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ISOCRATES

II
PREFACE

In order to include in this volume the discourses of Isocrates which deal more particularly with the domestic and the foreign policy of Athens and with his own life and work in relation thereto, I have departed from the conventional order and grouped together the Peace, the Areopagiticus, Against the Sophists, the Antidosis and the Panathenaicus. For convenience, the conventional numbering is given in brackets.

Miss Maud E. Craig, Assistant Professor of Classics in the University of Colorado, who assisted greatly in the preparation of the first volume, has helped even more in the preparation of the second. Her painstaking care in going over the manuscript, in verifying references, and in reading proof deserves more than this acknowledgement.

GEORGE NORLIN
CONTENTS OF VOLUME TWO

Oration I. On the Peace [VIII.] . . . 2

" II. Areopagiticus [VII.] . . . 100

" III. Against the Sophists [XIII.] . 160

" IV. Antidosis [XV.] . . . 181

" V. Panathenaicus [XII.] . . . 368
I. ON THE PEACE
INTRODUCTION

It is questionable whether the title *On the Peace*, which is used in most modern editions, following the two manuscripts Γ and Ε and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is more appropriate to the matter of the discourse than the title *On the Confederacy*, which is given in the other manuscripts and in Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* iii. 17.

In any case, the discourse is only in a very limited sense an argument for a particular treaty of peace to end the wretched Social War which Athens was waging against her former allies, the Chians, the Coans, the Rhodians, and the Byzantines, who had withdrawn from the Second Athenian Confederacy and were now fighting for their independence. The Athenians were themselves weary of the war, and Isocrates seems to assume that some sort of peace is to be patched up. Eubulus, leader of the peace party, had apparently already drawn up the articles

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*a* See General Introd. p. xlvi, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

*b* ὁ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΣ. The word συμμαχία means any alliance, no matter how limited or temporary, but denoted also a voluntary federation of allied states under a recognized leadership, such as the Confederacy of Delos, formed in 478 B.C., and the Second Confederacy or League, formed in 378 B.C., both under the leadership of Athens.

*c* In fact, he speaks as if the peace were already an accomplished fact. See 15.
ON THE PEACE

of a treaty a conceding independence to the recalcitrant allies, and it only remained for the General Assembly to act upon them. But Isocrates is not interested in this proposed pact; it does not go to the root of the matter, being merely a palliative—an expedient to end one war only to make room for another. b He is seeking a permanent cure for the troubles into which Athens has fallen, and he finds it only in a radical reversal of her policy of aggression. c He proposes, therefore, that she make a lasting peace "not only with Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium, but with all the world." d This is a high-sounding phrase, but he means nothing less. Athens must come to her senses, throw away her dream of empire, and recognize once for all the right of each Hellenic state to be free and independent. Not only that, she must be alert and active in the championship of that right and, by the exercise of moral supremacy, win back the good will of the Hellenes and so regain the leadership which she lost by the exercise of military power.

In urging this, he has in mind the position which Athens once held among the Hellenic states; he is thinking of the Confederacy of Delos as it was in the beginning—a voluntary federation of free states with a common purpose and a chosen leadership—before Athens turned it into an empire maintained by force. It is the ideal of the Panegyricus over again e—an ideal more precious now in contrast with the evils of imperialism more clearly seen and more vividly set forth in the light of recent history. When

a See 16, note.  

b See 25.  

c See 132 ff.  

d See 16.  

e See Paneg. 80, 81, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.
he wrote the *Panegyricus*, he had before him the disasters which overtook, first, the Athenian Empire and, after it, the Empire of Sparta. Since that time, the Theban supremacy, gained at the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., had taken the same "mad" course and suffered a similar fate.\(^a\) Moreover, Athens had in the meantime repeated the mistakes which brought about the dissolution of the Confederacy of Delos. The Second Confederacy, formed in 378 B.C., had started out with bright hopes. It seemed that the lessons of former experience had been laid to heart, but these were soon forgotten. The same coercive measures were taken to extend and hold together the League.\(^b\) Chares, in particular, the leading general of Athens, who had no mind for moral scruples, bullied the allies and treated them as subject states;\(^c\) and orators—above all Aristophon—were not lacking at home to dangle before the people the alluring baits of empire. The results were the revolt of the allies, the Social War, and the state of demoralization in Athens which is described in this discourse and in the *Areopagiticus*.

The hopeful exuberance of the *Panegyricus* is absent from the discourse *On the Peace*. There is no suggestion here of a union of all Hellas in a crusade against Persia, although that dream is still in the background of the author's mind.\(^d\) Twenty-five years of disconcerting experience have had their effect. It is enough for Isocrates now to urge Athens to set her own house in order and to take the lead in a consistent policy

\(^c\) See *Diodorus* xv. 95.
\(^d\) See *Epist.* ix., Vol. III., L.C.L.
ON THE PEACE

of peace, resorting to war only to defend the principle that the states of Hellas have the right to be free. For this purpose it is, he thinks, a waste of time to talk of a new treaty of peace. Athens is already pledged to a treaty which guarantees the independence of the Greek cities and forbids aggression. This part of the Treaty has been and is a dead letter: all that is necessary is to put it into effect. Nothing more clearly than this shows the change in the mind of Isocrates. The covenants of the "Peace of Antalcidas," which are denounced with bitter eloquence in the Panegyricus, are here termed the "most just and the most expedient" which can be expected under the present circumstances.

This discourse was probably written in 355 B.C. Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium revolted from the Athenian Confederacy in 357. The peace which conceded their independence was signed in 355. The internal evidence of the oration indicates that it was composed while the negotiations were pending.

The author of the Greek "hypothesis" states that when the question of peace or war was brought before the General Assembly, Isocrates arose and gave this address. This he infers from the speech itself, which has the form and the atmosphere appropriate to such an occasion. It is certain, however, that Isocrates did not deliver it, and it is likely that he composed it as a political pamphlet to be circulated among a reading public.

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a The "Peace of Antalcidas." See Paneg. 115, note a, Vol. I. p. 192; and this discourse 16.
b See Paneg. 115.
c See Paneg. 115 ff.
d See On the Peace 16.
e See Jebb, Attic Orators ii. p. 183.
ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

"Απαντε μὲν εἰσόδασων οἱ παριώντες ἐνθάδε ταῦτα μέγιστα φάσκειν εἶναι καὶ μᾶλλον σπουδῆς ἃξια τῇ πόλει, περὶ ὧν ἄν αὐτοὶ μέλλωσι συμβουλεύσειν· οὐ μὴν ἄλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων τινῶν πραγμάτων ἠμῶς τοιοῦτα προειπεῖν, δοκεῖ μοι πρέπειν καὶ περὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἐντεθεὶν ποιῆσασθαι τὴν 2 ἀρχήν. ἦκομεν γὰρ ἐκκλησιάσοντες περὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, ὅ μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν ἐν τῷ βίω τῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀνάγκη τοὺς ὁρθῶς βουλευομένους ἀμεινὸν τῶν ἄλλων πράττειν. τὸ μὲν ὅν τὸν μέγεθος, ὑπὲρ ὧν συνεληλύθαμεν, τηλικοῦτον ἐστιν.

3 Ὄρῳ δ᾽ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἔξ ἵσου τῶν λεγόντων τὴν ἀκρόασιν ποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν, τῶν δ᾽ οὔθε τὴν φωνὴν ἀνεχομένους, καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν ποιεῖτε· καὶ γὰρ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον εἰσώθατε πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἑκβάλλειν, πλὴν τὸν συναγορεύοντας ταῖς ὑμετέραις ἐπιθυμίας.

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α Cf. a similar statement in Demosth. Against Timocr. 4.

β This expression is used in a similar connexion in Antid. 22.
THE ORATIONS OF ISOCRATES

I. ON THE PEACE

All those who come before you on this platform are accustomed to assert that the subjects upon which they are themselves about to advise you are most important and most worthy of serious consideration by the state. Nevertheless, if it was ever appropriate to preface the discussion of any other subject with such words, it seems to me fitting also to begin with them in speaking upon the subject now before us. For we are assembled here to deliberate about War and Peace, which exercise the greatest power over the life of man, and regarding which those who are correctly advised must of necessity fare better than the rest of the world. Such, then, is the magnitude of the question which we have come together to decide.

I observe, however, that you do not hear with equal favour the speakers who address you, but that, while you give your attention to some, in the case of others you do not even suffer their voice to be heard. And it is not surprising that you do this; for in the past you have formed the habit of driving all the orators from the platform except those who

Plutarch (Phocion 9) states that this happened in the case of Phocion.
μίας. οἱ καὶ δικαίως ἄν τις ὑμῖν ἐπιτιμήσειν, ὅτι συνειδότες πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους οἰκους ὑπὸ τῶν κολακεύοντων ἀναστάτους γεγενημένους, καὶ μισοῦντες ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων τοὺς ταύτην ἐχοντας τὴν τέχνη, ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν οὐχ ὁμοίως διάκεισθε πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κατηγοροῦντες τῶν προσιεμένων καὶ χαίροντων τοῖς τουιότισις αὐτοὶ φαίνεσθε μᾶλλον τοῦτοι πιστεύοντες ἡ τοῖς ἀλλοίς πολίταις.

Καὶ γὰρ τοι πεποιήκατε τοὺς βήτορας μελετῶν καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα τῇ πόλει συνοίσειν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἀρέσκοντας ὑμῖν λόγους ἐροῦσιν. ἐφ' οὖς καὶ νῦν τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἐρρύχεσθε. πάσι γὰρ ἦν φανερὸν ὅτι μᾶλλον ἡσθῆσθε τοῖς παρακαλοῦσιν υμᾶς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ τοῖς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συμβουλεύοντιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ προσδοκίαιν ἐμποιοῦσιν ὡς καὶ τὰς κτήσεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κομμούμεθα, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἀναληψόμεθα πάλιν, ἢν πρότερον ἐτυγχάνομεν ἔχοντες. οἱ δὲ οὖν τοιοῦτον ὑποτείνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἁσυχίαν ἔχειν δεῖ καὶ μὴ μεγάλων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀλλὰ στέργειν τοῖς παρουσιαῖοι, δ μαλεπώτατον πάντων

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a This term is used of estates in 117. Here it is used of both families and their estates. Cf. 88.
b By the casualties and expenses of war.
c Demagogic leaders of the war party, later termed sycophants. See 121 ff.
d As head of the Confederacy of Delos, which developed into the Athenian Empire. During the period of supremacy, which lasted from the close of the Persian Wars to the end of the Peloponnesian War, Athens frequently disciplined recalcitrant confederate states by expelling their citizens and settling Athenians on their lands. Such settlements were called cleruchies. When Athens formed the 8
support your desires. Wherefore one may justly take you to task because, while you know well that many great houses \textsuperscript{a} have been ruined \textsuperscript{b} by flatterers \textsuperscript{c} and while in your private affairs you abhor those who practise this art, in your public affairs you are not so minded towards them; on the contrary, while you denounce those who welcome and enjoy the society of such men, you yourselves make it manifest that you place greater confidence in them than in the rest of your fellow-citizens.

Indeed, you have caused the orators to practise and study, not what will be advantageous to the state, but how they may discourse in a manner pleasing to you. And it is to this kind of discourse that the majority of them have resorted also at the present time, since it has become plain to all that you will be better pleased with those who summon you to war than with those who counsel peace; for the former put into our minds the expectation both of regaining our possessions in the several states and of recovering the power which we formerly enjoyed,\textsuperscript{d} while the latter hold forth no such hope, insisting rather that we must have peace and not crave great possessions contrary to justice,\textsuperscript{e} but be content with those we have \textsuperscript{f}—and that for the great majority of

new naval confederacy in 378 B.C. it was expressly stipulated by her allies and agreed to by Athens that such abuse of power should not be repeated. But the jingoistic orators advocated nothing less than the restoration of the former empire with all its powers and practices.

\textsuperscript{e} The state which seizes and holds foreign possessions is a robber. Isocrates throughout this discourse proposes to make the moral code within the state the basis of her foreign policy.

ISOCRATES

7 τοῖς πλείστοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἔστιν. οὕτω γὰρ ἐξηρτήμεθα τῶν ἐπὶδῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰς δοκούσας εἶναι πλεονεξίας ἀπλήστως ἔχομεν, ὥστε οὐδὲ οἱ κεκτημένοι τοὺς μεγίστους πλούτους μένειν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀεὶ τοῦ πλέονος ὅρεγόμενοι περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κινδυνεύουσιν. ὅπερ αξίων ἐστὶ δεδιέναι, μὴ καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἔνοχοι γενώμεθα

8 ταύταις ταῖς ἀνοίαις· λίαν γὰρ τινὲς μοι δοκοῦσιν ὁρμηθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ὥστερον οὐ τῶν τυχόντων συμβεβουλευκότων, ἀλλὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀκηκοότες ὅτι κατορθώσομεν ἀπαντά καὶ βαδίως ἐπικρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν.

Χρῆ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἑχοντας περὶ μὲν ὃν ἵσασι μὴ βουλεύεσθαι (περίεργον γὰρ) ἀλλὰ πράττεων ὡς ἐγνώκασι, περὶ ὃν δ' ἂν βουλεύουνται, μὴ νομίζεων εἰδέναι τὸ συμβησόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς δόξῃ μὲν χρωμένους, ὅτι ἂν τῆς ἡ γενησόμενον ἀγνοοῦντας, οὕτω διανοεῖσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

9 Ὡν ἡμεῖς ουδέτερον τυγχάνετε ποιοῦντες, ἀλλ' ὡς οἴνοτε παραχωδέστατα διάκεισθε. συνεληφθατε μὲν γὰρ ὃς δέον ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν ῥηθέντων ἐκλέξασθαι τὸ βέλτιστον, ὥστερον δ' ἡ δαφωσ εἰδότες ὁ πρακτεύον ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἔθελεν ἀκούειν πλὴν τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγοροῦντων. 

10 καίτοι προσήκεν ὑμᾶς, εἴσπερ ἣβουλευθεὶς ζητεῖν τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον, μᾶλλον τοῖς ἐναντιομένοις

1 ἀγνοοῦντας add. by Ritschl.

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This somewhat wordy passage in which the orator becomes the philosopher reflects a fundamental idea of his pedagogy: There can be no exact science or knowledge of what to do in all contingencies and relations of life; the best that we can do is to develop sound, not infallible, judge-
mankind is of all things the most difficult. For we are so dependent on our hopes and so insatiate in seizing what seems to be our advantage that not even those who possess the greatest fortunes are willing to rest satisfied with them but are always grasping after more and so risking the loss of what they have. Wherefore we may well be anxious lest on the present occasion also we may be subject to this madness. For some of us appear to me to be over-zealously bent on war, as though having heard, not from haphazard counsellors, but from the gods, that we are destined to succeed in all our campaigns and to prevail easily over our foes.

But people of intelligence, when dealing with matters about which they have knowledge, ought not to take counsel—for this is superfluous—but to act as men who are already resolved what to do, whereas, in dealing with matters about which they take counsel, they ought not to think that they have exact knowledge of what the result will be, but to be minded towards these contingencies as men who indeed exercise their best judgement, but are not sure what the future may hold in store.a

You, however, do neither the one thing nor the other, but are in the utmost confusion of mind. For you have come together as if it were your business to select the best course from all that are proposed; nevertheless, as though you had clear knowledge of what must be done, you are not willing to listen to any except those who speak for your pleasure. And yet, if you really desired to find out what is advantageous to the state, you ought to give your attention

\footnote{a}
ISOCRATES

ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν ἢ τοὺς καταχαριζομένους, εἰδότας ὅτι τῶν ἐνθάδε παρα-ιόντων οἱ μὲν ἀ ν ψυλεσθε λέγοντες βαδίσως ἐξαπατάν δύνανται (τὸ γὰρ πρὸς χάριν ῥηθὲν ἐπισκοπεῖ τῷ καθορᾷ ὑμᾶς τὸ βέλτιστον), ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν μὴ πρὸς ἠδοινὴν συμβουλεύοντων οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοιτε τοιοῦτον.

11 οὖ γὰρ ἔστω ὅπως ἂν μεταπέσαι δυνηθεὶν ὑμᾶς, μὴ φανερὸν τὸ συμφέρον ποιήσαντες. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πῶς ἂν ἀνθρωποὶ καλῶς δυνηθεὶν ἦν κρίναι περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων ἡ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς μὲν λόγους τοὺς τῶν ἐναντιομενῶν παρ' ἀλλήλους ἐξετάζοιεν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτοὺς κοινοὺς ἀμφοτέρους ἀκροατὰς παράσχοιεν;

[161] 12 Θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν τε πρεσβυτέρων, εἰ μηκέτι μνη-μονεύοντο, καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων, εἰ μηδὲν ἀκη-κόσιν, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τοὺς παρακούντας ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς εἰρήνης οὐδὲν πώποτε κακὸν ἐπάθομεν, διὰ δὲ τοὺς βαδίσω τὸν πόλεμον αἱρουμένους πολλαῖς ἡδή καὶ μεγάλαις συμφορὰς περιπέσεμεν. ὡς ἢμεῖς οὔθεμισαν ποιοῦμεθα μνείαν, ἀλλ' ἐτοίμως ἔχομεν, μηδὲν εἰς τούπροσθεν ἦμων αὐτοῖς πράτ-τοντες, τρυπήρεις πληροῦν καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ βοηθεῖν καὶ πολεμεῖν οἷς ἂν τύχωμεν, ὦσπερ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ τῇ πόλει κυδυνεύοντες.

13 τούτων δ' αὐτῶν ἔστιν, ὅτι προσήκον ὑμᾶς ὑμοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων σπουδα-ζειν, οὗ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὅταν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων βουλεύσασθε, ζητεῖτε συμ-βούλουσ τοὺς ἀμενων φρονοῦντας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ὅταν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐκκλησιάζετε, τοὺς μὲν

more to those who oppose your views than to those who seek to gratify you, knowing well that of the orators who come before you here, those who say what you desire are able to delude you easily—since what is spoken to win favour clouds your vision of what is best—whereas those who advise you without regard to your pleasure can affect you in no such way, since they could not convert you to their way of thinking until they have first made clear what is for your advantage. But, apart from these considerations, how can men wisely pass judgement on the past or take counsel for the future unless they examine and compare the arguments of opposing speakers, themselves giving an unbiased hearing to both sides?

But I marvel that the older men no longer recall and that the younger have not been told by anyone that the orators who exhort us to cling fast to peace have never caused us to suffer any misfortune whatsoever, whereas those who lightly espouse war have already plunged us into many great disasters. However, we have no memory for these facts but are always ready, without in the least advancing our own welfare, to man triremes, to levy war-taxes, and to lend aid to the campaigns of others or wage war against them, as chance may determine, as if imperilling the interests, not of our own, but of a foreign state. And the cause of this condition of affairs is that, although you ought to be as much concerned about the business of the commonwealth as about your own, you do not feel the same interest in the one as in the other; on the contrary, whenever you take counsel regarding your private business you seek out as counsellors men who are your superiors in intelligence, but whenever you deliberate on the
ISOCRATES

toiou'tous ἀπιστεῖτε καὶ φθονεῖτε, τοὺς δὲ πονηροτάτους τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα παριόντων ἀσκεῖτε, καὶ νομίζετε δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι τοὺς μεθύοντας τῶν νηφόντων καὶ τοὺς νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντας τῶν εὐ φρονοῦντων καὶ τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως διανεμομένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἱδίας οὕσιας ὑμῖν λειτουργοῦντων. ὡστ' ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, εἰ τις ἐλπίζει τὴν πόλιν τοιούτους συμβούλους χρωμένην ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδώσειν.

14 Ἐγὼ δ' οἶδα μὲν ὅτι πρόσαντές ἐστιν ἐναντιοθεῖσθαι ταῖς ὑμετέραις διανοιαῖς, καὶ ὅτι δημοκρατίας οὕσης οὐκ ἐστὶ παρρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις καὶ μηδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμῳδοδιδασκάλοις. δ' καὶ πάντων ἐστὶ δεινότατον, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐκφέρουσιν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἔλληνας τα τῆς πόλεως ἀμαρτήματα τοσαύτην ἔχετε χάριν ὅσην οὐδὲ τοῖς εὐ ποιοῦσι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας καὶ νουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς οὕτω διατίθεσθε δυσκόλως ὀσπερ πρὸς τοὺς κακῶν τι τὴν πόλιν ἐργαζομένους.

a The private morals of men like Eubulus, Callistratus (see Theopompos in Athenaeus iv. 166 e), and Philocrates (see Aeschines, On the Embassy 52) apparently left much to be desired.

b Aristotle (Constitution of Athens 34) states that when, after the battle of Arginusae, 406 B.C., the Spartans made overtures of peace the demagogue Cleophon came before the Assembly drunk and prevented the Athenians from accepting the terms. With this paragraph should be compared Antid. 316 and note.

c The reference is particularly to Eubulus, who caused to be set aside a portion of the public revenues (the "surplus" mentioned in 82) as a "theoric" fund to be distributed to the people at the public festivals.

d See 128, note.
business of the state you distrust and dislike men of
that character and cultivate, instead, the most de-
praved of the orators who come before you on this
platform; and you prefer as being better friends of
the people those who are drunk to those who are
sober, those who are witless to those who are wise,
and those who dole out the public money to those
who perform public services at their own expense.
So that we may well marvel that anyone can expect
a state which employs such counsellors to advance
to better things.

But I know that it is hazardous to oppose your views
and that, although this is a free government,
there exists no 'freedom of speech' except that
which is enjoyed in this Assembly by the most reckless
orators, who care nothing for your welfare, and in
the theatre by the comic poets. And, what is most
outrageous of all, you show greater favour to those
who publish the failings of Athens to the rest of the
Hellenes than you show even to those who benefit
the city, while you are as ill-disposed to those who
rebuke and admonish you as you are to men who
work injury to the state.

*Cf. Socrates in Plato, Apology 31 e: "No man in the
world can preserve his life if he honestly opposes himself to
you or to any other people and attempts to prevent many
unjust and lawless things from being done by the state."


The poets of the old comedy exercised an incredible
degree of licence in ridiculing everything, divine or human,
particularly the foibles of the state. These comedies were
given at the festival of Dionysus, when many visitors from
other states were in Athens. Aristophanes himself says
(Acharnians 500 ff.) that he was attacked by Cleon for
"abusing Athens in the presence of strangers."

* Isocrates resents their attitude towards himself in the
opening remarks of the Antidosis.
15 Ὁμως δὲ καὶ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων οὐκ ἄν ἀποσταίην ὑν διενοθήθην. παρελήλυθα γὰρ οὐ χαριοῦνος ὑμῖν οὐδὲ χειροτονίαν μνηστεύσων, ἀλλ' ἀποφανούμενος ἂ τυγχάνω γιγνώσκων πρῶτον μὲν περὶ δὲν οἱ πρυτάνεις προτιθέασιν, ἐπειτα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁφελος ἐσται τῶν νῦν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης γνωσθέντων, ἣν μὴ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ὀρθῶς βουλευσόμεθα.

16 Φημὶ δ' οὖν χρήναι ποιεῖσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην μὴ μόνον πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους καὶ Κόλως ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ χρήσθαι ταῖς συνθήκαις μὴ ταύταις αἰς νῦν τινὲς γεγράφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γενομέναις μὲν πρὸς βασιλέα καὶ Λακεδαμονίους, προστατούσαις δὲ τοὺς "Ελλήνας αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόλεων ἔξεναι καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἐκάστους. τούτων γὰρ οὕτε δικαιοτέρας εὐρήσομεν οὕτε μᾶλλον τῇ πόλει συμφερούσας.

17 Ἡν μὲν οὖν ἐνταῦθα καταλέπτω τῶν λόγων, οδ' ὅτι δόξω τὴν πόλιν ἐλαττῶν, εἰ Θηβαῖοι μὲν ἔξουσι Θεσπίας καὶ Πλαταιᾶς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ὡς παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους κατεκλύφασιν, ἢμεῖς δ' ἐξιμεν μηδεμᾶς ἀνάγκης οὕσης ἐξ ὧν τυγ-

{kai Kόλως} Dionysius of Halicarnassus: om. miss.

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*a The Senate of the Five Hundred was divided into ten committees of 50, each serving a tenth part of the year. Such a committee was called a prytany and its members prytaneis. The prytany formulated measures to be brought before the General Assembly.

*b See Introduction, p. 2, note c.
Nevertheless, in spite of these conditions, I shall not desist from what I had in mind to say. For I have come before you, not to seek your favour nor to solicit your votes, but to make known the views I hold, first, regarding the proposals which have been put before you by the Prytaneis, and, second, regarding the other interests of the state; for no good will come of the resolutions which have now been made regarding the peace unless we are well advised also with regard to what remains to be done.

I maintain, then, that we should make peace, not only with the Chians, the Rhodians, the Byzantines and the Coans, but with all mankind, and that we should adopt, not the covenants of peace which certain parties have recently drawn up, but those which we have entered into with the king of Persia and with the Lacedaemonians, which ordain that the Hellenes be independent, that the alien garrisons be removed from the several states, and that each people retain its own territory. For we shall not find terms of peace more just than these nor more expedient for our city.

But if I leave off speaking at this point, I know that I shall appear to put Athens at a disadvantage, if, that is to say, the Thebans are to retain possession of Thespiae and Plataeae and the other cities which they have seized contrary to their oaths, while we are to retire, under no compulsion to do so, from the territory which we now hold. But if

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Eubulus, whose terms of peace were, apparently, not broad enough.

The Peace of Antalcidas. See Paneg. 115, note a.

See Archid. 27, note d, Isocrates, Vol. I., L.C.L.

Orchomenus (Diodorus xv. 79), Oropus (Diodorus xv. 76).

When they agreed to the Peace of Antalcidas.
ISOCRATES

χάνομεν ἐχοντες: ἂν δὲ διὰ τέλους ἀκούσητε μου προσέχοντες τὸν νοῦν, οἴμαι πάντας ὑμᾶς καταγνωσθῆναι πολλὴν ἁνοιαν καὶ μανίαν τῶν τὴν ἀδικίαν πλεονεξίαν εἶναι νομιζόντων, καὶ τῶν τὰς ἀλλυρίας πόλεις βία κατεχόντων, καὶ μὴ λογιζομένων τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων γιγνομένας.

18 Ταῦτα μὲν ὅπως ὅσα τοῦ λόγου πειρασόμεθα διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς, περὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης πρῶτον διαλέξθωμεν, καὶ σκεψόμεθα τί ἂν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γενέσθαι βουλθεῖμεν ἡμῖν. ἂν γὰρ ταῦτα καλῶς ὁμισόμεθα καὶ νοῦν ἐχοντως, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀποβλέποντες ἁμενον βουλευσόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. ἄρ' ὅπως ἂν ἐξαρκέσειν ἡμῖν, εἰ τῇ τε πόλιν ἄσφαλῶς οἰκοίμεν καὶ τα περὶ τοῦ βίου εὐπορώτεροι γιγνομέθα καὶ τα τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὁμονοϊμαν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑλληνισιν εὐδοκιμοῖμεν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτων ὑπαρξάντων τελέως τῇ πόλιν εὐδαιμονίησεν. τοῦτο τῶν πόλεων ἁμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων ἀπεστέρηκεν· καὶ γὰρ πενεπτέρους πεποίηκε, καὶ πολλοὺς κινδύνους ὑπομένεν ἡνάγκασε, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας διαβέβληκε, καὶ πάντας τρόπους τεταλαυπώρηκεν ἡμᾶς. ἂν δὲ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ποιησόμεθα, καὶ τοιοῦτος ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχωμεν οίους ἀι κοιναὶ συνθήκαι προστάτουσι, μετὰ πολλῆς μὲν ἀσφαλείας τῇ πόλιν οἰκῆσομεν, ἀπαλλαγέντες πολέμων καὶ κινδύνων καὶ ταραχῆς, εἰς ἂν νῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθέσταμεν, καθ’

a Their foreign policy in general.
b The Social War.
c In Areop. 9, he states that in the course of the war
ON THE PEACE, 17–20

you will only listen to me and give me your attention to the end, I believe that you will all impute extreme folly and madness to those who think that injustice is advantageous and who would hold in subjection by force the cities of others, failing to reckon with the disasters which result from such a policy.

On this point indeed I shall attempt to instruct you throughout my entire speech. But first let us discuss the question of peace and consider what we should desire for ourselves at the present juncture. For if we define this clearly and intelligently, we shall take better counsel in the light of this principle regarding our other interests\(^a\) as well. Let me ask, then, whether we should be satisfied if we could dwell in our city secure from danger, if we could be provided more abundantly with the necessities of life, if we could be of one mind amongst ourselves, and if we could enjoy the high esteem of the Hellenes. I, for my part, hold that, with these blessings assured us, Athens would be completely happy. Now it is the war\(^b\) which has robbed us of all the good things which I have mentioned; for it has made us poorer;\(^c\) it has compelled many of us to endure perils; it has given us a bad name among the Hellenes; and it has in every way overwhelmed us with misfortune. But if we make peace and demean ourselves as our common covenants\(^d\) command us to do, then we shall dwell in our city in great security, delivered from wars and perils and the turmoil in which we are now involved amongst our-Athens had thrown away 1000 talents on mercenary soldiers alone. Demosthenes also bears witness to the poverty and embarrassment of Athens at this time. See Leptines 24; Aristocr. 209.

\(^a\) Of the Peace of Antalcidas.
ISOCRATES

ἐκάστην δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν πρὸς εὐπορίαν ἐπιδωσομεν, ἀναπεπαυμένου μὲν τῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τῶν τρημαρχιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον λειτουργῶν, ἀδεώς δὲ γεωργοῦντες καὶ τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντες καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἔργασίαις ἐπιχειροῦντες, αἱ νῦν διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκλεοίπασιν. ὄψόμεθα

21 δὲ τὴν πόλιν διπλασίας μὲν ἡ νῦν τὰς προσόδους λαμβάνουσαν, μεστὴν δὲ γιγαμομένην ἐμπόρων καὶ ἕνων καὶ μετοίκων, ὃν νῦν ἔρημη καθέστηκεν.

Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, συμμάχους ἔξομεν ἀπαντάς ἀνθρώπους, οὐ βεβιασμένους ἄλλα πεπεισμένους, οὐδ’ ἐν ταῖς μὲν ἀσφαλείαις διὰ τὴν δύναμιν ἡμᾶς ὑποδεχόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κυνίκοις ἀποστησομένους, ἀλλ’ οὕτω διακειμένους ὡστε χρὴ τοὺς ὡς ἄληθῶς συμμάχους καὶ φίλους ἔντας.

22 Πρὸς δὲ τούτους, ἀ νῦν ἀπολαβέων οὐ δυνάμεθα διὰ πολέμου καὶ πολλῆς δαπάνης, ταῦτα διὰ προσβείας ῥαδίως κομµοῦμεθα. μὴ γὰρ οἴσθησε μήτε Κερσοβλέπτην ὑπὲρ Χερρονήσου μήτε Φιλιππὸν ὑπὲρ 'Αμφιπόλεως πολεµήσειν, ὅταν ἵδωσιν ἡμᾶς μηδενὸς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιµενοὺς, νῦν μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως φοβοῦνται γείτονα ποιήσασθαι

23 τὴν πόλιν ταῖς αὐτῶν δυναστείαις, ὀρῴσι γὰρ ἡμᾶς οὐ στέργωντας ἐὖ ὅσ ἄν ἔχωμεν, ἀλλ’ αἰε

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a See 128 and note.
c According to Demosthenes (fourth Philippic 37, 38) Athens before the peace had an income of 130 talents; after the peace of 400 talents.
d Foreigners, whether merchants or not, had to pay non-resident fees, ἐνικα τέλη; resident aliens paid the μετολίων of 12 drachmas per man and 6 per woman.
e The reference is to the allies who revolted from Athens
ON THE PEACE, 20–23

selves, and we shall advance day by day in prosperity, relieved of paying war-taxes, of fitting out triremes, and of discharging the other burdens which are imposed by war, without fear cultivating our lands and sailing the seas and engaging in those other occupations which now, because of the war, have entirely come to an end. Nay, we shall see our city enjoying twice the revenues which she now receives, and thronged with merchants and foreigners and resident aliens, by whom she is now deserted.

And, what is most important of all, we shall have all mankind as our allies—allies who will not have been forced, but rather persuaded, to join with us, who will not welcome our friendship because of our power when we are secure only to abandon us when we are in peril, but who will be disposed towards us as those should be who are in very truth allies and friends.

Furthermore, what we are now unable to obtain through war and great outlay of money we shall readily secure for ourselves through peaceful embassies. For do not think that Cersobleptes will wage war with us over the Chersonese, or Philip over Amphipolis, when they see that we do not covet any of the possessions of other peoples. It is true that as things are now they have good reason to be afraid to make Athens a near neighbour to their dominions; for they see that we are not content with what we have but are always reaching out for more.

both during the Confederacy of Delos and during the New Naval League.

These are singled out because both Cersobleptes, now virtually master of the Thracian Chersonnese, and Philip, with his growing empire in the north Aegean, were giving Athens trouble at this time.

See the opening of the Address to Philip, Vol. I., L.C.L.
τοῦ πλέονος ὅρεγομένου, ἂν δὲ μεταβαλώμεθα
tὸν τρόπον καὶ δόξαν βελτίων λάβωμεν, οὐ μόνον
ἀποστήσονται τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν
προσδώσωσιν: λυσιτελήσει γὰρ αὐτοῖς θεραπεύουσι
τὴν δύναμιν τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀσφαλῶς ἐχειν τὰς
ἔαυτῶν βασιλείας.

24 Καὶ μὲν δὴ καὶ τῆς Θράκης ἦμῖν ἔξεσται
tοσαύτην ἀποτεμέσθαι χώραν, ὡστε μὴ μόνον
αὐτοὺς ἄφθονον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις
tῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ δι’ ἀπορίαιν πλανωμένοις ἴκανὸν
dύνασθαι βίον παρασχεῖν. ὅτιν γὰρ Ἀθηνόδωρος
καὶ Καλλιστράτος, ὦ μὲν ἠδὼντις ὄν, ὦ δὲ φυγάς,
οἰκίσαι πόλεις οἶοι τε γεγόναισιν, ἢ που βουληθέντες
ἡμεῖς πολλοὺς ἂν τόπους τοιούτους κατασχεῖν
dυνηθέντες. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς πρωτεύειν ἐν τοῖς
Ἑλλησσόν ἀξιόντας τοιούτων ἔργων ἡγεμόνοις
γίγνεσθαι πολυμάλλον ἢ πολέμου καὶ στρατοπέδων
ξενικῶν, ὃν νῦν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ἡμεῖς τυγχάνομεν.

25 Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι ὁ πρέσβεις ἐπαγγέλλονται,
καὶ ταῦθ’ ἴκανά, καὶ πολλὰ ἂν ἑαυτὸς τις προσθεῖ
tούτοις. ἡγοῦμαι δὲ δεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐ μόνον ψηφισο-
μένους τὴν εἰρήνην ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀπελθεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλευσαμένους ὅπως ἄξομεν αὐτήν,
καὶ μὴ ποιήσομεν ὁπερ εἰσῶμεν, ὅλιγον χρόνον
dιαλιπόντες πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτάς καταστησόμεθα

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a This was done in 353 when the Athenians captured Sestos and settled colonists in this territory. See Diodorus xvi. 34. 3.
b For these wandering refugees and the problem they presented see Phil. 120 and note.
c An Athenian citizen, he was a private in the sense that he had no official post. He was a free-lance captain of mercenaries who took service in Persia and later in the Thracian Chersonnese. What colony he founded is not known.
ON THE PEACE, 23–25

If, however, we change our ways and gain a better reputation, they will not only withdraw from our territory but will give us besides territory of their own. For it will be to their advantage to cherish and support the power of Athens and so be secure in the possession of their own kingdoms.

And, mark you, it will be possible for us to cut off from the region of Thrace enough land\(^a\) so that we shall not only have abundance ourselves but shall also be able to furnish adequate means of subsistence to those of the Hellenes who are in need and, because of their poverty, are now wandering from place to place.\(^b\) For where Athenodorus\(^c\) and Callistratus,\(^d\) the one a private, the other an exile, have been able to found cities, surely we could gain possession of many such places if we so desired. And those who claim the right to stand at the head of the Hellenes ought to become leaders of such enterprises much rather than of war and of hireling armies,\(^e\) which at the present time are the objects of our ambition.

Now as to the promises held out by the ambassadors,\(^f\) what I have said is enough, although one might perhaps add many things to what I have said. But I think we should not go forth from this assembly, having merely adopted resolutions in favour of the peace, without also taking counsel how we shall keep it, and not do what we are in the habit of doing—namely, getting ourselves involved again in the same

\(^a\) An Athenian orator who had much to do with the formation of the New Naval League, he was charged with treason and retired into exile to Thrace, where he had a part in the recolonization of Datus.

\(^b\) See 44–46.

\(^c\) Probably from the former allies with whom Athens was now at war.
ταραχάς, μηδενείς ἀναβολής ἀλλ' ἀπαλλαγήν εὐρήσομεν τινα τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων. οὐδενὲ δὲ τούτων οἴοντ' ἐστὶ γενέσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν ᾧ πεισθῇ τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν ὑφελιμωτέραν καὶ κερδαλεωτέραν εἶναι τῆς πολυπραγμοσύνης, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἀδικίας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμίας.

Περὶ δὲν οὐδεὶς πώποτε τῶν θετόρων εἰπεῖν ἐν υἱοῦ ἐτολμησεν· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων τοὺς πλείστους τῶν λόγων μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ὅρω γὰρ τὴν εὐδαίμονίαν ἐν τούτοις ἐνοῦσαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν οἷς νῦν τυγχάνομεν πράττοντες. ἀνάγκη δὲ τὸν ἔξω τῶν εἰθοσμένων ἐπιχειροῦντα δημηγορεῖν καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας γνώμας μεταστήσαι βουλόμενον πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἀμφασθαι καὶ διὰ μακροτέρων τοὺς λόγους ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀναμνῆσαι, τῶν δὲ κατηγορῆσαι, τὰ δ' ἐπανέσαι, περὶ δὲ τῶν συμβουλεύσαι· μόλις γὰρ ἄν τις ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον φρονῆσαι δυνηθεὶς προσαγαγεῖν.

27 Ἐξει γὰρ οὔτως· ἐμοί δοκοῦσιν ἀπαντεῖ μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν τοῦ κυρίφεροντος καὶ τοῦ πλεόν ἔχειν τῶν ἄλλων, οὐκ εἴδεναι δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐπὶ ταύτα φερούσας, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δόξαις διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἔχειν ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦ δέοντος δυναμένας, οἱ δ' ὢσ οἷόντε πλείστον 29 τοῦ κυρίφεροντος διαμαρτανοῦσας. ὅπερ καὶ τῇ...

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a Cf. Philip 8.

b Meddlesomeness, ἡ πολυπραγμοσύνη, is used here and elsewhere in the speech as the opposite of ἡσυχία (or σωφροσύνη, moderation, self-control). The latter contains the idea of quiet living and minding one’s own business in private.
disorders after a short interval of time—and how we shall devise, not merely a postponement, but some means of permanent deliverance from our present ills. But no such thing can come to pass until you are persuaded that tranquillity is more advantageous and more profitable than meddlesomeness, justice than injustice, and attention to one's own affairs than covetousness of the possessions of others.

This is a theme on which none of the orators has ever made bold to address you. I, however, shall devote most of my discourse to this very subject. For I observe that happiness is to be found in these ways of life and not in those which we now follow. But anyone who attempts to discourse on a subject out of the common and who desires to bring about a change in your opinions must needs touch upon many matters and speak somewhat at length, now reminding, now rebuking, now commending, and again counselling you. For hardly with all these aids can you be led to a better way of thinking.

For the matter stands thus. It seems to me that, while all men crave their advantage and desire to be better off than the rest, they do not all know the kind of conduct which leads to this end but differ from each other in judgement, some possessing a judgement which is sound and capable of hitting the right course of action, others one which completely misses their true advantage. And this is the very relations, and in foreign relations, of pursuing peace and avoiding aggression.

Cf. Panath. 30.

πόλει συμβέβηκεν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οἰόμεθα μέν, ἣν τὴν θάλασσαν πλέωμεν πολλαῖς τριήρεσι καὶ 
βιαζόμεθα τὰς πόλεις συντάξεις διδόναι καὶ 
συνέδρους ἐνθάδε πέμπειν, διαπράζοντα τι τῶν 
δεόντων. πλείστον δὲ διεισεύμεθα τῆς ἀληθείας. 
δι' ἡμῶν γὰρ ἦλπίζομεν, οὐδὲν ἀποβέβηκεν, ἐξήρα 
δ' ἡμῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πόλεμοι καὶ διαπάνει μεγάλαι 
30 γεγονασιν, εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρότερον ἐκ μὲν 
τῆς τουαύτης πολυπραγμοσύνης εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους 
κινδύνους κατέστημεν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δικαίου τὴν 
πόλιν παρέχειν καὶ βοηθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις καὶ 
μὴ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐπιθυμεῖν παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν 
'Ελλήνων τὴν ἄγεμονίαν ἐλάβομεν· ὥς νῦν ἀ- 
λογίστως καὶ λίαν εἰκῇ πολὺν ἢδη χρόνον κατα- 
31 φρονοῦμεν. εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ τινες ἀνοίας ἐληλύθασιν, 
ὡσθ' ὑπειλήφασι τὴν μὲν ἀδικίαν ἐπονειδίστοι 
μὲν εἶναι, κερδαλέαν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν βίον τὸν καθ' 
ἡμέραν συμφέρουσαν, τὴν δὲ δικαιοσύνην εὐδόκιμον 
μὲν, ἀλυστελὴ δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον δυναμενὴν τοὺς 
ἀλλοὺς ὠφελεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτὴν, κακῶς 
32 εἴροτες ὡς ὦστε πρὸς χρηματισμὸν ὦστε πρὸς 
δοξαν ὦστε πρὸς ἀ δεὶ πράττεν ὦθος ὀλως πρὸς 
εὐδαιμονίαν ὦστεν ἄν συμβάλοιτο τηλικαύτην

a In the Confederacy of Delos the quotas paid to Athens to support the league were termed φόροι, which, when Athens made it compulsory, came to have the invidious meaning “tribute moneys.” In the New Naval League, the term συντάξεις, contributions, was substituted. Cf. Antid. 123 and Areop. 2.

b To the Common Council of the allies, τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον τῶν συμμάχων, which met in Athens.
ON THE PEACE, 29-32

thing which has happened to our city; for we think that, if we sail the sea with many triremes and compel the various states to pay contributions and send representatives to Athens, we have accomplished something to the purpose. But in fact, we have been completely misled as to the truth; for of the hopes which we cherished not one has been fulfilled; on the contrary, we have reaped from them hatreds and wars and great expense. And this was to be expected; for in former times as the result of such meddlesomeness we were placed in the utmost peril, while as the result of keeping our city in the path of justice and of giving aid to the oppressed and of not coveting the possessions of others we were given the hegemony by the willing consent of the Hellenes—considerations which now and for a long time past, without reason and with utter recklessness, we have treated with contempt. For some have gone to such an extreme of folly as to hold the view that, while injustice is reprehensible, it is, nevertheless, profitable and advantageous in our lives day by day, and that, while justice is estimable, it is for all that disadvantageous and more capable of benefitting others than of helping those who practise it. They fail to see that nothing in the world can contribute so powerfully to material gain, to good repute, to right action, in a word, to happiness, as virtue and the

At the end of the Peloponnesian War, which was the end of the Confederacy of Delos and of the Empire of Athens.

In 478 B.C., when the Confederacy of Delos (see Panath. 67 ff. and notes) was formed, Thucydides states that the Ionian Greeks came to Athens and asked her to take the hegemony. See i. 95, 96. Cf. Paneg. 72.

Cf. Nicocles 59; Plato, Republic 392 b.
δύναμιν ὡσθν περ άρετὴ καὶ τὰ μέρη ταύτης. τοὺς γάρ ἁγαθοῖς οἷς ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, τούτοις κτῶμεθα καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ὕφελείας, δὲν δεόμενοι τυγχάνομεν. ὥσθ' οἱ τῆς αὐτῶν διανοιας ἀμελούντες λελήθασι σφάς αὐτοὺς ἀμα τοῦ τε φρονεῖν ἀμενον καὶ τοῦ πράττειν βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων ὅλγωρυντες.

33 Θαυμάζω δ' ε' τις οἴεται τοὺς τὴν εὔσεβειαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἀσκοῦντας καρτερείν καὶ μένειν ἐν τούτοις ἐλπίζοντας ἐλαττον ἔξειν τῶν πονηρῶν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἠγοιμένους καὶ παρὰ θεοὶς καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς πλέον οἴσεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ πέπεισμαι τούτοις μόνοις ὃν δέι πλεονεκτεῖν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὃν οὐ βέλτιον ἐστιν. ὥρῳ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τὴν ἄδικαν προτιμῶντας καὶ τὸ λαβεῖν τί τῶν ἀλλοτρίων μέγιστον ἁγαθὸν νομίζοντας ὅμοια πάσχοντας τοῖς δελεαζομένοις τῶν ζῶνων, καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν ἀπολαύοντας ὃν ἄν λάβωσων, ὀλίγῳ δ' ύστερον ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ μετ' εὔσεβειας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἔχουσας ἐν τῇ τοῖς παροῦν χρόνοις ἀσφαλῶς διάγοντας καὶ περὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος αἰώνοις ἡδίους τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντας.

35 Καὶ τάδ' εἰ μὴ κατὰ πάντων οὕτως εἴθισται συμβαίνειν, ἄλλα τὸ γ' ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ τούτον γίνεται τὸν τρόπον. χρὴ δὲ τοὺς εὐθεῖανοντας,

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a Literally, virtue and its parts. The particular virtues mentioned by Isocrates are piety, justice, and moderation. See 63.

b Cf. Antid. 290; Socrates in Plato, Apology 30 a, b: “I go about doing nothing else than trying to persuade you, young and old, not to care for your bodies nor for your possessions before nor even as much as you care for your possessions before nor even as much as you care for your possessions before nor even as much as you care for your possessions before...”
qualities of virtue. For it is by the good qualities which we have in our souls that we acquire also the other advantages of which we stand in need. So that those who have no care for their own state of mind are unwittingly disparaging the means of attaining at the same time to greater wisdom and to greater well-being.

But I marvel if anyone thinks that those who practise piety and justice remain constant and steadfast in these virtues because they expect to be worse off than the wicked and not because they consider that both among gods and among men they will have the advantage over others. I, for my part, am persuaded that they and they alone gain advantage in the true sense, while the others gain advantage only in the baser sense of that term. For I observe that those who prefer the way of injustice, thinking it the greatest good fortune to seize something that belongs to others, are in like case with animals which are lured by a bait, at the first deriving pleasure from what they seize, but the moment after finding themselves in desperate straits, while those who live a life of piety and justice pass their days in security for the present and have sweeter hopes for all eternity.

But if this is not wont to happen in all cases, nevertheless it does, for the most part, come out in this way. And it behoves intelligent men, since they soul that it may be the best possible, saying to you that not from your possessions does virtue spring, but from virtue spring possessions and all other good things to mankind in private and in public life.” For this as a sound principle of foreign policy see Panath. 185 ff.

Cf. Nicocles 2.

See To Demonicus 39 and note.
ἐπειδὴ τὸ μέλλον οἱ συνοίσειν οὐ καθορὼμεν, τὸ πολλάκις ὁφελοῦν, τοῦτο φαίνεσθαι προαιρουμένους. πάντων δ' ἀλογώτατον πεπόνθασιν ὅσιοι κάλλιον μὲν ἐπιτήδευμα νομίζουσιν εἶναι καὶ θεοφιλέστερον τὴν δικαιοσύνην τῆς ἁδίκιας, χείρον δ' οἴονται βιώσεσθαι τοὺς ταύτη χρωμένους τῶν τὴν ποιηρίαν προηρμένων.

36 Ἡβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ πρόχειρον ἐστιν ἐπαινέσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν, οὕτω βάδιον εἶναι πεισά τοὺς ἀκούστας ἀσκεῖν αὐτήν· νῦν δὲ δεδοικα μὴ μάτην τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγω. διεφθάρμεθα γὰρ πολὺν ἥδη χρόνον ὅπ' ἄνθρωπον οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἡ φενακίζειν δυναμένων, οὗτοι τοποῦσι πλῆθους καταπεφρονήκασιν ὡσθ', ὀπόταν βουληθῶσι πόλεμον πρὸς τινας ἐξενεγκεῖν, αὐτοὶ χρήματα λαμβάνοντες λέγειν τολμῶσιν ὡς χρὴ τοὺς προγόνους μμείσθαι, καὶ μὴ πειρορᾶν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καταγελωμένους μηδὲ τὴν θάλατταν πλέοντας τοὺς μὴ τὰς συν-

37 τάξεις ἐθέλοντας ἡμῖν ὑποτελεῖν. ἦδεως ἡν οὖν αὐτῶν πυθοῖμην, τίσιν ἡμᾶς τῶν προγεγενημένων κελεύουσιν ὁμοίως γίγνεσθαι, πότερον τοῖς περὶ τὰ Περσικὰ γενομένους, ἢ τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Δεκελεικοῦ τῆς πόλεως διουκήσαις; εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτοις, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἡ συμβουλεύονσιν ἡμῖν 38 πάλιν περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κυδυνεύειν· εἰ δὲ τοῖς [167] ἐν Μαραθῶνι τοὺς βαρβάρους νικήσασι καὶ τοῖς πρὸ τούτων γενομένους, πῶς οὐ πάντων ἀναίσχυν-
tότατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὁντες, εἰ τοὺς τότε πολι-

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a That is, bribed to speak. See 50 and note.
b See 75.
c This term is frequently used to denote the last decade of the Peloponnesian War, from the occupation of the fort 30
cannot see clearly what will always be to their advantage, to show to the world that they prefer that which is generally beneficial. On the other hand, they are of all men most afflicted with unreason who concede that justice is a way of life more noble and more pleasing to the gods than injustice but at the same time believe that those who follow it will live in worse case than those who have chosen the way of evil.

I could wish that, even as to praise virtue is a facile theme, so it were easy to persuade hearers to practise it. But as things are I am afraid that I may be expressing such sentiments to no purpose. For we have been depraved for a long time by men whose only ability is to cheat and delude—men who have held the people in such contempt that whenever they wish to bring about a state of war with any city, these very men who are paid for what they say have the audacity to tell us that we should follow the example of our ancestors and not allow ourselves to be made a laughing-stock nor permit those Hellenes to sail the sea who are unwilling to pay us their contributions. Now I should be glad if they would inform me what ancestors they would have us imitate. Do they mean those who lived at the time of the Persian Wars or those who governed the city before the Decelean War? If they mean the latter then they are simply advising us to run the risk once again of being enslaved; but if they mean those who at Marathon conquered the barbarians, then they are of all men the most brazen, if, that is to say, they of Decelea near Athens by the Spartans in 413 B.C. Cf. 84.

During this period the affairs of Athens went from bad to worse.

As at the end of the Peloponnesian War. Cf. 78.
ISOCRATES

κενομένοις ἐπανοῦντες τάναντια πράττεν ἐκείνοις πείθουσιν ἡμᾶς, καὶ τοιαῦτ’ ἐξαμαρτάνεν περὶ δὲν ἀπορῶ τι ποιήσω, πότερα χρήσωμαι ταῖς ἀληθείαις ὡσπερ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἣ κατασιωπήσω, δεῖσας τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν; δοκεῖ μὲν γὰρ μοι βέλτιον εἶναι διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅρω δ’ ὑμᾶς χαλεπώτερον διατιθέμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγενημένους.

39 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ αἰσχυνθείν ἂν, εἴ φανεῖν μάλλον φροντίζων τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ δόξης ἢ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας. ἐμὸν μὲν οὖν ἐργὸν ἐστὶν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κηδομένων τῆς πόλεως, προαιρέσθαι τῶν λόγων μὴ τοὺς ἦδιστος ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑφελμωτάτους· ὑμᾶς δὲ χρῆ πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο γιγνώσκεν, ὅτι τῶν μὲν περὶ τὸ σῶμα νοσημάτων πολλὰ θεραπεῖαι καὶ παντοδαπαὶ τοῖς ἱατροῖς εὐρηνταί, ταῖς δὲ ψυχαῖς ταῖς ἀγνοούσαις καὶ γεμοῦσαις πονηρῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἄλλο φάρμακον πλὴν λόγος δ’ ὀλιμὼν τοῖς ἀμαρτανομένοις ἐπιπλήττειν, ἔπειθ’ ὅτι καταγέλαστὸν ἐστὶ τὰς μὲν καύσεις καὶ τὰς τομὰς τῶν ἱατρῶν ὑπομένειν, ἢν πλειόνων ἀλγηδόνων ἀπαλλαγόμεν, τοὺς δὲ λόγους ἀποδοκίμαζειν πρὶν εἰδέναι σαφῶς εἰ τοιαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν δύναμιν ὡστε’ ωφελήσαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας.

40 Τούτω δ’ ἔνεκα ταῦτα προείπον, ὅτι περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐδὲν ὑποστελάμενος ἀλλὰ παντάπασιν ἀνειμένως μέλλω τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. τίς γὰρ ἀλλοθεν ἐπελθὼν καὶ μῆτως συν-

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*a Cf. Aeschylus, Prom. Bound 378:
ψυχής νοσοῦσης εἰσὶν ἱατροὶ λόγοι.*

*b Cf. Paneg. 133.*
praise those who governed Athens at that time and in the same breath would persuade us to act in a manner contrary to theirs and to commit blunders so gross that I am at a loss what I should do—whether I should speak the truth as on all other occasions or be silent out of fear of making myself odious to you. For while it seems to me the better course to discuss your blunders, I observe that you are more resentful towards those who take you to task than towards those who are the authors of your misfortunes. Nevertheless I should be ashamed if I showed that I am more concerned about my own reputation than about the public safety. It is, therefore, my duty and the duty of all who care about the welfare of the state to choose, not those discourses which are agreeable to you, but those which are profitable for you to hear. And you, for your part, ought to realize, in the first place, that while many treatments of all kinds have been discovered by physicians for the ills of our bodies, there exists no remedy for souls which are ignorant of the truth and filled with base desires other than the kind of discourse which boldly rebukes the sins which they commit, and, in the second place, that it is absurd to submit to the cauteries and cuttings of physicians in order that we may be relieved of greater pains and yet refuse to hear discourses before knowing clearly whether or not they have the power to benefit their hearers.

I have said these things at the outset because in the rest of my discourse I am going to speak without reserve and with complete frankness. For suppose that a stranger from another part of the world were to come to Athens, having had no time to be tainted
διεφθαρμένος ἦμιν, ἀλλ' ἐξαἰφνησ ἐπιστᾶς τοῖς γεγονόμενοις, οὐκ ἂν μαίνεσθαι καὶ παραφρονεῖν ἦμᾶς νομίσειν, οἱ φιλοτιμούμεθα μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν προγόνων ἔργοις καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν τότε πραξ-θέντων ἐγκωμίαζεν ἄξιούμεν, ὡστε δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄκεινοι πράττομεν, ἀλλὰ πάν τοῦντιον; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν 'Ελλήνων τοῖς βαρβάροις πολε-μοῦντες διετέλεσαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς 'Ασίας τὸν βίον ποριζομένους ἐκείθεν ἀναστήσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰδίους ἡγάμομεν· κάκεινοι μὲν ἐλευθε-ροῦντες τὰς πόλεις τὰς 'Ελλήνως καὶ βοηθοῦντες αὐταῖς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡξιώθησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατα-δουλούμενοι καὶ τάναντα τοῖς τότε πράττοντες ἀναγκατοῦμεν, εἰ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν τιμην ἄκεινοι ἐξο-

43 μεν, οἱ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελείμμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ταῖς διανοίασι τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, ὡςον οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων σωτηρία τῆς τε πατρίδα τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκλυπεῖν ἐτόλμησαν, καὶ μαχόμενοι καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνίκησαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν πλεονεξίας κυδυνεύειν ἄξιούμεν, ἄλλ' ἀρχεῖν μὲν ἀπαντῶν ζητοῦμεν, στρατεύεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐθέλομεν, καὶ πόλεμον μὲν μικροῦ δεῖν πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς ἀνθρώπους ἀναρροῦμεθα, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτον οὐχ ἦμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἄσκομεν, ἄλλ' ἀνθρώπους τοὺς μὲν ἀπόλιθας τοὺς δ' αὐτομόλους τοὺς δ' ἐκ

1 ἄξιούμεν Dionysius of Halicarnassus: ἐχομεν mss.

a The Athenian general Chares employed Asiatic mercenaries in the war against the Athenian allies.
b Cf. Paneg. 83.
c By conquest of the revolting allies.
d See Paneg. 96.
with our depravity, but brought suddenly face to face with what goes on here, would he not think that we are mad and bereft of our senses, seeing that we plume ourselves upon the deeds of our ancestors and think fit to eulogize our city by dwelling upon the achievements of their time and yet act in no respect like them but do the very opposite? For while they waged war without ceasing in behalf of the Hellenes against the barbarians, we removed from their homes those who derive their livelihood from Asia and led them against the Hellenes; and while they liberated the cities of Hellas and lent them their aid and so were adjudged worthy of the hegemony, we seek to enslave these cities and pursue a policy the very opposite of theirs and then feel aggrieved that we are not held in like honour with them—we who fall so far short of those who lived in those days both in our deeds and in our thoughts that, whereas they brought themselves to abandon their country for the sake of saving the other Hellenes and fought and conquered the barbarians both on the land and on the sea, we do not see fit to run any risk even for our own advantage; on the contrary, although we seek to rule over all men, we are not willing to take the field ourselves, and although we undertake to wage war upon, one might almost say, the whole world, we do not train ourselves for war but employ instead vagabonds, deserters, and fugitives who have

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* Especially the battles of Marathon and Salamis.
* The same complaint is repeatedly made by Demosthenes in the *Philippics* and the *Olynthiacs*.
* Between 363-355 B.C. Athens made war on Alexander of Thessaly, King Cotys in the Thracian Chersonnese, Amphipolis, Euboea, Chios, Byzantium, and Potidaea—to mention only the chief campaigns.
tων ἄλλων κακουργῶν συνεργηκότας, οἷς ἄποθαν τις διδὼ πλείω μισθοῦ, μετ' ἐκείνων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀκολούθησουσιν. ἄλλ' ὁμως οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀγαπῶ- μεν ὡσθ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν παιδῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων, εἰ περὶ τινας ἔξαμάρτοτεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔθελήσαμεν δίκας ὑποσχείν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρπαγής καὶ βίας καὶ παρανομίας μελλόντων τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἤξειν οὐχ ὅπως ἀγανακτοῦμεν, ἄλλα καὶ χαίρομεν ὅταν ἀκούσωμεν αὐτοὺς τοιοῦτον τι δια- πεπραγμένους. εἰς τούτο δὲ μωρίας ἐληλύθαμεν, ὡστ' αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐνδεικ τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐσμέν, ξενοτροφεῖν δ' ἐπικεχειρήματι, καὶ τοὺς συμ- μάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους αὐτῶν ἰδίους λυμαινόμεθα καὶ δασμολογοῦμεν, ἵνα τοῖς ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων κοινοῖς ἐχθροῖς τὸν μισθὸν ἐκπορίζωμεν. τοσοῦτον δὲ χείρους ἐσμέν τῶν προγόνων, οὐ μόνον τῶν εὐδοκιμησάντων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν μισηθέντων, ὅσον ἐκείνου μὲν εἰ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τινας ψηφίσωμεθα, μεστῆς οὐσίας ἄργυριον καὶ χρυσὸν τῆς ἀκροπό- λεως ὁμως υπὲρ τῶν δοξάντων τοῖς αὐτῶν σώμασιν ὑμνοτο ἀείν κινδυνεῖν, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰς τοσαῦτην ἀπορίαν ἐληλυθότες καὶ τοσοῦτοι τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες ὑσπέρ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας μισθωτοῦς χρώμεθα τοῖς στρατοπέδοις. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰ τριήρεις πληροῖεν,

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b The Athenian general Chares with his mercenary troops actually enlisted during the Social War in the service of the Persian Satrap Artabazus, who paid them well. See Areop. 8, note; Demosth. first Philippic 24.


d These troops, whose only thought was for pay or plunder, made no difference between foes and friends. See 36
thronged together here in consequence of other misdemeanours,\(^a\) who, whenever others offer them higher pay, will follow their leadership against us.\(^b\) But, for all that, we are so enamoured of these mercenaries that while we would not willingly assume the responsibility for the acts of our own children if they offended against anyone, yet for the brigandage, the violence, and the lawlessness of these men,\(^c\) the blame for which is bound to be laid at our door, not only do we feel no regret, but we actually rejoice whenever we hear that they have perpetrated any such atrocity. And we have reached such a degree of imbecility that, although we are ourselves in need of the necessities of daily existence, we have undertaken to support mercenary troops and we do violence to our own allies and extort money from them in order to provide pay for the common enemies of all mankind.\(^d\) And so far are we inferior to our ancestors, both those who enjoyed the esteem of the Hellenes and those who incurred their hatred,\(^e\) that whereas they, when they resolved to wage war against any state, deemed it their duty, notwithstanding that the Acropolis was stored with silver and gold,\(^f\) to face danger in their own persons in support of their resolutions, we, on the other hand, notwithstanding that we are in such extreme poverty\(^g\) and are so many in number, employ, as does the great King, mercenary armies! In those days, when they manned their triremes, they put on board crews

\(^{Epist.\ ix.\ 9,\ 10.}\ Demosthenes\ also\ (xxiii.\ 139)\ calls\ them\ \k\nu\nu\i\i\ \k\a\tau\a\ \p\a\ss\a\n\ \c\w\p\a\n\ \e\c\t\r\p\o\i.\)

\(^a\) The distinction is between those who were awarded the hegemony and those who later turned the hegemony into an empire maintained by force.

\(^b\) See 126.

\(^c\) See 19 and \textit{Areop. 54.}
ISOCRATES

tous μὲν ξένους καὶ τοὺς δούλους ναύτας εἰσεβιβάζον, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας μεθ' ὅπλων ἐξέπεμπον· νῦν δὲ τοῖς μὲν ξένους ὀπλῖτας χρώμεθα, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ἐλαύνειν ἀναγκάζομεν, ὡσθ' ὀπόταν ἀποβαίνωσιν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ μὲν ἄρχειν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄξιοιντες ὑπηρέσιοι ἔχοντες ἐκβαίνουσιν, οὐ δὲ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις ὄντες οἶνος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διήλθον, μεθ' ὅπλων κινδυνεύονσιν.

49 Ἄλλα γὰρ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἂν τις ἴδὼν καλῶς διοικοῦμενα περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θαρρήσειν, ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς τοῦτοι μάλιστ' ἀγανακτήσειν; οὕτως αὐτόχθονες μὲν εἶναι φαμεν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην προτέραν οἰκισθήναι τῶν ἄλλων, προσηκον δ' ἡμᾶς ἅπασιν εἶναι παράδειγμα τοῦ καλῶς καὶ τεταγμένως πολιτεύσθαι, κείρον καὶ ταραχω- δέστερον τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν διοικοῦμεν τῶν ἄρτι
50 τὰς πόλεις οἰκιζόντων, καὶ σεμισανόμεθα μὲν καὶ μέγα φρονοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῷ βέλτιον γεγονέναι τῶν ἄλλων, ράδιον δὲ μεταδίδομεν τοῖς βουλομένοις ταύτης τῆς εὐγενείας ἡ Τριβαλλοὶ καὶ Λευκανοὶ τῆς δυσγενείας· πλεῖστος δὲ τιθέμενοι νόμους οὕτως ὀλίγων αὐτῶν φροντίζομεν, ἐν γὰρ ἀκούησαντες γνώσεσθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ὥστε θανάτου τῆς ζημίας ἐπικεμένης, ἣν τις ἄλῳ δεκάζων, τοὺς τοῦτο φανερώτατα ποιοῦντας στρα-

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a See Areop. 54, note.
b Pads for the rowers’ benches.
c See Paneg. 23, 24.
d See Paneg. 37.
e The Athenians were less conservative in the matter of citizenship than other states. Cleisthenes gave citizenship to the resident aliens in Athens at the time of his reforms. In 427 citizenship was conferred upon all the people of 38
of foreigners and slaves but sent out citizens to fight under heavy arms. Now, however, we use mercenaries as heavy-armed troops but compel citizens to row the ships,\(^a\) with the result that when they land in hostile territory these men, who claim the right to rule over the Hellenes, disembark with their cushions \(^b\) under their arms, while men who are of the character which I have just described take the field with shield and spear!

However, if one could see that the domestic policy of Athens was well managed he might be of good cheer as to our other affairs. But is it not about this very thing that he would feel most aggrieved? For we assert that we are sprung from our very soil \(^c\) and that our city was founded before all others,\(^d\) but although we ought to be an example to all the world of good and orderly government, we manage our state in a worse manner and with more disorder than those who are just founding their cities. We glory and take great pride in being better born than the rest but we are readier to share this noble birthright with any who desire it \(^e\) than are the Triballians or the Leucanians \(^f\) to share their ignoble origin. We pass a multitude of laws,\(^g\) but we care so little about them (for if I give you a single instance you will be able to judge of the others as well) that, although we have prescribed the penalty of death for anyone who is convicted of bribery, we elect men who are Plataeae. From time to time numerous individuals were admitted to this privilege.

\(^a\) The Triballians were a savage tribe in the interior of Thrace (see Panath. 227); the Lucanians a rude people, noted for their ferocity, in Southern Italy.

\(^b\) See Areop. 40, 41.
This seems to be a covert attack upon Chares, who according to Theopompus (in Athenaeus xii. 532) paid money to the orators to advocate a war policy, especially to the orator Aristophon, who may be alluded to in 36 and in this paragraph. Chares in the field and Aristophon on the rostrum were the leaders of Athenian jingoism at this time.

By the oligarchical revolution of 411 b.c., when the government of the Four Hundred was established, and that of 404 b.c., when the reign of the Thirty began.
most flagrantly guilty of this crime as our generals and we pick out the man who has been able to deprave the greatest number of our citizens and place him in charge of the most important affairs. We are concerned about our polity no less than about the safety of the whole state and we know that our democracy flourishes and endures in times of peace and security while in times of war it has twice already been overthrown, but we are hostile to those who desire peace as if suspecting them of favouring oligarchy, while we are friendly to those who advocate war as if assured of their devotion to democracy. We are versed beyond all others in discourse and in the conduct of affairs, but we are so devoid of reason that we do not hold the same views about the same question on the same day; on the contrary, the things which we condemn before we enter the assembly are the very things which we vote for when we are in session, and again a little later when we depart to our homes we disapprove of the things which we resolved upon here. We pretend that we are the wisest of the Hellenes, but we employ the kind of advisers whom no one could fail to despise, and we place these very same men in control of all our public interests to whom no one would entrust a single one of his private affairs. But, what is most reprehensible of all, we regard those whom all would acknowledge to be the most depraved of our citizens.

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\(^{a}\) For example, Timotheus, who was no flatterer. See Antid. 131 ff. Cf. Antid. 318.

\(^{b}\) Aristophanes (Acharnians 630) ridicules the Athenians for being quick in making up and in changing their minds. Cf. Ecclesiazusae 797.

\(^{c}\) Cf. Antid. 316 ff. and notes; Aristophanes, Frogs 730 ff.
toûtous pistotátous phûlakas ἤγουμεθα τῆς πολιτείας εἶναι; καὶ τοὺς μὲν μετοίκους τοιούτους εἶναι νομίζομεν, οίους περ ἃν τοὺς προστάτας νέμωσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ οἰόμεθα τὴν αὐτὴν λήψεσθαι ὃ ἃ 54 δόξαν τοὺς προστῶσιν ἢμῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ διαφέρομεν τῶν προγόνων, ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς προστάτας τῇ πόλει ἔποιεύοντο καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἱροῦντο, νομίζομεν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύσαι δυνάμενον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον ἄριστον ἃν Βουλεύσασθαι καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν γενόμενον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τούναντίον τούτων ποιοῦμεν·

55 οἷς μὲν γὰρ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων συμβούλως χρώμεθα, τοûτους μὲν οὖν ἄξιομεν στρατηγοὺς χειροτονεῖν ὡς νοῦν οὖν ἔχοντας, οἳ δ’ οὐδεὶς ἄν οὔτε περὶ τῶν ἱδίων οὔτε περὶ τῶν κοινῶν συμβουλεύσαμοι, τοûτους δ’ αὐτοκράτορας ἐκπέμπομεν ὡς ἐκεῖ σοφωτέρους ἐσομένους καὶ ῥάον βουλεύσομένους περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἥ περὶ 56 τῶν ἐνθάδε προτιθεμένων. λέγω δὲ ταῦτ’ οὐ κατὰ πάντων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τῶν ἐνόχων τοὺς λεγομένους ὄντων. ἐπιλίποι δ’ ἄν με τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, εἰ πάσας τὰς πλημμελείας τὰς ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγγεγεγυμένας ἐξετάζειν ἐπιχειροῦν.

57 Τάχ’ οὖν ἂν τις τῶν σφόδρα τοὺς λεγομένους ἐνόχων ὄντων ἀγανακτήσας ἐρωτήσειε ἃ ὅς,

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a Only through a citizen to represent him as his “patron” before the law could a foreign resident enjoy the protection of the state. The word for patron, προστάτης, was also used for the leader of the General Assembly. Hence the play on the word, which can be reproduced only by a free rendering in English.

42
as the most trustworthy guardians of our polity; and we judge the character of our alien residents by the kind of patrons they select to represent them, but do not expect that we shall be judged by the character of those who represent us at the head of the state. So far are we different from our ancestors that whereas they chose the same men to preside over the city and to be generals in the field, since they believed that one who could give the best counsel on this platform would best take counsel with himself when alone, we ourselves do the very opposite; for the men whose counsels we follow in matters of the greatest importance—these we do not see fit to elect as our generals, as if distrusting their intelligence, but men whose counsel no one would seek either on his own business or on that of the state—these we send into the field with unlimited authority, as if expecting that they will be wiser abroad than at home and will find it easier to take counsel on questions pertaining to the Hellenes than on those which are proposed for consideration here. I say these things, not with reference to all, but with reference to those only who are open to the charges which I have made. However, the remainder of the day would not suffice me if I should attempt to review all the errors which have crept into our conduct of affairs.

But someone among those who are hard hit by my strictures might take offence and demand of me,

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b For example, Pericles, who personally led a number of expeditions.

c Obviously a jibe at Chares (the enemy of Isocrates’ pupil and friend Timotheus. See Antid. 116, note) who was sent out as στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ. See Demosth. Aristoer. 173.
ISOCRATES

εἰπερ οὖτω κακῶς βουλευόμεθα, σωζόμεθα καὶ δύναμιν ουδεμιᾶς πόλεως ἐλάττω κεκτημένοι
[171] τυγχάνομεν;" ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀποκριναίμην ἂν ὅτι τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἔχομεν οὐδὲν βέλτιον
58 ἡμῶν φρονοῦντας. εἰ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν μάχην, ἢν ἐνίκησαν Θῆβαιοι Λακεδαίμονιος, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐλευθερώσαντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας αὐτούμως ποιῆσαντες ἡσυχίαν εἶχον, ἡμεῖς δὲ τοιαύτ' ἐξημαρτάνομεν, οὔτ' ἂν οὕτος ἔσχε ταύτην ποιῆσαθαι τῆν ἐρώτησιν, ἡμεῖς τ' ἂν ἔγνωμεν ὅσῳ κρείττον ἐστι τὸ σωφρονεῖν τοῦ
59 πολυπραγμονείν. νῦν δ' ἐνταῦθα τὰ πράγματα περιέστηκεν, ὡστε Θῆβαιοι μὲν ἡμᾶς σώζουσιν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Θῆβαιοις, καὶ συμμάχους ἐκείνου μὲν ἡμῶν ποιοῦσιν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἐκεῖνοι. ὡστ' εἰ νοῦν ἔχομεν, ἄλληλοις ἂν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἄργυρων παρέχομεν· ὅποτεροι γὰρ ἀν πλεονάκις συλλεγόσιν, οὕτω τοὺς ἐναντίους ἄμεινον πράττειν ποιοῦσιν.
60 χρή δὲ τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἔχθρων ἀμαρτήμασι ταῖς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν διανοίασι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνων ἀμαθίαν συμβαίνον ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν τυχών ἂν παύσατο καὶ λάβοι μεταβολήν, τὸ δὲ δι' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς γιγνόμενον βεβαιοτέρως ἂν ἔχοι καὶ μᾶλλον παρα-
μείνειν ἡμῖν.
61 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς εἰκῆ τὰς ἐπιλήμεις ποιο-
μένους οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀντιπείν· εἰ δὲ δὴ τίς μοι παραστὰς τῶν ἐπιεικέστερον διακειμένων ἀληθῆ

α The battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C., the end of the Spartan supremacy and the beginning of the Theban hegemony, which lasted but nine years. b See Philip 53 ff.
"How is it, if indeed we are so badly advised, that we are safe and hold a power which is inferior to that of no other city?" I, for my part, would reply to this question that we have in our adversaries men who are no more prudent than ourselves. For example, if the Thebans, after the battle which they won over the Lacedaemonians,\textsuperscript{a} had contented themselves with liberating the Peloponnesus and making the other Hellenes independent\textsuperscript{b} and had thenceforth pursued peace, while we continued to make such blunders, then neither could this man have asked such a question nor could we ourselves have failed to realize how much better moderation is than meddlesomeness. But now matters have taken such a turn that the Thebans are saving us and we them, and they are procuring allies for us and we for them.\textsuperscript{c} So that if we were sensible we should supply each other with money for our general assemblies; for the oftener we meet to deliberate the more do we promote the success of our rivals. But those among us who are able to exercise even a modicum of reason ought not to rest our hopes of safety upon the blunders of our enemies but upon our own management of affairs and upon our own judgement. For the good fortune which results to us from their stupidity might perhaps cease or change to the opposite, whereas that which comes about because of our own efforts will be more certain and more enduring.

Now it is not difficult to reply to those who take us to task without reason. But if anyone among those who are more fair-minded were to confront me

\textsuperscript{c} Not intentionally, but by our mistakes.
μὲν λέγειν με προσομολογήσειε καὶ προσηκόντως ἑπιτιμάν τοῖς γυγνομένοις, δίκαιον δὲ εἶναι φαϊν
tοὺς ἐπ’ εὐνοία νουθετοῦντας μὴ μόνον κατηγορεῖν
62 τῶν πεπραγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμβουλεύειν τῶν ἀπεχόμενοι καὶ ποὺών δρεγόμενοι παυσάμεθ’ ἄν
tαύτην ἔχοντες τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοιαύτ’ ἐξαμαρ-
tάνοντες, ὡστὸς ὁ λόγος ἀπορεῖν ἄν με ποιήσειν ἀποκρίσεως, οὐκ ἀληθοὺς καὶ συμφεροῦτης, ἀλλ’
ἀρεσκοῦσης ὑμῖν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ περ ἀπο-
κεκαλυμμένως ὃρμημαι λέγειν, οὐκ ἀποκνητέον ἀποφήνασθαι καὶ περὶ τούτων.
63 ἂ μὲν οὖν ὑπάρχειν δεῖ τοῖς μέλλουσιν εὐ-
δαιμονήσει, τὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ
[172] τὴν δικαιοσύνην1 καὶ τὴν ἀλλήν ἀρετήν ὅλιγῳ
πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν ως δ’ ἄν τάχιστα πρὸς τὸ
tοιοῦτοι γενέσθαι παϊδευθεῖμεν, ἀληθὲς μὲν ἐστὶ
tὸ ῥηθησόμενον, ἵσως δ’ ἄν ἀκούσασιν ὑμῖν δεινὸν
eἶναι δόξειε καὶ παρὰ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἔξ-
64 ἡλλαγμένον διανοίας. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἠγοῦμαι καὶ τὴν
πόλιν ἡμᾶς ἀμεινὸν οἰκήσειν καὶ βελτίως αὐτοὺς
ἐσεσθαί καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδώσεων,
ἡν παυσώμεθα τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν
ἐπιθυμοῦντες. αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ καὶ νῦν εἰς
tαραχὴν ἡμᾶς καθιστᾶσα, καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν
ἐκεῖνην καταλύσασα μεθ’ ής οἱ πρόγονοι ζῶντες
eὐδαιμονεστάτοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἥσαν, καὶ σχεδὸν
ἀπάντων αἰτία τῶν κακῶν ὧν αὐτοὶ τ’ ἔχομεν καὶ
tοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχομεν.

1 καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην most mss.: om. ΓΕ.

See also Demosth. first Olynthiace 16.

See 31-33.
and object, while conceding that I speak the truth and am correct in condemning the things which are taking place, that we have a right to expect of those who seek to admonish us with friendly purpose that they should not only denounce what has been done but should also counsel us what to abstain from and what to strive for in order to cease from this way of thinking and from making such blunders, his objection would place me at a loss, not for a true answer and one that would be profitable, but for one that would be acceptable to you. But since I have set out to speak openly I must not shrink from disclosing what I think on these matters also.

Well then, the qualities which we must possess as a foundation if we are to be happy and prosperous, namely, piety and moderation and justice and virtue in all its phases, I mentioned a moment ago. But as to the means by which we may most speedily be taught to attain to such a character, what I am going to say will probably seem repellent to you when you have heard it as well as far removed from the opinions held by the rest of the world. For I, for my part, consider that we shall manage our city to better advantage and be ourselves better men and go forward in all our undertakings if we stop setting our hearts on the empire of the sea. For it is this which plunged us into our present state of disorder, which overthrew that democratic government under which our ancestors lived and were the happiest of the Hellenes, and which is the cause, one might almost say, of all the ills which we both suffer ourselves and inflict upon the rest of the Hellenes.

a Established by Solon and Cleisthenes, who are much praised in the Areopagiticus.
65 Ὅτα μὲν οὖν ὁτι χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ δυναστείας ὑπὸ πάντων ἐρωμένης καὶ περιμαχήτου γεγενημένης κατηγοροῦντα δοκεῖν ἀνεκτὸν τι λέγειν: ὅμως δὲ ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὑπεμείνατε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους λόγους, ἀληθεῖς μὲν οντας φιλαπεχθήμονας δὲ, καὶ τοῦτον

66 ὑμῶν ἀνασχέσθαι δέομαι, καὶ μὴ καταγνώναι μον τοιαῦτην μανίαν, ὅσ ἄρ' ἐγὼ προειλόμην ἄν διαλεχθῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ πραγμάτων οὕτω παραδόξων, εἰ μὴ τι λέγειν ἀληθεῖς εἰχον περὶ αὐτῶν. νῦν δ' οἶμαι πᾶσι φανερῶν ποιήσειν ὡς ὦντε δικαίας ἀρχῆς ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ὦτε γενέσθαι δυνατῆς ὦτε συμφερούσης ὑμῖν.

67 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ δικαίας, παρ' ὑμῶν μαθὼν ὑμᾶς ἔχω διδάσκειν. ὅτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ταύτην εἰχον τὴν δύναμιν, ποῖος λόγος οὐκ ἀνηλώσαμεν κατηγοροῦντες μὲν τής ἐκείνων ἀρχῆς, διεξόντες δ' ὡς δικαιόν ἐστιν αὐτονόμους εἶναι τοὺς Ἕλ-

68 ηνας; τίνας δὲ τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐλλογίμων οὐ παρεκαλέσαμεν ἔπι τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ύπὲρ τούτων συστάσαν; τόσας δὲ πρεσβείας ὡς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν ἀπεστείλαμεν, διδαχούσας αὐτὸν ὡς ὦτε δικαίον ἐστιν ὦτε συμφέρον μίαν πόλιν κυρίαν εἶναι τῶν Ἕλληνων; οὐ πρότερον δ' ἐπαυσάμεθα πολεμοῦμεν καὶ κυδυνεύομεν καὶ

[173] κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, πρὶν ἡθέλησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι ποιήσασθαι τὰς συνθήκες τὰς περὶ τῆς αὐτονομίας.

69 Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ δικαίον ἐστι τοὺς κρείττους τῶν ἡττῶν ἀρχεῖν, ἐν ἐκείνοις τε τοῖς χρόνοις τυγ-

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a After 404 B.C.
b In 395, at Corinth, an anti-Spartan alliance was entered.

48
I know, however, that it is difficult for one who attempts to denounce that imperial power which all the world lusts after and has waged many wars to obtain to impress his hearers as saying anything which is not intolerable. Nevertheless, since you have endured the other things which I have said, which, although true, are offensive, I beg you to be patient also with what I shall say upon this subject and not to impute to me the madness of having chosen to discourse to you on matters so contrary to the general opinion without having something true to say about them. Nay, I believe that I shall make it evident to all that we covet an empire which is neither just nor capable of being attained nor advantageous to ourselves.

Now that it is not just I can show you by lessons which I have learned from yourselves. For when the Lacedaemonians held this power, what eloquence did we not expend in denouncing their rule, contending that it was just for the Hellenes to enjoy independence? What cities of repute did we not call upon to join the alliance which was formed in this cause? How many embassies did we not dispatch to the great King to convince him that it was neither just nor expedient for one state to dominate the Hellenes? Indeed we did not cease waging war and facing perils both by land and sea until the Lacedaemonians were willing to enter into the treaty which guaranteed our independence.

At that time, then, we recognized the principle that it is not just for the stronger to rule over into by Athens, Thebes, Argos, and Corinth. See Diodorus xiv. 82.

That headed by Conon in 395 B.C. is known.

The Peace of Antalcidas.
χάνομεν ἐγνωκότες, καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρ’ ἡμῖν καθεστηκυίας, ὡς δ’ οὖδ’ ἂν δυνηθεὶμεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην καταστήσασθαι, ταχέως οἴμαι δηλώσειν. ἢν γὰρ μετὰ μυρίων ταλάντων οὐχ οἶδ’ τ’ ἡμεν διαφυλάξαι, πῶς ἂν ταύτην ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας κτήσασθαι δυνηθεὶμεν, ἀλλωσ τε καὶ χρώμενοι τοῖς ἦσθεν οὐχ οίς ἐλά.

70 βομεν ἀλλ’ οίς ἀπωλέσαμεν αὐτήν; ὡς τοῖνοι οὐδὲ δεξασθαι διδομένης τῇ πόλει συμφέρει, δοκείτε μοι τάχιστ’ ἂν ἐκείθεν καταμαθεῖν. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων βουλόμαι μικρά προεπείν. δέδουκα γὰρ μὴ διὰ τὸ πολλὸς ἐπιτιμᾶν δόξω τισὶ προσηύχασθαι τῆς πόλεως κατηγορεῖν.

71 'Εγὼ δ’ εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἀλλοὺς τινὰς ἐπεχείρουν οὕτω διεξεῖναι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, εἰκότως ἂν εἴχον τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην νῦν δὲ πρὸς υμᾶς ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐ διαβάλλειν ἐτέρους ἐπιθυμῶν, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς βουλόμενος παῦσαι τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην, περὶ ἕς ἄπας ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, βεβαιῶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ἀλλοὺς "Ελληνας ἀγαγεῖν.

72 'Ανάγκη δὲ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας καὶ τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας τοὺς μὲν λόγους χρῆσθαι παραπλησίοις, τὰς δὲ διανοίας ἐχεῖν ἀλλήλους οὐς οἶντ’ ἐναντιωτάτας. ὧστε περὶ τῶν ταύτα λεγόντων οὐκ ἄει προσῆκει τὴν αὐτήν υμᾶς γνώμην ἐχεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ βλάβη λοιδοροῦντας μισεῖν οὐς κακόνους ὄντας τῇ πόλει, τοὺς δ’ ἐπ’ ὁφελία

a That is, we recognized it as valid not only in our domestic relations but in our foreign policy.

b A round number. Cf. Antid. 234. In 126 he speaks of 8000. Thucydides (ii. 13. 3) states that 9700 talents was the largest amount ever stored on the Acropolis.
the weaker," even as now we recognize it in the nature of the polity which has been established amongst ourselves. But that we could not, if we would, attain to this empire by conquest I think I shall quickly prove. For when, with the help of ten thousand talents, we were not able to retain it, how can we acquire it in our present state of poverty, especially since we are now addicted, not to the ways of life by which we gained it, but to those by which we lost it? Furthermore, that it is not even for the advantage of the state to accept this empire, if it were offered to us, I think you will learn very quickly from what further I have to say. But first I want to say a word by way of leading up to this point, fearing that, on account of my many strictures, I may give the impression to some of you of having chosen to denounce our city.

If I were attempting to discourse in this manner before any others, I should naturally lay myself open to this charge. But now I am addressing myself to you, not with the wish that I may prejudice you in the eyes of others, but with the desire that I may cause you to make an end of such a policy and that Athens and the rest of the Hellenes may form a lasting peace.

But those who admonish and those who denounce cannot avoid using similar words, although their purposes are as opposite as they can be. You ought not, therefore, to have the same feeling towards all who use the same language but, while abhorring those who revile you to your harm as inimical to the state, you ought to commend those who admonish

\[c] Cf. Paneg. 130.\]
ISOCRATES

νουθετούντας ἐπαινεῖν καὶ βελτίστοις τῶν πολιτῶν
νομίζειν, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα τὸν ἐν-
αργέστατα δυνάμενον δηλώσαι τὰς πονηρὰς τῶν
πράξεων καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γνωμο-
νας. οὕτως γὰρ ἀν τάχιστα ποιήσειν ὑμᾶς, μισή-
σαντας ἃ δεῖ, βελτιώνων ἐπιθυμῆσαι πραγμάτων.
Τόπερ μὲν οὖν τῆς τῶν λόγων τραχύτητος καὶ
tῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τῶν ῥήθησεσθαι μελλόντων
tαυτ’ ἔχω λέγειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς · οδεν δ’ ἀπέλιπον,
πάλιν ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀρχήν. ἔφασκον γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν
κάλλιστ’ ἂν ὑμᾶς καταμαθεῖν ὅσον συμφέρει
 λαβεῖν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν, εἰ σκέφασθε
tίνα τρόπον ἢ πόλης διέκειτο πρὶν τὴν δύναμιν
tαύτην κτήσασθαι, καὶ πῶς ἐπειδή κατέσχεν
αὐτὴν. ἂν γὰρ ταῦτα παρ’ ἄλλῃ δῆ τῇ διανοίᾳ
θεωρήσῃτε, γνώσεθθ’ ὡςων κακῶν αἰτία τῇ πόλει
gέγονεν.

75 Ἡ μὲν τοῖνυν πολιτεία τοσούτω βελτίων ἢν καὶ
κρείττων ἢ τότε τῆς ύστερον καταστάσης, ὅσω
περ Ἀριστείδης καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Μιλτιάδης
ἄνδρες ἀμείνους ἦσαν Ὕπερβόλου καὶ Κλεο-
φώντος καὶ τῶν νῦν δημηγοροῦντων· τὸν δὲ δήμον
εὐρήσετε τὸν τότε πολιτεύομενον οὐκ ἄργιας οὐδ’
76 ἀπορίας οὐδ’ ἐλπίδων κενῶν ὅντα μεστὸν, ἀλλὰ
νικαν μὲν δυνάμενον ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀπαντάσ τοὺς
εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλοντας, ἀριστείων δ’ ἀξιού-
μενον ἐν τοῖς ύπέρ τῆς Ἐλλάδος κινδύνους, οὕτω

a Demosthenes (third Olynthiac 21 ff.) compares Aristides and Pericles with the present-day orators who say to the
people: “What are your desires; what shall I propose; how can I please you?”

b Hyperbolus, successor to Cleon, the tanner. Aristophanes
calls him πονηρός (Peace 684); Thucydides, μοχθηρός (viii. 73).
you for your good and to esteem them as the best of your fellow-citizens, and him most of all, even among them, who is able to point out most vividly the evils of your practices and the disasters which result from them. For such a man can soonest bring you to abhor what you should abhor and to set your hearts on better things.

These, then, are the things which I have to say in defence of my harshness both in the words which I have spoken and those which I am about to speak. I will now resume at the place where I left off. For I was on the point of saying that you could best learn that it is not to your advantage to obtain the empire of the sea if you should consider what was the condition of Athens before she acquired this power and what after she obtained it. For if you will examine one condition in contrast with the other you will see how many evils this power has brought upon the city.

Now the polity as it was in the earlier time was as much better and stronger than that which obtained later as Aristides and Themistocles and Miltiades a were better men than Hyperbolus b and Cleophon c and those who to-day harangue the people. d And you will find that the people who then governed the state were not given over to slackness and poverty and empty hopes. e but were able to conquer in battle all who invaded their territory; f that they were awarded the meed of valour g in the wars which they fought for the sake of Hellas; and that they were

For Cleophon see 13, note b.
Aristophon and Eubulus.
Cf. "hopes from the platform," Demosthenes, first Philippic 45.
See Paneg. 86.
See Paneg. 99.
δὲ πιστευόμενον ὡστε τὰς πλείστας αὐτῶ τῶν 77 πόλεων ἐκούσας ἐγχειρίσαι σφᾶς αὐτᾶς. τούτων δ᾿ ὑπαρχόντων, ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς πολιτείας τῆς παρὰ πᾶσιν εὐδοκιμούσης ἐπὶ τοιαύτην ἀκολασίαν ἡ δύναμις ἡμᾶς αὐτὴ προῆγαγεν, ἢν οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαινέσειεν· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ νικῶν τοὺς ἐπιστρατεύοντας οὔτω τοὺς πολίτας ἐπαίδευσεν, ὡστε μηδὲ πρὸ τῶν τειχῶν τοιμᾶν ἐπεξείναι τοῖς 78 πολεμίοις· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσης καί τῆς δόξης τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἐλλήνων εἰς τοσοῦτον μῖσος κατέστησαν, ὡστε παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθεῖν ἐξανδραποδισθήναι τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ Λακεδαίμονίων τῶν εξ ἀρχῆς πολεμοῦντων εὐνουστέρων ἐτύχομεν ἢ 79 τῶν πρότερον ἡμῶν συμμάχων ὅντων. οἷς οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦμεν, ὅτι χαλεπῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς διετέθησαν· οὐ γὰρ ὑπάρχοντες ἅλλ’ ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ παθόντες τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔσχον περὶ ἡμᾶς· τίς γὰρ ἂν ὑπέμεινε τὴν ἀσέλγειαν τῶν πατέρων τῶν ἡμετέρων, οὐ συναγαγόντες εξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος τοὺς ἀργοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀπασών τῶν πονηρῶν μετέχοντας, πληροῦντες [175] τούτων τὰς τρυπῆρες, ἀπηχθάνοντο τοῖς Ἐλλησι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις

a See Paneg. 72.

b A rhetorical point. It was Pericles’ policy in the Peloponnesian War to meet the enemy only on the sea and to keep on the defensive on land. He was bitterly criticized for keeping the Athenians cooped up within their walls while the Spartans invaded and ravaged their lands.

c See Areop. 6 and note.
so trusted that most of the states of their own free will placed themselves under their leadership. But, notwithstanding these advantages, in place of a polity which was admired by all men this power has led us on to a state of licence which no one in the world could commend; in place of our habit of conquering those who took the field against us it has instilled into our citizens such ways that they have not the courage even to go out in front of the walls to meet the enemy; and in place of the good will which was accorded us by our allies and of the good repute in which we were held by the rest of the Hellenes it brought us into such a degree of odium that Athens barely escaped being enslaved and would have suffered this fate had we not found the Lacedaemonians, who were at war with us from the first, more friendly than those who were formerly our allies—not that we can have any just complaint against the latter for being obdurate towards us; for they were not aggressors but on the defensive, and came to have this feeling after suffering many grievous wrongs at our hands. For who could have brooked the insolence of our fathers? Gathering together from all Hellas men who were the worst of idlers and men who had a part in every form of depravity and manning their triremes with them, they made themselves odious to the Hellenes, driving into exile the best of the citizens in the other states.

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a Mercenaries made up the crews at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. See Thuc. i. 121.

b Cf. Thuc. ii. 9.

c The aristocratic families, in order to make room for the democratic faction. Isocrates evidently means that their property was confiscated and used to pay the mercenaries. See Thuc. viii. 21. The rhetorical point is the same as in 46.
πόλεσιν ἐξέβαλλον, τοῖς δὲ πονηροτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων τάκεινών διένεμον;

80 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τολμήσαμι περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις γενομένων ἀκριβῶς διελθεῖν, ώμᾶς μὲν ὕσως ἂν ποιήσαμι βέλτιον βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν παρόντων, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἂν διαβληθεὶν· εἰώθατε γὰρ μισεῖν οὐχ οὕτω τοὺς αἰτίους τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ὃς τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῶν. τοιαύτην οὖν ύμῶν γνώμην ἔχοντων, δέδοικα μὴ πειράμενος ύμᾶς ευεργετεῖν αὐτὸς ἀπολαύσω τι φλαῦρον. οὗ μὴν ἀποστήσομαι παντάπασιν ἄν διενοθῇν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πικρότατα καὶ μάλιστ' ἄν ύμᾶς λυπήσοντα παραλεῖψω, μνησθήσομαι δὲ τούτων μόνων ἐξ ὧν γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀνοιαν τῶν τότε πολιτευμένων.

82 Οὕτω γὰρ ἀκριβῶς εὑρίσκον ἐξ ὧν ἀνθρωποι μάλιστ' ἂν μισθεῖεν, ὥστ' ἐπηρήσαντο τὸ περιγιγνόμενον ἐκ τῶν φόρων ἀργύριον, διελόντες κατὰ τάλαντον, εἰς τὴν ὁρχήστραν τοῖς Διονυσίοις εἰσφέρειν ἐπειδὰν πλήρες ἢ τὸ θέατρον· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, καὶ παρεισῆγον τοὺς παιδὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τετελευτηκότων, ἀμφοτέρους ἐπιδεικνύοντες τοῖς μὲν συμμάχοις τὰς τιμᾶς τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῶν

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a Ironical. He means that they mastered the science of making themselves unpopular.

b That is, the theoretic fund. See 13, note. The point of the division into talents is obscure. Perhaps one talent was distributed at each festival.

c The "Greater Dionysia," celebrated in March.

d The state brought them up at public expense until they were of age for citizenship, at which time they were led
and distributing their property among the most depraved of the Hellenes!

But if I were to make bold to go through in detail what took place in those times I might probably help you to be better advised regarding the present situation, but I should prejudice my own reputation; for you are wont to hate not so much those who are responsible for your mistakes as those who undertake to denounce them. I fear, therefore, since you are of such a mind, that if I attempt to benefit you I may myself reap a poor reward. Nevertheless, I am not going to refrain entirely from saying the things which I had in mind but shall pass over the most severe and, mayhap, the most painful to you and recall to your minds only the facts by which you will recognize the folly of the men who at that time governed the city.

For so exactly did they gauge the actions by which human beings incur the worst odium that they passed a decree to divide the surplus of the funds derived from the tributes of the allies into talents and to bring it on the stage, when the theatre was full, at the festival of Dionysus; and not only was this done but at the same time they led in upon the stage the sons of those who had lost their lives in the war, seeking thus to display to our allies, on the one hand, the value of their own property before the concourse of the people in the theatre and bidden God speed! See Aeschines, Against Ctesiphon 154.

It appears that the "tribute" money of the allies during the Confederacy of Delos was brought to Athens by their representatives at the time of the Dionysiac festival. See Aristophanes, Acharnians 505, 643. Besides, the festival attracted many unofficial visitors from the other states.

That is, the value we attach to it—how we honour their contributions.
The text clearly means "brought in by paid men." But μισθωτοί may be either paid servants or paid soldiers. The former meaning is generally preferred by the editors because only in a loose sense could it be said that the tribute was brought in by mercenaries; besides, the present tense is employed. Nevertheless the reader will think of the hirelings mentioned just before (in 79) with whom the Athenians manned their triremes and through whom they forced the payment of the tribute, and doubtless the author so intended.

This strong position on the slope of Mt. Parnes in 58
which was brought in by hirelings, and to the rest of the Hellenes, on the other, the multitude of the fatherless and the misfortunes which result from this policy of aggression. And in doing this they themselves counted the city happy, while many of the simple-minded deemed it blessed, taking no thought whatsoever for future consequences but admiring and envying the wealth which flowed into the city unjustly and which was soon to destroy also that which justly belonged to it. For they reached such a degree of neglect of their own possessions and of covetousness of the possessions of other states that when the Lacedaemonians had invaded our territory and the fortifications at Decelea had already been built, they manned triremes to send to Sicily and were not ashamed to permit their own country to be cut off and plundered by the enemy while dispatching an expedition against a people who had never in any respect offended against us. Nay, they arrived at such a pitch of folly that at a time when they were not masters of their own suburbs they expected to extend their power over Italy and Sicily and Carthage. And so far did they outdo all mankind in recklessness that whereas misfortunes chasten others

Attica was seized and fortified by the Spartans as an outpost from which to raid Athenian territory in 413 B.C.

The original expedition to Sicily was dispatched in 415 B.C. Strong reinforcements were, however, sent at the time Decelea was fortified by the Spartans. See Thuc. vii. 20.

Decelea was 14 miles from Athens, but the Athenians kept within their walls, and the Spartans ravaged their territory almost at will. See Thuc. vii. 19 ff.

Thucydides makes Alcibiades voice the expectation of conquering first Sicily, then Italy, and then Carthage. See vi. 90.
ISOCRATES

εμφρονεστέροις, ἐκεῖνοι δ’ οὐδ’ ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπαι-
86 δεύθησαν. καίτοι πλείσθεν καὶ μείζοσι περιέπεσον
ἔπλ ός ἀρχής ταύτης τῶν ἐν ἀπαντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῇ
πόλει γεγενημένων. εἰς Λύγυπτον μὲν γε διακόσιαι
πλεύσασαι τρυφέρες αὐτῶν τοῖς πληρώμασι δι-
eφθάρθησαν, περὶ δὲ Κύπρον πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν,
ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελεικῷ πολέμω ἐν χιλιῶν ὀπλίταις
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπώλεσαν, ἐν Σικελίᾳ
δὲ τέτταρας μυριάδας καὶ τρυφέρες τετταράκοντα
καὶ διακοσίας, τὸ δὲ τελευταίον ἐν Εὐληστόντω
87 διακοσίας. τὰς δὲ κατὰ δέκα καὶ κατὰ πέντε²
καὶ πλείους τούτων ἀπολυμένας καὶ τοὺς κατὰ
χιλίους καὶ δισχιλίους ἀποθνῄσκοντας τῖς ἀν ἐξαιρθ-
μήσειν; πλὴν ἐν ἦν τούτῳ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων, ταφάς
ποιεῖν καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, εἰς δὲ πολλοὶ
cαὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἕλληνων
ἐφοίτων, οὐ συμπενθήσοντες τοὺς τεθνεότας ἀλλὰ
88 συνησθησόμενοι ταῖς ἡμετέραις συμφοραῖς. τελευ-
tῶτες δ’ ἔλαθον σφάς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν τάφους
τοὺς δημοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμπλησαντες, τὰς δὲ

1 ἐν δὲ τῷ Δεκελεικῷ πολέμῳ Παπύρος Λονδίνιος: ἐν Δάτῳ
2 καὶ κατὰ πέντε Παπύρος Λονδίνιος: καὶ πέντε μοι.

² So also Thuc. i. 23.

¹ These were sent to aid Inarus of Egypt in his revolt
aginst Persia, 460 μ.ε. See Thuc. i. 104 ff.

³ Thucydides (i. 112) speaks of a fleet of 200 ships of which
60 were sent to Egypt, the remainder under Cimon laying
siege to Citium in Cyprus. This expedition, though expen-
sive in the loss of men and money, was not disastrous like
the former.

⁴ The text is very uncertain. The reading of the London
papyrus is at least preferable since the loss of 10,000 hoplites
(unless a hopeless exaggeration) cannot be accounted for if
60
ON THE PEACE, 85–88

and render them more prudent our fathers learned no lessons even from this discipline. And yet they were involved in more and greater disasters in the time of the empire than have ever befallen Athens in all the rest of her history. Two hundred ships which set sail for Egypt perished with their crews, and a hundred and fifty off the island of Cyprus; in the Decelean War they lost ten thousand heavy armed troops of their own and of their allies, and in Sicily forty thousand men and two hundred and forty ships, and, finally, in the Hellespont two hundred ships. But of the ships which were lost in fleets of ten or five or more and of the men who were slain in armies of a thousand or two thousand who could tell the tale? In a word, it was at that time a matter of regular routine to hold public funerals every year, which many both of our neighbours and of the other Hellenes used to attend, not to grieve with us for the dead, but to rejoice together at our misfortunes. And at last, before they knew it, they had filled the public burial-grounds with the bodies of their fellow-citizens and the registers of the

the reading of ΠΕ or that of the other mss. is adopted. See Laistner in Classical Quarterly xv. p. 81. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (according to Thuc. ii. 13), the Athenian heavy-armed troops numbered 29,000. Later (according to Against Aristog., attributed to Demosthenes, 51), the whole body of Athenian citizens numbered but 20,000. 

Diodorus (xiii. 21) gives the same number of men, but 200 ships. Thucydidès gives the number of ships as 209 and the number of men as not less than 40,000, including heavy and light armed troops, crews, etc. See especially vii. 75. 5.

At the battle of Aegospotami in 405 B.C., the dénouement of this tragic history. Xenophon (Hell. ii. 1. 20) and Diodorus (xiii. 105) give 180 as the number of the ships.

See Paneg. 74, note d.

The Ceramicus.
fratrias kai ta graumateia ta lexiarchikà twn oude tê polei prosopkonton. gnoi̇h dé an tis ékeíthen malista to plêthos twn apolluménon: tâ gar geño twn andrôn twn ónomastotatwv kai toulous oukous toulis megístous, ou kal tâs turannikas stásis kai ton Periskon polémov diéfugon, eúrísomenv epî tîs arxhîs, ës epibumóumen, anas-tastous gegevenménous. òost' eî tis skopeíthai boûlotoi peri twn álllon, òspere prôs deîgma tout' anaféron, faneímen aw mikroû déin antilagménov.

Kai toî chrê polîn men euðamoniçevn ì tîn ëx ápántwv anvrótopwv eikî pòllous polítas âthroiçousan, allà tîn to géno twn ëx arxhîs tîn polîn oikisántwn mállo twn álllon diasaúçousan, ândras [177] de ëxeloum ì toûs tâs turannidás kataçontas mhde touîs meîzw dunasteían touî dikaion kektîménous, allà touîs áziwos men òntas tîs megísths timiâs, stêrghontas d' épi tais upo touî plêthous dido-90 ménaís. taûthîs gar êxin ou't' anâr èn te pòlis labeuîn ãn dúnai toî spoudiatoîravan oude' ásphale-stéran oude' pleiónos âziwv. hîpner oi peri tâ Periskà gevómoenvi schôntes oux omoîos toûs leîstais êbíswan, toûtè men pлеîw tûn ikánôn êxontes, toûtè d' èn sútideiai kai poliorkíais kai touîs megístous kakôís kathêstôtes, allà peri men tîn trophi tîn kath' ëmeran ou't' èn sútideiai ou't'

a Cf. 50. All citizens were duly enrolled in the phratry registers, phratôrikà graumateia and in the state registers, kept in each township, lexiarchikà graumateia.

b Pisistratus and his sons, Hippias and Hipparchus. See Aristotle, Const. of Athens 18.

c Cf. 4.

d They were virtually in a state of siege after the occupa-
phratries and of the state with the names of those who had no claim upon the city. And you may judge of the multitude of the slain from this fact: The families of the most illustrious Athenians and our greatest houses, which survived the civil conflicts under the tyrants and the Persian Wars as well, have been, you will find, entirely wiped out under this empire upon which we set our hearts. So that if one desired to go into the question of what befel the rest of our citizens, judging by this instance, it would be seen that we have been changed, one might almost say, into a new people.

And yet we must not count that state happy which without discrimination recruits from all parts of the world a large number of citizens but rather that state which more than all others preserves the stock of those who in the beginning founded it. And we ought not to emulate those who hold despotic power nor those who have gained a dominion which is greater than is just but rather those who, while worthy of the highest honours, are yet content with the honours which are tendered them by a free people. For no man nor any state could obtain a position more excellent than this or more secure or of greater worth. And it was because they acquired just this position that our ancestors in the time of the Persian Wars did not live in the manner of freebooters, now having more than enough for their needs, again reduced to a state of famine and siege and extreme misfortune; on the contrary, while they lived neither in want nor in surfeit of the means of subsistence of Decelea by the Spartans, who cut off their food supplies.

*The terrible plague described by Thucydides (i. 23; ii. 48 ff.).*
ἐν ὑπερβολαῖς ὄντες, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τῆς πολιτείας δικαιοσύνη καὶ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν φιλοτιμούμενοι καὶ τὸν βίον ἡδίον τῶν ἄλλων διάγοντες.

91 Ὡν ἀμελήσαντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ’ ἐκείνους οὐκ ἀρχεῖν ἄλλα τυραννεῖν ἐπεθύμησαν, ἄ δοκεῖ μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν δύναμιν, πλείστον δ’ ἀλλήλων κεχώρισται τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντων ἔργον ἐστὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείαις ποιεῖν εὐδαίμονεστέρους, τοῖς δὲ τυράννοις ἔθος καθέστηκε τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων πόνοις καὶ κακοῖς αὐτῶς ἡδονᾶς παρασκευάζειν. ἀνάγκη δὲ τοὺς τοιούτους ἔργους ἐπιχειροῦντας τυραννικαίς καὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιππέτευν, καὶ τοιαῦτα πάσχειν οἶα περ ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δράσωσιν. ἀ καὶ τῇ πόλει συνέπεσεν.

92 ἀντὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ φρουρεῖν τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροπόλεις τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπείδου τοὺς πολεμίους κυρίους γενομένους· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ παῖδας ὁμήρους λαμβάνειν, ἀποσπῶντες ἀπὸ πατέρων καὶ μητέρων, πολλοί τῶν πολιτῶν ἡμαγκάσθησαν τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ πολιορκίᾳ χείρον παιδεύειν καὶ τρέφειν ἡ προσθήκη αὐτοῖς· ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ γεωργεῖν τὰς χώρας τὰς ἀλλοτρίας πολλῶν ἐτῶν οὐδ’ ἰδεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔξεγένετο τῇ αὐτῶν.

93 "Ωστ’ εἰ τις ἡμᾶς ἐρωτήσειν εἰ δεξαίμεθ’ ἂν τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἀρέαντες τοιαύτα παθοῦσαν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν, τίς ἂν ὀμολογήσειν, πλὴν εἰ τις

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*a* That is, to rule by consent as against ruling by force—delegated as against irresponsible power. See *Paneg.* 80 ff.


*c* Described in 111–113.

*d* A Spartan garrison occupied the Acropolis during the rule of the Thirty.

*e* This the Athenians did at Samos in 440 B.C. See *Thuc.* i. 115.
sistence day by day, they prided themselves on the justice of their polity and on their own virtues, and passed their lives more pleasantly than the rest of the world.

But, heedless of these lessons, those who came after them desired, not to rule but to dominate—a words which are thought to have the same meaning, although between them there is the utmost difference. For it is the duty of those who rule to make their subjects happier through their care for their welfare, whereas it is a habit of those who dominate to provide pleasures for themselves through the labours and hardships of others. But it is in the nature of things that those who attempt a despot's course must encounter the disasters which befall despotic power and be afflicted by the very things which they inflict upon others. And it is just this which has happened in the case of Athens; for in place of holding the citadels of other states, her people saw the day when the enemy were in possession of the Acropolis; in place of dragging children from their mothers and fathers and taking them as hostages, many of her citizens, living in a state of siege, were compelled to educate and support their children with less than was their due; and in place of farming the lands of other states, for many years they were denied the opportunity of even setting eyes upon their own fields.

If, therefore, anyone were to ask us whether we should choose to see Athens in such distress as the price of having ruled so long a time, who could

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f The reference is to the cleruchies. See 6, note.
* From 413 to 404 B.C.
^ From 478 to 405 B.C.

VOL. II F 65
παντάπασιν ἀπονεομένους ἐστὶ καὶ μῆθ᾽ ἑρόων μήτε γονέων μήτε παῖδων μήτ᾽ ἄλλου μηδενὸς
[178] φροντίζει πλὴν τοῦ χρόνου μόνον τοῦ καθ᾽ ἑαυτόν; ὥν οὐκ ἄξιον τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ
μᾶλλον τῶν πολλὴν πρόνοιαν ποιομένων, καὶ μηδὲν ἦττον ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς δόξης ἡ τῆς ἴδιας
φιλοτιμομένων, καὶ προαιρομένων μέτριον βίον
μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μᾶλλον ἡ μέγαν πλούτον μετ᾽
ἀδικίας. καὶ γὰρ οἱ πρόγονοι τουτούς αὐτῶς
παρασχόντες τὴν τε πόλιν εὐθαμονεστάτην τοῖς
ἐπιγιγνομένοις παρέδοσαν καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἁρετῆς
ἀθάνατον τὴν μνήμην κατέλησον. εἷς ὀὖν ἀμφότερα
ῥᾴδιον ἐστὶ καταμαθεῖν, καὶ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὅτι
δύναται τρέφειν ἄνδρας ἀμένους τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ
τὴν καλουμένην μὲν ἄρχην οὖσαν δὲ συμφοράν, ὅτι
πέφυκε χείρος ἀπαντας ποιεῖν τοὺς χρωμένους
αὐτῇ.
94 Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμηρίων οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἡμᾶς ἄλλα
cαι τὴν Λακεδαίμονιν πόλιν διέφθειρεν, ὡστε
τοῖς εἰθισμένοις ἐπαινεῖν τὰς ἐκείνων ἁρετὰς οὐχ
οἰόντα ἐστίν εἰπεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἥμεις
μὲν διὰ τὸ δημοκρατεῖσθαι κακῶς ἐχρησάμεθα
toῖς πράγμασιν, εἰ δὲ Λακεδαίμονι ταῦτην τὴν
dύναμιν παρέλαβον, εὐθαμονας ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐποίησαν. πολὺ γὰρ θάττον ἐν
ἐκείνοις ἐπεδείξατο τὴν φύσιν τῆς αὐτῆς τὴν
gὰρ πολιτείαν ἡν ἐν ἐπτακοσίος ἔτεσιν οὐδεὶς οἴδεν

a See 90. b Cf. Areop. 74.
Cf. Euripides' Alcestis 802:
où bios ἄληθος ὁ bios, ἄλλα συμφορά.
a Cf. Panath. 200.
answer yes, except some utterly abandoned wretch who cared not for sacred matters nor for parents nor for children nor for any other thing save for the term of his own existence. We, however, ought not to emulate the judgement of such men but rather that of those who exercise great forethought and are no less jealous for the reputation of the state than for their own—men who prefer a moderate competence with justice to great wealth unjustly gained. For our ancestors, proving themselves to be men of this character, handed on the city to their descendants in a most prosperous condition and left behind them an imperishable memorial of their virtue. And from this we may easily learn a double lesson: that our soil is able to rear better men than the rest of the world and that what we call empire, though in reality it is misfortune, is of a nature to deprave all who have to do with it.

We have a most convincing proof of this. For imperialism worked the ruin not only of Athens but of the city of the Lacedaemonians also, so that those who are in the habit of praising the virtues of Sparta cannot argue that we managed our affairs badly because of our democratic government whereas if the Lacedaemonians had taken over the empire the results would have been happy both for the rest of the Hellenes and for themselves. For this power revealed its nature much more quickly in their case. Indeed it brought it to pass that a polity which over a period of seven hundred years had never, so far as we know,

*The Spartan supremacy lasted from 404 to 371; the Athenian from 478 to 405 B.C.*

†From the reign of Eurysthenes and Procles, about 1072, to the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C. For the stability of the Spartan constitution see Panath. 257.
οὖθ' ὑπὸ κινδύνων ὑπὸ συμφορῶν κινηθείσαν, ταύτην ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ σαλέσαι καὶ λυθήναι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐποίησεν. ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν καθεστῶτων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας ἐνέπλησεν ἀδικίας, βαθμίας, ἀνομίας, φιλαργυρίας, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροφίας μὲν τῶν συμμάχων, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ τῶν ἄλλοτρῶν, ὄλγωρίας δὲ τῶν ὄρκων καὶ τῶν συνάδελφῶν. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ύπερβάλοντο τοὺς ἠμετέρους τοὺς ἐις τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀμαρτήμασιν, ὥσον πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον υπάρχουσι σφαγάς καὶ στάσεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐποίησαν, ἐξ ὧν ἀειμνηστοὺς τὰς ἐξήθρας πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔξουσιν. 97 οὕτω δὲ φιλοπολέμως καὶ φιλοκινδύνως διετέθησαν, τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πρὸς τα τουαῦτα πεφυλαγμένως μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ἑχοντες, ὡστε οὐδὲ τῶν συμμάχων οὐδὲ τῶν εὐεργετῶν ἀπέσχοντο τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ βασιλέως μὲν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πλέων ἡ πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα παρασχόντος, Χίων δὲ προθυμοτατα πάντων τῶν συμμάχων τῷ ναυτικῷ συγκινδυνευσάντων, Θηβαίων δὲ μεγίστην δύναμιν εἰς τὸ πεζὸν συμβαλομένων, οὐκ ἐφθασαν τὴν ἄρχην κατασχόντες, καὶ Θηβαίως μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπεβουλέυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα Κλέαρχον καὶ στρατιῶν ἀνέπεμψαν, Χίων

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a See Paneg. 110 ff.

b An example of this caution is the advice of King Archidamus at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. See Thuc. i. 80.

c So also Andocides, On the Peace 29.

d Chios revolted from Athens in 412 B.C. and supported Sparta with her fleet until the end of the Peloponnesian War.

e Thebes was one of Sparta's strongest allies against Athens. See Thuc. iv. 93.
been disturbed by perils or calamities was shaken and all but destroyed in a short space of time. For in place of the ways of life established among them it filled the citizens with injustice, indolence, lawlessness and avarice and the commonwealth with contempt for its allies, covetousness of the possessions of other states, and indifference to its oaths and covenants. In fact they went so far beyond our ancestors in their crimes against the Hellenes that in addition to the evils which already afflicted the several states they stirred up in them slaughter and strife,\(^a\) in consequence of which their citizens will cherish for each other a hatred unquenchable. And they became so addicted to war and the perils of war that, whereas in times past they had been more cautious in this regard\(^b\) than the rest of the world, they did not refrain from attacking even their own allies and their own benefactors; on the contrary, although the great King had furnished them with more than five thousand talents\(^c\) for the war against us, and although the Chians\(^d\) had supported them more zealously than any of their other allies by means of their fleet and the Thebans\(^e\) had contributed a great number of troops to their land forces, the Lacedaemonians no sooner gained the supremacy than they straightway plotted against the Thebans,\(^f\) dispatched Clearchus with an army against the King,\(^g\) and in the case of the Chians

\(^a\) Instanced by the treacherous seizure of the Theban citadel (the Cadmea) by the Spartan Phoebidas. See Xen. Hell. v. 2. 25 ff.

\(^b\) Cf. Panath. 104. The “ten thousand” mercenaries led by the Spartan Clearchus to support Cyrus against King Artaxerxes were not officially dispatched, although sanctioned, by Sparta. For the fortunes of this army see Paneg. 145-149; Philip 90 ff.; and Xenophon’s Anabasis.
δὲ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους τῶν πολιτῶν ἐφυγάδευσαν, τὰς δὲ τριήρεις ἐκ τῶν νεωρίων ἐξελκύσαντες ἀπάσας ὑπὸντο λαβόντες.

99 Ὅνυ ἐξήρκεσε δ’ αὐτοῖς ταῦτ’ ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐπόρθουν μὲν τὴν ἥπειρον, ὦβριζον δὲ τὰς νῆσους, ἀνήρουν δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία πολιτείας καὶ τυράννους καθάστασαν, ἐλυμαίνοντο δὲ τὴν Πελοπόννησον καὶ μεστὴν στάσεων καὶ πολέμων ἐποίησαν. ἐπὶ ποιαν γὰρ τῶν πόλεων ὁνυ ἐστράτευσαν; ἤ περὶ τίνας αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔξημαρτον; οὐκ Ἰλείων μὲν μέρος τι τῆς χώρας ἀφείλοντο, τὴν δὲ γῆν τὴν Κορινθίων ἔτεμον, Μαντινέας δὲ διοίκοισαν, Φλυα- σίους δ’ ἐξεπολυρόκησαν, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀργείων εἰσέβαλον, οὐδὲν δ’ ἐπαύσαντο τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους κακῶς ποιοῦντες, αὐτοῖς δὲ τὴν ἱτταν τὴν ἐν Λευκτροῖς παρασκευάζοντες;

"Ἡν φασὶ τίνες αὐτίαν γεγενήσθαι τῇ Σπάρτῃ τῶν κακῶν, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγοντες· οὐ γὰρ διὰ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων ἐμισήθησαν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ὦβρεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθείς χρόνοις καὶ ταύτην ἠττήθησαν καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐκνωώνευσαν.

100 χρῆ δὲ τὰς αὐτίας ἐπιφέρειν οὐ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς ἐπιγυνομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν ἀμαρτη- μάτων, εὖ δὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτήν ταύτῃ κατηνε-
ON THE PEACE, 98-101

drove into exile\(^a\) the foremost of their citizens and launched their battle-ships from their docks and made off with their whole navy.\(^b\)

However, they were not satisfied with perpetrating these crimes, but about the same time were ravaging the Asiatic coast,\(^c\) committing outrages against the islands,\(^d\) subverting the free governments in Italy and Sicily, setting up despotisms in their stead,\(^e\) overrunning the Peloponnesus and filling it with seditions and wars. For, tell me, against which of the cities of Hellas did they fail to take the field? Which of them did they fail to wrong? Did they not rob the Eleans of part of their territory,\(^f\) did they not lay waste the land of the Corinthians,\(^g\) did they not disperse the Mantineans from their homes,\(^h\) did they not reduce the Phliasians by siege,\(^i\) and did they not invade the country of the Argives,\(^j\) never ceasing from their depredations upon the rest of the world and so bringing upon themselves the disaster at Leuctra? Some maintain that this disaster was the cause of the misfortunes which overtook Sparta, but they do not speak the truth. For it was not because of this that they incurred the hatred of their allies; it was because of their insolence in the time preceding that they were defeated in this battle and fell into peril of losing their own city. We must not attribute the cause to any subsequent misfortunes but to their crimes in the beginning, as the result of which they

See Diodorus xiv. 10 and cf. Paneg. 126, which should be read in this connexion.

\(^a\) See Diodorus xiv. 17.
\(^b\) See Xen. Hell. iv. 5. 19.
\(^c\) See Paneg. 126; Xen. Hell. v. 2. 1.
\(^d\) See Xen. Hell. v. 3. 21 ff. and Paneg. 126.
\(^e\) See Xen. Hell. iv. 4. 19.

71
ISOCRATES

χθησαν. ὥστε πολὺ ἄν τις ἀληθέστερα τυγχάνοι λέγων, εἰ φαίη τότε τὴν ἄρχην αὐτοῖς γεγενῆσθαι τῶν συμφορῶν, ὅτε τὴν ἄρχην τῆς θαλάττης παρελάμβανον· ἐκτώντο γὰρ δύναμιν οὐδὲν ὁμοῖαν

102 τῇ πρότερον ὑπαρχοῦσῃ. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἡμεμοίαι καὶ τὴν εὐταξίαν καὶ τὴν καρτερίαν τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ μελετώμενην ῥαδίως τῆς κατὰ θάλασσαν δυνάμεως ἑπεκράτησαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκολούθιαν τὴν ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ἄρχης αὐτοῖς ἐγγενομένην ταχέως κάκεινης τῆς ἡμεμοίας ἀπεστερήθησαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τοὺς νόμους ἐφύλαττον οὔς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παρέλαβον, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς ἡθείων ἐμενον οἷς πρότερον εἶχον, ἀλλ' ὑπολαβόντες ἐξεῖναι ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ὁ τι ἄν βουληθῶσιν, εἰς πολλὴν ταραχὴν κατέστησαν.

Οὐ γὰρ ἡθείων τὴν ἔξουσιαν ἢς πάντες εὑχονται τυχεῖν, ὡς δύσχρηστος ἔστιν, οὐδ' ὡς παραφρονεῖν ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀγαπώντας αὐτήν, οὐδ' ὅτι τὴν φύσιν ὁμοίαν ἔχει ταῖς ἑταίραις ταῖς ἑρᾶν μὲν αὐτῶν ποιοῦσας, τοὺς δὲ χρωμένους ἀπολλούσας.

103 καίτοι φανερῶς ἐπιδιδεικταὶ ταύτην ἔχουσα τὴν δύναμιν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐν πλείσταις ἐξουσίαις γεγενήμενοι ὕδως τις ἂν ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεπτωκότας, ἀρξαμένους ἀφ' ἧμων καὶ Δακεδαμονίων. αὐτάρ γὰρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πολιτευόμεναι πρότερον σωφρονέστατα καὶ δόξαν ἔχουσαι καλότην, ἐπειδὴ ταύτης ἐτυχον καὶ τὴν ἄρχην ἐλαβον, οὐδὲν ἄλληλων διήνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ὀστὲρ

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*a* For this word-play cf. Philip 61, note d; also this discourse, 105.

*b* The best commentary upon the association here of self-control (moderation) with an inland power and of the 72
ON THE PEACE, 101–104

were brought to such a disastrous end. So that anyone would be much more in accord with the truth if he should assert that they first became subject to the dominion of their present ills at the moment when they attempted to seize the dominion of the sea, since they were seeking to acquire a power which was in no wise like that which they had before possessed. For because of their supremacy on land and of their stern discipline and of the self-control which was cultivated under it, they readily obtained command of the sea, whereas because of the arrogance which was bred in them by that power they speedily lost the supremacy both on land and sea. For they no longer kept the laws which they had inherited from their ancestors nor remained faithful to the ways which they had followed in times past, but conceived that they were licensed to do whatever they pleased and so were plunged into great confusion.

For they did not know that this licence which all the world aspires to attain is a difficult thing to manage, that it turns the heads of those who are enamoured by it, and that it is in its nature like courtesans, who lure their victims to love but destroy those who indulge this passion. And yet it has been shown clearly that it has this effect; for anyone can see that those who have been in the strongest position to do whatever they pleased have been involved in the greatest disasters, ourselves and the Lacedaemonians first of all. For when these states, which in time past had governed themselves with the utmost sobriety and enjoyed the highest esteem, attained to this licence and seized the empire, they differed opposite with a sea power is a very interesting passage of the *Panathenaicus* 115, 116. See *Paneg.* 80, 81.
ISOCRATES

προσήκει τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένους, καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι ταῖς αὐταῖς ἐπεχείρησαν καὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασι παραπλησίοις ἔχρησαντο καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον ὦμολαίς ταῖς συμφοραῖς περιέπεσον. ἦμεις τε γὰρ μισηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων καὶ περὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ κινδυνεύσαντες ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐσώθημεν, ἐκεῖνοί τε πάντων αὐτοὺς ἀπολέσαν βουληθέντων ἐφ' ἦμᾶς καταφυγόντες δι' ἦμῶν τῆς σωτηρίας ἔτυχον. καίτοι πῶς χρῆ τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν τὴν τὰς τελευτάς οὕτω πονηρᾶς ἔχουσαν; ἦ πῶς οὐ μισεῖν καὶ φεύγειν τὴν πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς πόλεις ἐπάρασαν καὶ παθεῖν ἀναγκάσασαν;

105

106 Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ θαυμάζειν, εἰ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐλάνθανεν ἀπαντάσ τοσοῦτον οὐδα κακῶν αἰτία τοῖς ἐχοσον αὐτὴν, οὐδ' εἰ περιμάχητος ἢν ὑφ' ἦμῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων· εὐρήσετε γὰρ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων περὶ τὰς αἱρέσεις τῶν πραγμάτων ἀμαρτάνοντας, καὶ πλείους μὲν ἐπιθυμίας ἔχοντας τῶν κακῶν ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀμεινὸν δὲ βουλευομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν.

[181] καὶ ταῦτ' ἵδοι τις ἀν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων· τί γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω γέγονεν; οὐχ ἦμεις μὲν τοιαῦτα προηγούμεθα πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν Λακεδαιμόνοι δεσπόται τῶν Ἐλλήνων κατέστησαν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' οὕτω κακῶς προύστησαν τῶν πραγμάτων, ὥσθ' ἦμᾶς οὐ πολλοῖς ἐτεσιν ὑστερον πάλιν ἐπιπολάσαι καὶ κυρίους

107

108 γενέσθαι τῆς ἐκείνων σωτηρίας; οὐχ ἦ μὲν τῶν ἀττικιζόντων πολυπραγμοσύνη λακωνίζειν τὰς πόλεις ἐποίησεν, ἢ δὲ τῶν λακωνιζόντων ὦβρις

74
in no respect from each other, but, as is natural in the case of those who have been depraved by the same passions and the same malady, they attempted the same deeds and indulged in similar crimes and, finally, fell into like disasters. For we, being hated by our allies and standing in peril of being enslaved, were saved by the Lacedaemonians; and just so they, when all the rest wanted to destroy them, came to us for refuge and were saved through us. And yet how can we praise a dominion which subjects us to so miserable an end? How can we fail to abhor and shun a power which has incited these two cities both to do and to suffer many abominable things?

But, after all, we should not be surprised that in the past all men have failed to see that this power is the cause of so many ills to those who hold it, nor should we wonder that it has been the bone of contention between us and the Lacedaemonians. For you will find that the great majority of mankind go astray in choosing a course of action and, being possessed of more desires for things evil than for things good, take counsel more in the interest of their foes than of themselves. You can observe this in matters of the greatest importance. For when has it ever happened otherwise? Did we not choose to pursue a policy in consequence of which the Lacedaemonians became masters of the Hellenes? Did not they, in their turn, manage their supremacy so badly that not many years later we again got the upper hand and became the arbiters of their safety? Did not the meddlesomeness of the partizans of Athens cause the various states to become partizans of Sparta, and did not the insolence of the partizans

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\[a\] See 78. \[b\] See *Philip* 44, note b; *Areop. 7*, note.
µεν την των δημηγορούντων πονηρίαν αυτός δήμος ἐπεθύμησε τῆς ὀλυγαρχίας τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων καταστάσεως, διὰ δὲ τήν τῶν τριάκοντα μανίαν ἀπαντες δημοτικώτεροι γεγόναμεν τῶν Φυλήν καταλαβόντων; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλαττώνων καὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιδείξειεν ἂν τις τοὺς πολλοὺς χαῖροντας μὲν καὶ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τοὺς καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν βλάπτουσιν, ἐπίπονα δὲ καὶ χαλεπὰ νομίζοντας ἀφ' ὧν ἀμφότερα ταῦτ' ἄν ωφελοῖτο, καὶ καρτερικοῦς εἶναι δοκοῦντας τοὺς ἐν τούτοις ἐμένοντας. οὐ τινὲς οὖν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ξῶσι καὶ περὶ ὧν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον μέλει, τὰ χείρων φαινονται προαιρούμενοι, τί θαυμαστόν εἰ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν ἀγνοοῦσι καὶ μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλους, περὶ ἡς μηδεῖς πῶστε αὐτοῖς λογισμὸς εἰσήλθεν;

Ὅρατε δὲ καὶ τὰς μοναρχίας τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθισταμένας, ὅσοις ἔχουσι τοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἐτοίμους οὕτως ὡς τοὺς κατασχέοντας αὐτὰς· αἰς τί τῶν δεινῶν ἢ τῶν χαλεπῶν οὐ πρόσεστι; οὐκ εἰθὺς ἐπειδὰν λάβωσι τὰς δυναστείας, εν τοσοῦτοις ἐμπεπλεγμένοι κακοὶς εἰσίν, ὡστ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι πολεμείν μὲν ἀπαντικάς πολιτικάς, μίσειν ὁ' χρ' ὧν οὐδὲν κακὸν πεπόνθασιν, ἀπιστεῖν

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a For the excesses of the Thirty see Areop. 66 ff.
b Thrasybulus, the leader of the “people’s party,” seized the fortress of Phyle on Mt. Parnes and held it against the Thirty until the democracy was restored. See Areop. 64, note.
c Cf. To Nicocles 45.
d Cf. pictures of the fate of despots in To Nicocles 5,
of Sparta force these same states to become partizans of Athens? Did not the people themselves, because of the depravity of the popular orators, desire the oligarchy which was established under the Four Hundred? And have not we, all of us, because of the madness of the Thirty,\(^a\) become greater enthusiasts for democracy than those who occupied Phyle \(^b\)? Indeed in matters of lesser importance and in our every-day life, one could show that the majority take pleasure in the foods and habits which injure both the body and the soul but consider laborious and irksome those from which both sides of our nature would benefit, and that those men are looked upon as austere who remain steadfast in habits which are beneficial.\(^c\) Since, therefore, in the circumstances in which they live every day and about which they are more directly concerned, men show that they prefer the worse to the better course, how can we be surprised if they lack insight regarding the empire of the sea and make war upon each other to possess a power regarding which they have never reflected in their lives?

Look at the one-man-rule which is established in various states and observe how many there are who aspire to it and are ready to undergo anything whatsoever to obtain it. And yet what that is dire and difficult is not its portion?\(^d\) Is it not true that when men obtain unlimited power they find themselves at once in the coil of so many troubles that they are compelled to make war upon all their citizens, to hate those from whom they have suffered no wrong whatsoever, to suspect their own friends

\(^{a}\) Helen 32 ff., and Plato, Republic the beginning of Bk. ix., especially 579.
182] δὲ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἑταῖροις τοῖς αὐτῶν, παρακατατίθεσθαι δὲ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων σωτηρίαν μισθοφόροις ἀνθρώποις, οὐς οὐδὲ πῶποτ' εἶδον, μηδὲν δ' ἤττον φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς φυλάττοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύοντας, οὔτω δ' ὑπόπτως πρὸς ἀπαντας ἔχειν ὡστε μηδὲ τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις θαρρεῖν πλησιάζων τοῖς μεν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἀνηρεμένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δ' ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡφανισμένον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τοσαῦτας τὸ πλῆθος συμφορὰς ἐκόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλουσιν. ὅπου δ' οἱ πρωτεύοντες καὶ δόξας μεγίστας ἐχόντες τοσοῦτων κακῶν ἐρώσι, τί δεὶ θαυμάζειν τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰ τοιοῦτων ἐτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν;

113 Ξοντας; εἰκότως συνίσασθι γὰρ τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν τετυρανευκότας τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἀνηρεμένους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων, τοὺς δ' ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν, τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ γυναικῶν, ἐτὶ δὲ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡφανισμένον. ἀλλ' ὅμως ὑπὸ τοσαῦτας τὸ πλῆθος συμφορὰς ἐκόντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὑποβάλλουσιν. ὅπου δ' οἱ πρωτεύοντες καὶ δόξας μεγίστας ἐχόντες τοσοῦτων κακῶν ἐρώσι, τί δεὶ θαυμάζειν τοὺς ἄλλους, εἰ τοιοῦτων ἐτέρων ἐπιθυμοῦσιν;

114 Οὔκ ἄγνωσκὸν δ' ὅτι τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν τυράννων λόγον ἀποδέχεσθε, τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς δυσκόλως ἀκούετε· πεπόνθατε γὰρ πάντων αἰσχροτὸν καὶ ῥαθυμότατον· ἃ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀρᾶτε, ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἄγνοεῖτε. καίτοι τῶν φρονίμως διακειμένων οὐκ ἔλαχιστον τοῦτο σημεῖον ἔστων, ἣν τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ πάντων τῶν ὁμοίων 115 φαίνονται γνωρίζοντες. ἐὰν ὑμῖν οὐδὲν πῶποτ' ἐμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν τυραννίδας ἡγεῖσθε

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[a] Cf. Cicero, Laelius 15: “haec enim est tyrannorum vita nimirum in qua nulla fides, nulla caritas, nulla stabilis benevolentiae potest esse fiducia; omnia semper suspecta atque sollicita.”
[b] Alexander of Macedon by his mother.
[c] Astyages by Cyrus.
[d] Acetas by Perdiccas; Jason of Pherae by Polydorus.
and daily companions, to entrust the safety of their persons to hirelings whom they have never even seen, to fear no less those who guard their lives than those who plot against them, and to be so suspicious towards all men as not to feel secure even in the company of their nearest kin? And naturally so; for they know well that those who held despotic power before them have been put out of the way, some by their parents, some by their sons, some by their brothers, and some by their wives and, furthermore, that the lineage of these rulers has been blotted out from the sight of men. Nevertheless they willingly submit themselves to such a multitude of calamities. And when men who are of the foremost rank and of the greatest reputation are enamoured of so many evils, is it any wonder that the rest of the world covets other evils of the same kind?

But I do not fail to realize that while you accept readily what I say about the rule of despots, yet you hear with intolerance what I say about the empire of the sea. For you have fallen into a most shameful and careless way of thinking, since what you see clearly in the case of others, this you are blind to in your own case. And yet it is not the least important sign of whether men are possessed of intelligence if they are seen to recognize the same course of conduct in all cases that are comparable. But you have never given this a thought; on the contrary, while you consider the power of a despot to

\* Alexander of Pherae.
\* See Philip 108, note.
\* Cf. the saying of Periander (Herod. iii. 53): τυραννὸς χρῆμα σφαλερὸν πολλοὶ δ' αὐτὴς ἐρασταὶ εἰσι.
\* That is, if they apply the same standard of judgement to all similar cases.
χαλεπάς εἶναι καὶ βλαβερὰς οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς ἐξουσίων αὐτάς, τὴν δ' ἀρχήν τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὴν οὐδὲν ὦτε τοῖς πάθεσιν οὕτε ταῖς πράξεις τῶν μοναρχιῶν διαφέρουσαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν Θηβαίων πράγματα πονηρῶς ἔχειν νομίζετε, ὃτι τοὺς περιοίκους ἄδικον, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐδὲν βέλτιον τοὺς συμμάχους διοικοῦντες ἡ 'κεῖνοι τὴν Βοιωτίαν, ἤγεισθε πάντα τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.

116 "Ἡν οὖν ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, παυσάμενοι τοῦ πανταπασιν εἰκῇ βουλεύεσθαι προσέξετε τὸν νοῦν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει, καὶ φιλοσοφήσετε καὶ σκέψεσθε τι τὸ ποιήσαν ἐστὶ τῷ πόλῃ τούτῳ, λέγω δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ τὴν Δακεδαιμονίων, ἐκ ταπευών μὲν πραγμάτων ἐκατέραν ὁμοθείσαι ἄρξαι τῶν 'Ελλήνων, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνυπέρβλητον τὴν δύναμιν ἠλαβον, περὶ ἀνδραπόδισμον κινδυνεύσαν· καὶ διὰ [183] τίνας αἰτίας Θετταλοῖ μὲν, μεγίστους πλοῦτους παραλαβόντες καὶ χώραν ἀρίστην καὶ πλείστην ἔχοντες, εἰς ἀπορίαν καθεσθήκασι, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ, μικρῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ φαύλων τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπορεξάντων, καὶ γῆν μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντες οὐδὲ λιμένας οὐδ' ἄργυρεια, πέτρας δὲ γεωργοῦντες, μεγίστους 118 οἰκους τῶν 'Ελλήνων κέκτηται· κάκεινων μὲν τὰς ἀκροτόλεις ἄλλοι τινὲς ἀεὶ κατέχουσιν, ὡντων αὐτοῖς πλέον τρισχιλίων ἱππέων καὶ πελταστῶν

a The Thespians and the Plataeans, whom the Thebans expelled from their territory.

b See Antid. 155; Thuc. i. 2.

c The Megarians were mere "nobody's" among the Greeks. Cf. Aristophanes, Acharn. 519, and the saying: τῶν Μεγαρέων οὔδεις λόγος. Isocrates could have ventured 80
be harsh and harmful not only to others but to those who hold it, you look upon the empire of the sea as the greatest good in the world, when in fact it differs neither in what it does nor in what it suffers from one-man-rule. And you think that the affairs of the Thebans are in a bad way because they oppress their neighbours, but, although you yourselves are treating your allies no better than the Thebans treat the Boeotians, you believe that your own actions leave nothing to be desired.

If, then, you heed my advice you will stop taking counsel in your utterly haphazard fashion and give your attention to your own and the state’s welfare, pondering and searching into these questions: What is it which caused these two states—Athens and Sparta I mean—to rise, each one of them, from obscure beginnings to be the first power in Hellas and then to fall, after they had attained a power second to none, into peril of being enslaved? What are the reasons that the Thessalians, who inherited very great wealth and possess a very rich and abundant territory, have been reduced to poverty, while the Megarians, who had small and insignificant resources to begin with and who possess neither land nor harbours nor mines but are compelled to farm mere rocks, own estates which are the greatest among the Hellenes? Why is it that the Thessalians, with a cavalry of more than three thousand horse and light-armed troops beyond number, have their fortresses occupied from time to time by certain no more astounding paradox than in holding up the Megarians as an example to follow.

He means no lands or harbours to speak of, for the Megarians had both, though very little land.

ISOCRATES

ἀναριθμήτων, οὕτωι δὲ μικράν δύναμιν ἔχοντες τὴν αὐτῶν ὅπως βούλονται διουκοῦσιν· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οἱ μὲν σφίσων αὐτοῖς πολεμοῦσιν, οὕτωι δὲ μεταξὺ Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ῥηβαίων καὶ τῆς ἠμετέρας πόλεως οἰκούντες εἰρήνην ἀγοντες διατελοῦσιν.

119 ἦν γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα διεξήγετε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, εὐρήσετε τὴν μὲν ἀκολούθιαν καὶ τὴν ὑβριν τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶν γιγνομένην, τὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην τῶν ἁγαθῶν.

„Ἡν ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἐπαινεῖτε, καὶ νομίζετε τοὺς ταύτη χρωμένους ἀσφαλέστατα ξῆν καὶ βελτίστους εἶναι τῶν πολιτῶν, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἡμῶν οὐκ ὀφειθε γεῦν τοιοῦτο παρασκευάζειν.

120 καίτοι προσήκει τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀσκεῖν καὶ τὰς κακίας φεύγειν πολὺ μᾶλλον ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡ τοῖς ἰδιωταῖς. ἀνὴρ μὲν γὰρ ἄσεβης καὶ πονηρὸς τυχόν ἄν φθάσει τελευτήσας πρὶν δοθοὶ δίκην τῶν ἠμαρτημένων· αἱ δὲ πόλεις διὰ τὴν ἀθανασίαν ὑπομένουσι καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας.

121 Ὁν ἐνθυμομένους χρῆ μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι μὲν χαρίζομένοις, τοῦ δὲ μέλλοντος χρόνου μηδεμίαν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιομένοις, μηδὲ τοῖς φιλεῖν μὲν τὸν δῆμον φάσκουσιν, ὅλην δὲ τὴν πόλιν λυμαίνομένοις· ως καὶ πρότερον, ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον οἱ τοιοῦτοι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος δυναστείαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἄνουαν προήγαγον τὴν

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* By the Macedonians under Alexander II. and by the Thebans under Pelopidas.

* An “unphilosophical” answer might be that no one
other states while the Megarians, with only a small force, govern their city as they see fit? And, again, why is it that the Thessalians are always at war with each other while the Megarians, who dwell between the Peloponnesians on the one hand and the Thebans and the Athenians on the other, are continually in a state of peace? If you will go over these and similar questions in your minds, you will discover that arrogance and insolence have been the cause of our misfortunes while sobriety and self-control have been the source of our blessings.

But, while you commend sobriety in individual men and believe that those who practise it enjoy the most secure existence and are the best among your fellow-citizens, you do not think it fit to make the state practise it. And yet it behaves states much more than individuals to cultivate the virtues and to shun vices; for a man who is godless and depraved may die before paying the penalty for his sins, but states, since they are deathless, soon or late must submit to punishment at the hands both of men and of the gods.

These considerations you should bear in mind and not pay heed to those who gratify you for the moment, while caring nothing for the future, nor to those who profess to love the people, but are in fact the bane of the whole state; since in times past also when men of this character took over the supremacy of the rostrum, they led the city on to such a degree coveted Megarian territory, whereas Thessalian resources were tempting. See a remark of Thucydides, i. 2.


Cf. Plato, Republic 545 b.

Obviously sarcastic: their "supremacy" spells disaster to the state.
ISOCRATES

πόλιν, ὥστε παθεῖν αὐτὴν οἶδα περ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ὑμῖν διηγησάμην.

122 "Α καὶ πάντων μάλιστ’ ἄν τις θαυμάσειν, ὅτι προχειρίζεσθε δημαγωγοὺς οὐ τοὺς τὴν αὐτήν γνώμην ἔχοντας τοὺς μεγάλην τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασιν, ἄλλα τοὺς ὁμοία καὶ λέγοντας καὶ πράττοντας τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν αὐτήν, καὶ ταῦτ’ εἶδότες οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ποιήσαι τὴν πόλιν εὐδαιμόνια τοὺς χρηστοὺς

123 τῶν πονηρῶν διαφέροντας, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐπὶ μὲν ἑκείνων ἐν πολλοῖς ἔτεσιν οὐτε κυνηγεῖσαν οὔτε μεταστάσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ δίς ἡδή καταλυθέσαν, καὶ τὰς φυγὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα γενομένας οὐ διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας κατελθούσας, ἄλλα διὰ τοὺς μισοῦντας τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ μεγίστην ἐπ’ ἀρετῇ δόξαι ἔχοντας.

124 'Ἀλλ’ ὁμοὶς τηλικοῦτοις ἦμῖν ὑπομνημάτων καταλελειμμένων ὡς ἐφ’ ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν ἡ πόλις ἔπραττεν, οὕτω χαίρομεν ταῖς τῶν ρητόρων πονηρίαις, ὡσθ’ ὀρῶντες διὰ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰς ταραχὰς, ὡς οὕτω πεποιήκασιν, τῶν μὲν ἀλλων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς ἐκ τῶν πατρῷων ἐκπεπτωκότας, τούτους δ’ ἐκ πενήτων πλουσίους γεγενημένους,

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\[a\] A century, from the reforms of Cleisthenes in 510 to the revolution of 411 B.C.

\[b\] In 411 and 404 B.C.

\[c\] False accusers, slanderers, professional blackmailers—a class of persons which sprang up like weeds in Athens after the age of Pericles. Their favourite device was to
of folly that she suffered the fate which I described a moment ago.

And indeed what is most astonishing of all in your conduct is that you prefer as leaders of the people, not those who are of the same mind as the men who made Athens great, but those who say and do the same kind of things as the men who destroyed her power; and you do this albeit knowing full well that it is not alone in making the city prosperous that good leaders are superior to the base, but that our democracy itself under the leadership of the former remained unshaken and unchanged for many years, whereas under the guidance of these men it has already, within a short period of time, been twice overthrown, and that, furthermore, our people who were driven into exile under the despots and in the time of the Thirty were restored to the state, not through the efforts of the sycophants, but through those leaders who despised men of that character and were held in the highest respect for their integrity.

Nevertheless, in spite of the many things which remind us how the city fared under both kinds of leadership, we are so pleased with the depravity of our orators that, although we see that many of our other citizens have been stripped of their patrimony because of the war and of the disorders which these sycophants have caused, while the latter, from being extort money by threatening or instituting law-suits. But the word was applied indiscriminately by Isocrates and others to demagogues and politicians of the opposite party. See Lasberg, *Sycophancy in Athens.* Cf. Aristophanes, *Plutus* 850 ff. The term "flatterers" is used in 4.

Aristides restored the people after the rule of the Pistratidae and Thrasybulus after the rule of the Thirty—both men of unblemished reputation.
οὐκ ἀγανακτοῦμεν οὐδὲ φθονοῦμεν ταῖς εὐπραγίασις 125 αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπομένομεν τὴν μὲν πόλιν διαβολὰς ἔχουσαν ὡς λυμαῖνει καὶ δασμολογεῖ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας, τούτους δὲ τὰς ἐπικαρπίας λαμβάνοντας, καὶ τὸν μὲν δῆμον, ὃν φασιν οὔτωι δεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἄρχειν, χείρον πράττοντα τῶν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις δουλεύοντων, οἷς δ' οὔδέν ὑπήρχει ἁγαθὸν, τούτους δὲ διὰ τὴν ἀνοιαν τὴν ἡμετέραν ἐκ ταπεινῶν εὐδαί- 126 μονας γεγενημένους. καίτοι Περικλῆς ὁ πρὸ τῶν τοιούτων δημαγωγοὺς καταστάσας, παραλαβὼν τὴν πόλιν χείρον μὲν φρονοῦσαν ἡ πρὶν κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἐτὶ δ' ἀνεκτῶς πολιτευμένην, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱδιον χρηματισμὸν ὠρμησεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἶκον ἐλάττων αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν ἡ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρέλαβεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγεν ὀκτα- 127 κισχίλια τάλαντα χωρίς τῶν ἑρῶν. οὔτοι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου διεννῦχασιν, ὥστε λέγειν μὲν τομιῶσιν ὡς διὰ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐ δύναντι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἱδίοις προσέχειν τῶν νοῦν, φαίνεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀμελοῦμενα τοσαῦτην εἰληφότα [185] τὴν ἐπίδοσιν, ὅσην οὐδ' ἂν εὐχασθαί τοῖς θεοῖς

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*a* A frequent charge. See *Panath.* 140 ff.; Demosthenes, *Aristocr.* 208, 209. Aesches (Against Ctesiphon 173) makes it against Demosthenes himself: "he maintains himself, not from his private income, but from your perils." The popular orators were in a strong position to make or break the fortunes or the reputations of men and of cities. Isocrates attributes the bad treatment of the general Timotheus by the Athenians to the latter’s failure to court the favour of the orators, which other military leaders took pains to do. See *Antid.* 136. Generals in the field found opportunities to enrich themselves and were prudent enough to "cultivate" the popular leaders at home. Chares, particularly, had the reputation of doing this. See 50, note. 86
On the question of bribery at this time see Butcher, 
Demosthenes pp. 11 ff.

a See Aristophanes, Wasps 655-724.

b Cf. Aristophanes, Wasps 1114 ff.

c See Paneg. 105.

do Isocrates' attitude towards Pericles is set forth at greater length in Antid. 234.

f Thucydides (ii. 65) calls him "incorruptible beyond suspicion."

g See 69, note; Antid. 234.

On the Peace, 124-127

penniless, have become rich, yet we are not aggrieved nor do we resent their prosperity but remain patient with a condition of affairs wherein our city is reproached with doing violence to the Hellenes and extorting money from them, while these men reap the harvest, and wherein our people, who are told by the sycophants that they ought to rule over the rest of the world, are worse off than those who are slaves to oligarchy, while these men, who had no advantage to start with, have risen because of our folly from a mean to an enviable position. And yet Pericles, who was the leader of the people before men of this stamp came into favour, taking over the state when it was less prudent than it had been before it obtained the supremacy, although it was still tolerably well governed, was not bent upon his own enrichment, but left an estate which was smaller than that which he received from his father, while he brought up into the Acropolis eight thousand talents, apart from the sacred treasures. But these demagogues have shown themselves so different from him that they have the effrontery to say that because of the care they give to the commonwealth they are not able to give attention to their private interests, although in fact these "neglected" interests have advanced to a degree of affluence which they would never have even dreamed of praying to the gods that they might attain, whereas
The burdens of state expense were theoretically carried by those best able to bear them. The twelve hundred richest citizens were divided in accordance with their wealth into twenty classes, called symmories. Special tax levies for war purposes were levied upon them in proportion to their means. Besides, men of the wealthiest class were called upon to perform the "liturgies" at their own expense. One of the most burdensome of these was the trierarchy—fitting out a battleship for service and maintaining it in
ON THE PEACE, 127-131

our people, for whom they pretend to care, are in such straits that not one of our citizens is able to live with pleasure or at ease; on the contrary, Athens is rife with lamentations. For some are driven to rehearse and bewail amongst themselves their poverty and privation while others deplore the multitude of duties enjoined upon them by the state—the liturgies and all the nuisances connected with the symmories and with exchanges of property; a for these are so annoying that those who have means find life more burdensome than those who are continually in want.

I marvel that you cannot see at once that no class is so inimical to the people as our depraved orators and demagogues. For, as if your other misfortunes were not enough, their chief desire is that you should be in want of your daily necessities, observing that those who are able to manage their affairs from their private incomes are on the side of the commonwealth and of our best counsellors, whereas those who live off the law-courts and the assemblies b and the doles derived from them are constrained by their need to be subservient to the sycophants and are deeply grateful for the impeachments and the indictments c and the other sharp practices which are due to the sycophants. Wherefore these men would be most happy to see all of our citizens reduced to the con-fighting trim for one year. If a man called upon to undertake such a burden felt that another could better afford to stand the expense he had the right to demand that he do so or else exchange property with him. See Antid. 145, note, and the introduction to that discourse.

a Three obols a day were paid for the attendance of jury-men and members of the General Assembly. See Areop. 24, 54 and notes; Antid. 152.

b See Antid. 314, note.
ISOCRATES

απαντας ὄντας τοὺς πολίτας. τεκμηρίων δὲ μέγιστον οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν, ἐξ οὗ τρόπον τοῖς δεομένοις βιὸν ἐκποροῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τοὺς ἔχειν τι δοκοῦντας τοὺς ἀπόρους ἐξισώσουσιν.

132 Τίς οὖν ἀπαλλαγῇ γένοιτ’ ἂν τῶν κακῶν τῶν παρόντων; διείλεγμαι μὲν τὰ πλείστα περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων, οὐκ ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐκαστὸν τῷ καὶ τῷ συνέπιπτεν, μάλλον δ’ ἂν ὑμῖν ἐγγένειον μημονεύειν, εἰ συναγαγὼν τὰ μάλιστα κατεπείγοντα πάλιν ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὰ πειραθεῖν.

133 "Εστι δ’ ἐξ ὧν ἂν ἐπανορθώσασιμεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ βελτίων ποιήσασεν, πρῶτον μὲν ἡν συμβουλίους ποιώμεθα τοιούτους περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, οίους περ ἂν περὶ τῶν ἢδιων ἢμῖν εἰναι βουληθεῖσαι, καὶ πανωμεθα δημοτικοὺς μὲν εἶναι νομίζοντες τοὺς συκω-

[186] φάντας, ὀλυγαρχικοὺς δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, γνόντες ὅτι φύσει μὲν οὐδεὶς οὐδέτερον τούτων ἐστίν, ἐν γ’ δ’ ἂν ἐκαστὸν τιμῶνται, ταύτην

134 βούλονται καθεστάναι τὴν πολιτείαν. δεύτερον δ’ ἒν ἐθελήσωμεν χρῆσθαι τοῖς συμμάχοις ὁμοίως ὅσπερ τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ μὴ λόγῳ μὲν αὐτονόμους ἀφιώμεν, ἔργῳ δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς αὐτοὺς ὁ τι ἄν βούλωνται ποιεῖν ἐκδιδώμεν, μὴ δὲ δεσποτικῶς ἀλλὰ συμμαχικῶς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατῶμεν, ἐκείνο καταμαθόντες, ὅτι μιᾶς μὲν ἐκάστης τῶν πόλεων

135 κρείττους ἐσμέν, ἀπασῶν δ’ ἦττους· τρίτον ἢν

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b This term is almost technical for the aristocratic party, but is here used in a broader sense. Cf. Antid. 316.
c Cf. Antid. 318.
d Aimed at Charis. Diodorus (xv. 95) says of him:
dition of helplessness in which they themselves are powerful. And the greatest proof of this is that they do not consider by what means they may provide a livelihood for those who are in need, but rather how they may reduce those who are thought to possess some wealth to the level of those who are in poverty.

What, then, is the way of escape from our present ills? I have already discussed most of the points which bear upon this question, not in sequence, but as each fell into its opportune place. But perhaps it will help you to hold them in memory if I attempt to bring together and review those which more than others press upon our attention.

The first way by which we can set right and improve the condition of our city is to select as our advisers on affairs of state the kind of men whose advice we should desire on our private affairs, and to stop thinking of the sycophants as friends of democracy and of the good men and true among us as friends of oligarchy, realizing that no man is by nature either the one or the other but that all men desire, in each case, to establish that form of government in which they are held in honour. The second way is to be willing to treat our allies just as we would our friends and not to grant them independence in words, while in fact giving them over to our generals to do with as they please, and not to exercise our leadership as masters but as helpers, since we have learned the lesson that while we are stronger than any single state we are weaker than all Hellas. And the third way is to consider that


c Cf. Paneg. 80.
μηδὲν περὶ πλείονος ἡγῆσθε, μετὰ γε τὴν περὶ
touς θεοὺς εὐσεβειαν, τοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ἐλλησι
εὐδοκιμεῖν· τοῖς γὰρ οὗτῳ διακειμένοις ἐκόντες καὶ
tὰς δυναστείας καὶ τὰς ἤγεμονίας διδάσκον.

136 Ὁν οὖν ἐμμείνητε τοῖς εἰρημένοις, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς παράσχητε πολεμικοὺς μὲν οὖν
taῖς μελέτας καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, εἰρημικοὺς δὲ
τῷ μηδὲν παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πράττειν, οὐ μόνον εὐ-
dαιμονεῖ φτίοντες ταῦτα τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς

137 Ἐλλήνας ἀπαντᾷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλη τῶν πόλεων
οὐδεμία τολμήσει περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀλλ’
οικήσουσι καὶ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν ἤζουσιν, ὅταν
Ἡδοσιν ἐφεδρεύουσαν τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἤμετέραν
cαὶ παρεσκευασμένην τοὺς ἀδικομένους βοηθεῖν.
οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὁπότερον ἴνα ποιήσωσι, τὸ γ’ ἤμετερον

138 καλῶς ἔξει καὶ συμφερόντως. ἤν τε γὰρ δόξῃ τῶν
πόλεων ταῖς προεχόμεναι ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀδικη-
μάτων, ἡμεῖς τοῦτων τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὴν αὐτίαν
ἐξομεν· ἤν τ’ ἐπίχειρῶσιν ἀδικεῖν, ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς
ἀπαντες οἱ δεδίστες καὶ κακῶς πάσχοντες κατα-

tεῦχονται, πολλὰς ἱκετείας καὶ δέησεις ποιοῦμενοι,
cαὶ διδόντες οὐ μόνον τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ

139 σφάς αὐτοὺς. ὥστε οὐκ ἀπορήσομεν μεθ’ ὧν
κυλύσομεν τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς
ἐξομεν τοὺς ἐτοίμους καὶ προθύμους συναγωγο-

[187] ἀμφότερα, καὶ δικαιοτάτους οὖν καὶ μεγίστην
dύναμιν κεκτημένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σώξει
καὶ βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους, αὐτοὺς δὲ μηδὲ-

140 μιᾶς βοηθείας δειομένους; τόσην δὲ χρὴ προσδοκάν
92
nothing is more important, save only to show reverence to the gods, than to have a good name among the Hellenes. For upon those who are so regarded they willingly confer both sovereign power and leadership.

If, then, you will abide by the advice which I have given you, and if, besides, you will prove yourselves warlike by training and preparing for war but peaceful by doing nothing contrary to justice, a you will render not only this city but all the Hellenes happy and prosperous. For no other of the states will dare to oppress them; on the contrary, they will hold back and studiously avoid aggression when they see the power of Athens on the alert and ready to go to the aid of the oppressed. But no matter what course the rest may take, our own position will be honourable and advantageous; for if the foremost states resolve to abstain from acts of oppression, we shall have the credit for this blessing; but if, on the other hand, they attempt to oppress others, then all who fear them and suffer evil at their hands will come to us for refuge, with many prayers and supplications, offering us not only the hegemony but their own support. So that we shall not lack for allies to help us to check the oppressors but shall find many ready and willing to join their forces to our own. For what city or what men will not be eager to share our friendship and our alliance when they see that the Athenians are at once the most just and the most powerful of peoples and are at the same time both willing and able to save the other states, while needing no help for themselves? What a turn for the

a Repeated from To Nicocles 24.
ἐπίδοσιν τὰ τῆς πόλεως λήψεσθαι, τοιαύτης εὐνοίας ἦμιν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρξάσης; πόσον δὲ πλοῦτον εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσφηνήσεσθαι, δι’ ἡμῶν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἐλλάδος σωζομένης; τίνας δ’ οὐκ ἐπανεσθειαί τοὺς τοιούτως καὶ τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν άιτίους γεγενημένους;

141 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ δύναμαι διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀπαντα τῷ λόγῳ περιλαβεῖν, ἃ τυχχάνω τῇ διανοίᾳ καθ’ ὥραν, πλὴν ὅτι καλὸν ἐστών ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικίαις καὶ μανίαις πρῶτος εὐ φρονήσαντας προστίηνα τῆς τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἐλευθερίας, καὶ σωτήρας ἄλλα μὴ λυμεῶνας αὐτῶν κληθήναι, καὶ περιβλέπτους ἐπ’ ἄρετῃ γεγομένος τὴν δόξαν τὴν τῶν προγόνων ἀναλαβεῖν.

142 Κεφάλαιον δὲ τούτων ἐκείν’ ἔχω λέγειν, εἰς δ’ πάντα τὰ προειρημένα συντείνει καὶ πρὸς δ’ χρῆ βλέποντας τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς πόλεως δοκιμάζειν. δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς, εἴπερ βουλόμεθα διαλύσασθαι μὲν τὰς διαβολὰς ἃς ἔχομεν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, παύσασθαι δὲ τῶν πολέμων τῶν μάτην γιγνομένων, κτήσασθαι δὲ τῇ πόλει τῆν ἡγεμονίαν εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον, μισῆσαι μὲν ἀπάσας τὰς τυραννικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δυναστείας, ἀναλογισαμένους τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ἔξ αὐτῶν γεγενημένας, ξηλῶσαι δὲ καὶ μιμήσασθαι τὰς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι βασιλείας. ἐκείνους γὰρ ἀ- δικείν μὲν ἧττον ἔξεστιν ἡ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, τοιούτῳ δὲ μακαριστότεροι τυχχάνουσιν ὄντες τῶν βίας τὰς τυραννίδας κατεχόντων, ὅσον οἱ μὲν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποκτείναντες τὰς μεγίστας δωρεάς παρὰ τῶν

a He is now 81 years old.  
b Cf. Paneg. 80.  
c The Spartan kings were powerful in the field, but otherwise were subject to the Ephors, who could even have them
better should you expect the affairs of our city to take when we enjoy such good will from the rest of the Hellenes? What wealth will flow into Athens when through her all Hellas is made secure? And who among men will fail to praise those who will have been the authors of blessings so many and so great?

But I am not able because of my age \(^a\) to include in my speech all the things which I grasp in my thought, save that it is a noble enterprise for us, in the midst of the injustice and madness of the rest of the world, to be the first to adopt a sane policy and stand forth as the champions of the freedom of the Hellenes, to be acclaimed as their saviours, not their destroyers,\(^b\) and to become illustrious for our virtues and regain the good repute which our ancestors possessed.

But I have yet to touch upon the chief consideration of all—that upon which centres everything that I have said and in the light of which we should appraise the actions of the state. For if we really wish to clear away the prejudice in which we are held at the present time, we must cease from the wars which are waged to no purpose and so gain for our city the hegemony for all time; we must abhor all despotic rule and imperial power, reflecting upon the disasters which have sprung from them; and we must emulate and imitate the position held by the kings of Lacedaemon: they, it is true, have less freedom than their private citizens to do wrong;\(^c\) yet are much more enviable than those who hold despotic power by force; for those who take the lives of despots are given the highest rewards by their put to death. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* pp. 46 ff. and 57 ff.
ISOCRATES

συμπολιτευμένων λαμβάνουσιν, ύπερ ἐκείνων ὑπὸ μὴ τολμῶντες ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ἀποθνῄσκειν ἀ-
τιμότεροι γίγνονται τῶν τὰς τάξεις λειτώντων καὶ
144 τὰς ἀσπίδας ἀποβαλλόντων. ἦγε οὖν ὅρεγεσθαι
τῆς τοιαύτης ἡγεμονίας. ἔνεστι δὲ τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἡμῶν τυχεῖν παρὰ τῶν Ἕλληνων τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης,
ἡπερ ἐκείνοι παρὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔχουσιν, ἦν ὑπο-
[188] λάβωσι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν μὴ δουλείας ἄλλα
σωτηρίας αἰτίαι αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθαι.

145 Πολλῶν δὲ καὶ καλῶν λόγων ἐνόντων περὶ τὴν
ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην, ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀμφότερα συμβουλεύει
παύσασθαι λέγοντι, καὶ τὸ μῆκος τοῦ λόγου καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν ἔτων τῶν ἐμῶν· τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις καὶ
μᾶλλον ἀκμάζουσιν ἡ ἐγὼ παραιῶ καὶ παρα-
κελεύομαι τοιαύτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν, ἐξ ὧν
tὰς μεγίστας τῶν πόλεως καὶ τὰς εἰδισμένας ταῖς
ἀλλας κακὰ παρέχειν προστρέψουσιν ἐπὶ ἀρετήν
καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ὡς ἐν ταῖς τῆς Ἕλλαδος εὐ-
πραγίαις συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ τῶν φιλοσοφῶν πράγματα
πολλῷ βελτίω γίγνεσθαι.

a He has in mind the honours shown by the Athenians to
the "tyrannicides," Harmodius and Aristogeiton.
b See Philip 80 and Epist. ii. 6.
c The ῥήψασσις was not only despised but suffered
fellow-citizens,\textsuperscript{a} whereas those Spartans who are not ready to lay down their lives for their kings in battle\textsuperscript{b} are held in greater dishonour than men who desert their post and throw away their shields.\textsuperscript{c} This, then, is the kind of leadership which is worth striving for. And this very position of honour which the kings of Lacedaemon have from their citizens we Athenians have it in our power to win from the Hellenes, if only they become convinced that our supremacy will be the instrument, not of their enslavement, but of their salvation.

My subject is not exhausted; there are many excellent things to be said upon it, but I am prompted by two considerations to stop speaking: the length of my discourse and the number of my years. But I urge and exhort those who are younger and more vigorous than I to speak and write the kind of discourses by which they will turn the greatest states—those which have been wont to oppress the rest—into the paths of virtue and justice, since when the affairs of Hellas are in a happy and prosperous condition, it follows that the state of learning and letters also is greatly improved.\textsuperscript{d}

humiliations and penalties. In Athens, which was less rigorous than Sparta, he lost his political rights.

\textsuperscript{a} A somewhat academic close, but the state of affairs and the state of learning are not dissociated in his mind; “philosophy” is the salvation of the state.
II. AREOPAGITICUS
INTRODUCTION

In 355 B.C. ended the deplorable "Social War," which Athens waged against the most powerful members of her Confederacy in the effort to compel them to remain under her sway. She was not successful: Chios, Cos, Rhodes, and Byzantium were conceded their independence. But there remained still under her influence the many weaker members of her maritime empire; and peace, as usual, brought a sense of great relief and of false security.

This is the very time which Isocrates found opportune for addressing the Athenians on the "public safety." The strength of a state, he warns them, consists, not in the walls which gird a city, but in the quality of its citizenship and in the spirit which animates its polity. In this respect, Athens has no ground whatever for pride or even for complacency; for her life has become, he maintains, unsound at the core. She is far from being now what she was in the days of the old democracy of Solon and of Cleisthenes.

We must be on our guard against the pictures of

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*a This is the view of most competent scholars as to the date of the Areopagiticus. See Jebb, Attic Orators ii. p. 204; Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit ii. p. 305; Karl Müncher's introduction to the Areopagiticus in his revision of Rauchenstein's edition.
AREOPAGITICUS

degeneracy found in Isocrates and in the other orators and philosophers of the fourth century. But even when we make due allowance for exaggeration in the contrasts which are drawn between the "golden age" and the present, we do well to reckon with the fact of a change which was not for the better.¹

Pericles, in the funeral oration recorded by Thucydides, said of the Athenians: "Their bodies they devote to their country as though they belonged to other men: their true self is their mind, which is most truly their own when employed in her service." That expresses something more than an ideal of the older democracy. How closely the life of the individual was in fact bound up with that of the state is revealed in the common use of the word πολιτευσθαι, to live as a citizen, instead of the bare term to live. But in the fourth century, the Athenians were living more and more their own lives, selfishly pursuing their own business or living off the state rather than for it, and craving increasingly the liberty to "do as they liked."

Isocrates' diagnosis of the trouble and his remedy for it are, no doubt, over-simple. The weakness of Athens he attributes mainly to an excess of "freedom." Pure democracy is not to his liking—a polity in which election by lot is the last word in the equalization of opportunity and the levelling of all distinctions. He pleads for a return to the restricted democracy of Solon and of Cleisthenes, in which the people possessed the sovereign power to elect their leaders, but only from the best qualified citizens,

and to hold them strictly to account for their conduct in office—an aristocracy in effect. Specifically, he pleads for the restoration of the old powers of the Council of the Areopagus. That Council had in early times possessed almost unlimited authority. In Solon’s time it was still the greatest power of the state, being entrusted with the guardianship of the laws, with the supervision over the education of youth, with a general censorship over the lives of the citizens, and with final authority to fine or otherwise punish offenders against law, custom, or taste.\textsuperscript{a}

No doubt it irritated many by its conservative influence and sometimes abused its power, but it is noteworthy that it was everywhere and at all times held in high respect. Aeschylus’s tribute to it in the \textit{Eumenides},\textsuperscript{b} put in the mouth of Athena, the guardian deity of the state, is an eloquent expression of the common feeling:

\begin{quote}
This Court, majestic, incorruptible,  
Instant in anger, over those who sleep,  
The sleepless watcher of my land I set.\textsuperscript{c}
\end{quote}

It continued to be held in awe even after Ephialtes, in the interest of a more complete democracy, had shorn it of most of its powers. But from this time on, Isocrates holds, Athenian life declined in the matter of sober living and of willing service to the state—a view in which he is supported by the circumstantial account of Aristotle in his sketch of the development of the Athenian constitution.\textsuperscript{d}

\begin{itemize}
  \item[a]{See 37, note.}
  \item[b]{683 ff.}
  \item[c]{Jebb’s translation.}
  \item[d]{See his \textit{Constitution of Athens} 26.}
\end{itemize}
AREOPAGITICUS

The discourse is cast in the form of an oration appropriate to be delivered before the General Assembly of Athens, and the fiction is consistently maintained throughout, although it was composed entirely for a reading public.¹

¹ See General Introd. p. xxx.
140) Πολλοὺς ύμῶν οἱ μοί θαυμάζειν ἡντυνά ποτε γνώμην ἔχον περὶ σωτηρίας τὴν πρόσοδον ἐποιησάμην, ὡστερ τῆς πόλεως ἐν κυνόνως οὕτως ἡ σφαλερῶς αὐτῇ τῶν πραγμάτων καθεστηκότων, ἀλλ’ οὐ πλείους μὲν τριήμερος ἡ διακοσίας κεκτημένης, εἰρήνην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν ἀγούσης, καὶ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχόντης, ἐτεὶ δὲ συμμάχους ἐχούσης πολλοὺς μὲν τοὺς ἔτοιμως ύμῶν, ἢν τι δέη, βοηθήσοντας, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς τὰς συντάξεις ὑποτελοῦντας καὶ τὸ προστατο- μενον ποιοῦντας· ὃν ὑπαρχόντων ἡμᾶς μὲν ἂν τις φήσειν εἰκὸς ἐἶναι θαρρεῖν ὡς πόρρω τῶν κυνόνων ὄντας, τοῖς δ’ ἐχθροῖσ τοῖς ἡμετέρως προσήκειν δεξιόν ὧν καὶ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας.

3 Ὑμεῖς μὲν ὡς ὁδὶ ὅτι τούτω χρόμενοι τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προσόδου καταφρονεῖτε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐλπίζετε τὴν Ἑλλάδα ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει κατασχῆσειν· ἐγὼ δ’ ἂν ταύτα τυχχάνω δεδώσ. ὃρῳ γὰρ τῶν πόλεων τᾶς ἀριστα πράττειν

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ᵃ Strictly, what my purpose was. The aorist tense reflects the fact that the Athenian orators had to give written notice, in advance, of any subject they proposed to discuss before the General Assembly. See § 15.

ᵇ The second Athenian Confederacy, organized in 378 B.C. See General Introd. p. xxxvii.
II. AREOPAGITICUS

Many of you are wondering, I suppose, what in the world my purpose is in coming forward to address you on the public safety, as if Athens were in danger or her affairs on an uncertain footing, when in fact she possesses more than two hundred ships-of-war, enjoys peace throughout her territory, maintains her empire on the sea, and has, furthermore, many allies who, in case of any need, will readily come to her aid, and many more allies who are paying their contributions and obeying her commands. With these resources, one might argue that we have every reason to feel secure, as being far removed from danger, while our enemies may well be anxious and take thought for their own safety.

Now you, I know, following this reasoning, disdain my coming forward, and are confident that with this power you will hold all Hellas under your control. But as for myself, it is because of these very things that I am anxious; for I observe that those cities

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\(^a\) He refers here, probably, to allies by special treaty as distinguished from the allies next mentioned, who were members of the Confederacy and under the leadership of Athens. The latter paid their quotas into the Athenian treasury for the support of the Confederate navy.  
\(^b\) In the second Confederacy the word σύνταξις (contribution) was used instead of φόρος (tribute) which became an odious term in the Confederacy of Delos.  
Cf. Antid. 123.
οἰομένας κάκιστα βουλευομένας καὶ τὸς μάλιστα
θαρρούσας εἰς πλείστους κινδύνους καθισταμένας.
4 αὕτων δὲ τούτων ἔστών, ὅτι τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ τῶν
κακῶν οὐδὲν αὐτῷ καθ᾽ αὐτῷ παραγίγνεται τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ συντέτακται καὶ συνακολουθεῖ
tois μὲν πλούσιοι καὶ ταῖς δυναστείαις ἀνοία καὶ
μετὰ τοῦτος ἀκολασία, ταῖς δὲ ἐνδείας καὶ ταῖς

[141] ταπεινώθησι σωφροσύνη καὶ πολλὴ μετριότης,
5 ὅστε χαλεπόν εἶναι διαγνώσαι ποτέραν ἂν τις
dέξατο τῶν μερίδων τούτων τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς
αὐτοῖ καταλιπτεῖν. Ἰδομεν γὰρ ἂν ἐκ μὲν τῆς
φαυλοτέρας εἶναι δοκούσῃ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὡς ἐπὶ
tὸ πολὺ τὰς πράξεις ἐπιδιδούσας, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
κρείττονος φαινομένης ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον εἰθισμένας
6 μεταπίπτειν. καὶ τούτων ἐνεγκεῖν ἔχω παρα-
δείγματα πλείστα μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν πραγ-
μάτων, πυκνοτάτας γὰρ ταῦτα λαμβάνει τὰς
μεταβολὰς, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μεῖζον γε καὶ φανερώτερα
τοῖς ἁκούοντο ἐκ τῶν ἡμῖν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις
συμβάντων. ἤμεισ τε γὰρ ἀναστάτον μὲν τῆς
πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων γεγενημένης διὰ τὸ
dεδεινα καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἐπρωτεύσαμεν τῶν Ἐλλήνων, ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἂν-
υπέρβλητον ἀφήθημεν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχειν, παρὰ
7 μικρὸν ἣλθομεν ἐξαινδραποδισθήναι. Λακεδαιμονίοι
τε τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἐκ φαύλων καὶ ταπεινῶν πόλεων

a See General Introd. p. xxxiii.
b Cf. Archid. 103 ff.
c Athens, then an unwalled city, was temporarily aban-
doned by her people before the Battle of Salamis, and
destroyed by the troops of Xerxes. After the Persian Wars,
she became the head of the Confederacy of Delos. See
Archid. 42 ff., and Paneg. 71-72.
106
which think they are in the best circumstances are wont to adopt the worst policies, and that those which feel the most secure are most often involved in danger. The cause of this is that nothing of either good or of evil visits mankind unmixed, but that riches and power are attended and followed by folly, and folly in turn by licence; whereas poverty and lowliness are attended by sobriety and great moderation; so that it is hard to decide which of these lots one should prefer to bequeath to one’s own children. For we shall find that from a lot which seems to be inferior men’s fortunes generally advance to a better condition, whereas from one which appears to be superior they are wont to change to a worse. Of this truth I might cite examples without number from the lives of individual men, since these are subject to the most frequent vicissitudes; but instances which are more important and better known to my hearers may be drawn from the experiences of our city and of the Lacedaemonians. As for the Athenians, after our city had been laid waste by the barbarians, we became, because we were anxious about the future and gave attention to our affairs, the foremost of the Hellenes; whereas, when we imagined that our power was invincible, we barely escaped being enslaved. Likewise the Lacedaemonians, after having set out in ancient times from obscure and humble cities, made themselves, because

\[d\] At the end of the Peloponnesian War, Athens was at the mercy of Sparta and the Spartan allies. The latter proposed that Athens be utterly destroyed and her citizens sold into slavery, but the Spartans refused to allow the city “which had done a great service to Hellas” to be reduced to slavery. Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 19-20. Cf. Peace 78, 105; Plataicus 32; Antid. 319.
όρμηθέντες διὰ τὸ σωφρόνως ζῆν καὶ στρατιωτικῶς κατέσχον Πελοπόννησον, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μεῖζον φρονήσαντες τοῦ δέοντος, καὶ λαβόντες καὶ τὴν κατὰ γῆν καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἀρχήν, εἰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους κατέστησαν ἦμῖν.

8 Ὅστις οὖν εἰδὼς τοσαῦτας μεταβολὰς γεγενήμένας καὶ τηλικάυτας δυνάμεις οὕτω ταχέως ἀναιρεθεῖσας πιστεύει τοὺς παροῦσι, λίαν ἀνόητός ἐστιν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ τῆς μὲν πόλεως ἢμῶν πολὺ καταδεύστερον νῦν πραττούσης ἡ κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον, τοῦ δὲ μίσους τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῆς ἔχθρας τῆς πρὸς βασιλέα πάλιν ἀνακεκανισμένης, ᾧ τότε κατεπολέμησεν ἦμᾶς.

9 Ἀπορῶ δὲ πότερον ὑπολάβω μηδὲν μέλευ ὑμῖν τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἡ φροντίζειν μὲν αὐτῶν, εἰς τούτο δ’ ἀναισθησίας ἦκεν ὡστε λαυθάνειν ὑμᾶς εἰς ὅσην παραχήν ἡ πόλις καθέστηκεν. ἔοικατε γάρ οὕτω διακειμένοις ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως ἀπάσας μὲν τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀπολωλεκότες, πλεῖω δ’ ἡ χίλια τάλαντα μάτην εἰς τοὺς ξένους ἀνηλωκότες, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας διαβεβλημένοι καὶ τῷ βαρβάρῳ πολέμιοι γεγονότες,

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108
they lived temperately and under military discipline, masters of the Peloponnesus; whereas later, when they grew overweening and seized the empire both of the sea and of the land, they fell into the same dangers as ourselves.

Whoever, therefore, knowing that such great vicissitudes have taken place and that such mighty powers have been so quickly brought to naught, yet trusts in our present circumstances, is all too foolish, especially since Athens is now in a much less favourable condition than she was at that time, while the hatred of us among the Hellenes and the enmity of the great King, which then brought disaster to our arms, have been again revived.

I am in doubt whether to suppose that you care nothing for the public welfare or that you are concerned about it, but have become so obtuse that you fail to see into what utter confusion our city has fallen. For you resemble men in that state of mind—you who have lost all the cities in Thrace, squandered to no purpose more than a thousand talents on mercenary troops, provoked the ill-will of the Hellenes and the hostility of the barbarians, and, as if this were not enough, have been compelled

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"In the course of the "Social War," the Athenian general Chares had aided the satrap Artabazus in his revolt against Artaxerxes III. See Diodorus xvi. 22.

'Not all the cities on the northern coast of the Aegean (Thrace), but those on the Chalcidian peninsula, notably Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidaea, and Olynthus, which had fallen under the power or under the influence of Philip of Macedon. See Demosthenes' first Philippic 4.

Athenian forces were now largely made up of paid foreigners, recruited from everywhere. See Peace 44-47; Demosthenes' first Philippic 20.
[142] κασμένοι, τοὺς δ' ἠμετέρους αὐτῶν συμμάχους ἀπολωλεκότες, ἐπὶ τοιαύτας πράξεως εὐαγγέλια μὲν διὸς ἦδη τεθύκαμεν, ῥαθυμότερον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκκλησιάζομεν τῶν πάντα τὰ δέοντα πραττόντων.

11 Καὶ ταῦτ' εἰκότως καὶ ποιοῦμεν καὶ πάσχομεν· οὔδὲν γὰρ οἴόντες γίγνεσθαι κατὰ τρόπον τοῖς μη καλῶς περὶ ὅλης τῆς διοικήσεως βεβουλευμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐὰν καὶ κατορθώσωσι περὶ τινας τῶν πράξεων ἢ διὰ τύχην ἢ δ' ἀνδρὸς ἀρετῆν, μικρὸν διαλιπόντες πάλιν εἰς τὰς αὐτὰς ἀπορίας κατέστησαν. καὶ ταῦτα γνῷ η τις ἢν ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγενή-

12 μένων· ἀπάσης γὰρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑπὸ τὴν πόλιν ἤμων ὑποπεσοῦσας καὶ μετὰ τὴν Κόνωνος ναυ-

маχίαν καὶ μετὰ τὴν Τιμοθέου στρατηγίαν, οὔδένα χρόνον τὰς εὐτυχίας κατασχεῖν ἠδυνήθημεν, ἀλλὰ ταχέως διεσκαρφησάμεθα καὶ διελύσαμεν αὐτὰς. πολιτείαν γὰρ τὴν ὀρθῶς ὀν τοῖς πράγμασι χρησαμένην οὔτ' ἔχομεν οὔτε καλῶς ἐχοῦμεν.

13 καίτοι τὰς εὐπραγίας ἀπαντεῖς ἤμεν καὶ παραγγελι-

μένας καὶ παραμενόνοιας οὐ τοὺς τὰ τείχη κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα περιβεβλημένοις, οὔδε τοῖς μετὰ πλείστων ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον συν-

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*a* Probably the Messenians, who had been made independent of Sparta by the Thebans. See Introduction to *Archidamus*. Demosthenes, in his speech *For the Megalopolitans*, criticizes the Athenians for their folly in pledging themselves to aid the Messenians against Spartan aggression. See especially § 9.

*b* Such powerful states as Chios, Byzantium, and Rhodes were lost to the Athenian Confederacy by the peace following the "Social War." Of the seventy-five cities which belonged to the Confederacy the majority remained loyal. See § 2.

110
to save the friends of the Thebans to the cost of losing our own allies; and yet to celebrate the good news of such accomplishments we have twice now offered grateful sacrifices to the gods, and we deliberate about our affairs more complaisantly than men whose actions leave nothing to be desired!

And it is to be expected that acting as we do we should fare as we do; for nothing can turn out well for those who neglect to adopt a sound policy for the conduct of their government as a whole. On the contrary, even if they do succeed in their enterprises now and then, either through chance or through the genius of some man, they soon after find themselves in the same difficulties as before, as anyone may see from what happened in our own history. For when all Hellas fell under the power of Athens, after the naval victory of Conon and the campaign of Timotheus, we were not able to hold our good fortune any time at all, but quickly dissipated and destroyed it. For we neither possess nor do we honestly seek to obtain a polity which can properly deal with our affairs. And yet we all know that success does not visit and abide with those who have built around themselves the finest and the strongest walls, nor with those who have collected the greatest popula-

Diodorus (xvi. 22) records the celebration in Athens of the victory of Chares, supporting the rebellion of the Satrap Artabazus, over Artaxerxes III. See § 8, note. The occasion of the second celebration is not known.

The reference is to the victorious campaigns of Conon and his son Timotheus. See Paneg. 142, 154; Phil. 61-64; Antid. 107 ff.

In the disastrous "Social War."

ηθροισμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀριστα καὶ σωφρονέστατα
14 τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν διοικοῦσιν. ἔστι γὰρ ψυχὴ
pόλεως οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἡ πολιτεία, τοσαύτην ἔχουσα
dύναμιν ὄσην περ ἐν σώματι φρόνησιν. αὐτῇ γὰρ
ἔστω ἡ βουλευομένη περὶ ἀπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττουσα, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύ-
gουσα. ταύτῃ καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τοὺς ρήτορας
καὶ τοὺς ἰδιωτάς ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν ὁμοιοῦσθαι,
καὶ πράττειν οὐτως ἐκάστους οὐαν περ ἃν ταύτην
15 ἔχουσιν. ἦς ἡμεῖς διεφθαρμένης οὐδὲν φροντίζουμεν,
οὐδὲ σκοποῦμεν ὅπως ἐπανορθώσουμεν αὐτήν. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
μὲν τῶν ἐργαστηρίων καθίζοντες κατηγοροῦμεν
tῶν καθεστῶτων, καὶ λέγομεν ὡς οὐδέποτε ἐν
dημοκρατίᾳ κάκιον ἐπολιτεύθημεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς διανοίασι αἰσ ἔχομεν μᾶλλον
αὐτὴν ἀγαπῶμεν τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων κατα-
λειφθείσης.

Ὑπὲρ ἦς ἐγὼ καὶ τοὺς λόγους μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι
16 καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ἀπεγραφάμην. εὐρύσκω γὰρ
[143] ταύτην μόνην ἀν γενομένην καὶ τῶν μελλόντων
κινδύνων ἀποτροπὴν καὶ τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
ἀπαλλαγὴν, ἢν ἑθελήσωμεν ἐκείνη τὴν δημο-
κρατίαν ἀναλάβειν, ἢν Σόλων μὲν ὁ δημοτικῶτατος
γενόμενος ἐνομοθέτησε, Κλεισθένης δὲ ὁ τοὺς
τυράννους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τῶν δήμων καταγαγὼν
17 πάλιν εξ ἀρχῆς κατέστησεν. ἦς οὐκ ἂν εὑροίμεν
οὔτε δημοτικωτέραν οὔτε τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον συμ-

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b In the market-place, especially the barber shops.

112
tion in one place, but rather with those who most nobly and wisely govern their state. For the soul of a state is nothing else than its polity,\(^a\) having as much power over it as does the mind over the body; for it is this which deliberates upon all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to ward off what is disastrous; and it is this which of necessity assimilates to its own nature the laws, the public orators and the private citizens; and all the members of the state must fare well or ill according to the kind of polity under which they live. And yet we are quite indifferent to the fact that our polity has been corrupted, nor do we even consider how we may redeem it. It is true that we sit around in our shops\(^b\) denouncing the present order and complaining that never under a democracy have we been worse governed, but in our actions and in the sentiments which we hold regarding it we show that we are better satisfied with our present democracy than with that which was handed down to us by our forefathers.

It is in favour of the democracy of our forefathers that I intend to speak, and this is the subject on which I gave notice that I would address you. For I find that the one way—the only possible way—which can avert future perils from us and deliver us from our present ills is that we should be willing to restore that earlier democracy which was instituted by Solon, who proved himself above all others the friend of the people, and which was re-established by Cleisthenes, who drove out the tyrants and brought the people back into power—a government than which we could find none more favourable to the populace or more advantageous to the
ISOCRATES

φέρουσαν. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνη χρώμενοι, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπραξάμενοι καὶ παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώπους εὐδοκιμήσαντες, παρ' ἐκόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔλαβον, οἱ δὲ τῆς νῦν παρούσης ἐπιθυμήσαντες, ὅπο πάντων μισηθέντες καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δευνὰ παθόντες, μικρὸν ἀπέλιπον τοῦ μὴ ταῖς ἔσχάταις συμφοραῖς περὶ-πεσεῖν. καὶ τοῖς πῶς χρὴ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἐπαινεῖν ἢ στέργειν τὴν τοσούτων μὲν κακῶν αὐτίαν πρότερον γενομένην, νῦν δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον φερομένην; πῶς δ' οὐ χρὴ δεδεῖνα μὴ τοιαύτης ἐπιδίδοσεως γιγνομένης τελευτώντες εἰς τραχύτερα πράγματα τῶν τότε γενομένων ἐξοκείλωμεν;

18 Ἡ ἑν δὲ μὴ συλλήβδην μονὸν ἀκηκοότες, ἄλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες ποιήσει καὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν καὶ τὴν κρίσιν αὐτῶν, υμέτερον μὲν ἔργον ἐστὶ παρασχεῖν ὅμᾶς αὐτοὺς προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν τοῖς ὅπ' ἐμοὶ λεγομένοις, ἐγὼ δ' ὃς ἂν δύνωμαι συντομώτατα περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων πειράσομαι διελθεῖν πρὸς ὅμᾶς.

20 Οἱ γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνον τῶν χρόνων τῆς πόλιν διοικοῦντες κατεστήσαντο πολιτείαν οὐκ ὄνοματι μὲν τῷ κοινοτάτῳ καὶ πραοτάτῳ προσαγορευμένην, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πράξεων οὐ τοιαύτην τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι φαινομένην, οὐδ' ἢ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπαιδευε τοὺς πολίτας ὥσθ' ἤγειρος τὴν μὲν ἀκολογίαν δημοκρατίαν, τὴν δὲ παρανομίαν ἔλευθερίαν, τὴν

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a For Solon and Cleisthenes as the authors of the restricted
whole city.\(^a\) The strongest proof of this is that those who enjoyed this constitution wrought many noble deeds, won the admiration of all mankind, and took their place, by the common consent of the Hellenes, as the leading power of Hellas; whereas those who were enamoured of the present constitution made themselves hated of all men, suffered many indignities, and barely escaped falling into the worst of all disasters.\(^b\) And yet how can we praise or tolerate a government which has in the past been the cause of so many evils and which is now year by year ever drifting on from bad to worse? And how can we escape the fear that if we continue to progress after this fashion we may finally run aground on rocks more perilous than those which at that time loomed before us?

But in order that you may make a choice and come to a decision between the two constitutions, not from the summary statement you have just heard, but from exact knowledge, it behoves you, for your part, to render yourselves attentive to what I say, while I, for my part, shall try to explain them both to you as briefly as I can.

For those who directed the state in the time of Solon and Cleisthenes did not establish a polity which in name merely was hailed as the most impartial and the mildest of governments, while in practice showing itself the opposite to those who lived under it, nor one which trained the citizens in such fashion that they looked upon insolence as democracy, lawlessness as liberty, impudence of speech as equal-


\(^a\) Cf. § 6 and note.
δὲ παρρησίαιν ἴσονομίαν, τῇν δ᾽ ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πάντας1 ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσα καὶ κολάζουσα τοὺς τοιούτους βελτίως καὶ σωφρονεστέρους ἀπαντας τοὺς πολίτας ἐποίησεν.

21 Μέγιστον δ᾽ αὐτοῖς συνεβάλετο πρὸς τὸ καλῶς [144] οἰκεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι δυνὼν ἴσοτήτων νομιζομένων εἶναι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ταῦταν ἀπασιν ἀπονεμούσης τῆς δὲ τὸ προσήκον ἐκάστοις, οὐκ ἦγνόουν τὴν χρησιμωτέραν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ἄξιονσαν τοὺς χρηστούς καὶ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀπεδοκιμάζον

22 ὡς οὐ δικαίων οὕσαν, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἐκαστον τιμῶσαν καὶ κολάζουσαν προηροῦτο, καὶ διὰ ταύτης ὤκουν τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ έξ ἀπάντων τὰς ἀρχὰς κληρονύμες, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ τοὺς ἱκανώτατους ἐφ' ἐκαστον τῶν ἐργῶν προκρίνοντες. τοιούτους γὰρ ἡλπίζον ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, οὐδὲν περ ἄν δοιν οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιστατοῦντες.

23 Ἐστὶν καὶ δημοτικωτέραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ταῦτην τὴν κατάστασιν ἡ τὴν διὰ τῶν λαγχάνειν γιγνομένην ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ κληρώσει τὴν τύχην βραβεύσει, καὶ πολλάκις λήμεσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοὺς ὀλυγραχίας ἐπιθυμούντας, ἐν δὲ τῷ προκρίνειν τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους τὸν δήμον ἔσεσθαι κύριον

1 πάντα Coray (cf. Panath. 131): ταῦτα mss.

a For similar caricatures of the later Athenian democracy see Thuc. iii. 82. 4 ff., and especially Plato, Republic 560-561.
b For these two kinds of equality cf. Nicocles 14 ff.; To Nicocles 14; Plato, Republic 558 c, and Laws 757 b, c; Aristotle, Politics 1301 a 26 ff.
c The method of electing the various magistrates changed from time to time, and is much less simple than Isocrates here represents it to be. For example, election of the chief
ity, and licence to do what they pleased as happiness, but rather a polity which detested and punished such men and by so doing made all the citizens better and wiser.

But what contributed most to their good government of the state was that of the two recognized kinds of equality—that which makes the same award to all alike and that which gives to each man his due—they did not fail to grasp which was the more serviceable; but, rejecting as unjust that which holds that the good and the bad are worthy of the same honours, and preferring rather that which rewards and punishes every man according to his deserts, they governed the city on this principle, not filling the offices by lot from all the citizens, but selecting the best and the ablest for each function of the state; for they believed that the rest of the people would reflect the character of those who were placed in charge of their affairs.

Furthermore they considered that this way of appointing magistrates was also more democratic than the casting of lots, since under the plan of election by lot chance would decide the issue and the partizans of oligarchy would often get the offices; whereas under the plan of selecting the worthiest men, the people would have in their magistrates, the archons, by lot (though from a previously selected group) is at least as old as Solon. On the other hand, in Isocrates' day officers who had supervision over military and financial affairs were elected by "show of hands" in the General Assembly. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* (Eng. trans.) pp. 216 ff. It seems clear, however, that after Cleisthenes all classes of citizens, the poor as well as the rich, became eligible to the offices (Plutarch, *Aristides* 22) and that election by lot became increasingly a device to further pure democracy.
έλεσθαι τοὺς ἀγαπώντας μάλιστα τὴν καθεστώσαν πολιτείαν.

24 Διτυν δ’ ἦν τούτα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν καὶ μη περιμαχήτους εἶναι τὰς ἁρχὰς, ὅτι μεμαθὲς ἦσαν ἐργαζεθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τῶν μὲν οἰκείων ἀμελεῖν τοῖς δ’ ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιβουλεύειν, μηδ’ ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων τὰ σφέτερ’ αυτῶν διοικεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν ἐκάστοις ὑπαρχόντων, εἰ ποτε δεησείς, τοῖς κοινοῖς ἑπαρκεῖν, μηδ’ ἀκριβότερον εἰδέναι τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἁρχεῖων προσόδους ἢ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων γνωριμένας αὐτοῖς.

25 οὐτω δ’ ἀπείχοντο σφόδρα τῶν τῆς πόλεως, ὡστε χαλεπότερον ἦν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς χρόνοις εὑρεῖν τοὺς βουλομένους ἁρχεῖν ἢ νῦν τοὺς μηδ’ ἐπομένους. οὐ γὰρ ἐμπορίαν ἀλλὰ λειτουργίαν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὴν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελείαν, οὐδ’ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἡμέρας ἐσκόπουν ἐλθόντες εἰ τι λῆμμα παραλειπότασιν οἱ πρότερον ἁρχοντες, ἀλλ’ πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰ τῶν πράγματος καθημελήκασι τῶν τέλους ἔχειν κατεπειγόντων.

26 Ὁσ δὲ συντόμως εἰπείν, ἐκείνοι διεγνωκότες ἦσαν ὅτι δεὶ τῶν μὲν δήμου ὡσπερ τύραννον καθιστάναι τὰς ἁρχὰς καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἐξαμαρ- [145] τάνοντας καὶ κρίνειν περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων,

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a He is thinking of pay, not only for the magistrates, but for attendance at the sessions of the jury courts, of the General Assembly, etc. See Peace 130. Aristotle (Constitution of Athens 24) states that since the changes which were introduced by Aristides over twenty thousand Athenians earned their livelihood in public service of one sort or another. In the same work (62) he gives a brief sketch of the pay for such services.

b For the public spirit of the old democracy see Paneg. 76; Peace 42 ff.; Panath. 145 ff.
hands the power to choose those who were most attached to the existing constitution.

The reason why this plan was agreeable to the majority and why they did not fight over the offices was because they had been schooled to be industrious and frugal, and not to neglect their own possessions and conspire against the possessions of others, and not to repair their own fortunes out of the public funds, but rather to help out the commonwealth, should the need arise, from their private resources, and not to know more accurately the incomes derived from the public offices than those which accrued to them from their own estates. So severely did they abstain from what belonged to the state that it was harder in those days to find men who were willing to hold office than it is now to find men who are not begging for the privilege; for they did not regard a charge over public affairs as a chance for private gain but as a service to the state; neither did they from their first day in office seek to discover whether their predecessors had overlooked any source of profit, but much rather whether they had neglected any business of the state which pressed for settlement.

In a word, our forefathers had resolved that the people, as the supreme master of the state, should appoint the magistrates, call to account those who failed in their duty, and judge in cases of dispute; while those citizens who could afford

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\textit{Cf. Panath. 146; Plato, Republic 347 b, 520 d; Ruskin, Crown of Wild Olive}: "No one ever teaches well who wants to teach or governs well who wants to govern: it is an old saying (Plato's, but I know not if his first) and as wise as old."
Isocrates

Tous de scholhn agewn dynamévous kal bion ikainon kektemévous éptumeléisvai tovwn kouivn ósper 27 oikétas, kal dikaious mév genomévous epainveisvai kal steérgein taútê tê timê, kakwos de diokhíassantas mýdemais syggynômhs tughánèis allà tais megístais xêmiais periptítpeiv. kántoi pôs an tis eýrou taútês bêbaisotérâv ò dikaiosotérâv dêmiokratían, têis tous mév dynatwîástous ëpi tás prâxeis kathistásis, autów de toúton tov dêmou kýrion pouióyhs;

28 Tò mev oûn súntagma têis politeias toiwton ën autois: rádiou d' ek toúton katamateiv òs kal tâ káth ëmêran èkásthn èrthos kal nomímos prátontes dizetélisan. ánângkè gár tois peri òloun tôn pragramátwv kalas tás ýpothèseis pe- poíhmenous kal tâ mérh tôn autôn tròpon ëchein èkeînous.

29 Kai prôton mev tâ peri touts thèous, ëntevethen gár árkhèsaí dikaiou, óuk ánwmállos ouv' átaktos ouv' ètherapévou ouv' òrgíaíoun ouv' òpôte mév dôxeiv autois, tríakosious boûs èpempoon, òpôte de tûchoev, tâs patríous thuviais èxeîleipon ouvde tâs mév èpivètous èortás, ãs èstlasis tis proseîh,

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a Aristotle (Politics 1274 a 15 ff.) states that Solon gave to the populace the sovereign power of selecting their magis- trates and of calling them to account, though the selection had to be made from “men of reputation and means.”

b The same idea is developed in Panath. 147.

c This is almost a poetic formula. Cf. Aleman fr. 3; Theocritus xvii. 1; Aratus, Phaenomena 1.

d The reference is, apparently, to special or occasional

120
the time and possessed sufficient means a should devote themselves to the care of the commonwealth, as servants of the people, entitled to receive commendation if they proved faithful to their trust, and contenting themselves with this honour, but condemned, on the other hand, if they governed badly, to meet with no mercy, but to suffer the severest punishment. b And how, pray, could one find a democracy more stable or more just than this, which appointed the most capable men to have charge of its affairs but gave to the people authority over their rulers?

Such was the constitution of their polity, and from this it is easy to see that also in their conduct day by day they never failed to act with propriety and justice; for when people have laid sound foundations for the conduct of the whole state it follows that in the details of their lives they must reflect the character of their government.

First of all as to their conduct towards the gods—for it is right to begin with them c—they were not erratic or irregular in their worship of them or in the celebration of their rites; they did not, for example, drive three hundred oxen in procession to the altar, d when it entered their heads to do so, while omitting, when the caprice seized them, the sacrifices instituted by their fathers; e neither did they observe on a grand scale the festivals imported festivals such as those mentioned in § 10. He may have in mind here the festival held in honour of Chares' victory over Artaxerxes III., since that Athenian general was so generously paid by Artabazus that he could afford to contribute a drove of cattle for the celebration. See Diodorus xvi. 22.

c Cf. To Nicocles 20.
μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἦγον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγωνίατοις τῶν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ μισθωμάτων ἐθυνοῦ· ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἐτήρουν, ὡς μηδὲν μὴτε τῶν πατρίων καταλύσουσι μὴτ’ ἐξω τῶν νομιζομένων προσβέσουσιν· οὗ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πολυτελείαις ἐνόμιζον εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ μηδὲν κινεῖν ὅποι αὖτοῖς οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδοσαν, καὶ γὰρ τοι καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐκ ἐμπλήκτως οὐδὲ παραχώδως αὐτοῖς συνέβαινεν, ἀλλ’ εὐκαίρως καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐργασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ πρὸς τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν.

31 Παραπλησίως δὲ τοῖς εἰρήμενοις καὶ τὰ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διώκουν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον περὶ τῶν κουνῶν ὡμονόουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὸν ὗδιον βίον τοσαύτην ἐποιοῦντο πρόνοιαι ἀλλήλων, ὡσθ’ περὶ τοὺς εὐ προνοῦντας καὶ πατρίδος κοινωνοῦντας.

[146] οἵ τε γὰρ πενέστεροι τῶν πολιτῶν τοσοῦτον ἀπείχον τοὺς φθονεῖν τοῖς πλείως κεκτημένοις, ὡς θ’ ὄμοιῶς ἐκήδοντο τῶν οἶκων τῶν μεγάλων ὡσπερ τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν, ἡγούμενοι τὴν ἐκείνων εὐδαιμονίαν αὐτοῖς εὔπορίαιν ὑπάρχειν· οἵ τε τὰς οὐσίας ἔχοντες οὐχ ὡς ὑπερεύρων τοὺς καταδεέστερον πράττοντας, ἀλλ’ ὑπολαμβάνοντες αἰσχύνην αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπορίαν ἐπῆμυνον ταῖς ἐνδείαις, τοῖς μὲν γεωργίας ἐπὶ μετρίας μισθῶσεις παραδίδοντες, τοὺς δὲ κατ’ ἐμπορίαν ἐκπέμποντες, τοῖς δὲ εἰς τὰς ἀλλ’ ἐργασίας ἀφορμῆν 32 παρέχοντες. οὐ γὰρ ἐδεδέσαν μὴ δυνὸν θάτερον πάθοιεν, ἣ πάντων στερηθεῖεν, ἣ πολλὰ πράγματα

a Athens was very hospitable to foreign cults, whose novelty and display made them popular and caused the old-fashioned rites to be observed perfunctorily.
from abroad, whenever these were attended by a feast, while contracting with the lowest bidder for the sacrifices demanded by the holiest rites of their religion. For their only care was not to destroy any institution of their fathers and to introduce nothing which was not approved by custom, believing that reverence consists, not in extravagant expenditures, but in disturbing none of the rites which their ancestors had handed on to them. And so also the gifts of the gods were visited upon them, not fitfully or capriciously, but seasonably both for the ploughing of the land and for the ingathering of its fruits.

In the same manner also they governed their relations with each other. For not only were they of the same mind regarding public affairs, but in their private life as well they showed that degree of consideration for each other which is due from men who are right-minded and partners in a common fatherland. The less well-to-do among the citizens were so far from envying those of greater means that they were as solicitous for the great estates as for their own, considering that the prosperity of the rich was a guarantee of their own well-being. Those who possessed wealth, on the other hand, did not look down upon those in humbler circumstances, but, regarding poverty among their fellow-citizens as their own disgrace, came to the rescue of the distresses of the poor, handing over lands to some at moderate rentals, sending out some to engage in commerce, and furnishing means to others to enter upon various occupations; for they had no fear that they might suffer one of two things—that they might lose their whole investment or recover,
σχόντες μέρος τι κομίσαιντο τῶν προεθέντων· ἀλλ’ ὁμοίως ἔδαρροιν περὶ τῶν ἐξώ δεδομένων ὥσπερ περὶ τῶν ἐνδον κεμένων. ἐώρων γὰρ τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων κρίνοντας οὐ ταῖς ἐπεικείαις χρωμένους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις πειθομένους,

34 οὐδ’ ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγώνιν αὐτοῖς ἄδικεῖν ἐξουσίαν παρασκευάζοντας, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ὅργιζομένους τοῖς ἀποστεροῦσιν αὐτῶν τῶν ἄδικοιμένων, καὶ νομίζοντας διὰ τοὺς ἀπίστα τὰ συμβόλαια ποιοῦντας μείζων βλάπτεσθαι τοὺς πένητας τῶν πολλὰ κεκτημένων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ, ἡν παύσωνται προϊέμενοι, μικρῶν προσόδων ἀποστερηθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δ’, ἡν ἀπορήσωσι τῶν ἐπαρκοῦντων, εἰς τὴν ἔσχατην ἐνδειαν καταστήσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τοι διὰ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην οὐδεὶς οὔτ’ ἀπεχρύστετο τὴν οὐσίαν οὔτ’ ὁκνεὶ συμβάλλειν, ἀλλ’ ἦδιον ἐώρων τοὺς δανειζομένους ἢ τοὺς ἄποδιδόντας. ἀμφότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνῆθαιν, ἀπερ ἃν βουληθεῖεν ἄνθρωποι νοῦν ἔχοντες· ἀμα γὰρ τοὺς τε πολίτας ὠφέλουν καὶ τὰ σφέτερ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεργὰ καθίστασαν. κεφάλαιον δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀλλήλοις ὀμιλεῖν· αἱ μὲν γὰρ κτήσεις ἀσφαλεῖς ἤσαν, οἰσπέρ κατὰ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπῆρχον, αἱ δὲ χρήσεις κοιναὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν.

35 Ἡσιῶς ἂν οὖν τις ἐπιτιμήσει τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ὅτι τὰς μὲν πράξεις ἐπαινῶ τὰς ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς

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a That is, their own sense of right and wrong (almost their sympathy) as distinguished from the legal sense. See Aristotle’s distinction between equity and justice in Rhet. 1374 b 21. “The arbitrator,” he says, “looks to equity; the judge, to law.”

b Cf. Antid. 142, where he charges the Athenian juries
after much trouble, only a mere fraction of their venture; on the contrary, they felt as secure about the money which was lent out as about that which was stored in their own coffers. For they saw that in cases of contract the judges were not in the habit of indulging their sense of equity but were strictly faithful to the laws; and that they did not in trying others seek to make it safe for themselves to disobey the law, but were indeed more severe on defaulters than were the injured themselves, since they believed that those who break down confidence in contracts do a greater injury to the poor than to the rich; for if the rich were to stop lending, they would be deprived of only a slight revenue, whereas if the poor should lack the help of their supporters they would be reduced to desperate straits. And so because of this confidence no one tried to conceal his wealth nor hesitated to lend it out, but, on the contrary, the wealthy were better pleased to see men borrowing money than paying it back; for they thus experienced the double satisfaction—which should appeal to all right-minded men—of helping their fellow-citizens and at the same time making their own property productive for themselves. In fine, the result of their dealing honourably with each other was that the ownership of property was secured to those to whom it rightfully belonged, while the enjoyment of property was shared by all the citizens who needed it.

But perhaps some might object to what I have said on the ground that I praise the conditions of with condoning depravity in others in order to make depravity safe for themselves.

As now, from the sycophants. See Antid. 8, note. The present state of affairs is described in Antid. 159 ff.
37 'Εκείνοι γὰρ ὅπως ἐν μὲν ταῖς παιδείαις πολλοὺς τοὺς ἐπιστατοῦντας εἴχον, ἔπειδὴ δ’ εἰς ἄνδρας δοκιμασθεῖν, ἐξήν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖν ὅ τι βουλήθειεν, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἀκμαῖς πλέον ἐπιμελείας ἐτύγχανον ἡ παίδες ὄντες. οὕτω γὰρ ἦμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι σφόδρα περὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐσπούδαζον, ὡστε τὴν ἐξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλήν ἐπέστησαν ἐπιμελείσθαι τῆς εὐκοσμίας, ἣς οὐχ οἴόντ’ ἢν μετασχεῖν πλὴν τοῖς καλῶς γεγονόσι καὶ πολλῆν ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἐνδεδειγμένοις, ὡστ’ εἰκότως αὐτὴν διενεγκεῖν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντων. σημείους δ’ ἂν τοὺς χρήσαιον περὶ τῶν τότε καθεστώτων καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι γιγνο-

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a In 20-27.
b See Plato (Protagoras 325 c ff.) for a picture of the education of Athenian boys.
c Literally, when they are approved for manhood. At the age of eighteen, the Athenian youth submitted himself to an examination on his qualifications for citizenship.
d In early times, the Council, according to Aristotle (Constitution of Athens 3), not only had the duty of guarding the laws, but was the main factor in the government of the city, and punished at its discretion “all who misbehaved themselves.” It even selected the magistrates for the several offices (ib. 8). Under Solon the Council kept its most important powers: it superintended the laws and guarded the constitution, exercised a censorship over the citizens “in the most important matters,” and corrected offenders, having plenary authority to inflict punishment (ib. 8). Under Cleisthenes its powers declined, but because of its wise and patriotic initiative in the Persian Wars it
life as they were in those days, but neglect to explain the reasons why our forefathers managed so well both in their relations with each other and in their government of the state. Well, I have already touched upon that question, but in spite of that I shall now try to discuss it even more fully and more clearly.

The Athenians of that day were not watched over by many preceptors during their boyhood only to be allowed to do what they liked when they attained to manhood; on the contrary, they were subjected to greater supervision in the very prime of their vigour than when they were boys. For our forefathers placed such strong emphasis upon sobriety that they put the supervision of decorum in charge of the Council of the Areopagus—a body which was composed exclusively of men who were of noble birth and had exemplified in their lives exceptional virtue and sobriety, and which, therefore, naturally excelled all the other councils of Hellas. And we may judge what this institution was at that time even by what happens at the present day; for even

became again the supreme influence of the state (ib. 23), and remained so until, under the leadership of Ephialtes, its important powers of supervision and censorship were taken from it and distributed to the Senate of the Five Hundred, the General Assembly, and the Heliastic juries (ib. 25).

The Council was made up of ex-archons, who, after successfully passing an examination at the end of their terms of office to determine their fitness, became members of the Areopagus for life. The archons were at first "selected under qualifications of birth and of wealth." See Aristotle, Constitution of Athens 3. After the "reforms" of Ephialtes, the property qualification was dropped, the only requirement being that of genuine citizenship. See Plutarch, Aristides.
μένοις· ἐτὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἀπάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν
αὐτεῖαν καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν κατημελημένων ἰδομεν
ἀν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πράγμασιν οὐκ ἄνεκτοις
ἀντι, ἐπειδὰν εἰς Ἀρείον πάγον ἀναβώσας, ὁκνοῦν-
tας τῇ φύσει χρήσθαι καὶ μάλλον τοῖς ἐκεῖ νομί-
μοις ἢ ταῖς αὐτῶν κακίαις ἐμμένοντας. τοσοῦτον
φόβον ἐκεῖνοι τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐνειργάσαντο, καὶ
τουτοί μνημείον ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρετῆς
καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐγκατέλιπον.

39 Τὴν δὴ τοιαύτην, ὠσπερ εἴπον, κυρίαν ἐποίησαν
τῆς εὐταξίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἢ τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους
ἐνταῦθα βελτίστους ἄνδρας γίγνεσθαι, παρ' οἷς οἱ
νόμοι μετὰ πλείστης ἀκριβείας κείμενοι τυγ-
χάνονσιν, ἀγνοεῖν ἐνόμιζέν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἂν κωλύειν
ὀμοίους ἀπαντᾶς εἶναι τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἑνεκά γε τοῦ
μίδιον εἶναι τὰ γράμματα λαβεῖν παρ' ἀλλήλων.

40 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ έκ τούτων τὴν ἐπίδοσιν εἶναι τῆς
ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' έκ τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην τῆν ἡμέραν
ἐπιτηδευμάτων· τοὺς γὰρ πολλοὺς ὁμοίους τοῖς
ηθεσιν ἀποβαίνειν, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐκαστοι παιδεύθοσιν.
ἐπείτα τά γε 1 πλῆθη καὶ τὰς ἀκριβείας τῶν νόμων
σημείον εἶναι τοῦ κακῶς οἰκεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν

[148] ταύτην· ἐμφράγματα γὰρ αὐτοὺς ποιομένους τῶν

1 ἐπείτα τά γε Schneider: ἐπεί τά γε mss.

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a With special reference to the archons, who became members of the Areopagus. He means that they were no longer taken necessarily from the best class of citizens. They did, however, have to undergo an examination (ἐθνα) on their conduct in office at the end of their term, and a further examination (δοκιμασία) before the Council of the Areopagus to determine their worthiness to become members of that body. See Gilbert, Greek Constitutional Antiquities 128
now, when everything connected with the election and the examination of magistrates \(^a\) has fallen into neglect, we shall find that those who in all else that they do are insufferable, yet when they enter the Areopagus hesitate to indulge their true nature, being governed rather by its traditions than by their own evil instincts. So great was the fear which its members inspired in the depraved and such was the memorial of their own virtue and sobriety which they left behind them in the place of their assembly.

Such, then, as I have described, was the nature of the Council which our forefathers charged with the supervision of moral discipline—a council which considered that those who believed that the best citizens are produced in a state where the laws are prescribed with the greatest exactness \(^b\) were blind to the truth; for in that case there would be no reason why all of the Hellenes should not be on the same level, at any rate in so far as it is easy to borrow written codes from each other. But in fact, they thought, virtue is not advanced by written laws but by the habits of every-day life; for the majority of men tend to assimilate the manners and morals amid which they have been reared. Furthermore, they held that where there is a multitude of specific laws, it is a sign that the state is badly governed; \(^c\) for it is in the attempt to build up dikes against the spread of crime that

p. 282. What such an examination was like is described by Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 55. Perhaps such examinations became largely perfunctory, and this may be the ground of Isocrates’ complaint.

\(^a\) Cf. Paneg. 78; Panath. 144.

\(^b\) For this idea that the multiplication of laws is a symptom of degeneracy see Tacitus, *Ann.* iii. 27: corruptissima republica plurimae leges.
Desde la época de Solón, las leyes atenienses se publicaban en pilares en el "P亭ico del Rey," en la plaza. Véase Aristóteles, Constitución de Atenas 7. 130
men in such a state feel constrained to multiply the laws. Those who are rightly governed, on the other hand, do not need to fill their porticoes with written statutes, but only to cherish justice in their souls; for it is not by legislation, but by morals, that states are well directed, since men who are badly reared will venture to transgress even laws which are drawn up with minute exactness, whereas those who are well brought up will be willing to respect even a simple code. Therefore, being of this mind, our forefathers did not seek to discover first how they should penalize men who were lawless, but how they should produce citizens who would refrain from any punishable act; for they thought that this was their duty, while it was proper for private enemies alone to be zealous in the avenging of crime.

Now our forefathers exercised care over all the citizens, but most of all over the young. They saw that at this age men are most unruly of temper and filled with a multitude of desires, and that their spirits are most in need of being curbed by devotion to noble pursuits and by congenial labour; for only such occupations can attract and hold men who have been educated liberally and trained in high-minded ways.

However, since it was not possible to direct all into the same occupations, because of differences in their circumstances, they assigned to each one a vocation which was in keeping with his means; for they turned the needier towards farming and trade, know-

b Cf. Plato, Republic 425 a ff.

c The initiative in bringing criminals to justice was left largely to private citizens, any one of whom might bring charges before a court.

d Cf. Plato, Laws 808 d.
ISOCRATES

eidôtes tás ἀπορίας μὲν διὰ τὰς ἀργίας γυνο-45 μένας, τὰς δὲ κακοουργίας διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας· ἀν- αροῦντες οὖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλάξεων ἥπερ τοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων τῶν μετ’ ἐκείνην γιγνομένων. τοὺς δὲ βίον ἰκανὸν κεκτη- μένους περὶ τὴν ἐπικήν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰ κυνηγεῖα καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἣνάγκασαν δια- τρίβειν, ὥρῳντες ἐκ τούτων τοὺς μὲν διαφέροντας γιγνομένους, τοὺς δὲ τῶν πλείστων κακῶν ἀπ- εχομένους.

Καὶ ταῦτα νομοθετήσαντες οὐδὲ τὸν λοιπὸν

χρόνον ὀλιγώρουν, ἀλλὰ διελόμενοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατὰ κόμας τὴν δὲ χώραν κατὰ δήμους ἑθεάρουν τὸν βίον τὸν ἐκάστος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκοσμοῦντας ἀνὴγγον εἰς τὴν βουλήν. ἦ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐνουθέτει, τοῖς δὲ ἠπείλει, τοῖς δὲ ὑπὸ προσήκειν ἐκόλαξεν. ἦπιστάντο γὰρ ὅτι δύο τρόποι τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες οἱ καὶ προτρέποντες ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδικίας καὶ παύοντες

τῶν πονηρῶν· παρ’ οἷς μὲν γὰρ μῆτε φυλακῇ μυθεμία τῶν τοιούτων καθέστηκε μὴθ’ αἱ κρίσεις ἀκριβεῖς εἰςι, παρὰ τοῦτοι μὲν διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς τῶν φύσεων, ὅπου δὲ μῆτε λαθεῖν τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι βάδιον ἐστὶ μῆτε φανεροῖς γενομένοις συγγνώμης τυχεῖν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἑξι- τῆλους γίγνεσθαι τὰς κακοθέειας. ἀπερ ἐκείνου γιγνώσκοντες ἀμφοτέρους κατεῖχον τοὺς πολίτας, καὶ ταῖς τιμωρίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις· τοσοῦτον

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\(a\) That is, in training for the races at the festivals.

\(b\) There were three gymnasiuums in Athens: the Lyceum, the Academy, and the Cynosarges.

132
ing that poverty comes about through idleness, and evil-doing through poverty. Accordingly, they believed that by removing the root of evil they would deliver the young from the sins which spring from it. On the other hand, they compelled those who possessed sufficient means to devote themselves to horsemanship,\(^a\) athletics,\(^b\) hunting,\(^c\) and philosophy,\(^d\) observing that by these pursuits some are enabled to achieve excellence, others to abstain from many vices.

But when they had laid down these ordinances they were not negligent regarding what remained to be done, but, dividing the city into districts and the country into townships, they kept watch over the life of every citizen,\(^e\) haling the disorderly before the Council, which now rebuked, now warned, and again punished them according to their deserts. For they understood that there are two ways both of encouraging men to do wrong and of checking them from evil-doing; for where no watch is kept over such matters and the judgements are not strict, there even honest natures grow corrupt; but where, again, it is not easy for wrong-doers either to escape detection or, when detected, to obtain indulgence, there the impulse to do evil disappears. Understanding this, they restrained the people from wrong-doing in both ways—both by punishment and by watchfulness; for

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\(^a\) In Aristophanes' *Knights*, 1382 ff., the reformed Demos declares that it will henceforth make all these demagogues take to hunting and give up concocting "decrees" for the Assembly.

\(^b\) The cultivated life. See *Paneg.* 47 ff.

\(^c\) The supervision of the young through guardians appointed by districts survives in the later period. See Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 42.
γὰρ ἐδειχν τῶν λανθάνειν οἱ κακῶν τι̣ δεδρακότες, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἐπιδόξους ἀμαρτήσεις τι 48 προσηθάνοντο. τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς σκιραθείοις οἱ νεώτεροι διέτριβον, οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν, οὐδὲ ἐν τοῖς τουούτοις συλλόγοις ἐν οἷς νῦν διημερεύουσιν ἀλλ’ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηθεύμασιν ἔμενον ἐν οἷς ἐτάχθησαν, θαυμάζοντες καὶ ξηλοῦντες τοὺς ἐν τούτοις πρωτεύοντας. οὕτω δ’ ἔφευγον τὴν ἀγοράν, ὥστ’ εἰ καὶ ποτὲ διελθεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖεν, μετὰ πολλῆς αἰγοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης ἐφαίνοντο τούτῳ ποιούντες. ἀντειπεῖν δὲ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἡ λοιαδρήσασθαι δεινότερον ἐνόμιζον ἡ νῦν περὶ τοὺς γονέας ἑξαιμαρτείν. ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἡ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ’ ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιευκῆς ἐτόλμησεν σεμινύεσθαι γὰρ ἐμελέτων, ἀλλ’ οὐ βωμολοχεύεσθαι. καὶ τοὺς εὐτραπέλους δὲ καὶ τοὺς σκώπτειν δυναμένους, οὐς νῦν εὐφνεῖς προσαγορεύουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δυστυχεῖς ἐνόμιζον.

50 Καὶ μηδείς οὐέσθω με δυσκόλως διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ταύτην ἔχοντας τὴν ἡλικίαν. οὐτε γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι τούτους αἰτίους εἶναι τῶν γιγνομένων, σύνοιδα τε τοῖς πλείστοις αὐτῶν ἥκιστα χαίροντο ταύτῃ τῇ καταστάσει, δι’ ἣν ἔξεστιν αὐτοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἀκολογίαις ταύταις διατρίβειν. ὥστ’ οὐκ ἂν

[150] εἰκότως τούτωι ἐπιτηθεύμην, ἀλλὰ πολὺ δικαιώτερον τοῖς ὀλίγων πρὸ ἡμῶν τὴν πόλιν διουκήσασιν. 51 ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἤσαν οἱ προτρήματες ἐπὶ ταύτας τὰς

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a The same picture of degeneracy is found in Antid. 287.
b Cf. Theopompus in Athenaeus 532 d.
c Cf. Aristophanes, Clouds 991; Plato, Theaet. 173 c, d.
d Cf. Aristophanes, Clouds 998.
e The same expression is used in Antid. 286.
so far from failing to detect those who had gone astray, they actually saw in advance who were likely to commit some offence. Therefore the young men did not waste their time in the gambling dens or with the flute-girls or in the kind of company in which they now spend their days, but remained steadfastly in the pursuits to which they had been assigned, admiring and emulating those who excelled in these. And so strictly did they avoid the market-place that even when they were at times compelled to pass through it, they were seen to do this with great modesty and sobriety of manner. To contradict one's elders or to be impudent to them was then considered more reprehensible than it is nowadays to sin against one's parents; and to eat or drink in a tavern was something which no one, not even an honest slave, would venture to do; for they cultivated the manners of a gentleman, not those of a buffoon; and as for those who had a turn for jesting and playing the clown, whom we to-day speak of as clever wits, they were then looked upon as sorry fools.

But let no one suppose that I am out of temper with the younger generation: I do not think that they are to blame for what goes on, and in fact I know that most of them are far from pleased with a state of affairs which permits them to waste their time in these excesses; so that I cannot in fairness censure them, when it is much more just to rest the blame upon those who directed the city a little before our time; for it was they who led on our youth to

\[^a\] He is thinking of Ephialtes and those who, following in his footsteps, made Athens more "democratic." Aristotle says that following the archonship of Ephialtes "the administration of the state became more and more lax," Const. of Athens 26.
ISOCRATES

ολιγωρίας καὶ καταλύσαντες τὴν τῆς βουλῆς δύναμιν. ὡς ἐπιστατούσης οὐ δικών οὐδ’ ἐγκλημάτων οὐδ’ εἰσφόρον οὐδὲ πενίας οὐδὲ πολέμων ἡ πόλις ἔγεμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλης ἄνθρωπος ἠσυχίαν ἔθει καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας εἰρήνην ἤγον. παρείχον γὰρ σφαῖς αὐτοὺς τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνι 52 πιστοὺς, τοὺς δὲ βαρβάρους φοβεροὺς τοὺς μὲν γὰρ σεσωκότες ἤσαν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν δίκην τηλικαύτην εἰληφότες, ὥστ’ ἀγαπᾶν ἐκεῖνους εἰ μηδὲν ἔτι κακὸν πάσχοιεν.

Τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ τοσαύτης ἀσφαλείας διῆγον, ὡστε καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκήσεις καὶ τὰς κατασκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους, καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν μηδ’ εἰς τὰς ἐορτὰς εἰς ἀστυ καταβαινεῖν, ἀλλ’ αἱρεῖσθαι μὲν εἰπὶ τοῖς ἱδιοῖς ἀγαθοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ 53 τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολαύειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὰς θεωρίας, ὥν ἔνεκ’ ἄν τις ἤλθεν, ἀσελγῶς οὐδ’ ὑπερηφάνως ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἐχόντως ἐποίουν. οὐ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πομπῶν οὐδ’ ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὰς χορηγίας φιλονεικῶν οὐδ’ ἐκ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀλαζονεῖσιν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐδοκίμαζον, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τοῦ σωφρόνως

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a It was not yet the “litigious Athens,” ridiculed in Aristophanes’ Wasps.
b By the sycophants especially. See Antid. 8, note.
c Special taxes levied for war purposes on the well-to-do citizens.
d Athens was impoverished by her wars, Peace 19.
e Cf. 80 and Paneg. 117-118.
f Demosthenes contrasts the magnificence of the temples and public buildings in Athens with the unpretentiousness of private houses in the “good old days” when the house
AREOPAGITICUS, 51-53

this spirit of heedlessness and destroyed the power of the Areopagus. For while this Council maintained its authority, Athens was not rife with law-suits,\(^a\) or accusations,\(^b\) or tax-levies,\(^c\) or poverty,\(^d\) or war; on the contrary, her citizens lived in accord with each other and at peace with mankind, enjoying the good will of the Hellenes and inspiring fear in the barbarians; for they had saved the Hellenes from destruction and had punished the barbarians so severely that the latter were well content if only they might suffer no further injury.\(^e\)

And so, because of these things, our forefathers lived in such a degree of security that the houses and establishments in the country were finer and more costly than those within the city-walls,\(^f\) and many of the people never visited Athens even for the festivals, preferring to remain at home in the enjoyment of their own possessions rather than share in the pleasures dispensed by the state. For even the public festivals, which might otherwise have drawn many to the city, were not conducted with extravagance or ostentation, but with sane moderation, since our people then measured their well-being, not by their processions or by their efforts to outdo each other in fitting out the choruses,\(^g\) or by any such empty shows, but by the sobriety of their govern-

of a Miltiades or of an Aristides was no finer than any other, third Olynthiac 25 ff.

\(^a\) The training and fitting out of a chorus for a dramatic festival was one of the services (liturgies) rendered to the state by the more wealthy citizens. See Peace 128, note. Isocrates here complains of the expensive and ostentatious rivalry in such matters. See below: "garments spangled with gold." The cost of such a service in some cases amounted to as much as five thousand drachmas.
Six thousand citizens were selected by lot each year to constitute the "Heliastic" Court. These were divided into ten sections of five hundred each, one thousand being held in reserve as substitutes. The number of jurymen required varied from day to day, and each morning the required number was picked out by lot. Service on the jury was at first without pay, but now (and since Pericles) the pay was three obols a day—a paltry sum, but fought for by the populace, to many of whom this meant "bread and butter."

Cf. Peace 130; Antid. 152.
ment, by the manner of their daily life, and by the absence of want among all their citizens.

These are the standards by which one should judge whether people are genuinely prosperous and not living in vulgar fashion. For as things now are, who among intelligent men can fail to be chagrined at what goes on, when we see many of our fellow-citizens drawing lots in front of the law-courts to determine whether they themselves shall have the necessaries of life,⁠a yet thinking it proper to support at their expense any of the Hellenes who will deign to row their ships:⁠b appearing in the public choruses in garments spangled with gold, yet living through the winter in clothing which I refuse to describe; and showing other contradictions of the same kind in their conduct of affairs, which bring great shame upon the city?

Nothing of the sort happened when the Areopagus was in power; for it delivered the poor from want by providing them with work and with assistance from the wealthy, the young from excesses by engaging them in occupations and by watching over them, the men in public life from the temptations of greed by imposing punishments and by letting no wrong-doer escape detection, and the older men from despondency by securing to them public honours and the devotion of the young. How then could there

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⁠a At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Athenian triremes (ships of war) were commanded by citizens, but the crews (rowers) were made up of hirelings recruited from everywhere—the scum of the earth, according to Peace 79. At that time the soldiers were Athenian citizens. Later the reverse was true: the fleet was manned by citizens, while the land troops were mercenaries. See Peace 48.
γένοιτο ταύτης πλείονος ἀξία πολιτεία, τῆς οὐτώ καλῶς ἀπάντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμεληθείσης;

56 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ποτὲ καθεστώτων τὰ μὲν πλείστα διεληλύθαμεν· ὡσ δὲ παραλελοίπαμεν, ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων, ὅτι κάκεινα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον εἶχε τούτοις, βαδίων ἦστι καταμαθεῖν. ἦδη δὲ τινες ἀκοῦσαντές μοι ταῦτα διεξόντος ἐπήκεισαν μὲν ὡς οἴόντε μάλιστα, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐμακάρισαν

57 ὅτι τὸν τρόπον τούτον τὴν πόλιν διώκοντο, οὐ μὴν ύμᾶς γε ὄντο πεισθήσεσθαι χρήσθαι τούτοις, ἀλλ' αἰρήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν ἐν τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασι κακοπαθεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μετὰ πολιτείας ἀκριβεστέρας ἁμενον τὸν βίον διάγειν. εἰναι δ' ἐφασαν ἔμοι καὶ κίνδυνον, μὴ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλεύσων μισόδημος εἰναι δόξω καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἤτειν εἰς ὀλγαρχίαν ἐμβαλεῖν.

58 Ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν περὶ πραγμάτων ἀγνοομένων καὶ μὴ κοινῶν τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐκέλευον ύμᾶς ἐλέσθαι συνεδροὺς ἢ συγγραφέας, δι' ὅτι ὦ δήμος κατελύθη τὸ πρότερον, εἰκότως ἂν εἰχον ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν· νῦν δ' οὐδὲν εἰρήκα τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ διείλεγμαι περὶ διοικήσεως

59 οὐκ ἀποκεκρυμμένης ἀλλὰ πάσι φανερᾶς, ἣν πάντες ἴστε καὶ πατρίαν ἤμων οὖσαν καὶ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 'Ελλησιν αἰτίαν γεγενημένην, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς υπὸ τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν νομοθετηθείσαν καὶ κατασταθείσαν, οὖς

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a The ready retort of demagogues to any critic of ochlocracy. See Antid. 318 and note; Aristophanes, Plutus 570.

b The very word (συγγραφέας) which was used of the board of twenty men appointed to make recommendations of a change in the constitution before the establishment of the oligarchy of the Four Hundred, 411 B.C.
be a polity of greater worth than this, which so excellently watched over all the interests of the state?

I have now discussed most of the features of the constitution as it once was, and those which I have passed over may readily be judged from those which I have described, since they are of the same character. However, certain people who have heard me discuss this constitution, while praising it most unreservedly and agreeing that our forefathers were fortunate in having governed the state in this fashion, have nevertheless expressed the opinion that you could not be persuaded to adopt it, but that, because you have grown accustomed to the present order, you would prefer to continue a wretched existence under it rather than enjoy a better life under a stricter polity; and they warned me that I even ran the risk, although giving you the very best advice, of being thought an enemy of the people and of seeking to turn the state into an oligarchy.\(^a\)

Well, if I were proposing a course which was unfamiliar and not generally known, and if I were urging you to appoint a committee or a commission\(^b\) to consider it, which was the means through which the democracy was done away with before, there might be some reason for this charge. I have, however, proposed nothing of the kind, but have been discussing a government whose character is hidden from no one, but evident to all—one which, as you all know, is a heritage from our fathers, which has been the source of numberless blessings both to Athens and to the other states of Hellas, and which was, besides, ordained and established by men who
Those who did, not what the people liked, but what was for their good. So Solon is called δημοτικωτάτος, 16.

See especially Paneg. 105 ff.; General Introd. p. xxxviii.

Exclusive of the Perioeci and the Helots. See Aristotle, Politics 1294 b 18 ff.
would be acknowledged by all the world to have been the best friends of the people among the citizens of Athens; so that it would be of all things most absurd if I, in seeking to introduce such a polity, should be suspected of favouring revolution.

Furthermore, it is easy to judge of my purpose from the fact that in most of the discourses which I have written, you will find that I condemn oligarchies and special privileges, while I commend equal rights and democratic governments—not all of them, but those which are well-ordered, praising them not indiscriminately, but on just and reasonable grounds. For I know that under this constitution our ancestors were far superior to the rest of the world, and that the Lacedaemonians are the best governed of peoples because they are the most democratic; for in their selection of magistrates, in their daily life, and in their habits in general, we may see that the principles of equity and equality have greater influence than elsewhere in the world—principles to which oligarchies are hostile, while well-ordered democracies practise them continually.

Moreover, if we will examine into the history of the most illustrious and the greatest of the other states, we shall find that democratic forms of government are more advantageous for them than oligarchies. For if we compare our own government—which is criticized by everyone—not with the old democracy which I have described, but with the rule which was instituted by the Thirty, there is no one who would not consider our present democracy

See 15.

The oligarchy of the thirty "Tyrants," instituted with the help of the Spartans at the end of the Peloponnesian War, 404 B.C.
At the Battle of Arginusae, 406 B.C., the beginning of the end of the Peloponnesian War.

Many of them had been exiled by the Thirty or had fled for their lives. Thrasybulus placed himself at their head, defeated the Thirty in battle, and restored the democracy. See Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 10 ff.

One of the terms insisted on by Lysander was that the
a divine creation. And I desire, even though some will complain that I am straying from my subject, to expound and to explain how much superior this government is to that of the Thirty, in order that I may not be accused of scrutinizing too minutely the mistakes of our democracy, while overlooking the many fine things which it has achieved. I promise, however, that the story will not be long or without profit to my hearers.

When we lost our fleet in the Hellespont and our city was plunged into the disasters of that time, who of our older men does not know that the “people’s party,” as they were called, were ready to go to any length of hardship to avoid doing what the enemy commanded, deeming it monstrous that anyone should see the city which had ruled over the Hellenes in subjection to another state, whereas the partisans of oligarchy were ready both to tear down the walls and to submit to slavery? Or that at the time when the people were in control of affairs, we placed our garrisons in the citadels of other states, whereas when the Thirty took over the government, the enemy occupied the Acropolis of Athens? Or, again, that during the rule of the Thirty the Lacedaemonians were our masters, but that when the exiles returned and dared to fight for freedom, and Conon won his naval victory, ambassadors came from the Lacedaemonians and offered Athens the command of the sea? Yes, “long walls” connecting Athens with the Piraeus be demolished.

\* Lysander kept a Spartan garrison on the Acropolis during the rule of the Thirty. See Peace 902; Antid. 319.
\* The Battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., re-established the power of Athens.
\* See Evagoras 68.
In almost the same terms he praises Pericles for his adornment of Athens, Antid. 234.

The bitterest denunciation of the misrule of the Thirty is in the oration Against Eratosthenes, by Lysias. At its close, he speaks of the sacrilege of the Thirty, particularly in selling off the treasures stored in the temples, and of their tearing down the dockyards of the Piraeus.

An example of irony (litotes), a figure sparingly used by Isocrates. Cf. "outworn" in Paneg. 92.
and who of my own generation does not remember that the democracy so adorned the city with temples and public buildings that even to-day visitors from other lands consider that she is worthy to rule not only over Hellas but over all the world;\(^a\) while the Thirty neglected the public buildings, plundered the temples, and sold for destruction for the sum of three talents the dockyards\(^b\) upon which the city had spent not less than a thousand talents? And surely no one could find grounds to praise the mildness\(^c\) of the Thirty as against that of the people’s rule! For when the Thirty took over the city, by vote of the Assembly,\(^d\) they put to death fifteen hundred Athenians\(^e\) without a trial and compelled more than five thousand to leave Athens and take refuge in the Piraeus,\(^f\) whereas when the exiles overcame them and returned to Athens under arms, these put to death only the chief perpetrators of their wrongs and dealt so generously and so justly by the rest\(^g\) that those who had driven the citizens from their homes fared no worse than those who had returned from exile. But the best and strongest proof of the fairness of the people is that, although those who had remained in the city had borrowed a hundred talents from the Lacedaemonians\(^h\) with which to prosecute the siege of those who occupied the Piraeus, yet later when an assembly of the people was held to consider the payment of the debt, and

\(^{a}\) Under duress. See Xen. *Hell*. ii. 3. 2.

\(^{b}\) The same number is given in *Against Lochites* 11.

\(^{c}\) Only those enjoyed the franchise under the Thirty who were in the catalogue of the approved “three thousand.” See *Against Callimachus* 17.


\(^{e}\) See Lysias, *Against Eratosthenes* 59.
χρημάτων, καὶ λεγόντων πολλῶν ώς δίκαιόν ἐστι
dιαλύειν τὰ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους μὴ τοὺς πολι-
ορκουμένους ἀλλὰ τοὺς δανεισμένους, ἔδοξε τῷ
69 δήμῳ κοινὴν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν. καὶ γὰρ
tοι διὰ ταύτης τὴν γνώμην εἰς τοιαύτην ἡμᾶς
[154] ὀμόνοιαν κατέστησαν καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπιδιόναι τὴν
πόλιν ἐποίησαν, ἀπὸ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, τοὺς ἐπὶ
tῆς ὀλιγαρχίας ὀλίγου δεῖν καὶ ἐκατότητι τῆς
ἡμέρας προστάτων τῶν, ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς δημο-
κρατίας ἵκετευόντας καὶ δεησομένους μὴ περιδείν
αὐτοὺς ἀναστάτους γενομένους. τὸ δὲ οὖν κεφά-
lαιον τῆς ἐκατέρων διανοίας τοιοῦτον ἢν· οἱ μὲν
gὰρ ἡξίουν τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν ἄρχειν, τοὺς δὲ
πολεμίους δουλεύειν, οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων ἄρχειν,
tοῖς δὲ πολίταις ἵσον ἔχειν.
70 Ταῦτα δὲ διῆλθον δυνόν ἕνεκα, πρῶτον μὲν
ἐμαυτοῦ ἐπιδείξαι βουλόμενος οὐκ ὀλιγαρχίων
οὔτε πλεονεξίων ἀλλὰ δικαίως καὶ κοσμίως ἐπι-
θυμοῦντα πολιτείας, ἐπειτὰ τὰς δημοκρατίας τὰς
tε κακῶς καθεστηκμένα ἔλαττόνων συμφορῶν
αἰτίας γεγομένας, τὰς τε καλῶς πολιτευόμενας
προεχύσας τῷ δικαιοτέρας εἶναι καὶ κοινοτέρας
καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἃδιόν.
71 Τάχ' οὖν ἂν τις θαυμάσεις, τί βουλόμενος άντι
tῆς πολιτείας τῆς οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπεραγ-
μένης ἐτέραν ὑμᾶς πείθω μεταλαβεῖν, καὶ τίνος
ἔνεκα νῦν μὲν οὕτω καλῶς ἐγκεκωμέναται τὴν

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This is attested by Aristotle (Const. of Athens 40) in a
passage which pays a high compliment to the admirable
spirit in which the feud between the two parties was wiped
out.

148
when many insisted that it was only fair that the claims of the Lacedaemonians should be settled, not by those who had suffered the siege, but by those who had borrowed the money, nevertheless the people voted to pay the debt out of the public treasury. And in truth it was because of this spirit that they brought us into such concord with each other and so far advanced the power of the city that the Lacedaemonians, who under the rule of the oligarchy laid their commands upon us almost every day, under the rule of the people came begging and supplicating us not to allow them to be driven from their homes. In a word the spirit of the two parties was this: the oligarchies were minded to rule over their fellow-citizens and be subject to their enemies; the people, to rule over the world at large and share the power of the state on equal terms with their fellow-citizens.

I have recounted these things for two reasons: because I wanted to show, in the first place, that I am not in favour of oligarchy or special privilege, but of a just and orderly government of the people, and, in the second place, that even badly constituted democracies are responsible for fewer disasters than are oligarchies, while those which are well-ordered are superior to oligarchies in that they are more just, more impartial, and more agreeable to those who live under them.

But perhaps some of you may wonder what my purpose is in trying to persuade you to exchange the polity which has achieved so many fine things for another, and why it is that after having just

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\(b\) After the Battle of Leuctra. See *Peace* 105; Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 33 ff.
δημοκρατίαν, ὅταν δὲ τῦχω, πάλιν μεταβαλὼν
72 ἐπιτιμῶ καὶ κατηγορῶ τῶν καθεστῶτων. ἐγὼ
δὲ καὶ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν τοὺς ὀλίγα μὲν κατορθοῦντας
πολλὰ δὲ ἐξαμαρτάνοντας μέμφομαι καὶ νομίζω
φαυλοτέρους εἶναι τοῖς δέοντος, καὶ πρὸς γε τούτοις
tοὺς γεγονότας ἐκ καλῶν κἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν, καὶ
μικρῷ μὲν ὄντας ἐπιεικεστέρους τῶν ὑπερβαλλόν-
tων ταῖς πονηρίαις, πολὺ δὲ χεῖρος τῶν πατέρων,
λοιπῶς, καὶ συμβουλεύσαμι οὖν αὐτοῖς παῦσαιθα.
73 τοιούτως οὖσιν. τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν γνώμην ἔχω καὶ
περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἰδίαι μας οὐ μέγα
φρονεῖν οὐδ’ ἀγαπῶν, εἰ κακοδαιμονησάντων καὶ
μανέντων ἀνθρώπων νομιμώτεροι γεγόναμεν, ἀλλὰ
πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ βαρέως φέρειν, εἰ
χεῖρος τῶν προγόνων τυγχάνομεν ὄντες. πρὸς
γὰρ τὴν ἑκείνων ἀρετὴν ἀλλ’ οὐ πρὸς τὴν τῶν
τριάκοντα πονηρίαν ἀμιλλητέον ἡμῖν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰς
τε καὶ προσήκον ἡμῖν βελτίστοις ἀπάντων ἀνθρώ-
pων εἶναι.
74 Καὶ τούτον εἰρήκα τὸν λόγον οὐ νῦν πρῶτον,
[155] ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἴδῃ καὶ πρὸς πολλοὺς. ἐπίσταμαι
γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις τόποις φύσεις ἐγγραφομένας
καρπῶν καὶ δένδρων καὶ ζώων ἴδιας ἐν ἐκάστοις
καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων διαφερούσας, τὴν δ’ ἑμετέραν
χώραν ἄνδρας φέρειν καὶ τρέφειν δυναμένην οὔ
μόνον πρὸς τὰς τέχνας καὶ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τοὺς
λόγους εὐφυεστάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄνδριαν καὶ
πρὸς ἀρετὴν πολὺ διαφέροντας.
75 Τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ δίκαιον ἔστι τοῖς τε παλαιοῖς
ἀγῶσιν, οὕς ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς Ἄμαξόνας καὶ
150
now eulogized democracy in such high terms, I veer about capriciously and criticize and condemn the present order. Well, I reproach men in private life when they succeed in a few things and fail in many, and regard them as falling short of what they ought to be; and, more than that, when men are sprung from noble ancestors and yet are only a little better than those who are distinguished for depravity, and much worse than their fathers, I rebuke them and would counsel them to cease from being what they are. And I am of the same mind also regarding public affairs. For I think that we ought not to be proud or even satisfied should we have shown ourselves more law-regarding than men accursed by the gods and afflicted with madness, but ought much rather to feel aggrieved and resentful should we prove to be worse than our ancestors; for it is their excellence and not the depravity of the Thirty which we should strive to emulate, especially since it behoves Athenians to be the best among mankind.

This is not the first time that I have expressed this sentiment; I have done so many times and before many people. For I know that while other regions produce varieties of fruits and trees and animals, each peculiar to its locality and much better than those of other lands, our own country is able to bear and nurture men who are not only the most gifted in the world in the arts and in the powers of action and of speech, but are also above all others in valour and in virtue.

This conclusion we may justly draw from the ancient struggles which they carried on against the

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*a* With particular reference to the Thirty.

*b* Cf. Paneg. 33; Peace 94.
Θράκας καὶ Πελοποννησίους ἀπαντάς, καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις τοῖς περὶ τὰ Περσικὰ γενομένοις, ἐν οἷς καὶ μόνοι καὶ μετὰ Πελοποννησίων, καὶ πεζο-μαχοῦντες καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες, νικήσαντες τοὺς βαρβάρους ἁριστεῖων ἥξιώθησαν. ἄν ὦθεν ἂν ἐπραξάν, εἴ μὴ πολὺ τὴν φύσιν διήνεγκαν.

76 Καὶ μηδεῖς οἰέσθω ταύτην τὴν εὐλογίαν ἢ μὲν προσήκειν τοῖς νῦν πολιτευμένοις, ἀλλὰ πολὺ τοῦναντίον. εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ τοιούτοι τῶν λόγων ἔπαινοι μὲν τῶν ἀξίως σφαῖς αὐτοὺς τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς παρεχόντων, κατηγορία δὲ τῶν τὰς εὐγενείας ταῖς αὐτῶν ραθυμίαις καὶ κακίαις κατασχυνόντων. ὅπερ ἡμεῖς ποιοῦμεν· εἰρήσεται γὰρ τάληθες. τοιαύτης γὰρ ἢ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ὑπαρχοῦσιν, οὐ διεφυλάξαμεν αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ ἐμ-πεπτώκαμεν εἰς ἀνοιαν καὶ ταραχὴν καὶ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμίαν.

77 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἢν ἐπακολούθω τοῖς ἐνοῦσιν ἐπι-τιμήσαι καὶ κατηγορήσαι τῶν ἐνεστῶτων πραγ-μάτων, δέδοικα μη τὸρρω λίαιν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀποπλανηθὼ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ πρότερον εἰρήκαμεν, καὶ πάλιν ἔροῦμεν, ἢν μὴ πείσωμεν ὡς παύσασθαι τοιαῦτ’ ἐξαμαρτάνοντας· περὶ δ’ ἄν ἔξ ἀρχῆς τὸν λόγον κατεστησάμην, βραχέα διαλεχθεὶς παραχωρῶ τοῖς βουλομένοις ἔτι συμβουλεύειν περὶ τούτων.

78 Ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἢν μὲν οὐτως οἰκῶμεν τὴν πόλιν ὀσπερ νῦν, οὐκ ἐστιν ὅπως οὐ καὶ βουλευσόμεθα

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a This paragraph sums up Athenian achievements in war which are stated at length in Paneg. 51-98. Cf. Archid. 42; Panath. 42 ff.

152
Amazons and the Thracians and all of the Peloponnesians, and also from the wars which they waged against the Persians, in which, both when they fought alone and when they were aided by the Peloponnesians, whether on land or on the sea, they were victorious over the barbarians and were adjudged the meed of valour; for they could not have achieved these things, had they not far surpassed other men in the endowments of nature.

But let no one think that this eulogy is appropriate to those who compose the present government—far from it; for such words are a tribute to those who show themselves worthy of the valour of their forefathers, but a reproach to those who disgrace their noble origin by their slackness and their cowardice. And this is just what we are doing; for you shall have the truth. For although we were blessed with such a nature at our birth, we have not cherished and preserved it, but have, on the contrary, fallen into folly and confusion and lust after evil ways.

But if I go on attacking the things which admit of criticism and of censure in our present order, I fear that I shall wander too far afield from my subject. In any case I have spoken about these things before, and I shall do so again if I do not succeed in persuading you to cease from such mistakes of policy. For the present, I shall speak but a few words on the theme which I proposed to discuss in the beginning and then yield the platform to any who desire to address you upon this question.

If we continue to govern Athens as we are now doing, then we are doomed to go on deliberating and

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\[a\] See Peace 49 ff.

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153
καὶ πολεμήσωμεν καὶ βιωσόμεθα καὶ σχεδὸν [156] ἀπαντα καὶ πεισόμεθα καὶ πράξομεν, ὀπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ καὶ τοὺς παρελθοὺσι χρόνους· ἢν δὲ μεταβάλωμεν τὴν πολιτείαν, δῆλον ὅτι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, οἶα περ ἢν τοῖς προγόνοις τὰ πράγματα, τοιαῦτα ἐσται καὶ περὶ ἡμᾶς· ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν πολιτευμάτων καὶ τὰς πράξεις ὁμοίας ἀεὶ καὶ παραπλησίας ἀποβαίνειν.

79 Ἡ δὲ τὰς μεγίστας αὐτῶν παρ’ ἄλληλας θέντας βουλευσάσθαι, ποτέρας ἡμῖν αἱρετέον ἐστίν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν σκεφῶμεθα τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, πῶς πρὸς ἐκείνην τὴν πολιτείαν διεκεκυντό καὶ πῶς νῦν ἤχουσι πρὸς ἡμᾶς. οὐ γὰρ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τὰ γένη ταῦτα συμβάλλει τι πρὸς

80 εὐδαιμονίαν, ὅταν ἔχῃ κατὰ τρόπον ἡμῖν. οἱ μὲν τοιῶν Ἑλλήνες οὗτως ἐπίστευον τοῖς κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πολιτευμένους, ὥστε τοὺς πλείστους αὐτῶν ἐκόντας ἐγχειρίσαι τῇ πόλει σφᾶς αὐτούς· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τοσοῦτον ἀπείχον τοῦ πολυπραγμονείν περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων, ὥστε οὔτε μακροῖς πλοίοις ἐπὶ τάδε Φασῆλιδος ἐπλεον οὔτε στρατοπέδους ἐντὸς Ἀλνος ποταμοῦ

81 κατέβαινον, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἠσυχίαν ἤγουν. νῦν δὲ εἰς τοῦτο τὰ πράγματα περιέστηκεν, ὡσθ’ οἱ μὲν μισοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμᾶν. καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ μίσους τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτῶν ἀκηκόατε τῶν στρατηγῶν· ὡς δὲ βασιλεὺς ἔχει πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν ὧν ἔπεμψεν ἐδήλωσεν.

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*a* Cf. Peace 76.  
*b* See Paneg. 118 and note; Panath. 59.  
*c* He speaks as though addressing an actual assembly which had received reports from the generals and dispatches from the King of Persia. See Introduction, close.

154
waging war and living and faring and acting in almost every respect just as we do at the present moment and have done in the past; but if we effect a change of polity, it is evident by the same reasoning that such conditions of life as our ancestors enjoyed will come about for us also; for from the same political institutions there must always spring like or similar ways of life.

But we must take the most significant of these ways and, comparing one with the other, decide which is preferable for us. And first let us consider how the Hellenes and the barbarians felt towards the earlier polity as compared with how they are now disposed towards us; for other peoples contribute not the least part of our well-being when they are properly disposed towards us. Well then, the Hellenes felt such confidence in those who governed the city in those times that most of them of their own accord placed themselves under the power of Athens, while the barbarians were so far from meddling in the affairs of the Hellenes that they neither sailed their ships-of-war this side of the Phaselis nor marched their armies beyond the Halys River, refraining, on the contrary, from all aggression. To-day, however, circumstances are so completely reversed that the Hellenes regard Athens with hatred and the barbarians hold us in contempt. As to the hatred of us among the Hellenes, you have heard the report of our generals themselves, and what the King thinks of us, he has made plain in the letters which have been dispatched by him.

 Threatening dispatches sent to the Athenians because Chares had supported the cause of the rebel satrap Artabanus. See 8, note.
82 Ἡ ἔτη πρὸς τούτοις ὑπὸ μὲν ἐκείνης τῆς εὐταξίας ὀὕτως ἐπαιδεύθησαν οἱ πολίται πρὸς ἀρετήν, ὡστε σφᾶς μὲν αὐτοὺς μὴ λυπεῖν, τοὺς δ’ εἰς τὴν χώραν εἰσβάλλοντας ἀπαντας μαχόμενοι νικᾶν. ἦμεῖς δὲ τούναντιν· ἀλλήλοις μὲν γὰρ κακὰ παρέχοντες οὐδεμίαν ἦμέραν διαλείπομεν, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ὀὕτω κατημελήκαμεν, ὡστ’ οὐδ’ εἰς ἐξετάσεις ἔναι τολμῶμεν ἢ μὴ λαμβάνωμεν
83 ἀργύριον. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον· τότε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἢν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐνδεής τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐδὲ προσαιτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν πόλιν κατήσχυνε, νῦν δὲ πλείους εἰσὶν οἱ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐχόντων· οἷς ἄξιον ἔστι πολλὴν συγγνώμην ἔχεω, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν κουνῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν
[157] ὅποθεν τὴν ἀεὶ παροῦσαν ἥμεραν διάξουσιν.
84 Ἡγὼ μὲν οὖν ἡγούμενος, ἢν μμησώμεθα τοὺς προγόνους, καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἡμᾶς τούτων ἀπαλλαγή- σεσθαι καὶ σωτήρας οὐ μόνον τῆς πόλεως ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν Ἕλληνων ἀπάντων γενήσεσθαι, τὴν τε πρόσ- οδον ἐπουργόμην καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐφηκα τοῦτος· ὦμείς δὲ πάντα λογισάμενοι ταῦτα χειροτονεῖθ’ ὃ τι ἀν ὑμῖν δοκῇ μάλιστα συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει.
Furthermore, under the discipline of the old days the citizens were so schooled in virtue as not to injure each other, but to fight and conquer all who attempted to invade their territory.\textsuperscript{a} We, however, do the very opposite; for we never let a day go by without bringing trouble on each other, and we have so far neglected the business of war that we do not even deign to attend reviews unless we are paid money for doing so. But the greatest difference lies in the fact that in that day no one of the citizens lacked the necessaries of life nor shamed the city by begging from passers-by, whereas to-day those who are destitute of means outnumber those who possess them.\textsuperscript{b} And we may well be patient with people in such circumstances if they care nothing for the public welfare, but consider only how they may live from day to day.

Now I have come before you and spoken this discourse, believing that if we will only imitate our ancestors we shall both deliver ourselves from our present ills and become the saviours, not of Athens alone, but of all the Hellenes;\textsuperscript{c} but it is for you to weigh all that I have said and cast your votes according to your judgement of what is best for Athens.

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Peace 76.
\textsuperscript{b} An exaggeration, but Isocrates dwells upon the poverty of Athens in the Peace also.
\textsuperscript{c} See General’ Introd. p. xxxii.
III. AGAINST THE SOPHISTS
INTRODUCTION

The tract against the sophists was written, as Isocrates himself tells us in the Antidosis, at the outset of his career as a teacher, and was no doubt issued as an advertisement of the principles and methods of his school. It breaks off, however, just at the point where he proceeds to a more positive exposition of his “philosophy.” The fragment which has come down to us is mainly an attack upon other systems of education, with barest hints as to his own, and it seems obvious that the purpose of the whole discourse was to set the author sharply apart from the other sophists, with whom he does not wish to be confused.

For a more complete discussion both of his own and other disciplines we must go to the Antidosis. Here his criticism is centred upon two classes of sophists, the Eristics, who devoted themselves to theorizing in the field of ethics, and the sophists of the rhetorical school, who taught oratory as an instrument of practical success. Of these latter he singles out, finally, for special rebuke the authors of “the so-called arts” (of oratory).

*a* 193.


*c* For Isocrates’ use of this word see General Introd. pp. xxvi ff.

160
AGAINST THE SOPHISTS

Both classes are called to account because of their impossible pretensions: the former for professing to teach an exact science of happy and successful living and then indulging in captious logomachies which have no relation to life; the latter for professing to teach the science or art of oratory as if it could be acquired by anyone by rote, regardless of native ability or practical experience, as one learns the letters of the alphabet. Furthermore, the authors of the "arts" might have devoted themselves to a worthy oratory whose end is justice, whereas in fact they emphasized only forensic skill, whose object is to defeat justice.a

a For a summary of his criticism of the sophists and of his own views see General Introd. pp. xx ff.
KATA TΩΝ ΣΩΦΙΣΤΩΝ

[291] Εἰ πάντες ἠθέλον οἱ παιδεύειν ἐπιχειροῦντες ἀληθῆ λέγειν, καὶ μὴ μείζονς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ὧν ἐμελλὼν ἑπτελεῖν, οὐκ ἂν κακῶς ἦκον οὐπό τῶν ἴδιωτῶν· νῦν δ' οἱ τολμώντες λίαν ἀπερισκέπτως ἀλαζονεῦσθαι πεποίηκασιν ὡστε δοκεῖν ἀμεινο βουλεύεσθαι τοὺς ῥαβυμεῖν αἴρον-μένους τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριβῶντων.

Τὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν μισῆσειν ἁμα καὶ καταφρονήσειε πρῶτον μὲν τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας διατριβῶντων, οἱ προσποιοῦνται μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν ξητείν, εὐθὺς δ' ἐν ἄρχῳ τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ἑυνὴ λέγειν ἐπι-

2 χειροῦσιν; οἴμαι γὰρ ἀπασιν εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι τὰ μέλλοντα προγιγνώσκειν οὐ τῆς ἤμετέρας φύσεως ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχομεν ταύτης

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* Isocrates regards himself as one of the sophists (see Antid. 220), but sets himself apart from the “common herd” of sophists (see Panath. 18).

* Captious argumentation in the field of ethics. He is not thinking of Socrates, who did not teach for pay, nor of Plato’s dialectic, which was not yet famous, but of the minor Socrates, especially Antisthenes and Eucleides, who taught for money while affecting contempt for it. In general he is thinking of such quibblers as are later shown up in Plato’s Euthydemus. See General Introd. pp. xxi ff.

* Theirs is a cloud morality, not truth to live by on earth. Cf. 20. See General Introd. p. xxii.

* There is, according to Isocrates, no “science” which
AGAINST THE SOPHISTS

If all who are engaged in the profession of education were willing to state the facts instead of making greater promises than they can possibly fulfil, they would not be in such bad repute with the lay-public. As it is, however, the teachers who do not scruple to vaunt their powers with utter disregard of the truth have created the impression that those who choose a life of careless indolence are better advised than those who devote themselves to serious study.

Indeed, who can fail to abhor, yes to contemn, those teachers, in the first place, who devote themselves to disputation, since they pretend to search for truth, but straightway at the beginning of their professions attempt to deceive us with lies? For I think it is manifest to all that foreknowledge of future events is not vouchsafed to our human nature, but that we are so far removed from this prescience can teach us to do under all circumstances the things which will insure our happiness and success. Life is too complicated for that, and no man can foresee exactly the consequences of his acts—"the future is a thing unseen." All that education can do is to develop a sound judgement (as opposed to knowledge) which will meet the contingencies of life with resourcefulness and, in most cases, with success. This is a fundamental doctrine of his "philosophy" which he emphasizes and echoes again and again in opposition to the professors of a "science of virtue and happiness." See General Introd. pp. xxvii ff.
ISOCRATES

tῆς φρονήσεως, ὡσθ’ ὁ μεγάλην ἐπὶ σοφία δόξαν εἰληφὼς καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς πεποίηκεν ἐστιν ὅτε Βουλευμόνευς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οὐ τὴν ἐκείνων γνώμην εἰδὼς, ἀλλ’ ἡμῖν ἐνδείξασθαι Βουλόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν τούτῳ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐστίν.

3 Οὕτω τοῖν εἰς τοῦτο τόλμη ἐληλύθασιν, ὡστε πειρώντα πείθειν τοὺς νεωτέρους ὡς, ἂν αὐτοῖς πλησιάζωσιν, ἃ τε πρακτέοι ἐστίν εἴσονται καὶ διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐπιστήμης εὐδαιμονεῖς γενήσονται. καὶ τηλικοῦτων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοὺς διδάσκαλους καὶ κυρίους καταστήσαντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τρεῖς

4 ἡ τέτταρας μνᾶς ὑπὲρ τούτων αἰτοῦντες. ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν τι τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων πολλοστού μέρους τῆς ἄξιας ἐπώλουν, οὐκ ἂν ἡμφοβήτησαν ὡς τῇ φρονοῦντες τυγχάνουσι, σύμποσαν δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὔτως ὄλγον τιμῶντες, ὡς νοῦν ἐχοντες διδάσκαλοι τῶν ἄλλων ἄξιοδυν γίγνεσθαι. καὶ λέγουσι μὲν ὡς οὐδὲν δεόνται χρημάτων, ἀργυρίδιον καὶ χρυσίδιον τῶν πλούτων ἀποκαλοῦντες, μικροῦ δὲ κέρδους ὀρεγόμενοι μόνον οὐκ ἀθανάτους ὑποσχοῦνται τοὺς συνόντας

5 ποιῆσειν. ὃ δὲ πάντων καταγελαστότατον, ὃτι παρὰ μὲν ὃν δὲλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς, τούτοις μὲν [292] ἀπιστοῦσι, οἷς μέλλουσι τὴν δικαιοσύνην παραδώσειν, ὃν δ’ οὐδεπόποτε διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι,

1 ὡς Γ’ pr.: ὡς οὐκ Γ’ΘΑ and most editions.

a See Iliad xvi. 431 ff. and 652 ff.; xxii. 168 ff.
b Socrates (Plato, Apology 20 b) speaks with the same

164
AGAINST THE SOPHISTS, 2-5

that Homer, who has been conceded the highest reputation for wisdom, has pictured even the gods as at times debating among themselves about the future—not that he knew their minds but that he desired to show us that for mankind this power lies in the realms of the impossible.

But these professors have gone so far in their lack of scruple that they attempt to persuade our young men that if they will only study under them they will know what to do in life and through this knowledge will become happy and prosperous. More than that, although they set themselves up as masters and dispensers of goods so precious, they are not ashamed of asking for them a price of three or four minae! Why, if they were to sell any other commodity for so trifling a fraction of its worth they would not deny their folly; nevertheless, although they set so insignificant a price on the whole stock of virtue and happiness, they pretend to wisdom and assume the right to instruct the rest of the world. Furthermore, although they say that they do not want money and speak contemptuously of wealth as "filthy lucre," they hold their hands out for a trifling gain and promise to make their disciples all but immortal! But what is most ridiculous of all is that they distrust those from whom they are to get this money—they distrust, that is to say, the very men to whom they are about to deliver the science of just dealing—and they require that the fees advanced by their students be

sarcasm of a sophist named Evenus, who professed to teach all the virtues necessary to a good man and a good citizen for five minae.

That is, to make them all but gods.
parà toutois tà para tòvν μαθητῶν μεσεγγυοῦνται, πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν εὐ βουλευόμενοι, τῷ δ’ ἐπαγγέλματι τάναντια πράττοντες. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλο τι παιδεῦοντας προσήκει διακριβῶθαι περὶ τῶν διαφερόντων, οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει τοὺς περὶ ἑτερα δεινοὺς γενομένους μὴ χρηστοὺς εἶναι περὶ tà συμβόλαια. τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἄρετὴν καὶ τὴν σωφροσύνην ἐνεργαζομένους πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον ἐστὶ μὴ τοῖς μαθηταῖς μάλιστα πιστεύειν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ποὺ περὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὄντες καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι περὶ τούτοις ἐξαμαρτήσονται, δι’ οὓς τοιοῦτοι γεγόνασιν.

7 Ἐπειδὰν οὖν τῶν ἱδιωτῶν τινες, ἄπαντα ταῦτα συλλογισάμενοι, κατίδωσι τοὺς τὴν σοφίαν διδασκόντας καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν παραδίδοντας αὐτοὺς τε πολλῶν δεομένους καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς μικρὸν πραττομένους, καὶ τὰς ἐναντίωσεις ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων τηροῦντας, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων μὴ καθορῶντας, ἐτὶ δὲ περὶ μὲν τῶν μελλόντων εἰδέναι προσποιοῦνται μένους, περὶ δὲ τῶν παρόντων μηδὲν τῶν δεόντων μὴ εἰπεῖν μὴτε συμβουλεύσακα δυναμένους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὁμοουόντας καὶ πλεῖω κατορθοῦντας τοὺς ταῖς δόξαις χρωμένους ἢ τοὺς τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχειν ἐπαγγελλομένους, εἰκότως οἷμαι καταφρονοῦσι, καὶ νομίζουσιν ἀδολεσθίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν ἀλλ’ οὐ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς.

For their security, they required that the fees charged to their students be deposited with third parties until the end of the course.

166
entrusted for safe keeping to those who have never been under their instruction, being well advised as to their security, but doing the opposite of what they preach. For it is permissible to those who give any other instruction to be exacting in matters open to dispute, since nothing prevents those who have been made adept in other lines of training from being dishonourable in the matter of contracts. But men who inculcate virtue and sobriety—is it not absurd if they do not trust in their own students before all others? For it is not to be supposed that men who are honourable and just-dealing with others will be dishonest with the very preceptors who have made them what they are.

When, therefore, the layman puts all these things together and observes that the teachers of wisdom and dispensers of happiness are themselves in great want but exact only a small fee from their students, that they are on the watch for contradictions in words but are blind to inconsistencies in deeds, and that, furthermore, they pretend to have knowledge of the future but are incapable either of saying anything pertinent or of giving any counsel regarding the present, and when he observes that those who follow their judgements are more consistent and more successful than those who profess to have exact knowledge, then he has, I think, good reason to contemn such studies and regard them as stuff and nonsense, and not as a true discipline of the soul.

\[b\] Cf. the same ridicule in Plato, Gorg. 519 c, 460 e.
\[c\] See the close of the Paneg.
\[d\] The aim of "eristic" (ἐρίς means contention) is to show up the contradictions in the accepted morality.
\[e\] See 2, note d; Panath. 9; Helen 5.
9 Οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτοις ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ὑποσχυμένους ἄξιον ἐπιτιμήσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τῆς μὲν ἀληθείας οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν, ἤγονται δὲ τούτ’ εἶναι τὴν τέχνην, ἂν ὡς πλείστους τῇ μικρότητι τῶν μισθῶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων προσαγάγωνται καὶ λαβεῖν τι παρ’ αὐτῶν δυνηθῶσιν· οὐτω δ’ ἀναισθήτως αὐτοὶ τε διάκεινται καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἔχειν ὑπειλήφασιν, ὥστε χείρον γράφοντες τοὺς λόγους ἡ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πινες αὐτοσχεδιαζοῦσιν, ὁμως ὑπαιχνοῦνται τοιούτους βήτορας τοὺς συνόντας ποιήσειν ὥστε μηδὲν τῶν ἐνότων ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι παραλιπεῖν. καὶ ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδὲν οὔτε ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις οὔτε τῇ φύσει τῇ τοῦ μαθητοῦ μεταδιδόσει, ἀλλὰ φασιν ὁμοίως τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐπιστήμην ὦσπερ τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων παραδώσειν, ὡς μὲν ἔχει τούτων ἐκάτερον, οὐκ ἔξετάσαντες, οἴομαι δὲ διὰ τὰς ύπερβολὰς τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων αὐτοὶ τε θαυμασθήσεσθαι καὶ τὴν παίδευσιν τὴν τῶν λόγων πλέονος ἄξιαν δόξειν εἶναι, κακῶς εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλας ποιούσι τὰς τέχνας οὐχ οἱ τολμῶντες ἀλαζονεύσεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ οὕτως ἀν, ὅσον ἐνεστιν ἐν ἑκάστῃ, τούτ’ ἔξευρεὶν δυνηθῶσιν.

10 [293]

11 Ἑγὼ δὲ πρὸ πολλῶν μὲν ἂν χρημάτων ἐτιμησάμην τηλικοῦτον δύνασθαι τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ὅσον οὕτω λέγουσιν, ὅσοι γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἤμεις πλείστον ἀπελεύθημεν, οὐδ’ ἂν ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἀπελαύσα-

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a The whole field of “deliberative” oratory, but the most “useful” branch of it in “litigious Athens” was the forensic.

b Their interest was not in the triumph of justice but in
But it is not these sophists alone who are open to criticism, but also those who profess to teach political discourse.\(^a\) For the latter have no interest whatever in the truth,\(^b\) but consider that they are masters of an art if they can attract great numbers of students by the smallness of their charges and the magnitude of their professions and get something out of them. For they are themselves so stupid and conceive others to be so dull that, although the speeches which they compose are worse than those which some laymen improvise, nevertheless they promise to make their students such clever orators that they will not overlook any of the possibilities which a subject affords. More than that, they do not attribute any of this power either to the practical experience or to the native ability of the student, but undertake to transmit the science of discourse as simply as they would teach the letters of the alphabet;\(^c\) not having taken trouble to examine into the nature of each kind of knowledge, but thinking that because of the extravagance of their promises they themselves will command admiration and the teaching of discourse will be held in higher esteem—oblivious of the fact that the arts are made great, not by those who are without scruple in boasting about them, but by those who are able to discover all of the resources which each art affords.

For myself, I should have preferred above great riches that philosophy had as much power as these men claim; for, possibly, I should not have been the very last in the profession nor had the least making "the worse reason appear the better." See General Introd. p. xxii.

\(^a\) See General Introd. p. xxii.

\(^b\) See General Introd. p. xxii.
μεν αὐτῆς· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, βουλοῖμην ἃν παύσασθαι τοὺς φλυαροῦντας· ὅρω γὰρ οὐ μόνον περὶ τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας τὰς βλασφημίας γυγνομένας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας συν- 
diαβαλλομένους τοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν διατριβήν ὄντας.
12 Θαυμάζω δ' ὅταν ἰδώ τούτους μαθητῶν ἀξιο- 
mένους, οἱ ποιητικοὶ πράγματος τεταγμένην τέχνην 
παράδειγμα φέροντες λελήθαι ωφᾶς αὐτούς. τὶς 
γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε πλὴν τούτων ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν γραμ- 
mάτων ἀκανότης ἔχει καὶ μένει κατὰ ταύτον, ὡστε 
τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρώμενοι δια-
tελοῦμεν, τὸ δὲ τῶν λόγων πάν τοῦναντίον 
pέπονθεν· τὸ γὰρ ὡς ἐτέρου ἐρθὲν τῷ λέγοντι 
μετ' ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὁμοίως χρήσιμόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' 
οὕτως εἶναι δοκεῖ τεχνικῶτατος, ὃς τις ἂν ἄξιως 
mὲν λέγῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, μηδὲν δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν 
13 τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐρίσκειν δύνηται. μέγιστον δὲ σημεῖον 
τῆς ἀνομοιότητος αὐτῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους 
οὐχ οἶντε καλῶς ἔχειν, ἣν μὴ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τοῦ 
πρεπόντως καὶ τοῦ κακῶς ἔχειν μετάσχοσιν, 
τοῖς δὲ γράμμασιν οὐδενὸς τῶν προσέδησεν. 
ὡσθ' οἱ χρώμενοι τοῖς τοιούτοις παραδείγμασι 
pολὺ ἀν δικαιότερον ἀποτίνοιεν ἡ λαμβάνοιεν 
ἀργύριον, ὅτι πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτοὶ δεόμενοι 
pαιδεύειν τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιχειροῦσιν.
14 Εἶ δὲ δεῖ μὴ μόνον κατηγορεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλὰ 
[294] καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ δηλώσαι διάνοιαν, ἡγοῦμαι

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*a* Cf. *Antid.* 168.

*b* That is, mechanical formulas are not sufficient. There must be inventiveness, resourcefulness, in a word, creative imagination.

170
AGAINST THE SOPHISTS, 11-14

share in its profits. But since it has no such power, I could wish that this prating might cease. For I note that the bad repute which results therefrom does not affect the offenders only, but that all the rest of us who are in the same profession share in the opprobrium.\(^a\)

But I marvel when I observe these men setting themselves up as instructors of youth who cannot see that they are applying the analogy of an art with hard and fast rules to a creative process. For, excepting these teachers, who does not know that the art of using letters remains fixed and unchanged, so that we continually and invariably use the same letters for the same purposes, while exactly the reverse is true of the art of discourse?\(^b\) For what has been said by one speaker is not equally useful for the speaker who comes after him; on the contrary, he is accounted most skilled in this art who speaks in a manner worthy of his subject and yet is able to discover in it topics which are nowise the same as those used by others. But the greatest proof of the difference between these two arts is that oratory is good only if it has the qualities of fitness for the occasion,\(^c\) propriety of style, and originality of treatment, while in the case of letters there is no such need whatsoever. So that those who make use of such analogies ought more justly to pay out than to accept fees, since they attempt to teach others when they are themselves in great need of instruction.

However, if it is my duty not only to rebuke others, but also to set forth my own views, I think

\(^{c}\) A fundamental requisite. See *Paneg.* 9; *Helen* 11, Vol. III., L.C.L.
πάντας ἂν μοι τοὺς εὐ φρονοῦντας συνειπεῖν ὅτι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν φιλοσοφησάντων ἱδιῶται διετέλεσαν ὄντες, ἀλλοι δὲ τινὲς ουδὲν πάντοτε συγγενῶμενοι τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι δενοί γεγόνασιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ δυνάμεις καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων ἀπάντων ἐν τοῖς εὐφυέσιν ἐγκύνωνται καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὰς ἐμπειρίας γεγο-

15 νασμένοις. ἡ δὲ παίδευσις τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους τεχνικώτερους καὶ πρὸς τὸ ζητεῖν εὐπορωτέρους ἐποίησεν, οἷς γὰρ νῦν ἐνυγχάνουσι πλανώμενοι, ταύτ᾽ εἰς ἐτοιμότερον λαμβάνειν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδαξεν, τοὺς δὲ καταδεεστέραν τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντας ἀγωνιστὰς μὲν ἁγαθοὺς ἡ λόγων ποιητὰς οὐκ ἂν ἀποτελέσειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἃν αὐτῶν προσαγόνοι καὶ πρὸς πολλὰ φρονιμωτέρως διακεῖσθαι ποιήσειν.

16 Βούλομαι δ᾽ ἐπειδὴ περ ἐὰς τοῦτο προῆλθον, ἐτι σαφέστερον εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. φημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τῶν μὲν ἰδεῶν, εἷς δὲν τοὺς λόγους ἀπαντᾶς καὶ λέγομεν καὶ συντίθεμεν, λαβείν τὴν ἐπιστήμην οὐκ εἶναι τῶν πάνω χαλεπῶν, ἢ τις αὐτὸν παραδώ ἢ τοῖς ῥαδίως ύποχγονομένους ἀλλὰ τοῖς εἰδοὺς τι περὶ αὐτῶν· τὸ δὲ τούτων ἐφ᾽ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἃς δεῖ προελέσθαι καὶ μίξαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ τάξαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἐτι δὲ τῶν καιρῶν μὴ διαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήσαι πραπόντως ὅλον τὸν λόγον καταποικῆλαι καὶ τοῖς

17 ὄνομασιν εὐρύθμως καὶ μουσικῶς εἰπεῖν, ταῦτα δὲ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας δεῖσθαι καὶ ψυχῆς ἀνδρικῆς

a Isocrates himself.
b Isocrates insists that the requisites of a good orator are first natural ability, second practical experience, and
all intelligent people will agree with me that while
many of those who have pursued philosophy have
remained in private life, others, on the other hand,
who have never taken lessons from any one of the
sophists have become able orators and statesmen.
For ability, whether in speech or in any other
activity, is found in those who are well endowed by
nature and have been schooled by practical experi-
ence. Formal training makes such men more
skilful and more resourceful in discovering the pos-
sibilities of a subject; for it teaches them to take
from a readier source the topics which they otherwise
hit upon in haphazard fashion. But it cannot fully
fashion men who are without natural aptitude into
good debaters or writers, although it is capable of
leading them on to self-improvement and to a
greater degree of intelligence on many subjects.

But I desire, now that I have gone this far, to
speak more clearly on these matters. For I hold
that to obtain a knowledge of the elements out of
which we make and compose all discourses is not
so very difficult if anyone entrusts himself, not to
those who make rash promises, but to those who
have some knowledge of these things. But to
choose from these elements those which should be
employed for each subject, to join them together,
to arrange them properly, and also, not to miss what
the occasion demands but appropriately to adorn
the whole speech with striking thoughts and to
clothe it in flowing and melodious phrase—these
things, I hold, require much study and are the task
third formal training. See Antid. 186-188 and General

Prose should have the same finish and charm as poetry.
See General Introd. p. xxiv.
ISOCRATES

καὶ δοξάστικῆς ἐργον εἶναι, καὶ δεῖν τὸν μὲν μαθητὴν πρὸς τῷ τῇν φύσιν ἔχειν οἰαν χρῆ τὰ μὲν εἴδη τὰ τῶν λόγων μαθεῖν, περὶ δὲ τὰς χρήσεις αὐτῶν γνωμασθῆναι, τὸν δὲ διδάσκαλον τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἀκριβῶς οἴοντ' εἶναι διελθεῖν ὡστε μηδὲν τῶν διδακτῶν παραλιπεῖν, περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν

18 τοιούτων αὐτῶν παραδείγμα παρασχεῖν, ὡστε τοὺς ἐκτυπωθέντας καὶ μιμήσασθαι δυναμένους εὕθως ἀνθρώπερον καὶ χαριέστερον τῶν ἄλλων φαίνεσθαι λέγοντας. καὶ τούτων μὲν ἀπάντων συμπεσόντων

[295] τελείως ἔξουσιν οἱ φιλοσοφοῦντες· καθ' ὃ δ' ἂν ἐλλειφθῇ τι τῶν εἰρήμενων, ἀνάγκη ταύτῃ χείρον διακεῖσθαι τοὺς πλησιάζοντας.

19 Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄρτι τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀναφυόμενοι καὶ νεώστι προσπεπτωκότες ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις, εἰ καὶ νῦν πλεονάζουσιν, εὑρίσκουσιν ἐπὶ ταύτην κατενεχθηκότα τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. λοιποὶ δ' ἡμῖν εἰσων οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν γενόμενοι καὶ τὰς καλουμένας τέχνας γράφαι τολμήσαντες, οὓς οὐκ ἀφετέον ἀνεπιτυμήτους· οἱ τινες ὑπέσχοντο δικάζεσθαι διδαχοῦντες, ἐκλεξάμενοι τὸ δυσχερέστατον τῶν ὁνομάτων, δ' τῶν φθονούντων ἐργον ἦν λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐ τῶν προεστῶτων τῆς τοιαύτης παιδεύσεως, καὶ ταύτα τοῦ πράγματος, καθ' οὖσον ἐστὶ διδακτῶν,

a Unmistakably this phrase is parodied in Plato, Gorgias 463 λ: δοκεῖ τοῖς μοι, ὥ Γοργία, εἶναι τι ἐπιθέδευσα τεχνικῶν μὲν οἱ, ψυχῆς δὲ στοχαστικῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φύσει δεινῆς προσ- ρομείν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

b The sophists before mentioned. The teaching of the older sophists is discussed in the Antidosis.

c Especially the first to write such treatises, Corax and Tisias of Syracuse. τέχνη, like ars in Latin, was the accepted term for a treatise on rhetoric.
of a vigorous and imaginative mind: for this, the student must not only have the requisite aptitude but he must learn the different kinds of discourse and practise himself in their use; and the teacher, for his part, must so expound the principles of the art with the utmost possible exactness as to leave out nothing that can be taught, and, for the rest, he must in himself set such an example of oratory that the students who have taken form under his instruction and are able to pattern after him will, from the outset, show in their speaking a degree of grace and charm which is not found in others. When all of these requisites are found together, then the devotees of philosophy will achieve complete success; but according as any one of the things which I have mentioned is lacking, to this extent must their disciples of necessity fall below the mark.

Now as for the sophists who have lately sprung up and have very recently embraced these pretensions, even though they flourish at the moment, they will all, I am sure, come round to this position. But there remain to be considered those who lived before our time and did not scruple to write the so-called arts of oratory. These must not be dismissed without rebuke, since they professed to teach how to conduct law-suits, picking out the most discredited of terms, which the enemies, not the champions, of this discipline might have been expected to employ—and that too although this facility, in so far as it can be taught, is of no greater aid to

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*a* Again and again Isocrates expresses his repugnance to this kind of oratory, and in general it was in bad odour. The precepts of Corax (Crow), for example, were called "the bad eggs of the bad Corax."
The same complaint is made by Aristotle, Rhet. i. 1. 10.

For the kind of political discourse which Isocrates
forensic than to all other discourse. But they were much worse than those who dabble in disputation; for although the latter expounded such captious theories that were anyone to cleave to them in practice he would at once be in all manner of trouble, they did, at any rate, make professions of virtue and sobriety in their teaching, whereas the former, although exhorting others to study political discourse, neglected all the good things which this study affords, and became nothing more than professors of meddlesomeness and greed.

And yet those who desire to follow the true precepts of this discipline may, if they will, be helped more speedily towards honesty of character than towards facility in oratory. And let no one suppose that I claim that just living can be taught; for, in a word, I hold that there does not exist an art of the kind which can implant sobriety and justice in depraved natures. Nevertheless, I do think that the study of political discourse can help more than any other thing to stimulate and form such qualities of character.

But in order that I may not appear to be breaking down the pretensions of others while myself making greater claims than are within my powers, I believe that the very arguments by which I myself was convinced will make it clear to others also that these things are true.

extols, and its ethical influence see Antid. 275 and General Introd. p. xxiv.  

See Antid. 274 ff.
IV. ANTIDOSIS
INTRODUCTION

The wealthier citizens of Athens were required by law to bear the expense of public services known as "liturgies." One of these was the "trierarchy"—that of fitting out a ship of war. Anyone allotted to such a duty might challenge another to accept the alternative of either undertaking this burden in his stead or of exchanging property with him. Such a challenge was called an "antidosis." If the challenged party objected, the issue was adjudicated by a court.

It seems clear that Isocrates had undergone such a trial and had been condemned to undertake a trierarchy. The plaintiff had probably prejudiced the case by misrepresenting Isocrates' wealth, his character, and the influence of his teaching. What Isocrates' defence was we do not know, but it seems likely that he did not take the trial very seriously until the unfavourable verdict opened his eyes to the fact that he was generally misunderstood. Then he conceived the idea of dissipating this prejudice against him by publishing in the form of a defence in court "a true image of his thought and of his whole life."

At any rate, in the Antidosis—a title which he borrows from the actual suit to which he had just

\(^a\) See § 145 and note.
been subjected—he adopts the fiction of a capital charge brought against him by an informer, named Lysimaechus, and of a trial before a court with its accessories.\textsuperscript{a} The fictitious charge is, roughly, that he is guilty of corrupting his pupils by teaching them to make the worse reason appear the better and so to win their advantage contrary to justice,\textsuperscript{b} which is the stock complaint against the sophists, and the one which was pressed against Socrates. Indeed, it is clear that Isocrates had the latter's trial in mind and that he studiously echoes the defence of Socrates as it is recorded by Plato in the \textit{Apology}.\textsuperscript{c}

The defence of Isocrates is, however, more discursive than that of Socrates or, indeed, than any defence appropriate to an actual trial, as he himself points out.\textsuperscript{d} It is, on the negative side, a sharp attack upon the Athenian populace for confusing him with the other sophists and for allowing demagogic politicians to use against him the general prejudice which had accumulated against the sophists as a class; and it is, at the same time, a criticism—not too gracious—of the narrowness or the impracticableness of the teaching of his rivals and of their failure to appreciate at its full value the broad and useful culture for which he himself stood. On its positive side, it is a definition and, to a certain extent, an exposition of the culture or "philosophy"\textsuperscript{e} which Isocrates professed. In this respect,

\textsuperscript{a} See Bonner, "The Legal Setting of Isocrates' \textit{Antidosis}," \textit{Classical Philology} xv. p. 193.
\textsuperscript{b} See \S\ 15, \S\ 30, \S\ 56.
\textsuperscript{c} See General Introd. p. xvii, Vol. I., L.C.L.
\textsuperscript{d} \S\ 10.
\textsuperscript{e} See General Introd. p. xxvi.
it should be read in connexion with his earlier discourse, *Against the Sophists*.

It was written, as he tells us, when he was eighty-two years old—354–353 B.C. He apologizes for its lack of vigour, due to his age, but it is, in fact, no less forceful than, for example, his diatribe *Against the Sophists*, published thirty-five years before, though it does not show the same attention to the refinements of style.

\[\text{\footnotesize a See General Introd. pp. xx ff.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize b \S 9.}\]

\[\text{\footnotesize c \S 195.}\]
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΤΙΔΟΣΕΩΣ

[310] Εϊ μεν ομοιος ἢν ὁ λόγος ὁ μέλλων ἀναγνωσθῇ,
σεσθαι τοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγάνας ἢ πρὸς τὰς ἐπι-
δείξεις γεγομένοις, οὐδὲν ἂν οἶμαι προδιαλεχθῇ-
ναι περὶ αὐτοῦ. νῦν δὲ διὰ τὴν καινότητα καὶ τὴν
dιαφορὰν ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι προειπεῖν τὰς αὐτίας, δι’
ἂς οὗτως ἀνόμοιον αὐτὸν ὄντα τοῖς ἄλλοις γράφειν
προειλόμην· μὴ γὰρ τούτων δηλωθεῖσῶν πολλοῖς
ἀν ἰσως ἅτοπος εἶναι δόξειν.

2 Ἐγὼ γὰρ εἰδὼς ἐνίους τῶν σοφιστῶν βλα-
σφημοῦντας περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς, καὶ λέγοντας
ὡς ἐστι περὶ δικογραφίαν, καὶ παραπλάσιον
ποιοῦντας ὡσπερ ἃν εἴ τις Φειδίαν τὸν τὸ τῆς
Ἄθηνᾶς ἔδος ἐργασάμενον τολμώνυ καλεῖν κορο-
πλάθον, ἢ Ζεῦξιν καὶ Παρράσιον τὴν αὐτὴν
ἐχειν φαίη τέχνην τοῖς τὰ πινάκια γράφοντοι,
ομοῖς οὐδὲ πώποτε τὴν μικρολογίαν ταύτην

a Cf. Phil. 1.
b See General Introd. p. xxxi.
c Like the Encomium on Helen. See General Introd.
  p. xxxi, and Burgess, Epideictic Literature.
d The term "sophist" is used loosely throughout the
discourse, sometimes as the equivalent of wise man, but
more often, as here, of a professional teacher of philosophy
and oratory. See General Introd. p. xii, note a.
e See General Introd. p. xx, and note c.

184
ANTIDOSIS

If the discourse which is now about to be read had been like the speeches which are produced either for the law-courts or for oratorical display, I should not, I suppose, have prefaced it by any explanation. Since, however, it is novel and different in character, it is necessary to begin by setting forth the reasons why I chose to write a discourse so unlike any other; for if I neglected to make this clear, my speech would, no doubt, impress many as curious and strange.

The fact is that, although I have known that some of the sophists traduce my occupation, saying that it has to do with writing speeches for the courts, very much as one might have the effrontery to call Pheidias, who wrought our statue of Athena, a doll-maker, or say that Zeuxis and Parrhasius practised the same art as the sign-painters, nevertheless I have never deigned to defend myself against their

\* The "gold and ivory" statue of Athena which stood in the Parthenon.
\* Zeuxis and Parrhasius sojourned in Athens about 400 B.C.
\* Literally, painters of votive tablets set up in temples as thank-offerings for deliverance from sickness or from dangers on the sea. Cf. Tibullus, i. 3. 27-28:
  nunc, dea, nunc succurre mihi, nam posse mederi
  picta docet templis multa tabella tuis.
3 ἡμινάμην αὐτῶν, ἡγούμενος τὰς μὲν ἐκεῖνων φλυαρίας οὐδεμίαν δύναμιν ἔχειν, αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσι τούτῳ πεποιηκέναι φανερὸν, ὅτι προήρημαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ γράφειν οὐ περὶ τῶν ἱδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλ’ ύπερ τηλικοῦτων τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων, ὑπὲρ ὧν οὐδεὶς ἄν ἄλλος ἐπιχειρήσει, πλὴν τῶν έμοι πεπλησιακῶτων ἢ τῶν τοιούτων μιμεῖσθαι βουλομένων.

4 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν πόρρω τῆς ἡλικίας ψόμην καὶ διὰ τὴν προαίρεσιν ταύτην καὶ διὰ τὴν ἄλλην ἀπραγμοσύνην ἐπεικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς ἱδίωτας· ἢδη δ’ ὑπογνώσι μοι τῆς τοῦ Βίου τελευτής οὐσίας, ἀντιδόσεως γενομένης περὶ τριήρησεις καὶ περὶ [311] ταύτης ἀγώνος ἔγνων καὶ τοιῶν τινὰς οὖχ οὕτω πρὸς με διακειμένους ὦσπερ ἦλπιζον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν πολὺ διεφευσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηθειμάτων καὶ ῥέποντας ἐπὶ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ἀνεπιτηθειμῶν τι λέγοντι, τοὺς δὲ σαφῶς μὲν εἰδότας περὶ αὐτῶν τυγχάνων διατρίβων, φθονοῦντας δὲ καὶ ταῦτον πεποιθότας τοῖς σοφίσταις καὶ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τοῖς

5 ψευδῇ περὶ μου δόξαν ἔχοντι. ἐδήλωσαν δ’ οὕτω διακειμένοις τοῦ γὰρ ἀντιδίκου περὶ μὲν ὧν ἡ κρίσις ἦν οὐδὲν λέγοντος δίκαιον, διαβάλλοντος δὲ τήν τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐμῶν δύναμιν καὶ καταλαξωνομένου περὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν μαθητῶν, ἐγνωσαν ἐμὴν εἶναι τὴν λειτουργίαν.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν δαπάνην οὕτως ἠνέγκαμεν, ὦσπερ προσῆκει τοὺς μήτε λίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐκ-

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a The kind of oratory to which Isocrates devoted himself. See General Introd. p. xxiv.

b See General Introd. p. xviii.

186
attempts to belittle me, because I considered that their foolish babble had no influence whatever and that I had, myself, made it manifest to all that I had elected to speak and write, not on petty disputes, but on subjects so important and so elevated \(^a\) that no one would attempt them except those who had studied with me, and their would-be imitators.

Indeed, I had always thought, until well on in years, that, owing to this choice and to my retired life in general, \(^b\) I stood fairly well in the opinion of all the lay public. Then when my career was near its close, having been challenged to an exchange of property on the question of a trierarchy, and subjected to a trial on that issue, I came to realize that even outside of my profession there were those who were not disposed towards me as I had thought; nay, that some had been absolutely misled as to my pursuits and were inclined to listen to my detractors, while others, who were well aware of the nature of my work, were envious, feeling the same towards me as do the sophists, and rejoiced to see people hold false opinions of my character. They betrayed their sentiments at the trial; for, although my opponent made no argument whatever on the merits of the case, and did nothing but decry my "cleverness" of speech \(^c\) and indulge in extravagant nonsense about my wealth and the number of my pupils, they imposed the trierarchy upon me.

Now, I bore that expense in such a manner as is becoming to those who are neither too much upset

\(^a\) It was a favourite device in the Athenian Courts to warn the jury against the adversary as δεινὸς λέγειν. Cf. Plato, Apology 17 b.
σαραττομένους μήτε παντάπασιν ἀσώτως μηδ’

6 ὥληγώρως πρὸς χρήματα διακεκμένους ᾧ θημένος
δ’ ἤσπερ εἶπον πλείους ὄντας ἄν ψάμην τοὺς οὐκ
ὅρθῶς περὶ μου γιγνώσκοντας, ἐνεθυμούμην πῶς
ἀν δηλώσαμι καὶ τούτοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγιγνοµένοις
καὶ τὸν τρόπον ὅν ἔχω καὶ τὸν βίον ὅν ζω καὶ τὴν
παιδείαν περὶ ἡν διατρίβω, καὶ μὴ περιδομῷ περὶ
tῶν τοιοῦτων ἀκριτων ἐμαυτὸν ὄντα, μηδ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς
βλασφημεῖν εἰθισμένους ὥσπερ νῦν γενόµενον.

7 σκοπούµενος οὖν εὑρίσκον οὐδαµῶς ἂν ἄλλως
tούτο διαπραξόµενος, πλὴν εἰ γραφεῖ ἐν γίγνο
ὡσπερ εἰκὼν τῆς ἐµῆς διανοίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
tῶν ἐµι βεβιωµένων: διὰ τούτου γὰρ ἠλπίζον
καὶ τὰ περὶ ἐµὲ µάλιστα γνωσθῆσεσθαι, καὶ τὸν
αὐτὸν τούτου µνηµείον µου καταλειφθῆσεσθαι πολὺ
cάλλιον τῶν χαλκῶν ἀναθηµάτων.

8 Εἶ µὲν οὖν ἐπαινεῖν ἐµαυτὸν ἐπιχειροῖν, ἐώρων
οὔτε περιλαβεῖν ἀπαντα περὶ ὅν διελθεῖν προ-
ηρούµην οἶδα τε γενησόµενος, οὔτ’ ἐπιχαρίτως
οὔτ’ ἀνεπιθόνως εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν δυνησόµενος.
εἰ δ’ ὑποθέεµην ἀγώνα µὲν καὶ κίνδυνον τινα περὶ
ἐµὲ γιγνόµενον, συκοφάντην δ’ ὄντα τὸν γεγραµ-
μένον καὶ τὸν πράγµατα µοι παρέχοντα, κάκεινον
µὲν ταῖς διαβολαῖς χρώµενον ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντι-
δόσεως ῥηθείσαις, ἐµαυτὸν δ’ ἐν ἀπολογίας σχήµατι
tοὺς λόγους ποιοῦµενον, οὔτως ἂν ἐκγενεόθαι µοι

a Cf. Horace, Odes iii. 30. 1: monumentum aere perennius. Cf. Evag. 73 ff. A bronze statue was erected to Isocrates by his pupil Timotheus. See General Introd, p. xxix.

b For the sycophants see Peace 128, note,
by such things nor altogether reckless or even careless about money. But when my eyes were opened, as I have said, to the fact that a greater number than I supposed had mistaken ideas about me, I began to ponder how I could show to them and to posterity the truth about my character, my life, and the education to which I am devoted, and not suffer myself to be condemned on these issues without a trial nor to remain, as I had just been, at the mercy of my habitual calumniators. And as I kept thinking upon it, I came ever to the same conclusion, namely, that the only way in which I could accomplish this was to compose a discourse which would be, as it were, a true image of my thought and of my whole life; for I hoped that this would serve both as the best means of making known the truth about me and, at the same time, as a monument, after my death, more noble than statues of bronze.a

I saw, however, that if I were to attempt a eulogy of myself, I should not be able to cover all the points which I proposed to discuss, nor should I succeed in treating them without arousing the displeasure or even the envy of my hearers. But it occurred to me that if I were to adopt the fiction of a trial and of a suit brought against me—if I were to suppose that a sycophant b had brought an indictment and was threatening me with trouble c and that he was using the calumnies which had been urged against me in the suit about the exchange of property, while I, for my part, cast my speech in the form of a defence in court—in this way it would

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a "To make trouble"—πράγματα παρέχειν—was the common phrase for the persecution of the sycophants. Cf. 15.
[312] μάλιστα διαλεχθήναι περὶ ἀπάντων ὄν τυγχάνω βουλόμενος.

9 Ῥαῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς ἐγγραφὸν τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐκ ἀκμάζων, ἀλλ’ ἐτη γεγονός δύο καὶ ὦμοδήκοντα. διότερ χρή συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἢν μαλακώτερος ἦν φαίνηται τῶν παρ’ ἐμοὶ πρότερον ἐκδεδομένων. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ράδιος ἦν οὔθ’ ἄπλοις, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἐχών πραγματείαν. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνια μὲν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ πρέποντα ῥηθήναι, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἁγώνας οὐχ ἀρμότοντα, περὶ δὲ φιλοσοφίας πεπαρρησιασμένα καὶ δε- δηλωκότα τὴν δύναμιν αὑτῆς: ἔστι δὲ τῇ καὶ τοιοῦ- τον ὅ τὸν νεωτέρων τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ μαθήματα καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ὄρμωσιν ἀκούσασιν ἄν συνενέγκου, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πάλαι γεγραμμένων ἐγ- καταμεμμεγμένα τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις οὐκ ἀλόγως οὐθ’ ἀκαίρως, ἀλλὰ προσηκόντως τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις.

10 Τοσοῦτον οὖν μήκος λόγον συνιδεῖν, καὶ τοσαῦτα ἱδέας καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων ἀφεστώσας συν- αρμόσαι καὶ συναγαγεῖν, καὶ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας οἰκεῖσαι ταῖς προερμήμεναι, καὶ πᾶσας ποιῆσαι σφίσιν αὐταῖς ὁμολογομένας, οὐ πάνω μικρὸν ἦν ἔργον. ὅμως δ’ οὐκ ἀπέστην, καὶ περὶ τηλικοῦτος ὅν, πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπετέλεσα, μετὰ πολλὴς μὲν ἀλη- θείας εἰρημένον, τὰ δ’ ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον οἶος ἄν εἶναι

11 δόξη τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις. χρή δὲ τοὺς διεξόντας αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν ὡς ὅντος μικτοῦ τοῦ λόγου καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς ὑποθέσεις ταύτας γεγραμμένου ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀκρόασιν, ἐπειτα προσέχειν τὸν

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*a* For this apology cf. Phil. 149; Panath. 4; Epist. vi. 6.
be possible to discuss to the best advantage all the points which I wanted to make.

With these thoughts in mind I set myself to write this discourse—I who am no longer in the prime of youth but in my eighty-second year. Wherefore, you may well forgive me if my speech appears to be less vigorous than those which I have published in the past. For, I assure you, it has not been an easy nor a simple task, but one of great difficulty; for while some things in my discourse are appropriate to be spoken in a court-room, others are out of place amid such controversies, being frank discussions about philosophy and expositions of its power. There is in it, also, matter which it would be well for young men to hear before they set out to gain knowledge and an education; and there is much, besides, of what I have written in the past, inserted in the present discussion, not without reason nor without fitness, but with due appropriateness to the subject in hand.

Now to view as a whole so great an extent of subject matter, to harmonize and bring together so many diverse varieties of discourse, to connect smoothly what follows with what goes before, and to make all parts consonant one with another, was by no means an easy undertaking. Yet I did not desist, in spite of my age, until I had accomplished it, such as it is. It is, at any rate, written with devotion to the truth; its other qualities I leave to the judgement of my hearers. But I urge all who intend to acquaint themselves with my speech, first, to make allowance, as they listen to it, for the fact that it is a mixed discourse, composed with an eye to all these subjects; next, to fix their attention
νοῦν ἐτὶ μᾶλλον τοῖς λέγεσθαι μέλλουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἡδη προειρημένοις, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις μή ἔτηεῖν εὐθὺς ἐπελθόντας ὅλον αὐτὸν διελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον μέρος ὅσον μὴ λυπήσει τοὺς παρόντας. ἦν γὰρ ἐμμείνητε τούτοις, μᾶλλον δυνῆσθε κατιδεῖν εἰ τι τυχχάνομεν λέγοντες ἀξίον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν.

13 "Α μὲν οὖν ἄναγκαιὸν ἤν προειπεῖν, ταῦτ᾽ ἑστώ τῇ ἡδῇ δ᾽ ἀναγιγνώσκετε τὴν ἀπολογίαν τὴν προσποιομένην μὲν περὶ κρίσεως γεγράφθαι, βουλομένην δὲ περὶ ἐμοῦ δηλῶσαι τῇ ἀλήθειαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄγνοούντας εἰδέναι ποιῆσαι, τοὺς δὲ φθονοῦντας ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης λυπεῖσθαι· μεῖζω γὰρ δίκην οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην λαβεῖν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν.

14 Πάντων ἡγοῦμαι πονηροτάτους εἶναι καὶ μεγίστης ζημίας ἀξίως, οὕτως οἷς αὐτοὶ τυχχάνουσιν ὄντες ἐνοχοί, ταῦτα τῶν ἄλλων τολμῶσι κατηγορεῖν· ὀπερ Λυσίμαχος πεποίηκεν. οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸς συγγεγραμμένα λέγων περὶ τῶν ἔμοι συγγραμμάτων πλείω πεποίηται λόγον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅμοιον ἐργαζόμενος ὅσπερ ἄν οἱ τις ἀποσυλίας ἔτερον διόκων αὐτὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐν τῶν χεροῖν ἔχων φανεῖν. πρὸ πολλοῦ δ᾽ ἂν ἐποιησάμην οὕτως αὐτὸν νομίζειν εἶναι μὲ δεινόν, ὅσπερ ἐν ὑμῖν εἰρηκεν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτὲ μοι πράγματα ποιεῖν ἐπεχείρησε. νῦν δὲ λέγει μὲν ὡς ἐγὼ τοὺς ἢττους λόγους κρείττους δύναμαι ποιεῖν, τοσοῦτον δὲ μου καταπεφρώνηκεν, ὡστε αὐτὸς

\[a\] Cf. Panath. Isocrates, though writing for a reading public, habitually uses the language of a discourse to be delivered. See General Introd. p. xxx.

\[b\] The stock charge against rhetoric and oratory from 192
even more on what is about to be said than on what has been said before; and, lastly, not to seek to run through the whole of it at the first sitting, but only so much of it as will not fatigue the audience. For if you comply with this advice, you will be better able to determine whether I speak in a manner worthy of my reputation.

These, then, are the things which it was necessary for me to say by way of introduction. I beg you now to listen to my defence, which purports to have been written for a trial, but whose real purpose is to show the truth about myself, to make those who are ignorant about me know the sort of man I am and those who are afflicted with envy suffer a still more painful attack of this malady; for a greater revenge upon them than this I could not hope to obtain.

I consider that in all the world there are none so depraved and so deserving of the severest punishment as those who have the audacity to charge others with the offences of which they themselves are guilty. And this is the very thing that Lysimachus has done. For this informer, himself delivering a composed speech, has said more in complaint of my compositions than upon all other points; it is as if one were to charge another with breaking into a temple, while showing in his own hands plunder stolen from the gods. I would give much if he really thought that I am as "clever" as he has made me out to be to you, for then he would never have tried to trouble me. But now, although he alleges that I am able to make the weaker cause appear the stronger, he has, in fact, so low an opinion of Corax and Tisias down. Cf. Plato, *Apology* 19 b; Aristophanes, *Clouds* 874 ff.
ISOCRATES

ψευδόμενος ἐμοῦ τάληθη λέγοντος ἐλπίζει ράδιως

16 ἐπικρατήσει. οὐτω δὲ μοι δυσκόλως ἀπαντᾷ
συμβέβηκεν, ἀσθ' οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τοῖς λόγοις δια-
λύονται τὰς διαβολὰς, ἐμοῦ δὲ Δυσίμαχος αὐτοὺς
τοὺς λόγους μάλιστα διαβέβληκεν, ἤ' ἢν μὲν
ικανῶς δόξω λέγειν, ἐνοχὸς ὃν φανὼ τοῖς ὑπὸ
tοῦτον περὶ τῆς δεινότητος τῆς ἐμῆς προειρή-
μένοις, ἢν δ' ἐνεδέστερον τύχω διαλεκθεῖσι ὃν
οὗτος ὑμᾶς προσδοκάνει πεποίηκε, τὰς πράξεις
ήγησθέ μου χέρους εἶναι.

17 Δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν μήτε πιστεύειν πω μήτ'
ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις, πρὶν ἂν διὰ τέλους
ἀκούσθη καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν, ἐνθυμομένους ὅτι
οὐδὲν ἂν ἐδεί δίδοσθαι τοῖς πῃγούσιν ἀπολογίαν,
εἰπερ οἴοντ' ἢν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ διώκοντος λόγων
ἐψηφίσθαι τὰ δίκαια. νῦν δ' εἰ μὲν εὗ τυγχάνει
κατηγορηκώς ἢ κακώς, οὐδεὶς ἂν τῶν παρόντων
ἀγνοήσειν: εἰ δ' ἀληθέσι κέχρηται τοῖς λόγοις,
οὐκέτι τοῦτο τοῖς κρίνουσι γνώναι ράδιων εξ ὧν
ὁ πρῶτος εἴρηκεν, ἂλλ' ἀγαπητὸν ἢν ἢς ἀμφο-
τέρων τῶν λόγων ἐκλαβεῖν δυνηθῶσι τὸ δίκαιον.

18 Οὐ θαυμάζω δὲ τῶν πλείω χρόνων διατριβῶντων
ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐξαπατῶντων κατηγορίαις ἢ ταῖς
ὕπερ αὐτῶν ἀπολογίαις, οὐδὲ τῶν λεγόντων ὡς
ἐστι μέγιστον κακὸν διαβολή· τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο
[314] ταῦτης κακουργότερον, ἢ ποιεῖ τοὺς μὲν ψευδο-
μένους εὐδοκιμεῖν, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκότας
dοκεῖν ἄδικεῖν, τοὺς δὲ δικάζοντας ἐπιορκεῖν,
ὅλως δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀλήθειαν ἀφανίζει, ψευδή δὲ

194
ANTIDOSIS, 15–18

my powers that he is confident that he with his lies will win against me and the truth. And so maliciously has everything conspired against me, that while others may depend on their power of speech to make an end of calumnies, it is, in my case, just this power of speech which Lysimachus has most calumniated, in order that if I shall appear to speak well, I may show that I am subject to the charges which he has made about my cleverness; while if it turns out that I speak less ably than he has led you to expect, you may think that mine is the weaker cause.

I beg you, then, neither to credit nor to discredit what has been said to you until you have heard to the end what I also have to say, bearing it in mind that there would have been no need of granting to the accused the right of making a defence, had it been possible to reach a just verdict from the arguments of the accuser. At this stage of the case no one here present is in any doubt whether the accuser has spoken well or badly, but it is not yet easy for the jury to decide from what the first speaker has said whether he has based his arguments on the truth; nay, they will be fortunate if they are able to draw a just conclusion from the arguments of both sides.

I do not wonder that men spend more time in denouncing those who attempt to deceive the jury than upon their own defence, nor that they complain that calumny is our greatest bane. What, indeed, could work greater mischief? It causes liars to be looked on with respect, innocent men to be regarded as criminals, and judges to violate their oaths; in a word, it smothers truth, and pouring false ideas
The outstanding instance is the decree passed by the General Assembly, condemning to death without due process of law, the Athenian generals who were in command at the battle of Arginusae. After the execution of the sentence, the people repented of their haste and called to account the leading instigators of this irregular procedure. See Xen. Hell. i. 7. 35; Plato, Apology 32; Grote, History vol. vii. pp. 446-447.

Athenian juries not infrequently made noisy demonstrations of their prejudices. See Plato, Apology 30 c; Aristophanes, Wasps 624.
ANTIDOSIS, 18–21

into our ears, it leaves no man among our citizens secure from an unjust death. You must be on your guard against this and take care that nothing of the sort happens in this case and that you are not yourselves seen to fall into the very faults which you find reprehensible in others. I think you know well enough that time and again in the past Athens has so deeply repented the judgements which have been pronounced in passion and without proof that not long after the events she has become eager to punish her deceivers, and would gladly have seen the victims of calumny in happier circumstances than before.

You should remember this and not trust too hastily the assertions of the accuser nor hear the defendant in uproar and anger. Ours is a shameful state of inconsistency; for while it is acknowledged that in our life in general we are the most merciful and gentle of all the Hellenes, yet in the conduct of our trials here we manifestly give the lie to this reputation. In other states, when they try a man for his life, they cast a portion of the votes for the defendant, but with us the accused has not even an equal chance with the sycophants; nay, while

The Athenians appear to have worshipped Goddess of Pity. See Schol. to Sophocles, Oed. Col. 261.

The reference seems to be to some custom somewhere by which in capital cases a number of the votes of the jury were at the outset of the trial given by grace to the defendant. No such custom is, so far as I know, mentioned anywhere else.

Isocrates, like Socrates (Plato, Apology 37 a–b), complains that defendants on a capital charge in other states were given a better chance.
καθ' έκαστον τῶν ἐναυτῶν ἢ μὴν ὄμοιως ἀκροάσεσθαι τῶν κατηγοροῦντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογου-22 μένων, τοσοῦτον δὲ τὸ μεταξὺ ποιεῖν, ὡστε τῶν μὲν αὐτωμένων ὃ τι ἄν λέγωσιν ἀποδέχεσθαι, τῶν δὲ τούτων ἐξελέγχειν πειρωμένων ἐνίοτε μηδὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἀκούοντας ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ νομίζειν μὲν ἂοικήτους εἶναι ταύτας τῶν πόλεων ἐν αἷς ἀκριτοὶ τυχές ἀπόλυνται τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀγνοεῖν δὲ ὅτι τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν οἱ μὴ κοινὴν τὴν εὕνοιαν τοῖς

23 ἀγωνιζόμενοι παρέχοντες. δ' ὅ δ' πάντων δεινότατον, ὅταν τις αὐτῶς μὲν κινδυνεύων κατηγορή τῶν διαβαλλόντων, ἐτέρω δὲ δικάζων μὴ τὴν αὐτήν ἔχῃ γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν. καίτοι χρή τοὺς νοῦς ἔχοντας τοιούτους εἶναι κριτὰς τοῖς ἄλλοις, οἷον περ ἀν αὐτοὶ τυγχάνειν ἀξιώσαειν, λογιζο-

[315] μένοις ὅτι διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντεῖν τολμῶντας ἀδηλον ὅστις εἰς κίνδυνον καταστάσαν ἀναγκασθήσεται λέγειν ἀπερ ἐγὼ νῦν πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψήφον διοίσεων.

24 Οὐ γὰρ δὴ τῷ γε κοσμίως ζήν ἄξιον πιστεύειν ὡς ἀδεὼς ἐξέσται τὴν πόλιν οἰκεῖν· οἱ γὰρ προηρημένοι τῶν μὲν ἱδίων ἀμελεῖν τοῖς δ' ἄλλοτρίους ἐπιβουλεύειν οὐ τῶν μὲν σωφρόνως πολιτευομένων ἀπέχονται, τοὺς δὲ κακὸν τι δρῶντας εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσάγωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν ἐπιδειξάμενοι ταῖς αὐτῶν δυνάμεις παρὰ τῶν φανερῶς

25 ἐξημαρτηκότων πλέον λαμβάνοντον ἀργύρων. ἀπερ Λυσίμαχος διανοηθεῖς εἰς τούτοι τῶν κίνδυνον με

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b Compare the opposite ideal in Areop. 24 ; Paneg. 76 ; Panath. 145 ff.
198
we take our solemn oath at the beginning of each year that we will hear impartially both accusers and accused, we depart so far from this in practice, that when the accuser makes his charges we give ear to whatever he may say; but when the accused endeavours to refute them, we sometimes do not endure even to hear his voice. Those states in which an occasional citizen is put to death without a trial we condemn as unfit to live in, yet are blind to the fact that we are in the same case when we do not hear with equal good will both sides of the contest. But what is most absurd of all is the fact that when one of us is on trial, he denounces the calumniators, but when he sits in judgement upon another, he is no longer of the same mind regarding them. Yet, surely, intelligent men ought to be such when they are judges of others, as they would expect others to be to them in like case, bearing in mind the fact that because of the audacity of the sycophants it is impossible to foresee what man may be placed in peril and be compelled to plead, even as I am now doing, before men who are to decide his fate by their votes.

Indeed no one may rely on the honesty of his life as a guarantee that he will be able to live securely in Athens; for the men who have chosen to neglect what is their own and to plot against what belongs to others do not keep their hands off citizens who live soberly and bring before you only those who do evil; on the contrary, they advertise their powers in their attacks upon men who are entirely innocent, and so get more money from those who are clearly guilty. This is exactly what Lysimachus had in mind when he subjected me to this trial; for he
ISOCRATES

κατέστησεν, ἥγουμενος τὸν ἀγώνα τὸν πρὸς ἐμὲ παρ᾽ ἐτέρων αὐτῷ χρηματισμὸν ποιήσειν, καὶ προσδοκῶν, ὡς ἔμοι περιγένηται τοῖς λόγοις, ὥν φησι διδάσκαλον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀνυπόστατον 26 τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἀπασων εἶναι δόξειν. ἐλπίζει δὲ ῥαδίως τοῦτο ποιῆσειν ὅρα γὰρ ὑμᾶς μὲν λιαν ταχέως ἀποδεχομένους τὰς αἰτίας καὶ τὰς διαβολὰς, ἐμὲ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὡς δυνησόμενον ἄξιως τῆς δόξης ἀπολογήσασθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας καὶ 27 διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων. οὕτω γὰρ βεβίωκα τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον, ὡστε μηδένα μοι πώποτε μὴν ἐν ὁλιγαρχίᾳ μὴν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ μήθ᾽ ὑβριν μὴν ἀδικιάν ἐγκαλέσαι, μηδὲ εἰναι μὴν διαιτητὴν μὴν δικαστὴν ὅστις περὶ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων φανῆσαι κρῖτης γεγενημένος. ἡπιστάμην γὰρ αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτάνειν, ἀδικούμενος δὲ μὴ μετὰ δικαστηρίου ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τιμωρίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τοῖς φίλοις τοῖς ἐκεῖνων διαλύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων. 28 ὃν οὐδὲν μοι πλέον γέγονεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνεγκλητεὶ μέχρι ταυτοῦ τῆς ἡλικίας βεβιωκῶς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν καθέστηκα κύδυνου, εἰς ὁνπερ ἄν εἰ πάντας ἔτυχαν ἡδικηκόω.

Οὐ μὴν παντάπασιν ἀθυμῶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τιμήματος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν περ ἐθελήσῃ μετ᾽ εὐνοίας ἀκροάσασθαι, πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τοὺς μὲν δι-

a Cf. Plato, Apology 17 ν. Isocrates repeatedly echoes the defence of Socrates. See General Introd. p. xvii and Vasold, Über das Verhältniss der isocrateischen Rede Ἡπι αὐτιδόσεως zu Platon’s Apologia Socratis.

b The distinction between ὑβρις (violence) and ἀδικία (injury) is hardly technical. It seems to be between crimes 200
thought that this suit against me would bring him profit from other sources, and he expected that if he won in the debate with me, whom he calls the teacher of other men, everyone would regard his power as irresistible. He is confident that he will win easily; for he sees that you are over-ready to accept slanders and calumnies, while I, because of my age and my lack of experience in contests of this kind, shall not be able to reply to them in a manner worthy of my reputation; for I have so lived all my life till now that no man either under the oligarchy or under the democracy has ever charged me with any offence, whether of violence or injury, nor will any man be found to have sat either as arbitrator or as judge upon my actions. For I have schooled myself to avoid giving any offence to others, and, when I have been wronged by others, not to seek revenge in court but to adjust the matter in dispute by conferring with their friends. All this has availed me nothing; on the contrary, I who have lived to this advanced age without complaint from anyone could not be in greater jeopardy if I had wronged all the world.

Yet I am not utterly discouraged because I face so great a penalty; no, if you will only hear me with good will, I am very confident that those who

of personal violence, such as assault, and other offences against the law in general.

Certain issues might be kept out of court by being referred to an arbitrator, either agreed upon by the parties concerned or designated by lot from the public arbitrators provided for by law. See Lipsius, *Das attische Recht* p. 220 ff.

Isocrates seems to pretend throughout that he, like Socrates, is being tried on a capital charge.
ISOCRATES

εφευσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ πεπεισμένους ὑπὸ τῶν βουλομένων βλασφημεῖν ταχέως μεταπειθήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, τούς δὲ τοιούτων εἶναι μὲ νομίζοντας οἷός περ εἰμί, βεβαιῶτερον ἔτι ταύτην ἔξειν τὴν διάνοιαν.

29 "Ινα δὲ μὴ λιὰν ἐνοχλῶ πολλὰ πρὸ τοῦ πράγματος λέγων, ἀφέμενοι τούτων, περὶ ὧν οἰσετε τὴν ψῆφον, ἡδη πειράσομαι διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς.

Καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωσθι τὴν γραφήν.

ΓΡΑΦΗ.

30 Ἐκ μὲν τοιῶν τῆς γραφῆς πειρᾶται μὲ διαβάλλειν ὁ κατηγορος ὡς διαφθείρω τοὺς νεωτέρους λέγειν διδάσκων καὶ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐν τοῖς ἀγώνι πλεονεκτεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων λόγων ποιεῖ μὲ τηλικοῦτον, ὅσος οὐδεὶς πώποτε γέγονεν οὐτε τῶν περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καλυπνυμένων οὐτε τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριβάντων οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἰδιῶτας φησὶ μου γεγενήθαι μαθητάς, ἄλλα καὶ ἱέταροι καὶ στρατηγοὺς καὶ βασιλέας καὶ τυράννους, καὶ χρήματα παρὰ αὐτῶν παμπληθῆ τὰ μὲν εἰληφέναι τὰ δὲ ἔτι καὶ νῦν λαμβάνειν. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον πεποίηται τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἡγούμενος ἐκ μὲν δὲν καταλαξοῦνται περὶ μου καὶ τοῦ πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους τῶν μαθητῶν φθόνον ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἀκούσωσιν ἐμποιήσειν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὰ δικαστήρια πραγματείας εἰς ὁργὴν καὶ μῦσος υμᾶς καταστήσειν ἀπερ ὅταν πάθωσιν οἱ κρίνοντες, χαλεπῶτατοι τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις εἰσίν.

a Here, as elsewhere, Isocrates preserves the fiction of a court scene by calling upon the clerk to read the formal charge.
have been misled as to my pursuits and have been won over by my would-be slanderers will promptly change their views, while those who think of me as I really am will be still more confirmed in their opinion.

But in order that I may not overtax your patience by speaking at undue length before coming to the subject, I shall leave off this discussion and attempt forthwith to inform you on the question which you are to vote upon.

(To the clerk.) Please read the indictment.a

(The indictment is read.)

Here in the indictment my accuser endeavours to vilify me, charging that I corrupt young menb by teaching them to speak and gain their own advantage in the courts contrary to justice, while in his speech he makes me out to be a man whose equal has never been known either among those who hang about the law-courts or among the devotees of philosophy; for he declares that I have had as my pupils not only private persons but orators, generals, kings, and despots; and that I have received from them and am now receiving enormous sums of money. He has made his accusation in this manner, thinking that his extravagant assertions about me and my wealth and the great number of my pupils would arouse the envy of all his hearers, while my alleged activities in the law-courts would stir up your anger and hate; and when judges are affected by these very passions, they are most severe upon those who are on trial.

b An echo of Plato, Apology 23 c-d.

c See General Introd. p. xxix.
'Ως οὖν τὰ μὲν μείζων τοῦ προσήκοντος εἴρηκε, τὰ δ’ ὅλως ψεύδεται, ράδιως οἴμαι φανερὸν 32 ποιήσειν. ἀξιῶ δ’ ύμᾶς τοῖς μὲν λόγοις οἷς πρότερον ἀκηκόατε περὶ μου τῶν βλασφημεῖν καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένων, µή προσέχεις τὸν νοῦν, µηδὲ πιστεύεις τοῖς µήτε µετ’ ἐλέγχου µήτε µετὰ κρίσεως εἰρημένοις, µηδὲ ταῖς δόξαις χρῆσθαι ταῖς ἀδίκως ὑπ’ ἐκείνων οἷς ἐγγεγενημέναις, ἀλλ’ ὅποιός τις ἂν ἐκ τῆς κατηγορίας τῆς νῦν καὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας φαίνωμαι, τοιούτοι εἰναὶ µὲ νοµίζειν οὕτω γὰρ γιγνώσκοντες αὐτοὶ τε δοξεῖ ταῦτα 317 κρίνειν καὶ νοµίµως, ἐγὼ τε τεῦξομαι πάντων τῶν δικαίων.

33 Ὁτι µὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς οὖθ’ ὑπὸ τῆς δεινότητος τῆς ἐμῆς οὖθ’ ὑπὸ τῶν συγγραμμάτων βέβλαπται τῶν πολιτῶν, τῶν ἐνεστῶτα κάκινων ἡγοῦμαι µέγιστον εἶναι τεκµήριον. εἰ γάρ τις ἡν ἡδικηµένος, εἰ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, οὐκ ἂν ἡµὲλησε τοῦ καρυδοῦ τοῦ παρόντος, ἀλλ’ ἠλθεν ἃν ἄτοι κατηγορήσων ἡ καταµαρτυρία. ὅποι γὰρ ὁ µηδ’ ἁκηκοمكونات µηδὲν πῶς τοῦν φλαδρὸν εἰς ἀγώνα µε τηλικούτοιν κατέστησεν, ἢ που σφόδρ’ ἃν ὁι κακῶς πεπονθότες ἐπειρῶντ’ ἃν δίκην παρ’ ἐµοῦ 34 λαµβάνειν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο γ’ ἐστὶν οὖτ’ εἰκὸς οὔτε δυνατὸν, ἐµὲ µὲν περὶ πολλοὺς ἡµαρτηκέναι, τοὺς δὲ ταῖς συµφοραῖς δι’ ἐµὲ περιπετευκότας ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ µὴ τολµᾶν ἐγκαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ πραοτέρους ἐν τοῖς ἐµοῖς εἶναι κακούνοις τῶν µηδὲν 204
However, in the one charge he has grossly exaggerated the facts and in the other he lies outright, as I think I can easily show. Let me ask you, however, not to pay any attention to what you have heard about me in the past from my would-be slanderers and calumniators, not to credit charges which have been made without proof or trial, and not to be influenced by the suspicions which have been maliciously implanted in you by my enemies, but to judge me to be the kind of man which the accusation and the defence in this trial will show me to be; for if you decide the case on this basis, you will have the credit of judging honourably and in accordance with the law, while I, for my part, shall obtain my complete deserts.

Now, in fact, no citizen has ever been harmed either by my "cleverness" or by my writings, and I think the most convincing proof of this is furnished by this trial; for if any man had been wronged by me, even though he might have held his tongue up till now, he would not have neglected the present opportunity, but would have come forward to denounce me or bear witness against me. For when one who has never in his life heard a single disparaging word from me has put me in so great peril, depend upon it, had any suffered injury at my hands, they would now attempt to have their revenge.\(^a\) For surely it is neither probable nor possible both that I, on the one hand, have wronged many people and that those, on the other hand, who have been visited with misfortune through me are silent and refrain from accusing me; nay, are kinder to me when my life is in peril than those

\(^a\) Cf. Plato, Apology 33 d.
Ηδικημένων, ἔξων αὐτοῖς δηλώσασιν ἃ πεπόνθασιν τὴν μεγίστην παρ’ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν τιμωρίαν. ἄλλα γὰρ οὗτε πρότερον οὗτε νῦν οὐδεὶς μοι φανὴσεται τοιοῦτον οὔδεν ἐγκαλέσασι.

"Ωστ’ εἰ συγχωρήσαμι τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ προσ-ομολογήσαμι πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι δεινότατος, καὶ συγγραφεῖς τῶν λόγων τῶν λυποῦντων ὡμᾶς τοιοῦτος οἷς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος γέγονε, πολὺ ἂν δικαίω- 
36 τερον ἐπιεικής εἶναι δοκοῦν ἣ ζημιωθεῖν. τοῦ μὲν γὰρ γενέσθαι προέχοντα τῶν ἅλλων ἡ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἡ περὶ τὰς πράξεις εἰκότως ἂν τις τὴν τύχην αὐτάσατο, τοῦ δὲ καλῶς καὶ μετρίως κεχρησθαι 
τῇ φύσει δικαίως ἂν ἀπαντεῖ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμὸν ἐπαινέσειαν.

Οὐ μὴν οὖν ἐὰν ταῦτ’ ἔχων περὶ ἐμαντοῦ λέγειν, 
37 οὐδ’ οὖτω φανῆσομαι περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς 
γεγενημένους. γνώσεσθε δ’ ἐκ τῶν 
ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν ἐμῶν, ἔξων ὠντὸν ἐστὶν 
eiδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ παρὰ τῶν 
διαβαλλόντων. οἴμαι γὰρ οὐδένα ταῦτ’ ἄγνοειν, 
ὅτι πάντες ἁνθρωποῦν περὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον 
38 εἰώθασι διατρίβειν, θεὲν ἂν προέλθωται τὸν βίον 
τοὺς μὲν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν συμβολαῖς τῶν ὑμετέρων ζώντας καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα πραγματείας ἵδοτ’ ἃν μόνον οὐκ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις 
[318] ὀικούντας, ἐμὲ δ’ οὐδεὶς πῶποθ’ ἑώρακεν οὔτ’ ἐν 
τοῖς συνεδρίοις οὗτε περὶ τὰς ἀνακρίσεις οὔτ’ ἐπὶ 
τοῖς δικαστηρίοις οὗτε πρὸς τοῖς διαιτηταῖς, ἄλλ’

a See General Introd. p. xx.

b The συνέδριον, a board made up of the six junior archons called Thesmothetae, had jurisdiction over a large number of offences against the state.

206
who have suffered no injury, especially since all they have to do is to testify to the wrongs I have done them in order to obtain the fullest reparation. But neither in the past nor now will anyone be found to have made any such complaint.

If, therefore, I were to agree with my accuser and concede his claim that I am the "cleverest" of men and that I have never had an equal as a writer of the kind of speeches which are offensive to you, it would be much more just to give me credit for being an honest man than to punish me; for when a man has superior talents whether for speech or for action, one cannot fairly charge it to anything but fortune, but when a man makes good and temperate use of the power which nature has given him, as in my own case, all the world ought in justice to commend his character.

However, though I might advance this argument in my behalf, I shall never be found to have had anything to do with speeches for the courts." You can judge this from my habits of life, from which, indeed, you can get at the truth much better than from the lips of my accusers; for no one is, I think, blind to the fact that all people are wont to spend their time in the places where they elect to gain their livelihood. And you will observe that those who live upon your contracts and the litigation connected with them are all but domiciled in the courts of law, while no one has ever seen me either at the council-board, or at the preliminaries, or in the courts, or before the arbitrators; on the

c The ἀνάκρισις was any preliminary hearing before an appropriate magistrate.

d The regular Heliastic jury-panels. See Areop. 54, note.

e Cf. 27, note.
ούτως ἀπέχομαι τούτων ἀπάντων ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος τῶν πολιτῶν.

39 Ἐπειτ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἂν εὑροίτε παρ' ὑμῖν μόνοις χρηματίζεσθαι δυναμένους, εἰ δ' ἄλλοις τοι πλεύσειαν, ἐνδειξέτε ὡς ὄντας τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰς εὑροίς, περὶ ὅν ὦτος μειζόνως εἰρηκέν, ἐξωθεὶς ἀπάσας γεγενημένας· ἐτὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν πλησιάζοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐν κακοῖς αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἢ τοὺς ἐτέροις πράγματα παρέχειν βουλομένους, ἐμοὶ δὲ τοὺς πλείστην σχολὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγοντας.

40 Ἡκούσατε δὲ καὶ τοῦ κατηγόρου λέγοντος ὅτι παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Σαλαμινίων βασιλέως πολλὰς ἔλαβον καὶ μεγάλας δωρεὰς. καὶ τού τινι πιστὸν ὑμῶν ἐστὶν ὡς Νικοκλῆς ἐδωκέ μοι ταύτας, ἢν δίκας μανθάνῃ λέγειν, ὃς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητομένων ὡσπερ δεσπότης ἐδίκαζεν; ὡςτ' ἐξ ὁν αὐτὸς ὦτος εἴρηκε, ράδιον καταμαθεῖν ὅτι πόρρω τῶν πραγματευόντων εἰμὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ συμβάλλων γεγονομένων. ἄλλα μὴν κάκεινο πάσι φανερῶν ἐστὶν ὅτι παμπληθεῖς εἰσον οἱ παρασκευάζοντες τοὺς λόγους τοῖς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγωνιζόμενοις. τούτων μὲν τοῖς τοσοῦτων ὄντων οὐδεὶς πώποτε φανήσεται μαθητῶν ἧξιωμένοις, ἐγὼ δὲ πλείους ἐιληφῶς, ὡς φησιν ὁ κατήγορος, ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διατριβοῦντες. καὶ τοῖς πῶς εἰκὸς τοὺς τοσοῦτον τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἀλλήλων ἀφεστῶτας περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις ἤγείσθαι διατριβεῖν;

41 Ἐχων δὲ πολλὰς εἰσεῖν διαφορὰς περὶ τοῦ βίου τοῦ τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς δίκας, ἐκείνως ὑμᾶς

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*a* There is a story that Isocrates charged no fees to Athenian pupils.

208
contrary, I have kept aloof from all these more than any of my fellow-citizens.

Moreover, you will find that these men are able to carry on a profitable business in Athens alone; if they were to sail to any other place they would starve to death; while my resources, which this fellow has exaggerated, have all come to me from abroad. Then again you will find associated with them either men who are themselves in evil case or who want to ruin others, while in my company are those who of all the Hellenes lead the most untroubled lives.

But you have heard also from my accuser that I have received many great presents from Nicocles, the king of the Salaminians. And yet, can any one of you be persuaded that Nicocles made me these presents in order that he might learn how to plead cases in court—he who dispensed justice, like a master, to others in their disputes? So, from what my accuser has himself said, it is easy for you to conclude that I have nothing to do with litigation. Nay, everyone is aware of this also, that there is a superabundance of men who produce speeches for litigants in the courts. Nevertheless you will not find that any one of them, numerous as they are, has ever been thought worthy to have pupils, while I, as my accuser states, have had more than all the rest together who are occupied with philosophy. Yet how can anyone think that people who are so far apart in their ways of life are engaged in the same occupations?

But although I could point out many contrasts between my own career and that of the pleaders.

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ISOCRATES

ήγομαι τάχιστ' ἂν ἀφέσθαι τῆς δόξης ταύτης, εἰ
tis ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξει μὴ τούτων τῶν πραγμάτων
μαθητάς μου γιγνομένους ὅσον ὁ κατήγορος εἴρηκε,
μηδὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ὁντα με δεινὸν τοὺς περὶ
tῶν ἱδίων συμβολαίων. οἴμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς, ἐξελεγ-
χομένης τῆς αἰτίας ἢς εἰχον πρότερον, ἣςτεῖν
ἐτέραν μεταλαβεῖν διάνοιαν, καὶ ποθεῖν ἀκούσαι
περὶ ποῖους ἄλλους λόγους γεγενημένους τηλικαύτην
δόξαν ἐλαβον.

[319] Ἐι μὲν οὖν μοι συνοίσει κατεύθυντι τὴν ἀλήθειαν,
οὐκ οἶδα· χαλεπὸν γὰρ στοχάζοσθαι τῆς ὑμετέρας
diανοίας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ παρρησιάσομαι γε πρὸς
ὑμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἰσχυνθεὶν τοὺς πλησίασσασ, ἐi
πολλάκις εἰρηκὼς ὅτι δεξαίμην ἂν ἀπαντᾶς
eἴδειν τοὺς πολιτὰς καὶ τὸν βίον ὅν ζῶ καὶ τοὺς
λόγους οὐς λέγω, νῦν μὴ δηλοῖν ὑμῖν αὐτούς ἅλ
ἀποκρυπτόμενος φανεῖν. ὡς οὖν ἀκούσομεν τὴν
ἀλήθειαν, οὕτω προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν.

45 Ὑρώτῳ μὲν οὖν ἔκεινο δεὶ μαθεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὅτι
τρόποι τῶν λόγων εἰσίν οὐκ ἐλάπτους ἢ τῶν μετα
μέτρου ποιημάτων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ γείνη τὰ τῶν
ἡμῶν ἀναζητοῦντες τὸν βίον τῶν αὐτῶν κατέτρι-
ψαν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐφιλοσοφήσαν, ἐτεροὶ
dὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συναγαγεῖν
ἐβουλήθησαν, ἀλλοι δὲ τινες περὶ τὰς ἐρωτήσεις
cαὶ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις γεγόνασιν, οὕς ἀντιλογίκος
καλοῦσαν. εὔχ ὅ ἂν οὐ μικρὸν ἔργον, εἰ πάσας τις
tὰs ἱδέas tὰs τῶν λόγων ἐξαριθμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειςεἰν,
ἢς ὅ οὖν ἐμοι προσήκει, ταύτης μηθεῖς ἐάσῳ
tὰs ἄλλαs.

Elsewhere called disputation ("eristic"). See General
Introd. p. xxi.

210
in the courts, I believe that the quickest way to
disabuse your mind of this confusion would be to
show that people do not study under me what my
accuser says they do, and that I am not clever at
the kind of oratory which has to do with private
disputes. For I think, now that the charge under
which I formerly laboured has been disproved,
you are anxious to change your attitude and
want to hear from me what sort of eloquence it
is which has occupied me and given me so great a
reputation.

Whether, indeed, it is going to profit me to speak
the truth, I am not sure; for it is hard to conjecture
what is in your thoughts. Yet, for all that, I am
going to speak to you absolutely without reserve.
For I should blush before my associates, if, after
having told them again and again that I should
be glad to have everyone of my fellow-citizens know
the life I lead and the speeches which I compose,
I did not now lay them open before you, but appeared
rather to attempt to hide them away. Be assured,
therefore, that you shall hear from me the whole
truth, and in this spirit give me your attention.

First of all, then, you should know that there are
no fewer branches of composition in prose than in
verse. For some men have devoted their lives to
researches in the genealogies of the demi-gods;
others have made studies in the poets; others
have elected to compose histories of wars; while
still others have occupied themselves with dialogue,
and are called dialecticians. It would, however, be
no slight task to attempt to enumerate all the forms
of prose, and I shall take up only that which is
pertinent to me, and ignore the rest.
ISOCRATES

Εἰςὶ γὰρ τινες οἱ τῶν μὲν προειρημένων οὐκ ἀπείρως ἔχουσι, γράφειν δὲ προήρηται λόγους οὐ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων συμβολαίων, ἀλλ’ Ἐλληνικοὶ καὶ πολιτικοὶ καὶ πανηγυρικοὶ, οὐς ἀπαντεῖς ἄν φήσαιεν ὁμοιοτέρους εἰναι τοῖς μετὰ μονοικῆς καὶ ῥυθμῶν πεποιημένους ἢ τοῖς ἐν δικαστηρίῳ λέγομενοι. καὶ γὰρ τῇ λέξει ποιητικώτερα καὶ ποικιλωτέρα τὰς πράξεις δηλοῦσι, καὶ τοῖς ἐνθυμήσασιν ὁγκοδιστέροις καὶ καινοτέροις χρῆσθαι ζητοῦσι, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς ἀλλαίς ἰδέαις ἐπιφανεστέραις καὶ πλείουσιν ὅλον τὸν λόγον διοικοῦσιν.

Ων ἀπαντεῖς μὲν ἀκόουντες χαίρουσιν οὔδὲν ἔττον ἢ τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέτροις πεποιημένων, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ μαθηταὶ γίγνεσθαι βούλονται, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἐν τούτοις πρωτεύοντας πολὺ σοφωτέρους καὶ βελτίως καὶ μᾶλλον ὡφελεῖν δυναμένους εἰναι τῶν τὰς δίκας εὐθείως. συνίσασι γὰρ τοῖς μὲν διὰ πολυπραγμοσύνην ἐμπείροις τῶν ἀγώνων γεγενημένους, τοὺς δ’ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων [320] δὲν ἄρτι προείπον την δύναμιν εἰληφότας, καὶ τοὺς μὲν δικανικοὺς δοκοῦντας εἰναι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν μόνην ἄνεκτοις ὄντας ἐν ἢ περ ἢν ἀγωνιζόμενοι τυγχάνονσι, τοὺς δ’ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ὀμιλίαις καὶ παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐντίμους ὄντας καὶ δοξῆς ἐπεικοὺς τυγχάνοντας: ἐτί δὲ τοὺς μὲν, ἦν ὀφθαλμῷ δέ τις ἐπὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων, μισουμένους καὶ διαβαλλομένους, τοὺς δ’ ὅσω περ ἀν πλείον καὶ πλεονάκις συγγίγνωνται, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον θαυμαζομένου: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοὺς μὲν περὶ τὰς δίκας δεινοὺς πόρρω τῶν λόγων ἐκείνων ὄντας, τοὺς εἰ

* See General Introd. p. xxiv.

212
For there are men who, albeit they are not strangers to the branches which I have mentioned, have chosen rather to write discourses, not for private disputes, but which deal with the world of Hellas, with affairs of state, and are appropriate to be delivered at the Pan-Hellenic assemblies—discourses which, as everyone will agree, are more akin to works composed in rhythm and set to music than to the speeches which are made in court. For they set forth facts in a style more imaginative and more ornate; they employ thoughts which are more lofty and more original, and, besides, they use throughout figures of speech in greater number and of more striking character.

All men take as much pleasure in listening to this kind of prose as in listening to poetry, and many desire to take lessons in it, believing that those who excel in this field are wiser and better and of more use to the world than men who speak well in court. For they know that while the latter owe to a capacity for intrigue their expertness in forensic debate, the former have drawn from their pursuit of wisdom the eloquence which I have described; that while those who are thought to be adept in court procedure are tolerated only for the day when they are engaged in the trial, the devotees of philosophy are honoured and held in high esteem in every society and at all times; that, furthermore, while the former come to be despised and decried as soon as they are seen two or three times in court, the latter are admired more and more as they become better and more widely known; and, finally, that while clever pleaders are sadly unequal to the higher eloquence, the exponents of the latter could, if they so desired,
δ' βουληθεῖεν ταχέως ἂν ἔλειν καὶ τούτους δυνηθεῖν. τἀῦτα λογιζόμενοι καὶ πολὺ κρείττω νομιζόντες εἶναι τὴν αἰφέσιν, βουλοῦνται μετασχέσιν τῆς παιδείας ταύτης, ἢς οὖν ἂν ἔγω φανεῖν ἀπεληλαμένος, ἀλλὰ πολλῷ χαριστέραν δόξαν εἰληφῶς.

Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἐμῆς εἶτε βούλεσθε καλεῖν δυνάμεως εἶτε φιλοσοφίας εἶτε διατριβῆς, ἀκηκόατε πάσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. βουλομαι δὲ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ νόμον θεῖαι καὶ λόγους θεῖαι χαλεπώτερον ἢ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ λόγον εἰπεῖν θρασύτερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἡλικίαν. ἀξίω γὰρ οὗ μόνον, εἰ βλαβεροῖς χρώμαι τὸις λόγοις, μηδεμίας συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν παρ' ὕμων, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τοιούτοις οὐδεὶς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος, τὴν μεγίστην ὑποσχέσιν τιμωρίαν. οὐχ οὖν δ' ἂν τολμηρὰν ἐποιησάμην τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, εἰ μὴ καὶ δείξεως ἤμελλον ύμῖν καὶ ῥαδίαν ποιήσειν τὴν διάγνωσιν αὐτῶν.

52 Ἐχει γὰρ οὕτως· ἐγὼ καλλίστην ἡγοῦμαι καὶ δικαιοτάτην εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην ἀπολογίαν, ἢτις εἰδέναι ποιεῖ τοὺς δικάζοντας ὡς δυνατὸν μάλιστα, περὶ ὧν τὴν ψῆφον οἴσοις, καὶ μὴ πλανᾶσθαι τῇ διανοίᾳ μηδ' ἀμφιγγοεῖν τοὺς τάληθη λέγοντας. εἰ μὲν τοῖνοι ἡγοικίζομεν ὡς περὶ πράξεις τινὰς ἡμαρτηκὼς, οὐκ ἂν οἴος τ' ἢν ιδεῖν ύμῖν αὐτὰς παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖος εἰχεν εἰκάζοντας ὑμᾶς ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων διαγγελόνθηκεν ὅπως ἐτύχετε περὶ τῶν ἐπειραγμένων· ἐπειδὴ δὲ περὶ τοὺς λόγους ἐχὼ τὴν αἰτίαν, οἷμαι μάλλον ύμῖν ἐμ-54 φανεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. αὐτοὺς γὰρ ύμῖν δείξω

a Cf. Paneg. 11, 12.
easily master also the oratory of the courts. Reflecting on these facts, and considering it to be by far the better choice, they elect to have a part in that culture wherein, it would appear, neither have I myself been an alien but have, on the contrary, won a far more gracious reputation.

Now you have heard the whole truth about my power, my philosophy, my profession, or whatever you care to call it. However, I want to set up for myself a more difficult standard than for other people, and to make a proposition which may seem over-rash for my years. For I ask you not only to show me no mercy, if the oratory which I cultivate is harmful, but to inflict on me the extreme penalty if it is not superior to any other. But I should not have made so bold a proposal, if I were not about to show you what my eloquence is and to make it very easy for you to pass judgement upon it.

For it is this way: the best and fairest defence, in my opinion, is that which enables the judges to know the facts, so far as this is possible, in regard to the issues on which they are to vote, and which leaves no room for them to go astray in their judgement or to be in doubt as to which party speaks the truth. If, however, I were being tried for some criminal act, I should not have been able to produce the act itself before your eyes but you would have had to conjecture the facts from what I said and pass judgement as best you might. But since I am charged with offending by my words, I think that I shall be in a better position to make you see the truth; for I shall present in evidence the

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\[b\] The language of this sentence is reminiscent of Plato, *Apology* 20 d, e.  
\[c\] Cf. the boast in *Paneg.* 14.
toûs eîr̄mēnousy òp' èmou kai geγrammēnous, òst' ou doξāsantès allà σαφῶs eîdôtes ópòioi tînès [321] eîs î tîn ἤφων ouîseî perî autôn. ἀπαντας μεν σώv dià têlos eîpseîn ouk ἀν δυναίμην ο̣ γᾶρ χρόνοs ό δεδομένοs ἦμίν ὀλίγος ἐστίν: ὅσπερ δὲ tōn karpwôn, ἐξενεγκεῖν ἐκάστου δεῖγμα πειρά-
σωμαι. μικρὸν γὰρ μέρος ἀκούσαντες ῥαδίως τὸ τ' ἐμὸν ἥθος γνωριεῖτε καὶ tōn lόγων tîn δύναμιν ἀπάντων μαθήσεσθε.

55 Δέομαι δὲ tōn pollákis ανεγνωκότων tâ méλ-
λοντα σηθήσεσθαι μὴ ζητεῖν εν tâi parónti par' ἐμοὶ καινοῦς lόγους, μηδ' ὄχληρον με νομίζειν, ὦτι λέγω tōus pâlai par' ἦμίν διατεθρυλημένουs. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπίδειξιν ποιούμενος ἔλεγον αὐτοûs, εἰκότως τάν ἐξω την αἰτίαν ταύτην. νῦν δὲ κρινώ-
μενος καὶ κινδυνεύων ἀναγκάζομαι χρῆσαί τοῦτον 56 τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦ. καὶ γὰρ ἀν πάντων ε￢ν κατα-
γελαστότατος, εἰ τοῦ κατηγόρου διαβάλλοντος ὁτι
tōiçous γράφω lόγους ο̣ καὶ tîn pòlîn blâ-
pôouci καὶ tōn newteróus diafítheîrouci, δἰ' ἐτέρων
ποιώμην την ἀπολογιάν, ἔξω αὐτοûs δείξαντι
tōtouc̄s aπολύσασθαι την διαβολήν την lεγομένην
περὶ ἦμων.

Ὑμᾶς μὲν οὖν ἄξιῶ μοι διὰ ταῦτα συγγνώμην
ἔχειν καὶ συναγωνιστᾶς γίγνεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις
ἥδη περαῖνειν ἐπιχειρήσω, μικρὸν ἐτι¹ προειπών,
ίνα ῥάον ἐπακολουθῶσι τοῖς lεγομένοις.

1 μικρὸν ἐτι Γ: μικρὸν τι vulg.

¹ No case could occupy more than one day, and the
speakers were limited in time by the clepsydra or water-
clock.

216
actual words which I have spoken and written, so that you will vote upon my discourses, not from conjecture, but with clear knowledge of their nature. I cannot, however, present them all in complete form; for the time which has been allowed me is too short. But just as is done with fruits, I shall try to produce a sample of each kind. For when you have heard a small portion of them you will easily recognize my true character and appreciate the force of all my speeches.

But I beg those of you who have read many times what you are now about to hear, not to expect new discourses from me on the present occasion nor think me burdensome because I repeat what has long been the talk of Athens. For if I were to repeat my orations in order to display my powers, I should reasonably be liable to this complaint; but now that I am on trial and in jeopardy I have no choice but to use my speeches in this fashion. For it would be the height of absurdity if in a case where my accuser denounces me for writing the kind of speeches which both hurt our city and corrupt our youth I used other speeches in my defence, when I can clear my name of the calumnies which are being heaped upon it by producing before you the very discourses of which he complains.

I ask of you, then, for these reasons to bear with me and to lend me your support. But for the benefit of the others on the jury I shall attempt to proceed with my selections, after a further word of explanation to enable them to follow more easily what is said.

b That is, in making an epideictic lecture or show speech.

c That is, those of the jury who had not “read these discourses many times.”
57 'Ο μὲν γὰρ λόγος οἱ μέλλων πρῶτος ὤμην δει-
χθῆσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνους ἐγράφῃ τοὺς χρόνους, ὦτε Ἀκαδαμιόνοι μὲν ἦρχον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἢμεῖς δὲ 
tαπεινῶς ἐπράττομεν. ἔστι δὲ τοὺς μὲν Ἑλλήνας 
παρακάλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατείαν, Ἀκαδαμιόνοις δὲ περὶ τῆς ἤγεμονίας ἀμφισβητῶν.
58 τοιαύτην δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενος, ἀποφαίω 
τὴν πόλιν ἀπάντων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τοῖς Ἑλληνὶ 
ἀγαθῶν αὐτίαν γεγενημένην. ἀφορισάμενος δὲ τὸν 
λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων εὐρεγεσιῶν, καὶ 
βουλόμενος τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἔτι σαφέστερον ἀπο-
φαίνειν ὡς ἔστι τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθέντε ποθὲν ἐπι-
χειρῶ διδάσκειν περὶ τούτων, ὡς τῇ πόλει τιμᾶσθαι 
προσήκει πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢκ τῶν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον 
κινδύνων ἢ τῶν ἄλλων εὐρεγεσιῶν.
59 "Ὡμην μὲν οὖν αὐτὸς δυνήσεσθαι διελθεῖν περὶ 
αὐτῶν· νῦν δὲ με τὸ γήρας ἐμποδίζει καὶ ποιεῖ 
[322] προαπαγορεύειν. ἢν οὖν μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκλυθῶ 
πολλῶν ἔτι μοι λεκτέων ὄντων, ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ 
τῆς παραγραφῆς ἀνάγνωσθι τὰ περὶ τῆς ἤγεμονίας 
αὐτοῖς.

ΕΚ ΤΟΤ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΚΟΤ

§ 51–§ 99

60 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς ἤγεμονίας, ὡς δικαίως ἂν εἶη 
τῆς πόλεως, ῥᾴδιον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καταμαθεῖν. 
ἐνθυμήθητε δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, εἰ δοκῶ τοῖς 
λόγοις διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεωτέρους, ἀλλὰ μὴ προ-
τρέπειν ἐπ’ ἄρετὴν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως 
κινδύνους, ἡ δικαίως ἂν δοῦναι δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν 
eἰρημένων, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν χάριν κομίσασθαι παρ’ 
61 ὑμῶν τὴν μεγίστην, δι’ ὑμῶν ἐγκεκωμίακα τὴν 
pόλιν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς
218
ANTIDOSIS, 57-61

The discourse which is to be submitted to you first was written at the time when the Lacedaemonians were the first power in Hellas, while our fortunes were at low ebb. In it I summon the Hellenes to make an expedition against the barbarians, and I dispute the right of the Lacedaemonians to take the lead. Developing this theme, I show that Athens has been author of all the advantages which the Hellenes now enjoy. Then, having concluded the account of these benefactions, and desiring to show more convincingly that leadership in the expedition is the right of Athens, I further try to prove that far greater honour is due to her for the perils she has faced in war than for her other benefactions.

Now I thought that I should be able to go through these passages myself, but I find that my age hampers me and causes me to give out easily. So then, in order that I may not break down utterly while there are still many things which I must say, let the clerk begin at the place marked and read the passage on the hegemony.

[Extract from the *Panegyricus* 51-99.

As to the hegemony, then, it is easy enough for you to make up your minds from what has been read to you that it should by right belong to Athens. But, I beg of you, consider well whether I appear to you to corrupt the young by my words, or, on the contrary, to inspire them to a life of valour and of dangers endured for their country; whether I should justly be punished for the words which have been read, or whether, on the contrary, I deserve to have your deepest gratitude for having so glorified Athens and our ancestors and the wars which were
ἐν ἐκείνοις τοὺς χρόνους γεγενημένους, ὡστε τοὺς τε πρότερον γράψαντας περὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ταύτην ἀπαντᾶς ἡφανκέναι τοὺς λόγους, αἰσχυνομένους ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰρημένων αὐτοῖς, τοὺς τε νῦν δοκοῦντας εἶναι δεινοὺς μὴ τολμὰν ἐτὶ λέγειν περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ καταμέμφεσθαι τὴν δύναμιν τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν.

62 Ἀλλ' ὡμως, τούτων όυτως ἔχοντων, φανήσονται των τῶν εὑρεῖν μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἄξιον λόγου δυναμένως, ἐπιτιμάν δὲ καὶ βασκαίνειν τὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεμελετηκότων, οἳ χαριέντως μὲν εἰρήσθαι ταύτα φήσουν (τὸ γὰρ εὗ φθονήσουσιν εἰπεῖν), πολὺ μέντοι χρησιμοτέρους εἶναι τῶν λόγων καὶ κρείττους τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας τοῖς νῦν ἀμαρτανομένους ἡ τοὺς τὰ πεπραγμένα πρότερον ἐπαινοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς υπὲρ οὐ δεὶ πράττειν συμβουλεύοντας ἡ τοὺς τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἐργῶν διεξιόντας.

63 Ἰν' οὖν μηδὲ ταῦτ' ἔχωσιν εἰπεῖν, ἀφέμενος τοῦ βοηθείν τοὺς εἰρημένους πειράσομαι μέρους ἐτέρου λόγον τοσοῦτον, ὡσον περ ἄρτι, διελθεὶν ὑμῖν, ἐν ὧ φανήσομαι περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιημένος. ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀρχῇ λεγόμενα περὶ τῆς εἰρήμης τῆς πρὸς Χίους καὶ Ῥοδίους καὶ Βυζαντίους, ἐπιδείξας δ' ὡς συμφέρει τῇ πόλει διαλύσσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον, κατηγορῶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς ἐν τοῖς 'Ελλησ καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν, ἀποφαίνων αὐτὴν οὐδὲν διαφέρον- σαν οὔτε ταῖς πράξεσιν οὔτε τοῖς πάθεσι τῶν μον- αρχῶν· ἀναμμηνησκὼς δὲ καὶ τὰ συμβάντα δι' αὐτὴν τῇ πόλει καὶ Λακεδαιμονίως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί. 64 διαλεξθεῖς δὲ περὶ τούτων, καὶ τὰς τῆς 'Ελλάδος συμφορὰς ὀδυράμενος, καὶ τῇ πόλει παρανέσασ
fought in those days that the orators who had composed discourses on this theme have destroyed them all, being ashamed of their own efforts, while they who to-day are reputed to be clever dare no longer to speak upon this subject, but confess the feebleness of their own powers.

But yet, although these things are true, you will find among those who are unable to create or say anything of value, but are past masters in criticizing and prejudicing the works of others, some who will say that all this is spoken "prettily" (for they will be too grudging to say "well"), but that those discourses are better and more profitable which denounce our present mistakes than those which praise our past deeds, and those which counsel us what we ought to do than those which recount ancient history.

Well, then, in order that I may forestall even this objection, I shall abstain from defending the speech to which you have listened and shall attempt to bring before you a selection of equal length from another oration, in which it will be seen that I have given much attention to all these questions. At the beginning of this oration I speak on the question of making peace with the Chians, the Rhodians, and the Byzantines; and, after I have shown that it is to the advantage of Athens to end the war, I decry our dominion over the Hellenes and our sea-power, showing that it is no whit different, either in its conduct or in its results, from tyranny. I recall also the evils which that power has brought upon Athens, upon the Lacedaemonians, and upon all the others. After having dwelt upon this subject, deplored the misfortunes of Hellas, and urged Athens not to allow
ISOCRATES

66

ΕΚ ΤΟΤ ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

§ 25—§ 56, § 132—§ 145

67 Δυοίν μὲν τούνων λόγουν ἀκηκοάτε· βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ τρίτου μικρὰ διελθεῖν, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτον γένηται καταφανές ὅτι πάντες οἱ λόγοι πρὸς ἅρετην καὶ δικαιοσύνην συντείνουσιν. ἔστι δ' ὁ μέλλων δειχθῆσθαι Νικοκλεῖ τῷ Κυπρίῳ, τῷ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον βασιλεύοντι, συμβουλεύων ὑδεις δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀρχειν· οὐχ ὀμοίως δὲ γέγραπται, τοῖς ἀνεγνωσμένοις. οὖτοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ λεγόμενον ὀμολογούμενον ἀεὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ καὶ συγκεκλεμένον ἔχουσιν, ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τούναντίῳ ἀπολύσας γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ προτέρου καὶ χωρίς, ὡσπερ τὰ καλούμενα κεφάλαια, ποιήσας, πειράμας διὰ βραχέων ἐκαστὸν ἄνω συμβουλεύων φράσειν.

68 τούτου δ' ἐνεκα ταύτην ἐποιησάμην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἤγομένοις ἐκ τοῦ παραίνειν τὴν τε διάνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου μάλιστ' ὡφελήσειν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τάχιστα δηλώσειν. διὰ τὴν αὐτήν δὲ ταύτην πρόφασιν καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν δεῖξαι προειλόμενη, οὐχ ὡς ἀρίστα τῶν λοιπῶν γεγραμμένον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα φανερὸς γεγονόσφος, διὰ τρόπον εἰθισμαί καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς

69 τούτου δ' ἐνεκα ταύτην ἐποιησάμην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, ἤγομένοις ἐκ τοῦ παραίνειν τὴν τε διάνοιαν τὴν ἐκείνου μάλιστ' ὡφελήσειν καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ τάχιστα δηλώσειν. διὰ τὴν αὐτήν δὲ ταύτην πρόφασιν καὶ νῦν αὐτὸν ὑμῖν δεῖξαι προειλόμενη, οὐχ ὡς ἀρίστα τῶν λοιπῶν γεγραμμένον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τούτου μάλιστα φανερὸς γεγονόσφος, διὰ τρόπον εἰθισμαί καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις καὶ τοῖς

herself to remain in her present state, finally I summon her to a career of justice, I condemn the mistakes she is now making, and I counsel her as to her future policy.

(To the clerk.) Now begin at the point where I start to discuss these matters and read this selection also to the jury.

[Extracts from oration On the Peace 25-56, 132 to the end. See this Vol. pp. 22-43, 90-97.]

You have heard parts of two discourses; I want now to run through a few topics from a third, in order that it may become even more evident to you that all my writings tend toward virtue and justice. The one which is about to be produced before you is addressed to Nicocles of Cyprus, who at that time was king, and is made up of advice to him as to how to rule over his people. It is not, however, composed in the same style as the extracts which have been read. For in them each part is always in accord and in logical connexion with that which goes before; but in this, on the contrary, I detach one part from another, and breaking up the discourse, as it were, into what we call general heads, I strive to express in a few words each bit of counsel which I have to offer. But my reason for writing upon this subject was that I thought my advice would be the best means of aiding his understanding and at the same time the readiest means of publishing my own principles. It was with the same motive that I decided to present this discourse to you on the present occasion, not that it is the best written of my works, but that through it you will best see in what spirit I am wont to deal with princes as well as with
70 δυνάσταις πλησιάζειν φανήσομαι γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν
[325] ἐλευθέρως καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως διελεγμένος, καὶ
οὐ τὸν ἐκείνου πλοῦτον ὅποιε τὴν δύναμιν θερα-
πεύων ἄλλα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπαμώνω, καὶ παρα-
σκευαζὼν καθ’ ὅσον ἦδυνάμην τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς
ὡς οἴοντε πραοτάτην. ὅποι δὲ βασιλεῖ διαλεγό-
μενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοὺς λόγους ἐποιοῦμην,
ἡπον τοῖς ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευμένους σφόδρ’
ἀν παρακελευσάμην τὸ πλῆθος θεραπεῦν.
71 Ἐν μὲν οὖν τῷ προομίῳ καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις λεγο-
μένοις ἐπιτιμῶ ταῖς μοναρχίαις, ὅτι δέον αὐτοῖς
τὴν φρονήσιν ἀσκεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ δὲ
χεῖρον παιδεύονται τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. διαλέχθεις δὲ
περὶ τούτων, παραϊνώ τῷ Νικοκλέι τῇ βασιλείᾳ
μηδ’, ὡς περ ἑρωσύνην εἰληφότα τὴν βασιλείαν,
οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἄλλα τῶν ἠδονῶν ἀμελῆ-
72 σαντα προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπι-
χειρῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο πείθειν αὐτὸν, ὡς χρῆ δεινὸν
νομίζειν, ὅταν ὁρᾶ τοὺς μὲν χεῖρον τῶν βελτίων
ἀρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἀνοικτοτέρους τοὺς φρονιμω-
τέρους προστάττοντας, λέγων ὡς ὅσοι περ ἄν
ἐρρωμενέστερον τὴν τῶν ἄλλων ἀνοιαν ἀτιμάσῃ,
tοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διάνοιαν ἀσκήσει.
Ποιησάμενος οὖν ἀρχὴν ἦν ἐγὼ τελευτήν, ἀνά-
γνωθι καὶ τούτῳ τοῦ λόγου τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος αὐτοῖς.

73 ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΑ
§ 14–§ 39
74 Τῶν μὲν τοῖνον λόγων ἄλις ἡμῖν ἕστω τῶν ἀνα-
yγνωσκομένων καὶ τηλικοῦτο μῆκος ἐχόντων.

a The earliest known mss. omit the rest of the Antidosis
up to the peroration, 310 ff., and so did the earlier editions.
224
private men; for you will see that I have expressed myself to Nicocles as a free man and an Athenian should, not paying court to his wealth nor to his power, but pleading the cause of his subjects, and striving with all my powers to secure for them the mildest government possible. And since in addressing a king I have spoken for his subjects, surely I would urge upon men who live under a democracy to pay court to the people.

Now in the introduction and in the opening words of that discourse I reproach monarchs because they who more than others ought to cultivate their understanding are less educated than men in private station. After discussing this point, I enjoin upon Nicocles not to be easy-going and not to feel that he had taken up the royal office as one takes up the office of a priest, but to put aside his selfish pleasures and give his mind to his affairs. And I try to persuade him also that it ought to be revolting to his mind to see the base ruling over the good and the foolish giving orders to the wise, saying to him that the more vigorously he condemns folly in other men, the more should he cultivate his own understanding. a

(To the clerk.) Now then, begin where I have left off and read to the jury the rest of the discourse.


Now this is the last selection which I shall have the clerk read to you—and the last of such length

Mustoxydis discovered the complete Antidosis in mss. E and Θ, and published the first modern edition of the entire discourse in 1812. See General Introd. pp. xlviii-xlIx.
ISOCRATES

ἐπεὶ μικροῦ γε μέρους τῶν πάλαι γεγραμμένων οὐκ ἂν ἀποσχοίημην, ἀλλ' εἶπομ' ἂν εἰ τί μοι δόξει πρέπον εἶναι τῷ παρόντι καίρῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἄτοπος εἶην, εἰ τοὺς ἄλλους ὅρῶν τοῖς ἐμοῖς χρωμένους ἔγα μόνος ἀπεχοίημην τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πρότερον εἰρήμενων, ἄλλως τε καὶ νῦν ὅτ' οὐ μόνον μικροῖς μέρεσιν ἀλλ' ὕλοις εἶδεσι προελόμην χρήσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν, οὕτως ἂν ἦμῖν συμπίπτῃ, ποιήσομεν.

75 Εἶπον δὲ ποι, πρὶν ἀναγινώσκεσθαι τούτους, ὃς άξιος εἶην οὐ μόνον, εἰ βλαβεροῖς χρωμαὶ τοῖς λόγοις, δοῦναι δίκην ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τοιούτους σώσεις οὔδεις ἄλλος, τῆς μεγίστης τυχεὶν τιμωρίας. εἰ τινὲς οὖν ὑμῶν ὑπέλαβον τότε λιαν ἀλαζονικόν εἶναι καί μέγα τὸ ῥηθέν, οὐκ ἂν δικαῖως ἐτί τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔχοιεν· οἷοι γὰρ ἀποδεδωκέναι τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν καὶ τοιούτους εἶναι τοὺς λόγους τοὺς ἀναγινωσθέντας οἰους περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπεθέμην.

76 βοῦλομαι δ' ὑμῖν διὰ βραχεῶν ἀπολογηθάσθαι περὶ ἐκάστου, καὶ πρῆσαι μάλλον ἐτί καταφανὲς ὡς ἀληθῆ καὶ τότε προεῖπον καὶ νῦν λέγω περὶ αὐτῶν.

Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ποῖος γένοιτ' ἂν λόγος ὀσώτερος ἤ δικαίοτερος τοῦ τοὺς προγόνους ἐγκωμίζοντος ἀξίως τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἑκεῖνων καὶ τῶν ἑργῶν τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς; ἐπειτα τίς ἂν πολιτικούτερος καὶ μάλλον πρέπων τῇ πόλει τοῦ τῆς ἡγεμονίαν ἀποφαίνοντος ἐκ τε τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργεσίων καὶ τῶν κυδύνων ἠμετέραν οὐδαν μᾶλλον ἢ Λακεδαμινών; ἐτί δὲ τίς ἂν περὶ καλλιόων καὶ μειζόνων πραγμάτων τοῦ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπὶ τε τῆν τῶν βαρβάρων στρατεύαν

a See 51.

226
which I shall use; since I am not going to refrain from quoting, at any rate briefly, from my earlier writings, but shall use whatever I may think appropriate to the present occasion. For it would be absurd, when I see other men making use of my words, if I alone should refrain from using what I have written in former days, especially now when I have chosen to repeat to you not merely small parts but whole divisions of my speeches. I shall, therefore, act in this matter as occasion may suggest.

I said, I think, before these selections were read, that I asked not only to be adjudged guilty if my discourses are harmful but to be visited with the heaviest of punishments if they are not incomparable. If any of you then felt that my words were boastful and over-confident, they cannot longer justly be of this opinion; for I think that I have made good my promise and that the discourses which have been read to you are such as from the first I maintained that they were. But I want to say just a word in behalf of each of them and so make it still more manifest that what I then said and what I now say about them is true.

First of all, tell me what eloquence could be more righteous or more just than one which praises our ancestors in a manner worthy of their excellence and of their achievements? Again, what could be more patriotic or more serviceable to Athens than one which shows that by virtue both of our other benefactions and of our exploits in war we have greater claims to the hegemony than the Lacoonians? And, finally, what discourse could have a nobler or a greater theme than one which summons the Hellenes to make an expedition against
παρακαλοῦντος καὶ περὶ τῆς πρὸς ἄλληλοις ὁμονοίας συμβουλεύοντος;

78 Ἔν μὲν τοῖνυν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ περὶ τούτων τυγχάνω διειλεγμένος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ύστεροῖς περὶ ἑλαττόνων μὲν ἡ τηλικοῦτων, οὐ μὴν περὶ ἀ-χρηστοτέρων οὐδ' ἦττον τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων. γνώσεσθε δὲ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν, ἂν παραβάλλητε πρὸς ἐτέρα τῶν εὐδοκιμοῦντων καὶ τῶν ωφελίμων εἶναι δοκοῦντων.

79 Οἶμαι δὴ πάντας ἂν ὀμολογήσαι τοὺς νόμους πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιους εἶναι τῷ βίῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἀλλ' ή μὲν τούτων χρήσις τοῦτ' ωφελεῖν μόνον πέφυκε, τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια τὸ γιγνόμενα πρὸς ἧμᾶς αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ τοῖς λόγοις πείθουσθε τοῖς ἕμοις, ὅλην τὴν Ἑλλάδα καλῶς ἂν διοικοῖτε καὶ δικαίως καὶ τῇ

80 πόλει συμφερόντως· χρή δὲ τοὺς νόμους ἔχοντας περὶ ἀμφότερα μὲν ταῦτα σπουδάζειν, αὐτοῖς δὲ τούτων τὸ μείζον καὶ τὸ πλέονος ἀξίων προτιμάν, ἐπειτὰ κάκεινο γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι νόμους μὲν θεῖαι μυρίοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἰκανοὶ γεγονασιν, εἰπεῖν δὲ περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐκ ἂν πολλοί δυνηθέντεν.

81 Ὡν ἕνεκα τοὺς ἐργον ποιομένους τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους εὐρίσκειν τοσοῦτον χρὴ περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖσθαι τῶν τοὺς νόμους τιθέντων καὶ γραφόντων, ὅσω πέρ εἰσι σπανιώτεροι καὶ χαλεπώτεροι καὶ ψυχῆς φρονιμωτέρας δεόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν, ἄλλως

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*a Cf. Paneg. 39, 40.*
the barbarians and counsels them to be of one mind among themselves?

Well, then, in the first speech I have discoursed upon these themes, and in those later quoted upon matters which, though less lofty, are by no means less fruitful or less advantageous to our city. And you will appreciate the power of these discourses if you will read them side by side with others written by orators of recognized ability and service to mankind.

Now everyone would admit, I think, that our laws have been the source of very many and very great benefits to the life of humanity. But our enjoyment of these laws is a boon which, in the very nature of the case, is limited to the affairs of our state and to the engagements which you enter into with each other; whereas, if you would heed my words, you might direct the whole of Hellas with honour and justice and, at the same time, with advantage to Athens. Men of wisdom ought to concern themselves both for the interests of our city and for the interests of Hellas, but should give preference to the broader and worthier cause; and they ought, furthermore, to appreciate the fact that while any number of men both among the Hellenes and among the barbarians have been able to lay down laws, there are not many who can discourse upon questions of public welfare in a spirit worthy both of Athens and of Hellas.

For these reasons, men who make it their duty to invent discourses of that kind should be held in higher esteem than those who propose and write down laws, inasmuch as they are rarer, have the more difficult task, and must have superior qualities

^b See General Introd. p. xxxii.
82 ΤΕ ΔΗ ΚΑΙ ΒΩΝ. ΟΤΕ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΉΡΧΕΤΟ ΤΟ ΓΕΝΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΩΝ ΆΝΘΡΩΠΩΝ ΓΙΓΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΟΙΚΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ, ΕΙΚΟΣ ΉΝ ΠΑΡΑΠΛΗΣΙΑΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΖΗΤΗΣΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ· ΕΠΕΙΔΗ Δ’ ΕΝΤΑΘΑ ΠΡΟΕΛΗΨΑΜΕΝ ΩΣΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΑΝΑΡΙΘΜΗΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ, ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΝΟΜΩΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΆΡΧΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΛΟΓΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙΝΟΤΑΤΟΥΣ, ΟΥΚΕΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΔΙΑΝΟΙΑΣ 83 ΕΡΓΟΝ ΕΞΕΤΙΝ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΟΥΣ ΤΥΘΕΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΑΙΡΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΠΡΟΫΡΓΟΥ ΑΓΩΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ (ΟΥΔΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΔΕΙ ΖΗΤΕΙΝ ΕΤΕΡΟΥΣ, ΑΛΛΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΑΛΛΟΙΣ ΕΥΔΟΚΙΜΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΠΕΙΡΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΣΥΝΑΓΑΓΕΙΝ, ΘΕΙΟΝ ΌΣΤΙΣ ΑΝ ΟΥΝ ΒΟΥΛΗΘΕΙΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΙΣ), ΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΛΟΓΟΥΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΙ ΔΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΚΑΤΕΛΗΦΘΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΥΝΑΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΒΕΒΗΚΕ: ΛΕΓΟΝΤΕΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΤΑΥΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΙ ΑΝΑΙΣΧΥΝΤΕΙΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΗΡΕΙΝ ΔΟΞΟΥΣΙ, ΚΑΙΝΑ ΔΕ ΖΗΤΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΙΤΟΝΩΣ ΕΥΡΗΣΟΥΣΙ. ΔΙΟΣΠΕΡ ΕΦΑΣΚΟΝ ΑΜΦΟΤΕΡΟΙΣ ΜΕΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΣΘΑΙ ΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙΝ, ΠΟΛΥ ΔΕ ΜΑΛΛΩΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΤΟ ΧΑΛΕΠΩΤΕΡΟΝ ΕΞΕΡΓΑΖΕΣΘΑΙ ΣΥΝΑΙΜΕΝΟΙ.

84 ΑΛΛΑ ΜΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΝ ΠΡΟΣΠΟΙΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΕΙΝ ΗΜΕΙΣ ἄν ΑΛΗΘΕΣΤΕΡΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΧΡΗΣΙΜΩΤΕΡΟΙ ΦΑΝΕΙΜΕΝ ΟΝΤΕΣ. ΟΙ ΜΕΝ ΓΑΡ ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΟΥΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΆΡΕΤΗΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΦΡΟΝΗΣΙΝ ΤΗΝ ὩΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΑΛΛΩΝ ΜΕΝ ΛΥΓΝΟΜΕΝΗΝ, ὩΠ’ ΑΥΤῶΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΤΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΛΕΓΟΜΕΝΗΝ, ΕΓΩ Δ’ ΕΠΙ

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a Cf. Paneg. 32 ff.

b These are the "eristics." See General Introd. pp. xxi, xxv.

230
of mind. Especially is this true in our day; for, at the time when the human race was beginning to come into existence and to settle together in cities,\(^a\) it was natural that their searching should have been for much the same thing; but to-day, on the other hand, when we have advanced to the point where the discourses which have been spoken and the laws which have been laid down are innumerable, and where we single out the oldest among laws and the newest among discourses for our praise, these tasks no longer call for the same understanding; nay, those who have elected to make laws have had at their service a multitude of laws already made (for they have no need to search for new laws, but only to put forth the effort to collect those which are approved in other states, which anyone who so desires can easily do), while those who occupy themselves with oratory, seeing that most subjects have been seized upon and used by others before them, are in the opposite case; for if they repeat the same things which have been said in the past, they will be regarded as shameless babblers, and if they seek for what is new, they will have great difficulty in finding it. That is why I stated that, while both are entitled to your praise, they are the more entitled to it who are able to execute the harder task.

I maintain also that if you compare me with those who profess\(^b\) to turn men to a life of temperance and justice, you will find that my teaching is more true and more profitable than theirs. For they exhort their followers to a kind of virtue and wisdom which is ignored by the rest of the world and is disputed among themselves; I, to a kind which is recognized
85 τὴν ὑπὸ πάντων ὄμολογουμένην. κακεῖνος μὲν ἀπόχρη τοσοῦτον, ἢν ἐπαγαγέσθαι τυνάς τῇ δόξῃ τῇ τῶν ὄνομάτων δυνηθῶσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν ὁμιλίαν, ἔγω δὲ τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν οὐδένα πώποτε φανήσομαι παρακαλέσας ἐπ’ ἐμαυτόν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὅλην πειράμαι πείθειν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν ἐπιχειρεῖν, ἐξ ὅν τούτοις ἡ Ελληνας τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἀπαλλάξουσι.

86 Καὶ τοι τὸν πάντας τοὺς πολίτας προτρέπειν προθυμούμενον πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον καὶ δικαιότερον προστίθαι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, πῶς εἰκὸς τοῦτον τοὺς συνόντας διαφθείρειν; τὸ δὲ τοιούτους λόγους εὐρίσκειν δυνάμενος πονηροὺς ἄν καὶ περὶ πονηρῶν πραγμάτων ζητεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειν, ἀλλώς τε καὶ διαπεραγμένος αὐτῶν ἀπερ ἐγώ; τούτων γὰρ γραφέντων καὶ διαδόθεντων καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον παρὰ πολλοῖς καὶ μάθητας πολλοὺς ἔλαβον, δὲν οὐδεὶς ἄν παρέμεινεν, εἰ μὴ τοιούτοις ὁντα με κατ- ἔλαβον οἶχον περὶ προσεδόκησαν· νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτων γεγενημένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔτη τρία τῶν δὲ τέταρτα συνδιατηθέντων, οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν φανήσεται τῶν παρ’ ἔμοι μεμψάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς, ὅτ’ ἡδή μέλλοιεν ἀποπλεῖν ὡς τοὺς γονέας καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς ἕαυτῶν, οὕτως ἡγάπων τὴν διατριβὴν ὡστε μετὰ πόθου καὶ δακρύων ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν.

Καὶ τοι τὸτερα χρὴ πιστεύειν ὡμᾶς τοὺς σαφῶς ἐπισταμένοις καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὸν τρόπον τὸν ἐμὸν, ἡ τῶ μηδὲν μὲν εἰδότι τῶν ἐμῶν, προηγημένως 232
by all. They, again, are satisfied if through the prestige of their names they can draw a number of pupils into their society; I, you will find, have never invited any person to follow me, but endeavour to persuade the whole state to pursue a policy from which the Athenians will become prosperous themselves, and at the same time deliver the rest of the Hellenes from their present ills.

And yet, when anyone devotes his life to urging all his fellow-countrymen to be nobler and juster leaders of the Hellenes, how is it conceivable that such a man should corrupt his followers? What man possessed of the power to discover discourses of this character would try to search for those that are pernicious and have to do with pernicious things, especially a man who has reaped from his works the rewards which I have had? For the writing and publication of them has won me distinction in many parts of the world and brought me many disciples, no one of whom would have remained with me had they not found in me the very kind of man they expected to find. In fact, although I have had so many pupils, and they have studied with me in some cases three, and in some cases four years, yet not one of them will be found to have uttered a word of complaint about his sojourn with me; on the contrary, when at the last the time would come for them to sail away to their parents or their friends at home, so happy did they feel in their life with me, that they would always take their leave with regret and tears.

Well, then, whom ought you to believe? Those who know intimately both my words and my character, or a sycophant who knows nothing about me
δὲ συκοφαντεῖν; ὃς εἰς τοσοῦτο πονηρίας καὶ τόλμης ἐλήλυθεν, ὡστε γραψάμενοι ὃς λόγους διδάσκω δι’ ὃν πλεονεκτήσουσι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀπόδειξιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν τούτων ἦνεγκε, λέγων δὲ διατετελεκέν ὃς δεινὸν ἔστι διαφθείρεσθαι τοὺς τηλικούτοις, ὥσπερ ἀντιλέγοντός τινος περὶ τούτων, ἢ τούτῳ δέον αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνειν ὃ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν, ἄλλ’ οὐκ ἐκεῖνο μόνον διδάσκειν ὃς ἐγὼ τυγχάνω ταῦτα διαπραττόμενος. καὶ εἰ μὲν τοῖς τούτων ἀπαγαγῶν ἀνδραποδιστήν καὶ κλέπτην καὶ λωποδύτην μηδὲν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνοι τούτων εἰργασμένον, διεξίοι δ’ ὃς δεινὸν ἕκαστὸν ἔστι τῶν κακουργημάτων, ληρεὶν ὃν φαίη καὶ μαίνεσθαι τὸν κατήγορον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοιούτοις λόγοις κεχρη- τὸν πιστάς εἶναι καὶ μέγα δυναμένας τῶν κατηγορίων οὐκ ἀς ἔξεστι χρήσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν μηδὲν ἠδικηκότων, ἄλλ’ ἃς οὐχ οἴοντ’ εἴπειν ἄλλ’ ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων. ὃν αὐτὸς ὀλγωρήσας οὐδὲν προσήκοντας τῇ γραφῇ λόγους εἰρήκειν.

92 ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς λόγους δεικνύει μόνος, οἷς διαφθείρω τοὺς συνόντας, καὶ τοὺς μαδητὰς φράζειν τοὺς χείρως διὰ τὴν συνοπίαν τὴν ἐμὴν γεγενημένους· νῦν δὲ τούτων μὲν οὐδέ- τερον πεποίηκε, παραλαπών δὲ τὴν δικαιοτάτην τῶν κατηγορίων ἐξαπατῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπεχείρησεν.
at all, but has chosen to make me his victim? Ought you to believe a man who is so unscrupulous and so brazen that, having indicted me for teaching the kind of eloquence which enables people to gain their own advantage contrary to justice, he has not brought before you the slightest evidence of this but has dwelt from the beginning to the end of his speech on the iniquity of corrupting our youth—as if anyone disputed that, or as if it were necessary for him to prove what all men concede, instead of showing simply that I have been guilty of this offence? Why, if anyone were to bring this fellow to trial for kidnapping or stealing or highway robbery, and, instead of proving that he had done any of these things, were to hold forth on the iniquity of each of these crimes, my opponent would reply that his accuser was mad and talked like a fool; yet he has, himself, used just such arguments and thinks that you do not see through him. I, however, believe that even the most simple-minded of people recognize that an accusation, to be convincing and to carry great weight, must not be one which may be employed equally well against the innocent, but one which can be applied only to the guilty. My accuser has made light of this fact, and has made a speech which is in no respect pertinent to the indictment. For he ought both to have produced before you the speeches by which I corrupt my associates and to have named to you the pupils who have been debased by association with me. However, he has done neither of these things, but has rejected the most legitimate form of accusation and attempted to lead you astray. I, on the contrary,

a Cf. Plato, Apology 33 a, b.
ἔγω δ’ εξ αὐτῶν τούτων εξ ὧν περ προσήκει καὶ δικαίον ἐστιν, ποιήσομαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν.

93 Καὶ τοὺς μὲν λόγους ὀλίγω πρότερον ἀνέγνωςεν ὑμῖν, τοὺς δὲ κεχρημένους ἐκ μειρακίων μοι μέχρι γῆρως δηλώσω, καὶ μάρτυρας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν παρέξομαι περὶ ὧν ᾧν λέγω τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν τὴν ἐμὴν γεγενημένους.

"Ηρξαντὸ μὲν οὖν ἐν πρώτοις Εὐνομός μοι καὶ Λυσιθείδης καὶ Κάλλιππος πλησίαζεν, μετὰ δὲ τούτους ’Ονήτωρ, ’Αντικῆς, Φιλωνίδης, Φιλό-94 μῆλος, Χαρμαντίδης. τούτους ἀπαντας ἥ πόλεις χρυσοῖς στεφάνοις ἐστεφάνωσεν, οὕς ὡς τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐφιημένους, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς ὁμοίακαὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἴδιων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀν-
ηλικότας.

Πρὸς οὕς ὅπως βουλέσθη θέτε με διακεῖσθαι.95 πρὸς γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πανταχῶς ἔξει μοι καλῶς. ἢν τε γὰρ ὑπολάβητε σύμβουλον εἶναι με καὶ διδά-
σκαλον τούτων, δικαίως ἢν ἔχοιτε μοι πλεῖω χάριν ἢ τοῖς δὲ ἀρετὴν ἐν πρυτανείῳ σιτουμένοις-
tούτων μὲν γὰρ ἐκαστός αὐτὸν μόνον παρέσχε καλὸν κἀγαθόν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτους τὸ πλῆθος
96 ὅσους ὀλίγω πρότερον διήλθον ὑμῖν. εἰ τε τῶν μὲν πεπραγμένων ἐκεῖνοι μηδὲν συναίτιος ἐγενό-
μην, ὡς ἑταῖροι δὲ καὶ φίλοις αὐτῶς ἐχρώμην, ἢκανήν ὑπὲρ ὧν φεύγω τὴν γραφὴν ἡγοῦμαι καὶ

α For the pupils of Isocrates see Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit ii. pp. 17 ff.

β It was common in the fourth century for Athens to recognize public services in this way. Cf. the contest between Demosthenes and Aeschines On the Crown.

236
shall base my defence only on grounds which are pertinent and just.

I had my speeches read to you a moment ago; I shall now bring before you the men who have been associated with me from the time of my youth to the days of my old age, and from your own number I shall present men of my own years to bear witness to the truth of what I say.

Among the first to begin studying with me were Eunomus, Lysitheides, and Callippus; and following them were Onetor, Anticles, Philonides, Philomelus, and Charmantides. All these men were crowned by Athens with chaplets of gold, not because they were covetous of other people's possessions, but because they were honourable men and had spent large sums of their private fortunes upon the city.

Suppose whatever you like as to the nature of my relations with them; for the result, at any rate so far as the present issue is concerned, will be altogether to my advantage. For if you suppose that I was their counsellor and teacher, I should deserve from you greater gratitude than those who are maintained in the Prytaneum in recognition of excellence; for each of the latter has furnished to the city his own high qualities alone, whereas I have furnished those of all whom I have just now named to you. But if, on the other hand, you suppose that I, myself, had nothing to do with their achievements, but that I merely enjoyed their society and friendship, I consider that even this view is defence enough against the charges on which

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* In the Prytaneum were entertained at state expense honoured guests and benefactors of Athens. See Plato, *Apology* 36 d, which has clearly inspired this passage.
ISOCRATES

ταύτην εἶναι τὴν ἀπολογίαν· εἰ γὰρ τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἀρετὴν δωρεάς εἰληφόσιν ἢρεσκον, τῷ δὲ συκοφάντῃ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐξω γνώμην, πῶς ἂν εἰκότως

97 γνωσθείην τοὺς συνόντας διαφθείρειν; ἦ πάντων γ’ ἃν εἴην δυστυχέστατος, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν συνουσίων τῶν μὲν χείρω τῶν δὲ βελτίων δόξαν λαμβανόντων ἐγὼ μόνος μὴ τύχωμι τῆς δοκιμασίας ταύτης, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος μὲν ἀνδράσι συμβεβηκὼς, ἀνέγκλητον δὲ ἐμαυτὸν μέχρι ταυτησὶ τῆς ἔλλειψας παρεσχηκὸς, ὁμοιός εἶναι δόξαμι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συνουσίων διαβεβλημένοις. ἦδέως δ’ ἃν εἰδείην τί ποτ’ ἂν ἐπαθοῦν, εἰ τίς μοι τοιοῦτος ἦν συγγεγενημένος οἶδο πέρ ἐστιν ὁ κατήγορος, ὅς μισῶν ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς τοιούτους καὶ μισούμενος εἰς τουτοὶ καθέστικα τὸν κίνδυνον.

98 Καὶ μὴν οὖδ’ ἐκεῖνος ὁ λόγος δικαίως ἂν με βλάψειεν, διὸ ἢσως ἂν τινὲς τολμήσαειν εἰπείν τῶν παντάπασι πρὸς μὲ δυσκόλως διακειμένων, ὡς τοιοῦτος μὲν οἷς εἰρηκα τοσοῦτον μόνον ἔχρωμην ὅσον ὄφθηκαι διαλεγόμενος, ἔτεροι δὲ τινές μοι πολλοὶ καὶ πολυπράγμονες μαθηταὶ γεγόνασιν, οὓς ἀποκρύπτομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐχὼ γὰρ λόγον ὅς ἐξελέγξει καὶ διαλύσει πάσας τὰς τοιάσδε

99 βλασφημίας. 1 ἀξιῶ γὰρ, εἰ μὲν τινὶς τῶν ἐμοὶ συγγεγενημένων ἀνδρὲς ἁγαθοὶ γεγόνασι περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὸν ἵδιον οἶκον, ἐκεῖνος ὑμᾶς ἑπαίνειν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μηδεμιὰν ὑπὲρ τούτων

1 ἐχὼ γὰρ λόγον ὅς ἐξελέγξει καὶ διαλύσει πάσας τὰς τοιάσδε βλασφημίας· ἘΘ: ομ. Γ.

238
I am being tried. For if I have had the affection of men who have received rewards in recognition of excellence, but have nothing in common with the sycophant, then how, in all reason, could you judge me to be a corrupter of youth? Verily, I should be the most unfortunate of all men if, when others are esteemed better or worse, as the case may be, from the manner of their lives and from the character of their associates, I alone should be denied this basis of judgement; and if I, who have lived all my life in company with such men, and have kept myself above all criticism up to this point in my career, should be classed with those who from the manner of their lives and the character of their associates have got themselves a bad name. I should like to know what in the world my fate would have been if I had numbered among my associates anyone like my accuser, when, although I hate all his kind and am hated by them, I am yet subjected to this trial.

Nor, I assure you, can my case be justly injured by the argument which certain of those who are entirely hostile to me may, perhaps, dare to put forth, namely, that I have associated with the men I have mentioned merely to the extent of having been seen conversing with them, whereas I have had as my disciples many of another sort, mischievous characters, whom I am trying to conceal from you. For I have ready at hand a reply which will refute and confound all calumnies of that sort. For I ask this of you: If any of those who have been associated with me have turned out to be good men in their relations to the state, to their friends, and to their own households—I ask you to give them the praise and not to be grateful to me on their account; but
χάριν ἔχειν, εἰ δὲ πονηροὶ καὶ τοιοῦτοι τὰς φύσεις οἰον φαίνειν καὶ γραφεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων 100 ἐπιθυμεῖν, παρ' ἐμοὶ δίκην λαμβάνειν. καίτοι τίς ἂν πρόκλησις γένοιτο ταύτης ἀνεπιθυμοτέρα, καὶ δικαιοσέρα τῆς τῶν μὲν καλῶν κάγαθων ὅτι ἀμφισβητοῦσης, εἰ δὲ τινὲς πονηροὶ γεγόνασιν, ὑπὲρ τούτων δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ἐθελοῦσης; καὶ ταῦτ' ὦ λόγος μάτην εὑρημένοις ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ παραχωρῶ καὶ τῷ κατηγόρῳ καὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ τις ἔχει τινὰ φράσαι τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ὃς οὐχ ἢδεως ἂν τινῶν μου καταφευσμένων, ἀλλ' ὃς εὐθὺς φανερῶν ἔσομένων ὑμῖν καὶ τῆς ξημίας 101 ἐκείνως ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμοὶ γενησομένης. περὶ μὲν οὖν ὃν φεῦγω τὴν γραφήν καὶ τοῦ μὴ διαφθείρειν τοὺς συνόντας, οὐκ οίδ' ὅπως ἀν σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξαι δυνηθείην.

'Εμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τῆς πρὸς Τιμόθεον μοι φιλίας γεγενημένης, καὶ διαβάλλειν ἡμᾶς ἀμφοτέρους ἐπεχείρησε, καὶ οὐκ ἠχήνθη περὶ ἀνδρός τετελευτηκότος καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον τῇ πόλει βλασφήμος καὶ λίαν ἁσελγείς λόγους εἶπὼν. 102 ἐγὼ δ' ὃμην μὲν, εἰ καὶ φανερῶς ἐξηλεγχόμην ἀδικῶν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον φιλίαν σωζέσθαι μοι προσῆκεν: ἐπειδὴ δὲ Λυσίμαχος καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις

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a An offer to yield the floor to an opponent followed by a pause, as here, is common in court pleas. Cf. Plato, Apology 34 a.

b Timotheus, the son of Conon and the favourite pupil of Isocrates, was first appointed to an important command in 378 B.C. From that time on for twenty-two years he was one of the prominent generals in Athenian campaigns. In 357 he was associated with Iphicrates, Menestheus, and Chares in command of the Athenian navy. For his alleged
if, on the other hand, any of them have turned out to be bad—the kind of men who lay information, hale people into court, and covet the property of others—then to let the penalty be visited on me. What proposition could be less invidious or more fair than one which claims no credit for those who are honourable, but offers to submit to punishment for any who have become depraved? And these are no idle words; on the contrary, if anyone can name anyone of that kind to you, I yield the floor for this purpose to my accuser or to anyone else who may desire it—not that there are not persons who would gladly perjure themselves to my harm, but that they would be shown up to you at once, and the injury would fall upon them, not upon me . . . Well, then, I do not see how I could show more clearly that the charges filed against me are false and that I am not guilty of corrupting my associates.

My accuser has mentioned also the friendship which existed between me and Timotheus, and has attempted to calumniate us both, nor did any sense of shame restrain him from saying slanderous and utterly infamous things about a man who is dead, to whom Athens is indebted for many services. But I, for my part, should have thought that even if I were proved guilty beyond a doubt, yet because of my friendship with him I should be entitled to go free. But since Lysimachus is attempting to hurt me by misconduct in this command he was tried in Athens (356 B.C. according to Diodorus) and condemned to pay an enormous fine of 100 talents. See § 129 and note. Unable to pay this, he withdrew to Chalcis in Euboea, where he died shortly after. See Grote, History, vol. xi. pp. 27 ff. The eulogy of Timotheus here is a characteristic "digression." See General Introd. p. xvi.
ISOCRATES

ἐπικεφαλέα ΜΕ βλάπτειν ἡδ οὖν δικαίως ἀν ωφελομένη, ἀναγκαίως ἔχει διαλεξθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Διὰ τοῦτο δὲ οὖχ ἀμα περὶ τούτον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐποιησάμην τὴν μνείαν, ὅτι πολὺ τὰ
103 πράγματα διέφερεν αὐτῶν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνων οὐδὲν φλαῦρον εἶπεῖν ὁ κατήγορος ἐτόλμησε, περὶ
dὲ τὴν Τιμοθέου κατηγορίαν μᾶλλον ἐσπούδασεν ἢ
περὶ οὖν ἀπήνεγκε τὴν γραφήν· ἐπειθ' οἱ μὲν ὁλίγων
ἐπεστάτησαν, τῶν δὲ ἐκάστως προσταχθέντων οὕτως
ἐπεμελήθησαν ὡστε τυχεῖν τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ὁλίγω
πρότερον ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεχθεῖσης, ὁ δὲ πολλῶν καὶ
μεγάλων πραγμάτων καὶ πολλῶν χρόνων κατέστη
κύριος. ὡστ' οὖν ἢρμοσεν ἀμα περὶ τούτον
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρήσασθαι τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως εἶχεν οὕτως διελέσθαι καὶ διατάξασθαι
περὶ αὐτῶν.

104 Χρῆ δὲ τὸν ὑπέρ ἐκείνου λόγου οὖν ἀλλότριον
eἶναι νομίζειν τοῖς ἐνεστώσι πράγμασι, οὐδ' ἐμὲ
λέγειν ἐξω τῆς γραφῆς· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἱδιώταις
ὑπὲρ οὖν ἐκαστος ἐπραξεῖ προσήκει διαλεξθεῖσι
καταβαίνειν ἢ δοκεῖν περιεργάζεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ὑπο-
λαμβανομένοις συμβούλοις εἶναι καὶ διδασκάλοις
ὀμοίως ὑπὲρ τῶν συγγεγενημένων ὡσπερ ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν ἀναγκαίον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἂπολογίαν, ἀλλ'σ
τ' ἢν καὶ τύχης τε διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην κρινό-
μενος· ο̣̊ περὶ ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκεν.

105 'Εστέρῳ μὲν οὖν ἀπέχρησεν ἀν τοῦτ' εἶπεῖν, ὡς
οὗ δίκαιον ἔστι μετέχειν εἰ τι Τιμόθεος πράττων
242
the very means which ought to help my case, I am compelled to go into this question.

I must explain that I did not mention Timotheus when I named my other associates because he was in very different case from them. For, in the first place, my accuser has not dared to say anything derogatory of my other friends, while he has laid greater stress upon his arraignment of Timotheus than upon the charges which he has preferred in his indictment. In the next place, my other friends were entrusted with only a few commissions, although in every case they discharged the duties assigned to them in such a manner that they won the honour which I mentioned a moment ago, while Timotheus had the responsibility of many affairs of great importance and over a long period of time. It would not, therefore, have been fitting to discuss him and the others in one group, but it was necessary to separate and segregate them as I have done.

You must not think, however, that what I say in behalf of Timotheus is irrelevant to the present case, nor that I am straying beyond the limits of the indictment; for while it is proper for the layman to say what he has to say in defence of his own actions and then take his seat or else to be thought to overdo his case, yet when anyone occupies a position in the eyes of the public as a counsellor and teacher, he must then justify his followers as well as himself, especially if he is being tried on this charge—which is exactly the position in which I have been placed.

Now any other man might be satisfied to say that it is not fair that he should share the blame for any mistakes which Timotheus may have made, on the

\(^a\) See 94.
μὴ κατώρθωσεν· οὔδε γὰρ τῶν δωρεῶν οὔδε τῶν τιμῶν οὔδεις αὐτῷ μετέδωκε τῶν ἐκείνων ψηφισθεισῶν, ἄλλ' οὔδ' ἐπαινέσαι τῶν ῥητόρων οὔδεις ἥξιωσεν ὡς σύμβουλον γεγενημένων· εἶναι δὲ δίκαιον ἢ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινωνεῖν ἢ μηδὲ τῶν ἀτυχιῶν ἀπολαύειν. ἔγω δὲ ταῦτα μὲν αἰσχυνθείσην ἂν εἶπεῖν, τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ποιοῦμαι πρόκλησιν ἢν περ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων· ἀξιῶ γὰρ, εἰ μὲν κακὸς ἄνὴρ γέγονε Τιμόθεος καὶ πολλὰ περὶ ύμᾶς ἐξήμαρτε, μετέχειν καὶ δίκην διδόναι καὶ πάσχειν ὅμοια τοῖς αἰδικοῦσιν· ἢν δ' ἐπιδειχθῇ καὶ πολίτης ὃν ἀγαθὸς καὶ στρατηγὸς τουώτος οἶος οὔδεὶς ἄλλος ὃν ἠμείς ἐσμεν, ἐκεῖνον μὲν οἷμαι δεῖν ύμᾶς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ, περὶ δὲ ταυτησὶ τῆς γραφῆς ἐκ τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπραγμένων, ὃ τι ἢν ύμῖν δίκαιον εἶναι δοκῆ, τούτῳ γιγνώσκειν.

107 Ἀθροοῦταιον μὲν οὖν τούτ' εἶπεῖν ἔχω περὶ Τιμοθέου καὶ μάλιστα καθ' ἀπάντων, ὥστε τοσοῦτας ἤρηκε πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ὅσα οὔδεὶς πώποτε τῶν ἐστρατηγικῶτων, οὕτε τῶν ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως οὕτε τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἐλλάδος, καὶ τούτων ἐνίας, ὥσιν ληψθεισῶν ἀπας ὁ τόπος ὁ περιέχων οἰκεῖος ἡγαγκάσθη τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι·

108 τηλικαύτην ἐκάστη δύναμιν εἴχε. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδε Κόρκυραν μὲν ἐν ἐπικαιροτάτῳ καὶ κάλλιστα κειμένην τῶν περὶ Πελοπόννησον, Σάμον δὲ τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ, Σηστόν δὲ καὶ Κρηστῆς τῶν ἐν Ἐλλήσ-
ground that he was given no share in the rewards or the honours which were voted to Timotheus, nor was he even thought worthy by any orator of being commended as an adviser of the latter, and that it is only fair that one should either share the good fortunes of another, or have no part in his misfortunes. I, however, should be ashamed to make this plea, and I make you the same proposition regarding Timotheus as I made regarding my other associates. For I ask that if it turns out that Timotheus was a bad man and committed many wrongs against you—I ask to be allowed to share the blame, to pay the penalty, and to suffer whatever is meted out to the guilty; but if, on the other hand, it is shown that he was both a good citizen and a greater general than any other within our knowledge, then I hold that you should praise him and be grateful to him, while as to this indictment against me, you should pass whatever judgement you may deem fair in the light of what I, myself, have done.

The facts, then, about Timotheus I can put most concisely and in the most comprehensive terms by saying that he has taken more cities by storm than any other man has ever done, and I include all generals who have led armies into the field whether from Athens or from the rest of Hellas. And among these cities were some whose capture compelled all the surrounding territory to make terms with Athens; so great was their importance in each case. For who does not know that Corecyra has the best strategic position among the cities in the neighbourhood of the Peloponnese; Samos, among the cities of Ionia; Sestos and Crithôte, among those in the Helles-
pόντω, Ποτίδαιαν δὲ καὶ Τορώνη τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης;

"Ἄς ἐκεῖνος ἄπασας κτησάμενος παρέδωκεν ὑμῖν, οὐ διαπάναις μεγάλαις, οὔτε τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας συμμάχους λυμηνάμενος, οὔτε πολλὰς ὑμᾶς εἰσφορᾶς ἀναγκάσας εἴσενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν τὸν περίπλουν τοῖς περὶ Πελοπόννησον τρία καὶ δέκα μόνον τάλαντα δοῦσις αὐτῷ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τριήρεις πεντήκοντα Κόρκυραν εἶλε, πόλιν ὤγδοκοντα τριήρεις κεκτημένην, καὶ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Λακεδαίμονιοι ἐνίκησε ναυμαχῶν, καὶ ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἴνα γάκασε συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἢ τοσαύτην μεταβολὴν ἐκατέρα τῶν πόλεων ἐποίησεν,

καθ' ἡμᾶς μὲν ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας θύεων αὐτῇ καθ' ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐναυτὸν ὡς οὐδεμιᾶς ἄλλης οὕτω τῇ πόλει συνενεγκούσης, Λακεδαίμονίων δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου τὸν χρόνον μηδ' υφ' ἐνὸς ἐωράσθαι μήτε ναυτικὸν ἐντὸς Μαλέας περιπλέον μήτε πεζὸν στρατόπεδον διὰ τοῦ Ἰσθμοῦ πορευόμενον, ὅπερ αὐτοῖς τῆς περὶ Λεύκτρα συμφορᾶς εὐροὶ τις ἄν αὐτίων γεγενημένον.

Μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς πράξεις ἐπὶ Σάμου στρατεύσας, ἦν Περικλῆς ὁ μεγίστην ἐπὶ σοφία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη δόξαν εἰληφὼς ἀπὸ διακοσίων νεῶν καὶ χιλίων ταλαντῶν κατεπολέμησεν.

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a Special taxes levied for military purposes.

b Sixty, according to Xen. Hell. v. 4. 63.

c This campaign took place in 375. It was followed up the next year by a peace patched up between Athens and Sparta. Nothing is known about the terms of this peace, but in any case it was promptly broken. See Grote, History, vol. ix. pp. 348 ff. Isocrates seems to refer, not to that temporary truce, but to the important "Peace of Callias" in 246.
pont; and Potidaea and Torone among the settlements in Thrace?

All these cities he has taken and presented to you, with no great outlay of money, without imposing burdens upon your present allies, and without forcing you to pay many taxes into the treasury. Indeed, for the voyage of the fleet around the Peloponnesse, Athens allowed him only thirteen talents and fifty triremes, and yet he captured Coreyra, a city with a fleet of eighty triremes, and about the same time he won a naval battle over the Lacedaemonians and forced them to agree to the terms of the present peace—a peace which has so changed the relative positions of Athens and of Lacedaemon that from that day to this we celebrate the peace with sacrifices every year because no other treaty has been so advantageous to our city; while, as for the Lacedaemonians, no man since that time has seen a ship of theirs voyage this side of Malea nor any land force advance beyond the Isthmus, and anyone can see in this fact the cause of their disaster at Leuctra.

After these exploits he led an expedition against Samos; and that city which Pericles, renowned above all others for his wisdom, his justice, and his moderation, reduced with a fleet of two hundred ships and the expenditure of a thousand talents, which virtually gave Athens the command of the sea, limiting Sparta to the land, and weakening her, according to Isocrates, for the decisive clash with the Theban power at Leuctra in the same year. See Grote, History, vol. ix. pp. 331 ff. The southern cape of the Peloponnesus. Captured by Timotheus in 366 B.C. For the campaign see Grote, History, vol. x. pp. 54 ff. Pericles was one of the generals who put down the revolt of Samos from the Athenian Confederacy in 440 B.C. See Thuc. i. 116.
ISOCRATES

μησε, ταύτην οὔτε πλέον οὔτε ἐλαττον παρ' ὑμῶν λαβών οὔτε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐκλέγασα, ἐν δέκα μησιν ἐξεπολύρκησαν ὀκτακωσκυλίους πελτασταίς καὶ τρυήσει τριάκοντα, καὶ τούτοις ἀπάσιν ἐκ τῆς 112 πολεμίας τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ τοι τοιοῦτον ἔργον ἄν τις ἄλλος φανὴ πεποιηκώς, ὀμολογῶ ληρεῖν, ὅτι διαφερόντως ἐπαινεῖν ἐπιχειρῶ τὸν οὐδὲν περιττότερον τῶν ἄλλων διαπεπραγμένον.

'Εντεύθεν τοῖνυν ἀναπλεύσας Σηστῶν καὶ Κριθώτην ἔλαβε, καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἀμελουμένης Χερρονήσου προσέχειν ὑμᾶς αὐτὴ τὸν νῦν ἑποίησε. 113 τὸ δὲ τελευταίον Ποτίδαιαν, εἰς ἣν ἡ πόλις τετρακόσια καὶ δισχίλια τάλαντα τὸ πρότερον ἀνήλωσε, ταύτην εἰλεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπόρισε καὶ τῶν συντάξεων τῶν ἀπὸ Θράκης· καὶ προσέτε Χαλκιδεῖς ἀπαντᾷς κατεπολέμησαν.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἄλλα διὰ βραχέων εἰπεῖν, τεττάρων καὶ εἰκοσι πόλεων κυρίους ὑμᾶς ἑποίησεν ἐλάττων δαπανήσας ὑπὸ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν Μηλίων πολιορκίαν ἀνήλωσαν.

114 Ἡβουλόμην δ' ἂν, ὥσπερ ἐξαιριθμήσαι τὰς πράξεις ῥάδιον γέγονεν, οὕτως οἶντ' εἶναι συντόμως δηλώσαι τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς ἔκαστα τούτων ἐπράξθη, καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὡς εἰχε, καὶ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν αἱ τ' εὐεργεσίαι μείζους κάκεινος πλείονος ἄξιοι ἐδοξεὶν εἶναι. νῦν δὲ ταύτα μὲν ἐάσω διὰ τὸ πλῆθος.

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a Sestos and Crithôte were acquired for Athens by Timotheus as a part of the Samos (Asia Minor) campaign.

b The “Thracian” campaign, in the course of which he

248
Timotheus, without receiving from you or collecting from your allies any money whatsoever, captured after a siege of ten months with a force of eight thousand light-armed troops and thirty triremes, and he paid all these forces from the spoils of war. And if you can point to any other man who has done a like thing, I stand ready to admit my folly in attempting to praise superlatively one who has done no more than others.

Well, then, from Samos he sailed away and captured Sestos and Crithôte, forcing you, who up to that time had been careless of your interests in the Chersonese, to give your attention to that territory. And finally he took Potidaea, upon which Athens had in times past squandered twenty-four hundred talents, and he met the expense from money which he himself provided and from contributions of the Thracians; and, for full measure, he reduced all the Chalcideans to subjection.

To speak, not in detail, but in summary, he made you masters of twenty-four cities and spent in doing so less than your fathers paid out in the siege of Melos.

I could wish that just as it has been quite easy to recount his exploits, so it were possible to picture briefly the circumstances under which each of them was accomplished—what the situation was in Athens in each case and what the strength of our foes—, for you would then have been made to appreciate much more highly the worth of his achievements and of the man himself. As it is, the subject is so large that I must leave it untouched.

'Ἡγούμαι δ' ύμᾶς ἡδέως ἃν ἀκούσαι διὰ τί ποτὲ τῶν μὲν εὐδοκιμοῦντων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ύμῖν καὶ πολεμικῶν εἶναι δοκοῦντων οúde κάμην ἐνιοὶ λαβεῖν ἡδυνήθησαν, Τιμόθεος δ' οὕτε τὴν τοῦ σώματος φύσιν ἔχων ἐρρωμένην οὔτ' ἐν τοῖς στρατοπέδοις τοῖς πλανωμένοις κατατετριμμένος, ἀλλ' ὅ μεθ' ύμῶν πολιτευόμενος τηλικαύτα διεπρά-ξατο τὸ μέγεθος. ἔστι δ' ὁ λόγος ὃ περὶ τούτων φιλαπεχθήμων μὲν, ῥήθηναι δ' οὖκ ἀσύμφορος.

116 ἐκείνος γὰρ τούτω τῶν ἄλλων δυνήσει, ὅτι περὶ τῶν Ἔλληνων καὶ συμμαχικῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς τούτων οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν ύμῶν γνώμην εἴχεν. ύμεῖς μὲν γὰρ χειροτονεῖτε στρατη-γοὺς τοὺς εὐρωστοτάτους τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πολ-λάκις ἐν τοῖς ἑνικοῖς στρατεύμασι γεγενημένους, ὡς διὰ τούτων διαπραξόμενοί τι τῶν δεόντων. ὁ δὲ τοῖς μὲν τοιοῦτοις λοχαγοῖς ἐξήρητο καὶ ταξιάρ-χοις, αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ ταῦτα δεινὸς ἦν, περὶ ἀπερ χρῆ φρόνιμον εἶναι τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀγαθὸν.

"Εστι δὲ ταῦτα τίνα δύναμιν ἔχοντα; δεὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς φράσαι περὶ αὐτῶν. πρῶτον μὲν δύνασθαι γνῶναι πρὸς τίνας πολε-μιτέοιν καὶ τίνας συμμάχους ποιητέοιν. ἄρχῃ γὰρ αὐτὴ στρατηγίας ἐστιν, ἢς ἂν διαμάρτη τις, ἀνάγκη τὸν πόλεμον ἀσύμφορον καὶ χαλεπὸν καὶ περίεργον ἐίναι. περὶ τοῖνυν τὴν τοιαῦτην προαιρέσιν οὐ μόνον οúdeις τοιοῦτος γέγονεν, ἀλλ' οúde παρα-πλήσιος. ῥάδιον δ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων γνώναι: πλείστους γὰρ πολέμους ἄνευ τῆς πόλεως ανελό-

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a With specific reference to Chares, the rival and enemy of Timotheus. See Plutarch, Moralia 187, 188.

250
ANTIDOSIS, 115–118

But I think you would like to have me explain to you why in the world it is that some of the generals who have a high reputation among you and are thought to be great fighters have not been able to take even a village, while Timotheus, who lacks a robust physique and has not knocked about with itinerant armies but has shared with you the duties of a citizen, has accomplished such great things. What I have to say on this question will no doubt be offensive, but it will not be without profit for you to hear it. Timotheus was superior to all the rest in that he did not hold the same views as you with regard to the affairs of the Hellenes and of your allies and the manner in which they should be directed. For you elect as your generals men who have the most robust bodies and who have served in many campaigns with foreign armies, thinking that under their leadership you will have some success. Timotheus, on the other hand, used these men as captains and division-commanders, while he, himself, showed his ability in the very things which it is necessary for a good general to know.

What, then, are the requisites of a good general and what ability do they involve? For they cannot be summed up in a word, but must be explained clearly. First of all is the ability to know against whom and with whose help to make war; for this is the first requisite of good strategy, and if one makes any mistake about this, the result is inevitably a war which is disadvantageous, difficult, and to no purpose. Well, in this kind of sagacity there has never been anyone like him or even comparable with him, as may easily be seen from his deeds themselves. For, although he undertook most of his wars without
μενος, ἀπαντάς τούτους κατάρθωσε καὶ δικαίως ἀπασι τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἔδοξεν αὐτοὺς ποιήσασθαι, καὶ τοι τοῦ καλῶς βουλεύσασθαι τίς ἂν ἀπόδειξιν ἔχοι σαφεστέραν καὶ μείζω ταύτης παρασχέσθαι;

119 Δεύτερον τι προσήκει τὸν στρατηγὸν τὸν ἀγαθὸν; στρατόπεδον συναγαγεῖν ἀρμόττον τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ παρόντι, καὶ τούτῳ συντάξαει καὶ χρήσασθαι συμφερόντως. ὥσ μὲν τοῖνυν ἠπίστατο χρήσθαι καλῶς, αἱ πράξεις αὐταὶ δεδηλώκασιν ὡς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ παρασκευάσασθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίως ἀπάντων διήνεγκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν οὔδεις ἂν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν τολμήσειν. ἔτι τοιῶν πρὸς τούτους ἀπορίας ἐνεγκεῖν στρατόπεδον καὶ πενίας, καὶ πάλιν εὐπορίας εὐρείως, τίς οὐκ ἂν τῶν συνεστρατευμένων πρὸς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα διαφέρειν ἐκείνων προκρίνειν; συνύσασι γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖς τῶν πολέμων διὰ τὸ μηδὲν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως λαμβάνειν εἰς τὸς ἐσχάτις ἐνδείας καθιστάμενον, ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰς τούτο τὰ πράγματα περιστάναι δυνάμενον, ὡστε καὶ τῶν πολεμίων περιγίγνεσθαι καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις εὐτελεῖς ἀποδίδοναι τοὺς μισθοὺς.

120 Οὕτω τοιῶν τοῦτων μεγάλων οὐτῶν καὶ σφόδρα κατεπειγόντων, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔχομενοις δικαίως ἂν τις αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπαινέσειν. ὅρων γὰρ ὡμᾶς τούτους μόνους ἄνδρας νομίζοντας, τοὺς ἀπελούντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκφοβοῦντας τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἀεί τι νεωτερίζοντας ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις, οὐκ ἐπηκολουθήσε ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, οὐδ' ἦβου-λήθη βλάπτων τὴν πόλιν εὐδοκιμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούτοις

1 τῶν πολεμίων Benseler: τῷ πολέμῳ mss.
support from the city, he brought them all to a successful issue, and convinced all the Hellenes that he won them justly. And what greater or clearer proof of his wise judgement could one adduce than this fact?

What, then, is the second requisite of a good general? It is the ability to collect an army which is adequate to the war in hand, and to organize and to employ it to good advantage. Now, that Timotheus understood how to employ his forces to good purpose, his achievements themselves have shown; that in the ability to recruit armies which were splendidly equipped and reflected honour upon Athens he excelled all other men, no one even of his enemies would dare to gainsay; and, furthermore, in the power both to bear the privations and hardships of army life, and again to find abundant resources, who of the men who were with him in the field would not pronounce him incomparable? For they know that at the beginning of his campaigns, owing to the fact that he received nothing from Athens, he found himself in great extremities, but that, even with this handicap, he was able to bring his fortunes round to the point where he not only prevailed over our enemies but paid his soldiers in full.

These are great things and compel our admiration; but the facts which I now give entitle him to even greater praise. For although he saw that you respected only the kind of generals who threatened and tried to terrify the other cities and were always for setting up some revolution or other among your allies, he did not fall in with your prejudices, nor was he willing to enhance his own reputation to the injury
ISOCRATES

ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ τούτ’ ἔπραττεν, ὡπως μηδεμία
tῶν πόλεων αὐτὸν φοβήσεται τῶν 'Ελληνίδων,
ἀλλὰ πᾶσαι θαρρήσουσι πλὴν τῶν ἁδικουσῶν.

122 ἡπίστατο γὰρ τούς τε δεδιότας ὅτι μισοῦσι δι’ οὓς
ἀν τούτο πεπονθότες τυγχάνωσι, τήν τε πόλιν διὰ
μὲν τὴν φιλίαν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων εὐδαιμονεστάτην
καὶ μεγίστην γενομένην, διὰ δὲ τὸ μύσος μικρὸν
ἀπολιποῦσαν τοὺς μὴ ταῖς ἐσχάταις συμφοράῖς
περιπέσειν. ὥν ἐνθυμοῦμενος τῇ μὲν δυνάμει τῇ
τῆς πόλεως τοὺς πολεμίους κατεστρέφετο, τῷ δὲ
ηθεὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ τὴν εὐνοίαν τὴν τῶν ἄλλων προσή-
γετο, νομίζων τούτῳ στρατήγημα μείζων εἶναι καὶ
κάλλιον ἢ πολλὰς πόλεις ἐλεῖν καὶ πολλάκις νικήσαι

123 μαχόμενος. οὗτω δ’ ἐσπούδαζε περὶ τὸ μιθεμένων
τῶν πόλεων μηδὲ μικρὰν ὑποψίαν περὶ αὐτοῦ
λαβεῖν ὅσ’ ἐπιβουλεύοντος, ὡσθ’ ὅποτε μέλλοι τινὰ
παραπλεῖν τῶν μὴ τὰσ συντάξεις διδοῦσών, πέμ-
ψας προηγόρευε τοῖς ἀρχούσιν, ὡνα μὴ πρὸ τῶν
λιμένων ἐξαύφησὶς ὥθεῖς εἰς θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν

124 αὐτοὺς καταστήσειν. εἰ δὲ τύχοι καθορμίσθησι
πρὸς τὴν χώραν, οὐκ ἃν ἐφῆκε τοῖς στρατιώταις
ἀρπάξει καὶ κλέπτει καὶ πορθεῖ τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ
tοσαύτην ἑξήκ ἐπιμελεῖαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν γίγνε-
σθαι τοιοῦτον, ὡς οὖν περὶ οἱ δεσπόται τῶν χρη-
μάτων. οὐ γὰρ τούτῳ προσειχε τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως
ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὸς εὐδοκιμήσει παρὰ τοῖς
στρατιώταις, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἢ πόλις παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλη-

125 σώλ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς δοριαλώτους τῶν πόλεων
οὗτο πράως διώκει καὶ νομίμως ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος.

a Cf. Areop. 2 and note.

254
of Athens; on the contrary, he made it the object of his thought and of his actions to see to it that no one of the cities of Hellas should be afraid of him, but that all should feel secure excepting those which did wrong; for he realized that men who are afraid hate those who inspire this feeling in them, and that it was due to the friendship of the other cities that Athens rose to great power and prosperity, just as it was due to their hatred that she barely escaped the most disastrous fate. Bearing in mind these facts, he used the power of Athens in order to subdue her enemies, and the force of his own character in order to win the good will of the rest of the world, believing that this is a greater and nobler kind of generalship than to conquer many cities many times in battle. So concerned was he that none of the cities should in the slightest degree suspect him of sinister designs that whenever he intended to take his fleet to any of the cities which had been remiss in their contributions, he sent word to the authorities and announced his coming beforehand, lest his appearance without warning in front of their ports might plunge them into disquiet and confusion; and if he happened to harbour his fleet in any place, he would never permit his soldiers to plunder and pillage and sack the people's houses, but took as great precautions to prevent such an occurrence as the owners would take to guard their own possessions; for his mind was not upon winning for himself the good opinion of his soldiers by such licence, but upon winning for Athens the good opinion of the Hellenes. Moreover, when cities had been taken by him in battle, he would treat them with a mildness and a consideration for their rights
tάς συμμαχίδας, ἡγούμενος, εἰ τοιοῦτος ὢν φαί-
νοτο περὶ τοὺς πολεμήσαντας, τὴν μεγίστην πίστιν
ἐσεσθαι δεδωκώς ὡς οὐδέποτ' ἂν περὶ γε τοὺς
ἀλλοὺς ἐξαμαρτεῖν τολμήσειν.

126 Τουγάρτου διὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐκ τούτων γιγνο-
μένην πολλαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πρὸς ὡμᾶς δυσκόλως
ἐχουσῶν ἀναπεπταμέναις αὐτὸν ἔδέχοντο ταῖς
πύλαις: ἐν αἷς ἐκείνοις οὖδεμίαν ταραχὴν ἐποίησεν,
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐκομένας αὐτὰς εἰσιῶν κατέλαβεν,
οὕτως ἔξιῶν κατέλειπεν.

127 Κεφάλαιον δὲ πάντων τούτων: εἰθισμένων γὰρ
τῶν ἅλλων χρόνων πολλῶν γίγνεσθαι καὶ δενιῶν
ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησίω, ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνω στρατηγίας
οὐδεὶς ἂν οὔτ' ἀναστάσεις εὐροὶ γεγενημένας οὔτε
πολιτείων μεταβολὰς οὔτε σφαγάς καὶ φυγάς οὔτ'
ἀλλ' οὔδεν τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἀλλ' οὕτως
ἀἱ τοιαῦται συμφοραῖ καὶ ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον
ἐλώφησαν, ὥστε μόνος ὃν ἡμεῖς μνημονεύομεν

128 ἀνέγκλητον τὴν πόλιν τοῖς Ἑλλησίοι παρέσχε. καὶ
τοις χρῆ στρατηγιῶν ἀριστον νομίζειν οὐκ εἰ τις
μᾶς τύχῃ τηλικοῦτόν τι κατώρθωσεν ὥσπερ Λύσαν-
δρος, ἡ μηδὲν τῶν ἅλλων διαπράξασθαι συμ-
βεβηκεν, ἀλλ' ὡστίς ἐπὶ πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν
καὶ δυσκόλων πραγμάτων ὀρθῶς ᾠεὶ πράττων καὶ
νοῦν ἑχόντως διατετέλεκεν: ὅπερ Τιμοθέωσ συμ-
βεβηκεν.

129 Ὅμως οὖν ὡμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς θαυμάζειν τὰ λε-
γόμενα καὶ νομίζειν τὸν ἐπαινὸν τὸν ἐκείνου κατη-
γορίαν εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, εἰ τοσαύτας μὲν πόλεις

\[\text{a} \quad \text{Cf. Panath. 259.} \\
\text{b} \quad \text{He happened to be in command of the Spartan forces} \]
which no one else has ever shown to allies in war; for he thought that if he showed such an attitude toward those who had made war upon him, he could give no greater guarantee that he would never bring himself to wrong the others.

Therefore it was that, because of the reputation which this conduct gave him, many of the cities which had no love for Athens used to welcome him with gates thrown wide; and he, in turn, never set up any disturbance in them, but just as he found them governed when he entered their gates, so he left them when he passed out.

And now to sum up all this: In other times many calamities were wont to be visited upon the Hellenes, but, under his leadership, no one can point to cities devastated, governments overthrown, men murdered or driven into exile, or any other of those ills that are irreparable. Nay, so complete was the respite from such misfortunes in his day that, so far back as we can remember, he is the only general under whom no complaint was raised against Athens by the other Hellenes. And surely you ought to find your ideal of a good general, not in one who by a single stroke of good fortune has attained, like Lysander, a success which it has been the lot of no other man to achieve, but one who, though loaded with many difficult responsibilities of all sorts, has always discharged them with honesty and wisdom. And just this has been the fortune of Timotheus.

Most of you are, I suppose, astonished at what I am saying, and think that in praising him I am condemning Athens, since he, after having captured so many when the Athenian empire crumpled at the battle of Aegospotami.
In the campaign against Byzantium, which was aided by the Chians and their allies (357 B.C.), a conflict arose between Chares and the other commanders of the Athenian fleet, Timotheus, Iphicrates, and Menestheus, Iphicrates’ son. Chares persisted in carrying out a plan of attack which had been agreed upon but which the others abandoned on account of a storm. Unsupported in this, he was defeated. Returning to Athens, he then charged his colleagues with treason and corruption. In the trial Iphicrates shouldered
cities and having never lost a single one, was tried for treason, and again when he submitted his reports, and Iphicrates took upon himself the responsibility for the conduct of the campaign and Menestheus accounted for the moneys expended upon it, they, on the one hand, were acquitted, while Timotheus was fined a larger sum than anyone in the past had ever been condemned to pay. The fact is, however, that I desire to stand up for Athens also. It is true that if you consider the actions of the city by the standard of pure justice, no one of you can avoid the conclusion that her treatment of Timotheus was cruel and abominable; but if you make allowance for the ignorance which possesses all mankind, for the feelings of envy that are aroused in us, and, furthermore, for the confusion and turmoil in which we live, you will find that nothing of what has been done has come about without a reason nor does the cause lie outside our human weakness, but that Timotheus, also, has been responsible in some degree for the mistaken judgements passed upon him. For while he was no anti-democrat nor a misanthrope, nor arrogant, nor possessed of any such defect of character, yet because of his proud bearing—an advantage to the office of a general but out of place in dealing with men from day to day—everyone attributed to him the faults which I have named; for he was by nature as inept in courting the favour of men as he was gifted in handling affairs.

the responsibility for the campaign, and Menestheus gave a full accounting for the receipts and expenditures. They were acquitted, while Timotheus, never popular with the demos, was fined 100 talents. See § 101, note. Isocrates' version of the facts is generally accepted. See Grote, *History*, vol. xi. pp. 30 ff.
132 Καὶ τοι πολλάκις καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τοιούτους λόγους ἢκουσεν, ὡς χρῆ τοὺς πολιτευομένους καὶ βουλομένους ἁρέσκειν προαιρέσθαι μὲν τῶν τε πράξεων τὰς ὦφελιμωτάτας καὶ βελτίστας καὶ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀληθεστάτους καὶ δικαιοτάτους, οὐ μὴν ἄλλα κάκειν παρατηρεῖν καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἐπιχαρίτως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀπαντα φανή- σονται καὶ λέγοντες καὶ πράττοντες, ὡς οἱ τούτων ὀλγυροῦντες ἐπαχθέστεροι καὶ βαρύτεροι δοκοῦσιν

133 εἶναι τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους. "ὁρᾷς δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν ὡς διάκειται πρὸς τὰς ἡδονάς, καὶ διότι μᾶλλον φιλοῦσι τοὺς πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλοῦντας ἢ τοὺς εὐ ποιοῦντας, καὶ τοὺς μετὰ φανερῶς καὶ φιλανθρωπίας φενακίζοντας ἢ τοὺς μετ᾽ ὄγκου καὶ σεμνότητος ὀμιλοῦντας. ὃν οὐδὲν σοι μεμέληκεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἂν ἐπεικῶς τῶν ἐξω πραγμάτων ἐπιμεληθῆς, οἴει σοι καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε

134 πολιτευομένους καλῶς ἐξειν. τὸ δ᾽ οὐχ οὕτως ἄλλα τούναντίον φιλεὶ συμβαίνειν. ἦν γὰρ τούτως ἁρέσκησ, ἀπαν ὁ τι ἂν πράξῃς οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλή- θειαν κρινοῦσιν ἄλλα πρὸς τὸ σοὶ συμφέρον ὑπο- λήσονται, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτανόμενα παρόψονται, τὸ δὲ κατορθωθὲν οὐρανόμηκες ποιήσουσιν· ἥ γὰρ εὕνοια πάντας οὕτω διατίθεσιν.

135 ""Ήν σὺ τῇ μὲν πόλει παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κτήσασθαι ἥττείς, ἦγούμενος μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν ἁγαθῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ σαντῷ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ οἴει δεῖν τῇν αὐτῆν ταύτην παρασκευάζειν, 260
Indeed he has often been advised by me, among others, that while men who are in public life and desire to be in favour must adopt the principle of doing what is most serviceable and noble and of saying what is most true and just, yet they must at the same time not neglect to study and consider well how in everything they say and do they may convince the people of their graciousness and human sympathy; since those who are careless of these matters are thought by their fellow-citizens to be disagreeable and offensive. "You observe," I would say to him, "the nature of the multitude, how susceptible they are to flattery; that they like those who cultivate their favour better than those who seek their good; and that they prefer those who cheat them with beaming smiles and brotherly love to those who serve them with dignity and reserve. You have paid no attention to these things, but are of the opinion that if you attend honestly to your enterprises abroad, the people at home also will think well of you. But this is not the case, and the very contrary is wont to happen. For if you please the people in Athens, no matter what you do they will not judge your conduct by the facts but will construe it in a light favourable to you; and if you make mistakes, they will overlook them, while if you succeed, they will exalt your success to the high heaven. For good will has this effect upon all men.

"But you, while seeking by every means in your power to win for Athens the good will of the rest of the Hellenes, because you recognize its great advantages, nevertheless do not consider that there is any need to secure for yourself the good will of
ἀλλὰ πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοὺς γεγενημένους χεῖρον διάκεισαι τῶν οὐδὲν ἄξιον λόγου διαπεπραγμένων.

136 "Εἰκότως: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις συλλόγοις λογοποιεῖν δυναμένους καὶ πάντα προσποιομένους εἴδέναι θεραπεύουσι, σὺ δ’ οὐ μόνον ἀμελεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολεμεῖς τοῖς μέγιστον ἀεὶ δυναμένοις αὐτῶν.

"Καὶ τοι πόσους οἴει διὰ τὰς τούτων ψευδολογίας τοὺς μὲν συμφοραῖς περιπετειώκεναι, τοὺς δ’ ἀτίμους εἶναι; πόσους δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀνωνύμους εἶναι;1 πολὺ σπουδαιοτέρους καὶ πλέονς ἄξιοις γεγενημένους τῶν ἀδομένων καὶ τραγω-

137 δομένων; ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν, οἷμαι, ποιητῶν ἑτυχον καὶ λογοποιῶν, οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἔσχον τοὺς ὑμνήσεται. ἣν οὖν ἐμοὶ πείθη καὶ νοῦν ἔχεις, οὐ καταφρονήσεις τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων, οἷς τὸ πλῆθος εἰθίσται πιστεύειν οὐ μόνον περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστον τῶν πολιτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ὅλων τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλ’ ἐπιμέλειάν τινα ποιῆσε καὶ θεραπείαν αὐτῶν, ἣν εὐδοκιμήσῃς δι’ ἀμφότερα, καὶ διὰ τὰς σαυτοῦ πράξεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς τούτων λόγους."

138 Ταῦτα δ’ ἄκουσίν ὡρθῶς μὲν ἔφασκε μὲ λέγειν, οὐ μὴν οἶός τ’ ἦν τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλειν, ἀλλ’ ἦν μὲν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἄνηρ καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς

1 πόσους δὲ τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀνωνύμους εἶναι; ΔΕΘ: om. Π.

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This recalls the poetic commonplace on the immortality lent by literature, for example in the familiar lines of Horace (Odes iv. 9. 25-28):

vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi; sed omnes inlaerimabiles
urgentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia vate sacro.
Athens; nay, you who have benefited the city in ways beyond calculation are less esteemed than those who have done nothing of note.

"And you could expect nothing else; for such men cultivate the public orators and the speakers who are effective in private gatherings and who profess to be authorities on every subject, while you not only neglect to do this, but actually make an open breach between yourself and the orators who are from time to time the most influential.

"And yet I wonder if you realize how many men have either come to grief or failed of honour because of the misrepresentations of these orators; how many in the generations that are past have left no name, although they were far better and worthier men than those who are celebrated in song and on the tragic stage. But the latter, you see, found their poets and historians, while the others secured no one to hymn their praises. Therefore, if you will only heed me and be sensible, you will not despise these men whom the multitude are wont to believe, not only with reference to each one of their fellow-citizens, but also with reference to the affairs of the whole state, but you will in some measure show attention and pay court to them in order that you may be held in honour both because of your own deeds and because of their words."

When I would speak to him in this wise, he would admit that I was right, but he could not change his nature. He was a good man and true, a credit to
ISOCRATES

'Ελλάδος ἄξιος, οὐ μὴν σύμμετρός γε τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅσοι τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτούς πεφυκόσιν ἄχθομενοι τυγχάνουσι. τοὺς γαρ οἱ μὲν ῥήτορες ἔργον εἶχον αἰτίας περὶ αὐτοῦ πολλὰς καὶ ψευδεῖς πλάσσειν, τὸ δὲ πλήθος ἀποδέχεσθαι

139 τὰς ὑπὸ τοὺτων λεγομένας. περὶ δὲν ἦδεως ἂν ἀπελογησάμην, εἰ καὶ ρήμας τὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγεν τολμῶντας, νῦν δὲ ταῦτα μὲν εάσω, περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐνεστῶτων πραγμάτων πάλιν ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους.

140 'Απορώ δ' ὅ τι χρῆσομαι τοῖς ὑπολοίποις, καὶ τίνος πρῶτον μνησθὼ καὶ ποίου δευτέρου· τὸ γὰρ ἐφεξῆς με λέγειν διαπέφευγεν. ἢδεις μὲν οὖν ἀναγκαῖον ἔστω, ὅσον ἐκαστόν τὐχῇ προσπεσόν, οὔτως εἰπέων περὶ αὐτῶν· ἡ δ' οὐν μοι νῦν ἐπελήλυθε, καὶ περὶ δὲν ἔγν μὲν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι δηλωτέον, ἄλλος δὲ τίς μοι συνεβούλευε μὴ λέγειν, οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀπήνεγκε τὴν γραφὴν, ἐσκόπουν περὶ αὐτῶν τοὺτων ὡσπερ ἂν ὑμῶν ἐκαστός, καὶ τὸν τε βίον τὸν ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἔξηταίς, καὶ πλεῖστον χρόνον περὶ τὰς τοιαύτας διέτριβον ἐδ' αἰς ψόμην ἐπαινεῖσθαι με προσήκειν. ἀκροώμενος δὲ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείων ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν πρὸς με λόγον πάντων σχετικώτατον, ὡς αὖτια μὲν εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα φιλοτημᾶς, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γε δεδεῖνα ταῦτα μάλιστα, μὴ πολλοὺς λυπήσῃ τῶν ἀκούοντων.

141 "Οὕτω γαρ", ἐφη "τινὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ τῶν ἀποριῶν ἐξηγηρίων καὶ δυσμενῶς ἔχονσιν, ἓστ' οὐ ταῖς πονηρίαις ἀλλὰ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις πολε-
Athens and to Hellas, but he could not lower himself to the level of people who are intolerant of their natural superiors. So it was that the orators occupied themselves with inventing many false charges against him, and the multitude with drinking them in. I should be glad to refute these slanders, if the occasion permitted me to do so; for I believe that if you could hear me, you would come to loathe the men who have stirred the city to anger against Timotheus and the men who dare to speak evil of him. Now, however, I shall leave this subject and take up again my own defence and the case before us.

But I am at a loss to know how to proceed with the rest of my speech—what topic to take up first and what next; for the power to speak in any set order has escaped me. Perhaps, therefore, I have no choice but to discuss each point as it happens to occur to me. Accordingly, I am going to lay bare to you the thoughts which have now come into my mind. I have been thinking all along that I ought to put them before you, but I have been advised against doing so. For when I was indicted, I pondered these very matters, as any one of you would have done, and I reviewed my life and my actions, dwelling longest on the things for which I thought I deserved approbation. But one of my associates, hearing me, made bold to urge an objection which was amazing in the extreme; he stated that while my life as I described it was worthy of emulation, yet he himself greatly feared that my story would irritate many of my hearers.

"Some men," he said, "have been so brutalized by envy and want and are so hostile that they wage war, not on depravity, but on prosperity; they
μοῦσι, καὶ μισοῦσιν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς ἐπιεικεστάτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὰ βέλτιστα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους κακοῖς τοῖς μὲν ἀδικοῦσι συναγωνίζονται καὶ συγγνώμην ἔχουσιν, οἷς δ' ἂν φθονήσωσιν ἀπολλύονσιν, ἢν περ δυνη-
143 θῶσι. ταῦτα δὲ δρῶντες οὐκ ἁγνοοῦσιν περὶ ἕν τὴν ψῆφον οἴσουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀδικήσεις μὲν ἐλπί-
ζοντες, ὁφθήσεσθαι δ' οὐ προσδοκῶντες: σώζοντες οὖν τοὺς ὁμοίους σφίσων αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν νομίζουσι.

'Tούτου δ' ἐνεκά σοι ταῦτα διήλθον, ίνα προ-
eιδός ἀμενον προσφέρῃ καὶ τοῖς λόγοις ἀσφαλε-
στέροις χρὴ πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε τίνα χρὴ
προσδοκᾶν γνώμην ἔχειν τοὺς τοιούτους, οταν τὸν
tὸ βιόν τὸν σαυτόν καὶ τὰς πράξεις διεξῆς μηδὲ
cατὰ μικρὸν ὁμοίως οὕσας ταῖς τούτων, ἀλλ' οίας
144 περ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖς; ἀποφαίνεσθαι γὰρ
tοὺς τε λόγους οὐς γέγραφας οὐ μέμψεως ἀλλὰ
χάριτος τῆς μεγάστης ἄξιόν οὖντας, τῶν τε πε-
pλησιακῶν σοι τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲν ἡδικηκότας οὐδ' ἡ-
μαρτηκότας, τοὺς δὲ δὲ ἀρετὴν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως
ἐστεθανωμένους, τὰ τε καθ' ἡμέραν οὕτω κοσμίως
καὶ τεταγμένοις βεβιωκότα σαυτόν ὡς οὐκ οἶδ' οἱ
eἰ τις ἄλλος τῶν πολιτῶν, ἐτί δὲ μὴ δεδικα-
σμένοι μηδεῖν μὴτε πεφευγότα πλὴν περὶ ἀντι-
δόσεως, μηθ' ἐτέρους συνηγωνισμένοι μὴτε με-
μαρτυρηκότα, μηθ' ἄλλο πεποιηκότα μηδέν, ἐν οἷς
145 ἀπαντες πολιτευόμενοι1 τυγχάνουσι. πρὸς δὲ τού-
tοις οὕτως ἄδιοις οὕσι καὶ περίττοις κάκεινο λέγεις,
ὡς τῶν μὲν ἄρχὼν καὶ τῶν ὁφελιμῶν τῶν ἐντεῦθεν

1 πολιτευόμενοι Benseler: οἱ πολιτευόμενοι mss.

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a The voting of Athenian juries was by secret ballot. 
Cf. Areop. 34. 

b Cf. Plato, Apology 17 d. 
266
hate not only the best men but the noblest pursuits; and, in addition to their other faults, they take sides with wrong-doers and are in sympathy with them, while they destroy, whenever they have the power, those whom they have cause to envy. They do these things, not because they are ignorant of the issues on which they are to vote, but because they intend to inflict injury and do not expect to be found out; and so, by protecting those of their own kind, they think they are providing for their own safety.

"I have told you this in order that, being forewarned, you may be able to handle your case to better advantage and to use less dangerous arguments before the jury. For as things are, what judgement can you expect such men to reach when you tell them of your life and your conduct, which are not in the least degree like their own, but such as you are attempting to describe to me? For you show that the speeches which you have written merit, not blame, but the highest favour; that the men who have been under your instruction have in no case been guilty of wrong-doing or of crime, while some of them have been crowned by the city in recognition of their worth: that from day to day you, yourself, have lived so uprightly and lawfully that I know not who of your fellow-citizens can compare with you; and that, furthermore, you have never brought anyone to trial nor stood trial yourself save in the matter of an exchange of property, nor have you appeared as counsel or as witness for others, nor have you engaged in any other of the activities which make up the civic life of all Athenians. And to these peculiarities and idiosyncrasies you add another, namely, that you have held aloof from
ISOCRATES

γιγνωμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν κοινῶν ἔξεστικας, εἰς δὲ τοὺς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους τοὺς εἰσφέροντας καὶ λειτουργοῦντας οὐ μόνον αὐτῶν παρέχεις ἄλλα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν, καὶ τρίς μὲν ἢ ἄλλος ἐπιτήρησας καὶ τὰς ἕρμαίσας πολυπεπτελέστερον λειτουργήκατε καὶ κάλλιον ὅπως οἱ νόμοι προστάττουσι.

146 "Ταῦτ' ἀκούοντας τοὺς τάναντία πᾶσι τοῖς προερημένους ἐπιτετηδευκότας οὐκ οἴει βαρέως οἴσει καὶ νομείνει ἐλέγχεσθαι τὸν βίον τὸν αὐτῶν οὐ σπουδαίον ὄντα; καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν μετὰ πόνου καὶ ταλαπωρίας ἡσθάνοντό σε ποριζόμενον εἰς τε τὰς λειτουργίας καὶ περὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν, οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως ἐμελεν αὐτοῖς· νῦν δὲ τὰ τε παρὰ τῶν ἐξένων σοι γιγνόμενα πολὺ πλείω νομίζουν εἶναι τῶν διδομένων, αὐτὸν τε σὲ βαθύμοτερον ἡγοῦνται ξῆν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἄλλων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτήν σοι πραγματείαν ὄντων.

147 "Ορώσι γὰρ ἐκείνων μὲν τοὺς πλείστους, πλῆν τῶν τὸν σὸν βίον καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἡγαπηκότων, ἐν τε ταῖς πανηγύρεσι καὶ τοῖς ὅδεισιν συλλόγοις ἐπιδείξεις ποιομένους, διαγωνιζομένους πρὸς ἄλλη- λους, καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὑπεσχυνομένους, ἐρίζοντας, λοιδορομένους, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντας κακῶν, ἄλλα σφίξι μὲν αὐτοῖς πράγματα παρέχοντας, τοῖς δ' ἀκρωμένοις ἐξουσίαν παραδιδόντας τοῖς μὲν κατα-

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a Isocrates married Plathane, the widow of Hippias of Elis, and adopted her son Aphareus. So far as we know, he had no children of his own. See Jebb, Attic Orators vol. ii. p. 30.

b The twelve hundred richest citizens in Athens paid the special tax levies for war purposes and performed at private expense the "liturgies" (public services), such as standing 268
the public offices and the emoluments which go with them, and from all other privileges of the commonwealth as well, while you have enrolled not only yourself but your son among the twelve hundred who pay the war-taxes and bear the liturgies, and you and he have three times discharged the trierarchy, besides having performed the other services more generously and handsomely than the laws require.\(^b\)

"When you say these things to men whose conduct is the opposite of all which has been said, do you not suppose that they will take offence and think that you are showing up the unworthiness of their own lives? For possibly if they had seen that it is through hard work and sacrifice that you provide yourself with the means wherewith to discharge your public duties and to maintain your affairs in general, they would not have felt the same about it. But in fact they think that these fees which come to you from your foreign pupils are much greater than they actually are, and they consider that you live in greater ease and comfort than not only the people in general but also than those who cultivate philosophy and are of the same profession as yourself.

"For they see most of the sophists, excepting those who have embraced your life and ways, showing off their oratory in the public assemblies or in private gatherings, contesting against each other, making extravagant professions, disputing, reviling each other, omitting nothing in the language of abuse, but in effect damaging their own cause and giving licence to their auditors, now to ridicule what they

the expense of the training of a chorus for the drama or of fitting out a ship of war ( trierarchy). See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* p. 371.
ISOCRATES

γελάσαι τῶν λεγομένων, ἐνίοις δ' ἐπανέσαι, τοῖς δὲ πλείστοις μισήσαι, τοῖς δ' ὅπως ἐκαστοί βούλονται διατεθῆναι πρὸς αὐτούς· σε δ' οὐδενὸς μετέχοντα τούτων, ἀλλ' ἀνομοίως ζῶντα καὶ τοῖς σοφίσταις καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις, καὶ τοῖς πολλὰ κε-149 κτημένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπόρως διακεμένοις. ἐφ' οἷς οἱ μὲν λογίζεσθαι δυνάμενοι καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες ὄσοι ἄν σε ξηλώσειαν, οἱ δὲ καταδεέστερον πράττοντες καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μᾶλλον εἰωθότες ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιεικείαις Ἦ ταῖς ἑαυτῶν ἀτυχίαις οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ δυσκολανοῦσι καὶ χαλεπῶς οἴσουσιν. ὡς οὖν οὕτως αὐτῶν διατεθησομένων σκόπει τί σοι λε-150 κτέον τούτων καὶ τί παραλειπέτεον ἔστιν.’’

150 Ἐγὼ δὲ κάκεινον τότε ταῦτα λέγοντος καὶ νῦν ἡγούμαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀτοπωτάτους εἶναι καὶ σχετικῶτας, οἵτινες βαρέως ἂν ἄκούοιες εἰ λειτουργοῦντα μὲν ἐμαυτὸν τῇ πόλει παρέχω καὶ ποιοῦντα τό προσταττόμενον, μὴδὲν δὲ δεόμαι μὴτε κληροῦσθαι τῶν ἄρχων ἐνεκα, μὴτε λαμβάνειν ἃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡ πόλις δίδωσι, μῆτ' αὖ

151 φεύγειν δίκας μὴτε διώκειν. ταῦτα γὰρ συνεταξάμην οὐ διὰ πλοῦτον οὐδὲ δι' ὑπερηφανίαν, οὔδὲ καταφρονών τῶν μὴ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων ἐμοὶ ζώντων, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ἡσυχίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπραγ-μοσύνην ἀγαπῶν, μάλιστα δ' ὀρῶν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντος, ἔπειτ' τὸν βίον ἤδιον νομίσας εἶναι τούτον ἦ τὸν τῶν πολλὰ πραττόντων, ἐτί δὲ ταῖς διατριβαῖς

a Cf. Panath. 12, 13. Havet (Introd. to Cartelieier's Antidosis p. xlix) contrasts the dignity of the discourses of Isocrates with the personalities and recriminations characteristic of the public orators of his day.

b Cf. Panath. 12.
say, sometimes to praise them, most often to despise them, and again to think of them whatever they like. But in you they see a man who has no part in these things, who lives in a manner different from the sophists as well as from laymen, and from those who enjoy many possessions as well as from those who live in want. It is true that reasonable and intelligent people might perhaps congratulate you on these grounds, but people who are less fortunate and are wont to be more chagrined at the honest prosperity of others than at their own ill fortune cannot fail to be surly and resentful. Knowing, then, that such will be the attitude of your audience, consider well what you had better say and what you had better leave unsaid."

But I thought as he said these things and I think now that they would be of all men the strangest and most perverse who could take offence at being told that I hold myself at the service of Athens in discharging the liturgies and performing any public duty she enjoins, and yet do not ask to have any part in the allotment of the offices nor in the distribution of the gifts she doles out to others, nor in the privilege of prosecuting or defending cases in the courts. For I have prescribed this course for myself, not because I am rich or have any false pride, nor because I look down on those who do not live in the same way as I do, but because I love peace and tranquillity, and most of all because I see that men who so live are looked up to both in Athens and in other parts of the world. Moreover, I consider that this kind of life is more agreeable than that of men who are busy with a multitude of things, and that it is, besides, more in keeping with the
taîs ἐμαῖς πρεπωδέστερον, αἷς ἔξ ἀρχῆς κατεστησάμην.

152 Τούτων μὲν ἑνεκα τούτων τὸν τρόπον ζῆν προειλόμην· τῶν δὲ λημμάτων τῶν παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπεσχόμην δεινὸν ἡγησάμενος, εἰ δυνάμενος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τρέφειν ἐμαυτὸν ἐμποδῶν τῷ γενήσομαι τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ζῆν ἡναγκασμένων, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν παρουσίαν ἐνδεής τις γενήσεται τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

Ὑπὲρ δὲν ἐπαίνου τυγχάνειν ἄξιος ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ

153 διαβολῆς. νὸν δ’ εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καθέστηκα, τι δρῶν ἀρέσαι δυνηθεῖν ἢν τοῖς τοιούτοις. εἰ γὰρ ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον ἐργον ποιούμενος ὅπως μηδένα μὴ ἄδικήσω μὴ ἐνοχλήσω μὴτε λυπήσω, δι’ αὐτά ταῦτα λυπῶ τινας, τι ποιῶν ἢν χαριζομην; ἢ τι λοιπὸν ἐστὶ πλὴν ἐμὲ μὲν ἀτυχῆ, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους ἀμαθεῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι καὶ δυσκόλους τοῖς συμπολιτευμένοις;

154 Πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς μηδέν τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνωσκόντας, ἀλλὰ χαλεπώτερος ὄντας τοῖς μὴ κακῶς πράττουσιν ἢ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν, μωρὸν ἐστὶν ἀπολογίαν ζητεῖν· ὅσον γὰρ ἂν τις ἐπιεικέστερον αὐτὸν ἐπιδειξῇ, δὴλον ὅτι τοσοῦτω χείρον ἀγωνιεῖται παρ’ αὐτοῖς. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους, περὶ δὲν Λυσίμαχος διέβαλεν, ὡς σαμπληθῇ κεκτήμεθα τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ πιστευθῆσαι ὁ λόγος εἰς μείζους καὶ πλείους ἡμᾶς ἐμβάλῃ λειτουργίας ὡς ὑπενεγκεῖν ἢν δυνηθεῖμεν.

1 ἡναγκασμένων, καὶ Hirschig: ἡναγκασμένων λαβεῖν τὸ δίδομεν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ mss.

a For example, by presenting himself for service on the juries and drawing pay for this. Cf. Areop. 24 and note. 272
career to which I have dedicated myself from the first.

It was for these reasons that I chose this manner of life. And if I have refrained from accepting the bounties which are distributed by the city it was because I thought it outrageous if I, who am able to maintain myself from my private resources, should stand in the way of any of those who have been compelled to get their livelihood from the city, and if because of my presence a anyone should be deprived of the necessities of existence. b

Now for this I deserved praise rather than prejudice. But as things are I am utterly at a loss to know what I could do to satisfy men of this stamp. For if I have made it my object all my life not to injure or burden or offend any man, and if by this very course I offend certain people, what could I do to please them? Or what conclusion is left to me other than that I seem to be unfortunate, and that these people appear to be boorish and churlish toward their fellow-citizens?

It is, therefore, utter folly to seek to justify myself to those who are not minded like other men but are harder on the innocent than on the guilty; for it is obvious that the more honest a man shows himself to be, the more hopeless will he make his case in their eyes. But to the others c I must address myself in reply to the false charge of Lysimachus that I am possessed of enormous wealth, lest this statement, if credited, impose upon me greater public burdens than I could bear.

c So Socrates, in Plato’s Apology, addresses first one group of the jury, then the other.
"Ολως μὲν οὖν οὐδεὶς εὐρεθήσεται τῶν καλομένων σοφιστῶν πολλὰ χρήματα συλλεξάμενοι, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις οἱ δ' ἐν πάνι μετρίοις τὸν βίον διαγαγόντες· ο δ' πλείστα κτησάμενοι ἄν ἦμεις μημονεύομεν, Γοργίας ὁ Δεοντύνος, οὗτος διατράβας μὲν περὶ Θεταλίαν, ὅτ' ευδαιμονεστατοὶ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἦσαν, πλείστον δὲ χρόνον βιοῦσ καὶ περὶ τὸν χρηματισμὸν τούτον γενόμενος,

πόλιν δ' οὐδεμίαν καταπαγίως οὐκήσας οὐδὲ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ δαπανηθεῖς οὐδ' εἰσφορὰν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖς, ἔτι δ' πρὸς τούτοις οὔτε γυναῖκα γῆμασ οὔτε παῖδας πουησάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀτελῆς γενόμενος καὶ ταύτης τῆς λειτουργίας τῆς ἐνδελεχεστάτης καὶ πολυτελεστάτης, τοσοῦτον προλαβὼν πρὸς τὸ πλεῖω κτήσασθαι τῶν ἄλλων,

χιλίους μόνους στατήρας κατέλυπε. καὶ τοῦ χρῆ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας τῆς ἄλληλων μὴ τοῖς αἰτιωμένοις εἰκῆ πιστεύειν, μηδὲ τὰς έργασίας ἱσα νομίζειν τὰς τὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς τεχναῖς οὖντας πρὸς ἄλληλους κρίνειν, καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίαν ἐν ἑκάστῃ δύναμιν λαβόντας παραπλησίαν καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἔχειν

νομίζειν. ἦν οὖν ἐξισώσητε με τῷ πλείστον ἐξειργασμένῳ καὶ θήτε πρὸς ἐκείνον, οὔθ' ὑμεῖς παντάπασιν ἀσκέττως εἰκάζεων δόξετε περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, οὔθ' ἦμεις εὑρεθείμεν ἄν οὔτε τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτούς κακῶς διωκήκοτες, ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἐλαττόνων ζώντες ἄν εἰς

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a See General Introd. p. xii.
b See Peace 117.
c He lived one hundred and seven years according to Cicero, De senect. v.

274
Now, generally speaking, you will find that no one of the so-called sophists has accumulated a great amount of money, but that some of them have lived in poor, others in moderate circumstances. The man who in our recollection laid up the most was Gorgias of Leontini.\(^a\) He spent his time in Thessaly when the Thessalians were the most prosperous\(^b\) people in Hellas; he lived a long life\(^c\) and devoted himself to the making of money; he had no fixed domicile in any city and therefore paid out nothing for public weal nor was he subject to any tax; moreover, he did not marry and beget children, but was free from this, the most unremitting and expensive of burdens; and yet, although he had so great an advantage toward laying up more wealth than any other man, he left at his death only a thousand staters.\(^d\) And surely on the subject of each other's incomes we must not credit people who make charges at haphazard nor think that the earnings of the sophists are equal to those of the actors,\(^e\) but should judge men of the same profession in reference to each other and go on the principle that those of the same order of talent in each profession have incomes which are comparable. If, then, you will class me with the sophist who has made more money than any other, and will compare me with him, you will not seem to engage in utterly blind conjectures on such matters, nor shall I be found to have managed badly in providing either for the public welfare or for my own, although, as a matter of fact, I have lived on less than I have expended on my public

\(^a\) A gold coin about equal in value to the guinea.
\(^b\) People in the Thessalians were the most prosperous.
\(^c\) He lived a long life.
\(^d\) He left at his death only a thousand staters.
\(^e\) Popular actors, especially in comedy, received high pay. See Böckh, *Public Economy of Athens* p. 120.
τὰς λειτουργίας ἀνηλώκαμεν. καὶ τοῖς τοὺς εὐ-
τελεστέρους ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἢ τοῖς κοινοῖς ὄντας
dικαίων ἔστω ἐπανεῖν.

159 Ἐνθυμοῦμαι δὲ μεταξὺ λέγων, ὅσον τὰ τῆς
πόλεως μεταπέπτωκε, καὶ τὰς διανοίας ως οὐδὲν
όμοιας περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οἱ νῦν τοῖς πρότερον
πεπολυτευμένοις ἔχουσιν. ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἔγιν παῖς
ἡν, οὕτως ἔνομιζε τὸ πλουτεῖν ἄσφαλές εἶναι
καὶ σεμνὸν ὡστ᾽ ὅλγου δεῖν πάντες προσεποιοῦντο
πλεῖως κεκτῆσθαι τὴν οὐσίαν ἢς ἔχοντες ἐτύγχανον,

160 βουλόμενοι μετασχεῖν τῆς δόξης ταύτης· νῦν δ᾽
ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ πλουτεῖν ὀσπέρ τῶν μεγίστων
ἀδικημάτων ἀπολογίαν δεῖ παρασκευάζεσθαι καὶ
σκοτεῖν, εἰ μελεῖ τις σωθήσεσθαι. πολὺ γὰρ
δεινότερον καθέστηκε τὸ δοκεῖν εὐπορεῖν ἢ τὸ
φανερῶς ἀδικεῖν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἢ συγγνώμης ἐτυχον
ἡ μικροῖς ἐξημωθησαν, οἱ δ᾽ ἀρδην ἀπολλυνται,
καὶ πλείους ἀν εὐροιμεν τοὺς ἐκ τῶν διντῶν
ἐκπεπτωκότας ἢ τοὺς δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀμαρ-
tημάτων δεδωκότας.

161 Καὶ τί δεῖ λέγειν περὶ τῶν κοινῶν; αὐτὸς γὰρ
οὐ μικρὸν διήμαρτον διὰ ταύτην τὴν μεταβολὴν
tῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πραγμάτων. ὅτε γὰρ ἐπαιμίμεν
ήρχόμην τοῖς ἰδίοις, ἀπολογέων ἐν τῶν πολέμῳ
tῷ πρὸς Λακεδαίμονίους ἀπάντητων τῶν ὑπα-
χόντων ἡμῖν, ἀφ᾽ ὢν ὁ πατήρ ἀμα τῇ τε πόλει
χρήσιμον αὐτὸν παρεῖχεν, ἡμᾶς θ᾽ οὕτως ἐπιμελῶς
ἐπαιδεύσεν ὡστ᾽ εἰπανεστερον εἶναι μὲ τότε καὶ
γνωριμῶτερον ἐν τοῖς ἦλικιώταται καὶ συμπαϊδευ-
162 μένοις ἢ νῦν ἐν τοῖς συμπολυτευμένοις—ὅτε δ᾽

a Contrast the conditions described in Areop. 34 ff.

276
duties. And surely it is deserving of praise when a man is more frugal in what he spends on his own household than in what he pays out for the common weal.

It occurs to me as I am speaking what a change has come over Athens; people nowadays do not look at things in the same way as those who lived in the city in former times. For, when I was a boy, wealth was regarded as a thing so secure as well as admirable that almost every one affected to own more property than he actually possessed, because he wanted to enjoy the standing which it gave. Now, on the other hand, a man has to be ready to defend himself against being rich as if it were the worst of crimes, and to keep on the alert if he is to avoid disaster; for it has become far more dangerous to be suspected of being well off than to be detected in crime; for criminals are pardoned or let off with slight penalties, while the rich are ruined utterly, and it will be found that the number of men who have been spoiled of their property is greater than those who have been punished for their misdeeds.

But why speak of public affairs? For I have myself, in my own affairs, suffered not a little from this change. For when I was beginning to repair my own fortunes after I had lost in the Peloponnesian War the patrimony which remained to me from what my father had spent partly in rendering himself serviceable to the state and partly in educating me with such care that I was more conspicuous then and more distinguished among the youth of my own age and among my fellow-students than I am now among my fellow-citizens—but when, as I have said, I began

\[b\] See General Introd. p. xi.
οὖν, ώστερ εἰπον, ἡρχόμην πλησιάζειν τισίν, χώμην, εἰ δυνηθείη πλείω κτήσασθαι καὶ περιποίησασθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βίων ὀρμησάντων, ἀμφότερα δώξειν, καὶ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν διαφέρειν καὶ κοσμιώτερον βεβιωκέναι τῶν ἄλλων.

163 ἐμοὶ δὲ τούναντίον ἀποβέβηκεν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴτ' ἀξιος μηδενὸς ἐγενόμην μήτε περιποιησάμην μηδέν, οὔτείς ἂν μοι πράγματα παρεῖχε, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς ἀδικῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἂν ἐξων ἐνεκά γε τῶν συκοφαντῶν νῦν ὴ ἂντὶ τῆς δόξης ἢς προσεδόκων ἀγώνες περὶ με καὶ κίνδυνοι καὶ φθόνοι καὶ διαβολαὶ

164 γεγόνασιν. οὔτω γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἐν τῷ παρόντι χαίρει τους μὲν ἐπτεικεῖς πιέζουσα καὶ ταπεινοὺς ποιοῦσα, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ἐξουσιαν διδοῦσα καὶ λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἂν βουληθῶσιν, ὡστε Λυσίμαχος μὲν ὁ προηρημένος ζῆν ἐκ τοῦ συκοφαντεῖν καὶ κακῶς ἂεί τινα ποιεῖν τῶν πολιτῶν κατηγορήσων ἰμῶν ἀναβέβηκεν, ἐγὼ δ' ὃς οὐδὲ περὶ ἐνα πότ' ἐξήμαρτο, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν ἐνθενδὲ λημμάτων ἀπεσχόμην, παρὰ ξένων δὲ καὶ νομιζόντων εὗ πάσχειν ἐπορισάμην τὰς ὡφελίας, ὡς δεινὰ ποιῶν εἰς τηλικούτοι καθέστηκα κίνδυνον.

165 καὶ τοι προσήκε τους εὗ φρονοῦντας εὐχεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς πλείστοις τῶν πολιτῶν παραγεγέθηκα τὴν δύναμιν ταῦτην, δ' ἢν ἐμελλὼν παρ' ἕτερων λαμβάνοντες χρησίμους αὐτοὺς, ώσπερ ἐγώ, τῇ πόλει παρέξειν.

Πολλὴς δ' ἀλογίας περὶ με γεγενημένης πάντων ἂν συμβαίνῃ δεινότατον, εἰ οἱ μὲν δεδωκότες μοι χρήματα τοσαῦτην ἔχοιεν χάριν, ὥστ' ἐτι καὶ

166 νῦν με θεραπεύειν, ὑμεῖς δ', εἰς οὓς ἀνήλωκα
to attach pupils to myself, I thought that if I could acquire a greater competence and attain a higher position than others who had started in the same profession, I should be acclaimed both for the superiority of my teaching and for the excellence of my conduct. But the result has been the very opposite; for if I had turned out to be worthless and had excelled in nothing, no one would have made trouble for me; nay, I might have been a flagrant offender and yet lived secure—from the sycophants, at any rate. But now, instead of the acclaim which I expected, I have been rewarded with trials and perils and envy and calumny. For so much does the Athens of this day rejoice in repressing and humiliating honest men, while giving licence to the depraved to say and do what they please, that Lysimachus, a man who has elected to live by practising intrigue and by preying from day to day on his fellow-citizens, is here in court denouncing me; while I, who have never in my life injured any man, who have kept my hands clean from such spoils, and have provided my advantages from foreigners who feel that I have served them well, am charged with grave offences and placed in very great peril by this trial. And yet all sensible men would do well to pray the gods to endow as many of our people as possible with the power of getting means from abroad in order to make themselves serviceable to the city, even as I have done.

But, though there are many anomalies in my situation, it would be the crowning absurdity of all if, when the men who have paid me money are so grateful to me that they are still even now devoted to me, you on whom I have spent my means

See 8, note.
ISOCRATES

τὰ μαυτοὶ, δίκην ἐπιθυμήσατε παρ’ ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν. ἔτι δὲ δεινότερον, εἰ Πίνδαρον μὲν τὸν ποιητὴν ὦ ἀνέμων γεγονότες ύπερ ἐνός μόνον ρήματος, ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἔρεισμα τῆς Ἐλλάδος ὄνομασεν, οὕτως ἐτίμησαν ὡστε καὶ πρόξενον ποιῆσασθαι καὶ δωρεάν μυρίας αὐτῷ δοῦναι δραχμάς, ἐμοὶ δὲ πολὺ πλείω καὶ κάλλιον ἐγκεκωμικάτο καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς προγόνους μηδ’ ἀσφαλῶς ἐγγένοιτο ἐπιβιῶναι τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον.

167 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατηγορηθέντων ἰκανῆν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν ἐρμημένην ἀπολογίαν· οὐκ δὲ κενῆσω δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὕθ’ ὡς ἔχω νῦν πρὸς τὸν ἐνεστῶτα κύδνυναν κατεπείν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὐθ’ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον διετέθην πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ύπὲρ μὲν τῶν ἴδιων πολλὰς ἐλπίδας

168 εἶχον καλῶς ἀγωνιεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς βεβιωμένοις καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐπίστευον, καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους καὶ δικαίους ὤμην ἔχειν ύπὲρ αὐτῶν· ὅρων δ’ οὐ μόνον δυσκόλως διακειμένους περὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν τοὺς εἰθυμένους ἀπασί χαλεπαίνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν πολλοὺς τραχέως πρὸς αὐτὴν διακειμένους, ἐφοβοῦμην μὴ τὰ μὲν ἴδια μου παραμεληθῆν, τῆς δὲ κοινῆς τῆς περὶ τοὺς σοφιστὰς διαβολῆς ἀπολαύσω

169 τι φλαῦρον· ἐπειδή δὲ χρόνων ἐγγυγνομένων εἰσέπεσον εἰς τὸ λογίζεσθαι καὶ σκοπεῖν τί

a Of Pindar’s encomium on Athens there is preserved a fragment (76 (46)):

"Ὤ ταῖς λιπαραῖς καὶ ἵστεφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι,
Ἐλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθάνατοι, δαιμόνιον πτολεόθρον.

"O splendid, violet-crowned, famed in song, glorious Athens, bulwark of Hellas, a wondrous city."

280
should desire to penalize me. It would be even more absurd if, whereas Pindar, the poet, was so highly honoured by our forefathers because of a single line of his in which he praises Athens as "the bulwark of Hellas" that he was made "proxenos" and given a present of ten thousand drachmas, I, on the other hand, who have glorified Athens and our ancestors with much ampler and nobler encomiums, should not even be privileged to end my days in peace.

With regard, then, to this as well as to the other charges of my accuser, I consider that the defence which I have made is a sufficient answer. Nevertheless, I am not going to hesitate to confide in you the truth as to how I now feel about the pending trial and how I felt about it at the first. I was very confident that for myself personally I could make out a good case; for I relied upon the character of my life and conduct, and believed that I had no lack of arguments to justify them. But as I observed not only the intolerant feeling toward the teaching of eloquence on the part of those who are churlish toward everyone, but the truculent attitude towards it on the part of my fellow-citizens in general, I began to be afraid that the truth regarding me personally might be overlooked and that I might suffer some harm from the common prejudice against the sophists. But as time went on, and I fell to thinking what I should do in the

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*Friend of the city,* an honorary title conferred upon a foreigner by vote of the General Assembly, making him a sort of informal representative of Athens in his own country, and entitling him to special privileges and courtesies in Athens. See Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* pp. 181-182.
χρήσομαι τοὺς παροῦσιν, ἐπαυσάμην τοῦ δέους καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς ταύτης, οὐκ ἄλογως, ἀλλ' ἐκ 170 τῶν εἰκότων λογισάμενος καὶ παραμυθησάμενος ἐμαυτόν· τοὺς τε γὰρ ἐπιεικέως ὑμῶν, πρὸς οὓς περ ἐγὼ ποιήσωμαι τοὺς λόγους, ἡπιστάμην οὐκ ἐμμένοντας ταῖς δόξαις ταῖς ἀδίκως ἐγγεγενημέναις, ἀλλ' ἐπακολούθοντας ταῖς ἀληθείαις καὶ μετα-πειθομένους ὑπὸ τῶν λεγόντων τὰ δίκαια, τὴν τε φιλοσοφίαν ἐκ πολλῶν ἐνόμιζον ἐπιδείξειν ἀδίκους διαβεβηκόμενην, καὶ πολὺ ἂν δικαιοτέρως ἁγα-πωμένην αὐτήν ἢ μισομένην. ἔχω δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτι ταύτην τὴν γνώμην.

171 Οὐκ ἄξιον δὲ θαυμάζειν εἰ τι τῶν καλῶν ἐπι-τηδευμάτων ἤγνωται καὶ διαλέθησαν, οὐδ' εἰ διεξευσάμενοι τινὲς αὐτοῦ τυγχάνονσι καὶ γὰρ περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πραγμάτων ἀναριθμήτων οὕτως ἔχοντες ἂν εὑρεθέμεν. ἡ γὰρ πόλις ἡμῶν πολλῶν ἄγαθῶν αὐτία καὶ νῦν οὕσα καὶ πρότερον γεγενημένη καὶ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις "Ελλησι, καὶ πολλῶν ἢδονῶν γέμουσα,

172 τοῦτ' ἔχει δυσκολώτατον· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐνοικούντων οὐκ εὐσύνοπτός ἐστιν οὐδ' ἄκρηθες, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ χειμάρρους, ὡπως ἂν ἐκαστὸν ὑπολαβοῦσα τύχη καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, οὕτω κατήνεγκε, καὶ δόξαν ἐνίοις τὴν ἑαυτίαν τῆς προσηκούσης περιἐθηκεν· ὅπερ καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ ταύτη συμβέβηκεν.

173 Ὡν ἐνθυμομένους χρή μηδενὸς πράγματος ἄνευ λόγου καταγιγμώσκειν, μηδ' ὁμοίως διακείσθαι 282
Present circumstances, I ceased being fearful and disturbed on this account, not without good reason, but after having weighed the probabilities and reassured myself. For I knew that the honest men among you—and it is to those that I shall address myself—do not remain fixed in opinions which they have formed unjustly, but are in quest of the truth and are ready to be convinced by those who plead a just cause; and I believed that I should have abundant grounds to show that philosophy has been unjustly slandered, and that it deserves much more to be held in favour than in contempt; and I am still of the same opinion.

However, it is not surprising that liberal pursuits have sometimes failed of recognition and regard, nor that some people have been utterly misled about them. In fact we find that this happens in regard to ourselves as well as to other things without number. For our city, which is now and has been in the past the author of so many blessings both to our own people and to the other Hellenes, and which abounds in so many charms, has, nevertheless, a most serious drawback. For Athens is so large and the multitude of people living here is so great, that the city does not present to the mind an image easily grasped or sharply defined, but, like a turbid flood, whatever it catches up in its course, whether men or things, in each case it sweeps them along pell-mell, and in some cases it imbues them with a reputation which is the opposite of the true; and exactly that has been the fortune of this system of education.

You must bear these things in mind, and not pass judgement in any trial without the exercise of
ISOCRATES

dικαίωντας ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις διατριβαῖς, ἀλλὰ διακριβωθαί σερι ἑκάστου καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐστίν, μεμνημένος τῶν ὀρκῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων καθ’ οὐς συνεληφθατε δικαίωντες· ἐστι δ’ οὐ περὶ μικρῶν οὐθ’ ὁ λόγος οὖθ’ ἡ κρίσις ἐν ἡ καθ- ἐσταμεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων· οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἐμοὶ μέλλετε μόνον τὴν ψήφον διοίσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ ἐπιτηδεύματος ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων προσ-
ἐχονσε τὸν νοῦν.

174 Ὅμως δ’ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις καὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παραδιδόσαι· τοιαύτης οὖν ἂεὶ τῆς περιόδου γινομένης ἀναγκαίον ἔστιν, ὅπως ἃν οἱ νεωτεροὶ παϊδεύθωσι, οὕτω τὴν πόλιν πρά-
tουσαν διατελείν· ὥστ’ οὐ ποιητέων τοὺς συκοφάν-
tας κυρίους τηλικούτου πράγματος, οὐδὲ τοὺς μὲν 
μὴ διδόντας τούτοις ἀργύριον τιμωρητέον, παρ’ ἰν δ’ ἂν λάβωσιν ἐατέον ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βουλη-
θῶσιν, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ἡ φιλοσοφία τοιαύτην ἔχει 
δύναμιν ὡστε διαφθείρειν τοὺς νεωτέρους, οὐ 
τοῦτον χρὴ μόνον κολάζειν ὅν ἂν γράφηται τις 
tοῦτων, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐκποδῶν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς 
περὶ τὴν διατριβὴν ταύτην ὄντας· εἰ δὲ τούναντιον 
πέφυκεν ὅστ’ ὕφελεῖν καὶ βελτίως ποιεῖν τοὺς 
πλησιάζοντας καὶ πλέονοι άξιοί τοὺς μὲν δια-
βεβλημένους πρὸς αὐτὴν παυσέων, τοὺς δὲ συκο-
φαντούντας ἁτιμητέον, τοῖς δὲ νεωτέροις συμ-
bουλευτέον ἐν ταύτῃ διατριβῇ μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς 
ἀλλοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμαι.

175 Πρὸ πολλῶν δ’ ἂν ἐποιησάμην, εἰπέρ ἢν εἰμαρ-
μένοι μοι φεύγειν τὴν γραφὴν ταύτην, ἀκμάζοντι

284
reason, nor be as careless when you sit in judgement as you are in your private occupations, but must examine thoroughly each point and search for the truth, mindful of your oaths and of the laws under which you have come together to dispense justice. It is no minor question which is under discussion and on trial here, but the most important in the world. For you are to determine by your votes, not my fate only, but that of a way of life to which many of our youths are devoting their minds.

I suppose that you are not unaware of the fact that the government of the state is handed on by the older men to the youth of the coming generation; and that since the succession goes on without end, it follows of necessity that as is the education of our youth so from generation to generation will be the fortune of the state. Therefore, you must not let the sycophants have control of a thing so momentous, nor punish those who refuse to pay them money, while permitting those from whom they have received it to do whatever they please. But if philosophy has an influence which tends to corrupt our youth, you ought not merely to punish the occasional offender whom some sycophant hales into court but to banish all who are engaged in teaching it. If, however, it has the opposite effect and helps and improves and makes better men of its devotees, then you should call a halt on those who load this study with abuse; you should strip the sycophants of their rewards, and counsel our young men to occupy themselves with this pursuit above all others.

I would have given a good deal, assuming that I was doomed by fate to defend myself against this
μοι προσπεσεὶν τὸν κίνδυνον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦθύμουν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἷς τ' ἂν ἐγενόμην καὶ τὸν κατ-ήγορον ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ βοηθήσαι· νῦν δὲ φοβοῦμαι μὴ διὰ ταύτην ὑπὲρ ἄλλων πραγ-μάτων ἐπιεικῶς εἰρηκώς, περὶ αὐτῆς ταύτης χείρον τύχω διαλεχθεῖσ' ἢ περὶ ὃν ήττον μοι 177 σπουδάσασι προσῆκε. καίτοι δεξαίμην ἂν, εἰρή-σεται γὰρ τάληθες εἰ καὶ μωρός ὁ λόγος ἑστίν, ἦδη τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον ἄξιως εἰπὼν τῆς ὑπο-θέσεως καὶ πείσας ύμας τοιαύτην νομίζειν τὴν τῶν λόγων μελέτην ἃν πέρ ἔστι, μᾶλλον ἡ ζῆν πολυπλασίων χρόνον ἔφορῶν οὕτως αὐτῆν ὀσπερ νῦν παρ' ύμῖν φερομένην.

178 Τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπιθυμίας οἴδ' ὅτι πολὺ καταδεί-στερον ἐροῦμεν· ὄμως δ' ὅπως ἂν δύνωμαι, πειρά-σομαι διελθεῖν τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἢν ἔχει, καὶ ποιὰ τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν ὁμοιοειδῆς ἑστί, καὶ τὰ τούς συνόντας ωφελεί, καὶ πολὰς τυνάς ποιοῦμεθα ἡμεῖς τὰς ὑποσχέσεις· οἴμαι γὰρ ύμᾶς μαθόντας τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἁμειν καὶ βουλεύσεσθαι καὶ διαγγώσεσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς. ἄξιω δ' ύμᾶς, ἢν ἀρα φαίνωμαι λόγους διεξοῦν πολὺ τῶν εἰθι-σμένων λέγεσθαι παρ' ύμῖν ἔξηλλαγμένους, μὴ δυσχεραίνειν ἀλλ' ἐχεῖν συγγνώμην, ἐνθυμομένους ὅτι τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων ἀνομοίων τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγωνιζομένους ἀναγκαἰον ἐστί καὶ τοῖς λόγοις τοιούτους χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν. ὑπομεινάντες οὖν τὸν τρόπον τῶν λεγομένων καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν, καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἑάσαντες ἀναλώσαι μὲ τὸν δεδομένον

a So Socrates (Plato, Apology 32 d) tones down an assertion which might otherwise have sounded over-heroic.
charge, if I could have faced this trial in the fullness of my vigour; for in that case I should have felt no misgiving but should have been better able both to protect myself from my accuser and to champion the cause of liberal education. Now, however, I am afraid that, although I have been enabled by this education to speak well enough on other themes, I may find that I have discoursed less ably upon this subject than upon matters which should have concerned me less. And yet I would rather lay down my life this day—for you shall have the truth even though the words be inept—after having spoken adequately upon this theme and persuaded you to look upon the study of eloquence in its true light, than live many times my allotted span and see it continue to fare among you as it now does.

My aspiration, then, is much greater than my power to do the subject justice; but yet I shall try as best I can to explain what is the nature of this education, what is its power, what of the other arts it is akin to, what benefit it is to its devotees, and what claims I make for it. For I think that when you know the truth about this you will be in a better position to deliberate and pronounce judgement upon it. But I beg of you, if I appear to carry on the discussion in a manner far removed from that which is customary here, not to be impatient but to bear with me, remembering that when a man is defending himself on a charge unlike any other, he must resort to a kind of pleading which is out of the ordinary. Be patient, therefore, with the manner of my discourse and with my frankness of speech; permit me to use up the time allotted to my defence;

Cf. Plato, Apology 17 b ff.
ISOCRATES

taìs ἀπολογίαις, ὅπως ἂν ὑμῶν ἐκάστῳ δοκῇ δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ νόμιμον, οὕτω φέρετε τῇν ψῆφον.

180 Βουλομαι δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων παιδείας ὦσπερ οἱ γενεαλογοῦντες πρῶτον διελθεῖν πρὸς ύμᾶς. ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἣμῶν ἐκ τε τοῦ σώματος συγκεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, αὐτοῖν δὲ τούτων οὐδεὶς ἐστίν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν φήσειν ἡγε- μονικωτέραν πεφυκέναι τὴν ψυχήν καὶ πλέονος ἀξίαν· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἐργὸν εἶναι βουλεύσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἴδιων καὶ περὶ τῶν κουνῶν, τοῦ δὲ σώματος ὑπηρετῆσαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς γνω- σθείσιν. οὕτω δὲ τούτων ἐχόντων ὀρῶντες τινες τῶν πολύ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότων περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων πολλὰς τέχνας συνεστηκυίας, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐδὲν τοὐτοῦν συντεταγ- μένου, εὐρόντες διττὰς ἑπιμελείας κατέλυσιν ἡμῶν, περὶ μὲν τὰ σώματα τὴν παιδοτριβικὴν, ἢ ἢ γνωμαστικὴ μέρος ἐστὶ, περὶ δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, περὶ ἢς ἐγὼ μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς

181 λόγους, ἀντιστρόφους καὶ σύζυγας καὶ σφίσιν αὐταῖς ὁμολογομένας, δη ὦν οἱ προεστῶτες αὐτῶν τὰς τε ψυχὰς φρονιμωτέρας καὶ τὰ σώματα χρησιμώτερα παρασκευάζουσιν, οὐ πολὺ διαστησά- μενοι τὰς παιδείας ἀπ᾽ ἄλληλων, ἀλλὰ παρα- πλησίαις χρώμενοι καὶ ταῖς διδασκαλίαις καὶ ταῖς γυμνασίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἑπιμελείαις.

182 Ἐπειδὰν γὰρ λάβωσι μαθητὰς, οἱ μὲν παιδο- τρίβαι τὰ σχῆματα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀγωνίαν εὑρημένα τοὺς φοιτῶντας διδάσκουσιν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντες τὰς ἰδέας ἀπάσσος, αἰς ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει χρώμενος, διεξέρχονται τοῖς μαθηταῖς. ἐμπείρους δὲ τούτων ποιήσαντες καὶ διακριβώ-
and then cast your ballots as each of you thinks is right and in accordance with the law.

In my treatment of the art of discourse, I desire, like the genealogists, to start at the beginning. It is acknowledged that the nature of man is compounded of two parts, the physical and the mental, and no one would deny that of these two the mind comes first and is of greater worth; for it is the function of the mind to decide both on personal and on public questions, and of the body to be servant to the judgements of the mind. Since this is so, certain of our ancestors, long before our time, seeing that many arts had been devised for other things, while none had been prescribed for the body and for the mind, invented and bequeathed to us two disciplines, physical training for the body, of which gymnastics is a part, and, for the mind, philosophy, which I am going to explain. These are twin arts—parallel and complementary—by which their masters prepare the mind to become more intelligent and the body to become more serviceable, not separating sharply the two kinds of education, but using similar methods of instruction, exercise, and other forms of discipline.

For when they take their pupils in hand, the physical trainers instruct their followers in the postures which have been devised for bodily contests, while the teachers of philosophy impart all the forms of discourse in which the mind expresses itself. Then, when they have made them familiar and thoroughly

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a Literally, I desire first to discuss the art of discourse after the manner of the genealogists.
The distinction usually drawn, in Plato for instance, between δόξα and ἐπιστήμη, the one “opinion,” the other “knowledge,” is not exactly that made by Isocrates. δόξα is here, not irresponsible opinion, but a working theory based on practical experience—judgement or insight in dealing with the uncertain contingencies of any human
conversant with these lessons, they set them at exercises, habituate them to work, and require them to combine in practice the particular things which they have learned, in order that they may grasp them more firmly and bring their theories into closer touch with the occasions for applying them—I say "theories," for no system of knowledge can possibly cover these occasions, since in all cases they elude our science. Yet those who most apply their minds to them and are able to discern the consequences which for the most part grow out of them, will most often meet these occasions in the right way.

Watching over them and training them in this manner, both the teachers of gymnastic and the teachers of discourse are able to advance their pupils to a point where they are better men and where they are stronger in their thinking or in the use of their bodies. However, neither class of teachers is in possession of a science by which they can make capable athletes or capable orators out of whomsoever they please. They can contribute in some degree to these results, but these powers are never found in their perfection save in those who excel by virtue both of talent and of training.

I have given you now some impression of what philosophy is. But I think that you will get a still clearer idea of its powers if I tell you what professions I make to those who want to become my pupils. I say to them that if they are to excel in oratory or in managing affairs or in any line of work, situation which presents itself. In this realm, he holds, there can be no exact science. Cf. 271; Against the Sophists 1-3. See General Introd. pp. xxii, xxvii.

For Isocrates' view as to the elements which produce the successful orator see General Introd. p. xxiv.
ἐργασίας πρώτον μὲν πρὸς τούτο πεφυκέναι καλῶς, πρὸς δὲ ἂν προηγημένου τυγχάνωσιν, ἔπειτα παίδευθηναι καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἦτος ἂν ἢ περὶ ἐκάστου, τρίτον ἐντριβεῖς γενέσθαι καὶ γυμνασθῆναι περὶ τὴν χρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν αὐτῶν· ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἐργασίαις τελείους γίγνεσθαι καὶ πολὺ διαφέροντας τῶν ἄλλων.

188 εἶναι δὲ τούτων προσήκον ἐκατέροις, τοῖς τε διδάσκουσι καὶ τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, ἵδιον μὲν τοῖς μὲν εἰσενέγκασθαι τὴν φύσιν οἶαν δεῖ, τοῖς δὲ δύνασθαι παίδευσαι τοὺς τουοῦτος, κοινὸν δ’ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν γυμνασίουν· δεῖν γὰρ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιστατῆσαι τοῖς παιδευμένοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐγκρατῶς ἐμμεῖναι τοῖς προστατημένοις.

189 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀ κατὰ πασῶν λέγομεν τῶν τεχνῶν· εἰ δὲ δὴ τις ἄφέμενος τῶν ἄλλων ἔροιτο μὲ τί τούτων μεγίστην ἔχει δύναμιν πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν, ἀποκριναίμην ἂν ὅτι τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀνυπέρβλητον ἐστὶ καὶ πολὺ πάντων διαφέρει· τὸν γὰρ ἔχοντα τὴν μὲν ψυχὴν εὐρεῖν καὶ μαθεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι καὶ μνημονεύειν δυναμένην, τὴν δὲ φωνὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ στόματος σαφῆνειν τοιαύτην ὡστε μὴ μόνοις τοῖς λεγομένοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς τούτων εὑρισκόμενας συμπείθειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας, ἐτί δὲ τὴν τόλμαν μὴ τὴν ἀνασχυντίας σημεῖον γιγνομένην, ἀλλὰ τὴν μετὰ σωφροσύνης οὐτώ παρασκευάζουσαν τὴν ψυχὴν ὡστε μηδὲν ἤπτον θαρρεῖν ἐν δὴ πάσι τοῖς πολίταις τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενον ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν διανοούμενον, τίς οὐκ οἴδεν ὅτι τυχών ὁ τοιούτος παιδείας μὴ
they must, first of all, have a natural aptitude for that which they have elected to do; secondly, they must submit to training and master the knowledge of their particular subject, whatever it may be in each case; and, finally, they must become versed and practised in the use and application of their art; for only on these conditions can they become fully competent and pre-eminent in any line of endeavour. In this process, master and pupil each has his place; no one but the pupil can furnish the necessary capacity; no one but the master, the ability to impart knowledge; while both have a part in the exercises of practical application: for the master must painstakingly direct his pupil, and the latter must rigidly follow the master's instructions.

Now these observations apply to any and all the arts. If anyone, ignoring the other arts, were to ask me which of these factors has the greatest power in the education of an orator I should answer that natural ability is paramount and comes before all else. For given a man with a mind which is capable of finding out and learning the truth and of working hard and remembering what it learns, and also with a voice and a clarity of utterance which are able to captivate the audience, not only by what he says, but by the music of his words, and, finally, with an assurance which is not an expression of bravado, but which, tempered by sobriety, so fortifies the spirit that he is no less at ease in addressing all his fellow-citizens than in reflecting to himself—who does not know that such a man might, without the advantage of an elaborate education and with only

a Isocrates here mentions qualifications which he himself lacked, voice and assurance. See Phil. 81; Panath. 10.
τῆς ἀπηκριβωμένης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐπιπολαίον καὶ
πᾶσι κοινῆς, τοιοῦτος ἂν εἴη ὑπήρω ὅσον οὐκ οἶδ'  
191 εἰ τις τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονεν; καὶ μὲν δὴ κάκει-
νους Ἰσμεν, τοὺς καταδεστέραν μὲν τούτων τὴν
φύσιν ἔχοντας, ταῖς δ' ἐμπειρίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐπι-
μελείαις προέχοντας, ὅτι γίγνονται κρείττους οὐ
μόνον αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰ μὲν περικότων λίαν
δ' αὐτῶν κατημεληκότων. ὡςθ' ἐκάτερον τε τοὐ-
των δεινὸν ἂν καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ποιήσειν,
ἀμφότερα τε γενόμενα περὶ τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀνυπέρ-
βλητον ἄν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποτελέσειν.

192 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας
ταῦτα γιγνώσκων. περὶ δὲ τῆς παιδείας οὐκ ἔχω
τοιοῦτον λόγον εἰπεῖν. οὔτε γάρ ὁμοίαι οὔτε παρα-
πλησίαν ἔχει τούτοις τὴν δύναμιν. εἰ γάρ τις
διακούσειεν ἀπαντά τὰ περὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ δι-
ακριβωθεῖν μάλλον τῶν ἄλλων, λόγων μὲν ποιητής
τυχόν ἄν χαριέστερος γένοιτο τῶν πολλῶν, εἰς
ὠχλον δὲ καταστάς, τούτου μόνον ἀποστερηθεῖς,
τοῦ τολμάν, οὐδ' ἂν φθέγξασθαι δυνηθεῖν.

193 Καὶ μηδὲς οἴεσθω με πρὸς μὲν ὑμᾶς συστέλλειν
tὴν ὑπόσχεσιν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ διαλέγωμαι πρὸς τοὺς
συνεῖναι μοι βουλομένους, ἀπασαν ὑπ' ἐμαυτῷ
ποιεῖσθαι τὴν δύναμιν φεύγων γὰρ τὰς τοιαύτας
αἰτίας, οτ' ἡρχόμην περὶ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν πραγ-
ματείαν, λόγου διέδωκα γράφας ἐν ὧν φανήσομαι
τοῖς τε μείζοις ποιουμένοις τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἐπι-
τιμῶν καὶ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀποφαίνομενος. ἀ
μὲν οὖν κατηγορῶ τῶν ἄλλων παραλείψω. καὶ
γάρ ἐστὶ πλεῖον τοῦ καρποῦ τοῦ παρόντος. ἀ δ'
αὐτὸς ἀποφαίνομαι, πειράσομαι διελθεῖν ὑμῖν.
ἀρχομαι δ' ἐνθένει ποθέν.

294
a superficial and common training, be an orator such as has never, perhaps, been seen among the Hellenes? Again, we know that men who are less generously endowed by nature but excel in experience and practice, not only improve upon themselves, but surpass others who, though highly gifted, have been too negligent of their talents. It follows, therefore, that either one of these factors may produce an able speaker or an able man of affairs, but both of them combined in the same person might produce a man incomparable among his fellows.

These, then, are my views as to the relative importance of native ability and practice. I cannot, however, make a like claim for education; its powers are not equal nor comparable to theirs. For if one should take lessons in all the principles of oratory and master them with the greatest thoroughness, he might, perhaps, become a more pleasing speaker than most, but let him stand up before the crowd and lack one thing only, namely, assurance, and he would not be able to utter a word.

But let no one of you think that before you I belittle my pretensions, while when I address those who desire to become my pupils I claim every power for my teaching; for it was to avoid just such a charge as this that, when I entered upon my profession, I wrote and published a discourse in which you will find that I attack those who make pretensions which are unwarranted, and set forth my own ideas. Now I am not going to quote from it my criticisms of others; for they are too long for the present occasion; but I shall attempt to repeat to you that part in which I express my own views. I begin at this point.
The earlier compositions are more finished as to rhythm and musical quality. See Phil. 27.
ANTIDOSIS, 195-197

[Extract from Against the Sophists 14-18. See this Vol. pp. 170-175.]

Now this quotation is of a more finished style than what has been said before, but its meaning is the same, and this ought to be taken by you as a convincing proof of my honesty; for you see that I did not brag and make big promises when I was young only to speak modestly for my philosophy now that I have reaped the harvest of my labours and am an old man, but that, on the contrary, I speak in the same terms both when I was at the height of my career and now when I am ready to retire from it, both when I had no thought of danger and now when I stand in jeopardy, and both in addressing those who wanted to become my pupils and now in addressing those who are to vote upon my fate. I do not see, therefore, how the sincerity and honesty of my professions could be more clearly shown.

Let this quotation, then, add its weight to what I have said before. I do not, however, delude myself as to the people who are ill disposed towards my teaching: nothing of what I have said so far is enough to disabuse them of this feeling; and it will take many arguments of all sorts to convert them to a different opinion from that which they now hold. Accordingly I must not leave off expounding and speaking until I shall accomplish one of two things—until I have persuaded them to change their views or have proved that the slanders and charges which they repeat against me are false.

These charges are of two kinds. Some of them say that the profession of the sophist is nothing but sham and chicane, maintaining that no kind of
Ης γένοιτο τις ἀν ἦ περὶ τοὺς λόγους δεινότερος
η περὶ τὰς πράξεις φρονομώτερος, ἂλλ’ οἱ προ-
έχοντες ἐν τούτοις τῇ φύσει τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσιν.
198 οἱ δὲ δεινότεροι μὲν ὀμολογοῦσιν εἶναι τοὺς περὶ
tὴν μελέτην ταύτην ὄντας, ὥς μὴν ἄλλα δια-
φθείρεσθαι καὶ γίγνεσθαι χείρος· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ
λάβωσι δύναμιν, τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐπιθυμεῖν.
Ὡς οὖν οὐδὲν ὑγίες οὐδ’ ἄληθες οὐδέτεροι
tούτων λέγουσιν, πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω πάσι φανερὸν
199 ποιήσεων. πρῶτον δ’ ἐνθυμήθητε περὶ τῶν φλω-
ρίαν φασκόντων εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν, ὥς αὐτοὶ
λίαν καταφανῶς ληροῦσιν. διασύνοντι μὲν γὰρ
αὐτήν ὡς οὐδὲν ὕφελεῖ ὑμελείν δυναμένην ἄλλ’ ἀπάτην
καὶ φενακισμόν οὔσαν, ἀξιοῦσι δὲ τοὺς συνόντας
ήμιν εὐθὺς μὲν προσελθόντας διαφέρειν αὐτοὺς
200 αὐτῶν, ὀλίγας δ’ ἡμέρας συνδιατρίβαντας σοφι-
τέρους ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ κρείττους φαίνεσθαι
tῶν καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις προ-
exόντων, ἐναυτὸν δὲ μόνον παραμείναντας ῥήτορας
ἀπαντας ἁγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τελέους καὶ μηδὲν
φαυλοτέρους τοὺς ἁμελεῖς τῶν ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων
μηδὲ τοὺς ἁμελεῖς τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνδρικὰς ἐχόντων.
201 καὶ ταῦτα προστάττουσιν οὐθ’ ἧμιν ἀκηκόοτες
τοιαύτας ποιομένων τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, οὕτ’ ἐν ταῖς
ἄλλαις τέχναις καὶ παιδείαις οὐδὲν ἐωρακότες
tούτων συμβαῖνον, ἄλλα μόλις μὲν ἦμιν τὰς
ἐπιστήμας παραγγειλόμενα, οὕχ ὁμοίως δ’ ἄλλη-
λοις δ’ τι ἂν μάθωμεν ἐξεργαζόμενοι, ἄλλα δύο
μὲν ἦ τρεῖς ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν διδασκαλείων ἀγω-
298
education has ever been discovered which can improve a man's ability to speak or his capacity for handling affairs, and that those who excel in these respects owe their superiority to natural gifts; while others acknowledge that men who take this training are more able, but complain that they are corrupted and demoralized by it, alleging that when they gain the power to do so, they scheme to get other people's property.

Now there is not a sound or true word in either complaint, as I am very confident that I can prove to everyone. First of all I would have you note, in the case of those who assert that education is a sham, that they quite obviously talk rubbish themselves; for while they ridicule it as powerless to help us—nothing but humbug and chicane—at the same time they demand that my pupils show improvement from the moment they come to me; that when they have been with me a few days, they must be abler and wiser in speech than those who have the advantage over them both in years and in experience; and that when they have been with me no more than a year, they must all be good and finished orators; nor must the indolent be a whit less accomplished than the industrious, nor they who are lacking in ability than those who are blessed with vigorous minds. These are the requirements they set up, and yet they have never heard me make such promises, nor have they ever seen like results in the other arts and disciplines. On the contrary, all knowledge yields itself up to us only after great effort on our part, and we are by no means all equally capable of working out in practice what we learn. Nay, from all our schools only two or three students
μιστάς γιγνομένους, τούς δ' ἄλλους εξ αὐτῶν ἴδιώτας ἀπαλλαττομένους.

202 Καὶ τοι πῶς οὖκ ἄφρονας εἶναι χρὴ νομίζειν τοὺς τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς ἐν ταῖς ὁμολογομέναις τῶν τεχνῶν οὖκ ἐνούσας, ταύτας ἀπαιτεῖν τολμῶντας παρὰ ταύτης ἢν οὖν εἶναι φασὶ, καὶ πλείους τὰς ὑφελείας ἄξιοντας γίγνεσθαι παρὰ τῆς ἀπιστουμένης υφ' αὐτῶν ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἀκριβῶς εὐρήσθαι

203 δοκοῦσών; χρὴ δὲ τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας οὖν ἀνωμάλως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κρίσεις περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων πραγμάτων, οὕτω ἀποδοκιμάζειν τὴν παιδείαν τὴν ταύτα ταῖς πλείσταις τῶν τεχνῶν ἀπεργαζομένην. τίς γὰρ οὖν οἶδεν ὡμῶν πολλῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς σοφισταῖς γενομένων οὐ φεινακισθέντας οὐδ' οὕτω

204 διατέθεντας ὡς οὕτωι λέγουσιν, ἄλλα τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἰκανοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς ἀποτελεσθέντας, τοὺς δὲ παιδεύειν ἑτέρους δυνηθέντας, ὅσοι δ' αὐτῶν ἱδιωτεύειν ἐβουλήθησαν, ἐν τε ταῖς ὁμολογειαστικοῖς ἄριστοι καὶ συμβούλοις ἀκριβεστέρους τῶν πλείστων γεγενημένοις; ὡστε πῶς χρὴ τῆς τοιαύτης διατρήσεως καταφρονεῖν, τῆς τούς κεχρημένους αὐτῆς τουούτους παρασκευάζειν δυναμένης;

205 Ἀλλὰ μην καὶ τόδε πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιμεν, ὅτι τούτους τεχνικωτάτους εἶναι νομίζομεν ἐπὶ παιδίων τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ χειρουργῶν, οἳ τινες ἂν τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς οἰόνθ' ὁμοιοτάτους ἐργάτας ἀλλήλως ἀποδείξοι. τῇ τούπην φιλοσοφία φανή- 206 σεται καὶ τοῦτο συμβεβηκός. ὅσοι γὰρ ἤγεμόνοις ἔτυχον ἀληθινοὶ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντος, εὑρεθεῖν ἂν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις οὕτως ὁμοίαν τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντες ὡστε πάσιν εἶναι φανερὸν ὅτι τῆς αὐτῆς παιδείας 300
turn out to be real champions, the rest retiring from their studies into private life.

And yet how can we fail to deny intelligence to those who have the effrontery to demand powers which are not found in the recognized arts of this which they declare is not an art and who expect greater advantages to come from an art in which they do not believe than from arts which they regard as thoroughly perfected? Men of intelligence ought not to form contrary judgements about similar things nor refuse to recognize a discipline which accomplishes the same results as most of the arts. For who among you does not know that most of those who have sat under the sophists have not been duped nor affected as these men claim, but that some of them have been turned out competent champions and others able teachers; while those who have preferred to live in private have become more gracious in their social intercourse than before, and keener judges and more prudent counsellors than the great majority? How then is it possible to scorn a discipline which is able to make of those who have taken advantage of it men of that kind?

Furthermore, this also will be agreed to by all men, namely, that in all the arts and crafts we regard those as the most skilled who turn out pupils who all work as far as possible in the same manner. Now it will be seen that this is the case with philosophy. For all who have been under a true and intelligent guide will be found to have a power of speech so similar that it is evident to everyone that

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a That is, champions in the contests of oratory.

b As distinguished from the professional life of public orators and teachers of oratory. Cf. 204.

c Cf. 253; Peace 114. d See General Introd. p. xxvi.
μετεσχήκασι. καὶ τοι μηδενὸς ἐδοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐγγενο-μένου κοινοῦ μηδὲ διατριβῆς τεχνικῆς ὑπαρξάσης οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἃν εἰς τὴν ὀμοιότητα ταύτην κατέστησαν.

207 "Ετι τοῦτων ὑμῶν αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι πολλοὺς τῶν συμπαίδευθέντων, οἱ παῖδες μὲν ὄντες ἀμαθέστατοι τῶν ἣλικιωτῶν ἐδοξάν εἰναι, πρεσβύτεροι δὲ γενόμενοι πλέον διήνεγκαν πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἂν παῖδες ὄντες ἀπελεύθησαν. ὃθεν μάλιστ' ἂν τις γνοίη τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅσην ἔχει δύναμιν· δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τότε μὲν ἀπαντεῖς τοιαύτης ἐχρῶντο ταῖς διανοίασιν οίας περ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔφυσαν ἔχοντες, ἀνδρεῖς δὲ γενόμενοι τούτων διήνεγκαν καὶ μετήλλαξαν τὴν φρόνησιν τῷ τούς μὲν ἐκ-κεχυμένως ζῆν καὶ ραθύμως, τοὺς δὲ τοὺς τε πράγμασι καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν.

208 ὅπου δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείας γίγνονται τυχείς βελτίως, πῶς οὖκ ἂν οὕτω καὶ ὁδώντες ἐπι-στάτην καὶ πρεσβύτερον καὶ πολλῶν πραγμάτων ἐμπειρον, καὶ τὰ μὲν παρειληφότα τὰ δ’ αὐτῶν εὔρηκότα, πολὺ ἂν ἔτι πλέον καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διήνεγκαν;

209 Οὐ μόνον δ’ ἐκ τούτων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰκότως ἂν ἀπαντῆς τὴν ἄγνοιαν θαυμάσειαν τῶν τολμώντων οὕτως εἰκῆ καταφρονεῖν τῆς φιλο-σοφίας· πρῶτον μὲν εἰ πάσας τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὰς τέχνας εἰδότες ταῖς μελέτασι καὶ ταῖς φιλοπονίαις ἀληκομένας πρὸς τὴν τῆς φρονήσεως ἄσκησιν ταῦτα μηδεμίαν ἡγοῦνται δύναμιν ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ τῶν μὲν σωμάτων μηδὲν οὕτως ἂν φήσαιεν εἴναι φαιλον, ὁ τι γυμνασθὲν καὶ πονήσαν οὖκ
they have shared the same training. And yet, had not a common habit and a common technique of training been instilled into them, it is inconceivable that they should have taken on this likeness.

Again, every one of you could name many of your schoolfellows who when they were boys seemed to be the dullest among their companions, but who, growing older, outstripped them farther in intelligence and in speech than they had lagged behind them when they were boys. From this fact you can best judge what training can do; for it is evident that when they were young they all possessed such mental powers as they were born with, but as they grew to be men, these outstripped the others and changed places with them in intelligence, because their companions lived dissolutely and softly, while they gave heed to their own opportunities and to their own welfare. But when people succeed in making progress through their own diligence alone, how can they fail to improve in a much greater degree both over themselves and over others if they put themselves under a master who is mature, of great experience, and learned not only in what has been handed down to him but in what he has discovered for himself?

But there remain still other reasons why everyone may well be astonished at the ignorance in men who venture so blindly to condemn philosophy. For, in the first place, they know that pains and industry give proficiency in all other activities and arts, yet deny that they have any such power in the training of the intellect; secondly, they admit that no physical weakness is so hopeless that it cannot be improved
ἀν τεῦ βέλτιον, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς τὰς ἁμεινὸν πε-

φυκυίας τῶν σωμάτων μηδὲν ἂν νομίζουσι γενέσθαι
σπουδαιότερα παιδευθείσας καὶ τυχόνσας τῆς

211 προσηκουσις ἐπιμελείας· έτι δ' εἰ περὶ τοὺς

ἵππους καὶ τοὺς κύνας καὶ τὰ πλείστα τῶν ζώων
ὄρων τεχνὰς ἔχοντάς τινας, αἰς τά μὲν ἀν-

dρειότερα τά δὲ πραότερα τά δὲ φρονιμώτερα
ποιοῦσι, περὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν μηδεμίαν
οἶοντα τοιαύτην εὐρήσθαι παιδειάν, ἡ τις ἂν

αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τι τοῦτων ἄν περ καὶ τὰ θηρία δυνηθεὶ

212 προαγαγείν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἁτυχίαν
κατεγκώκασιν, ὦσθ' ὁμολογήσειαν μὲν ἂν ταῖς

ἡμετέραις διανοίας ἐκαστὸν τῶν ὄντων βέλτιον
γίγνεσθαι καὶ χρησμώτερον, αὐτοὺς δ' ἡμᾶς τοὺς

ἔχοντας τὴν φρόνησιν ταύτην, ἢ πάντα πλέονος

άξια ποιοῦμεν, τολμῶσι λέγειν ὡς οὐδὲν ἄν

213 ἀλλήλους πρὸς ἐπιείκειαν ὑπεργετήσαμεν. δ' ἀδ

πάντων δεινότατον, ὅτι καθ' ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν

θεωροῦντες εν τοῖς θαύμασι τοὺς μὲν λέοντας

πραότερον διακειμένους πρὸς τοὺς θεραπεύοντας

ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνοικ πρὸς τοὺς εὗ ποιοῦντας,

τὰς δ' ἀρκτοὺς καλυδουμένας καὶ παλαιοῦσας

214 καὶ μιμομένας τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐπιστήμας, οὐδὲ

ἐκ τούτων δύναται γνώσθαι τὴν παιδειάν καὶ

τὴν ἐπιμελείαν ὅσην ἔχει δύναμιν, οὐδ' ὅτι ταῦτα

πολὺ ἂν θάττον τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ἡ τὴν ἑκέινων

ωφελήσειν· ὅστ' ἀπορῶ πότερον ἂν τις δικαίο-

τερον θαυμάσει τὰς πραότητας τὰς τοῖς χαλεπώ-

τάτοις τῶν θηρίων ἐγγυγυμόμενας ἢ τὰς ἀγριότητας

τὰς ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀνθρώπων

ἐννούσας.

215 Ἡχοι δ' ἄν τις πλεῖω περὶ τούτων εἰπείν· ἀλλὰ

304
by exercise and effort, but they do not believe that our minds, which are naturally superior to our bodies, can be made more serviceable through education and suitable training; again, they observe that some people possess the art of training horses and dogs and most other animals by which they make them more spirited, gentle or intelligent, as the case may be, yet they do not think that any education has been discovered for training human nature, such as can improve men in any of those respects in which we improve the beasts. Nay, so great is the misfortune which they impute to us all, that while they would acknowledge that it is by our mental powers that every creature is improved and made more useful, yet they have the hardihood to claim that we ourselves, who are endowed with an intelligence through which we render all creatures of greater worth, cannot help each other to advance in excellence. But most absurd of all, they behold in the shows which are held year after year lions which are more gentle toward their trainers than some people are toward their benefactors, and bears which dance about and wrestle and imitate our skill, and yet they are not able to judge even from these instances the power which education and training have, nor can they see that human nature will respond more promptly than the animals to the benefits of education. In truth, I cannot make up my mind which should astonish us the more—the gentleness which is implanted in the fiercest of wild beasts or the brutishness which resides in the souls of such men.

One might say more upon this head, but if I say

\[a\] See *To Nicocles* 12 and note, Vol. I. p. 47.
γὰρ ἡν πολλὰ λίαν λέγω περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς πλείστοις ὁμολογομένων, δέδοικα μὴ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων ἀπορεῖν δῶξω. παυσάμενος οὖν τούτων ἑπὶ ἐκείνους τρέφομαι, τοὺς οὐ καταφρονοῦντας μὲν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, πολὺ δὲ πικρότερον κατηγοροῦντας αὐτῆς, καὶ μεταφέροντας τὰς πονηρίας τὰς τῶν φασκόντων μὲν εἰναι σοφιστῶν ἀλλο δὲ τι πραττόντων ἐτὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνους ἐπιτηδεύοντας. ἐγὼ δὲ οὖχ ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν προσποιουμένων δύνασθαι παideύειν ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίως τῆς δόξαν τάυτην ἔχοντων. οἷμαι δὲ σαφῶς ἐπιδείξειν τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας ἡμῶν πολὺ τῆς ἀληθείας διημαρτυρούσας, ἂν περ ἐθελήσῃτε διὰ τέλους ἀκοῦσαι τῶν λεγομένων.

216 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὄρισασθαι δεῖ τίνων ὅρεγόμενοι καὶ τίνος τυχεῖν βουλόμενοι τολμῶσι τινες ἄδικεὶν· ἂν γὰρ τάντα καλῶς περιλάβωμεν, ἁμείνον γνώσασθε τὰς αὐτίας τὰς καθ’ ἡμῶν λεγομένας, εἰτ’ ἄληθεῖς εἰσιν εὖτε ψευδεῖς. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἡδονῆς ἡ κέρδους ἡ τιμῆς ἑνεκὰ φημὶ πάντα πάντα πράττειν· ἐξὸν γὰρ τούτων οὐδεμιὰν ἐπι-

217 θυμίαν ὅρῳ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνομένην. εἰ δὴ ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχει, λοιπὸν ἄτι σκέψασθαι τι τούτων ἂν ἡμῶν γίγνοιτο διαφθείρουσι τοὺς νεω-

218 τέρους.

Πότερ’ ἂν ἡθείημεν ὀρώντες ἡ καὶ πυθαδό-

219 μενοί πονηροὺς αὐτοὺς ὅντας καὶ δοκοῦντας τοῖς συμπολιτευμένοις; καὶ τίς οὕτως ἐστὶν ἀν-

αἰσθητος ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἀληθέσει τοιαύτης διαβολῆς περὶ αὐτῶν γιγνομένης; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὖδ’ ἂν θαυ-

μασθείμεν οὐδὲ τιμῆς μεγάλης τύχοιμεν τοιοῦτοις

306
too much on questions about which most men are agreed, I fear you may suspect that I have little to say on questions which are in dispute. Therefore I shall leave this subject and turn my attention to a class of people who do not, to be sure, contemn philosophy but condemn it much more bitterly since they attribute the iniquities of those who profess to be sophists, but in practice are far different, to those whose ways have nothing in common with them. But I am speaking, not in behalf of all those who pretend to be able to educate the young, but in behalf of those only who have justly earned this reputation, and I think that I shall convince you that my accusers have shot very wide of the truth if only you are willing to hear me to the end.

In the first place, then, we must determine what are the objects which make people venture to do evil; for if we define these correctly, you will be better able to make up your minds whether the charges which have been made against us are true or false. Well then, I maintain that everyone does everything which he does for the sake of pleasure or gain or honour; for I observe that no desire springs up in men save for these objects. If this be so, it only remains to consider which of these objects we should attain by corrupting the young.

Do you suppose it would give us pleasure to see or hear that our pupils were bad and in evil repute with their fellow-citizens? And who is so insensate that he would not be distressed to have such things reported about himself? But surely we could not expect to be admired nor to enjoy great honour for

*That is, teachers of wisdom. He means so-called sophists, such as teachers of forensic skill, who bring all sophists into disrepute.*
τοὺς συνόντας ἀποσέμποντες, ἄλλα πολὺ ἃν μάλλον καταφρονηθεῖμεν καὶ μισηθεῖμεν τῶν ταῖς ἄλλαις πονηρίαις ἐνόχων οὖντων. καὶ μὴν οὐδ’ εἰ ταῦτα παρίδουμεν, χρήματα πλεῖστ’ ἂν λάβομεν

220 οὕτω παιδείας προεστῶτες. οἴμαι γὰρ δὴ ποινὸ τοῦτό γε πάντας γιγνώσκειν, ὅτι σοφιστῇ μισθὸς κάλλιστός ἐστι καὶ μέγιστος, ἢν τῶν μαθητῶν τινες καλοὶ κάγαθοι καὶ φρόνιμοι γένωνται καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις εὐδοκιμοῦντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοιούτων πολλοὺς μετασχεῖν τῆς παιδείας εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν καθιστᾶσιν, οἱ δὲ ποιηροὶ καὶ τοὺς πρότερον συνεῖναι διανοοῦμενοὺς ἀποτρέπουσιν. ὥστε τίς ἂν ἐν τούτοις τὸ κρέιττον ἀγνοήσειν, οὕτω μεγάλην τὴν διαφορὰν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐχόντων;

221 Ἡσιώ οὖν ἃν τις πρὸς ταῦτα τολμήσειν εἰπεῖν ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὰς ἀκρασίας οὐκ ἐμμένουσί τοῖς λογισμοῖς, ἂλλʼ ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ συμφέροντος ἐπὶ τὰς ἴδινας ὀρμᾶν. ἐγὼ δ’ ὀμολογῶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν προσποιομένων εἶναι σοφιστῶν ἐχεῖν τινὰς τὴν

222 φύσιν ταύτην, ἂλλʼ ὀμοίως οὐδὲ τῶν τοιούτων οὔδεις ἐστὶν οὕτως ἀκρατῆς ὡστε ἄν δεξιάτο καὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς εἶναι τοιούτους· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἴδιναν τῶν διὰ τὴν ἀκρασίαν ἐκεῖνοι συμβαίνουσιν οὐκ ἂν δύνατο μετασχεῖν, τῆς δὲ δόξης τῆς διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν γιγνομένην αὐτὸς ἄν τὸ πλείστον μέρος ἀπολαύσειν.

"Επειτα τίνας ἂν καὶ διαφθείραιε, καὶ τοὺς πῶς διακειμένους λάβοιεν ἂν μαθητὰς; ἄξιον

223 γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα διελθεῖν. πότερον τοὺς ἡδῆ κακοήθεις οὕτας καὶ ποιηροὺς; καὶ τίς ἂν, ᾧ
sending out disciples of that sort; on the contrary, we should be much more despised and hated than those who are charged with other forms of villainy. And, mark you, even if we could shut our eyes to these consequences, we could not gain the most money by directing a training of that character; for, I suppose, all men are aware that a sophist reaps his finest and his largest reward when his pupils prove to be honourable and intelligent and highly esteemed by their fellow-citizens, since pupils of that sort inspire many with the desire to enjoy his teaching, while those who are depraved repel even those who were formerly minded to join his classes. Who, then, could be blind to the more profitable course, when there is so vast a difference between the two?

Perhaps, however, some might venture to reply that many men, because of their incontinence, are not amenable to reason, but neglect their true interests and rush on in the pursuit of pleasure. I grant you that many men in general and some who pretend to be sophists are of this nature. Nevertheless, no one even of their number is so incontinent as to desire his pupils also to show the same lack of control; for he would not be able to share in the pleasures which they might enjoy as the result of their incontinence, while he would bring down upon his own head most of the evil repute which would result from their depravity.

Again, whom would they corrupt and what manner of people would they get as pupils? For this is worth inquiring into. Would they get those who are already perverse and vicious? And who, pray, would make
ISOCRATES

παρά τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἐπίσταται, ταῦτα παρ' ἑτέρου μανθάνειν ἐπιχειρήσειν; ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντας; ἀλλ' οὖν ἂν εἰς τῶν τοιούτων τοῖς κακοῖς τι λέγων ςν ἐπίστασθαι διαλεξήθηναι τολμήσειν.

224 Ἡδέως δ' ἂν κακεῖνο πυθοὶμην παρὰ τῶν χαλεπῶς ἔχοντων πρὸς ἡμᾶς, τίνα ποτὲ γνώμην ἔχουσι περὶ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τόπων δεύο πλεόντων, ἢν παιδευθῶσι. πότερον αὐτοὺς οἴνοτα σπανίζοντας ἐκεῖ πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐνθάδε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν; ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐυρῷ τὸς ἄν τῶν συμπονηρεύεσθαι καὶ συνεξαμαρτάνειν βουλομένων.

225 ἀλλ' ἢν κακοπράγμονες καὶ συκοφάνται γένονται, πολλὰ χρήματα τελέσαντες; ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν γνώμην πολὺ ἂν ἦδιον τὰ τῶν ἄλλων λάβοιν ἢ δοίεν ἑτέρους οἴνοταν σφετέρων αὐτῶν. ἐτι δὲ τίνες ἄν ὑπὲρ πονηρίας ἀργύριον ἀναλώσαιεν, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς μηδὲν δαπανηθείσων εἶναι τοιούτοις, ὁπόταν βουληθῶσιν; οὐ γὰρ μαθεῖν ἀλλ' ἐπιχειρήσαι μόνον δεὶ τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῶν ἑργῶν.

226 Ἀλλὰ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ πλέουσι καὶ χρήματα διδόσαι καὶ πάντα ποιοῦσι νομίζοντες αὐτοῖ τε βελτίως γενήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐνθάδε παιδεύοντας πολὺ φρονιμωτέρους εἶναι τῶν παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς· ἐφ' οἷς άξιον ἢν ἄπαντας τοὺς πολιτὰς φιλοτιμεῖσθαι, καὶ περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς αἰτίους τῇ πόλει τῆς δοξῆς ταύτης γενομένους.

227 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτως τινὲς ἀγνωμόνως ἔχουσιν ὡστ' εἰδότες καὶ τοὺς ξένους τοὺς ἀφικνομένους καὶ τοὺς προεστῶτας τῆς παιδείας οὐδὲν κακὸν ἐπι-

310
an effort to learn from another what his own nature teaches him? Would they, then, get those who are honest and ambitious to lead a useful life? But no such person would deign to speak with men who are evil in their words and in their deeds.

I should like to ask those who disapprove of me what they think about the students who cross the sea from Sicily, from the Pontus, and from other parts of the world in order to enjoy my instruction. Do they think that they voyage to Athens because of the dearth of evil-minded men at home? But anywhere on earth anyone can find no lack of men willing to aid him in depravity and crime. Do they think, then, that they come here in order to become intrigues and sycophants, at great expense to themselves? But, in the first place, people of this mind are much more inclined to lay hold of other people’s property than to part with anything of their own; and, in the next place, who would pay out money to learn depravity, since it is easy to be depraved at no expense whatever, whenever one is so inclined? For there is no need of taking lessons in evil-doing; all that a man has to do is to set his hands to it.

No, it is evident that these students cross the sea and pay out money and go to all manner of trouble because they think that they themselves will be the better for it and that the teachers here are much more intelligent than those in their own countries. This ought to fill all Athenians with pride and make them appreciate at their worth those who have given to the city this reputation.

But, in fact, some of our people are extremely unreasonable. They know that neither the strangers who come here nor the men who preside over their
τηδεύοντας, ἀλλ' ἀπραγμονεστάτους μὲν ὄντας
tῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ πλείστην ἵσυχίαν ἠγοντας,
προσέχοντας δὲ τὸν νοῦν σφίσαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς
228 συνοισίας μετ' ἀλλήλων ποιομένους, ἔτι δὲ τὰ
καθ' ἵμεραν εὐτελέστατα καὶ κοσμώτατα ζῶντας,
καὶ τῶν λόγων ἐπιθυμοῦντας οὐ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἰδίοις συμβολαίοις λεγομένων οὐδὲ τῶν λυποῦντων
tινάς, ἄλλα τῶν παρὰ πάσιν ἀνθρώπων εὐδοκι-
μοῦντων, ὅμως τολμῶσι βλασφημεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν
καὶ λέγειν ὡς ταύτην ποιοῦνται τὴν μελέτην, ἣν
229 ἐν τοῖς ἀγώσι παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον πλεονεκτῶσι. καὶ
τοι τίνες ἂν ἄδικιαν καὶ κακίαν ἀσκοῦντες σωφρο-
νέστερον τῶν ἄλλων ζήν ἐθελήσαιν; τίνας δὲ
πώποθ' ἐωράκασιν οἱ ταύτα λέγοντες ἀναβαλλο-
μένους καὶ θησαυριζομένους τὰς πονηρίας, ἀλλ'
οὐκ εὐθὺς τῇ φύσει τῇ παρούσῃ χρωμένους;
230 ὧσυς δὲ τούτων, εἴπερ ἡ περὶ τοὺς λόγους δει-
νότης ποιεῖ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἑπιβουλεύειν, προσήκειν
ἀπαντας τοὺς δυναμένους εἰσεῖν πολυπράγμονας
καὶ συκοφάντας εἶναι· τὸ γάρ αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀπασι
231 ταῦτο πέφυκεν ἐνεργάζεσθαι. νῦν δ' εὑρήσετε
καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πολιτευμένων καὶ τῶν
νεωστὶ τετελευτηκότων τοὺς πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν
τῶν λόγων ποιομένους βελτίστους ὄντας τῶν ἐπὶ
tὸ βῆμα παριόντων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς
ἀρίστους ρήτορας καὶ μεγίστην δόξαν λαβόντας
πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτίους τῇ πόλει γεγενημένους,
ἀρξάμενους ἀπὸ Σόλωνος.
312
education occupy themselves with anything harmful, but that they are, on the contrary, the most unofficious and the most peaceable of all who live in Athens, giving their minds to their own affairs and confining their intercourse to each other, and living, furthermore, day by day in the greatest simplicity and decorum, taking their pleasures in discourse—not the kind of discourse which is employed in petty litigation nor that which is offensive to anyone, but the kind which has the approbation of all men. Nevertheless, although they know all this about them, they do not refrain from traducing them and saying that they engage in this training in order that they may defeat the ends of justice in the courts and win their own advantage. And yet who that engages in the practice of injustice and of evil-doing would be willing to live more continently than the rest? Whom have these traducers ever seen reserving and treasuring up their depravities for future use instead of indulging from the first the evil instincts present in their nature?

But, apart from these considerations, if it be true that cleverness in speech results in plotting against other people's property, we should expect all able speakers to be intriguers and sycophants; for the same cause produces in every instance the same effect. In fact, however, you will find that among our public men who are living to-day or who have but lately passed away those who give most study to the art of words are the best of the statesmen who come before you on the rostrum, and, furthermore, that among the ancients it was the greatest and the most illustrious orators who brought to the city most of her blessings.
"Εκείνος τε γὰρ προστάτης τοῦ δήμου καταστάς οὕτως ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ τὰ πράγματα διέταξε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κατεσκέυασεν, οὕστ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν ἀγαπάσθαι τὴν διοίκησιν τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου συνταχθέονσαν· μετὰ δὲ ταύτα Κλεισθένης ἐκπεσὼν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν τυράννων, λόγῳ πείσας τοὺς Ἀμφικτύόνας δανείσαι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χρημάτων αὐτῷ, τὸν τε δήμου κατήγαγε καὶ τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλε καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἐκείνην κατέστησε, τὴν αἰτίαν τοῖς "Ελλησι τῶν μεγίστων ἁγαθῶν γενομένην.  

233 ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ Θεομυστοκλῆς ἤγεμὼν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ Περσικῷ γενόμενος, συμβουλεύσας τοὺς προγόνους ἴμων ἐκλεπτεῖν τὴν πόλιν, (ὁ τίς ἀν οἶδος τ' ἐγένετο πείσαι μὴ πολὺ τῷ λόγῳ διενεγκών;) εἰς τούτ' αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα προῆγαγεν ὡστ' ὀλίγας ἴμερας ἀνάστατοι γενόμενοι πολὺν χρόνον  

234 δεσπόται τῶν "Ελλήνων κατέστησαν· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον Περικλῆς καὶ δημαγωγὸς ὧν ἁγαθός καὶ ρήτωρ ἄριστος οὕτως ἐκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοῖς ιεροῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄπασιν, ὡστ' ἐτι καὶ νῦν τοὺς εἰσαφικουμένους εἰς αὐτὴν νομίζειν μὴ μόνον ἄρχειν ἀξίον εἶναι τῶν Ἐλλήνων ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἐλάττω μυρίων ταλάντων ἀνήγευκε. καὶ τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν τῶν τηλικαύτα διαπραξαμένων οὐδεὶς λόγων ἡμέλησεν,

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a For Solon and Cleisthenes as authors of Athenian democracy see Areop. 16.

b For the Amphictyonic Council see Phil. 74, Vol. I. p. 290, footnote c. The family of the Alcmaeonidae, to which Cleisthenes belonged, won the favour of this council by their aid in rebuilding the temple of Apollo which had been burned in 548 B.C. The story that Cleisthenes and his
First of all was Solon. For when he was placed at the head of the people, he gave them laws, set their affairs in order, and constituted the government of the city so wisely that even now Athens is well satisfied with the polity which was organized by him. Next, Cleisthenes, after he had been driven from Athens by the tyrants, succeeded by his eloquence in persuading the Amphictyons to lend him money from the treasury of Apollo, and thus restored the people to power, expelled the tyrants, and established that democracy to which the world of Hellas owes its greatest blessings. After him, Themistocles placed at the head of our forces in the Persian War, counselled our ancestors to abandon the city (and who could have persuaded them to do this but a man of surpassing eloquence?), and so advanced their circumstances that at the price of being homeless for a few days they became for a long period of time the masters of the Hellenes. Finally, Pericles, because he was both a good leader of the people and an excellent orator, so adorned the city with temples, monuments, and other objects of beauty, that even to-day visitors who come to Athens think her worthy of ruling not only the Hellenes, but all the world; and, more than this, he stored away in the Acropolis a sum of not less than ten thousand talents. And of these men who carried out such great enterprises not one neglected the party got funds from the Amphictyony is found also in Demosthenes, Against Meidias 144. But the facts are confused; see Beloch, Griechische Geschichte vol. ii. p. 387.  

See Pamg. 96; Archid. 43.  

See Peace 126.
ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτω μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων προσέχον αὐτοῖς τὸν νοῦν, ὡστε Σόλων μὲν τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφιστῶν ἐκλήθη καὶ ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, τὴν νὸν ἀτιμαιομένην καὶ κρυμμένην παρ’ ὑμῖν. Περικλῆς δὲ δυοῦν ἐγένετο μαθητής, Ἀναξαγόρου τε τοῦ Κλαζομενίου καὶ Δάμωνος, τοῦ κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον φρονιμωτάτου δόξαντος εἶναι 236 τῶν ποιητῶν. ὡστ’ ἐκ τίνων ἂν τις ὑμῖν σαφές στεροῦν ἐπιδείξειν ὅσοι οὐχ ἂν δυνᾶμεις αἱ τῶν λόγων κακοπράγμονας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιοῦσιν; ἀλλ’ ᾧ τοιαύτην φύσιν ἔχοντες, οἶαν περ’ ὑ κατηγόροις, πονηροῖς οἴμαι καὶ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι χρώμενοι διατελοῦσιν.

237 Ἔχω δὲ δεῖξαι καὶ τόπους ἐν οἷς ἔξεστιν ὑδαίν τοῖς βουλομένοις τοὺς πολυπράγμονας καὶ τοὺς ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐνόχους ὄντας ἃς οὕτω τοῖς σοφισταῖς ἐπιφέρουσιν. ἐν γὰρ ταῖς σανίσι ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκτιθεμέναις ἀναγκαίον ἔστω, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ὑπὸ τῶν θεσμοθετῶν ἀμφοτέρους ἐνείναι, τοὺς τῇ τὴν πόλιν ἄδικοντας καὶ τοὺς συκοφαντοῦς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἐνδεκα τοὺς τε κακουργοῦντας καὶ τοὺς τοῦτοις ἐφεστώτας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν τετταράκοντα τοὺς τ’ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις πράγμασιν ἄδικοιντας καὶ τοὺς μὴ δικαίως ἐγκαλούν

238 τας. ἐν αἷς τούτον μὲν καὶ τοὺς τοῦτον φίλους

a The term “sophists” here is equivalent to “wise men” (σοφοὶ). The list of the “Seven Sages” varied, but Solon was always included.

b For the relation of Pericles to Anaxagoras see Plutarch, Pericles.

c See Plato, Laches 180 d.

d When a case was accepted for trial, the appropriate court fixed a day for the preliminary hearing, and published the charge on white tablets set up in the market
art of discourse; nay, so much more did they apply their minds to eloquence than to other things, that Solon was named one of the seven sophists and was given the title which is now dishonoured and on trial here; and Pericles studied under two of the sophists, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae and Damon, the latter in his day reputed to be the wisest among the Athenians. Could one, then, show more clearly than by these examples that the powers of eloquence do not turn men into evil-doers? No, but, on the other hand, those who are evil from their birth, like my accuser, will, I doubt not, continue to the end indulging their depravity both in words and in deeds.

But I can show you also where you may see, if you desire, the names of our trouble-makers and of the men who are really liable to the charges which these people apply to the sophists. They are published by law on the tablets which the magistrates set up: public offenders and sycophants have their names published by the Thesmothetae; malefactors and their instigators, by the Eleven; and private offenders and authors of unjust complaints, by the Forty. In these lists you will find the names of place. See Lipsius, Das attische Recht p. 820. The "Thesmothetae" (see 38, note) were responsible for bringing to trial mainly offenders against the state, including sycophants. See Lipsius, Das attische Recht pp. 374 ff. The "Eleven," besides being a board for the care of prisons and for the execution of condemned criminals, dealt with malefactors such as robbers, burglars, pickpockets, kidnappers, etc. See Lipsius, Das attische Recht p. 78. "The Forty," four selected by lot from each of the ten tribes, had jurisdiction over the great mass of private litigation, involving mainly property rights (torts), themselves settling without more ado all petty cases involving sums not exceeding ten drachmas. See Lipsius, Das attische Recht pp. 81 ff.
εὑρον' ἂν ἐν πολλαῖς ἐγγεγραμμένοις, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ
tοὺς περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ διατριβῆν ὄντας οὐδ' ἐν
μιᾷ τοὺς ἐνότας, ἀλλ' οὗτο τα περὶ ἦμᾶς
αὐτοὺς διοικοῦντας ὥστε μηδὲν δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀγώνων
239 τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν. καὶ τοι τοὺς μήτ' ἐν ταῖς πραγμα-
tεῖαις ταύταις ὄντας μήτ' ἀκολάστως ζωντας μήτε
περὶ ἄλλην πράξειν μηδεμίαν αἰσχρὰν γεγενη-
μένους πῶς οὐκ ἐπιανεῖθαί προσήκει μᾶλλον ἢ
κρίνεσθαι; δήλον γὰρ ὅτι τοιαῦτα τοὺς συνόντας
παideύμεν, οἶα περὶ αυτοῦ τυγχάνομεν ἐπιτη-
δεύοντες.

240 "Ετι τοίνυν γνώσεσθε σαφέστερον ἐκ τῶν ῥηθή-
σεθαι μελλόντων ὡς πόρρω τοῦ διαφθείρειν τοὺς
νεωτέρους ἐσμέν. εἰ γὰρ τι τοιοῦτον ἐποιοῦμεν,
οὐκ ἂν Λυσίμαχος ἦν ὁ λυποῦμενος ὕπερ αὐτῶν
οὐδὲ ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πατέρας
ἀν ἐωράτε τῶν συνόντων ἦμῖν καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους
ἀγανακτοῦντας καὶ γραφομένους καὶ δίκην ξη-
toúntas par' ἦμῶν λαμβάνειν. νῦν δ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν
συνιστάσαι τοὺς παιδας τοὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ χρήματα
didóasai, καὶ χαίρουσιν ὅποταν ὀρῶσιν αὐτοὺς μεθ'
ήμων ἡμερεύοντας, οἱ δὲ συκοφάνται διαβάλλουσι
καὶ πράγματα παρέχουσιν ἦμῖν, ὅν τινες ἂν ἦδιον
ἳδοιν τολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διαφθειρομένους καὶ
πονηροὺς γιγνομένους; οὐκαί γὰρ σφάς αὐτοὺς ἐν
μὲν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις δυναστεύοντας, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν
καλῶν κάγαθων καὶ νοῦν ἐχόντων ἀπολλυμένους,
242 ὁπόταν ληφθῶσιν. ὥσθ' οὕτω μὲν σωφρονοῦσιν
ἀναίρειν ζητοῦντες ἀπάσας τὰς τοιαύτας διατριβάς,
ἐν αἷς ἡγούνται βελτίων γενομένους χαλεπωτέρους

a Cf. Plato, Apology 33 d.
b Cf. Plato, Apology 34 a-b.

318
this fellow and his friends recorded many times, but you will not find my name nor that of anyone of my profession published in a single one of them. On the contrary, you will find that we so order our own affairs as to stand in no need of your lawsuits. And yet, when men keep clear of these troubles, when they live decently and have had no part in any disgraceful act, why do you not give them their due of praise instead of subjecting them to trial? For it is evident that the principles which we instil into our students are such as we practise in our own lives.

Now you will appreciate even more clearly from the things which I am going to say that I am far from being a corrupter of our youth. For if I were guilty of this, Lysimachus would not be the one to be incensed in their behalf, nor anyone of his kind, but you would see the fathers and relatives of my pupils up in arms, framing writs and seeking to bring me to justice.\(^a\) But instead of that they bring their sons to me and are ready to pay me money, and are rejoiced when they see them spending their days in my society,\(^b\) while the sycophants are the men who speak evil of me and hale me into court. And who more than these sycophants would like to see many of our citizens corrupted and depraved, since they know that when they live among such characters they wield great power,\(^c\) whereas when they fall into the hands of honourable and intelligent men, they are doomed to destruction? Therefore these men are wise in seeking to do away with all studies which they consider will make men better, and so render them more intolerant of the depravities

\(^a\) Cf. Peace 131.

319
ἐσεσθαί ταὶς αὐτῶν πονηρίαις καὶ συκοφαντίαις, ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει τάναντια τούτως πράττειν, καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν εἶναι κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἷς ἀν τούτους ὅρατε μάλιστα πολεμοῦντας.

243 Ἄτοπον δὲ τὶ τυγχάνων πεπονθῶς εἰρήσεται γάρ, εἰ καὶ τινες λίαν εὐμετάβολον εἶναι μὲ φήσουσιν. ὅλγω μὲν γὰρ πρότερον ἔλεγον ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνήρων διεφευγόν ὑπὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας τραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔχοντες, ὑπὸν δὲ οὕτως ἑναργεῖς ὑπείληφα τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰρημένους καὶ πάσι φανεροῖς, οὕτω οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖν μοι δοκεῖ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, οὐδὲ καταγγελόσκειν ἡμῶν ὡς διαφθέρομεν τοὺς μαθητάς, οὐδὲ πεπονθέναι τουοῦτον οὐδὲν οἷον αὐτοῦς ὅλγω

244 πρότερον ἡτιώμην ἅλλ’ εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἶπεῖν καὶ τὸ νῦν ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μοι παρεστηκός, ἡγοῦμαι πάντας τοὺς φιλοτίμως μοι διακειμένους ἐπιθυμητικῶς ἔχοντας τοῦ φρονεῖν εὗ καὶ λέγεων αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀμελεῖν τούτων, τοὺς μὲν διὰ βαθμίως, τοὺς δὲ κατακεμφομένους τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν, τοὺς δὲ δὲ ᾅλλας τινὰς προφάσεις (παμπληθεῖς δ’ εἰσί) ἐσις.

245 πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολλὰς ἐπιμέλειας ποιομένους καὶ τυχεῖν βουλομένους ἢν εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὶ καθ’ εστάσιν, δυσκόλως ἔχειν καὶ ξηλοτυπεῖν καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταραγμένους διακακοῦνται καὶ πεπονθέναι παραπλήσαι τοῖς ἔρωσι τίνα γὰρ ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκεῖν αὐτίαν ἔχοι πρεπεδεστέραν ταύτης;

246 οὕτως μακαρίζουσι μὲν καὶ ξηλοῦσι τοὺς καλῶς ἀρχηγούς τῷ λόγῳ δυναμένους, ἐπιτιμῶσι δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων τοῖς τυχέν ταύτης τῆς τμῆς βουλομένους. καὶ τοῖς μὲν θεοὶς οὐδεὶς ἑστίν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίτω μᾶλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς δύνασθαι λέγειν, εἰ

320
and intrigues of the sycophants. It is well for you, however, to take the opposite course and regard those pursuits as the best to which you see that these men are most inimical.

But I now find myself in a curious position; for I am going to be frank even if some will say that I shift my ground too easily. A little while ago I said that many good men had been misled about philosophy, and are consequently harshly disposed toward it. Now, however, I have assumed that the arguments which I have presented are so plain and evident to all that no one, it seems to me, can misapprehend its power or accuse me of corrupting my disciples or have any such feeling as I imputed to them a little while ago. Nevertheless, if I am to speak the truth and say what has now come into my mind, I am of the opinion that while all those who are envious of my success covet the ability to think and speak well, yet they themselves neglect to cultivate it, some because they are indolent, some because they discredit their own powers, and some on other pretexts (and these are legion); but when other men take great pains and show a desire to attain what they themselves covet, then they grow irritated, jealous, perturbed in spirit, and are much in the same state of mind as lovers are. Indeed, how could one more aptly explain their condition? They envy the good fortune of those who are able to use words eloquently; yet they reproach the youth who aspire to win this distinction. There is no one of them who would not pray the gods to bestow the power of eloquence upon himself, first

1 φιλοτίμως μοι ΓΔΕ: φιλοτίμως Θ.
δὲ μὴ, τοὺς παιδὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους τοὺς αὐτοῦ·
247 τοὺς δὲ πόνω καὶ φιλοσοφία τοῦτο κατεργάσασθαι
πειρωμένους, δ' παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοὶ βούλονται
λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν φασί τῶν δεόντων πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτε μὲν ὡς ἐξηπατημένων καὶ πεφευγακεμένων
προσποιοῦνται καταγελάν αὐτῶν, ὅποταν δὲ τύχωσι, μεταβαλόντες ὡς περὶ πλεονεκτεῖν δυναμένων τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται. καὶ συμβούλους μὲν, ὅταν κύδυνος τις καταλάβῃ τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς ἀριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λέγουσι, τούτους χρωῦνται, καὶ πράττονται ὅ τι ἄν οἱ τοιοῦτοι παραινέσωσι· περὶ δὲ τοὺς ἔργον ποιομένους ὅπως χρησίμους αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς τοῖς τοιοῦτοις τῇ πόλει παρασχῆσουσι, βλασφημεῖν οὐνται χρηναί.
καὶ Θηβαῖοις μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔχοροις τὴν ἀμαθίαν οἰνείδιζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἕντοντας τὴν νόσον ταύτην διαφυγεῖν λοιποῦντες διατελοῦσιν.

248 "Ο δ' οὐ μόνον παραχήσης σημεῖῶν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ὀλυγωρίας· τὴν μὲν γὰρ Πειθῶν μίαν τῶν θεῶν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρῶσι καθ' ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐνναύτον θυσίαν αὐτῆς ποιομένην, τοὺς δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦς ἡ θεός ἔχει μετασχεῖν βουλομένους ὡς κακοῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας διαφθείρεσθαι φασιν. δ' δὲ πάντων δεινῶτατον, ὅτι προκρίνατε μὲν ἂν τὴν ψυχὴν σπουδαιοτέραν εἶναι τοῦ σῶματος, οὕτω

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" No love was lost between Athens and Thebes, and to the Athenians the Thebans were proverbial for their stupidity. Cf. Plutarch, Moralia 995 E: τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἤμας οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἕλιθιοις, μάλιστα διὰ 322
of all, and failing that, upon his sons and his own kin; yet when men strive through work and study to accomplish for themselves what these people would like to have as a gift from the gods, they accuse them of going utterly astray. At one moment they make believe to mock at them as dupes and victims; and then again, for no reason at all, they change about and denounce them as adepts in grasping their own advantage. When any danger threatens the city, they seek counsel from those who can speak best upon the question at issue and act upon their advice; but when men devote their efforts to preparing themselves to serve the state in just such crises, they think it proper to traduce them. And they reproach the Thebans and our other enemies for their ignorance; yet when men seek by every means to escape from that malady, they never cease maligning them.

But as a symptom, not only of their confusion of mind, but of their contempt for the gods, they recognize that Persuasion is one of the gods, and they observe that the city makes sacrifices to her every year, but when men aspire to share the power which the goddess possesses, they claim that such aspirants are being corrupted, as though their desire were for some evil thing. But what is most astonishing of all is that while they would grant that the mind is superior to the body, nevertheless, in spite of this

\[\textit{tās ἀδηφαγίας προσαγωρεύονσιν}, \textit{Cf. Pindar, Olym. vi. 148-153;} \]
\[\textit{Cicero, De fato 4;} \textit{Horace, Epist. ii. 1. 241-244.}\]

\[\textit{Pausanias (i. 22. 3) states that the worship of Πειθώ (Persuasion) was established in Athens by Theseus, and speaks of a statue of this goddess as once standing near the Acropolis. A special seat of honour was assigned to her priestess in the Theatre. See C.I.A. iii. 351.}\]
δὲ γιγνώσκοντες ἀποδέχονται μᾶλλον τοὺς γνωμα-ξομένους τῶν φιλοσοφῶντων. καὶ τοι πῶς οὐκ ἄλογον τοὺς τοῦ φαυλοτέρου ποιομένους τὴν ἐπι-μέλειαν ἐπαινεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς τοῦ σπουδαιότέρου, καὶ ταῦτα πάντων εἴδότων διὰ μὲν εὐθεῖαν σώματος οὐδὲν πώποτε τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐλλογίμων ἔργων διαπραξαμένην, διὰ δὲ φρόνησιν ἀνδρὸς εὐδαι-μονεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων γενομένην;

251 Πολὺ δ’ ἂν τις ἔχοι πλείους τούτων ἐναντίωσεις συναγαγεῖν τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τε μᾶλλον ἢγω καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ τοῦ παρόντος μὴ φροντιζόντων ἐπεὶ καὶ τάδε περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐνεστὶν εἰπεῖν. φέρε γὰρ εἰ τινὲς πολλὰ χρήματα παρὰ τῶν προγόνων παραλαβόντες τῇ μὲν πόλει μηδὲν εἶν χρήσιμοι, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας ὑβρίζοιεν καὶ τοὺς τε παίδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας αἰσχύνοιεν, ἐστιν ὅστις ἢν τοὺς αἰτίους τοῦ πλούτου μέμψασθαι τολμήσειν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἢν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντας

252 κολάζειν ἀξιώσει; τί δ’ εἰ τινὲς ὀπλωμαχεῖν μαθόντες πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ χρῆντο ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις, ἐπανασταυρόντων δὲ ποιήσαντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν διαφθοραίες, ἢ καὶ πυκτεύειν καὶ παγκρατίζειν ὡς οἶνον’ ἁρίστα παρευθέντες τῶν μὲν ἀγώνων ἀμελοίεν, τοὺς δ’ ἀπαντῶντας τύπτοιεν, τίς οὖν ἢν τούτων τοὺς μὲν διδασκάλους ἐπι-αινεῖε, τοὺς δὲ κακῶς χρωμένους δίς ἐμαθὼν ἀποκτεῖνειν;

a Cf. the opening paragraph of the Panegyricus and note.

b The rendering is here doubtful. Literally it is “through wisdom of a man.” Possibly Isocrates has in mind Pericles and the triumphs of Athens under his administration. Supporting the rendering “of a man” is Areop. 11.

324
opinion, they look with greater favour upon training in gymnastics than upon the study of philosophy. And yet how unreasonable it is to give higher praise to those who cultivate the less than to those who cultivate the greater thing, and that too when everyone knows it was not through excellence of body that Athens ever accomplished any noteworthy thing, but that through wisdom of men she became the most prosperous and the greatest of Hellenic states.

It would be possible to bring together many more contradictions than the above in the views of these people, but that is a task for those who are younger than I and who are free from anxiety about the present occasion. For example, one might put the following questions on this very subject: Suppose the case of men who, having inherited large fortunes from their ancestors, used their wealth, not to render themselves serviceable to the state, but to outrage their fellow-citizens and to dishonour their sons and their wives; would anyone venture to put the blame upon the authors of their wealth instead of demanding that the offenders themselves be punished? Again, suppose the case of men who, having mastered the art of war, did not use their skill against the enemy, but rose up and slew many of their fellow-citizens; or suppose the case of men who, having been trained to perfection in the art of boxing or of the pancration, kept away from the games and fell foul of the passers-by; would anyone withhold praise from their instructors instead of putting to death those who turned their lessons to an evil use?

253 Οὐκοῦν χρῆ καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν ἢν περ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, καὶ μὴ περὶ τῶν ὁμοίων τάναντι γιγνώσκειν, μηδὲ πρὸς τοιούτῳ πράγμα δυσμενῶς φαίνεσθαι διακείμενους, ὁ πάντων τῶν ἐνότων ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσει πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίον ἔστιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους οἷς ἔχομεν, ὁ περὶ ἡδῆ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ζῴων διαφέρομεν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ τῇ βρώμῃ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις.

254 εὐπορίας καταδείκτηρος τυγχάνομεν ὀντες: ἐγγενο-
μένου δὲ ἡμῖν τοῦ πείθειν ἄλληλους καὶ δηλοῦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἂν βουλήθαμεν, οὐ μόνον τοῦ θηριωδῶς ξῆν ἀπηλλάγημεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνελθόντες πόλεις ψκίσαμεν καὶ νόμους ἐθέμεθα καὶ τέχνας εὑρομεν, καὶ σχεδὸν ἄπαντα τὰ δι' ἡμῶν μεμηχανήμενα λόγος ἡμῖν ἐστιν ὁ συγκατα-

255 σκευάσας. οὕτως γὰρ περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐνομο-
θέτησαν, ὃν μὴ διαταχθέντων οὐκ ἂν οἷοὶ τ' ἡμεν οἰκεῖν μετ' ἄλληλων. τούτω καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς εξελέγχομεν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐγκωμίζομεν. διὰ τούτου τοὺς τ' ἀνοίτους παιδεύομεν καὶ τοὺς φρονίμους δοκιμάζομεν: τὸ γὰρ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τοῦ φρονεῖν εἰ μέγιστον σημεῖον ποιούμεθα, καὶ λόγος ἀληθῆς καὶ νόμιμος καὶ δίκαιος φυχῆς ἀγαθῆς καὶ

256 πιστῆς εἴδωλον ἔστι. μετὰ τούτου καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητήσιμων ἀγωνιζόμεθα καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγνοου-
μένων σκοποῦμεθα: ταῖς γὰρ πίστεσιν, αἷς τοὺς ἄλλους λέγοντες πείθομεν, ταῖς αὐταῖς ταύταις βουλευόμενοι χρώμεθα, καὶ ῥητορικοὺς μὲν καλοῦ-

1 ὁ περ Benseler: ἡ περ mss.

a Cf. Paneg. 48.
We ought, therefore, to think of the art of discourse just as we think of the other arts, and not to form opposite judgements about similar things, nor show ourselves intolerant toward that power which, of all the faculties which belong to the nature of man, is the source of most of our blessings. For in the other powers which we possess, as I have already said on a former occasion, we are in no respect superior to other living creatures; nay, we are inferior to many in swiftness and in strength and in other resources; but, because there has been implanted in us the power to persuade each other and to make clear to each other whatever we desire, not only have we escaped the life of wild beasts, but we have come together and founded cities and made laws and invented arts; and, generally speaking, there is no institution devised by man which the power of speech has not helped us to establish. For this it is which has laid down laws concerning things just and unjust, and things honourable and base; and if it were not for these ordinances we should not be able to live with one another. It is by this also that we confute the bad and extol the good. Through this we educate the ignorant and appraise the wise; for the power to speak well is taken as the surest index of a sound understanding, and discourse which is true and lawful and just is the outward image of a good and faithful soul. With this faculty we both contend against others on matters which are open to dispute and seek light for ourselves on things which are unknown; for the same arguments which we use in persuading others when we speak in public, we employ also when we deliberate in our own thoughts; and, while we call eloquent
μεν τοὺς ἐν τῷ πλήθει λέγειν δυναμένους, εὐβοῦ- 
λος δὲ νομίζομεν οὕτως ἂν αὐτοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς 257 ἀριστα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων διαλεξθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ 
δεὶ συλλήβδην περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ταύτης εἰπεῖν, 
οὐδὲν τῶν φρονίμως πραττομένων εὑρήσομεν 
ἀλόγως γιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τῶν 
διανοημάτων ἀπάντων ἡγεμόνα λόγον οὔτα, καὶ 
μάλιστα χρωμένους αὐτῷ τους πλείστον νοῦν 
ἔχοντας.

Ων οὖδὲν ἐνθυμηθεὶς Λυσίμαχος κατηγορεῖν 
ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντων τοιοῦτον πράγματος, 
ὁ τοσούτων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τηλικοῦτων τὸ μέγεθος 258 ἄγαθῶν αὐτῶν ἐστιν. καὶ τί δεὶ τούτῳ θαυμάζειν, 
ὅποι καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἔριδας σπουδαζόντων ἐνιοὶ 
tinēs ὀμοίως βλασφημοῦσι περὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν 
κοινῶν καὶ τῶν χρησίμων ὦσπερ οἱ φαυλότατοι 
tῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦσι τῆς δύναμιν αὐτῶν, 
οὐδ' ὅτι τάχιστ' ἂν οὕτως τοὺς χρωμένους ὥφε- 
λήσαιεν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζοντες, ἢν τούτους διαβάλλωσι, 
touς αὐτῶν ἐντιμοτέρους ποιήσειν.

259 Περὶ ὧν δυνηθεῖν μὲν ἂν ἦσας διαλεξθῆναι 
pολὺ πικρότερον ἢ 'κείνῳ περὶ ἡμῶν, οὐδέτερον δ' 
οἱμαι δεῖν, οὐθ' ὀμοίως γίγνεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ 
φθόνου διεφθαρμένους, οὔτε ψέγειν τοὺς μηδὲν 
mὲν κακὸν τους συνόντας ἐργαζόμενους, ἢττον δ' 
ἐτέρων ἐνεργετεῖν δυναμένους. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα μικρά 
γε μνημήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν, μάλιστα μὲν ὅτι 
kακείνῳ περὶ ἡμῶν, ἐπεὶθ' ὅπως ἂν ὑμεῖς σαφέ- 
στερον εἶδότες τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῶν οὕτω διακέψθε

a 253-257 are quoted from Nicocles 5-9.
b The "eristics," Cf. Epist. v. 3 ff. See General Introd. 
p. xxi. In this passage, as well as in Epist. v. 3 ff., he may 
328
those who are able to speak before a crowd, we regard as sage those who most skilfully debate their problems in their own minds. And, if there is need to speak in brief summary of this power, we shall find that none of the things which are done with intelligence take place without the help of speech, but that in all our actions as well as in all our thoughts speech is our guide, and is most employed by those who have the most wisdom.

But without reflecting at all on these truths, Lysimachus has dared to attack those who aspire to an accomplishment which is the source of blessings so many and so great. But why should we be surprised at him when even among the professors of disputation there are some who talk no less abusively of the art of speaking on general and useful themes than do the most benighted of men, not that they are ignorant of its power or of the advantage which it quickly gives to those who avail themselves of it, but because they think that by decrying this art they will enhance the standing of their own.

I could, perhaps, say much harsher things of them than they of me, but I refrain for a double reason. I want neither to descend to the level of men whom envy has made blind nor to censure men who, although they do no actual harm to their pupils are less able to benefit them than are other teachers. I shall, however, say a few words about them, first because they also have paid their compliments to me; second, in order that you, being better informed as to their powers, may estimate us justly in relation

be resenting the criticisms of the Aristotelians. See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. p. 65.
ISOCRATES

260 πρὸς ἐκάστους ἡμῶν ὡςπερ δικαίων ἔστι, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο ποιῆσοι φανερῶν, ὅτι περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἡμεῖς ὄντες, οὐς ἐκεῖνοὶ φασίν εἶναι φιλαπεχθήμονας, πολὺ πραότεροι τυχανόμεναι αὐτῶν ὄντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂεὶ τι περὶ ἡμῶν φλαῦρον λέγουσιν, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲν ἃν εἴπομι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρήσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

261 Ἡγούμαι γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἐριστικοῖς λόγοις δυναστεύοντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων διατρίβοντας οὐ βλάπτειν ἀλλὰ ὕφελεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, ἐλάττω μὲν ὡς ὑπισχνοῦνται, πλεῖω δέ ὅτι τοῖς ἀλλοίς δοκοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπειλήφσασιν ἀδολεσχίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν μαθημάτων· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδίων οὔτε ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν εἶναι χρήσιμον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς μνείαις οὐδένα χρόνον ἐμμένειν ταῖς τῶν μαθήματων διὰ τὸ μῆτε τῷ βίῳ παρακολούθειν μῆτε ταῖς πράξεσιν ἐπαμύνειν, ἀλλ' ἔξω παντάπασιν εἶναι τῶν ἀναγ-καίων. ἐγὼ δ' οὖθ' οὕτως οὔτε πόρρω τούτων ἐγγυακα περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ τε νομίζοντες μηδὲν χρησίμην εἶναι τὴν παιδείαν ταῦτην πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ὥρθος μοι δοκοῦσι γυγνόσκειν, οἱ τ' ἐπαινοῦντες αὐτὴν ἀληθῆ λέγειν. διὰ τούτο δ' οὐχ ὁμολογούμενοι αὐτῶν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον εἰρήκα, διότι καὶ ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα τὴν φύσιν οὐδὲν ὀμοίαν ἔχει τοῖς ἀλλοῖς οἷς διδασκόμεθα. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἂλλα τὸτ' ὕφελεῖν ἡμᾶς πέφυκεν, ὅταν λάβωμεν αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ταῦτα δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπηκριβωμένους οὔδεν ἃν εὑρεγετήσει, πλὴν τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν ξῆν προηημένους, τοὺς δὲ μανθά-
to each other; and, furthermore, that I may show you clearly that we who are occupied with political discourse and whom they call contentious are more considerate than they; for although they are always saying disparaging things of me, I shall not answer them in kind but shall confine myself to the simple truth.

For I believe that the teachers who are skilled in disputation and those who are occupied with astronomy and geometry and studies of that sort do not injure but, on the contrary, benefit their pupils, not so much as they profess, but more than others give them credit for. Most men see in such studies nothing but empty talk and hair-splitting; for none of these disciplines has any useful application either to private or to public affairs; nay, they are not even remembered for any length of time after they are learned because they do not attend us through life nor do they lend aid in what we do, but are wholly divorced from our necessities. But I am neither of this opinion nor am I far removed from it; rather it seems to me both that those who hold that this training is of no use in practical life are right and that those who speak in praise of it have truth on their side. If there is a contradiction in this statement, it is because these disciplines are different in their nature from the other studies which make up our education; for the other branches avail us only after we have gained a knowledge of them, whereas these studies can be of no benefit to us after we have mastered them unless we have elected to make our living from this source, and only help us while

* Compare Socrates' views, Xen. Memorabilia iv. 7. 2 ff.
νοντας ὅνυνῄς· περὶ γὰρ τὴν περιττολογίαν καὶ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ γεωμετρίας
265 διατρίβουντες, καὶ δυσκαταμαθήτους πράγμασιν
ἀναγκαζόμενοι προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἦν δὲ συν-
εθιζόμενοι λέγειν καὶ πονεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς λεγομένους
καὶ δεικνυμένους καὶ μὴ πεπλανημένην ἔχειν τὴν
dιάνοιαν, ἐν τούτοις γυμνασθέντες καὶ παροξυνθέν-
tες βάσων καὶ θάττων τὰ σπουδαιότερα καὶ πλέονος
ἀξία τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδέχεσθαι καὶ μανθάνειν
266 δύνανται. φιλοσοφίαν μὲν οὖν οἷμαι δεῖν
προσαγορεύειν τὴν μηδὲν ἐν τῷ παροῦτι—μήτε
πρὸς τὸ λέγειν μήτε πρὸς τὸ πράττειν ὕφελουσαν,
γυμνασίαν μέντοι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ παρασκευήν
φιλοσοφίας καλῶ τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν τοιαύτην,
ἀνδρικωτέραν μὲν ἢς οἱ παιδεῖς ἐν τοῖς διδα-
σκαλεῖσις πουλοῦνται, τὰ δὲ πλείστα παραπλησίαν
267 καὶ γὰρ ἔκεινων οἱ περὶ τὴν γραμματικὴν καὶ τὴν
μουσικὴν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν διαπονηθέντες
πρὸς μὲν τὸ βέλτιον εἰπεῖν ἡ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ
tῶν πραγμάτων οὔδεμιάν πως λαμβάνοντι ἐπί-
δοσιν, αὐτοὶ δ' αὐτῶν εὐμάθέστεροι γίγνονται πρὸς
tὰ μείζω καὶ σπουδαιότερα τῶν μαθημάτων.
268 διατρίψαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταῦτας χρόνον
tινὰ συμβουλεύσαμι· ἂν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μέντοι
περιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκελευθείσαν
ἐπὶ τούτους, μηδ' ἐξοκείλασαν εἰς τοὺς λόγους
tοὺς τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν, ὅν ὁ μὲν ἄπειρον
tὸ πλήθος ἐφῆσεν εἰναι τῶν ὄντων, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς
dὲ τέτταρα, καὶ νείκοις καὶ φιλίαις ἐν αὐτοῖς, "Ἰῶν
d' οὐ πλεῖω τριῶν, Ἀλκμαίων δέ δύο μόνα,

a See Panath. 26; General Introd. p. xxiii.
b A broad term including the study of poetry.
we are in the process of learning. For while we are occupied with the subtlety and exactness of astronomy and geometry and are forced to apply our minds to difficult problems, and are, in addition, being habituated to speak and apply ourselves to what is said and shown to us, and not to let our wits go wool-gathering, we gain the power, after being exercised and sharpened on these disciplines, of grasping and learning more easily and more quickly those subjects which are of more importance and of greater value. I do not, however, think it proper to apply the term "philosophy" to a training which is no help to us in the present either in our speech or in our actions, but rather I would call it a gymnastic of the mind and a preparation for philosophy. It is, to be sure, a study more advanced than that which boys in school pursue, but it is for the most part the same sort of thing; for they also when they have laboured through their lessons in grammar, music, and the other branches, are not a whit advanced in their ability to speak and deliberate on affairs, but they have increased their aptitude for mastering greater and more serious studies. I would, therefore, advise young men to spend some time on these disciplines, but not to allow their minds to be dried up by these barren subtleties, nor to be stranded on the speculations of the ancient sophists, who maintain, some of them, that the sum of things is made up of infinite elements; Empedocles that it is made up of four, with strife and love operating among them; Ion, of not more than three; Alcmaeon, of only two; Parmenides

\[\text{Compare Callicles' similar view about the study of philosophy in Plato, } Gorgias \text{ 484 c.}\]
The fruitlessness of the speculations of the early philosophers (physicists) is shown, according to Isocrates, in the utter diversity of their views, for example, regarding the first principles or primary elements from which the world was created. At one extreme was Anaxagoras, who held that the primary elements were infinite in number; at the
and Melissus, of one; and Gorgias, of none at all.\(^a\) For I think that such curiosities of thought are on a par with jugglers' tricks which, though they do not profit anyone, yet attract great crowds of the empty-minded, and I hold that men who want to do some good in the world must banish utterly from their interests all vain speculations and all activities which have no bearing on our lives.

Now I have spoken and advised you enough on these studies for the present. It remains to tell you about "wisdom" and "philosophy."\(^b\) It is true that if one were pleading a case on any other issue it would be out of place to discuss these words (for they are foreign to all litigation), but it is appropriate for me, since I am being tried on such an issue, and since I hold that what some people call philosophy is not entitled to that name, to define and explain to you what philosophy, properly conceived, really is. My view of this question is, as it happens, very simple. For since it is not in the nature of man to attain a science by the possession of which we can know positively what we should do or what we should say, in the next resort I hold that man to be wise who is able by his powers of conjecture to arrive generally at the best course, and I hold that man to be a philosopher who occupies himself with the studies from which he will most quickly gain that kind of insight.\(^c\)

What the studies are which have this power I can tell you, although I hesitate to do so; they are so other was Gorgias, who in his nihilistic philosophy denied that there was any such thing as being or entity at all. \textit{Cf. Hel.} 3; \textit{Xen. Memorabilia} i. 1. 14 ff.; Plato, \textit{Sophist} 242.

\(^a\) See General Introd. pp. xxvi ff.

\(^b\) See 184 and note.
γάρ ἐστι σφόδρα καὶ παραδόξα καὶ πολὺ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀφεστώτα διανοια, ὥστε φοβοῦμαι μὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν ἀκούσαντες θορύβου καὶ βοής ἀπαν ἐμπλήσητε τὸ δικαστήριον. ὡς ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ περ ὀντω διακείμενος ἐπιχειρήσω διαλεξῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ εἰ τις δόξω δεδώς ὑπὲρ γῆρως καὶ μικροῦ βίου προδιδόναι τὴν 273 ἀλήθειαν. δέομαι δ᾿ ὑμῶν μὴ προκαταγινώσκω μου τοιαύτην μανίαν, ὡς ἢ ἤγε καθιστώς προελόμην ἀν λόγους εἰπεῖν ἐναντίοις ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς προειρημένους ἀκολούθους αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ τὰς ἄποδείξεις ἀλήθειας καὶ σαφεῖς ὑμῖν ἔχειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν.

274 'Ἡγοῦμαι δὲ τοιαύτην μὲν τέχνην, ἢτις τοῖς κακοῖς πεφυκόσων ἀρετὴν ἐνεργασάτ' ἀν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, οὕτε πρότερον οὐτε νῦν οὐδεμιᾶν εἶναι, τοὺς τε τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ποιομένους περὶ αὐτῶν πρότερον ἀπερεῖν καὶ παύσεσθαι ληροῦντας, 275 πρὶν εὑρεθῆναι τινα παιδείαν τοιαύτην, οὐ μὴν ἄλλοις αὐτοῖς γ’ αὐτῶν βελτίως ἀν γίγνεσθαι καὶ πλέονος ἀξίους, εἰ πρὸς τὸ λέγειν εἰς φιλοτίμος διασέβεται καὶ τοῦ πείθειν δύνασθαι τοὺς ἀκούντας ἐρασθεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῆς πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμήσαειν, μὴ τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνοίητων νομιζόμενης, ἀλλὰ τῆς ως ἀληθῶς τῆς δύναμιν ταύτην 276 ἑξούσιας καὶ ταὐθ’ ως οὕτω πέφυκε, ταχέως οἶμαι δηλώσειν.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὁ λέγειν ἡ γράφειν προαιροῦ-

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a Cf. Plato, Apology 38 c.
b Cf. Against the Sophists 21; Theognis 429 ff.; Xen. Memorabilia i. 2. 19 ff.; Plato, Meno 95 ff.

336
contrary to popular belief and so very far removed from the opinions of the rest of the world, that I am afraid lest when you first hear them you will fill the whole court-room with your murmurs and your cries. Nevertheless, in spite of my misgivings, I shall attempt to tell you about them; for I blush at the thought that anyone might suspect me of betraying the truth to save my old age and the little of life remaining to me. But, I beg of you, do not, before you have heard me, judge that I could have been so mad as to choose deliberately, when my fate is in your hands, to express to you ideas which are repugnant to your opinions if I had not believed that these ideas follow logically on what I have previously said, and that I could support them with true and convincing proofs.

I consider that the kind of art which can implant honesty and justice in depraved natures has never existed and does not now exist, and that people who profess that power will grow weary and cease from their vain pretensions before such an education is ever found. But I do hold that people can become better and worthier if they conceive an ambition to speak well, if they become possessed of the desire to be able to persuade their hearers, and, finally, if they set their hearts on seizing their advantage—I do not mean "advantage" in the sense given to that word by the empty-minded, but advantage in the true meaning of that term; and that this is so I think I shall presently make clear.

For, in the first place, when anyone elects to speak

\[ \text{Cf. Against the Sophists 15.} \]
\[ \text{Compare his discussion of true advantage in Nicocles 2; Peace 28-35.} \]
μενος λόγους αξίους ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς οὐκ ἐστιν ὅπως πονήσεται τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἄδικους ἢ μικρὰς ἢ περὶ τῶν ἴδιων συμβολαίων, ἀλλὰ μεγάλας καὶ καλὰς καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων· μὴ γὰρ τοιαύτας εὐρύσκουν οὐδὲν διαπράξεται τῶν δεόντων. ἦπειτα τῶν πράξεων τῶν συντεινοσύνων πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέγεται τὰς πρεπωδεστάτας καὶ μάλιστα συμφερούσας· οὐ δὲ τὰς τοιαύτας συνεθιζόμενος θεωρεῖν καὶ δοκιμάζειν οὐ μόνον περὶ τὸν ἐνεστῶτα λόγον ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις τὴν αὐτὴν ἔξει ταύτην δύναμιν, ὥσθ' ἀμα τὸ λέγειν εὐ καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν παραγενήσεται τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ φιλοτίμως πρὸς τοὺς λόγους διακειμένοις.

278 Καὶ μὴν οὖν ὁ πείθεων τινὰς βουλόμενον ἀμελήσει τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μάλιστα προσέξει τὸν νοῦν, ὅπως δοξᾶν ὅσ' ἐπιεικεστάτην λήμβαται παρὰ τοῖς συμπολιτευμένοις. τις γὰρ οὗκ οἴδε καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀληθεστέρους δοκοῦντας εἶναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν εὗ διακειμένων λεγομένους ἢ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν διαβεβλημένων, καὶ τὰς πίστεις μείζον δυναμένας τὰς ἐκ τοῦ βίου γεγενημένας ἢ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου πεπορισμένας; ὥσθ' ὅσῳ ἄν τις ἔρρωμεστέρως ἐπιθυμῇ πείθεω τοὺς ἀκούοντας, τοσοῦτοι μάλλον ἁσκήσει καλὸς κάγαθος εἶναι καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις ευδοκιμεῖν.

279 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν οὔσθῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἀπαντᾶς γυγνώσκειν ὅσῃ ἔχει ῥοπήν εἰς τὸ πείθεων τὸ τοῖς κρίνουσιν ἀρέσκειν, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὄντας μόνους ἀγνοεῖν τὴν τῆς εὔνοιας δύναμιν.

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a See General Introd. p. xxiv.
or write discourses which are worthy of praise and honour, it is not conceivable that he will support causes which are unjust or petty or devoted to private quarrels, and not rather those which are great and honourable, devoted to the welfare of man and our common good; for if he fails to find causes of this character, he will accomplish nothing to the purpose. In the second place, he will select from all the actions of men which bear upon his subject those examples which are the most illustrious and the most edifying; and, habituating himself to contemplate and appraise such examples, he will feel their influence not only in the preparation of a given discourse but in all the actions of his life. It follows, then, that the power to speak well and think right will reward the man who approaches the art of discourse with love of wisdom and love of honour.

Furthermore, mark you, the man who wishes to persuade people will not be negligent as to the matter of character; no, on the contrary, he will apply himself above all to establish a most honourable name among his fellow-citizens; for who does not know that words carry greater conviction when spoken by men of good repute than when spoken by men who live under a cloud, and that the argument which is made by a man's life is of more weight than that which is furnished by words? Therefore, the stronger a man's desire to persuade his hearers, the more zealously will he strive to be honourable and to have the esteem of his fellow-citizens.

And let no one of you suppose that while all other people realize how much the scales of persuasion incline in favour of one who has the approval of his judges, the devotees of philosophy alone are blind
polv gar akribwstneron twv allwv kai taut' izei,
280 kai pro's toutois oti ta mev eikota kai ta tekmhrria
kai pavan to twv pisteon eidos touto monon ophleiei
to meros, ef' o an autwv ekastov tyche ryzhein,
to de dokes einai kalon kagathon ou monon ton
logon pistoteron epoiesen, alla kai tas praxeis
tou twn toiahten doxiai exontos entimoteras
katesthesen, uper o o spoudastheon esti tois ed
phronousa mallon 'i peri twv allwv apostwv.
281 To toivn peri thn pleonezian, o duwchrestaton
thn twv rhygeton: ei mev tis upolambanei touz
aposterounetas h paralogoizomewous h kakon tis
pouoitetas pleonektein, ouk erthos gwnwkev. oudeves
gar en apanti twv biv mallon epatoytta twn
touvtwn, ouv' en pleros anporiais eiswn, ouv'
eponeidistoteron zwsin, ouv' olws athlwtwro
282 tynxanousin ontes. hrh' de kai vun pleon exhe
hgeisai kai pleonektisedein nomizein parad mev
twv theon twn eusfebestaton kai touz peri th
therapeian thn ekheinov epimelesstaton ontes,
parad de twv anthropwv toun arista pro's toutou
mev' oiv en oikwsi kai politewntai diakeumewous
kai touz belostaton autous einai dokountas.
283 Kai tauta kai taix elhtheias outwv exei, kai
symeretei twn tropeon touton legesai peri autwn,
epi vun y' outw as anestraptau kai sygkekurtai
polla twv kata thn polin, wost' oude touz ono-
massin enoi tines eti xrotatai kata phwv, alla

a Cf. 275. b Cf. Peace 34.
to the power of good will. In fact, they appreciate this even more thoroughly than others, and they know, furthermore, that probabilities and proofs and all forms of persuasion support only the points in a case to which they are severally applied, whereas an honourable reputation not only lends greater persuasiveness to the words of the man who possesses it, but adds greater lustre to his deeds, and is, therefore, more zealously to be sought after by men of intelligence than anything else in the world.

I come now to the question of "advantage" — the most difficult of the points I have raised. If any one is under the impression that people who rob others or falsify accounts or do any evil thing get the advantage, he is wrong in his thinking; for none are at a greater disadvantage throughout their lives than such men; none are found in more difficult straits, none live in greater ignominy; and, in a word, none are more miserable than they. No, you ought to believe rather that those are better off now and will receive the advantage in the future at the hands of the gods who are the most righteous and the most faithful in their devotions, and that those receive the better portion at the hands of men who are the most conscientious in their dealings with their associates, whether in their homes or in public life, and are themselves esteemed as the noblest among their fellows.

This is verily the truth, and it is well for us to adopt this way of speaking on the subject, since, as things now are, Athens has in many respects been plunged into such a state of topsy-turvy and confusion that some of our people no longer use words in their proper meaning but wrest them from the
μεταφέρουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν καλλίστων πραγμάτων
284 ἐπὶ τὰ φαυλότατα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. τοὺς μὲν
γε βωμολοχευομένους καὶ σκόπτειν καὶ μιμεῖ-
σθαι δυναμένους εὑρείς καλοῦσι, προσήκον τῆς
προσηγορίας ταύτης τυχάνειν τοὺς ἁριστά πρὸς
ἀρετὴν πεφυκότας: τοὺς δὲ ταῖς κακοθείαις καὶ
ταῖς κακουργίαις χρωμένους, καὶ μικρὰ μὲν
λαμβάνοντας πονηρὰν δὲ ὀδηγὸν κτωμένους, πλεον-
εκτείν νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ' οὗ τοὺς ὅσιωτάτους καὶ
δικαιοτάτους, οἱ περὶ τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀλλ' οὗ τῶν
285 κακῶν πλεονεκτοῦσιν τοὺς δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀναγκαῖοις
ἀμελοῦντας, τὰς δὲ τῶν παλαιῶν σοφιστῶν τερατο-
λογίας ἄγαπείντας φιλοσοφεῖν φασίν, ἀλλ' οὗ τοὺς
τὰ τοιαύτα μανθάνοντας καὶ μελετώντας ἕξ ἀν
καὶ τὸν ἰδιὸν οἶκον καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τὰς πόλεις
καλῶς διοικήσουσιν, ὑπερ ἑνεκα καὶ πονητέον
καὶ φιλοσοφητέον καὶ πάντα πρακτεῖν ἑστὶν.
'Αφ' ὥν ὑμεῖς πολὺν ήθη χρόνων ἀπελαύνετε
τοὺς νεώτερος, ἀποδεχόμενοι τοὺς λόγους τῶν
286 διαβαλλόντων τὴν τοιαύτην παϊδείαν. καὶ γὰρ
τοῦ πεποίηκατε τοὺς μὲν ἐπιεικεστάτους αὐτῶν
ἐν πότοις καὶ συνοντίσαις καὶ βαθυμίαις καὶ
παιδίαις τὴν ἡλικίαν διάγειν, ἀμελήσατας τοῦ
σπουδάζειν ὅπως ἔσονται βελτίως τοὺς δὲ χείρῳ
τὴν φύσιν ἔχοντάς ἐν τοιαύτας ἀκολούθιας ἡμε-
ρευέν, ἐν αἰς πρότερον οὐ δ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικής
287 οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησεν οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τῆς
'Εννεακρούνον ψύχουσιν οἶνον, οἱ δ' ἐν τοῖς

1 ἀλλ' οὗ Blass: ἀμελήσατας Θ.

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a Reminiscent of Thuc. iii. 82 ff.
b Cf. Areop. 49.
c Cf. Areop. 50.
d A famous spring near the Acropolis, first called Callir-
most honourable associations and apply them to the basest pursuits. On the one hand, they speak of men who play the buffoon and have a talent for mocking and mimicking as "gifted"—an appellation which should be reserved for men endowed with the highest excellence; while, on the other hand, they think of men who indulge their depraved and criminal instincts and who for small gains acquire a base reputation as "getting the advantage," instead of applying this term to the most righteous and the most upright, that is, to men who take advantage of the good and not the evil things of life. They characterize men who ignore our practical needs and delight in the mental juggling of the ancient sophists as "students of philosophy," but refuse this name to whose who pursue and practise those studies which will enable us to govern wisely both our own households and the commonwealth—which should be the objects of our toil, of our study, and of our every act.

It is from these pursuits that you have for a long time now been driving away our youth, because you accept the words of those who denounce this kind of education. Yes, and you have brought it about that the most promising of our young men are wasting their youth in drinking-bouts, in parties, in soft living and childish folly, to the neglect of all efforts to improve themselves; while those of grosser nature are engaged from morning until night in extremes of dissipation which in former days an honest slave would have despised. You see some of them chilling their wine at the "Nine-fountains"; others, drinking...
κατηλείοις πίνουσιν, ἐτεροὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς σκηραφείοις κυβεύουσι, πολλοὶ δ' ἐν τοῖς τῶν αὐλητρίδων διδασκαλείοις διατρίβουσι.

Καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέποντας οὐδεὶς πάπτοτε τῶν κήδεσθαι φασκόντων τῆς ἥλικίας ταύτης εἰς ύμᾶς εἰσήγαγεν. ἦμῖν δὲ κακὰ παρέχουσι, οἷς ἄξεσθι ἂν, εἰ καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου, τούτοις γε χάριν ἔχειν, ὅτι τοὺς συνόντας τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀποτρέπομεν.

288 Οὕτω δ' ἐστὶ δυσμενὲς ἀπασί τὸ τῶν συκοφαντῶν γένος, ὥστε τοῖς μὲν λυμένοις εὐκοσί καὶ τρίακοντα μνὼν τὰς μελλούσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἴκων συναναρήσειν οὐχ ὅπως ἐν ἐπιπλῆσειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συγχάρουσι ταῖς ἀσωτίαις αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν παιδείαν ὅτιοιν ἀναλίκοςκότας διαφθείρεσθαι φασιν. ὅπλιν τίνες ἂν ἄδικωτερον ἔχοιεν τὴν αἰτίαν 289 ταύτην; οὕτως ἐν ταύταις μὲν ταῖς ἀκμαῖς ὄντες ὑπερείδον τὰς ἱδονὰς, ἐν αἷς οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τηλικούτων μάλιστ' αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἐξὸν δ' αὐτοῖς ῥαθυμεῖν μηδὲν δαπανωμένοις εἴλοντο πονεῖν χρήματα τελέσαντες, ἀρτὶ δ' ἐκ παῦ κοινών ἐξεληθυθότες ἐγνωσαν ἀ πολλοὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων 290 οὕκ ἴσασιν, ὅτι δεῖ τὸν ὀρθῶς καὶ πρεπόντως προσετώτα τῆς ἥλικίας καὶ καλὴν ἄρχην τοῦ βίου ποιούμενον αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἡ τῶν αὐτοῦ ποίησαι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, καὶ μὴ σπεῦδειν μηδὲ ἱπτεῖν ἐτέρων ἄρχειν πρὶν ἄν τῆς αὐτοῦ διανοίας λάβῃ τὸν ἐπιστατήσοντα, μηδ' οὕτω χαίρειν μηδὲ

a The ransom of slaves captured in war. Isocrates is probably thinking of some notorious case.

b The mina = 100 drachmas. A drachma was the standard wage of a day-labourer.

344
ing in taverns; others, tossing dice in gambling dens; and many, hanging about the training-schools of the flute-girls.

And as for those who encourage them in these things, no one of those who profess to be concerned for our youth has ever haled them before you for trial, but instead they persecute me, who, whatever else I may deserve, do at any rate deserve thanks for this, that I discourage such habits in my pupils.

But so inimical to all the world is this race of sycophants that when men pay a ransom of a hundred and thirty minae for women who bid fair to help them make away with the rest of their property besides, so far from reproaching them, they actually rejoice in their extravagance; but when men spend any amount, however small, upon their education, they complain that they are being corrupted. Could any charge be more unjust than this against our students? For, while in the prime of vigour, when most men of their age are most inclined to indulge their passions, they have disdained a life of pleasure; when they might have saved expense and lived softly, they have elected to pay out money and submit to toil; and, though hardly emerged from boyhood, they have come to appreciate what most of their elders do not know, namely, that if one is to govern his youth rightly and worthily and make the proper start in life, he must give more heed to himself than to his possessions, he must not hasten and seek to rule over others before he has found a master to direct his own thoughts, and he must not take as great pleasure or pride in other advantages

\[\text{Cf. To Nicocles 29; Plato, Gorgias 491.}\]
μέγα φρονεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ διὰ τὴν παϊδείαν ἐγγυγομένοις. καὶ τοι τοὺς τοιούτως λογισμῷ κεχρημένους πώς οὐκ ἐπανεῖσθαι χρῆ μᾶλλον ἡ ψέγεσθαι, καὶ νομίζεσθαι βελτίστους εἶναι καὶ σωφρονεστάτους τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν;

291 Ὁσαμάξω δ’ ὅσι τοὺς μὲν φύσει δεινοὺς οὐνας εἰπέν ευδαμονίζοισιν ὡς ἀγαθοὶ καὶ καλοὶ πράγματος αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότος, τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους γενέσθαι βουλομένους λοιδοροῦσιν ὡς ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ παιδεύματος ἐπιθυμοῦντας. καὶ τοι τί τῶν φύσει καλῶν οὗτων μελέτη κατεργασθέναι αὐχρόν ἢ κακὸν ἔστω; οὐδὲν γὰρ εὐρήσομεν τοιούτου, ἀλλ’ ἐν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπαινοῦμεν τοὺς ταῖς φιλοσοφίαις ταῖς αὐτῶν ἀγαθῶν τι κτήσασθαι δυνηθέντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς παρὰ τῶν προγόνων

292 παραλαβόντας, εἰκότως: συμφέρει γὰρ ἐπὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων, μὴ τὰς εὐτυχίας ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιμελείας εὐδοκιμεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φύσει καὶ τύχῃ δεινοὶ γενόμενοι λέγειν οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἀποβλέπουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ἄν τύχωσιν, οὔτως χρῆσθαι τοῖς λόγοις εἰσόδασιν· οἱ δὲ φιλοσοφία καὶ λογισμῷ τὴν δύναμιν ταύτην λαβόντες, οὐδὲν ἀσκέπτως λέγοντες, ἦττον περὶ τὰς πράξεις πλημμελοῦσιν.

293 Ὡσθ’ ἀπασὶ μὲν βούλεσθαι προσήκει πολλοὺς εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ παιδείας δεινοὺς εἰπεῖν γυγυμένους, μάλιστα δ’ ὑμῖν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ προέχετε καὶ διαφέρετε τῶν ἄλλων οὐ ταῖς περὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἐπιμελείαις, οὐδ’ ὅτι κάλλιστα πολυτεύεσθε καὶ μάλιστα φιλάττετε τοὺς νόμους οὐδ’ ὑμῖν οἱ
as in the good things which spring up in the soul under a liberal education. I ask you, then, when young men have governed themselves by these principles, ought they not to be praised rather than censured, ought they not to be recognized as the best and the most sober-minded among their fellows?

I marvel at men who felicitate those who are eloquent by nature on being blessed with a noble gift, and yet rail at those who wish to become eloquent, on the ground that they desire an immoral and debasing education. Pray, what that is noble by nature becomes shameful and base when one attains it by effort? We shall find that there is no such thing, but that, on the contrary, we praise, at least in other fields, those who by their own devoted toil are able to acquire some good thing more than we praise those who inherit it from their ancestors. And rightly so; for it is well that in all activities, and most of all in the art of speaking, credit is won, not by gifts of fortune, but by efforts of study. For men who have been gifted with eloquence by nature and by fortune, are governed in what they say by chance, and not by any standard of what is best, whereas those who have gained this power by the study of philosophy and by the exercise of reason never speak without weighing their words, and so are less often in error as to a course of action.

Therefore, it behoves all men to want to have many of their youth engaged in training to become speakers, and you Athenians most of all. For you, yourselves, are pre-eminent and superior to the rest of the world, not in your application to the business of war, nor because you govern yourselves more excellently or preserve the laws handed down to you.
ISOCRATES

πρόγονοι κατέλησον, ἀλλὰ τούτοις ὡς περ ἡ φύσις ἡ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ τὸ γένος
294 τὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων τῶν βαρβάρων, τῷ καὶ πρὸς τὴν
φρόνησιν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους ἄμεινον πεπαι-
δεύσθαι τῶν ἄλλων. ὥστε πάντων ἀν συμβαίη
dεινότατον, εἰ τοὺς βουλομένους τοὺς αὐτοῖς
tούτους διενεγκείν τῶν ἥλικιωτῶν, οἷς περ ὤμεῖς
ἀπάντων, διαφθείρεσθαι ψηφίσασθε, καὶ τοὺς τῇ
παϊδείᾳ ταύτῃ χρωμένους, ἢς ὤμεῖς ἥγεμόνες
gεγένησθε, συμφορὰ των περιβάλουτε.
295 Χρὴ γὰρ μηδὲ τοῦτο λανθάνειν ὡμᾶς, οτι πάντων
tῶν δυναμένων λέγειν ἡ παιδεία ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν
dοκεῖ γεγενηθαι διδάσκαλος, εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ
ἀθλα μέγιστα τιθέσαι αὐτὴν ὅρῳσι τοῖς τὴν
dύναμιν ταύτην ἔχουσιν, καὶ γυμνάσια πλεῖστα καὶ
παντοδαπῶτα παρέχουσαν τοῖς ἀγωνίζονται προ-
ημημένους καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα¹ γυμνάζονται
296 βουλομένους, ἐτι δὲ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, ἡ περ μάλιστα
ποιεῖ δύνασθαι λέγειν, ἐνθένδε πάντας λαμβάνοντας·
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς κοινότητα καὶ
μετριότητα καὶ τὴν ἀλλην εὐτραπελίαν καὶ φιλο-
λογίαν οὐ μικρὸν ἤγονται συμβαλέονται μέρος
πρὸς τὴν τῶν λόγων παιδείαν· ὡστ' οὐκ ἀδίκωσ
ὑπολαμβάνονον ἀπαντᾶς τοὺς λέγειν ὄντας δεινοὺς
tῆς πόλεως εἶναι μαθητάς.
297 Σκοπεῖτ' οὖν μὴ παντάπασιν ἢ καταγέλαστον

¹ τὰ τοιαῦτα Havet: τᾶς τοιαῦτας mss.

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b Cf. Plato, Apology 29 d.
d The Attic "dialect" was the least provincial of all, avoiding the extreme harshness of the Dorian and the softness

348
by your ancestors more faithfully than others, but in those qualities by which the nature of man rises above the other animals, and the race of the Hellenes above the barbarians, namely, in the fact that you have been educated as have been no other people in wisdom and in speech. So, then, nothing more absurd could happen than for you to declare by your votes that students who desire to excel their companions in those very qualities in which you excel mankind, are being corrupted, and to visit any misfortune upon them for availing themselves of an education in which you have become the leaders of the world.

For you must not lose sight of the fact that Athens is looked upon as having become a school for the education of all able orators and teachers of oratory. And naturally so: for people observe that she holds forth the greatest prizes for those who have this ability, that she offers the greatest number and variety of fields of exercise to those who have chosen to enter contests of this character and want to train for them, and that, furthermore, everyone obtains here that practical experience which more than any other thing imparts ability to speak; and, in addition to these advantages, they consider that the catholicity and moderation of our speech, as well as our flexibility of mind and love of letters, contribute in no small degree to the education of the orator. Therefore they suppose, and not without just reason, that all clever speakers are the disciples of Athens.

Beware, then, lest it make you utterly ridiculous of the Ionic, and tended to be more and more the language of cultivated Greeks, until in the time of Alexander the Great it had broadened into the "common dialect," "κοινή διάλεκτος."
τῆς δόξης ταύτης φλαγρόν τι καταγιγνώσκειν, ἢν ὑμεῖς ἔχετε παρὰ τοῖς "Ελλησι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐγὼ παρ’ ὑμῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀλλ’ ἢ φανερῶς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔσεσθε κατεξηφυσμένοι τῆν τοιαύτην ἄ·

298 δικίαν, καὶ πεποιηκότες ὁμοίων ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ Λακε-

dαιμόνιοι τοὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀσκοῦντας ἐπιθειρότεν, ἢ Θετταλοί παρὰ τῶν ἰππεύνων μελετῶντων δίκην λαμβάνειν ἄξιοιεν. ὑπὲρ ὁν φυλακτέον ἄστιν, ὅπως μηδὲν τοιούτον ἐξαμαρ-

tήσεσθε περὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς, μηδὲ πιστοτέρους πούησετε τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν κατηγοροῦντων τῆς πόλεως ἢ τοὺς τῶν ἐπαινοῦντων.

299 Οἶμαι δ’ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἐλλήνων οἱ μὲν δυσκόλως πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔχουσιν, οἱ δ’ ὡς οἶόντε μάλιστα φιλοῦσι καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν ὑμῖν ἔχουσι. καὶ φασιν οἱ μὲν τοιοῦτοι μόνην εἶναι ταύτην πόλιν, τὰς. δ’ ἄλλας κώμας, καὶ δικαῖος ἂν αὐτὴν ἄστιν τῆς Ἐλλάδος προσαγο-

2μένεθαι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ διὰ τὰς εὐπορίας τὰς ἐνθενδέ τοῖς ἄλλοις γενομένας καὶ μάλιστα
diὰ τόν τρόπον τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων. οὐδένας γὰρ εἶναι πρωτέρους οὐδὲ κοινοτέρους οὐδ’ οἷς οἰκειό-

tερον ἄν τις τῶν ἄπαντα βίον συνιδιατρίβειν. οὕτω δὲ μεγάλαις χρώνες ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ὡστ’ οὐδὲ τοῦτ’ ὄκνουσι λέγειν, ὡς ἦδον ἂν ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς Ἀθηναίου ἐξεισθεῖν ἡ διὰ τῆς ἐτέρων ὠμότητος εὕ πάθοιν.

300 δὲ ταῦτα μὲν διασύνοιοι, διεξιόντες δὲ τὰς τῶν συκοφαντῶν πικρότητας καὶ κακοπραγίας ὅλης τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀμῖκτον καὶ χαλεπῆς οὐσῆς κατηγοροῦσιν.

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a The best cavalrymen in Greece.
to pronounce a disparaging judgement upon the reputation which you have among the Hellenes even more than I have among you. Manifestly, by such an unjust verdict, you would be passing sentence upon yourselves. It would be as if the Lacedaemonians were to attempt to penalize men for training themselves in preparation for war, or as if the Thessalians a saw fit to punish men for practising the art of horsemanship. Take care, therefore, not to do yourselves this wrong and not to lend support to the slanders of the enemies of Athens rather than to the eulogies of her friends.

I think that you are not unaware that while some of the Hellenes are hostile to you, some are extremely friendly, and rest their hopes of security upon you. These say that Athens is the only city, the others being mere villages, and that she deserves to be termed the capital of Hellas both because of her size and because of the resources which she furnishes to the rest of the world, and most of all because of the character of her inhabitants; for no people, they insist, are more kindly or more sociable, b nor could anyone find any people with whom he could spend all his days in friendlier intercourse. Indeed, so extravagant are they in their praise that they do not even hesitate to say that they would rather suffer injury at the hands of an Athenian gentleman than benefit through the rudeness of people from another city. c

There are, on the other hand, those who scoff at this praise, and, dwelling upon the cruel and iniquitous practices of the sycophants, denounce the whole city as savage and insupportable.

a Cf. Paneg. 41. b The Spartans.
301 Ἡστιν οὖν δικαστῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων τοὺς μὲν τῶν τοιούτων λόγων αἱτίους γιγνομένους ἀποκτείνειν ὡς μεγάλην αἰσχύνην τῇ πόλει περιποιοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἔπαινων τῶν λεγομένων περὶ αὐτῆς μέρος τι συμβαλλομένους τιμῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀθλητάς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγώνι τικῶντας: πολὺ γὰρ καλλίω δόξαν ἐκείνων κτώμενοι τῇ πόλει τυγχάνοντι καὶ μᾶλλον ἀρμόστουσαν. περὶ μὲν γὰρ τὴν τῶν σωμάτων ἁγωνίαν πολλοὺς τοὺς ἁμφισβητοῦντας ἔχομεν, περὶ δὲ τὴν παιδείαν ἀπαντεῖν ἢ ἡμᾶς πρωτεύειν προκρίνειαν. χρῆ δὲ τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ1 λογίζεσθαι δυναμένους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἔργων διαφέροντας, ἐν οἷς ἡ πόλις εὐδοκιμεῖ, τιμῶντας φαίνεσθαι, καὶ μὴ φθονερῶς ἔχειν, μηδ’ ἐναντία τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλλησι γιγνώσκειν περὶ αὐτῶν.

302 Ὡν ὑμῶν οὐδὲν πώποτ’ ἐμέλησεν, ἄλλὰ τοσοῦτον δημορτήκατε τοῦ συμφέροντος, ὦσθ’ ἦδιον ἔχετε δι’ οὐς ἀκούετε κακῶς ἢ δι’ οὕς ἐπαινεῖσθε, καὶ δημοτικωτέρους εἶναι νομίζετε τοὺς τοῦ μισείσθαι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ πολλῶν αἰτίους ὄντας, ἢ τοὺς ἀπαντας οἷς πεπλησιάκασιν εἰ διακεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὴν πεποιηκότας.

303 Ἦν οὖν σωφρονήτε, τῆς μὲν ταραχῆς παύσεσθε ταῦτης, οὐχ οὔτω δ’ ὡσπερ νῦν οἱ μὲν τραχέως οἱ δ’ ὀλγύρως διακεῖσθε πρὸς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλ’ ύπολαβόντες κάλλιστον εἶναι καὶ σπουδαιότατον τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὴν τῆς φυχής ἐπιμέλειαν, προστρέψετε τῶν νεωτέρων τοὺς βίον ἰκανόν κεκτημένους καὶ σχολὴν ἄγειν δυναμένους ἐπὶ τὴν παιδείαν καὶ τὴν ἀσκησιν τὴν τοιαύτην, καὶ

1 τοὺς καὶ μικρὰ Baiter: τοὺς μικρὰ miss.
It is, therefore, the duty of intelligent judges to destroy those who heap infamy upon the city and to reward those who are responsible in some degree for the tributes paid to her, more than you reward the athletes who are crowned in the great games, seeing that they win for the city a greater and more fitting glory than any athlete; for in contests of the body we have many rivals; but in the training of the mind everyone would concede that we stand first. And men with even a slight ability to reason ought to show the world that they reward those who excel in those activities for which the city is renowned, and they ought not to envy them nor hold an opinion of them which is the opposite of the esteem in which they are held by the rest of the Hellenes.

But you have never troubled yourselves to do this; nay, you have so far mistaken your true interests that you are more pleased with those who cause you to be reviled than with those who cause you to be praised, and you think that those who have made many people hate the city are better friends of the demos than those who have inspired good will toward Athens in all with whom they have had to deal.

If, however, you are wise, you will put an end to this confusion, and you will not continue, as now, to take either a hostile or a contemptuous view of philosophy; on the contrary, you will conceive that the cultivation of the mind is the noblest and worthiest of pursuits and you will urge our young men who have sufficient means and who are able to take the time for it to embrace an education and a training of this sort. And when

* See Paneg. 1; Plato, Apology 36 d.
τοὺς μὲν πονεῖν ἑθέλοντας καὶ παρασκευάζειν σφάς αὐτοὺς χρησίμους τῇ πόλει περὶ πολλοῦ ποιήσεσθε, τοὺς δὲ καταβεβλημένους ζώντας καὶ μηδενὸς ἄλλου φροντίζοντας πλὴν ὅπως ἁσελγῶς ἀπολαύσονται τῶν καταλειφθέντων, τούτους δὲ μυσῆσετε καὶ προδότας νομεῖτε καὶ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων δόξης· μόλις γὰρ ἦν οὕτως ὑμᾶς αἴσθωνται πρὸς ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν διακειμένους, ἐθελήσουσιν οἱ νεώτεροι καταφρονήσαντες τῆς βαθμίας προσέχειν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ τῶν νοῦν.

306 Ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἔργων τῶν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις πεπραγμένων, καὶ διέλθητε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ σκέψασθε ποῖός τις ἢν καὶ πῶς γεγονὼς καὶ τίνα τρόπον πεπαιδευμένος ὁ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλὼν καὶ τὸν δήμον καταγαγὼν καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καταστήσας, ποῖος δὲ τοὺς βαρβάρους Μαραθῶν τῇ μάχῃ νικήσας καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐκ ταύτης γενομένην τῇ πόλει κτησάμενος, τίς δ’ ἢν ὁ μετ’ ἐκείνου τοὺς Ἔλληνας ἔλευθερώσας καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν ἢν ἔσχον προαγαγόν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν φύσιν τὴν τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατιδὼν καὶ τὸ τείχος ἀκόντων Λακεδαίμονιν τῇ πόλει περιβαλὼν, τίς δὲ ὁ μετὰ τούτου ἀργυρίου καὶ χρυσίου τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐμπλήσας καὶ τοὺς οἶκους τοὺς ἱδίους μεστοὺς πολλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ πλούτου ποιήσας· εὐρήσετε

a Cleisthenes.  

b Miltiades.  

c At the close of the Persian Wars, the Athenians returned to their city and, under the leadership of Themistocles, against the protest of the Lacedaemonians, built strong 354
they are willing to work hard and to prepare themselves to be of service to the city, you will make much of them; but when they give themselves to loose living and care for nothing else than to enjoy riotously what their fathers left to them, you will despise them and look upon them as false to the city and to the good name of their ancestors. For it will be hard enough, even though you show such an attitude of mind in either case, to get our youth to look down upon a life of ease and be willing to give their minds to their own improvement and to philosophy.

But reflect upon the glory and the greatness of the deeds wrought by our city and our ancestors, review them in your minds and consider what kind of man was he, what was his birth and what the character of his education, who expelled the tyrants, brought the people into their own, and established our democratic state; a what sort was he who conquered the barbarians in the battle at Marathon and won for the city the glory which has come to Athens from this victory; b what was he who after him liberated the Hellenes and led our forefathers forth to the leadership and power which they achieved, and who, besides, appreciating the natural advantage of the Piraeus, girded the city with walls in despite of the Lacedaemonians; c and what manner of man was he who after him filled the Acropolis with gold and silver and made the homes of the Athenians to overflow with prosperity and wealth: d for you will find if you review the career walls around Athens and around the harbour-town, the Piraeus. Later these two walled towns were connected by the building of the "long walls."

a Pericles. See 232-234, where all these, except Miltiades, are eulogized by name.
γάρ, ἂν ἔξετάζητε τούτων ἐκαστον, οὐ τοὺς συκοφαντικῶς βεβιωκότας οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμελῶς, οὐδὲ τοὺς τοὺς πολλοὺς ὀμολοὺς ὄντας, ταύτα διαπεπραγμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς διαφέροντας καὶ προέχοντας μὴ μόνον ταῖς εὐγενείαις καὶ ταῖς δοξαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν, τούτους ἀπάντων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίους γεγενημένους.

309 Ὡς εἰκὸς ὡμᾶς ἐνθυμομένους ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ πλῆθους τοῦτο σκοπεῖν, ὅπως ἐν τε τοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῖς περὶ τῶν συμβολαίων τῶν δικαίων τεύχονται καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κοινῶν μεθέχουσιν, τοὺς δ᾽ ὑπερέχοντας καὶ τῇ φύσει καὶ ταῖς μελέταις, καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους γενέσθαι προθυμομένους, ἀγαπὰν καὶ τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν, ἐπισταμένους ὅτι καὶ τὸ καλὸν καὶ μεγάλων ἡγήσασθαι πραγµάτων καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τῶν κυδίνων σώζειν καὶ τὴν δηµοκρατίαν διαφυλάττειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔνεστιν, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐν τοῖς συκοφάνταις.

310 Πολλῶν δ᾽ ἐφεστώτων μοι λόγων ἀπορῶ πῶς [343] αὐτοὺς διαθῶμαι· δοκεί γάρ μοι καθ᾽ αὐτὸ μὲν ἐκαστὸν ὧν διανοοῦμαι ῥηθὲν ἐπιεικὲς ἀν φανὴν, πάντα δὲ νυνι λεγόμενα πολύν ἂν ὁχλον ἐμοὶ τε καὶ τοῖς ἀκούσαις παρασχεῖν. ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἡδη προειρημένων δέδοικα, μὴ τοιούτοι τι πάθος

311 αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τυγχάνη συμβεβηκός. οὕτω γάρ ἀπλήστως ἀπαντεῖ ἔχομεν περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἢστ᾽ ἐπαινοῦμεν μὲν τὴν εὐκαιρίαν καὶ φαμὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι τοιοῦτον, ἐπειδὰν δ᾽ οἰηθῶμεν ὡς ἔχομεν τὶ λέγειν, ἀμελήσαντες τοῦ μετριάζειν, κατὰ μικρὸν ἂεὶ προστιθέντες εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας


356
of each of these, that it was not those who lived unscrupulously or negligently nor those who did not stand out from the multitude who accomplished these things, but that it was men who were superior and pre-eminent, not only in birth and reputation, but in wisdom and eloquence, who have been the authors of all our blessings.

You ought to lay this lesson to heart and, while seeing to it in behalf of the mass of the people that they shall obtain their just rights in the trials of their personal disputes and that they shall have their due share of the other privileges which are common to all, you ought, on the other hand, to welcome and honour and cherish those who stand out from the multitude both in ability and in training and those who aspire to such eminence, since you know that leadership in great and noble enterprises, and the power to keep the city safe from danger and to preserve the rule of the people, rests with such men, and not with the sycophants.

Many ideas crowd into my thoughts, but I do not know how I can make place for them; for it seems to me that while every point which I have in mind would appeal to you if I presented it by itself, yet if I attempted to discuss them all at this time, I should put too great a strain both upon myself and upon my hearers. Indeed I fear that in what I have already said to you I may have fatigued you by speaking at such length. For we are all so insatiable in discourse that while we prize due measure and affirm that there is nothing so precious, yet when we think that we have something of importance to say, we throw moderation to the winds, and go on adding point after point until little by little we involve our-
For example, a charge of deliberate murder could come only before the Court of the Areopagus. A charge against the sycophants, on the other hand, could be brought before the Thesmothetae (see 237, note), who prepared the case for trial before a Helastic Court, in which case the charge was termed γραφή (indictment); or before the Senate of 358
selves in utter irrelevancies. Why, at the very moment that I say this and recognize its truth, I desire, nevertheless, to speak to you at greater length! For I am grieved to see the sycophant’s trade faring better than philosophy—the one attacking, the other on the defensive. Who of the men of old could have anticipated that things would come to this pass, in Athens, of all places, where we more than others plume ourselves on our wisdom? Things were not like that in the time of our ancestors; on the contrary, they admired the sophists, as they called them, and envied the good fortune of their disciples, while they blamed the sycophants for most of their ills.

You will find the strongest proof of this in the fact that they saw fit to put Solon, who was the first of the Athenians to receive the title of sophist, at the head of the state, while they applied to the sycophants more stringent laws than to other criminals; for, while they placed the trial of the greatest crimes in the hands of a single one of the courts, against the sycophants they instituted indictments before the Thesmothetae, impeachments before the Senate, and plaints before the General Assembly, believing that those who plied this trade exceeded all other forms of villainy; for other criminals, at any rate, try to keep their evil-doing under cover, while these flaunt their brutality, their misanthropy, and their contentiousness before the eyes of all.

the Five Hundred, in which case the charge was called εἰσαγγελία (impeachment); or before the General Assembly, in which case the charge was termed προσολή (plaint). See Lipsius, Das attische Recht pp. 176 ff. This was, however, true of so many crimes that the point of Isocrates is rather rhetorical.
Kάκεινοι μὲν οὖτως ἐγίγνωσκόν περὶ αὐτῶν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχετε τοῦ κολάζειν αὐτούς, ὡστε τούτους χρῆσθε καὶ κατηγόροις καὶ νομοθέταις περὶ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ τοι προσήκεν αὐτοὺς νῦν μισείσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. 316 τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἐγκυκλίοις μόνον καὶ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐβλαπτον τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους· ἐπειδὴ δ' αὐξηθείσης τῆς πόλεως καὶ λαβούσης τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ πατέρες ἦμων, μᾶλλον θαρρήσαντες τοῦ συμφέροντος, τοῖς μὲν καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μεγάλην τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασι διὰ τὰς δυναστείας ἐφθάνεσαν, πονηρῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ μεστῶν θρασύτητος ἐπεθύμησαν, οὐκέντες ταῖς μὲν τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς φιλαπεχθηκομέναις ἱκανοῖς αὐτοὺς ἔσεθαι διαφυλάττειν τὴν δημοκρατίαν, διὰ δὲ τὴν φαυλότητα τῶν ἐς ἄρχης αὐτοῖς ὑπαρξάντων οὐ μέγα φρονήσεων οὐδ' ἐπιθυμήσειν ἑτέρας πολιτείας.

Ἐκ ταύτης τῆς μεταβολῆς τί τῶν δεινών οὐ συνέπεσε τῇ πόλει, τί δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν [345] οἱ ταύτην ἔχοντες τὴν φύσιν οὐ καὶ λέγοντες καὶ 318 πράττοντες διετέλεσαν; οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μάλιστα δυναμένους ποιῆσαι τι τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν, ὀλιγαρχίαν ὀνειδίζοντες καὶ

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a The term sycophant is applied here as elsewhere in Isocrates and the other orators to demagogic politicians.

b From the time of the “reforms” of Ephialtes (see Areop. 50: τοὺς ὀλίγους πρὸ ἡμῶν), and especially after the death of Pericles. Aristotle (Const. of Athens 28) states: “So long, however, as Pericles was leader of the people, things went tolerably well with the State; but when he was dead there was a great change for the worse. Then for the first time did the people choose a leader who was of no reputation among the people of good standing, whereas 360
That was the way our ancestors felt about them. But you, so far from punishing the sycophants, actually set them up as accusers and legislators for the rest of the people. And yet there is reason for detesting them now more than at that time; for then it was only in matters of ordinary routine and in affairs confined to the city that they damaged their countrymen. In the meantime, however, the city waxed powerful and seized the empire of the Hellenes, and our fathers, growing more self-assured than was meet for them, began to look with disfavour on those good men and true who had made Athens great, envying them their power, and to crave instead men who were base-born and full of insolence, thinking that by their bravado and contentiousness they would be able to preserve the rule of the people, while because of the meanness of their origin they would not become overweening nor ambitious to overturn the constitution.

And since this change has taken place, what calamity has not been visited upon the city? What great misfortunes have these depraved natures failed to bring to pass through their speech and through their actions? Have they not taunted the most illustrious of the Athenians—the men who were the best able to benefit the city—with oligarchical and up to this time men of good standing were always found as leaders of the democracy" (Kenyon’s translation). Aristotle goes on to say that Pericles was followed by such leaders as Cleon, the tanner—insolent demagogues who vied with each other in pandering to the mob.

That is, vigilance exercised by loud-mouthed demagogues is the price of liberty.

Cf. Dem. Περὶ συντάξεως 173: ἕστι δ' οὐδέποτ' ὁμαι, δυνατὸν μικρὰ καὶ φαύλα πράττοντας μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν.
The Athenian democracy since the days of Cleisthenes lived in continual fear of revolution. There remained a strong oligarchical party, supported by Sparta, and it was always easy to catch the ear of the Athenian demos by accusing anyone of oligarchical or Spartan sympathies. Cf. Peace 133.

a The Athenian democracy since the days of Cleisthenes lived in continual fear of revolution. There remained a strong oligarchical party, supported by Sparta, and it was always easy to catch the ear of the Athenian demos by accusing anyone of oligarchical or Spartan sympathies. 

Cf. Peace 133.

b Is he thinking particularly of Alcibiades?

c Cf. Panath. 13 and 142.

d The Peloponnesian War.

e First by the oligarchy of the Four Hundred in 411 b.c., secondly by the oligarchy of the Thirty Tyrants in 404 b.c., after the downfall of the Athenian Empire.
Lacedaemonian sympathies, and never ceased until they have driven them to become in fact what they were charged with being? Have they not by ill-treating our allies, by lodging false complaints against them, by stripping the best of them of their possessions—have they not so disaffected them that they have revolted against us and craved the friendship and alliance of the Lacedaemonians? And with what results? We have been plunged into war; we have seen many of our fellow-countrymen suffer, some of them dying in battle, some made prisoners of war, and others reduced to the last extremities of want; we have seen the democracy twice overthrown, the walls which defended our country torn down; and, worst of all, we have seen the whole city in peril of being enslaved, and our enemy encamped on the Acropolis.

But I perceive, even though my feelings carry me away, that the water in the clock is giving out, while I myself have fallen into thoughts and recriminations which would exhaust the day. Therefore, I pass over the multitude of calamities which these men have brought upon us; I thrust aside the throng of offences which we might charge to their infamy, and content myself with just one word before I close.

One of the terms of peace at the end of the war was that the "long walls" connecting Athens with the Piraeus should be torn down.

After her surrender to Sparta and the allies of Sparta at the close of the Peloponnesian War. See Areop. 6 and note; Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 19-20. Cf. Peace 78, 105; Plataicus 23.

A Spartan garrison occupied the Acropolis during the reign of the Thirty.

The clepsydra or water-clock, which marked the time allowed to each speaker.
321 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους ὀρῶ τοὺς κωδυνεύοντας, ἐπειδὰν περὶ τὴν τελευτήν ὡς τῆς ἀπολογίας, ἱκετεύοντας, δεομένους, τοὺς παίδας, τοὺς φίλους ἀναβιβαζόμενους· ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε πρέπειν οὐδὲν ἥγονμαι τῶν τοιούτων τοὺς τηλικοῦτοις, πρὸς τε τῷ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, αἰσχυνθεῖν ἂν, εἰ δὴ ἄλλο τι σωζοίμην ἢ διὰ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς προειρημένους. οἴδα γὰρ ἐμαυτὸν οὕτως ὅσιως καὶ δικαίως κεχρημένον αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ περὶ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, ὥστε, εἰ τι μέλει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων αὐτοῖς πραγμάτων, οὐδὲ τῶν νῦν περὶ ἐμὲ γιγνομένων οὐδὲν [346] αὐτοῖς οἶμαι λανθάνειν. διότερ οὖκ ὀρρωδῶ τὸ μέλλον συμβῆσεσθαι παρ’ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶ καὶ πολλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχω τότε μοι τοῦ βίου τὴν τελευτήν ἤξειν, ὅταν μέλλῃ συνοίσειν ἡμῖν, σημεῖων χρώμενος ὅτι καὶ τὸν παρελθόντα χρόνον οὕτω τυγχάνω βεβιωκὼς μέχρι ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας, ὥς περ προσήκει τοὺς εὔσεβεῖς καὶ θεοφιλεῖς τῶν ἀνθρώ-πων.

322 Ὡς οὖν ἐμοὶ ταύτην ἐχοντος τὴν γνώμην, καὶ νομίζοντος ὡς τι ἂν ύμῖν δόξῃ, τοῦθέν ἤξειν μοι καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως, ὅπως ἐκαστὸς ὑμῶν χαίρει καὶ βούλεται, τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον φερέτω τῇ ψήφῳ.

364
I observe that when others who are placed in jeopardy here come to the end of their defence, they supplicate, they implore, they bring their children and their friends before the jury. I, however, consider that such expedients are unbecoming to one of my age; and, apart from this feeling, I should be ashamed to owe my life to any other plea than to the words which you have just heard. For I know that I have spoken with so just and clear a conscience both towards the city and our ancestors, and above all towards the gods, that if it be true that the gods concern themselves at all with human affairs I am sure that they are not indifferent to my present situation. Wherefore, I have no fear of what may come to me at your hands; nay, I am of good courage and have every confidence that when I close my life it will be when it is best for me; for I take it as a good sign that all my past life up to this day has been such as is the due of righteous and god-fearing men.

Being assured, therefore, that I am of this mind, and that I believe that whatever you decide will be for my good and to my advantage, let each one cast his vote as he pleases and is inclined.

These pathetic scenes were a stock device in the court room—ridiculed by Aristophanes in the *Wasps*. Cf. Aristotle, *Rhet.* 1354 a. Isocrates here echoes Plato, *Apology* 34 c.

Cf. Plato's *Apology* 35 d.
V. THE PANATHENAICUS
INTRODUCTION

The Panathenaicus is the last of the "orations" of Isocrates and the last of his extant writings, excepting the brief letter to Philip. He began it in his ninety-fourth year, apparently not long before the celebration of the Greek Panathenaic Festival in the month Hecatombaeon (July-August), 342 B.C. He was moved to undertake this ambitious discourse at such an age partly by an impulse to justify himself against recent criticisms which had wounded his pride, but mainly by a desire to publish, probably on the occasion of the approaching Festival, a last testimonial to the glory of Athens—her generous pan-Hellenism in days past in contrast to the selfish parochialism of Sparta. He was not, however, able to publish this encomium as a contribution to that celebration. When it was half finished, his work was interrupted by a severe and lasting illness, and it was not until three years later, when—to use his own words—he "had lived but three years less than a century," that he was prevailed upon by the importunities of his friends to rise above his weakness and complete the discourse. The Panathenaicus was, therefore, issued

a Epist. iii.  b See 3.

See 17 and Jebb, Attic Orators ii. p. 113.

See 19, 25.  e Hence the title, Panathenaicus.


See 5, 35, 41.  h 267, 268.

268-270.

368
in 339 B.C., when the author was ninety-seven years old.

It is not, then, surprising that the Panathenaicus betrays the uncertain grasp of a trembling hand. It is surprising, rather, when we consider that much of the work of Isocrates was done after he had passed his eightieth year, that this discourse is the first to show the effects of old age. The Peace and the Areopagiticus, produced when he was eighty-one, are among the most spirited and forceful of his writings; the Antidosis, published in the following year, shows a firm grasp in the handling of the subject; the Philip and the Archidamus, both issued in his ninetieth year, bear no marks of senility; on the contrary, the Archidamus, particularly, reads like the production of a youthful mind.a But the Panathenaicus gives evidence of the handicaps under which it was elaborated—that it was written "at a time of life and in a state of health wherein any one else, so far from attempting to compose anything of his own, would not be willing even to listen to a discourse worked out and submitted by another."b

At the beginning of the discourse, Isocrates warns his audience that it may appear "more feeble" than his early compositions because of its lack of the adornments of style.c But it is not in this regard mainly that the Panathenaicus is weaker than his other work. In fact it is not lacking in rhetorical devices, although these are less skilfully employed.d But it is even more deficient in invention, arrangement and force. There is little said in the Panathenaicus which is not

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a See Introd. to the Archidamus, Vol. I., L.C.L.
b See 270; General Introd. p. ix.
c See 4.d See 86, 87, and note.
better said in his other writings. The matter dealt with in the introduction—the exposition and defence of his teaching and writing against his detractors—is more effectively covered in the Antidosis, and the glorification of the past history of Athens—his central theme—suffers by comparison with the treatment of the same subject in the Panegyricus, especially because of its diffuseness and repetition and lack of consistency.

In one respect, the eulogy of the city of his fathers in the Panathenaicus takes an original turn: in the sharp contrast drawn between the services of Athens to Greece and the disservices of Sparta. Indeed this part of the discourse, lavish in its praises of Athens, is equally intemperate in its arraignment of Sparta. This Isocrates, himself, feels at the end. He regrets that in his review of Spartan history he had been offensively unjust, and desires in some fashion to make amends to a state which now no less than when he wrote the Panegyricus he does not wish to repel from the cause of pan-Hellenism. But the device to which he resorts—the curious dialogue, if such may be termed the speeches which are exchanged between himself and one of his erstwhile pupils, who not only champions the Spartans but suggests that underneath the apparent abuse heaped upon them in this discourse there lies a hidden meaning which, if elucidated, is flattering to Spartan pride—has been, and will remain, one of the puzzles of literary criticism. There may, perhaps, be some foundation in fact for the "advice" which Isocrates sought from his former pupils and received from that

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*a* See 164, note.  
*b* See 115, note.  
*c* See 41.  
*d* See 232.  
*e* See 233.
one of them who made bold to be a "panegyrist" of the Lacedaemonians. Or it may be—and this seems more probable—that he invents this fiction of a debate in order to show that he also could see the other side. In any case, this epilogue, if not bordering upon ineptitude, is the least felicitous part of a discourse which throughout falls below the level of his best work.

But surely it is invidious to pick flaws in what is, under the circumstances, a marvellous accomplishment. Does the history of mankind record a comparable triumph of the spirit over the infirmities of a centenarian?

\textsuperscript{a} See 234.
ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΚΟΣ

[232] Νεώτερος μὲν ὃν προηγούμην γράφειν τῶν λόγων οὐ τοὺς μυθώδεις οὑδὲ τοὺς τερατείας καὶ ψευδολογίας μεστοὺς, οἷς οἱ πολλοὶ μᾶλλον χαὶροῦσιν ἡ τοῖς περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας λεγομένους, οὐδὲ τοὺς τὰς παλαιὰς πρᾶξεις καὶ τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Ἑλληνικοὺς ἔξηγομένους, καὶ περὶ [233] εἶδος δικαίως αὐτοὺς ἐπαινομένους, οὐδ' αὖ τοὺς ἀπλῶς δοκοῦντας εἰρήσθαι καὶ μηδεμᾶς κομψότητος μετέχοντας, οὐς οἱ δεινοὶ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας παρανοοῦσι τοῖς νεωτέροις μελετῶν, εἷπερ 2 βούλονται πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἀντιδίκων, ἀλλὰ πάντας τούτους ἐάσας περὶ ἐκείνους ἐπραγματευόμην, τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλληνις συμβουλεύοντας, καὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἐνθυμημάτων γέμοντας, οὐκ ὄλγων δ' ἀντιθέσεων

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a See General Introd. p. xxii. Yet he deals with the legend of Demeter in the Panegyricus and with that of Heracles in the Address to Philip, and, half playfully, he goes into the stories of Helen and Busiris in the discourses devoted to them. See General Introd. p. xxxi, Isocrates, Vol. I. in L.C.L.

b Cf. Helen 4 ff., Vol. III., L.C.L.

c See Areop. i.

d One of his pupils, Theopompus, was a historian. For Isocrates' attitude to the historians see Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit ii. p. 49.

372
V. PANATHENAICUS

When I was younger, I elected not to write the kind of discourse which deals with myths, nor that which abounds in marvels and fictions, although the majority of people are more delighted with this literature than with that which is devoted to their welfare and safety; nor did I choose the kind which recounts the ancient deeds and wars of the Hellenes, although I am aware that this is deservedly praised, nor, again, that which gives the impression of having been composed in a plain and simple manner and is lacking in all the refinements of style, which those who are clever at conducting law-suits urge our young men to cultivate, especially if they wish to have the advantage over their adversaries. No, I left all these to others and devoted my own efforts to giving advice on the true interests of Athens and of the rest of the Hellenes, writing in a style rich in many telling points, in contrasted and balanced phrases not a few.

* For the plain style affected by the forensic orators, notably Lysias, see Jebb, Attic Orators i. pp. 159 ff. Cf. Paneg. 11, Vol. I., L.C.L.

† Isocrates despised this kind of writing. See General Introd. p. xxiii.

‡ See General Introd. p. xxiv.

§ The Gorgian figures, antithesis and parasisos, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus complained (Critique of Isocrates 14) were excessively used in the Panegyricus 71-81.
καὶ παρισώσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἱδεῶν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ῥητορεῖαις διαλαμπουσῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπισημαίνεσθαι καὶ θορυβεῖν ἀναγκαζοῦσων.

3 Νῦν δ’ οὖδ’ ὅπωσον τοὺς τοιούτους. ἡγοῦμαι γὰρ οὐχ ἀρμόττευν οὔτε τοὺς ἔτεσι τοὺς ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέτταρις, ἀγὼ τυγχάνω γεγονός, οὐθ’ ἐλαύνει τοῖς ἢδη πολλάς ἔχουσιν, ἐκείνων τῶν τρόπων ἐτὶ λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἀπαντεῖς μὲν ἂν ἐλπίσειαν εἰ βουληθεὶς, οὕτως δ’ ἂν δυνηθῇ ράδιως πλήν τῶν ποιῶν ἐθελόντων καὶ σφόδρα προσεχόντων τῶν νοῦν.

4 Τούτον δ’ ἐνεκεν ταῦτα προείπον, ἵν’ ἦν τισιν ὁ μέλλων δειχθῆσεθαι λόγος μαλακότερος ἢν φαίνεται τῶν πρότερον διαδεδομένων, μὴ παραβάλλωσι πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ποικιλίαν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν αὐτοῦ κρίνωσι τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδοκιμασμένην.

5 Διαλέξωμαι δὲ περὶ τε τῶν τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετῆς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τούτων ἀρξάμενος, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμοὶ συμβεβηκότων· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ οἴμαι μάλλον κατεπείγειν, πειρώμενος γὰρ ἀναμαρτήτως ζῆν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀλύπως, οὐδένα διαλέλουσα χρόνον ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν σοφιστῶν τῶν ἀδοκίμων καὶ πονηρῶν διαβαλλόμενος, ὑπ’ ἄλλων δὲ τινῶν οὐχ οἶδ’ εἰμὶ γεγνωσκόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοιούτος ὑπολαμβανόμενος οἶνον ἃν 6 παρ’ ἐτέρων ἀκούσωσιν. Βουλομαι οὖν προδιαλεκθῆναι περὶ τ’ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν οὕτω πρὸς

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*a* See General Introd. pp. xiv and xxiv.

*b* An exaggeration. They abound in this discourse, but his earlier efforts were more ornate. *Cf. Phil. 27, 28, Vol. I., L.C.L., and Antid. 195.*

874
and in the other figures of speech which give brilliance to oratory and compel the approbation and applause of the audience.

Now, however, I have completely given up these devices of rhetoric. For I do not think it is becoming to the ninety-four years which I have lived nor, in general, to men whose hair has at length turned to grey to continue to speak in this fashion, but rather in the manner which every man, should he so desire, would hope to command, although no man can easily attain it without hard work and close application.

I have said this at the beginning in order that if the discourse which is now about to be presented to the public should appear to some to be more feeble than those which have been published in former years, they may not compare it in the matter of rhetorical variety and finish to my former compositions but may judge it in relation to the subject matter which I have deemed appropriate to the present occasion.

I intend to discuss the achievements of Athens and the virtues of our ancestors, although I shall not begin with them but with a statement of my personal experience, since it is more urgent, I think, to begin with this. For notwithstanding that I strive to live in a manner above reproach and without offence to others, I am continually being misrepresented by obscure and worthless sophists and being judged by the general public, not by what I really am, but by what they hear from others. I wish, therefore, to preface my discussion with a word about myself and about those who have this attitude

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* Cf. same apology in *Phil.* 149; *Antid.* 9; *Epist.* vi. 6, Vol. III., L.C.L.

* Cf. *Antid.* 4-8.
ISOCRATES

με διακειμένων, ἵν' ἂν πως οἶδο τε γένωμαι, τοὺς μὲν παύσω βλασφημοῦντας, τοὺς δ' εἰδέναι ποιήσω περὶ ᾧ τυχόνω διατρίβων. ἤν γὰρ τάοιτα τῷ λόγῳ δυνηθῶ διοικήσαι κατὰ τρόπον, ἐλπίζω τὸν ἐπιλογὸν χρόνον αὐτὸς τε ἀλύπως διάξειν, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ τῷ μέλλοντι ρήηνοςθαι τοὺς παρόντας μᾶλλον προσέξειν τὸν νοῦν.

7 Ὅυκ ὄκνησον δὲ κατειπεῖν οὔτε τὴν νῦν ἐγγιγνομένην ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ μοι ταραχήν, οὔτε τὴν ἀτοπίαν ὃν ἐν τῷ παρόντι τυχόνω γιγνώσκων, οὔτ' εἰ τι πράττω τῶν δεόντων. ἐγὼ γὰρ μετεσχηκὼς τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν, ἃν ἀπαντήσω ἐν εὐξάντω μεταλαβεῖν, πρῶτον μὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς υγείας οὐχ ὃς ἔτυχον, ἀλλ' ἐναμίλλως τοῖς μάλιστα περὶ ἐκάτερον τούτων εὔτυχικόσιν, ἕπειτα τῆς περὶ τὸν βίον εὐπορίας, ὥστε μηθένος πώποτε ἀπορήσαι τῶν μετρίων μηδ' ὃν ἀνθρώποι ἃν νοῦν ἔχων ἐπιθυμήσειν, ἔτι τοῦ μὴ τῶν καταβεβλημένων εἰς εἶναι μηδὲ τῶν κατημελημένων, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνων περὶ ὃν οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ μνησθεῖν ἃν καὶ διάλεξθεὶν ὡς σπουδαῖων οὖντων, —τούτων ἀπαντῶν μοι συμβεβηκότων τῶν μὲν ὑπερβαλλόντως τῶν δ' ἐξαρκοῦντως οὐκ ἄγαπώ ξών ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλ' οὔτω τὸ γηρᾶς ἐστὶ δυσάρεστον καὶ μικρολόγων καὶ μεμψίμοιρον, ὥστε

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a For the "greatest goods" cf. Plato, Laws 631c; Aristotle, Rhetoric i. 5; and Herrick's rendering of the famous Greek skolion:

Health is the first good lent to men;
A gentle disposition then;
Next, to be rich by no by-ways;
Lastly, with friends t' enjoy our dayes.
towards me, in order that, if only it lies within my power to do so, I may put an end to the abuse of my calumniators and give to the public a clear understanding of the work to which I am devoted. For if I succeed in setting forth a true picture of this in my discourse, I hope not only that I myself may pass the rest of my days free from annoyance but that my present audience will give better attention to the discourse which is about to be delivered.

I am not going to hesitate to tell you frankly of the confusion which now comes into my thoughts, of the strangeness of my feelings on the present occasion, and of my perplexity as to whether I am doing anything to the purpose. For I have had my share of the greatest goods of life—the things which all men would pray the gods to have as their portion: a first of all, I have enjoyed health both of body and of soul, not in common degree, but in equal measure with those who have been most blessed in these respects; b secondly, I have been in comfortable circumstances, so that I have not lacked for any of the moderate satisfactions nor for those that a sensible man would desire; and, lastly, I have been ranked, not among those who are despised or ignored, but among those whom the most cultivated of the Hellenes will recall and talk about as men of consequence and worth. And yet, although I have been blessed with all these gifts, some in surpassing, others in sufficient measure, I am not content to live on these terms; on the contrary, my old age is so morose and captious and discontented that I have

b Cf. Bacchylides i. 27 ff. (i. 55 ff., Jebb's edition):

εἰ δ' ὑγείας θνατὸς ἐὼν ἐλάχευν,
ζῷειν τ' ἀπ' οἰκεῖων ἔχει, πρῶτοις ἐρίζει.
πολλάκις ἦδη τὴν τε φύσιν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ κατεμεμ-9 ψάμνη, ὡς οὔδεις ἄλλος καταπεφράνηκε, καὶ τὴν τύχην ὑδυράμην, ταύτη μὲν οὐδὲν ἔχων ἐπικαλείν ἄλλο πλὴν ὅτι περὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἦν προειλόμην ἀτυχία τινὲς καὶ συκοφαντίαι γεγόναι, τὴν δὲ φύσιν εἰδὼς πρὸς μὲν τὰς πράξεις ἀρρωστότεραν καὶ μαλακωτέραν οὐσαν τοῦ δέοντος, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λόγους οὔτε τελείαν οὔτε πανταχῆ χρησίμην, ἀλλὰ δοξάσαι μὲν περὶ ἐκάστου τὴν ἀλῆθειαν μᾶλλον δυναμένην τῶν εἰδέναι φασκόντων, εἰπεῖν δὲ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐν συλλόγῳ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπασῶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἀπολελειμ-10 μένην. οὕτω γὰρ ἐνδείη ἀμφοτέρων ἐγενόμην τῶν μεγίστην δύναμιν ἐχόντων παρ’ ἑμῖν, φωνῆς ἰκανῆς καὶ τόλμης, ὡς οὐκ οἶδε κι τὸ τοῦ ἄλλος τῶν πολιτῶν· ὅπως τις τῆς ὑπὸ ἐργολοίτων πολιτῶν προς τὸ δοκεῖν ἄξιοί τινος εἶναι τῶν [235] ὀφειλόντων τῷ δημοσίῳ τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐκτίσεων τὸ καταγνωσθὲν ἐλπίδες ὑπεισεν, οἱ δ’ οὐδέποτ’ ἂν τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλοιεν. οὐ μὴν ἐπὶ τούτους ἀθυμήσας περιείδον ἐμαυτὸν ἀδοξὸν οὐδ’ ἀφανὴ παντάπασι γενόμενον, ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ πολιτευ-σθαι διήμαρτον, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν καὶ γράφειν ἃ διανοηθεῖν κατέφυγον, οὐ περὶ μι-κρῶν τὴν προάρεσιν ποιοῦμενος οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν ἴδιων συμβολαίων οὐδὲ περὶ ὧν ἄλλοι τινὲς

a Such as are described at the beginning of the Antidosis.

b See General Introd. pp. xxvii ff.; Against the Sophists 7 ff.

c Cf. Phil. 81 and note; Epist. i. 9 ff.; Epist. viii. 7; and Aristophanes, Knights 217 ff.

378
oftentimes before this found fault with my nature, which no other man has contemned, and have deplored my fortune, although I have had no complaint against it other than that the philosophy which I have chosen to pursue has been the object of unfortunate and unscrupulous attacks. As to my nature, however, I realized that it was not robust and vigorous enough for public affairs and that it was not adequate nor altogether suited to public discourse, and that, furthermore, although it was better able to form a correct judgement of the truth of any matter than are those who claim to have exact knowledge, yet for expounding the truth before an assemblage of many people it was, if I may say so, the least competent in all the world. For I was born more lacking in the two things which have the greatest power in Athens—a strong voice and ready assurance—than, I dare say, any of my fellow-citizens. And those who are not endowed with these are condemned to go about in greater obscurity so far as public recognition is concerned than those who owe money to the state; for the latter have still the hope of paying off the fine assessed against them, whereas the former can never change their nature. And yet I did not permit these disabilities to dishearten me nor did I allow myself to sink into obscurity or utter oblivion, but since I was barred from public life I took refuge in study and work and writing down my thoughts, choosing as my field, not petty matters nor private contracts, nor the things about which the other orators prate, but the

\[
\text{τὰ δὲ ἄλλα σοι πρόσεστι δημαγωγικά,}
\text{φωνή μιαρά, γέγονας κακώς, ἀγόρασας εἰ·}
\text{ἔχεις ἀπαντα πρὸς πολιτείαν ἃ δεῖ.}
\]

\(d\) An unpaid fine entailed disfranchisement in Athens.
ληροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων, δι' ἄ προσήκειν ὁμήν μοι τοσοῦτον μᾶλλον τιμᾶσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα παριστών, ὡς περ περὶ μειξόνων καὶ καλλιδῶν ἦν κείνου τούς λόγους ἐποιούμην. ὡν οὐδὲν

12 ἡμῖν ἀποβέβηκεν. καίτω πάντες ἰσαί τῶν μὲν ρήτόρων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὔχ ὑπὲρ τῶν τῇ πόλει συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ διὸν αὐτοὶ λήψεσθαι προσδοκώσι, δημηγορεῖν τολμώντας, ἐμὲ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς οὐ μόνον τῶν κοινῶν ἀπεχομένους μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων εἰς τάς τῆς πόλεως χρείας ὑπὲρ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἡμετέραν

13 αὐτῶν δαπανωμένους, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἡ λοιδορομένους ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις περὶ μεσεγγύματος σφίσιν αὐτοὶ ἡ λυμανωμένους τοὺς συμμάχους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅ ἄν τύχωσι συκοφαντοῦντας, ἐμὲ δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡγεμόνα τούτων γεγενημένων, τῶν παρακαλοῦντων τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐπὶ τε τὴν ὄμονοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ τὴν στρατείαν τὴν

14 ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους, καὶ τῶν συμβουλεύνοντων ἀποκινῶν ἐκπέμπειν κοινῆ πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσαύτην τὴν χώραν καὶ τοιαύτην, περὶ ἢς ὅσοι περ ἀκηκόασιν ὄμολογούσιν ἡμᾶς τε, εἰ σωφρονήσαιμεν καὶ πανσαίμεθα τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους μανίας, ταχέως ἂν ἄνευ πόνων καὶ κινδύνων κατασχῆν αὐτήν, ἐκείνην τε ῥαδίως ἂν ἀπαντᾶς δὲξασθαι τοὺς ἐνδειεῖς ἡμῶν ὄντας τῶν ἐπιτηδεῖων. ὡν πράξεις,

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a See General Introd. p. xxiv.
b See Areop. 24 and note.
c See Antid. 144-152 and notes.
d Cf., for this contrast between the other orators and himself, Antid. 147-149.

380
affairs of Hellas and of kings and of states. Wherefore I thought that I was entitled to more honour than the speakers who come before you on the platform in proportion as my discourses were on greater and nobler themes than theirs. But nothing of the sort has come to pass. And yet all men know that the majority of the orators have the audacity to harangue the people, not for the good of the state, but for what they themselves expect to gain, while I and mine not only abstain more than all others from the public funds but expend more than we can afford from our private means on the needs of the commonwealth: and they know, furthermore, that these orators are either wrangling among themselves in the assemblies over deposits of money or insulting our allies or blackmailing whosoever of the rest of the world chances to be the object of their attacks, while I, for my part, have led the way in discourses which exhort the Hellenes to concord among themselves and war against the barbarians and which urge that we all unite in colonizing a country so vast and so vulnerable that those who have heard the truth about it assert with one accord that if we are sensible and cease from our frenzy against each other we can quickly gain possession of it without effort and without risk and that this territory will easily accommodate all the people among us who are in want of the necessities of life. And these are enterprises than which, should

\[\text{a} \text{ For this common cause of controversy see Paneg. 188 and note, Vol. I., L.C.L. Such controversies were sometimes referred to the General Assembly and there debated and voted upon.} \]  
\[\text{b} \text{ Cf. 142 and Antid. 318.} \]  
\[\text{c} \text{ Cf. Antid. 318.} \]  
\[\text{d} \text{ The theme of the Panegyricus and of the Address to Philip.} \]
eἰ πάντες συνελθόντες ζητοῦεν, οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὑροιεν καλλίους οὐδὲ μεῖξους οὐδὲ μᾶλλον ἀπασίν ἡμῖν συμφεροῦσας.

15 Ἄλλ' ὁμοις οὗτω πολὺ τῇ διανοίᾳ διεστώτων ἡμῶν, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ σπουδαίοτέραν ἐμοῦ πεποιημένον τὴν αἴρεσιν, οὐ δικαίως οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ ἡμῶν ύπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ ταραχωδῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀλογίστωσι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ῥητόρων τὸν τρόπον ψέγοντες προστάτας αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως ποιοῦνται καὶ κυρίους ἀπάντων καθιστᾶσιν, ἐμοῦ δὲ τοὺς λόγους ἐπανοίγοντες αὐτῷ μοι φθονοῦσι, δι' οúsqueda ἔτερον ἡ διὰ τούτους οὕς ἀποδεχόμενοι τυγχάνουσιν οὗτος ἄτυχώς φέρομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς.

16 Καὶ τί δεISTRIBUTION DIFFERENT

17 Ἑώς μὲν οὖν τοὺς λόγους μου ἐλυμαίνοντο, παραναγιγνώσκοντες ὡς δυνατὸν κάκιστα τοῖς
all the world unite in the search, none could be found more honourable or more important or more advantageous to us all.

But in spite of the fact that myself and these orators are so far apart in our ways of thinking and that I have chosen a field so much more worthy, the majority of people estimate us, not in accordance with our merits, but in a confused and altogether irrational manner. For they find fault with the character of the popular orators and yet put them at the head of affairs and invest them with power over the whole state; and, again, they praise my discourses and yet are envious of me personally for no other reason than because of these very discourses which they receive with favour. So unfortunately do I fare at their hands.

But why wonder at those who are by nature envious of all superior excellence, when certain even of those who regard themselves as superior and who seek to emulate me and imitate my work are more hostile to me than is the general public? And yet where in the world could you find men more reprehensible—for I shall speak my mind even at the risk of appearing to some to discourse with more vehemence and rancour than is becoming to my age—where, I say, could you find men more reprehensible than these, who are not able to put before their students even a fraction of what I have set forth in my teaching but use my discourses as models and make their living from so doing, and yet are so far from being grateful to me on this account that they are not even willing to let me alone but are always saying disparaging things about me?

Nevertheless, as long as they confined themselves to abusing my discourses, reading them in the worst possible manner side by side with their own, dividing
ISOCRATES

έαυτῶν καὶ διαρκοῦντες οὐκ ὀρθῶς καὶ κατα-

κινοῦντες καὶ πάντα τρόπον διαφθείροντες, οὐδὲν

ἐφρόντιζον τῶν ἀπαγγελλομένων, ἀλλὰ ραθύμως

ἐίχον· μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Παναθηναίων τῶν

18 μεγάλων ἡχθέσθην δι’ αὐτούς. ἀπαντήσαντες γὰρ

τινές μοι τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐλεγον ὡς ἐν τῷ Δυκείῳ

συγκαθεξόμενοι τρεῖς ἢ τέσσαρες τῶν ἀγελαιῶν

σοφιτῶν καὶ πάντα φασκόντων εἰδέναι καὶ ταχέως

πανταχόῦ γιγνομένων διαλέγοντο περὶ τε τῶν

ἀλλων ποιητῶν καὶ τῆς Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῆς Ὄμη-

ρου ποιήσεως, οὐδὲν μὲν παρ’ αὐτῶν λέγοντες, τὰ

δὲ ἐκεῖνων ραβῳδοῦντες καὶ τῶν πρότερον ἄλλους

τοὺς εἰρημένους τὰ χαριστάτα μνημονεύοντες.

19 ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τῶν περιστώτων τὴν διατριβὴν

αὐτῶν ἔνα τῶν τολμηρότατον ἐπιχειρῆσαι με δια-

βάλλειν, λέγονθ’ ὡς ἐγὼ πάντων καταφρονῶ τῶν

τοιουτών, καὶ τὰς τε φιλοσοφίας τὰς τῶν ἀλλων

καὶ τὰς παιδείας ἀπάσας ἀναιρῶ, καὶ φημὶ πάντας

λησὺν πλήν τοὺς μετεσχηκότας τῆς ἐμῆς διατριβῆς·

τούτων δὲ ῥηθέντων ἀγδώς τινας τῶν παρόντων

diastēthēnai prōs ἡμᾶς.

20 Ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐλυπῆθην καὶ συνεταραχθῆν ἁκοῦ-

σας ἀποδέξασθαι τινός τοὺς λόγους τούτους, οὐκ

ἀν δυναίμην εἰπεῖν· ὡμην γὰρ οὕτως ἐπιφανῆς

ἐίναι τοῖς ἀλαξονευμένοις πολεμῶν καὶ περὶ

ἐμαυτοῦ μετρίως διειλεγμένοις, μᾶλλον δὲ ταπεινῶς,

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a The Panathenaic festival was celebrated in Athens each year but with special magnificence every fourth year, when it was called the Great Panathenaia.

b A sacred enclosure on the right bank of the Ilissus, dedicated to Apollo—a gymnasium and exercise ground.
them at the wrong places, mutilating them, and in every way spoiling their effect, I paid no heed to the reports which were brought to me, but possessed myself in patience. However, a short time before the Great Panathenaia, they stirred me to great indignation. For some of my friends met me and related to me how, as they were sitting together in the Lyceum, three or four of the sophists of no repute—men who claim to know everything and are prompt to show their presence everywhere—were discussing the poets, especially the poetry of Hesiod and Homer, saying nothing original about them, but merely chanting their verses and repeating from memory the cleverest things which certain others had said about them in the past. It seems that the bystanders applauded their performance, whereupon one of these sophists, the boldest among them, attempted to stir up prejudice against me, saying that I hold all such things in contempt and that I would do away with all the learning and the teaching of others, and that I assert that all men talk mere drivel except those who partake of my instruction. And these aspersions, according to my friends, were effective in turning a number of those present against me.

Now I could not possibly convey to you how troubled and disturbed I was on hearing that some accepted these statements as true. For I thought that it was so well known that I was waging war against the false pretenders to wisdom and that I had spoken so moderately, nay so modestly, about my but also frequented by philosophers. Here Aristotle and his pupils were wont to gather.

* Other sophists made much of the study and elucidation of the poets, but there is no evidence that Isocrates did. See Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit* ii. pp. 46 ff.
ISOCRATES

ὡςτε μηδέν’ ἢν ποτε γενέσθαι πιστῶν τῶν λεγόντων ὃς ἔγε τοιαύτας ἀλαζονείαις ἐχρησάμην.

21 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἀλόγως ὁδυράμην ἐν ἀρχῇ τὴν ἀτυχίαν τὴν παρακολουθοῦσάν μοι πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις· αὕτη γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτίκα καὶ τῆς ψευδολογίας τῆς περὶ με γιγνομένης καὶ τῶν διαβολῶν καὶ τοῦ φθόνου καὶ τοῦ μὴ δύνασθαι με τυχεῖν τῆς δόξης ἢς ἀξίος εἶμι, μηδὲ τῆς ὀμολογομενής, μηδ’ ἢν ἔχουσί τινες τῶν πεπλησιά-

22 κότων μοι καὶ πανταχῇ τεθεωρηκότων ἡμᾶς. ταύτα μὲν οὖν οὐχ οἶντ’ ἄλλως ἔχειν, ἄλλ’ ἀνάγκη στέργειν τοῖς ἢδη συμβεβηκόσι.

Πολλῶν δὲ μοι λόγων ἐφεστῶτων, ἀπορῶ πότερον ἀντικατηγορῶ τῶν εἰθισμένων ἀεί τι ψευδεσθαι περί μου καὶ λέγειν ἀνεπιτήδειον τολμῶν· ἀλλ’ εἰ φανείην σπουδάζων καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος περὶ ἀνθρώπων οὖς οὐδεὶς ὑπείληφεν ἄξιος εἶναι λόγου, δικαίως ἄν μωρὸς 23 εἶναι δοκοῖν. ἀλλὰ τούτους ὑπεριδῶν ἀπολογῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδίκους μοι τῶν ἰδιωτῶν φθονοῦντας, καὶ πειρῶμαι διδάσκειν αὐτούς ὡς οὖ δικαίως οὐδὲ προσηκόντως περὶ μου ταύτην ἔχουσί τὴν γνώμην; καὶ τῖς οὐκ ἂν καταγγοίη μου πολλὴν ἀνοιάν, εἰ τοὺς μηδὲν δι’ ἐτερον δυσκόλως πρὸς με διακειμένους ἢ διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν χαριέντως εἰρηκέναι περὶ τινων, τούτους οἰδηθείην ὀμοίως διαλεξθείης ὤσπερ πρότερον παύσειν ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις λυπουμένους, ἄλλ’ οὐ μᾶλλον 386
own powers that no one could be credited for a moment who asserted that I myself resorted to such pretensions. But in truth it was with good reason that I deplored at the beginning of my speech the misfortune which has attended me all my life in this respect. For this is the cause of the false reports which are spread about me, of the calumny and prejudice which I suffer, and of my failure to attain the reputation which I deserve—either that which should be mine by common consent or that in which I am held by certain of my disciples who have known me through and through. However, this cannot now be changed and I must needs put up with what has already come to pass.

Many things come to my mind, but I am at a loss just what to do. Should I turn upon my enemies and denounce those who are accustomed always to speak falsely of me and do not scruple to say things which are repugnant to my nature? But if I showed that I took them seriously and wasted many words on men whom no one conceives to be worthy of notice I should justly be regarded as a simpleton. Should I, then, ignore these sophists and defend myself against those of the lay public who are prejudiced against me, attempting to convince them that it is neither just nor fitting for them to feel towards me as they do? But who would not impute great folly to me, if, in dealing with men who are hostile to me for no other reason than that I appear to have discoursed cleverly on certain subjects, I thought that by speaking just as I have spoken in the past I should stop them from taking offence at what I say and should not instead
Αλγήσειν, ἀλλως τε καὶ φανῷ μηδὲ νῦν πω τηλικοῦτος ἢν πεπαυμένοις παραληρῶν;
24 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο ποιεῖν οüδεὶς ἢν μοι [238] συμβουλεύσειειν, ἀμελήσαντι τούτων καὶ μεταξὺ καταβαλόντι περαινεῖν τὸν λόγον, ὅποιος ἄμοι/bouλόμενος ἐπιδείξαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν πλείστοιν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν γεγενημένην τοῖς Ἑλλησπον ἢ τὴν Ἀκαδαμιαμονοίνοιν· εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἦδη ποιοίν μὴ τέλος ἐπιθέται τοῖς γεγραμμένοις μήτε συγκλείσας τὴν ἀρχήν τῶν ἡθοθεσθαι μελλόντων τῇ τελευτῇ τῶν ἦδη προερημένων, ὁμοίως ἢν εἴναι δόξαμι τοῖς εἰκή καὶ φορτικῶς καὶ χύδην ὁ τι ἄν ἐπέλθῃ λέγοντα· ἃ φυλακτέον ἦμῖν ἑστιν.
25 Κράτιστον οὖν ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων, περὶ ὅν τὸ τελευταῖον με διέβαλλον ἀποφθεγμένον ὁ δοκεῖ μοι, τὸτ’ ἦδη λέγειν περὶ ὅν ἐξ ἄρχης διενοθὴν· σκόπε γὰρ, ἢν ἑξενέγκω γράφας καὶ ποιήσω φανερὰν ἢν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ τῆς παίδειας καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν, παύσειν αὐτοὺς ψευδεῖς πλάττοντας αἰτίας καὶ λέγοντας ὁ τι ἄν τύχωσιν.
26 Τῆς μὲν οὖν παίδειας τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων καταλειφθείσης τοσοῦτον δεῖ καταφρονεῖν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν κατασταθείσαι ἐπανώ, λέγω δὲ τὴν τε γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τοὺς διαλόγους τοὺς ἐρωτικοὺς καλουμένους, οἷς

*a Obviously he resents bitterly some attack upon him in recent years. Possibly it came from the “Eristics,” to the value of whose teaching he makes a condescending concession in 26. These are not the “Eristics” mentioned in Against the Sophists (see 1-8 and notes), who belong to an earlier period, but those referred to in Antid. 258 and Epist. v. 3 ff.—namely Aristotle and his followers who had been hard on Isocrates (see Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit ii. 388*
add to their annoyance, especially if it should appear that even now at this advanced age I have not ceased from "speaking rubbish"?

But neither would anyone, I am sure, advise me to neglect this subject and, breaking off in the midst of it, to go on and finish the discourse which I elected to write in my desire to prove that our city had been the cause of more blessings to the Hellenes than the city of the Lacedaemonians. For if I should now proceed to do this without bringing what I have written to any conclusion and without joining the beginning of what is to be said to the end of what has been spoken, I should be thought to be no better than those who speak in a random, slovenly, and scattering manner whatever comes into their heads to say. And this I must guard against.

The best course, therefore, that I can take under all these conditions is to set before you what I think about the last attempts to arouse prejudice against me and then proceed to speak on the subject which I had in mind from the first. For I think that if I succeed by my writing in bringing out and making clear what my views are about education and about the poets, I shall stop my enemies from fabricating false charges and speaking utterly at random.

Now in fact, so far from scorning the education which was handed down by our ancestors, I even commend that which has been set up in our own day—I mean geometry, astronomy, and the so-called eristic dialogues, which our young men delight in p. 65). This is supported by the fact that the critics here referred to frequented the Lyceum. Blass, however (ii. pp. 68, 69), thinks that Isocrates has here in mind especially Speusippus.

*Cf. Antid. 265 and note.*
οι μὲν νεώτεροι μᾶλλον χαίρονσι τοῦ δέοντος, τῶν
dὲ πρεσβυτέρων οὖν ἐστὶ όστις ἂν ἀνέκτοις
27 αὐτοὺς εἶναι φήσειν. ἀλλ' οἷς ἐγὼ τοῖς ὁρμη-
μένοις ἐπὶ ταῦτα παρακελεύομαι ποιεῖν καὶ προσ-
έχειν τὸν νοῦν ἁπασὶ τούτοις, λέγων ὡς εἰ καὶ
μηδὲν ἄλλο δύναται τὰ μαθήματα ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλ' οὗν ἀποτρέπει γε τοὺς νεώτερους
πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων. τοῖς μὲν οὖν τηλι-
κούτοις οὐδέποτ' ἂν εὐφρεθήναι νομίζω διατριβᾶς
28 ὠφελιμωτέρας τούτων οὖν ἄλλον πρεποῦσα· τοῖς
dὲ πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ἄνδρας δεδοκιμα-
σμένοις οὐκέτι φημὶ τὰς μελέτας ταῦτας ἀρμότ-
τειν. ὅρω γὰρ ἐνίοις τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθήμασι
tούτοις οὗτως ἄπηκριβωμένων ὡστε καὶ τοὺς
ἄλλους διδάσκειν, οὗτ' εὐκαίρως ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις
αἷς ἠχοῦσι χρωμένους, ἐν τε ταῖς ἄλλαις πραγ-
ματεῖαις ταῖς περὶ τὸν βίον ἀφρονεστέρους ὅντας
29 τῶν μαθητῶν· οἷς γὰρ εἰπεῖν τῶν οἰκεῖων. τὴν
αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην ἔχω καὶ περὶ τῶν δημιουργεῖν
dυναμένων καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν γραφὴν τὴν τῶν
λόγων εὐδοκιμοῦντων, ὅλως δὲ περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν
περὶ τὰς τεχνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τὰς
dυνάμεις διαφερόντων. οἴδα γὰρ καὶ τούτων τοὺς
πολλοὺς οὗτε τὰ περὶ σφάς αὐτοὺς καλῶς διωκη-
kότας οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις συνουσίαις ἀνέκτοις ὅντας,
tῆς τε δόξης τῆς τῶν συμπολιτευομένων ὄλγω-
ροῦντας, ἄλλων τε πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀμαρτημά-
[239] των γέμοντας· ὥστ' οὖν τούτους ἥγοιμαι μετέχειν
tῆς ἔξεως περὶ ἢς ἐγὼ τυχχάνω διαλεγόμενος.
30 Τίνας οὖν καλῶ πεπαιδευμένους, ἐπειδὴ τὰς
tεχνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀπο-
dοκιμάζω; πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς καλῶς χρωμένους
390
more than they should, although among the older men not one would not declare them insufferable. Nevertheless, I urge those who are inclined towards these disciplines to work hard and apply themselves to all of them, saying that even if this learning can accomplish no other good, at any rate it keeps the young out of many other things which are harmful. Nay, I hold that for those who are at this age no more helpful or fitting occupation can be found than the pursuit of these studies; but for those who are older and for those who have been admitted to man’s estate I assert that these disciplines are no longer suitable. For I observe that some of those who have become so thoroughly versed in these studies as to instruct others in them fail to use opportunely the knowledge which they possess, while in the other activities of life they are less cultivated than their students—I hesitate to say less cultivated than their servants. I have the same fault to find also with those who are skilled in oratory and those who are distinguished for their writings and in general with all who have superior attainments in the arts, in the sciences, and in specialized skill. For I know that the majority even of these men have not set their own house in order, that they are insupportable in their private intercourse, that they belittle the opinions of their fellow-citizens, and that they are given over to many other grave offences. So that I do not think that even these may be said to partake of the state of culture of which I am speaking.

Whom, then, do I call educated, since I exclude the arts and sciences and specialties? First, those who

\(^a\) See General Introd. pp. xxv ff.
ISOCRATES

toîs prágmati toîs kata tìn ëmèran èkásthīn prôs-
pîptousi, kai tìn dóxan èpítuxhī tòn kairòn ëxho-
tas kai ðunaménnh ðs èpî tò polî stocháësebhai
31 toû sümforontos. èpîteîa toûs prepóntous kai
dikáiws ðmiloûntas toûs ðei plhshâzousi, kai tâs
mên tòn allòn ðthìas kai bârûttas èukòlws
kai ðadìwos fêrontas, sfâs ð' aûtoûs ðs ðunatón
èlaphrotâtou kai metriwttatóu toûs swnôusi páp-
éxontas. èti toûs tòn mên ðdòwôn ðei krateûntas,
tòn de sümforôn ìn ðs ðianì ñttwmméños, ãll'
ándrwðwûs èn aûtaís diakwmméños kai tîs fûsews
32 òçiws ñs metëxontes twnhánômein têtaîrto, ðper
mêgîston, toûs ìh diarèthiroméños upò tòn
èplhpareûn ìnì ð' èxostâmëños aûtòw ìnì ð' ðper-
phâños gîngoméños, ãll' èmmêntas tî tâxei tî
tòn eî ðfrwvûntôn, kai ìh làllòn ðaîrûntas toûs
dia tîkhn ðpàrèssan ãgathôs ñ tîs diâ tìn
aûtòw fûsôn kai ðfrônvw ñx ðrkhîs gîngoméños.
toûs ðe ìh mónon pròs èn toûtôn allâ kai pròs
àpanta taînta tîn ðxiw tîs ðpsûkhîs ðvármmos
ëxontas, toûtous ðhîmu ñ kai ðfrwîmuos èînai kai te-
leûos ãndras kai pàsas ñxeîn tâs àrdetâs.
33 Perî mên ñh tòn pëpaddemewn twnhán
taînta gîngwôskov. perî ðe tîs 'Omhîrou kai tîs
'Hsiûdou kai tîs tòn allòn pwshwos èpîthumw
mên eîpeîn, ñhîma ñar àn pàûsai toûs èn tîw
Lwkeîw râfîhdoûntas taîkeînow kai ðhrwîntas
perî aûtòw, aîsthânomai ð' ðmawwn ðxiw fêrò-
mmen w tîs sümmeârîas tîs swnetgâmênh tîs
34 prôoomiow. ëstî ð' ãndrôs nôvûn ëxontos ìh tîn

* See General Introd. p. xxvii; Against the Sophists 3,
16, 17; Antid. 184, 271.
392
manage well the circumstances which they encounter day by day, and who possess a judgement which is accurate in meeting occasions as they arise and rarely misses the expedient course of action; next, those who are decent and honourable in their intercourse with all with whom they associate, tolerating easily and good-naturedly what is unpleasant or offensive in others and being themselves as agreeable and reasonable to their associates as it is possible to be; furthermore, those who hold their pleasures always under control and are not unduly overcome by their misfortunes, bearing up under them bravely and in a manner worthy of our common nature; finally, and most important of all, those who are not spoiled by successes and do not desert their true selves and become arrogant, but hold their ground steadfastly as intelligent men, not rejoicing in the good things which have come to them through chance rather than in those which through their own nature and intelligence are theirs from their birth. Those who have a character which is in accord, not with one of these things, but with all of them—these, I contend, are wise and complete men, possessed of all the virtues.

These then are the views which I hold regarding educated men. As to the poetry of Homer and Hesiod and the rest, I would fain speak—for I think that I could silence those who chant their verses and prate about these poets in the Lyceum—but I perceive that I am being carried beyond the due limits which have been assigned to an introduction; and it behoves a man of taste not to indulge his resourceful-

b Cf. To Demonicus 21 and note; To Nicocles 29.

c See To Demonicus 42 and note.

d Cf. 196, 197.
εὐπορίαν ἀγαπᾷν, ἂν ἔχῃ τις περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πλεῖω τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν, ἄλλα τὴν εὐκαιρίαν διαφυλάττειν ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἀεὶ τυγχάνῃ διαλεγόμενος· ὅπερ ἐμοὶ ποιητέον ἐστίν. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ποιητῶν αὐθείς ἐροῦμεν, ἂν μὴ με προανέλῃ τὸ γῆρας, ἡ περὶ σπουδαιοτέρων πραγμάτων ἔχω

[240] τι λέγειν ἢ τούτων.

35 Περὶ δὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως εὐεργεσιῶν τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἥδη ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, οὐχ ὡς οὔ πλείους ἐπαίνους πεποιημένοις περὶ αὐτῆς ἡ σύμπαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν ποίησιν καὶ τοὺς λόγους οὕτε· οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως καὶ νῦν. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἐν λόγοις περὶ ἑτέρων πραγμάτων ἐμεμνήμην αὐτῆς, νῦν δὲ περὶ ταύτης τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενος.

36 οὐκ ἄγνωρ δ’ ἡλίκος ὃς ὁ ργόν ἐνίσταμαι τὸ μέγεθος, ἄλλ’ ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς καὶ πολλάκις εἰρήκως ὅτι τὰ μὲν μικρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων βάδιον τοῖς λόγοις αὐξήσαι, τοῖς δ’ ὑπερβάλλουσι τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει χαλεπὸν ἐξισώσαι

37 τοὺς ἐπαίνους. ἄλλ’ ὁμως οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποστατέον αὐτῶν ἔστιν, ἄλλ’ ἐπιτελεστέον, ἂν περ ἐπὶ ξῆν δυνηθῶμεν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πολλῶν μὲ παρ- οξυνότων γράφειν αὐτῶν, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν εἰθι- σμένων ἀσελγῶς κατηγορεῖν τῆς πόλεως ἰμῶν, ἔπειτα τῶν χαριέντως μὲν ἀπειρότερως δὲ καὶ

38 καταδεστέρως ἐπαινοῦντων αὐτῆς, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων μᾶλλον εὐλογεῖν τολμῶντων οὐκ ἄνθρω- πίνως ἁλλ’ οὕτως ὡστε πολλοὺς ἀντιτάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς

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a A promise not fulfilled.
b Cf. Antid. 166.
ness, when he has more to say on a given subject than the other speakers, but to preserve always the element of timeliness no matter on what subject he may have occasion to speak—a principle which I must observe. Therefore I shall speak on the poets at another time provided that my age does not first carry me off and that I do not have something to say on subjects more important than this.

I shall now proceed to discourse upon the benefactions of Athens to the Hellenes, not that I have not sung the praises of our city more than all others put together who have written in poetry or prose. I shall not speak, however, as on former occasions; for then I celebrated Athens incidentally to other matters, whereas now Athens herself shall be my theme. But I do not fail to appreciate how great an undertaking this is for me at my time of life; on the contrary, I know full well, and have often said, that while it is easy to magnify little things by means of discourse, it is difficult to find terms of praise to match deeds of surpassing magnitude and excellence. Nevertheless, I may not desist on that account from my task, but must carry it through to the end, if indeed I am enabled to live to do so, especially since many considerations impel me to write upon this theme myself: first, is the fact that some are in the habit of recklessly denouncing our city; second, that while some have praised her gracefully, they have lacked appreciation of their theme and treated it inadequately; furthermore, that others have not scrupled rather to glorify her, not in human terms, but so extravagantly as to arouse the hostility of many against them; and, lastly, there is the fact of my

*Helen* 13, Vol. III., L.C.L.
ISOCRATES

παρουσία, ἢ τοὺς ἄλλους πέφυκεν ἀποτρέπειν· ἐλπίζω γάρ, ἣν μὲν καταρθώσω, μεῖζω λήψεσθαι δόξαν τῆς υπαρχοῦσης, ἣν δ’ ἐνδέστερον τύχω διαλεχθεῖσ, πολλῆς συγγνώμης τεύξεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἀκούοντων.

39 "Α μὲν οὖν ἐβουλήθην καὶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὦσπερ χορὸς πρὸ τοῦ ἀγῶνος προαναβαλέσθαι ταῦτ’ ἐστίν. ἦγομαι δὲ χρῆνας τὸς βουλομένους ἐγκωμιάσαι τινὰ τῶν πόλεων ἀκριβῶς καὶ δικαίως μὴ μόνον περὶ αὐτῆς ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἃς προηρμήνευσεν τυγχάνουσιν, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸν χρυσόν θεωροῦμεν καὶ δοκιμάζομεν ἑτερα παραδεικνύοντες τῶν καὶ τήν ὄψιν ὁμοίαν ἐχόντων καὶ τῆς τύμης τῆς αὐτῆς ἀξιομενῶν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι παριστάναι μὴ τὰς μικρὰς ταῖς μεγάλαις, μηδὲ τὰς πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὕφ’ ἑτέραις οὕσας ταῖς ἀρχεῖν εἰθυσμέναις,

40 [241] μηδὲ τὰς σώζεσθαι δεσμένας πρὸς τὰς σώζειν δυνάμεις, ἄλλα τὰς παραπλησίας καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐχούσας καὶ περὶ τὰς αὐτὰς πράξεις γεγενημένας καὶ ταῖς ἐξουσίαις ὁμοίαις κεχρημένας· οὕτω γὰρ ἄν μάλιστα τῆς ἀληθείας τύχοιεν.

41 "Ἡν δὴ τῆς ἡμᾶς τὸν τρόπον τούτον σκοπῆται καὶ παραβάλλῃ μὴ πρὸς τὴν τυχοῦσαν πόλιν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν Σπάρτιατῶν, ἦν οἵ μὲν πολλοὶ μετρώς ἐπανοίουσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ τινες ὦσπερ τῶν ἡμιθέων ἐκεῖ πεπολυτευμένων μέμνηνται περὶ αὐτῶν, φανησώμεθα καὶ τῇ δυνάμει καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

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α Cf. Aristotle, Rhet. iii. 14, where he compares the prooemium of a speech to the prelude of a flute-player.

b The oligarchical party in Athens, generally, admired...
present age, which is such as to deter others from such an undertaking. For I am hopeful that if I succeed I shall obtain a greater reputation than that which I now have, whereas if it turns out that I speak indifferently well, my hearers will make generous allowance for my years.

I have now finished what I wished to say by way of prelude about myself and others, like a chorus, as it were, before the contest. But I think that those who wish to be exact and just in praising any given state ought not to confine themselves alone to the state which they single out, but even as we examine purple and gold and test them by placing them side by side with articles of similar appearance and of the same estimated value, so also in the case of states one should compare, not those which are small with those which are great, nor those which are always subject to others with those which are wont to dominate others, nor those which stand in need of succour with those which are able to give it, but rather those which have similar powers, and have engaged in the same deeds and enjoyed a like freedom of action. For thus one may best arrive at the truth.

If, then, one views Athens in this light and compares her, not with any city chosen at random, but with the city of the Spartans, which most people praise moderately while some extol her as though the demigods had there governed the state, then Athens, in her power, in her deeds and in her bene-

Spartan institutions. Among writers, Xenophon especially (see his Constitution of Sparta) was emphatic in his praise of them. The Athenian philosophers, also, were wont to contrast the rigour and discipline of the Spartan with the slackness of the Athenian ways of life. See Nicoles 24 and note.
εὐεργεσίας ταῖς περὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πλέον ἀπολευτότες αὐτοὺς ἢ ’κεῖνοι τοὺς ἄλλους.

42 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν παλαιοὺς ἀγώνας τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γεγενημένους ύστερον ἐρώμεν, νῦν δὲ ποιήσομαι περὶ ἐκείνων τοὺς λόγους ἀρξάμενος, ἐπειδὴ κατέσχον τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἀχαιάδας καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Μεσσηνίους διείλητο τὴν χώραν ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ προσήκει διαλέγεσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν.

Οἱ μὲν τοῖνυν ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι φανήσονται τὴν τε πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ὅμονοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐχθραν, ἢν παρέλαβον ἐκ τῶν Τρωικῶν, διαφυλάσσοντες καὶ μένοντες ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς. καὶ πρώτον μὲν τὰς Κυκλάδας νῆσους, περὶ ἃς ἐγένοντο πολλαὶ πραγματείαι κατὰ τὴν Μίνω τοῦ Κρητῶς δυναστείαν, ταύτας τὸ τελευταῖον ὑπὸ Καρῶν κατεχομένας, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκεῖνος ὅπαξ ἐξιδιώσασθαι τὰς χώρας ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάλιστα βίου τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεω-

43 μένους κατόκισαν εἰς αὐτάς· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πολλὰς πόλεις ἐφ’ ἐκατέρας τῶν ἡπείρων καὶ μεγάλας ἐκτισαν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀνέστηλαν ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, τοὺς δὲ Ἑλλήνας ἐδίδαξαν ὅπως τρόπον διοικοῦντες τὰς αὐτῶν πατρίδας καὶ πρὸς οὓς πολεμοῦντες μεγάλην ἄν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ποιήσειαν.

45 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχου τοῦ πράττειν τι τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις

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a He does so in 191 ff.
b In the northern Peloponnese. For the Dorian Invasion of the Peloponnese see Grote, Hist. vol. ii. pp. 2 ff. Cf. Archid. 16 ff., Vol. I., L.C.L.

398
factions to the Hellenes, will be seen to have out-distanced Sparta more than Sparta the rest of the world.

Of the ancient struggles which they have undergone in behalf of the Hellenes, I shall speak hereafter. Now, however, I shall begin with the time when the Lacedaemonians conquered the cities of Achaea and divided their territory with the Argives and the Messenians; for it is fitting to begin discussing them at this point.

Now our ancestors will be seen to have preserved without ceasing the spirit of concord towards the Hellenes and of hatred towards the barbarians which they inherited from the Trojan War and to have remained steadfast in this policy. First they took the islands of the Cyclades, about which there had been much contention during the overlordship of Minos of Crete and which finally were occupied by the Carians, and, having driven out the latter, refrained from appropriating the lands of these islands for themselves, but instead settled upon them those of the Hellenes who were most lacking in means of subsistence. And after this, they founded many great cities on both continents, swept the barbarians back from the sea, and taught the Hellenes in what way they should manage their own countries and against whom they should wage war in order to make Hellas great.

The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, about the same time were so far from carrying out the same

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"In the campaigns of the so-called "Ionian Migration." See Paneg. 34 ff.
See Herod. i. 171.
Europe and Asia—north and south of the Hellespont.

399
καὶ τοῦ τοῖς μὲν βαρβάροις πολεμεῖν τοὺς δ᾽ Ἐλλήνας εὐεργετεῖν, ὡστ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἵστυχάν ἄγεν ἠθέλησαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχοντες πόλιν ἀλλοτριάν καὶ χώραν [242] οὐ μόνον ἴκανὴν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσην οὐδεμία πόλις τῶν Ἐλλήνων, οὐκ ἐστερέξαν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες εὖ αὐτῶν τῶν συμβεβηκότων κατὰ μὲν τῶν νόμοις τὰς τοὺς πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας τούτων εἶναι δοκούσας, τῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ νομίμως κτησάμενώς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τούτων γνωριμένας, τῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστ᾽ ἀσκοῦντων καὶ νικάν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τοὺς πολεμίους δυναμένων, ταύτα διανοηθέντες, ἀμελήσαντες γεωργίων καὶ τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, οὐδὲν ἔπαινοι κατὰ μίαν ἐκάστην τῶν πόλεων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πολιορκοῦντες καὶ κακῶς ποιοῦντες, εἰς ἀπάσας κατεστρέφαντο πλὴν τῆς Αργείων.  

47 Συνεβαίνειν οὖν ἐξ ὧν μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐπράττομεν, αὐξάνεσθαι τε τὴν Ἐλλάδα καὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην κρείττω γίγνεσθαι τῆς Ἀσίας, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τῶν μὲν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς ἀποροῦντας πόλεις λαμβάνειν καὶ χώρας, τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων τοὺς εἰθισμένους ὑβρίζειν ἐκπίπτειν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ φρονεῖν ἐλαττὸν ἢ πρότερον· ἐξ ὧν δὲ Σπαρτιάται, τὴν ἐκεῖνων μόνην μεγάλην γίγνεσθαι, καὶ πασῶν μὲν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων ἄρχειν, ταῖς δὲ ἄλλαις φοβερὰν εἶναι καὶ πολλῆς θεραπείας τυγχάνειν παρ᾽ αὐτῶν. ἔπαινεὶν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ἐστὶ τὴν τοῖς ἄλλοις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτίαν γεγενημένην, δεινὴν δὲ νομίζειν τὴν αὐτή τὰ συμφέροντα διαπραττομένην, καὶ φίλους μὲν ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ὀμοίως αὐτοῖς τε καὶ

*For the Spartan Conquest of the Peloponnesian see Grote, Hist. ii. pp. 418 ff.*

400
policy as our ancestors—from waging war on the barbarians and benefiting the Hellenes—that they were not even willing to refrain from aggression, but although they held an alien city and a territory not only adequate but greater than any other city of Hellas possessed, they were not satisfied with what they had; on the contrary, having learned from the actual course of events that while according to law states and territories are deemed to belong to those who have duly and lawfully acquired them, in fact, however, they fall into the hands of those who are most practised in the art of warfare and are able to conquer their enemies in battle—thinking upon these things, they neglected agriculture and the arts and everything else and did not cease laying siege to the cities in the Peloponnesus one by one and doing violence to them until they overthrew them all with the exception of Argos.

And so it resulted from the policy which we pursued that Hellas waxed great, Europe became stronger than Asia, and, furthermore, the Hellenes who were in straitened circumstances received cities and lands, while the barbarians who were wont to be insolent were expelled from their own territory and humbled in their pride; whereas the results of the Spartan policy were that their city alone became strong, dominated all the cities in the Peloponnesus, inspired fear in the other states, and was courted by them for her favour. In justice, however, we should praise the city which has been the author of many blessings to the rest of the world but should reprehend the state which is ever striving to effect its own advantage; and we should cultivate the friend-
ISOCRATES

toις ἄλλοις χρωμένους, φοβεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ δεδιέναι τοὺς πρὸς σφᾶς μὲν αὐτούς ως δυνατὸν οἰκειότατα διακειμένους, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄλλοτρίως καὶ πολεμικῶς τὴν αὐτῶν διοικοῦντας.

Τὴν μὲν οὖν ἄρχῃ ἐκατέρα τῶν πολέων τουαῦτην 49 ἐποιήσατο. χρόνῳ δ’ ὑστερον γενομένου τοῦ Περσικοῦ πολέμου, καὶ Ξέρξου τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος τρητέρες μὲν συναγαγόντος τριακοσίας καὶ χιλίας, τῆς δὲ πεζῆς στρατιᾶς πεντακοσίας μὲν μυριάδας τῶν ἀπάντων, ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ τῶν μαχίμων, τηλικαύτη δὲ δυνάμει στρατεύσαντος ἐπὶ 50 τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, Σπαρτιᾶται μὲν ἄρχοντες Πελοποννησίων εἰς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τὴν ποιήσαν βοσήν ἀπαντος τοῦ πολέμου δέκα μόνον συνεβάλοντο [243] τρητέρες, οἱ δὲ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἀναστατοὶ γενομένοι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκκλεοιπότες διὰ τὸ μὴ τετειχίσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον πλείους ναός παρέσχοντο καὶ μείζω δύναμιν ἔχουσας ἡ σύμπαντες οἱ συγκιν- 51 δυνεύσαντες· καὶ στρατηγὸν οἱ μὲν Εὐρυβιάδην, δὸς εἰ τέλος ἐπέθηκεν οἰς διενοθὴ πράττεν, οὔδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυν ἀπολωλένας τοὺς Ἐλλήνας, οἱ δ’ ἡμέτεροι Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν ὁμολογουμένως ἀπασιν αὐτῶν εἶναι δοξαντα καὶ τῷ τὴν ναυμαχίαν γενόσθαι κατὰ τρόπον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ 52 τῷ χρόνῳ κατορθωθέντων. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον·

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a For conduct of Athens and Sparta in the Persian Wars, 49-52, compare Paneg. 71-74, 85-98.


c See Paneg. 96; Archid. 43, Vol. I., L.C.L.

d See Paneg. 98, note.

e Cf. Paneg. 98. Eurybiades and the Peloponnesians 402
ship of those who do by others just as they do by themselves, but should abhor and shun those who feel the utmost degree of self-love, while governing their state in a spirit inimical and hostile to the world at large.

Such was the beginning made by each of these two states. But at a later time, when the Persian War took place⁴ (Xerxes, who was then king, having gathered together a fleet of thirteen hundred triremes and a land force numbering five millions in all, including seven hundred thousand fighting men, and led this vast force⁵ against the Hellenes), the Spartans, although they were masters of the Peloponnesus, contributed to the sea-fight which determined the issue of the whole war only ten triremes, whereas our ancestors, although they were homeless, having abandoned Athens⁶ because the city had not been fortified with walls at that time, furnished not only a greater number of ships, but ships with a greater fighting force, than all the rest combined who fought together in that battle.⁷ Again, the Lacedaemonians contributed to this battle the leadership of Eurybiades, who, had he carried into effect what he intended to do, could have been prevented by nothing in the world from bringing destruction upon the Hellenes, whereas the Athenians furnished Themistocles, who, by the common assent of all, was credited with being responsible for the victorious outcome of that battle as well as for all the other successes which were achieved during that time.⁸ And the greatest generally, including Corinth, favoured the removal of the fleet from Salamis to the Isthmus of Corinth. Themistocles thwarted this retreat. Herod. viii. 57 ff. The account in Plutarch’s Themistocles is closer to that of Isocrates.
ISOCRATES

ἀφελόμενοι γὰρ Λακεδαίμονίους τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οἱ συγκινδυνεύσαντες τοῖς ἡμετέροις παρέδοσαν. καὶ τοῦτος ἄν τις κριτᾶς ἰκανοτέρους ποιήσαιτο καὶ πιστοτέρους τῶν τότε πραξθέντων ἡ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀγώσι παραγενομένους; τίνα δ’ ἂν τις εὐ-
εργεσίαν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι ταύτης μείζω, τῆς ἀπασαν τὴν Ἐλλάδα σώσαι δυνηθείσης;

53 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν συνέβη κυρίων ἐκατέραν γε-
νέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν, ἢν ὀπότεροι ἄν κατάσχωσιν, ὑπηκόους ἔχουσι τὰς πλείοτας τῶν
πόλεων. ὅλωσ μὲν οὖν οὐδετέραν ἔπαινον. πολλὰ
γὰρ ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιτιμήσειν. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ
περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην οὐκ ἔλαττον αὐτῶν
διηρέγκαμεν ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ὀλίγων πρότερον
54 εἰρημένας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἡμέτεροι πατέρες ἐπειθοῦν
toὺς συμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι πολιτείαν ταύτην, ἢ

met’ αὐτοῖς διετέλουν ἀγαπῶντες. ὡς νοέοι καὶ φιλίας, ὅταν τινὲς παρανώτα τοῖς ἄλλοις
χρήσθαι τούτων, ἀπερ ἄν σφίζων αὐτοῖς συμφέρειν
ὑπολάβοσιν. Λακεδαίμονίοι δὲ κατέστησαν. οὐθὲ
้อยοίν τῇ παρ’ αὐτοῖς οὐτε ταῖς ἄλλοις ποιεῖν γεγενη-

μέναις, ἄλλα δέκα μόνως ἄνδρας κυρίους ἐκάστης
tῆς πόλεως ἐποίησαν, ὡς ἐπιχειρήσας ἂν τις κατ-

ηγορείν τρεῖς ἢ τέτταρας ἡμέρας συνεχῶς οὐδὲν ἂν

μέρος εἰρηκέναι δόξει τῶν ἕκειν ήμαρτημένων.

a See Paneg. 72.

b For contrast between the empire of Athens and that of

Sparta, 53-61, compare Paneg. 104 ff.

c Cf. Paneg. 16.

d Here he uses the inoffensive word ἐπιμέλεια, supervision,
to convey the feeling that the empire of Athens cared for the
interests of the confederate states.

e See Paneg. 104-106.

404
proof of this is that those who then fought together took the hegemony away from the Lacedaemonians and conferred it upon our ancestors. And yet what more competent or trustworthy judges could one find of what then took place than those who had a part in those very struggles? And what benefaction could one mention greater than that which was able to save all Hellas?

Now after these events it came about that each of these cities in turn gained the empire of the sea—a power such that whichever state possesses it holds in subjection most of the states of Hellas. As to their use of this power in general, I commend neither Athens nor Sparta; for one might find many faults with both. Nevertheless, in this supervision the Athenians surpassed the Lacedaemonians no less than in the deeds which I have just mentioned. For our fathers tried to persuade their allies to establish the very same polity in their cities as they themselves had continually cherished; and it is a sign of good will and friendship when any people urge it upon others to use those institutions which they conceive to be beneficial to themselves. The Lacedaemonians, on the other hand, set up in their subject states a polity which resembled neither that which obtained among themselves nor those which have existed anywhere else in the world; nay, they vested in ten men alone the government of each of the states—men of such a character that were one to attempt to denounce them for three or four days without pause he would appear to have covered not a fraction of the wrongs which have been per-

* For these “decarchies” and their misrule see Paneg. 110-114.
55 καθ’ ἐκαστὸν μὲν οὖν διεξεῖται περὶ τῶν τουοτῶν καὶ τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος ἀνόητῶν ἔστω: ὅλγα δὲ [244] καθ’ ἀπάντων εἰπεῖν, ἀ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν ὀργῇν ἄξιαν ἐμποιησεῖν ἂν τῶν πεπραγμένων, νεώτερος μὲν ὑν ὅσως ἄν ἐξεθρόν, νῦν δ’ οὔδεν ἐπέρχεται μοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ἀπερ ἄπασιν, ὅτι τοσοῦτον ἐκεῖνοι διήνεγκαν ἀνομία καὶ πλεονεξία τῶν προγεγενημένων, ὥστ’ οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἀπώλεσαν καὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τὰς πατρίδας τὰς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους διαβαλόντες εἰς τοιαύτας καὶ τοσαύτας συμφορὰς ἐνέβαλον, ὅσα οὖδεὶς πώποτ’ αὐτοῖς γενήσεσθαι προσ-εδόκησεν.

56 Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐντεύθεν ἂν τις δυνηθεῖ ἡ κατ-ιδεῖν ὅσῳ μετριώτερον καὶ πραότερον ἡμεῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπεμελήθημεν, δεύτερον δ’ ἐκ τοῦ ῥήθησεσθαι μέλλοντος. Σπαρτιάται μὲν γὰρ ἐτη δέκα μόλις ἐπεστάτησαν αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα συνεχῶς κατέσχομεν τὴν ἀρχήν. καίτοι πάντες ἴσας τὰς πόλεις τὰς υ’ ἔτεροις γιγνομένας, ὅτι πλείστον χρόνον τούτοις παραμένουσιν υ’ ὁν 57 ἂν ἐλάχιστα κακὰ πάσχουσιν τυγχάνωσιν. ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἀμφότεραι μισθεῖσαι κατέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον καὶ ταραχήν, ἐν ἂν την μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐροί τις ἂν, ἀπάντων αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν Ἔλληνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθεμένων, ἐτῇ δέκα τούτοις

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a Isocrates elsewhere views the Spartan supremacy as lasting from the end of the Peloponnesian War, 405-404 B.C., to the battle of Leuctra, 371 B.C. See Phil. 47. But later in Phil. 63-64 he speaks of Conon’s naval victory at the battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., as the end of the Spartan rule, since it re-established the maritime influence of Athens. The latter is the version followed here. It is reasonable to say that 406
petrated by them. To attempt to review these wrongs in detail were foolish; they are so many and so grave. Were I a younger man, I might perhaps have found means to characterize all of their crimes in a few words which would have stirred in my hearers an indignation commensurate with the gravity of the things which these men have done; but as it is, no such words occur to me other than those which are on the lips of all men, namely, that they so far outdid all those who lived before their time in lawlessness and greed that they not only ruined themselves and their friends and their own countries but also brought the Lacedaemonians into evil repute with their allies and plunged them into misfortunes so many and so grave as no one could have dreamed would ever be visited upon them.

You can see at once from this instance best of all how much milder and more moderate we were in our supervision over the affairs of the Hellenes, but you can see it also from what I shall now say. The Spartans remained at the head of Hellas hardly ten years,\(^{a}\) while we held the hegemony without interruption for sixty-five years.\(^{b}\) And yet it is known to all that states which come under the supremacy of others remain loyal for the longest time to those under which they suffer the least degree of oppression. Now both Athens and Lacedaemon incurred the hatred of their subjects and were plunged into war and confusion, but in these circumstances it will be found that our city, although attacked by all the Hellenes and by the barbarians as well, was able to

Sparta’s supremacy by sea ceased with the battle of Cnidus and her supremacy by land with Leuctra.

\(^{a}\) See Paneg. 106, note.
culos, ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθεῖσαι, Δακεδαμονίους δὲ κρατοῦν
tas ἐτὶ κατὰ γῆν, πρὸς Θηβαίους μόνους πολεμή-
santas καὶ μίαν μάχην ἡττηθέντας, ἀπάντων ἀπο-
στερηθέντας ὡς εἰχον, καὶ παραπλησίαις ἀτυχίαις
χρησαμένους καὶ συμφοραῖς ἀσπερ ἡμεῖς, καὶ πρὸς
τούτους τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐν ἐλάττωσιν
ἐτεσιν ἀναλαβοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἡ κατεπολεμήθη, Σπαρ-
τιάτας δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἦτταν μηδ' ἐν πολλαπλασίω
χρόνω δυνηθέντας καταστήσας σφάς αὐτούς εἰς τὴν
αὐτήν ἐξιν ἐξ ἐς περ ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλ' ὀμοίως ἐτι καὶ
νῦν ἔχοντας.
59 Τὰ τοίνυν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἐκάτεροι
προσηνέχθημεν, δηλωτέον· ἐτὶ γὰρ τοῦτο λυπῶν
ἐστιν. ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας δυναστείας οὐκ
ἐξῆν αὐτοῖς οὔτ' ἐντὸς Ἄλυνος πεζῶς στρατοπέδω
καταβαίνειν οὔτε μακροίς πλοίοις ἐπὶ τάδε πλεῖν
[245] Φασήλιδος· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Δακεδαμονίων οὐ μόνον τοῦ
πορεύεσθαι καὶ πλεῖν ὅποι βουληθεῖν ἐξουσίαν
ἐλαβον, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεσπόται πολλῶν Ἐλληνίδων
60 πόλεων κατέστησαν. τὴν δὴ καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς
πρὸς βασιλέα γενναστέρας καὶ μεγαλοφρονεστέρας
ποιησαμένην, καὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ μεγίστων τοῖς
μὲν βαρβάροις κακῶν τοῖς δ' Ἐλλησίων ἀγαθῶν
ἀιτιὰς γεγενημένην, ἔτι δὲ τῆς Ἀσίας τὴν παραλίαν
καὶ πολλὴν ἀλλὴν χώραν τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους
61 ἄφελομένην τοῖς δὲ συμμάχους κτησαμένην, καὶ
tους μὲν ὑβρίζοντας τοὺς δ' ἀποροῦντας παύσασαν,
πρὸς δὲ τούτους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τε πολεμήσασαν

a The last decade of the Peloponnesian War, from what he terms the Decelean War, 413 B.C. (see Peace 37, 84, note), to the fall of Athens, 404–403 B.C.

b Leuctra, 371 B.C.

c See Peace, 105.

d Under the Peace of Antalcidas. See Paneg. 115, note.

408
hold out against them for ten years,\(^a\) while the Lacedaemonians, though still the leading power by land, after waging war against the Thebans alone and being defeated in a single battle,\(^b\) were stripped of all the possessions which they had held and involved in misfortunes and calamities which were very similar to these which overtook ourselves.\(^c\) More than that, our city recovered her power in less years than it took to overthrow it, while the Spartans after their defeat at Leuctra have not been able even in a period many times as long to regain the position from which they fell, but are even now\(^d\) no better off than they were then.

Again, I must set forth how these two cities demeaned themselves toward the barbarians;\(^e\) for this still remains to be done. In the time of our supremacy, the barbarians were prevented from marching with an army beyond the Halys river\(^f\) and from sailing with their ships of war this side of Phaselis,\(^g\) but under the hegemony of the Lacedaemonians not only did they gain the freedom to march and sail wherever they pleased, but they even became masters over many Hellenic states. Well then, does not the city which made the nobler and prouder covenants with the Persian king, which brought to pass the most and the greatest injuries to the barbarians and benefits to the Hellenes, which, furthermore, seized from her foes the sea-coast of Asia and much other territory besides and appropriated it to her allies, which put an end to the insolence of the barbarians and the poverty of the Hellenes, and which, besides, waged war in her own

\(^{a}\) Compare the treatment of this topic in Paneg. 100-132.
\(^{b}\) See Paneg. 144.
\(^{c}\) See Paneg. 118, Areop. 80, note.
Members of the Confederacy of Delos had to bring certain law-suits, especially those which involved disloyalty to the league in any way, to Athens for trial. See Paneg. 113, note.

b See Areop. 2, note.

c For the treatment of Melos and Scione see Paneg. 100, 410
cause more capably than that city which is famed for her skill in warfare, and extricated herself from her misfortunes more quickly than these same Lacedaemonians—does not this city, I say, deserve to be praised and honoured more than the state which has been outdistanced by her in all these respects?

This, then, is what I had in mind to say on this occasion in comparing the achievements of Athens and Lacedaemon and the wars which they fought at the same time and against the same adversaries. But I think that, while those who find these words distasteful to listen to will not deny that what I have said is the truth nor, again, will they be able to cite other activities of the Lacedaemonians through which they brought to pass many blessings to the Hellenes, yet they will attempt—as is ever their habit—to denounce our city, to recount the most offensive acts which transpired while she held the empire of the sea, to present in a false light the adjudication of law-suits in Athens for the allies and her collection of tribute from them, and above all to dwell on the cruelties suffered at her hands by the Melians and the Scionians and the Toronians, thinking by these reproaches to sully the benefactions of Athens which I have just described. Now I, for my part, could not gainsay all the things which might justly be said against our city, nor would I attempt to do so; for I should be ashamed, as I have already said in another place, when all other men note, and 109. Torone was captured by Cleon in 422 B.C. The men of the town were sent as prisoners to Athens, and the women and children sold into slavery (Thuc. v. 3).

\[a\] In Epist. ii. 16, Vol. III., L.C.L.
ISOCRATES

tous theous anamartitouz einai nomizoantwv eyw
 glycymhn kai peirwmhn peithewn wse peri oudein
65 pwpote to kouvon h'mawn peplhmelhken, ou mh
[246] alla ektein y' oioi mai poisewn, thn te polw thn
Sparritatwn epideixein peri tais prageis tais
proerphmenas polu pikroteran kai chalepwtetan
ths hemeteras gegovmenh, tous 8' uper ekewn
blasphmouantas kath' h'mawn wos dynaton afrove-
stata diakemewous kai tou kakov akouein
66 h'mawn tous filous autwn aitious ointas. epheidan
gar ta touanta kathgorwsw, ois enochoi Lakedaim-
mwioi mallon tughanoous ontse, oin aporoumen
tou peri h'mwn rthevntos meizou amartima kai
ektewn eitein.

Oinon kai wnh, h' mnsthosi twn agwewn twn
tois sumpakhous enbade gvnwmewn, tis estin ou-
twos afynh, ostitis oux euyrisei pros tou taut
epitein oti pleious Lakedaimwni twn 'Ellhwn
akritous apektowany twn par' h'mwn, eis oti thn
polin oikoumen, eis agwna kai krisin katastanya-
twn;

67 Touanta de kai peri ths eispragews twn fouro
hn ti legswsin, exoumen eitein: polu gar epidei-
xomen sumpforotera praxeantas tous hemeterous
h Lakedaimwioi taies polsei taies ton fouro en-
egkousais. prwton men gar ou prosatakheV uf'
h'mawn tout' epioun, all' autoi gnontes, ote per
thn kemeriais h'mwn thn kata thalattan edosan.
68 epitein oux uper ths swterias ths hemeteras
eferon, all' uper ths dhmokratias kai ths

a That is, the Spartans.  
b See Paneg. 113, note.
412
are of the opinion that not even the gods are free from guilt, were I to strain my conscience and attempt to persuade you that our commonwealth has never erred in any instance whatsoever. Nevertheless, I think I shall do one thing, namely, show that the city of the Spartans, in handling situations such as I have mentioned, has been much more harsh and severe than Athens, and that those who seek to promote the reputation of the Spartans by calumniating us are short-sighted in the extreme and are themselves to blame for the bad repute which their own friends incur at our hands. For whenever they make such charges against us, to which the Lacedaemonians are more open than ourselves, we do not find it difficult to cite against Sparta a graver offence in each case than that which has been charged against Athens.

For example, in the present instance, if they bring up the fact that the law-suits of the allies were tried in Athens, is there anyone so slow of wit as not to find the ready retort that the Lacedaemonians have put to death without trial more of the Hellenes than have ever been brought to trial and judgement here since the founding of our city?

And if they make any complaint about our collection of the tribute, we shall be ready with a like rejoinder. For we shall show that our ancestors far more than the Lacedaemonians acted for the advantage of the states which paid them tribute. For, in the first place, these states did this, not because we had so commanded, but because they themselves had so resolved at the very time when they conferred upon us the supremacy by sea. In the next place, they paid their quotas, not to preserve Athens, but to preserve their own democratic polity and their own
The account here given of the Confederacy of Delos is a fair statement. It was in its origin a voluntary association of the Ionian Greeks, partly against Sparta, but mainly against the Persian Empire, not for protection merely, but for the enrichment of its members at the expense of the barbarians. Each member contributed its quota to the common cause, the more powerful members in ships, the weaker in money, φόρος. The quotas appear to have been fixed by Aristides, although approved by the synod of the 414.
freedom and to escape falling into such great misfortunes, through the setting up of oligarchies, as were suffered under the "decarchies" and the domination of the Lacedaemonians. And, more than that, they paid these contributions, not from funds which they had treasured up through their own efforts, but from resources which they possessed through our aid. In return for these resources, had they reflected in the slightest degree, they should in all fairness have been grateful to us; for we took over their cities in some instances when they had been utterly destroyed, in others when they had been sacked and plundered by the barbarians, and advanced them to such a state of prosperity that although they contributed to us a slight proportion of the wealth which flowed in upon them, their estates were no less prosperous than those of the Peloponnesians who paid no tribute whatsoever.

Furthermore, as to the cities which were laid waste under the rule of each of these states—a matter for which certain men reproach the Athenians alone—we shall show that things much more reprehensible were done by those whom these men are never weary of extolling. For it happened that we offended against islets so small and insignificant that many of the Hellenes do not even know of their existence, whereas the Lacedaemonians laid waste the greatest cities of the Peloponnesus—states which in every way were eminent above the others—and now hold for themselves the wealth of those states which, even supposing that in former times they possessed no merit, deserved the greatest possible rewards from allies. See Thuc. v. 18; Aristotle, Constitution of Athens 23, 24
τῶν Ἐλλήνων τυχεῖν διὰ τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, ἐν ἂν ςφάς τε αὐτὰς παρέσχον πρωτευούσας καὶ τοὺς ἤγεμόνας ἄρετᾶς ἔχοντας οὐ μόνον τὰς τοιαύτας ὠν πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν φαύλων κοινωνοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κακείνας ὡν οὐδεῖς ἁν πονηρῶς ὄν δυνηθεὶς μετασχεῖν. Μεσσήνη μὲν γὰρ Νέστορα παρέσχε τὸν φρονιμώτατον ἄπαντων τῶν κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον γενομένων, Λακεδαίμων δὲ Μενέλαον τὸν διὰ σωφροσύνην καὶ δικαιοσύνην μόνον ἀξιωθέντα Δίος γενέσθαι κηδεσθήν, ἢ δ’ Ἀργείων πόλις Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ δύο σχόντα μόνον ἄρετάς, ἀλλὰ πάσας ὡςας ἀν ἔχοι τις εἰπεῖν, καὶ ταῦτας οὐ μετρίως ἀλλ’ ὑπερβαλλόντως οὐδένα γὰρ εὑρήσομεν τῶν ἄπαντων οὐτ’ ἰδιωτέρας πράξεις μεταχειρισάμενον οὕτε καλλίους οὕτε μείζους οὕτε τοῖς Ἐλλησιν ὧφελιμωτέρας οὕτε πλειόνων ἑπαίνων ἀξίας. καὶ τοῦτος οὕτω μὲν ἀπηριθμημένοις εἰκότως ἃν τινες ἀπιστήσειαν, μικρῶν δὲ περὶ ἐκάστου ῥηθέντων ἄπαντες ἃν ἀληθῆ με λέγεω ὀμολογήσειαν.

74 Οὐ δύναμαι δὲ κατιδεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀπορῶ ποίους ἃν λόγους μετὰ ταῦτα χρησάμενος ὁρθῶς εἰην βεβούλευμένοι. αἰσχύνομαι μὲν γὰρ, εἰ τοσαῦτα περὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἄρετῆς προειρηκῶς μηδενὸς μνησθήσομαι τῶν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου πεπραγμένων, ἀλλὰ δόξῳ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν ὦμοιος εἶναι τοῖς ἀλαζονευμένοις καὶ λέγουσιν ὦ τι ἃν τύχωσιν· ὅρω δὲ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐξω λεγομένας τῶν ὑποθέσεων οὐκ 416
the Hellenes because of the expedition against Troy in which they took the foremost place and furnished as its leaders men possessed not only of the virtues in which many of the common run of mankind have a part, but also of those in which no ignoble man may share. For Messene furnished Nestor, the wisest of all who lived in those times; Lacedaemon, Menelaus, who because of his moderation and his justice was the one man to be deemed worthy to become the son-in-law of Zeus; and Argos, Agamemnon, who was possessed, not of one or two of the virtues merely, but of all which anyone can name—and these, not in moderate, but in surpassing degree. For we shall find that no one in all the world has ever undertaken deeds more distinctive, more noble, more important, more advantageous to the Hellenes, or deserving of higher praise. These are facts which, when thus barely enumerated, some may not unreasonably question, but when they have been supported in each instance by a few words, all men will acknowledge that I speak the truth.

However, I am not able to see clearly, but am in doubt, with what words I may proceed without making an error of judgement. For, on the one hand, I am ashamed, after having said so much about the virtue of Agamemnon, to make no mention of the things which he accomplished and so to seem to my hearers no different from men who make empty boasts and say whatever comes into their heads. But I observe, on the other hand, that the discussion of things which

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a Helen, the wife of Menelaus, was the daughter of Zeus. See Homer, *Odyssey* iv. 569 and Isocrates, *Helen* 16.
ISOCRATES

ἐπαινουμένας ἄλλα ταραχώδεις εἶναι δοκούσας, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ὄντας τοὺς κακῶς χρωμένους
75 αὕταῖς, πολὺ δὲ πλείους τοὺς ἐπιτιμῶντας. διὸ
de δεδοικα μή καὶ περὶ ἐμὲ συμβῆ τι τοιοῦτον. οὐ
μήν ἄλλ’ αἱροῦμαι βοηθῆσαι τῷ ταύτῳ ἐμοὶ τε
καὶ πολλοῖς πεπονθότι, καὶ διημαρτηκότι τῆς
dόξης ἢς προσήκε τυχεῖν αὐτόν, καὶ μεγίστων
μὲν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίω γεγενημένῳ περὶ ἐκείνων τῶν
χρόνων, ἤττον δ’ ἐπαινουμένας τῶν οὐδὲν ἄξιον
λόγου διαπεραγμένων.

76 Τί γὰρ ἑκεῖνος ἐνέλιπεν, δὶς τηλικαύτην μὲν
ἔσχε τιμήν, ἢς εἰ πάντες συνελθόντες μείζω
ζητοῦεν, οὐδέποτ’ ἂν εὑρεῖν δυνηθεῖεν; μόνος γὰρ
ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡξιώθη γενέσθαι στρατηγὸς.
ὅποτερον δὲ, εἴθ’ ὑπὸ πάντων αἱρεθεῖσι εἰτ’ αὐτὸς
cτησάμενος, οὐκ ἤχω λέγειν. ὅποτέρως δ’ οὖν
συμβέβηκεν, οὐδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν λέουπε τῆς περὶ
77 αὐτῶν δόξης τοῖς ἄλλως πως τιμηθέεισιν. ταύτην
δὲ λαβῶν τὴν δύναμιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἢν τινα τῶν
‘Ελληνίδων πόλεων ἐλύπησεν, ἀλλ’ οὔτως ὣν
πόρρω τοῦ περὶ τινας ἐξαμαρτέειν, ὥστε παρα-
λαβῶν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ταραχαῖς
καὶ πολλοῖς κακοῖς ὄντας τούτων μὲν αὐτοὺς
ἀπῆλλαξεν, εἰς ὁμονοίαι δὲ καταστήσας τὰ μὲν
περιττὰ τῶν ἔργων καὶ τερατώδη καὶ μηδὲν
ωφελοῦντα τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερείδε, στρατόπεδον δὲ
78 συστήσας ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἤγαγεν. τούτων

α Digressions such as the praise of Theseus in Helen and
of Timotheus in Antidosis are effective elements of variety.
The praise of Agamemnon here seems awkwardly dragged
in. It is commonly thought that Agamemnon is a masque
for Philip of Macedon. (See, for example, Blass, Die
attische Beredsamkeit ii. pp. 331, 334.) The simplest explana-
418
lie outside the scope of the subject is not approved but is thought rather to be confusing, and that while many misuse these digressions there are many more who condemn them. Therefore I fear that I too may subject myself to some such criticism. Nevertheless, I elect to lend support to the man who has experienced the same misadventure as myself and many others and failed of the reputation he deserved, and who has been the author of the greatest services to the world of his time, albeit he is less praised than those who have done nothing worthy of mention.

For what element of glory did he lack who won a position of such exalted honour that, were all the world to unite on the search for a greater, no greater could be found? For he is the only man who was ever deemed worthy to be the leader of the armies of all Hellas. Whether he was elected by all or obtained this honour by himself, I am not able to say. But however this came about, he left no room for the rest of mankind who have in any wise won distinction since his time to surpass the glory which attaches to his name. And when he obtained this power, he harmed no city of Hellas; nay, so far was he from injuring any one of them that, although he took command of the Hellenes when they were in a state of mutual warfare and confusion and great misfortune, he delivered them from this condition, and, having established concord among them, indifferent to all exploits which are extravagant and spectacular and of no benefit to others, he collected the Hellenes into an army and led them forth against the bar-

\[419\]
δὲ κάλλιον στρατήγημα καὶ τοῖς Ἐλλησιων ὠφελι-
μῶτερον οúdeις φανήσεται πράξας οὔτε τῶν κατ᾿ ἕκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον εὐδοκιμησάντων οὔτε τῶν ύστερον ἐπιγενομένων. ἂ ʹκεῖνοι πράξας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑποδείξας οὐχ οὔτως εὐδοκίμησεν, ὡς προσήκεν αὐτὸν, διὰ τοὺς μάλλον ἀγαπῶντας τὰς θαυματοποιίας τῶν εὐεργεσίων καὶ τὰς ψευδο-
λογίας τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος ἑλάττω δόξαν ἔχει τῶν οὐδὲ μιμήσασθαι τολ-
μησάντων αὐτὸν.

79 Οὐ μόνον δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀν τις ἐπανέσειεν αὐ-
τὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ’ οἷς περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον ἐπρα-
ζεν. Εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ μεγαλοφροσύνης ἦλθεν, ὥστ’ οὐκ ἀπέχρησεν αὐτῷ λαβεῖν στρατιώτας τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ὁπῶσος εἰ ἐκάστης ἐβουλήθη τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τοὺς βασιλείς τοὺς ποιοῦντας ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν ὅ τι βουληθεῖεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προστάττοντας, τούτους ἐπείσεν υφ’ αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, καὶ συνακο-
λουθεῖν ἐφ’ οἷς ἄν ἦγῇται, καὶ ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττό-
μενον, καὶ βασιλικὸν βίον ἄφέντας στρατιωτικῶς

80 ξῆν, ἑτὶ δὲ κινδυνεῦεν καὶ πολεμεῖν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς [249] σφετέρας αὐτῶν πατρίδος καὶ βασιλείας, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ μὲν ὑπὲρ Ἔλενης τῆς Μενελάου γυναικὸς, ἔργῳ δ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μῆ τὴν Ἔλλαδα πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων μὴτε τοιαῦτα μῆθ’ οἰα πρότερον αὐτῇ συνέπεσε περὶ τὴν Πέλοπος μὲν ἀπάσης Πελοποννήσου κατάληψιν, Δαναοῦ δὲ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀργείων, Κάδμου δὲ Θηβῶν· ὄν τίς ἄλλος

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a Cf. Helen 51.

b According to legend, Pelops, the Phrygian, settled in the Peloponnesus and gave his name to that territory; 420
barians. And no one will be found, among those who rose to fame in his time or in later generations, to have accomplished an expedition more honourable than this or more advantageous to the Hellenes. But although he achieved all this and set this example to the rest of the world, he did not receive the fame which was his due, because of those who delight more in stage-play than in services and in fiction than in truth; nay, albeit he proved himself so great, he has a reputation which is less than that of men who have not ventured even to imitate his example.

But not for these things alone might one extol him, but also for the things he did at the same time. For he conceived of his mission in terms so lofty that he was not satisfied with making up his army from all the men in private station whom he desired to have from each of the cities of Hellas, but even persuaded men of the rank of kings, who were accustomed to do in their own states whatsoever they pleased and to give orders to the world at large, to place themselves under his command, to follow him against whomsoever he might lead them, to obey his orders, to abandon their royal manner of living and to share the life of soldiers in the field, and, furthermore, to imperil themselves and wage war, not for their own countries and kingdoms, but ostensibly for Helen, wife of Menelaus, though in reality for Hellas, that she might not again suffer such an outrage at the hands of the barbarians nor such as befel her before that time in the seizure of the entire Peloponnesus by Pelops or of Argos by Danaus or of Thebes by Cadmus. For what other

Cadmus, the Phoenician, founded Thebes; Danaus, the Egyptian, became king of Argos—types of foreign invasion and conquest.

421
ISOCRATES

φανήσεται προνοθείς, ἢ τίς ἐμποδῶν καταστάσ τοῦ μηδὲν ἑτὶ γενέσθαι τοιοῦτον, πλὴν τῆς ἑκείνου φύσεως καὶ δυνάμεως;

81 Τὸ τοίνυν ἔχομενον, ὁ τῶν μὲν προειρήμενων ἐλαττὸν ἔστι, τῶν δὲ πολλάκις ἐγκεκωμασμένων μείζων καὶ λόγου μᾶλλον ἄξιον· στρατόπεδον γὰρ συνεληλθός ἐξ ἀπασῶν τῶν πόλεων, τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον εἰκός, ὁ πολλοὺς εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ θεῶν τοὺς δ᾿ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν γεγονότας, οὐκ ὁμοίως διακειμένους τοὺς πολλοῖς οὐδ’ ἵσον φρονοῦντας τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλ’ ὀργῆς καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ φθόνου καὶ φιλοτιμίας μεστοὺς, ἀλλ’ ὁμως τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔτη δέκα κατέσχεν οὐ μισθοφοραὶ μεγάλαις οὐδὲ χρημάτων δαπάναις, ἀδ’ νῦν ἄπαντες δυναστεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ καὶ τῇ φρονήσει διαφέρει καὶ δύνασθαι τροφὴν ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων τοῖς στρατιώταις πορίζειν, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ δοκεῖν ἑκείνον ἁμείνον ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων βουλευόσθαι σωτηρίας ἥ τοὺς ἄλλους περὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν.

82 Τὸ τοίνυν τέλος, ὁ πᾶσι τούτοις ἐπέθηκεν, οὐδὲνος ἦττον προσήκει θαμμάζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπρεπὲς οὐδ’ ἀνάξιον τῶν προειρήμενων φανήσεται πουράμενος, ἀλλὰ λόγω μὲν πρὸς μίαν πόλιν πολεμήσας, ἔργῳ δ’ οὐ μόνον πρὸς ἀπαντεῖς τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντας ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα γένη πολλά τῶν βαρβάρων κινδυνεύων οὐκ ἀπείπεν οὐδ’ ἀπήλθε, πρὶν τὴν τε πόλιν τοῦ τολμήσαντος

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*a* Cf. Helen 52.

*b* Mercenary armies were now commonly relied upon even in Athens. See Peace 44 ff.

422
man in the world will be found to have had forethought in these matters or to have taken measures to prevent any such misfortune in the future except one of Agamemnon's character and power?

There is, moreover, connected with the above achievement one which, though less significant than those which I have mentioned, is more important and more deserving of mention than those which have been extolled again and again. For he commanded an army which had come together from all the cities of Hellas, a host whose size may be imagined since it contained many of the descendants of the gods and of the direct sons of the gods—a—men who were not of the same temper as the majority of mankind nor on the same plane of thinking, but full of pride and passion and envy and ambition,—and yet he held that army together for ten years, not by great bribes nor by outlays of money, by which means all rulers nowadays maintain their power, but by the supremacy of his genius, by his ability to provide from the enemy subsistence for his soldiers, and most of all by his reputation of being better advised in the interest of others than others in their own interest.

But the final achievement by which he crowned all these is no less worthy of admiration. For he will be found to have done nothing unseemly or unworthy of these exploits which I have already described; on the contrary, although he waged war, ostensibly against a single city, but in reality not only against all the peoples who dwelt in Asia but also against many other races of the barbarians, he did not give up fighting nor depart for home before reducing to slavery the city of him who had offended against
εξαμαρτείν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔπαυσεν ὑβρίζοντας.

84 Ὅψιν ἄγνω ἔδ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰρημένων περὶ τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος ἀρετῆς, οὐδ’ ὅτι τούτων καθ’ ἐν μὲν ἐκαστὸν εἰ τινὲς σκοποῦντο τί ἂν ἀποδοκιμᾷ·[250] σαίνειν, οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἀφελεῖν τολμῆσειν, ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἀναγιγνωσκομένων ἀπαντεῖ ἂν ἐπιτυμήσαις ὡς πολὺ πλείοσιν εἰρημένοις τοῦ δέοντος.

85 ἐγὼ δ’ εἰ μὲν ἐλαθον ἐμαυτὸν πλεονάζων, ἢςχυνόμην ἂν, εἰ γράφει πεπεραίων περὶ ὧν μηδείς ἂν ἄλλος ἐτολμήσειν, οὕτως ἀναισθήτως διεκείμην· νῦν δ’ ἀκριβέστερον ἤδειν τῶν ἐπιπλήττειν μοι τολμησόντων, ὅτι πολλοὶ τούτοις ἐπιτυμήσουσιν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡγησάμην ὦχ οὕτως ἐσεβηθαί δεινόν, ἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ μέρους τούτου δόξω τισὶ τῶν καιρῶν ἀμελεῖν, ὡς ἂν περὶ ἀνδρὸς τοιοῦτου διαλεγόμενος παραλίπω τι τῶν ἐκείνω τε προσόντων ἀγαθῶν

86 κάμοι προσηκόντων εἰπεῖν. ὤμην δ’ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς χαριστάτοις τῶν ἀκροατῶν εὐδοκιμήσειν, ἂν φαίνωμαι περὶ ἀρετῆς μὲν τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενος, ὅπως δ’ ταύτης ἄξιος ἔρω μᾶλλον σπουδαζων ἂ περὶ τὴν τοῦ λόγου συμμετρίαν, καὶ ταύτα σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὴν μὲν περὶ τὸν λόγον ἀκαίριαν ἀδοκίτερον ἐμὲ ποιήσουσιν, τὴν δὲ περὶ τὰς πράξεις εὐβουλίαν αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἐπανομομένους ἀφελήσουσιν· ἄλλ’ ὦμοι ἐγὼ τὸ λυσιτελές ἐάσας

87 τὸ δίκαιον εἰλόμην. οὐ μόνον δ’ ἂν εὐρεθεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις ταύτην ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν, ἄλλ’ ὦμοι ἐπὶ πάντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν πεπλησιακότων μοι φανεῖν ἂν μᾶλλον χαίρων τοῖς ἐπὶ

a Paris, who carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus.

424
Hellas and putting an end to the insolence of the barbarians.

I am well aware of the space which I have given to the praises of Agamemnon's virtue; I am well aware also that if any of you should go over these one by one, many as they are, to see what might be rejected, no one would venture to subtract a single word, and yet I know that when they are read one after the other, all will criticize me for having said much more than I should. For my part, if I inadvertently prolonged this topic I should be ashamed of being so lacking in perception when discoursing on a subject which no one has even ventured to discuss. But in fact I knew much better than those who will dare to take me to task that many will criticize this excess. I considered, however, that it would be less objectionable to be thought by some to disregard due measure in this part of my discourse than to leave out, in speaking of such a man, any of the merits which belong to him and which it behoves me to mention. I thought also that I should be applauded by the most cultivated of my hearers if I could show that I was more concerned when discoursing on the subject of virtue about doing justice to the theme than about the symmetry of my speech—and that too, knowing well that the lack of due proportion in my speech would detract from my own reputation, while just appreciation of their deeds would enhance the fame of those whose praises I sing. Nevertheless I bade farewell to expediency and chose justice instead. And you will find that I am of this mind not only in what I am now saying but likewise upon all occasions, since it will be seen that I take more pleasure in those of my disciples who are distinguished
ι Ἐσοκράτης

τῷ βίῳ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν εὐδοκιμοῦσιν ἢ τοῖς περὶ τούς λόγους δεινοῖς εἶναι δοκοῦσιν. καὶ τοιὸ τῶν μὲν εὑρητέντων, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν συμβαλοῦν, ἀπαντεῖ ἡ ἐμοὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναθείει, τῶν δ᾽ ὀρθῶς πραττομένων εἰ καὶ πάντες εἰδείεν μὲ σύμβουλον γεγενημένον, οὔτες ὅστις οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν μεταχειρίζομενον τὰς πράξεις ἑπανέσειεν.

88 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτως ὁποιοὶ τυγχάνων φερόμενοι· ἀεὶ γὰρ οἴμενος δεῖν προστιθέναι τὸ τῶν προ- ειρημένων ἐχόμενον, παντάπασι πόρρω γέγονα τῆς ὑποθέσεως. λοιπὸν οὖν ἐστὶν οὕδεν ἄλλο, πλὴν αἰτησάμενον τῷ γῆρᾳ συγγνώμην ὑπὲρ τῆς λήθης καὶ τῆς μακρολογίας, τῶν ἐφησμένων παραγι- γνεσθαι τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις, ἑπανελθεῖν εἰς τὸν τόπον ἑκείνων ἐξ οὕτως ἑισέπεσον εἰς τὴν περιττολογίαν [251] ταύτην. οἴμαι δ' ἡδὲ καθορὰν οἶδεν ἐπιλαμβήν- τοις γὰρ οἰνειδίζουσιν ἡμῶν τῇ πόλει τὰς Μηλίων καὶ τὰς τῶν τοιούτων πολιχνίων συμφοράς ἀντ- ἐλεγον, οὐχ ὡς οὖν ἡμαρτημένων τούτων, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύων τοὺς ἀγαπωμένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν πολὺ πλείους πόλεις καὶ μεῖζον ἡμῶν ἀναστάτους πεποιηκότας, ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς Ἁγαμέμνονος καὶ Μενελάου καὶ Νέατορος δι- ελέχθην, ψεύδος μὲν οὐδὲν λέγων, πλεῖω δ' ἵσως 90 τῶν μετρίων. τούτῳ δ' ἐποίουν ὑπολαβῶν οὐδενὸς ἐλαττον ἀμάρτημα τούτῳ δόξει εἶναι τῶν τολ- μησάντων ἀναστάτους ποιήσαι τὰς πόλεις τὰς γεννησάσας καὶ θρεψάσας τοιούτους ἄνδρας, περὶ ὧν καὶ νόν ἔχοι τις ἄν πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς χρή-

a These last two paragraphs show striking use of antithesis and parisosis—devices of rhetoric which at the begin-
426
for the character of their lives and deeds than in those who are reputed to be able speakers. And yet when they speak well, all men will assign the credit to me, even though I contribute nothing to what they say, whereas when they act right no man will fail to commend the doer of the deed even though all the world may know that it was I who advised him what to do.\(^a\)

But I do not know whither I am drifting.\(^b\) For, because I think all the time that I must add the point which logically follows what I have said before, I have wandered entirely from my subject. There is, therefore, nothing left for me to do but to crave indulgence to old age for my forgetfulness and prolixity—faults which are wont to be found in men of my years—and go back to the place from which I fell into this garrulous strain. For I think that I now see the point from which I strayed. I was speaking in reply to those who reproach us with the misfortunes of the Melians and of villages with like populations, not meaning that we had done no wrong in these instances, but trying to show that those who are the idols of these speakers have laid waste more and greater cities than the Athenians have done, in which connexion I discussed the virtues of Agamemnon and Menelaus and Nestor, saying nothing that was not true, though passing, mayhap, the bounds of moderation. But I did this, supposing that it would be apparent that there could be no greater crime than that of those who dared lay waste the cities which bred and reared such great men, about whom even now one might say many noble things.

\(^a\) For this rhetorical doubt cf. Antid. 310.
\(^b\) See 2 and note.
σασθαι λόγους. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἵσως ἀνόητον ἐστὶν περὶ μίαν πράξεως διατρίβειν, ὥσπερ ἀπορίας οὕσης τί ἂν ἔχω τις εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς ὁμότητος καὶ χαλεπότητος τῆς Λακεδαιμονίας, ἀλλ’ οὐ πολλῆς ἀφθονίας ὑπαρχούσης.

91 Ὅσι οὖν ἐξήρχεσε περὶ τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρας τοὺς τοιούτους ἐξαμαρτεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀρμηθέντας καὶ κοινὴν τήν στρατείαν ποιησαμένους καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κιν- δύνων μετασχόντας, λέγω δὲ περὶ Ἀργείων καὶ Μεσσηνίων. καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐπεθύμησαν ταῖς αὐταῖς συμφοραῖς περιβαλεῖν ἑσπερ ἐκείνους· καὶ Μεσσηνίους μὲν πολιορκοῦντες οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο, πρὶν ἐξέβαλον ἐκ τῆς χώρας, Ἀργείους δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἐτι καὶ νῦν πολεμοῦσιν.

92 ᾧ τοῖνυν περὶ Πλαταιᾶς ἐπραξαν, ἄτοπος ἄν εἰην, εἰ ταῦτ’ εἰρηκὼς ἐκείνων μὴ μνησθείην· ὅν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι μεθ’ ἡμῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμμάχων, καὶ παραταξάμενοι τόις πολεμίοις, καὶ θυσάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐκείνων ἱδρυμένοις, οὐ μόνον ἠλευθερώσαμεν τῶν Ἐλλήνων τοὺς μεθ’ ἡμῶν ὄντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκα- σθέντας γενέσθαι μετ’ ἐκείνων, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐπράξαμεν Πλαταιέας λάβοντες μόνους Βοιωτῶν συναγωγι- στάς· οὐς οὐ πολὺν χρόνον διαλυόντες Λακεδαι-

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a In the Trojan War.
b The distinction—not altogether clear—is between the older and the later inhabitants.
c For the conquest of Messene see Archid. 26 ff. The Spartans and Argives were almost always at war. See Phil. 51.
d The battle of Plataea was the final, decisive battle of the Persian Wars.
e See Thuc. ii. 71, 72.
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But it is perhaps foolish to linger upon a single point, as if there were any lack, as if there were not, on the contrary, a superabundance of things to say about the cruelty and the harshness of the Lacedaemonians.

For the Lacedaemonians were not satisfied with Wronging these cities and men of this character, but treated in the same way those who had set out with them from the same country, joined with them in the same expedition, and shared with them the same perils—I mean the Argives and the Messenians. For they determined to plunge these also into the very same misfortunes which had been visited upon their former victims. They did not cease laying siege to the Messenians until they had driven them from their territory, and with the same object they are even now making war upon the Argives. Furthermore, it would be strange if, having spoken of these wrongs, I failed to mention their treatment of the Plataeans. It was on the soil of Plataea that the Lacedaemonians had encamped with us and with the other allies, drawn up for battle against our enemies; there they had offered sacrifices to the deities worshipped by the Plataeans; and there we had won freedom, not only for the Hellenes who fought with us, but also for those who were compelled to be on the side of the Persians, and we accomplished this with the help of the Plataeans, who alone of the Boeotians fought with us in that war. And yet, after no great interval of time, the

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Footnotes:

1 The Greek cities on the Asiatic sea-board, which had been subject to Persia.
2 The Thebans had "Medized." The Plataeans in this battle acquitted themselves well; according to Plutarch (Aristides 20), they were awarded the meed of valour. Cf. Plataicus 57 ff., Vol. III., L.C.L.
μόνοι, χαριζόμενοι Θηβαίοις, ἐκπολιορκήσαντες [252] ἀπεκτειναν πλὴν τῶν ἀποδράναι δυνηθέντων.

Περὶ οὖς ἡ πόλις ἤμων οὐδὲν ὁμοία γέγονεν 94 ἐκείνοις: οἱ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τε τοὺς ἐνεργότας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς τοὺς αὐτῶν τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἔτολμησαν, οἱ δ' ἡμέτεροι Μεσσηνίων μὲν τοὺς διασωθέντας εἰς Ναύπακτον κατώκυσαν, Πλαταιέων δὲ τοὺς περιγενομένους πολίτας ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶς ἀπάντων μετέδοσαν. ὡστε εἰ μηδὲν εἶχομεν ἄλλο περὶ τῶν πολέων εἴπειν, ἐκ τούτων βάδιον εἶναι καταμαθεῖν τὸν τρόπον ἐκατέρας αὐτῶν, καὶ ποτέρα πλεῖον πόλεις καὶ μείζους ἀναστάτους πεποίηκεν.

95 Λισθάνομαι δὲ πάθος μοι συμβαῖνον ἐναντίον τοῖς ὀλίγων πρότερον εἰρημένοις· τότε μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἄρνοιαν καὶ πλάνον καὶ λήθην ἐνέπεσον, νῦν δ' οἶδα σαφῶς ἐμαυτὸν οὐκ ἐμμένοντα τῇ πραότητι τῇ περὶ τὸν λόγον, ἢν εἶχον ὅτ' ἥρχόμην γράφειν αὐτῶν, ἄλλα λέγειν τ' ἐπιχειροῦντα περὶ ὁν οὐκ ὦμην ἔρειν, θρασύτερον τε διαικείμενον ἡ κατ' ἐμαυτὸν, ἀκρατῆ τε γυνομένον ἐνών ὁν λέγω διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἴπειν ἐπιρρεόντων.

96 Ἔπειδ' περ οὖν ἐπελήλυθέ μοι τὸ παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ λέλυκα τὸ στόμα, καὶ τοιαύτην τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐποιησάμην ὦστε μήτε καλὸν εἶναι μοι

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a Cf. Plataicus 62.
b This was done by King Archidamus, who in the course of the Peloponnesian War besieged and took Plataea, 427 B.C. The walls of the town were razed, the women and children sold into slavery, the defenders slain, excepting some two 430
Lacedaemonians, to gratify Thebes, reduced the Plataeans by siege and put them all to the sword with the exception of those who had been able to escape through their lines.

Little did Athens resemble Sparta in the treatment of these peoples; for, while the Lacedaemonians did not scruple to commit such wrongs both against the benefactors of Hellas and against their own kinsmen, our ancestors, on the other hand, gave the surviving Messenians a home in Naupactus and adopted the Plataeans who had escaped with their lives as Athenian citizens and shared with them all the privileges which they themselves enjoyed. So that if we had nothing else to say about these two cities, it is easy to judge from these instances what was the character of each and which of the two laid waste more and greater cities.

I perceive that my feelings are changing to the opposite of those which I described a little while ago. For then I fell into a state of doubt and perplexity and forgetfulness, but now I realize clearly that I am not keeping the mildness of speech which I had when I began to write my discourse; on the contrary, I am venturing to discuss matters about which I did not think that I should speak, I am more aggressive in temper than is my wont, and I am losing control over some of the things which I utter because of the multitude of things which rush into my mind to say.

Since, however, the impulse has come to me to speak frankly and I have removed the curb from my tongue, and since I took a subject which is of such a hundred who escaped and found refuge in Athens. See Thuc. iii. 57 ff.

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a Fellow-Dorians.

b On the Corinthian gulf. For this event see Thuc. i. 103.

c See Paneg. 109, note.
μήτε δυνατὸν παραλιπέιν τὰς τοιαύτας πράξεις, ἐξ ὧν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπιδεικνύναι πλέον ἄξιαν τὴν πόλιν ἠμῶν γεγενημένην περὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων, οὐ κατασωπητέον οὔδε περὶ τῶν ἄλλων κακῶν τῶν οὔπω μὲν εἰρημένων ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησι γεγενημένων, ἀλλὰ ἐπιδεικτέον τοὺς μὲν ἡμετέρους ὁμομαθεῖς αὐτῶν γεγενημένους, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ τὰ μὲν πρῶτοι τὰ δὲ μόνοις ἐξαμαρτότας.

97 Πλείστου μὲν οὖν καθηγοροῦσιν ἀμφοῖν τῶν πολέων, ὅτι προσποιούμεναι κινδυνεύσαι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἕλληνων οὐκ εἰσαγαγῷ τὰς πόλεις αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ διοικῆσαι τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ὅπως ἐκάστη συνέφερεν, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ αἵμαλωτοι εἰληφθεῖσα κατεδουλώσαντο πάσας αὐτᾶς, καὶ παραπλήσιον ἐποίησαν τοῖς παρὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς οἰκείας ἐξ ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρομένους, σφίσσε δ' αὐτοῖς δουλεύειν ἀναγκάζοντας.

98 Τοῦ δὲ λέγεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον καὶ περὶ τοῦτον ὑμῶν ἡμεῖς αὔτοι γεγονόμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ νῦν μὲν ἐν τοῖς λεγομένοις ἡμῖν ἀντιτεταγμένοι, τὸν δ' ἄλλον χρόνον ἐν τοῖς πραττομένοις ἀπασίν, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡμετέρους προγόνους οὔδεις ἃν ἐπιδείξειν ἐν τοῖς ἑπέκεινα χρόνοις τοῖς ἀναριθμητοῖς οὐδεμιᾶς πόλεως οὔτε μείζονος οὔτ' ἐλάττων ἀρχεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντας. Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ πάντες ἴσασιν, ἀφ' οὗ περὶ εἰς Πελοπόννησον εἰσῆλθον, οὐδὲν ἄλλο πράττοντας οὔδε βουλευομένους πλὴν ὅπως μάλιστα μὲν ἀπάντων ἄρξουσιν, εἴ δὲ μή, Πελοπόννησιν.

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α Cf. 101.
character that it is neither honourable nor possible to leave out the kind of facts from which it can be proved that our city has been of greater service to the Hellenes than Lacedaemon, I must not be silent either about the other wrongs which have not yet been told, albeit they have been done among the Hellenes, but must show that our ancestors have been slow pupils in wrong-doing, whereas the Lacedaemonians have in some respects been the first to point the way and in others have been the sole offenders.

Now most people upbraid both cities because, while pretending that they risked the perils of war against the barbarians for the sake of the Hellenes, they did not in fact allow the various states to be independent and manage their own affairs in whatever way was expedient for each of them, but, on the contrary, divided them up, as if they had taken them captive in war, and reduced them all to slavery, acting no differently than those who rob others of their slaves, on the pretext of liberating them, only to compel them to slave for their new masters.

But it is not the fault of the Athenians that these complaints are made and many others more bitter than these, but rather of those who now in what is being said, as in times past in all that has been done, have been in the opposite camp from us. For no man can show that our ancestors during the countless years of our early history ever attempted to impose our rule over any city great or small, whereas all men know that the Lacedaemonians, from the time when they entered the Peloponnesus, have had no other object in their deeds or in their designs than to impose their rule if possible over all men but, failing that, over the peoples of the Peloponnesus.
99 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς στάσεις καὶ τὰς σφαιρὰς καὶ τὰς τῶν πολιτειῶν μεταβολάς, ἀς ἀμφότεροι τινὲς ἦμιν ἐπιφέροσιν, ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἂν φανεῖν ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις πλὴν ὅλης μεστὰς πεποιηκότες τῶν τοιούτων συμφορῶν καὶ νοσημάτων, τὴν δὲ ἡμετέραν πόλιν οὐδεὶς ἂν οὐδ' εἴπειν τολμήσει πρὸ τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ γενομένης ὡς τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς συμμάχοις τὶ διαπραξαμένην. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κύριοι καταστάντες τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάλιν ἐξεπιπτοῦν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς στασιαζοῦσών τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων δυ' ἡ τρεῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων, οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύφωμαι τάλθες, ἐξήμαρτον περὶ τινας αὐτῶν ἐλπίζοντες, ἣν μιμήσωμαι τᾶς Σπαρτιατῶν πράξεις, μᾶλλον αὐτὰς δυνήσεσθαι κατα-μχεῖν. ὥστε δικαίως ἂν ἔκεινοι μὲν ἀπαντήσαν ἐγκαλέσειαν ὡς ἀρχηγοῖς γεγενημένοι καὶ διδασκάλοις τῶν τοιούτων ἐργῶν, τοῖς δ' ἡμετέροις, ὥσπερ τῶν μαθητῶν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν υποχυμομένων ἐξηπατημένοι καὶ διημαρτηκόσι τῶν ἐλπίδων, εἰκότως ἂν συγγνώμην ἔχοιεν.

101 Τὸ τοίνυν σελευταίον, δὲ μόνοι καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιτάξαν, τίς οὖκ οἴδεν ὅτι κοινῆς ἦμιν τῆς ἔχθρας ὑπαρχοῦσης τῆς πρὸς τῶν ἐπαρχῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐν πολέμοις πολλοῖς γιγνόμενοι καὶ μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς ἐνίοτε περι-

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*a* See Paneg. 114.

*b* At Aegospotami, 405 B.C. See Paneg. 119.

*c* See, however, Isocrates' bitter attack upon the Athenian militaristic policy in the Peace, especially 44. Among the Athenian generals, he is here thinking mainly of Chares (the enemy and opposite of his friend and pupil, Timotheus. See Antid. 129 and note), who seems to have uniformly 434
And as to the stirring up of faction and slaughter and revolution in these cities, which certain critics impute both to Athens and to Sparta, you will find that the Lacedaemonians have filled all the states, excepting a very few, with these misfortunes and afflictions, whereas no one would dare even to allege that our city, before the disaster which befel her in the Hellespont, ever perpetrated such a thing among her allies. But when the Lacedaemonians, after having been in the position of dictators over the Hellenes, were being driven from control of affairs—at that juncture, when the other cities were rent by faction, two or three of our generals (I will not hide the truth from you) mistreated some of them, thinking that if they should imitate the deeds of Spartans they would be better able to control them. Therefore all may justly charge the Lacedaemonians with having been the instigators and teachers of such deeds, but may with good reason make allowance for us, as for pupils who have been deceived by the false promises of their tutors and disappointed in their expectations.

I come now finally to those offences which they alone and by themselves committed. Who does not know that the Spartans, notwithstanding that they and we harbour in common a feeling of hatred towards the barbarians and their kings, and notwithstanding that the Athenians, although beset by many wars and involved at times in great disasters, their territory preferred force to persuasion or conciliation in the treatment of the Athenian allies. See Introduction to Peace.

That is, conduct of the Spartans which has no parallel in Athenian history. Compare, for the contrast here drawn between Sparta and Athens in their feeling for the barbarians, Paneg. 156-159, 120, 121.
πότεντες καὶ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν θαμὰ πορθουμένης καὶ τεμνομένης οὐδεπώποτ’ ἐβλέψαμεν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς Ἐλληνων ἐπεβούλευσαν μισοῦντες αὐτοὺς δι- 
ετελέσμενε μᾶλλον ἡ τοὺς ἐν τῷ παρόντι κακῶς ἡμᾶς 
ποιοῦντας. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δ’ οὔτε πάσχοντες κακοῦ 
[[254] οὐδὲν οὔτε μέλλοντες οὔτε δεδιότες εἰς τοὺτ’ 
ἀπληστίας ἦλθον, ὥστ’ οὔκ ἔζηρκεσεν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν 
τὴν κατὰ γῆν ἄρχην, ἀλλ’ καὶ τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν 
δύναμιν οὕτως ἐπεθύμησαν λαβεῖν, ὥστε κατὰ τοὺς 
αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοὺς τε συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους 
ἀφίστασαν, ἐλευθερώσειν αὐτοὺς ὑπισχύομενοι, 
καὶ βασιλεῖ περὶ φιλίας διελέγοντο καὶ συμμαχίας, 
παραδώσειν αὐτῷ φάσκοντες ἀπαντασ τοὺς ἐπὶ 
104 τῆς Ἀσίας κατοικοῦντας, πίστεις δὲ δόντες τούτων 
ἀμφότεροι καὶ καταπολεμήσαντες ἡμᾶς, οὐς μὲν 
ἐλευθερώσειν ὠμοσαί, κατεδουλώσαντο μᾶλλον ἡ 
τοὺς Εἰλωτας, βασιλεῖ δὲ τοιαύτην χάριν ἀπέδοσαν 
ὧστ’ ἔπεισαν τὸν ἄδελφον αὐτοῦ Κύρων ὄντα 
νεώτερον ἀμφισβητεῖν τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ στρατο- 
πεδὸν αὐτῷ συναγαγόντες καὶ στρατηγὸν Κλέ- 
105 ἀρχον ἐπιστῆσαντες ἀνέπεμψαν ἐπ’ ἐκείνων ἀτυχή- 
σαντες δ’ ἐν τούτοις καὶ γνωσθέντες ὡν ἐπεθύμουν, 
καὶ μυσθέντες ὑπὸ πάντων, εἰς πόλεμον καὶ 
παραχάς τοσαύτας κατέστησαν ὡσας εἰκὸς τοὺς 
καὶ περὶ τοὺς Ἐλληνας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἔξ- 
ημαρτηκότας.

Περὶ ὅν οὔκ οἶδ’ ὅ τι δὲι πλεῖω λέγοντα δια-

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>a In the Peloponnesian War.
>b The Treaty of Miletus, 412 B.C. See Thuc. viii. 18.
being often ravaged and cut off by the enemy,\(^a\) never once turned their eyes towards friendship and alliance with the barbarians, but continued steadfastly to cherish a stronger hatred against them because of what they plotted against the Hellenes than we feel towards those who now seek to injure Athens—who does not know, I say, that the Spartans, although untroubled by any evil or even by any prospect or fear of evil, advanced to such a pitch of greed that they were not satisfied to hold the supremacy by land, but were so greedy to obtain also the empire of the sea that at one and the same time they were inciting our allies to revolt, undertaking to liberate them from our power, and were negotiating with the Persian king a treaty of friendship and alliance,\(^b\) promising to give over to him all the Hellenes who dwelt on the Asiatic coast? And yet, after they had given these pledges both to our allies and to the King and had conquered us in war, they reduced those whom they had sworn to set free to a state of slavery worse than that of the Helots,\(^c\) and they returned the favour of the King in such wise that they persuaded Cyrus, his younger brother, to dispute the throne with him, and collected an army to support Cyrus, placing Clearchus at its head, and dispatched it against the King.\(^d\) But having failed in this treachery and betrayed their purposes to the world and made themselves hated by all mankind, they were plunged into such a state of warfare and confusion as men should expect after having played false with both the Hellenes and the barbarians.

I do not know what I need to take the time to say

\(^a\) See Paneg. 111 and note.
\(^b\) For this episode see Peace 98 and note.
τρίβειν, πλὴν ὅτι καταναμαχηθέντες ὑπὸ τε τῆς βασιλέως δυνάμεως καὶ τῆς Κόνωνος στρατηγίας
106 τοιαύτην ἐποίησαντο τῇ εἰρήνῃ, ἂς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιδείξειν οὐτ' αἰσχῶ πῶποτε γενομένην οὐτ' ἐπονειδιστοτέραν οὐτ' ὀλυγωροτέραν τῶν 'Ελλήνων οὐτ' ἐναντιωτέραν τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπὸ τινῶν περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς Δακεδαιμονίων· οἳ τινὲς, ὅτε μὲν αὐτούς ὁ βασιλεὺς δεσπότας τῶν 'Ελλήνων κατ-έστησεν, ἀφελέσθαι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπασαν ἐπεχείρησαν, ἐπείδη δὲ καταναμαχήσας ταπευοῦσι ἐποίησεν, οὐ μικρὸν μέρος αὐτῷ τῶν 'Ελλήνων παρέδωκαν ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς τὴν 'Ασίαν οἰκοῦντας, διαρρήκτην γράψαντες χρῆ-
107 σθαί τοῦθ' ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς βουλήται, καὶ οὐκ ἠσχύνθησαν τοιαύτας ποιούμενοι τὰς ὁμολογίας περὶ ἀνδρῶν, οἷς χρώμενοι συμμάχους ἤμών τε περιεγένοντο καὶ τῶν 'Ελλήνων κύριοι κατέστησαν καὶ τὴν 'Ασίαν ἀπασαν ἠλπίσαν κατασχῆσειν, ἀλλὰ [255] τὰς τοιαύτας συνθήκας αὐτοῖ τ' ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἦνάγκασαν.

108 Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους οὐκ οἶομαι πράξεων ἑτέρων ἐπιθυμήσειν ἀκούειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἰκανῶς μεμιμηθηκέναι νομίσατα τὶς τῶν πολέων ἐκατέρα περὶ τοὺς 'Ελληνας γέγονεν· ἐγὼ δ' οὖχ οὕτω τυχ-χάνω διακεῖμενος, ἀλλ' ἠγούμαι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἂν ἐποιησάμην ἄλλων τε πολλῶν προσδείσθαι λόγων, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπιδειξόντων τῆν ἄνοιαν τῶν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐπιχειρησόντων· οὐς

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a The battle of Cnidus, 394 B.C., in which the Spartan
further about them except that after they had been defeated in the naval battle by the forces of the King and by the leadership of Conon they made a peace of such a character that no one can point out in all history one more shameful, more reprehensible, more derogatory to the Hellenes, or more contradictory to what is said by certain eulogists of the virtue of the Lacedaemonians. For when the King had established them as masters over the Hellenes, they attempted to rob him of his kingdom and of all his good fortune, but when the King defeated them in battle on the sea and humbled them, they gave over to him, not a small contingent of the Hellenes, but all those who dwelt in Asia, explicitly writing into the treaty that he should do with these according to his pleasure; and they were not ashamed of entering into such covenants regarding men by whose help as allies they prevailed over us, became masters of the Hellenes, and expected to subdue the whole of Asia; on the contrary, they inscribed such covenants in their own temples and compelled their allies to do the same.

Now others will not care, I suppose, to hear about any further deeds, but will think that they have learned well enough from those which I have described what has been the character of each of these two states in their treatment of the Hellenes. I, however, do not share this feeling but consider that the subject which I undertook requires still many other arguments, and above all such as will show the folly of those who will attempt to refute what I have

fleet was defeated by the joint fleets of Conon, the Athenian admiral, and Pharnabazus, the Persian satrap.

b Peace of Antalcidas. See Paneg. 115 and note.

c See Paneg. 180.
ISOCRATES

109 οὖμαι ράδίως εὑρήσειν. τῶν γὰρ ἀποδεχομένων ἀπάσας τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων πράξεις, τοὺς μὲν βελτίστους αὐτῶν ἰγοῦμαι καὶ πλείστον νοῦν ἔχοντας τὴν μὲν Σπαρτιατῶν πολιτείαν ἐπανεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτήν γνώμην ἐξειν περὶ αὐτῆς ἦν περὶ πρότερον, περὶ δὲ τῶν εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας πεπραγμένων ὁμονοήσειν τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοὶ λεγομένοις, τοὺς δὲ φαυλοτέρους οὐ μόνον τούτων ὄντας ἄλλα καὶ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ περὶ μὲν ἄλλου πράγματος οὐδενὸς ἄν οἶνος τε γενομένους ἀνεκτῶς ἐπείν, περὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐ δυναμένους σιωπᾶν, ἄλλα προσδοκώντας, ἢν ὑπερβάλλοντας τοὺς ἐπαίνους περὶ ἐκείνων ποιώντας, τὴν αὐτὴν λήψειςθαί δόξαν τοῖς ἄροτροις αὐτῶν καὶ πολὺ βελτίσσων

110 εἶναι δοκοῦσιν τοὺς δὴ τοιούτους, ἔπειδὰν αἴσθωνται τοὺς τόπους ἀπαντᾶς προκατελημμένους καὶ μηδὲ πρὸς ἐν ἀντεπεῖν ἔχωσι τῶν εἰρημένων, ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον οἷς τρέψεθαὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν, καὶ παραβάλλοντας τάκει καθεστώτα τοῖς ἐνθάδε, καὶ μάλιστα τὴν σωφροσύνην καὶ πειθαρχίαν πρὸς τὰς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὀλιγωρίας, ἐκ τούτων ἐγκωμιάσεις τὴν Σπαρτὴν.

111 Ἡν δὲ τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῶσιν τι ποιεῖν, προσήκει τοὺς εὕροντάς λησθῶν νομίζειν αὐτοὺς. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπεθέμην οὐχ ὡς περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν διαλεξομενός, ἄλλ᾽ ὡς ἐπιδείξων τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν πολὺ πλείονος ἄξιαν Λακεδαιμονίων περὶ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας γεγενημένην. ἦν μὲν οὖν ἀναρωταί τι τούτων, ἣ πράξεις ἐτέρας κοινὰς λέγωσι περὶ ἄς ἐκεῖνοι βελτίως ἡμῶν γεγόνασιν, εἰκὸς ἂν ἔπαινου [256] τυγχάνοιεν ἦν δὲ λέγειν ἐπιχειρῶσι περὶ ὃν ἐγὼ μηδεμίαν μνείαν ποιησαίμην, δικαίως ἂν ἄπασιν 440
said, and these arguments I think I shall find ready at hand. For of those who applaud all the actions of the Lacedaemonians, the best and the most discerning will, I think, commend the polity of the Spartans and remain of the same opinion about it as before, but will concede the truth of what I have said about the things which they have done to the Hellenes. Those, however, who are inferior not only to these but to the great majority of men and who could not speak tolerably about any other subject, albeit they are not able to keep silent about the Lacedaemonians, but expect that if they extol them extravagantly they will gain a reputation equal to those who are reputed abler and much better than themselves—these men, when they perceive that all the topics have been covered and find themselves unable to gainsay a single point which I have made, will, I think, turn their attention to the question of polities, comparing the institutions of Sparta and of Athens, and especially their sobriety and discipline with our carelessness and slackness, and will eulogize the Spartans on these grounds.

If, however, they attempt anything of the sort, all intelligent men should condemn them as speaking beside the point. For I undertook my subject with the avowed purpose, not of discussing polities, but of proving that our city has been of much greater service to the Hellenes than has the city of the Lacedaemonians. If, then, they can overthrow any of these proofs or cite other achievements common to both these cities in which the Spartans have shown themselves superior to us, naturally they should be commended. But if they attempt to bring in matters of which I have made no mention, they will deserve
113 ἀνασθήτως ἔχειν δοκοῖ ἐν. ὦ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔπειδὴ περὶ αὐτοῦς οἴομαι τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν ἐστὶ τὸ μέσον ἐμβαλεῖν, οὐκ ὁκνήσω διαλεχθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν· οίμαι γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἦμῶν ἐπιδείξειν πλέον διενεγκούσαι ἢ τοῖς ἤδη προειρημένοις.

114 Καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ με ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι περὶ ταύτης, ἢν ἀναγκασθέντες μετελάβομεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων, ἢς οὐ καταφρονήσαντες οἱ πατέρες ἦμῶν ἐπὶ τὴν νῦν καθεστώσαν ὀρμησάν, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις πολὺ σπουδαιοτέραν ἐκείνην προκρίναντες, περὶ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν κατὰ θάλασσαν ταύτην χρησιμωτέραν εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἢν λαβόντες καὶ καλῶς ἐπιμεληθέντες οἷοί τ' ἐγένοντο καὶ τὰς ἐπιβουλὰς τὰς Σπαρτιατῶν ἀμύνασθαι καὶ τὴν Πελοπονησίων ἀπάντων ρώμην, ὅποι κατήπειγε τὴν πόλιν περὶ ἐκείνου τῶν χρόνων μάλιστα περιγενέσθαι πολεμοῦσαν.

115 ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἄν δικαίως ἐπιτιμήσει τοῖς ἐλο-μένοις αὐτήν· οὐ γὰρ διήμαρτον τῶν ἑλπίδων, οὐδ' ἡγνόσαι οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν ἁγαθῶν οὔτε τῶν κακῶν τῶν προσόντων ἕκατέρα τῶν δυνάμεων, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἤδεσαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ γῆν ἡγεμονίαν ὑπ' εὐταξίας καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ πειθαρχίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων μελετωμένη, τὴν δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων αὐξανομένην, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν τῶν περὶ τὰς ναῦς καὶ τῶν ὑπολογίσμοις.

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a The democracy of Solon and Cleisthenes, much praised in the *Areopagiticus*.

b Beginning with Aristides and Themistocles, especially the latter, who made Athens a sea-power.
the censure of all for their lack of perception. Nevertheless, since I anticipate that they will inject the question of polities into the debate, I shall not shrink from discussing it. For I think that I shall prove that in this very matter our city has excelled more than in those which I have already mentioned.

And let no one suppose that I have said these things with reference to our present polity, which we were forced by circumstances to adopt, but rather with reference to the polity of our ancestors,\(^a\) from which our fathers \(^b\) changed over to that which is now in force, not because they condemned the older polity — on the contrary, for the other activities of the state they preferred it as much superior—, but because they considered that for the exercise of supremacy by sea this polity was more expedient by adopting which and wisely administering it they were able to fend off both the plots of the Spartans and the armed forces of all the Peloponnesians, over whom it was of vital import to Athens, especially at that time, to have the upper hand in war. So that no one could justly condemn those who chose our present polity.\(^c\) For they were not disappointed in their expectations, nor were they at all blind to both the good and the bad features attached to either form of rule, but, on the contrary, saw clearly that while a land-power is fostered by order and sobriety and discipline and other like qualities,\(^d\) a sea-power is not augmented by these but by the crafts which have to

\(^a\) This making a virtue of necessity is inconsistent with Isocrates' uncompromising attitude toward the excesses of the later democracy in the Areopagiticus, the Peace, and even in this discourse. See 145 ff.

\(^b\) Cf. Peace 102.
ελαύνεις αὐτᾶς δυναμένων καὶ τῶν τὰ σφέτερα μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπολωλεκτῶν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄλλοτρίων πορί-ζεσθαι τὸν βίον εἰθισμένων· ὅν εἰσπεσόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἄδηλος ἦν ὁ τε κόσμος ὁ τῆς πολιτείας τῆς πρότερον ὑπαρχοῦσης λυθησόμενος, ἢ τε τῶν συμμάχων εὐνοια ταχέως ληψομένη μεταβολήν, ὅταν οἶς πρότερον χώρας ἐδίδοσαν καὶ πόλεις, τούτους ἀναγκάζωσι συντάξεις καὶ φόρους ὑποτελεῖν, ἢν ἔχωσι μισθὸν διδόναι τοῖς τοιούτους 117 οἶνος ὀλίγῳ πρότερον εἰπὼν. ἀλλ' ὁμοί οὔδεν ἀγνοοῦντες τῶν προερημένων ἐνόμιζον τῇ πόλει τῇ τηλικαύτῃ μὲν τὸ μέγεθος, τουαῦτὴν δὲ ἔχονσῃ δόξαι, λυσιτελεῖν καὶ πρέπειν ἀπάσας ὑπομεῖναι [237] τὰς δυσχερείας μᾶλλον ἡ τὴν Λακεδαίμονιν ἀρχήν· δυνὼν γὰρ πραγμάτων προτεινομένων μὴ σπουδαίοις, κρείττω τὴν αἷρειν εἶναι τοῦ δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἐπέτροις ἡ πάσχειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τοῦ μὴ δικαίως τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀρχεῖν μᾶλλον ἡ φεύγοντας τὴν αἰτίαν ταῦτην ἀδίκως Λακεδαίμονίοις σού-λεύειν. ἀπερ ἀπαντεῖς μὲν ἂν οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἔλοιπο καὶ βουληθεῖεν, ὀλίγοι δ' ἄν τινες τῶν προσποιομένων εἶναι σοφῶν ἐρωτηθέντες οὐκ ἂν φήσαιεν. αἱ μὲν οὖν αἰτίαι δὲ ἂς μετέλαβον τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ψευγομένην ἀντὶ τῆς ὑπὸ

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a The homeless refugees who enlisted in the naval service of Athens for pay and the chance to pillage. See especially Peace 44 ff. and Epist. ix. 9.


c This cynicism accords ill with his plea for justice as a rule of conduct for states in Peace 28 ff., where he approaches the Platonic ideal that it is better to suffer than to do wrong (Plato, Gorgias 469 c ff.). Here Isocrates inclines, for once, to the “practical” view of Demosthenes: that if all other 444
do with the building of ships and by men who are able to row them—men who have lost their own possessions and are accustomed to derive their livelihood from the possessions of others. Our fathers did not fail to foresee that with the introduction of these elements into the state the order and discipline of the former polity would be relaxed and that the good will of our allies would soon undergo a change when the Athenians should compel the Hellenes, to whom they had previously given lands and cities, to pay contributions and tribute to Athens in order that she might have the means to pay the kind of men whom I mentioned a moment ago. Nevertheless, although they were not blind to any of the things which I have mentioned, they considered that it was both advantageous and becoming to a state so great in size and reputation to bear with all difficulties rather than with the rule of the Lacedaemonians. For having the choice between two policies, neither of them ideal, they considered it better to choose to do injury to others rather than to suffer injury themselves and to rule without justice over others rather than, by seeking to escape that reproach, to be subject unjustly to the Lacedaemonians—a course which all sensible men would prefer and desire for themselves, albeit a certain few of those who claim to be wise men, were the question put to them, would not accept this view. These, then, are the reasons—I have perhaps gone into them at undue length—but, in any case, these are the reasons why states made justice the basis of their foreign policy it would be shameful for Athens not to observe it; but in a world where all other states are seeking the power to do injustice, for Athens alone to be governed by that ideal to her disadvantage would be "not justice but cowardice." See Demosth. For the Rhodians 28, 29.
πάντων ἑπανομένης, διὰ μακροτέρων μὲν αὐτὰς διήλθον, αὐταὶ δ’ οὖν ἦσαν.

119 "Ἡδὴ δὲ περὶ ἵσ τε ὑπεθέμην καὶ τῶν προγόνων ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, ἐκεῖνων τῶν χρόνων ἐπι-
λαβόμενοι ὁτ’ οὐκ ἦν οὔτ’ ὁλιγαρχίας οὔτε δημοκρα-
tίας ὑνομά πω λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ μοναρχία καὶ τὰ
gένη τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλλη-
νίδας ἀπάσας διώκονυ. διὰ τούτο δὲ προειλόμην
πορρωτέρωθεν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν, πρῶτον
μὲν ἠγούμενοι προσήκειοι τοῖς ἀμφισβητούσιν
ἀρετῆς εὔθει ἀπὸ γενεᾶς διαφέροντας εἶναι τῶν
ἄλλων, ἐπειδ’ αἰσχυνόμενοι εἰ περὶ ἄνδρῶν ἁγαθῶν
μὲν οὐδὲν δὲ μοι προσκόπτων πλείω διαλεξεῖς
tῶν μετρίων περὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν τὴν πόλιν
cάλλιστα διοικησάντων μηδὲ μικρὰν ποιήσομαι

121 μνείαν, οἱ τοσοῦτον βελτίως ἐγένοντο τῶν τοιαύτας
dυναστείας ἐχόντων, ὅσον περ ἄνδρες οἱ φρονι-
μῶτατοι καὶ πρατότατοι διενέγκοιεν ἀν θηρίων τῶν
ἀγριωτάτων καὶ πλείστης ὑμότητος μεστῶν.

Τό γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εὐροίμεν τῶν ὑπερβαλλόντων
ἀνοσίότητι καὶ δεινότητι πεπραγμένον ἐν ταῖς
ἄλλαις πόλεσι, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις καὶ
tοτε νομιζομέναις καὶ νῦν εἶναι δοκούσαις; οὐ
φόνους ἄδελφον καὶ πατέρων καὶ ξένων παμ-

122 πληθεῖς γεγενημένους; οὐ σφαγὰς μητέρων καὶ
μύξεις καὶ παιδοποιίας ἐξ ὧν ἐτύγχανον αὐτοῖς
πεθυμένοι; οὐ παίδων βρῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκειο-

\(^{a}\) See Paneg. 25. \(^{b}\) See 72 ff.

\(^{c}\) Compare Montaigne, Essays, chap. xlii.: “Plutarch
says somewhere that he does not find so great a difference
between beast and beast as he does between man and man;
which he says in reference to the internal qualities and per-
fecions of the soul. And, in truth, I find so vast a difference
446
they adopted the polity which is criticized by some in place of the polity which is commended by all.

I shall now proceed to speak about the polity which I took for my subject and about our ancestors, going back to the early times when neither the word oligarchy nor the word democracy was as yet in our speech, but when monarchies governed both the barbaric races and all the Hellenic states. I have chosen to begin with a period rather remote for these reasons: first, because I consider that those who lay claim to superior excellence ought from the very beginning of their race to be distinguished above all others, and, second, because I should be ashamed if, having spoken at undue length of men who, though noble, are nowise akin to me, I should not even briefly mention those of our ancestors who most excellently governed our city, since they were as much superior to those who rule with absolute power as the wisest and gentlest of mankind may be said to excel the wildest and the most savage of the beasts.

For what among crimes that are unparalleled in their wickedness and cruelty shall we not find to have been perpetrated in the other states and especially in those which at the time of which I am speaking were considered the greatest and even now are so reputed? Has there not abounded in them murder of brothers and fathers and guest-friends; matricide and incest and begetting of children by sons with their own mothers; feasting of a father on the flesh between Epaminondas, according to my judgement of him, and some that I know, who are yet men of good sense, that I would willingly enhance upon Plutarch, and say that there is more difference between such and such a man than there is between such a man and such a beast.”
[258] νησαν, καὶ καταποντισμοὺς καὶ τυφλώσεις καὶ τοσαύτας τὸ πλῆθος κακοποιίας, ὡστε μηδενὰ πώποτε ἀπορήσαι τῶν εἰθισμένων καθ’ ἐκαστὸν τὸν ἐναυτὸν εἰσφέρειν εἰς τὸ θέατρον τὰς τότε γεγενημένας συμφορὰς;

123 Ταῦτα δὲ διηλθοῦν ὦκ ἐκείνους λοιδορῆσαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλ’ ἐπιδεῖξαι παρὰ τοῖς ἢμετέροις οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον γεγενημένον· τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ ἄν σημείων ἤν ὦκ ἁρετής ἄλλ’ ὡς οὐχ ὄμοιο τὰς φύσεις ἦσαν τοῖς ἀνοσιώτατοι γεγενημένοις· δεὶ δὲ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας καθ’ ὑπερβολὴν τινας ἐπαινεῖμι μὴ τούτῳ μόνον ἐπιδεικνύναι, μὴ πονηροὺς οὐναίς αὐτούς, ἄλλ’ ὡς ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἁρεταῖς καὶ τῶν τότε καὶ τῶν νῦν διήνεγκαν. ἄπερ ἔχοι τις ἄν καὶ περὶ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἢμετέρων

124 εἰπεῖν. οὐτω γὰρ ὅσιώς καὶ καλῶς καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ περὶ σφαῖς αὐτοῖς διώκεσαι, ὡσπερ προσήκον ἤν τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν μὲν γεγονότας, πρῶτους δὲ καὶ πόλιν οἰκήσαντας καὶ νόμους χρησαμένους, ἀπαντά δὲ τὸν χρόνον ἡσκηκότας εὐσέβειαν μὲν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δικαιοσύνην δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, οὖντας δὲ μήτε μιγάδας μήτ’ ἐπήλυδας, ἀλλὰ μόνους αὐτόχθονας τῶν Ἐλλή-

Most of these horrors are taken from the Argive legend of the house of Pelops and the Theban story of the house of Labdaeus: from the former, Thyestes feasting unwittingly upon the flesh of his own sons, served up to him by his brother, Atreus; from the latter, Oedipus exposed as a child by his parents to perish in the mountains, the slaying of Laius, his father, by Oedipus, the marriage of Oedipus to his own mother, Jocasta, the death at each other’s hands of the sons, Eteocles and Polyneices, who were born of that incestuous union, and the blinding of Oedipus.

418
of his own sons, plotted by those nearest of kin; exposure of infants by parents, and drownings and blindings and other iniquities so many in number that no lack of material has ever been felt by those who are wont each year to present in the theatre the miseries which transpired in those days?

I have recounted these atrocities with the desire, not of maligning these states, but of showing not only that nothing of the sort happened among the Athenians—for this would be a proof, not of their superior excellence, but merely that they were not of the same character as those who have proved themselves the most godless of men. However, those who undertake to praise any people in superlative terms must show, not only that they were not depraved, but that they excelled in all the virtues both those who lived at that time and those who are now living—which is the very claim that one may make for our ancestors. For they administered both the affairs of the state and their own affairs as righteously and honourably as was to be expected of men who were descended from the gods, who were the first to found a city and to make use of laws, who at all times had practised reverence in relation to the gods and justice in relation to mankind, who were neither of mixed origin nor invaders of a foreign territory but were, on the contrary, alone among the Hellenes, sprung from the soil itself.

These stories furnished largely the themes of the tragic poets.

According to one story it was from the seeds sown by Hephaestus on the soil of Attica that the Athenians were sprung. See Aeschylus, *Eumenides* 13.

See Paneg. 39, 40, and notes.

See Paneg. 24 and note.
125 νων, καὶ ταύτην ἐχοντας τὴν χώραν τροφὸν ἐξ ἂς περ ἐφυσαν, καὶ στέργοντας αὐτὴν ὁμοίως ὀσπερ ὁι βέλτιστοι τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τὰς μητέρας τὰς αὐτῶν, πρὸς δὲ τούτους οὕτως θεοφιλείς ὄντας, ὥσθ' ὁ δοκεῖ χαλεπώτατον εἶναι καὶ σπανιώτατον, εὑρεῖν τινὰς τῶν οἴκων τῶν τυραννικῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν ἐπὶ τέταρτας ἥ πέντε γενεὰς διαμείναντας, καὶ τούτῳ συμβηκῆναι μόνοις ἐκεῖνοις. Ἐρυχθόνοις μὲν γὰρ ὁ φῦς ἢ 'Ἡφαίστου καὶ Χῆς παρὰ Κέκροπος ἀπαίδος ὄντος ἀρέσων παῖδων τὸν οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν· ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἀρξάμενοι πάντες οἱ γενόμενοι μετ' ἐκεῖνων, ὄντες οὖκ ολίγοι, τὰς κτήσεις τὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς δυναστείας τοῖς αὐτῶν πασὶ παρέδοσαν μέχρι Θησέως.

Περὶ οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ ἀν ἐποιησάμην μὴ διειλέξθαι πρώτον περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν πε- πραγμένων αὐτῶν· πολὺ γὰρ ἂν μᾶλλον ἦρμοσεν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς πόλεως διελθεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. 127 ἄλλα γὰρ χαλεπὸν ἦν, μᾶλλον δ' ἄδυναν, τὰ κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἐπελθόντα τὸν χρόνον εἰς τοῦτον [259] ἀποθέσθαι τὸν καίρον, ὅν οὐ προῆδεν ἐσόμενον. ἔκεινα μὲν οὖν ἐάσομεν, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῖς κατεχρησάμην, μιᾶς δὲ μόνον μνησθῆσομαι πράξεως, ἢ συμβέβηκε μὴτ' εἰρήσθαι πρώτον μὴτε πεπράχθαι μητ' ὧφ' ἐνὸς ἄλλου πλῆθ ὑπὸ Θησέως, σημείων δ' εἶναι μέγιστον τῆς ἀρετῆς 128 τῆς ἐκεῖνον καὶ φρονήσεως. ἐχὼν γὰρ βασιλείαν ἀσφαλεστάτην καὶ μεγίστην, ἐν ἥ πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ διαπραγμένος ἦν καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον καὶ περὶ
possessing in this land the nurse of their very existence and cherishing it as fondly as the best of children cherish their fathers and mothers, and who, furthermore, were so beloved of the gods that—what is of all things in the world the most difficult and rare, namely, to find examples of royal houses or houses of absolute rulers remaining in power through four or five generations—this too transpired among our ancestors alone. For Erichthonius, the son of Hephaestus and Earth, took over from Cecrops, who was without male descent, his house and kingdom; and beginning with this time all those who came after him—not a few in number—handed down their possessions and their powers to their sons until the reign of Theseus.

I would give much not to have spoken about the virtue and the achievements of Theseus on a former occasion, for it would have been more appropriate to discuss this topic in my discourse about our city. But it was difficult, or rather impossible, to postpone the things which at that time occurred to me to say to the present occasion, which I could not foresee would come to me. Therefore I shall pass over this topic, since I have already exhausted it for my present purpose, and shall mention only a single course of action which, as it happens, has neither been discussed by anyone before nor been achieved by any other man but Theseus, and which is a signal proof of his virtue and wisdom. For although he ruled over the securest and greatest of kingdoms and in the exercise of this power had accomplished many excellent things both in war and in the ad-

a See Helen 18 ff.
b Repeated from Helen 18.
διόικησιν τῆς πόλεως, ἀπαντα ταῦτ' ὑπερεῖδεν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἰλετο τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων καὶ τῶν ἀγώνων εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν χρόνον μνημονευθησομένην ἢ τὴν βαθμίαν καὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν τῷ παρόντι γιγνομένην.

129 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπραξὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ πρεσβύτερος γενόμενος ἀπολελαυκὼς ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρόντων, ἀλλ' ἀκμάζων, ὡς λέγεται, τὴν μὲν πόλιν διοικεῖν τῷ πλήθει παρέδωκεν, αὐτὸς δ' ὑπὲρ ταύτης τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων διετέλει κινδυνεύων.

130 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς Θησέως ἀρετῆς νῦν μὲν ὡς οἴοντ' ἢν ἀνεμνήσαμεν, πρότερον δ' ἀπάσας αὐτοῦ τὰς πράξεις οὖν ἀμελῶς διήλθομεν· περὶ δὲ τῶν παραλαβόντων τὴν τῆς πόλεως διοίκησιν, ἢν ἐκείνος παρέδωκεν, οὐκ ἔχω τίνας ἐπαίνους ἐπὶ τῶν ἄξιοις ἢν ἐην εἰρήκως τῆς ἐκείνων διανοιάς. οίτως ἀπειροὶ πολιτείων ὄντες, οὐ διήμαρτον αἱροῦμεν τῆς ὑπὸ πάντων ἄν ὁμολογηθείσης οὐ μόνον εἶναι κοινοτάτης καὶ δικαιοτάτης, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφορωτάτης ἀπασὶ καὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἡδίστης.

131 κατεστήσαντο γὰρ δημοκρατίαν ὥς τὴν εἰκῆ πολιτευμένην, καὶ νομίζομεν τὴν μὲν ἀκολασίαν ἐλευθερίαν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἐξουσίαν ὃ τι βουλεῖται τις ποιεῖν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῖς τοιούτοις μὲν ἐπιτιμῶσαν, ἀριστοκρατία δὲ χρωμένην· ἢν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ χρησιμωτάτην ὄδοιν ὃσπερ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν

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a For Theseus as the author of the spirit of the Athenian polity see Helen 35-37.
ministration of the state, he disdained all this and chose the glory which, in consequence of his labours and his struggles, would be remembered for all time in preference to the ease and felicity which, because of his royal power, were at his command for the term of his life. And he did this, not after he had grown old and had taken his pleasure in the good things at hand, but in the prime of his manhood, it is said, he gave over the state to the people to govern, while he himself risked his life without ceasing for the benefit of Athens and of the rest of the Hellenes.

I have now touched upon the nobility of Theseus so far as I could on the present occasion, having formerly with some pains detailed his whole career. But as to those who took over the administration of the state, which he gave over to them, I am at a loss to know by what terms of praise I can adequately extol the genius of those men who, having no experience of governments, did not err in their choice of that polity which all the world would acknowledge to be not only the most impartial and the most just, but also the most profitable to all and the most agreeable to those who lived under it. For they established government by the people, not the kind which operates at haphazard, mistaking licence for liberty and freedom to do what one likes for happiness, but the kind which frowns upon such excesses and makes use of the rule of the best. Now the majority count the rule of the best, which is the most advantageous of governments (just as they do government based upon a property qualification), among the

\[b\] See *Areop.* 20 and note.

\[c\] Aristocracy.

\[d\] Timocracy.
Isocrates distinguishes these three types: monarchy, which may be either a constitutional or an absolute rule; government by the few, which may be either an aristocracy or an oligarchy; and democracy. Aristotle, Politics iii. 6 ff., recognizes three types: monarchy, aristocracy, and a republic, and, corresponding to them (aberrations from them), three debased forms, tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy. Isocrates' point is that any one of these
distinct kinds of polity, being mistaken, not because of ignorance, but because they have never taken any interest in the things which should claim their attention. But I, for my part, hold that there are three types of polity and three only: oligarchy, democracy, and monarchy, a and that of the people who live under these all who are wont to place in charge of their offices and of their affairs in general those of their fellow-citizens who are most competent and who will most ably and justly direct the affairs of state—all these, I hold, will govern well, under any type of polity, both in their domestic relations and in their relations to the rest of the world. On the other hand, when men employ in these positions of leadership those of their citizens who are the most brazen and the most depraved and who take no thought for the things which are advantageous to the commonwealth but are ready to go to any extreme to further their personal advantage, the character of their government will correspond to the depravity of the men at the head of their affairs. Again, all who are not of the latter class nor of that which I mentioned previously, but who, when they feel secure, honour before others those who speak for the gratification of the public and, when they are afraid, seek refuge in the best and wisest of their citizens—such men will fare now worse now better as the case may be.

This, then, is the truth regarding the natures and powers of the several polities—a theme which will, I think, furnish to others material for much more extended discussion, although I must not speak forms may be an aristocracy; it is the spirit of the constitution which matters (135); that government is best (i.e. an aristocracy) where the best men rule.
δ' οὐκέτι περὶ ἀπασῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι διαλεκτέον, ἀλλὰ περὶ μόνης τῆς τῶν προγόνων ταύτην γὰρ ὑπεσχόμεν ἐπιδείξειν σπουδαιοτέραν καὶ πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αὐτίαν οὗσαν τῆς ἐν Σπάρτῃ καθεστηκώιας. 135 ἔσται δ' ὁ λόγος τοῖς μὲν ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούσας πολιτείαν χρηστὴν ἐμοῦ διεξιόντος οὔτ' ὀχληρὸς οὔτ' ἀκαίρος, ἀλλὰ σύμμετρος καὶ προσήκων τοῖς πρότερον εἰρημένοις, τοῖς δὲ μὴ χαίρουσι τοῖς μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι μάλιστα μὲν λοιδορουμένοις, ἣν δ' ἀπόσχωνται τῆς μανίας ταύτης, ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ἢ τὰ φαινότατα τῶν ὄντων ἢ τοὺς παρανομώτατους τῶν γεγενημένων, τούτοις δ' αὕτων οἵομαι δόξειν 136 πολὺ μακρότερον εἶναι τοῦ δέοντος. ἔμοι δὲ τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἀκροατῶν οὐδὲν πώποτ' ἐμέλησεν, οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς εὕ φρονοὺσιν, ἐκείνων δὲ τῶν α' τε προείπον πρὸ ἀπαντὸς τοῦ λόγου μνημονευσόν-[261] των, τῷ τε πλὴθει τῶν λεγομένων οὐκ ἐπιτιμησόντων, οὗτ' ἢν μυρὼν ἐπόν ἤ τὸ μήκος, ἀλλ' ἐφ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι νομιοῦντων τοσοῦτον ἀναγνώναι μέρος καὶ διελθεῖν ὁπόσον ἂν αὐτοὶ βουληθῶσιν, πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τῶν οὐδενὸς ἢ τῆδεν ἀκούοντων ἢ λόγου διεξιόντος ἀνδρῶν ἀρετᾶς καὶ πόλεως τρόπον 137 καλῶς οἰκουμένης, ἀπερ εἰ μιμήσασθαί τινες βουληθεὶν καὶ δυνηθεὶν, αὐτοὶ τ' ἂν ἐν μεγάλῃ δόξῃ τον βίον διαγάγοιεν καὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς αὐτῶν ευδαιμόνας ποιήσειαν.

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a It appears to have been a common practice for speakers to show off their oratorical powers by extolling such themes. See Paneg. close and note; Helen 12. 456
further on the general subject but must confine myself to the polity of our ancestors. For I undertook to prove that this has been of greater worth and the source of greater benefits than the polity which obtains in Sparta. And what I say on this head will prove, for those who would gladly hear me discuss an excellent polity, neither burdensome nor untimely but of due measure and in keeping with what I have said before; those, however, who take pleasure, not in the things which have been spoken in deep seriousness, but rather in the orators who rail at each other most of all at the public assemblies, or, if the speakers refrain from this madness, in those who deliver encomiums on the most trivial things or on the most lawless men who have ever lived—to these, I think, what I say will seem much longer than it should be. I, however, have never concerned myself in the least with such auditors, any more than do other sensible men, but rather with those who will keep in mind what I said in preface to my whole discourse and at the same time will not frown upon the length of my speech, even though it extend through thousands upon thousands of words, but will realize that it lies in their power to read and peruse only such portion of it as they themselves desire; and most of all am I concerned with those who, in preference to any other, will gladly listen to a discourse which celebrates the virtues of men and the ways of a well-governed state. For if any should have the wish and the power to pattern their lives upon such examples, they might themselves pass their days in the enjoyment of high repute and render their own countries happy and prosperous.
ISOCRATES

Οἶνος μὲν οὖν εὐξαίμην ἂν εἰναι τοὺς ἀκουσμένους τῶν ἐμῶν, ἑιρηκα, δέδοικα δὲ μὴ τοιούτων γενομένων πολυ καταδεέστερον εἴπω τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ὅν μέλλω ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους. ὃμως δ' οὕτως ὅπως ἂν οἶός τ' ὁ πειράσομαι διαλεξθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν. τοὺ μὲν οὖν διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων οίκείσθαι την πόλιν ἤμων κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον δικαίως ἂν ἐπενέγκομεν τὴν αἰτίαν τοὺς βασιλεύσασιν αὐτῆς, περὶ ὅν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον διελέξθην. ἐκείνοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ παιδεύσαντες τὸ πλῆθος ἐν ἀρετῇ καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πολλῇ σωφροσύνῃ, καὶ διδάξαντες ἔξ ὑπὶ διώκουν, ἀπέρ ἐγὼ φανείην ἂν ὑστερον εἰρηκὼς ἢ 'κεῖνοι πράξαντες, ὅτι πάσα πολιτεία ψυχῇ πόλεως ἐστὶ, τοσαύτην ἔχουσα δύναμιν ὅσην περ ἐν σώματι φρόνησις· αὐτῇ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ βουλευομένη περὶ ἀπάντων, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ διαφυλάττουσα, τὰς δὲ συμφορὰς διαφεύγουσα, καὶ πάντων αἰτία τῶν ταῖς πόλεσι συμβαίνοντων. 138 Ἄ μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐπελάθετο διὰ τὴν μεταβολήν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τούτω προσείχεν ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως λήψεται τοὺς ἡγεμόνας δημοκρατίας μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦντας, τὸ δ' ἦθος τοιούτων ἔχοντας οἷον περὶ οἱ πρότερον ἐπιστατοῦντες αὐτῶν, καὶ μὴ λήσουσι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς κυρίους ἀπάντων τῶν κοινῶν καταστήσαντες οἷς οὔδεὶς ἂν οὔδεν τῶν ἱδίων ἐπιτρέψειεν, μηδὲ περιόφορται πρὸς τὰ τῆς πόλεως προσώπα τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ὄντας πονηροὺς, μὴ δ' ἀνέξονται τὴν φωνὴν τῶν τὰ μὲν σώματα τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπονειδίστως διατιθεμένων, συμβου- 458
Now I have expressed myself as to the kind of auditors I would pray that I might have for what I shall say, but I am afraid that were I given such an audience I might fall far below the subject upon which I am to speak. Nevertheless, in such manner as I can I shall attempt to discourse upon it. The fact, then, that our city was governed in those times better than the rest of the world I would justly credit to her kings, of whom I spoke a moment ago. For it was they who trained the multitude in the ways of virtue and justice and great sobriety and who taught through the manner of their rule the very truth which I shall be seen to have expressed in words after they had expressed it in their deeds, namely, that every polity is the soul of the state, having as much power over it as the mind over the body. For it is this which deliberates on all questions, seeking to preserve what is good and to avoid what is disastrous, and is the cause of all the things which transpire in states.

Having learned this truth, the people did not forget it on account of the change in the constitution, but rather gave their minds to this one endeavour before all others: to obtain as their leaders men who were in sympathy with democracy, but were possessed of the same character as those who were formerly at the head of the state; and not unwittingly to place in charge of the whole commonwealth men to whom no one would entrust a single detail of his private interests; and not to permit men to approach positions of public trust who are notoriously depraved; and not even to suffer men to be heard who lend their own persons to base practices but deem them-

\[\text{a Repeated from Areop. 14.}\]
\[\text{b Cf. Peace 13, 133.}\]
\[\text{c Cf. Peace 3 and note.}\]
ISOCRATES

λεύειν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁξιοῦντων ὃν τρόπον τήν [262] πόλιν διοικοῦντες σωφρονοίεν ἃν καὶ βέλτιον πράττοιεν, μηδὲ τῶν ἀ μέν παρὰ τῶν πατέρων παρέλαβον εἰς αἰσχρὰς ἡδονὰς ἄνηλωκότων, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν ταῖς ἱδίαις ἀπορίαις βοηθεῖν ἀνθρώποιν, μηδὲ τῶν πρὸς χάριν μὲν ἀεὶ λέγειν γλυχομένων, εἰς πολλὰς δ' ἀνδίας καὶ λύπας τοὺς πειθομένους ἐμβαλλόντων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε τοιούτους ἀπαντασ ἀπείργεὶν ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν ἐκαστος οἰήσεται δεῖν, καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐκεῖνους, τοὺς τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀλλών κτήματα τῆς πόλεως εἶναι φάσκοντας, τὰ δὲ ταύτης ἱδία κλέπτειν καὶ διαρπάζειν τολμῶντας, καὶ φιλεῖν μὲν τῶν δήμου προσποιουμένους, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀλλών ἀπάντων αὐτὸν μυσείσθαι ποιοῦντας, καὶ λόγῳ μὲν δεδιότας ύπὲρ τῶν 'Ελλήνων, ἔργῳ δὲ λυμαινομένους καὶ συκοφαντοῦντας καὶ διατιθέντας αὐτοὺς οὕτω πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὡστε τῶν πόλεων τὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καθισταμένας ἡδίον ἃν καὶ θάττον ἔνιας εἰσδέξασθαι τοὺς πολυρκοῦντας ἦ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν βοήθειαν. ἀπείποι δ' ἀν τις γράφων, εἰ πάσας τὰς κακοθείας καὶ πονηρίας ἐξαιρεθείην ἐπιχειρήσειν.

143 Ἄσ ἑκεῖνοι μισήσαντες καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας αὐτᾶς, ἐποιοῦντο συμβούλους καὶ προστάτας οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ φρονιμωτάτους καὶ κάλλιστα βεβιωκότας, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους στρατηγοὺς ἱροῦντο καὶ πρέσβεις, εἰ που δεήσειν, ἐπεμπον, καὶ πάσας τὰς ἡγεμονίας τὰς τῆς πόλεως αὐτοῖς παρεδίδοσαν, νομίζοντες τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος βουλομένους καὶ δυναμένους τὰ βέλτιστα συμ

*a* See Peace 124 and note.

*b* Cf. Antid. 318.

*c* Cf. Peace 54.

460
selves worthy to advise others how they should govern the state in order to advance in sobriety and well-being, or who have squandered what they inherited from their fathers on shameful pleasures but seek to repair their own fortunes from the public treasury; or who strive always to speak for the gratification of their audience but plunge those who are persuaded by them into many distresses and hardships; on the contrary, they saw to it that each and everyone should look upon it as his duty to debar all such men from giving counsel to the public, and not only such men, but those also who assert that the possessions of the rest of the world belong to the state but do not scruple to plunder and rob the state of its legitimate property, who pretend to love the people but cause them to be hated by all the rest of mankind, and who in words express anxiety for the welfare of the Hellenes but in fact outrage and blackmail and make them so bitter against us that some of our states when pressed by war would sooner and more gladly open their gates to the besiegers than to a relief force from Athens. But one would grow weary of writing were he to attempt to go through the whole catalogue of iniquities and deprivities.

Abhorring these iniquities and the men who practise them, our forefathers set up as counsellors and leaders of the state, not any and everyone, but those who were the wisest and the best and who had lived the noblest lives among them, and they chose these same men as their generals in the field and sent them forth as ambassadors, wherever any need arose, and they gave over to them the entire guidance of the state, believing that those who desired and were able to give the best counsel from the platform
Ισοράκτης

Φουλεύειν, τούτους καὶ καθ’ αὐτοὺς γενομένους ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς τόποις καὶ περὶ ἀπάσας τὰς πράξεις τὴν
144 αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔξειν· ἀπερ αὐτοῖς συνέβαινεν. διὰ
gὰρ τὸ ταῦτα γιγνώςκειν ἐν ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἑώρων
tοὺς τε νόμους ἀναγεγραμμένους, οὐχ ὠμοίους τοῖς
νῦν κειμένοις, οὐδὲ τοσαύτης ταραχῆς καὶ τοσοῦτων
ἐναντιώσεων μεστοὺς ὡστε μηδὲν ἂν δυνήθηναι
συνιδεῖν μήτε τοὺς χρησίμους μήτε τοὺς ἀχρῆσις
αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ὅλγους, ἱκανοὺς δὲ τοῖς
χρῆσιαν μέλλουσι καὶ ῥαδίους συνιδεῖν, ἐπειτὰ
dικαίους καὶ συμφέροντας καὶ σφίςν αὐτοῖς ὶμο-
λογομενούς, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐσπουδασμένοις τοὺς

145 Περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους καθίστασαν ἐπὶ
tῶς ἀρχαὶ τοὺς προκριθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν φυλετῶν
καὶ δημοτῶν, οὐ περιμαχῶς αὐτὰς ποιήσατε
οὐδ’ ἐπιθυμίας ἄξιας, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον λει-
tουργίαις ὑμῶς ταῖς ἐνοχλούσαις μὲν οἷς ἂν
προσταχθοῦσι, τιμὴν δὲ τῶν περιτιθείσαις αὐτοῖς·
εἴδε γὰρ τοὺς ἀρχαὶς αἰρεθέντας τῶν τε κτημάτων
τῶν ἴδιων ἀμελεῖν, καὶ τῶν λημμάτων τῶν εἰθι-
σμένων δίδοσθαι ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἀπέχεσθαι μηδὲν
ἡττον ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν (ἀ τις ἂν ὡ τοῖς νῦν καθ-
146 εὐστῶσιν ὑπομείνειν), καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀκριβεῖς περὶ

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a See Areop. 39.
b Aristotle (Constitution of Athens 8) states that Solon enacted that the election to the offices should be by lot from candidates selected by each of the tribes. For example, each tribe selected ten candidates for the nine archonships, and among these the lot was cast. Cf. Areop. 22.
would, when by themselves, no matter in what regions of the world or on what enterprise engaged, be of the same way of thinking. And in this they were justified by events. For because they followed this principle they saw their code of laws completely written down in a few days—laws, not like those which are established to-day, nor full of so much confusion and of so many contradictions that no one can distinguish between the useful and the useless, but, in the first place, few in number, though adequate for those who were to use them and easy to comprehend; and, in the next place, just and profitable and consonant with each other; those laws, moreover, which had to do with their common ways of life having been thought out with greater pains than those which had to do with private contracts, as indeed they should be in well regulated states.

At the same time they appointed to the magistracies those who had been selected beforehand by the members of their respective tribes and townships, having made of the offices, not prizes to fight for or to tempt ambition, but responsibilities much more comparable to the liturgies, which are burdensome to those to whom they are assigned, although conferring upon them a kind of distinction. For the men who had been elected to office were required to neglect their own possessions and at the same time to abstain no less from the gratuities which are wont to be given to the offices than from the treasures of the gods. (Who under the present dispensation would submit to such restrictions?) Furthermore, those who proved conscientious in the performance of these

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"The numerous "demes" into which Attica was divided."

"See Areop. 24-25 and notes.

"See Introduction to the Antidosis."
taύτας γιγνομένους μετρίως ἐπαινεθέντας ἐφ' ἐτέραν ἐπιμέλειαν τάττεσθαι τουαύτην, τοὺς δὲ καὶ μικρὸν παραβάντας ταῖς ἐσχάταις αἰσχύναις καὶ μεγίσταις ἡμίας περιπάτεων, ὥστε μηδένα τῶν πολιτῶν ὡσπερ νῦν διακεῖσθαι πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τότε ταύτας φεύγειν ἢ νῦν διώκειν,

147 καὶ πάντας νομίζειν μηδέποτ' ἂν γενέσθαι δημοκρατίαν ἀληθεστέραν μηδὲ βεβαιωτέραν μηδὲ μᾶλλον τῷ πλῆθει συμφέρονσαν τῆς τῶν μὲν τοιοῦτων πραγματειῶν ἀτέλειαν τῷ δῆμῳ διδούσης, τοῦ δὲ τὰς ἀρχάς καταστήσαι καὶ λαβεῖν δίκην παρὰ τῶν ἐξαμαρτότων κύριοις ποιούσης, ἀπερ ὑπάρχει καὶ τῶν τυράννων τοῖς εὐδαμονεστάτοις.

148 Σημείον δὲ μέγιστον ὅτι ταῦτ' ἡγάπων μᾶλλον ἦ γ' γω λέγω: φαίνεται γὰρ δὴμος ταῖς μὲν ἀλλαὶς πολιτείαις ταῖς οὐκ ἀρεσκούσαις μαχόμενος καὶ καταλύων καὶ τοὺς προεστῶτας αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνων, ταύτης δὲ χρώμενος οὐκ ἐλάττω χιλίων ἑτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐμμείνας αὖ ὅπερ ἐλαβὲ μέχρι τῆς Σόλωνος μὲν ἠλικίας Πεισιστράτου δὲ δυναστείας, ὡς δημαγωγὸς γενόμενος καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πόλιν λυμηνάμενος καὶ τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν πολιτῶν ὡς ὀλγαρχικοὺς ὄντας ἐκβαλὼν, τελευτῶν τὸν τε δήμον κατέλυσε καὶ τύραννον αὐτῶν κατέστησεν.

149 Τάχ' οὖν ἂν τινες ἄτοπον εἶναι μὲ φήσειαν, οὐδὲν γὰρ κωλύει διαλαβεῖν τὸν λόγον, ὅτι τοιμῶν [264] λέγειν ὅσ' ἀκριβῶς εἴδως περὶ πραγμάτων οἷς οὐ

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a See Areop. 27 and note.
b A very round number indeed. Tradition dated Theseus, whom Isocrates seems here to regard as the last of the kings, about 600 years before this time.

464
duties, were moderately praised and then assigned to another similar responsibility, whereas those who were guilty of the slightest dereliction were involved in the deepest disgrace and the severest punishment. So that no one of the citizens felt about the offices as they now do, but they then sought to escape from them much more than they now seek to obtain them, and all men were agreed that no truer democracy could be found, nor one more stable or more beneficial to the multitude, than that which gave to the people at the same time exemption from such cares and sovereign power to fill the offices and bring to justice those who offended in them—a—exactly the position which is enjoyed also by the most fortunate among despots.

And the greatest proof that they were even better satisfied with this regime than I say is this: We see the people at war with other polities which fail to please them, overturning them and slaying those at their head, but continuing to enjoy this polity for not less than a thousand years, remaining loyal to it from the time when they received it down to the age of Solon and the tyranny of Pisistratus, who, after he had placed himself at the head of the people and done much harm to the city and driven out the best of her citizens as being partizans of oligarchy, brought an end to the rule of the people and set himself up as their master.

But perhaps some may object—for nothing prevents breaking into my discourse—that it is absurd for me to presume to speak as though I had exact knowledge of events at which I was not present when they trans-

\[c\] A pleasanter picture of the "tyranny" of Pisistratus is found in Aristotle's *Const. of Athens* 14 ff.
ISOCRATES

παρὴν πραττομένοις. ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἀλογον οἴμαι ποιεῖν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μόνος ἐπίστευν τοῖς τε λεγομένοις περὶ τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τοῖς γράμμαις τοῖς ἐξ ἐκείνων τοῦ χρόνου παραδεδομένοις ἡμῖν, εἰκότως ἄν ἑπιτιμώμην· νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ νοῦν ἔχοντες ταύτων ἐμοὶ φανεῖν ἂν πεπονθότες.

150 χωρίς δὲ τούτων, εἰ κατασταίην εἰς ἔλεγχον καὶ λόγον, δυνηθεῖν ἂν ἐπιδείξαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους πλείους ἑπιστήμας ἔχοντας διὰ τῆς ἁκοῆς ἢ τῆς ὀφεώς, καὶ μείζους πράξεις καὶ καλλίους εἰδότας ἂς παρ' ἐτέρων ἀκηκόασιν ἡ 'κείνας αἰς αὐτοὶ παραγεγενημένοι τυγχάνουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὔτ' ἀμελεῖν καλῶς ἔχει τῶν τουτὼν ὑπολήψεων, τυχὸν γὰρ μηδενὸς ἀντεσπόντος λυμήναυτ' ἂν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, οὔτ' αὐτὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀντιλέγοντας διατρίβειν ἐν αὐταῖς, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑποδείξαντας μόνον τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξ ἂν ληροῦντας ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐπιδείξανεν, πάλιν ἐπανελθόντας περαίνειν καὶ λέγειν ὃθεν ἄπελπουν· ἵπτερ ἐγὼ ποιήσω.

151 Τὸ μὲν οὖν σύνταγμα τῆς τότε πολιτείας, καὶ τῶν χρόνων ὅσον αὐτῇ χρώμενοι διετέλεσαν, ἐξ- ἀρκούντως δεδηλώκαμεν· λοιπὸν δ' ἡμῖν τὰς πράξεις τὰς ἐκ τοῦ καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι γεγενημένας διελ- θεῖν. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ ἐτι μᾶλλον ἔσται καταμαθεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν εἶχον ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι βελτίω τῶν ἄλλων καὶ σωφρονεστέρας, καὶ προ- στάταις καὶ συμβούλοις ἔχρωντο τουτούς ὅσις

152 χρῆ τοὺς εὐ φρονοῦντας. οὐ μὴν οὖδὲ ταῦτα μοι πρότερον λεκτέον ἔστι, πρὶν ἂν μικρὰ προείπὼν περὶ αὐτῶν. ἦν γὰρ ὑπεριδών τὰς ἑπιτιμήσεις

466
pired. I, however, do not see anything unreasonable in this. I grant that if I were alone in relying on traditions regarding what happened long ago or upon records which have been handed down to us from those times I should with good reason be open to attack. But in fact many men—and men of discernment, too—will be seen to be in the same case with me. But apart from this, were I put to the test and the proof, I could show that all men are possessed of more truth gained through hearing than through seeing and that they have knowledge of greater and nobler deeds which they have heard from others than those which they have witnessed themselves. Nevertheless it is wise for a speaker neither to ignore such false assumptions—for they might perhaps confuse the truth were no one to gainsay them—nor again to spend too much time refuting them, but only enough to indicate to the rest of the audience the arguments by which they might prove that the critics speak beside the mark, and then to go back and proceed with the speech from the point where he left off. And this is what I shall do.

I have now sufficiently discussed the form of the polity as it was in those days and the length of time during which our people continued to enjoy it. But it remains for me to recount the actions which have resulted from the excellence of their government. For from these it will be possible to see still more clearly that our ancestors not only had a better and sounder polity than the rest of the world but also employed the kind of leaders and advisers which men of intelligence ought to select. Yet I must not go on speaking even on this point, without first prefacing it with a word of explanation. For if, disdaining to take
τὰς τῶν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο δυναμένων ἐφεξῆς διηγῶμαι περὶ τε τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τῶν περὶ τῶν πόλεμον, οἷς οἱ πρόγονοι χρώμενοι τῶν τε βαρβάρων περιεγένοντο καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ἔλλησιν εὐ-δοκίμησαν, οὐκ ἦστιν ὡσ οὐ φήσουσί τινές με διεξεῖναι τοὺς νόμους οὓς Δυκοῦργος μὲν ἔθηκε, Σπαρτιάται δ’ αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι τυγχάνουσιν.

153 Ἐγὼ δ’ ὁμολογῶ μὲν ἐρείπ πολλὰ τῶν ἐκεί καθεστῶτων, οὐχ ὡς Δυκοῦργοι τι τούτων εὐρόν-[265] τοσ ἢ διανοηθέντος, ἀλλ’ ὡς μιμησαμένου τὴν διοίκησιν ὡς δυνατὸν ἀρίστα τὴν τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων, καὶ τὴν τε δημοκρατίαν καταστήσαντος παρ’ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀριστοκρατία μεμμενήν, ἦπερ ἢν παρ’ ἡμῖν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς οὐ κληρωτάς

154 ἀλλ’ αἱρετὰς ποιήσαντος, καὶ τὴν τῶν γερόντων αἱρεσιν τῶν ἐπιστατούντων ἀπασι τοῖς πράγμασι μετὰ τοσαύτης σπουδῆς ποιεῖσθαι νομοθέτησαντος, μεθ’ ὦσις πέρ φασὶ καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους περὶ τῶν εἰς Ἀρείου πάγου ἀναβήσεσθαι μελλόντων, ἐτε δὲ καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῖς περιθέντος τὴν αὐτήν, ἦπερ ἦδει καὶ τὴν βουλὴν ἠχοῦσαν τὴν παρ’ ἡμῖν.

155 Ὁτι μὲν οὖν τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τάκει καθέστηκεν ὥσπερ εἰχε τὸ παλαίον καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, παρὰ πολλῶν ἦσται πυθέσαθαι τοῖς εἰδέναι βουλομένων· ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐ πρότερον ἃθηκαν οὐδ’ ἀμείων ἐχρήσαντο Σπαρτιάται τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἐκ τῶν ἄγων καὶ τῶν πολέμων τῶν ὁμολογουμένων γενέσθαι κατ’ ἐκεῖνον

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a See Paneg. 39 and note.

468
notice of the criticisms of people who are able to do nothing but find fault, I were to review one after the other not only the other achievements of our ancestors but also the ways and practices in warfare by which they prevailed over the barbarians and attained to glory among the Hellenes, inevitably some will say that I am really speaking of the ordinances which Lycurgus laid down and the Spartans follow.

I acknowledge that I am going to speak at length of the institutions of Sparta, not taking the view, however, that Lycurgus invented or conceived any of them, but that he imitated as well as he could the government of our ancestors, establishing among the Spartans a democracy tempered with aristocracy —even such as existed in Athens—, enacting that the offices be filled, not by lot, but by election, ordaining that the election of the Elders, who were to supervise all public affairs, should be conducted with the very same care as, they say, our ancestors also exercised with regard to those who were to have seats in the Areopagus, and, furthermore, conferring upon the Elders the very same power which he knew that the Council of the Areopagus also had in Athens.

Now that the institutions of Sparta were established after the manner of our own as they were in ancient times may be learned from many sources by those who desire to know the truth. But that skill in warfare is something which the Spartans did not practise earlier than our ancestors or employ to better advantage than they I think I can show so clearly from the struggles and the wars which are

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* For the Spartan Gerousia, Council of Elders, see Gilbert, *Greek Constitutional Antiquities* p. 47.
τὸν χρόνον οὕτως οὕμαι σαφῶς ἐπιδείξεω, ὡστε μὴ τοὺς ἀνοητῶς λακωνίζοντας ἀντειπεῖν δυνήσεθαι τοῖς ῥηθεὶσιν, μὴ τοὺς τὰ ἡμέτερα ἢμα τεθυμάζοντας καὶ βασκαίνοντας καὶ μιμεῖσθαι γλυχομένους.

156 Ποιῆσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν λεχθησομένων ἀκοῦσαι μὲν ἵσως τισῖν ἄηδη, ῥηθήναι δ' οὐκ ἀσύμφορον. εἰ γάρ τις φαίη τῷ πόλεε τοῦτῳ πλείστοι ἀγαθών αἰτίας γεγενήθαι τοῖς Ὑπερηφανοῖς καὶ μεγίστοις κακῶν μετὰ τῆν ξέρξου στρατεύσεων, οὐκ ἔστιν ὡσαυτὸν ἀληθῆ δοξεῖν ἀν λέγειν τοῖς εἰδοὺς τι περὶ τῶν τῶτε γεγενημένων. ἡγομένῳ τοῦτο περὶ τὸν λήγειν δύναμιν, ταύτα τε πράξασαι, προσήκον αὐταῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐχομένων βουλεύσασθαι καλῶς, εἰς τοῦτος ἑλθον οὐκ ἀνοιάς ἀλλὰ μανίας, ὡστε πρὸς μὲν τὸν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα καὶ βουληθέντα τῷ μὲν πόλεε τοῦτῳ παντάπασιν ἀνελείν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους

157 Ἑλλήνας καταδουλώσασθαι, πρὸς μὲν τὸν τοιούτον, κρατήσασα ραδίως ἢν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰρήνην εἰς ἄπαντα συνεγράψαντο τὸν χρόνον ὡσπερ πρὸς εὐεργέτην γεγενημένον,

158 Ἑλλήνας καταδουλώσασθαι, πρὸς μὲν τὸν τοιούτον, κρατήσασα ραδίως ἢν αὐτὸν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, εἰρήνην εἰς ἄπαντα συνεγράψαντο τὸν χρόνον ὡσπερ πρὸς εὐεργέτην γεγενημένον,

[266] φθονήσασαι δὲ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν, εἰς πόλεμον καταστάσασα πρὸς ἄλληλας καὶ φιλονεικίας, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο σφάζας τε αὐτὰς ἀπολλύσασα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας, πρὸς κύριον ἐποίησαν τὸν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν τὴν τε πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους καταστήσας κυδύνους διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς Δακεδαιμονίων, καὶ πάλιν τὴν ἑκείνων διὰ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας.
acknowledged to have taken place in those days that none will be able to contradict what I say—neither those who are blind worshippers of Sparta nor those who at once admire and envy and strive to imitate the ways of Athens.

I am going to begin what I shall say on this topic with a statement which will perhaps be unpleasant for some to hear, although it will not be without profit to have it said. For if anyone were to assert that Athens and Sparta had been the causes both of the greatest benefits and, after the expedition of Xerxes, of the greatest injuries to the Hellenes, without doubt he would be thought by those who know anything about the history of those times to speak the truth. For they contended with the utmost possible bravery against the power of that King, but, having done this, although they ought then to have adopted sound measures also for the tasks which followed upon that achievement, they fell into such a degree, not of folly, but of madness, that they made peace with the man who had led an army against them and who had purposed to annihilate both these cities utterly and to enslave the rest of the Hellenes—with such a man, I repeat, although they could easily have conquered him on both land and sea, they drew up a peace \(^a\) for all time, as though he had been their benefactor, whereas, having grown jealous of each other's merits and fallen into mutual warfare and rivalry, they did not cease attempting to destroy each other and the rest of the Hellenes until they had placed their common enemy in a position to reduce Athens, through the power of the Lacedaemonians, and again Sparta, through the power of Athens, to a state of the utmost peril. And
159 ἃπολειφθέντες τῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου φρονήσεως, οὐτ' ἐν ἑκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἠλθησαν ἄξιοι δὲν ἔπαθον οὐδ' ως προσήκεν αὐτοὺς, οὔτε νῦν αἱ μέγισται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων αἰσχύνονται διακολακευόμεναι πρὸς τὸν ἑκείνου πλοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν Ἄργειῶν καὶ Θηβαίων Λίγυπτον αὐτῷ συγκατεπλέμησεν, ὡς μεγίστην ἐχων δύναμιν ἐπιβολεύῃ τοῖς Ἐλλησον, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάται, συμμαχίας ἡμῖν ὑπαρχούσης, ἀλλοτριώτερον ἔχομεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡ πρὸς οὓς ἐκάτεροι πολεμοῦντες τυγχάνομεν.

160 σημεῖον δ' οὐ μικρόν: κοινῇ μὲν γὰρ οὖσ' περὶ ἐνὸς πράγματος βουλεύομεθα, χωρὶς δ' ἐκάτεροι πρέσβεις πέμπομεν ὡς ἑκένων, ἐλπίζοντες, ὑποτέρους ἄν ὦκειότερον διατέθη, κυρίως τούτους γενήσεθαι τῆς ἐν τοῖς Ἐλλησι πλεονεξίας, κακῶς εἰδότες ὡς τοὺς μὲν θεραπεύοντας αὐτῶν ὑβρίζειν εἴθυσται, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀντιταττομένους καὶ καταφρονοῦντας τῆς ἑκείνου δυνάμεως ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διαλύσεθαι πειρᾶται τὰς διαφοράς.

161 Ταῦτα δὲ διήλθον οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι λέγειν τινὲς τολμήσοντοι ὡς ἔξω τῆς ὑποθέσεως τοῖς λόγοις τούτοις ἐχρησάμην. ἐγὼ δ' οὖσ' ἄν οἷμαι τοῖς προερημένοις οἰκειότεροις λόγοις ῥηθήναι τούτων, οὔτ' έξ ἡν ἄν τις σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξει τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν φρονιμωτέρους οὕτως περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν τῆς τε πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέραν καὶ τῆς Σπαρτιάτῶν μετὰ τοῦ πόλεμου τοῦ πρὸς Ξέρξην διουκησάντων.

162 αὕται μὲν γὰρ ἢν φανεῖν ἐν ἑκείνοις τε τοῖς χρόνοις

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*a* See *Paneg.* 161, note.


472
although they were so far outstripped in shrewdness by the barbarian, they then experienced no such resentment as the things which they suffered should have provoked nor such as it behoved them to feel; nor at the present time are the greatest of the states of Hellas ashamed to vie with each other in fawning upon the wealth of the King; nay, Argos and Thebes joined forces with him in the conquest of Egypt in order that he might be possessed of the greatest possible power to plot against the Hellenes, while we and the Spartans, although allied together, feel more hostile to each other than to those with whom we are each openly at war. And of this we have a not insignificant proof. For in common we deliberate about nothing whatsoever, but independently we each send ambassadors to the King, expecting that the one of these two states to which he inclines in friendship will be invested with the place of advantage among the Hellenes, little realizing that those who court his favour he is wont to treat insolently while with those who oppose themselves to him and hold his power in contempt he endeavours by every means to come to terms.

I have gone into these matters, not without realizing that some will dare to say that I have here used an argument which lies beyond the scope of my subject. I, however, hold that never has an argument been advanced more pertinent than this to the foregoing discussion, neither is there any by which one can show more clearly that our ancestors were wiser in dealing with the greatest questions than were those who governed our city and the city of the Spartans after the war against Xerxes. For it will be seen that these states in the times following that war made
πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους εἰρήνην ποιησάμεναί, σφάς δ' αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἀπολλύομαι 
[267] νῦν τε τῶν μὲν Ἔλληνων ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦσαι, πρὸς δὲ 
tὸν βασιλέα πρέσβεις πέμπονται περὶ φιλίας καὶ 
συμμαχίας. οἱ δὲ τότε τὴν πόλιν οἰκοῦντες ούδὲν 
163 τούτων ἐπραττον, ἀλλὰ πᾶν τοῦνατιον· τῶν μὲν 
γὰρ Ἔλληνιδῶν πόλεων οὔτως αὐτοῖς ἀπέχεσθαι 
σφόδρα δεδογμένον ἢν ὦσπερ τοῖς εὐσεβείς τῶν ἐν 
tοῖς ἑροῦς ἀνακειμένων, τῶν δὲ πολέμων ὑπελάμ-
βανον ἀναγκαίοταν μὲν εἶναι καὶ δικαίοτατον τὸν 
μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν 
θηρίων γιγνόμενον, δεύτερον δὲ τῶν μετὰ τῶν Ἐλ-
λήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς καὶ φύσει πολέμους 
ἀντας καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἡμῖν.
164 Τούτων δ' εἰρήνη τὸν λόγον οὐκ αὐτὸς εὑρὼν, 
ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν εἰκόνων πεπραγμένων συλλογισάμενος. 
ὁρώντες γὰρ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις ἐν πολλοῖς 
κακοῖς καὶ πολέμοις καὶ ταραχαῖς οὕσας, τὴν δ' 
αὐτῶν μόνην καλῶς διουκομένην, οὐχ ἡγήσαντο 
δεῖν τοὺς ἁμαχούν τῶν ἄλλων φρονοῦντας καὶ πράτ-
τοντας ἁμελεῖν οὐδὲ περιοραν τὰς τῆς αὐτῆς συγ-
γενείας μετεχούσας ἀπολλυμένας, ἀλλὰ σκεπτεόν 
eἶναι καὶ πρακτέον ὅπως ἅπασας ἀπαλλάξουσι 
tῶν 
165 κακῶν τῶν παρόντων. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθέντες τῶν 
μὲν ἱττον νοσούσων πρεσβείας καὶ λόγοις ἐξαιρεῖν 
ἐπειρῶντο τὰς διαφοράς, εἰς δὲ τὰς μᾶλλον στασια-
ζούσας ἐξέσπεμπον τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς μεγίστην παρ' 
αὐτοῖς δόξαν ἐχοντας, οἱ περὶ τε τῶν παρόντων

* The reference is to Athens, an Ionian state, as leader of 
the Ionian Colonization. The looseness of structure in this 
discourse is shown by his treatment of this theme in three 
places, in 42 ff. and in 190 ff. as well as here. Cf. Paneg. 
34-37.

474
peace with the barbarians, that they were bent on destroying each other and the other Hellenic states, that at the present time they think themselves worthy to rule over the Hellenes, albeit they are sending ambassadors to the King, courting his friendship and alliance: whereas those who governed Athens before that time did nothing of the sort, but entirely the opposite; for they were as firmly resolved to keep their hands off the states of Hellas as were the devout to abstain from the treasures stored up in the temples of the gods, conceiving that, second only to the war which we carry on in alliance with all mankind against the savagery of the beasts, that war is the most necessary and the most righteous which we wage in alliance with the Hellenes against the barbarians, who are by nature our foes and are eternally plotting against us.

The principle is not of my invention but is deduced from the conduct of our ancestors. For when they saw that the other states were beset by many misfortunes and wars and seditions, while their own city alone was well governed, they did not take the view that those who were wiser and more fortunate than the rest of the world were justified in caring nothing about the others or in permitting those states which shared the same stock with them to be destroyed, but rather that they were bound to take thought and adopt measures to deliver them all from their present misfortunes. Having determined upon this, they endeavoured in the case of the less afflicted states to compose their quarrels by means of embassies and persuasion, but to the states which were more severely rent by factions they dispatched the most highly reputed of their citizens, who advised
Isocrates regards the Ionian Colonization as contemporaneous with the Dorian Conquest of the Peloponnesus.

476
them regarding their present difficulties, and, associating themselves with the people who were unable to gain a livelihood in their own states or who had fallen below the requirements of the laws—a class which is generally destructive to ordered states—a, they urged these to take the field with them and to seek to improve the conditions of their present life; and when there proved to be many who were inclined and persuaded to take this course, they organized them into an army, conquered the peoples who occupied the islands of the barbarians and who dwelt along the coast of either continent, expelled them all, and settled in their stead those of the Hellenes who stood in greatest need of the necessities of life. And they continued doing this and setting this example to others until they learned that the Spartans, as I have related, had subjected to their power all the cities which are situated in the Peloponnesus. After this they were compelled to centre their thoughts upon their own interests.

What, then, is the good which has resulted from the war which we waged and the trouble which we took in the colonization of the Hellenes? For this is, I think, a question which the majority would very much like to have answered. Well, the result was that the Hellenes found it easier to obtain subsistence and enjoyed a greater degree of concord after they had been relieved of so great a number of the class of people which I have described; that the barbarians were driven forth from their own territory and humbled in their pride; and that those who had brought these conditions to pass gained the fame and the name of having made Hellas twice as strong as she was of old.
168 Μετίθεν μὲν οὖν εὐεργετήμα τούτου καὶ κοινότερον τοῖς Ἑλλήσιοι γεγενημένοι παρὰ τῶν προγόνων τῶν ημετέρων νυκ ἀν δυναίμην ἐξευρέων· οἰκεύτερον δὲ τῇ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμελεία καὶ δόξης οὐκ ἐλάττωνος ἐξιον καὶ πάσι φανερώτερον ίσως ἐξομεν εἰπεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὖν οἴδεν, ἢ τίς οὖν ἀκήκοε τῶν τραγῳδοδιδασκάλων Διονυσίους, ἀς Ἀδράστῳ γε- 
169 νομένας ἐν Θῆβαις συμφοράς, ὡσι κατάγειν βου- 
ληθεῖς τὸν Οἰδίπου μὲν νῦν αὐτοῦ δὲ κηδεστή 
παμπληθεῖς μὲν Ἀργείων ἀπώλεσεν, ἀπαντας δὲ 
τοὺς λοχαγοὺς ἐπείδη διαφθαρέντας, αὐτῶς δ' ἐπ- 
ονειδίστως σωθεῖς, ἐπειδὴ σπονδῶν οὖχ οἶος τ' ἢ 
τυχεῖν οὐδ' ἀνελέσθαι τοὺς τετελευτηκότας, ἱκέτης 
γενόμενος τῆς πόλεως, ἐτι Θησέως αὐτῆς διοικοῦν- 
τος, ἐθείτο μη' περιδεῖν τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρας ἀτάφους 
γενομένους μηδὲ παλαιὸν ἔθος καὶ πάτριον νόμον 
καταλυμένον, άναίτις ἀνθρωποί χρώμενοι δια- 
tελοῦσιν οὖχ ὡς ὑπ' ἀνθρωπίνης κειμένῳ φύσεως, 
ἀλλ' ὡς ὑπὸ δαμομοιίας προστεταγμένῳ δυνάμεως; 
170 ὃν ἀκούσας οὐδένα χρόνον ἐπισχύν ὁ δήμος ἐπεμψε 
προσβείαν εἰς Ἐθῆβας, περὶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως 
συμβουλεύσοντας αὐτοῖς ὁσίωτερον βουλεύσασθαι 
καὶ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν νομιμωτέρον ποιήσασθαι τῆς 
πρότερον γενομένης, κάκεινον ὑποδείξοντας, ὡς ἢ 
πόλις αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει παραβαίνουσι τὸν νόμον 
τὸν κοινὸν ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὃν ἀκούσαντες 
[269] οἱ κύριοι τότε Ἐθῆβων ὄντες οὗχ ὁμοίως ἔγνωσαν 
οὔτε ταῖς δόξαις αἰς ἔχουσι τινες περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐθ' 
οῖς ἐβουλεύσαντο πρότερον, ἀλλὰ μετρίως περὶ 

a See Aeschylus, The Seven against Thebes; Sophocles, Antigone; Euripides, Phoenician Women.

b Compare the treatment of the Adrastus episode in Paneg. 54 ff.

c See Paneg. 55, note.
I could not, then, point out a greater service than this, rendered by our ancestors, nor one more generally beneficial to the Hellenes. But I shall, perhaps, be able to show one more particularly related to their conduct of war, and, at the same time, no less admirable and more manifest to all. For who does not himself know or has not heard from the tragic poets at the Dionysia of the misfortunes which befell Adrastus at Thebes, how in his desire to restore to power the son of Oedipus, his own son-in-law, he lost a great number of his Argive soldiers in the battle and saw all of his captains slain, though saving his own life in dishonour, and, when he failed to obtain a truce and was unable to recover the bodies of his dead for burial, he came as a suppliant to Athens, while Theseus still ruled the city, and implored the Athenians not to suffer such men to be deprived of sepulture nor to allow ancient custom and immemorial law to be set at naught—that ordinance which all men respect without fail, not as having been instituted by our human nature, but as having been enjoined by the divine power? When our people heard this plea, they let no time go by but at once dispatched ambassadors to Thebes to advise her people that they be more reverent in their deliberations regarding the recovery of the dead and that they render a decision which would be more lawful than that which they had previously made, and to hint to them also that the Athenians would not countenance their transgression of the common law of all Hellas. Having heard this message, those who were then in authority at Thebes came to a decision which was in harmony neither with the opinion which some people have of them nor with their previous resolution;}
αὐτῶν τε διαλεχθέντες καὶ τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων κατηγορήσαντες ἔδοσαν τῇ πόλει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν.
172 Καὶ μηδεὶς οὐέσθω με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τὰναντία τυγχάνω λέγων οἷς ἐν τῷ Πανηγυρικῷ λόγῳ φανεῖν ἂν περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων γεγραφῶς· ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐδένα νομίζω τῶν ταῦτα συνιδεῖν ἃν δυνηθέντων τοσαύτης ἀμαθίας εἶναι καὶ φθόνου μεστὸν, ὡσίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπανέσειεν με καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἡγήσατο τότε μὲν ἐκείνως νῦν δ' οὖν διαλεχθέντα περὶ αὐτῶν.
173 περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οἶδ' ὅτι καλῶς γέγραφα καὶ συμφερόντως· ὅσον δ' ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν διέφερε τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον κατ' ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον, τοῦτο γὰρ ἀποδεῖξαι βουλόμενος διήλθων τὰ γενόμενα Ἡθῆσων, ἥγοιμαι τὴν πράξιν ἐκείνην ἀπασι σαφῶς δηλοῦν, τὴν τὸν μὲν βασιλέα τὸν Ἀργείων ἀναγκασασαν ἵκετην γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἡμετέρας,
174 τοὺς δὲ κυρίους οὖν ὡς Ἡθῆσων οὔτω διαθείσαι, ὡστε ἐλέσθαι μάλλον αὐτοὺς ἐμμείναι τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως πεμφθεῖσιν ἡ τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δαμονίου κατασταθείσιν· ὅτι οὐδέν ἂν οἷα τ' ἐγένετο διουκήσαι κατὰ τρόπον ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πολὺ διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων.
175 Ἔχων δὲ πολλάς καὶ καλᾶς πράξεις περὶ τῶν προγόνων εἶπεῖν, σκοποῦμαι τίνα τρόπον διαλεχθῶ περὶ αὐτῶν. μέλει γὰρ μοι τούτων μᾶλλον ἡ τῶν ἄλλων· τυγχάνω γὰρ ὅτι περὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἣν ἐποιησάμην τελευτάλαν, ἐν ἂν προεῖπον ὡς ἐπιδείξω

a The version here is less offensive to the Thebans, perhaps 480
the contrary, after both stating the case for themselves in reasonable terms and denouncing those who had invaded their country, they conceded to our city the recovery of the dead.

And let no one suppose that I fail to realize that I am giving a different version of these same events from that which I shall be found to have written in the Panegyricus. But I do not think that anyone of those who can grasp the meaning of these events is so obsessed by stupidity and envy as not to commend me and consider me discreet for the manner in which I have treated them then and now.\(^a\) On this topic, then, I know that I have written wisely and expeditiously. But how pre-eminent our city stood in war at that time—for it was with the desire to show this that I discussed what happened at Thebes—is, I consider, clearly revealed to all by the circumstances which compelled the king of the Argives to become a suppliant of Athens and which so disposed the authorities at Thebes towards us that they chose of their own accord to accommodate themselves to the words dispatched to them by Athens more than to the laws ordained by the divine power. For our city would not have been in a position to settle properly any of those questions had she not stood far above the others both in reputation and in power.

Although I have many noble things to tell of in the conduct of our ancestors, I am debating in my mind in what manner to present them. Indeed I am more concerned about this than about any other thing. For I come now to that part of my subject which I reserved for the last—that part in which I promised because Athens is now cultivating friendlier relations with Thebes.
ISOCRATES

τοὺς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς μάχαις πλέον διενεγκόντας Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ τοῖς 176 ἄλλοις ἀπασιν. ἡσταὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος παράδοξος μὲν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ὁμοίως δὲ ἀληθής τοῖς ἄλλοις.

"Ἀρτι μὲν οὖν ἣπόρουν ποτέρων διεξύ χρόνον ἀργοτέρων τοὺς κυνύνους καὶ τὰς μάχας, τὰς Σπαρτιατῶν ἢ τὰς τῶν ἡμετέρων. νῦν δὲ προαιροῦμαι λέγειν τὰς ἐκείνων, ἵν' ἐν ταῖς καλλίσται καὶ δικαιοτέραις 177 καταλύω τὸν λόγον τὸν περὶ τούτων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ

[270] Ὑψιρέων οἱ στρατεύσαντες εἰς Πελοπόννησον τριχὰς διέλοντο τὰς τε πόλεις καὶ τὰς χώρας ἢς ἀφελόντο τοὺς δικαίως κεκτημένους, οἱ μὲν Ἦραγος λαχώνες καὶ Μεσσήνην παραπληκτῶς διώκουν τὰ σφέτερ' αὐτῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλλησι, τὸ δὲ τρίτον μέρος αὐτῶν, οὕς καλοῦμεν νῦν Δακεδαμονίους, στασιάσαι μὲν φασὶν αὐτοὺς οἱ τάκεινων ἀκριβώντες ὡς οὔνες ἄλλους τῶν Ἐλλήνων, περιγενομένους δὲ τοὺς μείζον τοῦ πλήθους φρονοῦντας οὔδὲν τῶν ἄυτῶν βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν συμ- 178 βεβηκότων τοῖς τοιαύτα διαπεπραγμένοις: τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους συνοίκους ἔχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει τοὺς στασιάσαντας καὶ κοινώνουσ᾽ ἀπάντων πλήτων ἄρχων καὶ τῶν τιμῶν. οὕς οἷς εὑροῦν ἥγεσθαι Σπαρτιατῶν τοὺς νοῦν ἔχοντας, εἰ νομίζουσιν ἀσφαλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι μετὰ τούτων οἰκούντες, περὶ οὓς τὰ μέγιστα τυχάνουσιν ἐξημαρτηκότες: αὐτοὺς δὲ οὔδὲν τούτων ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σφόδρα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱσονομίαν καταστήσαι καὶ δημοκρατίαν

1 τὰς τε πόλεις Γ᾽: τὰς πόλεις vulg.
2 ἢσ inseruit Blas.

a For the comparison of the early wars of Sparta and Athens, 175-198, cf. Paneg. 51-70.

482
PANATHENAICUS, 175-178

to show that our ancestors excelled the Spartans much more in their wars and battles than in all other respects. What I say on this topic will be counter to the opinions of the majority, but in equal degree it will appeal to the rest as the truth.

A moment ago I was undecided whether I should first review the wars and battles of the Spartans or our own. Now, however, I elect to speak first of the perils and the battles of the Spartans, in order that I may close the discussion of this subject with struggles more honourable and more righteous. When, then, the Dorians who invaded the Peloponnesus divided into three parts both the cities and the lands which they had taken from their rightful owners, those of them who received Argos and Messene as their portions ordered their affairs very much as did the Hellenes in general. But the third division of them, whom we now call Lacedaemonians, were, according to close students of their history, more embroiled in factional strife than any other people of Hellas. Moreover, the party which looked down upon the multitude, having got the upper hand, did in no wise adopt the same measures regarding the issues of that conflict as the other Hellenes who had gone through a similar experience. For the latter suffered the opposing party to live with them and share in all the privileges of the state, excepting the offices and the honours, whereas the intelligent class among the Spartans held that such men were foolish in thinking that they could live in the same city with those against whom they had committed the greatest wrongs and yet govern the state in security; they themselves did nothing of the sort, but instead set up amongst their own class the only kind of equality and
Those who enjoyed citizenship in Sparta are called by Aristotle (Politics viii. 7) ὀμοῦς, “equals.” Cf. Areop. 61.

In historical times the population of Laconia, the valley of the Eurotas river, was made up of the Spartans, who lived in the city of Lacedaemon (Sparta seems to have been a later name); the Helots, serfs bound to the soil, who worked the estates owned by the Spartans, paying a high rental, sometimes half the crop; and the Perioeci, free-holders of land, who were scattered in villages throughout the Eurotas.

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democracy \textsuperscript{a} which is possible if men are to be at all times in complete accord, while reducing the mass of the people to the condition of Perioeci,\textsuperscript{b} subjecting their spirits to a bondage no less abject than that endured by slaves. And having done this, they disposed of the land, of which by right every man should have had an equal share, seizing for themselves—the few—not only the richest but more than any of the Hellenes possess, while to the mass of the people they apportioned only enough of the poorest land so that by working laboriously they could hardly gain their daily bread. Then they divided the multitude into the smallest groups possible and settled them upon many small tracts—groups who in name were spoken of as dwelling in cities, but in reality had less power than the townships with us. And, having despoiled them of all the rights which free men ought to share, they imposed upon them the greatest part in all dangers. For in the campaigns which were conducted by their kings they not only ranged them man for man side by side with themselves, but some they stationed in the first line, and whenever need arose to dispatch a relief-force anywhere and they themselves were afraid of the hardships or the dangers or the length of time involved, they sent them forth to take the brunt of the danger from all the rest. But why Valley—"the land of a hundred towns," possessing apparently their own local governments, but under the general control and supervision of the Spartan state. These, like the Helots, were probably made up mainly of earlier inhabitants conquered by the Spartans. See Gilbert, \textit{Greek Constitutional Antiquities} pp. 30 ff. Isocrates' picture of the driving out of the Perioeci from participation in the Spartan state as the result of a bitter factional fight seems to rest on a very doubtful tradition. See Grote's extended discussion of this passage, vol. ii. pp. 367 ff.
εξίόντα τὰς ύβρεις τὰς περὶ τὸ πλήθος γεγομένας, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ μέγιστον εἰπόντα τῶν κακῶν ἀπ- 
αλλαγῆναι τῶν ἄλλων; τῶν γὰρ οὕτω μὲν ἔξ ἄρχῆς δεινὰ πεπονθῶν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς παροῦσι 
καιροῖς χρησίμων ὄντων, ἔξεστι τοῖς ἐφόροις ἀκρίτους ἀποκτεῖναι τοσοῦτος ὁπόσου ἂν βουλη-
θῶσιν· ἀ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἔλλησιν οὐδὲ τοὺς πονηρο-
tάτους τῶν οἰκετῶν διοίν ἐστὶ μιαμοφεῖν.

182 Τούτου δ’ ἔνεκα περὶ τῆς οἰκείοτητος καὶ τῶν 
ἡμαρτημένων εἰς αὐτοὺς διὰ πλεῖων δυῆθον, ἢ’ 
ἐρωμαῖ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους ἀπάσας τὰς Σπαρ-
τιατῶν πράξεις, εἰ καὶ ταύτας ἀποδέχονται, καὶ 
tὰς μάχας εὐσεβεῖς εἶναι νομίζουσι καὶ καλὰς 
183 τὰς πρὸς τούτους γεγενημένας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ 
ἡγοῦμαι μεγάλας μὲν αὐτῶς γεγενήσθαι καὶ δεινῶ 
καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίας τοῖς μὲν ἠττηθεῖς κακῶν τοῖς 
δὲ κατορθώσασι λημμάτων, ὡσπερ ἕνεκα πολε-
μοῦντες ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦσιν, οὐ μὴ 
ὅσια οὐδὲ καλὰς οὐδὲ πρεποῦσας τοῖς ἄρετῆς 
ἀντιποιομένοις, μὴ τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν ὀνομαζό-
μένης καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῖς καλοῖς 
κάγαθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς μετ’ εὐ-
σεβείας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἐγγυνομένης, περὶ ἦς 
184 ἀπας ὁ λόγος ἐστίν. ἡς ὀλγυρωνυτές τινες ἐγ-
κωμιάζουσι τοὺς πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἡμαρτηκότας, 
καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τὰς διανοιὰς ἐπιδεικνύντες

a The Perioeci, like the Helots, were subject to military 
service more and more as the pure Spartan population 
decayed; but Isocrates' complaint that they were made to 
take the brunt of danger is probably an exaggeration. How-
ever, the power of the Spartan magistrates, the Ephors, to 
condemn them to death without trial is well attested. See 
Gilbert, Greek Const. Antiquities p. 58.
make a long story by detailing all the outrages which were visited upon the common people? Why not, rather, mention the greatest of their misfortunes and refuse to be burdened with the rest? For over these people, who have from the beginning suffered evils so dreadful, but in present emergencies are found so useful, the Ephors have the power to put to death without trial as many as they please, whereas in the other states of Hellas it is a crime against the gods to stain one’s hands with the blood of even the basest of slaves.

But the reason I have at some length gone into their domestic policy and the wrongs which they have committed against the common people is, that I may ask those who applaud all the actions of the Spartans whether they applaud these also and whether they look upon those struggles as righteous and honourable which have been carried on against these men. For I, for my part, regard them as having been great and terrible and the source of many injuries to the defeated and of many gains to the victors—gains for whose sake they are at all times continually waging war—but not, no, not as righteous or even as honourable or becoming to men who lay claim to excellence. I speak, not of excellence as that word is used in the arts or in many other activities, but of the excellence which in the hearts of good men and true is engendered in company with righteousness and justice. And it is this kind of excellence which is the subject of my whole discourse. But deprecating this, some men heap praise upon those who have committed more crimes than all others and are not aware that they are betraying their own thoughts.
τὰς σφετέρας αὐτῶν, ὅτι κάκεινος ἂν ἐπαινε- σειν, τοὺς πλείω μὲν κεκτημένους τῶν ἴκανῶν, ἀποκτεῖναι δ’ ἂν τολμήσαντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἐαντῶν καὶ τοὺς ἔταιρους καὶ τοὺς κοινωνοὺς ὡστε καὶ τάκεινων λαβεῖν· ομοία γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἔργων ἔστι τοῖς ὑπὸ Σπαρτιατῶν πεπραγμένοις, ἀ τοὺς ἀποδεχομένους ἀναγκαῖον ἔστι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀρτί τὴν αὐτήν ἔχειν γνώμην.

185 θαυμάζω δ’ εἰ τινες τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς νίκας [272] τὰς παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον γιγνομένας μὴ νομίζουσιν αἰσχίνοις εἶναι καὶ πλειόνων ὀνειδῶν μεστὰς ἡ τὰς ἔττας τὰς ἀνευ κακίας συμβαινούσας, καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰδότες ὅτι μεγάλαι δυνάμεις πονηραὶ δὲ πολλάκις γίγνονται κρείττους ἄνδρῶν σπουδαίων καὶ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος αἱρομένων.

186 οὐς πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ἐπαινοῦμεν ἢ τοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐτοίμως ἀποθνήσκειν ἐθέλοντας καὶ τοῖς ἔνικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ὁμοίους ὄντας· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἔστι έργα πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὸ δὲ τοὺς χρήστους ἐνιστὸ χείρον ἀγωνίζοντας τῶν ἀδικεῖν βουλομένων θεών ἂν τις ἀμέλειαν εἶναι

187 φήσειν. ἔχομι δ’ ἂν τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ χρήσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῆς συμφορᾶς τῆς Σπαρτιάταις ἐν Θερμοπύλαις γεγομένης, ἢν ἀπαντεῖ ὁσοὶ περ ἀκη- κόσιον ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ θαυμάζουσι μᾶλλον ἡ τὰς μάχας καὶ τὰς νίκας τὰς κρατησάσας μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων, πρὸς οὐς δ’ οὐκ ἔχρην γεγογομένας· ὃς εὐλογεῖν τινες τολμῶσι, κακῶς εἴδοτες ὃς οὐδὲν οὐθ’ ὃσιον οὕτε καλὸν ἔστι τῶν μὴ μετὰ δικαίο-

188 σύνης καὶ λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων. ὃν Σπαρ-

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α Cf. Phil. 148; Paneg. 90; Archid. 99-100.

488
and showing that they would praise also men who, already possessing more wealth than they need, would not scruple to slay their own brothers and friends and associates so as to obtain their possessions also. For such crimes are parallel to the things which the Spartans have done. And those who applaud the latter cannot escape taking the same view also of the crimes which I have just mentioned.

I marvel that there are none who regard battles and victories won contrary to justice as more disgraceful and fraught with greater reproaches than defeats which are met without dishonour—and that too, knowing that great, but evil, powers prove often stronger than good men who choose to risk their lives for their country. For such men are much more deserving of our praise than those who, while ready and willing to face death to gain the possessions of others, are yet in no wise different from hireling soldiers. For these are the acts of men depraved, and if men of honest purpose sometimes come off worse in the struggle than men who desire to do injustice, we may attribute this to negligence of the gods. But I might apply this point also to the misfortune which befell the Spartans at Thermopylae, which all who have heard of it praise and admire more than the battles and victories which have been won over adversaries against whom wars ought never to have been waged, albeit some are without scruple in extolling such successes, not realizing that nothing is either righteous or honourable which is not said or done with justice.

The high moral tone here is, like the plea for absolute justice as a principle of foreign policy in the Peace, inconsistent with the "practical" doctrine of 117-118. See note on 118.
189 δὴ λοι δ' ἦσαν οὕτως ἔχοντες ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς διώκοντο τὴν πόλιν, καὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν πραγμάτων. τριῶν γὰρ πολέμων γενομένων άνευ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ τοῖς Ἐλλησι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἐν ἀπασί τούτοις πρωτευόνσαι αὐτὴν παρέσχον. ὄν εἰς μὲν ἢν ὁ πρὸς Ξέρξην, ἐν δὲ πλέον διήνεγκαν Λακεδαίμονίων ἐν ἀπασί τοῖς κινδύνοις ἡ

190 'κεῖνοι τῶν ἄλλων, δεύτερος δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν κτίσιν τῶν ἀποικίων, εἰς δὲν Δωριέων μὲν οὕτως ἦλθε συμπολεμήσων, ἢ δὲ πόλις ἡμῶν ἡγεμῶν κατα-

[273] στάσα τῶν οὐκ εὐποροῦντων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν βουλομένων τοσοῦτον τὰ πράγματα μετέστησεν, ώστε εἰδισμένων τῶν βαρβάρων τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον τὰς μεγίστας πόλεις τῶν Ἐλληνίδων καταλαμ-

βάνειν ἐποίησε τοὺς Ἐλληνας, ὁ πρῶτος ἐπασχον, ταύτα δύνασθαι ποιεῖν.

191 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν δυοὶν πολέμων ἐν τοῖς ἐμ-

προσθεν ἴκανῶς εἰρήκαμεν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου

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a Three “wars,” with no attention to chronology: (1) that against Xerxes; (2) the warfare connected with the Ionian Colonization; (3) four campaigns summarized as one, all dealing with invasions: (a) that against Eumolpus and the Thracians; (b) that against the Scythians; (c) that against Eurystheus; (d) that against Dareius.
But the Spartans have never given a thought to this truth; for they look to no other object than that of securing for themselves as many of the possessions of other peoples as they can. Our ancestors, on the other hand, have shown concern for nothing in the world so much as for a good name among the Hellenes; for they considered that there could be no truer or fairer judgement than that which is rendered by a whole race of people. And they have been manifestly of this mind both in their government of the state in other respects and in the conduct of the greatest affairs. For in the three wars, apart from the Trojan war, which were fought by the Hellenes against the barbarians—in all these they placed our city in the forefront of the fighting. Of these wars, one was the struggle against Xerxes, in which they were as much superior to the Lacedaemonians in every crisis as were the latter to the rest of the Hellenes. Another was the war connected with the founding of the colonies, in which none of the Dorians came to help them, but in which Athens, having been made the leader of those who were lacking in the means of subsistence and of all others who desired to join with her, so completely reversed the state of affairs that, whereas the barbarians had been wont in times past to seize and hold the greatest cities of Hellas, she placed the Hellenes in a position where they were able to do what they had formerly suffered.

Now as to the two wars, I have said enough earlier in this discourse. I shall now take up the third,

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b See 49 ff.

c See 42 ff. and 164 ff.

d In 49 ff., 42 ff., 164 ff.
ποιήσομαι τοὺς λόγους, ὃς ἐγένετο τῶν μὲν 'Ελ-
ληνίδων πόλεων ἀρτι κατωκισμένων, τῆς δ' ἡμε-
tέρας ἐτί βασιλευμένης. ἐφ' ὑν καὶ πόλεμοι
πλεῖστοι καὶ κίνδυνοι μέγιστοι συνέπεσον, οὕς
ἀπαντας μὲν οὖθ' εὐρεῖν οὓτ' εἰπεῖν ἄν δυνηθεῖν,
192 παραλιπὼν δὲ τὸν πλεῖστον οἶχον τῶν ἐν ἐκεῖνω
μὲν τῷ χρόνῳ πρακτέντων ῥηθήναι δὲ νῦν οὐ
κατεπειγόντων, ὡς ἄν δύναμαι συντομώτατα
πεφαρμαί δηλώσαι τοὺς τ' ἐπιστρατεύσαντας
tῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς μάχας τὰς ἀξίας μνημονεύθηναι
καὶ ῥηθῆναι καὶ τοὺς ἥγεμόνας αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὰς
προφάσεις ἂς ἔλεγον, καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν γενῶν
τῶν συνακολουθησάντων αὐτῶις: ἱκανὰ γὰρ ἔσται
ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς οἷς περὶ τῶν ἐναντίων εἰρήκαμεν.

193 Ὄρακες μὲν γὰρ μετ' Εὐμόλπου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος
εἰσεβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν, ὃς ἡμιφιλήτησεν
'Ερεχθεί τῆς πόλεως, φάσκων Ποσειδῶ πρότερον
'Αθηνᾶς καταλαβεῖν αὐτὴν. Σκύθαι δὲ μετ' Ἀμα-
ζόνων τῶν ἐξ' 'Αρεως γενομένων, αἱ τὴν στρατείαν
ἐφ' Ἰππολύτην ἐποίησαντο, τὴν τοὺς τε νόμους
παραβάσαν τοὺς παρ' αὐταῖς κεμένους, ἐρα-
σθεισάν τε Θησέως καὶ συνακολοθήσαν ἐκείθεν
194 καὶ συνοικήσασαν αὐτῶ. Πελοποννησίου δὲ μετ'
Εὐνυσθέως, ὃς Ἦρακλεῖ μὲν οὐκ ἐδώκε δίκην ὃν
ἡμάρτανεν εἰς αὐτὸν, στρατεύσας δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμετέ-
ρους προγόνους ὃς ἑκληψόμενος βίᾳ τοὺς ἐκείνων
παίδας, παρ' ἡμῖν γὰρ ἤσαν καταπεθενυότες,
ἔπαθεν ἣ προσηκεν αὐτών. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐδέησε

a See Paneg. 68; Archid. 42; Areop. 75.
b See Paneg. 68.
c A queen of the Amazons, who, according to one legend, being enamoured of Theseus, deserted her own people and followed him to Athens. In one tradition she meets her 492
which took place when the other Hellenic cities had just been founded and while our own city was still ruled by kings. In those days there occurred at the same time very many wars and very great perils. I could neither ascertain nor set forth the history of all of them, and I shall pass over the great bulk of the things which were then done, but do not now press upon us to be told, and shall endeavour to inform you as briefly as I can of the enemies who attacked our city, of the battles which deserve to be recalled and recounted, of their leaders, and, furthermore, of the pretexts which they alleged, and of the strength of the peoples who joined in their campaigns. For these details will be enough to discuss in addition to what we have said about our adversaries.

For our country was invaded by the Thracians, led by Eumolpus, a son of Poseidon, who disputed the possession of Athens with Erechtheus, alleging that Poseidon had appropriated the city before Athena; also by the Scythians, led by the Amazons, b the offspring of Ares, who made the expedition to recover Hippolyte, c since she had not only broken the laws which were established among them, but had become enamoured of Theseus and followed him from her home to Athens and there lived with him as his consort; again, by the Peloponnesians, led by Eurystheus, d who not only refused to make amends to Heracles for his ill-treatment of him but brought an army against our ancestors with the object of seizing by force the sons of Heracles, who had taken refuge with us. However, he met with the fate which was his due. For so far did he fail of getting
death fighting against the Amazons, who came to recover her.
Pausanias i. 2. 1.

\[d\] See Paneg. 58 ff.

493
κύριος γενέσθαι τῶν ἱκετῶν, ὥστε ἤττηθεις μάχῃ
καὶ ἐκείνης ὑπὸ τῶν ἰματέρων, αὐτὸς ἱκέτης
γενόμενος τούτων οὐς ἔξαιτων ἦλθε, τὸν βίον
195 ἐτελεύτησεν. μετὰ δὲ τούτον οἱ πεμφθέντες ὑπὸ
[274] Δαρείου τὴν Ἑλλάδα πορθήσοντες, ἀποβάντες εἰς
Μαραθῶνα, πλέοσι κακοῖς καὶ μεῖζοις συμφοραῖς
περιπεσόντες δὲν ἦλπισαν τὴν πόλιν ἠμῶν ποιῆσειν,
ὡς τοῦτο φεύγοντες εἰς ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος.

196 'Τούτους δ᾽ ἀπαντας οὐς διήλθον, οὐ μετ᾽ ἄλληλων
εἰσβαλόντας οὐδὲ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους, ἄλλ᾽
ός οἱ τε καρποί καὶ τὸ συμφέρον ἑκάστοις καὶ τὸ
βούλεσθαι συνεπιπτεῖ, μάχῃ νικήσαντες καὶ τῆς
ὑβρεως παύσαντες, οὐκ ἐξέστησαν αὐτῶν τηλικά
διαπραξάμενοι τὸ μέγεθος, οὔδ᾽ ἐπαθον ταύτῳ τοῖς
διὰ μὲν τὸ καλῶς καὶ φρόνιμως βούλευσασθαι καὶ
πλούσιος μεγάλους καὶ δόξας καλὰς κτησιμένοις,
διὰ δὲ τὰς ὑπερβολὰς τὰς τούτων ὑπερηφάνοις γενο-
μένοις καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν διαφθαρεῖσι καὶ κατενεχθεῖ-
σων εἰς χείρῳ πράγματα καὶ ταπεινότερα τῶν πρότε-
197 ρον αὐτοῖς ὑπαρχόντων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα δια-
φυγόντες ἐνέμειναν τοῖς ἰθεσίν οἷς εἰχον διὰ τὸ
πολιτεύσασθαι καλῶς, μεῖζον φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς
ψυχῆς ἔξει καὶ ταῖς διανοιαῖς ταῖς αὐτῶν ἥ ταῖς
μάχαις ταῖς γεγενημέναις, καὶ μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν
ἄλλων ϑαυμαζόμενοι διὰ τὴν καρτερίαν ταύτην καὶ
σωφροσύνην ἢ διὰ τὴν ἀνδρίαν τὴν ἐν τοῖς κυνδύνοις
198 αὐτοῖς παραγεγομένην· ἐώρων γὰρ πάντες τὴν μὲν
ἐυφυχίαν τὴν πολεμικὴν πολλοὺς ἔχοντας καὶ τῶν

a See Paneg. 71-72, 85-87.

494
our suppliants into his power that, having been defeated in battle and taken captive by our people, he became the suppliant of those whom he had come to demand of us, and lost his own life. Later than Eurystheus, the troops dispatched by Dareius to ravage Hellas landed at Marathon, fell upon more misfortunes and greater disasters than they had hoped to inflict upon our city, and fled in rout from all Hellas.

All these whom I have instanced, having invaded our country—not together nor at the same time, but as opportunity and self-interest and desire concurred in each case—our ancestors conquered in battle and put an end to their insolence. And yet they did not forsake their true selves after they had achieved successes of such magnitude nor did they experience the same misadventure as those who, owing to the exercise of good and wise judgement, have attained great wealth and good reputation, but who, owing to excess of good fortune, have grown overweening, lost their senses, and have been brought down to lower and meaner circumstances than those which they enjoyed before. On the contrary, they escaped all such aberrations and remained steadfast in the character which they had because of the excellence of their government, taking more pride in their state of soul and in the quality of their minds than in the battles which had been fought, and being more admired by the rest of the world because of this self-control and moderation than because of the bravery displayed in their perils. For all men saw that the fighting spirit is possessed

\[\text{See for the figure and the thought, 32; General Introd. Vol. I., L.C.L. pp. xxxii ff.}\]

495
It has been conjectured, with no degree of certainty, that the pupil here referred to was Theopompus, the historian.
by many even of those who outdo others in villainy, while that spirit which is beneficent in all things and is helpful to all men is not shared by the depraved, but is engendered only in men who are of good birth and breeding and education—even such as were those who then governed our city and brought to pass all the good things which I have described.

Now I observe that the other orators close their discourses with the greatest and most memorable deeds, but, while I commend the wisdom of those who hold and practise this principle, yet I am not in a position to do this same thing, but am compelled to go on with my discourse. The reason why, I shall explain presently, after first saying just a word.

After I had written out my discourse as far as what has been read, I was revising it with three or four youths who are wont to spend their time in my society. And when, on going over what I had written, it seemed to us to be good and to require only an ending, it occurred to me to send for one of those who had studied with me but had lived under an oligarchy and had elected to extol the Lacedaemonians. I did this in order that, if any false statement had escaped me, he might detect it and point it out to me. He came, upon being summoned, and, having read through my discourse (for why take up time in relating what happened in the interval?), he took no offence at anything which I had written but, on the contrary, praised the speech in the highest possible terms and expressed views on each part of it which were very similar to those which I held. And yet it was manifest that he was not pleased with what I had said about the Lacedaemonians. And he showed it forthwith; for he made
χέων ἐτόλμησε γὰρ εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πεποιήκασι τοὺς "Ελλήνας ἀγαθὸν, ἄλλ’ οὖν ἐκεῖνο γε δικαίως ἂν αὐτοὶς ἄπαντες χάριν ἔχοιεν, ὅτι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εὑρόντες αὐτοὶ τε χρῶνται καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κατεδέξαν.

203 Τούτο δὲ ῥηθέν οὕτω βραχὺ καὶ μικρὸν αὐτῶν ἐγένετο τοῦ μῆτε καταλῦσαι με τὸν λόγον ἐφ’ ὅν ἐβουλήθην, ὑπολαβεῖν θ’ ὡς αἰσχρὸν ποιήσω καὶ δεινόν, εἰ παρὼν περιῶσομαι τινα τῶν ἐμοὶ πε- πλησιακότων πονηροίς λόγοις χρώμενον. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεῖ σῷρόμην αὐτὸν εἰ μηδὲν φροντίζει τῶν παρόντων, μηδ’ αἰσχύνεσαι λόγον εἰρήκως ἀσεβή καὶ ἤφευδη καὶ πολλῶν ἐναντιώσεων μεστὸν.

204 "γνώσει δ’ ὡς ἐστὶ τοιοῦτος, ἢν ἐρωτήσῃς τινάς τῶν εὖ φρονοῦντων ποία τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων κάλλιστα νομίζουσιν εῖναι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πόσος χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐξ οὗ Ἑλληνικάται τυγχάνουσιν ἐν Πελοπονήσῳ κατοικοῦντες. οὕτως γὰρ ὡστε οὗ τῶν μὲν ἐπιτηδευμάτων προκρίνει τὴν εὐσέβειαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην τὴν περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν τὴν περὶ τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις, Ἑλληνικάτας δ’ ἐνταῦθα κατοικεῖν

205 οὐ πλεῖον φήσουσιν ἐτῶν ἐκτακοσίων. τούτων δ’ οὕτως ἐχόντων, εἰ μὲν τυγχάνεις ἀληθῆ λέγων τούτους φάσκων εὑρετάς γεγενήθαι τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἀναγκαῖον ἐστὶ τοὺς πολλὰς γενεάς πρότερον γεγονότας, πρὶν Ἑλληνικάτας πρὶς Ἑλληνικάτας ἐνταῦθα κατακύψαι, μὴ μετέχειν αὐτῶν, μὴτέ τοὺς ἐπὶ Τροῖαν στρατευσαμένους μήτε τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέα καὶ Θησέα γεγονότας μήτε Μίνω τὸν [276]
bold to say that if the Spartans had done no other service to the Hellenes, at any rate, they deserved the gratitude of all men because they had discovered the best ways of life and not only followed these ways themselves but had taught them to the rest of the world.

This assertion, so brief and so brusque, furnished the reason why I did not close my brusque speech at the point where I was inclined to end it. I thought that it would be shameful and reprehensible on my part to permit one who had been my pupil to make in my presence a statement which was unsound. With this in mind, I asked him whether he had no regard for his present auditors and was not ashamed of having said things which were impious and false and full of many contradictions. "You will realize," I said, "that your assertion is such as I have declared it to be if you will ask any intelligent men, first what they think are the best ways of life, and next how long a time has passed since the Lacedaemonians settled in the Peloponnesus. For there is no one who, among the ways of life, will not give preference to the practice of reverence in relation to the gods and of justice in relation to mankind and of wisdom in relation to all activities in general, and they will tell you that the Spartans have lived in the Peloponnesus not more than seven hundred years. These things being so, if you speak the truth when you assert that they were the discoverers of the best ways of life, then it must follow that those who lived many generations before the Spartans settled there had no part in them—neither those who made the expedition against Troy nor those who were of the generation of Heracles and Theseus or of Minos, son
Δῖος μήτε Ῥαδάμανθων μήτ’ Ἀιακὸν μήτε τῶν ἄλλων μηδένα τῶν υμνουμένων ἐτί ταῖς ἀρεταῖς ταύταις, ἀλλὰ ψευδὴ τὴν δοξαν ταύτην ἀπαντάσ 206 ἔχευν· εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν φλυαρῶν τυγχάνεις, προσήκει δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θεῶν γεγονότας καὶ χρήσθαι ταύταις μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων καὶ καταδείξαι τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ μαίνεσθαι δόξεις ἀπασεῖ τοῖς ἀκούσασιν, οὕτως εἰκῇ καὶ παρανόμως οὕς ἂν τύχης ἐπαινῶν. ἑπεὶτ’ εἰ μὲν ευλόγεις αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν ἀκηκοῦσι τῶν ἔμων, ἐλήμερει μὲν ἂν, οὐ μὴν 207 ἐναντία γε λέγων εφαίνου σαντῷ· νῦν δ’ ἐπηνεκότι σοι τὸν ἔμων λόγον, τὸν ἐπιδεικνύοντα πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ Λακεδαιμονίους περί τε τοὺς συγγενεῖς τοὺς αὐτῶν καὶ περί τοὺς ἄλλους “Ελλήνας διαπεπραγμένους, πῶς οἴόντ’ ἂν ἔτι σοι λέγειν τοὺς ἐνόχους οὖντας τούτοις, ὡς τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἡγεμόνες γεγόνασιν;

208 ὂς δὲ τούτοις κἀκεῖνο σε λέληθεν, ὅτι τὰ παραλελειμμένα τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαντῶν οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες εὐρίσκοντοι, ἀλλ’ οἱ τὰς τε φύσεις διαφέροντες καὶ μαθεῖν πλείστα τῶν πρώτερον εὐρημένων δυνηθέντες καὶ προσέχειν τῶν νοῶν τῷ ξητέων κᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων θελήσαντες. ὃν Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλέον ἀπέχονζ τῶν βαρβάρων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂν φανεῖν πολλῶν εὐρημάτων καὶ μαθηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι γεγονότες, οὕτως δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῆς κοινῆς

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a Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Aeacus are half-legendary kings famed for their virtues, and especially their justice. They are sometimes pictured as dispensing justice in the world of the dead. See Plato, Gorgias 523.
of Zeus, or Rhadamanthus or Aeacus or any of the others who are celebrated in song for the virtues which I have mentioned, but that all of them have in this respect a reputation which is false. But if, on the other hand, you are speaking nonsense, and if it is fitting that men who were descended from gods should have cultivated these virtues more than all others and transmitted them to their successors as well, then you cannot escape being thought mad by all who hear you for being so reckless and unjust and undiscriminating in your praise. Furthermore, if you were praising them without having heard any of my speech, you would no less be speaking drivel, but you would not be manifestly contradicting yourself. But now, since you have commended my discourse, which proves that the Lacedaemonians have committed many outrages both against their own kinsmen and the rest of the Hellenes, how could you then say that those who are open to these charges have been the leaders in the best ways of life?

"Moreover, this consideration also has escaped you, that the things which have been overlooked, whether in ways of living or in the arts or in all other activities, are not discovered by any and every one, but by men who have superior endowments and are both able to learn the most of what has been discovered before their time and willing more than all others to give their minds to the search for what is new. But in these respects the Lacedaemonians are more backward than the barbarians. For you will find that the latter have been both pupils and teachers of many discoveries, while the Lacedaemonians have fallen so far behind our common culture and learning that they
ISOCRATES

παιδείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας εἰς τὸν ὅστ' οὐδὲ γράμματα μανθάνουσιν, ἀ τηλικαύτην ἔχει δύναμιν ὡστε τοὺς ἐπισταμένους καὶ χρωμένους αὐτοὺς μὴ μόνον ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας τῆς αὐτῶν πραχθέντων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πῶπτοτε γενο-210 μένων. ἀλλ' ὅμως σὺ καὶ τοὺς τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀμαθεῖς ὄντας ἐτόλμησας ἐπείω ὡς εὑρεταί τῶν καλλίστων ἐπιτηδευμάτων γεγόνασι, καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς ὅτι τοὺς παιδὰς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐθύζουσι περὶ τουαύτας πραγματείας διατρίβειν, εξ ὧν ἐλ-

[277] πίξουσιν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ευεργέτας γενήσεθαι τῶν ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ κακῶς ποιεῖν μάλιστα δυνήσεσθαι τοὺς Ἐλλήνας.

211 "Ας πάσας μὲν διεξών πολὺν ὄχλον ἐμαυτῷ τ' ἀν παράσχωμι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούοντι, μίαν δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν, ἢν ἁγαπῶσι καὶ περὶ ἢν μάλιστα σπουδάζουσι, οἶμαι δηλώσειν ἀπαντα τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν. ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν εὕθες εξ εὐντῆς ἐκπέμπουσι τοὺς παιδας, μεθ' ὃν ἄν ἐκαστοι βουληθῶσι, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ θῆραν, ἔργῳ δ' ἐπὶ 212 κλωπεῖαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄγροις κατοικοῦντων. ἐν ἡ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ληφθέντας ἄργυριοι ἀποτίνεω καὶ πληγᾶς λαμβάνειν, τοὺς δὲ πλείστα κακουργήσανται καὶ λαθεῖν δυνηθέντας ἐν τε τοῖς παισιν εὐδοκιμεῖν μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπειδὰν δ' εἰς ἀνδρας συντελέσων, ἢν εἴμεινωσι τοῖς ἔθεσιν οἷς παῖδες ὀντες ἐμελέτησαν, ἐγγὺς εἴναι τῶν μεγίστων ἀρχῶν.

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a "Before the development of the body, that of the mind
do not even try to instruct themselves in letters—a science which has so much power that those who understand and use it become apprized not only of the things which have been accomplished in their own time but also of the things which have come to pass in any age whatsoever. Nevertheless, you have made bold to assert even of those who are ignorant of such matters that they have been the discoverers of the best ways of life, and that too when you know that they train their own boys in habits and practices by which they hope that, so far from becoming the benefactors of others, they will become most adept in doing injury to the Hellenes.

"Were I to go through all of these practices, I should greatly fatigue both myself and my hearers, but if I mention only a single one—one which they cherish most and by which they set most store—I think that I can put before you their whole manner of life. For every day they send out their boys, from the very cradle, as it were, with such companions as each may prefer, ostensibly to hunt, but in reality to steal the property of the people who live in the country. In this practice, those who are caught are punished with fines and blows, while those who have accomplished the greatest number of thefts and have been able to escape detection enjoy a higher esteem among their fellow-youths than the others, and when they attain to manhood, provided they remain true to the ways which they practised in youth, they are in line for the most important offices.

had completely to give way" in Sparta. See Plutarch, Lycurgus 16; Gilbert, Greek Const. Antiquities p. 64.

For this feature of their training see Plutarch, Lycurgus 17, 18; Xenophon, Const. of Sparta ii. 5ff.; Gilbert, Greek Const. Antiquities p. 64.
"Καὶ ταῦτης ἦν τὶς ἑπτηλείξῃ παιδείαν μᾶλλον ἀγαπωμένην ἡ στουδιοτέραν παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι νομιζομένην, ὁμολογῶ μηδὲν ἀλθὲς εἰρηκέναι μηδὲ περὶ ἐνὸς πόστοτε πράγματος. καίτοι τί τῶν τοιούτων ἐργῶν καλῶν ἐστιν ἡ σεμνόν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἁἰσχύνης ἅξιον; πῶς δ’ οὐκ ἀνοήτους χρὴ νομίζειν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας τοὺς τοσοῦτον τῶν νόμων τῶν κοινῶν ἔξεστικότας καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αὐτῶν μήτε τοῖς Ἐλλησι μήτε τοῖς βαρβάροις γιγνώσκοντας; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι τοὺς κακουργοῦντας καὶ κλέπτοντας πονηροτέρους τῶν οἴκετῶν νομίζουσιν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἐργῶν πρωτεύοντας βελτίστους εἶναι τῶν παίδων ὑπολαμβάνουσι καὶ μάλιστα τιμῶσιν. καίτοι τίς ἂν τῶν εὖ φρονοῦντων οὐκ ἂν τρῖς ἀποθανεῖν ἐλοίτο μᾶλλον, ἡ διὰ τοιούτων ἐπιτηδευμάτων γνωσθῆναι τὴν ἀσκησιν τῆς ἄρετῆς ποιούμενος;"

Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας θρασέως μὲν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐν ἀντεὶπτο τῶν εἰρημένων, οὐδ’ αὖ παντάπασιν ἀπεσιώπησεν, ἀλλ’ ἐλεγεν ὅτι "οὐ μὲν πεποίησαι τοὺς λόγους" ἐμὲ λέγων "ὡς ἀπαντ’ ἀποδεχομένον μου τάκει καὶ καλῶς ἐχεῖν νομίζοντος· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖσ περὶ μὲν τῆς τῶν παιδῶν αὐτονομίας καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν εἰκότως ἐπιτιμῶν ἐκείνοις, ἐμοὶ δ’ οὐ δικαίως κατηγορεῖν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐλυπήθην μὲν τὸν λόγον ἀναγιγνώσκων ἐπὶ τοῖς περὶ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰρημένους, οὐ μὴν οὕτως ὦς ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἀντεπείν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν δύνασθαι τοῖς γεγραμμένοις, εἰθυμένους τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ἐπαινεῖν. εἰς τοιαύτην δ’ ἀπορίαν καταστάτας εἶπον

1 κακουργοῦντας vulg.: κατηγοροῦντας Γ.
2 πονηροτέρους vulg.: πονηροτάτους Γ.
"If anyone can point out an education which is more cherished by them or by which they set greater store than this, I am willing to grant that there is not a word of truth in what I have said about anything whatsoever. And yet what is there in such conduct that is good or admirable and not, on the contrary, shameful? How can we fail to condemn the folly of those who extol men who have so far departed from our common laws and are in no respect of the same way of thinking as either the Hellenes or the barbarians? For the rest of the world looks upon malefactors and thieves as more depraved than slaves, whereas the Lacedaemonians regard those who stand first in such crimes as the best among their youths and honour them the most. And yet who that is in his right mind would not prefer to die many times rather than be known as seeking through such practices to school himself in virtue?"

When he heard this, he did not answer arrogantly any of the things which I had said, neither, on the other hand, was he altogether silent, but remarked as follows: "You"—meaning myself—"have spoken as if I applauded all of the ways of Sparta and considered them good. But in fact I think that you are right in condemning the Spartans for the licence practised by their youth and for many other things as well, but wrong in attacking me. For I was troubled on reading your speech by what you had said about the Lacedaemonians, but much more by my own inability to utter a single word in their defence against what you had written, accustomed as I had been at all other times to commend you. And when I found myself in this perplexity, I said the only thing
ISOCRATES

οπερ ἦν λοιπὸν, ὡς εἰ καὶ μηδὲν δι' ἄλλο, διὰ γ' ἐκεῖνο δικαίως ἂν αὐτοὶς ἀπαντήσαντες χάριν ἔχομεν, ὅτι τοῖς καλλίστοις τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων χρώμενοι 217 τυγχάνονσιν. τάδε δ' εἶπον οὐ πρὸς τὴν εὐ- σέβειαν οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν φρόνησιν ἀποβλέψας, ἀ σὺ διήλθες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια τάκει καθεστηκότα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁσκησιν τῆς ἀνδρίας καὶ τῆς ὀμόνοιαν καὶ συνόλως τὴν περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀπερ ἀπαντήσαντες ἃν ἐπαινοῦεν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἃν αὐτοὶς ἐκείνους χρήσατο φήσειαν.’’

218 Τάδε δ' αὐτοὶ διαλεξθέντος ἀπεδεξάμην μὲν, οὔχ ὡς διαλυόμενον τι τῶν κατηγορημένων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀποκρυπτόμενον τὸ πικρότατον τῶν τότε ῥηθέντων οὐκ ἀπαίδευτος ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχοντως, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλῶν ἀπολελογημένων σωφρονε- στερον ἢ τότε παρρησιασμένον οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' εἶσας περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐφασκον κατ- ηγοριαν ἔχειν πολὺ δεινότεραν ἢ περὶ τῆς τῶν 219 παίδων κλωπείας. “ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐπιτη- δεύμασιν ἐλυμαίνοντο τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδες, οἷς δ' ὀλίγων πρότερον σὺ διήλθες, τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ἀπώλυσαν. ῥᾴδιν δ', ὡς οὐτὼς εἶχε τάδε, συν- ἱδεῖν. οὐμαι γὰρ ἀπαντᾶς ἃν ὀμολογήσῃ κακίστους ἀνδρας εἶναι καὶ μεγίστης θημίας ἀξίους, ὡςοι τοῖς πράγμασι τοῖς εὐρημένοις ἔπ' ὠφελία, τού- 220 τοῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ χρώμενοι τυγχάνονσι, μὴ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν εἰσβάλλοντας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς συν- γενείας μετέχουσας ἀπερ ἐποίουν Σπαρτιάται.

a See 204.

506
I could, namely, that for this reason at least, if for no other, they deserved the gratitude of all of us, because they followed the best ways of life. However, I said this, not with any thought of reverence or justice or wisdom—the virtues which you mentioned—but having in mind the athletic practices which have been instituted among them, their training in courage, their spirit of concord, and, in a word, their discipline for war. These all men will commend, and will concede that the Spartans practise them most of all."

When he had said this, I accepted his explanation, feeling that it did not break down any of the criticisms which I had made but that it covered up, not without tact, nay, with good taste, the crudeness of his previous utterance, and that his defence on the other points showed greater moderation than his former brusque assertion. Nevertheless, though I dismissed that matter, I stated that with reference to these very claims which he made for the Spartans I had an attack which was much more damaging than what I had said on the subject of stealing among their youths. "For by that practice," I said, "they ruined their own youths, and by these which you have just mentioned, they seek to destroy the Hellenes. And it is easy to see at a glance that this is so; for I think that all men will agree that those men are the basest and deserve the severest punishment who take the discoveries which have been made for our benefit and use them for the injury, not of the barbarians nor of those who wrong them nor of those who invade their territory, but of those who are their nearest kin and share the same blood with them." And this is

b The Perioeci, who, according to Isocrates, were of the Spartan blood, and their fellow-Dorians generally.
καίτοι πῶς ὦσιν ἐστὶ φάσκειν καλῶς χρήσθαι τοῖς περὶ τῶν πόλεμον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν, οὕτως οὐς προσήκε σώζειν, τούτους ἀπολλύοντες ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον διετέλεσαν;

221 "Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ σὺ μόνος ἠγνοεῖς τοὺς καλῶς χρωμένους τοὺς πράγμασιν, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν οἱ πλεί-στοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ἐπειδὰν γὰρ τινὰς ἰδοὺν ἥ πῦλωνται παρὰ τινων ἐπιμελῶς διατρίβοντας

[279] περὶ τὰ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι καλὰ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ πολλοὺς λόγους ποιοῦνται περὶ αὐτῶν,

222 οὐκ εἰδότες τὸ συμβησόμενον. χρῆ δὲ τοὺς ὅρθως δοκιμάζειν βουλομένους περὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἐν ἄρχῇ μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν καὶ μηδεμίαν δόξαν ἔχειν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἐπειδὰν δ' εἰς τὸν χρόνον ἐκείνων ἐλθωσιν, ἐν ὧ καὶ λέγοντας καὶ πράττοντας αὐτοὺς ὕφονται καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν κοινῶν, τότε

223 θεωρεῖν ἀκριβῶς ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοὺς μὲν νομίμους καὶ καλῶς χρωμένους οἷς ἐμελέτησαν ἐπαινεῖν καὶ τιμᾶν, τοὺς δὲ πλημμελοῦντας καὶ κακουργοῦντας ψέγειν καὶ μισεῖν καὶ φυλάττε-σθαι τὸν τρόπον αὐτῶν, ἐνθυμομένους ὡς οὐχ ἂν φύσεις ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω ωφελοῦσιν οὕτε βλάπτουσιν ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν τῶν ἄνθρωπων χρήσεις καὶ πράξεις ἀπάντων ἡμῶν αἰτίαι τῶν

224 συμβαινόντων εἰσίν. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ἐκείθεν· τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ πανταχ_unlockedlink. καὶ μηδαμὴ διαφέροντα τοῖς μὲν ωφέλιμα τοῖς δὲ βλαβερὰ γίγνεται. καίτοι τῇ τῇ μὲν φύσιν ἔχειν ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἄντων τῇ ἐναντίαν αὐτῆν αὐτῇ καὶ μὴ τῇ αὐτῇ οὐκ εὐκολῶν ἐστιν· τὸ δὲ μηδεν τῶν αὐτῶν συμβαίνειν τοῖς

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*See Nicocles 3-4; Antid. 251-252.*

508
what the Spartans have done. And yet with what conscience can we say that they make good use of their warlike practices who have at all times without ceasing sought to destroy those whom it behoved them to save?

"In truth, however, it is not you alone who fail to distinguish those who make good use of things, but, I might almost say, the great majority of the Hellenes. For whenever they see or hear from others that any people devote themselves zealously to what appear to be good practices, they extol them and make many speeches about them, without knowing what will be the effects of this devotion. However, those who desire to form a correct judgement about such people should remain silent and have no opinion about them in the beginning, but when the time comes when they can observe them both speaking and taking action regarding both private and public affairs, then they should take accurate note of what they do in each case; and when men make good use of the things which they have practised, they should praise and honour them, but when they go wrong and do evil they should censure and abhor them and guard themselves against their ways, bearing in mind that things do not of their own nature either help or harm us, but that the manner in which they are used and employed by men is the cause of all the things which befall us. One may grasp the truth of this from the following consideration: things which are in themselves always the same and never different are to some helpful and to others harmful. And yet it is not conceivable that each thing should have a nature which itself is contrary to itself and not the same. But, on the other hand, who that can reason correctly will not look upon
ορθῶς καὶ δικαίως πράττουσι καὶ τοῖς ἁσελγῶς
tε καὶ κακῶς, τῶν τῶν ὀρθῶς λογιζομένων οὐκ
ἀν εἰκότως ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι δόξειν;

"Ο δ' αὐτὸς οὕτως λόγος καὶ περὶ τὰς ὁμονοίας
ἀν ἀρμόσειν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείναι τὴν φύσιν εἰσὶν
οὐκ ἀνόμοια τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν
εὑρομέναι ἄν πλείστων ἀγαθῶν αὐτίας γεγονόμενας,
tὰς δὲ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν καὶ συμφορῶν. ὡν
μίαν εἶναι φήμι καὶ τὴν Ὑπαρχατῶν· εἰρήσεται
γὰρ τάληθες, εἴ καὶ τις δόξω λίαν παράδοξα

226 λέγειν. οὕτοι γὰρ τῷ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν περὶ
tῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων ἄλληλοις στασιάζειν τοὺς
"Ελλήνας ὦσπερ τέχνην ἔχοντες, ἐποίονυ, καὶ
τὸ χαλεπώτατον ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεις τῶν κακῶν
γεγονόμενον, τοῦθεν αὐτοῖς ἀπάντησιν συμφορώτατον
ἐνόμιζον εἶναι· τὰς γὰρ οὕτως διακειμένας ἔξῆν
αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἡβούλοντο, διοικεῖν. ὡστ' οὖνεις
ἀν αὐτοὺς διὰ γε τὴν ὁμονοίαν δικαίως ἑπανε-
it as natural that the consequences should be by no means the same in the case of those who act rightly and justly and in the case of those who act wilfully and wickedly?

"This same argument applies also to the matter of concord; for this is not different in its nature from the things which I have discussed; on the contrary, we shall find that it is in some instances the cause of very many blessings, but in others of the greatest evils and misfortunes. And I contend that the concord of the Spartans is of the latter sort. For I shall speak the truth even at the risk of appearing to some to say what is quite contrary to the general opinion. For by being of one mind amongst themselves regarding the outside world they have always striven to set the Hellenes at variance with each other, reducing this practice, as it were, to a fine art; and they have always looked upon the cruellest of evils which befel the other states as of all things in the world the greatest of boons to themselves; for when the states were in such stress, they found it possible to manage them as they pleased. So that no one could justly praise them because of their concord, any more than one could praise pirates or brigands or men given to other forms of injustice. For such men also enjoy concord among themselves and thereby seek to destroy all others. But if I appear to some to use a comparison which is not in keeping with the reputation of the Spartans, I discard this and instance the Triballians, who, according to what all men say, are of one mind as are no other people on earth, but are bent on destroying not only those who border upon their territory and those who live in their neighbourhood but also all others whom they are able to reach.
228 ἐφίκεσθαι δυνηθῶσιν. οὐς οὐ χρὴ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιομένους, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν τῆς σοφίας καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν δύναμιν. αὐταὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ τὰς σφετέρας αὐτῶν φύσεις εὔρηγετοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ οίς ἂν παραγενόμεναι παραμείνωσιν, εὐδαιμόνας καὶ μακαρίους ποιοῦσιν. Λακεδαμίνοι δὲ τοῦναντίον, οἷς μὲν ἄν πλησιάσωσιν, ἀπολλύουσιν, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἁγαθὰ πάντα περὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιοῦνται.”

229 Ταῦτ’ ἐὰν κατέσχον πρὸς ὃν τοὺς λόγους ἐποιούμην, ἀνδρὰ δεινὸν καὶ πολλῶν ἐμπειρὸν καὶ περὶ τὸ λέγειν γεγυμνασμένον οὐδενὸς ἤττον τῶν ἐμοὶ πεπλησιακότων. οὐ μὴν τὰ μειράκια τὰ πάσι παραγεγενημένα τούτοις τὴν αὐτὴν ἐμοὶ γνώμην ἔσχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐμὲ μὲν ἐπῆνεσαν ὡς διειλεγμένον τε νεαρωτέρως ἢ προσεδόκησαν ἡγωνισμένον τε καλῶς, ἐκεῖνον δὲ κατεφρόνησαν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς γνωσκόντες, ἀλλὰ διημαρτηκότες ἀμφοτέρων ἠμῶν.

230 οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἀπῆε φρονομῶτερος γεγενημένος καὶ συνεσταλμένην ἔχων τὴν διάνοιαν, ὡσπερ χρῆ τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας, καὶ πεπονθός τὸ γεγραμμένον ἐν Δελφοῖς, αὐτόν τ’ ἐγνωκὼς καὶ τὴν Λακεδαμινών φύσιν μᾶλλον ἡ πρότερον. ἐγώ δ’ ὑπελειπόμην ἐπιτυχώς μὲν ἴσως διειλεγμένος, ἀνοητότερος δὲ δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο γεγενημένος, καὶ φρονῶν μεῖζον ἡ προσῆκε τοὺς τηλικοῦτους, καὶ ταραχὴς μειρακώδους μεστὸς ὦν. δῆλος δ’ ἦν οὕτω διακείμενος· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἴσως ἐπελαβόμην, οὐ πρότερον

512
But men who pretend to excellence must not imitate their example but much rather the power of wisdom and of justice and of the other virtues. For these do not work for the benefit of their own natures, but whomsoever they visit and abide with—these they bless with prosperity and happiness. But the Lacedaemonians do the very opposite: whomsoever they approach they seek to destroy and they are ever striving to appropriate all the good things which belong to the world at large.

Having said these things, I silenced the man to whom I had addressed my remarks, albeit he was able and experienced in many things and had been trained in speaking no less than any of those who had been under my instruction. However, the youths who had been present at all this discussion did not form the same judgement as myself, but, while they applauded me both for having spoken more vigorously than they anticipated and for having debated well, they disparaged my opponent, although in fact they judged neither of us correctly but missed the truth as to us both. For he went his way, having grown wiser and feeling chastened in spirit, as is becoming to men of intelligence; he had experienced the force of the inscription at Delphi and come to know both himself and the nature of the Lacedaemonians better than before. I, on the other hand, remained, having perhaps debated effectively, but having because of this very fact shown less understanding, cherishing a greater pride than befits men of my age, and given over to youthful confusion. Manifestly I was in such a state of mind; for when I seized a moment of quiet,
ISOCRATES

\[281\] ύπέβαλον τῷ παιδὶ τὸν λόγον, ὥν ὁλίγῳ μὲν πρῶτον μεθ’ ἔροντός διῆλθον, μικρῷ δ’ ἀπαντα περὶ αὐτῆς γεγραφῶς, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς περὶ Δακεδαιμονίων ἐλυπήθην καὶ βαρέως ἔφερον οὐ γὰρ μετρίως ἐδόκουν μοι διαλέχθαι περὶ αὐτῶν οὐδ’ ὁμοίως τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλ’ ὁλιγώρως καὶ λίαν πικρῶς καὶ παντάπασιν ἀνοῆσως: ὥστε πολλάκις ὀρμήσας ἐξαλείφεις αὐτὸν ἡ κατακάεις μετεγγυώσκοιν, ἔλεων τὸ γήρας τούμαντο καὶ τὸν πόνον τὸν περὶ τὸν λόγον γεγενημένον.

232 'Εν τοιαύτῃ δὲ μοι ταραξῇ καθεστηκότι καὶ μεταβολάς ποιουμένω πολλὰς ἔδοξε κράτιστον εἶναι παρακαλέσαντι τῶν πεπλησιακῶτων τοὺς ἐπι- δημοῦντας βουλεύσασθαι μετ’ αὐτῶν, πότερον αφανιστέος παντάπασιν ἐστὶν ἡ διαδοτέος τοῖς βουλομένωις λαμβάνειν, ὁπότερα δ’ ἂν ἐκείνως δόξῃ, ταῦτα ποιεῖν. τούτων γνωσθέντων οὐδεμίαν διατρίβην ἐποιησάμην, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς παρεκέκλητο μὲν οὐς εἶπον, προειρήκος δ’ ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐφ’ ἀ συνεληφθότες ἦσαν, ἀνέγυιστο δ’ ὁ λόγος, ἐπηνημένος δ’ ἢν καὶ τεθορυβημένος καὶ τετυχῆκὼς ἕντερ οἱ κατορθοῦντες ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεσιν.

233 'Απάντων δὲ τούτων ἐπιτετελεσμένων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι διελέγοντο πρὸς σφάς αὐτούς, δῆλον ὦτι περὶ

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a The common term for a servant. Slaves were often employed as secretaries.

b "Epideictic" speeches—orationes composed to display the powers of the speaker.

514
I did not cease until I had dictated to my boy the speech which a short time before I had delivered with pleasure but which a little later was to cause me distress. For when, after three or four days had elapsed, I was reading and going over it, I found that, while I was not troubled about the things which I had said about Athens (for in everything which had reference to her I had written well and justly), yet I was distressed and uncomfortable about what I had said with reference to the Lacedaemonians. For it seemed to me that I had not spoken of them with moderation nor in the same manner as the rest of the world but with contempt and with extreme bitterness and altogether without understanding. The result was that I was often on the point of blotting out or burning what I had written and as often changed my mind when I thought with pity of my old age and of the labour which had been spent upon my discourse.

Since I was in this state of confusion, shifting frequently from one impulse to the other, I decided that the best thing for me to do was to call in those of my former disciples who lived in the city and take counsel with them as to whether my discourse was to be entirely destroyed or to be distributed among those who desired to have it, and to follow their judgement whatever it might be. Having so resolved, I lost no time; they whom I have mentioned were summoned at once; I announced to them beforehand the object of their coming together; the speech was read aloud, was praised and applauded and accorded even such a reception as is given to successful declamations.

But when all this demonstration had come to an end, the others present began to talk among themselves,
ISOCRATES

tων ἀναγνωσθέντων· διὸ δ’ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετεπεμψάμεθα σύμβουλον, τῶν Δακεδαμονίων ἐπαινέτην, πρὸς δὲν πλεῖώ διελέξθην τοῦ δέοντος, σωφτὴν ποιησάμενος καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ βλέψας ἀπορεῖν ἐφασκεν ὁ τι χρή- σηταί τοῖς παραύνων. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν βουλεύοντα
τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, οὔτε πιστεύειν δύνασθαι
235 παντάπασιν αὐτοῖς. “θαυμάζω γὰρ εἶθ’ οὕτως ἐλυπήθης καὶ βαρέως ἔσχες, ὥσπερ φής, ἐπὶ τοῖς
περὶ Δακεδαμονίων εἰρημένοις, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν
αὐτοῖς ὅρῳ τοιοῦτον γεγραμμένον, εἶτε συμβούλους
περὶ τοῦ λόγου χρήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς
συνήγαγες, οὐς οἴσθ’ ἀκριβῶς ἀπαν ὁ τι· ἂν σὺ
λέγῃς ἡ πράττης ἐπαινοῦτας. εἰθισμένοι δ’ εἰσούν
οἱ νοῦν ἔχοντες ἀνακοινοοῦσαί, περὶ δὲν ἂν σπου-
δάζοντι, μάλιστα μὲν τοῖς ἅμεινον αὐτῶν φρονοῦσιν,
[282] εἰ δὲ μῆ, τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι τὴν αὐτῶν
236 γνώμην· διὸ τάναντία σοὶ πεποίηκας. τούτων μὲν
οὖν οὐδέτερον ἀποδέχομαι τῶν λόγων, δοκεῖς δὲ
μοι ποιῆσασθαι τήν τε παράκλησιν τῆν ἡμετέραν
καὶ τὸν ἑπαίνου τὸν τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ἀπλῶς, οὐδ’
ὡς διείλεξαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ἡμῶν μὲν πείραν
λαβεῖν βουλόμενος, εἰ φιλοσοφοῦμεν καὶ μεμνήμεθα
tῶν ἐν ταῖς διατριβαίς λεγομένων καὶ συνιδεῖν
dυνηθείμεν ἂν ὃν τρόπον ὁ λόγος τυγχάνει γε-
237 γραμμένος, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἑπαίνειν προελέσθαι τὴν
σαυτοῦ σωφρονῶν, ὡς τῷ τε πλήθει τῷ τῶν πολι-
tῶν χαρίσῃ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς εὐνοικῶς πρὸς ἡμᾶς δια-
516
presumably about the discourse which had been read. But the man whom I had sent for at first to obtain his advice (the panegyrist of the Lacedaemonians, to whom I had spoken at greater length than I should), having remained silent in the meantime, turned to me and said that he was in doubt what to do in the present situation, for he desired neither to discredit the words which I had spoken nor was he able to credit them entirely. "For I wonder," he continued, "whether you were as distressed and uncomfortable about the things which you had said concerning the Lacedaemonians as you allege—for I see nothing in what you have written to indicate such a feeling—and whether you really brought us together because you desired to get our advice about your discourse, since you knew well enough that we always commend whatever you say or do. Men of intelligence are accustomed to take common counsel with others regarding matters about which they are concerned, preferably with those who are wiser than themselves, but, at any rate, with those who will express their own judgement. But you have done the very opposite. Therefore I accept neither of these explanations but am rather of the opinion that you summoned us here and pronounced your encomium on Athens, not ingenuously nor for the reason you stated to us, but because you wanted to test us to see if we were true to the cultivated life, if we remembered what had been said to us under your tutelage, and if we could grasp at once the manner in which your speech was written—that you chose, and chose wisely, to eulogize your own city in order that you might gratify the multitude of your fellow-citizens and that you might win the acclaim of those who are friendly disposed
κειμένοις εὐδοκιμήσῃς. ταύτα δὲ γνώς ύπέλαβες ὡς εἰ μὲν περὶ μόνης αὐτῆς ποιήσει τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ μυθάδη περὶ αὐτῆς ἔρεις ἃ πάντες θρυλοῦσιν, ὁμοία φανεῖται τὰ λεγόμενα τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γεγραμμένοις, ἐφ’ ὧν σὺ μάλιστ’ ἂν αἰσχυνθήσῃ καὶ λυπηθεῖς· ἐὰν δ’ ἐάσασα ἐκείνα λέγησ τὰς πράξεις τὰς ὁμολογομένας καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτίκα τοῖς "Ελλησι γεγενημένας, καὶ παραβάλλῃς αὐτάς πρὸς τὰς Δακεδαμονίων, καὶ τὰς μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἐπαυξής, τῶν δ’ ἐκείνως πεπραγμένων κατηγορήσῃ, ὃ τε λόγος ἐναργέστερος εἶναι δόξει τοῖς ἀκούοντι καὶ σὺ μενεῖς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, δ’ μᾶλλον ἀν τινες θαυμάσειαν τῶν τοῖς ἄλλοις γεγραμμένων.

239 "Ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν οὗτῳ μοι φαίνει τάξαι καὶ βουλεύσασθαι περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰδὼς δὲ σαυτὸν ἐπηγινέκοτα τὴν Σπαρτιάτῶν διοίκησιν ὡς ούδεις ἄλλος, φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀκηκοότας, μὴ δόξης ὁμοίος εἶναι τοῖς λέγονσιν ὃ τι ἂν τύχωσι καὶ τούτους νῦν ψέγειν οὕς πρότερον ἐπήνεις μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων· ταῦτ’ ἐνθυμηθεὶς σκοπεῖσθαι ποίους τινὰς ἂν ἑκατέρους εἶναι φήσας ἄληθή τε λέγειν δόξειας περὶ ἀμφοτέρων, ἐχοι τ’ ἂν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους ἐπανεῖν, οὕσπερ βούλει, Σπαρτιάτῶν δὲ δοκεῖν μὲν κατηγορεῖν τοῖς ἀνδρῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διακειμένοις,

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a An exaggeration. But see Archidamus; Areop. 7; Nicoles 24; Peace 142 ff.

518
towards you. But having so decided, you conceived that if you confined your discourse to Athens alone and repeated the fables about her which fall easily from the lips of everyone, your speech would appear no different from those which had been composed by the other orators (which would cause you extreme humiliation and distress), whereas if you discarded these fables and dealt with her acknowledged achievements, which have brought many blessings to the Hellenes, and compared these with the deeds of the Lacedaemonians, praising the achievements of your ancestors and censuring the things which have been done by the Lacedaemonians, not only would your discourse make a more striking impression upon your hearers but you yourself would lose no ground, and many would admire such a treatment of the theme more than what had been written by the other orators.

"At the first, then, so it appears to me, this was the manner in which you reviewed and thought upon your problem. But since you knew that you had praised the government of the Spartans more than any other man,\(^\text{a}\) you feared lest you might impress those who had heard this praise as no different from the orators who speak without conviction or principle, if, that is to say, you censured on the present occasion those whom you formerly were wont to praise above all others. Pondering this difficulty, you proceeded to study in what light you could represent each of these two cities in order that you might seem to speak the truth about them both and that you might be able to praise your ancestors, just as you purposed to do, and at the same time to appear to be censuring the Spartans in the eyes of those who have no liking for
μηδὲν δὲ ποιεῖν τοιούτων ἄλλα λανθάνειν ἐπαινῶν

ISOCRATES

240 αὐτούς· ξητῶν δὲ τὰ τοιαύτα βραδίως εὑρεῖν λόγους ἀμφιβόλους καὶ μηδὲν μᾶλλον μετὰ τών ἐπαινοῦν-

[283] τών ἡ τῶν ψεγόντων ὄντας, ἄλλο ἐπαμφοτερίζειν δυναμένους καὶ πολλὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις ἔχοντας, οἷς χρήσθαι περὶ μὲν συμβολαίων καὶ περὶ πλεονεξίας ἀγωνιζόμενον αἰσχρὸν καὶ πονηρίας οὐ μικρὸν σημεῖον, περὶ δὲ φύσεως ἀνθρώπων διαλεγόμενον καὶ πραγμάτων καλὸν καὶ φιλόσοφον. οἷς περὶ δὲ λόγος ἐ διαναγισθεὶς ἐστιν, ἐν ὧ πεποίηκας τοὺς μὲν σοὺς προγόνους εἰρημικοὺς καὶ φιλέλληνας καὶ τῆς ἴσοτητος τῆς ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡγεμόνας, Σπαρτιάτας δὲ ὑπεροπτικοὺς καὶ πολεμικοὺς καὶ πλεονέκτας, οίους περὶ αὑτούς εἶναι πάντες ὑπειλήφασιν.

"Τοιαύτην δὲ ἐκατέρων ἐχόντων τὴν φύσιν, τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν εὖν εἶναι τῷ πλήθει, τοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς φθονεῖν καὶ 241 δυσμενῶς ἔχειν, ἔστι δὲ οὖσ καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς καὶ θανμάζειν, καὶ τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς ἀγαθὰ μείζων ὑγιῶς ἐχουσεῖν τῶν τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς σοῖς προσόντων· τὴν τε γὰρ ὑπεροφίαν σεμνότητος μετέχειν, εὐδοκίμου πράγματος, καὶ δοκεῖν ἀπασι μεγαλοφιλοστέρους εἶναι τοὺς τοιούτους ἡ τοὺς τῆς ἴσοτητος προεστώτας, τοὺς τε πολεμικοὺς πολὺ διαφέρειν τῶν εἰρηνικῶν· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὦτε κτητικοὺς εἶναι τῶν οὐκ ὄντων οὕτε φύλακας δεινοὺς τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, τοὺς δὲ ἀμφότερα δύνα-

σθαι, καὶ λαμβάνειν ὃν ἀν ἐπιθυμῶσι καὶ σώζειν

\[a\] Surely this is ironical.
them, while in reality doing nothing of the sort but covertly praising them instead. Seeking such an effect, you found without difficulty arguments of double meaning, which lend themselves no more to the purpose of those who praise than of those who blame, but are capable of being turned both ways and leave room for much disputation—arguments the employment of which, when one contends in court over contracts for his own advantage, is shameful and no slight token of depravity but, when one discourses on the nature of man and of things, is honourable and bespeaks a cultivated mind. Even such is the discourse which has been read, in which you have represented your ancestors as devoted to peace and lovers of the Hellenes and champions of equality in the government of states, but have painted the Spartans as arrogant and warlike and self-seeking, as indeed they have been conceived by all men to be.

"Such being the nature of each of these two cities, the Athenians are extolled by all men and are credited with being friendly to the masses, while the Spartans are envied and disliked by the majority of men. There are, however, those who praise them and admire them and make bold to say that they have greater advantages than were possessed by your ancestors. For arrogance partakes of dignity—a quality held in high esteem—and men of that character are regarded as more high-minded than those who champion equality, just as those who are warlike are regarded as superior to those who are peaceable. For the latter are neither seekers after what they do not have nor staunch guardians of what they possess, while the former are effective in both respects—both in seizing whatever they covet and in keeping what-
απερ ἄν ἀπάξ κατάσχωσιν· ἃ ποιοῦσιν οἱ τέλειοι
243 δοκοῦντες εἶναι τῶν ἀνδρῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ
τῆς πλεονεξίας καλλίους ἔχειν οἴονται λόγους τῶν
eἰρημένων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀποστεροῦντας τὰ συμβολαὶ καὶ τοὺς παρακρομομένους καὶ παραλογιζομένους οὐχ ἤγονται δικαίως καλεῖσθαι πλεονεκτικοῖς, διὰ γὰρ τὸ πονηράν ἔχειν τὴν δόξαν ἐν ἀπασίν αὐτοὺς ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι, τὰς δὲ Ἡπαρτιστῶν πλεονεξίας καὶ τὰς τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τὰς τῶν τυράννων εὐκτάς μὲν εἶναι, καὶ ἀπαντας
244 αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ λοιδορέονται καὶ καταράσθαι τοῖς τὰς τηλικοῦτας ἔχουσι δυναστεῖας· οὐδένα δὲ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὴν φύσιν ὡστὶς οὐκ ἂν
[284] εὐξαίτω τοῖς θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν αὐτός τυχεῖν τῆς
ἐξουσίας ταύτης, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους· ὡς καὶ φανερὸν ἐστὶν ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀπαντας εἶναι νομίζομεν τὸ πλέον ἔχειν τῶν ἅλλων.
"Τὴν μὲν οὖν περιβολήν τοῦ λόγου δοκεῖς μοι
245 ποιήσασθαι μετὰ τοιαύτης διανοίας. εἰ μὲν οὖν
ήγοιμην ἀφέξεσθαι σε τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ παρα-
λείψεως ἄνεπιτήμητον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον, οὐδέν ἂν
αὐτὸς ἐτὶ λέγειν ἐπεχείρουν· νῦν δ' ὅτι μὲν οὖκ
ἀπεφηνάμην περὶ δὲν παρεκλήθην σύμβουλος, οὐδέν
οἰμαί σοι μελήσεων, οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτι συνήγας ἡμᾶς,
246 ἐδόκεις μοι σπουδάζειν περὶ αὐτῶν, προελθομένον
dὲ se1 συνθεῖναι λόγου μηδὲν ὀμοιοῦν τοῖς ἅλλοις,
1 προελθομένον δὲ se scripsi: ὅτε δὲ προελθομένος οὔ Γ.

a Manifestly Isocrates in this passage imitates Plato's Republic 344, where Thrasymachus, maintaining that
ever they have once made their own. And this is what is done by those who are men in the complete sense." But the eulogists of Sparta think they have even a stronger plea for self-seeking than what I have said. For they do not consider that men who break contracts and cheat and falsify accounts deserve to be termed self-seeking; for because they are in bad repute with all men they come off worse in all circumstances, whereas the self-seeking of the Spartans and of kings and despots is a gift from heaven which all men crave. It is true that those who hold such power are the objects of abuse and execration; but no man is so constituted by nature that he would not pray to the gods to be granted this power, preferably for himself, but, failing that, for those nearest and dearest to him. And this fact makes it manifest that all men regard it as the greatest good in the world to have the advantage over others.

"It was, then, with such thoughts, as it seems to me, that you planned the general scope of your discourse. But if I believed that you would refrain from revising what has been said and would let this discourse stand without criticism, I would not myself attempt to speak further. As it is, however, I do not suppose that you will feel disturbed in the least because I did not speak out my opinion on the question about which I was called in to advise you, for even at the time when you called us together you did not seem to me to be really concerned about it. I suppose rather that you will object that, whereas you have deliberately chosen to compose a discourse which is not at

"justice is the interest of the stronger," bids Socrates not to mark the consequences of injustice practised on a petty scale but those of the "most complete injustice," such as a despotism. Cf. Plato, Gorgias 483.
ISOCRATES

247 άλλα τοίς μὲν ραθύμως ἀναγγιγνώσκουσιν ἀπλοῦν εἶναι δόξοντα καὶ ράδιον καταμαθεῖν, τοῖς δ' ἀκριβῶς διεξούσιν αὐτόν, καὶ πειρωμένους κατ-ιδεῖν ὃ τούς ἄλλους λέληθεν, χαλεπὸν φανούμενον καὶ δυσκαταμάθητον καὶ πολλής μὲν ἱστορίας γέμοντα καὶ φιλοσοφίας, παντοδαπῆς δὲ μεστὸν ποικιλίας καὶ θευδολογίας, οὐ τῆς εἰθισμένης μετὰ κακίας βλάπτειν τοὺς συμπολιτευομένους, άλλα τῆς δυναμένης μετὰ παιδίας ῥήφελεν ἢ τέρπειν 247 τούς ἄκουοντας,—ἄν οὐδεν ἔασαντα με φήσειν

248 'Εγὼ δ' ὀμολογῶ μὲν ἀπολελείφθαι τῇ ἐμῇ φρόνησιν τῆς σῆς ἀκριβῶς διούσιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὦσπερ τοῦτ' ὦδα, κακεῖνο τυγχάνω γιγνώ-σκοιν, ὅτι τῆς πόλεως τῆς ὑμετέρας βουλευομένης περὶ τῶν μεγίστων οἱ μὲν ἀρισταὶ φρονεῖν δοκοῦντες ἐνίοτε διαμαρτάνουσι τοῦ συμφέροντος, τῶν δὲ φαύλων νομιζομένως εἶναι καὶ καταφρονομένων

[285] ἔστιν οτὲ κατώρθωσεν ὁ τυχῶν καὶ βέλτιστα 249 λέγειν ἔδοξεν· ὡστ' οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἶ καὶ περὶ

1 φήσειν scripsi: φήσεις mss.
all like any other, but which to those who read it casually will appear to be ingenuous and easy to comprehend, though to those who scan it thoroughly and endeavour to see in it what has escaped all others it will reveal itself as difficult and hard to understand, packed with history and philosophy, and filled with all manner of devices and fictions—not the kind of fictions which, used with evil intent, are wont to injure one's fellow-citizens, but the kind which, used by the cultivated mind, are able to benefit or to delight one's audience,—you will object, I say, that, whereas you have chosen to do this, yet I have not allowed any of this to stand as you resolved that it should, but that I fail to see that in seeking both to explain the force of your words and to expound your real thoughts I thereby lessen the reputation of the discourse in proportion as I make it more patent and intelligible to its readers; for by implanting understanding in those who are without knowledge I render the discourse naked and strip it of the honour which would otherwise attach to it through those who study hard and are willing to take pains.

"But, while I acknowledge that my own intelligence is vastly inferior to your own, yet as surely as I appreciate this fact so surely do I know that in times when your city deliberates on matters of the greatest import those who are reputed to be the wisest sometimes miss the expedient course of action, whereas now and then some chance person from the ranks of men who are deemed of no account and are regarded with contempt hits upon the right course and is thought to give the best advice. It would not, then, be surprising if something of the sort has come to pass
τού νῦν ἑνεστῶτοι τοιούτον τι συμβέβηκεν, ὡπον σὺ μὲν οἶει μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμήσειν, ἓν ὡς πλείστον χρόνον διαλάθης ἢν ἔχων γνώμην τὰ περὶ τὸν λόγον ἐπραγματεύθης, ἐγὼ δ' ἤγουμαι βέλτιστά σε πράξειν, ἢν δυνηθῆς τὴν διάνοιαν, ἢ χρώμενος αὐτὸν συνέθηκας, ὡς τάχιστα φανερὰν ποιήσαι τοῖς τ' ἀλλοις ἅπασι καὶ Δακεδαμονίοις, περὶ ὁμι πεποίησαι πολλοὺς λόγους, τοὺς μὲν δικαίους καὶ σεμνοὺς, τοὺς δ' ἁσελγεῖς καὶ λίαν φιλαπεχθήμονας.

250 "Ὅς εἰ τις ἐπέδειξεν αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἔμε διαλεξῆμαι περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἂν ἐμίσησαν καὶ δυσκόλως πρὸς σὲ διετέθησαν ὡς κατηγορίαν γεγραφότα καθ' αὐτῶν, νῦν δ' οἴομαι τοὺς μὲν πλείστους Ἡσπαρτιάτον ἐμμενεῖν τοῖς ἥθεσιν οἴσπερ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, τοῖς δὲ λόγοις τοῖς ἐνθάδε γραφομένοις οὐδὲν μᾶλλον προσέξειν τὸν νῦν ἢ τοῖς ἐξω τῶν 'Ηρακλέους

251 στηλῶν λεγομένοις, τοὺς δὲ φρονιμωτάτους αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων τινὰς ἔχοντας τῶν σῶν καὶ θαμάζοντας, τούτους, ἢν λάβωσι τὸν ἀναγνωσόμενον καὶ χρόνον ὅστε συνδιατριβᾶτο φήσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐδὲν ἀγνοήσειν τῶν λεγομένων, ἄλλα καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων αἰσθήσεσθαι τῶν μετ' ἀποδείξεως εἰρημένων περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἑαυτῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιδοριῶν καταφρονήσεων τῶν εἰκῆ μὲν τοῖς πράγμασι λεγομένων πικρῶς δὲ τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεχρημένων, καὶ νομεῖν τὰς μὲν βλασφημίας τὰς ἐνούσας ἐν 252 τῷ βιβλίῳ τῶν φθόνον ὑποβαλεῖν, τὰς δὲ πράξεις καὶ τὰς μάχας, ἐφ' αἷς αὐτοί τε μέγα φρονοῦσι

526
in the present instance, where you think that you will gain the greatest credit if you conceal for the longest possible time the purpose you had in mind when you worked out your discourse, whereas I think that you will best succeed if you can with the least possible delay publish the thought by which you were governed when you composed it to all the world and especially to the Lacedaemonians, whom you have often discussed, sometimes with fairness and dignity, but then again with recklessness and extreme captiousness.

"For if one were to show them a discourse of the latter sort before I had explained it to them, they would inevitably hate you and dislike you for having written in denunciation of them. As it is, I think that while most of the Lacedaemonians will continue to abide in the ways to which they have been faithful in past times and will pay no more attention to what is written in Athens than to what is said beyond the Pillars of Heracles, yet the most intelligent among them, who possess and admire certain of your writings, will not misapprehend anything of what is said in this discourse if they can find someone who will interpret it to them, and if they can take the time to ponder over it by themselves; on the contrary, they will appreciate the praise given to their own city, which is based on proof, while they will dismiss with contempt the abuse, which is uttered at random with no regard to the facts, and is offensive only in the words employed; and they will think that envy slipped in the calumnies which are found in your treatise, but that you have recorded the exploits and the battles in which they themselves take great pride and because of which they enjoy a high repute with the
καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐδοκιμοῦσι, σὲ γεγραφέναι καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι πεποιηκέναι, συναγαγόντα πᾶσας αὐτὰς καὶ θέντα παρ’ ἀλλήλας, αὐτίνοι δ’ εἰναι καὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ ποθεῖν ἀναγνώναι καὶ διελθεῖν αὐτὰς, οὐ τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀκούσαι πράξεις, 253 ἀλλὰ πὼς σὺ διείλεξαι περὶ αὐτῶν μαθεῖν βουλομένους. ταῦτ’ ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ διεξόντας οὐδὲ τῶν παλαιῶν ἔργων ἀμνημονήσεων, δι’ ὧν ἐγκεκω-

[286] μίακας τοὺς προγόνους αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοῦς, πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι Δωριέως ὄντες, ἑπειδὴ κατείδου τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀδόξους καὶ μικρὰς καὶ πολλῶν ἐνδεεῖς οὕσας, ὑπεριδόντες ταῦτα ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πρωτευόντας, ἐπ’ Ἀργος καὶ 254 Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Μεσσήνην, μάχῃ δὲ νικήσαντες τοὺς μὲν ἡττηθέντας ἐκ τε τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἐξεβάλον, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰς κτήσεις ἀπάσας τὰς ἐκείνων τότε κατασχόντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχουσιν, οὐ μεῖζον ἔργον καὶ θαυμαστότερον οὐδές ἐπι-

dείξει κατ’ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον γενόμενον, οὐδὲ πρᾶξιν εὔπτυχεστέραν καὶ θεουφιλεστέραν τῆς τούς χρησιμένους τῆς μὲν οἰκείας ἀπορίας ἀπαλλαξάσης, τῆς δὲ ἀλλοτρίας εὐδαιμονίας κυρίους ποιησάσης.

255 “Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν μετὰ πάντων συστρατευσα-
mένων ἐπραξαν’ ἑπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Μεσσηνίους τὴν χώραν διείλοντο καὶ καθ’ αὐτοὺς ἐν Σπάρτῃ κατώκησαν, ἐν τούτοις τοῖς καιροῖς τοσοῦτον φρονήσατε φῆς αὐτοὺς, ὡστε ὄντας οὐ 528
rest of the world, and that you have made these achievements memorable by collecting them all and placing them side by side with each other and so have brought it about that many of the Spartans long to read and peruse your accounts of them, not because they crave to hear of their own deeds, but because they wish to hear how you have dealt with them. And as they think and dwell upon these deeds, they will not fail to recall also those ancient exploits through which you have glorified their ancestors, but will often talk of them amongst themselves; and first of all they will tell of the time when, being still Dorians, they saw their own cities to be inglorious and insignificant and in need of many things, and, feeling them to be unworthy, took the field against the leading states of the Peloponnesus—against Argos and Lacedaemon and Messene—conquered them in battle and drove the vanquished both from their cities and from their lands, and seized for themselves at that time all the possessions of the enemy and have continued to hold them to this day. And no man can point to a greater or a more marvellous achievement in those times nor to an enterprise more fortunate or more blessed of the gods than that which delivered those who engaged in it from their own poverty and placed them in possession of the prosperity of others.

"These were victories won with the aid of all who joined in that expedition. But after they had divided the territory with the Argives and the Messenians and for themselves had settled in Sparta—at this juncture, as you say, they were so proud that although they then numbered no more than two

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a See 239, note.
ISOCRATES

πλείους τότε δισχιλίων οὐχ ἦγορασθαι σφάς αὐτοὺς ἄξιος εἶναι ξῆν, εἰ μὴ δεσπόται πασῶν τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεων γενέσθαι δυνηθεῖν, 256 ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθέντα καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαντας οὐκ ἀπεπείν, ἐν πολλοῖς κακοῖς καὶ κυνδύνοις γιγνομένοις, πρὸς ἄπασας ταύτας ὑφ' αὐτοῖς ἐποιήσαντο πλήν τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως, ἔχοντας δ' ἡδὴ καὶ χώραν πλείστην καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην καὶ δόξαν τοσαύτην ὅσην προσήκει τοὺς τηλικάντα διαπεπραγμένοις οὐχ ἦττον διακείσθαι φιλοτίμως, ὅτι λόγος ὑπήρξεν αὐτοῖς ἴδιος καὶ 257 καλὸς μόνοις τῶν 'Ελλήνων: ἐξεῖναι γὰρ εἶπεῖν αὐτοῖς ὅτι σφεῖς μὲν οἴντες οὕτως ὀλίγοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν οὐδεμιᾷ πῶστε τῶν μυριάνδρων πόλεων ἦκολούθησαν οὐδ' ἐποίησαν τὸ προστατόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτόνομοι διετέλεσαν οἴντες, αὐτοὶ δ' ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους πάντων τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἡγεμόνες κατέστησαν, καὶ τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἔτυχον οὐκ ἄλογως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μάχας ποιησάμενοι πλεῖστας ἀνθρώπων κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον μηδεμίαν ἦττηθηκαί τούτων ἡγουμένου 258 βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ νεικικήκειαι πάσας, οὐ τεκμηρίων [287] οὐδεῖς ἂν δύνατο μείζον εἶπεῖν ἀνδρίας καὶ καρτερίας καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὀμονοίας, πλὴν ἢ τὸ ῥηθήσεσθαι μέλλον· τοσοῦτοι γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόλεων τῶν 'Ελληνίδων οὐσῶν, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδεμίαν οὐδέν' εἶπεῖν οὐδ' εὑρέων, ἢτις οὐ περιπέτειως ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς εἰδισμέναις 259 γίγνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπαρτιατῶν

1 οὐδεμίαν οὐδέν' Benseler: οὐδεμίαν mss.

a The Spartans at the time of the Persian Wars numbered 530
thousand men they considered themselves unworthy to live unless they could make themselves masters of all the cities in the Peloponnesus. In this state of mind, they undertook to wage war and did not cease, albeit they were involved in many misadventures and dangers, before they had reduced them all to subjection, except the city of the Argives. But when at length they held the greatest territory and the strongest power in Hellas and a reputation appropriate to men who had achieved such mighty things, they continued no less to pride themselves upon the fact that they could boast of a record unique and glorious: for they, alone of the Hellenes, could say that, albeit so few in number, they had never followed the lead or done the bidding of any one of the populous states, but had throughout been free and independent; and that they themselves in the war against the barbarians had held the place of leadership among all the Hellenes and had attained this honour, not without good reason, but because they had fought more battles than any other people in those times and had never been defeated in any one of them, when a king led them forth to battle, but had been victorious in all. And no one could urge a stronger proof than this of their valour and their hardihood and of their concord amongst themselves, except that which I shall now mention: for of all the other Hellenic states, many as they are, no man could cite or find a single one which has not been involved in the misadventures which are wont to happen to states, whereas in the city of the Spartans no one can

eight thousand according to Herod. vii. 234. Aristotle (Politics ii. 9) states that in his day there were hardly one thousand.
οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπιδείξειεν οὐτε στάσιν οὔτε σφαγάς οὔτε φυγάς ἀνόμους γεγενημένας, οὐδ' ἀρπαγὰς χρημάτων οὐδ' αἰσχύνας γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν, ἀλλ' οὖν μοιχείας μεταβολὴν οὖν ἢ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς οὖν γῆς ἀναδασμὸν οὐδ' ἀλλ' οὖν τῶν ἀνηκέστων κακῶν. περὶ οὖν διεξόντας οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτις οὐ καὶ σοῦ, τοῦ τ' ἀθροίσαντος καὶ διαλεχθέντος οὕτω καλῶς περὶ αὐτῶν, μεμνήσεσθαι καὶ πολλὴν χάριν ἔξεν.

260 "Ου τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ γνώμην ἔχω περὶ σοῦ νῦν καὶ πρότερον. ἐν μὲν γάρ τοῖς παρελθοῦσι χρόνοις ἐθαύμαζόν σου τὴν τε φύσιν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου τάξιν καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἀληθείαν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, νῦν δὲ ξηλὸ σε καὶ μακαρίζω τῆς ευδαιμονίας: δοκεῖς γάρ μοι ζῶν μὲν λήψεσθαι δόξαν οὐ μείζω μὲν ἢ άξιος εἰ, χαλεπόν γάρ, παρὰ πλεῖσοι δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον ὀμολογομένῃ τῆς νῦν ὑπαρχοῦσης, τελευτήσας δὲ τὸν βίον μεθέζειν ἀθανασίας, οὗ τῆς τοῖς θεοῖς παρούσης, ἀλλὰ τῆς τοῖς ἐπιγγνωμένους περὶ τῶν διενεκόντων ἐπὶ τῶν τῶν καλῶν ἔργων μηνήμην ἐμποιοῦσης. καὶ δικαίως τεύχει τούτων· ἐπήνεκας γὰρ τὰς πόλεις ἀμφοτέρας καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως, τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὴν δόξαν τὴν τῶν πολλῶν, ἢς οὖν τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν καταπεφρόνηκεν, ἀλλ' ἐπιθυμοῦντες τυχεῖν αὐτῆς οὐκ ἔστιν αἰνία καίνυνον ὦχ ὑπομένουσι, τὴν δὲ κατὰ τὸν λογισμὸν τῶν πειρωμένων στοχάζεσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, παρ' οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖν ἥν τινες ἐλοντο μᾶλλον ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διπλασίοις γενομένοις ἢ νῦν εἰσών.

α Almost quoted from Antid. 127.

b See To Demonicus 38 and note; To Nicocles 37; Phil. 134. 532
show an instance of civil faction or slaughter or unlawful exile, nor of seizure of property or outrage to women and children, nor even of revolution or abolition of debts or redistribution of lands, nor of any other of the irreparable ills. And as the Spartans review these facts, they cannot fail to remember you also, who have collected them and discoursed upon them so ably, and to be most grateful to you.

"But I do not now have the same feeling about you as I had formerly. For in time past I admired your natural endowments and the manner in which you ordered your life and your devotion to work and above all the truth of your teaching, but now I envy and congratulate you because of your good fortune. For it seems to me that during your lifetime you will gain a reputation, not greater than you deserve—for that would be difficult—but one more widely extended and more heartily acknowledged than that which you now possess, and that after you have ceased to live you will partake of immortality, not the immortality which the gods enjoy, but that which plants in future generations a remembrance of those who have distinguished themselves in any noble endeavour. And you will deserve this reward; for you have extolled both these cities well and fittingly—Athens, according to the acclaim of the majority, which no man of note has ever disdained, while all men in their craving to obtain it are ready to submit themselves to any hazard whatsoever; but Sparta, according to the reasoning of those who endeavour to aim at the truth, whose good opinion some would choose in preference to that of all the rest of the world, even were mankind to number twice as many as now.
"Απλήστως δὲ διακείμενος ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ λέγειν, καὶ πόλλ' ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχων ἔτι καὶ περὶ σοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν πολέων καὶ περὶ τοῦ λόγου,

"Ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω, περὶ δὲ παρακληθήναι με σὺ φής, περὶ τούτων ἀποφανοῦμαι. συμβουλεύω γὰρ σοι μήτε κατακάειν τὸν λόγον μή τ' ἀφανίζων, ἀλλ' εἰ τινος ἐνδεικτὶ ἐστιν, διορθώσαντα καὶ προσγράμαντα πάσας τὰς διατριβὰς τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν γεγενημένας διδόναι τοῖς βουλομένοις λαμβάνειν,

ὅτι Ἐλλήνων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλῃς φιλοσοφοῦσιν ἀλλὰ μὴ προσποιομένοις, λυπήσαι δὲ τοὺς θαυμάζοντας μὲν τὰ σὰ μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων, λοιπὸνμένους δὲ τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς σοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις τοῖς πανηγυρικοῖς, ἐν οἷς πλεῖοις εἰσὶν οἱ καθευδούντες τῶν ἀκρωμμένων, καὶ προσδοκώντας, ἂν παρακρούσωνται τοὺς τοιοῦτους, ἐναμέλλους τοὺς αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι τοῖς ὑπὸ σοῦ γεγραμμένοις, κακῶς εἰδότας ὅτι πλέον ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν σών εἰσιν ἡ τῆς Ὀμήρου δόξης οἱ περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνων ποίησιν γεγονότες.

Ταύτ' εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἀξιώσαντος ἀποφήνασθαι περὶ δὲ παρεκλήθησαν, ὥστε ἠθορύβησαν, ὃ ποιεῖν εἰώθασιν ἐπί τοῖς χαρείντως διελεγμένοις, ἀλλ' ἀνεβοήσαν ὡς ὑπερβαλλόντως εἰρηκότος, καὶ περιστάντες αὐτὸν ἐπηνοῦν, ἐξήλον, ἢμακάριζον, καὶ προσθείναι μὲν οὐδὲν εἰχον τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὐδ' ἄφελείν, συναπεφαίνοντο δὲ καὶ συνεβουλευόν μοι ποιεῖν ἄπερ ἐκείνοις παρ-
"I am insatiable in my desire to speak on the present occasion and I still have many things which I might say concerning you and these two cities and your discourse, but I shall forgo these subjects and declare myself only upon the question about which, as you say, you called me in to advise you. I counsel you, then, not to burn or to suppress your discourse, but—if there be any need of so doing—to revise and supplement it and then give to those who desire it the benefit of all the time and pains which you have spent upon its composition, if indeed you wish to gratify the worthiest among the Hellenes—those who are in truth devoted to culture and do not merely pretend to it—and to annoy those who secretly admire your writings above all others but malign your discourses before the crowds at the national festivals, in which those who sleep outnumber those who listen; for these speakers hope that if only they can hoodwink such audiences their own compositions will rival yours in popular favour, little realizing that their work is farther below the level of yours than the poets who have essayed to compose in the manner of Homer fall short of his reputation."

When he had said these things and had asked those present to express their opinion on the question about which they had been called in, they did not merely accord him the applause with which they were wont to greet a clever speech but signified by tumultuous shouts that he had spoken excellently; they crowded around him, praised him, envied him, congratulated him, and found nothing to add to what he had said or to subtract therefrom, but showed that they were of his opinion and advised me to do the very thing which he had urged. Nor did I, for my part, stand silently
ἐπήγεσα τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆν ἐπιμέλειαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἐφθειγξάμην δὲν εἶπεν, οὐθ' ὡς ἔτυχε ταῖς ὑπονοίαις τῆς ἐμῆς διανοίας οὐθ' ὡς διήμαρτεν, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχειν ὥσπερ αὐτὸς αὐτὸν διέθηκεν.

266 Περὶ μὲν οὖν ὃν ὑπεθέμην ἰκανῶς εἰρήσθαι νομίζω· τὸ γὰρ ἀναμμηνήσκει καθι' ἐκαστὸν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐ πρέπει τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς τοιούτοις· βούλομαι δὲ διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἰδίᾳ μοι περὶ τὸν λόγον συμβεβηκότων. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐνεστησάμην μὲν αὐτὸν ἐτη γεγονὼς ὡσα περ ἐν ἀρχῇ προείπον· 267 ἦδη δὲ τῶν ἡμισέων γεγραμμένων ἐπιγενομένου [289] μοι νοσήματος ρήθηναι μὲν οὐκ εὐπρεποὺς, δυναμένου δ' ἀναιρεῖν οὐ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐν τρισὶν ἡ τέτταρον ἡμέρας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων πολλοὺς, τούτω διατελῶ τρὶ' ἐτη μαχόμενος, οὕτω φιλοπόνως ἐκάστην τὴν ἡμέραν διάγων, ὡστε τοὺς εἰδότας καὶ τοὺς παρὰ τούτων πυνθανομένους μᾶλλον μεθαμάζειν διὰ τὴν καρτερίαν 268 ταύτην ἡ δι' ἀ πρότερον ἐπηνούμην. ἦδη δ' ἀπειρηκότος καὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον καὶ διὰ τὸ γῆρας, τῶν ἔπισκοπούντων τινές μὲ καὶ πολλάκις ἀνεγυμνότων τὸ μέρος τοῦ λόγου τὸ γεγραμμένον, ἐδέοντο μου καὶ συνεβουλευόν μὴ καταλαμπεῖν αὐτὸν ἡμιτελὴ μηδ' ἀδιέργαστον, ἀλλὰ πονησαὶ μικρὸν χρόνον καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς λοιποῖς τὸν 269 νοῦν. οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ διελέγοντο περὶ τούτων τοῖς ἀφοσιομένοις, ἀλλ' ὑπερεπανοῦντες μὲν τὰ γεγραμμένα, τοιάδ' ἐξέγοντες, ὃν εὶ tines ήκουν μήτε

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a As at the close of the Address to Philip.  
b See 3.  
c Coray conjectures that the malady was dysentery.  
536
by; on the contrary, I praised both his native ability and his training, although beyond that I uttered not a word about the sentiments which he had expressed, as to how his conjecture had hit upon my purpose or missed the mark, but let him remain of the same opinion which he had formed for himself.

Now as to the subject which I undertook to discuss, I think that I have said enough; for to review in detail the points which have been made is not in keeping with discourses such as this. But I do wish to relate my personal experiences in relation to its composition. I entered upon it at the age which I have already stated at the beginning. But when I had written half of it, I was attacked by a malady which it is not decorous to name, but which is powerful enough to carry off in the course of three or four days not only older people but many in the prime of life. I battled against this disease without respite for three years, and I passed every day of that time with such devotion to my work that those who knew of my industry as well as those who learned of it from them admired me more because of this fortitude than because of the things for which I had formerly been praised. When, however, I had at length given up my work both because of my illness and of my age, certain of those who were in the habit of paying me visits, and who had read again and again the portion of my discourse which I had written, begged and urged me not to leave it half-finished or incomplete, but to work upon it for a short time and to give my thoughts to what remained to be done. They did not speak as men do who perfunctorily acquit themselves of a duty, but praised extravagantly what I had written, saying about it such things that if any
Such as this discourse or the Panegyricus. See Paneg. 11.

Speeches which were written for display—epideictic oratory—are composed with finish but are not instructive. See General Introd. p. xxii. Speeches written for the lawcourts, on the other hand, lack the refinements of style and aim to pervert the truth. See General Introd. p. xxiii.

538
people had heard them who were not my personal friends and kindly disposed towards me, they could not possibly have failed to suppose that my visitors were trying to make a fool of me and that I had lost my wits and was altogether a simpleton if I allowed myself to be persuaded of what they said. But, although I had this feeling about the things which they made bold to state, I did allow myself to be persuaded (for why make a long story of it?) to occupy myself with the completion of the discourse, at a time when I lacked but three years of having lived a century and when I was in a state of infirmity such that anyone else similarly afflicted, so far from undertaking to write a discourse of his own, would not even be willing to listen to one worked out and submitted by another.

Why, then, have I gone into these matters? Not because I think that I should ask indulgence for the things which I have discussed—for I do not feel that I have spoken of them in a manner to require this—but because I desire both to relate my personal experiences and to commend those among my hearers who not only applaud this speech but prefer, as more weighty and more worthy of serious study, discourses which are composed for instruction and, at the same time, with finished art to others which are written for display or for the law-courts, and who prefer for the same reason discourses which aim at the truth to those which seek to lead astray the opinions of their auditors, and discourses which rebuke our faults and admonish us to those which are spoken for our pleasure and gratification. I desire, on the other

\[c \text{ Such as the Peace. See Antid. 62.}
\[d \quad \text{Cf. To Nicocles 54.} \]
σκοπεῖς πρῶτον μὲν μὴ πιστεύεις ταῖς αὐτῶν γνώμαις, μηδὲ νομίζεις ἀλήθειας εἶναι τὰς κρίσεις τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ῥαθυμούντων γιγνομένας, ἐπείτα μὴ προπετῶς ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ ὧν ὦκ ἦσασιν, ἀλλὰ περιμένειν ἑως ὃν ὀμονοήσαι δυνηθῶσι τοῖς τῶν ἐπιδεικνυμένων πολλὴν ἐμπειρίαν ἔχουσιν· τῶν γὰρ οὕτω διοικούντων τὰς ἑαυτῶν διανοίας ὦκ ἐστιν ὡστὶς ἢν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνοῆτους εἶναι νομίσειν.

*a Literally, “experience of things shown.” Others render “experience in epideictic oratory.”*
hand, to warn those of my hearers who are of a mind contrary to these, in the first place, not to trust in their own opinions nor to regard as true the judgments which are pronounced by the lazy-minded and, in the second place, not to publish hastily their views on things which they do not understand, but to wait until they can find themselves in accord with men who have much experience of matters submitted to them for judgement; for if they will so govern their thoughts, no one can fail to approve their discretion.
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