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CLASSICS
PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA

X
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-
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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.

For various reasons, but chiefly on account of my illness, the editors have taken an unusually active part in the preparation of this volume. They have made many changes in the translation and many additions to the notes, so that I cannot properly claim entire credit for the volume's good qualities; but, on the other hand, some of the changes and additions have been made contrary to my desire, so that I am hardly willing to accept full responsibility for everything which the volume contains.

H. N. F.

Washington, D.C.
June, 1936.
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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.
ΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ

Α

(771) Ἐν ᾿Αλιάρτῳ τῆς Βοιωτίας κόρη τις γίνεται κάλλει διαπρέπουσα ὄνομα ᾿Αριστόκλεια· θυγάτηρ δ᾽ ἦν Θεοφάνους. ταύτην μνῶνται Στράτων ᾿Ορχο- Φ μένιοι καὶ Καλλισθένης ᾿Αλιάρτιος. πλουσιότερος δ᾽ ἦν Στράτων καὶ μᾶλλον τι τῆς παρθένου ἡττημένος· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἰδὼν αὐτὴν ἐν Λεβαδείᾳ λουομένην ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ Ῥήκυνη. ἔμελλε γὰρ τῷ 772 Διῷ τῷ βασιλεῖ κανηφορεῖν. ἄλλ᾽ ὁ Καλλισθένης γε πλέον ἐφέρετο· ἦν 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 αἵρεσιν ἐβούλετο τῷ Ποδώνῳ ἐπιτρέψαι· καὶ ὁ Στράτων, ἀνεπέπειστο γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς παρθένου οἰκετῶν, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἐκείνη βέποι, ἦξίον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ποιεῖσθαι τῇ γαμομένη τῇ ἐκλογῆς. ὡς δὲ τῆς παιδὸς ὁ Θεοφάνης ἐπυνθάνετο ἐν ὁξεῖ πάντων, ἥ δὲ τὸν Καλλισθένην προύκρινεν, Β εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ Στράτων δῆλος ἦν βαρέως φέρων τὴν

1 ᾿Αλιάρτιος Wyttenbach: ᾿Αλιάρτω.
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 Hercynè in preparation for carrying a basket a 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 b; 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) ἀτιμίαν: ἡμέρας δὲ διαλίπων δύο προσήλθε τῷ Θεοφάνει καὶ τῷ Καλλισθένει, ἀξιῶν τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαφυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τοῦ γάμου ἐφθονήθη ὑπὸ δαιμονίου τινός. οἱ δὲ ἐπήνυν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑστίαν τῶν γάμων παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ παρεσκευασμένος ἐταίρων ὀχλὸν, καὶ πλήθος οὐκ ὀλίγον θεραπόντων, διεσπαρμένους παρὰ τούτοις καὶ λανθάνοντας, ἐς ἡ κόρη κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπὶ τὴν Κυσσόεσσαν καλουμένην κρήνην κατήγε ταῖς Νύμφαις τὰ προτέλεια C θύσουσα, τότε δὴ συνδραμόντες πάντες οἱ λοχῶντες ἐκείνῳ συνελάμβανον αὐτὴν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων γ᾽ εἴχετο τῆς παρθένου: ἀντελαμβάνετο δ᾽ ὡς εἰκὸς ὁ Καλλισθένης ἐν μέρει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ἐς ἔλαθεν ἡ παῖς ἐν χερσὶ τῶν ἀνθελκόντων διαφθαρείσα. ὁ Καλλισθένης μὲν οὖν παραχρήμα ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, εἴτε διαχρησάμενος έαυτὸν εἴτε φυγὰς ἀπελθὼν ἕκ τῆς Βοιωτίας· οὐκ εἴχε δ᾽ οὖν τις εἰπεῖν ὅ τι καὶ πεπόνθοι. ὁ δὲ Στράτων φανερῶς ἐπικατέσφαξεν εὰυτὸν τῇ παρθένῳ.

Β

D Φειδων τις τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀρχηγός τῆς Ἀργείων πόλιν, τὴν πατρίδα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἧγεμονεύειν τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπολόγων, πρώτον ἐπιβουλεύεις Ἰκόρινθοις· πέμψας γὰρ ἦτει παρ᾽ αὐτῶν νεανίας χιλίους τοὺς ἀκμῆς διαφέροντας καὶ ἀνδρείας· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι τοὺς χιλίους, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν

1 ὁ δὲ] Wyttenbach would add ἤκε.
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 δὲ ἐξων ὁ Φείδων ἐπιθέσαθαι τουτοῖς, ἵνα ἔχων Κόρινθον ἀτονωτέραν καὶ τῇ πόλει χρήσατο, προτειχισμα γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπικαιρότατον ἔσεσθαι τῆς ὀλης Πελοποννήσου, Ε τὴν πραξίν ανέθετο τῶν ἐταίρων τισίν. ἤν δὲ καὶ Ἀβρων ἐν αὐτοῖς οὕτως δε ἔδειν ών τοῦ Δέξανδρου ἐφρασεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν χίλιοι πρὸ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐσώθησαν, Φείδων δὲ ἀνευρεῖν ἐπιθέσαι τὸν προδότα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἔζητε. δεῖσας δὲ ᾧ Ἀβρων φεύγει εἰς Κόρινθον, ἀναλαβὼν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἐν Μελίσσω, κωμῇ τινὶ τῆς Κορινθίων χώρας ἐνθά καὶ παϊδα γεννήσας Μέλισσον προσηγόρευσεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου θέμενος τοῦνομα αὐτῷ. τοῦτο δὴ τοῦ Μελίσσου υἱὸς Ἀκταίων γίνεται, κάλλιστος καὶ σωφρονέστατος τῶν ὁμηλίκων, οὐ πλεῖστοι μὲν ἐγένοντο ἐρασταὶ, διαφερόντως δὲ Ἀρχίας, γένους μὲν ὤν τοῦ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ τῇ...
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,

³ οὖν added by Xylander.
ΠΛΕΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΙΑ ΠΑΡΕΠΙΣΤΕΥΕΙ 

(773) ἠλέουν. ἄπρακτος δ᾽ ἀναχωρήσας παρεφύλασσε τὴν πανήγυριν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ἀναβὰς τὸν Ποσειδώνος νεῶν κατεβάς τὸν Βακχιαδῶν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀβρώνος εὐεργεσίαν ὑπεμίμησε, τοὺς τε θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενος ρίπτει ἑαυτὸν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν. μετ’ οὖ πολὺ δ’ αὐχμός καὶ λοιμός
Β κατελάμβανε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὁ θεὸς ἀνέει μήν εἶναι Ποσειδώνος οὐκ ἀνήσοντος, ἐκεῖ ἄν τὸν Ἀκταίωνος θάνατον μετέλθοιεν. ταῦτα πυθόμενος Ἀρχίας, αὐτὸς γὰρ θεωρός ἦν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Κόρινθον ἐκών οὐκ ἐπανήλθε, πλεύσας δ’ εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἐκτισε. πατήρ δὲ γενόμενος ἐνταῦθα θυγατέρων δυνότα, ὁ Ὀρτυγίας τε καὶ Συρακούσης, ὁ ἕως τοῦ Ἡλέφου δολοφονεῖται, ὁς ἐγεγόνει μὲν αὐτοῦ παιδικά, νεώς δ’ ἀφηγούμενος συνέπλευσεν εἰς Σικελίαν.

Γ

Ἀνὴρ πένης Σκέδασος τοῦνομα κατῴκει Λευκωτῆς, ἐστὶ δὲ κώμιον τῆς τῶν Θεσπιέων χώρας. Τοῦτῳ θυγατέρες γίνονται δύο: ἐκαλοῦντο δὲ Ἱμμα καὶ Μιλητία, ἢ, ὡς τινες, Θεανώ καὶ Ευέλίπη. ἤν δὲ χρηστὸς ὁ Σκέδασος καὶ τοὺς ξένους ἐπιτήδειος, καίπερ οὐ πολλὰ κεκτήμενος. ἀφικομένους οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δύο Σπαρτιάτας νεανίων ὑπεδέξατο προθύμως: οἱ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἦττώμενοι διεκωλύοντο πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ

a 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 Syracusa, 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 Euxippê. 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

b The noble family which ruled Corinth in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Periander is its most famous member.
Σκεδάσου χρηστότητος. τῇ δ' ύστεραία Πυθώδες ἄπήσαν· αὐτῇ γὰρ αὐτοῖς προύκειτο ἡ ὁδός· καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρησάμενοι περὶ δὲν ἐδέοντο, πάλιν ἐπι- ανήσαν οὐκαδε, καὶ χωροῦντες διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπέστησαν πάλιν τῇ τοῦ Σκεδάσου οἰκία. οδ' ἐτύγχανεν οὐκ ἐπιδημὼν τοῖς Λεύκτροις, ἀλλ' αἱ θυγατέρες αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους ἀγωγῆς τοὺς ξένους ὑπεδέξαντο. οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἐρήμους τὰς κόρας βιάζονται· ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτὰς καθ' ὑπερ- βολὴν τῇ ὑβρίζει χαλεπανούσας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐμβαλόντες ἐς τὰ φρέαρ ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐπανελθὼν δ' ὁ Σκέδασος τὰς μὲν κόρας οὕτω ἔώρα, πάντα δὲ τα καταλειφθέντα εὑρίσκει σῶα καὶ τῷ πράγματι ἃπόρει, ἐως τῆς κυνοὺς κυνζωμένης καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προστρεχόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ δ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἐπανούσης, εὑσε αὐτὰς. καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τὰ νεκρὰ οὕτως ἀνιμήσατο. πυθόμενος ἐν τῇ χρηκτοτητῇ τούς καὶ πρώην καταχθέντας ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰςώντας, συνεβάλετο τὴν πράξειν ἐκείνων, ὁτι καὶ πρώην νυκτερίζοντο ἐπήμουν τὰς κόρας, μακρῷ- ξοντες τοὺς γαμήσοντας.

Ἀπήγει εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐντευξόμενος· γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ Ἀργολικῇ, νυκτὸς καταλαμβανούσης, εἰς πανδοκεῖόν τῷ γένος ἐξ ἠπορίας πρὸς τὸν φρέαρ ἐπανιούσης, εὑσε αὐτὰς. καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τὰ νεκρὰ οὕτως ἀνιμήσατο. Πυθόμενος ἐν τῇ χρηκτοτητῇ τούς καὶ πρώην καταχθέντας ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰςώντας, συνεβάλετο τὴν πράξειν ἐκείνων, ὁτι καὶ πρώην νυκτερίζοντο ἐπήμουν τὰς κόρας, μακρῷ-ξοντες τοὺς γαμήσοντας.

F Ὄρσεου πόλεως τῆς Ἐσστιαίτιδος· ὃς στενάξαντος καὶ κατὰ Λακεδαίμονιον άραφ συνεχόμενον ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Σκέδασος ἐπιθυμόντα τῇ κακῶν ὕπο Λακεδαιμονίων πεπονθὼς εὑρίς. ὁ δὲ διηγείτο, ὅς 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
καὶ παρανομῆς ἐπιδείξας τῷ Λακεδαιμονίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις. Οὐκ ἐπείθετο δ᾽ οὗτος ἀνέπεσεν. Σκέδασος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων ἀθύμως διέκειτο, ὑπολαμβάνων ὅτι οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγον τινὰ ποιήσονται οἱ Σπαρτιάται. Ἐπανελθὼς δὲ τῇ ‘Ερυθρῇ ἐὐωχεῖτο. Ἐγὼ δ᾽, ἔφη, ἡ ἐρασθεὶς γάρ, ἐπειδή πείθειν ἄδυνα ἦν, ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν τῆς παλαιστρᾶς. κωλύοντος δὲ τῶν παιδοτρίβων καὶ νεανίσκων πολλῶν ἐκβοηθοῦντων, παραχρῆμα οἱ ἀριστόδημοι ἀπεχώρησεν τῇ δ᾽ υποτελῇ πληρώσας τριήρης συνήρτασε τῷ μειράκιον, καὶ οἱ οἱ ἤρεθων διαπλέουσας εἰς τὴν περαίαν ἐπεχείρει ὑβρίσαι, οὐ συγχωροῦντα δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἀπεσφαξεν. 774 ἐπανελθὼν δ᾽ εἰς τὴν Ὦρον εὐσχείτο. ἔγω δ᾽,’ ἔφη, 'τὸ πραξθὲν πυθόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα κηδεύσας παρεγενόμην εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐνετύγχανον: οἱ δὲ λόγον οὐκ ἐποιοῦντο.' Σκέδασος δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούων ἀθύμως διέκειτο, ὑπολαμβάνων ὅτι οὐδ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγον τινὰ ποιήσονται οἱ Σπαρτιάται: ἐν μέρει τῇ τὴν οἰκείαν διηγήσας καὶ τῷ ξένῳ: ὃ δὲ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἐφόροις, ἀλλ᾽ ὑποστρέψαντα εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν κτίσαι τῶν θυγατέρων τὸν τάφον. οὐκ ἐπείθετο δ᾽ ὃμως οὗτος Σκέδασος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην ἐφικόμενος τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐνυγχάνει: ὅταν μηδὲν προσεχόντων, ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλέας ἦταν καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων ἐκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν προσώπων ὑδύρετο. μηδὲν δὲ πλέον ἀνύων ἔθει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, ἀνατείνων πρὸς τῆς ἥλιον τῷ χείρε, αὕτης δὲ τῇ γῆς τύπτων ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὰς Ερυθρὰς καὶ τέλος αὐτὸν τοῦ ζῆν μετέστησεν.

'Τστέρω γε μήν χρόνων δίκας ἐδοσαν οἱ Λακε-

1 ἔφη Bernardakis: ἐφθην (ἔφην Urb.)
LOVE STORIES, 773-774

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 Scedasus 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. Scedasus, 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
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

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,\(^a\) 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 Scædasus. 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 Scædasus 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.

\(^a\) 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 σωφροσύνης διαφερούστο νεανία τριάκοντα εὐδοκιμώτατοι ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Φώκος ἀλλὰς ἐξ ἄλλων ἀναβολὰς τῶν γάμων ἐποιεῖτο, φοβούμενος μὴ βιασθεῖν, τέλος δὲ λυπαροῦντων ἐκείνων, ἥξιον ἐπὶ τῷ Πυθίῳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν. οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐκαλέσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Φώκον· ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ ἡ κόρη φυγοῦσα ἤτοι διὰ τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. ἡ δὲ ἀπόπηθεν καὶ ὑδραγόντας ἐν δικαίῳ ἄλλοις, ἀπεκτείνασαν τὸν Φώκον: ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ ἡ κόρη φυγοῦσα ἤτοι διὰ τῆς ἀδιαφορίας. ἡ δὲ ἐν τῇ κόρη ἡ πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐχάλλεπται, καὶ ὁρμῆσαν τὸν Φώκον· ἐν δὲ τῷ θορύβῳ ἡ κόρη φυγοῦσα ἤτοι διὰ τῆς ἀδιαφορίας.
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 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, ὅς τότε τὴν ἀρχήν τῶν Θηβαίων διεῖπε· πολιορκήσαντες δὲ τὴν κώμην ὄχυραν οὖσαν, δύσει δὲ τῶν ἔνδου κρατηθέντων, τοὺς μὲν φονεῖς ληφθέντας κατέλευσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ κώμῃ ἐξηνδραπόδισαν κατασκάφαντες δὲ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἰκίας διένειμαν τὴν χώραν Θισβεῦσί' τε καὶ Μπένωρ. φασὶ δὲ νυκτός, πρὸ τῆς ἁλώσεως τῶν Ἰπποτῶν, φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ 'Ελικώνος πολλάκις ἀκουσθῆναι λέγοντός τινος "πάρειμι··· τοὺς δὲ μηστηρας τοὺς τριάκοντα τόδε τὸ φῶνημα γνωρίζειν, ὅτι Φώκου εἶν. ἦ δ᾽ ἡμέρα κατελεύθησαν, τὸ ἐν Γλάσαντι μνῆμα τοῦ γέροντος κρόκω φασὶ βεῦσαι. Φοίδω δὲ, τῷ Θηβαίων ἄρχοντι καὶ στρατηγῷ, ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανύντοι ἀγγελθῆναι θυγατέρα γεγενημένην, ἦν αἰσιούμενον προσαγορεῦσαι Νικοστράτην.

Ε

"Αλκιππος τὸ μὲν γένος Λακεδαμόνιος ἦν· γῆμας δὲ Δαμοκρίταν πατὴρ θυγατέρων γίνεται δύο· συμβουλεύων τε τῇ πόλει κράτιστα τε καὶ πράττων ὅτου δέοιτο Λακεδαμόνιοι, ἐφθονήθη ὕπο τῶν ἀντιπολεμομένων, ὅτι τοὺς ἐφόρους ψευδεῖσι λόγοις παραγαγόντες, ὡς τοῦ 'Αλκιπποῦ βουλομένου τοὺς νόμους καταλύσαι, φυγῇ περι-έβαλον τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὑπεξῆλθε τῆς Σπάρτης, Δαμοκρίταν δὲ τὴν γυναῖκα μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων

1 Ὠσβεύσι Bernardakis: Ὠσβεύσι.
2 εν Γλάσαντι Bernardakis: ἐγγίσαντι.
3 ἦν 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 Thisbê 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.  

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,

\[ a \text{ i.e. "She of the conquering host."} \]
(775) βουλομένην ἐπεσθαί τάνδρι ἐκώλυν, ἄλλα καὶ τῇν οὐσίαν αὐτοῦ ἐδήμευσαν, ἵνα μὴ εὐπορῶσι προικὸς δ' αἱ παρθένοι. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ὃς ἐμνηστεύοντό τινες τὰς παιδὰς διὰ τῆν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετήν, ἐκώλυσαν οἱ ἐχθροὶ διὰ ψηφίσματος μνηστεύεσθαι τινας τὰς κόρας, λέγοντες ὡς ἡ μῆτηρ αὐτῶν Δαμοκρίτα πολλάκις εὐξατο τὰς θυγατέρας ταχέως γεννηθῆναι παιδὰς τιμωροὺς τῷ πατρὶ γενησομένους. πανταχόθεν δ' ἡ Δαμοκρίτα περιελαυνομένη ἔτηρησε τῶν πάνδημων ἐς ὥραν, ἐν ὡς γυναῖκες ἴμα παρθένους καὶ οἰκείους καὶ νηπίους ἑώρταζον, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἐν τέλει καθ' ἐαυτὰς ἐν ἀνδρῶν μεγάλω διεπαννύχησαν. ξίφος τε ὑποζωσαμένη καὶ τὰς κόρας λαβοῦσα νυκτὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καιρὸν παρα-

Εφιλάξασα, ἐν ὧν πᾶσαι τὸ μυστήριον ἐπετέλουν ἐν τῷ ἀνδρῶν· καὶ κεκλεισμένων τῶν εἰσόδων, ξύλα τὰ ἱερὰ πολλὰ προσνήσασα (ταῦτα δ' ἤν εἰς τὴν τῆς ἐς ἐκείνων παρεσκευασμένα), πῦρ ἦν ἐν ἑτέρω. Ἀνακαλεύοντων δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν, ἡ Δαμοκρίτα τὰς θυγατέρας ἀπέσφαξε καὶ ἐπὶ ἐκείνως ἐαυτὴν. οὐκ ἔχοντες δ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς τὸν θυμὸν ἀπερείσωσαν, ἐκτὸς όρων ἔρριψαν τῆς τῆς Δαμοκρίτας καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων τὰ σώματα. ἐφ' ὧν μηνίσατο τὸν θεοῦ τὸν μέγαν ἱστοροῦσι Λακεδαιμονίους σεισμὸν ἐπιγενέσθαι.

1 ἀπερείσωσαν Bernardakis: ἀπερείσωσαν.
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.
ΠΕΡῚ ΤΟΥ ΟΤΙ ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ ΤΟΙΣ ΗΓΕΜΟΣΙ
ΔΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΓΕΣΘΑΙ

776 1. Ἀρκανὸν ἐγκολπίσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν τιμᾶν
Β καὶ μετιέναι καὶ προσδέχεσθαι καὶ γεωργεῖν, πολ-
λοῖς μὲν ἵδια πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ δημοσία χρήσιμον καὶ
ἔγκαρπην γενησομένην, φιλοκάλων ἐστὶ καὶ πολι-
τικῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων ὑμὶᾶς ὡς ἔνιοι νομίζουσιν
φιλοδόξων: ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντιν, φιλόδοξός ἐστι
cαι ψοφοδεὴς ὁ φεύγων καὶ φοβοῦμενος ἀκοῦσαι
λιπαρῆς τῶν ἐν ἔξουσίᾳ καὶ θεραπευτικὸς. ἐπεὶ
τί φησιν ἄνηρ θεραπευτικὸς καὶ φιλοσοφίας δεό-
μενος; Σίμων οὖν γένωμαι ὁ σκυτοτόμος ἢ
Διονύσιος ὁ γραμματιστὴς ἢ Περικλέους ἢ
Κάτωνος, ἣν μοι προσδιαλέγηται καὶ προσκαθίζῃ
Ο ὡς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος; καὶ ᾿Αρίστων μὲν ὁ
Χῖος ἔπε τῷ πᾶσι διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς βουλομένοις
ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κακῶς ἢ οὐκ ἢ οὕτως ἢ ὑφελεῖν," εἶπε
καὶ τὰ θηρία λόγων συνιέναι κινητικῶν πρὸς
ἀρετὴν"· ἡμεῖς δὲ φευξόομεθα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ

1 Bernadakis, following Pape, would prefer ᾿Αρκανόν.
2 θεραπευτικὸς] θεραπεύσεως Duebner; πολιτικὸς Reiske;
πρακτικὸς Bernardakis; cf. 777 A.
3 οὖν Bernardakis: εἰ.
4 ὡς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος Capps; ὁ Σωκράτης ὡς ἐκεῖνος
28
THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER

1. In clasping Soreanus 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

Wytenbach: ὃς Σωκράτης, ἑκεῖος Bernardakis: ὃς Σωκράτης ἑκείοισ.

6 ἐπε Ὅζεριας: ἐπείων.
ἡγεμονικοῖς ὥσπερ ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνημέροις γίγνεσθαι; 

Οὐκ ἂν ἀνδριατοποιός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγος, ἃς ὅστ’ ἐλινύοντα ποιεῖν ἀγάλματ’ ἐπί αὐτῶς βαθμίδος ἑσταότα” κατὰ Πίνδαρον; ἀλλ’ ἐν- 
εργά βούλεται ποιεῖν ἃν ἂν ἄφηται καὶ πρακτικὰ 
καὶ ἐμψυχα καὶ κινητικὰς ὀρμᾶς ἐντίθησιν καὶ κρίσεις ἄγωγοις ἐπὶ τὰ ὀφέλιμα καὶ προαιρέσεις. 

D φιλοκάλους καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος μετὰ πραό-
tητος καὶ ἀσφαλείας, δι’ ἄν τοὺς ὑπερέχουσι καὶ 
δυνατοῖς ῥυμούσιν οἱ πολιτικοὶ ἐποιεῖται προθυμότερον. 
καὶ γάρ, ἂν ἰατρὸς ἢ φιλόκαλος, ἡδιον ὀφθαλμὸν 
λάσεται τὸν ὑπὲρ πολλών βλέπων καὶ πολλοὺς 
φυλάσσοντα. καὶ φιλόσοφος ψυχῆς ἐπιμελήσεται 
προθυμότερον, ἣν ὑπὲρ πολλῶν φροντίζουσαν ὅτι 
καὶ πολλοῖς φρονεῖν καὶ σωφρονεῖν καὶ δικαιο-
πραγεῖν ὀφείλονταν. καὶ γάρ εἰ δεινὸς ἂν περὶ 
Ε ἡγεμονικοῖς ὥσπερ ἀγρίοις καὶ ἀνημέροις γίγνεσθαι; ὡσπερ ἢστοροῦσι 
τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πάλαι, οὐκ ἂν ἂν ἂν 
ἐχαίρει φρεωρυχῶν ἐν ἑσχάτῃ ‘παρὰ Κόρακος 
πέτρη’ τῆς συβωτικῆς ἐκείνην ἀνείπουσαν, ἄλλα 
ποταμοῦ τίνος ἄνειαν πηγὰς ἀνακαλύπτων τόποι καὶ 
στρατοπέδους καὶ φυτείας βασιλέως καὶ 
ἄλσειν. ἀκούμεν δὴ ὅτι ὁ μέγας πόλεσι τῶν Μίνω “θεοῦ 
μεγάλου ὁμηρίτην” ἀποκαλοῦντον τόπο δ’ ἐστὶν,

1 ἐντίθησι Reiske: ἐπιτίθησι.
2 ἀσφαλείας] αφελείας 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 conservatism, 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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*a* Pindar, *Nem. v. 1 οὐκ ἄνδριαντοποιός εἰµ’, ὡστ’ ἐλνύσοντα ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγάλματ’ ἐπ’ αὐτᾶς βαθμίδος, loosely quoted. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (in L.C.L.).

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

*c* *Od. xix. 179.*
ὧς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ὡμολογήσει καὶ μαθητής· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμων ὀφθαλμοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἀπράκτους ἥξιον εἶναι θεῶν μαθητάς, ἀλλὰ βασιλείς, οίς θεότητις ἐγγενομένης καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, πάντες ἐμελλον ὑφεληθήσεσθαι καὶ ἀπολαύσειν οἱ χρώμενοι. τὸ ἡρύγγιον τὸ βοτάνιον λέγουσι μιᾶς αἰγὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβοῦσης, αὐτὴν τε πρώτην ἐκείνην καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν αἰπόλοιν ἔστασθαι, μέχρι ὅταν ὁ αἰπόλος ἐξέλη προσελθὼν· τουατὴν ἔχουσιν αἱ ἀπορροιαὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ὀξύτητα, πυρὸς δίκην ἐπινεμομένην τὰ γείτνιῶντα καὶ κατασκιδναμένην. καὶ μὴν ὁ τοῦ φιλοσόφου λόγος, ἐὰν μὲν ἰδιώτην ἔνα λάβη, χαίροντα ἀπραγμοσύνη καὶ περιγράφοντα ἑαυτὸν ὡς κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι γεωμετρικῷ, ἐὰν δ᾽ ἄρχοντος ἀνδρός καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καθάψηται καὶ τοῦτον ἀναπλήσῃ καλοκαγαθίας, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐνος ωφέλησεν, ὡς Ἀναξαγόρας Περικλεῖ συγγενέμενος καὶ Πλάτων Δίων καὶ Πυθαγόρας τοῖς πρωτεύουσι Ἰταλιωτῶν. Κάτω δ᾽ αὐτὸς ἐπέλευσεν ἀπὸ στρατιᾶς ὅτ᾽ αὐτὸν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμψεν

ἀνθρώπων ὑβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορώμενον

1 ἐγγενομένης Duebner: γενομένης.
2 ἀπολαύσει Coraes: ἀπολαύσειν.
3 ἡρύγγιον Herwerden: ἐρύγγιον.
4 στρατιᾶs Coraes: στρατείαs.
means, according to Plato,\(^a\) “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,

\(^a\) Minos, 319 d. Generally regarded as spurious.

\(^5\) ἐφορῶμεν Xylander; ἐφορῶντες, Homer, Od. xvii. 487: ὑφορῶμενον.
óst φησὶ Ποσειδώνιος. τί οὖν ἐδει λέγειν τὸν Παναίτιον; εἰ μὲν ἢς ἢ Βάτων 1 ἢ Πολυδεύκης ἢ τις ἄλλος ιδιώτης, τὰ μέσα τῶν πόλεων ἀποδιδράσκειν βουλόμενος, ἐν γωνίᾳ τινὶ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν ἀναλύων συλλογισμοὺς καὶ περιέλκων 2 φιλοσόφων, ἀσμενὸς ἀν σε προσεδεξάμην καὶ συνήν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ οὐδὲς μὲν Αἰμιλίου Παύλου τοῦ δυσυπάτου γέγονας, νῦνος δὲ Σκιπίωνος τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ νικήσαντος τὸν Ἀννίβαν τὸν Καρχηδόνιον, οὐκ οὖν 3 σοι διαλέξομαι 4;

2. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι δύο λόγοι εἰσίν, ὁ μὲν ἐνδιάθετος ἡγεμόνος Ἐρμοῦ δῶρον, ὁ δ᾽ ἐν προφορᾷ διάκτορος καὶ ὀργανικός, ἐωλὸν ἐστὶ καὶ ὑποπιπτέτω τῷ
c

τούτῳ μὲν ᾦδειν 5 πρὶν Θεόγνιν γεγονέναι.

ἐκεῖνο δ᾽ οὐκ ἄν 6 ἐνοχλῆσειν, ὅτι καὶ τοῦ ἐνδιάθετου λόγου καὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ φιλία τέλος ἐστί, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἑτερον. ὃ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας τελευτῶν σύμφωνον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀμεμπτον ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεστὸν εἰρήνης καὶ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀεὶ παρέχεται τὸν ἀνθρώπον.

1 Βάτων Wyttenbach: κάτων.
2 περιέλκων] περιπλέκων Meziriacus; περὶ ἐλέγχων φιλοσοφῶν Xylander.
3 οὐκ οὖν H.N.F.; οὖκον Bernardakis; οὐκ ἄνεκτὸν ἄν Pohlenz: οὐκ ἄν.
4 διαλέξομαι] προσδιαλέξομαι Frerichs after some mss.
5 ᾦδει] ᾦδον Schadewaldt.
6 ἄν added by Coraes.

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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 out of date; 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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*a* Homer, *Od. xvii. 487.*

*b* *περιέλκεων*, literally "pull about." Plato (*Republic*, 539 b) says that the young, when new to argument, find pleasure *διαπερ οὐκλάκια τῷ ἐλκεῖν τε καὶ σπαράττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πλησίον ἄεί, "like little dogs, in pulling and tearing apart by argument those who happen to be near them."

(777) οὐ στάσις οὐδὲ τε1 δῆρις ἀναίσιος2 ἐν μελέεσσιν, οὐ πάθος λόγῳ δυσπειθέσε, οὐχ ὄρμης μάχη πρὸς ὄρμην, οὐ λογισμῷ πρὸς λογισμὸν ἀντίβασις, οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐν μεθορίῳ τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος καὶ τοῦ μετανοούντος τὸ τραχύ καὶ ταραχῶδες καὶ τὸ ἄδομενον, Δ ἀλλ᾽ εὐμενῆ πάντα καὶ φίλα καὶ ποιοῦντα πλείστων τυγχάνειν ἀγαθῶν καὶ3 ἐαυτῷ χαίρειν ἕκαστον. τοῦ δὲ προφορικοῦ τὴν Μοῦσαν δ Πίνδαρος "οὐ φιλοκερδῆ, φησίν, "οὐδ᾽ ἐργάτιν" εἶναι πρότερον, οἴμαι δὲ μηδὲ νῦν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀμουσία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία τὸν κοινὸν Ἐρμῆν ἐμπολαιὸν καὶ ἐμμυσθὸν γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἢ μὲν Ἀφροδίτη ταῖς τοῦ Προποίτου4 θυγατράσιν ἐμήνειν ὅτι

πρώτα μίσεα μηχανήσαντο5 καταχέειν νεανίσκων,

η δ᾽ Οὐρανία καὶ Καλλιόπη καὶ η Κλειώ χαίρουσι τοῖς ἐπ᾽ ἄργυρῳ λυμαινομένοις 7 τὸν λόγον. ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοιγε δοκεὶ τὰ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐργα καὶ δῶρα μάλλον της Ἀφροδίτης φιλοτήσια εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ Ε ἔνδοξον, ὃ τινες τοῦ λόγου ποιοῦνται τέλος, ὡς ἀρχὴ καὶ σπέρμα φιλίᾳ ἡγαπηθη. μάλλον δ᾽ ὅλως οἱ γε πολλοί κατ᾽ εὔνοιαν τὴν δόξαν τίθενται, νομίζω "

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1 οὐδὲ τε Xylander; ἢν οὐ Bergk: οὐ.
3 καὶ added by Reiske; τῷ added by Freichs.
4 Προποίτου Amyot; cf. Ovid, Metam. x. 221: προσόλου or προσόλον.
5 μηχανήσαντο] μαχλήσαντο Bernardakis, Freichs, and some mss.
6 επ᾽ Reiske: εν.
7 λυμαινομένοι Reiske; διαδιδομένοι Freichs: διαδεξομένοι.

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α A verse of an unknown poet. Ascribed to Empedocles by Bergk.

β Isthm. ii. 10.

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36
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 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” has become venal and ready for hire. For it cannot be that, whereas Aphrodité was angry with the daughters of Propoetus 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 Aphrodité. 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

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* Kowos 'Epmén 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.

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

* From an unknown poet.
ζοντες ἦμας μόνον ἐπαινεῖν οὓς φιλοῦμεν. ἀλλ' οὕτωι μὲν, ὡς ἦ 'Ἰξίων διώκων τὴν Ἡραν ὠλισθεν εἰς τὴν νεφέλην, οὕτωι ἀντὶ τῆς φιλίας εἰδωλὸν ἀπατήλον καὶ πανηγυρικὸν καὶ περιφερόμενον ὑπολαμβάνουσιν. ὁ δὲ νοῦν ἔχων, ἃν ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ πράξεσιν ἁναστρέφηται, δεύσεται δόξης τοσαύτης, ὅση δύναμιν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ τοῦ Πωτεύσθαι δίδοσιν. οὔτε γὰρ ἡδὺ μὴ βουλομένους οὔτε βάδιον ὠφελεῖν, βουλεύει δὲ ποιεῖ τὸ πιστεῦν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἢ τοῖς βλεπομένους, οὐτωὶς ἢ δόξα τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις ἢ τοῖς μὴ παρορωμένοις. ὁ δ' ἀπηλλαγμένος τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ συννὴ ἐαυτῷ καὶ τάγαθὸν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνῃ τυθέμενος τὴν μὲν ἐν ὄχλοις καὶ θεάτροις πάνδημον καὶ ἀναπεπταμένην δόξαν οὔτως ἑκ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἰππόλυτος "ἀποθειο ἄγνοις ὡν ἀρπάζεται," τῆς δὲ γε τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ ἐλλογίμων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς καταφρονεῖ. πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἡγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν φιλίαις οὐ διώκειν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φεύγει ταῦτα μετρίως προσοντ' ἴθειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς καλὸς τῶν νέων ἐν φιλίαις οὐ διώκειν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φεύγει ταῦτα μετρίως προσοντ' ἴθειν. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς καλοὺς τῶν νέων ἐν φιλίαις οὐ διώκειν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φεύγει ταῦτα μετρίως προσοντ' ἴθειν.
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” \(^a\) the reputation which is popular and widespread in crowds and theatres, even as Hippolytus worshipped Aphroditē, 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

\(^a\) Euripides, *Hipp.* 102.
Β οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ φιλεῖν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν οὔδὲ φοβήσεται (778) τὸ αὐλικὸς ἀκούσαι καὶ θεραπευτικός.

οἱ γὰρ Κύπριν φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἀγαν νοσοῦσ' ὁμοῖως τοῖς ἀγαν θηρωμένοις.
καὶ οἱ πρὸς ἔιδοξον οὐτως καὶ ἡγεμονικὴν φιλίαν ἐχοντες. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπράγμων φιλόσοφος οὐ φεύ-
ἤεται τοὺς τοιούτους, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς καὶ περιέξεται αὐτῶν, ἀκοουν1 οὐκ ἐνοχλῶν οὔθ' ἐπισταθλεύων
τὰ ὀτα διαλέξεσιν ἀκαίροις καὶ σοφιστικαῖς, βουλο-
μένοις δὲ χαίρων καὶ διαλεγόμενοι καὶ σχολάζων καὶ συνών προθύμωσ.

3. Σπείρω δ' ἀρουραν δώδεχ' ἠμερῶν ὡδὸν
Βερέκυντα χώρων.

Οὗτος εἰ μὴ μόνον φιλογέωργος ἄλλα καὶ φιλ-
ἀνθρωπος ἦν,2 ἤδιον ἄν ἐσπειρε τὴν τοσούτους
τρέφειν δυναμεῖν ἠ τὸ Ἀντισθένους ἐκεῖνο χωρί-
διον, ὁ μόλις Αὐτολύκῳ3 παλαίειν ἄν ἦρκεσε5: εἰ δὲ
σε ἡρόμην τὴν οἰκουμένην ἀπασαν ἐπιστρέφειν παρ-

1 ἀκοουν Reiske: ἀκοοειν.
2 ἦν added by Umius.
3 Αὐτολύκῳ Wyttenbach: αὐτό (αὐτῷ) αὐ.
4 παλαίει Bernardakis: πάλιν.

See Xen. Symposium, 3. 8, where Antisthenes says that
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.
καίτοι ἑπόκουρος τἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ βαθύτατῳ τῆς ἡσυχίας ωσπερ ἐν ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι καὶ κωφῷ τιθέμενος τοῦ εὐ πάσχειν τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἥδιον εἶναι φησί.

χαρᾶς γὰρ οὕτω γόνιμόν οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ὡς χάρις.

ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἦν ὁ ταῖς Χάρισι τὰ ὀνόματα θέμενος

Ἀγιαὶν καὶ Εὐφροσύνην καὶ Θάλειαν τὸ γὰρ ἀγαλλόμενον καὶ τὸ χαῖρον ἐν τῷ διδόντι τὴν χάριν πλεῖόν ἐστι καὶ καθαρώτερον. διὸ τῶν πάσχειν εὖ αἰσχύνονται πολλάκις, ἀλλ᾽ ἡ ἀγάλλονται τῷ εὖ ποιεῖν. εὖ δὲ ποιοῦσι πολλοὺς οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀγαθοὺς ὃν πολλοὶ δέονται καὶ τοῦναντίον, οἱ ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ διαφθείροντες ἠγεμόνας ἢ βασιλεῖς ἢ τυράννους διάβολοι καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ κόλακες ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλαύνονται καὶ κολάζονται, καθάπερ οὐκ ἔστιν κύλικα φάρμακον.

Ε ἐμβάλλοντες θανάσιμον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὴν δημοσίαν ἡμισύρεος ὑπὸ πάντων ἐλαύνονται καὶ κολάζονται, καθάπερ οὐκ ἔστιν κύλικα φάρμακον.

οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος
οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείρησε
μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

1 εἰ δὲ σε ... παρατοῦμαι] 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᾽ εἶπεν Σπείρω (Bernardakis) ἵνα τὴν ὁικουμένην ἀπασαν καταστερέψω, παρατοῦμαι. See note d on preceding page.
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 Aglaia (Splendour), Euphrosyne (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\(^b\)

\begin{quote}
No fire, no, and no weapon,  
Be it of bronze or of iron,  
Keeps them from flocking to dinner,
\end{quote}


\(^b\) From the *Flatterers*, by Eupolis; Kock, *Com. Att. Frag. i.* p. 303.
κατὰ τὸν Εὔπολιν: τοὺς δ’ Ἀπολλοδώρου τοῦ τυράννου καὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Διονυσίου φίλους καὶ συνήθεις ἀπετυμπάνζου, ἐστρέβλουν καὶ ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ἐναγεῖς ἐποιοῦντο καὶ καταράτους, ὡς ἐκεῖνων μὲν ἀδικοῦντων ἕνα τούτων δὲ πολλοὺς δι᾽ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἀρχοντος. οὕτως οἱ μὲν ἰδιώταις συνόντες αὐτούς ἐκείνους ποιοῦσιν ἐαυτοῖς ἀλύτους καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ προσηνεῖς, ὁ δὲ ἀρχοντος ἰθὸς ἀφαιρῶν μοχθηρὸν ἢ γνώμην ἐφ’ ὁ δὲι συγκατευθύνων τρόπον τινὰ δημοσία φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπανορθοῦται, ὡς πάντες διοικοῦνται. τοῖς ίερεύσιν αἰδώ ὑπ᾽ ἡμῖν καὶ τιμῆν αἱ πόλεις νέμουσιν, ὅτι τάγαθὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους, ἀλλὰ κοινῆ πᾶσιν αὐτοῦντας τοῖς πολίταις· καίτοι τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ ίερεῖς οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἀγαθῶν δοτῆρας, ἀλλὰ τοιούτους ὀντας παρακαλοῦσι· τοὺς δ’ ἀρχοντας οἱ συνόντες τῶν φιλοσόφων δικαιοτέρους ποιοῦσι καὶ μετριωτέρους καὶ προθυμοτέρους εἰς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν, ὡστε καὶ χαίρειν εἰκὸς ἐστι μᾶλλον.

4. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ λυροποιὸς ἂν ἔδωκεν λύραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ προθυμότερον, μαθὼν ὡς ὁ ταύτην κτησόμενο τὴν λύραν μέλλει τῷ Θηβαῖῳ ἄστῳ τεῖχιζειν ὡς ὁ Ἀμφίων, ἢ τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ στάσιν παύειν ἐπάθων καὶ παραμυθούμενος ὡς Θαλῆς. καὶ τέκτων δημιουργῶν

1 καὶ added by Wytenbach.
2 ὁ Iunius: ὡς.
3 Θαλῆς] ὁ Θαλῆς Bernardakis; Θαλῆτας Frerichs.

4 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 they basti-
adoed, 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 associate with persons in private station make those individuals inoffensive, harmless, and gentle towards themselves, but he who removes evil from the character 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, or, like Thales, 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.

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) ἡσθῆναι, πυθόμενος ὅτι τοῦτο τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους ναυαρχίδα κυβερνήσει προπολεμούσαν τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἡ τὴν Πομπηίου τὰ πειρατικὰ καταναυμαχοῦντος· τί οὖν οἷεὶ περὶ τοῦ λόγου τὸν φιλόσοφον, διανοού-β μενον ὡς ὁ τούτων παραλαβὼν πολιτικός ἀνήρ καὶ ἠγεμονικὸς κοινὸν ὀφελὸς ἦσταί δικαιοδοτῶν, νομοθέτων, κολάζων τοὺς πονηροὺς, αὐξών τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ ἀγαθούς; ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ ναυπηγὸς ἀστεῖος ἠδον ἃν ἐργάσασθαι πηδάλιον, πυθόμενος ὅτι τοῦτο τὴν Ἀργὼ κυβερνήσει τὴν "πάσι μὲ-λουσαν"· καὶ τεκτονικὸς οὐκ ἂν οὕτω κατα-σκευάσασί ἀροτρόν προθύμους ἡ ἀμαξαν, ὡς τοὺς ἁξονας, οἷς ἐμελέτου Ὀλυν τοὺς νόμους ἐγχαράζειν. καὶ μήν οἱ λόγοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, εὰν ψυχαῖς ἠγεμονικῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς ἀνδρῶν ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ κρατήσωσι, νόμων δύναμιν λαμ-βάνουσιν· ἢ καὶ Ἡλέες εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπιδεινέσθη, ἐλπίζω τὰ δόγματα νόμους καὶ ἔργα ποιήσειν ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίου πράγμασιν· ἄλλῳ εὗρε Διονύσιον ὁστερ βιβλίον παλίμψηστον ἢδη μολυσμῶν ἀνά-πλεων καὶ τὴν βαφήν οὐκ ἀνιέντα τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δευσοποιοῦν οὖσαν καὶ δυσέκπλυ-τον· ἀκμαίους ἡ καὶ μὴν οἱ λόγοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, ἐὰν ψυχαῖς ἠγεμονικῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς ἀνδρῶν ἐγγραφῶσι καὶ κρατήσωσι, νόμων δύναμιν λαμ-βάνουσιν· ἢ καὶ Ἡλέες εἰς Σικελίαν ἐπιδεινέσθη, ἐλπίζω τὰ δόγματα νόμους καὶ ἔργα ποιήσειν ἐν

1 ἄν added by Fränkel (or read κἂν for καὶ or ἐργάσασθαι should be changed to ἐργάσεσθαι, Bernardakis).
2 ἀκμαίους Coraes: δρομαίους.

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 ΑΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΩΝ

1. Πλάτωνα Κυρηναῖοι παρεκάλουν νόμους τε γραφάμενον αὐτοῖς ἀπολυτεῖν καὶ διακοσμῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, ὁ δὲ παρεκόμισα τὰς χαλεπῶς εἶναι Κυρηναίους νομοθετεῖν οὕτως εὔτυχοσιν.

οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτω γαῦρον
καὶ τραχὺ καὶ δύσαρκτον
ὡς ἀνήρ ἐφι
εὐπραγίας δοκούσης ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. διὸ τοῖς

Ε ἄρχουσι χαλεπῶν ἐστὶ σύμβουλον περὶ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι: τὸν γὰρ λόγον ὥσπερ ἄρχοντα παραδέξασθαι φοβοῦνται, μὴ τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν τάγαθόν κολούση τῷ καθήκοντι δουλωσάμενοι. οὐ γὰρ ἰσαί τὰ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ Σπαρτιατῶν βασιλέως, ὃς πρῶτος ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῖς βασιλεύουσι καταμίξας τοὺς ᾿Κῴφορους, εἶτ᾽ ὀνειδιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικός, εἰ τοῖς παισὶν ἐλάττονα παραδώσει τὴν ἀρχὴν ἂς παρέλαβε, "μείζονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἀὀσω καὶ βεβαιοτέραν." τὸ γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἄνεις

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

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

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

1. Plato was asked by the Cyrenaeans 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,
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 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 ἀκρατον αὐτῆς ἃμα τῷ φθόνῳ διέφυγε τόν 
κίνδυνον. καίτοι Θεόπομπος μὲν εἰς ἔτερους τὸ 
τῆς ἀρχῆς ὡσπερ ρεύματος μεγάλου παροχετευσά-
μενος, ὅσον ἄλλοις ἐδωκεν, αὐτοῦ περιέκοψεν· ὦ 
δὲ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῷ ἄρχοντι πάρεδρος καὶ φύλαξ 
ἐγκατοικισθείς λόγος, ὡσπερ εὐεξίας τῆς δυνάμεως 
τὸ ἐπισφάλες ἀφαιρῶν, ἀπολείπει τὸ υγιαῖον. 

2. Ἀλλὰ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βασι-
λέων καὶ ἄρχοντων μιμοῦνται τοὺς ἀτέχνους ἀν-
δριαντοποιοῦσιν, οἳ νομίζουσι μεγάλους καὶ ἄδρους 
φαίνεσθαι τοὺς κολοσσοὺς, ἃν διαβεβηκότας σφόδρα 
780 καὶ διατεταμένους καὶ κεχηνότας πλάσωσιν· καὶ γάρ 
οὗτοι βαρύττητι φωνῆς καὶ βλέμματος τραχύτητι 
καὶ δυσκολία τρόπων καὶ ἀμιξία διαιτης ὑγιοῦ 
ἡγεμονίας καὶ σεμνότητα μιμεῖσθαι δοκοῦσιν, οὐδὲ 
ὁτιοῦν τῶν κολοσσικῶν διαφέροντες ἀνδριάντων, 
οἵ τὴν ἐξώθην ἦρωικὴν καὶ θεοπρεπὴ μορφὴν, 
ἐχοντες ἐντὸς εἰσὶ γῆς μεστοί καὶ λίθῳ καὶ μολι-
βδου· πλὴν ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀνδριάντων ταῦτα τὰ βάρη 
τὴν ὀρθότητα μόνιμον καὶ ἀκλινὴ διαφυλάττει, οἵ 
Β δ᾽ ἀπαίδευτοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ὑπὸ τῆς 
ἐντὸς ἀγνωμοσύνης πολλάκις σαλεύονται καὶ περι-
τρέπονται· βάσει γὰρ οὗ κειμένη πρὸς ὀρθὰς 
ἐξουσίας ἐπικοδομοῦντες ὑψηλὴν συναπονεύουσιν. 
δεὶ δὲ, ὡσπερ ὁ κανῦν αὐτὸς, ἀστραβής γενόμενος 
καὶ ἀδιάστροφος, οὕτως ἀπευθύνει τὰ λοιπὰ τῇ 
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφαρμογὴν καὶ παραθέει συνεξομοίων, 
παραπλησίως τὸν ἄρχοντα πρῶτον τὴν ἁρχὴν 
κτησάμενον ἐν ἑαυτῷ καὶ κατευθύναντα τὴν 
ψυχὴν καὶ καταστησάμενον τὸ ἥθος οὕτω συν-

1 συνεξομοίων Stobaeus (xl. 98 [100]); συναφομοίων Wyttene-

bäch: συνεφομοίων. 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 ψυχὴν Stobaeus and Reiske: ἀρχὴν.
(780) αρμόττειν τὸ ὑπήκοον: οὔτε γὰρ πίπτοντός ἐστιν ὀρθοῦν οὔτε διδάσκειν ἀγνοοῦντος οὔτε κοσμεῖν ἀκοσμοῦντος ἢ τάττειν ἀτακτοῦντος ἢ ἀρχεῖν μὴ C ἀρχομένοι· ἀλλ᾽ οἱ πολλοὶ κακῶς φρονοῦντες οἴονται πρῶτον ἐν τῷ ἀρχεῖν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἀρχεῖσθαι, καὶ γε Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πάντας ἦγείτο δούλους πλὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικός, ἢς μάλιστα δεσπότης ὄφειλεν εἶναι.

3. Τὸς οὖν ἄρξει τοῦ ἀρχοντος; ὁ

νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς

θυνατῶν 1 τε καὶ ἀθανάτων,

ὡς ἐφη Πίνδαρος, οὐκ ἐν βιβλίοις ἐξω γεγραμμένος 2 οὐδὲ τις ἐξόλος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμμυχόχως ὡν ἐν αὐτῷ 3 λόγος, ἀεὶ συνοικῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐών ἐρημὴν ἡγεμονίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἔνα τῶν κατευναστῶν εἶχε πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένον, ὡσθ᾽ ἐσθεν εἰσιόντα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν "ἀνάστα, ὁ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φροντίζε τραγμάτων, ὃν ἐν φροντίζειν ὁ μέγας "Ωρομάσδης" ήθέλησε".

D τοῦ δὲ πεταιδευμένου καὶ σωφρονοῦντος ἀρχοντος ἐντός ἐστιν τὸ τοῦτο φθεγγόμενος ἀεὶ καὶ παρακελεύομενος. Πολέμων γὰρ ἔλεγε τὸν ἔρωτα εἶναι "θεῶν υπηρεσίαν εἰς νέων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν". ἀληθεστέρον δ᾽ ἄν τις εἴποι τοὺς ἀρχοντας ὑπηρετεῖν θεῶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ

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

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jests 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 dis-
orderly 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 say-
ing to him: “Arise, O King, and consider matters
which the great Oromasdes \(^c\) wished you to con-
sider.” 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. 784 \(B\), 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.
σωτηρίαν, ὅπως ὧν θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὰ μὲν νέμωσι τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσιν.

ὁ μὲν καθήσιν ἀρχὰς σπερμάτων προσηκόντων γῆς ἀναδίδωσιν, αὐξεῖται δὲ τὰ μὲν ὀμβροὺς τὰ δὲ ἀνέμους τὰ δὲ ἀστροὺς ἐπιθαλασθέναι καὶ σελήνῃ.

Ευδικίας ἀνέχησιν, τοιτέστι θεοῦ λόγον ἐχων, διάνοιαν, οὐ σκῆπτρον οὐδὲ κεραυνὸν οὐδὲ τρίαιναν, ὡς ἔνιοι πλάττοσιν

1 καὶ σωτηρίαν added by Bernardakis. Cf. Thes. and Rom. chap. ii.
3 διάνοιαν] καὶ διάνοιαν Reiske; ἐνδιάθετον Frerichs.
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 appro-
priate 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 bless-
ings, 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 him-
self 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

p. 663. The following line is τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζήνα, τόνδ’ ἡγοῦ
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.
ἑαυτοὺς καὶ γράφουσι τῷ ἀνεφίκτω ποιοῦντες ἐπίφθονον τὸ ἀνόητον. νεμεσᾷ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἁπομυμουμένους βροντὰς καὶ κεραυνοὺς καὶ ἀκτινοβολιάς, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔλθοντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἄφομοιούντας ἐαυτοὺς ἡδόμενοι αὔξει καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ προάστησις ὀνομασμένους θεοῦ. ὁ θεὸς εὐδαιμονίας ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ ἄρχων. τούτῳ γὰρ θείον ἐστὶ καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ἄρχων.

4. Ανάξαρχος μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ Κλείτου φόνῳ δεινοπαθοῦντα παραμυθούμενος Ἀλέξανδρον ἐφη ἐφὶ τῷ Δίῳ τὴν Δίκην εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θέμιν 1 παρέδρους, ἰνά πᾶν πραττόμενον ὑπὸ βασιλέως θεμιτὸν δοκῆ καὶ δίκαιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδ' ὑφαλίμως τὴν ἐφ' οἷς ἡμερτε μετάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τῷ πρὸς τὰ ὅμοια ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλειν ἰόμενος. εἰ δὲ δεῖ ταύτ' εἰκάζειν, ὅ μὲν Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν Δίκην πάρεδρον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς Δίκη καὶ Θέμις ἐστὶ καὶ νόμων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ τελειότατος. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ οὕτω λέγοντε τὸν Δίας καὶ Θέμιν μηδὲ τοῦ Διὸς καλῶς δυναμένου. "ἡ δὲ γε 2 παράθενος ἐστὶ καὶ τῷ Δίῳ τῇ Ἡσίοδον παρθένος ἐστι καὶ τῷ Θείῳ ἔχουσιν. ἡ δὲ παρθένος ἐστι Θέμις, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα κυδρή τ' αἰδοίη τ' αἰδοίη τ' θείῳ, οἶ "Ολυμποὺν ἔχουσιν. "And there is Virgin Justice, the daughter of Zeus, who is

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1 καὶ τῷ Δίῳ... τὴν Θέμιν Wytenbach: κλείτῳ δῆ... τὴν τῶν θεῶν.
2 γε] τ' Ἡσίοδον.
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 endeavours 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 ὠφελείας\(^1\) σύνοικος\(^2\). ὦθεν "αἰδοίους" προσαγορεύοντο τοὺς βασιλείς. μάλιστα γὰρ αἰδεύσθαι προσήκει τὸις ἤκιστα φοβουμένοις. φοβεῖσθαι δὲ δεὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ παθεῖν κακῶς μάλλον τὸ ποιῆσαι: τούτο γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐστιν ἐκείνου καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλάνθρωπος καὶ οὐκ ἄγεννης, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδεῖν μὴ λάθωσι βλαβέντες,

οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν φυλαττομένων. ὁ δ' Ἐπαμεινώνδας, εἰς ἑορτὴν τινα καὶ πότον ἀνείπετος τῶν Ἐθηβαῖων ῥυέντων, μόνος ἔφωδε τὰ ὀπλὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη, νήψειν λέγων καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν ὡς ἂν ἔξη τοὺς ἄλλους μεθύειν καὶ καθεύδειν. καὶ Κάτων ἐν ᾿Ιτύκῃ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄπαντας ἀπὸ τῆς ἠττῆς ἐκήρυττε πέμπειν ἐπὶ θάλατταν: καὶ ἐμβιβάσας, εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰς οἰκὸν ἐπανελθὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξε: διδάξας ὑπὲρ τίνων δεὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ φόβῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τίνων δεὶ τὸν ἄρχοντα καταφρονεῖν. Κλέαρχος δ' δ' Ποντικὸς τύραννος εἰς κιβωτὸν ἐνυδύμενος ὡσπερ ὀφίς ἐκάθευδε. καὶ ᾿Αριστόδημος\(^3\) ὁ ᾿Αργεῖος εἰς ὑπερῷον οἰκήμα τῇ θύρᾳ ἔχον ἐπιρρακτήν, ὡς ἀπάνω τῆς ἑταίρας: ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἐκείνης κλιμάκιον, εἶθ᾽ ἡμέρας πάλιν προσετίθει φέρουσα.

\(^1\) ωφελείας \(\text{άλθειας some mss.: \text{ἀφελείας codex Xylandri.}}\)

\(^2\) σύνοικος Reiske: ἐνοίκος.

\(^3\) ᾿Αριστόδημος \(\text{'Aristophanes, Life of Aratus, chap. xxv.}\)
with reverence, self-restraint, and helpfulness; and therefore kings are called "reverend," 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,
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

\[ \text{\textit{e.g. Homer, \textit{Il.} iv. 402.}} \]
\[ \text{\textit{Homer, \textit{Il.} x. 183-184.}} \]
πῶς οὕτως, οὔεσθε, τὸ θέατρον ἐπεφρίκει καὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον, τὸ βουλευτήριον, τὸ συμπόσιον, ὃ τὸν θάλαμον ἐαυτῷ δεσμωτήριον πεποιηκώς; τῷ γὰρ ὅντι δεδίασιν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι τοὺς ἀρχομένους. διὸ τῇ δυνάμει τὸ δέος συναύξουσι: πλειόνων γὰρ ἀρχοντες πλειόνας φοβοῦνται.

5. Οὔ γὰρ εἰκὸς οὔδε πρέπον, ὦσπερ ἐνοι φιλοσοφοὶ λέγουσι, τὸν θεὸν ἐν ἁλη πάντα πασχοῦση καὶ πράγμασι μυρίας δεχομένων ἀνάγκας καὶ τύχας καὶ μεταβολὰς ὑπάρχειν ἀναμεμιγμένον· ἀλλ’ ὃ μὲν ἀνω ποὺ περὶ τὴν ἄει κατὰ ταύτα ὀσάυτως φύσιν ἔχουσιν ἰδρυμένοις ἐν βάθροις ἀγίοις ὁ φησι Πλάτων, εὐθεὶα3 περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· οἶον δ’ ἥλιος ἐν οὐρανῷ μίμημα τὸ περικαλλὲς αὐτοῦ δι’ ἐσόπτρου εἰδώλων ἀναφαίνεται τοῖς ἐκείνοιν ἐνοράν δι’ αὐτοῦ δυνατοῖς, οὕτω τὸ ἐν πόλει φέγγος εὐδικίας καὶ λόγου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν4 ὦσπερ εἰκόνα κατέστησεν, ἦν οἱ μακάριοι καὶ σώφρονες ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἀπογράφονται πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν πραγμάτων πλάττοντες έαυτούς. ταύτην δ’ οὐδεν ἐμποιεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν ἦ λόγος ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παραγενόμενος· ἣν μὴ πάσχωμεν τὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ὃς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διογένην θεασάμενος καὶ δι’ εὐφυίαν ἀγαπήσας καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ φρόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶπεν “εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦμη, Διογένης

1 ὁ μὲν Wytenbach: ἦμιν.
2 ὀσάυτως Reiske: οὖτως.
3 εὐθεία Reiske; cf. Moralia, 601 b: εὐθεία.
4 αὐτὸν Abresch: αὐτὴν or αὐτόν.
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 Plato\(^a\) 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.
Β ἀρετῆς καὶ ἄσχολιαν βαρυνόμενος καὶ ξηλοτυπῶν τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν πῆραν, ὅτι τούτους ἦν ἀνίκητος καὶ ἀνάλωτος Διογένης, οὐχ ὡς ἔκεινος ὄπλοις καὶ ῥποίοις καὶ σαρίσσαις. ἐξήν οὖν φιλοσοφοῦντα καὶ τῇ διαθέσει γίγνεσθαι Διογένην καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μένειν Ἄλεξανδρον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γενέσθαι Διογένην μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἦν Ἄλεξανδρος, ὡς πρὸς τύχην μεγάλην πολὺ πνεῦμα καὶ σάλον ἔχουσαν ἐρματος πολλοῦ καὶ κυβερνῆτου μεγάλου δεόμενον.

6. Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀσθενείς καὶ ταπεινοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταις τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μιγνύμενον τὸ ἀνόητον εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τελευτᾷ, ὅταν ταχέως ἃ βούλεται ποιῇ. μέγας οὖν ὁ κίνδυνος βούλεσθαι ἃ μὴ δεῖ τὸν ἃ βούλεται δυνάμενον.
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, Il. xix. 242.

8 νεῦρα τοῖς Stobaeus: ἀνιάτοις.
αὐτίκ’ ἐπειθ’ ἀμα μῦθος ἐν,
καὶ ἀπόλωλεν ὁ προσκρούσας· ὑπόνοια, καὶ τέθνη-
D κεν ὁ διαβληθεῖς. ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι
τῆν ἀστραπὴν τῆς βροντῆς ὑστέραν μὲν ἐκπίπτειν
ὡς αἷμα τραύματος, προτέραν δὲ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν
μὲν ψόφον ἐκδεχομένης τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς
ὀφεως ἀπαντώσης· οὕτως εἶν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς φθάνουσιν
αἱ κολάσεις τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ προεκπίπτουσιν αἱ
καταδίκαι τῶν ἀποδείξεων.

ἐικεὶ1 γὰρ ἦδη θυμὸς οἴδ᾽2 ἐτ’ ἀντέχει,
θυνῶδες ὡς ἀγκιστρὸν ἀγκύρας σάλω,3
ἄν μὴ βάρος ἔχων ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπιθλίβη καὶ πιέζη
τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ὑμομουμένου τὸν ἃλιον τοῦ ἀρχοντος,
Ε ὃς ὅταν ὑψωμα λάβη μέγιστον, ἐξαρθεῖ εἰ τοῖς
βορείοις, ἐλάχιστα κινεῖται, τῷ ψύχῃ τοῦ ἀρχοντος
τὸν δρόμον εἰς ἀφαλές καθιστάμενος.

7. Οὐδὲ γὰρ λαθεῖν οἶον τε τὰς κακίας ἐν ταῖς
ἐξουσίαις· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιληπτικοὺς, ὅτι ἐν ὑψει
tῶν γένων καὶ περιενεχθῶσιν, ἵλιγγος ὁ ἀντέχει καὶ
τοὺς ταίς ἀρχαίς μετεώρους γενομένους εὐθὺς ἐπιθυμεῖ
καὶ ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἣ τύχῃ μικρὸν ἐκκοπήσασα
πλούτοις τοῖς ἀρχαίς ἤ δόξαις ἤ ἀρχαίς μετεώρους
γενομένους εὐθὺς ἐπιθυμεῖ εἰς ἀποδείξεις ἀρχαῖς
tοῖς ἀρχαῖς μετεώρους ἀπειροκαλίαις,

1 εἰκεὶ F. G. Schmidt; cf. Moralia, 446 A: ἐκεῖ.
2 οἴδ᾽ Moralia, 446 λ: οὐδ᾽.
3 σάλω ibid.: σάλων (σάλων V2).
TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 782

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

* From a work of an unknown tragic poet; see Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 911, no. 379; cf. Moralia, 446 A.
καίτοι1 τί δεῖ ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅπου καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα
tῶν ἐλλειμμάτων περὶ τοὺς ἐπιφανείς καὶ ἐνδόξους
συκοφαντεῖται; Κύμωνος ἦν ὁ οἶνος διαβολή,
Σκιπίωνος ὁ ὕπνος, Λεύκολλος ἐπὶ τῷ δειπνεῖν
πολυτελέστερον ἠκουε κακῶς * * *

1 καίτοι Reiske: καὶ.
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.
Β 1. Ὁτι μὲν, ὦ Βύφανε, ἐπαινέτης ὧν Πινδάρου πολλάκις ἔχεις διά στόματος ὡς εἰρημένον εὖ καὶ πιθανῶς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ
tιθεμένων ἀγώνων πρόφασις ἀρετὸν ἐς' αἰτήν ἐβαλε σκότον,
οὐκ ἄγνοούμεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πλείστας αἱ πρὸς τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀγώνας ἀποκνήσεις καὶ μαλακίαι προ-
φάσεις ἔχουσα τελευταῖαν ὡσπερ τὴν ᾿ἀφ’ ἵερας ἑμοῦ τὸ γήρας, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τούτω τὸ φιλότιμον ἀμβλύνει καὶ δυσωπεῖ δοκοῦσαι πείθουσιν εἴναι τινα πρέπουσαν οὐκ ἀθλητικὴς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν. Καὶ οἴομαι δεῖν ἃ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν ἑκάστοτε λογίζομαι καὶ πρὸς σὲ διελθεῖν περὶ τῆς πρεσβυτικῆς πολιτείας. Οἵπως μηδέτερος ἀπολείψει τὴν μακρὰν συνοδίαν μέχρι δεῦρο κοινῷ προερχομένην μηδὲ τὸν πολι-
tικὸν βίον ὡσπερ ἡλικιώτην καὶ συνήθη φίλον

1 ἐς Pindar: eis.

a Pindar, ed. Bergk-Schroeder, p. 475, no. 228 (252).
b In one form of the game of draughts the “pieces” or “men” stood on lines, of which there were five for each of the two players. One of these, perhaps the middle one, was
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.\(^a\)

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"\(^b\) 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) ἀπορρίψας μεταβαλεῖταϊ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀσυνήθη καὶ
χρόνον οὐκ ἔχοντα συνήθη γενέσθαι καὶ οἰκεῖον,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐμμενοῦμεν οἷς ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς προειλόμεθα, ταῦτα
τοῦ ξῆν καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ξῆν ποιησάμενοι πέρας
εἰ γε δὴ μή μέλλουμεν ἐν βραχεὶ τῷ λειτουμένῳ τῶν
πολὺν ἐλέγχειν χρόνον, ὡς ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ καλῶς ἑκατον
ἀνηλώμενον.

D Ὅμως ἡ τυραννίς, ὡς τις εἶπε Διονυσίως,
καλὸν ἐντάφιον ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖνῳ γε τὴν μοναρχίαν
μετὰ τῆς ἀδικίας τὸ γε μὴ παύσασθαι συμφορὰν
τελεστέραν ἐποίησε. καὶ καλῶς Διογένης ύστερον
ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ θεασάμενος ἐποίησεν ἑκ
τυράννου γεγενημένον “ὡς ἀναξίως,” ἔφη,
“Διονύσιε, σεαυτὸ πράττεις: ὅ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
σε μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐδει ξῆν ἐλευθέρως καὶ ἅδεως,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐκεῖ τοῖς τυραννείοις ἐγκατακολομμένοιν
ἀσπέρ ὁ πατήρ ἄρχοι γήρως ἐγκαταβιῶσαι.”
pολιτεία δὲ δημοκρατικὴ καὶ νόμων ἀνδρὸς
ἐθισμένου παρέχειν αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἔπαυσθαι συμφορὰν
Ἐφελίμως ἢ ἄρχοντα καλὸν ἐνταύφιον ὡς ἀληθῶς
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου δόξαν τῷ θανάτῳ προστίθησιν:
τοῦτο γὰρ
ἐσχατον δύεται κατὰ γᾶς
ὡς φησὶ Σιμωνίδης, πλὴν ὑν προαιροθύσικει τὸ
φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ προαιροθύσικε τῆς
τῶν ἁγιακῶν ἐπιθυμίας τῶν καλῶν ζηλός, ὡς
τὰ πρακτικὰ μέρη καὶ θεία τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξειτηλότερα
tῶν παθητικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἑυόπτησις ὁπερ

1 μεταβαλεῖται Duebner: μεταβάληται.
2 καλῶς Emperius: καθὼς.
3 ὁπέρ] διότι 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 unworthy of yourself, Dionysius, your conduct is! 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

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*a* Cf. Isocrates, vi. 125.

οὐδὲ λέγειν καλὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀποδέχεσθαι τῶν λεγόντων, ἐφ᾽ ὡς κερδαίωντες μόνον οὐ κοπιῶμεν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θουκυδίδου παράγει εἰπὲ τὸ βέλτιον, μὴ τὸ φιλότιμον ἀγήρων¹ μόνον ἡγουμένους, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν, ὁ καὶ μῦρμηξιν ἀχρὶ τέλους παραμένει καὶ μελίτταις. οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ πώποτε² εἴδενα ὑπὸ γῆρως κηφῆνα γενομένην μελίτταν, ὡσπερ ἐνοι τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἄξιοσθέντας, ὅταν παρακμάσωσιν, οὐκοι σιτουμένους καθήσαται καὶ ἀποκείσθαι, καθάπερ ἰὼ σιδηρὸν ὕπ᾽ ἀργίας τὴν πρακτικὴν ἀρετὴν σβενυμένην περιορώντας. Οὐδὲ εἰς γὰρ Γάτων ἐλεγεν, ὡς πολλὰς ἱδίας ἐχοντι τῷ γῆρᾳ κήρας οὐ δεῖ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας ἐκόντας ἐπάγειν αἰσχύνην. πολλῶν δὲ κακιῶν οὐδεμίας ἔτος ἀπραξία καὶ δειλία καὶ μαλακία καταιγνούσιν ἄνδρα πρεσβύτην, ἐκ πολιτικῶν ἀρχείων καταδυόμενον εἰς οἰκουρίαν γυναικῶν ἢ κατὰ ἀγρὸν ἐφορῶντα καλαμητρίδας³ καὶ θεριςτὰς.

ὁ δὲ Οἰδίπους ποῦ καὶ τὰ κλεῖν αἰνίγματα;

Τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν γηρᾷ πολιτείας ἄρχεσθαι καὶ μῆ πρότερον, ὡσπερ Ἐπιμενίδην λέγουσι κατακοιμηθέντα νεανίαν ἐξεγρέσθαι γέροντα μετὰ πεντῆκοντα

¹ ἀγήρων Thucydides, ii. 44. 4: ἀγήρω.
² πώποτε from Stobaeus, xlvi. 20.
³ εἴδεν ibid.: οἴδεν.

καλαμητρίδας Coraes: καλαμητρίας.

α 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.”

See Life of Cato the Elder, ix. 10.

Euripides, Phoen. 1688. This line is spoken by Antigone to her blind father Oedipus. Plutarch seems to imply that the old man who enters political life without experience is no better off than was Oedipus, in spite of his famous solution of the riddle of the sphinx, when exposed to the vicissitudes of exile.
Β ἔτη: εἶτα τὴν οὐτω μακρὰν καὶ συμβεβιωκυῖαν² (784) ἰσχυρὰν ἀποθέμενον ἐμβαλεῖν έαυτὸν εἰς ἀγώνας καὶ ἀσχολίας, αὕθη καὶ ἀγύμναστον ὀντα καὶ μήτε πράγμασιν ἐνωμιληκότα πολιτικοῖς μήτ᾽ ἀνθρώ-

ποις, ἦσος αὐτιωμένω τινὶ παράσχοι τὸ τῆς Πυθίας εἶπεν "ὄψι' ἢλθε" άρχην καὶ δημαγωγιάν διέζημον, καὶ παρ᾽ ὄραν στρατηγίου κόπτεις θύραν, ὦσπερ τις ἀτεχνότερος ὃν νύκτωρ ἐπὶ-

κώμος ἀφιγμένος, ἢ ἔνοικος ὃτον οὐδὲ χώραν ἀλλὰ βίον, οὐ μὴ πεπείρασαι, μεταλλάττω. τὸ γὰρ "πόλις ἀνδρα διδάσκει" κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἀληθές ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν εὐκόλως εὐκόλως δυναμένης. οὐδὲ πολλὰς ἀρχόμενοι καὶ

C πραγμάτων μόλις ἐκπονούμενοι, ἀνπερ ἐν καιρὸ φύσεως ἐπιλάβηται καὶ πόνων ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ δυσ-

ημερίαν ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν: καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ νόμοι διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ Ἀλκιβιάδας οὐδὲ Πυθέας ἀνιστάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα πρώτους, λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν παρακαλοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ τοιούτοις" άθηεία τόλμης καὶ τριβή ἐνδεια

1 εἶτα τὴν Bernardakis: οὔτ' ἄν.
2 συμβεβιωκυῖαν Reiske: συμβεβηκυῖαν.
3 ὄψ' Haupt: ὄψε μ' (or ὄψιμ'?).
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," \(^a\) 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.

\(^a\) Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 418, no. 67 (109).

\(^4\) τοιούτους (or τοιούτον) Babbitt: τοσούτουν.
(784) καλεῖ1 πρὸς τροπαῖον2 κατ’ ἀντιστασιωτῶν.3 ὁ δὲ Κάτων met' ὤγοδοήκοντε' ἐτη δίκην ἀπολογούμενος ἐφη χαλεπῶν εἶναι βεβιωκότα met’ ἄλλων ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολογείσθαι. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῦ καταλύσαντος Ἀντώνιον οὐτὶ μικρῷ βασιλικώτερα καὶ δημο-ωφελέστερα γενέσθαι πολιτεύματα πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ πάντες ὀμολογοῦσιν· αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς νέους ἔθεσε καὶ νόμοις αὐστηρῶς σωφρονίζων, ὡς ἐθορίβησαν, "ἀκούσατ'," εἶπε, "νέοι γέροντος ὕ νέου γέροντες ἔμοιον." ἢ δὲ Περικλέους πολιτεία τὸ μέγιστον ἐν γήρᾳ κράτος ἐσχεν, ὥσ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀρασθάν τὸν Ἀθηναίους ἐπιδειχθείναι καὶ προμηγμονεῖν οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἐξαισιμρίους ὀπλίτας, ἐνέστη καὶ διεκώλυσε, καὶ καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἀποσφραγισάμενος. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡ γε Ἑνοφόων περὶ Ἀγησίλαον γέγραφεν, αὐτὸς ὀνόμασιν αξίων ἐστι παραθέσθαι. "ποιας γὰρ," φησί, "νεότητος οὐ κρεῖττον τὸ ἐκείνου γῆρας ἐφάνη; τός μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἐκθροὺς ἄκμαζων οὐτω φοβερός ἦν, ὡς Ἀγησίλαος τὸ μηκιστὸν τοῦ ἀιώνος ἐξων; τίνος δὲ ἐκποδών γενομένου μᾶλλον ἑσθήσαν οἱ πολέμιοι ἡ Ἀγησίλαον, καίπερ γηραιοῦ τελευτήσαντος; τοῖς δὲ συμμάχοις θάρσος παρέσχεν ἡ Ἀγησίλαος, καίπερ ἥδη πρὸς τῷ τέρματι τοῦ βίου ὅν; τίνα δὲ νέον οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἐπόθησαν ἡ Ἀγησίλαον γηραιοῦ ἀποθανόντα;" 3. Ἐπτ' ἐκείνους μὲν τηλικαῦτα πράττειν ὦ χρόνος οὐκ ἐκώλυνεν, ἤμεῖς δ' οἱ νῦν τρυφώντες ἐν

1 καλεῖ Babbitt: καλ.
2 πρὸς τροπαῖον Babbitt: προτρόπαιον.
3 κατ’ ἀντιστασιωτῶν Capps; κατ’ ἀνταγωνιστῶν Babbitt: ἐκάστω στρατιωτῶν.

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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

\[a\] i.e. Augustus. \[b\] Xenophon, Agesilaüs, 11. 15.
πολιτείαις, μή τυραννίδα μή πόλεμόν τινα μή πολιορκίαν ἐχούσαις, ἀπολέμους δ' ἀμύλλας καὶ φιλοτιμίας νόμῳ τὰ πολλά καὶ λόγῳ μετὰ δίκης 785 περαινομένας ἀποδειλιῶμεν; οὐ μόνον στρατηγῶν τῶν τότε καὶ δημαγωγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν καὶ ψευδοκρατών ὕποκριτῶν ὁμολογούντες εἶναι κακούς: εἷς Σιμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γήρᾳ χοροῖς ἐνίκα, ώς τοπίγραμμα δηλοῖ τῶν πολεμακοῦντων ἐπέσειν·

ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὲ Σιμωνίδη ἐστετο κύδος ὅγιδωκονταετεῖ παιδὶ Λεωπρέπεος.

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ λέγεται μὲν ὑπὸ παιδῶν παρανόιας δίκην φεύγων ἀναγνώσαι τὴν ἐν Οἰδίποδι τῷ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ πάροδον, ἢ ἐστὶν ἄρχη
eὐππου, ξένε, τάσσε ἡμέρας ἢκαυ τὰ κράτιστα γάς ἐπαυλα, τὸν ἀγρητα Κολωνόν, ἐνθ'
ἀλλα γεια μινύρεται θαμίζουσα μάλιστ' ἀηδῶν χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις.

Β θαυμαστοῖ δὲ τοῦ μέλους φανέντος, ὥσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου τοῦ δικαστηρίου προπεμφθῆναι μετὰ κρότου καὶ βοής τῶν παρόντων. τούτο δ' ὁμολογομένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστί τοπίγραμμάτων

γίδην Ἡροδότῳ τεῦξε Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὃν πέντε, ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα.

1 ὡς Bernardakis: καὶ.
2 παίδων Xylander: πολλῶν.
3 Κολωνῶν 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 this little epigram of Sophocles corroborates the tale:

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) Φιλήμονα δὲ τὸν κωμικὸν καὶ Ἀλεξίν ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ στεφανομένους θάνατος κατέλαβε. Πώλον δὲ τὸν τραγῳδὸν Ἐρατοσθένη καὶ Φιλόχορος ἱστοροῦσιν ἐβδομή-C κοντ’ ἐτη γεγενημένον οκτῶ τραγῳδίας ἐν τέτ- 

tαρσιν ἡμέραις διαγωνίσασθαί μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς.

4. Ἀρ’ οὖν οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐστι τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς γερόντων τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγεννεστέρους ὁρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἵππων ἐδαρέθθως ἐξυισταμένους ἀγώνων ἀποτίθεσθαι τὸ πολιτικὸν πρόσωπον, οὐκ οἶδ’ ὅποιον ἀντιμεταλαμβάνοντας; καὶ γὰρ τὸ τῆς γεωργίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ ταπεινὸς ὀκτὼ τραγῳδίας ἐν τέταρτα ἡμέραις διαγωνίσασθαι μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς.

Αμφετύσσομεν, ἀπολυτρών, εἴθ’ ὅρωμενον ἐν ἀλφίτων καὶ στεμφύλων διαμετρήσει καὶ πόκοις προβάτων οὐ παντάπασι δόξει τοῦτο ὅτι τὸ καλοῦ- 

μενον "ἔπον γηρας" ἐπάγεσθαι, μηδὲνος ἀναγ-καζόντος; ἐργασίας γε μὴν βαναύσου καὶ ἀγο-

ραίας ἀπεσθαί μετὰ πολιτείαν ὁμοίον ἐστι τῷ γυναικὸς ἔλευθερας καὶ σώφρονος ἐνδυμα περι-

σπάσατα καὶ περίζωμα δότα συνέχει ἐπὶ τραγῳδίας] τραγῳδίας Hartman.

2 πολιτείαν Madvig: πολιτείας.

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a 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 (Macrobiou, 25) that he died of excessive laughter when 97 years old.

b 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.

\(^a\) 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.

\(^b\) Demosthenes, xxi. (Against Meidias) 568.
κατηλείου: καὶ γὰρ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς οὕτως ἀπόλλυται τὸ ἁξίωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος πρὸς τινας. Ἐ οἰκονομίας καὶ χρηματισμούς ἀγομένης. ἂν δ', ὅπερ λοιπόν ἐστι, ῥαστώνας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις τὰς ἡδυπαθείας καὶ τὰς τρυφὰς ὀνομάζοντες εν ταύταις μαρανόμενον ήσυχὴν παρακαλῶσι γηράσκει τὸν πολιτικὸν, οὐκ οἶδα ποτέ διεῖν εἰκόνων αἱσχρῶν πρέπει δόξαι μάλλον ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ· πότερον ἀφροδίσια ναύταις ἀγομένης καὶ παραπλέκειν έαυτὸν, οὕτως τὸν πολιτικὸν οὐκ οἶδα ποτερῇ δυεῖν εἰκόνων αἰσχρῶν πρέπει δόξαι μάλλον ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ· πότερον ἀφροδίσια ναύταις ἀγομένης καὶ παραπλέκειν έαυτὸν, οὕτως τὸν πολιτικὸν

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

1 Λεύκολλον Duebner: λεύκολλον ᾧ ἦν εἰπεν.
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 Omphalē’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 ἔδωνᾶς, καὶ οὕχ

ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γέρουσιν ἀχθεται

Β μόνον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, άλλα καὶ τὰς περί πόσιν καὶ βρῶσιν ἐπιθυμίας ἀπημβλυμένας τὰ πολλά καὶ νωδᾶς κατέχοντες μόλις οἶον ἐπιθήγουσι καὶ χαράττουσι· ἐν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ παρασκευαστέον ἔδωνᾶς οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς οὐδὲ ἀνελευθέρους, ὡς Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῶ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἔδωνῶν ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἐτι γηροβοσκεῖται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίων. ἀλλὰ ἡ πολιτεία καλλίστας μὲν ἔδωνᾶς ἐχει καὶ μεγίστας, αἰς καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς εἰκός ἐστιν ἡ μόναι ἡ μάλιστα χαίρειν· αὕται δὲ εἰσίν, ὡς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ καλὸν τι πράττειν ἀναδίδωσιν. εἰ γὰρ Νικίας ὁ ξωγράφος οὕτως ἔχαρε τοῖς τῆς τέχνης ἔργοις, ὡστε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐρωτᾶ τῶν πολλάκις, εἰ λέουσι καὶ ἡράστηκεν· Ἀρχιμήδην ἐν τῇ σανίδι προσκείμενον ἄποσπώντες βία καὶ ἀποδύοντες ἠλευφον οἵ θεράποντες, δὲ ἔπι τοῦ σώματος ἀλημμένου διέγραψε τὰ σχῆματα. Κάνος ἐν τῷ αὐλητῆς, ὅν καὶ οὗ γυνώσκεις, ἔλεγεν ἀγνοεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅσω μᾶλλον αὐτὸν αὐλῶν ἡ

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

Aphrodité 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

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\[ \delta\alpha\lambda\; \eta \; \tau\omicron \; \gamma\eta\rho\alpha\sigma \; \tau\omicron \; \chi\upsilon\pi\omicron\nu \; \chi\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\omicron\nu \; \epsilon\acute{a} \]

\[ \eta \; \tau\omicron \; \acute{A}\phi\rho\omicron\delta\omicron\iota\tau\omicron \; \tau\omicron\iota\omicron \; \gamma\epsilon\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron \; \acute{a}\chi\upsilon\theta\omicron\omicron\upsilon \]

"But either eld to Cypris bids farewell
Or Aphrodité with old men is wroth."
(786) ἑτέρους εὐφραίνει: λαμβάνει γὰρ ἂν μισθὸν οὐ
didόναι τοὺς ἄκοιτεν ἔθελοντας. ἃρ’ οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν, ἡλίκας ἥδονὰς αἱ ἀρεταὶ
tοῖς χρωμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν ἔργων καὶ
φιλανθρώπων παρασκευάζουσι, οὐ κνῶσαι οὐδὲ
θρύπτουσαί, ὡσπερ αἱ εἰς σάρκα λειάναι καὶ προσηνεῖς
D γινόμεναι κινήσεις; ἀλλ’ αὐταὶ μὲν οἰστρῶδες
καὶ ἀβέβαιον καὶ μεμιγμένον σφυγμῷ τὸ γαργά-
λίζον ἔχουσιν, αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἑργοῖς, οὐν
δημούργος οὐ πολιτευόμενος ὁρθῶσ ἐστιν, οὐ
taῖς Ἕλλιπιδού χρυσαῖς πτέρυξιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς Πλατωνικοῖς
ἐκείνοις καὶ οὐρανίοις πτεροῖς ὰμοια τήν ψυχήν
μέγεθος καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ γῆθους λαμβάνουσαν
ἀναφέρουσιν.

6. Ὅποιμίμησκε δὲ σεαυτὸν ἕν πολλάκις ἄκη-
κοας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ᾿Επαμεινώνδας ἐρωτηθεὶς τί
ἡδιστον αὐτῷ γέγονεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
ἔτι ζῶντος καὶ τῆς μητρὸς νικῆσαι τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις
μάχην. ὁ δὲ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων
Ε τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν καθήρας προσέμιξε τῇ Ῥώμη
πρώτον, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατέδαρθεν, ὑπὸ
γῆθους καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης ύσπερ πνεύματος
ἀναφερόμενοι τὴν ψυχήν καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ
gέγραφεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν. ἀκουόμα μὲν γὰρ
ἐστω μηδὲν ἥδιον ἐπαύοντα κατὰ τῶν Ἐνοφῶντα,
θέαμα δὲ καὶ μνημόνευμα καὶ διανόημα τῶν ὀντῶν
οὐδὲν ἐστιν ὃ τοσαύτην φητει κάριν, ὡσπερ πράξεων
ιδίων ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ύσπερ ἐν τόποις
λαμπροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀναθεώρησις. οὐ μὴν

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OLaD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 786

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 a but like those heavenly Platonic pinions, b 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 c 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 e–248 e, where the soul is likened to a chariot and charioteer with winged steeds.

c Xenophon, Memorabilia, ii. 1. 31.
Ἐὰν καὶ χάρις εὐμενῆς συμμαρτυροῦσα στοι ἔργοι καὶ συναμιλλώμενος ἐπαίνοις, εὐνοίας δικαίας ἠγεμόνων, οἶον τῷ φῶς καὶ γάνωμα τῷ χαίροντι τῆς ἀρετῆς προστίθησι· καὶ δεῖ μὴ περιοράν ὦσσερ ἀθλητικὸν στέφανον ἐν γῇρᾳ ἔχεράν γενομένην τῆν δόξαν, ἄλλα καίνον ἀεὶ τι καὶ πρόσφατον ἐπιφέροντα τῆν τῶν παλαιῶν χάριν ἐγείρει καί ποιεῖν ἁμείνῳ καὶ μόνημον· ὦσσερ οἰ τεχνίται, διο ἐπέκειτο φροντίζειν σώον εἶναι τῷ Δηλιακῷ πλοῖον, ἀντὶ τῶν πονοῦντων ξύλων ἐμβάλλοντες ἄλλα καὶ συμπηγνύντες ἁίδιον ἑκ τῶν τώτε χρόνων καὶ ἀφθαρτον 787 ἐδόκουν διαφυλάττειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξης καὶ φλογὸς οὐ χαλεπὴ σωτηρία καὶ τήρησις ἄλλα μικρῶν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεομένη, κατασβεσθέν δὲ καὶ ὑποψυχθέν οὐδέτερον ἀν τις ἀπραγμόνως πάλιν ἐξάψειεν. ὥσ δὲ Λάμπης ὁ ναύκληρος ἐρωτηθεὶς πῶς ἐκτήσατο τὸν πλοῦτον "οὐ χαλεπῶς" ἢ ἔφη "τὸν μέγαν, τὸν δὲ βραχὺν ἐπιπόνως καὶ βραδέως". οὔτω τῆς πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἀρχῇ τυχεῖν οὐ Ῥάδιον ἐστὶ, τὸ δὲ συναυξῆσαι καὶ διαφυλάξαι μεγάλην γενομένην ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἐτοιμον. 3 οὔτε γὰρ χίλιος ὅταν γένηται πολλὰς Β λειτουργίας ἐπιζητεῖ καὶ μεγάλας, ἵνα μένῃ φίλος, μικρῶς δὲ σημείοις τὸ ἐνδελεχεῖς ἀεὶ διαφυλάττει τῆν εὐνοίαν· η τε δήμου φιλία καὶ πίστις οὐκ

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

a 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.
ἀεὶ δεομένη1 χορηγοῦντος οὐδὲ προδικοῦντος2 οὐδ' ἀρχοντός αὐτή τῇ προθυμίᾳ συνέχεται καὶ τῷ μή προαπολείποντι μηδ' ἀπαγορεύοντι τῆς ἐπιμελείας καὶ φροντίδος. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ στρατείαι παρατάξεις ἀεὶ καὶ μάχαι καὶ πολιορκίαι ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίας ἔστιν ὦτε καὶ συνονίας διὰ μέσον καὶ σχολήν ἀφθονον ἐν παιδιαῖς καὶ φλυαρίαις δέχονται. πόθεν γε δὴ τὴν πολιτείαν φοβητέον, ὡς ἀπαραμύθητον καὶ πολύπονον καὶ βαρεῖαν, ὅπου καὶ θέατρα καὶ συνουσίαι καὶ "χοροί καὶ οὐδὲ γὰρ στρατεῖαι παρατάξεις ἀεὶ καὶ μάχαι καὶ πολιορκίαι ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίας ἔστιν ὀτε καὶ συνονίας διὰ μέσον καὶ σχολήν ἀφθονον ἐν παιδιαῖς καὶ φλυαρίαις δέχονται. πόθεν γε δὴ τὴν πολιτείαν φοβητέον, ὡς ἀπαραμύθητον καὶ πολύπονον καὶ βαρεῖαν, ὅπου καὶ θέατρα καὶ συνουσίαι καὶ "χοροί καὶ οὐδὲ γὰρ στρατεῖαι παρατάξεις ἀεὶ καὶ μάχαι καὶ πολιορκίαι ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίας ἔστιν ὀτε καὶ συνονίας διὰ μέσον καὶ σχολήν ἀφθονον ἐν παιδιαῖς καὶ φλυαρίαις δέχονται. πόθεν γε δὴ τὴν πολιτείαν φοβητέον, ὡς ἀπαραμύθητον καὶ πολύπονον καὶ βαρεῖαν, ὅπου καὶ θέατρα καὶ συνουσίαι καὶ "χοροί καὶ

7. "Ο τοίνυν μέγιστον κακὸν ἔχουσιν αἱ πολιτείαι, τὸν φθόνον, ἥκιστα διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ γῆρας: "κύνες γὰρ καὶ βαῦζονται ὅν ἂν μὴ γυνώσκωσι", καθ' 'Ἡράκλειτον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν4 ἀρχόμενον ὠσπέρ ἐν θύραις τοῦ βήματος μάχεται καὶ πάροδον οὐ δίδωσι· τὴν δὲ σύντροφον καὶ συνήθη δόξαν ὃνἔνυσεν οὐκ ἀγρίως οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀλλὰ πράως ἀνέχεται. διὸ τὸν φθόνον ἔνιοι τῷ καπνῷ παρεικάζουσι· πολὺς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχόμενοις διὰ τὸ φλέγεσθαι προεκπίπτων, ὅταν ἐκλάμψωσιν, ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ὑπεροχαῖς προσμάχονται καὶ διαμφισβητοῦσιν ἀρετής καὶ γένους καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὡς

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

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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 doorway, 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 ἄλλοις ὑφίενται· τὸ δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου πρωτεῖον, ὁ καλείται κυρίως πρεσβεῖον, ἀξηλοτρυπτόν ἐστι καὶ παραχωρούμενον· οὐδεμιᾶ γὰρ οὗτοι τιμῆς συμβέβηκε τὸν τιμῶντα μᾶλλ᾽ ἢ τὸν τιμώμενον κοσμεῖν, ὡς τῇ τῶν γερώντων. ἐτι τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούτου δύναμιν ἢ λόγου δεινότητος ἢ σοφίας οὐ πάντες αὐτοῖς γενήθησαν προοδοκόων, ἐφ᾽ ᾧ δὲ προάγει τὸ γῆρας αἰδῶ καὶ δόξαν οὐδεὶς ἀπελπίζει τῶν πολιτευομένων· οὐδὲν οὖν διαφέρει κυβερνήτων πρὸς ἐναντίον κύρια καὶ πνεύμα πλεύσαντος ἐπι-
Ε σφαλὼς, εὐδίας δὲ καὶ εὐαίσθητος γενομένης ὃ ῥμίσασθαι ζητοῦντος, ὁ τῷ φθόνῳ διαναυμαχήσας πολὺν χρόνον, ἐτὰ παυσαμένου καὶ στορεσθέντος, ἀνακρουόμενοι ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ προϊέμενοι ἂμα ταῖς πράξεσι τὰς κοινωνίας καὶ τὰς ἔταιρειας. οὐσον γὰρ χρόνον γέγονε πλείως, καὶ φίλους πλείως καὶ συναγωνισμὸς πεποίηκεν, οὐς οὔτε συνεξάγειν ἐαυτῷ πάντας ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλως χρόνον Φ οὔτ᾽ ἐγκαταλείπειν ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλως χρόνον ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλως χρόνον ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλως χρόνον ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλως χρόνον ἐν
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1 ἐγκαταλείπειν Bernardakis: ἐγκαταλείπειν.
2 ἀόπλους 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
οὕτως ἀγωνιζομένοις φθονοῦντες ὡς ἀπειπαμένοις καταφρονήσαντες ἐπιτίθενται.

8. Μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπ᾽ Ἃπαμεινώνδα τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους, ὅτε χειμῶνος ὄντος οἱ Ἀρκάδες παρεκάλουν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις διαιτᾶσθαι παρελθόντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ γὰρ εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ "νῦν μὲν," ἔφη, "θαυμάζουσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ θεωταί πρὸς τὰ ὅπλα γυμναζομένους καὶ παλαίοντας· ἂν δὲ πρὸς τῷ πυρὶ καθημένους ὀρῶσι τὸν κύαμον κάπτοντας, 1 οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ἐγκατέστησεν διαφέρειν," οὕτω δὴ σεμνὸν ἐστὶ θέαμα πρεσβύτης

Β λέγων τι καὶ πράττων καὶ τιμώμενος, δ' ἐν κλῖνη διημερεύων ἡ καθήμενος ἐν γωνία στρατευόμενος καὶ ἀπομυττόμενος εὐκαταφρόνητος. τούτῳ δ' ἀμέλει καὶ ὁμήρος διδάσκει τοὺς ὄρθους ἀκούοντας· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Νέστωρ στρατευόμενος ἐν Τροίᾳ σεμνὸς ἡν καὶ πολυτίμητος, δὲ Πηλεύς καὶ Δαέρτης οἰκουροῦντες ἀπερρίφησαν καὶ κατεφρονήθησαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἔξις ὄμοιως παραμένει τοῖς μεθείσις αὐτούς, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀργίας ἐξανιεμένη καὶ ἀναλυομένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ τινα ποθεὶ φροντίδος μελέτην, τὸ λογιστικὸν καὶ πρακτικὸν ἐγειρούσης καὶ διακαθαυροῦσης·

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαις, ὥσπερ εὐπρεπὴς χαλκός.

C οὐ γὰρ τόσον σώματος ἀσθένεια κακὸν πρόσεστι ταῖς πολιτείαις τῶν παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγιον βαδίζοντων, ὅσον ἔχουσιν ἀγαθὸν

1 κάπτοντας Coraes: κόπτοντας.

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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 gobbling 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.\(^a\)

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, ἀλλοτε μὲν δι' ἐσφαλμένα ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κενής, προσπίπτειν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ συνεφέλκεσθαι τὸν ὀχλον, ἀοπερ θάλατταν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐκταραττόμενον, ἀλλὰ πράως τε χρήσθαι καὶ μετρίως τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν. ὃθεν αἱ πόλεις, οταν πταισοῦν ἥ φοβηθώσι, πρεσβυτέρων ποθοῦσιν ἄρχην Δ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ πολλάκις ἐξ ἄγροι κατάγουσιν γέροντα μὴ δεόμενον μηδὲ βουλόμενον ἤναγκασαν ὅσπερ οἶκων ἐφαϊμένους εἰς ἄσφαλες καταστήσαι τὰ πράγματα, παρωσάμεναι τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ δημαγγούς βοῶν μέγα καὶ λέγειν ἀπενευται καὶ νη Δία τοῖς πολεμίαις διαβάντας εὐβάχεσθαι δυναμένους: οἶνον οἱ ρήτορες 'Αθηναίοι Τιμωθέως καὶ Ιφικράτει Χάρητα τὸν Θεοχάρον ἐπαποδύοντες ἀκμάζοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ ρωμαλέον ἠξίουν τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸν τῶν 'Αθηναίων στρατηγὸν, δ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ μὴ φερόμενα Fowler: καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον. Bernardakis suggests ἁτε μὴ φαινομένων (sc. τῶν παρ᾽ ἡλικίαν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα βαδιζόντων) ἀλλοτε μὲν ἐσφαλμένως ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτε. Reiske conjectured καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον (sc. τῶν) ἀμα τὰ μὲν ἐσφαλμένα δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτε.

1 καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον Fowler: καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον. Bernardakis suggests ἀμα τὰ μὲν ἐσφαλμένως (sc. τῶν ταρταρουγάν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα βαδιζόντων) ἀλλοτε μὲν ἐσφαλμένως ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτε. Reiske conjectured καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον (sc. τῶν) ἀμα τὰ μὲν ἐσφαλμένα δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτε.

2 ἀλλοτε Bernardakis: ἀλλὰ τὰ.

3 δι' 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 eldest 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.\textsuperscript{a} 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 Timotheüs and Iphicrates, declared that the general of the Athenians ought to be such as he, but Timotheüs 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’ \textsuperscript{b} and does not let anything that happens disturb his reasoning as to what is for the best.” Sophocles \textsuperscript{c} indeed said that he was glad to have escaped, now that he was old, from sexual love, as from a cruel and raging tyrant;

\textsuperscript{a} A reminiscence of Tyrtaeus, 8. 31 ἀλλὰ τις εὖ διαβὰς μενέτω, and Homer, ἡ. xii. 458. \textsuperscript{b} Homer, ἡ. i. 343. \textsuperscript{c} Cf. Plato, Republic, 329 c, with Shorey’s note.

\textsuperscript{5} τε χρῆσθαι G. Papavassiliu: κεχρῆσθαι.
οὐχ ἕνα δεῖ δεσπότην, ἔρωτα παίδων ἢ γυναικῶν, ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μανικωτέρους τούτου, φιλονεικίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, τήν τοῦ πρῶτον εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμίαν, γονιμώτατον φθόνου νόσημα Φ καὶ ξηλοτυπίας καὶ διχοστασίας: ὃν τὰ μὲν ἄνιησι καὶ παραμβλύνει, τὰ δ’ ὅλως ἀποσβέννυσι καὶ καταψύχει τὸ γῆρας, οὗ τοσοῦτον τῆς πρακτικῆς ὀρμῆς παραίρομενον, ὥσον τῶν ἀκρατῶν καὶ διαπύρων ἀπερύκει παθῶν, ὥστε νήφοντα καὶ καθεστηκότα τὸν λογισμὸν ἐπάγειν ταῖς φροντίσις.


789 ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐμβεβιωκότα πολιτικὰς πράξει καὶ διηγωνυσιμένων οὐκ εἰών ἐπὶ τὴν δᾶδα καὶ τὴν κορωνίδα τοῦ βίου προελθέντως ἀλλ’ ἀνακαλούμενος καὶ κελεύων ὡσπερ ἐξ ὀδοὺ μακρᾶς μεταβαλέσθαι, παντάπασιν ἀγνώμων καὶ μηδὲν ἐκεῖνους προσευκώς ἐστίνως ὅσπερ γὰρ ὁ γαμεῖν παρασκευαζόμενον γέροντ’ ἐστεφανώμενον καὶ μυριζόμενον ἀποτρέπων καὶ λέγων τὰ πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην
tίς δ’ ἂν σε νύμφη, τίς δὲ παρθένος νέα δέξατ’ ἂν; εὖ γοῦν ὡς γαμεῖν ἔχεις τάλας

1 γοῦν Musgrave: γ’ οὖν.

a 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 106
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 a 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! " b

these lines to Strattis, a poet of the Middle Comedy; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 841, no. 10, to an unknown tragic poet.
Β οὐκ ἄτοπός ἐστι: καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα (789) παίζουσιν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς

γαμῶ γέρων, εὗ οἶδα, καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν:

οὐκ ἄτοπός ἐστι: καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς γείτοσιν ἑαυτούς ἑαυτοῖς παίζουσιν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς

ὁ δὲ τὸν πάλαι συνοικοῦντα καὶ συμβιοῦντα πολὺν χρόνον ἁμέμπτως οἰόμενος, δεῖν ἄφειναί διὰ τὸ γῆρας τῇ γυναικῇ καὶ καθ’ ἐαυτὸν ἢ τὴν πάλακιδιον ἀντὶ τῆς γαμετῆς ἑπισπάσασθαι, ἐκατοτῆτος ὡς ὑπερβολὴν ὡς ἀπολέλοιπεν. οὕτω ἔχει τινὰ λόγον τὸ προσιόντα δήμῳ πρεσβύτην ἢ Χλίδωνα τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ Λάμπωνα τὸν ναύκληρον ἢ τινὰ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κύρου φιλοσόφων, νοεθῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν C ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἀπραγμοσύνης. ὁ δὲ Φωκίωνος ἢ Κάτωνος ἢ Περικλέους ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ λέγων ὁ δὲ Φωκίων ἢ Κάτωνος ἢ Περικλέους "ὦ ξέν᾽ ᾿Αθηναῖε ἢ Πρωμαῖε, αἷζε,"

ἀζαλέῳ γῆρᾳ κράτ' ἀνθίζων κήδει, γραφάμενος ἀπόλευσιν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ βήμα καὶ τὸ στρατηγείον ἁφεῖς διατριβὰς καὶ τὰς φροντίδας εἰς ἀγρόν ἐπείγου συν ἁμφιπόλω τῇ γεωργίᾳ συνεσόμενος πρὸς ὡς οἰκονομία τινὶ καὶ λογισμὸς διαθησόμενος τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον," ἀδικα πείθει καὶ ἀχάριστα πράττει τὸν πολιτικὸν.

10. Τί οὖν; φήσαι τις ἄν, οὐκ ἀκούομεν ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ στρατιῶτου λέγοντος

λευκῇ με θρίξ ἀπόμισθον ἐντεῦθεν ποιεῖ;

1 κράτ᾽ ἀνθίζων κήδει Fowler; κατανθίζων κάρα, ἢδη Madvig; κράτ᾽ ἀνθίζων ἢδη Bernardakis: κατανθιδῶν.
2 ἀπόλευσιν Junius: ἀπολεύσεων.
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 hand-maid 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.
πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἑταῖρε: τοὺς ἄρεος θεραποῦντας ἥβαλν πρέπει καὶ ἀκμάζειν, οία δὴ
πόλεμον πολέμοιο τε μέρμερα ἑργα

D διεποντας, ἐν οἷς τοῦ γέροντος κἂν τὸ κράνος ἀποκρύψῃ τὰς πολιὰς,

ἀλλὰ τε λάθρῃ γυνὰ βαρύνεται

καὶ προαπολείπει τῆς προθυμίας ἡ δύναμις· τοὺς
de τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολιέως Διὸς

ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἑργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν,

καὶ λουῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου, μὴ ῥαχίαν

ποιοῦντος ἐν δήμῳ καὶ ψόφον ἄλλα νοῦν ἔχοντος

καὶ φροντίδα πεπνυμένην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν· oίς

ἡ γελωμένη πολιὰ καὶ ῥυτὶς ὑπερασπίσθη
cαὶ πειθοῦς συνεργὸν αὐτῷ καὶ δόξαν

Εῇδος προστίθησοι. πειθαρχικὸν γὰρ ἡ νεότης

ἡγεμονικόν καὶ μάλιστα σῴζεται πόλις

ἐνθα βουλαὶ γερόντων, καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύουσιν 1 αἴχμαι·

καὶ τὸ

βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθύμων ἢζε γερόντων

Νεστορέῃ παρὰ νηὶ

θαυμαστῶς ἐπαινεῖται. διὸ τὴν μὲν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι

παραζευχθέον ἀριστοκρατίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ὁ Πύθιος "προσβυγενέας" ὁ δὲ Λυκούργος


1 ἀριστεύουσιν Boeckh: ἀριστεύουσιν.
Certainly, my friend, for the servants of Ares should properly be young and in their prime, as practising war and war's practices baneful,\(^a\)
in which even if an old man's hoary hair is covered by a helmet,

Yet are his limbs by unseen weight oppressed,\(^b\)
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\(^c\);
and the lines

First he established a council of old men lofty in spirit Hard by the vessel of Nestor\(^d\)
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

\(^{a}\) Pindar, Bergk-Schroeder, p. 467, no. 199 (213).
\(^{b}\) Homer, II. ii. 53.
σύγκλητος ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὕτω τὴν πολιὰν ἡ φύσις ἔντιμον ἄχρι νῦν "γερουσία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὁ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸν στέφανον, οὐκ ὅτι θερμολουτοῦσι καὶ καθεύδουσι μαλακώτερον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς βασιλικὴν ἐχόντων τάξιν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ής καθάπερ ὁμικάρπου φυτοῦ τὸ οἴκειον ἀγαθὸν καὶ τέλειον ἐν γήρα ὁμοίως ἡ φύσις ἀποδίδειν. τὸν γοῦν βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς

τοιοῦτοι δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν 'Αχαιῶν,

οἷος ἦν ο Νέστωρ, οὐδεὶς ἐμέμψατο τῶν "ἀρηίων" καὶ "μέεια πνεόντων 'Αχαιῶν," ἀλλὰ συνεχώρουν ἀπαντες οὐκ ἐν πολιτείᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καί ἐν πολέμῳ μεγάλην ἐξειν ῥοπην τὸ γῆρας.

σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βούλευμα τὰς πολλὰς χέρας νικά

καὶ μία γνώμη λόγον ἔχουσα καὶ πειθῶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα διαπράττει τῶν κοινῶν.

11. Ἄλλα μὴν ἦ γε βασιλεία, τελεωτάτη πασῶν οὔσα καὶ μεγίστη τῶν πολιτειῶν, πλείστας φροντίδας ἐχει καί πόνους καὶ ἀσχολίας τὸν γοῦν Σέλευκον ἐκάστοτε λέγειν ἐφασαν, εἰ γνοίεν οὶ πολλοὶ τὸ γράφειν μόνον ἐπιστολὰς τοσαύτας καὶ ἀναγινώ-

Β σκειν ὃς ἐργώδες ἐστιν, ἐφικτομένον οὐκ ἄν ἰν ἀνελέσθαι διάδημα τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ

1 γε Coraes: τε. 2 ἂν ἀνελέσθαι Reiske: ἂν ἐλέσθαι.

a Homer, Ἰ. ii. 372. Agamemnon is the speaker.

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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 Achaeans as Nestor was, not one of the "martial" and "might-breathing Achaeans" 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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μέλλοντα καταστρατοπεδεύειν, ὡς ἤκουσεν ὅτι χόρτος οὐκ ἔστι τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις "ὦ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπειν, "οἷος ἡμῶν ὁ βίος, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καυρὸν ὀφείλομεν ἐπὶ τὰ γεγονότα καὶ κατήγειρε, ὥρα τοιών καὶ βασιλεῖ παρανύσι προσβύτη γεγενημένῳ τὸ μὲν διάδημα καθαίρεσαι καὶ τὴν πορφύρα, ἵµατιον δ᾽ ἀναλαβόντα καὶ καμπύλην ἔν ἁγρῷ διατρίβειν, μὴ δοκῇ περίεργα καὶ ἀωρὰ πράττειν ἐν πολιώς βασιλεύων. εἰ δ᾽ οὐκ ἄξιον τά ταῦτα λέγειν περὶ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Νοµᾶς καὶ Δαρείου, μηδὲ τῆς ἑξ Ἀρείου πάγου Βυσσίνης Μύκης καὶ Ῥαμϕών Μυκῆς μηδὲ Περίκλει συμβουλεύωμεν ἐγκαταλιπτεῖν τὴν δήµοκρατίαν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλως λόγον ἔχει νέον ὄντα κατασκηνώθησαι τοῦ βήµατος, εἶτ᾽ ἐκχέαντα τὰς μανίκας ἐκείνας πιστεύειν καὶ ὁµμᾶς εἰς τὸ δηµόςου, ὅταν ἡ τὸ θρόνον ἐπιφέρουσα δι᾽ ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τὴν πολιτείαν καταχρησάμενον. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ Περικλῆς συμβουλεύσαι πολίτης ἐν πολιῶς τοῖς γέροντας ἀποβάλειν νέων ἀνάγκη διψώντων, νοῦν δὲ πολιτικὰς συμβουλεύοις µηδὲ θεαται πολιτευομένου γέροντος; ἡ πλούσιον µὲν ἄρχωνας οὐ ποιεῖ γράµµατα κυβερνητικὰ, µὴ πολλάκις γενοµένους ἐν πρώµῃ

1 εἶπειν 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: "Ὁ 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 hedgehog, 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.
κ᾿ θεατὰς τῶν πρὸς κῦμα καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ νύκτα 
χειμέριον¹ αγώνων,

ὅτε Τυνδαριδᾶν ἀδελφῶν ἀλιον ναύταν πόθος 
βάλλει,

πόλιν δὲ μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ πεῖσαι δήμον ἃ

ἔβουλην δύνατ' ἂν ὀρθῶς νέος ἀναγνωσθω βιβλον 
η σχολὴν περὶ πολιτείας ἐν Δυκείω γραφάμενος,

ἄν μη παρ' ἄν παρ' οἴακα πολλάκις στὰς 
δημαγωγῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐμπειρίας ἄμα 
καὶ τύχαις συναποκλύσεις ἐπ' ἄμφοτερα,

μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ πραγμάτων λάβη τὴν μάθησιν;

οὐκ ἐστίν εἰπέων· ἂλλ' εἰ διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῷ γέροντι 
παιδείας ἑνεκα τῶν νέων καὶ διδασκάλιας πολιτευτέων ἐστίν.

ὡς γὰρ οἱ γράμματα καὶ μουσικὴν 
διδάσκοντες, αὐτοὶ προανακρούονται καὶ προανα-

γινώσκουσιν ὑφηγοῦμενοι τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, οὕτως 
ὁ πολιτικὸς οὐ λέγων μόνον οὐδ᾽ ὑπαγορεύων 
ἐξωθεὶν ἄλλα πράττων τὰ κοινὰ καὶ διοικῶν ἐπι-

ευθύνει τὸν νέον, ἔργοις ἄμα καὶ λόγοις πλαττό-

μενον ἐμψύχωσι καὶ κατασχηματιζόμενον. ὁ γὰρ 
τοῦτον ἀσκηθεὶς τὸν τρόπον ὅτι ἐν παλαίστραις 
καὶ κηράμασιν ἀκινδύνως εὐρύθμως σοφιστῶν,

ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν Ὁλυμπιακοῖς καὶ Πυθικοῖς 
ἀγώσιν

ἀθηλὸς ὑποπο πώλος ὡς ἄμα τρέχει

κατὰ Σιμωνίδην, ὡς 'Αριστείδης Κλεισθένει καὶ 
791 Κίμων 'Αριστείδη καὶ Φωκίων Χαβρία καὶ Κάτων

¹ χειμέριον Reiske: χειμερίων.

¹ Castor and Pollux, who were supposed to aid sailors.
² Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 719, no. 91.

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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, 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,

to quote Simonides. So Aristeides ran in the footsteps of Cleisthenes and Cimon in those of Aristeides, Phocion followed Chabrias, Cato had Fabius Maximus

Aristophanes, *Knights* 542, uses the metaphor of the pilot, though with a different application.

13. Ο μὲν οὖν Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Αἰσχίνης, σοφιστῶν τινών λεγόντων ὃτι προσποιεῖται γεγονέναι Καρνεάδου μὴ γεγονός μαθητής, " että το γέγονα εἰς τὸ χρήσιμον συνήκτο καὶ κοινωνικὸν". τῆς δὲ πρεσβυτικῆς πολιτείας οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν ἀπηλλαγμένης πανηγυρισμοῦ καὶ δοξοκοπίας, ὡσπερ τὴν ἴριν¹ λέγουσιν ὅταν παλαιὰ γενομένη τὸ βρομῶδες ἀποπνεύσῃ καὶ θολερὸν εὐωδέστερον τὸ ἀρωματικὸν ἴσχειν, οὕτως οὐδὲν ἐστι δόγμα γεροντικὸν οὐδὲ βούλευμα τεταραγμένον ἀλλ᾽ ἐμβριθῆ πάντα καὶ καθεστῶτα. διὸ καὶ τῶν νέων ἔνεκα δει, καθάπερ εἴρηται, πολιτεύεσθαι τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἵνα, ὅποις μὲν τῷ πρὸς ὕδωρ ἀκράτου, μαινόμενοι θεὸν ἑτέρῳ θεῷ νήφοντι σωφρονίζεσθαι κολαζόμενον, οὕτως εὐλάβεια γεροντικὴ κεραννυμένη πρὸς ζέουσαν ἐν δήμῳ νεότητα, βακχεύουσαν ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφαιρῆ τὸ μανικὸν καὶ λίαν ἄκρατον.

14. "Ανευ δὲ τούτων ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ οἶνοι² τὸ

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¹ ἴριν Coraes : ἴριν.
² οἴ οἶν Jannot, Junius, Reiske : οὶ.
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).
πλεῦσαι καὶ τὸ στρατεύσασθαι, τοιοῦτον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἄλλο τι' πραττόμενον, εἶτα καταλήγον ἐν τῷ τυχεῖν ἐκεῖνον. Λειτουργία γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι τὴ πολιτεία τῆν χρείαν ἔχουσα πέρας, ἀλλὰ βίος ἡμέρου καὶ πολιτικόν καὶ κοινωνικὸν ζώον καὶ πεφυκότος ὅσον χρῆ χρόνον πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλοκάλως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ζῆν. διὸ πολιτευσθαναι καθήκον ἐστιν οὗ πεπολιτεύσατο, καθάπερ ἀληθεύειν οὐκ ἀληθεύσαι καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν οὐ δικαιοπραγήσαι καὶ φιλεῖν οὐ φιλῆσαι τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ ταῦτα γὰρ ἐχύσαι άγει, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπαγορεύει τὰς φωνὰς τοῖς μὴ διεφθορόσι τελείως ὑπ᾿ ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας. πολλοῦ σε θνητοῖς ἀξίου τίκτει πατήρ καί μή τι' παυσώμεσθα δρῶντες εὖ βροτούς.

15. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρρωστίας προβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας νόσου καὶ πηρώσεως μᾶλλον ἡ γῆρως κατηγοροῦσι: καὶ γὰρ νέοι πολλοὶ νοσώδεις καὶ ῥωμαλέοι γέροντες ὡστε δεῖ μή τοὺς γέροντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ἀποτρέπειν, μηδὲ τοὺς νέους έπὶ ταὐτας ἀρρωστίας καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας νόσου καὶ πηρώσεως μᾶλλον ἡ γῆρως κατηγοροῦσι: καὶ γὰρ νέοι πολλοὶ νοσώδεις καὶ ῥωμαλέοι γέροντες ὡστε δεῖ μή τοὺς γέροντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ἀποτρέπειν, μηδὲ τοὺς νέους. Επὶ ταῦτας ἀρρωστίας καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμένους. καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἰταίος ἴν νέος γέρουν δ' Ἀντίγονος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπασαν ὅλιγον δεῖν κατεκτήσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὁ δ' ὅσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δορυφόρημα κωφὸν ἣν ὅνομα

1 ἀλλο τι' Reiske: ἄλλα.
2 μή τι Meziriacus: μήτε.

*a Cf. Aristotle, Politics, i. 2, where man is called a social (πολιτικόν) animal.

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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\(^a\) 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\(^b\)

and

Let us ne'er cease from doing mortals good.\(^b\)

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. Aridaeus, 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

\(^a\) Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 917, adespota no. 410; quoted also *Moralia*, 1099 A.
βασιλέως καὶ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀεὶ κρατοῦντων παρουσιοῦμενον. ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Πρόδικον τὸν σοφωθῆν Ἡ Φιλήταν τὸν ποιητὴν ἀξἰῶν πολιτεύσθαι, νέους μὲν ἵσχυοι δὲ καὶ νοσώδεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλινοπετεῖς δι᾽ ἀρρωστίαν ὑντας, ἀβέλτερος ἐστιν· οὐτοσ ὁ κωλύων ἀρχεῖν καὶ στρατηγεῖν τοιούτους γέροντας, οἰος ἦν Φωκίων οἶος ἦν Μασανάσσης ὁ Λίβυς οἶος Κάτων ὁ Ῥωμαῖος. ὃ μὲν γὰρ Φωκίων, ὠφρημένων πολεμεῖν ἀκαίρως τῶν Ἀθηναίων, Γ παρῆγγελε τοὺς ἀχρὶ ἐξήκοντ’ ἐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν ὅπλα λαβόντας· ὃς δ’ ἡγανάκτον, “οὐδὲν,” ἐπι, “δεινὸν· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσομαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν οἱ στρατηγοὶ υπὲρ ὀγδοῆκοντ’ ἐτη γεγονὼς.” Μασανάσσης δ’ ἱστορεῖ Πολύβιος ἐνενήκοντα μὲν ἐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν, τετραετεῖς καταλιπόντα παιδάριον εἰς αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον,1 ὁλίγῳ δ’ ἐμπροσθὲν τῆς τελευτῆς μάχη 792 νυκήσαντα μεγάλη Καρχηδόνιοι ὄφθηναι τῇ υστεραίᾳ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ρπαρὸν ἀρτον ἑσθιόντα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ2

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαις ῥωσπερ εὐπρεπῆς χαλκός. χρόνῳ δ’ ἀργήσαν ἦμυσε στέγος, ὃς φησι Σοφοκλῆς· ὃς δ’ ἤμεις φαμεν, ἐκεῖνο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ γάνωμα καὶ τὸ φέγγος, ὃ λογιζόμεθα καὶ μνημονεύομεν καὶ φρονοῦμεν.

16. Διὸ καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς φασὶ γίγνεσθαι βελτίων ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατεύσεις ἄρ

1 γεγενημένον Bernardakis: γεγενημένον.
2 ποιεῖ] Reiske marks a gap here. Bernardakis supplies διὰ τὴν ἐξίν (or διὰ τὸ ποιεῖν) ἄρι, 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) σχολὴν ἄγοντας. "Ἀτταλον γοῦν τὸν Εὐμένους ¹
Β ἀδελφὸν, ὑπ᾽ ἀργίας μακρᾶς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐκλυθέντα
κομιδῇ, Φιλοποίμην εἰς τῶν ἑταῖρων ἐποίμανεν
ἀτεχνῶς πιανόμενον. ὅστε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους
παίζοντας ἐκάστοτε διασπυρῶσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξ
Ἀσίας πλεόντων, εἰ δύναται παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποίμενι
βασιλεύσ. Λευκόλλου δὲ Ῥωμαίων οὐ πολλοὺς ἃν
τις εὐροὶ δεινοτέρους στρατηγοὺς, ὅτε τῷ πράττειν
τὸ φρονεῖν συνείχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ μεθῆκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς
βίον ἀπρακτον καὶ δίαιταν οἰκουρὸν καὶ ἄφροντιν,
ὡσπερ οἱ σπόγγοι ταῖς γαλήναις ἐνεκρώθειν καὶ
καταμαρανθέις, εἶτα Καλλισθένει τινὶ τῶν ἀπελευ
θόρων βόσκειν καὶ τιθασεύειν παρέχων τὸ γῆρας,
ἐδόκει καταφαρμακεύεσθαι φιλτροῖς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ
γοητεύμασιν, ἄχρι οὗ Μάρκος ỷ ἀδελφός ἀπελάσας
τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸς φκονόμει καὶ ἐπαιδαγώγει τὸν
λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ βίον, οὐ πολὺν γενόμενον. ἀλλὰ Δα-
ρεῖος ἦ Ξέρξου πατὴρ ἔλεγεν αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ παρὰ τὰ
δεινὰ γίγνεσθαι φρονιμῶτερος, ὅ ὅ ὁ Ἱπποκόμων
μηδὲν οἴεσθαι τῶν ἱπποκόμων διαφέρειν ἑαυτόν,
ὅτε σχολάζοι. Διονύσιος δ᾿ ὁ πρεσβύτερος πρὸς τὸν
πυθόμενον εἰ σχολάζοι ² "μηδέποτ᾿," εἶπεν, "ἐμοὶ
τοῦτο συμβαίη." τόξον μὲν γάρ, ὡς φασίν, ἐπι-

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 relaxed. 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

\[a \text{ Cf. Moralia, 172 f.}\]
(792) ἕξις, εὐβουλία καὶ φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐμπειρία στοχαστικῆ καὶρών καὶ λόγων, πειθοῦς δημιουργὸς δύναμις οὗσα, τῷ λέγειν ἀεὶ τι καὶ πράττειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν συνέχεται καὶ δεινόν, εἰ τούτων ἀποδράσα περιόφηται τηλικάυτας ἀρετὰς καὶ τοσαύτας ἐκρυεῖσας τῆς ψυχῆς. Ε καὶ γάρ τὸ φιλανθρωπὸν εἰκὸς ἀμορμαραίησθαι καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐχάριστον, ὅν οὐδεμίαν εἶναι δεῖ τελευτήν οὐδὲ πέρας.

17. Εἰ γοῦν πατέρα τὸν Τιθώνον εἶχες, ἀθάνατον μὲν ὄντα χρείαν δ᾽ ἔχοντα διὰ γῆρας ἀεὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, οὐκ ἄν οἷμαι σε φυγεῖν οὐδ᾽ ἀπείπασθαι τὸ θεραπεύειν καὶ προσαγορεύειν καὶ βοηθεῖν ὡς λειτουργηκότα πολὺν χρόνον· ἢ δὲ πατρις καὶ μητρὶς ὤς Κρῆτες καλοῦσι, πρεσβύτερα καὶ μείζονα.

Εἰ δικαια γονέων ἐξούσα, πολυχρόνιοι μὲν ἄτυχες ὃν μὴν ἀγήρως οὐδ᾽ αὐτάρκης, ἀλλ᾽ ἀεὶ πολυωρίας ἐξομήν καὶ βοηθείας καὶ φροντίδος ἐπισπᾶται καὶ κατέχει τὸν πολιτικὸν
eἰανοὶ ἀπομενὴ καὶ τ᾽ ἐσσύμενον κατερύκει.

Καὶ μὴν οἰσθά με τῷ Πυθίω λειτουργοῦντα πολλὰς Πυθιάδας· ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἄν εἴποις Ἰκανὰ σοι, ὦ Πλουταρχε, τέθυται καὶ πεπόμπευται καὶ κεχόρευται, νῦν δ᾽ ὦρα πρεσβύτερον ὄντα τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέσθαι καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀπολυπεῖν διὰ τὸ γῆρας,” οὐκοῦν μηδὲ σεαυτὸν οἶον δεῖν, τῶν πολιτικῶν ἱερῶν ἐξαρχον ὄντα καὶ προφήτην, ἀφεῖναι τάς τοῦ

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a Homer, Il. xvi. 9.
b Periods of four years marked by the quadrennial celebration of the Pythian games in honour of Apollo at Delphi. 126
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.\(^a\)

Now surely you know that I have been serving the Pythian Apollo for many Pythiads,\(^b\) 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

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Πολιέως καὶ Ἀγοραίου τιμᾶς Διός, ἐκπαλαὶ κατωργιασμένον αὐταῖς.

793 18. Ἀλλῷ ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἀποσπώντα τῆς πολιτείας λόγον ἐκεῖνο σκοπῶμεν ἡδὴ καὶ φιλοσοφῶμεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀπρεπὲς μηδὲ βαρὺ γῆρα προσάξωμεν ἀγώνισμα, πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πολιτείας ἐχούσης ἁμοδία καὶ πρόσφορα τοῖς τηλικούτοις. ὤσπερ γάρ, εἰ καθήκον ἢν ἁδονια πιατείν, ἐδει, πολλῶν τόνων καὶ τρόπων ὑποκειμένων φωνῆς, οὕς ἁμονίας οἱ μουσικοὶ καλοῦσι, μή τὸν ὤσπερ ἄμα καὶ σύντονον διώκειν γέροντας γενομένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ὧ τὸ ρέθιον ἑπεστὶ μετὰ τοῦ πρέποντος ἡθοὺς. Β οὖτως, ἐπεὶ τὸ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν μᾶλλον ἀνθρώποις ὥσπερ κύκνοι τὸ ἄδειν ἀχρὶ τελευτῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀφετέον τὴν πράξιν ὁμορρήσην σύντονον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνετέον ἐπὶ τὰ κούφα καὶ μέτρια καὶ προσώδα πρεσβύταις πολιτεύματα μεθαρμοττομένους. οὐδὲ γὰρ τὰ σώματα παντελῶς ἀκίνητα καὶ ἁγώμαστα περιορώμεν, ὅτε μὴ δυνάμεθα σκαφεῖος μηδ᾽ ἀλτήριον χρῆσθαι μηδὲ δισκεύειν μηδ᾽ ὀπλομαχεῖν ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλ᾽ αἰώρας καὶ περιπάτους, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ σφαῖρα προσπαλαίοντες ἐλαφρῶς καὶ διαλεγόμενοι κινοῦσι τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ 8 τὸ θερμὸν ἀναμμένον μήτ᾽ ἐν τελεῖς ἐκπαγέντας ἑαυτοῦς καὶ καταψυχήσετας ἀπαράξεια περιοίδωμεν ἀναγκάζωμεν· περιοίδωμεν οἱ πάλιν πᾶσαν ἀρχήν ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμενοι πολιτεύματος ἀναγκάζωμεν.
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
τὸ γῆρας ἐξελεγχόμενον ἐπὶ τοιαύτας φωνὰς καταφέρεσθαι

ὦ δεξιὰ χείρ, ὡς ποθεὶς λαβεῖν δόρυ·
ἐν δὲ ἀσθενείᾳ τὸν πόθον διώλεσας.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκμάζων καὶ δυνάμενος ἀνήρ ἐπαινεῖται,
pάντα συλλήβδην ἀνατιθεὶς ἑαυτὸν τὰ κοινὰ πράγ-

ὁ ματα καὶ μηδὲν ἐκεῖνον παριέναι βουλόμενος, ὥσπερ
οἱ Στωικοὶ τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, εἰς πάντα παρενείρων
καὶ πάσι καταμυγνύς ἑαυτὸν ἀπληστικά δόξης ἢ

φθόνω τῶν μεταλαμβανόντων ἁμωσγέπως τιμῆς

τινός ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμεως· πρεσβύτη ἐσεκρῆ,

καὶ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νέων, ὡς οὐ προϊέμενοι πράξεως

αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὰς μηδὲ εἰς μέσον ἐωτεῖν προελθεῖν,

αἰσχρῶς ἀπὸ τῶν άλλων τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτῶν
καὶ φιλαρχὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑττῶν τὸ φιλόπλουτον ἑτέρων


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.\a

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,\b 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

φάλαγγα καὶ καθιστὰς εἰς τὴν τάξιν, εἶτα δοῦσ τὸ
σύνθημα καὶ μεταβᾶς ἐπ’ ἐκείνων εὐθὺς ἐπῆγγε τοῖς
πολεμίοις καὶ διεκκυνδύνευεν. οὕτως ὁ πολιτικός, ἂν
ἔχῃ νοῦν, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἱμικχῶν πρεσβύτην γενό-
μενον ἀφέξεται τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων καὶ παρῆσει
tοῖς ἀκμάσας χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μικρότερα τὴν
pόλιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις αὐτὸς ἀγωνιεῖται προ-
θύμως. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθληταὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀναγ-
καίων πόνων ἀθικτὰ τηροῦντα καὶ ἀκέραια πρὸς τοὺς
ἀχρήστους. ἵμεις δὲ τοὺναντίον, ἐώντες τὰ μικρὰ
καὶ φαῦλα, τοῖς ἀξίοις σπουδῆς φυλάξομεν ἑαυτοῖς.
"νέω" μὲν γὰρ ἱσώς "ἐπέοικε" καθ’ Ὁμηροῦ
"πάντα," καὶ δέχονται1 καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν μὲν
μικρὰ καὶ πολλὰ πράσθουσα ἰημοτικὸν καὶ φιλό-
794 πονὸν τὸν δὲ2 λαμπρὰ καὶ σεμνὰ γενναίων καὶ
μεγαλόφρονα καλοῦντες: ἕστι δ’ ὅπου καὶ τὸ φιλό-
νεικον καὶ παράβολον ὄρον ἔχει τινὰ καὶ χάρων
ἐπιπρέπουσαν τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις. ὁ πρεσβύτης δ’
ἀνὴρ ἐν πολιτείᾳ διακονικὰς λειτουργίας ὑπομένων,
oi τελῶν πράσεις καὶ λυμένων ἐπιμελείας καὶ
ἀγορᾶς, ἐτι δὲ πρεσβείας καὶ ἀποδημίας πρὸς
ἡγεμόνας καὶ δυνάστας ὑποτρέχων, ἐν αἷς ἀναγκαῖον
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν ἐνεστὶν ἄλλα θεραπεία καὶ τὸ
πρὸς χάριν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οἰκτρόν, ὥ φιλε, φαίνεται καὶ
ἄξηλον, ἐτέροις δ’ ἱσὼς καὶ ἐπαχθές3 φαίνεται καὶ
φορτικὸν.

20. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τὸν τηλικοῦτον ὥρα
Β ἑρεσθαὶ, πλὴν ὅσι ἡ 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

— Homer, H. xxii. 71.
(794) ἀξίωμα: καθάπερ ἣν σὺ νῦν Ἀθήνησι μετάχει τῇ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλῆς ἐπιστασίαν καὶ νῆ Δία τὸ πρόσχημα τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, ἦν σοι διὰ τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἡ πατρίς ἀνατέθεικε "πόνον ἡδὺν κά- ματον τ᾽ εὐκάματον" ἔχουσαν. δεὶ δὲ καὶ ταύτας μὴ διώκειν τὰς τιμὰς ἀλλὰ φεύγοντας ἀρχεῖν, μηδ᾽ αὐτουμένους ἀλλὰ παραιτομένους, μηδ᾽ ὁσ αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρχειν λαμβάνοντας ἀλλ᾽ ὁσ αὐτοὺς τῷ ἄρχειν ἐπιδιδόντας. οὐ γάρ, ὡς Τιβέριος ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐλεγε, τὸ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ ιατρῷ προτείνειν ύπὲρ ἐξήκοντ᾽ ἔτη γεγονότας αἰσχρόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ τὴν χεῖρα τῷ δήμῳ προτείνειν ψῆφον αἰτοῦντας ἢ φωνὴν ἀρχαιρεσίαζουσαν· ἀγεννές γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ ταπεινόν ὃς τούναντίον ἔχει τινα σεμνότητα καὶ κόσμον, αἱρουμένης τῆς πατρίδος καὶ καλούσης καὶ περιμένοντος, κατιόντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλο- φροσύνης γεραρον ὃς ἀληθῶς καὶ περίβλεπτον ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τὸ γέρας.

21. Οὕτω δὲ πως καὶ λόγῳ χρηστέον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ πρεσβύτην γενόμενον, μὴ ἐπιπηδῶντα συνεχῶς τῷ βήματι μηδ᾽ ἀεὶ δίκην ἀλεκτρυὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς φθεγγομένοις, μηδὲ τῷ συμπλέκεσθαι καὶ διερθῆσθαι ἀποχαλινοῦντα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀἰδῶ τῶν νέων μηδὲ μελέτην ἐμποιοῦσθαι καὶ συνήθεις ἀπειθείας καὶ δυσηκοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραλόγοντα πολὺ καὶ διδόντα πρὸς δόξαν ἀναχαιτίσαι καὶ θρασύνασθαι, μηδὲ παράδονα μηδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα, ὅπου μὴ μέγα τὸ κυνῳδομομένον ἐστὶν.

1 θρασύνασθαι Coraes: θρασύνεσθαι.

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a Cf. Euripides, Bacch. 66.
b *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 untoilsome 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 κοινήν ἢ τὸ καλὸν καὶ πρέπον. ἐκεῖ δὲ χρὴ καὶ μηδενὸς καλοῦντος ὥθεισθαι δρόμῳ παρὰ δύναμιν, ἀναθέντα χειραγωγοὶς αὐτὸν ἢ φοράς κομιζόμενον, ὥσπερ ἱστοροῦσιν ἐν 'Ῥώμῃ Κλαύδιον Ἄππιον· ἔτημένων γὰρ ὑπὸ Πύρρου μάχῃ μεγάλῃ, Ε πυθόμενος τὴν σύγκλητον ἐνδεχεσθαι λόγους περὶ ὀπονδὸν καὶ εἰρήνης οὐκ ἀνασχετὸν ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ ἀμφοτέρας ἀποβεβληκὼς τὰς ὦντες, ἀλλ᾽ ἤκε δι᾽ ἀγορᾶς φερόμενος πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον· εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσον ἐφή πρότερον μὲν ἀχθεσθαι τῶν ὄμμάτων στέρεσθαι, νῦν δὲ ἀν εὐξασθαί μηδὲ ἀκουεῖν ὡτοὺς αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀγεννητῆ βουλευομένους καὶ πράττοντας ἐκείνους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν καθαψάμενος αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ διδάξας Ε καὶ παρορμήσας, ἔπεισεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τά ὀπλα χωρεῖν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον. ὁ δὲ Σόλων, τῆς Πεισιστράτου δημαγωγίας, ὅτι τυραννίδος ἦν μηχάνημα, φανερὰς γενομένης, μηδενὸς ἀμύνεσθαι μηδὲ κωλυόν τολμῶντος, αὐτὸς ἐξενεγκάμενος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῆς ὦντες τῆς οἰκίας θέμενος ἔξιον βοηθεῖν τοὺς πολίτας· πέμψας δὲ τοῦ Πεισιστράτου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πυθανομένου τὸν πεποιθῶς ταῦτα πράττει, “τῷ γήρᾳ,” εἶπεν.

22. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσθηκότας κομιδὴ γέροντας, ἂν μόνον ἐμπνέωσιν, ἔξαπτει καὶ διανύστησιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀλλοις ποτὲ μὲν, ὥσπερ εὐρηται, παραιτούμενος ἐμμελῆς ἔσται 795 τὰ γλύσχρα καὶ διακονικὰ καὶ μείζονας ἐχοντα τοὺς

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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 ἀσχολίας ἢ δι’ οὓς πράττεται χρείας καὶ ὕφελείας· ἐστὶ δ’ ὅποι περιμένων καλέσαι καὶ ποθῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν οὐκοθεν τοὺς πολίτας ἄξιο-πιστότερος δεομένως κάτεισι. τὰ δὲ πλείστα καὶ παρὸν σιωπῆ τοῖς νεωτέροις λέγειν παρίσται, οἷον βραβεύων φιλοτιμίας πολιτικῆς ἁμαλλαν· ἓάν δ᾽ ὑπερβάλλη τὸ μέτριον, καθαπτόμενος ἕπις καὶ μετ’ εὐμενείας ἀφαιρῶν πολιτικῆς καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ ὀργάς, ἑν δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν ἁμαρτάνοντα παραμυθούμενον ἁνε ψόγου καὶ διδάσκοντα, ἐπανύνον δ᾽ ἀφόβως ὁ τὸν κατορθοῦντα καὶ νυκώμενος ἐκου-Β σίως καὶ προϊέμενος τὸ πεῖσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι πολλάκις ὁποῖς ἁξίωνται καὶ θαρσῶν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ συναναπληρῶν μετ’ εὐφημίας τὸ ἐλλεῖπον, ὡς ὁ Νέστωρ

οὔτις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὄνόσσεται ὅσσοι Ἀχαιοί, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἔρεει· αὐτὲ νεὸς ὑπερτεῖ. ἡ μὴ καὶ νέος ἐσσί, ἐμὸς δὲ καὶ πάις εἴης.

23. Τούτου δὲ πολιτικῶτερον, μὴ μόνον ἐμ-φανὸς μηδὲ δημοσίᾳ ὀνειδίζων ἁμαλλαν κολούοντος καὶ ταπεινοῦντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν περισκόποι πρὸς πολιτείαν ὑποτιθέμενος καὶ συνεισηγούμενος εὐθεῖας λόγους τε χρηστοὺς καὶ πολιτεύματα, συνεξορμῶν πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ συνεπιλαμπρύνων τὸ φρόνημα καὶ παρέχων, ὡς-περ οἱ διδάσκοντες ἵνα ὑπευθεῖν, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔρχεται

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

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a Homer, II. 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.  

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,
καὶ πρᾶον ἐπιβῆναι τὸν δῆμον: εἰ δὲ τι σφαλεῖ, μὴ περιορῶν εξαθυμοῦντα τὸν νέον, ἀλλ᾽ ἀνιστάς καὶ παραμυθούμενος, ὡς Ἀριστείδης Κίμωνα καὶ Μνησίφιλος Θεμιστοκλέα, δυσχεραινόμενος καὶ κακῶς ἀκούοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ἵταμος καὶ ἀκόλαστους, ἐπήραν καὶ ἀνεθάρρυναν. λέγεται δε καὶ Δημοσθένους ἐκπεσόντος εἰς τῷ δῆμῳ καὶ βαρέως φέροντος ἀφασθαὶ παλαιὸν τινα γέροντα τῶν ἀκηκοότων Περικλέους καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἔκεινω τάνδρι προσεοικῶς τῇν φύσιν οὐ δικαίως αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν. οὔτω δε καὶ Τιμόθεου Εὔρυπιδης συντυθόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ καινοτομίᾳ καὶ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν μουσικήν δοκοῦντα θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ὅλην χρόνου τῶν θεάτρων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶ γενησομένων.

24. Καθόλου δ᾽ ἄσπερ ἐν Ἄρμη ταῖς Ἑστιάσι παρθένως τοῦ χρόνου διώρισται τὸ μὲν μανθάνειν τὸ δὲ δρᾶν τὰ νενομισμένα τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ τὴν φύσιν οὐ δικαίως αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεου Εὔρυπιδης συντυθόμενον ἐπὶ τῇ καινοτομίᾳ καὶ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν μουσικὴν δοκοῦντα θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ὅλην χρόνου τῶν θεάτρων ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶ γενησομένων.
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,²

² Homer, II. ix. 443.
ἐν οὐ μικρῷ μέρει πολιτείας οὔδε φαύλω χρῆσιμός ἐστιν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ μάλιστα καὶ πρῶτον ὁ Λυκοῦργος

ἐντείνας ἐαυτὸν εὐθίσε τοὺς νέους παντὶ πρεσβύτη καθάπερ νομοθέτη πειθομένους διατελεῖν. ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὴ βλέψις ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν, ὡς ἐν Δακε- 

dαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρῶσιν; ἀρ γ᾽ ἀργεῖν ἔξεστι μάλιστα τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις εἴκει καὶ δανείζειν ἡ κυβερνεῖν συγκαθεξομένους ἡ πίνειν ἐν ὃ ὧν 

συνάγονται· οὐκ ἂν εἴποις· ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τρόπον των πάντες οἱ τηλικοῦτοι τάξιν ἀρχόντων ἡ τινών πατρονόμων ἡ παιδαγωγῶν ἔχοντες οὐ τὰ κοινὰ 

796 μόνον ἐπισκοποῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νέων ἐκαστὶ ἂεὶ περὶ ταῦ γυμνασία καὶ παιδιάς καὶ διαίτας 

καταμανθάνουσιν οὐ παρέχειν τοῖς ἁμαρτάνουσιν αἰδεστοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ 

ποθεινοί: θεραπεύουσι γὰρ ἂεὶ καὶ διώκουσιν 

αὐτοὺς οἱ νέοι, τὸ κόσμιον καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ἀναλύουσιν 

καὶ συνεπιγαυροῦνται ἀνευ φθόνου.

25. Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ πάθος οὔδεν ἀφαίρετον χρόνῳ πρέπον ἡλικίας, ὅμως ἐν νέοις εὑροκεῖν χρῆσιμῶν ὀνομάτων, 

ἀμφιλογαῖς καὶ ζῆλος καὶ φιλοτιμία προσαγορευόμενον, 

ἐν δὲ πρεσβύταιροι παντελῶς ἀφικνέται καὶ ἀγριον καὶ 

ἀγεννής. διὸ δεῖ πορρωτάτω τοῦ φθονεῖν ἄντο 

τὸν πολιτικὸν γέροντα μὴ καθάπερ τὰ βάσκαν 

Β γεράνην τῶν παραβλαστανόντων καὶ ὑποφυο- 

μένων σαφῶς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι καὶ κολούειν τὴν βλάστην 

καὶ τὴν αὐξήσιν, ἀλλ᾽ εὐμενῶς προσδέχεσθαι καὶ 

παρέχειν τοῖς ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι καὶ προσπλεκο- 

1 γ᾽ ἀργεῖν 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

\[\text{\textit{a}\ Cf. Athenaeus 279 e and 365 c.}\]
(796) μένοις ἑαυτὸν ὀρθοῦντα καὶ χειραγωγοῦντα καὶ τρέφοντα μὴ μόνον ὑφηγήσει καὶ συμβουλίας ἀγαθαίς, ἀλλα καὶ παραχωρήσει πολιτευμάτων τιμὴν ἔχοντων καὶ δόξαν ἡ τινας ὑπουργίας ἀβλαβεῖς μὲν ἥδειας δὲ τοὺς πολλοῖς καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἐσομένας· ὥσα δ᾽ ἐστίν ἀντίτυπα καὶ προσάντη καὶ καθάπερ τὰ φάρμακα δάκνει παραχρήμα καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ δὲ

Οι καλὸν καὶ λυσιτελὲς ύστερον ἀποδίδωσι, μὴ τοὺς νέους ἐπὶ ταῦτα προσάγοντα μὴ ὑποβάλλοντα θορύβοις, ὥστε ἄγνωμονοντων ἀθεῖας ὑπόθεσι, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸν ἐκδεχόμενον τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων ἀπεχθείας· τούτῳ γὰρ ἐνυνοστέρους τε ποιήσει τοὺς νέους καὶ προθυμοτέρους ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ὑπηρεσίαις.

26. Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα χρὴ μνημονεύειν, ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶ πολιτεύεσθαι μόνον τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ πρεσβεύειν καὶ μέγα βοῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα βακχεύειν λέγοντας ἢ γράφοντας, δ’ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαί νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ D φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ δίφρου διαλεγομένους καὶ σχολάσ εἰπὶ βιβλίοις περαινοντας· ἡ δὲ συνεχὴς ἐν ἑργοῖς καὶ πράξεις ὑρωμένη καὶ περὶ τὸ βῆμα βακχεύειν λέγοντας ἡ γράφοντας, δ’ οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ πολιτεύεσθαί νομίζουσιν, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ ἔστι τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι. Σωκράτης

1 τοῦ] τὸ Coraes: τοῦ omitted by Reiske.
2 ὁμαλῶς 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 outcries 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," 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

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*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 οὔτε εἰς θρόνον καθίσας οὔθ' ὧραν διατριβῆς ή περιπάτου τοῖς γνωρίμοις τεταγμένην φυλάττων, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπαίζων, 1 οτε τύχοι, καὶ συμπίνων καὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐνίοις καὶ συναγοράζων, τέλος δὲ καὶ δεδεμένος 2 καὶ Ε τύπων τὸ φάρμακον, ἐφιλοσόφει πρῶτος ἀποδείξας τὸν βίον ἄπαντι χρόνῳ καὶ μέρει καὶ πάθει καὶ πράγμασιν ἀπλῶς ἀπασὶ φιλοσοφίαν δεχόμενοι, οὔτω δὴ διανοητέον καὶ περὶ πολιτείας, ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἀνοήτους, οὐδ' ὅταν στρατηγῶσιν ἢ γραμματεύσωσιν ἢ δημηγορῶσιν, πολιτευμένους ἀλλ' ὁχλοκοποῦντας ἢ πανηγυρίζοντας ἢ στασιάζοντας ἢ λειτουργοῦντας ἀναγκάιως τὸν δὲ κοινωνικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ πολιτικὸν ἀληθῶς, καὶ μηδέποτε τὴν χλαμύδα περίθηται, πολιτευόμενον ἀεὶ τῷ παρορμᾶν τοὺς δυναμένους, ὑφηγεῖσθαι τοῖς δεομένοις, συμπαρείναι τοῖς βουλευόμενοις, διατρέπειν τοὺς κακοπραγμονοῦντας, ἐπιρρωνύναι τοὺς εὐγνώμονας, φανερὸν εἶναι μὴ παρέργως προσέχοντα τοῖς κοινοὶς μηδ' ὅπου σπουδὴ τις ἢ παράκλησις διὰ τὸ πρωτεῖον 3 εἰς τὸ θέατρον βαδίζοντα καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀλλὰς δὲ διαγωγῆς χάριν ὡς ἐπὶ θέαν ἢ ἀκρόσαυν, 797 ὅταν ἐπέλθῃ, παραγιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ, καὶ μὴ παραγένηται τῷ σώματι, παρόντα τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῷ πυθάνεσθαι τά μὲν ἀποδεχόμενον τοῖς δὲ δυσκολαίνοντα τῶν πραττομένων.

27. Οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖών Ἀριστείδης οὐδὲ Ὀω-
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
μαίων Κάτων ἦρξε πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν αὐτῶν βίον ἐνεργὸν ἀεὶ ταῖς πατρίσι παρέσχον. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα κατ-ώρθωσε στρατηγῶν, οὔκ ἐλαττον δ᾽ αὐτοῦ μνημο- νεύεται μηδὲ στρατηγοῦντος μηδ᾽ ἄρχοντος ἔργον περὶ Θετταλίαν, ὅτε τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς τόπους χαλεποὺς ἐμβαλόντων τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ θορυβοῦν- 1

Β μένων (ἐπέκειντο γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι βάλλοντες), ἀνακλήθεις ἐκ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαυσε θαρρύνας τὸν τοῦ στρατεύματος τάραχον καὶ φόβον, ἐπειτα διατάξας καὶ διαρμοσάμενος τὴν φάλαγγα συγκεκμένην ἔξηγαγε ῥαδίως καὶ κατέστησεν ἐναντίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡστ᾽ ἀπελθείν ἐκεῖνος μεταβαλμένος. "Ἄγιος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπάγοντος ἧδη τὸ στρα- τεύμα συντεταγμένον εἰς μάχην, τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τις Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπεβόησεν, ὅτι διανοεῖται κακὸν κακῷ ἰάσθαι, δηλ. τῆς ἐς "Ἀργοὺς ἐπαυτίου

Α ναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἀκαιρον προθυμιάν ἀνάλημμα βουλόμενην εῖναι, ὡς ὁ Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ὁ δ᾽ Ἀγιος ἀκοῦσας ἐπείσθη καὶ ἀνεχώρησε. Μενε- κράτει δὲ καὶ δίφρος ἔκειτο καθ᾽ ἡμέραν παρὰ τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἀρχείου, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνιστάμενοι πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ Ἑφόροι διεπεῖσαν καὶ κυνεδριζομένους περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἐδοκεῖ γὰρ ἐμφρών άνηρ εἶναι καὶ συνετὸς ἀπειθεῖς ὁδὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ἤδη τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐξημαυρωμένος δύναμιν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλινήρης δυμερεύων, μεταπεμπομένων εἰς ἀγορὰν τῶν Ἑφόρων, ὃρμησε μὲν ἐξαναστάς

1 ἰάσθαι... ἐπαυτίου Thucydides, v. 65: ἰάσασθαι... ἐπηεῖλον.
2 βουλόμενη Thucydides: βουλόμενον.
3 Μενεκράτει δὲ Jannot: μέν, ἐκράτει δέ.
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 Menecrates 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,

a Thucydides, v. 65. 2.
(797) βαδίζειν, μόλις δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς προερχόμενος, εἶτα
D παιδαρίως ἐντυχὼν καθ’ οὖν, ἣρωτήσεν, εἰ τι
gυνώσκουσιν ἀναγκαιότερον ὃν τοῦ πείθεσθαι δε-
σπότη τῶν δὲ φησάντων "τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι," τούτῳ
tῆς υπουργίας λογισάμενος πέρας ἀνέστρεφεν
οἴκαδε. δεῖ γὰρ μὴ προαπολείπειν τὴν προθυμίαν
tῆς δυνάμεως, ἐγκαταλειφθεὶς δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι.
καὶ μὴν Γαίῳ Δαιλίῳ Σκιπίων ἔχρητο συμβούλω
στρατηγῶν αἰτὶ καὶ πολιτευόμενος, ὡστε καὶ λέγειν
ἐνίους ὑποκριτὴν τῶν πράξεων Σκιπίωνα ποιήσασθαι
dὲ τὸν Γάιον εἶναι. Κικέρων δ’ αὐτὸς ὀμολογεῖ τὰ
cάλλιστα καὶ μεγίστα τῶν συμβουλευμάτων, οἷς
ὁρθωσεν ὑπατεύων τὴν πατρίδα, μετὰ Ποπλίου
Νιγιδίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου συνθείναι.
E 28. Οὕτω διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων τῆς πολιτείας
οὐδὲν ἀποκωλύει τοὺς γέροντας ὠφελεῖν τὸ κοινὸν
ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων, λόγου καὶ γνώμης καὶ παρ-
ρησίας καὶ φροντίδος πινυτῆς, ὡς δὴ ποιηταὶ λε-
γοσον. οὐ γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες ἤμων οὐδ’ οἱ πόδες, οὐδ’
ἡ τοῦ σώματος ρώμη κτήμα καὶ μέρος ἐστὶ τῆς
πόλεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχή καὶ τὰ τῆς
ψυχῆς κάλλη, δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ
φρόνησις. ὂν ὅπε καὶ βραδέως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολαμ
βανότων, ἀτοπόν ἐστι τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγρὸν
F ἀπολαυεῖν καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα καὶ κτήματα,
κοινῆ δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς πολίταις μηκέτι
χρησίμους εἶναι διὰ τῶν χρόνων, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν
ὑπηρετικῶν παραιρούμενον δυνάμεων, ὥσπερ ταῖς

1 προαπολείπειν Coraes: προαπολιπεῖν.

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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

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* Plutarch seems to have no particular poet in mind, but merely indicates that he is using poetic diction.
ἡγεμονικαῖς καὶ πολιτικαῖς προστίθησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἑρμῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἁχειρας καὶ ἀπόδας ἐντεταμένους δὲ τοὺς μορίους δημιουργοῦσιν, αἰνιτόμενοι τῶν γερόντων ἐλάχιστα δεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐνεργοῦντων, ἐὰν τὸν λόγον ἐνεργὸν, ὡς προσήκει, καὶ γόνιμον ἔχωσιν.

a 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 Hermae 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 r; 825 p); 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 ν, 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 ἐστιν ἐχον, ὦ Μενέμαχε, τῷ
οὕτις τοι τὸν μῦθον ὄνοσσεταί ὡςοι Ἀχαιοί, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ὄκεο μύθων,

Β καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προτρεπομένους τῶν φιλοσόφων διδάσκοντας δὲ μηδὲν μηδ’ ὑποτιθεμένους· ὁμοιοί γάρ εἰσι τοῖς τοῖς λύχνους προμύττουσιν ἔλαιον δὲ μὴ ἐγχέουσιν. ὃρὼν οὖν σε παρωρμημένον ἀξίως τῆς εὐγενείας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι

μῦθων τε ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων,

ἐπειδή χρόνον οὐκ ἔχεις ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου βίον ὑπαθθον ἐν πράξει πολιτικῶν καὶ δημοσίων ἀγώνι κατανοῆσαι καὶ γενέσθαι παραδειγμάτων

C ἐργω μὴ λόγῳ περαινομένων θεατής, ἀξιοῖς δὲ παραγγέλματα λαβεῖν πολιτικά, τὴν μὲν ἄρνησιν οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῷ προσήκουσαν εἶναι νομίζω, τὸ δ’ ἔργον εὐχομαι καὶ τῆς σῆς ἄξιον σπουδὴς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας γενέσθαι· τοῖς δὲ παραδείγμασιν ποικιλωτέροις, ὥσπερ ἡξίωσας, ἐχρησάμην.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποκείσθω πολιτεία καθάπερ

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PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT

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, \textit{Il.} ix. 55; \textit{cf.} Moralia, 795 b.
\[ b \] Homer, \textit{Il.} ix. 443; \textit{cf.} Moralia, 795 e.

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(798) ἔδαφος βέβαιον καὶ ἴσχυρὸν ἡ προαιρέσις ἀρχὴν ἔχουσα κρίσιν καὶ λόγον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πτοίαν ὑπὸ δόξης κενής ἢ φιλονεικίας τινὸς ἢ πράξεων ἐτέρων ἀπορίας. ὃσπερ γὰρ οἰς οὐδὲν ἐστιν οὐκοὶ χρηστὸν, ἐν ἀγορᾷ διατρίβουσι, κἂν μὴ δέωνται, τὸν πλείστον χρόνον, οὕτως τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν ἢδιον ἀλλοπράττειν ἄξιον σπουδῆς ναβίας καὶ δημόσια πράγματα, τῇ πολιτείᾳ διαγωγῇ χρώμενοι. πολλοὶ δ' ἀπὸ τύχης ἀφάμενοι τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἀναπλησθέντες οὐκέτι ἐβδόμοις ἀπελθεῖν δύνανται, ταῦτα τοῖς ἐμβάσισιν ἐς πλοίον αἷμας χάριν εἰτ' ἀποσπασθέσθαι εἰς πέλαγος πεπονθότες. ἔξω βλέπουσι ναυτιῶντες καὶ ταραττόμενοι, μένειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀνάγκην ἐχοντες.

λευκᾶς καθύπερθε γαλάνας
eὔπρόσωπος σφᾶς παρήισαν ἔρωτες ναΐς
κλαίδος καὶ χαραξιπόντου δαμνοῦν εἰς θριών.

οὐτοὶ καὶ μάλιστα διαβάλλοντοι τῷ πράγμα τῷΕ μετανοεῖν καὶ ἀσχάλλειν, ὅταν ἢ δόξαν ἐλπίσαν, ἢ δοξάσαντες ἀδοξία περιπέτεωσιν, ἢ φοβεροὶ προσδοκήσαντες ἐτέρωσι ἐσέσθαι διὰ δύναμιν εἰς πράγματα κινδύνους ἐχοντες καὶ ταραχᾶς ἀγωνοῦν. ὡς δ' ὡς μάλιστα προσήκον ἐαυτῷ καὶ κάλλιστον ἐργὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ γνώμης καὶ λογισμῷ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν ἀρξάμενος ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήγηται τούτων οὐδ' ἀναστρέφεται τῇ γνώμῃ. οὕτε γὰρ ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ καὶ χρήσει προσφέρεται τοῖς κοινοῖς, ὡς οἱ περὶ Στρατοκλέα

1 κλαίδος Hermann: κληρίδος.
2 χαραξιπόντου Xylander: χαράξει πόντου.
3 καὶ added by Reiske.
4 οὔτε Coraes: οὔδ'.
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.\(^a\)

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

καὶ Δρομοκλείδην ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν θέρος, τὸ βῆμα
μετὰ παιδιὰς οὕτως ὑπομάζοντες, ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν: οὐθ′ οἶον ἐπιλήπτους ὑπὸ πάθους ἄφνω
γενομένους, ὡς Γάιος Γράκχος ἐπὶ θερμοῖς τοῖς
περὶ τὸν ἄδελφὸν ἀτυχήμασιν ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν κοινῶν
τὸν βίον θέμενος, εἴθ′ ὑβρεῖ τινῶν καὶ λοιδορία πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἀναφλεξθεῖς ὑπ᾽ ὀργῆς, ἐνέπεσε τοῖς κοινοῖς·
kαὶ ταχὺ μὲν ἐπιλήσθη πραγμάτων καὶ δόξης, ζητῶν
dὲ παύσασθαι καὶ δεόμενος μεταβολῆς καὶ ἱσυχίας
οὔχ εὑρε καταθέσαι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διὰ μέγεθος
ἀλλὰ προαπώλετο· τοὺς τε πρὸς ἁματην ἦ δόξαν
ὼσπερ ὑποκριταὶ εἰς θεάτρον ἀναπλάττοντας ἐαυ-
tοὺς ἀνάγκη μετανοεῖν, ἢ δουλεύοντας ὡς ἄρχειν
ἀξιοῦσιν ἢ προσκρούοντας οἷς ἀρέσκειν ἐθέλουσιν.
ἀλλὰ ἐς ϕρέαρ οἶμαι τὴν πολιτείαν τοὺς
μὲν ἐμπίπτοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ μετανοεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καταβαίνοντας ἐκ
παρασκευῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ καθ᾽ ἡσυχίαν χρῆσθαι τε
τοῖς πράγμασι μετρίως καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν δυσκολαί-
νειν, ἅτε δὴ τὸ καλὸν αὐτῷ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν
πράξεων ἐχοντας τέλος.

3. Οὕτω δὴ τὴν προαιρεσιν ἀπερείσαντας ἐν
ἐαυτοῖς καὶ πουῆσαντας ἀτρεπτον καὶ δυσμετα-
θετον, τρέπεσθαι χρῆ πρὸς κατανόησιν τοῦ ἦθους
τῶν πολιτῶν, ὅ μάλιστα συγκραθέν ἐκ πάντων
ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ ἱσχύει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς 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) ἐπιχειρεῖν ἠθοποιεῖν καὶ μεθάρμοττειν τοῦ δήμου τὴν φύσιν οὐράδιον οὐδ᾽ ἀσφαλέσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρόνου δεόμενον πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως. δει δ', ὠσπερ οἰνος ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡθῶν κρατεῖται τοῦ πίνοντος ἄσυγχρη δὲ διαθάλπων καὶ Κ κατακεραννυμενος αὐτὸς ἠθοποιεῖ τὸν πίνοντα καὶ μεθήστησιν, οὕτω τῶν πολιτικῶν, ἐως ἅν ἰσχὺν ἀγωγὸν ἐκ δόξης καὶ πίστεως κατασκεύασηται, τοὺς ὑποκειμένους ἠθεῖν εὐάρμοστο εἶναι καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦτων, ἐπιστάμενοι οἷς χαίρειν ὁ δήμος καὶ ὃ ἄγεθαι πέφυκεν ὁὗν ὁ Ἀθηναίων εὐκίνητος ἐστι πρὸς ὀργήν, εὐμετάθετος πρὸς ἔλεον, μᾶλλον ὄξως ὑπονοεῖν ἡ διδάσκεσθαι καὶ ἡ συχίαν βουλόμενον. ὤσπερ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ τατινεῖν βοηθεῖν προθυμότερος, οὕτω τῶν λόγων τοὺς παιγνιῶδες καὶ γελοῖον ἀσπάζεται καὶ προτιμᾶ. τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτὸν κλησοῦσιν χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ σκόπτονθα ἡ κιστα δυσχεραίνει. φοβερός ἐστιν D ἄχρι τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἐίτα φιλάνθρωπος ἄχρι τῶν πολέμων. ἐτερον ἡθος τοῦ Καρχηδονίων δήμου, πικρόν, σκυθρωπόν, υπήκοον τοῖς ἀρχουσι, βαρύ τοῖς ὑπήκοοις, ἀγεννέστατον ἐν φόβοις, ἀγρυτατον ἐν ὀργαίς, ἐπίμονον τοῖς γνωσθεῖσι, πρὸς παιδιᾶν καὶ χάριν ἀνήδυντον καὶ σκληρόν· ὅκ αὖ οὕτως, Κλέωνος ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ τέθυκε καὶ ἐξοῦν ἐστιν πάλαι, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερθέσθαι, γελάσαντες ἣν καὶ κροτήσαντες ἀνέστησαν· οὖν Αλκιβιάδην ὀρτυγοὺς 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

ἐκ τοῦ ἰματίου, φιλοτίμως συνθηρεύσαντες ἀπεδωκαν ἂν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἂν, ως υβρίζοντας καὶ τρυφώντας· ὅπου καὶ "Ανωνα λέοντι χρώμενον σκευοφόρω παρὰ τὰς στρατείας αὐτισάμενοι τυραννικὰ φρονεῖν ἐξήλασαν. οἰμαὶ δ᾽ ἂν ἐγώγε μηδὲ Θηβαίους ἀποσχέσθαι γραμμάτων πολεμίων κυρίους γενομένους, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι Φιλίππου γραμματόφοροι λαβόντες ἐπιστολήν ἐπιγεγραμμένην 'Ολυμπιάδι κομίζοντας οὐκ ἔλυσαν οὐδ᾽ ἀπεκάλυψαν ἀπόρρητον ἀνδρός ἀποδήμου πρὸς γυναῖκα φιλοφροσύνην· οὐδὲ γ' αὖ πάλιν Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἐπαμεινώνδου πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀπολογείσθαι μὴ Θέλοντος ἂν ἀναστάντος ἐκ τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἀπιόντος, εὐκόλως ἐνεγκεῖν τῷ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρός πολλοῦ δ᾽ ἂν ἐτι καὶ Σπαρτιάτας δεῖσαι τῇ Ἱλίνους ὕβριν υπομείναι καὶ βωμολοχίαν, πείσαντος μὲν αὐτοὺς εὐαγγελθεῖν ὡς νενικηκότας, ἐπεὶ δὲ, τῆς ἡττης ἀληθῶς ἀπαγγελθεῖσης, 800 ἡγανάκτουν, ἐρωτώντος τὸν δήμου τὶ ἡδίκηται, τρεῖς ἡμέρας δὲ αὐτὸν ἠδίκητος γεγονὼς. οἱ μὲν ὁμοίως κόλακες ὡς περισσεύουσιν καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συνεξομολογοῦντες ἐαυτοὺς ὑποδύονται μάλιστα καὶ προσάγουσι δὲ ἀπάντης τοῖς βασιλεύσι· τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ μιμεῖσθαι μὲν οὐ προσήκει τοῖς δήμου τῶν τρόποιν, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι πρὸς

1 ἀπέδωκαν ἂν 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
_PLUTARCH'S MORALIA_

(800) ἕκαστον, οἷς ἀλώσιμος ἔστιν· η γὰρ ἄγνοια τῶν ἡθῶν ἀστοχίας φέρει καὶ διαπτώσεις οὐχ ἦττονας ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ ταῖς φιλίαις τῶν βασιλέων.

4. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῶν πολιτῶν ἡθος ἱσχύοντα δεῖ καὶ πιστευόμενον ἡθὴ πειράσθαι ὑμθμίζειν ἀτρέμα

Β πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ὑπάγοντα καὶ πράως μεταχειριζόμενον· ἐργώδης γὰρ ἡ μετάθεσις τῶν πολλῶν. αὐτὸς δ' ὦσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀναπτυγμένω βιωσόμενος, εξάσκει καὶ κατακόσμει τὸν τρόπον· εἰ δὲ μὴ βάδιον ἀπαλλάξαι παντάπασι τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν κακίαν, ὥσα γοῦν ἔπανθει μάλιστα καὶ προπίπτει¹ τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀφαιρῶν καὶ κολούνων. ἀκούεις γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπτεθαί τῆς πολιτείας διανοούμενος ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κώμων ἑαυτόν, ἀγρυπνῶν δὲ καὶ νήφων καὶ τεφροντικῶς ἔλεγεν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις, ὡς οὐκ εὰν καθεύδειν αὐτὸν τὸ Μιλτιάδου τρόπαιον.

C Περικλῆς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ σώμα καὶ τὴν δίαιταν ἐξήλλαξεν αὐτὸν ἢρέμα βαδίζειν καὶ πράως διαλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αἰεὶ συνεστηκὸς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι καὶ τὴν χεῖρα συνέχειν ἐντὸς τῆς περιβολῆς καὶ μίαν ὕποπτον καὶ λατρεῖν τῇ ψυχῇ. ἀλλ᾽ ἀγαπητόν, εἰ μήτ᾽ ὄψει μήτε φωνῇ πτυρόμενος ὥσπερ θηρίον ὑποπτὸν καὶ ποικίλον ἐνδέχοιτο ἐπιστασίαν. ὧ τοίνυν οὐδὲ

D τούτων ἐπιμελητέων ἐστὶ παρέργως, ἦποι τῶν περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τὸ ἡθος ἀμελητέων ὃπως ἢ ψόγου

¹ προπίπτει Coraes: προσπίπτει.
² ὕμεν Bernardakis (ὁ ὄχλος Cobet): ὄχλον or ὄχλου.
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,

a Miltiades was the victorious general at Marathon, 490 B.C.
καθαρὰ καὶ διαβολῆς ἀπάσης; οὐ γὰρ ὃν λέγουσιν ἐν κοινῷ καὶ πράττουσιν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι μόνον εὐθύνας διδόσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖπνον αὐτῶν πολυπραγμονεῖται καὶ κοίτη καὶ γάμος καὶ παιδιὰ καὶ σπουδὴ πᾶσα. τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν Ἁλκιβιάδην, ὃν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ πάντων ἑνεργότατον ὤντα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἀήττητον ἀπώλεσεν ἡ περὶ τὴν δίαταν ἀναγωγία καὶ θρασύτης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀνόνητον ἐποίησε διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν; ὃποιος καὶ Κύμωνος οὐτοί Ε ὦν, καὶ Ὁ ρωμαῖοι Σκιπίωνος οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐξοντες λέγειν τὸν ὄνταν ἀπูกωντο. Πομπῆιον δὲ Μάγνον ἐλοιδόρουν οἱ ἐχθροί, παραφυλάξαντες ἐν δακτύλῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν κνώμενον. ὥσ γὰρ ἐν προσώπῳ φακὸς καὶ ἀκροχορδῶν δυσχεραίνεται μᾶλλον ἡ στίγματα καὶ κολοβώτητες καὶ οὐλια τοῦ λουποῦ σώματος, οὔτω τὰ μικρὰ φαινεῖται μεγάλα τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἐν ἑγεμονικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς ὅρωμενα βίοις διά δόξας, ἢν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας ἑχοῦσιν, ὥς πράγματος μεγάλου καὶ καθαρεύειν ἐξίδου πάσης ἀτοπίας καὶ πλημμελείας. εἰκότως ὃν Λιούσιος Δροῦσος ὁ δημαγωγὸς εὐδοκίμησεν ὃτι, τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μέρη κάτοπτα τοὺς γειτνιῶσιν ἐχοῦσι καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τινος ὑποκυμισοῦν ταῦτα ἀποστρέφειν καὶ μεταθέτεσιν ἀπὸ πέντε μόνων ταλάντων, “δέκα,” ἐφη, “λαβὼν οὔλην μονοὶ ποιήσαν καταφάνη τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα πάντες ὁρῶσιν οἱ πολῖται πῶς διαιτῶμαι”. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀνὴρ σώφρων καὶ

1 Λιούσιος Xylander: λεούσιος or ιούλιος.

a Cf. Moralia, 972 f.
b Cf. Moralia, 89 f, with note a in Babbitt’s translation.
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\(^a\) for sleeping; and the enemies of Pompey the Great, observing that he scratched his head with one finger, reviled him for it.\(^b\) 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 effeminiacy and licentiousness.
κόσμιος. Ἰωσὶ δὲ ταύτης οὐδὲν ἔδει τῆς κατα-
φανείας αὐτῶ. διορώσει γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ πάνυ
βαθέως περιαμπέχεσθαι δοκοῦντα τῶν πολιτευο-
801 μένων ἡθη καὶ βουλεύματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ βίους,
οὐχ ἓττον ἀπὸ τῶν ἱδίων ἢ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπι-
τηδευμάτων τόν μὲν φιλοῦντες καὶ θαυμάζουντες
τὸν ὅ ὅ δὲ δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες.
Τὰ δὲ οὖν δή; οὐκοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀσελγῶς καὶ τεθρυμμένως
ζῶσιν αἱ πόλεις χρῶνται; καὶ γὰρ αἱ κυττάρακι
άδοις καὶ οἱ ναυτιώντες ἀλμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα
βρώματα διώκουσι πολλάκις, εἶτε οὐροῦν ὅστερον
ἐξέπτυσαν καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν: οὐτὸς δὲ δημο-
νεούς καὶ ταὐτής οὐκ εἶ δημοτικαὶ ἀπορία δημα-
τηρίων καὶ τοιαῦτα βρώματα διώκουσι πολλάκις, εἶτε ὅστερον
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τηρίων καὶ τοιαῦτα βρώματα διώκουσι πολλάκις, εἶτε ὅστερον
ἐξέπτυσαν καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν: οὕτω καὶ δῆμοι
διὰ τρυφήν καὶ ὑβριν ἢ βελτιών ἢ ἀπορία δημα-

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 a; 

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, b

and

It feeds foul Cephalus, most hateful pest. b

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

b From the same play as the preceding.
ΠΛΥΤΩΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Ο τινὸς Δημοσθένους ἀνδρὸς ἀκολάστου γνώμην εἰπόντος ἁρμόζονσαν, ἀπέρριψεν ὃ δῆμος, οἱ δ᾽ Ἔφοροι κληρώσαντες ἕνα τῶν γερόντων ἐκέλευσαν ἐπεὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐκεῖνον, ὡσπερ εἰς καθαρὸν ἄγγελον ἐκ ῥυπαροῦ μετεράσαντες, ὃ ὅπως εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς πολλοῖς. οὕτω μεγάλην ἔχει ῥοπὴν ἐν πολιτείᾳ πίστις ἤθους καὶ τοῦναντίον.

5. Οὐ μὴν ἀμελητέον γε διὰ τοῦτο τῆς περὶ τὸν λόγον χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἀρετῇ θεμένους τὸ σύμπαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ῥητορικὴν νομίσαντες ἐπανορθωτέον τὸ τοῦ Μενάνδρου τρόπος ἐσθ᾽ ὁ πεῖθων τοῦ λέγοντος, οὐ λόγος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρόπος καὶ ὁ λόγος· εἰ μὴ νη Δία φήσει τις, ὡς τὸν κυβερνήτην ἄγειν τὸ πλοῖον οὐ τὸ πη-

τὸ δάλιον, καὶ τὸν ἵππον στρέφειν τὸν ἵππον οὐ τὸν χαλινόν, οὕτω πόλιν πείθειν οὐ λόγω, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ χρωμένην ἀσπερ οἶακι καὶ χαλινῷ τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρετήν, ἢπερ εὐστροφώτατον ζῷον, ὡς φησι Πλάτων, οἶον ἐκ πρύμνης ἁπτομένην καὶ κατευθύνουσαν. ὅπου γὰρ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διογενεῖς, ὡς Ὅμηρος φήσιν, ἀλουργίσι καὶ σκήπτροις καὶ δορυφόροις καὶ θεῶν χρησμοῖς ἐξογκοῦσιν ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ οὐλούμενοι τῇ σεμνότητι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς

1 Δημοσθένους] Τιμοσθένους Madvig.
2 μετεράσαντες Dübner: μετακεράσαντες.
3 νομίσαντας Madvig: νομίσαντες εἶναι.
4 ἢπερ Capps (cf. Plato's ὧ): ὡστός.


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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 εὔστροφον ζώον), 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, οὖν εβουλοντο "μύθων ρητήρες" εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἦμέλουν τῆς τοῦ λέγειν χάριτος,
oūδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἀνδρες ἀριστοτελείους,
Ε οὖν Ἰωύς Βουλαίου μόνου1 έξηρήζον οὔδ' "Αρεος
Ένυλίου καὶ Στρατίας Αθηνάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ την
Καλλιόπην παρεκάλουν

η δὴ2 βασιλεύσων ἀμ' αὑδοίουσιν ὑπηδεῖ,
πραύνουσα πειθοὶ καὶ κατάδουσα3 τῶν δήμων τὸ
αὐθαίρετο καὶ βίαιον. η' που δυνάτων ἄνθρωπον ἱδιώ-
tην εξ ἰματίων καὶ σχήματος δημοτικοῦ πόλιν ἀγε
βουλόμενον ἐξισχύσαι καὶ κρατήσαι τῶν πολλῶν,
eι μὴ λόγον ἔχοι συμπεθοῦντα καὶ προσαγόμενον;
Foι μὲν οὖν τὰ πλοῖα κυβερνώντες ἔτερους χρών
ται κελευσταῖς, ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ μὲν ὀφείλει
tον κυβερνώντα νοῦν ἐχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐγκε
λευόμενον λόγον, ὅπως μὴ δέηται φωνῆς ἀλλοτρίας
μηδ' ὥσπερ Ἰφικράτης υπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστο-
φῶντα καταρρητορεύομενος λέγῃ "βελτίων μὲν
τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὑποκριτῆς δράμα δὲ τούμον
ἀμενον," μηδὲ πολλάκις δέηται τῶν Εὐρυπίδεων
ἐκείνων

eίθ' ἦν ἀφωνον σπέρμα δυστήνων βροτῶν.

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φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ' ἀνθρώπους ἐχειν
φωνή, ἵν' ἔσαν μηδὲν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.

1 μόνον Benseler: μόνου.
2 δὴ] γάρ καὶ Hesiod.
3 κατάδουσα, suggested by Wyttenbach (also καταδεόουσα, καταίδοουσα Bernardakis): καταδούσα.
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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 Calliopê,

who accompanies reverend monarchs, shortening 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;

a Homer, II. ix. 441.

b Hesiod, Theog. 80.


(802) ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ὑσως Ἀλκαμένει καὶ Νησιώτη καὶ Ἰκτίνῳ καὶ πάσι τοῖς βαναύσοις καὶ χειρώναξι τὸ δύνασθαι λέγειν ἁπομνυμένοις δοτέον ἀποδιδράσκειν’ ὠσπερ Ἀθηναίοις νομισμάτων ποτὲ δυκιν ἐξετασμένων πρὸς δημώσιον ἐργον ὁ μὲν αἱμύλος καὶ κομψὸς εἶπεν λόγον τινὰ διελθὼν περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς μεμελετημένου ἐκίνησε τὸν δήμον, ὁ Β δὲ βελτίων τῇ τέχνῃ λέγειν δὲ ἀδύνατος, παρελθὼν εἰς μέσον εἶπεν “ἀνδρεῖς Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς οὕτως εἰρήκειν, ἐγὼ ποιήσω.” τὴν γὰρ Ἐργάνην οὕτως μόνον θεραπεύουσιν, ὡς φησὶ Σοφοκλῆς, οἱ “παρ’ ἀκμονί τυπαδί βαρείᾳ” καὶ πληγαῖς ὑπακούουσαν ὥλην ἄψυχον δημιουργοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς Βουλαίας Θέμιδος, ἢ τ’ ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἠμὲν λύει ἑδὲ καθίζειν, προφήτης, ἐνι χρώμενος ὄργας τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν πλάττων καὶ συναρμόττων, τὰ δὲ ἀντιστατοῦντα πρὸς τὸ ἐργόν ὁποῖος τινὰς ἐν εὐχλω καὶ διπλόας ἐν σιδήρῳ μαλάσσων καὶ καταλεάνων, ὁ κοσμεῖ τὴν πόλιν. διὰ τοῦτ’ ἢν ἢ κατὰ Περικλέα πολίτεια “λόγω μέν,” ὡς φησὶ Θουκυδίδης, “δημοκρατία, ἐργον δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον ἀνδρὸς ἀρχη” διὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Κίμων ἄγαθος ἦν καὶ Ἐφιάλτης καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ’ ἐρωτηθεὶς οὕτως ὑπ’ Ἀρχιδάμου του βασιλέως τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πότερον αὐτὸς ἡ Περικλῆς

1 ἢν 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, Nesiotes, Ictinus, 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, 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,

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, is an ornament to the city. For this reason the government in Pericles' time was "in name," as Thucydides says, "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

\(^b\) Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 309, no. 760, perhaps from the satyr drama *Pandora*.
\(^c\) Homer, *Od.* ii. 69.
\(^d\) Cf. Plato, *Sophist*, 267 e.
\(^e\) Thucydides, ii. 65. 8.
(802) παλαίει βέλτιον ὁς ἀν εἰδείη τις εἶπεν · "ὅταν γὰρ ἐγὼ καταβάλω παλαίων, ἐκεῖνος λέγων μὴ πεπτωκέναι νυκὰ καὶ πεῖθει τους θεωμένους,· τούτο δ' ὦκ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐκεῖνω δόξαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν ἐφερε· πειθομένη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔσωξε, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς D ἀπείχετο. Νικίας δὲ τὴν αὐτήν προαίρεσιν ἔχων, πειθοὺς δὲ τοιαύτης ἐνδείης ὅν καὶ καθάπερ ἀμβλεῖ χαλινῷ τῷ λόγῳ πειρόμενος ἀποστρέφειν τὸν ὁμον, οὐ κατέσχεν οὖδ' ἐκράτησεν, ἀλλ' ὄχετο βία φερόμενος εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ συνεκτραχηλιζόμενος. τὸν μὲν οὖν λύκον οὐ φασι τῶν ωτῶν κρατεῖν, δήμων δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ωτῶν ἄγεσθαι ἀπείχετο, μὴ, καθάπερ ἔσω ἀγυμνάστων περὶ λόγου λαβάς ἀμοῦσους καὶ ἀτέχνους ἐπικολούθησεν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς γαστρὸς ἐκείνῃ εὐωχοῦν ἐκεῖνῃ ἦ τοῦ βαλλαντίου διδότου, ἦ πυρρίχας τινὰς ἦ μονομάχων θέαματα παρασκευάζοντες ἀεὶ δημο- Ε ἀγωγοῦσι, μᾶλλον δὲ δημοκράτοις. δημαγωγία γὰρ ἡ διὰ λόγου πειθομένων ἐστὶ, αἱ δὲ τοιαύται τιθασεύσεις τῶν ὄχλων οὐδὲν ἀλόγων ζῷων ἄγας καὶ βουκολῆσσως διαφέρουσιν.

6. 'Ο μέντοι λόγος ὃς ἐστὶ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ μήτε νεαρὸς καὶ θεατρικός, ὥσπερ πανηγυρίζοντος καὶ στεφανηπλοκούντος ἐξ ἁπαλῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὀνο- μάτων· μήτ' αὐτὶ πάλιν, ὡς ὁ Πυθέας τὸν Δημο- σθένους ἔλεγεν, ἐλλυχνίων ὁξων καὶ σοφιστικῆς F περιεργιάς ἑνθυμέμεθα πικρῶς καὶ περίδοις πρὸς κανόνα καὶ διαβῆτην ἀπηκριβωμένας· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ τὴν θξιν αξιοῦσι τῶν χορδῶν ἥθικην

1 μόνον Benseler: μόνω. 2 ὁξων Meziriacus: ὁξειν.
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-
καταφαίνεσθαι μὴ κρουστικήν, οὕτω τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ πολιτευομένου καὶ συμβουλεύοντος καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπιφαινέσθω μὴ δεινότης μηδὲ πανουργία, μηδ᾽ εἰς ἐπαινοῦν αὐτοῦ τιθέσθω τὸ ἑκτικῶς ἢ τεχνικῶς ἢ διαιρετικῶς, ἀλλ᾽ ἥθους ἀπλάστου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ παρρησίας πατρικῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ 803 συνέσεως κηδομένης ὁ λόγος ἐκεῖνος, ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ἔχων καὶ ἄγωγὸν ἐκ τε σεμνῶν οἷς ὀνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων ἰδίων καὶ πιθανῶν. δέχεται δ᾽ ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος δικανικὸς μᾶλλον καὶ γνωμολογίας καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ μέθοδους καὶ μεταφοράς, αἷς μάλιστα κινοῦσιν οἱ χρώμενοι μετρίως καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν: ὡς ὁ εἰπὼν "μὴ ποιήσητε ἑτερόφθαλμον τὴν 'Ελλάδα," καὶ Δημάδης τὰ ναύακια λέγων πολιτεύεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ 'Αρχίλοχος μηδ᾽ ὁ Ταυτάλου λίθος τῆς ὑπὲρ νήσου κρεμάσθω·

καὶ Περικλῆς τὴν λήμην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεύων καὶ Φωκιῶν ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωσθένου νίκης Β καλὸν τὸ στάδιον εἶναι, δεδείναι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν δόλιχον. καθόλου δ᾽ ὁ μὲν ὤγκος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῷ πολιτικῷ μᾶλλον ἀρμόττει, παράδειγμα δ᾽ οἱ τῇ Φιλιππικῇ καὶ τῶν 'Ἑλεων ὀργιάς ἡ Σθενελαΐδα τοῦ 'Εφόρου καὶ 'Αρχιδάμου

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*a* These seem to be somewhat technical words employed by the rhetoricians.

*b* 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."

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


*e* 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, a 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 excessively; as did he who said "Do not make Hellas one-eyed," b and Demades when he said he was "governing the wreck of the State," c and Archilochus saying

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

and Pericles when he bade the Athenians to remove "the eyesore of the Peiraeus," e 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. f 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 Architо Aegina, whose thriving commerce threatened the prosperity of the Peiraeus.

f Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxiii.
Τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Πλαταίαις καὶ Περικλέους ἡ μετά τὸν λοιμὸν: ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑφόρου καὶ Θεοπόμπου καὶ Ἀναξιμένους ῥητορεῖσιν καὶ περιόδων, ἃς περαίνουσιν ἐξοπλίζαντες τὰ στρατεύματα καὶ παρατάξαντες, ἐστιν εἰπεῖν οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας.

7. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σκῶμμα καὶ γελοῖον ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται πολιτικοῦ λόγου μέρος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς Κ ὕβριν ή βωμολοχίαν, ἀλλὰ χρησίμως ἐπιπλήττοντος ἡ διασύροντος λέγοιτο. μάλιστα δὲ εὐδοκιμεῖ τὰ τουαθα περὶ τὰς ἀμείβεις καὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις· τὸ γαρ ἐκ παρασκευής καὶ κατάρχοντα γελωτοποιοῦντος ἐστὶ καὶ δόξα κακοηθείας πρόσεστιν, ὡς προσήν τοῖς Κικέρωνος σκώμμασι καὶ τοῖς Κάτωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Εὐξιθέου τοῦ Ἀριστοτέλους συνήθουσιν. οὕτω γαρ ἐσκωπτον ἀρχόμενοι πολλάκις. ἀμυνομένω δὲ συγγνωμήν ἀμα καὶ χάριν ὃ καιρός δίδωσιν, καθάπερ Δημοσθένει πρὸς τὸν αἰτίαν ἐχοντα

D κλέπτειν χλευάζοντα τὰς νυκτογραφίας, "οἶδ' ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καίων"· καὶ πρὸς Δημάδην βοώντα Δημοσθένης ἔμε βουλεταί διορθοῦν "ἡ ὅσ τὴν Ἀθηναν," "ἀυτή μέντοι πέρυσιν ἡ Ἀθηνὰ μοιχεύουσα ἐλήφθη." χάριν δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἐναινέτον πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας λοιδοροῦντας αὐτοῦ ὅτι στρατηγὸς ἐν σφένγε, "μεθ" ὑμᾶν γ', ὡ

a Thucydides, i. 86; ii. 72; ii. 60.

b Nauck, Frag. 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 184
damus at Plataea, and that of Pericles after the pestilence. But as for the rhetorical efforts and grand periods of Ephorus, Theopompus, 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. b

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 Euxitheüs, 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!" c 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.

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"φιλαι κεφαλαι."

τὸ δ' ἄγαν φυλακέων ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἀκαίρως τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἥ τον λέγοντα ποιοῦν ἀγενήν καὶ ταπεινόν, ὥσπερ τὰ Δημοκράτους· ἀναβαίνων μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐφη, καθάπερ ἡ πόλις, μικρὸν ἰσχύει καὶ μέγα φυσάν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Χαιρωνικοῖς παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν Ε ὁμοιόν, "οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην κακῶς οὐτω πεπραγέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε κάμου συμβουλεύοντος ὡμᾶς ἀκοῦειν". καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτο μικρὸν κάκείνο μανικοῦ, πολιτικῷ δ' οὐδέτερον ἀρμόττον. Φωκίωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν βραχυλογίαν ἐθαύμαζον: ὁ γοῦν Πολύ-ευκτος ἀπεφαίνετο ρήτορα μέγιστον εἶναι Δημοσθένην, δευνότατον δ' εἰπεῖν Φωκίωνα. πλείστον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν λέξει βραχυτάτῃ νοῦν περιέχειν. καὶ δ' Δημοσθένης τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονῶν εἰώθει λέγειν, ἀνισταμένου Φωκίωνος, "ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπὶς ἀνίσταται."

8. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἑσκεμμένω πειρῶ καὶ μὴ διακένω τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς μετ' ἀσφαλείας, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς ἐκείνος εὐχετὸς πρὸ τοῦ δημηγορεῖν μὴδε ρῆμα μηδὲν ἀλλότριον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπελθεῖν αὐτῷ. δεῖ δ' ὁμοίως καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις τοῦ λόγου εὐστροφόν ἔχειν καὶ γεγυμνασμένον· ὥστε γὰρ οἱ καιροὶ καὶ πολλὰ φέροντες ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις αἰφνίδια. διὸ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐκατατόποι πολλῶν, ὡς φασί, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἀναδυόμενος καὶ κατοκνὼν. Ἀλκιβιάδην δ' ὁ Θεόφραστος ἱστορεῖ, μὴ μόνον ἀ δεὶ λέγειν ἄλλα

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1 πεπραγέναι Herwerden: πεπραχέναι.
2 εὐχετὸ Bernardakis: ἡὔχετο.

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a Cf. Life of Alcibiades, chap. x.
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
καὶ ὃς δεῖ βουλευόμενον, πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν ἵνα ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ συνειδέντα τὰς λέξεις ἐν-σχεσθαι καὶ διαπίπτειν, ὁ δ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἀνιστάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἐκπλήττει μάλιστα καὶ προσάγεται τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μετατίθενται ὁ ζων ὁ Βυζάντιος Λέων ἤκε δὴ ποτὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους στασιάζοσαι διαλεξόμενος: ὁφθεὶς δὲ Β μικρὸς καὶ γελασθεὶς "τί δ᾽" εἶπεν "εἰ τὴν γυναῖκα μου θεάσασθε μόλις ἐξικνουμένην πρὸς τὸ γόνυ;" πλειών οὖν ἐγένετο γέλως: "ἀλλ᾽ ἡμᾶς ἔφη "μικροὺς οὕτως οὕτας, ὅταν διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἡ Βυζαντίων πόλις οὐ χωρεῖ." Πυθεὰς δ᾽ ο ῥήτωρ, ὅτε πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὰς ἀντέλεγεν, εἰπόντος τινὸς "οὕτω σὺ νέος ὃν περὶ πραγμάτων τολμᾷς λέγειν τηλικοῦτων;" "καὶ μὴν Ἀλέξανδρος" εἶπεν "ἐμοὶ νεώτερος ἐστιν, ὃν ψηφίζεσθε θεόν εἶναι." 9. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ φωνῆς εὐεξίᾳ καὶ πνεύματος ρώμη πρὸς οὐ φαῦλον ἀλλὰ πάμμαχον ἀγώνα τῆς ὁ πολιτείας ἠθληκότα κομίζει τὸν λόγον, ὡς μὴ πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύοντα καὶ σβεννύμενον ὑπερβάλλῃ τις αὐτὸν ἀρπαξ κεκράκτης, κυκλοβόρου φωνήν ἕχων. Κάτων δὲ, περὶ δὲν οὐκ ἦλπιζε πείσειν τῷ προκατ-έχεσθαι χάρισι καὶ σπουδᾶσι τὸν δῆμον ἡ τὴν βουλήν, ἐλεγε τὴν ἡμέραν ὁλην ἀναστὰς καὶ τὸν ὑπερβάλλῃ Bernardakis: ὑπερβάλλοι.

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

b Aristophanes, Knights, 137. The reference is to Cleon.

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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 a 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. b

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,
καιρὸν οὕτως ἐξέκρουε. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τοῦ λόγου παρασκευῆς καὶ χρείας ἤκανα ταύτα τῷ δυναμένῳ τὸ ἀκόλουθον προσεξευρίσκειν.

10. Εἰσβολαὶ δὲ καὶ ὁδοὶ δύο τῆς πολιτείας εἰσίν, ἡ μὲν ταχεῖα καὶ λαμπρὰ πρὸς δόξαν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνοι, ἡ δὲ πεζοτέρα καὶ βραδυτέρα τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς ἐξουσία μᾶλλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ὠσπερ ἐκ ἀκρας πελαγίου πράξεως ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ μεγάλης ἐχούσης δὲ τόλμαν ἀραντες ἀφήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἥγουμενοι λέγειν ὀρθῶς τὸν Πινδαρον ὡς ἀρχομένου δ' ἐργον πρόσωπον καὶ γὰρ δέχονται προθυμότερον οἱ πολλοὶ κόρῳ τινὶ καὶ πλησμονῇ τῶν συνήθων τὸν ἀρχομένου, ἦσπερ ἄγωνιστὴν θεαταὶ, καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐκπλήττουσιν ἀλλὰ τῶν κατὰ μικρὸν αὐξανομένων καὶ σχολαίως ἄλλον ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι: διὸ πολλοὶ πρὶν ἀνθῆσαι περὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεμαράνθησαν. ὅπου δ', ὠσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδα λέγουσιν,

ὁ ψόφος ἢν ψπληγος 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.
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.
ἐνθά καστεφανοῦτον προσβεύων ἡ θριαμβεύων ἡ στρατηγῶν ἐπιφανῶς, οὕτως οἱ φθονοῦντες οὕτως οἱ καταφρονοῦντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἰσχύουσιν. οὕτως παρῆλθεν εἰς δόξαν Ἀρατος, ἀρχὴν ποιη- 
F σάμενος πολιτείας τὴν Νικοκλέους τοῦ τυράννου κατάλυσιν· οὕτως Ἀλκιβιάδης, τα Μαντινικά συστήσας ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ θριαμβεύει ἡξίου μήπω παρίων εἰς σύγκλητον· οὐκ ἐώντος ἐν Σύλλα, "πλείονες ἐφη "τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλοντα προσκυνοῦσιν ἡ δυόμενον", καὶ Σύλλας ύπεείξε τούτ᾽ ἀκούσας. καὶ Σικιπώνα δὲ Κορνήλιον οὐκ ἀφ᾽ ἧς ἐωντος δὲ Σύλλα, ἀρχήν ποιησάμενος πολιτείας τὴν Νικοκλέους τοῦ τυράννου κατάλυσιν "Απατος, ἀρχὴν ποιησάμενος πολιτείας τὴν Νικοκλέους τοῦ τυράννου κατάλυσιν· οὕτως Ἀλκιβιάδης, τα Μαντινικά συστήσας ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους.

οἶος πέπνυται, τοῦ δὲ σκιαὶ αἰώσουσιν.


805 παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ μειρακίου μὲν ἐωντος τὴν ἐν ἸΒηρία μονομαχίαν καὶ νίκην, μικρὸν δὲ ὠστερον τὰ πρὸς Καρχηδόνι κυλιαρχοῦντος ἔργα, περὶ δὲ καὶ Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀνεφώνησεν

νῦν οὖν ὅτε τὰ πράγματα τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἔχει πολέμων ἡγεμονίας οὐδὲ τυραννίδων καταλύσεις οὐδὲ συμμαχικὰς πράξεις, τὸν ἐν τὶς ἀρχὴν ἐπιφανῶς λάβοι καὶ λαμπρὰς πολιτείας; αἱ δὲ διαπύρου καὶ θάρσος ἅμα καὶ νοῦν ἐχοντος δεόμεναι. πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παρει-

1 καστεφανοῦτο Coraes, followed by Bernardakis: καὶ στεφανοῦτο.
2 As Bernardakis says, either αἱ should (so Reiske) be omitted or (preferably) another αἱ should be inserted before προσβεΐα.
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).
μένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καλῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ τῶν εἰς ἑθους φαύλου παραδυμένων ἐπ᾽ αὐσχύνῃ τινὶ τῆς πόλεως ἤ βλάβη μεθυστάντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφειν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ δίκη μεγάλή καλῶς δικασθείσα καὶ πίστις ἐν συνηγορίᾳ πρὸς ἀντίδικον ἵσχυρον ὑπὲρ ἀσθενοὺς καὶ παρρησία πρὸς ἥγεμόνα μοχθηρον ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου κατέστησεν ἐνίους εἰς ἀρχὴν πολιτείας ἐνδοξον. οὐκ ὄλγοι δὲ καὶ δὶ ἐχθρας ἡνεξηθησαν ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀνθρώποις ἐπι- φθονον ἄξουσιν ἀξίωμα καὶ φοβερόν ἐνθὺς γαρ ῾ή τοῦ καταλυθέντος ἰσχυς τῷ κρατήσατε μετα βελτίων δόξῃ ὑπάρχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀνδρὶ χρηστῷ καὶ δὶ ἄρετὴν προτεύντι προσμάχεσθαι κατὰ φθόνον, ὡς Περικλεὶ Σιμμίας, Ὅλκμέων δὲ Θεμιστοκλεὶ, Πομηγῳ δὲ Κλώδιος, Ὅμπαμειώνδα δὲ Μενεκλέδης ὁ ρήτωρ, οὕτε πρὸς δόξαν καλὸν οὕτ᾽ ἄλλως συμφέρον ὅταν γὰρ ἐξαμαρτότοντες οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς ἀνδρὰ χρηστὸν, εἶδε δὲ γίγνεται ταχέως ἐπ᾽ ὀργῇ μετανοήσωσι, πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν ρήστην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοτάτην νομίζουσιν, ἐπιτρίψαι τὸν ἀναπείσαντα καὶ καταρξάμενον. τὸ μέντοι φαύλον ἀνθρωπον ἀπονοίᾳ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι πεποιημένον ὅ ς φθονῷ τὴν πόλιν, οἴος ἦν Κλέων Ὅλκμέως καὶ Κλεοφῶν, ἐπαναστάντα καθελεῖν καὶ ταπεινώσαι λαμπρὰν ποιεῖται τὴν πάροδον ὡς περ δράματος τῆς πολιτείας. οὐκ ἀγνοῶ δ᾽ ὅτι καὶ βουλῆν τινὲς ἐπαχθῆ καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὴν κολούσαντες, ὡς περ

1 Ὅλκμέως Bernardakis: Ὅλκμαιῶν.
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 over-
came 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 Claudius, and
Epameinondas by Menecleides 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
Ἐφιάλτης Ἀθήνας καὶ Φορμίων παρ᾽ Ἡλείοις, δύναμιν ἄμα καὶ δόξαν ἔσχον: ἀλλὰ μέγασ ἄρχομένῳ πολιτείας οὗτος ὁ κίνδυνος ἐστι. διὸ καὶ βελτίωνα Σόλων ἔλαβεν ἀρχήν, διεστώσης ἐς τρία μέρη τῆς Ε πόλεως, τὸ τῶν Διακρίων λεγομένων καὶ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων καὶ τὸ τῶν Ἰλαπαδίων: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐμμίξας ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ κοινὸς ὡς πᾶσι καὶ πάντα λέγων καὶ πράττων πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἕρεθη νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ κατέστησεν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχήν. ἥ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεστέρα πάροδος εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν τοσαύτας ἔγει καὶ τοιαύτας ἀρχάς.

11. Τὴν δ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ σχολαίαν εἵλοντο πολλοὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων, Ἀριστείδης, Φωκίων, Παμμένης ὁ Θηβαῖος, Λεύκολλος ἐν Ῥώμῃ, Κάτων, Ἀγησίλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τούτων γὰρ ἐκαστός, ὡσπερ οἱ κυττοί τοῖς ἱσχύουσι τῶν δένδρων περιπλεκόμενοι Ε συνεξανίστανται, προσδραμών ἀνδρὶ πρεσβυτέρῳ νέοι ἔτι καὶ ἅδοξοι ἔνδοξοι, κατὰ μικρόν αἱρόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ ἐκείνων δυνάμεως καὶ συναυξανόμενος ἥρεισε καὶ κατερρίζωσεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν.

Ἀριστείδην μὲν γὰρ ηὗξησε Κλεισθένης καὶ Φωκίων Χαβρίας, Λεύκολλον δὲ Σύλλας, Κάτωνα δὲ Μάξιμος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ Παμμένη, καὶ Λύσανδρος Ἀγησίλαον: ἀλλ᾽ οὗτος μὲν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἁκαίρου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας διὰ δόξαν ὑβρίσας ἀπέρριψε ταχὺ τὸν καθηγεμόνα τῶν πράξεων. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ ἄχρι τέλους ἔθερά-

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1 νέος ἔτι Benseler: ἔτι νέος.
2 Λεύκολλον] Πομπηίων Kaltwasser.
3 Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ Παμμένη Kaltwasser: ἐπαμεινώνδαν δὲ παμμένης.
4 ἕτο added by Meziriacus.
5 διὰ δόξαν Schaefer: δόξαν.
6 πράξεων Emperius: 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 Diaerians ("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


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806 πευσαν καὶ συνεπεκόσμησαν, ὥσπερ τὰ πρὸς ἦλιον υφιστάμενα σώματα, τὸ λαμπρὸν αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν αὔξουσαν καὶ συνεκφωτίζουσαν. οἱ γοῦν Σκιπίωνι βασκαϊνοντες ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸν ἀπεφαινοντο τῶν πράξεων ποιητὴν δὲ Λαύλιον τὸν ἐταίρον, ὁ δὲ Λαύλιος ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἑπήρθη τούτων ἀλλ’ ἄει διετελεῖσθαι τῇ Σκιπίωνος ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ συμφιλιτιμοῦμενοι. ᾿Αφράνιος δὲ Πομπηίου φίλος, εἰ καὶ πάνω ταπεινῶν ἦν, ὡμος ἐπίδοξος ὡν ὑπατος αἱρεθησθαι, Πομπηίου σπουδάζοντος ἀντέρους, ἀπέστη τῆς φιλοτιμίας εἰπὼν οὐκ ἂν οὔτω λαμπρόν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ τυχεῖν ὑπατείας, ὡς ἀνιαρὸν ἅμα καὶ δυσχερές, εἰ Πομπηίου μὴ θέλοντος μηδὲ συμπράττοντος· ἐναιστὸν οὖν ἀναχρόμενοι μόνον ὑπετέ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπέτυχε καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διετήρησε. τοῖς δ’ οὔτω χειραγωγομένοις ὑφ’ ἑτέρων ἀντέρων ἀνατιμήσαντες καὶ διετέλεσαν οὖν ἀρετῆς, πολλοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι συμβάνει χαρίζεσθαι τε πολλοῖς, κἂν τι συμβαίνῃ δύσκολο, ἦττον ἀπεχθάνεσθαι: διὸ καὶ Φίλιππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρήνει κτᾶσθαι φίλους, ἕως ἔξεστι, βασιλεύοντος ἀντέρου πρὸς χάριν ὠμολογοῦτα καὶ φιλοφρονοῦμενον.

12. Αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὸν ἀρχόμενον πολιτείας ᾿Ομομανόμενοι μὴ ἀπλῶς τὸν ἐνδοξοῦν καὶ δυνατόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δ’ ἀρετὴν τοιοῦτον. ὡς γὰρ οὐ πᾶν δενδρον ἐθέλει προσέσθαι καὶ φέρειν περιπλεκομένην τὴν ἀμπελοῦν ἀλλ’ ἐναι καταπνίγει καὶ διαφθείρει τὴν αὐξῆσιν αὐτῆς, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ μὴ φιλόκαλοι, φιλότιμοι δὲ καὶ φίλαρχοι μόνον, οὐ προέτεινοι τοῖς νέοις πράξεως ἀφορμάς, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ

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a Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. xliiv., where another story concerning the friendship of Pompey for Afranius is told.

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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
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(806) τροφὴν ἑαυτῶν τὴν δόξαν ἀφαιρουμένους πιέζουσιν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ καταμαραίνουσιν· ὥς Μάριος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ πάλιν ἐν Γαλατίᾳ πολλὰ διὰ Σύλλα κατορθώσας ἐπαύσατο χρώμενος, ἀχθεσθεὶς μὲν D αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐξήσει, πρόφασιν δὲ τὴν σφραγίδα ποιησάμενος ἀπέρριψεν· ὥς ὁ γὰρ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῷ Μαρίῳ στρατηγοῦντι συνῆν ταμιεύων ἐν Λιβύῃ, οὖν ἤνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα, γλυφάμενος δὲ εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως ἐν σφραγίδι τὸν 'Ἰογόρθαν αἰχμάλωτον· οἶα δὲ νέος φιλότιμος, ἀρτι δόξης γεγευμένος, οὐκ ἤνεγκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα, γλυφάμενος δ’ εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως ἐν σφραγίδι τὸν Ἰογόρθαν αὐτῷ παραδόμοιον ἐφόρει· καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Μάριος ἀπέρριψεν αὐτὸν· ὥς πρὸς Κάτουλν1 καὶ Μέτελλον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ Μαρίῳ διαφόρους μεταστὰς ταχὺ τὸν Μάριον εξήλασε καὶ κατέλυσε τῷ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμω μικρῷ Ε δεήσαντα τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνατρέψαι. Σύλλας μέντοι καὶ Πομπήιον ἐκ νέου μὲν ὦριν ύπεξανιστάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποκαλυπτόμενος εὕρετο, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νέοις πράξεων ἡγεμονικῶς μεταδίδους ἀφορμὰς, εὔνους δὲ καὶ παροξύνους ἀκοντας, ἐνεπλησε φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζήλου τὰ στρατεύματα· καὶ πάντων ἐκράτησε βουλόμενος εἶναι μὴ μόνον ἅλλα πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις. τούτων οὖν ἐξεσθαὶ δεῖ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούτως ἐμφύεσθαί, μὴ, καθάπερ ὁ Αἰσώτων βασιλιές Φ ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων τοῦ ἅπετοῦ κομισθεῖς αἰθινίδιου ἐξ-

1 Κάτουλν Bernardakis after the Basle ms. (Wytenbach reads Κάτλον) : κάτουλν.

a Equivalent here to adjutant.

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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

\[b\text{ Cf. Life of Marius, chap. x., and Life of Sulla, chap. iii.}\]
ἐπτῇ καὶ προέφθασεν, οὔτω τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν ὄφρα
αρτάξοντας αὐτοὺς ἄλλα παρ᾽ ἐκείνων ἁμα μετ'
εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας λαμβάνοντας, ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἄρξαι
καλῶς τοὺς μη πρότερον ὡρθῶς δουλεύσαντας, ἡ
φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, δυναμένους.
13. "Επεταὶ δὲ τούτοις ἡ περὶ φίλων κρίσις,
μήτε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέος ἐπαινοῦσα μήτε τὴν
Κλέωνος διάνοιαν, ὃ μὲν γὰρ Κλέων, ὅταν πρῶτον
ἐγνώ τῆς πολιτείας ἀπεσθαί, τοὺς φίλους συν-
αγαγόν εἰς ταὐτὸ διελύσατο τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς,
ὡς πολλὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας προαιρέσεως
μαλάσσοντας ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ παράγοντας:
ἀμένον δ᾽ ἂν ἐποίησε τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν ἐκβαλὼν
807 τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς φιλονεικίας, καὶ φθόνου καὶ
κακοπιθείας καθήρας αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἄφιλων αἱ
πόλεις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνεταίρων ἀλλὰ κακοπιθείας, καὶ
σωφρόνων δέονται. νυνὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν φίλους
ἀπήλασεν,

ἐκατὸν δὲ κύκλω κεφαλαὶ κολάκων οἰμωξο-
μένων1 εὐλεξίοντο

περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ κωμικοὶ λέγουσιν· καὶ τραχύς
ὡν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπεικεῖσι καὶ βαρὺς αὖθις ὑπέβαλλε
τοῖς πολλοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἑαυτὸν,

γερονταγωγῶν κάναμισθαρνεῖν2 δίδοις,

καὶ τὸ φαυλότατον καὶ τὸ νοσοῦν μάλιστα τοῦ
δήμου προσεταιριζόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους. ὁ
δὲ Ἐρμιστοκλῆς πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἀποφηνάμενον,
ὡς ἄρξει καλῶς ὑσον ἀπασι παρέχων ἑαυτὸν,

1 οἰμωξομένων Coraes: οἰμωξομένων.
Att. Frag. iii. p. 400.
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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.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA


C εὖ μὲν ἐνὶ πρύμνῃ οὐήμον, εὖ δὲ κεραίνην εἰδότας ἐντείνασθαι ἐπορνυμένου ἀνέμου· καὶ τὸς ἀρχιτέκτων ὑπουργὸς καὶ χειροτέχνας, οἱ μὴ διαφθεροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τούργον ἀλλ' ἀριστα συνεκπονήσουσιν· ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς, ἀριστοτέχνας τις ὁν κατὰ Πίνδαρον καὶ δημιουργὸς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης, οὐκ εὐθὺς αἱρήσεται φίλοις ὀμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ συνενθουσιώτας αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ἀλλ' ἄλλους πρὸς ἀλλην δὲ χρείαν.

D κάμπτοντας αὐτὸν ἀδίκως καὶ βιαίως· οὐδὲν τ' ὀφθήσεται διαφερὼν οἰκοδόμου τινὸς τὸ τέκτονος ἀπειρία καὶ πλημμελεία γεωνίας χρωμένου καὶ κανόσι καὶ στάθμαις, υφ' ἄν διαστρέφεσθαι τούργον ἐμελλεν· ὁργάνα γὰρ οἱ φίλοι ζωντα καὶ φρονοῦντα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰςι, καὶ οὐ δεὶ συνολισθάνειν αὐτοῖς παραβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

1 παρ' ἐμοὶ Anton Melissa: παρ' ἐμοι.
2 ἀλλ' ἄλλου Wytenbach: ἄλλον 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,

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, 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

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*b Pindar, Frag. 57, p. 403 Schroeder.

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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.
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

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

Cf. Moralia, 209 f.
Φωκίων οὐδὲ τῷ γαμβρῷ Χαρίκλως δίκην ἔχοντι περὶ τῶν Ἀρπαλείων συνεισήλθεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐγὼ σε, φήσας, ἐπὶ πάσι τοῖς δικαίοις ἐποιησάμην κηδεστήν, ῥήξετι ἀπιών. καὶ Τιμολέων οὶ Κορίνθιος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπεὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεόμενος οὐκ ἀπέστησε τῆς τυραννίδος, συνεπράξε τοῖς ἀνελοῦσι. δεὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλον εἶναι τῷ μὴ Β συνεπιορκεῖν, ὡς ποτε Περικλῆς εἶπεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἀχρὶ παντὸς νόμου καὶ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος, ὁ παροθήνε εἰς τίνα μεγάλην βλάβην ἀναφέρει καὶ κοινήν, ὡς ἀνέφερε τὸ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην Σφοδρίαν μηδὲ Φοιβίδαν: οὗτοι οὐχ ἔναντι τὴν Σπάρτην ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸν Λευκτρικὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε μετρίοις ἁμαρτήμασι τῶν φίλων ἐπεμβαίνειν βαρὺν ὁ πολιτικὸς οὐκ ἀναγκάζει λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίδωσιν εἰς ἀσφαλές θεμένου τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ περιουσίας βοηθεῖν τοῖς φίλοις καὶ παρίστασθαι καὶ συνεκπονεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ χάριτες ἀνεπίφθονοι, συλλαβέσθαι πρὸς ἀρχὴν τῷ φίλῳ μᾶλλον, ἐγχειρίσαι τινὰ διοίκησιν ἔνδοξον ἢ πρεσβείαν, φιλάνθρωπον, οἷον ἡγεμόνος ἔχουσαν, ἢ πρὸς πόλιν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ ὀμονοίας ἐντευξίν ἀν ὅ ἢ τις ἐργώδης ἐπιφανῆς ὅ ἢ καὶ μεγάλη πρᾶξις, αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τάυτην τάξαντα πρῶτον εἶτα προσελέσθαι τὸν φίλον, ὡς οἱ Διονυσίδης

1 Χαρίκλως Dübner: χαρίλλως; 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.
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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, 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," 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.

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εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐταρόν γε κελεύετέ μ' αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι,
pῶς ἀν ἔπειτ' Ὄδυσης ἐγὼ θείοι λαθοῖμην;
κάκεινος αὖ πάλιν ἀνταποδίδωσιν οἰκείως τὸν ἐπαινοῦν

ὑποι δ' οἶδε, γεραίε, νεήλυδες, οὐς ἔρεεινεις,
Θρηκίου, τὸν δὲ σφίν ἀνακτ' ἅγαθὸς Διομήδης
ἐκτανε, πάρ δ' ἐτάρους δυνοκαίδεκα πάντας ἅμιστοις.

αὐτὴ γὰρ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ὑφεσὶς οὐχ ἤττον

Δ ἐπικοσμεῖ τῶν ἐπαινομένων τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας: ἢ
δ' αὐθάδεια, φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἐρημία σύνοικος. ἔτι
τοῖνυν ταῖς καλαῖς καὶ φιλανθρώποις χάρισι δεὶ
tους φίλους συνεισποιεῖν καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς εἰ πα-
θόντας ἐκείνους ἐπαινεῖν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν, ὡς αὐτίοις
ἀμα καὶ συμβούλους γεγενημένους· τὰς δὲ φαύλας
καὶ ἀτόπους ἀξιώσεις ἀποτρίβεσθαι μὴ πικρῶς ἅλλα
πράως, διδάσκοντα καὶ παραμυθοῦμενον ὡς οὐκ

Ε ἄξιαι τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς εἰσί καὶ δόξης. ἄριστα
δ' ἀνθρώπων ὁ 'Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἀρνησάμενος δεη-
θέντι τῷ Πελοπίδα τὸν κάπηλον ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς
ἀφεῖσι, ἔφη, 'τοιαύτας, ἔφη, 'χάριτας, ὦ Πελοπίδα,

ὁ δὲ Κάτων βαρέως καὶ αὐθάδως, ἐπεὶ Κάτλος ὁ
τιμητὴς, φίλος ὃν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ συνήθης,
ἐξετείτο τινα τῶν κρινομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταμειώ-
ουτος "ἀισχρόν ἐστιν," ἐφη, "σὲ τὸν ὁφείλοντα
τοὺς νέους ἥμας σωφρονίζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἥμετέρων
ὑπηρετῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι." τῷ γὰρ ἐργῳ τῆς χάριν
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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 fittingly returns the compliment:  

Now these horses, old sir, these new ones, of which thou  
inquirest,  
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 dis-  
grace 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  

\(^a\) Homer, \textit{Il.} x. 242. \hspace{1cm} \(^b\) Homer, \textit{Il.} x. 558. \hspace{1cm} \(^c\) Plato, \textit{Letters}, iv. 321 b.
F ἐξῆν ἀπειπάμενον ἀφελεῖν τοῦ λόγου τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ πικρίαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῇ πράξει τὸ λυπηρὸν ἀλλὰ ἀναγκαίως ἐπιφέροντα διὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς ἐν πολιτείᾳ τοῖς δεομένοις τῶν φίλων αἱ συλλήψεις: οἶον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἰδιῶν νεκρῶν στρεπτὰ χρυσὰ καὶ μανιάκην περικείμενον αὐτὸς μὲν παρήλθεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν φίλον "ἀνελοῦ ταῦτ'" εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ καὶ σὺ Θεμιστοκλῆς γέγονας." δίδωσι γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο πολλάκις τῷ πολιτικῷ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. οὐ γὰρ δὴ Μενέμαχοι πάντες εἰσὶ τῷ μὲν ἐγχείρισον συνηγορίαν ἐμμισθοῦν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, τῷ δὲ σύστησον πλουσίου ἐπιμελείας καὶ προστασίας δεόμενον. ἀλλω δ' εἰς ἐργολαβίαν τινὰ σύμπραξον ἥ μίσθωσιν ὥφελείας ἔχουσαν. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ πλουσίῳ τῷ προσελθόντα τίνα σύμπραξον ἡ μίσθωσιν ὥφελείας ἔχουσαν. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ πλουσίῳ τῷ προσελθόντα τίνα σύμπραξον ἡ μίσθωσιν ὥφελείας ἔχουσαν. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ πλουσίῳ τῷ προσελθόντα τίνα σύμπραξον ἡ μίσθωσιν ὥφελείας ἔχουσαν. 14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ "πάσαις κορυδαλλίσι" κατὰ Σιμωνίδην "χρη λόφου ἐγγενέσθαι" καὶ πᾶσα πολιτεία φέρει τινὰς ἐχθρας καὶ διαφοράς, οὐχ ἥκιστα προσήκει καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐσκέφθαι τὸν πολιτικὸν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἐπαυνουσίν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων

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. 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 says that Agesilaüs delighted in enriching his friends, he being himself above money.

14. But since, to quote Simonides, "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-

\[c \text{ Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 418, no. 68.}\]
(809) τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἀποτιθεμένους, ὡςάκις ἐπὶ πρεσβείαν ἡ στρατηγίαν ἐξίοιεν, εἰτὰ πάλιν ἀναλαμβάνοντας. εὖνοις δὲ καὶ τὸ Κρητίνου τῷ Μάγνητος ὑπερφυὼς ὁ ἀρέσκει: 'Ερμεία γὰρ ἀντιπολιτευόμενον ἀνδρὶ οὐ δυνατῷ μὲν1 φιλοτίμων δὲ καὶ λαμπρῷ τὴν ψυχήν, ἐπεὶ κατέσχεν ο Μιθριδατικὸς πόλεμος, τὴν πόλιν ὅρων κινδυνεύονσαν ἐκέλευσε τὸν 'Ερμείαν τῇ ἁρχῇ παραλαβόντα χρῆσαι τοὺς πράγμασιν, αὐτοῦ μεταστάντος: εἰ δὲ βούλεται στρατηγεῖν ἔκεινον, αὐτὸν ἑκποδῶν ἀπελθεῖν, ώς μὴ φιλοτιμοῦμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀπολέσειαν τὴν πόλιν. ήρεσεν η̄ πρόκλησις τῷ 'Ερμεία, καὶ φήσας ἐαυτοῦ πολεμικὸτερον εἶναι τὸν Κρητίναν ὑπεξῆλθε μετὰ παιδῶν καὶ γυναικὸς. ο δὲ Κρητίνας ἐκείνον τε προὔπεμψε, τῶν ἰδίων χρημάτων ἐπιδοὺς ὅσα D φεύγουσιν ἢ̄ πολιορκουμένοις χρησιμῶτερα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἁριστὰ στρατηγήσας παρ' οὐδὲν ἐλθοῦσαν ἀπολέσθαι περιεποίησεν ἀνελπίστως. εἰ γὰρ εὐγενὲς καὶ φρονήματος μεγάλου τὸ ἀναφωνῆσαι

φιλῶ τέκν', ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ,
πῶς οὐκ ἐκεῖνος γε προχειρότερον εἰπεῖν ἐκάστῳ "μισῶ τὸν δείνα καὶ βούλομαι ποιῆσαι κακῶς, ἀλλὰ πατρίδ' ἐμὴν μᾶλλον φιλῶ"; τὸ γὰρ μὴ θέλειν διαλυθῆναι πρὸς ἐχθρόν, ὡν ἐνεκα δεῖ καὶ2 φίλον προέσθαι, δεινῶς ἀγριον καὶ θηριῶδες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ βέλτιον οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα καὶ Κάτωνα, μηδ' ὅλως ἔχθραν τινὰ πρὸς πολιτικὰς τιθέμενοι

1 μὲν added by Benseler, but placed by him after ἀνδρὶ.
2 καὶ added by Coraes.

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,\textsuperscript{a} 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 \textit{Erechtheus} of Euripides and spoken by Praxithea, wife of Erechtheus.
διαφοράς, ἀλλὰ δεινὸι καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι μόνον ἐν τοῖς δημοσίοις ἀγώνων οὔτε μὴ προέσθαι τὸ συμφέρον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἵδιοις ἀμηνίτως καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐκεί διαφερομένοις. δεῖ γὰρ ἔχθρον μηδένα πολίτην νομίζειν, ἂν μὴ τις, οἷος Ἀριστίων ἢ Νάβις ἢ Κατιλίνας, νόσημα καὶ ἀπόστημα πόλεως ἐγγένεται· τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλως ἀπάδοντας ὡσπερ ἀρμονικοῦ ἐπιτείνουτα καὶ χαλῶνταν πρᾶς εἰς τὸ ἐμμελές ἄγειν, μὴ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσι σὺν ὄργῃ καὶ πρὸς ύβριν ἐπιφυόμενον, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς Ὁμήρος ἡθικώτερον.

Φὸν πέπον, ἢ τ᾽ ἐφάμην σε περὶ φρένας ἐμμελεῖται ἀλλων
καὶ

οἴσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦτο νοῇσαι.

ἀν τὲ τι χρηστὸν εἶποσιν ἢ πράξωσιν, μὴ τιμαῖς ἀχθόμενον αὐτῶν μηδὲ σχέσιν εὑρήμενον ἀπείκοσιν ὡσπερ φειδόμενον· οὔτω γὰρ ὁ τε φόγος ὅπου δεὶ πιστῶν ἐξεῖ, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν διαβαλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς αὔξαντες τὴν ἁρετήν καὶ ταῦτα παραβάλλοντες ἐκείνοις ὡς ἄξια καὶ πρέποντα μᾶλλον. 810 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μαρτυρεῖν ἁξιῶ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ ὅπου κατοχθείν κρυνωμένοι πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ἃν ὅσιν ἀλλότριῳ τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν· ὡσπερ ὁ Νέρων ἐκεῖνος ὀλύγων ἐμπροσθεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος τὸν Θρασέαν μάλιστα μισῶν καὶ φοβοῦν·

1 καλοῖς ἐργοὺς 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 blackmailers, 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 Thraseas to death, whom he hated and feared intensely, nevertheless
(810) μενος, ὃμως ἐγκαλοῦντός τινος ὃς κακῶς κεκριμένου καὶ ἀδίκως, "ἐβουλόμην ἂν," ἐφη, "Ὤρασέαν οὔτως ἐμὲ φιλεῖν, ὥς δικαστής ἀριστός ἐστιν."

Οὐ χείρον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐπίπληξιν ἐτέρων φύσει πονηρῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτανόντων ἑχθροῦ μη-σθέντα κομψότερον τὸ ἵθος εἶπεῖν "ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος Β οὐκ ἂν τούτ' εἶπεν οὐδ' ἐποίησεν." ύπομισσεῖν δὲ καὶ πατέρων ἁγαθῶν ἐνίους, ὅταν ἐξαμαρτάνωσιν· οἶον Ἡμηρος ἡ ὄλγον οἱ παῖδα ἐοικότα γείνατο Τυδεύς.

καὶ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν 'Αφρικανὸν "Ἀππιος ἐν ἀρχαιρεσίαις διαγωνιζόμενος "ήλικον ἂν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Παῦλε, στενάξεις ὑπὸ γῆς, αἰσθόμενος ὅτι σοῦ τῶν ὕδων ἐπὶ τιμητικὴν ἀρχὴν καταβαίνοντα Φιλόνικος ὅ τελώνης δορυφορεῖ." τὰ γὰρ τουαῦτα νοσθεῖτε τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἁμα καὶ κοσμεῖ τοὺς νοσθετοῦντας. πολιτικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἀποκρίνεται λοιδορούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰαντος ὁ οὐ μέμφομαι σε· δρῶν γὰρ εὖ κακῶς λέγεις.

καὶ Κάτων διενεχθεῖ ὁπείς πρὸς τὸν Πομπηίου ἐν οἷς ἐβιάζετο τὴν πόλιν μετὰ Καίσαρος, ὁπείς κατέστησαν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐκελεοῦσα Πομπηίως παράδοναι τὴν ἐγερμονίαν, ἐπειπὼν ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. ὁ γὰρ μεμυγμένος ἐπαίνῳ ψόγος οὐκ ἔχων ὕβριν ἂλλὰ

1 καὶ added by H.N.F.
2 οἶον added by Bernardakis.
3 Φιλόνικος Reiske: φιλόνεικος.
when someone accused him of a bad and unjust decision in court, said: "I wish Thraseas 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 a;

And Appius, when competing with Scipio Africanus b 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. c

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, ουδὲ θυμὸν ἀλλὰ δηγμὸν ἔμποιών καὶ μετάνοιαν, εὐμενῆς φαίνεται καὶ θεραπευτικός. Αἱ δὲ λοιδορίαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἢκιστα πρέπουσιν. ὥρα δὲ τὰ πρὸς Αἰσχίνην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον ὑπ’ Αἰσχίνου, καὶ πάλιν ἐν πρὸς Δημάδην γέγραφεν 'Ὑπερείδης, εἰ Σόλων

D ἤν εἶπεν Ἡ Ἀισχίνης Ἡ Δυκοῦργος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἡ Πιττακός ὁ Λέσβιος. καὶ τοιού καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ δικανικῷ τὸ λοιδορούν ἔχει μόνον, οἱ δὲ Φιλιππικοὶ καθαρεύουσι καὶ σκώμματος καὶ βωμολοχίας ἀπάσης. τὰ γὰρ τουαῦτα τῶν ἀκουόντων μᾶλλον αἰσχύνει τοὺς λέγοντας, ἐτι δὲ καὶ σύγχυσιν ἀπεργάζεται τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διαταράττει τὰ βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. οἶτον ἄρισθ’ ὁ Φωκίων ὑπεκκόστας τῷ λοιδοροῦντι καὶ παυσάμενος τῷ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ μόλις ἐσιώπησεν ο ἀνήρ, καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπότων ἀκηκόατε, λείπεται δὲ μοι περὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ψιλῶν καὶ μεταστών διελθεῖν. ἀλλ’ ἐστὶ πολλοὶ γε δυσκάθεκτον ἐστὶ τὸ πράγμα καὶ πολλάκις οὐκ ἁρχήσωσι οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ἐπιστομίζονται ταῖς ἀπαντήσεσιν, ἐστὶ δὲ πράγμα τῆς ἐλέει καὶ μή θυμὸν ἐμφαίνουσα μηδὲ ἀκραχολίαν, ἀλλὰ πραότητα μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ χάριτος ἁμωσόγεπως δάκνουσαν: αἱ δὲ ἀντεπιστρέφουσα στερεότατα τοιαύται. καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν βελῶν ὅσα πρὸς τὸν βαλόντα φέρεται πάλιν ῥώμη τινὶ δοκεῖ καὶ στερεό-
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
οὕτω τὸ λεχθὲν ὑπὸ ῥώμης καὶ συνέσεως τοῦ λοιδορηθέντος ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιδορήσαντας ἀναστρέφειν ἑοικεν· ὡς τὸ Ἐπαμεινώνδου πρὸς Καλλίστρατον, ὁμειδίζοντα Θηβαίως καὶ Ἀργείως τὴν Οἰδίποδον ἀποκτονίαν καὶ τὴν Ὁρέστου μυτροκτονίαν, ὅτι "τοὺς ταῦτα ποιήσαντα ἀνέθεσαν ἐκβαλόντων ἕμισ" ἐδέξασθε". καὶ τὸ Ἀνταλκίδου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου πρὸς τὸν Ἄθηναιον τὸν φήσαντα "πολλάκις ἕμισ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ ἐδιώξαμεν," "ἀλλ' ἕμισ γ' ἕμισ ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐρώτα οὐδέποτε." χαριέντως δὲ καὶ ὁ Φωκίων, τοῦ Δημάδου κεκραγότος "Ἀθηναίοι σε ἀποκτενοῦσιν," "ἀν γε μανῶσιν," ἐφή, "σὲ δὲ, ἂν σωφρονῶσι." καὶ Κράσσος ὁ Ῥήτωρ, Δομιτίου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος "οὐ σὺ μυραίνης ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ σοι τρεφομένης εἶτ ἀποθανούσῃ ἔκλαυσας;" ἀντηρώτησεν "οὐ σὺ τρεῖς γυναίκας ἔθαψας καὶ οὐκ ἐδάκρυσας;" ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐχει τινὰ χρείαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἅλλον βίον.

15. Πολιτείας δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς ἅπαν ἐνδύονται μέρος, ὡσπερ ὁ Κάτως, οὐδεμιᾶς αξιοῦντες εἰς Β ὅπως ἄπολείπεσθαι φροντίδας οὐδ' ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πολίτην· καὶ τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐπ- αυνούσιν, ὅτι φθόνως καὶ πρὸς ὕβριν ἀποδειχθεὶς τέλμαρχος1 ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων οὐκ ἤμελησεν, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν ὡς οὐ μόνον ἀρχὴ ἀνδρα δείκνυσιν ἀλλὰ τελέαρχος Winckelmann and van Herwerden: τελέαρχος.

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1 No such official as telearchos is mentioned elsewhere, and the word itself describes no function. On the other hand, telmarchos or telmatarachos, conjectured independently 222
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*² 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 ἀνήρ, εἰς μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν ἀξίωμα προ-
ήγαγε τὴν τελμαρχίαν, οὐδὲν οὔσαν πρότερον ἄλλο
η περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐκβολῆς κοπρίων καὶ ἰε-
μάτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπιμελεῖαν τινα. καὶ γὰρ δ’ ἀμέλει
παρέχω γέλωτα τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσιν, ὁρώμενος ἐν
dημοσίῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλάκις ἂν λαβῶν οὐ
μοι τὸ τοῦ 'Αντισθένους μνημονευόμενον. θαυμά-
C σαντος γὰρ τινος, εἰ δ’ ἀγοράς αὐτὸς φέρει τάριχος,
"ἐμαυτῶ γ’, εἴπεν εἰγὼ δ’ ἀνάπαλιν πρὸς τοὺς
ἐγκαλοῦντας, εἰ κεράμῳ παρέχω διαμετρουμένων
καὶ φύσεως καὶ λίθως παρακομιζομένων, οὐκ
ἐμαυτῶ γέ φησι ταύτ’ οἴκον οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ οὐκ
καὶ γὰρ εἷς ἂν πολλὰ μικρὸς ἂν τὸς εὐθεῖα καὶ
γλύκσιρος αὐτῷ διοικῶν καὶ δι’ αὐτὸν πραγμα-
τεύομεν: εἰ δὲ δημοσίᾳ καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ
ἀγεννής, ἂν μείζον τὸ μέχρι μικρῶν ἐπιμελέσ
καὶ πρόθυμον. έτεροι δὲ σεμνότερον οἴνονται καὶ
megaloprepēste'ron εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους. ὅν
καὶ Κριτόλαος ἄστιν ὁ Περιπατητικὸς ἄξιος, ὁστὲρ
D ἡ Σαλαμνία ναῖς Ἄθηνηι καὶ ἡ Πάραλος οὐκ ἔπι
πᾶν ἔργον ἂλλ’ ἔπι τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ μεγάλας κατ-
εστῶτο πράξεις, οὔτως ἐαυτῶ πρὸς τὰ κυρίωτα καὶ
μέγιστα χρήσθαι, ὡς ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεύς,
τῶν άγαν γάρ ἄπτεται
θεός, τὰ μικρὰ δ’ εἰς τύχην ἄνεις εἶναι
κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην.

1 τελμαρχίαν Winckelmann and van Herwerden: τελεαρχίαν.
2 οἰκονομεῖν Nylander: οἰκοδομῶν.
3 ἄνεις] ἄφεις Moralia, 464 A.

a Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 675, no. 974. From an
unknown play, quoted also Moralia, 464 A.
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 some-
one 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,

For God great things doth take in hand,
But small things passing by he leaves to chance.

according to Euripides.

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Οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὸ φιλότιμον ἄγαν καὶ φιλόνεικον ἐπαινοῦμεν, διὸ οὐ μόνον τὴν περίοδον νεικηκῶς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἀγώνας, οὐ παγκρατίω μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πυγμῆ καὶ δολίχῳ, τέλος ἡρῶ ψέπτων ἐπιταφίου τινός, ὡσπερ εἰώθει, προτεθείσης ἐὰν προσάγων ἀναπηδήσῃ τῆς μερίδος, ἀναπηδήσῃ τοὺς πλείστους. οὐδὲν οὐν τούτου διαφέρουσιν οἱ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀποδυόμενοι πολιτικῆ πρᾶξιν, ἀλλὰ μεμπτοὺς τε ταχὺ ποιοῦσιν εὐαντοῦς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἐπαχθεῖς καὶ κατορθοῦντες ἐπίφθονοι, καὶ σφαλῶσιν, ἐπίχαρτοι, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπιμελείας εἰς χλευασμὸν ὑπονοστεῖ καὶ γέλωται.  

F Μητίοχος μὲν γὰρ στρατηγεῖ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰς ὀδοὺς, Μητίοχος δ’ ἄρτους ἐπωπᾷ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰλφιτα, Μητίοχος δὲ πάντ’ ἀκεῖται, Μητίοχος δ’ οὐ- μῶξεται.

tῶν Περικλέους οὕτος εἰς ἥν ἑταίρων, τῇ δὲ ἐκεῖ- νον, ὡς ἐοικε, δυνάμει χρώμενος ἐπιφθόνως καὶ κατακόρως. δεὶ δὲ, ὡς φασίν, ἔρωτι τῶ δήμῳ τόν πολιτικὸν προσφέρεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρόντος

1 δολίχῳ Bernardakis: δολίχῳ.
2 τοιοῦτον τὸ Duebner: τοιοῦτον.
3 ἐπωπᾷ Dindorf: ἐπώπτα or ἐποπτᾶ.
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, but in many other contests besides, not only in the pancratium, but also in boxing and long-distance running, 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.

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

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

ἑαυτοῦ πόθον ἐναπολείπειν· ὃ καὶ Σκιπίων ὁ ἀφρικανὸς ἐποίει πολὺν χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διαιτῶμεν, ἃμα καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τὸ βάρος ἀφαιρών καὶ διδοὺς ἀναπνοὴν τοῖς πιέζοντας ὑπὸ τής ἐκείνου δόξης. Τιμησίας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος τὰ μὲν ἀλλα ἤν περὶ τήν πόλιν ἀνήρ ἀγαθός, τῷ δὲ πάντα πράσσειν δι᾽ ἐαυτοῦ φθονοῦμεν ἡγνόει καὶ μισοῦμεν, ἕως αὐτῶ συνεβη τι τοιοῦτον· ἐτυχὼν ἐν ὁδῷ παιδεῖ ἐκ λάκκου τινὸς αστράγαλον ἐκκόπτοντες, ἐκείνου παριόντος· ὥν οἱ μὲν ἔφασκον μένειν, ὃ δὲ πατάξας "οὔτως", ἐπεν, "ἐκκόψας Τιμησίου τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ὃς οὔτος ἐκκέκοπται." τοῦθ᾽ ὁ Τιμησίας ἀκούσας καὶ συνεῖς τὸν διήκοντα διά

Β πάντων αὐτοῦ ὁ φθόνος, ἀναστρέφει ἐφρασε τὸ πράγμα τῇ γυναικί, καὶ κελεύσας ἐπεστhai συνεσκευασμένην εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν ὁχετ᾽ ἀπιων ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· ἐσκεύασμενε ἐπεῖν "τί, ὃ μακάριοι, κοπιᾶτε πολλάκις εὐ πάχοντες;"

Τῶν δὲ τοιούτων τὰ μὲν ὀρθῶς τὰ δ᾽ οὐκ εὐ λέξεται. τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ κηδεμονία δεῖ μηδενὸς ἀφεστάναι τῶν κοινῶν, ἀλλὰ πάσι προσέχειν καὶ γιγνώσκειν ἕκαστα, μηδ᾽ ὥσπερ ἐν τῇ πόλει σκεῦος ἱερὸν ἀποκεῖσθαι τὰς ἐσχάτας περιμένοντα χρείας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τύχας· ἀλλ᾽ ὥστε οἱ κυβερνὴται τὰ μὲν ταῖς χεραὶ δι᾽ αὐτῶν πράττουσιν, τὰ δὲ ὀργάνωσ ἐτέρους 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 ν 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
(802) ἡ μενοὶ περιάγουσι καὶ στρέφουσι, χρώνται δὲ καὶ ναύταις καὶ πρωρεύσι καὶ κελευνταίς, καὶ τούτων ἐνίους ἀνακαλοῦμενοι πολλάκις εἰς πρύμναν ἐγχειρίζουσι τὸ πηδάλιον· οὔτω τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει παραχωρεῖν μὲν ἑτέρους ἀρχεῖν καὶ προσκαλεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετ᾽ εὔμενείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, χνείν δὲ μὴ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως τοῖς αὐτοῦ λόγοις καὶ ψηφίσμασιν ἣ πράξεσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἔχοντα πιστοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνδρας ἐκαστον ἐκάστη χρείᾳ κατὰ τὸ οἰκείου προσαρμόττειν· ὡς Περικλῆς Δ Μενίππῳ μὲν ἐχρήστο πρὸς τὰς στρατηγίας, δι᾽ Ἐφιάλτου δὲ τὴν ἐξ ᾿Αρείου πάγου βουλὴν ἐταπεινώσε, διὰ δὲ Χαρίνου τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ἐκύρωσε ψήφισμα, Λάμπωνα δὲ Θουρίων οἰκιστὴν ἐξέπεμψεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον, τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς πολλοὺς διανέμεσθαι δοκοῦσης, ἦτον ἐνοχλεῖ τῶν φθόνων τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν χρειῶν ἐπιτελεῖται μάλλον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ τῆς χειρὸς εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους μερισμὸς οὐκ ἀσθενῆ πεποίηκεν. ἀλλὰ Ζεχνικὴν καὶ ὀργανικὴν αὐτῆς τὴν χρῆσιν, οὕτως ὁ πραγμάτων Ε ἑτέρους ἐν πολιτείᾳ μεταδίδους ἐνεργοτέραν ποιεῖ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ τῆν πράξιν· ὁ δ᾽ ἀπληστία δόξης ή δυνάμεως πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν ἀνατιθεῖες καὶ πρὸς ὁ μὴ πέφυκε μηδ᾽ ἔσχηται προσάγων αὐτῶν, ὡς Κλέων πρὸς τὸ στρατηγεῖν, Φιλοποίμην δὲ πρὸς τὸ ναυαρχεῖν, ᾿Αννίβας δὲ πρὸς τὸ δημηγορεῖν, οὐκ ἔχει παραίτησιν ἀμαρτάνων ἀλλὰ προσακούει τὸ τοῦ Ἐυριπίδου

τέκτων γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐπρασσεὶς οὐ ἐλυσουργικά,

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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 skillful 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. b

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λέγειν ἀπίθανος ὃν ἔπρέσβευες ἡ ῥάθυμος ὃν ὁκο
νόμεις, ψήφων ἀπειρος ἐταμίευες ἡ γέρων καὶ
F ἀσθενῆς ἐστρατήγεις. Περικλῆς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κί-
μωνα διενέιματο τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρχειν
ἐν ἀστεί, τὸν δὲ πληρώσαντα τὰς ναῦς τοῖς βαρβά-
ροις πολομείν. ἢ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πρὸς πολιτεῖαν ὁ δὲ
πρὸς πόλεμον εὐφυέστερος. ἐπαινοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὸν
Ἄναφλύστιον ᾿Εὐβουλοῦν, ὅτι πίστιν ἔχου ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα καὶ δύναμιν οὐδὲν τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν ἔπραξεν
οὐδ’ ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἢλθεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα
τάξας έαυτόν ἰἀξίζησε τὰς κοινὰς προσόδους καὶ με-
γάλα τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτων ὑφέλησεν. ᾿Ιφικράτης
dὲ καὶ μελέτας λόγων ποιούμενος ἐν οἴκῳ πολλῶν
813 παρόντων, ἐχλευάζετο. καὶ γὰρ εἰ λογεύς ἀγαθὸς
ἀλλὰ μὴ φαύλος ἢν, ἔδει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὁπλοῖς δόξαν
ἀγαπώντα τῆς σχολῆς ἐξίστασθαι τοῖς σοφισταῖς.

16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντὶ δήμῳ τὸ κακόηθες καὶ φιλ-
αίτιον ἐνεστὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευομένους καὶ πολλὰ
τῶν χρησίμων, ἢν μὴ ὁπλοὶ ἀρχεῖν ἀτιλογίαν,
ὑπονοοῦσι πράττεσθαι συνωμοτικῶς, καὶ τοῦτο δια-
βάλλει μάλιστα τὰς ἑταιρείας καὶ φιλίας, ἀληθινὴν
μὲν ἐχθραν ἢ διαφορὰν οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπο-
λειπέσθαι, ὡς δὲ τῶν Χίων δημαγωγὸς Ὀνομάδημος
ὁκ εἶνα τῇ στάσει κρατήσας πάντας ἐκβάλειν τοὺς
Β ὑπεναντίους "ὀπως" ἐφη "μὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
ἀρξώμεθα διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασιν
ἀπαλαγέντες." τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ εὐθήνες· 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-
(813) ὑπόπτως ἔχωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τι πράγμα καὶ μέγα καὶ σωτήριον, οὐ δει θάνατος ὡσπέρ ἀπὸ συντάξεως ἢ κοντας τὴν αὐθην λέγειν γνώμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς διαστάντας ἀντιλέγειν ἥρεμα τῶν φίλων, εἴθ᾽ ὡσπέρ ἐξελεγχομένους μετατίθεθαι· συνεφελκοντας γὰρ οὗτω τὸν δήμου, ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀγεσθαὶ δόξαντες. ἐν μέντοι τοῖς ἐλάττωσι καὶ ἐπρὸς μέγα μηδὲν διήκουσιν οὐ χειρὸν ἐστι καὶ ἀληθῶς έαν διαφέρεσθαι τοὺς φίλους, ἐκαστόν ἵδιον λογισμῷ χρόμενον, ὅπως περὶ τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα φαίνονται πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὁμοφρονοῦντες.

17. Φύσει μὲν οὖν οἱ δόξαν ἀεὶ πόλεως ὁ πολιτικὸς ὡσπέρ ἡγεμών καὶ τούτο χρὴ διανοούμενον ἐχειν τὰ δημόσια διὰ χειρός· ἄς δὲ δνομάζουσιν ἐξουσίας καὶ χειροτονοῦσιν ἀρχὰς μὴν ἀγαν διώκειν καὶ πολλάκις, οὐ γὰρ σεμινὸν οὐδὲ δημοτικὸν ἢ φιλαρχία· μὴν ἀπωθείσθαι, τοῦ δήμου κατὰ νόμον διδόντος καὶ καλοῦντος· ἀλλὰ κἂν ταπεινότεραι τῆς δόξης ὄς, δέχεσθαι καὶ συμ-

D φιλοτιμεῖσθαι. δικαιον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν μειζόνων κοσμουμένους ἄρχων ἀντικοσμεῖν τὰς ἐλάττους, καὶ τῶν μὲν βαρυτέρων οἰον στρατηγίας 'Αθήνης καὶ πρυτανείας ἐν 'Ρόδῳ καὶ βοωταρχίας παρ' ἡμῖν, ὑψίσθαι καὶ παρενδιδόναι μετρίξοντα ταῖς δὲ μικροτέραις ἀξίωμα προστίθεναι καὶ ογκον, ὅπως μὴ τε περὶ ταύτας εὐκαταφρόνητοι μὴν ἐπίφθονοι περὶ ἑκείνας ομεν. εἰσιόντα δ᾽ εἰς ἀπασαν

a The Greeks did not know that the most important bee in the hive was female—the queen bee.

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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 ἐκείνους δεῖ προχειρίσεσθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς, οὕς ὁ Περικλῆς αὐτὸν ὑπεμίμνησκεν ἐν ἀναλαμβάνον τῇν χλαμύδα, "πρόσεχε, Περικλέει, ἐλευθέρων ἀρχεις, Ἑλλήνων ἀρχεις, πολιτῶν Ἀθηναϊῶν": ἄλλα κάκεινο λέγειν πρὸς εαυτόν, "ἀρχόμενοι ἀρχεις, ὑποτεταγμένης πόλεως ἀνθυπάτων, ἔπιτρόποις Καίσαρος: 'οὐ ταῦτα λόγχη πεδιάς', ὁυδ' αἱ παλαιαί Σάρδεις ὁυδ' ἡ Λυδῶν ἐκείνη δύναμις' εὐσταλεστέραν δεῖ τῇν χλαμύδα ποιεῖν, καὶ βλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ βήμα, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ μὴ πολὺ φρονεῖν μηδὲ πιστεύειν, ὁρῶντα τοὺς καλτίους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς: ἀλλὰ μιμεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑποκριτάς, πάθος μὲν ἴδιον καὶ ἦθος καὶ ἀξίωμα τῷ ἀγῶνι προστιθέντας, τοῦ δ' ὑποβολέως ἀκούοντας καὶ μὴ παρεκβαίνοντας τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς διδομένης ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τῶν κρατοῦντων. ἡ γὰρ ἐκπτωσὶς οὐ φέρει συριγμὸν οὐδὲ χλευασμὸν οὐδὲ κλωγμόν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ μὲν ἐπέβη δεινὸς κολαστὴς πέλεκυς αὐχένος τομεύς, ὡς τοῖς περὶ Παρδάλαν τὸν ύμετέρον ἐκλαθομένους τῶν ὄρων: ὁ δὲ τὶς ἐκριφεὶς εἰς νήσον γέγονε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα

Φολεγάνδριος ἡ Σικινήτης, 5

814 ἀντὶ γ' Ἀθηναίου πατρίδ' ἀμειψάμενος.

1 λόγχη πεδίας Duebner (from Sophocles, Trach. 1058): λόγχης πεδία.
2 ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα] ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος πρὸς τὸ στρατηγοῦν Kaltwasser.
3 φρονεῖν μηδὲ Coraes: φρόνημα.
5 Σικινήτης Bergk : σικινήτης.

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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, 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. 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,

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,

Pholegandrian or Sicinete,
No more Athenian, having changed his home.

*b In Greece of Plutarch's time "those in authority" in political matters were the Romans.
Τὰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ παιδία τῶν πατέρων ἐπιχειροῦντα τὰς κρηπίδας ὑποδεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους ἐπιχειροῦντα μετὰ παιδιᾶς γελῶμεν, οἱ δ᾽ ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνοήτως τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ φρονήματα καὶ πράξεις ἀσυμμέτρους τοὺς παρούσις καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν ὀυσίας μμεῖσθαι κελεύοντες ἐξαίρουσι τὰ πλήθη, γέλωτα τε ποιοῦντες

1 οὐκέτι γέλωτος ἄξια πάσχουσι, ἂν μὴ πάνυ καταφρονηθῶσι. πολλά γὰρ ἔστι τὸν ἂλλα τῶν προτερον

Β Ἑλλήνων διεξίοντα τοῖς νῦν ἡθοποιείν καὶ σωφρονίζειν, ὡς Ἀθηναίων ὑπομιμνήσκοντα μὴ τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ἐστι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τῆς ἀμνηστίας ἐπὶ τοῖς προτερον καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς Αμνηστίας ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα: καὶ τὸ ζημιᾶν Φρύνιχον τραγῳδία διδάξαντα τὴν Μιλήτου ἁλωσιν. καὶ ὅτι, Ἡβας Κασάνδρου κτίζοντος, ἀπεκδιδόσαν τὸν δὲ ἐν Ἀργείᾳ σκυταλισμὸν, ἐν ὧν πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἀνῃρήκεσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, περιενεγκεῖν καθάρσιον περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκέλευσαν: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρπαλείοις τὰς οἰκίας ἐρευνῶντες μόνην τοῦ ἐγαμηκότος νεωστὶ παρῆλθον. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐξεστὶ ζηλοῦντας ἐξομοιοῦσθαι τοῖς προγόνοις. τὸν δὲ Μαραθῶνα καὶ τὸν Εὐρυμέδοντα καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς, καὶ ὅσα τῶν παραδειγμάτων οἴδειν ποιεῖ καὶ φρυάτ-

1 γέλωτα τε ποιοῦντες Bernardakis: γελωτοποιουόντες or γελοιά 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) τεσθαί διακενῆς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀπολιπόντας ἐν ταῖς σχολαῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν.

18. Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεὶ παρέχειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀναίτιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλον ἔχειν ἀεὶ τινα τῶν ἄνω δυνατωτῶν, ὥσπερ ἐρμα τῆς πολιτείας βέβαιον· αὐτοὶ γὰρ εἰσὶ Ρωμαῖοι πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς σπουδὰς προθυμότατοι τοὺς φίλους· καὶ καρπὸν ἐκ φιλίας ἡγεμονικῆς λαμβάνοντας, οἶον ἔλαβε Πολύβιος καὶ Παναῖτιος τῇ D Σκιτείων εὐνοία πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεγάλα τὰς πατρίδας ὠφελήσαντες, εἰς εὐδαιμονίαν δημοσίαν εὔενεγκασθαὶ καλὸν. "Ἀρειόν τε Καῖσαρ, ὅτε τὴν Ἀλεξάνδραν εἰλε, διὰ χεῖρός ἔχων καὶ μόνῳ προσομιλῶν τῶν συνήθων συνεισήλασεν, εἰτα τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρευσι τὰ ἐσχάτα προσδοκῶσι καὶ δεομένους ἐφῇ διαλλάττεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὸν οἰκιστὴν Ἀλέξανδρον, "καὶ τρίτον," ἐφῃ, "τῷ φίλῳ μου τούτῳ χαριζόμενος." ἀρά γ᾽ ἄξιον τῇ χάριτι ταύτῃ παραβαλεῖν τὰς πολυταλάντους ἐπιτροπὰς καὶ διοικήσεις τῶν ἐπαρχῶν, ὡς διώκοντες οἱ πολλοὶ γηράσκοντες πρὸς ἀλλοτρίας θύραις, τὰ οἴκοι προλιπόντες· ἡ

1 τῶν ἄνω δυνατωτῶν] Bernardakis remarks that we should read either τῶν ἄνω (preferably) or τῶν δυνατωτῶν 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 Wytttenbach): εὐδαιμονίαν.
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?

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.
Ε τὸν Εὐριπίδην ἐπανορθωτέον ἄδοντα καὶ λέγοντα, ὡς εἴπερ ἀγρυπνεῖν χρῆ καὶ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ αὐλεον ἐτέρου καὶ ὑποβάλλειν έαυτὸν ἁγεμονικῆς συνήθειας, πατρίδος πέρι κάλλιστον ἐπὶ ταῦτα χωρεῖν, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα τὰς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοίς καὶ δικαιοῖς φιλίας ἀσπαζέσθαι καὶ φυλάττειν;

19. Ποιοῦντα μέντοι καὶ παρέχοντα τοῖς κρατοῦσιν εὐπειθῆ τῇ πατρίδα δεῖ μὴ προσεκταπει-νοῦν, μηδὲ τοῦ σκέλους δεδεμένου προσυποβάλλειν καὶ τὸν τράχηλον, ὡσπερ ἔνιοι, καὶ μικρὰ καὶ μεῖζω φέροντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ἁγεμόνως ἐξονειδίζουσι τὴν δουλείαν, μᾶλλον δ’ ὅλως τὴν πολιτείαν ἀναιροῦσι, καταπλῆγα καὶ περιδέα καὶ πάντων ἀκυρον ποιοῦντες. ὡσπερ γὰρ οἱ χωρίς ίατροῦ μήτε δειπνεῖν μήτε λούειν συνεθισθέντες οὐδ’ ὅσον ή φύσις δίδωσι χρῶν τῷ ἰσοπνείν, οὔτως οἱ παντὶ δόγματι καὶ συνεδρίῳ καὶ χάριτι καὶ διοικήσει προσάγοντες ἁγεμονικὴν κρίσιν ἀναγκάζουσιν ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ βούλοντες εἶναι τοὺς ἀγομένους. αὐτία δὲ τοῦτο μᾶλλον πλεονεξία καὶ φιλονεικία τῶν πρώτων: ἢ γὰρ ἐν οἷς βλάπτουσι τοὺς ἐλάττονας ἐκβιάζονται φεύγειν τὴν πόλιν ἢ περὶ ὅν διαφέρονται πρὸς ἄλληλους οὐκ ἀξιοῦντες

1 αὐλεον Hartman: αὐλον.

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If Plutarch quotes this passage, correcting it to suit his pur-

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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 ἀδικεῖν 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. 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, οἰόν τ᾽ ἄνδρας ἐσέρχεται,1 οἱ περὶ πάτρης ἄνδρασι δυσμενέσσι καὶ πράγμασι δυσκόλοις καὶ καιροῖς ἀντερείδουσι καὶ διαμάχονται. δεὶ γὰρ οὐ ποιεῖν χειμώνας αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ προλείπειν ἐπιπεσόντων, οὐδὲ

καὶ Περγαμηνοὺς ἐπὶ Νέρωνος κατέλαβε πράγματα, καὶ Ῥοδίους ἔναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ, καὶ Θεσ-σαλοὺς πρότερον ἐπὶ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Πετραῖον ζώντα κατακαύσαντας.

ἔνθ᾽ οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἰδοῖς οὐδὲ καταπτώσσοντα τὸν ἀληθῶς πολιτικὸν οὐδ᾽ αἰτιώμενον ἑτέρους αὑτὸν δὲ τῶν δεινῶν ἐξω τιθέμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρεσβεύοντα καὶ πλέοντα καὶ λέγοντα πρῶτον οὐ μόνον ἔκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότρεπε λοιγὼν, Ἀπολ-λον,

άλλα, κἂν τῆς ἁμαρτίας μὴ μετάσχῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς, Ε τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδεχόμενον. καὶ γὰρ καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τῷ καλῷ πολλάκις ἐνὸς ἄνδρος ἄρετῇ καὶ φρόνημα θαυμασθὲν ἡμαύρωσε

1 ἐσέρχεται Homer: ἐπέρχεται.

a Homer, II. xvii. 156 ff.
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 815

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

b See note on 812 b above.
c Homer, II. iv. 223. Spoken of Agamemnon.
d Callimachus, p. 787 ed. Schneider.
τὴν πρὸς πάντας ὀργὴν καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ πυκρὸν τῆς ἀπειλῆς· οία καὶ πρὸς Βούλιν ἐσοφκε καὶ Σπέρχιν τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας παθεῖν ὁ Πέρσης, καὶ πρὸς Σθέννωνα Πομπήιος ἐπαθεῖν, ὦτε, Μαμερτίνους κάλλοντος αὐτοῦ κολάζειν διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν, Φοῦκ ἐφῆ δίκαια πράξειν αὐτὸν ὁ Σθέννων, εἰ πολλοὺς ἀνατίνους ἄπολεῖ δὲ ἐνα τοῦ αἰτίου· ὁ γὰρ ἀποστήσασι τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φίλους πείσας τοὺς δὲ ἔχθρους βιασάμενος. οὔτω ταῦτα διέθηκε τὸν Πομπήιον, ὥστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφεῖναι καὶ τῷ Σθέννωνι χρήσασθαι φιλανθρώπως. ὁ δὲ Σύλλα ἔξονὸς ὡμοῖα μὲν ἄρετῆ πρὸς οὐχ ὡμοῖαν 816 δὲ χρησάμενος εὐγενῶς ἑτελεύτησεν· ἔπει γὰρ ἐλὼν Πραυνεστὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἐμελέτη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντασ ἀποσφάττειν ἐνα δὲ ἐκεῖνον ἥφιες διὰ τὴν ἐξενίαν, εἰπὼν ὡς οὐ βούλεται σωτηρίας χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ φονεῖ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀνέμιξεν ἑαυτόν καὶ συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολίταις. τοιούτους μὲν οὖν καίρους ἀπεύχεσθαι δεῖ καὶ τὰ βελτίωνα προσδοκᾶν.

20. Τερόν δὲ χρήσαντα καὶ μέγα πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν οὕσαν καὶ ἀρχοντα δεὶ μᾶλιστα τιμᾶν, τιμὴ δὲ ἀρχῆς ὀμοφροσύνη καὶ φιλία πρὸς συνάρχοντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἥ στέφανοι καὶ χλαμύς περιπόρφυροι. οἱ Β δὲ τὸ συστρατεύσασθαι καὶ συνεφηβεῦσαν φιλίας

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

b See *Moralia*, 203 d, 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 248
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 Praeneste, 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.

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ἀρχὴν τιθέμενοι, τὸ δὲ συστρατηγεῖν καὶ συνάρχειν ἐχθρὰς αὐτίαν λαμβάνοντες, ἐν τῶν τριῶν κακῶν οὐ διαπεφεύγασιν: ἢ γὰρ ἰσοὺς ἣγουμενοι τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοῖς στασιάζουσιν ἢ κρείττονας φθονοῦσιν ἢ ταπεινοτέρους καταφρονοῦσι. δεὶ δὲ καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν κρείττονα καὶ κοσμεῖν τὸν ἢττονα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν ὁμοίον, ἄσπαζον δὲ καὶ φιλεῖν ἀπαντας, ὥς

οὐ διὰ τραπέζης
οὐδὲ κώθωνος,

οὐδ’ ἐφ’ ἐστίς,

ἀλλὰ κοινῇ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ψήφῳ φίλους γεγονότας καὶ τρόπον τινὰ πατρίδιαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος

C εὐνοιαν ἔχοντας. ὃ γοῦν Σκιπίων ἦκουσεν ἐν Ῥώμῃ κακῶς, ὅτι φίλους ἐστιών ἐπὶ τῇ καθιερώσει τοῦ Ἡρακλείου τὸν συνάρχοντα Μόμμιον οὐ παρέλαβε· καὶ γὰρ, εἰ τᾶλλα μὴ φίλους ἐνόμιζον ἐαυτούς, ἐν τοῖς γε τοιούτοις ἢξίουν τιμᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖθα χά μὲν ἄρχην. ὅπου τοῖς ἀνδρὶ τᾶλλα θαυμασίω τῷ Σκιπίωνυ μικρὸν οὕτω φιλανθρώπευμα παραλειψθέν ὑπεροψίας ἢνεγκε δόξαν, ἢτοι κοινοῦν ἢν τις ἢξίωμα συνάρχοντος ἢ πράξειν ἐχούσαις πράξεις ἐπηρεάζων ἢ πάντα συλλήβδην ἀνατιθέεις ἁμα καὶ περιάγων ὑπ’ αὐθαδείας

D εἰς ἐαυτὸν ἐκείνου δ’ ἀφαιροῦμενος, ἐπεικῆς ἢν φανεῖν καὶ μέτριος; μέμνημαι νέον ἐμαυτὸν ἐτὶ πρεσβευτὴν μεθ’ ἐτέρου πεμφθέντα πρὸς ἀνθύπατον, 250
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· ὥς ὁδὺ ἐμελλον ἐπανελθῶν ἀποπρεσβεύειν, ἀναστὰς ὁ πατὴρ κατ’ ἵδιαν ἐκέλευς μὴ λέγειν "φχόμην" ἀλλ’ "φχόμεθα," μηδὲ "εἶπον" ἀλλ’ "εὔπομεν," καὶ τάλλα συνεφαπτόμενον ὑπὸ καὶ κοινοῦμεν ἀπαγγέλλειν. οὐ γὰρ Ἔ μόνον ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς δόξης. οθεν οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τύχην τοῖς κατ- ορθώμασι συνεπιγράφουσιν, ὡς Τιμολέων ὁ τὰς ἐν Σικελία καταλύσας τυραννίδας Αὐτοματίας ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο· καὶ Πύθων ἐπὶ τῷ Κότυν ἀποκτεῖναι θαυμαζόμενος καὶ τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων "ὁ θεός," ἐφη, "ταῦτ’ ἐπραξὲ, τὴν χεῖρα παρ’ ἐμοῦ χρησάμενος." Θεόπομπος δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακε- δαιμονίων πρὸς τὸν έπιόντα σώζεσθαι τὴν Ἱπποτην ὑπὸ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς ὠντας "μάλλον," ἐφη, "διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς πειθαρχικοὺς ὠντας.”

F 21. Γίγνεται μὲν οὖν ὃι δ’ ἀλλήλων ἀμφότερα ταῦτα. λέγουσι δ’ οἱ πλεῖστοι καὶ νομίζουσι πολιτικῆς παιδείας ἐργον εἶναι τὸ καλῶς ἀρχομένους παρασχεῖν· καὶ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἀρχοντος ἐν ἐκάστη πόλει τὸ ἀρχομένου· καὶ χρόνον ἐκαστὸς ἀρχι βραχύν, ἀρχει δὲ τὸν ἀπαντὰ χρόνον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολιτεύμενον· ὡςτε κάλλιστον εἶναι μάθημα καὶ χρησιμώτατον τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς ἡγουμένοις, καὶ ὑποδεέστερον δυνάμει καὶ δόξην τυγχάνωσιν ὠντες. ἀτοπον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τρα-

1 ἀναστὰς] 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
γῳδίᾳ πρωταγωνιστήν, Θεόδωρον ἢ Ιτῶλον ὄντα
μισθωτόν τα τρίτα λέγοντι πολλάκις ἐπεσθαί καὶ
προσδιαλέγεσθαι ταπεινῶς, ἂν ἐκεῖνος ἔχη τὸ διά-
817 δῆμα καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον. ἐν δὲ πράξεσιν ἀληθινάς
καὶ πολιτεία τὸν πλούσιον καὶ ἐνδοξὸν ὀλιγωρεῖν
καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἄρχοντος ἰδιώτων καὶ πένητος,
ἐνυβρίζοντα καὶ καθαιροῦντα τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν
ματι τὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ μὴ μᾶλλον αὐξοντα καὶ
προστιθέντα τὴν ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ
ἀρχῇ. καθάπερ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῖς ἐθόροις οἱ τε
βασιλεῖς ὑπεξανίσταντο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ κληθεῖς
οὐ βάδην ὑπήκουεν ἀλλὰ δρόμῳ καὶ σπουδῇ ὑπὲ
ἀγορᾶς θέοντες ἐπεδείκνυντο τῇ ἐνυπείθεια τοῖς
πολίταις, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ τιμᾶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας.
Β οὐχ ἄστερ ἐνοι τῶν ἀπειροκάλων καὶ σολοίκων,
οἶν ἰσχύος ἐαυτῶν καλλωπιζόμενοι περιουσία, βρα-
βευτάς ἐν ἀγωσί προπηλακίζοντες καὶ χόρηγοις ἐν
Διονυσίοις λοιδοροῦσι καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ γυμ-
νασιάρχων καταγελῶσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μαν-
θάνοτες ὅτι τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι τὸ τιμᾶν πολλάκις ἐστὶν
ἐνδοξότερον. ἀνδρὶ γὰρ ἐν πόλει δυναμένῳ μέγα
μείζονα φέρει κόσμον ἄρχων δορυφορούμενος ὑπ’
αὐτοῦ καὶ προπεμπόμενος ἤ δορυφορῶν καὶ προ-
πέμπων μᾶλλον ἐν τοῦτο μὲν ἀηδίαν καὶ φθόνον,

1 Madvig erroneously proposed to read μισθωτόν τῷ for the
μισθωτό of the mss.
2 καθαιροῦντα συγκαθαιροῦντα Reiske.
3 αὐτὸν Bernardakis: αὐτόν.
4 ἂφ’ αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: ἂπ’ αὐτοῦ.
5 γυμνασιάρχων Bernardakis: γυμνασιάρχων.

a Theodorus and Polus were famous actors at Athens in
the fourth century B.C. See J. B. O’Connor, Chapters in the
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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 τραγῳδός and κωμῳδός 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 ἀληθινήν φέρει, τὴν ἀπ’ εὐνοίας, ο Qedexas ophtheis d’ ἐπὶ θύραις ποτὲ καὶ πρότερος ἀσπασάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν περιπάτῳ μέσον, οὐδὲν ἀφαιρούμενος ἑαυτοῦ, τῇ πόλει κόσμον περιτίθησι.

22. Δημοτικὸν δὲ καὶ βλασφημίαν ἐνεγκείν καὶ ὀργὴν ἀρχοντος ἤ το τοῦ Διομόδους ὑπειπόντα

tούτω μὲν γὰρ κόδος ἂμ ἐξεταί

η τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὡς νῦν οὐκ ἐστὶ Δημοσθένης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεσμοθέτης ἤ χορηγὸς ἢ στεφανοφόρος. ἀναθετέον οὖν τὴν ἁμμιναν εἰς τὸν χρόνον’ ἢ γὰρ ἐπεξεύχετο ἀπαλλαγέντι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἢ κερδανοῦμεν ἐν τῷ περιμένειν τὸ παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς.

D 23. Σπουδή μέντοι καὶ προνοίᾳ περὶ τὰ κοινά καὶ φροντίδι πρὸς ἀπασαν ἀρχὴν ἢ τῆς διαμυλήτεον, ἂν μὲν ὃς χαρίετε, αὐτὸν ὑφηγούμενον ἢ δεὶ καὶ φράζοντα καὶ διδόντα χρῆσθαι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐδοκιμεῖν ῥηθαντος 1. ἐὰν δ’ ἐνή τις ἐκείνοις ὀκνος ἢ μέλλησις ἢ κακοήθεια πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, οὕτω χρὴ παρεῖναι καὶ λέειν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ὑφειςθαι τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς οὐ προσήκον, ἀρχοντος ἐτέρου, πολυ-

1 Before χρόνον Reiske adds οἰκεῖον.
2 ῥηθαντος Mittelhaus: ῥηθαδαντος.

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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, II. 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

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* The stephanephori were officials whose duties varied in different cities. At Athens they were concerned with public festivals.
πραγμονεῖν καὶ παραδιοικεῖν. ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀεὶ τῷ
Εὐτά δίκαια πράσσοντι καὶ γυγνόσκοντι τὰ συμ-
φέροντα τὴν πρότην τάξιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δίδωσιν.
"ἡν δὲ τις," φησίν, "ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι Ἐλευσίων,
οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγός," ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν τὰ
δέοντα καὶ τολμάν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν καταστήσας
dιέσώσε τοὺς Ἑλλήνας. καὶ τῶν Φιλοποίμενος
ἐργῶν ἐπιφανεστάτον ἔστι τό, τοῦ Νάβιδος Ἑσ-
σίην καταλαβόντος οὐκ ἐθέλετο ὁ στρα-
τηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βοηθεῖν ἀλλ' ἀποδειλιῶντος,
αὐτὸν ὁμὴραμαν μετὰ τῶν προθυμοτάτων ἄνευ
δόγματος ἐξελέσθαι τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν διὰ μικρὰ
F δεῖ καὶ τὰ τυχόντα κανοτομεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀναγκαίοις ὡς ὁ Φιλοποίμην, ἦ τοῖς καλοῖς ὡς
Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐπισκαλῶν τέτταρας μῆνας τῇ βοιω-
ταρχίᾳ παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐν οἷς εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν
ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην ἐπιτρέχειν ὑπό-
καν ἀπαντᾶ ὑπετύχου τοῦτον κατηγορία καὶ μέμψις,
ἀπο-
λογίας τῆς αἰτίας τῆς ἀνάγκης ἐξωμὲν ἦ παρα-
-
24. Ἰάσονος τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν μονάρχου γνώμην
ἀπομνημονεύουσιν, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐβιάζετο καὶ παρ-
ηνώξικετ τινάς, ἀεὶ λεγομένην, ὡς ἀναγκαίον ἀδικεῖν
tὰ μικρὰ τοὺς βουλομένους τὰ μεγάλα δικαιο-
πραγεῖν. τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοὺς κατηγορία καὶ μέμψις,
τὸν λόγον ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ καθηγεῖται ἐκεῖνο 
τὸ κάλλος.

1 τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεζιριακός: ἄγιος τοῦ σοῦ ἀγίως or ἄγιος.

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*a* The author of the *Anabasis*. But Plutarch may have written *φησὶν αὐτός*.

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

*c* The Boeotarchy was the chief office of the Boeotian confederacy. Its term was one year.

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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,\(^a\) "in the army a man named Xenophon, neither a general nor a captain,"\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) in which time he invaded Laconia and carried out his measures at Messenê\(^d\); 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

\(^a\) These measures included the freeing of Messenia from Spartan domination and the founding of the city of Messenê.
κώτερον παράγγελμα, τό τά μικρά τοίς πολλοίς προίτεσθαι χαριζόμενον ἐπὶ τῶ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἐν-
ιστασθαι καὶ κωλύειν ἔξαμαρτάνοντας. ὃ γὰρ
αὐτὶ πάντα λίαν ἀκριβὴς καὶ σφοδρός, οὔδὲν ὑποχωρῶν οὐδ᾽ υπείκων ἀλλὰ τραχὺς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀ-
παραίτητος, ἀντιφιλονεικεῖν τὸν δῆμον αὐτῷ καὶ
προσδυσκολαίνειν ἐθίζει,

μικρὸν δὲ δεὶ τοῦ δοῦν
χαλάσαι μεγάλη κύματος ἀλκῆ,

Β τά μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντα καὶ συμπαίζοντα κεχαρι-
σμένως οἶνον ἐν θυσίαις καὶ ἀγώσι καὶ θεάτροις,
tά δ᾽ ὠσπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ νέων ἀμαρτήματα προσ-
pοιούμενον παρωτὰν καὶ παρακούειν, ὅπως ἢ τοῦ
νουθετεῖν καὶ παρρησιάζεσθαι δύναμις ὠσπερ φαρ-
μάκον μὴ κατακεχρημένη μηδ᾽ ἔωσθος ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβὴς
ἐξουσία καὶ πίστιν ἐν τοῖς μείζοσι μᾶλλον καθ-
ἀπτῆται καὶ δάκνη τοῖς πολλοῖς. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν
γὰρ ἀκούσας τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐγνωκέναι τινὰ τῶν
C καλῶν καὶ νέων οὐκ ἠγανάκτησεν εἰπών, ὅτι
κάκεινη τι δοτέον ἀπολαύσαι τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ
ὀρθῶς πόλεμον ἀπολαύσαι τῆς βασιλείας· οὐκ
ὀρθῶς τὰ τοιαύτα συγχωρῶν οὐδ᾽ ἀξίως ἑαυτοῦ·
δεὶ γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ ὑβρίν ἀπόλαυσιν
μὴ νομίζειν. δῆμων δ᾽ ὑβρίν μὲν οὐδεμίαν εἰς
πολίτας οὐδὲ δῆμους ἀλλοτρίων οὐδὲ κοινῶν

1 δὲ δεὶ Nauck; δὲον Bernardakis: δὲ.

a Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 918, no. 413.
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
διανέμησιν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἐφήσει κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ πείθων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεδιττόμενος διαμαχεῖται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιθυμίαις, οἷς οἱ περὶ Κλέωνα βόσκοντες καὶ αὐξοντες πολύν, ὃς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, κηφῆνα τῇ πόλει κεκεντρωμένον ἐνεποίησαν. ἡς δὲ ἐορτὴν πάτριον οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ θεοὶ τιμῶν πρό- φασιν λαβόντες ὄρμησαν πρὸς τυχαίαν ἡ νέμησιν ἐλαφρὰν ἡ χάριν τινά φιλάνθρωπον ἡ φιλοτιμίαν,

D ἐστὼ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἡ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀμα καὶ τῆς εὐπορίας ἀπόλαυσις αὐτῶν. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς Περικλέους πολιτεύμασι καὶ τοῖς Δημήτριου πολλὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐνεστὶ, καὶ Κύμων ἐκόσμησε τὴν ἀγορὰν πλατάνων φυτείας καὶ περιπάτους. Κάτων δὲ τὸν ἤμον ὑπὸ Καίσαρος ὄρων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν διαταρασσόμενον καὶ πρὸς μεταβολὴν τῆς πολι- 

τείας ἐπιφαλώς ἔχοντα συνέπεσε τὴν βουλήν ψηφίσασθαι νεμήσεις τοῖς πένησι, καὶ τοῦτο δοθὲν ἔστησε τόν θόρυβον καὶ κατέπαυσε τὴν ἐπ- 

ανάστασιν. ὡς γὰρ ἰατρὸς, ἀφελὼν πολὺ τοῦ 

Ε διεφθορότος αίματος, ὀλίγον ἀβλαβοῦς τροφῆς προσήνεγκεν, οὕτως ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ, μέγα τι τῶν ἄδοξων ἢ βλαβερῶν παρελόμενος, ἐλαφρὰ πάλιν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ τὸ δυσκολαῖν καὶ μεμψιμοιροῦν παρηγόρησεν.

25. Ὡς χεῖρον δὲ καὶ μετάγειν ὕπ’ ἀλλὰ χρειώθη 

τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, ὡς ἐποίησε Δημάδης, ὅτε τὰς προσόδους εἶχεν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ τῆς πόλεως· ὥρμημένων γὰρ ἐκπέμπειν τριήρεις βοηθοὺς τοῖς ἀφισταμένοις Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χρήματα κελεύντων παρέχειν ἐκεῖνον, "ἔστων ὑμῖν," ἐφή, "χρήματα: παρ-
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

b In 330 B.C. King Agis of Sparta headed the revolt.
εσκευασάμην γάρ εἰς τοὺς χόας, ἵσθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν
ὑμῶν λαβεῖν ἡμιμναίον. εἰ δὲ εἰς ταῦτα βούλεσθε
μάλλον, αὐτοὶ καταχρῆσθε τοῖς ἱδίοις.’ καὶ τοῦ
tον τὸν τρόπον, ὅπως μὴ στεροῦντο τῆς διανομῆς,
ἀφέντων τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἔλυσε τὸ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον
ἐγκλήμα τοῦ δήμου. πολλὰ γάρ ἀπ’ εὐθείας οὐκ
ἔστιν ἐξώσαι τῶν ἀλυσιτελῶν, ἀλλὰ δεὶ τινὸς
ἀμωσγέπως καμπῆς καὶ περιαγωγῆς, σία καὶ
819 Φωκίων ἐχρῆτο κελεύσεις εἰς Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλεῖν
παρὰ καίρον: ἐκήρυξε γάρ εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖν ἀφ’
ηῆς τοὺς μέχρι ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα. καὶ θορύβου τῶν
πρεσβυτέρων γενομένου “τί δεινὸν;” εἶπεν: “ἐγὼ
γάρ ο ἀπόστασις ἐχόντων γεγονὼς ἔτη μεθ’
ὑμῶν ἐσομαι.” τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ πρεσβείας
dιακοπτέον ἀκαίρους, συγκαταλέγουσα πολλοῦ τῶν
ἀνεπιτηδείως ἀξίων τῶν ἀνεπιτηδείως ἀχρήστους,
κελεύσεις συνεισφέρειν, καὶ δίκας καὶ ἀποδημίας
ἀπο τοῖς κατασκευὰς καὶ κατασκευὰς ἀρετοῖς, καὶ
κατασκευὰς ἀπορροήν πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνεπιτηδείως ἐχόντων,
καὶ κατασκευὰς αὐτοῖς διαλύειν, ἀξιοῦντα συμπαρεῖναι καὶ
συναποδημεῖν. πρώτους δὲ τοὺς γράφοντας τὰ τοιαῦτα
Β καὶ παραξύνοντας ἔλκειν δεὶ καὶ παραλαμβάνειν:
ἡ γὰρ ἀναδύομενοι τὴν πράξιν αὐτοὶ διαλύειν
dοξοῦν ἢ μεθέξουσι τῶν δυσχερῶν παρόντες.
26. “Οποιοὶ μὲντοι μέγα δεῖ τι περαινήμαι καὶ
χρήσιμον ἀγώνος δὲ πολλοῦ καὶ σπουδῆς ἔδομεν,
ἐνταῦθα πειρῶ τῶν φίλων αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς κρατί-

1 δίκας καὶ ἀποδημίας Xylander’s translation; ἀποδημίας
Coraes: δίκας.
2 ἀπρεπεῖς] ἀπερτείς Coraes.
3 δεὶ τι Bernardakis: δεῖ.

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
στοὺς ἢ τῶν κρατίστων τοὺς πραοτάτους· ἡ κιστα
gὰρ ἀντιπράξουσιν οὕτως καὶ μάλιστα συνεργήσουσιν,
tὸ φρονεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ φιλονεικεῖν ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καὶ τής ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐμπειρὸν ἄντα δὲὶ
πρὸς ὁ χείρων ἐτέρων πέφυκας αἱρεῖσθαι τοὺς

μᾶλλον δυναμένους ἀντὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὃς ὁ Διομήδης
ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκοπὴν μεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ τὸν φρόνιμον
eἰλετο, τοὺς ἀνδρείους παρελθὼν. καὶ γὰρ αἱ
πράξεις μᾶλλον ἵσορροποῦσι καὶ τὸ φιλόνεικον οὐκ
ἐγγίγνεται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν ἀφ’ ἐτέρων ἀρετῶν
καὶ δυνάμεων φιλοτιμομένους. λάμβανε δὴ καὶ
δίκης συνεργὸν καὶ πρεσβείας κοινωνοῦν, ἂν λέγειν
μὴ δυνάτος ἣς, τὸν ρητορικόν, ὃς Πελοπίδασ
’Επαμεινώνδαν’ καὶ ὃς ἀπίθανος πρὸς ὡμίλιαν τῷ
πλήθει καὶ ψηφιλός, ὃς Καλλικράτιδας, τὸν εὐχαρι
καὶ θεραπευτικῶν· καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ δύσεργος τὸ
σῶμα, τὸν φιλόπονον καὶ ῥωμαλέον, ὃς Νικίας

D Δάμαχον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ᾗ ὁ Γηρυόνης ἔλατος
ἔχων σκέλη πολλὰ καὶ χεῖρας καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς, εἰ
πάντα μᾶ ἄνυχη διώκει. τοῖς δὲ πολιτικοῖς
ἐξεστὶ μὴ σώματα μηδὲ χρήματα μονόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
tύχας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἀρετὰς, ἂν ὁμονοῶσιν, εἰς
μίαν χρείαν συντιθέντας εὐδοκιμεῖν μᾶλλον ἄλλου

περὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πράξην· οὐκ ἄσπερ οἱ Ἀργαναῦται

τὸν Ἡρακλέα καταλιπόντες ἴαγικάζωντο διὰ τῆς
gυναικωνίτιδος καταδόμενοι καὶ φαρμακευόμενοι
σώζειν ἐαυτοὺς καὶ κλέπτειν τὸ νάκος.

γὰρ ἂν Wyttenbach: γὰρ.

μᾶλλον ἄλλου] μᾶλλον ἄπ’ ἄλλου Bernardakis; μᾶλλον ἦ
κωρίς ἄλλου Capps; ἄλλου ἄπ’ ἄλλου Kronenberg.

a 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.
Χρυσὸν μὲν εἰς ἑνὶ τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσίν τε ἐξ ἀπλῶς ἐπεῖς ἐπὶ νόσημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀποδυσάμενος εἰς ἀγορὰς κατηλών ἡ δανειστῶν ἀπόρριψον,

αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι τὸν ἀπὸ δημοσίων χρηματιζόμενον ἕνομένος ἀφ᾽ ἱερῶν κλέπτειν, ἀπὸ τάφων, ἀπὸ λόγων, ἐκ προνόσφι, ἀπὸ ψευδομαρτυρίας, σύβουλου ἀπιστον εἶναι, δυσκατήν ἐπίροκον, ἀρχοντα δωροδόκον, ὑπομιᾶς ἀπλῶς καθαρὸν ἀδικίας. ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ πολλὰ λέγειν.

27. Ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία, καίπερ οὔσα σοβαρωτέρα τῆς φιλοκερδείας, οὐκ ἤλπισας ἐχει κῆρας ἐν πολιτείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ τολμᾶν αὐτὴν πρόσεστι μᾶλλον· ἐμφύεται γὰρ οὐκ ἀργαῖς οὐδὲ ταπειναῖς ἀλλ᾽ ερρωμέναις καὶ νεανικαῖς προαιρέσεις, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ὀχλῶν ρόθιον πολλᾶς συνεξαῖρον αὐτὴν καὶ συνεξωθοῦν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἀκάτασχετον ποιεῖ καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον. ὅσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀκουστόν εἶναι τοῖς νέοις ἔλεγεν ἐκ παιδῶν εὐθὺς, ὡς οὔτε περικειόθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξωθηθεὶς οὔτη περικειόθαι ἐλεγεν ἐκ παιδῶν εὐθὺς, ὡς οὔτε περικειόθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξωθηθεὶς οὔτη περικειόθαι ἐλεγεν ἐκ παιδῶν εὐθὺς.
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
μυθώμεθα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, λέγοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐχειν χρυσὸν ἀδιάφθορον καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ ἄχραντον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ μόμου τιμῆν, ἀμα λογισμῷ καὶ παρα-
θεωρήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων ἡμῖν καὶ πεπολυτευμέ-

Β νων αὐξανόμενων: διὸ μὴ δείσθαι γραφομένων τιμῶν ἢ πλαττομένων ἢ χαλκουτουμένων, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμοῦν ἀλλότριόν ἐστιν· ἐπαινεῖται γὰρ οὐχ ὃ γέγονεν ἀλλ’ ὃς ὁ σαλπικτής καὶ ὁ δορυφόρος. ὁ δὲ Κάτων, ἦδη τὸτε τῆς 'Ρώμης καταπιμπλαμένης ἀνδριάντων, οὐκ ἐών αὐτοῦ γενε-


C τὰς χρείας ἀπατοῦντας. ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ παραπλεύ-

σας τὴν Σύρτιν εἶτ’ ἀνατραπεῖς περὶ τὸν πορθμὸν οὐδὲν μέγα πεποίηκεν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν, οὕτως ὁ τὸ ταμειὼν φυλαξάμενος καὶ τὸ δημοσίων ἁλοὺς δὲ περὶ τὴν προεδρίαν ἢ τὸ πρυτανεῖον, υψηλῷ μὲν 4 προσέπταικεν ἀκρωτηρίῳ βαπτίζεται δ᾽ ὁμοίως. ἀριστος μὲν οὖν ὁ μηδενὸς δεόμενος τῶν τοιούτων ἀλλὰ φεύγων καὶ παραιτούμενος: ἂν δ’ ἢ μὴ ράδιον

D δήμου τινα χάριν ἀπώσασθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς τὸν μισθῷ πρόσ τοῦτο διότι, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἄργωτας ἀλλὰ ἀγῶνα πολιτείας ἀγωνιζόμενος ἂλλ’ έρον ὡς.

1 τιμήν, ἀμα] τίμημα Hartman.
2 σαλπικτής Bernardakis: σαλπιγκτής.
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," a for example, was made, but the man by whom it was made. Cato, Rome being even then 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

a Two famous statues. The doryphorus (spear-bearer) was by Polycleitus.
(820) ἀληθῶς καὶ στεφανίτην, ἐπιγραφή τις ἀρκεῖ καὶ πινάκιον καὶ ψήφισμα καὶ θαλλός, ὥσ ’Επιμενίδης ἔλαβεν ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως καθήρας τὴν πόλιν. Ἀναξ- αγόρας δὲ τὰς διδομένας ἄφεις τιμᾶς ὠτήσατο τὴν ἠμέραν ἐκείνην, καθ’ ἤν ἃν τελευτήσῃ, τοὺς παιδας ἄφιέναι παιζεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. τοῖς δὲ τοὺς Μάγους ἀνελόντις ἐπτὰ Πέρσας ἔδω- καν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γενομένους εἰς τοὺς προσέθην τῆς κεφαλῆς¹ τὴν πώραν φορεῖν². τούτο ἕγαρ ἐπονόμαστο σύμβολον, ὡς ἐουκε, χαρωῦντες ἐπὶ τὴν πραξιν. ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πιττακοῦ τιμὴ πολιτικοῦ. ἦς γὰρ ἐκτήσατο χώρας τοῖς πολιταῖς γῆν ὅσην ἐδόθηλον λαβεῖν κελευθείς ἐλάβε τοσαυτὴν, ὥσην ἐπήλθε τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτοῦ βαλόντω — ὁ δὲ Ρωμαίος Κόκλης,³ ὅσην ⁴ ημέρα μιὰ χωλὸς ὧν περήροσεν, οὐ γὰρ μισθὸν εἶναι διατελείον ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐγια τὴς πράξεως ἁλλὰ σύμβολον τὴν τιμήν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολὺν χρόνον, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖναι διεμίσχων. τῶν δὲ Δημή- τρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τριακοσίων ἄνδραν οὐδεὶς ἔσχεν ἰὸν οὐδὲ πίνων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐτι ξώντος προαιρεθήκαν. τοὺς δὲ Δημάδου κατεχῶνευσάν εἰς ἀμίδας. καὶ πολλαὶ περαταὶ τιμᾶ πεπόνθασον ὁ μοιχυρία τοῦ λαβόντος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγίδει τοῦ δοθέντος δυσχερανθεῖσαι. διὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βε- βαίωτατον εὐτέλεια τιμῆς φυλακτήριον, αἴ δὲ μεγά-

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

¹ 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.

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λαὶ καὶ ὑπέρογκοι καὶ βάρος ἔχουσαι παραπλησίως τοῖς ἁσυμμέτροις ἀνδριᾶσι ταχὺ περιτρέπονται.

28. Ὄνομάζω δὲ νῦν τιμᾶς, ὃς οἱ πολλοὶ κατ᾽ Ἐμπεδοκλέα

ἡ θέμις οὐ1 καλέουσι, νόμῳ δὲ ἐπίφημι καὶ αὐτός· ἔπει τὴν γ’ ἀληθινὴν τιμὴν καὶ χάριν ἰδρυμένην ἐν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει τῶν μεμνημένων οὐχ ὑπερ-

821 ὁμαι τοις πέλας ἀνδανείς, ὡς ἦξιος Δημο-

κρίτος. οὐδ᾽ ἀτιμάσειν, ἀτιμάσειν ἀτιμάσειν ἀτιμάσειν τοῖς πέλας ἁνδανείν, ὡς ἠξίου Δημό-

κρίτος. οὐδὲ γὰρ κυνῶν ἀποπτρόφοις ἀπόβλητον, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήσιμων καὶ ἄρα ὑπενίθεσιν ἤμοις τοιαύτην ἐνεργάσασθαι διάθεσιν πρὸς αὐτόν, οἷαν ὁ Δυσιμάχον κύων ἀπεδείκνυτο καὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ἀποπτρόφοις ἄγουσιν ἠναγκασμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρήσιμοι εἰς μελίττας ἀπαλλάττειν καὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ἀποπτρόφοις. οἷοι δὲ ἄν καὶ τάς μελίττας ἀπαλλάττειν βέλτιον, Β εἰ τοὺς τρέφοντας καὶ θεραπεύοντας ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσίεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ κεντεῖν καὶ χαλεπαίνειν ἐβού-

λοντο. νν'/ Δημοσθένης ορθῶς ὀρθῶς ἀποφαίνεται πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους υλικτήριον ἀπιστίαν τοῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο γὰρ μάλιστα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μέρος, ὃ πιστεύεται, ἀλώσιμον ἐστιν.

1 ἡ θέμις οὐ Meziriacus: ἡ θέμις.

Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 3, 112.
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

\(^a\) Mullach, Frag. Phil. Graec. i. p. 355.
\(^b\) Homer, Il. xix. 404 ff.
\(^c\) Demosthenes, vi. (second Philippic) 24.
Plutarch's Moralia

(821) ὥσπερ οὖν τῆς Κασάνδρας ἀδοξούσης ἀνόνητος ἦν ἡ μαντικὴ τοῖς πολίταισι

'' ἀκραντα γάρ με'' φησίν ''ἐθηκε θεσπίζειν θεός,

καὶ πρὸς παθόντων κὰν κακοῖσι κειμένων σοφὴ κέκλημαι, πρὶν παθεῖν δὲ 'μαίνομαι,'

οὔτως ἢ πρὸς 'Αρχύταν πίστις καὶ πρὸς Βάττον εὐνοια τῶν πολιτῶν μεγάλα τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὁφέλησε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἔνεστι τῇ δόξῃ τῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀγαθόν, ἡ πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διδοῦσα πίστις· δεύτερον δ᾽ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς βασκάνους καὶ πονηροὺς ὑπλοῦν ἡ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐστιν

ὡς ὅτε μήτηρ παιδὸς ἐέργει μῦιαν, ὦθεὶ ἕξετει ὑπνὸν,

ἀπερύκουσα τὸν φθόνον καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπανισοῦσα τὸν ἀγεννῆς καὶ τὸν πένητα τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τὸν ἀρχοντικὸν παῖς καὶ τὸν ἰδιώτην τοῖς ἀρχοντικοῖς.

καὶ ὅλως, ὅταν ἀλῆθεια καὶ ἀρετὴ προσγενήται, φορὸν ἐστὶν πνεῦμα καὶ βέβαιον ὑπὶ τὴν πολλιαν. σκόπει δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν καταμανθάνων διάθεσιν ἐν τοῖς παραδείγμασιν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Διονυσίου παῖδας καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καταπορνεύσαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνείλον, ἐίτα καύσαντες τὰ σώματα τὴν τέφραν κατέσπειραν ἐκ πλοίου κατὰ τῆς θαλάττης.


b Archytas of Tarentum was a statesman, Pythagorean philosopher, and mathematician. He was seven times 276
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 e'er they suffer, 'mad,'" a

so the trust which the citizens reposed in Archytas b and their goodwill towards Battus c 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, d

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, e 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.

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


a Homer, Il. iv. 130.

b c d e
Μενάνδρου δὲ τινὸς ἐν Βάκτροις ἐπιεικῶς βασιλεύσαντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐπούς κηδείαν κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν αἱ πόλεις, περὶ δὲ τῶν λευφάνων αὐτοῦ καταστάντες εἰς ἀγώνα μόλις συνέβησαν, ὡστε νεμάμενοι μέρος ἵππων τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι μνημεία παρὰ πᾶσι τοῦ ἄνδρός. αὕτης δ’ Ἀκραγαντίνοι μὲν ἀπαλλαγέντες Φαλάριδος ἐψηφίσαντο μηδένα φορεῖν ἰμάτιον γλαύκινον· οἱ γὰρ υπηρέται τοῦ τυράννου γλαύκιον ἔχρωντο περίζωμαι. Πέρσαι δ’, ὅτι F γρυπὸς ᾿Ην ὁ Κῦρος, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἑρώτημα τῶν γρυπῶν καὶ καλλίστους ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.

29. Οὕτως ἀπάντων ἐρώτων ἱσχυρότατος ἅμα καὶ θειότατός ἐστιν ὁ πόλεσι καὶ δῆμοις πρὸς ἕνα δι’ ἀρετὴν ἐγγιγνόμενος· αἱ δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς θεάτρων ἡ νεμήσεων ἡ μονομάχων ἰματωνομοί τιμαὶ καὶ ἰματωμάρτυρες ἐταιρικὰ ἐοίκασι κολακείαις, δύναμιν ἀδιδόντι καὶ χαριζομένων προσμειδιώτων, ἐφήμερόν τινα καὶ ἀβέβαιον δόξαν. εὖ μὲν οὖν ὁ πρῶτος εἰπὼν καταλυθῆναι δῆμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρῶτου δεκάσαντος συνείδειν, ὅτι τὴν ἰσχυν ἀποβάλλουσιν 822 οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἄρομας γενόμενοι· δεῖ καὶ τοὺς δεκάζοντας οἰεσθαι καταλύειν ἑαυτούς, ὅταν ἀναλωμάτων μεγάλων ὁνούμενοι τῇ δόξαν ἱσχυρὸν ποιώσαν καὶ θρασεῖς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς μέγα τι καὶ δουναὶ καὶ αφελέσθαι κυρίους οἴνοτας.

30. Οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο μικρολογητέον ἐν τοῖς νενομισμένοιοι φιλοτιμήμασι, τῶν πραγμάτων εὐ-

1 αὖθις δ’ Bernardakis: αὖθις.
2 πρῶτος] πρῶτως Dübner.
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,
πορίαν παρέχοντων· ώς μάλλον οἱ πολλοὶ μὴ μεταδιδόντα τῶν ἱδίων πλούσιον ἢ πένητα τῶν δημοσίων κλέπτοντα δι᾽ ἐχθοὺς ἔχοντιν, ὑπεροψίαν τούτο καὶ περιφρόνησιν αὐτῶν�′ ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἀνάγκην

Β ἡγούμενοι. γυγνέσθωσαν οὖν αἱ μεταδόσεις πρῶτον μὲν ἀντὶ μηδενός· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκπλήττουσι καὶ χειροῦνται μάλλον τοὺς λαμβάνοντας· ἐπειτὰ σὺν καιρῷ πρόφασιν ἀστείων καὶ καλὴν ἔχοντι, μετὰ τιμῆς θεοῦ πάντας ἄγουσης πρὸς εὐσέβειαν· ἐγείρεται γὰρ ἁμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱσχυρὰ διάθεσις καὶ δόξα τοῦ δαιμόνιον εἶναι μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν, ὅταν, οὕς αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ μεγάλους νομίζουσιν, οὕτως ἀφειδῶσι καὶ προθύμωσι περὶ τοῦ θείου ὀρώσι φιλοτιμομένους. ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀφείλε τῶν παι-

C δευομένων νέων τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν Λύδιον καὶ τὴν ιαστή, τὴν μὲν τὸ θρηνῶδες καὶ φιλοπενθὲς ἡμῶν ἐγείρουσαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ὀλισθηρὸν καὶ ἀκόλαστον αὔξουσαν· οὕτως σὺ τῶν φιλοτιμῶν ὅσαι τὸ φονικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες βωμολόχον καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι, μάλιστα μὲν ἐξέλαυνε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μὴ, φεῦγε καὶ διαμάχοι τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτουμένοι τὰ τοιαῦτα θεάματα· χρηστὰς δὲ καὶ σώφρονας ἀεὶ ποιοῦ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ὑποθέσεις, τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ ἄναγκαῖον ἔχονσας τέλος ἢ τὸ γοῦν ὑδί καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἀνευ βλάβης καὶ ὑβρεώς προσούης.

D 31. “Ἀν δ’ ἢ τὰ τῆς οὖσίας μέτρια καὶ κέντρῳ

�1 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

* Plato, Republic, 398 ε. 280
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 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-
καὶ διαστήματι περιγραφόμενα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὔτ' ἀγεννὲς οὔτε ταπεινὸν οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πενίαν ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς τῶν ἐχόντων ἐξίστασθαι φιλοτιμίαις, καὶ μὴ δανειζόμενον οἰκτρὸν ἅμα καὶ καταγέλαστον εἶναι περὶ τὰς λειτουργίας· οὔ γάρ λανθάνουσιν ἐξασθενοῦντες ἢ φίλοις ἐνοχλοῦντες ἢ θωπεύοντες δανειστάς, ὡστε μὴ δόξαν αὐτοῖς μηδ' ἱσχὺν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον αἰσχύνη καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιῶν ἐναλωμάτων ὑπάρχειν. διὸ χρήσιμον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα μεμνῆσθαι τοῦ Λαμάχου καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος· οὕτως μὲν γὰρ, ἀξιοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐν θυσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ κροτοῦντων πολλάκις "αἰσχυνοίμην ἂν" εἶπεν "ὑμῖν μὲν ἐπιδιδοὺς Καλλικλέει δὲ τούτῳ μὴ ἀποδιδοὺς," δεῖξας τὸν δανειστήν. Λάμαχος δ' ἐν τοῖς τῆς στρατηγίας ἀεὶ προσέγραφεν ἀπολογισμοῖς ἀργύριον εἰς κρηπίδας αὑτῷ καὶ ἱμάτιον. Ἐρμωνὶ δὲ Ἔρσαλοι φεύγοντι τὴν ἄρχην ὑπὸ πενίας ἐψηφίσαντο λάγυνον οἴνου κατὰ μῆνα διδόναι καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων ἀφ' ἑκάστης τετράδος. οὕτως οὐτ' ἀ-γεννὲς ἐστὶ πενίαν ὁμολογεῖν, οὕτε λείπονται πρὸς δύναμιν ἐν πόλει τῶν ἐστιώντων καὶ χορηγοῦντων οἱ πένητες, ἃν παρρησίαν ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστιν ἐχωσί. δεῖ δὴ μάλιστα κρατεῖν ἐωτὼν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ μὴ 'εἰς πεδία καταβαίνειν πεζὸν

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* Lamachus was an Athenian general who was killed in the battle at the Anopus near Syracuse in 414 B.C.

* 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 a and Phocion b; 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 c of wine monthly and a measure d 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.

a About six pints.
b About a bushel and a half.
ιππεύσι μαχούμενον μήτ᾽ ἐπὶ στάδια καὶ θυμέλας καὶ τραπέζας πένηται πλουσίοις ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ δυναστείας διαγωνιζόμενον· ἀλλ' ἀρετής καὶ φρονήματος ἀεὶ μετὰ λόγου πειρωμένοις ἄγειν τὴν πόλιν, οὔς οὐ μόνον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ ἄγωγον ἔνστι "Κροίσεῖων αἱρετώτερον στατήρων. Ὁ γὰρ αὐθάδης οὐδ' ἐπαχθῆς ὁ κροίς, οὐδ' αὐθέκαστός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων ἄνηρ καὶ οὖν ἂν πολίταις ὁμοί έχων ἰδεῖν πικρόν,

ἄλλα πρῶτον μὲν εὐπροσήγορος καὶ κοινὸς ὡς πελάσαι καὶ προσελθεῖν ἄπασιν, οἰκίαν τε παρέχων ἀκλειστον ὡς λιμένα φούξιον αἱτητῶν τοῖς χρήζοντι, καὶ τὸ κηδεμονικόν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον οὐ χρείας οὐδὲ πράξεις μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ συναλγεῖν πταιούσιν καὶ καταρθοῦσι συγχαίρειν ἐπιδεικνύμενον· οὐδαμῇ δὲ λυπηρός οὐδ' ἐνοχλῶν οἰκετῶν περὶ λουτρῶν ἢ καταλήψει τόπων ἐν θεάτροις οὐδὲ πρὸς γυναῖκας ἀνδρῶν καὶ φίλων πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχων ἑαυτὸν, οὐ μικρὰς ἡμέρας παράσημοι· Ρείσκε εἰρηνεύει παρασήμων, Βερναρδάκις παρασήμων, Χαρτμαν ἐπισήμων.

1 παράσημοι] Reiske suggests παρασήμωσις, Bernardakis παρασήμωσις, Hartman ἐπισήμωσις.

2 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.
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

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\[Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 919, no. 415.\]

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(823) μέρος ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἢ τοῦ λογειοῦ πολιτευόμενος, εἰτ᾽ ἦδη πάντα τὸν ἄλλον βίον

C ἐλκὼν ἐφ᾽ αὐτὸν ὡστε καικίας νέφη
tὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας πανταχόθεν ἀλλὰ
dημοσιεύων ἀεὶ ταῖς φροντίσι, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν
βίον καὶ πραξίων οὐκ ἀσχολίαν ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ
λειτουργίαν ἡγούμενος, πᾶσι τούτοις καὶ τοῖς
tοιούτοις ἐπιστρέφει καὶ προσάγεται τοὺς πολλούς,
nόθα καὶ κίβδηλα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θωπεύματα καὶ
deleάσματα πρὸς τὴν τοῦτον κηδεμονιάν καὶ
φρόνησιν ὁρῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δημητρίου κόλακες
οὐκ ἠξίουν βασιλεῖς τοὺς ἄλλους προσαγορεῦειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν Σέλευκον ἐλεφαντάρχην τὸν ὁ Λυ-
D σίμαχον γαζοφύλακα τὸν ὁ Πτολεμαίων ναύαρχον
ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ᾽ 'Αγαθοκλέα νησιάρχην. οἱ ὁ δὲ
πολλοί, κἂν ἐν ἄρχῃ τὸν ἁγαθὸν καὶ φρόνιμον
ἀπορρύψωσιν, ὡστε καταμανθάνοντες τὴν ἀλή-
θειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ θέος τοῦτον ἡγούνται μόνον
πολιτικῶν καὶ δημοτικῶν καὶ ἀρχοντῶν, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων
τὸν μὲν χορηγὸν τὸν δ᾽ ἑστιάτορα τὸν δὲ γυμνασί-
arχον καὶ νομίζουσι καὶ καλοῦσιν. εἰθ᾽ ὡσπερ ἐν
τοῖς συμποσίοις, Καλλίου δαπανῶντος ἢ 'Αλκι-
βιάδου, Σωκράτης ἀκούει καὶ πρὸς Σωκράτην
Ε πάντες ἀποβλέπουσιν, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ὑγιαινούσαις
πόλεσιν 'Ισμηνίας μὲν ἐπιδίδωσι καὶ δειπνίζει
Λίχας καὶ χορηγεῖ Νικῆρατος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὲ
καὶ Ἀριστείδης καὶ Λύσανδρος καὶ ἀρχονσι καὶ

1 αὐτὸν Meziriacus: ἐαυτόν.

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 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 ἄ χρη βλέ-ποντα μὴ ταπεινοῦθαι μηδ’ ἐκπεπλήχθαι τὴν ἐκ θεάτρων καὶ ὅπτανείων καὶ πολυανδρίων προσ-ισταμένην τοῖς ὀχλοις δόξαν, ὥς ὄλγον χρόνον ἐπιξώσαν καὶ τοῖς μονομάχοις καὶ ταῖς σκηναῖς ὅμοιο θυνδιαλυμένην, ἐντιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ σεμνὸν ἐχοῦσαν.

824 ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρως προσθέμενον. οὔτε γὰρ σώματι νοσοῦντι γίγνεται μεταβολὴς ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαῖν ἀπὸ τῶν συννοσοῦντων μερῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἡ παρὰ τοῖς ἐρρωμένοις ἰσχύσασα κράσις ἐκστήσῃ τὸ παρὰ φύσιν: ἐπιρρεῖ γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκ τῶν σωφρονών καὶ καὶ τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν: ἐπιρρεῖ γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκ τῶν σωφρονών καὶ διὰ τοῦ νενοσηκότος: αἱ δὲ δι’ ὅλων ἀναταραχθεῖσαι πόλεις κομιδῇ διεφθάρησαν, ἐντιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ σεμνὸν ἐχοῦσαν.
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 καθήσθαι προσήκει τήν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀταραξίαν καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμον βίον, ἐν ἑτέροις ἐπιτερπόμενον ἀγνωμονοῦσιν. ἂλλ' ἐνταῦθα δεὶ μάλιστα τὸν Θηραμένου κόθορνον ὑποδούμενον ἀμφοτέρους ὀμιλεῖν καὶ μηδετέρους προστίθεσθαι. δόξεις γὰρ οὐ χὰ τῷ μῆ συναδικεῖν ἀλλότριοι ἀλλὰ τῷ βοηθεῖν κοινὸς εἶναι πάντως καὶ τὸ μῆ συναντυχεῖν οὐχ ἔξει φθόνον, ἀν πᾶσι φαίνῃ συναλγῶν ὀμοίως. κράτιστον δὲ προνοεῖν ὅπως μηδέποτε στασιάζωσι, καὶ τούτῳ τῆς πολιτικῆς ὥσπερ τέχνης μέγιστον ἠγείρθη καὶ κάλλιστον. ὅρα γὰρ ὅτι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰρήνης ἑλευθερίας εὐεπτομον ὀμονοίας, πρὸς μὲν εἰρήνην οὐδὲν οἱ δήμοι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐν γε τῷ παρὸντι χρόνῳ δέονται. πέφευγε γὰρ ἡ ἔτη καὶ ἦφαντον πᾶς μὲν Ἐλλην πᾶσ δὲ βάρβαρος πόλεμος ἑλευθερίας ὑπὸ οἱ κρατοῦντες νέμουσι τοῖς δήμοις αὐτῶν μέτεστι καὶ τὸ πλέον ἵσως οὐκ ἄμεινον. εὐφορίαν δὲ γῆς ἄφθονον εὐμενῆ τε κράσιν ὡρῶν καὶ τίκτειν D γυναῖκας “ έουκότα τέκνα γονεῖσι” καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς γεννωμένοις εὐχόμενος ὅ γε σώφρων αἰτήσεται παρὰ θεῶν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις.

1 καὶ added by Reiske.

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

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
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.

tried to restrain his colleagues and was put to death by them. 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.
Λέιπεται δὴ τῷ πολιτικῷ μόνον ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἐργῶν, ὃ μηδενὸς ἐλαττόν ἔστι τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὃ μηδενὸς ἔρποιεῖ καὶ φιλίαι αἱ τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν, ἔριδας δὲ καὶ διγνοφροσύνας καὶ δυσμένειαν ἐξαιρεῖν ἀπασαν, ὃσπερ ἐν φιλῶν διαφοραῖς, τὸ μᾶλλον οἴόμενον ἀδικεῖσθαι μέρος ἐξομιλοῦντα πρότερον καὶ συναδικεῖσθαι δοκοῦντα καὶ συναγαγακτεῖν, εἰθ᾽ οὕτως ἐπιχειροῦντα πράπνειν καὶ διδάσκειν ὅτι τῶν βιάζεσθαι καὶ νικᾶν 

Ε ἐριζόντων οἱ παρέντες ὃν ἐπιεικεῖσα καὶ ἦθει μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονῆματι καὶ μεγέθει ψυχῆς διαφέρουσι, καὶ μικρὸν ύφιέμενοι νικῶσιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ μεγίστοις. ἔπειτα καὶ καθ᾽ ἕνα καὶ κοινῇ διδάσκειται καὶ φράζεται τὴν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων ἀσθένειαν, ὃς ἐν ἀπολαύσαι ἀμεινὸν ἐστὶ τοῖς ἐν φρονοῦσι, μεθ᾽ ἱσυχίας καὶ ὑμνούσις καταβιώναι, μηδὲν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς τύχης Ἀθλον ὑπολελοιπυίας. τὸς γὰρ ἱσυχομοία, τὸς δόξα τοῖς περιγενομένοις; ποιὰ δύναμις, ἦν μικρὸν ἀνθυπάτου 

Γ διάταγμα κατέλυσεν ἤ μετέστησεν εἰς ἄλλον, οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽ ἂν παραμένῃ σπουδῆς ἄξιον ἔχουσαν; ἔπει δὲ, ὃσπερ ἐμπρησμός ὁ πολικὸς ἐκ τόπων ἱέρων ἄρχεται καὶ δημοσίων, ἀλλὰ λύχνος τῆς εἰς οἰκία παραμελθεῖς ἡ συρφετὸς διακαῖς ἀνηκεῖ φλόγα πολλὴν καὶ δημοσίαις ἐπεργασαμένην, οὕτως 825 οὐκ ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὰ τοῖς κοινὰ φιλονεικία διακόσιον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκ τραγμάτων καὶ προςκρουμάτων ἵδιων εἰς δημόσιοι αἱ διαφοραῖ προελθοῦσαν συνετάραξαν ἀπασάν τὴν πόλιν. οὔδενος

1 ἐργῶν] ἐργον Coraes.
3 ἐν ἀπολαύσαι Madvig: ἐναπολαύσαι.
4 ἀμεινὸν] μόνον Kronenberg.
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-
(325) ἂττον τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει ταῦτ᾽ ἱάσθαι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν, ὅπως τὰ μὲν οὐδ᾽ ὅλως ἔσται τὰ δὲ παύσεται ταχέως, τὰ δὲν οὐ λήψεται μέγεθος οὐδ᾽ ἄψεται τῶν δημοσίων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς μενεῖ τοῖς διαφερομένοις, αὐτὸν τε προσέχοντα καὶ φράζοντα τοῖς ἀλλοῖς, ὡς ἴδια κοινῶν καὶ μικρὰ μεγάλων αὕτη καθίσταται παροφθέντα καὶ μὴ Β τυχόντα θεραπείας ἐν ἀρχῇ μηδὲ παρηγορίας.

Οἶδ᾽ ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ μέγιστος λέγεται γενέσθαι νεωτερισμὸς ὑπὸ Κράτητος, οὗ μέλλων θυγατέρα γαμεῖν Ὁρσίλαος ὁ Φάλιδος, εἶτα, τοῦ κρατῆρος αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ ταῖς σπονδαῖς μέσου βαλέντος, οὐωνος καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν νύμφην ἀπῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· ὁ δὲ Κράτης ὅλγον υστερον θυουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλὼν χρυσίον τι τῶν ἱερῶν κατεκρήμνης τὸν Ὁρσίλαον καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀκρίτους, καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων τινὰς καὶ οἰκείων ἐκεῖνον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Προναίας ἀνεῖλε· πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων γενομένων, ἀποκτείναντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τὸν Κράτητα Κ καὶ τοὺς συνστασιάσαντας ἐκ τῶν χρημάτων ἐναγικῶν προσαγορευθέντων τοὺς κατῶ ναοὺς ἀνωτάτους κατάφησαν. ἐν δὲ Συρακούσαις δυνεῖ ἄνω ὑποβαλὼν χρυσίον ἀνταποδιδοῦσαν, ὁ δὲ ἐκεῖνος πάλιν ὑστερον ἀνταποδιδοῦσαν ὑστερον ἐμοίχευσε τῇ γυναικῇ· τῶν δὲ προσβυτέρων τις εἰς βουλήν παρ-
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 Orsilaius, the son of Phalis; but then, when at the betrothal the mixing-bowl broke in the middle of its own accord, Orsilaius 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 Orsilaius 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
ελθὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρους ἐλαύνειν, πρὶν ἀπολαύσαι καὶ ἀναπλησθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῆς ἔχθρας. οὐ μὴν ἔπεισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τοῦτον στασιάς ἐπὶ συμφοραῖς μεγάλαις τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν ἀνέτρεψαν. ἔχεις δὲ δῆπον καὶ αὐτὸς οἰκεία παραδείγματα, τὴν Παρδάλα πρὸς Τυρρηνὸν ἔχθραν, ὡς ὀλίγον ἐδέησεν ἀνελεῖν τὰς Σάρδεις, ἐξ αἰτιῶν μικρῶν καὶ ἱδίων εἰς ἀπόστασιν καὶ πόλεμον ἐμβαθύνσα.

Διὸ χρὴ μὴ καταφρονεῖν τὸν πολιτικὸν ὥσπερ ἐν σώματι προσκρουμάτων διαδρομὰς ὀξείας ἐχόντων, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ πιέζειν καὶ βοηθεῖν πρὸς τούτοις γάρ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Κάτων, καὶ τὸ μέγα γίγνεται μικρὸν καὶ τὸ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ μεγάλον ἀγεται. μηχανὴ δ᾽ ἐπὶ ταῦτα πειθοῦς οὐκ ἔστι μείζων ἢ τὸ Επαρέχειν ἐαυτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις διαφοραῖς ἃμερον διαλλακτῆν, ἀμήντων, ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων αἰτιῶν μένοντα καὶ μηδενί προσπιθέντα φιλονεικίαν μηδ᾽ ὀργὴν μηδ᾽ ἄλλο πάθος ἐμποιοῦν πειθοῦς καὶ πικρίαν τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις ἀμφισβητήμασι. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς παλαιοίσαις διαμαχομένων ἐπισφαίρους περιδέουσι τὰς χεῖρας, ὡς εἰς ἅμιλλα μηδὲν ἐκπίπτῃ, μαλακὴν ἔχουσα τὴν πληγήν καὶ ἀλυπώσαρ. ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεις καὶ ταῖς δίκαιως πρὸς τούς πολίτας ἀμείνας ἔστι καθαραῖς καὶ ψιλαῖς ταῖς αἰτίαις ἐρωμένων ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ Βέλη τὰ πράγματα χαράσσοντα καὶ μηδὲν ἁμαρτάνοντα ταῖς βλασφημίαις καὶ ταῖς κακοθείαις καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἀνήκεστα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ δημόσια ποιεῖν.

1 ἀπολαύσαι Coraes: ἀπολέσαι.
2 Παρδάλα Bernardakis: παρδάλου or παρδάλαου.
3 ὀλίγον Benseler: ὀλίγον.
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.

4 προσκρουμάτων Bernardakis: προσκρουμάτων.
(825) ὁ γὰρ οὗτος προσφερόμενος τοῖς καθ’ αὐτὸν ὑπηκόους ἔξει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰ δημόσια φιλοτιμίαι, τῶν ἰδίων ύφαινομένων ἀπεχθείσων, εὔτελεῖς γίγνονται καὶ δυσχερὲς 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.
ΠΕΡΙ ΜΟΝΑΡΧΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟ-
ΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΑΣ

1. Eis τοῦτο δὴ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ αὐτὸς Β εἰσάγων τὴν γενομένην μοι πρὸς ύμᾶς διάλεξιν ἐχθές, φύμην τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὑπάρ οὐκ ἀκούσαι λεγούσης

κεκρότηται χρυσεὰ κρηπίς ιεραῖς ἀοιδαῖς,

ὁ προτρεπόμενος καὶ διαίρων ἐπὶ πολιτείαν βε-βληταί λόγος· "εἰα τειχίζωμεν ἤδη τὴν ὀφειλο-

μένην ἐποικοδομοῦντες τῇ προτροπῇ διδασκαλίαν,

οφείλεται δὲ τῷ παραδεδεμένῳ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ πράτ-

τεν τὰ κοινὰ προτροπὴν καὶ ὀρμὴν ἐξῆς ἀκούσαι καὶ λαβεῖν παραγγέλματα πολιτείας, οἰς χρώμενοι,

C ως ἀνυστόν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπῳ, δημωφελὴς ἔσται, μετ’ ἀσφαλείας ἢμα καὶ τιμῆς δικαίας εὐ τιθέμενος τὸ ὀικεῖον. ὃ δὲ προὔργου μέν ἐστιν εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς ἐπὶ προλελεγμένοις ἐπεται, σκεπτέον ἢττίς ἀρίστη πολιτεία. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνθρώποι βίοι πλείονες,

1 Wyttetnach assumes that the beginning is lost.
2 οὐκ Xylander: ἢ.
3 ὁ added by Wyttetnach.
4 καὶ] δὲ καὶ codex E.
5 διαίρων Salmasius: διαιρῶν.
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, Political Wisdom saying:

Golden foundation is wrought for canticles sacred,

so the speech, which exhorts and encourages you to enter political life has been laid as a basis. "Come, let us now build walls," 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.
ἔστι καὶ δήμου ἡ πολιτεία βίος· ὡστε λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαῖον· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν αἱρήσεται ταύτην ὁ πολιτικὸς ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ὁμοιοτάτην, εἰ ταύτην ἀδύνατον.

2. Λέγεται μὲν δὴ ἡ πολιτεία καὶ μετάληψις τῶν ἐν πόλει δικαίων· ὥς φαμεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολιτείαν Μεγαρέως ὑψηλάσασθαι· τοῦ δ' εἰς γέλωτα θεμένου τὴν σπουδήν αὐτῶν, εἰπεῖν ἑκείνους ὁτι μόνῳ πρότερον τὴν πολιτείαν Ἡρακλεὶ καὶ μετ' ἑκείνου αὐτῶ

3. Παρὰ πάντα· ταῦτα λέγεται πολιτεία τάξις καὶ κατάστασις πόλεως διοικοῦσα τὰς πράξεις· καθὰ φασὶ τρεῖς εἶναι πολιτείας, μοναρχίαν καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ὡν καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ σύγκρισι πεποίηται· καὶ δοκοῦσι γενικῶτατα εἶναι· τας γὰρ ἄλλας, ὁπότερ ἐν τοῖς μουσικοῖς διαγράμμασι τῶν πρώτων τρόπων ἀνιεμένων ἢ ἐπιτεινομένων, συμβέβηκε παρακρούσεις καὶ 1

1 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.
διαφθορὰς κατ᾽ ἔλλειψιν καὶ ὑπερβολὴν εἶναι. ταύτας δὲ καὶ πλείστον καὶ μέγιστον ἐν ἡγεμονίας
dυνηθείσας τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκληρώσαντο τὰς πολιτείας, Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτοκρατῆ βασιλείαν καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον, Ἐπαρτιάται δ᾽ ἀριστοκρατικὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ αὐθέκαστον, Ὅθηναίοι δ᾽ αὐτόνομον καὶ ἄκρατον δημοκρατίαν. δὲν ἀμαρτανομένων παρατροπαί καὶ ὑπερχύσεις εἰσὶν αἰ λεγόμεναι τυραννίδες καὶ δυναστεῖα καὶ ὀχλοκρατίαι· ὅταν βασιλεία μὲν
827 ὑβρίν ἑντέκη καὶ τὸ ἀνυπεύθυνον· ὀλιγαρχία δ᾽ ὑπερφροσύνην καὶ τὸ αὐθαδες· δημοκρατία δ᾽ ἀναρχίαν, ἱσότης δὲ ἀμετρίαν, πᾶσαι δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον.

4. Ὅπερ οὖν ὁ ἅρμωνικὸς καὶ μουσικὸς ἁνήρ παντὶ μὲν ὄργανῳ χρηστεῖ προσωπικῶς ἁρμοσάμενος καὶ λόγῳ κρούων ἔκαστον, ὡς πέφυκεν ἐμμελὲς ὑπηχεῖν: ἤδη μέντοι συμβούλων Πλάτωνος χρησάμενος, πηκτίδας, σαμβύκας καὶ ψαλτήρια πολυφθόγγα καὶ βαρβίτους καὶ τρίγωνα παραπέμψας, τὴν λύραν καὶ τὴν κιθάραν προτιμήσει: τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ πολιτικὸς ἁνήρ εὑ μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν Λακωνικὴν καὶ Λυκούργειον μεταχειριεῖται, συναρμοσάμενος αὐτῷ συνοίσεται δημοκρατία, τὰ μὲν ἀνιεὶς τὰ δ᾽ ἐπιτείνων τῆς πολιτείας, χαλάσας τ᾽ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ καρτερῶς αὐθαίρες ἐμφύς, ἀντιβήναι καὶ ἀντισχεῖν ἐπιστάμενος· εἰ δ᾽ ἀἱρεσις 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,\(^a\) (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,\(^b\) will give up guitars, banjois, 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,

\(^a\) See Aristotle, *Politics*, iv. 4. 1 on δυναστεία.
\(^b\) Plato, *Republic*, 399 c, d.
(827) ὀργάνων, τῶν πολιτειῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλην ἐλοιτο πλήν τὴν μοναρχίαν, Πλάτωνι πειθόμενος, τὴν μόνην δυναμένην τὸν ἐντελή καὶ ὀρθιόν ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἄληθῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς τόν ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ μήτε πρὸς ἀνάγκην μήτε πρὸς χάριν ἁρμόσαι¹ τοῦ συμφέροντος. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πολιτείαι τρόπον τινὰ κρατοῦμεν κρατοῦσι καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τὸν πολιτικὸν, οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἰσχὺν βέβαιον ἐπὶ τούτους,² παρ᾽ ὧν ἔχει τὸ ἰσχῦν, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ Ἀἰσχυλεῖον ἀναφωνεῖν, ὡς πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἔχρητο Δημήτριος ὁ πολιορκητής ἀποβαλὼν τὴν ἱγεμονίαν

σὺ τοῖ μὲ φυσάς,³ σὺ μὲ καταίθειν μοι⁴ δοκεῖσ.⁵

¹ ἁρμόσαι] ἁρμόσαι ἀνευ Wyttenbach; ἁρμόσαι τι Hutton; ἁρμόσαι ἀπὸ ?
² τούτουs Meziriacus: τούτου.
³ μὲ φυσάς frequently changed to μ᾽ ἐφυσάς, but needlessly.
⁴ καταίθειν μοι Ziegler with some mss. in Life of Demetrius, chap. xxxv.: καταίθειν.
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\(^a\) which Demetrius the City-stormer employed against Fortune after he had lost his hegemony,

\[\text{Thou fanst my flame, methinks thou burnst me up.}\]


\(^5\) 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. Ὅ Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις οὐκ ἔι μεταλαμβά- 

E νειν ὕδατος ἀλλοτρίου τοὺς γείτονας, ἀν μὴ παρ᾽ 
aὐτοῖς ὑδραίης ἀχρὶ τῆς κεραμίτιδος καλουμένης γῆς ἀγονοῦ εὕρωσι νάματος τὸ χωρίον· ἡ γὰρ κερα-

mίτις φύσιν ἔχουσα λιπαρὰν καὶ πυκνὴν στέγει 

παραλαβοῦσα τὸ ὕγρον καὶ οὐ διίης· δεῖν δὲ μετα-

λαμβάνειν τάλλοτρίου τοὺς ἴδιον κτήσασθαι μη 

dυναμένους· ἀπορία γὰρ βοηθεῖν τὸν νόμον. ἢρ ὀνδὲ 

dὴ ἔδει καὶ αὐτῶν εἶναι νόμον, ὅπως μὴ 

F δανείζωνται παρ᾽ ἐτέρων μὴδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀλλοτρίας πηγάς 

βαδίζωσι, μὴ πρότερον οἶκοι τὰς αὐτῶν ἀφορμὰς 

ἐξελέγχοντες καὶ συναγαγόντες ὥσπερ εἰκ λιβάδων 

tὸ χρήσιμον καὶ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς; νυνὶ δ᾽ ὑπὸ 

τρυφῆς καὶ μαλακίας ἡ πολυτελεία συναγαγόντες 

ἐξουσίων ἀλλὰ λαμβάνουσιν ἐπὶ πολλὰ παρ᾽ 

ἐτέρων, μὴ διέμενοι· τεκμήριον δὲ μέγα· τοῖς γὰρ 

ἀπόροις οὐ δανείζουσιν, ἀλλὰ βουλομένους μετα-

πίνειν ἔκδοσι καὶ μάρτυρα δίδωσι καὶ βε-

1 δεῖν Xylander: δεῖ.
2 τάλλοτρίου Bernardakis: τοῦ ἀλλοτρίου.
3 ἢρ ὀν Ὑπερβάρος: ἢρα or ἢρα.
4 δὴ ἔδει καὶ Wydtenbach: δεῖδεκται.
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 \(b\).
βαίωτήν ἀξίον, ὅτι ἔχει, πιστεύεσθαι, δέον ἔχοντα μὴ δανείζεσθαι.

2. Τὰ θεραπεύεις τὸν τραπεζίτην ἢ πραγματευ- 
828 τὴν; ἀπὸ τῆς ἴδιας δάνεισαι τραπέζης· ἐκπώματ' ἔχεις, παροφίδας ἀργυρᾶς, λεκανίδας· ὑπόθου ταῦτα τῇ χρείᾳ· τὴν δὲ τράπεζαν ἢ καλὴ Αὐλίς ἢ Τένεδος ἀντικοσμήσει τοῖς κεραμείσις, καθαρωτέρους οὖσι τῶν ἀργυρῶν· οὐκ οἴει τόκου βαρύ καὶ δυσχερὲς ὁσπερ ἢ καθ' ἣμέραν ἐπιρρυπαίνοντος τὴν πολυ- 
τέλειαν, οὐδ' ἀναμνῆσαι τῶν καλανδῶν καὶ τῆς νουμηνίας, ἢν ἐρωτάτην ἠμερῶν ὁσσαν ἀποφράδα 
ποιοῦσιν οἱ δανεισταί καὶ στύγιον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πωλεῖν τιθέντας ἐνέχυρα τὰ αὐτῶν οὐδ' Β ἄν ὁ θεὸς σώσειν ὁ Κτήσιος· αἰσχύνονται τιμῇ 
λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τόκου τῶν ἴδιων 
διδόντες. καίτω ὁ γε Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος τὸν τῆς 
θεᾶς κόσμον, ἄγοντα τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα χρυ- 
σίων ἀπέφθου, περιαιρετὸν ἐποίησεν, ὁπως, ἔφη, 
χρησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αὐθὶς ἀποδόμεν μὴ 
ἐλαττον. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑστερ ἐν πολυρκία τὰ 
χρείας μὴ παραδεχόμεθα φρουρὰν δανειστὸν πολε- 
μίου, μὴ δ' ὅραν τὰ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δουλεία διδόμενα· 
ἀλλὰ τῆς τραπεζῆς περιελόντες τὰ μὴ χρήσιμα, τῆς 
κοίτης, τῶν ὀχημάτων, τῆς διαίτης, ἔλευθεροι δια-
φυλάττωμεν ἑαυτούς, ἐστιν δ' ἀποδώσοντες αὐθίς, ἐὰν 
vτυχήσωμεν.

C 3. Αἰ μὲν οὖν Ἄρωμαίων γυναίκες εἰς ἀπαρχὴν 
tῶν Πυθίων Ἀπόλλων τῶν κόσμου ἐπέδωκαν, οἴκεν

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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 χρυσοῦς κρατὴρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμφθη: αἰ δὲ 
Καρχηδονίων γυναῖκες ἐκείραν τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ 
tαῖς θριξὶν ἐντείναι τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τὰ ὄργανα 
παρέσχον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἢ μεῖς δὲ τὴν αὐτ-
άρκειαν αἰσχυνόμενοι καταδουλοῦμεν ἐαυτοὺς ὑπο-
θήκαις καὶ συμβολαιοῖς, δέον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα 
συσταλέντας καὶ συσπειραθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἄχρηστων 
kai περιττῶν κατακοπέντων ἡ πατρίδος ἐλευθερίας 
aυτοῖς ἰερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν. 

D ἡ μὲν γὰρ "Αρτέμις ἡ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τοῖς ἱεροῖς, 
ὅταν καταφύγωσιν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐτῆς, ἀνυλίας 
pαρέχει καὶ ἄδειαν ἀπό τῶν δανείων. τὸ δὲ τῆς 
eὐτελείας καὶ ἄσυλου καὶ ἄμώματος πανταχοῦ τοῖς 
sώφροσιν ἀναπέπταται, πολλής σχολῆς εὐρυχωρίαν 
pαρέχου ἱλαράν καὶ ἀπετίμοιν. ὡς γὰρ ἡ Πυθία τοῖς 
Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τεῖχος ξύλινον διδόναι 
tὸν θεὸν ἐφή, κάκεινο τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν 
kαὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀφέντες εἰς τὰς ναὸς 
kατέφυγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὕτως ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς 
dίδωσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ τράπεζαν καὶ κεραμεᾶν λεκάνην καὶ 
τραχὺ ἱμάτιον, ἐὰν ἐλεύθεροι ζῆν ἐθέλωμεν. 

Ε μηδὲ σύ γ᾽ ἰπποσύνας τε μένειν, 
μηδ᾽ ὀχήματα ζευκτὰ κερασφόρα καὶ κατάργυρα, ὁ 
tόκοι ταχεὺς καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ παρατρέχουσιν· 
ἄλλ᾽ ὁνὶς τυί τῷ τυχόντι καὶ καβάλλῃ Ἰχνεύρου 
φεῦγε πολέμιον καὶ τύραννον δανειστήν, οὐ γῆν. 

1 δανείων "a creditoribus," i.e. δανειστῶν, Xylander's version. 
2 κερασφόρα] κατάχρυσα or καταπόρφυρα Reiske. 
3 γῆν Xylander: πῦρ. 

a Beginning with the fourth century B.C. the ancients 
employed various machines to hurl projectiles. They are 
commonly called catapults (καταπέλτης). Their power lay 
in the elasticity of wooden beams which were bent by means 
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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 ύδωρ ὡς ὁ Μῆδος, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευ-
θερίας ἀπτόμενον καὶ προγράφοντα 1 τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν-
καὶ μὴ διδώσω, ἐνοχλοῦντα: καὶ ἔχχις, μὴ λαμβά-
νοντα: καὶ πωλῆς, ἐπευωνύζοντα: καὶ μὴ πωλῆς,
ἀναγκάζοντα: καὶ δικάζης, ἐντυγχάνοντα: καὶ
γόμφης, ἐπιτάττοντα: καὶ βαδίζῃς ἐπὶ θύρας,
ἀποκλείοντα: καὶ οἶκοι μένης, ἐπισταθμεύοντα
καὶ θυροκοποῦντα.

4. Τί γὰρ ὄνησε Σόλων ᾿Αθηναίους ἀπαλλάξας
τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν οφείλειν; δουλεύοντι γὰρ
ἀπασὶ τοῖς ἀφανιστάις, μᾶλλον δ’ οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς:
tί γὰρ ἢν τὸ δεινὸν; ἀλλὰ δουλοὺς ὑβρισταίς καὶ
βαρβάρους καὶ ἀγρίους, ὡσπερ οὔς ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ
cαθ’ ὁ Αἰδοῦ διαπύρους κολαστὰς καὶ δημοκοίνους
ἔφεστάναι τοῖς ἡσεβηκόσι. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι τὴν ἀγορὰν
829 ἀσεβῶν χώραν ἀποδείξαντες τοῖς ἀθλίοις χρεώστας
γυνῶν δίκην ἑσθούσι καὶ ὑποκείρουσι αὐτούς
‘‘δέρτουν ἕσω δύνοντες,’’ τοὺς δ’ ὡσπερ Ταντάλους
ἔφεστῶτες εὗρονοι γεύσασθαι τῶν ἱδίων τρυγώντας
καὶ συγκομίζοντας. ὡς δὲ Δαρείος ἐπὶ τᾶς ᾿Αθήνας
ἔπεμψε Δᾶτιν καὶ Ὁρτάφερνην ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ
ἄλυσες ἑχοῦσας καὶ δεσμὰ κατὰ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων,
παραπλησίως συντετελοῦσι τὸν Ἰωάκημ οὐσί
καὶ συμβολαίοις ὡσπερ πεδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ᾿Ελλάδα κομίζοντες
ἀγγεία μεστὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιτιμεύονται καὶ διελαύ-

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

4 Plato, Republic, 615 E.

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 stand in Hades as fiery avengers and executioners 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," 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 captives, in similar fashion these men, bringing against Greece jars full of signatures and notes as fetters, march against and through the cities, not, like Triptolemus, 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) ἄγχουσι τὰς πόλεις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λαγὼς λέγουσι τίκτειν ἅμα καὶ τρέφειν ἔτερα καὶ ἐπικυϊσκεσθαι πάλιν, τὰ δὲ τῶν μαστιγών τοῦτων καὶ βαρβάρων χρέα πρὶν ἢ συλλαβεῖν τίκτει. διδόντες γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀπαιτοῦσι καὶ τιθέντες αἴρουσι καὶ δανείζουσιν ὃ λαμβάνουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δανεῖσαι.

5. Λέγεται μὲν παρὰ Μεσσηνίους

C ἐστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο, Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος.

λεχθῆσεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δανειστὰς

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

εἶτα τῶν φυσικῶν δήπου καταγελώσι, λεγόντων μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος γενέσθαι, παρὰ τούτως γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηκέτι ὄντος μηδὲν ὑφεστῶτος γεννᾶται τόκος, καὶ τὸ τελωνεῖν ὁμείδος ἠγοῦνται, τοῦ νόμου διδόντος· αὐτοὶ γὰρ 1 παρανόμως δανείζουσι τελωνεῖν, μᾶλλον δ', εἰ δεῖ τάληθες εἰπεῖν, ἐν τῷ δανείζειν χρεωκοποῦντες· ὃ γὰρ οὐ 2 γράφει λαμβάνων ἔλαττον χρεωκοπεῖται. καίτοι Πέρσαι γε τὸ ψεύδεσθαι δεύτερον ἡγοῦνται τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ ὀφείλειν· ὅτι καὶ τὸ ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς ὀφείλουσι

D συμβαίνει πολλάκις· ψεύδονται δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ δανείζοντες καὶ ῥαδιουργοῦσιν ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ἐφημερίσι, γράφοντες ὅτι τῷ δεῖν τοσοῦτον διδόσιν, ἔλαττον διδόντες· καὶ τὸ ψεύδος αἰτίαν ἔχει πλεονεξίαν, ἐκάναγκην οὖν ἀπορίαν, ἀλλ' ἀπληστίαν, οὐκ ἀναπό-

1 αὐτοὶ γὰρ Bernardakis; αὐτοὶ δὲ Meziriacus: αὐτοὶ.
2 οὐ Bongars: οὐ.

a There is here, and also above and below, a play on the 324
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 wrong-doings 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.
c Herodotus, i. 138, puts lying first and debt second.
λαυστόν ἐστίν αὐτοῖς τὸ τέλος καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ὀλέθριον δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. οὔτε γὰρ ἄγρους οὐς ἀφαιροῦνται τῶν χρεωστῶν γεωργοῦσιν, οὔτ᾽ οἶκίας αὐτῶν, ἐκβαλόντες ἑκείνους, οἰκοῦσιν, οὔτε τραπέζας παρατίθενται οὔτ᾽ ἐσθήτας ἑκείνων: ἀλλὰ πρῶτός τις ἀπόλολε, καὶ δεύτερος κυνηγετεῖται ἔ ὑπ᾽ ἑκείνου δελεαζόμενος. νέμεται γὰρ ὃς πῦρ τὸ ἀγριον αὐξόμενον ὀλέθρῳ καὶ φθορᾷ τῶν ἐμπεσόντων, ἄλλον ἐξ ἀλλού καταναλίσκον. δ ὑπ᾽ εὐχόμενος ἕτερος κυνηγετεῖται ἐκ τῶν βουκῶν καὶ τρέφων ἐπὶ πολλούς δανειστὴς οὐδὲν ἔχει πλέον ἡ διὰ χρόνου λαβὼν ἀναγνώσα τόσον πόθεν ποιεῖ τοὺς κυνηγετεῖται. 6. Καὶ ταῦτα μὴ οἴεσθε λέγειν πόλεμον ἐξ ἐνηνοχότα πρὸς τοὺς δανειστάς:

οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἥλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἰπποὺς.

Ἅλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενον τοῖς προχείροις δανειζόμενοι, ὅσην ἔχει τὸ πράγμα αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ ὅτι τὸ δανείζεσθαι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀφροσύνης καὶ μαλακίας ἐστίν. ἔχεις; μὴ δανείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἄπορείς. οὐκ ἔχεις; μὴ δανείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἐκτίσεις. κατ᾽ ἰδίαιν δ᾽ οὕτως ἐκάτερα σκοτώμεν. ὁ Κάτων πρὸς τινα πρεσβύτην πονηρευόμενον "ο ἄνθρωπε, τί τῷ γήρᾳ," ἐφη, "πολλὰ κακὰ ἔχοντι τὴν ἐκ τῆς πονηρίας αἰσχύνην προστίθης;" οὐκοῦν καὶ σὺ 830 τῇ πενίᾳ, πολλῶν κακῶν προσόντων, μὴ ἐπισώρευε

a Homer, ΙI. 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
τὰς ἐκ τοῦ δανείζεσθαι καὶ ὁφείλειν ἀμηχανίας μηδ’ ἀφαιροῦ τῆς πενίας, ὥς μόνω τοῦ πλούτου διαφέρει, τῆν ἀμεριμνίαν. ἐπεὶ τὸ τῆς παρομίας ἐσται γελοῖν

οὐ δύναμαι τὴν αἰγα φέρειν, ἐπὶ μοι θέτε τὸν βοῦν.

πενίαν φέρειν μή δυνάμενος δανειστῇ ἐπιτίθησι σεαυτῷ, φορτίον καὶ πλούτουντι δύσοιτον. πῶς οὖν διατραφώ; τοῦτ’ ἔρωτας, ἔχων χεῖρας, ἔχων πόδας, ἔχων φωνήν, ἀνθρωπός ὥς ὁ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐστι καὶ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐχα- B ριστεῖν; γράμματα διδάσκοντι, καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς, καὶ θυρωρῶν, πλέων, παραπλέων: οὐδὲν ἔστι τοῦτων αἰχμαλώτων οὐδὲ δυσχερέστερον τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι "ἀπόδος."

7. Ὅ τοῦτοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔκεινοι ἐν Ῥώμῃ τῷ Μουσώνῳ προσελθὼν "Μουσώνιον," εἶπεν, "ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σωτῆρ, ὃν οὐ μιμῆ καὶ ζηλοῖς, οὐ δανείζεται." καὶ ὁ Μουσώνιος μειδιάσας εἶπεν "οὐδὲ δανείζει." ὁ γὰρ τοῦτοι, δανείζοντος αυτὸς ἀνείδιξεν ἐκεῖνον δανειζομένων. Στωική τις αὕτη τυφομανία; τί γάρ σε δεῖ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα κινεῖν, αὐτόθεν ὑπομνήσαι τοῖς φανομένοις ὑνοί; οὐ δανείζονται χειριδόνες, οὐ δανείζονται μύρμηκες, οἷς ἡ φύσις οὐ C χεῖρας, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τέχνην δέδωκεν; ἀνθρωποί δὲ περιουσία συνέσεως διὰ τὸ εὐμήχανον ἢππος παραπτρέφουσι, κύνας, πέρδικας, λαγωούς, κολοιούς. τί οὖν γε σεαυτοῦ κατέγνωκας, ἀπιθανοέτερος ὡν

1 ἐπὶ μοι θέτε Reiske: κατίθετε.
2 Στωική Wytenbach: ὡς στωική.
3 πέρδικας λαγωούς 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, "Musonius, 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

\[a\] Paroemiographi Graeci, ii. 592.
κολοιοῦ καὶ ἀφωνότερος πέρδικος καὶ κυνὸς ἀγεννέστερος, ὥστ᾽ ἀπ’ ἀνθρώπου μηδενὸς ὥφελεσθαι περιέπων, ψυχαγωγῶν, φυλάττων, προμαχόμενος; όνχ δρας, ός πολλὰ μὲν γη parêchein polla de thálatta;

καὶ μὴν Μίκκυλον¹ εἰσείδου²

φησὶν ὁ Κράτης

τῶν ἐρίων ξαίνοντα, γυναῖκα τε συγξαίνονσαν,
τὸν λιμὸν φεύγοντας ἐν αἰνὴ δηιοτήτι.

Κλεάνθη δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεύς Ἀντίγονος ἡρώτα διὰ χρόνου θεασάμενος ἐν ταῖς Ἀθηναῖς ᾿Αλεῖς ἔτι, Κλέανθη δ᾽ ὁ βασιλεύς Ἀντίγονος θαλαμαί ἀποστήμασιν ὑπὸ διά φιλοσοφίας." ὅσον τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ μύλου καὶ τῆς μάκτρας πεττούση σελήνη καὶ ἀλούσῃ γράφειν περὶ τῆς θεῶν καὶ τῆς σελήνης καὶ ἀστρων καὶ ἠλίου. ἠμῖν δὲ δουλικὰ δοκεῖ ταῦτ᾽ ἔργα. τοιγαροῦ ἔι ἐλεύθεροι ὑμεῖς, δανεισάμενοι, κολακεύομεν ἀνθρώπους καὶ δορυφοροῦμεν καὶ δειπνίζομεν καὶ δῶρα καὶ φόρους ὑποτελοῦμεν, οὔ διὰ τὴν πενίαν (οὔθεὶς γὰρ δανείζει πένητι), ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν. εἰ γὰρ ἐρκούμεθα τοῖς

¹ Μίκκυλον Xylander: μίκυλλον or μίκυλον. Cobet supplies κρατέρ᾽ ἐλεύθεροι ἐξοντα from Homer, Od. xi. 593; cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 366.
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 Miceylus I beheld,

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; "and I do it on account of Zeno's precept not to desist from it, 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,

a Crates, Frag. 6, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ed. 4, ii. p. 366. The last three words occur also in Homer, Od. xii. 257.

μὴ δέῃ φιλοσοφίας, "merely to live, that I may not have to abandon philosophy."

4 οἰκοτριβέας Capps: οἰκότριβας.
ἀναγκαίοις πρὸς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἂν ἦν γένος δανειστῶν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Κενταύρων ἐστὶν οὐδὲ Γοργόνων.

Ε ἀλλ’ ἡ τρυφή δανειστᾶς ἐποίησεν οὐχ ἦττον ἡ χρυσοχόους καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ μυρεῖους καὶ ἀνθοβάφους. οὐ γὰρ ἄρτων οὔδ’ οἴνου τιμὴν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Κενταύρων οὐδὲ Γοργόνων

εἰ ὅμως δανειστὰς ἐποίησεν οὐχ ἦττον ἔστι τοὺς χρυσοχόους καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ μυρεῖους καὶ ἀνθοβάφους. οὐ γὰρ ἄρτων οὔδ’ οἴνου τιμὴν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Κενταύρων οὐδὲ Γοργόνων οὐδὲ Κενταύρων οὐδὲ Γοργόνων

ἀλλὰ τρυφὴ δανειστὰς ἐποίησεν οὐχ ἦττον ἔστι τοὺς χρυσοχόους καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ μυρεῖους καὶ ἀνθοβάφους. οὐ γὰρ ἄρτων οὔδ’ οἴνου τιμὴν ὥσπερ οὐδὲ Κενταύρων οὐδὲ Γοργόνων

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ὅτι ἄρρητας ἐπείγεται πάντοτε, ἀλλοὶ ἐξ ἂλλου μεταλλακτῶν ἀναβάτην, ὥσπερ ἵππος ἀποφυγή δ’ οὐκ ἦστιν ἐπὶ τὰς νομὰς ἀκείνας καὶ τοὺς λειμῶνας, ἀλλὰ πλάζονται καθάπερ οἱ θεήλατοι καὶ οὐρανοπετεῖς ἀκείνου τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δαίμονος.

αἰθέριον μὲν γὰρ σφε μένος πόντονδε διώκει, πόντοσ δ’ ἐσ’ οἴνῳ οὔδ’ οἴνου ἀπέπτυσεν. γαῖα δ’ ἐσ’ αὐγάς

ἡλίου ἀκάμαντος. ὁ δὲ ἀιθέρος ἐμβαλε δίωνι.

831 ‘‘άλλος δ’ ἐξ ἄλλου δέχεται’’ τοκιστῆς ἡ πραγματευτῆς Κορώνθιος, εἶτα Πατρεύς, εἶτ’ Ἀθηναίος, ἀγριῶς ἄν υπὸ πάντων περικρουόμενον εἰς τόκους διαλυθή καὶ κατακερματισθή. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀναστήναι δεῖ τὸν πεπηλωμένον ἡ μένειν, δ’ ἐκ τοῦ προστρέψας καὶ κυλίνδομεν ὑγρῇ σώματι καὶ διαβρόχῳ προσπεριβάλλεται πλείονα μολυσμόν. οὕτως ἐν ταῖς μεταγραφαῖς καὶ μεταπτώσεις τῶν δανεἰων τοὺς τόκους προσαναλαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς

1 δ’ ἐσ’ Meziriacus: δέ.
2 ἀπέπτυσε Moralia, 361 c: ἀνέπτυσε.
ON BORROWING, 830–831

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 driv’n 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.\(^a\)

And so "one after another takes over"\(^b\) 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


\(^b\) Mullach, *ibid.* vs. 35.
Β καὶ προσπλάττοντες ἀεὶ βαρύτεροι γίγνονται καὶ τῶν χολερικῶν οὐδὲν διαφέρουσιν, οἱ θεραπεῖαν μὲν οὐ προσδέχονται, τὸ δὲ προστεταγμένον ἐξερῶντες, εῖτα πλέον αὖθις συλλέγοντες ἀεὶ διατελοῦσι. καὶ γάρ οὔτοι καθαρθῆναι μὲν οὐ θέλουσιν, οὐ τὸ δὲ προστεταγμένον, ἐσφάλμενος εὔθὺς ἐτέρου καὶ προστεταγμένου, πάλιν ναυτιῶσι καὶ καρηβαροῦσι· δέον ἀπαλλαγέντας εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἐλευθέρους γίγνεσθαι.

8. "Ηδὴ γάρ μοι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπορωτέρους καὶ μαλακωτέρους ὁ λόγος ἔστιν· τοὺς λέγοντας "ἀδουλος οὐν γένω σι καὶ ἀνέστιος καὶ ἄοικος;" ὥσπερ εἰ λέγοι πρὸς ἰατρὸν ἄρρωστον ὑδρωπιῶν καὶ χαλκήσως "ἰσχνὸς οὐν γένω μι καὶ κενὸς;" τί δ' οὐ μέλλεις, ἵνα γηλαρίνης; καὶ οὐ γενοῦ ἀγωνος, ἵνα μὴ δούλος ἡς καὶ ἀκτήμων, ἵνα μὴ κτήμ' ἡς ἀλλοι. καὶ τὸν τῶν γυνών λόγον ἀκουσον· ἐμοῦντο τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ λέγοντος τὰ σπλάγχνα, ἐσφάλμενον παρὼν καὶ τί δεινόν; εἶπεν· "οὐ γὰρ τὰ σεαυτοῦ σπλάγχνα, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐσφάλμενο. ἐκβάλλεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐσπαράττομεν." καὶ τῶν χρωστῶν οὐ οὐ πωλεῖ ἀκατοστος τὸ ἐαυτοῦ χωρίον οὐδὲ τὴν ὑδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δανείσαντος ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων χρυσινον αὐτῶν πεποίηκε. "νη Διαί, φησίν, "ἀλλ' ὁ πατήρ μου τὸν ἀγρὸν τοῦτον κατέλυπε." καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ὁ πατήρ

1 ἐξερῶντες Reiske: ἐξαλροὶντες.
2 τὰ αὐτοῖς ἐκβάλλεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ ἐσπαράττομεν. 

* 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, 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 good reputation, which you ought
ἔδωκεν, ὅν σε δεὶ λόγον ἔχειν πλείονα. καὶ τὸν πόδα καὶ τὴν χεῖρ’ ὃ γεννήσας ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν σαπή, μισθὸν δίδως τῷ ἀποκόπτοντι. τῷ δ’ Ὀδυσσεί τῇ ἐσθήτα ἦ Καλυψὼ περιέθηκεν “εἰματ’ ἀμφιέσασα θυώδεα” χρωτός ἀθανάτου πνεύντα, δῶρα καὶ μνημόσυνα τῆς φιλίας ὄντα τῆς ἐκείνης· ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ περιτραπεῖς καὶ βυθισθεῖς μόλις ἀνέσχε, τῆς ἐσθήτος γενομένης διαβρόχου καὶ βαρείας, ἐκείνην μὲν ἔρριψεν ἀποδυσάμενος, κρηδέμνῳ δὲ τινι γυμνὸν ὑποζώσας τὸ στέρνον

Ἐν ἡ χεὶς παρεξ ἐς γαίαν ὅρώμενος καὶ διασωθεὶς οὔτ’ ἐσθήτος οὔτε τροφῆς ἕπορχησ. τί οὖν; οὐ γίγνεται χειμὼν περὶ τοὺς χρεώστας, ὅταν ἐπιστη διὰ χρόνου δανεισθής λέγων “ἀπόδος”; ὡς εἰπὼν σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντονοιν δ’ εὐρός τε νότος τ’ ἔπεσε ζέφυρός τε δυσαής τόκων τόκως ἐπικυλισθέντων· ὅ δὲ συγκυλισθένης ἀντέχεται τῶν βαρυόντων, ἀπονήσασθαι καὶ φυγεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος· ἀλλ’ ὦθεται κατὰ βυθοῦ, μετὰ τῶν ἐγγυησάμενων φίλων ἀφανιζόμενος. Κράτης δ’ οὐτηθαίς ὑπ’ οὐδενὸς ἀπαιτούμενος οὔθ’ ὀφείλων, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ φροντίδας καὶ περισπασμοὺς δυσχεραίνων, ἀφῆκεν οὐσίαν ὅκτω ταλάντων, καὶ τρίβων καὶ πήραν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ πενίαν κατέφυγεν. ᾿Αναξαγόρας δὲ τὴν χώραν κατέλιπε μηλόβοτον. καὶ τί δει

1 θυώδεα Xylander from Od. v. 264: εὐώδεα.

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a Homer, Od. v. 264.  b Homer, Od. v. 439.

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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" a 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, b

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, c

as interest rolled up upon interest; and the debtor, overwhelmed, struggles against them as they weigh him down, but 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

a Homer, Od. v. 291, 292.
τούτους λέγειν, ὃποιος Φιλόξενος ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐν ἀποικίᾳ Σικελικῇ, κλήρου μετασχὼν καὶ βίου καὶ οὐκου πολλήν εὐπορίαν ἔχοντος, ὃρῶν δὲ τρυφὴν καὶ ἡδυπάθειαν καὶ ἁμούσιαν ἐπιχωριάζουσαν "μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς," εἶπεν, "ἐμὲ ταῦτα τάγαθὰ" οὐκ ἀπολεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα: καὶ καταλιπτῶν ἐτέρους τὸν κλῆ-832 ρον ἐξέπλευσεν. οἱ δ' ὁρείλοντες ἀπαιτούμενοι δασμολογούμενοι δουλεύοντες ὑπαργυρεύοντες ἀντιέχονται, καρτεροῦσιν, ὡς ὁ Φινεύς, 'Αρπυίας τινὰς ὑποπτέρους βόσκοντες, αἱ φέρουσι τὴν τροφὴν καὶ διαρπάζουσιν, οὐ καθ' ὁρῶν ἀλλὰ πρὶν θερισθῆναι τὸν σῖτον ὁμούμενοι, καὶ πρὶν ἡ πεσεῖν τὴν ἐλαίαν ἀγοράζουσι τούλαιοι καὶ "τὸν οἶνον ἔχω," φησί, "τοσοῦτον" καὶ πρόσγραφον ἔδωκε τῆς τιμῆς οὐ δὲ βότρυς κρέμαται καὶ προσπέφυκεν ἐτὶ τὸν ἀρκτούρον ἐκδεχόμενος.

α 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.
κὶ
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
LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS

*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 ἦν πατρὸς τῶν δὲ Κ δήμων 'Ραμνούσιος· μαθητεύσας δὲ τῷ πατρὶ (ἡν γὰρ σοφιστής, ᾧ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδην φασὶν ἔτι παῖδα ὅντα φοιτῆσαι) καὶ δύναμιν λόγων κτησάμενος, ὡς τινες νομίζουσιν, ἀπ᾽ οἰκείας φύσεως, ὄρμησε μὲν πολιτεύεσθαι· διατριβὴν δὲ συνέστησε καὶ Σωκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ διεφέρετο τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων διαφορὰν ὡς φιλονείκως ἄλλ᾽ ἐλεγκτικῶς, ὡς Ἐνοφῶν ἱστόρηκεν ἐν τοῖς Ἀριστοτέλειοι ὥσπερ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγώνας πρῶτοι ἐπὶ τοῦτο τραπεῖς, ὡστε τινὲς φασι· τῶν γοῦν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδενὸς φέρεται δικανικὸς λόγος, ἀλλ᾽ οὔδέ τῶν κατ᾽ αὐτὸν, διὰ τὸ μηδέπω ἐν ἔθει τοῦ συγγράφειν εἶναι, οὐ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐκ Ἀριστείδου οὐκ Ἐρικλέους, καίτοι πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ ἀνάγκας παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν καιρῶν· καί γὰρ οὐ δι᾽ ἀσθένειαν ἀπελείποντο τοῦ συγγράφεων, ὡς δήλου ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύοι περὶ ἑνὸς ἑκάστου τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρών. ὅσοις μέντοι ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τὸ παλαιότατον ἀναφέροντες ἀπο-

Ε ὡς μνημονεύοντο τὴν ἵδειν τῶν λόγων ταύτην μετα-

χειρισαμένους, τούτους εὗροι τις ἐν ἐπιβεβληκότας

1 πρῶτος Μεζιριακός: πρῶτον.
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

a Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 6.
(832) Ἀντιφῶντι, πρεσβύτῃ ἤδη ὄντι, οἰον Ἀλκιβιάδην, Κριτίαν, Λυσίαν, Ἀρχίνον. ¹ πρώτος δὲ καὶ ῥητορικὰς τέχνας ἐξήνεγκε, γενόμενος ἀγχίνους. διὸ καὶ Νέστωρ ἐπεκαλεῖτο.

Καικίλιος δ᾽ ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι Θουκυδίδου τοῦ συγγραφέως καθηγητὴν² τεκμαίρεται γεγονέναι ἐξ ὧν ἐπαινεῖται παρ᾽ αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀντιφῶν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἄκριβης καὶ πιθανῆς καὶ δεινῆς περὶ τὴν εὐρέσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπόροις τεχνικὸς καὶ ἐπιχειρῶν ἐξ ἀδήλου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ πάθη τρέπων τοὺς λόγους τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς μάλιστα στοχαζόμενος. γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τὰ Περσικὰ καὶ Γοργίαν τὸν σοφιστήν, ὀλίγῳ νεώτερος αὐτοῦ: καὶ παρατέτακεν ἕως καταλύσεως τῆς δημοκρατίας ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων γενομένης, ἣν αὐτὸς δοκεῖ συγκατασκευάσαι, ὁτὲ μὲν δυσὶ τριηραρχῶν ναυσίν ὁτὲ δὲ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις νικῶν, καὶ συμμαχίας μεγάλας αὐτοῖς προσαγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμάζοντας ὀπλίζων, καὶ

¹ Ἀρχίνον Taylor: ἀρχίνοον.
² καθηγητὴν Wyttenbach: μαθητὴν.

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¹ "Cf. Thucydides, viii. 68 ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὸς δεύτερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνοίη εἰπεῖν, "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.).

² In 411 B.C. when for some four months an oligarchy ruled Athens.

³ The duty of fitting out ships for the navy devolved upon wealthy citizens, who were then called trierarchs.

⁴ 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 a); and (6) an Antiphon derided by Aristophanes (Wasp, 1270), as a starveling. The Pseudo-Plutarch has evidently fused several of these personalities with that of the orator.
τριήρεις πληρῶν ἐξήκοντα, καὶ πρεσβευών δ᾽ ἐκά-
stote ὑπέρ¹ αὐτῶν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα, ἦνικα ἔτε-
33 τείχιστο Ἡετιώνεια.² μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν
tετρακοσίων εἰσαγγελθεῖς σὺν Ἀρχεπτολέμω, ἐν
tῶν τετρακοσίων, ἐάλω, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν προ-
dοτῶν ἐπιτιμίως ὑπαχθεῖς ἀταφὸς ἔρριφη καὶ σὺν
tοῖς ἐγκύνοις ἄτιμος ἀνεγράφη.³ οἱ δ´ ὑπὸ τῶν
τριάκοντα⁴ ἀνηρθόθαι 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 πεντεκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν
Β Φιλιππικῶν· ἅλλον οὖτός γ´ ὅπως εἴη ἔτερος,⁶ Λυσι-
dωνίδου πατρός, οὗ καὶ Κρατίνος ἐν Πυτάνη ὡς
πονηροῦ μνημονεύει· πῶς γὰρ ᾧ τὸ προτεθνεὼς καὶ
ἀναφερθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν
τριάκοντα εὖ ἦ, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος περὶ τῆς
τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ. πρεσβευτὴν γὰρ ὄντα αὐτὸν εἰς
Συρακούσας πλεύσατι, ἦνικα ἤκμαζεν ἤ τοῦ προ-
tέρου Διονυσίου τυραννις· γενομένης δὲ παρὰ πότον
ζητήσεως, τίς ἀριστός ἐστι χαλκός, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν
diaferoménων, αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ἄριστον εἶναι ἐξ ὡς
Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων πεποίηται· τούτῳ
ἀκούσαντα τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ ὑπονοήθαντα προ-


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¹ Εἴτιονεία, the mole which formed the northern side of
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ANTIPHON, 832–833

by manning sixty triremes, and by being on every occasion their envoy to Lacedaemon at the time when Eêtioneia 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 Philippiæ; 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.

b 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.

τροπὴν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν εἶναι τὸ ῥηθὲν προστάξαι ἀναιρεθῆναι αὐτὸν. οἵ δὲ, ὅτι τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτοῦ διέσυρε χαλεπήνατο. Καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας συνθεῖναι καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ σὺν Διονυσίῳ τῷ τυράννῳ. Εὕρεται δὲ τὶ ποιήσει τέχνην ἀλυπίας συνεστήσατο, ὅσπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσι ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεία ὑπάρχει: ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατεσκευασμένος οἴκημά τι παρὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προέγραψεν, ὅτι δύναται διὰ λόγων θεραπεύειν. καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὰς αὐτίας παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς κάμνοντας.

νομίζων δὲ τὴν τέχνην ἐλάττων ἡ καθ' αὐτὸν εἶναι ἐπὶ ρητορικὴν ἀπετράπη. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵ καὶ τὸ Γλαύκου τοῦ Ῥηγίνου περὶ ποιητῶν βιβλίον εἰς Ἀντιφώντα ἀναφέρουσι. ἐπαινεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ὁ περὶ Ηρώδου, καὶ δ' πρὸς Ἐρασίστρατον περὶ τῶν ταῶν, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, δ' οὖν ὕπερ ἐαυτοῦ γέγραφε, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Δημοσθένη τὸν στρατηγόν παρανόμων. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἰπποκράτους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν ἄρχοντος, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ ἔτι δ' ὃν πρὸς τῇ ποιήσει τέχνην ἀλυπίας συνεστήσατο, ὥσπερ τοῖς νοσοῦσι ἡ παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν θεραπεία ὑπάρχει: ἐν Κορίνθῳ κατεσκευασμένος οἴκημά τι παρὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προέγραψεν, ὅτι δύναται διὰ λόγων θεραπεύειν. καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὰς αὐτίας παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς κάμνοντας.

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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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Ε τετρακόσιοι κατελύσαν, καθ’ δὲ ἐδοξεῖν 'Αντι-φῶντα κριθῆναι, δ’ Κακίλιος παρατέθειναι.

"Ἐδοξεῖ τῇ βουλῇ μιᾷ καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας. Δημόνικος Ἀλωπεκῆθεν ἐγραμμάτευεν, Φιλόστρατος Παλληνεύς ἐπεστάτη. "Ἀνδρῶν εἶπε περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὖς ἀποφαίνουσι οἱ στρατηγοὶ πρεσβευομένους εἰς Δακεδαίμονα ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀθηναίων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου πλεῖν ἐπὶ πολεμίας νεώς καὶ πεζεύσαι

οὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς συλλαβεῖν καὶ ἀποδοῦναι εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, ὅπως δῶσην δίκην. παρασχόντων δ’ αὐτοὺς οἱ στρατηγοὶ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς συντιμάναι ἄν δοκή τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, προσελομένοι μέχρι δέκα, ὅπως ἂν περὶ παρόντων γένηται ή κρίσις. προσκαλεσάθωσαν δ’ τοὺς ὑποστήρους τοὺς ἀντιφωνοῦντας τοῖς στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἀλλούς, ἀν τις βουλήται ὅτε ν’ ἂν καταψηφισήται τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅς κεῖται περὶ τῶν προδότων.

834 Τοῦτω ὑπογέγραπται τῷ δόγματι ἡ καταδίκη.

Προδοσίας δὲ φλον "Ἀρχεπτόλεμος Ἰπποδάμου 'Αγρύληθεν παρών, 'Αντιφῶν Σοφίλου 'Ραμνούσιος παρὼν τούτων ἐτιμήθη τοῖς ἠρημένοισιν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ προδοσίας κατηγορεῖν τοὺς ὑγρημένους συνηγόρους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἀλλούς, ἃν τις βουλήται ὅτε γ’ ἀν καταψηφισήται τὸ δικαστήριον, περὶ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖν κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ὅς κεῖται περὶ τῶν προδότων.

1 καθ’ δ’ Dübner: ψήφισμα καθ’ δ’.
2 ἐδοξεῖ Reiske: ἐδοξαν.
3 Παλληνεύς Taylor: πελληνεύς.
4 προσελομένοι Reiske: προσελομένους (προσελόμενοι Emperius).
5 ἀρημένουs Turnebus: εἴρημένουs.
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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 Alopecè was secretary, Philostratus of Pallenè 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 Agrylè, 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 ἄλλος Turnebus: ἄλλος or ἄλλο.
7 τοῦτο Turnebus: τούτο.
8 ὦ φίλον Turnebus: ὦ φίλον.
9 τῷ οἰκία Franke: τῷ οἰκία.
10 προδόταιν Dübner: προδόταιν.
11 τῷ ἔδε δημάρχῳ Meier: τῷ ἔδε δημάρχῳ.
αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι θάψαι Ἀρχεπτόλεμον καὶ Ἀντιφῶνα Ἰθήνης, μηδὲ ὅσης Ἀθηναίοι κρατοῦσιν καὶ ἄτιμον εἶναι Ἀρχεπτόλεμον καὶ Ἀντιφῶνα καὶ γένος τὸ ἔκ τούτων, καὶ νόθους καὶ γνησίους καὶ ἐάν Β τις ποιήσηται τινα τῶν ἐξ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον καὶ Ἀντιφῶνος, ἄτιμος ἔστω ὃ ποιησάμενος. ταῦτα δὲ γράψαι ἐν στήλῃ χαλκῇ καὶ ὅτε ἄνάκειται τὰ ὑψίσματα τὰ περὶ Φρυνίχου, καὶ τούτο θέσθαι.

Β’. ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΗΣ

Ἀνδοκίδης Λεωγόρου μὲν ἦν πατρὸς τοῦ Ἀνδοκίδου τοῦ θεμένου ποτὲ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρήνην Ἀθηναίοις, τῶν δὲ δήμων δὲ Κυδαθήναιος ἡ Θορεύς, γένους εὐπατριδῶν, ὡς Ἰ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ C ἀπὸ Ἔρμον καθήκει γὰρ εἰς αὐτὸν τὸ κηρύκων γένος. διὸ καὶ προεχειρίσθη ποτὲ μετὰ Γλαῦκων σὺν ναυσὶν εἰκοσίς Κερκυραίοις βοηθήσων, διαφερόμενος πρὸς Κορινθίους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἰτιαθεῖς ἀσεβείν ώς καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς περικόψας καὶ D εἰς τὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἁμαρτών μυστήρια, [διὰ τὸ

1 ἀποφηναὶ τὴν οὐσίαν αὐτῶν Westermann: ἀποφηναὶ τε οἰκίαν ἐς (or εἰς) τὸν.
2 τις added by Blass. 3 καὶ added by Westermann.
4 ἀνάκειται τὰ Reiske: ἄν καὶ τὰ. 5 τοῦτο Reiske: τοῦτον.
6 τοῦ Ἀνδοκίδου added by Ruhnken.
7 Taylor: θορεύς (Θούριος Bergk).
8 The passage in brackets, διὰ . . . . μυστήρια, was seen by Dübner and Westermann to be a gloss on the preceding words ἁμαρτῶν μυστήρια.

a The Thirty Years’ Peace, by the terms of which Athens gave up Megara and its ports in 446–445 B.C.
b See note d below for the source of this error.
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 Corcyraeans 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


\( ^d \) 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.

\( ^e \) 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.
πρότερον ἀκόλαστον ὄντα, νύκτωρ κωμάσαντα, θραύσαν τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσ- αγγελθέντα, ἐπειδὴ ὤκ ἄδεια γεγονοῦσα, oί κατήγοροι δοῦλον ἐκδοῶναι, διαβληθήναι καὶ πρὸς τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς δευτέρας γραφῆς ὑποτεύνην γενέσθαι· Κορινθίων εἰσπεμπάντων οἱ Λεοντίνους τε καὶ Αἰγεσταίους ἄνδρας, ἵδια μελλόντων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων, νύκτωρ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἁγοράν ἸΕρμᾶς περιέκοψαν, ὡς Ἰζράτιππος φησι, προσαμαρτώνοντας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἠβουλήθην ὁ Λεωγόρας πολλοὺς δημόσιας κριθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀπέφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ μηνύσειν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας· σπουδὴν δὲ πάσαν εἰσ- Ε ενεγκάμενος ἔξευμε τοὺς περὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἁμαρτόντας, ἐν οἷς καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐμήνυσε. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους πάντας ἐλέγξατο ἐπισκόπησεν ἀπολέσθαι, τὸν δὲ πατέρα ἐρρύσατο, καὶ τοὺς δὲ πολλὰς λυσιτελήσειν αὐτὸν τῇ πόλει· καὶ οὐκ ἐφέσετο: ἤλεγξε γὰρ ὁ Λεωγόρας πολλοὺς δημόσιας κριθεὶς ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ ἀνεψιὰν οὖσαν αὐτῷ λάθρα τῶν οἰκείων ξαγαγών

1 ἔξητουν] ἔξητουν Emperius.
2 Here Westermann marks a lacuna, which he supplies from the Life of Alcibiades, chap. xviii., and the Lexicon of Photius, s.v. Ἐρμοκοπίδα, about as follows: τοὺς δράσοντας διὰ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀποκόποντας. οὐδεὶς οὖν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Ἑλλήνων ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων καυχώς διατεθέντων περί βοηθείας δε πεμπάντων 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 356
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 Hermæ 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 εἰσενεγκάμενος Reiske from Photius: ἐνεγκάμενος.
4 οὐκ added by Emperius.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

F ἔπεμψε δῶρον τῷ Κυπρίων βασιλεῖ. μέλλων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσάγεσθαι πάλιν αὐτὴν ἑξέκλεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδέθη. διαδρὰς δ᾽ ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καθ᾽ ὁν χρόνον οἱ τετρακόσιοι διείπον τὰ πράγματα· δεθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τούτων καὶ διαφυγὼν, αὖθις ὑπὸ τὴν ὀλιγαρχία, ἐξέπεσε τῆς πόλεως, τῶν τριάκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλαβόντων. οἰκήσας δὲ τὸν τῆς φυγῆς χρόνον ἐν Ὑλίδι, κατελθόντων τῶν περὶ Θρασύβουλον, καὶ αὐτὸς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. πεμφθεὶς δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ δόξας ἀδικεῖ τὸν θρόνον· ὑπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων ἐστὶν, ὡς ὁ περὶ τῆς ἐπεισοδίως λόγος καὶ Ἀπολογία πρὸς Φαίακα καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης. καὶ ἤκατο ἰδίως καὶ Λυσίου ἔτεσί που δέκα.

1 Dübner, followed by Bernardakis, marks a gap here.
3 δέκα Westermann; ὀκτὼ Taylor: ἐκατότων.

*a* 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 Phylé in December and maintained his position against two attacks by the Thirty. In May 403 Thrasybulus and his followers seized Peiraeus. In
ANDOCIDES, 834-835

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.

\[ d \] i.e. earlier as to birth.
τούτου δ᾽ ἐπώνυμός ἐστι καὶ Ἔρμης δ᾽ Ἀνδοκίδου καλούμενος, ἀνάθημα μὲν ὧν φυλής Αἰγηΐδος, ἐπικληθεὶς δ᾽ Ἀνδοκίδου διὰ τὸ πλησίον παροικῆσαι τὸν Ἀνδοκίδην. καὶ αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐχορήγησε κυκλίῳ χορῷ τῇ αὐτοῦ φυλῇ ἁγωνιζομένη διθυράμβῳ, καὶ νικήσας ἀνέθηκε τρίποδα ἐφ᾽ ὑψηλοῦ αὐτοῦ νικητῆρα Ἀνδοκίδην. ἔστι δ᾽ ἀπλοὺς καὶ ἀκατάσκευος ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀφελὴς τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.

Γ’. ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

Ἀναγιάς νῦν ἦν Κεφάλου τοῦ Δυσανίου τοῦ Κεφάλου, Συρακούσιον μὲν γένος μεταναστάτος δ᾽ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἐπιθυμία τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Περικλέους τοῦ Σανθίππου πείσαντος αὐτὸν, φίλον ὄντα καὶ ἐσπερών συν τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἣν ὑπὸ Πέλαγος ἐτυραννοῦντο. γενόμενος δ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Φιλόκλεους ἀρχηγός τοῦ μετὰ Φρασκικῆς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἐτος τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐτυραννοῦντο. γενόμενος δ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Φιλόκλεους ἀρχηγός τοῦ μετὰ Φρασκικῆς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἐτος τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐτυραννοῦντο. γενόμενος δ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Φιλόκλεους ἀρχηγός τοῦ μετὰ Φρασκικῆς κατὰ τὸ δεύτερον ἐτος τῆς ὀλυμπιάδος ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ἐτυραννοῦντο.

1 αὐτοῦ Westermann: αὐτοῦ.
2 ύψηλοῦ] ύψηλοῦ βάθρου Reiske.
3 ἀντικρυ Bernardakis: ἀντικρυς.
4 διαφέροντα Meziriacus: διαφέρων.
5 δ’ added by Westermann.
6 ὀλυμπιάδος Meursius: καὶ δευτέρας ὀλυμπιάδος.

A decree of the tribe Pandionis in which the orator
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.

459–458 B.C.

The archon in 460–459 B.C. was Phrasicleides, not Phrasicles.
καὶ ἄλλοι δύο, Ἐυθύδημος καὶ Βράχιλλος, τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη τετελευτηκότος, ὡς κοινωνήσων τοῦ κλήρου, ἐτη γεγονὼς πεντεκαίδεκα, ἐπὶ Πραξιτέ- λους ἄρχοντος, κάκει διέμεινε παιδευόμενος παρὰ Τεισία καὶ Νικία τοῖς Συρακουσίοις, κτησάμενος τ' οἰκίαν καὶ κλήρου τυχὼν ἐπολιτεύσατο ἕως Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ ᾿Αθήνησιν ἄρχοντος ἐτη ἕξηκοντα τρία. τῷ δ' ἑξῆς Καλλία ὀλυμπιάδι ἐνενηκοστῇ τὰ δευτέρα τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν συμβάντων ᾿Αθηναίοι καὶ κινήσεως γενομένης τῶν τ' ἄλλων συμμάχων καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τὴν ᾿Ιταλίαν οἰκούντων, αἰτιαθεὶς ἐξέπεσε μετ' ἄλλων τριακοσίων. τῷ δὲ ἑξῆς ἐπὶ Καλλίου τοῦ μετὰ ΚΑλεόκριτον ἄρχοντος, ἔτη ἑξήκοντα κατ-

1 Εὐθύδημος Taylor from Plato, Republic, 328 B: εὐθύδημος.  
2 Βράχιλλος Xylander: βράχιλλος.  
3 πεντεκαίδεκα] ἐξακαίδεκαν Photius.  
4 Νικία] Spengel suspects a corruption arising from Τισία.  
5 κλήρου τυχὼν Taylor from Photius: κλήρῳ λαχών.  
6 Κλεοκρίτου Taylor: Κλεάρχου.  
7 ἐξήκοντα] τριάκοντα Taylor.  
8 Καλλία] Xylander puts a gap after Καλλία; ἐπί Καλλίου Μεζιριακοῦ; ἐξής ἐναυτῷ Photius, omitting the words to οἰκούντων inclusive. Westermann doubts if the name Καλλία is correct. Bernardakis suggests as giving the proper sense τῷ δ' ἐξής ἐναυτῷ ἐπ' ἄρχοντος Καλλίου.  
9 τριακοσίων Xylander: τριών.

a 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.  
b 444–443 B.C.  
c 413–412 B.C.
LYSIAS, 835

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-

$d$ 412–411 B.C. The ninety-second Olympiad is the date of the archonship of another Callias, 406–405 B.C.

e 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.

$f$ 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.

$g$ 411–410 B.C.

$h$ Summer of 411 B.C.

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εχόντων τὴν πόλιν, διέτριβεν αὐτὸθι. τῆς δ' ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ναυμαχίας γενομένης καὶ τῶν τριάκοντα παραλαβόντων τὴν πόλιν, ἐξέπεσεν ἐπτὰ ἐτη μείνας, ἀφαιρεθεὶς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον Πολέμαρχον· αὐτὸς δὲ διαδράς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἁμφιθύρου οὐσίας, ἐν ἐφιλάσσετο ὡς ἀπολούμενος, διήγεν ἐν Μεγάροις. ἐπιθεμένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τῇ καθόδῳ, ἐπει' χρησιμώτατοι ἀπάντων ὁφθη, χρήματα τε παρασχόν δραχμᾶς δισχιλίας καὶ ἀσπίδας διακοσίας πεμφθεὶς τε σὺν Ἐρμωνί ἐπικούρους ἐμισθώσατο τριάκοσίους, δύο τ' ἐπεισε τάλαντα δοῦναι Θρασυδαίον τὸν Ἰλείον, ξένον αὐτῷ γεγονότα. ἐφ' οίς γράφαντος αὐτῷ Ὁρασυβούλου πολιτείαν μετὰ τὴν καθόδον ἐπ' ἀναρχίας τῆς πρὸ Ἐυκλείδου, ὁ μὲν δήμος ἐκύρωσε τὴν δωρεάν, ἀπενεγκαμένου δ' Ἀρχίνου γραφήν παρα-836 νόμων διὰ τὸ ἀπροβούλευτον εἰσαχθῆναι, ἐάλω τὸ ψήφισμα· καὶ οὕτως ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς πολιτείας τὸν λουπὸν ὄψησε χρόνον ἰσοτελῆς ὡν, καὶ ἐτελέυτησεν αὐτόθι ὁγδοήκοντα τρία ἐτη βιοῦ ἥ ὡς των ἔξ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ἥ ὡς των ὑπὲρ ὁγδοήκοντα,

1 ἐπει] ἐπειτα Franke; ἐκεὶ Westermann; Bernardakis would omit ἐπει.
3 Ὁρασυβαῖον Photius: ὑρασύλαιον.

a 405 B.C. The Athenian fleet was destroyed by the Lacedaemonians, which virtually ended the Peloponnesian War.
b 404 B.C.
C See Lysias, xii. (Against Eratosthenes) 15.
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

a Thrasybulus 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.

b The Athenians termed any period an “anarchy” in which no archon could be elected because of party strife.

c 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) ἰδὼν Δημοσθένη μειράκιον οὖντα. γεννηθήναι δὲ 
phasis ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἄρχοντος.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι τετρακόσιοι εἰκοσιπέντε
toúτων γνησίους φασών οἱ περὶ Διονύσιον καὶ
Καυκίλιον εἶναι διακοσίους τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς, ἐν
οἷς δὲς μόνον ἡττήσθαι λέγεται. ἔστι δ' αὐτοῦ
καὶ δ' ύπέρ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ἐγράφατο Ἀρχίνος,

Β τὴν ποιμείαν αὐτοῦ περιέλων, καὶ κατὰ τῶν
tριάκοντα ἐτερος. ἐγένετο δὲ πιθανῶτατος καὶ
βραχύτατος, τοῖς ἰδιώταις τοὺς πολλοὺς λόγους
ἐκδοοῦσ. εἰσὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Τέχναι ρητορικαὶ πεποιη-
méναι καὶ Δημηγορίαι, Ἕπιστολαι τε καὶ Ἐγκώμια,
καὶ Ἐπιτάφιοι καὶ Ερωτικοὶ καὶ Σωκράτους
Ἀπολογία ἐστοχασμένῃ τῶν δικαστῶν. δοκεῖ δὲ
κατὰ τὴν λέξιν εὐκολος εἶναι, δυσμίμητος ὠν.
Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας λόγῳ ἐραστὴν
αὐτὸν φησι γεγονέναι Μετανείρας, ὁμοδούλου τῇ
Νεαίρᾳ: ὑστερον δ' ἐγνημε Βραχύλλου τοῦ ἄδελφου
θυγατέρα. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν

C τῷ Φαιδρῷ ὡς δεινοτάτου εἰπέων καὶ Ἰσοκράτους
προσβυτέρου. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα
Φιλίσκος ὃ Ἰσοκράτους μὲν γνώριμος ἐταῖρος δὲ

1 καὶ τρεῖς Dübner from Photius: τρία ἐτη codex F;
lacking in the others.
2 ὁ Taylor: ὁν.
3 ὃ added by Taylor.
4 αὐτοῦ Taylor: αὐτῷ.
5 περιέλων 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-
κράτην) 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 ὃς ἀναγγίνωσκόμενον μὲν εὖκολον νομίζεσθαι χαλεπὸν δὲ εὐρίσκεσθαι ζηλούν πειρωμένοι, "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 a.
Λυσίου, δι’ οὗ φανερὸν ὡς προέλαβε τοὺς ἔτεσιν, δι’ ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος εἰρημένων ἀποδείκνυται εἶχε δ’ οὕτως:

νῦν δ’ Ἀκαλλιόπης2 θύγατερ, πολυηγόρε Φρόντι, δείξεις εἰ τι φρονεῖς καὶ τι περισσόν εἶχεις τὸν γὰρ ἐς ἀλλο σχῆμα μεθαρμοσθέντα καὶ ἄλλοις ἐν κόσμῳ διὰ βίου σῶμα λαβόνθ’ ἐτερον, δεὶ σ’ ἀρετής κήρυκα τεκείν τινα Δύσιδα ὑμεῖν,3 δύντα4 κατὰ φθιμένων καὶ ζόφον5 ἀθάνατον ὅς τὸ τ’ ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δείξει6 φιλέταιρον ἀπασι, καὶ τὴν τοῦ φθιμένου πᾶσι βροτοῖς ἀρετήν.

συνέγραψε δὲ λόγω7 καὶ Ἰφικράτει, τὸν μὲν πρὸς Ἀρμόδιον, τὸν δὲ προδοσίας κρίνοντι Τιμόθεου καὶ ἀμφοτέροις8 ἐνίκα: ἀναδεξαμένου δ’ Ἰφικράτους τὰς τοῦ Τιμοθέου πράξεις, ταῖς εὐθύναις ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῆς προδοσίας αἰτίαν ἀπολογεῖται διὰ τοῦ Λυσίου λόγου καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελύθη, δ’ ἔτεροι ἀμφοτέροις, διαλλαγέντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταλύσαι Διονύσιον.


— Lysis, because the word Lysias is inadmissible in the Greek metre. Wyttenbach suggests that the verses were really written in honour of Lysis the Pythagorean.

— 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 368
LYSIAS, 836

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 Calliopé'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.

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.

Only a fragment (Or. xxxiii.) of this is extant.
᾿Ισοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἦν παῖς τοῦ Ῥιχιέως1 τῶν μετρίων πολιτῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιοὺς κεκτημένου καὶ εὔπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τούτων, ὥς καὶ χορηγῆσαι καὶ παιδεύσαι τοὺς νῦν ἢσαν γὰρ αὐτῶ καὶ ἀλλοι. Τελέσιππος καὶ Διόμνηστος· ἦν δὲ καὶ θυγάτριον· ὅθεν εἰς τοὺς αὐλους κεκωμών δηται ὑπ᾽ Ῥιστοφάνους καὶ Στράττιδος. γενόμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁγδοηκοστὴν ἔκτην ὀλυμπιάδα Λυσιμάχου Μυρρινουσίου ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μὲν Λυσίου2 δυσὶ καὶ εἰκοσιν ἔτεσι, πρεσβύτερος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἐπτά, παῖς μὲν ὦν ἐπαιδεύσετο οὐδὲνος ἣττον Ἀθηναίων, ἀκροώμενος Ἀριδικοῦ τοῦ Κείου3 καὶ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίου καὶ Τεισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ Θηραμένου τοῦ ῥήτορος τοῦ καὶ συλλαμβανομένου ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντων καὶ φυγόντος ἐπὶ τὴν Βουλαίαν Ἐστίαν, ἀπάντων καταπεπληγμένων, μόνος ἀνέστη βοηθῆσαι καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐσίγησε κατ’ ἀρχάς, ἔπειτα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παρῃτήθη, εἰπόντος ὅτι ἄρα, εἰπόντος ὅτι ἀφοῦ παρητήθη, εἰπόντος ὅτι ἀρχάς, ἐπί τῶν τριάκοντων καὶ φυγόντων καὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέστη βοηθῆσαι, εἰ τις τῶν φίλων ἀπολαύσει τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ ἐκείνου τινὰς ὅσα τέχνας αὐτῶ φασό συμπραγματεύσα-
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.
σθαί ἕνικα ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοισ ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο, αἱ ἐπὶ ἐπιγεγραμμέναι Βότωνος. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἤνδρωθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχετο ἱσχνοφωνός τ’ ὦν καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρῴα ἀποβεβληκός ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ ἀλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκός φαίνεται, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς ’Ἀντιδόσεως. διατριβὴν 

Β δὲ συστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς ᾿Αντιδόσεως. διατριβὴν δὲ συστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς ᾿Αντιδόσεως. διατριβὴν ἐπεὶ ἠνδρώθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχετο ἱσχνοφωνός τ’ ὦν καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρῷα ἀποβεβληκός ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ ἀλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκός φαίνεται, ἕνα δὲ μόνον εἰπὼν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς ’Ἀντιδόσεως. διατριβὴν 

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Β δὲ συστησάμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ τὸν περὶ τῆς ᾿Αντιδόσεως. διατριβὴν
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 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 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 trierarch.

His pupils numbered about one hundred, including among many others Timotheüs, son of Conon, with

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*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.
πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπῆλθε, συντιθεὶς τὰς πρὸς ᾿Αθη-
ναῖους ύπὸ Τιμοθέου πεμπομένας ἐπιστολάς· ὅθεν ἐδωρήσατο αὐτῷ τάλαντον τῶν ἀπὸ Σάμου περι-
γευμένων. ἐμαθήτευσε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὁ Χῖος, καὶ ᾿Εφορος ὁ Κυμαῖος καὶ ᾿Ασκληπιάδης ὁ τὰ τραγῳδούμενα συγγράψας καὶ Θεοδέκτας ὁ Φασλήτης ὁ τὰς τραγῳδιὰς ύστερον γράψας, ὦν ἐστὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐπὶ τὴν Κυαμῖτιν πορευουμένοις κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν ὁδὸν ἐπὶ ʼΕλευσόνα, τὰ νῦν κατ-
ερημμέμενον ἐνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιη-
τῶν ἀνέστησαν̆ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὄν ὁμηρός ὁ ποιητὴς σώζεται μόνος· Δεωδάμας τ’ ᾿Αθηναῖος καὶ Λά-
κρυτος ὁ νομοθέτης ᾿Αθηναῖος, ὃς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ καὶ ᾿Υπερείδης καὶ ᾿Ισαῖος. καὶ Δημοσθένη ὁ ἐτι ῥητορεύοντι φασὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς προσελθεῖν αὐτῷ, καὶ χιλίας μὲν ἃς εἰσεπράττετο οὐκ ἔχειν παρασχεῖν, διακοσίας δὲ δώσειν, ἐφ’ ὦ τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἀκμαθεῖν τοῦ δ’ ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ὦ Δημόσθενε, τὴν πραγματείαν ὥσπερ τοὺς καλοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅλους πωλοῦμεν, οὕτω κἀγώ σοι, εἰ βούλοι μαθητεύειν, ὀλόκληρον ἀπο-
δώσομαι τῇ τέχνῃ.

’Ετελεύτα δ’ ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος, ἀπαγγελ-
θεντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν οὖ καὶ ὆ν τῇ Ἰπποκράτους

1 καὶ] Ξενοφών ὁ Γρύλλου καὶ Photius.
3 ἀνέστησαν Westermann: ἀνέστησης.
4 Δεωδάμας Westermann and inscriptions; cf. Kirchner, Prosp. Att.; Δασδάμας Photius: Δεωδάμου.
5 Dübner: Δημοσθένην or Δημοσθένης.
6 μὲν ἃς Coraes: μὲν ἃς μόνας.
7 ἀκμαθεῖν Photius: ἀκμάθη.
8 Χαιρώνδου Meursius: χερωνίδου.
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.\textsuperscript{a} Pupils of his were also Theopompus \textsuperscript{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 \textsuperscript{c} after hearing in the palaestra of Hippocrates the news of

\textsuperscript{a} 365 B.C.
\textsuperscript{b} The text of Photius reads Xenophon the son of Gryllus and Theopompus.
\textsuperscript{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.
ISOCRATES, 837–838

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,\(^b\)
Pelops the Tantalid to Pisa came,\(^c\)
Once Sidon's city Cadmus having left.\(^d\)

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.\(^e\) A year (or, as some say, four years) before his end he wrote the Panathenaic Oration;\(^f\) and the Festival Oration he composed ten (but some say fifteen) years before his death. This, they say, he derived from the speeches of Gorgias of Leontini and Lysias. The speech on the Exchange of Property\(^g\) 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


\(^{c}\) *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.

\(^{f}\) In L.C.L. Isocrates, vol. ii. pp. 368 ff.

\(^{g}\) *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.
ἐκ Πλαθάνης τῆς Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ποιητός, τῶν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τριῶν παιδῶν ὁ νεώτατος. εὐπόρησε δ’ ἱκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἀργύριον εἰσπράττων τοὺς γνωρίμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ. Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως, ὅς ἦν ύιός Εὐαγόρου, εἰκοσι πάλαιντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου. ἐφ’ οἷς φθονηθεῖς τρις προεβλήθη γριφ- 

ἀρχεῖν, καὶ δ’ ἀσθένειαν σκηψάμενος διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς παρητῆσατο, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑποστὰς Αὐτὸς ἔλεγον οὐκ ὀλίγα. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πατέρα ὡς οὐδὲν ἀλλ’ ἂν ἄνδραποδον συνέπεμψε τῷ παιδίῳ τοιγαροῦν ἤγησαν ἄπιθι: δύο γὰρ ἑνὸς ἕξεις ἀνδράποδα. ἠγωνίσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Μαυσώλῳ τεθέντα ἀγὼν: τὸ δ’ ἐγκώμιον οὐ σῶζεται. ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ Εἰλένην ἐγκώμιον καὶ Ἀρεοπαγιτικὸν. ἐξελθεῖν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἐναταῖόν φασί σίτων ἀποσχόμενον, οἱ δὲ τεταρταῖον ἀμα ταῖς ταφαῖς τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ πεσόντων. συνέγραψε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς ᾿Αφαρεύς λόγους. ἐτάφη δὲ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας πλησίον Κυνοσάργος ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐν Ἀριστερὰ ἄνω πατήρ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Τεόδωρος ἀδελφὴ τηθεὶς τοῦ ῥήτορος ᾿Ανακώ καὶ ὁ ποιητὸς Αὐτὸς Ὁμήρου καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ Ζωκράτης.

1 εὐπόρησε δ’ Coraes with Photius: εὐπόρησεν.  
2 παρὰ Coraes with Photius: τὰ παρὰ.  
3 τριήραρχεῖν Photius: τριήραρχος Turnebus: τριήρας.  
4 καὶ δῖς Meziriacus with Photius: καὶ τὸ δῖς.  
5 ὑποστὰς Coraes: ἀναστὰς.  
6 ἐν added by Turnebus.  
7 αὐτὸς Reiske: ὁ νιός.
ISOCRATES, 838

Aphareus, the youngest of the three sons of Plathanê, 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.

Maussolus, 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.
Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν ξύνεσίν’ τε προτιμῶν ᾿Ισοκράτους etka τήνδ’ ἀνέθηκε θεαῖς.

Λεωχάρους ἔργον.

Φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ λόγοι ἑξήκοντα, ὧν εἰσὶ γνήσιοι κατὰ μὲν Διονύσιον εἰκοσιπέντε κατὰ δὲ Καικίλιον εἰκοσιοκτώ, οἱ δ’ ἄλλοι κατεψευσμένοι. εἶχε δ’ ἄλλοτρῶς πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, ὡς ἀφικομένων ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τριῶν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοὺς μὲν δύο κατασχεῖν τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπολῦσαι, φάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἥξειν: νῦν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ θέατρον εἶναι ἐν ἀκροατηρίῳ. εἰώθει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνωρίμους αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν δέκα μνῶν διδάσκει, τῷ δ’ αὐτὸν διδάξαντι τόλμαν καὶ εὐφωνίαν δώσειν

1 ᾿Ανακοῦς υίὸς Turnebus: ἀνακούσιος.
2 ᾿Αφαρεύς . . . τοῦ ποιητοῦ ᾿Αφαρέως bracketed by Dübner; Bernardakis marks a lacuna after ᾿Αφαρέως.
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

3 κιων Bernardakis: κριων (κιων Turnebus).
4 ξύνεσιν Dübner: ξενίην.
5 ἀκρωτηρίῳ Wolf: ἀκρωτηρίῳ. 

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δεκακισχιλίας. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐρόμενον διὰ τί οὐκ ὃν αὐτὸς ἱκανὸς ἄλλους ποιεῖ, εἰπεν ὅτι καὶ αἳ ἀκόναι αὐταὶ μὲν τέμενε1 οὐ δύνανται τὸν δὲ 

F σίδηρον τμητικόν ποιοῦσιν. εἰτὶ δ᾽ οἳ καὶ τέχνας αὐτὸν λέγουσιν συγγεγραφέναι, οἳ δ᾽ οὐ μεθόδῳ ἄλλ᾽ ἀσκήσει χρῆσασθαι. πολίτην δ᾽ οὐδέποτ' εἰσέπραξε μισθόν. προσέτατε δὲ τοῖς γνωρίμοις εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαντῶσιν ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἐλυπήθη δὲ καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τῷ Σωκράτους θανάτῳ καὶ μελανειμονῶν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προῆλθε. πάλιν δ᾽ ἐρόμενον τινὸς αὐτὸν τί ῥητορική, εἶπε "τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν." ἐστιώμενος δὲ ποτὲ παρὰ Νικοκρέοντι τῷ Κύπρου τυράννῳ, προτρεπομένων αὐτὸν τῶν παρόντων διαλεξῆσθαι, ἐφή "οἷς μὲν ἐγὼ δεινὸς οὐχ ὁ νῦν καιρός, οἷς δ᾽ ὁ νῦν καιρός οὐκ ἐγὼ δεινός." Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν τραγικὸν θεασάμενον ἐρωτικῶς παιδί, εἶπεν "οὐ μόνον δεὶ,

839 Σοφόκλεις, τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς. τοῦ δὲ Κυμαίου Ἑφόρου ἀπράκτου τῆς σχολῆς ἔξελθόντος καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Δημοφίλου πεμφθέντος ἐπὶ δευτέρῳ μισθῷ, παίζον εἴδορον2 αὐτῶν ἐκάλεσε· ἐσπούδασε μέντοι ἱκανῶς περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς χρείας αὐτῶς ὑπεθήκατο. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερῆς, ὡς ὑποπάστῳ παρειλκυσμένων ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ χρῆσθαι, κρόκῳ διάβροχον ἔχοντα τὸ

1 Coraes from Photius: τεμεῖν.
2 Δίφορον Amyot: δίφρον.

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a Cf. Moralia, 613 A.

b Attributed to Pericles by Plutarch, Life of Pericles, chap. viii., and Cicero, De Officiis, i. 40. 144.

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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 amatorily following a boy, he said, "Sophocles, we must not only keep our hands to ourselves, but our eyes as well." And when Ephorus of Cumae 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

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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.
προσκεφάλαιον. καὶ νέον μὲν ὄντα μὴ γῆμαι, 
Β γηράσαντα δ᾽ ἐταίρα συνεῖναι ἦ ὄνομα ἦν Λαγίσκη,
ἐξ ὧς ἐσχε θυγάτριον δὲ γενόμενον ἐτών δώδεκα πρὸ 
γάμων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἔπειτα Πλαθάνη τὴν Ἴππίου 
τοῦ ῥήτορος γυναῖκα ἣγάγεται ἡ ὄνομα ἦν Λαγίσκη,
ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀφαρέα ὃς προείρηται ἑποιήσατο, ὃς ὑπὲρ 
eικόνα αὐτοῦ χαλκῆν ἀνέθηκε πρὸς τῷ Ὄλυμπιείῳ
ἐπὶ κίονος καὶ ἐπέγραψεν

Ἰσοκράτους Ὅφαρεὺς πατρὸς εἰκόνα τῇν
ἀνέθηκε

Ζηνί, θεοῦ τε σεβῶν καὶ γονέων ἀρετήν.

ὁ λέγεται δὲ καὶ κελητίσαι1 ἐτὶ παῖς ὄν· ἀνάκειται 
γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦς ἐν τῇ σφαιρίστρᾳ τῶν
Ἀρρηφόρων κελητίζων2 ἐτὶ παῖς ὄν, ὡς εἰπὼν 
tines. δύο δὲ ἐν ἀπαντὶ τῷ βίῳ συνέστησαν αὐτῷ 
ἀγώνες· πρῶτος μὲν εἰς ἀντίδοσιν προκαλεσα- 
μένου αὐτὸν Μεγακλείδου, πρὸς ὃν οὐκ ἀπήντησε 
διὰ νόσου, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν πέμψας Ὅφαρεὰ ἐνίκησε· 
δεύτερος δὲ Λυσιμάχου αὐτὸν προκαλεσαμένου περὶ 
τριηραρχίας εἰς ἀντίδοσιν· ἱπτηθεὶς δὲ τῇ τριη- 
αρχίαν ὑπέστη. ἦν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ γραπτὴ εἰκὼν ἐν 
τῷ Πομπείῳ. ὁ δὲ Ὅφαρεὺς συνέγραψε μὲν λόγους
ἲν πολλοὺς δέ, δικανικοὺς τε καὶ συμβουλευτικοὺς· 
ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ τραγῳδίας περὶ ἐπτᾶ καὶ τριάκοντα,

1 Ὅλυμπιείῳ Wyttenbach: ὀλυμπίῳ ὡς.
2 κελητίσαι Turnebus: κερητίσαι.
3 κελητίζων Turnebus: κερητίζων.

a 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.
pillow wet with saffron. And when he was young he
did not marry, but in his old age he kept a mistress
named Lagiscê, by whom he had a daughter who died
unmarried at twelve years of age. Then he married
the daughter of the orator Hippias, Plathanê, 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 Olympieium 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 ball-
ground 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 per-
formed 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 trage-
dies, but the authorship of two of them is contested.

\[a\] This seems to have been situated near the north-west wall
of the Acropolis, west of the Erechtheum: cf. Judeich, Topo-
graphie von Athen\(^2\), p. 283. Two maidens were chosen each
year to carry the peplos at the Panathenaic festival and were
called Arrephoroi.

\[b\] See note on 837 F.

\[c\] The Pompeium was just inside the Dipylon gate, at
which point the processions began. It was the storehouse
for objects used in processions.

\[d\] See note on 837 F.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΙΑ " Χρησμο- 

Δ ών ἀντιλέγονται δύο. ἀρξάμενοι δ’ ἀπὸ Λυσι- 

(839) στάτου διδάσκειν ἄχρι Σωσικέλεα ἐν ἔτεσιν 

eἰκοσικτῶν διδασκαλίας ἀστικὰς καθήκεν ἐξ καὶ 

dίς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεῖς καὶ δι’ ἐτέρων 

ἐτέρας δύο Ἀραίκας. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν 

῾Ισοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελ-

φῆς Ἄνακοῦς εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκρόπολι ὧν 

ἡ τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ὑγίεια καὶ καὶ τῆς 

῾Ανακοῦς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεῖς καὶ δι’ ἑτέρων 

ἐτέρας δύο Ληναϊκὰς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν 

῾Ισοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελ-

φῆς Ἄνακοῦς εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκρόπολι ὧν 

ἡ τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ὑγίεια καὶ καὶ τῆς 

῾Ανακοῦς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεῖς καὶ δι’ ἑτέρων 

ἐτέρας δύο Ληναϊκὰς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν 

῾Ισοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελ-

φῆς Ἄνακοῦς εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκρόπολι ὧν 

ἡ τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ὑγίεια καὶ καὶ τῆς 

῾Ανακοῦς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεῖς καὶ δι’ ἑτέρων 

ἐτέρας δύο Ληναϊκὰς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν 

῾Ισοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελ-

φῆς Ἄνακοῦς εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκρόπολι ὧν 

ἡ τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ὑγίεια καὶ καὶ τῆς 

῾Ανακοῦς ἐνίκησε διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεῖς καὶ δι’ ἑτέρων 

ἐτέρας δύο Ληναϊκὰς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν 

῾Ισοκράτους καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελ-

φῆς Ἄνακοῦς εἰκόνες ἀνέκειντο ἐν ἀκρόπολι ὧν 

η τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ὑγίεια καὶ καὶ τῆς 

῾Ανακοῦς οὐ σῴζεται. ἔσχε δε δύο γυναῖκες, Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐκ Κοίνου Σωσι-

κλέα δ’ ἐκ Λυσίου. 

Ε’. ἸΣΑΙΟΣ 

Ε Ὂ Ἰσαῖος Χαλκιδευς μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, παραγενό-


-μενος δ’ εἰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ σχολάσας. . . . Λυσία 

κατὰ τε τὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἁρμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς 

πράγμασι δεινότητα, ὥστ’ εἰ μή τις ἐμπειρὸς πάνω 

τοῦ χαρακτῆρος τῶν ἄνδρῶν εὑη, οὐκ ἂν διαγνοῖ 

1 Ἄνακοῦς Xylander: νακούς. 

2 Κοίνου Reiske: Κοινοὺς. 

3 Σωσικλέα Turnebus: οὐσικλέα (Λυσικλέα Dübner). 

4 σχολάσας] Bernardakis, following Westermann and 

Düblner, marks a gap to be filled with the name of Isoerates 

and other words, e.g. Ἰσοκράτει, φαίνεται ἀκολούθησας Λυσία 

(or ζηλήσας Λυσία). 

a 369–368 B.C. 

b 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. 

d 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 the characters of the two men, he could not easily tell to which of the 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 Aphares are recorded in an inscription, I.G. ii. 2325 b (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.

Cf. Dion. Hal. De Isaeo Iudicium, 2 χαρακτῆρα δὲ Λυσίου κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐζήλωσε, "he emulated in the highest degree the character of Lysias."
πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων ῥᾴδιως ὁποτέρου τῶν ῥητόρων εἰσίν. ἦκμασε δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλε-μον, ὡς ἐστὶ τεκμήριασθαι ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Φιλίππου ἀρχῆς παρέτεινε. καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, ἀποστὰς τῆς σχολῆς, ἐπὶ δραχμαῖς μυρίαις: διὸ καὶ μάλιστα ἐπιφανὴς ἐγένετο. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς λόγους συνέτατε τῷ Δημοσθένει, ὡς τινὲς εἶπον. καταλέλοιπε δὲ λόγους ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρας, ὥν εἰσὶ γνήσιοι πεντήκοντα, καὶ ἰδίαις τέχνας. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ σχηματίζειν ἦρξατο καὶ τρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν τὴν διάνοιαν· δὲ μάλιστα μεμίμηται Δημοσθένης. μνημονεύει δ' αὐτοῦ Θεόπομπος ὁ κωμικὸς ἐν τῷ Θησεῖ.

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§. ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ

Αἰσχίνης Ἀτρομήτου, φυγόντος μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα συγκαταγαγόντος δὲ τὸν δήμον, καὶ Γλαυκοθέας· τῶν δὲ δήμων Κοθωκίδης, οὔτε κατὰ γένος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν οὔτε κατὰ περιουσίαν χρημά-των. νέος δ' ὃν καὶ ἔρρωμένος τῷ σώματι περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια ἐπόνει· λαμπρόφωνος δ' ὃν μετὰ ταῦτα τραγῳδίαν ἦσκησεν· ὡς δὲ Δημοσθένης φησίν, ὑπογραμματεύων καὶ τριταγωνιστῶν Ἀριστοδήμω

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a See below, Demosthenes, 844 b.
b Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., ii. p. 499, interprets this as referring to figures of thought (construing τὴν διάνοιαν with σχηματίζειν). Cf. 835 B supra ἀσχημάτιστος of Andocides.
d A catalogue of the tribe Oeneis, I.G.2 2408, gives his full name: Ἀτρόμητος Αἰσχίνου Κοθωκίδης. It gives also the name of Aeschines' son Ἀτρόμητος.
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.
ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίους διετέλει, ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ σχολῆς ἐν ταῖς παλαιᾶς τραγῳδίας. καὶ ἔπει παῖς ὃν ἐδίδασκε γράμματα σὺν τῷ πατρί, καὶ μειράκιον ὃν ἐστρατεύετο ἐν τοῖς περιπόλοις. ἀκροατὴς δὲ γενόμενος ὡς μὲν τινὲς λέγουσιν Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὡς δὲ Καυκίλιος Λεωδάμαντος, καὶ πολιτεύμενος οὐκ ἀφανῶς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας μερίδος τοῖς περὶ Δημοσθένη, ἐπρέσβευσεν ἄλλας τε πρεσβείας πολλὰς καὶ πρὸς Φιλίππου ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης: ἐφ' ὃ κατηγορηθή ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους ὡς ἀνηρημένου τοῦ Φωκέων ἐθνοῦς, ἔτι δ' ὡς πόλεμον ἔξαφσας, ἦνικα πυλαγόρας ᾧ ἔρεθο 'Ἀμφικτύονι πρὸς 'Ἀμφισσεῖς τοὺς τῶν λιμένα ἐργαζόμενον: ἐξ' οὗ συνέβη τοῖς 'Ἀμφικτύονας Φιλίττῳ προσφυγεῖν, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύνου συνεργούμενον ἐπιθέσαντο τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα λαβέν: ἀλλὰ συνειπόντος αὐτῷ ἐν Εὐβούλου τοῦ Σπυνθάρου Προβαλουσίου δημαγωγοῦντος, τριάκοντα ψήφοις ἀπέφυγεν. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ συγγράψαι μὲν τοὺς ῥήτορας τοὺς λόγους, ἐμ-

1 περιπόλουs Hemsterhuis from Aeschines, False Legation, § 167: πολλοῖς.
2 κατηγορηθῆ Reiske from Photius: κατηγορηθεῖς.
3 ὡς added by Dübner.
4 τοὺς... ἐργαζόμενον Wolf: καὶ (ὡς Emperius) τὸν λιμένα ἐργαζόμενον.
5 Προβαλουσίου] Προβαλουσίου Photius; Προβαλεισίου Westermann; cf. Demosthenes, lix. (Against Neaera) 48, 123.

α 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 Acting 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 Demosthenes as an opprobrious epithet and it is applied in antiquity 390.
AESCHINES, 840

Dionysiac festivals,\textsuperscript{a} repeating the old tragedies \textsuperscript{b} 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,\textsuperscript{c} 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.\textsuperscript{d} 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 spoke publicly in his behalf, 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 ἀδοκιμώτατος τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ τάξει καταριθμοῖμενος.

\textsuperscript{b} "Old tragedies" are those which had been performed in Athens before.

\textsuperscript{a} But see below, 840 \textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{d} 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.
ποδὼν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειαν, μηκέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελθεῖν. χρόνῳ δ᾽ ὑστερον, Φιλίππου μὲν τετελευτηκότος Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ διαβαίνοντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγράφατο Κτησιφῶντα παρανόμων ἐπὶ ταῖς Δημοσθένους τιμαίς· οὐ μεταλαβὼν δὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν Ρόδον, χιλίας δραχμὰς υπὲρ τῆς ἡπτῆς οὐ βουληθείς Δ καταθέσθαι. οἱ δ᾽ ἀτιμίας αὐτῶ προστιμηθήναι λέγουσιν οὐ θέλοντι ἐξελθεῖν τῇς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρου. τοῦ δὲ τετελευτηκότος ταραχῆς οὖσης, ἀπάρας εἰς τὴν Ρόδον ἐνταῦθα σχολὴν καταστησάμενος ἐδίδασκεν. ανέγνω τε τοὺς Ἄλεξανδροὺς τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος λόγον ἐπιδεικνύμενοι· θαυμαζόντων δὲ πάντων εἰ ταῦτ᾽ Ε εἰπὼν ἡττήθη "οὐκ ἂν," ἐφη, "ἐθαυμάζετε, Ἀλεξάνδροι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντες ἀκούσατε." σχολὴν τ᾽ ἐκεῖ προσκατέλιπε, τὸ Ῥοδικικὸν διδασκαλεῖον κληθέν. ἔπειτα πλεύσας ἐκ τῆς Σάμου καὶ διατρίβων ἐπὶ τῆς νῆσου ὀλίγον ὡστερον ἔτελεύτησεν. ἔγενετο δὲ εὑφώνος, ὡς δῆλον οἷο τοῦ φησι Δημοσθένης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δημοχάρους λόγου. Φέρονται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ λόγοι τέσσαρες, τε κατὰ Τιμάρχου καὶ τῆς Παραπρεσβείας καὶ τῆς Κτησιφῶντος, οἱ καὶ μόνοι εἰσὶ γνήσιοι. ο γὰρ ἐπιγραφόμενος Δηλιακὸς ὄνομα ἐστίν Ἀἰσχίνου· ἀπεδείχθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ 1 τὴν περὶ Δübner: τοῦ περὶ.

1 τὴν περὶ Dübner: τοῦ περὶ.

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. 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. 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 and from the oration of Demochares.

Four orations are current under his name: that Against Timarchus, that On the False Legation, and that Against Ctesiphon, and these alone are genuine, since the one entitled the 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.

Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 259, 308.
In L.C.L. Aeschines, pp. 15 ff.
Ibid. pp. 303 ff.
τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ συνταθείς συνήγορος· οὐ μὴν εἶπε τὸν λόγον· ἔχειροτονήθη γὰρ Ἰππείδης ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ὡς Φιλοχάρης ἄκυρω· ἐπίγγειλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Ταμύναις νίκην πρῶτος 'Αθηναίοις, ἐφ᾽ ὧ καὶ ἐστεφανώθη τὸ δεύτερον.3

Οἱ δὲ εἶπον μηδὲ μαθητεύσαι τις τὸν Αίσχύνην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραμματείας ἀρθῆναι ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τότε διάγοντα· πρῶτον δὲ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατ᾽ Φιλίππον, εὐδοκίμησαντά τε πρεσβευτὴν χειροτονηθῆναι προς Ἀρκάδας· πρὸς οὓς ἀφικόμενον συντῆσαι τοὺς μυρίους ἐπὶ Φιλίππον. ἐγράψατο δὲ καὶ Τύμαρχον ἐταιρήσεως· δὲ δ᾽ ἐκλιπὼν τὸν άγώνα αὐτὸν ἀνήρτησε, ὡς ποὺ φησι Δημοσθένης. ἔχειροτονήθη δὲ πρεσβευτὴς ὡς Φιλίππον μετὰ Κτησιφῶντα καὶ Δημοσθένους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐν ἣ ἄμεινον τὸν Δημοσθένους ἠνέχθη· τὸ δὲ δέκατος δέκατος ἐν ἦ ἄμεινον τὴν εἰρήνην, κριθεὶς ἀπέφυγεν, ὡς προ-eιρήται.

Z'. ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

Λυκούργος πατρὸς μὲν ἤν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Λυκούργου, ὃν οἱ τριάκοντα τύραννοι ἀπέκτειναν, αἰτίου αὐτῶ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως γενομένου Ἀριστο-
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 Aristophanes, xvi. (On the Crown) p. 271, 134. Demosthenes, xix. (On the False Legation) 149.

\(^a\) Ibid. 2 and 285.

\(^b\) Aeschines, On the False Legation, 178.
δήμου Βατήθεν, δει και ἐλληνοταμίας γενόμενος ἔφυγεν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ· τῶν δήμων δὲ Βούταδης, γένους τοῦ τῶν Ἑτεοβουτάδων, ἀκροατής δὲ γενόμενος Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰ πρώτα ἐφιλοσόφησεν· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος γνώριμος γενόμενος ἐπολιτεύσατο ἐπιφανῶς, καὶ λέγων καὶ πράττων καὶ δὴ πιστευσάμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων· ταμίας γὰρ ἐγένετο ἐπὶ τρεῖς πενταετηρίδαις ταλάντων μυρίων τετρακισχιλίων, ἢ ὥς τινες μυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων ἕξακοσίων πεντήκοντα, καὶ ὁ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῶν ψηφιζόμενος Στρατοκλῆς ὁ ῥήτωρ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἱρεθεὶς αὐτός, ἐπειτα τῶν φιλῶν ἐπηγαίφαμένος τινα, αὐτὸς ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διοίκησιν διὰ τὸ φθάσαι νόμον εἰσενεγκεῖν, μὴ πλείω πέντε ἐτῶν διέπειν τῶν χειροτονηθέντα ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, ἀεί τ᾽ ἐφεστὼς τοῖς ἔργοις διετέλεσε, καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν ψηφιζόμενος τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν χειροτονηθεὶς πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ τριήρεις παρεσκεύασε τῷ δήμῳ τετρακόσια, καὶ τὸ ἐν Λυκείῳ γυμνάσιον ἐφεστὼς τοῖς ἔργοις διετέλεσε, καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν χειροτονηθεὶς πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπηνώρθωσε, καὶ τριήρεις παρεσκεύασε τῷ δήμῳ τετρακόσια, καὶ τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον ἐπιστατῶν ἐπετέλεσε.

1 Λυκείων Χυλάνδρος: λυκίων.
2 ἐπετέλεσε the Turin editors from Moralia, 852 c: ἐτελεύτησε.

a The Hellenotamiae were a board of ten members who collected and administered the tribute paid to Athens by the members of the Delian Confederacy.

b 338–326 B.C. 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 theoretic 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.
καταθήκῃ παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διακόσια πεντήκοντα
tάλαντα ἐφύλαξε, πομπεῖά τε χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ τῇ
pόλει κατασκεύασε καὶ νίκας χρυσᾶς. πολλά δ’
ημέραν παραλαβὼν ἐξετέλεσε καὶ νεωσοίκους καὶ
tὴν σκευοθήκην. καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παναθηναϊκῷ
tὴν κρηπίδα περιέθηκεν, ἐξεργασάμενος τούτο τε
cαὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὀμαλὴν ποιῆσαι, Ξενίου τινὸς,
ὅς ἐκέκτητο τούτο τὸ χωρίον, ἀνέντος τῇ πόλει,
προεῖπαντος αὐτῷ χαρίσασθαι Λυκούργου. ⁴

Ε Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ τῶν
κακούργων τὴν σύλληψιν, οὕς ἐξήλασεν ἄπαντας,
ὡς καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐνίους λέγεω Λυκούργον οὗ
μέλαιν ἄλλαθανάτω ⁵ χρίωντα τὸν κάλαμον κατὰ
tῶν πονηρῶν, οὗτοι συγγράφειν. θεῖν ἐξαυτηθέντα
αὐτὸν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως δήμος οὗ
προήκατο. καθ’ ὅν δὲ χρόνον ἐπολεμεῖ Φίλιππος
πρὸς Ἄθηναίους τὸν δεύτερον πόλεμον, ἐπρέσβευε
μετὰ Πολυεύκτον καὶ Δημοσθένους εἰς τε Πελο-
πώνησον καὶ τινάς ἐτέρας πόλεις. διετέλεσε τε
τῶν ἄπαντα χρόνων εὐδοκίμων παρὰ τοῖς Ἄθηναίους
καὶ δίκαιος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖς
δικαστήριοι τὸ φῆσαι Λυκούργον ἐδόκει βοήθημα
εἶναι τῷ συναγορευομένῳ.

Εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν
κωμῳδῶν, ἀγῶνα τοῖς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφάμιλλον
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τὸν νικήσαντα εἰς ἀστυ κατα-

¹ Ξενίου Coraes: δυνίου.
² προεῖπαντος Emperius: περὶ παντοῦ.
³ αὐτῷ added by Bernardakis.
⁴ Λυκούργου Bernardakis: λυκούργω.
⁵ θανάτῳ [αιματι 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 and that the victor’s name

a The third day of the Anthesteria, the thirteenth day of the month Anthesterium.
The tragedoi and κωμῳδοί alone were eligible to be chosen by lot as protagonists for the tragedies and comedies to be presented at the City Dionysia, the subordinate rôles being assigned to plain ὑποκριταί. 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 κωμῳδός for each of the five comedies to be presented. See Rohde, 400.
LYCURGUS, 841–842

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 depository, 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,


b 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.

c This refers to the great annual procession to Eleusis in the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter and Persephonë.
δήμῳ, ἔφη "ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν διδοὺς οὐ λαμβάνων ἐώραμαι." τελώνοι δὲ ποτ' ἐπιβαλόντος Ξενοκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τᾶς χειρας καὶ πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον αὐτὸν ἀπάγοντος, ἀπαντήσας βάδῳ τε κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ τελώνου κατήνεγκε, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ξενοκράτην ἀπέλυσε, τὸν δ᾽ ὡς οὐ τὰ πρέποντα ἐνδαποντα εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον κατέκλεισεν· ἐπανουμένου δ᾽ ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει, μεθ᾽ ἡμέρας τινὰς συντυχών ὁ Ξενοκράτης τοῖς παισὶ τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐφη "ταχέως γε τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν ἀπέδωκα, ὦ παῖδες, τὴν χάριν ἐπαινεῖται γαρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τῷ βοηθῆσαι μοι." Εἰσήνεγκε δὲ καὶ ψηφίσματα Εὐκλείδη τινί ὁ Λυκούργου χρώμενος ῥᾳδίως καὶ ταυτὰ διατρίβων, εὐπορὸς δ᾽ ὧν ἱμάτιον ἕν καὶ ταῦτα εὔπορος δ᾽ ὧν ἱμάτιον ἕν καὶ ταὐτὸν ἐφόρει τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ὑπεδέδετο ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις. ἐμελέτα δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, οὐκ εὖ πρὸς τὰ αὐτοσχέδια ταῦτα, ἐφ’ ᾧ μόνον κώδιον καὶ προσκεφαλήν, ὅπως έγείροιτο ῥᾳδίως καὶ μελετῶν. ἐγκαλοῦντος δ᾽ αὐτῷ τινὸς ὅτι μισθούς σοφισταῖς δίδωσι περὶ λόγους διατρίβων, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις γ᾽ ἐπαγγέλλωτο, ἐφη, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀμείνους αὐτῷ ποιήσειν, οὐ χιλίας ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμίση τῆς οὐσίας προΐεσθαι. ἢν δὲ καὶ παρρησιασθῆς διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν. Ἀθηναίων γέ τοί ποτε οὐκ ἀνεχομένων

1 ἀπάγοντος Coraes: ἀπαγαγόντος.
2 μοι. εἰσήνεγκε Solanus: μόνις. ἤνεγκε.
3 καὶ ταῦτα Bernardakis; καὶ ταῦτα Meziriacus: καθ᾽ αὑτὸ.

* 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." 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, 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, 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.

The tax was twelve drachmas.

Several decrees moved by him are extant, e.g. I.G. ii.² 337, 338.
(842) αὐτοῦ δημηγοροῦντος, ἀνέκραγεν ἐκβαλλόμενος "ὦ Κερκυραία μάστιξ, ὡς πολλῶν ταλάντων εἶ ἀξία." πάλιν δὲ θεον ἀναγορευόντων Ἀλέξανδρον "καὶ ποδαπὸς ἂν εἶη'', εἶπεν, "ὁ θεός, οὐ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξίοντας δεήσει περιρράνεσθαι''; ἀποθανόντος

Ε δ'' αὐτοῦ, παρέδωκαν τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς ἐνδέκα, Μενεσαίχμου μὲν κατηγορήσαντος γραψαμένου δὲ Θρασυκλέους. Δημοσθένους δὲ καθ'' ὃν ἐφευγε3 χρόνον ἐπιστείλαντο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς κακῶς ἀκούοιεν ἐπὶ τοῖς Λυκούργου παιδίοις, μετενόησαν καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτοὺς, Δημοκλέους τοῦ Θεοφράστου μαθητοῦ ὑπὸρ εὐθύνας ἀπολογησαμένου. ἔτάφη δ'' αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων τινὲς δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτοὺς, Τάμπλετο τοῦ Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμέναι καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Σωζόμεναι. τὸ μέγιστον, χίλια διακόσια τάλαντα προσόδου τῇ πόλει κατέστησε, πρότερον ἑξήκοντα. μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν εἰς τὸ μητρῷον καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν κομίσθησαι, λοιμομένος εὐθύνας δοῦναι τῶν πεπολυτευμένων οὐδενὸς δὲ κατηγορήσαι τολμήσαντος πλὴν Μενεσαίχμου, τὰς διαβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος εἰς

1 εἶη added by Coraes.
2 περιρράνεσθαι Dübner: περιρράνεσθαι.
3 ἐφευγε Coraes: ἐφυγε.
4 ἀντικρυ Herwerden: ἀντικρυ.

a 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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LYCURGUS, 842

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,

\(^{a}\) Judeich, *Topogr. v. Athen*, p. 409, conjectures that the garden of Melanthius was in the neighbourhood of the Academy.

\(^{b}\) The Bouleuterion was the meeting-place of the Boulé 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 βίου χρόνον καὶ ἐν λόγοις ἐπαινεθεὶς· καὶ μηδένα ἄγωνα ἀλούς, καίτοι πολλῶν κατηγορησάντων.

"Εσχε δὲ τρεῖς παῖδας ἐκ Καλλιστοῦ τῆς "Αβρωνος μὲν θυγατρός, Καλλίου· δὲ τοῦ "Αβρωνος Βατήθεν ἀδελφής, τοῦ ταμιεύσαντος στρατιωτικῶν 843 ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἄρχοντος: περὶ δὲ τῆς κηδείας ταύτης λέγει ὁ θείος ἄναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πιστίου." κατέλυπε δὲ παῖδας "Αβρωνα Λυκόφρονος ὁ λυκόφρονος· ὃν ὁ "Αβρων καὶ ὁ λυκόφρον ἀπαιδεύοντας μετήλλαξαν· ἀλλ' ὁ γ' ὁ "Αβρων καὶ πολιτευσάμενος ἐπιφανῶς μετήλλαξε, Λυκόφρων δὲ γῆμας Καλλιστομάχην Φιλίππου Αἰξωνέως ἐγέννησε Καλλιστώ. ταύτην δὲ γήμας Κλεόμβροτος Δεινοκράτους Ἀχαρνεύς, ἐγέννησε Λυκόφρονα· τούτων δ' ὁ πάππος εἰσεποίησατο Λυκόφρων· οὗτος δ' ἐτελεύτησεν ἀπαίς· μετὰ δὲ τῆς Λυκόφρονος τελευτὴν ἐγγεμίσε τὴν Β Καλλιστω Σωκράτης καὶ ἐσχεν νῦν Σύμμαχον· τοῦ δ' ἐγένετο Ἀριστώνυμος, τοῦ δὲ Χαρμίδης τοῦ δ' ὁ Φιλίππη· ταύτης δὲ καὶ Λυσάνδρον Μήδειος, ο καὶ ξηγητής ἐξ Εὐμολπιδῶν γενόμενος· τούτων δὲ καὶ Τιμοθέας τῆς Καλλιστῆς καὶ Μήδειος, ὃς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἔχει· καὶ Φιλίππη, ἦτις ἱεράσατο τής Ἀθηνᾶς ὑστεραίος ἀπὸ τοῦτο οὗτος ἔσχεν Σύμμαχον· Σωκράτης καὶ ἐσχεν τοῦτος ὁ Μελίτευς ἐγέννησε Λυκόφρων

1 τοῦ βίου Coraes from Photius: βίου.
2 Καλλίου Salmasius: καλαίου.
3 Πιστίου Meursius from Harpocrates: παστίου.
4 Αἰξωνέως Xylander: ἀειξωνέος.
5 Μελίτευς Coraes: Μελίτευς.
LYCURGUS, 842–843

was carried to his house, and died,\(^a\) 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.\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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 Melitê 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.

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(843) Φιλιππίδην καὶ Νικοστράτην ἐγέννησεν ὁ Θεοφράστου. ὁ δαδοῦχος ἐγέννησεν Θεοφραστον καὶ Διοκλέα. διετάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσειδώνος Ἂρεχθέως.

Φέρονται δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος λόγοι δεκαπέντε. ἐστεφανώθη δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου πολλάκις καὶ εἰκόνων ἐτυχεν ἀνάκειται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ χαλκῆ εἰκών ἐν Κεραιμεικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπ᾽ Ἀναξικράτους ἀρχοντος. έφ' οὐ ἔλαβε καὶ σίτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτός τε δ᾽ Λυκούργος καὶ δ᾽ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἱερών κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ψήφισμα. ἀποθανόντος τοῦ Λυκούργου, ἐ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παίδων Λυκόφρων ἡμιφυμβήττησε δ" τῆς δωρεᾶς. εἴπε δὲ καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν πολλάκις, γραφόμενος Αὐτόλυκον τὸν Ἀρεοπαγίτην καὶ Λυσικλέα τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Δημάδη τὸν Δημέου καὶ Μενέσαιχμον τοῖς τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ πάντας εἴλεν. ἐκρίνε δὲ καὶ Δίφιλον, ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρείων μετάλλων τοὺς μεσοκρινεῖς, οἱ ἐβάσταζον τὰ υπερκείμενα βάρη, ύφελόντα καὶ ἐν αὐτῶν πεπλουτηκότα παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. καὶ θανάτου οὖν αὐτοῦ ἐπιτιμίου ἐποίησε, καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ὑσίας αὐτοῦ ἐκάστῳ τῶν πολιτῶν διένειμε, τῶν Επάντων συναχθέντων ταλάντων ἐκατὸν ἐξήκοντα· ἦ, ὡς τινες, μνᾶν. ο ἐνθύνας Ἀριστογείτόνα καὶ

1 το Ὁ Wytenbach: το καὶ ο.
2 Δημέου Westermann: δημίου.
3 ἀργυρείων Baiter: ἀργυρίων.
4 μεσοκρινεῖς Xylander from Pollux, vii. 98: μεσοκρανεῖς.

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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.\(^b\) He was crowned by the people many times and was honoured with statues. A bronze statue\(^c\) of him stands in the Cerameicus, set up in accordance with a decree passed in the archonship of Anaxicrates,\(^d\) 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.\(^2\) 3776. Another statue stood not far from the Prytaneium; \(cf.\) Pausanius, i. 8. 2.

\(^d\) 307–306 B.C. See the Decree below, 851 ff.
Λεωκράτην καὶ Αὐτόλυκον δειλίας. ἐπεκαλεῖτο δ᾽ ὃ Λυκούργος ἰβίς

Ἰβίς Λυκούργῳ, Χαιρεφώντι νυκτερίς.

κατήγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπωτάτω μὲν ἀπ’ Ὑπερίπτωσιν τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἡφαίστου· τὰ δ᾽ ἐγγυτάτω ἀπὸ Λυκομήδου καὶ Λυκούργου, οὓς ὁ δῆμος ταφαῖς ἐτίμησεν, καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ καταγωγή τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερωσόμενων τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἐν πίνακι τελείως, ὥσ ἀνάκειται ἐν Ἕρεχθείῳ, γεγραμμένοι ὑπὸ Ἰσμηνίου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ εἰκόνας ξύλινας τοῦ τε Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν νυών αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος

Ἀβρωνος Λυκούργου Λυκόφρονος, ὡς εἰργάσαντο Τίμαρχος καὶ Κηρυσσόδοτος, γι' Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Καλκιδέως καὶ Μεγάλους τε Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν υἱών αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν υἱών αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος

ἡ καταγωγὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱερασμένων τοῦ ὑπὸ Ἐπαφών τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ εἰκόνες ξύλιναι τοῦ τε Λυκούργου καὶ τῶν υἱών αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος

τοῦ βουλωμένος παραχωρήσας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυκόφρονι: καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πεποίηται ὁ Ἀβρων προσδίδον μὲν τὴν τρίαιναν. πάντων δ’ ἂν διώκησεν ἀναγραφὴν ποιησάμενος ἀνέθηκεν ἐν στήλῃ πρὸ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθείσης παλαιόστρας σκοπείν τοὺς βουλουμένους. οὐδεὶς μέντοι ἐδυνήθη ἐλέγξαι τὸν ἰδεόμον ἐν αὐτῷ νοσφισμοῦ. ἐγραφεὶ δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ἀντικλέους στεφανῶσαι καὶ εἰκόνας ἐκ τῆς ἱερωσύνης χρυσώσειν τοὺς

1 δειλίας Valesius: δουλείας.
2 Wytenbach suggests that ὡς φησιν’ Ἀριστοφάνης be added.
3 Χαιρεφώντι Taylor: Ξενοφωνί.
4 ἀπωτάτω μὲν ἀπ’ Turin editors; ἀπὸ Βούτου καὶ Sauppe; ἀπὸ Βουταδῶν καὶ Bernardakis: ἀπὸ τούτων καὶ.
5 ξύλιναι Sauppe: ξύλινοι.
LYCURGUS, 843

citizen.\(^a\) He it was who called Aristogeiton, Leocrates, 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 Ismenias 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.
844 βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ Διοτίμῳ Διοπείθους Ἕνωνμεὶ τιμὰς ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος.

Η’. ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβούλης τῆς Γύλωνος θυγατρὸς, τῶν δὲ δήμων Παιανεύς, καταλεύθερα ψήφισεν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτῶν ἐπὶ Διοτίμῳ Διοπείθους ὑὑωνυμεῖ τιμὰς ἐπὶ Κτησικλέους ἄρχοντος.

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altar of Apollo 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.

VIII. DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes and Cleobulê daughter of Gylon, was of the deme Paeonia. He was left an orphan at the age of seven years 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 Isaeus 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 Hesias 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 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, he went over to Iso-.

* He was born in 384 B.C.; cf. Orations xxx. 15 and xxi 154.
* The bronze Hermes Agoraios was ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀγορᾷ (schol. Aristoph. Eq. 297; cf. Paus. i. 15. 1) and παρὰ τὴν ποικίλην (Lucian, Iup. Trag. 33).
* i.e. at the age of twenty. This service, designed to be a training for citizenship, lasted two years.
Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Πλάτωνι· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσαῖον ἀναλαβὼν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τετραετῆ χρόνον αὑτὸν¹ διεπόνησε, μιμούμενος αὐτοῦ τοὺς λόγοὺς. ὡς δὲ Κτησίβιος φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακοσίου πορίσας τοὺς² Ζήθου τοῦ Ἀμφιπολίτου λόγους, διὰ δὲ Χαρικλέους τοῦ Καρυστίου τοὺς Ἀλκιδάμαντος, διέλαβεν³ αὐτοὺς. Τελειωθεὶς δὲ, ἐλάττω παρὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων παραλαβῶν, ἐκρίνεται αὐτοὺς ἐπιτροπὴς ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους ἀρχοντὸς, τρεῖς ὄντας, "Ἀφοβον Θηριππίδην⁴ Δημοφώντα ἢ Δημέαν καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτον κατηγόρησεν ἀδελφοῦ τῆς μητρὸς ὄντος, δέκα τάλαντα τίμημα ἑκάστῃ τῶν δικῶν ἐπιγραφόμενος· καὶ εἶλεν αὐτοὺς· τῆς δὲ καταδίκης οὐδὲν ἐπράξατο, τοὺς μὲν ἀφεῖς⁵ ἀργυρίου τοὺς δὲ καὶ χάριτος. "Αριστοφώντος δὲ ἢδη τὴν προστασίαν διὰ γῆρας καταλιπόντος, καὶ χορηγὸς ἐγένετο. Μειδίαν δὲ τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον πλήξαντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ χορηγοῦντα εἰς κρίσιν καταστήσας, λαβὼν τρισχιλίας ἀφῆκε τῆς δίκης. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔτι νέον ὄντα εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπιέναι κἀκεῖ φιλολογεῖν τὸ ἧμισθ' τῆς κεφαλῆς ξυράμενον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχοιτο·

¹ αὐτὸν Χαλκατζίδης: αὐτὸν.
² τοὺς Λαμπίνος: τοῦ.
³ διέλαβεν Δύβερντ: ἄνελαβεν.
⁴ Θηριππίδην Reiske: θηριππίδην.
⁵ ἀφεῖς added by Wolf from Photius.

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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. 414
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

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*a* 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 (ἤδη).

*d* An indication of Demosthenes' restored fortune. The choregus was a wealthy man who equipped the chorus for dramas and superintended its training.
καὶ ἐπὶ στενῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα διὰ ταχέων ἀνίστηται· τὸ τε ῥῶ μὴ δυνάμενον λέγειν ἐκπονῆσαι, καὶ τὸν ὄμοιν ἐν τῷ μελετῶν κινοῦντα ἀπραπτῷς καταπαῦσαι, παραρτήσαντα δὲ τοὺς τῶν λόγων ὑσχύν ἐσοπτρον ἱσομέγεθες αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι καὶ πρὸς τούτο ἀφορώντα μελετᾶν, ἵνα ἐπανορθώσῃ τὰ ἐλλείποντα· καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖσθαι, ἵν' εἴ ποτε θορυβοῦντας ἡ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκστασθῆται τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος αὐτῶν ἐποβόθος, Νεοπτολέμω τῷ ὑποκριτῇ μυρίας δοῦναι, ἵν' ὅλας περιόδους ἀπευφυστὸς λέγη.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ πολιτεύεσθαι προσήλθεν, εἰς δύο διῃρημένων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ τῶν μὲν φιλιππιζόντων τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δημηγορούντων, τὴν τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων Φιλίππω τάξιν εἰλετο· καὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου διετέλεσε συμβουλεύων τοὺς κυνῳδουσιν ὑπὸ Φιλίππω γενέσθαι βοηθεῖν, συμπολιτευόμενοι Ἑπερείδη 845 Ναυσικλεῖ Πολυεύκτῳ Διοτίμῳ· διὸ καὶ συμμάχους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐποίησε Θηβαίους Εὐβοεῖς Κερκυραίους Κορυθίους Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ πόλους ἄλλους πρὸς τούτους ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ποτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀθυμῶν θεραπεύσην οἶκου· συντυχὼν δ' αὐτῷ Ἐὔνομος ὁ Θριάσιος πρεσβύτης ἤδη ὃν προετρέψατο τὸν Δημοσθένη, μάλιστα δ' ὅ τ' ὑποκριτῆς Ἀνδρό-

1 δὲ Westermann: δῇ.
2 διὰ added by Lambinus.
3 δ' ὁ Westermann: δὲ.
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, Corecyraeans, 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) νυκος εἰπὼν ὃς οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλῶς ἐχοιεν λείποι δ᾽ Β αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ἀπεμνημόνευσέ τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπ᾽ αὐτὸν λελεγμένων· καὶ δὴ πιστεύσαντα τὸν Δημοσθένη παραδόναι αὐτὸν τῷ Ἀνδρονίκῳ. ὃθεν ἐρομένου αὐτὸν τίνος τιπρώτων ἐν ῥητορικῇ, εἶπεν "ὑπόκρισις"· καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ "ὑπόκρισις"· καὶ τῇ τρίτῳ "ὑπόκρισις"· προ-ελθὼν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς τινα λέγων διεσύρετο, ὡς κωμῳδηθήναι αὐτὸν ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους

μὰ γῆν μὰ κρήνας μὰ ποταμοὺς μὰ νάματα·

ὁμόσας δὲ τούτων τὸν τρόπων ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἐκώνησεν. ὃμως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσκληπιιών, προπαρ-οξύνων Ἀσκληπιοῦ· καὶ παρεδείκνυεν αὐτὸν ὀρθῶς λέγοντα· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολλάκις ἐθορυβήθη. σχολάσας δὲ Ἐὐβουλίδη τῷ διαλεκτικῷ Μιλησίῳ εἰπε διαλεκτικῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐπηνωρθώσατο πάντα. γενό-μενος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ μὲν καὶ Ἀρησίου τοῦ Θερεναιαὶ τῷ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου εὐκρίμων ἀναγινώσκοντος Θηβαίων δὲ καὶ Ὀλυμπίδων κατατρέχοντος, παραναστάς ἄρχαίων ποιητῶν μαρτυρίας προηνέγκατο περὶ τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίους καλῶς πραχθέντων, ὡς παύσασθαι

1 τίνος added by Meziriacus.
2 Θερεναιαί Tepewaiov Lambinus; Mupvalou Life of Demosthenes, chap. ix.

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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, 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.” 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, 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-

On the meaning, broader than that of our “delivery,” in Greek rhetoric see Aristotle, Rhetoric, iii., ad init.

τὸ λοιπὸν τὸν Λάμαχον καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς πανηγυρεως. Φίλιππον δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναφέροντας αὐτῶ τὰς κατ’ αὐτοῦ δημηγορίας εἶπεν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς ἂν ἀκούων λέγοντος Δημοσθένους ἐχειροτόνησα τὸν άνδρα πρὸς τὸν κατ’ ἐμοῦ πόλεμον." εκάλει δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ λόγους ὅμοιους τοῖς στρατιώταις διὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν δύναμιν, τοὺς δ’ Ἰσοκράτους τοὺς ἀθληταῖς· τέρψιν γὰρ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς θεατρικὴν.

Ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη γεγονώς, λογιζομένους ἀπὸ Δεξιθέου εἰς Καλλίμαχον, ἐφ’ οὗ πρὸς Ὀλυνθίων ἦκε προσβεία περὶ τῆς βοηθείας, ἐπεὶ Ε ἐπιέξοντο ὑπὸ Φίλιππον τῷ πολέμῳ, ἐπεισεν ἐκ-πέμψαι τὴν βοήθειαν. τῷ δ’ ἐξῆς, ἐφ’ οὗ Πλάτων ἐτελεύτησε, Φίλιππος Ὀλυνθίων κατεστρέψατο. ἔγνω δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Ξενοφῶν ὁ Σωκρατικὸς ἠρχόμενον ἢ ἀκμάζοντα. τῷ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ ἐτελεύτιο τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην, ἀρχοντα δὲ Χαρικλείδην. ὁ δὲ πρότερον ἐπὶ Τιμοκράτους εἴλε τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους. Φεύγοντος δ’ Αἰσχίνου μετὰ τὴν καταδίκην, ἅπισον κατεδίωξεν αὐτόν· τοῦ δ’ οἰηθέντος αὐτὸν συλλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ προσπεσόντος Φ καὶ συγκαλυψαμένου, ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν παρεμφησατο καὶ τάλαντον ἔδωκεν ἀργυρίου. καὶ συνεβούλευσε δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ξενικὸν ἐν Θάσῳ τρέφειν,

1 πολεμικὴν Xylander from Photius: πομπικὴν.

385–384 B.C. 349–348 B.C.
Aeschines brought a suit on grounds of illegality against Ctesiphon, who proposed in 336 B.C. that Demosthenes be
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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 ἐξέπλευσε. οὔτωνς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς κλοπῆς ἀφείθη. Φιλίππου δὴ Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβομένου καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν Ἐλάτειον Χαλκούνα μαχεσαμένοις συνεξῆλθεν. οὔτε δὲ δοκεῖ τὴν τάξιν λυπεῖν, φεύγοντος δ᾽ αὐτὸς βάτων ἐπιλαβέσθων τῆς χλαμύδος, τὸν δ᾽ ἐπιστραφέντα εἶπεν "ζώγρει." εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἐπίσημον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος "ἀγαθὴ τύχη." εἶπε μέντοι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκεφθείν τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐπιμελεῖσα προσέρχετο καὶ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπιμελητῆς ἕπεισεν ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἑαυτὴν προσερχεῖσαν. τῷ ἀναλωθέν ἀργυρίῳ, μνᾶς ἐκατόν ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας. ἐφ᾽ οἷς πολλάκις εἰσήγαγε τὸν ἀναλωθέν ἀγρύριον, μνᾶς ἐκατόν ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας. ἐφ᾽ οἷς πολλάκις εἰσήγαγε τὸν ἀναλωθέν ἀγρύριον, μνᾶς ἐκατόν ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας. ἐφ᾽ οἷς πολλάκις εἰσήγαγε τὸν ἀναλωθέν ἀγρύριον, μνᾶς ἐκατόν ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας. ἐφ᾽ οἷς πολλάκις εἰσήγαγε τὸν ἀναλωθέν ἀγρύριον, μνᾶς ἐκατόν ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας.

"Ὑστερον δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατευομένου καὶ φυγόντος Ἀρπαλοῦ μετὰ χρημάτων

1 ὅτε Wytenbach: ὅθεν.
2 ἀγαθὴ τύχη Dübner from Life of Demosthenes, chap. xx.: ἀγαθὴν τύχην.
3 Ἀριστονίκου Lambinus: ἀριστονείκου.

_In 338 B.C., when Philip destroyed the independence of Greece._

_In 338 B.C., when Philip destroyed the independence of Greece._

_Apparently a jest in connexion with the story of his cowardice._

_This indicates that he had not disgraced himself._
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,\(^a\) 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."\(^b\) However, he delivered the funeral address for those who fell.\(^c\) 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\(^d\) for sacred envoys,\(^e\) 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\(^f\) came fleeing to Athens

\(^a\) On these contributions cf. Aeschines, iii. (Against Ctesiphon) 17, and Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 118.

\(^b\) Delegations sent to sacred places to attend festivals and the like.

\(^c\) Harpalus, treasurer of Alexander, embezzled a large sum and fled first to Tarsus, then, in 324 B.C., to Greece.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

(846) εἰς Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὸν εἰς- δεχθῆναι· ἐπειδή δὲ εἰσέπλευσε, λαβὼν δαρειούς
Β χιλίους μετετάξατο· βουλομένων τ᾽ Ἀθηναίων
Ἀντιπάτρω παραδοῦναι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀντείπειν,
ἐγγαμμέ τ᾽ ἀποθέσθαι τὰ χρήματα εἰς ἀκρόπολιν,
μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰπόντα: φήσαντος δ’ Ἀρπάλου ἐπτακόσια συγκατακομίσαι τάλαντα, ὑπὸ ἀνενεχθέντα εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εὑρέθη τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὰ τάντα πυγνότος Ἀρπάλου ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου, ἐν ὃ ἐφυλάσσετο μέχρι ἀν ἄριστηται τις παρ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ πορευθέντος εἰς τὴν Κρήτην ἦ ὡς ἐννοι ἐπὶ Ταίναρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς,

C αἰτίαν ἐσχεν ὅ Δημοσθένης δωροδοκίας, ὡς δ’ διὰ τοῦτο μῆτε τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνακομισθέντων με- μηνυκὼς μῆτε τὴν τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμέλειαν. εἰςαχθεῖν δ’ εἰς δυκαστήριον ὑπὸ Ὑπερείδου Πυθέου Μενεσάρχου Ἰμεραίου Πατροκλέους, δ’ ἐποίησαν καταγνῶναι αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν, καὶ ἀλοὺς ἐφυγε, πενταπλασίονα ἀποτῖσαι μὴ δυνά- μενος (εἶχε δ’ αἰτίαν τριάκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν), ἡ ὡς ἐννοι οὐχ ὑπομείνας τὴν κρίσιν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον τῶν χρόνων τῶν Ἀθηναίων Πολυευκτοῦ πεμψάντων

D προσβεβήν πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ὡστ’ ἀποστήναι αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων συμμαχίας, καὶ τοῦ Πολυευκτοῦ πεῖσαν μὴ δυναμένον, ἐπι- φανείς Δημοσθένης καὶ συνειπῶν ἐπεισεν. ἐφ’ ὃ συμμαθεῖς μετὰ χρόνων τινὰ κάθοδον εὐράτο, ἡφι—

1 μηδὲ Photius: ἢ ἔη.  
2 συγκατακομίσαι . . . εὑρέθη supplied from Photius.  
3 τριακόσια καὶ πεντήκοντα Dübner: ἢ πεντήκοντα mss.; ὥστω 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

5 Πατροκλέους Amyot (Vatic.): προκλέους.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(846) σματος γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους ἀποσταλεῖσθης. τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων ψηφισαμένων οἷς ὤφειλε τριάκοντα ταλάντοις κοσμῆσαι αὐτὸν τῶν βωμῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος Διὸς ἐν Πειραιεὶ καὶ ἀφεῖσθαι, τούτῳ γράψαντος τὸ ψήφισμα Δῆμωνος Παιανίων, ὃς ἦν ἀνειμὸς αὐτῶ, πάλιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἦν πολιτεύομενος.

'Ἀντιπάτρου δ’ εἰς Λάμιαν ὑπὸ τῶν 'Ελλήνων Ε συγκλεισθέντος, τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐαγγελιὰ θυόντων, πρὸς τινα τῶν ἐταίρων 'Αγησίστρατον ἐφη οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. “ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ” εἶπεν “τοὺς 'Ελληνας στάδιον μὲν πολεμεῖν καὶ εἰδότας καὶ δυναμένους, δόλιχον δ’ οὐκέτι.” Φάρσαλον δ’ ἔλοντος 'Αντιπάτρου καὶ πολιορκήσεως ἀπειλοῦντος Ἀθηναίων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ῥήτορας ἐκδοίησαν, καταλιπὼν δ’ Δημοσθένης τὴν πόλιν ἐφυγε πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Λυκωνίαν ἐπὶ τὸ Αἰάκειον καθεδούμενος, φοβηθεὶς δ’ εἰς Καλαυρίαν μετέστη. ἐκδιδόναι δὲ τοὺς ῥήτορας τῶν Ἀθηναίων ψηφισαμένων κἀκεῖνον, καθέξετο ικέτης ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἱερῷ ἐλθόντος δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὸν Ἀρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδοθήρου ἐπικαλομένου, ὅς παρέβαλεν Ἀνάξιμενι ῥήτορι κατ’ εἰπθοῦσ先是 κατ’ ἀναστῆναι, ὡς φιλόν Ἀντιπάτρῳ γεννησωμένον, εἶπεν ὅτι “οὐτε, ὅτε ἐτραγώδεις, ἐπειδής με οὔτε νῦν πείσεις συμβουλεύων” τοῦ δ’ ἐπιχειροῦντος βιάζεσθαι, ἐκώλυσαν αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ

1 γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους Photius: γραφέντος τριήρους.
2 οἷς Photius: εἰς ᾧ.
3 ταλάντοις κοσμῆσαι supplied by Bernardakis after Photius and Sintenis.
4 ἐπὶ Dübner: ἐν.
5 τὸ Αἰάκειον Xylander: τὸν ἄκραίον.

ᵃ A stadium was about equal to a furlong and was the usual short-distance run. The dolichos was twenty stadia.
DEMOSTHENES, 846

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 ἐφη "οὐ σωτηρίας δεόμενος κατέφυγον εἰς Καλαυρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ως ἐλέγξων Μακεδόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν βιασομένους". αὐτής τε γραμματεῖον ἐγραφεῖ, ως μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγεῖον ἐπιγεγραμμένον ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑστερον

εἰπὲρ ὡς ηῷς γνώμη, Δημόσθενες, ἔσχες, οὕποτ᾽ ἂν Ἐλλήνων ἤρξεν Ἄρης Μακεδών.

κεῖται δ᾽ ἡ εἰκὼν πλησίον τοῦ περισχοινίσματος καὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ Πολυεύκτου πεποιημένην. ως δ᾽ ἕνοι φασὶ, τοῦτο εὑρέθη γεγραμμένον "Δημοσθένης Ἀντιπάτρῳ χαίρειν." ἀποθανεῖν δ᾽ αὐτὸν Φιλόχορος μὲν φησι βιασομένον πιόντα, Σάτυρος δ᾽ ὁ συγγραφέως τὸν κάλαμον Β πεφαρμάχθαι, ὃ γράφεων ἦρξατο τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὐ γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν. Ἐρατοσθένης δ᾽ ἐκ πολλοῦ δεδοικότα Μακεδόνας περὶ τῶ βραχίων κρίκον περικείαθαι πεφαρμαγμένον. εἰς δ᾽ οἳ φασὶ συσχόντα αὐτὸν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθανεῖν. οἳ δ᾽ εἶπον τοῦ κατὰ τὴν σφραγίδα βιασομένον γευσάμενον. ἐβίω δ᾽ ὡς μὲν οἳ τὰ πλείω λέγουσιν ἐτη ἐβδομήκοντα, ως δ᾽ οἳ τὰ ἐλάττω, ἐπτά καὶ ἐξήκοντα. ἐπολιτεύσατο δὲ δύο καὶ εἰκοσιν.

1 καὶ τὰ Photius: καὶ κατὰ.
2 βιασομένου Dübner: βιασαμένου.
3 ἢ added by Dübner.
4 ἐβίω . . . ἐπολιτεύσατο 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 428
DEMOSTHENES, 846-847

Demosthenes 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.

The statue, a work of Polyeuctus, is placed near the Roped-off Enclosure and the altar of the Twelve Gods. But according to some authorities he was found to have written "Demosthenes to Antipater, greeting." Philochorus 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 Erato- sthenes 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.

barrier of rope for the better control of the popular assembly. Since the contiguous altar of the Twelve Gods has recently (vide Shear in Hesperia, iv. pp. 355 ff.) been uncovered in the northern part of the Agora, this enclosure can no longer, with Judeich (Topographie von Athen, p. 250), be placed in the south-west area, on the slopes of the Areopagus.

c These were the words usually employed at the beginning of letters.

ἈὩἩἮΗνίκα δὲ Φίλιππος ἐτεθνήκει, λαμπρὰν ἐσθῆτα προῆλθεν ἔχων, καίτοι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ νεωστὶ τετελευτηκυίας, ἐφηδόμενος τῷ τοῦ Μακεδόνος θανάτῳ. συνήγγησε δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἐλλήνας ἐπέρρωσεν ἀεί: διόπερ Θῆβας κατασκάψας ἐξήτει Αθηναίων ἀντεῖπεν, ἀδηλον εἰπών, οἰκία τῶν παρασχόντων χρήστεται.

Κατέλυπε δὲ δύο παῖδας ἐκ μιᾶς γυναικὸς τῶν εὐδοκίμων, ὁ Ηλιοδώρου τινὸς θυγατέρας ἔσχεν, ἡ παῖς ἤμενος πρὸ γάμου ἐτελευτηκυίας, οἱ πάντες ὑπὸ δούλων ἐπιτητοῦν ἐξήτει Αθηναίων Αλέξανδρον αὐτὸν, ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ δοίησαν. στρατευομένως δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ Πέρσας καὶ αἰτοῦντες ναυτικὸν παρ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἀντεῖπεν, ἀδηλον εἰπών, εἰ σὺ κατὰ τῶν παρασχόντων χρήστεται.

Διὰ τοῦ λόγους οὐδὲν χρήσην. ἔστι δ᾽ αὐτοῦ εἰκὼν ἐν πρυτανεῖῳ ἐσθῆτα πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν ἐν δεξιᾷ ὁ πρῶτος περιεζωσμένος ἅμα τῷ ἱματίῳ καὶ χείρῳ: οὕτω γὰρ δημηγορῆσαι λέγεται, ἡνίκα ἀντίσπατρος ἐξήτει γενόμενος. χρόνῳ δ᾽ υἱόν τὰς δωρεὰς τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐζήτει.
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

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.

d See above, 847 a.

e 280–279 B.C.
τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ Δημοχάρους: ὦ καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ νεός Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεύς ἡττήσατο δώρες ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἀρχοντος, δεκατω ύστερον ἐτει, εἰς τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος στάσιν ἐν ἀγορὰ καὶ σύνησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνων αὐτῷ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδρίᾳ τοῖς ἀγῶσι. καὶ ἔστι τὰ ψηφίσματα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀναγεγραμμένα, ἡ δ' εἰκών τοῦ Δημοχάρους εἰς τὸ πρυτανείον μετεκομίσθη, περὶ ἣς προείρηται.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτοῦ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἐξήκοντα πέντε. φασὶ δὲ τινες καὶ ἀσώτως αὐτὸν βιῶναι, γυναικεῖαις τ' ἐσθῆσι χρώμενον καὶ κωμάζοντα ἑκάστοτε, ὅθεν Βάταλον ἐπικληθῆναι· οἱ δ' ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁνόματος τῆς τροφοῦ λέγουσι τὸν οὕτω λελοιδορῆσαι. Διογένης δ' δ' κύων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν ποτ' ἐν καπηλείῳ αἰσχυνόμενον καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα, εἴπετε ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὑποχωρεῖς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τῷ καπηλείῳ ἔσῃ. ἔλεγε δ' αὐτὸν παρασκώπτων ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις Σκύθην εἶναι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μάχαις ἀστικὸν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ παρ Ἐφιάλτου χρυσίον ἑνὸς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὃς πρεσβεύσας πρὸς βασιλέα χρήματα φέρων ἤκε λάθρα, ὅπως διανείμας τοῖς δημαγωγοῖς τὸν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐξάψῃ πόλεμον· καὶ ἰδίᾳ αὐτὸν δωροδοκῆσαι παρὰ βασιλέως φασὶ δαρεικοὺς τρισχιλίους. Ἄναξίλαν δ' Ἀνάξινον Δημοχάρους, συλλαβὼν ἐβασάνιζεν ὡς κατάσκοπον, οὐδὲν δ' ἐξειπότα ἐψηφίσατο τοῖς διαλεγόμενοι πρὸς βασιλέα. 

1 Λευκονοεύς Westermann: λευκονοεύς.  
2 ἐτει added by Xylander.  
3 δ' added by Bernardakis.  
DEMOSTHENES, 847–848

Demochares, for whom in turn his son Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoé, 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.
(848) ἕνδεικτα παραδοῦναι. λέγειν δὲ ποτε κωλυόμενος ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βραχῦ ἐφή βούλεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰπεῖν, τῶν δὲ σιωπησάντων "νεανίας," εἰπε, "θέρους ὡρα ἐμμιθῶσατο ἔτι ἁστεος ὅνον Μέγαράδε: μεσοῦσις δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ σφοδρῶς φλέγοντος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐβούλετο ὑποδύεσθαι ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν· εἴργον δ' ἀλλήλους, δὲ μεμισθωκέναι τὸν ὅνον ὑπ' τὴν σκιὰν λέγων, δὲ μεμισθωμένος τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξειν ἐξουσίαν"· καὶ ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀπῆλε. τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπισχόντων καὶ δεομένων πέρας ἐπιθέναι τῷ λόγῳ, "εἴδι ὑπὲρ μὲν ὅνου σκιᾶς, ἐφή, "βούλεσθε ἀκούειν, λέγοντος δὲ ὑπὲρ σπουδαίων πραγμάτων ὅτι βούλεσθε." Πώλου δὲ ποτε τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, ὅτι δυσών ἡμέραις ἀγωνισάμενος τάλαντον λάβοι μισθὸν, "ἐγὼ δ'", εἰπε, "πέντε τάλαντα, μίαν ἡμέραν σιωπήσας." παραφθαρεὶς δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ θορυβηθεὶς τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἐπιθεῖνα τῷ λόγῳ, εἴη ὑπέρ κρίνειν ἀκούας την φωνῆς τους δὲ ῥήτορας ἐκ τῆς ὁ νομής. ὁνειδίσαντος δ' αὐτῶν Ἐπικλέους ὅτι ἀεὶ σκέπτουτο, "αἰσχυνοίμην γὰρ ἂν," εἰπεν, "εἰ τηλικούτῳ δήμῳ συμβουλεύον ταῦτα ἀνθρωποί." ἱστοροῦσι δ' ὃς ὁδὸν ἐσβεσεν, ἄχρι πεντῆ- κοντα ἐτῶν ἐγένετο, ἀκρίβως εἶναι πολιτευόμενον ἀνθρωποί, ἔγνως τοὺς λόγους. αὐτὸς δὲ φηνὸν ὑδροποσία χρήσασθαι. ἐγνω δ' αὐτὸν καὶ Λυσίας ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ Ὁισοκράτης εἰδε πολιτευόμενον ἀχρι τῆς ἐν Χαριμνείᾳ μάχης, καὶ τίνας τῶν Σωκρατικῶν φιλοσόφων. τοὺς δὲ πλείστους λόγους

1 ἄν 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

b Demosthenes, vi. (Second Philippic) 30; xix. (False Legation) 46.
εἶπεν αὐτοσχεδιάσας, εὖ πρὸς αὐτὸν πεφυκὼς. 

D πρῶτος δ' ἐγραψε στεφανωθήναι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Ἀριστόνικος Νικοφάνους Ἀναγυράσιος, ὕπωμόσατο δὲ Διώνδας.

Θ'. ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΗΣ

Ὑπερείδης Ἡλληνικῶν ὴλαύκιππον μὲν ἰὼν πατρὸς τοῦ Διονυσίου, τῶν δὲ δήμων Κολλυτέως. ἔσχε δ' υἱὸν ἀμώνυμον τῷ πατρὶ Γλαύκιππον, ῥήτορα καὶ λόγους συγγράφαντα· οὐ πάλιν Ἀλφίνους ἐγένετο. ἀκροατὴς δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλόσοφου Ἰμα Λυκούργου καὶ Ῥοκράτους τοῦ ῥήτορος Ἐ ἐπολυτεύσατο Ἀθήνησι, καθ' ὅν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος τῶν 'Ελληνικῶν ἠπτετο πραγμάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὄν ἦτει παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἀντείπρε, καὶ περὶ τῶν τριήρων συνεβούλευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἅτι Ταυνάρω χεινικὸν μὴ διαλύσατο, οὐ Χάρης ἠγεῖτο, εὐνῶς πρὸς τὸ στρατηγὸν διακεκλείσας. τὸ δὲ πρῶτον μισθὸν δίκας ἔλεγε. δόξας δὲ κεκοινωνηκέναι τῶν Περσικῶν χρημάτων Ἐφιάλτη τριήραρχος τε αἱρεθείς, ὅτε Βυζάντιον ἐπολιόρκει, Φίλιππος, βοηθὸς Βυζαντίων ἐκπεμφθείς, κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ὑπέστη χορηγήσαι, τῶν ἄλλων

1 αὐτὸ Reiske: αὐτοὺς.
2 Ὑπερείδης] usually Ὑπερίδης in mss.
3 τῶν δὲ δήμων Westermann: τῶν δὲ δήμων.
4 Λυκούργος Blum: λυκούργου.

a This does not agree with what has been said above about his preparing all his speeches.

b 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.
speeches extemporaneously, as he was well endowed for that by nature.\textsuperscript{a} 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.\textsuperscript{b} 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\textsuperscript{c} 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,\textsuperscript{d}

\textsuperscript{a} The comic poets of the time were very free with such insinuations, \textit{e.g.} Timocles in his \textit{Delos} (Kock, \textit{Com. Att. Frag.} ii, p. 432) mentions both Demosthenes and Hypereides.

\textsuperscript{b} 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.
Φλειτωργίας πάσης ἀφειμένων. ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένει τιμάς, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ Διώνδα παρανόμων γραφέντος ἀπέφυγε. φίλος δ᾽ ὄν τοῖς περὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ Λυσικλέα καὶ Λυκοῦργον, οὔκ ἐνέμεινε μέχρι τέλους· ἂλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ Λυσικλῆς μὲν καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐτεθνήκεσαν, Δημοσθένης δ᾽ ὤς παρ᾽ Ἀρτάλου δωροδοκήσας ἐκρίνετο, προχειρισθεὶς εξ ἀπάντων (μόνος γὰρ ἐμεινεν ἄδωροδόκητος) κατ-
ηγόρησεν αὐτοῦ. κριθεὶς δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστογείτονος παρανόμων ἐγραψε δὲ καὶ Χαϊρώνειαν τοῦς μετοίκους πολίτας ποιήσασθαι τοὺς δὲ δούλους ἐλευθέρους, ἢ ἐεὶ ἐκαὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναικάς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἀποθέσας, ἀπέφυγεν. αἰτωμένων δὲ τινῶν αὐτῶν ὡς παριδόντα πολλοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ ψηφίσματι, ἐπεσκότει, ἔφη, "μοι τὰ Ἑλληνικά ὁπλα τὰ ἔγραψα ἡ δ᾽ ἐν Χαϊρωνείᾳ μάχη," μετὰ μέντοι τοῦτο νεκρῶν ἔδωκεν ἀναίρεσιν ὁ Φίλιππος φοβηθεὶς, πρότερον οὐ δοὺς τοῖς ἐλθοῦσιν ἐκ Λεβαδείας κήρυξιν. υἱότερον δὲ μετὰ τὰ περὶ Κραννώνα συμβαλὼν Δημο-

1 Δημοσθένει Reiske after Photius: Δημοσθένους.
2 καὶ οὐκ Photius: οὐκ.
3 Κραννώνα Blass: κράνωνα.

α The shadow of the shields made him fail to see the laws (taking παριδόντα 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 Diondas 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

\[b\] 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.
σθένει καὶ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπολογησάμενος, ἀπαλλαγεὶς ἐκεῖθεν, ὑπ᾽ ᾿Αρχίου τοῦ Φυγαδόθηρου ἐπικληθέντος, Θουρίου μὲν τὸ γένος ὑποκριτοῦ δὲ τὰ πρῶτα τότε δὲ τῷ ᾿Αντιπάτρῳ βοηθοῦντος, ἑλήφθη πρὸς βίαν ἐν τῷ ᾿Αρχίῳ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἀγάλματος· καὶ ἀχθεὶς πρὸς ᾿Αντιπατρον εἰς Κόρινθον, ἑπείτα βασανίζομενος, διέφαγε τὴν γλῶτταν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐξειπεῖν τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀπορρήτων δυνηθήναι· καὶ οὕτως C ἑτελεύτησε, Πυνανεψιώνος ἐνάτη ὑσταμένοι. Ὁ ἀνεψιῶν δὲ φησιν αὐτὸν γλωττοτομηθῆναι εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐλθόντα καὶ ριφῆναι ἀταφῶν, ὧν μόνον γὰρ κελεύσαε αὐτοῦς φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταφῆναι. οἱ δ᾽ ἐν ᾿Κλεωναις ἀποθανοῦντες αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ἀπαχθέντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν γλωττοτομηθῆναι καὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὁ προείρηται τρόπον· τοὺς δ᾽ οἰκείους τὰ ὀστᾶ λαβόντας 3 θάψαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γονεύσι πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησιν D Ἡλιόδωρος 4 ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ Μηνιμάτων. νυνὶ δὲ κατερήρετπται τὸ μνῆμα καὶ ἐστὶν ἀδηλον.

Πάντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν δημηγορίαν διενεγκεῖν λέγεται· τέτακται δὲ ὑπ᾽ ᾿Ιππάδων πρὸ Δημοσθένους. φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦς λόγοι εβδομήκοντα ἐπτὰ, ὡς

1 τοῦ added by Blass.
2 τοῦ ὑιοῦ Bernardakis: ἀντὸς or ὑιοῦ.

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himself for his disagreement with him. After leaving Aegina he was seized forcibly by Archias, a nickname '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 Pyanepson. But Hermippus c 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, d 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 Hermionë.
"d At Athens, probably south-east from the Acropolis."
(849) γνήσιοί εἰσι πεντήκοντα δύο. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσια καταφερής, ὡς ἐκβάλειν μὲν τὸν νιὸν εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ Μυρρίνην τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἑταίραν, ἐν Πειραιεῖ δ’ ἐξειν Ἀρισταγόραν, ἐν Ἑλευσίνι δ’ ἐν τοῖς ἴδιοις κτήμασι Φίλαν τὴν'.

Ε Ὥηβαίαν, εἴκοσι μνὸν λυτρωσόμενος. ἐποιεῖτο τε τὸν περίπατον ἐν τῇ ἱχνυοπώλωλῳ δοσιμέραι. ὁμιληκὼς δὲ, ὡς εἰκὸς δή, καὶ Φρυνὴ τῇ ἑταίρᾳ ἀσεβεῖν κρινομένη συνεστάθη', αὐτός γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ: μελλούσης δ’ αὐτῆς ἀλεσκεσθαι, παραγαγὼν εἰς μέσον καὶ περιρρήξας τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐπεδειξε τὰ στέρνα τῆς γυναικὸς· καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδόντων, ἀφείθη. συνετίθει δ’ ἦσυχη κατὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐγκλήματα, ὡς καὶ φωραθῆναι: νοσοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ ἱπερείδου,

Φ ἱκοντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Δημοσθένη ὡς ἐπισκεψόμενον καταλαβεῖν κατέχοντα τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτοῦ βιβλίον, τούτου δ’ ἀγανακτοῦντος, εἶπε "ἡ φίλον μὲν οὖντα οὐδὲν' λυπήσει, ἔχθρον δὲ γενόμενον κωλύσει τι κατ’

1 Φίλαν τὴν Keil, from Athenaeus, p. 590 d: φίλην.

2 ὁμιληκὼς δὲ (Bücheler) ὡς εἰκὸς δή, καὶ Capps; ὁμιληκὼς δὲ καὶ Bücheler; ἐωθίνως. καὶ δίκη Blass; ὡς εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ δίκη. For καὶ δίκη Bernardakis prefers κἀν δίκη.  

3 συνεστάθη conj. Capps; cf. van Herwerden, Lex. Suppl., s.v. συνιστάσθαι ("de advocatis"): συνεξητάσθη.

4 οὐδὲν Reiske: οὐδένα.

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a 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 Arist-agora 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 Phrynë 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 Phrynë at her famous trial was due to an intimacy with her. An advocate was never “examined with” the defendant.

* Explained by Athenaeus xiii. 590 d ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ἡπερείδης ὁμολογῶν ἐρᾶν τῆς γυναικός. Hypereides’ speech was translated into Latin by Messala Corvinus (Quintilian x. 5. 2).

* 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 Phrynë’s acquittal to her own arts.
ἐμοῦ πρᾶξαι." ἐψηφίσατο δὲ καὶ τιμᾶς Ἰόλα τῷ δοκοῦντι1 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ φάρμακον δοῦναι. ἐκοι-
vώνησε δὲ καὶ Λεωσθένει2 τοῦ Δαμιακοῦ πολέμου, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦν 
v εἰπε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον θαυμασίας. Φιλίππου δὲ πλείω ἐν' Ἐνδοιας παρεσκευασμένου καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων 
εὐλαβῶς ἐξόντων, τεσσαράκοντα τρυίρεις ἡθομόσεσιν ἐξ ἐπιδόσεως καὶ πρώτος 
ὕπερ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπέδωκε δύο τρυίρεις. 850 

συνάστωτος δὲ πρὸς Δηλίους ἀμφισβητήματος, ποτέ-

ρους δεὶ προϊστάσθαι τοῦ ἱεροῦ, αἱρεθέντος Αἰσχίνου 

συνειπεῖν, ἥ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλή Ἰππερείδην 

ἐχειροτόνησεν καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος Δηλιακοῦ ἐπι-

γεγραμμένος. ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ῥοδίους. 

ἤκοντων δὲ καὶ παρ᾽ Ἀντιπάτρου πρέσβεων, ἀπαν-

τήσας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν, "οἴδαμεν3 ὅτι χρηστὸς ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ ήμεῖς γνώμη 

δεόμεθα χρηστοῦ δεσπότου." λέγεται δὲ ἄνευ 

ὑποκρίσεως δημιουργήσαι καὶ μόνον 

Β δηνεῖσθαι τὰ πραχθέντα καὶ τοῦτος οὐκ ἐνοχλεῖ 

καὶ τοὺς δικαστάς: ἐπέμφθη δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ἡλείους 

ἀπολογησόμενος ὑπέρ Καλλίππου τοῦ ἀθλητοῦ, 

ὑπὸ δικαστών αὐτίαν φθείρα ἐν τῷ ἀγώνα, καὶ ἐνύκησε. 

γραφάμενος δὲ καὶ τῆς Φωκίωνος δωρεάς, ἤν εἶπε 

Μειδίας Μειδίου Ἀναγυράσιος ἐπὶ Ξενίου ἀρχοντός, 

Γαμηλίωνος ἐβδόμηθα. 531

1 δοκοῦντι Reiske: δόντι.
2 Λεωσθένει Xylander: δημοσθένη.
3 οἴδαμεν Xylander from Photius: οἶδα μὲν; 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 
der under Leosthenes besieged the Macedonian Antipater in 
444.
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.
Debeinarchos Swokratous η Swostratos, ὦς μὲν τινε ἐγχώριος, ὦς δὲ τις δοκεὶ Κορίνθιος, ἀφικό- 
C μενος εἰς 'Αθηνας ἐπὶ νέος, καθ' δὲ χρόνον 'Αλέξαν-
δρος ἐπη' τὴν 'Ασίαν, κατοικήσας αὐτόθι ἀκροατής 
μὲν ἐγένετο Θεοφράστου τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν 
'Aristotelouς διατριβήν, ὡμίλησε δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ 
τῷ Φαληρεῖ· μάλιστα δὲ προσήηι τῷ2 πολιτεύεσθαι 
μετὰ τὴν 'Αντιπάτρου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν ἀνηρη-
μένων ῥητόρων τῶν δὲ πεφευγότων. φίλος δὲ 
Κασάνδρω γενόμενος, ὦς ἐπὶ πλείστων προέκοψε 
χρήματα τῶν λόγων εἰσπραττόμενος, οὐς τοῖς δεο-
μένοις συνέγραφεν· ἀντετάξατο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπι-
φανεστάτους τῶν ῥητόρων, οὐκ εἰς δήμον παριών· 
οὐ γὰρ οἶος τ' ἤν· ἄλλα τοῖς ἐναντιομένοις λόγους 
συγγράφων· καὶ ἐπεὶ "Ἀρπαλος διέδρα, πλείους 
D λόγους συνέγραψε3 κατὰ τῶν αἰτίαν λαβόντων 
δωροδοκήσαι, καὶ τούτους τοῖς κατηγόρους ἐξ-
έδωκε. χρόνῳ δ' ύστερον αἰτιαθεῖς εἰς λόγους 
παραγίνεσθαι 'Αντιπάτρῳ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ περὶ τὴν 
κατάληψιν τῆς Μουνυχίας, ἕνικα ὑπ' 'Αντιγόνου 
καὶ Δημητρίου ἐφρουρήθη ἐπ' 'Αναξικράτους ἄρ-
χοντος, ἐξαργυρισάμενος τὰ πλείστα τῆς οὐσίας 
ἐφυγεν εἰς Χαλκίδα. διατρίψας δ' ἐπὶ τῆς φυγῆς 
ὡς πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη, καὶ πολλὴν οὐσίαν κτησά-
μενος κατῆλθε, πραξάντων αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν

1 ἐπήηι Xylander: ἐπί.
2 δὲ προσήηι τῷ Wyttenbach: δὲ τῷ.
3 συνέγραψε Blass: συνέγραφε.

a 334–323 B.C.
b The Lyceum, i.e. the Peripatetic School.
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

\[a\] 318 B.C.

\[b\] If he was a Corinthian by birth, he would be debarred from such speaking.

\[c\] 307–306 B.C.
περὶ Θεόφραστον ἃμα τοῖς ἄλλοις φυγάσι. καταλύσας δὲ παρὰ Προξένου ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔρισεν ἀπολέσας, ήδη γηραιὸς ὃν καὶ τάς ὅρασες ἀσθενής, οὐ βουλομένου τοῦ Προξένου ἀναζητεῖν, λαγχάνει αὐτῷ δίκην καὶ τότε πρώτων εἶπεν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ. σώζεται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λόγος. φέρονται δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἑξήκοντα τέσσαρες: τούτων ἐνιοῦ παραλαμβάνονται ὡς Ἀριστογέιτονος. ζηλωτὴς δὲ ἐγένετο Ὁπερείδου ἠ ὃς τινες διὰ τὸ παθητικὸν Δημοφιλεῖν καὶ τὸ σφοδρόν τῶν σχημάτων δ᾽ αὐτοῦ μιμήτης ὑπάρχει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

A'

Δημοχάρης Δάχητος Δευκονοεύς αἰτεῖ Δημοσθένει τῷ Δημοσθένους. Παιανεῖ δωρεὰν εἰκόνα χαλκὴν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ σήτησιν ἐν πρωτειαῖο καὶ προεδρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνων ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ, εὐεργέτῃ καὶ συμβούλῳ γεγονότες πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τήν τε οὐσίαν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν καθευδότες τῇ ἑαυτοῦ δήμου ὀκτὼ καὶ τριήρη, ὅτε ὁ δῆμος ἅλευθέρωσεν Ἑῦβοιαν, καὶ ἐτέραν, ὅτε εἰς Ἐλλησπόντον Κηφισόδωρος ἐξέπλευσε καὶ ἑτέραν, ὅτε Χάρης καὶ Φωκίων στρατηγοὶ ἐξέπλευσαν ἐφὶ Βυζάντιον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ λυτρωσαμένως πολλοῖς τῶν

1 οὗ added by Xylander.
2 Δημοχάρης Basle ms.: Τιμοχάρης.
3 Δευκονοεύς Westermann: λευκονοεύς.
4 ἐκγόνων Emperius: ἐγγόνων.
5 δήμῳ τῷ Ladeke: δήμῳ τῶν.

Evidently Deinarchus suspected theft or fraud.
DEINARCHUS—DECREES, I. 850–851

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 Paeania, 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 Cephsisodorus 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 quoted fragments of his writings are 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 n, that is, the orator’s nephew.
(851) ἁλόντων ἐν Ἰλύδυντι καὶ Μεθώνῃ καὶ ᾿Ολύνθῳ ὑπὸ Φιλίππου: καὶ χορηγίαν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιδόντι, ὅτι ἐκλιπόντων τῶν Πανδιονιδῶν τοῦ χορηγεύειν ἐπέδωκε, καὶ καθώπλυσε τοὺς πολίτας τῶν ἐλλειπόντων καὶ εἰς τὴν τειχοποιίαν ἀνάλωσε χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, ἐπιδόντος αὐτοῦ τρία τάλαντα καὶ ὅς ἐπέδωκε δύο τάφρους περὶ τὸν Πειραιά σαφρεύσας: καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν B Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχην ἐπέδωκε τάλαντον, καὶ εἰς τὴν συνωνίαν ἐπέδωκεν ἐν τῇ σιτωνίᾳ ἐπέδωκεν καὶ ὅτι1 εἰς συμμαχίαν τῷ δήμῳ προσηγάγετο πείσας καὶ εὐεργήτης γενόμενος καὶ σύμβουλος, δι’ ὅ, τι ἐπεισε Θηβαίων Ἐὐβοϊς Κορινθίων Μεγαρεῖς ᾿Αχαϊων Λοκροὺς Ὁλυσσαίων Ταρταρίων, καὶ δυνάμεις ἃς συνεστήσατο τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους ἐπίεας δὲ χιλίους, καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἦν ἐπεισε προσβείον τοῖς τὸν πόλεμον πλείω πεντακοσίων ταλάντων: καὶ ὅτι2 ἐκώλυσε Πελοποννησίους ἐπὶ Θήβας ᾿Αλεξάνδρῳ βοηθῆσαι, χρήματα δοὺς καὶ C αὐτὸς προσβείον τῆς καὶ ἀλλων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τῷ δήμῳ συμβουλίῳ γεγονότι καὶ πεπολεμωμένος τῶν καὶ ἐκατόν πρὸς ἑλευθεριάν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἀριστα: φυγοῦντι δὲ δὲ δι’ ὁλιγαρχίαν, καταλυθέντος τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τελευτάσαντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δήμου εὔνοιαν, πεμφθέντων στρατιωτῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀντιπάτρου, διαμείναντι ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος εὐνοία καὶ οἰκείοτητι, καὶ ὅτι ὑποχειρίῳ γεγονότι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ὁμότε τῆς ἀνάξιον καὶ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ πράξαντι τοῦ δήμου.

B’

D “Ἀρχων Πυθάρατος: Λάχης Δημοχάρους Λευκονοεὺς αἰτεῖ δωρεάν τῆν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον τῶν1 ὅτε Westermann and Ladeke: ὅτε.
by Philip at Pydna, Methonê, and Olynthus,\textsuperscript{a} 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.

\[\text{II}\]

Archon Pytharatus.\textsuperscript{b} Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoë, asks from the senate and people of the Athenians

\textsuperscript{a} 356, 353, and 348 b.c.

\textsuperscript{b} 271–270 b.c. See above, pp. 431 f., where the same facts are given.

\[\begin{array}{l}
\text{\textsuperscript{2}} \text{o} \text{τ} \text{e} \text{ Westermann} : \dot{\omega} \delta .
\\
\text{\textsuperscript{3}} \text{o} \text{υ} \text{τ} \text{e } \text{ti Meziriacus} : \text{o} \text{υ} \text{τ} \text{e} .
\\
\text{\textsuperscript{4}} \text{τ} \text{o} \text{v} \text{ Ladeke} : \tau \dot{\omega} \nu .
\end{array}\]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(851) Ἀθηναίων Ἰδνοχάρει Ἀχιτας Λευκονοεῖ εἰκόνα χαλκῆν ἐν ἄγορά καὶ σύνησιν ἐν πρυτανεῖ τός αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων 
ἀεὶ τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδριάν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἀγώσιν, εὐεργετῇ καὶ συμβούλῳ γεγονότι ἀγαθῷ τῷ ὄμω τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ εὐεργετηκότι τῶν δήμον τάδε: προσβείοντι καὶ γράφοντι καὶ πολιτευμένων...

Εἰς τοὺς πολέμους καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ ἀνοχὰς καὶ συμμαχίας ποιησμένως πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς ἀνθ᾽ ὧν ἐξέπεσεν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλυσάντων τῶν δήμων καὶ ὡς κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους ἀρχοντός ὑπὸ τῶν δήμων, συντείλαντι τὴν διοίκησιν πρῶτῳ καὶ φειδαμένῳ τῶν ὑπαρχέντων καὶ προσβείσαντι πρὸς Λυσίμαχον καὶ λαβόντι τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ πάλιν ἓτερα ἑκατὸν καὶ γράψαντι πρεσβείαν πρὸς Πτολεμαίον εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καθ᾽ ἣν ἐκπλεύσαντες πεινήκοντα ἐκόμισαν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντιπατρόν πρεσβεύσαντι καὶ λαβόντι εἴκοσι τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ Ἐλευσίνα κοσμασμένῳ πρὸς δήμῳ καὶ ταῦτα πείσαντι ἐλέσθαι τὸν δήμον καὶ πράξαντι, καὶ φυγόντι μὲν ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, μετεχομένῳ δὲ δήμοις ἀρχηγοῖς καὶ ἀρχηγοῖς ἐκδίδοντι καταλελύμενοι τοῦ δήμου καὶ μόνῳ Ἀθηναίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλίκιαν πολιτευμένων μὴ ἐκπλεύσαντες πεινήκοντα ἐκόμισαν τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ πρὸς Ἀντιπατρόν πρεσβεύσαντι καὶ λαβόντι εἴκοσι τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ Ἐλευσίνα κοσμασμένῳ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ταῦτα πείσαντι ἐλέσθαι τὸν δήμον καὶ πράξαντι, καὶ φυγόντι μὲν ὑπὲρ δημοκρασίας, μετεχομένῳ δὲ δήμοις ἀρχηγοῖς καὶ ἀρχηγοῖς ἐκδίδοντι καταλελύμενοι τοῦ δήμου καὶ μόνῳ Ἀθηναίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλίκιαν πολιτευμένων μὴ μεμελετηκότι τὴν πατρίδα κινείν ἐτέρω πολιτεύματι ἡ δημοκρατία καὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς οὐσίας πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἀσφαλείς ποιήσαντι δια τῆς αὐτοῦ πολιτείας καὶ μηδὲν ὑπεναντίον τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πεπραχότι μήτε λόγω μήτε ἔργῳ.

1 αὐτῷ added by Westermann.
2 ἐκγόνων Emperius: ἐγγόνων. 3 τῷ Ladeke: τῶν.
4 Westermann indicates a gap here to be filled with such words as ἀεὶ καλῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, καὶ κατεργασαμένως.
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\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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.

\(^a\) 294–290 B.C. The war ended with the surrender of Athens to Demetrius Poliorcetes.

\(^b\) 288–287 B.C.

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\(^5\) ὑπὸ Westermann: ἀπὸ.

\(^6\) πρεσβεύσαντι Meziriacus: πρεσβευόντων or πρεσβευσάντων.

\(^7\) Ἐλευσίνα Niebuhr: ἐλευσίνα.

\(^8\) ὑπὲρ Xylander: ὑπὸ.
Λυκόφρων Δυκούργου Βουτάδης ἀπεγράψατο αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ κατὰ τὴν διήμορον διωχθεὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου δυνατόν ὑπὸ τός Λυκούργος Βουτάδης. ἔπληθυνε Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ἐκτῆς πρυτανείας, 1 Στρατοκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Διομειδεύσ, 2 ἐπεινε. ἔπειπε Λυκούργος Λυκόφρων δυκούργους, Βουτάδης παραλαβοῦν παρατέσσαρα σπάνη, καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Λυκούργος, Λυκομήδης 3 τε καὶ Λυκούργος, καὶ ζώντες ἐπιτίμησαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ἀνδραγαθίαν έδωκεν ὁ δήμος δημοσίας ταφάς ἐν Κεραμεικῷ καὶ Λυκούργους αὐτός

Β Πολιτευόμενοι νόμους τε πολλοῖς καὶ καλοῖς ἐθηκε τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ γενόμενος τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου ταρμάς τῇ τοίοι ἐπὶ τρεῖς 4 πενταετηρίδας καὶ διανέεσας ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου μύρια καὶ ὀκτακισχίλια καὶ ἑκατοκισχίλια τάλαντα· πολλά δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν διὰ πύστεως λαβὼν καὶ προδανείας καὶ εἰς τούς τῆς πόλεως κατιούς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὰ πάντα ἑξακόσιον καὶ πεντάκοσια πάντα εὐνοιας, ἐπὶ τοῦ δήμου πολλὰ καὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ἀνακόσια δάνειας ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως· ἐπὶ δὲ αἱρεθεὶς αὐτὸς, τετρακόσια τριήρεις πλωτῖμους τέτρακόσια τετρακόσια, τετρακόσια τριήρεις πλωτίμους κατεσκεύασε, ταύς μὲν ἐπισκευάσας ταύς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἑξακόσιον διακόσια

1 ἐκτῆς πρυτανείας Schömann: ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ.
2 Διομειδεύσ Xylander: διομηδεύσ.
3 Λυκομήδης Pinzger from Moralia, 843 ε.: διομήδης.
4 ἐπὶ τρεῖς Meziriacus from Moralia, 841 β.
5 ξακόσια] διακόσια Sauppe from Moralia, 841 δ.
DECREES, III. 851–852

III

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;

a 307–306 B.C. Much of the substance of this document is contained in the Life of Lycurgus, see pp. 395 ff. above.
b Maidens of good birth who carried baskets of offerings in the processions.

6 ἀργυρᾶ Coraes: ἀργὺρεα. 7 δὲ added by Coraes.
ναυπηγησόμενος: πρὸς τε τοῦτοι ἡμίεργα παραλαβὼν τοὺς τε νεωσοίκους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην καὶ τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διονυσιακὸν ἐξειργάσατο, καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸ τε στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκὸν καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ κατὰ τὸν Ἥρακλην κατεσκεύασε, καὶ ἀλλαὶ πολλαὶς κατασκευαῖς ἐκώσμησε τὴν πόλιν. Ὁ Αλέξανδρος τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπασάν μὲν τὴν Ἁσίαν καταστραμμένον, κοινὴ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς Ἑλλησπόντις ἐπιτάττειν ἄξιοντος, ἐξαιτήσαντος οὐκ ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος παρ᾽ Ἅλεξανδρῷ φόβον καὶ διδοὺς εὐθύνας πολλάκις τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐν ἑλευθερίᾳ καὶ δημοκρατουμένη τῇ πόλει διετέλεσεν. Ἀνακούσας καὶ ἀδωροδόκητος τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ὅπως ἃν εἰδοὺς πάντες, διότι τοὺς προαιρουμένους ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς ἑλευθερίας δικαίως πολιτεύσεθαι καὶ ζῶντας μὲν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖται καὶ πελεντήσασι δὲ ἀποδίδωσι χάριτας ἀειμνήστειν: ἀναθημάτων δεδέχεται τοῦ γράφειν καὶ εἰ στῶσιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ τῶν ἐκγόνων Δυκοῦργον τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στήλων δοῖναι τῷ δήμῳ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐς τοὺς εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκόμενων 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 overthowing 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 Meziriacus, confirmed by the inscription: ἐξαιτήσας.
3 πράττοντα Meziriacus: πράττοντος.
4 αὐτῶ Blum: αὐτοῦ.
5 πλείστου Meziriacus: πλεῖστον.
6 ἐκγόνων Turin editors: ἐγγόνων.
7 καὶ εἶναι κύρια ... γραμματέα] the words are in the order proposed by Dübner: ἀναθέεινα δ᾿ 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.
1. *** 'Ως μὲν κοινῶς καὶ καθόλου εἰπεῖν πολλῶ προκρίνει τὸν Μένανδρον, ώς δ' εἶπε μέρους καὶ ταῦτα προστίθησιν.

Β "Τὸ φορτικὸν," φησίν, "ἐν λόγοις καὶ θυμελικὸν καὶ βάναυσον ὡς ἐστὶν Αριστοφάνει, Μενάνδρῳ δὲ οὐδαμῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ἰδιώτης, οἷς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ἀλίσκεται ὡς ὡς ταῦτα προστίθησιν. τούτοις γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ἄξιον ὡς τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιόπτωτα καὶ παρωνυμίας. τούτοις γὰρ ὁ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λόγου καὶ ὀλιγάκις χρῆται ἐπιμελείας αὐτά ἀξιόν, ὡς ὡς καὶ πολλάκις καὶ οὔκ εὐκαίρως καὶ ψυχρῶς ἐπαινεῖται γάρ, φησίν;

οτί τοὺς ταμίας ἐβάπτισεν,
οὐχὶ ταμίας ἀλλὰ Λαμίας

οὐτας. καὶ

2 ὡς ἐστὶν ἐκάθετόν τι 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. 462
SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON
BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES
AND MENANDER

1. . . . In general he 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 soused the bankers—

Though they never were that but damn curs,

and

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 ("treasers") and Lamias, fabulous creatures such as the bugbears with which children are frightened by their nurses.
καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις καὶ τοῖς κόλοις¹ καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ² γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν³ ἀφίξομαι καὶ
τί δὴτά⁴ δράσω σ',⁵ κακόδαιμον, ἀμφορεὺς ἐξοστρακισθεῖς;
καὶ
ἀγρία γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὡ γυναῖκες, δρὰ⁶ κακά, ἀτ' ἐν ἀγρίοισι⁷ τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς καὶ
ἀλλ' ἢ τριχόβρωτες⁸ τὸν λόφον μου κατέφαγον καὶ

¹ γάστριζε and κόλοις Wyttenbach from Aristophanes: γαστρὶ ζῇ and κώλοις.
² τοῦ added by Elmsley.
³ Γέλαν Xylander: τὸ γελᾶν.
⁴ δῆτα Meineke: δέ.
⁵ δράσω σ' Meineke; σὲ δράσω Reiske: σοι δράσω.
⁶ δρὰ Wyttenbach and Reiske from Aristophanes: ἄρα.
⁷ ἀγρίοισι Bernardakis: ἀγρίοις.
⁸ ἀλλ' ἢ τριχόβρωτες Aristophanes: ἀλλ' αἱ τριχόβρωτες.
ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER, 853

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.

\(^c\) Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* i. p. 546, no. 618. The play is on the word *gelos* "laughter" and the city of Gela in Sicily.

\(^d\) 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.

\(^e\) *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.

\(^f\) *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."

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φέρε δεύρο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλων.
κάμοι πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον1 δῶς κύκλων
καὶ πολλὰ τουαῦτα. ἐνεστὶ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ κατα-
σκευῇ τῶν ὀνομάτων αὐτῷ τὸ τραγικὸν τὸ κωμικὸν
τὸ σοβαρὸν τὸ πεζὸν, ἁσάφεια, κοινότης, ὄγκος καὶ
dιάρμα, σπερμολογία καὶ φλυαρία ναυτιώδης. καὶ

2. 'Ἡ δὲ Μενάνδρου φράσις οὕτω συνεξεσται
καὶ συμπέπνευκε κεκραμένη πρὸς ἑαυτήν, ὥστε διὰ

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.
σκευοποιὸς οὔτε τις ἱμάτιον ἅμα ταὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ μειρακίῳ καὶ γέροντι καὶ οἰκότριβι

πρέπον ἐποίησεν: ἀλλὰ Μένανδρος οὔτως ἔμιξε τὴν λέξιν, ὡστε πάση καὶ φύσει καὶ διαθέσει καὶ ἕλικια σύμμετρον εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα νέος μὲν ἐτὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἰώμανος, ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ διδάσκειν τελευτήσας, ὅτε μάλιστα καὶ πλείστην ἑπίδοσιν, ὥστε πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Μενάνδρου δραμάτων τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ τελευταία παραβάλοι τις, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώστημι, ὡστε ἐμελλῆ, εἰ ἐπεβίω, καὶ τούτως ἔτερα προσθῆκεν.

3. "Ὅτι τῶν διδασκόντων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὸν δῆμον γράφουσιν οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τὸ δ' ἐν ἀμφότερον ἀμφότερον τοῖς γένεσιν οὐράδιον ὅτως τῶν πάντων ὑπήρξεν εἰτείν. 'Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν οὖν οὔτε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρεστὸς οὔτε τοὺς φρονίμους ἀνεκτός, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐταίρας τῆς ποιήσεως παρηκμακούσας, ἐπὶ μημομενής γαμητήν, οὐθ' οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν αὐθάδειαν ὑπομένουσιν οἳ τε σεμνοὶ βδελύττονται το ἀκόλαστον καὶ κακόηθες. οὗτος δὲ Μένανδρος μετὰ χαρίτων μάλιστα ἑαυτὸν αὐτὰρκη παρέσχε τε καὶ μάθημα καὶ ἀγώνισμα κοινότατον ὧν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐνήνοχε καλῶν παρέσχες τὴν ποίησιν, δεικνύον τὸ δὴ καὶ ὅποιον ἔριξεν ὑπέρ θεός λόγον, ἐπιών ἀπανταχόσε μετὰ πειθοῦς ἀφύκτου καὶ χειρούμενος ἀπα-

1 ἔμιξε Herwerden: ἔδειξε.
2 ὑπομένουσιν Reiske: περιμένουσιν.

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 

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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.
σαν ἀκοὴν καὶ διάνοιαν Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς. τίνος γὰρ ἄξιον ἀληθῶς εἰς θέατρον ἐλθεῖν ἀνδρα πεπαιδευμένου ἡ Μενάνδρου ἑνεκά; πότε δὲ θέατρα πίμπλαται ἀνδρῶν φιλολόγων, κωμικοῦ¹ προσώπου δειχθέντος; ἐν δὲ συμποσίοις τίνι δικαίοτερον ἡ τράπεζα παραχωρεῖ καὶ τόπον ὁ Διόνυσος δίδωσι; φιλοσόφοι δὲ καὶ φιλολόγοι,² ὡσπερ ὅταν οἱ γραφεῖς ἐκπονηθῶσιν τὰς ὀψεις, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρώποι Καὶ ποιώδη χρώματα τρέπουσιν, ἀνάπτυξι τῶν ἀκράτων³ καὶ συντόνων ἑκείνων Μενάνδρος ἵσταν, οἰον εὐανθεῖ λειμῶνι καὶ σκιερῷ καὶ πνευμάτων μεστῷ δεχόμενος τὴν διάνοιαν. ⁴

4. 'Ότι κωμῳδίας ὑποκριτὰς⁴ τοῦ χρόνου τούτον πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἐνεγκούσης, ** *⁵ αἰ Μενάνδρου κωμῳδίας ἀφθόνων ἀλῶν καὶ ἕλαρῶν⁶ μετέχουσιν, ὡσπερ ἡ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάσσης, ἐξ ἅλες πικροὶ καὶ τραχεῖς ἑλκωτικὴ δριμύτητα καὶ δηκτικὴν ἔχουσι: καὶ οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἐν οἷς ἔστιν ἡ θρυλουμένη δεξιότης ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, ἐν λόγοις ἡ προσώποις· ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ μεμιμημένα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον

D μεμιμηταί· τὸ γὰρ πανοδρόμους οὐ πολιτικῶν ἄλλα κακόθεν, καὶ τὸ ἄγροικον οὐκ ἄφελες⁸ ἀλλ᾽ ἡλίθιοι, καὶ τὸ γελοῖον οὐ παιγνιῶδες ἄλλα καταγέλαστον,

¹ κωμικοῦ Wyttenbach: ἢ κωμικοῦ.
² φιλολόγων Wyttenbach: φιλοσόφων.
³ ἀκράτων Reiske: ἀκροατῶν.
⁴ ὑποκριτὰς Wyttenbach: ποιητᾶς Haupt.
⁵ A gap here was first suggested by Wyttenbach. Something is certainly wanting.
⁷ ἡς Haupt: ἀν.
⁸ ἀφελὲς Bryan: ἀσφαλές.
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? a And at banquets for whom is it more proper for the festive board to yield its place and for Dionysus to waive his rights b? 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 has supplied at the present time many excellent actors of comedy . . . Menander's comedies contain an abundance of salty wit and merriment, which seem like the salt c 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 rouguishness 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 facetiis Caesar vicit omnes," where facetiis corresponds to Emperius's conjecture ἵλαρων.

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καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐχ ἠλαρὸν ἀλλὰ ἀκόλαστον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔσκε μετρίῳ τὴν ποίησιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσεληνή τοῖς ἀκόλαστοις, 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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