PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA
X
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PREFACE

In preparing this volume I have tried to follow the methods and principles adopted by Professor Babbitt. The text is based upon that of Bernardakis's edition, but some departures from his readings have seemed unavoidable. The critical notes are by no means exhaustive, but I hope nothing essential has been omitted. All the essays contained in this volume are mentioned in the list of Lamprias except the two entitled That a Philosopher ought to converse especially with Men in Power and To an Uneducated Ruler. In that list one item (No. 52) is πολιτικῶν βιβλία β', Two Books on Political Subjects. No such title is found in the manuscripts of Plutarch's works, and the question arises whether our two brief essays may perhaps be intended, for their subjects are certainly political in the Greek sense of the word. In the list of Lamprias there is no indication that the Comparison between Aristophanes and Menander is a summary.

Additions to the bibliography given in Volume I, which have to do with the contents of the present volume are: Plutarchi Libelli Duo Politici, a dissertation by Ioannes Frerichs (Göttingen, 1929), containing the Greek text of the essays That a Philosopher ought to converse especially with Men in Power and To an Un-
PREFACE

educated Ruler with critical commentary and notes, and The Manuscript-Tradition (also reprinted as The Text-Tradition) of Pseudo-Plutarch's Vitae Decem Oratorum, by Clarence George Lowe, published in University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, ix. No. 4, 1924.

H. N. F.

Washington, D.C.
June 1936
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE BOOKS of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

I. De liberis educandis (Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς). Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat (Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκοῦεν). De recta ratione audiendi (Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούεν).  
De virtute et vitio (Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας). Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον).  
De tuenda sanitate praecipita (Ὑμεῖνα παραγγελματα). Coniugalia praecipita (Γαμκα παραγγελματα). Septem sapientium convivium (Τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον). De superstitione (Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας).  
II. De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (Πῶς ἂν τὶς ὑπ’ ἔχθρῶν ὁφελοῖτο). De amicorum multitudine (Περὶ πολυφιλίας). De fortuna (Περὶ τύχης).  
De virtute et vitio (Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας). Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον).  
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I, 612c; II, 629b; III, 644ε: IV, 659ε: V, 672δ: VI, 686α

IX. Quaestitionum convivialium libri iii (Συμποσιακῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία ɣ')
VII, 697c; VIII, 716δ: IX, 736c

Amatorius ('Ερωτικός).

X. Amatoriae narrationes ('Ερωτικα διηγήσεις).
Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum (Περὶ τοῦ ὁτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἥγεμονι δεὶ τῶν φιλόσοφον διάλεγονται).
Ad principem ineruditum (Πρὸς ἥγεμόνα ἀπαίδευτον).
An seni respublica gerenda sit (Εἰ πρεσβυτέρῳ πολιτευτέον).

Praecepta gerendae reipublicae (Πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα).
De unius in republica dominatione, populari statu, et paucorum imperio (Περὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ δυναρχίας).
De vitando aere alieno (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δανειζομένου).
Vitae decem oratorum (Περὶ τῶν δέκα ῥήτορων).
Comparationis Aristophanis et Menandri compendium (Συγκρίσεως Ἀριστοφάνου καὶ Μενανδροῦ ἐπιτομῆς).

XI. De Herodoti malignitate (Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοθείας).
De placitis philosophorum, libri v (Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκότων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, βιβλία ε').
Quaestiones naturales (Αἰτία φυσικά).

XII. De facie quae in orbe lunae apparat (Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφανομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης).
De primo frigido (Περὶ τοῦ πρῶτως ψυχροῦ).
Aquane an ignis sit utilior (Περὶ τοῦ πάτερον ὕδωρ ἡ πῦρ χρησιμώτερον).
Terrestriane an aquatilia animalia sint callidia (Πότερα τῶν ζῴων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαία ἡ τὰ ἐνυδρα).
Bruta animalia ratione uti, sive Gryllus (Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἀλογα λόγῳ χρήσαται).
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XIII. Platonicae quaestiones (Πλατωνικὰ ζητήματα).
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De Stoicorum repugnantiis (Περὶ Στωικῶν ἐναντιωμάτων).
Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere (Σύνοψις τοῦ ὅτι παραδοξότερα οἴ Στωικοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγουσι).
De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos (Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς τοὺς Στωικοὺς).

XIV. Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum (Ὅτι οὐδ’ ἑδέως ἥην ἔσται κατ’ Ἐπικούρον).
Adversus Colotem (Πρὸς Κωλωτὴν).
An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum (εἰ καλὸς εὑρηται τὸ λάθε βιώσας).
De musica (Περὶ μουσικῆς).

XV. Fragments and Index
LOVE STORIES
(AMATORIAE NARRATIONES)
INTRODUCTION

These five short stories are interesting to the modern reader chiefly as examples of the kind of tale which appealed to the readers of Plutarch's time; for they were probably written during his lifetime, though not by him. In style and content they differ greatly from his genuine works. The elements of passion and of sentimental love are made to appear important in them rather on account of their dire consequences than for their own sake.
(771) Ἐν Ἀλιάρτῳ τῆς Βοιωτίας κόρη τις γίνεται κάλλει διαπρέπονσα ὄνομα Ἀριστόκλεια: θυγάτηρ δ' ἢν Θεοφάνους. ταύτην μνῳνταὶ Στράτων Ὁρχο- 
F μένος καὶ Καλλισθένης Ἀλιάρτιος. 1 πλουσιώτερος δ' ἢν Στράτων καὶ μᾶλλον τι τῆς παρθένου Ἡττη-
μένος ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ λου-
μένην ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ Ἑρκύνη. ἐμέλλε γὰρ τῷ 
772 Διῷ τῷ βασιλεὶ κανηφορεῖν. ἀλλ' ὁ Καλλισθένης 
γε πλέον ἐφέρετο· ἢν γὰρ καὶ γένει προσήκων 
τῇ κόρῃ. ἀπορῶν δὲ τῷ πράγματι ὁ Θεοφάνης, 
ἐδεδίει γὰρ τὸν Στράτωνα πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει 
σχεδὸν ἀπάντων διαφέροντα τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τὴν 
ἀἴρεσιν ἐβούλετο τῷ Τροφωνίῳ ἐπιτρέψαι· καὶ ὁ 
Στράτων, ἀνεπέπειστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς παρθένου 
οἰκετῶν, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνη ῥέσιον, 
ἠζιοῦ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ποιείσθαι τῇ γαμουμένη τῆς 
ἐκλογῆν. ὡς δὲ τῆς παιδὸς ὁ Θεοφάνης ἐπυνθάνετο 
ἐν ὀψεὶ πάντων, ἢ δὲ τὸν Καλλισθένην προὔκρινεν, 
Β εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ Στράτων δῆλος ἢν βαρέως φέρων τῇ 

1 Ἀλιάρτιος Wyttenbach: Ἀλιάρτῳ.
At Haliartus, in Boeotia, there was a girl of remarkable beauty, named Aristocleia, the daughter of Theophanes. She was wooed by Strato of Orchomenus and Callisthenes of Haliartus. Strato was the richer and was rather the more violently in love with the maiden; for he had seen her in Lebadeia bathing at the fountain called Hercynê in preparation for carrying a basket in a sacred procession in honour of Zeus the King. But Callisthenes had the advantage, for he was a blood-relation of the girl. Theophanes was much perplexed about the matter, for he was afraid of Strato, who excelled nearly all the Boeotians in wealth and in family connexions, and he wished to submit the choice to Trophonius; but Strato had been persuaded by the maiden's servants that she was more inclined towards him, so he asked that the choice be left to the bride-to-be herself. But when Theophanes in the presence of everyone asked the maiden, and she chose Callisthenes, it was plain at once that Strato found the

a Processions were common in Greek worship, and often young women, chosen usually for their good birth and their beauty, formed part of them, carrying baskets in which were offerings or utensils for use in sacrifices.

b A hero whose oracular shrine was at Lebadeia.
(772) ἀτμιᾶν· ἡμέρας δὲ διαλιπῶν δύο προσήλθε τῷ Θεοφάνει καὶ τῷ Καλλισθένει, ἀξιῶν τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τοῦ γάμου ἐφθονὴθη ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τινός. οἱ δ’ ἔπηνον τὰ λεγόμενα, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἔστισιν τῶν γάμων παρεκάλουν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ παρεσκευασμένος ἐταίρων ὦχλον, καὶ πλῆθος οὐκ ὀλίγον θεραπόντων, διεσπαρμένους παρὰ τούτοις καὶ λανθάνοντας, ἕως ἡ κόρη κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπὶ τὴν Κυσσόσεσσαν καλομένην κρήνην κατέλει πάρδες Νύμφας τὰ προτέλευα

C θύσουσα, τότε δὴ συνδραμόντες πάντες οἱ λοχῶντες ἐκεῖνος συνελάμβανον αὐτήν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων γ’ εἶχεν τῆς παρθένου· ἀντελαμβάνετο δ’ ὡς εἰκός ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐν μέρει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἔως ἔλαβεν ἡ παῖς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ἀνθελκόντων διαφθαρείσα. ὁ Καλλισθένης μὲν οὗν παραχρῆμα ἀφανῆς ἐγένετο, εἰτε διαχρησάμενος ἐαυτὸν εἰτε φυγας ἀπελθών ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας· οὐκ εἶχε δ’ οὗν τις εἰπεῖν ὁ τι καὶ πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ Στράτων φανερῶς ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἐαυτὸν τῇ παρθένῳ.

B

D Φεῖδων τις τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀρχῆ, τὴν Ἄργειῶν πόλιν, τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἔαυτον, ἤγεμονεύειν τῶν λοιπῶν βουλόμενοι, πρῶτον ἐπεβουλευσε Κορινθίοις· πέμβας γὰρ ἦτει παρ’ αὐτῶν νεανίας χιλίους τοὺς ἁκιμὴ διαφέροντας καὶ ἀνδρεία: οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι τοὺς χιλίους, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν

1 ὁ δὲ] Wyffenbach would add ἂκε.
slight hard to bear. But he let two days go by and came to Theophanes and Callisthenes asking that the friendship between him and them be preserved, even though he had been deprived of the marriage by some jealous divinity. And they approved of what he said, so that they even invited him to the wedding-feast. But before he came he got ready a crowd of his friends and a considerable number of servants, who were scattered among the others present and were not noticed; but when the girl went, according to the ancestral custom, to the spring called Cissoessa to make the preliminary sacrifice to the nymphs, then his men who were in ambush all rushed out at once and seized her. Strato also had hold of the maiden; and naturally Callisthenes and his supporters in turn took hold of her and held on until, although they did not know it at the time, she died in their hands as they pulled against each other. Callisthenes immediately disappeared, whether by committing suicide or by going away as an exile from Boeotia; at any rate nobody could tell what had happened to him. But Strato slew himself in sight of all upon the body of the maiden.

II

A man named Pheidon, who was striving to make himself ruler of the Peloponnesians and wished his own native city of Argos to be the leader of all the other states, plotted first against the Corinthians. He sent and asked of them the thousand young men who were the best in vigour and valour; and they sent the thousand, putting Dexander in
ἀποδείξαντες Δέξανδρον. ἐν νῦν δ' ἔχων ὁ Φείδων ἐπιθέσθαι τούτοις, ἱν' ἔχοι Κόρινθον ἀτονωτέραν καὶ τῇ πόλει χρήσατο, προτείχισμα γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπικαιρότατον ἔσεσθαι τῆς ὅλης Πελοποννήσου, Ἐ τὴν πράξειν ἀνέθετο τῶν ἑταῖρων τισιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἄρβρων ἐν αὐτοῖς· οὕτως δὲ ἔξος ὅν τοῦ Δέξανδρον ἐφρασεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν χίλιοι1 πρὸ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐσώθησαν, Φείδων δ' ἀνευρεῖν ἐπειράτο τὸν προδότα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἑξῆτε. δεῖσας δ' ὁ Ἄρβρων φεύγει εἰς Κόρινθον, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐν Μελίσσῳ, κάμη τινὶ τῆς Κορινθίων χώρας· ἐνθα καὶ παῖδα γεννήσας Μελίσσον προσηγόρευσεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θέμενος τούνομα αὐτῷ· τούτου δὴ τοῦ Μελίσσου υἱὸς Ἀκταίων γίνεται, κάλλιστος καὶ σωφρονεστάτος τῶν ὁμήλικων, οὐ πλείστοι μὲν ἐγένοντο ἑρασταί, διαφερόντως δ' Ἀρχίας, γένους μὲν ὅν τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλείδῶν, πλούτως δὲ καὶ τῇ Φ άλλῃ δυνάμει λαμπρότατος Κορινθίων. ἐπεί δὲ πείθειν οὐκ ἥδυνατο τὸν παῖδα, ἔγνω βιάσασθαι καὶ συναρπάσαι2 τὸ μειράκιον· ἐπεκώμασεν οὖν3 ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μελίσσου, πλήθος ἔπαγόμενος καὶ φίλων καὶ οἰκετῶν, καὶ ἄπαγε τὸν παῖδα ἐπειράτο. ἀντιποιουμένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ἐπεκδραμόντων δὲ καὶ τῶν γειτόνων καὶ 773 ἀνθελκόντων, ἀνθελκόμενος δ' Ἀκταίων διεθάρη· καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπεχύρων. Μελίσσος δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς τὴν ἁγορὰν τῶν Κορινθίων παρακομίσας ἐπεδείκνυε, δίκην ἀπαιτῶν παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα πραξάντων· οἱ δὲ πλέον οὐδέν ἢ τὸν ἀνδρα

1 χίλιοι Meziriacus after Amyot: Φιλίσωι.  
2 συναρπάσαι Leonicus: συναρπάσας.
command of them. Now Pheidon intended to make an onslaught upon these young men, that Corinth might be weakened and he might have the city in his power, for he considered that it would be the most advantageous bulwark of the whole Peloponnesus, and he confided this matter to some of his friends, among whom was Habron. Now he was a friend of Dexander and told him of the plot, so before the onslaught was made the thousand young men escaped safely to Corinth; but Pheidon tried to discover the betrayer of his plot and searched for him with great care. So Habron was frightened and fled to Corinth with his wife and his servants, settling in Melissus, a village in Corinthian territory. There he begot a son whom he called Melissus from the name of the place. This Melissus had a son named Actaeon, the handsomest and most modest youth of his age, who had many lovers, chief of whom was Archias, of the family of the Heracleidae, in wealth and general influence the most outstanding man in Corinth. Now when he could not gain the boy by persuasion, he determined to carry him off by force. So he got together a crowd of friends and servants, went as in a drunken frolic to the house of Melissus, and tried to take the boy away. But his father and his friends resisted, the neighbours also ran out and pulled against the assailants, and so Actaeon was pulled to pieces and killed; the assailants thereupon went away. But Melissus took his son's body and exhibited it in the market-place of the Corinthians, demanding the punishment of the men who had done the deed; but the Corinthians merely pitied him and did nothing further. So, being unsuccessful—

* oûv added by Xylander.
The famous Isthmian games in honour of Poseidon, for victors in which Pindar composed some of his odes.
ful, he went away and waited for the Isthmian festival, when he went up upon the temple of Poseidon, shouted accusations against the Bacchidae, and reminded the people of his father Habron's benefactions, whereupon, calling upon the gods to avenge him, he threw himself down from the rocks. Not long afterwards the city was afflicted by drought and pestilence, and when the Corinthians consulted the oracle concerning relief, the god replied that the wrath of Poseidon would not relax until they inflicted punishment for the death of Actaeon. Archias knew of this, for he was himself one of those sent to consult the oracle, and voluntarily refrained from returning to Corinth. Instead he sailed to Sicily and founded Syracuse. There he became the father of two daughters, Ortygia and Syracuse, and was treacherously murdered by Telephus, who had been his beloved and had sailed with him to Sicily in command of a ship.

III

There was a poor man named Scedasus who lived at Leuctra; that is a village of the country of the Thespians. This man had two daughters, called Hippo and Miletia, or, as some say, Theano and Euxippē. Now Scedasus was a worthy man and friendly to strangers, though he was not very well off. So when two Spartan youths came to his house he received them gladly. They fell in love with the maidens, but were restrained from overboldness by

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b The noble family which ruled Corinth in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Periander is its most famous member.
(773) Σκεδάσου χρηστότητος. τῇ δ' υστεραίᾳ Πυθώδε
ἀπήσαν· αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτοῖς προὔκειτο ἡ ὁδός· καὶ
tῷ θεῷ χρησάμενοι περὶ δὲν ἐδέοντο, πάλιν ἐπ-
ἀνήσαν οἶκαδε, καὶ χωροῦντες διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας

D ἐπέστησαν πάλιν τῇ τοῦ Σκεδάσου οἰκίᾳ. ὦ δ' ἐτύγχανεν οὐκ ἐπιδήμῳ τοῖς Λεύκτροις, ἀλλ' αἱ
θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους ἀγωγῆς τοὺς
ξένους ὑπεδέξαντο. οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἐρήμους
tὰς κόρας βιάζονται· ὀρῶντες δ' αὐτὰς καθ' ὑπερ-
βολὴν τῇ ὑβρεὶ χαλεπαίνουσας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ
ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τι φρέαρ ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐπανελθὼν
δ' ο Σκεδάσος τὰς μὲν κόρας οὐχ ἑώρα, πάντα δὲ
τὰ καταλειφθέντα εὐρίσκει σῶα καὶ τὼ πράγματι
ηπόρει, ἐως τῆς κυνὸς κυνζωμένης καὶ πολλάκις
μὲν προστρεχοῦσης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄποδ' αὐτοῦ εἰς
τὸ φρέαρ ἐπανωῦσης, εἰκάσεν ὅπερ ἤν, καὶ τῶν
θυγατέρων τὰ νεκρὰ οὖτως ἀνιμήσατο. πυθόμενος

E δὲ παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, ὅτι ἰδοιεν τῇ χθές ἡμέρα
tους καὶ πρώην καταχθέντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς Λακεδαι-
μονίους εἰσιόντας, συνεβάλετο τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐκεῖνων,
ὅτι καὶ πρώην συνεχῶς ἐπήνουν τὰς κόρας, μακαρι-
ζοντες τοὺς γαμήσουσαν.

'Ἀπήει εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, τοὺς ἐφόροις ἐντευξό-
μενος· γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ 'Ἀργολικῇ, νυκτὸς κατα-
λαμβανοῦσης, εἰς πανδοκείον τι κατήχθη· κατὰ
τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτης τις ἐτέρος τὸ γένος ἐξ

F Ὄρεοι πόλεως τῆς 'Εστιαίατίδος· οὗ στενάξαντος
καὶ κατὰ Λακεδαίμονίων ἀρὰς ποιομένου ἀκούσας
ὁ Σκέδασος ἐπυνθάνετο τὶ κακὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-
μονίων πεπονθὸς εἰς. ὅ δὲ διηγείτο, ὡς ὑπήκοος

1 κατὰ added by Hirschig.
the worthy character of Scedasus, and the next day went away to Delphi, for that was the place for which they were bound. And when they had consulted the god about the matters which concerned them, they went back again towards home, and passing through Boeotia they stopped again at the house of Scedasus. Now he, as it happened, was not at Leuctra; but his daughters, in accordance with their usual custom, received the strangers, who, finding the maidens unprotected, ravished them; and then, seeing that they were exceedingly distressed by the violent wrong they had suffered, they killed them, threw their bodies into a well, and went away. When Scedasus came home, he missed the girls, but found everything that he had left in the house undisturbed, and so he did not know what to make of it all until, because his dog kept whimpering and often running up to him and from him to the well, he guessed the truth, and so drew up the bodies of his daughters. And finding out from his neighbours that on the previous day they had seen going into his house the Lacedaemonians who had been entertained there shortly before, he guessed that they had done the deed, because during their previous visit they had constantly been praising the girls and talking of the happiness of their future husbands.

Scedasus set out for Lacedaemon to see the ephors, and when he was in the territory of Argos night came upon him, so he put up at an inn, and at the same inn was another elderly man, a native of the city of Oreus in the territory of Hestiaea. Scedasus heard him groaning and uttering curses against the Lacedaemonians, so he asked him what harm the Lacedaemonians had done him. Then he proceeded to
μὲν ἐστὶ τῆς Σπάρτης, πεμφθεὶς δ᾿ εἰς Ὄρεον Ἀριστόδημος ἀρμοστὴς παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ὑμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐπιδείξατο πολλήν. "ἐρασθεὶς γὰρ," ἔφη, "τοῦ ἐμοῦ παιδός, ἐπειδὴ πεῖθεν ἀδύνατο ἦν, ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν τῆς παλαιότραπος κωλύντος δὲ τοῦ παι- δοτρίβου καὶ νεανίσκων πολλῶν ἐκβοηθοῦντος, παραχρῆμα δ᾿ Ἀριστόδημος ἀπεχώρησε· τῇ δ᾿ ὑστεραίᾳ πληρώσας τριήρη συνήρπασε τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ἔξ Ὄρεοι διαπλεύσας εἰς τὴν περαίαν ἐπεχείρει ὑβρίσαι, οὐ συγχωροῦντα δ᾿ αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν.

774 ἐπανελθὼν δ᾿ εἰς τὴν Ὄρεον εὐωχεῖτο. ἐγὼ δ᾿ ἔφη, τὸ πραξθὲν πυθόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα κηδεύσας παρεγενόμην εἰς τὴν Σπάρτὴν καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐνετύγχανον· οἱ δὲ λόγον οὐκ ἔποιοῦστο." Σκέδασος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούον ἄθυμως διέκειτο, ὑπολαμβάνων ὅτι οὐδ᾿ αὐτοῦ λόγον τινὰ ποησοῦν τοις Σπαρτιάταις· ἐν μέρει τε τὴν οἰκείαν διηγήσατο συμφορὰν τῷ ἐξέλθον, δὲ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἐφόροις, ἀλλ᾿ ὑποστρέψαντα εἰς τὴν Βουατίαν κτίσαι τῶν θυγατέρων τῶν τάφων. οὐκ ἐπείθετο δ᾿ ὁμως δ᾿ Σκέδασος, ἀλλ᾿ εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην Β ἀφικόμενος τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐνετύγχανε· ὅν μηδὲν προσεχόντων, ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλέας ἵσται καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἐκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν προσώπων ὑδύρετο. μηδέν δὲ πλέον ἀνύων ἔθει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, ἀνατείνων πρὸς ἡλιον τῷ χείρε, αὐθίς δὲ τὴν γῆν τύπτων ἀνεκάλειτο τὰς Ἐρινύιας καὶ τέλος αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησεν.

Τοστέρω γε μὴν χρόνῳ δίκας ἔδοσαν οἱ Λακε-

1 ἔφη Bernardakis: ἔφθην (ἔφθην Urb.)
tell that he was a subject of Sparta and that Aristodemus, who had been sent by the Lacedaemonians to Oreus as governor, had shown himself very lawless and cruel. "For," said he, "he fell in love with my young son and, when he could not gain him by persuasion, he tried to take him from the palaestra by force. But the teacher of gymnastics interfered, and many young fellows came out to help, so for the time being Aristodemus went away; but the next day he manned a ship of war, seized the boy, sailed from Oreus to the opposite shore, and tried to rape him; then when the boy would not submit, he cut his throat and killed him, after which he went back to Oreus and gave a dinner-party. But as for me," he said, "I learned of the deed, performed the funeral rites over the body, then went to Sparta and had an audience with the ephors; but they paid no attention to me." When Scadasus heard this he was disheartened, for he suspected that the Spartans would pay no attention to him either; and he in turn told the stranger of his own misfortune. Then the stranger advised him not even to go to see the ephors, but to turn back to Boeotia and build his daughters' tomb. Scadasus, however, did not take this advice, but went to Sparta and spoke with the ephors. They paid no attention to him, so he hurried to the kings, and from them he went up to every one of the citizens and told his tale of woe. And when nothing did any good, he ran through the midst of the city stretching up his hands towards the sun, and again he beat upon the ground and summoned up the Erinyes, and finally he put an end to his life.

Later, however, the Lacedaemonians certainly paid
(774) δαμόνοι· ἐπειδή γὰρ τῶν 'Ελλήνων ἀπάντων ἦρχον καὶ τὰς πόλεις φρουραῖς κατειλήφησαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δ Ὑβαῖος πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ φρουράν ἀπέσφαξε Λακεδαίμονίων· τῶν δ᾽ έπὶ τούτω πόλεμον ἐξενεγκάντων, ἀπήντων οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐπὶ τὰ Λεύκτρα, ἀσιωμένοι τὸ χωρίον, ὅτι καὶ πρότερον ἐνταῦθα ἠλευθερώθησαν, ὅτε Ἀμφικτύων ὑπὸ Σθενέλου φυγᾶς ἐλαθεῖς εἰς τὴν Θηβαίων ἀφίκετο πόλιν καὶ Χαλκιδεῦσιν ὑποφόρους λαβὼν ἔπαυσε τὸν δασμόν, Χαλκώδοντα τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Εὐβοῶν ἀποκτείνας. συνέβη δὲ Λακεδαίμονίων ἦτταν παντελῆ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτῷ τὸ μνήμα τῶν Σκεδάσων θυγατέρων. φασὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Πελοπίδα,3 ἐνὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ Θηβαϊκοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐπὶ σημεῖοι τοῖς οὓς καλοί4 κρινομένοις θορυβούμενῳ Σκεδάσων ἐπιστήναι κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς, θαρρεῖν κελέυοντα· παραγίνεσθαι γὰρ εἰς Λεύκτρα Λακεδαίμονίους, αὐτῷ τε καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι δῶσοντας δίκας· πρὸ μιᾶς δ᾽ ἡμέρας ἡ συμβαλέωι τοῖς Λακεδαίμονίοις, πώλουν ἐκέλευεν ἢππον λευκὸν ἐτοιμὸν παρὰ τῷ τάφῳ τῶν παρθένων σφαγάσασθαι. τὸν δὲ Πελοπίδαν, ἐτὶ τῶν Λακεδαίμονίων στρατευομένων ἐν Τεγέα, εἰς Λεύκτρα πέμψῃ τοὺς ἐξετάσοντας περὶ τοῦ τάφου τούτου, καὶ πυθόμενον παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων θαρροῦντα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ νικῆσαι.

1 αὐτῷ Bernardakis: αὐτῷ.
3 Πελοπίδα Bernardakis: Πελοπίδη.
4 καλοίς Bryan: καλός.
the penalty. For when they were rulers of all the Greeks and had placed their garrisons in the cities, Epaminondas the Theban first slaughtered the garrison of the Lacedaemonians in his own city, and when thereupon the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Thebans, the latter met them at Leuctra, thinking it a place of good omen, because at an earlier time they had gained their freedom there, when Amphictyon, having been driven into exile by Sthenelus, came to the city of the Thebans and, finding them tributaries of the Chalcidians, freed them from the tribute by killing Chalcodon, king of the Euboeans. Now it happened that the utter defeat of the Lacedaemonians took place precisely in the vicinity of the tombstone of the daughters of Scedasus. And the story goes that before the battle Pelopidas, one of the generals of the Theban army, was disturbed by some omens which were considered unfavourable and that in his sleep Scedasus came and stood over him and told him to be of good courage, for the Lacedaemonians were coming to Leuctra to pay the penalty to him and his daughters; and he enjoined upon him one day before fighting the Lacedaemonians to make ready a white colt and sacrifice it at the tomb of the maidens. So Pelopidas, while the Lacedaemonians were still in camp at Tegea, sent some men to Leuctra to find out about this tomb, and when he learned about it from the inhabitants of the place, he led out his army with confidence and was victorious.

*A village in Boeotia. The battle, which ended the Spartan hegemony, took place in 371 B.C.*
Ε Φώκος Βοιώτιος μὲν ἦν τῷ γένει, ἦν γὰρ ἐκ Γλίσαντος,1 πατὴρ δὲ Καλλιρρόης κάλλει τε καὶ σωφροσύνη διαφέροντο νεανίαι τριάκοντα εὐδοκιμῶτατοι ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ. δ’ δὲ Φώκος ἄλλας ἐξ ἄλλων ἀναβόλας τῶν γάμων ἐποιεῖτο, φοβούμενος μὴ βιασθῆναι, τέλος δὲ λιπαρούντων ἐκεῖνων, ἦξιον ἐπὶ τῷ Πυθῶ πονησασθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐχαλέπηναν καὶ ὀρμήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Φώκον ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ ἡ κόρη φυγοῦσα ἵπτο διὰ τῆς Δ χώρας· ἐδίωκον δ’ αὐτὴν οἱ νεανίαι. ἦ δ’ ἐντυχώσα γεωργοῖς ἀλώ συντιθεῖσι σωτηρίας ἐστικέ παρ’ αὐτῶν· ἀπέκρυψαν γὰρ αὐτὴν οἱ γεωργοὶ ἐν τῷ σίτῳ. καὶ οὕτω παρῆξαν μὲν οἱ διώκοντες· ἦ δὲ διασωθείσα ἐφύλαξε τὴν τῶν Παμβοιωτῶν ἐορτήν, καὶ τότε εἰς Κορώνειαν ἐλθοῦσα ἱκέτις καθέζεται ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν μνησθήρων τὴν παρανομίαν διηγεῖτο, τό τε ἐκάστου ὄνομα καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σημαίνουσα. ἤλεον οὖν οἱ Βοιωτοὶ τὴν παίδα καὶ τοὺς νεανίας ἦγανάκτουν· οἱ δ’ δὲ παῦτα πυθόμενοι εἰς Ὀρχομενὸν καταφεύγουσιν. οὐ δεξαμένων δ’ αὐτοῖς τῶν 775 Ὀρχομενίων πρὸς Ἰππότας εἰσώρμησαν· κώμη δ’ ἦν παρὰ τῷ Ἐλυκώνι κειμένη μεταξὺ Θίσβης καὶ Κορωνείας. οἱ δ’ ὑποδέχονται αὐτούς. εἶτα πέμπουσι Θηβαίοι ἐξαιτοῦντες τοὺς Φώκου φονεῖσ· τῶν δ’ οὐ διδόντων, ἐστράτευσαν μὲν μετὰ τῶν

1 Γλίσαντος Xylander: κλείσαντος.

* * *

1 i.e. by the disappointed suitors.
2 The cult of Athena Itonia was brought to Boeotia by
Phocus was by birth a Boeotian, for he was from the town of Glisas, and he was the father of Callirrhoë, who excelled in beauty and modesty. She was wooed by thirty young men, the most highly esteemed in Boeotia; but Phocus found one reason after another for putting off her marriage, for he was afraid that violence would be done to him; at last, however, he yielded to their demands, but asked to leave the choice to the Pythian oracle. The suitors were incensed by the proposal, rushed upon Phocus, and killed him. In the confusion the maiden got away and fled through the country, but the young men pursued her. She came upon some farmers making a threshing-floor, and found safety with them, for the farmers hid her in the grain, and so her pursuers passed by. But she waited in safety until the festival of the Pamboeotia, when she went to Coroneia, took her seat on the altar of Athena Itonia, and told of the lawless act of the suitors, giving the name and birthplace of each. So the Boeotians pitied the maid and were angry with the young men. When they learned of this, they fled for refuge to Orchomenus, and when the Orchomenians refused to receive them, they forced their way into Hippotae, a village lying on the slope of Mount Helicon between Thisbê and Coroneia. There they were received. Then the Thebans sent and demanded the slayers of Phocus, and when the people of Hippotae refused to deliver them, the Thebans, along with the rest of the

the Ionians when they were driven out by the Thessalians. Her sanctuary near Coroneia was the place of the Pamboeotia, the festival of the united Boeotians.
(775) ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν, στρατηγοῦντος Φοίδου, δὲ τότε τὴν ἁρχὴν τῶν Ὑθηβαίων διείπε· πολιορκήσαντες δὲ τὴν κώμην ὀχυρὰν οὔσαν, δύσει δὲ τῶν ἐνδον κρατηθέντων, τοὺς μὲν φονεῖς ληφθέντας κατέλευσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο· κατα-βάσκαςαντες δὲ τα τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας διένειμαν τὴν χώραν Θισθεύσι' τε καὶ Κορωνεύσι. φασὶ δὲ νυκτὸς, πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῶν Ἰπποτῶν, φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλυκῶνος πολλάκις ἀκουσθῆναι λέγοντος τινος "πάρεμι"· τοὺς δὲ μυστηράς τοὺς τριάκοντα τόδε τὸ φώνημα γνωρίζειν, ὅτι Φώκου εἶν. ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα κατελεύσθησαν, τὸ ἐν Γλίσαντι μνήμα τοῦ γέροντος κρόκως φασὶ βεῦσαι· Φοίδῳ δὲ, τῷ Ὑθηβαίῳ ἁρχοντὶ καὶ στρατηγῷ, ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανύντι ἀγγελθῆναι θυγατέρα γεγενημένην, ᾗς αἰσιούμενον προσαγορεῦσαι Νικοστράτην.

Ε

Ο "Αλκιππὸς τὸ μὲν γένος Λακεδαμιόνιοι ἦν· γῆμας δὲ Δαμοκρίταν πατήρ θυγατέρων γίνεται δυὸ· συμβουλεύων τε τῇ πόλει κράτιστα τε καὶ πράττων ὅτου δέοιντο Λακεδαμιόνιοι, ἐφθονῆθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων, οἱ τοὺς ἐφόρους ψευδεῖσι λόγοις παραγαγόντες, ὡς τοῦ Ἀλκιπποῦ βουλομένου τοὺς νόμους καταλῦσαι, φυγῇ περι-έβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπεξήλθε τῆς Σπάρτης, Δαμοκρίταν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων

1 Θισθεύσι Bernardakis: Θισθεύσι.
2 ἐν Γλίσαντι Bernardakis: ἐγγίσαντι.
3 ᾗς added by Wyttenbach.
Boeotians, took the field under the command of Phoedus, who at that time administered the government of Thebes. They besieged the village, which was well fortified, and when they had overcome the inhabitants by thirst, they took the murderers and stoned them to death and made slaves of the villagers; then they pulled down the walls and the houses and divided the land between the people of Thisbē and of Coroneia. It is said that in the night, before the capture of Hippotae, there was heard many times from Helicon a voice of someone saying "I am here," and that the thirty suitors recognized the voice as that of Phocus. It is said also that on the day when they were stoned to death the old man's monument at Glisas ran with saffron; and that as Phoedus, the ruler and general of the Thebans, was returning from the battle, he received the news of the birth of a daughter and, thinking it of good omen, he named her Nicostrata.α

V

Alcippus was a Lacedaemonian by birth; he married Damocrita and became the father of two daughters. Now since he was a most excellent counsellor to the state and conducted affairs to the satisfaction of the Lacedaemonians, he was envied by his political opponents, who misled the ephors by false statements to the effect that Alcippus wished to destroy the constitution, and they thereby brought about his exile. So he departed from Sparta, but when his wife Damocrita, with their daughters, i.e. "She of the conquering host."

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(775) βουλομένην ἐπεσθαί τάνδρι ἐκώλυν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐδήμευσαν, ἵνα μὴ εὐπορῶσι προικὸς

Δ αἰ παρθένοι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὦς ἐμνηστεύοντό τινες τὰς παῖδας διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν, ἐκώλυσαν ὁὶ ἐχθροὶ διὰ ψηφίσματος μνηστεύοντο τινας τὰς κόρας, λέγοντες ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν Δαμοκρίτα πολλάκις εὗξατο τὰς θυγατέρας ταχέως γεννήσαι παῖδας τιμωροῦσ τῷ πατρὶ γενησομένους. πανταχόθεν δ’ ἡ Δαμοκρίτα περιελαννομένη ἔτηρσε τινα πάνθημον ἑορτήν, ἐν ἡ γυναῖκες ἅμα παρθένοις καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ νηπίοις ἑώρταζον, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει καθ’ ἑαυτὰς ἐν ἀνδρῶι μεγάλῳ διεπαννύχιον· ξίφος τε ὑποξωσαμένη καὶ τὰς κόρας λαβοῦσα νυκτὸς ἤλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καιρὸν παρα-

Ε φυλάξασα, ἐν ὑ πᾶσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἐπετέλουν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶι· καὶ κεκλεισμένων τῶν εἰσόδων, ξύλα ταῖς θύραις πολλὰ προσνῆσασα (ταῦτα δ’ ἦν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἑορτῆς θυσίαν ὑπ’ ἐκείνων παρεσκευα-

σμένα), πῦρ ἐνήκε. συνθεόντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, ἡ Δαμοκρίτα τὰς θυγατέρας ἀπέσφαξε καὶ ἐπ’ ἐκείναις ἑαυτῆς. οὐκ ἔχοντες δ’ οἱ Δακε-

dαμόνοι, ὅτε τὸν θυμὸν ἀπερείσωνται, ἐκτὸς ὀρῶν ἐρρίψαν τῆς τε Δαμοκρίτας καὶ τῶν θυγα-

tέρων τὰ σώματα. ἐφ’ ὑ μηνίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν ἱστοροῦσι Δακεδαμόνοις σεισμὸν ἐπι-

gενέσθαι.


1 ἀπερείσωνταi Bernardakis: ἀπερείσσονταi.
LOVE STORIES, 775

wished to follow her husband, she was prevented from doing so, and moreover his property was confiscated, that the girls might not be provided with dowries. And when even so there were some suitors who wooed the girls on account of their father's high character, his enemies got a bill passed forbidding anyone to woo the girls, saying that their mother Damocrita had often prayed that her daughters might speedily bear sons who should grow up to be their father's avengers. Damocrita, being harassed on all sides, waited for a general festival in which married women along with unmarried girls, slaves, and infant children took part, and the wives of those in authority passed the whole night in a great hall by themselves. Then she buckled a sword about her waist, took the girls, and went by night into the sacred place, waiting for the moment when all the women were performing the mysteries in the hall. Then, after the entrances had all been closed, she heaped a great quantity of wood against the doors (this had been prepared by the others for the sacrifice belonging to the festival) and set it on fire. And when the men came running up to save their wives, Damocrita killed her daughters with the sword and then herself over their dead bodies. But the Lacedaemonians, not knowing how to vent their anger, threw the bodies of Damocrita and her daughters out beyond the boundaries; and they say that because the god was offended by this the great earthquake a came upon the Lacedaemonians.

a Probably the earthquake of 464 B.C. is meant.
THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER
(MAXIME CUM PRINCIPIBUS PHILOSOPHO ESSE DISSERENDUM)
INTRODUCTION

This brief essay was written in support of the contention that the philosopher should exert himself to influence the thought and conduct of men in power and should not shut himself away from the world. This view is consistent with Plutarch's own life. The essay is less carefully written than some of the others, and the text is somewhat uncertain in a few places, among which may be mentioned the very first sentence. In this the first word, Sorcanus, appears to be a proper name, but the name does not occur elsewhere, and therefore numerous emendations have been proposed. If the reading is correct, Sorcanus was some important personage and must have been well known to the person, whoever he was, to whom the essay is addressed; for although not written exactly in the form of a letter, the essay seems to be intended primarily for some one person's edification or entertainment.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΤΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΣΙ
ΔΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΓΕΣΘΑΙ

776 1. Σωρκανών ἐγκολπίσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν τιμᾶν
Β καὶ μετίεναι καὶ προσδέχεσθαι καὶ γεωργεῖν, πολ-
λοίς μὲν ἵδια πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δημοσία χρήσιμον καὶ
ἐγκαρτπον γενησομένην, φιλοκάλων ἐστὶ καὶ πολι-
τικῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων οὐχ ὡς ἐννοι νομίζονσι
φιλοδόξων· ἀλλὰ καὶ τουναντίον, φιλόδοξος ἐστὶ
καὶ ψοφοδεὺς ὁ φεύγων καὶ φοβούμενος ἀκοῦσαι
λυπαρῆς τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ θεραπευτικός. ἔπει
τί φησιν ἀνὴρ θεραπευτικὸς 2 καὶ φιλοσοφίας δεό-
μενος; Σίμων οὖν γένωμαι ὁ σκυτοτόμος ἡ
Διονύσιος ὁ γραμματιστὴς ἐκ Περικλέους ἡ
Κάτωνος, ἵνα μοι προσδιαλέγηται καὶ προσκαθίζῃ
Ο ὡς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνως; καὶ Ἅριστων μὲν ὁ
Χῖος ἐπί τῷ πάσι διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κακῶς ἁκούων "ἂφελεν," εἰπε',
"καὶ τὰ θηρία λόγων συνιέναι κινητικῶν πρὸς
ἀρετὴν"· ἡμεῖς δὲ φευξόμεθα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ

1 Bernadakis, following Pape, would prefer Σωρκανών.
2 θεραπευτικός] θεραπεύσασις Dübner; πολιτικός Reiske;
πρακτικός Bernardakis; cf. 777 A.
3 οὖν Bernardakis: εἰ.
4 ὡς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνω Capps; ὁ Σωκράτης ὡς ἐκεῖνος

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THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO
CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN
IN POWER

1. In clasping Sorcanus to your bosom, in prizing, pursuing, welcoming, and cultivating his friendship—a friendship which will prove useful and fruitful to many in private and to many in public life—you are acting like a man who loves what is noble, who is public-spirited and is a friend of mankind, not, as some people say, like one who is merely ambitious for himself. No, on the contrary, the man who is ambitious for himself and afraid of every whisper is just the one who avoids and fears being called a persistent and servile attendant on those in power. For what does a man say who is an attendant upon philosophy and stands in need of it? "Let me change from Pericles or Cato and become Simo the cobbler or Dionysius the schoolmaster, in order that the philosopher may converse with me and sit beside me as Socrates did with Pericles." And while it is true that Ariston of Chios, when the sophists spoke ill of him for talking with all who wished it, said, "I wish even the beasts could understand words which incite to virtue," yet as for us, shall we avoid becoming intimate with

Wyttenbach: ὁς Σωκράτης, ἐκεῖνος Bernardakis: ὁς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος,
ἐπε Μεζιριακας: ἐπειν.
(776) ἡγεμονικός ὤσπερ ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνημέροις γίγνεσθαι συνήθεις;

Οὐκ "ἀνδριαντοποιός" ἔστιν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγος, "ὡς' ἐλινύοντα ποιεῖν ἀγάλματ' ἔπ αὐτὰς βαθμίδος ἐσταότα" κατὰ Πίνδαρον· ἀλλ' ἐνεργά βούλεται ποιεῖν δὲν ἂν ἄφηται καὶ πρακτικά καὶ ἐμψυχα καὶ κινητικὰς ὀρμᾶς ἐντίθησι1 καὶ κρίσεις ἄγωγος ἐπὶ τὰ ὠφέλιμα καὶ προαιρέσεις

D φιλοκάλους καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος μετὰ πραοτητὸς καὶ ἀσφαλείας,2 δι' ἄν τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι καὶ δυνατοῖς ὀμιλοῦσιν οἱ πολιτικοὶ3 προθυμότερον. καὶ γάρ, ἂν ἰατρός ἐφιλόκαλος, ἧδιον ὀφθαλμὸν ἱάσεται τὸν ὑπὲρ πολλῶν βλέποντα καὶ πολλοὺς φυλάσσοντα· καὶ φιλόσοφος ψυχῆς ἐπιμελήσεται προθυμότερον, ἥν ὑπὲρ πολλῶν φροντίζουσαν ὅρα καὶ πολλοῖς φρονεῖν καὶ σωφρονεῖν καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν ὀφείλουσαν. καὶ γάρ εἰ δεινὸς ἢν περὶ

Ε ἐξήτησιν ὑδάτων καὶ συναγωγῆς, ὤσπερ ἵστοροῦσι τοὺς 'Ἡρακλῆα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πάλαι, οὐκ ἂν ἔχαρη φρεωρυχῶν ἐν ἔσχατι "παρὰ Κόρακος πέτρῃ" τὴν συβωτικὴν ἐκείνην 'Αρέθουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποταμοῦ τινος ἄενάους πηγὰς ἀνακαλύπτων πόλεσι4 καὶ στρατοπέδους καὶ φυτείας βασιλέων καὶ ἀλσειν. ἀκούομεν δὴ 'Ὀμήρου τὸν Μίνω "θεοῦ μεγάλου ὀαριστῆν" ἀποκαλοῦντος· τοῦτο δ' ἐστίν,

1 ἐντίθησι Reiske: ἐπιτίθησι.
2 ἀσφαλείας] ἀθελείας Wytenbach, Frerichs.
3 πολιτικοὶ] πολίται Hartman. Perhaps φιλόσοφοι?
4 πόλεσι Pohlenz: πόλει τε.
powerful men and rulers, as if they were wild and savage?

The teaching of philosophy is not, if I may use the words of Pindar, "a sculptor to carve statues doomed to stand idly on their pedestals and no more"; no, it strives to make everything that it touches active and efficient and alive, it inspires men with impulses which urge to action, with judgements that lead them towards what is useful, with preferences for things that are honourable, with wisdom and greatness of mind joined to gentleness and conservativism, and because they possess these qualities, men of public spirit are more eager to converse with the prominent and powerful. Certainly if a physician is a man of high ideals, he will be better pleased to cure the eye which sees for many and watches over many, and a philosopher will be more eager to attend upon a soul which he sees is solicitous for many and is under obligation to be wise and self-restrained and just in behalf of many. For surely, if he were skilled in discovering and collecting water, as they say Heracles and many of the ancients were, he would not delight in digging the swineherd's fount of Arethusa in a most distant spot "by the Crow's Rock," but in uncovering the unfailing sources of some river for cities and camps and the plantations of kings and sacred groves. So we hear Homer calling Minos "the great god's oaristes," which

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* Pindar, *Nem.* v. 1 oύκ ἄνδριαντοποιός εἰρ', ὡστ' ἐλνύσοντα ἐργάζοθαι ἀγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτάς βασιλίδος, loosely quoted. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (in L.C.L.).

* Homer, *Od.* xiii. 404–410. The allusion is to the feeding-place of the swine tended by Eumaeus.

* Od.* xix. 179.
όσο φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ὄμηρτήν καὶ μαθητήν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰδιώτας οὐδ’ οἰκουροὺς οὐδ’ ἀπράκτους ἥξιον εἶναι θεῶν μαθητάς, ἀλλὰ βασιλεῖς, οἷς Φ εὐβουλίας ἐγγενομένης¹ καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, πάντες ἐμελλὼν ὑφεληθήσεθαι καὶ ἀπολαύσειν² οἱ χρώμενοι. τὸ ἡρώγιον³ τὸ βοτάνων λέγουσι μᾶς αἰγὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβοῦσι, αὐτὴν τε πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἵτινιν ἱστασθαι, μέχρι ἃν ὁ αἵτινος ἐξέλη προσελθὼν τοιαύτην ἔχουσιν αἱ ἀπορροιαὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἰξύτητα, πυρὸς δίκην ἐπιγεμεμένην τὰ γειτώντα καὶ κατασκευάμενην. καὶ μὴν ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λόγος, ἐὰν μὲν ἰδιώτην ἑνα λάβῃ, χαίροντα ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ περιγράφοντα ἑαυτὸν ὡς κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι γεωμετρικῷ 777 ταῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα χρείαις, οὗ διαδίδωσιν εἰς ἑτέρους, ἀλλ’ ἐν ἑνὶ ποιήσας ἑκείνῳ γαλήνην καὶ ἰσχύιαν ἀπεμαράνθη καὶ συνεξέλυσεν. ἂν δ’ ἄρχοντος ἄνδρος καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καθάρσῃ καὶ τοῦτον ἀναπλήσῃ καλοκαγαθίας, πολλοὺς δι’ ἑνὸς ωφελήσειν, ὡς Ἀναξαγόρας Περικλεῖς συγγενόμενος καὶ Πλάτων Δίωνι καὶ Πυθαγόρας τοὺς πρωτεύουσιν Ἰταλιωτῶν. Κατων δ’ αὐτὸς ἐπέλευσεν ἀπὸ στρατιάς⁴ ἐπ’ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Σκιπίων μετεπέμψατο Παναιτιον, ὅτ’ αὐτὸν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμψεν ἄνθρωπων ὑβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορόμενον⁵

¹ ἐγγενομένης Duebner: γενομένης.
² ἀπολαύσει Coraes: ἀπολαύσειν.
³ ἡρώγιον Herwerden: ἄρωγιον.
⁴ στρατιάς Coraes: στρατείας.
means, according to Plato, "familiar friend and pupil." For they did not think that pupils of the gods should be plain citizens or stay-at-homes or idlers, but kings, from whose good counsel, justice, goodness, and high-mindedness, if those qualities were implanted in them, all who had to do with them would receive benefit and profit. Of the plant *eryngium* they say that if one goat take it in its mouth, first that goat itself and then the entire herd stands still until the herdsman comes and takes the plant out, such pungency, like a fire which spreads over everything near it and scatters itself abroad, is possessed by the emanations of its potency. Certainly the teachings of the philosopher, if they take hold of one person in private station who enjoys abstention from affairs and circumscribes himself by his bodily comforts, as by a circle drawn with geometrical compasses, do not spread out to others, but merely create calmness and quiet in that one man, then dry up and disappear. But if these teachings take possession of a ruler, a statesman, and a man of action and fill him with love of honour, through one he benefits many, as Anaxagoras did by associating with Pericles, Plato with Dion, and Pythagoras with the chief men of the Italiote Greeks. Cato himself sailed from his army to visit Athenodorus; and Scipio sent for Panaetius when he himself was sent out by the senate
to view the violence and lawfulness of men,

* Minos, 319 d. Generally regarded as spurious.

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5 ἐφορῶμενον Xylander; ἐφορῶντες, Homer, Od. xvii. 487: ἐφορῶμενον.
(777)

B ὃς φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος. τι οὖν ἔδει λέγειν τὸν Παναίτιον; εἰ μὲν ἢς ἢ Βάτων¹ ἢ Πολυδεύκης ἢ τις ἄλλος ἤδικος, τὰ μέσα τῶν πόλεων ἀποκατά-
σκευεῖς βουλόμενος, ἐν γνώια τινὶ καθ ἢ οὐκ ἢν ἀναλύουν συλλογισμοὺς καὶ περιέλκων² φιλοσόφων,
ἀσμενὸς ἢν σὲ προσεδεξάμην καὶ συνήγερα δὲ νίος μὲν Ἀιμιλίον Παῦλον τοῦ δισυπάτου γέγονας,
νῖωνος δὲ Σκιπίνων τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ νεκρήσαν-
tος τὸν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, οὐκ οὖν³ σοι διαλέξουμαι;

2. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι δύο λόγοι εἰσίν, δὲ μὲν ἐνδιάθετος ἢγεμόνος Ἐρμοῦ δῶρον, δὲ δ〞 ἐν προ-
φορᾷ διάκτορος καὶ ὀργανικὸς, ἐωλὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποπιπτέτω τῷ

c τούτῳ μὲν ἢδειν⁴ πρὶν Θεόγνιν γεγονέναι.

ἐκεῖνο δ〞 οὐκ ἂν⁵ ἐνοχλήσειεν, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ἐνδια-
θέτου λόγου καὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ φιλία τέλος ἐστι,
tοῦ μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἑτερον. δ〞 μὲν ἀγέ
εἰς ἀρετὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας τελευτῶν σύμφωνον
ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀμεμπτὸν ὑφ’ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεστὸν εἰρή
νης καὶ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἄφιμα
τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

¹ Βάτων Wyttenbach: κάτων.
² περιέλκων] περιπλέκων Meziriacus; περὶ ἑλέγχων φιλοσοφῶν
Xylander.
³ οὐκ οὖν H.N.F.; οὖκ οὖν Bernardakis; οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἂν
Pohlenz: οὐκ ἂν.
⁴ διαλέξουμαι] προσδιαλέξουμαι Frerichs after some mss.
⁵ ἢδειν] ἢδον Schadewaldt.
⁶ ἂν added by Coraes.
as Poseidonius says. Now what should Panaetius have said? "If you were Bato or Polydeuces or some other person in private station who wished to run away from the midst of cities and quietly in some corner solve or quibble over the syllogisms of philosophers, I would gladly welcome you and consort with you; but since you are the son of Aemilius Paulus, who was twice consul, and the grandson of Scipio Africanus who overcame Hannibal the Carthaginian, shall I, therefore, not converse with you?"

2. But the statement that there are two kinds of speech, one residing in the mind, the gift of Hermes the Leader, and the other residing in the utterance, merely an attendant and instrument, is threadbare; we will let it come under the heading "Yes, this I knew before Theognis' birth."

But that would not disturb us, because the aim and end of both the speech in the mind and the speech in the utterance is friendship, towards oneself and towards one's neighbour respectively; for the former, ending through philosophy in virtue, makes a man harmonious with himself, free from blame from himself, and full of peace and friendliness towards himself.

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* Homer, *Od. xvii. 487.

* περιέλκειν, literally "pull about." Plato (Republic, 539 b) says that the young, when new to argument, find pleasure ὀσπερ σκυλάκια τῷ ἔλκειν τε καὶ σπαράττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πλησίουν δει, "like little dogs, in pulling and tearing apart by argument those who happen to be near them."

(777) οὐ στάσις οὐδὲ τε ἔν δήρις ἀναίσιος εὗρε τοίς ἀρχείοις ἐν μελέσσων,
οὗ πάθος λόγω δυσπειθές, οὗ όρμής μάχη πρὸς ὀρμήν, οὗ λογισμὸν πρὸς λογισμὸν ἀντίβασις, οὗ ὀκτερ ἐν μεθορίῳ τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος καὶ τοῦ μετανοοῦντος τὸ τραχὺ καὶ παραχώδες καὶ τὸ ἤδομενον,
D ἀλλ' εὐμενὴ πάντα καὶ φίλα καὶ ποιοῦντα πλείστων τυγχάνειν ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἐαυτῷ χαίρειν ἐκαστον.
τοῦ δὲ προφορικοῦ τῆς Μουσᾶν ὦ Πίνδαρος "οὐ φιλοκερδῆς," φησίν, "οὐδ' ἐργάτιν" εἶναι πρότερον,
οἵμα δὲ μηδὲ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀμοισία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία τὸν κοινὸν Ἐρμῆν ἐμπολαίον καὶ ἐμμισθὸν γενέσθαι.
οὗ γὰρ ἥ μὲν Ἄφροδίτη ταῖς τοῦ Προποίτου ἰδιν] γαταράσσω εἰμίνεν ὥσι
πρῶται μίσεια μηχανήσαντο καταχέειν νειν

ή δ' Οὐρανία καὶ Καλλιτόπη καὶ Ἡ Κλεώ χαίρουν
τοῖς ἔποι ἀργυρίων λυμαινομένοις τὸν λόγον. ἀλλ' ἐμοίγε δοκεί τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν ἔργα καὶ δώρα μᾶλλον
η τὰ τῆς Ἄφροδίτης φιλοτήσα ἐναι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ
Ε ἐνδοξὸν, οὗ τινος τὸν λόγον ποιοῦνται τέλος, ὡς ἀρχή καὶ σπέρμα φιλίας ἡγαπήθη· μᾶλλον δ' ὅλως
οἱ γε πολλοὶ κατ' εὔνοιαν τὴν δοξαν τίθενται, νομί-

1 οὐδὲ τε Τυλαντέρ; ἢν οὗ Ἡρκ: οὐ.
2 ἀναίσιος Τυλαντέρ, Ἰναντινου, Ἑπ. Γρ. Ἑρκ. Συμπλ.
s.v.; ἀναίσιος Μεζίρικος; ἀπαίσιος Ἡρκ: ἀναίσιος.
3 καὶ added by Reiske; τὸ added by Frerichs.
4 Προποίτου Ἅμιοτ; cf. Ὄδηγος, Ἔμπα. x. 221: προπόλου
or προσπολοῦ.
5 μηχανήσαντο] μαχιθάντο Βερνάρκας, Φρειρίχ, and
some mss.
6 ἔπ. Ρέισκ: ἐπ.
7 λυμαινομένοις Reiske; διαδιδομένοις Frerichs: διαδεχομένοις.

A verse of an unknown poet. Ascribed to Empedocles
by Ἡρκ. 1 Ἱστ. ii. 10.
Faction is not, nor is ill-starred strife, to be found in his members, * there is no passion disobedient to reason, no strife of impulse with impulse, no opposition of argument to argument, there is no rough tumult and pleasure on the border-line, as it were, between desire and repentance, but everything is gentle and friendly and makes each man gain the greatest number of benefits and be pleased with himself. But Pindar says ² that the Muse of oral utterance was "not greedy of gain, nor toilsome" formerly, and I believe she is not so now either, but because of lack of education and of good taste the "common Hermes" ³ has become venal and ready for hire. For it cannot be that, whereas Aphrodite was angry with the daughters of Propoetus ⁴ because

First they were to devise for young men a shower of abominations,*

yet Urania, Calliopê, and Clio are pleased with those who pollute speech for money. No, I think the works and gifts of the Muses are more conducive to friendship than are those of Aphrodite. For approbation, which some consider the end and purpose of speech, is admired as the beginning and seed of friendship; but most people rather bestow reputation altogether by goodwill, believing that we praise

³ ῾Ερμής is a proverbial expression meaning "good luck should be shared" (cf. Menander, Arbitrants, 67; Lucian, Navigium, 12, p. 256; Theophrastus, Characters, 30. 7; Aristotle, 1201 a 20). But Hermes was god, not only of gain and luck, but also of eloquence, and here the meaning is that eloquence, which should be for the common good of all, has to be bought.

⁴ See Ovid, Metam. x. 221 ff., especially 238 ff.

* From an unknown poet.
Ζοντες ἡμᾶς μόνον ἐπαινεῖν οὓς φιλούμεν. ἄλλ' οὖτοι μέν, ὡς ὁ Ἰεύων διάκων τὴν ἦραν ἠλισθεν εἰς τὴν νεφέλην, οὕτως ἀντὶ τῆς φιλίας εἰδὼλον ἀπατηλὸν καὶ πανηγυρικὸν καὶ περιφερόμενον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. 2 ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων, ἂν ἐν3 πολιτείας καὶ πράξεων ἀναστρέφηται, δεῖσται δόξης τοσαύτης, ὅση δύναμιν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ τοῦ Πιστεύεσθαι δίδωσιν οὔτε γὰρ ἡδυ μὴ βουλομένους οὔτε βάδιον ὠφελεῖν, βουλεύεθαι δὲ ποιεῖ τὸ πιστεύειν ὡσπερ γὰρ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον ἐστιν ἀγαθὸν τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἢ τοῖς βλεπομένοις, 4 οὕτως ἡ δόξα τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις ἢ τοῖς μὴ παρορμομένοις. ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ συνών έαυτῷ καὶ τάγαθὸν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ τιθέμενος τὴν μὲν ἐν ὀχλοῖς καὶ θεάτρως πάνδημον 778 καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην δόξαν οὕτως ὡς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἰππόλυτος ἂπωθεὶν ἄγνος ὃν ἀστάξεται σὲ τὸ γε τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ ἐλλογίμων οὐδ' αὐτὸς καταφρονεῖ. πλούτων δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν φιλίαις οὐ διώκει, οὐ μὴν οὔδὲ φεύγει ταῦτα μετρίῳ προσόντ' ἢθει. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς καλοὺς τῶν νέων διώκει καὶ ὑραιός, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐαγγέλους καὶ κοσμίους καὶ φιλομαθεῖς. οὐδ' οίς ὑρα καὶ χάρις συνέπεται καὶ ἄνθος δεδίττεται τὸν φιλόσοφον οὐδ' ἀποσοβεὶ καὶ ἀπελαύνει τῶν ἁξίων ἐπιμελείας τὸ κάλλος. οὕτως οὖν ἁξίας ἡγεμονικῆς καὶ δυνάμεως ἀνδρὶ μετρίῳ καὶ ἀστείῳ προσούσης,

1 μόνον Meziriacus: μὴ μόνον.
2 ὑπολαμβάνουσι] περιλαμβάνουσι Coraes.
3 ἐν added by Coraes.
4 γὰρ added by Bernardakis.
5 βλεπομένοι Frerichs: μὴ βλεπομένοι. Bernardakis would omit βλεπομένοι and παρορμομένοι.
those only whom we love. But just as Ixion slipped into the cloud when he was pursuing Hera, so these people seize upon a deceptive, showy, and shifting appearance in lieu of friendship. But the man of sense, if he is engaged in active political life, will ask for so much reputation as will inspire confidence and thereby give him power for affairs; for it is neither pleasant nor easy to benefit people if they are unwilling, and confidence makes them willing. For just as light is more a blessing to those who see than to those who are seen, so reputation is more a blessing to those who are aware of it than to those who are not overlooked. But he who has withdrawn from public affairs, who communes with himself and thinks happiness is in quiet and uninterrupted leisure, he, "being chaste, worships afar off" the reputation which is popular and widespread in crowds and theatres, even as Hippolytus worshipped Aphrodite, but even he does not despise reputation among the right-minded and estimable; but wealth, reputation as a leader, or power in his friendships he does not pursue, however neither does he avoid these qualities if they are associated with a temperate character; nor, for that matter, does he pursue those among the youths who are fine-looking and handsome, but those who are teachable and orderly and fond of learning; nor does the beauty of those whom he sees endowed with freshness, charm, and the flower of youth frighten the philosopher or scare him off and drive him away from those who are worthy of his attention. So, then, if the dignity that befits leadership and power are associated with a man of moderation and culture, the philosopher

καὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐνδόξου οὗτος καὶ ἡγεμονικὴν φιλιὰν ἔχοντες. ὡς οὖν ἄπράγμων ἰλόσφος οὐ φεύ-
ζεται τοὺς τοιούτους, ὥς ἐπισταθμεύων τὰ ὑπὸ διαλέξεων ἀκαίρου καὶ σοφιστικάς, βουλο-
μένους δὲ χαίρων καὶ διαλεγόμενος καὶ σχολάζων καὶ συνών προθύμως.

3. Σπείρῳ δ᾽ ἀρουραν δῶδεξ ἡμερῶν οδὸν
Βερέκυντα χῶρον.

Ὅτους εἰ μὴ μόνον φιλογέωργος ἄλλα καὶ φιλ-
ἀνθρωπος ἦν, ἢ διὸν ἃν ἔσπειρε τὴν τοσοῦτος
τρέφειν δυσμένην ἦ τὸ Ἀντισθένους ἐκεῖνο χωρί-
διον, οἱ μόλις Αὐτολύκῳ παλαίειν ἃν ἥρκεσε· εἰ δὲ
σε ἡρόμην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ἐπιστρέφειν παρ-

1 ἀκουοῦν Reiske: ἀκοῦειν.
2 ἦν added by Iunius.
3 Αὐτολύκῳ Wytenbach: αὐτὸ (αὐτῷ) αὐ.
4 παλαίειν Bernardakis: πάλιν.
5 ἃν ἥρκεσε Wytenbach: ἀνήρηκας; cf. Xen. Symp. 3. 8.

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c See Xen. Symposium, 3. 8, where Antisthenes says that
PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 778

will not hold aloof from making him a friend and cherishing him, nor will he be afraid of being called a courtier and a toady.

For those of men who too much Cypris shun Are mad as those who follow her too much; * and so are those who take that attitude towards friendship with famous men and leaders. Hence, while the philosopher who abstains from public affairs will not avoid such men, yet one who is interested in public life will even go to them with open arms; he will not annoy them against their will, nor will he pitch his camp in their ears with inopportune sophistical disquisitions, but when they wish it, he will be glad to converse and spend his leisure with them and eager to associate with them.

3. The field I sow is twelve days' journey round; Berecynthian land; * if this speaker was not merely a lover of agriculture but also a lover of his fellow men, he would find more pleasure in sowing the field which could feed so many men than in sowing that little plot of Antisthenes' * which would hardly have been big enough for Autolycus to wrestle in; but if [he meant]: "I sow all this in order that I may subjugate the whole inhabited world," I deprecate the sentiment. * his land is hardly enough to furnish sand to sprinkle Autolycus with before wrestling.

* The text is very corrupt, but the general course of the argument based upon the lines supposed to have been spoken by Tantalus may very well have been what is given in the translation. If the rich and powerful use their advantages for the common good of men, they are worthy of the philosopher's attention, but not so if they use their resources for purely selfish ends. See critical note, p. 42.
(778) αὐτοῦμαι.¹ καὶ τοι Ἐπίκουρος τάγαθον ἐν τῷ βαθυτάτῳ τῆς ἰσοχίας ὡσπερ ἐν ἀκλύστῳ λίμένι καὶ κωφῷ τιθέμενος τὸν εὐ πάσχειν τὸ εὐ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιὸν εἶναι φήσι.

χαρᾶς γὰρ οὔτω γόνιμον οὔδεν² ἐστιν

ὡς χάρις.

ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἢν ὁ ταῖς Χάρισι τὰ ὀνόματα θέμενος

D Ἀγλαϊν καὶ Εὐφροσύνην καὶ. Θάλειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀγαλλόμενον καὶ τὸ χαίρον ἐν τῷ διδόντι τὴν χάριν πλεῖον ἐστὶ καὶ καθαρώτερον. διὸ τῷ πάσχειν εὖ³ αἰσχύνονται πολλάκις, αἰεὶ δ' ἀγάλλονται τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν· εὖ δὲ ποιοῦσι πολλοὺς οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀγαθοὺς ὅν πολλοὶ δέονται· καὶ τούναντιον, οἱ αἰεὶ διαφθείροντες ἡγεμόνας ἡ βασιλείας ἡ τυράννους διάβολοι καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ κόλακες ὑπὸ πάντων ἔλαιονται καὶ κολάζονται, καθάπερ οὐκ έις μίαν κύλικα φάρμακον

Ε ἐμβάλλοντες θανάσιμον, ἀλλ' εἰς πηγήν δημοσία ῥέουσαν, ἢ χρωμένους πάντας ὀρῶσιν. ὡσπερ οὖν τοὺς Κάλλιον κωμῳδουμένους κόλακας γελῶσιν, οὖς⁴

οὐ πῦρ οὔδε⁵ σίδηρος
οὔδε χαλκὸς ἀπείργει⁶
μη φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δείπνον

¹ εἰ δὲ σε . . . παραιτοῦμαι] Bernardakis surmised that beneath the corrupt text lurked a metrical version of what a humane Tantalus might have said. The translation assumes a prose version of a prose explanation that a self-seeking Tantalus might have said, as if Plutarch wrote, e.g.: εἰ δ' εἴπε: Σπείρῳ (Bernardakis) ἵνα τὴν οἰκουμένην ἄπασαν καταστέφω, παραιτοῦμαι. See note d on preceding page. 42
And yet Epicurus, who places happiness in the deepest quiet, as in a sheltered and landlocked harbour, says that it is not only nobler, but also pleasanter, to confer than to receive benefits.

For chiefest joy doth gracious kindness give.\(^a\)

Surely he was wise who gave the Graces the names Aglaïa (Splendour), Euphrosynê (Gladness), and Thalia (Good-cheer); for the delight and joy are greater and purer for him who does the gracious act. And therefore people are often ashamed to receive benefits, but are always delighted to confer them; and they who make those men good upon whom many depend confer benefits upon many; and, on the contrary, the slanderers, backbiters, and flatterers who constantly corrupt rulers or kings or tyrants, are driven away and punished by everyone, as if they were putting deadly poison, not into a single cup, but into the public fountain which, as they see, everyone uses. Therefore, just as people laugh when the flatterers of Callias are ridiculed in comedy, those flatterers of whom Eupolis says\(^b\)

No fire, no, and no weapon,
Be it of bronze or of iron,
Keeps them from flocking to dinner,

\(^b\) From the *Flatterers*, by Eupolis; Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 303.
kata ton Eupolion. tou's δ' 'Apollodówrou tou' tyránwv kai Phalárídovs kai Διονυσίou filówv kai sunvtheis ápetumfánwv, éstréblouv kai énevím-prasan, énagwv époioúnto kai' katarátous, ós ékeínwv mén ádikouvntwv éna toútov dé polloús di' évows tou' árkhontos'. ou'tows oí mén idiótaís svnvóntes autoús ékeínous poióûn éautoís álupous kai áblabeis kai prosneis, ó δ' árkhontos ἂθos F áfairoú mouktherón ū 'gnvómhn ἔφ' ó dei svykev-thýnnwv tróppou tiná dhmosía filósophéi kai to kouvnon épavnorboútaí, δ' pántes diwvikuúntai. tois iereúous aíðw kai tymh' ai póleis némuovn, óti tágaða pará tov theów ou' mónon autoís kai filóis kai oikeiów, állo kouý páswv autoúntai tois polítaiw· kai tois tovov theów oí iereís ou' poióûn agathán dótýras, állo toioútous óntas parakaloudí: tois δ' árkhontas oí svvóntes tvn filósófwv dikaiosté- rous poióû và metriwteróous kai prosvumtéróous eis to ev poiéiv, óoste kai kairévnu eikós éstí malloú.

779 4. 'Emoi dé dōkei kai luroptóis àn ἂδιον lýran èrgásasqai kai prosvumtéróov, máthovn ós' to tauth kthsoúmenos tiv lýran méllèi to Θηβαίων ἄστυ tēxýzein ós' ó 'Amphiw, ū tivn Lakedaimoníwn stáusn paiéuvn épádwn kai paramvdoúmenos ós' Θalhís5· kai téktowv ómowís pedálion dhmouurgwv

1 kai added by Wytenbach.
2 ò Iunius: ós.
3 Θalhís] ó Θalhís Bernardakis; Θalhtas Frerichs.

* Cruel tyrants of Cassandreia, Acragas, and Syracuse respectively.
5 According to the legend, when Amphion played on his
but the friends and intimates of the tyrant Apollo-
dorus, of Phalaris, and of Dionysius a they bas-
tinadoed, tortured, and burned, and made them for ever polluted and accursed, since the former had done harm to one man, but the latter through one, the ruler, to many. So the philosophers who asso-
ciate with persons in private station make those individuals inoffensive, harmless, and gentle towards themselves, but he who removes evil from the char-
acter of a ruler, or directs his mind towards what is right, philosophizes, as it were, in the public interest and corrects the general power by which all are governed. States pay reverence and honour to their priests because they ask blessings from the gods, not for themselves, their friends, and their families alone, but for all the citizens in common; and yet the priests do not make the gods givers of blessings, for they are such by nature; the priests merely invoke them. But philosophers who associate with rulers do make them more just, more moderate, and more eager to do good, so that it is very likely that they are also happier.

4. And I think a lyre-maker would be more willing and eager to make a lyre if he knew that the future owner of that lyre was to build the walls of the city of Thebes, as Amphion did, b or, like Thales, c was to put an end to faction among the Lacedaemonians by the music of his charms and his exhortations; and a carpenter likewise in making a tiller would be more lyre, the stones of their own accord formed the walls of Thebes.

a Nothing is known of a musician or poet Thales. The musician Thaletas is said to have taught the lawgiver Lycurgus, but we do not hear of his putting an end to faction at Sparta.
(779) ἂν adited by Fränkel (or read κἂν for καὶ or ἐργάσασθαι should be changed to ἐργάσεσθαι, Bernardakis).

1 ἂν added by Fränkel (or read κἂν for καὶ or ἐργάσασθαι should be changed to ἐργάσεσθαι, Bernardakis).

2 ἄκμαιους Coraes: δρομαίους.

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a Homer, Od. xii. 70.

b In his Life of Solon, xxv., Plutarch says that Solon’s laws were originally inscribed on revolving wooden tablets (axones) in wooden frames. The axones were set up in the
pleased if he knew that it would steer the flagship of Themistocles fighting in defence of Hellas, or that of Pompey when he overcame the pirates. What, then, do you imagine the philosopher thinks about his teaching, when he reflects that the statesman or ruler who accepts it will be a public blessing by dispensing justice, making laws, punishing the wicked, and making the orderly and the good to prosper? And I imagine that a clever shipbuilder, too, would take greater pleasure in making a tiller if he knew that it was to steer the Argo, "the concern of all," and a carpenter would not be so eager to make a plough or a wagon as the axones on which the laws of Solon were to be engraved. And surely the teachings of philosophers, if they are firmly engraved in the souls of rulers and statesmen and control them, acquire the force of laws; and that is why Plato sailed to Sicily, in the hope that his teachings would produce laws and actions in the government of Dionysius; but he found Dionysius, like a book which is erased and written over, already befouled with stains and incapable of losing the dye of his tyranny, since by length of time it had become deeply fixed and hard to wash out. No, it is while men are still at their best that they should accept the worthy teachings.

Royal Stoa. Toward the end of the fifth century, the wooden text having disintegrated and the laws having been modified, a new edition of Solon's laws was inscribed on both sides of a marble wall built in the Royal Stoa and of this a fragment has recently come to light in the Athenian Agora. See J. H. Oliver, Hesperia, iv. 5 ff., whose views are represented in the above statement.
TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER
(AD PRINCIPEM INERUDITUM)
INTRODUCTION

The brief essay *To an Uneducated Ruler* may have formed part of a lecture, or it may, as its traditional title suggests, have been composed as a letter to some person in authority. There is nothing in it to prove either assumption. No striking or unusual precepts or doctrines are here promulgated, but the essay is enlivened by a few interesting tales and, considering its brevity, by a somewhat unusual number of rather elaborate similes. As usual Plutarch depends upon earlier writers for most of his material. The ending is so abrupt as to warrant the belief that the essay, in its present form, is only a fragment.
ΠΡΟΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΝΑ ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΟΝ

1. Πλάτωνα Κυρηναίοι παρεκάλουν νόμους τε γραφάμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν καὶ διακοσμήσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὅ δὲ παρητήσατο φήσας χαλεπὸν εἶναι Κυρηναῖοις νομοθετεῖν οὕτως εὐτυχοῦσιν.

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαύρων
καὶ τραχὺ καὶ δύσαρκτον

ὡς ἄνὴρ ἐφι

eὔπραγίας δοκοῦσης ἐπιλαμβανόμενοι. διὸ τοῖς

Ε ἂρχουσι χαλεπὸν ἔστι σύμβουλον περὶ ἄρχῆς

gενέσθαι. τὸν γὰρ λόγον ὠσπερ ἄρχοντα παρα-

dέξασθαι φοβοῦνται, μὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν

tάγαθον κολούσῃ τῷ καθήκοντι δουλωσάμενος.

οὐ γὰρ ὑσαὶ τὰ Θεσπόμπων τοῖς Σπαρτατῶν

βασιλέως, ὅς πρῶτος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῖς βασιλεύοντι

καταμίξας τοὺς Ἐφόρους, ἐἴτε ὁνειδίζόμενος ὅπο

τῆς γυναικὸς, εἰ τοῖς παισίν ἐλάττωνα παραδώσει

tὴν ἄρχην ἢς παρέλαβε, "μείζονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν,

"ὅσω καὶ βεβαιοτέραν." τὸ γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἀνεῖς

That Plato in his extensive travels visited Cyrene is attested by Diogenes Laertius, Vit. Phil. iii. 6.

A quotation from some tragic poet; see Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 617.

The five Ephors at Sparta, representing the five local
TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER

1. Plato was asked by the Cyrenaeans a to compose a set of laws and leave it for them and to give them a well-ordered government; but he refused, saying that it was difficult to make laws for the Cyrenaeans because they were so prosperous.

For nothing is so haughty harsh, and ungovernable

by nature as a man, b

when he possesses what he regards as prosperity. And that is why it is difficult to give advice to rulers in matters of government, for they are afraid to accept reason as a ruler over them, lest it curtail the advantage of their power by making them slaves to duty. For they are not familiar with the saying of Theopompus, the King of Sparta who first made the Ephors c associates of the Kings; then, when his wife reproached him because he would hand down to his children a less powerful office than that which he had received he said: "Nay, more powerful rather, inasmuch as it is more secure." For by giving up that which was excessive and absolute in tribes, were in charge of civil law and public order. Whether they were established by Lycurgus or by Theopompus (about 757 B.C. or later) is uncertain. In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. they seem to have had more power than the kings.
καὶ ἀκρατῶν αὐτῆς ἀμα τῷ φθόνῳ διέφυγε τῶν
F κύδυνον. καὶ τοι Θεόπομπος μὲν εἰς ἐτέρους τὸ
τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑστερ βεῦματος μεγάλου παροχετευσά-
μενος, ὅσον ἄλλοις ἐδωκεν, αὐτοῦ περιέκοψεν· οὐ
δ' ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῷ ἄρχοντι πάρεδρος καὶ φύλακ
ἐγκατοικισθεὶς λόγος, ὑστερ εὐεξίας τῆς δυνάμεως
τὸ ἐπισφαλὲς ἀφαιρῶν, ἀπολείπει τὸ ψυχαῖον.
2. 'Αλλὰ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βασι-
λέων καὶ ἄρχοντων μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀτέχνους ἀν-
δριαντοποιούσι, οἱ νομίζουσι μεγάλους καὶ ἄδρους
φαίνεσθαι τοὺς κολοσσοὺς, ἀν διαβεβηκότας σφόδρα
780 καὶ διαστεραμένους καὶ κεχήνοτας πλάσωσι· καὶ γὰρ
οὗτοι βαρύτητι φωνῆς καὶ βλέμματος τραχύτητι
καὶ δυσκολία τρόπων καὶ ἀμιξία διαίτης ὄγκον
ήγερον καὶ σεμνότητα μιμεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὐδὲ
ὁτίον τῶν κολοσσικῶν διαφέροντες ἀνδριάντων,
οἱ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἱρωικὴν καὶ θεοπρεπὴ μορφὴν
ἔχοντες ἐντὸς εἰσὶ γῆς μεστοὶ καὶ λίθου καὶ μολί-
βοιν· πλὴν ὦτι τῶν μὲν ἀνδριάντων ταῦτα τὰ βάρη
τὴν ὀρθότητα μόνιμον καὶ ἀκλίνη διαφυλάττει, οἱ
Β δ' ἀπαίδευτοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἠγεμόνες ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐντὸς ἀγνωστοῦ πολλάκις σαλεύονται καὶ περι-
τρέπονται· βάσει γὰρ οὐ κειμένη πρὸς ὅρθας
ἐξουσίαν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ύψηλήν συναπονεύοντος.
δει δὲ, ὑστερ ὁ κανὼν αὐτός, ἀστραβῆς γενόμενος
καὶ ἀδιάστροφος, οὕτως ἀπευθύνει τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφαρμογῇ καὶ παραθέσει συνεξομοιῶν,
παραπλησίως τὸν ἄρχοντα πρῶτον τῆς ἀρχῆς
κτησάμενον ἐν έαυτῷ καὶ κατευθύναντα τὴν
ψυχήν καὶ καταστησάμενον τὸ ἱθὸς οὕτω συν-

1 συνεξομοιῶν Stobaeus (xl. 98 [100]); συναφομοιών Wytenbach: συνεφομοιῶν.
2 τὴν added by Reiske.

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it he avoided both the envy and the danger. And yet Theopompus, by diverting to a different body the vast stream of his royal authority, deprived himself of as much as he gave to others. But when philosophical reason derived from philosophy has been established as the ruler's coadjutor and guardian, it removes the hazardous element from his power, as a surgeon removes that which threatens a patient's health and leaves that which is sound.

2. But most kings and rulers are so foolish as to act like unskilful sculptors, who think their colossal figures look large and imposing if they are modelled with their feet far apart, their muscles tense, and their mouths wide open. For these rulers seem by heaviness of voice, harshness of expression, truculence of manner, and unsociability in their way of living to be imitating the dignity and majesty of the princely station, although in fact they are not at all different from colossal statues which have a heroic and godlike form on the outside, but inside are full of clay, stone, and lead,—except that in the case of the statues the weight of those substances keeps them permanently upright without leaning, whereas uneducated generals and rulers are often rocked and capsized by the ignorance within them; for since the foundation upon which they have built up their lofty power is not laid straight, they lean with it and lose their balance. But just as a rule, if it is made rigid and inflexible, makes other things straight when they are fitted to it and laid alongside it, in like manner the sovereign must first gain command of himself, must regulate his own soul and establish his own character, then make his sub-

3 ψυχή Stobaeus and Reiske: ἀρχή.
(780) ἀρμόττεν τὸ ὑπῆκοον· οὔτε γὰρ πίπτοντὸς ἐστὶν ὀρθοῦν οὔτε διδάσκειν ἀγνοοῦντος οὔτε κοσμεῖν ἀκοσμοῦντος ἢ τάττεν ἀτακτοῦντος ἢ ἁρχεῖν μὴ ὁ ἀρχομένου· ἀλλ’ οἱ πολλοὶ κακῶς φρονοῦντες οἰονται πρῶτον ἐν τῷ ἁρχεῖν ἁγαθὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἁρχεσθαι, καὶ ὁ γε Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πάντας ἢγεῖτο δούλους πλήν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός, ἢς μάλιστα δεσπότης ὧφειλεν εἶναι.

3. Τίς οὖν ἁρξεῖ τοῦ ἁρχοντος; καὶ νόμος οἱ πάντων βασιλεὺς θνατῶν1 τε καὶ ἀθανάτων,

ὡς ἐφὶ Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ἐν βιβλίοις ἐξώ γεγραμμένοις2 οὔτε τοις ξύλοις, ἀλλ’ ἐμψυχοίς ὃν ἐν αὐτῷ3 λόγος, ἢς συνοικῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων καὶ μηδέποτε τῇν ψυχῇ ἐών ἔρημον ἡγεμονίας. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐνα τῶν κατευναστῶν εἰξε πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένον, ὅσο’ ἐωθὲν εἰσίοντα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν "ἀνάστα, ὦ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φροντίζει πραγμάτων, ἢν σε φροντίζειν ὃ μέγας Ωρομάδοθς4 ἡθέλησε". Ἢ τοῦ δὲ πεπαιδευμένου καὶ σωφρονοῦντος ἁρχοντὸς ἐντὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦτο φθεγγόμενος ἢς καὶ παρακελευόμενος. Πολέμων γὰρ ἔλεγε τὸν ἐρωτα ἐναι "θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς νέων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν"· ἀληθεστερον δ’ ἂν τις εἴποι τοὺς ἁρχοντας ὑπηρετεῖν θεῳ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ

1 θνατῶν Pindar (Bergk-Schroeder, p. 458, no. 169 [151]): θνητῶν. 2 γεγραμμένοι Meziriacus: γεγραμμένοις. 3 ἐν αὐτῷ Coraes: ἐαυτῷ or ἐν ἑαυτῷ. 4 μέγας Ωρομάδοθς Kaltwasser: μεσορομάδοθς; cf. Life of Artax. chap. xxix.

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jects fit his pattern. For one who is falling cannot hold others up, nor can one who is ignorant teach, nor the uncultivated impart culture, nor the disorderly make order, nor can he rule who is under no rule. But most people foolishly believe that the first advantage of ruling is freedom from being ruled. And indeed the King of the Persians used to think that everyone was a slave except his own wife, whose master he ought to have been most of all.

3. Who, then, shall rule the ruler? The Law, the king of all,
Both mortals and immortals,
as Pindar a says—not law written outside him in books or on wooden tablets b or the like, but reason endowed with life within him, always abiding with him and watching over him and never leaving his soul without its leadership. For example, the King of the Persians had one of his chamberlains assigned to the special duty of entering his chamber in the morning and saying to him: "Arise, O King, and consider matters which the great Oromasdes c wished you to consider." But the educated and wise ruler has within him the voice which always thus speaks to him and exhorts him. Indeed Polemo said that love was "the service of the gods for the care and preservation of the young"; one might more truly say that rulers serve god for the care and preservation of men, in

a Bergk-Schroeder, p. 458, no. 169 [151]; Sandys, p. 602, no. 169 (L.C.L.). Quoted by Plato, Gorg. 484 b, Laws, 690 b.

b A reference to the original tablets of Solon's laws. See Moralia, 779 b and note b, p. 46 above.

c Oromasdes is the Greek form of Ormazd, Auramasda, or Ahura Mazdah, the great god of the Persians.
(780) σωτηρίαν, ὁπως ὃν θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπως καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν νέμωσι τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσιν.

ὅρας τὸν ὕψον τὸν ἄφετον αἰθέρα,
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ' ὑγράς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;

ὁ μὲν καθήσαι ἄρχάς σπερμάτων προσηκόντων γῆ
δ' ἀναδίδωσιν, αὔξεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄμβρους τὰ δ' ἀνέμους τὰ δ' ἀστροὺς ἐπιθαλαπόμενα καὶ σελήνη,

Ε χοσμεί δ' ἢλιος ἀπαντά καὶ πάσι τοῦτο δὴ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῦ φίλτρον ἐγκεράννυσιν. ἄλλα τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ὁ θεὸς χαρίζονται δώρων καὶ ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ χρήσις ὀρθή δίχα νόμου καὶ δίκης καὶ ἄρχοντος. δίκη μὲν οὖν νόμου τέλος ἔστι, νόμος δ' ἄρχοντος ἐργον, ἀρχῶν δ' εἰκὼν θεοῦ τοῦ πάντα κοσμουῦντος, οὗ Φειδίου δεόμενος πλάττοντος οὐδὲ Πολυκλείτου καὶ Μύρωνος, ἄλλ' αὐτός αὐτὸν εἰς ὁμοίωτητα θεῷ δ' ἀρετής 

Καθιστᾶς καὶ δημιουργῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸ ἡδίστον ὀφθήναι καὶ θεοπρεπεστάτον. οἶνον δ' ἦλιος ἐν οὐρανῷ περικαλλές εἰδωλόν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ σελήνην ὁ θεὸς ἐνίδρυσε, τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει μίμημα καὶ φέγγος ἄρχων

οὕτε θεοῦ ἡ

εὐδικίας ἀνέχεσθι,

tουτέστι θεοῦ λόγον ἐχὼν, διάνοιαν, οὐ σκηπτρὸν ὀυδὲ κεραυνὸν οὐδὲ τρίαιναν, ὡς ἐνοὶ πλάττουσιν

1 καὶ σωτηρίαν added by Bernardakis. Cf. Thes. and Rom. chap. ii.
3 διάνοιαν] καὶ διάνοιαν Reiske; ἐνδιάβετον Frerichs.

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order that of the glorious gifts which the gods give to men they may distribute some and safeguard others.

Dost thou behold this lofty, boundless sky
Which holds the earth enwrapped in soft embrace? a
The sky sends down the beginnings of the appropriate seeds, and the earth causes them to sprout up; some are made to grow by showers and some by winds, and some by the warmth of stars and moon; but it is the sun which adorns all things and mingles in all things what men call the "love charm" which is derived from himself. But these gifts and blessings, so excellent and so great, which the gods bestow cannot be rightly enjoyed nor used without law and justice and a ruler. Now justice is the aim and end of law, but law is the work of the ruler, and the ruler is the image of God who orders all things. Such a ruler needs no Pheidias nor Polycleitus nor Myron to model him, but by his virtue he forms himself in the likeness of God and thus creates a statue most delightful of all to behold and most worthy of divinity. Now just as in the heavens God has established as a most beautiful image of himself the sun and the moon, so in states a ruler

who in God's likeness

Righteous decisions upholds, b

that is to say, one who, possessing god's wisdom, establishes, as his likeness and luminary, intelligence in place of sceptre or thunderbolt or trident, with which attributes some rulers represent themselves

a Euripides, unknown drama, Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 663. The following line is τούτων νόμιζε Ζήνα, τόνδ’ ἥγοι Θεόν, "Believe that this is Zeus, consider this thy God." Cicero translates this line in De Natura Deorum, ii. 25. 65.
b Homer, Od. xix. 109 and 111.
ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΦΟΥΣΙ Τῌ ΆΝΕΦΙΚΤῌ ΠΟΙΟΥΝΤΕΣ ΕΠΙΘΘΟΝΟΝ ΤῸ ΆΝΟΗΤΟΝ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΑ ΓᾲΡ Ὅ ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟῖΣ ἈΠΟΜΜΟΜΕΝΟΙΣ ΒΡΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΡΑΝΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΤΙΝΟΒΟΛΙΑΣ, ΤΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΤῌΝ ἈΡΕΤῌΝ ζΗΛΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤῸ ΚΑΛῸΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΝ ἈΦΟΜΟΙΟΥΝΤΑΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΥΣ ἩΔΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΑΥΞΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΤΑΔΙΔΟΙΣ ΤῌΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤῸΝ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ἈΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΟΤΗΤΟΣ· ὅΝ ΘΕΙΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΟΥ ΠΥΡ ἘΣΤΙΝ ΟΥ ΦῶΣ ΟὐΧ ἩΛΙΟΝ ΔΡΟΜΟΣ ΟΥΚ ἈΝΑΤΟΛΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΕΙΣ ἈΣΤΡΩΝ ΟΥ ὁ ΑΙΔΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ἈΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ. ΟΥ ΓᾲΡ ΧΡΟΝΩΣ ζΩΗΣ Ὅ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ ἈΛΛᾼ ΤῌΣ ΆΡΕΤῸΣ Τῌ ἈΡΧΟΝΤῌ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΥΆΡ ΘΕΙΟΝ ἘΣΤΙ, ΚΑΛῸΝ Δ' ΑΥΤῌΣ ΚΑΙ ΤῸ ΆΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ.

4. Ἀνάξαρχος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ Κλεῖτον φῶν δεινοπαθοῦντα παραμυθοῦμενος Ἀλέξανδρον ἔφη Β καὶ τῷ Διῷ τὴν Δίκην εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θέμιν¹ παρέδρους ἑνα πᾶν πραττόμενον ὑπὸ βασιλέως θεμιτῶν δοκῆ καὶ δίκαιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὦφελίμως τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἡμαρτε μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τῷ πρὸς τὰ ὁμοια θαρρύνειν ἱώμενος, εἰ δὲ δεῖ ταῦτ' εἰκάζειν, ο μὲν Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Δίκη καὶ Θέμεσ ἐστὶ καὶ νόμων ὁ προσβύτατος καὶ τελειότατος. οὶ δὲ παλαιοὶ οὐτὸ λέγοντι καὶ γράφοντι καὶ διδάσκουσιν ὃς ἄνευ Δίκης ἀρχειν μηδὲ τοῦ Διὸς καλῶς δυναμένου· "ἡ δὲ γε² παρ- C θένος ἐστὶ" καθ' Ἡσίοδον ἀδιάφθορος, αἰώνιος

¹ καὶ τῷ Διῷ ... τὴν Θέμιν Ὠττενμπάχ: κλείτω δὴ ... τὴν τῶν θεῶν.
² γε] τῷ Ἡσιοδον.

ᵃ Just as at Athens the archons had their paredroi who aided them in the performance of some of their functions, so here Justice and Right are called the paredroi of Zeus.
ᵇ Hesiod, Works and Days, 256-257 ἡ δὲ τῷ παρθένῳ ἐστὶ Δίκῃ, Δίὸς ἐκγεγαγὼν κυδῆ τ' αἰδοὶ τῇ θεῶν, οἰ "Ολυμπὸν ἐχοὺς. "And there is Virgin Justice, the daughter of Zeus, who is
in sculpture and painting, thus causing their folly to arouse hostile feelings, because they claim what they cannot attain. For God visits his wrath upon those who imitate his thunders, lightnings, and sunbeams, but with those who emulate his virtue and make themselves like unto his goodness and mercy he is well pleased and therefore causes them to prosper and gives them a share of his own equity, justice, truth, and gentleness, than which nothing is more divine,—nor fire, nor light, nor the course of the sun, nor the risings and settings of the stars, nor eternity and immortality. For God enjoys felicity, not through the length of his life, but through the ruling quality of his virtue; for this is divine; and excellent also is that part of virtue which submits to rule.

4. Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as righteous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well. "She is a virgin," according to Hesiod, uncorrupted, dwelling

honoured and reverenced among the gods who dwell on Olympus" (tr. H. G. Evelyn White in L.C.L.).
καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ωφελείας ὅθεν "αἰδοίοις" προσαγορεύονσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς. μάλιστα γὰρ αἰδεύοντας προσήκει τοῖς ήκιστα φοβουμένοις. φοβεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ παθεῖν κακῶς μᾶλλον τὸ ποιῆσαι. τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἔκεινον καὶ οὕτως ἐστιν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλάνθρωπος καὶ οὕκ ἀγεννῆς, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδιέναι μὴ λάθωσι βλαβέντες,

ός δὲ κύνες περὶ μῆλα δυσωρήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ, θηρὸς ἀκούσαντες κρατερόφρονος,

οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἄλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν φιλάττων. ὁ δ’ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, εἰς ὑορτήν τυι καὶ πότον ἀνέπεμνος τῶν Θηβαίων ῥυέντων, μόνος ἐφώδευε τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τὰ τείχη, νῆφεν λέγων καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν ὡς ἄν ἔξη τοῖς ἄλλοις μεθύειν καὶ καθεύδειν. καὶ Κάτων ἐν Ἰτύκη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντάς ἀπὸ τῆς ἡττής ἐκήρυττε πέμπτεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν. καὶ ἐμβιβάζας, εὐπλοιαν εὐξάμενος ὑπὸρ αὐτῶν, εἰς οἶκον ἐπανελθὼν ἐαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε διδάζεις ὑπὸτ τῶν ἰδιών ὑπὸτ τῶν τῶν ἄρχοντα τοῦ φόβου χρῆσθαι καὶ τῶν ἰδιών ὑπὸ τῶν ἄρχοντα καταφρονεῖν. Κλέαρχος δ’ ο Ποντικὸς τύραννος εἰς κιβωτὸν ἐνδυόμενος ὑσπερ ὅφις ἐκάθευδε. καὶ Ἀριστόδημος ο Ἀργεῖος εἰς ὑπερβοῦν οὐκῆμα θύραν ἔχων ἐπιρρακτίνη, ἢς ἐπάνω τιθείς τὸ κλώδιον ἐκάθευδε μετὰ τῆς ἐταίρας. ή δὲ μητηρ ἐκείνης ὑφείλκε κάτωθεν τὸ κλιμάκιον, εἰθ’ ἡμέρας πάλιν προσετίθει φέρουσα.

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1 ωφελείας] ἀληθείας some mss.: ωφελείας codex Xylandri.
2 σύνοικος Reiske: ἐνοικος.
3 'Ἀριστόδημος] 'Αριστιττίππος, Life of Aratus, chap. xxi.
with reverence, self-restraint, and helpfulness; and therefore kings are called "reverend,"\(^a\) for it is fitting that those be most revered who have least to fear. But the ruler should have more fear of doing than of suffering evil; for the former is the cause of the latter; and that kind of fear on the part of the ruler is humane and not ignoble to be afraid on behalf of his subjects lest they may without his knowledge suffer harm,

Just as the dogs keep their watch, toiling hard for the flocks in the sheepfold,

When they have heard a ferocious wild beast,\(^b\)

not for their own sake but for the sake of those whom they are guarding. Epameinondas, when all the Thebans crowded to a certain festival and gave themselves up utterly to drink, went alone and patrolled the armouries and the walls, saying that he was keeping sober and awake that the others might be free to be drunk and asleep. And Cato at Utica issued a proclamation to send all the other survivors of the defeat to the seashore; he saw them aboard ship, prayed that they might have a good voyage, then returned home and killed himself; thereby teaching us in whose behalf the ruler ought to feel fear and what the ruler ought to despise. But Clearchus, tyrant of Pontus, used to crawl into a chest like a snake and sleep there, and Aristodemus of Argos would mount to an upper room entered by a trap-door, then put his bed on the door and sleep in it with his mistress; and the girl’s mother would take the ladder away from below and set it up again in the morning. How do you

\(^a\) e.g. Homer, \textit{II.} iv. 402.

\(^b\) Homer, \textit{II.} x. 183-184.
πῶς οὖτος, οἴεσθε, τὸ θέατρον ἐπεφρίκει καὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον, τὸ βουλευτήριον, τὸ συμπόσιον, ὁ τὸν θάλαμον ἐαυτῷ δεσμωτήριον πεποιηκὼς; τῷ γὰρ ὄντι δεδίασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οἱ δὲ τυράννοι τοὺς ἀρχομένους· διὸ τῇ δυνάμει τὸ δέος συναύξουσι· πλεῖόνων γὰρ ἀρχοντες πλεῖονας φοβοῦνται.

5. Οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς οὖδὲ πρέπον, ἕσπερ ἐνιοίς φιλόσοφοι λέγουσι, τὸν θεόν ἐν ὑλή πάντα πασχοῦση καὶ πράγμασι μυρίας δεχομένοις ἀνάγκαις καὶ τύχας καὶ μεταβολὰς ὑπάρχειν ἀναμεμιγμένοι· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν1 ἄνω που περὶ τὴν ἀεὶ κατὰ ταύτα ὦσαύτως2 φύσιν ἔχουσαν ἤδρυμένος ἐν βάθροις ἀγίοις ἦ θησι Πλάτων, εὐθεία3 περαιεῖ κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· οἷον δ’ ἡλίος ἐν οὐρανῷ μύθικα τὸ περικάλλες αὐτοῦ δι’ ἐσοπτρον εἴδωλων ἀναφαίνεται τοῖς ἐκείνου ἐνοράν δι’ αὐτοῦ δυνατοὶς, οὔτω τὸ ἐν πόλει φέγγος εὐδίκιας καὶ λόγῳ τοῦν4 περὶ αὐτοῦν ὕσπερ εἰκόνα κατέστησεν, ἢν οἱ μακάριοι καὶ σώφρονες ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἀπογράφονται πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν πραγμάτων πλάττοντες ἐαυτοὺς. ταύτην δ’ οὖδὲν ἔμποιεὶ τὴν διάδεσιν ἦ λόγος ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παραγενόμενος· ἢν μὴ πάσχωμεν τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διογένην θεασάμενος καὶ δι’ εὐφυίαν ἄγαπήσας καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φόσμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός εἶπεν· εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμών, Διογένης

1 ὁ μὲν Wyttenbach: ἡμίν.
2 ὦσαύτως Reiske: οὖτως.
3 εὐθεία Reiske; cf. Moralia, 601 b: εὐθέα.
4 αὐτοῦ Abresch: αὐτὴν or αὐτοῦ.
imagine he must have shuddered at the theatre, the city hall, the senate-chamber, the convivial feast, he who had made his bedchamber a prison cell? For in reality kings fear for their subjects, but tyrants fear their subjects; and therefore they increase their fear as they increase their power, for when they have more subjects they have more men to fear.

5. For it is neither probable nor fitting that god is, as some philosophers say, mingled with matter, which is altogether passive, and with things, which are subject to countless necessities, chances, and changes. On the contrary, somewhere up above in contact with that nature which, in accordance with the same principles, remains always as it is, established, as Plato⁠a says, upon pedestals of holiness, proceeding in accordance with nature in his straight course, he reaches his goal.⁠b And as the sun, his most beautiful image, appears in the heavens as his mirrored likeness to those who are able to see him in it, just so he has established in states the light of justice and of knowledge of himself as an image which the blessed and the wise copy with the help of philosophy, modelling themselves after the most beautiful of all things. But nothing implants this disposition in men except the teachings of philosophy, to keep us from having the same experience as Alexander, who, seeing Diogenes at Corinth, admiring him for his natural gifts, and being astonished by his spirit and greatness, said: "If I were not Alexander, I should be Diogenes," by

⁠a Phaedrus, 254 b.
782) ἀν ἦμην... ὀλύγου δέων εἰπεῖν, τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ εὐτυχίαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ δύναμιν ὡς κόλυσιν
Β ἀρετῆς καὶ ἀσχολίαν βαρυνόμενος καὶ ζηλοτυπῶν τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν πήραν, ὅτι τούτοις ἦν ἀνίκη-
tος καὶ ἀνάλωτος Διογένης, οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνος ὅπλοις καὶ ἱπποῖς καὶ σάρκοις. ἐξήν οὖν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ τῇ διαθέσει γίγνεσθαι Διογένη καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μένειν ’Αλέξανδρον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι Διο-
gένη μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἦν ’Αλέξανδρος, ὡς πρὸς τύχην μεγάλην πολὺ πνεῦμα καὶ σάλον ἔχουσαν ἔρματος πολλὸν καὶ κυβερνῆτον μεγάλου δεόμενον.

6. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀσθενεῖσι καὶ ταπείνοις καὶ ἱδιώταις τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μυγνύμενον τὸ ἀνόητον εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τελευτά, ὥσπερ ἐν ὀνείραις φαύλοις τις ἀνία τὴν ψυχὴν διαταράσσει συν—

C εξαναστήναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ δυναμένην. ἡ δ' εξουσία παραλαβοῦσα τὴν κακίαν νεῦρα τοῖς πάθεσι προστίθησι· καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀληθές ἐστιν· ἐφ' γὰρ ἀπολαύειν μάλιστα τῆς ἁρχῆς; ὅταν ταχέως ἄ βουλεταί ποιη. μέγας οὖν ὁ κύδωνος βουλέσθαι ἂ μὴ δεὶ τὸν ἄ βουλεταί ποιεῖν δυνάμενον.

αὐτίκ' ἐπείτα γε μῦθος ἦν, τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον.

οὖν ἡ κακία διὰ τῆς εξουσίας δρόμοιν ἔχουσα πάν πάθος ἐξωθεῖ, ποιοῦσα τὴν ὀργὴν φόνον τὸν ἐρωτα μοιχείαν τὴν πλεονεξίαν δήμευσιν.

1 δέων] δέω Madvig; δέων Coraes; δέων Freichs.
2 αὐτόν Duebner: αὐτόν.
3 μυγνύμενον] δεδεμένον Stobaeus, xli. 100 (102).
4 ἀναμάρτητον] ἀμαρτάνειν Stobaeus.
5 τελευτά omitted by Stobaeus. 6 ἐν Stobaeus.
7 ἀνία] ἀγεταί καὶ μάτην Freichs; some mss. have a gap after ἀνία τοῖς πάθεσι Stobaeus.
which he almost said that he was weighed down by his good fortune, glory, and power which kept him from virtue and left him no leisure, and that he envied the cynic's cloak and wallet because Diogenes was invincible and secure against capture by means of these, not, as he was himself, by means of arms, horses, and pikes. So by being a philosopher he was able to become Diogenes in disposition and yet to remain Alexander in outward fortunes, and to become all the more Diogenes because he was Alexander, since for his great ship of fortune, tossed by high winds and surging sea, he needed heavy ballast and a great pilot.

6. For in weak and lowly private persons folly is combined with lack of power and, therefore, results in no wrongdoing, just as in bad dreams a feeling of distress disturbs the spirit, and it cannot rouse itself in accordance with its desires; but power when wickedness is added to it brings increased vigour to the passions. For the saying of Dionysius is true; he said, namely, that he enjoyed his power most when he did quickly what he wished. There is indeed great danger that he who can do what he wishes may wish what he ought not to do:

Straightway then was the word, and the deed was forthwith accomplished.\(^a\)

Wickedness, when by reason of power it possesses rapid speed, forces every passion to emerge, making of anger murder, of love adultery, of covetousness confiscation.

\(^a\) Homer, \textit{Il.} xix. 242.
αὐτίκ’ ἐπειδ’ ἁμα μῦθος ἦν,
καὶ ἀπόλωλεν ὁ προσκρούσας· ὑπόνοια, καὶ τέθνη.
D κεν ὁ διαβληθεῖς. ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ οἱ φυσικοί λέγουσιν
τὴν ἀστραπὴν τῆς βροντῆς υστέραν μὲν ἐκπίπτειν
ὡς αἷμα τραύματος, προτέραν δὲ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν
μὲν ψόφον ἑκδεχομένης τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ δὲ φωτὶ τῆς
ὁμερ ἄπαντώσης· οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς φθάνουσιν
αἱ κολάσεις τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ προεκπίπτουσιν αἱ
καταδίκαι τῶν ἀποδείξεων.

εἰκεὶ γὰρ ἦδη θυμὸς οὐδ’ ἐτ’ ἀντέχει,
θυνίδες ὡς ἀγκυστρον ἀγκύρας σάλῳ;
ἂν μῆ βάρος ἔχων ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπιθλήβῃ καὶ πιέζῃ
τὴν ἐξουσίαν, μιμομένου τὸν ἤλιον τοῦ ἀρχοντος,
Ε δὲ ὅταν ύψωμα λάβῃ μέγιστον, ἐξαρθεῖς ἐν τοῖς
βορείοις, ἐλάχιστα κινεῖται, τῷ σχολιαστέρῳ τῶν
дрόμων εἰς ἀσφαλές καθιστάμενος.

7. Οὐδὲ γὰρ λαθεῖν οἶδ᾽ ὑπὸ τὰς κακίας ἐν ταῖς
ἐξουσίαις· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιληπτικούς, ἂν ἐν ὑπει
τινὶ γένωνται καὶ περιενεχθῶσιν, ἤλιος ἵσχει καὶ
σάλος, ἐξελέγχων τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ’ ἀπαυ-
δεύτους καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἃ τυχῇ μικρὸν ἐκκοψίασαι
πλοῦτοι τισὸν ἡ δόξας ἡ ἀρχαῖς μετεώρους γε-
νομένους εὐθὺς ἐπιδείκνυσι πίπτοντας· μᾶλλον
δ’, ὠσπερ τῶν κενῶν ἄγγείων οὐκ ἂν διαγνοῖς
τὸ ἀκέραιον καὶ πεπονηκός, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἐγχέῃς,
F φαίνεται τὸ ἤρεις· οὕτως αἱ σαθραὶ ψυχαὶ τὰς
ἐξουσίας μὴ στέγουσαι ἰεροῦσιν ἔξω ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις,
taῖς ὀργαῖς, taῖς ἀλαζονείαις, taῖς ἀπειροκαλίαις.

1 εἰκεὶ F. G. Schmidt; cf. Moralia, 446 a: ἐκεὶ.
2 οὐδ’ Moralia, 446 a: οὐκ.
3 σάλῳ ibid.: σάλον (σάλων V²).
Straightway then was the word, and the offender is done away with; suspicion arises, the man who is slandered is put to death. But as the physicists say that the lightning breaks forth later than the thunder, as the flowing of blood is later than the wound, but is seen sooner, since the hearing waits for the sound, whereas the sight goes to meet the light; so in governments punishments come before the accusations and convictions are pronounced before the proofs are given.

For now the spirit yields and holds no longer firm, As yields the anchor's fluke in sand when waves are high, unless the weight of reason presses upon power and holds it down, and the ruler imitates the sun, which, when it mounts up in the northern sky and reaches its greatest altitude, has the least motion, thus by greater slowness ensuring the safety of its course.

7. Nor is it possible in positions of power for vices to be concealed. Epileptics, if they go up to a high place and move about, grow dizzy and reel, which makes their disease evident, and just so Fortune by such things as riches, reputations, or offices exalts uneducated and uncultured men a little and then, as soon as they have risen high, gives them a conspicuous fall; or, to use a better simile, just as in a number of vessels you could not tell which is whole and which is defective, but when you pour liquid into them the leak appears, just so corrupt souls cannot contain power, but leak out in acts of desire, anger, imposture, and bad taste. But what is the use of

(782) καίτοι\(^1\) τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅποιον καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν ἐλλειμμάτων περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ἐνδόξους συκοφαντεῖται; Κίμωνος ἦν ὁ ὀίνος διαβολή, Σκιπίωνος ὁ ὕπνος, Δεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷ δειπνεῖν πολυτελέστερον ἦκον κακῶς * * *

\(^1\) καίτοι Reiske: καί.
saying these things, when even the slightest shortcomings in men of conspicuous reputation are made the subject of calumny? Too much wine caused slander against Cimon, too much sleep against Scipio, Lucullus was ill spoken of because his dinners were too expensive...
WHETHER AN OLD MAN SHOULD ENGAGE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS
(AN SENI RESPUBLICA GERENDA SIT)
INTRODUCTION

Euphanes, to whom this essay is addressed, is known from no other source. That he and Plutarch were aged men when the essay was written appears from the opening sentences (see also Chapter 17, towards the end, 792 f). He was evidently a man of some distinction at Athens, where he held important offices (Chapter 20, 794 b). It is not unlikely that he may have asked Plutarch's advice about retiring from public life and that this essay is in reply to his appeal, but there is no definite statement to that effect. Cicero's Cato Maior or De Senectute differs from this in not being limited to the discussion of old age in its relation to public activities, but the two essays have much in common and may well be read in connexion with each other.
783 ΕΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΩΙ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΤΕΟΝ

Β 1. "Οτι μεν, ὥ Εὐφανες, ἐπαινέτης ὄν Πινδάρου

πολλάκις ἔχεις διὰ στόματος ὡς εἰρημένον εὗ καὶ

πιθανῶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ

τιθεμένων ἁγώνων πρόφασις

ἀρετᾶν ἐς¹ αἰτὶν ἐβαλε σκότον,

οὐκ ἁγνοοῦμεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείστας αἱ πρὸς τοὺς

πολιτικοὺς ἁγώνας ἀποκνήσεις καὶ μαλακία προ-

φάσεις ἔχουσα τελευταίαν ὄσπερ τῇν "ἀφ’ ἱερᾶς"

ἐπάγουσιν ἡμῖν τὸ γήρας, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τούτῳ

τῷ φιλότιμῳ ἁμβλύνειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν δοκοῦσιν

πείθουσιν εἶναι τινα πρέπουσαν οὐκ ἄθλητικῆς

μονὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν.

C οἴομαι δεῖν ἃ πρὸς ἐμαυτόν ἐκάστοτε λογίζομαι καὶ

πρὸς σὲ διελθεῖν περὶ τῆς προσβυτικῆς πολιτείας,

ὅτε οὐκ ἡμέτερος ἀπολείψει τῇν μακρὰν συνοδίαν

μέχρι δεῦρο κοινὴ προερχομένη μηδὲ τὸν πολι-

τικὸν βίον ὄσπερ ἡλικιώτην καὶ συνήθη φίλον

¹ ἐς Pindar: eis.
WHETHER AN OLD MAN SHOULD ENGAGE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

1. We are well aware, Euphanes, that you, who are an outspoken admirer of Pindar, often repeat, as well and convincingly expressed, these lines of his,

When contests are before us, an excuse
Casts down our manhood into abysmal gloom.

But inasmuch as our shrinking from the contests of political life and our various infirmities furnish innumerable excuses and offer us finally, like "the move from the sacred line" in draughts, old age; and since it is more especially because of this last that these excuses seem to blunt and baffle our ambition and begin to convince us that there is a fitting limit of age, not only to the athlete's career, but to the statesman's as well, I therefore think it my duty to discuss with you the thoughts which I am continually going over in my own mind concerning the activity of old men in public affairs, that neither of us shall desert the long companionship in the journey which we have thus far made together, and neither shall renounce public life, which is, as it were, a familiar friend of our own called the "sacred line." The expression as here used seems to be about equivalent to "playing the highest trump."
(783) ἀπορρύθμας μεταβαλέται1 πρὸς ἄλλον ἀσυνήθη καὶ 
χρόνον ὥς ἐχοντα συνήθη γενέσθαι καὶ οἰκεῖον, 
ἀλλ’ ἐμμενοῦμεν οἷς ἄν’ ἀρχῆς προειλόμεθα, ταῦτ’ 
τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ζῆν ποιησάμενοι πέρας· 
eὶ γε δὴ μὴ μέλλομεν ἐν βραχεῖ τῷ λείπομένῳ τοῦ 
pολὺν ἐλέγχειν χρόνον, ὡς ἔπ’ οὐδενὶ καλῶ μάτῃ 
ἀνηλωμένων.

D Οὐ γὰρ ἡ τυραννίς, ὡς τις εἴπε Διονυσίως, 
καλὸν ἐντάφιον ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνῳ γε τῆς μοναρχίαν 
μετὰ τῆς ἀδικίας τὸ γε μὴ παύσασθαι συμφορὰν 
tελευτέραν ἐποίησε. καὶ καλῶς2 Διογένης ὥστερον 
ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ θεασάμενος ἴδιότην 
ἐκ τυράννου γεγενημένον "ὡς ἀναξίως," ἕφη, 
"Διονύσιε, σεαυτοῦ πράττεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα 
σε μεθ’ ἡμῶν ἔδει ζῆν ἑλευθέρως καὶ ἀδεώς, 
ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ τοῖς τυραννεῖοις ἐγκατακοδομημένοι 
ἀσπερ ὁ πατὴρ ἄχρι γῆρως ἐγκαταβιώσαι." 
πολιτείᾳ δὲ δημοκρατικῇ καὶ νόμιμοι ἀνδρὸς 
eἴθισμένου παρέχειν αὐτὸν οὐχ ἦττον ἀρχόμενον

Ε ὡφελίμοις ἡ ἀρχοντα καλὸν ἐντάφιον ὡς ἀληθῶς 
tῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου δόξαν τῷ θανάτῳ προστήθησο: 
tοῦτο γὰρ

ἔσχατον δύτεαι κατὰ γᾶς

ὡς φησὶ Σιμωνίδης, πλὴν ὅν προσοποθησκεῖ τὸ 
φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ προσπαυδὰ τῆς 
tῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας ὃ τῶν καλῶν ζῆλος, ὡς 
tὰ πρακτικὰ μέρη καὶ θεία τῆς ψυχῆς ἔξυπνότερα 
tῶν παθητικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἐχούσης· ὅπερ3

1 μεταβαλέται Duebner: μεταβάληται. 
2 καλῶς Emperius: καθός. 
3 ὅπερ] δίσυνερ Wyttenbach.
years, only to change and adopt another which is unfamiliar and for becoming familiar with which and making it our own time does not suffice, but that we shall abide by the choice which we made in the beginning when we fixed the same end and aim for life as for honourable life—unless indeed we were in the short time remaining to us to prove that the long time we have lived was spent in vain and for no honourable purpose.

For the fact is that tyranny, as someone said to Dionysius, is not an honourable winding-sheet; no, and in his case its continuance made his unjust monarchy a more complete misfortune. And at a later time, at Corinth, when Diogenes saw the son of Dionysius no longer a tyrant but a private citizen, he very aptly said, "How little you deserve your present fate, Dionysius! For you ought not to be living here with us in freedom and without fear, but you should pass your life to old age over yonder walled up in the royal palace, as your father did." But a democratic and legal government, by a man who has accustomed himself to be ruled for the public good no less than to rule, gives to his death the fair fame won in life as in very truth an honourable winding-sheet; for this, as Simonides says,

last of all descends below the ground,

except in the case of those whose love of mankind and of honour dies first, and whose zeal for what is noble fails before their desire for material necessities, as if the active and divine qualities of the soul were less enduring than the passive and physical. And

\[a\] Cf. Isocrates, vi. 125.

\[b\] Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 417, no. 63 (104).
οὐδὲ λέγειν καλὸν οὐδ’ ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων, ἢ ὡς κερδαίνοντες μόνον οὐ κοπιῶμεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου παράγειν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον, μὴ τὸ πιλότιμον ἄγνωρων1 μόνον ἤγουμένους, ἀλλὰ μάλ- λον τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν, ὃ καὶ μύρμηξιν ἄχρι τέλους παραμένει καὶ μελίττας· οὔδεις γὰρ πώποτε2 εἴδεν3 ὑπὸ γῆρως κηφήνα γενομένην μέλιτταν, ὃσπερ ἔνοι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἄξιονος, ὅταν παρακάμψωσι, οὐκοι συνομένους καθήσατε καὶ ἀποκείσατε, καθαρόν ἵπ σίδηρον ὑπ’ ἀργίας τὴν πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν σβεννυμένην περιορῶντας. 784 ο γὰρ Κάτων ἔλεγεν, ὅτι πολλὰς ἱδίας ἔχοντι τὸ γῆρα κῆρας οὐ δεὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐκόντας ἐπάγειν αἰσχύνην· πολλῶν δὲ κακῶν οὐδεμιᾶς ἦττον ἀπαξία καὶ δειλία καὶ μαλακία κατασχύ- νουσιν ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, ἐκ πολιτικῶν ἄρχεων καταδυόμενον εἰς οἰκουρίαν γυναικῶν ἢ κατ’ ἄγρον ἐφορὼντα καλαμητρίδας4 καὶ θεριστάς.

ο δ’ Οἰδίπους ποῦ καὶ τὰ κλεῖν’ αἰνίγματα;

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν γῆρα πολιτείας ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ὡσπερ Ἐπιμενίδην λέγουσι κατακομμη- θέντα νεανίαν ἔξεγρέσθαι γέροντα μετὰ πεντήκοντα

1 ἄγηρων Thucydides, ii. 44. 4: ἄγηρω.
2 πώποτε from Stobaeus, xlv. 20.
3 εἴδεν ibid.: εἴδεν.
4 καλαμητρίδας Coraes: καλαμητρίας.

Thucydides, ii. 44. 4. Pericles, in his great oration over the Athenians who fell in war, says “The love of honour alone never grows old, and in the useless time of old age 80
it is not right to say, or to accept when said by others, that the only time when we do not grow weary is when we are making money. On the contrary, we ought even to emend the saying of Thucydides and believe, not only that "the love of honour never grows old," but that the same is even truer of the spirit of service to the community and the State, which persists to the end even in ants and bees. For no one ever saw a bee that had on account of age become a drone, as some people claim that public men, when they have passed their prime, should sit down in retirement at home and be fed, allowing their worth in action to be extinguished by idleness as iron is destroyed by rust. Cato, for example, used to say that we ought not voluntarily to add to the many evils of its own which belong to old age the disgrace that comes from baseness. And of the many forms of baseness none disgraces an aged man more than idleness, cowardice, and slackness, when he retires from public offices to the domesticity befitting women or to the country where he oversees the harvesters and the women who work as gleaners.

But Oedipus, where is he and his riddles famed?

For as to beginning public life in old age and not before (as they say that Epimenides slept while a youth and awoke as an aged man after fifty years), the greatest pleasure is not, as some say, in gaining money, but in being honoured."
Β' έτη. είτα τὴν 1 οὖτω μακράν καὶ συμβεβιωκυίαν 2
(784) ἰσυχίαν ἀποθέμενον ἐμβαλεῖν ἐαυτὸν εἰς ἄγωνας
καὶ ἀσχολίας, ἀήθη καὶ ἀγύμναστον ὄντα καὶ μῆτε
πράγμασιν ἐνωμιληκότα πολιτικοῖς μῆτ' ἀνθρώ-
ποις, ἵσως ἂν αἰτιωμένῳ τινὶ παράσχοι τὸ τῆς
Πυθέας εἶπεῖν "وفي" ἡλθες" ἀρχὴν καὶ δημαγωγίαν
diζήμενος, καὶ παρ' ὥραν στρατηγίου κόπτες
θύραν, ὦσπερ τις ἀτεχνοτέρος ὃν νῦκτωρ ἐπὶ-
κωμος ἀφιγμένος, ἡ ἕξενος οὗ τὸ πον οὐδὲ χώραν
ἀλλὰ βίον, οὐ μὴ πεπείρασαι, μεταλλάττων. τὸ γὰρ
"πόλεις ἀνδρα διδάσκει" κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἀληθὲς
ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐτι χρόνον ἐχόντων μεταδιδαχθῆναι
καὶ μεταμαθεῖν μάθημα, διὰ πολλῶν ἄγωνων καὶ
Ο πραγμάτων μόλις ἐκπονούμενον, ἀντερ ἐν καρῷ
φύσεως ἐπιλάβηται καὶ πόνον ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ δυσ-
ημερίαιν εὐκόλως δυναμένης. ταῦτα δόξει τις μὴ
κακῶς λέγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐν γῆρα
πολυτεῖας.

2. Καίτοι τοὐναντίον ὀρῶμεν ὑπὸ τῶν νοῦν
ἐχόντων τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοὺς νέους ἀποτρεπο-
μένους τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν
οἱ νόμοι διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ
'Αλκιβιάδας οὐδὲ Πυθέας ἀνιστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα
πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντῆκον' ἡ γεγονό-
τας, λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν παρακαλοῦντες· οὐ
gὰρ τοιοῦτοι 3 ἀθέεια τόλμης καὶ τριβῆς ἐνδεια

1 είτα τὴν Bernardakis: οὔτ' ἄν.
2 συμβεβιωκυίαν Reiske: συμβεβηκυίαν.
3 ὡφ' Haupt: ὡφ' μ' (or ὡφιμ'?).
and then, after casting off such a long-familiar state of repose, throwing oneself into strife and time-absorbing affairs when one is unaccustomed to them and without practice and is conversant neither with public affairs nor with public men; that might give a fault-finder a chance to quote the Pythia and say, "Too late you have come" seeking for office and public leadership, and you are knocking unseasonably at the door of the praetorium, like some ignorant man who comes by night in festive condition or a stranger exchanging, not your place of residence or your country, but your mode of life for one in which you have had no experience. For the saying of Simonides, "the State teaches a man,"¹ is true for those who still have time to unlearn what they have been taught and to learn a new subject which can hardly be acquired through many struggles and labours, even if it encounters at the proper time a nature capable of bearing toil and misery with ease. Such are the remarks which one may believe are fittingly addressed to a man who begins public life in his old age.

2. And yet, on the other hand, we see that the mere lads and young men are turned away from public affairs by those who are wise; and the laws which are proclaimed by the heralds in the assemblies bear witness to this, when they call up first to the platform, not the young men like Alcibiades and Pytheas, but men over fifty years of age, and invite them to speak and offer advice. For such men are not incited by lack of the habit of daring or by want of practice

¹ Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 418, no. 67 (109).
καλεῖ1 πρὸς τροπαίους2 κατ’ ἀντιστασιωτῶν.3 ὁ δὲ Κάτων μετ’ ὑγδοήκοντ’ ἔτη δίκην ἀπολογοῦμενος ἐφ’ χαλεπῶν εἶναι βεβιωκότα μετ’ ἄλλων ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολογεῖσθαι. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῦ καταλύσαντος Ἀντώνιον οὔτε μικρῷ βασιλικῶτερα καὶ δημο- ωφελέστερα γενέσθαι πολιτεύματα πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς νέους ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις αὐστηρῶς σωφρονίζων, ὡς ἔθορύβησαν, “ἀκούσατ’,” εἶπε, “νέοι γέροντος οὐ νέον γέροντες Ε ἤκουν.” ἡ δὲ Περικλέους πολιτεία τὸ μέγιστον ἐν γῆρα κράτος ἔσχεν, ὅτε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀρασθὲν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισε· καὶ προδυμομένων οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἐξαιρετικῶς ὀπλῖτας, ἐνέστη καὶ διεκάλυσε, μονονοῦ τὰ ὀπλα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἀποσφραγισάμενος. ἄλλα μὴν ἂ γε Ἑνοφῶν περὶ Ἀγησίλαον γέγραφεν, αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἄξιον ἔστι παραθέσατι· “πολιας γάρ,” φησίν, “νεότητος οὐ κρείττον τὸ ἑκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη; τίς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἀκμάζων οὔτω φοβερὸς ἦν, ὡς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μήκιστον τοῦ αἰώνος ἔχων; τίνος δ’ ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἠθέσατον οἱ πολέμιοι ἡ Ἀγησίλαος, καίπερ γηραιοῦ F τελευτήσαντος; τίς δὲ συμμάχους θάρσος παρέσχεν ἡ Ἀγησίλαος, καίπερ ἤδη πρὸς τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου ὡν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἔποθησαν ἡ Ἀγησίλαον γηραιὸν ἀποθανόντα;”

3. Εἶτ’ ἑκείνους μὲν τηλικάκτῳ πράττειν ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ἐκόλυμεν, ἥμεις δ’ οἱ νῦν τρυφῶντες ἐν

1 καλεῖ Babbitt: καί.
2 πρὸς τροπαίου Babbitt: προτρόπαιου.
3 κατ’ ἀντιστασιωτῶν Capps; κατ’ ἀνταγωνιστῶν Babbitt: ἐκάστω στρατιωτῶν.
to try to score a victory over their political opponents. And Cato, when after eighty years he was defendant in a law-suit, said it was difficult when he had lived with one generation to defend himself before another. In the case of the Caesar who defeated Antony, all agree that his political acts towards the end of his life became much more kingly and more useful to the people. And he himself, when the young men made a disturbance as he was rebuking them severely for their manners and customs, said, "Listen, young men, to an old man to whom old men listened when he was young." And the government of Pericles gained its greatest power in his old age, which was the time when he persuaded the Athenians to engage in the war; and when they were eager to fight at an unfavourable time against sixty thousand heavy-armed men, he interposed and prevented it; indeed he almost sealed up the arms of the people and the keys of the gates. But what Xenophon has written about Agesilaüs certainly deserves to be quoted word for word: "For what youth," he says, "did not his old age manifestly surpass? For who in the prime of life was so terrible to his enemies as Agesilaüs at the extreme of old age? At whose removal were the enemy more pleased than at that of Agesilaüs, although his end came when he was aged? Who inspired more courage in his allies than Agesilaüs, although he was already near the limit of life? And what young man was more missed by his friends than Agesilaüs, who was aged when he died?"

3. Time, then, did not prevent those men from doing such great things; and shall we of the present

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a i.e. Augustus. 

b Xenophon, Agesilaüs, 11. 15.
πολιτείαις, μὴ τυραννίδα μὴ πόλεμόν τινα μὴ 
πολιορκίαν. ἔχούσαις, ἀπολέομες δ’ ἀμίλλας καὶ 
φιλοτιμίας νόμῳ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λόγῳ μετὰ δίκης 
785 περαινομένας ἀποδειλώμεν; οὐ μόνον στρατηγῶν 
τῶν τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ 
σοφιστῶν καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ὁμολογοῦντες εἶναι κα-
κίοις: εἴγε Συμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γῆρα χοροῖς ἑνίκα, 
ὡς1 τούπιγραμμα δηλοὶ τοὺς τελευταίους ἔπεσιν.

ἀμφὶ διδασκαλὴ δὲ Συμωνίδη ἐσπετο κύδος 
ἀγωγοντάετε παιδί Δεσπρέπεος.

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ λέγεται μὲν ὑπὸ παιδῶν2 παρανοιας 
δίκην φεύγων ἀναγνώναι τὴν ἐν Οἰδίποδι τῷ ἐπὶ 
Κολωνῷ3 πάροδον, ὃ ἔστιν ἄρχη 

ἐυπποῦ, ξένε, τάσοδε χῶρας 
ικοῦ τὰ κράτιστα γὰς ἑπαυλὰ, 
τὸν ἄργυτα Κολωνόν, ἐνθ’ 
ἀλέξεια μινύρεται 
θαμίζουσα μάλιστ’ ἀγδῶν 
χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις.

Β θαυμαστοῦ δὲ τοῦ μέλους φανέντος, ὥσπερ ἐκ 
θεάτρου τοῦ δικαστηρίου προπεμφθῆναι μετὰ 
κρότου καὶ βοῆς τῶν παρόντων. τούτι δ’ ὁμο-
λογομενῶς Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τούπιγραμμάτιον

ἀδὴν Ἡροδότῳ τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὁ ἐπὶ 
πέντ’ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα.

1 ὥς Bernardakis: καί.
2 παιδῶν Xylander: πολλῶν.
3 Κολωνῷ Coraes: Κολωνοῦ.
4 ἐνθ’ ἀ: ἐνθα.
day, who live in luxury in states that are free from tyranny or any war or siege, be such cowards as to shirk unwarlike contests and rivalries which are for the most part terminated justly by law and argument in accordance with justice, confessing that we are inferior, not only to the generals and public men of those days, but to the poets, teachers, and actors as well? Yes, if Simonides in his old age won prizes with his choruses, as the inscription in its last lines declares:

But for his skill with the chorus great glory Simonides followed,

Octogenarian child sprung from Leoprepes' seed.  

And it is said that Sophocles, when defending himself against the charge of dementia brought by his sons, read aloud the entrance song of the chorus in the *Oedipus at Colonus*, which begins:

Of this region famed for horses
Thou hast, stranger, reached the fairest
Dwellings in the land,
Bright Colonus, where the sweet-voiced
Nightingale most loves to warble
In the verdant groves;

and the song aroused such admiration that he was escorted from the court as if from the theatre, with the applause and shouts of those present. And here is a little epigram of Sophocles, as all agree:

Song for Herodotus Sophocles made when the years of his age were
Five in addition to fifty.

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*b* This story, though repeated by several ancient writers, deserves no credit.


(785) Φιλήμωνα δὲ τὸν κωμικὸν καὶ "Αλεξιν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ στεφανουμένους ὁ θάνατος κατέλαβε. Πῶλον δὲ τὸν τραγῳδὸν Ερατοσθένης καὶ Φιλόχορος ἱστοροῦσιν ἔβδομῃ-κοντ᾽ ἐτη γεγενημένον ὁκτὼ τραγῳδίας¹ ἐν τέταρτῳ ἡμέραις διαγωνίσασθαι μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς.

4. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἔστι τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς γερόντων τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγεννεστέρους ὀρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐρῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξισταμένους ἀγώνων ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ πολιτικὸν πρόσωπον, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅποιον ἀντιμεταλμᾶντος; καὶ γὰρ τὸ τῆς γεωργίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ ταπεινοῦ ὅποιο γὰρ ὁ Δημοσθένης φησίν ἀνάξια πάσχειν τὴν Πάραλον, οἴραν οὖσαν τρήρη, ξύλα καὶ χάρακας καὶ βοσκῆματα τῷ Μειδίᾳ παρακομίζουσαν, ἢ ποιον πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ ἀγωνοθείας καὶ βουωταρχίας καὶ τὰς ἐν D' Αμφικτύσιον προεδρίας ἀπολιπὼν, εἶθ᾽ ὀράμενος ἐν ἀλφίτων καὶ στεφυλών διαμετρῆσε καὶ πόκοις προβάτων οὐ παντάπασι δόξει τοῦτο δή τὸ καλούμενον "ἐπὶπο γῆρας" ἐπάγεσθαι, μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος; ἐργασίας γε μὴν βαναύσου καὶ ἀγοραίας ἀπτεθαί μετὰ πολιτείαιν ² ὁμοίων ἐστὶ τῷ γυναικὸς ἔλευθερας καὶ σώφρονος ἐνδυμα περίσπάσαντα καὶ περίζωμα δόντα συνέχειν ἐπὶ

¹ τραγῳδίας] τραγῳδίαις Hartman.
² πολιτείαι Madvig: πολιτείας.

¹ Philemon, the chief rival of Menander, was born in 361 and died in 262 B.C. Suidas (s.v. Φιλήμων) states that he died in his sleep at the age of 99 years, the pseudo-Lucian (Macrobius, 25) that he died of excessive laughter when 97 years old.
² There is epigraphic as well as literary evidence for the
But Philemon \( ^a \) the comic dramatist and Alexis \( ^b \) were overtaken by death while they were on the stage acting and being crowned with garlands. And Polus the tragic actor, as Eratosthenes and Philochorus tell us, when he was seventy years old acted in eight tragedies in four days shortly before his death.\(^c \)

4. Is it, then, not disgraceful that the old men of the public platform are found to be less noble than those of the stage, and that they withdraw from the truly sacred contests, put off the political rôle, and assume I do not know what in its stead? For surely after the rôle of a king that of a farmer is a mean one. For when Demosthenes says \( ^d \) that the Paralus, being the sacred galley, was unworthily treated when it was used to transport beams, stakes, and cattle for Meidias, will not a public man who gives up such offices as superintendent of public games, Boeotian magistrate, and president of the Amphictyonic council, and is thereafter seen busying himself with measuring flour and olive cakes and with tufts of sheep's wool—will not he be thought to be bringing upon himself "the old age of a horse," as the saying is, when nobody forces him to do so? Surely taking up menial work fit only for the market-place after holding public offices is like stripping a freeborn and modest woman of her gown, putting a cook's apron on her, and keeping her in a tavern; for just so prolific productiveness and great age of Alexis, the foremost poet of the Middle Comedy, who lived circa 376-270 B.C. See Kaibel in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. Bd., and Am. Jour. Phil. xxi. (1900) pp. 59 ff.

\(^c \) A long list of Greeks who lived to an advanced age is given by B. E. Richardson, Old Age among the Ancient Greeks, pp. 215-222.

\(^d \) Demosthenes, xxi. (Against Meidias) 568.
καπηλείου· καὶ γὰρ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς οὕτως ἀπόλλυται τὸ ἁξίωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος πρὸς τινάς
Ε ὦκονομίας καὶ χρηματισμοῦς ἀγομένης. ἂν δ’, ὅπερ λοιπόν ἔστι, ῥαστῶνας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις τὰς
ηδυπαθείας καὶ τὰς τρυφὰς ὄνομαξοντες ἐν ταύταις μαρανόμενον ἥσυχῇ παρακαλώσι γηράσκειν τὸν
πολιτικόν, οὔκ οἶδα ποτέρα δυνέν εἰκόνων αὐτῶν πρέπειν δόξει μᾶλλον ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ· πότερον
ἀφροδίσια ναύταις ἄγουσι πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἢδη
χρόνον οὔκ ἐν λυμένι τὴν ναῦν ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' ἔτι
πλέουσαν ἀπολειπονσιν. η καθάπερ ἔννοι τὸν
'Ἡρακλέα παίζοντες οὐκ εὖ γράφουσιν ἐν Ὁμφάλης
κροκωτοφόρον ἐνδιδόντα Λυδαῖς θεραπεύσι σιτί-
ζειν καὶ παραπλέκειν ἑαυτόν, οὔτω τὸν πολιτικὸν
ὁ ἐκδύσαντες τὴν λεωντίνα καὶ κατακλύναντες εὐ-
ωχήσομεν ἀεὶ καταφαλλόμενοι καὶ καταυλούμενοι,
οὔδε τῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου Μάγνου φωνῇ διατραπέντες
τῇ πρὸς Λεύκολλον¹ αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς λοιπὰ καὶ
δείπνα καὶ συνουσίας μεθημερινὰς καὶ πολὺν ἄλιν
καὶ κατασκευὰς οἰκοδομημάτων νεοπρεπεῖς μετὰ
τὰς στρατείας καὶ πολιτείας ἀφεικότα, τῷ δὲ
Πομπηίῳ φιλαργίαν ἐγκαλοῦντα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν
παρ’ ἕλικιαν. ἐφη γὰρ ὁ Πομπηίος ἀωρότερον
786 εἶναι γέροντι τὸ τρυφάν ἢ τὸ ἄρχειν· ἐπεὶ δὲ
νοσοῦντι συνετάξει κίχλην ὁ ἰατρὸς, ἦν δὲ δυσπορι-
στον καὶ παρ’ ὄραν, ἐφη δὲ τις εἶναι παρὰ Λευκόλλῳ
πολλὰς τρεφομένας, οὐκ ἔπεμψεν οὐδ’ ἔλαβεν
εἰπὼν, "οὐκοῦν, εἰ μὴ Λεύκολλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπῆιος
οὐκ ἄν ἔξησε;"

5. Καὶ γὰρ εἰ ζητεῖ πάντως ἡ φύσις τὸ ἢδυ καὶ

¹ Λεύκολλον Duebner: λεύκολλον ἤν εἶπεν.
the dignity and greatness of high ability in public life is destroyed when it is turned to household affairs and money-making. But if—the only thing left—they give to self-indulgence and luxury the names of rest and recreation, and urge the statesman quietly to waste away and grow old in them, I do not know which of two disgraceful pictures his life will seem to resemble more closely, that of sailors who desert their ship, when they have not brought it into the harbour but it is still under sail, and devote themselves to sexual indulgence for all time to come, or that of Heracles, as some painters playfully, but with evil influence, represent him in Omphalé's palace wearing a yellow gown and giving himself up to her Lydian maids to be fanned and have his hair curled. Shall we in like manner strip the statesman of his lion's skin and make him constantly recline at banquets to the music of harps and flutes? And shall we not be deterred by the words addressed by Pompey the Great to Lucullus? For Lucullus gave himself up after his military activities to baths, banquets, sexual intercourse in the daytime, great listlessness, and the erection of new-fangled buildings; and he reproached Pompey for his love of office and of honour as unsuited to his age. Then Pompey said that it was more untimely for an old man to indulge in luxury than to hold office. And once when he was ill and the physician prescribed a thrush (which was hard to get and out of season), and someone said that Lucullus had plenty of them in his breeding-place, Pompey refused to send and get one, saying, "Could Pompey, then, not live if Lucullus were not luxurious?"

5. For granted that nature seeks in every way
(786) τὸ χαίρειν, τὸ μὲν σῶμα τῶν γερόντων ἀπείρηκε πρὸς πάσας, πλὴν ὀλίγων τῶν ἀναγκαίων, τὰς ἰδονάς, καὶ οὐχ

ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γέρουσιν ἄχθεται

Β μόνον, ὡς Εὐρυπίδης φησίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς περὶ πόσιν καὶ βρῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας ἀπημβλυμένας τὰ πολλὰ καὶ νωδᾶς κατέχοντες μόλις οἶνον ἐπιθήγουσι καὶ χαράττουσιν ἐν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ παρασκευαστέον ἰδονάς οὐκ ἀγενεῖς οὐδὲ ἀνελευθέρους, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἀλλών ἀπεστερημένοις διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἰδονῶν ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἐτὶ γηροβοσκεῖται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν. ἀλλ' ἡ πολιτεία καλλίστας μὲν ἰδονᾶς ἔχει καὶ μεγίστας, αἰὲ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰκός ἐστιν ἡ μόναις ἡ μάλιστα χαίρειν· ἀνταί δ' εἰσίν, ἂς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ καλὸν τι πράττειν ἀναδίδωσιν. εἰ γὰρ Νικίας ὁ ζωγράφος οὕτως ἔχαιρε τοῖς τῆς τεχνῆς ἔργοις, ὡστε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἑρωτᾶν πολλάκις, εἰ λέονται καὶ ἥριστηκεν· Ἀρχιμήδην δὲ τῇ σανίδι προσκείμενον ἀποσπώντες βίᾳ καὶ ἀποδύνοντες ἤλευφον οἱ θεράποντες, δ' ἔπι τοῦ σῶματος ἀληλιμένου διέγραφε τὰ σχῆματα. Κάνος δ' ὁ αὐλητής, ὃν καὶ σὺ γεγενώσκεις, ἔλεγεν ἀγνοεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσω μάλλον αὐτὸν αὐλῶν ἦ

1 ἀπημβλυμένας Bernardakis: ἀπημβλυμένας
2 Κάνος Life of Galba, chap. xvi.: κάνος.
pleasure and enjoyment, old men are physically incapacitated for all pleasures except a few necessary ones, and not only

Aphroditē with old men is wroth, as Euripides says, but their appetites also for food and drink are for the most part blunted and toothless, so that they can, if I may say so, hardly whet and sharpen them. They ought to prepare for themselves pleasures in the mind, not ignoble and illiberal ones like that of Simonides, who said to those who reproached him for his avarice that, since old age had deprived him of all other pleasures, he was comforting his declining years with the only one left, the pleasure of gain. Public life, on the other hand, possesses pleasures most noble and great, those in fact from which the gods themselves, as we may reasonably suppose, derive their only or their chief enjoyment. These are the pleasures that spring from good deeds and noble actions. For if Nicias the painter took such delight in the labours of his art that he often had to ask his servants whether he had had his bath and his breakfast; and if Archimedes when intent upon his drawing-tablet had to be dragged away by force, stripped and anointed by his servants, and then drew diagrams upon his anointed body; and if Canus the flute-player, with whom you also are acquainted, used to say that people did not know how much greater pleasure he gave to himself than to others when he played, for

\[\text{Euripides, } \textit{Aeolus}, \text{ Frag. 23, Nauck, } \textit{Trag. Graec. Frag.}\]
\[p. 369. \ \text{Plutarch, } \textit{Moralia} 285\textbf{b}, \text{ gives two lines:}\]
\[
\text{ἀλλ’ ἦ τὸ γῆρας τὴν Κύπρον ἀφέρειν έα}
\text{ἦ τ’ Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γεροῦσιν ἄχθεται,}
\]
\["\text{But either eld to Cypris bids farewell}\]
\[\text{Or Aphrodite with old men is wroth."}\]
(786) ἐτέρους εὐφραίνει· λαμβάνει γὰρ ἃν μισθὸν οὐ
didόναι τοὺς ἀκούειν ἐθέλοντας· ἡρ’ οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν,
ἡλίκας ἡδονὰς αἱ ἀρεταὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν
calῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν ἔργων καὶ
φιλανθρώπων παρασκευάζουσιν, οὐ κινδύνα σφαῖραθ
θρύπτουσαι, ὥσπερ αἱ εἰς σάρκα λειταὶ καὶ προσηνεῖς

Γ γινόμενα κινήσεις; ἀλλ’ αὐταὶ μὲν οἰστρῶδες
καὶ ἀβέβαιοι καὶ μεμιγμένοι σφυγμῷ τὸ γαργα-
lίζου ἤχουσιν, αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοῖς ἔργοις, οἷον
dημουργός ὁ πολιτευόμενος ὀρθῶς ἔστιν, οὐ ταῖς
Εὐρυπίδου χρυσάτις πτέρυξιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς
ekeίνους καὶ οὐρανίους πτεροῖς ὁμοία τὴν ψυχὴν
μέγεθος καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ γήθους λαμβάνουσαν
ἀναφέρουσιν.

6. Ἰπομήνυσε θεία σεαυτὸν ὅν πολλάκις ἀκη-
κοας· ο μὲν γὰρ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ἐρωτηθείς τι
ἡδιστὸν αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ τοῦ πατρός
ἔτι ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς νικῆσαι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις
μάχην. ο δὲ Σύλλας, ὁτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων

Ε τήν Ἰταλίαν καθήρας προσέμιζε τῇ Ῥώμῃ
πρῶτον, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατέδραθεν, ὡδὸ
γήθους καὶ χαρὰς μεγάλης ὥσπερ πνεύματος
ἀναφέρομεν τὴν ψυχῆν· καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ
gέγραφεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. ἄκουσα μὲν γὰρ
ἐστιν ηδιστὸ ἐπαίνου κατὰ τὸν Ξενοφῶντα,
θέαμα δ’ ἐκ καὶ μνημόνευμα καὶ διανόημα τῶν ὄντων
οὐδὲν ἔστιν ὅ τοσαίτην φέρει χάριν, ὅσην πράξεων
ἰδίων ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ὥσπερ ἐν τόποις
λαμπροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀναθεώρησις. οὐ μὴν

if they did, those who wished to hear him would receive pay instead of giving it. In view of these examples, do we not perceive how great are the pleasures the virtues provide, for those who practise them, as the result of the noble deeds they do and their works for the good of the community and of mankind; and that too without tickling or enervating them as do the smooth and gentle motions made on the body? Those have a frantic, unsteady titillation mixed with convulsive throbbing, but the pleasures given by noble works, such as those of which the man who rightly serves the State is the author, not like the golden wings of Euripides but like those heavenly Platonic pinions, bear the soul on high as it acquires greatness and lofty spirit mingled with joy.

6. And recall to your mind stories you have often heard. For Epameinondas, when asked what was the pleasantest thing that had happened to him, replied that it was winning the battle of Leuctra while his father and mother were still living. And Sulla, when he first entered Rome after freeing Italy of its civil wars, did not sleep at all that night, he was so borne aloft in spirit by great joy and gladness as by a blast of wind. This he has written about himself in his memoirs. For granted that, as Xenophon says, there is no sound sweeter than praise, yet there is no sight, reminder, or perception in the world which brings such great pleasure as the contemplation of one’s own acts in offices and positions of State in which one may be said to be in places flooded with light and in view of all the

b Plato, *Phaedrus*, 246 b–248 e, where the soul is likened to a chariot and charioteer with winged steeds.

c Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, ii. 1. 31.
ΠΙΛΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Φ' ἀλλὰ καὶ χάρις εὐμενῆς συμμαρτυροῦσα¹ τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ συναμμελῶμενος ἐπαίνος, εὐνοίας δικαίας ἣγεμόν, οἵν τι φῶς καὶ γάνωμα τῷ χαίροντι τῆς ἁρετῆς προστίθησον· καὶ δεῖ μὴ περιορᾶν ὦσπερ ἀθλητικὸν στέφανον ἐν γῆρα ἕηραν γενομένην τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ καίνων αἱ τι καὶ πρόσφατον ἐπιφέροντα τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν χάριν ἐγείρειν καὶ ποιεῖν ἁμείνω καὶ μόνιμον· ὦσπερ οἱ τεχνῖται, οἳ ἐπέκειτο φροντίζειν σῶν εἶναι τὸ Δηλιακὸν πλοῖον, ἀντὶ τῶν πονοῦντων ξύλων ἐμβάλλοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπηγνύντες αἴδοιν ἐκ τῶν τότε χρόνων καὶ ἀφθαρτον 787 ἑδόκουν διαφυλάττειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξης καὶ φλογὸς οὐ χαλεπὴ σωτηρία καὶ τήρησις ἀλλὰ μικρῶν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεομένη, κατασβεσθεῖν δὲ καὶ ὑποψυχθὲν οὐδέτερον ἂν τὶς ἀπραγμόνως πάλιν ἔξαψειν. ὥσ δὲ Λάμπις ὁ ναύκληρος ² ἐρωτηθεῖς πῶς ἐκτήσατο τὸν πλούτον "οὐ χαλεπῶς" ἐφ' "τὸν μέγαν, τὸν δὲ βραχὺν ἔπιτόνως καὶ βραδέως". οὗτῳ τῆς πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἀρχῇ τυχεῖν οὐ βάδιόν ἔστι, τὸ δὲ συναυξῆσαι καὶ διαφυλάξαι μεγάλην γενομένην ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐτοιμον.³ οὗτε γὰρ φίλος ὅταν γένηται πολλάς Β λειτουργίαις ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ μεγάλας, ἵνα μένῃ φίλος, μικροίς δὲ σημείοις τὸ ἐνδελεχές ἀεὶ διαφυλάττει τὴν εὐνοιαν· ἥ τε δὴμον φιλία καὶ πίστις οὐκ

¹ συμμαρτυροῦσα Bernardakis: ἡ μαρτυροῦσα.
² ναύκληρος Leonicus: ναυκληρίκος.
³ So Wytenbach: ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων γενομένην.

* By "Delian ship" is meant the Paralus which was sent..."
people. Yes, and moreover kindly gratitude, bearing witness to the acts, and praise, competing with gratitude and ushering in deserved goodwill, add, as it were, a light and brilliance to the joy that comes from virtue. And it is a man's duty not to allow his reputation to become withered in his old age like an athlete's garland, but by adding constantly something new and fresh to arouse the sense of gratitude for his previous actions and make it better and lasting; just as the artisans who were responsible for keeping the Delian ship in good condition, by inserting and fastening in new timbers to take the place of those which were becoming weak, seemed to keep the vessel from those ancient times everlasting and indestructible. Now the preservation and maintenance of reputation, as of fire, is not difficult and demands little fuel, but no one can without trouble rekindle either of them when it has gone out and grown cold. And just as Lampis the sea captain, when asked how he acquired his wealth, said, "My great wealth easily, but the small beginnings of it slowly and with toil," so political reputation and power are not easy to attain at first, but when once they have grown great it is easy to augment them and keep them great by taking advantage of casual opportunities. For when a man has once become a friend, he does not require many and great services that he may remain a friend, but constancy shown by small tokens always preserves his goodwill, and so likewise the friendship and confidence of the people do annually from Athens with delegates to the festival at Delos. Annual repairs were so long continued that none of the original timbers remained and the question arose whether it was the same ship or not.
(787) ἀεὶ δεομένη¹ χορηγοῦντος οὐδὲ προδικοῦντος² οὐδ’ ἀρχοῦντος αὐτή τῇ προθυμίᾳ συνέχεται καὶ τῷ μὴ προαπολείποντι μηδ’ ἀπαγορεύοντι τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φροντίδος. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ στρατεύαι παρατάξεις ἀεὶ καὶ μάχας καὶ πολιορκίας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίας ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ συνουσίας διὰ μέσου καὶ σχολήν ἀφθονον ἐν παιδιαίς καὶ φλαραίας δέχονται. πόθεν γε ἐδ’ τὴν πολιτείαν φοβητέον, ὡς ἀπαραμόθητον καὶ πολύπονον καὶ βαρεῖαν, ὅπου καὶ θέατρα καὶ πομπαί καὶ νευμέσεις καὶ “χοροί καὶ ὁ Μοῖσα³ καὶ Ἀγλαῖα” καὶ θεοῦ τινος ἀεὶ τιμῇ τὰς ἄφρος λύουσα παντὸς ἀρχείου καὶ συνεδρίου πολλαπλάσιον τὸ ἐπιτερπέσ καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἀποδίωσιν;

7. “Ὁ τοίνυν μέγιστον κακὸν ἐχοὺσιν αἱ πολιτείαι, τὸν φθόνον, ἥκιστα διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ γῆρας. “κῦνες γὰρ καὶ βαύζουσιν ὃν ἂν μὴ γνώσκωσι” καθ’ Ἡράκλειτον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν⁴ ἀρχόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν θύραις τοῦ βήματος μάχεται καὶ πάροδον οὐ δίδωσι· τὴν δὲ σύντροφον καὶ συνήθη δόξαν οὐκ ἀγρίως οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀλλὰ πράσως ἀνέχεται. διὸ τὸν φθόνον ἐνοί τῷ καπνῷ παρεικάζουσι· πολὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις διὰ τὸ φλέγεσθαι προεκθέτων, ὅταν ἐκλάμψωσιν, ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις υπεροχαῖς προσμάχονται καὶ διαμφισβητοῦσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ γένους καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὡς

¹ δεομένη Jannot: δεχομένη.
² προδικοῦντος Jannot: προσδοκόωντος.
³ Μοῖσα Boeckh: μούσα.
⁴ τὸν H.N.F.: τὸ.

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¹ Pindar, Bergk-Schroeder, p. 467, no. 199 (213). 98
not constantly demand that a man pay for choruses, plead causes, or hold offices; no, they are maintained by his mere readiness to serve and by not failing or growing weary in care and concern for the people. For even wars do not consist entirely of pitched battles, fighting, and sieges, but they admit of occasional sacrifices, social gatherings in between, and abundant leisure for games and foolishness. Why, then, forsooth, is public life feared as inexorable, toilsome, and burdensome, when theatrical exhibitions, festive processions, distributions of food, "choruses and the Muse and Aglaia," and constantly the worship of some god, smooth the brows of legislators in every senate and assembly and repay its troubles many times over with pleasure and enjoyment?

7. Now the greatest evil attendant upon public life, envy, is least likely to beset old age, "for dogs do indeed bark at whom they do not know," according to Heracleitus, and envy fights against a man as he begins his public career, at the doorways, as it were, of the orator's platform, and tries to refuse him access, but familiar and accustomed reputation it does not savagely and roughly resent, but puts up with mildly. For this reason envy is sometimes likened to smoke, for in the case of those who are beginning their public career it pours out before them in great volume because they are enkindled, but when they burst into full flame it disappears. And whereas men attack other kinds of eminence and themselves lay claim to good character, good birth, and honour, as though they were depriving Aglaia, one of the Graces, was especially connected with festive merriment.
(787) ἀφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν ὅσον ἄλλους ὑφείενται· τὸ δ’ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου πρωτείον, ὁ καλεῖται κυρίως πρεσβείον, ἀξιολογητὴν ἔστι καὶ παραχωρούμενον· οὐδεμιᾷ γὰρ οὔτω τιμῆ συμβέβηκε τὸν τιμῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν τιμώμενον κοσμεῖν, ὡς τῇ τῶν γερόντων. ἔτι τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου δύναμιν ἢ λόγου δεινότητος ἢ σοφίας οὐ πάντες αὐτοῖς γενήσεσθαι προσδοκῶσιν, ἐφ’ ἂν δὲ προάγῃ τὸ γῆρας αἰδῶ καὶ δόξαν οὐδεὶς ἀπελπίζει τῶν πολιτευομένων. οὐδὲν οὖν διαφέρει κυβερνήτου πρὸς ἐναντίον κύμα καὶ πνεῦμα πλεύσαντος ἐπι-
Ε σφαλῶς, εὐθύς δὲ καὶ εὐαερίας γενομένης ὀρμί-
σασθαι ξητοῦντος, ὁ τῶν φθόνων διαναμαχήσας πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα παυσαμένου καὶ στορεσθέντος,
ἀνακρούομενος ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ προϊέμενος ἀμα ταῖς πράξεις τὰς κοινωνίας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας. ὅσῳ γὰρ χρόνος γέγονε πλείων, καὶ φίλους πλείονας καὶ συναγωνιστὰς πεποίηκεν, οὔς οὔτε συνεξάγειν
ἔαντῳ πάντας ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλῳ χρόνον
F οὔτ’ ἐγκαταλείπειν1 δίκαιον· άλλ’ ὤσπερ τὰ παλαιὰ
dένδρα τὴν μακρὰν πολιτείαν οὐ βάδιον ἐστὶν ἀνασπάσαι πολύρριξον οὕσαν καὶ πράγμασιν ἐμ-
pεπλεγμένην, δ’ πλείονας παρέχει ταραχὰς καὶ
σπαραγμοὺς ἀπερχομένους ἢ μένουσιν. εἰ δὲ τι καὶ περίεστι φθόνου λείψανον ἢ φιλονεικίας πρὸς
τοὺς γέροντας ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἁγώνων, κατα-
σβεσθέον τοῦτο τῇ δυνάμει μᾶλλον ἢ δοτεὸν τὰ
νώτα, γυμνοὺς καὶ ἄόπλους2 ἀπιόντας: οὐ γὰρ

1 ἐγκαταλείπειν Bernardakis: ἐγκαταλιπεῖν.
2 ἄόπλους Bernardakis: ἀνόπλους.
themselves of so much of these as they grant to others; yet the primacy which comes from time, for which there is the special word presbeion or "the prerogative due to seniority in age," arouses no jealousy and is freely conceded; for of no honour is it so true that it adorns the giver more than the receiver as of that which is paid to old age. Moreover, not all men expect that the power derived from wealth, eloquence, or wisdom will accrue to them, but no one who takes part in public life is without hope of attaining the reverence and repute to which old age leads. So there is no difference between the pilot who has sailed in great danger against adverse winds and waves, and, after clear weather and fair winds have come, seeks his moorings, and the man who has struggled in the ship of State a long time against the billows of envy, and then, when they have ceased and become smooth, backs water and withdraws from public life, giving up his political affiliations and clubs along with his public activities. For the longer the time has been the greater the number of those whom he has made his friends and fellow-workers, and he cannot take them all out with him, as a trainer leads out his chorus, nor is it fair to leave them in the lurch. But a long public career is, like old trees, hard to pull up, for it has many roots and is interwoven with affairs which cause more troubles and torments to those who withdraw from them than to those who remain in them. And if any remnant of envy or jealousy does continue against old men from their political contests, they should rather extinguish this by power than turn their backs and go away naked and unarmed. For people
οὗτως ἀγωνιζομένους φθονοῦντες ὡς ἀπειπαμένους καταφρονήσαντες ἐπιτίθενται.

788 8. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπ' Ἐπαμεινώνδα τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους, ὅτε χειμῶνος ὄντος οἱ Ἀρκάδες παρεκάλουν αὐτούς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαιτᾶσθαι παρελθόντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ γὰρ εἶσαγεν, ἀλλὰ "νῦν μὲν," ἔφη, "θαυμάζουσιν ὡμᾶς καὶ θεώνται πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα γυμναζομένους καὶ παλαίοντας· ἂν δὲ πρὸς τῷ πυρὶ καθημένους ὀρῶι τὸν κύκλον κάπτοντας,1 οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἥγησονται διαφέρειν." οὗτος δὲ σεμνὸν ἐστὶ θέαμα προεσσύτης

Β λέγων τι καὶ πράττων καὶ τιμώμενος, ὅ δὲ ἐν κλίνῃ διημερεύων ἡ καθήμενος ἐν γωνίᾳ στοὰς φλυαρῶν καὶ ἀπομυκτόμενος εὐκαταφρόνητος. τούτῳ δ' ἄμελεν καὶ Ὅμηρος διδάσκει τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἄκουοντας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Νέστωρ στρατεύόμενος ἐν Τροίᾳ σεμνὸς ἦν καὶ πολυτίμητος, ὁ δὲ Πηλεὺς καὶ ὁ Δαέρτης οἰκουροῦντες ἀπερρίφησαν καὶ κατεφρονήθησαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἔξις ὀμοίως παραμένει τοῖς μεθείσιν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀργίας ἐξανιμεμένη καὶ ἀναλυμένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ τινα ποθεὶ φροντίδος μελέτην, τὸ λογιστικὸν καὶ πρακτικὸν ἐγειροῦσι καὶ διακαθαιροῦσιν:

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαισιν, ὡσπερ εὐπρεπῆς χαλκὸς.

C οὐ γὰρ τόσον σῶματος ἄσθενεια κακὸν πρόσεστι ταῖς πολιτέιαις τῶν παρ' ἡλικίαιν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον βαδιζόντων, ὡσον ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν

1 κάπτοντας Coraes: κάπτοντας.
do not attack them so much because of envy if they maintain the contest as because of contempt if they have given up.

8. Testimony to the point is what Epameinondas the Great said to the Thebans when in winter weather the Arcadians invited them to come into the city and be quartered in their houses. He forbade it, saying "Now they admire you and gaze at you as you do your military exercises and wrestle, but if they see you sitting by the fire and sipping your bean porridge, they will think you are no better than they are." Just so an old man active in word and deed and held in honour is a sight to arouse reverence, but one who spends the day in bed or sits in the corner of the porch chattering and wiping his nose is an object of contempt. And undoubtedly Homer also teaches this to those who hear aright; for Nestor, who went to the war at Troy, was revered and highly honoured, but Peleus and Laërtes, who stayed at home, were put aside and despised. For the habit of prudence does not last so well in those who let themselves become slack, but, being gradually lost and dissipated by inactivity, it always calls for what may be called exercise of the thought, since thought rouses and purifies the power of reason and action;

For when in use it gleams like beauteous bronze.*

For the evil caused by their physical weakness to the public activities of those who step into civil or military office when beyond the usual age is not so great as the advantage they possess in their caution and

*a From an unknown drama of Sophocles; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 314, no. 780; it is quoted in fuller form in Moralia, 792 a and 1129 c.
(788) τὴν εὐλάβειαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον, ἅλλοτε μὲν δι' ἐσφαλμένα ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κενῆς, προσπίπτειν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ συνεφέλεσθαι τὸν ὀχλὸν, ὥσπερ θάλατταν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐκ-ταραττόμενον, ἀλλὰ πρῶς τε χρήσθαι καὶ μετρίως τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. οἶκεν αἱ πόλεις, ὅταν πταί-σωσιν ἡ φοβηθῶσι, πρεσβυτέρων ποθοῦσιν ἀρχήν δ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολλάκις εἶ ἁγροῦ κατάγουσιν γέροντα μὴ δεόμενον μηδὲ βουλόμενον ἡμάγκασαν ὥσπερ οίκων ἔφασμένον εἰς ἀσφαλές καταστήσαι τὰ πράγματα, παρωσάμεναι τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ δημαγωγοὺς βοῶν μέγα καὶ λέγειν ἀπνευστὶ καὶ νῆ Διὰ τοῖς πολεμίωσι διαβάντας εἰ μάχεσθαι δυνα-μένους. οἴον οἱ πότορες 'Αθηναῖς Τιμοθέω καὶ Ἰφικράτει Χάρητα τὸν Θεοχάρους ἐπαποδύοντες ἀκμάζοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ ῥωμαλέον ἡξίουν τοι-ούτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγόν, δ Ἐ ἔ Τιμόθεος "οὐ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ τοιοῦτον μὲν εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ στρώματα κομίζειν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγόν 'ἀμα πρόσω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων δρόντα καὶ μηδενὶ πάθει τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμοὺς ἐπι-ταραττόμενον." ὁ γὰρ Σοφοκλῆς ἀσμενὸς ἐφ' ὑ τὰ ἀφροδίσια γεγαρκός ἀποσεφευγεῖαι καθάπερ ἀγριον καὶ λυσσωόντα δεσπότην ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολιτείαις

1 καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον Fowler: καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον. Bernardakis suggests ὅτε μὴ φαινομένων (sc. τῶν παρ' ἕλκιαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα βαδιζόντων) ἅλλοτε μὲν ἐσφαλμένως ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτὲ. Reiske conjectured καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον (sc. τῶν) ἀμα τὰ μὲν ἐσφαλμένα τὰ δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτὲ.
2 ἅλλοτε Bernardakis: ἅλλα τα.
3 δ' added at Capps’ suggestion by Fowler.
4 ὅτε δ' Bernardakis: τὰ δ'.

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prudence and in the fact that they do not, borne along sometimes because of past failures and sometimes as the result of vain opinion, dash headlong upon public affairs, dragging the mob along with them in confusion like the storm-tossed sea, but manage gently and moderately the matters which arise. And that is why States when they are in difficulties or in fear yearn for the rule of the elder men; and often they have brought from his field some aged man, not by his request and even contrary to his wish, and have forced him to take the helm, as it were, and steer affairs into safety, and in so doing they have pushed aside generals and politicians who were able to shout loud and to speak without pausing for breath and, by Zeus, even men who were able, planting their feet firmly, to fight bravely against the enemy. So, for example, the politicians at Athens grooming Chares, son of Theocares, a powerful man at the height of his physical strength, to be the opponent of Timotheicus and Iphicrates, declared that the general of the Athenians ought to be such as he, but Timotheicus said, "No, by the gods, but such should be the man who is to carry the general's bedding. The general should be one who sees at the same time 'that which is before and behind' and does not let anything that happens disturb his reasoning as to what is for the best." Sophocles indeed said that he was glad to have escaped, now that he was old, from sexual love, as from a cruel and raging tyrant;

\[a\] A reminiscence of Tyrtaeus, 8. 31 ἄλλα τις εἰ διαβὰς μενέτω, and Homer, Il. xii. 458. 
\[b\] Homer, ll. i. 343. 
\[c\] Cf. Plato, Republic, 329 c, with Shorey's note.

\[b\] τὲ χρῆσθαι G. Papavassiliu: κεχρῆσθαι.
οὐχ ἔνα δεί δεσπότην, ἔρωτα παίδων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μανικώτεροὺς τούτου, φιλονεικίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, τὴν τοῦ πρώτου εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμίαν, γονιμωτατον φθόνου νόσημα
Γ καὶ ξηλοτυπίας καὶ διχοστασίας. ὅπως καὶ παραμβλύνει, τά δ᾿ ὅλως ἀποσβέννυσι καὶ καταψύχει τὸ γῆρας, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς πρακτικῆς ὀρμής παραιρούμενον, ὅσον τῶν ἄκρατῶν καὶ δια-πύρων ἀπερύκει παθῶν, ὡστε νήφοντα καὶ καθεστηκότα τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπάγειν ταῖς φροντίσιν.

9. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾿ ἔστω καὶ δοκεῖτω διατρεπτικὸς εἶναι λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐν πολιαίς νεανιεύσεθαι λεγόμενος καὶ καθαπτόμενος ἐκ μακράς οἰκουρίας ὦσπερ νοσηλέας ἐξαισθαμένου καὶ κινομένου γέροντος ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἡ πραγματείαν,

μὲν, ὦ ταλαίπωρ’, ἀτρέμα σοῖς ἐν δεμνοῖς.

789 ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐμβεβιωκότα πολιτικαῖς πράξει καὶ διηγωνισμένον οὐκ ἔως ἐπὶ τὴν δάδα καὶ τὴν κορωνίδα τοῦ βίου προελθεῖν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ κελεύων ὦσπερ ἐξ ὀδοῦ μακρᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀγνώμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ προσεικόως ἔστων. ὦσπερ γὰρ ὁ γαμεῖν παρασκευαζόμενον γέροντ’ ἐστεφανώμενον καὶ μυριξόμενον ἀποτρέπων καὶ λέγων τὰ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην

τὸς δ᾿ ἄν σε νύμφη, τὸς δὲ παρθένοις νέα
dέξατ᾿ ἄν; εὖ γοῦν ἃς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας

1 γοῦν Musgrave: γ᾿ οὖν.

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α Euripides, Orestes, 258. These words are addressed to the sick Orestes by his sister Electra.

b Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 609, no. 1215, attributes
but in public life one must escape, not from one tyrant, the love of boys or women, but from many loves which are more insane than that: love of contention, love of fame, the desire to be first and greatest, which is a disease most prolific of envy, jealousy, and discord. Some of these old age does slacken and dull, but others it quenches and cools entirely, not so much by withdrawing a man from the impulse to action as by keeping him from excessive and fiery passions, so as to bring sober and settled reasoning to bear upon his thoughts.

9. However, let us grant that the words

Bide still, poor wretch, in thine own bedding wrapped *

are and appear to be deterrent when addressed to a man who begins to act young when his hair is grey and that they rebuke the old man who gets up from long continued home-keeping, as from a long illness, and sets out towards the office of general or of civil administrator; but the words which forbid a man who has spent his life in public affairs and contests to go on to the funeral torch and the end of his life, and which call him back and tell him, as it were, to leave the road he has travelled so long and take a new one,—those words are altogether unkind and not at all like those we have quoted. For just as he is perfectly reasonable who tries to dissuade an old man who is garlanded and perfumed in preparation for his wedding, and says to him what was said to Philoctetes,

What bride, what virgin in her youth, you wretch,
Would take you? You're a pretty one to wed! "

these lines to Strattis, a poet of the Middle Comedy; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 841, no. 10, to an unknown tragic poet.
Βούκ ἀτοπὸς ἐστι· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὰ τοιαύτα (789) παίζουσιν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς

γαμῶ γέρων, εὖ οἶδα, καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν·

ὁ δὲ τὸν πάλαι συνοικοῦντα καὶ συμβιοῦντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀμέμπτως οἰόμενος δεῖν ἀφείναι διὰ τὸ γῆρας τὴν γυναίκα καὶ ζῆν καθ’ ἑαυτὸν ἣ παλλακίδιον ἀντὶ τῆς γαμητῆς ἐπισπάσασθαι, σκαίστητος ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν· οὕτως ἔχει τινὰ λόγον τὸ προσίοντα δήμῳ πρεσβύτην, ἡ Χλίδωνα τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ Λάμπωνα τὸν ναύκληρον ἢ τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου φιλοσόφων, νοεστῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἀπραγμοσύνης· ὁ δὲ Φωκίωνος ἡ Κάτωνος ἡ Περικλέους ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ λέγων ".getExternalText()
for old men themselves crack many such jokes on themselves, saying

I'm marrying old, I know—and for my neighbours, too; so he who thinks that a man who has for a long time shared his life and his home blamelessly with his wife ought on account of his age to dismiss her and live alone or take on a paramour in place of his wedded spouse has reached the height of perversity. There is some sense in admonishing in that way and confining to his accustomed inactivity an old man such as Chlidon the farmer or Lampon the ship-captain or one of the philosophers of the Garden, if he comes forward for popular favour; but anyone who buttonholes a Phocion or a Cato or a Pericles and says, "My Athenian (or Roman) friend,

With withered age bedecked for funeral rites, bring action for divorce from public life, give up your haunting the speakers' platform and the generals' office and your cares of State, and hurry away to the country to dwell with agriculture as your handmaid or to devote the rest of your time to some sort of domestic management and keeping accounts," is urging the statesman to do what is wrong and unseemly.

10. "What then?" someone may say; "do we not hear a soldier say in a comedy

My white hair grants me henceforth full discharge?"

b i.e. the Epicureans.
c Evidently a line from some tragedy or comedy.
(789) πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὥ ἔταϊρε τοὺς γὰρ Ἀρεος θερα-
ποντας ἦβαν πρέπει καὶ ἀκμάξειν, οἷα δὴ
πόλεμον πολέμοιο τε μέρμερα ἑργα

Δ διέποντας, ἐν οἷς τοῦ γέροντος καὶ τὸ κράνος
ἀποκρύψῃ τὰς πολιᾶς,

ἀλλὰ τε λάθρῃ γυῖα βαρύνεται

καὶ προαπολείπει τῆς προθυμίας ἡ δύναμις· τοὺς
dὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολίως Διὸς
ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἑργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν,
ἀλλὰ βουλής καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου, μὴ βαχίαν
ποιοῦντος ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ψόφον ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἑχοντος
καὶ φροντίδα πεπνυμένη καὶ ἀσφάλειαν· οἷς
ἡ γελωμένη πολιᾶ καὶ ῥυτίς ἐμπειρίας μάρτυς
ἐπιφαίνεται, καὶ πειθοὺς συνεργῶν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν
Ε ἠθοὺς προστίθησι. πειθαρχικὸν γὰρ ἡ νεότης
ἡγεμονικὸν δὲ τὸ γῆρας, καὶ μάλιστα σώζεται πόλις

ἐνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων, καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀρι-
στεύοισιν1 αἴχμαί

καὶ τὸ

βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἵππας γερόντων
Νεστορέη παρὰ νηί

θαυμαστῶς ἑπανείται. διὸ τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαι-
μονι παραζευχθεῖσαν ἀριστοκρατιάν τοὺς βασιλεύ-
σιν ὁ Πύθιος "πρεσβυγενέας" ὁ δὲ Λυκοῦργος
ἀντικρὺς "γέροντας" ἰὼνόμασεν, ἥ δὲ 'Ρωμαῖων

1 ἀριστεύοισιν Boeckh: ἀριστεύουσιν.

a Homer, Il. viii. 453.
b Homer, Il. xix. 165.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 789

Certainly, my friend, for the servants of Ares should properly be young and in their prime, as practising war and war's practices baneful,

in which even if an old man's hoary hair is covered by a helmet,

Yet are his limbs by unseen weight oppressed,

and though the spirit is willing, the flesh is weak; but from the servants of Zeus, god of the Council, the Market-place, and the State, we do not demand deeds of hands and feet, but of counsel, foresight, and speech—not such speech as makes a roar and a clamour among the people, but that which contains good sense, prudent thought, and conservatism; and in these the hoary hair and the wrinkles that people make fun of appear as witnesses to a man's experience and strengthen him by the aid of persuasiveness and the reputation for character. For youth is meant to obey and old age to rule, and that State is most secure

Where old men's counsels and the young men's spears
Hold highest rank;

and the lines

First he established a council of old men lofty in spirit
Hard by the vessel of Nestor

meet with wonderful approval. And therefore the Pythian Apollo named the aristocracy which was coupled with the kingship at Lacedaemon "Ancients" (Presbygeneas), and Lycurgus named it "Elders" (Gerontes), and the council at Rome is

* Pindar, Bergk-Schroeder, p. 467. no. 199 (213).
* Homer, II. ii. 33.
σύγκλητος ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τῇ πολιᾷ ἡ φύσις ἐντιμον ἡγεμονικὸν σύμβολον ἀξιώματος ἐπιτίθεται καὶ τὸ "γέρας" οἶμαι καὶ τὸ "γεραῖρεν" ὄνομα σεμνόν ἀπὸ τῶν γερόντων γενόμενον διαμένει, οὐχ οτι θερμολογοῦσιν καὶ καθεύδουσι μαλακῶτερον, ἀλλ' ὡς βασιλικὴν ἐχόντων τάξιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ἢς καθάπερ ὄμικρόπου φυτῷ τὸ ὀικεῖον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλειον ἐν γῆρα μόλις ἡ φύσις ἀποδίδωσι. τὸν γοῦν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες ἐλευθερωθηκὼν ἡμῖν ἡ Αχαίων,

90 οἶς ἢν ὁ Νέστωρ, οúdeis ἐμέμβατο τῶν "ἀρητῶν" καὶ "μένεα πνεύμτων Ἀχαιῶν," ἄλλα συνεχώρων ἀπαντεῖς οὐκ ἐν πολιτείᾳ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ μεγάλην ἔχειν ῥοπὴν τὸ γῆρας:

σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βουλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χερας νικᾶ

καὶ μία γνώμη λόγον ἐχοῦσα καὶ πειθώ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα διαπράττεται τῶν κοινῶν.

11. Ἀλλὰ μήν ἢ γε1 βασιλεία, τελεωτάτη πασῶν οὐσα καὶ μεγίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν, πλείστας φροντίδας ἔχει καὶ πόνους καὶ ἀσχολίας τοῦ γοῦν Σέλευκον ἐκάστοτε λέγειν ἐφασαν, εἰ γνοίειν οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ γράφειν μόνον ἐπιστολὰς τοσαῦτας καὶ ἀναγινωσκεῖν ὡς ἐργαδές ἐστιν, ἐρριμέμενον οὐκ ἀν ἀνελέοθαι2 διάδημα· τὸν δὲ Φιλιππον ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ

1 γε Coraces: τε. 2 ἀν ἀνελέοθαι Reiske: ἀν ἐλέοθαι.

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a Homer, II. ii. 372. Agamemnon is the speaker.
still called the Senate ("body of elders"). And just as the law places diadem and crown upon the head, so nature puts grey hair upon it as an honourable symbol of the high dignity of leadership. And the words *geras* ("honour," also "reward") and *gerairein* ("venerate") retain, I believe, a meaning of veneration derived from old men (*gerontes*), not because they bathe in warm water or sleep in softer beds than other men, but because they hold royal rank in the States in accordance with their wisdom, the proper and perfect fruit of which, as of a late-bearing plant, nature produces after long effort in old age. At any rate when the king of kings prayed to the gods:

Would that I had ten such advisers among the Achaean astr *Nestor* was, not one of the "martial" and "might-breathing Achaean" found fault with him, but all conceded that, not in civil affairs alone, but in war as well, old age has great weight;

For one wise counsel over many hands
Is victor,

and one sensible and persuasive expression of opinion accomplishes the greatest and most excellent public measures.

11. Certainly the office of king, the most perfect and the greatest of all political offices, has the most cares, labours, and occupations. At any rate Seleucus, they used to tell us, constantly repeated that if people in general knew what a task it was merely to read and write so many letters, they would not even pick up a crown that had been thrown away. And Philip, we are told, when he heard, as he was on the

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(790) μελλοντα καταστρατοπεδευειν, ως ἦκουσεν ὅτι χόρτος οὐκ ἐστι τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις "ὁ Ἱράκλεις," εἶπεῖν,1 "οἷος ἦμων ὁ βίος, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καιρὸν ὀφείλομεν ζῆν." ὥρα τούνν καὶ βασιλεῖ παρανεῖν πρεσβύτη γεγενημένω τὸ μὲν διάδημα καταθέσαι καὶ τῆν πορφύραν, ἵματιν δ' ἀναλαβόντα καὶ καμπύλην ἐν ἀγρῷ διατρίβειν, μὴ δοκῆ περίεργα καὶ ἄωρα πράττειν ἐν πολιαίς βασιλεύων. εἰ δ' οὐκ ἄξιον ταῦτα λέγειν περὶ Α' Ἀγησιλάου καὶ Νομᾶ 2 καὶ Δαρείου, μηδὲ τῆς Ἕξ 'Αρείου πάγου Βουλῆς Σόλωνα μηδὲ τῆς συγκλήτου Κάτωνα διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐξάγωμεν, οὐκοῦν3 μηδὲ Περικλεὶ συμβουλεύωμεν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τὴν δημοκρατίαν. οὔδὲ γὰρ ἀλλός λόγον ἔχει νέον ὄντα κατασκηρτήσαι τοῦ βήματος, εἰτ' ἐκχέαντα τὰς μανικᾶς ἐκείνας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ὀρμᾶς εἰς τὸ δημόσιον, ὅταν ἡ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐπιφέρουσα δὲ ἔμπειρὰν ἡλικία παραγενήται, προέσθαι καὶ καταλιπεῖν ὁσπερ γυναῖκα τὴν πολιτείαν καταχρησάμενον.

12. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ Αἰσώπειος ἀλώπης τὸν ἐχῖνον οὐκ εἶνα τοὺς κρότωνας αὐτῆς ἀφαιρεῖν Βουλόμενον.

D "ἀν γὰρ τούτους," ἐφη, "μεστοὺς ἀπαλάξῃς, ἐτεροι προσισι πενὼντες": τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν ἀεὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἀποβάλλουσαν ἀναπίπλασθαι νέων ἀνάγκη δυσώντων δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, νοῦν δὲ πολιτικὸν οὐκ ἐχόντων πόθεν γὰρ, εἰ μηδενὸς ἐσονται μαθηταὶ μηδὲ θεταὶ πολιτευόμενον γέροντος; ἡ πλοίων μὲν ἄρχοντας οὐ ποιεῖ γράμματα κυβερνητικά, μὴ πολλάκις γενομένους ἐν πρύμνη

1 εἶπείν Reiske: εἶπεν.
2 Νομᾶ Bernardakis: νομᾶ.
3 οὐκοῦν Bernardakis: οὐκοῦν.
point of encamping in a suitable place, that there was no fodder for the beasts of draught, exclaimed: "O Heracles, what a life is mine, if I must needs live to suit the convenience even of my asses!" There is, then, a time to advise even a king when he has become an old man to lay aside the crown and the purple, to assume a cloak and a crook, and to live in the country, lest it be thought, if he continues to rule when his hair is grey, that he is busying himself with superfluous and unseasonable occupations. But if it is not fitting to say this about an Agesilaüs or a Numa or a Dareius, let us neither remove a Solon from the Council of the Areopagus nor a Cato from the Senate on account of old age, and let us not advise a Pericles to leave the democracy in the lurch. For anyhow it is absurd that a man when he is young should prance about upon the platform and then, after having poured out upon the public all those insane ambitions and impulses, when the age arrives which brings wisdom through experience, should give up public life and desert it like a woman of whom he has had all the use.

12. Aesop's fox, we recall, would not let the hedge-hog, although he offered to do so, remove the ticks from her: "For if you remove these," she said, "which are full, other hungry ones will come on"; and the State which always discards the old men must necessarily be filled up with young men who are thirsty for reputation and power, but do not possess a statesmanlike mind. And where should they acquire it, if they are not to be pupils or even spectators of any old man active in public life? Treatises on navigation do not make ship-captains of men who have not often stood upon the stern and been spectators
θεατάς τῶν πρὸς κύμα καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ νύκτα χειμέριον ἀγώνων,

ἀρετὴν ἄδελφῷ ἄλιον ναῦταν πόθος βάλλει,

πόλιν δὲ μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ πείσαι δήμον ἦ

Ε βουλὴν δύναιτ' ἄν ὀρθῶς νέος ἀναγνώσῃ βιβλίον ἢ

σχολὴν περὶ πολιτείας ἐν Δυκείῳ γραβάμενος,

ἄν μὴ παρ' ἥνιαν καὶ παρ' οίκα πολλάκις στὰς

dημαγωγῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐμπειρίαις ἀμα καὶ τύχαις συναποκλίνων ἐπ' ἀμφότερα,

μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ πραγμάτων λάβῃ τὴν μάθησιν;

οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν· ἀλλ' εἰ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῷ γέροντι

παιδείας ἐνεκα τῶν νέων καὶ διδασκαλίας πολυτευτέον ἔστιν. ὥς γὰρ οἱ γράμματα καὶ μονικὴν

dιδάσκοντες, αὐτοὶ προανακρούονται καὶ προανα-

γινώσκουσιν ὑφηγούμενοι τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, οὕτως

ὁ πολιτικὸς οὐ λέγων μόνον οὐδ' ὑπαγορεύων

ἐξωθεὶν ἀλλὰ πράττων τὰ κοινὰ καὶ διοικών ἐπ'-

ευθύνει τὸν νέον, ἐργος ἀμα καὶ λόγους πλαττό-

μενον ἐμψύχως καὶ κατασχηματιζόμενον. ὦ γὰρ

tοῦτον ἀσκηθεὶς τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἐν παλαιόστρας

καὶ κηρώμασιν ἀκινδύνου πολυθρων σοφιστῶν, ἀλλ' ὄς ἀληθῶς ἐν Ἑλληνίκαις καὶ Πυθικοῖς

ἀγώνων

άθηλος ἢππυ πόλος ὡς ἀμα τρέχει

κατὰ Σμυνίδην, ὡς Ἀριστείδης Κλεισθένει καὶ

791 Κίμων Ἀριστείδη καὶ Φωκίων Χαβρία καὶ Κάτων

χειμέριον Reiske: χειμερίων.

a Castor and Pollux, who were supposed to aid sailors.

b Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 719, no. 91.
of the struggles against wind and wave and wintry night,

When yearning for the twin Tyndaridae,*
Doth strike the sailor driven o'er the sea;  
and can a youngster manage a State rightly and persuade an assembly or a senate after reading a book or writing in the Lyceum a school exercise about political science, if he has not stood many a time by the driver's rein or the pilot's steering-oar,\(^{c}\) leaning this way and that with the politicians and generals as they contend with the aid of their experiences and their fortunes, thus amid dangers and troubles acquiring the knowledge they need? No one can assert that. But if for no other reason, old men should engage in affairs of State for the education and instruction of the young. For just as the teachers of letters or of music themselves first play the notes or read to their pupils and thus show them the way, so the statesman, not only by speech or by making suggestions from outside, but by action in administering the affairs of the community, directs the young man, whose character is moulded and formed by the old man's actions and words alike. For he who is trained in this way—not in the wrestling-schools or training-rings of masters of the arts of graceful speech where no danger is, but, we may say, in truly Olympic and Pythian games,—

Keeps pace as foal just weaned runs with the mare,\(^{d}\) to quote Simonides. So Aristeides ran in the footsteps of Cleisthenes and Cimon in those of Aristeides, Phocion followed Chabrias, Cato had Fabius Maximus

\(^{c}\) Aristophanes, *Knights* 542, uses the metaphor of the pilot, though with a different application.

(791) Μαξίμων Φαβίω καὶ Σύλλα Πομπήιος καὶ Φιλοποίμενι Πολύβιος· νέοι γὰρ οὖν πρεσβυτέροις ἐπιβάλλοντες, εἰδ' οὖν παραβλαστάνοντες καὶ συνεξαιστάμενοι ταῖς ἐκείνων πολιτείαις καὶ πράξεις, ἐμπειρίασ καὶ συνήθειαν ἐκτῶντο πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως.

13. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Ἀισχίνης, σοφιστῶν τινῶν λεγόντων ὅτι προσποιεῖται γεγονέναι Καρνεάδοις μὴ γεγονός μαθητής, "ἀλλὰ τότε γ'," εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ Καρνεάδου διήκουν, ὅτε τὴν βαρίαν Β καὶ τὸν ψόφον ἀφεικὼς ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ γῆρας εἰς τὸ χρήσιμον συνήκτο καὶ κοινωνικόν"· τῆς δὲ πρεσβυτικῆς πολιτείας οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀπηλλαγμένης πανηγυρισμοῦ καὶ δοξοκοπίας, ὥσπερ τὴν ἵππη λέγουσιν ὅταν παλαιὰ γενομένῃ τὸ βρομιδές ἀποπνεύση καὶ θολερὸν εὐωδέστερον τὸ ἀρωματικὸν ἱσχειν, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἐστὶ δόγμα γεροντικὸν οὐδὲ βούλευμα τεταραγμένον ἀλλ' ἐμβρυῆ πάντα καὶ καθεστῶτα. διὸ καὶ τῶν νέων ἔνεκα δεῖ, καθάπερ εὑρήσατ, πολιτεύεσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἦνα, ὅν τρόπον φησὶ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τοῦ μυγμεμένον πρὸς ὑδωρ ἀκράτου, μαινόμενον

C θεῶν ἐτέρω θεῷ νήφοντι σωφρονίζεσθαι κολαζόμενον, οὕτως εὐλάβεια γεροντικῆ κεραυνυμένη πρὸς ξέουσαν ἐν δήμῳ νεότητα, βακχεύουσαν ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφαιρῇ τὸ μοικὸν καὶ λίαν ἀκράτου.

14. Ἀνευ δὲ τούτων ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ οἶον τὸ

1 ἵππ Coraes: ἵππ.
2 οἱ οἶον Jannot, Junius, Reiske: οἱ.
as his guide, Pompey had Sulla, and Polybius had Philopoemen; for these men, coming when young in contact with older men and then, as it were, sprouting up beside them and growing up with their policies and actions, gained experience and familiarity with public affairs and at the same time reputation and power.

13. Aeschines the Academic philosopher, when some sophists declared that he pretended to have been a pupil of Carneades although he had not been so, replied, “Oh, but I did listen to Carneades at the time when his speech had given up noisy declamation on account of his old age and had reduced itself to what is useful and of common interest.” But the public activity of old men is not only in speech but also in actions, free from ostentation and desire for popularity, and, therefore, just as they say that the iris, when it has grown old and has blown off its fetid and foul smell, acquires a more fragrant odour, so no opinion or counsel of old men is turbulent, but they are all weighty and composed. Therefore it is also for the sake of the young, as has been said above, that old men ought to engage in affairs of State, in order that, as Plato said in reference to pure wine mixed with water, that an insane god was made reasonable when chastised by another who was sober, so the discretion of old age, when mixed in the people with boiling youth drunk with reputation and ambition, may remove that which is insane and too violent.

14. But apart from all this, they are mistaken who

a Plato, Laws, 773 d. He refers to Dionysus (wine) and Poseidon (water).
πλείσσαι καὶ τὸ στρατεύσασθαι, τοιοῦτον ἴγουμενοι καὶ τὸ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἄλλο τι πραττόμενον, εἶτα καταλήγον ἐν τῷ τυχεῖν ἐκεῖνῳ. λειτουργία γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ πολιτεία τὴν χρείαν ἔχουσα πέρας, ἀλλὰ βίος ἡμέρου καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζῶου καὶ πεφυκότος ὅσον χρὴ χρόνον πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλοκάλως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἔτην. διὸ πολιτεύσασθαι καθήκον ἔστιν οὐ πεπολιτεύσασθαι, καθάπερ ἀληθεύειν οὐκ ἀληθεύει καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν οὐ δικαιοπραγήσασθαι καὶ φιλεῖν οὐ φιλήσας τὴν πατρίδα 

καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ ταύτα γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἄγει, καὶ ταύτας ὑπαγορεύει τὰς φωνὰς τοῖς μὴ διεθθόρσι τελείως ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας.

πολλοὶ σε θυητοῖς ἄξιον τίκτει πατήρ

καὶ

μὴ τί² παυσώμεσθα δρῶντες εὗ βροτοῦς.

15. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρρωστίας προβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας νόσου καὶ πηρώσεως μᾶλλον ἡ γήρως κατηγορούσι· καὶ γὰρ νέοι πολλοὶ νοσώδεις καὶ ρωμαλέοι γέροντες· ὥστε δεὶ μὴ τοὺς γέροντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ἀποτρέπειν, μὴδὲ τοὺς νέους 

Επαρακαλεῖν ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀριδαῖος ἢν νέος γέρων δ’ Ἀντίγονος, ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἀπασαν ὁλίγον δεῖν κατεκτήσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὁ δ’ ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δορυφόρημα κωφὸν ἢν ὀνομά

¹ ἄλλο τι Reiske: ἄλλα.
² μὴ τι Meziriacus: μὴτε.

ᵃ Cf. Aristotle, Politics, i. 2, where man is called a social (πολιτικῶν) animal.
think that engaging in public affairs is, like going to sea or to a war, something undertaken for an object distinct from itself and ceasing when that object is attained; for engaging in public affairs is not a special service which is ended when the need ends, but is a way of life of a tamed social animal living in an organized society, intended by nature to live throughout its allotted time the life of a citizen and in a manner devoted to honour and the welfare of mankind. Therefore it is fitting that men should be engaged, not merely have ceased to be engaged, in affairs of State, just as it is fitting that they should be, not have ceased to be, truthful, that they should do, not have ceased to do, right, and that they should love, not have ceased to love, their native land and their fellow-citizens. For to these things nature leads, and these words she suggests to those who are not entirely ruined by idleness and effeminacy:

Your sire begets you of great worth to men

and

Let us ne'er cease from doing mortals good.

15. But those who adduce weakness and disability are accusing disease and infirmity rather than old age. For there are many sickly young men and vigorous old men, so that the proper course is to dissuade, not the aged, but the disabled, and to summon into service, not the young, but those who are competent to serve. Aridæus, for example, was young and Antigonus an old man, but the latter gained possession of almost all Asia, whereas the former, like a mute guardsman on the stage, was

βασιλέως καὶ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατοῦντων παρανόμους. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πρόδικον τὸν σο-
φιστὴν ἡ Φιλήταν τὸν ποιητὴν ἄξιῶν πολιτευσθαί, νέους μὲν ἰσχυούς δὲ καὶ νοσώδεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ
κλινοπετεῖς δι’ ἀρρωστίαν ὄντας, ἀβέλτερος ἐστιν
οὕτως ὁ κωλύων ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγεῖν τοιούτους
gεροντας, οἷος ἦν Φωκίων οἷος ἦν Μασανάσσης ὁ
Λίβυς οἷος Κάτων ὁ 'Ρωμαῖος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Φωκίων,
ἀφημιμένων πολεμεῖν ἀκαίρως τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
F παρήγγειλε τοὺς ἄχρι ἐξήκοντι ἑτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν
ὅπλα λαβόντας· ὡς δ’ ἡγανάκτων, "οὐδέν," ἔφη,
"δεινόν· ἔγω γὰρ ἔσομαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς
ὑπὲρ ὑγιήκοντι ἐτη γεγονός." Μασανάσσην δ’
ἐστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἑτῶν ἀποθανεῖν,
tετράετες καταλίποντα παιδάριον ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενη-
μένον,1 οὐλίγω δ’ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς μάχης
792 νυκτόσαντα μεγάλη Καρχηδονίους ὀφθήναι τῇ
ὑστε-
ραίᾳ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ῥυπαρὸν ἀρτον ἐσθίοντα, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τούτο ποιεῖ2

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαισιν ὡσπερ εὐπρεπῆς
χαλκὸς· χρόνις δ’ ἀργῆσαν ἡμὺς στέγος,
ὡς φησί Σοφοκλῆς· ὡς δ’ ἡμεῖς φαμεν, ἐκεῖνῳ τῆς
ψυχῆς τὸ γάνωμα καὶ τὸ φέγγος, ὃ λογίζομεθα καὶ
μνημονεύομεν καὶ φρονοῦμεν.

16. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς φασὶ γίγνεσθαι βελ-
τίονας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατευσίς ἡ

1 γεγενημένον Bernardakis: γεγενημένον.
2 ποιεῖ] Reiske marks a gap here. Bernardakis supplies
dιὰ τὴν ἔξιν (or διὰ τὸ ποιεῖ) ἀεὶ, referring to Cicero, Cato
Major, chap. x.

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the mere name and figure of a king, exposed to the wanton insults of those who happened to have the real power. As, therefore, he is a fool who would demand that a person like Prodicus the sophist or a person like Philetas the poet should take part in the affairs of State,—they who were young, to be sure, but thin, sickly, and for the most part bedridden on account of sickness,—so he is foolish who would hinder from being rulers or generals such old men as were Phocion, the Libyan Masinissa, and the Roman Cato. For Phocion, when the Athenians were rushing into war at an unfavourable time, gave orders that all citizens up to sixty years of age should take their weapons and follow him; and when they were indignant he said: "There is nothing terrible about it, for I shall be with you as general, and I am eighty years old." And Polybius tells us that Masinissa died at the age of ninety years, leaving a child of his own but four years old, and that a little before his end, on the day after defeating the Carthaginians in a great battle, he was seen in front of his tent eating a dirty piece of bread, and that when some expressed surprise at this he said that he did it [to keep in practice],

For when in use it gleams like beauteous bronze;
An unused house through time in ruin falls,\(^a\)
as Sophocles says; but we say that this is true of that brilliance and light of the soul, by means of which we reason, remember, and think.

16. For that reason kings are said to grow better among wars and campaigns than when they live at

(792) σχολήν ἂγοντας. "Ἀτταλὸν γοῦν τὸν Εὐμένους·
Β ἀδελφὸν, ὅπ' ἄργιας μακρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐκλυθέντα
κομιδῆ, Φιλοποίμην εἰς τῶν ἑταίρων ἐποίμαινεν
ἀτεχνῶς πιανόμενον. ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
παίζοντας ἐκάστοτε διαπυνθάνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξ
'Ασίας πλεόντων, εἰ δύναται παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι
βασιλεὺς. Λευκόλλου δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὔ πολλοὺς ἄν
tις εὐροὶ δεινοτέρους στρατηγοὺς, ὡτε τῷ πράττειν
tὸ φρονεῖν συνεῖχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μεθήκεν ἕαυτόν εἰς
βίον ἀπρακτὸν καὶ δίαταν οἰκουρόν καὶ ἄφροτων,
ὡσπερ οἱ σπόγγοι ταῖς γαλήναις ἐννεκρωθείς καὶ
καταμαρανθείς, εἶτα Καλλισθένει τινὶ τῶν ἀπελευ-
θόρων βόσκειν καὶ τιθασεύειν παρέχων τὸ γῆρας,
ἐδόκει καταφαρμακεύεσθαι φίλτροις ὑπὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ
γοητεύμασιν, ἀχρι οὐ Μάρκος Ῥ ἀδελφὸς ἀπελάσας
τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸς ὕκονόμει καὶ ἐπαιδαγώγηκε τὸν
λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ βίον, οὐ πολὺν γενόμενον. ἄλλα Δα-
ρείος Ὁ Ξέρξου πατὴρ ἐλεγεν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰ
δεινὰ γίγνεσθαι φρονιμώτερος, ὅ δὲ Σκύθης Ἀτέας
μηδὲν οἴεσθαι τῶν ἐπποκόμων διαφέρειν ἕαυτόν,
ὅτε σχολάζοι. Διονύσιος δ' ὃ πρεσβύτερος πρὸς τὸν
πυθόμενον εἰ σχολάζοι "μηδέποτ', ἐπειν, "ἔμοι
τούτῳ συμβαίη." τὸξον μὲν γὰρ, ὡς φασίν, ἐπι-
D τεινόμενον ῥήγνυται, ψυχῇ δ' ἀνιμείνη. καὶ γὰρ
ἀρμονικὸ τὸ κατακοῦν ἡμοσμένου καὶ γεωμέτρουσι
τὸ ἀναλῦει καὶ ἀριθμητικὸ τὴν ἐν τῷ λογίζεσθαι
συνέχειαν ἐκλιπόντες ἃμα ταῖς ἐγεργείαις ἄμαυροις
taῖς ἥλικιας τὰς ἔξεις, καίπερ οὐ πρακτικὰς ἄλλα
θεωρητικὰς τέχνας ἔχοντες. ἡ δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν

1 Εὐμένους Coraes: εὐμενοῦς.
2 σχολάζοι Moralia, 176 Α: σχολάζει.
leisure. Attalus certainly, the brother of Eumenes, because he was completely enfeebled by long inactivity and peace, was actually kept and fattened like a sheep by Philopoemen, one of his courtiers; so that even the Romans used in jest to ask those who came from Asia if the king had any influence with Philopoemen. And it would be impossible to find many abler generals among the Romans than Lucullus, when he combined thought with action; but when he gave himself up to a life of inactivity and to a home-keeping and thought-free existence, he became a wasted skeleton, like sponges in calm seas, and then when he committed his old age to the care and nursing of one of his freedmen named Callisthenes, it seemed as if he were being drugged by him with potions and quackeries, until his brother Marcus drove the fellow away and himself managed and tended him like a child the rest of his life, which was not long. Dareius the father of Xerxes used to say that when dangers threatened he excelled himself in wisdom, and Ateas the Scythian said that he considered himself no better than his grooms when he was idle; and Dionysius the Elder, when someone asked if he was at leisure, replied: "May that never happen to me!" For a bow, they say, breaks when too tightly stretched, but a soul when too much relaxèd. In fact musicians, if they give up listening to music, and geometricians if they give up solving problems, and arithmeticians if they give up the practice of calculating, impair, as they advance in age, their habits of mind as well as their activities, although the studies which they pursue are not concerned with action but with contemplation; but the

*c Cf. Moralia, 172 r.*
(792) ἐξις, εὐβουλία καὶ φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐμπειρία στοχαστική καιρῶν καὶ λόγων, πειθοὺς δημιουργὸς δύναμις οὕσα, τῷ λέγειν ἀεὶ τι καὶ πράττειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν συνέχεται· καὶ δεινόν, εἰ τούτων ἀποδράσα περιῶμετα τηλικαύτας ἄρετᾶς καὶ τοσαύτας ἐκρεύσας τῆς ψυχῆς. Ε καὶ γὰρ τὸ φιλανθρωπὸν εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἀπομαραίνεσθαι καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐχάριστον, ὅν οὐδεμίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελευτὴν οὗδὲ πέρας.

17. Εἰ γοῦν πατέρα τὸν Τιθωνὸν εἴχες, ἀθάνατον μὲν ὄντα χρείαν δ' ἔχοντα διὰ γῆρας ἂεὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, οὐκ ἂν οἴμαι σε φυγεῖν οὐδ' ἀπείπασθαι τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προσαγορεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν ὡς λειτουργηκότα πολὺν χρόνον· ἢ δὲ πατρίς καὶ μητρίς ὡς Κρῆτες καλοῦσι, πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζωνα δίκαια γονέων ἐξουσία, πολυχρόνοις μὲν ἐστὶν οὐ μὴν ἀγήρως οὐδ' αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ' ἂεὶ πολυώριας δεομένη καὶ βοηθείας καὶ φροντίδος ἐπιστάται καὶ κατέχει τὸν πολιτικὸν εἰσαὸν ἀπτομένη καὶ τ' ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.

Καὶ μὴν οἰσθά με τῷ Πυθίῳ λειτουργοῦντα πολλὰς Πυθιάδας· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις " ἱκανά σοι, ὁ Πλοῦταρχε, τέθυται καὶ πεπόμπευται καὶ κεχόρευται, νῦν δ' ὑρα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀπολυτείν διὰ τὸ γῆρας." οὐκοῦν μηδὲ σεαυτὸν οἴου δεῖν, τῶν πολιτικῶν ἱερῶν ἐξάρχον ὄντα καὶ προφήτην, ἀφεῖναι τὰς τοῦ

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a Homer, II. xvi. 9.
b Periods of four years marked by the quadrennial celebration of the Pythian games in honour of Apollo at Delphi.
mental habit of public men—deliberation, wisdom, and justice, and, besides these, experience, which hits upon the proper moments and words and is the power that creates persuasion—is maintained by constantly speaking, acting, reasoning, and judging; and it would be a crime if, by deserting these activities, it should allow such great and so many virtues to leak out from the soul; for it is reasonable to suppose that love of humanity, public spirit, and graciousness would waste away, none of which ought to have any end or limit.

17. Certainly if you had Tithonus as your father, who was immortal but always needed much care on account of old age, I do not believe you would avoid or grow weary of attending to him, speaking to him, and helping him on the ground that you had performed those duties for a long time; and your fatherland or, as the Cretans call it, your mother country, which has earlier and greater rights than your parents, is long lived, to be sure, but by no means ageless or self-sufficient; on the contrary, since it always needs much consideration and assistance and anxious thought, it draws the statesman to itself and holds him,

Grasping him fast by the cloak, and restrains him though hastening onward.³

Now surely you know that I have been serving the Pythian Apollo for many Pythiads,⁴ but you would not say: "Plutarch, you have done enough sacrificing, marching in processions, and dancing in choruses, and now that you are older it is time to put off the garland and to desert the oracle on account of your age." And so do not imagine that you yourself, being a leader and interpreter of the sacred rites of
Πολύεως καὶ Ἀγοράιον τιμᾶς Διός, ἔκπαλαι κατωργιασμένου αὐταῖς.

793 18. Ἀλλ' ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἀποσπώντα τῆς πολιτείας λόγον ἔκεινο σκοπῶμεν ἥδη καὶ φιλοσοφῶμεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀπρεπὲς μηδὲ βαρὺ τῷ γῆρᾳ προσάξωμεν ἀγώνισμα, πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πολιτείας ἐχούσης ἀρμόδια καὶ πρόσφορα τοῖς τηλικούτωις. ὥσπερ γάρ, εἰ καθήκον ἢν ἄδοντας διατελεῖν, ἔδει, πολλῶν τόνων καὶ τρόπων ὑποκειμένων φωνῆς, οὐς ἀρμονίας οἱ μουσικοὶ καλοῦσι, μὴ τὸν ὄξυν ἀμα καὶ σύντονον διάκειν γέροντας γενομένους, ἀλλ' ἐν ὑ τῷ βράδιον ἐπεστὶ μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος ἦδους.

Β οὔτως, ἐπει τὸ πράττεις καὶ λέγει μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις ἢ κύκνοις τὸ ἀδειν ἄχρη τελευτῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀφετέον τὴν πράξεν ὥσπερ τινὰ λύραν σύντονον, ἀλλ' ἀνετέον ἐπὶ τὰ κοῦφα καὶ μέτρια καὶ προσώδα πρεσβύταις πολιτεύματα μεθαρμοτομένους. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ σώματα παντελῶς ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀγύμναστα περιορῶμεν, ὅτε μὴ δυνάμεθα σκαφεῖοι μηδ' ἀλτήσθαι χρήσθαι μηδὲ δισκεύειν μηδ' ὀπλομαχεῖν ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλ' αἰώραις καὶ πεπιπάτοις, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ σφαῖρα προσπαλαίοντες ἔλαφρῶς καὶ διαλεγόμενοι κινοῦσι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ

C τὸ θερμὸν ἀναρριπτίζοσιν· μὴτε δὴ τελέως ἐκπαγέντας ἑαυτοὺς καὶ καταψυχθέντας ἀπραξία περιϊδωμεν' μήτε αὐτὸν πάσαν ἄρχην ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμενοι πολιτεύματος ἀναγκάζωμεν

1 περιϊδωμεν Coraes: περιῳδωμεν.
civic life, ought to give up the worship of Zeus of the State and of the Forum, rites to which you have for a long time been consecrated.

18. But let us now, if you please, leave the argument which tries to withdraw the aged man from civic activities and turn to the examination and discussion of the question how we may assign to old age only what is appropriate without imposing upon it any burdensome struggle, since political activity has many parts fitting and suitable for men of such years. For just as, if it were fitting for us to continue singing to the end, we ought, since there are many underlying tones and modes of the voice, which musical people call harmonies, we ought, I say, when we have grown old, not to attempt that which is at once high pitched and intense, but that which is easy and also possesses the fitting ethical quality; just so, since it is more natural for human beings to act and speak to the end than for swans to sing, we must not give up activity as if it were a lyre too tightly strung, but we should relax the activity and adapt it to those public services which are light and moderate and attuned to old men. For we do not let our bodies be entirely without motion and exercise when we are unable to wield the mattock or use jumping-weights or throw the discus or fight in armour as we used to do, but by swinging and walking, and in some instances by light ball-playing and by conversation, old men accelerate their breathing and revive the body's heat. Let us, then, neither allow ourselves to be entirely frozen and chilled by inaction nor, on the other hand, by again burdening ourselves with every office and engaging in every kind of public
793) τὸ γῆρας ἐξελεγχόμενον ἐπὶ τοιαύτας φωνὰς καταφέρεσθαι

ω δεξιὰ χεῖρ, ως ποθεὶς λαβεὶν δόρυ·
ἐν δ’ ἀσθενείᾳ τὸν πόθον διώλεσας.

οὔδὲ γὰρ ἀκμάζων καὶ δυνάμενος ἀνὴρ ἐπανεῖται,
πάντα συλλήβδην ἀνατιθεῖ ἑαυτῷ τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερῳ παριέναι βουλόμενος, ὡσπερ οἱ Στωικοὶ τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, εἰς πάντα παρενείρων καὶ πᾶσι καταμύγως ἑαυτὸν ἀπληστία δόξης ἡ φθόνω τῶν μεταλαμβανόντων ἀμωσγέψῳς τιμῆς τινος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμεως· πρεσβύτη δὲ κομιδῇ, κἂν τὸ ἄδοξον ἀφέλης, ἐπίπονος καὶ ταλαιπώρος ἢ πρὸς πάν μὲν ἀεὶ κληρωτήριων ἀπαντῶσα φιλαρχία, παντὶ δ’ ἐφεδρέουσα δικαστήριον καιρῶς καὶ συνεδρίου πολυπραγμοσύνη, πᾶσαν δὲ προσβείαι καὶ προδικίαι ὑφαρπάζουσα φιλοτιμία. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ μετ’ εὐνοίας βαρὺ παρ’ ἡλικίᾳ, συμβαίνει δὲ γε ταναντία· μισοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νέων, ὡς οὔ προϊέμενοι πράξεων αὐτοῖς ἀφορμᾶς μηδὲ εἰς μέσον ἐδύντες προελθεῖν, ἄδοξει δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτῶν καὶ φιλαρχὸν οὐχ ἢττον ἢ τὸ φιλόπλουτον ἔτερων γερόντων καὶ φιλόδονον.

19. "Ὡσπερ οὖν τὸν Βουκέφαλον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβύτερον ὄντα μὴ βουλόμενος πιέζειν ἐτέρως ἐπωχεῖτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἵππως, ἐφοδεύων τὴν

* The Stoic doctrine of the infinite variety of Zeus and his activities is beautifully expressed in the hymn to Zeus by 130
activity, force our old age, convicted of its weakness, to descend to words like these:

O my right hand, thou yearn'st to seize the spear,
    But weakness brings thy yearning all to naught.  

For even a man at the height of his powers is not commended if he takes upon himself, in a word, all public activities at once and is unwilling to leave, as the Stoics say of Zeus, anything to anyone else, intruding and mixing himself in everything through insatiable desire for reputation or through envy of those who obtain any share whatsoever of honour and power in the State. But for a very aged man that love of office which invariably offers itself as a candidate at every election, that busy restlessness which lies in wait for every opportunity offered by court of justice or council of State, and that ambition which snatches at every ambassadorship and at every precedence in legal matters, are, even if you eliminate the discredit attached to them, toilsome and miserable. For to do these things even with the goodwill of others is too burdensome for advanced age, but, in fact, the result is the very opposite: for such old men are hated by the young, who feel that they do not allow them opportunities for public activity and do not permit them to come before the public, and by people in general their love of precedence and of office is held in no less disrepute than is other old men's love of wealth and pleasure.

19. And just as Alexander, wishing not to work Bucephalus too hard when he was old, used to ride other horses before the battle in reviewing the

φάλαιγγα καὶ καθιστὰς εἰς τὴν τάξιν, εἶτα δοὺς τὸ
Ε σύνθημα καὶ μεταβάς ἐπ’ ἑκεῖνον εὐθὺς ἐπῆγε τοῖς
πολεμίοις καὶ διεκνύνευεν: οὕτως ὁ πολιτικός, ἂν
ἔχῃ νοῦν, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἤμισυν πρεσβύτην γενό-
μενον ἀφεξεταί τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων καὶ παρῆσει
τοῖς ἀκμάζονσι χρῆσαι πρὸς τὰ μικρότερα τὴν
πόλιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις αὐτὸς ἀγωνιεῖται προ-
θύμως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄθληται τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων πόνων ἄθικτα τηροῦσι καὶ ἀκέραια πρὸς τοὺς
ἀχρήστους· ἠμεῖς δὲ τοῦναντίον, ἐωντες τὰ μικρὰ
καὶ φαύλα, τοῖς ἀξίοις σπουδῆς φιλάξομεν έαυτούς.
“νέω” μὲν γὰρ ἰσως “ἐπέοικε” καθ’ “Ομηρος
“πάντα,” καὶ δέχονται καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν μὲν
μικρὰ καὶ πολλά πράττοντα δημοτικῶν καὶ φιλό-
794 πονον τὸν δὲ λαμπρὰ καὶ σεμνὰ γενναίων καὶ
μεγαλόφρονα καλοῦντες· ἐστι δ’ ὅπου καὶ τὸ φιλό-
νεικὸν καὶ παράβολον ὄραν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ χάριν
ἐπιπρέπουσαν τοὺς τηλικούτοις. ὁ πρεσβύτης δ’
ἀνήρ ἐν πολιτείᾳ διακονικάς λειτουργίας ὑπομένων,
οῖα τελῶν πράσεις καὶ λιμένων ἐπιμελείας καὶ
ἀγορᾶς, ἐτὶ δὲ πρεσβείας καὶ ἀποδημίας πρὸς
ἡγεμόνας καὶ δυνάστας ὑποτέχων, ἐν αἷς ἀναγκαῖοι
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν ἔνεστιν ἄλλα θεραπεία καὶ τὸ
πρὸς χάριν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκτρόν, ὁ φίλε, φαίνεται καὶ
ἀξίλον, ἑτέρως δ’ ἱσως καὶ ἐπαχθῆς ὁ φαίνεται καὶ
φορτικῶν.
20. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἄρχαις τὸν τηλικούτον ὥρα
Β φέρεσθαι, πλὴν ὁσι πε γε μέγεθος τι κέκτηται καὶ

1 δέχονται Wytenbach: ἐχονται.
2 τὸν μὲν ... τὸν δὲ Wytenbach: τὰ μὲν ... τὰ δὲ.
phalanx and drawing it up in line, and then, after giving the watchword and mounting him, immediately charged the enemy, and fought the battle to its end; so the statesman, if he is sensible, will curb himself when he has grown old, will keep away from unnecessary activities and allow the State to employ men in their prime for lesser matters, but in important affairs will himself take part vigorously. For athletes keep their bodies untouched by necessary tasks and in full force for useless toils, but we, on the contrary, letting petty and worthless matters go, will save ourselves for things that are seriously worth while. For perhaps, as Homer says, "to a young man everything is becoming," and people accept and love him, calling the one who does many little things a friend of the common folk and hard-working, and the one who does brilliant and splendid things noble and high-minded; and under some conditions even contentiousness and rashness have a certain timeliness and grace becoming to men of that age. But the old man in public life who undertakes subordinate services, such as the farming of taxes and the supervision of harbours and of the market-place, and who moreover works his way into diplomatic missions and trips abroad to visit commanders and potentates, in which there is nothing indispensable or dignified, but which are merely flattery to curry favour, seems to me, my friend, a pitiable and unenviable object, and to some people, perhaps, a burdensome and vulgar one.

20. For it is not seasonable for an aged man even to be occupied in public offices, except in those which possess some grandeur and dignity, such as that

a Homer. II. xxii. 71.
(794) ἀξίωμα· καθάπερ ἢν σὺ νῦν Ἀθήνησι μεταχειρίζῃ τῆς ἑξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς ἐπιστασίαν καὶ ἡ Δία τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, ἦν σου διὰ τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἢ πατρὶς ἀνατέθεικε "πόνον ἢδύν κάματόν τ' εὐκάματον" ἔχουσαν. δεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας μὴ διώκειν τὰς τιμὰς ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἄρχειν, μηδ' αἰτουμένους ἀλλὰ παρατουμένους, μηδ' ὡς αὐτοῖς τὸ ἄρχειν λαμβάνοντας ἄλλ' ὡς αὐτοὺς τῷ ἄρχειν ἐπιδιδόντας. οὐ γάρ, ὥς Τιβέριος ὁ Καίσαρ ἔλεγε, ὃ τὸ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ ἱατρῷ προτείνειν ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντ' ἔτη γεγονότας αἰσχρόν ἔστων, ἄλλα μᾶλλον τὸ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ δήμῳ προτείνειν ψήφον αἰτοῦντα ἢ φωνὴν ἄρχαιρεσιὰζον· ἀγενές γὰρ τούτο καὶ ταπεινὸν· ὡς τούναντίον ἔχει τινὰ σεμνότητα καὶ κόσμον, αἰρομένης τῆς πατρίδος καὶ καλούσης καὶ περιμενούσης, κατιόντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοφροσύνης γεραρὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸ γέρας.

21. Οὕτω δὲ πως καὶ λόγῳ χρηστέου ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πρεσβύτην γενόμενον, μὴ ἐπιπηδῶντα συνεχῶς τῷ βήματι μηδ' ἀεὶ δίκην ἀλεξτρώνος ἀντάδοντα τοῖς φθεγγομένοις, μηδὲ τῷ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ διερεθίζειν ἀποχαλινοῦντα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀ διότι τῶν νέων μηδὲ μελέτην ἐμποιοῦντα καὶ συνήθειαν ἀπειθείας καὶ δυσηκοσίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ παριέντα ποτὲ καὶ διδόντα πρὸς δόξαν ἀναχαιτίσαι καὶ θρασύνασθαι, μηδὲ παρόντα μηδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα, ὅπου μὴ μέγα τὸ κινδυνεύομενον ἐστι

1 θρασύνασθαι Coraes: θρασύνεσθαι.

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* Cf. Euripides, Bacch. 66.
* i.e. for medical assistance.
which you are now administering at Athens, the presidency of the Senate of the Areopagus, and, by Zeus, the honour of membership in the Amphictyonic Council, which your native State bestowed upon you for life and which entails "a pleasant labour and un-toilsome toil." But even these offices aged men ought not to seek; they should exercise them though trying to avoid them, not asking for them but asking to be excused from them, as men who do not take office to themselves, but give themselves to office. For it is not, as the Emperor Tiberius said, a disgrace for a man over sixty years of age to hold out his hand to the physician; but rather is it a disgrace to hold out the hand to the people asking for a ballot or a viva voce vote; for this is ignoble and mean, whereas the contrary possesses a certain dignity and honour, when an aged man's country chooses him, calls him, and waits for him, and he comes down amid honour and friendly applause to welcome and accept a distinction which is truly revered and respected.

21. And in somewhat the same way a man who has grown old ought to treat speech-making in the assembly; he should not be constantly jumping up on the platform, nor always, like a cock, crowing in opposition to what is said; nor should he, by getting involved in controversy, loose the curb of reverence for him in the young men's minds and instil into them the practice and custom of disobedience and unwillingness to listen to him; but he should sometimes both slacken the reins and allow them to throw up their heads boldly to oppose his opinion and to show their spirit, without even being present or interfering except when the matter
πρὸς σωτηρίαν κοινὴν ἢ τὸ καλὸν καὶ πρέπον. ἔκει δὲ χρή καὶ μηδενὸς καλοῦντος ὥθεισθαι δρόμω παρὰ δύναμιν, ἀναθέντα χειραγωγοῖς αὐτὸν ἢ φοράδην κομιζόμενον, ὥσπερ ἴστοροδέν ἐν Ῥώμη Κλαύδιον ἁπτινὸν ἤττημένων γὰρ ὑπὸ Πύρρου μάχῃ μεγάλῃ. 

Εὐθὸμενός τὴν σύγκλητον ἐνδέχεσθαι λόγους περὶ σπονδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ ἀμφοτέρας ἀποβεβληκὼς τὰς ὤψεις, ἀλλ' ἦκε δὲ ἀγορᾶς φερόμενος πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσελθὼν δὲ καὶ καταστάς εἰς μέσον ἐφ' ἑφ' πρότερον μὲν ἀχθεσθαὶ τῷ τῶν ὦμμάτων στέρεσθαι, νῦν δ' ἄν εὐξασθαι μηδ' ἀκούειν οὐτως αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀγεννὴ βουλευομένους καὶ πράσσοντας ἔκεινος. ἔκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν καθαφάμενοι αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ διδύξας καὶ παραρμῆσας, ἐπεισεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ὀπλα χωρεῖν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον. δ' ὅ δὲ Σόλων, τῆς Πεισιστράτου δημαγωγιας, ὅτι τυραννίδος ἦν μηχάνημα, φανερός γενομένης, μηδενὸς ἀμύνεσθαι μηδὲ κωλύειν τολμῶντος, αὐτὸς ἐξενεγκάμενος τὰ ὀπλα καὶ πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας θέμενος ἢζίον βοηθεῖν τοὺς πολίτας· πέμψατο δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πυθανομένου τίνι πεποιθῶς ταῦτα πράττει, "τῷ γήρᾳ," εἰπεν.

22. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὔτως ἀναγκαία καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσβηκότας κομιδῆ γέροντας, ἂν μόνον ἐμπνέωσιν, ἐξάπτει καὶ διανίστησαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποτὲ μὲν, ὥσπερ εἶρηται, παραιτούμενος ἐμμελῆς ἔσται 795 τὰ γλύπχρα καὶ διακονικὰ καὶ μείζωνας ἔχοντα τοῖς

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at stake is important for the common safety or for honour and decorum. But in such cases he ought, even when no one calls him, to run at a speed beyond his strength, letting himself be led by attendants who support him or having himself carried in a litter, as we are told that Appius Claudius did in Rome; for after the Romans had been defeated by Pyrrhus in a great battle, when he heard that the senate was admitting proposals for a truce and peace, he found that intolerable, and although he had lost the sight of both his eyes, had himself carried through the Forum to the Senate-house. He went in, took his stand in the midst of the senate, and said that hitherto he had been grieved by the loss of his eyes, but now he could pray not even to have ears to hear them discussing and doing things so disgraceful and ignoble. And thereupon, partly by rebuking them, partly by instructing and inciting them, he persuaded them to rush to arms forthwith and fight it out with Pyrrhus for the rule of Italy. And Solon, when it became clear that the popular leadership of Peisistratus was a contrivance to make him tyrant, since no one dared to oppose or prevent it, brought out his own arms, stacked them in front of his house, and called upon the citizens to come to the aid of their country; then, when Peisistratus sent and asked him what gave him confidence to do this, he replied, "My age."  

22. However, matters of such urgent necessity do kindle and arouse aged men whose fire is quite extinct, provided they merely have breath; yet in other matters the aged man will sometimes, as has been said, act fittingly by declining mean and petty offices which bring more trouble to those who
(795) πράττουσιν ἁσχολίας ἦ δι' οὐδε πράττεται χρείας καὶ ωφελείας· ἔστι δ' ὅπου περιμένων καλέσαι καὶ ποθῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν οἴκοθεν τοὺς πολέτας ἄξιο-πιστότερος δεομένοις κἀτεισι. τὰ δὲ πλείστα καὶ παρών σωπῆς τοῖς νεωτέροις λέγειν παρίσης, οἷον βραβεύων φιλοτιμίας πολιτικῆς ἁμιλλαν· ἐὰν δ' υπερβάλλῃ τὸ μέτριον, καθαπτόμενος ἡπίως καὶ μετ' εὐμενείας ἀφαιρῶν φιλονεικίας καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ ὀργάς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα παραμυθούμενος ἀνευ ψόγου καὶ διδάσκων, ἐπαινῶν δ' ἀφόβως τὸν κατορθοῦντα καὶ νικώμενος ἐκου-βισίως καὶ προϊέμενος τὸ πεῖσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι πολλάκις ὅπως αὐξάνωνται καὶ θαρσῶσιν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ συναναπληρῶν μετ' εὐφημίαις τὸ ἐλλεῖπον, ὡς ὁ Νέστωρ

οὔτις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται ὅσοι Ἀχαιοί, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἑρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἱκεο μῦθων. ἦ μὴν καὶ νέος ἔσσι, ἐμὸς δὲ κε καὶ πάως εἰς.

23. Τούτου δὲ πολιτικώτερον, μὴ μόνον ἐμ-φανῶς μηδὲ δημοσία ὀνειδίζων ἀνευ δημοῦ σφόδρα κολούοντος καὶ ταπεινοῦντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἴδια τοῖς εὖ πεφυκόσι πρὸς πολιτείαιν ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ συνεισηγούμενος εὐμενῶς λόγους τε χρηστοὺς καὶ πολιτεύματα, συνεξορμῶν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ συνεπιλαμβρύνων τὸ φρόνημα καὶ παρέχων, ὡσ-περ οἱ διδάσκοντες ἱππεύειν, ἐν ἀρχῇ χειρόθηκη

1 ἀφόβως] ἀφθόνως Reiske.
2 ὀνειδίζων Madvig: ὀνειδίζων.

a Homer, Il. ix. 55 ff. Nestor speaks to Diomedes.
administer them than profit and advantage to those for whom they are administered; and sometimes by waiting for the citizens to call for him, long for him, and send for him at his house, he will, when he comes, be received with greater confidence by those who begged for his presence. And for the most part he will, even when present, be silent and let younger men speak, acting as a kind of umpire at the contest of political ambition; and if the contest passes the bounds of moderation, by administering a mild and kindly rebuke, he will endeavour to do away with contention, opprobrious language, and anger, will correct and instruct without fault-finding him who errs in his opinions, but will fearlessly praise him who is right; and he will voluntarily suffer defeat and will often give up success in persuading the people to his will in order that the young may grow in power and courage, and for some of them he will supply what is lacking with kindly words, as Nestor said,

No one of all the Achaeans will blame the words thou hast spoken,
Nor will oppose them in speech; and yet thou hast reached no conclusion.
Truly thou art a young man, and thou mightest e’en be my own offspring.\(^a\)

23. But more statesmanlike than this it is, not merely to avoid, when rebuking them openly and in public, any biting speech which violently represses and humiliates them, but rather in kindly spirit to suggest and inculcate in private to those who have natural ability for public affairs advantageous words and policies, urging them on towards that which is noble, adding brilliancy to their minds, and, after the manner of riding-teachers,
(795) καὶ πράον ἐπιβήναι τὸν δῆμον· εἰ δὲ τι σφαλεῖ, μὴ περιορῶν ἐξαθυμοῦντα τὸν νέον, ἀλλ' ἀνιστὰς
cαι παραμυθούμενος, ὡς 'Αριστείδης Κύμωνα καὶ
Μηνισίφιλος Θεμιστοκλέα, δυσχεραιμομένους καὶ
κακῶς ἀκούοντας ἐν τῇ πολεί τὸ πρῶτον ὡς
ἰκαμοῦς καὶ ἀκολάστους, ἐπῄραν καὶ ἀνεθάρρυναν.
Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένους ἐκπεσόντος ἐν τῷ
Δ δήμῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος ἁμαρθαι παλαιῷ τῶν
gέροντα τῶν ἀκηκοότων Περικλέους καὶ εἰπτεῖν,
ὡς ἐκεῖνω τάνδρι προσεοικῶς τὴν φύσιν οὐ δικαίως
αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν. οὔτω δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεου Εὐρι-
πίδης συριττόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ καινοτομίᾳ καὶ παρα-
νομεῖν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν δοκοῦντα ἔθικεν ἐκέλευσεν,
ὡς οἷον χρόνου τῶν θεάτρων ὑπ' αὐτῷ γενησο-
μένων.
24. Καθολοῦ δ' ὦσπερ ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ ταῖς 'Εστιάσι
παρθένους τοῦ χρόνου διώρισται τὸ μὲν μανθάνειν
tὸ δὲ δρᾶν τὰ νευρομισέμαν τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἥδη δι-
δάσκειν, καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ περὶ τὴν Ἁρτεμιν
Ε ὁμοίως ἐκάστην' Μελλιέρην τὸ πρῶτον εἴθ' Ἱέρην
τὸ δὲ τρίτον Παριέρην καλοῦσιν· οὕτως ὁ τελέως
πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μανθάνειν ἔτι πολι-
τεὔται2 καὶ μυνούμενος τὰ δ' ἐσχάτα διδάσκων
καὶ μυσταγωγῶν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάτην3 ἄθλοῦσιν
ἐτέροις οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτὸν ἄθλειν, ὃ δὲ παιδοτριβῶν
νέον ἐν πράγμασι κοινοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀγώσι καὶ
παρασκευάζων τῇ πατρίδι

μύθων τε ὅσιῷ ἐμεναι πρηκτήρα τε ἐργών

1 ἐκάστην Xylander: ἐκάστου.
2 πολιτεύεται Wytenbach: πολιτεύεθαι.
3 τὸν ... ἐπιστάτην Capps: τὸ ... ἐπιστατεῖν.

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enabling them at first to mount the populace when it is tractable and gentle; then, if the young man fails in any way, not letting him be discouraged, but setting him on his feet and encouraging him, as Aristeides raised up and encouraged Cimon and Mnesiphilus did the like for Themistocles when they were at first disliked and decried in the city as being rash and unrestrained. And there is also a story that when Demosthenes had met with a reverse in the assembly and was disheartened thereby, an aged man who had formerly heard Pericles speak touched him with his hand and told him that he resembled that great man in natural ability and, therefore, had been unjust in condemning himself. And so also when Timotheüs was hissed for being new-fangled and was said to be committing sacrilege upon music, Euripides told him to be of good courage, for in a little while the theatres would be at his feet.

24. And in general, just as at Rome the Vestal Virgins have a definite time allotted them, first for learning, then for performing the traditional rites, and thirdly and lastly for teaching them, and as at Ephesus they call each one of the servants of Artemis first a novice, then a priestess, and thirdly an ex-priestess, so the perfect statesman engages in public affairs, first while still a learner and a neophyte and finally as a teacher and initiator. For although it is impossible for the overseer of other athletes to engage in contests himself, yet he who trains a young man in affairs of the community and political struggles and prepares him for the service of his country

Speaker of speeches to be and also a doer of actions,⁴

⁴ Homer, II. ix. 443.
ἐν οὐ μικρῷ μέρει πολιτείας οὐδὲ φαύλῳ χρήσιμός ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ εἰς ὁ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ὁ Λυκοῦργος. Φ ἐντείνας ἐαυτὸν εἶθισε τοὺς νέους παντὶ πρεσβύτη ἀραίανον νομοθέτῃ πειθομένους διατελεῖν. έπει πρὸς τὸ βλέφας ὁ Αὐσανδρὸς εἶπεν, ὡς ἐν Δακε-δαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρώσων; ἀρ’ ὅτι γ’ ἄργειν ἐξεστὶ μάλιστα τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἐκεῖ καὶ δανείζειν ἡ κυβευέων συγκαθεξομένους ἣ πίνειν ἐν ὃρα συνάγονται; οὔκ ἂν εἶποι; ἀλλ’ ὅτι τρόπον των πάντες οἱ τηλικοῦτοι τάξιν ἄρχοντων ἡ τινων πατρονόμων ἡ παιδαγωγών ἔχοντες οὐ τὰ κοινὰ 796 μόνον ἐπισκοποῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νέων ἐκαστ’ ἀεί περὶ τε τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ παιδιάς καὶ διαίτας καταμαναθάνουσιν οὐ παρέργως, φοβεροὶ μὲν ὄντες τοὸς ἀμαρτάνουσιν αἴδεστοι δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ποθεινοὶ· θεραπεύουσι γὰρ ἀεὶ καὶ διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ νέοι, τὸ κόσμῳ καὶ τὸ γενναῖον αὐξοντας καὶ συνεπιγαυροῦντας ἀνευ φθόνον.

25. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος οὐδενὶ χρόνῳ πρέπον ἠλικίας, ὡμοῖς ἐν νέοις εὑπορεῖ χρηστῶν ὁνομάτων, ἀμῦλλα καὶ ζῆλος καὶ φιλοτιμία προσαγορευόμενον, ἐν δὲ πρεσβύταις παντελῶς ἄψων ἐστὶ καὶ ἄγριων καὶ ἀγεννής. διὸ δεὶ πορρωτάτῳ τοῦ φθονείν ὑντα τὸν πολιτικόν γέροντα μὴ καθάπερ τὰ βάσκανα Β γεράνδρα τῶν παραβλαστάνοντων καὶ ὑποφυο-μένων σαφῶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ κολούειν τὴν βλάστην καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν, ἀλλ’ εὑμενῶς προσδέχεσθαι καὶ παρέχειν τοῖς ἀντιλαμβανομένοις καὶ προσπλεκо-

1 γ’ ἄργειν Faehse: γεωργεῖν.
2 παιδιάς Amyot: παιδείας.
is useful to the State in no small or mean degree, but helps towards that for which Lycurgus first and especially exerted himself when he accustomed the young always to obey every old man as if he were a lawgiver. For what had Lysander in mind when he said that men grow old most nobly in Lacedaemon? Was it because there the older men are more than elsewhere allowed to live in idleness and to lend money or sit together and throw dice or get together betimes for drinking-parties? You could not say that. No, it was because all men of advanced age hold more or less the position of magistrates, fatherly counsellors, or instructors, and not only oversee public affairs, but also make it their business to learn all details about the gymnasia, the sports, and the daily lives of the young men, and, therefore, they are feared by those who do wrong but revered and desired by the good; for the young men always cultivate and follow them, since they enhance and encourage the decorum and innate nobility of the young without arousing their envy.

25. For the emotion of envy is not fitting for any time of life, but nevertheless it has among young people plenty of fine names, being called "competition," "zeal," and "ambition"; but in old men it is totally unseasonable, uncultured, and ignoble. Therefore the aged statesman, being far beyond the feeling of envy, should not, as envious old tree trunks clearly do, try to destroy and prevent the sprouting growth of the plants which spring up beside them and grow under them, but he should receive kindly those who claim his attention and attach themselves to him; he should offer himself to

*c. Athenaeus 279 e and 365 c.*
(796) μένως ἐαυτὸν ὀρθοῦντα καὶ χειραγωγοῦντα καὶ τρέφοντα μὴ μόνον ὑψηλὴς καὶ συμβουλίας ἀγαθαῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραχωρήσει πολιτευμάτων τιμῆν ἔχοντων καὶ δόξαν ἡ τινας ὑπουργίας ἁβλαβεῖς μὲν ἡδείας δὲ τοὺς πολλοῖς καὶ πρὸς χάρων ἐσομένας· ὅσα δ' ἐστὶν ἀντίτυπα καὶ προσάντη καὶ καθάπερ τὰ φάρμακα δάκνει παραχρήμα καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ δὲ
Ο καλὸν καὶ λυστελές ύστερον ἀποδίδωσι, μὴ τοὺς νέους ἐπὶ ταῦτα προσάγοντα μηδ' ὑποβάλλοντα θορύβοις, ὁχλών ἀγωνισμόντων ἁθείας ὄντας, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ἐκδεχόμενον τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀπεχθείας· τούτῳ γὰρ εὐνουστέρους τε ποιῆσει τοὺς νέους καὶ προθυμοτέρους ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὑπηρεσίαις.

26. Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα χρή μνημονεύειν, ός οὐκ ἔστι πολιτεύεσθαι μόνον τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ προσβεῖν καὶ μέγα βοῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸ βήμα βακχεύειν λέγοντας ἢ γράφοντας, ἃ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαι νομίζοντο, ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ

D φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρον διαλεγομένους καὶ σχολὰς ἐπὶ βιβλίοις περαίνοντας· ἡ δὲ συνεχὴς ἐν ἑργοῖς καὶ πράξειν ὀρωμένη καθ' ἡμέραν ὀμαλῶς πολιτεία καὶ φιλοσοφία λέληθεν αὐτούς. καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς στοαῖς ἀνακάμπτοντας περιπάτεῖν φασίν, ώς ἔλεγε Δικαίαρχος, οὐκέτι δὲ τοὺς εἰς ἅγρον ἢ πρὸς φίλον βαδίζοντας. ὀμοίων δ' ἐστὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι. Σωκράτης

1 τοῦ] τὸ Coraes; τοῦ omitted by Reiske.
2 ὀμαλῶς Coraes: οὐδαμῶς.
direct, guide, and support them, not only with good instructions and advice, but also by giving up to them public offices which bring honour and reputation, or certain public services which will do no harm to the people, but will be pleasing to it, and will make them popular. But as for such things as arouse opposition and are difficult and, like certain medicines, smart and hurt at first but produce an excellent and profitable result afterwards, he should not force young men into these and subject them to popular outrages while they are still unaccustomed to the inconsiderate mob; but he should himself assume the unpopularity arising from advantageous measures, for in this way he will make the young more well-disposed towards him and more eager in performing other services.

26. But above all things we must remind them that statesmanship consists, not only in holding office, being ambassador, vociferating in the assembly, and ranting round the speakers' platform proposing laws and making motions. Most people think all this is part of statesmanship, just as they think of course that those are philosophers who sit in a chair and converse and prepare their lectures over their books; but the continuous practice of statesmanship and philosophy, which is every day alike seen in acts and deeds, they fail to perceive. For, as Dicaearchus used to remark, those who circulate in the porticoes are said to be "promenading," a but those who walk into the country or to see a friend are not. Now being a statesman is like being a philosopher. Socrates at any rate was a philosopher, although he did not

a This is a play on the name of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. Cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 226.
γοῦν οὔτε βάθρα θείς οὔτ' εἰς θρόνων καθίσας
οὔθ' ὥραν διατριβῆς ἢ περιπάτου τοῖς γνωρίμοις
tetagmēnēn φυλάττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπαίζων,1 ὅτε
tύχοι, καὶ συμπίνων καὶ συστατεύόμενον ἐνίοις
καὶ συναγοράζων, τέλος δὲ καὶ δεδεμένος2 καὶ
Επίνων τὸ φάρμακον, ἐφιλοσόφει πρῶτος ἀποδείξας
τὸν βίον ἄπαντι χρόνῳ καὶ μέρει καὶ πάθει καὶ
πράγμασιν ἀπλῶς ἀπασι φιλοσοφίαν δεχόμενον.
οὔτω δὴ διανοητέον καὶ περὶ πολιτείας, ὡς τοὺς
μὲν ἀνοήτους, οὔδ' ὅταν στρατηγῶς ἢ γραμ-
ματεύσωσιν ἢ δημηγορῶσι, πολιτευόμενος ἀλλ'
ὀχλοκοποῦντας ἢ πανηγυρίζοντας ἢ στασιάζοντας
ἳ λειτουργοῦντας ἀναγκαίως: τὸν δὲ κοινωνικὸν
καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόντων καὶ κηδεμονικὸν
καὶ πολιτικὸν ἀλήθως, κἂν μηδέποτε τὴν χλαμύδα
περίθηται, πολιτευόμενον αἰὲ τῷ παρομάν τοὺς
F δυναμένους, ύφηγείσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις, συμπαρεῖναι
τοῖς βουλευόμενοις, διατρέπειν τοὺς κακοπραγμο-
νοῦντας, ἐπιρρωνύναι τοὺς εὐγνώμονας, φανερὸν
εἶναι μὴ παρέργως προσέχοντα τοῖς κοινοῖς μηδ' ὅπου
σπουδῇ τὶς ἡ παράκλησις διὰ τὸ πρωτεῖον3 εἰς
tὸ θέατρον βαδίζοντα καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον,
ἀλλ' δὲ διαγωγῆς χάριν ὡς ὑπὶ θέαν ἡ ἄκροσιν,
797 ὅταν ἐπελθῇ, παραγιγνόμενον, ἀλλ' καὶ μὴ παρα-
γένηται τῷ σώματι, παρόντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ
πυθάνεσθαι τὰ μὲν ἀποδεχόμενον τοῖς δὲ δυσ-
kολαίνοντα τῶν πραττομένων.

27. Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων Ἀριστείδης οὔδὲ 'Ρω-

1 συμπαίζων Reiske: παίζων.
2 δεδεμένος Wytenbach: συνδεδεμένος.
3 πρωτεῖον Xylander's version: πρῶτον.
set out benches or seat himself in an armchair or observe a fixed hour for conversing or promenading with his pupils, but jested with them, when it so happened, and drank with them, served in the army or lounged in the market-place with some of them, and finally was imprisoned and drank the poison. He was the first to show that life at all times and in all parts, in all experiences and activities, universally admits philosophy. So this is what we must understand concerning statesmanship also: that foolish men, even when they are generals or secretaries or public orators, do not act as statesmen, but court the mob, deliver harangues, arouse factions, or under compulsion perform public services; but that the man who is really public-spirited and who loves mankind and the State and is careful of the public welfare and truly statesmanlike, that man, although he never put on a uniform, is always acting as a statesman by urging those on who have power, guiding those who need guidance, assisting those who are deliberating, reforming those who act wrongly, encouraging those who are right-minded, making it plain that he is not just casually interested in public affairs and that he goes to the assembly or the council, not for the sake of getting the first seat when there is something serious in prospect or he is summoned, but that when he goes there he goes not merely for amusement as if to see or hear a performance, and that even when he is not there in person he is present in thought and through inquiry, thus approving of some of the proceedings and disapproving of others.

27. For not even Aristeides was often ruler of the
(797) μαίων Κάτων ἦρξε πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν αὐτῶν βιὸν ἐνεργὸν ἀεὶ ταῖς πατρίσι παρέσχον. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα κατ- ὁρθωσει στρατηγῶν, οὐκ ἔλαττον δ’ αὐτοῦ μυημο- νεύται μηδὲ στρατηγοῦντος μηδ’ ἀρχοντος ἔργον περὶ Θεσπάλαν, ὅτε τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς τόπους χαλεποὺς ἐμβαλόντων τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ θορυβο- μένων (ἐπέκειντο γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι βάλλοντες), ἀνακληθεὶς ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαυσε θαρρύνας τὸν τοῦ στρατεύματος τάραχον καὶ φόβον, ἔπειτα διατάξας καὶ διαρμοσάμενος τὴν φάλαγγα συγκεκυμένην ἐξήγαγε βαθὺς καὶ κατέστησεν ἐναντίαν τοὺς πολέμιοις, ὡστ’ ἀπελθεῖν ἐκεῖνος μεταβαλομένους. "Αγίδος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τοῖς πολέμιοις ἐπάγοντος ἢδη τὸ στρά- τευμα συντεταγμένον εἰς μάχην, τῶν προσβυτέρων τις Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπέβοησεν, ὅτι διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῶς ἱάσθαι, δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ "Αργοὺς ἐπαιτίουνεν ἄναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἀκαίρων προθυμιάν ἀνάληψιν βουλόμενην εἰναι, ὡς ὁ Θουκυδίδης φησιν', ὁ δ’ Ἀγις ἀκούσας ἐπείσθη καὶ ἀνεχώρησε. Μενε- κράτει δὲ καὶ δίφρος ἐκεῖνο καθ’ ἡμέραν παρὰ ταῖς θυραῖς τοῦ ἀρχείου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνιστάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἐφοροὶ διεπιθύμαντο καὶ συνεβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἔδοκε γὰρ ἔμφρων ἀνήρ εἶναι καὶ συνετὸς ἱστορεῖσθαι. δίο καὶ παντάπασιν ἢδη τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐξημαυρωμένος δύναμιν καὶ τὰ πολλά κλινήρης διημερευόν, μεταπεμπομένοιν εἰς ἀγορὰν τῶν Ἐφόρων, ὄρμησε μὲν ἐξαναστᾶς

1 ἱάσθαι . . . ἐπαιτίου Thucydides, v. 65: ἱάσασθαι . . . ἐπετείου.
2 βουλόμενην Thucydides: βουλόμενον.
3 Μενεκράτει δὲ Jannot: μὲν, ἐκράτει δὲ.

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Athenians, nor Cato of the Romans, but they spent their whole lives in active service to their native States. And Epameinondas as general gained many great successes, but one deed of his equal to any of them is recorded, which he performed in Thessaly when he was neither general nor magistrate. The generals had led the phalanx into difficult ground and were in confusion (for the enemy were pressing them hard with missile weapons), when he was called out from his place among the infantry; and first by encouraging the army he put an end to confusion and fear, then, after arranging the broken phalanx and putting it in order, he easily led it out and drew it up to face the enemy, so that they changed front and withdrew. And when King Agis, in Arcadia, was already leading against the enemy his army drawn up for battle, one of the elder Spartiates called out to him that he was planning to cure evil with evil, pointing out that his present unseasonable eagerness was an attempt to atone for his culpable retreat from Argos, as Thucydides says. And when Agis heard this, he took the advice and retreated. For Mencrates a chair was placed every day by the door of the house of government, and often the ephors rose up from their session and went to him for information and advice on the most important matters; for he was considered to be a wise man and an intelligent one to be consulted. And therefore, after his physical strength had become utterly exhausted and he had to spend most of the day in bed, when the ephors sent for him to come to the market-place, he got up and set out to walk,

\[\text{Thucydides, v. 65. 2.}\]
(797) βαδίζειν, μόλις δὲ καὶ χαλέπως προερχόμενος, εἶτα
Dt παιδαρίους ἐντυχών καθ’ ὄδον, ἡρώτησεν, εἰ τι
γινόσκουσιν ἀναγκαίοτερον ὅν τοῦ πείθεσθαι δε-
σπότη· τῶν δὲ φησάντων " τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι," τοῦτο
τῆς ύποργίας λογισάμενος πέρας ἀνέστρεψεν
οἶκαδε. δεὶ γὰρ μὴ προαπολείπειν1 τὴν προθυμίαν
τῆς δυνάμεως, ἐγκαταλειφθεῖσαν δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι.
καὶ μὴν Γάιῳ Λαυλίῳ Σκιτῶν ἐχρῆτο συμβουλίω
στρατηγῶν ἀεὶ καὶ πολιτεύομενος, ὡστε καὶ λέγειν
ἐνίος ὑποκρίτην τῶν πράξεων Σκιτῶν ποιητὴν
dὲ τὸν Γάιον εἶναι. Κικέρων δ’ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ τὰ
cάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν συμβουλευμάτων, οἷς
ἀφήσεν ὑπατεύων τὴν πατρίδα, μετὰ Ποπλίου
Νιγιδίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου συνθέειναι.
Ε 28. Οὕτω διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων τῆς πολιτείας
οὐδέν ἀποκωλύει τοὺς γέροντας ωφελεῖν τὸ κοινὸν
ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων, λόγου καὶ γνώμης καὶ παρ-
ρησίας καὶ φροντίδος πινυτῆς, ὡς δὴ ποιηταὶ λέ-
γουσιν. οὐ γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐδ’ οἱ πόδες, οὐδ’
ἡ τοῦ σώματος ρώμη κτήμα καὶ μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς
πόλεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς
ψυχῆς κάλλη, δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ
φρόνησις· ὅν οὐκέ καὶ βραδέως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολαμ-
βανότων, ἀτεκνῶ ἐστὶ τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ τὸν ἄγρον
F ἀπολαύει καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα καὶ κτήματα,
κοινὴ δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς πολίταις μηκέτι
χρησίμους εἶναι διὰ τῶν χρόνων, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν
ὑπηρετικῶν παραιρούμενον δυνάμεων, ὅσον ταῖς

1 προαπολείπειν Coraes: προαπολιπέιν.
but proceeded slowly and with difficulty; then, meeting some boys on the way, he asked them if they knew of anything stronger than the necessity of obeying one's master, and they replied, "Not being able to." Accounting this as the limit of his service, he turned round and went home. For a man's zeal ought not to fail before his strength, but when it is deserted by strength, it should not be forced. Certainly Scipio, both as general and as statesman, always made use of Gaius Laelius as his adviser, so that some people even said that Scipio was the actor, but Gaius the author, of his deeds. And Cicero himself confesses that the noblest and greatest of the plans through which as consul he restored his country to safety were devised with the help of the philosopher Publius Nigidius.

28. There are, then, many kinds of political activity by which old men may readily benefit the commonwealth by giving of their best, namely reason, judgement, frankness, and "sapience profound," as poets say; for not only do our hands or our feet or the strength of our body constitute a possession and a part of the State, but first of all our soul and the beauties of the soul—justice, moderation, and wisdom. And since these acquire their proper quality late and slowly, it is absurd that house, farm, and other property or possessions should derive all the benefit from aged men but that they should be no longer of use to their country in general and their fellow-citizens by reason of their age, for age does not so much diminish our power to perform

* Plutarch seems to have no particular poet in mind, but merely indicates that he is using poetic diction.
(797) ἡγεμονικαῖς καὶ πολιτικαῖς προστίθησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἕρμων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἀχειρας καὶ ἀποδας ἐντεταμένους δὲ τοῖς μορίοις δημιουργοῦσιν, αἰνιτ-τόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἑλάχιστα δεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργούντων, ε ἐν τὸν λόγον ἐνεργόν, ὡς προσήκει, καὶ γόνιμον ἔχωσιν.

* Plutarch seems to be in error; at any rate the extant Hermae which represent elderly men do not differ in the
inferior services as it increases our power for leading and governing. And that is the reason why they make the older Hermæ without hands or feet, but with their private parts stiff, indicating figuratively that there is no need whatsoever of old men who are active by their body’s use, if they keep their mind, as it should be, active and fertile.

particular mentioned from those which represent younger men.
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT
(PRAECEPTA GERENDAE
REIPUBLICAE)
INTRODUCTION

This essay is addressed to Menemachus, a young man who has asked Plutarch for advice concerning public life. Nothing further is known of the young man, except that Pardalas of Sardis is mentioned as his fellow-citizen (813 F; 825 D); but some of those to whom Plutarch's various essays are addressed are known to be real persons, and it is, therefore, probable that Menemachus also actually existed. Plutarch held at different times various public offices, and moreover he was highly regarded by his fellow-citizens and many others as a guide, philosopher, and friend; it is, therefore, not unnatural that a young man who was thinking of entering upon a political career should appeal to him for advice and counsel, though it is also possible that Plutarch wrote the essay without being asked to do so and addressed it to Menemachus merely as a matter of form.

There is nothing profoundly philosophical and very little purely theoretical to be found here. Greece, like most of the known world, was a part of the Roman Empire, and the exercise of statecraft on a large scale was virtually limited to Romans. The ancient Greek city-states retained, however, their local self-government, subject to the supervision of the proconsul; they could enter into agreements with each other, and could send envoys to Rome if
occasion arose. A man could, therefore, find useful and honourable occupation in public life, as Plutarch himself did. Although he frequently uses the great men of the great days of Greece as examples, Plutarch gives the sort of advice which would be useful to one engaged in such political activity as was open to a Greek in his time. Some of his advice is applicable only to his own times and its conditions, but the politician or statesman of any age may recognize many of his precepts as common sense, the application of which is limited to no time or place. The essay is, then, of interest, not only because it throws a sidelight upon the conditions in Greece in Plutarch's time, but also on account of its own inherent value.

The reference to troubles which took place "recently under Domitian" (815 D, Chapter 19) may indicate that the essay was written not long after A.D. 96, the date of Domitian's death.
ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

798 1. Εἰ πρὸς ἄλλο τι χρήσασθαι καλῶς ἐστὶν ἔχον, ὡς Μενέμαχε, τῷ

οὖτις τοι τὸν μύθον ὁνόσσεται ὄσσοι 'Αχαιοί, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἱκεο μύθων,

Β καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προτρεπομένους τῶν φιλοσόφων διδάσκοντας δὲ μηδὲν μηδ' ὑποτιθεμένους· ὅμοιοι γάρ εἰσὶ τοῖς τοὺς λύχνους προμύττουσιν ἔλαιον δὲ μὴ ἐγχέουσιν. ὅρων οὖν σε παρωρμημένον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι

μύθων τε ῥητήρ' ἐμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων,

ἐπειδὴ χρόνων οὐκ ἔχεις ἄνδρὸς φιλοσόφου βίων ὑπαιθρον ἐν πράξει πολιτικάς καὶ δημοσίως ἀγώσι κατανοῆσαι καὶ γενέσθαι παραδειγμάτων

ἔργῳ μὴ λόγῳ περαινομένων θεατῆς, ἀξίοῖς δὲ παραγγέλματα λαβεῖν πολιτικά, τὴν μὲν Ἀρισταρχίος ὄντος ἐμναυτῷ προσήκουσαν εἰναὶ νομίζω, τὸ δ' ἐργὸν εὐχόμαι καὶ τῆς σῆς ἄξιον σπουδὴς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας γενέσθαι· τοῖς δὲ παραδείγμασι ποικιλωτέρους, ὡσπερ ἡξίωσας, ἔχρησάμην.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποκείσθω πολιτεία καθάπερ 158
1. If, Menemachus, it is suitable to apply to anything at all the saying

No one of all the Achaeans finds fault with the words thou hast uttered,
Nor will oppose them in speech; and yet thou hast reached no conclusion,

it may be applied to those philosophers who urge people to take lessons from them, but give no real instruction or advice; for they are like those who trim the lamps, but fail to pour in oil. Therefore, seeing that the desire has been aroused in you a Speaker of speeches to be, and also a doer of actions in your native State, as befits your noble birth, since you have not time to gain an understanding of a philosopher's life in the open among affairs of State and public conflicts or to be a spectator of examples worked out in deed, not merely in word, and since you ask for some precepts of statecraft, I think it is not at all fitting that I should refuse, and I pray that the result may be worthy of your zeal and of my goodwill; and, as you requested, I have made use of a rather large variety of examples.

2. First, then, at the base of political activity there

a Homer, Il. ix. 55; cf. Moralia, 795 b.
b Homer, Il. ix. 443; cf. Moralia, 795 e.
(798) ἔδαφος βέβαιον καὶ ἵσχυρὸν ἡ προαίρεσις ἁρχὴν ἔχουσα κρίσιν καὶ λόγον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πτοιαν ὑπὸ δόξης κενὴς ἡ φιλονεκίας τινὸς ἡ πράξεων ἐτέρων ἀπορίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἰς οὐδὲν ἔστιν οἴκοι χρηστῶν, ἐν ἁγορᾷ διατρίβουσι, κἂν μὴ δέωνται, τὸν πλείστον χρόνον, οὕτως ἔνιοι τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν ὕδιον ἀλλὸ πράττειν ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἐμβάλλουσιν ἐαυτοὺς εἰς δημόσια πράγματα, τῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγωγῇ χρώμενοι. πολλοὶ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τύχης ἁψάμενοι τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἀναπλησθέντες οὐκέτι βαδίως ἀπελθεῖν δύνανται, ταύτῳ τοῖς ἐμβάσιν εἰς πλοίον αἰώρας χάρων εἰτ᾽ ἀποσπασθέισιν εἰς πέλαγος πεπονθότες· ἐξω βλέπουσι ναυτιῶντες καὶ ταραττόμενοι, μένειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες·

λευκᾶς καθύπερθε γαλάνας
eὐπρόσωπῳ σφᾶς παρήμισαν ἔρωτες ναίας
κλαῖδος¹ χαραξιπόντου² δαμονίαν ἐς ὑβριν.

οὕτω καὶ μᾶλιστα διαβάλλουσι τὸ πράγμα τῷ
Ε μετανοεῖν καὶ ἀσχάλλειν, ὅταν ἡ δόξαν ἐλπίζαντες ἀδοξία περιπέσωσιν, ἡ φοβερὰ προσδοκήσαντες ἐτέρους ἔσεθαί διὰ δύναμιν εἰς πράγματα κινδύνους ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχᾶς ἀγωνταί. ὂ δ᾽ ὡς μᾶλιστα προσήκον ἐαυτῷ καὶ κάλλιστον ἔργον ἀπὸ γνώμης καὶ³ λογισμῷ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν ἀρξάμενος ὑπὸ οὐδὲν ἐκπλήττεται τούτων οὐδ᾽ ἀναστρέφεται τὴν γνώμην. οὔτε⁴ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ἐργασίᾳ καὶ χρηματισμῷ προσιτέον τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὡς οἱ περὶ Στρατοκλέα

¹ κλαῖδος Hermann: κλίδος.
² χαραξιπόντου Xylander: χαραξεῖ πόντου.
³ καὶ added by Reiske.
⁴ οὔτε Coraes: οὐδὲ.
must be, as a firm and strong foundation, a choice of policy arising from judgement and reason, not from mere impulse due to empty opinion or contentiousness or lack of other activities. For just as those who have no useful occupation at home spend most of their time in the market-place, even if there is nothing they need there, just so some men, because they have no business of their own that is worth serious attention, throw themselves into public affairs, treating political activity as a pastime, and many who have become engaged in public affairs by chance and have had enough of them are no longer able to retire from them without difficulty; they are in the same predicament as persons who have gone aboard a vessel to be rocked a bit and then have been driven out into the open sea; they turn their gaze outside, seasick and much disturbed, but obliged to stay where they are and endure their present plight.

Over the bright calm sea
The fair-faced loves went past them to the mad
Outrage of the ship's oars that plough the deep.α

These men cast the greatest discredit upon public life by regretting their course and being unhappy when, after hoping for glory, they have fallen into disgrace or, after expecting to be feared by others on account of their power, they are drawn into affairs which involve dangers and popular disorders. But the man who has entered upon public life from conviction and reasoning, as the activity most befitting him and most honourable, is not frightened by any of these things, nor is his conviction changed. For neither is it right to enter upon public life as a gainful trade, as

α Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 396, ascribed to Simonides.
καὶ Δρομοκλείδην ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσὸν θέρος, τὸ βήμα
μετὰ παιδίας οὕτως ονομάζοντες, ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν· οὐθ’ οἶον ἐπιλήπτους ὕπο πάθους ἀφίων γενομένους, ὡς Γαῖος Γράκχος ἐπὶ θερμοὶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ἀτυχήμασιν ἀπωτάτω τῶν κοινῶν τὸν βίον θέμενος, εἴθ’ ὑβρεὶ τινῶν καὶ λοιδορία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναφλεξθείς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς, ἐνέπεσε τοῖς κοινοῖς· καὶ ταχὺ μὲν ἐπιλήσθη πραγμάτων καὶ δόξης, ἦστῶν δὲ παύσασθαι καὶ ἰδέμενος μεταβολῆς καὶ ἰσονίας
799 οὐχ εὗρε καταθέσθαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διὰ μέγεθος ἀλλὰ προαιρόλετο· τοὺς τε πρὸς ἀμιλλαν ἢ δόξαν ὦσπερ ὑποκριτᾶς εἰς θέατρον ἀναπλάττοντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνάγκη μετανοεῖν, ἢ δουλεύοντας ὅν ἀρχεῖν ἀξιοῦσιν ἢ προσκρούοντας οἷς ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλουσιν. ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ εἰς φρέαρ οἴμαι τὴν πολιτείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐμπίπτοντας αὐτομάτως καὶ παραλόγως ταράττεσθαι καὶ μετανοεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καταβαίνοντας ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ καθ’ ἰσονίαν χρησθαί τε τοῖς πράγμασι μετρίως καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν δυσκολαίνειν, ἀτε δὴ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν πράξεων ἐχοντας τέλος.

Β 3. Οὕτω δὴ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπερείσαντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ποιήσαντας ἀτρεπτὸν καὶ δυσμετάθετον, τρέπεσθαι χρὴ πρὸς κατανόησιν τοῦ ἦθους τῶν πολιτῶν, δ’ μάλιστα συγκραθεῖν ἐκ πάντων ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ ἰσχύει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖθὺς αὐτὸν

1 θέρος] δέρος Salmasius.
Stratocles and Dromocleides and their set used to invite each other to come to the golden harvest (for so they called the orators’ platform in jest); nor ought we to enter upon it as if we were suddenly seized by an onset of strong emotion, as Gaius Gracchus did, who, when his brother’s misfortunes were still fresh, withdrew so far as possible from public affairs and then, inflamed by anger because certain persons insulted and reviled him, rushed into public life. And although he was quickly satiated with public affairs and fame, yet when he tried to stop and wished for a change and a quiet life, he found that his power was too great to be laid down but before he could lay it down he perished. And those who make themselves up for political competition or the race for glory, as actors do for the stage, must necessarily regret their action, since they must either serve those whom they think they should rule or offend those whom they wish to please. On the contrary, I believe that those who, like men who fall into a well, stumble into public life by mere chance and unexpectedly must be cast into confusion and regret their course, whereas those who enter into it quietly, as the result of preparation and reflection, will be moderate in their conduct of affairs and will not be discomposed by anything, inasmuch as they have honour itself and nothing else as the purpose of their actions.

3. So, after thus determining their choice in their own minds and making it invariable and unchangeable, statesmen must apply themselves to the understanding of the character of the citizens, which shows itself as in the highest degree a compound of all their individual characters and is powerful. For any attempt
(799) ἔπιχειρεῖν ἠθοποιεῖν καὶ μεθαρμόττειν τοῦ δήμου τὴν φύσιν οὐ βάδιον οὐδ᾽ ἀσφαλές, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνον δεόμενον πολλοὶ καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. δεῖ δ᾽, ὥσπερ οἶνος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἥθων κρατεῖται τοῦ πίνοντος ἡσυχία δὲ διαθάλπων καὶ Κ κατακεραννύμενος αὐτὸς ἠθοποιεῖ τὸν πίνοντα καὶ μεθίστησιν, οὕτω τὸν πολιτικόν, ἐως ἃν ἰσχυν ἀγωγὸν ἐκ δόξης καὶ πίστεως κατασκευάσηται, τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἦθεσιν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τούτων, ἐπιστάμενον οἷς χαίρειν ὁ δήμος καὶ υφ᾽ ἄν ἀγεσθαι πέφυκεν. οἷον ὁ Αθηναίων εὐκίνητός ἦστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμετάθετος πρὸς ἔλεον, μᾶλλον οξέως ὑπονοεῖν ἡ διδάσκεσθαι καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν βουλόμενος: ὥσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἄδοξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς βοηθεῖν προθυμότερος, οὕτω τῶν λόγων τοὺς παγινώδεις καὶ γελοίους ἀσπάζεται καὶ προτιμᾶ: τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ σκοπεύονταν ἡκιστα δυσχεραίνει. φοβερός ἦστιν ἄχρι τῶν ἀρχόντων, εἴτε φιλάνθρωπος ἄχρι τῶν πολεμίων. ἔτερον ἤθος τοῦ Καρχηδονίων δήμου, πικρόν, σκυθρωπόν, ὑπήκοον τοῖς ἄρχοσι, βαρύ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ἀγενέστατον ἐν φόβοις, ἀγρυgmentατον ἐν ὀργαῖς, ἐπίμονον τοῖς γνωσθείσι, πρὸς παϊδιάν καὶ χάρων ἀνήδυντον καὶ σκληρόν· οὐκ ἄν οὕτω, Κλέωνος ἄξιοντος αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ τέθυκε καὶ ξένους ἐστιάν μέλλει, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερθέσθαι, γελάζοντες ἀν καὶ κροτήσαντες ἀνέστησαν· οὖν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὡρτυγος ἐν τῷ λέγειν διαφυγόντος

1 προθυμότερος] προθυμότατος Reiske.

* The story of the adjournment of the assembly is told by Plutarch in the *Life of Nicias*, chap. vii. p. 527.
on the part of the statesman to produce by himself at the very outset a change of character and nature in the people will not easily succeed, nor is it safe; but it is a matter that requires a long space of time and great power. But just as wine is at first controlled by the character of the drinker but gradually, as it warms his whole body and becomes mingled therewith, itself forms the drinker's character and changes him, just so the statesman, until he has by his reputation and by public confidence in him built up his leadership, must accommodate himself to the people's character as he finds it and make that the object of his efforts, knowing by what things the people is naturally pleased and led. For example, the Athenian populace is easily moved to anger, easily turned to pity, more willing to suspect quickly than to be informed at leisure; as they are readier to help humble persons of no reputation, so they welcome and especially esteem facetious and amusing speeches; while they take most delight in those who praise them, they are least inclined to be angry with those who make fun of them; they are terrible even to their chief magistrates, then kindly even to their enemies. Quite different is the character of the Carthaginian people; it is bitter, sullen, subservient to their magistrates, harsh to their subjects, most abject when afraid, most savage when enraged, stubborn in adhering to its decisions, disagreeable and hard in its attitude towards playfulness and urbanity. Never would these people, if a Cleon had asked them to postpone the meeting of the assembly on the ground that he had made sacrifice and had guests to entertain, have adjourned the meeting amid laughter and the clapping of hands; nor would they, when a quail escaped from Alcibiades'
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ēk toû ἐματίου, φιλοτίμως συνθηρεύσαντες ἀπ- 
Ε ἐδωκαν αὖ1. ἄλλα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν αὖ, ὡς ὑβρίζοντας 
καὶ τρυφώντας· ὅπου καὶ "Ἀνώνα λέοντι χρώμενον 
σκευοφόρω παρά τὰς στρατείας αἰτιασάμενοι τυ-
ραννικά φρονεῖν ἐξῆλασαν. οἴμαι δ' ἂν ἔγγε 
μηδὲ Θηβαῖους ἀποσχέσθαι γραμμάτων πολεμίων 
kυρίους γενομένους, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι Φιλίππου γραμ-
ματοφόρους λαβόντες ἐπιστολὴν ἐπιγεγραμμένην 
'Ολυμπιάδι κομίζοντας οὐκ ἔλυσαν οὐδ' ἀπεκάλυψαν 
ἀπόρρητον ἄνδρὸς ἀποδήμου πρὸς γυναῖκα φιλο-
φροσύνη· οὐδὲ γ' αὖ πάλιν Ἀθηναίους, 'Επα-
μεινώνδου πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὴ 

F θέλοντος ἀλλ' ἀναστάντος ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ διὰ 
τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀπόντος, εὐκόλως 
ἐνεγκείν τὴν ὑπεροψίαν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἄνδρὸς· 
pολλοῦ δ' ἂν ἔτι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας δῆσαι τὴν 
Στρατοκλέους ὑβριν ὑπομεῖναι καὶ βωμολοχίαν, 
πείσαντος μὲν αὐτοὺς εὐαγγέλια θύειν ὡς νεικη-
κότας, ἐπεὶ δὲ, τῆς ἡττῆς ἀληθῶς ἀπαγγελθεῖσθαι, 
800 ἡγανάκτουν, ἐρωτῶντος τὸν δήμον τι ἡδίκηται, 
τρεῖς ἡμέρας δι' αὐτὸν ἢδέως γεγονός. οἱ μὲν 
οὐν αὐλικὸι κόλακες ὅσπερ ὄρνιθοθῆραι μιμοῦμενοί 
τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συνεζομοιοῦντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑποδύονται 
μάλιστα καὶ προσάγοντες δι' ἀπάτης τοῖς βασιλεύσι 
τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ μιμεῖσθαι μὲν οὐ προσήκει τοῦ 
δήμου τὸν τρόπον, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι πρὸς 

1 ἀπέδωκαν αὖ Reiske: ἀπέδωκαν.

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a See Life of Alcibiades, chap. x. p. 195.
b Cf. Life of Demetrius, chap. xi.
cloak while he was speaking, have joined eagerly in hunting it down and then have given it back to him; no, they would have put them both to death for their insolence and their flippancy, seeing that they banished Hanno on the charge of aspiring to be tyrant, because he used a lion on his campaigns to carry his luggage. And I do not believe that the Thebans either, if they had obtained control of their enemies’ letters, would have refrained from reading them, as the Athenians, when they captured Philip’s mail-carriers with a letter addressed to Olympias, refrained from breaking the seal and making known an affectionate private message of an absent husband to his wife. Nor, on the other hand, do I believe that the Athenians would have borne with good temper the contemptuous pride of Epameinondas, when he refused to reply to the accusation against him but rose from his seat and went out from the theatre through the assembly to the gymnasium. And I think, too, that the Spartans would have been far from enduring the insolence and buffoonery of Stratocles, who persuaded the Athenians to make sacrifices on the ground that they had won a victory, and then, after a true report of their defeat had been received, when they were angry with him, asked the people what wrong he had done them seeing that, thanks to him, they had been happy for three days. Now court flatterers, like bird-catchers, by imitating the voices of kings and assimilating themselves to them, insinuate themselves deeply into their good graces and decoy them by deceit; but for the statesman it is fitting, not to imitate the character of his people, but to understand it and to employ for each type those means by
(800) ἕκαστον, οἷς ἀλωσιμὸς ἔστιν· ἢ γὰρ ἄγνοια τῶν ἠθῶν ἀστοχίας φέρει καὶ διαπτῶσεις οὐχ ἦττονας ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ ταῖς φιλίαις τῶν βασιλέων.

4. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτῶν ηθὸς ἵσχυοντα δεῖ καὶ πιστευόμενον ἤδη πειρᾶσθαι ρυθμίζειν ἀτρέμα

Β πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ὑπάγοντα καὶ πράως μεταχειριζόμενον· ἐργώδης γὰρ ἡ μετάθεσις τῶν πολλῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναπεπταμένῳ βιωσόμενος, ἐξάσκει καὶ κατακόσμει τὸν τρόπον· εἶ δὲ μὴ βάδιον ἀπαλλάξαυ παντάπασι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν κακίαν, ὅσα γοῦν ἔπανθει μάλιστα καὶ προπίπτει¹ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφαιρῶν καὶ κολούων. ἰκούεις γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Θεομοστοκλῆς ἀπετέθαι τῆς πολιτείας διανοούμενος ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κώμων ἑαυτοῦ, ἀγρυπνῶν δὲ καὶ νήφων καὶ πεφροντικῶς ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις, ὡς οὖν ἦν καθεύδειν αὐτὸν τὸ Μιλτιάδον τρόπαιον.

Γ Περικλῆς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἔξηλλαξεν αὐτὸν ἡρέμα βαδίζειν καὶ πράως διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἄει συνεστηκὸς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ τὴν χείρα συνέχειν ἐντὸς τῆς περιβολῆς καὶ μίαν ὄδον πορεύεσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον. οὐ γὰρ εὐμεταχειριστὸν οὐδὲ βάδιον ἀλῶνα τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀλώσων ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ὀχλος;² ἀλλ' ἀγαπητὸν, εἰ μὴ ὅπει μήτε φωνῆ πτυρόμενος ὥσπερ θηρίον ὑποπτον καὶ ποικίλον ἐνδέχοιτο τὴν ἐπιστασίαν. Ὁ τοῖνυν οὐδὲ

D τούτων ἐπιμελητέον ἐστὶ παρέργως, ἦποι τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ θῆσος ἀμελητέον ὅπως ἢ ψόγου

¹ προπίπτει Coraes: προσπίπτει.
² ὀχλος Bernardakis (ὁ ὀχλος Cobet): ὀχλον or ὀχλου.
which it can be brought under his control. For ignorance of their characters leads to no less serious mistakes and failures in free States than in the friendships of kings.

4. So, then, the statesman who already has attained to power and has won the people's confidence should try to train the character of the citizens, leading them gently towards that which is better and treating them with mildness; for it is a difficult task to change the multitude. But do you yourself, since you are henceforth to live as on an open stage, educate your character and put it in order; and if it is not easy wholly to banish evil from the soul, at any rate remove and repress those faults which are most flourishing and conspicuous. For you know the story that Themistocles, when he was thinking of entering upon public life, withdrew from drinking-parties and carousals; he was wakeful at night, was sober and deeply thoughtful, explaining to his friends that Miltiades' trophy would not let him sleep. And Pericles also changed his personal habits of life, so that he walked slowly, spoke gently, always showed a composed countenance, kept his hand under his cloak, and trod only one path—that which led to the assembly and the senate. For a populace is not a simple and easy thing for any chance person to subject to that control which is salutary; but one must be satisfied if the multitude accept authority without shying, like a suspicious and capricious beast, at face or voice. Since, then, the statesman must not treat even these matters carelessly, ought he to neglect the things which affect his life and character,

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"Miltiades was the victorious general at Marathon, 490 B.C."
καθαρά καὶ διαβολῆς ἀπάσης; οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγουσιν ἐν κοινῷ καὶ πράττουσιν οἱ πολυτενόμενοι μόνον εὐθύνας διδόσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν πολυπραγμονεῖται καὶ κόιτῃ καὶ γάμος καὶ παιδία καὶ σπουδὴ πᾶσα. τί γὰρ δεὶ λέγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὃν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ πάντων ἐνεργότατον ὄντα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀνήτητον ἀπώλεσεν ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἀναγωγία καὶ θρασύτης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησε διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν; ὅπου καὶ Κύμωνος οὗτοι Ετὸν οἶνον, καὶ Ἡρωμαίοι Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔχοντες λέγειν τὸν ὑπνὸν ἢτιωντο. Πομπήιον δὲ Μάγγον ἐλοιδόρον οἱ ἐχθροί, παραφυλάξαντες ἐνὶ δακτύλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν κνώμενον. ὃς γὰρ ἐν προσώπῳ φακὸς καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν δυσχεραίνεται μᾶλλον ἡ στίγματα καὶ κολοβότητες καὶ οὐλαί τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος, οὕτω τὰ μικρὰ φαίνεται μεγάλα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐν ἡγεμονικοῖς καὶ πολιτικοῖς ὀρόμενα βίοις διὰ δόξαν, ἢν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας ἔχουσιν, ὃς πράγματος μεγάλου καὶ καθαρεύειν ἄξιόν πάσης ἀτοπίας καὶ πλημ- 

F memelias. εἰκότως οὖν Λιούος Ἁρδουσθὸς ὁ δῆμο- αγωγὸς εὐδοκίμησεν ὅτι, τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μέρη κάτοπτα τοῖς γειτνίῳς ἔχοντος καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τινός ὑπίσχυομένου ταῦτ' ἀποστρέφειν καὶ μεταθήσειν ἀπὸ πέντε μόνων ταλάντων, ἢ "δέκα," ἐφι, "λαβῶν ὠλὴν μου ποιήσων κατα- φανῆ τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα πάντες ὅρωσιν οἱ πολῖται πῶς διαιτῶμαι." καὶ γὰρ ἢν ἀνὴρ σώφρων καὶ

1 Λιούος Xylander: λεούος or ιουλίος.

a Cf. Moralia, 972 f.

b Cf. Moralia, 89 e, with note a in Babbitt’s translation

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that they may be clear of blame and ill report of every kind? For not only are men in public life held responsible for their public words and actions, but people busy themselves with all their concerns: dinner, love affair, marriage, amusement, and every serious interest. What need is there, for instance, to speak of Alcibiades, who, though he was most active of all the citizens in public affairs and was undefeated as general, was ruined by his audacious and dissolute habits in private life, and, because of his extravagance and lack of restraint, deprived the State of the benefit of his other good qualities? Why, the Athenians blamed Cimon for wine-drinking, and the Romans, having nothing else to say, blamed Scipio for sleeping; and the enemies of Pompey the Great, observing that he scratched his head with one finger, reviled him for it. For, just as a mole or a wart on the face is more unpleasant than brand-marks, mutilations, or scars on other parts of the body, so small faults appear great when observed in the lives of leaders and statesmen on account of the opinion which the majority has of governing and public office, regarding it as a great thing which ought to be clean of all eccentricities and errors. With good reason, therefore, did Livius Drusus the tribune gain in reputation because, when many parts of his house were exposed to the view of his neighbours and an artisan promised to turn them the other way and change their position for only five talents, Drusus replied, “Take ten and make the whole house open to view, that all the citizens may see how I live.” For he was a man of temperate and (L.C.L.), where the habit is spoken of as a mark of effeminacy and licentiousness.
κόσμος. ἵως δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἔδει τῆς καταφανείας αὐτῶ· διορώσι γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ πάνυ βαθέως περιαμπέχεσθαι δοκοῦντα τῶν πολυτευ-801 μένων ἦθη καὶ βουλεύματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ βίους, οὐχ ἣττον ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἡ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπι-τηθεμάτων τῶν μὲν φιλοῦντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες τῶν δὲ δυσχεραίοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες.

Τί οὖν δή; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀσελγῶς καὶ τεθρυμμένως ζωσίν αἱ πόλεις χρῶνται; καὶ γὰρ αἱ κιττώσαι λίθους καὶ οἱ ναυτίωντες ἀλμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βρώματα διώκουσι πολλάκις, εἰτ’ ὁλίγον ὑστερον ἔξεπτυσαν καὶ ἀπεστάφησαν οὕτω καὶ οἱ δῆμοι διὰ τρυφὴν καὶ ὑβρίν ἡ βελτιώνων ἀπορία δημα-Β γωγῶν χρῶνται τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι βδελυγτόμενοι καὶ καταφρονοῦντες, εἶτα χαίροντι τοιούτων εἰς αὐτοὺς λεγομένων, οἶα Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς τὸν Δήμον αὐτὸν λέγοντα ποιεῖ·

λαβοῦ, λαβοῦ τῆς χειρὸς ὡς τάχιστα μου,
μέλλω στρατηγὸν χειροτονεῖν Ἀγύρριον·
καὶ πάλιν αὐτοῦντα λεκάνην καὶ πτερόν, ὅπως ἐμέση, λέγοντα

προσίσταται μου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα Μαντίας
καὶ

βόσκει δυσώδη Κέφαλον, ἐχθίστην νόσον.

ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος, ὑπισχυομένου τι Κάρβωνος
καὶ προστιθέντος ὀρκον δῆ τινα καὶ ἀράν, ἀντ-/ώμοσεν ὁμοῦ μὴ πιστεῦειν. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι

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[a] Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 652, no. 185; on Agyrrhius
cf. Aristophanes, Plutus, 176.

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well-ordered life. And perhaps he had no need of that exposure to the public view; for the people see through the characters, counsels, acts, and lives of public men, even those that seem to be very thickly cloaked; they love and admire one man and dislike and despise another quite as much for his private as for his public practices.

"But," you say, "do not States put in office men who live licentiously and wantonly?" They do, and pregnant women often long for stones, and seasick persons for salt pickles and the like, which then a little later they spew out and detest. So the people of democracies, because of the luxury of their own lives or through sheer perversity, or for lack of better leaders, make use of those who happen to turn up, though they loathe and despise them, then take pleasure in hearing such things said about them as the comic poet Plato puts into the mouth of the People itself:

Take, take my hand as quickly as you can;
I'm going to choose Agyrrhius general

and again, when he makes the People ask for a basin and a feather in order to vomit and then say,

Beside my platform Mantias takes his stand,

and

It feeds foul Cephalus, most hateful pest.

And the Roman people, when Carbo promised something and confirmed his promise with an oath and a curse, unanimously took a counter-oath that it did not trust him. And at Lacedaemon, when a

* From the same play as the preceding.
C τινός Δημοσθένους¹ ἀνδρὸς ἀκολάστου γνώμην 
(801) εἰπόντος ἀρμόζουσαν, ἀπέρριψεν δ' Ἰομός, οἱ δ' Ἠφοροι κληρώσαντες ἕνα τῶν γερόντων ἐκέλευσαν εἰπεῖν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον, ὡσπερ εἰς καθαρὸν ἀγγείον ἐκ ρυπαροῦ μετεράσαντες,² ὅπως εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς πολλοῖς. οὕτω μεγάλην ἔχει ῥοπήν ἐν πολιτείᾳ πίστεις ἥθους καὶ τοῦνατίον.

5. Οὐ μήν ἀμελητέον γε διὰ τοῦτο τῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἀρετῇ θεμένους τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ρητορικὴν νομίσαντας³ μή δημιουργὸν ἀλλὰ τοι τυγχάνον εἶναι πειθοῦς, ἐπανορθωτέον τὸ τοῦ Μενάνδρου

τρόπος ἐσθ᾽ ὁ πείθων τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐ λόγος: 
καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρόπος καὶ ὁ λόγος: εἰ μή νη Ἰδία φήσει 
tis, ὡς τὸν κυβερνήτην ἀγεῖν τὸ πλοῖον οὐ τὸ πη-

D δάλιον, καὶ τὸν ῥητέα στρέφειν τὸν ῥητὸν οὐ τὸν 
χαλινόν, οὕτω πόλιν πείθειν οὐ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ 
χρωμένην ὡσπερ οἶαι καὶ χαλινῷ τῆς πολιτικῆς 
ἀρετῆς, ἦπερ⁴ εὐστροφότατον ζῷον, ὡς φησὶ Πλά-

των, οἶον ἐκ πρύμνης ἀποτομένην καὶ κατευθύνουσαν. 
ὁποὺ γὰρ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διογενεῖς, ὡς Ὅμηρος φησίν, ἀλουργίας καὶ σκήπτρους καὶ 

δορυφόρους καὶ θεῶν χρησμοὺς ἑξογκούσων ἑαυτοὺς, 
καὶ δουλοῦμενοι τῇ σεμνότητι τοῦ πολλοῦ ὡς

¹ Δημοσθένους] Τιμοθένους Madvig.
² μετεράσαντες Dübner: μετακεράσαντες.
³ νομίσαντας Madvig: νομίσαντες εἶναι.
⁴ ἦπερ Capps (cf. Plato's ἦ): ὅπερ.

dissolute man named Demosthenes made a desirable motion, the people rejected it, but the ephors chose by lot one of the elders and told him to make that same motion, in order that it might be made acceptable to the people, thus pouring, as it were, from a dirty vessel into a clean one. So great is the importance, in a free State, of confidence or lack of confidence in a man’s character.

5. However, we should not on this account neglect the charm and power of eloquence and ascribe everything to virtue, but, considering oratory to be, not the creator of persuasion but certainly its co-worker, we should correct Menander’s line,

The speaker’s nature, not his speech, persuades, a

for both his nature and his speech do so; unless, indeed, one is to affirm that just as the helmsman, not the tiller, steers the ship, and the rider, not the rein, turns the horse, so political virtue, employing, not speech, but the speaker’s character as tiller or rein, sways a State, laying hold of it and directing it, as it were, from the stern, which is, in fact, as Plato says, b the easiest way of turning an animal about. For those great and, as Homer calls them, “Zeus-descended” kings pad themselves out with purple robes and sceptres and guards and divine oracles, and although they enslaved the multitude by their grandeur, as if they were superior beings, they

b Critias, 109 c “only it was not our bodies that they [the gods] constrained by bodily force, like shepherds guiding their flocks by stroke of staff, but they directed from the stern, where the living creature is easiest to turn about (ἡ μάλιστα εὐτροφον ζωη), laying hold on the soul by persuasion, as by a rudder, according to their own disposition” (trans. R. G. Bury in L.C.L.).
κρείττονες, ὃμως ἐβούλοντο "μῦθων ῥητῆρες" εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἦμελουν τῆς τοῦ λέγειν χάριτος,
οὐδ’ ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ’ ἄνδρες ἀριστερεύει τελέσον,
Ε οὔδε Δίως Βουλαίου μόνον ἔχρηζον οὐδ’ "Ἀρεος
Ἐνυαλίου καί Στρατίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
Καλλιόπην παρεκάλουν

ἡ δὴ βασιλεὺς ἃμ’ αἰδοίοισιν ὀπήδει,
πραύνουσα πειθοὶ καὶ κατάδουσα τῶν δήμων τὸ
αὐθάδες καὶ βίαιον. η’ ποῦ δυνατὸν ἄνθρωπον ίδιώ-
tὴν εξ ἵματίου καὶ σχήματος δημοτικοῦ πόλιν ἄγειν
βουλομένον ἐξισχύσαι καὶ κρατήσαι τῶν πολλῶν,
εἰ μή λόγον ἔχοι συμπείθοντα καὶ προσαγόμενον;

F οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰ πλοῖα κυβερνῶτες ἔτεροις χρώνται
κελευσταίς, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὲν ὀφείλει
τὸν κυβερνῶντα νοῦν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐγκε-
λεύομενον λόγον, ὅπως μὴ δήται φωνῆς ἀλλοτρίας
μηδ’ ἁσπερ Ἰφικράτης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστο-
φώντα καταρρητορευόμενος λέγη "βελτίων μὲν
ὁ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὑποκρίτης δρᾶμα δὲ τοῦμὸν
ἀμεινον," μηδὲ πολλάκις δήται τῶν Ἑὐρυπιδείων
ἐκεῖνων

εἴθ’ ἦν ἄφωνον σπέρμα δυστήνων βροτῶν.

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φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ’ ἄνθρωποις ἔχειν
φωνήν, ἵν’ ἴσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.

1 μόνον Benseler: μόνου.
2 δὴ γὰρ καὶ Hesiod.
3 κατάδουσα, suggested by Wyttenbach (also καταδέουσα, καταιδούσα Bernardakis): καταδοῦσα.

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wished nevertheless to be "speakers of words" and they did not neglect the charm of speech,

Nor the assemblies in which men make themselves greatly distinguished,

and they worshipped not only Zeus of the Council, Ares Enyalius, and Athena of War, but they invoked also Calliope,

who accompanies reverend monarchs,

softening by persuasion and overcoming by charms the fierce and violent spirit of the people. How, then, is it possible that a private person of ordinary costume and mien who wishes to lead a State may gain power and rule the multitude unless he possesses persuasion and attractive speech? Now the pilots of ships employ others to give orders to the rowers, but the statesman needs to have in himself the mind that steers and also in himself the speech that gives orders, that he may not require some other man's voice and be obliged to say, as Iphicrates did when defeated through the eloquence of Aristophon's orators, "My opponents' actor is better, but superior my play," and may not often need those lines of Euripides,

Oh that the seed of wretched men were mute,

and

Ah, would that deeds of men possessed a voice,
That clever speakers might become as naught;
(802) ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἵσως Ἀλκαμένει καὶ Νησιώτῃ καὶ Ἰκτίνῳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βαναύσοις καὶ κειρώναι τὸ δύνασθαι λέγειν ἀπομυμνήμονας δοτεόν ἀποδιδράσκειν ὡσπερ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀρχιτεκτόνων ποτὲ δυνεῖν ἐξεταζομένων πρὸς δημόσιον ἔργον ὁ μὲν αἰμύλος καὶ κομψός εἰπεῖν λόγον τινὰ διελθῶν περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς μεμελετημένον ἐκίνησε τὸν δῆμον, ὁ Β δὲ βελτίων τῇ τέχνῃ λέγειν δὲ ἅδυνατος, παρελθὼν εἰς μέσον εἶπεν "ἀνδρές Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς οὗτος εὔρηκεν, ἐνω ποιήσω." τῇ γὰρ Ἐργάνην οὗτοι μόνον θεραπεύουσιν, ὡς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς, οἱ "παρ' ἄκμον τυπάδι βαρεία," καὶ πληγαῖς υπακούονσαν ἕλην ἄψυχον δημιουργοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῆς Πολυάδος Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς Βουλαίας Θέμιδος,

η τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορᾶς ἡμὲν λύει ἢδὲ καθίζει,

προφήτης, ἐνι χρώμενος ὅργανῳ τῷ λόγῳ τα μὲν πλάττων καὶ συναρμόττων, τὰ δ' ἅντιστατοῦντα πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὡσπερ ὅζους τινὰς ἐν ξύλῳ καὶ διπλάς ἐν σιδήρῳ μαλάσσων καὶ καθαλαίων, ο θαμηβεῖ τῇ πόλιν. διὰ τούτ' ἤν' ἡ κατὰ Περικλέα πολιτεία "λόγῳ μὲν," ὡς φησὶ Θουκυδίδης, "δημοκρατία, ἔργῳ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἄνδρος ἀρχή" διὰ τῆς τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Κίμων ἁγαθὸς ἦν καὶ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' ἐρωτηθείς οὗτος ὑπ' Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πότερον αὐτὸς ἡ Περικλῆς

1 ἤν added by Bernardakis.
2 τοῦ added by Bernardakis.

*Alcamenes and Nesiotes were sculptors of the fifth century B.C. Ictinus was architect of the Parthenon.*
for these sayings ought perhaps to be granted as
a refuge to Alcamenes, Nesio tes, Ictinus,\(^a\) and all
artisans and craftsmen if they take an oath that
they are no speakers; as once at Athens, when two
architects were being questioned with a view to a
public work, one of them, a wheedling and elegant
speaker, moved the people by declaiming a prepared
speech about the construction of it, but the other,
who was a better architect but lacked the power of
speech, came forward and said: “Men of Athens,
what he has said, I will do.” For, as Sophocles
says,\(^b\) only those are servants of the goddess of
artistry who “on the anvil with a heavy hammer”
and with blows work the yielding and inanimate
material of their art. But the spokesman for
Athena of the City and Themis of Counsel,

She who dismisses assemblies of men and who also
convenes them,\(^c\)

employing speech as his only instrument, moulding
and adapting some things and softening and smoothing
off those which are hindrances to his work, such
as would be knots in wood or flaws in iron,\(^d\) is an
ornament to the city. For this reason the govern-
ment in Pericles’ time was “in name,” as Thucy-
dides says,\(^e\) “a democracy, but in fact the rule of
the foremost man,” because of his power of speech.
For Cimon also was a good man, as were Ephialtes
and Thucydides, but when the last named was asked
by Archidamus King of the Spartans whether he

\(^a\) Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 309, no. 760, perhaps from
the satyr drama *Pandora.*

\(^b\) Homer, *Od.* ii. 69.

\(^c\) Cf. Plato, *Sophist,* 267 e.

\(^d\) Thucydides, ii. 65. 8.
(802) παλαίει βέλτιον "οὐκ ἂν εἴδει τις" εἶπεν. "ὅταν γὰρ ἐγὼ καταβάλω παλαίων, ἐκεῖνος λέγων μὴ πεπτωκέναι νικᾶ καὶ πείθει τοὺς θεωμένους." τούτο δ' οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐκεῖνω δόξαν ἄλλα καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν ἐφερε' πειθομένη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔσωξέ, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς Δ ἀπείχετο. Νικίας δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν προσάρευσιν ἔχων, πειθοὺς δὲ τοιαύτης ἐνδεής ὦν καὶ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ χαλινῷ τῷ λόγῳ πειρώμενον ἀποστρέφειν τὸν ὅμοιον, οὗ κατέσχεν οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησεν, ἀλλ' ἄχετο βίᾳ φερόμενος εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ συνεκτραχηλο-ζόμενος. τὸν μὲν οὖν λύκον οὗ φασὶ τῶν ὁτίων κρατεῖν, δῆμον δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ὁτίων ἀγεῖν δεὶ μάλιστα, μὴ, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ἀγυμνάστων περὶ λόγον λαβᾶς ἀμοῦσους καὶ ἀτέχνους ξητούστες ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς γαστρὸς ἐλκουσιν εὐωχοῦντες ἢ τοῦ βαλλαντίου διδόντες, ἢ πυρρίχας τινὰς ἢ μονομάχων θεάματα παρασκευάζοντες ἢ δημ-Ε ἀγωγοῦσι, μᾶλλον δὲ δημοκοποῦσι. δημαγωγία γὰρ ἢ διὰ λόγου πειθομένων ἔστίν, αἱ δὲ τοιαύται τιθασεύσεις τῶν ὀχλῶν οὐδὲν ἀλόγων ζώων ἄγρας καὶ βουκολήσεως διαφέρουσιν.

6. Ὅ μὲντοι λόγοι ἔστω τοῖς πολιτικοῖς μῆτε νεαρῶς καὶ θεατρικῶς, ὥσπερ πανηγυρίζοντος καὶ στεφανηπλοκοῦντος ἐξ ἀπαλῶν καὶ ἀνθρῶν ὀνομάτων μῆτ' αὕτοι πάλιν, ὥς ὁ Πυθέας τὸν Δημο-σθένους ἔλεγεν, ἐλλυχνών ὦζων ² καὶ σοφιστικῆς Φ περιεργίας ἐνθυμήμασι πικρῶς καὶ περίποδος πρὸς κανόνα καὶ διαβήτην ἀπηκριβωμένας· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ τὴν θίξιν ἄξιοντοι τῶν χορδῶν ἥθικήν

¹ μόνον Benseler: μόνος. ² ὦζων Meziriacus: ὦζων.
or Pericles was the better wrestler, he replied, "Nobody can tell; for whenever I throw him in wrestling, he says he was not thrown and wins by persuading the onlookers." And this brought not only reputation to Pericles but safety to the State; for while it was swayed by him it preserved its existing prosperity and refrained from foreign entanglements. But Nicias, whose policy was the same, but who lacked such power of persuasion and tried to rein in the people with speech as easy as a snaffle, could not restrain or master it, but against his will went off to Sicily on its back and together with it came a cropper. The wolf, they say, cannot be held by the ears; but one must lead a people or a State chiefly by the ears, not, as some do who have no practice in speaking and seek uncultured and inartistic holds upon the people, pulling them by the belly by means of banquets or gifts of money or arranging ballet-dances or gladiatorial shows, by which they lead the common people or rather curry favour with them. For leadership of a people is leadership of those who are persuaded by speech; but enticing the mob by such means as have just been mentioned is exactly like catching and herding irrational beasts.

6. The speech of the statesman, however, must not be juvenile and theatrical, as if he were making a speech for show and weaving a garland of delicate and flowery words; on the other hand it must not, as Pytheas said of the speech of Demosthenes, smell of the lamp and elaborate literary labour, with sharp arguments and with periods precisely measured by rule and compass. No, just as musicians demand that the touch upon the strings exhibit feel-
These seem to be somewhat technical words employed by the rhetoricians.

Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii. 1017, p. 1411 a; said by the Athenian orator Leptines, in opposing the destruction of Sparta, one of the "eyes of Greece."

Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. i.


Cf. *Life of Pericles*, chap. viii. The reference is
ing, not mere technique, so the speech of the statesman, counsellor, and ruler must not exhibit shrewdness or subtlety, and it must not be to his credit to speak fluently or artistically or distributively, but his speech must be full of unaffected character, true high-mindedness, a father's frankness, foresight, and thoughtful concern for others. His speech must also have, in a good cause, a charm that pleases and a winning persuasiveness; in addition to nobility of purpose it must possess grace arising from stately diction and appropriate and persuasive thoughts. And political oratory, much more than that used in a court of law, admits maxims, historical and mythical tales, and metaphors, by means of which those who employ them sparingly and at the proper moment move their audiences exceedingly; as did he who said "Do not make Hellas one-eyed," and Demades when he said he was "governing the wreck of the State," and Archilochus saying

Nor let the stone of Tantalus
Hang o'er the head of this our isle,

and Pericles when he bade the Athenians to remove "the eyesore of the Peiraeus," and Phocion when he said with reference to the victory of Leosthenes that the furlong race of the war was good, but he was fearful about the long-distance race. And, in general, loftiness and grandeur of style are more fitting for political speech; examples are the Philippics and among the speeches in Thucydides that of the ephor Sthenelaïdas, that of King Archi-

to Aegina, whose thriving commerce threatened the prosperity of the Peiraeus.

1 Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxiii.
(803) τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ Περικλέους ἡ μετὰ τὸν λοιμὸν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἐφόρου καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἀναξιμένους ῥητορεῖσιν καὶ περιόδων, ὡς περαινοῦσιν ἐξοπλίσαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντες, ἐστιν εἰπεῖν

οὐδὲίς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας.

7. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σκῶμμα καὶ γελοῖον ἔστιν ὁτε γίγνεται πολιτικὸν λόγον μέρος, εἴ μὴ πρὸς Τὸ ὑβριν ἡ βωμολοχίαν, ἀλλὰ χρησίμως ἐπιπλήττοντος ἡ διασύρον τος λέγοιτο. μάλιστα δ’ εὐδοκιμεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἀμείβεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις· ὁ γὰρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ κατάρχοντα γελωτοποιοῦντος ἐστι καὶ δόξα κακοθείας πρόσεστιν, ὡς προσήν τοῖς Κικέρωνος σκάμμασι καὶ τοῖς Κάτωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Εὐξιθέου τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους συνήθοις· οὕτω γὰρ ἐσκωπτον ἀρχόμενοι πολλάκις. ἄμυνομένω δὲ συγγνώμην ἂμα καὶ χάριν ὁ καιρὸς δίδωσι, καθάπερ Δημοσθένει πρὸς τὸν ἀιτίαν ἔχοντα ἔκλεπτεν χλευάζοντα δ’ αὐτοῦ τὰς νυκτογραφίας, "οἴδ’ ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνων καίων"· καὶ πρὸς Δημάδην βοῶντα Δημοσθένης ἑμὲ βούλεται διορθοῦν "ἡ ὑσ τὴν Ἀθηναίαν," "αὐτὴ μέντοι πέρυσιν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη." χάριν δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἐναινέτου πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας λοιδοροῦντας αὐτὸν ὅτι στρατηγὸς ὤν πέφευγε, "μεθ’ ύμῶν γ’, ὁ

a Thucydides, i. 86; ii. 72; ii. 60.
b Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 441, l. 22; from the Autolycus of Euripides.
c These two retorts are recorded by Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, chap. xi. p. 851. The second obviously refers to misconduct on the part of Demades. "The sow (teaches

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damas at Plataea, and that of Pericles after the pestilence. But as for the rhetorical efforts and grand periods of Ephorus, Theopompos, and Anaximenes, which they deliver after they have armed and drawn up the armies, it can be said of them,

None talks so foolishly when near the steel.

7. It is true, however, that derision and ridicule are sometimes proper parts of the statesman's speech if employed, not as insults or buffoonery, but for needful reproof and disparagement. That sort of thing is most laudable in rejoinders and replies; for when employed of set purpose and without provocation, it makes the speaker appear to be a clown and carries with it a suspicion of malice, such as was attached to the ridicule in the speeches of Cicero, Cato the Elder, and Aristotle's pupil Euxitheiis, all of whom frequently employed ridicule without previous provocation. But for one who employs it in self-defence the occasion makes it pardonable and at the same time pleasing, as when Demosthenes, in reply to a man who was suspected of being a thief and who mocked him for writing at night, said, "I am aware that I offend you by keeping a light burning," and to Demades who shouted, "Demosthenes would correct me—'the sow correcting Athena,'" he replied, "Yes, your Athena was caught in adultery last year!" Witty too was Xenaenetus's rejoinder to the citizens who reviled him for running away when he was general, "Yes, or contends with) Athena" was a proverbial expression; cf. Theocritus, *Idyl*, v. 23. As *sus (docet) Minervam* the proverb was current in Latin; cf. Festus, p. 310 Müller, p. 408 Lindsay; Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, ix. 18. 3; *Academica*, i. 4. 18; *De Oratore*, ii. 57. 233.
φίλαι κεφαλαί." τὸ δ' ἅγαν φυλακτέον ἐν τῷ γελοῖω καὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἀκαίρως τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἡ τοῦ λέγοντα ποιοῦν ἀγεννὴ καὶ ταπεινὸν, ὥσπερ τὰ Δημοκράτους· ἀναβαίνων μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἑκκλησίαν ἐφη, καθάπερ ἡ πόλις, μικρὸν ἵσχυεν καὶ μέγα φυσάν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Χαιρωνικοῖς παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν Ε ὕμι, "οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην κακῶς οὐτῶς πεπραγέναι1 τῆν πόλιν, ὥστε κάμοι συμβουλεύοντος ὑμᾶς ἀκούειν"· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο μικρὸν κάκεινο μανικοῦ, πολιτικῶ δ' οὐδέτερον ἀρμόττον. Φωκίωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἑθαύμαζον· ὅ γονιον Πολυευκτος ἀπεφαίνετο ῥήτορα μέγιστον εἶναι Δημοσθένην, δεινότατον δ' εἵπειν Φωκίωνα· πλείστον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν λέξει βραχυτάτη νοῦν περιέχειν. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονῶν εἰώθει λέγειν, ἀνισταμένου Φωκίωνος, "ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπίς ἀνίσταται."

8. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐσκεμμένῳ πειρῶ καὶ μὴ διακένω τῷ λόγῳ χρήσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς μετ' ἀσφαλείας, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος εὑχετό2 πρὸ τοῦ δημηγορεῖν μηδὲ ρήμα μηδὲν ἄλλοτρων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπελθέων αὐτῷ. δει δ' ὅμως καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις τῶν λόγων εὑστροφον ἔχειν καὶ γεγυμνασμένον· ὄξεις γὰρ οἱ καρποὶ καὶ πολλὰ φέροντες ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις αἰφνίδια. διὸ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἥλαττότο πολλῶν, ὡς φασί, παρὰ τὸν καρπὸν ἀναδυόμενος καὶ κατοκών. 'Αλκιβιάδην δ' ὁ Θεόφραστος ἑστορεί, μὴ μόνον ἀ δεὶ λέγειν ἄλλα

1 πεπραγέναι Herwerden: πεπραχέναι.
2 εὑχετο Bernardakis: ἥχετο.

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* Cf. Life of Alcibiades, chap. x.
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to keep you company, my dears." But in jesting one must guard against going too far and against offending one's hearers by jesting at the wrong moment or making the speaker appear ignoble and mean-spirited, as Democrats did; for he went up into the assembly and said that he, like the State, had little strength but much bluster, and at the time of the disaster at Chaeroneia he came forward among the people and said, "I wish the State had not met with so great a misfortune as to make you listen even to me as adviser," for this remark showed him to be mean-spirited, the other to be crazy, and neither is becoming to a statesman. But in Phocion conciseness of speech was admired. At any rate Polyeuctus declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the cleverest in speaking, because his speech contained the most meaning in the fewest words. And Demosthenes, though he despised the other orators, used to say when Phocion rose to speak, "The cleaver of my speeches is getting up." 8. Most of all, then, try to employ in addressing the people well-considered, not empty, speech, and to use precaution, knowing that even the great Pericles used to pray before making a public speech that no single utterance foreign to the matter in hand might occur to him. But nevertheless the orator must always keep his speech nimble and in good practice for making apt rejoinders; for occasions arise quickly and often bring with them in public affairs sudden developments. That is why Demosthenes was inferior to many, as they say, because he drew back and hesitated when the occasion called for the opposite course. And Theophrastus tells us that Alcibiades, because he planned, not only to say
(804) καὶ ὃς δὲ θειοβουλευόμενον, πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν ξητούντα καὶ συντιθέντα τὰς λέξεις ἐν-ισχεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἀνιστάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καρόων ἐκπλήττει μάλιστα καὶ προσάγεται τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μετα-τίθησιν. οἶον ὁ Βυζάντιος Λέων ἦκε δὴ ποτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις στασιάζοντι διαλεξόμενος: ὁφθεὶς δὲ Β μικρὸς καὶ γελασθεὶς "τί δ’" εἶπεν "εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα μου θεάσασθε μόλις εξικνουμένην πρὸς τὸ γόνον;" πλείων οὖν ἐγένετο γέλως: "ἀλλ’ ἢμᾶς" ἐφι "μικροῦς οὕτως ὄντας, ὅταν διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἡ Βυζαντίων πόλις οὐ χωρεῖ." Πυθέας δ’ ὁ ἰχτωρ, ὅτε πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμᾶς ἀντέλεγεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς "οὔτω σὺ νέος ὃν περὶ πραγμάτων τοιμᾶς λέγειν τηλικοῦτοι;" "καὶ μὴν Ἀλεξάνδρος" εἶπεν "ἐμοῦ νεώτερός ἐστιν, δὴ ψηφίζεσθε θεόν εἶναι."

9. Δεὶ δὲ καὶ φωνὴς εὐεξία καὶ πνεύματος ρώμη πρὸς οὐ φαύλον ἀλλὰ πάμμαχον ἀγώνα τὸν τῆς Κ πολιτείας ἡθικότα κομίζειν τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ πολ-λάκις ἀπαγορεύοντα καὶ σβεννύμενον ὑπερβάλλη τις αὐτὸν

ἀρπαξ κεκράκτης, κυκλοβόρου φωνῆν ἔχων.

Κάτων δὲ, περὶ ὧν οὖν ἡλπιζε πέσειν τῷ προκατ-έχεσθαι χάρισι καὶ σπουδαῖς τὸν δήμον ἡ τὴν βουλήν, ἐλεγε τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἀναστὰς καὶ τὸν

1 ὑπερβάλλῃ Bernardakis: ὑπερβάλλοι.

a The name Leo, "lion," made the little man seem ridiculous.

b Aristophanes, Knights, 137. The reference is to Cleon.
the right thing, but to say it in the right way, often while actually speaking would search for words and arrange them into sentences, thereby causing hesitation and failure. But the man who is so moved by the events which take place and the opportunities which offer themselves that he springs to his feet is the one who most thrills the crowd, attracts it, and carries it with him. So it was, for example, with Leo * of Byzantium; he once came to address the Athenians when they were in political discord, and when they laughed at him because he was a little man, he said, "What if you should see my wife, who hardly comes up to my knee?" Then when they laughed louder, "And yet," he said, "little as we are, when we quarrel with each other, the city of Byzantium is not big enough to hold us." So also when Pytheas the orator was speaking in opposition to the granting of honours to Alexander and someone said to him, "Do you, at your age, dare to speak on such important matters?" he replied: "And yet Alexander is younger than I, and you are voting to make him a god."

9. And the statesman must bring to the struggle of statecraft—a struggle which is not unimportant, but calls for all one's fighting power—speech which is severely trained in firmness of voice and strength of lungs, that he may not be frequently so weary and burnt out as to be defeated by some

Rapacious bawler with a torrent's voice.

Cato, when he had no hope of winning his cause by persuasion because the popular assembly or the senate was gained over beforehand by favours and interests, used to get up and speak the whole day,
(804) καὶ ρὸν οὕτως εξέκρουε. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τοῦ λόγου παρασκευὴς καὶ χρείας ἵκανα ταῦτα τῷ δυναμένῳ τὸ ἀκόλουθον προσεξευρίσκειν.

10. Ἐἰσβολαὶ δὲ καὶ ὁδοὶ δύο τῆς πολιτείας εἰσιν, ἢ μὲν ταχεία καὶ λαμπρὰ πρὸς δόξαν οὐ Δ μὴν ἀκύνδυνον, ἢ δὲ πεζοτέρα καὶ βραδυτέρα τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐχουσα μᾶλλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὅσπερ εὔ ἀκρας πελαγίου πράξεως ἐπιφανοὺς καὶ μεγάλης ἐχούσης δὲ τόλμαν ἀραντες ἀφήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἡγούμενοι λέγειν ὀρθῶς τὸν Πίνδαρον ὡς ἀρχόμενον δ' ἔργον πρόσωπον χρὴ θέμεν τηλαυγές· καὶ γὰρ δέχονται προθυμότερον οἱ πολλοὶ κόρῳ τινὶ καὶ πλησμονῇ τῶν συνήθων τὸν ἀρχόμενον, ὥσπερ ἀγωνιστὴν θεατὰ, καὶ τὸν ἐκπληττόν τούσιν αἱ λαμπρὰν ἔχουσαι καὶ ταχεῖαν αὐξησιν Ε ἀρχαὶ καὶ δυνάμεις. οὗτε γὰρ πῦρ φησιν ὁ Ἀρίστων καπνὸν ποιεῖν οὕτε δόξαν φθόνον, ἥν εὐθὺς ἐκλάμψῃ καὶ ταχέως, ἀλλὰ τῶν κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξανομένων καὶ σχολαῖς ἄλλον ἄλλαχοθεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι. διὸ πολλοὶ πρὶν ἄνθησαι περὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεμαράνθησαν. ὅπου δ', ὦσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδα λέγουσιν,

ο ᾿ψόφος ἦν ὑσπληγος ἐν οὐασιν,

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ᵃ Ol. vi. 4. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (L.C.L.).
ᵇ Paton's translation (in L.C.L.) of the phrase in Anth. 190
thus destroying his opponents' opportunity. On the subject, then, of the preparation of one's speech and the way to use it these remarks are enough for one who has the ability to go on and discover the conclusions to be drawn from them.

10. There are two entrances to public life and two paths leading to it: one the quick and brilliant road to reputation, by no means without risk, the other more prosaic and slower, but safer. For some men launch out at once into political life with some conspicuous, great, and daring action, like men who launch a vessel from a promontory that juts out into the sea; they think Pindar is right in saying

To a work's beginning we needs must set
A front that shines afar,*

for the masses are more ready to accept the beginner because they are so palled and surfeited with those to whom they are accustomed, just as spectators at a show are glad to accept a new performer; and authority and power that has a brilliant and rapid growth takes envy's breath away. For, as Ariston says, fire does not cause smoke, nor reputation envy, if it blazes up quickly at the start, but those who grow great gradually and slowly are attacked one from one side, another from another; hence many men before coming to full bloom as public speakers have withered away. But if, as is said of Ladas,

The noise o' the barrier's fall was in his ears.*

_Pal. xi. 86_ on Pericles, quoted from the earlier epigram on Ladas, a famous runner of Sparta. The sudden cutting or loosening of the taut rope stretched across the starting-line was accompanied by an audible sound. See E. N. Gardiner, _Jour. Hell. Studies_ xxiii. p. 262.
ἔνθα κάστεφανοῦτοι πρεσβεύων ἡ θριαμβεύων ἡ στρατηγῶν ἐπίφανώς, οὕθ' οἱ φθονοῦντες οὐθ' οἱ καταφρονοῦντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἰσχύουσιν. οὕτω παρῆλθεν εἰς δόξαν "Ἀρατος, ἀρχήν ποιη-
F σάμενος πολιτείας τὴν Νικοκλέους τοῦ τυράννου κατάλυσιν" οὕτως 'Ἄλκιβιάδης, τὰ Μαντινικὰ συντήσας ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ θριαμβεύειν ἥξιον μῆτω παριῶν εἰς σύγκλητον· οὐκ ἔωντος δὲ Σύλλα, "πλείονες" ἐφη "τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα προσκυνοῦσιν ἡ δυόμενον"· καὶ Σύλλας ὑπείξε τοῦτ' ἄκούσας. καὶ Σκιπίωνα δὲ Κορνήλιον οὐκ ἂφ' ἢς ἐτυχεν ἀρχῆς ὃ 'Ῥωμαίων δήμως ἄγο-
ρανομίαν μετερχόμενον ἐξαίφνης ὑπατον ἀπέδειξεν παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἄλλα θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ μειράκιον μὲν ὁντος τὴν ἐν Ἰβηρία μονομαχίαν καὶ νίκην, μικρὸν δ' ὑστερον τὰ πρὸς Καρχηδόνι χιλιαρχοῦντος ἔργα, περὶ ὅν καὶ Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἄν-
εφώνησεν

οῖος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀίσσουσιν.

νῦν οὖν ὅτε τὰ πράγματα τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἔχει πολέμων ἡγεμονιάς οὐδὲ τυραννίδων καταλύσεως οὐδὲ συμμαχικάς πράξεως, τὸν ἂν τις ἀρχὴν ἐπι-
φανοὺς λάβοι καὶ λαμπρὰς πολιτείας; αἱ δικαὶ τε λείπουσι καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτο-
B κράτορα ἀνδρὸς διαπύρου καὶ θάρσος ἁμα καὶ νοῦν ἐχοντος δεόμεναι. πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παρεи-

1 κάστεφανοῦτο Coraes, followed by Bernardakis: καὶ κάστεφανοῦτο.
2 As Bernardakis says, either αἱ should (so Reiske) be omitted or (preferably) another αἱ should be inserted before πρεσβεῖαι.
even when he has been crowned for his brilliant success on an embassy, for a notable triumph, or for achievement as a general, in such instances neither those who envy a man nor those who despise him have so much power as before. In this way Aratus arrived at fame, beginning his public life with the destruction of the tyrant Nicocles; so Alcibiades, by making the Mantinean alliance against the Lacedaemonians. Pompey demanded a triumph although he had not yet been admitted to the senate, and when Sulla voted against it, he said, "More worship the rising than the setting sun"; and Sulla, when he heard this, withdrew his opposition. And take the case of Cornelius Scipio; it was not because of any chance beginning that the Roman people suddenly and contrary to law appointed him consul when he was a candidate for the aedileship, but rather because they admired his victorious single combat in Iberia when he was a mere youth, and his deeds a little later at Carthage as military tribune, about which Cato the Elder exclaimed

He and he only has sense, the rest are mere flickering shadows. a

Nowadays, then, when the affairs of the cities no longer include leadership in wars, nor the overthrowing of tyrannies, nor acts of alliances, what opening for a conspicuous and brilliant public career could a young man find? There remain the public lawsuits and embassies to the Emperor, which demand a man of ardent temperament and one who possesses both courage and intellect. But there are many excellent lines of endeavour that are neglected

a Homer, Od. xi. 495 (slightly changed).
(805) μένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καλῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἑθους φαύλου παραδυμένων ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τινὶ τῆς πόλεως ἡ βλάβη μεθιστάντα πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέφειν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ δίκη μεγάλη καλῶς δικασθείσα καὶ πίστις ἐν συνηγορίᾳ πρὸς ἀντίδικον ἵσχυρὸν ὑπὲρ ἀσθενοῦς καὶ παρρησία πρὸς ἢγεμόνα μοχθηρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου κατέστησεν ἐνίους εἰς ἀρχὴν πολιτείας ἐνδοξοῦν. οὐκ ὄλγοι δὲ καὶ δὴ ἔχθρας ηὐξήθησαν, ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀνθρώποις ἐπι- φθονον ἔχουσιν ἀξίωμα καὶ φοβερὸν· εὐθὺς γὰρ ἦν τοῦ καταλυθέντος ἰσχύς τῷ κρατῆσαι μετὰ βελτίων ὀδύς ὑπάρχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ καὶ δὴ ἅρετήν πρωτεύοντι προσμάχεσθαι κατὰ φθόνον, ὥς Περικλεὶ Σιμμίας, Ἀλκμέων δὲ Θεμιστοκλεὶ, Πομπῆῳ δὲ Κλώδιος, Ἐπαμεινώνδα δὲ Μενεκλείδης ὁ ῥήτωρ, οὕτε πρὸς δόξαν καλῶν οὕτ' ἄλλως συμφέρων· ὡταν γὰρ ἐξαμαρτότοντος οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὰ χρηστῶν, εἰθ' ὁ γίγνεται ταχέως ἐπ' ὀργὴ μετανοήσωσι, πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν ῥάστην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοτάτην νομίζοουσιν, ἐπιτρώπαι τὸν ἀναπείσαντα καὶ καταρξάμενον. τὸ μέντοι φαύλου ἀνθρωπον, ἀπονοίᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι πεποιημένουν χρὸν' αὐτῶ τὴν πόλιν, οἷος ἦν Κλέων Ἀθηνησι καὶ Κλεοφᾶς, ἐπαναστάντα καθελεῖν καὶ ταπεινώσαι λαμπρὰν ποιεῖται τὴν πάροδον ὡσπερ δράματος τῆς πολιτείας. οὐκ ἄνγον δ' ὡτι καὶ βουλήν τινες ἐπαχθῇ καὶ ὀλυγαρχικῆν κολούσαντες, ὡσπερ

1 Ἀλκμέων Bernardakis: ἀλκμαίον.
in our cities which a man may take up, and also many practices resulting from evil custom, that have insinuated themselves to the shame or injury of the city, which a man may remove, and thus turn them to account for himself. Indeed in past times a just verdict gained in a great suit, or good faith in acting as advocate for a weak client against a powerful opponent, or boldness of speech in behalf of the right against a wicked ruler, has opened to some men a glorious entrance into public life. And not a few also have grown great through the enemies they have made by attacking men whose position made them enviable or caused them to be feared; for when such a man is overthrown his power passes at once, and with better reputation, to the man who overcame him. For attacking, through motives of envy, a good man who, on account of his virtue, is leader of the state, as Pericles was attacked by Simmias, Themistocles by Alcmeon, Pompey by Clodius, and Epameinondas by Meneeleides the orator, is neither conducive to a good reputation nor advantageous in any other way; for when the people have committed a wrong against a good man and then (which happens quickly) repent of their anger, they think the easiest way to excuse themselves for this offence is the most just, namely, to destroy the man who was the author of it and persuaded them to commit it. On the other hand, to revolt against a bad man who by shameless audacity and cunning has made the city subject to himself, such as Cleon and Cleophon were at Athens, and to pull him down and humble him provides a glorious entrance upon the stage of public life. And I am not ignorant of the fact that some men by curtailing the power of an oppressive and
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

(805) 'Εφιάλτης 'Αθήνησι καὶ Φορμίων παρ’ 'Ηλείους, δύναμιν ἀμα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον· ἀλλὰ μέγας ἀρχομένως πολιτείας οὕτως ὁ κύνδυνος ἦστι. διὸ καὶ βελτίωνα Σόλων ἔλαβεν ἄρχην, διεστώσης ἐσ τρία μέρη τῆς Ε πόλεως, τὸ τῶν Διακρίων λεγομένων καὶ τὸ τῶν Πεδείων καὶ τὸ τῶν Παραλίων· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἐμμίξας ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλὰ κοινὸς ἦν πάσι καὶ πάντα λέγων καὶ πράττων πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἡρέθη νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ κατέστησεν οὕτω τῆν ἄρχην. ἦ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεστέρα πάροδος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν τοσαῦτας ἔχει καὶ τοιαύτας ἄρχας.

11. Τὴν δ’ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ σχολαίαν εἴλοντο πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων, Ἀριστείδης, Φωκίων, Παμμένης ὁ Θηβαῖος, Λεύκολλος ἐν Ὁρώμη, Κάτων, Ἀγγίλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τούτων γὰρ ἐκαστὸς, ὥσπερ οἱ κυττοὶ τοῖς ἰσχύοις τῶν δένδρων περιπλεκόμενοι Ε συνεξανιστάνται, προσδραμοῦν ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέος ἔτι1 καὶ ἄδοξος ἐνδόξω, κατὰ μικρὸν αἱρόμενος ύπὸ τῆς περὶ ἐκεῖνον δυνάμεως καὶ συναυξανόμενος ἱρεισε καὶ κατερρίζωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. ὁ Ἀριστείδης μὲν γὰρ ηὐξήσει Κλεισθένης καὶ Φωκίων Χαβρίας, Λεύκολλον2 δὲ Σύλλας, Κάτων ἀδέ Μάξιμος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ Παμμένη,3 καὶ Λύσανδρος Ἀγγίλαον· ἀλλ’ οὕτως μὲν ὑπὸ4 φιλοτιμίας ἀκαίρον καὶ ξηλοτυπίας διὰ δόξαν5 ὑβρίσας ἀπέρρημε ταχὺ τὸν καθηγεμόνα τῶν πράξεων6· οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ ἀχρί τέλους ἑθεράγως εἰς τὸ παρ’ Βενσελέρ: ἐτι νέος.

1 νέος ἔτι Βενσελέρ: ἐτι νέος.
2 Λεύκολλον] Πομπηίου Kaltwasser.
3 Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ Παμμένη Kaltwasser: ἐπαμεινώνδαν δὲ παμμένης.
4 ύπὸ added by Meziriacus.
5 διὰ δόξαν Schaefler: δόξαν.
6 πράξεων Empemius: πρακτέων.
oligarchical senate, as Ephialtes did at Athens and Phormio at Elis, have gained at the same time both power and glory; but to one who is just entering upon public life there is a great risk in this. Therefore Solon made a better beginning, when the State was divided into three factions called the Diacrians ("hill-folk"), the Pedieans ("plainsfolk"), and the Paralians ("coastfolk"); for he entangled himself with none of them, but acted for all in common and said and did everything to bring about concord among them, so that he was chosen lawgiver to reconcile their differences and in this way established his rule. So many, then, and of such kinds are the more conspicuous ways of entering upon a public career.

11. But the safe and leisurely way has been chosen by many famous men—Aristeides, Phocion, Pammenes the Theban, Lucullus at Rome, Cato, the Lacedaemonian Agesilaüs. For just as ivy rises by twining itself about a strong tree, so each of these men, by attaching himself while still young to an older man and while still obscure to a man of reputation, being gradually raised up under the shelter of his power and growing great with him, fixed himself firmly and rooted himself in the affairs of State. For Aristeides was made great by Cleisthenes, Phocion by Chabrias, Lucullus by Sulla, Cato by Maximus, Epameinondas aided Pammenes, and Lysander Agesilaüs. But Agesilaüs through untimely ambition and jealousy of Lysander's reputation insulted and quickly cast aside the guide of his actions; but the others in noble and statesmanlike fashion cherished their teachers until

806 peusav kal suvepekeósmhsan, ὦσπερ τὰ πρὸς ἡλιον ὑφιστάμενα σώματα, τὸ λαμπρὸν αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν αὐξόντες καὶ συνεκφωτιζόντες. οἱ γοῦν Σκιπίων βασικάντο τυποκριτὴν αὐτὸν ἀπεφαινοντο τῶν πράξεων ποιήσαντες τὸν ἐτάιρον, ὦ δὲ Λαύλιος ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἐπήρθη τούτων ἀλλ’ ἂει διετέλεσε τῇ Σκιπίωνος ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ συμπιστημούμενος. Αφράνιος δὲ Πομπηίου φίλος, εἶ καὶ πάνυ ταπεινὸς ἦν, ὅμως ἐπίδοχος ὃν ὑπάτος αἱρεθείς ἦν, Πομπηῖον σπουδάζοντος ἐτέρως, ἀπέστη τῆς φιλοτιμίας εἰπὼν οὐκ ἂν οὕτω λαμπρὸν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ τυχεῖν ὑπατείας, ὡς ἀνιαρὸν ἄμα καὶ ὑσχερές, εἰ Πομπηῖον μὴ θέλοντος μηδὲ συμπραττόντος. ἐναυτὸν οὖν ἀνασχόμενος μόνον ὀυτὲ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέτυχε καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διετήρησε. τοῖς δ’ οὕτω χειραγωγοῦμένοις ὑφ’ ἐτέρων ἐπὶ δόξαν ἄμα συμβαίνει χαρίζεσθαι τε πολλοῖς, καὶ τὶ συμβαίνῃ δύσκολον, ἢττον ἀπεχθάνεσθαι. διὸ καὶ Φίλιππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρήντε κτάσαθαι φίλους, ἔως ἐξεστὶ, μαθητεύοντος ἐτέρου πρὸς χάριν ὀμιλοῦντα καὶ φιλοφρονοῦμεν.

12. Αἵρεσθαι δὲ δὲὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον πολιτείας ο ήγεμόνα μὴ ἀπλῶς τὸν ἐνδοξὸν καὶ δυνατὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δὲ ἀρετὴν τοιοῦτον. ὥς γὰρ οὐ πᾶν δενδρὸν ἐθέλει προσίσθαι καὶ φέρειν περιπλεκομένην τὴν ἀμπελον ἀλλ’ ἕνα καταπνίγει καὶ διαφθείρει τὴν αὐξησιν αὐτῆς, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι οἱ μὴ φιλόκαλοι, φιλότιμοι δὲ καὶ φιλαρχοὶ μόνον, οὐ προϊένται τοῖς νέοις πράξεωι ἀφορμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ

* Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. xliiv., where another story concerning the friendship of Pompey for Afranius is told.
the end and joined in honouring them, enhancing in turn with their own radiance, and illuminating, like the heavenly bodies that face the sun, that which caused themselves to shine. Certainly Scipio’s detractors said that he was the actor, but his friend Laelius the real author of his deeds; Laelius, however, was not puffed up by any of those sayings but continued always eagerly to exalt Scipio’s virtue and renown. And Pompey’s friend Afranius, even though he was of humble station, nevertheless expected to be elected consul, but when Pompey favoured other candidates, he relinquished his ambition, saying that gaining the consulship would be to him not so much glorious as painful and troublesome, if it were against Pompey’s will and without his co-operation; and so after waiting only one year he both gained the office and retained the friendship. Those who are thus led to renown by the hand of others gain favour with many, and at the same time, if anything unpleasant happens, are less disliked; and that is why Philip advised Alexander to gain friends as long as he could while another man was king by having pleasant intercourse with others and maintaining friendly relations with them.

12. But anyone who is entering upon a public career should choose as his leader a man who is not merely of established reputation and powerful, but one who is all this on account of real worth. For just as not every tree will accept and support the grape-vine which entwines itself about it, but some trees stifle and ruin its growth, so in States, the men who are not lovers of what is noble, but merely lovers of honours and of office, do not afford young men opportunities for public activities, but through
(806) τροφήν έαυτῶν τὴν δόξαν ἀφαίρουμένους πιέζουσιν
υπὸ φθόνου καὶ καταμαραίνουσιν· ὅς Μάριος ἐν
Λιβύη καὶ πάλιν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ διὰ Σύλλα
καταρθώσας ἐπαύσατο χρώμενος, ἀχθεσθεὶς μὲν
D αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐξήσει, πρόφασιν δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα
ποιησάμενος ἀπέρριψεν· οἱ γὰρ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῷ
Μαρίῳ στρατηγοῦντι συνὴν ταμεῖον ἐν Λιβύῃ,
πεμφθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βώκχον ἦγαγεν Ἰογόρθαν
ἀιχμάλωτον· οἱ δὲ νέοι φιλότιμοι, ἄρτι δόξης
gεγευμένοι, οὐκ ἦνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα,
γλυφάμενος δ’ εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως ἐν σφραγίδι
τὸν Ἰογόρθαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόμενον ἐφόρει· καὶ
tοῦτ’ ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Μάριος ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν· ὃ δὲ
πρὸς Κάτουλον¹ καὶ Μέτελλον ἄνδρας ἄγαθοὺς
καὶ Μαρίῳ διαφόρους μεταστάσει ταχὺ τὸν Μάριον
ἐξήλασε καὶ κατέλυσε τῷ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ μικρῷ
Ε δεήσαντα τὴν Ὀμήρην ἀνατρέψαι. Σύλλας μέντοι
καὶ Πομπήιον ἐκ νέου μὲν ἢρεν ὑπεξανωστάμενος
αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλυπτόμενος ἐπιόντι,
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νέοις πράξεων ἡγεμονικῶν μετα-
didοὺς ἀφορμάς, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ παροξύνων ἄκοντας,
ἐνέπλησε φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζῆλον τὰ στρατεύματα· καὶ
πάντων ἐκράτησε βουλόμενος εἶναι μὴ μόνον ἀλλὰ
πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις.
tούτων οὖν ἔχεσθαι δεῖ τῶν ἄνδρῶν καὶ τούτων
ἐμφύεσθαι, μὴ, καθάπερ ὁ Αἰσώτου βασιλίσκος
F ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοιῶν τοῦ ἀετοῦ κομισθεὶς αἰφνίδιον ἐξ-

¹ Κάτουλον Bernardakis after the Basle ms. (Wyttenbach reads Κάτλον): κάτουλλον.

² Equivalent here to adjutant.
envy repress them and, to speak figuratively, wither them up by depriving them of glory, their natural nourishment. So Marius, after having achieved many successes in Libya and again in Gaul with the help of Sulla, ceased to employ him and cast him off, being angered by his growth in power, but using the incident of the seal as a pretext. For Sulla, when Marius was general and he was quaestor in Libya, was sent by Marius to Bocchus and took Jugurtha prisoner; and being a young man who had just had his first taste of glory, he did not bear his good fortune with moderation, but had a seal engraved with a representation of his deed—Jugurtha surrendering to him—and wore it. Marius threw this up against him and cast him off. And Sulla, transferring his allegiance to Catulus and Metellus, worthy men and opposed to Marius, quickly drove Marius out and broke his power in the civil war after he had almost overthrown Rome. Sulla, however, exalted Pompey from the time of his youth, rising up and uncovering his head when he came near; and also by giving the other young men opportunities for acts of leadership and even by urging some on against their will, he filled his armies with ambition and eagerness; and he gained power over them all by wishing to be, not the only great man, but first and greatest among many great ones. Such, then, are the men to whom young statesmen should attach themselves and cling closely, not snatching glory away from them, like Aesop’s wren who was carried up on the eagle’s shoulders, then suddenly flew out and got ahead of him, but

b *Cf. Life of Marius*, chap. x., and *Life of Sulla*, chap. iii.
ἐπτη καὶ προέφθασεν, οὖτω τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν υφιστάμενας αὐτοὺς ἄλλα παρ’ ἐκείνων ἂμα μετ’ ἐννοίας καὶ φιλίας λαμβάνοντας, ὡς οὐδ’ ἄρξαι καλῶς τοὺς μὴ πρότερον ὅρθῶς δουλεύοντας, ἢ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, δυναμένους.

13. "Ἐπεταί δὲ τούτοις ἡ περὶ φίλων κρίσις, μὴτε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους ἐπαινοῦσα μὴτε τὴν Κλέωνος διάνοιαν. ὦ μὲν γὰρ Κλέων, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐγνω τῆς πολιτείας ἀπτεσθαί, τοὺς φίλους συναιγαγὼν εἰς ταῦτό διελύσατο τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς πολλὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δίκαιας προσερέσεσίς μαλάσσουσαν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ παράγουσαν ἀμενον δ’ ἀν ἐποίησε τὴν φιλοπλούτιαν ἐκβαλὼν 807 τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς φιλονεκίαν καὶ φθόνον καὶ κακοπθείας καθήρας αὐτόν. οὐ γὰρ ἄφιλων αἱ πόλεις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνεταίρων ἄλλα χρηστῶν καὶ σωφρόνων δέονται: νυνὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἀπήλασεν,

ἐκατὸν δὲ κύκλῳ κεφαλαί κολάκων οἰμωξομένων ἕλιχμωντο

περὶ αὐτόν, ὡς οἱ κωμικοὶ λέγουσι καὶ τραχὺς ὁν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ βαρὺς ἀδύνης ὑπέβαλλε τοῖς πολλοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἑαυτῶν,

γερονταγωγῶν κὰναμισθαρνεῖν διδοῦσιν,

καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον καὶ τὸ νοσοῦν μάλιστα τοῦ δήμου προσεταιριζόμενοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους. ὦ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἀποφηνάμενον, ὡς ἄρξει καλῶς ἵναν ἀπασι παρέχων ἑαυτῶν,

1 οἰμωξομένων Coraes: οἰμωξομένων.

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receiving it from them in goodwill and friendship, knowing that no one can ever command well who has not first learned rightly to obey, as Plato says.\(^a\)

13. Next after this comes the decision to be made concerning friends, and here we approve neither the idea of Themistocles nor that of Cleon. For Cleon, when he first decided to take up political life, brought his friends together and renounced his friendship with them as something which often weakens and perverts the right and just choice of policy in political life. But he would have done better if he had cast out from his soul avarice and love of strife and had cleansed himself of envy and malice; for the State needs, not men who have no friends or comrades, but good and self-controlled men. As it was, he drove away his friends,

But a hundred heads of cursed flatterers circling fawned \(^b\) about him, as the comic poets say; and being rough and harsh to the better classes he in turn subjected himself to the multitude in order to win its favour,

Its old age tending, dosing it with pay,\(^c\) and making the basest and most unsound element of the people his associates against the best. But Themistocles on the other hand, when someone said that he would govern well if he showed himself equally impartial to all, replied: "May I never

\(^a\) Laws, 762 e.  
\(^b\) Aristophanes, Peace, 756. The poet refers to Cleon.  
θρόνον, ἐν δὲ πλέον οὐχ ἔξοψοι οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν μὴ φίλων," οὖδ᾿ οὕτως ὅρθως τῇ φιλίᾳ κατεπαγγελλόμενος τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια ταῖς ἱδίαις χάρισι καὶ σπουδαῖς υφιέμενος. καίτοι πρὸς γε Συμωνίδην ἄξιούντα τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων "οὔτε ποιητὴς," ἐφη, "οὐκουδαίος ἐστιν ἄδων παρά μέλος οὔτ' ἄρχων ἐπιεικῆς παρὰ τὸν νόμον χαρίζομενος." δεινὸν γὰρ ὃς ἀληθῶς καὶ σχέτλιον, εἰ ναῦτας μὲν ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκληρος.

καὶ τις ἀρχιτέκτων ὑπουργὸς καὶ χειροτέχνας, οἱ μὴ διαφθεροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τούργον ἀλλ᾽ ἀριστα συνεκπονήσουσιν. ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, ἀριστοτέχνας τις ὁν κατὰ Πίνδαρον καὶ δημιουργὸς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης, οὐκ εὐθὺς αἱρήσεται φίλους ὁμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ συνενθουσιώντας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλους πρὸς ἄλλην ἀεὶ χρείαν.

κάμπτοντας αὐτὸν ἄδικως καὶ βιαῖως. οὐδὲν τ᾽ ὄφθησεται διαφέρων οἰκοδόμου τινὸς ἡ τεκτονὸς ἀπερίᾳ καὶ πλημμελεία γυναῖκας χρωμένου καὶ κανόσι καὶ στάθμαις, ὑφ᾽ ὃν διαστρέφεσθαι τούργον ἐμελλέν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ φίλοι ἔστιν καὶ φρονούντα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰσι, καὶ οὐ δεῖ συνολισθάνειν αὐτοῖς παραβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

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1 παρ' ἐμοὶ Anton Melissa: παρ' ἐμοῖ.
2 ἀλλ᾽ ἄλλους Wytenbach: ἄλλου ἄλλου.
3 κάμπτοντας Wytenbach: κάμπτοντος.
take my seat on such a throne that my friends shall not have more from me than those who are not my friends!" He also was wrong; for he put the government under pledge to his friendship, subordinating the affairs of the community and the public to private favours and interests. And yet when Simonides asked for something that was not just, he said to him: "Neither is he a good poet who sings contrary to metre, nor is he an equitable ruler who grants favours contrary to law." For truly it is an outrageous and abominable thing if a pilot selects sailors and a ship-captain selects a pilot.

Well knowing how at the stern to hold steady the tiller and also

How to stretch taut the yard ropes when rises the onrushing tempest, a

and an architect chooses subordinates and handycraftsmen who will not spoil his work but will cooperate to perfect it, whereas the statesman, who is, as Pindar says, b the best of craftsmen and the maker of lawfulness and justice, does not immediately choose friends whose convictions are like his own, who will aid him and share his enthusiasm for what is noble, but rather those who are always wrongfully and by violent means trying to divert him to various other uses. Such a statesman will be found to be no better than a builder or a carpenter who through ignorance and error makes use of such squares and rulers and levels as are sure to make his work crooked. For friends are the living and thinking tools of the statesman, and he ought not to slip with them when they go wrong, but he must be on the watch that


b Pindar, Frag. 57, p. 403 Schroeder.
The cancellation of debts was one of the chief features of Solon’s reorganization of the government of Athens in the sixth century B.C. The popular term means “shaking off burdens.” This incident is discussed by Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, chap. vi., where Solon’s innocence of wrongdoing is maintained.

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they do not err even through ignorance. In fact, it was this that disgraced Solon and brought him into disrepute among the citizens; for when he made up his mind to lighten debts and to introduce the Seisachtheia (that was the nickname for the cancellation of debts), he told his friends about it, and they did a very wrong thing; they secretly borrowed a great deal of money before the law was published, and a little later, after its publication, they were found to have bought splendid houses and much land with the money they had borrowed, and Solon, who was wronged, was accused of sharing in their wrongdoing. Agesilaüs, too, showed himself very weak and poor-spirited in dealing with his friends' solicitations and, like Pegasus in Euripides' drama,

Crouched down and yielded more if more he wished, and by too great eagerness in aiding them when in misfortunes he made himself seem like them in wrongdoing; for example, when Phoebidas was on trial for seizing the Cadmeia without orders, he got him off by saying that such things were bound to happen of their own accord; and when Sphodrias was being tried for an illegal and frightful act (for he had invaded Attica when the Athenians were friends and allies), he brought about his acquittal, being softened by the amorous pleadings of his son. And a note of his to a certain ruler is quoted as follows: "If Nicias is innocent, let him go; if he is guilty, let him go for my sake; anyway, let him go." But Phocion did

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b Euripides, Bellerophon, Frag. 309, p. 451 Nauck. Quoted in part, Moralia 529 E.

Cf. Moralia, 209 E.
(808) Φωκίων οὐδὲ τῷ γαμβρῷ Χαρίκλῳ1 δίκην ἔχουντι περὶ τῶν 'Ἀρπαλείων συνεισῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ "ἐγὼ σε," φήσας, "ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς δικαίοις ἐποιησάμην κη-
δεστήν," ὥστε ἀπιών. καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ Κορίνθιος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπεὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεόμενος οὐκ ἀπ-
έστησε τῆς τυραννίδος, συνέπραξε τοῖς ἀνελούσι. ἐδε γὰρ οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλον εἶναι τῷ μη
Β συνεπιορκεῖν,2 ὡς ποτὲ Περικλῆς εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ ἄχρι παντὸς νόμου καὶ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος, ὁ
παροφθὲν εἰς τινα μεγάλην βλάβην ἀναφέρει καὶ
κοινῆν, ὡς ἀνέφερε3 τὸ μὴ δούναι δίκην Σφοδρίαν
μηδὲ Φοιβίδαν· οὐτοὶ γὰρ οὐχ ἦκιστα τὴν Σπάρτην
ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸν Λευκτρικὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε
μετρίοις ἀμαρτήμασι τῶν φίλων ἐπεμβαίνει βάρὺν
ὁ πολιτικὸς οὐκ ἀναγκάζει λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίδωσιν
eἰς ἀσφαλὲς θεμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ
περιουσίας βοηθεῖν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ παρίστασθαι καὶ
συνεκπονεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ χάριτες ἀν-
επίθεναι, συλλαβέσθαι πρὸς ἄρχην τῷ φίλῳ μᾶλ-
λον, ἐγχειρίσατι τινὰ διοίκησιν ἐνδοξοῦν ἡ προσβείαν
C φιλάνθρωπον, οἷον ἡγεμόνος τιμᾶς ἐχουσαν, ἡ πρὸς
πόλιν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ ὀμονοίας ἐντευξιῶν. ἀν δὲ ἡ
τις ἐργώδης ἐπιφανῆς δὲ καὶ μεγάλη πράξις, αὐτὸν
ἐπὶ ταύτην τάξαντα πρῶτον εἶτα προσελέσθαι τὸν
φίλον, ὡς ὁ Διομήδης

1 Χαρίκλως Dührner: χαρίλως; cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxi.
2 Van Herwerden, Mnemosyne, xxxvii. p. 211, suggests
that τῷ μὴ συνεπιορκεῖν is an interpolation.
3 ἀνέφερε Reiske: ἀνεφέρετο.
not even appear in support of his son-in-law Charicles when he was accused in connexion with the Harpalus affair; he merely said: "I made you my son-in-law for nothing but what is right" and went away. And Timoleon of Corinth,\(^a\) when he was unable either by instruction or by entreaty to make his brother give up his tyranny, joined with those who destroyed him. For a statesman ought, by stopping short of being a party to perjury, not to be a "friend as far as the altar,"\(^b\) as Pericles once said, but only so far as conforms to any law, equity, or advantage the neglect of which leads to great public injury, as did the failure to punish Sphodrias and Phoebidas, for they did a great deal to make Sparta enter into the Leuctrian war. For the principles that govern a statesman's conduct do not force him to act with severity against the moderate errors of his friends; on the contrary, they make it possible for him, after he has once made the chief public interests safe, out of his abundant resources to assist his friends, take his stand beside them, and help them out of their troubles. And there are also favours which arouse no ill-will, such as aiding a friend to gain an office, putting into his hands some honourable administrative function or some friendly foreign mission, for example one which includes honours to a ruler or negotiations with a State concerning friendship and concord; and if some public activity be laborious, but conspicuous and important, the statesman can first appoint himself to the post and then choose his friend as assistant, just as Diomedes did:

\(^a\) Cf. Life of Timoleon, chaps. iv., v., pp. 237, 238.

\(^b\) A proverbial expression (Latin usque ad aras) equivalent to our "to the bitter end"; cf. Moralia, 531 D.
(808) εἰ μὲν δὴ ἔταρον γε κελεύετε μ’ αὐτὸν ἑλέσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ’, Ὁδυσσής ἐγὼ θείου λαθοίμην; κάκεινος αὐ̇ πάλιν ἀνταποδίδωσιν οἰκεῖως τὸν ἐπαίνον

ἐπτοι δ’ οἶδε, γεραιέ, νεήλυδε, οὐς ἐρεείνεις, Ὀρηίκιοι, τὸν δὲ σφίν ἀνακτ’ ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης ἐκτανε, πάρ δ’ ἔταρους δυοκαίδεκα πάντας ἀρίστους.

αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὑφεσίς οὐχ ἤττον

Ε ἐπικοσμεῖ τῶν ἐπαινομένων τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας· ἢ δ’ αὐθάδεια, φησίν ὁ Πλάτων, ἐρημία σύνοικος. ἔτι τοῖνυν ταῖς καλαῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις χάρισι δεὶ τοὺς φίλους συνεισποιεῖν καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς εὕ παθόντας ἐκεῖνοὺς ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, ὡς αἷτίους ἀμα καὶ συμβούλους γεγενημένους τὰς δὲ φαύλας καὶ ἀτόπους ἄξιώσεις ἀποτρίβεσθαι μὴ πικρῶς ἀλλὰ πράως, διδάσκοντα καὶ παραμυθοῦμενον ως οὐκ

So if you tell me myself to choose another as comrade,
How in that case could I e'er be forgetful of godlike Odysseus?

And Odysseus again fitfully returns the compliment:

Now these horses, old sir, these new ones, of which thou inqirest,
Thracian they are, but their master was slain by the brave Diomedes,
Slain and beside him his comrades, twelve comrades and all of the noblest.

For such concession to one's friends adorns those who give praise no less than those who receive it; but self-conceit, says Plato, dwells with loneliness. Then, besides, a man ought to ascribe to his friends a share in his own good and kindly acts of favour; he should tell those who have been benefited to praise and show them affection as the originators and advisers of the favours. But base and absurd requests he should reject, not harshly but gently, informing the askers by way of consolation that the requests are not in accord with their own excellence and reputation. Epameinondas exemplifies this most admirably: after refusing to let the pedlar out of prison at Pelopidas's request and then letting him out a little later when his mistress asked it, he said, "Favours of that sort, Pelopidas, are fit for courtesans to receive, but not for generals." But Cato acted harshly and arbitrarily when he was quaestor, and Catulus the censor, one of his most intimate friends, asked for the acquittal of a man who was being tried, by saying: "It is a disgrace that you, whose duty it is to train us young men to honourable conduct, have to be thrown out by our servants." For he might, while refusing the

* Homer, II. x. 242.  
* Homer, II. x. 558.  
F ἐξὶν ἀπειπάμενον ἀφελείν τοῦ λόγου τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ πικρίαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῇ πράξει τῷ λυπηρῷ ἐκουσίως ἀλλʼ ἀναγκαῖος ἐπιφέροντα διὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς ἐν πολιτείᾳ τοῖς δεσμένοις τῶν φιλῶν αἰ συλλήψεις. οὐ οὗ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἱδὼν νεκρὸν στρεπτὰ χρυσὰ καὶ μανιάκην περικείμενον αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθεν, ἐπιστραφεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὸν φίλον "ἄνελοι ταῦτα" εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ καὶ 809 οὐ Θεμιστοκλῆς γέγονας." διδώσι γὰρ καὶ τούτῳ πολλάκις τῷ πολιτικῷ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ Μενέμαχοι πάντες εἰσὶ τῷ μὲν ἐγχείρισον συνηγοριάν ἐμμισθοῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, τῷ δὲ σύστησον πλούσιον ἐπιμελείας καὶ προστασίας δεόμενον. ἄλλῳ δὲ εἰς ἐργολαβίαν τινα σύμπραξον ἢ μίσθωσιν ὥφελειας ἔχουσιν. Ἐπαμεινόνδας δὲ καὶ πλούσιω τινὶ προσελθόντα φίλον αἴτειν ἐκέλευσε τάλαντων, ὡς αὐτοῦ δοῦναι κελεύσαντος. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ αἰτήθεις ἔλθων ἐπωθάνετο τῆς αἰτίας, "οἱ χρηστοὶ," εἶπεν, "οὗτοι ὃν πένης έστι, σὺ δὲ πλουτεῖς πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως νευσφι-βομένος." καὶ τὸν Ἀγνίσιαον ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀγάλλεσθαι φησὶ πλουτίζοντα τοὺς φίλους, αὐτὸν ὄντα κρείττονα χρημάτων.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ "πᾶσαις κορυδαλλίσι" κατὰ Σιμωνίδην "χρὴ λόφου ἐγγενέσθαι" καὶ πᾶσα πολιτεία φέρει τινὰς ἐχθρας καὶ διαφοράς, οὐχ ἤκιστα προσῆκε καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐσκέφθαι τὸν πολιτικὸν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐπαινοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν

a The friend to whom this essay is addressed.
b Xenophon, Ages. 4.
favour in fact, have avoided harshness and bitterness of speech, by producing the impression that the offensive quality of his action was not due to his own will, but was forced upon him by law and justice. There are also in public life ways which are not dishonourable of helping friends who need money to acquire it; as, for example, when after the battle Themistocles saw a corpse wearing a golden bracelet and necklace, he himself passed it by, but turned to his friend and said, "Take these things, for you are not, as I am, Themistocles." For the administration of affairs frequently gives the man in public life this sort of chance to help his friends; for not every man is a Menemachus.\(^a\) Hand over to one friend a case at law which will bring in a good fee as advocate in a just cause, to another introduce a rich man who needs legal oversight and protection, and help another to get some profitable contract or lease. Epameinondas even told a friend to go to a certain rich man and ask for a talent, saying that it was he who bade him give it; and when the man who had been asked for it came and asked him the reason, he replied: "Because this man is a good man and poor, but you are rich since you have appropriated much of the State's wealth." And Xenophon\(^b\) says that Agesilaüs delighted in enriching his friends, he being himself above money.

14. But since, to quote Simonides,\(^c\) "all larks must grow a crest," and every public career bears its crop of enmities and disagreements, the public man must give especial consideration to these matters. So most people commend Themistocles and Aristeides who, whenever they went on an embassy or in com-


(809) τὴν ἑχθραν ἀποτιθεμένους, ὅσας ἔπι προσβείαν ἡ στρατηγίαν εξίοιεν, εἶτα πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνοντας. ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ τὸ Κρητῖνον τοῦ Μάγνητος ὑπερφυὼς C ἀρέσκει. 'Ερμεία γὰρ ἀντιπολιτευόμενος ἄνδρι οὐ δυνάτῳ μὲν ἑφιλοτύμῳ δὲ καὶ λαμπρῷ τὴν ψυχήν, ἐπεὶ κατέσχεν ὁ Μιθριδατικὸς πόλεμος, τὴν πόλιν ὄρων κινδυνεύονταν ἐκέλευσε τὸν 'Ερμείαν τὴν ἀρχήν παραλαβόντα χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, αὐτοῦ μεταστάντος· εἰ δὲ βούλεται στρατηγεῖν ἑκείνων, αὐτὸν ἐκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ὡς μὴ φιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπολέσειαν τὴν πόλιν, ἤρεσεν ἡ πρόκλησις τῷ 'Ερμείᾳ, καὶ φήσας έαυτοῦ πολεμικῷτερον εἶναι τὸν Κρητῖναν ὑπεξῆλθε μετὰ πάλιν καὶ γυναικός. ὁ δὲ Κρητίνας ἑκείνον τε προύπεμψε, τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ἔπιδον όσα D φεύγουσιν ἦν ἡ πολιορκουμένοις χρησιμώτερα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄριστα στρατηγήσας παρ' οὓδὲν ἐλθοῦσαν ἀπολέσθαι περιεπόθησεν ἀνελπίστως. εἰ γὰρ εὔγενὲς καὶ φρονήματος μεγάλου τὸ ἀναφωνήσαι φιλῶ τέκν', ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ, πῶς οὐκ ἐκείνους γε προχειρότερον εἰπεῖν ἐκάστῳ "μισῶ τὸν δείνα καὶ βούλομαι ποιῆσαι κακῶς, ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ"; τὸ γὰρ μὴ θέλειν διαλυθῆναι πρὸς ἑχθρὸν, ὥν ἔνεκα δεῖ καὶ φίλον προέσθαι, δεινῶς ἀγριον καὶ θηριῶδες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιον οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Κάτωνα, μηδ' ὅλως ἑχθραν τινὰ πρὸς πολιτικὰς τιθέμενοι 1 μὲν added by Benseler, but placed by him after ἄνδρι. 2 καὶ added by Coraes.

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*Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 918, no. 411. Probably*
mand of an army, laid down their private enmity at the frontier, then took it up again later. And some people also are immensely pleased by the conduct of Cretinas of Magnesia. He was a political opponent of Hermeias, a man who was not powerful but was of ambitious spirit and brilliant mind, and when the Mithridatic war broke out, seeing that the State was in danger, he told Hermeias to take over the command and manage affairs, while he himself withdrew; or, if Hermeias wished him to be general, then Hermeias should remove himself, that they might not by ambitious strife with one another destroy the State. The challenge pleased Hermeias, and saying that Cretinas was more versed in war than himself, he went away with his wife and children. And as he was departing Cretinas escorted him, first giving him out of his own means such things as were more useful to exiles than to people besieged in a city, after which by his excellent military leadership he saved the State unexpectedly when it was on the brink of destruction. For if it is a noble thing and the mark of an exalted spirit to exclaim

    I love my children, but I love my country more,

would it not have been easier for each of them to say, “I hate so-and-so and wish to do him harm, but I love my country more”? For to be unwilling to make peace with a personal enemy for the sake of those things for which we ought even to give up a friend is shockingly uncivilized and as low as the beasts. Certainly Phocion and Cato and their like acted much better, for they would allow no personal enmity to have any bearing whatsoever upon political from the Erechtheus of Euripides and spoken by Praxithea, wife of Erechtheus.
Ε διαφοράς, ἄλλα δεινοὶ καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι μόνον ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγώσιν ὄντες μὴ προέσθαι τὸ συμφέρον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἰδίων ἀμηνίτως καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ διαφερομένοις. δεῖ γὰρ ἔχθρον μηδένα πολίτην νομίζειν, ἂν μὴ τις, οἷος 'Ἄριστών ἡ Νάβις ἡ Κατιλίνας, νόσημα καὶ ἀπόστημα πόλεως ἐγγένηται· τοὺς δ' ἄλλως ἀπάδοντας ἄσπερ ἀρμονικὸν ἐπιτείνοντα καὶ χαλώντα πράσιν εἰς τὸ ἐμμέλες ἄγειν, μὴ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ πρὸς ὑβριν ἐπιφυόμενον, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁμήρος ἡδικώτερον.

Γ ὁ πέπον, ἡ τ' ἐφάμην σε περὶ φρένας ἔμμεναι ἄλλων καὶ

οἰσθα καὶ ἄλλον μύθον ἀμείνονα τούδε νοῆσαι.

ἀν τέ τι χρηστὸν εἰπὼσιν ἡ πράξεως, μὴ τιμαῖς ἄχθόμενον αὐτῶν μηδὲ λόγων εὐφήμων ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἐργοῖς1 φειδόμενον· οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τε ψόγος ὅπου δεῖ πίστιν ἔξει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν διαβαλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς αὔξοντες τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ ταῦτα παραβάλλοντες ἑκείνοις ὡς ἄξια καὶ πρέποντα μᾶλλον. 810 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αξίω τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βοηθεῖν κρίνομένοις πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ἂν ὅσιν ἀλλότριαι τῆς προαίρεσεως αὐτῶν· ὥσπερ ὁ Νέρων ἐκείνος ὀλίγον ἐμπροσθεν ἦ κτείναι τὸν Ὄρασέαν μάλιστα μισῶν καὶ φοβοῦ-

1 καλοῖς ἐργοῖς Reiske: καλοῖς.

a Homer, II. xvii. 171.
b Homer, II. vii. 358.
differences, but were stern and inexorable only in public contests against sacrificing what was for the common good; yet in private matters they treated kindly and without anger their political opponents. For the statesman should not regard any fellow-citizen as an enemy, unless some man, such as Aristion, Nabis, or Catiline, should appear who is a pest and a running sore to the State. Those who are in other ways out of harmony he should, like a skilful musician, bring into unison by gently tightening or relaxing the strings of his control, not attacking angrily and insultingly those who err, but making an appeal designed rather to make a moral impression, as Homer does:

Truly, my friend, I did think you surpassed other men in your wisdom;

and

Knowledge thou hast to devise other speech that is better than this was.

But if they say or do anything good, he should not be vexed by their honours, nor should he be sparing of complimentary words for their good actions; for if we act in this way our blame, where it is needed, will be thought justified, and we shall make them dislike evil by exalting virtue and showing through comparison that good actions are more worthy and fitting than the other kind. And I think also that the statesman should give testimony in just causes even for his opponents, should aid them in court against the malicious prosecutors, and should discredit calumnies about them if such accusations are alien to the principles they profess; just as the infamous Nero, a little before he put Thrasea to death, whom he hated and feared intensely, nevertheless when some-

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μενος, ὃμως ἐγκαλοῦντος τινος ὡς κακῶς κεκριμένου καὶ ἄδικως, "εβουλόμην ἂν," ἔφη, "Θρασέαν οὕτως ἔμε φιλεῖν, ὡς δικαστής ἁριστός ἐστιν."

Οὐ χείρον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν ἐτέρων φύσει πονηρῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτανόντων ἔκθροῦ μνησθέντα κομψοτέρου τὸ ἥθος εἰπεῖν "ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος Β οὐκ ἂν τούτ’ εἰπεν οὐδ’ ἐποίησεν." ὑπομνηστέον δὲ καὶ πατέρων ἀγαθῶν ἐνίους, ὅταν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν οἶον.  "Ομηρος

ἡ ὀλίγον οἱ παίδα ἐοικότα γείνατο Τυδεύς·

καὶ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν Ἀφρικανὸν Ἀππίος ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίας διαγωνιζόμενος "ἡλίκον ἂν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Παύλε, στενάξειας ὑπὸ γῆς, αἰσθόμενος ὅτι σοι τὸν νιὸν ἐπὶ τιμητικὴν ἄρχην καταβαίνοντα Φιλόνικος3 ὁ τελώνης δορυφόρει." τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα νουθετεῖ τοὺς ἀμαρτανόντας ἄμα καὶ κοσμεῖ τοὺς νουθετοῦντας. πολιτικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἀποκρίνεται λοιδορούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰαντος

C οὐ μέμφομαι σε· δρῶν γὰρ εῦ κακῶς λέγεις.

καὶ Κάτων διενεχθεῖσ πρὸς τὸν Πομπῆίου ἐν οἷς ἐβιάζετο τὴν πόλιν μετὰ Καίσαρος, ἐπεὶ κατέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐκέλευσε Πομπῆίῳ παραδοῦναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπειπὼν ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. ὁ γὰρ μεμηγμένος ἐπαίνῳ ψόγος οὐκ ἔχων ὑβριν ἀλλὰ

1 καὶ added by H.N.F.
2 οἶον added by Bernardakis.
3 Φιλόνικος Reiske: φιλόνικος.
one accused him of a bad and unjust decision in court, said: "I wish Thrasea were as good a friend to me as he is a most excellent judge."

And it is not a bad method for confounding persons of a different kind, men who are naturally vicious and prone to evil conduct, to mention to them some enemy of theirs who is of finer character and to say: "He would not have said that or done that." And some men, too, when they do wrong, should be reminded of their excellent fathers, as Homer says:

Truly not much like his sire is the son who was gotten by Tydeus;

And Appius, when competing with Scipio Africanus in the elections, said: "O Paulus, how you would groan in the lower world if you saw that when your son was standing for the censorship Philonicus the publican acted as his bodyguard!" Such sayings serve at once to rebuke wrongdoers and to add lustre to those who administer the rebuke. And the Nestor of Sophocles, too, made a statesmanlike reply when reviled by Ajax:

I blame thee not; for good thy acts, though ill thy speech.

And Cato, although he had opposed Pompey in the violent measures which he and Caesar applied to the State, when war broke out between them advised handing over the leadership to Pompey, saying: "The men who can bring about great evils can also end them." For blame which is mingled with praise and contains nothing insulting but merely frankness

a Homer, Il. v. 800, referring to Diomedes.
b Scipio Africanus the younger (185–129 B.C.) was the son of Lucius Aemilius Paulus.
(810) παρρησίαν, οὐδὲ θυμὸν ἄλλα δηγμὸν ἐμποιῶν καὶ μετάνοιαν, εὑμενής φαίνεται καὶ θεραπευτικός· αἱ δὲ λοιδορίαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἥκιστα πρέπουσιν. ὥρα δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἀισχύνην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τούτον ὑπ’ Αἰσχύνου, καὶ πάλιν ἀ πρὸς Δημάδην γέγραφεν Ἀπερείδης, εἰ Σόλων.

Δ ἀν εἶπεν Ἡ Περικλῆς Ἡ Δυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἡ Πυθακὸς ὁ Λέσβιος. καίτοι γε καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ δικανικῷ τὸ λοιδοροῦν ἔχει μόνον, οἱ δὲ Φιλιππικοὶ καθαρεύουσι καὶ σκόμματος καὶ βωμολοχίας ἀπᾶσης· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀκούοντων μᾶλλον αἰσχύνει τοὺς λέγοντας, ἐτι δὲ καὶ σύγχυσιν ἀπεργάζεται τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διαταράττει τὰ βουλευτηρία καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. ὅθεν ἀρισθ’ ὁ Φωκίων ὑπεκοστὰς τῷ λοιδοροῦντι καὶ παυσάμενος τοῦ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ μόλις ἐσιώπησεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, αὐθίς παρελθὼν "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "περὶ μὲν τῶν ἵππεων καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἀκηκόατε, λείπεται δὲ μοι περὶ τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ πελταστῶν διελθείν." ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ πολλοίς γε δυσκάθεκτον ἔστι τὸ πράγμα καὶ πολλάκις οὐκ ἀχρῆστως οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ἐπιστομίζονται ταῖς ἀπαντήσεις, ἐστώ βραχεία τῇ λέξει καὶ μή θυμὸν ἐμφαίνουσα μηδ’ ἄκραχολίαν, ἀλλὰ πραότητα μετὰ παιδίας καὶ χάριτος ἀμωσγέπως δάκνουσαν· αἱ δ’ ἀντεπιστρέφουσα μάλιστα τοι-αύται· καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν βελῶν ὡσα πρὸς τὸν βαλόντα φέρεται πάλιν βοῶς τινὶ δοκεῖ καὶ στερεό-Γ τητι τοῦ πληγέντος ἀνακρουόμενα τοῦτο πάσχειν·

1 ἐτι δὲ Wytenbach: ἐτι (ὁτι Coraes).
of speech, and arouses not anger but a pricking of
the conscience and repentance, appears both kindly
and healing; but abusive speech is not at all fitting
for statesmen. Observe the things that were said
by Demosthenes against Aeschines and by Aeschines
against him and again those which Hypereides
wrote against Demades, and ask yourself if a Solon
or a Pericles or Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian or
Pittacus the Lesbian would have said them. And
yet even Demosthenes employs abuse only in his
speeches before a court of law; the Philippics are
free from all jeering and scurrility. For such things
bring disgrace upon the speakers rather than upon
those spoken of, and moreover they bring confusion
into the conduct of affairs and they disturb councils
and assemblies. Therefore Phocion did well when
he stopped speaking and yielded the floor to a man
who was reviling him, and then, when the fellow had
at last become silent, came forward again saying:
"Well, then, about the cavalry and the heavy
infantry you have heard already; it remains for me
to discuss the light infantry and the targeteers."
But since many men find it hard to endure that sort
of thing quietly, and abusive speakers are often,
and not without general benefit, made to shut their
mouths by the retorts they evoke, let the reply
be brief in wording, showing no temper and no
extreme rancour, but urbanity mingled with playfulness and grace which somehow or other has a sting
in it. Retorts which turn his own words back upon
the speaker are especially good in this way. For
just as things which are thrown and return to the
thrower seem to do this because they are driven
back by some force and firmness of that against
oûtw το̂ λε̂χθε̂ν ὑπ' ῥώ̂μης κα̂ι συνέσεως το̂υ̂ λοι̂δορη̂θέντος ἐ̂πὶ το̂υς̂ λοι̂δορή̂σαντας ἀναστρέ̂φειν ἕ̂ό̂ικεν. ὡς τὸ ΄Επαμει̂νω̂νδο̂υ̂ πρὸ̂ς Καλλί̂στρατον, ὀνεи̂δίζε̂ντα Θηβαίοις κα̂ι ΄Αργε̂ιοις τή̂ν Οι̂δή̂ποδο̂ς πατροκτονίαν κα̂ι τή̂ν ΄Ορέ̂στου μη̂τροκτονίαν, ὀ̂τι "το̂υς τα̂υτα̂ πο̂νή̂σαντας ἣ̂μα̂ν ἐ̂κβαλό̂ντω̂ν ὑ̂με̂ι̂ς ἐ̂δέ̂ξασθε". κα̂ι τὸ ΄Ανταλκίδο̂υ̂ το̂υ̂ Σπαρ-̂τα̂το̂υ̂ πρὸ̂ς τὸν ΄Αθηναίον τὸν φή̂σαντα "πολλάκις ὑ̂μᾶς ἀπὸ̂ το̂υ̂ Κηφι̂σσο̂υ̂ ἐ̂διώ̂ξαμε̂ν," "ἀλλ' ἥ̂με̂ι̂ς 811 γ' ὑ̂μᾶς ἀπὸ̂ το̂υ̂ Εὐ̂ρώ̂τα̂ οὐ̂δέ̂ποτε." χαρι̂έ̂ντω̂ς δὲ̂ κα̂ι ὁ Ψωκί̂ω̂ν, το̂υ̂ Δη̂μαρχο̂υ̂ κεκραγ̂ό̂τος "Ἀθη̂ναίοι σε ἀποκτε̂νοῦ̂σιν". "ἀ̂ν γε̂ μα̂νω̂σι̂ν," ἔ̂φη, "σὲ̂ δὲ̂, ἀν σω̂φρον̂ο̂σι." κα̂ι Κρά̂σο̂σο̂ς ὁ̂ ῥήτω̂ρ, Δομι̂τί̂ω̂ν πρὸ̂ς αὐ̂το̂ν εἰ̂πό̂ντος "ο̂ὐ̂ σὺ̂ μυ̂ραι̂ν̂ης ἐ̂ν κολυμβή̂θρα̂ σο̂υ̂ τρε̂φομέ̂νης εἰ̂τ̂ ἀ̂ποθανο̂ύ̂σις ἐ̂κλαυ̂σας;") ἀ̂ντηρω̂τή̂σε̂ν "ο̂ὐ̂ σὺ̂ τρε̂ις γυνα̂ίκας ἔθα̂ψας κα̂ι̂ οὐ̂κ ἐ̂δάκρυσας;" τα̂υτα̂ μὲν οὐ̂ν ἔ̂χει τινα̂ χρεἰα̂ν κα̂ι̂ πρὸ̂ς τὸν ἀλλο̂ν βίον.

15. Πολιτείας δ' οἱ̂ μὲν εἰς ἀπα̂ν ἐνδύο̂νται μέρος, ὁ̂ σπερ̂ ό̂ Κάτω̂ν, οὐ̂ δεμιᾶ̂ς ἄξιο̂ντες εἰς Β δύ̂ναμιν ἀ̂πολεί̂πε̂σθαι̂ φροντί̂δος οὐ̂δ' ἐ̂πιμελεί̂ας τὸν ἀγαθὸ̂ν πολιτη̂ν̂ κα̂ι̂ τὸν ΄Επαμει̂νω̂νδα̂ν ἐ̂π̂-̂ αινο̂σι̂ν, ὀ̂τι̂ φθό̂νω̂ κα̂ι̂ πρὸ̂ς ō̂βρι̂ν ἀ̂ποδει̂χθε̂ι̂ς τέ̂λμαρχο̂ς1 ὑ̂πὸ̂ τῶ̂ν Θηβαίο̂ν οὐ̂κ ἡ̂μέ̂λη̂σε̂ν, ἀ̂λλ' εἰ̂πό̂ν ὃ̂ς ο̂ὐ̂ μο̂νο̂ν ἀρχῆ̂ ἀνδρα̂ δει̂κνύσω̂ν ἀλλὰ̂

1 τέ̂λμαρχο̂ς Winckelmann and van Herwerden: τέ̂λεάρχο̂ς.

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a No such official as telearchos is mentioned elsewhere, and the word itself describes no function. On the other hand, telmarchos or telmatarchos, conjectured independently
which they are thrown, so that which is spoken seems through the force and intellect of him who has been abused to turn back upon those who uttered the abuse. For example, the retort of Epameinondas to Callistratus, who reproached the Thebans and the Argives because Oedipus killed his father and Orestes killed his mother: “When we had driven out the doers of those deeds, you took them in,” and that of Antalcidas the Spartan to the Athenian who said “We have often chased you away from the Cephissus,” “Yes, but we have never had to chase you from the Eurotas.” And Phocion also made a witty retort, when, after Demades had screamed “The Athenians will put you to death,” he replied, “Yes, if they are crazy; but you are the one whom they will execute, if they are sane.” And Crassus the orator, when Domitius said to him, “It was you, was it not, who wept when a lamprey died that you kept in a tank?” retorted with the question, “It was you, was it not, who buried three wives without shedding a tear?” Apt replies of this sort, however, are of some use also in life in general.

15. There are men who enter upon every kind of public service, as Cato did, claiming that the good citizen ought, so far as in him lies, to omit no trouble or diligence; and they commend Epameinondas because, when through envy and as an insult he had been appointed telmarch by the Thebans, he did not neglect his duties, but saying that not only does the office distinguish the man, but also the man the

by Winckelmann and van Herwerden, although not found elsewhere, gives a meaning which accords with Plutarch’s description, “official of stagnant pools,” or a special kind of collector of refuse and other nuisances from the streets, very like the koprologoi of Athens.
καὶ ἀρχὴν ἀνὴρ, εἰς μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν ἀξίωμα προ- ῳγαγε τὴν τελεμαρχίαν, οὐδὲν οὐσαν πρότερον ἀλλ’ ἡ περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐκβολῆς κοπρῶν καὶ ἰεν- μάτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπιμέλειαν τινα. κάγῳ δ’ ἀμέλει παρέχω γέλωτα τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσιν, ὀρώμενος ἐν δημοσίῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα πολλάκις, ἄλλα βοηθεῖ μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἀντισθένους μνημονεύομεν. θαυμά- 

C σαντος γὰρ τινος, εἰ δ’ ἄγοράς αὐτὸς φέρει τάριχος, “ἐμαυτῷ γ’,” εἶπεν. ἤγω δ’ ἀνάπαιν πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦτας, εἰ κεράμῳ παρέστηκα διαμετρουμένω καὶ φυράμασι καὶ λίθοις παρακομιζομένοις, οὐκ ἐμαυτῷ γε φημι ταύτῃ οἰκονομεῖν’ ἄλλα τῇ πατρίδι καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλα πολλὰ μικρὸς ἄν τις εἰς καὶ γλύσχρος αὐτῷ διοικῶν καὶ δ’ αὐτὸν πραγμα- 

τευόμενος εἰ δ’ δημοσίᾳ καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, ἄλλα μείζον τὸ μέχρι μικρῶν ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ πρόθυμον. ἔτεροι δὲ σεμνότερον οὖνται καὶ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους. ὁν καὶ Κριτόλαος ἔστιν ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ἄξιών, ὀσπέρ Π η Σαλαμινία ναῦς Ἀθηναία καὶ Ἡ Πύραλος οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἐργὸν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ μεγάλας κατ- 

εσπῶντο πράξεις, οὕτως ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα χρήσθαι, ὡς ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς,

τών ἄγαν γὰρ ἀπτεταὶ θεός, τὰ μικρὰ δ’ εἰς τύχην ἀνεῖς εἰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην.

1 τελεμαρχίαν Winckelmann and van Herwerden: τελεμαρχίαν.  
2 οἰκονομεῖν Xylander: οἰκοδομοῦν.  
3 ἀνεῖς] ἀφεῖς Moralia, 464 λ.

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office, he advanced the *telmarchy* to a position of great consideration and dignity, though previously it had been nothing but a sort of supervision of the alleys for the removal of dung and the draining off of water in the streets. And no doubt I myself seem ridiculous to visitors in our town when I am seen in public, as I often am, engaged in such matters. But I am helped by the remark of Antisthenes which has been handed down to memory; for when someone expressed surprise that he himself carried a dried fish through the market-place, he said, "Yes, but it's for myself"; but I, on the other hand, say to those who criticize me for standing and watching tiles being measured or concrete or stones being delivered, that I attend to these things, not for myself, but for my native place. Yes, for there are many other things in regard to which a man would be petty and sordid who managed them for himself and attended to them for his own sake, but if he does it for the public and for the State's sake, he is not ignoble, on the contrary his attention to duty and his zeal are all the greater when applied to little things. But there are others who think the conduct of Pericles was more dignified and splendid, one of whom is Critolaüs the Peripatetic, who claims that just as the Salaminia and the Paralus, ships at Athens, were not sent out to sea for every service, but only for necessary and important missions, so the statesman should employ himself for the most momentous and important matters, as does the King of the Universe,

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\text{For God great things doth take in hand,  
But small things passing by he leaves to chance,}^{a}
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according to Euripides.

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(811) Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὸ φιλότιμον ἀγαν καὶ φιλόνεικον ἐπαυνοῦμεν, διὸ οὐ μόνον τὴν περιόδον νεικηκῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγώνας, οὐ παγκρατίῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πυγμή καὶ δολίχῳ, τέλος ἡρώα δειπνῶν ἐπιταφίον τινὸς, ὦσπερ εἰώθει, προτεθείσης ἔφασι τῆς μερίδος, ἀναπηδήσας διεπαγκρατίασεν, ὡς οὐδένα νικάν δέον αὐτοῦ παρόντος. οἴον ἡθησαίς καὶ διακοσίους στεφάνους, ὥν συρρέτον ἄν τις ἡγήσαστο τοὺς πλείστους. οὐδὲν οὖν τούτον διαφέρουσιν οἱ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδυόμενοι πολιτικὴν πρᾶξιν, ἀλλὰ μεμπτοὺς τε ταχὺ ποιοῦσιν ἕαυτοι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπαχθεῖσ τε γίγνονται καὶ κατορθοῦντες ἐπίφθουντο καὶ σφαλῶσιν, ἐπιχαρτοῖ, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπιμελείας εἰς χλευασμὸν ὑπονοοῦτει καὶ γέλωτα. τοιούτων τὸ" F Μητίοχος μὲν γὰρ στρατηγεῖ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς,
Μητίοχος δ’ ἄρτους ἐπωπτᾷ; Μητίοχος δὲ τάλφητα,
Μητίοχος δὲ πάντ’ ἀκεῖται, Μητίοχος δ’ οἴ-
μωζεῖται.

τῶν Περικλέους οὗτος ἐίς ἣν ἐταίρων, τῇ δὶ’ ἐκεῖ-
νον, ὡς ἐοίκε, δυνάμει χρώμενος ἐπιφθώνως καὶ κατακόρως. δεῖ δὲ, ὡς φασίν, ἐρώτη τῷ δήμῳ τὸν πολιτικὸν προσφέρεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρόντος

1 δολίχῳ Bernardakis: δολιχῷ.
2 τοιούτων τὸ Duebner: τοιούτων.
3 ἐπωπτᾷ Dindorf: ἐπώπτα or ἐποπτὰ.
4 πάντ’ ἀκεῖται Abresch and Bernardakis: πάντα κεῖται.

Refers to the four great festivals: the Olympic, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean games.
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Neither do we commend the ambition and contentiousness of Theagenes who, after being victorious, not only in the circuit of festivals, a but in many other contests besides, not only in the pancratium, but also in boxing and long-distance running, b at last, when at certain commemorative funeral ceremonies he was partaking of the feast to honour the deceased as a hero, and all present had, as was the custom, their several portions already set before them, sprang up and performed a whole pancratium, as if it were wrong for anyone else to be a victor when he was present; for he had collected by such means twelve hundred head-bands, most of which might be regarded as rubbish. Now there is no difference between him and those who strip for every political activity; they soon cause themselves to be criticized by the multitude; they become unpopular and arouse envy when they are successful, but joy when they meet with failure; and that which was admired in them when they began to hold office results at last in mockery and ridicule. Such are the lines:

Metiochus, you see, is general, Metiochus inspects the roads, Metiochus inspects the bread, and Metiochus inspects the flour,
Metiochus takes care of all things, Metiochus will come to grief.c

He was one of Pericles’ followers and seems to have used the power gained through him in such a way as to arouse odium and disgust. For the statesman ought, as they say, to find the people fond of him when he comes to them and to leave a longing for

b The length was twenty stadia, slightly more than two and a quarter miles.

c From a poet of the Old Comedy, Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 629, no. 1325.
εαυτοῦ πόθον εναπολείπειν· δὲ καὶ Σκιτίων ὁ
812 Ἀφρικανὸς ἔποιεὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διαιτῶ-
μενος, ἀμα καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τὸ βάρος ἀφαιρῶν καὶ
διδοὺς ἀναπνοὴν τοῖς πιέζοσθαι δοκοῦσιν ὑπὸ τῆς
ἐκεῖνου δόξης. Τιμησίας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος τὰ μὲν
ἀλλὰ ἧν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἄνηρ ἀγαθός, τῷ δὲ πάντα
πράσσειν δι᾿ εαυτοῦ φθονοῦμενος ἡγνοεῖ καὶ μισοῦ-
μενος, ἐως αὐτῷ συνεβή τι τοιούτων ἔτυχον ἐν ὁδῷ
παῖδες ἐκ λάκκου τινὸς ἀστράγαλον ἐκκόπτοντες,
ἐκεῖνον παριόντος. ὃν ὦν ἐνέ ἐφασκον μένειν, ὃ δὲ
πατάξας "οὕτως," εἶπεν, "ἐκκόψαμι Τιμησίου
τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ὡς οὕτως ἐκκέκοπται." τοῦθ᾽ ὁ
Τιμησίας ἀκοῦσας καὶ συνεις τὸν διήκοντα διὰ
Β πάντων αὐτοῦ φθόνου, ἀναστρέψας ἔφρασε τὸ
πράγμα τῇ γυναικὶ, καὶ κελεύσας ἐπέσθαι συν-
εκευασμένην εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν ὅχετ τῶν ἐκ
τῆς πόλεως. ἐοικε δὲ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς, τοιού-
του τινὸς ἀπαντῶντος αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
εἶπείν "τί, ὦ μακάριοι, κοπιάτε πολλάκις εὑ
πάσχοντες;"
Τῶν δὲ τοιούτων τὰ μὲν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ᾽ οὐκ εὖ
λέλεκται. τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ κηδεμονία δεὶ
μηδενὸς ἀφεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι προσ-
έχειν καὶ γιγνώσκειν ἕκαστα, μηδ᾽ ὠσπερ ἐν
C πλοῖω σκεῦος ιερὸν ἀποκεῖσθαι τὰς ἐσχάτας περι-
μένοντα χρείας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶχας· ἄλλ᾽ ὡς οἱ
κυβερνηταὶ τὰ μὲν ταῖς χερσὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν πράττουσιν,
tὰ δ᾽ ὀργάνοις ετέροις δι᾽ ἐτέρων ἀπωθεῖν καθ-

1 αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: αὐτοῦ.

a Meaning the largest anchor, held in reserve and used only in a crisis; cf. below, 815 δ and Lucian, Iuppiter Tragoedus, chap. li. and scholium.

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him when he is not there; which Scipio Africanus accomplished by spending much of his time in the country, thereby at one and the same time removing the weight of envy and giving a breathing-space to those who thought they were oppressed by his glory. But Timesias of Clazomenae was in other respects a good man in his service to the State, but by doing everything himself he had aroused rancour and hatred; but of this he was unaware until the following incident took place:—Some boys were knocking a knuckle-bone out of a hole when he was passing by; and some of them said it was still in the hole, but the boy who had struck at it said: “I’d like to knock the brains out of Timesias as truly as this has been knocked out of the hole.” Timesias, hearing this and understanding that dislike of him had permeated all the people, returned home and told his wife what had happened; and directing her to pack up and follow him, he went immediately away from his house and out from the city. And it appears that Themistocles, when he met with some such treatment from the Athenians, said, “Why, my dear people, are you tired of receiving repeated benefits?”

Now of such sayings some are well said, others are not. For so far as goodwill and solicitude for the common weal are concerned, a statesman should not hold aloof from any part of public affairs, but should pay attention to them all and inform himself about all details; nor should he, as the ship’s gear called sacred is stowed apart, hold himself aloof; waiting for the extreme necessities and fortunes of the State; but just as pilots do some things with their own hands but perform other duties by means of different instruments operated by different agents, thus giving
(812) ἧμουν περιάγουσι καὶ στρέφουσι, χρῶνται δὲ καὶ ναύταις καὶ πρωφεύσι καὶ κελευστοῖς, καὶ τούτων ἐνίους ἀνακαλούμενοι πολλάκις εἰς πρύμναν ἐγχειρίζουσι τὸ πηδάλιον· οὕτω τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει παραχωρεῖν μὲν ἐτέρους ἁρχεῖν καὶ προσκαλεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετ᾽ εὐμενείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, κυνεῖν δὲ μὴ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις καὶ ψηφίσμασιν ἡ πράξεσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχοντα πιστοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδράς ἐκαστὸν ἐκάστῃ χρείαν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον προσαρμόστευν. ὡς Περικλῆς

D Μενίττω μὲν ἔχρητο πρὸς τὰς στρατηγίας, δι᾽ Ἡφιάλτου δὲ τὴν ἦς Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἔταπείνωσε, διὰ δὲ Χαρίνου τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ἐκύρωσε ψήφισμα, Δάμπωνα δὲ Θουρίων οἰκιστὴν ἐξεπεμήν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς πολλοὺς διανέμεσθαι δοκούσης, ἦττον ἐνοχλεῖ τῶν φθόνων τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν χρειῶν ἐπιτελεῖται μᾶλλον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ τῆς χειρὸς εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους μερισμὸς οὐκ ἀσθενῆ πεποίηκεν ἀλλὰ τεχνικὴν καὶ ὀργανικὴν αὐτῆς τὴν χρῆσιν, οὕτως ὁ πραγμάτων

Ε ἐτέρους ἐν πολιτείᾳ μεταδίδους ἑνεργοτέραν ποιεῖ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τὴν πράξιν· ὁ δ᾽ ἀπληστὶα δόξης ἡ δυνάμεως πάσαν αὐτῶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνατιθεῖσι καὶ πρὸς ὁ μὴ πέφυκε μηδ᾽ ἥσκηται προσάγων αὐτῶν, ὡς Κλέων πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖν, Φιλοποίμην δὲ πρὸς τὸ ναυαρχεῖν, Ἀννίβας δὲ πρὸς τὸ δημηγορεῖν, οὐκ ἔχει παραίτησιν ἀμαρτάνων ἀλλὰ προσακοῦει τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου

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tέκτων γὰρ ὃν ἐπρασσες οὐ ἐυλογρικά

a Passed in 432 b.c. excluding Megara from commerce with Athens and her allies.

a turn or a twist to the instruments while they sit apart, and they make use of sailors, look-out men, and boatswains, some of whom they often call to the stern and entrust with the tiller, just so it is fitting that the statesman should yield office to others and should invite them to the orators’ platform in a gracious and kindly manner, and he should not try to administer all the affairs of the State by his own speeches, decrees, and actions, but should have good, trustworthy men and employ each of them for each particular service according to his fitness. So Pericles made use of Menippus for the position of general, humbled the Council of the Areopagus by means of Ephialtes, passed the decree against the Megarians by means of Charinus, and sent Lampon out as founder of Thurii. For, when power seems to be distributed among many, not only does the weight of hatreds and enmities become less troublesome, but there is also greater efficiency in the conduct of affairs. For just as the division of the hand into fingers does not make it weak, but renders it a more skilful instrument for use, so the statesman who gives to others a share in the government makes action more effective by co-operation. But he who through insatiable greed of fame or power puts the whole burden of the State upon himself and sets himself even to tasks for which he is not fitted by nature or by training (as Cleon set himself to leading armies, Philopoemen to commanding ships, and Hannibal to haranguing the people)—such a man has no excuse when he makes mistakes, but will have to hear Euripides quoted to boot,

A joiner thou, yet didst a task essay
That was no carpentry.
λέγειν ἀπίθανον ὃν ἐπρέσβευες ἡ ῥάθυμος ὃν ὥκο
νόμεις, ψήφων ἀπείρος ἐταμίευες ἡ γέρων καὶ
F Ἀσθενῆς ἐστρατήγεις. Περικλῆς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κι-
μωνα διενέματο τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρχειν
ἐν ἀστεί, τὸν δὲ πληρώσαντα τὰς ναῦς τοῖς βαρβά-
ροις πολεμεῖν· ἦν γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρὸς πολεμεῖαν ὁ δὲ
πρὸς πόλεμον εὐφυέστερος. ἔπαινοςι δὲ καὶ τὸν
Ἀναφλύστιον Εὐβουλον, ὅτι πίστιν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα καὶ δύναμιν οὐδὲν τῶν Ἕλληνικῶν ἔπραξεν
οὐδ’ ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἦλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα
tάξας ἑαυτὸν ἡµῖνησε τὰς κοινὰς προσόδους καὶ µε-
γάλα τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτων ὄφελησεν. Ἰφικράτης
δὲ καὶ µελέτας λόγων ποιούµενος ἐν οὐκῷ πολλῶν
813 παρόντων, ἐχλευάζετο· καὶ γὰρ εἰ λογεύσ ἀγαθὸς
ἀλλὰ µὴ φαύλος ἦν, ἔδει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς δόξαν
ἀγαπῶντα τῆς σχολῆς ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς σοφισταῖς.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντὶ δῆµω τὸ κακόθης καὶ φιλ-
αιτίων ἔνεστι πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευοµένους καὶ πολλὰ
tῶν χρησίµων, ἂν µὴ στάσιν ἔχῃ µηδ’ ἀντιλογίαν,
ὑπονοοῦσι πράττεσθαι συνωµοτικῶς, καὶ τούτῳ δια-
βάλλει μάλιστα τὰς ἑταίρειας καὶ φιλίας, ἀληθινὴν
µὲν ἔχθραν ἦ διαφορὰν οὐδεµίαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπο-
λειπτέον, ὡς ὁ τῶν Χίων δηµαγωγὸς Ὄνοµάδηµος
οὐκ ἔα τῇ στάσει κρατήσας πάντας ἐκβάλλει τοὺς
Β ὑπεναντίους “ὁπως” ἐφη “µὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
ἀρξώµεθα διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἔχθρῶν παντάπασιν
ἀπαλλαγέντες.” τούτῳ µὲν γὰρ εὐηθὲς· ἀλλ’ ὅταν

a Negotiations with other Greek states.
So, being no persuasive speaker, you went on an embassy, or being easy-going you undertook administration, being ignorant of accounting you were treasurer, or when old and feeble you took command of an army. But Pericles divided the power with Cimon so that he should himself be ruler in the city and Cimon should man the ships and wage war against the barbarians; for one of them was more gifted for civic government, the other for war. And Eubulus the Anaphlystian also is commended because, although few men enjoyed so much confidence and power as he, yet he administered none of the Hellenic affairs and did not take the post of general, but applied himself to the finances, increased the revenues, and did the State much good thereby. But Iphicrates was jeered at when he did exercises in speaking at his home in the presence of many hearers; for even if he had been a good speaker, and not, as he was, a poor one, he ought to have been contented with glory in arms and to have left the school to the sophists.

16. But since there is in every democracy a spirit of malice and fault-finding directed against men in public life, and they suspect that many desirable measures, if there is no party opposition and no expression of dissent, are done by conspiracy, and this subjects a man’s associations and friends to calumny, statesmen ought not to let any real enmity or disagreement against themselves subsist, as Onomademus the popular leader of the Chians did when, after his victory in the factional strife, he refused to have all his opponents banished from the city, “that we may not,” he said “begin to quarrel with our friends when we have altogether got rid of our enemies.” Now that was silly; but when the popu-
The Greeks did not know that the most important bee in the hive was female—the queen bee.
lace are suspicious about some important and salutary measure, the statesmen when they come to the assembly ought not all to express the same opinion, as if by previous agreement, but two or three of the friends should dissent and quietly speak on the other side, then change their position as if they had been convinced; for in this way they draw the people along with them, since they appear to be influenced only by the public advantage. In small matters, however, which do not amount to much, it is not a bad thing to let one's friends really disagree, each following his own reasoning, that in matters of the highest importance their agreement upon the best policy may not seem to be prearranged.

17. Now the statesman is always by nature ruler of the State, like the leader a bee in the hive, and bearing this in mind he ought to keep public matters in his own hands; but offices which are called "authorities" and are elective he ought not to seek too eagerly or often, for love of office is neither dignified nor popular; nor should he refuse them, if the people offer them and call him to them in accordance with the law, but even if they be too small for a man of his reputation, he should accept them and exercise them with zeal; for it is right that men who are adorned with the highest offices should in turn adorn the lesser, and that statesmen should show moderation, giving up and yielding some part of the weightier offices, such as the generalship at Athens, the prytany at Rhodes, and the Boeotarchy here, and should add to the minor offices dignity and grandeur, that we may not be despised in connexion with the latter, nor envied on account of the former. And when entering upon any office whatsoever, you
ἀρχὴν οὐ μόνον ἔκεινος δει προχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς, οὐς ὁ Περίκλης αὐτὸν ὑπεμίμησκεν
Ε ἀναλαμβάνων τὴν χλαμύδα, "πρόσεχε, Περίκλεις· ἐλευθέρων ἄρχεις, Ἐλλήνων ἄρχεις, πολιτῶν Ἀθηναίων"· ἀλλὰ κάκεινο λέγειν πρὸς ἑαυτόν, "ἄρχο-
μενος ἄρχεις, ὑποτεταγμένης πόλεως ἀνθυπάτους,
ἐπιτρόποις Καίσαρος· 'ου ταῦτα λόγχη πεδίας,\(^1\) οὐδ' αἱ παλαιὶ Σάρδεις οὖδ' ἡ Λυδῶν ἐκείνη δύ-

ναις'· εὐσταλεστέραν δεῖ τὴν χλαμύδα ποιεῖν, καὶ ἐβλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα,\(^2\) καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ μὴ πολὺ φρονεῖν μηδὲ\(^3\) πιστεύειν, ὅρωντα τοὺς καλτίους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς· ἀλλὰ μυμεῖσθαι

Γ τοὺς ὑποκρίτας, πάθος μὲν ἡδον καὶ ἥθος καὶ ἀξίωμα τῷ ἀγώνι προστιθέντας,\(^4\) τοῦ δ' ὑποβολέως ἀκούοντας καὶ μὴ παρεκβαίνοντας τοὺς βυθοῦς καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς διδομένης ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τῶν κρα-

τοῦτων. ἡ γὰρ ἑκπτώσις οὐ χείρι οὐριγμοῦ οὐδὲ χλευασμὸν οὐδὲ κλωγμόν, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς μὲν ἑπέβη

deinὸς κολαστῆς πέλεκυς αὐχένοις τομεύς,

ὡς τοὺς περὶ Παρδάλαν τὸν ὑμέτερον ἐκλαθομένουις τῶν ὀρῶν· ὁ δ' εἰς ἑκριφεῖς εἰς νήσον γέγονε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα

Φολεγάνδριος ἡ Σικινήτης,\(^5\)

814 ἀντὶ γ' Ἀθηναίου πατρίδ' ἀμευμάμενος.

\(^1\) λόγχη πεδίας Dueber (from Sophocles, Trach. 1058): λόγχης πεδία.

\(^2\) ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγίου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα] ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πρὸς τὸ στρατηγίου Kaltwasser.

\(^3\) φρονεῖν μηδὲ Coraes: φρόνημα.

\(^4\) προστιθέντασ] μὴ προστιθέντασ (?) Capps; cf. Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxii. 856 ά.

\(^5\) Σικινήτης Bergk: σικινήτης.

\(^a\) Sophocles, Trachiniae, 1058.
must not only call to mind those considerations of which Pericles reminded himself when he assumed the cloak of a general: "Take care, Pericles; you are ruling free men, you are ruling Greeks, Athenian citizens," but you must also say to yourself: "You who rule are a subject, ruling a State controlled by proconsuls, the agents of Caesar; these are not the spearmen of the plain,\(^a\) nor is this ancient Sardis, nor the famed Lydian power. "You should arrange your cloak more carefully and from the office of the generals keep your eyes upon the orators' platform, and not have great pride or confidence in your crown, since you see the boots of Roman soldiers just above your head. No, you should imitate the actors, who, while putting into the performance their own passion, character, and reputation, yet listen to the prompter and do not go beyond the degree of liberty in rhythms and metres permitted by those in authority over them.\(^b\) For to fail in one's part in public life brings not mere hissing or catcalls or stamping of feet, but many have experienced

The dread chastiser, axe that cleaves the neck,\(^c\)

as did your countryman Pardalas and his followers when they forgot their proper limitations. And many another, banished to an island, has become, as Solon says,\(^d\)

Pholegandrian or Sicinete,

No more Athenian, having changed his home.

\(^a\) In Greece of Plutarch's time "those in authority" in political matters were the Romans.


\(^c\) Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii. p. 34.
(814) Τὰ μὲν γάρ μικρὰ παιδία τῶν πατέρων ὀρῷντες ἐπιχειροῦντα τὰς κρηπίδας ὑποδείσθαι καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους περιτήθεσθαι μετὰ παιδίας γελώμεν, οἱ δ’ ἀρχοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνοίητος τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ φρονήματα καὶ πράξεις ἀσυμμέτρους τοῖς παρούσι καίροις καὶ πράγμασιν οὕσας μιμεῖσθαι κελεύοντες ἐξαίρουσι τὰ πλήθη, γέλωτά τε ποιοῦντες¹ οὐκέτι γέλωτος ἄξια πάσχουσιν, ἀν μὴ πάνω καταφρονηθῶσιν. πολλὰ γὰρ ἐστίν ἅλλα τῶν πρότερον Β Ἐλλήνων διεξιόντα τοῖς νῦν ἡθοποιεῖν καὶ σωφρονίζειν, ὡς ’Αθήνησιν ὑπομιμήσκοντα μή τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ’ οἶδον ἐστὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπὶ τοῖς τριάκοντα· καὶ τὸ ζημιώσαι Φρύνιχον τραγῳδία διδάξαντα τὴν Μιλήτου ἀλωσιν· καὶ ὅτι, Θήβας Κασάνδρου κτίζοντος, ἐστεφανηφόρησαν· τὸν δὲ ἐν ’Ἀργεῖ πυθόμενοι σκυταλισμόν, ἐν δὲ πεντακοσίοις καὶ χιλίοις ἀνηρίκεσαν ἐς αὐτῶν² οἱ ’Αργεῖοι, περιενεγκεῖν καθάρσιον περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσαν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρπαλείοις τὰς οἰκίας ἐρευνῶντες μόνην τὴν του γεγαμηκότος νεωστὶ παρῆλθον. ταύτα γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐξεστὶ ζη- C λούντας ἐξομοιούσθαι τοῖς προγόνοις· τὸν δὲ Μαραθῶνα καὶ τὸν Ἐυρυμέδοντα καὶ τὰς Πλαταιάς, καὶ ὅσα τῶν παραδειγμάτων οἴδειν ποιεῖ καὶ φρυνάτ-

¹ γέλωτά τε ποιοῦντες Bernardakis: γελωτοποιοῦντες or γελοία τε ποιοῦντες.
² αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

* The Thirty Tyrants at Athens were overthrown in 403 B.C.; Phrynichus presented the tragedy shortly after Miletus was captured by the Persians in 494 B.C.; Cassander 238
Furthermore when we see little children trying playfully to bind their fathers' shoes on their feet or fit their crowns upon their heads, we only laugh, but the officials in the cities, when they foolishly urge the people to imitate the deeds, ideals, and actions of their ancestors, however unsuitable they may be to the present times and conditions, stir up the common folk and, though what they do is laughable, what is done to them is no laughing matter, unless they are merely treated with utter contempt. Indeed there are many acts of the Greeks of former times by recounting which the statesman can mould and correct the characters of our contemporaries, for example, at Athens by calling to mind, not deeds in war, but such things as the decree of amnesty after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants, the fining of Phrynichus for presenting in a tragedy the capture of Miletus, their decking their heads with garlands when Cassander refounded Thebes; how, when they heard of the clubbing at Argos, in which the Argives killed fifteen hundred of their own citizens, they decreed that an expiatory sacrifice be carried about in the assembly; and how, when they were searching the houses at the time of Harpalus's frauds, they passed by only one, that of a newly married man. By emulating acts like these it is even now possible to resemble our ancestors, but Marathon, the Eurymedon, Plataea, and all the other examples which make the common folk vainly to swell with refounded Thebes in 316–315 B.C., ten years after its destruction by Alexander; the clubbing of aristocrats at Argos by the mob took place in 370 B.C.; Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, brought to Athens in 329 B.C. funds stolen from Alexander and was supposed to have bribed many prominent Athenians, one of whom was Demosthenes.
(814) τεσθαὶ διακεινὰς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀπολυπόντας ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν.

18. Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ παρέχειν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀναίτιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλον ἔχειν ἀεί τινα τῶν ἄνω δυνατώτατῶν, ὥσπερ ἔρμα τῆς πολιτείας βέβαιον· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ ῥωμαίοι πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς σπουδὰς προθυμότατοι τοῖς φίλοις· καὶ καρπὸν ἐκ φιλίας ἡγεμονικῆς λαμβάνοντας, ὁιον ἔλαβε Πολύβιος καὶ Παναίτιος τῇ Δ. Σκιπίωνος εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεγάλα τὰς πατρίδας ὡφελήσαντες, εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν δημοσίαν ἐξενέγκασθαι καλὸν. "Ἀρειὼν τε Κα isize, ὅτε τὴν Ἀλέξανδρειαν εἰλε, διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ μόνω προσομιλὶν τῶν συνήθων συνεισήλασεν, εἴτε τοῖς Ἀλέξανδρεύσι τὰ ἐσχατὰ προσδοκῶσι καὶ δεομένους ἐφη διαλλάττεσθαι διὰ τὸ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὸν οἰκιστὴν Ἀλέξανδρον, "καὶ τρίτον," ἐφη, "τῷ φίλῳ μου τούτῳ χαριζόμενος." ἀρά γὰρ ἀξιοὶ τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ παραβαλέων τὰς πολυταλάντους ἐπιτροπὰς καὶ διοικήσεις τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν, ὃς διώκοντες οἱ πολλοὶ γηράσκουσι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίας θύραις, τὰ οἴκου προλυπόντες· ἢ

1 τῶν ἄνω δυνατώτατων] Bernardakis remarks that we should read either τῶν ἄνω (preferably) or τῶν δυνατώτατων and that in the Palatine codex ἄνω is written above the line by the first hand.

2 λαμβάνοντας Xylander: λαμβάνοντες.

3 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς Bernardakis.

4 εὐδαιμονίαν δημοσίαν Bernardakis (δημοσίαν εὐδαιμονίαν Wyttenbach): εὐδαιμονίαν.

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pride and kick up their heels, should be left to the schools of the sophists.

18. And not only should the statesman show himself and his native State blameless towards our rulers, but he should also have always a friend among the men of high station who have the greatest power as a firm bulwark, so to speak, of his administration; for the Romans themselves are most eager to promote the political interests of their friends; and it is a fine thing also, when we gain advantage from the friendship of great men, to turn it to the welfare of our community, as Polybius and Panaetius, through Scipio's goodwill towards them, conferred great benefits upon their native States. And Caesar, when he took Alexandria, drove into the city holding Areius by the hand and conversing with him only of all his friends, then said to the Alexandrians, who were expecting the most extreme measures and were begging for mercy, that he pardoned them on account of the greatness of their city and for the sake of its founder Alexander, "and thirdly," said he, "as a favour to my friend here." Is there any comparison between such a favour and the procuratorships and governorships of provinces from which many talents may be gained and in pursuit of which most public men grow old haunting the doors of other men's houses and leaving their own affairs uncared for?

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a i.e. the Romans.
b Arcadia and Rhodes respectively. Polybius was a statesman and historian, Panaetius a Stoic philosopher.
c Augustus Caesar is meant. For a further account of his treatment of Areius see Life of Antony, chap. lxxx.
d This refers to the Roman custom of greeting at the front door.
E τον Εὐριπίδην ἐπανορθώτεον ἄδοντα καὶ λέγοντα, ὡς εἰπέρ ἀγρυπνεῖν χρῆ καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐπ’ αὐλειον ἐτέρου καὶ ὑποβάλλειν ἐαυτὸν ἡγεμονικῇ συνθείᾳ, πατρίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἐπὶ ταῦτα χωρεῖν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοῖς καὶ δικαῖοις φιλίαι ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν;

19. Ποιοῦντα μέντοι καὶ παρέχοντα τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εὐπειθῆ τὴν πατρίδα δεῖ μή προσεκταπεινοῦν, μηδὲ τοῖς σκέλους δεδεμένου προσυποβάλλει καὶ τὸν τράχηλον, ὥσπερ ἐνοί, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μεῖζω φέροντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ἐξονεδίζουσι τὴν δούλειαν, μᾶλλον δ’ ὅλως τὴν πολιτείαν ἀναιροῦσι, καταπλήγα καὶ περιδεὰ καὶ πάντων ἀκυρὸν ποιοῦντες. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ χωρίς ιατροῦ μήτε δειπνεῖν μήτε λούσθαι συνεθισθέντες οὔτ’ ὅσον ἡ φύσις δίδωσι χρῶνται τῷ υγιαίνειν, οὕτως οἱ παντὶ δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίῳ καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προσάγοντες ἡγεμονικῇ κρίσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἐαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἡ βουλοῦνται δεσπότας εἶναι τοὺς ἠγομένους. αἰτία δὲ τούτου μάλιστα πλεονεξία καὶ φιλονεικία τῶν πρῶτων. ἡ γὰρ ἐν ὦς βλάπτουσι τοὺς ἐλάττων ἐκβιάζονται φεύγειν τὴν πόλιν ἡ περὶ ὅν διαφέρονται πρὸς ἄλληλοις οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες

1 αὐλειον Hartman: αὐλιον.

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* Euripides in Phoenissae 524 f. represents Eteocles as saying—

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eιπέρ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρῆ, τυραννίδος πέρι
cάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν.
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If wrong be ever right, for the throne’s sake
Were wrong most right. (Way’s translation.)

If Plutarch quotes this passage, correcting it to suit his pur-
Or should we correct Euripides when he chants the sentiment that if a man must spend sleepless nights and haunt another man's court and subject himself to an intimacy with a great man, it is best to do so for the sake of his native land, but otherwise it is best to welcome and hold fast friendships based on equality and justice?

19. However, the statesman, while making his native State readily obedient to its sovereigns, must not further humble it; nor, when the leg has been fettered, go on and subject the neck to the yoke, as some do who, by referring everything, great or small, to the sovereigns, bring the reproach of slavery upon their country, or rather wholly destroy its constitutional government, making it dazed, timid, and powerless in everything. For just as those who have become accustomed neither to dine nor to bathe except by the physician's orders do not even enjoy that degree of health which nature grants them, so those who invite the sovereign's decision on every decree, meeting of a council, granting of a privilege, or administrative measure, force their sovereign to be their master more than he desires. And the cause of this is chiefly the greed and contentiousness of the foremost citizens; for either, in cases in which they are injuring their inferiors, they force them into exile from the State, or, in matters concerning which they differ among themselves, since they are unpose, he simply substitutes ἀγρυπνεῖν for ἀδίκεῖν and πατρίδος for τυραννίδος. And the sentiment about equality, as the basis of true friendship, seems to be an echo of 535 f. of the same play. This method of dealing with passages from the poets is not infrequently employed by Plutarch.

b This doubtless refers to honorary citizenship, crowns, statues, and the like.
The citizens of most ancient states were divided into tribes or clans.

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willing to occupy an inferior position among their fellow-citizens, they call in those who are mightier; and as a result senate, popular assembly, courts, and the entire local government lose their authority. But the statesman should soothe the ordinary citizens by granting them equality and the powerful by concessions in return, thus keeping them within the bounds of the local government and solving their difficulties as if they were diseases, making for them, as it were, a sort of secret political medicine; he will prefer to be himself defeated among his fellow-citizens rather than to be successful by outraging and destroying the principles of justice in his own city and he will beg everyone else to do likewise, and will teach them how great an evil is contentiousness. But as it is, not only do they not make honourable and gracious compromises with their fellow-citizens and tribesmen at home and with their neighbours and colleagues in office, but they carry their dissensions outside to the doors of professional orators and put them in the hands of lawyers, to their own great injury and disgrace. For when physicians cannot entirely eradicate diseases, they turn them outwards to the surface of the body; but the statesman, if he cannot keep the State entirely free from troubles, will at any rate try to cure and control whatever disturbs it and causes sedition, keeping it meanwhile hidden within the State, so that it may have as little need as possible of physicians and medicine drawn from outside. For the policy of the statesman should be that which holds fast to security and avoids the tumultuous and mad impulse of empty opinion, as has been said. In his disposition, however, high spirit and
(815) μένος πολυθαρσῆς ἐνέστω ἄτρομον, οἷόν τ’ ἄνδρας ἑσέρχεται,1 οἱ περὶ πάτρης ἄνδράςι δυσμενέσσι
καὶ πράγμασι δυσκόλους καὶ καιροῖς ἀντερείδουσι καὶ διαμάχονται. δεῖ γὰρ οὖ ποιεῖν χειμῶνας αὐτὸν ἄλλα μὴ προλείπειν ἐπιπεσόντων, οὐδὲ
D κινεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἐπισφαλῶς, σφαλλομένη δὲ καὶ κινδυνευούσῃ βοηθεῖν, ἄσπερ ἀγκυραν ἴερὰν ἀρά-
μενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις· οἰα Περγαμηνῶν ἐπὶ Νέρωνος κατέλαβε πράγματα, καὶ Ἀρδίους ἔναγχος ἐπὶ Δωμετιανοῦ, καὶ Θεσ-
σαλοὺς πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Πετραῖον ξώντα κατακαύσαντας.

ἐνθ’ οὖκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις
οὐδὲ καταπτώσσοντα τὸν ἀλήθῶς πολιτικὸν οὐδ’ αἰτιώμενον ἔτέρους αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν δεινῶν ἐξω τιθέμενον, ἄλλα καὶ πρεσβεύοντα καὶ πλέοντα καὶ λέγοντα πρῶτον οὗ μόνον

ηκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότρεπε λοιγόν, Ἡπολ-
λον,

ἀλλὰ, κἂν τῆς ἁμαρτίας μὴ μετάσχη τοῖς πολλοῖς,
Ε τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδεχόμενον. καὶ γὰρ καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τῶ καλῶ πολλάκις ἐνὸς ἄνδρὸς ἁρετὴ καὶ φρόνημα θαυμασθὲν ἡμαύρωσε

1 ἑσέρχεται Homer: ἐπέρχεται.

* Homer, II. xvii. 156 ff.
courage must be, full of daring, 
Dauntless, and such as inspires all men who for weal of 
their country 
'Gainst men of hostile intent*
and against difficult conditions and times stand 
firm in resistance and struggle to the end. For 
he must not create storms himself, and yet he 
must not desert the State when storms fall upon 
it; he must not stir up the State and make it reel 
perilously, but when it is reeling and in danger, he 
must come to its assistance and employ his frank-
ness of speech as a sacred anchor* heaved over in 
the greatest perils. Such were the troubles which 
overtook the Pergamenes under Nero and the 
Rhodians recently under Domitian and the Thessa-
lians earlier under Augustus, when they burned 
Petraeus alive.

Then slumb’ring thou never wouldst see him,*
nor cowering in fear, the man who is really a states-
man, nor would you see him throwing blame upon 
others and putting himself out of danger, but you 
will see him serving on embassies, sailing the seas and 
saying first not only 

Here we have come, the slayers; avert thou the plague, O 
Apollo,*
but, even though he had no part in the wrongdoing 
of the people, taking dangers upon himself in their 
behalf. For this is noble; and besides being noble, 
one man’s excellence and wisdom by arousing ad-
miration has often mitigated anger which has been

* See note on 812 b above.
\* Homer, *II.* iv. 223. Spoken of Agamemnon.
\* Callimachus, p. 787 ed. Schneider.
τὴν πρὸς πάντας ὀργὴν καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ πικρὸν τῆς ἀπειλῆς· οἶα καὶ πρὸς Βοῦλῳ ἐουκε καὶ Σπέρχιν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας παθεῖν ὁ Πέρσης, καὶ πρὸς Σθέννων Πομπήιος ἔπαθεν, ὦτε, Μαμερ-τίνους μέλλοντος αὐτῶν κολάζειν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, Ὁ οὖν ἔφη δίκαια πράξειν αὐτὸν ὁ Σθέννων, εἰ πολλοὺς ἀναίτιους ἀπολεῖ δὴ ἑνὰ τὸν αἵτιον· ὁ γὰρ ἀποστήσας τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσας τοὺς δὴ ἐχθροὺς βιασάμενος. οὔτω ταῦτα διέθηκε τὸν Πομπήιον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφ-εἶναι καὶ τῷ Σθέννων χρήσασθαι φιλανθρώπως. ὁ δὲ Σύλλα ξένος ὁμοία μὲν ἀρετῇ πρὸς οὐκ ὁμοίαν 816 δὲ χρησάμενος εὐγενῶς ἐτελεύτησεν· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐλῶν Πρανιεστὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἐμελλε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας ἀποσφάττειν ἕνα δὲ ἐκείνων ἥφθει διὰ τὴν ξενίαν, εἰπὼν ὡς οὐ βούλεται σωτηρίας χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ φονεῖ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀνέμυξεν έαυτὸν καὶ συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολίταις. τοιούτους μὲν οὖν καιροὺς ἀπεύχεσθαι δεὶ καὶ τὰ βελτίωνα προσδοκᾶν. 20. Ἰερὸν δὲ χρήμα καὶ μέγα πᾶσιν ἁρχῇν οὖσαν καὶ ἁρχοντα δεὶ μᾶλιστα τιμᾶν, τιμὴ δ’ ἁρχῆς ὁμοφροσύνη καὶ φιλία πρὸς συνάρχοντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἡ στέφανοι καὶ χλαμύς περιπόρφυρος. οἱ B δὲ τῷ συστρατεύσασθαι καὶ συνεφηβεύσαι φιλίας

a The story of these two is told in Moralia, 235 f, 236.

b See Moralia, 203 ν, where the name is Sthennius, and Life of Pompey, chap. x.

c Athenian youths from eighteen to twenty years of age were called ephebi. For one year they were trained chiefly in gymnastics and military drill, then for a year they served
aroused against the whole people and has dissipated the threatened terror and bitterness. Something of that sort seems to have happened to the Persian king in the case of Boulis and Sperchis a the Spartans, and happened to Pompey in the case of Sthenno, b when, as he was going to punish the Mamertines for revolting, Sthenno told him that he would be doing wrong if he should destroy many innocent men for the fault of one; for, he said, it was he himself who had caused the city to revolt by persuading his friends and compelling his enemies. This so affected Pompey that he let the city go unpunished and also treated Sthenno kindly. But Sulla’s guest-friend, practising virtue of the same sort but not having to do with the same sort of man, met with a noble end. For when Sulla, after the capture of Praenestē, was going to slaughter all the rest of the citizens but was letting that one man go on account of his guest-friendship, he declared that he would not be indebted for his life to the slayer of his fatherland, and then mingled with his fellow-citizens and was cut down with them. However, we must pray to be spared such crises and must hope for better things.

20. And deeming every public office to be something great and sacred, we must also pay the highest honour to one who holds an office; but the honour of an office resides in concord and friendship with one’s colleagues much more than in crowns and a purple-bordered robe. But those who consider that serving together in a campaign or in the school for young citizens c is the beginning as guards on the frontier. Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, chap. xlii.
(816) ἀρχὴν τιθέμενοι, τὸ δὲ συστρατηγεῖν καὶ συνάρχειν ἐχθρας αἰτίαν λαμβάνοντες, ἐν τῶν τριῶν κακῶν οὐ διαπεφεύγασιν· ἢ γὰρ Ἰσοὺς ἠγούμενοι τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοὶ στασιάζουσιν ἢ κρείττονας φθονοῦσιν ἢ ταπεινοτέρους καταφρονοῦσι. δεὶ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν κρείττονα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν ἤττονα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν ὄμοιον, ἀσπάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλεῖν ἄπαντας, ὡς

οὐ διὰ τραπέζης

οὐδὲ κώθωνος,

οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ἔστις,

ἀλλὰ κοινῆ καὶ δημοσία ψήφῳ φίλους γεγονότας καὶ τρόπου τινά πατρίων τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος

οὐ διαφέρουσιν ἔχονται. δ’ γοῦν Σκιτίων ἦκουσεν ἐν Ὁμηρῷ κακῶς, ὅτι φίλους ἐστιῶν ἐπὶ τῇ καθ-

ιερώσει τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τὸν συνάρχοντα Μόμμιον

οὐ παρέλαβε· καὶ γάρ, εἰ τάλλα μὴ φίλους ἐνόμιζον ἐαυτοὺς, ἐν τοῖς γε τουούτοις ἥξιον τιμῶν καὶ

φιλοφρονεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν. ὅπου τοῖνυν ἀνδρὶ

tάλλα θαυμασίω τῷ Σκιτίωνι μικρὸν οὗτω φιλ-

ανθρώπουν παραλειφθὲν ὑπεροψίας ἤνεγκε δόξαν,

ἡπου κολούων ἂν τις ἀξίωμα συνάρχοντος ἢ πρά-

ξεσιν ἔχουσαις φιλοτιμίαις ἐπηρεάζων ἢ πάντα συλ-

λήβδῃν ἀνατιθεῖσ αἷμα καὶ περιάγων ὑπ’ αὐθαδείας

δεὶς ἐαυτὸν ἐκείνου δ’ ἀφαίρουμενος, ἐπιεικῆς ἄν

φανεῖ καὶ μέτριος; μέμνημαι νέον ἐμαυτὸν ἐτὶ

πρεσβευτὴν μεθ’ ἐτέρου πεμφθέντα πρὸς ἀνθύπατον,

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of friendship, but regard joint service in the generalship or other office as the cause of enmity, have failed to avoid one of the three evils; for either they regard their colleagues as their equals and are themselves factious, or they envy them as their superiors, or despise them as their inferiors. But a man ought to conciliate his superior, add prestige to his inferior, honour his equal, and be affable and friendly to all, considering that they have been made

Friends, not of festive board,
nor of tankard,

nor of fireside's cheer,  
but all alike by vote of the people, and that they bear goodwill toward one another as a heritage, so to speak, from their fatherland. At any rate Scipio was criticized in Rome because, when he entertained his friends at the dedication of the temple of Hercules, he did not include his colleague Mummius; for even if in general the two men did not consider themselves friends, on such occasions they usually thought it proper to show honour and friendliness to each other on account of their office. Inasmuch, therefore, as the omission of so slight an act of courtesy brought a reputation for haughtiness to Scipio, a man in other respects admirable, how can anyone be considered honourable and fair-minded who detracts from the dignity of a colleague in office, or maliciously flouts him by actions which reveal ambitious rivalry, or is so self-willed that he arrogates and annexes to himself everything, in short, at the expense of his colleague? I recollect that when I was still a young man I was sent with another as envoy to

* Apparently a quotation from a comedy. See Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 495.
(816) ἀπολειφθέντος δὲ πως ἐκείνου, μόνον ἐντυχόντα καὶ διαπραξάμενον· ὡς σὺν ἐμελλὼν ἐπανελθὼν ἀποπροσβείειν, ἀναστάς ὁ πατήρ κατ᾽ ἰδιὰν ἐκέλευσε μὴ λέγειν "ὡ χόμην" ἀλλ᾽ "ὡ χόμεθα," μηδ᾽ "εἴπον" ἀλλ᾽ "εἴπομεν," καὶ τάλλα συνεφαπτόμενον οὕτω καὶ κοινούμενον ἀπαγγέλλειν. οὐ γὰρ Ἐ μόνον ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαίρεῖ τῆς δόξης. οθὲν οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τύχην τῶν κατορθώμασι συνεπιγράφουσιν, ὡς Τιμολέων ὁ τὰς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταλύσας τυραννίδας Ἀὐτοματίας ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο· καὶ Πύθων ἐπὶ τῷ Κότων ἀποκτεῖναι θαυμαζόμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων "ὁ θεὸς," ἔφη, "ταῦτ᾽ ἑπράξε, τὴν χείρα παρ᾽ ἐμοῦ χρησάμενος." Θεόπομπος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Δακεδαμονίων πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα σῴζεσθαι τὴν Ἐπάρτην διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς ὠντας "μᾶλλον," ἔφη, "διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς πειθαρχικοὺς ὠντας."

Σ 21. Γίγνεται μὲν οὖν δι᾽ ἄλληλων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα. λέγουσι δ᾽ οἱ πλείστοι καὶ νομίζουσι πολιτικῆς παιδείας ἐργὸν εἶναι τὸ καλῶς ἀρχομένους παρασχεῖν· καὶ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τὸ ἀρχόμενον· καὶ χρόνον ἑκαστὸς ἄρχει βραχύν, ἀρχεῖται δὲ τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτευόμενος· ὡστε κάλλιστον εῖναι μάθημα καὶ χρησιμῶτατον τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἥγουμένους, καὶ ὑποδεέστεροι δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ τυχανῶσιν ὠντες. ἀτοπον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τρα-

1 ἀναστάς] Bernardakis suggests παραστάς.
the proconsul; the other man was somehow left behind; I alone met the proconsul and accomplished the business. Now when I came back and was to make the report of our mission, my father left his seat and told me in private not to say "I went," but "we went," not "I said," but "we said," and in all other ways to associate my colleague in a joint report. For that sort of thing is not only honourable and kind, but it also takes the sting out of any envy of our reputation. And therefore great men ascribe to God and to Fortune a share in their successes, as Timoleon, who put down the tyrannies in Sicily, founded a sanctuary of Automatia (Chance); and Python, when he was admired and honoured by the Athenians for slaying Cotys, said "God did this, borrowing from me the hand that did the deed." And Theopompus, King of the Lacedaemonians, replied to the man who said that Sparta was preserved because the kings were fitted to rule, "No, it is rather because the people are fitted to obey."

21. Now both of these arise from each other. Most people say and believe that it is the business of political teaching to cause men to be good subjects; for, they say, the subject class is in every State larger than the ruling class; and each official rules but a short time, whereas he is ruled all the time, if he is a citizen of a democracy; so that it is a most excellent and useful thing to learn to obey those in authority, even if they happen to be deficient in power and reputation. For it is absurd that in a tragedy the chief actor, even though he is
γωδία πρωταγωνιστήν, Θεόδωρον ἦ Πῶλον ὄντα μυσθωτῷ τά τρίτα λέγοντι πολλάκις ἐπεσθαί καὶ προσδιαλέγεσθαι ταπεινῶς, ἣν ἔκεινος ἔχη τὸ διὰ-δήμα καὶ τὸ σκήπτρον· ἐν δὲ πράξεωι ἀληθινᾷ καὶ πολιτείᾳ τὸν πλούσιον καὶ ἐνδοξὸν ὀλιγωρεῖν καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἀρχοντὸς ἱδιώτου καὶ πένητος, ἐνυβρίζοντα καὶ καθαιροῦντα² τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ· ἀξιώ-ματι τὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ μὴ μᾶλλον αὔξοντα καὶ προστιθέντα τὴν ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν τῆς ἀρχῆς. καθάπερ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῖς ἐφόροις ὦ τε βασιλεῖς ὑπεξανίσταντο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ κληθεῖς οὐ βάδην ὑπήκοον ἀλλὰ δρόμω καὶ σπουδὴ δὴ ἀγορᾶς θέοντες ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν εὐπείθειαν τοῖς πολίταις, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἀρχοντας·

Β οὐχ ὦστερ ἔνοι τῶν ἀπειροκάλων καὶ σολοίκων, οἷον ἵσχύσον ἐαυτῶν καλλωπιζόμενοι περιουσίᾳ, βρα-βευτάς ἐν ἀγώσι προπηλακίζουσι καὶ χορηγοὺς ἐν Διονυσίοις λοιδοροῦσι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ γυμ-νασιάρχων⁵ καταγελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μαν-θάνοντες ὅτι τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι τὸ τιμᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶν ἐνδοξότερον. ἀνδρὶ γὰρ ἐν πόλις δυναμένῳ μέγα μείζονα φέρει κόσμον ἀρχῶν δορυφορούμενος ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ προπεμπόμενος ἡ δορυφορῶν καὶ προ-πέμπων· μᾶλλον δὲ τούτῳ μὲν ἀγάδιαν καὶ φθόνον,

¹ Madvig erroneously proposed to read μυσθωτῶν τῷ for the μυσθωτῷ of the mss.
² καθαιροῦντα] συγκαθαιροῦντα Reiske.
³ αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: αὐτοῦ.
⁴ ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ.
⁵ γυμνασιάρχων Bernardakis: γυμνασιάρχων.

* Theodorus and Polus were famous actors at Athens in the fourth century B.C. See J. B. O’Connor, Chapters in the
a Theodorus or a Polus, often makes his entrance after a hireling who takes third-class parts and addresses him in humble fashion, just because the latter wears the diadem and sceptre, but that in real affairs and in government the rich and famous man belittles and despises the official who is plebeian and poor, thereby using his own high standing to insult and destroy that of the State, instead of enhancing it rather and adding to the office the esteem and power derived from himself. So at Sparta the kings gave precedence to the ephors, and if any other Spartan was summoned, he did not walk slowly in obeying the summons, but by running eagerly at full speed through the market-place they exhibited to their fellow-citizens their spirit of obedience, rejoicing in paying honour to their rulers. They did not behave like some uncultured and unmannerly persons who, as if swaggering in the excess of their own power, abuse the umpires at the games, revile the choregi at the Dionysiac festival, and jeer at generals and gymnasiarchs, not knowing and not understanding that it is often more glorious to pay honour than to receive it. For to a man who has great power in the State greater distinction accrues through serving in the bodyguard and the escort of an official than through being so served and escorted by him, or rather the latter brings him dislike and

*History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece*, pp. 100, 128. The terms *τραγωδός* and *κωμωδός* were used for actors who had been assigned to the highest rank and were privileged to bring out old plays at the festivals, and they stand in sharp contrast to the "hireling" actors, usually referred to after Demosthenes' time as "tritagonists," to whom were often given the "third-class" roles of kings; see *ibid.* chap. i.
(817) ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὴν ἀληθινὴν φέρει, τὴν ἀπ' εὐνοίας, Κ δόξαν ὀφθείς δ' ἐπὶ θύραις ποτὲ καὶ πρῶτος ἀσπασάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν περιπάτῳ μέσον, οὐδὲν ἀφαιρούμενος ἐαυτοῦ, τῇ πόλει κόσμων περιτίθεσι.

22. Δημοτικὸν δὲ καὶ βλασφημίαν ἐνεγκείν καὶ ὀργὴν ἀρχοντὸς ἦ τὸ τοῦ Διομήδους ὑπειπόντα
tou'tw mēn γὰρ κύδος ἀμ' ἐμεταὶ

ἡ τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὦτι νὺν οὐκ ἔστι Δημοσθένης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοθετής ἡ χορηγὸς ἡ στεφανοφόρος. ἀναθέτεον οὐν τὴν ἀμυναν εἰς τὸν χρόνον. ἡ γὰρ ἐπέξειμεν ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ κερδανοῦμεν ἐν τῷ περιμένειν τὸ παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς.

D 23. Σπουδή μέντοι καὶ προνοίᾳ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φροντίδι πρὸς ἀπασαν ἀρχὴν ἄει διαμιλλητέον, ἄν μὲν δοῖ χαριέντες, αὐτὸν ὑφηγούμενον ἀ δεὶ καὶ φράξοντα καὶ διδόντα χρησάθαι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐδοκιμεῖν ὑφελοῦντας. ἐὰν δ' ἐνή τις ἑκεῖνος ὁκνὸς ἡ μελλήσις ἡ κακοθεία πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, οὔτω χρὴ παριέναι καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν μηδ' ὑφίσσθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ὥς οὐ προσήκον, ἀρχοντὸς ἔτερον, πολυ-

1 Before χρόνον Reiske adds οἰκείον.
2 ὑφελοῦντας Mittelhaus: ὑφελοῦντα.

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*a* Cf. Life of Cicero, chap. ii., "Cicero placed in their midst, as a mark of honour," Perrin's translation, L.C.L.

*b* Homer, ll. iv. 415.

*c* Demosthenes, xxi. (Against Meidias) 524. Meidias had insulted Demosthenes in public when Demosthenes was choregus, officially appointed to bear the expense of a chorus.

*d* The thesmothetae were the six junior archons at Athens. Their chief duty was supervision of the courts of law.

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envy, but the former brings true reputation, that which comes from goodwill; and by being seen sometimes at the official’s door, by greeting him first, and by putting him in the middle place in walking a man adds lustre to the State without taking anything from himself.

22. And it is also a service to the people sometimes to endure the evil speech and anger of a man in office, repeating to oneself either the words of Diomedes:

For unto him will accrue mighty glory,

or the saying of Demosthenes, that now he is not only Demosthenes, but also one of the thesmothetae, or a choregus, or the wearer of a crown. We should, therefore, put off our requital to the right time; for then either we shall attack him after his term of office is ended or in the delay our gain will be the cessation of anger.

23. One should, however, always vie with every official in zeal, forethought for the common good, and wisdom; if they are worthy men, by voluntarily suggesting and pointing out the things to be done and allowing them to make use of well-considered ideas and to be held in high esteem because they are benefactors of the community. But if there is in them any reluctance, delay, or ill-will as to putting such suggestions into effect, then a man ought to come forward of himself and address the people, and he should not neglect or slight the public interests on the ground that because someone else is in office

* The stephanephori were officials whose duties varied in different cities. At Athens they were concerned with public festivals.
The author of the *Anabasis*. But Plutarch may have written ἕφθαν αὐτός.

Xenophon, *Anab.* iii. 1. 4.

The Boeotarchy was the chief office of the Boeotian confederacy. Its term was one year.
it is not proper for him to meddle and mix in the administration of affairs. For the law always gives the first rank in the government to him who does what is right and recognizes what is advantageous. "Now there was," says he, "in the army a man named Xenophon, neither a general nor a captain," but by perceiving what was needed and daring to do it he put himself in command and saved the Greeks. And of Philopoemen's deeds the most brilliant is this, that when Nabis had taken Messenê, and the general of the Achaeans was so cowardly that he would not go to the assistance of the place, he himself with the most eager patriots set out and took the city without any decree of the council. Certainly it is well to make innovations, not for the sake of small or casual matters, but in cases of necessity, as Philopoemen did, or for glorious causes, as Epameinondas did when contrary to the law he added four months to the Boeotarchy; in which time he invaded Laconia and carried out his measures at Messenê; so that if any accusation or blame be brought against us on this account we may have necessity as our defence against the charge, or the greatness and glory of the action as a consolation for the risk.

24. A saying of Jason, monarch of the Thessalians, is recorded, which he always used to repeat whenever he was taking violent and annoying measures against individuals: "It is inevitable that those should act unjustly in small matters who wish to act justly in great matters." That is recognized at once as the saying of a despot; but this is a more

*d These measures included the freeing of Messenia from Spartan domination and the founding of the city of Messenê.
κότερον παράγγελμα, τὸ τὰ μικρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς προΐς εἶδόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς μείζονι ἐν¬
ισταθαι καὶ κωλύειν ἐξαμαρτάνοντας. ὁ γὰρ
αὐτὲς πάντα λίαν ἀκριβῆς καὶ σφοδρός, οὐδὲν
ὑποχωρῶν οὐδ᾿ ὑπείκον ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀ¬
παράιτητος, ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν τὸν δήμον αὐτῷ καὶ
προσδυσκολαίνειν ἔθιζεν,

μικρὸν δὲ δεὶ ποδὸς
χαλάσαι μεγάλη κύματος ἀλκῆ,

Β τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντα καὶ συμπαίζοντα κεχαρι¬
σμένως οἶνον ἐν θυσίαις καὶ ἁγώσει καὶ θεάτροις,
tὰ δ׳ ὠσπέρ ἐν οἰκίᾳ νέων ἀμαρτήματα προσ¬
ποιούμενον παρορᾶν καὶ παρακούειν, ὅπως ἡ τοῦ
νουθετεῖν καὶ παρρησιάζονται δύναμις ὠσπέρ φαρ¬
μάκον μὴ κατακεχρημένη μηδὲ ἐνὸς ἀλλ᾿ ἀκριβὴς
ἐχουσα καὶ πίστιν ἐν τοῖς μεῖζοις μᾶλλον καθ¬
ἀπτηται καὶ δάκνη τοὺς πολλοὺς. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν
γὰρ ἀκούσας τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐγνωκέναι τινὰ τῶν
C καλῶν καὶ νέων οὐκ ἥγανάκτησεν εἰπὼν, ὅτι
κακείνη τι δοτέον ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς βασιλείας· οὐκ
ὅρθως τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρῶν οὐδ᾿ ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ·
δεὶ γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατάλοιπον καὶ ὑβρίν ἀπόλαυσιν
μὴ νομίζειν. δὴ μὲν ὑβρὶν μὲν οὕδεμιάν εἰς
πολίτας οὐδὲ δῆμουν ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲ κοινῶν

1 δὲ δεὶ Nauck; δεὸν Bernardakis: δὲ.

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statesmanlike precept: “Win the favour of the people by giving way in small things in order that in greater matters you may oppose them stubbornly and thus prevent them from committing errors.” For a man who is always very exact and strenuous about everything, not giving way or yielding at all, but always harsh and inexorable, gets the people into the habit of opposing him and being out of temper with him;

But he should let the sheet 
Run out a bit before the waves' great force,
sometimes by giving way and playing graciously with them himself, as at sacrifices, public games, and spectacles in the theatre, and sometimes by pretending not to see or hear their errors, just as we treat the errors of the young people in a family, in order that the force of his rebukes and outspoken criticism—like that of a medicine—may not become exhausted or stale, but may in matters of greater importance, retaining its full strength and its credit, take a stronger hold upon the people and sting them into obedience. Alexander, for example, when he heard that his sister had had intercourse with a handsome young man, did not burst into a rage, but merely remarked that she also ought to be allowed to get some enjoyment out of her royal station. In making such concessions he did not act rightly or in a manner worthy of himself; for the weakening of a throne and outrageous conduct should not be regarded as mere enjoyment. But to the people the statesman will, so far as is possible, permit no outrageous conduct towards the citizens, no confiscation of others' property, nor distribution
(818) διανέμησον οὐ πολιτικὸς ἐφήσει κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πείθων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεδυττόμενος διαμαχεῖται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιθυμίαις, οἷς οἱ περὶ Κλέωνα βόσκοντες καὶ αὐξοντες πολὺν, ὥς φησοῦν ὁ Πλάτων, κηφῆνα τῇ πόλει κεκεντρωμένον ἐνεποίησαν. ἕκαν δὲ ἐορτήν πάτριον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θεοῦ τιμὴν πρόφασιν λαβόντες ὁρμήσωσι πρὸς τινά θεάν ἡ νέμησιν ἐλαφρὰν ἡ χάριν τινὰ φιλάνθρωπον ἡ φιλοτιμίαν,

Do estw prós t' tounaiota h t'is eluutherias aima kai t'is euporías apólausis avtois. kaì gar tois Periklèous politeúmasai kai tois Dhimtríou polla tounai' enesti, kai Kìmwn ekòsmhse t'hn agoran platanwn fyteías kai periaptowis. Katown de ton dhìmwn upò Kaísoiros órýn en tois peri Katilínan diataraasoménon kai pròs metabolh t'hs politeias epifalwos éxonta sunépeise t'hn bohlh ypofíasasthai neumhseis tois pènhsis, kaì toû to dothèn ésths t'on thóribon kai katépaa se t'hn ep-anástasin. ws gar iatrós, afelwv polw toû E dieophorótos aìmatos, olígon ábblabous trofhrh proshtygenkev, ou'tis o politeikos anh, megà tis twn ádòxwn h blaberwv parélomenos, elaphrâ páliv xáríti kai filanvhrwps to dusbkalain kai memvmyorouvn parthghrhsev.

25. Où xeirom de kai metágeun ép' allá xreiwθh to sptoudažoménon, ws épôíse Dhmádh, òte tás prosódous éichon υφ' éautw t'hs pólews. òrmhmenwn gar ékptmpevns tetréres bothous tois afistaménoi 'Aléxándrou kai xhrmata kelleúntwn parèchev ëkeïnov, "ëstiv úmín," êfē, "xhrmata: par-

* Plato, Republic, 552 c, d.
of public funds, but by persuasion, arguments, and threats he will oppose to the bitter end desires of that sort, by nourishing and increasing which Cleon and his partizans produced in the State, as Plato says, a swarm of drones with stings. But if the people, taking an ancestral festival or the worship of some god as a pretext, are bent upon some public spectacle or a slight distribution of funds, or a gift for the general good or some lavish show prompted by private ambition, for such purposes let them reap the benefit both of their generosity and of their prosperity. Why, among the public acts of Pericles and of Demetrius are many of that sort, and Cimon beautified the market-place by planting plane-trees and laying out walks. And Cato, seeing that the people was being greatly stirred up by Caesar in the affair of Catiline and was dangerously inclined towards a revolution, persuaded the senate to vote a dole to the poor, and the giving of this halted the disturbance and ended the uprising. For just as a physician, after drawing off a great deal of infected blood, supplies a little harmless nourishment, so the statesman, after doing away with something big which was discreditable or harmful, appeases the spirit of discontent and fault-finding by some slight and kindly act of favour.

25. It is also expedient to divert the people's interest to other useful things, as Demades did when he had the revenues of the State in his charge; for when the people were eager to send out triremes to aid those who were in revolt against Alexander, and were urging him to furnish funds, "You have," he said, "funds available, for I have made preparations

\[\text{In 330 B.C. King Agis of Sparta headed the revolt.}\]
eskevnasãmhn yá̂r eis toûs xhô̂s, ò̂san' ékaston ùμwòn laβeîn õ̂mînvaîon. ei ð' eis táuta boúlése be F målλon, áutoi kataxhrîse toûs idîous.' kai toû- tòn tôν trópon, ópws mú̂ steroînto tôs diânonh, áfêntw tôν ápropolôlon, éluse tô pros' Álexaîðron èγkîmâ tôu dîmu. pollà gâr âp' eubheias õuk èstw èxîwsoi tôw õlûsîtelw, álλâ déi tws õmwsgeîpsw kàmptîs kai periaγwghs, õîa kai 819 òwos èxíðto kæleuòmenv eis Òwos kîawîn èmbsaleiâ para kàwroî. èkîmîzê gâr eubhûs ákoloutheîn áph hèbhs tôus mèxrh étwv èxîkonta. kai thorûbov tôwv prêsbivtèrōn gënomênu 'û 'tî dêwîn;' êîpêv. 'ègw gâr ó stratêgôs ãgdoîkonta gëgonwv ètê ùw' ùwòv õsòmâi.' tôutw dê tôw trôtîw kai prêsbieîas dîakoptêvôv âkàropus, suggkatàlëgônata polloûv tôwv ánepitîdêîwv èxîntv, kai kataksekunâs áxrhístouvs, kæleuònta suvëisféreîn, kai dîkas kai ápòdêmias1 ápâpeîs,2 áxioûnta suvøpareînâ kai suvàpodoûmeîn. prôtous dê tôus gràfôntav tâ toûâta kà kà pæroξûvontas èlkekî déi kai pàralambávneîn- õ̂ gâr ànàdûmenv tîn pràξîn áutoi dîalûwv dòfouvsî ù̂ õ mébêêdûv tîwv õûsîxhòwv pràòntes.

26. "Otopîn mêntov melâ déi tî3 peranbînâ kai xhîsîmûn âgôwos dê polloû kai sôvdëîs déômven, èn tâða peiâw tôwv fîlôw àireîsîthav tôus krate-

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1 dîkas kai àpòdêmias Xylander's translation; àpòdêmias Coræs: dîkas.
2 ápâpeîs] ápâpeîs Coræs.
3 déi tì Bernardakis: déi.

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a The second day of the Anthesteria, a three-day festival in worship of Dionysus, held in early spring at Athens.
b Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxiv.
for the Pitcher Festival so that each of you is to receive a half-mina, but if you had rather apply the funds to this other purpose, use your own money for the festival." And in this way, since they gave up the expedition in order not to lose the distribution of money, he removed any ground of complaint on Alexander's part against the people of Athens. For there are many unprofitable measures which the statesman cannot avert by direct means, but he must use some sort of roundabout and circuitous methods, such as Phocion employed when ordered at an inopportune time to invade Boeotia. He immediately issued a proclamation calling all those from the age of military service up to sixty years to join the ranks, and when the older men made a violent protest, he said: "What is there terrible about it? For I, your general, who am eighty years old, shall be with you." So in this way we should prevent inopportune embassies by listing among the envoys many who are not qualified to go, and useless construction by calling for contributions, and improper lawsuits and missions abroad by ordering the parties to appear in court together and together to go abroad on the missions. And those who propose such measures and incite the people to adopt them should be the first to be haled into court and made to take the responsibility for putting them into effect; for so they will either draw back and appear to be themselves nullifying the measure or they will stick to it and share its unpleasant features.

26. When, however, something important and useful but requiring much conflict and serious effort is to be accomplished, then try to select from among your friends those who are most powerful, or from
(819) στοὺς ἡ τῶν κρατίστων τοὺς πραοτάτους. ἢκιστα γὰρ ἀντιπράξουσιν ὅτοι καὶ μάλιστα συνεργήσουσιν, τὸ φρονεῖν ἀνευ τοῦ φιλονεικεῖν ἐχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐμπειρὸν ὅντα δεῖ πρὸς ὁ χεῖρων ἐτέρου πέφυκας αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς

C μᾶλλον δυναμένους ἀντὶ τῶν ὀμολῶν, ὡς ὁ Διομήδης ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν φρόνιμον εἶλετο, τοὺς ἀνδρείους παρελθὼν. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις μᾶλλον ἵσορροποῦσι καὶ τὸ φιλονεικον οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἀφ’ ἐτέρων ἀρετῶν καὶ δυνάμεων φιλοτιμουμένων. λάμβανε δὴ καὶ δίκης συνεργὸν καὶ προσβείας κοινωνόν, ἃν λέγειν μὴ δυνατὸς ἢς, τὸν ῥητορικόν, ὡς Πελοπίδας Ἐπαιμενώνδαν καὶ ἢς ἀπίθανος πρὸς ὀμιλέαν τῷ πλήθει καὶ ψηλός, ὡς Καλλικρατίδας, τὸν εὐχαριν καὶ θεραπευτικόν καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ δύσεργος τὸ σώμα, τὸν φιλόπονον καὶ ῥωμαλέον, ὡς Νικίας

D Λάμαχον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἢν ὁ Γερνόνης ζηλωτὸς ἐχων σκέλη πολλα καὶ χειρας καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς, εἰ πάντα μιὰ ψυχῇ διώκει. τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς ἔξεστι μὴ σῶματα μηδε χρήματα μόνον, ἄλλα καὶ τύχας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἀρετὰς, ἃν ὀμονωσιν, εἰς μίαν χρείαν συντιθέντας εὐδοκιμεῖν μᾶλλον ἄλλου· περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πράξιν σύχωσεν ὁ Αργοναῦτα τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλιπόντας ἦναγκάζοντο διὰ τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος κατάδομενοι καὶ φαρμακευόμενοι σώζειν ἐαυτοὺς καὶ κλέπτειν τὸ νάκος.

1 γὰρ ἂν Wyttenbach: γὰρ.
2 μᾶλλον ἄλλου] μᾶλλον ἀπ’, ἄλλου Bernardakis; μᾶλλον ἦ χωρὶς ἄλλου Capps; ἄλλου ἀπ’ ἄλλου Kronenberg.

2 Cf. Homer, II. x. 243. He chose Odysseus.
among the most powerful those who are easiest to get along with; for they are least likely to act against you and most likely to work with you, since they possess wisdom without contentiousness. And, moreover, you should know your own nature and choose for any purpose for which you are naturally less fitted than others, men who are more able rather than men like yourself, as Diomedes chose to go with him on the scouting expedition the man of prudence and passed over the men of courage. For actions are thus more equally balanced, and contention does not arise among men whose ambitions proceed from different virtues and abilities. So, if you are not a good speaker, take an orator as your assistant in a lawsuit or your colleague in an embassy, as Pelopidas took Epameinondas; and if, like Callicratidas, you are too lofty of speech and not persuasive in addressing the masses, choose a man who is winning in his speech and conciliatory; and if you are physically weak and incapable of hard work, choose a man who is fond of labour and strong, as Nicias chose Lamachus. For on this principle Geryon would have been enviable for having many legs, arms, and eyes, if he had directed them all by one mind. But statesmen, by uniting for one purpose not only men's persons and funds, but also their fortunes, abilities, and virtues, if they are in agreement, can gain greater reputation in connexion with the same action than by other means, not behaving like the Argonauts, who left Heracles behind and then were forced to work through the women's quarters and use magic and drugs to save themselves and steal the golden fleece.

This refers to Jason's seduction of Medea.
Χρυσοῦν μὲν εἰς ἑνα τῶν ἱερῶν εἰςιόντες ἐξω καταλείπουσι, σίδηρον δ' ὡς ἄπλως εἰπεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν συνεισφέρουσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κοινὸν ἐστὶν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Δίως καὶ Πολιέως καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης, αὐτὸθεν μὲν ἢδη φιλοπλουτίαν καὶ φιλοχρηματίαν, ὧσπερ σίδηρον μεστὸν ίοῦ καὶ νόσημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀποδυσάμενος εἰς ἀγορὰς κατηλών ἡ δανειστών ἀπόρριψον,

αὐτὸς δ' ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι

τὸν ἀπὸ δημοσίων χρηματιζόμενον ἡγούμενος ἀφ' ἱερῶν κλέπτειν, ἀπὸ τάφων, ἀπὸ φίλων, ἐκ προ- δοσίας, ἀπὸ ψευδομαρτυρίας, σύμβουλον ἀπιστών εἶναι, δικαστήν εἵπορκον, ἀρχοντα δωροδόκουν, οὐδε- μιᾶς ἄπλως καθαρὸν ἀδικίας. οθεν οὐ δεὶ πολλὰ

Ε περὶ τούτων λέγειν.

27. 'Η δὲ φιλοτιμία, καίπερ οὐσα σοβαρωτέρα τῆς φιλοκερδείας, οὐκ ἔλαττονας ἔχει κῆρας ἐν πολιτείᾳ καὶ γὰρ τὸ τολμᾶν αὐτῇ πρόσεστι μᾶλλον ἐμφύτευται γὰρ οὐκ ἄργαισ οὐδὲ ταπειναὶ ἀλλ' ἐρρω- μέναις μάλιστα καὶ νεανικαῖς προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὀχλῶν ῥόθων πολλάκις συνεξαῖρον αὕτην 820 καὶ συνεξωθοῦν τοῖς ἑπαίνοις ἀκατάσχετον ποιεῖ καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον. ὧσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀκοοστέον εἶναι τοῖς νέοις ἔλεγεν ἐκ παῖδων ἐνθύς, ὡς οὔτε περικεῖσθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξωθεὶν οὔτε κε- κτῆσθαι θέμις, οἶκεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ συμμειρμένον ἔχοντας, αἰνιττόμενος οὕμα τὴν ἐκ γένους δια- τείνουσαν εἰς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν' οὕτω παρα-

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*c* Plato, *Republic*, 416 e.

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When entering some sanctuaries men leave their gold outside; but iron, one may say, they do not at all carry into any sanctuary. And since the orators' platform is a sanctuary common to Zeus the Counsellor and the Protector of Cities, to Themis and to Justice, do you strip off all love of wealth and of money, as you would iron full of rust and a disease of the soul, cast them straightway at the beginning into the market-place of hucksters and money-lenders,

and turning your back depart from them,

believing that a man who makes money out of public funds is stealing from sanctuaries, from tombs, from his friends, through treason and by false testimony, that he is an untrustworthy adviser, a perjured judge, a venal magistrate, in brief not free from any kind of iniquity. And therefore there is no need of saying much about these evils.

27. But ambition, although it is a more pretentious word than "covetousness," is no less pernicious in the State; for there is more daring in it; since it is innate, not in slothful and abject spirits, but in the most vigorous and impetuous, and the surge which comes from the masses, raising it on the crest of the wave and sweeping it along by shouts of praise, often makes it unrestrained and unmanageable. Therefore, just as Plato said that young people should be told from childhood that it is not proper for them to wear gold on their persons or to possess it, since they have a gold of their own mingled in their souls,—a figurative reference, I believe, to the virtue derived by descent, which permeates their natures,—so let us moderate our
(820) μυθώμεθα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, λέγοντες ἐν έαυτοῖς ἔχειν χρυσὸν ἄδιάφθορον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἀχραντόν ὡπὸ φθόνου καὶ μῶμον τιμῆν, ἀμα¹ λογισμῷ καὶ παραθεωρήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων ἡμῶν καὶ πεπολιτευμέ-

B νων αὐξανόμενον· διὸ μὴ δείσθαι γραφομένων τιμῶν ἡ πλαττομένων ἡ χαλκοτυπουμένων, ἐν αἰσ καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμοῦν ἀλλότριον ἐστιν· ἐπανεῖται γὰρ οὐχ ὑ γέγονεν ἄλλ' ὕφ' οὐ γέγονεν ὡς ὁ σαλπικτῆς² καὶ ὁ δορυφόρος. ὁ δὲ Κάτων, ἡδὴ τότε τῆς 'Ῥώμης καταπιμπλαμένης ἀνδριάντων, οὐκ ἔων αὐτοῦ γενεσθαι "μᾶλλον," ἐφη, "βούλομαι πυνθάνεσθαι τινας, διὰ τὸ μου ἀνδρίας οὐ κεῖται ἡ διὰ τί κεῖται." καὶ γὰρ φθόνον ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ νομίζουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ τοῖς μὴ λαβοῦσιν αὐτοῖ χάριν ὀφείλειν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοῖς³ καὶ βαρεῖς εἶναι, οἶον ἐπὶ μισθῷ

C τὰς χρείας ἀπαιτοῦντας. ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ παραπλεύσας τὴν Σύρτιν εἶτ' ἀνατραπεῖς περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν οὐδὲν μέγα πεποίηκεν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν, οὕτως οῖ τὸ ταμείων φυλαξάμενος καὶ τὸ δημοσιώνον ἀλοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν προεδρίαν ἢ τὸ πρυτανείον, ύψηλῷ μὲν³ προσέπτακεν ἀκρωτηρίῳ βαπτίζεται δ' ὁμοίως. ἀριστος μὲν οὖν ὁ μηθενὸς δεόμενοι τῶν τοιούτων ἀλλὰ φεύγων καὶ παρατόουμενοι· ἀν δ' ἡ μὴ ράδιον

D δήμου τινὰ χάριν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς τοῦτο ῥυέντος, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἀργυρίτην οὐδὲ δωρίτην ἁγώνα πολιτείας ἁγωνιζομένους ἀλλ' ἑρόν ὡς

1 τιμῆν, ἀμα] τίμημα Hartman.
2 σαλπικτῆς Bernardakis: σαλπιγκτῆς.
3 αὐτοῖς Madvig: αὐτοῖς.
4 μὲν added by Reiske.
ambition, saying that we have in ourselves honour, a gold uncorrupted, undefiled, and unpolluted by envy and fault-finding, which increases along with reasoning and the contemplation of our acts and public measures. Therefore we have no need of honours painted, modelled, or cast in bronze, in which even that which is admired is really the work of another; for the person who receives praise is not the man for whom the "trumpeter" or the "doryphorus," for example, was made, but the man by whom it was made. Cato, Rome then beginning to be full of portrait statues, refused to let one be made of himself, saying, "I prefer to have people ask why there is not a statue of me rather than why there is one." Such honours do indeed arouse envy, and the people think that they are themselves under obligations to men who have not received them, but that those who have received them are oppressors of the people, as men who demand payment for their services. Therefore, just as a man who has sailed past the Syrtis and is then capsized at the channel has done nothing so very great or glorious, so the man who has watched over the treasury and the public revenue, but is then found wanting in the presidency or the prytany, is indeed dashed against a lofty promontory, but gets a ducking all the same. No, that man is the best who wants no such things and even avoids and refuses them when offered. But if it is not easy to reject some favour or some kindly sentiment of the people, when it is so inclined, for men engaged in a political struggle for which the prize is not money or gifts, but which is

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*Two famous statues. The doryphorus (spear-bearer) was by Polycleitus.*
(820) ἀληθῶς καὶ στεφανίτην, ἐπιγραφή τις ἄρκει καὶ πυνάκιον καὶ ψήφισμα καὶ θαλλός, ως Ἐπιμενίδης ἔλαβεν ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθήρας τὴν πόλιν. Ἀναξιορεῦσα δὲ τὰς διδομένας ἄφεσις τιμᾶς ἢτήσατο τὴν ἡμέραν ἑκείνην, καθ’ ἣν ἂν τελευτήσῃ, τοὺς παίδας ἀφιέναι παίζειν καὶ σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. τοῖς δὲ τοὺς Μάγους ἀνελούσιν ἐπτὰ Πέρσας ἐδώκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γενομένοι εἰς τούμπροσθεν τῆς κεφαλῆς¹ τὴν τιάραν φορεῖν². τούτῳ γὰρ ἐποιήσαντο σύμβολον, ὡς ἑοικὲ, χωροῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν πράξεν. ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ἣ τοῦ Πιττακοῦ τιμῆς πολιτικὸν· ἢ γὰρ ἐκτήσατο χώρας τοῖς πολιταίς γὴν ὅσην ἐθέλοι λαβεῖν κελευσθεὶς ἔλαβε τοσαύτην, ὅσην ἐπῆλθε τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτοῦ βαλόντος· ὁ δὲ 'Ῥωμαίος Κόκλης,³ ὅσην⁴ ἡμέρα μιᾶ χωλῶς ὄν περιήροσεν. οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι δεὶ τῆς πράξεως ἄλλα σύμβολον τὴν τιμῆν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολὺν χρόνον, ὡςπερ ἑκεῖνα διέμειναν. τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τριακοσίων ἀνδριάντων οὐδεὶς ἐσχεν ὅν οὔδε πίνον, ἄλλα πάντες ἔτι ξῶντος προανηρέθησαν· τοὺς δὲ Δημάδου κατεχώνευσαν εἰς ἀμίδας· καὶ πολλαὶ τοιαῦτα τιμᾶι πεπόνθασιν οὐ μοχθηρίᾳ τοῦ λαβόντος μόνον ἄλλα καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ δοθέντος δυσχερανθείσαι. διὸ κάλλιστον καὶ ἑβαϊότατον ἐντελεία τιμῆς φυλακτήριον, αἱ δὲ μεγά-

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¹ τῆς κεφαλῆς] τὰ σκέλη συνάπτοντας τῇ κεφαλῇ Bernardakis with no indication of ms. authority.
² φορεῖν Wyttenbach and others: φέρειν.
³ Κόκλης Codex Basileensis: πόλιος.
⁴ ὅσην Wyttenbach: ἦν.

* The prizes at the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean games were crowns of wild olive, laurel, pine, and parsley respectively.

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a truly sacred contest worthy of a crown, a mere inscription suffices, a tablet, a decree, or a green branch such as Epimenides received from the Acropolis after purifying the city. And Anaxagoras, giving up the honours which had been granted him, requested that on the day of his death the children be allowed to play and be free from their lessons. And to the seven Persians who killed the magi the privilege was granted that they and their descendants should wear their headdress tilted forward over the forehead; for they made this, so it appears, their secret sign when they undertook their act. And there is something that indicates public spirit, too, about the honour received by Pittacus; for, when he was told to take as much as he wished of the land which he had gained for the citizens, he took only as much as he could throw a javelin over. And the Roman Cocles received as much as he—and he was lame—could plough around in one day. For the honour should not be payment for the action, but a symbol, that it may last for a long time, as those just mentioned have lasted. But of all the three hundred statues of Demetrius of Phalerum not one acquired rust or dirt; they were all destroyed while he was still living; and those of Demades were melted down into chamber-pots. Things like that have happened to many honours, they having become offensive, not only because the recipient was worthless, but also because the gift bestowed was too great. And therefore the best and surest way to ensure the duration of honours is to reduce their

Epimenides of Crete was called in by the Athenians, apparently not far from 500 B.C., to purify the city of a pestilence.
λαὶ καὶ ὑπέρογκοι καὶ βάρος ἔχουσαι παραπλησίως
tois ἀσυμμέτρους ἀνδράσι ταχὺ περιτρέπονται.
28. Ὄνομάζω δὲ νῦν τιμᾶς, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ κατ᾽
Εμπεδοκλέα

ἡ θέμις οὐ ταύτα, νόμῳ δ᾽ ἐπίφημι καὶ αὐτὸς·
ἐπεὶ τὴν γ᾽ ἀληθινὴν τιμῆν καὶ χάριν ἱδρυμένην ἔν
eὐνοία καὶ διαθέσει τῶν μεμνημένων οὐχ ὑπερ-
821 ὑπεται πολιτικὸς ἄνηρ, οὔδε γε δόξαν ἀτιμάσει
φεύγων τὸ "τοίς πέλας ἀνδάνειν," ὡς ἡξίου Δημό-
κριτος. οὔδε γὰρ κυνῶν ἀσπασμὸς οὔδ᾽ ἔπιπων
eὐνοια θηραταις καὶ ἐπιποτρόφους ἀπόβλητον, ἀλλὰ
cαὶ χρήσιμον καὶ ἤδι συντρόφους καὶ συνήθεις ξέως
tοιαύτην ἐνεργάσαθαι διάθεσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν, οἰνάν ὁ
Λυσιμάχου κύων ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως
ἵππων ὁ ποιητής διηγεῖται περὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον.
οἴμαι δ᾽ ἂν καὶ τὰς μελίττας ἀπαλλάττει βελτιων,
Β εἰ τοὺς τρέφοντας καὶ θεραπεύοντας ἀσπάξεσθαι καὶ
προσίεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ κεντεῖν καὶ χαλεπαίνειν ἐβοῦ-
lοντο: νυνὶ δὲ ταῦτας μὲν καπνῷ κολάζουσιν,
ἵππους δ᾽ ὑβριστὰς καὶ κυνᾶς ἀποστάτας κλοοῖς
cαὶ χαλινοῖς ἄγουσιν ἡναγκασμένους· ἀνθρωπὸν δ᾽
ἀνθρώπω χειροῆθη καὶ πράουν ἕκουσίς οὔδὲν ἀλλ᾽
ἡ πίστις εὐνοίας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας δόξα καὶ δι-
kαιοσύνης παρίστησιν. ἡ καὶ Δημοσθένης ὄρθως
μέγιστον ἀποφαίνει τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον ἀποστίαν
tais pólesin: τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μέρος, ὃ πιστεύομεν, ἀλώσιμον ἔστων.

1 ἡ θέμις οὐ Μεζιριάκουs: ἡ θέμις.

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a Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 3, 112.
b Quoted with slightly different wording by Plutarch, Moralia, 1113 b.

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cost but those which are great and top-heavy and weighty are, like ill-proportioned statues, quickly overturned.

28. And I now give the name "honours" to those which the multitude, to quote Empedocles,\(^a\)

Do not call as is right; and I, too, myself follow custom.\(^b\)

For the statesman will not despise the true honour and favour founded upon the goodwill and disposition of those who remember his actions, nor will he disdain reputation and avoid "pleasing his neighbours," as Democritus\(^c\) demanded. For not even the greeting of dogs nor the affection of horses is to be spurned by huntsmen and horse-trainers, but it is both advantageous and pleasant to instil into animals which are brought up with us and live with us such a disposition towards us as was exhibited by the dog of Lysimachus and as the poet tells us that Achilles' horses felt towards Patroclus.\(^d\) And I believe even bees would come off better if they would only welcome and placate their keepers and attendants instead of stinging them and making them angry. But as it is, people punish bees with smoke and lead unruly horses and runaway dogs by force of bits and dog-collars; but nothing makes a man willingly tractable and gentle to another man except trust in his goodwill and belief in his nobility and justice. And therefore Demosthenes is right\(^e\) in declaring that the greatest safeguard States possess against tyrants is distrust; for that part of the soul with which we trust is most easily taken captive. Therefore just as


\(^c\) Demosthenes, vi. (second *Philippic*) 24.
(821) ὁσπερ οὖν τῆς Κασάνδρας ἄδοξούσης ἀνόνυτος ἢν ἡ μαντικὴ τοῖς πολιταῖς

"ἀκραντα γὰρ με" φησίν "ἐθηκε θεσπίζειν θεός,

καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κἀν κακοὶς κειμένων
σοφὴ κέκλημαί, πρὶν παθεῖν δὲ 'μαίνομαι;"

οὕτως ἡ πρὸς Ἀρχύταν πίστις καὶ πρὸς Βάττων εὐνοια τῶν πολιτῶν μεγάλα τούς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς
dιὰ τὴν δόξαν ὡφέλησε. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν πρῶτον
cαι μέγιστον ἔνεστι τῇ δόξῃ τῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν
ἀγαθόν, ἡ πάροδον ἐπὶ τῶς πράξεις διδοῦσα πίστις:
δεύτερον δ' ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς βασκάνους καὶ πονηροὺς
ὀπλον ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς
ἐστὶν

ὡς ὅτε μὴτηρ
παιδὸς ἐέργει μυῖαν, ὅθ' ἤδει λέξεται ὑπνως,

ἀπερύκουσα τὸν φθόνον καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις
ἐπανισσοῦσα τὸν ἁγεννὴ τοῖς εὐπατρίδαις καὶ τὸν
πένητα τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τὸν ὑδώτην τοῖς ἀρχοῦσι.

καὶ ὅλως, ὅταν ἀλήθεια καὶ ἄρετη προσγένηται,
φορὸν ἐστὶν πνεῦμα καὶ βέβαιον ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν.
σκόπει δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν καταμαθάνων διάθεσιν ἐν
toῖς παραδείγμασι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Διονυσίου παῖδας
καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καταπορνέσαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν ἀνείλον, εἶτα καύσαντες τὰ σῶματα τὴν
tέφραν κατέσπειραν ἐκ πλοίου κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης.


Archytas of Tarentum was a statesman, Pythagorean philosopher, and mathematician. He was seven times
Cassandra’s prophetic power was useless to the citizens because she was held in no esteem, “For God,” she says,

“has made me prophesy in vain,
And those who suffer or have suffered woes
Have called me ‘wise’; but ere they suffer, ‘mad,’”

so the trust which the citizens reposed in Archytas and their goodwill towards Battus was, on account of their reputation, of great advantage to those who made use of them. The first and most important advantage inherent in the reputation of statesmen is this: the trust in them which affords them an entrance into public affairs; and the second is that the goodwill of the multitude is a weapon of defence for the good against the slanderous and wicked,

as when a mother
Wards off a fly from her child when he lieth asleep in sweet slumber,

keeping off envy and in the matter of power making the low-born equal to the nobles, the poor to the rich, and the private citizen to the office-holders; and in short, when truth and virtue are added to it, such goodwill is a steady fair wind wafting a man into political office. Now consider the contrary disposition and learn of it by examples. For the men of Italy violated the daughters and the wife of Dionysius, killed them, and then burned their bodies and scattered the ashes from a boat over the sea. But when general and never defeated. He lived in the fourth century B.C. and was a friend of Plato.

* Probably Battus III. of Cyrene is meant, under whom the constitution of the city was reformed about the middle of the sixth century B.C.

† Homer, II. iv. 130.

Μενάνδρου δέ τινος ἐν Βάκτροις ἐπιεικῶς βασιλεύσαντος εἰτ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μὲν ἅλλην ἐποιήσαντο κηδείαν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν αἱ πόλεις, περὶ δὲ τῶν λευμάνων αὐτοῦ καταστάντες εἰς ἀγώνα μόλις συνέβησαν, ὡστε νειμάμενοι μέρος ἐσον τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι μημεῖα παρὰ πάσι τοῦ ἀνδρός. αὐθίς δ’ Ἀκραγάντωνοι μὲν ἀπαλλαγέντες Φαλάριδος ἐψήφισαντο μηδένα φορείν ἰμάτιον γλαύκιον· οἱ γὰρ ὑπηρέται τοῦ τυράννου γλαυκίνοις ἐχρώντο περικύμασι. Πέρσαι δ’, ὅτι Φ γρυπὸς ἦν ὁ Κυρός, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρώσι τῶν γρυπῶν καὶ καλλιστοῦ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.

29. Ὅπως ἀπάντων ἐρώτων ἱσχυρότατος ἠμα καὶ θειότατός ἐστιν ὁ πόλεις καὶ δῆμος πρὸς ἕνα δι’ ἀρετὴν ἐγγυγνύμενος· αἱ δ’ ἀπὸ θεάτρων ἡ νεμήσεων ἡ μονομάχων ψευδώνυμοι τιμαὶ καὶ ψευδομάρτυρες ἑταρικαὶς ἐοίκασι κολακεῖας, ὡς ἦν· ἀεὶ τῷ διδόντι καὶ χαριζομένως προσμειδώντων, ἐφήμερόν τινα καὶ ἀβέβαιον δόξαν. εὖ μὲν οὖν ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν καταλυθῆται δῆμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον δεκάσαντος συνεδεῖν, ὅτι τὴν ἵσχυν ἀποβάλλοντων οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἕττονες γενόμενοι· δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεκάζοντας οἴεσθαι καταλύειν ἑαυτοὺς, ὅταν ἀναλωμάτων μεγάλων ὄνομαντας τὴν δόξαν ἱσχυροῦς ποιῶσι καὶ θρασεῖς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς μέγα τι καὶ δοῦναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι κυρίους ὄντας.

30. Οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο μικρολογητέον εἰν τοῖς νεομυσμένοις φιλοτιμήμασι, τῶν πραγμάτων εὐ-

1 αὐθίς δ’ Bernardakis: αὐθίς.
2 πρῶτος] πρῶτως Duebner.
a certain man named Menander, who had been a good king of the Bactrians, died in camp, the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities. But, on the other hand, the Agrigentines, when they had got rid of Phalaris, decreed that no one should wear a grey cloak; for the tyrant’s servants had worn grey garments. But the Persians, because Cyrus was hook-nosed, even to this day love hook-nosed men and consider them the most handsome.

29. So of all kinds of love that which is engendered in states and peoples for an individual because of his virtue is at once the strongest and the most divine; but those falsely named and falsely attested honours which are derived from giving theatrical performances, making distributions of money, or offering gladiatorial shows, are like harlots’ flatteries, since the masses always smile upon him who gives to them and does them favours, granting him an ephemeral and uncertain reputation. And so he who first said that the people was ruined by the first man who bought its favour was well aware that the multitude loses its strength when it succumbs to bribe-taking; but those also who give such bribes should bear in mind that they are destroying themselves when they purchase reputation by great expenditures, thus making the multitude strong and bold in the thought that they have power to give and take away something important.

30. We ought not, however, on this account to be niggardly as to the customary public contributions,
(822) ποριάν παρεχόντων· ὡς μᾶλλον οἱ πολλοὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντα τῶν ἰδίων πλούσιων ἢ πένητα τῶν δημοσίων κλέπτοντα δι’ ἔχθους ἔχουσιν, ὑπέρομιαν τούτο καὶ περιφρόνησιν αὐτῶν ἢ ἐκείνο δ’ ἀνάγκην
Β ἤγοιμενοι. γιγνέσθωσαν οὖν αἱ μεταδόσεις πρῶτον μὲν ἀντὶ μηδενός· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκπλήττοιοι καὶ χειροῦνται μᾶλλον τοὺς λαμβάνοντας· ἐπειτα σὺν καιρῷ πρόφασιν ἀστείαν καὶ καλὴν ἔχοντι, μετὰ τιμῆς θεοῦ πάντας ἄγουσι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν· ἐγγίγνεται γὰρ ἀμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱσχυρὰ διάθεσις καὶ δόξα τοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον εἶναι μέγα καὶ σεμνόν, ὅταν, οὐς αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ μεγάλους νομίζουσιν, οὕτως ἀφειδῶς καὶ προθύμως περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὀρῶσι φιλοτιμομένους. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀφειλε τῶν παι-
C δευομένων νέων τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν Λύδιον καὶ τὴν ἰαστί, τὴν μὲν τὸ θηρηνίας καὶ φιλοπενθοῦς ἡμῶν ἐγείρουσαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἰδονᾶς ὀλισθημέν καὶ ἀκόλαστον αὑξοῦσαν· οὕτω σὺ τῶν φιλοτιμῶν ὅσιον τὸ φωνικὸν καὶ θηριώδες ἢ τὸ βαμβολόχον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξελαύνε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φεύγε καὶ διαμάχον τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτομένοις τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα· χρηστὰς δὲ καὶ σωφρόνας ἀεὶ ποιοῦ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ὑποθέσεις, τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ἐχουσάς τέλος ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἢδον καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἄνευ βλάβης καὶ ὑβρεως προσόψης.
D 31. "Αν δ’ ἢ τὰ τῆς οὐσίας μέτρα καὶ κέντρω

1 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

α Plato, Republic, 398 ε.
if we are in prosperous circumstances; since the masses are more hostile to a rich man who does not give them a share of his private possessions than to a poor man who steals from the public funds, for they think the former's conduct is due to arrogance and contempt of them, but the latter's to necessity. First, then, let the gifts be made without bargaining for anything; for so they surprise and overcome the recipients more completely; and secondly they should be given on some occasion which offers a good and excellent pretext, one which is connected with the worship of a god and leads the people to piety; for at the same time there springs up in the minds of the masses a strong disposition to believe that the deity is great and majestic, when they see the men whom they themselves honour and regard as great so liberally and zealously vying with each other in honouring the divinity. Therefore, just as Plato a withheld the Lydian and the Ionian musical modes from the education of the young, because the one arouses that part of the soul which is inclined towards mourning and grief and the other strengthens that part which readily slips into pleasures and grows wanton, so you must, if possible, remove from the State all those free exhibitions which excite and nourish the murderous and brutal or the scurrilous and licentious spirit, or if you cannot do that, avoid them and oppose the multitude when they demand them. But always make the objects of your expenditures useful and moderate, having as their purpose either what is good or what is necessary, or at any rate what is pleasant and agreeable without anything harmful or outrageous in it.

31. But if your property is moderate and in re-
(822) καὶ διαστῆματι περιγραφόμενα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὔτ' ἄγεννεσ οὔτε ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν ἐστι πενίαν ὅμολογοῦντα ταῖς τῶν ἔχοντων ἐξίστασθαι φιλοτιμίας, καὶ μὴ δανειζόμενον οὐκτρόν ἁμα καὶ καταγέλαστον εἶναι περὶ τὰς λειτουργίας· οὔ γὰρ λανθάνουσιν ἐξασθενοῦντες ἡ φίλους ἐνοχλοῦντες ἡ θωπεύοντες δανειστάς, ὥστε μὴ δοξαν αὐτοῖς μηδ' ἵσχυν ἄλλα μᾶλλον αἰσχύνην καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀναλωμάτων ὑπάρχειν. διὸ χρῆσιμον ἂεὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα μεμνήσθαι τοῦ Λαμάχου καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος· οὕτως μὲν γὰρ, ἀξιούντων αὐτὸν ἐν θυσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδοθέναι καὶ κροτοῦντων πολλάκις "αἰσχυνοῦμην ἃν" ἐἶπεν "ὑμῖν μὲν ἐπιδίδοις Καλλικλεῖ δὲ τούτῳ μὴ ἀποδίδοις," δεῖξας τὸν δανειστήν. Λάμαχος δ' ἐν τοῖς τῆς στρατηγίας ἄει προσέγραφεν ἀπολογισμοῖς ἀργύριον εἰς κρηπίδας αὐτῷ καὶ ἰμάτιον· ᾿Ερμώνι δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ φεύγοντι τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ πενίας ἐξηφίλησαντο λάγυνον οἷνον κατὰ μήνα διδόναι καὶ μεδίμνον ἀλφίτων ἀφ' ἐκάστης τετράδος. οὕτως οὔτ' ἀ-

F gεννέσ ἐστι πενίαν ὅμολογεῖν, οὔτε λείπονται πρὸς δύναμιν ἐν πόλει τῶν ἐστιντῶν καὶ χορηγοῦντων οἱ πένητες, ἀν παρρησιάν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστης ἔχοσι. δεὶ δὴ μάλιστα κρατεῖν ἐαυτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ μήτ' εἰς πεδία καταβαίνειν πεζὸν

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<sup>a</sup> Lamachus was an Athenian general who was killed in the battle at the Anapus near Syracuse in 414 B.C.

<sup>b</sup> Phocion was a famous Athenian general in the fourth century B.C. He was elected general forty-five times. He was virtual ruler of Athens when Antipater was in power, but in 318 B.C. was tried and executed by the Athenians.
lation to your needs strictly circumscribed "as by centre and radius," it is neither ignoble nor humiliating at all to confess your poverty and to withdraw from among those who have the means for public expenditures, instead of borrowing money and making yourself at once a pitiful and a ridiculous object in the matter of your public contributions; for men are plainly seen to lack resources when they keep annoying their friends or truckling to money-lenders; so that it is not reputation or power, but rather shame and contempt, which they acquire by such expenditures. And therefore it is always desirable in connexion with such things to remember Lamachus and Phocion; for the latter, when the Athenians at a sacrifice called upon him to contribute and repeatedly raised a clamour, said, "I should be ashamed if I gave you a contribution and did not pay Callicles here what I owe him," pointing to his money-lender. And Lamachus always, when he was general, entered in his accounts money for shoes and a cloak for himself. And when Hermon tried to avoid office on the plea of poverty, the Thessalians voted to give him a flask of wine monthly and a measure of meal every four days. So it is not ignoble to confess poverty, and poor men, if by reason of their virtue they enjoy freedom of speech and public confidence, have no less influence in their cities than those who give public entertainments and exhibitions. The statesman must, then, do his best to control himself in such matters and not go down

Soon after that a public burial and a statue were decreed for him. The story told here is found also in the *Moralia*, p. 533 A.

* About six pints.
* About a bushel and a half.
ιππεύσι μαχούμενον μήτε ἐπὶ στάδια καὶ θυμέλας καὶ τραπέζας πένητα πλουσίους ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ δυναστείας διαγωνιζόμενον· ἂλλ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήματος ἀεὶ μετὰ λόγου πειρωμένοις ἄγειν τὴν πόλιν, οἰς οὐ μόνον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἄλλα καὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ ἄγωγον ἔνεστι “Κροισεῖων αἰρετῶτερον στατήρων.” οὐ γὰρ αὐθάδης οὐδ' ἐπαχθῆς ὁ χρηστός οὐδ' αὐθέκαστος ἐστὶν ὁ σῶφρων ἄνηρ καὶ

οστείχει πολίταις ὁμι' ἔχων ἰδεῖν πικρόν,

ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν εὐπροσήγορος καὶ κοινὸς ὁν πελάσαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ἀπασιν, οἰκίαν τε παρέχων ἀκλειστὸν ὡς λιμένα φύσιμον ἀεὶ τοῖς χρήζοντι, καὶ τὸ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον οὐ χρείας οὐδὲ πράξεις μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ συναλγεῖν πταῖον τὸ κατορθοῦσι συγχαίρειν ἐπὶδεικνύμενος· οὔδαμι δὲ λυπηρὸς οὐδ' ἐνοχλῶν οἰκετῶν πλῆθει περὶ λου-τρόν ἡ καταλήψει τότων ἐν θεάτροι οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰς τρυφὴν καὶ πολυτέλειαν ἐπιφθόνοις παράσημοι· ἂλλ' ἵσος καὶ ὁμαλὸς ἐσθήτι καὶ διαίτη καὶ τροφαῖς παίδων καὶ θεραπείᾳ γυναικός, οἷον ὁμοδημεῖν καὶ συνανθρωπεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς βουλόμενοι. ἔπειτα σύμβουλον εὖν οὐκ καὶ συνήγορον ἄμισθον καὶ δι- αλλακτὴν εὐμενῆ πρὸς γυναικας ἄνδρόν καὶ φίλων πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχων ἐαυτόν, οὐ μικρὸν ἡμέρας

1 παράσημος] Reiske suggests parassήμοις, Bernardakis parassήμων, Hartman ἐπίθεον ἐπιθήμοις.

a Cf. Pollux, iii. 87, ix. 84, but, as Bernardakis suggests, Plutarch may have added the word for “more desirable,” in which case there is here no real quotation.

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into the plain on foot to fight with cavalry; if he is poor, he must not produce foot-races, theatrical shows, and banquets in competition with the rich for reputation and power, but he should vie with those who try always to lead the State on the strength of virtue and wisdom, combined with reason, for in such are found not only nobility and dignity but also the power to win and attract the people, a thing "more desirable than gold coins of Croesus." For the good man is neither presumptuous nor offensive, and the prudent man is not over-blunt in speech, nor does he walk with a mien his townsmen bitter find,

but in the first place he is affable and generally accessible and approachable for all, keeping his house always unlocked as a harbour of refuge for those in need, and showing his solicitude and friendliness, not only by acts of service, but also by sharing the griefs of those who fail and the joys of those who succeed; and he is in no way disagreeable or offensive by reason of the number of the servants who attend him at the bath or by appropriating seats at the theatre, nor is he conspicuous for invidious exhibitions of luxury and extravagance; but he is on an equal level with others in his clothing and daily life, in the bringing up of his children and as regards the servants who wait upon his wife, as one who wishes to live like the masses and be friendly with them. And, moreover, he shows himself a kindly counsellor, an advocate who accepts no fee, and a kind-hearted conciliator when husbands are at variance with their wives or friends with one another. He spends no

(823) μέρος ἐπὶ τοῦ βῆματος ἡ τοῦ λογείου πολιτευό-
μενος, εἰτ' ἡδη πάντα τὸν ἄλλον βιόν

C ἐλκών ἐφ' αὐτὸν¹ ὥστε κακίας νέφη
tὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας πανταχόθεν· ἀλλὰ
dημοσιεύων ἀεὶ ταῖς φροντίσι, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν
βιόν καὶ πρᾶξιν οὐκ ἀσχολίαν ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ
λειτουργίαν ἡγούμενος, πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ τοῖς
tοιούτοις ἐπιστρέφει καὶ προσάγεται τοὺς πολλούς,
νόθα καὶ κίβδηλα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θωπεύματα καὶ
dελεάσματα πρὸς τὴν τούτων κηδεμονίαν καὶ
φρόνησιν ὀρώντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δημητρίου κόλακες
οὐκ ἥξιον βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἄλλους προσαγορεύειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Ἔλευκον ἑλεφαντάρχην τὸν δὲ Λυ-

D σύμαχον γαζοφύλακα τὸν δὲ Πτολεμαίων ναύαρχον
ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' Ἀγαθοκλέα νησιάρχην· οἱ δὲ
πολλοὶ, κἂν ἐν ἀρχῇ τὸν ἄγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον
ἀπορρίψωσιν, ὑστερον καταμαθάνοντες τὴν ἀλή-
θειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἱθος τούτων ἡγοῦνται μόνον
πολιτικὸν καὶ δημοτικὸν καὶ ἄρχοντα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων
τὸν μὲν χορηγὸν τὸν δ' ἐστιάτορα τὸν δὲ γυμνασί-
αρχὸν καὶ νομίζουσι καὶ καλοῦσιν. εἰτ' ὥσπερ ἐν
τοῖς συμποσίοις, Καλλίου δαπανώντος ἡ Ἀλκι-
βιάδου, Σωκράτης ἀκούεται καὶ πρὸς Σωκράτην
Ε πάντες ἀποβλέπουσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ὑγιαινούσις
πόλεσιν Ἰσμηνίας μὲν ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ διεπνίξει
Λίχας καὶ χορηγεῖ Νικήρατος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ
cαὶ Ἀριστείδης καὶ Λύσανδρος καὶ ἄρχουσι καὶ

¹ αὐτὸν Meziriacus: έαυτὸν.

Att. Frag. iii. p. 612, no. 1229. Plutarch, Moralia, 88 f.,
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small part of the day engaged in the public business on the orators' platform of the senate or the assembly, and thenceforth all the rest of his life he

Draws to himself as north-east wind draws clouds a services and commissions from every quarter. But since he is always devoting his thoughts to the public weal and regards public office as his life and his work, not, like most people, as an interruption to leisure and a compulsory expense,—by all these and similar qualities he turns and attracts the people towards himself, for they see that the flatteries and enticements of others are spurious and counterfeit when compared with his care and forethought. The flatterers of Demetrius would not address the other monarchs as kings, but called Seleucus "Ruler of Elephants" and Lysimachus "Guardian of the Treasure" and Ptolemy "Admiral of the Fleet" and Agathocles "Lord of the Isles"; but the multitude, even if at first they reject the good and wise man, afterwards, when they have become acquainted with his truthfulness and his character, consider him alone a statesmanlike, public-spirited man and a ruler, whereas they consider and call the others, one a provider of choruses, one a giver of banquets, and one a director of athletics. Then, just as at banquets, though Callias or Alcibiades pay the bill, it is Socrates to whom they listen, and Socrates on whom all eyes are turned, so in States in which the conditions are sound Ismenias makes contributions, Lichas gives dinners, and Niceratus provides choruses, but it is Epameinondas, Aristeides, and Lysander who are the rulers, public uses the same simile, and this line is quoted as a proverb by Aristotle, Meteor. 364 b 13.
πολιτεύονται καὶ στρατηγοῦσι. πρὸς ἀ χρή βλέποντα μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι μηδ’ ἐκπεπλήξθαι τὴν ἐκ θεάτρων καὶ ὀπτανείων καὶ πολυανδρίων προσισταμένην τοῖς ὀχλοις δόξαν, ὡς ὅλιγον χρόνον ἐπιζώσαν καὶ τοῖς μονομάχοις καὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ὅμοι συνδιαλυμένην, ἐντιμον δέ μηδὲν μηδὲ σεμνὸν ἔχουσαν.

F 32. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔμπειροι θεραπεῖας καὶ τροφῆς μελιττῶν τὸν μάλιστα βομβοῦντα τῶν σίμβλων καὶ θορύβου μεστὸν τοῦτον εὐθηνεῖν καὶ ὑγιαίνειν νομίζουσιν. ὡς δὲ τοῦ λογικοῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ σμήνους ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκεν, ἡσυχία μάλιστα καὶ πραότητι δήμου τεκμαιρόμενος εὐδαιμονίαν τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἀποδέχεται καὶ μιμήσται κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀπορήσει δὲ καὶ θαυμάσει τί παθὼν ἔκεινος ὁ ἀνήρ ἔγραψεν ἅτιμον εἶναι τὸν 824 ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρως προσθέμενον. οὕτω γὰρ σώματι νοσοῦντι γίγνεται μεταβολής ἀρχή πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν συννοσοῦντων μερῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡ παρὰ τοῖς ἐρρωμένοις ἰσχύσασα κράσις ἐκοστήσῃ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν· ἐν τῇ δήμῳ στασιάσαντι μὴ δεινὴν μηδ’ ὀλέθριον στάσιν ἀλλὰ παυσομένην ποτὲ δεῖ τὸ ἀπαθὲς καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνον ἐγκεκράσθαι πολὺ καὶ παραμένειν καὶ συνοικεὶν· ἐπιρρεῖ γὰρ τούτω τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκ τῶν σωφρονοῦντων καὶ δίεισι διὰ τοῦ νενοσηκότος· αἱ δὲ δι’ ὅλων ἀναταραχθείσαι πόλεις κομιδὴ διεφθάρησαν, ἃν μὴ τινος ἄνάγκης Β ἐξώθεν τυχοῦσα καὶ κολάσεως ὑπὸ κακῶν βίας σωφρονήσωσιν. οὗ μὴν ἁναίσθητον οὐδ’ ἀνάλγητον 288
men, and generals. So, observing these things, we must not be humiliated or overwhelmed by the reputation with the masses gained from theatres, kitchens, and assembly-halls, remembering that it lasts but a short time and ends the minute the gladiatorial and dramatic shows are over, since there is nothing honourable or dignified in it.

32. Now those who are skilled in tending and keeping bees think that the hive which hums loudest and is most full of noise is thriving and in good condition; but he to whom God has given the care of the rational and political swarm will judge of its happiness chiefly by the quietness and tranquillity of the people; he will accept and imitate to the best of his ability the other precepts of Solon, but will wonder in great perplexity why that great man prescribed that in case of factional disorder whoever joined neither faction should be deprived of civic rights. For in a body afflicted with disease the beginning of a change to health does not come from the diseased parts, but it comes when the condition in the healthy parts gains strength and drives out that which is contrary to nature; and in a people afflicted with faction, if it is not dangerous and destructive but is destined to cease sometime, there must be a strong, permanent, and permeating admixture of sanity and soundness; for to this element there flows from the men of understanding that which is akin to it, and then it permeates the part which is diseased; but States which have fallen into complete disorder are utterly ruined unless they meet with some external necessity and chastisement and are thus forcibly compelled by their misfortunes to be reasonable. Yet certainly it is not fitting in time
(824) ἐν στάσει καθῆσθαι προσήκει τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀταραξίαν ὑμοῦντα καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον, ἐν ἐτέροις ἐπιτερπόμενον ἄγνωμονοὺς. ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα δεῖ μάλιστα τὸν Θηραμένου κόθορνον ὑποδούμενον ἀμφοτέρους ὁμιλείν καὶ μηδετέρους προστίθεσθαι· δόξεις γὰρ οὐχὶ τῷ μὴ συναδικεῖν ἀλλότριος ἀλλὰ τῷ βοηθεῖν κοινῶς εἶναι πάντων· καὶ τὸ μὴ συναντχεῖν οὐχ ἔξει φθόνον, ἀν πάσι φαίνῃ συναλγῶν ὁμοίως. κράτιστον δὲ προνοεῖν ὅπως μηδέποτε στασιάζωσι, καὶ τούτῳ τῆς πολιτικῆς ὀσπερ τέχνης μέγιστον ἤγεισθαι καὶ κάλλιστον. ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰρήνης ἐλευθερίας εὐετηρίας εὐαισθήτω καὶ ὁμολογίας, πρὸς μὲν εἰρήνην οὐδὲν οἱ δήμοι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐν γε τῇ παρὸντι χρόνῳ δέονται· πέφευγε γὰρ ἐξ ἠμῶν καὶ ἠφανισταν πᾶς μὲν Ἑλλην πᾶς ἐς βάρβαρος πόλεμος· ἐλευθερίας δ' ὅσον οἱ κρατοῦντες νέμουσι τοῖς δήμοις μέτεστι καὶ τὸ πλέον ἵσως οὐκ ἄμεινον· εὐφορίαν δὲ γῆς ἀφθονον εὐμενὴ τε κρᾶσιν ὑφῶν καὶ τίκτευν

D γυναίκας "ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεύσι" καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς γεννωμένοις ευχόμενος ὃ γε σώφρων αὐτήσεται παρὰ θεῶν τοῖς ἐαυτοῦ πολίταις.

1 καὶ added by Reiske.

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*a* This refers to the doctrine held by the Epicurean and Sceptic Schools of philosophy that the perfect state is that of complete tranquility.

*b* Theramenes was prominent in the oligarchy at Athens in 411 B.C., but later turned against his former associates. In 404 B.C. he was elected one of the "Thirty Tyrants," but

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of disorder to sit without feeling or grief, singing the praises of your own impassiveness and of the inactive and blessed life, and rejoicing in the follies of others; on the contrary, at such times you should by all means put on the buskin of Theramenes, conversing with both parties and joining neither; for you will appear to be, not an outsider by not joining in wrongdoing, but a common partisan of all by coming to their aid; and your not sharing in their misfortunes will not arouse envy, if it is plain that you sympathize with all alike. But the best thing is to see to it in advance that factional discord shall never arise among them and to regard this as the greatest and noblest function of what may be called the art of statesmanship. For observe that of the greatest blessings which States can enjoy,—peace, liberty, plenty, abundance of men, and concord,—so far as peace is concerned the peoples have no need of statesmanship at present; for all war, both Greek and foreign, has been banished from among us and has disappeared; and of liberty the peoples have as great a share as our rulers grant them, and perhaps more would not be better for them; but bounteous productiveness of the soil, kindly tempering of the seasons, that wives may bear "children like to their sires," and that the offspring may live in safety—these things the wise man will ask the gods in his prayers to grant his fellow-citizens.

He was nicknamed Cothurnus because the buskin could be worn on either foot, as he was a member of each party in turn (cf. "turncoat"). Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, 28. 5, praises him as a patriot.

For the phrase cf. Thucydides, ii. 364.

Hesiod, Works and Days, 233.
Δείτεται δὴ τῶ πολιτικῶ μόνων ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἔργων, ὁ μηδενὸς ἐλαττῶν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁμόνοιαν ἐμποιεῖν καὶ φιλιαν ἃεὶ τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν, ἔριδας δὲ καὶ διχοφροσύνας καὶ δυσμένειαν ἐξαιρεῖν ἀπασαν, ὁσπερ ἐν φίλων διαφοράῖς, τὸ μᾶλλον οἴόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι μέρος ἐξομλοῦντα πρότερον καὶ συναδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦντα καὶ συναγαγακτεῖν, εἰθ' οὕτως ἑπιχειροῦντα πραύ-νειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὁτι τῶν βιάζεσθαι καὶ νικῶν
Ε ἔριζοντων οἱ παρέντες ὁκ ἐπιεικεῖᾳ καὶ ἡθεὶ μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονήματι καὶ μεγέθει ψυχῆς διαφέρουσι, καὶ μικρῶν υφιέμενοι νικῶσιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ μεγίστοις: ἐπειτα καὶ καθ' ἐνα καὶ κοινὴ διδάσκοντα καὶ φράζοντα τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἀσθένειαν, ἃς ἐν ἀπολαύσαι ἀμεινὸν ἑστὶ τοῖς εὐ φρονοῦσι, μεθ' ἡσυχίας καὶ ὁμονοίας καταβιώναι, μηδὲν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἡθος ἄθλον ὑπολεοπνεύς. τὸς γὰρ ἡγεμονία, τὸς δόξα τοῖς περιγενομένοις; ποία δύναμις, ἡν μικρῶν ἀνθυπάτου
F διατάγμα κατέλυσεν ἡ μετέτησεν εἰς ἄλλον, οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἄν παραμένῃ ὁποuds ἀξιον ἔχουσαν; ἐπει δὲ, ὁσπερ ἐμπρησμὸ τοὺς πολλάκις ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν ἄρχεται καὶ δημοσίων, ἀλλὰ λύχνος τῶν ἐν οἰκίᾳ παραμεληθεῖσα ὡρφετὸς διακαεῖς ἀνήκε φῶς πολλὴν καὶ δημοσίαν φθορὰν ἀπεργασμένην, οὕτως οὐκ ἀεὶ στάσων πόλεως αἱ περὶ τὰ κοινὰ φιλονεικία διακάουσιν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκ πραγμάτων καὶ προσκροματών ἵδιων εἰς δημόσιον αἱ διαφοραὶ προ-ελθοῦσι συνετάραξαν ἀπασαν τὴν πόλιν· οὐδενὸς

1 ἔργων] ἔργον Coraes.
3 ἐν ἀπολαύσαι Madvig: ἐναπολαύσαι.
4 ἀμεινὸν] μόνων Kronenberg.

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PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 824–825

There remains, then, for the statesman, of those activities which fall within his province, only this—and it is the equal of any of the other blessings:—always to instil concord and friendship in those who dwell together with him and to remove strifes, discords, and all enmity. He will talk, as in the case of quarrels among friends, first with the persons who think they are the more aggrieved, and will appear to share their feeling of wrong and anger, then he will try in this way to mollify them and teach them that those who let wrongs go unheeded are superior to those who are quarrelsome and try to compel and overcome others, not only in reasonableness and character, but also in wisdom and greatness of spirit, and that by yielding in a small thing they gain their point in the best and most important matters. Then he will instruct his people both individually and collectively and will call attention to the weak condition of Greek affairs, in which it is best for wise men to accept one advantage—a life of harmony and quiet—since fortune has left us no prize open for competition. For what dominion, what glory is there for those who are victorious? What sort of power is it which a small edict of a proconsul may annul or transfer to another man and which, even if it last, has nothing in it seriously worth while? But just as a conflagration does not often begin in sacred or public places, but some lamp left neglected in a house or some burnt rubbish causes a great flame and works public destruction, so disorder in a State is not always kindled by contentions about public matters, but frequently differences arising from private affairs and offences pass thence into public life and throw the whole State into con-
(825) Ἦττον τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει ταύτ' ἱάσθαι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως τὰ μὲν οὐδ' ὅλως ἐσται τὰ δὲ παύσεται ταχέως, τὰ δ' οὐ λήμεται μέγεθος οὐδ' ἁμετα τῶν δημοσίων, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μενεὶ τοῖς διαφερομένοις, αὐτὸν τε προσέχοντα καὶ φράζοντα τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἴδια κοινῶν καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλων αἵτια καθίσταται παροφθέντα καὶ μὴ Β τυχόντα θεραπείας ἐν ἀρχῇ μηδὲ παρηγορίας.

Οἶδον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ μέγιστος λέγεται γενέσθαι νεωτερισμὸς ὑπὸ Κράτητος, οὗ μέλλων θυγατέρα γαμεῖν Ὁρσίλαος ὁ Φάλιδος, εἶτα, τοῦ κρατήρος αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς μέσου ῥαγέντως, οἰωνισάμενος καὶ καταλυτῶν τὴν νύμφην ἀπῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· ὁ δὲ Κράτης ὠλόγον ὑστερον θύουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλῶν χρυσίον τι τῶν ἵερῶν κατεκρήμνισε τὸν Ὁρσίλαον καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον ἄκριτον, καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ οἰκείων ἰκετεύοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προναίας ἀνείλε· πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων γενομένων, ἀποκτείναντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τὸν Κράτητα Μ καὶ τοὺς συστασιάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ἐναγικῶν προσαγορευθέντων τοὺς κάτω ναοὺς ἀνέκαθισαν. ἐν δὲ Συρακούσαις δυνεὶς νεανίσκων συνῆθων ὁ μὲν τὸν ἑρώμενον τοῦ ἑτέρου λαβὼν φυλάσσειν διέφθειρεν ἀποδημοῦντος, ὁ δ' ἐκεῖνῳ πάλιν ὥσπερ ἀνταποδίδοις ὑβριν ἐμοίχευσε τῇ γυναικῇ· τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τις εἰς βουλὴν παρ-

1 Ῥοναιάς Kaltwasser: προναιάς.
fusion. Therefore it behoves the statesman above all things to remedy or prevent these, that some of them may not arise at all and some may be quickly ended and others may not grow great and extend to public interests, but may remain merely among the persons who are at odds with one another. He should do this by noticing himself and pointing out to others that private troubles become the causes of public ones and small troubles of great ones, if they are overlooked and do not in the beginning receive treatment or soothing counsel.

For example, at Delphi the greatest insurrection is said to have been caused by Crates, whose daughter was to be married to Orsiläüs, the son of Phalis; but then, when at the betrothal the mixing-bowl broke in the middle of its own accord, Orsiläüs regarded that as an omen, left his bride, and went away with his father. But Crates a little later, secretly putting a sacred object of gold into their possession while they were sacrificing, caused Orsiläüs and his brother to be hurled over the precipice without trial and later slew some of their friends and relatives when they were suppliants in the sanctuary of Athena-before-the-Temple. But after many such things had taken place the Delphians put Crates and his fellow-partisans to death, and with their property, which had been declared accursed, they built the lower temples. And at Syracuse there were two young men, intimate friends, one of whom, being entrusted with his friend’s beloved for safe-keeping, seduced him while the other was away; then the latter, as if to repay outrage with outrage, committed adultery with the offender’s wife. Thereupon one of the elder men came forward in the senate and
(825) ελθὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐλαύνειν, πρὶν ἀπολαύσαι καὶ ἀναπλησθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῆς ἐγκατασταθέντος οὐ μὴν ἐπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦτον στασά-ντες ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρεφαν. ἔχεις δὲ δὴ ποιοῦν καὶ αὐτὸς οἱκεῖα παραδείγματα, τὴν Παρδάλα πρὸς Τυρ-ρηνὸν ἐχθραν, ὃς ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἀνελεῖν τὰς Σάρ-δεισ, εἰς αὐτῶν μικρῶν καὶ ἱδίων εἰς ἀπόστασιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐμβαλοῦσα.

Διὸ χρῆ μὴ καταφρονεῖν τὸν πολιτικὸν ὄσπερ ἐν σώματι προσκρομμάτων διαδρομᾶς ἐξεις ἔχον-των, ἀλλ' ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ πίεσε βοηθεῖν: προσοχῇ γάρ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Κάτων, καὶ τὸ μέγα γίγνεται μικρόν καὶ τὸ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἀγεταί. μηχανῇ δ' ἐπὶ ταύτα πειθοῦς οὐκ ἐστὶ μείζων ἢ τὸ Ε ἐπιρέχειν ἐαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις διαφοραῖς ἡμερον διαλλακτὴν, ἀμὴντον, ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτων αἰτιῶν μένοντα καὶ μηδὲν προστιθέντα φιλονεικίαν μηδ' ὅργην μηδ' ἄλλο πάθος ἐμποιοῦν τραχύτητα καὶ πικρίαν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀμφισβητήμασι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς παλαιστραῖς διαμαχομένων ἐπισφαίρους περιδέουσι τὰς χείρας, ὅπως εἰς ἀνήκεστον ἡ ἁμιλλα μηδὲν ἐκπίπτη, μαλακὴν ἔχουσα τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ἀλυπον. εν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεσι καὶ ταῖς δίκαις πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἁμεινόν ἐστι καθαραῖς καὶ ψιλαῖς ταῖς αἰτίαις χρώμενον ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ μη καθάπερ βέλη τὰ πράγματα χαράσσοντα καὶ φαρμάσσοντα ταῖς βλασφημίαις καὶ ταῖς κακοθείαις καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἀνήκεστα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ δημόσια ποιεῖν.

1 ἀπολαύσαι Coraes: ἀπολέσαι.
2 Παρδάλα Bernardakis: παρδάλου or παρδάλαυν.
3 ὀλίγον Benseler: ὀλίγου.
moved that both be banished before the State reap the result and be infected with enmity through them. His motion, however, was not carried, and from this beginning disorder arose which caused great disasters and overthrew the most excellent government. And indeed you yourself also no doubt have excellent examples at home in the enmity of Pardalas and Tyrrhenus, which came near to destroying Sardis by involving the State in rebellion and war as the result of petty private matters.

Therefore the statesman should not despise such offences as may, like diseases in a person, spread quickly, but he should take hold of them, suppress them, and cure them. For by attention, as Cato says, the great is made small and the small is reduced to nothing. And for this there is no more persuasive device than for the statesman to show himself in his private differences mild and conciliatory, persisting without anger in his original reasons for disagreement, and treating no one with contentiousness, anger, or any other passion which injects harshness and bitterness into unavoidable disputes. For we put soft gloves on the hands of those who compete in the boxing-school, that the contest may not have a fatal result, its blows being soft and not painful; and in law-suits against one's fellow-citizens it is better to treat the causes of disagreement pure and simple in one's pleading, and not, by sharpening and poisoning matters, as if they were darts or arrows, with bad words, malice, and threats, to make them incurable, great, and of public importance.

*προσκρουμάτων* Bernardakis: *προσκρουμάτων.*
(825) ὁ γὰρ ὦτω προσφερόμενος τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπηκόους ἔξει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰ δημόσια φιλοτιμίαι, τῶν ἰδίων υφαιρουμένων ἀπεχθεῖν, εὐτελεῖς γίγνονται καὶ δυσχερές οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀνήκεστον ἐπιφέρουσιν.
For a man who proceeds in this way towards those with whom he himself has to do will find that others also yield to him; and rivalries affecting public interests, if private enmities are done away with, become of slight importance and do no serious or incurable harm.
ON MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND Oligarchy
(De unius in republica dominatione, populari statu, et paucorum imperio)
INTRODUCTION

This essay is evidently only a fragment, as Wyttenbach long ago pointed out. The opening words indicate that the author delivers it as an address before an audience to which he has spoken on the day before, but nothing further is known about the circumstances. Few scholars now believe that the author is Plutarch, though who the writer was is not known. The substance of the fragment is derived chiefly from the Republic of Plato.
1. Εἰς τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ αὐτὸς Β εἰσάγων τὴν γενομένην μοι πρὸς ύμᾶς διάλεξιν ἐχθές, ὥμην τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπάρ οὐκ ἀκούσαι λεγοὺσης κεκρότηται χρυσέα κρηπίς ιεραίσιν ἄωδαῖς,

δὲ προτρεπόμενος καὶ διαίρων ἐπὶ πολιτείαν βέβληται λόγος: "εἰα τειχίζωμεν ἡδὴ" τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἐποικοδομοῦντες τῇ προτροπῇ διδασκαλίαν, ὀφείλεται δὲ τῷ παραδεδεμένῳ τῇ ἐπὶ τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ προτροπῆν καὶ ὀρμῆν ἐξῆς ἀκούσαι καὶ λαβεῖν παραγγέλματα πολιτείας, οἷς χρώμενοι, C ὡς ἀνυστὸν ἐστίν ἀνθρώπῳ, δημωφελῆς ἔσται, μετ' ἀσφαλείας ἀμα καὶ τιμῆς δικαίας εὗ τιθέμενος τὸ οἰκεῖον. ὁ δὲ προὐργοῦ μὲν ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς δὲ προλειςθεμένοις ἐπεται, σκεπτεούν ἦτις ἀρίστη πολιτεία. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνθρώπου βίοι πλείονες,7

1 Wyтtenbach assumes that the beginning is lost.
2 οὐκ Xylander: ἦ.
3 ὁ added by Wyтtenbach. 4 καὶ] δὲ καὶ codex E.
5 διαίρων Salmasius: διαῈῶν.
7 πλείονες Bernardakis: πλείονες.
ON MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND OLIGARCHY

1. Now as I was myself bringing before this company as a court of judgement the talk that I presented to you yesterday, I thought I heard, while wide awake, not in a dream,\(^a\) Political Wisdom saying:

Golden foundation is wrought for canticles sacred,\(^b\)

so the speech, which exhorts and encourages you to enter political life has been laid as a basis. "'Come, let us now build walls,"\(^c\) building upon the exhortation the teaching which is due. And it is due to anyone who has received the exhortation and the impulse to engage in public affairs that he next hear and receive precepts of statecraft by the use of which he will, so far as is humanly possible, be of service to the people and at the same time manage his own affairs with safety and rightful honour. But as a step towards that which follows and a consequence of that which has been said, we must consider what is the best form of government. For just as there are numerous modes of life for a man, so the

\(^a\) Cf. Homer, Od. xix. 547.
\(^c\) Pindar, ibid.
(826) ἕστι καὶ δήμου ἡ ἐπιτεία βίος· ὥστε λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν αἱρήσεται ταύτην ὁ πολιτικὸς ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ὁμοιοτάτην, εἰ ταύτην ἀδύνατον.

2. Λέγεται μὲν δὴ πολιτεία καὶ μετάληψις τῶν ἐν πόλει δικαίων· ὡς φαμεν 'Αλεξάνδρω πολιτείαν Μεγαρείας ψηφίσασθαι· τοῦ δ' εἰς γέλωτα θεμένου τὴν σπουδὴν αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν ἐκείνους ὅτι μόνῳ πρώτερον τὴν πολιτείαν 'Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον αὐτῷ ψηφίσαντο· τὸν δὲ θαυμάσαντα δέξασθαι τὸ τίμημα ἐν τῷ σπανίῳ τιθέμενον. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ βίος ἀνδρὸς πολιτικὸς καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντος πολιτείας· καθ' ἐν τὴν Περικλέους πολιτείαν ἐπαινοῦμεν καὶ τὴν Βίαντος, ψέγομεν δὲ τὴν 'Ὑπερβόλου καὶ Κλέωνος. ἐνοὶ δὲ καὶ μίαν πράξιν εὔστοχον εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰν πολιτείαν προσαγορεύουσιν, οἶδον χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν, διάλυσιν πολέμου, ψηφίσματος εἰσήγησιν· καθὸ καὶ πολιτεύσασθαι τὸν δὲνα σήμερον λέγομεν, εἰ τύχοι τι διαπραξάμενος ἐν κοινῷ τῶν δεόντων.

3. Παρὰ πάντα ταύτα λέγεται πολιτεία τάξις Ε καὶ κατάστασις πόλεως διουκοῦσα τὰς πράξεις· καθαὶ φασὶ τρεῖς εἶναι πολιτείας, μοναρχίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ὥν καὶ 'Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ σύγκρισιν πεποίηται· καὶ δοκοῦσι γενικῶτατα εἶναι. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς μονοσικοῖς διαγράμμασι τῶν πρῶτων τρόπων ἀνεμένων ἡ ἐπιτεινομένων, συμβεβηκε παρακρούσεις καὶ

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1 ἤ added by Reiske.

a Herodotus, iii. 80-84.
government (politeia) is the life of a people, and therefore it is essential for us to take the best form of it; for of all forms the statesman will choose the best or, if he cannot obtain that, then the one of all the rest which is most like it.

2. Now the word politeia (citizenship) is defined also as "having a share of the rights in a State," as we say the Megarians voted Alexander the politeia (citizenship); and when he made fun of their eagerness, they told him that up to that time they had conferred citizenship upon Heracles only and now upon himself. Then Alexander was astonished and accepted the gift, thinking that its rarity gave it value. But the life of a statesman, a man who is occupied in public affairs, is also called politeia (statecraft); as, for example, we commend the politeia (statecraft) of Pericles and of Bias, but condemn that of Hyperbolus and Cleon. And some people even call a single brilliant act for the public benefit a politeia (politic act), such, for example, as a gift of money, the ending of a war, the introduction of a bill in parliament; and accordingly we say nowadays that so-and-so has performed a politeia if he happens to have put through some needed public measure.

3. Besides all these, politeia is defined as an order and constitution of a State, which directs its affairs; and accordingly they say that there are three politeiae (forms of government), monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, a comparison of which is given by Herodotus in his third book. They appear to be the most typical forms; for the others, as happens in musical scales when the strings of the primary notes are relaxed or tightened, turn out to be errors
διαφθοράς κατ' ἐλλεψιν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν εἶναι. τούτας δὲ καὶ πλείστον καὶ μέγιστον ἐν ἡγεμονίας δυνηθείσας τῶν ἑθῶν ἀπεκληρώσαντο τὰς πολιτείας, Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτοκρατὴ βασιλεῖαν καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον, Σπαρτιάται δ' ἀριστοκρατικὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ αὐθέκαστον, Ἀθηναίοι δ' αὐτόνομον καὶ ἀκρατον δημοκρατίαν. ὥς ἀμαρτανομένων παρατρόπαι καὶ ὑπερχύσεις εἰσὶν αἱ λεγόμεναι τυραννίδες καὶ δυναστείαι καὶ ὀχλοκρατίαι· ὅταν βασιλεία μὲν 827 ὑβριν ἐντέκη καὶ τὸ1 ἀνυπεύθυνον· ὀλιγαρχία δ' ὑπερφροσύνην καὶ τὸ αὐθάδες· δημοκρατία δ' ἀν- αρχίαν, ἴσότης δ2 ἀμετράν, πᾶσα δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον.
4. "Ὡσπερ οὖν ὃ ἀρμονικὸς καὶ μονικὸς ἀνὴρ παντὶ μὲν ὡργὰνῳ χρήσεται προσωδῶ τεχνικῶς ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ λόγῳ κρούων ἑκαστὸν, ὡς πέφυκεν ἐμμελὲς ὑπηχείν· ἦδη μὲντοι συμβούλῳ Πλάτων χρησάμενος, πηκτίδας, σαμβύκας καὶ ψαλτήρια πολυφθογγα καὶ βαρβίτους καὶ τρίγωνα3 παρατέμιαις, Β τὴν λύραν καὶ τὴν κιθάραν προτιμῆσει· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ εὗ μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν Λακωνικὴν καὶ Λυκούργειον μεταχειρεῖται, συναρμοσάμενος αὐτῷ τοὺς ἴσοκρατεῖς καὶ ὀμοτίμους ἄνδρας, ἡσυχὴ προσβιαζόμενος· εὗ δὲ πολυφθόγγῳ καὶ πολυχόρῳ συνοίσεται δημοκρατία, τὰ μὲν ἀνιεῖς τὰ δ' ἑπιτείνων τῆς πολιτείας, χαλάσας τ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ καρτερῶς αὖθις ἐμφύς, ἀντιβήναι καὶ ἀντισχεῖν ἑπιστάμενος· εὗ δ' αἰρέσις αὐτῷ δοθείη, καθάπερ

1 καὶ τὸ added by Patzig. 2 δ' added by Reiske. 3 τρίγωνα Xylander from Plato: τρίβωνα.
and corruptions through deficiency or excess. Of these forms of government, which have achieved the widest and greatest power in their periods of dominion, the Persians received as their lot royalty absolute and irresponsible, the Spartans oligarchy aristocratic and uncontrolled, the Athenians democracy self-governing and undiluted. When these forms are not hit exactly, their perversions and exaggerations are what are called (1) tyranny, (2) the predominance of great families, (3) or mob-rule: that is, (1) when royalty breeds violence and irresponsible action; (2) oligarchy, arrogance and presumptuousness; (3) democracy breeds anarchy, equality, excess, and all of them folly.

4. So, just as a real musician will make use of every instrument harmoniously, adapting it skilfully and striking each one with regard to its natural tunefulness, and yet, following Plato's advice, will give up guitars, banjoes, psalteries with their many sounds, harps and string triangles and prefer the lyre and the cithara; in the same way the real statesman will manage successfully the oligarchy that Lycurgus established at Sparta, adapting to himself the colleagues who have equal power and honour and quietly forcing them to do his will; he will also get on well in a democracy with its many sounds and strings by loosening the strings in some matters of government and tightening them in others, relaxing at the proper time and then again holding fast mightily, knowing how to resist the masses and to hold his ground against them. But if he were given the choice among governments,

* See Aristotle, Politics, iv. 4. 1 on διοναστεία.

b Plato, Republic, 399 c, d.
(827) ὁργάνων, τῶν πολιτειῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλην ἐλοιτο πλήν τῆς μοναρχίας, Πλάτωνι πειθόμενος, τὴν μόνην δυναμένην τὸν ἐντελῆ καὶ ὅρθιον ἔκεινον ὡς ἀληθῆς τῆς ἀρετῆς τόνον ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ μήτε πρὸς ἀνάγκην μήτε πρὸς χάριν ἀρμόσαι τοῦ συμφέροντος. αἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πολιτείαι τρόπον τινὰ κρατούμενα κρατοῦσι καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τὸν πολιτικὸν, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἵσχυν βέβαιον ἐπὶ τούτοις, παρ’ ὃν ἔχει τὸ ἵσχυν, ἄλλα πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ Ἀἰσχύλειον ἀναφωνεῖν, ὲ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἔχρητο Δημήτριος ὁ πολιορκητὴς ἀποβαλὼν τὴν ἥγεμονίαν σύ τοί με φυσᾶς, σὺ με καταίθεν ὅμω δοκεῖσ.  

1 ἀρμόσαι] ἀρμόσαι ἄνευ Wyttenbach; ἀρμόσαι τι Hutton; ἀρμόσαι ἀπὸ?  
2 τοῦτοις Meziriacus: τοῦτοι.  
3 με φυσᾶς frequently changed to μ’ ἐφυσα, but needlessly.  
4 καταίθεν μοι Ziegler with some mss. in Life of Demetrius, chap. xxxv.: καταίθεν.
like so many tools, he would follow Plato's advice and choose no other than monarchy, the only one which is able to sustain that top note of virtue, high in the highest sense, and never let it be tuned down under compulsion or expediency. For the other forms of government in a certain sense, although controlled by the statesman, control him, and although carried along by him, carry him along, since he has no firmly established strength to oppose those from whom his strength is derived, but is often compelled to exclaim in the words of Aeschylus which Demetrius the City-stormer employed against Fortune after he had lost his hegemony,

Thou fanst my flame, methinks thou burnst me up.


Wyttenbach, followed by Dübner and others, indicates a break at this point.
THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BORROW
(DE VITANDO AERE ALIENO)
INTRODUCTION

This brief essay consists of repeated warnings, enlivened by numerous examples and anecdotes, against running into debt. There is nothing to indicate that it was delivered as a lecture, but it would probably have been interesting to an audience of Plutarch's time, and may have been written with an audience in mind. It contains no profound or original doctrines, but is simply an agreeable presentation of somewhat commonplace thoughts—rather learned, rather literary, rather sensible, and, to the modern reader, rather amusing.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ ΔΕΙΝ ΔΑΝΕΙΖΕΣΘΑΙ

1. 'Ο Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις οὐκ ἔξε μεταλαμβάνειν ὑδατὸς ἀλλοτρίῳ τοὺς γείτονας, ἄν μὴ παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδεποτὲ ἀρχῇ τῆς κεραμίτιδος καλουμένης γῆς ἂγονον εὐρωσὶ νάματος τὸ χωρίον· ἢ γὰρ κεραμίτις φύσιν ἔχουσα λιτωράν καὶ πυκνὴν στέγει παραλαβοῦσα τὸ ὕγρον καὶ οὐ διήσοι· δεῖν1 δὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τάλλοστρίου2 τοὺς ἵδιον κτήσασθαι μὴ δυναμένους· ἀπορία γὰρ βοηθεῖν τὸν νόμον. ἄρ' οὗ3 δὴ ἔδει καὶ4 περὶ χρημάτων εἶναι νόμον, ὅπως μὴ F δανείζωνται παρ' ἑτέρων μηδ' ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίας πηγᾶς βαδίζοντι, μὴ πρότερον οὖκ ἂν αὐτῶν ἀφορμᾶς ἐξελέγξαντες καὶ συναγαγόντες ὡσπερ ἐκ λιβάδων τὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς; νυνὶ δ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας ἡ πολυτελείας οὐ χρῶνται τοῖς ἑαυτῶν, ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ λαμβάνοντι ἐπὶ πολλῷ παρ' ἑτέρων, μὴ δεόμενοι τεκμηρίων δὲ μέγα· τοῖς γὰρ ἀπόροις οὐ δανείζουσιν, ἀλλὰ βουλομένους εὐπορίαν τιν' ἑαυτοῖς κτάσθαι· καὶ μάρτυρα δίδωσι καὶ βε-

1 δεῖν Xylander: δεῖ.
2 τάλλοστρίου Bernardakis: τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου.
3 ἄρ' οὗ Duebner: ἄρα οὐ ἄρα.
4 δὴ ἔδει καὶ Wyttenbach: δεδεικται.
THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BORROW

1. Plato in the *Laws* \(^a\) forbids people to take any water from a neighbour's land unless they have dug on their own land down to a layer of potter's clay, as it is called, and found that the place will not produce a flow of water; for the potter's clay, being by nature oily and solid, holds back the water that reaches it and does not let it through; but, he says, those shall have a share of others' water who cannot get any of their own, for the law gives relief to those in want. Ought there not, then, to be a law about money also, that people shall not borrow from others or resort to other people's springs who have not first examined their resources at home and brought together, as from little trickles, what is useful and necessary to themselves? But now, because of their luxury and effeminacy or their extravagance, they make no use of what is their own, though they possess it, but take from others at a high rate of interest, though they have no need of doing so. There is strong evidence of this: loans are not made to people in need, but to those who wish to acquire some superfluity for themselves. And a man produces a witness and a surety to aver that,

\(^a\) Plato, *Laws*, 844 b.
2. Τι θεραπεύεις τὸν τραπέζητην ἡ πραγματευ-828 τὴν; ἀπὸ τῆς ἱδίας δάνεισαι τραπέζης· ἐκπώματ-έχεις, παροξύδας ἁργυρᾶς, λεκανίδας· ὑπόθου ταύτα τῇ χρείᾳ· τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἡ καλὴ Αὐλίς ἡ Τένεδος ἀντικοσμήσει τοῖς κεραμείσις, καθαρωτέρους οὐδὲ τῶν ἁργυρῶν· οὐκ ὄζει τόκου βαρύ καὶ δυσχερές ὀσπερ ἰοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιρρυπαίοντος τὴν πολυ-τέλειαν, οὐδ’ ἀναμήσει τῶν καλανδῶν καὶ τῆς νουμηνίας, ἢν ἱερωτάτην ἡμερῶν οὕσον ἀποφράδα ποιοῦσιν οἱ δανεισταί καὶ στύγιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πωλεῖν τιθέντας ἐνέχυρα τὰ αὐτῶν οὐδ’

B ἂν οθεὸς σώσειν ο Κτήσιος· αἰσχύνωνται τιμῆν λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τόκον τῶν ἱδίων διὸντες. καὶ τοῦ ἐν Περικλῆς ἐκείνου τὸν τῆς θεᾶς κόσμον, ἄγοντα τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα χρυ-σίου ἀπέφθο, περιαρετὸν ἐποίησεν, ὅπως, ἐφ’ χρησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἀθίς ἀποδώμεν μὴ ἐλαττον ὄυκοιν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀσπερ ἐν πολιορκίᾳ ταῖς χρείαις μὴ παραδεχόμεθα φρουρὰν δανειστοῦ πολε-μίου, μη’ ὥραν τὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δουλεία διδόμενα· ἀλλὰ τῆς τραπέζης περιελόντες τὰ μὴ χρήσιμα, τῆς κοίτης, τῶν χημάτων, τῆς διαίτης, ἐλευθέρους δια-φυλάττωμεν ἑαυτούς, ὡς ἀποδώσομεν ἀθίς, ἐὰν εὐτυχήσωμεν.

C 3. Αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἦρμαίων γυναίκες εἰς ἀπαρχὴν τῷ Πυθίῳ Ἀπόλλων τὸν κόσμον ἐπέδωκαν, ὦθεν

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*a* The Greek word means *bank*, as well as *table.*

*b* That interest was due on the first of the month is amply attested. Cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 17, 1134, Horace, 318
since the man has property, he deserves credit, whereas, since he has it, he ought not to be borrowing.

2. Why do you pay court to the banker or broker? Borrow of your own table; you have drinking-cups, silver dishes, bonbonnières. Pawn these for your needs. Beautiful Aulis or Tenedos will adorn your table in their stead with pottery that is cleaner than the silver ware; it does not have the heavy, disagreeable smell of interest defiling every day like rust the surface of your extravagance, nor will it keep reminding you of the first of the month and the new moon, which, though really the holiest day of the month, the money-lenders have made accursed and detested. For as to those who, instead of selling their belongings, give them as security, not even the God of Property could save them. They are ashamed to accept a price, but not ashamed to pay interest on what is their own. And yet the great Pericles made the ornaments of the Goddess, which weighed forty talents of refined gold, so that they could be taken off, "in order," he said, "that we may use it for the expenses of the war, and then pay back an equal amount." And so let us likewise, when we are, as it were, besieged by our needs, refuse to admit the garrison of a money-lender, our enemy, or to allow our property to be sold into slavery. No, let us preserve our liberty by taking off what is useless from our table, our bed, our vehicles, and our daily expenses, intending to pay it back if we are fortunate.

3. Now the Roman women gave their ornaments as an offering to Pythian Apollo and from them made the Satires, i. 3. 87 (tristes kalendae), for the detestation of the day.

Thucydides, ii. 13.
(828) ὁ χρυσοὺς κρατήρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη· αἱ δὲ Καρχηδονίων γυναῖκες ἑκείραντο τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ ταῖς θριξίν ἐντείνα τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τὰ ὅργανα παρέσχου ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν αὐτ-ἀρκειαν αἰσχυνόμενοι καταδουλοῦμεν έαυτοὺς ὑποθήκας καὶ συμβολαίοις, δέον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα συσταλέντας καὶ συσπειραθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἀχρήστων καὶ περιττῶν κατακοπέντων ἡ πραθέντων ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν ἱερὸν ἔδρασασθαι καὶ τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν.

D ἡ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρτεμις ἐν Ἑφέσῳ τοῖς χρεώσταις, ὅταν καταφύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς, ἀσυλήν παρέχει καὶ ἀδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν δανείων· τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐτελείας καὶ ἁσυλον καὶ ἄβατον πανταχοῦ τοὺς σώφρους ἀναπέπταται, πολλὴς σχολῆς εὐρυχωρίαν παρέχου ἵλαραν καὶ ἐπίτυμον. ὡς γὰρ ἡ Πυθία τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τεῖχος ξύλων διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ἐφή, κάκεινοι τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀφέντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς κατέφυγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οἷτως ἦμιν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι ξύλινην τράπεζαν καὶ κεραμεένι λεκάνῃ καὶ τραχύ ἰμάτιον, ἐὰν ἐλευθεροῖ 烝  ἐθέλωμεν.

E μηδὲ σὺ γ' ἔποσύνας τε μένειν, μηδ' ἄχματα ξευκτᾶ κερασφόρα καὶ κατάργυρα, ἀ τόκοι ταχεῖς καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ παρατρέχουσιν· ἀλλ' οὖν τινὶ τῷ τυχόντι καὶ καβάλλη χρώμενος φεύγε νολέμουν καὶ τύραννον δανειστὴν, οὐ γὰρ

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1 daceiwh] "a creditoribus,” i.e. daceiwhn, Xylander’s version.
2 kerassphora] katarchra or kataporphra Reiske.
3 cXylander: πῦρ.

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a Beginning with the fourth century b.c. the ancients employed various machines to hurl projectiles. They are commonly called catapults (katapeLlης). Their power lay in the elasticity of wooden beams which were bent by means of
golden bowl which was sent to Delphi; and the women of Carthage shore their heads and gave their hair to make ropes for the tension of machines and instruments in defence of their native city. But we, ashamed to be independent, enslave ourselves by mortgages and notes, when we ought to limit and restrict ourselves to actual necessities and from the proceeds of the breaking up or the sale of useless superfluities to found a sanctuary of Liberty for ourselves, our children, and our wives. The goddess Artemis at Ephesus grants to debtors when they take refuge in her sanctuary protection and safety from their debts, but the protecting and inviolable sanctuary of Frugality is everywhere wide open to sensible men, offering them a joyous and honourable expanse of plentiful leisure. For just as the Pythian prophetess in the time of the Persian wars told the Athenians that the God offered them a wooden wall, and they, giving up their land, their city, their possessions, and their houses, took refuge in their ships for the sake of liberty, so to us God offers a wooden table, a pottery dish, and a coarse cloak if we wish to live as free men.

Do not abide the attack of the horsemen, nor of yoked chariots adorned with horn or silver, which rapid interest overtakes and outruns. No, make use of any chance donkey or nag and flee from your enemy and tyrant, the money-lender, who does

of ropes rendered taut by twisting, whence the Latin name tormentum. The story is found in Appian, viii. 13. 93.

b Herodotus, vii. 141. The quotation is from the oracle in hexameters delivered to the Athenians by the priestess at Delphi when the Persians invaded Attica in 480 B.C. before the battle of Salamis.
αἰτοῦντα καὶ ὑδωρ ὡς ὁ Μηδός, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευ-
θερίας ἀπτόμενον καὶ προγράφοντα1 τὴν ἐπιτυμίαν-
καὶ μὴ διδώς, ἐνοχλοῦντα· καὶ ἔχης, μὴ λαμβά-
νοντα· καὶ πωλῆς, ἐπευνώντα· καὶ μὴ πωλῆς,
ἀναγκάζοντα· καὶ δικάζης, ἐντυγχάνοντα· καὶ
Θομόσης, ἐπιτάττοντα· καὶ βαδίζης ἐπὶ θύρας,
ἀποκλείοντα· καὶ οἴκοι μένης, ἐπισταθμεύοντα
καὶ θυροκοποῦντα.

4. Τί γὰρ ὥσπερ Σόλων Ἀθηναίους ἀπαλλάξας
τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς σῶμασιν ὑφείλειν; δουλεύοντι γὰρ
ἀπασι τοῖς ἀφανισταῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς·
tί γὰρ ἂν τὸ δεινὸν; ἀλλὰ δοῦλοι ὑβρισταῖς καὶ
βαρβάροις καὶ ἄγριοις, ὡσπερ οὔς ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ
καθ' "Αιδοὺ διαπύρους κολαστὰς καὶ δημοκρίους
ἐφεστάναι τοῖς ἥσεβικόσι. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὴν ἀγορὰν
829 ἀσέβῶν χώραν ἀποδείξαντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις χρεώσταις
γυνῶν δίκην ἔσθονσι καὶ ὑποκείρουσιν αὐτοὺς
"ἀδριτρὸν ἐσῳ δύνοντες," τοὺς δ' ὡσπερ Ταντάλους
ἐφεστάτες εἴργουσι γεύσασθαι τῶν ἱδίων τρυγύντας
καὶ συγκομίζοντας. ὥς δὲ Δαρείος ἐπὶ τάς 'Αθηνας
ἐπεμψε Δατίν καὶ 'Αρταφέρνην ἐν ταῖς χερσίν
ἀλύσεις ἔχοντας καὶ δεσμὰ κατὰ τῶν αἵμαλωτῶν,
παραπλησίως οὗτοι τῶν χειρογράφων καὶ συμβολαίων
ὡσπερ πεδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἔλλάδα κομίζοντες
ἀγγεία μεστὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιποτευόνται καὶ διελαύ-

Βνοὺς, σπείροντες οὐχ ἢμερον καρπὸν ὡς ὁ Τρι-
πτόλεμος, ἀλλ' ὀφλημάτων ῥίζας πολυπόνους καὶ
πολυτόκους καὶ δυσεκλείπτους τιθέντες, αἰ κύκλω
νεμόμεναι καὶ περιβλαστάνουσαι κάμπτουσι καὶ

1 προγράφοντα Madvig: προσγράφοντα.

a Plato, Republic, 615 ε.
b Homer, Od. xi. 578.
not, like the Persian, demand earth and water, but
attacks your liberty and brings suit against your
honour. If you will not pay him, he duns you; if
you have funds, he won’t accept payment; if you sell,
he beats down the price; if you will not sell, he forces
you to do so; if you sue him, he meets you in court;
if you take your oath, he orders you to do so; if you
go to his door, he shuts it in your face; if you stay at
home, he installs himself there and keeps knocking
at your door.

4. For what good did Solon do the Athenians when
he put an end to giving one’s person as security for
debt? For debtors are slaves to all the men who
ruin them, or rather not to them either (for what
would be so terrible in that?), but to outrageous,
barbarous, and savage slaves, like those who Plato
says \(^a\) stand in Hades as fiery avengers and execu-
tioners over those who have been impious in life.
For these money-lenders make the market-place a
place of the damned for the wretched debtors; like
vultures they devour and flay them, “entering into
their entrails,” \(^b\) or in other instances they stand
over them and inflict on them the tortures of
Tantalus by preventing them from tasting their own
produce which they reap and harvest. And as
Dareius sent Datis and Artaphernes against Athens
with chains and fetters in their hands for their capt-
tives, in similar fashion these men, bringing against
Greece jars full of signatures and notes as fetters,
march against and through the cities, not, like Tripto-
lemus, sowing beneficent grain, but planting roots of
debts, roots productive of much toil and much interest
and hard to escape from, which, as they sprout and
shoot up round about, press down and strangle the
(829) Ἀγχουσι τὰς πόλεις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λαγῶς λέγουσι τίκτειν ἀμα καὶ τρέφειν ἔτερα καὶ ἐπικυνήσεσθαι πάλιν, τὰ δὲ τῶν μαστιγῶν τούτων καὶ βαρβάρων χρέα πρὶν ἡ συλλαβεῖν τίκτει, διδόντες γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπατοῦσι καὶ τιθέντες αἵρουσι καὶ δανείζουσιν ὁ λαμβάνονυς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δανείσαι.

5. Λέγεται μὲν παρὰ Μεσσηνίος

ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ τοῦ Πύλοιο, Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἀλλος.

λεχθήσεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δανειστὰς

ἔστι τόκος πρὸ τόκοιο, τόκος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἀλλος.

εἰτα τῶν φυσικῶν δῆπον καταγελώσι, λεγόντων μὴδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γενέσθαι, παρὰ τοῦτοι γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηκέτ' ὄντος μὴδ' ύφεστῶτος γεννᾶται τόκοι· καὶ τὸ τελωνεῖν ὅνειδος ἡγοῦνται, τοῦ νόμου διδόντος· αὐτοὶ γὰρ παρανόμως δανείζουσι τελωνοῦντες, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐν τῷ δανείζειν χρεωκοποῦντες· ὁ γὰρ οὐ γράφει λαμβάνων ἔλαττον χρεωκοπεῖται. καίτοι Πέρσαι γε τὸ ψεύδεσθαι δεύτερον ἡγοῦνται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ οφείλειν· ὅτι καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς οφείλουσι D συμβαίνει πολλάκις· ψεύδονται δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ δανείζοντες καὶ ραδιουργοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ἐφημερίσι· γράφοντες ὅτι τῷ δεινῷ τοσοῦτον δίδοσιν, ἔλαττον διδόντες· καὶ τὸ ψεύδος αἰτίαν ἔχει πλεονεξίαν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην οὐδ' ἀπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπληστίαν, ἣς ἀναπό-

1 αὐτοὶ γὰρ Bernardakis; αὐτοὶ δὲ Meziriacus: αὐτοί.

2 οὐ Bongars: οὐ.

* There is here, and also above and below, a play on the
cities. They say that hares at one and the same time give birth to one litter, suckle another, and conceive again; but the loans of these barbarous rascals give birth to interest before conception; for while they are giving they immediately demand payment, while they lay money down they take it up, and they lend what they receive for money lent.

5. There is a saying among the Messenians, Pylos there is before Pylos, and Pylos, a third, there is also, but as to the money-lenders we may say

Int'rest there is before int'rest, and int'rest a third there is also.

And then they make a laughing-stock forsooth of the scientists, who say that nothing arises out of nothing; for with these men interest arises out of that which has as yet no being or existence. And they think it is a disgrace to be a tax-collector, which the law allows; for they themselves lend money contrary to law, collecting taxes from their debtors, or rather, if the truth is to be told, cheating them in the act of lending; for he who receives less than the face value of his note is cheated. And yet the Persians regard lying as the second among wrongdoings and being in debt as the first; for lying is often practised by debtors; but money-lenders lie more than debtors and cheat in their ledgers, when they write that they give so-and-so much to so-and-so, though they really give less; and the cause of their lie is avarice, not necessity or want, but insatiable

word τόκος, which means "offspring" and also "interest," the offspring of debt.

b Strabo, viii. 7, p. 339; Aristophanes, Knights, 1059.

* Herodotus, i. 138, puts lying first and debt second.
λαυστόν ἐστιν αὐτοὶς τὸ τέλος καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ὀλέθριον δὲ τοῖς ἀδικομένοις. οὔτε γὰρ ἄγροις οὔσ ἀφαιροῦνται τῶν χρεωστῶν γεωργοῦσιν, οὔτ' οἰκίας αὐτῶν, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκεῖνος, οἰκοῦν, οὔτε τραπέζας παρατίθενται οὔτ' ἐσθήτας ἐκεῖνων ἀλλὰ πρῶτος τις ἀπόλωλε, καὶ δεύτερος κυηγετεῖται Ε ὑπ' ἐκεῖνον δελεαξόμενος. νέμεται γὰρ ὡς πῦρ τὸ ἄγριον αὐξόμενον ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φθορᾷ τῶν ἐμπεσόντων, ἀλλὰ ἐξ ἀλλού καταναλίσκον ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ῥπίζων καὶ τρέφων ἐπὶ πολλοὺς δανειστής οὐδὲν ἔχει πλέον ἡ διὰ χρόνου λαβὼν ἀναγνώσαι πόσους πέτρακε καὶ πόσους ἐκβεβληκε καὶ πόθεν ποινον κυλινδόμενον καὶ σωρευόμενον διαβέβηκε τὸ ἀργύριον.

6. Καὶ ταῦτα μὴ μ' οἴσεθε λέγειν πόλεμον ἔνεννοχότα πρὸς τοὺς δανειστάς·

οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῶς ἠλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους.

𝐅 ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενον τοῖς προχείρως δανειζομένοις, ὅσην ἔχει τὸ πράγμα αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ ὅτι τὸ δανείζοσθαι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀφροσύνης καὶ μαλακίας ἐστίν. ἔχεις; μὴ δανείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἀ- πορεῖς. οὐκ ἔχεις; μὴ δανείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἐκτίσεις. κατ' ἰδίαν δ' οὔτως ἐκάτερα σκοπῶμεν. ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τινα πρεσβύτην πονηρεύόμενον "ὡ ἀνθρωπε, τί τῇ γήρα," ἐφη, "πολλὰ κακὰ ἔχοντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πονηρίας αἰσχύνην προστίθης;" οὐκοῦν καὶ σῦ 830 τῇ πενίᾳ, πολλῶν κακῶν προσόντων, μὴ ἐπισώφρενε

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a Homer, Il. i. 154.
greed, which in the end brings neither enjoyment nor profit to them and ruin to those whom they wrong. For they do not till the fields which they take from their debtors, nor do they live in their houses after evicting them, nor do they eat at their tables or wear their clothes, but they ruin one man first, then hunt a second, using the other as bait. For the savage practice spreads like fire, growing by the ruin and destruction of those who fall into it, consuming one after another. And the money-lender who fans and feeds this fire to the ruin of many men gains nothing, except that from time to time he can take his account-books and read how many men he has sold out, how many he has driven from their homes, and, in general, the sources from which his hoard of money, rolling in and piling up, has made such gains.

6. And do not think that I say this because I have declared war against the money-lenders;

Ne'er have they harried my cattle, nor ever made off with my horses; but that I am pointing out to those who are too ready to become borrowers how much disgrace and servility there is in the practice and that borrowing is an act of extreme folly and weakness. Have you money? Do not borrow, for you are not in need. Have you no money? Do not borrow, for you will not be able to pay. Let us look at each of these two alternatives separately. Cato once said to an old man who was behaving wickedly: "Sir, when old age has so many evils of its own, why do you add to them the disgrace of wickedness?" Therefore in your own case do not heap up upon poverty, which has many attendant evils, the perplexities which
(830) τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δανείζεσθαι καὶ ὁφείλειν ἀμηχανίας μηδ’ ἀφαιροῦ τῆς πενίας, ὥς μόνῳ τοῦ πλουτοῦ διαφεῖει, τὴν ἀμεριμνίαν. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς παρομίας ἔσται γελοῖον

οὐ δύναμαι τὴν αἷγα φέρειν, ἐπὶ μοι θέτε ἔτοι τὸν βοῶν.

πενίαν φέρειν μὴ δυνάμενος δανειστὴν ἐπιτίθησι σεαυτῷ, φορτίον καὶ πλουτοῦντι δύσοιστον. πῶς οὐν διατραφῷ; τοῦτ’ ἔσωτάς, ἐξων χεῖρας, ἐξων τόδας, ἐξων φωνήν, ἀνθρωπος ὅν, ὥς τὸ φιλεῖν ἔστι καὶ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐχα-Β ριστεῖν; γράμματα διδάσκων, καὶ παιδαγωγῶν, καὶ τυρωρῶν, πλέων, παραπλέων οὐδέν ἔστι τούτων αἰσχρον οὐδὲ δυσχερέστερον τοῦ ἀκούσαι ἀπόδος.

7. Ὁ Ρουτίλιος ἐκεῖνος ἐν Ρώμη τῷ Μουσώνιως προσελθὼν “Μουσώνιε,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Ζεύς ὁ σωτὴρ, ὃν οὐ μιμή καὶ ζηλοῖς, οὐ δανείζεται.” καὶ ὁ Μουσώνιος μειδιάσας εἶπεν “οὐδὲ δανείζει.” ὁ γὰρ Ρουτίλιος, δανείζων αὐτὸς ὠνειδίζεν ἐκεῖνω δανείζομένῳ. Στωικὴν τις αὕτη τυφομανία: τί γὰρ σε δεῖ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα κινεῖν, αὐτὸθεν ὑπο-μνησαι τοῖς φανομένοις ἐνόν; οὐ δανείζονται χελιδόνες, οὐ δανείζονται μύρμηκες, οἷς ἡ φύσις οὐ C χεῖρας, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τέχνην δέδωκεν· ἀνθρωποὶ δὲ περιουσία συνέσεως διὰ τὸ εὐμήχανον ἅππους παρα-τρέφουσι, κύνας, πέρδικας, λαγωνίσ,3 κολοιούς· τί οὖν γε σεαυτοῦ κατέγνωκας, ἀπιθανότερος ὅν

1 ἐπὶ μοι θέτε Reiske: κατίθετε.
2 Στωική Wytenbach: ὡς στωική.
3 πέρδικας λαγωνίς Aldine edition: πέρδικας.

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arise from borrowing and owing, and do not deprive poverty of the only advantage which it possesses over wealth, namely freedom from care; since by so doing you will incur the derision of the proverb, *I am unable to carry the goat, put the ox then upon me.*

Being unable to carry the burden of poverty you put the money-lender upon your back, a burden difficult for even the rich to bear. "How, then, am I to live?" Do you ask this, when you have hands and feet and a voice, when you are a man capable of loving and being loved, of doing favours and being grateful for them? Live by teaching letters, by leading children to school, by being a door-keeper, by working as a sailor or a boatman; none of these is so disgraceful or disagreeable as hearing the order "Pay up."

7. The well-known Roman Rutilius went up to Musonius and said, "Musionius, Zeus the Saviour, whom you imitate and emulate, is no borrower"; and Musonius answered with a smile, "He is no lender, either." For Rutilius, who was himself a lender, was finding fault with Musonius for borrowing. This is an example of the vanity of the Stoics; for why should you bring in Zeus the Saviour, when you can use as examples things that are here before your eyes? Swallows do not borrow, ants do not borrow, creatures upon which nature has bestowed neither hands, reason, nor art; but men, with their superior intellect, support through their ingenuity horses, dogs, partridges, hares, and jackdaws in addition to themselves. Why, then, have you come to the poor opinion of yourself, that you are less

* Paroemiographi Graeci, ii. 592.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(830) κολοιου καὶ ἀφωνότερος πέρδικος καὶ κυνὸς ἀγεννέστερος, ὡστ' ἀπ' ἄνθρωπον μηδενὸς ὑφελείσθαι περιέπων, ψυχαγωγῶν, φυλάττων, προμαχόμενος; οὐχ ὅρᾶς, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν γῆ παρέχει πολλὰ δὲ θάλαττα;

καὶ μὴν Μίκκυλον¹ εἰσείδον²

φησίν ὦ Κράτης

τῶν ἐρῶν ξαίνοντα, γυναῖκα τε συγξαίνουσαν,
tὸν λιμὸν φεύγοντας ἐν αἰνὴ δηιστήτι.

Κλεάνθη δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς 'Αντίγονος ἦρωτα διὰ χρόνου θεασάμενος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις "ἀλεῖς ἐτι, Κλέ-D ανθές;" "ἀλῶ," φησίν, "ἀβασιλεῖ. ὁ ποιῶ ἐνεκα τοῦ Ζήνωνος μη' ἀποστήναι μηδὲ φιλοσοφίας." ὃσον τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἄνδρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ μύλου καὶ τῆς μάκτρας πεπτούσῃ χειρὶ καὶ ἄλοσθη γράφειν περὶ θεῶν καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἄστρων καὶ ἦλιον. ἦμῖν δὲ δουλικὰ δοκεῖ ταῦτ' ἔργα. τοι-γαροῦν ἐν ἐλεύθεροι ὡμεν δανεισάμενοι, κολακεύομεν οἰκοτριβέας³ ἀνθρώπους καὶ δορυφοροῦμεν καὶ δειπνίζομεν καὶ δῶρα καὶ φόρους ὑποτελοῦμεν, οὐ διὰ τὴν πενίαν (οὐδὲις γὰρ δανείζεις πένητι), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πολυτελείαν. εἰ γὰρ ἡρκούμεθα τοῖς

¹ Μίκκυλον Χυλάνδερ: μίκκυλλον or μίκκυλον. Cobet supplies κρατέρ' ἀλγε' ἑχοντα from Homer, Od. xi. 593; cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 366.
³ Ζήνωνος μη' von Arnim, Stoicorum Vetterum Fragmenta, p. 134: ζῆν μόνος δ'. Diogenes Laertius, Life of Cleanthes, ii., gives a longer version of this story and adds καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων αὐτὸν συνεγύμναζέν εἰς τοῦτο, "for Zeno trained him for this." Capps suggests δ' ποιῶ . . . τοῦ ζῆν μόνον, ὡς μ' ἀποστήναι

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persuasive than a jackdaw, more dumb than a partridge, less well-born than a dog, so that you can obtain no help from any human being by waiting on him, entertaining him, guarding him, or fighting for him? Do you not see how many opportunities are offered on land and on the sea?

Lo, even Miccylus I beheld,\(^4\)
says Crates,

Carding the wool, and his wife too carding the wool along with him,
Striving in terrible conflict to 'scape from the onslaught of famine.

King Antigonus asked Cleanthes, when he met him in Athens after not seeing him for a while, "Are you still grinding corn, Cleanthes?" "Yes, Your Majesty," he replied; "I do it in order not to be a deserter from Zeno's instruction, nor from philosophy either." What a great spirit the man had who came from the mill and the kneading-trough, and with the hand which ground the flour and baked the bread wrote about the gods, the moon, the stars, and the sun! But to us such labours seem slavish. And therefore, in order to be free, we contract debts and pay court to men who are ruiners of homes, we act as bodyguard to them, dine them, make them presents, and pay them tribute, not because of our poverty (for no one lends to poor men), but because of our extravagance. For if we were content with the necessaries of life.

\(^4\) Crates, Frag. 6, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ed. 4, ii. p. 366. The last three words occur also in Homer, Od. xii. 257.

\(\mu\nu\nu\nu\delta\nu\phi\nu\lambda\iota\nu\sigma\lambda\sigma\phi\nu\lambda\iota\as\), "merely to live, that I may not have to abandon philosophy."

\(^4\) οικότριβας Capps: οικότριβας.
ἀναγκαῖος πρὸς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἂν ἂν γένος δανειστῶν, ὥσπερ οὔδε Κενταύρων ἔστιν οὔδε Γοργόνων. Ε ἂλλ' ἡ τρυφὴ δανειστᾶς ἐποίησεν οὐχ ἢ ττον ἡ χρυσοχόους καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ μυρεψίους καὶ ἀνθοβάφους. οὐ γὰρ ἄρτων οὔδ' οίνου τιμή ὑφείλομεν, ἄλλα χωρίων καὶ ἀνδραπόδων καὶ ἡμιόνων καὶ τρικλίνων καὶ τραπεζῶν, καὶ χορηγοῦντες ἐκλελυμένως πόλεις, φιλοτιμούμενοι φιλοτιμίας ἀκάρτους καὶ ἀχαρίστους. δ' δ' ἀπαξ ἐνευληθεὶς μένει χρεώστης διὰ παντός, ἄλλον ἐξ ἄλλου μεταλαμβάνων ἀναβάτην, ὥσπερ ἦπερ ἐγ- 

F ἀλυσιοθείς· ἀποφυγῇ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπὶ τὰς νομᾶς ἐκείνας καὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας, ἄλλα πλάζονται καθάπερ οἱ θείλατοι καὶ οὐρανοπετεῖς ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονες.

αἰθέριον μὲν γὰρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διάκει, πόντος δ' ἐσ' χθονὸς οὐδας ἀπέπτυσε 1· γαία δ' ἐσ' αὐγάς

ηλίου ἀκάμαντος· δ' δ' αἰθέρος ἐμβαλε δίνας.

831 " ἄλλος δ' ἐς ἄλλον δέχεται" τοκιστῆς ἡ πραγματευτῆς Κορίνθιος, εἶτα Πατρεύς, εἶτ' Ἀθηναῖος, ἀχρὶ ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων περικρούμενοι εἰς τόκους διαλυθῇ καὶ κατακερματισθῇ. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀναστῆναι δεῖ τὸν πεπηλωμένον ἡ μένειν, ὦ δὲ στρεφόμενος καὶ κυλινδούμενος ὑγρῷ τῷ σώματι καὶ διαβρόχῳ προσπερβάλλεται πλείονα μολυσμόν· οὔτως ἐν ταῖς μεταγραφαῖς καὶ μεταπτώσει τῶν δανείων τοὺς τόκους προσαναλαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς

1 δ' ἐς Meziriacus: δὲ.
2 ἀπέπτυσε Moralia, 361 c: ἀνέπτυσε.
the race of money-lenders would be as non-existent as that of Centaurs and Gorgons; but luxury produced money-lenders just as it did goldsmiths, silversmiths, perfumers, and dyers in gay colours; for our debts are incurred, not to pay for bread or wine, but for country-seats, slaves, mules, banquet-halls, and tables, and because we give shows to the cities with unrestrained expenditure, contending in fruitless and thankless rivalries. But the man who is once involved remains a debtor all his life, exchanging, like a horse that has once been bridled, one rider for another. And there is no escape to those former pastures and meadows, but they wander like the spirits described by Empedocles, who have been expelled by the gods and thrown out from heaven:

Into the waves of the sea they are drivn by the might of the ether;
Then on the floor of the earth the sea vomits them; earth then ejects them
Into the untiring sun’s rays; and he hurls them to eddying ether.  

And so “one after another takes over” the borrower, first a usurer or broker of Corinth, then one of Patrae, then an Athenian, until, attacked on all sides by all of them, he is dissolved and chopped up into the small change of interest payments. For just as a man who has fallen into the mire must either get up or stay where he is, but he who turns and rolls over covers his wet and drenched person with more dirt; so in their transfers and changes of loans, by assuming additional interest payments

a Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 2, vss. 32 ff.; quoted also in Moralia, 361 c.
b Mullach, ibid. vs. 35.
Β καὶ προσπλάττοντες ἂνει βαρύτεροι γίγνονται καὶ (831) τῶν χολερικῶν οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν, οἱ θεραπείαν μὲν οὐ προσδέχονται, τὸ δὲ προστεταγμένων ἐξερώτες,₁ εἵτα πλέον αὐθίς συλλέγοντες ἂνει διατελοῦσι καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καθαρθήματι μὲν οὐ θέλουσιν, ἂνει δ', ὅσα τοῦ ἐτους ὤραι, μετ' ὀδύνης καὶ σπαραγμῶν τὸν τόκον ἀναφέροντες, ἐπιρρέοντος εὐθὺς ἐτέρου καὶ προσισταμένου, πάλιν ναυτίωσι καὶ καρηβαροῦσι δέον ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἐλευθέρους γίγνεσθαι.

8. "Ἠδὴ γὰρ μοι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπορωτέρους καὶ μαλακωτέρους ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ, τοὺς λέγοντας " ἄδουλος οὖν γένωμαι καὶ ἀνέστιος καὶ άοικος;" ὁσπέρ

C εἰ λέγοι πρὸς ἰατρὸν ἀρρωστὸς ὑδρωπίων καὶ ὕδηκως " ἵσχυς οὖν γένωμαι καὶ κενός;" τι δ' οὐ μέλλεις, ἢν ὑμαίνησι; καὶ οὐ γενοῦ ἄδουλος, ἵνα μη δούλος ἵς· καὶ ἀκτήμων, ἵνα μη κτῆμ' ἵς ἄλλου· καὶ τὸν τῶν γυπών λόγον ἀκουσον ἐμοῦντος τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ λέγοντος τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐκβάλλειν, ἔτερος παρὼν " καὶ τί δείνων;" εἶπεν: " οὐ γὰρ τὰ σεαυτοῦ σπλάγχνα ἐκβάλλεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ ὅν ἀρτὶ ἐσπαράττομεν." καὶ τῶν χρεωστῶν οὐ πωλεῖ ἐκαστός τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χωρίον οὐδὲ τὴν ἴδιαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δανεισαντος ὅν τῷ νόμῳ

D κύριον αὐτῶν πεποίηκε. "νὴ Δία, φησίν, ἃλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου τὸν ἄγρον τούτον κατέλιπε." καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ὁ πατήρ

₁ εξερώτες Reiske: ἐξαίροντες.
₂ τὰ added by Bernardakis.

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*Evidently the man in debt is supposed to borrow from one lender in order to pay another.

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and plastering themselves with them,⁴ they weigh themselves down more and more; and they are much like persons ill with cholera, who do not accept treatment, but vomit up the prescribed medicine and then continue constantly to collect more disease. Similarly these borrowers refuse to be purged, and always, at every season of the year, when painfully and with convulsions they cough up the interest while another payment immediately accrues and presses upon them, they suffer a fresh attack of nausea and headache. What they ought to do is to get rid of debts and become healthy and free again.

8. From now on my words are addressed to those who are more well-to-do and accustomed to a softer way of living, those who say “Am I, then, to be without slaves, without hearth and home?”, as if a sick man who is swollen up with dropsy should say to his physician “Am I, then, to be made thin and empty?” Why not, to make you get well? And so you should do without slaves, that you may not be a slave yourself, and without property, that you may not be the property of another. Hear the tale of the vultures: One of them had an attack of vomiting and said he was spewing out bowels, but the other, who was there, said “What harm is there in that? For you are not spewing out your own bowels, but those of the corpse we tore to pieces a little while ago.” So any man in debt sells, not his own plot of land, nor his own house, but those of his creditor whom by law he has made their owner. “Not so, by Zeus,” he says; “why, my father left me this field.” Yes, and your father left you your liberty and your civil rights, which you ought
(831) ἐδωκεν, ὅπειρά δεὶ λόγον ἐχειν πλείονα. καὶ τὸν πόδα καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σαπή, μυσθὸν δίδως τῷ ἀποκόπτοντι. τῷ δ' Ὅδυσσεὶ τὴν ἐσθήτα ἢ Καλυψῷ περιέθηκεν "εἰμάτ' ἀμφιέσασα θυώδεια" χρωτός ἀθανάτου πνεόντα, ὅπειρα καὶ μνημόσυνα τῆς φιλίας οὔτα τῆς ἔκεινης ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περιτραπεῖς καὶ βυθισθεῖς μόλις ἀνέσχε, τῆς ἐσθήτος γενομένης διαβρόχου καὶ βαρείας, ἔκεινην μὲν ἔρριψεν ἀποδυσάμενος, κρηδέμνῳ δὲ των γυμνῶν ὑποξώσας τὸ στέρνον

Ε νῆχε παρεξ' ἐς γαῖαν ὅρμυμενος
καὶ διασωθεὶς οὐτ' ἐσθήτος οὔτε τροφῆς ἦπόρησε.
τί οὖν; οὐ γίγνεται χειμῶν περὶ τοὺς χρεώστας,
ὅταν ἐπιστῇ διὰ χρόνου δανεισθῆς λέγων
"ἀπόδος";

ὡς εἴπων σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἔταραξε δὲ πόντον.
οὖν δ' εὐρός τε νότος τ' ἐπεσε ζέφυρος τε δυσαής

τόκων τόκοις ἐπικυλισθέντων: ὁ δ' ὅσοικλυζόμενος
ἀντέχει τῶν βαρυνώντων, ἀπονήσασθαι καὶ φυγεῖν
μὴ δυνάμενος: ἀλλ' ὥθεται κατὰ βυθοῦ, μετὰ τῶν
ἐγγυησαμένων φίλων ἀφανίζόμενος. Κράτης δ' ὁ

F Θηβαῖος ὑπ' οὐδενός ἀπαίτούμενος οὐδ' ὀφειλὼν,
αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ περι-
στασμοῦς δυσχεραῖν, ἀφήκεν οὖσιαν ὀκτὼ τα-
λάντων, καὶ τρίβωνα καὶ πήραν ἀναλαβών εἰς
ϕιλοσοφίαν καὶ πενίαν κατέφυγεν. Ἀναξαγόρας
dὲ τὴν χώραν κατέλυπε μηλόβοτος. καὶ τί δεὶ

1 θυώδεια Xylander from Od. v. 264: εὐώδεια.

a Homer, Od. v. 264.  b Homer, Od. v. 439.
to value more. So, too, he who begat you made your foot and your hand, but when it is mortified, you pay a surgeon for cutting it off. Calypso clothed Odysseus in her garment, "putting fragrant raiment upon him" that breathed of her divine person, as a gift and a memento of her love; but when he was capsized and engulfed by the waves and could hardly keep himself up since the garment had become soaked and heavy, he took it off and threw it from him, then, binding a wimple about his naked breast,

Long-shore he swam looking landward, and when he reached safety he had no lack of garment or food. Well, then, is it not a tempest that arises about debtors when the lender after a while comes up to them saying "Pay"?

Thus having spoken he gathered the clouds and stirred up the great waters;
East wind and South wind and West with furious blasts raged together,
as interest rolled up upon interest; and the debtor, overwhelmed, continues to clutch them as they weigh him down, for he cannot swim away and escape; no, he sinks down to the bottom and disappears along with the friends who have endorsed his notes. Crates the Theban, when he was not pressed for payment and did not even owe anything, because he disliked the mere administration of property, its cares and distractions, abandoned an estate valued at eight talents and, donning cloak and wallet, took refuge in philosophy and poverty. Anaxagoras also left his land to be grazed over by

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" Homer, Od. v. 291, 292.

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τούτους λέγειν, ὅποιν Φιλόξενος ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐν ἀποικίᾳ Σικελικῇ, κλήρου μετασχῶν καὶ βίου καὶ οἰκου πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ἔχοντος, ὅρων δὲ τρυφήν καὶ ἠδυπάθειαν καὶ ἀμοιβαίαν ἐπιχωριάζουσαν "μᾶ τοὺς θεοὺς," εἶπεν, "ἐμὲ ταῦτα" τάγαθα οὐκ ἄπολει, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα· καὶ καταλιπὼν ἐτέρους τὸν κλή-
832 ῥον ἔξεπλευσεν. οἱ δ' ὁφείλοντες ἀπαντοῦμενοι δασμολογούμενοι δουλεύοντες ὑπαργυρεύοντες ἀν-
έχονται, καρτεροῦσιν, ὡς ὁ Φινεὺς, Ἀρπυίας τινὰς ὑποπτέρους βόσκοντες, αἱ φέρουσι τὴν τροφὴν καὶ
dιαρπάζουσιν, οὐ καθ' ὄραν ἄλλα πρὶν θερισθῆναι
tὸν οὐτὸν ὑνοῦμενοι, καὶ πρὶν ἡ πεσεῖν τὴν ἑλαίαν ἀγοράξοντες τουλαχιν· καὶ "τὸν οἴνον ἔχω," φησὶ,
"τοσότου" καὶ πρόσγραφον ἔδωκε τῆς τιμῆς· ὁ
de βότρυς κρέματε καὶ προσπέφυκεν ἔτι τὸν ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκδεχόμενος.

* Cf. Himerius, Eclogues, iii. 18.
sheep. But what need is there of mentioning these men, when Philoxenus the lyric poet, who shared in the allotment of lands in a colony in Sicily, which ensured him a livelihood and a household furnished with abundant resources, when he saw that luxury, indulgence in a life of pleasure, and lack of culture were prevalent there, said, “By the Gods, these good things shall not make me lose myself; I will rather lose them,” and leaving his allotment to others, he sailed away. But people in debt are content to be dunned, mulcted of tribute, enslaved, and cheated; they endure, like Phineus, to feed winged harpies which carry off their food and devour it, buying their grain, not at the proper season, but before it is harvested, and purchasing the oil before the olives have been plucked. And “I have wine,” says the borrower, “at such and such a price,” and he gives his note for its value; but the cluster still hangs clinging on the vine and waiting for the rising of Arcturus.
LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS
(VITAE DECEM ORATORUM)
INTRODUCTION

At some time in the second century before Christ ten Attic orators were selected, probably by Apollodorus of Pergamum, as the orators whose speeches were most worthy of preservation and study, and this “Canon” of the Ten Attic Orators was generally accepted. The Lives of these orators which are contained in manuscripts of Plutarch’s Moralia were certainly not written by Plutarch. They are altogether lacking in the charm which characterizes Plutarch’s careful and elaborate style. Facts are stated one after another with little variety and with little or no distinction between mere anecdotes and matters of real importance; but the Lives are of interest on account of their subject matter.

The “decrees” appended to the Lives are, except in some details, fairly accurate copies of official documents (see F. Ladek, Wiener Studien, xiii., 1891, pp. 111 ff.). The two which are concerned with Demosthenes and his family are not really decrees, but petitions addressed to the Senate, copies of which were undoubtedly kept among the official records at Athens, whereas the third—that in honour of Lycurgus—is a decree of the people. A large part of the inscription recording this decree has been found and is published in the Inscriptiones Graecae, ii. No. 240 (editio minor, ii. No. 457), Dittenberger, 342
Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum, third edition, No. 326. The text which has been handed down in the manuscripts of Plutarch varies somewhat from that of the inscription, but hardly more than is to be expected. It may well be that whoever appended the "decrees" to the Lives of the orators derived them, not directly from inscriptions or other official documents, but (as suggested by B. Keil in Hermes, xxx. pp. 210 ff.) from the work of Heliodorus On Monuments.

The Lives, with the "decrees," are published by Anton Westermann in his Biographi Graeci (1833 and 1845).
'Αντιφῶν Σοφίλου μὲν ἥν πατρὸς τῶν δὲ
Ο δήμων 'Ραμνούσιος· μαθητεύσας δὲ τῷ πατρὶ (ἢν
γάρ σοφιστής, ὥς καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην φασίν ἔτι παίδα
ὄντα φοιτῆσαι) καὶ δύναμιν λόγων κτησάμενος, ὡς
τινες νομίζουσιν, ἀπ' οἰκείας φύσεως, ἀρμησθεὶς μὲν
πολιτεύεσθαι. διατριβὴν δὲ συνεστήσει καὶ Σωκράτει
τῷ φιλοσόφῳ διεφέρετο τὴν ὑπέρ τῶν λόγων δια-
φορὰν οὐ φιλονείκως ἀλλ' ἐλεγκτικῶς, ὡς Ἐυνοφῶν
ἰστόρηκεν ἐν τοῖς 'Ἀπομνημονεύμασι. καὶ τινας
λόγους τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν πολιτῶν συνέγραφεν
εἰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἁγώνας πρῶτος ἐπὶ
D τοῦτο τραπείς, ὥσπερ τινές φασὶν τῶν γοῦν πρὸ
αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδενὸς φέρεται δικανικὸς λόγος,
ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν κατ' αὐτόν, διὰ τὸ μηδέπω ἐν ἔθει
τοῦ συγγράφειν εἶναι, οὐ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐκ Ἀρι-
στείδου οὐ Περικλέους, καίτοι πολλὰς ἀφορμάς
καὶ ἀνάγκας παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν καρπῶν· καὶ
γὰρ οὐ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπελείποντο τοῦ συγγράφειν,
ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρήμενων παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύσι
περὶ ἑνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν. ὅσους
μέντοι ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τὸ παλαιότατον ἀναφέροντες ἀπο-
Ε μνημονεύοντα τὴν ἱδέαν τῶν λόγων ταύτην μετα-
χειρισμένους, τούτους ἐυροί τις ἂν ἐπιβεβληκότας

1 πρῶτος Meziriacus: πρῶτον.
I. ANTIPHON

Antiphon was the son of Sophilus, and his deme was Rhamnus. He was a pupil of his father (for his father was a sophist, and it is said that Alcibiades as a boy attended his school), and having acquired power in speaking—as some think, through his own natural ability—he entered upon a public career. And he set up a school and had his disagreement with Socrates on the subject of words, not in a contentious spirit, but for the sake of argument, as Xenophon has narrated in his Memoirs. And he wrote some speeches for citizens who wanted them for their suits in the law-courts, being the first who practised this profession, as some say. At any rate no legal oration is extant of any of those who lived before his time, nor of his contemporaries either, because the custom of speech-writing had not yet arisen; there is none by Themistocles, Aristeides, or Pericles, although the times afforded them many opportunities and also occasions when such speeches were needed. And it was not for lack of ability that they refrained from such speech-writing, as is evident from what is said by the historians about each of the above-mentioned orators. Yet all those whom we are able to record as having practised this kind of speeches, going back to the earliest occurrence, will be found

* Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 6.
(32) Ἀντιφώντι, πρεσβύτη ἦδη ὄντι, οἰον Ἀλκιβιάδην, Κριτίαν, Λυσίαν, Ἀρχάνον. ́ πρῶτος δὲ καὶ ρη-
τορικᾶς τέχνας ἐξήνεγκε, γενόμενος ἀγχίνους. διὸ καὶ Νέστωρ ἔπεκαλείτο.

Κακίλιος δ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι Ἑυκυδίδου τοῦ συγγραφέως καθηγητῆς τεκμαί-
ρεται γεγονέναι ἐξ ὧν ἔπαινεται παρ’ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν. ἦστι δ’ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀκριβῆς καὶ
πιθανὸς καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν εὑρεσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις τεχνικὸς καὶ ἐπιχειρῶν ἐξ ἀδηλοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ
τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ πάθη τρέπων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ

εὐπρεποῦς μάλιστα στοχαζόμενος. γέγονε δὲ κατὰ
tὰ Περσικὰ καὶ Γοργίαν τὸν σοφότην, ὅλῳν
νεώτερος αὐτοῦ; καὶ παρατέτακεν ἕως καταλύσεως
τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων γενομένης,
ἣν αὐτὸς δοκεῖ συγκατασκευάζον, ὅτε μὲν δυσὶ
τριηραρχῶν ναυσὶν ὅτε δὲ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πολλαῖς
μάχαις νικῶν, καὶ συμμαχίας μεγάλας αὐτοῖς
προσαγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ὀπλίζων, καὶ

1 Ἀρχάνον Taylor: ἀρχάνον.
2 καθηγητῆς Wyttenbach: μαθητήν.

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"Cf. Thucydides, viii. 68 ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἀρετῇ τε οὐδε νός δεύτερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνυπηρημέναι γενόμενος καὶ ἀ γνόην εἶπεν, "a man inferior to none of the Athenians of his own day in force of character, and one who had proved himself most able both to formulate a plan and to set forth his conclusions in speech" (Smith’s translation, L.C.L.).

b In 411 B.C. when for some four months an oligarchy ruled Athens.

c The duty of fitting out ships for the navy devolved upon wealthy citizens, who were then called triarchs.

d Antiphon was a common name at Athens in the fifth century. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed. i. 346"
to have followed Antiphon when he was already old; I mean such as Alcibiades, Critias, Lysias, and Archinus. He was also the first to publish rules of the art of oratory, being of sharp intellect, and for this reason he was nicknamed Nestor.

And Caecilius, in the treatise he compiled about him, conjectures from the terms in which Antiphon is praised in the work of the historian Thucydides that he was the latter’s teacher. In his speeches he is accurate and persuasive, clever in invention, ingenious in handling perplexing cases; he attacks unexpectedly, and he addresses his arguments to both the laws and the emotions, aiming especially at propriety. He was born at the time of the Persian wars and of the sophist Gorgias, who was somewhat older than he; and his life extended until the destruction of the democracy by the Four Hundred, in causing which he seems himself to have had a part, at one time by being trierarch of two ships, at another by being general and gaining many victories in battle and winning important alliances for the Four Hundred, by arming the men of military age,

pp. 93 ff., distinguishes, in addition to the orator: (1) a patriotic and worthy citizen (Xenophon, Hell. ii. 3. 40) in defence of whose daughter Lysias wrote a speech, and to whom the military activities belong which are here ascribed to the orator; (2) the tragic poet who was put to death by Dionysius of Syracuse (Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 6. p. 1385 a 9); (3) Antiphon the sophist (Xenophon, Mem. i. 6. 5; Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 25), who is probably the one who practised mental healing at Corinth; (4) the son of Pyrilampus (Plato, Parmenides, 127 A); (5) the son of Lysonides (Moralia, 833 λ); and (6) an Antiphon derided by Aristophanes (Wasps, 1270), as a starveling. The Pseudo-Plutarch has evidently fused several of these personalities with that of the orator.
τριήρεις πληρών ἐξήκοντα, καὶ πρεσβεύων δ’ ἐκά-
στοτε ὑπὲρ1 αὐτών εἰς Δακεδαίμονα, ἤνικα ἔτε-
333 τείχιστο 'Ἡτιώνεια.'2 μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν
tetraκοσίων εἰσαγγελθεῖσιν σὺν 'Ἀρχεπτολέμῳ, ἐν
tῶν τετρακοσίων, ἐάλω, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν προ-
dοτῶν ἐπιτυμίοις ὑπαχθεῖσι ἀταφὸς ἔρριφῃ καὶ σὺν
tοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἀτιμὸς ἀνεγράφη.3 οἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν
tριάκοντα4 ἀνηρήθοθαί αὐτὸν ἰστοροῦσιν, ὡσπερ
Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ἀντιφώντος θυγατρὸς λόγῳ·
ἐγένετο γὰρ αὐτῷ θυγάτριον, οὐ Κάλλαισχρος
ἐπεδικάσατο. ὅτι δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα ἀπέθανεν,
ἰστορεῖ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαϊδεκάτῃ τῶν
Β Φιλιππικῶν. ἀλλ’ οὗτός γ’5 ἂν εἶπ ἔτερος,6 Ἀυσ-
δωνίδοις πατρός, οὗ7 καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Πυτίνῃ ὡς
πονηρῷ μνημονεύει. πῶς γὰρ ἂν ὁ πρωτεθνεῖ καὶ
ἀναρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν
τριάκοντα εἶθ’ ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος περὶ τῆς
tελευτῆς αὐτοῦ. πρεσβευτὴν γὰρ ὄντα αὐτὸν εἰς
Συρακούσας πλεῦσαι, ἤνικα ἤκμαζεν ἡ τοῦ προ-
tέρου Διονυσίου τυραννίς γενομένης δὲ παρὰ πότον
ζητήσεως, τις ἄριστος ἔστι χαλκός, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν
diaferomένων, αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἄριστον εἶναι εἶξ οὐ
'Ἀρμόδιοι καὶ 'Ἀριστογείτων πεποίηται· τοῦτο
δ’ ἀκούσαντα τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ ὑπονοησάντα προ-

1 ὑπὲρ Reiske: ὑπ’.
2 'Ἡτιώνεια Blass: ἦ ἐτεωνία ('Ητιώνεια Xylander).
3 ἀνεγράφη Westermann: ἀνεγράφη.
4 τριάκοντα] ὑ’ (i.e. τετρακοσίων) Photius.
5 οὗτός γ’ Taylor: οὗτος τε.
6 ἂν εἶπ ἔτερος Taylor: ἂν ἡμέτερος.
7 οὗ added by Sauppe.

* Eütioncia, the mole which formed the northern side of
by manning sixty triremes, and by being on every occasion their envoy to Lacedaemon at the time when Eëtioneia had been fortified. And after the overthrow of the Four Hundred he was indicted along with Archeptolemus, one of the Four Hundred, was found guilty, subjected to the punishments prescribed for traitors, thrown out unburied, and inscribed along with his descendants in the list of the disfranchised. But some tell us that he was put to death by the Thirty, as Lysias says in his speech in defence of Antiphon’s daughter; for he had a daughter whom Callaeschrus claimed in marriage by legal process. And that he was put to death by the Thirty is told also by Theopompus in the fifteenth book of his *Philippics*; but that must have been another Antiphon, the son of Lysidonides, whom Cratinus also, in his play *The Flask*, mentions as a rascal; for how could a man who had died previously and had been put to death by the Four Hundred be living again in the time of the Thirty? But there is also another story of his death: that he sailed as envoy to Syracuse when the tyranny of Dionysius the First was at its height, and at a convivial gathering the question arose what bronze was the best; then when most of the guests disagreed, he said that bronze was the best from which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were made; and when Dionysius heard this, suspecting that the remark

the great Harbour of Peiraeus, was fortified by the Four Hundred in order to command the entrance.

* In 404 B.C., when Athens was occupied by the Lacedaemonians, a body of Thirty men was appointed to revise the constitution. They seized all power and ruled ruthlessly until overthrown in May 403 B.C.

(833) τροπὴν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν εἶναι τὸ ῥηθέν προστάξαι C ἀναφερθῆναι αὐτὸν· οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτοῦ διέσυρε χαλεπῆνατα.

Φέρονται δὲ τοῖς ῥήτοροι λόγοι ἐξήκοντα, ὧν κατεφευσμένους φησὶ Καυκίλιος εἶναι τοὺς εἰκοσιπέντε. κεκωμωδηταὶ δὲ εἰς φιλαργυρίαν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος ἐν Πεισάνδρῳ. λέγεται δὲ τραγῳδίαι συνθεῖναι καὶ ἰδία καὶ σὺν Διονύσιω τῷ τυράννῳ. ἔτι δ’ ὅπερ τῇ ποιήσει τέχνην ἀλυπίας συνεστήσατο, ὥσπερ τοὺς νοσοῦσιν ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεία ὑπάρχει. ἐν Κορίνθῳ τε κατεσκευασμένος οἰκημα τῷ παρὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προείρηθεν, ὅτι δύναται D τοὺς λυπουμένους διὰ λόγων θεραπεύειν· καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὰς αἰτίας παρεμμυθεῖτο τοὺς κάμνοντας· νομίζων δὲ τὴν τέχνην ἐλάττω ἢ καθ’ αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐπὶ ῥήτορικην ἀπετράπῃ. εἰσὶ δ’ οἱ καὶ τὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ἡραγίνου περὶ ποιητῶν βιβλίων εἰς Ἀντιφῶντα ἀναφέρουσιν. ἐπαινεῖται δ’ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ὁ περὶ Ἡρώδου, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Ἐρασίστρατον περὶ τῶν ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, ὅπερ ἐστὶν έαυτοῦ γέγραφη, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Δημοσθένη τὸν στρατηγὸν παρανόμων. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ λόγου καὶ εἴλεν αὐτὸν ἐς ἐρήμου.

Ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ἐφ’ οὖν οἱ

1 ἐν Casaubon from Photius: σὺν.
2 Ἡρώδου Palmer: Ἡρωδότου.
3 καὶ ὁ Duebner: καὶ.
4 ταῦν Ruhnken: ἱδεῶν.
5 εἰσαγγελίας Xylander: ἀγγελίας.
6 στρατηγοῦ Westermann: ἰατροῦ στρατηγοῦ (ἰατροῦ Photius).
was intended to encourage an attack upon himself, he ordered that Antiphon be put to death. But others say that he was angry because Antiphon made fun of his tragedies.

There are current sixty orations ascribed to this orator, twenty-five of which Caecilius says are spurious. He is ridiculed as a lover of money by Plato in his *Peisander*. And he is said to have written tragedies both by himself and in collaboration with the tyrant Dionysius. But while he was still busy with poetry he invented a method of curing distress, just as physicians have a treatment for those who are ill; and at Corinth, fitting up a room near the market-place, he wrote on the door that he could cure by words those who were in distress; and by asking questions and finding out the causes of their condition he consoled those in trouble. But thinking this art was unworthy of him he turned to oratory. There are some who ascribe also to Antiphon the book *On Poets* by Glaucus of Rhegium. His most admired orations are the one concerning Herodes, that against Erasistratus about the peacocks, that on the Indictment, which he wrote in his own defence, and that against the general Demosthenes for moving an illegal measure. He wrote also a speech against the general Hippocrates and caused him to be convicted by default.

Caecilius has appended a decree passed in the archonship of Theopompus, the year in which the

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c 411-410 B.C. Caecilius derived his text of the decree from Craterus’s collection of decrees. See Harpocration, *s.v.* "Ανδρας" and Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, 2nd ed., i. p. 99,
Ε τετρακόσιοι κατελύθησαν, καθ' δ' έδοξεν 'Αντι-
φώντα κριθήναι, δ' Καικίλιος παρατέθειται.

"Εδοξεν2 τῇ βουλῇ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρωτανείας
Δημόνικος 'Αλωπεκήθεν ἐγραμμάτευε, Φιλόστρατος
Παλληνεύς3 ἔπεστάτευ. 'Ανδρων εἶπε περὶ τῶν ἄνδρῶν,
οὓς ἀποφαίνοντοι οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρεσβευομένους εἰς
Λάκεδαίμονα ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως τῆς 'Αθηναίων, καὶ
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεῖν ἐπὶ πολεμίας νεώς καὶ πεζεῦσαι

F διὰ Δεκελείας, 'Αρχεπτόλεμον καὶ 'Ομομακλέα καὶ
'Αντιφώντα συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποδοῦναι εἰς τὸ δικα-
στήριον, ὅπως δώσοι δίκην· παρασχόντων δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ
στρατηγοὶ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς οὐσίνας ἀν δοκῇ τοῖς
στρατηγοῖς, προσελομένοι4 μέχρι δέκα, ὅπως ἂν περὶ
παρόντων γένηται ἡ κρίσις. προσκαλεσάθωσαν δ' αὐτοῖς οἱ
θεσμοθέται ἐν τῇ αὐρητῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ εἰσαγόντων,
ἐπειδὰν αἱ κλήσεις ἔξηκοσιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ
προδοσίας κατηγορεῖν τοὺς ἡρμήνευν5 συνηγόρους καὶ
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἄλλους,6 ἂν τις βουληταί: ὅτου δ' ἂν καταψήφισην τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν
κατὰ τὸν νόμον, δὲ κεῖται περὶ τῶν προδότων.

834 Τούτω7 ὑπογεγραπται τῷ δόγματι ἡ καταδίκη.

Προδοσίας ὄφλον8 'Αρχεπτόλεμος 'Ιπποδάμου 'Αγρύ-
λήθεν παρόν, 'Αντιφῶν 'Ṣοφίλου 'Ῥαμνοῦσιος παρών-
τούτοις ἐτμήθη τοῖς ἐνδέκα παραδοθήναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα
dημοσία εἶναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον, καὶ τὸ ὅικία9
cατασκάψα αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρος θείσας τοῖς οἰκοπέδοις,
ἐπιγράψαντας "'Αρχεπτόλεμον καὶ 'Αντιφῶντος τοῖν
προδότοιν.10" τῷ δὲ δημάρχῳ11 ἀποφήναι τὴν οὐσίαν

1 καθ' δ' Dübner: ψήφισα μα καθ' δ'.
2 έδοξε Reiske: ἐδοξαν.
3 Παλληνεύς Taylor: πελληνεύς.
4 προσελομένοι Reiske: προσελομένου (προσελομενοι Em-
perius).
5 ἡρμήνευν Turnebus: εἴρημένου.
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Four Hundred were overthrown, according to which the senate voted the trial of Antiphon:

Voted by the senate on the twenty-first day of the prytany. Demonicus of Alopecē was secretary, Philostratus of Pallēnē was president. Andron moved in regard to the men whom the generals denounce for acting to the detriment of the State of the Athenians while serving as envoys to Lacedaemon and for sailing from the camp in a ship of the enemy and for having passed by land through Deceleia, namely Archeptolemus, Onomacles, and Antiphon, that they be arrested and brought before the court for trial. And the generals, with those members of the senate whom they shall co-opt to the number of ten, are directed to produce them in court, that they may be present at the trial. And the Thesmothetae a shall summon them to-morrow, and when the summonses have been returned to the court, they shall propose that the chosen prosecutors and the generals and others, if anyone so desire, shall accuse them of treason; and whomsoever the court may convict, he shall be treated in accordance with the law which has been passed relating to traitors.

Under this enactment the judgement is written:

Archeptolemus, son of Hippodamus, of Agrylē, and Antiphon, son of Sophilus, of Rhamnus, both being present, were found guilty of treason. The sentence passed upon them was that they be handed over to the Eleven for execution, that their belongings be confiscated and ten per cent thereof be given to the Goddess, that their houses be torn down and boundary-stones be set up on their sites with the inscription “Land of Archeptolemus and Antiphon the two traitors”; and that the two demarchs make a declaration of their

a Six of the annually elected archons; their duties were to administer the courts of justice.

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6 ἀλλος Turnebus: ἄλλος or ἄλλο.  
7 τοῦτο Turnebus: τοῦτο.  
8 ὕφλον Turnebus: ὦ φίλον.  
9 τῷ οἰκίᾳ Franke: τῷ οἰκίᾳ.  
10 προδότων Dübner: προδότων.  
11 τῷ δὲ δημάρχῳ Meier: τῷ δὲ δημάρχῳ.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(834) αὐτοίν' καὶ μὴ ἐξείναι θάψαι Ἀρχεπτόλεμον καὶ Ἀντιφώντα Ἀθήναις, μηδ' ὅσης Ἀθηναίοι κρατοῦνει καὶ ἀτιμον εἴναι Ἀρχεπτόλεμον καὶ Ἀντιφώντα καὶ γενὸς τὸ ἐκ τούτου, καὶ νόθους καὶ γνησίους· καὶ ἐὰν Β τις² ποιήσηται τινα τῶν ἐξ Ἀρχεπτολέμου καὶ Ἀντιφῶντος, ἀτιμὸς ἐστώ ὁ ποιησάμενος. ταύτα δὲ γράψαι ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ· καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀνάκειται τὰ ἡ ψηφίσματα τὰ περὶ Φρυνίχου, καὶ τοῦτο⁶ θέσθαι.

Β'. ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΗΣ

'Ανδοκίδης Λεωγόρου μὲν ἦν πατρὸς τοῦ 'Ανδοκίδουμεν τοῦ θεμένου ποτὲ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρήνην Ἀθηναίοις, τῶν δήμων δὲ Κυδαθήναιος ἦ Θορεύς,⁷ γένους εὐπατριδῶν, ὡς δ' Ἐλλάνικος καὶ C ἀπὸ Ἔρμοῦ· καθήκει γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ κηρύκων γένος· διὸ καὶ προεχειρίσθη ποτὲ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος σὺν ναυσὶν εἰκοσι Κερκυραίοις βοηθήσων, διαφερομένους πρὸς Κορινθίους. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αἰτιαθεὶς ἀσεβεῖν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἔρμᾶς περικόψας καὶ D εἰς τὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἀμαρτῶν μυστήρια,⁸ [διὰ τὸ

¹ ἀποφῆναι τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτοῖν Westermann: ἀποφῆναι τε οἰκίαν ἐσ (or εἰς) τὸν.
² τις added by Blass.
³ καὶ added by Westermann.
⁴ ἀνάκειται τὰ Reiske: ἀν καὶ τὰ. ⁵ τοῦτο Reiske: τοῦτο.
⁶ τοῦ 'Ανδοκίδου added by Ruhnken.
⁷ Taylor: Θορεύς (Θορεύς Bergk).
⁸ The passage in brackets, διὰ ... μυστήρια, was seen by Dübner and Westermann to be a gloss on the preceding words ἀμαρτῶν μυστήρια.

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1 The Thirty Years' Peace, by the terms of which Athens gave up Megara and its ports in 446–445 B.C.
2 See note d below for the source of this error
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property; and that it be forbidden to bury Archeptolemus and Antiphon at Athens or in any place ruled by the Athenians; and that Archeptolemus and Antiphon be attainted, and also their descendants legitimate and illegitimate; and that if anyone shall adopt any descendant of Archeptolemus or Antiphon, he who so adopts shall be attainted; and that this be inscribed on a bronze tablet, which shall be set up where the decrees relating to Phrynichus are placed.

II. ANDOCIDES

Andocides was the son of Leogoras, son of that Andocides who once made peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians \(^a\); he was as regards his deme a Cydathenian or a Thorian \(^b\) and was descended from nobles, and even, according to Hellanicus, \(^c\) from Hermes; for the race of heralds traces its origin to him. On this account, too, he was once chosen along with Glaucon to go with twenty ships to aid the Corephaeans who were embroiled with the Corinthians. \(^d\) And after this he was accused of impiety as being one of those who mutilated the Hermae \(^e\) and as profaning the mysteries of Demeter [because at an earlier time he was


\(^b\) Cf. Thucydides, i. 51, who seems to have been the source of this error. The colleague of Glaucon on this expedition was Dracontides, son of Leogoras of Thurae, and not Andocides, who at the time, 433 B.C., was too young. See *I.G.* i. 295 (ed. min.), and Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 828 and 4551.

\(^c\) The Hermae, square pillars surmounted by the head of the god Hermes, stood before the doors of Athenian houses. In 415 B.C., just as the great expedition against Sicily was about to sail, these Hermae were systematically mutilated in the night by unknown persons.
(834) πρότερον ἀκόλαστον ὄντα, νύκτωρ κωμάσαντα, θραόσαι τι τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσαγγελθέντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἦβουλήθη δὲ ἐξήτουν οἱ κατήγοροι δουλον ἐκδοῦναι, διαβληθήναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς δευτέρας γραφῆς ὑποπτὸν γενέσθαι. Κορινθίων εἰσπεμβάντων δε Λεοντίνους τε καὶ Αἰγεσταίους ἄνδρας, ἵδια μελλόντων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, νύκτωρ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν Ἐρμᾶς περιέκοψαν, ὡς Κράτιππός φησι, προσαμαρτῶν μυστήρια] κρίθεις ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ μηνύσει τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας· σπουδὴν δὲ πᾶσαν εἰσέπνευσεν οἱ ἀδικοῦντας. Οὐκ τῶν τετοιῶν πατέρα ἐμήνυσε· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλούς πάντας ἐλέγξας ἐποίησεν ἀπολέσθαι, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τοῖς δεδεμένοις ἴδῃ, ὑποσχόμενος πολλὰ λυστελθέσειν αὐτὸν τῇ πόλει. καὶ οὐκ ἐμεύσατο· ἤλεγξε γὰρ ὁ Λεωγόρας πολλοὺς δημόσια χρήματα σφετεριζομένους καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ἀδικοῦντας. καὶ διὰ μὲν ταῦτα ἀφείθη τῆς αἰτίας.

Οὐκ' εὐδοκιμῶν δ' ὁ 'Ἀνδοκίδης ἐπὶ τοῖς πολιτευμένοις ἐπέθετο ναυκληρία, καὶ τοῖς τε Κυπρίων βασιλεύοι καὶ πολλοῖς ἄλλοις δοκίμως ἐπεξενώθη· ὅτε καὶ μίαν τῶν πολιτίδων, Ἀριστείδον θυγατέρα, ἀνεμιάν οὔσαν αὐτῷ, λάθρα τῶν οἰκείων ἐξαγαγὼν

1 ἐξῆτουν ἐξῆτουν Emperius.

2 Here Westermann marks a lacuna, which he supplies from the Life of Aleibiades, chap. xviii., and the Lexicon of Photius, s.v. Ἐρμοκοπίδα, about as follows: τοὺς δράσοντας διὰ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀποίκους ὄντας. οὐτοὶ οὖν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἐλλήνων ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων κακῶς διατεθέντων περὶ βοηθεῖας δὲ πεμφήμων Λεοντίνων τε καὶ Αἰγεσταίων ἄνδρας, “the Corinthians having sent in] the men who were to do it on account of the Syracusans, who were colonists of Corinth. These men, then, since the Greeks in Sicily were being
dissipated and in a nocturnal revel had broken one of the images of the god, and when he was indicted refused to surrender the slave whom his accusers were looking for, so that he gained a bad name and was suspected and accused in the second suit also, which was brought shortly after the expedition went to Sicily, when the Corinthians sent in men from Leontini and Egesta and, as the Athenians hesitated about aiding them privately, they mutilated the Hermae about the market-place, as Cratippus says, and profaned the mysteries besides]. At his trial on these charges he was acquitted on condition that he should inform against the wrongdoers. He exerted himself greatly and discovered those who were guilty of the sacrilege, among whom he informed against his own father. And he brought about the conviction and death of all the others, but saved his father, although he had already been put in prison, by promising that he would be of great service to the city. And he kept his promise; for Leogoras caused the conviction of many men who were embezzling public funds and committing other misdeeds. And for these reasons he was acquitted of the charge.

But Andocides, since his reputation in public life was not good, took to merchandising and became a friend of the Cypriote kings and many other men of note, at which time he abducted a girl of Athenian birth, daughter of Aristeides and his own niece, without the knowledge of her family, and sent her as

oppressed by the Syracusans, and the Leontines and Egestaeans, had sent men to ask for assistance, [as the Athenians . . .”

3 έιςενεγκάμενος Reiske from Photius: ένεγκάμενος.
4 οὐκ added by Emperius.
In the summer of 404 B.C. thirty men had been appointed to draw up laws and manage the state temporarily. They seized all power and ruled like tyrants. Thrasybulus seized the hill-fortress of Phylê in December and maintained his position against two attacks by the Thirty. In May 403 Thrasybulus and his followers seized Peiraeus. In
a gift to the King of Cyprus. Then, when he was to be brought to trial for this, he stole her back again from Cyprus and was caught and put in prison by the king; but he ran away and came back to Athens at the time when the Four Hundred were in control of affairs. He was put in prison by them, but escaped, and again, when the oligarchy was overthrown, he . . . was banished from the city after the Thirty had taken over the government. He spent the period of his exile in Elis, but when Thrasybulus and his band returned, he also returned to the city. He was sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate a peace, but was suspected of wrongdoing and banished. He gives information about all this in the speeches which he wrote; for some of them he composed in his defence in the matter of the mysteries, and others when he was asking to be allowed to return home. There is also extant his speech On the Indictment, also the Defence against Phaeax and the speech On the Peace. He flourished at the same time as Socrates the philosopher; the date of his birth was the seventy-eighth Olympiad, when Theogenides was archon at Athens, so that he was about ten years older than Lysias. The Hermes called the September the Thirty were overthrown and the democracy re-established.

b The nature of the accusation cannot be determined. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., pp. 293 ff. The oration On the Peace, delivered between 393 and 390 B.C., deals with the terms proposed by the mission in which Andocides participated.

c 468–467 B.C. This date, however, is based upon a false reckoning, and from the orator’s own statements he could not have been born much before 440. See Blass, ibid. i. p. 283, and Kirchner, Prosop. Att. 828.

d The numeral is an emendation.
(835) τούτου δ’ ἐπώνυμός ἦστι καὶ Ἐρμής ὁ Ἄνδοκίδων
Β καλούμενος, ἀνάθημα μὲν ὧν φυλῆς Αἰγηίδος, ἐπι-
κληθείς δ’ Ἄνδοκίδων διὰ τὸ πλησίον παροικῆσαι
tὸν Ἄνδοκίδην. καὶ αὐτὸς δ’ ἔχορήγησε κυκλῳ
χορῷ τῇ αὐτῷ1 φυλῇ ἀγωνιζομένη διθυράμβῳ, καὶ
νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τρίποδα ἐφ’ ὑψηλοῦ2 ἀντικρυ3 τοῦ
πωρίνου Σειληνοῦ. ἦστι δ’ ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀκατά-
σκευος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀφελής τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.

Γ’. ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

Ὁ Λυσίας υἱὸς ἦν Κεφάλου τοῦ Λυσανίου τοῦ
Κεφάλου, Συρακουσίου μὲν γένος μεταναστάντος δ’
eἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπιθυμία τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Περικλέους
tοῦ Ξενθίππου πείσαντος αὐτόν, φίλον ὄντα καὶ
ξένον, πλούτῳ διαφέροντα4. ὡς δὲ τίνες, ἐκπεσόντα
tῶν Συρακουσῶν, ἦνικα ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐτυραν-
νοῦτο. γενόμενος δ’5 Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους
ἀρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Φρασικής κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος
τῆς ὑγιοκοστῆς ὀλυμπιάδος,6 τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συν-
επαιδεύετο τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ἀθηναίοις. ἐπεὶ
ὅπερ τὴν εἰς Σύβαριν ἀποκιάν τὴν ὑστερον Θούριον
μετονομασθεῖσαν ἔστελλεν ἡ πόλις, ὥστε σὺν τῷ
πρεσβυτάτῳ ἀδελφῶν Πολεμάρχῳ (ἂναν γὰρ αὐτῷ

1 αὐτῷ Westermann: αὐτῷ.
2 ὑψηλοῦ] ὑψηλοῦ βάθρου Reiske.
3 ἀντικρὺ Bernardakis: ἀντικρὺ.
4 διαφέροντα Meziriacus: διαφέρων.
5 δ’ added by Westermann.
6 ὀλυμπιάδος Meursius: καὶ δεύτερας ὀλυμπιάδος.

8 A decree of the tribe Pandionis in which the orator
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Hermes of Andocides is named after him. It is a dedication of the tribe Aegeis and is called Hermes of Andocides because Andocides lived near it. He himself supplied the chorus for his tribe when it was competing in a dithyrambic contest, and he gained the victory, for which he set up a tripod on a high spot opposite the limestone Silenus. He is simple and free from artifice in his orations, plain and employing no figures of speech.

III. LYSIAS

Lysias was the son of Cephalus, grandson of Lysanias, and great-grandson of Cephalus. His father was by birth a Syracusan but moved to Athens because he wished to live in that city and also because Pericles, son of Xanthippus, persuaded him to do so, as he was a personal friend of Pericles and they were connected by ties of hospitality, and he was a man of great wealth. But some say that he moved because he was banished from Syracuse when Gelo was tyrant. Lysias was born at Athens in the archonship of the Philocles who succeeded Phrasicles, in the second year of the eightieth Olympiad, and at first he was a schoolmate of the most prominent Athenians; but when the city sent the colony to Sybaris, which was afterwards renamed Thurii, he went out with his eldest brother Polemarchus (for he had two others, is named among the victorious choregi is extant, I.G. ii. 1138 (ed. min.); it was with a chorus of boys at the Dionysia.

b 459–458 B.C.

c The archon in 460–459 B.C. was Phrasicleides, not Phrasicles.
(835) καὶ ἄλλοι δύο, Εὐθύδημος¹ καὶ Βράχυλλος²), τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη τετελευτηκότος, ὡς κοινωνήσων τοῦ κλήρου, ἔτη γεγονός πεντεκαίδεκα,³ ἐπὶ Πραξιτέ- λοὺς ἀρχοντός, κἀκεῖ διέμεινε παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τευσία καὶ Νικία⁴ τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, κτησάμενός τ᾽ οἴκιαν καὶ κλήρου τυχῶν⁵ ἐπολιτεύσατο ἐὼς Κλεοκρίτου⁶ τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἀρχοντος ἔτη ἔξηκοντα⁷ τρία. τῷ δ᾽ ἐξῆς Καλλία⁸ ὀλυμπιάδι ἑννεκοστῇ ἔδεισα τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν συμβάντων Ἀθηναίοις καὶ κινήσεως γενομένης τῶν τ᾽ ἄλλων συμμάχων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκούντων, αἰτιαθέας ἀττικίζεων ἔξεπεσε μετ᾽ ἄλλων τριακοσίων.⁹ παρα- γενομένος δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ Κλεοκρίτου ἀρχοντος, ἤδη τῶν τετρακοσίων κατ-

¹ Εὐθύδημος Taylor from Plato, Republic, 328 b: εὐθύδημος.
² Βράχυλλος Xylander: βράχυλλος.
³ πεντεκαίδεκα] ἐξκαίδεκατον Photius.
⁴ Νικία] Spengel suspects a corruption arising from Τευσία.
⁵ κλήρου τυχῶν Taylor from Photius: κλήρῳ λαχῶν.
⁶ Κλεοκρίτου Taylor: Κλεάρχου.
⁷ ἔξηκοντα] τριάκοντα Taylor.
⁸ ἐξῆς Καλλία] Xylander puts a gap after ἐξῆς; ἐπὶ Καλλίου Meziriacus; ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ Photius, omitting the words to οἰκούντων inclusive. Westermann doubts if the name Καλλία is correct. Bernardakis suggests as giving the proper sense τῷ δ᾽ ἐξῆς ἐνιαυτῷ ἐπ᾽ ἀρχοντος Καλλίου.
⁹ τριακοσίων Xylander: τριῶν.

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¹ The scene of Plato's Republic is laid at the house of Cephalus. The dialogue is not historical, and its imagined date cannot be fixed, but it seems to show that Plato knew Cephalus and his sons, see Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 341.
² 444–443 B.C.
Euthydemus and Brachyllus), their father being already dead, to share in the allotment of land. This was in the archonship of Praxiteles, and he was then fifteen years old. He remained there, was instructed by the Syracusans Teisias and Nicias, acquired a house, had a share of the allotment, and was a citizen for thirty-three years, until Cleocritus was archon at Athens. But in the next year, when Callias was archon, in the ninety-second Olympiad, when the misfortunes in Sicily had happened to the Athenians and unrest had arisen among the allies in general and especially those who dwelt in Italy, he was accused of favouring Athens and, with three hundred others, was banished. Arriving at Athens in the archonship of the Callias who succeeded Cleocritus, when the Four Hundred already had possession of the city, he re-

413–412 B.C. The ninety-second Olympiad is the date of the archonship of another Callias, 406–405 B.C.

d The dates given by our author for events in the life of Lysias are consistent (see also 835 a above, and 836 f below, cf. also Dion. Hal. Isocrates, i.), on the assumption that he went to Thurii when the colony was founded, in 444 B.C. But if that is correct, his activity as a writer of speeches to be delivered in the Athenian courts would not begin until his fifty-seventh year. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 345, after stating the evidence, comes to the conclusion that Lysias was born at Athens probably about 446 B.C., the only certain date being his age (fifteen years), when he went to Thurii, and his return to Athens in 413–412 B.C. or the year following. It is quite possible that he did not go to Thurii until some years after the foundation of the colony. The latest of his extant speeches may be dated about 380 B.C., so that we may believe that he died not long after that date.

The great expedition which the Athenians had sent out in 415 B.C. expecting to conquer Sicily was utterly annihilated in the autumn of 413 B.C.

412–411 B.C. Summer of 411 B.C.
exōnton tēn pōlin, diétrebev autóthi. tῆς δ' εἶν
Aigōs potamoiōs naumachίas gevοmēνh kai tōn
triákonta paraλabonton tēn pōlin, eξépeσeν éπτa
ētē meίnas, ἀφαιρεθείς tēn ouσίαν kai tōn ādelphōn
F Pολέμαρχον' autōs dē diādrāsē ek tῆs oīkiās āmφi-
θύρōu ouǭs, ἐν ἦ ἐφυλάσσετo ὡς ἀπολούμενος,
diήγεν ἐν Mεγάρoις. ἐπιθεμένων dē tōn ἀπό
Φυλῆς τῆ kαθόδω, ἐπεὶ χρησιμώτατος ἀπάντων
ωφθη, χρηματά τε παρασχ赾 δραχμάς διαχιλιάς
kai ἀσπίδας διακοσίας περιβείεις τε σὺν 'Ερμάνι
ἐπικούρους ἐμισθώσατο τριακοσίων, δύο τ' ἐπεισε
tάλαντα δοῦναι Θρασυβαίoν τὸν 'Ηλείον, ξένον
aυτῷ γεγονότα. ἐφ' οἷς γράψαντος aυτῷ Θρασυ-
βοῦλον πολιτείαν μετὰ tῆ kάθοδον ἐπ' ἀναρχίας
tῆς πρὸ Εὐκλείδου, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐκύρωσε tῆν
δωρεάν, ἀπενεγκαμένου δ' 'Αρχίνου γραφὴν παρα-
836 νόμων διὰ τὸ ἀπροβούλευτον εἰσαχθῆναι, ἐάλῳ τὸ
ψήφισμα· καὶ οὕτως ἀπελαθεῖς τῆς πολιτείας τὸν
λοιπὸν ὄντως χρόνον ἰσοτελῆς ὄν, καὶ έτελεύτησεν
aυτὸθι ογδοίκοντα τρία ἐτή βιούς, ἦ ὡς τίνες ἔξ
καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἦ ὡς τίνες ὑπὲρ ογδοίκοντα,

1 ἐπεί] ἐπείτα Franke; ἐκεῖ Westermann; Bernardakis
would omit ἐπεί.
2 'Ερμάνι] 'Ερμων Westermann. Cf. Life of Alcibiades,
chap. xxv., Thuc. viii. 92.
3 Θρασυβαίον Photius: θρασύλαιον.

405 B.C. The Athenian fleet was destroyed by the
Lacedaemonians, which virtually ended the Peloponnesian
War.
404 B.C.
See Lysias, xii. (Against Eratosthenes) 15.

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mained there. But when the battle of Aegospotami had taken place and the Thirty had taken possession of the city, he was banished after having been there seven years. He was deprived of his property and lost his brother Polemarchus, but he himself escaped from the house in which he was kept to be executed (for it had two doors) and lived at Megara. But when the men at Phylê set about their return to Athens, he was seen to be more helpful than anyone else, since he supplied two thousand drachmas and two hundred shields and, when sent with Hermas, hired three hundred mercenaries and persuaded Thrasydaeus of Elis, who had become his guest-friend, to give two talents. For these services Thrasybulus, after the restoration of the exiles to the city and in the period of anarchy before Eucleides, proposed a grant of citizenship for him, and the popular assembly ratified the grant, but when Archinus had him up for illegality because it had not been previously voted by the senate, the enactment was declared void. And after losing his citizenship in this way, he lived the rest of his life at Athens with all the rights of citizenship except the vote and eligibility to office, and died there at the age of eighty-three years or, as some say, seventy-six or, as others

Thrasylalus and his followers, May 303 B.C. After these exiles seized Peiraeus, there was a period of confusion until the democracy was re-established and Eucleides made archon for the year 403-402 B.C.

The Athenians termed any period an "anarchy" in which no archon could be elected because of party strife.

The Senate or Council of Five Hundred prepared the business for the Popular Assembly, which could not legally vote upon any measure not previously adopted by the Senate.
(836) ἵδων Δημοσθένη μειράκιον ὄντα. γεννηθήναι δὲ φασὶν ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος.

Φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ λόγοι τετρακόσιοι εἰκοσιπέντε-
τουτῶν γνησίους φασὶν οἱ περὶ Διονύσιον καὶ
Καικίλιον εἶναι διακοσίους τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς;1 ἐν
οἷς δὲς μόνον ἠττήσθαι λέγεται. ἔστι δ’ αὐτοῦ
καὶ δ’ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψηφίσματος δ’ ἐγράψατο Ἀρχίνος,
Β τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ4 περιελὼν,5 καὶ κατὰ τῶν
tριάκοντα ἔτερος. ἐγένετο δὲ πιθανῶτατος καὶ
βραχύτατος, τοῖς ὕδωρας τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους
ἐκδοὺς. εἰςὶ δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Τέχνη θητορικαὶ πεποιη-
μέναι καὶ Δημηγορίαι, Ἐπιστολαί τε καὶ Ἑγκώμια,
cαὶ Ἐπιτάφιοι καὶ Ἐρωτικοὶ καὶ Σωκράτους
Ἀπολογία ἐστοχασμένη τῶν δικαστῶν. δοκεῖ δὲ
κατὰ τὴν λέξιν εὖκολος εἶναι, δυσμίμητος ὄν.
Δημοσθένης δ’ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεάρας λόγῳ ἐρασθῆ
aὐτὸν φησι γεγονέναι Μετανείρας, ὁμοδούλον τῇ
Νεάρᾳ. ὕστερον δ’ ἐγγέμε Βραχύλλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
θυγατέρα. μυημονεύει δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν
C τῷ Φαῖδρῳ ὡς δεινοτάτου εἰπεῖν καὶ Ἰσοκράτους
πρεσβυτέρου. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα
Φιλίσκος ὁ Ἰσοκράτους μὲν γνώριμος ἐταῖρος δὲ

1 καὶ τρεῖς Dübner from Photius: τρία ἐν τῷ codex F;
lacking in the others.
2 ὁ Taylor: ὅν.
4 αὐτοῦ Taylor: αὐτῶ.
5 περιελὼν Taylor: περιέχων.

a Cicero, De Oratore, i. 231, and Diogenes Laertius,
ii. 20, 40, say that Lysias composed an oration in defence
of Socrates, and offered it to him, but Socrates refused it.
A speech in defence of Socrates (ὑπὲρ Σωκράτους πρὸς Πολυ-
κράτῃ) is mentioned several times by the scholiast. on
Aristeides. It was composed probably some years after
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say, over eighty; and he lived to see Demosthenes as a youth. They say he was born in the archonship of Philocles.

Four hundred and twenty-five orations attributed to him are current. Of these Dionysius and Caecilius and their school say that two hundred and thirty-three are genuine, and he is said to have lost his case with only two of them. There is also his speech in support of the enactment against which Archinus brought suit and deprived him of citizenship, and another against the Thirty. He was very persuasive and concise and produced most of his speeches for private clients. There are also Textbooks of Rhetoric prepared by him, and Public Addresses, Letters and Eulogies, Funeral Speeches, Love Speeches, and a Defence of Socrates addressed to the judges. In the matter of his diction he appears to be easy, although in fact he is hard to imitate. Demosthenes in his speech against Neaera says that he was in love with Metaneira, a fellow-slave with Neaera; but later he married the daughter of his brother Brachyllus. Plato also mentions him in the Phaedrus as an able speaker and older than Isocrates. Moreover Philiscus, a pupil of Isocrates and comrade of the death of Socrates, as an epideictic oration in reply to a similar speech against Socrates by the sophist Polycrates. This is doubtless the speech which Cicero and Diogenes wrongly believed to have been composed for use in the actual trial of Socrates. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 351.

Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 'Αρχαίων κρίσις, v. 1 ὁς ἀναγεννωσκόμενον μὲν εὐκολὸν νομίζεσθαι χαλέπτων δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι ζηλοῦν πειρωμένοις, "when read he is considered easy, but is found to be difficult by any who try to imitate him."

Demosthenes, Or. lix. 21.

Plato, Phaedrus, 279 Α.
(836) Λυσίον, δι' οὗ φανερὸν ὡς προέλαβε τοὺς ἔτεσιν, δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος εἰρημένων ἀποδείκνυται. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως:


νῦν οἱ Καλλιόπης2 θύγατερ, πολυηγόρε Φρόντι,

deiξεις εἰ τι φρονεῖς καὶ τι περισσῶν ἔχεις·
tὸν γὰρ ἐς ἀλλο σχῆμα μεθαρμοσθέντα καὶ ἀλλοις
ev κόσμουι βίου σώμα λαβόνθ' ἔτερον,
dei σ' ἄρετής κήρυκα τεκεῖν τινα Λύσιδα ὑμνεῖν,3
dύντα4 κατὰ φθιμένων καὶ ζόφου5 ἀθάνατον·
dὸ τὸ τ' ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δεῖξει φιλέταιρον ἀπασι,
kai τὴν τοῦ φθιμένου πᾶσι βροτοῖς ἄρετὴν.

συνέγραψε δὲ λόγω6 καὶ Ἰφικράτει, τὸν μὲν πρὸς
Ἄρμόδιον, τὸν δὲ προδοσίας κρίνοντι Τιμόθεου·
καὶ ἀμφοτέρους7 ἐνίκα: ἀναδεξαμένου δὲ Ἰφικράτους
tὰς τοῦ Τιμοθέου πράξεις, ταῖς εὐθύναις ἀναλαβὼν
tὴν τῆς προδοσίας αἰτίαν ἀπολογεῖται διὰ τοῦ
Λυσίου λόγου· καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελύθη, δὲ τῷ Τιμό-
θεος ἐξημικώθη πλείστοις χρήμασιν. ἀνέγνω δὲ
καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει λόγον μέγιστον,
διαλλαγέντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταλύσαι Διονύσιον.

1 νῦν οἱ Jacobs: ἀ.
2 Καλλιόπης and Φρόντι Wytenbach: καλλίτημι and φρόντιδι.
3 Λύσιδα ὑμνεῖν Bernardakis; Λύσίδι ὑμνον Wytenbach:
λυσίδαιμον.
4 δύντα Jacobs: δόντα.
5 ζόφου Bernardakis: σοφῶ. 6 τὸ τ' Wytenbach: τὸ τ'.
7 δείξει Brunck: δεῖξαι.
8 λόγω Meier: λόγον.
9 ἀμφοτέρους Reiske: ἀμφοτέρους.

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a Lysis, because the word Lysias is inadmissible in the Greek metre. Wytenbach suggests that the verses were really written in honour of Lysis the Pythagorean.
b Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 640. Bergk rightly says that this is only part of a longer poem. The fragment does not indicate that Lysias was older than Isocrates, but some

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Lysias, composed an elegiac poem to him, from which it is plain that he was earlier in years, which is indicated also by what Plato said. The verses are as follows:

Now, O Calliope’s daughter endowed with great eloquence,
Phrontis,
Show if thy wisdom is aught, if thou hast anything new.
Him who is altered and changed to another form, him who in other
Orders and manners of life hath a new body assumed,
Thou must bring forth some herald of virtue to celebrate:
Lysis
Gone to the dead and the gloom, there an immortal to dwell;
One who will show unto all the love of my soul for my comrade,
Show, too, the worth of the dead unto the whole of mankind.

He also wrote two speeches for Iphicrates, one against Harmodius, the other for use in accusing Timotheüs of treason, with both of which he won his case; but when Iphicrates accepted the responsibility for the actions of Timotheüs, assuming at the rendering of accounts the accusation for treason, he defended himself with the speech by Lysias; and he himself was acquitted, but Timotheüs was very heavily fined. And at the Olympic festival also he read a very great oration urging that the Greeks make peace with one another and overthrow Dionysius.

such statement may have been contained in a later part of the poem.

*c In 355 B.C. Iphicrates and Timotheüs, Athenian generals who had been unsuccessful, were accused by their colleague, Chares, of treason. Although Iphicrates accepted full responsibility, he was acquitted, but Timotheüs was fined one hundred talents, which he could not pay. He left Athens and soon died.

*d Only a fragment (Or. xxxiii.) of this is extant.
Δ'. ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Ἰσοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἢν παῖς τοῦ Ἐρχιέως τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιουσ κεκτημένου καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ὦς καὶ χορηγῆσαι καὶ παιδεύσαι τοὺς νέους· ἢσαν γὰρ αὐτῶ καὶ ἄλλοι, Τελέσιππος καὶ Διόμνηστος· ἢν δὲ καὶ θυγάτριον ὀθεν εἰς τοὺς αὐλοὺς κεκωμάθη δὴται ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Στράτιδος. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁγδοκοστήν ἔκτην ὀλυμπιάδα Ἀνυμάχου Μυρρινοσίου ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίον δυσι καὶ εἴκοσιν έτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπτά, παῖς μὲν ὄν ἐπαιδεύσετο οὐδὲνος ἦττον Ἀθηναῖων, ἀκροφύσεως Προδίκου τε τοῦ Κείου καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Τεισίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου καὶ Θηραμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος· οὐ καὶ συλλαμβανομένου ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ φυγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν Βουλαίαν 'Εστίαν, ἀπάντων καταπεπληγμένων, μόνος ἁνέστη βοηθήσων καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσίγχησε κατ' ἄρχας, ἐπείτα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρηγήθη, εἰπόντος ὁδυνηρότερον αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι, εἰ τις τῶν φίλων ἀπολαυσεῖ τῆς συμφορᾶς· καὶ ἐκείνου τινὰς οὕσας τέχνας αὐτῷ φασὶ συμπραγματεύσα-

1 'Ερχιέως Reiske from Photius: ἄρχιερέως.
2 Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινοσίου ἄρχοντος νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου Bernardakis adapting an emendation by Wolf: λυσιμάχου μυρρινοσίου.
3 Κείου Turnebus: κλοῦ.

a Wealthy Athenians performed in turn special services to the state called “liturgies.” The most expensive of these was the choregy, which involved the payment, training, and equipment of a chorus for a lyrical or dramatic performance. 370
Isocrates was the son of Theodorus of Erchia, a citizen of the middle class, an owner of slaves who made flutes, through whom he gained a competence, so that he paid for a public chorus and gave his children an education (for he had other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and also a daughter), and hence he is ridiculed on account of the flutes by Aristophanes and Strattis. Isocrates was born in the eighty-sixth Olympiad, in the archonship of Lysimachus of Myrrhinus, being twenty-two years younger than Lysias and seven years older than Plato. In his boyhood he was as well educated as any Athenian, for he attended the lectures of Prodicus of Ceos, Gorgias of Leontini, Teisias of Syracuse, and the orator Theramenes; and when the last-named was in danger of being arrested by the Thirty and had fled for safety to the altar of Hestia Boulaea, everyone else was terrified, but Isocrates alone arose to speak in his aid; and at first he was silent for a long time, then afterwards he was urged to be silent by Theramenes himself, who said that his misfortune would be more painful if any of his friends should share it. And it is said that certain rhetorical teachings of Theramenes—those which go under the name of Boton—were of use to Isocrates when he was

* See Isocrates, *On the Exchange of Property* (Or. xv.), 161.
* 436–435 B.C.
* Plato was born in 428–427 B.C. Lysias, according to this statement, in 459–458. But see note on 835 d above.
* The sanctuary of this Goddess of the Senate’s Hearth was in or near the Prytaneum, which was somewhere on the northern slope of the Acropolis.
(837) σθαί ἡμικα ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἐσκοφαντεῖτο, αἱ εἰσιν ἐπιγεγραμμέναι Βότωνος. ἔπει δ' ἠνδρώθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχητο ἰσχνό-
φωνός τ' ὄν καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρίδα ἀποβεβληκὼς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λακεδαμονίους πολέμων ἀλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκὼς1 φαίνεται, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως. διατριβήν
Β δὲ συστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γράφειν δ' ἀπονοηθεὶς2 ἐτράπετο, καὶ τὸν τε Πανηγυρικὸν λόγον καὶ τινάς ἄλλους τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν, οὕς μὲν αὐτὸς γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὕς δ' ἐτέροις παρεσκεύαζεν, ἡγούμενος οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας προτρέψεθαι.3 διαμαρτάνων δὲ τῆς προαιρέσεως, τούτων μὲν ἀπέστη σχολῆς δ' ἡγεῖτο, ὡς τινὲς φασί, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Χίου, μαθητὰς ἔχων ἐννέα· ἄτε καὶ ἰδὼν τὸν μισθὸν ἀριθμούμενον εἰπε δακρύσας ὡς "ἐπέγνων ἐμαυτὸν νῦν τούτων πεπραμένον." ὡμίλει δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις, χωρίσας πρῶτος τοὺς ἑρμηνευκοὺς λόγους τῶν πολιτικῶν, περὶ οὐς ἐσπούδασε. καὶ ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν Χίου κατέστησε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ πατρίδἰ πολιτείαν· ἀργυρίον τε ὅσον οὐδεὶς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὡς καὶ τριηραρχῆσαι.

'Ἀκροαταί δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἑκατόν, ἄλλοι τε4 πολλοὶ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνωνος, σὺν ὧν καὶ

1 μεμελετηκὼς Wolf: μεμαρτυρηκὼς.
2 ἀ διανοηθεὶς Wolf from Dionysius: διανοηθεῖς.
3 προτρέψεθαι Coraes: προτρέψασθαι.
4 τε Franke from Photius: δὲ.
falsely accused in the courts. But when he became a man he kept away from political affairs, since he had a weak voice and a timid disposition\(^a\) and had lost his inherited property in the war against the Lacedae-monians. It is evident that he composed speeches for others, but he delivered only one, that on the Exchange of Property. He set up a school and turned to philosophy and to writing out the results of his thinking, and he composed his Festival Oration\(^b\) and some others of an advisory nature, some of which he delivered himself and some of which he prepared for others to deliver, hoping that in this way he might lead the Greeks to think as they ought. But when he failed of his purpose he gave up that sort of thing and became the head of a school, at first, as some say, at Chios, where he had nine pupils. That was the time when, as he saw the tuition fees counted out, he burst into tears and said, “Now I recognize that I have sold myself to these people.” He would carry on conversation with all who desired it and was the first to make a distinction between contentious speeches and those of a political character, to which latter he devoted himself. And he also instituted at Chios public offices and the same constitution which existed in his native city. He made more money than any other sophist, so that he was even a trier-arch.\(^c\)

His pupils numbered about one hundred, including among many others Timotheüs, son of Conon, with

\(^a\) See Isocrates, Philip (Or. v.), 81; Panathenaic (Or. xii.), 9.

\(^b\) *i.e.* the Panegyric, delivered at Olympia.

\(^c\) The trierarchy was one of the “liturgies” which wealthy citizens were obliged to perform. Being trierarch thus showed wealth.
(837) πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπήλθε, συντιθεὶς τὰς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου πεμπομένας ἐπιστολάς· οὖθεν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ τάλαντον τῶν ἀπὸ Σάμου περιγενομένων. ἐμαθήτευσε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χίος, καὶ Ἔφορος ὁ Κυμαιός καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ πραγματόμενα συγγράφας καὶ Θεοδέκτας2 ὁ Φασιλίτης ὁ τὰ πραγματίας ύστερον γράφας, οὐ ἔστι τὸ μνήμα ἐπὶ τὴν Κυαμὶν πορευομένοις κατὰ δ τὴν ἱερὰν ὅδον τὴν ἐπ’ Ἑλευσίνα, τὰ νῦν κατερημμέμενον· ἐνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνέστησαν3 σὺν αὐτῷ, ὅν Ὁμήρος ὁ ποιητὴς σώζεται μόνος. Δεωδάμας4 τ’ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ Δάκριτος ὁ νομοθέτης Ἀθηناسίος, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασι καὶ Ἡπείριδης καὶ Ἰσαίος. καὶ Δημοσθένες5 δ’ ἔτι βητορεύοντι φασὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ χάλια μὲν ἄς6 εἰσεπράττετο οὐκ ἔχειν φάναι παρασχεῖν, διακοσίας δὲ δῶσειν, ἕφ’ ὧ τ’ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἐκμαθεῖν7 τὸν δ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς Ε’’ ὁ τεμαχίζομεν, ὁ Δημόσθενες, τὴν πραγματείαν ὤσπερ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἱθὸς ὅλους πωλοῦμεν, αὐτῶ κἄγω σοι, εἰ βούλιοι μαθητεύειν, ὀλόκληρον ἀποδώσωμι τὴν τέχνην.’’

’Ετελεύτα δ’ ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου8 ἄρχοντος, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν ἐν τῇ Ἰπποκράτους

1 καὶ] Ξενοφῶν οἱ Γρύλλου καὶ Photius.
3 ἀνέστησαν Westermann: ἀνέστησε.
4 Δεωδάμας Westermann and inscriptions; cf. Kirchner, Prosop. Att.; Λεωδάμας Photius: Δεωδάμος.
5 Dübner: Δημοσθένην or Δημοσθένης.
6 μὲν ἄς Coraes: μὲν ἄς μόνας.
7 ἐκμαθεῖν Photius: ἐκμάθη.
8 Χαιρώνδου Meursius: χερωνίδου.

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whom he visited many cities; and he composed the letters which Timotheüs sent to the Athenians, on account of which Timotheüs presented him with a talent out of the sum remaining after the relief of Samos.\(^a\) Pupils of his were also Theopompus \(^b\) of Chios, Ephorus of Cumae, Asclepiades who compiled the arguments of tragedies, and Theodectas of Phaselis, who afterwards wrote tragedies and whose monument stood as you go to the Bean-market along the Sacred Way which leads to Eleusis; it is now in ruins. There, too, were set up statues of the famous poets along with his; of these only the poet Homer exists now. And Leodamas the Athenian and Lacritus the Athenian law-maker and, as some say, Hypereides and Isaeus were his pupils. And they say that while he was still teaching oratory Demosthenes came to him eager to learn and said that he could not pay the thousand drachmas which he asked as tuition fee, but would give two hundred for one fifth of the instruction; whereupon Isocrates replied: "We do not cut our instruction into bits, Demosthenes, but just as people sell fine fish whole, so, if you wish to be my pupil, I will sell you my course whole."

He died in the archonship of Chaerondas \(^c\) after hearing in the palaestra of Hippocrates the news of

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\(^a\) 365 B.C.

\(^b\) The text of Photius reads Xenophon the son of Gryllus and Theopompus.

\(^c\) 338–337 B.C.
This popular story of Isocrates’ death is given also by Lucian (?), Macrobius 23, Pausanias, i. 18. 8, and Plutarch, 838 below. It is made famous by Milton in his tenth sonnet:

... as that dishonest victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed by report that old man eloquent.

But Isocrates himself, at the end of his third letter, writes to Philip: “But I am grateful to old age for this thing only, that it has continued my life to this point, so that of the things which I meditated in my youth and undertook to write in my Panegyric Oration and in that which I sent to you, I now see some being accomplished through your deeds and hope that others will be accomplished.” Apparently he was well pleased with Philip’s success. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., ii. p. 97.

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the battle of Chaeroneia; and he removed himself from life by abstaining from food for four days. Just before the end he declaimed the opening lines of three dramas of Euripides:

Danaüs of fifty daughters fair the sire,
Pelops the Tantalid to Pisa came,
Once Sidon's city Cadmus having left.

He died at the age of ninety-eight or, as some say, one hundred years, for he could not endure the sight of Greece enslaved four times. A year (or, as some say, four years) before his end he wrote the Panathenaic Oration; and for the composition of the Festival Oration he took ten (but some say fifteen) years. This, they say, he derived from the speeches of Gorgias of Leontini and Lysias. The speech on the Exchange of Property he wrote at the age of eighty-two years, and those against Philip shortly before his death. When he was an old man he adopted

*b From the Archelaüs; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 427, no. 228.
*c Iphigeneia in Tauris, 1.
*d From the Phrixus; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 627, no. 819. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., ii. p. 97, thinks these lines enumerate three intrusions of foreigners into Greece. The fourth—not mentioned—would then be that of the Macedonians under Philip.
*e Under the Athenian empire in the fifth century, by the Spartans after the Peloponnesian War, by the Thebans under Epameinondas, and by the Macedonians. All these Isocrates himself had seen. But see note d above.
*g Ibid. pp. 181 ff. If anyone proposed that a certain man be obliged to perform one of the “liturgies” which were required of wealthy Athenians, the man of whom this was required could challenge the proposer to an exchange of properties, which might transfer the obligation.
(838) ἐκ Πλαθάνης τῆς Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ποιητοῦ, τῶν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τριῶν παιδών ὁ νεώτατος. εὐπόρησε δ’ ἐκανὼς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως, ὅς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐαγόρου, εἶκοσι τάλαντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου. ἐφ’ οίς φθονθεῖς τρῖς προεβλήθη τριηραρχεῖν, καὶ δῖς μὲν ἀσθενειαν σκηψάμενος διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς παρητήσατο, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑποστὰς ἀνήλωσεν οὐκ ὀλίγα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πατέρα ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλ’ ἧ ἀνδράποδον συνέπεμψε τῷ παιδίῳ “τοιγαροῦν” ἐφ’ ἀπιθ’ δύο γάρ ἀνθ’ ἐνὸς ἐξεις. Β ἀνδράποδα.” Ἰγωνίσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Μαυσώλῳ τεθέντα ὑπ’ Ἀρτεμισίας ἀγώνα. τὸ δ’ ἐγκώμιον οὐ σφιζέται. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἐλένην ἐγκώμιον καὶ Ἀρεσπαγυτικόν. ἐξελθεῖν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἑναπαίδον φασὶ σίτων ἀποσχόμενου, οἱ δὲ τεταρταιῶν ἀμα ταῖς ταφαῖς τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ πεσόντων. συνέγραψε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἀφαρεύς λόγους. ἐτάφη δὲ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας πλησίου Κυνοσάργους ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐν’ ἀριστερὰ αὐτός’ τε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ. ταύτης τ’ ἀδελφὴ τῇθις τοῦ ῥήτορος Ἀνακὼ καὶ ὁ ποιητὸς. 

C υἱὸς Ἀφαρεύς καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ Σωκράτης,

1 εὐπόρησε δ’ Coraes with Photius: εὐπόρησεν.
2 παρὰ Coraes with Photius: τὰ παρὰ.
3 τριηραρχεῖν Photius; τριηραρχος Turnebus: τριήρας.
4 καὶ δῖς Meziriacus with Photius: καὶ τὸ δῖς.
5 ὑποστὰς Coraes: ἀναστὰς.
6 ἐν added by Turnebus.
7 αὐτὸς Reiske: ὁ υἱὸς.
Aphareus, the youngest of the three sons of Plathane, daughter of the orator Hippias. He acquired ample wealth, for he not only collected money from his pupils, but he also received from Nicocles, king of Cyprus, who was the son of Evagoras, twenty talents for the oration written in his honour. On account of his wealth he was envied and was proposed three times as trierarch. Twice he alleged illness and was exempted by petitions presented by his son, but the third time he undertook the duty and spent no small sum. To a father who said that he gave his son only a slave as companion he said, "Go your ways, then, for you will have two slaves instead of one." He took part also in the competition offered by Artemisia in honour of Maussolus, but his Eulogy is not extant. He wrote also a Eulogy of Helen and a speech called the Areopagitic. He departed this life some say on the ninth day of his abstention from food, others on the fourth day at the time of the funeral of those who fell at Chaeroneia. His son Aphareus also wrote speeches. Isocrates was buried with his family near Cynosarges on the left side of the hill—he himself, his father Theodorus, and his mother; and her sister Anaco, the orator's aunt, and his adopted son Aphareus, and his cousin Socrates, son of Anaco.

Mausolus, ruler of Halicarnassus, died in 353 B.C. His widow, Artemisia, caused eulogies to be written in competition by Greek orators and completed the magnificent tomb which he had, apparently, begun. This magnificent building—the Mausoleum—was designed by Greek architects and decorated by famous Greek sculptors. The remains of the sculpture include portrait statues of Maussolus and Artemisia and are among the most highly prized possessions of the British Museum.

Cynosarges was a region in Athens in which was a great gymnasium.
(838) μητρὸς Ἰσοκράτους ἀδελφὴς Ἀνακοῦς ὦν, οὐ τ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁμώνυμος τοῦ πατρὸς Θεόδωρος καὶ οἱ νιώνοι αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ποιητέντος αὐτῷ παιδὸς Ἀφαρέως, Ἀφαρεύς καὶ ὁ τούτων πατὴρ Θεόδωρος ἦ τε γυνὴ Πλαθάνη, μήτηρ δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἀφαρέως. 

ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τράπεζαι ἐπήσαν ἔξ, αἱ νῦν οὐ σώζονται. αὐτῷ δ' Ἰσοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπὴν κίων τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οὐ σειρήν πηχῶν ἐπτὰ συμβολικῶς, ὃς νῦν οὐ σώζεται. ἦν δὲ

καὶ αὐτοῦ τράπεζα πλησίον ἔχουσα ποιητάς τε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Γοργίαν εἰς σφαίραν ἀστρολογικὴν βλέποντα αὐτὸν τε τὸν Ἰσοκράτην παρεστῶτα. ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνι εἰκῶν χαλκῆ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ προστάζου ύπὸ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κόνωνος, καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται

Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν ἔξυνειν τε προτιμῶν Ἰσοκράτους εἰκὼ τὴν καὶ ἀνέθηκε θεᾶς.

Δεωχάρους ἐργον.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ἐξήκοντα, ὅν εἰς γνήσιοι κατὰ μὲν Διονύσιον εἰκοσιπέντε κατὰ δὲ Κακίλιον εἰκοσιοκτῶ, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεξευσμένοι. εἰχε δ' ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς ἀφικομένων Ε ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτῶν τριῶν ἔπι τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοὺς μὲν δύο κατασχεῖν τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπολύσαι, φάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσιαν ἦξειν. νῦν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θέατρον εἶναι ἐν ἀκραστηρίῳ. εἰὼθε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὡς αὑτὸς μὲν δέκα μνῶν διδάσκοι, τῷ δ' αὐτοῦ διδάζαντι τόλμαν καὶ εὐφωνίαν δώσειν

1 Ἀνακοῦς νῦς Turnebus: Ἀνακούσιος.

2 Ἀφαρέως . . . τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἀφαρέως bracketed by Dünnner; Bernardakis marks a lacuna after Ἀφαρέως.

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Isocrates' mother's sister, and his brother Theodorus who had the same name as his father, and his grandsons, the sons of his adopted son Aphareus, Aphareus and his father Theodorus, and the latter's wife Plathanê, mother of the adopted son Aphareus. And over them there were six tablets which do not now exist. On the monument of Isocrates himself was a column thirty cubits high, on which was a siren seven cubits high as a symbol; but this exists no longer. There was also a tablet near by with poets and his instructors on it, among whom was Gorgias gazing into an astrological sphere and Isocrates standing beside him. There is also a bronze statue of him, dedicated by Timotheüs, son of Conon, at Eleusis in front of the vestibule. It bears this inscription:

Here to the goddesses twain Timotheüs giveth this statue
Tribute to friend and to sage, image of Isocrates.

It is a work of Leochares.

Sixty orations are current under his name, of which twenty-five are genuine according to Dionysius, twenty-eight according to Caecilius, and the rest are spurious. He was averse to public declamation, so much so that once, when three persons came to hear him, he retained two but let the third go, telling him to come the next day, since now the lecture-room had a full audience. And he used to say to his pupils that he himself gave instruction for ten minas, but would give ten thousand to anyone who would teach him self-confidence and a pleasant voice. And when he
δεκακιστισίας. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑρόμενον διὰ τὶ οὐκ ὄν αὐτὸς ἵκανὸς ἄλλους ποιεῖ, εἰπεν ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἀκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τέμνειν' οὐ δύνανται τὸν δὲ Γείδηρον τμητικὸν ποιοῦσιν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τέχνας αὐτὸν λέγουσι συγγεγραφέναι, οἱ δ' οὐ μεθὸδῳ ἀλλ' ἀσκήσει χρήσασθαι. πολίτην δ' οὐδέποτε εἰσεπράξε 
μισθόν. προσέπαντε δὲ τοῖς γνωρίμοις εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαντῶσιν ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρήμενα. ἐλυπήθη δὲ καὶ οὗ μετρίως ἑπὶ τῷ Σωκράτους 
θανάτῳ καὶ μελανεμονών τῇ υστεραίᾳ προῆλθε. πάλιν δ' ἑρόμενον τινὸς αὐτὸν τὸ ῥητορικῆ, εἰπεν "τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ 
ποιεῖν." ἑστιῶμενος δὲ ποτὲ παρὰ Νικοκρέοντι 
τῷ Κύπροι τυράννῳ, προτρπομένων αὐτὸν τὸν 
παρόντων διαλεξῆναι, ἐφη "οἷς μὲν ἐγὼ δεινὸς 
οὐχ ὁ νῦν καιρὸς, οἷς δ' ὁ νῦν καιρὸς οὐκ ἐγὼ 
δεινὸς." Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν τραγικὸν θεασάμενος 
ἐπόμενον ἐρωτικῶς παιδί, εἰπεν "οὐ μόνον δεῖ, 
839 Σοφόκλεις, τὰς χειρὰς ἐχειν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ 
τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς." τοῦ δὲ Κυμαίου Ἐφόρου 
ἀ- 
πράκτον τῆς σχολῆς ἐξελθόντος καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ 
πατρὸς Δημοφίλου πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ δευτέρῳ μισθῷ, 
παῖζων Δίφορον² αὐτὸν ἐκάλει: ἐσπούδασε μέντοι 
ικανῶς περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς 
χρειᾶς αὐτοῦ ὑπεθήκατο. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ 
ἀφρο- 
δίσια καταφερῆς, ὡς ὑποπάστω παρειλκυσμένω 
ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ χρῆσθαι, κρόκω διάβροχον ἔχοντα τὸ 

1 Coraes from Photius: τεμεῖν.
2 Δίφορον Amyot: δίφορον.

⁶ Cf. Moralia, 613 A.
⁷ Attributed to Pericles by Plutarch, Life of Pericles, 
chap. viii., and Cicero, De Officiis, i. 40. 144.
was asked how he, not being a good speaker himself, could make others so, he replied that whetstones cannot themselves cut, but make iron fit to do so. Some say that he also wrote textbooks of oratory, others that in his teaching he made use of practice, not of method. He never demanded a fee from a fellow-citizen. When his pupils went to meetings of the assembly, he told them to report to him what was said there. He was greatly grieved by the death of Socrates, and the next day he appeared in black clothing. And again, when someone asked him "What is oratory?" he said, "the art of making small things great and great things small." And once when he was a guest at a banquet in the house of Nicocreon, despot of Cyprus, and some of those present urged him to discourse, he said, "for subjects in which I am competent this is not the time; in the subjects for which this is the time I am not competent." When he saw the tragic poet Sophocles amorously following a boy, he said, "Sophocles, we must not only keep our hands to ourselves, but our eyes as well." And when Ephorus of Cumaë had left his school without learning anything and had been sent back by his father with a second tuition-fee, he called him in fun Diphorus (Twice-bringer); he took, however, great pains with him and even suggested to him the subject of his work. He showed himself also prone to sexual indulgence; he used an additional mattress beside him on his bed and kept his

* The great work of Ephorus was a history of the world (primarily of Greece) from the return of the Heracleidae to the siege of Perinthus in 340 B.C. From this work Plutarch and others derived much of their information. Ephorus was born early in the fourth century and died about 320 B.C.
(839) προσκεφάλαιον. καὶ νέον μὲν ὄντα μὴ γῆμαι, 
Β γηράσαντα δ’ ἐταῖρα συνεῖναι ἃ ὄνομα ἢν Λαγίσκη, 
ἐξ ἢς ἐσχε θυγάτριον δ’ γενόμενον ἐτῶν δώδεκα πρὸ 
γάμων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἔπειτα Πλαθάνη τὴν Ἡπτίου 
τὸν ρήτορον γυναῖκα ἡγάγετο τρεῖς παῖδας ἔχουσαν, 
ἂν τὸν Ἀφαρέα ὡς προείρηται ἐποίησατο, δὲ καὶ 
eἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τῷ Ὀλυμπιείῳ 
ἐπὶ κίονος καὶ ἐπέγραψεν

'Ισοκράτους ὧν Ἀφαρέα ψευτὸς εἰκόνα τῆν 
ἀνέθηκε

Ζηνί, θεοὺς τε σέβων καὶ γονέων ἄρετήν.

C λέγεται δὲ καὶ κελητίσαι2 ἐτὶ παῖς ὃν· ἀνάκειται 
γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦς ἐν τῇ σφαιρίστρᾳ τῶν 
Ἀρρηφόρων κελητίζων3 ἐτὶ παῖς ὃν, ὡς ἐποίησα 
tines. δύο δ’ ἐν ἀπαντί τῶ βίω συνέστησαν αὐτῷ 
ἀγώνες· πρότερος μὲν εἰς ἀντίδοσιν προκαλεσα- 
μένου αὐτὸν Μεγακλείδου, πρὸς δὲ οὐκ ἀπήντησε 
διὰ νόσου, τὸν δ’ υἱόν πέμψας Ἀφαρέα ἐνίκησε· 
δεύτερος δὲ Λυσιμάχου αὐτὸν προκαλεσαμένου περὶ 
τριπραξίας εἰς ἀντίδοσιν· ἠττηθείς δὲ τὴν τριπρ- 
αρχίαν ὑπέστη. ἢν δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γραπτῇ εἰκὸν ἐν 
tῷ Πομπείῳ. ὁ δ’ ὧν Ἀφαρέα συνέγραψε μὲν λόγους 
οὗ πολλοὺς δὲ, δικανικοὺς τε καὶ συμβουλευτικοὺς· 
ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας περὶ ἐπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα,

1 Ὀλυμπιείως Wytenbach: ὠλυμπίως ὃς.
2 κελητίσαι Turnebus: κερητίσαι.
3 κελητίζων Turnebus: κερητίζων.

* Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 329. The column and 
statue existed in the time of Pausanias (Paus. i. 18. 8). A 
bust in the Villa Albani in Rome may be a late copy of the 
head of this statue or, more probably, since Leochares was a 
famous sculptor, of the statue at Eleusis mentioned above. 
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pillow wet with saffron. And when he was young he did not marry, but in his old age he kept a mistress named Lagiscē, by whom he had a daughter who died unmarried at twelve years of age. Then he married the daughter of the orator Hippias, Plathanē, who had three sons, one of whom, Aphareus, as has been said above, he adopted. This Aphareus dedicated a bronze statue of him near the Olympicium on a column with the inscription:

Aphareus set up this statue his father Isocrates' image,
Sacred to Zeus, to exalt gods and his ancestors' worth.

And it is said that he rode a horse in a race when he was still a boy; for a bronze figure of him as a boy riding a horse is set up on the Acropolis in the ballground of the Arrhephoroi, as some have said. In all his life but two lawsuits were brought against him: first when Megacleides challenged him to an exchange of property. He did not appear in court in this suit, because he was ill, but sent his son Aphareus and won his case. The second suit was when Lysimachus challenged him to exchange property in connexion with the trierarchy; and this case he lost and performed the trierarchy. There was also a painted portrait of him in the Pompeium. Aphareus wrote speeches, both juridical and deliberative, but not many. He also composed about thirty-seven tragedies, but the authorship of two of them is contested.

This seems to have been situated near the north-west wall of the Acropolis, west of the Erechtheum: cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, p. 283. Two maidens were chosen each year to carry the peplos at the Panathenaic festival and were called Arrephoroi.

The Pompeium was just inside the Dipylon gate, at which point the processions began. It was the storehouse for objects used in processions.
D ὄν ἀντιλέγονταί δύο. ἀρξάμενος δ' ἀπὸ Λυσι-
(839) στράτου διδάσκειν ἄχρι Σωσιγένους ἐν ἔτεσιν
εἰκοσιοκτὼ διδασκαλίας ἀστικὰς καθήκεν ἐξ καὶ
dιὸς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεὶς καὶ δι' ἐτέρων
ἐτέρας δύο Ληναϊκάς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν
Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἄδελ-
φῆς Ἄνακοῦς εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκροπόλει· ὥν
ἡ τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ὕγίειαν νῦν κεῖται μετεπι-
γεγραμμένη, ἡ δ' Ἄνακοῦς οὐ σώζεται. ἔσχε
dὲ δύο νίοις, Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐκ Κοίνοις Σωσι-
kλέας δ' ἐκ Λυσίου.

Ε'. ΙΣΑΙΟΣ

Ε Ἰσαῖος Χαλκίδευς μὲν ἂν τὸ γένος, παραγενό-
μενος δ' εἰς Ἀθῆνας, καὶ σχολάσας... Λυσία
κατὰ τε τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀρμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς
πράγμασι δεινότητα, ὥστ' εἰ μὴ τις ἐμπείρος πάνυ
τοῦ χαρακτήρος τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἶτ', οὐκ ἂν διαγνοῖ

1 Ἄνακοῦς Χυλάνδερ: νακόους.
2 Κοίνου Ρεϊσκε: Κοινοῦς.
3 Σωσικλέας Τουρνέβος: οὔσικλέα (Λυσικλέα Δὔβνερ).
4 σχολάσας] Bernardakis, following Westermann and
Dübner, marks a gap to be filled with the name of Isocrates
and other words, e.g. Ἰσοκράτει, φαίνεται ἀκολουθήσας Λυσία
(or ξηλήσας Λυσίαν).

* 369–368 B.C.
* ι 342–341 B.C.
* When a poet (διδάσκαλος) wished to avoid the labour of
presenting a play he could delegate the management to a
hypodidascalus, another poet experienced in such matters.
We have many instances of this practice in the didascalic
notices, notably in the case of Aristophanes.
* The City or Greater Dionysia were celebrated in March,
the Rural or Lesser Dionysia in the various demes of Attica
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Beginning in the archonship of Lysistratus he presented in the twenty-eight years to the archonship of Sosigenes six series of dramas at the City Dionysia and won the prize twice, Dionysius as his manager, and, other poets managing, he presented two other series at the Lenaean festival. There were statues of the mother of Isocrates and Theodorus and of her sister Anaco set up on the Acropolis; of these the statue of the mother is now placed, with a changed inscription, near that of Hygieia, but the statue of Anaco is gone. She had two sons, Alexander by Coenus, and Sosicles by Lysias.

V. ISAEUS

Isaeus was a Chalcidian by birth, but came to Athens and went to school [to Isocrates. He resembled] Lysias in his melodious diction and in his skilful arrangement and treatment of the subject matter in his speeches, so that unless a person were thoroughly familiar with their particular styles, he could not easily tell to which of the two orators in December, and the Lenaean festival in December. At all of these dramas were performed, but new tragedies were not produced at the Rural Dionysia, and for a time the same was true of the Lenaean festival. A series of dramas comprised three tragedies and a satyr drama. The two prizes of Aphareus are recorded in an inscription, I.G. ii. 2325 a (ed. min.).

* Statues erected to honour one person were not infrequently transferred to another by changing the inscriptions. Dio Chrysostom in his Oration to the Rhodians condemns this practice.

1 Cf. Dion. Hal. De Isaeo Judicium, 2 χαρακτήρα δὲ Λυσίου κατὰ τὸ πλείστον ἐξῆλθε, "he emulated in the highest degree the character of Lysias."
πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων ῥαδίως ὅποτέρον τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν. ἥκμασε δὲ μετὰ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν πόλε-μον, ὡς ἔστι τεκμήρισθαι ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου ἀρχῆς παρέτεινε. καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, ἀποστὰς τῆς σχολῆς, ἐπὶ δραχμαῖς μύριαι. διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιφανῆς ἐγένετο. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς λόγους συνέτατε τῷ Δημοσθένει, ὡς τνεὶ εἴπον. καταλέλοιπε δὲ λόγους ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρας, ὡς εἰσὶ γνήσιοι πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἰδίας τέχνας. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ σχηματίζειν ἥρατο καὶ τρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν τὴν διάνοιαν· δ' μάλιστα μεμήμηται Δημοσθένης. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ ᾿Οησεί.

840

咴. ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

Αίσχινης 'Ατρομήτου, φυγόντος μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα συγκαταγαγόντος δὲ τῶν δήμων, καὶ Γλαυκόθεας: τῶν δὲ δήμων Κοθωκίδης, οὔτε κατὰ γένος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οὔτε κατὰ περιουσίαν χρημάτων. νέος δ' ὡς καὶ ἐρρωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει: λαμπρόφωνος δ' ὡς μετὰ ταῦτα τραγῳδίαν ἤσκησεν· ὡς δὲ Δημοσθένης φησίν, ὑπογραμματεύων καὶ τριταγωνιστῶν 'Αριστοδήμῳ

α See below, Demosthenes, 844 b.

Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., ii. p. 499, interprets this as referring to figures of thought (construing τῇ διάνοιαν with σχηματίζειν). Cf. 835 b supra ἀσχημάτιστος of Andocides.


A A catalogue of the tribe Oeneis, I.G.² 2408, gives his full name: 'Ατρόμητος Αίσχινου Κοθωκίδης. It gives also the name of Aeschines' son 'Ατρόμητος.
many of the speeches belong. He was in his prime after the Peloponnesian War, as may be inferred from his speeches, and lived until the reign of Philip. He taught Demosthenes, not at his school, but privately, for ten thousand drachmas, whereby he acquired great distinction. And he himself composed for Demosthenes the speeches against his guardians, as some said. He has left behind him sixty-four speeches, fifty of which are genuine, and some rules of rhetoric of his own. He was also the first to give artistic form to his speech and to turn his attention to the urbane style of the orator; in which Demosthenes has closely imitated him. Theopompus the comic playwright mentions him in the Theseus.

VI. AESCHINES

Aeschines was the son of Atrometus, who was exiled in the time of the Thirty and helped to restore the democracy, and of Glaucothea. He belonged to the deme of the Cothocidae and was not of distinguished family or great wealth. When he was young and physically strong he worked hard in the gymnasium; and afterwards, since he had a clear voice, he practised tragedy; and according to Demosthenes he was for a long time under-secretary and regularly played as a third-rate actor with Aristodemus at the

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Demosthenes, xviii. 261; xix. 246. The festivals in question are those held in the small towns of Attica. Aristodemus was one of the most noted tragic actors of his time. Born at Metapontum, he was granted Athenian citizenship and was one of the envoys (among whom were Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Philocrates) who made the peace of Philocrates with Philip in 346 B.C.
(840) ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίους διετέλει, ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ σχολῆς
Β τὰς παλαιὰς πραγμάτειας. καὶ ἔτι παῖς ὦν ἐδίδασκε
γράμματα συν τῷ πατρί, καὶ μειράκιον ὦν ἐστρα-
τεύετο ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις.¹ ἀκροατὴς δὲ γεγομένους
ὡς μὲν τινες λέγουσιν Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος,
ὡς δὲ Καικίλιος Λεωδόμαντος, καὶ πολιτευμένους
οὐκ ἀφανώς ἐκ τῆς ἑναντίας μερίδος τοῖς περὶ
Δημοσθένη, ἐπρέσβευσεν ἄλλας τε προσβείας πολλάς
καὶ πρὸς Φίλιππον ύπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης. ἐφ' ὃ κατ-
ηγορήθη² ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους ὡς ἀνηρμένου τοῦ
Φωκέων ἐθνος, ἔτι δ' ὡς πόλεμον ἐξάμας, ἥνικα
πυλαγόρας ἦρεθ 'Ἀμφικτύσι πρὸς 'Αμφισσεῖς
tοὺς τὸν λιμένα ἐργαζομένους.¹⁴ ἐξ οὖν συνέβη τοὺς
C 'Ἀμφικτύσινοις Φίλιππον προσφυγεῖν, τὸν δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ
Αἰχίνου συνεργούμενον ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι
καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα λαβεῖν· ἄλλα συνεπόντος αὐτῶν
Εὐβούλου τοῦ Σπινθάρου Προβαλλουσίου ἰδαμαγ-
γοῦντος, τριάκοντα ψήφους ἀπέφυγεν. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ
φασὶ συνηγράψαι μὲν τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς λόγους, ἐμ-

¹ περιπόλοις Hemsterhuis from Aeschines, False Legation, § 167: πολλοῖς.
² κατηγορήθη Reiske from Photius: κατηγορηθεῖς.
³ ὡς added by Dübner.
⁴ τοὺς . . . ἐργαζομένους Wolf: καὶ (ὡς Emperius) τὸν λιμένα
ἐργαζομένους.
⁵ Προβαλλουσίου] Προβαλλουσίου Photius; Προβαλεσίου
Westermann; cf. Demosthenes, lix. (Against Neaera) 48, 123.

More accurately in Photius, the dramatic festivals held
in the small towns of Attica. For the ancient accounts of
Aeschines' career as an actor see O'Connor, Actors and Act-
ing in Ancient Greece, pp. 74 ff. Kelly Rees, The Rule of
Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama, pp. 31 ff., has
shown that the term "tritagonist" was invented by Demo-
stenes as an opprobrious epithet and it is applied in antiquity
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Dionysiac festivals, repeating the old tragedies in his spare time. And while still a child he helped his father to teach letters, and as a young man he served in the patrol of the frontiers. After studying with Isocrates and Plato, as some say, but with Leodamas according to Caecilius, he was prominent in public life in the party opposed to that of Demosthenes, and was sent on many embassies, among them the one to Philip concerning the peace. For this he was accused by Demosthenes of having destroyed the Phocian nation and moreover of having stirred up war between the Amphissians, who were building the harbour when he was chosen as delegate to the Amphictyonic Council, and the Amphictyons; as a result of which the Amphictyons turned to Philip for protection, and he, assisted by Aeschines, took matters in hand and conquered Phocis. But through the aid of Eubulus, son of Spintharus, of the deme of Probalinthus, who had influence with the people, he was acquitted by thirty votes; but some say that though the orators composed their speeches, yet

to no other actor than Aeschines; also that it meant, not “actor of third-rate rôles,” but “third-rate actor”; cf. Bekker, Anecdota, p. 309. 31 ἄδοκιμότατος τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τάξει καταριθμούμενος.

“Old tragedies” are those which had been performed in Athens before.

But see below, 840 e, where the more probable statement is made that he had no teacher. Cf. the anonymous Life of Aeschines, 13, Quintilian, ii. 17. 12, and Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., iii. p. 157.

Aeschines was sent in 347 and 346 B.C. on two embassies to Philip concerning peace. The second is probably the one especially referred to here. In his orations On the Peace (346 B.C.) and On the False Legation (343 B.C.) Demosthenes attacks Aeschines and his colleagues.

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(840) ποδῶν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν, μηκέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελθεῖν. χρόνως δ' ὑστερον, Φίλιππου μὲν τετελευτηκότος Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ διαβαίνοντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγράψατο Κτησιφῶντα παρανόμων ἐπὶ ταῖς Δημοσθένους τιμαῖς· οὐ μεταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ἐφυγεν εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον, χυλίας δραχμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἥττης οὐ βουληθεῖσι

καταθέσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀτιμίας αὐτῷ προστημηθήναι λέγουσιν οὐ θέλοντι ἐξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἔφεσον ὡς Ἀλεξάνδρου. τοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος, ταραχῆς οὐσίας, ἀπαρας εἰς τὴν 'Ρόδον ἐν- 

ταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. ἀνέγνω 

τε τοῖς Ἀρδίοις τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος λόγον ἐπιδεικνύμενος· θαυμάζοντων δὲ πάντων εἰ ταῦτ' 

Ε εἰπὼν ἡττήθη "οὐκ ἂν," ἔφη, "ἐθαυμάζετε, Ἄρδιοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἥκου- 

σατε." σχολὴν τ' ἐκεῖ προσκατέλυπε, τὸ Ἀρδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον κλήθεν. ἐπείτα πλεῦσας εἰς Σάμον 

καὶ διατρίβων ἐπὶ τῆς νήσου ὅλογον ὑστερον ἐτε- 

λεύτησεν. ἐγένετο δ' εὐφωνος, ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τε ὧν 

φῆσι Δημοσθένης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δημοσχάρους λόγου. 

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τέσσαρες, οἱ τε κατὰ 

Τιμάρχου καὶ ὁ τῆς Παραπροφείας καὶ ὁ κατὰ 

Κτησιφῶντος, οἱ καὶ μονοὶ εἰσὶ γνήσιοι. ὁ γὰρ 

ἐπιγραφόμενος Δηλιακὸς οὐκ ἐστὶν Αἰσχίνου· ἀπ- 

εδείχθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν περί¹ τοῦ ἱεροῦ 

¹ τὴν περὶ Dübner; τοῦ περὶ.

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*a* The author's extreme brevity reduces to two sentences the events of about eight years. The acquittal of Aeschines took place in 343 B.C.

*b* Anyone who brought a suit against another for proposing
the suit never came to trial because the battle of Chaeroneia intervened.\textsuperscript{a} At a later time, when Philip was dead and Alexander was crossing over to Asia, he brought a suit against Ctesiphon for illegal conduct in proposing the honours for Demosthenes; and when he did not receive one-fifth of the votes cast, he went into exile at Rhodes, not being willing to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas for his defeat.\textsuperscript{b} But some say that he was further punished by disfranchisement and did not leave the city of his own accord, and that he went to Alexander at Ephesus. During the confusion following Alexander's death he sailed to Rhodes, set up a school there, and taught. He read to the Rhodians his oration against Ctesiphon as an exhibition of his powers, and when they all wondered that after delivering that speech he had lost his case, "You would not wonder, Rhodians," he said, "if you had heard Demosthenes speak in reply to it." And he left a school behind him there, called the Rhodian school. Then he sailed to Samos and not long after, while lingering on that island, died. He had an excellent voice, as is clear from what Demosthenes says\textsuperscript{c} and from the oration of Demochares.

Four orations are current under his name: that Against Timarchus, that \textit{On the False Legation},\textsuperscript{d} and that Against Ctesiphon,\textsuperscript{e} and these alone are genuine, since the one entitled the \textit{Delian Oration} is not by Aeschines; for he was, to be sure, appointed associate advocate in the trial relating to the sanctuary a measure forbidden by law was subject to a fine and was debarred from bringing any similar suit if he received less than one-fifth of the votes cast by the dicasts.

\begin{footnotes}
\item[\textsuperscript{a}] Demosthenes, xviii. \textit{(On the Crown)} 259, 308.
\item[\textsuperscript{b}] In L.C.L. Aeschines, pp. 15 ff.
\item[\textsuperscript{c}] \textit{Ibid.} pp. 303 ff.
\end{footnotes}
τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ συσταθεὶς συνήγορος· οὐ μὴν εἴπε τὸν λόγον· ἐχειροτονήθη γὰρ Ἑπερείδης ἀντι αὐτοῦ, ὡς Γ φησὶ Δημοσθένης. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς, ὡς φησὶν αὐτὸς, 'Αφόβητον καὶ Φιλοχάρη. ἀπήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Ταμύναις νίκην πρῶτος 'Αθηναῖοι, ἐφ' ὦ καὶ ἐστεφανώθη τὸ δεύτερον.

Οἱ δ' εἶπον μηδὲ μαθητεύσαι τις τῶν Αἰσχίνην, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς υπογραμματείας ἀρθῆναι εἰς τοῖς δικαστήριοις τότε διάγοντα· πρῶτον δ' εἴπειν εἰς τῶν δήμων κατὰ Φιλίππου, εὐδοκιμήσαντά τε προσβευτὴν χειροτονήθηναι πρὸς 'Αρκάδας· πρὸς οὖς ἀφικόμενοι συστήσαι τοὺς μυρίους ἐπὶ Φιλίππου. ἐγράψατο δὲ καὶ Τίμαρχον ἑταρνήσεως· ὁ δὲ 841 ἐκλύποι τῶν ἄγωνα αὐτῶν ἀνήρτησεν, ὡς ποῦ φησὶ Δημοσθένης. ἐχειροτονήθη δὲ προσβευτὴς ὡς Φιλίππου μετὰ' Κτησιφώτιος καὶ Δημοσθένους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐν ἡ ἁμεινον τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἡμέραν· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δέκατος ὡς, κυρώσας ὅρκοις τῆς εἰρήνης, κριθεὶς ἀπέφυγεν, ὡς προ- εἰρηταὶ.

Ζ'. ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

Λυκούργος πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυ- Β κούργου, δὲν οἱ τριάκοντα τύραννοι ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτίον αὐτῷ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως γενομένου 'Αριστο-

1 Λεγ. 169. Westermann from Aeschines: ἀφοβον.
2 Φιλοχάρη Wyttenbach from Aeschines: δημοσθένης. Τὸ δεύτερον placed here by Franke: in mss. is after Ἀθηναῖοι; cf. Aeschines, False Legation, § 169.
3 δὲ added by Westermann.
4 Μετὰ Franke: κατα.
5 Μετὰ Franke: κατα.
6 δὲ added by Bernardakis.
at Delos, but he did not deliver the speech; for Hypereides was elected in his place, as Demosthenes says.a He had, as he himself says, b two brothers, Aphobetus and Philochares. He was the first to bring to the Athenians the news of the victory at Tamynae, for which he was crowned a second time.

Some have said that Aeschines did not study under any teachers, but rose from the under-clerkship in the courts, which he held at that time. And they say that his first speech before the people was against Philip, by which he gained such reputation as to be chosen envoy to the Arcadians; and when he came to them he raised the ten thousand troops with which to oppose Philip. He also prosecuted for unchastity Timarchus, who gave up the defence and hanged himself, as Demosthenes says somewhere.c He was elected envoy to Philip with Ctesiphon and Demosthenes to treat for peace, on which occasion he was more successful than Demosthenes; and the second time, when he was one of ten, d he confirmed the peace with oaths, was tried for it, and was acquitted, as has been said above.

VII. LYCURGUS

Lycurgus was the son of Lycophron and grandson of the Lycurgus whom the Thirty Tyrants put to death, his execution being brought about by Aristo-

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a Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) p. 271, 134.  
b Aeschines, On the False Legation, 149.  
c Demosthenes xix. (On the False Legation) 2 and 285.  
d Aeschines, On the False Legation, 178.
The Hellenotamiai were a board of ten members who collected and administered the tribute paid to Athens by the members of the Delian Confederacy.

The title of his office is not known. No regular office so extensive as this is mentioned in Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. He may have been in charge of the theoric fund or the military fund, or both, by virtue of a special commission, which in the next generation became a
demus of Batê, who also, after having been one of the Hellenotamiae, was banished under the democracy. Lycurgus was of the deme of the Butadae and the family of the Eteobutadae. He attended the lectures of Plato the philosopher and at first devoted himself to philosophy; then, after being a pupil of the orator Isocrates, he had a notable public career both as a speaker and as a man of action, and he was also entrusted with the management of the finances of the State; for he was made treasurer for three periods of four years in charge of fourteen thousand talents, or, as some say (and among them the man who proposed the vote of honours for him, Stratocles the orator), eighteen thousand, six hundred and fifty. He was elected in his own person the first time, but afterwards he entered the name of one of his friends, though he himself administered the office, because a law had previously been introduced forbidding anyone elected treasurer of the public funds to hold the office more than four years; and he was always intent upon the public business summer and winter. When he was elected to provide munitions of war he restored many edifices in the city, he provided four hundred triremes for the people, he constructed the gymnasion in the Lyceum and planted trees in it, he built the palaestra and finished the Dionysiac theatre when he was the commissioner in charge of that work. He took care of two hundred

regular office; see Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 10, Tarn, Cambridge Ancient History, vi. p. 441. The period meant may be the quinquennium. See Decree III, below, 852.
Roughly equivalent to £3,026,000 or $15,130,000, or more at present values.
Probably while he was in control of the finances. Cf. Dörpfeld and Reisch, Das griechische Theater, pp. 39 f.
καταθήκη παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διακόσια πεντήκοντα τάλαντα ἐφύλαξε, πομπεία τε χρυσὰ καὶ ἀργυρὰ τῇ πόλει κατεσκεύασε καὶ νίκας χρυσὰς. πολλὰ δ’ ἦμιέργα παραλαβὼν ἐξετέλεσε καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ τὴν κρηπίδα περιέθηκεν, ἐξεργασάμενος τούτῳ τέ καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὃμαλήν ποιήσας, Δεινίου¹ τινός, ὃς ἐκέκτητο τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον, ἀνέντος τῇ πόλει, προείπαντος² αὐτῷ³ χαρίσασθαι Δυκούργου.⁴

Ε Ἐσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τὴν φυλακήν καὶ τῶν κακούργων τὴν σύλληψιν, οὓς ἐξήλασεν ἀπαντας, ὡς καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐνίους λέγειν Δυκούργουν οὐ μέλαιν ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ⁵ χρίοντα τὸν κάλαμον κατὰ τῶν πονηρῶν, οὕτω συγγράφειν. ὃθεν ἐξαιτηθέντα αὐτὸν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δῆμος οὐ προήκατο. καθ’ ὃν δὲ χρόνον ἐπολέμει Φίλιππος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους τὸν δεύτερον πόλεμον, ἐπρέσβευε μετὰ Πολυεύκτου καὶ Δημοσθένους εἰς τε Πελο-

Γ πόνησον καὶ τινας ἄτέρας πόλεις. διετέλεσε τε τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ δίκαιοι εἰναι νομιζόμενος, ὅπου καὶ ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τὸ φῆσαι Δυκούργου ἐδόκει βοήθημα εἰναι τῷ συναγορευομένῳ.

Εἰσῆγε καὶ νόμους, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν κωμωδῶν, ἀγῶνα τοὺς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τὸν νυκήσαντα εἰς ἄστυ κατα-

¹ Δεινίου Coraes: δινίου.
² προείπαντος Emperius: περὶ παντὸς.
³ αὐτῷ added by Bernardakis.
⁴ Δυκούργου Bernardakis: λυκούργω.
⁵ θανάτῳ] αἴματι Amyot from Life of Solon, chap. xvii.
and fifty talents entrusted to him on deposit by private persons, he provided for the city objects of gold and silver for use in processions and golden Victories, and many buildings which came into his hands half-finished he completed, among them the ship-sheds and the arsenal. And he put the foundation-walls round the Panathenaic stadium. This he accomplished, and also the levelling of the ravine, because a certain Deinias who owned this plot of land gave it to the city when Lycurgus suggested to him that he make the gift.

He was charged also with guarding the city and arresting malefactors, whom he drove out entirely, so that some of the sophists said that Lycurgus signed warrants against evil-doers with a pen dipped, not in ink, but in death. And therefore, when King Alexander demanded his surrender, the people did not give him up. When Philip was carrying on the second war with the Athenians, Lycurgus went as envoy with Polyeuctus and Demosthenes to the Peloponnesus and to some other States. Throughout his life he was always highly esteemed among the Athenians and considered a just man, so that in the courts of law the word of Lycurgus was regarded as a help to anyone requiring an advocate.

He also introduced laws: the law relating to comic actors, that a competitive performance be held on the festival of Pots a and that the victor's name

* The third day of the Anthesteria, the thirteenth day of the month Anthesterium.
λέγεσθαι πρότερον οὐκ ἔξον, ἀναλαμβάνων τὸν ἀγώνα ἐκλελοιπότα· τὸν δὲ, ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖνα τῶν ποιητῶν, Αἰσχύλου Σοφοκλέους Ἕυρι-πίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραφα-μένους φυλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραγαγωγικῶς τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις· οὐκ ἔξείναι γὰρ παρ' αὐτὰς ἑποκρίνεσθαι. καὶ τρίτον, μηδενὶ 842 ἐξείναι Ἀθηναίων μηδὲ τῶν οἰκούντων Ἀθηναίων ἐλεύθερον σώμα πρίσθαι ἐπὶ δουλεία ἐκ τῶν ἀλυ-σκομένων ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότου γνώ-μης. ἐτί δὲ, ὡς τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀγώνα ποιεῖν ἐν Πειραιῶι, κυκλών χορῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον τριῶν, καὶ διδοσθαι μὲν τοῖς νικῶσιν οὐκ ἔλαττον δέκα μνάς, τοῖς δὲ δευτέρους ὁκτώ, ἔξ δὲ τοῖς τρίτοις κριθεῖσιν. ἐτί δὲ ἐπὶ ζεύγους μὴ ἀπιέναι γυναίκα Ἐλευσίναδε, ὅπως μὴ ἐλαττώνται αἱ δημοτικαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων· εἰ δὲ τὶς φωραθεῖ, ἀποτίνειν δραχμὰς ἐξαικισὺλίας. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ μὴ πει-σθείσης, τῶν συκοφαντῶν φωρασάντων, τάλαντον Β αὐτοῖς ἐδώκε· κατηγοροοῦμενος δὲ ἐν υπέρῳ ἐν τῷ

1 γὰρ παρ' αὐτὰς Bernardakis: γὰρ αὐτὰς.
2 καὶ added by Dübner.
3 ἐτί δ' added by Sauppe.
4 ἀπιέναι Taylor: ἀπείναι.
5 αἱ δημοτικαὶ added by Baiter from Photius.

The τραγῳδία and κωμῳδία alone were eligible to be chosen by lot as protagonists for the tragedies and comedies to be presented at the City Dionysia, the subordinate roles being assigned to plain ὑποκριταῖ. Prior to the passage of the law of Lycurgus those only were eligible who had previously won a victory at the City Dionysia. The effect of the law of Lycurgus was, therefore, to increase the number of those from whom the archon could choose a κωμῳδία for each of the five comedies to be presented. See Rohde, 400
be inscribed as eligible for the City Dionysia, which had not been permitted before, and thus he revived a contest which had fallen out of use; the law that bronze statues of the poets Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides be erected, that their tragedies be written out and kept in a public repository, and that the clerk of the State read them to the actors who were to perform their plays for comparison of the texts and that it be unlawful to depart from the authorized text in acting; a third law that no Athenian or foreign resident of Athens should be permitted to buy from among captives a person of free birth to be a slave without the consent of his former master; furthermore, that a festival of Poseidon should be held in Peiraeus, consisting of no fewer than three cyclic choruses, that not less than ten minas be given to the victors, eight to those ranked second by the judges, and six to those ranked third; furthermore, that no woman should go to Eleusis in a carriage, lest the women of the people appear inferior to the rich, and if any woman should be caught doing this, she should pay a fine of six thousand drachmas. His own wife disobeyed, the informers caught her in the act, and he gave them a talent; and at a later time, when accused of this in the popular assembly,


Prisoners of war were usually auctioned off into slavery regardless of their previous condition. If such a captive could prove his free birth through the testimony of the man who owned him when taken captive, he could not under this new law be purchased by any Athenian for slavery, cf. M. H. E. Meier, Comment. de vita Lycurgi, xxxix. ff.

This refers to the great annual procession to Eleusis in the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone.
The story may well be apocryphal. The saying of Lycurgus, repeated by Plutarch in his Comp. of Nicias and 402
he said, "At any rate I am found to have been the giver, not the receiver." a And once when a tax-collector laid hands on Xenocrates the philosopher and Lycurgus met him as he was leading him away to enforce payment of his tax as a resident alien, b he brought his walking-stick down on the tax-collector's head, set Xenocrates free, and shut the other man up in prison for improper conduct. As he was generally commended for his act, Xenocrates, happening to meet Lycurgus's children some days later, said "I have repaid your father quickly for the favour he did me, boys; for he is widely commended for coming to my assistance."

He also proposed decrees, c making use of a certain Olynthian named Eucleides, who was an expert in decrees. And although he was well-to-do, he wore one and the same cloak winter and summer and put on sandals only on days when they were necessary. He studied night and day, since he had no natural gift for extemporaneous speaking, and he lay on a cot with only a sheepskin and a pillow on it, so that he might wake up easily and study. When someone found fault with him for paying money to sophists although he made words his profession, he replied that if anyone would promise to make his sons better, he would pay him, not thousands only, but half his property. He was an outspoken speaker on account of his good birth. Once, indeed, when the Athenians

Crassus, 3, is not there connected with the Eleusis incident; and Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. 24, expressly states that the statesman's wife paid a fine after legal condemnation, not a bribe to the informer.

b The tax was twelve drachmas.

c Several decrees moved by him are extant, e.g. I.G. ii.2 337, 338.
(842) αὐτοῦ δημηγοροῦντος, ἀνέκραγεν ἐκβαλλόμενος "ὁ Κερκυραία μάστιξ, ὡς πολλῶν ταλάντων εἰ αξία." πάλιν δὲ θεὸν ἀναγορευόντων Ἀλέξανδρον "καὶ ποδαπὸς ἂν εἶη" ἐπεν, "ὁ θεὸς, οὐ τὸ ἑρὸν ἐξίοντας δεῖσει περιρραίνεσθαι"; ἀποθανόντος

Ε δ' αὐτοῦ, παρέδωκαν τοὺς παίδας τοῖς ἐνδεκα, Μενεσαίχμου μὲν κατηγορήσαντος γραφαμένου δὲ Ὁρασυκλέους. Δημοσθένους δὲ καθ' ὃν ἐφευγε̄ χρόνον ἐπιστελλότος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ώς κακῶς ἀκούοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς Δυκούργου παιδίοις, μετενόησαν καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτούς, Δημοκλέους τοῦ θεοφράστου μαθητοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογησαμένου. ἔταφη δ' αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων τινὲς δημοσίας καὶ ἔστων αὐτῶν τὰ μνήματα ἀντικρῡ τῆς Παιώνιας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῷ Μελανθίῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου κῆπῳ, τράπεζαν πεποιημέναι, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Δυκούργου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμέναι καὶ εἰς ἡμῶς ἔτι

F σωζόμεναι. τὸ μέγιστον, χίλια διακόσια τάλαντα προσόδου τῇ πόλει κατέστησε, πρότερον ἐξήκοντα προσιόντων. μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν εἰς τὸ μητρῖον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῶν κομισθῆναι, βουλόμενος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν πεπολυτευμένων. οὔτε δέ κατηγορήσαι τολμήσαντος πλὴν Μενεσαίχμου, τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος εἰς

1 εἶη added by Coraes.
2 περιρραίνεσθαι Dübner: περιρράνεσθαι.
3 ἐφευγε̄ Coraes: ἐφυγε̄.
4 ἀντικρῡ Herwerden: ἀντικρῡ.

* The Corcyraean whip was especially stinging, and the orator’s outbreak means: “I would give a great deal to use a cat-o’-nine-tails on you people.”


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were showing dissent as he was speaking, he burst out with: "O Corecyraean whip, how many talents you are worth!" And when they were proclaiming Alexander a god, "What sort of god," he said, "is he when those who come out of his temple have to sprinkle themselves with holy water?" After his death his sons were handed over to the eleven executioners on the accusation of Menesaechmus, the indictment being written by Thrasycles; but when Demosthenes, who was at that time in exile, wrote a letter to the Athenians saying that their reputation was suffering because of Lycurgus's sons, they changed their mind and released them, Democles, a pupil of Theophrastus, speaking in their defence. He himself and some of his descendants were buried at public expense; and their monuments are opposite the Paeonian Athena in the garden of the philosopher Melanthius; they are in the form of tables, and those of Lycurgus and his children have inscriptions and are still preserved in our day. His greatest achievement was the raising of the State revenue to twelve hundred talents when it had previously been sixty. When he was at the point of death he gave orders that he be carried to the temple of the Great Mother and into the Bouleuterion, as he wished to give an accounting for his public acts; and when no one had the face to accuse him except Menesaechmus, he freed himself from his false accusations,

\[c\] Judeich, Topogr. v. Athen, p. 409, conjectures that the garden of Melanthius was in the neighbourhood of the Academy.

\[d\] The Bouleuterion was the meeting-place of the Boule or Senate; the foundations of this and of the temple of the Great Mother have recently been found on the west side of the Agora. See T. L. Shear, Hesperia, iv. pp. 349 ff.
τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπεκομίσθη καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐπιεικὴς
νομισθεὶς παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου1 χρόνον καὶ ἐν
λόγοις ἐπαινεθεῖς· καὶ μηδένα ἀγώνα ἄλονς, καίτοι
πολλὸν κατηγορησάντων.

"Εσχε δὲ τρεῖς παιδὰς ἐκ Καλλιστοῦ τῆς
"Αβρωνος μὲν θυγατρὸς, Καλλίου" δὲ τοῦ "Αβρωνος
Βατηθεὶς ἀδελφῆς, τοῦ ταμεύσαντος στρατιωτικῶν
843 ἐπὶ Χαρώνδου ἄρχοντος· περὶ δὲ τῆς κηδείας
tαυτῆς λέγει ὅ Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πιστίου.3
κατέλιπε δὲ τοῦ "Αβρωνα Λυκοφρονος. ὥν ὁ "Αβρων καὶ ὁ Λυκοφρόνοσ ἀπαίδες
μετήλλαξαν· ἀλλ' ὁ γ' "Αβρων καὶ πολιτευσάμενος
ἐπιφανῶς μετήλλαξε, Λυκόφρων δὲ γῆμας Καλλι-
στομάχχην Φιλίππου Αἰξονέως4 ἐγέννησε Καλλιστώ.
tαυτὴν δὲ γῆμας Κλεόμβροτος Δευνοκράτους 'Αχαρ-
νεύς, ἐγέννησε Λυκόφρων· τοῦτον δ' ὁ πάππος
ἐπατευχαστό Λυκόφρων· οὗτος δ' ἐτελεύτησεν
ἀπαίς· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Λυκόφρωνος τελευτήν ἐγήμε τὴν
Β Καλλιστὼ Σωκράτης καὶ ἔσχεν υἱὸν Σύμμαχον τοῦ
d' ἐγένετο 'Αριστώνυμος, τοῦ δὲ Χαρώνδης τοῦ δὲ
Φιλίππη· ταυτῆς δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρου Μήδειος, ὃ
καὶ ἐξηγητής ἐς Εὐμολπίδων γενόμενος· τοῦτον δὲ
καὶ Τιμοθέας τῆς Γλαύκου παιδὲς Δαοδάμεια καὶ
Μήδειος, ὃς τῆν ἱερωσύνην Ποσειδώνων 'Ερεχθέως
eίχε, καὶ Φιλίππη, ἤτις ἱεράσατο τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς
ὔστερον· πρότερον δ' αὐτὴν γῆμας Διοκλῆς ὁ
Μελιτέως5 ἐγέννησε Διοκλέα, τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας
στρατηγήσαντα· γῆμας δ' οὗτος 'Ηδίστην "Αβρωνος

1 τοῦ βίου Coraes from Photius: βίου.
2 Καλλίου Salmasius: καλιαυή.
3 Πιστίου Meursius from Harpocration: πατίου.
4 Αἰξονέως Xylander: αἰξονέως.
5 Μελιτέως Coraes: Μελιτέως.

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was carried to his house, and died, having been considered a honourable man throughout his whole life, and highly praised for his speeches. He never was convicted, though many brought accusations against him.

He had three children by Callisto, the daughter of Habron and sister of Callias the son of Habron of the deme Batê, the one who was treasurer of military funds in the archonship of Charondas. Deinarchus, in his speech against Pistius, tells about this connexion by marriage. He left three sons, Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, of whom Habron and Lycurgus died without issue. However, Habron at any rate had a distinguished public career before he died; but Lycophron married Callistomachê, daughter of Philippus of Aexonê, and had a daughter Callisto. She was married to Cleombrotus of Acharnae, son of Deinocrates, to whom she bore a son Lycophron, who was adopted by his grandfather Lycophron and died without issue. After Lycophron's death Socrates married Callisto and had a son Symmachus. Symmachus had a son Aristonymus, he a son Charmides, and Charmides a daughter Philippa. Her son by Lysander was Medeius, who became an expounder of rites, being of the family of the Eumolpidae. He and Timothea, daughter of Glaucus, had three children, Laodameia and Medeius, who held the priestship of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and Philippa, who afterwards became priestess of Athena; but before that Diocles of Melîté married her, and their son was the Diocles who was general in command of the heavy-armed force. He married Hedistê, daughter

a His death occurred about 324 B.C.  

b 338-337 B.C.  

c At Eleusis in connexion with the Eleusinian Mysteries.
(843) Φιλιππίδην. καὶ Νικοστράτην ἐγέννησε· γῆμας δὲ
ὑπὸ τὴν Νικοστράτην Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Θεοφράστου ὁ
dαδοῦχος ἐγέννησε Θεόφραστον καὶ Διοκλέα· δι-
eτάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἴερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσεἰδώνος
Ἑρεχθέως.

Φέρονταί δὲ τοῦ ἰδίτος λόγο, δεκαπέντε. ἐστε-
φανώθη δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλάκις καὶ εἰκόνων
ἐτυχεν· ἀνάκειται δ’ αὐτοῦ χαλκῆ εἰκὼν ἐν Κερα-
μεικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπ’ Ἀναξικράτους ἀρχοντος·
ἐφ’ οὗ ἔλαβε καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτὸς τε δ’
Λυκόσφυγος καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκγόνων
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ψήφισμα· ἀποθανόντος τε Λυκοῦργου,
ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Λυκόφρων ἡμιφισθήτησε

Δ τῆς δωρεᾶς. εἶπε δὲ καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν πολλάκις,
γραμμάμενος Ἀὐτόλυκον τὸν Ἀρεόπαγίτην καὶ
Λυκόσφυγος τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Δημάδῃ τὸν Δημέου
καὶ Μενέσαιχμον ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς, καὶ πάντας
eἶλεν. ἐκρινε δὲ καὶ Δίφιλον, ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων
μετάλλων τοὺς μεσοκρινεῖς, οἱ ἐβάσταζον τὰ ὑπερ-
κείμενα βάρη, ύφελόντα καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν πεπλούτηκοτα
παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· καὶ θανάτου ὄντος ἐπιτιμίου
ἀλῶν ἐπιτύησε, καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμάς ἐκ τῆς
οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν διένεμε, τῶν
Επάντων συναχθέντων ταλάντων ἐκατόν ἐξήκοντα·
ἡ, ὡς τινες, μνα. δ’ εὐθύνας Ἀριστογείτονα καὶ

1 τε ὁ Wyttenbach: τε καὶ ὁ.
2 Δημέου Westermann: δημίου.
3 ἀργυρείων Baiter: ἀργυρίων.
4 μεσοκρινεῖς Xylander from Pollux, vii. 98: μεσοκρανείς.
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of Habron, and had two children, Philippides and Nicostrata. Themistocles, the Torch-bearer, a son of Theophrastus, married Nicostrata and had two sons, Theophrastus and Diocles. He also organized the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus.

Fifteen speeches of the orator are current. He was crowned by the people many times and was honoured with statues. A bronze statue of him stands in the Cerameicus, set up in accordance with a decree passed in the archonship of Anaxicrates, in which year Lycurgus and his eldest descendant were granted maintenance in the Prytaneum by the same decree. After Lycurgus died his eldest son, Lycophron, brought a suit for the grant. Lycurgus spoke also many times on religious matters, bringing suit against Autolycus the Areopagite, Lysicles the general, Demades the son of Demeas, Menesaechmus, and many others, and he caused them all to be convicted. He also brought Diphilus to trial, who removed from the silver mines the rock props which supported the weight above and made himself rich from them contrary to the law; and though the penalty for this was death, Lycurgus brought about his conviction, and from the confiscated estate distributed fifty drachmas to every citizen, since the total sum collected was one hundred and sixty talents or, as some say, he distributed a mina to each

a The Torch-bearer was an important functionary in the Eleusinian Mysteries. The office was hereditary.

b Of these only the speech against Leocrates has come down to us.

c The inscription on the base of this statue is probably preserved in I.G. ii. 3776. Another statue stood not far from the Prytaneum; cf. Pausanius, i. 8. 2.

d 307–306 B.C. See the Decree below, 851 ff.
(843) Δεωκράτην καὶ Ἁὐτόλυκον δειλίας. ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἵβις

Ἔβις Λυκοῦργῳ, Χαιρεφώντι νυκτερίς.

κατήγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπωτάτῳ μὲν ἀπ' Ἕρεχθέως τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαιστοῦ· τὰ δὲ ἐγγυτάτῳ ἀπὸ Λυκομήδους καὶ Λυκοῦργον, οὓς ὁ δῆμος ταφαῖς ἐτίμησε δημοσίᾳ· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτὴ ἡ καταγωγὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερασαμένων τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἐν πίνακι τελείῳ, ὅσ ἀνάκειται ἐν Ἕρεχθείω, γεγραμμένος ὑπ' Ἰσμηρίου τοῦ Χαλκίδεως· καὶ εἰκόνες ξύλιναι τοῦ τε Λυκοῦργου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος Λυκοῦργου Λυκόφρονος, ὃς εἰργάσαντο Τίμαρχος καὶ Κηφισόδωτος, οἱ Πραξιτέλους νιεῖς· τὸν δὲ πίνακα ἀνέθηκεν Ἀβρων ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, λαχῶν ἕκ τοῦ γένους τὴν ἱερωσύνην καὶ παραχώρησας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυκόφρονι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεποίηται ὁ Ἀβρων προσδίδοσ αὐτῷ τὴν τρίαναν. πάντων δὲ ὃν διώκησεν ἀναγραφὴν ποιησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν ἐν στήλῃ πρὸ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθείσης παλαίστρας σκοπεῖν τὸς βουλομένως· οὐδεὶς μὲν τοῦ ἐδυνηθῆ ἐλέγξαι τὸν ἄνδρα νοσφισμοῦ. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ἀντικλέους στεφανώσαι καὶ εἰκόνα ἀναθείναι, ὅτι ἐπηγγεῖλατο χρυσώσειν τὸν

1 δειλίας Valesius: δουλείας.
2 Wytenbach suggests that ὃς φησιν Ἀριστοφάνης be added.
3 Χαιρεφώντι Taylor: Ξενοφώντι.
4 ἀπωτάτῳ μὲν ἀπ' Turin editors; ἀπὸ Βούτου καὶ Sauppe; ἀπὸ Βουταδόν καὶ Bernardakis: ἀπὸ τοῦτον καὶ.
5 ξύλιναι Sauppe: ξύλινοι.

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citizen.\(^a\) He it was who called Aristogeiton, Lecrocrates, and Autolycus to account for cowardice. Lycurgus was nicknamed "Ibis."

An ibis for Lycurgus, for Chaerephon a bat.\(^b\)

His family was derived ultimately from Erechtheus, the son of Gaea and Poseidon, but in the nearest generations from Lycomedes and Lycurgus, whom the people honoured with funerals at the public expense; and this succession from father to son of those of the family who have been priests of Poseidon exists on a complete tablet which has been set up in the Erechtheum, painted by Isemnias the Chalcidian; and there are wooden statues of Lycurgus and his sons Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, made by Timarchus and Cephisodotus, the sons of Praxiteles. But the tablet was put up by his son Habron, who received the priesthood by inheritance and handed it over to his brother Lycophron; and that is why Habron is represented as handing Lycophron the trident. And Lycurgus had a record made of all his acts as a public official and set it up on a tablet, for all men to see who wished, in front of the palaestra that he had built; no one, however, could convict him of embezzlement. He made the motion to crown Neoptolemus the son of Anticles and to set up a statue of him because he had promised to gild the

\(^a\) The drachma was worth, in silver, about 9d. or 18 cents, the mina 100 drachmas, the talent 60 minas. The sums mentioned are therefore roughly equivalent to £1:16s. (§9), £40,960 ($172,800), and £3:12s. ($18), but the fluctuations in the value of modern currencies render such calculations very inexact. See Decree III. below, 851 f-852 e.

\(^b\) Aristophanes, Birds, 1296 and scholium. But it was the grandfather of the orator and statesman to whom Aristophanes referred.

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H. ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβούλης τῆς Γύλωνος² θυγατρός, τῶν δὲ δήμων Παιανεύς, κατα-
λειψθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔτων ἑπτὰ μετ' ἀδελφὴς
Β πενταέτιδος³ τὸν μὲν τῆς ὀρφανίας χρόνον παρὰ τῇ
μητρὶ δίηγε, σχολάζων Ἰσοκράτει ὡς τινες ἐφασαν,
ὡς δ' οἱ πλείστοι Ἰσαίῳ τῷ Χαλκιδεῖ, δς ἦν Ἰσο-
κράτους μαθητής, διάγοντες ἐν Ἀθηναῖς, ζηλῶν
Θουκυδίδην καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὃ τινες
ἐπον προηγομένως αὐτὸν⁴ σχολάσαι. ὡς δ' Ἡγη-
σίας ὁ Μάγνης φησίν, ἐδεήθη τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, ἵνα
Καλλιστράτου Ἐμπέδου⁵ Ἀφιδναῖος, ῥήτορος δο-
κίμου καὶ ἰππαρχήσαντος καὶ ἀναθέντος τὸν βωμὸν
τῶν Ἐρμή τῶν ἀγοραίων, μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ
λέγειν, ἀκούσῃ ἀκούσας δ' ἑραστὴς ἐγένετο τῶν
C λόγων. καὶ τούτου μὲν ἐπ' ὅλιγον ἡκουσεν, ἐως
ἐπεδήμει. ἐπειδὴ δ' ὁ μὲν ἐφύγεν εἰς Θράκην ὁ
δ' ἐγεγόνει εξ' ἐφήβων, τηνικαῦτα παρέβαλεν⁶

1 Διοτίμω Westermann: διοτίμω.
2 Γύλωνος Xylander: γυναικὸς τῆς.
3 πενταέτιδος Bernardakis: πενταέτιδος.
4 ὃ τινες . . . αὐτὸν Xylander: ὁν (or oι) τινες . . . αὐτὸ.
5 Ἐμπέδου Pausanias, vii. 16. 4: ἐμπαῖδου.
6 παρέβαλεν Dübner: παρέβαλεν.

ᵃ This altar may have stood in front of the temple of Apollo Patroûs; cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen², p. 345, n. 4.
ᵇ 334–333 B.C.
altar of Apollo \(^a\) in the Market-place in accordance with the God’s prophecy. He also moved a decree granting honours to Diotimus, son of Diopeithes, of the deme Euonymus, in the archonship of Ctesicles.\(^b\)

**VIII. DEMOSTHENES**

Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes and Cleobulê daughter of Gylon, was of the deme Paeania. He was left an orphan at the age of seven years \(^c\) by his father, along with his five-year-old sister, and lived during his minority with his mother. Some say that he went to school to Isocrates, but most authorities say that he went to Isaicus of Chalcis, who was a pupil of Isocrates living in Athens. He imitated Thucydides and also the philosopher Plato, whose instruction, some say, he followed with especial zeal. But Hagesias of Magnesia says that he asked his attendant to let him hear Callistratus of Aphidna, son of Empedus, a noted orator who had been a commander of cavalry and had set up the altar to Hermes-of-the-Market \(^d\) and was about to address the popular assembly; and Demosthenes, when he had heard him speak, fell in love with oratory. Demosthenes heard him, it is true, for only a short time, as long as Callistratus remained in Athens; but when he had been banished to Thrace and Demosthenes had finished his service as ephebe,\(^e\) he went over to Iso-

\(^{154}\) He was born in 384 b.c.; cf. Orations xxx. 15 and xxi. 154.

\(^{a}\) The bronze Hermes Agoraíos was \(\textit{ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἄγορᾳ}\) (schol. Aristoph. \textit{Eq.} 297; cf. Paus. i. 15. 1) and \(\textit{παρὰ τὴν ποικιλὴν}\) (Lucian, \textit{Iup. Trag.} 33).

\(^{b}\) i.e. at the age of twenty. This service, designed to be a training for citizenship, lasted two years.
(814) Ἰσοκράτης καὶ Πλάτωνι· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσαίου ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τετραετῆ χρόνον αὐτὸν¹ διεπόνησε, μιμούμενος αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγους. ὡς δὲ Κτησίβιος φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου πορίσας τοὺς² Ζήθου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου λόγους, διὰ δὲ Χαρικλέους τοῦ Καρυστίου τοὺς Ἀλκιδάμαντος, διελαβὲν³ αὐτοὺς.

Τελειωθεὶς δὲ, ἐλάττω παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων παραλαβῶν, ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπῆς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους ἀρχοντός, τρεῖς ὄντας, "Ἀφοβὸν Θηριππίδην⁴ Δημοφόντα Ἰ Δημέαν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτον κατηγόρησεν ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ὄντος, δέκα τάλαντα τίμημα ἐκάστη τῶν δικών ἐπιγραφάμενον· καὶ εἶλεν αὐτοὺς· τῆς δὲ καταδίκης οὐδὲν ἐπράξατο, τοὺς μὲν ἀφεὶς⁵ ἀργυρίον τοὺς δὲ καὶ χάριτος. Ἀριστοφῶντος δ’ ἡδὴ τὴν προστασίαν διὰ γῆς καταλιπόντος, καὶ χορηγὸς ἐγένετο. Μειδιὰν δὲ τὸν Ἀναγύρασιον πλῆξαντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χορηγοῦντα εἰς κρίσιν καταστήσας, λαβὼν τρισχιλίες ἀφῆκε τῆς δίκης. λέγοντι δ’ αὐτὸν ἐτι νέον ὄντα εἰς στήλαιον ἀπὶέναι κακεὶ φιλολογεῖν τὸ ἡμισὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐυράμενον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχοιτο:

¹ αὐτὸν Xylander: αὐτὸν.
² τοὺς Lambinus: τοῦ.
³ διελαβὲν DÜbner: ἀνέλαβεν.
⁴ Θηριππίδην Reiske: θηριππίδην.
⁵ ἀφεὶς added by Wolf from Photius.

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³ 364–363 B.C.

b This is incorrect. The author seems to have confused Demophon and his father Demeas. Demosthenes accused Aphobus chiefly, and Aphobus was his cousin, not his uncle. Cf. Demosthenes, xxix. (Against Aphobus for False Witness) 59, also 6 and 20: xxviii. (Against Aphobus II.) 15; xxvii. (Against Aphobus I.) 4.

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crates and Plato; then he took Isaeus into his house and for four years exerted himself to imitate his speeches. But Ctesibius says in his work On Philosophy that through Callias of Syracuse he obtained the speeches of Zethus of Amphipolis and through Charicles of Carystus those of Alcidamas and that he studied them thoroughly.

When he attained his majority, because he received from his guardians less than was right, he brought them to trial for their administration, in the archonship of Timocrates. There were three of them: Aphobus, Therippides, and Demophon or Demeas, and he accused the last-named especially, since he was his mother's brother. He fixed the penalty in each suit at ten talents, and he obtained conviction of all three defendants; but he exacted no part of the penalty, for he let them off, some for money and some as an act of grace. When Aristophon at last on account of age resigned political leadership, Demosthenes was even made choregus. And when Meidias of the deme of Anagyros struck him as he was performing his duties in the theatre as choregus, he sued him for the act, but on receipt of three thousand drachmas he dropped the suit. They say that when he was still a young man he withdrew into a cave and studied there, shaving half of his head to keep himself from going out; also that he slept on a

c Aristophon, a second-rate but influential politician, was especially active in the decade preceding the choregia of Demosthenes, but no connexion can be perceived between his retirement and Demosthenes' choregia. He lived to be nearly 100 years old (707).

d An indication of Demosthenes' restored fortune. The choregus was a wealthy man who equipped the chorus for dramas and superintended its training.

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Ε καὶ ἐπὶ στενῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα διὰ ταχέων ἀνιστηται· τὸ τε ῥῶ μὴ δυνάμενον λέγειν ἐκπονήσαι, καὶ τὸν ὄμοιν ἐν τῷ μελετῶν κινοῦντα ἀπρεπῶς καταπαύσαι, παραρτήσαντα ὅβελισκον ἢ ὡς τινὲς εὐφίδιον ἢ τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἵνα φοβοῦμενος ἤρεμοι. προβαίνοντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἵσχυν ἐισοπτρον ἴσομέγειθες αὐτῷ κατασκεύασαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἀφορώντα μελετῶν, ἵν' ἐπανορθωθηται τὰ ἐλλείποντα· καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβόλας τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἵν', εἴ ποτε θορυβοῦ ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκσταῖν· τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος αὐτῷ ἐνδεόντος, Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ ὑποκριτῇ μυρίας δοῦναι, ἵν' ὅλας περιόδους ἀπνεύστως λέγῃ.

'Επεὶ δὲ τῶ πολιτεύεσθαι προσήλθεν, εἰς δύο διηρημένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ τῶν μὲν φιλιππιζόντων τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἔλευθερίας δημηγορούντων, τὴν τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων Φιλίππω τάξιν εἰλετο· καὶ διὰ² παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου διετέλεσε συμβουλεύων τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν ὑπὸ Φιλίππω γενέσθαι βοηθεῖν, συμπολιτευόμενος Ἡπερείδηθι

845 Ναυσικλεί Πολυεύκτῳ Διοτίμῳ· διὸ καὶ συμμάχους τοῖς 'Αθηναίοις ἐποίησε Θηβαῖοι Εὐβοῖος Κερκυραῖος Κορινθίους Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς τούτους. ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ποτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀθυμῶν ἐβάδιζεν οἴκου· συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Εὐνομος ὁ Θριάσιος πρεσβύτης ἡδή ὡν προετρέψατο τῶν Δημοσθένη, μάλιστα δ' ὁ Westermann: Ἡ ἐπικριτῆς Ἀνδρο-
narrow bed in order to get up quickly, and that since he could not pronounce the sound of R he learned to do so by hard work, and since in declaiming for practice he made an awkward movement with his shoulder, he put an end to the habit by fastening a spit or, as some say, a dagger from the ceiling to make him through fear keep his shoulder motionless. They say, too, that as he progressed in his ability to speak he had a mirror made as large as himself and kept his eyes on it while practising, that he might correct his faults; and that he used to go down to the shore at Phalerum and address his remarks to the roar of the waves, that he might not be disconcerted if the people should ever make a disturbance; and that because he was short of breath he paid Neoptolemus the actor ten thousand drachmas to teach him to speak whole paragraphs without taking breath.

And when he entered upon political life, finding that the public men of the city were divided into two parties, one favouring Philip and the other addressing the populace in defence of liberty, he enrolled himself among those opposed to Philip and always constantly advised the people to support the cause of those peoples which were in danger of being subjected by Philip, in which policy he was associated with Hypereides, Nausicles, Polyeuctus, and Diotimus; and thus he also brought the Thebans, Euboeans, Corcyraeans, Corinthians, Boeotians, and many others into alliance with the Athenians. Once he was hissed out of the assembly and was walking home feeling discouraged; but Eunomus of the deme Thria, who was already an old man, happened to meet him and encouraged him, and more than anyone else the actor
(845) νικός εἰπὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλῶς ἔχοιεν λείποι δ' Β αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ἀπεμνημόνευσε τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων· καὶ δὴ πιστεύσαντα τὸν Δημοσθένη παραδόθηκαν αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ. οθὲν ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τινός¹ τί πρῶτον ἐν ρητορικῇ, εἶπεν "ὑπόκρισις"· καὶ τῇ δεύτερῃ "ὑπόκρισις"· καὶ τῷ τρίτῳ "ὑπόκρισις." προ- ελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς τινὰ λέγων διεσύρετο, ὡς κωμῳδηθηναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους

μὰ γὰρ μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νάματα·

ὁμόσας δὲ τούτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ θόρυβον ἐκίνησεν. ὦμνυε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦν, προπαρα- οξύνων Ἀσκληπιοῦν· καὶ παρεδείκνυεν αὐτὸν ὀθρῶς λέγοντα· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἦπιον· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτω 

τοὺς πολλάκις ἐθορυβήθην. σχολάσας δ' Εὐβουλίδη τῷ 

dialekτικῷ Μηλησίῳ ἐπηνωρθώσατο πάντα. γενό- 

μενος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ 'Ολυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει καὶ 

ἀκούσας Λαμάχου τοῦ Τερειναίου² Φίλιππου καὶ 

Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐγκώμιον ἀναγινώσκοντος Ὁθηβαίων δὲ 

καὶ 'Ολυμβίων κατατρέχοντος, παραναστὰς ἀρχαίων 

ποιητῶν μαρτυρίας προηγέκατο περὶ τῶν Ὁθηβαίων 

καὶ 'Ολυμβίως καλῶς πραχθέντων, ὡς παῦσασθαι

¹ τινός added by Meziriacus.

² Τερειναίου] Τερειναίου Lambinus; Μυριναίου Life of Demo-

sthenes, chap. ix.

a A tragic actor of the first part of the fourth century B.C. See O’Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, p. 78. Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, 418
Andronicus,⁴ by telling him that his words were excellent but that his delivery was deficient, and then Andronicus declaimed from memory the speech which Demosthenes had delivered in the assembly; whereupon Demosthenes was convinced and put himself in the hands of Andronicus. Therefore when someone asked him what was the first thing in oratory, he replied "Delivery," and what the second, "Delivery," and the third, "Delivery." ⁵ And when he spoke again in the assemblies he was hissed for some new-fangled expressions, so that Antiphanes and Timocles made fun of him in their comedies,

By earth, by founts, by rivers, and by floods,⁶ for it was by swearing in this way that he had caused an uproar in the assembly. He used also to swear by Asclépius, putting the accent on the third syllable from the end, though it is properly on the final syllable; and he offered a proof that he was right, for he said that the god was "mild" (épios). For this also he often provoked a clamour from the audience. But by going to school to Eubulides the Milesian philosopher he corrected all his faults. Once when he was at the Olympic festival and heard Lamachus of Tereina reading a eulogy of Philip and Alexander and decrying the Thebans and Olynthians, he stood up and quoted the words of the ancient poets testifying to the glorious deeds of the Thebans and Olyn-

chap. vii. assigns to Satyrus about the same relation to the orator’s training as is here assigned to Andronicus.

⁴ On the meaning, broader than that of our "delivery," in Greek rhetoric see Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, iii., ad init.

(845) τε τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν Λάμαχον καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς
D πανηγύρεως. Φίλιπποι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναφέροντας
αὐτῷ τὰς κατ' αὐτοῦ δημηγορίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι "καὶ
αὐτὸς ἄν ἀκούων λέγοντος Δημοσθένους ἐξειρο-
τόνησα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τὸν κατ' ἐμοῦ πόλεμον." ἐκάλει δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ λόγους ὁμοίους τοῖς
στρατιώταις διὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν¹ δύναμιν, τοὺς δ' Ἰσοκράτους τοὺς ἀδικηταῖς· τέρψιν γὰρ παρέχειν
αὐτοὺς θεατρικὴν.

Επετὰ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἑτη γεγονός, λογιζο-
μένοις ἀπὸ Δεξιθέου εἰς Καλλίμαχον, ἐφ' οὗ πρὸς
'Ολυνθίων ἦκε προσβεία περὶ τῆς βοηθείας, ἐπεὶ
Ε ἐπιέξοντο ύπὸ Φίλιππον τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπεισεν ἐκ-
πέμψα τὴν βοηθείαν· τῷ δ' ἔξις, ἐφ' οὗ Πλάτων
ἐτελεύτησε, Φίλιππος ὁ 'Ολυνθίων κατεστρέφατο.
ἔγνω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἡ
ἀρχόμενον ἡ ἀκμάζοντα· τῷ μὲν γὰρ τὰ 'Ἐλληνικὰ
ἐτελεῖτο τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν Μαυτυνεία μάχην, ἀρχοντα
δὲ Χαρικλείδην· ὃ δὲ² πρῶτον ἔπι Τιμοκράτους
ἐίλε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους. 

F καὶ συγκαλυφαμένου, ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν παρεμν-
θῆσαι καὶ τάλαντον ἐδωκεν ἀργυρίον. καὶ συν-

εβούλευσε δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ξενικὸν ἐν Θάσῳ τρέφειν,

¹ πολεμικὴν Xylander from Photius: πομπικήν.
² δὲ] δ' ἦδη Capps.

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a 385–384 B.C.  b 349–348 B.C.
 c 348–347 B.C.  d 363–362 B.C.
 e 324–323 B.C.  f Aeschines brought a suit on grounds of illegality against Ctesiphon, who proposed in 336 B.C. that Demosthenes be
DEMOSTHENES, 845

thians, with the result that Lamachus was silenced and fled from the festival. And Philip said to those who reported to him the public speeches of Demosthenes against him, "I myself, if I had heard Demosthenes speak, would have elected the man general to carry on the war against me." And Philip used to say that Demosthenes' speeches were like soldiers because of their warlike power, but those of Isocrates were like athletes, because they afforded pleasure like that of a show.

When he was thirty-seven years old, reckoning from the archonship of Dexitheus to that of Callimachus, who was in office when an embassy came from the Olynthians asking for help because they were being hard pressed by Philip in the war, he persuaded the Athenians to send the help; but in the following year, in which Plato died, Philip overthrew the Olynthians. Xenophon, the follower of Socrates, knew him either in his youth or in his prime; for Xenophon's Hellenica ended with the battle of Mantinea and the archonship of Charicles, and Demosthenes had already before that time, in the archonship of Timocrates, caused the conviction of his guardians. When Aeschines fled after his condemnation, he followed him on horseback, and Aeschines, thinking he was arresting him, fell at his feet and covered his head, but Demosthenes raised him up, encouraged him, and gave him a talent of silver. And he advised the people to support a force honoured by the city with a golden crown. The case was tried in 330 B.C., when Aeschines delivered his oration Against Ctesiphon and Demosthenes his oration On the Crown. Aeschines received less than one-fifth of the votes of the dicasts, and was therefore condemned to pay a fine of 1000 drachmas and to forfeit the right to bring any similar suit.

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καὶ ἐπὶ τούτω τριηράρχης ἔξεπλευσε. σιτώνης
de γενόμενος καὶ κατηγορθείς κλοπῆς ἄφειθη. Φιλίππου δ᾽ Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβομένου καὶ αὐτὸς
tοὺς ἐν Χαιρωνεία μαχεσμένοις συνεξήλθεν. ὅτε
καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν τάξιν λυπεῖν, φεύγοντος δ᾽ αὐτοῦ
βάτον ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς χλαμύδος, τὸν δ᾽ ἐπιστρα-
φέντα εἰπεῖν "ζώγρει." εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἐπίσημον ἐπὶ
tῆς ἁσπίδος "ἀγαθή τύχη." δ᾽ εἶπε μέντοι τὸν
ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς
tὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ προσελθὼν
καὶ τῶν τεχῶν ἐπιμελητῆς χειροτονηθείς ἀπὸ τῆς
846 ἱδίας οὐσίας εἰσήνεγκε τὸ ἀναλωθὲν ἄργυριον, μνᾶς
ἐκατὸν ἐπίδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωρῶς μυρίας τριήρους τ'
ἐπιβάς περιέπλευσε τοὺς συμμάχους ἄργυρολογῶν.
ἐφ' οἷς πολλάκις ἐστεφανώθη, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπὸ
Δημομελοῦς Ἀριστονίκου Ἑπερείδου χρυσῶν στε-
φάνω, τελευταίοιν δ' ὑπὸ Κτησιφῶντος· καὶ γρα-
φέντος τὸν ψηφίσματος παρανόμων ὑπὸ Διοδότου
καὶ Αἰσχίνου, ἄπολογούμενος ἐνίκησεν, ὡστε τὸ
πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τὸν διώκοντα μὴ
μεταλαβεῖν.

Ὑστερον δ᾽ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρα-
tευμένου καὶ φυγόντος Ἀρσάλου μετὰ χρημάτων

1 ὅτε Wytenbach: ὅθεν.
2 ἀγαθὴ τύχη Dübner from Life of Demosthenes, chap. xx.: ἀγαθὴν τύχην.
3 Ἀριστονίκου Lambinus: ἀριστονίκου.

α In 338 B.C., when Philip destroyed the independence of
Greece.
b Apparently a jest in connexion with the story of his
cowardice.
c This indicates that he had not disgraced himself.
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of mercenaries at Thasos, and sailed out as commander of a trireme on that occasion. After he had been in charge of the food supply he was accused of embezzlement but was acquitted. When Philip had taken Elateia, Demosthenes himself went out with those who fought at Chaeroneia, on which occasion it appears that he deserted his post, and that, as he was running away, a bramble-bush caught his cloak, whereupon he turned and said, "Take me alive." And he had as a device on his shield the words "With good fortune." However, he delivered the funeral address for those who fell. And after that, directing his efforts to the improvement of the city and being elected commissioner in charge of the fortifications, he contributed out of his own pocket the funds expended, amounting to one hundred minae; he also presented ten thousand drachmas for sacred envoys, and he made a cruise in a trireme to the allied cities collecting money. For these activities he was crowned many times, on earlier occasions on motions offered by Demomeles, Aristonicus, and Hypereides with golden crowns, and the last time on the motion of Ctesiphon; and when the decree granting this honour was attacked as illegal by Diodotus and Aeschines, he was so successful in his defence that the accuser did not receive one-fifth of the votes.

And at a later time, when Alexander was campaigning in Asia and Harpalus came fleeing to Athens

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*d* On these contributions cf. Aeschines, iii. (Against Ctesiphon) 17, and Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 118.

*e* Delegations sent to sacred places to attend festivals and the like.

*f* Harpalus, treasurer of Alexander, embezzled a large sum and fled first to Tarsus, then, in 324 B.C., to Greece.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

846) εἰς Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν εἰσ- 
δεχῆναι· ἐπειδὴ δ’ εἰσέπλευσε, λαβὼν δαρεικοὺς 
Βχλίσσοις μετετάξατο· βουλομένων τ’ Ἀθηναίων Ἀντιπάτρω παραδοῦναι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀντέχειν, 
ἐγραφέ τ’ ἀποθέσαν τα χρήματα εἰς ἀκρόπολιν μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰπόντα· φήσαντος δ’ Ἀρπάλου ἐπτακόσια συγκατακομίσαι τάλαντα, τὰ ἀνενεχθέντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εὐρέθῃ τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα η’ ολίγου πλείονα ὦς φησι Θιλό- 
χορος· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φυγόντος Ἀρπάλου ἐκ τοῦ 
δεσμωτηρίου, ἐν ὦ ἐφυλάσσετο μέχρι ἃν ἀφίκηται 
τις παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ πορευθέντος εἰς τὴν 
Κρήτην ἦ ὡς ἔνιοι ἑπὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, 
C αἰτιᾶν ἔσχεν ὁ Δημοσθένης δωροδοκίας, ὡς διὰ 
τοῦτο μῆτε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνακομισθέντων με- 
μηνυκώς μῆτε τὴν τῶν φυλασσόντων ἁμέλειαν. 
eἰσαχθεῖς δ’ εἰς δικαστήριον ὑπὸ Ὀπερείδου Πυθέου 
Μενεσάϊχμον Ἡμεραίου Πατροκλέους, οἱ ἐποίησαν 
καταγγέλων αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή, 
καὶ ἄλος ἐφυγε, πενταπλασίον ἀποτίσαμεν μὴ δυνά- 
μενος (εἰχὲ δ’ αἰτιᾶν τριάκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν), ἦ 
ὡς ἔνιοι ὑπομείνας τὴν κρίσιν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο 
τὸν χρόνον τῶν Ἀθηναίων Πολυευκτὸν πεμβάντων 
D προσβεβήκεν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ὡς 
ἀποστῆναι αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων συμμαχίας, 
καὶ τοῦ Πολυευκτοῦ πείσαμεν μὴ δυναμένον, ἐπι- 
φανεὶς Δημοσθένης καὶ συνειπὼν ἐπείσεν. ἐφ’ ὦ 
θαυμασθεῖς μετὰ χρόνον τινά κάθοδον εὑρατο, ψῆφι-

1 μηδὲ Photius: ἓδη.
2 συγκατακομίσαι . . . εὐρέθη supplied from Photius.
3 τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα Dübner: ἡ πεντήκοντα MSS.; ὀκτὼ καὶ τριακόσια Photius.
4 ὡς Westermann: καὶ.

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with money, at first Demosthenes kept him from being admitted, but after he had entered the harbour, Demosthenes accepted one thousand darics and changed his attitude, and when the Athenians wished to surrender the man to Antipater, he spoke against it and made a motion that Harpalus deposit the money on the Acropolis without even stating the amount to the people; and although Harpalus stated that he had brought with him seven hundred talents, that which was taken up to the Acropolis was found to amount to only three hundred and fifty or a little more, as Philochorus says. And after this, when Harpalus escaped from the prison in which he was being kept until a representative of Alexander should arrive, and had gone to Crete or, as some say, to Taenarum in Laconia, Demosthenes was accused of bribe-taking and of having this reason for not mentioning the amount of the money taken up or the carelessness of the guard. He was brought to trial by Hypereides, Pytheas, Menesaechmus, Himeraeus, and Patrocles, and they obtained his conviction by the Senate of the Areopagus; and after his conviction he went into exile, not being able to pay back five times the amount (he was accused of having accepted thirty talents), or, as some say, he did not wait for the trial. After this time the Athenians sent Polyeuctus as envoy to the commonwealth of the Arcadians in order to detach them from their alliance with the Macedonians, and when Polyeuctus was unable to persuade them, Demosthenes appeared to help him and did persuade them. For this he was admired, and after some time he was permitted to return, a decree in his favour having been passed

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5 Πατροκλέος Αμυοτ (Vatic.): προκλέος.
(846) σματος γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους ἀποσταλέσθης. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ψηφισμένων οἰς ὥφειλε τρίακοντα ταλάντων κοσμῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ σωτῆρος Δίος ἐν Πειραιᾷ καὶ ἀφεῖθαι, τοῦτο γράφαντος τὸ ψῆφισμα Δήμωνος Παιανίεως, ὅς ἦν ἀνεφίσος αὐτῷ, πάλιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν πολιτεύμενος.

'Αντιπάτρου δ' εἰς Λάμειαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἔλληνων Ε συγκλεισθέντος, τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐαγγέλια θυόντων, πρὸς τινα τῶν ἑταίρων Ἀγησίστρατον ἐφη ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. "ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ" εἶπεν "τοὺς Ἑλλήνας στάδιον μὲν πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰδότας καὶ δυναμένους, δόλιον δ' οὐκέτι." Φάρσαλον δ' ἐλόντος 'Αντιπάτρου καὶ πολιορκήσειν ἀπειλοῦντος 'Αθηναίους, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἐκδοίησαν, καταλυσάν οἱ Δήμοσθένης τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγε πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Αἴγιναν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον καθεδούμενος, φοβηθεὶς δ' εἰς Ἐλαυνίαν μετέστη. ἐκδιδόναι δὲ τοὺς ῥήτορας Φ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ψηφισμένων κάκεινον, καθέξετο ἰκέτης ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἱερῷ ἐλθόντος δ' ἐπὶ αὐτὸν Ἀρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδοθῆρου ἐπικαλουμένου, ὅς παρέβαλεν Ἀναξιμένεις τῷ ῥήτορι καὶ πείθοντος αὐτὸν ἀναστήναι, ἡς φιλὸν Ἀντιπάτρῳ γεννησομενον, εἶπεν ὅτι "οὔτε, ὅτε ἑτραγῳδεῖς, ἐπειθές με οὔτε νῦν πείσεις συμβουλεύων"· τοῦ δ' ἐπι- χειροῦντος βιάζεσθαι, ἐκώλυσαν αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ

1 γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους Photius: χρηματίζοντος τριήρους.
2 ois Photius: εἰς α.
3 ταλάντων κοσμῆσαι supplied by Bernardakis after Photius and Sintenis.
4 ἐπὶ Dübner: ἐν.
5 τὸ Αἰάκειον Xylander: τὸν ἀκραίον.

* A stadium was about equal to a furlong and was the usual short-distance run. The dolichos was twenty stadia.
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and a trireme dispatched to bring him. When the Athenians passed a decree proposed by his cousin Demon of Paeania that he should use the thirty talents which he owed in adorning the altar of Zeus the Saviour at Peiraeus and should then be absolved, he returned on those conditions to public life.

When Antipater was shut up in Lamia by the Greeks, and the Athenians were making thank-offerings for the good news, he said to his friend Agesistratus that he did not agree with the rest about these matters, “for,” he said, “I know that the Greeks have both the knowledge and the strength for a stadium dash in warfare, but cannot hold out for a long-distance run.” When Antipater had taken Pharsalus and threatened to besiege the Athenians unless they surrendered the orators, Demosthenes left the city and fled first to Aegina to sit as suppliant in the sanctuary of Aeacus, but was frightened and changed over to Calauria; and when the Athenians voted to surrender the orators including himself, he took his seat as a suppliant there in the temple of Poseidon. And when Archias, nicknamed “Exile-Hunter,” who had been a pupil of the orator Anaximenes, came to fetch him and urged him to leave his sanctuary, indicating that Antipater would receive him as a friend, he said, “Your acting in tragedy was not convincing to me, nor will your advice be convincing now”; and when Archias tried to use force, the authorities of the city prevented him, and Demo-

b This Archias was a tragic actor recorded as victor at the Lenaea circa 330 B.C. in I.G. ii.2 2325 n. Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxviii. names several other prominent Athenians “hunted down” by him, among them Hypereides. Cf. p. 441 below. Another version of Demosthenes’ retort to Archias is given ibid. 29.
τὴν πόλιν· καὶ Δημοσθένης ἔφη "οὐ σωτηρίας δεόμενος κατέφυγον εἰς Καλαυρίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλέγξων
847 Μακεδόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν βιασομένους
αἰτήσας τε γραμματείον ἔγραφεν, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ
μάγνης φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγεῖον
ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὑστερον

ἐπερ ἵς ἡ γυνὴ, Δημόσθενε, ἔσχες,
οὐποτ' ἀν Ἑλλήνων ἥρξεν "Ἀρης Μακεδών.

κεῖται δ' ἦς εἰκὼν πλησίον τοῦ περισχοινίσματος
καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ Πολυεύκτου
πεποιημένη. ὡς δ' ἐνιοῖ φασι, τοῦτο εὐρέθη γε-
γραμμένον "Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ χαίρειν."
ἀποθανείν δ' αὐτὸν Φιλόχορος μὲν φησί φάρμακον
πιόντα, Σάτυρος δ' ὁ συγγραφεὺς τὸν κάλαμον
Β πεφαρμάχθαι, ὃ γράφειν ἥρξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ
γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν. Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐκ πολλοῦ
δεδουκότα Μακεδόνας περὶ τῶν βραχίων κρίκον περι-
κεῖσθαι πεφαρμαγμένον. εἰσὶ δ' οἱ φασὶ συσχόντα
αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθανεῖν· οἱ δ' εἶπον τοῦ κατὰ
τὴν σφραγίδα φαρμάκου γευσάμενον. ἐβίω δ' ὡς
μὲν οἱ τὰ πλεῖώ λέγουσιν ἑτη ἐβδομήκοντα, ὡς δ' οἱ
τὰ ἐλάττω, ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐπολυτέυσατο4
dὲ δύο καὶ εἰκοσιν.

1 καὶ τὰ Photius: καὶ κατὰ.
2 βιασομένους Dübner: βιασαμένους.
3 ἦ added by Dübner.
4 ἐβίω . . . ἐπολυτεύσατο Salmasius from Photius: lacking in the mss.

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a See Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 331.
b This was a large area in the Market Place which was enclosed at ostracisms, and perhaps at other times, within a

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sthenes said, "I took refuge in Calauria, not to save my life, but to convict the Macedonians of using force even against the sanctuaries of the gods," and asking for writing materials he wrote—so Demetrius of Magnesia says—the distich which was later inscribed by the Athenians upon his statue:

Had you possessed but the strength, Demosthenes, like to your spirit,
Never would Macedon's war Greece to submission have brought.\(^a\)

The statue, a work of Polyeuctus, is placed near the Roped-off Enclosure\(^b\) and the altar of the Twelve Gods. But according to some authorities he was found to have written "Demosthenes to Antipater, greeting."\(^c\) Philochorus\(^d\) says that he died by drinking poison, but Satyrus the historian says that the pen with which he began to write the letter was poisoned, and he died by sucking it; and Eratosthenes says that for a long time he wore a poisoned bracelet on his arm through fear of the Macedonians. There are those who say that he died by holding his breath, but others assert that it was by sucking poison from his seal ring. He lived, according to those who give the higher number, seventy years, according to those who give the lower, sixty-seven. He was active in politics twenty-two years.

Since the contiguous altar of the Twelve Gods has recently (\textit{vide} Shear in \textit{Hesperia}, iv. pp. 355 ff.) been uncovered in the northern part of the Agora, this enclosure can no longer, with Judeich (\textit{Topographie von Athen}, p. 250), be placed in the south-west area, on the slopes of the Areopagus.

\(^a\) These were the words usually employed at the beginning of letters.
(847) Ἡνίκα δὲ Фιλιππος ἐτεθνήκει, λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα προῆλθεν ἔχων, καὶ τοῖς θυγατρῶς αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ τετελευτηκύας, ἐφηδόμενος τῷ τοῦ Μακεδόνος Θανάτῳ. συνήργησε δὲ καὶ Θηβαῖοι πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας ἐπέρρωσεν αἱ ἕνδυσεν κατασκάβας ἐξήτειν παρ’ Ἀθηναίων Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτόν, ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ δοίησαν. ὁ πρῶτος ἐπὶ Πέρσας καὶ αὐτούς ναυτικὸν παρ’ Ἀθηναίων ἀντεύπνευ, ἀδηλον εἰπὼν, εἰ οὔ κατὰ τῶν παρασχόντων χρῆσεται.

Κατέλευπε δὲ δύο παιδάς ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς τῶν εὐδοκίμων, Ἡλιοδώρου τινὸς θυγατρός· θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν ἐσχεν, ἡ παῖς ἔτι οὕτα πρὸς γάμου ἐπετελέσθησεν· εἰχὲ δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴν, εἶ ἦς καὶ Λάχου Λευκονοέως ἀδελφιδοὺς αὐτῷ Δημοκάρης ἐγένετο, ἀνήρ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους οὐδενὸς χείρων. ἦστι δ’ αὐτοῦ εἰκὸν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ εἰσιῶντων πρὸς τὴν ἐστίαν ἐν δεξίᾳ δ’ πρῶτος περιεξώσμενος ἁμα τῷ ἱματίῳ καὶ ἐξίφος· οὕτω γάρ δημηγορῆσαι λέγεται, ἥνικα Ἀντίπατρος ἐξήτει τοὺς ῥήτορας. χρόνῳ δ’ ὑστερον Ἀθηναίοι σήτησιν τ’ ἐν πρυτανείῳ τοῖς συγγενεῖ στοι Δημοσθένους ἔδωσαν καὶ αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ Ποργίου ἄρχοντος, αἰτησαμένου αὐτῷ τὰς δωρεὰς

1 ἐξήτει Sintenis: ἐξήτει.
2 εὐδοκίμων Meziriacus: εὐδοκίμων.
3 δὲ added by Dübner.
Λευκονοέως Westermann: λευκονέως.
5 ἐν added by Westermann.
6 ἐξήτει Lambinus: ἐξήτει.

336 B.C.
See Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxii.
When Philip died, Demosthenes came out from his house dressed in a white garment, in spite of the fact that his daughter had lately died, thus showing his joy at the death of the Macedonian. He also assisted the Thebans when they were at war with Alexander, and he always encouraged the rest of the Greeks; for which reason Alexander after razing Thebes demanded him of the Athenians and threatened them if they should refuse to surrender him. And when Alexander was making war on the Persians and called upon the Athenians for a naval force, he spoke against it, saying that it was not clear whether Alexander would not employ the force against those who furnished it.

He left two sons by one wife of noble family, daughter of a certain Heliodorus; and he had one daughter who died unmarried while still a child. He had also a sister to whom and her husband Laches of Leuconoë his nephew Demochares was born, a man both brave in war and inferior to none in political speeches. There is a statue of him in the Prytaneum, the first on the right as you go in towards the hearth, wearing both a cloak and a sword; for he is said to have worn this costume in addressing the people when Antipater was demanding the surrender of the orators. At a later time the Athenians voted maintenance in the Prytaneum to the relatives of Demosthenes and erected to him after his death the statue in the Market-place, in the archonship of Gorgias.

The grants to him were requested by his nephew

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\(^c\) The Prytaneum was the building in which the Prytanes who formed the executive committee of the Senate held their meetings. Maintenance in the Prytaneum was often voted in recognition of service to the state.

\(^a\) See above, 847 A.

\(^b\) 280–279 B.C.
τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ Δημοχάρους· ὦ καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ
υιὸς Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς ἦττόσατο δω-
Ερεάς ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος, δεκάτω ύστερον
ἐτει, ἐς τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος στάσιν ἐν ἀγορᾶ καὶ
σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ εὐγόνων ἀεὶ τῶ
πρεσβυτάτω καὶ προεδρίᾳ ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς ἄγωσι.
καὶ ἔστι τὰ ψηφίσματα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀνα-
γεγραμμένα, ἡ δ᾽ εἰκὼν τοῦ Δημοχάρους εἰς τὸ
πρυτανείον μετεκομισθῇ, περὶ ἡς προείρηται.

Φέρονται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἑξήκοντα πέντε.
φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ ἀσώτως αὐτὸν βιῶναι, γυναικείας
τ᾽ ἐσθησι χρόμενον καὶ κωμάζοντα ἐκάστοτε, οἴθεν
Βάταλον ἐπικληθῆναι. οἱ δ᾽ ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ

F ὁνόματος τῆς τροφοῦ λέγουσιν αὐτὸν οὔτω λελο-
δορήσθαι. Διογένης δ᾽ ὁ κύων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν
ποτ᾽ ἐν κατηλείῳ αἰσχυνόμενον καὶ ὑποχωρώντα,
ἐλπεν ὡς μᾶλλον ὑποχωρέεις, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐν
τῷ κατηλείῳ ἐση.' ἔλεγε δ᾽ αὐτὸν παρασκώπτων
ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις Σκύθην εἶναι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μάχαις
ἀστικῶν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ Ἐφιάλτου χρυσίον
ἐνὸς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὃς πρεσβεύσας πρὸς βασιλέα
χρήματα φέρων ἤκε λάθρα, ὡς διανεῖμας τοῖς
dημαγωγοῖς τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐξάψῃ πόλεμον.

848 καὶ ἰδίᾳ αὐτὸν δωροδοκήσας παρὰ βασιλέως φασὶ
dαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίον. Ἀναξίλαν δὲ τινὰ Ὄρείτην,
ξένον αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, συλλαβῶν ἐβασάνιζεν ὡς
κατάσκοπον, οὐδὲν δ᾽ ἐξειπόντα ἐψηφίσατο τοῖς

1 Λευκονοεὺς Westermann: λευκονοεὺς.
2 ἐτει added by Xylander.
3 δὲ added by Bernardakis.
4 Ἀναξίλαν Ἀνάξιλον Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown),
137, Aeschines, iii. (Against Ctesiphon), 223.
Demochares, for whom in turn his son Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoë, asked in the archonship of Pytharatus,\(^a\) the tenth year after, for grants extending to the erection of the statue in the Marketplace, maintenance in the Prytaneum for Demochares and his eldest descendant in perpetuity, and front seats at all competitive spectacles. And the decrees in favour of both are inscribed, but the statue of Demochares mentioned above was transferred to the Prytaneum.

Sixty-five genuine speeches of Demosthenes are current. Some say that he lived a dissolute life, wearing women’s clothes and indulging in revels on every occasion, on which account he was nicknamed Batalus\(^b\); but others say that this was a diminutive derived from the name of his nurse and was given to him in reproach. And Diogenes the Cynic, seeing him once in a tavern looking ashamed and trying to withdraw from sight, said, “The more you withdraw, the more you will be in the tavern.” And he jeered at him, saying that in his speeches he was a Scythian, but in battle a city man. He received money from Ephialtes also, one of the politicians, who had been on an embassy to the King of Persia and came secretly bringing funds for distribution among the politicians for the purpose of stirring up the war against Philip; and they say that he received a private bribe of three thousand darics from the King. He arrested a certain Anaxilas of Oreus, who had been a guest-friend of his, subjected him to torture as a spy, and when he confessed nothing proposed a decree

\(^a\) 271–270 B.C.

\(^b\) Cf. Aeschines, i. (Against Timarchus) 131. The nickname is also said to refer to his stammering.

1 ἀν added by Dübner.
2 διακριβῶν Lambinus: διακρίνων.

a “An ass’s shadow” was proverbial for things utterly trivial.

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that he be handed over to the executioners. And once when he was being prevented by the Athenians from speaking in the assembly, he said that he only wished to speak briefly to them, and when they became silent he said, "A young man in the summer time hired an ass to go from the city to Megara. When noon came and the sun was blazing fiercely, both he and the owner of the ass wished to lie down in its shadow. Each tried to prevent the other from so doing, the owner maintaining that he had rented him the ass, not its shadow, and the one who had hired the ass that he had complete rights in him." When he had said this, he began to go away; and when the Athenians stopped him and asked him to tell the rest of the tale, he said, "You are willing to listen when I speak about the shadow of an ass, but when I speak of serious matters, you refuse." Once when Polus the actor told him that he received a talent as pay for acting two days, he replied, "And I five talents for being silent one day." And when his voice failed in the assembly and the people jeered at him, he said "It is actors who should be judged by their voices, but statesmen by their opinions." And when Epicles rebuked him for always preparing his speeches, he said, "I should be ashamed to speak off-hand to such a great people." They say that he never put out his lamp until he was fifty years old—polishing his speeches. And he says himself that he was a water-drinker. Lysias the orator was acquainted with him, and Isocrates saw him engaged in public affairs until the battle of Chaeroneia, as did some of the Socratic philosophers. He delivered most of his

\[\text{Demosthenes, vi. (Second Philippic) 30; xix. (False Legation) 46.}\]
(848) ἐπεν αὐτοσχεδιάσας, εὗ πρὸς αὐτὸν πεφυκὼς. 

Πρῶτος δ' ἐγραψε στεφανωθήναι αὐτῶν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Ἀριστόνικος Νικόφανου Ἀναγυράσιος, ὑπωμόσατο δὲ Διώνδας.

Θ'. ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΗΣ

'Ὑπερείδης' Γλαυκίππον μὲν ἂν πατρὸς τοῦ Διονυσίου, τῶν δὲ δήμων Κολλυτεύς. ἔσχε δ' 

υίον ὄμωνυμον τῷ πατρὶ Γλαύκιππον, ρήτορα καὶ λόγονς συγγράφαντα· οὗ πάλιν Ἀλφίνους ἐγένετο. 

ἀκροατής δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλοσόφου ἀμα Λυκούργου καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ρήτορος 

Ε ἐπολυτεύσατο Ἀθήνης, καθ' ὃν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος 

tῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἠπτετο πραγμάτων· καὶ περὶ τῶν 

στρατηγῶν ἄν ἤτει παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἀντεῖπε, καὶ 

περὶ τῶν τριήρων· συνεβουλευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ 

Ταυνάρῳ εὐνικὸν μὴ διαλύσαι, οὗ Χάρης ἣγεῖτο, 

eὐνόως πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν διακείμενος. τὸ δὲ 

πρῶτον μισθὸν δίκας ἔλεγε. δόξας δὲ κεκοινωνη-

κέναι τῶν Περσικῶν χρημάτων Ἐφιάλτη τριήρ-

ἀρχὸς τε αἱρεθεῖς, οὗτοι Ἀλκάντιον ἐπολιορκεῖ 

Φίλιππος, βοηθὸς Βασιλείου ἐκπεμφθεῖς, κατὰ τὸν 

ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ὑπέστη χορηγῆσαι, τῶν ἄλλων

1 αὐτὸ Reiske: αὐτοῦ.

2 Υπερείδης] usually υπερίδης in mss.

3 τῶν δὲ δήμων Westermann: τὸν δὲ δήμον.

4 Λυκούργος Blum: λυκούργου.

This does not agree with what has been said above about his preparing all his speeches.

In the Athenian courts of law the parties to a suit were obliged to speak in person, therefore those who were not sure of their own ability hired others to write their speeches, which they learned by heart and delivered.

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speeches extemporaneously, as he was well endowed for that by nature. The first who moved that he be crowned with a crown of gold was Aristonicus of Anagyrus, son of Nicophanes, but Diondas prevented it by an affidavit.

IX. HYPEREIDES

Hypereides was the son of Glaucippus and grandson of Dionysius, of the deme of Collytê. He had a son, Glaucippus, named after his grandfather, who was an orator and writer of speeches. He in turn had a son Alphinous. After being a pupil of the philosopher Plato, along with Lycurgus, and of the orator Isocrates, Hypereides entered upon public life at Athens at the time when Alexander was interfering in the affairs of Greece. And he spoke in opposition to him concerning the generals whose surrender he demanded of the Athenians and concerning the triremes. He also advised against disbanding the mercenary force at Taenarum under the command of Chares, since he was well disposed towards that general. At first he pleaded in suits at law in return for a fee. And since he was believed to have shared the Persian funds with Ephialtes, and was elected trierarch when Philip was besieging Byzantium, he was sent out to aid the Byzantines; and in that year he bore the expense of a chorus.

The comic poets of the time were very free with such insinuations, e.g. Timocles in his Delos (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. ii. p. 432) mentions both Demosthenes and Hypereides.

Such offices or "liturgies" were imposed upon wealthy men only, and the fact that he undertook one may have led to the belief that he partook of the Persian funds, or that belief may have led to the imposition of the offices.
F leitourgyias pasis afeimesow. egrafe de kai 
Deltaimosenei tis tis, kai tou psifismatos upo Lioeida 
paranomw grafedontos apefuge. filos de 'in tois 
peri Deltaimosenei kai Lusiklva kai Lukoirdw, ouk 
evmeine mechi telous: all' etpei Lusiklva men kai 
Lukoirdwos etevnikesaw, Deltaimoseneis de 'in par' 
'Arpalou dwoirodokias ekriveto, proxeirwtheis ex 
apantw (monos gar emeinen adwrodokhtos) kath-
egorhsean autw. kritheis de upo tov 'Aristogeitonov 
paranomw epit tw grafai metata Xairaneian tovs 
etoikous politas poilsas thau tovs de doulous 
elvetrous, iera de kai paides kai gynaikas eis ton 
PieiraiA apothesthai, apefugev. aitiwmenwv de 
tinwv auton ws paridonta pollos vmos en tw 
psifismati, 'epeskotei, 'eph, 'moi ta Makedonwv 
opia' kai 'ouk2 enw to psifisma egraiva h de en 
Xairwneia machi.' metata mentoi tou tov nekrowv 
edwken anaireswi o Filippow phobsheis, prwterov 
oi doui tois elthwsen ek Lepadelvas khrwv. 
useterov de metata ta peri Kranwona3 sumbanata 
exaiytheis upo 'Antipatrau kai melwv ekididosebai 
B upo tov dhmwv efugev en tws polews eis Aigwv 
ama tois katepsiromenos kai sumbalwv Delmo-

1 Deltaimosenei Reiske after Photius: Deltaimoseneous.
2 kai ouk Photius: ouk.
3 Kranwona Blass: kranoiwv.

a The shadow of the shields made him fail to see the laws 
taking paridonta literally.

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when others were released from all contributions to the public service. He also proposed honours for Demosthenes, and when suit was brought by Dionidas on the ground that the decree was contrary to law, he was acquitted. Although he was a friend of Demosthenes, Lysicles, Lycurgus, and their associates, he did not remain so to the end; but when Lysicles and Lycurgus were dead and Demosthenes was being tried for receiving bribes from Harpalus, he was chosen from all the orators (for he alone was unbribed) and brought the accusation against him. And when he was brought to trial by Aristogeiton for illegal conduct in proposing a decree after the battle of Chaeroneia to grant citizenship to the resident aliens, to set the slaves free, and to put the sacred objects, the children, and the women in Peiraeus for safekeeping, he was acquitted. And when certain persons blamed him for having disregarded many laws in his decree, he said, “The shields of the Macedonians cast a shadow over my eyes,” and “It was not I, but the battle of Chaeroneia, that proposed the decree.” After this, however, Philip was frightened and granted permission to remove the bodies of the slain, though before that he had refused it to the heralds who came from Lebadeia. Later, however, after the battle of Crannon, when his surrender was demanded by Antipater and the people was on the point of surrendering him, he fled from the city to Aegina along with those against whom decrees had been passed. Here he met Demosthenes and excused

After the death of Alexander the Great the Greeks revolted, but they lacked leadership, and when they were defeated in an engagement at Crannon, Thessaly, in August 322 B.C., the Greek states came to terms separately with Antipater.
849) σθένει καὶ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπολογησάμενος, ἀπαλλαγεῖς ἐκεῖθεν, ὦτ' Ἀρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδοθῆρου ἐπικληθέντος, Θουρίου μὲν τὸ γένος ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τότε δὲ τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ βοηθοῦντος, ἐλήφθη πρὸς βίαν ἐν τῷ ἑρῷ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἐχόμενος τοῦ 1 ἀγάλματος· καὶ ἀχθεῖς πρὸς Ἀντιπάτρον εἰς Κόρινθον, ἔπειτα βασανίζομενος, διέφαγε τὴν γλώτταν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐξειπεῖν τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀπορρήτων διυηθῆναι· καὶ οὕτως Ὁ ἐτελεύτησε, Πυανεμώνοις ἐνάτῃ ἑσταμένοις. Ἐρ-μύπτος δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν γλωττοτομηθῆναι εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἑλθόντα καὶ ῥφῆναι ἀταφον, Ἀλφῖνων δ' ἀνεμιδὼν ἄντα αὐτῷ ἥ, ὡς τινες, Γλαυκίππου τοῦ υἱοῦ 2 τοῦ υἱοῦ διὰ Φιλοπείθους τινὸς ἱατροῦ λαβόντα ἐξουσίαν τοῦ σώματος καῦσαι αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστά κομίσαι εἰς Ἀθήνας τοῖς προσήκουσι παρὰ τὰ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Μακεδόνων δόγματα· οὐ μόνον γὰρ κελεύσαι αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταφῆναι. οἱ δ' ἐν Κλειναῖς ἀποθάνειν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀπαχθέντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου γλωττο-τομηθῆναι καὶ διαφαρῆναι ὁ προείρηται τρόποι τούς δ' οἰκείους τὰ ὀστά λαβόντας 3 θάψαι τε ἀμα τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησιν Θ 'Ηλιόδωρος 4 ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ Μυμάτων. υνὶ δὲ κατερήρειται τὸ μνήμα καὶ ἐστιν ἀδηλον.

Πάντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν διενεχθεῖν λέγεται· τέτακται δὲ ὑπ' ἐνών πρὸ Δημοσθένους. φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἐβδομήκοντα ἐπτά, ὡν

1 τοῦ added by Blass.
2 τοῦ υἱοῦ Bernardakis: τινὸς or υἱοῦ.
3 Blass, followed by Bernardakis, marks a gap here.
himself for his disagreement with him. After leaving Aegina he was seized forcibly by Archias, nicknamed "The Exile-Hunter" (a Thurian by birth, at first an actor, but at that time an assistant of Antipater), in the temple of Poseidon while clinging to the statue of the god. He was brought to Antipater at Corinth, and when put to the torture he bit off his tongue that he might not be able to utter any secrets of his native city. And in this way he died, on the ninth day of the month of Pyanepsion. But Hermippus says that he went to Macedonia, where his tongue was cut out and he was thrown out unburied, and that Alphinous, who was his cousin (or, as some say, the son of his son Glaucippus), obtained possession of the body by the aid of a physician named Philopeithes, burned it and brought the bones to Athens to his relatives contrary to the decrees of the Athenians and the Macedonians; for they had ordered, not only that he be exiled, but that he be not even buried in his own country. And others say that he died at Cleonae after being brought there with the rest, where his tongue was cut out and he perished in the manner related above; and that his relatives obtained the bones and buried them with his ancestors before the gates of the Hippades, as Heliodorus says in the third book of his work On Monuments. But now the monument has fallen in ruins and cannot be identified.

He is said to have excelled all in addressing the people; and by some critics he is ranked above Demosthenes. Seventy-seven speeches are current

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*a* See above, p. 427, note b.

*b* At Hermionê.


*d* At Athens, probably south-east from the Acropolis.
(849) γνήσιοι εἰςι πεντήκοντα δύο. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερῆς, ὡς ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν τὸν ύδων εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ Μυμρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἐταίραν, ἐν Πειραιᾷ δ’ ἔχειν Ἀρισταγόραν, ἐν Ἑλευσίνη δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις κτήμασι Φίλαν τήν.  
Ε Θηβαίαν, εἶκοσι μινῶν λυτρωσάμενος. ἐποιεῖτο τε τὸν περίπατον ἐν τῇ ἱερουσαλιμίῳ ὀσμέραι. ὁμιλητικὸς δὲ, ὡς εἰκός δὴ, καὶ Φύλη τῇ ἑταίρᾳ ἀσβεῖν κρινομένη συνεστάθη; αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ. μελλοῦσης δ’ αὐτῆς ἀλισκεσθαι, παραγαγὼν εἰς μέσον καὶ περιρρήξας τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐπέδειξε τα στέρνα τῆς γυναικὸς. καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδότων, ἀφείθη. συνετίθει δ’ ἰσουκῇ κατὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐγκλήματα, ὡς καὶ φωραθέναι νοσοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ Υπερείδου, Φ ήκοντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Δημοσθένη ὡς ἐπισκεφτομενὸν καταλαβεῖν κατέχοντα τὸ καθ’ αὐτοῦ βιβλίον. τούτου δ’ ἀγανακτοῦντος, εἰπε “φίλον μὲν ὄντα οὕτεν λυπῆσει, ἐχθρόν δὲ γενόμενον κωλύσει τι κατ’

1 Φίλαν τὴν Keil, from Athenaeus, p. 590 d: φίλην.
2 ὁμιλητικὸς δὲ (Bücheler) ὡς εἰκός δὴ, καὶ Capps; ὁμιλητικὸς δὲ καὶ Bücheler; ἐκδικώς. καὶ δίκη Blass; ὡς εἰκός δὲ καὶ δίκη. For καὶ δίκη Bernardakis prefers καὶ δίκη.
4 οὐδὲν Reiske: οὐδένα.

* Only small fragments of these were preserved until, at various times in the nineteenth century, six more or less complete orations were discovered in Egyptian papyrus manuscripts.

b Another comic gibe against a public man supposed to be a gourmand. Athenaeus viii. 341 ff. quotes from the Delos and Icarians of Timocles gossip of this kind against Hypereides.

c The traditional text is certainly corrupt; cf. critical
under his name, fifty-two of which are genuine. He was also very prone to sexual indulgence, so that he turned his son out of the house and brought in Myrrhina, the most expensive prostitute, kept Aristagora in Peiraeus, and at his own estate in Eleusis kept the Theban girl Phila, whom he had ransomed for twenty minas. He used to walk in the Fish-market every day. And, as it is indeed reasonable to suppose, it was because he had been intimate also with Phryne the courtesan that when she was on trial for impiety he became her advocate; for he makes this plain himself at the beginning of his speech. And when she was likely to be found guilty, he led the woman out into the middle of the court and, tearing off her clothes, displayed her breasts. When the judges saw her beauty, she was acquitted. He quietly compiled accusations against Demosthenes and the fact became known; for once, when he was ill, Demosthenes came to his house to visit him and found him with the document against himself in his hand; and when Demosthenes was angry, Hypereides said, “It will do you no harm while you are my friend, but if you become my enemy, it will prevent your doing anything against notes. The inference seems to have been drawn from the orator’s amatory record that his advocacy of Phryne at her famous trial was due to an intimacy with her. An advocate was never “examined with” the defendant.

* This version is found also in Athenaeus xiii. 590 e, but the comic poet Poseidippus in his Ephesian Lady (ibid. 591 e; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 339) attributes Phryne’s acquittal to her own arts.

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εμοῦ πράξαι." ἐφησάσατο δὲ καὶ τιμᾶς Ἰόλα τῷ
dοκούντι Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ φάρμακον δούναι. ἐκοι-
νώνησε δὲ καὶ Δεωσθένει2 τοῦ Λαμακοῦ πολέμου,
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεσοῦν εἴπε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον θαυμασίως.
Φιλίππου δὲ πλεῖν ἐπ' Εὐβοίας παρεσκευασμένον καὶ
tῶν Ἀθηναίων ευλαβῶς ἐχόντων, τεσσαρά-
kοντα τριήρεις ἦθροισεν ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ πρῶτος
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπέδωκε δύο τριήρεις.
850 συστάντως δὲ πρὸς Δηλίους ἀμφισβητήματος, ποτέ-
ρους δεὶ προϊστασθαί τοῦ ἱεροῦ, αἱρεθέντος Αἰσχύνον
συνειπεῖν, ἢ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ Ὑπερείδην
ἐχειροτόνησεν καὶ ἔστων ὁ λόγος Δηλικὸς ἐπι-
γεγραμμένος. ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Ροδίους.
ἡκόντων δὲ καὶ παρ' Ἀντιπάτρου πρέσβεων,
ἐπαινοῦντων τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ὡς χρηστόν, ἀπαν-
τήσας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν, "οἴδαμεν3 ὅτι χρηστὸς ὑπάρχει,
ἀλλ' ἦμείς γ' οὗ δεόμεθα χρηστὸν δεσπότου." 
λέγεται δ' ἀνευ ὑποκρίσεως δημηγορήσας καὶ μόνο
Β διηγείσθαι τὰ πραξθέντα καὶ τούτοις οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖν
τοὺς δικαστάς. ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Ηλείους
ἀπολογησόμενος υπὲρ Καλλίππου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ,
ἔχοντος αἰτίαν φθείρα τὸν ἀγώνα, καὶ ἐνίκησε.
γραφάμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Φωκίων δωρεάν, ἤν εἶπε
Μειδίας Μειδίου Ἀναγνώσιος ἐπὶ Ξενίου ἄρχοντος,
Γαμηλίων ἐβδόμη φθίνοντος, ἥττηθη.

1 δοκοῦντι Reiske: δόντι.
2 Δεωσθένει Xylander: δημοσθένη.
3 οἴδαμεν Xylander from Photius: οἶδα μέν; cf. Stobaeus,
Ecl. iii. 13. 51 (xiii. 31 Mein.).

a The belief that Alexander died of poison was apparently
unfounded.
b In 323–322 B.C. after Alexander's death, when the Greeks
under Leosthenes besieged the Macedonian Antipater in
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me." He also proposed a decree conferring honours upon Iolas, who was supposed to have given Alexander the poison. He took part with Leosthenes in the Lamian War and delivered the funeral oration for the fallen in marvellous fashion. When Philip was preparing to sail against Euboea, and the Athenians were afraid, he assembled forty triremes by private contributions, and in his own name and his son's he gave two triremes, the first contribution made. And when a dispute arose with the Delians as to which people should have control of the sanctuary, although Aeschines was chosen Athenian advocate, the senate of the Areopagus elected Hypereides; and his speech is the one entitled The Delian. He was also an envoy to the Rhodians. And when envoys came from Antipater and praised their sender as a good man, in replying to them he said, "We know that he is good, but we do not want a good master." It is said that in addressing the public he did not employ the actor's art, that he merely related the facts of the case and did not bore the jurors even with these. He was sent also to the Eleans to defend the athlete Callippus against the charge of having used corruption in the contest, and he won his case; but when he brought a suit against the grant of a gift for Phocion, which Meidias, son of Meidias, of the deme Anagyros, proposed in the archonship of Xenias, on the twenty-fourth day of Gamelion, he was defeated.

Lamia near Thermopylae. A large part of Hypereides' funeral oration is preserved.

An archon Xenias is unknown. Euxenippus, suggested by Schäfer, was archon in 305–304 B.C., but Hypereides was then dead. Possibly the archon Archias, 346–345 B.C., is intended, in which case the gift for Phocion may have had some connexion with the battle of Tamynae.
Δείναρχος Σωκράτους ἢ Σωστράτου, ὡς μὲν τινες ἐγχώριος, ὡς δὲ τις δοκεῖ Κορίνθιος, ἀφικό-C μενος εἰς Ἀθῆνας ἐτι νέος, καθ' ὅν χρόνον Ἀλέξαν-δρος ἐπηκέ1 τὴν Ἀσίαν, κατοικήσας αὐτόθι ἄκροατής μὲν ἐγένετο Θεοφράστου τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν Ἀριστοτέλους διατριβήν, ὡμίλησε δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Φαληρεῖ. μάλιστα δὲ προσῆλ τῷ2 πολιτευόμεθα μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν ἀνηρμένων ἤτόρων τῶν δὲ πεφευγότων. φίλος δὲ Κασάνδρῳ γενόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον προέκοψε χρήματα τῶν λόγων εἰσπραττόμενος, οὐς τοῖς δεο-μένοις συνέγραφεν· ἀντετάξατο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπι-φανεστάτους τῶν ἤτόρων, οὐκ εἰς δήμουν παριῶν· οὐ γὰρ οἶδο τ' ἦν· ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐναντιομένοις λόγοις συγγράφων καὶ ἐπεὶ Ἄρσαλος διέδρα, πλείουσ D λόγους συνέγραψε3 κατὰ τῶν αἰτίαν λαβόντων δωροδοκήσας, καὶ τούτους τοῖς κατηγόροις ἐξ-έδωκε. χρόνῳ δ' ὡστερον αἰτιαθεῖσ εἰς λόγους παραγίνεσθαι Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ περὶ τὴν κατάληψιν τῆς Μουνυχίας, ἤνικα ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνον καὶ Δημητρίῳ ἐφορουρήθη ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους ἀρ-χοντος, ἔξαργυρόμενος τὰ πλείστα τῆς οὐσίας ἐφυγεν εἰς Χαλκίδα. διατρίβας δ' ἐπὶ τῆς φυγῆς ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη, καὶ πολλὴν οὐσίαν κτησά-μενος κατῆλθε πραξάντων αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν

1 ἐπηκέ: Xylander: ἐπὶ.
2 δὲ προσῆλ: τῷ Wytenbach: δὲ τῷ.
3 συνέγραψε Blass: συνέγραφε.

a 334–323 B.C.

b The Lyceum, i.e. the Peripatetic School.

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Deinarchus, son of Socrates or Sostratus, an Athenian according to some, but, as others think, a Corinthian, came to Athens while still young at the time when Alexander was invading Asia, settled there, and became a pupil of Theophrastus, who had succeeded Aristotle as head of his School; but he also attended the lectures of Demetrius of Phalerum. He took part most actively in public affairs after the death of Antipater, since some of the public men had been put to death and the rest were in exile. Since he became a friend of Cassander he prospered exceedingly through the fees he charged for the speeches which he wrote for those who requested his services; and he had as his opponents the most distinguished public men, although he did not speak before the popular assembly (for he was unable to do so); but he merely wrote speeches for their opponents. And when Harpalus absconded he composed many speeches against those who were accused of having accepted bribes from him, and these he furnished to their accusers. But at a later time he was accused of having dealings with Antipater and Cassander in connexion with their occupation of Munichia when it was garrisoned by Antigonus and Demetrius in the archonship of Anaxicrates, where-upon he turned most of his property into cash and went into exile at Chalcis. And after living in exile about fifteen years and amassing considerable wealth, he returned, his restoration, and at the same time

318 B.C.

If he was a Corinthian by birth, he would be debarred from such speaking.

307–306 B.C.
περὶ Θεόφραστον ἀμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φυγάσι. καταλύσας δὲ παρὰ Προξένῳ ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ Εὐχυσίου ἀπολέσας, ἤδη γηραιὸς ὥς καὶ τὰς ὁράσεις ἀσθενής, οὐ̣1 βουλομένου τοῦ Προξένου ἀναζητεῖν, λαγχάνει αὐτῷ δίκην καὶ τότε πρῶτον εἶπεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ. σώζεται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λόγος. 

φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρες. τούτων ἐνοι παραλαμβάνονται ὡς Ἄριστογείτονος. ξηλωτής δ’ ἔγενετο Ὑπερείδου ἦ ὡς τινες διὰ τὸ παθητικὸν Δημοσθένους καὶ τὸ σφοδρὸν τῶν σχημάτων δ’ αὐτοῦ μυθήση ὑπάρχει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

Α

Δημοχάρης2 λάχητος δευκονοεὺς3 αἰτεὶ Δημοσθένει τῷ Δημοσθένους Παιανιεῖ δωρεὰν εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἄγορᾷ καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείᾳ καὶ προεδρίᾳ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνων4 ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, ἐγεργήτη καὶ συμβουλίῳ γεγονότε πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ5 Ἀθηναίων καὶ τήν τε οὐσίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καθεικτῷ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ἐπιδόντε τάλαντα ὥκτῳ καὶ τριήρῃ, ὅτε ὁ δήμος ἦλευθερώσειν Εὐβοίαν, καὶ ἑτέραν, ὅτε εἰς 851 Ἐλλήσποντον Κηφισοδώρος ἔξεπλευσε· καὶ ἑτέραν, ὅτε Χάρης καὶ Φωκίων στρατηγοὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν εἰς Βυζάντιον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ λυτρωσαμένου πολλῶς τῶν

1 οὐ added by Xylander.
2 Δημοχάρης Basle ms.: Τιμοχάρης.
3 Δευκονοεὺς Westermann: λευκονθέως.
4 ἐγγόνων Emperius: ἐγγόνων.
5 δήμῳ τῷ Ladeke: δήμῳ τῶν.

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a Evidently Deinarchus suspected theft or fraud.
that of the other exiles, having been effected by Theophrastus and his friends. He lodged at the house of a friend of his named Proxenus and lost his money, when he was already an old man and his eyes were weak, and when Proxenus refused to investigate the matter he brought a suit against him, and then for the first time he spoke in a court of law. His speech is extant, too. There are sixty-four speeches of his extant which are regarded as genuine; of these some are handed down as by Aristogeiton. He was a zealous follower of Hypereides or, as some say on account of his emotional and vehement qualities, of Demosthenes. He certainly is an imitator of the latter's figures of speech.

**DECREES**

I

Demochares of Leuconoë, son of Laches, asks for Demosthenes of Paenia, son of Demosthenes, the grant of a bronze statue in the Market-place and maintenance in the Prytaneum and the privilege of front seats at the public spectacles for him and for the eldest of his descendants in perpetuity, because he has shown himself as a public benefactor and counsellor, and has brought about many benefits for the people of the Athenians, not only having relinquished his property for the common weal but also having contributed eight talents and a trireme when the people freed Euboea, and another trireme when Cephisodorus sailed to the Hellespont, and another when Chares and Phocion were sent as generals to Byzantium by the vote of the popular assembly, and having ransomed many of those who were taken prisoners

*b* Only a fragment of this speech is extant.

*c* On the following documents, called in the manuscripts "Decrees," see the Introduction to these *Lives*, p. 342 above.

*d* Apparently the son of the Laches, son of Demochares, mentioned above, 847 d, that is, the orator's nephew.
(851) ἀλόντων ἐν Πύδνη καὶ Μεθώνη καὶ Ὄλυνθῳ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου καὶ χορηγίᾳ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδόντι, ὥστε ἐκ-
λιπόντων τῶν Πανδοκινδών τοῦ χορηγεῖν ἐπέδωκε, καὶ
καθώπλησε τοὺς πολίτας τῶν ἐλλειπόντων καὶ εἰς τὴν
τειχοποιίαν ἀνάλωσε χειροτονήθεις ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου,
ἐπιδόντος αὐτοῦ τρία τάλαντα καὶ ἃς ἐπέδωκε δύο
τάφρους περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ταφρεύσας: καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν
B Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην ἐπέδωκε τάλαντον, καὶ εἰς τὴν σιτω-
nίαν ἐπέδωκεν ἐν τῇ σιτοδείᾳ τάλαντον καὶ ὅτι εἰς
συμμαχίαν τῷ δήμῳ προσηγάγετο πείσας καὶ ἐνεργήτης
γενόμενος καὶ συμβουλος, δι’ ὃν ἔπεισε Θηβαίοις
Εὔβοεῖς Κορινθίοις Μεγαρεῖς Ἀχαίοις Λοκροῖς Βυ-
ζαντίοις Μεσσηνίοις, καὶ δυνάμεις ἃς συνεστήσατο τῷ
δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, πεζοῖς μὲν μυρίους ἵππεις δὲ
χιλίους, καὶ σύνταξεν χρημάτων ἣν ἔπεισε προσβεύσας
διόδαι τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πλεῖω
πεντακοσίων τάλαντων καὶ ὅτι ἐκώλυσε Πελοποννησίους
ἐπὶ Θῆβας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βοήθησαι, χρήματα δοῦν καὶ
C αὐτὸς προσβεύσας· καὶ ἅλλων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τῷ
δήμῳ συμβούλω χειροτονεῖ· καὶ πεπολεμευμένω τῶν καθ’
εἰσαύτων πρὸς ἐλευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἁριστὰ· φυγόντι
 dice οὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν, καταλυθέντος τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τελει-
τήσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Καλαμίᾳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δήμον
εὐνοιαν, πεμφθέντων στρατιῶταιν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀντι-
pάτρου, διαμείναντε ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος εὐνοία καὶ
oikeiôthta, καὶ οὕτε ὑποχειρίω χειροτονεῖ· τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
οὕτε τῷ ἀνάξιον ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ πράξαντι τοῦ δήμου.

B'

D Ἀρχων Πυθάρατος. Δάχης Δημοχάρους Δευκο-
νουεὺς αἰτεὶ δωρεὰν τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον τὸν
1 ὅτι Westermann and Ladeke: ὅτε.
by Philip at Pydna, Methone, and Olynthus, and having contributed the expense of a chorus of men because when the members of the tribe of Pandionis failed to furnish this chorus, he contributed the money and, besides, furnished arms to the citizens who lacked them; and when elected Commissioner of the Fortifications by the popular assembly he supplied the money for the work, himself contributing three talents in addition to the cost of two trenches about the Peiraeus, which he dug as his contribution. And after the battle of Chaeroneia he contributed a talent, and in the scarcity of food he contributed a talent for the food-supply. And because, through persuasion, benefactions, and the advice by which he moved them, he brought into alliance with the people the Thebans, Euboeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achaeans, Locrians, Byzantines, and Messenians and gained troops for the people and its allies, namely ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and a contribution of money which he as envoy persuaded the allies to give for the war—more than five hundred talents—and because he prevented the Peloponnesians from going to the aid of the Boeotians, giving money and going in person as envoy. And he advised the people to adopt many other excellent measures, and of all his contemporaries he performed the best public actions in the cause of liberty and democracy. And having been exiled by the oligarchy when the democracy had been destroyed, and having died at Calauria on account of his devotion to the democracy, when soldiers were sent against him by Antipater, persisting in his loyalty and devotion to the democracy and neither surrendering to its enemies nor doing anything in his time of danger that was unworthy of the democracy.

II

Archon Pytharatus. Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoë, asks from the senate and people of the Athenians

a 356, 353, and 348 B.C.

b 271-270 B.C. See above, pp. 431 f., where the same facts are given.

2 ὅς Westermann: ὅς.
3 οὔτε τι Meziriacus: οὔτε.
4 τὸν Ladeke; τὸν.
(851) Ἀθηναίων Δημοχάρει Δάχητος Δευκονοεὶ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἄγορᾷ καὶ σίτισιν ἐν πρωτανείῳ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων· ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδριάν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἄγοσιν· εὑρεγέτῃ καὶ συμβούλῳ γεγονότι ἀγαθῷ τῷ δήμῳ τῶν· Ἀθηναίων καὶ εὑρεγετικοῖ τὸν δήμον τάδε πρεσβεύοντι καὶ γράφοντι καὶ πολιτευμένῳ· πρὸς τοὺς πολέμου, καὶ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀνοχας καὶ συμμαχίαν ποιησμένῳ πρὸς Βουκόλου· καὶ ἐξέπεσεν ύπὸ τῶν καταλυσάντων τὸν δήμον καὶ ως κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἥρχοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου· συντελέσας τὴν διοίκησιν πρώτῳ καὶ φεισαμένῳ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ πρεσβεύσαντι πρὸς Διονύσιον καὶ λαβόντι τῷ δήμῳ τρακόντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ πάλιν ἔτερα ἐκατόν καὶ γράψαντι προσβείαν πρὸς Πτολεμαίων εἰς Ἀγγυπτον, καθήνει ἐκπλεύσαντες πεντήκοντα ἐκόμισαν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον πρεσβεύσαντι καὶ λαβόντι εἰκοσι τάλαντα ἐργυρίου καὶ Ἐλευσίνας κομισαμένῳ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ταῦτα πείσαντι ἐλέσθαι τὸν δήμον καὶ πράξαντι, καὶ φυγόντι μὲν ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, μετεσχηκότι δὲ οὐδεμίας ὀλιγαρχίας οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν οὐδεμίαν ἥρχοτι καταλελυκτός τοῦ δήμου καὶ μόνῳ Ἀθηναίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτήν ἥλικιαν πολιτευσαμένων μὴ μεμελετικότι τὴν πατρίδα κινεῖν ἄτέρῳ πολιτεύματι τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ· καὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τά δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς οὐνίας πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ ποιήσαντι διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας καὶ μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῷ δημοκρατίᾳ πεπραχότι μῆτε λόγῳ μὴτε ἐργῳ.
DECREES, II. 851

for Demochares, son of Laches, of Leuconoë, a grant of a bronze statue in the Market-place, and maintenance in the Prytaneum for him and the eldest of his descendants in perpetuity, and the privilege of a front seat at all public spectacles, because he proved himself a benefactor and a good counsellor to the people of the Athenians and benefited the people as follows: He was a good ambassador, proposer of legislation, and statesman [ . . . , and he superintended] the building of the walls and the preparation of armour, missiles, and engines of war, he fortified the city at the time of the four years' war* and made peace, truce, and alliance with the Boeotians, in return for which he was banished by those who overthrew the democracy. When he was recalled by the people in the archonship of Diocles, he first reduced the expenses of the administration and was sparing of the public resources; he went as envoy to Lysimachus and secured for the people thirty talents of silver and again one hundred more; he proposed the sending of an embassy to Ptolemy in Egypt, and those who took part in it brought back for the people fifty talents of silver; he was envoy to Antipater and secured twenty talents of silver which he brought to Eleusis for the people. He won the assent of the people to all these measures and accomplished them; he was exiled for the sake of the democracy, he took no part in any oligarchy, he held no office after the democracy had been overthrown, and he was the only Athenian of those who were engaged in public life in his time who never plotted to alter the government of the country by changing it to a form other than democracy; he made the decisions of the courts, the laws, the courts, and property, safe for all Athenians by the policy he pursued, and he never did anything adverse to the democracy by word or deed.

* 294–290 B.C. The war ended with the surrender of Athens to Demetrius Poliorcetes.
* 288–287 B.C.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{5} \textup{υπο} Westermann: \textup{απο}.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{6} προσβεύσαντι Meziriacus: προσβευόντων ιτο προσβευσάντων.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{7} Έλευσίνα Niebuhr: Έλευσίνα.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{8} ύπερ Xylander: ύπο.}\]
Λυκόφρων Λυκούργου Βουτάδης ἀπεγράψατο αὐτῷ εἶναι σῖτης ἐν πρωτανείᾳ κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Λυκούργῳ Βουτάδην. ἔπει 'Αναξικράτους 852 ἀρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς 'Αντιοχίδος ἐκτῆς πρωτανείας, Ἐπειδὴ Λυκούργος Λυκόφρωνος Βουτάδης παραλαβὼν παρὰ τῶν ἔαυτον προγόνων οἰκείαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δήμον εὖνοιαν, καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Λυκούργον, Λυκομήδης τε καὶ Λυκούργος, καὶ ἔμοντε ἐτύμωντο υπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τελευτήσαντι αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀνδραγαθίων ἔδωκεν ὁ δήμος δημοσίας ταφᾶς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ καὶ Λυκούργος αὐτὸς Β πολιτευόμενοι νόμους τε πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς θηκε τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ γενόμενος τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου ταμίας τῇ πόλει ἔπει τρεῖς πενταστηρίδας καὶ διανείμας ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου μύρια καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ ἑνακόσια τάλαντα πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἱδιωτῶν διὰ πίστεως λαβὼν καὶ προδανεῖς καὶ εἰς τῶν τῆς πόλεως καιροὺς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὰ πάντα ἔξακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα δόξας δὲ ἀπαντὰ ταῦτα δικαίως διωκηκέναι πολλάκις ἐστεφανώθη ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔπει δὲ αἱρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρήματα πολλὰ συνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ παρασκευάζας τῇ θεῷ κόσμον, νίκας τοῖς διὸ πρὸς πομπεία τὰ χρυσά καὶ ἀργυρά καὶ κόσμον χρυσοῦν εἰς Σ ἔκατον κανηφόροις οἱ εὐροτονηθεῖς δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευής ὡσπλῆ χρήματα μὲν πολλὰ καὶ βελῶν μυριάδας πέντε ὑμένεγκεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τετρακοσίας δὲ τριήρεις πλωίμους κατεσκεύασε, τὰς μὲν ἐπισκευάζας τὰς δὲ ἔξαρχας

1 ἐκτῆς πρωτανείας Schömann: ἐν τῇ πρωτανείᾳ.
2 Διομειείσι Xylander: διομηδεύς.
3 Λυκομήδης Pinzger from Moralia, 843 ε: διομηδής.
4 ἔπει τρεῖς Meziriacus from Moralia, 841 β.
5 εξακόσια] διακόσια Sauppe from Moralia, 841 δ.

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Lycophron, son of Lycurgus, of the deme Butadae, presented in writing a claim for maintenance in the Prytaneum for himself in accordance with the gift presented by the people to Lycurgus of the deme Butadae. In the archonship of Anaxicrates, in the sixth prytany, that of the tribe Antiochis, Stratocles, son of Euthydemus, of the deme Diomeia, made the following motion: Whereas Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of the deme Butadae, having inherited from early times from his ancestors that loyalty to the democracy which has been peculiar to his family, and the progenitors of Lycurgus, Lycomedes and Lycurgus, were not only honoured by the people during their lives, but also after their death the people granted them for their courage and virtue public burials in the Cerameicus; and whereas Lycurgus himself during his public career made many excellent laws for his country, and when he was treasurer of the public revenues of the city for three periods of four years distributed from the public revenue eighteen thousand nine hundred talents; and having received in trust large funds from private citizens, from which he made loans previously agreed upon in order to meet the exigencies of the city and the people, in all six hundred and fifty talents; and, because he was believed to have administered all these funds justly, was often crowned by the State; and whereas when chosen by the people he brought together large sums of money upon the Acropolis, providing adornment for the Goddess, solid gold Victories, gold and silver vessels for the processions, and ornaments of gold for one hundred basket-carriers, and when chosen to be in charge of the equipment for the war he brought to the Acropolis many pieces of armour and fifty thousand missiles and fitted out four hundred triremes ready to set sail, providing the equipment for some of them and causing some to be built from the beginning;

307-306 B.C. Much of the substance of this document is contained in the Life of Lycurgus, see pp. 395 ff. above.

Maidens of good birth who carried baskets of offerings in the processions.

ἀργυρᾶ Coraes: ἀργύρεα.  ἦ added by Coraes.
Δυνάμει τοῦ δήμου, ἐπετέλεσε τὸ ἐνευθέρα καὶ δημοκρατουμένη 
τῇ πόλει διετέλεσε ἀνέξελεγκτος καὶ ἀδοροδόκητος τὸν ἀπαντα 
χρόνον ὅπως αὖ εἰδώσι πάντες, διότι τοὺς προ-
αιρουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας 
δικαίως πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ ἤγοντας μὲν περὶ πλείστου 
ποιεῖται καὶ τελευτήσας δὲ ἀποδίδωσι χάριτας αἰειμνή.

Εὐστούς· ἀγαθῇ τῷ ἀγαθῷ διδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαινέσαι μὲν 
Δυκοῦργον Δυκόφρονος Βουτάδην άρετής ἐνεκα καὶ 
δικαιοσύνης καὶ στήσας αὐτοῦ τὸν δήμον χαλκῆς εἰκόνα 
ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πλὴν εἰ ποὺ ὁ νόμος ἀπαγορεύει μὴ ἵσταναι, δοῦναι δὲ σίτησιν ἐν προτανείῳ τῶν ἐκγόνων οὐ 
διὰ τῶν Δυκοῦργον τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν χρόνον καὶ 
ἐὰν κύρια πάντα τὰ ψηφίσματα αὐτοῦ, ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τῶν 
γραμματέα οὐ τὸν δήμον ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις καὶ στήσει 
ἐν ἀκροτάλει πλησίον τῶν ἀναθημάτων· εἰς δὲ τὴν 
ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στηλῶν δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου 
πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀνάλυσκο-
μένων τῷ δήμῳ.

1 τὸ κατὰ τὸ a sure reading in the inscription; τὸ κατὰ 
Schömann: καὶ τὸ.
and besides all this he finished the ship-sheds and the arsenal, which were half done when they came into his hands, and completed the Panathenaic stadium and erected the gymnasium at the Lyceum, and adorned the city with many other edifices. And when King Alexander, after overthrowing all Asia, assumed to give orders to all the Greeks in common and demanded that Lycurgus be surrendered because he was acting in opposition to him, the city did not surrender him in spite of fear of Alexander. And although he had many times submitted his accounts while the city was free and had a democratic form of government, he never was convicted of wrongdoing or of taking bribes through all his career. Therefore, that all may know that those who choose to act justly in public life in behalf of democracy and freedom are held in the highest esteem while living and receive after death enduring gratitude: With good Fortune: Be it resolved by the people to commend Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of the deme Butadae, for his virtue and justice, and to set up a bronze statue of him in the Market-place, only not in any place where the law forbids its erection, and to grant maintenance in the Prytaneum to the eldest descendant of Lycurgus for all time, and that all his decrees be valid, and that the secretary of the people inscribe them on stone tablets and place them on the Acropolis near the dedicatory offerings; and that the treasurer of the people give for inscribing the tablets fifty drachmas from the funds expended by the people for decrees.

—

2 ἐξαιτήσαντος Μεζηριάκου, confirmed by the inscription: ἐξαιτήσας.
3 πράττοντα Μεζηριάκου: πράττοντος.
4 αὐτῶ: αὐτοῦ.
5 πλείστου Μεζηριάκου: πλείστου.
6 ἐγγόνων Turin editors: ἐγγόνων.
7 καὶ εἶναι κύρια ... γραμματέα] the words are in the order proposed by Dübner: ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἶναι κύρια πάντα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὸν γραμματέα.
SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER
(COMPARATIONIS ARISTOPHANIS ET MENANDRI COMPENDIUM)
INTRODUCTION

This is at best a summary of one of Plutarch’s lost essays, and it may well be that we have only part of the summary. Bernardakis believes that the beginning is wanting, and even for a summary the end, as we have it, appears somewhat abrupt.

The Old Comedy of the fifth century B.C., whose chief representative is, and always was, Aristophanes, with its brilliant wit, occasionally beautiful poetry, biting invective, unrestrained ribaldry, and unashamed indecency, was followed in the fourth century, after the brief vogue of the Middle Comedy, by the New Comedy, whose chief representative is Menander. The New Comedy abstained from politics, indulged in no personal invective, was indecent only by innuendo, and produced dramas in which the life of the times was reflected somewhat after the manner of modern “society plays.” Plutarch not unnaturally preferred Menander’s polished comedies of character to the boisterous wit and humour of Aristophanes, and he seems to have had no appreciation of the earlier dramatist’s vigour or of his poetic imagination.
853 ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΕΩΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΕΠΙΤΟΜΗ

1. * * * Ός μὲν κοινῶς καὶ καθόλου εἰπεῖν πολλῷ προκρίνει τὸν Μένανδρον, ὡς δ' ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ταῦτα προστίθησιν.

Β "Τὸ φορτικὸν," φησίν, "ἐν λόγοις καὶ θυμελικὸν1 καὶ βάναυσον ὡς ἐστὶν2 Ἄριστοφάνει, Μενάνδρῳ δ' οὐδαμῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ἰδιώτης, οἷς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ἀλλικεταῖ: ὁ δὲ πεπαίδευμένος δυσχερανεῖ: λέγω δὲ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὀμοιόπτωτα καὶ παρωνυμίας. τούτοις γὰρ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λόγου καὶ ὀλιγάκις χρῆται ἐπιμελείας αὐτὰ ἄξιῶν, ὁ δ' καὶ πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ ἐυκαίρως καὶ ψυχρῶς ἐπαινεῖται γὰρ," φησίν,

ὅτι τοὺς ταμίας ἐβάπτισεν, οὐχὶ ταμίας ἄλλα Λαμίας

ὀντας. καὶ

2 ὡς ἐστὶν] πρόσεστιν Bernardakis.

"He" seems to mean Plutarch; the compiler of this summary (or the editor who included it among Plutarch's works) regarding Plutarch as the author of the statements which are introduced in this first sentence.
SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER

1. . . . In general he much prefers Menander, and in particular he adds what follows:

"Coarseness," he says, "in words, vulgarity and ribaldry are present in Aristophanes, but not at all in Menander; obviously, for the uneducated, ordinary person is captivated by what the former says, but the educated man will be displeased. I refer to antitheses and similar endings and plays on words. For of these Menander does make use with proper consideration and rarely, believing that they should be treated with care, but Aristophanes employs them frequently, inopportune, and frigidly; for his punning is applauded," he says, "in

because he sousted the bankers—

Though they never were that but damn curs,  

and

b This quotation is not found in any collection of the fragments of Aristophanes (Bernardakis). The play on words in the Greek consists in the change of the initial letters of the words tamias ("treasurers") and Lamias, fabulous creatures such as the bugbears with which children are frightened by their nurses.
(853) οὕτος ἦτοι καικίας ἡ συκοφαντίας πνεῖ 
καὶ
γάστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις καὶ τοῖς κόλοις¹ 
καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ² γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν³ ἀφίξομαι 
καὶ
τι δῆτα⁴ δράσω σ', ⁵ ὡ κακόδαιμον, ἄμφορευσ 
ἐξοστρακισθεῖς;
καὶ
ἀγρια γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὅ γυναικεῖς, δρά'⁶ κακά, 
ἀτ' ἐν ἀγρίουσι⁷ τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς 
καὶ
ἀλλ' ἡ τριχόβρωτες⁸ τὸν λόφον μου κατέφαγον 
καὶ

¹ γάστριζε and κόλοις Wytenbach from Aristophanes: 
gastri ζη and κώλοις.
² τοῦ added by Elmsley.
³ Γέλαν Xylander: τὸ γελᾶν.
⁴ δῆτα Meineke: δέ.
⁵ δράσω σ', ὁ Bergk ; σὲ δράσω Reiske: σοι δράσω.
⁶ δρά Wytenbach and Reiske from Aristophanes: ἀρα.
⁷ ἀγρίουσ Bernardakis: ἀγρίους.
⁸ ἀλλ' ἡ τριχόβρωτες Aristophanes: ἀλλ' αἱ τριχόβοστρυχες.

^Knights, 437. In the Greek "north-east" and "calumny" both have the same endings in -ias, characteristic of the names of winds.
^Knights, 454. The play here consists in the use of gastrize, usually meaning "stuff the belly" with food, as
This fellow blows an ill north-east or calumny,\(^a\)
and
Give him a belly-punch in his bowels and guts,\(^b\)
and
By laughter driven I soon shall be in Laughter-town,\(^c\)
and
Whatever shall I do to you, you wretched pot,
When gone the way of pots?\(^d\)
and
Since, women, what he does to us are evils wild,
For one who e’en himself in the wild-greens market grew,\(^e\)
and
But look, the moths have eaten up my plumes entire,\(^f\)
and
“punch in the belly.” The language is intentionally coarse
as being characteristic of the Sausage-dealer, Cleon’s rival
for political leadership.
\(^{a}\) Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 546, no. 618. The play is
on the word *gelós* “laughter” and the city of Gela in Sicily.
\(^{b}\) Kock, *ibid.* p. 543, no. 593. The speaker seems to be
about to smash a pot in order to get some *ostraka* or pot-
sherds on which to inscribe the name of the politician for
whose “ostracism” he desires to vote.
\(^{c}\) *Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria*, 455. One of the
assembled women is arraigning Euripides for the wrongs he
has done to the sex in his tragedies. The reference in the
second line is to the then current story that the poet’s mother
earned her living by selling wild greens and vegetables.
\(^{d}\) *Acharnians*, 1110. The speaker is the general
Lamachus, who comes on the scene in his full officer’s
regalia. The word for moth in Greek is *trichobros* “hair-
eater.”
(853) φέρε δεύρο γοργώνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.
κάμοι πλακούντος τυρόνωτον¹ δὸς κύκλον
καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔνεστι μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ κατα-
σκευῇ τῶν ὄνομάτων αὐτῷ τὸ τραγικὸν τὸ κωμικὸν
tὸ σοβαρὸν τὸ πεζὸν, ἀσάφεια, κοινότης, ὄγκος καὶ
dιάρμα, σπερμολογία καὶ φλαρία ναυτιώδης. καὶ
D τοσαῦτας διαφορὰς ἔχουσα καὶ ἀνομοιότητας ἡ
λέξις οὕδε τὸ πρέπον ἐκάστῃ καὶ οἰκεῖον ἀπο-
dίδωσιν· οἶνον λέγω βασιλεί τὸν ὄγκον ῥήτορι τῇ
δεινότητα γυναικὶ τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἱδιώτη τὸ πεζὸν
ἀγοραίῳ τὸ φορτικόν· ἄλλ’ ὦσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου
ἀπονέμει τοῖς προσώποις τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν ὄνο-
mάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἂν διαγνῶτες εἶθ’ νῦς ἑστὶν εἴτε
πατήρ εἶτ’ ἀγροικὸς εἴτε θεὸς εἴτε γραῦς εἴθ’ ἤρως
ὁ διαλεγόμενος.

2. "'Η δὲ Μενάνδρου φράσις οὕτω συνέξεσται
καὶ συμπέπνευκε κεκραμένη πρὸς έαυτὴν, ὥστε διὰ
Ε πολλῶν ἄγομένη παθῶν καὶ ἠθῶν καὶ προσώποις
ἐφαρμότοιον παντοδαποῖς μία τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ
τὴν ὁμοιότητα τηρεῦν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ συνήθεσι
καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν χρείαν ὄνομασιν· εἶν δὲ τινος ἡρά
terateίας εἰς τὸ πράγμα καὶ ψόφου δεήσῃ, καθάπερ
αὐλοῦ πάντρητον ἀνασπάσας ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ πιθα-
vῶς ἐπέβαλε καὶ κατέστησε τὴν φωνήν εἰς τὸ
οἰκεῖον. πολλῶν δὲ γεγονότων εὐδοκίμων τεχνι-
tῶν, οὐθ’ ὑπόθεμα δημιουργός οὕτε προσωπεῖον

¹ τυρόνωτον Xylander from Aristophanes: γυρόνωτον.

a The first line is spoken by Lamachus, who has been
Lam. I say, bring here my shield's round orb all Gorgon-faced.

Dic. I say, hand me a flat-cake's orb all faced with cheese,*

and many things of the same sort. Moreover, in his diction there are tragic, comic, pompous, and prosaic elements, obscurity, vagueness, dignity, and elevation, loquacity and sickening nonsense. And with all these differences and dissimilarities his use of words does not give to each kind its fitting and appropriate use; I mean, for example, to a king his dignity, to an orator his eloquence, to a woman her artlessness, to an ordinary man his prosaic speech, to a market-lounger his vulgarity; but he assigns to his characters as if by lot such words as happen to turn up, and you could not tell whether the speaker is son or father, a rustic or a god, or an old woman or a hero.

2. "But Menander's diction is so polished and its ingredients mingled into so consistent a whole that, although it is employed in connexion with many emotions and many types of character and adapts itself to persons of every kind, it nevertheless appears as one and preserves its uniformity in common and familiar words in general use; but if the action should anywhere call for strange and deceptive language and for bluster, he opens, as it were, all the stops of his flute, but then quickly and plausibly closes them and brings the sound back to its natural quality. And although there have been many noted artisans, no shoemaker ever made the same shoe, no

ordered to lead out his forces for the defence of the frontier in blustery wintry weather. Everything he says is parodied by the pacifist Dicaeopolis, the charcoal-burner, who for his part is preparing for a grand banquet.
Menander was born in 342 B.C. and died in 292–291 B.C. at the age of fifty-two. His first play, probably the Heautontimoroumenos, was brought out when he was somewhat
mask-maker the same mask, and no tailor the same cloak, that would be appropriate at the same time for man and woman and youth and old man and domestic slave; but Menander so blended his diction that it comports with every nature, disposition, and age, and he did this although he entered upon his career while still a young man and died at the height of his powers as playwright and poet, when, as Aristotle says, writers make the greatest progress in the matter of diction. If, therefore, we were to compare Menander’s earliest dramas with those of his middle and final periods, we should perceive from them how many qualities he would, had he lived longer, have added to these.

3. "Some dramatists write for the common people, and others for the few, but it is not easy to say which of them all is capable of adapting his work to both classes. Now Aristophanes is neither pleasing to the many nor endurable to the thoughtful, but his poetry is like a harlot who has passed her prime and then takes up the rôle of a wife, whose presumption the many cannot endure and whose licentiousness and malice the dignified abominate. But Menander, along with his charm, shows himself above all satisfying. He has made his poetry, of all the beautiful works Greece has produced, the most generally accepted subject in theatres, in discussions, and at banquets, for readings, for instruction, and for dramatic competitions. For he shows, indeed, what the essence and nature of skill in the use of language really are, approaching all subjects with a persuasiveness from which there is no escape, and controlling under twenty years of age. See Clark, Class. Phil. i. (1906) pp. 313 ff.
(854) σαν ἀκοήν καὶ διάνοιαν Ἐλληνικῆς φωνῆς. τίνος γὰρ ἄξιον ἀληθῶς εἰς théατρον ἐλθεῖν ἄνδρα πε- παίδευμένον ἡ Μενάνδρου ἔνεκα; πότε δὲ théατρα πήμπλαται ἄνδρῶν φιλολόγων, κωμικόν1 προσώπου δειχθέντος; ἐν δὲ συμποσίοις τῖνι δικαίωτερον ἢ τράπεζα παραχωρεῖ καὶ τόπον ὁ Διόνυσος δίδωσι; φιλοσόφοις δὲ καὶ φιλολόγοις,2 ὃστερ ὅταν οἱ γραφεῖς ἐκπονηθῶσι τὰς ὤψεις, ἐπὶ τὰ ἄνθρωπα

καὶ ποιόδη χρώματα τρέπουσιν, ἀνάπαυλα τῶν ἀκράτων3 καὶ συντόνων ἐκείνων Μενάνδρος ἔστιν, οἷον εὐανθεῖ λειμώνι καὶ σκιερῷ καὶ πνευμάτων μεστῷ δεχόμενος τὴν διάνοιαν.

4. "Ὅτι κωμῳδίας ὑποκριτᾶς4 τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγάθους τῆς πόλεως ἐνεγκούσης, μόναι5 αἱ Μενάνδρου κωμῳδίαι ἀφθόνων ἀλῶν καὶ ὕλαι6 μετέχουσιν, ὃστερ ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάτ- 

της, ἐξ ἤς7 Ἀφροδίτη γέγονεν. οἱ δ’ Ἀριστοφάνους ἄλες πικροὶ καὶ τραχεῖς ὄντες ἐλκωτικὴν δρμύτητα καὶ δηκτικὴν ἔχουσι· καὶ οὐκ οἶδ’ ἐν οἷς ἔστων ἡ 

θρυλουμένη δεξιότης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐν λόγοις ἡ προσ- 

ώτοις· ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ μεμιμημένα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον

Μεμίμηται· τὸ γὰρ πανούργον ὠ πολιτικὸν ἄλλα 

κακόθες, καὶ τὸ ἀγροικὸν οὐκ ἄφελε8 ἄλλ’ ἡλίθιον, 

καὶ τὸ γελοῖον οὐ παιγνιώδες ἄλλα καταγελαστον,

1 κωμικόν Wytenbach: ἡ κωμικόν.
2 φιλολόγοι Wytenbach: φιλοσόφοι.
3 ἀκράτων Reiske: ἀκροατών.
4 ὑποκριτᾶς] θυρήτας Haupt; perhaps προστάτας Post.
5 A gap here was first suggested by Wytenbach; μόναι 

was added by Schönenmann.
6 καὶ ὕλαι Emperius; κάπτερων Bernardakis; καὶ πράων 

Kronenberg, who suggests rendering ἀφθόνων by “sine in-

7 ἤς Haupt: ἄν.
8 ἄφελες Bryan: ἀσφαλές.

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every sound and meaning which the Greek language affords. For what reason, in fact, is it truly worth while for an educated man to go to the theatre, except to enjoy Menander? And when else are theatres filled with men of learning, if a comic character has been brought upon the stage? And at banquets for whom is it more proper for the festive board to yield its place and for Dionysus to waive his rights? And just as painters, when their eyes are tired, turn to the colours of flowers and grass, so to philosophers and men of learning Menander is a rest from their concentrated and intense studies, inviting the mind, as it were, to a meadow flowery, shady, and full of breezes.

4. "Although the city produced in that whole period many excellent performers of comedy, only Menander’s comedies contain an abundance of salty wit and merriment, which seem like the salt derived from that sea out of which Aphrodite was born. But the witticisms of Aristophanes are bitter and rough and possess a sharpness which wounds and bites. And I do not know wherein his vaunted cleverness resides, whether in his words or his characters. Certainly even whatever he imitates he makes worse; for with him roguishness is not urbane but malicious, rusticity not simple but silly, facetiousness not playful but ridiculous, and love

\[a\] i.e. when comedies are given only those of Menander draw the crowds of men of culture.

\[b\] That scenes from Menander’s plays may be recited or acted.

\[c\] Cf. Cicero, De Officiis i. 37. 133 “sale vero et facetiiis Caesar vicit omnes,” where facetiiis corresponds to Emperius’s conjecture ιαπῶν.
καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐχ ἰλαρὸν ἀλλ' ἀκόλαστον. οὐδένι γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔσκε μετρίῳ τὴν ποίησιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἁσελγή τοῖς ἀκολάστοις, τὰ βλάσφημα δὲ καὶ πικρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις καὶ κακοήθεσιν."
not joyous but licentious. For the fellow seems to have written his poetry, not for any decent person, but the indecent and wanton lines for the licentious, the slanderous and bitter passages for the envious and malicious."
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