¹ So these and other kinds being classified and fixed, it was forbidden to set one kind of words to a different class of tune.² The authority whose duty it was to know these regulations, and, when known, to apply them in its judgments and to penalise the disobedient, was not a pipe nor, as now, the mob's unmusical shoutings, nor yet the clappings which

¹ i.e. solemn chants sung to the "cithara" or lyre. "Dithyrambs" were choral odes to Dionysus; "paeans" were mostly hymns of praise to Apollo.
² Cp. 657 Cff., 669 Cff.
δόντες, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν γεγονόσι περὶ παϊδευσιν
dedoxhmenon ἀκούειν ἣν αὐτοῖς μετὰ συγῆς διὰ
tέλους, παισὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ τῷ πλείστῳ
όχλῳ ράβδου κοσμοῦσι τὸ ναυθέτησις ἐγίγνετο.

D ταῦτ’ οὖν οὕτω τεταγμένως ἥθελεν ἄρχεσθαι τῶν
πολιτῶν τὸ πλήθος, καὶ μὴ τολμᾶν κρίνειν διὰ
θορύβου μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου
ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἁμούσου παρανομίας ποιηταῖς
ἐγίγνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοῖ, ἀγνώμονες δὲ
περὶ τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμμων,
βακχεύοντες καὶ μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι
ὑφι ἤδονῆς, κεραυνύστες δὲ θρήνους τε ὑμνοὺς καὶ
παίωνας διθυράμβους, καὶ αὐλοδίας δὴ ταῖς
κιθαροφίδιαις μιμούμευοι καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα

Ε ἐννάγοντες, μουσικῆς ἀκοντείς ὑπ’ ἀνοιας κατα-
ψευδομενοί, ὡς ὀρθότητα μὲν ὦκ ἐχοι οὐδ’
ἡτυνοι μουσικῆ, ἡδονή δὲ τῇ τοῦ χαίροντος,
eiτε βελτίων eiτε χεῖρων ἀν eiη τις, κρύνοιτο
ἤθοτατα. τούατα δὴ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα λόγους
tε ἐπιλέγοντες ποιοῦτοι τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνεθεσαν
παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν μουσικῆν καὶ τόλμαν, ὡς
ἰκανοῖς συσ κρίνειν. ὅθεν δὴ τὰ θεάτρα ἐξ
701 ἀφώνῳ φωνήντα ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἐπαίτεν ἐν Μοῦ-
σαις τὸ τε καλὸν καὶ μη, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀριστοκρατίας
ἐν αὐτῇ θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ γέγονεν, εἰ
γὰρ δὴ καὶ δημοκρατία ἐν αὐτῇ τις μόνων ἐγένετο
ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἀν πάνω γε δεινὸν ἣν τὸ
γεγονός. νῦν δὲ ἤρξα μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ μουσικῆς ἤ
πάντων εἰς πάντα σοφίας δόξα καὶ παρανομία,

2 i.e. “rule of the audience”; as we might say, the pit
mark applause: in place of this, it was a rule made by those in control of education that they themselves should listen throughout in silence, while the children and their ushers and the general crowd were kept in order by the discipline of the rod. In the matter of music the populace willingly submitted to orderly control and abstained from outrageously judging by clamour; but later on, with the progress of time, there arose as leaders of unmusical illegality poets who, though by nature poetical, were ignorant of what was just and lawful in music; and they, being frenzied and unduly possessed by a spirit of pleasure, mixed dirges with hymns and paeans with dithyrambs, and imitated flute-tunes with harptunes, and blended every kind of music with every other; and thus, through their folly, they unwittingly bore false witness against music, as a thing without any standard of correctness, of which the best criterion is the pleasure of the auditor, be he a good man or a bad. By compositions of such a character, set to similar words, they bred in the populace a spirit of lawlessness in regard to music, and the effrontery of supposing themselves capable of passing judgment on it. Hence the theatre-goers became noisy instead of silent, as though they knew the difference between good and bad music, and in place of an aristocracy in music there sprang up a kind of base theatrocracy. For if in music, and music only, there had arisen a democracy of free men, such a result would not have been so very alarming; but as it was, the universal conceit of universal wisdom and the contempt for law originated in the music, and on the heels of these came
ξυνεφέσπετο δε ἐλευθερία. ἂφοβοι γὰρ ἐγύγνωντο ὡς εἶδότες, ή δὲ ἄδεια ἀναίσχυντιαν ἐνέτεκε τὸ
Β γὰρ τὴν τοῦ βελτίωνος δόξαιν μὴ φοβεῖσθαι διὰ
θράσος, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἐστὶ σχεδὸν ἡ πονηρὰ ἀναι-
σχυντία, διὰ δὴ τίνος ἐλευθερίας λίαν ἀποτετομη-
μένης.

ΜΕ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἐφεξῆς δὴ ταῦτῃ τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἢ τοῦ μὴ
ἔθελεν τόσον ἀρχουσι δουλεūειν γίγνοιτ' ἂν, καὶ
ἔπομενε ταῦτῃ φεύγειν πατρός καὶ μητρός καὶ
πρεσβυτέρων δουλευάν καὶ νοοθέτησιν,1 καὶ ἐγγὺς
τοῦ τέλους οὕσι νόμων ζητεῖν μὴ ὑπηκόοις εἶναι,
πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ ἡδη τῷ τέλει ὅρκων καὶ πίστεων
καὶ τὸ παράπαν θεῶν μὴ φροντίζειν, τὴν λε-
γομένην [παλαιὰν] 2 Τιτανίκῃ φύσιν ἐπιδεικνύσι
C καὶ μιμουμένοις: ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἑκεῖνα ἀφι-
κομένους, χαλεπὸν αἰῶνα διάγουντας μὴ ληξαὶ ποτε
κακῶν. τίνος δὴ καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν αὐχάριν ἐλέχθη; 
δεὶν φαίνεται ἐμοιγε, οἷόν περ ἵππον, τὸν λόγον
ἐκάστοτε ἀναλαμβάνειν, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ ἀχάλι-
D νον κεκτημένου3 τὸ στόμα βία ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου
φερόμενον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἀπὸ τίνος ὧν ὄνο
πεσείν, ἀλλ' ἐπανερωτῶν τὸ νῦν δὴ λεχθὲν, τὸ
τίνος δὴ [χάριν] 4 ἔνεκα ταῦτα ἐλέχθη;

ΜΕ. Καλῶς.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτα τοίνυν εἰρηταὶ ἑκείνων ἔνεκα.

ΜΕ. Τίνων;

ΑΘ. Ἐλέξαμεν ὡς τὸν νοοθέτην δεῖ τριῶν

1 νοοθέτησιν minor MSS.: νοοθετήσιν best MSS., Zur.
3 κεκτημένου W.-Möllendorff: κεκτημένον MSS.
4 [χάριν] bracketed by Hermann (ἐνεκα by Bast, Schanz).
liberty. For, thinking themselves knowing, men became fearless; and audacity begat effrontery. For to be fearless of the opinion of a better man, owing to self-confidence, is nothing else than base effrontery; and it is brought about by a liberty that is audacious to excess.

MEG. Most true.

ATH. Next after this form of liberty would come that which refuses to be subject to the rulers;¹ and, following on that, the shirking of submission to one’s parents and elders and their admonitions; then, as the penultimate stage, comes the effort to disregard the laws; while the last stage of all is to lose all respect for oaths or pledges or divinities,—wherein men display and reproduce the character of the Titans of story, who are said to have reverted to their original state, dragging out a painful existence with never any rest from woe. What, again, is our object in saying all this? Evidently, I must, every time, rein in my discourse, like a horse, and not let it run away with me as though it had no bridle² in its mouth, and so “get a toss off the donkey”³ (as the saying goes): consequently, I must once more repeat my question, and ask—“With what object has all this been said?”

MEG. Very good.

ATH. What has now been said bears on the objects previously stated.

MEG. What were they?

ATH. We said ⁴ that the lawgiver must aim, in

³ A play on ἀπ’ ὄνου = ἀπὸ νοῦν: “to fall off the ass” was a proverbial phrase for “to show oneself a fool”: cf. Arist. *Nubes* 1274: τι δῆτα ληπεῖς, ἀσπερ ἀπ’ ὄνου καταπεσέων.
⁴ Cp. 693 B.
πολίς ἐλευθέρα τε ἐσταί καὶ φίλη ἑαυτῇ καὶ νοῦν ἐξει. ταῦτ' ἤν. ἢ γάρ;

Ε ἀθ. Τούτων ἕνεκα δὴ πολιτείας τῆν τε δεσποτικώτατην προελόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερικωτάτην, ἐπισκοποῦμεν νυνὶ ποτέρᾳ τούτων ὀρθῶς πολιτεύεται: λαβόντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκατέρας μετριότητα τίνα, τῶν μὲν τοῦ δεσπόζειν, τῶν δὲ τοῦ ἐλευθεριάσασθαι, κατείδομεν ὅτι τότε διαφερόντως ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγένετο εὐπραγία, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἀκρον ἀγαγόντων ἐκατέρων, τῶν μὲν δουλείας, τῶν δὲ τούναντίου, οὐ συνήνεγκεν οὔτε τοῖς οὖτε τοῖς.

702 ΜΕ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ἀθ. Καὶ μὴν αὐτῶν γε ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ Δωρικὸν ἑθεασάμεθα κατοικίζομενον στρατόπεδον καὶ τὰς τοῦ Δαρδάνου ὑπωρείας τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ κατοίκισιν, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους δὴ τοὺς περιλυπεῖς γενομένους τῆς φθορᾶς, ἐτι δὲ τοὺς ἐμπροσθέν τούτων γενομένους ἡμῖν λόγους περί τε μουσικῆς καὶ μέθης καί τὰ τούτων ἐπὶ πρότερα. ταῦτα γάρ πάντα εἰρήνη τοῦ κατιδεῖν ἕνεκα πῶς ποτέ ἐάν πόλις ἀριστα οἰκοῖς, καὶ ἱδία πῶς ἄν τις βέλτιστα τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον διαγάγοι. εἰ δὲ δὴ τί πεποιήκαμεν προύργου, τίς ποτ' ἐν ἔλεγχος γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς λεχθεῖς, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία;

ΚΛ. Ἐγώ τιν', ὁ ξένε, μοι δοκῶ κατανοεῖν ἑοικε κατὰ τὺχην τινὰ ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων πάντων ὃν διεξῆλθομεν γεγονέναι. σχεδὸν γάρ εἰς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἐγω' ἐλήλυθα τὰ νῦν, καὶ κατά
his legislation, at three objectives—to make the State he is legislating for free, and at unity with itself, and possessed of sense. That was so, was it not?

MEG. Certainly.

ATH. With these objects in view, we selected the most despotic of polities and the most absolutely free, and are now enquiring which of these is rightly constituted. When we took a moderate example of each—of despotic rule on the one hand, and liberty on the other,—we observed that there they enjoyed prosperity in the highest degree; but when they advanced, the one to the extreme of slavery, the other to the extreme of liberty, then there was no gain to either the one or the other.

MEG. Most true.

ATH. With the same objects in view we surveyed, also, the settling of the Doric host and the homes of Dardanus at the foot of the hills and the colony by the sea and the first men who survived the Flood, together with our previous discourses concerning music and revelry, as well as all that preceded these. The object of all these discourses was to discover how best a State might be managed, and how best the individual citizen might pass his life. But as to the value of our conclusions, what test can we apply in conversing among ourselves, O Megillus and Clinias?

CLIN. I think, Stranger, that I can perceive one. It is a piece of good luck for me that we have dealt with all these matters in our discourse. For I myself have now come nearly to the point when I shall need

1 i.e. in Bk. iii. 676–693 (taken in the reverse order).
2 i.e. in Books i. and ii.
πινα αὖ καὶρὸν σὺ τε παραγέγονας ᾑμα καὶ Μέγιλλος οδέ. οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι σφῶ τὸν ἐμὸι ξυμβαίνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς οἰωνὸν τινα ποιούμαι. ἡ γὰρ πλείστῃ τῆς Κρήτης ἐπιχειρεῖ τινὰ ἀποικίαν ποιῆσασθαι, καὶ προστάττει τοῖς Κηνσίοις ἐπιμεληθήναι τοῦ πράγματος, ἡ δὲ τῶν Κηνσίων πόλις ἐμὸι τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἐννέα· ἄμα δὲ καὶ νόμους τῶν τε αὐτῶθι, εἰ τινὲς ἡμᾶς ἀρέσκουσιν, τίθεσθαι κελεύει, καὶ εἰ τινὲς ἔτερωθεν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζομένους τὸ ξενικὸν αὐτῶν, ἃν βελτίως φαίνονται. νῦν οὖν ἐμὸι τε καὶ ἦμῖν ταύτην δώμεν

χάριν ἓκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκλέξαντες τὸν λόγῳ συστησόμεθα πόλιν, οἷον ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατοικίζοντες, καὶ ἄμα μὲν ἡμῖν οὐ ξητοῦμεν ἐπίσκεψις γενῆσεται, ἄμα δὲ ἐγὼ τάχ', ἃν χρησάμην εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πόλιν ταύτῃ τῇ συστάσει.

αὖ. Οὐ πόλεμον γε ἐπαγγέλλεις, ὦ Κλεινία; ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τι Μεγίλλῳ πρόσαντες, τὰ παρ' ἐμοῖ γε ἤγοῦ σοι πάντα κατὰ νοῦν ὑπάρχειν εἰς δύναμιν.

κα. ἕν λέγεις.

με. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῖ.

κα. Κάλλιστ' εἰρήκατον. ἀτὰρ πειρώμεθα λόγῳ πρῶτον κατοικίζειν τὴν πόλιν.
them, and my meeting with you and Megillus here was quite opportune. I will make no secret to you of what has befallen me; nay, more, I count it to be a sign from Heaven. The most part of Crete is undertaking to found a colony, and it has given charge of the undertaking to the Cnosians, and the city of Cnosus has entrusted it to me and nine others. We are bidden also to frame laws, choosing such as we please either from our own local laws or from those of other countries, taking no exception to their alien character, provided only that they seem superior. Let us, then, grant this favour to me, and yourselves also; let us select from the statements we have made, and build up by arguments the framework of a State, as though we were erecting it from the foundation. In this way we shall be at once investigating our theme, and possibly I may also make use of our framework for the State that is to be formed.

ATH. Your proclamation, Clinias, is certainly not a proclamation of war! So, if Megillus has no objection, you may count on me to do all I can to gratify your wish.

CLIN. It is good to hear that.
MEG. And you can count on me too.

CLIN. Splendid of you both! But, in the first place, let us try to found the State by word.
Δ

704 Αθ. Φέρε δή, τίνα δει διανοηθήναι ποτε τὴν πόλιν ἐσεσθαι; λέγω δὲ οὐ τι τούνομα αὐτῆς ἑρωτῶν ὁ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὰ νῦν, οὐδ' εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ὁ τι δεησει καλεῖν αὐτὴν τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ τάχ' ἄν ἵσως καὶ ὁ κατοικισμὸς αὐτῆς ἢ τις τόπος ἢ ποταμὸς τινὸς ἢ κρύπης ἢ θεοῦ ἐπωνυμία τῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ προσθείη, τὴν αὐτῶν φήμην

Β καὶ ἡ γεννωμένη1 τῇ πόλει τόδε δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ὁ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἐπερωτῶ, πότερον ἐπιθαλασσίως ἐστε τις ἡ χερσαία.

κλ. Σχεδὸν, ὁ ξένε, ἀπέχει θαλάσσης γε ἡ πόλις ἢς πέρι τὰ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντα ἢμῖν εἰς τινὰς ὁγδοίκοντα σταδίους.

Αθ. Τί δὲ; λιμένες ἃρ' εἰσὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς, ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀλίμενος;

κλ. Εὐλίμενος μὲν οὐν ταῦτη γε ὡς δυνατὸν μᾶλιστα, ὁ ξένε.

C Αθ. Παπαί, οἴον λέγεις· τί δὲ; περὶ αὐτῆς ἡ χώρα πότερα πάμφορος ἢ καὶ τινῶν ἐπιδεῖς;

κλ. Σχεδὸν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεῖς.

Αθ. Γείτων δὲ αὐτῆς πόλις ἃρ' ἐσται τις πλησίον;

κλ. Οὐ πάνω, διὸ καὶ κατοικίζεται· παλαιὰ γάρ τις ἐξοίκησις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γενομένη τὴν χώραν ταῦτην ἔρημον ἀπείρασται χρόνου ἀμήχανον ὄσον.

1 γεννωμένη Apelt: γενομένη MSS.

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BOOK IV

ATH. Come now, what is this State going to be, shall we suppose? I am not asking for its present name or the name it will have to go by in the future; for this might be derived from the conditions of its settlement, or from some locality, or a river or spring or some local deity might bestow its sacred title on the new State. The point of my question about it is rather this,—is it to be an inland State, or situated on the sea-coast?

CLIN. The State which I mentioned just now, Stranger, lies about eighty stades, roughly speaking, from the sea.

ATH. Well, has it harbours on the sea-board side, or is it quite without harbours?

CLIN. It has excellent harbours on that side, Stranger, none better.

ATH. Dear me! how unfortunate! But what of the surrounding country? Is it productive in all respects, or deficient in some products?

CLIN. There is practically nothing that it is deficient in.

ATH. Will there be any State bordering close on it?

CLIN. None at all, and that is the reason for settling it. Owing to emigration from this district long ago, the country has lain desolate for ever so long.

1 This remark is explained by what is said below, 705 A ff.
PLATO

ἈΘ. Τί δ' αὖ; πεδίων τε καὶ ὅρων καὶ ὕλης πῶς μέρος ἐκάστων ἦμῶν εἶληξεν;

δ' ὡς. Προσέοικε τῇ τῆς ἄλλης Κρήτης φύσει ὅλη.

ἈΘ. Τραχυτέραν αὕτην ἢ πεδιεινοτέραν ἤλέγοις.

КА. Πάνω μὲν οὖν.

ἈΘ. Οὐ τοῖνυν ἀνίατός γε ἂν εἰ ἕν πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτῆσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθαλασσία τε ἐμελλέν εἰναι καὶ εὑλίμηνοι καὶ μὴ πάμφοροι ἀλλ' ἐπιδεής πολλῶν, μεγαλύν τινὸς ἔδει σωτηρός τε αὕτη καὶ νομοθετῶν θείων τιων, εἰ μὴ πολλά τε ἐμελλέν ἦθη καὶ ποικίλα καὶ φαύλα ἔξειν τοιαύτη φύσει γενομένη· νῦν δὲ παραμύθιον ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὑγιοῦκοτα στάδιων. ἐγγύτερον μὲν τοι τοῦ δέοντος κεῖται τῆς θαλάσσης, σχεδὸν ὅσον εὑλιμενωτέραν αὐτήν φῆς εἶναι. όμως δὲ ἀγαπητὸν 705 καὶ τούτο. πρόσοικος γὰρ θάλασσα χώρα τὸ μὲν παρ' ἐκάστην ἥμεραν ἤδυ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἀλμυρὸν καὶ πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπηλείας ἐμπιπλάσα αὐτήν, ἦθη παλάμβολα καὶ ἀπίστα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐντεκτοῦσα, αὕτην τε πρὸς αὐτήν τὴν πόλιν ἀπιστοῦν καὶ ἀφιλὸν ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὀσαύτως. παραμύθιον δὲ δὴ πρὸς

Β τάῦτα καὶ τὸ πάμφορος εἶναι κέκτηται, τραχεία δὲ οὖσα δήλου ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολύφορος τε εἰ ἐν καὶ πάμφορος ἀμα. τούτο γὰρ ἑξουσία, πολλὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἂν παρεχομένη, νομίσματος ἄργυρού καὶ χρυσοῦ πάλιν ἀντεμπίπτατ' ἂν, οὐ μεῖξον κακοῦ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, πόλει ἀνθ' ἔνως ἐν οὐδὲν

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ATH. How about plains, mountains and forests? What extent of each of these does it contain?

CLIN. As a whole, it resembles in character the rest of Crete.

ATH. You would call it hilly rather than level?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Then it would not be incurably unfit for the acquisition of virtue. For if the State was to be on the sea-coast, and to have fine harbours, and to be deficient in many products, instead of productive of everything,—in that case it would need a mighty saviour and divine lawgivers, if, with such a character, it was to avoid having a variety of luxurious and depraved habits.\(^1\) As things are, however, there is consolation in the fact of that eighty stades. Still, it lies unduly near the sea, and the more so because, as you say, its harbours are good; that, however, we must make the best of. For the sea is, in very truth, "a right briny and bitter neighbour,"\(^2\) although there is sweetness in its proximity for the uses of daily life; for by filling the markets of the city with foreign merchandise and retail trading, and breeding in men's souls knavish and tricky ways, it renders the city faithless and loveless, not to itself only, but to the rest of the world as well. But in this respect our State has compensation in the fact that it is all-productive; and since it is hilly, it cannot be highly productive as well as all-productive; if it were, and supplied many exports, it would be flooded in return with gold and silver money—the one condition of all, perhaps, that is


\(^2\) Quoted from Alcman.
PLATO

ἀν γίγνοιτο εἰς γενναίων καὶ δικαίων ἡθῶν κτήσιν, ὡς ἐφαμεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις.
κλ. Ἀλλὰ μεμνήμεθα, καὶ συγχωροῦμεν τότε λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὀρθῶς καὶ τὰ νῦν.

C θ. Τί δὲ δή; ναυπηγησίμης ὦλης ὁ τόπος ἡμῖν τῆς χώρας πῶς ἔχει;
κλ. Οὐκ ἐστιν οὔτε τις ἐλάτη λόγου ἄξια οὔτ' αὐτ' πεύκη, κυπάριττός τε οὐ πολλή' πίτυν τ' αὐν καὶ πλάτανον ὀλίγην ἂν εὑροί τις, οἷς δὴ πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἐντὸς τῶν πλοίων μέρη ἀναγκαῖον τοῖς ναυπηγοῖς χρὴσθαι ἐκάστοτε.
θ. Καὶ τάντα οὐκ ἂν κακῶς ἔχοι τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς φύσεως.
κλ. Τί δή;

D θ. Μιμήσεις πονηρὰς μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ ῥαδίως δύνασθαι τίνα πόλιν ἅγαθόν.
κλ. Εἰς δὴ τί τῶν εἰρημένων βλέψας εἴπερ, ὁ λέγεις;
θ. 'Ο δαιμόνιε, φύλαττέ με εἰς τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰρημένον ἀποβλέπων, τὸ περὶ τῶν Κρητικῶν νόμων, ὡς πρὸς ἐν τι βλέποιειν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐλεγέτην αὐτὸ εἶναι σφῶ τὸ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπολαβὼν εἶπον ὡς ὅτι μὲν εἰς ἄρετήν ποι βλέποι τὰ τοιαῦτα νόμιμα κείμενα καλῶς ἔχοι, τὸ δ' ὅτι πρὸς μέρος ἀλλ' οὗ πρὸς πάσαν σχεδὸν ἐ οὐ πάνυ ξυνεχόμουν. νῦν οὖν ὑμεῖς μοι τῆς παρούσης νομοθεσίας ἀντιφυλάξατε ἐπάμενοι έαν ἀρα τι μὴ πρὸς ἄρετήν τείνοι ή πρὸς ἄρετής μόριον νομοθετῶ. τούτον γὰρ δὴ τίθεσθαι τὸν νόμον ὀρθῶς ὑποτίθεμαι μόνον, ὅσ ἂν δίκην τοξότου ἐκάστοτε στοχάζῃ τούτου ὅτα ἂν συνεχῶς

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most fatal, in a State, to the acquisition of noble and just habits of life,—as we said, if you remember, in our previous discourse.  

**CLIN.** We remember, and we endorse what you said both then and now.  

**ATH.** Well, then, how is our district off for timber for ship-building?  

**CLIN.** There is no fir to speak of, nor pine, and but little cypress; nor could one find much larch or plane, which shipwrights are always obliged to use for the interior fittings of ships.  

**ATH.** Those, too, are natural features which would not be bad for the country.  

**CLIN.** Why so?  

**ATH.** That a State should not find it easy to copy its enemies in bad habits is a good thing.  

**CLIN.** To which of our statements does this observation allude?  

**ATH.** My dear Sir, keep a watch on me, with an eye cast back on our opening statement about the Cretan laws. It asserted that those laws aimed at one single object; and whereas you declared that this object was military strength, I made the rejoinder that, while it was right that such enactments should have virtue for their aim, I did not at all approve of that aim being restricted to a part, instead of applying to the whole. So do you now, in turn, keep a watch on my present law-making, as you follow it, in case I should enact any law either not tending to virtue at all, or tending only to a part of it. For I lay it down as an axiom that no law is rightly enacted which does not aim always, like an archer, at that object, and that alone, which is

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1 Cp. 679 B.  
2 Cp. 625 D, 629 E ff.
706 [τούτων] τῶν ἀεὶ καλῶν τι ξυνέπηται μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ξύμπαντα παραλείπει, εἰώ τε τις πλοῦτος ἐάν τε ἄρα τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὄν τυγχάνῃ ἀνευ τῶν προειρημένων. τὴν δὲ δὴ μέμησιν ἔλεγον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν κακὴν τοιαύτη διὰ γίγνεσθαι, ὅταν οἰκή μὲν τις πρὸς θαλάττῃ, λυπήται δ' ὑπὸ πολεμίων, οἶον—φράσσω γὰρ οὐ τι μνησικαίει βουλόμενος ὕμιν. Μίνως γὰρ δὴ ποτὲ τοὺς οἰκούντας τὴν Ἀττικὴν παρεστήσατο Ὑπὸ χαλεπῆς τινα φορᾶν δασμοῦ, δύναμιν πολλήν κατὰ θάλατταν κεκτημένοις. οἱ δ' οὗτε πω πλοία ἐκέκτηνε, καθάπερ νῦν, πολεμικά, οὐτ' αὐ ὑπὸ τὴν χώραν πλήρη ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων, ὡστ' εὐμαρής ναυτικὴν παρασχέσαι δύναμιν οὐκοῦν οἷοί τ' ἐγένοντο διὰ μιμήσεως ναυτικῆς αὐτοῦ ναύταις γενόμενοι εὐθὺς τότε τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνασθαι. ἔτι γὰρ ἂν πλεονάκις ἐπτὰ ἀπολέσαι παῖδας αὐ.

C τοῖς συνήνεγκε, πρὶν ἀντὶ πεξὼν ὀπλιτῶν μοιύμων ναυτικοὺς γενομένους ἐθισθῆναι πυκνὰ ἀποστηδῶν· τας δρομικῶς εἰσ τὰς ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν μένοντας ἑπιφερομένων πολεμίων, ἀλλ' εἰκύιας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις καὶ σφάδρα ἑτοίμας ὀπλα τε ἀπολλύσι καὶ φεύγουσι δὴ τινὰς οὐκ αἰσχρὰς, ὡς φασί, φυγάς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ ναυτικῆς ὀπλιτείας ἐργάτας ἐφελθὲν φιλεῖ ἄνθρωπος 2 χυμβαίνων, οὐκ ἄξια ἐπαινῶν πολλάκις μυρίων, ἀλλὰ τούναν. 

D τίοις ἐθη γὰρ ποιηρὰ οὐδὲποτε ἐθίζειν δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν βέλτιστον μέρος. ἦν δὲ ποι τοῦτό γε καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρου λαβείν, ὅτι τὸ

1 [τούτων] τῶν : τούτων (οὐ τοῦ τῶν) MSS.
constantly accompanied by something ever-beautiful,—passing over every other object, be it wealth or anything else of the kind that is devoid of beauty. To illustrate how the evil imitation of enemies, which I spoke of, comes about, when people dwell by the sea and are vexed by enemies, I will give you an example (though with no wish, of course, to recall to you painful memories). When Minos, once upon a time, reduced the people of Attica to a grievous payment of tribute, he was very powerful by sea, whereas they possessed no warships at that time such as they have now, nor was their country so rich in timber that they could easily supply themselves with a naval force. Hence they were unable quickly to copy the naval methods of their enemies and drive them off by becoming sailors themselves. And indeed it would have profited them to lose seventy times seven children rather than to become marines instead of staunch foot-soldiers; for marines are habituated to jumping ashore frequently and running back at full speed to their ships, and they think no shame of not dying boldly at their posts when the enemy attack; and excuses are readily made for them, as a matter of course, when they fling away their arms and betake themselves to what they describe as "no dishonourable flight." These "exploits" are the usual result of employing naval soldiery, and they merit, not "infinite praise," but precisely the opposite; for one ought never to habituate men to base habits, and least of all the noblest section of the citizens. That such an institution is not a noble one might have been
ἐπιτήδευμα ἂν τὸ τοιούτον οὐ καλὸν. Ὅδυσσεὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ λοιδορεῖ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τότε ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων κατεχομένων τῇ μάχῃ, κελεύοντα τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καθέλκειν, δὲ χαλέπαίνει τε αὐτῷ καὶ λέγει

δὲ κέλεαι πολέμου συνεσταότος καὶ ἀυτῆς νῆς εὕσσελμος ἅλαδ' ἐλκειν, ὁφ' ἐτι μᾶλλον

Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐελδομένοις περ ἐμμης,

ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὀλεθρὸς ἐπιρρέπη· οὐ γὰρ Ἄχαιοι

σχῆσουσιν πολέμου νηῶν ἅλαδ' ἐλκομενῶν,

ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωθήσουσι δὲ χάρμης.

707 ἐνθα κε σὴ βουλὴ δηλήσεται, οὐ ἀγορεύεις.

ταῦτ' οὖν ἑγίγνωσκε καὶ ἔκεινος, ὅτι κακὸν ἐν

θαλάττῃ τριήρεις ὀπλίταις παρεστῶσαι μαχο-

μένοις· καὶ λέοντες ἂν ἐλάφους ἐθισθεὶν φεύγειν

τοιούτως ἐθεσὶ χρῶμενοι πρὸς δὲ τούτως αἱ διὰ

τὰ ναυτικὰ πόλεων δυνάμεις ἁμα σωτηρίας1 τιμᾶς

οὐ τὸ καλλίστω τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀποδιδόασι. διὰ

κυβερνητικῆς γὰρ καὶ πεντηκονταρχίας καὶ ἐρε-

τικῆς καὶ παντοδαπῶν καὶ οὐ πάνω σπουδαίων

ἀνθρώπων γνυμομένης τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστοις οὐκ ἂν

δύνατο ὅρθως ἀποδίδοναι τις, καὶ τοι πῶς ἂν

ἐτι πολιτεία γίγνοιτο ὅρθη τούτου στερομένῃ;

κλ. Σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον. ἄλλα μὴν, ὦ ξένε, τὴν

γε περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς

τοὺς βαρβάρους γνυμομένην ἡμεῖς γε οἱ Κρήτες

τὴν Ἑλλάδα φαμέν σώσαι.

1 σωτηρίας Badham, Schanz: σωτηρία MSS.
learnt even from Homer. For he makes Odysseus abuse Agamemnon for ordering the Achaeans to haul down their ships to the sea, when they were being pressed in fight by the Trojans; and in his wrath he speaks thus¹:

"Dost bid our people hale their fair-benched ships Seaward, when war and shouting close us round? So shall the Trojans see their prayers fulfilled, And so on us shall sheer destruction fall! For, when the ships are seaward drawn, no more Will our Achaeans hold the battle up, But, backward glancing, they will quit the fray: Thus baneful counsel such as thine will prove."

So Homer, too, was aware of the fact that triremes lined up in the sea alongside of infantry fighting on land are a bad thing: why, even lions, if they had habits such as these, would grow used to running away from does! Moreover, States dependent upon navies for their power give honours, as rewards for their safety, to a section of their forces that is not the finest; for they owe their safety to the arts of the pilot, the captain and the rower—men of all kinds and not too respectable,—so that it would be impossible to assign the honours to each of them rightly. Yet, without rectitude in this, how can it still be right with a State?²

Clin. It is well-nigh impossible. None the less, Stranger, it was the sea-fight at Salamis, fought by the Greeks against the barbarians, which, as we Cretans at least affirm, saved Greece.

¹ ll. xiv. 96 ff.
² Cp. 697 B, 757 A f.
ΑΘ. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Καρπάρων λέγουσι ταῦτα. ἦμείς δὲ, ὦ φίλε, ἐγώ τε καὶ οὗ, Μέγιλλος, φαμέν τὴν πεζὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένην καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς τὴν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς σωτηρίας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τὴν δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεὶναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν βελτίους τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ποιήσαι, τὰς δὲ οὐ βελτίους, ἵνα οὕτω λέγωμεν περὶ τῶν τότε ἔξωσωσασῶν ἡμᾶς μαχῶν πρὸς γὰρ τῇ περὶ Σαλαμίνα τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἄρτεμισίον σοι προσθῆσω κατὰ θάλατταν μάχην. ἀλλὰ

Δ γὰρ ἀποβλέποντες νῦν πρὸς πολυτείαν ἁρετὴν καὶ χώρας φύσιν σκοπούμεθα καὶ νόμων τάξιν, οὐ τὸ σώζεσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι μόνον ἀνθρώποις τιμώ·

tατον ἠγούμενοι, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, τὸ δ’ ὡς βελτίστους γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἂν ὅσιν. εἰρήται δ’ ἡμῖν, οἶμαι, καὶ τούτο ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν.

κα. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Τοῦτο τοῖς πρὸς πολυτείαν καὶ τοῖς ῥώμασιν σκοπούμεθα μόνον, εἰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον ἐρχόμεθα βελτίστην οὕσαν πόλειν κατοικίσεως πέρι καὶ νομοθεσιῶν.

Ε κα. Καὶ πολὺ γε.

ΑΘ. Δέγε δὴ τοῖς τοῦτοις ἑξῆς, τίς ὁ κατοικιζόμενος ύμῖν λεως ἐσται; πότερον εξ ἀπάσις Κρήτης ὁ ἐθέλων, ός ὁκλου τινὸς ἐν ταῖς πόλεισιν ἐκάστης γεγενημένην πλείονος ἦ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφῆν; οὐ γὰρ ποὺ
tὸν βουλόμενον γε Ἑλλήνων συνάγετε. καὶ τοῖς τιναῖς ύμῖν ἐκ τε Ἀργοῦ ὄρῳ καὶ Αἰγίνης καὶ

708 ἀλλοθεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς τὴν χώραν κατωκισ-

1 Cp. 637 C ff.
ATH. Yes, that is what is said by most of the Greeks and barbarians. But we—that is, I myself and our friend Megillus—affirm that it was the land-battle of Marathon which began the salvation of Greece, and that of Plataea which completed it; and we affirm also that, whereas these battles made the Greeks better, the sea-fights made them worse,—if one may use such an expression about battles that helped at that time to save us (for I will let you count Artemisium also as a sea-fight, as well as Salamis). Since, however, our present object is political excellence, it is the natural character of a country and its legal arrangements that we are considering; so that we differ from most people in not regarding mere safety and existence as the most precious thing men can possess, but rather the gaining of all possible goodness and the keeping of it throughout life. This too, I believe, was stated by us before.¹

CLIN. It was.

ATH. Then let us consider only this,—whether we are travelling by the same road which we took then, as being the best for States in the matter of settlements and modes of legislation.

CLIN. The best by far.

ATH. In the next place tell me this: who are the people that are to be settled? Will they comprise all that wish to go from any part of Crete, supposing that there has grown up in every city a surplus population too great for the country’s food supply? For you are not, I presume, collecting all who wish to go from Greece; although I do, indeed, see in your country settlers from Argos, Aegina, and other parts of Greece. So tell us now from what

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μένουσ' τὸ δὲ δὴ παρὸν ἦτοι λέγει πόθεν ἐσεσθαί
φῆς στρατόπεδον τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ νῦν;
καὶ 'Εκ τε Κρήτης ἔμπαύσῃς έσοικε γενήσεσθαι,
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἑλλήνων μάλιστα μοι φάινον-
tαι τοὺς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσδέξεσθαι ἐπωνι-
kous. καὶ γὰρ, ὅ νῦν δὴ λέγεις, ἄληθες φράζεις,
ὡς ἐξ' Ἀργοὺς εἰσί, καὶ τὸ γε μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦν
tὰ νῦν ἐνθάδε γένος, τὸ Γορτυνικὸν. ἐκ Γόρτυνος
gὰρ τυγχάνει ἀπώφηκός ταύτη ¹ τῆς Πελοποννη-
σιακῆς.

Β Ἄθ. Οὐ τούτῳ εὐκόλους ὤμος γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ
catoikismὸς ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅταν μὴ τῶν ἐσμῶν
gίγνηται τρόπων, ἐν γένος ἀπὸ μίᾶς ἑνὸς ἦνος
οἰκίζηται, φίλων παρὰ φίλων, στενοχωρία τινὶ
poliorkθέν γῆς ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις τοιούτοις παθή-
μασιν ἀναγκασθέν. ἐστι δ' ὅτε καὶ στάσει
βιαζόμενον ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν ἐτέρωσε ἀποθεοῦσθαι
πόλεως τι μόνον ἡδὴ δὲ ποτε καὶ ἐξαναπασα
πόλις τινῶν ἐφυγεν, ἀρδην κρείττονι κρατῆδείσα

C πολέμῳ. ταύτ' οὖν πάντ' ἔστι τῇ μὲν ῥᾷ
κατοικίζεσθαι τε καὶ νομοθετεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ χαλε-
pώτερα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τι εἶναι γένος ὦμοφωνον
καὶ ὄμονομον ἵνα τινὰ φιλίαν, κοινωνὸν ἰερὸν ὑπο
καὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάντων, νόμους δ' ἐτέρους καὶ
πολιτείαν ἀλλὰς τῶν οἰκοθεν οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἄν-
έχεται, τὸ δ' ἔνιοτε πονηρία νόμων ἐστασιακὸς καὶ
dia συνήθειαν ξητοῦν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς
ὑθείς, δι' ἣ καὶ πρότερον ἐφθάρη, χαλεπον τῶν
κατοικίζοντι καὶ νομοθετοῦντι καὶ δυσπειδῆς

D γίγνεται: τὸ δ' αὖ παντοδαπὸν ἐς ταύτῳ ἐξωνερ-

¹ ταύτη: ταύτης MSS., edd.
quarters the present expedition of citizens is likely to be drawn.

CLIN. It will probably be from the whole of Crete; and of the rest of the Greeks, they seem most ready to admit people from the Peloponnese as fellow-settlers. For it is quite true, as you said just now, that we have some here from Argos, amongst them being the most famous of our clans, the Gortynian, which is a colony from Gortys, in the Peloponnese.

ATH. It would not be equally easy for States to conduct settlements in other cases as in those when, like a swarm of bees, a single clan goes out from a single country and settles, as a friend coming from friends, being either squeezed out by lack of room or forced by some other such pressing need. At times, too, the violence of civil strife might compel a whole section of a State to emigrate; and on one occasion an entire State went into exile, when it was totally crushed by an overpowering attack. All such cases are in one way easier to manage, as regards settling and legislation, but in another way harder. In the case where the race is one, with the same language and laws, this unity makes for friendliness, since it shares also in sacred rites and all matters of religion; but such a body does not easily tolerate laws or polities which differ from those of its homeland. Again, where such a body has seceded owing to civil strife due to the badness of the laws, but still strives to retain, owing to long habit, the very customs which caused its former ruin, then, because of this, it proves a difficult and intractable subject for the person who has control of its settlement and its laws. On the other hand, the clan that is formed by fusion of
δυνάμεις γένος ὑπακούσαι μέν τινῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν τάχα ἄν ἐθελήσεις μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ συμπνεύσαι καὶ καθάπερ ἰππῶν ξεῦγος καθ’ ἐν ἄει ¹ ταῦτόν, τὸ λεγόμενον, ξυμφυσήσαι χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παγχάλετον. ἀλλ’ ὅντως ἐστὶ νομοθεσία καὶ πόλεων οἰκισμοὶ πάντων τελεστάτων ² πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν.

κλ. Εἰκός: ὅτι δ’ αὐ βλέπων τοῦτ’ εἰρηκας, φράζ’ ἐτι σαφέστερον.

Ε ἰ. Ὡ γαθέ, ἔοικα περὶ νομοθετῶν ἐπανών καὶ σκοπῶν ἀμα ἐρεῖν τι καὶ φαύλων. ἀλλ’ ἐὰν πρὸς καιρὸν τινα λέγωμεν, πράγμα οὐδὲν γίγνοιτ’ ἂν ἐτι. καὶ τοι τί ποτε δυσχεραῖν; σχεδὸν γὰρ τοι πάντα ὁυτὸς ἐοικ’ ἐχειν τάνθρωποιν.

κλ. Τοῦ δὴ περὶ λέγεις;

ἀ. Ἐμελλὼν λέγειν ὡς οὐδεὶς ποτε ἀνθρώπων 709 οὐδὲν νομοθετεῖ, τύχαι δὲ καὶ ξυμφοραῖ παντοῖαι πίπτουσαί παντοῖως νομοθετοῦσι τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν. ἡ γὰρ πόλεμος τις βιασάμενος ἀνέτρεψε πολιτείας καὶ μετέβαλε νόμους, ἡ πενίας χαλεπῆς ἀπορίας πολλὰ δὲ καὶ νόσοι ἀναγκάζουσι καινοτομεῖν λοιμῶν τε ἐμπιπτόντων, καὶ χρόνου ἐπὶ πολὺν ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν πολλάκις ἀκαρίας. ³ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα προίδον τις ἀξιώσειε ⁴ ἂν εἰπέων ὅπερ ἐγὼ νῦν δή, τὸ θυντὸν μὲν μηδένα νομοθετεῖν μηδέν, δὲ τύχας δ’ εἶναι σχεδὸν ἀπαντα τὰ ἀνθρώπων πράγματα. τὸ δ’ ἐστὶ περὶ τε ναυτιλίαν καὶ κυβερνητικὴν καὶ ιατρικὴν καὶ στρατηγικὴν πάντα ταῦτ’ εἰπόντα δοκεῖν εῦ λέγειν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁμοίως

1 ἐν ἄει: ἐνα εἰς MSS. : ἐν εἰς Stalib., Schanz,
2 τελεστάτων Badham, Schanz: τελεστάτον MSS.

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various elements would perhaps be more ready to submit to new laws, but to cause it to share in one spirit and pant (as they say) in unison like a team of horses would be a lengthy task and most difficult. But in truth legislation and the settlement of States are tasks that require men perfect above all other men in goodness.

CLIN. Very probably; but tell us still more clearly the purport of these observations.

ATH. My good Sir, in returning to the subject of lawgivers in our investigation, I may probably have to cast a slur on them; but if what I say is to the point, then there will be no harm in it. Yet why should I vex myself? For practically all human affairs seem to be in this same plight.

CLIN. What is it you refer to?

ATH. I was on the point of saying that no man ever makes laws, but chances and accidents of all kinds, occurring in all sorts of ways, make all our laws for us. For either it is a war that violently upsets polities and changes laws, or it is the distress due to grievous poverty. Diseases, too, often force on revolutions, owing to the inroads of pestilences and recurring bad seasons prolonged over many years. Foreseeing all this, one might deem it proper to say—as I said just now—that no mortal man frames any law, but human affairs are nearly all matters of pure chance. But the fact is that, although one may appear to be quite right in saying this about sea-faring and the arts of the pilot, the physician, and the general, yet there really is some-

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3 ἀνάπλασ Σταλλ. : ἀναπλα Ζυρ. (ἀναπλα MSS. αλ.)
4 ἀξισσεν Χεινδοφ : ἀξισσεν MSS.
αὖ καὶ τόδε ἐστὶ λέγοντα εὖ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις.

κα. Τὸ ποίον;

α. Ὡς θεὸς μὲν πάντα καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς τἀνθρώπινα διακυβερνῶσι ξύμπαντα. ἡμερώτερον μὴν τρίτον ξυγχωρῆσαι τούτοις δεῖν ἐπεσθαί τέχνην· καιρῷ γὰρ [χειμώνος] ἐξυλλα-βέσθαι κυβερνητικὴν ἡ μὴ μέγα πλεονέκτημα ἔγωγ' ἀν θείην. ἡ πῶς;

κα. Οὕτως.

α. Οὔκοιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φωσάτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀν ἔχοι λόγον; καὶ δὴ καὶ νομοθεσία ταύτων τοῦτο δοτέον τῶν ἄλλων ξυμπιπτόντων ὁσα δεῖ χώρα ξυγνυχεῖν, εἰ μέλλοι ποτὲ εὐδαι-μόνως οἰκήσειν, τὸν νομοθέτην ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον τῇ τοιαύτῃ παραπεσεῖν ἐκάστωτε πόλει δεῖν.

κα. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

D

ἀ. Οὔκοιν ὃ γε πρὸς ἐκαστόν τι τῶν οἵρη-μένων ἔχων τὴν τέχνην κἀν εὐξασθαί που δύναιτο ὅρθως τι, <ὁ τι>3 παρὸν αὐτῷ διὰ τύχης τῆς τέχνης ἀν μόνου ἐπιδείοι;

κα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ἀ. Οἳ τε ἄλλοι γε δὴ πάντες οἳ μὴν δὴ ῥηθέντες κελευόμενοι τῇν αὐτῶν εὐχὴν εἰπεῖν εἰποιεῖν ἀν. ἡ γὰρ;

κα. Τι μὴν;

ἀ. Ταύτων δὴ κἂν4 νομοθέτης, οἴμαι, δράσειν.

κα. 'Εγωγ' οἴμαι.

1 [χειμώνος] bracketed by Badham, Schanz.
2 ἡ μὴ: ἡ μῆ, MSS. (bracketed by Schanz)
3 τι, <ὁ τι>: τι MSS. : τι, δ Stephens.
4 κἂν: καὶ MSS. (ἀν for δὴ Schanz)
thing else that we may say with equal truth about these same things.

CLIN. What is that?

ATH. That God controls all that is, and that Chance and Occasion co-operate with God in the control of all human affairs. It is, however, less harsh to admit that these two must be accompanied by a third factor, which is Art. For that the pilots' art should co-operate with Occasion—verily I, for one, should esteem that a great advantage. Is it not so?

CLIN. It is.

ATH. Then we must grant that this is equally true in the other cases also, by parity of reasoning, including the case of legislation. When all the other conditions are present which a country needs to possess in the way of fortune if it is ever to be happily settled, then every such State needs to meet with a lawgiver who holds fast to truth.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Would not, then, the man who possessed art in regard to each of the crafts mentioned be able to pray aright for that condition which, if it were given by Chance, would need only the supplement of his own art?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. And if all the other craftsmen mentioned just now were bidden to state the object of their prayers, they could do so, could they not?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. And the lawgiver, I suppose, could do likewise?

CLIN. I suppose so.
PLATO

α. Φέρε δή, νομοθέται, προς αὐτῶν φῶμεν, τί σοι καὶ πώς πόλιν ἔχουσαν δῶμεν, ὦ λαβὼν ἐξεῖς ὡστ' ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν αὐτὸς τὴν πόλιν ἰκανὸς διοικήσαι; ¹

Ε  κλ. Τί μετὰ τοῦτ' εἶπεῖν ὅρθος ἔστιν ἄρα;

α. Τοῦ νομοθέτου φράζωμεν τοῦτο, ἦ γάρ;

κλ. Ναί.

α. Τόδε τυραννουμένη μοι δότε τὴν πόλιν, φήσει τύραννος ὃ' ἐστώ νέος καὶ μνήμων καὶ εὐμαθής καὶ ἄνδρειος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς φύσει. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν δεῖν ἐπεσθαί 

Εὐμπασι τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσι, καὶ νῦν τῇ 710 τυράννου ἡμῖν ² ψυχῇ τούτῳ ἠπεσθῶ, ἐδώ μέλλῃ τῶν ἀλλων ὑπαρχόντων ὀφελος εἶναι τι.

κλ. Σωφροσύνη μοι δοκεῖ φράζειν, ὥ Μέγιλλε, δεῖν εἶναι τὴν ἠπεσθῶν ἡμῖν ἡ ξένος. ἦ γάρ;

α. Τὴν δημόδη γε, ὥ Κλεινία, καὶ ὅν ἂν τις σεμνύνων ἂν λέγοι, φρονήσων προσαναγκάζων εἶναι τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπερ εὐθὺς παίσῃ καὶ θηρίως, τοῖς μὲν <μή> ³ ἄκρατῶς ἔχειν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἐξύμφυτον ἐπανθεῖ, τοῖς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς: ὃ

Β καὶ μονούμενου ἐφαμεν τῶν πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἄξιοι εἶναι λόγου. ἔχετε γάρ ὁ λέγω ποι.

κλ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

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1 I follow here the arrangement of Ritter and Burnet.  ² τυράννου ἡμῖν: τυραννουμένη MSS. (τυράννου England)  ³ <μή> I add.

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¹ Cp. Rep. 473 C ff., 486 A ff.  ² 696 D.  ³ 698 A; Phaedo 82 A. The "academic" (or philosophic) identification of "virtue" with "wisdom" was a main feature in the Ethics of Socrates; cp. Rep. 430 D ff.
ATH. "Come now, O lawgiver," let us say to him, "what are we to give you, and what condition of State, to enable you, when you receive it, thence-forward to manage the State by yourself satisfactorily?"

CLIN. What is the next thing that can rightly be said?

ATH. You mean, do you not, on the side of the lawgiver?

CLIN. Yes.

ATH. This is what he will say: "Give me the State under a monarchy; and let the monarch be young, and possessed by nature of a good memory, quick intelligence, courage and nobility of manner; and let that quality, which we formerly mentioned as the necessary accompaniment of all the parts of virtue, attend now also on our monarch's soul, if the rest of his qualities are to be of any value."

CLIN. Temperance, as I think, Megillus, is what the Stranger indicates as the necessary accompaniment. Is it not?

ATH. Yes, Clinias; temperance, that is, of the ordinary kind; not the kind men mean when they use academic language and identify temperance with wisdom, but that kind which by natural instinct springs up at birth in children and animals, so that some are not incontinent, others continent, in respect of pleasures; and of this we said that, when isolated from the numerous so-called "goods," it was of no account. You understand, of course, what I mean.

CLIN. Certainly.

696 D.
ΑΘ. Ταύτην τοίνυν ἡμῖν ὁ τύραννος τὴν φύσιν ἔχετω πρὸς ἐκείναις ταῖς φύσεσιν, εἰ μέλλει πόλις ὡς δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τάχιστα καὶ ἀριστα σχῆσειν πολιτείαν ἡν λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστατα διάζει. θάττων γὰρ ταύτης καὶ ἀμείνων πολιτείας διάθεσις οὔτ' ἐστὶν οὔτ' ἀν ποτε γένοιτο

C  ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ καὶ τίνι λόγῳ τούτο, ὃ ξένε, λέγων ἂν τις ὄρθως λέγειν αὐτὸν πείθοι;

ΑΘ. Ἡ Ράδιον που τοῦτο γς νοεῖν ἕστ', ὃ Κλεινία, κατὰ φύσιν ὡς ἐστὶ τοῦθ' οὕτως.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις; εἰ τύραννος γένοιτο, φής, νέος, σώφρων, εὐμαθής, μυήμων, ἀνδρείος, μεγαλοπρεπής;

ΑΘ. Ἐυτυχῆς, πρόσθες, μὴ κατ' ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ νομοθέτην ἄξιον ἐπαίνου

D καὶ τινα τύχην εἰς ταύτων ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. γενομένου γὰρ τούτου πάντα σχέδον ἀπείρασται τῷ θεῷ, ἀπερ ὅταν βουληθῇ διαφερόντως έν πρᾶξι τίνα πόλιν. δεύτερον δὲ, ἐάν ποτὲ τινες δύο ἄρχοντες γίγνωσται τοιοῦτοι, τρίτου δ' αὖ καὶ κατὰ λόγου ωσαύτως χαλεπώτερον, ὅσῳ πλεῖος· ὅσῳ δ' ἐναντίον, ἐναντίως.

ΚΛ. Ἐκ τυραννίδος ἀρίστην φής γενέσθαι πόλιν ἂν, ὡς φαίνει, μετὰ νομοθέτου γε ἄκρου καὶ τυράννου κοσμίου, καὶ ῥάστα τε καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν μεταβαλεῖν εἰς τούτο ἐκ τοῦ τοιοῦτου, δεύτερον Ε δὲ ἐξ ὀλυγαρχίας. ὥς πῶς λέγεις; [καὶ τὸ τρίτου ἐκ δημοκρατίας.]¹

¹ [καὶ . . . δημοκρατίας] bracketed by Hermann.
ATH. Let our monarch, then, possess this natural quality in addition to the other qualities mentioned, if the State is to acquire in the quickest and best way possible the constitution it needs for the happiest kind of life. For there does not exist, nor could there ever arise, a quicker and better form of constitution than this.

CLIN. How and by what argument, Stranger, could one convince oneself that to say this is to speak the truth?

ATH. It is quite easy to perceive at least this, Clinias, that the facts stand by nature's ordinance in the way described.

CLIN. In what way do you mean? On condition, do you say, that there should be a monarch who was young, temperate, quick at learning, with a good memory, brave and of a noble manner?

ATH. Add also "fortunate,"—not in other respects, but only in this, that in his time there should arise a praiseworthy lawgiver, and that, by a piece of good fortune, the two of them should meet; for if this were so, then God would have done nearly everything that he does when he desires that a State should be eminently prosperous. The second best condition is that there should arise two such rulers; then comes the third best, with three rulers; and so on, the difficulty increasing in proportion as the number becomes greater, and vice versa.

CLIN. You mean, apparently, that the best State would arise from a monarchy, when it has a first-rate lawgiver and a virtuous monarch, and these are the conditions under which the change into such a State could be effected most easily and quickly; and, next to this, from an oligarchy—or what is it you mean?
ΛΘ. Οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τυραννίδος μὲν πρῶτον, δεύτερον δὲ ἐκ βασιλικῆς πολιτείας, τρίτον δὲ ἐκ τινος δημοκρατίας: τὸ δὲ τέταρτον, ὀλυγαρχία τὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτον γένεσιν χαλεπώτατα δύνατ' ἂν προσδέξασθαι: πλεῖστοι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάσται γίγνονται. λέγομεν δὴ ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι τότε ὅταν ἀληθῆς μὲν νομοθέτης γένηται φύσει, κοινὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τις ξυμβῆ γνώμη

711 μέγιστον δυναμένους. οὐ δ' ἂν τούτῳ ἁριθμῷ μὲν βραχύτατον, ἰσχυρότατον δὲ, καθάπερ ἐν τυ- ραννίδι, γένηται, ταύτῃ καὶ τότε τάχος καὶ ῥαστώνη τῆς μεταβολῆς γίγνεσθαι φιλεῖ.

ΚΛ. Πώς; οὐ γὰρ μανθάνομεν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν εἰρηταί γ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ἄπαξ ἀλλ', οἴμαι, πολλάκις. ὑμεῖς δὲ τάχα οὐδὲ τεθέασθε τυραννουμένην πόλιν.

ΚΛ. Οὐδὲ γε ἐπιθυμητής ἐγὼ γ' εἰμὶ τοῦ θεαματος.

Β ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τούτῳ γ' ἂν ἵδοις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ νῦν δὴ λεγόμενον.

ΚΛ. Τὸ πολὺν;

ΑΘ. Οὐδὲν δει πόνων οὐδὲ τινος παμπόλλου χρόνου τῷ τυράννῳ μεταβαλείν βουληθέντι πόλεως ἡθή, πορεύεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν δεὶ πρῶτον ταύτῃ ὁππερ ἀν ἑθελήσῃ, εάν τε πρὸς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδευ- ματα προτρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας εάν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ νατυσίων, αὐτὸν πρῶτον πάντα ὑπογράφοντα τῷ πράττειν, τὰ μὲν ἑπαίνοντα καὶ τιμῶντα, τὰ

C δ' αὐ πρὸς ψόγου ἄγοντα, καὶ τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον ἀτιμάζοντα καθ' ἐκάστας τῶν πράξεων

ΚΛ. Καὶ πως οἰόμεθα ταχὺ εὐνακολουθήσειν

1 γνώμη Badham: ρώμη MSS.
ATH. Not at all: the easiest step is from a monarchy, the next easiest from a constitutional monarchy, the third from some form of democracy. An oligarchy, which comes fourth in order, would admit of the growth of the best State only with the greatest difficulty, since it has the largest number of rulers. What I say is that the change takes place when nature supplies a true lawgiver, and when it happens that his policy is shared by the most powerful persons in the State; and wherever the State authorities are at once strongest and fewest in number, then and there the changes are usually carried out with speed and facility.

CLIN. How so? We do not understand.

ATH. Yet surely it has been stated not once, I imagine, but many times over. But you, very likely, have never so much as set eyes on a monarchical State.

CLIN. No, nor have I any craving for such a sight.

ATH. You would, however, see in it an illustration of what we spoke of just now.

CLIN. What was that?

ATH. The fact that a monarch, when he decides to change the moral habits of a State, needs no great efforts nor a vast length of time, but what he does need is to lead the way himself first along the desired path, whether it be to urge the citizens towards virtue’s practices or the contrary; by his personal example he should first trace out the right lines, giving praise and honour to these things, blame to those, and degrading the disobedient according to their several deeds.

CLIN. Yes, we may perhaps suppose that the rest
τούς ἄλλους πολίτας τῷ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πειθῶ καὶ ἄμα βίων εἰληφότι;

α. Μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλη θάττον καὶ βάδου μεταβάλλειν ἀν ποτε πόλιν τοὺς νόμους ἤ τῇ τῶν δυναστεύοντων ἡγεμονίᾳ, μηδὲ νῦν· γε ἄλλη γύνεσθαι μηδ' αὐθίς ποτε γενήσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἡμῖν οὐ τούτ' ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον

δ οὔδε χαλεπῶς ἄν γενόμενον, ἄλλα τόδ' ἐστὶ τῷ χαλέπων γενέσθαι, καὶ οἷόν δὴ τὸ γεγονός ἐν τῷ πολλῷ χρόνῳ· όταν δὲ ξυμβῆ, μυρία καὶ πάντ' ἐν πόλει ἄγαθα ἀπεργάζεσθαι, ἐν η' ποτ' ἂν ἐγγένηται.

κλ. Τὸ ποιον δὴ λέγεις;

α. "Οταν ἑρως θείος τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ δικαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐγγένηται μεγάλαις τιοι δυναστείαις, ἡ κατὰ μοναρχίαν δυναστευόσας ἢ

Ε κατὰ πλούτων ὑπεροχὰς διαφερούσας ἢ γενῶν· ἡ τῆς Νέστορος ἐάν ποτέ τις ἐπανενέγκῃ φύσιν, ἒν τῇ τοῦ λέγειν ῥώμη φασὶ πάντων διενεγκόντα ἀνθρώπων πλέον ἔτι τῷ σωφρονεῖν διαφέρειν. τούτ' οὖν ἐπὶ μὲν Γραίας, ὡς φασὶ, γέγονεν, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδαμῶς· εἰ δ' οὖν γέγονεν ἢ καὶ γενήσεται τοιοῦτος ἢ νῦν ἡμῶν ἐστὶ τις, μακάριος μὲν αὐτὸς λ. μ., μακάριοι δὲ οἱ ξυνίκοι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος στόματος ὑόντων λόγων. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ξυμπάσας δυνάμεως ὁ αὐτὸς πέρι λόγος,

712 ὡς οὖν εἰς ταύτων τῷ φρονεῖν τε καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἡ μεγίστη δύναμις ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ξυμπέσῃ, τότε πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ νόμου τῶν τοιούτων φῦται γένεσις, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ μὴ ποτὲ γένηται. ταύτα μὲν οὖν καθαπερεῖ μύθος τις λεγέσθαι καὶ επιδεδεictory ἢ τῇ μὲν χαλέπων
of the citizens will quickly follow the ruler who adopts such a combination of persuasion and force.

ATH. Let none, my friends, persuade us that a State could ever change its laws more quickly or more easily by any other way than by the personal guidance of the rulers: no such thing could ever occur, either now or hereafter. Indeed, that is not the result which we find it difficult or impossible to bring about; what is difficult to bring about is rather that result which has taken place but rarely throughout long ages, and which, whenever it does take place in a State, produces in that State countless blessings of every kind.

CLIN. What result do you mean?

ATH. Whenever a heaven-sent desire for temperate and just institutions arises in those who hold high positions,—whether as monarchs, or because of conspicuous eminence of wealth or birth, or, haply, as displaying the character of Nestor, of whom it is said that, while he surpassed all men in the force of his eloquence, still more did he surpass them in temperance. That was, as they say, in the Trojan age, certainly not in our time; still, if any such man existed, or shall exist, or exists among us now, blessed is the life he leads, and blessed are they who join in listening to the words of temperance that proceed out of his mouth. So likewise of power in general, the same rule holds good: whenever the greatest power coincides in man with wisdom and temperance, then the germ of the best polity and of the best laws is planted; but in no other way will it ever come about. Regard this as a myth oracularly uttered, and let us take it as proved that the rise of a well-governed State is in

1 Cp. Rep. 473 D.
δόν τὸ πόλιν εὖνομον γίγνεσθαι, τῇ δ', εἰπερ γένοιτο ὁ λέγομεν, πάντων τάξιστών τε καὶ ρᾶστον μακρῷ.

κλ. Ἰσωσ. ¹

Β ἈΘ. Πειρὼμεθα προσαρμόττοντες τῇ πόλει σοι, καθάπερ παιδεῖς ² πρεσβύται, πλάττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς νόμους.

κλ. Ἰωμεν δὴ καὶ μὴ μέλλωμεν ἐτί.

ἈΘ. Θεοὺν δὴ πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἐπικαλώμεθα· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσει τε καὶ ἀκούσας ἥλεως εὐμενής τε ἦμῖν ἔλθοι συνδιακοσμῆσων τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.

κλ. Ἐλθοι γὰρ οὖν.

ἈΘ. 'Ἀλλὰ τίνα δὴ ποτε πολιτείαν ἔχομεν ἐν C νῷ τῇ πόλει προστάττειν;

κλ. Οἶον δὴ τὶ λέγεις βουληθεῖς; φράζε ἐτι σαφέστερον· οἶον δημοκρατίαν τινὰ ἢ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ ἀριστοκρατίαν ἢ βασιλείαν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τυ- 

καὶ ὁπεν ἐπὶ πολεμὸν ἐν πολεμίσας ἐνοικίαν την τε 

καὶ τοὺς νόμους·

κλ. Ἰσωσ.

ἈΘ. Φέρε δὴ τοῖνυν, πότερος ὡμῶν ἀποκρί- 

καὶ ὁμοιότερον ἐν πρῶτον ἔτελοι τὴν οἰκον πολιτείαν 

καὶ ὅτε τούτων ἔστιν;

ΜΕ. Μῶν οὖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐμὲ δικαίοτερον 

καὶ τοὺς νόμους·

κλ. Ἰσωσ.

ΜΕ. Καὶ μὴν ξυνυμοῦν γε, ὡς ἑξε, τῇ ἐν Ἀκα- 

δαίμονι πολιτείαν οὐκ ἔχω σοι φράζεων οὕτως ἑντιμά προσαγορεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ. καὶ γὰρ τυ- 

D πολεμίσας ἔκλει μοι προσεοικέναι· τὸ γὰρ τῶν

¹ Ἰσωσ.: Πᾶς; MSS. (καλὸς Susemihl)

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one way difficult, but in another way—given, that is, the condition we mention—it is easier by far and quicker than anything else.

CLIN. No doubt.

ATH. Let us apply the oracle to your State, and so try, like greybeard boys, to model its laws by our discourse.¹

CLIN. Yes, let us proceed, and delay no longer.

ATH. Let us invoke the presence of the God at the establishment of the State; and may he hearken, and hearkening may he come, propitious and kindly to us-ward, to help us in the fashioning of the State and its laws.

CLIN. Yes, may he come!

ATH. Well, what form of polity is it that we intend to impose upon the State?

CLIN. What, in particular, do you refer to? Explain still more clearly. I mean, is it a democracy, an oligarchy, an aristocracy, or a monarchy? For certainly you cannot mean a tyranny: that we can never suppose.

ATH. Come now, which of you two would like to answer me first and tell me to which of these kinds his own polity at home belongs?

MEG. Is it not proper that I, as the elder, should answer first?

CLIN. No doubt.

MEG. In truth, Stranger, when I reflect on the Lacedaemonian polity, I am at a loss to tell you by what name one should describe it. It seems to me to resemble a tyranny, since the board of ephors it

¹ Cp. 746 A.

ἐφόρων θαυμαστῶς ὃς τυραννικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ γέγονε. καὶ τοι ἐνιότε ὑπεντεί τῷ πόλεων δημοκρατουμένῃ μάλιστ' ἐοικέναι. τὸ δ' αὐ τῇ φαίναι ἀριστοκρατίᾳ αὐτῇ εἶναι παντά
to πασίν ἄτοπον. καὶ μὴν δὴ βασιλεία γέ διὰ βίου τ' ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτῃ πασῶν καὶ πρὸς πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λεγομένῃ, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅπως νῦν ἐξαίφνης ἀνερωτηθεῖς ὁυτως, ὅπερ εἴπον, οὐκ ἔχω διορισάμενος εἶπεν τὸς τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν πολιτείων.

κα. Ταύτων σοι πάθος, ὁ Μέγιλλε, κατα-
φαίνομαι πεποιθέναι πάνυ γὰρ ἄπορῳ τὴν ἐν Ἐφόρων τήν ἐν καινότητι πολιτείαν τούτων τινᾶ διῴσχυρομένου εἶπεν.

ἀ. Ὄντως γὰρ, ὁ ἀριστοτεῖ, πολιτείῶν μετε-
χετει δὲ ὡνομάκαμεν νῦν, οὐκ εἰσὶ πολιτεῖαι, πόλεων δὲ οἰκήσεις δεσποζομένων τε καὶ δου-

713 λευσοῦσών μέρεσιν ἑαυτῶν τισι, τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου δὲ ἐκάστη προσαγορεύεται κράτος. χρῆν δ' εἴπερ τὸν τοῦ τκούτου τὴν πόλιν ἐδει ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς τῶν τῶν νοῦν ἑχόντων δεσποζοντος θεοῦ ὡνομα λέγεσθαι.

κα. 'Τίς δ' ὁ θεός;

ἀ. Ἀρ' οὖν μόθῳ σμικρά γ' ἐτι προσχρησ-
tεόν, εἰ μέλλομεν ἐμμελῶς πως δηλώσαι τὸ νῦν ἐρωτάμενον;

κα.⁴ Ὀυκοῦν χρῆ ταύτη ὅραν;

ἀ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. τῶν γὰρ δὴ πόλεων ὧν

Β' ἐμπροσθεῖν τὰς ξυνοικήσεις δηλόθομεν, ἐτι προ-
tέρω τούτων πάμπολυ λέγεται τις ἀρχὴ τε καὶ ὁικήσεις γεγονέναι ἐπὶ Κρόνου μᾶλ' εὐδαιμον, ἢς
contains is a marvellously tyrannical feature; yet sometimes it strikes me as, of all States, the nearest to a democracy. Still, it would be totally absurd to deny that it is an aristocracy; while it includes, moreover, a life monarchy, and that the most ancient of monarchies, as is affirmed, not only by ourselves, but by all the world. But now that I am questioned thus suddenly, I am really, as I said, at a loss to say definitely to which of these polities it belongs.

CLIN. And I, Megillus, find myself equally perplexed; for I find it very difficult to affirm that our Cnosian polity is any one of these.

ATH. Yes, my good Sirs; for you do, in fact, partake in a number of polities. But those we named just now are not polities, but arrangements of States which rule or serve parts of themselves, and each is named after the ruling power. But if the State ought to be named after any such thing, the name it should have borne is that of the God who is the true ruler of rational men.

CLIN. Who is that God?

ATH. May we, then, do a little more story-telling, if we are to answer this question suitably?

CLIN. Should we not do so?

ATH. We should. Long ages before even those cities existed whose formation we have described above, there existed in the time of Cronos, it is said, a most prosperous government and settlement,
μέμημα ἔχουσά εστίν ἣτίς τῶν ὦν ἀριστα οἰκεῖται.

κα. 'Σφόδρ' ἂν, ὡς ἔσκιν, εἰπὶ περὶ αὐτῆς δέον ἀκονεῖν.

ἀ. Ἐμοὶ γοῦν φαίνεται· διδ καὶ παρήγαγον αὐτὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῖς λόγοις.

μ. Ὀρθότατα γε δρῶν· καὶ τὸν γε ἔξης

C περαινον ἂν μῦθου, εἰπερ προσήκων ἐστί, μᾶλ' ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιοῖς.

ἀ. Δραστέον ὡς λέγετε. φήμην τοῖνυν παρα-

dedeγεμεθα τῆς τῶν τότε μακαρίας ζωῆς, ὡς

ἀφθονά τε καὶ αὐτόματα πάντα εἰχεν. ἢ δὲ
tούτων αἰτία λέγεται τοιάδε τις· γγυνώσκων ὁ

Κρόνος ἄρα, καθάπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν, ὡς

ἀνθρωπεία φύσις οὐδεμία ἴκανη τά ἀνθρώπων

dιουκοῦσα αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα μὴ οὐχ ὑβρεῶς τε

καὶ ἄδικια μεστοῦσθαι, ταῦτ' ὡς διανοούμενος

D ἐφίστη βασιλέας τε καὶ ἄρχοντας ταῖς πόλεσιν

ἡμῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ γένους θειοτέρου τε

καὶ ἀμείνονος, δαίμονας· οἷον ὦν ἡμεῖς δρῶμεν

tοῖς ποιμνιοῦσι καὶ ὅσων ἡμεροὶ εἰσιν ἄγελαι· οὗ

βούς βοῶν οὖδε αἰγας αἰγῶν ἄρχοντας ποιοῦμεν

αὐτοὶσί τινας, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτῶν δεσπόζομεν,

ἀμεινον ἐκείνων γένος. ταυτὸν δὴ καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἄρα

ὡς 1 φιλανθρώπος ἄν τότε 2 γένος ἀμεινον ἡμῶν

ἐφίστη τοῖς δαίμονων, ὅ διὰ πολλῆς μὲν αὐτοὶς

ῥαστών, πολλῆς δ' ἡμῶν ἐπιμελούμενον ἡμῶν,

Εἰ εἰρήνην τε καὶ αἰδῶ καὶ εὐνομίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν
dίκης παρεχόμενον, ἀστασίαστα καὶ εὐδαιμονα τὰ
tῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπειργάζετο γένη. λέγει δὴ καὶ

1 ὡς: καὶ MSS. (Schanz brackets ἄρα καλ)
on which the best of the States now existing is modelled.¹

CLIN. Evidently it is most important to hear about it.

ATH. I, for one, think so; and that is why I have introduced the mention of it.

MEG. You were perfectly right to do so; and, since your story is pertinent, you will be quite right in going on with it to the end.

ATH. I must do as you say. Well, then, tradition tells us how blissful was the life of men in that age, furnished with everything in abundance, and of spontaneous growth. And the cause thereof is said to have been this: Cronos was aware of the fact that no human being (as we have explained²) is capable of having irresponsible control of all human affairs without becoming filled with pride and injustice; so, pondering this fact, he then appointed as kings and rulers for our cities, not men, but beings of a race that was nobler and more divine, namely, daemons. He acted just as we now do in the case of sheep and herds of tame animals: we do not set oxen as rulers over oxen, or goats over goats, but we, who are of a nobler race, ourselves rule over them. In like manner the God, in his love for humanity, set over us at that time the nobler race of daemons who, with much comfort to themselves and much to us, took charge of us and furnished peace and modesty and orderliness and justice without stint, and thus made the tribes of men free from feud and happy.

¹ Cp. Politic. 271. ² 691 C, D.
νῦν οὖτος ὁ λόγος ἀληθεία χρώμενος, ὡς ὁσον ἀν πόλεων μὴ θεὸς ἀλλὰ τις ἄρχηθυντὸς, οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ πόνων ἀνάφυξις: ἀλλὰ μιμεῖσθαι δειν ἡμᾶς οἴεται πάση μηχανῇ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κρόνου λεγόμενον βίον, καὶ ὅσον ἐν ἡμῖν ἀθανασίας ἐνεστὶ, τούτω πειθομένους δημοσίᾳ καὶ

714 ἰδία τάς τ' οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς πόλεις διοικεῖν, τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομῆν ἐπονομάζουσα νόμον. εἰ δ' ἀνθρώπος εἰς ἡ ὀλυγαρχία τις ἢ καὶ δημοκρατία ψυχὴν ἔχουσα ἥδοναν καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν ὀρεγομένην καὶ πληροῦσθαι τοῦτων δεομένην, στέγουσαν δὲ οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἀνυνύτω καὶ ἀπλήστω κακῶν ¹ νοσήματι ἐννεχομένην, ἀρξεὶ δὴ πόλεως ἡ τινος ἰδιώτου καταπατήσας ὁ τοιούτως τοὺς νόμους, ὁ νῦν δὴ Β ἐλέγομεν, οὖν ἔστι σωτηρίας μηχανῆ. σκοπεῖν δὴ δεὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἡμᾶς, ὡς Κλεινία, πότερον αὐτῷ πεισόμεθα ἢ πῶς δράσομεν.

κλ. Ἀνάγκη δὴ που πείθομεν.

α. Ἔννοείς οὖν ὅτι νόμων εἰδὴ τινὲς φασὶν εἶναι τοσάτα ὁσαπερ πολιτειῶν; πολιτειῶν δὲ ἀρτὶ διεληλύθαμεν ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ. μὴ δὴ φαύλουν πέρι νομίσματος εἶναι τὴν νῦν ἀμφισβήτησιν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου τὸ γὰρ ὄκαιν καὶ τὸ ἄδικον οἱ χρῆ βλέπειν, πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητούμενον ἐλήλυθεν. οὑτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον

C οὑτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὅλην βλέπειν δεῖν φασὶ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ἦτις ἀν καθεστηκυῖα ἡ πολιτεία,

¹ κακῶν Heindorf: κακῷ MSS. (Hermann and Schanz bracket νοσήματι)

¹ A double word-play: νοῦς = νόμος, and διανομᾶς = δαλμονας. Laws, being “the dispensations of reason,” take the place of the “daemons” of the age of Cronos: the divine
And even to-day this tale has a truth to tell, namely, that wherever a State has a mortal, and no god, for ruler, there the people have no rest from ills and toils; and it deems that we ought by every means to imitate the life of the age of Cronos, as tradition paints it, and order both our homes and our States in obedience to the immortal element within us, giving to reason's ordering the name of "law." But if an individual man or an oligarchy or a democracy, possessed of a soul which strives after pleasures and lusts and seeks to surfeit itself therewith, having no continence and being the victim of a plague that is endless and insatiate of evil,—if such an one shall rule over a State or an individual by trampling on the laws, then there is (as I said just now) no means of salvation. This, then, is the statement, Clinias, which we have to examine, to see whether we believe it, or what we are to do.

CLIN. We must, of course, believe it.

ATH. Are you aware that, according to some, there are as many kinds of laws as there are kinds of constitutions? And how many constitutions are commonly recognized we have recently recounted. Please do not suppose that the problem now raised is one of small importance; rather it is of the highest importance. For we are again faced with the problem as to what ought to be the aim of justice and injustice. The assertion of the people I refer to is this,—that the laws ought not to aim either at war or at goodness in general, but ought to have regard to the benefit of the established element in man (τὸ δαιμόνιον), which claims obedience, is reason (φρονής).

712 C ff. 3 Cp. 630 B, 690 B, C.
ταῦτῃ δεῖν <ideív>1 τὸ ξυμφέρον, ὡς ἀρξεῖ τε ἂεὶ καὶ μὴ καταλυθῆσεται, καὶ τὸν φύσει ὄρουν τοῦ δικαίου λέγεσθαι κάλλισθ' οὕτως.

κλ. Πῶς;
α. Ἀς. "Ὅτι τὸ τοῦ κρέιττονος ξυμφέρον ἐστὶ."
κλ. Λέγ' ἐτι σαφέστερον.
α. Όδε. τίθεται δὴ που, φασί, τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάστοτε τὸ κρατοῦν. ἡ γάρ;
κλ. Ἀληθὴ λέγεις.
α. Ἀρ' οὖν οἶει, φασί, ποτὲ δὴμον νικήσαντα ἡ τίνα πολιτείαν ἀλλην ἡ καὶ τύραννον θίσεσθαι ἐκόντα πρὸς ἄλλο τι πρῶτον νόμους ἡ τὸ συμφέροι ἐαυτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μένειν;
κλ. Πῶς γάρ ἂν;
α. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅσ ἂν ταῦτα τὰ τεθέντα παραβαίνῃ, κολάσει ὁ θέμενος ὡς ἄδικοντα, δίκαια εἶναι ταῦτ' ἐπονομάζων;
κλ. Ὅσικε γοῦν.
α. Ταῦτ' ἁρ' ἂεὶ καὶ οὖτω καὶ ταῦτῃ τὸ δίκαιον ἂν ἔχοι.
κλ. Φησὶ γοῦν οὖτος ὁ λόγος.
Ε α. Ἀς. Ἐστὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἑκείνων τῶν ἄξιωμάτων2 ἀρχῆς πέρι.
κλ. Ποῖων δὴ;
α. Τὸν ἀ τὸτε ἐπεσκοποῦμεν, τίνας τίνων ἀρχεῖν δεῖ. καὶ ἑφάνη δὴ γονέας μὲν ἐκγόνων, νεωτέρων δὲ προσβυτέρους, γενναίους δὲ ἀγεννών καὶ συχνὰ ἀττα ἢν ἄλλ', εἰ μεμνημέθα, καὶ

1 <ideív> 1 add (ideív for deív Schneider).
2 ἄξιωμάτων Schulthess: δικαιωμάτων Zur.: ἀδικημάτων MSS.

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polity, whatever it may be, so that it may keep in power for ever and never be dissolved; and that the natural definition of justice is best stated in this way.

CLIN. In what way?

ATH. That justice is “what benefits the stronger.”

CLIN. Explain yourself more clearly.

ATH. This is how it is:—the laws (they say) in a State are always enacted by the stronger power? Is it not so?

CLIN. That is quite true.

ATH. Do you suppose, then (so they argue), that a democracy or any other government—even a tyrant—if it has gained the mastery, will of its own accord set up laws with any other primary aim than that of securing the permanence of its own authority?

CLIN. Certainly not.

ATH. Then the lawgiver will style these enactments “justice,” and will punish every transgressor as guilty of injustice.

CLIN. That is certainly probable.

ATH. So these enactments will thus and herein always constitute justice.

CLIN. That is, at any rate, what the argument asserts.

ATH. Yes, for this is one of those “agreed claims” concerning government.

CLIN. What “claims”?

ATH. Those which we dealt with before,—claims as to who should govern whom. It was shown that parents should govern children, the older the younger, the high-born the low-born, and (if you remember) there were many other claims, some of

2 Cp. 690 B.
ἐμπόδια ἐτερα ἐτέροισιν. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἣν αὐτῶν τούτῳ, καὶ ἔφαμὲν ποὺ κατὰ φύσιν τὸν νόμον ἄγειν δικαίωντα τὸ βιούσατον, ὡς φάναι <τὸν Πίνδαρον>. 1

κα. Ναὶ, ταῦτ' ἦν ἀ τὸ τε ἐλέχθη.

α. Σκόπει δὴ ποτέροις τισιν ἡ πόλις ἢμῖν ἐστὶ παραδοτέα. γέγονε γὰρ δὴ μυριάκις ἢδη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν τισὶ πόλεσιν.

κα. Τὸ ποῖον;

α. Ἀρχῶν περιμαχήτων γενομένων οἱ νυκή- σαντες τὰ τε πράγματα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔτως ἐσφετέρισαν σφόδρα, ὅστε ἀρχῆς μηδ’ ὡσεός μεταδιδόταν τοῖς ἤπτηθεῖσι, μήτε αὐτοῖς μήτε ἐκγόνοις, παραφυλάττοντες δὲ ἀλλήλους ξύσιν, Β ὅπως μὴ ποτὲ τις εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀφικόμενος ἔπαναστῇ μεμνημένος τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γεγονότων κακῶν. ταῦτας δὴ ποὺ φαμεν ἡμεῖς νῦν οὔτε εἶναι πολιτείας, οὔτ’ ὀρθοὺς νόμους ὅσοι μὴ ξυμπάσχας τὴς πόλεως ἕνεκα τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐτέθησαν’ οὐ δ’ ἕνεκα τινῶν, στασιωτείας ἀλλ’ οὗ πολιτείας τούτους φαμέν, καὶ τὰ τούτων δίκαια ἀ φασιν εἶναι, μάτην εἰρήσθαι. λέγεται δὲ τοῦθ’ ἕνεκα ταῦθ’ ἢμῖν, ὡς ἡμεῖς τῇ σῇ πόλει ἀρχαῖς οὐθ’ ὅτι πλούσιος

C ἐστὶ τις δώσομεν, οὐθ’ ὅτι τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀλλο οὐδὲν κεκτημένος, ἵσχυν ἥ μέγεθος ἥ τι γένος· ὅς δ’ ἄν τοῖς τεθεὶσι νόμοις εὑπειθέστατός τ’ ἦ καὶ νικᾷ ταῦτην τὴν νίκην ἐν τῇ πόλει, τούτω

1 νόμον Badham (adding τὸν Πίνδαρον after φάναι): Πίνδαρον MSS., edd.

1 Cp. 690 B, with the footnote.
which were conflicting. The claim before us is one of these, and we said that—to quote Pindar—"the law marches with nature when it justifies the right of might."

CLIN. Yes, that is what was said then.

ATH. Consider now, to which class of men should we entrust our State. For the condition referred to is one that has already occurred in States thousands of times.

CLIN. What condition?

ATH. Where offices of rule are open to contest, the victors in the contest monopolise power in the State so completely that they offer not the smallest share in office to the vanquished party or their descendants; and each party keeps a watchful eye on the other, lest anyone should come into office and, in revenge for the former troubles, cause a rising against them. Such polities we, of course, deny to be polities, just as we deny that laws are true laws unless they are enacted in the interest of the common weal of the whole State. But where the laws are enacted in the interest of a section, we call them "feudalities" rather than "polities"; and the "justice" they ascribe to such laws is, we say, an empty name. Our reason for saying this is that in your State we shall assign office to a man, not because he is wealthy, nor because he possesses any other quality of the kind—such as strength or size or birth; but the ministration of the laws must be assigned, as we assert, to that man who is most obedient to the laws and wins the victory for

2 A word coined (like the Greek) to suggest a constitution based on "feuds" or party-divisions.
φαμεν καὶ τὴν τῶν τεθέντων ὑπηρεσίαν δοτέον εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην τῷ πρῶτῳ, καὶ δευτέραν τῷ τὰ δεύτερα κρατοῦντι, καὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτω τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τὰ μετὰ ταῦθ’ ἐκαστα ἀποδοτέον εἶναι. τοὺς δ’ ἄρχοντας λεγομένους νῦν ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἐκάλεσα οὗ τι καινοτομίας ὀνομάτων ἐνεκα,

D ἀλλ’ ἥγουμαι παντὸς μᾶλλον εἶναι παρὰ τούτο σωτηρίαν τε πόλει καὶ τούναντίον. ἐν ἦ μὲν γὰρ ἄν ἄρχόμενος ἢ καὶ ἀκυρος νόμος, φθορὰν ὀρῶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐτοίμῳ οὐσαν’ ἐν ἦ δὲ ἄν δεσπότης τῶν ἄρχωντων, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες δοῦλοι τοῦ νόμου, σωτηρίαν καὶ πάνθ’ ὀσα θεοὶ πόλεσιν ἔδοσαν ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καθορῶ.

κα. Ναι μὰ Δ’, ὦ ξένε. καθ’ ἠλικίαι γὰρ ὧν βλέπεις.

α. Νέος μὲν γὰρ ὅν πᾶς ἀνθρωπὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμβλύτατα αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὀρᾶ, γέρων δὲ ὅξυτάτα.

κα. Ἀληθέστατα.

α. Τῇ δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταὐτά; ἄρ’ οὐχ ἠκούσας μὲν καὶ παρόντας θῶμεν τοὺς ἑποίκους, τῶν δ’ ἔξης αὐτοῖς διαπεραντέουν ἄν εἰη λόγον;

κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

α. ’’Ἀνδρες τοῖνυν φῶμεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὀσπέρ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἄρχην τε καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσα τῶν οὐτων ἀπαντῶν ἔχων, 716 εὐθεία περαινεῖ κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· τῷ δ’ ἔιε ἕνοπτεραι Δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, ὡς ὁ μὲν εὐδαιμονῆσειν

1 τεθέντων my conj. (also Apelt, independently): θεῶν MSS.

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1 “Magistrates” = rulers; “ministers” = subjects, or servants.

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obedience in the State,—the highest office to the first, the next to him that shows the second degree of mastery, and the rest must similarly be assigned, each in succession, to those that come next in order. And those who are termed "magistrates" I have now called "ministers" of the laws, not for the sake of coining a new phrase, but in the belief that salvation, or ruin, for a State hangs upon nothing so much as this. For wherever in a State the law is subservient and impotent, over that State I see ruin impending; but wherever the law is lord over the magistrates, and the magistrates are servants to the law, there I descry salvation and all the blessings that the gods bestow on States.

CLIN. Aye, by Heaven, Stranger; for, as befits your age, you have keen sight.

ATH. Yes; for a man's vision of such objects is at its dullest when he is young, but at its keenest when he is old.

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. What, then, is to be our next step? May we not assume that our immigrants have arrived and are in the country, and should we not proceed with our address to them?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. Let us, then, speak to them thus:—"O men, that God who, as old tradition tells, holdeth the beginning, the end, and the centre of all things that exist, completeth his circuit by nature's ordinance in straight, unswerving course. With him followeth Justice always, as avenger of them that fall short of the divine law; and she, again, is followed by

2 Probably Orphic, quoted thus by the Scholiast: Ζεύς ἀρχή, Ζεύς μέσος, Δίος δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
The expression "like to like" became proverbial, like our "Birds of a feather," etc. Usually it was applied more to the bad than to the good (or "moderate") to which Plato here restricts it.
every man who would fain be happy, cleaving to her with lowly and orderly behaviour; but whoso is uplifted by vainglory, or prideth himself on his riches or his honours or his comeliness of body, and through this pride joined to youth and folly, is inflamed in soul with insolence, dreaming that he has no need of ruler or guide, but rather is competent himself to guide others,—such an one is abandoned and left behind by the God, and when left behind he taketh to him others of like nature, and by his mad prancings throweth all into confusion: to many, indeed, he seemeth to be some great one, but after no long time he payeth the penalty, not unmerited, to Justice, when he bringeth to total ruin himself, his house, and his country. Looking at these things, thus ordained, what ought the prudent man to do, or to devise, or to refrain from doing?"

clin. The answer is plain: Every man ought so to devise as to be of the number of those who follow in the steps of the God.

ATH. What conduct, then, is dear to God and in his steps? One kind of conduct, expressed in one ancient phrase,\(^1\) namely, that "like is dear to like" when it is moderate, whereas immoderate things are dear neither to one another nor to things moderate. In our eyes God will be "the measure of all things" in the highest degree—a degree much higher than is any "man" they talk of.\(^2\) He, then, that is to become dear to such an one must needs become, so far as he possibly can, of a like character; and, according to the present argument, he amongst us

\(^{2}\) An allusion to the dictum of the sophist Protagoras—"Man is the measure of all things," cp. Cratyl. 386 A ff.; Theaet. 152 A.
D theo filos, omoios gar, o de mythoiforos anomyios
te Kai diaiforos Kai <o> 1 adikos: Kai talle
outo katata ton auton logon exe. noimo mou di
toitou epomenv einai ton toutide logon, aptantou
kalistou kai altheistatou, oimai, logon, ws tw
men agathw thein kai prosoomilein eiei 2 tois theis
eucais kai anathimasi kai xumpsi therapeia
theon kalistou kai aristou kai anusimatoan
pros ton euqamova bion Kai de kai diaferontos

E prepon, tw de kakw touton tanahtia pefewke
akitarbaton gar tin physin o ge kakos, katharos
de o enantios: parada de miaro othro oyt anb
agathon ohte theon esti pota to ge othou dekhesha

717 maitin ouv peri theous o polis esti pono tois
anosias, tois de siois ekairotatos apasi
skopo mou ouv humin outo o de stoixseis
bela de autou kai ouv h tois blesein efesis,
ta poi an gignomeva 3 orhotata phorit an;
proton mou, famen, tiwes tas met 'Olympion
te Kai tois tin polin echontas theous tois chthonios
an tis theis arxia [kai deuter] 4 Kai aristera
vemn orhotata to tis evsebeias skopou twn

B xanois, tois de touton anwthen [tata peritt] 5 Kai
antifwna tois empresven rheisiin vun de. meta
theous de toisde kai tois daimoun o y' emphron

1 <o> added by Ritter (Schanz brackets kal adikos).
2 de Burges, Schanz: de MSS. : deh Znr., al.
3 gignomeva H. Richards: legeomeva MSS.
5 [tata peritt] bracketed by Burnet.

1 This account of the ritual proper to the worship of the
various deities is obscure. Plainly, however, it is based on
the Pythagorean doctrine of "Opposites," in which the Odd
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that is temperate is dear to God, since he is like him, while he that is not temperate is unlike and at enmity,—as is also he who is unjust, and so likewise with the rest, by parity of reasoning. On this there follows, let us observe, this further rule,—and of all rules it is the noblest and truest,—that to engage in sacrifice and communion with the gods continually, by prayers and offerings and devotions of every kind, is a thing most noble and good and helpful towards the happy life, and superlatively fitting also, for the good man; but for the wicked, the very opposite. For the wicked man is unclean of soul, whereas the good man is clean; and from him that is defiled no good man, nor god, can ever rightly receive gifts. Therefore all the great labour that impious men spend upon the gods is in vain, but that of the pious is most profitable to them all. Here, then, is the mark at which we must aim; but as to the shafts we should shoot, and (so to speak) the flight of them,—what kind of shafts, think you, would fly most straight to the mark? First of all, we say, if—after the honours paid to the Olympians and the gods who keep the State—we should assign the Even and the Left as their honours to the gods of the under-world, we would be aiming most straight at the mark of piety—as also in assigning to the former gods the things superior, the opposites of these. Next after these gods the wise man will

(number) is "superior" to the Even, and the "Right" (side) to the "Left" (as also the "Male" to the "Female"). It is here laid down that "honours" (or worship) of the "superior" grade are to be offered only to the deities of Olympus, or of the State, and inferior honours only to the deities of the underworld. In Greek augury, also, the left was the side of ill omen (sinister), whereas in Roman augury the right is so.
οργιάζοντ’ ἄν, ἢρωσὶ δὲ μετὰ τούτοις. ἔπακο-
λουθεὶ δ’ αὐτοῖς ἰδρύματα ἱδία πατρών θεῶν
κατὰ νόμον ὁργιαζόμενα: γονέων δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα
τιμαὶ ξώντων, οἷς θέμις ὀφείλοντα ἀποτίνευ τὰ
πρῶτα τε καὶ μέγιστα ὀφειλήματα, χρεῶν πάντων
πρεσβύτατα: νομίζειν δὲ, ἃ κέκτηται καὶ ἐξεῖ,
pάντα εἶναι τῶν γεννησάντων καὶ θρεψαμένων
C πρὸς τὸ παρέχειν αὐτὰ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκείνοις
κατὰ δύναμιν πᾶσαν, ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς οὐσίας,
δεύτερα τὰ τοῦ σώματος, τρίτα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς,
ἀποτίνοντα δανείσματα ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ ὑπερπο-
νούντων ὁδίνας παλαιὰς ἐπὶ νέοις δανεισθείσας,
ἀποδίδοντα δὲ παλαιοῖς ἐν τῷ γῆρα σφόδρα κεχρη-
μένοις. παρὰ δὲ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔχειν τε καὶ
ἐσχηκέναι χρὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ γονέας εὐφημίαν
D διαφερόντως, διότι κούφων καὶ πτηνῶν λόγων
βαρυτάτη ξημία· πᾶσι γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος τοῖς περὶ
tὰ τοιαῦτα ἑτάξθη Δίκης Νέμεσις ἀγγέλος. θυ-
μουμένοις τε οὖν ὑπείκειν δεῖ καὶ ἀποπιπλάσι
tῶν θυμῶν, εάν τ’ ἐν λόγοις εάν τ’ ἐν ἐργοῖς δρόσι
τὸ τοιοῦτον, εὐγγιγνώσκοντα ὡς εἰκότως μάλιστα
πατὴρ νίεῖ δοξάζων ἀδικεῖσθαι θυμοῖτ’ ἄν δια-
φερόντως. τελευτησάντων δὲ γονέων ταῤῥι μὲν
ἡ σωφρονεστάτη καλλιστή, μὴ ὑπεραιροῦ
tῶν εἰθιπμένων ὁγκῶν μὴ ἐξελέποντα διὸν ὁ
E προπάτορες τοῖς ἑαυτῶν γεννηταῖς ἔτιθεσαν, τὰς
τε αὐ καὶ ἑνιαυτὸν τῶν ἰδή τέλος ἐχόντων
ὡσαύτως ἐπιμελείας τὰς κόσμον φεροῦσας ἀπο-

1 oǐs Hermann, after Ficinus: ὁς MSS.
2 τοῖς . . . γεννηταῖς Badham, Schanz: τοὺς . . . γεννητᾶς MSS.

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offer worship to the daemons, and after the daemons to the heroes. After these will come private shrines legally dedicated to ancestral deities; and next, honours paid to living parents. For to these duty enjoins that the debtor should pay back the first and greatest of debts, the most primary of all dues, and that he should acknowledge that all that he owns and has belongs to those who begot and reared him, so that he ought to give them service to the utmost of his power—with substance, with body, and with soul, all three,—thus making returns for the loans of care and pain spent on the children by those who suffered on their behalf in bygone years, and recompensing the old in their old age, when they need help most. And throughout all his life he must diligently observe reverence of speech towards his parents above all things, seeing that for light and winged words there is a most heavy penalty,—for over all such matters Nemesis, messenger of Justice, is appointed to keep watch;¹ wherefore the son must yield to his parents when they are wroth, and when they give rein to their wrath either by word or deed, he must pardon them, seeing that it is most natural for a father to be especially wroth when he deems that he is wronged by his own son. When parents die, the most modest funeral rites are the best, whereby the son neither exceeds the accustomed pomp, nor falls short of what his forefathers paid to their sires; and in like manner he should duly bestow the yearly attentions, which ensure honour, on the rites already com-

¹ Cp. S. Matth. xii. 36: “Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.”
διδόναις τῷ δὲ μὴ παραλείπειν μνήμην ἐνδελεχὴς παρεχόμενοι, τούτῳ μάλιστ' ἦλθε προσβεβείν, δια-πάνης τε τῆς διδομένης ὑπὸ τύχης τὸ μέτριον τοῖς κεκμηκόσι νέμοντα. ταῦτ' ἂν ποιοῦντες καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ξύνεις ἑκάστοτε ἑκαστοι τὴν ἄξιαν ἂν παρὰ θεῶν καὶ ὅσιον κρείττονος ἕμων κομιζοίμεθα, ἐν ἐλπίδων ἁγαθαίς διάγοντες τὸ πλείστον τοῦ βίου. ἐὰν δὲ πρὸς ἐγκόνους καὶ ἐγκαγεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ πολίτας ὅσα τε ἐξεικα πρὸς θεῶν θεραπεύματα καὶ ὀμιλίας ἄμπατοντων τούτων ἀποτελοῦντα τὸν ἕαυτοῦ βίον φαιδρυνάμενον κατὰ Β νόμων κοσμεῖν δεῖ, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἢ διέξοδος, τὰ μὲν πειθοῦσα, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπείκοντα πειθοῖ τῶν ἡθῶν βία καὶ δίκη κολάζουσα, τὴν πόλιν ἕμων ἄπωτοι ζημβουληθέντων θεῶν μακαρίαν τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνα ἀποτελεῖ. ἐὰν χρὴ μὲν αὗ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν νομοθέτην ὡς τοῖς ἀπερ ἐγὼ διανοεῖται, ἐν δὲ σχήματος νόμου ἀναριστεῖ λεγόμενα, τούτων πέρι δοκεῖ μοι <δεῖν> 1 δεῖγμα προενεγκόντα αὐτῷ τε θεῶν καὶ ἐκείνους ὡσ νομοθέτησε, τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα εἰς ἄνωμιν διεξελθοῦντα, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἅρξεσθαι τῆς θέσεως τῶν νόμων.

κλ. 2 Ἑστὶ δὲ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τίνι μάλιστα σχήματι κείμενα;

Ἀ. Οὐ πάνω βάδιον ἐν ἐνὶ περιλαβόντα εἰπεῖν αὐτὰ οἶον τῶι τύπῳ, ἀλλ' οὕτως τινα τρόπον λάβωμεν, ἀν τι δυνώμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν βεβαιώσασθαι.

κλ. Λέγε τὸ πολὺν.

1 <δεῖν> added by Apelt.
2 Here I follow Ast's arrangement; Zur. and most edd. give ἑστι . . κείμενα, with the rest, to Ath.

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pleted. He should always venerate them, by never failing to provide a continual memorial, and assigning to the deceased a due share of the means which fortune provides for expenditure. Every one of us, if we acted thus and observed these rules of life, would win always a due reward from the gods and from all that are mightier than ourselves, and would pass the greatest part of our lives in the enjoyment of hopes of happiness. As regards duties to children, relations, friends and citizens, and those of service done to strangers for Heaven's sake, and of social intercourse with all those classes,—by fulfilling which a man should brighten his own life and order it as the law enjoins,—the sequel of the laws themselves, partly by persuasion and partly (when men's habits defy persuasion) by forcible and just chastisement, will render our State, with the concurrence of the gods, a blessed State and a prosperous. There are also matters which a lawgiver, if he shares my view, must necessarily regulate, though they are ill-suited for statement in the form of a law; in dealing with these he ought, in my opinion, to produce a sample for his own use and that of those for whom he is legislating, and, after expounding all other matters as best he can, pass on next to commencing the task of legislation.

Clin. What is the special form in which such matters are laid down?

Ath. It is by no means easy to embrace them all in a single model of statement (so to speak); but let us conceive of them in some such way as this, in case we may succeed in affirming something definite about them.

Clin. Tell us what that "something" is.
α. Βουλοίμην ἀν αὐτοὺς ὡς εὐπέπεθεστάτοις πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἴναι, καὶ δὴ λοι πειράσεται τούτο ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ἀπάσῃ ποιεῖν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ.

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κα. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

α. Τὰ τοίνυν δὴ λεχθέντα ἐδοξὲ τί μοι προύργουν δράν εἰς τὸ περὶ ὧν ἂν παραινῇ μὴ παντάπασιν ὡμαῖς ψυχαῖς [λαβόμενα], μᾶλλον δὲ ἡμερώτερον τε ἂν ἀκούειν καὶ εὔμενέστερον ὡστε εἰ καὶ μὴ μέγα τι, σμικρὸν δὲ τὸν ἄκουοντα, ὀπερ φημὶ, εὔμενέστερον γνοσμένον εὐμαθέστερον ἀπεργάσεται, πάνυ ἀγαπήτων... οὐ γὰρ πολλὴ τις εὐπέτεια ὡδὲ ἄφθονία τῶν προθυμομένων ὡς ἀρίστων ὅτι μᾶλλον καὶ ὁπλίστα

Ε γένεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον οἱ πολλοὶ σοφοὶ ἀποφαίνουσι λέγοντα ὡς ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν κακότητα ὅδος λεία καὶ ἀνιδίτι παρέχει πορεύεσθαι, μάλα βραχεία οὖσα,

719

τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς, φησίν, ἱδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν

ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅρθιος οἴμος ἐς αὐτὴν, καὶ τριχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπὶ δὲ εἰς ἄκρον ἰκηνὶ, ῥηίδι δὴ 'πειτα φέρει, χαλεπὴ περ ἐοῦσα.

κα. Καὶ καλῶς γ' ἐοικε λέγοντι.

α. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὁ δὲ προάγων λόγος ὃ γέ μοι ἀπειργασταί, βούλομαι ὡμῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θεῖαι.

κα. Τίθει δή.

α. Λέγωμεν δὴ τῷ νομοθέτῃ διαλεγόμενοι

1 ὡμαῖς ψυχαῖς: ὡμῆς ψυχῆς MSS. λαβόμενα (in marg. of MSS.) bracketed by Madvig, Schanz.

2 φημὶ Vermehren: φησίν MSS.
LAWS, BOOK IV

ATH. I should desire the people to be as docile as possible in the matter of virtue; and this evidently is what the legislator will endeavour to effect in all his legislation.

CLIN. Assuredly.

ATH. I thought the address we have made might prove of some help in making them listen to its monitions with souls not utterly savage, but in a more civil and less hostile mood. So that we may be well content if, as I say, it renders the hearer even but a little more docile, because a little less hostile. For there is no great plenty or abundance of persons anxious to become with all speed as good as possible; the majority, indeed, serve to show how wise Hesiod was when he said,1 "smooth is the way that leadeth unto wickedness," and that "no sweat is needed to traverse it," since it is "passing short," but (he says)—

"In front of goodness the immortal gods
Have set the sweat of toil, and thereunto
Long is the road and steep, and rough withal
The first ascent; but when the crest is won,
'Tis easy travelling, albeit 'twas hard."

CLIN. The poet speaks nobly, I should say.

ATH. He certainly does. Now I wish to put before you what I take to be the result of the foregoing argument.

CLIN. Do so.

ATH. Let us address the lawgiver and say:


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3 πάνω Badham: πάν MSS.
τόδε, Εἰπὲ ἡμῖν, ὦ νομοθέτα, εἴπερ ὁ τι χρῆ Β πράττειν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν εἰδεῖς, ἃρ' οὖ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἂν εἴποις;
κλ. Ἀναγκαῖον.
Α. Ὁμικρὰ δὴ πρόσθεν ἃρα οὖκ ἠκούσαμέν σοι λέγοντος ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην οὖ δεῖ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ποιεῖν ὃ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἥ φίλον; οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰδεῖν τί ποτ' ἐναντίον τοῖς νόμοις ἂν λέγοντες βλάπτοιεν τὴν πόλιν.
κλ. Ἀληθὴ μέντοι λέγεις.
Α. 'Τιτέρ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν εἰ τάδε λέγοιμεν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἃρ' ἂν τὰ λεχθέντα εἰν μέτρια;
κλ. Ποία;
C Α. Τάδε: Παλαιὸς μῦθος, ὥ νομοθέτα, ὑπὸ τε αὐτῶν ἡμῶν ἂει λεγόμενος ἔστι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι ἐξυπνομένος, ὅτι ποιητής, ὅπως ἐν τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς Μούσης καθιζήσει, τότε οὖκ ἔμφρων ἔστιν, οἷον δὲ κρήνη της τὸ ἐπὶ ὅν ρεῖν ἐτοίμως ἔδ., καὶ τῆς τέχνης οὕσης μιμήσεως ἀναγκάζεται ἐναντίοις ἀλλήλοις ἀνθρώποις ποιῶν διατιθεμένους ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις, οἷς δὲ οὔτ' εἰ ταῦτα οὔτ' εἰ θάτερα ἀληθῆ τῶν λεγόμενων. τὸ δὲ νομοθέτη τοῦτο οὖκ ἔστι ποιεῖν ἐν D τῷ νόμῳ, δύο περὶ ἐνός, ἀλλὰ ἔνα περὶ ἐνός ἂεὶ δεὶ λόγον ἀποφαίνεσθαι. σκέψαι δ' εἰς αὐτῶν τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντων. οὕσης γὰρ ταφῆς τῆς μὲν ὑπερβεβλημένης, τῆς δὲ ἐλλειπούσης, τῆς δὲ μετρίας, τῆς μίαν ἔλομενος σὺ, τῆν μέσην, ταύτην προστάτεις καὶ ἐπήνεσας ἄπλος. ἐγὼ δὲ, εἰ μὲν γυνὴ μοι διαφέρουσα εἰν πλούτῳ καὶ

1 δὴ: ἄν MSS. (bracketed by Ast, Schanz)

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"Tell us, O lawgiver: if you knew what we ought to do and say, is it not obvious that you would state it?"

CLIN. Inevitably.

ATH. "Now did not we hear you saying a little while ago that the lawgiver should not permit the poets to compose just as they please? For they would not be likely to know what saying of theirs might be contrary to the laws and injurious to the State."

CLIN. That is quite true.

ATH. Would our address be reasonable, if we were to address him on behalf of the poets in these terms?

CLIN. What terms?

ATH. These:—"There is, O lawgiver, an ancient saying—constantly repeated by ourselves and endorsed by everyone else—that whenever a poet is seated on the Muses' tripod, he is not in his senses, but resembles a fountain, which gives free course to the upward rush of water; and, since his art consists in imitation, he is compelled often to contradict himself, when he creates characters of contradictory moods; and he knows not which of these contradictory utterances is true. But it is not possible for the lawgiver in his law thus to compose two statements about a single matter; but he must always publish one single statement about one matter. Take an example from one of your own recent statements. A funeral may be either excessive or defective or moderate: of these three alternatives you chose one, the moderate, and this you prescribe, after praising it unconditionally. I, on the other hand, if (in my poem) I had a wife of sur-

1 656 ff.  
Cp. 719 D.  
2 Cp. 717 E.
θάπτειν αὐτὴν διακελεύοιτο ἐν τῷ ποιήματι, τὸν
Ε ὑπερβάλλοντα ἀν τάφου ἐπαινοίην, φειδωλὸς δ’
αὐ τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ τὸν καταδεά, μέτρου δὲ
οὐσίας κεκτημένος καὶ μέτριος αὐτὸς ᾳν τὸν
αὐτὸν ἄν ἐπαινεσεῖ εἰς. 1 σοὶ δ’ οὐχ οὕτω
ῥητέον ὡς νῦν εἴπης μέτρου εἰπὼν, ἄλλα τί τὸ
μέτριον καὶ ὀπόσον ῥητέον, ἢ τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον
μῆπω σοι διανοοῦ γίγνεσθαι νόμον.
κα. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

α. Πότερον οὖν ἡμῖν ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς
νόμοις μηδὲν τοιοῦτον προαγορεύῃ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν
720 νόμων, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ φράζῃ τε
καὶ ἐπαπειλήσας τὴν ξημίαν ἐπ’ ἄλλον τρέπηται
νόμον, παραμυθίας δὲ καὶ πειθώς τοῖς νομο-
θετουμένοις μηδὲ ἐν προσδιδῷ; καθάπερ ιατρὸς
δὲ τις ὃ μὲν οὕτως, ὃ δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἡμᾶς εἰσθέν
ἐκάστοτε θεραπεύειν,—ἀναμμυνησκόμεθα δὲ τὸν
τρόπον ἐκάτερον, ἢν τοῦ νομοθέτου δεώμεθα,
καθάπερ ιατρὸν δέοιντο ἀν παῖδες τὸν πραώτατον
αὐτὸν θεραπεύειν τρόπον έαυτοῦς. οἱν δὴ τί
λέγομεν; εἰσὶ ποὺ τινὲς ιατροῦ, φαμέν, καὶ τινὲς
ὑπηρέται τῶν ιατρῶν, ιατροὺς δὲ καλοῦμεν δὴ
ποὺ καὶ τούτους.

β κα. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

α. 'Εάν τέ γ’ ἐλεύθεροι ὃσιν ἐάν τε δούλοι,
κατ’ ἐπίταξιν δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ
κατ’ ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κτώνται, κατὰ φύσιν
δὲ μή, καθάπερ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι αὐτοὶ τε μεμαθήκασιν

1 ἐπαινεσεῖ εἰς: ἐπαινεσοὶ MSS. (ἐπαινολῇ σοι Badham).
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passing wealth, and she were to bid me bury her, would extol the tomb of excessive grandeur; while a poor and stingy man would praise the defective tomb, and the person of moderate means, if a moderate man himself, would praise the same one as you. But you should not merely speak of a thing as 'moderate,' in the way you have now done, but you should explain what 'the moderate' is, and what is its size; otherwise it is too soon for you to propose that such a statement should be made law."

CLIN. Exceedingly true.

ATH. Should, then, our appointed president of the laws commence his laws with no such prefatory statement, but declare at once what must be done and what not, and state the penalty which threatens disobedience, and so turn off to another law, without adding to his statutes a single word of encouragement and persuasion? Just as is the way with doctors, one treats us in this fashion, and another in that: they have two different methods, which we may recall, in order that, like children who beg the doctor to treat them by the mildest method, so we may make a like request of the law-giver. Shall I give an illustration of what I mean? There are men that are doctors, we say, and others that are doctors' assistants; but we call the latter also, to be sure, by the name of "doctors."

CLIN. We do.

ATH. These, whether they be free-born or slaves, acquire their art under the direction of their masters, by observation and practice and not by the study of nature—which is the way in which the free-born doctors have learnt the art themselves and in which
οὕτω τούς τε αὐτῶν διδάσκουσιν παῖδας. θείης ἄν ταῦτα δύο γένη τῶν καλομένων ἰατρῶν;
κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὕ; 
α. 'Αρ' οὖν καὶ ξυννοεῖς ὅτι δούλων καὶ 
C ἐλευθέρων ὄντων τῶν καμνότων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι 
τούς μὲν δούλους σχεδὸν τι οἱ δούλοι τὰ πολλὰ 
ἰατρεύοντες περιτρέχοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰατρεῖοις 
περιμένοντες καὶ οὔτε τινὰ λόγον ἐκάστου πέρι 
νοσήματος ἐκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδεὶς τῶν τουμο-
των ἰατρῶν δίδωσιν οὐδ' ἀποδέχεται, προστάξας 
δ' αὐτῷ τὰ δόξαντα ἐξ ἐμπειρίας ὡς ἀκριβῶς 
eidός, καθάπερ τύραννος, αὐθαδὸς οἰχεῖτα ἀπο-
πηδήσας πρὸς ἅλλον κάμνοντα οἰκέτην, καὶ 
ῥαστώνην οὕτω τῷ δεσπότῃ παρασκευάζει τῶν 
D καμνότων τῆς ἐπιμελείας; ὁ δὲ ἐλευθεροὶ ὡς 
ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων νοσήματα 
θερατεύει τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων 
ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ κάμνοντι κοινού-
μενος αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ἀµα μὲν αὐτὸς 
μανθάνει τι παρὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων, ἀµα δὲ, καθ' 
ὅσον οἶος τ' ἔστι, διδάσκει τοῖς ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτῶν, 
καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπέταξε πρὶν ἂν τῇ ξυμπείσῃ, 
τότε δὲ μετὰ πειθοῦς ἡμερούμενον ἀεὶ παρασκευ-
E ἃξων τῶν κάμνοντα, εἰς τὴν ὑγίειαν ἄγων, ἀποτε-
λεῖν πειρᾶται. πότερον οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως ἰατρὸς 
τε ἱώμενος ἀμείνων καὶ γυμναστῆς γυμνάζων; 
διιχὴ τὴν μίαν ἀποτελῶν δύναμιν, ἢ μοναχῆ καὶ 
κατὰ τὸ χείρον τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ ἀγριώτερον ἀπερ-
γαζόμενον;
κλ. Πολὺ που διαφέρου, ὁ ξένε, τὸ διπλῆ.

1 Cp. 634 D, E; 722 B, C; 857 E.
they instruct their own disciples. Would you assert that we have here two classes of what are called "doctors"?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. You are also aware that, as the sick folk in the cities comprise both slaves and free men, the slaves are usually doctored by slaves, who either run round the town or wait in their surgeries; and not one of these doctors either gives or receives any account of the several ailments of the various domestics, but prescribes for each what he deems right from experience, just as though he had exact knowledge, and with the assurance of an autocrat; then up he jumps and off he rushes to another sick domestic, and thus he relieves his master in his attendance on the sick. But the free-born doctor is mainly engaged in visiting and treating the ailments of free men, and he does so by investigating them from the commencement and according to the course of nature; he talks with the patient himself and with his friends, and thus both learns himself from the sufferers and imparts instruction to them, so far as possible; and he gives no prescription until he has gained the patient’s consent, and only then, while securing the patient’s continued docility by means of persuasion, does he attempt to complete the task of restoring him to health. Which of these two methods of doctoring shows the better doctor, or of training, the better trainer? Should the doctor perform one and the same function in two ways, or do it in one way only and that the worse way of the two and the less humane?

CLIN. The double method, Stranger, is by far the better.
ΑΘ. Βούλει δή καὶ θεασώμεθα τὸ διπλοῦν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπλοῦν ἐν ταῖς νομοθεσίαις αὐταῖς γιγνόμενον;

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ βούλομαι;

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίν' ἄρα πρῶτον νόμον θεῖ; ἀν ὁ νομοθέτης; ἢρ' οὐ κατὰ φύσιν τὴν περὶ γενέσεως ἀρχὴν πρῶτην πόλεων πέρι κατακοσμήσει ταῖς τάξεσιν;

ΚΑ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. 'Αρχὴ δ' ἔστι τῶν γενέσεων πάσαις πόλεσιν ἢρ' οὐ χὴ τῶν γάμων συμμιξὶς καὶ κοινωνία;

ΚΑ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

ΑΘ. Γαμικοὶ δὴ νόμοι πρῶτοι κινδυνεύουσι τιθέμενοι καλῶς ἂν τίθεσθαι πρὸς ὀρθότητα πάση πόλει.

ΚΑ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Δέχομεν δὴ πρῶτον τὸν ἀπλοῦν. ἔχοι δ' ἂν πῶς; 1 ἵσως ὡδε γαμεὶν δὲ, ἐπειδὰν ἐτῶν ἡ τις B τριάκοντα, μέχρι ἐτῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα' εἰ δὲ μή, ξημοὐσθαι χρήματι τε καὶ ἀτιμία, χρήματι μὲν τόσοις καὶ τόσοις, τῇ καὶ τῇ δὲ ἀτιμία. ὃ μὲν ἀπλοὺς ἐστω τις τοιοῦτος περὶ γάμων, ὃ δὲ διπλοὺς ὅδε. γαμεὶν δὲ, ἐπειδὰν ἐτῶν ἡ τις τριάκοντα, μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, διανοηθέντα ὡς ἐστὶν ἡ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος φύσει τινι μετείληφεν ἀθανασίας, οὐ καὶ πέφυκεν ἐπιθυμίαν ᾿οσχειν πᾶς C πᾶσαν: τὸ γὰρ γενέσθαι κλείον καὶ μή ἀνώνυμον κεῖσθαι τετελευτηκότα τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν ἐπι-

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1 πᾶς; Badham, Schanz: πῶς MSS.

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1 Cp. 631 D, E.
ATH. Do you wish us to examine the double method and the single as applied also to actual legislation?

CLIN. Most certainly I wish it.

ATH. Come, tell me then, in Heaven’s name,—what would be the first law to be laid down by the lawgiver? Will he not follow the order of nature, and in his ordinances regulate first the starting-point of generation in States?

CLIN. Of course.

ATH. Does not the starting-point of generation in all States lie in the union and partnership of marriage?¹

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. So it seems that, if the marriage laws were the first to be enacted, that would be the right course in every State.

CLIN. Most assuredly.

ATH. Let us state the law in its simple form first: how will it run? Probably like this:—“A man shall marry when he is thirty years old and under five and thirty;² if he fails to do so, he shall be punished both by a fine in money and by degradation, the fine being of such and such an amount, and the degradation of such and such a kind.” Such shall be the simple form of marriage law. The double form shall be this,—“A man shall marry when he is thirty years old and under thirty-five, bearing in mind that this is the way by which the human race, by nature’s ordinance, shares in immortality, a thing for which nature has implanted in everyone a keen desire. The desire to win glory, instead of lying in a name-

¹ But cp. 772 D. Cp. also Ar. Pol. 1252a 28.
θυμία. γένος οὖν ἄνθρωπων ἐστὶ τῷ ἐχθρῷ καὶ συνεργεῖται, τότε γὰρ τῷ τρόπῳ ἀθάνατον ὅτι τῷ παίδιας παῖδων καταλειπόμενον ταύτων καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἑις γενέσει τῆς ἀθανασίας μετειληφέναι. τοῦτο δὴ ἀποστερεῖν ἐκόντα έαυτὸν οὐδέποτε ὁσίον, ἐκ προνοίας δὲ ἀποστερεῖ δὲ ἄν παῖδων καὶ ἐγνατικὸς ἀμελή. πειθόμενος μὲν οὖν τῷ νόμῳ ἀξίμας ἀπαλλάττοιτο ἂν, μὴ πειθόμενος δὲ αὐτῷ μηδε γαμῶν έτη τριάκοντα γεγονὼς καὶ πέντε ζημιούσθω μὲν κατ’ ἐναυτῶν τόσῳ καὶ τόσῳ, ἵνα μὴ δοκῇ τὴν μοναυλίαν οἱ κέρδος καὶ βαστώνῃ φέρειν, μὴ μετεχέτω δὲ τούμῳ ὅτι οἱ νεώτεροι ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς πρεσβύτερους αὐτῶν τιμῶσιν ἐκάστοτε. τοῦτον δὴ παρ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν νόμον ἀκούσαντα ἐξεστὶ περὶ ἑνὸς ἐκάστου διανοηθῆναι, πότερον αὐτοῖς διπλοὺς οὕτω δεῖ γίγνεσθαι τῷ μήκει τὸ σμικρότατον, διὰ τὸ πείθειν τε ἅμα καὶ ἀπειλεῖν, ἢ τῷ ἀπειλεῖν μόνον χρωμένους ἀπλοὺς γίγνεσθαι τοῖς μήκεσιν.

με. Πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Δακωνικοῦ τρόπου, δὲ ἔχει, τὸ τὰ βραχύτερα ἂεὶ προτιμών τούτων μὴν τῶν γραμμάτων εἰς τις κρίσιν ἐμὲ κελεύων γίγνεσθαι πότερα βουλοίμην ἂν ἐν τῇ πόλει μοι γεγραμμένα τεθῆναι, τὰ μακρότερὰ ἄν ἐλοίμην, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ παντὸς νόμου κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ παράδειγμα, εἰ γίγνοιτο ἐκάτερα, ταύτων τούτω μὴν ἑιροίμην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ ποῦ καὶ Κλεινία τῶν ἄρέσειν δεὶ τὰ νῦν νομοθετούμενα: τοῦτον γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡ νῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις [νόμοις]1 χρήσθαι διανοουμένη.

less grave, aims at a like object. Thus mankind is by nature coeval with the whole of time, in that it accompanies it continually both now and in the future; and the means by which it is immortal is this:—by leaving behind it children’s children and continuing ever one and the same, it thus by reproduction shares in immortality. That a man should deprive himself thereof voluntarily is never an act of holiness; and he who denies himself wife and children is guilty of such intentional deprivation. He who obeys the law may be dismissed without penalty, but he that disobeys and does not marry when thirty-five years old shall pay a yearly fine of such and such an amount,—lest he imagine that single life brings him gain and ease,—and he shall have no share in the honours which are paid from time to time by the younger men in the State to their seniors.” When one hears and compares this law with the former one, it is possible to judge in each particular case whether the laws ought to be at least double in length, through combining threats with persuasion, or only single in length, through employing threats alone.

Meg. Our Laconian way, Stranger, is to prefer brevity always. But were I bidden to choose which of these two statutes I should desire to have enacted in writing in my State, I should choose the longer; and what is more, I should make the same choice in the case of every law in which, as in the example before us, these two alternatives were offered. It is necessary, however, that the laws we are now enacting should have the approval of our friend Clinias also; for it is his State which is now proposing to make use of such things.
κα. Καλῶς ὦ, ὁ Μέγιλλε, εἶπες.

α. Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ πολλῶν ἡ ὀλίγων γραμμάτων ποιήσασθαι τὸν λόγον λίαν εὐηθεῖς: τὰ γὰρ, οἵματι, βέλτιστα ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ βραχύτατα

β. οὐδὲ τὰ μῆκη τιμητέον: τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς νῦν δὴ νόμοις ῥηθεῖσιν οὐ διπλῶθατερα τῶν ἑτέρων διάφορα μόνον εἰς ἅρετὴν τής χρείας, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νῦν δή, τὸ τῶν διττῶν ἰατρῶν γένος ὀρθότατα παρετέθη. πρὸς τούτο δὲ οὐδεὶς ἐοικε διανοηθῆναι πῶς τοῦτον νομοθετῶν ὡς ἐξὼν δυοῖν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας, πειθοῖ καὶ βίᾳ, καθ' ὅσον οἶον τε ἐπὶ τὸν ἀπειρὸν παιδείας ὀχλὸν τῶν ἑτέρων χρῶνται μόνων ὁ γὰρ πειθοὶ κεράν

κ. νῦντες τὴν ἀνάγκην νομοθετῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀκράτῳ μόνον τῇ βίᾳ. ἐγὼ δὲ, ὦ μακάριοι, καὶ τρίτων ἐτὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους ὅρῳ γίγνεσθαι δέον οὐδαμῇ τὰ νῦν γιγνόμενον.

κα. Τὸ ποίον δὴ λέγεις;

α. Ἐξ αὐτῶν δὴ νῦν διειλέγμεθα ἡμεῖς κατὰ θεὸν των γεγονός. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅσον περὶ τῶν νόμων ἡγήμεθα λέγειν ἐβοῦλοι μεσημβρία τε γέγονε καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ παγκάλῃ ἀναπαύλῃ τινὶ γεγόναμεν, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἐν ταύτῃ νόμων διαλεγόμενοι,

δ. νόμους δὲ ἀρτί μοι δοκοῦμεν λέγειν ἀρχεσθαι, τὰ δ' ἐμπροσθεν ὑπὶ πάντα ἡμῖν προοίμα νόμων. τὶ δὲ ταύτ' εἰρήκα; τὸ δ' εἴπειν βουλθεῖσιν, ὅτι λόγων πάντων καὶ ὀσῶν φωνή κεκοινωνηκε προοίμια τ' ἐστὶ καὶ σχεδὸν οἶον τινὲς ἀνακινήσεις, ἐξουσαί

1 ἀνάγκην Ast: μάχην MSS.: ἀρχὴν Badham, Hermann.

1 Cp. 720 C ff.
LAWS, BOOK IV

CLIN. I highly approve of all you have said, Megillus.

ATH. Still, it is extremely foolish to argue about the length or brevity of writings, for what we should value, I suppose, is not their extreme brevity or prolixity, but their excellence; and in the case of the laws mentioned just now, not only does the one form possess double the value of the other in respect of practical excellence, but the example of the two kinds of doctors, recently mentioned, presents a very exact analogy. But as regards this, it appears that no legislator has ever yet observed that, while it is in their power to make use in their law-making of two methods,—namely, persuasion and force,—in so far as that is feasible in dealing with the uncultured populace, they actually employ one method only: in their legislation they do not temper compulsion with persuasion, but use untempered force alone. And I, my dear sirs, perceive still a third requisite which ought to be found in laws, but which is nowhere to be found at present.

CLIN. What is it you allude to?

ATH. A matter which, by a kind of divine direction, has sprung out of the subjects we have now been discussing. It was little more than dawn when we began talking about laws, and now it is high noon, and here we are in this entrancing resting-place; all the time we have been talking of nothing but laws, yet it is only recently that we have begun, as it seems, to utter laws, and what went before was all simply preludes to laws. What is my object in saying this? It is to explain that all utterances and vocal expressions have preludes and tunings-up (as one might call them), which provide a kind of artistic
τινα ἐντεχνον ἐπιχείρησιν χρῆσιμον πρὸς τὸ μέλλον περαινεσθαί. καὶ δὴ ποὺ κιθαρωδικὴς φώδης λεγομένων νόμων καὶ πάσης Μούσης προοίμια
Εθαυμαστῶς ἐσπουδασμένα πρόκειται. τῶν δὲ ὄντως νόμων ὅντων, οὐς δὴ πολιτικοὺς εἶναι φαμεν, οὐδὲς πώποτε οὔτ' εἰπέ τι προοίμιον οὔτε ξυνθέτης γενόμενος ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος φύσει. ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ νῦν διατριβὴ γεγονοῦσα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, σημαίνει ὡς ὄντος, ο Glide the γε ἐδη διπλοὶ ἐδοξαν νῦν δὴ μοι λεγθέντες νόμοι, οὐκ εἶναι ἀπλῶς οὕτω πως διπλοὶ, ἀλλὰ δύο μὲν τινε, νόμος τε καὶ προοίμιον τοῦ νόμου. ὁ δὴ τυραννικὸν
723 ἐπίταγμα ἀπεικασθέν ἐρήμηθα τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασι τοῖς τῶν ἱατρῶν οὖς εἴπομεν ἀνελευθέρους, τοῦτ' εἶναι νόμος ἄκρατος, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦτο ῥηθέν, πειστικὸν λεχθέν ὑπὲρ¹ τοῦτε, ὄντως μὲν εἶναι πειστικὸν, προοίμιον μὴν τοῦ περὶ λόγους δύναμιν ἔχειν. ὅνα γὰρ εὐμενῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν εὐμαθέστερον τὴν ἐπίταξιν, δὴ ἐστιν ὁ νόμος, δέξηται ὅ τὸν νόμον ὁ νομοθέτης λέγει, τοῦτον χάριν εἰρήσθαι μοι κατεφάνη πᾶς ὁ λόγος οὗτος, διὸ πείθων εἰπεν ὁ λέγων. διὸ δὴ κατὰ γε τὸν ἐμὸν
Β λόγον τούτ' αὐτό, προοίμιον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγος ἀν ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοιτο εἶναι τοῦ νόμου. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπὼν τι τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἃν μοι βουληθεὶν εἰρήσθαι; τόδε, ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην πρὸ πάντων τε ἀεὶ τῶν νόμων χρεῶν ἑστὶ μὴ ἀμοίρους αὐτοὺς

¹ υπὲρ: ύπὸ MSS., edd.
preparation which assists towards the further development of the subject. Indeed, we have examples before us of preludes, admirably elaborated, in those prefixed to that class of lyric ode called the "nome," 1 and to musical compositions of every description. But for the "nomes" (i.e. laws) which are real "nomes" —and which we designate "political"—no one has ever yet uttered a prelude, or composed or published one, just as though there were no such thing. But our present conversation proves, in my opinion, that there is such a thing; and it struck me just now that the laws we were then stating are something more than simply double, and consist of these two things combined—law, and prelude to law. The part which we called the "despotic prescription"—comparing it to the prescriptions of the slave-doctors we mentioned—is unblended law; but the part which preceded this, and which was uttered as persuasive thereof, while it actually is "persuasion," yet serves also the same purpose as the prelude to an oration. 2 To ensure that the person to whom the lawgiver addresses the law should accept the prescription quietly—and, because quietly, in a docile spirit,—that, as I supposed, was the evident object with which the speaker uttered all his persuasive discourse. 3 Hence, according to my argument, the right term for it would be, not legal "statement," but "prelude," and no other word. Having said this, what is the next statement I would desire to make? It is this: that the lawgiver must never omit to furnish preludes, as prefaces both to the laws as a whole and to each individual statute,

1 Cp. 700 B. 2 Cp. 718 C f. 3 Cp. 715 ff.
προοιμίων ποιεῖν καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν, ἥ διοισοῦσιν ἑαυτῶν ὡσον νῦν δὴ τῷ λευθέντε διηνεγκάτην.

κα. Τὸ γ’ ἐμὸν οὐκ ἄν ἄλλως νομοθετεῖν διακελεύοιτο ἡμῖν τὸν τούτων ἐπιστήμων.

C α. Καλῶς μὲν τοίνυν, ὁ Κλεινία, δοκεῖς μοι τὸ γε τοσοῦτον λέγειν, ὅτι πᾶσὶ γε νόμοις ἐστὶ προοίμια καὶ ὅτι πᾶσις ἀρχόμενον νομοθεσίας χρὴ προτιθέναι παντὸς του 1 λόγου τὸ πεφυκὸς προοίμιον ἐκάστοις· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν τὸ μετὰ τούτῳ ἐστὶ ρηθησόμενον, οὐδὲ ὀλίγον διαφέρον ἡ σαφῶς ἡ μὴ σαφῶς αὐτὰ μνημονεύσθαι· τὸ μέντοι μεγάλων πέρι λεγομένων νόμων καὶ σμικρῶν εἰ ὀρμίως προοιμιακάσθαι προστάττομεν, οὐκ ἀν ὁ ὀρθῶς λέγοιμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσματὸς οὐδὲ λόγου παντὸς δεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον δρᾶν, καὶ τοι πέφυκε γε εἶναι πᾶσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ χρηστέων ἀπασίν· αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ τε ρήτορι καὶ τῷ μελώδῳ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τῷ τοιούτῳ ἐκάστοτε ἐπιτρέπτειν.

κα. Ἀληθεστατα δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ μηκέτ’, ὁ ξένε, διατριβὴν πλείω τῆς μελλῆσεως ποιώμεθα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπανέλθωμεν καὶ ἀπ’ ἐκείνων ἀρχώμεθα, εἰ σοι φίλου, ὅπως ὦς Ε προοιμιαξόμενοι ἐστε τότε. πάλιν οὖν, οἷον φασιν οἱ παίζοντες, ἀμεινόνων ἔξ ἀρχῆς δευτέρων ἐπαναπολῆσωμεν, ὥς προοίμιον ἀλλ’ οὐ τοῦ τυχόντα λόγον περαιόντες, καθάπερ ἄρτι. λάβωμεν δ’ αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ὀμολογοῦντες προοιμιακάσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ θεῶν τιμῆς προγόνων τε θεραπείας καὶ τὰ νῦν δὴ λευθέντα ἰκανά· τὰ

1 του: τοῦ MSS., edd.

1 Cp. 716 B ff.
whereby they shall surpass their original form by as much as the "double" examples recently given surpassed the "single."

CLIN. I, for my part, would charge the expert in these matters to legislate thus, and not otherwise.

ATH. You are right, I believe, Clinias, in asserting at least thus much,—that all laws have preludes, and that, in commencing each piece of legislation, one ought to preface each enactment with the prelude that naturally belongs to it—for the statement that is to follow the prelude is one of no small importance, and it makes a vast difference whether these statements are distinctly or indistinctly remembered; still, we should be wrong if we prescribed that all statutes, great and small, should be equally provided with preludes. For neither ought that to be done in the case of songs and speeches of every kind; for they all naturally have preludes, but we cannot employ them always; that is a thing which must be left in each case to the judgment of the actual orator or singer or legislator.

CLIN. What you say is, I believe, very true. But let us not spend more time, Stranger, in delay, but return to our main subject, and start afresh (if you agree) from the statements you made above—and made not by way of prelude. Let us, then, repeat from the start the "second thoughts" that are "best" (to quote the players' proverb), treating them throughout as a prelude, and not, as before, as a chance discourse; and let us handle the opening part as being confessedly a prelude. As to the worship of the gods and the attention to be paid to ancestors, our previous statement \(^1\) is quite sufficient; it is what comes next to these that you must try to state, until
δ' ἔξης πειρώμεθα λέγειν, μέχριτερ ἂν σοι πάν τὸ προοίμιον ἰκανῶς εἰρήσθαι δοκῇ. μετὰ δὲ τούτῳ ἦδη τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς διέξει λέγων.

724 α. Οὐκοῦν περὶ θεῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ γονέων ζώντων τε πέρι καὶ τελευτησάντων τὸτε ἰκανῶς προοιμιασάμεθα, ὡς νῦν λέγομεν· τὸ δ' ἀπολειπόμενον ἐτι τοῦ τοιούτου φαίνει μοι σὺ διακελεύεσθαι τὰ νῦν οἶνον πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἐπαν-άγειν.

κλ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

α. Ἀλλὰ μὴν μετὰ γε τὰ τοιαῦτα ὡς χρὴ τὰ περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας σπουδὴς τε πέρι καὶ ἀνέσεως ἱσχεῖν.

Β' προσήκον τ' ἐστὶ καὶ κοινώτατον ἀναπεμπαξο-μένους τὸν τε λέγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας παι-δείας γίγνεσθαι κατὰ κύκλῳ ἐπηβόλους. ταῦτ' οὖν ημῖν αὐτὰ μετ' ἐκείνα δυναμώ ἐστὶ ρητέα τε καὶ ἀκουστέα.

κλ. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις.
the whole of the prelude has been, in our opinion, adequately set forth by you. After that you will proceed with your statement of the actual laws.

ATH. So then the prelude we previously composed concerning the gods and those next to the gods, and concerning parents, living and dead, was, as we now declare, sufficient; and you are now bidding me, I understand, to bring up, as it were, to the light of day the residue of this same subject.

CLIN. Most certainly.

ATH. Well, surely it is both fitting and of the greatest mutual advantage that, next to the matters mentioned, the speaker and his hearers should deal with the question of the degree of zeal or slackness which men ought to use in respect of their souls, their bodies, and their goods, and should ponder thereon, and thus get a grasp of education as far as possible. Precisely this, then, is the statement which we must actually make and listen to next.

CLIN. Perfectly right.
726 ἂθ. Ἀκούοι δὴ πᾶς ὀσπερ νῦν δὴ τὰ περὶ θεῶν
tε ἥκουν καὶ τῶν φίλων προπατόρων. πάντων γὰρ
tῶν αὐτοῦ κτημάτων [μετὰ θεοὺς] ¹ ψυχὴ θειότα-
tον, οἰκειότατον ὦν. τὰ δὲ αὐτοῦ διττὰ πάντ᾽ ἐστὶ
πᾶσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν κρείττω καὶ ἀμείων δεσπό-
ζοντα, τὰ δ᾽ ἦττω καὶ χείρῳ δοῦλα. τῶν οὖν
αὐτοῦ τὰ δεπόζοντα ἀεὶ προτιμητέον τῶν δουλευ-
727 ὄντων. οὖτω δὴ τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν μετὰ θεοὺς
όντας δεσπότας καὶ τοὺς τούτοις ἐπομένους τιμῶν
δείν λέγων δευτέραν ὀρθῶς παρακελεύομαι. τιμᾷ
δ᾽ ὡς ἐποιεῖν ἤμων οὕδες ὀρθῶς, δοκεῖ δὲ
θείου ² γὰρ ἀγαθόν ποὺ τιμῇ, τῶν δὲ κακῶν οὐδὲν
tιμίων, ὁ δ᾽ ἡγοῦμενὸς ἡ τις λόγοις ἡ δώροις
αὐτὴν αὐξεῖν ἡ τιςιν ὑπείξεις, μηδὲν βελτίω δὲ ἐκ
χείρων ἀυτὴν ἀπεργαζόμενος τιμῶν μὲν δοκεῖ,
δρι δὲ τοῦτο οὐδαμῶς. αὐτίκα παῖς εὐθὺς γενό-
μενος ἄνθρωπος πᾶς ἢγεῖται πάντα ἰκανὸς εἶναι
γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τιμῶν οἶται ἐπαυτῶν τῆς αὐτοῦ
Β ψυχῆν, καὶ προθυμοῦμενος ἐπιτρέπει πράττειν ὁ
τι ἀν ἑθέλῃ· τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον ἐστὶν ὡς δραῖ
ταῦτα βλάπτει καὶ οὐ τιμᾷ· δεὶ δὲ, ὃς φαμεν,
μετὰ γε θεοὺς δευτέραν. οὐδὲ γε ὅταν ἄνθρωπος
τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκάστοτε ἀμαρτημάτων μη ἐαυτοναἰτιον

¹ [μετὰ θεοὺς] bracketed by England.
² θείου: θείον MSS.
BOOK V

ATH. Let everyone who has just heard the ordinances concerning gods and dear forefathers now give ear.

Of all a man's own belongings, the most divine is his soul, since it is most his own. A man's own belongings are invariably twofold: the stronger and better are the ruling elements, the weaker and worse those that serve; wherefore of one's own belongings one must honour those that rule above those that serve. Thus it is that in charging men to honour their own souls next after the gods who rule and the secondary divinities, I am giving a right injunction. But there is hardly a man of us all who pays honour rightly, although he fancies he does so; for honour paid to a thing divine is beneficent, whereas nothing that is maleficent confers honour; and he that thinks to magnify his soul by words or gifts or obeisances, while he is improving it no whit in goodness, fancies indeed that he is paying it honour, but in fact does not do so. Every boy, for example, as soon as he has grown to manhood, deems himself capable of learning all things, and supposes that by lauding his soul he honours it, and by eagerly permitting it to do whatsoever it pleases. But by acting thus, as we now declare, he is not honouring his soul, but injuring it; whereas, we affirm, he ought to pay honour to it next after the gods. Again, when a man counts not himself but others responsible always for his
Τὸν πλείστων κακῶν καὶ μεγίστων, ἀλλ’ ἄλλους, ἐαυτὸν δὲ ἀεὶ ἀναίτιον ἐξαιρή τιμῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχήν, ὡς δὴ δοκεῖ· οὗ δὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ.

καὶ τάναντια τοὺς ἐπαινομένους πόνους καὶ φόβους καὶ ἀλγηδόνας καὶ λύτας μὴ διαπονὴ καρτερῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπείκη. τότε οὐ τιμᾷ ὑπείκων· ἀτιμον γὰρ αὐτήν ἀπεργάζεται δρῶν τὰ τοιαύτα ἐξύμπαντα. οὐδ’ ὅποταν ἤγηται τὸ ξῆν πάντως

ἄγαθὸν εἶναι, τιμᾶ, ἀτιμᾶζει ὅ αὐτὴν καὶ τότε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν "Αἰδοῦ πράγματα πάντα κακὰ ἤγουμένης τῆς ψυχῆς εἶναι ὑπείκει καὶ οὐκ ἀντιτείνει, διδάσκων τε καὶ ἑλέγχων ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ’ εἰ τάναντια πέφυκε μέγιστα εἶναι πάντων ἄγαθῶν ἡμῶν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐκεῖ. οὐδέ μὴν πρὸ ἀρετῆς ὅποταν αὐτὸ προτιμᾶ τις κάλλος, τοῦτ’ ἐστιν οὐχ ἐτερον ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς οὔτως καὶ πάντως ἀτιμα. ψυχῆς γὰρ σῶμα ἐντιμότερον οὕτως ὁ λόγος

ἐφησίν εἶναι ψευδόμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ γηγενεῖς Ὀλυμπίων ἐντιμότερον, ἀλλ’ ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς ἄλλως δοξάζων ἀγνοεῖ ὡς θαυμαστοῦ τοῦτον κτήματος ἀμελεῖ. οὐδὲ γε ὅποταν χρήματά τις έρα κτάσθαι μὴ καλῶς ἡ μὴ δυσχερῶς φέρη 728 κτώμενοι, δώροις ἅρα τιμᾶ τότε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆν· παντὸς μὲν οὖν λείπει· τὸ γὰρ αὐτῆς τίμιον ἀμα καὶ καλὸν ἀποδίδοται σμικροὶ χρυσίοιν· 324
own sins and for the most and greatest evils, and exempts himself always from blame, thereby honouring, as he fancies, his own soul,—then he is far indeed from honouring it, since he is doing it injury. Again, when a man gives way to pleasures contrary to the counsel and commendation of the lawgiver, he is by no means conferring honour on his soul, but rather dishonour, by loading it with woes and remorse. Again, in the opposite case, when toils, fears, hardships and pains are commended, and a man flinches from them, instead of stoutly enduring them,—then by his flinching he confers no honour on his soul; for by all such actions he renders it dishonoured. Again, when a man deems life at any price to be a good thing, then also he does not honour, but dishonour, to his soul; for he yields to the imagination of his soul that the conditions in Hades are altogether evil, instead of opposing it, by teaching and convincing his soul that, for all it knows, we may find, on the contrary, our greatest blessings in the realm of the gods below. Again, when a man honours beauty above goodness, this is nothing else than a literal and total dishonouring of the soul; for such a statement asserts that the body is more honourable than the soul,—but falsely, since nothing earth-born is more honourable than the things of heaven, and he that surmises otherwise concerning the soul knows not that in it he possesses, and neglects, a thing most admirable. Again, when a man craves to acquire wealth ignobly, or feels no qualm in so acquiring it, he does not then by his gifts pay honour to his soul,—far from it, in sooth!—for what is honourable therein and noble he is bartering away for a handful of gold; yet all the
πᾶς γὰρ ο’τ’ ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος. ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν ξυλληψθην, ὅς ἀπερ ἀν νομοθέτης αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ κακὰ διαριθμοῦ-
μενος τάττη καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ, τῶν μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι μὴ ἔθελει 1 πάση μηχανή, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτηδεῦειν ἐξύμπασαι κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐκ οἴδεν ἐν
Β τούτοις πᾶσι πᾶς ἀνθρωπος ψυχὴν θειότατον ὦν ἀτιμότατα καὶ κακοσχημονεύστατα διατιθείσ. τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην δίκην τῆς κακουργίας τὴν μεγίστην
οὐδεὶς ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν λογίζεται, ἐστὶ δ’ ἡ μεγίστῃ τὸ ὁμοιοῦσθαι τοῖς οὐσί κακοῖς ἀνθράσιν, ὁμοίου-
μενον δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς φεύγειν ἀνδρὰς καὶ
λόγους καὶ ἀποσχίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ προσκολλάσθαι διώκοντα κατὰ τὰς ξυνουσίας προσπεφυκότα δὲ
toῖς τοιούτοις ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν ἄ τεφυ-
κασίν ἀλλήλους οἱ τοιούτοι ποιεῖν [καὶ] 2 λέγειν.
C τούτο οὖν δὴ τὸ πάθος δίκη μὲν οὐκ ἔστι, καλὸν
gὰρ τὸ γε δίκαιον καὶ ἡ δίκη, τιμωρία δὲ, ἀδίκειας
ἀκόλουθος πάθη, ἣς ὁ τε τυχῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων
ἀθλιος, ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἰατρευόμενος, ὁ δὲ, ἢν ἔτεροι
πολλοὶ σώζονται, ἀπολλύμενος.
Τιμὴ δ’ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν, τοῖς μὲν
ἀμείνοσιν ἔπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ χείρωνα γενέσθαι δὲ
βελτίω δυνατὰ τούτ’ αὐτὸ ὡς ἀρίστα ἀποτελεῖν.
ψυχῆς οὖν ἀνθρώπως κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν εὑρεόμενον
D εἰς τὸ φυγεῖν μὲν τὸ κακὸν, ἰχνεύσαι δὲ καὶ ἔλει
τὸ πάντων ἀριστον, καὶ ἐλοῦνα αὐτοῦ κοινῆ ξυνοικεῖν

1 ἔθελει Peipers, Schanz: ἔθηλη MSS.
2 [καὶ] omitted by Paris MS. (Schanz brackets καὶ λέγειν).

1 Cp. 716 C, D.
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gold on earth, or under it, does not equal the price of goodness. To speak shortly:—in respect of the things which the lawgiver enumerates and describes as either, on the one hand, base and evil, or, on the other hand, noble and good, if any man refuses to avoid by every means the one kind, and with all his power to practise the other kind,—such a man knows not that everyone who acts thus is treating most dishonourably and most disgracefully that most divine of things, his soul. Hardly anyone takes account of the greatest "judgment" (as men call it) upon evil-doing; that greatest judgment is this,—to grow like unto men that are wicked, and, in so growing, to shun good men and good counsels and cut oneself off from them, but to cleave to the company of the wicked and follow after them; and he that is joined to such men inevitably acts and is acted upon in the way that such men bid one another to act. Now such a resultant condition is not a "judgment" (for justice and judgment are things honourable), but a punishment, an infliction that follows on injustice; both he that undergoes this and he that undergoes it not are alike wretched,—the one in that he remains uncured, the other in that he is destroyed in order to secure the salvation of many others.2

Thus we declare that honour, speaking generally, consists in following the better, and in doing our utmost to effect the betterment of the worse, when it admits of being bettered. Man has no possession better fitted by nature than the soul for the avoidance of evil and the tracking and taking of what is best of all, and living in fellowship therewith, when he has

τον ἐπίλοιπον βίον. διὸ δεύτερον ἐτάχθη τιμή, 
tὸ δὲ τρίτον, πάς ἂν τούτὸ γε νοήσει, τὴν τοῦ 
σώματος εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν τιμήν. τὰς δ᾿ αὐ 
tιμὰς δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ τούτων τίνες ἀληθεῖς καὶ 
ὄσαι κίβδηλον· τοῦτο δὲ νομοθέτου. μηνύειν δὴ 
μοι φαίνεται τάσδε καὶ τοιάσδε τινὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι, 
tίμουν εἶναι σῶμα οὐ τὸ καλὸν οὐδὲ ἵσχυρὸν οὐδὲ 
Ε ἕκαστος ἔχον οὐδὲ μέγα, οὐδὲ γε τὸ υψιεῖν—καὶ τοῦ 
pολλοῖς ἂν τούτῳ γε δοκοῖ—, καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τὰ 
τούτων γ瘕 ἐναντία, τὰ δ᾿ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀπάσης ταῦ 
της τῆς ἐξεως ἐφαπτόμενα σωφρονέστατα ἀμα τε 
ἀσφαλέστατα εἶναι μακρῷ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ χαύνους 
tὰς ψυχὰς καὶ θρασείας ποιεῖ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰς τε 
kαὶ ἀνελευθέρους· ὡς δ᾿ αὐτῶς ἢ τῶν χρημάτων 
kαὶ κτημάτων κτῆσις καὶ τιμήσεως κατὰ τὸν 
αὐτὸν ῥυθμὸν ἔχει. τὰ μὲν υπέρογκα γὰρ ἐκάσ 
729 τῶν τούτων ἐχθρᾶς καὶ στάσεις ἀπεργάζεται ταῖς 
pόλεσι καὶ ἰδία, τὰ δ᾿ ἐλλείποντα δουλείας ὡς τὸ 
pολὺ. μὴ δὴ τις φιλοχρημονεῖτω παιδῶν γ瘕 
ἐνεκα, ἵνα ὅτι πλουσιωτάτους καταλύῃ· οὔτε 
γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὀὔτε αὐτῷ τῇ πόλει ἀμείνον. ἢ γὰρ 
tῶν νέων ἀκολάκευστος οὔσια, τῶν δ᾿ ἀναγκαῖων 
μὴ ἐνδείσι, αὕτη πασῶν μονσικωτάτη τε καὶ 
ἀρίστη· ἐκμυθωνύσα γὰρ ἦμῖν καὶ ἐναρμότ 
tουσα εἰς ἀπαντα ἀλυπον τὸν βίον ἀπεργάζεται. 
Β παιοὶ δὲ αἰδῶν χρὴ πολλὴν, οὐ χρυσὸν κατα 
κλείπειν. οἰόμεθα δ᾿ ἐπιπλήστοντες τοῖς νέοις 
ἀνασχυντοῦσι τοῦτο καταλείψειν· τὸ δ᾿ ἔστιν

1 The first place belongs to the gods (i.e. to Divine Reason).

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taken it, for all his life thereafter. Wherefore the soul is put second in order of honour; as for the third, everyone would conceive that this place naturally belongs to the honour due to the body. But here again one has to investigate the various forms of honour,—which of them are genuine, which spurious; and this is the lawgiver's task. Now he, as I suppose, declares that the honours are these and of these kinds:—

the honourable body is not the fair body nor the strong nor the swift nor the large, nor yet the body that is sound in health,—although this is what many believe; neither is it a body of the opposite kind to any of these; rather those bodies which hold the mean position between all these opposite extremes are by far the most temperate and stable; for while the one extreme makes the souls puffed up and proud, the other makes them lowly and spiritless. The same holds good of the possession of goods and chattels, and they are to be valued on a similar scale. In each case, when they are in excess, they produce enmities and feuds both in States and privately, while if they are deficient they produce, as a rule, serfdom. And let no man love riches for the sake of his children, in order that he may leave them as wealthy as possible; for that is good neither for them nor for the State. For the young the means that attracts no flatterers, yet is not lacking in things necessary, is the most harmonious of all and the best; for it is in tune with us and in accord, and thus it renders our life in all respects painless. To his children it behoves a man to bequeath modesty, not money, in abundance. We imagine that chiding the young for their irreverence is the way to bequeath this; but no such
οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νῦν παρακελεύματος τοῖς νεοῖς γιγνό
μενον, ὃ παρακελεύονται λέγοντες ἡς δὲ πάντα 
αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν νέον. ὃ δὲ ἔμφρων νομοθέτης 
τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἀν μᾶλλον παρακελεύοντο 
αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς νέους, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα 
eὐλαβεῖσθαι μὴ ποτὲ τις αὐτῶν ἵδη τῶν νέων ἢ 
καὶ ἐπακούσῃ δρόμων ἡ λέγονται τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν,
C ὃς ὅποιον ἀναισχυντούσι γέροντες, ἀνάγκῃ καὶ 
νέους ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ἀναιδεστάτους· παιδεῖα γὰρ 
νέων διαφέρουσα ἔστιν ἄμα καὶ αὐτῶν οὕτω 
vουθετεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπέρ ἄν ἄλλων νουθετῶν εἴποι τις, 
φαίνεσθαι τάς τάυτα αὐτῶν δρόμων διὰ βίου. ξυγ-
γένειαν δὲ καὶ ὁμογένων θεῶν κοινωνίαν ἀπασαν 
ταύτῳ φύσιν αὐτάματος ἐχουσαν τιμῶν τις καὶ 
σεβόμενος εὔνους ἀν γενεθλίους θεοὺς εἰς παίδων 
αὐτῶν σποράν ἵσχοι κατὰ λόγον. καὶ μὴν τοῖς γε

D φίλων καὶ ἑταίρων πρὸς τᾶς ἐν βίῳ ὁμιλίας 
eὐμενές ἃν τις κτῶτο μείζους μὲν καὶ σεμνότερας 
tὰς ἐκείνων ὑπηρεσίας εἰς αὐτῶν ἤγομένων ἢ 
'κεῖνοι, ἐλάττωσι δ' αὖ τὰς αὐτῶν διανοούμενοι εἰς 
tοὺς φίλους χάριτας αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων τε καὶ 
ἑταίρων. εἰς μὴν πόλιν καὶ πολίτας μακρὸ 
ἄριστος ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ 'Ολυμπίασι καὶ ἀπάντων 
ἀγώνων πολεμικῶν τε καὶ εἰρηνικῶν νικᾶν δεξιαίτ' 
ἀν δόξῃ ὑπηρεσίας τῶν οἰκον νόμων, ὡς ὑπηρετη-
κῶς πάντων κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτῶς ἐν τῷ
Ε βίῳ. πρὸς δ' αὖ τοὺς ἅνους διανοθέτου ὡς 
ἀγιώτατα ἐνμβολαία ὅντα· σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντ' 
ἔστι τὰ τῶν ἅνων [καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἅνους] ἁμαρτή

1 [καὶ ... ἅνους] bracketed by England (after F. H. 
Dale).
result follows from the admonition commonly given nowadays to the young, when people tell them that "youth must reverence everyone." Rather will the prudent lawgiver admonish the older folk to reverence the young, and above all to beware lest any of them be ever seen or heard by any of the young either doing or saying anything shameful; for where the old are shameless, there inevitably will also the young be very impudent. The most effective way of training the young—as well as the older people themselves—is not by admonition, but by plainly practising throughout one's own life the admonitions which one gives to others. By paying honour and reverence to his kinsfolk, and all who share in the worship of the tribal gods and are sprung from the same blood, a man will, in proportion to his piety, secure the good-will of the gods of Birth to bless his own begetting of children. Moreover, a man will find his friends and companions kindly disposed, in regard to life's intercourse, if he sets higher than they do the value and importance of the services he receives from them, while counting the favours he confers on them as of less value than they are deemed by his companions and friends themselves. In relation to his State and fellow-citizens that man is by far the best who, in preference to a victory at Olympia or in any other contest of war or peace, would choose to have a victorious reputation for service to his native laws, as being the one man above all others who has served them with distinction throughout his life. Further, a man should regard contracts made with strangers as specially sacred; for practically all the sins against Strangers are—as compared with those
ματα παρὰ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς θεοῦ ἀνηρτημένα τιμωροῦν μᾶλλον· ἔρημος γὰρ ὃν ὁ ξένος ἐταίρων τε καὶ ξυγγενῶν ἐλεεινότερος ἀνθρώπως καὶ θεοῖς. ὁ δυνάμενος οὖν τιμωρεῖν μᾶλλον βοηθεῖ προθυμοτέρων δύναται δὲ διαφέροντως ὁ ξένος ἕκαστων

730 δαίμων καὶ θεοὶ τῷ ξενίῳ συνεπόμενοι Διί πολλῆς οὖν εὐλαβείας, ὡς καὶ σμικροῦ προμηθείας ἐν, μηδὲν ἄμαρτημα περὶ ξένους ἀμαρτώντα ἐν τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πορευθῆναι. ξεινικῶν δ’ αὖ καὶ ἐπιχωρίων ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἱκέτας μέγιστον γίγνεται ἄμαρτημα ἐκάστοις. μεθ’, οὗ γὰρ ἱκετεύσας μάρτυρος ὁ ἱκέτης θεοῦ ἀπετυχεῖν ἡμολογιών, φύλαξ διαφέρον οὕτος τοῦ παθόντος γίγνεται, ὧστ’ οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀτιμώρητος πάθοι [ὁ τυχόν] ὡς ἔπαθε.

Β Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ γονέας τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ, περὶ πόλιν τε καὶ φίλους καὶ ξυγγενεῖαν ξεινικά τε καὶ ἐπιχωρία, διεληλύθαμεν σχέδου ὁμιλήματα. τὸ δὲ ποίος τις ὃν αὐτὸς ἂν κάλλιστα διαγάγοι τὸν βίον, ἐπόμενον τοῦτο διεξελθεῖν· ὅσα μὴν οὖ 3 νόμος ἂλλ’ ἑπαινοῦσα παιδεύων καὶ ψόγος ἐκάστους εὐνύμιους μᾶλλον καὶ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τεθήσεσθαι μέλλουσι νόμοις ἀπεργάζεται, 4 ταῦτ’ ἐστὶ μετὰ τούτο ἡμῖν ῥητέον. ἀληθεῖα δ’ ἰδίᾳ πάντων μὲν

C ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς ἥγειται, πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώποις· ἂς ὁ γεννήσεσθαι μέλλων μακάριος τε καὶ εὐδαιμόνιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθὺς μέτοχος εἰη, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον

1 ἀπετυχεῖν Badham, Schanz: ἔτυχεν MSS.
2 [ὁ τυχόν] I bracket.
3 ὅσα μὴν ὁ W.-Möllendorff: δότ’ ἂν μὴ MSS. (ὅσα μὴ Schanz)
4 ἀπεργάζεται MSS.: ἀπεργάζεται Ast, Zur.
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against citizens—connected more closely with an avenging deity. For the stranger, inasmuch as he is without companions or kinsfolk, is the more to be pitied by men and gods; wherefore he that is most able to avenge succours them most readily, and the most able of all, in every case, is the Strangers’ daemon and god, and these follow in the train of Zeus Xenios.\(^1\) Whoso, then, is possessed of but a particle of forethought will take the utmost care to go through life to the very end without committing any offence in respect of Strangers. Of offences against either Strangers or natives, that which touches suppliants is in every case the most grave; for when a suppliant, after invoking a god as witness, is cheated of his compact, that god becomes the special guardian of him who is wronged, so that he will never be wronged without vengeance being taken for his wrongs.

As concerns a man’s social relations towards his parents, himself and his own belongings, towards the State also and friends and kindred,—whether foreign relations or domestic,—our exposition is now fairly complete. It remains to expound next the character which is most conducive to nobility of life; and after that we shall have to state all the matters which are subject, not to law, but rather to praise or blame,—as the instruments whereby the citizens are educated individually and rendered more tractable and well-inclined towards the laws which are to be imposed on them. Of all the goods, for gods and men alike, truth stands first. Thereof let every man partake from his earliest days, if he purposes to become blessed and happy, that so he may live his life as a

\(^1\) The supreme Guardian of the rights of hospitality.
χρόνον ἀληθῆς ὧν διαβιοίη. πιστὸς γάρ ὁ δὲ ἀπίστος, ὃ φίλον ψεῦδος ἐκούσιον· ὅτω δὲ ἀκούσιον, ἄνους. ὃν οὐδέτερον ξηλώτων ἄφιλος γάρ δὴ πᾶς ὁ τε ἀπίστος καὶ <ὁ> ἀμαθῆς, χρόνον δὲ προϊόντων γνωσθεῖς εἰς τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας ἐρημίαν αὐτῷ πᾶσαν κατεσκευάσατο ἐπὶ τέλει τοῦ Δ βίου, ὡστε ξύντων καὶ μὴ ἐταίρων καὶ παίδων σχεδὸν ὅμοιως ὄρφανον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸν βίον. τίμιος μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ μηδὲν ἁδικῶν· ὃ δὲ μηδ' ἐπιτρέπων τοῖς ἁδικοῦσιν ἁδικεῖν πλέον ἡ διπλασίας τιμῆς ξέιος ἐκεῖνον· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐνός, ὃ δὲ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἐτέρων, μηνύσω τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ἁдиκίαν. ὃ δὲ καὶ ξυγκολάζων εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἀρχουσιν, ὁ μέγας ἀνήρ ἐν πόλει καὶ τέλειος οὕτως ἀναγορευέσθω νικηφόρος ἀρετῇ.

Ε Τῶν αὐτὸν δὴ τούτον ἐπαινοῦν καὶ περὶ σοφροσύνης χρῆ λέγειν καὶ περὶ φρονήσεως, καὶ ὀσα ἄλλα ἁγαθὰ τις κέκτηται δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτῶν ἔχειν, ἄλλα καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι καὶ τὸν μὲν μεταδιδόντα ὡς ἀκρότατον χρῆ τιμᾶν, τὸν δ' αὐ μὴ δυνάμενον ἔθελοντα δὲ ἐὰν δεύτερον, τὸν δὲ φθονοῦντα καὶ ἐκόντα μηδενὶ κοινωνοῦν διὰ φιλίας 731 γνυνόμενον ἁγαθῶν τινῶν αὐτῶν μὲν ψέγειν, τὸ δὲ κτῆμα μηδὲν μᾶλλον διὰ τὸν κεκτημένου ἀτιμάζειν, ἄλλα κτᾶσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν. φιλονεικεῖτω δὲ ἡμῖν πᾶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀφθόνως. ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοιοῦ-

1 τε Hermann: γε MSS. 2 ⟨ὁ⟩ I add.

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1 Cp. 663 A, 829 A.
true man so long as possible. He is a trusty man; but untrustworthy is the man who loves the voluntary lie; and senseless is the man who loves the involuntary lie; and neither of these two is to be envied. For everyone that is either faithless or foolish is friendless; and since, as time goes on, he is found out, he is making for himself, in his woeful old-age, at life’s close, a complete solitude, wherein his life becomes almost equally desolate whether his companions and children are living or dead. He that does no wrong is indeed a man worthy of honour; but worthy of twice as much honour as he, and more, is the man who, in addition, consents not to wrong-doers when they do wrong;¹ for while the former counts as one man, the latter counts as many, in that he informs the magistrates of the wrongdoing of the rest. And he that assists the magistrates in punishing, to the best of his power,—let him be publicly proclaimed to be the Great Man of the State and perfect, the winner of the prize for excellence.

Upon temperance and upon wisdom one should bestow the same praise, and upon all the other goods which he who possesses them can not only keep himself, but can share also with others. He that thus shares these should be honoured as highest in merit; and he that would fain share them but cannot, as second in merit; while if a man is jealous and unwilling to share any good things with anyone in a friendly spirit, then the man himself must be blamed, but his possession must not be disesteemed any the more because of its possessor,—rather one should strive to gain it with all one’s might. Let every one of us be ambitious to gain excellence, but without jealousy. For a man of this character en-
τος τὰς πολείς αὕτε, ἀμιλλόμενος μὲν αὐτὸς, τοὺς ἀλλοὺς δὲ οὐ κολαύων διαβολαίς· ὁ δὲ φθονερὸς τῇ τῶν ἄλλων διαβολῇ δεῖν οἰόμενος ὑπερέχειν αὐτὸς τε ἢττον συντείνει πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὴν ἀληθῆ, τοὺς τε ἀνθαμιλλόμενους εἰς ἀθυμίαν καθίστησι τῷ ἀδίκως ψέγεσθαι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀγύμναστον

Β τὴν πόλιν ὅλην εἰς ἀμιλλαν ἀρετῆς ποιῶν σμικροτέραν αὐτὴν πρὸς ἐυδοξίαν τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μέρος ἀπεργάζεται. θυμοειδῆ μὲν ἡ χρή πάντα ἄνδρα εἶναι, πράον δὲ ὦς ὦτι μάλιστα. τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων χαλεπὰ καὶ δυσίστα ἢ καὶ τὸ παράπαν ἀνίσατα ἀδικήματα οὐκ ἐστὶν ἄλλως ἐκφυγεῖν ἢ μαχόμενον καὶ ἀμυνόμενον νικῶντα καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀνίσαι κολάζοντα, τοῦτο δὲ ἀνευ θυμοῦ γενναίον ὁ ψυχῇ πᾶσα ἀδύνατος δρᾶν. τὰ δὲ αὐ τῶν ὅσοι ἀδικοῦσι μὲν, ἵσατα δὲ, γιγνώσκειν χρή πρῶτον μὲν ὦτὶ πᾶς ὁ ἀδικος οὐχ ἑκὼν ἀδικος. τῶν γὰρ μεγίστων κακῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδαμοῦ οὐδὲν ἑκὼν κεκτῆτο ἀν ποτε, πολὺ δὲ ἢκιστα ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἐαυτοῦ τιμιωτάτοις· ψυχῇ δ', ὡς εἰπομεν, ἀληθεία γ' ἐστὶ πᾶσι τιμιωτάτοι· ἐν οὐν τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ τὸ μεγιστον κακῶν οὐδεὶς ἑκὼν μὴ ποτὲ λάβῃ καὶ ζῇ διὰ

D βίου κεκτημένος αὐτό. ἀλλὰ ἐλεεῖνος μὲν πάντως ὁ γε ἀδίκος καὶ ὁ τὰ κακὰ ἔχων, ἐλεείν δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰάσιμα ἑχοντα ἐγχωρεί καὶ ἀνείργοντα τὸν θυμον πραύνειν καὶ μὴ ἀκραχολούντα γυναικείως πικραίνόμενον διατελεῖν, τῷ δ' ἀκράτως καὶ ἀπαραμυθητῷ πλημμελεῖ καὶ κακῶ ἐφείναι δεὶ τὴν ὀργὴν'
larges a State, since he strives hard himself and does not thwart the others by calumny; but the jealous man, thinking that calumny of others is the best way to secure his own superiority, makes less effort himself to win true excellence, and disheartens his rivals by getting them unjustly blamed; whereby he causes the whole State to be ill-trained for competing in excellence, and renders it, for his part, less large in fair repute. Every man ought to be at once passionate and gentle in the highest degree.\(^1\) For, on the one hand, it is impossible to escape from other men's wrongdoings, when they are cruel and hard to remedy, or even wholly irremediable, otherwise than by victorious fighting and self-defence, and by punishing most rigorously; and this no soul can achieve without noble passion. But, on the other hand, when men commit wrongs which are remediable, one should, in the first place, recognize that every wrongdoer is a wrongdoer involuntarily;\(^2\) for no one anywhere would ever voluntarily acquire any of the greatest evils, least of all in his own most precious possessions. And most precious in very truth to every man is, as we have said, the soul. No one, therefore, will voluntarily admit into this most precious thing the greatest evil and live possessing it all his life long. Now while in general the wrongdoer and he that has these evils are to be pitied, it is permissible to show pity to the man that has evils that are remediable, and to abate one's passion and treat him gently, and not to keep on raging like a scolding wife; but in dealing with the man who is totally and obstinately perverse and wicked one must give free course to wrath. Wherefore we affirm

2 Cp. 860 C ff.; 863 B ff.; Protag. 345 D; Tim. 86 D.

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διὸ δὴ θυμοειδῆ πρέπειν καὶ πρᾶον φαμεν ἐκάστοτε [εἶναι δεῖν] ¹ τὸν ἁγαθὸν.

Πάντων δὲ μέγιστον κακῶν ἀνθρώπως τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐμφυτον εὖ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστίν, οὐ πάς ἔαυτῷ συγγνώμην ἔχων ἀποφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν μηχαν[.]

Ἐνάται τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὁ λέγοντιν ὡς φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἀνθρωπὸς φύσει τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ὀρθῶς ἔχει τὸ δεῖν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ γε πάντων ἀμαρτημάτων διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἔαυτοῦ φιλίαν αὐτόν ἐκάστῳ γήγεναι ἐκάστοτε· τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν, ὡστε τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ κακῶς κρίνει, τὸ αὐτοῦ 732 πρὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀεὶ τιμῶν δεῖν ἤγούμενον· οὔτε γὰρ ἐαυτῶν οὔτε τὰ ἐαυτοῦ χρῆ τὸν γε μέγαν ἀνδρα ἐσόμενον στέργειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια, εὰν τε παρ' αὐτῷ εὰν τε παρ' ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον πραττόμενα τυγχάνῃ. ἐκ ταυτοῦ δὲ ἀμαρτήματος τοῦτον καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ δοκείν σοφίαν εἶναι γέγονεν πᾶσιν· θεῖν οὐκ εἰδότες, ὡς ἐπος εἰπεῖν, οὔδεν οἴόμεθα τὰ πάντα εἰδέναι, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες δὲ ἄλλοις ἀ μὴ ἐπιστάμεθα πράττειν, ἐναγακαζόμεθα ἀμαρτάνειν αὐτοῖ πράττοντες. διὸ πάντα ἀνθρωπον χρῆ φεύγειν τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν αὐτὸν, τὸν δ' ἔαυτοῦ βελτίω διόκειν ἀεὶ,² μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνῃ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πρόσθεν ποιοῦμενον.

"Α δὲ σμικρότερα μὲν τοῦτων καὶ λεγόμενα πολ-

¹ [εἶναι δεῖν] I bracket (J. B. Mayor bracketed εἶναι, Stephens δεῖν).
² ἀεὶ Stobaeus : δεῖ MSS.
that it behoves the good man to be always at once passionate and gentle.

There is an evil, great above all others, which most men have, implanted in their souls, and which each one of them excuses in himself and makes no effort to avoid. It is the evil indicated in the saying that every man is by nature a lover of self, and that it is right that he should be such. But the truth is that the cause of all sins in every case lies in the person's excessive love of self. For the lover is blind in his view of the object loved, so that he is a bad judge of things just and good and noble, in that he deems himself bound always to value what is his own more than what is true; for the man who is to attain the title of "Great" must be devoted neither to himself nor to his own belongings, but to things just, whether they happen to be actions of his own or rather those of another man. And it is from this same sin that every man has derived the further notion that his own folly is wisdom; whence it comes about that though we know practically nothing, we fancy that we know everything; and since we will not entrust to others the doing of things we do not understand, we necessarily go wrong in doing them ourselves. Wherefore every man must shun excessive self-love, and ever follow after him that is better than himself, allowing no shame to prevent him from so doing.

Precepts that are less important than these and

1 Cp. Eur. Frag. 460:
  ἐκεῖνο γὰρ πέπονθ' ὀπέρ πάντες βροτοὶ
  φιλῶν μάλιστ' ἐμαντὸν οὐκ αἰσχύνομαι.
Ar. Rhet. 1371 b 19; Pol. 1263 b 2.

2 Cp. Rep. 474 D, E.
λάκις ἐστὶ, χρήσιμα δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ ἢττον, χρὴ λέγειν ἑαυτὸν ἀναμμηνήσκοντα· ὡσπερ γὰρ τίνος ἀπορρήτους ἂεὶ δὲ τούναντίον ἐπιρρέειν, ἀνάμμησις δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιρρήθη φρονήσεως ἀπολειποῦσης.

C διὸ δὴ γελώτων τε ἐγρήγεσθαι χρὴ τῶν ἐξαισίων καὶ δακρύων, παραγγέλλειν δὲ παντὶ πάντ᾽ ἄνδρα καὶ ὅλην <πόλιν>¹ περιχάρειαν πᾶσαν ἀποκρυπτόμενον καὶ περιφερεύον ἑυσχημονεῖν πειράσθαι, κατὰ τε ἐνυπραγίας ἰσταμένου τοῦ δαίμονος ἐκάστου καὶ κατ' ἀτυχίας ² [οἷον πρὸς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀνάντη δαίμων ἀνθισταμένον τισὶ πράξεισι], ³ ἐλπίζειν δὲ ἂεὶ τοῖς γ' ἀγαθοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἄ δωρεῖται, πόνων μὲν ἐπιπτότοντων ἀντὶ μειζόνων

D ἐλάττους ποιήσειν τῶν τ' αὖ νῦν παρόντων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολάς, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἑαυτία τούτων ἂεὶ πάντ᾽ αὐτοῖς παραγενήσεσθαι μετ' ἀγαθῆς τύχης. ταῦτας δὴ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἐκαστον χρὴ ζῆν καὶ ταῖς ὑπομνήσει πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, μηδὲν φειδόμενον, ἀλλ' ἂεὶ κατὰ τε παιδιᾶς καὶ σπουδᾶς ἀναμμηνήσκοντα ἑτερόν τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν σαφῶς.

Νῦν οὖν δὴ περὶ μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, οἷα χρὴ

Ε ἐπιτηθεῖτεν, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκάστου, πολίν τινα χρεῶν εἶναι, λέεκται σχεδὸν ὅσα θεῖα ἐστὶ. τὰ δ' ἀνθρώπων νῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐφηται, δεὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπως γὰρ διαλεγόμεθα, ἂλλ' οὐ θεοῖς. ἐστὶ δὴ φύσει ἀνθρώπειον μάλιστα ἣδονα καὶ λύπας καὶ ἐπιθυμία, ἐξ δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ θυτόν πάν ἄνων

1 <πόλιν> added by Badham.
2 kat' ἀτυχίας Badham, Schanz; katὰ τὐχας MSS.
3 [οἷον . . . πράξεισι] bracketed by Schanz, after Zeller. The clause is awkward both in sense and in construction.
oftentimes repeated—but no less profitable—a man should repeat to himself by way of reminder; for where there is a constant efflux, there must also be a corresponding influx, and when wisdom flows away, the proper influx consists in recollection;¹ wherefore men must be restrained from untimely laughter and tears,² and every individual, as well as the whole State, must charge every man to try to conceal all show of extreme joy or sorrow, and to behave himself seemly, alike in good fortune and in evil, according as each man's Genius³ ranges itself,—hoping always that God will diminish the troubles that fall upon them by the blessings which he bestows, and will change for the better the present evils; and as to their blessings, hoping that they, contrariwise, will, with the help of good fortune, be increased. In these hopes, and in the recollections of all these truths, it behoves every man to live, sparing no pains, but constantly recalling them clearly to the recollection both of himself and of his neighbour, alike when at work and when at play.

Thus, as regards the right character of institutions and the right character of individuals, we have now laid down practically all the rules that are of divine sanction. Those that are of human origin we have not stated as yet, but state them we must; for our converse is with men, not gods. Pleasures, pains and desires are by nature especially human; and from these, of necessity, every mortal creature is, so to

¹ Cp. Philb. 33 E ff.
³ i.e. divine controlling force, or destiny.

("when daemons oppose certain actions as though facing things high and steep").
ἀτεχνῶς ὅλον ἐξηρτήσθαι τε καὶ ἐκκρεμάμενον εἶναι σπουδάσ ταῖς μεγίσταις. δεὶ δὴ τὸν κάλλιστον βίον ἑπαίνειν, μὴ μόνον ὅτι τῷ σχῆματι κρατεῖ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς, ἀν τίς ἑθέλῃ γεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ νέος ὃν φυγᾶς ἅπα αὐτοῦ γένηται, κρατεῖ καὶ τοῦτῳ ὃ πάντες ζητοῦμεν, τῷ χαίρειν πλεῖον, ἐλάττω δὲ λυπεῖσθαι παρὰ τὸν βίον ἄπαντα. ὃς δὲ ἐστι τοῦτο σαφές, ἀν γεύνηται τις ὀρθῶς, ἔτοιμος καὶ σφόδρα φανήσεται. ἢ δὲ ὀρθὸτης τίς; τούτῳ ἦδη παρὰ τοῦ λόγου χρή λαμβάνοντα σκοπεῖν· εἴτε ὠντως ἡμῖν κατὰ φύσιν πέφυκεν εἴτε ἀλλως παρὰ φύσιν, βίοιν χρὴ παρὰ βίοιν ἡδίω καὶ λυπηρότερον ὅσει σκοπεῖν. ἡδονὴν βουλόμεθα ἢμῖν εἶναι, λύπην δὲ οὔθ' αἱρούμεθα οὔτε βουλόμεθα, τὸ δὲ μηδετέρον ἀντὶ μὲν ἡδονῆς οὐ βουλόμεθα, λύπης δὲ ἀλλάττεσθαι βουλόμεθα· λύπην δὲ ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος ἡδονῆς βουλόμεθα, ἡδονὴν δὲ ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος λύπης οὐ βουλόμεθα, ἵσα δ' ἀντὶ ἰσων ἐκάτερα τούτων οὐχ ὡς βουλόμεθα ἔχοιμεν ἀν διασαφεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐστὶ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει καὶ σφοδρότησιν ἰσότητι τε καὶ ὅσα ἐναυτία ἐστὶ πάσι τοῖς τοιούτοις, πρὸς βούλησιν διαφέροντά τε καὶ μηδὲν διαφέροντα πρὸς αἴρεσιν ἐκάστων... οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης διακεκοσμημένων, ἐν δὲ μὲν βίω ἐνεστὶ πολλὰ ἐκάτερα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ σφοδρά, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν, βουλόμεθα, ἐν δὲ τὰ ἐναυτία, οὐ βουλόμεθα· καὶ αὐ ἐν δ' ὡς ὅλιγα ἐκάτερα καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ ἡρεμαία, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ τὰ λυπηρά, οὐ βουλόμεθα, ἐν δ' δὲ ὅπως ἐναυτία, βουλόμεθα· ἐν δ' δ' αὐ βίω ἰσορ-
say, suspended and dependent by the strongest cords of influence. Thus one should commend the noblest life, not merely because it is of superior fashion in respect of fair repute, but also because, if a man consents to taste it and not shun it in his youth, it is superior likewise in that which all men covet,—an excess, namely, of joy and a deficiency of pain throughout the whole of life. That this will clearly be the result, if a man tastes of it rightly, will at once be fully evident. But wherein does this "rightness" consist? That is the question which we must now, under the instruction of our Argument, consider; comparing the more pleasant life with the more painful, we must in this wise consider whether this mode is natural to us, and that other mode unnatural. We desire that pleasure should be ours, but pain we neither choose nor desire; and the neutral state we do not desire in place of pleasure, but we do desire it in exchange for pain; and we desire less pain with more pleasure, but we do not desire less pleasure with more pain; and when the two are evenly balanced, we are unable to state any clear preference. Now all these states—in their number, quantity, intensity, equality, and in the opposites thereof—have, or have not, influence on desire, to govern its choice of each. So these things being thus ordered of necessity, we desire that mode of life in which the feelings are many, great, and intense, with those of pleasure predominating, but we do not desire the life in which the feelings of pain predominate; and contrariwise, we do not desire the life in which the feelings are few, small, and gentle, if the painful predominate, but if the pleasurable predominate, we do desire it. Further,
ροπεί, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν, δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι τὸν ἵσσρόποπον βίον, ὡς τῶν μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα 1 τῷ φίλῳ ἡμῶν βουλόμεθα, τῶν δ' αὖ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ βουλόμεθα. πάντας δὴ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ὡς ἐν τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένοι πεφύκασι, καὶ δεῖ διαρεῖσθαι 2 ποίοις φύσει βουλόμεθα· εἰ δὲ τι παρὰ ταῦτα ἅρα φαμὲν βουλεύσθαι, διὰ τινα ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὄντων βίων αὐτὰ λέγομεν.

Τίνες δὴ καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ βίοι, ὃς πέρι δεὶ προελέμενο τὸ βουλητῶν τε καὶ ἐκούσιον ἀβουλήτου τε καὶ ἀκοψίου, 3 ἵδιον τ' ἀεὶ ὑμών ἑαυτῷ Εὐτάξαμενον, τὸ φίλον ἀμα καὶ ἡδὺ καὶ ἀριστὸν τε καὶ κάλλιστον ἐλόμενον ἔην ὡς οἰόν τ' ἐστιν ἀνθρωπον μακαρίωτατα; λέγωμεν δὴ σώφρωνα βίον ἐνα εἶναι καὶ φρόνιμον ἐνα καὶ ἐνα τῶν ἀνδρείων, καὶ τὸν υγιεινόν βίον ἐνα ταξώμεθα· καὶ τούτως οὐσὶ τέτταρι τέτταρας ἐναντίον άλλους τέτταρας, ἄφρονα, δειλόν, ἀκόλαστον, νοσώδη. σώφρων μὲν οὐν βίον ὁ γιγνώσκων θῆσει πρᾶον 734 ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἡρεμαίας μὲν λύπας, ἡρεμαίας δὲ ἡδονᾶς, μαλακᾶς δὲ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἔρωτας οὐκ ἐμμανεὶς παρεχόμενον ἀκόλαστον δὲ οξύν ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ σφοδρὰς μὲν λύπας, σφοδρὰς δὲ ἡδονᾶς, συντόνους δὲ καὶ οἰστρώδεις ἐπιθυμίας [τε] 5 καὶ ἔρωτας ὡς οἰόν τ' ἐμμανεστάτους παρεχόμενον· ὑπερβαλλούσας δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ σώφρου βίῳ τὰς ἡδονᾶς τῶν ἀχθηδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκολάστῳ τὰς

1 ὑπερβαλλούντα Ritter: ὑπερβαλλόντων MSS.
2 διαρεῖσθαι England: διανοεῖσθαι MSS.
3 ἀβουλήτου ... ἀκοψίου: ἀβουλήτου ... ἀκοψίων MSS.
4 ἵδιον τ' ἀεὶ: ἵδιον εἰς MSS.: ἵδιον τιν' εἰς Badham.
we must regard the life in which there is an equal balance of pleasure and pain as we previously regarded the neutral state: we desire the balanced life in so far as it exceeds the painful life in point of what we like, but we do not desire it in so far as it exceeds the pleasant lives in point of the things we dislike. The lives of us men must all be regarded as naturally bound up in these feelings, and what kinds of lives we naturally desire is what we must distinguish; but if we assert that we desire anything else, we only say so through ignorance and inexperience of the lives as they really are.

What, then, and how many are the lives in which a man—when he has chosen the desirable and voluntary in preference to the undesirable and the involuntary, and has made it into a private law for himself, by choosing what is at once both congenial and pleasant and most good and noble—may live as happily as man can? Let us pronounce that one of them is the temperate life, one the wise, one the brave, and let us class the healthy life as one; and to these let us oppose four others—the foolish, the cowardly, the licentious, and the diseased. He that knows the temperate life will set it down as gentle in all respects, affording mild pleasures and mild pains, moderate appetites and desires void of frenzy; but the licentious life he will set down as violent in all directions, affording both pains and pleasures that are extreme, appetites that are intense and maddening, and desires the most frenzied possible; and whereas in the temperate life the pleasures outweigh the pains, in the licentious

6 [rɛ] bracketed by England.
λύπας τῶν ἠδονῶν μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει καὶ πυκνότησιν. οthal ὦ μὲν ἠδίων ἡμῖν τῶν βίων, ὦ ἐν
λυπηρότερος εἰς ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει κατὰ φύσιν
Β γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τὸν γε βουλόμενον ἡδεὺς ἔχει ὁὐκέτι
παρείκει εἰκόνα γε ἀκολάστως ἂν, ἀλλὸ ἡδη
dῆλον ὡς, εἰ τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὅρθων, πᾶς εἰς
ἀνάγκης ἄκων ἐστὶν ἀκόλαστος· ἦ γὰρ δι’ ἀμα-
θίαν ἦ δι’ ἀκράτειαν ἦ δι’ ἀμφότερα τοῦ σωφρο-
νείν εὐδείας ὃν ἦ ο πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος ὁχλός. ταῦτα
dὲ περὶ νοσόδους τε καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ βίου διανοητέου,
ὡς ἔχουσι μὲν ἠδονᾶς καὶ λύπας, ὑπερβάλλουσι
C δὲ ἠδονῆς μὲν λύπας ἐν υγιεία, λύπαι δὲ ἠδονᾶς ἐν
νόσοις. ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ βούλησις τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν
βίων ὅπως ἢν τὸ λυπηρὸν ὑπερβάλλη· ὅποιον δὲ
ὑπερβάλλεται, τούτῳ τῶν βίων ἠδίω κεκρίκαμεν.
ό δὲ σώφρον τοῦ ἀκολάστου καὶ ὁ φρόνιμος τοῦ
ἀφρονος, φαίμεν ἂν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀνδρίας τοῦ τῆς
dειλίας ἐλάττονα καὶ σμικρότερα καὶ μανότερα
ἐχὼν ἀμφότερα, τῇ τῶν ἠδονῶν ἐκάτερος ἐκάτερον
ὑπερβάλλου, τῇ τῆς λύπης ἐκείνων ὑπερβάλλουν-
D των αὐτοῖς, ὦ μὲν ἀνδρείος τὸν δειλόν, ὦ δὲ
φρόνιμος τοῦ ἀφρονος, νικῶσιν, ὡστε ἠδίως εἶναι
tοὺς βίους τῶν βίων, σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείον καὶ
φρόνιμον καὶ ὑγιεινὸν δειλόν καὶ ἀφρονος καὶ
ἀκολάστου καὶ νοσώδους, καὶ ξυλλήβδην τὸν
ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενον κατὰ σῶμα ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψυχήν
tοῦ τῆς μοχθηρίας ἐχομένου βίου ἠδίως τε εἶναι
καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ὑπερέχειν ἐκ περιττοῦ κάλλει καὶ
ὀρθότητι καὶ ἀρετῆ καὶ εὐδοξία, ὡστε τὸν ἔχοντα
αὐτόν ἔχειν εὐδαιμονεστέρον ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοῦ
Ε ἐναντίον τῷ παντὶ καὶ ὅλῳ.
Καὶ τὸ μὲν προοίμιον τῶν νόμων ἐνταῦθαὶ
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life the pains exceed the pleasures in extent, number, and frequency. Whence it necessarily results that the one life must be naturally more pleasant, the other more painful to us; and it is no longer possible for the man who desires a pleasant life voluntarily to live a licentious life, but it is clear by now (if our argument is right) that no man can possibly be licentious voluntarily: it is owing to ignorance or incontinence, or both, that the great bulk of mankind live lives lacking in temperance. Similarly with regard to the diseased life and the healthy life, one must observe that while both have pleasures and pains, the pleasures exceed the pains in health, but the pains the pleasures in disease. Our desire in the choice of lives is not that pain should be in excess, but the life we have judged the more pleasant is that in which pain is exceeded by pleasure. We will assert, then, that since the temperate life has its feelings smaller, fewer and lighter than the licentious life, and the wise life than the foolish, and the brave than the cowardly, and since the one life is superior to the other in pleasure, but inferior in pain, the brave life is victorious over the cowardly and the wise over the foolish; consequently the one set of lives ranks as more pleasant than the other: the temperate, brave, wise, and healthy lives are more pleasant than the cowardly, foolish, licentious and diseased. To sum up, the life of bodily and spiritual virtue, as compared with that of vice, is not only more pleasant, but also exceeds greatly in nobility, rectitude, virtue and good fame, so that it causes the man who lives it to live ever so much more happily than he who lives the opposite life.

Thus far we have stated the prelude of our laws,
λεχθέν τῶν λόγων τέλος ἐχέτω, μετὰ δὲ τὸ προοίμιον ἀναγκαῖον που νόμον ἔπεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ γε ἄλληθες [νόμους]¹ πολιτείας ὑπογραφήν.² καθάπερ οὖν δὴ τίνα ξυνυφήν ἢ καὶ πλέγμ' ἀλλ' ὀτιοῦν, οὐκ ἕκ τῶν αὐτῶν οἶνον τ' ἐστὶ τήν τε ἐφυφήν καὶ τὸν στήμονα ἀπεργάζεσθαι, διαφέρειν δ' ἀναγκαῖον τὸ τῶν στημόνων πρὸς ἀρετῆν γένους· ἵσχυρόν τε γὰρ καὶ τίνα βεβαιότητα ἐν τοῖς τρόποις εἰληφός, τὸ δὲ μαλακότερον καὶ ἐπιεικεία τινὶ δικαία χρώμενον· ὅθεν δὴ τοὺς μεγάλας ἀρχὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἄρξοντας δεῖ διακρίνεσθαι τίνα τρόπον ταύτη καὶ τοὺς σμικρὰς ³ παιδεία βασανισθέντας ἐκάστοτε κατὰ λόγουν ἐστὸν γὰρ δὴ δύο πολιτείας εἰδή, τὸ μὲν ἀρχῶν καταστάσεως ἐκάστοις, τὸ δὲ νόμοι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀποδοθέντες.

Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτων ἀπάντων δεὶ διανοεῖσθαι Β τὰ τοιάδε. πᾶσαν ἂγέλην ποιμῆν καὶ βουκόλοις τροφεῦς τε ἱππῶν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, πάραλαβῶν οὐκ ἄλλως μὴ ποτε ἐπιχειρήσῃ θεραπεύειν ἢ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐκάστη προσήκοντα καθαρμὸν καθάρη τῇ ξυνοικῆσει, διαλέξας δὲ τὰ τε ὑγιή καὶ τὰ μὴ καὶ τὰ γενναία καὶ ἄγεννη τὰ μὲν ἀποπέμψῃ πρὸς ἄλλας τινᾶς ἄγελας, τὰ δὲ θεραπεύσῃ, διανοούμενος ὡς μάταιος ἀν ὁ πόνος εἰη καὶ ἵνηνυτος περὶ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχάς, ἃς φύσεις C καὶ πονηρὰ τροφῆ διεφθαρκυία προσαπόλλυσι τὸ

¹ [νόμους] bracketed by W.-Möllendorff.
² ὑπογραφή W.-Möllendorff: ὑπογράφειν MSS.
³ σμικρὰς Bücheler, Schanz: σμικρὰ MSS.

¹ A play on the double sense of νόμος—"law" and musical "nome" or "tune."

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and here let that statement end: after the prelude must necessarily follow the tune,—or rather, to be strictly accurate, a sketch of the State-organisation. Now, just as in the case of a piece of webbing, or any other woven article, it is not possible to make both warp and woof of the same materials, but the stuff of the warp must be of better quality—for it is strong and is made firm by its twistings, whereas the woof is softer and shows a due degree of flexibility—from this we may see that in some such way we must mark out those who are to hold high offices in the State and those who are to hold low offices, after applying in each case an adequate educational test. For of State-organisation there are two divisions, of which the one is the appointment of individuals to office, the other the assignment of laws to the offices.

But, in truth, before we deal with all these matters we must observe the following. In dealing with a flock of any kind, the shepherd or cowherd, or the keeper of horses or any such animals, will never attempt to look after it until he has first applied to each group of animals the appropriate purge—which is to separate the sound from the unsound, and the well-bred from the ill-bred, and to send off the latter to other herds, while keeping the former under his own care; for he reckons that his labour would be fruitless and unending if it were spent on bodies and souls which nature and ill-nurture have combined to ruin, and which themselves bring ruin on a stock

2 In weaving the ancients used an upright loom, in which the fixed, vertical threads of the "warp" were of coarser fibre than the transverse threads of the "woof."

3 Cp. Ar. Pol. 1265b 18 ff.

4 Cp. Rep. 410 A.

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τῶν ὑγίῶν καὶ ἀκηράτων ἥθων τε καὶ σωμάτων γένος ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν κτημάτων, ἀν τις τὰ ὑπάρχοντα μὴ διακαθαίρηται. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων ἐλάττων τε σπουδή καὶ παραδείγματος ἐνεκα μονὸν ἄξια παραθέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σπουδῆς τῆς μεγίστης τῷ τε νομοθέτῃ διερευνᾶσθαι καὶ φράζειν τὸ προσήκον ἑκάστοις καθαρμοῦ τε πέρι καὶ ἐμπασῶν τῶν ἄλλων πράξεων. αὐτίκα γὰρ τὸ περὶ καθαρ-

D μοὺς πόλεως ὃδ’ ἔχων ἂν εἰῆ πολλῶν οὐσῶν τῶν διακαθάρσεων αἱ μὲν ράοὺς εἰςιν, αἱ δὲ χαλε-

πώτεραι, καὶ τὰς μὲν τύραννας μὲν ὡν καὶ νομο-

θέτης ὁ αὐτός, ὅσαι χαλεπὰ τ’ εἰσὶ καὶ ἄρισται,

δύνατ’ ἂν καθήραι νομοθέτης δὲ ἀνευ τυραννίδος καθιστᾶς πολιτειάν καινὴν καὶ νόμους, εἰ καὶ τὸν πραότατον τῶν καθαρμῶν καθήρειεν, ἀγαπη-

τῶς ἂν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον δράσειν. ἔστι δ’ ὁ μὲν ἄριστος ἀλγείνος, καθάπερ ὅσα τῶν φαρμάκων

E τοιοῦτοτροπα, ὁ τῇ δίκῃ μετὰ τιμωρίας εἰς τὸ κολάζειν ἄγων, θάνατον ἡ φυγήν τῇ τιμωρίᾳ τὸ

τέλος ἐπιτιθείς. τοὺς γὰρ μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότας, ἀνιάτους δὲ ὄντας, μεγίστην δὲ ὄνταν βλάβην

πόλεως, ἀπαλλάττειν εἰσθεν. ὁ δὲ πραότερος ἔστι τῶν καθαρμῶν ὁ τοιόσοδο ἡμῖν’ ὅσοι διὰ τὴν τῆς

τροφῆς ἀπορίαν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐπὶ τὰ τῶν ἑχόν-

των μὴ ἔχοντες ἐτοίμους αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυται

736 παρεσκευάκοτες ἐπεσθαί, τοῦτοις ὡς νοσήματι

πόλεως ἐμπεφυκότι δ’ εὑρήμαις ἀπαλλαγῆς ὁνόμα ἀποκίαν τιθέμενος, εὑμενῶς ὃτι μάλιστα

ἐξεπέμψατο. παντὶ μὲν ὦν νομοθετοῦντι τοῦτο

ἀμός γέ πως κατ’ ἀρχὰς δραστεύων, ἡμῖν μὴν ἐτι

1 ἀπαλλαγῆς Stephens: ἀπαλλαγὴν MSS.
that is sound and clean both in habit and in body,—whatever the class of beast,—unless a thorough purge be made in the existing herd. This is a matter of minor importance in the case of other animals, and deserves mention only by way of illustration; but in the case of man it is of the highest importance for the lawgiver to search out and to declare what is proper for each class both as regards purging out and all other modes of treatment. For instance, in respect of civic purgings, this would be the way of it. Of the many possible modes of purging, some are milder, some more severe; those that are severest and best a lawgiver who was also a despot ¹ might be able to effect, but a lawgiver without despotic power might be well content if, in establishing a new polity and laws, he could effect even the mildest of purgations. The best purge is painful, like all medicines of a drastic nature,—the purge which hales to punishments by means of justice linked with vengeance, crowning the vengeance with exile or death: it, as a rule, clears out the greatest criminals when they are incurable and cause serious damage to the State. A milder form of purge is one of the following kind:—when, owing to scarcity of food, people are in want, and display a readiness to follow their leaders in an attack on the property of the wealthy,—then the lawgiver, regarding all such as a plague inherent in the body politic, ships them abroad as gently as possible, giving the euphemistic title of “emigration” to their evacuation. By some means or other this must be done by every legislator at the beginning,

¹ Cp. 709 EFF.
The citizens who are to form the new Magnesian colony are to be drawn from various quarters, and they must be
but in our case the task is now even more simple; for we have no need to contrive for the present either a form of emigration or any other purgative selection; but just as when there is a confluence of floods from many sources—some from springs, some from torrents—into a single pool, we have to take diligent precautions to ensure that the water may be of the utmost possible purity, by drawing it off in some cases, and in others by making channels to divert its course. Yet toil and risk, it would appear, are involved in every exercise of statecraft. Since, however, our present efforts are verbal rather than actual, let us assume that our collection of citizens is now completed, and its purity secured to our satisfaction; for we shall test thoroughly by every kind of test and by length of time the vicious among those who attempt to enter our present State as citizens, and so prevent their arrival, whereas we shall welcome the virtuous with all possible graciousness and goodwill.

And let us not omit to notice this piece of good luck—that, just as we said that the colony of the Heraclidae was fortunate in avoiding fierce and dangerous strife concerning the distribution of land and money and the cancelling of debts (so we are similarly lucky); for when a State is obliged to settle such strife by law, it can neither leave vested interests unaltered nor yet can it in any wise alter them, and no way is left save what one might term that of "pious aspiration" and cautious change, little by little, extended over a long period, and that way carefully tested (like streams flowing into a reservoir) before being admitted.
μεταβιβάζουσιν, ἡδὲ τῶν κινούμενων αἰεὶ κεκτημένων μὲν αὐτῶν γὰρ ἄθροον ὑπάρχειν, κεκτημένων δὲ καὶ ὁφειλέτας αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς, ἑθελόντων τε τούτων πὴ τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις δι᾽ ἐπιείκειαν
Ε κοινωνεῖν τὰ μὲν ἀφίεντας, τὰ δὲ νεμομένους, ἀμὴ γέ πη τῆς μετρίωσης ἐχομένως καὶ πενίαν ἤγομένους εἰναι, μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω τοιεῖν ἄλλα τὸ τὴν ἀπλιστίαν πλεῖον. σωτηρίας τε γὰρ ἁρχὴ μεγίστη πόλεως αὐτὴ γίγνεται, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης οἶνον κρηπίδος μοῦμον ἔποικοδομεῖν δυνατὸν δύναται ἀν ὑπεροῦν ἐποικοδομητῆς τῆς κόσμου πολιτικῆς προσήκοντα τῇ τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει.

737 ταύτης δὲ σαθρὰς οὐσίας [τῆς μεταβάσεως] ὁύκ εὐπορος ἡ μετὰ ταύτα πολιτικὴ πράξις οὐδεμιᾶ γίγνοιτ’ ἂν πόλει. ἢ ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς φαμεν, ἐκφεύγουμεν ὁμοσ δὲ εἰρήσθαι γε ὀρθότερον, εὶ καὶ μὴ ἐξεφεύγομεν, ὅπη ποτ’ ἂν ἐποιοῦμέθα αὐτῆς τὴν φυγήν. εἰρήσθω δὴ νῦν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ μὴ φιλοχρηματεῖν μετὰ δίκης, ἄλλη δ’ οὐκ ἑστὶν οὔτ’ εὑρεία οὔτε στενὴ τῆς τοιαύτης μηχανῆς διαφυγῆ. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἶνον ἔρμα πόλεως ἡμῶν κείσθω τα νῦν: ἄνεγκλήτως γὰρ δεῖ τὰς οὕσιας πρὸς ἄλληλους κατασκευάζεσθαι ἀμός γε πῶς,

Β ἡ μὴ προϊέναι πρότερον εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν ἐκόντας εἰναι τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς, οἰς ἡ παλαιὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἄλληλους, [καὶ] ὁσίοι νοῦ καὶ σμικρὸν μετή. οἰς δὲ, ὡς ἡμῶν νῦν, θεὸς ἐδωκε καίνυν τε πόλιν οἰκίζειν καὶ μὴ τινα ἔχθρας εἰναι πω πρὸς ἄλληλους, τούτους ἔχθρας αὐτοῖς

1 ἡδὲ Bekker, Burnet: ἡ δὲ MSS., Zur.
3 ἐκόντας Ast: ἐκόντα MSS.
4 [καὶ] bracketed by Stallb.
LAWS, BOOK V

is this:—there must already exist a supply of men to effect the change, who themselves, on each occasion, possess abundance of land and have many persons in their debt, and who are kind enough to wish to give a share of these things to those of them who are in want, partly by remissions and partly by distributions, making a kind of rule of moderation and believing that poverty consists, not in decreasing one's substance, but in increasing one's greed. For this is the main foundation of the security of a State, and on this as on a firm keel it is possible to build whatever kind of civic organisation may be subsequently built suitable for the arrangement described; but if the foundation be rotten, the subsequent political operations will prove by no means easy for any State. This difficulty, as we say, we avoid; it is better, however, that we should explain the means by which, if we had not actually avoided it, we might have found a way of escape. Be it explained, then, that that means consists in renouncing avarice by the aid of justice, and that there is no way of escape, broad or narrow, other than this device. So let this stand fixed for us now as a kind of pillar of the State. The properties of the citizens must be established somehow or other on a basis that is secure from intestine disputes; otherwise, for people who have ancient disputes with one another, men will not of their own free will proceed any further with political construction, if they have a grain of sense. But as for those to whom—as to us now—God has given a new State to found, and one free as yet from internal feuds,—that those founders should excite

1 There may be an allusion here to Solon; the first step in his political reforms was a measure for the abolition of debts ("Seisachtheia").
PLATO

αἵτίους γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν διανομὴν τῆς γῆς τε καὶ οἰκήσεων οὐκ ἀνθρώπινος ἂν εἰη μετὰ κάκης πάσης ἀμαθία.

C Τίς οὖν δὴ τρόπος ἂν εἰη τῆς ὀρθῆς διανομῆς; πρῶτον μὲν τὸν αὐτῶν ὅγκου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δεῦ τάξασθαι, πόσον εἶναι χρεών. μετὰ δὲ τούτο τὴν διανομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν, καθ' ὁπόσα μέρη πληθεὶ καὶ ὅπηλικα διαιρετέοι αὐτοὺς, ἀνομολογητέοι ἔπι δὲ ταῦτα τῇ τε γῆν καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ὅτι μάλιστα ἵσας ἐπινεμητέον. ὅγκος δὴ πλήθουσι ἱκανοῖς οὐκ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ' ἂν λειχθεῖς ἢ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς τῶν πλησιοχώρων

D πόλεις, γῆς μέν, ὁπόση ποσοῦς 1 σώφρονας ὅντας ἱκανὴ τρέφειν, πλείονος δ' οὐδὲν προσδεῖ, πλήθους δὲ, ὁπόσοι τοῦς προσχώρους ἀδικοῦντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι δυνατοὶ καὶ γείτοσιν ἐαυτῶν ἀδικοῦμενοι βοηθῆσαι μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπόρως δύναντ' ἄν. ταῦτα δ' ἱδόντες τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς γείτονας ὀριούμεθα ἔργω καὶ λόγους: νῦν δὲ σχήματος ἑνεκα καὶ ὑπογραφῆς, ἵνα περαινηταί, πρὸς τὴν νομοθεσίαν ὁ λόγος ἵτω.

E Πεντάκις μὲν χίλιοι ἔστωσαν καὶ τετταράκοντα, ἀριθμοῦ τινος ἑνεκα προσήκοντος, γεωμόροι τε καὶ ἀμυνοῦντες τῇ νομῇ. γῆ δὲ καὶ οἰκήσεις ὡσαύτως τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη διανεμηθήτων, γενόμενα ἀνὴρ καὶ κλῆρος ξυνομή. δύο μὲν δὴ μέρη τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὸ πρῶτον νεμηθήτω, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρία τοῦ 2 αὐτοῦ. πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ τεττάρα καὶ πέντε καὶ μέχρι τῶν δέκα ἐφεξής. δει δὴ περὶ ἀριθμῶν τὸ

1 ποσοῦς England: πόσους MSS.
2 τοῦ αὐτοῦ Stephens, Schanz: τῶν αὐτῶν MSS.
enmity against themselves because of the distribution of land and houses would be a piece of folly combined with utter depravity of which no man could be capable.

What then would be the plan of a right distribution? First, we must fix at the right total the number of citizens; next, we must agree about the distribution of them,—into how many sections, and each of what size, they are to be divided; and among these sections we must distribute, as equally as we can, both the land and the houses. An adequate figure for the population could not be given without reference to the territory and to the neighbouring States. Of land we need as much as is capable of supporting so many inhabitants of temperate habits, and we need no more; and as to population, we need a number such that they will be able to defend themselves against injury from adjoining peoples, and capable also of lending some aid to their neighbours when injured. These matters we shall determine, both verbally and actually, when we have inspected the territory and its neighbours; but for the present it is only a sketch in outline of our legislation that our argument will now proceed to complete.

Let us assume that there are—as a suitable number—5,040 men, to be land-holders and to defend their plots;¹ and let the land and houses be likewise divided into the same number of parts—the man and his allotment forming together one division. First, let the whole number be divided into two; next into three; then follow in natural order four and five, and so on up to ten. Regarding numbers,

¹ Cp. Ar. Pol. 1265a 30 ff.
γε τοσοῦτον πάντα ἀνδρά νομοθετοῦντα γενο- 738 κέναι, τίς ἀριθμὸς καὶ ποῖος πάσας πόλεσιν
χρησιμώτατος ἦν εἰς. Λέγωμεν δὴ τὸν πλείστας καὶ ἐφεξῆς μᾶλιστα διανομᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ κεκτημένων;
οὐ μὲν δὴ πᾶς εἰς πάντα πάσας τομὰς εἴληθεν ὁ δὲ τῶν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχίλιων εἰς τε πόλεμον καὶ ὅσα κατ᾽ εἰρήνην [πρὸς ἀπαντα
tὰ ξυμβολαὶ καὶ κοινωνήματα], 1 εἰσφορῶν τε
πέρι καὶ διανομῶν, οὐ πλείους μᾶς δεοσῶν
β ἐξήκοντα δύνατ' ἀν τέμνεσθαι τομῶν, ξυνεχεῖς
de ἀπὸ μᾶς μέχρι τῶν δέκα.

Ταύτα μὲν οὐν δὴ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν δεῖ βεβαιῶς
λαβεῖν, οἷς ἄν ὁ νόμος προστάτη λαμβάνειν ἐχεί
γὰρ οὐν οὐκ ἄλλως ἡ ταύτη, δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ ῥηθῆναι
tῶν ἴνα κατοικίζωτε πόλιν. οὐτ' ἂν καὶνὴν ἔξ
ἀρχῆς τις ποτὶ οὔτ' ἂν παλαιὰν διεθαρμένην ἐπι-
σκεύαζῃ, περὶ θεῶν γε καὶ ιερῶν, ἀντα τε ἐν τῇ
πόλει έκάστοις ἱδρύσθαι δεί καὶ δυντίνων ἐπονομα-
ζοῦσθαι θεῶν ἡ δαιμόνων, οὔδεις ἐπιχειρήσεις κεινεὼν

C νοῦν ἔχων ὀσα ἐκ Δελφῶν ἡ Δωδώνης ἡ παρ' "Αμ-
μονος ἡ τυνς ἐπεισαν παλαιοὶ λόγοι ὅπηδὴ
tiως πείσαντες, φασμάτων γενομένων ἡ ἐπιπτοιας
λεχθεῖσις θεῶν, πεισθέντες 2 δὲ ὅσιας τελε-
tαις συμμίκτους κατεστήσαντο εἰτε αὐτόθεν
ἐπιχωρίους εἰτ' οὖν Τυρρηνικὰς εἰτε Κυπριάς
εἰτ' ἄλλοθεν ὅθενον, καθιέρων δὲ τοῖς
tοιοῦτοις λόγοις φήμας τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ
βωμοὺς καὶ θαυμί, τεμένῃ τε τούτων ἐκάστοις
ἐτεμένωσαν. τούτων νομοθέτη τὸ σμικρότατον

1 [πρὸς ... κοινωνήματα] bracketed by England.
2 πεισθέντες W.—Möllendorff: πεισαντες MSS.

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every man who is making laws must understand at least thus much,—what number and what kind of number will be most useful for all States. Let us choose that which contains the most numerous and most consecutive sub-divisions. Number as a whole comprises every division for all purposes; whereas the number 5,040, for purposes of war, and in peace for all purposes connected with contributions and distributions, will admit of division into no more than 59 sections, these being consecutive from one up to ten.¹

These facts about numbers must be grasped firmly and with deliberate attention by those who are appointed by law to grasp them: they are exactly as we have stated them, and the reason for stating them when founding a State is this:—in respect of gods, and shrines, and the temples which have to be set up for the various gods in the State, and the gods and daemons they are to be named after, no man of sense,—whether he be framing a new State or re-forming an old one that has been corrupted,—will attempt to alter the advice from Delphi or Dodona or Ammon, or that of ancient sayings, whatever form they take—whether derived from visions or from some reported inspiration from heaven. By this advice they instituted sacrifices combined with rites, either of native origin or imported from Tuscany or Cyprus or elsewhere; and by means of such sayings they sanctified oracles and statues and altars and temples, and marked off for each of them sacred glebes. Nothing of all these should

¹ The number 5,040 is here chosen because, for a number of moderate size, it has the greatest possible number of divisors (59), including all the digits from 1 to 10.
ΠΛΑΤΟ

1) Ο άπαντων ούδεν κινήτεον, τοῖς δὲ μέρεσιν ἐκάστοις θεοῖς ἢ δαίμονα ἢ καὶ τινα ἢρως ἀποδοτέον, ἐν δὲ τῇ τῆς γῆς διανομῇ πρῶτοι ἐξαίρετα τεμένη τε καὶ πάντα τὰ προσήκοντα ἁποδοτέον, ὅπως ἄν ξύλλογοι ἐκάστων τῶν μερῶν κατὰ χρόνους γιγνόμενοι τοὺς προσταχθέντας εἰς τὲς τὰς χρείας ἐκάστας εὐμάρειαν παρασκευάζωσι καὶ φιλοφρονώνται τε ἀλλήλους μετὰ θυσίων καὶ οἰκείωνται

Ε καὶ γνωρίζωσιν, οὐ μείζον οɣδεν πόλει ἁγαθόν, ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὐτοὶς εἶναι ὅπου γὰρ μη φῶς ἀλλήλους ἐστίν ἀλλήλων ἐν τοῖς τρόποις, ἀλλὰ σκότος, οὔτ' ἄν τιμῆς τῆς ἄξιας οὔτ' ἄρχων οὔτε δίκης ποτὲ τίς ἄν τῆς προσηκούσης ὑρθῶς τυγχάνοι. δεὶ δὴ πάντα ἄνδρα ἐν πρὸς ἐν τοῦτο σπεύδων ἐν πᾶσαις πόλεσιν, ὅπως μήτε αὐτὸς κιβδηλὸς ποτε φανεῖται ὅπωσ, ἀπλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀληθῆς ἀεί, μήτε ἀλλὸς τοιοῦτος ὃν αὐτὸν διαπατήσει.

739 Ἡ δὴ τὸ μετά τοῦτο φορά, καθάπερ πεττῶν ἀφ' ἱεροῦ, τῆς τῶν νόμων κατασκευῆς ἀνήθης οὐσα τάχ' ἃν θαυμάσαι τὸν ἀκούοντα τὸ πρῶτον ποιήσειν' οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀναλογιζομένῳ καὶ πειρωμένῳ φανεῖται δευτέρως ἀν πόλις οἰκείσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον. τάχα δ' οὔκ ἂν τις προσδέξαιτο αὐτὴν διὰ τὸ μὴ σύνηθες νομοθέτη μὴ τυραννουντί τὸ δ' ἐστὶν ὑρθότατα, εἰπεῖν μὲν τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην, δοῦναι δὲ εἰπόντα αἴρεσιν ἐκάστῳ τῷ τῆς συνοικίσεως Β κυρίῳ. ποιῶμεν δὴ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον καὶ

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1 The middle line on the draughtsboard: to move a piece placed on this line was equivalent to “trying one’s last chance.”
the lawgiver alter in the slightest degree; to each section he should assign a god or daemon, or at the least a hero; and in the distribution of the land he should assign first to these divinities choice domains with all that pertains to them, so that, when assemblies of each of the sections take place at the appointed times, they may provide an ample supply of things requisite, and the people may fraternize with one another at the sacrifices and gain knowledge and intimacy, since nothing is of more benefit to the State than this mutual acquaintance; for where men conceal their ways one from another in darkness rather than light, there no man will ever rightly gain either his due honour or office, or the justice that is befitting. Wherefore every man in every State must above all things endeavour to show himself always true and sincere towards everyone, and no humbug, and also to allow himself to be imposed upon by no such person.

The next move in our settling of the laws is one that might at first hearing cause surprise because of its unusual character—like the move of a draughts-player who quits his "sacred line"; none the less, it will be clear to him who reasons it out and uses experience that a State will probably have a constitution no higher than second in point of excellence. Probably one might refuse to accept this, owing to unfamiliarity with lawgivers who are not also despots: but it is, in fact, the most correct plan to describe the best polity, and the second best, and the third, and after describing them to give the choice to the individual who is charged with the founding of the settlement. This plan let

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2 Cp. 735 D.
τὰ νῦν ἧμεῖς, εἰπόντες ἀρετὴ πρώτην πολιτείαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην τὴν δὲ αἴρεσιν Κλεινία τε ἀποδιδόμεν τὰ νῦν καὶ εἰ τις ἄλλος [ἀν] ¹ δὴ ποτε ἐθελήσειεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἐκλογήν ἐλθὼν κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον ἀπονείμασθαι τὸ φίλον αὐτῷ τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίδος. πρῶτῃ μὲν τοίνυν πόλις τε ἐστὶ καὶ πολιτεία καὶ νόμοι ἀριστοὶ, ὅπως τὸ πάλαι λεγόμενον ἂν γίγνηται C κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν ὅτι μάλιστα· λέγεται δὲ ὡς οὖν εἰπτε ποτέ νῦν ἐστιν εἰτ' ἐσται ποτέ, κοινὰς μὲν γυναίκας, κοινοὺς δὲ εἰναι παίδας, κοινά δὲ χρήματα ξύμπαντα, καὶ πάση μηχανή τὸ λεγόμενον ἵδιον πανταχόθεν ἐκ τοῦ βίου ἄπαν ἐξήρηται, μεμηχάνηται δ' εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ τὰ φύσει ἴδια κοινά ἀμὴ γέ τη γεγονέναι, οἷον ὁματα καὶ ὡτα καὶ χεῖρας κοινὰ μὲν ὀραν δοκεῖν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ D πράττειν, ἐπαίνειν τε αὐ καὶ ψέγειν καθ' ἐν ὅτι μάλιστα ξύμπαντας ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς χαίροντας καὶ λυπομένους, καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν <τιμῶν> ² οὕτως νόμοι μίαν ὅτι μάλιστα πόλιν ἀπεργάζονται, τούτων ὑπερβολὴ πρὸς ἀρετὴν οὐδές ποτε ἄρον ἄλλων θέμενος ὀρθότερον οὐδὲ βελτίων θῆσεται. ἢ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη πόλις, εἰτε ποτέ θεοὶ ἢ παίδες θεῶν αὐτὴν οἰκοῦσι [πλείους ἐνός], ³ οὕτω διαξῶται εὐφραίνομενοι κατοικοῦσι· διὸ δὴ παράδειγμα γε Ε πολιτείας οὐκ ἄλλη Χρῆ σκοπεῖν, ἄλλη ἐχομένους ταύτης τὴν ὅτι μάλιστα τοιαύτην ζητεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν. ἢν δὲ νῦν ὑμεῖς ἐπικεχειρήκαμεν, εἰὶ τε

¹ [ἀν] bracketed by Naber, Schanz.
² <τιμῶν> I add.

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us now adopt: let us state the polities which rank first, second, and third in excellence; and the choice let us hand over to Clinias and to whosoever else may at any time wish, in proceeding to the selection of such things, to take over, according to his own disposition, what he values in his own country. That State and polity come first, and those laws are best, where there is observed as carefully as possible throughout the whole State the old saying\(^1\) that “friends have all things really in common.” As to this condition,—whether it anywhere exists now, or ever will exist,—in which there is community of wives, children, and all chattels, and all that is called “private” is everywhere and by every means rooted out of our life, and so far as possible it is contrived that even things naturally “private” have become in a way “communized,”—eyes, for instance, and ears and hands seem to see, hear, and act in common,—and that all men are, so far as possible, unanimous in the praise and blame they bestow, rejoicing and grieving at the same things, and that they honour with all their heart those laws which render the State as unified as possible,—no one will ever lay down another definition that is truer or better than these conditions in point of super-excellence. In such a State,—be it gods or sons of gods that dwell in it,—they dwell pleasantly, living such a life as this. Wherefore one should not look elsewhere for a model constitution, but hold fast to this one, and with all one’s power seek the constitution that is as like to it as possible. That constitution which we are now engaged upon, if it came into being,

Ἀν γενομένη πως ἄθανασίας ἐγγύτατα καὶ τιμία
δευτέρως· τρίτην δὲ μετὰ ταύτα, ἐὰν θεὸς ἑθέλῃ, διαπερανοῦμεθα. γύνν δ' οὖν ταύτην τίνα λέγομεν καὶ πῶς γενομένην ἂν τοιαύτην;

Νειμάσθων μὲν δὴ πρῶτον γῆν τε καὶ οἰκίας, 740 καὶ μὴ κοινὴ γεωργοῦντον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τοιούτον μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ τήν γῆν γένεσιν καὶ τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσιν εὑρηταί· νεμέσθων δ' οὖν τοιάδε διανοία πως, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν λαχώντα τῆς λήξιν ταύτην νομίζειν μὲν κοινὴν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως ἐξυμπάσχει, πατρίδος δὲ οὕσης τῆς χώρας θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ μειζόνως ἢ μητέρα παιδᾶς, τῷ καὶ δέσποιναν θεῶν αὐτὴν οὕσαν θυτῆτων ὄντων γεγονέαι, ταύτα δ' ἔχειν διανοήματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους θεοὺς

Β τε ἀμα καὶ δαίμονας. ὡπως δ' ἂν ταύτα εἰς τὸν αἰεί χρόνον οὕτως ἔχοντα ὑπάρχη, τάδε προσδιανοητέον ὡσα εἰσὶ τὰ γῆν ἠμῖν ἐστίν διανεμηθεῖσαι τὸν ἄριθμον, ταύτας δεῖν αἰεί τοσαύτας εἶναι καὶ μήτε τι πλείονος γίγνεσθαι μήτε τί ποτε ἔλαττους. ὥδ' οὖν ἂν τὸ τοιοῦτον βεβαιῶσε γίγνοιτο περὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν· ὁ λαχῶν τῶν κληρον καταλειπτέων αἰεὶ ταύτης τῆς ὁικήσεως ἕνα μόνον κληρονόμον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παιδᾶν, ἃν ἂν αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἢ φίλου, διάδοχον καὶ θεραπευτὴν θεῶν

C καὶ γένους καὶ πόλεως, τῶν τε ξόντων καὶ ὅσους ἂν ἢδη τέλος εἰς τὸν τότε χρόνον ἔχη. τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παιδᾶς, οἷς ἂν πλείον ἐνὸς γίγνωσται, θηλείας τε ἐκδόσθαι κατὰ νόμον τῶν ἐπιτάχθησόμενον, ἀρβενάς τε, οἷς ἂν τῆς γενέσεως ἐλλείπῃ τῶν πολιτῶν, τούτους υἱεῖς διανέμειν, κατὰ χάριν

1 τιμία my conj. (also Apelt, independently): ἡ μία MSS., edd.

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would be very near to immortality, and would come second in point of merit. The third we shall investigate hereafter, if God so will; for the present, however, what is this second best polity, and how would it come to be of such a character?

First, let them portion out the land and houses, and not farm in common, since such a course is beyond the capacity of people with the birth, rearing and training we assume. And let the apportionment be made with this intention,—that the man who receives the portion should still regard it as common property of the whole State, and should tend the land, which is his fatherland, more diligently than a mother tends her children, inasmuch as it, being a goddess, is mistress over its mortal population, and should observe the same attitude also towards the local gods and daemons. And in order that these things may remain in this state for ever, these further rules must be observed: the number of hearths, as now appointed by us, must remain unchanged, and must never become either more or less. This will be securely effected, in the case of every State, in the following way: the allotment-holder shall always leave behind him one son, whichever he pleases, as the inheritor of his dwelling, to be his successor in the tendance of the deified ancestors both of family and of State, whether living or already deceased; as to the rest of the children, when a man has more than one, he should marry off the females according to the law that is to be ordained,¹ and the males he should dispose of to such of the citizens as have no male issue, by a friendly arrangement if possible;

¹ Cp. 742 Q.
μὲν μάλιστα· ἕαν δὲ τοις ἐλλειπὼσι χάριτες, ἢ πλείους ἐπίγονοι γίγνωνται θήλεις ἢ τινες ἀρρένες ἐκάστων, ἢ καὶ τούναντίον ὅταν ἐλάττους ὀσὶ

D παίδων ἰδίοις γενομένης, πάντων τούτων ἀρχὴν ἢν ἂν θομέθα μεγίστην καὶ τιμιωτάτην, αὕτη σκεφαμένη τί χρῆ σχῆσαί τοῖς περιγενομένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐλλειποσί, ποριζέτω μηχανήν ὅτι μάλιστα ὅπως αἱ πεντακισχίλιαι καὶ τετταράκοντα οἰκῆσεις ἢ ἰᾶ ἐνόν ἔσονται. μηχαναὶ δ' εἰσὶ πολλαί· καὶ γὰρ ἐπισκέψεις γενέσεως οἷς ἂν εὑροῦσι η γένεσις, καὶ τούναντίον ἐπιμέλειαι καὶ σπουδαῖ πλήθους γεννημάτων εἰσὶ τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀτιμίαις καὶ νουθε-

Ε τῆσσει πρεσβυτῶν περὶ νέους [διὰ λόγων νουθετη-

tικῶν], 1 αἱ πάντως ἢ ἰ ὅν ἔναντι ποιεῖν ὁ λέγομεν. καὶ δὴ καὶ το γε τέλος, ἂν πᾶσα ἀπορία περὶ τὴν ἀνίσωσιν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα οἰκῶν γίγνηται, ἐπίχνοις δ' ὑπερβάλλουσα ἢμῖν πολιτῶν διὰ φιλοφροσύνην τὴν τῶν ξύνοι-

κούντων ἀλλήλοις ξυμβαίνῃ καὶ ἀπορῶμεν, τὸ παλαιὸν ποὺ ὑπάρχει μηχανήμα, ὁ πολλακὶς εἴπομεν, ἐκπομπῆ ἀποικιῶν φίλη ἡγυμομένη παρὰ φίλων, ὅτι ἂν ἐπιτίθειον εἶναι δοκῇ. ἐὰν δ' ἁὐ καὶ τούναντίον ἐπέλθῃ ποτὲ κύμα κατακλυσμῶν 741 φέρουν νόσων ἢ πολέμου φθορά, ἐλάττους δὲ πολὺ τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀριθμοῦ δ' ὄροφαις γένωνται, ἐκόντας μὲν ὅτι δὲι πολίτας παρεμβάλλειν νόθην παίδεια πεπαιδευμένους, ἀνάγκην ἢ ὅ ὅυδε θεὸς εἶναι λέγεται δυνατὸς βιαζέσθαι.

2 αἱ πάντως ἢ: ἀπαντῶσαι MSS. (ἀπαντᾶς αἱ Schanz)

1 i.e. the Law-wardens; cp. 755 B ff.

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but where such arrangements prove insufficient, or where the family is too large either in females or in males, or where, on the other hand, it is too small, through the occurrence of sterility,—in all these cases the magistrates, whom we shall appoint as the highest and most distinguished,¹ shall consider how to deal with the excess or deficiency in families, and contrive means as best they can to secure that the 5,040 households shall remain unaltered. There are many contrivances possible: where the fertility is great, there are methods of inhibition, and contrariwise there are methods of encouraging and stimulating the birth-rate, by means of honours and dishonours, and by admonitions addressed by the old to the young, which are capable in all ways of producing the required effect. Moreover, as a final step,—in case we are in absolute desperation about the unequal condition of our 5,040 households, and are faced with a superabundance of citizens, owing to the mutual affection of those who cohabit with one another, which drives us to despair,—there still remains that ancient device which we have often mentioned, namely, the sending forth, in friendly wise from a friendly nation, of colonies consisting of such people as are deemed suitable. On the other hand, should the State ever be attacked by a deluging wave of disease or ruinous wars, and the houses fall much below the appointed number through bereavements, we ought not, of our own free will, to introduce new citizens trained with a bastard training—but "necessity" (as the proverb runs) "not even God himself can compel." ²

² A dictum of Simonides; cp. Protag. 345 B; Laws 818 A ff.
Ταῦτ’ οὖν δὴ τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον λόγον ἡμῖν φῶμεν παραίνειν, λέγοντα ὧν πάντων ἄνδρῶν ἀριστοί, τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἱσότητα καὶ τὸ ταύτ’ καὶ ὁμολογοῦμενον τιμῶντες κατὰ φύσιν μὴ ἀνίητε κατὰ τε ἄριθμον καὶ πάσαν δύναμιν τὴν τῶν καλῶν κἀγαθῶν πραγμάτων καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μὲν πρῶτον διὰ βίου παντὸς φυλάξατε τὸν εἰρημένον, εἰτα τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὑψὸς τε καὶ μέγεθος, ὁ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνείμασθε μέτριον ὦν, μὴ ἀτιμάσθητε τῷ τε ἀνείθαί καὶ τῷ πωλείν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νείμας κλῆρος ἃ πρὸτες ὑμῖν ξύμμαχος, οὔτε ὁ νομοθέτης νῦν γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον τῷ ἀπειθοῦντι νόμος προστάττε, προειπὼν ἐπὶ τούτοις κληροῦσθαι

C τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἢ μὴ κληροῦσθαι, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς γῆς ιερᾶς οὐσίας τῶν πάντων θεῶν, εἰτα ιερέων τε καὶ ιερείων εὐχας ποιησομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πρῶτοις θύμασι καὶ δευτέροις καὶ μέχρι τριῶν, τὸν πριάμιον ἢ ἀποδόμενον ὄν ἐλαχεῖν οἰκοπέδων ἢ γηπέδων τὰ ἑπὶ τούτοις πρέποντα πάσχειν πάθη. γράφαντες δ’ ἐν τοῖς ιεροῖς θήσουσι κυπαριττίνας μνήμας εἰς τὸν ἐπείτα χρόνον καταγεγραμμένας· πρὸς τούτοις δ’ ἐτί φυλακτήρια τούτων, ὅπως ἄν

D γίγνηται, καταστήσοντι ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἦτις ἀν ὄξυτατον ὅραν δοκῆ, ὦν’ αἱ παρὰ ταύτα ἐκάστοτε παραγωγαὶ γεγονόμεναι μὴ λανθάνωσιν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ κολάζωσι τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα ἀμα νόμῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ὅσον γὰρ δὴ τὸ νῦν ἐπιταττόμενον ἀγαθῶν ὁν τυγχάνει πάσαις ταῖς πειθομέναις

1 κλῆρος MSS.: κλῆρον MSS. marg., Zur., vulg.
LAWS, BOOK V

Let us then suppose that our present discourse gives the following advice:—My most excellent friends, be not slack to pay honour, as Nature ordains, to similarity and equality and identity and congruity in respect of number and of every influence productive of things fair and good. Above all, now, in the first place, guard throughout your lives the number stated; in the next place, dishonour not the due measure of the height and magnitude of your substance, as originally apportioned, by buying and selling one to another: otherwise, neither will the apportioning Lot,¹ which is divine, fight on your side, nor will the lawgiver: for now, in the first place, the law lays on the disobedient this injunction:—since it has given warning that whoso wills should take or refuse an allotment on the understanding that, first, the land is sacred to all the gods, and further, that prayers shall be made at the first, second, and third sacrifices by the priests and priestesses,—therefore the man who buys or sells the house-plot or land-plot allotted to him must suffer the penalty attached to this sin. The officials shall inscribe on tablets of cypress-wood written records for future reference, and shall place them in the shrines; furthermore, they shall place the charge of the execution of these matters in the hands of that magistrate who is deemed to be most keen of vision, in order that all breaches of these rules may be brought to their notice, and they may punish the man who disobeys both the law and the god. How great a blessing the ordinance now described—when the appropriate organisation accompanies it—proves

¹ The lot was supposed to record the verdict of God (cp. 690 C, and Acts i. 26),—hence its sanctity.
πόλεσι την ἐπομένην κατασκευήν προσλαβόν, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν παροιμίαν οüδεὶς εἶσεται ποτε κακῶς ὃν ἀλλʼ ἐμπειρός τε καὶ ἑπιεικὴς ἔθεσι.

Ε γενόμενονος χρηματισμὸς γὰρ οὐτʼ ἔνεστι σφόδρα ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ κατασκευῇ, ξυνέπεται τε αὐτῇ μηδὲ δεῖν μηδ᾿ ἔξειναι χρηματιζεσθαι τῶν ἀνελευθέρων χρηματισμῶν μηδὲν μηδένα, καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐπονεῖδιστος λεγομένη βαναυσία ὅποιος ἀποτρέπει ἐλευθερον, μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν άξιοῦν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εὐλλέγειν χρήματα. πρὸς τοῦτοις δ᾽ ἦν νόμος ἔπεται πᾶσι τούτοις, μηδε ἔξειναι χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἀργυρον κεκτῆσθαι μηδένα μηδενὶ ἱδιώτη, νόμισμα δ᾽ ἐνεκα ἀλλαγῆς τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν, ἢν δημιουργοῖς τε ἀλλάττεσθαι σχεδὸν ἀναγκαίον, καὶ πάσιν ὁπόσοις 1 χρεία τῶν τοιούτων μισθοὺς μισθωτοῖς, δούλοις καὶ ἑπόκοις, ἀποτινεῖν. ὃν ἐνεκά φαμεν τὸ νόμισμα κτητέον αὐτοῖς μὲν ἐντίμον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἅδοκιμον. κοινὸν δ᾽ Ἐλληνικὸν νόμισμα ἐνεκα τε στρατειῶν καὶ ἀποδημῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἷον πρεσβειῶν ἢ καὶ τινος ἀναγκαίας ἀλλης τῇ πόλει κηρυκείας, ἐκπέμπει τινὰ ἂν δὴ, τοῦτων χάριν ἀνάγκη ἐκάστοτε κεκτῆσθαι τῇ πόλει νόμισμα

Β Ἐλληνικόν. ἱδιώτη δ᾽ ἂν ἄρα ποτὲ ἀνάγκη τῆς γίγνεται ἀποδημεῖν, παρέμενοι μὲν τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀποδημεῖτω, νόμισμα δὲ ἂν ποθὲν ἔχων ἕνεικον οὐκαδε ἀφίκηται περιγενόμενον, τῇ πόλει αὐτῷ καταβαλλέτω πρὸς λόγον ἀπολαμβάνων τὸ ἐπι-

1 ὁπόσοις Ast: ὁπόσων MSS.

1 The proverb was, perhaps, οὐδεὶς ἀπειρος εἰσεταί,—like experientia docet.
to all the States that obey it—that is a thing which, as the old proverb\(^1\) says, none that is evil shall know, but only he that has become experienced and practised in virtuous habits. For in the organisation described there exists no excess of money-making, and it involves the condition that no facility should or can be given to anyone to make money by means of any illiberal trade,—inasmuch as what is called contemptible vulgarity perverts a liberal character,—and also that no one should ever claim to heap up riches from any such source. Furthermore, upon all this there follows also a law which forbids any private person to possess any gold or silver, only coin for purposes of such daily exchange as it is almost necessary for craftsmen\(^2\) to make use of, and all who need such things in paying wages to hirelings, whether slaves or immigrants. For these reasons we say that our people should possess coined money which is legal tender among themselves, but valueless elsewhere. As regards the universal Hellenic coinage,—for the sake of expeditions and foreign visits, as well as of embassies or any other missions necessary for the State, if there be need to send someone abroad,—for such objects as these it is necessary that the State should always possess Hellenic money. If a private citizen ever finds himself obliged to go abroad,\(^3\) he may do so, after first getting leave from the magistrates; and should he come home with any surplus of foreign money, he shall deposit it with the State, and take for it an

\(^1\) They require coined money for their business dealings with one another: cp. *Rep.* 371 B ff.

\(^2\) *Cp. 950 D ff.*
χώριον. ἰδιούμενος δὲ ἢν τις φαίνηται, δημόσιον τε γιγνέσθω καὶ ὁ ξυνειδῶς καὶ μὴ φράζων ἀρὰ καὶ ὀνείδει μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαγόντος ἐνοχος ἔστω, καὶ ἕπαμί φρὸς τούτοις μὴ ἐλάττουν τοῦ ἥενικοῦ

κομισθέντος νομίσματος. γαμοῦντα δὲ καὶ ἐκδιδόντα μήτ' οὖν διδόναι μήτε δέχεσθαι προίκα τὸ παράπαν μηδ' ἤμπιον, μηδὲ νόμισμα παρακατατίθεσθαι ὅτε μὴ τις πιστεύει, μηδὲ δανείζειν ἐπὶ τόκῳ, ὡς ἐξὶ τὴν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι τὸ παράπαν τῷ δανεισαμένῳ μήτε τόκον μήτε κεφάλαιον.

Ταῦτα δ' ὃτι βέλτιστα ἐστὶ πόλει ἐπιτηθεύματα ἐπιτηθεύμενω, ὥδε ἢν τις σκοπῶν ὀρθῶς ἢν

D αὐτὰ διακρίνοι, ἐπαναφέρων εἰς τὴν ἀρχήν ἢεὶ καὶ τὴν βουλήσεων. ἐστὶ δὴ τοῦ νοὸν ἐχοντος πολιτικοῦ βουλῆσις, φαμέν, οὐχ ἦνπερ ἢν οἱ πολλοὶ φαίεν, δεῖν βούλεσθαι τὸν ἄγαθὸν νομοθέτην ὡς μεγίστην τε εἰναὶ τὴν πόλιν ἢ νοῶν εἰς νομοθετοῦ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πλουσίαν, κεκτημένην δ' αὐχρυσία καὶ ἀργύρια καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχουσαν ὅτι πλείστων προσθεῖν δ' ἢν καὶ ὡς ἄριστην δεῖν βούλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ ὡς εὐδαιμονεστάτην τὸν γε

Ε ὀρθῶς νομοθετοῦντα. τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν δυνατά ἐστι γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δὲ οὐ δυνατά· τὰ μὲν οὖν δυνατὰ βούλοιτ' ἢν τὸ διακοσμῶν, τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὔτ' ἢν βούλοιτο ματαίας βουλήσεις οὔτ' ἢν ἐπιχειροῖ. σχεδὸν μὲν γὰρ εὐδαιμονας ἀμα καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι· τούτο μὲν οὖν

1 i.e. if the citizens are to be happy they must be good. In what follows it is shown that good men cannot be very
equivalent in home coinage; but should anyone be found out keeping it for himself, the money shall be confiscated, and the man who is privy to it and fails to inform, together with the man who has imported it, shall be liable to cursing and reproach and, in addition, to a fine not less than the amount of the foreign money brought in. In marrying or giving in marriage, no one shall give or receive any dowry at all. No one shall deposit money with anyone he does not trust, nor lend at interest, since it is permissible for the borrower to refuse entirely to pay back either interest or principal.

That these are the best rules for a State to observe in practice, one would perceive rightly if one viewed them in relation to the primary intention. The intention of the judicious statesman is, we say, not at all the intention which the majority would ascribe to him; they would say that the good lawgiver should desire that the State, for which he is benevolently legislating, should be as large and as rich as possible, possessed of silver and gold, and bearing rule over as many people as possible both by land and sea; and they would add that he should desire the State to be as good and as happy as possible, if he is a true legislator. Of these objects some are possible of attainment, some impossible; such as are possible the organiser of the State will desire; the impossible he will neither vainly desire nor attempt. That happiness and goodness should go together is well-nigh inevitable, so he will desire the people to be both good and rich nor very rich men good, therefore also the very rich cannot be happy.
βούλοιτ' ἂν 'πλουσίους δ' αὖ σφόδρα καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀδύνατον, οὐς γε δὴ πλουσίους οἱ πολλοὶ καταλέγουσιν, λέγουσι δὲ τοὺς κεκτημένους ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πλείστον νομίσματος ἁξια 743 κτήματα, ἃ καὶ κακός τις κεκτήτ' ἂν. εἰ δ' ἔστι τούτο οὕτως ἔχων, οὐκ ἂν ἔγωγε αὐτοῖς ποτὲ συγχωροῖν τὸν πλουσίον εὐδαίμονα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ γίγνεσθαι μὴ καὶ ἀγαθὸν ὄντα. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὄντα διαφέροντως καὶ πλουσίον εἶναι διαφέροντως ἀδύνατον· τί δή; φαίη τις ἂν ὄντως. ὅτι, φαίμεν ἂν, ἢ τε ἐκ δικαίου καὶ ἡδίκου κτήσις πλέον ἢ διπλασίᾳ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου μόνον, τά τε ἀναλωμάτα μῆτε καλῶς μῆτε αἰσχρῶς ἔθελοντα ἀναλίσκεσθαι τῶν καλῶν καὶ εἰς καλὰ ἐθελόντων δαπανᾶσθαι διπλασίῳ ἑλάττονα. οὕκον ποτὲ ὃ ἂν τῶν ἐκ διπλασίων μὲν κτήματων, ἡμίσεων δὲ ἀναλωμάτων ὁ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων πράττων γένοιτ' ἂν πλουσιώτερος. ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς τούτων, ὁ δὲ οὐ κακός, ὅταν ἦ φειδωλός. <ὅταν δὲ μὴ φειδωλός,> 1 τότε δὴ ποτὲ καὶ πάγκακος· ἀγαθὸς δὲ, ὅπερ εἰρηταὶ τὰ νῦν, οὐδέποτε· ὁ μὲν γὰρ δικαίως καὶ ἡδίκως λαμβάνων καὶ μῆτε δικαίως μῆτε ἡδίκως ἀναλίσκων πλουσίος [ὅταν καὶ φειδωλός ἦ]. 2 ὁ δὲ πάγκακος ὃς τὰ πολλὰ ἄνν C ἀσωτος μάλα πένης· ὁ δὲ ἀναλίσκων τε εἰς τὰ καλὰ καὶ κτώμενος ἐκ τῶν δικαίων μόνον οὐτ' ἂν διαφέρον πλούτῳ ράδιος ἂν ποτὲ γένοιτο οὖδ' αὖ

1 <ὅταν δὲ μὴ φειδωλός,> I add, and write δὴ ποτὲ for δὲ ποτὲ of MSS.
2 [ὅταν . . . ἦ] bracketed by Susemihl, Schanz.

1 e.g. A (a good man) gains (justly) £300, of which he spends £100 on necessaries and £100 on noble objects, leaving 374
happy; but it is impossible for them to be at once both good and excessively rich—rich at least as most men count riches; for they reckon as rich those who possess, in a rare degree, goods worth a vast deal of money, and these even a wicked man might possess. And since this is so, I would never concede to them that the rich man is really happy if he is not also good; while, if a man is superlatively good, it is impossible that he should be also superlatively rich. “Why so?” it may be asked. Because, we would reply, the gain derived from both right and wrong is more than double that from right alone, whereas the expenditure of those who refuse to spend either nobly or ignobly is only one-half the expenditure of those who are noble and like spending on noble objects; consequently, the wealth of men who double their gains and halve their expenditure will never be exceeded by the men whose procedure in both respects is just the opposite.¹ Now of these men, the one is good, and the other not bad, so long as he is niggardly, but utterly bad when he is not niggardly, and (as we have just said) at no time good. For while the one man, since he takes both justly and unjustly and spends neither justly nor unjustly, is rich (and the utterly bad man, being lavish as a rule, is very poor)—the other man, who spends on noble objects, and gains by just means only, is never likely to become either superlatively

him a balance of £100.  B (a not-good man) gains (justly and unjustly) £600, of which he spends £100 on necessaries, and nothing on noble objects, leaving him a balance of £500. The third type (C) is worse than B because he not only gains but also spends wrongly. Type A shows how the good man is neither very rich nor very poor,—B, how the bad man may be very rich,—C, how the bad may be very poor.
σφόδρα πένης. ὃστε ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ὅρθος, ὡς οὐκ εἰσίν οἱ παμπλούσιοι ἄγαθοί· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἄγαθοί, οὔδε εὐδαιμονεῖ.

'Ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ τῶν νόμων ὑπόθεσις ἐνταῦθα ἔβλεπεν, ὅπως ὡς εὐδαιμονεστάτου ἐσονταί καὶ ὁτι μάλιστα ἄλληλος φίλοι· εἰεν δὲ οὐκ ἂν ποτε πολίται φίλοι, ὅπου πολλαῖ μὲν δίκαιοι ἐν ἄλληλοιε ἐιεν, πολλαὶ δὲ ἁδικία, ἀλλ' ὅπου ὡς D ὁτι σμικρόταται καὶ ὁλίγοσται. λέγομεν δὴ μήτε χρυσὸν εἰναι δεῖν μήτε ἀργυρον ἐν τῇ πόλει, μήτε ἀν χρηματισμὸν πολύν διὰ βαναυσίας καὶ τόκων μηδὲ βοσκημάτων αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλ' ὁσα γεωργία δίδωσι καὶ φέρει, καὶ τούτων ὁπόσα μὴ χρηματιζόμενον ἀναγκάσει ἀμελεῖν ὃν ἕνεκα πέφυκε τὰ χρήματα. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶ ψυχή καὶ σῶμα, ἀ χώρως γυμναστικῆς καὶ τῆς ἄλλης παίδειας οὐκ Ε ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ἄξια λόγον. διὸ δὴ χρημάτων ἐπιμέλειαν οὐχ ἅπαξ εἰρήκαμεν ὡς χρή τελευταίον τιμᾶν ὅντων γὰρ τριῶν τῶν ἀπάντων περὶ δ' οὐς ἀνθρωποσ σπουδάζει, τελευταίοι καὶ τρίτον ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν χρημάτων ὅρθος σπουδαζομένη σπουδή, σώματος δὲ πέρι μέσῃ, πρώτη δὲ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς. καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἄν νῦξ ὄραξ ὄραξ πολιτείας, εἰ μὲν τὰς τιμὰς οὕτω τάττεται, ὅρθῶν νεομοθέτηται· εἰ δέ τις τῶν προστατομένων αὐτοθὶ νόμων σωφρο- σύνης ἐμπροσθεν υγίειαν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανεῖται ποιῶν τιμῶν ἡ πλούτου υγίειας καὶ τοῦ σωφρονείν, οὐκ ὅρθῶς ἀναφανεῖται τιθέμενος. τοῦτ' οὖν δὴ πολλάκις ἐπισημαίνεσθαι χρῆ τὸν νομοθέτην, τί τε θυμόμασι, καὶ, εἴ μοι ξυμβαίνει τούτο ἡ καὶ

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1 Κδ. 631 C. 697 B, 728 E.
rich or extremely poor. Accordingly, what we have stated is true,—that the very rich are not good, and not being good, neither are they happy.

Now the fundamental purpose of our laws was this,—that the citizens should be as happy as possible, and in the highest degree united in mutual friendship. Friendly the citizens will never be where they have frequent legal actions with one another and frequent illegal acts, but rather where these are the fewest and least possible. We say that in the State there must be neither gold nor silver, nor must there be much money-making by means of vulgar trading or usury or the fattening of gelded beasts, but only such profit as farming offers and yields, and of this only so much as will not drive a man by his money-making to neglect the objects for which money exists: these objects are the soul and the body, which without gymnastic and the other branches of education would never become things of value. Wherefore we have asserted (and that not once only)\(^1\) that the pursuit of money is to be honoured last of all: of all the three objects which concern every man, the concern for money, rightly directed, comes third and last; that for the body comes second; and that for the soul, first. Accordingly, if it prescribes its honours in this order, the polity which we are describing has its laws correctly laid down; but if any of the laws therein enacted shall evidently make health of more honour in the State than temperance, or wealth than health and temperance, it will quite clearly be a wrong enactment. Thus the lawgiver must oftentimes put this question to himself—"What is it that I intend?" and, "Am I
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ἀποτυγχάνω τοῦ σκοποῦ· καὶ οὕτω τάχ’ ἂν ἱσως ἐκ τῆς νυμοθεσίας αὐτὸς τε ἐκβαίνοι καὶ τούς ἀλλους ἀπαλλάττω, κατ’ ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον οὐδ’ ἂν ἐνα ποτέ.

‘Ο δὴ λαχών κεκτήσθω, φαμέν, τὸν κλήρον B ἐπὶ τούτοις οἷς εἰρήκαμεν. ἦν μὲν δὴ καλὸν καὶ τάλλα ἱσα πάντ’ ἐχοῦτα ἐνα ἐκαστὸν ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ δυνατον, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν τις πλείω κεκτημένος ἀφίξεται χρήματα, ὁ δ’ ἐλάττωνα, δεὶ δὴ πολλῶν ἔνεκα τῶν τε κατὰ πόλιν καίρων ἰσότητος ἔνεκα τιμήματα ἀνίσα γενέσθαι, ἣν ἀρχαὶ τε καὶ εἰσφορά διανέμονται κατὰ 1 τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἐκάστος τιμῆν, μή κατ’ ἀρετὴν μόνον τὴν τε προγόνου καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ κατὰ σωμάτων ἴσχύς καὶ εὐμορφίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ πλοῦτον χρήσιν καὶ πενίας, τὰς τιμας τε καὶ ἀρχας ως ἵσαίτατα τῷ ἀνίσῳ ξυμμέτρῳ δὲ ἀπολαμβάνοντες μὴ διαφέρονται. τούτων χάριν ὑπαραρα μεγέθει τῆς οὐσίας τιμήματα ποιεῖσθαι χρεών, πρωτοὺς καὶ δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους καὶ τετάρτους, ἡ τις ἄλλοις προσαγωρευομένους ὀνόμασιν, ὅταν τε μένωσιν εν τῷ αὐτῷ τιμήματι καὶ ὅταν πλουσιώτεροι ἐκ πενήτων καὶ ἐκ πλουσίων πένητες γιγνόμενοι μεταβαίνωσιν εἰς τὸ προσήκον ἐκαστοὶ ἑαυτοῖς τίμημα.

C

D

Τόδε δ’ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐ νόμου σχῆμα ἐγωγ’ ἂν τιθεῖν ὡς ἐπόμενον. δεὶ γὰρ ἐν πόλει ποι, φαμέν, τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου νοσήματος οὐ μεθεξούσῃ, ὁ διάστασιν ἢ στάσιν ὅρθοτερον ἂν εἰς κεκλησθαι, μήτε πενίαν τὴν χαλεπὴν ἐνείναι

1 διανέμονται κατὰ: καὶ διανεμοὶ MSS. (Ast brackets ἀρχαῖοι τιμῆν)
succeeding in this, or am I wide of the mark?" In this way he might, perhaps, get through the task of legislation himself, and save others the trouble of it; but in no other way could he ever possibly do so.

The man who has received an allotment shall hold it, as we say, on the terms stated. It would indeed have been a splendid thing if each person, on entering the colony, had had all else equal as well. Since this, however, is impossible, and one man will arrive with more money and another with less, it is necessary for many reasons, and for the sake of equalising chances in public life, that there should be unequal valuations, in order that offices and contributions may be assigned in accordance with the assessed valuation in each case,—being framed not in proportion only to the moral excellence of a man’s ancestors or of himself, nor to his bodily strength and comeliness, but in proportion also to his wealth or poverty,—so that by a rule of symmetrical inequality they may receive offices and honours as equally as possible, and may have no quarrelling. For these reasons we must make four classes, graded by size of property, and called first, second, third and fourth (or by some other names), alike when the individuals remain in the same class and when, through a change from poverty to wealth or from wealth to poverty, they pass over each to that class to which he belongs.

The kind of law that I would enact as proper to follow next after the foregoing would be this: It is, as we assert, necessary in a State which is to avoid that greatest of plagues, which is better termed disruption than dissension, that none of its citizens should

1 i.e. of proportional distribution: ep. 757 Aff. for “political,” as distinct from “arithmetical,” equality.
2 Or “class discord.”
παρά τισι τῶν πολιτῶν μὴ αὐτοῖς πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀμφοτέρως τικτόντων ταῦτα ἀμφότερα· υἱὸν ὅρον δεὶ τούτων ἐκατέρου τῶν νομοθέτην φράξειν. ἔστω δὴ πενίας μὲν ὅρος ἑ τοῦ κλήρου Ετίμη, ὅπειρα μὲν καὶ ὃν ἄρχον οὐδεὶς οὐδεὶς ποτὲ περιόψεται ἐξάπτω γυγνόμενον, τῶν τε ἅλλων κατὰ ταῦτα οὐδεὶς ὅστις φιλότιμος ἐπ’ ἀρετῆ. μέτρον δὲ αὐτοῦ θέμενος ὁ νομοθέτης διπλάσιον ἐάσει τούτον κτάσθαι καὶ τριπλάσιον καὶ μέχρι τετραπλασίου· πλείονα δ’ ἂν τις κτάται τούτων εὐρὼν ἢ δοθέντων ποθὲν ἢ χρηματισάμενος ἢ των τύχης τοιαύτης κτησάμενος ἂλλῃ τὰ περιγιγνόμενα τοῦ μέτρου, τῇ πόλει ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἐχουσίς θεοῖς ἀπονέμων εὐδόκιμός τε καὶ αξίμας ἂν εἰρ’ ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀπευθῇ τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ, φανεί μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσειν, ὁ δὲ ὀφλὼν ἄλλο τοσοῦτον μέρος ἀποτίσει τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως, τὰ δ’ ἡμίσεα τῶν θεῶν. ἡ δὲ κτήσις χωρὶς τοῦ κλήρου πάντων πάσα ἐν τῷ φανερῷ γεγράφθω παρὰ φύλαξιν ἄρχον, οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος προστάξῃ, ὅπως ἂν αἰ δίκαι περὶ πάντων ὅσα εἰς χρήματα ῥάδιαί τε ὦσι καὶ σφόδρα σαφεῖς.

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἱδρύσθαι δεὶ τῆς χώρας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τὰλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα πόλει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐχοῦτα τόπον ἐκλεξάμενον, ὁ νοῆσαι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν οὐδεν χαλεπῶν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μέρη δώδεκα διελέσθαι, θέμενον Ὀστίας πρῶτον καὶ Δίος καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερῶν, ἀκρόπολιν ὄνομάζοντα, κύκλον

1 ὅσα Stephens, Schanz: ὅσα MSS.
be in a condition of either painful poverty or wealth, since both these conditions produce both these results; consequently the lawgiver must now declare a limit for both these conditions. The limit of poverty shall be the value of the allotment: this must remain fixed, and its diminution in any particular instance no magistrate should overlook, nor any other citizen who aspires to goodness. And having set this as the (inferior) limit, the lawgiver shall allow a man to possess twice this amount, or three times, or four times. Should anyone acquire more than this—whether by discovery or gift or money-making, or through gaining a sum exceeding the due measure by some other such piece of luck,—if he makes the surplus over to the State and the gods who keep the State, he shall be well-esteemed and free from penalty. But if anyone disobeys this law, whoso wishes may get half by laying information, and the man that is convicted shall pay out an equal share of his own property, and the half shall go to the gods. All the property of every man over and above his allotment shall be publicly written out and be in the keeping of the magistrates appointed by law, so that legal rights pertaining to all matters of property may be easy to decide and perfectly clear.

In the next place, the lawgiver must first plant his city as nearly as possible in the centre of the country, choosing a spot which has all the other conveniences also which a city requires, and which it is easy enough to perceive and specify. After this, he must divide off twelve portions of land,—when he has first set apart a sacred glebe for Hestia, Zeus and Athene, to which he shall give the name "acropolis" and circle it round with a ring-wall;
C peribàllonta, ἀφ' οὗ τὰ δῶδεκα μέρη τέμνειν τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν. ἵσα δὲ δεῖ γύνεσθαι τὰ δῶδεκα μέρη τῷ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθῆς γῆς εἶναι σμικρά, τὰ δὲ χειρόνοις μεῖζον. κλήρους δὲ διειλείν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τούτων τε αὗ δίχα τεμεῖν ἐκαστον καὶ ἐνεκεληρώσαι δύο τμήματα, τοῦ τ' ἐγγὺς καὶ τοῦ πόρρω μετέχοντα ἐκάστοτε. τὸ πρὸς τῇ πόλει μέρος τὸ πρὸς τοῖς ἐσχάτοις [εἰς κλήρος] καὶ τὸ δευτερον ἀπὸ πόλεως τῷ ἀπ' ἐσχάτων δευτέρω, διὰ καὶ τάλλα οὕτω πάντα. μηχανᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δίχα τμήμασι τὸ νῦν δῆ λεγόμενον φαυλότητος τέσσαρας <πέρι> καὶ ἀρετῆς χώρας, ἐπανισσουμένους τῷ πληθεί τε καὶ ὁλογοτητί τῆς διανομῆς. νεῖμαι δὲ δεὶ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας δῶδεκα μέρη, τὴν τῆς ἀλλής οὐσίας <ἀξίων> εἰς ἵσα ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ δῶδεκα μέρη συνταξάμενον, ἀπογραφῆς πάντων γενομένης: καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ μετὰ τούτο δῶδεκα θεοὶ δῶδεκα κλήρους θέντας ἐπονομάζαι καὶ καθιερώσαι τὸ λαχον μέρος ἐκάστῳ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐφυλήν αὐτὴν ἐπονομάζαι τέμνειν δὲ αὐ καὶ τὰ δῶδεκα τῆς πόλεως τμήματα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄντερ καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν χώραν διενέμων καὶ δύο νέμεσθαι ἐκαστον οἰκήσεις, τὴν τε ἐγγὺς τοῦ μέσου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐσχάτων καὶ τὴν μὲν κατοίκισιν οὕτω τελος ἐχειν.

Ἐννοεῖν δὲ ἦμας τὸ τοιὸν ἐστὶ χρεῶν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου, ώς τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα πάντα οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ εἰς τοιούτους καιροὺς ἐξυμπέσοι, ὦστε

1 ἐκάστοτε Schanz: ἐκάτερον MSS.
2 [εἰς κλήρος] bracketed by Peipers, Schanz.
3 <πέρι> I add here (Schanz after χώρας).
starting from this he must divide up both the city itself and all the country into the twelve portions. The twelve portions must be equalised by making those consisting of good land small, and those of inferior land larger. He must mark off 5,040 allotments, and each of these he must cut in two and join two pieces to form each several allotment, so that each contains a near piece and a distant piece,—joining the piece next the city with the piece furthest off; the second nearest with the second furthest, and so on with all the rest.¹ And in dealing with these separate portions, they must employ the device we mentioned a moment ago, about poor land and good, and secure equality by making the assigned portions of larger or smaller size. And he must divide the citizens also into twelve parts, making all the twelve parts as equal as possible in respect of the value of the rest of their property, after a census has been made of all. After this they must also appoint twelve allotments for the twelve gods, and name and consecrate the portion allotted to each god, giving it the name of "phyle."² And they must also divide the twelve sections of the city in the same manner as they divided the rest of the country; and each citizen must take as his share two dwellings, one near the centre of the country the other near the outskirts. Thus the settlement shall be completed.

But we must by all means notice this,—that all the arrangements now described will never be likely to meet with such favourable conditions that the

¹ Cp. 776 A. ² i.e. "tribe."

⁴ νείμαι England: νείμασθαι MSS. ⁵ ἀνίκεν I add.
746 ξυμβήναι κατὰ λόγον οὕτω ξύμπαντα γενόμενα ἀνδρας τε οἱ μὴ δυσχερανοῦσι τὴν τοιαύτην ἔννοιαν, ἀλλ' ὑπομενοῦσι χρήματα τε ἔχοντες τακτὰ καὶ μέτρια διὰ βίου παντὸς καὶ παίδων γενέσεις ἃς εἰρήκαμεν ἐκάστοις, καὶ χρυσοῦ στερόμενοι καὶ έτέρων ὁν δήλος οὐ νομοθέτης προστάξεων ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων, ἔτι δὲ χώρας τε καὶ ἀστειος, ὡς εἰρήκη, ἐν μέσῳ τινάς έν τε καὶ εὐ κύκλῳ οἰκήσεις, πάντη σχεδὸν οἶκον ὑπεύρηκα λέγων ἢ πλάττων καθάπερ ἐκ Β. ηρώδ τινά πόλιν καὶ πολίτας. ἔχει δὴ τὰ τοιαύτα οὐ κακῶς τινὰ τρόπουν εἰρημένα, χρὴ δ' ἐπαναλαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τοιὰδε. πάλιν ἄρα ἢμιν οὐ νομοθέτων φραζεῖ τόδε. 'Εν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις, οἱ φίλοι, μηδ' αὐτὸν δοκεῖτε με λεηθέναι τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον, ὡς ἀληθῆ διεξέρχεται τινὰ τρόπον άλλα γὰρ ἐν ἐκάστοις τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι δικαιότατον οἶμαι τόδε εἶναι, τὸν τὸ παράδειγμα δεικνύστα, οἶνον δεῖ τὸ ἐπιχειρούμενον γίγνεσθαι, μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ἄληθεστάτων. ό δὲ ἀδύνατόν τι ξυμβαίνει

C τούτων γίγνεσθαι, τούτῳ μὲν αὐτῷ ἐκκλίνειν καὶ μὴ πράττειν, ὁ τε δὲ τούτῳ τῶν λουπῶν ἐγγύτατα ἐστὶ καὶ ξυγγενέστατον ἐφι τῶν προσηκόντων πράττειν, τούτ' αὐτῷ διαμηχανάσθαι ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται τὸν νομοθέτην δ' ἑάναι τέλος ἐπιθείναι τῇ βουλήσει, γενομένου δὲ τούτου, τὸτ' Ἦδη κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνων σκοπεῖν ὁ τι τε ξυμφέρει τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τί πρὸςαντες εἰρηται τῆς νομοθεσίας τὸ γὰρ ὀμολογούμενον αὐτῷ αὐτῷ δεῖ πον πανταχῇ

1 ἐν μέσῳ τινάς: μεσότητας MSS., edd.
whole programme can be carried out according to plan. This requires that the citizens will raise no objection to such a mode of living together, and will tolerate being restricted for life to fixed and limited amounts of property and to families such as we have stated, and being deprived of gold and of the other things which the lawgiver is clearly obliged by our regulations to forbid, and will submit also to the arrangements he has defined for country and city, with the dwellings set in the centre and round the circumference,—almost as if he were telling nothing but dreams, or moulding, so to say, a city and citizens out of wax. These criticisms are not altogether unfair, and the lawgiver should reconsider the points that follow. So he that is legislating speaks to us again in this wise: "Do not suppose, my friends, that I in these my discourses fail to observe the truth of what is now set out in this criticism. But in dealing with all schemes for the future, the fairest plan, I think, is this—that the person who exhibits the pattern on which the undertaking is to be modelled should omit no detail of perfect beauty and truth; but where any of them is impossible of realisation, that particular detail he should omit and leave unexecuted, but contrive to execute instead whatever of the remaining details comes nearest to this and is by nature most closely akin to the right procedure; and he should allow the lawgiver to express his ideal completely; and when this is done, then and then only should they both consult together as to how far their proposals are expedient and how much of the legislation is impracticable. For the constructor of even the most trivial object, if he is to be
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άπεργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν τοῦ φαυλοτάτου δημιουργοῦν
D ἄξιον ἐσόμενον λόγου.

Νῦν δὴ τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ προθυμητέον ἰδεῖν μετὰ τὴν
dόξαν τῆς τῶν δώδεκα μερῶν διανομῆς, τὸ τίνα
tρόπτων [δῆλον δὴ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῶν ἐντὸς
αὐτοῦ πλείστας ἑχοντα διανομᾶς] ¹ καὶ τὰ τούτων
ξυνεπόμενα καὶ ἐκ τούτων γεννώμενα, μέχρι
tῶν τεταράκοντα τε καὶ πεντακισχίλιων’ ὅθεν
φρατρίας καὶ δήμους καὶ κόμας, καὶ πρὸς γε τὰς
πολεμικὰς τάξεις τε καὶ ἀγωγάς, καὶ ἐτὶ νομίσ-
ματα καὶ μέτρα ἕξηρά τε καὶ ὑγρά καὶ σταθμὰ.
Ε ὑπάντα ταύτα ἐμμετρά τε καὶ ἀλλήλους σύμφωνα
dεὶ τὸν γε νόμον τάττειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτως οὐδ’
ἐκείνα φοβητέα, ἐδείσαντα τὴν δόξαν ἂν
γέγνεσθαι σμικρολογίαν, ἂν τὶς προστάτην πάντα
ὅπο’ ἂν σκεφὴ κτῶνται, μηδὲν ἄμετρον αὐτῶν
747 ἐδῶ εἰναι, καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ νομίσαντα πρὸς πάντα
ἴναι χρησίμους τὰς τῶν ἀριθμῶν διανομᾶς καὶ
ποικιλσεις, ὅσα τε αὐτοὶ ἐν ἐαυτοῖς ποικίλλονται
καὶ ὅσα ἐν μῆκεσι καὶ ἐν βάθεις ποικίλματα, καὶ
dὴ καὶ ἐν φθογγοῖς καὶ κινήσεις ταῖς τε κατὰ τὴν
ἐυθυπορίαν τῆς ἄνω καὶ κάτω φορᾶς καὶ τῆς
κύκλῳ περιφορᾶς: πρὸς γὰρ ταύτα πάντα δεὶ
βλέψαντα τὸν γε νομοθέτην προστάτην τοῖς
πολίταις πᾶσιν εἰς δύναμιν τούτων μὴ ἀπολεῖ.
Β πεσθεὶ τῆς συντάξεως. πρὸς τε γὰρ οἰκονομίαν
καὶ πρὸς πολιτείαν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τέχνας πᾶσας
ἐν οὐδὲν οὔτω δύναμιν ἔχει παίδειον μάθημα
μεγάλην, ὡς ἡ περὶ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς διατριβή: τὸ
dὲ μέγιστον, ὅτι τὸν νυστάζοντα καὶ ἀμαθῆ φύσει
ἐγείρει καὶ εὕμαθη καὶ μνήμονα καὶ ἀγχίνουν

¹ [δῆλον . . . διανομᾶς] I bracket (διελείπ δει Hermann).
of any merit, must make it in all points consistent with itself."

So now we must endeavour to discern—after we have decided on our division into twelve parts—in what fashion the divisions that come next to these and are the offspring of these, up to the ultimate figure, 5,040, (determining as they do, the phratries and demes\(^1\) and villages, as well as the military companies and platoons, and also the coinage-system, dry and liquid measures, and weights),—how, I say, all these numerations are to be fixed by the law so as to be of the right size and consistent one with another. Moreover, he should not hesitate, through fear of what might appear to be peddling detail, to prescribe that, of all the utensils which the citizens may possess, none shall be allowed to be of undue size. He must recognise it as a universal rule that the divisions and variations of numbers are applicable to all purposes—both to their own arithmetical variations and to the geometrical variations of surfaces and solids, and also to those of sounds, and of motions, whether in a straight line up and down or circular.\(^2\) The lawgiver must keep all these in view and charge all the citizens to hold fast, so far as they can, to this organised numerical system. For in relation to economics, to politics and to all the arts, no single branch of educational science possesses so great an influence as the study of numbers: its chief advantage is that it wakes up the man who is by nature drowsy and slow of wit, and makes him quick

\(^1\) "Phratries" and "demes" were sub-divisions of the "phyle" or tribe.

\(^2\) i.e. the laws of arithmetic apply also to plane and solid geometry, acoustics, and kinetics.
ἀπεργάζεται, παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐπιδιδόντα θεία τέχνη. ταύτα δὲ πάντα, ἐὰν μὲν ἄλλοις νόμοις τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀφαιρήται τις τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν ἐκ τῶν ψυχῶν C τῶν μελλόντων αὐτὰ ἱκανῶς τε καὶ ὑνησίμως κτήσεσθαι, καλὰ τὰ παιδεύματα καὶ προσήκοντα γίγνοντ’ ἄν: εἴ δὲ μή, τὴν καλουμένην ἄν τις πανουργίαν ἀντὶ σοφίας ἀπεργασάμενος λάθοι, καθάπερ Αἰγυπτίως καὶ Φοίνικας καὶ πολλὰ ἑτέρα ἀπειργασμένα γένη νῦν ἔστιν ἢδείν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ κτημάτων ἀνελευθερίας, εἴτε τις νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς φαύλος ἄν γενόμενος ἐξειργάσατο τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἴτε χαλεπὴ τύχη προσπεσοῦσα, εἴτε καὶ φύσις ἀλλὰ τις D τοιαύτη. καὶ γάρ, ὁ Μέγιλλε τε καὶ Κλεινία, μηδὲ τοῦτ’ ἡμᾶς λανθανέτω περὶ τῶν, ὡς φύσει1 εἰσὶν ἄλλοι τινὲς διαφέροντες ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς τὸ γεννᾶν ἀνθρώπους ἀμείνους καὶ χείρους· οἴς οὐκ ἐναντία νομοθετητέον. οἱ μὲν γέ που, διὰ πνεύματα παντοῖα καὶ δὴ εἰλήσεις ἀλλόκοτοί τ’ εἰσὶ καὶ ἐναίσιοι αὐτῶν, οἱ δὲ δ’ ὑδάτα, οἱ δὲ καὶ δ’ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς Ἐ τροφὴν, ἀναδιδοῦσαν οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἀμείνω καὶ χείρῳ, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς οὐχ ἦττον δυναμένην πάντα τὰ τοιαύτα ἐμποιεῖν, τοῦτον δ’ αὖ πάντων μέγιστον διαφέροιεν ἄν τῶν χώρας, ἐν οἷς θεία τις ἐπίπτοια καὶ δαιμόνων λήξεις εἰεν, τοὺς ἀεὶ κατοικιζόμενος ἠλέω δεχόμενοι καὶ τούναντίον. οὕς 2 ὁ γε νοῦν ἐχὼν νομοθέτης

1 φύσει: οὕς MSS. (bracketed by Ast, Schanz)
2 οὕς Ast: οὗς MSS.

1 Cp. Rep. 436 A.
to learn, mindful and sharp-witted, progressing beyond his natural capacity by art divine. All these subjects of education will prove fair and fitting, provided that you can remove illiberality and avarice, by means of other laws and institutions, from the souls of those who are to acquire them adequately and to profit by them; otherwise you will find that you have unwittingly turned out a "sharper," as we call him, instead of a sage: examples of this we can see to-day in the effect produced on the Egyptians and Phoenicians and many other nations by the illiberal character of their property, and their other institutions,—whether these results are due to their having had a bad lawgiver, or to some adverse fortune that befell them, or else, possibly, to some natural disadvantage. For that, too, is a point, O Megillus and Clinias, which we must not fail to notice,—that some districts are naturally superior to others for the breeding of men of a good or bad type; and we must not conflict with this natural difference in our legislation. Some districts are ill-conditioned or well-conditioned owing to a variety of winds or to sunshine, others owing to their waters, others owing simply to the produce of the soil, which offers produce either good or bad for their bodies, and equally able to effect similar results in their souls as well. Of all these, those districts would be by far the best which have a kind of heavenly breeze, and where the portions of land are under the care of daemons, so that they receive those that come from time to time to settle there either graciously or ungraciously. These districts the judicious lawgiver will examine, so far as examination of such

* Cp. 745 D ad fin.
ἐπισκεψάμενος, ώς ἀνθρωπον οἶον τ' ἔστι σκοπεῖν τὰ τοιαῦτα, οὕτω πειράτ' ἄν τιθέναι τοὺς νόμους. Ὁ δὲ καὶ σοὶ ποιητέον, ὥς Κλεινίας πρῶτον τρεπτέον ἐπὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μέλλοντι γε κατοικίζειν χώραν.

κα. Ἅλλ', ὁ ξένε' Ἀθηναῖε, λέγεις τε παγκάλως ἐμοὶ τε οὕτω ποιητέον.
matters is possible for mere man; and he will try to frame his laws accordingly. And you too, Clinias, must adopt the same course; when you are proposing to colonize the country, you must attend to these matters first.

clin. Your discourse, Stranger, is most excellent, and I must do as you advise.
751 Ἀθ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν μετὰ γε πάντα τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα σχεδὸν ἄν ἄρχὼν εἶν τοις καταστάσεις τῇ πόλει.
Κλ. Ἕξει γὰρ οὖν οὕτως.
Ἀθ. Δύο εἰδὴ ταῦτα περὶ πολιτείας κόσμων γιγνόμενα τυγχάνει, πρῶτον μὲν καταστάσεις ἄρχὼν τε καὶ ἄρξόντων, ὅσας τε αὐτάς εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τρόπον ὅντως καθισταμένας ἐπείτα οὕτω δὴ τοὺς νόμους ταῖς ἄρχαις ἐκάσταις ἀποδοτέον, Β οὐστινᾶς τε αὐτοὶ καὶ ὅσους καὶ ὅσους προσήκον ἄν ἐκάσταις εἴη. σμικρὸν δὲ ἐπιστάσθηκα τρὶς τῆς αἱρέσεως εὑρωμεν προσῆκοντι τινα λόγου περὶ αὐτῆς ῥηθῆναι.
Κλ. Τίνα δὴ τοῦτον;
Ἀθ. Τόνδε. παντὶ που δῆλον τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὅτι μεγάλου τῆς νομοθεσίας ὅντος ἔργου, τῷ πόλιν εὖ παρεσκευασμένην ἄρχας ἀνεπιτηδείους ἐπιστήσαι τοῖς εὖ κειμένοις νόμοις, οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν πλέον εὖ τεθέντων, οὐδὲ ὅτι γέλως ἄν πάμπολυς Ω χυμβαίνοι, σχεδὸν δὲ βλάβαι καὶ λώβαι πολὺ μέγισται ταῖς πόλεσι γίγνοντ' ἀν εἰς αὐτῶν.
Κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖν;
Ἀθ. Τούτῳ τοῖς νοῆσωμεν σοι περὶ τῆς νῦν, ὁ φίλε, πολιτείας τε καὶ πόλεως χυμβαίνον: ὅρας γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν δεῖ τοὺς ὅρθως ὀντας ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἄρχων δυνάμεις βάσανον ἱκανὴν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ γένος ἐκάστων ἐκ παίδων μέχρι

1 τῷ Schramm, Schanz: τοῦ MSS.
ATH. Well then, after all that has now been said, you will next come, I suppose, to the task of appointing magistrates for your State.

CLIN. That is so.

ATH. In this there are two branches of civic organisation involved,—first, the appointment of magistracies and magistrates, with the fixing of the right number required and the proper method of appointment; and next the assignment to each magistracy of such and so many laws as are in each case appropriate. But before we make our selection, let us pause for a moment, and make a statement concerning it of a pertinent kind.

CLIN. What statement is that?

ATH. It is this:—It is a fact clear to everyone that, the work of legislation being a great one, the placing of unfit officers in charge of well-framed laws in a well-equipped State not only robs those laws of all their value and gives rise to widespread ridicule, but is likely also to prove the most fertile source of damage and danger in such States.

CLIN. Undoubtedly.

ATH. Let us then, my friend, mark this result in dealing now with your polity and State. You see that it is necessary, in the first place, that those who rightly undertake official functions should in every case have been fully tested—both themselves and their families—from their earliest years up to the

1 Cp. 735 A.


PLATO

tης αιρέσεως εἶναι δεδωκότας, ἐπείτα αὐ τοὺς μέλλοντας αἰρήσεσθαι τεθράφθαι [τε]¹ ἐν ᾧθεσί

D νόμων εὐ πεπαιδευμένους πρὸς τὸ δυσχεραίνοντάς τε καὶ ἀποδεχομένους ὀρθῶς κρίνειν καὶ ἀπο-

κρίνειν δυνατοὺς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἄξιοντες ἐκατέρων.

ταῦτα δὲ οἱ νεωστὶ ξυανηληνθότες ὅντες τε ἀλλήλων ἀγνώτες, ἐτὶ δ' ἀπαίδευτοι, πῶς ἄν

ποτε δύναντο ἀμέμπτως τὰς ἀρχὰς αἱρείσθαι;

κλ. Σχεδὸν οὐκ ἄν ποτε.

α. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀγώνα προφάσεις <φασίν>² οὐ πάντως δέχεσθαι. καὶ δὴ καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο γὰρ

καὶ ἐμοὶ ποιητέον, ἐπείπερ σὺ μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν

Ε ὑπέστης τῷ Κρητῆν ἔθνει προθύμως κατοικιῶν δέκατος αὐτός, ὡς φής, τὰ γὰρ, ἐγὼ δ' αὖ σοὶ

752 ἡρυξανθέσθαι κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν τὰ γὰρ

μυθολογίαι. οὐκόν δὴ που λέγων γε ἂν μῦθον

ἀκέφαλον ἐκὼν καταλίποιμι: πλανώμενος γὰρ

ἀν ἀπάντη τοιοῦτος ὅν ἀμορφος φαίνοιτο.

κλ. Ἀριστ' εὖρηκας, δ' ξένε.

α. Οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσῳ κατὰ

δύναμιν οὕτως.

κλ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ποιῶμεν ἦπερ καὶ λέγομεν.

α. Ἐσται ταῦτ', ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ καὶ γήρως

ἐπικρατῶμεν τὸ γε τοσοῦτον.

B κλ. Ἀλλ' εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν.

α. Εἰκὸς γὰρ οὖν. ἐπομενοι δὲ αὐτῷ λα-

βωμεν καὶ τόδε.

κλ. Τὸ ποῖον;

1 [τε] bracketed by Stallb., Hermann.

2 <φασίν> added from Schol. on Crat. 421 D.

1 Literally, "a contest does not at all admit excuses"; i.e. once engaged in it, you cannot draw back.

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time of their selection; and, secondly, that those who are to be the selectors should have been reared in law-abiding habits, and be well trained for the task of rightly rejecting or accepting those candidates who deserve their approval or disapproval. Yet as regards this point, can we suppose that men who have but recently come together, with no knowledge of one another and with no training, could ever possibly select their officials in a faultless manner?

CLIN. It is practically impossible.

ATH. Yet, "with the hand on the plough," as they say, "there is no looking back." And so it must be now with you and me; for you, as you tell me, have given your pledge to the Cretan nation that you, with your nine colleagues, will devote yourself to the founding of that State; and I, for my part, have promised to lend you aid in the course of our present imaginative sketch. And indeed I should be loth to leave our sketch headless; for it would look entirely shapeless if it wandered about in that guise.

CLIN. I heartily approve of what you say, Stranger.

ATH. And what is more, I shall act as I say to the best of my power.

CLIN. By all means let us do as we say.

ATH. It shall be done, if God will and if we can thus far master our old age.

CLIN. Probably God will be willing.

ATH. Probably he will; and with him as leader let us observe this also—

CLIN. What?

2 702 B, C. 3 Cp. Gorg. 505 D.
α. Ὁς ἀνδρείως καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐσται κατοικίσμενη.
κλ. Περὶ τὶ βλέπων καὶ ποτὶ μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἰρήκας τὰ νῦν;
α. Ὁς εὐκόλως καὶ ἀφόβως ἀπείροις ἀνδράσι νομοθετοῦμεν, ὅπως δέξονται ποτὲ τοὺς νῦν τεθέντας νόμους. δήλον δὲ τὸ γε τοσοῦτον, ὦ Κλεινία, παντὶ σχεδὸν καὶ τῷ μὴ πάνυ σοφῷ,
C τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως γε αὐτοὺς μηδένας προσδέξεσθαι ¹ κατ’ ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μεῖνειαν ² πως τοσοῦτον χρόνου, ἑώς οἱ γενεσάμενοι παῖδες τῶν νόμων καὶ ξυντρα-φέντες ἰκανῶς ξυνῆθεις τε αὐτοῖς γενόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιοσιῶν τῇ πόλει πάσῃ κοινωνήσειαν γενο-μένου γε μὴν οὐ λέγομεν, εἴπερ τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ μηχανῇ γίγνοιτο ὥρθος, πολλὴν ἑγὼγε ἀσφα-λειαν οἴμαι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τότε παρόντα χρόνου ἀν γενέσθαι τοῦ μεῖναι τῇ παϊδαγωγηθεῖσαν οὕτω πόλιν.
D κα. Ἑξει γοῦν λόγον.
α. Ἠδομεν τοῖς πρὸς τούτο εἰ πῇ τών πόρων ἰκανῶν πορίζομεν ἄν κατὰ τάδε. φημὶ γὰρ, ὦ Κλεινία, Κυνσίους χρήμα τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντως Κρητῶν μὴ μονον ἀφοσιώσασθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἡ νῦν κατοικίσεται, συντόνως δὲ ἐπιμελθήναι τὰς πρῶτας ἀρχὰς ἐἰς δύναμιν, ὅπως ἄν στῶσιν ὡς ἰσφαλέστατα καὶ ἀριστα. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας καὶ βραχύτερον ἔργον, νομο-
Ε φύλακας δ’ ὑμῖν ³ πρῶτους αἱρεῖσθαι ἀναγκαίο-τατον ἀπάση σπουδῆ.

¹ προσδέξεσθαι Stephens: προσδέξασθαι MSS.
² μεῖνειάν Madvig, Schanz: μείναμέν MSS.

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ATH. How bold and adventurous is the fashion in which we shall now have founded this State of ours.

CLIN. What is now specially in your mind, and what makes you say so?

ATH. The fact that we are legislating for inexperienced men without qualms or fears as to how they will accept the laws we have now enacted. Thus much at least is plain, Clinias, to almost everyone—even to the meanest intelligence—that they will not readily accept any of those laws at the start; but if those laws could remain unchanged until those who have imbibed them in infancy, and have been reared up in them and grown fully used to them, have taken part in elections to office in every department of State,—then, when this has been effected (if any means or method can be found to effect it rightly), we have, as I think, a strong security that, after this transitional period of disciplined adolescence, the State will remain firm.

CLIN. It is certainly reasonable to suppose so.

ATH. Let us then consider whether we might succeed in providing an adequate means to this end on the following lines. For I declare, Clinias, that you Cnosians, above all other Cretans, not only ought to deal in no perfunctory manner with the soil which you are now settling, but ought also to take the utmost care that the first officials are appointed in the best and most secure way possible. The selection of the rest of them will be a less serious task; but it is imperatively necessary for you to choose your Law-wardens first with the utmost care.

3 δ' ἱμίν England: ἄμιν (or ἄν ἔμίν) MSS.: δ' ἄν ἔμίν Zur.: δ' ἔμίν Hermann.
κα. Τίνα οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πόρου καὶ λόγου ἀνευρίσκομεν;

α. Τὸνδε. φημὶ, ὃ παιδεῖς Κρητῶν, χρήναι Κνωσίους διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν ξυνοίκησιν ταύτην ἐξ αὐτῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων αἰρείσθαι τριάκοντα μὲν καὶ ἐπτὰ τοὺς πάντας, ἐνώε δὲ καὶ δέκα ἐκ τῶν ἐποικησόντων,1 τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐξ 753 αὐτῆς Κνωσοῦ. τούτους δ' οἱ Κνώσιοι τῇ πόλει σοι δόντων, καὶ αὐτὸν σε, πολίτην εἶναι ταύτης τῆς ἀποικίας καὶ ἐνα τῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα, πείσαντες ή τινὶ 2 μετρία δυνάμει βιασάμενοι.

κα. Τῇ δήτα οὐ καὶ σὺ τε καὶ ὁ Μέγιλλος, ὃ ξένε, ἐκοινωνησάτην ἡμῖν τῆς πολιτείας;

α. Μέγα μὲν, ὃ Κλεινία, φρονούσιν αἱ Ἀθήναι, μέγα δὲ καὶ ἡ Σπάρτη, καὶ μακρὰν ἀποικοῦσιν ἔκατεραν: σοὶ δὲ κατὰ πάντα ἔμμελῶς ἔχει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκισταίς κατὰ ταύτα, ἐκτὸς περὶ τὰ περὶ σοῦ ὑπὸ λεγόμενα. ὡς μὲν οὖν γένοιτ' ἀν ἐπιεικέστατα ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν, εἰρήσθων προελθότος δὲ χρόνου καὶ μεινάσει τῆς πολιτείας αἱρέσις αὐτῶν ἐστω τοιάδε τις πάντες μὲν κοινωνοῦσί τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεως ὀπόσοιπερ ἀν ὀπλα ἰπτικὰ ή πεζικά τιθώντας καὶ πολέμου κεκοινωνήκωσιν ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν τῆς ἡλικίας δυνάμει ποιεῖσθαι δὲ τὴν αἱρέσιν ἐν ἕρω ὅπερ ἂν ἡ πόλις ἡγήται τιμωτα—

C τοὺν, φέρειν δ' ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ βωμὸν ἐκαστοῦν εἰς πινάκιον γράψαντα τούνομα πατρόθεν καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου ὁπόθεν ἂν δημοτεύηται, παρεγ-

1 ἐποικησόντων Stephens: ἐποικησάντων MSS.
CLIN. What means can we find for this, or what rule?

ATH. This: I assert, O ye sons of Crete, that, since the Cnosians take precedence over most of the Cretan cities, they should combine with those who have come into this community to select thirty-seven persons in all from their own number and the community—nineteen from the latter body, and the rest from Cnosus itself; and those men the Cnosians should make over to your State, and they should make you in person a citizen of this colony and one of the eighteen—using persuasion or, possibly, a reasonable degree of compulsion.

CLIN. Why, pray, have not you also, Stranger, and Megillus lent us a hand in our constitution?

ATH. Athens is haughty, Clinias, and Sparta also is haughty, and both are far distant: but for you this course is in all respects proper, as it is likewise for the rest of the founders of the colony, to whom also our recent remarks about you apply. Let us, then, assume that this would be the most equitable arrangement under the conditions at present existing. Later on, if the constitution still remains, the selection of officials shall take place as follows:—In the selection of officials all men shall take part who carry arms, as horse-soldiers or foot-soldiers, or who have served in war so far as their age and ability allowed. They shall make the selection in that shrine which the State shall deem the most sacred; and each man shall bring to the altar of the god, written on a tablet, the name of his nominee, with his father's name and that of his tribe and of the deme he belongs to, and beside these he shall

2 ἡ τίμ Schanz: ἡ τῆ MSS.
γράφειν δὲ καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ ταύτα οὕτως ὄνομα. τῷ Βουλομένῳ δ' ἐξέστω τῶν πινακίων ὃ τι περ ἂν φαίνεται μὴ κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῶ γέγραμμένον ἀνελόντα εἰς ἀγοράν θείναι μὴ ἑλαττον τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν. τὰ δὲ τῶν πινακίων κρίθεντα ἐν πρώτοις μέχρι τριακοσίων δείξαι τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἰδεῖν

D πάση τῇ πόλει, την δὲ πόλιν ὡσαύτως ἐκ τούτων φέρειν πάλιν ὅπως ἂν ἕκαστος Βούληταί, τοὺς δὲ τὸ δεύτερον ἐξ αὐτῶν προκριθεῖντα ἐκατόν δείξαι πάλιν ἀπασί. τὸ δὲ τρίτον φερέτω μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἐκατον ὁ Βουληθεὶς ὅπως ἂν Βούληται, διὰ τὸ ἔρχοντας· ἐπτὰ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα, οἷς ἂν πλεῖσται γενόνται ψήφοι, κρίναντες ἀποφηνάντων ἀρχοντας.

E ΤῈνες οὖν, ὁ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, πάντα ἠμῖν ταῦτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει καταστήσουσι. τῶν ἀρχῶν τε πέρι καὶ δοκιμασιῶν αὐτῶν; ἀρα ἐννοούμεν ὡς ταῖς πρῶτον οὕτω καταζευγμωμέναις πόλεσιν ἀνάγκη μὲν εἰναὶ πινα, οὕτως δὲ εἰεν ἂν πρὸ πασῆ τῶν ἀρχῶν γεγονότες οὐκ ἐστιν <ἰδείν> ¹; δεῖ μὴν ἁμῶς γέ πως, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ φαύλους ἀλλ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἄκρους. ἀρχὴ γὰρ λέγεται μὲν ἡμῖν παντὸς [ἐν ταῖς παροιμίαις] ² ἔργου, καὶ τὸ γε καλῶς ἀρξασθαὶ πάντες ἐγκομίαζομεν ἐκάστοτε· τὸ δ' ἔστι τε, ὃς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, πλέον ἦ τὸ ἡμῖν, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸ καλῶς 754 ἑγνόμενον ἑγκεκομίακεν ἰκανῶς.

¹ <ἰδείν> I add (H. Richards adds εἰπεὶν).
write also his own name in like manner. Any man who chooses shall be permitted to remove any tablet which seems to him to be improperly written, and to place it in the market-place for not less than thirty days. The officials shall publicly exhibit, for all the State to see, those of the tablets that are adjudged to come first, to the number of 300; and all the citizens shall vote again in like manner, each for whomsoever of these he wishes. Of these, the officials shall again exhibit publicly the names of those who are adjudged first, up to the number of 100. The third time, he that wishes shall vote for whomsoever he wishes out of the hundred, passing between slain victims¹ as he does so: then they shall test the thirty-seven men who have secured most votes, and declare them to be magistrates.

Who, then, are the men, O Clinias and Megillus, who shall establish in our State all these regulations concerning magisterial offices and tests? We perceive (do we not?) that for States that are thus getting into harness for the first time some such persons there must necessarily be; but who they can be, before any officials exist, it is impossible to see. Yet somehow or other they must be there—and men, too, of no mean quality, but of the highest quality possible. For, as the saying goes, "well begun is half done,"² and every man always commends a good beginning; but it is truly, as I think, something more than the half, and no man has ever yet commended as it deserves a beginning that is well made.

¹ An ancient method of solemnly ratifying an agreement: cp. Genesis 15. 9 ff.
² Literally, "the beginning is the half of every work."
CL. 'Orpóttata légeis.

AO. Mη τοίνυν γιγνώσκοντες γε παρώμεν αυτό ἀρρητον, μηδέν διασαφήσαντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίνα ἔσται τρόπον. ἐγώ μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς εὑπορῶ πλήν γε ἐνός εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸ παρόν ἀναγκαίον καὶ ἐξυμφέροντος λόγου.

KB. Τίνος δὴ;

AO. Φημὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει, ἢν οἰκίζειν μέλομεν, ὅπως πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὐκ εἶναι πλήν

Β] τὴν κατοικίζουσαν αὐτήν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πολλαὶ τῶν κατοικισθεισῶν διάφοροι ταῖς κατοικισάσαις πολλάκις ἐναι γεγονασί τε καὶ ἔσονται. νῦν μὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καθάπερ παῖς, εἰ καὶ ποτε μέλλει διάφορος εἶναι τοῖς γεννήσασιν, ἐν γε τῇ παροῦσῃ παιδείᾳ ἀπορία στέργητε τε καὶ στέργηται ὑπὸ τῶν γεννησάντων, καὶ φεύγων ἀεὶ πρὸς τοὺς [οἰκείους] ἀναγκαῖος μόνους εὐρίσκει ἐξυμμάχους. ἀ δὴ νῦν φημὶ Κυνόσιος διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν πρὸς τὴν νέαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ νέα πρὸς

C] Κυνόσον ὑπάρχειν ἐτοίμως γεγονότα. λέγω δὲ καθάπερ εἶπον νῦν δῆ, δις γὰρ τὸ γε καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτει, Κυνόσιος δὲ ἔπιμεληθήναι πάντων τούτων κοινῆ, προσελομένους τῶν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένων τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ ἀρίστους εἰς δύναμιν ἐλομένους μὴ ἐλαττῶν ἐκατὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ αὐτῶν Κυνόσιον ἐστωσαν ἐκατὸν ἐτεροὶ. τούτους δὲ ἐλθόντας φημὶ δεῖν

1 [οἰκείους] 1 bracket.

1 752 D.
CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Let us not then wittingly leave this first step unmentioned, nor fail to make it quite clear to ourselves how it is to be brought about. I, however, am by no means fertile in resource, save for one statement which, in view of the present situation, it is both necessary and useful to make.

CLIN. What statement is that?

ATH. I assert that the State for whose settlement we are planning has nobody in the way of parents except that State which is founding it, though I am quite aware that many of the colony-States have been, and will be—some of them often—at feud with those which founded them. But now, on the present occasion, just as a child in the present helplessness of childhood—in spite of the likelihood of his being at enmity with his parents at some future date—loves his parents and is loved by them, and always flies for help to his kindred and finds in them, and them alone, his allies,—so now, as I assert, this relationship exists ready-made for the Cnosians towards the young State, owing to their care for it, and for the young State towards the Cnosians. I state once more, as I stated just now,¹—for there is no harm in duplicating a good statement—that the Cnosians must take a share in caring for all these matters, choosing out not less than 100 men of those who have come into the colony, the oldest and best of them they are able to select; and of the Cnosians themselves let there be another hundred. This joint body² must, I say, go to the

¹ This body of 200 is to be appointed, as a temporary expedient, to give the State a start by selecting its first necessary officials.
eis tēn kaimēn polin syneitémelēthēnai ópws ài
D te árkhai katasťōsei kata vōmous katasťāsai
te ãokýmēsôsia: yenoménuv de toûton tēn mēn
Kynosou tois Kynosous oikēn, tēn de vēan polin
aúthēn aúthēn peirașthai swēsien tē kai eûtukeiēn.
òi de de ħe yenōmenoi tōn ēppā kai triākonta vēn
tē kai eis tōn ēpeita ēûmpanta xhōnon ēpi toûs de
ēmēn ἡρήσθωσαν: prōtōn mēn φυλακες ēstōsan
tōn vōmōn, ēpeita tōn grāmmatón dān ἁn ēkastos
άπογραψη tois ārchousi tō plēdos tēs aútoīn
E ouσίαs, plēn ὁ mēn mégioston tīmēma ēxwv tēt-
tārōn mūn, ὁ de tō deúteron trīōn, ὁ de trītōs
duein muaīn, mūsā de ὁ τέταρτος. ēavn de tis
ēteron faiñntai ti parā tā yegrammēna kektē-
mēnos, δημοσίοn mēn ēstw tō toioûton āπαn, pρōs
toûtō de dīkēn ὑπεχέτω tō βουλομένω υμεῖναi
μὴ kαλῆn μηδ' eûwvnumon, ἀλλ' aīs'χrān, ēavn
ἀλίσκhntai dīa tō kérδos tōn vōmōn katafroûn.
aīs'χrōkerdeîas oûn aúton yragasêmevōs ὁ βουλη-
theîs ēpeξētō tē dīkē ēn aútoīs tōs νομοφύλαξiν·
ēavn ὁ φεύγων όφλη, tōn kōwvn kpttēmātωn μὴ
755 mēteχētw, δīanómē de ὅtαn tē plōlē gīγnhtai tis,
aćoīros ēstō plēn γe tōu klērou, yegráfthw de
ὀφληκwos, ēwos ἃn xῆ, ὅπου pās ὁ βουλŎmēvōs
aúta ānagwōsetai. μὴ pLēon de eîkōsiv ētōn
νομοφύλαξ ἀρχētōw, fērēsōw ὁ ēis tēn ἀρχῆn
mē ἕλατtōn ἢ pενήkonta yegonwos ētōn· ēxkoun-
tōtēs de ēnēxheîs dekā mūnωn ἀρχētō ἑtē, kai
kata tōtōn tōn lōgōn, ὅpwos, ἃn tis pLēov

1 See above, 752 E.
new State and arrange in common that the magistrates be appointed according to the laws and be tested after appointment. When this has been done, then the Cnosians must dwell in Cnosus, and the young State must endeavour by its own efforts to secure for itself safety and success. As to the men who belong to the thirty and seven,¹ both now and for all future time, let us select them for the following purposes: First, they shall act as Wardens of the laws, and secondly as Keepers of the registers in which every man writes out for the officials the amount of his property, omitting four minae if he be of the highest property-class, three if he be of the second class, two if he be of the third, and one if he be of the fourth class. And should anyone be proved to possess anything else beyond what is registered, all such surplus shall be confiscated; and in addition he shall be liable to be brought to trial by anyone who wishes to prosecute—a trial neither noble nor fair of name, if he be convicted of despising law because of lucre. So he that wishes shall charge him with profiteering, and prosecute him by law before the Law-wardens themselves; and if the defendant be convicted, he shall take no share of the public goods, and whenever the State makes a distribution, he shall go portionless, save for his allotment, and he shall be registered as a convicted criminal, where anyone who chooses may read his sentence, as long as he lives. A Law-warden shall hold office for no more than twenty years, and he shall be voted into office when he is not under fifty years of age. If he is elected at the age of sixty, he shall hold office for ten years only; and by the same rule, the more he exceeds the minimum age, the shorter shall be his term of office;
Β ὑπερβάς ἐβδομήκοντα ζῇ, μηκέτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀρχούσι τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀρξὼν διανοηθήτω.
Τά μέν οὖν περὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ταύτα ἐιρήσθω προστάγματα τρία, προϊόντων δὲ εἰς τοῦμπροσθε τῶν νόμων ἐκαστος προστάξει τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὄντινων αὐτοὺς δὲ πρὸς τοῖς νῦν εἰρημένοις προσεπιμελεῖσθαι. νῦν δ' ἐξῆς ἀλλων ἀρχῶν αἰρέσεως περὶ λέγοιμεν ἃν. δὲ γὰρ δὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα στρατηγοὺς αἱρεῖσθαι,
Καὶ τούτοις εἰς τὸν πόλεμον οἷς τὶνας ὑπηρεσίας ἰππάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ τῶν πεζῶν φυλῶν κοσμητὰς τῶν τάξεων, οἷς πρέπουν ἃν εἰς τοῦτο τοῦδο τοῦνομα μάλιστα, οἷον καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ταξιάρχους αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι. τούτων δὴ στρατηγοὺς μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οἱ νομοφύλακες προβαλλέσθων, ἀιρείσθων δ' ἐκ τῶν προβληθέντων πάντες οἱ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνίας γενόμενοι τε ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ γνωρίσμοιἐκάστοτε. εἶν δὲ τὶς ἀρα δοκῆ τινὶ τῶν μὴ προβεβληθέντων

Δ ἀμείνων εἶναι τῶν προβληθέντων τινὸς, ἐπονομάζας ἀνθ' ὅσον ὅντινα προβάλλεται, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὁμοῦς ἀντιπροβαλλέσθω τὸν ἔτερον ὀπότερος δ' ἂν δόξη διαχειροτονούμενος, εἰς τὴν αἱρέσιν ἐγκρινέσθω. τρεῖς δὲ, οἷς ἂν ἡ πλείστη χειροτονία γίγνηται, τούτους εἶναι στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον, δοκιμασθέντων καθἀπερ οἱ νομοφύλακες. ταξιάρχους δὲ αὐτοίς προβάλλεσθαι μὲν τοὺς αἱρεθέντας στρατηγοὺς

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so that if he lives beyond the age of seventy, he must no longer fancy that he can remain among these officials holding an office of such high importance.

So, for the Law-wardens, let us state that these three duties are imposed on them, and as we proceed with the laws, each fresh law will impose upon these men whatever additional duties they ought to be charged with beyond those now stated. And now we may go on to describe the selection of the other officials. Commanders must be selected next, and as subordinates to them, for purposes of war, hipparchs, phylarchs, and officers to marshal the ranks of the foot-phylae,—to whom the name of "taxiarchs,"¹ which is in fact the very name which most men give to them, would be specially appropriate. Of these, commanders shall be nominated by the Law-wardens from among the members of our State only; and from those nominated the selection shall be made by all who either are serving or have served in war, according to their several ages. And if anyone deems that someone of the men not nominated is better than one of those nominated, he shall state the name of his nominee and of the man whom he is to replace, and, taking the oath about the matter, he shall propose his substitute; and whichever of the two is decided on by vote shall be included in the list for selection. And the three men, who have been appointed by the majority of votes to serve as commanders and controllers of military affairs, shall be tested as were the Law-wardens. The selected commanders shall nominate for themselves taxiarchs, twelve for each

¹ i.e. "rank-leaders."
Ε δώδεκα ἐκάστη φυλή [ταξιαρχον] 1 τὴν δ' ἀντιπροβολὴν εἶναι, καθάπερ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο, τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιχειροτονίαν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν. τὸν δὲ ξύλλογον τούτον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πρὶν πρυτάνεις τε καὶ βουλὴν ἱρῆσθαι, τοὺς νομοθύλακας συλλέξαντας εἰς χορίον ὡς ἱερωτατόν τε καὶ ἱκανώτατον καθίσαι χωρίς μὲν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, χωρίς δὲ τοὺς ἰππείας, τρίτον δὲ ἐφεξής τούτοις πάν ὑπὸν ἐμπολέμιον· χειροτονοῦντων δὲ στρατηγοὺς μὲν [καὶ ἰππάρχους] 2 πάντες, ταξιάρχους δὲ οἱ τὴν 756 ἀστίδα τιθέμενοι· φυλάρχους δὲ αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς 3 πᾶν τὸ ἰππικὸν αἱρεῖσθω· ψελῶν δὲ ἡ τοξοτῶν ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν ἐμπολεμῶν ἡγεμόνας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐαυτοῖς καθιστάντων. ἰππάρχου δὴ κατάστασις ἂν ἡμῖν ἐτὶ λοιπή γίγνετο. τούτους οὐκ ἀρχαλλέσθων μὲν οἴπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς προοβάλλοντο, τὴν δὲ αἱρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀντιπροβολὴν τούτων τὴν αὐτὴν γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἡ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο, χειροτονεῖτο δὲ τὸ ἰππικὸν αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον ὀρῶντων τῶν πεζῶν, δῶ δὲ οἷς ἃν πλείστῃ χειροτονία γίγνεται, τούτους ἡγεμόνας εἶναι πάντων τῶν ἰππεῦντων. τὰς δὲ ἀμφισβητήσεις τῶν χειροτονῶν μέχρι δυνῶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐὰν ἀμφισβητῇ τις, διαψηφίζεσθαι τούτους οἴσπερ τῆς χειροτονίας μέτρον ἐκάστους ἔκαστον ἂν.

Βουλὴν δὲ εἶναι μὲν τριάκοντα δωδεκάδας· ἐξηκοντα δὲ καὶ τριακόσιοι γίγνοντο ἄν πρέποντες

1 [ταξιαρχον] bracketed by F. H. Dale.

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tribe; and here, in the case of the taxiarchs, just as in the case of the commanders, there shall be a right of counter-nomination, and a similar procedure of voting and testing. For the present—before that prytaneis¹ and a Boulé have been elected—this assembly shall be convened by the Law-wardens, and they shall seat it in the holiest and roomiest place available, the hoplites on one side, the horse-soldiers on another, and in the third place, next to these, all who belong to the military forces. All shall vote for the commanders, all who carry shields for the taxiarchs; all the cavalry shall elect for themselves phylarchs; the commanders shall appoint for themselves captains of skirmishers, archers, or any other branch of service. The appointment of hippocarch we have still remaining. They shall be nominated by the same persons who nominated the commanders, and the mode of selection and counter-nomination shall be the same in their case as in that of the commanders: the cavalry shall vote for them in full sight of the infantry, and the two who secure most votes shall be captains of all the cavalrymen. No more than two challenges of votes shall be allowed: if anyone makes a third challenge, it shall be decided by those who had charge of the count on the occasion in question.

The Boulé (or “Council”) shall consist of thirty dozen—as the number 360 is well-adapted for the

¹ i.e. members of a “prytany,” or twelfth part of the Boulé (or Council): for the functions of these bodies, see 758 B ff.

³ αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς: αὐτὸς MSS.: αὐτοῖς Ast.
C ταῖς διανομαῖς μέρη δὲ διανείμαντας τέτταρα [κατὰ ἐνενήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν] τοὺς, ἐξ ἐκάστου τῶν τιμημάτων φέρειν ἐνενήκοντα βουλευτάς· πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων ἀπάντας φέρειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης, ἢ ζημιούσθαι τοῖς μὴ πειθόμενοι τῇ δοξάσῃ ζημίᾳ· ἐπειδὰν δ’ ἐνεχθῶσι, τούτους μὲν κατασημήνασθαι, τῇ δὲ ύστερᾳ ἡφεῖν ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων τιμημάτων κατὰ ταὐτὰ καθαρεύσεν τῇ πρόσθεν, ἐπίτη δ’ ἐκ τῶν τρίτων τιμημάτων φέρειν μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐπάναγκες δὲ εἶναι.

D τοῖς τῶν τριῶν τιμημάτων, τὸ δὲ τέταρτὸν τε καὶ σμικρότατον ἐλεύθερον ἀφεῖσθαι τῆς ζημίας δὲ ἀν αὐτῶν μὴ βούληται φέρειν. τετάρτη δὲ φέρειν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τέταρτου καὶ σμικρότατον τιμήματος ἀπαντάς, αὔξημον δ’ εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ τρίτου τιμήματος, ἐὰν ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ βούληται· τὸν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πρῶτου μὴ φέροντα ζημιούσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου τριπλασία

E τῆς πρώτης ζημίας, τὸν δ’ ἐκ τοῦ πρῶτου τετραπλασία. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα τὰ κατασημανθέντα ὀνόματα ἐξενεγκεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ίδεῖν πάσι τοῖς πολίταις, φέρειν δ’ ἐκ τούτων αὖ πάντα ἀνδρὰ ἢ ζημιούσθαι τῇ πρώτῃ ζημίᾳ. ὧν δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκατόν ἐκλέξαντας ἢφ’ ἐκάστων τῶν τιμημάτων, τοὺς ἡμίσεις τούτων ἀποκληρώσαντας δοκιμάσαι, τούτους δ’ εἰναι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν βουλευτάς.

Ὡς μὲν αἱρεσις οὗτος γινομένη μέσον ἂν ἔχοι μοναρχικῆς καὶ δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας, ἢς ἂεὶ δεῖ μεσεῦει τὴν πολιτείαν· δοῦλοι γὰρ ἂν καὶ

LAWS, BOOK VI

sub-divisions: they shall be divided into four groups; and 90 councillors shall be voted for from each of the property-classes.¹ First, for councillors from the highest property-class all the citizens shall be compelled to vote, and whoever disobeys shall be fined with the fine decreed. When these have been voted for, their names shall be recorded. On the next day those from the second class shall be voted for, the procedure being similar to that on the first day. On the third day, for councillors from the third class anyone who chooses shall vote; and the voting shall be compulsory for members of the first three classes, but those of the fourth and lowest class shall be let off the fine, in case any of them do not wish to vote. On the fourth day, for those from the fourth and lowest class all shall vote; and if any member of the third or fourth class does not wish to vote, he shall be let off the fine; but any member of the first or second class who fails to vote shall be fined—three times the amount of the first fine in the case of a member of the second class, and four times in the case of one of the first class. On the fifth day the officials shall publish the names recorded for all the citizens to see; and for these every man shall vote, or else be fined with the first fine; and when they have selected 180 from each of the classes, they shall choose out by lot one-half of this number, and test them; and these shall be the Councillors for the year.

The selection of officials that is thus made will form a mean between a monarchical constitution and a democratic; and midway between these our constitution should always stand. For slaves will never

¹ Cp. Ar. Pol. 1266a14 ff.
757 δεστόται οὖν ἂν ποτε γένοιτο φίλοι, οὐδὲ ἐν ἰδιαις τιμαίς διαγορεύμενοι φαύλοι καὶ σπουδηδιοι. τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίσοις τὰ ἰσα ἀνίσα γίγνοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τοῦ μέτρου. διὰ γὰρ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα στάσεων ἀι πολιτείαι πληροῦνται. παλαιὸς γὰρ λόγος ἀληθῆς ὄν, ὡς ἰσότης φιλότητα ἀπεργάζεται, μάλα μὲν ὀρθῶς εἰρηται καὶ ἐμμελῶς: ἦτις δ' ἐστὶ ποτε ἰσότης ἢ τούτο αὐτὸ δυναμένη, διὰ τὸ μὴ σφόδρα σαφῆς εἶναι σφόδρα ἡμᾶς διατά- 

B ράττει. δυνών γὰρ ἰσοτήτων οὖσαι, ὁμοιόμοιοι μὲν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς πολλὰ σχεδὸν ἑναντίαν, τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν εἰς τὰς τιμὰς πᾶσα πόλις ἱκανὴ παραγαγεῖν καὶ πᾶς νομοθέτης, τὴν μέτρῳ ἵσην καὶ σταθμῷ καὶ ἀρίθμῳ, κληρῷ ἀπευθύνων εἰς τὰς διανομὰς αὐτήν: τὴν δὲ ἀληθεστάτην καὶ ἀρίστην ἰσότητα οὐκέτι ράδιον παντὶ ἴδειν. Διὸς γὰρ δὴ κρίσις ἐστὶ, καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀεὶ συμφρὰ μὲν ἑπαρκεῖ, πάν δὲ ὅσον ἄν ἑπαρκέσῃ πόλεσιν ἢ καὶ 

C ἰδιώταις, πάντες ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζεται τῷ μὲν γὰρ μείζονι πλέον, τῷ δ' ἐλάττωνι σμικρότερα νέμει, μέτρια διδοῦσα πρὸς τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν ἑκατέρω, καὶ δὴ καὶ τιμὰς μεῖζον μὲν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀεὶ μείζους, ἦττους 1 δὲ τούραντιν ἔχουσιν ἀρετὴς τε καὶ παιδείας, τὸ πρέπον ἑκατέρως ἀπονέμει κατὰ λόγον. ἐστὶ γὰρ ἢ ποὺ καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἡμῖν ἀεὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τὸ δίκαιον οὐ καὶ νῦν ἡμᾶς ὀρεγομένους δεῖ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτην τὴν ἰσότητα, ὡ

1 ἦττους: τοῖς MSS., edd. (Stephens and Schanz mark a lacuna after παιδείας)

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1 Cp. Gorg. 508 Α, B; Ar. Pol. 1301b 29 ff.; Eth. Ν. 1131b 27, 1158b 30 ff. The “arithmetical” equality which merely counts heads and treats all alike is here contrasted with...
be friends with masters, nor bad men with good, even when they occupy equal positions—for when equality is given to unequal things, the resultant will be unequal, unless due measure is applied; and it is because of these two conditions that political organisations are filled with feuds. There is an old and true saying that "equality produces amity," which is right well and fitly spoken; but what the equality is which is capable of doing this is a very troublesome question, since it is very far from being clear. For there are two kinds of equality which, though identical in name, are often almost opposites in their practical results. The one of these any State or lawgiver is competent to apply in the assignment of honours, namely, the equality determined by measure, weight and number,—by simply employing the lot to give even results in the distributions; but the truest and best form of equality is not an easy thing for everyone to discern. It is the judgment of Zeus, and men it never assists save in small measure, but in so far as it does assist either States or individuals, it produces all things good; for it dispenses more to the greater and less to the smaller, giving due measure to each according to nature; and with regard to honours also, by granting the greater to those that are greater in goodness, and the less to those of the opposite character in respect of goodness and education, it assigns in proportion what is fitting to each. Indeed, it is precisely this which constitutes for us "political justice," which is the object we must strive for, Clinias; this equality is what we that truer "proportional" equality which takes account of human inequality, and on which "distributive justice" (as Aristotle terms it) is based: cp. also 744 C.
Κλεινία, ἀποβλέποντας τὴν νῦν φυμένην κατοικιζειν πόλιν. Ἀλλην τε ἂν ποτὲ τις οἰκίζῃ, πρὸς ταύτῳ τούτῳ σκοποῦμενον χρεῶν νομοθετεῖν, ἀλλ' οὔ πρὸς ὀλίγους τυράννους ἢ πρὸς ἕνα ἢ καὶ κράτος ἄλλοις τι, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δίκαιον ἀεί τούτῳ δ' ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν δὴ λειχθέν, τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἵσον ἀνίσοις ἑκάστοτε δοθὲν. Ἀναγκαῖον γε μὴν καὶ τούτοις παρωνυμίοις ποτὲ προσχρῆσασθαι πόλιν ἀπασαν, εἰ μέλλει στάσεων έαυτῇ μὴ προσκοινωνήσειν κατὰ τί μέρος; τὸ γὰρ ἑπιείκες καὶ ἑξύγγυον τοῦ τελέου καὶ ἀκριβοῦς παρὰ δίκην τὴν ὀρθὴν ἐστὶ παρατεβραμένου, ὅταν γίγνηται διὸ τῶν κλήρου ἵσος ἀνάγκη προσχρῆσασθαι δυσκολίας τῶν πολλῶν ἔνεκα, θεοῦ καὶ ἀγαθῆς τύχης καὶ τότε ἐν εὐχαίς ἐπικαλομένους ἀπορθοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν κλήρων πρὸς τὸ δικαίωταν. οὕτω δὴ χρηστέου ἀναγκαῖος μὲν τῶν ἰσοτήτων ἀμφοῖν, ὡς δ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπὶ ὀλιγύστοις τῇ ἑτέρᾳ, τῇ τῆς τύχης δεομένῃ.

Ταύτα οὕτω διὰ ταύτα, ὣς φίλοι, ἀναγκαῖον τὴν μέλλουσαν σωζέσθαι δρᾶν πόλιν. ἔπειθή δὲ ναῦς τε ἐν θαλάσσῃ πλέοσα φυλακῆς ἡμέρας δεῖται καὶ νυκτὸς ἀεί, πόλις τε ὀσαύτως ἐν κλύδων τῶν ἀλλων πόλεων διαγομένη καὶ παντοδαπαίσων ἐπιβουλαίς οἰκεῖ κινδυνεύοσα ἀλίσκεσθαι, δεῖ δὴ δὴ ἡμέρας τε εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς συνάπτεων πρὸς ἡμέραν ἀρχοντας ἀρχουσι, Β φρουροῦντάς τε φρουροῦσι διαδεχομένους ἀεὶ καὶ παραδίδοντας μηδέποτε λήγειν. πλῆθος δὲ οὐ δυνατὸν δὲξεως οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν τούτων πράττειν, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν

1 αὐτοῖς H. Richards: αὕτως MSS.
must aim at, now that we are settling the State that is being planted. And whoever founds a State elsewhere at any time must make this same object the aim of his legislation,—not the advantage of a few tyrants, or of one, or of some form of democracy, but justice always; and this consists in what we have just stated, namely, the natural equality given on each occasion to things unequal. None the less, it is necessary for every State at times to employ even this equality in a modified degree, if it is to avoid involving itself in intestine discord, in one section or another,—for the reasonable and considerate, wherever employed, is an infringement of the perfect and exact, as being contrary to strict justice; for the same reason it is necessary to make use also of the equality of the lot, on account of the discontent of the masses, and in doing so to pray, calling upon God and Good Luck to guide for them the lot aright towards the highest justice. Thus it is that necessity compels us to employ both forms of equality; but that form, which needs good luck, we should employ as seldom as possible.

The State which means to survive must necessarily act thus, my friends, for the reasons we have stated. For just as a ship when sailing on the sea requires continual watchfulness both by night and day, so likewise a State, when it lives amidst the surge of surrounding States and is in danger of being entrapped by all sorts of plots, requires to have officers linked up with officers from day to night and from night to day, and guardians succeeding guardians, and being succeeded in turn, without a break. But since a crowd of men is incapable of ever performing any of these duties smartly, the bulk of the Councillors
ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου ἔαν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἰδίοις μένοντας εὐθημονεῖσθαί τα κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις, τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον μέρος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δώδεκα μῆνας νείμαντας ἐν ἐφ᾽ ἐνὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς φύλακας, ἵνα τε τίνι ποθεὶ ἄλλοθεν εἴτε δὲ καὶ ἐὰν τῆς πόλεως ἐτοίμας ἐπιτυχεὶν, ἂν τε ἀγγέλλειν βούληται τις ἐὰν τ' αὐτὶ πυνθάνεσθαί τι τῶν ὅν προσῆκε πόλει πρὸς πόλεις ἀλλὰς ἀποκρίνεσθαί τε καὶ ἐρωτήσασαν ἐτέρας ἀποδέξασθαι τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστοτε νεωτερισμῶν ἕνεκα παντοδαπῶν εἰσθότων ἂν γίγνεσθαι, ὅπως ἂν μάλιστα μὲν μὴ γίγνονται, γενομένων δὲ ὅτι τάχιστα αἰσθομένης τῆς πόλεως ἱαθῇ τὸ γενόμενον διὸ ξυλλόγων τε ἂεὶ δὲ τούτῳ εἶναι προκαθήμενον τῆς πόλεως κύριον καὶ διαλύσεων τῶν τε κατὰ νόμους τῶν τε ἐξαιρήσεως προσπιπτοῦσιν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα τὸ δωδέκατον ἂν μέρος τῆς βουλῆς εἴη τὸ διακοσμοῦν, τὰ ἐνδεκα ἀναπαυόμενον τοῦ ἐμπροσμένη μέρη κοινῇ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν δὲ τὰς φυλακὰς ταῦτας φυλάττειν κατὰ πόλιν τούτῳ τὸ μορίῳ τῆς βουλῆς ἂεἰ.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οὕτως ἔχοντα μετρίως ἐάν εἴη διατεταγμένα: τῆς δὲ ἄλλης χώρας πάσης τῆς ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τῆς τάξις; ἀρ' οὖν ἢνικά πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις, σύμπασα δὲ ἡ χώρα κατὰ δώδεκα μέρη διανενέμηται, τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ὁδὸν καὶ οἰκίσεων καὶ οἰκοδομῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ κρηνῶν καὶ δὴ καὶ τεμενῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελητὰς δεῖ τινὰς ἀποδεδειγμένους εἶναι;
LAWS, BOOK VI

must necessarily be left to stay most of their time at their private business, to attend to their domestic affairs; and we must assign a twelfth part of them to each of the twelve months, to furnish guards in rotation, so as promptly to meet any person coming either from somewhere abroad or from their own State, in case he desires to give information or to make enquiries about some matter of international importance; and so as to make replies, and, when the State has asked questions, to receive the replies; and above all, in view of the manifold innovations that are wont to occur constantly in States, to prevent if possible their occurrence, and in case they do occur, to ensure that the State may perceive and remedy the occurrence as quickly as possible. For these reasons, this presidential section of the State must always have the control of the summoning and dissolving of assemblies, both the regular legal assemblies and those of an emergency character. Thus a twelfth part of the Council will be the body that manages all these matters, and each such part shall rest in turn for eleven-twelfths of the year: in common with the rest of the officials, this twelfth section of the Council must keep its watch in the State over these matters continually.

This disposition of affairs in the city will prove a reasonable arrangement. But what control are we to have, and what system, for all the rest of the country? Now that all the city and the whole country have each been divided up into twelve parts, must not supervisors be appointed for the roads of the city itself, the dwellings, buildings, harbours, market, springs, and for the sacred glebes also and the temples, and all such things?
κα. Πώς γὰρ οὖν;
759 ΑΘ. Δέγωμεν δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς νεωκόρους τε καὶ ἱερέας καὶ ἱερείας δεύν γίγνεσθαι. ὅδων δὲ καὶ οἰκοδομοῦν καὶ κόσμου τοῦ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀνθρώπων τε, ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶσι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων ἐν αὐτῶ τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως περὶβόλω καὶ προαστείῳ, ὅπως ἄν τὰ προσήκοντα πόλεσι γίγνηται, ἐλέεσθαι δεῖ τρία μὲν ἀρχόντων εἶδη, περὶ μὲν τὸ νῦν δὴ λεχθέν ἀστυνόμους ἐπονομάζοντα, τὸ δὲ περὶ ἄγορᾶς κόσμου ἄγορανόμους, ἱερῶν δὲ ἱερεάς, οἷς μὲν εἰσὶ πάτριαι ἱερωσῦναι

Β καὶ αἷς, μὴ κινεῖν εἰ δὲ, οἶνον τὸ πρῶτον κατοικιζομένοις εἰκῶς γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἡ μηδενὶ ἢ τισιν ὀλίγοις [οἶς] ἥδη 1 καθεσθήκοι, καταστατέον ἱερέας τε καὶ ἱερείας νεωκόρους γίγνεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς. τοῦτων δὴ πάντων τὰ μὲν αἴρετὰ χρῆ, τὰ δὲ κληροῦσα ἐν ταῖς καταστάσεις γίγνεσθαι, μεγανύντας πρὸς φίλίαν ἀλλήλοις δήμοι καὶ μὴ δήμοι ἐν ἑκάστῃ χώρᾳ καὶ πόλει, ὅπως ἄν μάλιστα ὀμονόμων 2 εἴη. τὰ μὲν οὖν τὸν

C ἱερέων 3 τῷ θεῷ ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὸ κεχαριμένου γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦν οὕτω τῇ θείᾳ τύχῃ ἀποδίδοντα, δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὸν οἷς λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ὀλόκληρον καὶ γνήσιον, ἐπειτα ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐκ καθαρευοῦσών οἰκήσεων, φόνον δὲ ἀγνὸν καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὰ θεία ἀμαρτανομένων αὐτῶν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κατὰ ταύτα βεβιωκότας. ἐκ Δελφῶν δὲ χρῆ νόμοις

2 ὀμονόµων England: ὀμονόµων MSS.
3 ἱερέων Stobaeus: ἱερῶν MSS.
Certainly.

Let us state, then, that for the temples there must be temple-keepers and priests and priestesses; and for roads and buildings and the due ordering thereof, and for men, and beasts too, to prevent their doing wrong, and to secure that the order proper to States is observed both within the city bounds and in the suburbs, we must select three kinds of officers: those who deal with the matters just mentioned we shall call "city-stewards," and those dealing with the ordering of the market, "market-stewards." Priests of temples, or priestesses, who hold hereditary priesthoods should not be disturbed; but if,—as is likely to be the case in such matters with a people who are being organised for the first time,—few or none have them already established, then we must establish priests and priestesses to be temple-keepers for the gods. In establishing all these offices, we must make the appointments partly by election and partly by lot,\(^1\) mingling democratic with non-democratic methods, to secure mutual friendliness, in every rural and urban district, so that all may be as unanimous as possible.\(^2\) As to the priests, we shall entrust it to the god himself to ensure his own good pleasure, by committing their appointment to the divine chance of the lot; but each person who gains the lot we shall test, first, as to whether he is sound and true-born, and secondly, as to whether he comes from houses that are as pure as possible, being himself clean from murder and all such offences against religion, and of parents that have lived by the same rule. They ought to bring

\(^1\) Cp. Ar. Pol. 1300a19 ff.

\(^2\) Cp. 738 D ff., 771 E f.
περὶ τὰ θεία πάντα κομισαμένους καὶ κατα-
στήσαντας ἐπ’ αυτοῖς ἐξηγητάς τούτοις χρῆσθαι.

Δ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ εἶναι καὶ μὴ μακρότερον τὴν
ιερωσύνην ἐκάστην, ἔτη δὲ μὴ ἐλάττων ἐξήκοντα
ἡμῖν εἰ̇̃ῃ γεγονός ὁ μέλλων καθ’ ἱεροὺς νόμους
περὶ τὰ θεία ικανός ἀγιστεύσειν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ
περὶ τῶν ἱερεῶν ἐστὼ τὰ νόμιμα. τοὺς δὲ
ἐξηγητὰς τρίς φερέτωσαν μὲν αἱ τέτταρες φυλαὶ
tέτταρας ἐκαστὸν ἐξ αὐτῶν, τρεῖς δὲ οίς ἀν
πλείστῃ γένεται ψῆφος δοκιμάσαντας ἐννέα
πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνελεῖν εἰς ἐκάστης τριάδος

Ε ἔνα· τὴν δὲ δοκιμασίαν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ χρόνου
τὴν ἡλικίαν εἶναι καθάπερ τῶν ιερέων. οὕτω
δὲ ἐστὼν ἐξηγητάς διὰ βίου· τὸν δὲ γε λιπόντα
πρωιρείσθωσαν αἱ τέτταρες φυλαὶ, ὅθεν ἄν
ἐκλήτη. ταμίας δὲ δὴ τῶν τε ιερῶν χρημάτων
ἐκάστους τοὺς ιεροῖς καὶ τεμενῶν καὶ καρπῶν
760 τούτων καὶ μισθώσεων κυρίοις αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκ
τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα
ιερὰ, δύο δ’ εἰς τὰ σμικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ
ἐμμελέστατα ἐνα· τὴν δὲ αἴρεσιν τούτων καὶ τὴν
dοκιμασίαν γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἦ τῶν στρατηγῶν
ἐγίγνετο. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐ̄ περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα
γιγνέσθω.

Ἀφροῦρητον δὲ δὴ μηδέν εἰς δύναμιν ἔστω,
pόλεως μὲν οὖν αἱ φροουραὶ πέρι ταύτη γηγε-
σθωσαν, στρατηγῶν ἐπιμελουμένων καὶ ταξιαρχῶν
καὶ ἵππαρχων καὶ φυλάρχων καὶ πρωτάνεων καὶ

Β δὴ καὶ ἀστυνόμων καὶ· ἀγωνανόμων, ὁπόταν

1 ἢ. ε. official exponents of sacred law; cp. 775 A, 828 B.
2 The 12 tribes are divided into 3 groups of 4 each: each
group appoints 3, making 9 in all: the other 3 required
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from Delphi laws about all matters of religion, and appoint interpreters\(^1\) thereof, and make use of those laws. Each priestly office should last for one year and no longer; and the person who is to officiate in sacred matters efficiently according to the laws of religion should be not less than sixty years old; and the same rules shall hold good also for priestesses. For the interpreters the tribes shall vote four at a time, by three votings, for four men, one from each tribe;\(^2\) and when the three men for whom most votes are cast have been tested, they shall send the other nine to Delphi for the oracle to select one from each triad; and the rules as to their age and testing shall be the same as for the priests. These men shall hold office for life as interpreters; and when one falls out, the four tribes\(^3\) shall elect a substitute from the tribe he belonged to. As treasurers to control the sacred funds in each of the temples, and the sacred glebes, with their produce and their rents, we must choose from the highest property-classes three men for the largest temples, two for the smaller, and one for the least extensive; and the method of selecting and testing these shall be the same as that adopted in the case of the commanders. Such shall be the regulations concerning matters of religion.

Nothing, so far as possible, shall be left unguarded. As regards the city, the task of guarding shall be in charge of the commanders, taxiarchs, hipparchs, phylarchs and prytaneis, and also of the city-stewards and market-stewards, wherever we to make up the full number (12) are selected by the Oracle from the 9 candidates next on the list.

\(^1\) i.e. the tribal group by which he was elected.
αἴρεθέντες ἥμιν καταστῶσι τινες ἰκανῶς τήν δὲ ἄλλην χώραν φυλάττειν πᾶσαν κατὰ τάδε. δώδεκα μὲν ἥμιν ἡ χώρα πᾶσα εἰς δύναμιν ἵσα μόρια νεείμηται, φυλή δὲ μία τῷ μορίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἑπτικληρωθείσα [κατ' ἐνιαυτόν] ¹ παρεχέτω πέντε οἶον ἀγρονόμους τε καὶ φρουράρχους, ² τούτως δ' ἐστω καταλέξασθαι τῆς αὐτῶν φυλῆς ἐκάστῳ. C δώδεκα [τῶν πέντε] ³ ἐκ τῶν νέων, μὴ ἐλαττοῦν ἡ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐτη γεγονότας, μὴ πλείον δὲ ἡ τριάκοντα. τούτως δὲ διακληρωθήτω τὰ μόρια τῆς χώρας κατὰ μίνα ἐκαστὰ ἐκάστοις, ὅπως ἂν πάσης τῆς χώρας ἐμπειροὶ τε καὶ ἐπιστήμονες γίγνωσται πάντες. δύο δ' ἐτη τὴν ἄρχην καὶ τὴν φρουράν γίγνεσθαι φρουροὶς τε καὶ ἄρχουσιν. ὅπως δ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον λάχωσι τὰ μέρη, [τοὺς τῆς χώρας τόπους] ⁴ μεταλλαττοῦνται ἀεὶ τῶν ἔξης τῶν ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἥγεισθαι τοὺς φρουράρχους.

D ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κύκλῳ τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ γιγνέσθω τὸ πρῶτον ἐω. περιελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐτει, ἵνα ὡς πλείστοι τῶν φρουρῶν μὴ μόνον ἐμπειροὶ τῆς χώρας γίγνωσται κατὰ μίναν ὃραν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πρὸς τὴ χώρα δὲ ἄμα καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐκάστης περὶ ἐκαστοῦ τῶν τόπων τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς πλείστοι καταμάθωσιν, οἱ τότε ἤγοι-μενοὶ πάλιν ἀφηγείσθωσαν εἰς τὸν εὐώνυμον ἀεὶ.

Ε μεταβάλλουσε τόπον, ἑως ἂν τὸ δεύτερον διεξέλθωσιν ἔτος. τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἄλλους ἀγρονόμους αἴρεσθαι καὶ φρουράρχους [τοὺς πέντε τῶν δώδεκα ἑπιμελητάς].⁵

'Εν δὲ δὴ ταῖς διατριβαῖς τῷ τόπῳ ἐκάστῳ τῆν

¹ [κατ' ἐνιαυτόν] bracketed by England.
² φρουράρχους Euseb., Herm. : φυλάρχους MSS.
have such officials properly selected and appointed. All the rest of the country must be guarded in the following manner: we have marked out the whole country as nearly as possible into twelve equal portions: to each portion one tribe shall be assigned by lot, and it shall provide five men to act as land-stewards and phourarchs ("watch-captains"); it shall be the duty of each of the Five to select twelve young men from his own tribe of an age neither under 25 nor over 30. To these groups of twelve the twelve portions of the country shall be assigned, one to each in rotation for a month at a time, so that all of them may gain experience and knowledge of all parts of the country. The period of office and of service for guards and officers shall be two years. From the portion in which they are stationed first by the lot they shall pass on month by month to the next district, under the leadership of the phourarchs, in a direction from left to right,—and that will be from west to east. When the first year is completed, in order that as many as possible of the guards may not only become familiar with the country in one season of the year, but may also learn about what occurs in each several district at different seasons, their leaders shall lead them back again in the reverse direction, constantly changing their district, until they have completed their second year of service. For the third year they must elect other land-stewards and phourarchs.

During their periods of residence in each district

3 [τῶν πεντε] bracketed by F. H. Dale.
4 [τός ... τόπος] bracketed by England.
6 [τός ... ἐπιμελητάς] bracketed by Schanz.
ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τοιάνδε τινά· πρῶτον μὲν ὡς εὐερκῆς ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ὦτι μάλιστα ἔσται, ταφρεύοντάς τε ὡς ἀν τούτον δεῇ καὶ ἀποσκάπτοντας καὶ ἐνοικοδομήμασιν εἰς δύναι-μιν εἰργοῦντας τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ὅτιοιν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κτήματα κακουργεῖν, χρωμένους δὲ υποξυγίους καὶ τοὺς οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκάστῳ πρὸς ταύτα, δι' ἐκείνων ποιοῦντας, ἐκείνοις ἐπιστατοῦντας, τῶν οἰκέων ἐργῶν αὐτῶν ἀργίας ὦτι μάλιστα ἐκλεγομένους. δύσβατα δὲ δὴ πάντα ποιεῖν τοὺς ἔχθροῖς, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ὦτι μάλιστα εὔβατα ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ υπο-ξυγίους καὶ βοσκήμασιν, ὦδῶν τε ἐπιμελοῦμένους, ὡς ὡς ἥμερόταται ἐκάσται γίγνονται, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Δίου ὕδατων, ἥν τὴν χώραν μὴ κακουργή, μᾶλλον δ' ἀφελῇ ἑούντα ἐκ τῶν ὑψηλῶν εἰς B τάς ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσὶ νάπας ὁσαί κοίλαι, τὰς ἕκροις αὐτῶν εἰργοῦντας ὠικοδομῆμασί τε καὶ ταφρεύ-μασίν, ὡς ἂν τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Δίου ὕδατα κατα-δεχόμεναι καὶ πίνουσαι, τοῖς ὑποκάτωθεν ἄγροις τε καὶ τόποις πᾶσι νάματα καὶ κρήνας ποιοῦ-σαι, καὶ τοὺς αὐχμηροτάτους τόπους πολυνύδρους τε καὶ εὐνύδρους ἀπεργάζωνται τά τε πτηγαία ὕδατα, εἰν τέ τις ποταμὸς ἐάν τε καὶ κρήνη ἦ, κοσμοῦντες φυτεύμασί τε καὶ ὠικοδομήμασιν C εὐπρεπέστερα καὶ συνάγοντες, μεταλλείαις νά-ματα πάντα ἄφθονα ποιῶσιν ὕδρείας τε καθ' ἐκάστας τὰς ὁράς, εἰ τί πον ἄλος ἡ τέμενος περὶ ταύτα ἀνειμένων [ἡ], ὡς τὰ ρεύματα ἀφιέντες εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερὰ κοσμοῦσι. πανταχ' 1 ὠικοδομήμασιν Schneider: ἐν ὠικοδομήμασιν MSS. 2 [ἡ] bracketed by Schanz.
their duties shall be as follows: first, in order to ensure that the country shall be fenced as well as possible against enemies, they shall make channels wherever needed, and dig moats and build cross-walls, so as to keep out to the best of their power those who attempt in any way to damage the country and its wealth; and for these purposes they shall make use of the beasts of burden and the servants in each district, employing the former and supervising the latter, and choosing always, so far as possible, the times when these people are free from their own business. In all respects they must make movement as difficult as possible for enemies, but for friends—whether men, mules or cattle—as easy as possible, by attending to the roads, that they all may become as level as possible, and to the rain-waters, that they may benefit instead of injuring the country, as they flow down from the heights into all the hollow valleys in the mountains: they shall dam the outflows of their flooded dales by means of walls and channels, so that by storing up or absorbing the rains from heaven, and by forming pools or springs in all the low-lying fields and districts, they may cause even the driest spots to be abundantly supplied with good water. As to spring-waters, be they streams or fountains, they shall beautify and embellish them by means of plantations and buildings, and by connecting the pools by hewn tunnels they shall make them all abundant, and by using water-pipes they shall beautify at all seasons of the year any sacred glebe or grove that may be close at hand, by directing the streams right into the temples of the gods. And every-
δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις γυμνάσια χρὴ κατασκευάζειν τοὺς νέους αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τοῖς γέρουσι γεροντικὰ λοιτρὰ [θερμὰ] ¹ παρέχοντας, ὕλην παρατιθέντας

D αὖν [καὶ ξηρὰν] ² ἀφθονον, ἐπ’ οὐνὶς καμνόντων τε νόσοις καὶ πόνοις τετρυμένα γεωργίκοις σώματα δεχομένους εὐμενῶς ἵατροῦ δέξιν μὴ πάνυ σοφοῦ βελτίωνα συνήν.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα κόσμος τε καὶ ὧφελεια τοῖς τόποις γίνοντ’ ἀν μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδαμὴ ἀχαρίτου· σπουδὴ δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἢδε ἔστω. τοὺς ἐξήκοντα ἐκάστους τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον φυλάττειν μὴ μόνον πολεμίων ἕνεκα ἄλλα καὶ τῶν φίλων φασκόντων εἶναι. γειτόνων δὲ καὶ τῶν ἅλλων

Ε ἐπολιτῶν ἢν ἅλλον ἅλλον ἄδικη, δούλος ἢ ἑλεύθερος, δικάζοντας τῷ ἄδικεϊσθαι φάσκοντι, τὰ μὲν σμικρὰ αὐτοὺς τοὺς πέντε ἄρχοντας, τὰ δὲ μείζονα μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα [τοὺς ἐπτακαίδεκα] ³ δικάζειν μέχρι τριῶν μνῶν, ὅσα ἄν ἔτεροι ἐτέρῳ ἐπικαλῆ. δικαστὴν δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντα ἀνυπεύθυνον οὐδένα δικάζειν καὶ ἄρχειν δὲὶ πλὴν τῶν τὸ τέλος ἐπιτε-θέντων οἴον βασιλέων. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀγρονόμους τούτους, ἐὰν υβρίζωσι τὶ περὶ τοὺς ὁν 762 ἐπιμελοῦνται, προστάξεις τε προστάττοντες ἀνίσους καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντες λαμβάνειν τε καὶ φέρειν τῶν ἐν ταῖς γεωργίαις μὴ πείσαντες, καὶ ἐὰν δέχωνται τὶ κολακεῖας ἕνεκα διδόντων ἢ [καὶ δικα] ⁴ ἄδικως διενέμωσι, ταῖς μὲν θωπείαις ὑπείκοντες ονείδη φερέσθωσαν ἐν πίσῃ τῇ πόλει, τῶν δὲ ἅλλων ἄδικημάτων ὁ τὶ ἀν ἄδικώσι τοὺς

² [καὶ ξηράν] I bracket.
³ [τοὺς ἐπτακαίδεκα] bracketed by Hug, Schanz.
LAWS, BOOK VI

where in such spots the young men should erect gymnasia both for themselves and for the old men—providing warm baths for the old: they should keep there a plentiful supply of dry wood, and give a kindly welcome and a helping hand to sick folk and to those whose bodies are worn with the toils of husbandry—a welcome far better than a doctor who is none too skilful.

They shall carry on these, and all similar operations, in the country districts, by way of ornament as well as use, and to furnish recreation also of no ungraceful kind. The serious duties in this department shall be as follows:—The Sixty must guard each their own district, not only because of enemies, but in view also of those who profess to be friends. And if one either of the foreign neighbours or of the citizens injures another citizen, be the culprit a slave or a freeman, the judges for the complainant shall be the Five officers themselves in petty cases, and the Five each with their twelve subordinates in more serious cases, where the damages claimed are up to three minae. No judge or official should hold office without being subject to an audit, excepting only those who, like kings, form a court of final appeal. So too with regard to these land-stewards: if they do any violence to those whom they supervise, by imposing unfair charges, or by trying to plunder some of their farm-stores without their consent, or if they take a gift intended as a bribe, or distribute goods unjustly—for yielding to seduction they shall be branded with disgrace throughout the whole State; and in respect of all other wrongs they have committed

ἐν τῷ τόπῳ, τῶν μέχρι μνάς ἐν τοῖς κωμήταις καὶ γείτοσιν ὑπεχέτωσαν ἐκόντες δίκας, τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἐκάστοτε ἀδικημάτων ἢ καὶ τῶν ἐλαττόνων, Β ἐὰν μὴ 'θέλωσιν ὑπέχειν πιστεύοντες τῷ μεθίστασθαι κατὰ μῆνας εἰς ἔτερον ἀεὶ τόπον φεύγοντες ἀποφεύξείσθαι, τούτων πέρι λαγχάνειν μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς δίκας τῶν ἀδικούμενον, ἐὰν δ’ ἔλη, τὴν διπλασίαν πραττέσθω τὸν ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ μὴ ἑθελήσαντα ὑποσχεῖν ἐκόντα τιμωρίαν.

Διαιτάσθων δὲ οἶ τε ἄρχοντες οί τε ἀγρονόμοι τὰ δύο ἔτη τοιούτω τινὰ τρόπον. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ C καθ’ ἐκάστους τοὺς τόπους εἶναι ξυσσίτια, ἐν οἷς κοινῇ τὴν διαιταν ποιητέον ἀπασίν· ὁ δὲ ἀποσυσσιτίσας καὶ ἡμικατοιμηθεὶς μὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων ταξάντων ἡ πάσης τινὸς ἀνάγκης ἐπιπεσοῦσης, ἐὰν ἀποφήγωσιν αὐτόν οἱ πέντε καὶ γράφαντες θώσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καταλελυκότα τὴν φρουράν, ὅνείδη τε ἐχέτω τὴν πολιτείαν ὁς προδιδοὺς τὸ ἐαυτοῦ μέρος, κολαξέσθω τε πληγαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ συντυγχάνοντος καὶ ἐθελοντὸς D κολάξειν ἀτιμωρήτως. τῶν δὲ ἄρχοντων αὐτῶν ἐὰν τὶς τι δρά τοιοῦτον αὐτός, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μὲν τοῦ τοιοῦτον πάντας τοὺς ἐξήκοντα χρεών, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενος τε καὶ πυθόμενος μὴ ἐπεξίλων ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθω νόμοις καὶ πλείον τῶν νέων ξημιούσθω· περὶ τάς τῶν νέων ἀρχας ἢτιμώσθω ¹ πάσας. τούτων δὲ οἱ νομοφύλακες ἐπίσκοποι ἀκριβεῖς ἐστῶσαν, ὅπως ἢ μὴ γίγνεται τὴν ἄρχην ἡ γνωρίμενα τῆς ἀξίας δίκης τυγχάνῃ.

¹ ἡτιμῶσθω Schanz : ἡτιμάσθω MSS.

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against people in the district, up to the value of one mina, they shall voluntarily submit to trial before the villagers and neighbours; and should they on any occasion, in respect of either a greater or lesser wrong, refuse thus to submit,—trusting that by their moving on every month to a new district they will escape trial,—in such cases the injured party must institute proceedings at the public courts, and if he win his suit, he shall exact the double penalty from the defendant who has absconded and refused to submit voluntarily to trial.

The mode of life of the officers and land-stewards during their two years of service shall be of the following kind. First, in each of the districts there shall be common meals, at which all shall mess together. If a man absents himself by day, or by sleeping away at night, without orders from the officers or some urgent cause, and if the Five inform against him and post his name up in the market-place as guilty of deserting his watch, then he shall suffer degradation for being a traitor to his public duty, and whoever meets him and desires to punish him may give him a beating with impunity. And if any one of the officers themselves commits any such act, it will be proper for all the Sixty to keep an eye on him; and if any of them notices or hears of such an act, but fails to prosecute, he shall be held guilty under the same laws, and shall be punished more severely than the young men; he shall be entirely disqualified from holding posts of command over the young men. Over these matters the Law-wardens shall exercise most careful supervision, to prevent if possible their occurrence, and, where they do occur, to ensure that they meet with the punishment they deserve.
Δεί δὴ πάντες ἄνθρωπον ὃς ὁ μὴ δουλεύσας οὐδὲ ἄν δεσπότης γένοιτο ἅξιος ἐπαίνου, καὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι χρή τῷ καλῶς δουλεύσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καλῶς ἀρξαί, πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς ταύτην τοῖς θεοῖς οὐσαν δουλείαν, ἐπειτ' ἀεὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ ἑντύμως βεβιωκόσι τοὺς νέους. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης δεὶ τῆς ταπεινῆς καὶ ἀπύρου γεγενέμονον εἶναι τὰ δύο ἐτῆς ταύτα τῶν τῶν ἀγρονόμων γεγονότα. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ἡ κατα-763 λεγώσιν οἱ δόδεκα, ἠπελθό̣ντες μετὰ τῶν πέντε δουλεύσθωσαν ὡς οἶνοπερ οἰκέται οὐχ ἔξουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄλλους οἰκέτας τε καὶ δούλους, οὐδὲ εκ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργῶν τε καὶ κωμητῶν τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱδία χρῆσονται ὑπηρετῆματα διακόνως, ἄλλα μόνον οἷα εἰς τὰ δημόσια· τὰ δ' ἄλλα αὐτὸι δ' οἱ αὐτῶν διανοηθῶσαν ὡς βιωσόμενοι διακοινοῦντες τε καὶ διακοινοῦμενοι ἑαυτοῖς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν διεξερευνώμενοι θέρους καὶ Β' χειμῶνος σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς φυλακῆς τε καὶ γνωρίσεως ἕνεκα πάντων ἀεὶ τῶν τόπων. κινδυνεύει γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον μάθημα εἶναι δὴ ἀκριβείας ἐπιστᾶσθαι πάντας τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν· οὐ δὴ χάριν κυνηγείσα καὶ τὴν ἄλλην θῆραν οὐχ ἢττου ἐπιτηδεύειν δεὶ τὸν ἡβώντα ἢ τῆς ἄλλης ἡδονῆς ἀμα καὶ ὠφελείας τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γεγομένης πᾶσι. τούτους οὖν αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὸ ἐπιτηδεύμα εὖτε τις κρυπτοῦσ εὖτε ἀγρονόμους εἰδ' ὧ τι καὶ ἄλλον χαίρει τούτο προσαγορεύων,
Now it is needful that every man should hold the view, regarding men in general, that the man who has not been a servant will never become a praiseworthy master, and that the right way to gain honour is by serving honourably rather than by ruling honourably—doing service first to the laws, since this is service to the gods, and, secondly, the young always serving the elder folk and those who have lived honourable lives. In the next place, he who is made a land-steward must have partaken of the daily rations, which are coarse and uncooked, during the two years of service. For whenever the Twelve have been chosen, being assembled together with the Five, they shall resolve that, acting like servants, they will keep no servants or slaves to wait on themselves, nor will they employ any attendants belonging to the other farmers or villagers for their own private needs, but only for public requirements; and in all other respects they shall determine to live a self-supporting life, acting as their own ministers and masters, and thoroughly exploring, moreover, the whole country both by summer and winter, under arms, for the purpose both of fencing and of learning each several district. For that all should have an accurate knowledge of their own country is a branch of learning that is probably second to none: so the young men ought to practise running with hounds and all other forms of hunting, as much for this reason as for the general enjoyment and benefit derived from such sports. With regard, then, to this branch of service—both the men themselves and their duties, whether we choose to call them secret-service men or land-stewards or by any other name—every single man who means to
PLATO

C προθύμως πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς δύναμιν ἐπιτηδευέτω, ὅσοι μέλλουσι τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἱκανὸς σώζειν.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀρχόντων αἱρέσεως ἀγορανόμων πέρι καὶ ἀστυνόμων ἢ ἡμῖν ἔπομενον. ἔποιητο δ' ἄν ἀγορανόμως ἀστυνόμως τρεῖς ἐξήκοντα οὔσι, τριχῇ δόδεκα μέρη τῆς πόλεως διαλαβόντες, μμούμενοι ἐκείνους, τῶν τε ὅδων ἐπιμελοῦμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας λεωφόρων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τεταμένους καὶ τῶν οἴκων.

D μιῶν, ἦνα κατὰ νόμους γίγνονται πᾶσαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, ὅποι' ἄν αὐτοῖς πέμπωσι καὶ παραδιδῶσιν οἱ φρουροῦντες τεθεραπευμένα, ὅπως εἰς τὰς κρήνας ἱκανὰ καὶ καθαρὰ πορευόμενα κοσμῇ τε ἅμα καὶ ωφελῇ τὴν πόλιν. δεῖ δὴ καὶ τούτων δυνατοὺς τε εἶναι καὶ σχολάζοντας τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι· διὸ προβαλλέσθω μὲν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων ἀστυνόμουν ὅν ἄν ὑπολητῇ, διαχειροτονηθέντων δὲ καὶ ἀφικομένων

Ε εἰς ἑξίς ὅσιν πλείσται γίγνονται, τοὺς τρεῖς ἀποκληρωσάντων οἰς τούτων ἐπιμελέσθαι, δοκιμασθέντως δὲ ἀρχόντων κατὰ τοὺς τεθέντας αὐτοῖς νόμους.

'Ἀγορανόμους δ' ἐξίς τούτως αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ πρῶτων τιμημάτων πέντε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀἵρεσιν καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ἀστυνόμων, δέκα ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων χειροτονηθέντων τοὺς πέντε ἀποκληρώσας, καὶ δοκιμασθέντας αὐτοὺς ἀρχόντας ἀποφήγαι. χειροτονεῖτω δὲ πᾶς πάντα· ὁ

1 χειροτονηθέντων: χειροτονηθέντας MSS. (cp. England, who brackets δέκα . . . ἀποφήγαι)

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guard his own State efficiently shall do his duty zealously to the best of his power.

The next step in our choice of officials is to appoint market-stewards and city-stewards. After the land-stewards (sixty in number) will come the three city-stewards, who shall divide the twelve sections of the city into three parts, and shall copy the land stewards in having charge of the streets of the city and of the various roads that run into the city from the country, and of the buildings, to see that all these conform to the requirements of the law; and they shall also have charge of all the water-supplies conveyed and passed on to them by the guards in good condition, to ensure that they shall be both pure and plentiful as they pour into the cisterns, and may thus both beautify and benefit the city. Thus it is needful that these men also should have both the ability and the leisure to attend to public affairs. Therefore for the office of city-steward every citizen shall nominate whatever person he chooses from the highest property-class; and when these have been voted on, and they have arrived at the six men for whom most votes have been cast, then those whose duty it is shall select the three by lot; and after passing the scrutiny, these men shall execute the office according to the laws ordained for them.

Next to these they must elect five market-stewards from the second and first property-classes: in all other respects the mode of their election shall be similar to that of the city-stewards; from the ten candidates chosen by voting they shall select the five by lot, and after scrutiny declare them appointed. All shall vote for every
764 δὲ μη ἑθέλων, ἡν εἰσαγγελθη πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ζημιουσθω πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς πρὸς τῷ κακός εἶναι δοκεῖν. ἤτω δ’ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν κοινὸν ξύλλογον ὁ βουλόμενος, ἔπαναγκες δ’ ἐστῳ τῷ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ πρῶτων τιμημάτων, δέκα δραχμαῖς ζημιουμένῳ ἡν μὴ παρὼν ἐξετάζηται τοῖς ξυλλόγοις. τρίτῳ δὲ τιμήματι καὶ τετάρτῳ μὴ ἐπάναγκες, ἀλλὰ ἀξίωμοι ἀφείσθω, ἡν μὴ τι παραγγείλωσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες πᾶσιν ἐκ τινος ἀνάγ- μεν ἐναί. τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμους τὸν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κόσμον διαταχθέντα ὑπὸ νόμων φυλάττειν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ’ ἀγοράν, ὅπως μηδέν ἀδική μηδεῖς, τὸν ἀδίκοντα δὲ κολάζειν, πληγαῖς μὲν καὶ δεσμοίς δούλον καὶ ξένον, ἐαν δ’ ἐπιχώριος ὁν τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκοσμή, μέχρι μὲν ἐκατὸν δραχμῶν νομίσματος αὐτοὺς εἶναι κυρίους διαδικάζοντας, μέχρι δὲ διπλασίου τούτου κοινή μετὰ ἀστυνόμοις

C ζημιοῦν δικάζοντας τῷ ἀδικοῦντι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀστυνόμοις ἐστῶ ζημιώματα τε καὶ κολάσεις ἐν τῇ έαυτῶν ἄρχῃ, μέχρι μὲν μνᾶς αὐτοὺς ζημιοῦντας, τὴν διπλασίαν δὲ μετὰ ἀγορανόμων.

Μουσικῆς δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἄρχοντας καθίστασθαι πρέπον ἃν εἰη, διττοὺς ἐκατέρων, τοὺς μὲν παιδείας αὐτῶν ἅνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀγωνιστικῆς. παιδείας μὲν βούλεται λέγειν ὁ νόμος γυμνασίων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐπιμελητας κόσμου

D καὶ παιδεύσεως ἀμα καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμελείας τῶν φυτήσεων τε περὶ καὶ οἰκήσεων ἀρρένων καὶ 434
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official: any man who refuses to do so, if reported to the officials, shall be fined fifty drachmae, besides being declared to be a bad citizen. Whoso wishes shall attend the Ecclesia and the public assembly; and for members of the second and first property-classes attendance shall be compulsory, anyone who is found to be absent from the assemblies being fined ten drachmae; but for a member of the third or fourth class it shall not be compulsory, and he shall escape without a fine, unless the officials for some urgent reason charge everyone to attend. The market-stewards must see to it that the market is conducted as appointed by law: they must supervise the temples and fountains in the market, to see that no one does any damage; in case anyone does damage, if he be a slave or a stranger, they shall punish him with stripes and bonds, while if a native is guilty of such misconduct, they shall have power to inflict a fine up to a hundred drachmae of their own motion, and to fine a wrongdoer up to twice that amount, when acting in conjunction with the city-stewards. Similarly, the city-stewards shall have power of fining and punishing in their own sphere, fining up to a mina of their own motion, and up to twice that sum in conjunction with the market-stewards.

It will be proper next to appoint officials for music and gymnastics,—two grades for each department, the one for education, the other for managing competitions. By education-officers the law means supervisors of gymnasia and schools, both in respect of their discipline and teaching and of the control of the attendances and accommodation both for girls and boys. By competition-officers it means umpires
θηλείων κορών, ἀγωνίας δὲ ἐν τε τοῖς γυμνικοῖς καὶ
περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἄθλοθέτας ἄθληταις, διττοὺς
αὐ τούτους [περὶ μουσικῆν μὲν ἑτέρους, περὶ
ἀγωνίαν δὲ ἀλλο]ς]. 1 ἀγωνιστικῆς μὲν οὖν ἀν-
θρώπων τε καὶ ὑπ' ὅν τοὺς αὐτούς, μουσικῆς δὲ
ἑτέρους μὲν τοὺς περὶ μουσιδίαν τε καὶ μυμητικῆν,
Ε ὦν ῥαψωδῶν καὶ κιθαρώδων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ
πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἄθλοθέτας αἱρετοὺς 2 πρέπον
ἀν εἰ μὲν γίγνεσθαι, τῶν δὲ περὶ χορωδίαν ἀλλοὺς.
πρῶτον δὴ περὶ τὴν τῶν χορῶν παιδίαν παῖδων τε
καὶ ἄρρένων 3 καὶ θηλείων κορών ἐν ὀρχήσει καὶ
τῇ τάξει τῇ ἀπάση γυνομένην 4 μουσικῇ τοὺς
ἀρχοντας αἱρεῖσθαι ποιν χρεών· ἰκανὸς δὲ εἰς
ἀρχῶν αὐτοῖς, μή ἐλαττον τετταράκοντα γεγονὼς
765 ἐτῶν. ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ περὶ μουσιδίαν εἰς, μὴ ἐλατ-
τον ἦ τριάκοντα γεγονὼς ἐτῶν, εἰσαγωγεῖς τε εἶναι
καὶ τοῖς ἀμιλλωμένοις τὴν διάκρισιν ἰκανὸς ἀπο-
δίδους. τὸν δὲ χορῶν ἀρχοντα καὶ διαθετήρα
αἱρεῖσθαι χρῆ τοιὸντε τινα τρόπον, ὅσοι μὲν
φιλοφρόνως ἐσχάκασι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰς τὸν
ξύλλογον ἦτωσαν, ἐπιζήμιοι εἴπερ μὴ ἰωσίν τούτου
dε οἱ νομοφυλάκες κριται; τοῖς δὲ ἀλλοίς, εἴνα μὴ
βούλωνται, μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐστώ. καὶ τὴν
προβολὴν δὴ τὸν αἱροῦμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐμπείρων
Β ποιητέων, ἐν τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ κατηγόρημα ἐν τούτ
ἐστῳ καὶ ἀπηγόρημα, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἀπειρος ὁ λαχώς,
tῶν δ' ὡς ἐμπειρος· δ' ἄν εἴς ἐκ προχειροτονη-
θέντων δέκα λάχῳ δοκιμασθεὶς τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τῶν
χορῶν ἀρχέτω κατὰ νόμον. κατὰ ταυτὰ δὲ τούτοις

2 αἱρετοὺς : ἑτέρους MSS., edd. (bracketed by Stallb.)
3 ἄρρένων : ἀνδρῶν MSS., edd.
for the competitors both in gymnastic and in music, these also being of two grades. For competitions there should be the same umpires both for men and for horses; but in the case of music it will be proper to have separate umpires for solos and for mimetic performances,—I mean, for instance, one set chosen for rhapsodists, harpers, flute-players, and all such musicians, and another set for choral performers. We ought to choose first the officials for the playful exercise of choirs of children and lads and girls in dances and all other regular methods of music; and for these one officer suffices, and he must be not under forty years of age. And for solo performances one umpire, of not less than thirty years, is sufficient, to act as introducer 1 and to pass an adequate judgment upon the competitors. The officer and manager of the choirs they must appoint in some such way as the following. All those who are devoted to these subjects shall attend the assembly, and if they refuse to attend they shall be liable to a fine—a matter which the Law-wardens shall decide: any others who are unwilling to attend shall be subject to no compulsion. Every elector must make his nomination from the list of those who are experts: in the scrutiny, affirmation and negation shall be confined to one point only—on the one side, that the candidate is expert, on the other side, that he is not expert; and whichever of the ten who come first on votes is elected after the scrutiny shall be the officer for the year in charge of the choirs according to law. In the same way as these they

1 i.e. to take entries and assign places to the competitors.

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4 γιγνομένην England: γιγνομένη MSS.
καὶ ταῦτη ὁ λαχών τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς κρίσιν μονωδίων τε καὶ συναυλιών ἀρχέτων,

C [εἰς τοὺς κριτὰς ἀποδιδοὺς ὁ λαχών τὴν κρίσιν].

μετὰ δὲ ταύτα χρεῶν ἀγωνίας ἀθλοθέτας αἱρεῖσθαι τῆς περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ὑποτενεῖ τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῶν τρίτων τε καὶ τῶν δευτέρων τιμημάτων. εἰς δὲ τὴν αἱρεσιν ἐστω μὲν ἐπάναγκες τοῖς τρεῖς πορεύεσθαι τιμῆμασι, τὸ σμικρότατον δὲ ἀξίμιον αφείσθω. τρεῖς δὲ ἔστωσαν οἱ λαχόντες, τῶν προχειροτονηθέντων μὲν εἰκοσι, λαχόντων δὲ ἐκ τῶν εἰκοσι τριῶν, οὓς ἀν καὶ ψήφος ἢ τῶν δοκιμαζόντων δοκιμάσῃ. εάν δὲ τις ἀποδοκιμασθῇ καθ' ἡτυναοῦν ἀρχῆς λήξιν καὶ κρίσιν, ἄλλους ἀνθαρεῖσθαι κατὰ ταύτα καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν ὁσαύτως αὐτῶν πέρι ποιεῖσθαι.

Δοιπότις δὲ ἄρχων περὶ τὰ προειρημένα ἡμῖν ὁ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητὴς πάσης θηλειῶν τε καὶ ἄρρενων. εἰς μὲν δὴ καὶ ὁ τούτων ἄρξων ἐστω κατὰ νόμους, ἐτὸς μὲν γεγονὼς μὴ ἐλαττον ἢ πεντήκοντα, παῖδων δὲ γυναικῶν πατήρ, μάλιστα μὲν νιέων καὶ θυγατέρων, εἰ δὲ μή,

E θάτερα: διανοηθήτω δὲ αὐτὸς τε ὁ προκερθεῖς καὶ ὁ προκρίνων ὡς οὖσαν ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀκροτάτων ἄρχων πολὺ μεγάστην. παντὸς γὰρ δὴ φυτοῦ ἡ πρώτῃ βλάστη καλῶς ὀρμηθείσα πρὸς ἀρτην τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κυριώτατη τέλος ἐπιθεῖται τὸ πρόσφορον, τῶν τε ἄλλων φυτῶν καὶ τῶν ξώων ἡμέρων καὶ ἀγρίων [καὶ 766 ἀνθρώπων]. ἀνθρώπως δὲ, ὡς φαμεν, ἡμέρου, ὡμοὶ μὴν παιδείας μὲν ὀρθῆς τυχών καὶ φύσεως

1 [εἰς . . . κρίσιν] bracketed by Wagner, Schanz.
LAWS, BOOK VI

shall appoint the officer elected to preside for the year over those who enter for competitions in solos and joint performances on the flute. Next it is proper to choose umpires for the athletic contests of horses and men from among the third and the second property-classes: this election it shall be compulsory for the first three classes to attend, but the lowest class shall be exempt from fines for non-attendance. Three shall be appointed: twenty having been first selected by show of hand, three out of the twenty shall be chosen by lot; and they shall be subject also to the approval of the scrutineers. Should any candidate be disqualified in any voting or testing for office, they shall elect a substitute, and carry out the scrutiny by the same method as in the case of the original candidate.

In the department we have been dealing with, we have still to appoint an officer who shall preside over the whole range of education of both boys and girls. For this purpose there shall be one officer legally appointed: he shall not be under fifty years of age, and shall be the father of legitimate children of either sex, or preferably of both sexes. Both the candidate that is put first, and the elector who puts him first, must be convinced that of the highest offices of State this is by far the most important. For in the case of every creature—plant or animal, tame\(^1\) and wild alike—it is the first shoot, if it sprouts out well, that is most effective in bringing to its proper development the essential excellence of the creature in question. Man, as we affirm, is a tame creature: none the less, while he is wont to become an animal

\(^1\) i.e. "domesticated" animals, and "garden" plants.
εὐνυχοίς θειότατον ἡμερώτατον τε ξὼν γίγνεσθαι 
φιλεῖ, μὴ ἴκανῶς δὲ ἡ μὴ καλῶς τραφέν ἀγριώτατον ὁπόσα φύει γῆ. ὥν ἔνεκα οὐ δεύτερον οὐδὲ πάρεργον δεὶ τὴν παῖδων τροφὴν τὸν νομοθέτην ἐὰν γίγνεσθαι, πρῶτον δὲ ἀρξάσθαι, χρείαν τὸν μέλλοντα αὐτῶν ἐπιμελήσεσθαι καλῶς αἱρεθήναι, 
τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει δὴ ἂν ἄριστος εἰς πάντα ἥ, τούτον 
Β κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα αὐτοῖς καθιστάντα 
προστάτειν ἐπιμελητὴν. αἰ πᾶσαι τοῖνυν 
ἀρχαὶ πλὴν βουλῆς καὶ πρυτάνεως εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἵερὸν ἐλθοῦσαι φεροῦν ψῆφον 
κρύβουν, τῶν νομοφυλάκων ὀντὶν ἀν ἐκαστος 
ηγηται κάλλιστ' ἀν τῶν περὶ παιδείαν ἄρξαι 
γενομένων. θ δ' ἂν πλείσται ψῆφοι ξυμβόσι, 
δοκιμασθεὶς υπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχων τῶν ἐλο-
μένων, πλὴν νομοφυλάκων, ἀρχέτω ἐτη πέντε, 
ἐκτὸ ἐκατὰ ταῦτα ἄλλου ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἄρχην 
C αἱρεῖσθαι.

'Εὰν δὲ τις δημοσίαν ἄρχην ἄρχων ἀποθάνη πρὶν 
ἐξῆκειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄρχην πλείου ἢ τριακοντὰ ἐπι-
δεομένην ἡμερῶν, τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρχην 
ἄλλου καθιστάναι οἶς ἦν τοῦτο προσηκόντως μέλον, 
καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπίτροπος τελευτήσῃ τις, οἱ 
προσήκοντες καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντες πρὸς πατρός καὶ 
μητρὸς μέχρι ἀνεψίαν παῖδων ἄλλου καθιστάντων 
ἔντος δέκα ἡμερῶν, ἡ χημιοῦσθων ἐκαστος δραχμὴ 
D τῆς ἡμέρας, μέχριπερ ἀν τοῖς παισὶ καταστήσωσι 
τὸν ἐπίτροπον.

Πάσα δὲ δήποτε πόλις ἀπολις ἂν γίγνοιτο ἐν 
ἡ δικαστήρια μὴ καθεστῶτα εἰϑ κατὰ τρόπον 
ἀφωνος δ' αὐ δικαστής ἡμῖν καὶ μὴ πλείω τῶν

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most godlike and tame when he happens to possess a happy nature combined with right education, if his training be deficient or bad, he turns out the wildest of all earth's creatures. Wherefore the lawgiver must not permit them to treat the education of children as a matter of secondary or casual importance; but, inasmuch as the presiding official must be well selected, he must begin first by charging them to appoint as president, to the best of their power, that one of the citizens who is in every way the most excellent. Therefore all the officials—excepting the Council and the prytaneis—shall go to the temple of Apollo, and shall each cast his vote for whichever one of the Law-wardens he deems likely best to control educational affairs. He who gains most votes, after passing a scrutiny held by the selecting officials, other than the Law-wardens, shall hold office for five years; in the sixth year they shall elect another man for this office in a similar manner.

If anyone holding a public office dies more than thirty days before his office terminates, those whose proper duty it is must appoint a substitute in the same manner. If a guardian of orphans dies, the relations, who are residents, on both the father's and mother's side, as far as cousin's children, shall appoint a substitute within ten days, failing which they shall each be fined one drachma per diem until they have appointed the guardian for the children.

A State, indeed, would be no State if it had no law-courts properly established; but a judge who was dumb and who said as little as litigants at a pre-

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1 προστάτειν MSS. : προστάτην καὶ Zur., vulg.
Ἀντιδίκων ἐν ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι φθηγγόμενοι, καθ’ ἀπερ ἐν ταῖς διαίταις, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἱκανὸς γένοιτο περὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων κρίσιν· ἐν ἐνεκα οὔτε πολλοὺς ὄντας ράδιον εὗ δικάζειν οὔτε ὀλίγους φαύλους. σαφὲς δὲ ἂεὶ τὸ ἀμφισβητοῦν·

Ε μενον χρεῶν γίγνεσθαι παρ’ ἐκατέρων, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἀμα καὶ τὸ βραδὺ τὸ τε πολλάκις ἀνακρίνειν πρὸς τὸ φανερὰν γίγνεσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν ξύμφορον· ὡν ἐνεκα πρῶτον μὲν εἰς γείτονας ἵτεναι χρῆ τοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντας ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ ἕνυειδότας ὅτι μάλιστα τὰς ἀμφισβητουμένας πράξεις· ἐὰν δ’ ἀρα μὴ ἐν τούτοις τις ἱκανὴν κρίσιν λαμβάνῃ, πρὸς ἄλλο δικαστήριον ἵτο· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ἂν τὰ δύο δικαστήρια μὴ δύνηται διαλλάξαι, τέλος ἐπιθέτῳ τῇ δικῇ.

Τρόπον δὴ τινα καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων αἱ καταστάσεις ἄρχοντων εἰσὶν αἰρέσεις· πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ δικαστὴν εἰναι τινων, δικαστῆσ καὶ ὅν ἄρχων καὶ τίνος τρόπον ἄρχων οὗ πάνυ φαύλος γίγνεται τὴν τὸ ἡμέραν ἦπερ ἄν κρίνων τὴν δίκην ἀποτελῆ.

Β θέντες δὴ καὶ τοὺς δικαστὰς ὡς ἄρχοντας λέγωμεν τίνες ἂν εἰεν πρέποντες καὶ τίνων ἂρα δικασταί καὶ πόσοι ἐφ’ ἐκαστὸν.

'Ἀναγκαίοτατον1 μὲν τοῖνυν ἔστω δικαστήριον ὑπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἀποφήνωσιν ἐκαστοι, κοινὴ τινὰς ἐλόμενοι· δύο δὴ τῶν λοιπῶν ἔστω κριτήρια, τὸ μὲν ἄν τίς τίνι ἴδιώτην ἴδιωτης, ἐπαιτεώμενος ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, ἄγων εἰς δίκην βούληται διακριθῆναι, τὸ δ’ ὀπόταν τὸ δημόσιον

1 ἀναγκαίοτατον: κυριακαίοτατον MSS. (τὸ πρῶτον Susemihl)
liminary inquiry,\(^1\) as do arbitrators,\(^2\) would never prove efficient in deciding questions of justice; consequently it is not easy for a large or for a small body of men to judge well, if they are of poor ability. The matter in dispute on either side must always be made clear, and for elucidating the point at issue, lapse of time, deliberation and frequent questionings are of advantage. Therefore those who challenge each other must go first to the neighbours and friends who know most about the actions in dispute: if a man fails to get an adequate decision from them, he shall repair to another court; and if these two courts are unable to settle the matter, the third court shall put an end to the case.

In a sense we may say that the establishment of law-courts coincides with the election of officials; for every official must be also a judge of certain matters, while a judge, even if not an official, may be said to be an official of no little importance on the day when he concludes a suit by pronouncing his judgment. Assuming then that the judges are officials, let us declare who will make suitable judges, and of what matters, and how many shall deal with each case.

The most elementary form of court is that which the two parties arrange for themselves, choosing judges by mutual agreement; of the rest, there shall be two forms of trial,—the one when a private person accuses a private person of injuring him and desires to gain a verdict by bringing him to trial, and the other when a person believes that the

\(^1\) i.e. an inquiry into the grounds of a proposed action at law, to decide whether or not it should be brought into court.

\(^2\) i.e. persons appointed to settle points in dispute, so as to avoid a legal trial in the regular courts.
υπὸ τινος τῶν πολιτῶν ἦγηται τις ἀδικεῖσθαι
καὶ βουληθῆ ὑ ὅ ς κοινῶ βοηθεῖν. λεκτέου δ' ὁ ποιοὶ τ' εἰσὶ καὶ τίνες οἱ κριταί. πρῶτον δὴ δικαστήριον ἤμιν γιγνέσθω κοινὸν ἄπασι τοῖς
tο τρίτον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἰδιώταις πρὸς ἀλλή-
λους, γενόμενον τῇ δὲ τη. πάσας δὴ τὰς ἄρχας,
ἀρχαίοι τε καὶ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὁπόσα πλεῖον χρὸνον
ἀρχοῦσιν, ἐπειδὰν μέλλη νέος ἐνιαυτὸς μετὰ
θερινὰς τροπὰς τῷ ἐπιώτῳ μὴν γίγνεσθαι, ταὐτῆς
τῆς ἡμέρας τῇ πρόσθεν πάντας χρὴ τοὺς
ἀρχοῦσας συνελθεῖν εἰς ἐν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν

D ὁμόσαντας οἶον ἀπαρξασθαι πάσης ἄρχης ἐνα
δικαστῆν, ὃν ἐν ἄρχῃ ἐκάστῃ ἄριστότες τε εἶναι
dόξῃ καὶ ἄριστ' ὁν καὶ ὁσιώτατα τὰς δίκας τοῖς
πολίτας αὐτῷ τὸν ἑπίοντα ἐνιαυτὸν φαύνηται
dιακρίνειν. τούτων δὲ αἱρεθέντων γίγνεσθαι μὲν
δοκίμασιν ἐν τοῖς ἔλομένοις αὐτοῖς· εὰν δὲ ἀπο-
δοκιμασθῇ τις, ἐτερον ἀνθαρεῖσθαι κατὰ τἄντα.
τοὺς δὲ δοκιμασθέντας δικάζειν μὲν τοῖς τάλλα
dικαστήρια φυγοῦσι, τὴν δὲ γῆφων φαυερὰν

Ε φέρειν. ἐπηκόους δ' εἶναι καὶ θεατὰς τούτων τῶν
δικῶν εἰς ἀνάγκης μὲν βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀρχοῦσας τούς ἔλομένους αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὸν
βουλόμενον. εὰν δὲ τις ἐπαιτιᾶται τινὰ ἐκόντα
ἀδίκως κρίναι τὴν δίκην, εἰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας
ιῶν καθηγορεῖτω· ὁ δὲ ὀφλῶν τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην
ὑπεχέτω μὲν τοῦ βλάβους τὸ βλαφθέντι τὸ
dιπλάσιον τόν τε τῆς κρίναντας τῆν δίκην

1 διπλάσιον Ritter, England : ἡμιυ Mss.
LAWS, BOOK VI

State is being injured by one of the citizens and desires to succour the common weal. Who and what sort the judges are must now be explained. First, we must have a court common to all private persons who are having their third dispute with one another. It shall be formed in this way. On the day preceding the commencement of a new year of office—which commences with the month next after the summer solstice—all the officials, whether holding office for one year only or longer, shall assemble in the same temple and, after adjuring the god, they shall dedicate, so to say, one judge from each body of officials, namely, that member of each body whom they deem the best man and the most likely to decide the suits for his fellow-citizens during the ensuing year in the best and holiest way. These being chosen, they shall undergo a scrutiny before those who have chosen them; and should any be disqualified, they shall choose a substitute in like manner. Those who pass the scrutiny shall act as judges for those who have escaped the other courts, and they shall cast their votes openly. The Councillors, and all the other officials, who have elected them, shall be obliged to attend these trials, both to hear and to see; and anyone else that wishes may attend. Anyone who accuses a judge of deliberately giving an unjust judgment shall go to the Law-wardens and lay his charge before them: a judge that is convicted on such a charge shall submit to pay double the amount of the damage done to the injured party; and if he be held to deserve a greater penalty, the judges of the case shall estimate what additional

1 Apparently, this refers to the third court (of appeal) mentioned above, 767 A 2 ff.
ο τι χρῆ πρὸς τούτω παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀποτίνειν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ τῷ τὴν δίκην δικασαμένω. περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἐγκλημάτων ἀναγκαῖον πρῶτον
768 μὲν τῷ πλήθει μεταδιδόναι τῆς κρίσεως: οἱ γὰρ ἀδικοῦμενοι πάντες εἰσίν, ὅποταν τις τὴν πόλιν ἀδική, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἄν ἐν δίκη φέροιεν ἄμοιροι
γενόμενοι τῶν τοιούτων διακρίσεων, ἀλλ' ἄρχην τε εἶναι χρῆ τῆς τοιαύτης δίκης καὶ τελευτῆν
εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδίδομένην, τὴν δὲ βάσανον ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἄρχαις τρισὶν, ὡς ἄν οἱ τε φεύγων
καὶ ὁ διώκων ξυνομολογήτων εάν δὲ μὴ δύνησθον
κοινωνήσαι τῆς ὁμολογίας αὐτοῦ, τὴν βουλὴν
Β ἐπικρίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐκατέρω. δεῖ δὲ
dὴ καὶ τῶν ἱδίων δικῶν κοινωνεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν
ἄπαντας· οἱ γὰρ ἀκοινώνητος ὑπὸ ἐξουσίας τοῦ
συνδικάζειν ἡγεῖται τὸ παράπαν τῆς πόλεως οὐ
μέτοχος εἶναι. διὰ ταῦτ’ οὖν δὴ καὶ κατὰ φυλᾶς
ἀναγκαῖον δικαστήρια τε γίνεσθαι καὶ κλήρῳ
δικαστάς ἐκ τοῦ παραχρήμα ἀδιαφόροις ταῖς
dεήσεις δικάζειν· τὸ δὲ τέλος κρίνειν πάντων τῶν
tοιούτων έκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον ὃ φαμεν εἰς γε
ἀνθρωπίνην δύναμιν ὡς οἴον τε ἀδιαφθορώτατα
C παρεσκευάσθαι τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις μήτε ἐν τοῖς
γείτοσι μήτε ἐν τοῖς φυλετικοῖς δικαστηρίοις
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

Νῦν δὴ περὶ μὲν δικαστήρια ἡμῖν, ἄ δὴ φαμεν
οὗθ᾽ ὡς ἄρχας οὗθ᾽ ὡς μὴ ῥάδιον εἰπόντα ἀν-
αμφισβητήτως εἰρηκέναι, περὶ μὲν ταῦτα οἶον
περιγραφῇ τις ἐξωθεν περιγεγραμμένη τὰ μὲν

1 The whole of this account (766 E–768 C) of courts and judges is confused and confusing. It would seem that 2
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punishment must be inflicted, or what payment made to the State and to the person who took proceedings. In the matter of offences against the State it is necessary, first of all, that a share in the trial should be given to the populace, for when a wrong is done to the State, it is the whole of the people that are wronged, and they would justly be vexed if they had no share in such trials; so, while it is right that both the beginning and the ending of such a suit should be assigned to the people, the examination shall take place before three of the highest officials mutually agreed upon by both defendant and plaintiff: should they be unable by themselves to reach an agreement, the Council must revise the choice of each of them. In private suits also, so far as possible, all the citizens must have a share; for the man that has no share in helping to judge imagines that he has no part or lot in the State at all. Therefore there must also be courts for each tribe, and judges appointed by lot and to meet the sudden occasion must judge the cases, unbiassed by appeals; but the final verdict in all such cases must rest with that court which we declare to be organised in the most incorruptible way that is humanly possible, specially for the benefit of those who have failed to obtain a settlement of their case either before the neighbours or in the tribal courts.¹

Thus as concerns the law-courts—which, as we say, cannot easily be called either "offices" or "non-offices" without ambiguity—this outline sketch serves to describe them in part, though there is a classes of suits are indicated, public and private, and 3 kinds of courts, viz. (1) local courts (composed of neighbours), (2) tribal courts, (3) courts of appeal.
εἰρήκε, τὰ δ᾿ ἀπολείπει τὸ σχέδον· πρὸς γὰρ τέλει
νομοθεσίας ἦ δικῶν ἀκριβῆς [νόμων]¹ θέσις ἀμα
καὶ διαίρεσις ὀρθότατα γίγνοιτ’ ἄν μακρῷ. ταῦ-
τας μὲν οὖν εἰρήκον πρὸς τῷ τέλει περιμένειν
ἡμᾶς, αἳ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστάσεις
σχέδον τὴν πλείστην εἰλήφασι νομοθεσίαν. τὸ
δὲ ὅλον καὶ ἀκριβές περὶ ἕνος τε καὶ πάντων τῶν
κατὰ πόλιν καὶ πολιτικὴν πᾶσαν διοίκησιν² οὐκ
ἔστι γενέσθαι σαφῆς, πρὶν ἂν ἡ διέξοδος ἀπ᾿
ἀρχῆς τὰ τε δεύτερα καὶ τὰ μέσα καὶ πάντα
μέρη τὰ ἐαυτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα πρὸς τέλος ἀφίκηται.
Εὐνῦν μὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μέχρι τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων
αιρέσεως γενομένης τελευτῇ μὲν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν
αὐτή γίγνοιτ’ ἄν ἰκανή, νόμων δὲ θέσεως ἀρχὴ
καὶ ἀναβολῶν ἀμα καὶ ὅκυνον οὐδὲν ἔτι δεομένη.
κλ. Πάντως μοι κατὰ νοῦν, ὥς ἐγένο, τὰ ἐμπροσ-
θεν εἰρήκον, τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν τελευτῇ προσάφας
περὶ τῶν τε εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων
ῥήθησεθαί, ταῦτα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκείνων εἰρήκας
φιλίως.

769 α. Καλῶς τοίνυν ἂν ἡμῶν ἡ πρεσβυτῶν
ἐμφραγν παιδία μέχρι δεῦρ’ εἰή τὰ νῦν διαπε-
παισμένη.
κλ. Καλὴν τὴν σπουδῆν ἐσικάς δηλοῦν τῶν
ἀνδρῶν.
ἀ. Εἰκός γε. τόδε δ’ ἐννοῆσωμεν, εἰ σοι
δοκεῖ καθάπερ ἐμοί.
κλ. Τὸ ποίον δῆ; καὶ περὶ τίνων;
ἀ. Οἶοθ’ ὅτι καθάπερ ξωγράφων οὔδὲν πέρας
ἐχειν ἡ πραγματεία δοκεῖ περὶ ἐκάστων τῶν

¹ [νόμων] bracketed by Bekker.
² διοίκησιν Ast, Schanz: διοικῆσεων MSS.
LAWS, BOOK VI

good deal it omits; for detailed legislation and definition concerning suits would most properly be placed at the conclusion of the legislative code.¹ So let these matters be directed to wait for us at the conclusion; and I should say that the other official posts have had most of the legislation they require for their establishment. But a full and precise account concerning each and all of the State departments and the whole of the civic organisation it is impossible to give clearly until our review has embraced every section of its subject, from the first to the very last, in proper order. So now, at the point where we stand—when our exposition has reached so far as to include the election of the officials—we may find a fit place to terminate our previous subject, and to commence the subject of legislation, which no longer needs any postponements or delays.

CLIN. The previous subject, Stranger, you have treated to our entire satisfaction; but we welcome still more heartily the way you have linked up your past statements with your future statements—the end with the beginning.

ATH. It seems, then, that up to now our ancients' game of reason² has been finely played.

CLIN. You are showing, I think, how fine is the serious work of our citizens.

ATH. Very probably: but let us see whether you agree with me about another point.

CLIN. What is it, and whom does it concern?

ATH. You know how, for instance, the painter's art in depicting each several subject seems never to

¹ Cp 853 A ff., 956 B ff.
² i.e. the "game" of legislation, cp. 685 A, 712 B.
Β ξώνω, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ χραίνειν ἢ ἀποχραίνειν, ἢ ὁ τι
dή ποτε καλοῦσι τὸ τοιοῦτον οἱ ζωγράφους παίδες,
οὐκ ἂν ποτε δοκεῖ παύσασθαι κοσμοῦσα, ἢστε
eπίδοσιν μηκέτ' ἔχειν εἰς τὸ καλλίω τε καὶ φανε-
ρώτερα γίγνεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα.

κα. Σχεδὸν ἐνυῶ ἀκουόν καὶ αὐτὸς ταύτα ἀ
λέγεις, ἐπεὶ ἐντριβής γε οὔδαμῶς γέγονα τῇ
tοιαύτῃ τέχνῃ.

α. Καὶ οὐδέν γε ἐβλάβης. χρησώμεθα γε
μὴν τῷ νῦν παρατυχόντι περὶ αὐτῆς ἥμιν λόγῳ
C τὸ τοιόοντε, ὡς εἰ ποτὲ τις ἔπινοησείε γράφαι τε
ως κάλλιστον ξώνων καὶ τούτ' αὐ μηδέποτε ἐπὶ τὸ
φαυλότερον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἵσχειν τοῦ ἐπι-
όντος ἀεὶ χρόνου, εὐνοοεῖς ὅτι θυντος ὡν, εἰ μὴ
τινα καταλείψει διάδοχον δς ἓ ἐπανορθοῦν τε, ἕαν
τι σφάλληται τὸ ξών ὑπὸ χρόνων, καὶ τὸ
παραλειφθὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀσθενείας τῆς έαυτού πρὸς
τὴν τέχνην οἶος τε εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ἔσται φαιδρύ-
νων ποιεῖν ἐπιδειδόναι, σμικρὸν τινα χρόνου αὐτῷ
πόνος παραμενεὶ πάμπολυς;

κα. 'Αληθῆ.

D ἀ. Τί οὖν; ἃρ' οὐ τοιοῦτον δοκεῖ σοι τὸ τοῦ
νομοθέτου βούλημα εἶναι; πρῶτον μὲν γράφαι
τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὴν ἀκρίβειαν κατὰ δύναμιν
ἰκανῶς· ἐπειτά προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν
dοξάντων ἐργῶν πειρώμενον ἃρ' οἰεί τινὰ οὐτῶς
ἀφρονα γεγονέναι νομοθέτην, ὡστ' ἄγνοεῖν ὅτι
πάμπολλα ἀνάγκη παραλείπεσθαι τοιαῦτα, ἃ
dει τινὰ εὐνεπόμενον ἐπανορθοῦν, ἵνα μηδαμὴ
χείρων, βελτίων δὲ ἡ πολιτεία καὶ ὁ κόσμος
E ἀεὶ γίγνηται περὶ τὴν φίλισμένην αὐτῷ πόλιν;

1 ὡς Hermann, Schanz: τοῦ MSS.

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get to an end, and in its embellishing it seems as if it would never stop laying on colours or taking them off—or whatever the professional painters term the process—and reach a point where the picture admits of no further improvement in respect of beauty and lucidity.

CLIN. I, too, remember hearing something of the fact you mention, although I am by no means practised in that kind of art.

ATH. You are none the worse for that. We may still use this fact, which it has occurred to us to mention, to illustrate the following point. Suppose that a man should propose to paint an object of extreme beauty, and that this should never grow worse, but always better, as time went on, do you not see that, since the painter is mortal, unless he leaves a successor who is able to repair the picture if it suffers through time, and also in the future to improve it by touching up any deficiency left by his own imperfect craftsmanship, his interminable toil will have results of but short duration?

CLIN. True.

ATH. Well then, do you not think that the purpose of the lawgiver is similar? He purposes, first, to write down the laws, so far as he can, with complete precision; next, when in the course of time he puts his decrees to the test of practice, you cannot suppose that any lawgiver will be so foolish as not to perceive that very many things must necessarily be left over, which it will be the duty of some successor to make right, in order that the constitution and the system of the State he has organised may always grow better, and never in any way worse.¹

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κλ. Εἰκός, πῶς γὰρ οὐ; βούλεσθαι πάντα ὄντων το τοιοῦτον.

ἀ. Οὐκοῦν εἴ τίς τινα μηχανὴν ἔχοι πρὸς τοῦτο, ἔργῳ καὶ λόγοις τίνα τρόπον διδάξειν ἂν ἐπερον εἴτε μείζονα εἴτε ἐλάττων περὶ τοῦτ' ἔχειν ἐννοιαν, ὅπως χρῆ φυλάττειν καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν νόμους, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ λέγων ἀπείποι το τοιοῦτον πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν;

770 κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ἀ. Οὐκοῦν ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι ποιητέον ἐμοὶ καὶ σφῶν τοῦτο;

κλ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;

ἀ. 'Επειδὴ νομοθετεῖν μὲν μέλλομεν, ἡρημαί δὲ ἡμῖν νομοφύλακες, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐν δυσμαίσ τοῦ βίου, οἱ δ' ὅς πρὸς ἡμᾶς νέοι, ἀμά μὲν, ὡς φαμεν, δεῖ νομοθετεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἀμα δ' πειράσθαι ποιεῖν καὶ τούτους αὐτοὺς νομοθέτας τε καὶ νομοφύλακας εἰς τὸ δυνατόν.

Β κλ. 'Τι μὴν; εἴπερ οἷοί τε γ' ἐσμὲν ἰκανῶς.

ἀ. 'Ἀλλ' οὖν πειρατέα γε καὶ προδυμητέα.

κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ἀ. Δένωμεν δὴ πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Ὡ φίλοι σωτήρες νόμων, ἡμεῖς περὶ ἐκάστων ὡν τίθεμεν τοὺς νόμους πάμπολλα παραλείψομεν: ἀνάγκη γάρ: οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅσα γε μὴ σμικρά καὶ τὸ ὅλον εἰς δύναμιν οὐκ ἀνίσομεν ἀπερίγρητον καθάπερ τινὶ περιγραφῇ: τοῦτο δὲ δεῖσθαι συμπληρῶν ὑμᾶς τὸ περιηγηθέν. ὅποι δὲ βλέποτες δράσετε

C τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἄκουεν χρῆ. Μέγιλλος μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ Κλεινίας εἰρήκαμεν τε αὐτὰ ἄλληλοις οὐκ ὀλιγάκις ὀμολογοῦμεν τε λέγεσθαι καλῶς:

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This, of course, is what everyone naturally desires.

Suppose then that a man knew of a device indicating the way in which he could teach another man by deed and word to understand in a greater or less degree how he should conserve or amend laws, surely he would never cease declaring it until he had accomplished his purpose.

He certainly would not.

Must not we three act thus on the present occasion?

What is it you mean?

We are about to make laws, and Law-wardens have been appointed by us; therefore, since we are in the evening of life, while those compared to us are youthful, we should not only legislate, as we say, ourselves, but also make legislators, as well as Law-wardens, of these very same men, so far as we can.

We should,—if, that is to say, we are capable of so doing.

At any rate we must try, and try hard.

By all means.

Let us address them thus:—"Beloved Keepers of the Laws, in many departments of our legislation we shall leave out a vast number of matters (for we needs must do so); yet, notwithstanding, all important matters, as well as the general description, we shall include, so far as we can, in our outline sketch. Your help will be required to fill in this outline; and you must listen to what I say about the aim you should have before you in doing so. Megillus, Clinias and I have often stated to one another that aim, and we agree that it is rightly stated; so
PLATO

υμᾶς δὲ ἡμῖν βουλόμεθα εὐγγνώμονας τε ἀμα καὶ μαθητὰς γίγνεσθαι, βλέποντας πρὸς ταῦτα εἰς ἀπερ ἡμεῖς ξυνεχωρήσαμεν ἄλληλοις τῶν νομοφύλακα τε καὶ νομοθέτην δεῖν βλέπειν. ἦν δὲ ἡ συνχώρησις ἐν ἔχουσα κεφαλαίον, ὅπως τοτέ

D ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γίγνοιτ' ἂν τὴν ἀνθρώπων προσήκουσαν ἀρετὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔχων ἐκ τινος ἐπιτη- δεύματος ἢ τινος ἰδίου ἢ ποιάς σιτῆσεως ἢ ἐπι- θυμίας ἢ δόξης ἢ μαθημάτων ποτε τινων, εἰτε ἀβρῆν τις τῶν ξυνοικούντων οὐσα ἢ φύσις εἰτε θήλεια, νέων ἢ γερόντων, ὅπως εἰς ταύτων τούτω ὁ λέγομεν τεταμένη σπουδὴ πᾶσα ἔσται διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, τῶν δ' ἄλλων ὅποσα ἐμπόδια τούτως μηδὲν προτιμῶν φανεῖται μηδ' ὀστίσοιν,

Ε τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ πόλεως, ἔαν 2 ἀνάστατον <ἀν> ἀνάγκη φαίνεται γίγνεσθαι πρὶν ἐθέλειν δούλευον υπομείνασαν 3 ξυγὸν ἀρχεσθαι ὑπὸ χειρόνων, ἢ λείπειν φυγῆ τὴν πόλιν, ὡς πάντα τὰ τοιαύτ' ἀρ' ἔσθ' υπομενετέον πᾶσχοντας πρὶν ἀλλάξασθαι πολιτείαν ἢ χείρους ἀνθρώπων πέφυκε ποιεῖν. ταύτα ἡμεῖς τε ἐμπροσθεν ξυνωμολογησάμεθα, καὶ νῦν ὑμεῖς ἡμῶν εἰς ταύτα ἐκάτερα βλέποντες ἐπάνυτε 4 καὶ ψέγετε τοὺς νόμους, ὅσοι μὴ ταύτα

771 δυνατοὶ, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς ἀσπάζεσθε τε καὶ φιλοφρόνως δεχόμενοι ζήτη ἐν αὐτοῖς· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα τεῖνοντα τῶν ἀγα- θῶν λεγομένων χαίρειν χρή προσαγορεύειν.

'Αρχὴ δὲ ἔστω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν νόμων ἦδε

1 σιτῆσεως: κτῆσεως MSS., edd. (ποτ' ἀσκῆσεως Apelt).
2 εὰν: ἔαν MSS. Also I add <ἀν>.
3 υπομείνασαν Stallb.: υπομείνασα MSS.

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we desire you to be in immediate unison with us, as our disciples, and to aim at those objects at which, as we three have agreed, the lawgiver and Law-warden ought to aim. The sum and substance of our agreement was simply this: that whatsoever be the way in which a member of our community—be he of the male or female sex, young or old,—may become a good citizen, possessed of the excellence of soul which belongs to man, whether derived from some pursuit or disposition, or from some form of diet, or from desire or opinion or mental study,—to the attainment of this end all his efforts throughout the whole of his life shall be directed; and not a single person shall show himself preferring any object which impedes this aim; in fine, even as regards the State, he must allow it to be revolutionised, if it seems necessary, rather than voluntarily submit to the yoke of slavery under the rule of the worse, or else he must himself quit the State as an exile: all such sufferings men must endure rather than change to a polity which naturally makes men worse. This is what we previously agreed upon¹: so do you now keep both these objects of ours in view as you revise the laws, and censure all the laws which are unable to effect them, but welcome all such as are able to do so, and, adopting them wholeheartedly, rule your lives by them. All other practices, which tend towards ‘goods’ (so-called), other than these, you must bid farewell to."

For a beginning of the laws which are to follow,

¹ 688 E, 742 E.

ἐπιίπειτε Ἀπείττε, England: ἐπαινεῖτε MSS. (Schanz brackets ἐπαινεῖτε καὶ).
τις, ἀφ’ ιερῶν ἠγμενή. τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ δὴ δεῖ πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν ἡμᾶς τῶν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα, ὅσας εἶχέ τε καὶ ἔχει τομᾶς. Β προσφόροις ὡς τὸ ὅλον ἀμα καὶ ὁ κατὰ φυλάς, δὴ δὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἐθεμεν δωδεκατημόριον, ἐν καὶ εἰκοσιν εἰκοσάκις ὀρθότατα φῦν. ἔχει δὲ διανομάς δώδεκα μὲν ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἡμῖν, δώδεκα δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φυλῆς. ἐκαστὴν δὴ τὴν μοῖραν διανοεῖσθαι χρεών ὡς οὔσαν ἱερόν θεοῦ δῶρον, ἐπομένην τοῖς μησὶ καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς περιόδῳ. διὸ καὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν ἀγεῖ μὲν τὸ ξύμφωτον ἱεροῦν αὐτάς, ἀλλοι δὲ ἄλλων ἰσως ὀρθότερον ἐνεμαντὸ τε καὶ εὐτυχέστερον ἐθείωσαν τὴν διανομῆς. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὖν ὑνὸν φαμέν ὀρθότατα προηρήσαντα τὸν τῶν πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα ἀριθμόν, ὅς πάσας τὰς διανομὰς ἔχει μέχρι τῶν δώδεκα ἀπὸ μᾶς ἀρξάμενος πλῆν ἐνδεκάδος. αὐτὴ δὲ ἔχει σμικρότατον ἱμα. ἐπὶ θάτερα γὰρ ἴδιης γίγνεται δυοῖν ἐστίαν ἀπονεμηθείσαιν. ὡς δ’ ἐστὶ ταύτα ἀληθῶς ὅντα, κατὰ σχολὴν οὐκ ἂν πολὺς ἐπιδείξειε μύθος. πιστεύοντες δὴ τὰ νῦν τῇ παροουσίᾳ φήμη καὶ 

D λόγῳ νεῖμομεν τε ταύτη, καὶ ἐκάστη μοῖρα θεοῦ ἦ θέου παῖδα ἐπιφημίσαντες, βωμοὺς τε καὶ τὰ τούτων προσήκοντα ἀποδόντες, θυσίων πέρι ἐξυμόδους ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ποιῶμεθα δύο τοῦ μνήμος. δώδεκα μὲν τῇ τῆς φυλῆς διανομῆς, δώδεκα δὲ αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πόλεως διαμερισμῷ, θεών μὲν δὴ πρῶτον χάριτος ἐνεκα καὶ τῶν περὶ θεοῦς, δεύτερον δὲ

1 ταύτη: ταύτην MSS. : αὐτὴν Ast.

1 Cp. 737 E ff.
we must commence with things sacred. First, we must consider anew the number 5,040, and the number of convenient subdivisions which we found it to contain both as a whole and when divided up into tribes: the tribal number is, as we said, a twelfth part of the whole number, being in its nature precisely $20 \times 21$. Our whole number has twelve subdivisions, and the tribal number also has twelve; and each such portion must be regarded as a sacred gift of God, conformed to the months and to the revolution of the universe. Wherefore also every State is guided by native instinct to hold them sacred, although some men possibly have made their divisions more correctly than others, or have consecrated them more happily. We, in any case, affirm now that we are perfectly correct in first selecting the number 5,040, which admits of division by all the numbers from 1 to 12, excepting only 11—and this omission is very easily remedied, since the mere subtraction of two hearths from the total restores an integral number as quotient: that this is really true we could show, at our leisure, by a fairly short explanation. For the present, then, we shall trust to the oracular statement just delivered, and we shall employ these subdivisions, and give to each portion the name of a God, or of a child of Gods, and bestow on it altars and all that belongs thereto; and at these we shall appoint two assemblies every month for sacrifice—of which twelve (yearly) shall be for the whole tribal division, and twelve for its urban section only; the object of these shall be, first, to offer thanksgiving to the gods and to do them service, and secondly, as we should

\[ 5,040 = (11 \times 458) + 2. \]
Ημῶν αυτῶν οἰκειότητος τε πέρι καὶ γνωρίσεως ἀλλήλων, ὡς φαίμειν ἄν, καὶ ὁμιλίας ἑνεκα πάσης. 
Επρόσ γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν γάμων κοινωνίαν καὶ ξύμιμεν ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τὴν ἄγνοιαν ἐξαιρεῖν παρ’ ὑμῖν τέ τις ἀγεταί καὶ ἂ καὶ οἷς ἐκδίδωσι, περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενον ὁτι μάλιστα τὸ μὴ σφάλλεσθαι μηδαμός ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. τῆς οὖν τοιαύτης σπουδῆς ἑνεκα χρῆ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ποιεῖσθαι χορεύοντάς τε καὶ χορευοῦσας 772 κόρους καὶ κόρας, καὶ ἄμα δὴ θεωροῦντάς τε καὶ θεωρούμενοι μετὰ λόγου τε καὶ ἡλικίας τινὸς ἔχονσης εἰκūνιας προφάσεις, γυμνόσιν καὶ γυμνᾶς μέχριν περί αἴδους σώφρονος ἐκάστων. τούτων δὲ ἑπιμελητῶς πάντων καὶ κοσμητὰς τοὺς τῶν χορῶν ἄρχοντας γίγνεσθαι, καὶ νομοθέτας μετὰ τῶν νομοφυλάκων, ὡςον 1 ἄν ἡμείς ἐκλείπωμεν τάττονται.

Ἀναγκαῖον δὲ, ὅπερ εἰπομεν, περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα πάντα ὅσα σμικρὰ καὶ πολλὰ νομοθέτην μὲν Β ἐκλείπειν, τὸν δὲ ἐμπείρους ἀεὶ κατ’ ἐναντίων γυμνομένων αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας μανθάνοντας τάττεσθαι καὶ ἐπανορθομένων κινεῖν κατ’ ἐναντίων, ἐως ἀν ὄρος ἰκανὸς δόξη τῶν τοιούτων νομίμων καὶ ἑπιτηδευμάτων γεγονέναι. χρόνος μὲν οὖν μέτριος ἄμα καὶ ἰκανὸς γίγνοιτ' ἀν τῆς ἐμπείριας δεκαέτηρος θυσίων τε καὶ χορευῶν, ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἐκαστα ταχθεῖς, ξόντος μὲν τοῦ τάξαντος Κ νομοθέτου κοινῆ, τέλος δὲ σχόντος αὐτὰς ἐκάστας τὰς ἀρχὰς εἰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας εἰσφεροῦσας τὸ παραλειπόμενον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἐπαν-

1 ὡςον Aldus: ὡςον MSS.
assert, to promote fellowship amongst ourselves and mutual acquaintance and association of every sort. For, in view of the fellowship and intercourse of marriage, it is necessary to eliminate ignorance, both on the part of the husband concerning the woman he marries and the family she comes from, and on the part of the father concerning the man to whom he gives his daughter; for it is all-important in such matters to avoid, if possible, any mistake. To achieve this serious purpose, sportive dances should be arranged for boys and girls; and at these they should both view and be viewed, in a reasonable way and on occasions that offer a suitable pretext, with bodies unclad, save so far as sober modesty prescribes. Of all such matters the officers of the choirs shall be the supervisors and controllers, and also, in conjunction with the Law-wardens, the lawgivers of all that we leave unprescribed.¹

It is, as we said, necessary that in regard to all matters involving a host of petty details the lawgiver should leave omissions, and that rules and amendments should be made from year to year by those who have constant experience of them from year to year and are taught by practice, until it be decided that a satisfactory code has been made out to regulate all such proceedings. A fair and sufficient period to assign for such experimental work would be ten years, both for sacrifices and for dances in all their several details; each body of officials, acting in conjunction with the original lawgiver, if he be still alive, or by themselves, if he be dead, shall report to the Law-wardens whatever is omitted in their own department, and shall make

¹ Cp. 764 Ef.
ορθοῦσθαι, μέχριπερ ἂν τέλος ἔχειν ἐκαστὸν
dόξη τοῦ καλῶς ἐξειργάσθαι· τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα
θεμένους ἢ ἢ χρῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων,
oσὶ εἶτα κατ’ ἄρχας ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῖς νομοθέτης. ὅπω
πέρι κινεῖν μὲν ἐκόντας μηδέποτε μηδὲν· εἰ δὲ τις
D αὖν ἁγικὴ δόξει οὔτε καταλαβεῖν, πάσας μὲν τὰς
ἄρχας χρῆ ξυμβούλους, πάντα δὲ τὸν δῆμον καὶ
πάσας θεῶν μαντείας ἐπελθόντας, ἐὰν συμφωνῶσι
πάντες, οὕτω κινεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέποτε μηδαμῶς,
ἀλλὰ τὸν κωλύοντα ἄει κατὰ νόμον κρατεῖν.

'Ὅποθεν ¹ τις οὖν καὶ ὅπηλικα τῶν πέντε καὶ
εἰκοσι γεγονότων ἐτή σκοπῶν καὶ σκοπούμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων κατὰ νοῦν ἐαυτῷ καὶ πρέποντα εἰς παῖδων
κοινωνίαν καὶ γένεσιν ἔξευρηκέναι πιστεύει
<γάμον>, ² γαμεῖτω μὲν πᾶς ἐντὸς τῶν πέντε καὶ
Ε τριάκοντα ἐτῶν· τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ ἄρμοττον
ὡς χρῆ ἔπτειν, πρῶτον ἐπακουσάτω· δὲ γάρ, ὡς
φησὶ Κλεινίας, ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ νόμου προοίμων
οἰκεῖον ἐκάστῳ προτιθέναι.

κα. Κάλλιστα, ὁ ξένε, διεμνημόνευσας, ἔλαβές
τε τοῦ λόγου καὶ δὲ καὶ μᾶλ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι
σύμμετρον.

αθ. Εὐ λέγεις. ὧν παῖ, τοίνυν φῶμεν ἄγαθῶν
773 πατέρων φῦντι, τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἐμφροσίν εὐδόξους
γάμους χρῆ γαμεῖν, οἳ σοι παρανοιέν ἄν μὴ
φεύγειν τοῦ τῶν πενήτων μηδὲ τῶν τῶν πλούσιων
διώκειν διαφερόντως γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τάλλα ἵσαξη,
tὸν ὑποδεώστερον ἄει τιμῶντα εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν
ξυμέναι. τῇ τε γάρ πόλει ξύμφορον ἄν εἰη ταύτῃ

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¹ ὑπάθεν Aldus, England: ὑπάτη MSS.
² ἡγάμον I add.
it good, until each detail seems to have reached its proper completion: this done, they shall decree them as fixed rules, and employ them as well as the rest of the laws originally decreed by the law-giver. In these they must never make any change voluntarily; but if it should ever be thought that a necessity for change has arisen, all the people must be consulted, as well as all the officials, and they must seek advice from all the divine oracles; and if there is a general consent by all, then they may make a change, but under no other conditions at any time; and the objector to change shall always prevail according to law.

When any man of twenty-five\(^1\) years of age, viewing and being viewed by others, believes that he has found in any quarter a mate to his liking and suitable for the joint procreation of children, he shall marry, in every case before he is thirty-five; but first let him hearken to the direction as to how he should seek what is proper and fitting, for, as Clinias maintains, one ought to introduce each law by a prelude suitable thereto.\(^2\)

CLIN. A very proper reminder, Stranger,—and you have chosen, in my opinion, a most opportune point in your discourse for making it.

ATH. You are right. So let us say to the son of noble sires: My child, you must make a marriage that will commend itself to men of sense, who would counsel you neither to shun connexion with a poor family, nor to pursue ardently connexion with a rich one, but, other things being equal, to prefer always an alliance with a family of moderate means. Such a course will benefit both the State

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\(^1\) But cp. 721 B.  \(^2\) Cp. 720 E.
ταύς τε ξυνιούσαις ἑστίαις: τὸ γὰρ ὁμαλὸν καὶ
ξύμμετρον ἄκρατον μυρίων διαφέρει πρὸς ἂρετὴν.
κοσμίων τε πατέρων χρῆ προθυμεῖσθαι γέγονει θα.
κηδεσθήν τὸν αὐτῶι ξυνείδοτα ἑταμώτερον ἅμα καὶ
θάττου τοῦ δέοντος πρὸς πόσας τὰς πράξεις φερό-
μενον. τὸν δὲ ἑναντίως πεφυκότα ἐπὶ τάναντια χρῆ
κηδεύματα πορεύεσθαι. καὶ κατὰ παντὸς εἰς
ἔστω μῦθος γάμμων. τὸν γὰρ τῇ πόλει δεὶ συμφέ-
ροντα μνηστεύειν γάμμων ἑκαστὸν, οὐ τὸν ἤδιστον
αὐτῷ. φέρεται δὲ πῶς πᾶς ἅπας καὶ κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς
τὸν ὀμοιότατον αὐτῷ, ὅθεν ἀνώμαλος ἡ πόλις ὅλη
C γίγνεται χρήμασι τε καὶ τρόπων ἱθεσιν. εξ ἃν ἂ
μὴ βουλόμεθα ξυνβαίνειν ἡμῶν καὶ μάλιστα
ξυμβαίνει ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι. ταῦτα δὴ διὰ
λόγου μὲν νόμῳ προστάτευεν, μὴ γαμεῖν πλούσιον
πλουσίον μηδὲ πολλὰ δυνάμενον πράττειν ἄλλῳ
τοιούτῳ, θάττους δὲ ἤθεσι πρὸς βραδυτέρους καὶ
βραδυτέρους πρὸς θάττους ἀναγκαζεῖν τῇ τῶν
γάμων κοινωνία πορεύεσθαι, πρὸς τῷ γελοῖα εἶναι
θυμὸν ἄν ἐγείραι πολλοίς: οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον ἐννοεῖν
D ὅτι πόλιν εἶναι δὲί δίκην κρατήρος κεκραμένην, οὐ
μαίνομενος μὲν οἷος ἐγκεχυμένος ζεί, κολαξόμενος
δὲ ὑπὸ νῖφοντος ἔτερον θεοῦ καλὴν κοινωνίαν
λαβῶν ἀγαθῶν πώμα καὶ μέτριον ἀπεργάζεται.
τούτῳ οὖν γεγομένου ἐν τῇ τῶν πάλιδων μίξει
dιορίῃ, ὡς ἔπος εἰπέων, δυνατὸς οὐδεὶς. τούτων
δὴ χάριν ἐξὶ μὲν νόμῳ τὰ τοιαύτα ἀναγκαῖον,
and the united families, since in respect of excellence what is evenly balanced and symmetrical is infinitely superior to what is untempered. The man who knows he is unduly hasty and violent in all his actions should win a bride sprung from steady parents; while the man that is of a contrary nature should proceed to mate himself with one of the opposite kind. Regarding marriage as a whole there shall be one general rule: each man must seek to form such a marriage as shall benefit the State, rather than such as best pleases himself. There is a natural tendency for everyone to make for the mate that most resembles himself, whence it results that the whole State becomes ill-balanced both in wealth and in moral habits; and because of this, the consequences we least desire are those that generally befall most States. To make express enactments about these matters by law—that, for instance, a rich man must not marry into a rich family, nor a man of wide power with a powerful family, or that man of hasty tempers must be obliged to seek alliances with those of slower tempers, and the slow with the hasty—this, besides being ridiculous, would cause widespread resentment; for people do not find it easy to perceive that a State should be like a bowl of mixed wine, where the wine when first poured in foams madly, but as soon as it is chastened by the sober deity of water, it forms a fair alliance, and produces a potion that is good and moderate. That this is precisely what happens in the blending of children is a thing which hardly anyone is capable of perceiving; therefore in the legal code we must omit such rules, and merely try by the spell of words to persuade each
Ε ἐπάδοντα δὲ πείθειν πειρᾶσθαι τὴν τῶν παίδων ὀμαλότητα αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν γάμων ἱσότητος ἀπλήστων χρημάτων οὖσης περὶ πλείονος ἐκαστον ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ δὴ ὀνείδους ἀποτρέπειν τὸν περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ἐσποουδακότα, ἀλλὰ μὴ γραπτῷ νόμῳ βιαζόμενον.

Περὶ γάμων δὴ ταύτ’ ἐστώ παραμύθια λεγόμενα, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ ἐμπροσθε τούτων ῥηθέντα, ὡς χρὴ τῆς ἀνυγενοῦς φύσεως ἀντέχεσθαι τῷ παίδας παίδων καταλείποντα ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπη- 174 ρέτας ἀνθ’ αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι. πάντα οὖν ταύτα καὶ ἐτὶ πλείω τις ἂν εἴποι περὶ γάμων, ὡς χρὴ γαμεῖν, προσμιαζόμενος ὀρθῶς. ἄν δ’ ἀρα τις μὴ πείθηται ἐκών, ἀλλότριον δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκουόνητον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἔχῃ καὶ ἄγαμος ὃν γένηται πεντεκαῖτριακοντοῦτης, ξημιούσθω κατ’ ἐναυ- τὸν ἐκαστον, ὁ μέγιστον μὲν τίμημα κεκτημένος ἐκατὸν δραχμαῖς, ὁ δὲ τό δεύτερον ἐβδομήκοντα, τρίτον δὲ ἐξήκοντα, ὁ δὲ τό τέταρτον τριάκοντα.

Β τούτῳ δ’ ἐστὼ τῆς Ἡρας ἱερόν. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐκτίνων κατ’ ἐναυτὸν δεκαπλάσιον ὁφείλετο. πραττόμεθα δὲ ὁ ταμίας τῆς θεοῦ, μὴ ἐκπράξας δὲ αὐτὸς ὁφείλετω καὶ ἐν ταῖς εἰδονσίᾳ τοῦ τοιούτου λόγῳ ὑπεχέτῳ πάς. εἰς μὲν οὖν χρήματα ὁ μὴ ἥλων γαμεῖν ταύτα ξημιούσθω, τυμής δὲ παρὰ τῶν νεώτερων ἀτίμος πάσης ἐστώ, καὶ μηδὲν υπε- ακονετῶ μηδὲν αὐτῶ ἐκὼν τῶν νέων· ἐὰν δὲ κολάζειν τινὰ ἐπιχειρή, πᾶς τῷ ἀδικουμένῳ βοηθεῖτο καὶ C ἀμυνέτω, μὴ βοηθῶν δὲ ὁ παραγενόμενος δειλός

1 721 B ff. By reproduction man secures a continuous share in the life of the divine Universe; cp. 903 C.
one to value the equality of his children more
highly than the equality of a marriage with inordi-
nate wealth, and by means of reproaches to divert
from his object him who has set his heart on marry-
ing for money, although we may not compel him by
a written law.

Concerning marriage these shall be the exhorta-
tions given, in addition to those previously given,¹
declaring how it is a duty to lay hold on the ever-
living reality by providing servants for God in our
own stead; and this we do by leaving behind us
children's children. All this and more one might say
in a proper prelude concerning marriage and the
duty of marrying. Should any man, however, refuse
to obey willingly, and keep himself aloof and un-
partnered in the State, and reach the age of thirty-
five unmarried, an annual fine shall be imposed upon
him, of a hundred drachmae if he be of the highest
property-class, if of the second, seventy, if of the
third, sixty, if of the fourth, thirty. This fine shall
be consecrated to Hera.² He that fails to pay the
fine in full every year shall owe ten times the
amount of it, and the treasurer of the goddess shall
exact this sum, or, failing to exact it, he shall owe
it himself, and in the audit he shall in every case
be liable to account for such a sum. This shall be
the money-fine in which the man who refuses to
marry shall be mulcted, and as to honour, he shall
receive none from the younger men, and no young
man shall of his own free-will pay any regard to
him: if he attempt to punish any person, everyone
shall come to the assistance of the person maltreated
and defend him, and whoever is present and fails

¹ As goddess of marriage.
ΠΛΑΤΟ

te ἀμα καὶ κακός ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πολίτης εἶναι λεγέσθω.

Περὶ δὲ προϊκὸς εἰρηται μὲν καὶ πρότερον, εἰρήθω δὲ πάλιν, ὡς ἢσα ἀντὶ ἑσον ἐστὶ τὸ ۱ μήτε λαμβάνειν τι μὴτ' ἐκδιδόναι τι, ۲ <οὐδ' εἰκὸς ἀγάμους ὄντας> διὰ χρημάτων ἀπορίαν γηράσκειν τοὺς πένητας—τὰ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπάρχοντά ἐστι πάσι—τῶν ἐν ταῦτῃ τῇ πόλει, ὑβρὶς δὲ ἢ ττον γυναῖξι καὶ δουλεία ταπεινὴ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος διὰ χρήματα τοῖς γήμαισι γένοντ' ἂν. καὶ ὅ μὲν πειθόμενος ἐν τῶν καλῶν δραφῇ τούτ' ἂν. ὃ δὲ μή πειθόμενος ἡ δίδουσ ἡ λαμβάνων πλέων ἡ πεντήκοντα ἀξία δραχμῶν ἐσθήτος χάρων, ὃ δὲ μνάς, ὃ δὲ τριῶν ἡμιμναίων, ὃ δὲ δυεῖν μναίν ὃ τὸ μέγιστὸν τίμημα κεκτημένος, ὁφειλέτω μὲν τῷ δημοσίῳ τοσοῦτον ἔτερον, τὸ δὲ δοθὲν ἡ ληφθὲν ἱερὸν ἔστω τῆς Ἡρας τε καὶ τοῦ Διὸς, πραττόντων δὲ οἱ ταμίαι

Ετούτων τοῖν θεοῖν, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τῶν μὴ γαμοῦντων πέρι τοὺς ταμίας ἐκπράττειν ἐκάστοτε τοὺς τῆς Ἡρας ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκάστους τῆν ἰημίαν ἐκτίνειν.

'Εγγύτην δὲ εἶναι κυρίαν πατρὸς μὲν πρῶτον, δευτέραν πάππου, τρίτην δὲ ἀδελφὸν ὀμοπατρίων· εἶν τὸ δὲ μηδὲ εἰς ἡ τούτων, τῆν πρὸς μητρὸς μετὰ τοῦτο εἶναι κύριαν ὡσαύτως· εἶν δ' ἀρα τύχῃ τις ἀνήθης συμβαίνῃ, τοὺς ἐγγύτατα γένους ἀεὶ κυρίους εἶναι μετὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων. ὅσα

1 τὸ MSS. τῷ Aldus, Zur.
2 λαμβάνειν τι μήτε ἐκδιδόναι (τι) Cornarius: λαμβάνοντι . . . ἐκδίδοντι MSS. <οὐδ' . . . ὄντας> I add, exempli gratia, to fill up the lacuna assumed by Schneider and Schanz: (MSS. Marg. and Stallb. read διδάσκειν for γηράσκειν, Apelt. γεραίρειν).

1 742 C.
2 i.e. for the bride's "trousseau," given by her father to 466
thus to give assistance shall be declared by law to be both a cowardly and a bad citizen.

Concerning dowries it has been stated before, and it shall be stated again, that an equal exchange consists in neither giving nor receiving any gift; nor is it likely that the poor amongst the citizens in this state should remain till old age unmarried for lack of means—for all have the necessaries of life provided for them—and the result of this rule will be less insolence on the part of the wives and less humiliation and servility on the part of the husband because of money. Whoso obeys this rule will be acting nobly; but he that disobeys—by giving or receiving for raiment a sum of over fifty drachmae, or over one mina, or over one and a half minae, or (if a member of the highest property-class) over two minae,—shall owe to the public treasury a sum equal thereto, and the sum given or received shall be consecrated to Hera and Zeus, and the treasurers of these deities shall exact it,—just as it was the rule, in cases of refusal to marry, that the treasurers of Hera should exact the fine in each instance, or else pay it out of their own pockets.

The right of betrothal belongs in the first place to the father, next to the grandfather, thirdly to the full brothers; failing any of these, it rightly belongs next to relatives on the mother's side in like order; in case of any unwonted misfortune, the right shall belong to the nearest of kin in each case, acting in conjunction with the guardians. Concerning the bridegroom. Fifty drachmae is the maximum value allowed for the lowest class, a mina for the next lowest, and so on upwards.

Cp. 774 B.

For these "guardians" (of orphans) see 926 E ff
δὲ προτέλεια γάμων ἢ τις ἄλλη περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἱερουργία μελλόντων ἢ γυνομένων ἢ γεγονότων προσήκουσά ἐστι τελείσθαι, τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐρωτῶντα χρῆ καὶ πειθόμενον ἐκεῖνος ἐκαστὸν ἡγεῖσθαι πάντα ἑαυτῷ μετρίως γίγνεσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐστιάσεων, φίλους μὲν χρῆ καὶ φίλας μὴ πλείους πέντε ἑκατέρων συγκαλεῖν, συγγενῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκείων ὁσαίτως τοσοῦτοι ἄλλους ἑκατέρων· ἀνάλωμα δὲ μὴ γίγνεσθαι πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν μηδενί, τῷ μὲν εἰς χρήματα μεγίστῳ Β μνᾶν, τῷ δ' ἡμιον τοῦ τοσοῦτον, τῷ δ' ἐφεξῆς οὕτω, καθάπερ ὑποβεβηκέν τικάστῳ τὸ τίμημα. καὶ τὸν μὲν πειθόμενον τὸ νόμῳ ἐπαινεῖν χρῆ πάντας, τὸν δὲ ἀπειθοῦντα κολάζοντων οἱ νομοφύλακες ὡς ἀπειρόκαλον τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαίδευτον τῶν περὶ τὰς νυμφικὰς Μούσας νόμων. πίνειν δὲ εἰς μέθην οὕτε ἄλλοθι ποι πρέπει, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τῶν οἰνοῦ δόντος θεοῦ ἐορταῖς, οὔτ' ἀσφαλέσ, οὔτ' οὖν δὴ περὶ γάμους ἐσπούδακότα, ἐν οἷς ἐμφρονα μάλιστα εἶναι πρέπει νύμφην καὶ νυμφίον μετα-

C Βολῆν οὐ σμικράν Βίου μεταλλάττοντας, ἄμα δὲ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ὅπως οἴ τι μᾶλλον εἴ τε ἐμφρόνων ἂει γίγνεται· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἀδῆλου ὅποια νῦξ ἢ φῶς αὐτὸ γεννήσῃ μετὰ θεοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὲι μὴ τῶν σωμάτων διακεχυμένων ὑπὸ μέθης γίγνεσθαι τὸν παιδοργίαν, ἀλλ' εὔπαγές ἀπλανές ἱσυχαίον τε ἐν μῆτρα ἐνενιστασθαι τὸ φυόμενον ὁ δὲ διωνομένος αὐτὸς τε φέρεται πάντη καὶ φέρει, λυττῶν κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχήν.

1 μῆτρα Cornarius, England: μῆτρα MSS.

1 Cp. 700 B, 722 D.
preliminary marriage-sacrifice and all other sacred ceremonies proper to be performed before, during, or after marriage, each man shall enquire of the Interpreters, and believe that, in obeying their directions, he will have done all things duly.

Concerning marriage-feasts,—both parties should invite their male and female friends, not more than five on each side, and an equal number of the kinsfolk and connexions of both houses: in no case must the expense exceed what the person's means permit—one mina for the richest class, half that amount for the second, and so on in proportion, according as the valuation grows less. He that obeys the law should be praised by all; but him that disobeys the Law-wardens shall punish as a man of poor taste and ill-trained in the "nomes" of the nuptial Muses. Drinking to excess is a practice that is nowhere seemly—save only at the feasts of the God, the Giver of wine,—nor yet safe; and certainly it is not so for those who take marriage seriously; for at such a time above all it behoves both bride and bridegroom to be sober, seeing that the change in their life is a great one, and in order to ensure, so far as possible, in every case that the child that is begotten may be sprung from the loins of sober parents: for what shall be, with God's help, the night or day of its begetting is quite uncertain. Moreover, it is not right that procreation should be the work of bodies dissolved by excess of wine, but rather that the embryo should be compacted firmly, steadily and quietly in the womb. But the man that is steeped in wine moves and is moved himself in every way, writhing both in body and soul; con-

1 p. 674 Af.
Ο σπείρειν οὖν παράφορος ἀμα καὶ κακὸς ὁ μεθὺς, ὥστε ἀνόμαλα καὶ ἀπιστα καὶ οὐδὲν εὐθὺπτορον ἢθος οὐδὲ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων γεννώθη ποτ' ἀν. διὸ μᾶλλον μὲν ὄλον τῶν ἐναυτῶν καὶ βίον χρῆ, μάλιστα δὲ ὀπόσον ἂν γεννᾶ χρόνον, εὐλαβείσθαι καὶ μή πράττειν μήτε ὅσα νοσώθη ἐκόντα εἶναι μήτε ὃσα ὑβρεῖς ἡ ἀδικίας ἔχομεν· εἰς γὰρ τὰς τῶν γεννωμένων ψυχὰς καὶ σώματα ἀναγκαῖον ἔξομοργυμένου ἐκτυποῦσθαι καὶ τίκτειν πάντῃ φαυλότερα· διαφερόντως δὲ ἐκεῖνῃ τῆν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀρχὴ γὰρ ὡς τεος ἐν ἀνθρώπωι ἱδρυμένη σώζει πάντα, τιμῆς εὰν τῆς προσηκουσθης αὐτῇ παρ' ἐκάστοι τῶν χρωμένων λαγχάνῃ.

Νομίσαντα δ' εἶναι χρῆ τὸν γαμοῦντα ταῖς 776 οἰκίαις ταῖς ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ τῆς ἔτεραν ὅλον νεοτῶν ἐγγέννησιν καὶ τροφῆν, χωρισθέντα ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τὸν γάμον ἔκει ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τῆν οἰκησιν καὶ τὴν τροφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς φιλίαις εὰν μὲν πόθος ἐνή τις, κολλα καὶ συνδεῖ πάντα ἡθή· κατακορῆς δὲ ἐνυγούσα καὶ οὐκ ἰσχυσα τὸν διὰ χρόνον πόθον ἀπορρέειν ἀλλήλων ποιεῖ ὑπερβολαῖς πλησιονής. ὅν δὴ χάριν μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς 

Β οἰκείους παρέντας χρῆ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις, ὅλον εἰς ἀποικίαν ἁφικομένους ἀυτοὺς, ἐπισκοποῦντας τε ἀμα καὶ ἐπισκοποῦμενους οἰκεῖν, γεννώντας τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας παῖδας, καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν

1 ὁς Ast: καὶ MSS. (Schanz brackets καὶ θέδς).

1 For the importance of ἀρχή (here personified) cp. 753 Ε, 765 Ε: possibly ἀρχὴ σώζει πάντα was a proverb.

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sequently, when drunk, a man is clumsy and bad at sowing seed, and is thus likely to beget unstable and untrusty offspring, crooked in form and character. Wherefore he must be very careful throughout all the year and the whole of his life—and most especially during the time he is begetting—to commit no act that involves either bodily ailment or violence and injustice; for these he will inevitably stamp on the souls and bodies of the offspring, and will generate them in every way inferior. From acts of such a kind he must especially abstain on the day and night of his marriage; for the Beginning that sits enshrined as a goddess among mortals is the Saviour of all, provided that she receives the honour due to her from each one who approaches her.

The man who marries must part from his father and mother, and take one of the two houses in his allotment, to be, as it were, the nest and home of his chicks, and make therein his marriage and the dwelling and home of himself and his children. For in friendships the presence of some degree of longing seems to cement various dispositions and bind them together; but unabated proximity, since it lacks the longing due to an interval, causes friends to fall away from one another owing to an excessive surfeit of each other's company. Therefore the married pair must leave their own houses to their parents and the bride's relations, and act themselves as if they had gone off to a colony, visiting and being visited in their home, begetting and rearing children, and so handing on life, like a torch,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{3}}\text{Cp. 745 C, D.}\quad \text{\textsuperscript{2}}\text{Cp. Rep. 328 A.}\]
βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλους ἐξ ἄλλων, θεραπεύοντας ἀκί θεοὺς κατὰ νόμους.

Κτήματα δὲ τὸ μετὰ τούτο ποῖα ἂν τις κεκτημένοις ἐμμελεστάτην οὐσίαν κεκτήτο; τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὐτὲ νοῆσαι χαλεπῶν οὔτε κτήσασθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν χαλεπὰ πάντη. τὸ δ᾽ αἰτίων, οὐκ ὁρθῶς πως καὶ τινα τρόπον ὁρθῶς περὶ αὐτῶν

C λέγομεν ἐναντία γὰρ ταῖς χρείαις καὶ κατὰ τὰς χρείας αὐ τα ποιούμεθα περὶ δούλων καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα.

με. Πῶς δ᾽ αὐ τούτο λέγομεν; οὐ γάρ πω μανθάνομεν, ὃ ξένε, ὃ τι τὰ νῦν φράξεις.

α. Καὶ μάλα γε, ὥ Μέγιλλη, εἰκότως: σχέδιν γὰρ πάντων τῶν Ἑλληνῶν ἡ Δακεδαίμονίων εἰλωτεία πλεῖστην ἀπορίαν παράσχοι᾽ ἂν καὶ ἔριν τοῖς μὲν ως εὖ, τοῖς δ᾽ ὡς οὐκ εὖ γεγονναῖὰ ἐστίν: ἐλάττω δε ἢ τε Ἡρακλεωτῶν δουλεία τῆς

D τῶν Μαριανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως ἔριν ἀν ἔχοι, τὸ Θετταλῶν τ᾽ αὐ τεσσαρίων ἔθνος. εἰς δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα βλέψαντας ἡμᾶς τι χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ κτήσεως οἰκετῶν; δ ὁ δὴ παρών τῷ λόγῳ ἐτυγχον εἰπὼν, καὶ σὺ με εἰκότως τὸ ποτε φράζομι ἡρώτησας, τὸδ᾽ ἐστίν: ἵσμεν ὅτι ποὺ πάντες εἰποίμεν ἀν ὡς χρῆ δούλους ως εὐμελεστάτους ἐκτήσαται καὶ ἀρίστους: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἡδη δούλοι καὶ νέων τισὶ κρείττους πρὸς ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν γενόμενοι σεσώκασι δεσπότας καὶ κτή-

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1 These ancient inhabitants of N.E. Bithynia were conquered by the people of Heraclea Pontica and made tributary vassals.
one generation to another, and ever worshipping the gods as the laws direct.

Next, as regards possessions, what should a man possess to form a reasonable amount of substance? As to most chattels, it is easy enough both to see what they should be and to acquire them; but servants present all kinds of difficulties. The reason is that our language about them is partly right and partly wrong; for the language we use both contradicts and agrees with our practical experience of them.

MEG. What mean we by this? We are still in the dark, Stranger, as to what you refer to.

ATH. That is quite natural, Megillus. For probably the most vexed problem in all Hellas is the problem of the Helot-system of the Lacedaemonians, which some maintain to be good, others bad; a less violent dispute rages round the subjection of the Mariandyni\(^1\) to the slave-system of the Heracleotes, and that of the class of Penestae to the Thessalians.\(^2\) In view of these and similar instances, what ought we to do about this question of owning servants?\(^3\) The point I happened to mention in the course of my argument,—and about which you naturally asked me what I referred to,—was this. We know, of course, that we would all agree that one ought to own slaves that are as docile and good as possible; for in the past many slaves have proved themselves better in every form of excellence than brothers or sons, and have saved

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\(^1\) Cp. Ar. Pol. 1269a 36. "Penestae" (= serfs) were the old Aeolian inhabitants of Thessaly, subdued by the Heraclid invaders.

ΠΛΑΤΟ

Ε ματα τάς τε οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὅλας. ταύτα γὰρ ἵσμεν ποιν περὶ δοῦλων λεγόμενα.

με. Τί μήν;

α. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦναντίον ὃς ἐγεῖς οὐδὲν ψυχῆς δούλης οὐδὲ πιστεύειν οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν τῷ γένει δεὶ τῶν νοῦν κεκτημένοι; ὁ δὲ σοφότατος ἦμιν τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀπεφήματο, ὑπὲρ τοῦ

177 Δίος ἀγορεύων, ὡς

ἡμισὺ γὰρ τε νόσου, φησίν, ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύστατο Ζεὺς

ἀνδρῶν οὐς ἄν δὴ κατὰ δοῦλοιν ἦμαρ ἐλησί.

ταύτα δὴ διαλαβόντες ἐκαστοὶ τοῖς διανοήμασιν οἱ μὲν πιστεύοντοι τε οὐδὲν γένει οἰκετῶν, κατὰ δὲ θηρίων φύσιν κέντροι καὶ μάστιξιν οὐ τρὶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις, ἀπεργάζονται δούλας τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν: οἱ δὲ αὐ τάναιτία τούτων δρώσι πάντα.

με. Τί μήν;

Β κλ. Τί οὖν δὴ χρὴ ποιεῖν τούτων, ὁ ξένε, διαφερομένων οὕτω περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐ χώρας ἡμᾶς, τῆς τε κτήσεως ἃμα καὶ κολάσεως τῶν δούλων πέρι;

α. Τί δ', ὡς Κλεινία; δῆλον ὡς ἑπείδη δύσ-

κολῶν ἐστὶ τό θρέμμα ἀνθρωπος καὶ πρὸς τῇν ἀναγκαίαν διόρισιν, τό δοῦλον τε ἔργῳ διορί-

ζεσθαι καὶ ἐλευθερον καὶ δεσπότην, οὐδαμῶς εὐχρηστόν εἶπελε εἰναι τε καὶ γίγνεσθαι.

κλ. Φαινεται.

α. Χαλετόν δὴ τὸ κτήμα: ἔργῳ γὰρ πολλά-

κις ἔπιδεδεικται περὶ τὰς Μεσσηνίων συχνὰς εἰώθυνας ἀποστάσεως γίγνεσθαι, καὶ περὶ γε τὰς
their masters and their goods and their whole houses. Surely we know that this language is used about slaves?

MEG. Certainly.

ATH. And is not the opposite kind of language also used,—that the soul of a slave has no soundness in it, and that a sensible man should never trust that class at all? And our wisest poet, too, in speaking of Zeus, declared¹ that—

"Of half their wits far-thundering Zeus bereaves
Those men on whom the day of bondage falls."

Thus each party adopts a different attitude of mind: the one places no trust at all in the servant-class, but, treating them like brute beasts, with goads and whips they make the servants' souls not merely thrice but fifty times enslaved; whereas the other party act in precisely the opposite way.

MEG. Just so.

CLIN. Since this difference of opinion exists, Stranger, what ought we to do about our own country, in regard to the owning of slaves and their punishment?

ATH. Well now, Clinias, since man is an intractable creature, it is plain that he is not at all likely to be or become easy to deal with in respect of the necessary distinction between slave and free-born master in actual experience.

CLIN. That is evident.

ATH. The slave is no easy chattel. For actual experience shows how many evils result from slavery,—as in the frequent revolts in Messenia, and in the States where there are many servants

¹ Odysse. xvii. 322 f.
τῶν ἐκ μᾶς φωνῆς πολλοὺς οἰκέτας κτωμένων πόλεις, ὡσα κακὰ ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν λεγομένων περιδίων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν γι-
νυμένων παντοδαπὰ [κλωτῶν] ἔργα τε καὶ
παθήματα. πρὸς ἀ τις ἀν πάντα βλέψας δια-
πορήσει τι χρῆ δρᾶν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιοῦ-
των. δύο δὴ λείπεσθοι μόνῳ μηχανά, μήτε
πατριώτας ἀλλήλων εἶναι τοὺς μέλλοντας ῥᾶν
doυλεύσειν ἀσυμφώνουσι τε εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μά-
λιστα, τρέφειν ὁ αὐτοὺς ὅρθως μὴ μόνον ἔκεινων ἕνεκα, πλέον δὲ αὐτῶν προτιμῶντας. ἢ δὲ τροφὴ
tῶν τοιούτων μήτε τινὰ ύβριν ύβρίζει τε τοὺς 
οἰκέτας, ἤττοι δὲ, εἰ δυνατῶν, ἀδικεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἐξ
ἰσον. διάδηλος γὰρ ὁ φύσει καὶ μὴ πλαστῶς
σὲβον τὴν δίκην, μισῶν δὲ ὄντως τὸ ἀδίκον, εἰν
tούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν ὅς αὐτῷ βάδιον ἀδικεῖν
ὁ περὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων οὐν ἥθη καὶ πράξεις γιγνο-
μενῶς τις ἀμίαντος τοῦ τε ἀνοσίου πέρι καὶ
ἀδίκου σπείρειν εἰς ὄρετῆς ἐκφυσιν ἱκανότατος
ἀν εἴη· ταύτων δὲ ἐστὶ οἰκεῖν τοῦτο ὅρθως ἀμα
λέγοντα ἐπὶ τῇ δεσπότῃ καὶ τυράννῳ καὶ πᾶσαν
δυναστείαν δυναστεύοντι πρὸς ὑσθειστερον ἑαυ-
tου. κολάζειν γε μὴν ἐν δίκῃ δοούλους δεῖ, καὶ
μὴ νουθετούντας ως ἐλευθέρους θρύπτεσθαι
ποιεῖν τὴν δὲ οἰκέτου πρόσρησιν χρῆ σχεδὸν
ἐπιτάξει διὰ σαν γίγνεσθαι, μὴ προσπαίζοντας
µηδαµῆ µηδαµῶς οἰκέταις, µητ' οὖν θηλείας
µήτε ἄρρησιν. ἃ δὴ πρὸς δούλους φιλοῦσι πολ-
λοι σφόδρα ἀνοῆτως θρύπτοντες χαλεπώτερον

1 [κλωτῶν] bracketed by Naber, Schanz (κλωτῶν Burges).
2 ἀν πάντα Stobaeus, Burnet: ἀπαντά MSS.
kept who speak the same tongue, not to speak of the crimes of all sorts committed by the "Corsairs," ¹ as they are called, who haunt the coasts of Italy, and the reprisals therefor. In view of all these facts, it is really a puzzle to know how to deal with all such matters. Two means only are left for us to try—the one is, not to allow the slaves, if they are to tolerate slavery quietly, to be all of the same nation, but, so far as possible, to have them of different races,—and the other is to accord them proper treatment, and that not only for their sakes, but still more for the sake of ourselves. Proper treatment of servants consists in using no violence towards them, and in hurting them even less, if possible, than our own equals. For it is his way of dealing with men whom it is easy for him to wrong that shows most clearly whether a man is genuine or hypocritical in his reverence for justice and hatred of injustice. He, therefore, that in dealing with slaves proves himself, in his character and action, undefiled by what is unholy or unjust will best be able to sow a crop of goodness,—and this we may say, and justly say, of every master, or king, and of everyone who possesses any kind of absolute power over a person weaker than himself. We ought to punish slaves justly, and not to make them conceited by merely admonishing them as we would free men. An address to a servant should be mostly a simple command: there should be no jesting with servants, either male or female, for by a course of excessively foolish indulgence in their treatment of their slaves, masters often make life

¹ The peculiar term περιδίων ("circling round") seems to have been applied especially to these sea-rovers of the Tarentine coast.
Ἀπεργάζεσθαι τούν βίον ἐκεῖνοις τε ἄρχεσθαι καὶ ἐαυτοῖς ἄρχειν.

κλ. Ὄρθως λέγεις.

α. Ὡσκοῦν ὅτε τις οἰκέταις κατεσκευασμένος εἰς δύναμιν εἶπ̣ πλήθει καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητι πρὸς ἐκάστας τὰς τῶν ἔργων παραβοηθείας, τὸ δὴ μετὰ τούτο οἰκήσεις χρῆ διαγράφειν τῷ λόγῳ;

κλ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Β α. Καὶ ἔμπρασης γε ὡς ἔπος εἴπειν έοικε τῆς οἰκοδομικῆς πέρι τήν γε δὴ νέαν καὶ ἀοίκητον ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν πόλιν ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι, τίνα τρόπον ἐκαστα ἔξει τούτων περί τε ιερὰ καὶ τείχη. γάμων δ' ἢν ἐμπροσθεν ταύτα, ὡ Κλεινίαν

νῦν δ' ἐπείπερ λόγῳ γίγνεται, καὶ μάλ' ἐγχειρεί ταύτῃ γίγνεσθαι τὰ νῦν ἔργω μὴν ὅταν γίγνεται, ταύτ' ἐμπροσθεν τῶν γάμων, έὰν θεὸς ἑθέλῃ,

C ποιήσαντες ἐκεῖνα ἢδη τότε ἐπὶ πᾶς τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀποτελοῦμεν. νῦν δὲ μόνον ὅσον τών τήμητων αὐτῶν δ' ὅλων ἐπεξέλθωμεν.

κλ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

α. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ιερὰ πᾶσαν πέριξ τήν τε ἀγορὰν χρῆ κατασκεύασιν, καὶ τήν πόλιν ὅλην ἐν κύκλῳ πρὸς τοῖς ψυχλοῖς τῶν τόπων, ευρεκεῖας τε καὶ καθαρότητος χάριν πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς οἰκήσεις τε ἄρχοντων καὶ δικαστήρια,1 ἐν οἷς τὰς δίκας ὡς ἤερωτάτοις οὐσί λήψονται καὶ τοιοῦτοι καὶ D δώσουσιν, τὰ μὲν ὡς οσίον πέρι, τὰ δὲ καὶ τοιούτων θεῶν ἰδρύματα καὶ ἐν τούτοις [δικαστήρια, ἐν οἷς]2 αἱ τῶν φόνων πρέπουσαι δίκαι γίγνοντ' ἀν καὶ ὅσα θανάτων ἀξία ἀδικήματα.

1 δικαστήρια Burges: δικαστηρίων MSS.
LAWS, BOOK VI

harder both for themselves, as rulers, and for their slaves, as subject to rule.

CLIN. That is true.

ATH. Suppose, then, that we are now, to the best of our power, provided with servants sufficient in number and quality to assist in every kind of task, should we not, in the next place, describe our dwellings?

CLIN. Most certainly.

ATH. It would seem that our city, being new and houseless hitherto, must provide for practically the whole of its house-building, arranging all the details of its architecture, including temples and walls. These things are really, Clinias, prior to marriage; but since our construction is now a verbal one, this is a very suitable place to deal with them; when we come to the actual construction of the State, we shall, God willing, make the houses precede marriage, and crown all our architectural work with our marriage-laws. For the present we shall confine ourselves to a brief outline of our building regulations.

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. The temples we must erect all round the market-place, and in a circle round the whole city, on the highest spots, for the sake of ease in fencing them and of cleanliness: beside the temples we will set the houses of the officials and the law-courts, in which, as being most holy places, they will give and receive judgments,—partly because therein they deal with holy matters, and partly because they are the seats of holy gods; and in these will fittingly be held trials for murder and for all crimes worthy of
PLATO

peri de teichωn, ó Megille, ἔγωγ ἄν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἡμιφεροῖμην τὸ καθεύδειν εἶν ἐν τῇ γῇ κατα-
κείμενα τὰ τείχη καὶ μη ἐπαινοῦται, τῶνδε εἶνεκα. καλῶς μὲν καὶ ὁ ποιητικὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
λόγος ὑμεῖται, τὸ χαλκά καὶ σιδηρὰ δεῖν εἶναι
tὰ τείχη μᾶλλον ἢ γηῖνα: τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον ἐτι
πρὸς τούτων γέλωτ' ἂν δικαῖως πάμπολυν ὄφλοι,
tὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν ἐκπέμπειν εἰς τὴν χώραν
tοὺς νέους, τὰ μὲν σκάψοντας, τὰ δὲ ταφρεύον-
tας, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τινῶν οἰκοδομήσων ἐξιεύντας
tους πολεμίους, ὡς δὴ τῶν ὄρων τῆς χώρας οὐκ
εἰσοντας ἐπίβαινειν, τείχος δὲ περιβαλοῖμεθα,
ὁ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς ὑγίειαν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς
συμφέρει, πρὸς δὲ τινὰ μαλθακὴν ἕξιν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
tῶν ἐνοικούντων εἰσθε ποιεῖν, προκαλούμενον εἰς
αὐτὸ καταφένοντας μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολε-
μίους, μηδὲ τὸ φρουρεῖν ἄε τινας ἐν αὐτῇ νῦκτω
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν, τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας τυχα-
νειν, τείχεσι δὲ καὶ πύλαις διανοεῖσθαι φρα-
χθέντας τε καὶ καθεύδοντας σωτηρίας ὄντως ἐξεῖν
μηχανάς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ μή ποιεῖν γηγοῦντας, ἀγνο-
οῦντας δ' αὖ τὴν βραστών, ὡς ὄντως ἔστιν ἐκ
tῶν πόνων' ἐκ βραστώνης δ' ὑπὲρ, οἷμαι, τῆς αἰσχρᾶς
οἱ πόνοι καὶ μαθήματα πεφύκασι γίγνεσθαι πάλιν
ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τείχος γε τὶ χρεῶν ἀνθρώπων εἶναι,

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B τὰς οἰκοδομίας χρῆ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων οἰκήσεων οὔτως
ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάλλεσθαι, ὅπως ἄν ἦ πᾶσα ἡ πόλις
ἐν τείχος, ὁμαλότητι τε καὶ ῥᾳδιότητι καὶ ἐν τὰς
didous πασῶν τῶν οἰκήσεων ἐχουσῶν εὐέρκειαιν:

1 Unknown. Cp. Arist. Pol. 1330b 32 ff., and the saying of
Lycurgus (quoted by Plutarch, Lycurg. xix.) oúc ἄν εἶ
ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἀτίς ἀνδράσι αὐ πλήθοις ἐστεφάνωται. "Earth"
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death. As to walls, Megillus, I would agree with your Sparta in letting the walls lie sleeping in the ground, and not wake them up, and that for the following reasons. It is a fine saying of the poet, and often repeated, that walls should be made of bronze and iron rather than of earth. But our plan, in addition to this, would deserve to raise roars of laughter,—I mean the plan of sending young men into the country every year to dig and trench and build, so as to keep the enemy out and prevent their ever setting foot on the borders of the land— if we were also to build a wall round; for, in the first place, a wall is by no means an advantage to a city as regards health, and, moreover, it usually causes a soft habit of soul in the inhabitants, by inviting them to seek refuge within it instead of repelling the enemy; instead of securing their safety by keeping watch night and day, it tempts them to believe that their safety is ensured if they are fenced in with walls and gates and go to sleep, like men born to shirk toil, little knowing that ease is really the fruit of toil, whereas a new crop of toils is the inevitable outcome, as I think, of dishonourable ease and sloth. But if men really must have a wall, then the building of the private houses must be arranged from the start in such a way that the whole city may form a single wall; all the houses must have good walls, built regularly and in a similar style, facing the roads, so that the whole city will (like πλήθος) here means really "stone," the soil of Greece being rocky.

2 Cp. 760 E.

3 These "roads" (or streets) would divide the city into blocks, surrounded by continuous walls formed by the outer circle of houses, all of the same size and shape.
θείου τε οὐκ ἄγδης μᾶς οἰκίας σχῆμα ἐχούσης ἀυτῆς, εἰς τε τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς ῥαστώνην ὅλω καὶ παντὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν γίγνοιτ' ἀν διάφορος, τούτων δὲ ὡς 1 ἀν μένη 2 τὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς οἰκο-


dομηθέντα, μέλειν μὲν μάλιστα τοὺς ἑνοικοῦσιν

πρέπον ἀν εἰη, τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσαναγκάζοντας τὸν ὀλιγωροῦντα ξιμι-


ούντας, καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἀστυ κα-

θαρότητός τε ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ἱδιώτης


μηδεὶς μηδὲν τῶν τῆς πόλεως μήτε οἰκοδομήσαι

μήτε οὖν ὄργυμαιν ἐπιλήψεται. καὶ δὴ καὶ


ὔδατων τῶν ἐκ Δίως εὐροῖας τούτους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι


χρεών, καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς πόλεως ὡ ὁπόσα ἤξω πρέπον


ἀν οἰκεῖν εἰη. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἔξυπνότες ταῖς


χρείαις οἱ νομοφύλακες ἐπινομοθετοῦντων καὶ


τῶν ἄλλων ὁπόσα ἀν ὁ νόμος εἴκλειπῃ δι' ἀπορίαν.


ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα τε καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀγορᾶν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ 


τὰ περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πάντα ὁσα δίδα- 


καλεία κατεσκευασμένα περιμένει τοὺς φοιτητὰς καὶ


θεατὰς θεάτρα, πορευόμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς


γάμους, τῆς νομοθεσίας ἤξης ἐχόμενοι.


κλ. Πάνω μὲν ὅπως.

α. Γάμοι μὲν τῶν ἡμῖν ἔστωσαν γεγονότες,


ὡ Κλεινία: διὰ ταῦτα δὲ πρὸ παιδογονίας οὐκ ἐλάτ-


Ε τῶν ἐνιαυσίας γίγνοιτ' ἀν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἦν δὴ 


τίνα τρόπον χρῆ γίνω νυμφίου καὶ νύμφην ἐν 


πόλει διαφεροῦσθ' τῶν πολλῶν ἐσομένη, τὸ δὴ 


τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐ πάντων 


εὐκολωτατον, ἀλλὰ ὡς τῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων τῶν ἐμ-


προσθεῖν τοιοῦτων τοῦτο ἐτὶ ἐκείνων τῶν πολλῶν 


dυσχερέστερον ἀποδέχεσθαι τῷ πλῆθει. τὸ γε


1 ὡς Burnet: ἔως MSS.
have the form of a single house, which will render its appearance not unpleasing, besides being far and away the best plan for ensuring safety and ease for defence. To see that the original buildings remain will fittingly be the special charge of the inmates; and the city-stewards should supervise them, and compel by fines those who are negligent, and also watch over the cleanliness of everything in the city, and prevent any private person from encroaching on State property either by buildings or diggings. These officers must also keep a watch over the proper flowing of the rain-water, and over all other matters, whether within or without the city, that it is right for them to manage. All such details—and all else that the lawgiver is unable to deal with and omits—the Law-wardens shall regulate by supplementary decrees, taking account of the practical requirements. And now that these buildings and those of the market-place, and the gymnasia, and all the schools have been erected and await their inmates, and the theatres their spectators, let us proceed to the subject which comes next after marriage, taking our legislation in order.

CLIN. By all means.

ATH. Let us regard the marriage ceremony as now completed, Clinias; next will come the period before child-birth, which will extend to a full year: how the bride and bridegroom ought to pass this time in a State that will be unlike most other States,—that is to be our next theme, and it is not the easiest of things to explain; we have uttered not a few hard sayings before, but none of them all will the mass find harder to accept than this.

*μένη Schneider: μὲν ἃ MSS.*
μὴν δοκοῦν ὅρθον καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι πάντως ῥητέον, οὐ Κλεινία.

κα. Πάντα μὲν οὖν.

ἀθ. Ὅστις δὴ διανοεῖται πόλεμιν ἀποφαίνει 780 σθαὶ νόμους, πῇ τὰ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ αὐτοῦς χρῆ ζῆν πρῶτιντας, τῶν δὲ ἵδιων ὅσον ἀνάγκη μηδὲ οἶεται δεῖν, ἔξουσίαν δὲ ἐκάστοις εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ζῆν ὅπως ἄν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ μὴ πάντα διὰ τάξεως δεῖν γίγνεσθαι, προεμενος δὲ τὰ ἑδια ἀνομοθέτητα ἢγεῖται τὰ γε κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια ἐθελήσειν αὐτοὺς ζῆν διὰ νόμων, οὐκ ὅρθως διανοεῖται. τίνος δὴ χάριν ταῦτα ἐἰρηται; τούδε, ὅτι φήσομεν δεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς νυμφίους μηδὲν διαφερόντως μηδὲ ἦττον ἐν ἐξουσιόυς τὴν δίαιταν ποιεῖσθαι τοῦ Β πρὸ τῶν γάμων χρόνου γενομένου. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δὴ θαυμαστὸν ὑν ὅτε κατ᾽ ἄρχας πρῶτον ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν τόποις, πολέμου τινὸς αὐτοῦ, ὥς γ᾽ εἰκός, νομοθετῆσαντός ἡ τινὸς ἐτέρου τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἐχοντος πράγματος ἐν ὀλεγανθρωπίαις ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐχομένως· γενσαμένως δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεῖσι χρήσασθαι τοῖς ἐξουσιοῖς ἐδόξη μέγα δὴ φέρειν1 εἰς σωτηρίαν

C τὸ νόμιμον, καὶ κατέστη δὴ τρόπῳ τυφλικοῖς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ὑμῖν τὸ τῶν ἐξουσιῶν.

κα. Ἐσοπε γοῦν.

ἀθ. Ὅδε ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμαστὸν ὅν τοῦτο ποτε καὶ φοβερὸν ἐπιτάξαι τισὶ νῦν οὐχ ὀμοίως

1 δὴ φέρειν: διαφέρει.ν MSS. (φέρειν ci. Schanz)

1 Cp. 821 A; Epist. 7. 330 A.
All the same, what we believe to be right and true must by all means be stated,\(^1\) Clinias.

**CLIN.** Certainly.

**ATH.** Whoever proposes to publish laws for States, regulating the conduct of the citizens in State affairs and public matters, and deems that there is no need to make laws for their private conduct, even in necessary matters, but that everyone should be allowed to spend his day just as he pleases, instead of its being compulsory for everything, public and private, to be done by a regular rule, and supposes that, if he leaves private conduct unregulated by law, the citizens will still consent to regulate their public and civil life by law,—this man is wrong in his proposal. For what reason have I said this? For this reason,—because we shall assert that the married people must take their meals at the public messes neither more nor less than they did during the time preceding marriage. When the customs of the public mess first arose in your countries—probably dictated by a war or by some event of equal potency, when you were short of men and in dire straits,—it seemed an astonishing institution; but after you had had experience of these public messes and had been obliged to adopt them, the custom seemed to contribute admirably towards security; and in some such way as that the public mess came to be one of your established institutions.\(^2\)

**CLIN.** That is likely enough.

**ATH.** So, though this was once, as I said, an astonishing and alarming institution to impose on people, a man who tried to impose it as a law nowa-

\(^2\) Cp. Ar. Pol. 1272^a\ 2 ff.
PLATO

tó προστάττοντι δυσχερές ἂν εἴη νομοθετεῖν αὐτό. τὸ δ' ἔξης τοῦτω, πεφυκός τε ὁρθῶς ἄν γίγνεσθαι γυνόμενον, νῦν τε οὐδαμὴ γυνόμενον, ὁλίγον [τε]¹ ποιοῦν τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, εἰς πῦρ καὶ μυρία ἑτέρα τοιάντα ἀνήνυτα

D ποιοῦντα ² δράν, οὐ βάδιον οὔτ' εἰπεῖν οὔτ' εἰπόντα ἀποτελεῖν.

κλ. Τι δὴ τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν ἐφικας σφόδρα ἀποκνεῖν;

α. 'Ακούστῃ ἂν, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴ διατριβὴ γίγνηται περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ μάτην. πᾶν μὲν γὰρ ὁ τί περ ἄν τάξεως καὶ νόμον μετέχον ἐν πόλει γίγνηται πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζεται, τῶν δὲ ἀτάκτων ἢ τῶν κακῶς ταχθέντων λύει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν εὐ τεταγμένων ἀλλα ἑτέρα. δὴ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐφεστηκε περὶ ³ τὸ λεγόμενον. ὑμῖν γὰρ, ὦ

Ε Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλλε, τὰ μὲν περὶ τούς ἀνδρας ξυσσίτια καλῶς ἄμα καὶ ὅπερ εἶπον θαυμαστῶς καθέστηκεν ἐκ θείας τινὸς ἀνάγκης, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς γυναίκας οὐδαμῶς ὀρθῶς ἀνομοθέτητον μεθεῖται καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἦκται τὸ τῆς ξυσσίτιας αὐτῶν ἐπιτίθεμαι, ἀλλ' δ καὶ ἀλλῶς γένος ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαθραιότερον μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπικλοπότερον ἐφι, τὸ θῆλυ, διὰ τὸ ἀσθενεῖ, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο εἰξαντος τοῦ νομοθέτου δύστακτον ὑπὸ ἀφείθη. διὰ δε τούτου μεθειμένου πολλὰ ὑμῖν παρεῖρε, πολὺ ἀμείων ἀν ἔχουτα εἰ νόμων ἔτυχεν ἦ τὰ νῦν οὐ γὰρ ἡμισθο μονὸν ἐστίν, ὥς δόξειν ἄν, τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναίκας ἀκοσ-

² ποιοῦντα Ast, Schanz: ποιοῦντα MSS.
days would not find it an equally difficult task. But
the practice which follows on this institution, and
which, if carried out, would be really successful,—
although at present it nowhere is carried out, and
so causes the lawgiver (if he tries) to be practically
carding his wool (as the proverb has it) into the fire,
and labouring in vain at an endless tale of toils,—
this practice it is neither easy to state nor, when
stated, to carry into effect.

CLIN. Why do you show so much hesitation,
Stranger, in mentioning this?

ATH. Listen now, so that we may not spend much
time on the matter to no purpose. Everything that
takes place in the State, if it participates in order
and law, confers all kinds of blessings; but most
things that are either without order or badly-ordered
counteract the effects of the well-ordered. And it
is into this plight that the practice we are discussing
has fallen. In your case, Clinias and Megillus,
public meals for men are, as I said, rightly and
admirably established by a divine necessity, but for
women this institution is left, quite wrongly, un-
prescribed by law, nor are public meals for them
brought to the light of day; instead of this, the
female sex, that very section of humanity which,
owing to its frailty, is in other respects most
secretive and intriguing, is abandoned to its dis-
orderly condition through the perverse compliance
of the lawgiver. Owing to your neglect of that
sex, you have had an influx of many consequences
which would have been much better than they now
are if they had been under legal control. For it is
not merely, as one might suppose, a matter affecting
one-half of our whole task—this matter of neglecting
Β μήτως περιορόμενον, ὅσον δὲ ἡ θήλεια ήμιν φύσις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν χείρων τῆς τῶν ἄρρενων, τοσούτω διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ πλέον ἢ ἡμισυνεὶν. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐπαναλαβέει καὶ ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ πάντα συντάξασθαι κοινῇ γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύματα βέλτιον πρὸς πόλεως εὐθαυσονιαν. νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἑκατον τῶν ἀνδρόπων γένος οὖδαμῶς εἰς τοῦτο εὔτυχῶς, ἀστε οὖδὲ μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἄλλοις γ' ἐστὶ τότοις.

Καὶ πόλεσι νοῦν ἤχοντος, ὅπου μηδὲ ξυσσίτια υπάρχει τὸ παράπαν δεδομένα κατὰ πόλιν εἶναι. ποῖδεν δὴ τίς γε ἔργῳ μῆς καταγελάστως ἐπιχειρήσει γυναικας προσβιάζοντο τὴν σῖτον καὶ ποτῶν ἀνάλοσιν φανερὰν θεωρεῖσθαι; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἐστιν ὅ τι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑπομείνειε τούτῳ τὸ γένος· εἰθεμένου γάρ δεδυκός καὶ σκοτείνου ξῆν, ἀγόμενον δ' εἰς φῶς βία πᾶσαν ἀντίτασιν ἀντιτείνου, πολὺ κρατήσει τοῦ νομο-

θέτου· τοῦτ' οὖν ἄλλοθι μὲν, ἥπερ εἰπον, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν λόγον ὑπομείνειε τὸν ὄρθον ῥηθέντα ἄνευ πάσης βοῆς, ἐνθάδε δὲ ἰσως ἂν. εἰ δὴ δοκεὶ λόγου γ' ἕνεκα μὴ ἀτυχῆ τὸν περὶ πάσης τῆς χολοειας γενέσθαι λόγον, ἐθέλω λέγειν ὡς ἀγαθῶν ἐστι καὶ πρέπουν, εἰ καὶ σφῶν ἔσεσθαι ἀκούειν· εἰ δ' ἡ μή, ἑὰν.

κα. 'Αλλ', ὦ ξένε, θαυμαστῶς τὸ γε ἀκούειν μόνον πάντως ποὺ ἔσται.

ἀ. 'Ακούσειν δή. θαυμάστητε δὲ μηδὲν ἐὰν ὑμῖν ἀνωθεν ποθεὶν ἐπιχειρεῖν δόξω· σχολής γὰρ ἐκ ἀπολαύσεως καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ κατεπείγον τὸ μὴ πάντῃ πάντως σχοπεῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους.

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1 ἡμισυν: διπλάσιον MSS., edd. (cp. 767 E).
to regulate women,—but in as far as females are inferior in goodness to males, just in so far it affects more than the half. It is better, then, for the welfare of the State to revise and reform this institution, and to regulate all the institutions for both men and women in common. At present, however, the human race is so far from having reached this happy position, that a man of discretion must actually avoid all mention of the practice in districts and States where even the existence of public meals is absolutely without any formal recognition. How then shall one attempt, without being laughed at, actually to compel women to take food and drink publicly and exposed to the view of all? The female sex would more readily endure anything rather than this: accustomed as they are to live a retired and private life, women will use every means to resist being led out into the light, and they will prove much too strong for the lawgiver. So that elsewhere, as I said, women would not so much as listen to the mention of the right rule without shrieks of indignation; but in our State perhaps they will. So if we agree that our discourse about the polity as a whole must not—so far as theory goes—prove abortive, I am willing to explain how this institution is good and fitting, if you are equally desirous to listen, but otherwise to leave it alone.

CLIN. Nay, Stranger, we are both inexpressibly desirous to listen.

ATH. Let us listen, then. And do not be surprised if you find me taking the subject up again from an early point. For we are now enjoying leisure, and there is no pressing reason to hinder us from considering laws from all possible points of view.
κλ. Ὠρθῶς εἴρηκας.

α. Πάλιν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπαναχωρήσωμεν λεχθέντα. εὔ γὰρ δὴ τὸ γε τοσοῦτον χρῆ πάντ' ἄνδρα ξυννοεῖν, ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένεσις ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀρχὴν οὐδεμιᾶν εἰληχεῖν 782 οὐδ' ἔξει ποτὲ γε τελευτήν, ἀλλ' ἢν τε ἀεὶ καὶ ἔσται πάντως, ἢ μῆκός τι [τῆς ἀρχῆς] ¹ ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἀμήχανον [ἀν χρόνον] ² ὅσον γεγονός ἂν εἰη.

κλ. Τί μήν;

α. Τί οὖν; πόλεων συστάσεις καὶ φθοράς καὶ ἐπιτηθεύματα παντοῖα τάξεως τε καὶ ἀταξίας καὶ βρώσεως ³ (καὶ πωμάτων τε ἁμα καὶ βρωμάτων) ἐπιθυμήματα παντοδαπὰ πάντως καὶ περὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἄρ' οὐκ οἰόμεθα γεγονέναι, καὶ στροφᾶς ὀρῶν παντοίας, ἐν αἷσ τὰ ξῦνα μεταβάλλειν αὐτῶν

Γ. παμπληθεῖσ μεταβολὰς εἰκός;

κλ. Πῶς γὰρ οὖ; 

α. Τί οὖν; πιστεύομεν ἀμπέλους τε φαινηναὶ ποὺ ποτε πρότερον οὐκ οὕσας; ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐλάς καὶ τὰ Δήμητρὸς τε καὶ Κόρης δῶρα; Τριπτόλεμον τε τινα τῶν τοιούτων γενέσθαι διάκονον; ἐν δ' δὲ μηδὲ ταῦτα ἢν πω ⁴ χρόνοφι, μῶν οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὰ ξῦνα, καθάπερ νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἄλληλων ἐδωδὴν τρέπεσθαι;

κλ. Τί μήν;

¹ [τῆς ἀρχῆς] bracketed by Ast.
² [ἀν χρόνον] I bracket (χρόνου Ast).

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LAWS, BOOK VI

CLIN. Very true.

ATH. Let us, then, revert again to our first statements. Thus much at least every man ought to understand,—that either the human race never had a beginning at all, and will never have an end, but always was and always will be, or else it must have been in existence an incalculable length of time from the date when it first began.

CLIN. Undoubtedly.

ATH. Well then, do we not suppose that all the world over and in all sorts of ways there have been risings and fallings of States, and institutions of every variety of order and disorder, and appetites for food—both meats and drinks—of every kind, and all sorts of variations in the seasons, during which it is probable that the animals underwent innumerable changes?

CLIN. Certainly.

ATH. Are we to believe, then, that vines, not previously existing, appeared at a certain stage; and olives, likewise, and the gifts of Demeter and Kore? And that some Triptolemus was the minister of such fruits? And during the period that these fruits were as yet non-existent, must we not suppose that the animals turned, as they do now, to feeding on one another.

CLIN. Of course.

1 676 A ff.
2 Or Persephone, daughter of the Earth-mother, Demeter. Triptolemus was a mythical hero of Eleusis, worshipped as the inventor and patron of agriculture.

3 Ast and Schanz bracket καὶ βράσεως: I mark the next six words as parenthetic (στρωμάτων for βρωμάτων Apelt).
4 τῷ England: τῷ MSS.
Το δὲ μὴν θύειν ἀνθρώπους ἀλλήλους ἐτι καὶ νῦν παραμένου ὅρῳ μεν πολλοῖς καὶ τοῦναν-τίον ἀκοόμευν ἐν ἄλλοις, ὅτε οὔδὲ βοῶς ἐτολμοῦν μὲν ¹ γενεσθαι θύματά τε οὐκ ἦν τοῖς θεοῖς ξῶα, πέλανοι δὲ καὶ μελιτή καρποὶ δεδεμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἄγνα θύματα, σαρκῶν δ' ἀπείχοντο ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον ὑπ' ἐσθίειν οὔδ' τοὺς τῶν θεῶν βωμοὺς αἵματι μιαίνειν, ἄλλα Ὄρφικοί τίνες λεγόμενοι βίοι ἐγίγνοντο ἥμων τοῖς τότε, ἄψυχοι μὲν D ἐχόμενοι πάντων, ἐμψύχουν δὲ τοῦναντίον πάντων ἀπεχόμενοι.

κλ. Καὶ σφόδρα λεγόμενα ἂ γ' εἰρήκας, καὶ πιστεύεσθαι πιθανά.

αθ. Πρὸς οὖν δὴ τί ταῦτα, εἴποι τις ἂν, ὑμῖν πάντ' ἔφηβή τὰ νῦν ;

κλ. Ὅρθως ὑπέλαβες, ὦ ξένε.

αθ. Καὶ τοίνυν, ἐὰν δύνομαι, τὰ τούτοις εξῆς, ὥς Κλεινία, πειράσομαι φράζειν.

κλ. Λέγοις ἂν.

αθ. Ὅρω πάντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τριττῆς χρείας καὶ ἐπιθυμίας ἥρτημένα, δι' ὅτι ἀρετή τε Ε αὐτοῖς ἀγομένοις ὅρθως καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀποβαίνει κακῶς ἀχθείσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστιν ἐδωδὴ μὲν καὶ πόσις εὐθὺς γενεμένοις, ἂν περὶ ἀπασαν πάν ξῶον ἐμφυτον ἐρωτα ἱνον, μεστὸν οὔστρον τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνηκουστίας τοῦ λέγοντος ἄλλο τι δειν πράττειν πλῆν τὰς ἰδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τὰς περὶ ἀπαντα ταῦτα ἀποπληροῦντας ² λύπης τῆς ἀπάσης ἀρδην ³ 783 σφᾶς ἀπαλλάττειν τρίτη δὲ ἴμων καὶ μεγίστη.

¹ ἐτόλμων μὲν Schanz: ἐτολμᾶμεν MSS.
² ἀποπληροῦντα: ἀποπληροῦντα MSS., edd.

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ATH. The custom of men sacrificing one another is, in fact, one that survives even now among many peoples; whereas amongst others we hear of how the opposite custom existed, when they were forbidden so much as to eat an ox, and their offerings to the gods consisted, not of animals, but of cakes of meal and grain steeped in honey, and other such bloodless sacrifices, and from flesh they abstained as though it were unholy to eat it or to stain with blood the altars of the gods; instead of that, those of us men who then existed lived what is called an "Orphic life," keeping wholly to inanimate food and, contrariwise, abstaining wholly from things animate.

CLIN. Certainly what you say is widely reported and easy to credit.

ATH. Someone might ask us—"For what purpose have you now said all this?"

CLIN. A correct surmise, Stranger.

ATH. So I will try, if I can, Clinias, to explain the subject which comes next in order.

CLIN. Say on.

ATH. I observe that with men all things depend on a threefold need and desire, wherein if they proceed rightly, the result is goodness, if badly, the opposite. Of these desires they possess those for food and drink as soon as they are born; and about the whole sphere of food every creature has an instinctive lust, and is full of craving, and quite deaf to any suggestion that they ought to do anything else than satisfy their tastes and desires for all such objects, and thus rid themselves entirely of all pain. Thirdly comes our greatest need and keenest
χρεία καὶ ἔρως ὀξυτάτος ὑστατός μὲν ὀρμᾶται, διαπυρωτάτους δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μανίας ἀπεργάζεται πάντως, ὥς περὶ τὴν τού γένους στοράν ὤβρει πλείστη καθομενος. ἢ δὴ δεῖ τρία νοσήματα τρέποντας ἔτι τὸ βέλτιστὸν παρὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἥδιστον τρισὶ μὲν τοῖς μεγίστοις πειρᾶσθαι κατέχειν, φῶς καὶ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ ἀληθεὶ λόγῳ, προσχρωμένους μέντοι Μόυσαις τε καὶ ἀγαπώσι θεοῖς σβεννύναι τὴν αὐξήν τε καὶ ἐπιρροήν.

B Παίδων δὲ δὴ γένεσιν μετὰ τοὺς γάμους θώμεν, καὶ μετὰ γένεσιν τροφῆν καὶ παιδείαν. καὶ τὰν ἀν οὔτω προϊόντων τῶν λόγων ὅ τε νόμος ἡμῖν ἐκαστος περαίνοιτο εἰς τούμπροσθεν, <καὶ> ἐπὶ ξυσσίτια ἡμὴ ἀν ἀφικόμεθα, τὰς τοιαύτας κοινωνίας εἶτε ἄρα γυναικῶν εἶτε ἀνδρῶν δεὶ μόνων γίγνεσθαι, προσμιέσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐγνύθεν ἴσως μᾶλλον κατοψόμεθα, τά τε ἐπιπροσθέν αὐτῶν, ἔτι νῦν ὄντα ἀνομοθέτητα, τάξαντες αὕτα ἐπιπροσθεν ποιησόμεθα, καὶ ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νῦν ἡ, κατοψόμεθα τε αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστερον μᾶλλον τε τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέποντας νόμους ἀν θείμεν.

κλ. ἹΩροῦτα λέγεις.
α. Φυλάξωμεν τοίνυν τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ νῦν δὴ λεχθέντα. ἴσως γὰρ χρείαν ποτ συντων εξομεν.
κλ. Τὰ ποιά δὴ διακελεύει;
α. "Α ὅ τοις τρισὶ διώριξόμεθα ῥήμασι: βρῶσιν μὲν ἐλέγομεν ποιο, καὶ δεύτερον τόσιν, καὶ ἱφρο-

D δισίων δὲ τινα διαπτόσιν τρίτων.

1 τρέποντος Stephens: τρέποντα MSS.
2 <καὶ> I add, and read ἥνικα ἀν ἀφικόμεθα for ἥνικα ἀφικόμεθα of MSS (Zur. and Ald. add eis after ἀφικόμεθα).

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lust, which, though the latest to emerge, influences the soul of men with most raging frenzy—the lust for the sowing of offspring that burns with utmost violence. These three morbid states we must direct towards what is most good, instead of what is (nominally) most pleasant, trying to check them by means of the three greatest forces—fear, law, and true reasoning,—reinforced by the Muses and the Gods of Games, so as to quench thereby their increase and inflow.

So let us place the subject of the production of children next after that of marriage, and after their production, their nurture and education. If our discourse proceeds on these lines, possibly each of our laws will attain completion, and when we come to the public meals, by approaching these at close quarters we shall probably discern more clearly whether such associations ought to be for men only, or for women as well; and thus we shall not only prescribe the preliminaries that are still without legal regulation, and place them as fences before the common meals, but also, as I said just now, we shall discuss more exactly the character of the common meals, and thus be more likely to prescribe for them laws that are suitable and fitting.

CLIN. You are perfectly right.

ATH. Let us, then, bear in mind the things we mentioned a moment ago; for probably we shall need them all presently.

CLIN. What are the things you bid us remember?

ATH. Those we distinguished by the three terms we used: we spoke, you recollect, of eating, secondly of drinking, and thirdly of sexual excitement.

1 The soul is in a "diseased" state when wholly dominated by any irrational desire or passion.
ΚΛ. Πάντως, ὁ ἕ̄νε, μεμυησόμεθα ποι ὑν τὰ νῦν διακελεύει.

ΑΘ. Καλώς. ἔλθωμεν δ’ ἐπὶ τὰ νυμφικά, διδάξοντες τε αὐτοὺς πῶς χρη καὶ τίνα τρόπον τουσ παίδας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ἕαν ἄρα μὴ πείθωμεν, ἀπειλήσοντες τις νόμοις.

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Νύμφην χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ νυμφίον ὡς ὅτι καλλίστους καὶ ἀρίστους εἰς δύναμιν ἀποδείκνυμον παῖδας τῇ πόλει. πάντες δὲ ἄνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πάσης πράξεως, ἡνίκα μὲν ἄν προσέχωσιν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῇ πράξει τὸν νοῦν, πάντα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζονται, μὴ προσεχόμεθα δὲ ἡ μὴ ἔχοντες νοῦν τάναντιά. προσεχέτω δὴ καὶ ὁ νυμφίος τῇ τε νύμφῃ καὶ τῇ παιδοποιίᾳ τὸν νοῦν, κατὰ ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἡ νύμφη, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον διαφερόντως ὅτι ἄν μὴ παῖδες αὐτοῖς ὑ外围—

784 νότες. ἐπίσκοποι δ’ ἑστῶσαν τοῦτων ὡς εἰλόμεθα γυναῖκες, πλείους εἰτ’ ἐλάττους, τοῖς ἀρχούσιν ὁπόσας ἄν δοκῇ προστάτευει τε καὶ ὅπώταν, πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἐλευθερίας ἱερὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ξύλλε-γόμεναι μέχρι τρίτου μέρους [ὡρασ], 1 ὁ δὴ συλλε-χείσαι διαγγελλόντων ἄλληλαις εἰ τίς τινα ὅρᾳ πρὸς ἀλλ’ ἀττα βλέποντα ἁνδρὰ ἢ καὶ γυναῖκα τῶν παιδοποιουμένων ἢ πρὸς τὰ τεταγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς γάμοις βουσιῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν γενομένων. B ἡ δὲ παιδοποιίᾳ καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν παιδοποιουμένων δεκέτις ἑστὼ, μὴ πλείω δὲ χρόνων, ὅταν εὐροια ἢ τῆς γενέσεως. ἀν δὲ ἄγονοι τινες εἰς τοῦτον γίγνονται τῶν χρόνων, μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων κα.

1 [ὃρασ] I bracket.

1 Goddess of childbirth.
LAWS, BOOK VI

CLIN. We shall certainly remember the things you now bid us, Stranger.

ATH. Very good. Let us now come to the nuptials, so as to instruct them how and in what manner they ought to produce children, and, if we fail to persuade them, to threaten them by certain laws.

CLIN. How?

ATH. The bride and bridegroom must set their minds to produce for the State children of the greatest possible goodness and beauty. All people that are partners in any action produce results that are fair and good whenever they apply their minds to themselves and the action, but the opposite results when either they have no minds or fail to apply them. The bridegroom, therefore, shall apply his mind both to the bride and to the work of procreation, and the bride shall do likewise, especially during the period when they have no children yet born. In charge of them there shall be the women-inspectors whom we have chosen,—more or fewer of them, according to the number and times of their appointments, decided by the officials; and they shall meet every day at the temple of Eileithyia,¹ for, at the most, a third part [of the day];² and at their meetings they shall report to one another any case they may have noticed where any man or woman of the procreative age is devoting his attention to other things instead of to the rules ordained at the marriage sacrifices and ceremonies. The period of procreation and supervision shall be ten years and no longer, whenever there is an abundant issue of offspring; but in case any are without issue to the end of this period, they shall take counsel in common to

¹ I.e., presumably, for as much as 8 hours when necessary.

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ἀρχουσῶν γυναικῶν διαζεύγυνσθαι κοινῆ βουλευμένους εἰς τὰ πρόσφορα ἑκατέροις. εάν δ’ ἀμφισβήτησις τις γίγνεται περὶ τῶν ἑκατέρων πρεποντῶν καὶ προσφόρων, δέκα τῶν νομοφυλάκων ἐλομένους, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψασιν οἰδ’ ἡ τάξωσι, τούτοις ἐμμένειν. εἰσινοῦσαι δ’ εἰς τὰς οίκιας τῶν νέων αἱ γυναίκες, τὰ μὲν νουθετοῦσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπειλοῦσαι πανόντων αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀμαθίας. εάν δ’ ἀδυνατῶσι, πρὸς τοὺς νομοφυλάκας ἰσοῦσαι φραζόντων, οἱ δ’ εἰργόντων. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πως ἀδυνατήσωσι, πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον ἀποφηνάντων, ἀναγράφαντες τε καὶ ὁμόσαντες ἡ μὴν ἀδυνατεῖν τὸν καὶ τὸν βελτίων ποιεῖν’ ὁ δὲ

D ἀναγραφεῖς ἀτιμὸς ἔστω, μὴ ἐλὼν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τοὺς ἐγγράψαντας, τῶνδε μὴτε γάρ εἰς γάμους ἵτω μὴτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων ἐπιτελείωσεις, ἂν δὲ ἡ, πληγαῖς ὁ βουληθεὶς ἀθὼς αὐτὸν κολαζέτω. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς ἐστω νόμιμα· τῶν ἐξόδων γὰρ τῶν γυναικεῖων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς γάμους καὶ γενέθλια τῶν παίδων φοιτήσεων μὴ μετεχέτω, ἐὰν ἀκοσμοῦσα ὅσαυτος ἀναγραφῇ καὶ μὴ ἔλῃ τὴν δίκην.

Ε Ὄταν δὲ δὴ παίδας γεννήσωνται κατὰ νόμους, έαν ἀλλοτρία τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κοινωνῇ γυναικὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἀνδρὶ, ἐὰν μὲν παιδοποιουμένους ἐτι, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιείξῃλα αὐτοῖς ἔστω καθάπερ τοὺς ἐτι γεννωμένους εὑρηται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ μὲν σωφρονών καὶ σωφρονοῦσα εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐστω πάντα εὐδόκιμος, ὁ δὲ τούναντίον ἐναντίως τιμᾶσθω,

1 οἰδ’ ἡ Ritter: οἰδὲ MSS. : οἱ δὲ καὶ Zur., vulg.  
2 γενέθλια Burnet: γενέσια MSS.

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decide what terms are advantageous for both parties, in conjunction with their kindred and the women-officials, and be divorced. If any dispute arises as to what is fitting and advantageous for each party, they shall choose ten of the Law-wardens, and abide by the regulations they shall permit or impose. The women-inspectors shall enter the houses of the young people, and, partly by threats, partly by admonition, stop them from their sin and folly: if they cannot do so, they shall go and report the case to the Law-wardens, and they shall prevent them. If they also prove unable, they shall inform the State Council, posting up a sworn statement that they are "verily unable to reform So-and-so." The man that is thus posted up,—if he fails to defeat those who have thus posted him in the law-courts,—shall suffer the following disqualifications: he shall not attend any marriage or children's birthday feasts, and if he does so, anyone who wishes may with impunity punish him with blows. The same law shall hold good for the women: the offender shall have no part in women's excursions, honours, or invitations to weddings or birthday feasts, if she has been similarly posted up as disorderly and has lost her suit.

And when they shall have finished producing children according to the laws, if the man have sexual intercourse with a strange woman, or the woman with a man, while the latter are still within the procreative age-limit, they shall be liable to the same penalty as was stated for those still producing children. Thereafter the man and woman that are sober-minded in these matters shall be well-reputed in every way; but the opposite kind of esteem, or rather disesteem, shall be shown to persons of the
μᾶλλον δὲ ἀτιμαζέοντων μὲν περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα τῶν πλειώνων ἀνομοθέτητα σιγῇ κείσθω, ἀκοσμοῦντων δὲ νομοθετηθέντα ταύτη πραττέσθω κατὰ τοὺς τότε τεθέντας νόμους.

Βίου μὲν ἀρχῇ τοῦ παντὸς ἐκάστοις ὁ πρῶτος ἐνιαυτός· διὸ γεγράφθαι χρεῶν ἐν ιεροῖς πατρῴοις ζωῆς ἀρχὴν κόρῳ καὶ κόρῃ· παραγεγράφθαι 1 δὲ ἐν τοῖς λεκευκωμένων ἐν πάσῃ φρατρίᾳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐτεσίν ἀριθμομένων. τῆς δὲ φρατρίας ἐὰν τοὺς ζωταὶ μὲν γεγράφθαι ἐπὶ πλησίον, τοὺς δὲ ὑπεκχωροῦντας τοῦ βίου ἐξαλεί- 
φεν. γάμον δὲ ὄρον εἰσὶ κόρη μὲν ἀπὸ ἐκκαί- 
δεκα ἐτῶν εἰς εἰκοσι, τῶν μακρότατον χρόνον 
ἀφωρισμένον, κόρῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα μέχρι τῶν 
πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα. εἰς δὲ ἀρχὰς γυναικὶ μὲν 
tετταράκοντα, ἀνδρὶ δὲ τριάκοντα ἐτη. πρὸς πόλε- 
μον δὲ ἀνδρὶ μὲν εἰκοσὶ μέχρι τῶν ἔξικοντα ἐτῶν. 
γυναικὶ δὲ, ἣν ἄν δοκῇ χρεῖαν δεῖν χρῆσθαι πρὸς 
tὰ πολεμικά, ἐπειδὰν παῖδας γεννήσῃ, τὸ ὅντων 
καὶ πρέπον ἐκάστας προστάτευεν μέχρι τῶν 
pεντῆκοντα ἐτῶν.

1 παραγεγράφθαι Orelli, Schanz: παραγεγράφω MSS.
opposite character. Sexual conduct shall lie unmentioned or unprescribed by law when the majority show due propriety therein; but if they are disorderly, then what is thus prescribed shall be executed according to the laws then enacted.

For everyone the first year is the beginning of the whole life: it ought to be inscribed as life’s beginning for both boy and girl in their ancestral shrines: beside it, on a whitened wall in every phratry, there should be written up the number of the archons who give its number to the year; and the names of the living members of the phratry shall be written always close together, and those of the deceased shall be erased. The limit of the marriage-age shall be from sixteen to twenty years—the longest time allowed—for a girl, and for a boy from thirty to thirty-five. The limit for official posts shall be forty for a woman and thirty for a man. For military services the limit shall be from twenty years up to sixty for a man; for women they shall ordain what is possible and fitting in each case, after they have finished bearing children, and up to the age of fifty, in whatever kind of military work it may be thought right to employ their services.
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