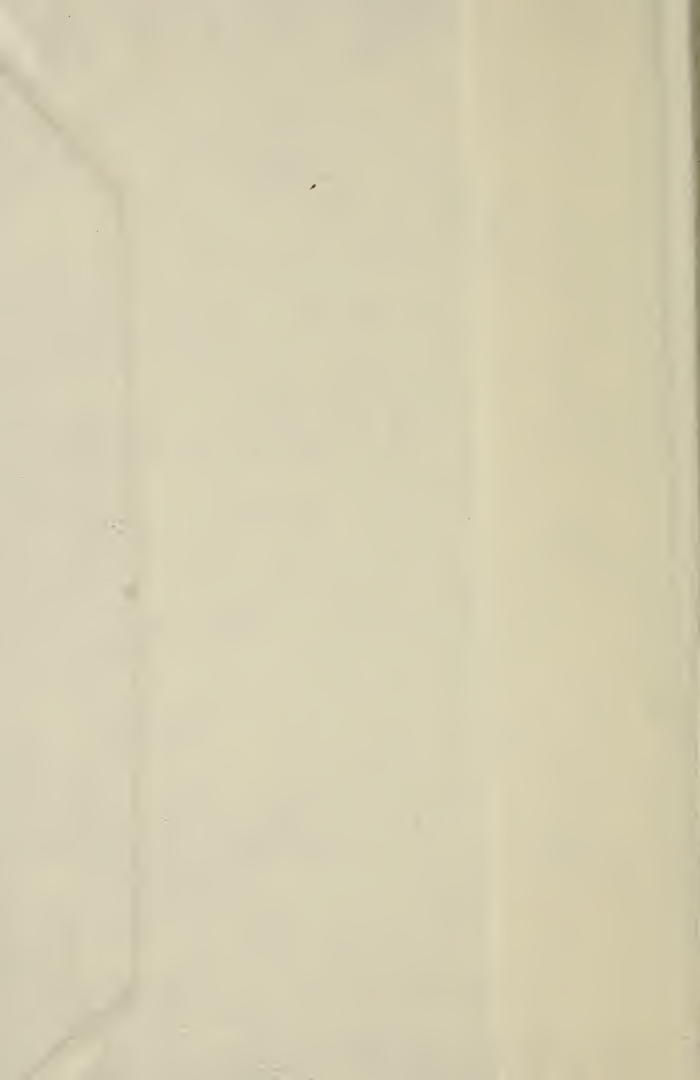


3 1761 04687089 5





7-2 18

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB, LL.D.

EDITED BY

† T. E. PAGE, C.H., LITT.D.

† E. CAPPS, PH.D., LL.D.

† W. H. D. ROUSE, LITT.D.

L. A. POST, L.H.D.

E. H. WARMINGTON, M.A., F.R.HIST.SOC.

PLUTARCH'S
MORALIA

VII

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VII

523 c—612 B

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
PHILLIP H. DE LACY

WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

AND

BENEDICT EINARSON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS
HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

LONDON

WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD

MCMLIX

© The President and Fellows of Harvard College 1959

LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

PA
4368
A2

1960
v.7



1153689

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

Printed in Great Britain

CONTENTS OF VOLUME VII

	PAGE
PREFACE	vii
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER OF THE BOOKS OF THE <i>MORALIA</i>	xiii
ON LOVE OF WEALTH—	
Introduction	2
Text and Translation	6
ON COMPLIANCY—	
Introduction	42
Text and Translation	46
ON ENVY AND HATE—	
Introduction	92
Text and Translation	94
ON PRAISING ONESELF INOFFENSIVELY—	
Introduction	110
Text and Translation	114
ON THE DELAYS OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE—	
Introduction	170
Text and Translation	180
ON FATE—	
Introduction	303
Text and Translation	310

CONTENTS

	PAGE
ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES—	
Introduction	362
Text and Translation	372
ON EXILE—	
Introduction	513
Text and Translation	518
CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE—	
Introduction	575
Text and Translation	580
INDEX	607

PREFACE

THE text rests on a collation from photostats of all MSS. known to us.^a With Bernardakis we silently correct such forms as ἀκρόχολος and ἀβέλτηρος. We have departed from all the MSS. in aspirating Ἰσμηνός and related words (cf. the note on 606 F). The best and oldest MSS. write ἄχρι, μέχρι, ἐρινύς, and ἔμπλεω (accusative singular masculine and feminine). We have therefore eliminated ἄχρισ, μέχρισ, ἐριννύς, ἔμπλεων, and the like from the text. Before consonants we retain the movable ν wherever the MSS. allow us to do so, and we follow their nearly unanimous usage in the treatment of elision and the accentuation of ἐστι.

Several superior figures and letters are used in the textual notes: 1 indicates the reading of the first hand, 2 of the second, and so forth^b; c a correction by the first hand, ac the reading before such correction; ras a reading produced by erasure, aras the reading before erasure; t a reading in the text, ss a

^a See our papers "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch, *Moralia*, 548 A—612 B," *Classical Philology*, vol. xlvi (1951), pp. 93-110; and "The Manuscript Tradition of Plutarch, *Moralia*, 523 C—547 F," *ibid.* vol. liii (1958), pp. 217-233.

^b The superior letters vet and e indicate each an early hand whose relation to the rest we have not ventured to determine. X^d is the diorthotes of X.

PREFACE

superscribed reading, mg a reading in the margin; and s a reading taken from a part of the ms. supplied by a later hand. A list of mss. cited follows; the dating is that of the catalogues and later literature.

- A 1671 in the national library at Paris; A.D. 1296.
- B 1675 in the national library at Paris; 15th century.
- C 1955 in the national library at Paris; 11th–12th century.
- D 1956 in the national library at Paris; 11th–12th century.
- E 1672 in the national library at Paris; written shortly after A.D. 1302.
- F 1957 in the national library at Paris; end of the 11th century.
- G 182 in the Barberini collection at the Vatican; 11th century.
- H 283 in the Palatine collection at Heidelberg University; 11th–12th century.
- I Excerpts in ms. 11360-63 in the royal library at Brussels; 14th–15th century.
- J C 195 inf. (881) in the Ambrosian library; 13th century.
- K 1309 in the Vatican library; 14th–15th century.
- L 69, 13 in the Laurentian library; 10th century.
- M Formerly 501 in the library of the Synod at Moscow; 12th century.
- N Formerly 502 in the library of the Synod at Moscow; 12th century.
- R 4458 in the Mazarin library at Paris; 14th century.
- S 264 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
- U 97 in the Urbino collection at the Vatican; 10th–11th century.

PREFACE

- V 427 in the library of St. Mark ; 14th century.
- W 129 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna ; 11th–12th century.
- W^R 45 in the Riccardi library. It is cited for the missing pages of its original, W.
- X 250 in the library of St. Mark ; 11th and 14th century. The *De fato* is contained in the later portion.
- Y 249 in the library of St. Mark ; 11th–12th century.
- Z 511 in the library of St. Mark ; 14th century.
- 3 Excerpts from the *De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* in Johannes Diaconus' commentary on Hermogenes *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* in ms. 2228 at the Vatican (14th century).
- a Q 89 sup. (689) in the Ambrosian library ; 15th century.
- b 18967 in the royal library at Brussels ; 15th century.
- e 199 in the Vatican library ; 14th century.
- f 26 in the collection of the Conventi soppressi at the Laurentian library ; 14th century.
- h 5612 of the Harleian collection in the British Museum ; 15th century.
- i 56, 4 in the Laurentian library ; 15th century.
- k 80, 28 in the Laurentian library ; 15th century. The *De cupiditate divitiarum* is found in ms. 80, 29, also designated k, of the Laurentian. Both were once parts of the same ms.
- l 56, 5 in the Laurentian library ; 14th century.
- m E 10 sup. (271) in the Ambrosian library ; 16th century.
- n 350 III E 28 in the national library at Naples ; 15th century.

PREFACE

- p 178 in the Palatine collection at the Vatican ; 15th century.
- q 1010 in the Vatican library ; 14th century.
- r 41 in the Rehdiger collection at Wrocław University ; 16th century.
- s 1012 in the Vatican library ; 14th century.
- v 46 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna ; 15th century.
- w 36 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna ; 15th century.
- y 1009 in the Vatican library ; 14th century.
- a C 126 inf. (859) in the Ambrosian library ; A.D. 1294-95.
- β 1013 in the Vatican library ; 14th century.
- γ 139 in the Vatican library ; written shortly after A.
- ε 4690 in the national library at Madrid ; 14th century.
- ζ Excerpts in ms. X I 13 of the Escorial ; 14th century.
- μ 80, 21 in the Laurentian library ; 15th century.
- π 80, 22 in the Laurentian library ; written (except for folios 12^r-13^r) by Filelfo.
- σ 248 in the library of St. Mark ; A.D. 1455.
- s Excerpts in ms. Φ III 11 of the Escorial ; 16th century.
- v 98 in the Urbino collection at the Vatican ; 14th century.
- φ 145 in the Este library at Modena ; 15th century.

Ald.² indicates conjectures found in the margins of certain copies of the Aldine. A copy in the Angelica (SS. 6, 17) and one in the Vatican (I. 23) ascribe many of these to Leonicus, Donatus Polus, and Victorius. Our own conjectures are indicated by "nos."

To the translations of the entire *Moralia* listed in

PREFACE

vol. i (pp. xxviii-xxx) may be added that of Victor Bétolaud.^a The essays in the present volume have all been rendered into Italian by various hands.^b Six have been rendered into English by A. R. Shilleto,^c four into Spanish by Diego Gracián,^d three into Dutch by J. H. Glazemaker,^e two each into Dutch by J. J. Hartman^f and A. J. Koster,^g and

^a *Œuvres complètes de Plutarque: Œuvres morales et œuvres diverses.* 5 vols. (Paris, 1870).

^b *Alcuni Opusculetti de le cose morali del Divino Plutarco* (Venice, 1543). Tarcagnotta translated the *De cupiditate divitiarum*, Massa the *De vitioso pudore*. In the *Seconda Parte* (Venice, 1548) of a later edition Tarchagnotta translated the *De invidia et odio*, the *De sera numinis vindicta*, and the *De exilio*.

Opuscoli Morali, di Plutarco (Venice, 1598). Marc' Antonio Gandini translated the *De sera numinis vindicta*, *De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando*, *De exilio*, and *De genio Socratis*; G. M. Gratij the *Consolatio ad uxorem*.

Opuscoli morali di Plutarco, volgarizzati da Marcello Adriani il giovane. 6 vols. (Florence, 1819-1820). In the edition we possess (Milan, 1825-1829) the *De genio Socratis* is by Gandini, the *De fato* by F. Ambrosoli.

^c *Plutarch's Morals: Ethical Essays* (London, 1898). Not included are the *De cupiditate divitiarum*, *De fato*, and *De genio Socratis*.

^d *Morales de Plutarco* (Alcalá de Henares, 1542). Included are the *De invidia et odio*, *De cupiditate divitiarum*, *De vitioso pudore*, and *De exilio*.

^e *Verscheide Zedige Werken van Plutarchus* (Amsterdam, 1661). Included are the *De vitioso pudore*, *De invidia et odio*, and *De cupiditate divitiarum*. For other early Dutch translations of the *Moralia* (many, like this, from Amyot), see M. Boas in *Het Boek*, vol. v (1915), pp. 1-10, 85-95, 229-240.

^f *De Avondzon des Heidendoms* (Zutphen, 1910-1912). The *De vitioso pudore* and *De sera numinis vindicta* are translated entire.

^g *Plutarchus: Bloemlezing uit de Moralia* (Amsterdam, 1954). Included are the *Consolatio ad uxorem* and the *De sera numinis vindicta*.

PREFACE

two each into German by O. Apelt^a and K. Ziegler.^b

Our thanks are due to the University of Chicago and the trustees of the Loeb Classical Library for defraying expenses, to Professor M. Pohlenz and Dr. J. Mau for the loan of photostats, and to F. J. Whitfield, W. C. Helmbold, A. D. Nock, D. A. Russell, R. T. Bruère, and Hans Petersen for friendly help in various forms. Our greatest obligation we are debarred from expressing.

PHILLIP H. DE LACY
Washington University

BENEDICT EINARSON
The University of Chicago

^a *Plutarch, Moralische Schriften, Zweites Bändchen* (Leipzig, 1926). Included are the *Consolatio ad uxorem* and *De fato*.

^b *Plutarch Über Gott und Vorsehung, Dämonen und Weissagung* (Zürich, 1952). Included are the *De sera numinis vindicta* and the *De genio Socratis*.

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

	PAGE
I. De liberis educandis (Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς) . . .	1A
Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat (Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν) . . .	17D
De recta ratione audiendi (Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν) . . .	37B
Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur (Πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνειε τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου) . . .	48E
Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus (Πῶς ἂν τις αἰσθοῖτο ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ) . . .	75A
II. De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (Πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο)	86B
De amicorum multitudine (Περὶ πολυφιλίας) . . .	93A
De fortuna (Περὶ τύχης) . . .	97C
De virtute et vitio (Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας) . . .	100B
Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς 'Απολλώνιον) . . .	101F
De tuenda sanitate praecepta (Ἵγιεινὰ παρ- αγγέλματα) . . .	122B
Coniugalia praecepta (Γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα) . . .	138A
Septem sapientium convivium (Τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν συμπόσιον) . . .	146B
De superstitione (Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας) . . .	164E
III. Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata ('Απο- φθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν) . . .	172A
Apophthegmata Laconica ('Αποφθέγματα Λα- κωνικά) . . .	208A
Instituta Laconica (Τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιτηδεύματα) . . .	236F

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

	PAGE
Lacaenarum apophthegmata (Λακαινῶν ἀποφθέγματα)	240C
Mulierum virtutes (Γυναικῶν ἀρεταί)	242E
IV. Quaestiones Romanae (Αἵτια Ῥωμαϊκά)	263D
Quaestiones Graecae (Αἵτια Ἑλληνικά)	291D
Parallela Graeca et Romana (Συναγωγὴ ἱστοριῶν παραλλήλων Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ Ῥωμαϊκῶν)	305A
De fortuna Romanorum (Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων τύχης)	316B
De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute, libri ii (Περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τύχης ἢ ἀρετῆς, λόγοι β')	326D
Bellone an pace clariores fuerint Athenienses (Πότερον Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόλεμον ἢ κατὰ σοφίαν ἐνδοξότεροι)	345C
V. De Iside et Osiride (Περὶ Ἰσιδος καὶ Ὀσίριδος)	351C
De E apud Delphos (Περὶ τοῦ Εἰ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς)	384C
De Pythiae oraculis (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ χρᾶν ἔμμετρα νῦν τὴν Πυθίαν)	394D
De defectu oraculorum (Περὶ τῶν ἐκλελοιπότην χρηστηρίων)	409E
VI. An virtus doceri possit (Εἰ διδακτὸν ἡ ἀρετὴ)	439A
De virtute morali (Περὶ τῆς ἠθικῆς ἀρετῆς)	440D
De cohibenda ira (Περὶ ἀοργησίας)	452E
De tranquillitate animi (Περὶ εὐθυμίας)	464E
De fraterno amore (Περὶ φιλαδελφίας)	478A
De amore prolis (Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔκγονα φιλοστοργίας)	493A
An vitiositas ad infelicitatem sufficiat (Εἰ αὐτάρκης ἡ κακία πρὸς κακοδαιμονίαν)	498A
Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores (Πότερον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢ τὰ τοῦ σώματος πάθη χεῖρονα)	500B
De garrulitate (Περὶ ἀδολεσχίας)	502B
De curiositate (Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης)	515B
VII. De cupiditate divitiarum (Περὶ φιλοπλουτίας)	523C
De vitioso pudore (Περὶ δυσωπίας)	528C
De invidia et odio (Περὶ φθόνου καὶ μίσους)	536E
De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando (Περὶ τοῦ ἐαυτὸν ἐπαιεῖν ἀνεπιφθόνως)	539A
De sera numinis vindicta (Περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βραδέως τιμωρουμένων)	548A

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

	PAGE
De fato (Περὶ εἰμαρμένης)	568B
De genio Socratis (Περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου)	575A
De exilio (Περὶ φυγῆς).	599A
Consolatio ad uxorem (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα).	608A
VIII. Quaestionum convivalium libri vi (Συμποσιακῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία 5')	612C
I, 612C; II, 629B; III, 644E; IV, 659E; V, 672D; VI, 686A	
IX. Quaestionum convivalium libri iii (Συμποσιακῶν προβλημάτων βιβλία 3')	697C
VII, 697C; VIII, 716D; IX, 736C	
Amatorius ('Ερωτικὸς)	748E
X. Amatoriae narrationes ('Ερωτικαὶ διηγήσεις)	771E
Maxime cum principibus philosopho esse disserendum (Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι μάλιστα τοῖς ἡγεμόσι δεῖ τὸν φιλόσοφον διαλέγεσθαι)	776A
Ad principem ineruditum (Πρὸς ἡγεμόνα ἀπαίδευτον)	779C
An seni respublica gerenda sit (Εἰ πρεσβυτέρῳ πολιτευτέον)	783A
Praecepta gerendae reipublicae (Πολιτικὰ παραγγέλματα)	798A
De unius in republica dominatione, populari statu, et paucorum imperio (Περὶ μοναρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας)	826A
De vitando aere alieno (Περὶ τοῦ μὴ δεῖν δανείζεσθαι)	827D
Vitae decem oratorum (Περὶ τῶν δέκα ῥητόρων)	832B
Comparisonis Aristophanis et Menandri compendium (Συγκρίσεως Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Μενάνδρου ἐπιτομή)	853A
XI. De Herodoti malignitate (Περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κακοθείας)	854E
De placitis philosophorum, libri v (Περὶ τῶν ἀρεσκόντων τοῖς φιλοσόφοις, βιβλία 5')	874D
Quaestiones naturales (Αἴτια φυσικά)	911C
XII. De facie quae in orbe lunae apparet (Περὶ τοῦ ἐμφαινομένου προσώπου τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς σελήνης)	920A
De primo frigido (Περὶ τοῦ πρώτως ψυχροῦ)	945E

THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

		PAGE
	Aquane an ignis sit utilior (Περὶ τοῦ πότερον ὕδωρ ἢ πῦρ χρησιμώτερον)	955D
	Terrestriane an aquatilia animalia sint callidiora (Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαῖα ἢ τὰ ἐνυδρα)	959A
	Bruta animalia ratione uti, sive Gryllus (Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρῆσθαι)	985D
	De esu carnum orationes ii (Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας λόγοι β')	993A
XIII.	Platonicae quaestiones (Πλατωνικὰ ζητήματα)	999C
	De animae procreatione in Timaeo (Περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας)	1012A
	Compendium libri de animae procreatione in Timaeo (Ἐπιτομὴ τοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας)	1030D
	De Stoicorum repugnantiiis (Περὶ Στωικῶν ἐναντιωμάτων)	1033A
	Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere (Σύνοψις τοῦ ὅτι παραδοξότερα οἱ Στωικοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγουσι)	1057C
	De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos (Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς τοὺς Στωικούς)	1058E
XIV.	Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum ('Ὅτι οὐδ' ἡδέως ζῆν ἔστι κατ' Ἐπίκουρον)	1086C
	Adversus Colotem (Πρὸς Κωλώτην)	1107D
	An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum (εἰ καλῶς εἴρηται τὸ λάθε βιώσας)	1128A
	De musica (Περὶ μουσικῆς)	1131A
XV.	Fragments and Index	

ON LOVE OF WEALTH
(DE CUPIDITATE DIVITIARUM)

INTRODUCTION

THE governing ideas of the essay *On Love of Wealth* are Aristotelian, though the source is ultimately Plato. Thus Plutarch quotes fragments of Aristotle (527 A)^a and of Theophrastus (527 B). In the *Politics* (i. 8-9, 1256 b 26—1257 a 14) Aristotle distinguishes natural wealth, which consists of what is necessary to life or useful for the society of a city or household,^b from non-natural wealth, which consists of money and is unlimited.^c It is on this distinction between the useful or necessary on the one hand and the superfluous

^a The fragment (no. 56 Rose) is based on the *Euthydemus* (280 B 5—281 E 5), where the distinction between not using wealth and using it, and between using it well and ill is drawn.

^b This distinction between what is necessary to life and what is useful for the good life is probably implied in Plutarch's "necessary" and "useful." Plutarch does not dwell on the distinction, as this might have diminished the effect of his denunciation of unnecessary and superfluous wealth. In the *Politics* (vii. 5. 1, 1326 b 32-39) Aristotle points out that the standard for "utility" of possessions can be so restricted as to lead to meanness and so expanded as to lead to luxury.

^c Cf. Plato, *Republic*, ii. 373 D 9 f., ix. 591 D 6—E 5 and [Andronicus] *περὶ παθῶν* (p. 19 Kreuttner; von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 397, p. 97. 18): φιλοχρηματία δὲ ἐπιθυμία ἄχρηστος ἢ (Wachsmuth wrongly excises ἄχρηστος ἢ: cf. 524 F, 525 B, F) ἄμετρος χρημάτων. Both Aristotle (1256 b 33 f.) and Plutarch (524 E) quote in this connexion the same verse of Solon. The variant in Plutarch (ἀνθρώποισιν for ἀνδράσι κείται) is ancient (cf. Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides*, pp. 270 f.); Plutarch is no doubt quoting from memory.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH

on the other that Plutarch builds his argument.^a He has been influenced by several points in the discussion of liberality in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (iv. 1-3, 1119 b 21—1122 a 17), whether directly or through the medium of some lost Peripatetic writing. Thus Aristotle makes the prodigal better than the illiberal man (1121 a 18-b 14; 1122 a 13-16); compare Plutarch, 525 F—526 A.^b In Aristotle illiberal men are of many kinds, some abstaining from the property of others, some not (1121 b 17—1122 a 13)^c; Plutarch distinguishes the avarice of the ant from that of the beast of prey (525 E-F). We may further note that Aristotle (1121 b 12) calls illiberality incurable^d; Plutarch explains the case, but prescribes no regimen (524 D). Natural wealth is spoken of in the *Eudemian*

^a He does not ignore such uses of wealth as benefiting friends or munificence to one's country (525 c-D); these uses are however not stressed, but made incidental to the description of the miser's life.

^b Contrast Plato, *Republic*, viii. 550 c—562 A, where prodigality, as producing the democratic man, is implied to be worse than love of wealth, which produces the oligarchic man, and *Laws*, v. 743 B 4. Aristotle's limiting of the meaning of "prodigal" (1119 b 30—1120 a 4) and his rating of the prodigal above the illiberal man are doubtless corrections of Plato. In 527 A Plutarch says that the misuse of money is more injurious and shameful than the failure to use it. The idea is that of the *Euthydemus* (280 D 7, E 5-6), and doubtless came from the same lost work of Aristotle as the fragment. Here Aristotle and Plutarch had the prodigal sensualist in mind.

^c Cf. Plato, *Laws*, v. 743 B 5-8.

^d Aspasius (*In Ethica Nicomachea Quae Supersunt Comm.*, p. 102. 3 f. Heylbut) on the passage interprets "hard to cure." The idea is found in Plato, *Laws*, v. 743 D; see also Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 9 (24). Galen (*De Affectuum Dignotione*, chap. x. 5) makes the insatiable desire for money incurable after forty or at the utmost fifty.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Ethics (iii. 4. 3-5, 1231 b 38—1232 a 10) ; here we also find the word ἀποβολή as the opposite of acquisition (1231 b 29 f., 38 ; cf. ἀποβάλλοντας in Plutarch, 524 A), and the point that the prodigal falls short of necessities (1232 a 9 ; cf. Plutarch, 524 A).^a

Plutarch does not of course confine himself to the Platonic and Aristotelian remarks on the subject, but also avails himself of points made by Cynics and other philosophers ; reference to these will be found in the notes on the essay.

The plan is simple. After an introduction in which Plutarch says that wealth cannot purchase happiness he passes to ordinary misers and prodigals and shows the disadvantages of their condition : in both the desire for goods and money is insatiable, while in misers it is in conflict with its satisfaction. From these he passes to rapacious misers and prodigals, and pronounces the latter less offensive. The excuse that misers save their money for their children is shown to be absurd. Another excuse for the rich, that some (unlike misers) make lavish use of their wealth, is refuted by examining what is meant by " use." If the use is merely to obtain sufficiency, the rich are no better off than men of moderate means. If " use " is spending wealth on luxuries, wealth is a mere show and spectacle. The essay closes with a comparison of this theatrical wealth to the goods of philosophy.

^a Cf. Plato, *Laws*, v. 743 B 8. Unlike Aristotle (1119 b 30—1120 a 4), Plutarch does not restrict the meaning of the word " prodigal." Aristotle here is criticizing Plato's use in *Republic*, viii. 560 E 2, 5. The source of many of Aristotle's remarks is Plato, *Laws*, v. 742 A ff. We note that Aristotle (1121 b 33 πορνοβοσκοί) clears up the interpretation of βοσκημάτων αἰσχυρῶν (743 D 4), an expression that perplexed all commentators before Wilamowitz (*Platon*, ii, 1919, p. 399).

ON LOVE OF WEALTH

The theme is discussed by Plutarch in the fragments *On Wealth* (Bern. vii, pp. 123 f.) ; he no doubt treated it also in the *Protreptic to a Wealthy Young Man* (No. 207 in the catalogue of Lamprias), of which no identified fragments survive.

A certain exuberance and fancifulness in the diction would incline one to date the essay early in Plutarch's career. A Latin translation by Erasmus appeared at Basle in 1514, another by Richard Pace at Venice in 1522. There is also a German translation by W. Ax.^a Two French translations we have not seen.^b The essay is No. 211 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC G Xv Í W DZφab y hki N M vw Ylq. Other mss., J aσεε, are cited for an occasional conjecture.

^a *Plutarch Moralia*, Leipzig, 1942, pp. 114-128.

^b *Nouvelle Traduction de divers morceaux choisis des Œuvres morales de Plutarque*, par M. l'abbé Lambert . . . Paris, 1763.

Traduction de différents traités de morale de Plutarque, par M.***, Paris, 1777. Barbier attributes this version to the abbé Jacques Gaudin.

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΠΛΟΥΤΙΑΣ

1. Ἰππόμαχος ὁ ἀλείπτῃς ἐπαινούντων τινῶν ἀν-
 D θρωπον εὐμήκη καὶ μακρὰς ἔχοντα χεῖρας ὡς
 πυκτικόν, “ εἶπερ,”¹ ἔφη, “ καθελεῖν ἔδει τὸν στέ-
 φανον κρεμάμενον.”² τοῦτ’ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς
 τὰ καλὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς μεγάλας οἰκίας καὶ τὸ πολὺ
 ἀργύριον³ ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους καὶ μακαρίζοντας·
 “ εἴ γε ἔδει πωλουμένην πρίασθαι τὴν εὐδαιμο-
 νίαν.”⁴ (καίτοι⁵ πολλοὺς ἀν εἴποι⁶ τις ὅτι μᾶλλον⁷
 ἐθέλουσι⁸ πλουτεῖν καὶ κακοδαιμονοῦντες⁹ ἢ μακά-
 ριοι γενέσθαι δόντες¹⁰ ἀργύριον.) ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔστι γε
 χρημάτων ὦνιον ἀλυπία μεγαλοφροσύνη εὐστάθεια
 θαρραλεότης αὐτάρκεια.

Τὸ¹¹ πλουτεῖν οὐκ ἔστι¹¹ τὸ πλούτου καταφρονεῖν
 E οὐδὲ τὸ¹¹ τὰ¹² περιττὰ κεκτηῖσθαι τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι τῶν
 περιττῶν. (2.) τίνος οὖν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν ἄλλων

¹ εἶπερ C J² DZfab M² vw q; καὶ γε G; ὡσπερ.

² κρεμάμενον (τὸν κρ. ab)] ἠωρημένον C.

³ πολὺ ἀργύριον (and so G⁴)] πολυάργυρον G¹.

⁴ πρίασθαι (and so G⁴; πριάσθαι X N¹; πριάσθαι D N²; ὀράσθαι G¹) τὴν εὐδ.] τὴν εὐδ. πρ. C.

⁵ καίτοι] καὶ W.

⁶ εἴποι] ἴδοι C J² w² q.

⁷ ὅτι μ. D hk¹i; μ. οἶ J¹; οἶ μ. γ Zφ(ῆ μ. a)bM² vw; μ.

⁸ ἐθέλουσι (and so I)] ἐθέλοντας C G q.

⁹ κακοδαιμονοῦντες Xv I W y M² vw; κακοδαιμονεῖν C G DZfab hki M¹ q; κακοδαιμονεῖν οὖν N Yl.

¹⁰ μακάριοι γ. δόντες] μακαρίους γ. δόντας C G I y q; μακα-
 ρίοις γ. δόντες Xv.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH

1. WHEN some persons praised a tall fellow with a long reach as having the makings of a fine boxer, the trainer Hippomachus ^a remarked: "Yes, if the crown were hung up and to be got by reaching." So too we can say to those who are dazzled by fine estates, great houses, and large sums of money and regard them as the greatest of blessings: "Yes, if happiness were for sale and to be got by purchase." (Nevertheless many cases could be cited of men who would rather be rich though miserable than become happy by paying money to be so.) But money cannot buy peace of mind, greatness of spirit, serenity, confidence, and self-sufficiency.^b

Having wealth is not the same as being superior to it, nor is possessing luxuries the same as feeling no need of them. (2.) From what other ills then does

^a Mentioned in the *Life of Dion*, chap. i. 4 (958 c). He appears to have lived in the second part of the fourth century: cf. Athenaeus, xiii. 584 c.

^b Cf. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 155-157:

"at si divitiae prudentem reddere possent,
si cupidum timidumque minus te: nempe ruberes
viveret in terris te siquis avarior uno."

¹¹ τὸ . . . ἔστι . . . τὸ (vw omit the second τὸ): τῶ . . .
ἔνεστι . . . τῶ DZfab.

¹² τὰ] C hk¹i omit.

(523) κακῶν ὁ πλοῦτος εἰ μηδὲ φιλοπλουτίας; ἀλλὰ ποτὸν¹ μὲν ἔσβεσεν² τὴν ποτοῦ ὄρεξιν καὶ τροφή³ τὴν⁴ τροφῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἠκέσατο⁵. κακείνος ὁ λέγων

δὸς χλαῖναν Ἰππώνακτι, κάρτα γὰρ ριγῶ

πλειόνων ἐπιφερομένων⁶ δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ διωθεῖται· φιλαργυρίαν δὲ οὐ σβέννυσιν ἀργύριον οὐδὲ χρυσίον, οὐδὲ πλεονεξία παύεται κτωμένη τὸ πλεόν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ὡς πρὸς⁷ ἰατρὸν ἀλαζόνα·

τὸ φάρμακόν σου τὴν νόσον μείζω ποιεῖ·

Ἐ ἄρτου δεομένους καὶ οἴκου⁸ καὶ σκέπης μετρίας καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ὄψου παραλαβὼν ἐμπέπληκεν ἐπιθυμίας χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐλέφαντος καὶ σμαράγδων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ἵππων, εἰς χαλεπὰ⁹ καὶ σπάνια καὶ δυσπόριστα¹⁰ καὶ ἄχρηστα μεταθεῖς ἐκ τῶν ἀναγκαίων τὴν ὄρεξιν. ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἀρκούντων οὐδεὶς πένης ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δεδάνεισται πώποτε ἄνθρωπος ἀργύριον ἵνα ἄλφιστα πρίηται ἢ τυρόν¹¹ ἢ ἄρτον ἢ ἐλαιάς, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἰκία πολυτελῆς
524 χρεωφειλέτην πεποιήκεν,¹² τὸν δὲ ὁμοροῦν ἐλαιό-

¹ ποτὸν hki and Antonii *Melissa* (PG 136 896 A): ποτὸς G; ποτῶ.

² ἔσβεσεν D^{ac} (-σε G hk¹i): ἔσβεσαν.

³ τροφή C¹ G y hki N Y^{ras}: τροφήν q; τροφή (and so I).

⁴ τὴν] τὴν τῆς C w.

⁵ ἠκέσατο (ἦ- X¹υ q; ἠκάσατο N)] ἠκέσαντο I DZfab M² vw l².

⁶ πλ. ἐπιφ. is put after διωθεῖται in C.

⁷ ὡς πρὸς C: ὡσπερ.

⁸ οἴκου] οἴνου I W.

⁹ χαλεπὰ] χαλεπώτατα LC.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 523-524

wealth deliver us, if it does not even deliver us from the craving for it? ^a Nay, drink allays the desire of drink, and food is a remedy for hunger; and one who says

A cloak I beg: Hipponax is acold ^b

is annoyed when several are brought and rejects them; but neither silver nor gold allays the craving for money, nor does the greed of gain ever cease from acquiring new gains. No; one can say to wealth as to a pretentious physician:

Your physic but increases the disease. ^c

Finding us in want of a loaf, a house, a modest protection from the weather, and whatever comes to hand to supplement our loaf, wealth infects us with the desire for gold and silver and ivory and emeralds and hounds and horses, diverting our appetite from the necessities of life to what is difficult, rare, hard to procure, and useless. Indeed in what suffices no one is poor ^d; and no one has ever borrowed money to buy barley meal, a cheese, a loaf, or olives. Rather one man has run into debt for a splendid house, another for an adjoining olive plantation, another for

^a Cf. Teles, p. 35. 9-36. 1 (ed. Hense²).

^b Hipponax, frag. 17 (ed. Bergk), 24 b (ed. Diehl); quoted also in *Mor.* 1058 D, 1068 B.

^c Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.* iii, p. 494, Adespota, no. 455.

^d Cf. Teles, p. 7. 4 (ed. Hense²), Seneca, *Ep.* xxv. 4 (Epictetus, Frag. 602 Usener), Favorinus, *On Exile*, col. 17. 1-2, Clement, *Paed.* ii. 14. 5 (p. 164 Stählin²), and P. Wendland, "Philo und die kynisch-stoische Diatribe" (in *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. griech. Philosophie und Religion*, Berlin, 1895), pp. 9-15.

¹⁰ δυσπόριστα] δυσεύρετα καὶ δυσπόριστα LC.

¹¹ τυρόν] πυρόν LC¹.

¹² πεποίηκεν W k N Yl (-κε the rest): ἐποίησε LC.

(524) φυτον, τὸν δὲ σιτῶνες,¹ ἀμπελῶνες, ἄλλον ἡμίονοι
Γαλατικάι, ἄλλον ἵπποι ζυγοφόροι

κείν' ὄχρα κροτέοντες

ἐνσεσεΐκασιν εἰς βάραθρα² συμβολαίων καὶ τόκων
καὶ ὑποθηκῶν· εἶτα ὥσπερ οἱ πίνοντες μετὰ τὸ μὴ
διψῆν ἢ ἐσθίοντες μετὰ τὸ μὴ πεινῆν καὶ ὅσα
διψῶντες ἢ πεινῶντες ἔλαβον προσεξεμοῦσιν, οὕτως
οἱ τῶν ἀχρήστων ἐφίεμενοι καὶ περιττῶν οὐδὲ τῶν
ἀναγκαίων κρατοῦσιν. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι.

3. Τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἀποβάλλοντας³ ἔχοντας δὲ πολ-
λὰ πλειόνων δὲ αἰεὶ⁴ δεομένους ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμά-
σειεν ἄν⁵ τις τοῦ Ἀριστίππου μεμνημένος. ἐκεῖνος
B γὰρ εἰώθει λέγειν ὅτι “ πολλὰ μὲν τις ἐσθίων
πολλὰ δὲ πίνων πληρούμενος δὲ μηδέποτε πρὸς
τοὺς ἰατροὺς βαδίζει καὶ πυνθάνεται τί⁶ τὸ πάθος
καὶ τίς ἢ διάθεσις καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγείη· εἰ δέ
τις ἔχων πέντε κλίνας δέκα ζητεῖ, καὶ κεκτημένος⁷
δέκα τραπέζας ἑτέρας συνωνεῖται τοσαύτας, καὶ
χωρίων πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ ἀργυρίου οὐ γίνεται
μεστός ἀλλὰ ἐπ' ἄλλα συντέταται καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖ καὶ
ἀπλήρωτός ἐστιν πάντων, οὗτος οὐκ οἶεται⁸ δεῖσθαι
τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος⁹ καὶ δείξοντος ὑφ'¹⁰ ἧς αἰτίας

¹ σιτῶνες (and so G⁴): σιτόσπορον G¹.

² βάραθρα] βάραθρον D hki; βάθρον Zfab.

³ ἀποβάλλοντας (-άλo- b; -ες v)] διαβάλλοντας Xu y hki N Yl.

⁴ πλ. δὲ αἰεὶ (πλείονες αἰεὶ φ)] καὶ πλειόνων αἰεὶ L; πλειόνων αἰεὶ
C¹; πλειόνων δὲ hki.

⁵ ἄν] LC omit.

⁶ τί M vw Yl; the rest omit.

fields and vineyards ; and there are still others that Galatian ^a mules or a set of horses

Rattling an empty chariot behind ^b

have driven into a morass of bonds, usury, and mortgages. And then, as those who drink when no longer thirsty, or eat when no longer hungry, vomit up with the surfeit the rest as well that was taken to satisfy hunger or thirst, so those who seek the useless and superfluous do not even retain the necessary. Such then is the condition of one sort of lover of wealth.

3. Those on the other hand who part with nothing, though they have great possessions, but always want greater, would strike one who remembered what Aristippus said as even more absurd. " If a man eats and drinks a great deal," he used to say, " but is never filled,^c he sees a physician, inquires what ails him, what is wrong with his system, and how to rid himself of the disorder ; but if the owner of five couches goes looking for ten, and the owner of ten tables buys up as many again, and though he has lands and money in plenty is not satisfied but bent on more, losing sleep and never sated by any amount, does he imagine that he does not need someone who will prescribe for him and point out the cause of his

^a Or possibly Gallic.

^b Homer, *Il.* xv. 453. " Empty " also means " vain."

^c Cf. Xenophon, *Symp.* iv. 37. The comparison of misers to sufferers from dropsy—who though full of fluid desire drink—was first made by Diogenes : cf. Stobaeus, *Anth.* iii. 10. 45 (p. 419 Hense with the note), and Teles, p. 39. 3 (ed. Hense²).

⁷ καὶ (G¹ omits) κεκτημένος] καὶ τεκτηνόμενος LC.

⁸ οὗτος οὐκ οἶεται] οὐκ οἶεται οὗτος LC.

⁹ θεραπεύοντος] θεραπεύοντος LC.

¹⁰ ὑφ' (and so LC)] ἀφ' DZfab.

(524) τοῦτο πέπονθεν;” καίτοι τῶν διψώντων¹ τὸν μὲν²

C οὐ πεπωκότα προσδοκήσειεν ἂν τις ἀπαλλαγῆσθαι πίνοντα τοῦ διψῆν, τὸν δὲ πίνοντα συνεχῶς καὶ μὴ παυόμενον οὐ πληρώσεως ἀλλὰ καθάρσεως οἰόμεθα δεῖσθαι καὶ κελεύομεν ἐμῆν ὡς³ οὐχ ὑπ’ ἐνδείας ὀχλούμενον ἀλλὰ τινος δριμύτητος ἢ θερμότητος αὐτῷ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνούσης⁴. οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν ποριζόντων ὁ μὲν ἐνδεῆς καὶ ἄπορος παύσαιτ’ ἂν⁵ ἴσως οὐσίαν⁶ κτησάμενος ἢ θησαυρὸν εὐρῶν ἢ φίλου βοηθήσαντος ἐκτίσας καὶ ἀπαλλαγείς τοῦ δανειστοῦ, τὸν δὲ πλείω τῶν ἱκανῶν ἔχοντα καὶ πλειόνων ὀρεγόμενον οὐ⁷ χρυσίον ἐστὶν οὐδὲ ἀργύριον τὸ θεραπεῦσον⁸ οὐδ’ ἵπποι καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βόες, ἀλλ’

D ἐκβολῆς δεῖται καὶ καθαρμουῦ. πενία γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλ’ ἀπληστία τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλοπλουτία διὰ κρίσιν φαύλην καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἐνοῦσαν⁹. ἦν ἂν μὴ τις ἐξέληται τῆς ψυχῆς ὡσπερ ἔλμιγγα πλατεῖαν,¹⁰ οὐ παύσονται δεόμενοι τῶν περιττῶν, τουτέστιν ἐπιθυμοῦντες ὧν οὐ δέονται.

4. Ὅταν ἰατρὸς εἰσελθὼν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον¹¹ ἔρριμμένον ἐν τῷ¹² κλινιδίῳ καὶ στένοντα καὶ μὴ βουλό-

¹ τῶν (G¹ omits) διψώντων (-όν- N¹) τῶν διψηλῶν G⁴ W.

² τὸν μὲν] μὲν τὸν LC¹.

³ ὡς DZfab : the rest omit.

⁴ ἐνούσης ZfabM vw : C¹ omits ; ἐνοχλόουσης J²γρ ; ἐχούσης.

⁵ παύσαιτ’ ἂν G (παύσαιτο γ) : παύεται W w (παύεται δὲ ν) ; παύσεται.

⁶ οὐσίαν nos : ἐστίαν. ⁷ οὐ] οὐχι C vw q.

⁸ θεραπεῦσον s (as Vasis had conjectured) : θεραπεῦον (-εῦων N¹ ; -εὑόμενον ν).

⁹ ἐνοῦσαν (οὔσαν C¹) ἐνοῦσα Dab hki M^{ras}.

¹⁰ ἔλμιθα (ἔλμιγγα Bern.) πλατεῖαν Haupt : ἔλιγμα (ἔ-) πλάγιον (and so G^c mg ; G^{ac} omits).

¹¹ εἰσελθὼν (ἐλθὼν G¹) πρὸς ἄνθ.] πρὸς ἄνθ. εἰσελθὼν DZfab hki. ¹² τῷ] C omits.

distress ? ” ^a Certainly in the case of sufferers from thirst you would expect the one who had had nothing to drink to find his thirst relieved after drinking, while we assume that the one who drinks on and on without stopping needs to relieve, not stuff, himself, and we tell him to vomit, taking his trouble to be caused not by any shortage in anything but by the presence in him of some unnatural pungency or heat. So too with money-getters : he who is in want and destitute would perhaps call a halt once he got an estate or discovered a hidden treasure or was helped by a friend to pay his debt and get free from his creditor ; whereas he who has more than enough and yet hungers for still more will find no remedy in gold or silver or horses and sheep and cattle, but in casting out the source of mischief and being purged. For his ailment is not poverty, but insatiability ^b and avarice, arising from the presence in him of a false and unreflecting judgement ^c ; and unless someone removes this, like a tapeworm, from his mind, he will never cease to need superfluities—that is, to want what he does not need.

4. When a physician visits a patient lying limp in bed, moaning, and refusing food, and on examining

^a Cf. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 146-148 :

“ si tibi nulla sitim finiret copia lymphae,
narrares medicis : quod quanto plura parasti
tanto plura cupis, nulline faterier audes ? ”

^b Cf. the fragment *On Wealth*, xxi. 2 (vol. vii, p. 123 Bern.). For the idea that we can have enough of everything but wealth, cf. Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 188-197. The word “ insatiable ” is frequently applied in Plato to wealth and the desire for it : cf. *Republic*, iv. 442 A 6-7, viii. 562 B 6, ix. 578 A 1 ; *Laws*, viii. 831 D 4, 832 A 10, ix. 870 A 4-5, xi. 918 D 6.

^c Cf. Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, ii, p. 190, Democritus, B 223.

(524) μενον τροφήν λαβεῖν ἄφηται καὶ ἀνακρίνη καὶ εὖρη μὴ πυρέττοντα, “ ψυχικὴ νόσος,”¹ ἔφη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν· οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὅταν ἴδωμεν ἄνδρα τῷ πορισμῷ

Ε προστετηκότα καὶ τοῖς ἀναλώμασιν ἐπιστένοντα καὶ μηδενὸς² εἰς χρηματισμὸν συντελοῦντος αἰσχροῦ μηδ'³ ἀνιαροῦ φειδόμενον, οἰκίας δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ χώρας καὶ ἀγέλας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σὺν ἱματίοις, τί φήσομεν εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ πάθος⁴ ἢ πενίαν ψυχικὴν; ἐπεὶ τήν γε χρηματικὴν, ὡς φησιν ὁ⁵ Μένανδρος, εἰς ἂν φίλος ἀπαλλάξειεν εὐεργετήσας, τήν δὲ ψυχικὴν ἐκείνην οὐκ ἂν ἐμπλήσειαν ἅπαντες οὔτε ζῶντες οὔτε ἀποθανόντες. ὅθεν εὖ πρὸς τούτους λέλεκται ὑπὸ τοῦ⁶ Σόλωνος

πλούτου δ' οὐδὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἀνθρώποισιν⁷.

Φ ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσιν ὁ τῆς φύσεως πλοῦτος ὄρισται καὶ τὸ τέρμα πάρεστι, τῇ χρεία⁸ καθάπερ κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι περιγραφόμενον.

Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἴδιον· ἐπιθυμία γάρ ἐστι μαχομένη πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς πλήρωσιν⁹. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι καὶ συνεργούσιν· οὐδεὶς γοῦν¹⁰ ἀπέχεται χρήσεως¹¹ ὅψου διὰ φιλοψίαν οὐδὲ οἴνου δι' οἰνοφλυγίαν, ὡς χρημάτων ἀπέχονται διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν.

¹ νόσος (ἐστι νόσος Cvet)] ἡ νόσος DZfab.

² μηδενὸς DZfab y M² vw q: μηδέν. ³ μηδ'] καὶ C.

⁴ εἶναι (Cvet² adds τὸ) τοῦ ἀνθ. (Pohlenz adds τὸ) πάθος C: τὸ (τί G^{ac}) πάθος εἶναι τοῦ ἀνθ.

⁵ ὁ] C omits.

⁶ τοῦ] D¹² ab omit.

⁷ ἀνθρώποισιν (and so Theognis, 227): ἀνδράσι κείται Solon (and so Aristotle). ⁸ τῇ χρεία Zfab: τῆς χρείας.

⁹ πλήρωσιν] ἐκπλήρωσιν LC G⁴.

¹⁰ γοῦν] οὖν D.

¹¹ χρήσεως Meziriacus: χρηστὸς.

^a *Citharistes*, Frag. 2 (vol. i, p. 108 Körte).

^b The dead friend might leave a legacy.

and questioning him finds no fever, he pronounces the disorder mental and departs. We too, then, seeing a man absorbed in money-getting, moaning over his expenditures, and sticking at nothing base or painful that brings him money, though he has houses, land, herds, and slaves together with a supply of clothing, what are we to call his trouble but mental poverty? For poverty in money is a thing from which a single friend, as Menander ^a says, could deliver a man by his bounty. But that other poverty of the mind could never be replenished by all his friends together, whether in life or death. ^b It is to such as these, then, that Solon's ^c words are well applied :

No bourne of wealth is manifest to men,

since for men of sense natural wealth does have a limit ^d and a bourne, which is drawn around it by utility as by a compass. ^e

Another peculiarity ^f of the love of money is this : it is a desire that opposes its own satisfaction. ^g The rest actually aid their satisfaction : no one refuses good food because he has a weakness for it, or wine because he is fond of the bottle, as men abstain from using money because they love it. Yet how can it

^c Frag. 1. 71 (*Anth. Lyr. Gr.*³ fasc. 1 Diehl) ; quoted by Aristotle, *Politics*, i. 3. 9 (1256 b 33) in the same connexion.

^d Cf. Epicurus, *Sent. Sel.* 15, Frag. 471 (ed. Usener) ; Philo, *De Vita Cont.* 17 (p. 48 Conybeare, with his note) ; and Seneca, *Ep.* xvi. 8-9 : "exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum . . . naturalia desideria finita sunt ; ex falsa opinione nascentia ubi desinant non habent."

^e A favourite expression : see *Mor.* 513 c and note.

^f Insatiability was the first (524 D). These are peculiar to the love of money as contrasted to the desires for necessities, that is, for natural wealth.

^g Cf. Teles, p. 38. 3 f. (ed. Hense²), and *Mor.* 519 c-D.

(524) καίτοι πῶς οὐ μανικὸν οὐδὲ οἰκτρὸν τὸ πάθος εἴ τις ἱματίῳ μὴ¹ χρῆται διὰ τὸ ῥιγοῦν μηδὲ ἄρτω διὰ τὸ πεινῆν μηδὲ πλούτῳ διὰ τὸ φιλοπλουτεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς Θρασωνίδου κακοῖς ἐστίν·

525 παρ' ἐμοὶ γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον,² ἕξεστιν δέ³ μοι, καὶ βούλομαι τοῦθ' ὡς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα ἐρῶν τις, οὐ⁴ ποιῶ δέ·

—κατακλείσας πάντα⁵ καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος καὶ παραριθμήσας⁶ τοκισταῖς καὶ πραγματευταῖς ἄλλα συνάγω καὶ διώκω, καὶ ζυγομαχῶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς πρὸς τοὺς χρεώστας—

"Απολλον, ἀνθρώπων τιν'⁷ ἀθλιώτερον⁸ ἐόρακας;⁹ ἄρ'¹⁰ ἐρῶντα δυσποτμώτερον;¹¹

5. Ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ δύναται γυναικὶ πλησιάζειν, "εὐφήμει, ἄνθρωπε," εἶπεν· "ἐλεύθερος γέγονα λυττῶντας καὶ ἀγρίους δεσπότας διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀποφυγῶν." χάριεν γὰρ¹² ἅμα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς B συνεκλείπειν¹³ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἄς μήτε ἡῦρεν μὲν φησιν Ἀλκαῖος¹⁴ μήτε γυναιῖκα. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐστίν

¹ ἱματίῳ μὴ] μὴ ἱματίῳ LC^e N²; ἱματίῳ C¹ N¹.

² γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον G³ DZfab M vw: ἔνδον G¹; γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον ἔνδον. ³ ἕξεστιν δέ Reiske: ἕξεστί (ἔνδον ἔστι Wilamowitz).

⁴ οὐ (followed in G by an erasure of 2 letters)] τοῦτο LC^e.

⁵ πάντα LC^{ac} vw: δὲ πάντα.

⁶ παραριθμήσας (and so G⁴)] ἀπαριθμήσας C^e G¹ ZfabM vw l.

⁷ τιν' Meineke: τίν' y; τινὰ G Zfab q; τινὰ (τίνα C) ἄλλον C³ D hki; τίνα.

⁸ ἀθλιώτερον LC DZfab y hki: ἀθλιώτατον.

⁹ ἀθλ. ἐώρακας (ἐόρακας Porson): ἐώρ. ἀθλ. D hki.

¹⁰ ἄρ' ee (ἄρα W¹; ἄρα): ἦ C^e DZfab hk¹i.

¹¹ δυσποτμώτερον y (-ότερον G³ and the rest; δυσπότερον v [δυσ and a lacuna of 4 letters w]): δυσνομώτερον G¹.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 524-525

be called anything but madness and misery when a man refuses to put on a cloak because he is cold, to eat a loaf because he is hungry, or to use ^a wealth because he loves it, and is instead in Thrasonides' plight :

My love is in my house, no law forbids ;
And never lover in the wildest passion
Had better will to do it, but I don't ^b—

I've put away everything under lock and seal or laid it out with money-lenders and agents and yet I go on amassing and pursuing new wealth, and I wrangle with my servants, my farmers, my debtors—

Merciful Heaven ! Have you ever seen
A man more wretched or more crossed in love ? ^c

5. Asked if he was able to enjoy a woman Sophocles ^d replied : “ Hush, fellow, I am now a free man, delivered by old age from a set of mad and cruel masters.” For it is a happy thing that when pleasures fail desires should fail as well, which Alcaeus ^e says . . .

^a Cf. Teles, pp. 33. 4-34. 5 (ed. Hense²) ; Horace, *Sat.* ii. 3. 104-110.

^b Menander, *The Rejected Lover*, frag. 5 (vol. i, p. 127 Körte).

^c Menander, *The Rejected Lover*, frag. 6 (vol. i, p. 128 Körte).

^d Cf. Plato, *Republic*, i. 329 B-C, quoted also in *Mor.* 788 E ; cf. further the allusion in *Mor.* 1094 E.

^e Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*⁴ iii, p. 183, frag. 108.

¹² γὰρ C⁴ DZφab hki : the rest omit.

¹³ συνεκλείπειν G¹ M vw : συνεκλιπεῖν (ἐκλιπεῖν γ).

¹⁴ ἦδρεν (so G¹ W [ηῦ- N] Y1 ; ἦδρε L²C¹ M ; εὔρε Xu v q) μέν φ. (variously accented ; μέν φ. ὁ LC¹) ἀλκαῖος] ἄρρενα φ. ἀλκαῖος γ ; εὔρομι φ. ἀλκαῖος w ; ἄνδρα φ. ἀλκαῖος διαφυγεῖν G³ DZφab hki ; ἄνδρα διαφυγεῖν φ. ὁ ἀλκαῖος C³ ; εὔρεῖν (or εὔρην) φ. Ἄλκαῖος Post.

- (525) ἐπὶ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ¹ βαρεῖα καὶ πικρὰ δέσποινα κτᾶσθαι μὲν ἀναγκάζει, χρῆσθαι δὲ κωλύει, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγείρει, τὴν δὲ ἡδονὴν ἀφαιρεῖται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ῥοδίους ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐπέσκωπεν εἰς πολυτέλειαν, οἰκοδομεῖν μὲν ὡς ἀθανάτους λέγων, ὀψωνεῖν δὲ ὡς ὀλιγοχρονίους· οἱ δὲ φιλάργυροι κτῶνται μὲν ὡς πολυτελεῖς, χρῶνται δὲ ὡς ἀνελεύθεροι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους ὑπομένουσι, τὰς δὲ ἡδονὰς οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὁ γοῦν²
- C Δημάδης ἐπιστὰς ἀριστῶντί ποτε³ Φωκίῳνι καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν αὐστηρὰν καὶ λιτήν, “θαυμάζω σε, ὦ Φωκίῳν,” εἶπεν, “ὅτι οὕτως ἀριστᾶν δυνάμενος πολιτεύῃ.” αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα ἐδημαγῶγει, καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας μικρὸν ἠγούμενος τῆς ἀσωτίας ἐφόδιον ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπεσιτίζετο. (καὶ διὰ⁴ τοῦτο Ἀντίπατρος εἶπε θεασάμενος αὐτὸν γέροντα καθάπερ ἱερείου διαπεπραγμένου⁵ μηδὲν ἔτι λοιπὸν ἢ τὴν γλῶσσαν εἶναι⁶ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν.) σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἄν τις, ὦ κακόδαιμον, θαυμάσειεν, εἰ δυνάμενος οὕτω ζῆν ἀνελευθέρως⁷ καὶ ἀπανθρώπως καὶ ἀμεταδότως καὶ πρὸς φίλους ἀπηνῶς καὶ πρὸς πόλιν ἀφιλοτίμως κακοπαθεῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖς καὶ ἐργολαβεῖς καὶ κληρονομεῖς καὶ ὑποπίπτεις, τηλικούτον ἔχων τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης ἐφόδιον, τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν; Βυζάντιόν τινα λέγουσιν ἐπὶ δυσμόρφῳ γυναικὶ μοιχὸν εὐρόντα
- D

¹ ὥσπερ] ὡς LC ; ὡς γὰρ I (beginning an excerpt).

² ὁ γοῦν] ὁ μὲν οὖν? G¹.

³ ποτε (or ποτέ)] G¹ omits.

⁴ διὰ (or δια and so G⁴)] G¹ W omit.

⁵ διαπεπραγμένου] διαπεπραμένου G^{ac}: hi.

⁶ ἢ . . . εἶναι] εἶναι ἢ τὴν γλῶτταν LC.

⁷ ζῆν ἀνελ.] ζῆν καὶ ἀνελ. Zφ; ἀνελ. ζῆν G.

nor woman.^a But it is otherwise with avarice : like an oppressive and vexatious mistress it compels us to make money but forbids the use of it, and arouses the desire but cheats us of the pleasure. Stratonicus indeed rallied the Rhodians for lavish spending, saying that they built as immortals and furnished their tables as if soon to die.^b But while lovers of money acquire it as lavish spenders, they use it as churls, and endure the pains, but do not get the pleasures. Thus Demades once found Phocion at luncheon, and remarked, observing the austerity and plainness of his table : “ I am astonished, Phocion, that when you can stomach such food you engage in politics.” For Demades himself played the demagogue to fill his belly, and regarding Athens as no adequate provision for his prodigality laid in supplies from Macedon as well.^c (Hence Antipater,^d seeing him in his old age, said that like a carcass when the butchers had finished, nothing remained but the tongue and the gut.) As for you, unhappy wretch, is one not to be astonished that living as you do—a miser, unsocial, selfish, heedless of friends, indifferent to country—you nevertheless suffer hardships, lose sleep, engage in traffic, chase after legacies, and truckle to others despite this abundant provision for a life of ease, your meanness ? We hear that a certain Byzantine said on finding an adulterer with his ill-favoured wife, “ Poor fellow !

^a The Greek is corrupt.

^b Said of the Agrigentines by Empedocles in Diogenes Laert. viii. 63, by Plato in Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 29 ; of the Megarians by Diogenes in Tertullian, *Apol.* 39, and without mention of the author in Jerome, *Epist.* 123. 15. Cf. Aristotle in Diogenes Laert. v. 20.

^c He was in Macedonian pay.

^d Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. i. 3 (741 F) ; *Mor.* 183 F.

(525) εἰπεῖν, “ ὦ ταλαίπωρε,¹ τίς ἀνάγκα;² σαπρὰ γὰρ ἄ τρύξ.”³ ἄγε σὺ κυκᾶς ὑφάπτεις,⁴ ὦ πόνηρε, τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἕα πορίζεσθαι,⁵ τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν πρωτεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν ἐθέλοντας· ἐκείνοις ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὴν⁶ ἀλαζονείαν καὶ τὴν κενὴν δόξαν ἐστιῶσιν χαριζομένοις δορυφοροῦσιν⁷ δῶρα πέμπουσι στρατεύματα τρέφουσι μονομάχους ὠνουμένοις· σὺ δὲ τοσαῦτα πράγματα συγχεῖς⁸ καὶ ταράττεις⁹ καὶ στροβεῖς σεαυτὸν¹⁰ κοχλίου βίον ζῶν διὰ τὴν μικρολογίαν,¹¹ καὶ τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα ὑπομένεις οὐδὲν εὖ πάσχων, ὥσπερ ὄνος βαλανέως ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα κατακομίζων, αἰεὶ καπνοῦ καὶ τέφρας ἀναπιμπλάμενος, λουτροῦ δὲ μὴ μετέχων μηδὲ ἀλέας μηδὲ καθαριότητος.

6. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι¹² πρὸς τὴν ὀνώδη καὶ μυρμηκῶδη λέγεται ταύτην¹³ φιλοπλουτίαν· ἑτέρα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ¹⁴ θηριώδης, συκοφαντοῦσα καὶ κληρονομοῦσα F καὶ παραλογιζομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα¹⁵ καὶ

¹ ὦ ταλαίπωρε] L:C¹ omit.

² ἀνάγκα Nauck from *Mor.* 235 E: ἀνάγκη (ἀνάγκη ἀνάγκη M^{ac}).

³ σαπρὰ γὰρ ἄ τρύξ Nauck: σαπραγόρα (-ώρα γ; πραγόρα ν; σαπρὰ J² εε) προῖξ (προῖξ ορ προῖξ G^{ac} γ hki N ZfabM² w q).

⁴ ἄγε (ἄγε X; ἄ γε ν DZfab γ hki) σὺ κυκᾶς (συκας G¹; σὺ κυκᾶς W Y^{ac}; σὺ κακῶς γ; σὺκυκυκᾶς M^{ac}; συγκυβᾶς w) ὑφάπτεις (-ης D^{ac}; ἐφάπτεις X^{ac}[?]; ὑφ' ἄπτης N): ἄ γε σὺς κυκᾶ, ἐφάπτει σὺ; Post.

⁵ ἕα πορ. Reiske: πορ. δεῖ DZfab; πορίζεσθαι.

⁶ τὴν LC G W: the rest omit.

⁷ δορυφοροῦσιν W (-σι C^{vet} G³ DZfab vw): δυσφοροῦσι LC¹; δωροφοροῦσι (-σιν N Y).

⁸ συγχεῖς D: συνέχεις (defended by Post).

⁹ καὶ ταράττεις] LC omit.

¹⁰ σεαυτὸν Gk Xν γ ZfabM²: ἑαυτὸν.

What drives you to it? The dregs are foul!"^a . . .^b unhappy man! Let kings and royal stewards and those who would be foremost in their cities and hold office engage in money-getting. These are driven to it, their ambition and pretension and vainglory compel them, engaged as they are in giving banquets, bestowing favours, paying court, sending presents, supporting armies, buying gladiators. But you stir up this vast turmoil of affairs and harass and distract yourself when for meanness you live the life of a snail, and you put up with every discomfort and get no good of it, like a bathhouse keeper's ass^c that carries faggots and kindling, always foul with smoke and ashes, but getting no bath or warmth or cleanliness.

6. We have been speaking of this avarice of the ass or ant.^d But there is another, the avarice of the beast of prey; it runs to legal blackmail, to the pursuit of legacies, to cheating and intrigue and

^a Cf. *Mor.* 235 ε and the proverb: "You must drain the dregs with the wine" (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1085, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 212).

^b The Greek is corrupt.

^c In a somewhat similar connexion Aristotle speaks of a richly caparisoned horse (*Protrepticus*, frag. 37 Rose, 3 Walzer). Aristo of Chios (cf. *Gnom. Vat.* no. 120, ed. Sternbach) compares the rich and miserly to asses loaded with gold and silver but eating fodder. Cf. also P. Wendland, *Anaximenes von Lampsakos*, p. 94, note 1.

^d Cf. Crates, frag. 10. 7 (Diels, *Poet. Philos. Frag.* p. 220).

¹¹ ζῶν διὰ τὴν μ.] διὰ τὴν μ. ζῶν LC.

¹² ταῦτα ἔτι G : ταῦτα (ταῦτα μὲν Wilamowitz).

¹³ λέγεται ταύτην LC¹ w : λέγεται G ; λέγετ' (λέγοιτ' J²⁷⁸⁸) ἄν τὴν W ; λέγε ταύτην Xv D y hk¹i N M v Yl (ταύτην λέγε q) ; λέγω ταύτην Zφaba² (λέγε ταῦτα a¹).

¹⁴ ἦ] DZφab omit.

¹⁵ καὶ παρ. καὶ πολυπραγμονούσα] D N omit.

(525) φροντίζουσα καὶ ἀριθμοῦσα τῶν φίλων ἔτι πόσοι ζῶσιν, εἶτα πρὸς μηδὲν ἀπολαύουσα τῶν πανταχόθεν προσποριζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν ἐχίδνας καὶ κανθαρίδας καὶ φαλάγγια μᾶλλον προβαλλόμεθα καὶ δυσχεραίνομεν ἄρκτων καὶ λεόντων, ὅτι κτείνει καὶ ἀπόλλυσιν ἀνθρώπους¹ μηδὲν² χρώμενα τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δεῖ μᾶλλον δυσχεραίνειν τῶν δι' ἀσωτίαν τοὺς διὰ μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν³ πονηροῦς· ἀφαιροῦνται γὰρ ἄλλων οἷς αὐτοὶ

526 χρῆσθαι μὴ δύνανται μηδὲ πεφύκασιν. ὅθεν ἐκείνοι μὲν ἐκεχειρίαν ἄγουσιν ἐν ἀφθόνοις γενομένοι καὶ χορηγίαν ἔχοντες (ὥσπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἔλεγεν⁴ πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας τῆς πονηρίας τὸν⁵ Δημάδην πεπαῦσθαι,⁶ “ νῦν γάρ,” ἔφη, “ μεστὸν ὁράτε καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας ”). τοῖς δὲ εἰς μηδὲν ἠδὲ μηδὲ⁷ χρήσιμον πολιτευομένοις οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνακωχὴ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐδὲ ἀσχολία κενοῖς οὖσιν αἰεὶ καὶ προσδεομένοις ἀπάντων.

7. “ Ἄλλὰ νῆ Δία,” φήσει τις ὅτι “ παισὶν οὗτοι καὶ κληρονόμοι φυλάττουσι καὶ θησαυρίζουσιν.”

B οἷς⁸ ζῶντες οὐδὲν⁹ μεταδιδόασιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν μυῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις τὴν χρυσοῦν ἐσθιόντων οὐκ ἔσται τοῦ χρυσοῦ μεταλαβεῖν εἰ μὴ νεκρῶν γενομένων¹⁰ καὶ ἀνατμηθέντων; παισὶ δὲ καὶ κληρονόμοις διὰ τί¹¹ βούλονται πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ μεγάλην¹² οὐσίαν ἀπολιπεῖν;¹³ ἵνα δηλονότι καὶ

¹ ἀνθρώπους] τοὺς ἀνθρώπους C.

² μηδὲν] μηδὲ G¹.

³ καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν] C¹ omits.

⁴ ἔλεγεν γ. N^{aras}? Y (-γε); C omits.

⁵ τὸν] πρὸς τὸν W N YI; C¹ omits.

⁶ δημάδην (so G v¹ W D² y hki vw; δημάδη) πεπ.] πεπαῦσθαι δημάδη C.

⁷ ἠδὲ μηδὲ (and so G⁴)] ἠδὲ καὶ G¹; ἢ Y^{ac}.

scheming, it counts the number of friends still alive, and after all this puts the ill-gotten wealth to no use. Thus as vipers, blister-beetles, and venomous spiders offend and disgust us more than bears and lions, because they kill and destroy men without using what they destroy, so too should men whose rapacity springs from meanness and illiberality disgust us more than those in whom it springs from prodigality, since the miserly take from others what they have no power or capacity to use themselves. Hence prodigals call a truce once they are affluent and well provided for (as Demosthenes said to those who imagined that Demades had ceased to be a scoundrel: "At present you see him like the lions, gluttoned")^a; whereas in those who follow no policy of pleasure or utility there is no suspension of greed or distraction from it by more pressing claims, as they are forever empty and still want the whole world.

7. Someone will say, "But they preserve and lay up their goods for children and heirs." When in their lifetime they give them nothing? Nay, as with the mice that eat the gold ore in the mines,^b the gold cannot be had until they are dead and laid open. And why do they desire to leave children and heirs an accumulation of money and a great estate? Plainly

^a The phrase recurs in the *Life of Alexander*, chap. xiii. 12 (671 B), and *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xxiii. 6 (856 F).

^b Cf. Theophrastus, frag. 174. 8 (ed. Wimmer); Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 57 (222).

⁸ οἷς] πῶς· οἷς DZφ; πῶς, οἷ ab.

⁹ οὐδέν] οὐδενὸς G⁴⁸⁸ DZφab; οὐδενὶ G⁴.

¹⁰ γενομένων] γινομένων D¹ vw.

¹¹ τί (and so G⁴)] τοῦτο G¹.

¹² μεγάλην (and so G⁴)] G¹ omits.

¹³ ἀπολιπεῖν] ἀπολείπειν G¹.

(526) οὔτοι φυλάττωσιν ἑτέροις κἀκεῖνοι πάλιν,¹ ὥσπερ οἱ κεραμεοὶ σωλῆνες οὐδὲν ἀναλαμβάνοντες εἰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀλλ' ἕκαστος εἰς ἕτερον ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ μεθιείς ἄχρι ἂν τις ἐξῶθεν ἢ συκοφάντης ἢ τύραννος ἐκκόψας² τὸν φυλάττοντα καὶ κατάξας³ ἀλλαχόσε παρατρέψῃ καὶ παροχετεύσῃ τὸν πλοῦτον, ἢ, καθάπερ λέγουσιν, εἰς ὃ⁴ πονηρότατος ἐν τῷ γένει γενόμενος καταφάγῃ τὰ πάντων· οὐ γὰρ μόνον κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην

ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελία⁵ γίνεται δούλων τέκνα

ἀλλὰ καὶ⁶ μικρολόγων, ὡς που καὶ⁷ Διογένης ἐπέσκωψεν⁸ εἰπὼν Μεγαρέως ἂν⁹ ἀνδρὸς βέλτιον εἶναι κριὸν ἢ υἱὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οἷς δοκοῦσι παιδεύειν ἀπολλύουσι καὶ προσδιαστρέφουσιν¹⁰ ἐμφυτεύοντες τὴν¹¹ αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν,¹² ὥσπερ τι¹³ φρούριον τῆς κληρονομίας ἐνοικοδομοῦντες τοῖς κληρονόμοις. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἀπαινοῦσι καὶ διδάσκουσιν· “ κέρδαινε καὶ φείδου, καὶ τοσοῦτου νόμιζε σεαυτὸν¹⁴ ἄξιον ὅσον ἂν ἔχῃς.” τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστι παιδεύειν ἀλλὰ συστέλλειν καὶ D ἀπορράπτειν ὥσπερ βαλλάντιον ἵνα στέγειν καὶ¹⁵

¹ πάλιν Emperius : παισὶν (and so G⁴; πᾶσιν [?]G¹).

² ἐκκόψας] -ψας by G⁴ in an erasure.

³ κατάξας (and so G⁴)] κατακόψας G¹; κατατάξας X y κατεάξας I D; κατάγξας Zfab.

⁴ ὃ] DZfab omit.

⁵ ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελία nos (ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελείαι G¹)] ἀκόλασθ' ὀμιλεῖν Diog. Laert. iv. 35; ἀκόλαστα D hki vw; ἀκόλαστα μὲν (and so G⁴ mg).

⁶ ἀλλὰ καὶ εε : καί.

⁷ ὡς που καὶ (ὄπου καὶ v)] ὥσπερ καὶ W (ὥσπερ ὀ i); ὡς καὶ D.

⁸ ἐπέσκωψεν] ἀπέσκωψεν C.

⁹ ἂν (and so G⁴)] G¹ W omit; γὰρ v.

that these may preserve it for others, and these for still others, like earthen pipes, taking nothing for themselves but each conveying to another what it receives, until some outsider, an informer or tyrant, cuts off and shatters the keeper of the wealth, thus intercepting and drawing off the flow of riches, or (as the saying goes) the one member of the family who turns out worst consumes the property of all. For not only

The sons of slaves are wanton from neglect,

as Euripides ^a says, the sons of misers are so as well, as Diogenes doubtless implied in his taunt : “ Better to be a Megarian’s ram than his son.” ^b For by the very means whereby they suppose that they are training their children, misers ruin them instead and warp their characters all the more, implanting in them their own avarice and meanness, as though constructing in their heirs a fort to guard the inheritance. For their admonition and instruction comes to this : “ Get profit and be sparing, and count yourself as worth exactly what you have.” ^c This is not to educate a son, but to compress him and sew him shut, like a money bag, ^d that he may hold tight and

^a Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 976, p. 675.

^b Cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 56 and Diogenes Laert. vi. 41.

^c Cf. Horace, *Sat.* i. 1. 62 with Heinze’s note.

^d The money bag is worth no more than what it contains : cf. Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 31. 33 (p. 744. 9-12 Hense), and Seneca, *Ep.* lxxxvii. 18 with Teles, p. lxxxiii (ed. Hense²).

¹⁰ προσδιαστρέφουσιν (and so G⁴) διαστρέφουσιν G¹ D.

¹¹ τὴν (and so G³) G¹ omits.

¹² μικρολογίαν] τὴν μ. DZφ.

¹³ τι εε : οὐν τι (οὐν τὸ [?] G¹; ἄν τι Vasis); D omits.

¹⁴ σεαυτὸν] σαυτὸν DZφab hki.

¹⁵ καὶ] τὲ καὶ C G.

(526) φυλάττειν τὸ εἰσβληθὲν δύνηται. καίτοι τὸ μὲν βαλλάντιον ἐμβληθέντος¹ τοῦ ἀργυρίου γίνεται ῥυπαρὸν καὶ δυσῶδες, οἱ δὲ τῶν φιλαργύρων παῖδες πρὶν ἢ παραλαμβάνειν² τὸν πλοῦτον ἀναπίμπλονται τῆς φιλοπλουτίας ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πατέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ διδασκάλια³ καὶ⁴ μισθοὺς ἀξίους ἀποτίνουσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐ φιλοῦντες ὅτι πολλὰ λήφονται, ἀλλὰ μισοῦντες ὅτι μήπω λαμβάνουσιν. μηδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο θαυμάζειν ἢ τὸν πλοῦτον⁵ μαθόντες μηδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ ζῆν ἢ τῷ πολλὰ κεκτηῆσθαι κώλυσιν τοῦ ἰδίου βίου τὸν⁶ ἐκείνων ποιοῦνται, καὶ νομίζουσιν αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι⁷ τὸν χρόνον ὅσον ἐκείνοις προσ-
 E τίθησιν. διὸ καὶ ζώντων μὲν ἔτι τῶν πατέρων λανθάνοντες ἀμωσγέπως παρακλέπτουσι⁸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ὥσπερ ἄλλοτρίων, μεταδιδόντες φίλοις, ἀναλίσκοντες εἰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἔτι⁹ ἀκούοντες, ἔτι¹⁰ μανθάνοντες.¹¹ ὅταν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τὰς κλεῖς παραλάβωσι καὶ τὰς σφραγίδας, ἕτερον βίου σχῆμα αὐτοῖς ἐστι καὶ πρόσωπον ἀγέλαστον, αὐστηρόν, ἀνέντευκτον· οὐ κολοφών,¹² οὐ σφαῖρα, οὐ τραχη-
 F λισμός, οὐκ Ἀκαδημία, οὐ Λύκειον, ἀλλ' οἰκετῶν ἀνάκρισις καὶ γραμματείων¹³ ἐπίσκεψις καὶ πρὸς οἰκονόμους ἢ χρεώστας διαλογισμὸς καὶ ἀσχολία

¹ ἐμβληθέντος (and so G³)] ἐκβληθέντος G¹; εἰσβληθέντος Zφ N. ² παραλαμβάνειν (περιλ. i)] λαμβάνειν W l.

³ καὶ διδασκάλια nos: καὶ διδασκαλία (-εῖα J²) W; τῆς διδασκαλίας. ⁴ καὶ] C G Xu y hki q omit.

⁵ ἄλλο . . . πλοῦτον] ἄλλο τῶν ἄλλων (τῶν ἄλλων expunged by Cvet^z) ἢ τὸν πλ. θαυμ. C.

⁶ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου τὸν DZφab: τοῦ αὐτῶν (αὐ- Cvet^z) βίου τὸν C; δὴ οὖν τοῦ αὐτῶν βίου τὸν G³ (τοῦ, βίου, τὸν superscribed); βίου τὸν M² vw q; βιούντων y; δὴ οὖν αὐτῶν G¹k¹; δὴ οὖν οὐ τῶν hi; δεῖ οὖν οὐ τὸν Xu W N (δει [δει l] ουν ου τον Yl); M¹ omits.

keep safe what you have put in. But whereas the bag gets dirty and foul-smelling only after the coin has been stored in it, the children of misers, before touching the money, catch the taint of avarice directly from their fathers. Note, however, that the young pay them for this instruction in the right coin, not loving their fathers because they are to inherit a fortune, but hating them because they have not got it already. For having been taught to look up to nothing but wealth and to live for nothing but great possessions, they consider that their fathers' lives stand in the way of their own, and conceive that time steals from them whatever it adds to their fathers' years. Hence even when the father is still alive the son behind his back finds one way or another to steal some pleasure from the money and spends it as if he had no interest in it, giving it to friends and lavishing it on his appetites, when still attending lectures and still at his studies. But when at his father's death the son takes over the keys and seals, his way of life is altered and his countenance becomes unsmiling, stern, and forbidding. Here is an end of . . .,^a of ball-playing, of wrestling, of the Academy and the Lyceum. There is instead the interrogation of servants, inspection of ledgers, the casting up of accounts with stewards and debtors, and occupation and worry

^a *kolophon* is unexplained and possibly corrupt.

⁷ ἀφαιρῆσθαι] τοσοῦτον ἀφ. DZφab; ἄν ἀφ. hki; ἀναφ. N.

⁸ παρακλέπτουσι] καὶ π. C; παραβλέπουσι W.

⁹ ἔτι Wytttenbach: ὅτι. ¹⁰ ἔτι Madvig: τί (τι G¹).

¹¹ μανθάνοντες (and so G³) μανθάνουσιν (-σι G¹) C^{vet?} X^{3ss}
Zφab M vw.

¹² οὐ κολοφών (-ωφών W φ la^c; -οφών [L illegible] C G Xv
w[?]): οὐ κόλυμβος (?); οὐ κολαφισμός? Post.

¹³ γραμματείων DZφab (-τείων γ): γραμμάτων.

(526) καὶ φροντὶς ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἄριστον καὶ συνελάουσα νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον,

γυμνάσια δ' οἷσιν ἐνετράφη Δίρκης θ¹ ὕδωρ παρώδευται· κἄν εἴπη τις, “ οὐκ ἀκούσῃ² τοῦ φιλοσόφου ; ” “ πόθεν ἐμοί ; ” φησιν· “ οὐ σχολάζω τοῦ πατρὸς τεθνηκότος.” ὦ ταλαίπωρε, τί σοι τοιοῦτο καταλέλοιπεν οἶον³ ἀφήρηται,⁴ τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ⁵ ἐκείνος ἀλλ' ὁ πλοῦτος περιχυθεὶς καὶ κρατήσας, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ γυνή

527 εὔει ἄτερ δαλοῦ⁶ καὶ ὠμῶ⁷ γήραϊ δῶκεν,⁸

ὥσπερ ῥυτίδας ἀώρους ἢ πολιὰς ἐπαγαγὼν τῇ ψυχῇ⁹ τὰς φροντίδας ἐκ τῆς φιλαργυρίας καὶ τὰς¹⁰ ἀσχολίας, ὑφ' ὧν μαραίνεται τὸ γαῦρον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ τὸ φιλόανθρωπον.

8. “ Τί οὖν ; ” φήσκει¹¹ τις, “ οὐχ ὄρα^s καὶ χρωμένους ἐνίους δαψιλῶς τοῖς χρήμασιν ; ” σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἀκούεις, φήσομεν, Ἀριστοτέλους λέγοντος ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ χρώνται, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται,¹² καθάπερ οὐδετέρου προσήκοντος;¹³ ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ὠφελεῖ τὸ οἰκεῖον οὐδὲ κοσμεῖ, τούτους δὲ καὶ¹⁴ βλάπτει καὶ καταισχύνει.

¹ θ' εε : τε οτ τε. ² ἀκούσῃ Stephanus : ἀκούσεις.

³ οἶον (and so C^{vet})] ὅπερ C¹ ; ὁ y.

⁴ ἀφήρηται] ἀφαιρεῖται DZfab hki ; ἀφαίρηται N.

⁵ οὐδὲ] οὐκ DZfab y.

⁶ δαλοῦ (so Mor. 100 E)] δαλοῖο G Xu W y hi N q.

⁷ ὠμῶ C G Zfab hki (and Mor. 100 E) : ἐν ὠμῶ (ἐνομῶ N).

⁸ δῶκεν Gk (δῶκε Mor. 100 E) : θῆκεν.

⁹ τῇ ψυχῇ DZfab : τῆς ψυχῆς.

¹⁰ τὰς Wilamowitz : τῆς (u omits).

¹¹ φήσκει G DZfab y hki M² vw q : φησί.

¹² οὐ χρώνται οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται DZfab : χρ. οἱ δὲ καταχρῶν-

ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 526-527

that deny him his luncheon and drive him to the bath at night.

The place of exercise where he was schooled
And Dircé's fount ^a

are passed by; and if someone says, "Are you not going to hear the philosopher?" the answer is, "How could I? I have no time ^b now my father is dead." Poor soul! What has your father left to compare with what he has taken away, your leisure and your freedom? Rather it is not he, it is your wealth, that overwhelming and overpowering you, like the woman in Hesiod ^c

Singes without a brand and ages ere your time,

bringing upon the mind like premature wrinkles and grey hairs the cares and distractions that come from avarice, whereby all high-heartedness and keenness and friendliness are blighted.

8. "Well," someone will say, "do you not observe that some people do make lavish use of their money?" To this we shall answer: And have you not heard from Aristotle ^d that some fail to use it, others use it ill, neither course being right? But whereas the first get no good or glory from what they have, the others actually get harm and disgrace from it.

^a Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 368.

^b For wealth preventing the study of philosophy cf. Teles, pp. 45. 2-46. 6 (ed. Hense²), and Seneca, *Ep.* xvii. 3.

^c *Works and Days*, 705; quoted also in *Mor.* 100 E.

^d Frag. 56 (ed. Rose); cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. iii. 2 (279 B).

ται γ^{1t}; χρ. οί δὲ οὐ χρῶνται γ^{1ss}; καταχρῶνται οί δὲ οὐ χρ. J²; χρ. οί δὲ παραχρῶνται.

¹³ προσήκοντος (and so G³) προσήκοντος ἄλλου προσήκοντος G¹.

¹⁴ καὶ] C¹ omits.

(527)
 B Φέρε δὴ σκεψώμεθα τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ¹ χρήσις αὕτη δι' ἣν θαυμάζεται ὁ πλοῦτος, τίς;² πότερον τῶν ἀρκούντων; οὐδὲν οὖν³ πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν μέτρια κεκτημένων, ἀλλ' " ἄπλουτος " ὁ⁴ πλοῦτός ἐστιν, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ " ἄζηλος " ἀληθῶς, εἰ Καλλίας πλουσιώτατος⁵ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαίων εὐπορώτατος ἐχρῶντο τούτοις οἷς Σωκράτης καὶ⁶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας. ὡς γὰρ Ἀγάθων τὸν αὐλὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας, οἰόμενος ἀρκεῖν τοὺς λόγους τῶν παρόντων, οὕτως ἀποπέμψειας ἂν⁷ καὶ στρωμνὰς ἀλουργοῦς⁸ καὶ τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς καὶ τὰ περιττὰ πάντα, τοὺς πλουσίους ὁρῶν χρωμένους οἷς οἱ⁹ πένητες· καὶ¹⁰

C αἰψά κε¹¹ πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ καταθεῖο, ἔργα

δ' οὐ

βοῶν¹² ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἡμιόνων ταλαεργῶν¹³

ἀλλὰ¹⁴ χρυσοχόων καὶ τορευτῶν καὶ μυριψῶν καὶ μαγείρων, καλῆς καὶ σώφρονος γενομένης ξενηλασίας τῶν ἀχρήστων. εἰ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀρκοῦντα

¹ ἢ] τίνων τίς ἢ DZfab.

² τίς] DZfab omit.

³ οὖν G³ DZfab : the rest omit.

⁴ ἀλλ' ἄπλουτος ὁ C^{vet} X³ ZfabM² : ἀλλὰ πλοῦτος (-στος N)
 ὁ (ἀλλὰ τυφλὸς D).

⁵ πλουσ.] ὁ πλουσ. DZfab y hki.

⁶ καὶ] καὶ ἀριστοφάνης καὶ C¹.

⁷ ἀποπέμψειας ἂν DZfab : ἀποπέμψειαν (-εἰας G³ y ; -εἰεν i² v^{ac} ; ἀποπέμψη ἂν C^{vet}).

⁸ ἀλουργοῦς (or ἀ- ; -ους Z¹⁸⁹) ἀλουργεῖς D^oZ^{1t} ; ἀλλουργεῖς D^{ac} (-οῦς φ).

Come, first let us consider what is this "use," for which wealth is highly regarded. Is it the use of what suffices? Then the rich are no better off than men of modest means, and wealth, as Theophrastus^a says, is "no wealth" and in truth "unenviable,"^b if Callias, the wealthiest man of Athens, and Hismenias, the richest of Thebes, got the same use of what they had as Socrates and Epameinondas. For as Agathon dismissed the flute-players from the banquet to the women's quarters, holding the conversation of the company to be sufficient entertainment,^c so too might you dismiss purple coverlets and expensive tables and all superfluities, when you see that the rich have the same service as the poor, and

Soon you'd hang the rudder o'er the hearth
And all for nought would be the patient toil

not

Of ox and mule^d

but of goldsmith, enchaner, perfumer, and cook, once we had been wise and sober enough to expel all that is useless from our state.^e But if even those who are

^a Frag. 78 (ed. Wimmer); cf. frag. 86^f, from the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. x. 2 (45 c), and *Mor.* 679 B.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 226 E and 679 B, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 253. 25.

^c Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 176 E and *Protagoras*, 347 c-D.

^d Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 45-46, also quoted in *Mor.* 157 F.

^e Cf. *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. ix. 4 (44 E).

⁹ οἱ] καὶ οἱ DZφab.

¹⁰ καὶ] οὐκ ZφabM²; οὐ καὶ X²; D omits.

¹¹ κε] τε D.

¹² δ' οὐ βοῶν D: βοῶν δ' (and so Hesiod).

¹³ ταλ.] οὐ ταλ. G⁴.

¹⁴ ἀλλὰ] ἀλλὰ καὶ G³ y.

(527) κοινὰ καὶ¹ τῶν μὴ² πλουσίων ἐστίν, σεμνύνεται δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος ἐπὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς³ καὶ τὸν Σκόπαν τὸν Θεσσαλὸν⁴ ἐπαινεῖς,⁵ ὃς⁶ αἰτηθεὶς τι⁷ τῶν⁸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὡς περιττὸν οὕτω⁹ καὶ ἄχρηστον, “ ἀλλὰ μὴν,” ἔφη, “ τούτοις ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς εὐδαίμονες καὶ μακάριοι τοῖς περιττοῖς, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις,” ὅρα μὴ πομπὴν ἐπαινοῦντι καὶ πανήγυριν μᾶλλον ἢ βίον ἔοικας.

Ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰλαρῶς· ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, εἶτα τράγον τις εἶλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ φαλλός. ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παροραῖται¹⁰ καὶ ἠφάνιστα χρυσωμάτων παραφερομένων¹¹ καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ ζευγῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ προσωπειῶν· οὕτω¹² τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χρήσιμα τοῖς ἀχρήστοις κατακέχωσται καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς. (9.) οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὸ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου πάσχομεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας μᾶλλον δὲ¹³ ἀπειροκαλίας τὴν μὲν Νέστορος ἰδὼν οἰκίαν κλίνας ἔχουσας, τραπέζας, ἱμάτια, στρώματα, οἶνον ἠδύν, οὐκ ἐμακάριζε

¹ καὶ] DZ^{ac} omit. ² μὴ DZfab : the rest omit.

³ περιττοῖς C Gk Zfab y : περισσοῖς.

⁴ τὸν Θ.] put after ἐπ. in C.

⁵ ἐπαινεῖς D^c (from -ῆς) : ἐπαινέσεις C Zfab w ; ἐπαινέσαι G³ (-σσ-X)v W hki M Ylq ; ἐπαινέσας G¹ N v (y is wanting).

⁶ ὃς DZfab hki M vw Yl : the rest omit (y is wanting).

⁷ τι] γάρ τι C¹ G³ (y is wanting).

⁸ τῶν] καὶ τῶν C.

not rich equally possess enough for their needs, whereas wealth plumes itself on luxuries, and you approve of Scopas ^a the Thessalian, who when begged for some article in his house on the ground that there it was superfluous and not put to any use, exclaimed: "Why it is just these articles of superfluity, and not the indispensables, that give me the name of enviable and fortunate," you must look to it or you will be like one who gives his approval to a pageant or a festival rather than to the business of living.

Our traditional festival of the Dionysia ^b was in former times a homely and merry procession. First came a jug of wine and a vine branch, then one celebrant dragged a he-goat along, another followed with a basket of dry figs, and the phallos-bearer came last. But all this is nowadays unregarded and vanished, what with vessels of gold carried past, rich apparel, carriages riding by, and masks: so has what is necessary and useful in wealth been buried under what is useless and superfluous. (9.) But we are most of us like Telemachus. In his innocence, or rather want of taste, when he saw Nestor's house with its couches, tables, clothes, coverlets, and pleasant wine, he expressed no admiration for one provided with all that

^a Cf. *Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. xviii (346 F—347 A).

For the rural Dionysia of Attica cf. Aristophanes, *Acharans*, 247 ff. M. P. Nilsson (*Studia de Dionysiis Atticis*, Lund, 1900, p. 91) believes that Plutarch is comparing the Attic festival, known to him through his reading, with the festival as celebrated in great cities in his own time.

⁹ οὐτω] αὐτῶ Bryan.

¹⁰ παρορᾶται] παρεώραται D.

¹¹ παραφερομένων] περιφερομένων C¹ G³ DZφab q.

¹² οὐτω C M³ l: καὶ οὕτως D; οὐτως.

¹³ δέ] δ' Zφab; δέ ὑπ' G¹ (δέ ὑπό γ^{ar}).

(527) τὸν εὐποροῦντα τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἢ καὶ¹ χρησίμων, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ θεασάμενος ἐλέφαντα καὶ² χρυσὸν καὶ ἤλεκτρον ἐξεπλάγη καὶ εἶπεν·

Ζηνός που τοιήδε γ' Ὀλυμπίου ἔνδοθεν αὐλή·
ὅσσα τὰδ' ἄσπετα πολλά· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορό-
ωντα.

Σωκράτης δ' ἂν εἶπεν ἢ³ Διογένης·

ὅσσα τὰδ'⁴ ἄθλια πολλά

καὶ ἄχρηστα καὶ μάταια·

F γέλως μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.

τί λέγεις ἀβέλτερε; τῆς γυναικὸς ὀφείλων παρελεῖν τὴν πορφύραν⁵ καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἵνα παύσῃται τρυφῶσα καὶ ξενομανοῦσα, τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν καλλωπίζεις ὡς θέατρον ἢ θυμέλην τοῖς εἰσιούσι;

10. Τοιαύτην ὁ πλοῦτος εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχει, θεατῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἢ⁶ τὸ μηδὲν οὐσαν.⁷ ὅμοιόν⁸ γε τὸ σωφρονεῖν, τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν,⁹ τὸ γινώσκειν ἃ δεῖ περὶ
528 θεῶν κἂν¹⁰ λανθάνη πάντα ἀνθρώπους· ἴδιον δέ¹¹ σέλας ἔχει καὶ φέγγος¹² ἐν τῇ¹³ ψυχῇ μέγα καὶ χαρὰν

¹ ἢ καὶ] καὶ C; ἢ καὶ τῶν υ D; ἢ i w.

² καὶ] τόσον καὶ G.

³ ἢ] ἢ καὶ Zfab M v (D y are wanting).

⁴ τὰδ' hki: τά γε G; τ' l; τά γ' (D y are wanting).

⁵ παρ. τὴν πορ.] τὴν πορ. παρ. C.

⁶ ἢ] οἷς δεῖ πᾶσιν ἐμπομπεῦειν αὐτὸν ἢ DZfab; εε omit.

⁷ οὐσαν] ἐστὶν D.

⁸ ὅμοιόν] ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅμοιόν DZfab.

⁹ φιλοσοφεῖν] φιλεῖν C¹.

¹⁰ κἂν (κἂν X; κἂν N)] ἀλλὰ κἂν D; ἃ κἂν Pohlenz.

¹¹ δέ] D omits; γὰρ εε.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 527-528

was necessary or useful ; but when he visited Mene-
läüs and beheld ivory, gold, and amber, he was struck
with amazement and cried :

Olympian Zeus, methinks, has halls like this :
What riches past all telling ! I behold
And marvel.^a

Socrates or Diogenes would have said :

What rubbish past all telling
and superfluity and vanity !

I behold

And laugh.

Fool ! You should strip your wife of her purple and
adornments, that she may get over her fine airs and
her infatuation with foreign guests,^b and do you trick
out your house instead like a theatre or stage for
visitors ?

10. Such is the felicity of wealth—a felicity of
spectators and witnesses or else a thing of naught.^c
How different are self-mastery, the pursuit of wisdom,
the knowing what we should about the gods,^d though
known to no man else ! These have in the soul a
luminousness of their own and a surpassing radiance,^e

^a Homer, *Od.* iv. 74-75.

^b Helen had once gone off with Paris.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 679 B and Lucian, *Nigrinus*, 23.

^d Cf. Aristotle, frag. 664 (ed. Rose), quoted in *Mor.* 545 A,
and Plato, *Republic*, 580 c with Shorey's note.

^e Cf. Aristotle in Diogenes Laert. v. 17 : " Sight gets
light from the surrounding air, the soul from studies [or
mathematics]."

¹² σέλ. ἔχ. καὶ φ.] φ. ἔχ. καὶ σέλ. C.
¹³ τῆ] W omits.

(528) ποιεῖ σύννοικον αὐτῇ δι' ἑαυτῆς¹ ἀντιλαμβανομένη² τὰγαθοῦ,³ ἃν τε ἴδη⁴ τις ἃν τε λανθάνη καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἅπαντας. τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἀρετῆ, ἀλήθεια, μαθημάτων κάλλος⁵ γεωμετρικῶν ἀστρολογικῶν⁶. ὧν τίνι τὰ⁷ τοῦ πλούτου φάλαρα ταῦτα καὶ περιδέραια καὶ θεάματα κορασιώδη παραβαλεῖν⁸ ἄξιον; μηδενὸς⁹ ὄρωντος μηδὲ προσβλέποντος ὄντως¹⁰ τυφλὸς γίνεται καὶ ἀφεγγῆς ὁ πλοῦτος. μόνος γὰρ ὁ πλούσιος δειπνῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς¹¹ ἢ τῶν Β συνήθων οὔτε ταῖς θυΐναις¹² παρέχει πράγματα¹³ τραπέζαις οὔτε τοῖς χρυσοῖς ἐκπώμασιν ἀλλὰ χρηταί τοῖς¹⁴ προστυχοῦσι, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἄχρυσος καὶ ἀπόρφυρος καὶ ἀφελῆς πάρεστιν· ὅταν δὲ σύνδειπνον, τουτέστι πομπὴ καὶ θέατρον, συγκροτῆται¹⁵ καὶ δρᾶμα πλουσιακὸν εἰσάγεται, “ νηῶν δ' ἔκφερε λέβητάς τε τρίποδάς τε,” τῶν τε λύχνων αἱ θῆκαι¹⁶ περισπῶνται, τὰς¹⁷ κύλικας ἀλλάσσουσι, τοὺς οἶνο-

¹ αὐτῇ δι' ἑαυτῆς Paton : αὐτῇ ἐν ἑαυτῇ D ; ἑαυτῆς C¹ ; αὐτήν (-τῇ γ) ἑαυτῆς (αὐ- vw).

² ἀντιλαμβανομένη Wyttenbach : -ην C G³ hki w l^{ac} ; -η.

³ τὰγαθοῦ D : τὰγαθὸν (τὰ- C Xu W N Y).

⁴ τε ἴδη] τ' εἶδη C^{ac} G Zfab ; τέ εἶδη D.

⁵ κάλλος M^{ras} ee : τε (τέ Z, τὸ φ) κάλλος DZfab ; κάλλος τε (κ. τέ).

⁶ ἀστρολογικῶν] ἀστρονομικῶν G⁴ W ; ἀριθμητικῶν ἀστρολογικῶν Wilamowitz.

⁷ ὧν τίνι τὰ Ald.² : οἷς πάντα D ; ὧ τινι (-νι Z γ) τὰ.

⁸ παραβαλεῖν (β from λ D^c ; παραλαβεῖν ab)] παραβάλλειν G : παραβαλλεῖν v.

⁹ μηδενὸς] ἄ (ἄ D) μηδενὸς DZfab ; ὄντως δὲ μηδενὸς G.

¹⁰ ὄντως] ὄντος DZφ ; οὔτως hk¹ v ; G omits.

¹¹ γυναικὸς] τῆς γ. DZfab.

¹² θυΐναις W : θοΐναις C¹ G¹ (θοΐνες X¹)v N ; ἐν θοΐναις X² ZfabM vw Yl ; κοιναῖς G^a γ ; καιναῖς q ; χρυσαῖς C³γρ D hki.

¹³ πράγματα (and so G³)] πρ. καὶ G¹.

and make delight her constant companion, as by her sole power she grasps the Good, whether there is anyone to see, or whether no one, god or man, is witness.^a Such is the nature of virtue, truth, the beauty^b of mathematics—geometry and astronomy—; and with what of these do your trappings of wealth, your necklaces, your girlish baubles, compare? With no one to see or look on, wealth becomes sightless indeed^c and bereft of radiance. For when the rich man dines alone with his wife or intimates he lets his tables of citrus-wood and golden beakers rest in peace and uses common furnishings, and his wife attends without her gold and purple and dressed in plain attire. But when a banquet—that is, a spectacle and a show—is got up and the drama of wealth brought on, “out of the ships he fetched the urns and tripods,”^d the repositories of the lamps are given no rest, the cups are changed, the cup-bearers are made

^a Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 580 c.

^b Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 475 A.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 679 B. Wealth is proverbially “blind,” that is, no respecter of merit (cf. Plato, *Republic*, viii. 554 B with Shorey’s note and Zwicker in Pauly-Wissowa, xxi. 1, coll. 1045 f.). In this paragraph—and also in *Mor.* 679 B and the *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. x. 3 (45 C-D)—Plutarch takes “blind” in the sense of “dark” or “unseen.”

^d Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 259. Achilles orders the cauldrons and kettles which are to be prizes at the funeral games to be taken out of storage in the ships.

¹⁴ τοῖς (τῆ φ)] C¹ omits.

¹⁵ συγκροτῆται D : συγκεκρότητα.

¹⁶ αἱ θῆκαι Paton : δέθη καὶ (variously accented) C¹ G¹ Xv W y N M¹ Ylq ; ἀντέχονται καὶ DZφab ; ἔχονται καὶ C³ G³ M² vw ; καίουσι (followed by a lacuna of 10 letters in h, of six in k¹) καὶ hk¹i. (All but l punctuate after κύλικας, and all but X after οἰνοχόους.)

¹⁷ τὰς] περὶ τὰς DZφab.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(528) χόους μεταμφιεννύουσι, πάντα¹ κινούσιν,² χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λιθοκόλλητον,³ ἄλλοις⁴ πλουτεῖν ὁμολογούντες. ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνης⁵ γε κἂν μόνος δειπνῆ δεῖται κἂν⁶ εὐωχῆ.⁷

¹ πάντα W hki w : πάντα· (-as v) πάντα.

² κινούσιν W (-σι DZfab M vw) : κοσμοῦσι hk¹i ; κοινοῦσι (-σιν YI). ³ λιθοκόλλητον] λιθοκόλλητα D.

⁴ ἄλλοις Pohlenz : ἀπλῶς.

ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 528

to put on new attire, nothing is left undisturbed, gold, silver, or jewelled plate, the owners thus confessing that their wealth is for others. But mastery of self is in order whether the owner dines alone or gives a sumptuous feast.

⁵ σωφροσύνης] εὐφροσύνης C³ D hk¹i.

⁶ καὶ Pohlenz : καί.

⁷ εὐωχῆ nos : εὐωχίας (δικαιοσύνης D).

ON COMPLIANCY
(DE VITIOSO PUDORE)

INTRODUCTION

Dysōpia (with the related verbs, adjectives, and adverbs) has no exact equivalent in English, or apparently in Latin, French, Italian, or German.^a It indicates the embarrassment that compels us to grant an unjustified request. In the *Life of Brutus* (chap. vi. 9, 986 E) it is described as a "defeat at the hands of the shamelessly insistent."^b The word in this expressive (but unclassical) sense was condemned by the Atticists,^c as Plutarch was well aware.^d

Plutarch equates *dysōpia* with Aristotle's excess of shame (528 E). His use of a Peripatetic source is

^a Philemon Holland renders it "naughtie bashfulnesse" and "foolish and rusticall shamefastnes"; Thomas Hoy "bashfulness"; and A. R. Shilleto "shyness." Erasmus calls it "vitiosa verecundia," Xylander "vitiosus pudor," H. Cruserius "immodica verecundia." Amyot has "fausse honte," Bétolaud "mauvaise honte"; while the best Antonio Massa can do is "quella erubescenza, che è vitiosa, & dannosa." J. F. S. Kaltwasser has "die falsche Schamhaftigkeit" and in a note "die Bauernscham"; J. C. Bähr "die falsche Scham."

^b Cf. 528 F below.

^c Cf. Phrynichus, p. 190 (ed. Lobeck) with the note and H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den attizistischen Lexika*, Abh. d. deutschen Ak. d. Wiss. zu Berlin, Phil.-hist. Kl. (1949), p. 116.

^d Cf. the expressions "which some call *δυσωπεισθαι*" (*Life of Brutus*, *loc. cit.*) and "what is called *δυσωπία*" (528 D below).

ON COMPLIANCY

shown by two passages in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (ii. 7. 14, 1108 a 30-35 and iv. 9. 1-3, 1128 b 10-21). The first runs as follows :

There are means also in the passions and concerned with the passions ; thus while shame (*aidōs*) is not a virtue, yet the modest man (*aidēmōn*) also receives praise. For here too one man is called intermediate, another excessive—as the shame-faced man (*kataplēx*) who is awed at everything—; while the man who is deficient or totally lacking is shameless, and the intermediate man is modest.

So too in Plutarch : *dysōpia* is a passion (528 D) and one of the extremes between which is found the disposition desired (529 A). The mean is never called a virtue, nor are the extremes called vices.^a We continue with the second passage :

It is not proper to speak of shame as a virtue, for it rather resembles a passion than a habit. Thus it is defined as a fear of ill-repute, and is brought to pass in a way similar to the fear of danger ; for those who feel shame blush, while those who fear death turn pale. Thus both appear to be in some way connected with the body, and this is held to belong rather to a passion than to a habit. The passion does not befit all ages, but only youth. For we think that people of this age should be modest because they commit many faults through living by passion, but are prevented by shame ; and we praise the modest among the young, but no one would praise an older man for being bashful (*aischyntēlos*), for we think that he should do nothing to which shame (*aischynē*) is attached.^b

Like Aristotle and Plato (*Laws*, i. 647 A), Plutarch

^a Plutarch departs from Aristotle in using “shamelessness” of one who harshly refuses another’s request (529 A). In the same passage he speaks of the extremes in terms that Aristotle would not have used of a passion (*asthenōs echontes* and *diathesis*). The word “passion” (*pathos*) itself has in Plutarch another connotation.

^b A criticism of Plato (*Laws*, v. 729 B 5-7).

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

treats *aidōs* and *aischynē* as virtual synonyms (529 D).^a He implies that shame is the fear of ill-repute (529 A and 532 D)^b; and his citation of Cato (528 F) is doubtless due to the desire to find some parallel to Aristotle's remarks about the bodily manifestations of shame and fear.^c Cato surely had no such subtleties in mind; he was merely expressing his preference for the outdoors type of young man. With Aristotle's views about shame and youth we may compare Plutarch's references to the young (528 F, 529 B, 529 c, and 530 A).

After a short description of *dysōpia* (528 c—529 D) Plutarch passes to the two great divisions of the essay: the proof that the disorder is injurious, and the methods of its cure.^d The cure lies in a course of training (530 E—532 D) and in making certain reflexions. The training is presented at 532 B-C, the reflexions (preceded by a discussion of the use of silence and of quotations in answering importunities) are presented at 533 D-F.^e Next come precepts for handling suitors: meet shamelessness with shame-

^a Here the words *καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι* are Plutarch's own addition: compare the explanation added to Zeno's remark in *Mor.* 603 D below.

^b Cf. also Plato, *Laws*, i. 646 F—657 A, *Euthyphro*, 12 B-C, and von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 416 (p. 101. 37). In Plutarch the fear of ill-repute is really a fear of reproach or resentment.

^c Cf. also Aristotle, *Frag.* 243 (ed. Rose) and von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 410 (p. 99. 15-18).

^d Cf. *Mor.* 510 C-D.

^e Elsewhere training comes last. From its unusual order here Pohlenz ("Ueber Plutarchs Schrift *περὶ ἀσκησίας*" *Hermes*, xxxi, 1896, p. 329, note 1) infers that the *De Vitioso Pudore* is later than the *De Se Ipsum Citra Invidiam Laudando*, "da die Einschaltung der *ἀσκησις* am besten aus dem Streben nach Abwechslung zu erklären ist."

ON COMPLIANCY

lessness (533 F—534 B); with suitors of humble station use wit (534 B-C); with powerful suitors appeal to their sense of artistry, their pride, or their claims to virtue (534 C—535 B); with suitors of baser character make use of their vices (535 B-D). The essay concludes with an exhortation to resist the bait of praise and the threat of blame, and the suggestion of a procedure useful against all the passions: to keep fresh in the memory the disgrace and damage suffered from the passion before.

The essay cannot be dated by the mention of any contemporary event. The topic (apparently original) would naturally have occurred to Plutarch in his maturer years, when his influence and reputation were established, and when he had friends of great wealth and power.

A translation by Erasmus appeared at Basle in 1526; there are also translations that we have not seen, into Latin by J. Caesarius,^a and into French by François Le Grand.^b The essay is No. 96 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC G Xv I W DZab RnySs hki JK N M vw Ylfq. Occasionally *a*AE are cited for conjectures.

^a *Plutarchi opusculum de immoderata verecundia a J. Caesario Latine redditum*, Rome, 1565.

^b *De la Honte vicieuse, traité composé par Plutarque de Chéronée, et traduit en notre langue par François Le Grand*, Paris, 1554. This version also appeared in the same year at Rouen.

(528)

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΥΣΩΠΙΑΣ

C

1. "Ενια τῶν ἐκ τῆς¹ γῆς φυομένων αὐτὰ μὲν D ἔστιν ἄγρια² καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ βλαβερὰν τοῖς ἡμέροις σπέρμασι καὶ φυτοῖς τὴν αὐξήσιν ἔχοντα, σημεῖα δὲ αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται χώρας οἱ γεωργοῦντες οὐ πονηρᾶς ἀλλὰ γενναίας καὶ πίονος· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάθη ψυχῆς ἔστιν οὐ χρηστά, χρηστῆς δὲ φύσεως οἶον ἐξανθήματα καὶ λόγῳ παρασχεῖν ἐργάσιμον ἑαυτὴν ἐπεικῶς δυναμένης. ἐν τούτοις τίθεμαι καὶ τὴν λεγομένην δυσωπίαν, σημεῖον μὲν οὐ φαῦλον, αἰτίαν δὲ μοχθηρίας οὔσαν. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀναισχύντοις οἱ αἰσχνόμενοι πολλάκις ἀμαρτάνουσι, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀλγεῖν ἐφ' οἷς διαμαρτάνουσι τούτοις πρόσεστιν, οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνοις τὸ E ἠδεσθαι. ἀναλγῆς μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἀναιδῆς πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρὸν, εὐπαθῆς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρὸν ὁ εὐδυσώπητος· ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ τοῦ αἰσχνέσθαι τὸ δυσωπεῖσθαι. διὸ καὶ οὕτω κέκληται, τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ προσώπου τῇ ψυχῇ συνδιατρεπομένου καὶ συνεξατονοῦντος. ὡς γὰρ τὴν κατήφειαν ὀρίζονται λύπην κάτω βλέπειν ποιοῦσαν, οὕτω τὴν αἰσχνυτηλίαν μέχρι τοῦ μηδὲ ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς δεομένοις

¹ τῆς (and so I)] W DZab Rn¹γSs hk¹i omit.

² After ἄγρια we omit τῇ γῇ (τῇ φύσει DZab M³γρ).

^a *Dysōpeomai* (to be embarrassed into compliance by opportunity) no doubt originally meant "to be affected by hard

ON COMPLIANCY

1. CERTAIN plants are in themselves wild and unproductive, and when allowed to grow are harmful to cultivated grain and vines and trees ; yet the farmer takes them as signs of a soil not unfertile, but generous and rich. So too with the affections of the mind : some that are bad are nevertheless the outgrowths, as it were, of an excellent nature well able to respond to the cultivation of reason. Among these I count what is called "compliance,"—no unfavourable sign, though it leads to bad conduct. For men who feel shame often show the same faults as those who feel none, with this difference, however : they are grieved and distressed at their errors, unlike the shameless, who take pleasure in theirs. For the shameless feel no pain in doing what is base, whereas the mere semblance of baseness dismays the compliant. For compliance is excess of shame. Hence the name (*dysōpeomai*),^a the face (*prosōpon*) being somehow involved in the embarrassment and discomposure of the mind. For as dejection (*katēpheia*) is defined as pain that makes us look down (*katō*),^b so when modesty yields to suitors to the point where one does not even or unpleasant looks." Plutarch takes the etymological sense to be "to be affected in one's looks," "to become incapable of facing someone."

^b Cf. the Townleyan scholiast on Homer, *Il.* xvii. 556 : *κατηφείη· ἀπὸ τοῦ κάτω ἔχειν τὰ φάη* (dejection : from keeping the eyes downcast).

(528) ὑπέικουσαν δυσωπίαν ὠνόμασαν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ῥήτωρ τὸν ἀναίσχυντον οὐκ ἔφη κόρας ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασιν F ἔχειν ἀλλὰ πόρνας· ὁ δ' εὐδυσώπητος αὖ πάλιν ἄγαν τὸ θῆλυ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τρυφερὸν ἐμφαίνει διὰ τῆς ὄψεως, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναισχύντων ἦτταν¹ αἰσχύνην ὑποκοριζόμενος. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτων ἔλεγεν τῶν νέων μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐρυθριῶντας ἢ τοὺς ὠχριῶντας, ὀρθῶς ἐθίζων καὶ διδάσκων τὸν ψόγον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν πόνον² δεδιέναι καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κίνδυνον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν ψόγον ὑπόπτου καὶ ψοφοδεοῦς τὸ ἄγαν ἀφαιρετέον, 529 ὡς οὐχ ἦττον ἔνιοι πολλάκις ἀκοῦσαι κακῶς ἢ παθεῖν δείσαντες ἀπεδειλίασαν καὶ προήκαντο τὸ καλὸν οὐ δυνηθέντες ὑπομεῖναι τὸ ἄδοξον.

2. Οὔτε δὴ τούτους περιοπτεόν οὕτως ἀσθενῶς ἔχοντας οὔτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνην ἐπαινετέον τὴν ἄτρεπτον καὶ ἀτενῆ διάθεσιν,³ ἀλλ' ἐμμελῆ τινα μηχανητέον σύγκρασιν ἀμφοῖν, τοῦ μὲν ἀτενοῦς ἄγαν τὴν ἀναίδειαν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιεικοῦς σφόδρα τὴν ἀσθένειαν B ἀφαιροῦσαν. ἧ καὶ τὸ θεράπευμα δυσχερὲς καὶ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος ἢ τῶν τοιούτων πλεονασμῶν κόλασις.⁴ ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς ἄγριον μὲν ἐκκόπτων βλάστημα καὶ ἀγεννὲς αὐτόθεν ἀφειδῶς ἐμβαλῶν⁵

¹ ἦτταν G⁴ W JK^{1γρ} f^{2γρ} : ὄψιν.

² πόνον Wyttenbach : ἐπαινον (-πε- N ; ἔλεγχον DZab M² ; X n¹Ss are wanting).

³ After διάθεσιν LC Gk Xu W JK M²Zab vw have (with some variants) ἐν δὲ τὸ θαρσαλέον τε καὶ ἐμμενὲς ὄπη ὀρούσαι φαίνετ' ἀναξάρχου κύνεον μένος.

⁴ κόλασις (L illegible) C^{1t} X^{ras} (from κώ-) W : κώλυσις (and so C^{1ss} ; αἴσθησις s [but αἰσθ is crossed out] ; κώλησις w) ; κόλουσις Meziriacus.

look them in the face, it is termed "compliance." And so, as the orator ^a said that the shameless man had harlots, not maidens, ^b in his eyes, so the compliant man in his turn betrays only too clearly in his countenance the effeminacy and flabbiness of his spirit, giving his surrender to the shameless the fair name of "modesty." Cato ^c indeed said that in the young he preferred the flush of colour to pallor, rightly training and teaching us to dread censure more than labour, and disapproval more than peril. Nevertheless we must also do away with the excess of timidity and apprehension at the prospect of censure, for instances are frequently found of men who, in terror no less of a bad name than of bodily hurt, have played the coward and failed in the good fight, not having the firmness to submit to ill fame.

2. Neither then should we be unmindful of these, who suffer from so great an infirmity, nor again should we approve the other unyielding and stern set of character ^d; we should rather contrive an harmonious blend of both qualities, one that removes the ruthlessness of extreme severity and the infirmity of excessive courtesy. Thus the cure is difficult, and the correction of such excesses not without risk. For as the farmer in weeding out some wild and worthless growth thrusts his spade in roughly with no further ado and

^a Timaeus, Frag. 122 (ed. Jacoby).

^b The Greek for pupil is *korē*, "maiden." Shame resides in the eyes: cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 6. 18 (1384 a 36).

^c Cf. *Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. ix. 5 (341 c); *Mor.* 29 E, 198 E.

^d One group of mss. has here an interpolation from *Mor.* 446 B-C (Timon, frag. 58, Diels, *Poet. Philos. Frag.* p. 199).

^e ἐμβάλων LC^c (from -λλῶν) G⁴k W D JK vw: ἐμβάλλων (and so I; -άλων R N l).

- (529) τὸ σκαφεῖον ἀνέτρεψε¹ τὴν ρίζαν ἢ πῦρ προσαγαγὼν ἐπέκαυσεν,² ἀμπέλῳ δὲ προσιῶν τομῆς δεομένη καὶ μηλέας ἢ τινος ἐλαίας ἀπτόμενος εὐλαβῶς ἐπιφέρει τὴν χεῖρα, δεδιὼς μὴ τι τοῦ ὑγιαίνοντος ἀποτυφλώσῃ, οὕτως ὁ φιλόσοφος φθόνον μὲν ἐξαιρῶν νέου ψυχῆς, ἀγεννὲς βλάβστημα καὶ δυσσιθάσειτον, ἢ φιλαργυρίαν ἄωρον ἢ φιληδονίαν ἐπικόπτων ἀκόλαστον αἰμάσσει καὶ πιέζει καὶ τομὴν ποιεῖ καὶ
- C οὐλὴν βαθείαν· ὅταν δὲ τρυφερῶ μέρει ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλῶ³ κολούοντα προσαγάγῃ⁴ λόγον, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ δυσωπούμενον καὶ διατρεπόμενον, εὐλαβεῖται μὴ λάθῃ τούτοις συναποκόψας τὸ αἰδούμενον. καὶ γὰρ αἱ τίθται τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκτρίβουσαι πολλάκις τὸν ῥύπον ἐλκοῦσιν⁵ ἐνίοτε τὴν σάρκα καὶ βασανίζουσιν. ὅθεν οὐ δεῖ τῶν νέων παντάπασιν ἐν χρῶ τὴν δυσωπίαν ἐκτρίβοντας ὀλιγώρους ποιεῖν καὶ λίαν ἀτρέπτους· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ καταλύοντες οἰκίας ἱεροῖς γειτνιώσας τά γε συνεχῆ καὶ πλησίον ἐῷσι καὶ διερείδουσιν, οὕτω δεῖ τὴν δυσωπίαν κινεῖν, δεδιότας συνεφελκύσασθαι τὰ ὀμοροῦντα τῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς ἡμερότητος οἷς ὑποδέδυκε
- D καὶ προσπέπλεκται, κολακεύουσα τὸν εὐδυσώπητον ὡς φιλάνθρωπον καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἔχοντα νοῦν καὶ⁶ οὐκ ἄτεγκτον οὐδὲ αὐθέκαστον. ὅθεν εὐθύς οἱ Στωϊκοὶ καὶ τῷ ῥήματι τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι τοῦ αἰδεῖσθαι διέστησαν ἵνα μηδὲ τὴν

¹ ἀνέτρεψε] ἀνέστρεψε Gk Xu y^{ac}.

² ἐπέκαυσεν] ἀπέκαυσεν Zab w.

³ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλῶ (ἀ- X¹ N¹ M^{ac})] ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπλῶ LC¹; καὶ ἀπαλῶ (ἀ- G¹) ψυχῆς G²k.

⁴ προσαγάγῃ] προσάγῃ W D w.

⁵ ἐλκοῦσιν α³A²EC²Z (no accent in b): ἔλκουσιν.

⁶ νοῦν καὶ] καὶ W; νοῦν DZab.

turns up the root, or applies fire to the weed and blasts it, but when he comes to a vine in need of pruning or deals with an apple tree or olive, he handles it gently, fearing to strip the buds from some healthy part, so the philosopher, when he removes envy from a young man's soul, a worthless and incorrigible growth, or cuts off an early appearance of avarice ^a or self-indulgence running riot, draws blood, bears down hard, and makes an incision deep enough to leave a scar; but when he applies the knife of chastening discourse to a soft and delicate part of the soul—a description that applies to the part that suffers from compliancy and shyness—he takes heed lest unawares he amputate with these all feeling of respect. For nurses too, when they scour infants too often, sometimes wound the flesh and do them hurt. It follows that we must not scour too close in removing from the young the fear to disoblige, and thus make them inconsiderate and unyielding to a fault, but as those who pull down houses adjoining a temple let the connected and neighbouring portions stand and shore them up, in the same way we must deal with compliancy, taking care not to remove with it the adjacent portions of respect and courtesy and gentleness where it hides and clings, while it bestows on the man who yields to pressure easily the flattering epithets of “friendly,” “civil,” and “considerate of others,” not “rigid” or “blunt.” Hence the Stoics ^b distinguish from the outset the very words, separating “shame” and compliancy from “respect,” so as to

^a Illiberality is characteristic of old age: cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* iv. 1. 37 (1121 b 13 f.) and *Rhetoric*, ii. 13. 6 (1389 b 28).

^b Cf. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 439 (*Mor.* 449 A) and 440 (p. 107).

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(529) ὁμωνυμίαν τῷ πάθει πρόφασιν τοῦ βλάπτειν ἀπολίπωσιν.¹ ἀλλ' ἡμῖν χρῆσθαι τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀσυκοφαντήτως δότωσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ Ὀμηρικῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν

αἰδώς, ἧ τ' ἀνδράς μέγα σίνεται ἧδ' ὀνίνησι.

καὶ οὐ κακῶς τὸ βλάπτον² αὐτῆς πρότερον εἶπεν· γίνεται γὰρ ὠφέλιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὸ πλεονάζον ἀφελόντος καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἀπολιπόντος.

Ε 3. Πρῶτον οὖν τοῦτο δεῖ πείθεσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ πολλῆς δυσωπίας βιαζόμενον, ὅτι πάθει βλαβερῶ συνέχεται, καλὸν δὲ τῶν βλαβερῶν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ δεῖ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις κηλούμενον ἧδεσθαι κομψὸν καὶ ἰλαρὸν ἀντὶ σεμοῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ δικαίου προσαγορευόμενον, μηδ' ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδου Πήγασος

ἐπτησσ' ὑπείκων μᾶλλον ἧ³ μᾶλλον⁴ θέλοι

τῷ Βελλεροφόντῃ, τοῖς δεομένοις ἑαυτὸν ἐκδιδόναι καὶ συνεκταπεινοῦν φοβούμενον ἀκοῦσαι τὸ “σκληρός γε καὶ ἀπηνής.” τῷ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίῳ Βοκχόριδι⁵ φύσει⁶ χαλεπῶ γενομένῳ τὴν ἀσπίδα λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπιπεμφθεῖσαν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιελιχθεῖσαν ἄνωθεν ἐπισκιάζειν ἵνα κρίνη δικαίως· ἧ δὲ τοι' δυσωπία τοῖς ἀτόνοις καὶ ἀνάδροις ἐπικειμένη καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀνανεῦσαι

¹ ἀπολίπωσιν] ἀπολείπωσιν W RnySs K^{ac} v.

² βλάπτον G^{1ss} D and Reiske: βλάπτειν.

³ ἧ L RnySs hi lfq (ἧ N¹ M Y): ἧ.

⁴ μᾶλλον added from Mor. 807 E.

⁵ βοκχόριδι (and so C²; -ίδι X³; -ίδη N): βικχόριδι LC¹; βοκχώριδι G³ (no accent in X¹) D R(-ογχ- n)ySs hk^{1ss}i vw.

leave the disorder not even the ambiguity of its name as an occasion of doing harm. But by their leave we shall not quibble about the names, but rather follow Homer,^a who says

Respect, the bane and blessing of mankind.

And he did well to put first its harmfulness. For it becomes helpful only when reason removes the overplus and leaves us with the right amount.

3. One who feels a strong compulsion to be facile must first be convinced of this: that he suffers from a harmful disorder, and that nothing harmful is admirable; and he should refuse to be beguiled by plaudits into preferring the epithets "civilized" and "gracious" to the terms "grave" and "great" and "just," or like Pegasus in Euripides,^b who

Cringed and yielded as the rider willed

(the rider being Bellerophon), surrender to suitors and descend to their level for fear of the remark "Truly a cold, harsh man." Now to Bocchoris the Egyptian, a man naturally cruel, Isis (they say) sent the asp, which coiled around his head and shadowed him from above,^c to make him observe justice in his verdicts; whereas false courtesy, pressing down upon those who are flabby and unmanly, and incapable of

^a The line is actually Hesiod's (*Works and Days*, 318), but Plutarch held that Hesiod had it from Homer (*cf. Il.* xxiv. 44-45): see Proclus, *ad loc.*

^b From the *Bellerophon* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 309; quoted also in *Mor.* 807 E.

^c An explanation of the uraeus: *cf.* Alexandre Moret, *De Bocchori Rege*, Paris, 1903, p. 87.

⁶ φύσει (and so G³)] G¹ omits.

⁷ ἡ δέ τοι (and so G⁴)] ἡ τε G¹; ἡ δέ γε DZab; ἡ δέ τι s.

(529) μηδὲ ἀντειπεῖν ἰσχύουσα καὶ δικάζοντας ἀποτρέπει τοῦ δικαίου καὶ συμβουλεύοντας ἐπιστομίζει καὶ λέγειν πολλὰ καὶ πράττειν ἀναγκάζει τῶν ἀβουλήτων·
 530 ὁ δὲ ἀγνωμονέστατος αἰεὶ τοῦ τοιούτου δεσπότης ἐστὶ καὶ κρατεῖ τῷ μὴ αἰδεῖσθαι τὸ αἰδούμενον ἐκβιαζόμενος· ὅθεν ὥσπερ χωρίον ὑπτιον καὶ μαλακὸν ἢ δυσωπία μηδεμίαν ἔντευξιν ἐξῶσαι μηδὲ ἀποστρέψαι¹ δυναμένη τοῖς αἰσχίστοις βάσιμός ἐστι πάθεισι καὶ πράγμασι· κακὴ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη παιδικῆς φρουρὸς ἡλικίας, ὡς ἔλεγε Βροῦτος οὐ δοκεῖν αὐτῷ καλῶς τὴν ὥραν διατεθεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς μηδὲν ἀρνούμενον· κακὴ δὲ θαλάμου καὶ γυναικωνίτιδος ἐπίτροπος, ὡς φησιν ἢ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ μετανοοῦσα πρὸς τὸν μοιχόν

ἔπεισας ἐξέθωψας.

B ὥσθ' ἢ² δυσωπία προσδιαφθείρασα³ τὸ ἀκόλαστον⁴ ἀνώχυρα πάντα καὶ ἄκλειστα καὶ κατάντη προδίδωσι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. καὶ διδόντες μὲν αἰροῦσι τὰς βδελυρωτάτας, τῷ δὲ πείθειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν πολλάκις κατεργάζονται καὶ τὰς ἐπεικεῖς. ἐῷ⁵ δὲ⁶ τὰς εἰς τὰ χρήματα βλάβας ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσωπεῖσθαι, δανειζόντων οἷς ἀπιστοῦσιν, ἐγγυωμένων οὐς⁷ οὐ θέλουσιν, ἐπαινούντων μὲν τὸ “ἐγγύα πάρα δ' ἄτα,” χρήσθαι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ πράγματα μὴ δυναμένων.

¹ ἀποστρέψαι M² q : ἀποτρέψαι (ἀντιστρέψαι LC).

² ὥσθ' ἢ N² M² vw q : ὥστ' ἢ (ὡς τῆ Cvet G³; ὥστε ἢ DZab RnySs hi f).

³ προσδιαφθείρασα (πρόσδ. X k¹) προσδιαφθείρουσα L?C D hi ; προδιαφθείρασα a²AEZab v^c.

⁴ After ἀκόλαστον LC W Gk Xu add αὕτη γὰρ.

⁵ ἐῷ (ἐῷ n) καὶ D ; ἐᾶ Ss.

denying or refusing anything, turns them aside from justice in their verdicts, silences them in the council, and compels them to say and do many things that go against their will. The most unreasonable person is always master of such a man and controls him, coercing with his effrontery the other's shyness. And so, like a low-lying and loose terrain, a compliant disposition, being unable to fend off or repulse any appeal, is exposed to the most degrading experiences and deeds. For it is a poor guardian of the years of boyhood (thus Brutus ^a said that he thought one who denied nothing had made no good disposal of his youthful grace), and a poor custodian of the nuptial chamber and the women's apartments, as she who repents in Sophocles ^b says to the adulterer,

You coaxed and wheedled me to ruin.

Thus complaisance further corrupts the profligate mind and delivers everything up to the attacker: the position has no defences, no bars, and is commanded on all sides. And whereas it is with gifts that the vilest women are taken, argument and a bold address often prevail even over the good. I pass over the losses in money for which compliancy is responsible, when men lend to persons they distrust and go bail against their will, and though they approve the proverb "he that is surety is never sure,"^c are unable to follow it in practice.

^a Cf. *Life of Brutus*, chap. vi. 9 (986 E).

^b Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Sophocles, no. 773 (no. 857 Pearson).

^c For the proverb cf. *Mor.* 164 B, 511 B.

⁶ δέ R^{ac} and Emperius: δῆ (δεῖ N¹).

⁷ οὖς (L illegible)C G⁴k¹ Xu W DZab: οἰς.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(530) 4. "Οσους δ' ἀνήρηκε τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἄν τις ἐξαριθμήσαιτο ῥαδίως. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κρέων πρὸς τὴν Μήδειαν εἰπών,

C κρείσσον δέ μοι νῦν πρὸς σ' ἀπεχθέσθαι, γύναι,
ἢ μαλθακισθένθ' ὕστερον μέγα στένειν,¹

ἄλλοις ἐγνωμολόγησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς δυσωπίας ἦ-
των γενόμενος καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν αἰτουμένη δούς ἀπ-
ώλεσε τὸν οἶκον. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ σφαγὰς ὑφορώμενοι
καὶ φαρμακείας διετράπησαν. οὕτω παραπώλετο
Δίων, οὐκ ἀγνοήσας ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κάλλιππον
ἀλλ' αἰσχυνθεὶς φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον·
οὕτως Ἀντίπατρος ὁ Κασάνδρου Δημήτριον καλέ-
σας ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, εἶτα κληθεὶς τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ πρὸς
αὐτὸν ἠδέσθη πεπιστευμένος ἀπιστεῖν, καὶ πορευ-
θεὶς ἐσφάγη μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον. Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν

D Ἀλεξάνδρω² γενόμενον ἐκ Βαρσίνης ὠμολόγησε
μὲν Κασάνδρω Πολυπέρχων ἀναιρήσειν ἐπὶ ταλάν-
τοις ἑκατόν, εἶτα ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐκάλει· τοῦ δὲ μει-
ρακίου τὴν κλῆσιν ὑφορωμένου καὶ δεδοικότος,
ἄλλως δὲ προφασιζομένου μαλακώτερον ἔχειν, ἐλ-
θὼν ὁ Πολυπέρχων, "πρῶτον," εἶπεν, "ὦ παῖ,
μιμοῦ τοῦ³ πατρὸς τὸ εὐκόλον καὶ φιλέταιρον, εἰ μὴ
νῆ Δία δέδοικας ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας." αἰδε-
σθεὶς⁴ ἠκολούθησεν ὁ νεανίσκος· οἱ δὲ δειπνίσαντες⁵
αὐτὸν ἐστραγγάλισαν.⁶ οὐ γελοῖον οὖν, ὡς φασί

¹ μέγα στένειν Euripides and W DZab S²s hi JK M² (στένειν μέγα C² vw) : στένειν.

² ἀλεξάνδρω G² W DZab hki M² : ἀλεξάνδρου.

³ τοῦ] των τοῦ D.

⁴ After αἰδεσθεὶς G³k DZab have οὖν.

4. The lives that this disorder has cost would not be easy to number. Thus when Creon said to Medea,

Better for me to have thy hatred now
Than yield to rue it bitterly thereafter,^a

he expressed a maxim for others to use, but succumbed to pressure himself, and by granting her request for a day's respite brought ruin on his house. Even some who suspected assassination and poison have given way to the feeling. Thus Dion was lost, not from ignorance of Callippus' plot, but because he was ashamed to take precautions against one who was his friend and guest.^b Thus when Antipater, son of Cassander, after inviting Demetrius to dinner, was invited by him the following day, he was ashamed to distrust one who had trusted him, went, and was murdered after the meal.^c Polyperchon agreed with Cassander for a hundred talents to do away with Heracles, Alexander's son by Barsinê, and proceeded to invite him to dinner. When the youth, suspecting and dreading the invitation, alleged an indisposition, Polyperchon called on him and said: "Young man, the first quality of your father you should imitate is his readiness to oblige and attachment to his friends,^d unless indeed you fear me as a plotter." The youth was shamed into going; and they gave him his dinner and strangled him. The advice of Hesiod^e is

^a Euripides, *Medea*, 290-291.

^b Cf. *Life of Dion*, chap. lvi. 3 (982 E).

^c Cf. *Life of Demetrius*, chap. xxxvi. 9-12 (906 C-D).

^d Cf. *Life of Alexander*, chap. xlvi. 1 (692 A).

^e *Works and Days*, 342; also quoted in *Mor.* 707 c.

⁵ δειπνίσαντες W DZab RnySs h M²: δειπνήσαντες.

⁶ αὐτὸν ἐστραγγάλισαν LC Gk Xu W DZab JK vws²:
ἐστραγγάλισαν αὐτόν.

(530) τινες, οὐδὲ ἀβέλτερον, ἀλλὰ σοφὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου·
τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαίτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἑάσαι.

Ε μὴ δυσωποῦ τὸν μισοῦντα μῆδ' ὑπαίκαλλε¹ πι-
στεύειν δοκοῦντα· κληθήσῃ γὰρ καλέσας καὶ δειπνή-
σεις ἂν δειπνίσῃς, ὥσπερ βαφὴν τὴν φυλάττουσαν
ἀπιστίαν μαλαχθεῖσαν αἰσχύνῃ προέμενος.

5. Ὡς οὖν πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτιον τὸ νόσημα
τοῦτο ὄν πειρατέον ἀποβιάζεσθαι τῇ ἀσκήσει, πρῶ-
τον ἀρξάμενους, ὥσπερ οἱ τᾶλλα μελετῶντες, ἀπὸ
τῶν μικρῶν καὶ μὴ σφόδρα δυσαντιβλέπτων. οἶον
F ἐν δείπνῳ προπίνει τις ἄδην ἔχοντι· μὴ δυσωπη-
θῆς μῆδὲ προσβιάσῃ σαυτόν, ἀλλὰ κατάθου τὸ
ποτήριον. αὐθις ἕτερος παρακαλεῖ κυβεύειν παρὰ
πότον· μὴ δυσωπηθῆς μῆδὲ δείσῃς σκωπτόμενος·
ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ξενοφάνης Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέως μὴ
βουλόμενον² αὐτῷ συγκυβεύειν δειλὸν ἀποκαλοῦντος
ὁμολόγει καὶ³ πάνυ δειλὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ
ἄτολμος.⁴ πάλιν ἀδολέσχῃ⁵ συνήντηκας ἐπιλαμ-
βανομένῳ καὶ περιπλεκομένῳ· μὴ δυσωπηθῆς ἀλλὰ
διακόψας ἐπείγου καὶ πέραινε τὸ προκείμενον. αἱ

531 γὰρ τοιαῦται φυγαὶ καὶ διακρούσεις, ἐν ἑλαφραῖς
μέμψεσι τὴν μελέτην ἔχουσαι τοῦ ἀδυσωπήτου,
προεθίζουσιν⁶ ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα. καὶ τὸ τοῦ
Δημοσθένους ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχει διαμνημονεύειν·
τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὠρμημένων Ἀρπάλῳ βοηθεῖν

¹ ὑπαίκαλλε W (ὑπαῖκαλλε G³γρ): ὑπεκκάλει Cvetgr J¹K vσ
(from -εκά-)w; ὑπεύγαλε N; ὑπέκβαλε.

² βουλόμενον] βουλομένῳ (ἠλομένῳ R)nySs; βουλομένου hi
N M¹ vw Yl; βουλόμενος fq.

³ ὁμολόγει καὶ Matthaei: ὠμολόγει καὶ (ὠμολόγηκε N).

⁴ πρὸς . . . ἄτολμος] καὶ ἄτολμος πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ LC.

therefore not absurd or silly, as some assert, but wise :

Your friend invite to dinner, not your foe.

Do not let your enemy embarrass you, nor fawn on him when he appears to trust you. For after you invite him he will invite you, and after he dines with you you will dine with him,^a once you have let the mistrust that was your preservation lose its keen edge under the influence of shame.

5. This malady therefore, as cause of many evils, we must endeavour to expel by a course of training, beginning first (as tiros elsewhere) with what is trivial and not too hard to face. Thus a man drinks to you at dinner when you have had your fill. Do not yield or force yourself to comply, but set the cup down. Another again invites you to play at dice over the wine : do not yield or let his scoffing daunt you, but like Xenophanes,^b when Lasus of Hermionê called him coward for not wanting to throw the dice with him, confess in your turn that you are a great coward indeed and too faint-hearted to risk disgrace. Again : you meet a bore who lays hold of you and clings. Do not yield but break his hold and make haste to complete what you have to do. For such escapes and rebuffs as these, where we practise firmness at the cost of but slight dissatisfaction, condition us to meet more difficult occasions. In this connexion it is also well to bear Demosthenes' words in mind. The Athenians were set on joining Harpalus and were

^a Cf. *Comm. in Hesiodum*, 27 (vol. vii, pp. 65 f. Bern.).

^b Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, Xenophanes, A 16.

⁵ ἀδολέσχη (and so n^{2ss}) ἀδολέσχω Dn^{1t}.
⁶ προεθίζουσιν] προσεθίζουσιν G^{aras} D Rn^{1y}S^{aras} hi.

(531) καὶ κορυσσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξαίφνης ἐπεφάνη Φιλόξενος ὁ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ πραγμάτων Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγός. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ δήμου καὶ σιωπῶντος διὰ τὸν φόβον ὁ Δημοσθένης, “ τί ποιήσουσιν,” ἔφη, “ τὸν ἥλιον ἰδόντες οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι πρὸς λύχρον¹ ἀντιβλέπειν; ” τί γὰρ ποιήσεις ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις, βασιλέως ἐντυγ-
 B χάνοντος ἢ δήμου δυσωποῦντος, εἰ ποτήριον ἀπό-
 σασθαι μὴ δύνασαι προτείνοντος² συνήθους μηδὲ ἀδολέσχου λαβὴν διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρέχεις ἐμπερι-
 πατεῖν φλυάρῳ σαυτόν, οὐκ εὐτονῶν εἰπεῖν, “ ὄψο-
 μαί σε αὖθις, νῦν δὲ οὐ σχολάζω ”;

6. Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοῦ ἀδυσ-
 ωπήτου μελέτη καὶ ἄσκησις ἐν μικροῖς καὶ ἐλα-
 φροῖς ἄχρηστός ἐστιν. οἷον ἐν συμποσίῳ φίλου
 κιθαρῳδὸς ἄδει κακῶς ἢ πολλοῦ κωμῳδὸς ἔωνη-
 μένος ἐπιτρίβει Μένανδρον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κροτοῦσι
 C καὶ θαυμάζουσιν· οὐδὲν οἶμαι χαλεπὸν οὐδὲ δύσ-
 κολον ἀκούειν σιωπῆ καὶ μὴ παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον
 ἀνελευθέρως ἐπαινεῖν. εἴαν γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μὴ κρα-
 τῆς σαυτοῦ, τί ποιήσεις φίλου ποίημα φαῦλον ἀνα-
 γινώσκοντος ἢ λόγον ἐπιδεικνυμένου γεγραμμένον
 ἀβελτέρως καὶ γελοίως; ἐπαινεῖς δηλονότι καὶ
 συνεπιθορυβήσεις τοῖς κολακεύουσι.³ πῶς οὖν ἐν
 πράγμασιν⁴ ἀμαρτάνοντος ἐπιλήψη; πῶς δὲ περὶ
 ἀρχὴν ἢ γάμον ἢ πολιτείαν ἀγνωμονοῦντα νουθε-
 τήσεις; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους
 ἀποδέχομαι πρὸς τὸν ἀξιούντα μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ
 μαρτυρῆσαι φίλον, ἢ προσῆν καὶ ὄρκος, εἰπόντος,

¹ λύχρον I W : τὸν λύχρον (τὸν ἥλιον D).

² προτείνοντος (and so L I ; from προτείνον τῆς Cvet)] προ-
 τεΐναντος G^{vet}k W y^{ac} ; προπίνοντος M²Zab.

girding themselves against Alexander when Alexander's admiral Philoxenus suddenly sailed in view. To the assembly, which its fear had rendered mute, Demosthenes said: "What will they do on seeing the sun who are dazzled by a lamp?" For what will you do in great affairs, in the presence of a king or when the assembled people put you out of countenance, if you want the strength to reject a cup held out by a friend or to escape the clutches of a bore, but allow a driveller to have his will with you because you lack the firmness to say, "I'll see you another time; just now I am busy"?

6. So too with the bestowal of praise: to practise and train ourselves not to be daunted in trivial and easy things is not without its use. Thus at a friend's banquet a citharode sings badly or a comic actor got for a great price murders Menander, and the crowd applauds and admires. Here I think it no hard or grievous matter to listen in silence and refrain from insincere and unmanly applause. For if you are not your own master here, what will you do when a friend reads a wretched poem or declaims a silly and preposterous speech? You will of course praise him and join the flatterers in their applause. How then will you correct him when he errs in the affairs of life? How admonish him when he is misguided in the case of some office, marriage, or policy of state? For my part I cannot even approve Pericles'^a answer to the friend who asked him to give false testimony under

^a Cf. *Mor.* 186 c, 808 A; Aulus Gellius, i. 3. 20; Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 523.

³ κολακεύουσι] κολακεύμασι Gk¹.

⁴ ἐν πράγμασιν] ἐν γράμμασιν W; πράγμασιν N; D Rn¹ySs hi omit.

(531)
 D “μέχρι τοῦ βωμοῦ φίλος εἰμί”· λίαν γὰρ ἐγγὺς ἦλθεν. ὁ δὲ πόρρωθεν ἑαυτὸν ἐθίσας μήτε λέγοντος ἐπαινεῖν παρὰ γνώμην μήτε ἄδοντος κροτεῖν μήτε σκώπτοντος ἀφυῶς ἐπιγελαῖν οὐκ ἔάσει μέχρι τούτου προελθεῖν οὐδ’ εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν ἐν ἐκείνοις ἀδυσώπητον “ὁμοσον ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτύρησον” καὶ “ἀπόφηναι¹ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον.”

7. Οὕτω δὲ δεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αἰτοῦντας ἀργύριον ἀνταίρειν, προεπιζόμενον ἐν τοῖς μήτε μεγάλοις μήτε δυσπαραιτήτοις. Ἀρχέλαος μὲν γὰρ ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς παρὰ δείπνον αἰτηθεὶς ἔκπωμα χρυσοῦν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπου μηδὲν ἡγουμένου καλὸν
 E ἢ τὸ λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσεν Εὐριπίδῃ τὸν παῖδα δοῦναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνον ἀποβλέψας, “σὺ μὲν,”² εἶπεν, “αἰτεῖν ἐπιτήδειος εἶ καὶ μὴ λαμβάνειν, οὗτος δὲ λαμβάνειν³ καὶ μὴ αἰτῶν,” ἄριστα τοῦ διδόναι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι κύριον ποιῶν τὸ κρίνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δυσωπούμενον· ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλάκις ἀνθρώπους ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ οἰκείους καὶ δεομένους περιορῶντες ἑτέροις αἰτοῦσιν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ ἰταμῶς ἐδώκαμεν, οὐ δοῦναι θελήσαντες ἀλλ’ ἀρνήσασθαι μὴ δυνηθέντες. ὥσπερ⁴ Ἀντίγονος ὁ γέρων ὑπὸ Βίωνος⁵ ἐνοχληθεὶς πολλάκις, “δότε,” εἶπεν, “βία⁶ τάλαντον καὶ Ἀνάγκη.” καίτοι μάλιστα
 F τῶν βασιλέων ἐμμελῆς ἦν καὶ πιθανὸς ἀποτρίβεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα. κυνικοῦ γάρ ποτε δραχμὴν αἰτήσαντος αὐτόν, “ἀλλ’ οὐ βασιλικόν,” ἔφη, “τὸ

¹ ἀπόφηναι (and so C²)] ἀπόφηνε LC¹ W JK^{1ss} N M w Yl.

² μὲν] μὲν γὰρ LC Gk¹ Xu I W J¹K; μὲν μὲν γ.

³ λαμβάνειν (and so G³; I)] λαμβάνει G¹ N.

⁴ ὥσπερ] ὥσπερ γὰρ Gk¹.

⁵ Βίωνος Casaubonus; βίαντος (βίαντι N).

⁶ βία LC G^{ras}k¹ Xu I W Y^{1ss}; βίαντι (βίαντα JK; βίατι q).

oath, "As far as the altar I am your friend." For this was getting much too close. Whereas he who keeps his distance by making it a practice never to praise a speech or applaud a song insincerely or laugh at a pointless joke, will call a halt long before there is any question of presuming so far or of saying to one who is independent in these ways "take an oath for me and give false testimony" or "pronounce an unjust verdict."

7. The same method is to be used in opposing requests for money: we must first school ourselves in situations that are of no great moment, and where refusal is not difficult. Thus Archelaüs, king of the Macedonians, when asked at dinner for a golden cup by one whose only notion of propriety was that it is proper to receive, ordered the servant to give it to Euripides, and looking the fellow in the face remarked: "You are just the man to ask and not receive; he to receive even when he does not ask," wisely letting his judgement, and not any feeling of embarrassment, govern the disposal of his gifts and favours; we, on the other hand, often pass over honest men, kinsmen, and those in need, to confer our gifts on others who are persistent and pressing in their demands, not that we consent to make the gift, but that we are too weak to refuse. Thus, repeatedly pestered by Bion, the aged Antigonus said: "Give Violence^a and Coercion a talent." Yet he was the most adroit and plausible of kings at brushing such importunities aside. On one occasion, asked by a Cynic for a drachma, he answered: "Kings do not

^a *Bia* in the Greek.

(531) δόμα ᾧ τοῦ δὲ ὑποτυχόντος, “ δὸς οὖν μοι τάλαντον,” ἀπήντησεν, “ ἀλλ’ οὐ κυνικὸν τὸ λῆμμα.” Διογένης μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἤτει περιῶν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας ἔλεγεν ἀποτυγχάνειν μελετᾶν· ἡμῖν δὲ πρῶτον ἐμμελετητέον ἐστὶ τοῖς φαύλοις καὶ γυμναστέον περὶ τὰ μικρὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀρνεῖσθαι τοῖς αἰτοῦσιν οὐ προσηκόντως, 532 ἵνα τοῖς προσηκόντως¹ ληψομένοις ἐπικουρεῖν ἔχωμεν· οὐδεὶς γάρ, ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησὶν, εἰς ἃ μὴ δεῖ καταναλώσας τὰ παρόντα τῶν μὴ παρόντων εὐπορήσει πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. γίνεται δὲ ἡμῖν πολλαπλάσιον τὸ αἰσχρὸν ὅταν ἐλλίπωμεν² εἰς τὰ καλὰ πλεονάσαντες τοῖς περιττοῖς.

8. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ χρημάτων μόνον³ ἢ δυσωπία κακὴ καὶ ἀγνώμων οἰκονόμος ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὰ μείζονα παραιρεῖται⁴ τὸ συμφέρον τοῦ λογισμοῦ (καὶ γὰρ ἰατρὸν νοσοῦντες οὐ παρακαλοῦμεν τὸν ἔμπειρον αἰσχυρόμενοι τὸν συνήθη, καὶ παισὶ διδασκάλους ἀντὶ τῶν χρηστῶν τοὺς παρακαλοῦντας αἰρούμεθα, καὶ δίκην ἔχοντες πολλάκις οὐκ ἐῶμεν εἰπεῖν τὸν ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἀγοραῖον, ἀλλ’ οἰκείου τινὸς ἢ συγγενοῦς υἱῷ χαριζόμενοι παρεδώκαμεν ἐμπανηγυρίσαι, τέλος δὲ πολλοὺς ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν καὶ τῶν φιλοσοφεῖν λεγομένων Ἐπικουρείους καὶ Στωϊκοὺς ὄντας, οὐχ ἐλομένους οὐδὲ κρίναντας ἀλλὰ προσθεμένους δυσωποῦσιν οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις⁵) φέρε

¹ ἵνα τοῖς προσηκόντως supplied by Paton (ἵνα τοῖς κατ’ ἀξίαν by Wilamowitz).

² ἐλλίπωμεν (-ωσι Sac)] ἐλλείπωμεν W hi lac.

³ μόνον] μόνων N M Yl; Zab omit.

⁴ παραιρεῖται (-τε D)] παραιτεῖται LC Wac R hi MZab vw f.

⁵ οἰκ. καὶ φίλ. (and so C²)] οἰκείους καὶ φίλους (L illegible) C¹ Gk¹ Xu (-κοί- N) M¹ Ylf^q.

give so little"; and when the other countered, "Then give me a talent," he replied, "Or Cynics take so much."^a Now Diogenes went about the Cerameicus soliciting the statues, and said to the astonished spectators that he was getting in condition to meet refusals; we, however, must first practise on the vulgar and train ourselves in trivial matters to rebuff those who present unfitting requests, that we may have the means to succour those on whom our bounty will be fittingly bestowed. For no one, says Demosthenes,^b after spending what he has on what he should not, will be able to spend what he has not on what he should. And our disgrace^c is rendered many times greater when we are short of funds for worthy ends because we were lavish in expenditures that were not called for.

8. Since compliancy is not only a wasteful and injudicious manager of an estate, but in graver concerns as well deprives us of the fruits of understanding—when in illness, for example, we do not call in the expert in the disease, fearing to offend our family practitioner; or when to instruct our children we choose not those who are competent but those who beg for the employment^d; or when in a lawsuit, as we often do, we do not commit our case to one who can help us from his familiarity with the courts, but in order to oblige a friend's or kinsman's son allow him to practise declamation at our expense; and when to crown it all we can see many so-called philosophers who are Epicureans or Stoics not from choice or judgement, but because they acceded to importunate relations or

^a Cf. Seneca, *On Benefits*, ii. 17. 1.

^b *Or.* 3. 19.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 90 E: "For it is not so honourable to do a good turn to a friend as it is disgraceful not to do it when he is in need; . . ."

^d Cf. *Mor.* 4 D.

(532) δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα πόρρωθεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι καὶ μικροῖς γυμνάζωμεν ἑαυτούς, ἐθίζοντες μήτε κουρεῖ μήτε γναφεῖ¹ κατὰ δυσωπίαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ² καταλύειν ἐν φαύλῳ πανδοκείῳ βελτίονος παρόντος ὅτι
 C πολλάκις ὁ πανδοκεὺς ἠσπάσατο ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἔθους ἔνεκα, κἂν ἢ παρὰ μικρόν, αἰρεῖσθαι τὸ βέλτιον, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ παρεφύλαττον ἀεὶ μηδέποτε³ τῷ δεξιῷ μῆρῳ τὸν εὐώνυμον ἐπιτιθέναι μηδὲ τὸν⁴ ἄρτιον ἀντὶ τοῦ περιττοῦ λαβεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ἴσης ἐχόντων. ἐθιστέον δέ⁵ καὶ θυσίαν ποιούμενον ἢ γάμον ἢ τινα ἄλλην τοιαύτην ὑποδοχὴν μὴ τὸν ἀσπασάμενον καλεῖν ἢ προσδραμόντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν εὖνουν καὶ χρηστόν· ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἐθισθεὶς καὶ ἀσκήσας δυσάλωτος ἔσται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἀνεπιχείρητος, ἐν τοῖς μείζουσι.

D 9. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἀσκήσεως ἱκανὰ καὶ ταῦτα· τῶν δὲ χρησίμων ἐπιλογισμῶν πρῶτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκων καὶ ὑπομιμνήσκων ὅτι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τοῖς νοσήμασιν ἃ φεύγειν δι' αὐτῶν δοκοῦμεν· ἀδοξίαί φιλοδοξίαις καὶ λῦπαι φιληδονίαις καὶ πόνοι μαλακίαις καὶ φιλονικίαις ἤτται καὶ καταδίκαι· τῇ δὲ δυσωπία συμβέβηκεν ἀτεχνῶς φευγούσῃ καπνὸν ἀδοξίας εἰς πῦρ ἐμβάλλειν ἑαυτήν· αἰσχυρόμενοι γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ἀγνωμόνως δυσωποῦσιν ὕστερον δυσωποῦνται τοὺς δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦντας, καὶ δεδιότες μέμψιν ἐλαφρὰν πολλάκις
 E αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην ὑπομένουσιν· καὶ γὰρ αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον⁶ φίλου δυσωπηθέντες ἀντειπεῖν

¹ γναφεῖ] γραφεῖ (γ legible in L)C J N^{1ss} (-ῆ N^{1t}) vw; κναφεῖ Dab RnSs hi; W y are wanting. ² μηδὲ Bern.: μήτε.

³ μηδέποτε] μήποτε Gk¹.

⁴ τὸν] τὸ Reiske.

⁵ δέ] οὖν LC.

⁶ αἰτοῦντος ἀργύριον] ἀργύριον αἰτοῦντος LC.

friends—let us keep a wide berth and train ourselves for these situations too on ordinary people and in trivial occasions, accustoming ourselves not to patronize a barber or fuller from fear of giving offence or to put up at a bad inn when a better can be had because the innkeeper has often greeted us, but instead, for the habit's sake, to choose the better, though the odds be small, as the Pythagoreans always took care never to cross the left leg over the right or to take the even number instead of the odd, when otherwise there was no difference. We must also form the habit when celebrating a sacrifice or marriage or giving some other entertainment of not inviting a person who has greeted us or run up to welcome us in preference to a friend and honest man ; for one who has this habit and training will in greater matters be no easy victim, or rather will be quite proof against assault.

9. So much for training. To pass to useful reflexions : the first is that which teaches and reminds us that all passions and disorders involve us in what we think we are avoiding by their means ^a : ambition leads to disgrace, love of pleasure to pain, indolence to toil, contentiousness to discomfiture and defeat at law ; and it turns out that compliancy, in its dread of getting a bad name, escapes the smoke to fall into the fire.^b For when men are too embarrassed to refuse unreasonable petitioners they later must incur the embarrassment of just reproaches ; and from dread of trifling censure they must often put up with out-and-out disgrace. Thus having been too shy to refuse a friend's request for money that they do not

^a Cf. *Mor.* 502 E, 519 D, and Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 12. 5.

^b The Greek for " out of the frying-pan into the fire " : cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, pp. 314, 374 ; ii, pp. 220, 474, 684.

(532) οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀσχημονοῦσι μετ' ὀλίγον ἐξελεγχόμενοι, καὶ βοηθήσειν ὁμολογήσαντες ἐνίοις δίκην ἔχουσι, εἶτα τοὺς ἑτέρους διατραπέντες ἀποκρύπτονται καὶ δραπετεύουσι. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ γάμου¹ θυγατρὸς² ἢ ἀδελφῆς εἰς ὁμολογίαν ἀλυσιτελῆ κατακλείσασα δυσωπία ψεύδεσθαι πάλιν ἀναγκάζει μετατιθεμένους.

10. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατοικοῦντες ἐνὶ δουλεύουσιν ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι μίαν εἰπεῖν τὴν οὐ συλλαβὴν οὐκ ἐσπούδασεν ἀλλ' ἔσκωψεν τοῖς δὲ δυσωπουμένοις, κὰν μηδὲν εἴπωσι, ἕξεστιν ὄφρῦν ἐπάρασι μόνον ἢ κάτω κύψασι πολλὰς ἀβουλήτους καὶ ἀτόπους ὑπουργίας διαφεύγειν³. τὴν γὰρ⁴ σιωπὴν ὁ μὲν Εὐριπίδης φησὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀπόκρισιν εἶναι, κινδυνεύομεν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτῆς δεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνώμονας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς χαρίεντας ἔστι καὶ παρηγορῆσαι.

Καὶ πρόχειρά γε δεῖ καὶ⁵ συχνὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχειν ἀποφθέγματα καὶ μνημονεύειν πρὸς τοὺς δυσωποῦντας· οἷον τὸ Φωκίωνος πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον· “οὐ δύνασαί μοι καὶ⁶ φίλῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι.” καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπιδουῖναι κελεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ κροτοῦντας, “αἰσχύνομαι,” εἶπεν, “ὕμιν⁸ ἐπιδιδούς τούτῳ δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδούς,” Καλλικλέα δειξάς τὸν δανειστὴν.⁹

¹ γάμου] γάμων W.

² θυγατρὸς Gk¹ n¹: καὶ περὶ θυγατρὸς LC Xu W J¹K M vw Ylfq; ἢ περὶ θυγατρὸς aZab; καὶ θυγατρὸς D RSs i N (ἢ θυγατρὸς h; y is wanting).

³ διαφεύγειν] διαφυγεῖν D.

⁴ γὰρ] μὲν γὰρ LC; δὲ k¹.

⁵ καὶ] W^{ac} omits.

⁶ καὶ] I¹ W omit.

⁷ αἰσχύνομαι] αἰσχύνομαι γὰρ LC Gk¹ v I W.

⁸ ὕμιν (ἡμῖν R vw)] ὕμιν μὲν Gk¹ DZab.

have, they presently cut a sorry figure when the truth comes out ; and having agreed to support one of the parties to a lawsuit, they then are so put out of countenance by the others that they hide and run away. And many, reduced by this feeling to consenting to disadvantageous terms for a daughter's or a sister's marriage, are then driven by it in turn to break their word by making new arrangements.

10. Now he who said that the entire population of Asia were one man's slaves because they could not say the one syllable " no," was not serious but jesting. Yet those who are importuned need not say anything : merely by raising the brows or dropping the eyes they can avoid rendering many reluctant and uncalled-for services. For while Euripides ^a asserts that silence is an answer to the wise, we are much more likely to need it in dealing with the inconsiderate, for reasonable men are open to persuasion.

Yes, and we must also have in readiness a stock of sayings of illustrious and virtuous men and quote them to the importunate, as Phocion's reply to Antipater : " You cannot use me both as friend and flatterer," ^b and his answer to the Athenians who applauded him at a festival, clamouring for a special gift to the city : " I should be ashamed to give the money away to you and not back to him," pointing to Callicles the money-lender. ^c For as Thucydides ^d

^a Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 675, Eur. *Frag.* 977.

^b Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxx. 3 (755 B) ; *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, chap. ii. 4 (795 E) ; *Mor.* 64 C, 142 B, 188 F.

^c Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. ix. 1 (745 D) ; *Mor.* 188 A, 822 E.

^d ii. 40. 1.

⁹ δαυ.] δαυ. αὐτοῦ LC Gk Xu I W JK M² vwS² ; αὐτοῦ δαυ. Zab.

(533) “ πενίαν γὰρ οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν αἰσχρόν,” ὡς Θουκυ-
 δίδης φησίν, “ ἄλλ’ ἔργω μὴ διαφεύγειν αἴσχιον.”
 ὁ δὲ ἀβελτερία καὶ μαλακία πρὸς τὸν αἰτοῦντα
 δυσωπούμενος εἰπεῖν

οὐκ ἔστ’ ἐν ἄντροις λευκός, ὦ ξέν’, ἄργυρος,
 εἶτα ὡσπερ ἐνέχυρον προέμενος τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν
 αἰδοῦς ἀχαλκεύτοισιν ἔζευκται πέδαις.

B ὁ δὲ Περσαῖος ἀργύριόν τινα τῶν γνωρίμων δανείζων
 δι’ ἀγορᾶς καὶ τραπέζης ἐποιεῖτο τὸ συμβόλαιον
 μεμνημένος δηλονότι τοῦ Ἑσιόδου λέγοντος

καὶ τε κασιγνήτῳ γελάσας ἐπὶ μάρτυρα θέσθαι·

θαυμάσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος, “ οὕτως, ὦ
 Περσαῖε, νομικῶς; ” “ ναί,” εἶπεν, “ ἵνα φιλικῶς
 ἀπολάβω καὶ μὴ νομικῶς ἀπαιτήσω.” πολλοὶ γὰρ
 ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ δυσωπίαν προέμενοι τὸ πιστὸν ὕστερον
 ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς νομίμοις¹ μετ’ ἔχθρας. (11.) πάλιν
 ὁ Πλάτων Ἐλίκωνι τῷ Κυζικηνῷ διδοῦς πρὸς
 C Διονύσιον ἐπιστολὴν ἐπήνεσεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιεικῆ
 καὶ μέτριον, εἶτα προσέγραψε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τελευ-
 τώσῃ· “ γράφω δέ σοι ταῦτα περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ζώου
 φύσει εὐμεταβόλου.” Ξενοκράτης δὲ καίπερ αὐστη-
 ρὸς ὢν τὸν τρόπον ὁμως ὑπὸ δυσωπίας ἐκάμφθη
 καὶ συνέστησε Πολυπέρχοντι δι’ ἐπιστολῆς ἀνθρω-
 πον οὐ χρηστόν, ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἔδειξεν· δεξιωσαμένου
 δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ Μακεδόνοσ καὶ πυθομένου μὴ τινοσ
 ἔχοι χρεῖαν, ἤτησε τάλαντον· ὁ δὲ ἐκείνω μὲν ἔδωκε

¹ νομίμοις (-ως N)] suspected by Wilamowitz.

^a Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, no. 389.

says, " the confession of poverty is no disgrace ; what is disgraceful is the failure to avoid the reality." But he who in his silly spinelessness is too meek to say to a suitor

But sir, no silver shines within my caves ^a

and then proceeds to surrender his promise, as a pledge,

Lies bound in honour's gyves, unforged by man. ^b

Lending money to one of his followers Persaeus drew up a contract in the market-place with a banker, evidently remembering Hesiod ^c :

Be he your brother, laugh and call a witness.

The other was surprised and said : " So legal, Persaeus ? " " Yes," he answered, " that the sum may be repaid in the way of friendship, not reclaimed by way of law." For many who start out by waiving security for fear of giving offence later go to law and lose their friend. (11.) Again, giving Helicon of Cyzicus a letter to Dionysius, Plato commended the bearer as good and estimable, but added at the close : " I write this to you about a mortal man, a creature naturally unstable." ^d But Xenocrates despite the rigour of his character gave in to pressure and wrote to Polyperchon a letter of introduction for a worthless fellow, as appeared from the event. When the Macedonian welcomed him and inquired if he needed anything, the man asked for a talent. Polyperchon gave

^b Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. *Peirithus*, no. 595 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 96 c, 482 A, 763 F.

^c *Works and Days*, 371.

^d *Ep.* xiii. 360 c-D, cited from memory ; also quoted in *Mor.* 463 c and 474 E.

(533) Ξενοκράτει δὲ ἔγραψε παραινῶν ἐπιμελέστερον τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξετάζειν οὓς συνίστησιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενοκράτης ἠγνόησεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλάκις ἐπιστάμενοι τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ γράμματα προϊέμεθα
 D καὶ χρήματα, βλάπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς οὐ μεθ' ἡδονῆς ὥσπερ οἱ ταῖς ἐταίραις χαριζόμενοι καὶ τοῖς κόλαξιν, ἀλλὰ δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ βαρυνόμενοι τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἀνατρέπουσαν ἡμῶν καὶ καταβιαζομένην τὸν λογισμόν. εἰ γὰρ πρὸς ἄλλο τι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσωποῦντας ἕξεστιν εἰπεῖν τό

μανθάνω μὲν οἶα δρᾶν μέλλω¹ κακά

τὰ ψευδῆ μαρτυρῶν ἢ τὰ μὴ δίκαια κρίνων ἢ τὰ μὴ συμφέροντα χειροτονῶν ἢ δανειζόμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ἀποδώσοντος.

12. Διὸ τῶν παθῶν μάλιστα τῷ² δυσωπεῖσθαι τὸ³ μετανοεῖν οὐχ ὕστερον, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐν οἷς πράττει πάρεστι· καὶ γὰρ διδόντες ἀχθόμεθα καὶ μαρτυροῦντες αἰσχυρόμεθα καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἀδοξοῦμεν καὶ μὴ⁴ παρέχοντες ἐλεγχόμεθα. πολλὰ γὰρ ὑπ' ἀσθενείας τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἡμῖν ὑπισχνούμεθα τοῖς λιπαροῦσιν,⁵ ὡς συστάσεις ἐν αὐλαῖς καὶ πρὸς ἡγεμόνας⁶ ἐντευξείς, μὴ βουλόμενοι μηδὲ εὐτονοῦντες εἰπεῖν· “οὐκ οἶδεν ἡμᾶς ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους ὄρα⁷ μᾶλλον”. ὡς Λύσανδρος Ἀγησιλάῳ προσκεκρουκῶς ἀξιούμενος δὲ μέ-
 F γιστον δύνασθαι παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν δόξαν οὐκ

¹ δρᾶν μέλλω (and so ms. L of Euripides and all other citations)] μέλλω δρᾶν LC Gk¹ Xu W J¹K vw; *τολμήσω* mss. ABVP of Euripides.

² τῷ D: τοῦ (and so G⁴; τὸ G¹).

³ τὸ (and so G⁴)] τοῦ G¹ R (vw omit).

it but wrote to Xenocrates advising him in future to scrutinize more carefully the persons he recommended. Now Xenocrates acted in ignorance; we, however, although often well aware that a man is a scoundrel, yet part with letters and money, injuring ourselves without the pleasure got by those who indulge courtesans and flatterers, but loathing and resenting the brazen importunity that overthrows and masters our reason. For to no one more aptly than to those who wring concessions from us by their importunity can we say

I know the evil I set out to do ^a—

in giving false testimony, rendering an unjust verdict, voting for an inexpedient measure, or borrowing for one who will never repay.

12. Thus it is in facility, more than in any other disorder, that regret is not subsequent to the act, but present from the first: when we give, we chafe; when we testify, we are ashamed; when we act as partners, we are disgraced;—and when we fail to perform, the sorry truth comes out. For being too weak to refuse we promise persistent suitors many things beyond our power, such as presentation at court or introduction to a governor, for want of the will and the firmness to say: “I am unknown to the king; you must apply elsewhere,” as Lysander, who after the break with Agesilaüs was still supposed from his celebrity to stand high in his favour, was not

^a Euripides, *Medea*, 1078.

⁴ μὴ] Gk¹ omit (R is wanting).

⁵ λιπαροῦσιν Meziriacus: ἀεὶ παροῦσιν (-σι ν).

⁶ ἡγεμόνας] ἡγεμόνος D.

⁷ ὄρα D^c and Madvig: ὄρᾱ.

(533) ἡσχύνητο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀπιέναι¹ πρὸς ἑτέρους κελεύων καὶ πειράσθαι τῶν μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ αἰσχροὺς τὸ μὴ πάντα δύνασθαι· τὸ δὲ² μὴ δυναμένους ἢ μὴ πεφυκότας ἀναδέχεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παραβιάζεσθαι πρὸς τῷ αἰσχροῦ³ λυπηρότατόν ἐστιν.

13. Ἀπ' ἄλλης δὲ ἀρχῆς· τὰ μὲν μέτρια καὶ πρέποντα δεῖ προθύμως ὑπουργεῖν τοῖς ἀξιούσι
534 μὴ δυσωπομένους ἀλλ' ἐκόντας,⁴ ἐν δὲ τοῖς βλαβεροῖς καὶ ἀτόποις τὸ τοῦ Ζήνωνος αἰεὶ πρόχειρον ἔχειν, ὃς⁵ ἀπαντήσας νεανίσκῳ τινὶ⁶ τῶν συνήθων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἡσυχῇ βαδίζοντι καὶ πυθόμενος ὅτι φεύγει φίλον ἀξιούντα μαρτυρεῖνα ὑπὸ τὰ ψευδῆ, "τί λέγεις," φησὶν, "ἀβέλτερε; σὲ μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἀγνωμονῶν καὶ ἀδικῶν οὐ δέδιεν οὐδὲ αἰσχύνεται, σὺ δὲ ἐκείνον ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων οὐ θαρρεῖς ὑποστῆναι;" ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰπὼν

ποτὶ πονηρὸν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ὄπλον ἡ πονηρία

B κακῶς ἐθίζει μιμούμενον ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν κακίαν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἀναιδῶς καὶ ἀδυσωπήτως ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀποτρίβεσθαι τῷ ἀδυσωπήτῳ, καὶ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ αἰσχροὶ τοῖς ἀναισχύντοις αἰσχυνόμενον, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως γινόμενόν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων.

14. Ἐτι τοίνυν τῶν δυσωπούντων τοῖς μὲν ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς καὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίοις οὐ μέγα

¹ ἀπιέναι M²C²Zab : ἀπειναι (ἀπήναι Y^{ac}).

² δὲ (and so G^{vet}) G¹ Xu W omit.

³ After αἰσχροῦ DZab have καί.

⁴ ἐκόντας Meziriacus : εἰκόντας (-τα D ; εἰκόντας L²C).

⁵ ὃς] ὡς D N.

⁶ ἀπ. νεαν. τινὶ LC Gk Xu W JK (νεαν, τινὶ ἀπ. vw) : ἀπ. (ἀπ. D Rns N¹) τινὶ νεαν.

ashamed to turn suitors away, directing them to others, and telling them to resort to those who had more influence with the king.^a For there is no disgrace in not being omnipotent ; whereas to undertake such services and to force matters when we have not the power or the talent required, is not only ignominious but mortifying in the extreme.

13. There is another point of view. Reasonable and proper services we must render gladly to those that ask them, not in helpless submission, but because we choose to. But when the service is harmful and unjustified we must always be ready with the saying of Zeno.^b Meeting a young man of his acquaintance pacing slowly by the city wall, and learning that he was avoiding a friend who expected him to give false testimony in his behalf, Zeno said : " Fool ! This man, who is dealing unfairly and unjustly, has no fear or respect for you ; and you, to defend the right, dare not stand up to him ? " For he who said

A handy arm with knaves is knavery ^c

recommends to us the bad habit of resisting vice by resorting to it ; whereas to rid ourselves of brazen and unabashed suitors by being unabashed ourselves, and not, by giving in to shame, to render shameful favours to the shameless, is what is rightly and justly done by men of sense.

14. Again when suitors are obscure, of humble station, and of little worth, it is no great trouble to

^a Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4. 8, also referred to in the *Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. vii. 8 (599 E).

^b Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 313 (p. 69).

^c Kaibel, *Comicoorum Graec. Frag.* i, p. 142, Epicharmus, no. 275 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 21 E.

(534) ἔργον ἀντισχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἔνιοι καὶ σκώμματος ἐκκλίνουσι τοὺς τοιούτους,¹ ὡς Θεόκριτος, δυεῖν αὐτὸν² ἐν βαλανεῖῳ σπλεγγίδα κιχραμένων, τοῦ μὲν ξένου, τοῦ δὲ γνωρίμου κλέπτου, μετὰ παιδιᾶς ἀμφοτέρους διεκρούσατο εἰπών,³ “σέ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, σέ δὲ οἶδα.”⁴ Λυσιμάχη δὲ Ἀθήνησιν, ἢ τῆς Πολιάδος ἰέρεια, τῶν τὰ ἱερὰ προσαγαγόντων ὀρεωκόμων ἐγγχείαι κελευόντων, “ἀλλ’ ὀκνῶ,” εἶπεν, “μὴ καὶ τοῦτο πάτριον γένηται.” καὶ Ἀντίγονος πρὸς τινα νεανίσκον γεγονότα μὲν ἐκ λοχαγοῦ χαρίεντος, αὐτὸν δ’ ἄτολμον ὄντα καὶ μαλακόν, ἀξιούντα δὲ προαχθῆναι,⁶ “παρ’ ἐμοί,” φησιν, “ὦ μειράκιον, ἀνδραγαθίας εἰσὶν οὐ πατραγαθίας τιμαί.”

15. Καὶ μὴν ἐάνπερ ὁ δυσωπῶν ἔνδοξος ἦ καὶ δυνατός (οἱ δὴ μάλιστα καὶ⁷ δυσπαραίτητοι καὶ δυσαπότριπτοι⁸ περὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἐντυγχάνοντές εἰσιν), ὁ μὲν ἔπραξεν ὁ Κάτων
D νέος ὢν ἔτι πρὸς Κάτλον οὐκ ἂν τιμι φανείη
ράδιον ἴσως οὐδ’ ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ γὰρ Κάτλος ἦν μὲν
ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μεγίστῳ καὶ τότε τὴν
τιμητικὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχεν· ἀνέβη δὲ πρὸς τὸν⁹ Κάτωνα
τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου παραιτη-
σόμενός τινα τῶν ἐζήμιωμένων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ λι-

¹ τοὺς τοιούτους (and so G²)] τοῖς τοιούτοις G¹.

² αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν v; αὐτῶ RnySs hi ab M² Y^{1ss}]1(ωss)f^{1ss}q^{2ss}; αὐτῶ τὸν M¹; παρ’ αὐτοῦ D (παρ’ αὐτοῦ Z); Pohlenz would delete.

³ εἰπών] εἶπας G^{3c}k¹ J¹K^c (εἶπας G^{3ac} X^{1v} W K^{ac} M¹ Yl); G¹ omits.

⁴ οὐκ οἶδα σέ δὲ οἶδα (R omits σέ δὲ οἶδα)] οἶδα σέ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα LC vw. ⁵ ἀλλ’ (and so G⁴)] G¹ omits.

⁶ προαχθῆναι (πραχθῆναι K^{ac})] προσαχθῆναι Garas Yaras.

⁷ καὶ] D omits.

resist them; some indeed put them off with an amusing jest. Thus when two men in a bath-house wanted to borrow Theocritus' ^a scraper, the one a stranger, the other a thieving acquaintance, he evaded both with a quip: "You I don't know, you I do." At Athens Lysimachê, priestess of Athenê Polias, when asked for a drink by the muleteers who had brought the sacred vessels, replied: "I fear it will get into the ritual." And Antigonus answered when a certain youth whose father was a distinguished captain, but who lacked resolution and courage himself, asked for advancement: "At my court, my boy, it is a man's valour and not his father's that is rewarded." ^b

15. But if the petitioner is a man of prominence and power—and these are the hardest to refuse and shake off when they appeal to us about a verdict or an appointment—the course indeed that was taken by Cato, while still a young man, in dealing with Catulus, would hardly, I think, commend itself as easy or necessary. Catulus, of all the Romans the most highly regarded, held the office of censor at the time. He had gone up ^c to see Cato, who was in charge of the public treasury, ^d to intercede for one of the

^a Theocritus of Chios, historian and wit of the fourth century. For the story *cf.* the *Philogelos*, no. 150 (p. 34 Eberhard).

^b *Cf.* *Mor.* 183 D and Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 29^b 39 (pp. 717 f. Hense).

^c Cato was in the treasury, on the slope of the Capitoline.

^d Catulus was censor in 65 B.C.: *cf.* T. R. S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, vol. ii (New York, 1952), p. 157. Broughton (*ibid.* pp. 163 and note 5) assigns Cato's quaestorship to 64.

⁸ $\delta\upsilon\sigma\alpha\pi\acute{o}\tau\rho\iota\pi\tau\omicron\iota$ A² $\nu\omega$: $-\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\iota$ ($-\epsilon\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$ N²).

⁹ $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ Gk Xv W J N Ylfq: the rest omit (and so Cvet; LC¹ are wanting).

(534) παρῆς ἐγίνετο¹ ταῖς δεήσεσι προσβιαζόμενος, ἄχρι οὗ δυσανασχετήσας ἐκείνος, “ αἰσχρόν ἐστιν,” ἔφη, “ Κάτλε, σέ τὸν τιμητὴν ἀπαλλαγῆναι μὴ βουλόμενον ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔλκεσθαι ”· καὶ ὁ Κάτλος αἰσχυνθεὶς πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπῆλθεν.

Ε σκοπεῖ δὲ μὴ τὸ² τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους³ ἐπιεικέστερόν ἐστι καὶ μετριώτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγησίλαος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κελευόμενος κρῖναί τινα δίκην παρὰ τὸν νόμον, “ ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ σοῦ,” ἔφη, “ πάτερ, πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ἐδιδασκόμην ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς· διὸ καὶ νῦν σοι πείθομαι μηδὲν ποιεῖν⁴ παράνομον.” ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἀξιουῖντά τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων, “ οὔτ’ ἂν σὺ ποιητῆς ἀγαθὸς εἴης,” ἔφη, “ παρὰ μέλος ἄδων οὔτ’ ἂν ἐγὼ χρηστὸς ἄρχων παρὰ νόμον κρίνων.” (16.) καίτοι οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποδὸς πρὸς τὴν λύραν ἀμετρίαν,⁵ ὡς Πλάτων⁶ ἔλεγε, καὶ πόλεις πόλεσι καὶ φίλοι φίλοις

Φ διαφερόμενοι τὰ ἔσχατα⁷ δρῶσί τε καὶ πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια πλημμέλειαν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἔνιοι τὴν⁸ ἐν μέλεσι καὶ γράμμασι καὶ μέτροις ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοὶ φυλάττοντες ἑτέρους ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ κρίσεσι καὶ πράξεσιν ἀξιουῖσιν ὀλιγωρεῖν τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος. διὸ καὶ τούτῳ⁹ μάλιστα χρηστέον πρὸς αὐτούς. ἐντυγχάνει σοι

¹ ἐγίνετο LC G³:k Xu W DZn JK^c? vw fq : ἐγένετο.

² μὴ τὸ LC¹ Gk¹ Xu I W D J¹K : καὶ τὸ MZab vw l ; μὴ καὶ τὸ RnySs C²k² N Yfq ; μὴ καὶ hi.

³ θεμιστοκλέους] περικλέους DZ Rn¹ySs N M¹ Yl.

⁴ ποιεῖν (ποιῆν W^{ac}? N¹)] ποιῶν Matthaeci.

⁵ πρὸς τ. λ. ἀμετρίαν] ἀμετρίαν πρὸς τ. λ. G³.

⁶ πλάτων] ὁ πλάτων Gk¹ Xu h.

persons he had fined, and urged his appeal with great insistence. Cato at last lost patience and said: "It is unseemly, Catulus, that you, the censor, since you won't take yourself off, should be thrown out by my staff."^a Catulus was abashed and left in anger. But consider whether the conduct of Agesilaüs and Themistocles was not more courteous and moderate. Told by his father to render an illegal verdict in a certain case, Agesilaüs said: "But it was you, father, that taught me from childhood to obey the laws; I am therefore obeying you when I do nothing unlawful." When Simonides asked an unjustified favour Themistocles answered: "You would not be a good poet if in your singing you failed to observe the music, nor I a proper officer if in my judgements I failed to observe the law."^b (16.) Yet, as Plato^c said, it is not discord of measure and music that sets city against city and friend against friend and leads them to inflict and undergo the greatest calamities, but jarring errors in law and justice. Nevertheless some, themselves sticklers for propriety in music, words, and metre, expect others who hold office, render verdicts, and are engaged in public affairs to disregard what is proper. This therefore is the very point that we must chiefly use against them. A pleader appeals to you

^a Cf. *Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. xvi. 6-8 (755 D); *Mor.* 808 E.

^b Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. v. 6 (114 c); *Mor.* 185 D, 807 B.

^c *Clitophon*, 407 c-d; quoted also in *Mor.* 439 c.

⁷ τὰ ἔσχατα [Plato] and *Mor.* 439 c: τὰ λάχιστα L W N¹ q (τὰ ἐλάχιστα N²; τὰ λάχιστα with or without a grave accent on τὰ the rest); τὰ κάκιστα D A^{2ss} EZ^{2ss}; τὰ αἰσχιστα Reiske.

⁸ τὴν DZab (τὰν S^cs): τῶν.

⁹ τούτῳ] τοῦτο LC G¹ Xu n hi N w^{ac} Y^{ac}f.

(534) δικάζοντι ρήτωρ ἢ βουλευόντι δημαγωγός· ὁμολόγησον ἔαν ἐκείνος σολοικίση προοιμαζόμενος ἢ βαρβαρίση διηγούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἐθελήσει διὰ τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρόν· ἐνίους γοῦν ὀρώμεν οὐδὲ φωνήεντι συγκροῦσαι φωνῆεν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑπομένοντας.

535 ἕτερον πάλιν δυσωποῦντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐνδόξων κέλευσον ὀρχούμενον δι' ἀγορᾶς διεξελθεῖν¹ ἢ διαστρέψαντα τὸ πρόσωπον· ἔαν δὲ ἀρνήται, σὸς ἐστὶν ὁ καιρὸς εἰπεῖν καὶ πυθέσθαι τί αἰσχρόν² ἐστὶν, τὸ σολοικίσαι³ καὶ διαστρέψαι τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ τὸ λῦσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ παραβῆναι τὸν ὄρκον καὶ πλεον νεῖμαι τῷ πονηρῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. ἔτι τοίνυν, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ Ἀργεῖος Ἀρχιδάμου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς καὶ γάμῳ γυναικὸς ᾧ⁴ βούλεται Λακαίνης προδοῦναι Κρῶμμον οὐκ ἔφη γεγονέναι τὸν Ἀρχίδαμον ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους· ἐκείνον μὲν γὰρ Β ἀποκτινύναι περιόντα⁵ τοὺς πονηροὺς, τοῦτον δὲ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ποιεῖν πονηροὺς· οὕτω καὶ ἡμῖν πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἀξιούντα καλὸν καγαθὸν λέγεσθαι ρητέον, ἂν⁶ βιάζεται καὶ⁷ δυσωπῆ, μὴ πρέποντα ποιεῖν⁸ μηδὲ ἄξια τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐγενείας καὶ⁹ ἀρετῆς.

17. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φαύλων ὀρᾶν χρῆ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι τὸν φιλάργυρον εἰ δυσωπήσεις ἄνευ συμβολαίου δανείσαι τάλαντον ἢ τὸν φιλότιμον ἐκοστήναι¹⁰ τῆς προεδρίας ἢ τὸν φίλαρχον¹¹ τῆς παραγγελίας ἐπί-

¹ διεξελθεῖν (L illegible; διέξ- C) Gk⁴¹ Xu W J¹K : ἐξελθεῖν.

² τί αἰσχρόν] τίς αἰσχρόν W ; τί αἰσχρόν Leonicus and Donatus Polus.

³ σολοικίσαι (and so G⁴; -ῆσαι C^{ac}; -ία N; -ῖσαι l)] ὀρχήσασθαι G¹k.

⁴ ᾧ] ἧς DZ.

⁵ περιόντα G³k W DZab s M vw fq : περιόντα.

when you are hearing a case, or a party-leader when you hold a seat in the council : give your consent if *he* will commit a solecism in his proem or a barbarism in his narration. For this he will not do because it appears unseemly—indeed we see that some cannot even abide the collision of one vowel with another in making a speech. Another shameless petitioner is an eminent and respectable personage : tell him to dance ^a or make a face as he passes through the market-place. If he refuses, it is your cue to speak and inquire which is unseemly—to commit a solecism and make a face, or to break the law, to perjure yourself, and unjustly to favour a scoundrel at the expense of an upright man? Furthermore, as Nicostratus the Argive,^b when offered by Archidamus a great sum and his choice of the Spartan women in marriage if he would betray Cromnon, called Archidamus no true Heraclid, since Heracles had gone about killing malefactors, while Archidamus was making malefactors of honest men, in the same way we must say to one that claims the name of gentleman, if he forces matters and presses an impudent request, that his conduct is unseemly and unworthy of his birth and character.

17. With men who have vices you must consider and reflect whether you could bully the miser into lending a talent without a bond, the proud man into resigning his seat of honour, or the ambitious politician into giving up his candidacy when expected to

^a For this as disgraceful *cf.* Cicero, *De Officiis*, iii. 19 (75) and iii. 24 (93). ^b *Cf. Mor.* 192 A.

⁶ ἀν] κᾶν LC.

⁷ καὶ κ MZab vw l : κᾶν.

⁸ ποιεῖν] ποιῆ Xu N M Yl.

⁹ καὶ Gk α : τε καὶ.

¹⁰ ἐκστῆναι] πείσεις (ποιήσεις Xu¹γρ) ἐκστῆναι LC Gk v¹⁴ W JK M² vw f²⁸⁸.

¹¹ φίλαρχον] φίλαρχον ἐκστῆναι LC Gk¹ Xu W J¹K.

(535) δοξον ὄντα κρατήσειν. δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν ἀληθῶς
 C φανείη τούτους μὲν ἐν νοσήμασι καὶ παθήμασιν¹
 ἀκάμπτους διαμένειν καὶ ἐχυροὺς καὶ δυσμεταθέ-
 τους, ἡμᾶς δὲ βουλομένους καὶ φάσκοντας εἶναι
 φιλοκάλους καὶ φιλοδικαίους μὴ κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν
 ἀλλ' ἀνατρέπεσθαι καὶ προῖεσθαι τὴν ἀρετὴν. καὶ
 γὰρ εἰ μὲν οἱ δυσωποῦντες ἐπὶ δόξῃ καὶ δυνάμει²
 τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ κοσμοῦντας ἑτέρους καὶ
 αὔξοντας ἀσχημονεῖν αὐτοὺς³ καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν,
 ὥσπερ οἱ παραβραβεύοντες⁴ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι καὶ
 χαριζόμενοι⁵ περὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἐξ οὐ προση-
 κόντων⁶ ἀρχεῖα καὶ στεφάνους ἄλλοις καὶ δόξαν⁷
 ἀφαιροῦνται τὸ ἔνδοξον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ⁸ καλόν· εἰ δὲ⁹
 D χρημάτων ἔνεκα προσκείμενον ὀρώμεν τὸν δυσ-
 ωποῦντα, πῶς οὐ παρίσταται δεινὸν εἶναι τὸ τῆς
 ἰδίας δόξης καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀφειδεῖν¹⁰ ἵνα τὸ τοῦ δεινός
 βαλλάντιον βαρύτερον γένηται;

Καίτοι παρίσταται γε τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα
 καὶ οὐ λανθάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, ὥσπερ
 οἱ τὰς μεγάλας κύλικας ἐκπίνειν¹¹ ἀναγκαζόμενοι
 μόλις καὶ στένοντες καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα διαστρέψαντες¹²
 ἐκτελοῦσι τὸ προστεταγμένον.¹³ (18.) ἀλλ' εἰσὶν
 ἢ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀτονία σώματος κράσει καὶ πρὸς
 ἀλέαν κακῶς πεφυκυῖα καὶ πρὸς κρύος· ἐπαινού-
 μενοί τε¹⁴ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δυσωπούντων παντάπασι
 θρύπτονται καὶ χαλῶνται, πρὸς τε τὰς μέμψεις

¹ νοσήμασι καὶ παθήμασιν] παθήμασι καὶ νοσήμασιν LC Gk Xv
 W J¹K. ² δυνάμει (and so G⁴): δυναστεία G¹k.

³ αὐτοὺς LC G³: X¹v W DZab (αὐτοὺς G¹k¹ X²: JK):
 ἑαυτοὺς. ⁴ παραβρ. (περιβρ. hi?)] βραβεύοντες W.

⁵ χαριζόμενοι] Pohlenz transposes χαριζόμενοι after ἄλλοις;
 Reiske would add διδόντες, νέμοντες, περιποιούντες or the like
 after ἄλλοις.

win. For it would appear strange indeed that these in their disorders and passions should remain undaunted, firm, and steadfast, while we, who desire and profess to be partisans of honesty and justice, should so fail in control that we are overthrown and abandon our character for virtue. Indeed, if the suitor's aim is glory and power, it is absurd to enhance the lustre and greatness of another by cutting a sorry figure ourselves and getting a bad name, just as umpires who cheat at the games or officials who make corrupt appointments, while awarding to others offices, crowns, and glory not theirs to bestow, lose their own reputation and honour; whereas if money is his object, can we fail to observe that it is a strange bargain to squander our own repute and character in order to increase the weight of so-and-so's purse?

Yet such thoughts do occur to most people, and they know well that they are making a mistake. They are like men compelled to down a large beaker, who barely manage, moaning and with a wry face, to carry out the order. (18.) But infirmity of the mind resembles a bodily constitution intolerant of either heat or cold. For when praised by the importunate such men go utterly soft and limp; while in face of

⁶ προσηκόντων (and so C^{vet}; -ούν- from -ούν- N²)] προσηκόντως L; προσήκοντας C¹.

⁷ ἄλλοις καὶ δόξαν] καὶ δόξαν ἄλλοις LC Gk¹ Xu W J¹K vw.

⁸ τὸ] X W omit.

⁹ δὲ] δὲ τὸ N.

¹⁰ ἀφειδεῖν (and so L)] ἀφπειδεῖν Caras; ἀπιδεῖν G v; παριδεῖν k.

¹¹ ἐκπίνειν] ἐκπιεῖν DZab RnySs hi.

¹² διαστρέψαντες (-ατρ- υ)] διαστρέφοντες DZab.

¹³ τὸ προστεταγμένον LC Gk Xu W (τὰ προστεταγμένα J¹K): τὸ προσταττόμενον (τὸ προστατούμενον S¹; τὸ προστατούμενον s).

¹⁴ τε (and so G⁴)] G¹ W^{ac} n¹ JK omit.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

- (535) καὶ ὑφοράσεις τῶν ἀποτυγχανόντων ψοφοδεῶς
E καὶ δειλῶς ἔχουσι. δεῖ δὲ ἀντισχυρίζεσθαι πρὸς
 ἀμφοτέρα, μήτε τοῖς δεδιττομένοις μήτε τοῖς κολα-
 κεύουσι ἐνδιδόντας. ὁ μὲν οὖν Θουκυδίδης, ὡς
 ἀναγκαίως ἐπομένου τῷ δύνασθαι τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι,
 “καλῶς,” φησι, “βουλευέσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστοις
 λαμβάνοντα τὸ ἐπίφθονον”. ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν μὲν
 φθόνον διαφεύγειν χαλεπὸν¹ ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δὲ μέμ-
 ψει μὴ περιπεσεῖν μηδὲ λυπηρόν τι² γενέσθαι
F τῶν χρωμένων ἀδύνατον παντάπασιν ὀρώντες
 ὀρθῶς βουλευσόμεθα τὰς τῶν ἀγνωμόνων ἀπε-
 χθείας ἐκδεχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τῶν δικαίως ἐγ-
 καλούντων ἂν ἐκείνοις μὴ δικαίως³ ὑπουργῶμεν.
 καὶ μὴν ἔπαινόν γε τὸν παρὰ τῶν δυσωπούντων
 κίβδηλον ὄντα παντάπασι δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ
 πάθος πάσχειν ὑῶδες, ὑπὸ κνησμοῦ καὶ γαργαλι-
 σμοῦ παρέχοντα χρῆσθαι ῥᾶστα τῷ δεομένῳ, καὶ
 καταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ
 διαφέρουσι τῶν τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὑποσπῶσι παρεχόν-
 των οἱ τὰ ὦτα τοῖς κολακεύουσι παραδιδόντες, ἀλλ’
 536 αἴσχιον ἀνατρέπονται καὶ πίπτουσι, οἱ μὲν ἔχ-
 θρας καὶ κολάσεις ἀνιέντες ἀνθρώποις πονηροῖς ἢ
 ἐλεήμονες καὶ φιλάνθρωποι καὶ συμπαθεῖς κληθῶ-
 σιν, οἱ δὲ τοῦναντίον ἀπεχθείας καὶ κατηγορίας
 οὐκ ἀναγκαίας οὐδὲ ἀκινδύνους ἀναδέξασθαι πει-
 σθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπαινούντων ὡς μόνους ἀνδρας
 καὶ μόνους ἀκολακεύτους καὶ νῆ Δία στόματα καὶ
 φωνὰς προσαγορευόντων. διὸ καὶ Βίων ἀπείκαζε
 τοὺς τοιούτους⁴ ἀμφορεῦσιν ἀπὸ⁵ τῶν ὧτων ῥαδίως

¹ Before χαλεπὸν Erasmus and Reiske omit οὐ.

² τι G⁴k¹ W : τι.

³ δικαίως] δικαίως W.

the complaints and disapproval of rejected suitors they are timorous and fearful. We should make a bold stand on both fronts, yielding neither to intimidation nor to flattery. Thucydides,^a indeed, holding that power necessarily attracts envy, says: "He does wisely who incurs envy for the greatest prize," but we, who though we consider envy difficult to avoid, yet observe the utter impossibility of escaping reproach or avoiding offence to some of those with whom we deal, shall do well to incur the wrath of the inconsiderate rather than the wrath of those who will have just cause to complain if we do injustice to oblige the others. Furthermore, the praise that comes from suitors is false coin: we must be thoroughly on our guard against it and not behave like swine, because of our itch to be scratched and tickled allowing the suitor to handle us as he pleases, and sinking to the ground in subservience to him. For he who gives ear to flatterers is no better than he who allows a leghold to one who would throw him; nay, the toss and fall is in his case more disgraceful. Some, to get a name as merciful, humane, and compassionate, release wrongdoers from enmity and punishment; others on the contrary are persuaded to undertake quarrels and prosecutions that are neither compulsory nor free from risk, when they are praised as alone deserving to be called "men" and alone incapable of subservience—yes, and the flatterers even call them "mouths" and "voices." Consequently Bion compared men of this sort to pitchers easily carried away by the ears.^b

^a ii. 64. 5; also quoted in *Mor.* 73 A.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 705 E and *Frag.* incert. 101 Bern.

⁴ τοὺς τοιούτους (and so G⁴) τοῖς τοιούτοις G¹.

⁵ ἀπὸ Dab: ὑπὸ.

(536) μεταφερομένοις.¹ ὥσπερ Ἀλεξῖνον ἱστοροῦσι τὸν σοφιστὴν πολλὰ φαῦλα λέγειν ἐν τῷ περιπάτῳ περὶ Β Στίλπωνος τοῦ Μεγαρέως, εἰπόντος δέ τινος τῶν παρόντων, “ ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκεῖνός σε πρῶην ἐπήνει,” “ νῆ Δία,” φάναι· “ βέλτιστος γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐστι καὶ γενναιότατος.” ἀλλὰ Μενέδημος τούναντίον, ἀκούσας ὡς Ἀλεξῖνος αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖ πολλάκις, “ ἐγὼ δέ,” εἶπεν, “ αἰεὶ ψέγω Ἀλεξῖνον· ὥστε κακός ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος² ἢ κακὸν ἐπαινῶν ἢ ὑπὸ³ χρηστοῦ ψεγόμενος.” οὕτως ἄτρεπτος ἦν καὶ ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ κρατῶν ἐκείνης τῆς παραινέσεως ἣν ὁ Ἀντισθένης Ἡρακλῆς παρήνει τοῖς παισὶ, διακελευόμενος μηδενὶ χάριν ἔχειν ἐπαινοῦντι⁴. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μὴ δυσωπεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀντι- C κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας. ἀρκεῖ γὰρ οἶμαι τὸ τοῦ Πινδάρου πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα πανταχοῦ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, “ καγὼ σοι χάριν ἀποδίδωμι· ποιῶ γάρ σε ἀληθεύειν.”

19. Ὁ τοίνυν πρὸς πάντα τὰ⁵ πάθη χρήσιμόν ἐστι, τούτου δεῖ μάλιστα τοῖς εὐδυσωπήτοις· ὅταν ἐκβιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους παρὰ γνώμην ἀμάρτωσι καὶ διατραπῶσιν, ἰσχυρῶς μνημονεύειν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ δηγμοῦ⁶ καὶ τῆς μεταμελείας θεμένουσ⁷ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ πλείστον χρόνον. ὡς γὰρ οἱ λίθῳ προσπταίσαντες ὄδοιπόροι D ἢ περὶ ἄκραν ἀνατραπέντες κυβερνῆται, ἂν μνημο-

¹ μεταφερομένοις G¹ Xu W J¹K N² (from -ρω-) M¹ Yl: -ous (and so L? and G⁴).

² ἄνθρωπος nos: ἄνθρωπος.

³ ἢ ὑπὸ DZ K vw (ὑπὸ J): ἢ ἀπὸ (and so I; L is illegible).

⁴ After ἐπαινοῦντι Bern. omits αὐτοὺς.

⁵ τὰ] LC G⁸k¹ Xu W omit.

⁶ δηγμοῦ DZab JK: δήμου (βίου w^{ac}).

Thus it is reported that Alexinus the sophist was roundly abusing Stilpon of Megara in the Promenade when one of the audience said: "But he was praising you the other day." "Exactly," said Alexinus, "he is the most honest and outspoken of men." Menedemus said on the contrary, on hearing that Alexinus often praised him, "For my part I have never a good word for him. The fellow is therefore a knave, as he either praises a knave or is censured by an honest man." So steadfast was he and secure against the likes of these, and so firmly did he hold to the advice that Heracles in Antisthenes ^a gave his sons, to thank no man for his praise, which came exactly to this: not to let themselves be prevailed upon by those who praised them and not to flatter them in return. Pindar's answer is enough, I fancy. To one who said that he praised him everywhere and to everyone he replied: "And I return the courtesy; it is my doing that you tell the truth."

19. Now the same remedy that helps to cure all disorders of the mind is especially indicated for those who yield easily to pressure: when forced by the disorder to err against their judgement and succumb to embarrassment, they must keep it firmly in the memory and store up reminders of their remorse and regret and rehearse them and preserve them for a very long time. For as wayfarers who have stumbled over a stone,^b or skippers who have capsized off a headland, if they retain the circumstances in their

^a Antisthenes, *Heracles*, Frag. 6 (ed. Dittmar).

^b Cf. the proverb (Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 65) δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὰ (nos: αἰσχρὸν) προσκρούειν λίθον "to stumble twice against the same stone is shameful."

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(536) νεύωσιν, οὐκ ἐκείνα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ προσόμοια φρίττοντες καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διατελοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ τὰ τῆς δυσωπίας αἰσχρὰ καὶ βλαβερὰ συνεχῶς τῷ μετανοοῦντι καὶ δακνομένῳ προβάλλοντες¹ ἀντιλήφονται πάλιν ἑαυτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ οὐ προήσονται ῥαδίως ὑποφερομένους.

¹ προβάλλοντες LC^c D fq : προσβάλλοντες.

ON COMPLIANCY, 536

memory, henceforth never fail to avoid with a shudder not only the occasion of their misadventure, but everything resembling it, so those who constantly hold up to their repentance and remorse the shame and loss involved in compliancy will in similar circumstances resist the feeling and not easily allow it to carry them away.

ON ENVY AND HATE
(DE INVIDIA ET ODIIO)

INTRODUCTION

ENVY was called the worst of evils.^a It is common in Plutarch's lists of undesirable passions,^b and in the *De Vitioso Pudore* (529 B) he speaks of the philosopher removing it from a young man's soul. Its resemblance to hate is great enough to allow the envious to disguise their envy under that name (537 E, *infra*). As the flatterer who disguises himself as a friend by means of the "similarities" is exposed by means of the "differences" (51 D), so here, after briefly presenting the similarity of envy to hate, Plutarch spends the rest of the essay in exposing the differences.

That his theme is envy, rather than hate, can be seen from the language. The very title gives envy precedence; and the word is twice omitted as not needing explicit mention (536 E, 538 D).^c

Nearly everywhere in the essay Plutarch agrees with Aristotle, and doubtless used him, perhaps in part indirectly. In the *Rhetoric* (ii. 4. 30, 1381 b 37 f.) Aristotle says, after discussing friendship, that we

^a Cf. Euripides, *Ino* (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 403); Menander, frag. 538. 6 (vol. ii, p. 178 Körte); and Galen, *De Affectuum Dignotione*, chap. vii. 2.

^b Cf. for example *Mor.* 61 E, 455 C, 459 B, 462 A, 468 B, 475 E, 481 D, 501 E.

^c Note the language used in comparing the two: envy is said to differ (*cf.* 537 C, 538 D) from hate (or to be the same with it, as at 536 F); we do not hear of hate differing from envy. Envy is similarly emphasized at the expense of hate by the omission of μέν at 537 A.

ON ENVY AND HATE

must study hostility and hate in the light of the opposites; and many points in Plutarch's discussion of hatred were doubtless suggested by Aristotle's discussion of friendship in *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 1-29 (1380 b 34—1381 b 37) and books viii-ix of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Thus Plutarch calls hatred both a *πάθος* (536 E, F, 537 E, 538 C, D) and a *διάθεσις* (538 E; it is a *ζῆλος* in Aristotle: see the note on 538 E); it shows a *προαίρεσις* (538 E), and it is found in animals (537 B).

The treatise falls into two main parts. In the first the similarities between envy and hate are presented (chapter 1); in the second (chapters 2-8) the dissimilarities. The origins of the two are different; hatred is directed against both men and brutes, envy confined to men; hatred is found in brutes, envy in man alone; no one is justly envied, many are justly hated; hatred increases with the increasing wickedness of the person hated, envy with the increasing virtue of the person envied; increasing wickedness increases hate, but increasing prosperity extinguishes envy; great misfortune puts an end to envy but not to hate; hate is given up under conditions that either do not put an end to envy or that actually exasperate it; and the aim of hatred is to injure, that of envy to reduce one's neighbour to equality with oneself.

We have found no evidence for the date. The essay was translated into Latin by Niccolò Perotti^a and by H. Stephanus. It is not included in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC y HU. Occasionally a, s, nBr, and AE are quoted for conjectures.

^a Cf. G. Mercati, *Per la cronologia della vita e degli scritti di Niccolò Perotti, arcivescovo di Siponto* (Studi e testi, 44, Rome, 1925), pp. 34-35.

(536)

E

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΘΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΟΥΣ

1. Οὕτω δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ μηθὲν¹ τοῦ μίσους διαφέρειν² ἀλλ' ὁ³ αὐτὸς εἶναι. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ ὥσπερ πολυάγκιστρον ἢ κακία τοῖς ἐξηρητημένοις αὐτῆς πάθεισιν κινουμένη δεῦρο κάκεισε πολλὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα⁴ συναφὰς καὶ⁵ περιπλοκάς ἐνδίδωσι, F ταῦτα δὲ ὥσπερ νοσήματα συμπαθεῖ ταῖς ἀλλήλων φλεγμοναῖς. ὁ γὰρ εὐτυχῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν μισοῦντα λυπεῖ καὶ τὸν φθονοῦντα. διὸ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀμφοτέροις νομίζομεν ἀντικεῖσθαι, βούλησιν οὖσαν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς πλησίον, καὶ τῷ μισεῖν τὸ⁶ φθονεῖν ταῦτόν⁷ εἶναι, ὅτι τὴν ἐναντίαν τῷ φιλεῖν ἔχει προαίρεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτόν αἱ ὁμοιότητες ὡς ἕτερον αἱ διαφοραὶ ποιοῦσιν, κατὰ ταύτας⁸ ζητοῦμεν⁹ ἐὰν μεταδιώξωμεν,¹⁰ ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀρξάμενοι τῶν παθῶν.

2. Γεννᾶται τοίνυν τὸ μῖσος ἐκ φαντασίας τοῦ¹¹ ὅτι πονηρὸς ἢ κοινῶς ἢ πρὸς αὐτόν ἐστιν ὁ μισού-

¹ μηθὲν] μηδὲν (L is wanting) C y nBr E.

² διαφέρειν (L is wanting) C HU^{a1}: δ. ὁ φθόνος.

³ ὁ] (L is wanting) C¹ omits.

⁴ πολλὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα a²: πολλὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλας U³a¹; πρὸς ἄλλας πρὸς ἀλλήλας HU¹; πρὸς ἄλλας (L is illegible) C¹; πολλὰς πρὸς ἄλλας C²; πρὸς ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας γ¹; πρὸς ἄλλας καὶ ἄλληλα γ².

⁵ καὶ] (L is illegible) C¹ γ¹ HU^{a1} omit.

⁶ τῷ μ. τὸ H¹ U^{1,3}a: τὸ μ. τῷ L?C y H²U² B.

⁷ ταῦτόν C¹ (ταυτόν γ): ταῦτό οἱ ταυτό.

⁸ ταύτας] ταῦτα HU¹. ⁹ ζητοῦμεν] ζητῶμεν A²E.

¹⁰ μεταδιώξωμεν (and so L[?]; -ομεν γ)] μεταδιώξω C¹.

ON ENVY AND HATE

1. On the following view it ^a is thought to differ not at all from hate, but to be the same. Thus one may say in general that vice, like a line with many hooks, as it moves to and fro with the passions attached to it, gives them occasion to form many connexions and entanglements with one another; and that it is with the passions ^b as with diseases: when one becomes inflamed the other does. Thus it is the fortunate man that is a source of pain to one who feels hate as well as to one who feels envy. Hence we consider goodwill to be contrary to both, as it is the wish for one's neighbour's prosperity ^c; and hatred and envy to be the same, since their aim is the contrary to that of friendship. But since similarities do not so surely make for sameness as dissimilarities make for difference, we shall endeavour to settle the question by examining the latter, noting first the origin of the two passions.

2. Now hate arises from a notion that the person hated is bad either in general or toward oneself.^d

^a Envy.

^b Aristotle calls envy and hate passions: *Eth. Nic.* ii. 5. 2 (1105 b 21-23).

^c Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 2. 3 (1155 b 31-32), viii. 6. 1 (1158 a 7-8), ix. 5. 3 (1167 a 8-9); Andronicus, *περὶ παθῶν*, vi. 2 a (von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 432, p. 105).

^d Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 4-7).

¹¹ τοῦ U³a: τοῦτο LC¹ HU¹; τούτου γ.

537 μενος (καὶ γὰρ ἀδικεῖσθαι δόξαντες αὐτοὶ πεφύ-
 κασι μισεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλως¹ ἀδικητικούς ἢ πονηροὺς
 προβάλλονται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν). φθονοῦσιν δὲ
 ἀπλῶς τοῖς εὖ πράττειν δοκοῦσιν. ὅθεν ἔοικεν ὁ²
 φθόνος ἀόριστος³ εἶναι, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμία πρὸς
 ἅπαν τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐκταρασσόμενος, τὸ δὲ μῖσος⁴ ὤρι-
 σται, καθ' ὑποκειμένων αἰεί τινων ἀπερειδόμενον.⁵

3. Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ μισεῖν γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἄλογα⁶
 ζῶα (καὶ γὰρ γαλᾶς καὶ κανθαρίδας ἔνιοι μισοῦσι
 καὶ φρύνους καὶ ὄφεις· Γερμανικὸς δὲ ἀλεκτρυόνος
 οὔτε φωνὴν οὔτε ὄψιν ὑπέμεινεν· οἱ δὲ Περσῶν
 Β μάγοι τοὺς μῦς ἀπεκτίννυσαν, ὡς αὐτοὶ τε μι-
 σοῦντες καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεραίνοντος τὸ ζῶον· ὁμοῦ
 τι⁷ γὰρ πάντες Ἄραβες καὶ Αἰθίοπες μισάττονται).
 τὸ μέντοι φθονεῖν πρὸς μόνον ἄνθρωπον ἀνθρώπῳ
 γίνεται.

4. Ἐν τοῖς θηρίοις⁸ φθόνον μὲν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐγ-
 γίνεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλα (τοῦ γὰρ εὖ πράττειν ἢ
 κακῶς ἕτερον⁹ φαντασίαν οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, οὐδὲ
 ἄπτεται τὸ ἔνδοξον ἢ¹⁰ ἄδοξον αὐτῶν, οἷς ὁ φθόνος

¹ ἄλλως] ἄλλους L?C y nB.

² ὁ] ὁ μὲν α³snBr.

³ ἀόριστος] ὁ ἄριστος HU¹.

⁴ μῖσος L (μῖσος y) α³snBr: μείζον.

⁵ After ἀπερειδόμενον we omit πρὸς αὐτόν (-τὰ y¹), for which Kronenberg conjectures προσώπων.

⁶ ἄλογα] τὰ ἄλογα LC.

⁷ τι Reiske: τέ.

⁸ ἐν (ἐν δὲ y) τοῖς θηρίοις] κὰν (κὰν nr) τοῖς θηρίοις δὲ α³snBr.

⁹ ἕτερον α³snBr (ἕτερα y): ἐτέραν.

¹⁰ ἢ] ἢ τὸ LC.

^a Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 1. 4 (1378 a 1-3).

^b Cf. *Mor.* 39 E; Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 7. 15 (1108 b 3-5); Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 52 (210), *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 7 (16), that is, von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 415, p. 101: "invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti" (cf. Aris-

Thus it is men's nature to hate when they think they have been wronged themselves; and again men reprobate and view with disgust all who in any other way are given to wrongdoing^a or wickedness. Whereas to attract envy all that is required is apparent prosperity.^b Hence it would appear that no bounds are set to envy, which, like sore eyes,^c is disturbed by everything resplendent^d; whereas hate has bounds and is in every case directed against particular subjects.

3. In the second place, even irrational animals may be objects of hate: some people hate weasels, beetles, toads, or snakes. Germanicus^e could not abide the sound or sight of a cock; and the Persian magi killed water mice,^f not only because they personally hated them, but because they felt that God regarded the animal as offensive; thus nearly all Arabs and Ethiopians loathe it. But envy occurs only between man and man.

4. In animals it is not likely that envy of one another arises,^g as they have no notion of another's good or ill fortune, nor are they affected by glory or disgrace, things by which envy is most exasperated.^h

totle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 9. 3, 1386 b 20-25); *Magna Moralia*, i. 27. 2 (1192 b 24-26).

^c Cf. Philodemus, *περὶ κακιῶν Liber Decimus*, col. xii. 15 (ed. Jensen).

^d Cf. Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 547. 12 (p. 947).

^e Cf. Olympiodorus, *In Plat. Phaedon. Comm.* p. 156. 26 f. (ed. Norvin).

^f Cf. *Mor.* 369 F, 670 D, and J. Bidez and F. Cumont, *Les Mages hellénisés*, ii (Paris, 1938), p. 75, note 11. For attempts to identify the animal cf. Sir D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Fishes*, pp. 166-168. E. H. Warmington suggests that it is the water-shrew or water-vole or both.

^g But cf. *Mor.* 961 D.

^h Cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 51 (208).

(537) ἐκτραχύνεται μάλιστα)· μισοῦσι δὲ ἄλληλα¹ καὶ ἀπεχθάνονται καὶ πολεμοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀσπίστους² τινὰς πολέμους³ ἀετοὶ καὶ δράκοντες, κορῶναι καὶ γλαῦκες, αἰγιθαλλοὶ καὶ ἀκανθυλλίδες,⁴ ὥστε τούτων γέ φασι μηδὲ⁵ τὸ αἷμα κίρνασθαι σφαττομένων, ἀλλὰ κἂν μίξεως, ἰδίᾳ πάλιν ἀπορρεῖν⁶ διακρινόμενον. εἰκὸς⁷ δὲ καὶ τῷ λέοντι πρὸς τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα καὶ τῷ ἐλέφαντι πρὸς τὴν ὕν μῖσος ἰσχυρὸν γεγεννηκέναι τὸν φόβον· ὁ γὰρ δεδίασι, καὶ μισεῖν πεφύκασιν. ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ φαίνεσθαι διαφέροντα τοῦ μίσους τὸν φθόνον, τὸ⁸ μὲν δεχομένης τῆς τῶν θηρίων φύσεως, τὸν⁹ δὲ μὴ δεχομένης.

5. Ἐπι τοίνυν τὸ μὲν φθονεῖν πρὸς οὐδένα γίνεται δικαίως (οὐδεῖς γὰρ ἀδικεῖ τῷ εὐτυχεῖν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ φθονοῦνται)· μισοῦνται δὲ πολλοὶ δικαίως, ὡς¹⁰ οὓς ἀξιομισήτους καλοῦμεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν¹¹ ἂν μὴ φεύγῃσι τοὺς τοιούτους μηδὲ βδελύττωνται¹² καὶ δυσχεραίνωσι.¹³ μέγα δὲ τούτου

¹ ἄλληλα (and so L)] ἀλλήλα C¹? HU¹.

² ἀσπίστους Reiske (adding πολέμους before πολεμοῦσιν) : ἀπίστους.

³ πολέμους Emperius (πολέμους τάδε Wyttenbach) : πολεμοῦσι δέ. ⁴ ἀκανθυλλίδες] -θυλί- LC ; -θηλί- y.

⁵ μηδὲ] μὴ LC y.

⁶ ἀπορρεῖν H : ἀπορεῖν U¹ ; ἀπορρεῖ (and so U²).

⁷ εἰκὸς Stephanus : εἰκότως.

⁸ τὸ] τὸν U^{aras}.

⁹ τὸν] τὸ LC y HU¹.

¹⁰ ὡς] Reiske would omit.

¹¹ ὥστε καὶ . . . ἐγκαλοῦμεν supplied by Pohlenz.

¹² βδελύττωνται] -ονται C H nr^{ac}.

¹³ δυσχεραίνωσι] -ουσι H^{ac}.

^a For friendship among animals cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* viii. 1. 3 (1155 a 18 f.), and the *Eudemian Ethics*, vii. 2. 17 (1236 b 6-10) and vii. 2. 53 (1238 a 32 f.).

^b Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 1. 10 (609 a 4).

But there is mutual hatred, hostility,^a and what might be called truceless war between eagles and snakes,^b crows and owls,^c titmice and goldfinches ; indeed it is said that the blood of these last will not mingle^d when the animals are killed, but even if you mix it, separates again and runs off in two distinct streams. It is likely, moreover, that in lions the strong hatred of cocks,^e and in elephants of swine,^f has been engendered by fear ; for what they fear they naturally hate as well.^g Here too, therefore, envy is seen to differ from hate, as animal nature admits the one but not the other.

5. Again, no one is ever envied with justice,^h as no one is unjust in being fortunate, and it is for good fortune that men are envied. On the other hand, many are hated with justice, as those we call "deserving of hate" ; and we censure others when they fail to shun such persons and to feel loathing and disgust for them. Good evidence of this is the circum-

^c Cf. *ibid.* (609 a 8) ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* v. 48.

^d Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 1. 22 (610 a 6-8) ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* x. 32 ; Pliny, *N.H.* x. 74 (205) ; Antigonus, *Mir.* chap. 114.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 981 E ; Lucretius, iv. 710-713 ; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 19 (52) ; x. 21 (47) ; Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrrh. Hyp.* i. 58 ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* iii. 31, vi. 22, viii. 28, xiv. 9 ; pseudo-Alexander Aphrodisiensis, *Probl.* i (p. 4. 22 f., ed. Ideler) ; Ambrose, *Hexaem.* vi. 4 (26) ; *Geoponica*, ii. 42. 3, xv. 1. 9 ; Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal. Epit.* ii. 155 (p. 75. 5, ed. Lambros).

^f Cf. *Mor.* 981 E ; Seneca, *De Ira*, ii. 11 ; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 9 (27) ; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* i. 38, viii. 28, xvi. 36 ; Horapollon, ii. 86 ; Polyaeus, iv. 6. 3 ; Georgius Pisides, *Hexaem.* 963 f. ; Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal. Epit.* ii. 106-107 (p. 60. 20-22, ed. Lambros) ; and Suidas, s.v. κερραγμόν.

^g Cf. Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 7. 20 (p. 254. 3 Hense).

^h Cf. Plato, *Philebus*, 49 D 1 ; *Eudemian Ethics*, iii. 7. 12 (1234 a 30) ; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 532, and Hippothoön, *Frag.* 2 (*ibid.* p. 827).

(537) τεκμήριον ὅτι μισεῖν μὲν¹ πολλοὺς ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔνιοι, φθονεῖν δὲ οὐδενὶ λέγουσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡ μισο-
 πονηρία τῶν ἐπαινουμένων ἐστὶ· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν
 τοῦ Λυκούργου Χάριλλον, βασιλεύοντα τῆς Σπάρ-
 τῆς, ἐπικειῆ δὲ ὄντα, καὶ πρᾶον, ἐπαινούντων τινῶν ὁ
 συνάρχων, “ καὶ πῶς,” ἔφη, “ χρηστός ἐστὶ Χάριλ-
 λος, ὃς² οὐδὲ τοῖς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἐστι; ” καὶ
 τοῦ Θερσίτου ὁ ποιητῆς τὴν μὲν τοῦ σώματος
 κακίαν πολυμερῶς καὶ περιωδευμένως ἐξεμόρφω-
 E σεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἠθους μοχθηρίαν συντομώτατα καὶ
 δι’ ἐνὸς ἔφρασεν·

ἔχθιστος δ’ Ἀχιλῆι³ μάλιστ’ ἦν⁴ ἢδ’ Ὀδυσῆι⁵.

ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ τις⁶ φαυλότητος τὸ τοῖς κρατίστοις⁷
 ἐχθρὸν εἶναι. καὶ⁸ φθονεῖν δὲ ἀρνοῦνται· κἂν ἐλέγ-
 χωνται,⁹ μυρίας σκῆψεις προΐσχονται, ὀργίζεσθαι
 λέγοντες ἢ φοβεῖσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἢ μισεῖν, ἢ¹⁰ ὅ
 τι ἂν τύχωσιν ἄλλο¹¹ τῷ φθόνῳ¹² τοῦ πάθους ὄνομα
 περιβάλλοντες καὶ καλύπτοντες¹³ ὡς μόνον τοῦτο
 τῶν τῆς¹⁴ ψυχῆς νοσημάτων ἀπόρρητον.

6. Ἀνάγκη τοίνυν τὰ πάθη ταῦτα τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 ὡσπερ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ αὔξεσθαι, διὸ
 καὶ¹⁵ ἐπιτείνεσθαι¹⁶ πέφυκεν ἄλλοις.¹⁷ μισοῦμεν γὰρ¹⁸

¹ μὲν] LC¹ y omit.

² ὃς] ὡς LC¹.

³ ἀχιλῆι] -λλ- y HU s.

⁴ μάλιστ’ ἦν α³nBr^c (from -τ’ ἦν): μάλιστα ἦν (L illegible)
 C y; μάλιστ’ U; μάλιστ’ ω? from μάλιστα H².

⁵ ὀδυσῆι] -σσ- (L illegible) C y HU nr; δυσῆι s.

⁶ τις] τῆς H. ⁷ τοῖς κρατίστοις] τοὺς κρατίστους H^{ac}.

⁸ καὶ] Wyttenbach would omit.

⁹ κἂν ἐλέγχωνται] καὶ ἐλέγχοντες (L illegible) C¹.

¹⁰ ἢ y²? A²E: the rest omit (L illegible).

¹¹ ἄλλο] ἄλλω H r^{ac}. ¹² τῷ φθόνῳ] Pohlenz would omit.

¹³ καλύπτοντες] συγκαλύπτοντες LC y.

¹⁴ τῆς] LC y H: the rest omit.

stance that while some confess that they hate a good many people, there is no one that they will say they envy. Indeed hatred of wickedness is among the things we praise ^a; and when certain persons praised Charillus, Lycurgus' nephew, who was king of Sparta, but a mild and gentle man, his colleague remarked: "How can you call Charillus a good man, when he is not even severe with scoundrels?" ^b And whereas Homer was very detailed and circumstantial in his description of Thersites' bodily deformity, he expressed the viciousness of his character very succinctly and in a single statement:

Most hateful he to Achilles and Odysseus. ^c

For it is a kind of extreme of baseness to be hateful to the best men. But men deny ^d that they envy as well; and if you show that they do, they allege any number of excuses and say they are angry with the fellow or fear or hate him, cloaking and concealing their envy with whatever other name occurs to them for their passion, implying that among the disorders of the soul it is alone unmentionable. ^e

6. Now these passions, like plants, must also feed and grow with what produces them. ^f They are consequently intensified by different things. Thus while

^a Cf. *Mor.* 451 D-E and [Aristotle], *De Virt. et Vit.* 1250 b 23 f.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 55 E, 218 B, 452 D, and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. v. 9 (42 D). ^c *Il.* ii. 220, quoted also in *Mor.* 30 A.

^d Cf. Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 21. 3.

^e Cf. Basil, *De Invidia*, 92 A.

^f Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 2. 8 (1104 a 27 f.).

¹⁵ διὸ καὶ νὸς (ὄθεν καὶ Pohlenz; καὶ γὰρ οὐκ Kronenberg): καὶ. ¹⁶ ἐπιτείνεσθαι Wyttenbach: ἐπιγίνεσθαι.

¹⁷ ἄλλοις νὸς (ἄλλα ἄλλοις Post, who reads ταῦτα for ταῦτα above): ἀλλήλοισι. ¹⁸ γὰρ νὸς: γε (and so Post).

(537)
F μᾶλλον τοὺς μᾶλλον¹ εἰς πονηρίαν ἐπιδιδόντας, φθο-
νοῦσι δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς μᾶλλον² ἐπ' ἀρετῇ προΐεναι
δοκοῦσι. διὸ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔτι μειράκιον ὦν
οὐδὲν ἔφη πράττειν λαμπρόν· οὐπω γὰρ φθονεῖσθαι.
καθάπερ γὰρ αἱ κανθαρίδες ἐμφύονται μάλιστα τῷ
ἀκμάζοντι σίτῳ καὶ τοῖς εὐθαλέσι ῥόδοις, οὕτως ὁ
φθόνος ἄπτεται μάλιστα τῶν χρηστῶν καὶ αὐξο-
μένων πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ δόξαν ἡθῶν καὶ προσώπων.
καὶ τοῦναντίον αὖ πάλιν αἱ μὲν ἄκρατοι πονηρίαι
συνεπιτείνουσι³ τὸ μῖσος. τοὺς γοῦν Σωκράτη

538 συκοφαντήσαντας ὡς εἰς ἔσχατον κακίας ἐληλακό-
τας⁴ οὕτως ἐμίσησαν οἱ πολῖται καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν
ὡς μήτε πῦρ αὖειν μήτε ἀποκρίνεσθαι πυνθανο-
μένοις, μὴ⁵ λουομένοις κοινωνεῖν ὕδατος, ἀλλ'
ἀναγκάζειν ἐκχεῖν⁶ ἐκείνο τοὺς παραχύτας⁷ ὡς με-
μιασμένον, ἕως ἀπήγγξαντο μὴ φέροντες τὸ μῖσος.
αἱ δὲ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ὑπεροχαὶ καὶ λαμπρότητες
πολλάκις τὸν φθόνον κατασβεννύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ
εἰκὸς⁸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τινὰ φθονεῖν οὐδὲ Κύρῳ κρατή-
σασι καὶ γενομένοις κυρίοις ἀπάντων. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
ὁ ἥλιος ὦν ἂν ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς γένηται καταχεό-
B μενος⁹ τὸ φῶς ἢ παντάπασι τὴν σκιὰν ἀνεῖλεν ἢ

¹ μᾶλλον] L?C¹ y omit. ² μᾶλλον] LC¹ y¹ omit.

³ συνεπιτείνουσι] συντείνουσι H.

⁴ ἐληλακότας (and so a²; -τα B)] συνεληλακότας (L illegible)
C; συνηλακότας y HUa¹?. ⁵ μὴ] μήτε Reiske.

⁶ ἐκχεῖν y a³snBr^cE: ἔγχεῖν (sic) L; ἔχειν C; ἐγχεῖν HU.

⁷ παραχύτας] -ης LC^{ac}. ⁸ εἰκὸς H A²B: εἰοκός.

⁹ καταχεόμενος a^rasⁿBr: καταχεάμενος C^{ac}? y¹ H; καὶ κατα-
χεόμενος LC^c Ua^{aras}.

^a In 537 A it was prosperity that excited envy. But virtue

our hatred increases as the hated progress in vice, envy on the other hand increases with the apparent progress of the envied in virtue.^a This explains why when Themistocles was still a youth he said that he was doing nothing remarkable, as he was not yet envied.^b For just as beetles appear most of all in grain when it is ripe for harvest and in roses when they are in full bloom, so envy fastens most of all on characters and persons that are good and increasing in virtue and fame. In contrast unredeemed villainies intensify hate. At any rate, those who brought false charges against Socrates, being held to have reached the limit of baseness, were so hated and shunned by their countrymen that no one would lend them light for a fire, answer their questions, or bathe in the same water, but made the attendants pour it out as polluted, until the men hanged themselves, finding the hatred unendurable.^c On the other hand supreme and resplendent good fortune often extinguishes envy.^d For it is hardly likely that anyone envied Alexander or Cyrus when they had prevailed and become masters of the world. But just as the sun, when it stands directly over a man's head, pouring down its light, either quite obliterates his shadow^e or makes it small,

is the greatest blessing (*cf.* 538 D, *infra*), and there is no greater prosperity than the possession of it.

^b *Cf.* Hippasos, *Frag.* 6 (Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, i, p. 109. 1-3); Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, Adespota, 385.

^c Conflicting stories of the fate of Anytus and Meletus are found in Diogenes Laert. ii. 43, vi. 9-10; Diodorus, xiv. 37. 7; and Themistius, *Or.* 20 (239 c). Plutarch's story illustrates Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ix. 4. 8 (1166 b 11-13).

^d *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 10. 5 (1388 a 11 f.).

^e For envy as the shadow of glory *cf.* Stobaeus, *Anth.* iii. 38. 35 (p. 715. 15-18 Hense).

(538) μικρὰν ἐποίησεν, οὕτω πολὺ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ὕψος λαβόντων καὶ γενομένων κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ φθόνου συστέλλεται καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ καταλαμπόμενος· τὸ μέντοι μῖσος οὐκ ἀνίησιν ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροχὴ καὶ δύναμις. ὁ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος φθονοῦντα μὲν οὐδένα εἶχεν, μισοῦντας δὲ πολλοὺς, ὑφ' ὧν τέλος ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. ὁμοίως τοίνυν καὶ τὰ δυστυχήματα τοὺς μὲν φθονοῦντας παύει τὰς δ' αὖ ἐχθρας οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ. μισοῦσι γὰρ καὶ ταπεινοὺς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς γενομένους, φθονεῖ¹ δὲ οὐδεὶς τῷ δυστυχοῦντι, C ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς σοφιστῶν, ὅτι² ἥδιστα οἱ φθονοῦντες ἐλεοῦσιν, ἀληθές ἐστιν. ὥστε καὶ ταύτῃ³ μεγάλην εἶναι τῶν παθῶν διαφορὰν, ὡς τὸ μὲν⁴ μῖσος οὔτε εὐτυχοῦντων οὔτε δυστυχοῦντων ἀφίστασθαι πέφυκεν, ὁ δὲ φθόνος πρὸς τὴν ἀμφοῖν ὑπερβολὴν ἀπαγορεύει.

7. Ἐπι τοίνυν—ἢ⁵ μᾶλλον οὕτως—ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπῶμεν. λύουσι γὰρ ἐχθρας καὶ μῖσος ἢ πεισθέντες μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ δόξαν ὡς χρηστών οὓς ἐμίσουν ὡς πονηροὺς λαβόντες ἢ τρίτον εὖ παθόντες· “ ἢ γὰρ τελευταία⁶ χάρις,” ὡς⁷ Θουκυδίδης φησί, “ κὰν ἐλάττων ἦ, καιρὸν ἔχουσα δύναται D μεῖζον ἐγκλημα λῦσαι.” τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐ λύει τὸν φθόνον (πεπεισμένοι γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι φθονοῦσι), τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ παρ-

¹ φθονεῖ] φθονοῦσι LC¹. ² ὅτι] H omits.

³ ταύτῃ Reiske : ταύτην.

⁴ μὲν] LC¹ y omit.

⁵ ἢ] καὶ α³snBr ; y omits ; Pohlenz puts it after μᾶλλον.

⁶ τελευταία] τελευταία L HU¹ sn.

⁷ ὡς] ὁ LC¹.

^a Cf. Plutarch, Frag. xxiii. 2 Bernardakis.

^b Cf. *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxx. 7 (707 A).

so when good fortune attains great elevation and comes to stand high over envy, then envy diminishes and withdraws, being overcome by the blaze of glory.^a Hate, however, is not made to relent by the pre-eminence and power of one's enemies. Alexander certainly had none who envied, but many who hated him, and it was these who plotted against him and killed him in the end.^b So too with misfortunes : they put a stop to envy but not to hate, for men hate even their humbled enemies,^c whereas no one envies the unfortunate. Rather it is a true remark of a certain sophist^d of our day that those who envy take the greatest delight in pitying. Here too, therefore, there is a great difference between the two passions, since it is the nature of hate to depart from neither the fortunate nor the unfortunate, whereas envy is no longer sustained when either fortune is at its height.^e

7. Again—or rather this is what we have just been doing—, let us examine the same principle in its negative aspect. Men forgo hostility and hate either when convinced that no injustice is being done them, or when they adopt the view that those they hated as evil are good, or thirdly when they have received from them some benefit, “for the final service,” as Thucydides^f says, “though small, if opportunely bestowed, wipes out a greater disservice.” Now the first of these circumstances does not wipe out envy ; for men feel it though persuaded from the first that no injustice is being done them.^g The other two actually

^c Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 14).

^d Unidentified.

^e Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 10. 5 (1388 a 11 f.).

^f i. 42. 3.

^g Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 9. 3 (1386 b 20-25), and Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 8 (17).

(538) οξύνει· τοῖς τε γὰρ δοκοῦσι χρηστοῖς βασκαίνουσι μᾶλλον, ὡς δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσι, κἂν εὖ πάσχωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων, ἀνιώνται φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρετῆς ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ εὐτυχίας, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἀμφότερα. διὸ παντελῶς ἕτερόν ἐστι τοῦ μίσους,¹ εἰ δι' ὧν ἐκείνο πραῦνεται τοῦτο λυπεῖται καὶ παροξύνεται.

8. Ἦδη τοίνυν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτὴν ἐκατέρου πάθους σκοπῶμεν. ἔστι δὲ μισοῦντος μὲν **Ε** προαίρεσις κακῶς ποιῆσαι (καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὕτως ὀρίζονται, διάθεσίν τινα καὶ προαίρεσιν ἐπιτηρητικὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιῆσαι), τῷ φθόνῳ δὲ τοῦτο γοῦν ἄπεστιν, πολλοὺς γὰρ² οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν συνήθων καὶ οἰκείων ἀπολέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοιεν οὐδὲ δυστυχήσαι, βαρύνονται δὲ εὐτυχοῦντας· καὶ κολούουσι³ μὲν, εἰ δύνανται, τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ λαμπρότητα, συμφορὰς δὲ ἀνηκέστους οὐκ ἂν προσβάλοιεν,⁴ ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἰκίας ὑπερεχούσης τὸ ἐπισκοτοῦν αὐτοῖς καθελόντες ἀρκοῦνται.

¹ After μίσους LC y U³⁸⁸ add πάθος ὁ φθόνος, which HU¹ omit.

² γὰρ] supplied by Stephanus.

³ κολούουσι Bern. : κωλύουσι.

⁴ προσβάλοιεν H²U : προβάλοιεν (L illegible) C¹ y² (-λλ- y¹).

^a Cf. Basil, *De Invidia*, 93 c.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 87 b ; Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 8) ; Diogenes Laert. vii. 113 (von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 396, p. 96) : μῖσος δὲ ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία τις τοῦ κακῶς εἶναι τι μετὰ προκοπῆς τινος καὶ παρατάσεως.

^c Thus Aristotle speaks of an "intention" in friendship and says that the intention proceeds from a "habit" : *Eth.*

exasperate it : for enviers eye more jealously those who enjoy a reputation for goodness, feeling that they possess the greatest ^{good fortune} blessing, virtue ; and even if they receive some benefit from the fortunate, are tormented,^a envying them for both the intention and the power. For the intention proceeds from their virtue, the power from their good fortune, and both are blessings. It is therefore quite distinct from hate, if what soothes the one torments and embitters the other.

8. Let us therefore now take the intention of each of the two passions and examine it by itself. The intention of the hater is to injure,^b and the meaning of hate is thus defined : it is a certain disposition and intention^c awaiting the opportunity to injure.^d In envy this, at any rate, is absent. For there are many of their intimates and connexions^e that the envious would not be willing to see destroyed^f or suffer misfortune, although tormented by their good fortune ; and while they abridge their fame and glory if they can, they would not, on the other hand, afflict them with irreparable calamities, but as with a house towering above their own, are content to pull down the part that casts them in the shade.^g

Nic. viii. 5. 4 (1157 b 29-31) ; *cf.* *Eudemian Ethics*, vii. 2. 35 (1237 a 33 f.).

^a For " awaiting the opportunity to injure " *cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 5. 8 (1382 b 10 f.), and the Stoic definition of *κότος* (von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 395, 397, 398, pp. 96. 17 and 42 and 97. 25 f.), which was suggested, like that of *χόλος*, by Homer, *Il.* i. 81-83.

^e For friends as the object of envy *cf.* Plato, *Philebus*, 48 B 11, 49 D 6, 50 A 2-3, the *Definitions*, 416. 13, and Xenophon, *Mem.* iii. ix. 8.

^f *Cf.* Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 15).

^g *Cf.* Xenophon, *Mem.* iii. ix. 8 and Chrysippus' definition of envy (*Mor.* 1046 B-C).

ON PRAISING ONESELF
INOFFENSIVELY
(DE SE IPSUM CITRA INVIDIAM
LAUDANDO)

INTRODUCTION

IN this essay Plutarch takes a topic of the rhetorical schools, "How to praise oneself inoffensively,"^a and treats it as a moralist. Neither Plato nor Aristotle discusses self-praise; the nearest approach is the passage in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (iv. 7) on the *alazōn* and the *eirōn* (the "boastful" and the "mock-modest" man, as Ross translates). These Aristotle judges according to the truth or falsity of their claims, whereas Plutarch supposes his statesman virtuous and truthful and deals with the ends that justify him in praising himself and the devices that by making the self-praise palatable enable him to use it so as to achieve those ends.

This adaptation of rhetorical precepts to a moral use has led to a certain enlargement of the point of view. Thus in the earlier and more rhetorically

^a See L. Radermacher's illuminating discussion, "Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Rhetorik, II: Plutarchs Schrift de se ipso citra invidiam laudando," *Rheinisches Museum*, lii (1897), pp. 419-424, and M. Pohlenz' concluding remarks in "Eine byzantinische Recension Plutarchischer Schriften," *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1913, pp. 358 f. The very term for self-praise, *periautologia*, that is used by the rhetoricians (see Alexander in Spengel, *Rhet. Graec.* iii, p. 4. 9 and Plutarch, 539 E) comes from the softened expression "to speak about myself" that Demosthenes uses in the oration *On the Crown* (4 and 321); and it is probable that the whole topic was suggested to the rhetoricians by that oration.

ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE

coloured parts of the essay Plutarch speaks of "the statesman" ^a; later he speaks more generally of "us" ^b; again he at times has an actual oration in mind, ^c but elsewhere writes as if the scene of the self-praise were an ordinary conversation or the circle of some grandee. Plutarch doubtless felt that only the statesman was justified in praising himself; in any case the expansion is natural enough: the rhetorical precepts were formulated for actual speech-making, whereas the moralist is concerned with all self-praise, not least when it occurs in daily life.

The essay falls into three main parts: the introduction, the discussion of the circumstances that justify self-praise and of the devices that make it acceptable, and advice for avoiding it when it is un-called for.

1. Self-praise is offensive for a number of reasons. The statesman will however risk it when to accomplish some worthy end he must establish his own character with the audience. Other justifications Plutarch will consider later. ^d Everywhere, however, we must see to it that the self-praise does not have a "frivolous" ^e and offensive character.

2. Plutarch now tells how offence is avoided and

^a Cf. 539 E, 539 F, 541 C, 542 E, 545 D, and 545 E.

^b Cf. ἕκαστος 546 B and the first person plural at 546 F (δοκῶμεν), 547 A (οἱ δ' ἄλλοι . . . ὀφείλομεν), and 547 F (ἀφεξόμεθα).

^c Cf. 540 C and ἀκροατήν at 542 C and 545 D.

^d They are given in chapters 15-17, summarized in the second part of the following paragraph.

^e "Frivolous" or "purposeless" or "vain"—*kenos* is literally "empty"—self-praise is defined (540 A) as that of persons *thought* to praise themselves for no other reason than to receive praise. One might have expected to hear that ill-advised self-praise *is* praise of themselves by such persons. But Plutarch, unlike the rhetoricians, supposes the speaker

gives further reasons for self-praise. Self-praise escapes censure when the speaker is defending himself, is unfortunate, or is the victim of injustice; again it is acceptable when it is presented indirectly, the speaker showing that the opposite of the conduct with which he is charged would have been shameful; when it is interwoven with praise of the audience; when it appears as praise of others of similar merit^a; when the credit is given partly to chance and partly to God; when praise has already been introduced by others, and the speaker corrects it; when he includes in it certain shortcomings of his own; or when he mentions the hardships endured in winning the praise. But suspicion of vanity is also avoided when the self-praise is beneficial. A man then might praise himself to arouse emulation in his hearers, to check the headstrong, to overawe an enemy or raise the spirits of his friends; and to prevent vice from being commended he might even set his own praises against those of others.

3. Lastly precepts are given for avoiding unseasonable self-praise. There are circumstances of special danger: when we hear others praised, when we recount some lucky exploit of our own (and especially when we tell of praises received), and when we censure others. Those with a craving for glory must be especially careful to abstain from self-praise when praised by others. The best precaution of all is to

virtuous and truthful, and therefore not really guilty of mere vanity. Yet for self-praise, even by such a speaker, to achieve its worthy end it must not alienate the audience, or be *thought* to proceed from a mere hunger for praise.

^a Plutarch hints (542 E) that this device can be used at all times, even when the speaker is under no compulsion to praise himself.

ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE

remember vividly the bad impression made on us by others' praise of themselves.^a

If, as seems likely, the Herculanus to whom the essay is addressed is C. Julius Eurycles Herculanus L. Vibullius Pius (for whom see Groag in Pauly-Wissowa x, coll. 580-585), it belongs to Plutarch's old age. It is No. 85 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

There are Latin translations by Julius Gabriellus (Gabrielli)^b and Thomas Naogeorgus (Kirchmeyer),^c and an Italian translation by L. Domenichi.^d

The text rests on C G Xv I W 3 D RySs hki JK Zab N Mε Vvw Ylfpq. Once a^2 is quoted for a conjecture.

^a In moral treatises of this sort it was common to pass from the disorder to the cure: cf. *Mor.* 510 c-d, 517 c, 536 c-d, and Pohlenz, "Ueber Plutarchs Schrift *περὶ ἀοργησίας*," *Hermes*, xxxi (1896), pp. 328-329.

^b *Quomodo aliquis sese laudare sine invidia possit. Plutarchi libellus ad Herculanium*, à Iulio Gabrielio Eugubino Latine redditus. Rome, 1552.

^c *Plutarchi . . . Libelli septem in latinum conversi, . . .* Thoma Naogeorgo . . . interprete. Basle, 1556.

^d *Opere Morali di Plutarcho*, nuovamente tradotte, per M. Lodovico Domenichi . . . Come altri possa lodarsi da se stesso senza biasimo . . . Lucca, 1560.

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ
ΑΝΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΩΣ¹

1. Τὸ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ² λέγειν ὡς τι ὄντος ἢ δυνα-
μένου πρὸς ἑτέρους, ὧ Ἑρκλανέ,³ λόγῳ μὲν ἐπα-
B χθὲς ἀποφαίνουσιν,⁴ ἔργῳ δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ τὴν ἀηδίαν
αὐτοῦ διαπεφεύγασιν οὐδὲ τῶν ψευδόντων. ὁ γοῦν
Εὐριπίδης εἰπῶν

εἰ δ' ἦσαν ἀνθρώποισιν ὠνητοὶ λόγοι
οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτὸν⁵ εὖ λέγειν ἐβούλετο·
νῦν δ', ἐκ βαθείας γὰρ πάρεστιν αἰθέρος⁶
λαβεῖν ἀμισθί, πᾶς τις ἤδεται λέγων
τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μή· ζημίαν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει·

C φορτικωτάτῃ κέχρηται μεγαλαυχία τῷ συγκατα-
πλέκειν⁷ τοῖς τραγωδουμένοις πάθεσι καὶ πράγμασι
μηδὲν προσήκοντα τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον. ὁμοίως
ὁ Πίνδαρος φήσας

καὶ τὸ καυχᾶσθαι παρὰ καιρὸν μανίαις⁸ ὑπο-
κρέκειν⁹

¹ π. τοῦ ἑαυτ. ἐπ. ἀν.] πῶς ἂν τις ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινέσειεν ἀν. Lam-
prias; ἐν ἄλλῳ περὶ τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινεῖν χρή v^{1mg}
S^{2mg}; π. τοῦ ἐπ. ἀν. y² (y¹ omits).

² ἑαυτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ τί C; αὐτοῦ G^c (αὐτοῦ G^{ac} Vvw).

³ Ἑρκλανέ Kontos and Hatzidakis: ἤρκλανε I² (ἤρκλανε C
G X^{1v} I¹ W DZab M² Vvw); ἡρκλάνε (no accent in y; ἡρκλάνε
fpq).

ON PRAISING ONESELF INOFFENSIVELY

1. IN theory, my dear Herculanus, it is agreed that to speak to others of one's own importance or power is offensive, but in practice not many even of those who condemn such conduct avoid the odium of it. Thus Euripides ^a says :

If speech were got by purchase, there is none
Would care to lay out money on self-praise.
But since the bounteous air provides it free
There's none but dwells with pleasure on his merits
Real or fancied, for it costs him nothing.

Yet he brags most intolerably, interweaving with the calamities and concerns of his tragedies the irrelevant theme of his own praise. Pindar does the like. Though he says ^b

Untimely vaunting plays the tune for madness

^a Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* pp. 675 f., Eur. no. 978.

^b *Olympian Odes*, ix. 41 f.

⁴ ἀποφαίνουσιν D Ry¹S¹s N M Yl : ἀποφαίνουσι πάντες καὶ ἀνελεύθερον.

⁵ αὐτὸν or αὐτὸν] αὐτῶν G Ry¹S¹s¹ hki¹(αὐ- i²) Z N² l².

⁶ αἰθέρος] αἰθρίας D².

⁷ τῷ συγκ. X³ε : καὶ τὸ συγκ. C G¹? X¹v I Ry¹Ss hi K¹t N² M Vvw Yl ; καὶ τῷ συγκ. G⁴k W y² JK¹⁸⁸ Zab N¹ fpq ; συν-καταπλέκων D.

⁸ μανίαις] μανίαισιν Pindar and s ; μανίας X³ W^{ac} M¹ w.

⁹ ὑποκρέκειν (-κέ- M¹)] ὑποκράϊκειν Ry¹S¹ i ; κηθερίζειν ὑποκρέκειν N.

(539) οὐ παύεται μεγαληγορῶν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως, ἀξίας μὲν¹ ἐγκωμίων οὔσης—τίς γὰρ οὐ φησιν;—ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στεφανουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἕτεροι νικῶντας ἀναγορεύουσι, τὴν ἀηδίαν τῆς περι-αυτολογίας ἀφαιροῦντες. ἧ² καὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Φρύνιδος νίκη γράφοντα,

μακάριος ἦσθα, Τιμόθεος,³ εὖτε⁴ κάρυξ⁵
εἶπεν, “ νικᾷ Τιμόθεος
Μιλήσιος⁶ τὸν Κάμωνος⁷ τὸν ἰωνοκάμπταν,”⁸

D εἰκότως δυσχεραίνομεν ὡς ἀμούσως καὶ παρανό-
μως ἀνακηρύττοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκη. αὐτῷ μὲν
γὰρ ὁ παρ’ ἄλλων ἔπαινος ἡδιστον ἀκουσμάτων
ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶρηκεν, ἐτέροις δὲ ὁ περὶ
αὐτοῦ λυπηρότατον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἀναισχύντους
ἠγοῦμεθα τοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας, αἰδεῖσθαι προσ-
ῆκον αὐτοῖς κὰν ὑπ’ ἄλλων ἐπαινῶνται· δεύτερον
δὲ ἀδίκους, ἃ λαμβάνειν ἔδει παρ’ ἐτέρων αὐτοὺς
αὐτοῖς⁹ διδόντας· τρίτον ἢ σιωπῶντες ἄχθεσθαι καὶ
φθονεῖν δοκοῦμεν, ἢ τοῦτο δεδοικότες ἀναγκαζό-
μεθα συνεφέαπτεσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τῶν ἐπαινῶν
E καὶ συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν, πρᾶγμα κολακεία μᾶλλον
ἀνελευθέρῳ προσῆκον ἢ τιμῇ τὸ ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας
ὑπομένοντες.

2. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω τούτων ἐχόντων

¹ μὲν] μὴ y¹; X^{ras}ε y² ab^{ras} omit.

² ἧ (ἧ Yq)] ἧ C¹ G¹ X^{1v} W M¹ Vvw l; N omits.

³ Τιμόθεος Hartung: τιμόθεε.

⁴ εὖτε Wilamowitz: ὅτε (ὅτι G^{ac?} X^{1v}).

⁵ κάρυξ W s k Vvw Y² l² (κάρυξ G¹ v D RyS hi N MC² Y¹l¹fpq): κήρυξ C¹ G³ X³: JK ab (κήρυξ X¹ Z).

⁶ Μιλήσιος Bergk: ὁ μιλήσιος (-εως N).

⁷ Κάμωνος Pollux: κάρωνος D^c (from -να) y; κάρβωνος.

he never wearies of extolling his own powers, which indeed deserve all praise—who denies it?—; but even the winners of the crown at the games are proclaimed victors by others, who thus remove the odium of self-praise. Thus when Timotheüs ^a writes in celebration of his triumph over Phrynis,

O blest wert thou, Timotheüs, when the herald
Called forth: "Timotheüs of Miletus wins
The prize from Camon's son, the modulator
Of soft Ionic cadences,"

we are properly disgusted at this jarring and irregular ^b heralding of his own victory. For while praise from others, as Xenophon ^c said, is the most pleasant of recitals, praise of ourselves is for others most distressing. For first we regard self-praisers as shameless, since they should be embarrassed even by praise from others ^d; second as unfair, as they arrogate to themselves what it is for others to bestow; and in the third place if we listen in silence we appear disgruntled and envious, while if we shy at this we are forced to join in the eulogies and confirm them against our better judgement, thus submitting to a thing more in keeping with unmanly flattery than with the showing of esteem—the praise of a man to his face.

2. Yet in spite of all this there are times when the

^a Frag. 27 (ed. Wilamowitz).

^b It violated the regulations that governed such contests.

^c *Memorabilia*, ii. 1. 31.

^d Cf. Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 128, quoted also by Quintilian, *Education of the Orator*, xi. 1. 22.

⁸ ἰωνοκάμπταν G^{1t} Xu y²S² MC³ Vvw Ypq (-παν C¹ W D Ry¹S^{1s} hki N f [οἰονοκάμπταν l]; -πτην G¹⁸⁸): οἰωνοκάμπτην J¹K; πιτυοκάμπτην Z (-πην ab).

⁹ αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς Kronenberg: αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς (αὐτοὺς X¹).

(539) ἔστιν ἥ παρακινδυνεύσειεν ἂν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ ἄψασθαι τῆς καλουμένης περιαιτολογίας, πρὸς οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἢ χάριν, ἀλλὰ καιροῦ καὶ πράξεως ἀπαιτούσης ὡς περὶ ἄλλου τι¹ λεχθῆναι καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ² τῶν ἀληθῶν³. μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν ἦ τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ προσόντα χρηστὰ μὴ⁴ φεισάμενον εἰπεῖν⁵ διαπράξασθαι τι τῶν ὁμοίων. καλὸν γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔπαινος ἐκφέρει⁶ καρπὸν, ὥσπερ

F ἀπὸ σπέρματος πλειόνων ἐτέρων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κρειττόνων φνομένων ἐπαίνων. καὶ γὰρ τὴν δόξαν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὡς τινα μισθὸν ἢ παραμυθίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ ἀγαπᾷ ταῖς πράξεσι παρούσαν ἀλλ' ὅτι τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν χρηστὸν εἶναι πλειόνων καὶ καλλιόνων πράξεων ἀφορμὰς δίδωσι. πειθομένους γὰρ ἅμα καὶ φιλοῦντας ἠδὺ καὶ ῥάδιον ὠφελεῖν, πρὸς δὲ ὑποψίαν καὶ διαβολὴν οὐκ ἔστι χρήσασθαι τῇ ἀρετῇ, φεύγοντας εὖ παθεῖν προσβιαζόμενον. εἰ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐτέρας αἰτίας⁷

540 ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀν⁸ αὐτὸν ἐπαινέσειε σκεπτόν,⁹ ὅπως ἐξευλαβούμενοι τὸ κενὸν καὶ δυσχεραίνόμενον, εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἔχει μὴ παραλίπωμεν.¹⁰

3. Ἔστιν οὖν κενὸς ἔπαινος ὁ τῶν ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν ὅπως ἐπαινεθῶσι δοκούντων, καὶ καταφρονεῖται μάλιστα, φιλοτιμίας ἔνεκα γίνεσθαι καὶ δόξης ἀκαί-

¹ ὡς περὶ ἄλλου τι Wyttenbach : ὡς περὶ ἄλλο τι K³⁽²⁾ ; ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι (ὥσπερ ἄλλ' ὅτι X^{1v}).

² αὐτοῦ (αὐ-)] αὐτοῦ τι D.

³ ἀληθῶν] ἀληθινῶν W D hki.

⁴ μὴ Pohlenz : τὸ μὴ (τῷ μὴ Dε^{2ss} S^{2s} hki JK w¹ ; τὸν μὴ R ; τῶν μὴ γ^{1s} S¹).

⁵ εἰπεῖν D : εἰπέειν ἦ.

⁶ ἐκφέρει (ἐκφέρεται Z)] ἐπιφέρει C.

⁷ ἐτέρας αἰτίας Pohlenz : ἐτέρας αἰτίας τινὰς D ; ἐτέρας (-ων S^{1t}) τινὸς Rγ^{1ss} ; ἐτέρας τινὰς.

⁸ ἀν] Dε RγSs hk¹ⁱ omit.

statesman might venture on self-glorification, as it is called,^a not for any personal glory or pleasure, but when the occasion and the matter in hand demand that the truth be told about himself, as it might about another—especially when by permitting himself to mention his good accomplishments and character he is enabled to achieve some similar good. For such praise as this yields a handsome return, as a greater harvest of yet nobler praise springs up from it as from a seed. Indeed it is not as a reward or compensation for his merit that the statesman demands recognition and values it when accorded to his acts: he does so rather because the enjoyment of confidence and good repute affords means for further and yet nobler actions.^b For when men are trusting and friendly it is pleasant and easy to do them good; whereas in the presence of distrust and dislike it is impossible to put one's merit to use and force benefits on those who shun them. Whether there are also other reasons for a statesman's self-praise is a question to consider, so that, while avoiding all that is frivolous and offensive in the practice, we may not overlook its possible uses.

3. Now the praise is frivolous which men are felt to bestow upon themselves merely to receive it; and it is held in the greatest contempt, as it appears to aim at gratifying ambition and an unseasonable appetite

^a *Periautologia* (self-glorification) is a technical term in rhetoric: see Introduction, p. 110, note.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 777 E-F, 821 c.

⁹ σκεπτόν Pohlenz: τίνες εἰσὶν αὐται (αὐται X¹) σκ. G X³ ε v W ab; σκ. τίνες εἰσὶν (σκ. τίνες εἰσιν [σκ. τινές εἰ- N¹] N² M Yfpq) αὐται (τίνες αὐται εἰσὶ σκ. J¹K; τίνες [-ος v] σκ. εἰσὶν αὐται Vvw).

¹⁰ παραλείπωμεν (-πο- N)] παραλείπωμεν De²⁸⁸ p¹.

(540) ρου φαινόμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ τροφῆς ἀποροῦντες ἐξ¹ αὐτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀναγκάζονται παρὰ φύσιν τρέφεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ λιμοῦ τέλος ἐστίν, οὕτως οἱ πεινῶντες ἐπαίνων, ἂν μὴ τυγχάνωσιν² ἑτέρων ἐπαινούντων, αὐτοὶ τῇ φιλοδοξίᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπαρκεῖν τι βούλεσθαι καὶ συνεισφέρειν δοκοῦντες ἀσχημονοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ μηδὲ³ ἀπλῶς καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς⁴ ἐπαινείσθαι ζητῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους ἐπαίνους ἔργα καὶ πράξεις ἀντιπαραβάλλωσιν⁵ αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμαυρώσοντες⁶ ἑτέρους, πρὸς τῷ κενῷ βάσκανον πρᾶγμα καὶ κακότητες ποιοῦσιν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ χορῷ πόδα τιθέντα⁷ περιεργον ἢ παροιμία καὶ γελοῖον ἀποδείκνυσι,⁸ τὴν δὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπαίνοις εἰς μέσον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἐξωθουμένην περιαιτολογία ἐὶ μάλα δεῖ φυλάττεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ ἑτέρων ὑπομένειν ἐπαινοῦντων αὐτόν,⁹ ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν τοῖς τιμωμένοις ἀξίοις οὖσιν¹⁰. ἂν δὲ ἀνάξιοι καὶ φαῦλοι δόξωσιν εἶναι, μὴ¹¹ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπαίνοις ἀφαιρώμεθα τοὺς ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἐλέγχοντες καὶ δεικνύντες οὐ προσηκόντως εὐδοκιμοῦντας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δῆλον ὅτι φυλακτέον.

4. Αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπαινεῖν ἀμέμπτως ἐστὶ πρῶτον μὲν

¹ ἐξ] W omits.

² τυγχάνωσιν (-σι X¹γρ¹γρ)] τύχωσιν (-σι X^{1t})v^{1t} I JK Zab M².

³ μηδέ] μὴ G^{ac}.

⁴ αὐτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς Dε γ^{2t} JK Zab M.

⁵ ἀντιπαραβάλλωσιν (-περι- vw)] ἀντιπαραβάλλωσιν R^{ac}γ h^{1?}
N M¹ Yfrq.

for fame. For just as those who can find no other food are compelled to feed unnaturally on their own persons,^a and this is the extremity of famine, so when those who hunger for praise cannot find others to praise them, they give the appearance of seeking sustenance and succour for their vainglorious appetite from themselves, a graceless spectacle. But when they do not even seek to be praised simply and in themselves, but try to rival the honour that belongs to others and set against it their own accomplishments and acts in the hope of dimming the glory of another, their conduct is not only frivolous, but envious and spiteful as well. For the proverb ^b makes of him who sets foot in another's chorus a meddler and a fool; and self-praise that is thrust by envy and jealousy among praises of others should be most diligently avoided; indeed we should not even endure such praise from others, but should give place to those on whom honour is conferred when they deserve it. If we hold them undeserving and of little worth, let us not strip them of their praise by presenting our own, but plainly refute their claim and show their reputation to be groundless. Here then is something we clearly must avoid.

4. In the first place self-praise goes unresented if

^a Cf. *Mor.* 1100 B.

^b Cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* ii, p. 690, and *Mor.* 673 D.

⁶ ἀμανρώσοντες] ἀμανρώσαντες G¹ X^{1v} I W Vvw.

⁷ τιθέντα] κινούντα W.

⁸ ἀποδείκνυσι] δείκνυσι D.

⁹ ὑπ. ἐπ. αὐτόν (αὐτόν s¹ M^c p)] ἐπ. αὐτ. ὑπ. D (ἐπ. ὑπ. αὐτόν ε).

¹⁰ ἀξίους οὐδὲν G X^{1t}εὔ^{1t} W JK M²: ἂν ἄξιοι ὦσιν (-σι X^{1γρ}υ^{1γρ}; ἂν ὦσιν ἄξιοι Zab).

¹¹ μῆ] μῆδὲ D¹ N.

- (540) ἄν¹ ἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιῆς² πρὸς διαβολὴν ἢ κατηγορίαν, ὡς ὁ Περικλῆς· “καίτοι ἐμοὶ τοιούτῳ ἀνδρὶ ὀργίξεσθε³ ὅς οὐδενὸς ἦσσαν οἶομαι εἶναι γνῶναί τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεῦσαι ταῦτα, φιλόπολις τε καὶ χρημάτων κρείσσων.” οὐ γὰρ μόνον
D ἀλαζονείαν καὶ κενότητα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπέφυγε τὸ⁴ λέγειν τι⁵ τηνικαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ⁶ σεμνόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς διαδείκνυσι τῷ⁷ μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι ταπεινούσης καὶ χειρουμένης τὸν φθόνον. οὐδὲ γὰρ κρίνειν ἔτι⁸ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀξιούσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπαίρονται καὶ γάννυνται⁹ καὶ συνενθουσιῶσι ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις, ἄνπερ ὧσι βέβαιοι¹⁰ καὶ ἀληθεῖς, ὡς¹¹ ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα.¹² Θηβαῖοι γοῦν ἐγκαλουμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι τοῦ χρόνου τῆς βοιωταρχίας ἐξήκοντος αὐτοῖς οὐκ εὐθύς ἐπανῆλθον ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐνέβαλον καὶ
E τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην διώκησαν Πελοπίδαν μὲν ὑποπίπτοντα καὶ δεόμενον μόλις ἀπέλυσαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδου δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων μεγαληγορήσαντος, τέλος δὲ φήσαντος ὡς ἔτοιμός ἐστιν ἀποθνήσκειν ἂν ὁμολογήσωσιν ὅτι τὴν Μεσσήνην ᾤκισε¹³ καὶ τὴν Λακωνικὴν διεπόρθησε¹⁴ καὶ συν-

¹ ἄν] G^{ac} omits.

² ποιῆς (ποιήεις X¹[?]; ποιείς Y¹[?]): ποιῆ G^c v I Vvw^c (ποιεῖ G^{ac} w^{ac}).

³ ὀργίξεσθε] ὀργίξεσθαι X¹? v I D^{ac} R^{ac} J¹? N¹ I².

⁴ τὸ] τῷ X³ y² JK fpq.

⁵ λέγειν τι ζ (as Meziriacus had conjectured): λέγειν.

⁶ αὐτοῦ (αὐ-)] ἑαυτοῦ G; αὐτοῦ (av- D; ἑαυ- ε) τι (τί Zab) DεZab.

⁷ τῷ] τὸ G¹ w; τῶν y; τὰ v.

⁸ ἔτι] ἔτι καὶ hki; ἔτι followed by an erasure of six letters in M.

you are defending your good name or answering a charge, as Pericles was when he said ^a :

“ Yet I, with whom you are angry, yield to none, I believe, in devising needful measures and laying them before you ; and I love my country and cannot be bought.”

For not only is there nothing puffed up, vainglorious, or proud in taking a high tone about oneself at such a moment, but it displays as well a lofty spirit and greatness of character, which by refusing to be humbled humbles and overpowers envy. For men no longer think fit even to pass judgement on such as these, but exult and rejoice and catch the inspiration of the swelling speech, when it is well-founded and true.^b The facts confirm this. Thus when the generals were tried on the charge that they had not returned home at once on the expiration of their term as Boeotarchs, but had invaded Laconia and handled the Messenian affair, the Thebans came near to condemning Pelopidas, who truckled to them and entreated mercy ; but when Epameinondas expatiated on the glory of his acts and said in conclusion that he was ready to die if they would admit that he had founded Messenê, ravaged Laconia, and united

^a Thucydides, ii. 60. 5.

^b The rhetoricians observe that the highest eloquence overpowers judgement : cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 42 (178) ; Quintilian, *Education of the Orator*, viii. 3. 3-4 ; and the treatise *On the Sublime*, 1. 4.

⁹ γάννυται ε Ry : γάννυται. ¹⁰ βέβαιοι] και βέβαιοι D.

¹¹ ὡς] ὡσπερ D.

¹² γινόμενα (γιγνόμενα Ss²)] γενόμενα D y¹ ; λεγόμενα V^{2ssw}.

¹³ ᾤκισε G^c v² (-εν W) R^cySs hki JK Zab : ᾤκησε (ᾤκησαι N¹ ; διώκησε X³ε).

¹⁴ τὴν μ. ᾤκ. και τὴν λ. διεπόρθ.] τὴν λ. διεπόρθ. (ἐπόρθ. ε) και μ. (τὴν μ. M² ; μ. M³) ᾤκ. (for μ. ᾤκ. X³ε have τὰ περὶ μ. διώκῃσε) G X^{1v} W J¹K Zab M².

(540) ἔστησεν Ἀρκαδίαν ἀκόντων¹ ἐκείνων, οὐδὲ τὰς ψήφους ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ θαυμάζοντες² τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ χαίροντες ἅμα καὶ γελῶντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. ὅθεν οὐδὲ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ Σθενέλου παντάπασιν αἰτιατέον τό

ἡμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι

F μεμνημένους³ τοῦ⁴

ὦ μοι, Τυδέος υἱὲ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο
τί πτώσσεις; τί δ' ὀπιπεύεις πολέμοιο γεφύρας;

οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας κακῶς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ φίλου λαιδορηθέντος ἡμύνατο, τῇ περιαιτολογίᾳ⁵ παρρησίαν συγγνώμονα⁶ τῆς αἰτίας διδούσης. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι Κικέρωνι μὲν ἐδυσχέρανον ἐγκωμιάζοντι πολλάκις ἑαυτοῦ τὰς περὶ Κατιλίαν πράξεις, Σκιπίωνι⁷ δὲ εἰπόντι μὴ πρέπει αὐτοῖς κρίνειν περὶ Σκιπίωνος,⁸ δι' ὃν ἔχουσι τὸ κρίνειν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, στεφανωσάμενοι συνανέβησαν⁹ εἰς

541 τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ συνέθυσαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δόξης ἐχρῆτο τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, τοῦ δὲ ἀφήρει τὸν φθόνον ὁ κίνδυνος.

5. Οὐ μόνον δὲ κρινομένοις καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυστυχοῦσι μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει μεγαλαυχία καὶ κόμπος ἢ εὐτυχοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἶον ἐπι-

¹ ἀκόντων] ἐκόντων X¹ M¹ Vvw; ἀπόντων J¹ K¹;

² θαυμάζοντες] θαυμάσαντες G.

³ μεμνημένους] μεμνημένοις De.

⁴ τοῦ G⁴ W (του D) JK: τὸ (τέ R).

⁵ τῇ περιαιτολογίᾳ (and so y²⁸⁸?)] τὴν περιαιτολογία G¹ v Z; τὴν περιαιτολογίαν X¹ Ry¹ Ss hki N M¹ Vvw Y¹.

⁶ συγγνώμονα] εὐγνώμονα D.

Arcadia against their will, they did not even wait to take up the vote against him, but with admiration for the man commingled with delight and laughter broke up the meeting.^a Neither then should we altogether blame Sthenelus in Homer^b for saying

Far better men are we than were our sires,

but remember the words^c

For shame ! Why dost thou, valiant Tydeus' son,
Hang back ? Why peer about the paths of war ?

For Sthenelus had not even received the insult himself ; he was answering the affront to his friend, and the imputation gave a pardonable latitude to his self-praise. The Romans again were annoyed with Cicero for frequently vaunting his success with Catiline^d ; but when Scipio said that it ill befitted them to sit in judgement over Scipio, to whom they owed the power to sit in judgement for all mankind, they put garlands on their heads, escorted him to the Capitol, and joined him in the sacrifice. For Cicero boasted not from necessity but for glory ; whereas the peril of the other did away with envy.^e

5. This holds not only of those on trial and in peril ; the unfortunate as well can boast and extol themselves with better grace than the fortunate. For the

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xxv. 2-3 (290 E), and *Mor.* 194 A-C with the note.

^b *Il.* iv. 405 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 29 A.

^c *Il.* iv. 370-371.

^d Cf. Quintilian, *Education of the Orator*, xi. 1. 17.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 196 F and Livy, xxxviii. 50. 12.

⁷ σκηπίωνι X¹, ³v D R^{ac}? J¹(-ονι)K N Yl : σκηπίωνι.

⁸ σκηπίωνος X¹v y²? JK N V¹? Yl : σκηπίωνος.

⁹ συνανέβησαν (and so G⁴) συνέβησαν G¹ v p¹.

- (541) δράττεσθαι τῆς δόξης καὶ ἀπολαύειν χαριζόμενοι τῷ φιλοτίμῳ δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πόρρω φιλοτιμίας διὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὄντες ἐξαναφέρειν πρὸς τὴν τύχην καὶ ὑπερείδειν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ φεύγειν ὅλως τὸ ἐλεεινὸν καὶ συνεπιθρηνοῦν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις καὶ ταπεινούμενον. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν Β ἐπαιρομένους καὶ ὑψαυχενοῦντας ἀνοήτους ἡγούμεθα καὶ κενούς, ἃν δὲ πυκτεύοντες ἢ μαχόμενοι διεγείρωσι καὶ ἀνάγωσιν ἑαυτούς, ἐπαινοῦμεν, οὕτως ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ τύχης σφαλλόμενος¹ ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὀρθὸν καθιστὰς καὶ ἀντίπαλον

πύκτης ὅπως εἰς χεῖρας

ἐκ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ οἰκτροῦ τῇ μεγαλαυχία μεταφέρων εἰς τὸ γαῦρον καὶ ὑψηλόν, οὐκ ἐπαχθῆς οὐδὲ θρασύς ἀλλὰ μέγας εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀήττητος, ὡς πού καὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὁ ποιητῆς μέτριον καὶ ἀνεπίφθονον ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευτᾶν μεγαληγόρον² πεποίηκε λέγοντα

- Γ τοιοῦτοι δ' εἶπερ μοι ἐείκοσιν³ ἀντεβόλησαν·

καὶ Φωκίων τᾶλλα πρᾶος ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν καταδίκην ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς διεδείκνυε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, καὶ πρὸς ἓνα τῶν συναποθνησκόντων ὀδυρόμενον καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντα, “τί λέγεις;” εἶπεν, “οὗτος;⁴ οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς ἀποθνήσκων μετὰ Φωκίωνος;”

6. Ἔτι τοίνυν οὐχ ἥττον ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικουμένῳ τῷ πολιτικῷ δέδοται τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ

¹ σφαλλόμενος (φαλ- M)] σφαλλόμενον G X¹u W.

² μεγαληγόρον X¹u hi N² (from -όρων) M Yl: μεγαλήγορον.

fortunate are felt to lay hands on glory, as it were, and take their pleasure of it in gratification of their pride, but the others, far removed from ambition by their plight, are looked upon as breasting ill-fortune, shoring up their courage, and eschewing all appeal to pity and all whining and self-abasement in adversity. And so, just as we regard those who strut on a walk and hold up their chin as fatuous and vain, but when in boxing or fighting men rise to their full height and hold the head erect, we applaud; so the man cast down by fortune, when he stands upright in fighting posture

Like a boxer closing in,^a

using self-glorification to pass from a humbled and piteous state to an attitude of triumph and pride, strikes us not as offensive or bold, but as great and indomitable. Thus in Homer Patroclus is moderate and inoffensive in success, but boastful in death, when he says^b

Had twenty faced me such as thou . . .

Again Phocion, who was at other times of mild temper, gave after his condemnation many signs of his great spirit, notably when he said to one of those sentenced to die with him, who was lamenting and showing impatience, "What's the matter, my good man? Are you not content to die with Phocion?"^c

6. Further, it is no less, nay even more, permissible for a statesman when wronged to make some boast to

^a Sophocles, *Trachinian Women*, 442. ^b *Il.* xvi. 847.

^c Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxxvi. 3 (758 D); *Mor.* 189 A.

³ εἴκοσιν] εἰείκοσιν M; εἴκοσιν (ει- N¹; εἰ N²) Υλφρ; εἴκοσιν Vvw.

⁴ οὔτος (οὔτως N¹)] ὦ οὔτος J; Θούδιππε Wyttenbach.

(541) πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνωμονοῦντας. ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ὑφίετο τῷ θεῷ τῆς δόξης καὶ μέτριος ἦν λέγων¹

αἶ κέ ποθι Ζεὺς

δῶσι πόλιν Τροίην² εὐτείχεον ἐξαλαπάξαι.

ὑβρισθεὶς δὲ παρ' ἀξίαν καὶ προπηλακισθεὶς ἐφίησι τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν τῇ ὀργῇ.

D δώδεκα δὴ³ σὺν νηυσὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ' ἀνθρώπων

καί

οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσουσι⁴ μέτωπον⁵ ἐγγύθι λαμπομένης.

δέχεται γὰρ ἡ παρρησία, μέρος οὐσα⁶ τῆς δικαιολογίας, τὴν μεγαληγορίαν. ἀμέλει δὲ⁷ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων εἰπὼν οὐδὲ ποιήσας ἐπαχθές, ὀπηνίκα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἑώρα μεστοὺς ὄντας αὐτοῦ καὶ περιορῶντας οὐκ ἐφείδετο λέγειν⁸.

E " τί, ὦ μακάριοι, κοπιᾶτε πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν εὖ πάσχοντες;" καὶ ὅτι " χειμαζόμενοι μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δένδρον⁹ ὑποφεύγετε, γενομένης¹⁰ δὲ εὐδίας τίλλετε παρεξιόντες."

7. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἄλλως ἀδικούμενοι τῶν κατωρθωμένων¹¹ ἐμέμνητο πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνωμονοῦντας· ὁ

¹ λέγων] τῷ λέγειν W.

² τροίην (and so G⁴; τροίην s k J² ab N² f; τροίκυ D; τρώην N¹)] τρωίην G¹ X¹ Y^c1; τρώην Y^{ac}.

³ δὴ W and Homer: γὰρ.

⁴ λεύσουσι] λεύσσουσι De k JK M² w with some mss. of Homer.

⁵ μέτωπον] μέτωπα X¹⁸⁸? hki J¹K with some mss. of Homer.

⁶ οὐσα] οὐσαν D.

⁷ δὲ] s J¹K Vvw omit.

⁸ λέγειν] λέγων J N.

ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE, 541

those who deal hardly with him. Thus Achilles at other times yielded the glory to Heaven and showed his modesty by saying :

If we by Zeus' high will
Shall take at last the lofty walls of Troy ^a ;

but when wrongfully affronted and outraged he let his anger give full course to vaunting :

Twelve cities with my fleet have I made empty ^b
and :

For they see not
The glancing light upon my helm draw nigh. ^c

For the freedom of speech that is involved in a plea for justice gives scope for self-praise. Thus Themistocles neither said nor did anything invidious at the time of his successes ; but when he saw that the Athenians had grown weary of him and indifferent, he did not hesitate to say : “ My innocent friends, why so tired of repeated benefits from the same hands ? ” ^d And again : “ In a storm you take shelter with me, as under a tree ; but in fair weather you pluck the leaves as you pass me by. ” ^e

7. Now the wrongs of these men did not bear directly on the triumphs that they recalled to their

^a Homer, *Il.* i. 128 f. ; quoted also in *Mor.* 29 A.

^b Homer, *Il.* ix. 328.

^c Homer, *Il.* xvi. 70-71.

^d Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxii. 2 (123 A) ; *Mor.* 812 B.

^e Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xviii. 4 (121 A) ; *Mor.* 185 E.

⁹ δένδρον] δένδρων X¹v W ; δένδρον μ' Kronenberg.

¹⁰ γενομένης] γινομένης W 3 R Z N I.

¹¹ κατορθωμένων Stegmann (κατορθωμένων D) ; κατορθωμάτων W h¹k ε ; κατορθουμένων (κατορθουμένων N).

(541) δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ψεγόμενος οἷς κατώρθωκε καὶ¹ παντά-
 πασι συγγνωστός² ἔστι καὶ ἄμεμπτος ἐγκωμιάζων
 τὰ πεπραγμένα· δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ³ ὀνειδίξειν ἀλλ' ἀπο-
 λογεῖσθαι. τοῦτο γοῦν λαμπρὰν τῷ Δημοσθένει
 παρρησίαν ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν κόρον ἀφήρει τῶν ἐπαί-
 νων οἷς παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ τι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 F στεφάνου κέχρηται σεμνυνόμενος οἷς ἐνεκαλεῖτο
 περὶ τοῦ πολέμου πρεσβεύμασι καὶ ψηφίσμασιν.

8. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτου⁴ τεταγμένον ἔχει τινα
 χάριν τὸ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως, ὅταν ἐφ' ᾧ τις ἐγκαλεῖται⁵
 τούτου τούναντίον αἰσχρὸν ἀποδεικνύῃ⁶ καὶ φαῦλον.
 ὡς ὁ Λυκοῦργος ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεικέναι
 τὸν συκοφάντην ἀργυρίου λαιδορούμενος, “εἶτα,”
 ἔφη, “ποιός τις ὑμῖν⁷ δοκῶ εἶναι πολίτης, ὃς τοσοῦ-
 τον χρόνον τὰ δημόσια πράττων παρ' ὑμῖν διδοὺς
 μᾶλλον ἀδίκως ἢ λαμβάνων εἴλημμαι;” καὶ ὁ
 542 Κικέρων, τοῦ Μετέλλου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὅτι
 πλείονας ἀνήρηκε καταμαρτυρήσας ἢ συνηγορήσας
 σέσωκε, “τίς δέ,” εἶπεν, “οὐ φησιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πλεόν
 εἶναι⁸ πίστεως ἢ δεινότητος;” καὶ τὰ Δημο-
 σθένους τοιαῦτα. “τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν⁹ ἀπέκτεινέ με δι-
 καίως εἴ τι τῶν τῇ πόλει καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων λόγῳ
 μόνον¹⁰ αἰσχύνειν¹¹ ἐπεχείρησα;” καὶ “τί ἂν οἴεσθε
 λέγειν τοὺς μιαρῶν τούτους ἀνθρώπους εἰ τότε μου

¹ καὶ] 3 D RySs omit.

² παντάπασι συγγνωστός] παντάπασι γνωστός G¹3; παντάπασι
 ἄγνωστός W.

³ οὐκ] D omits.

⁴ τούτου] τούτων G⁴ W JK Z 1 (?).

⁵ ἐγκαλεῖται] -ῆται G Xu W 3 s²? i Z M² w Y.

⁶ ἀποδεικνύῃ] ἀποδείκνυται 3; ἀποδεικνύει X¹v D S¹ hki N¹?

Υlp.

⁷ ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν v J^{ac}; D omits.

⁸ εἶναι] ἐνεῖναι G Xeu W J¹K Z.

persecutors. But a man reproached for his very triumphs is entirely pardonable and escapes all censure if he extols what he has done. For this, it is felt, is not recrimination^a but self-defence. It was this, for example, that allowed Demosthenes to speak with full freedom and made palatable the self-praise with which he fills nearly the whole oration *On the Crown*, as he glories in the very charges brought against him: his conduct as ambassador and statesman in the war.

8. Not far removed from this is the use of contrast. There is a certain graceful effect in showing that the opposite of what one is charged with would have been shameful and base.^b Thus Lycurgus^c said at Athens when abused for buying off an informer: "What do you think of my character as a citizen, when after all these years in office I am caught giving money dishonestly, instead of taking it?" And when Metellus told Cicero^d that his testimony had killed more men than his pleading had saved, he replied: "Who denies that I am more honest than eloquent?" Such too are the words of Demosthenes^e: "Who would not rightly have condemned me to death if even by word I had tried to sully any of our country's glories?" And "What do you think these blackguards would have said if the cities had deserted us

^a For the word cf. Hermogenes, *How to be Forceful*, chap. 25: ἵνα δοκοῖη τὸν ἔχθρὸν λυπεῖν, μὴ Ἀθηναίους ὀνειδίζειν.

^b Cf. Apsines, *Art of Rhetoric*, chap. vii (pp. 273. 18-274. 20, ed. Hammer).

^c Cf. *Mor.* 842 A-B.

^d Cf. *Life of Cicero*, chap. xxvi. 6 (873 F), and *Mor.* 204 E-205 A.

^e *On the Crown*, 101.

⁹ ἄν (and so G⁴) G¹ X¹ omit.

¹⁰ μόνον] μόνω S N Vvw l.

¹¹ αἰσχύνειν (-ην N) with ms. A of Demosthenes: καταισχύνειν the rest of the mss. of Demosthenes.

(542) *περὶ τούτων*¹ ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπῆλθον αἱ πόλεις;” καὶ ὅλως² ὁ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγος εὐφρευστάταις³ ἀντιθέσει ταῖς⁴ λύσεισι τῶν αἰτιῶν ἐπεισάγει τοὺς ἐπαίνους.

9. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο χρήσιμόν ἐστιν ἐν Β. ἐκείνῳ τῷ λόγῳ καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι μιγνύων ἐμμελέστατα τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀκουόντων ἔπαινον ἀνεπίφθονον ἐποίει καὶ ἀφίλαυτον, οἷους μὲν Εὐβοεῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παρέσχον αὐτούς,⁵ οἷους δὲ Θηβαίοις, ὅσα δὲ Βυζαντίους⁶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ Χερρονησίτας⁷ ἐποίησαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς διακονίας μετεῖναι φάσκων. λανθάνει γὰρ οὕτως ὁ ἀκροατῆς⁸ τοῖς ἰδίους ἐπαίνους συνυποδύμενον τὸν τοῦ λέγοντος ἠδέως προσδεχόμενος,⁹ καὶ χαίρει μὲν¹⁰ ἐφ’ οἷς κατώρθωσε λεγομένοις,¹¹ τῷ δὲ χαίρειν εὐθύς ἔπεται τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν δι’ ὃν¹² κατώρθωσεν. ὅθεν καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας Μενεκλείδου C ποτὲ χλευάζοντος αὐτὸν ὡς μεῖζον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος φρονοῦντα, “δι’ ὑμᾶς γε,” εἶπεν, “ὦ ἄνδρες Θηβαῖοι, μεθ’ ὧν μόνων¹³ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ κατέλυσα τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχήν.”

¹ τούτων] τούτου W.

² ὅλως] ὅλος RySs²: hki fp².

³ εὐφρευστάταις (-es D) RySs hk¹i K¹t N: εὐφρέστατα ταῖς (τὰς Z¹) K¹γ^p and the rest. ⁴ ταῖς Pohlenz: καί.

⁵ οἱ (and so G⁴; G¹ D omit) ἀθ. παρ. αὐτούς (or αὐτοῦς; αὐτοῖς N)] παρ. οἱ ἀθ. αὐτούς (αὐτοῦς Vv) M¹ Vvw.

⁶ βυζαντίους G⁴ S¹ Z N M³ fpq: -ois.

⁷ χερρονησίτας G X¹v W N M² fq (χερρονη- Z p): χερρονησίταις (χερρονησίταις X³ i; χερρονησίταις hk l).

⁸ οὕτως ὁ ἀκροατῆς G⁴: οὕτω τὸν ἀκροατῆν.

⁹ συνυποδύμενον τὸν τοῦ λ. ἠδ. προσδεχόμενος G⁴: σ. τὸ (τὸν W Z²) τοῦ λ. ἠδ. προσδεχόμενον G¹ X W Z¹ fpq; συνεπιδύμενον (συναποδύμενος Vv; -oi w) τὸ τοῦ λ. ἠδ. προσδεχόμενον v hk¹i JK N M Yl; συνεπιδύμενον R (συμπιδύμενον [-os y^{2ss}],

while I was busy quibbling about that ? ”^a And in general the oration *On the Crown* uses the most felicitous contrasts, as each charge is refuted, to introduce self-praise.

9. There is in that oration a further point that it is useful to note : by most harmoniously blending the praises of his audience^b with his own he removed the offensiveness and self-love in his words, praising the Athenians for their conduct toward the Euboeans and toward the Thebans, and for all the good that they had done the people of Byzantium and of the Chersonese, claiming for himself but a share in carrying out instructions.^c For in this way the hearers, taken off guard, accept with pleasure the praise of the speaker, which insinuates itself along with the praise of themselves ; and their delight in the rehearsal of their own successes is followed at once with admiration and approval of him who made them possible. Hence Epameinondas said when Meneleidas derided him as prouder than Agamemnon : “ But it is your doing, men of Thebes ; with your help alone I overthrew the Spartan empire in a day.”

^a *On the Crown*, 240, also quoted in this connexion by Apsines, *Art of Rhetoric*, chap. vii (p. 274. 4-7, ed. Hammer).

^b Cf. Cicero, *On Invention*, i. 16 (22) : “ ab auditorum persona benivolentia captabitur si res ab eis fortiter, sapienter, mansuete gestae proferentur . . . ”

^c *On the Crown*, 80 ff., and especially 88.

y¹; συνεπιδιδόμενος Ss) RySs, omitting the rest; συναποδύμενος ὃς τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ λεγομένοις ἦδεται D.

¹⁰ χαίρει μὲν α² Vvw : χάριν μὲν G¹ X^{1v} W D RySs Z N¹ M¹ Ylfpq; χαίρει μὲν G³ hki K N² M² (χαίρειν J¹, omitting μὲν . . . τῷ δὲ χαίρειν); χαίροντα X^{3ε}.

¹¹ λεγομένοις] ἔχει D; RySs omit.

¹² ὄν] ὄν X¹ RySs hki J².

¹³ μόνων] μόνον υ W J R^{ac} Z w¹.

(542) 10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινοῦντι πολεμουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ σφόδρα καὶ ἄχθονται, τῷ δὲ ἕτερον¹ οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρουσι πολλάκις καὶ συνεπιμαρτυροῦσι προθύμως, εἰώθασιν ἔνιοι τοὺς ταῦτα² προαιρουμένους καὶ πράττοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ ὅλως ὁμοιοτρόπους³ ἐπαινοῦντες ἐν καιρῷ συνοικειοῦν καὶ συνεπιστρέφειν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τὸν ἀκροατὴν· ἐπιγινώσκει⁴ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ λέγοντι, καὶ ἐπεὶ περὶ ἄλλου λέγεται, δι' ὁμοιότητα τὴν ἀρετὴν⁵ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξίαν ἐπαίνων οὔσαν.⁶ ὡς γὰρ ὁ λοιδορῶν ἕτερον οἷς⁷ αὐτὸς ἔνοχός ἐστιν οὐ⁸ λανθάνει λοιδορῶν μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν⁹ ἢ ἐκεῖνον, οὕτως οἱ ἀγαθοὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες ἀναμιμνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς συνειδότας· ὥστε εὐθὺς ἐπιφωνεῖν· “σὺ γὰρ οὐ τοιοῦτος;” Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν¹⁰ Ἡρακλέα τιμῶν καὶ πάλιν Ἀλέξανδρον Ἀνδρόκοττος¹¹ αὐτοῦς¹² εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι προῆγον¹³ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων· Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν Γέλωνα διασύρων καὶ γέλωτα τῆς Σικελίας ἀποκαλῶν ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ φθόνου καθαιρῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως.

E 11. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίστασθαι καὶ παραφυλάττειν¹⁴ τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει. τοὺς δὲ

¹ ἕτερον] ἐτέρους D; ἐτέρω RySs hki.

² ταῦτα (οἱ ταῦτα) X³ J D^c k JK Z N M² Vw frq; ταῦτα.

³ ὁμοιοτρόπους] ὁμοιοτρόπως W R(-ὄτρόπως γ)Ss i^{ac} v; ὁμοιότροπος J.

⁴ ἐπιγινώσκει X³ε D^c(ω from ο) S²s: ἐπιγινώσκειν.

⁵ δι' ὁμ. τὴν ἀρετὴν G⁴ J: ὁμ. ἀρετῆς X³ε; τὴν ὁμ. τῆς ἀρετῆς D: δι' ὁμ. ἀρετῆς.

⁶ τῶν αὐτ. ἀξίαν (-ων W; hk¹i omit) ἐπ. (J omits) οὔσαν] τῶν αὐτ. ἐπ. ἀξίαν οὔσαν J¹K Z; ἐπ. τῶν αὐτ. ἀξίαν οὔσαν Vvw.

⁷ οἷς] ἐφ' οἷς D; W omits.

⁸ οὐ] D omits.

⁹ ἑαυτὸν] αὐτὸν W.

¹⁰ οὖν] γὰρ X³ε,

10. Since towards one who praises himself the generality of men feel a great hostility and resentment, but do not feel so strongly against one who praises another, but often even listen with pleasure and voice their agreement, some, when the occasion allows, are in the habit of praising others whose aims and acts are the same as their own and whose general character is similar. In this way they conciliate the hearer and draw his attention to themselves; for although they are speaking of another, he at once recognizes in the speaker a merit that from its similarity deserves the same praises. For as one who vilifies another in terms that apply to himself does not deceive the audience, which sees that he vilifies himself rather than the other, so when one good man commends another he reminds hearers conscious of his merit of himself, so that they at once exclaim: "And are not you one of these?" Alexander by honouring Heracles, and again Androcottus^a by honouring Alexander, won esteem for themselves for similar merit; whereas when Dionysius^b made sport of Gelon and dubbed him the jest^c of Sicily, he unwittingly in his envy defamed the greatness and majesty of his own power.

11. This the statesman must in any case understand and for this he must seize the proper occasions.

^a Cf. *Life of Alexander*, chap. lxii (699 F).

^b Cf. *Life of Dion*, chap. v. 9 (960 B).

^c *Gelōs* in Greek.

¹¹ Ἀνδρόκοττος Xylander: ἀνδρόκοπος (-όκοτος S² J¹K; -οκόπος Yl).

¹² αὐτοὺς or αὐτοῦς (αὐτὸς X¹)] ἑαυτοῦς D^c (from ἐ-) RySs hki N M Ylfrq.

¹³ προῆγον (and so G⁴)] προήγαγον G¹.

¹⁴ παραφυλάττειν] παραφυλάσσειν G X J¹K Z (φυλάσσειν W).

(542) ἀναγκασθέντας ἐπαινεῖν αὐτοὺς¹ ἐλαφροτέρους παρ-
 ἔχει καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα προσποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ'
 ὡσπερ φορτίου² τῆς δόξης τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν τύχην τὸ
 δὲ εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀποτίθεσθαι. διὸ καλῶς μὲν ὁ
 Ἀχιλλεύς

ἐπεὶ δὴ τόνδ'³ ἄνδρα θεοὶ δαμάσασθαι ἔδωκαν·

καλῶς δὲ Τιμολέων ἐν Συρακούσαις⁴ Αὐτοματίας
 βωμὸν ἰδρυσάμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 Ἀγαθῶ Δαίμονι καθιερώσας· ἄριστα δὲ Πύθων ὁ
 Αἴνιος, ἐπειδὴ Κότυν ἀποκτείνας ἤκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας
 F καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν διαμιλλωμένων τοῖς ἐγκω-
 μίοις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἦσθετο βασκαίνοντας
 ἐνίους καὶ βαρυνομένους, παρελθὼν, “ ταῦτα,” εἶπεν,
 “ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θεὸς τις ἔπραξεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς
 χεῖρας ἐχρήσαμεν.” ἀφήρει δὲ καὶ⁵ Σύλλας τὸν
 φθόνον αἰεὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπαινῶν, καὶ τέλος Ἐπαφρό-
 διτον ἑαυτὸν ἀνηγόρευσε.⁶ μᾶλλον γὰρ εὐτυχίας ἢ
 ἀρετῆς ἠτᾶσθαι βούλονται, τὸ μὲν ἀλλότριον ἀγα-
 θὸν ἠγούμενοι, τὸ δὲ οἰκεῖον ἔλλειμμα καὶ παρ'
 543 αὐτοὺς⁷ γενόμενον.⁸ οὐχ ἥκιστα γοῦν λέγουσιν
 ἀρέσαι Λοκροῖς τὴν Ζαλεύκου νομοθεσίαν ὅτι τὴν
 Ἀθηναῶν ἔφασκεν αὐτῶ φοιτῶσαν εἰς ὄψιν ἐκάστοτε
 τοὺς νόμους ὑψηγεῖσθαι καὶ διδάσκειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ

¹ αὐτοὺς or αὐτοὺς] ἑαυτοὺς W ε l.

² φορτίου X³ε D S²s Z^{e227}: φορτικῶ (φορτικῆς R; φροντικῶ M¹?).

³ τόνδ' G (τόν δ' W D): τόν.

⁴ Συρακούσαις] συρακούσσαις G³ D; συρρακούσαις G¹ Xaras J.

⁵ δὲ καὶ] καὶ J J¹ M Vvw; δὲ h.

⁶ ἀνηγόρευσε (-εν Y¹(ἀνη ss)] προσηγόρευσε (-ἀ- D) RySs h(-εν k¹)i (-εν l¹(ἀνη ss)]f¹(ἀνη ss)]p; προἀνηγόρευσε N; προσηγόρευσεν Y¹¹l¹¹(-ε f¹¹); προσηγηγόρευσε q.

ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE, 542-543

But those who are forced to speak in their own praise are made more endurable by another procedure as well: not to lay claim to everything, but to disburden themselves, as it were, of honour, letting part of it rest with chance, and part with God. For this reason Achilles did well to say

Since I by Heaven's will have slain this man,^a

and Timoleon did well to erect an altar at Syracuse to the Goddess of Accidents in commemoration of his acts, and to consecrate his house to the Good Daemon.^b Best of all is what Python of Aenos did.^c After killing Cotys he had come to Athens and the speakers were outdoing one another in extolling him to the assembly. Noticing that some persons were jealous and disaffected he came forward and said: "This, men of Athens, was the doing of some god; I did but lend my arm." Sulla too got rid of envy by always praising his luck, eventually proclaiming himself the Fortunate.^d For men would rather be bested by luck than by merit, feeling that in the first event another has had an advantage, in the second, that the failure lies in themselves and is their own doing. Thus the code of Zaleucus^e found favour with the Locrians not least, it is said, because he asserted that Athena had constantly appeared to him and had in each case guided and instructed him in his legislation, and that

^a Homer, *Il.* xxii. 379.

^b Cf. *Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxxvi. 6 (253 D); *Mor.* 816 E.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 816 E, 1126 c.

^d *Felix* in Latin, *Epaphroditos* in Greek. Cf. *Life of Sulla*, chap. xxxvi. 6 (253 D); *Mor.* 318 c.

^e Cf. Aristotle, *Frag.* 548 (ed. Rose).

⁷ αὐτοῦς or αὐτοῦς] αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς Ry?Ss hki N M (av- Y) lfpq.

⁸ γενόμενον] γινόμενον X³ε D (γυ- γ) l.

(543) μηδὲν εἶναι διανόημα μηδὲ βούλευμα τῶν εἰσφερομένων.

12. Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως πρὸς τοὺς παντάπασι χαλεποὺς καὶ βασκάνους ἀνάγκη τὰ φάρμακα καὶ τὰ¹ παρηγορήματα μηχανᾶσθαι· πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μετρίους οὐκ ἄτοπὸν ἐστὶ χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἐπανορθώσεσι τῶν ἐπαίνων, εἴ τις ὡς λόγιον ἢ πλούσιον
 B ἢ δυνατόν ἐπαινοίη, κελεύοντα μὴ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰ χρηστὸς καὶ ἀβλαβὴς καὶ ὠφέλιμος. οὐ γὰρ εἰσφέρει τὸν ἔπαινον ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἀλλὰ μετατίθησιν, οὐδὲ χαίρειν δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅτι μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ἐφ' οἷς δεῖ δυσχεραίνειν, καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ φαυλότερα τοῖς βελτίοισιν οὐκ ἐπαινεῖσθαι βουλόμενος ἀλλ' ἐπαινεῖν ὡς² χρῆ διδάσκων. τὸ γὰρ “ οὐ λίθοις ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλίνθοις ἐγώ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν τὸν ἐμὸν τειχισμὸν βούλη³ σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὄπλα⁴ καὶ ἵππους καὶ συμμαχούς ” τοιούτου τινὸς ἔοικεν ἄπτεσθαι. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους
 C ἔτι μᾶλλον· ὀλοφυρόμενοι γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἤδη καταστρέφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ δυσφοροῦντες⁵ οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι τῶν στρατηγιῶν ἐμέμνηντο καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ὅσα δὴ τρόπαια καὶ νίκας καὶ πόλεις Ἀθηναίοις κτησάμενος ἀπολέλοιπεν· ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπαναστὰς ἐμέμψατο αὐτοὺς ὡς κοινὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἓνια μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγκώμια λέγοντας, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ παραλείποντας,⁶ ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν οὐδεὶς Ἀθη-

¹ τὰ φ. καὶ τὰ] τὰ φ. τὰ Stegmann; φ. καὶ Wilamowitz.

² ὡς] ἄ (ἄ D) RySs.

³ βούλη G² W J s M² w fq: βούλει (εἰ βούλει Y²).

nothing he proposed was of his own invention or devising.

12. But it is perhaps for the altogether intractable and envious that such medicines and palliatives must be invented. With the fair-minded it is not amiss to use another device, that of amending the praise: when praised as eloquent, rich, or powerful, to request the other not to mention such points but rather to consider whether one is of worthy character, commits no injuries, and leads a useful life. He that does this does not introduce the praise, but transfers it; and he leaves the impression not of delighting in encomiasts but of being displeased with them for praise that is unbecoming and bestowed for the wrong reasons, using his better points to draw attention from the worse, not from a desire for praise, but to show how to praise aright. Indeed the words "Not with stone did I encircle Athens nor with brick; survey the wall I built and you will discover arms, cavalry, and allies"^a appear to reflect such a procedure. Still more does the saying of Pericles. His friends, we are told, lamented as he lay dying and were disconsolate, recalling his commands and power and the many trophies, victories, and cities he had won and left to Athens. Rallying a moment he rebuked them for extolling what many others had done as well and what was in part the work of fortune rather than of merit, while they passed over the noblest and greatest encomium and his alone, that no Athenian for any

^a Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 299; cf. Hermogenes, *How to be Forceful*, chap. xxv.

⁴ ὄπλα (and so Demosthenes)] καὶ ὄπλα M.

⁵ δυσφοροῦντες G²⁷ X³ε D JK N Y²¹l: δυσφοροῦντος.

⁶ παραλείποντας Dε hki: παραλιπόντας (περι- R).

(543) ναίων μέλαν ἰμάτιον ἀνείληφε. τοῦτο δὴ¹ τὸ παράδειγμα καὶ ῥήτορι δίδωσιν, ἄνπερ ἢ χρηστός, D ἐπαινουμένῳ περὶ λόγου δεινότητα μεταθεῖναι τὸν ἔπαινον ἐπὶ τὸν βίον καὶ τὸ ἦθος· καὶ στρατηγῶ θαυμαζομένῳ δι' ἐμπειρίαν πολεμικὴν ἢ δι'² εὐτυχίαν περὶ πραότητός τι³ καὶ δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ παρρησιάσασθαι· καὶ τούναντίον αὐτὸ πάλιν, ὑπερφυῶν τινων λεγομένων ἐπαίνων, οἷα πολλοὶ κολακεύοντες ἐπίφθονα λέγουσιν, εἰπεῖν·

“ οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτοισιν εἴσκεις ;

ἀλλ' εἴ με γινώσκεις ἀληθῶς ἐπαίνει τὸ ἄδωροδόκητον ἢ τὸ σῶφρον ἢ τὸ εὐγνωμον ἢ τὸ φιλόανθρωπον.” ὁ γὰρ φθόνος οὐκ ἀηδῶς τῷ τὰ μείζονα παραιτουμένῳ τὰ μετριώτερα δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἐγκώμιον οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν τὰ ψευδῆ καὶ κενὰ⁴ μὴ προσδεχομένων. διὸ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὴ θεοὺς μηδὲ παῖδας θεῶν ἀναγορεύεσθαι θέλοντας⁵ ἀλλὰ Φιλαδέλφους ἢ Φιλομήτορας ἢ Εὐεργέτας ἢ Θεοφιλεῖς οὐκ ἤχθοντο ταῖς καλαῖς μὲν ἀνθρωπικαῖς

¹ δὴ] δεῖ γ; δεῖ N¹; W omits.

² δι'] D RySs hki omit.

³ τι] τε D RySs hki M (τε V)vw l.

⁴ ψευδῆ καὶ κενὰ] κενὰ καὶ ψευδῆ W.

⁵ θέλοντας] μέλλοντας X^{3ss} S² M Vvw.

^a Cf. *Life of Pericles*, chap. xxxviii. 3-4 (178 B-E); *Mor.* 186 D; *Julian, Or.* 3 (128 D); and *Eclogae Vaticanae*, 15 (ap. Stobaeus, vol. iii, p. ix Hense). He had not caused the death of political opponents: see H. N. Couch in *Classical Journal*, xxxi (1935-36), pp. 495-499.

^b Homer, *Od.* xvi. 187; also quoted in *Mor.* 81 D.

^c Among the Seleucids Antiochus II, IV, and VI and Demetrius II and III bore the title “god”; and of course all deified rulers were “gods.”

act of his had put on mourning.^a This precedent allows the orator, if meritorious, when praised for eloquence, to transfer the praise to his life and character, and the commander admired for skill or success in war to speak freely of his clemency and justice; and again, when the praise runs on the contrary to extravagance, as with the invidious flattery used by many, it permits one to say :

“ No god am I ; why likenest thou me
To the immortals ? ”^b

If you know me truly, commend my probity, temperance, reasonableness, or humanity.” For to him who declines the greater honours envy is not displeased to grant the more moderate, and does not cheat of true praise those who reject what is false and vain. Hence those kings who were unwilling to be proclaimed a god^c or son of a god,^d but rather Philadelphus^e or Philometor^f or Euergetes^g or Theophiles,^h were ungrudgingly honoured by those who gave them these

^a Thus Alexander was called “ son of Zeus ” (*cf. Life of Alexander*, chap. xxvii. 9, 680 F), Demetrius Poliorcetes “ son of Poseidon ” (*cf. Athenaeus*, vi. 62, 253 c, e).

^e That is “ lover of his (her) brother (sister),” a title of the Seleucids Demetrius II, Antiochus XI, and Philippus, of the Parthian Artabanus I, of Iotapê, queen of Commagenê, of Mithridates IV of Pontus, of the Egyptian monarchs Arsinoê I, Ptolemy II, X, and XIII, Arsinoê II, and Berenicê III, of the Cappadocian king Ariarathes X, and of Attalus II.

^f That is, “ lover of his (her) mother,” a title of Ptolemy VI, VII, X, and XI, Cleopatra II and III, and Berenicê III; of Ariarathes VII, Paerisades IV, and Attalus III.

^g That is, “ benefactor,” a title of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VII, and Ptolemy III, VI, and VII.

^h That is “ dear to God (a god) ” ; we have found no such royal title.

(543) δὲ ταύταις προσηγορίαις τιμῶντες. ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τῶν γραφόντων καὶ λεγόντων βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τὸ τῆς¹ σοφίας ἐπιγραφομένους ὄνομα² χαίρουσι τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἢ προκόπτειν ἢ τι τοιοῦτο³ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνεπίφθονον καὶ μέτριον λέγουσιν. οἱ δὲ ῥητορικοὶ σοφισταὶ τὸ “ θείως ” καὶ τὸ “ δαιμονίως ”⁴ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεισι προσδεχόμενοι καὶ τὸ “ μετρίως ” καὶ τὸ “ ἀνθρωπίνως ” προσαπολλύουσιν.

13. Καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμιῶντας ἐνοχλεῖν φυλαττόμενοι τοῖς ἄγαν λαμπροῖς σκιάν τινα παραμιγνύουσιν, οὕτως ἔνιοι τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπαίνους μὴ παντελῶς λαμπροὺς μηδὲ ἀκράτους προσφέροντες, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ἐλλείψεις ἢ ἀποτεύξεις ἢ ἀμαρτίας ἐλαφρὰς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀφαιροῦσι τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῶν καὶ νεμεσητόν. ὥσπερ ὁ Ἐπειός, οὐ μέτρια περὶ τῆς⁵ πυκτικῆς εἰπὼν καὶ θρασυνάμενος⁶ ὡς ἀντικρὺ χροῶα τε ῥήξει σύν τ’ ὅστε’ ἀράξει,⁷

ἢ⁸ οὐχ ἄλις,

φησίν,⁹

ὅττι μάχης ἐπιδεύομαι;

544 ἀλλ’ οὗτος¹⁰ μὲν ἴσως γελοῖος¹¹ ἀθλητικὴν ἀλαζονεῖαν δειλίας καὶ ἀνανδρίας ἐξομολογήσει παραμυθούμενος· ἐμμελῆς δὲ καὶ χαρίεις ὁ λήθην τινὰ καθ’ αὐτοῦ¹² λέγων ἢ ἄγνοιαν ἢ φιλοτιμίαν¹³ ἢ πρὸς

¹ τὸ τῆς W X³ D v : τῆς. ² ὄνομα] τοῦνομα Pohlenz.

³ τοιοῦτο] τοιοῦτον G Ss M Vvw.

⁴ δαιμονίως] δαιμονίως καὶ τὸ μεγάλως X ; μεγάλως v¹γρ.

⁵ τῆς] Xε omit.

⁶ θρασυνάμενος G² X³ε W D Ry hi N Vv Ylfrq : θρασυνόμενος.

⁷ ῥήξει σύν τ’ ὅστε’ ἀράξει (-τέα ῥάξει D) Homer and D : ῥήξει (ῥήξηι W). ⁸ ἢ Bern. from some mss. of Homer : ἦ.

noble yet human titles. So again, while men resent the writers and speakers who assume the epithet "wise," they are delighted with those who say that they love wisdom ^a or are advancing in merit, or put forward some other such moderate and inoffensive claim. Whereas the rhetorical sophists who at their displays of eloquence accept from the audience the cries of "how divine" and "spoken like a god" lose even such commendation as "fairly said" and "spoken as becomes a man."

13. Again, as those who would spare the susceptibilities of sufferers from sore eyes temper with shade whatever is unduly brilliant, so some do not present their own praise in all its brilliance and undimmed, but throw in certain minor shortcomings, failures, or faults, thus obviating any effect of displeasure or disapproval. Thus Epeius says after his extravagant talk about boxing and his vaunt that a blow from him would rip clean through the skin and smash the bones ^b:

Nay is it not enough
That I am slack in war? ^c

But he indeed is perhaps ridiculous for mitigating his athlete's bragging by a confession of cowardice and unmanliness. There is tact, however, and grace in one who tells of some slip of his own or some mistake or

^a Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 278 D.

^b Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 673.

^c Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 670.

⁹ φησὶν is put after μάχης in W.

¹⁰ οὗτος (οὗτος M¹) οὕτως X¹υ N¹.

¹¹ γελοῖος] γελοῖως W.

¹² αὐτοῦ W (αυ- D; αὐτοῦ h²; ἑαυτοῦ X³ε): αὐτὸν or αὐτὸν (αυτὸν γ).

¹³ φιλοτιμίαν] φιλονεκίαν D.

(544) τινα μαθήματα καὶ λόγους ἀκρασίαν¹ ὡς ὁ Ὀδυσσεύς·

αὐτὰρ ἐμὸν κῆρ
ἦθελ' ἀκούμεναι, λῦσαι δ' ἐκέλευον ἑταίρους
ὀφρύσι νευστάζων,

καὶ πάλιν·

B ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθόμην—ἦ² τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον
ἦεν—
ὄφρ' αὐτόν τε³ ἴδοιμι, καὶ εἴ μοι ξείνια⁴ δοίη.

καὶ ὅλως ὅσαι μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχυραὶ μῆδ'⁵ ἀγενεῖς ἀμαρτίαι, παρατιθέμεναι⁶ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιροῦσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πενίας καὶ ἀπορίας⁷ καὶ νῆ Δία δυσγενείας ἐξομολόγησιν ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις παρεμβάλλοντες⁸ ἀμβλυτέρῳ τῷ φθόνῳ χρώνται. καθάπερ Ἀγαθοκλῆς χρυσά⁹ ποτήρια καὶ τορευτὰ τοῖς νέοις προπίνων ἐκέλευσε καὶ κεραμεῶ¹⁰ κομισθῆναι, καὶ “ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν,” ἔφη, “ τὸ ἐνδελεχές καὶ φιλόπονον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον·

C ἡμεῖς πάλαι¹¹ ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνα ποιοῦμεν.” ἔδοκει γὰρ ἐν κεραμείῳ¹² τεθράφθαι διὰ δυσγένειαν καὶ πενίαν ὁ Ἀγαθοκλῆς, εἶτα συμπάσης ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐβασίλευσε Σικελίας.

14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἕξωθέν ἐστιν ἐπεισάγεσθαι

¹ ἀκρασίαν Meziriacus : ἀκρόασιν (ἀκρόασιν ὀλιγωρίαν D).

² ἦ] ἦ G¹ X³ YI.

³ αὐτόν τε (-όν ται N¹) αὐτόν τ' G⁴ Xu W D hki JK Z Ylfrq ; αὐτόν G¹.

⁴ ξείνια] ξεινήϊα G Xu with mss. G P² U of Homer ; ξείνια JK.

⁵ μῆδ' Gk Z JK : μῆ δέ.

⁶ παρατιθέμεναι (-οι υ J¹K)] περιτιθέμεναι D R(-αιναι γ)Ss.

⁷ ἀπορίας Wytttenbach : ἀπειρίας.

feeling of ambition or weakness for some piece of instruction or information, like Odysseus :

But my heart
Was fain to hear, and nodding with my brows
I bade my mates unbind me ^a

and again :

I hearkened not—far better had it been—
For I would see the man himself, and hoped
To have from him some hospitable gift. ^b

And in general when faults not altogether degrading or ignoble are set down beside the praise they do away with envy. Many also blunt the edge of envy by occasionally inserting into their own praise a confession even of poverty and indigence or actually of low birth. Thus when Agathocles ^c at a banquet was presenting the young men with cups of enchased gold he ordered earthen cups also to be brought and said : “ You see what perseverance, diligence, and courage can do ; I once fashioned cups of clay ; I now fashion them of gold.” For Agathocles was believed to have been brought up in the potter’s trade because of his low birth and poverty ; and from this state he rose to become king of well-nigh the whole of Sicily.

14. These antidotes for self-praise we can introduce

^a Homer, *Od.* xii. 192-194.

^b Homer, *Od.* ix. 228-229.

^c *Cf. Mor.* 176 E.

⁸ παρεμβάλλοντες (and so G⁴)] παραβάλλοντες G¹; παραμβάλλοντες N¹.

⁹ χρυσᾶ] χρυσά X^{1v}? W D¹ y.

¹⁰ κεραμεᾶ X^{3ε} D RySs hki J² Z: κεράμεια G X^{1?ν} J^{1?K} N M² Ylφρ; κεράμια ν^{ac} W M¹ w; κεράμεια Vv f.

¹¹ πάλαι] πάλαι μὲν M³.

¹² κεραμείω] κεραμίω G¹ X^{1v} W.

(544) φάρμακα τῆς περιαιτολογίας· ἕτερα δὲ αὐτοῖς τρό-
πον τινὰ τοῖς ἐπαινουμένοις ἔνεστιν· οἷς καὶ¹ Κάτων
ἐχρήτο φθονεῖσθαι λέγων ὅτι τῶν ἰδίων ἀμελεῖ καὶ
τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖ, διὰ τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ τό

πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ᾧ παρῆν ἀπραγμόνως
ἐν τοῖσι πολλοῖς ἠριθμημένῳ στρατοῦ
ἴσον μετασχεῖν τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τύχης ;

καὶ τό

ὀκνῶν² δὲ μόχθων τῶν πρὶν ἐκχέαι χάριν
καὶ τοὺς παρόντας³ οὐκ ἀπωθοῦμαι πόνους.

D ὡς γὰρ οἰκίαν καὶ χωρίον, οὕτω καὶ δόξαν οἱ
πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς προῖκα καὶ ραδίως ἔχειν
δοκοῦσιν, οὐ τοῖς πριαμένοις πόνων πολλῶν καὶ
κινδύνων φθονοῦσιν.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀλύπως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως,
ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησίμως καὶ ὠφελίμως προσιοιστέον
ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐπαίνους, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο πράττειν ἀλλ'
ἕτερόν τι διὰ τούτου⁴ δοκῶμεν, ὅρα πρῶτον εἰ προ-
τροπῆς⁵ ἔνεκα⁶ καὶ ζήλου καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῶν ἀκου-
όντων αὐτὸν ἂν τις ἐπαινέσειεν, ὡς⁷ ὁ Νέστωρ τὰς
ἑαυτοῦ διηγούμενος ἀριστείας καὶ μάχας τὸν τε
Πάτροκλον παρῶρμησε⁸ καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα πρὸς τὴν

¹ καὶ] W omits.

² ὀκνῶν Cohet: ὀκνῶ.

³ παρόντας D: πίπτοντας (πιτνοῦντας Valckenarius).

⁴ διὰ τούτου] διατοῦτο G (διὰ τοῦτο k) l; 3 omits.

⁵ προτροπῆς] προκοπῆς D.

from outside ; others are in a way inherent in the very content of the praise. Such Cato used when he said that he was envied for neglecting his own affairs and spending sleepless nights to serve his country.^a So too with the lines

I wise ? I could have rested at my ease
Unmarked among the mass of those who served
And shared an equal fortune with the wisest

and

Since I would not my former credit lose
So hardly won, I take upon myself
This present task as well.^b

For it is with reputation and character as with a house or an estate : the multitude envy those thought to have acquired them at no cost or trouble ; they do not envy those who have purchased them with much hardship and peril.^c

15. It is not enough, however, to praise ourselves without giving offence and arousing envy ; there should be some use and advantage in it as well, that we may appear not merely to be intent on praise, but to have some further end in view. Consider first, then, whether a man might praise himself to exhort his hearers and inspire them with emulation and ambition, as Nestor by recounting his own exploits and battles incited Patroclus^d and roused the nine cham-

^a Cf. *Life of Cato the Elder*, chap. viii. 15 (340 F).

^b Euripides, *Philoctetes*, Frags. 787 and 789 (Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* pp. 616-617).

^c For this chapter cf. Cicero, *De Oratore*, ii. 52 (210).

^d Homer, *Il.* xi. 655-762.

⁶ ἔνεκα] εἴνεκα W.

⁷ ὥς G Xu W ζ JK Z : ὡσπερ.

⁸ παρώρμησε] παρώρμισε X¹ N M¹ Yl ; ἐξώρμησε hk¹ (lacuna of 16 letters followed by σε i).

(544) μονομαχίαν¹ ἀνέστησεν. ἡ γὰρ ἔργον ὁμοῦ καὶ
 Ε λόγον ἔχουσα προτροπὴ καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ζῆ-
 λον οἰκείον ἔμφυχός² ἐστὶ καὶ κινεῖ καὶ παροξύνει
 καὶ μεθ' ὀρμῆς καὶ προαιρέσεως ἐλπίδας ὡς ἐφι-
 κτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀδυνάτων παρίστησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν
 Λακεδαιμόνι χορῶν ἄδουσιν οἱ μὲν τῶν γερόντων·

ἀμές³ ποτ'⁴ ἡμέσ⁵ ἄλκιμοι νεανίαί,

οἱ δὲ τῶν παίδων·

ἀμές⁶ δέ γ' ἐσσόμεσθα⁷ πολλῶ κάρρονες,⁸

οἱ δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων·

ἀμές⁹ δέ γ' εἰμές¹⁰. αἱ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο,¹¹

Φ καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰ πλησίον
 καὶ οἰκεία παραδείγματα τοῖς νέοις δι' αὐτῶν τῶν
 εἰργασμένων ἐκτιθέντος.

16. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καταπλήξεως ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ
 συστολῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ ταπεινώσαι καὶ λαβεῖν
 ὑποχείριον τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ ἰταμόν οὐ χεῖρόν ἐστι

¹ μονομαχίαν] μοναρχίαν W; συμμαχίαν Z; μοναχίαν N¹.

² ἔμφυχός] εὐφυχός D.

³ ἀμές Bergk: ἄμες X M¹ Ylfq (ἄμες G¹ v JK M²); ἄμμες
 (and so G³ and *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. 3 [53 B]).

⁴ πότ' (ποτ D; ποτ' Vvw fp)] πόθ' (ποθ' k Y) RySs hki N
 M¹ Yl; ποη X¹(?); ποῆ v; ποκ' *Life of Lycurgus*, *ibid.*

⁵ ἡμέσ S¹:ss^s1ss M Y (ἡμέσ Ry; ἡμέσ N l); ἡμεν (ἡμεν D;
 εἰμεν fq).

⁶ ἀμές Bergk: ἄμες M¹ Y¹lfq (ἄμες G¹ Xu JK M² p):
 ἄμμες (and so G³; ἄμμες Y^{ar}).

⁷ ἐσσόμεσθα D M²: ἐσσόμεθα (ἐσόμεθα G v Ry Z Vvw l); ε
 followed by a lacuna in hk¹i.

⁸ κάρρονες (κάρροντες v; κάρρονες S hk¹ Z; κάρσωνες J¹K)
 κάρρωνες N M¹ Y (κάρωνες l).

⁹ ἀμές Bergk: ἄμες M¹ Ylfpq (ἄμες G¹ Xu JK M²): ἄμμες
 (and so G³).

pions to offer themselves for the single combat.^a For exhortation that includes action as well as argument and presents the speaker's own example^b and challenge is endued with life: it arouses and spurs the hearer, and not only awakens his ardour and fixes his purpose, but also affords him hope that the end can be attained and is not impossible. Therefore in the Spartan choruses the old men sing^c:

Time was when we were valiant youths;

the boys sing:

So we shall be, and braver far;

and the young men:

So now we are: you need but look.

Here the legislator acted well and like a statesman in proposing to the young examples close at hand and taken from their own people, employing as spokesmen the very men whose actions were to be their model.

16. But there are also times when in order to overawe and restrain the hearer and to humble and subdue the headstrong and rash, it is not amiss to make

^a Homer, *Il.* vii. 123-160; cf. Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 35 (p. 153. 6-10, ed. Keil).

^b Cf. Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 141 (p. 186. 23 f., ed. Keil).

^c *Carm. Pop.* 17, ed. Diehl; cf. *Life of Lycurgus*, chap. xxi. 3 (53 B), and *Mor.* 238 A.

¹⁰ εἰμές Bergk: εἰμέν (εἰμεν G¹ D; εἰμεν i; εἰμέν h; εἰμέν k); εἰμεν X^{1v} N M¹ Yl.

¹¹ αἱ δὲ λῆς (variously accented) αὐγάσδεο (-άσδεο W^{R2} S² M² Vvw; -άδεο G Xu W Z Yl; -άδεος M¹[?]; -άδες N): αἱ δὲ λῆς πείραν λάβε D RyS^{1s} hk¹ (αἱ δὲ λῆς πείρ followed by a lacuna i); ἦν θέλης πείραν λάβε (θέλεις W^{R3mg}) J¹K M^{2γρ}; ἦν θέλης πείραν λάβε· αἱ δὲ λῆς αὐγάσδεο fpq.

(544) κομπάσαι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαληγορήσαι, καθάπερ αὖ πάλιν ὁ Νέστωρ·

ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείοισιν ἠέπερ ὑμῖν
ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα, καὶ οὐ ποτέ μ' οἷ γ' ἀθέριζον.

545 οὕτω δῆ¹ καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ² Ἀριστοτέλης οὐ μόνον ἔφη τοῖς πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν ἐξεῖναι μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θεῶν³ δόξας ἀληθεῖς ἔχουσι. χρήσιμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς ἐχθροὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα·

δυστήνων δέ τε παῖδες ἐμῷ μένει ἀντιώωσιν·

καὶ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μεγάλου δέ⁴ καλουμένου ὁ Ἀγησίλαος, “τί δ' ἐμοῦ⁵ γε μείζων ἐκείνος, εἰ μὴ καὶ δικαιότερος;” καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγοροῦντας ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας· “ἡμεῖς μέντοι⁶ ὑμᾶς βραχυλογοῦντας ἐπαύσαμεν.”

B Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἐχθροὺς⁷ καὶ πολεμίους· τῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ⁸ πολιτῶν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ τοὺς θρασυνομένους καταστορέσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ταπεινοτέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιφόβους καὶ καταπλήγας ἐξᾶραι πάλιν καὶ παρορμηῆσαι χρησάμενον ἐν δέοντι μεγαλαυχία. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κῦρος παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰς μάχας “ἐμεγαληγόρει,” ἄλλοτε “δὲ οὐ μεγαληγόρος ἦν.”⁹ καὶ Ἀντίγονος ὁ δεύτερος

¹ δῆ] δὲ M; ε Vvw omit.

² ὁ] 3 D J N omit.

³ θεῶν (θαίων γ)] θεῶν Wac N.

⁴ δέ] D omits.

⁵ δ' ἐμοῦ (δὲ ἐμοῦ N)] δέ μου G X¹v W 3.

⁶ μέντοι] μὲν γε D; μὲν τε RySs.

⁷ ἐχθροὺς] τοὺς ἐχθροὺς W.

⁸ καὶ] καὶ τῶν G.

⁹ μεγαληγόρος (so N M Y; -ήγορος) ἦν] JK Zab omit.

ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE, 544-545

some boast and extol oneself. To quote Nestor once more :

Time was I served
With better men than you, and never these
Disdained my counsel.^a

So too Aristotle ^b said to Alexander that not only the rulers of a great empire have a right to be proud but also those with true opinions about the gods. Useful too against public and private enemies are such remarks as these :

Unhappy they whose sons oppose my power,^c

and Agesilaüs^d saying about the King of the Persians (who was called "Great") : "Wherein greater than I, if not more just?" And Epameinondas^e reply to the Lacedaemonians when they denounced the Thebans : "We have at any rate put a stop to your Laconic speech."

These however are against enemies public and private ; among friends and countrymen we can not only calm and chasten the overbold, but also restore and rouse the spirits of the terrified and timorous by a seasonable recourse to self-praise. Thus in danger and in battle Cyrus "boasted, but at other times was not given to high talk."^f And Antigonus the Second^g

^a Homer, *Il.* i. 260-261. Cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lvii. 4.

^b Frag. 664 (ed. Rose) ; cf. *Mor.* 78 D, 472 E.

^c Homer, *Il.* vi. 127, quoted also by Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 108 (p. 176, ed. Keil).

^d Cf. *Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. xxiii. 9 (608 F) ; *Mor.* 78 D, 190 F, 213 C.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 193 D.

^f Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedeia*, vii. 1. 17, also referred to by Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 105 (pp. 174-175, ed. Keil).

^g Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. 4 (278 D), and *Mor.* 183 D.

(545) τὰλλα μὲν ἦν ἄτυφος¹ καὶ μέτριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ περὶ Κῶ² ναυμαχίᾳ τῶν φίλων τινὸς εἰπόντος, “ οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὄσω πλείους³ εἰσὶν αἱ πολέμια νῆες ; ” “ ἐμὲ C δέ γε αὐτόν, ” εἶπεν, “ πρὸς πόσας⁴ ἀντιτάττετε ; ” καὶ τοῦτο δὲ ἔοικεν συνιδεῖν Ὅμηρος· τὸν γὰρ Ὀδυσσεῖα πεποίηκεν ἀποδειλιώντων τῶν ἐταίρων πρὸς τὸν ψόφον καὶ κλύδωνα τὸν περὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν ἀναμιμνήσκοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ δεινότητος καὶ ἀνδρείας·

οὐ μὲν δὴ⁵ τόδε μείζον ἔπι⁶ κακὸν ἢ ὅτε⁷ Κύκλωψ⁸ εἶλει ἐνὶ σπῆι γλαφυρῶ κρατερῆφι⁹ βίηφι· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔνθεν ἐμῇ ἀρετῇ βουλή τε νόω τε ἐκφύγομεν.

οὐ γάρ ἐστι δημαγωγούντος οὐδὲ σοφιστιῶντος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔπαινος οὐδὲ κρότον οὐδὲ ποππυσμὸν αἰτουῦντος,¹⁰ ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐνέ- D χυρον τοῦ θαρρεῖν τοῖς φίλοις διδόντος. μέγα γὰρ ἐν καιροῖς ἐπισφαλέσι πρὸς σωτηρίαν δόξα καὶ πίστις ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἔχοντος.

17. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ πρὸς ἔπαινον ἀλλότριον καὶ δόξαν ἀντιπαραβάλλειν¹¹ ἑαυτὸν ἥκιστα πολιτικόν, εἴρηται πρότερον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ὅπου βλάπτει καὶ

¹ ἄτυφος] ἄταφος G^c y ; ἀντυφος X¹.

² Κῶ (κῶι Gagas Xaras W J¹? M¹ Y^{ac})] κῶν M².

³ πλείους] πλέους W.

⁴ πόσας] πάσας D RySs hk¹i N M Vvw Y¹.

⁵ μὲν δὴ k² and Homer : μὴν.

⁶ τόδε μείζον ἔπι (ἔπει, ἔπει) most mss. of Homer : τόδε μείζον οἱ W N (οἱ M) Vvw (μέ- N Y) lfrq ; τότε δὲ μέζον (τ. δε μεζον v) οἱ X¹v ; τοῦτό γε μείζον G X³ ; οἱ τότε μείζον D RySs hk¹i ; τόδε μείζον J¹K Zab.

was ordinarily sober and moderate, but in the sea-fight off Cos, when one of his friends said, "Do you not see how greatly the enemy's ships outnumber ours?" he replied, "Yes, but against how many do you, my friends, set *me*?" This too Homer appears to have understood, for he represents Odysseus, when his men were dismayed at the noise and raging waters of Charybdis, as recalling to them his own skill and stout heart :

No greater peril this than when by force
The Cyclops penned us in his hollow cave ;
Yet from that cave my manhood and my wit
Availed to save us.^a

This is not the self-praise of a demagogue or would-be sophist or of one who courts plaudits and cheers,^b but of a man who offers his virtue and understanding to his friends as security against despair. For at critical moments a successful outcome may depend largely on the regard and confidence that are placed in some man who possesses the experience and talents of a leader.

17. That it is most unstatesmanlike to pit oneself against the praise and fame of others was said earlier^c; yet where mistaken praise injures and corrupts by

^a Homer, *Od.* xii. 209-212.

^b Literally "tongue-smacking."

^c Chapter 3, *supra*.

⁷ ἢ ὅτε X³ D RySs (lacuna in h)k¹(... ὅτε i) M²: ἢ ὀπότῃ G; ποτῃ X^{1v} W N M¹ Ylfpq; οἷόν ποτῃ J¹K Zab Vvw.

⁸ Κύκλωψ (κέκλωψ γ; κύκλωψε N; κύκλω w) W omits.

⁹ κρατερῆφι G¹ Xeu Vvw Homer: κρατερῆ γε (and so G⁴; καρτερῆ γε M).

¹⁰ αἰτοῦντος] ποιῶντος RySs hk (ποιῶν followed by a lacuna i) J²:mεg Zab N M¹ Vvw Ylf²γ²p.

¹¹ ἀντιπαραβάλλειν] ἀντιβάλλειν D Ry² (from -άλειν) Ss^c hk¹i.

- (545) διαφθείρει ζῆλον ἐμποιωῶν πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα καὶ προ-
αίρεσιν πονηρὰν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις ἡμαρτη-
μένος ἔπαινος, οὐκ ἄχρηστον¹ ἐκκροῦσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ
ἀποστρέψαι² τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τὴν δια-
φορὰν ἐνδεικνύμενον. ἀγαπήσειε γὰρ ἂν τις οἶμαι
E λαιδορουμένης κακίας καὶ ψεγομένης ἐθέλοντας
ἀπέχεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄρων· εἰ δὲ προσλάβοι
δόξαν ἢ κακία καὶ τῷ καθ' ἡδονὰς αὐτῆς ἢ³ πλεον-
εξίας ἄγοντι προσγένειτο τιμῇ⁴ καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμεῖν,
οὐκ ἔστιν εὐτυχῆς οὕτως⁵ οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὰ φύσις ἧς
οὐκ ἂν κρατήσειεν. διὸ δεῖ⁶ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐπαίνοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἄνπερ⁷ ἦ
φαῦλα, πολεμεῖν τὸν πολιτικόν· οὗτοι γὰρ διαστρέ-
φουσι καὶ τούτοις τὸ μιμῆσθαι τὰ αἰσχυρὰ καὶ
ζηλοῦν ὡς καλὰ συνεισέρχεται.
- F Μάλιστα δὲ ἐξελέγχονται τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς παρατι-
θεμένοις· οἷον ὁ τῶν τραγωδιῶν ὑποκριτῆς Θεό-
δωρος εἰπεῖν ποτε πρὸς τὸν κωμικὸν λέγεται Σάτυ-
ρον ὡς οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι τὸ γελᾶν ποιεῖν τοὺς
θεατὰς ἀλλὰ τὸ δακρῦειν καὶ κλαίειν· ἂν δέ γε οἶμαι⁸
πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτὸν εἶπη φιλόσοφος ἀνὴρ, “ ἀλλ’ οὐ
τὸ ποιεῖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, κλαίειν καὶ δακρῦειν, τὸ δὲ
παύειν λυπουμένους καὶ κλαίοντας σεμνόν ἐστιν,”
ἐπαινωῶν ἑαυτὸν⁹ ὠφελεῖ τὸν ἀκούοντα καὶ μετατί-
θησι τὴν κρίσιν. οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος
τῶν Θεοφράστου μαθητῶν, “ ὁ ἐκείνου χορός,” ἔφη,

¹ ἄχρηστον G D RySs hk¹i: ἄχρηστόν ἐστιν.

² ἀποστρέψαι] ἀποτρέψαι ε M¹ Vvw.

³ ἦ] καὶ D; ἐκ RySs hk¹i.

⁴ τιμῇ] το μὴ M¹; μὴ Vw; v omits.

⁵ εὐτυχῆς οὕτως] οὕτως εὐτυχῆς De RySs hki.

⁶ δεῖ (and so G⁴)] δὴ G¹? X¹?v Za^{ac} N¹.

⁷ ἄνπερ] ἂν D RySs i N Vvw.

arousing emulation of evil and inducing the adoption of an unsound policy where important issues are at stake, it is no disservice to counteract it, or rather to divert the hearer's purpose to a better course by pointing out the difference. One would be well content, I think, to see the multitude, when vice is denounced and censured, willing to abstain from it ; but if vice should acquire good standing, and if honour and reputation should be added to its temptations in the way of pleasure or profit, there is no human nature so fortunate or strong as not to succumb. It is not then with the praise of persons, but with that of acts, when they are vicious, that the statesman must wage war. For this sort of praise perverts ; it brings with it the imitation and emulation of what is shameful as if it were noble.

Such praise is best shown for what it is when true praise is set beside it. For example the tragic actor Theodorus ^a once remarked, it is said, to the comedian Satyrus that there was nothing wonderful in making the audience laugh, but in making them weep and lament. Now I think if a philosopher replies to this same Theodorus : " Sir, it is not making men lament and weep, but putting an end to sorrow and lamentation that is admirable," this self-praise ^b benefits the hearer and corrects his judgement. Thus Zeno ^c said of the great number of Theophrastus' pupils : " His

^a Theodorus and Satyrus were celebrated actors of the fourth century. The story is apparently not told elsewhere.

^b Consolation was a recognized function of a philosopher.

^c Cf. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 280 ; cf. *Mor.* 78 D.

⁸ ἂν δέ γε οἶμαι] ἄμεινον δ' οἶμαι, ἂν D.

⁹ ἑαυτὸν G X¹εῦ W J¹K : γὰρ (γὰρ ὡς γ) ἑαυτὸν.

546 “ μείζων, οὐμὸς δὲ συμφωνότερος.” καὶ ὁ Φωκίων ἔτι τοῦ Λεωσθένους εὐημεροῦντος¹ ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐρωτώμενος τί τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸν πεποίηκεν, “ οὐδέν,” εἶπεν, “ ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸ² ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ στρατηγούντος ἐπιτάφιον λόγον μὴ εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἐν τοῖς πατρώοις μνήμασι θάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀποθνήσκοντας.” πάνυ δὲ χαριέντως καὶ ὁ Κράτης πρὸς τό

ταῦτ’ ἔχω ὅσσοι ἔφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα³ καὶ μετ’
ἔρωτος
τέρπν’ ἔπαθον⁴

ἀντέγραψε τό

ταῦτ’ ἔχω ὅσσοι ἔμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ
Μουσῶν

B σέμν’ ἐδάην.

καλὸς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἔπαινος καὶ ὠφέλιμος καὶ διδάσκων τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἀντὶ τῶν κενῶν καὶ περιττῶν. διὸ τοῦτο μὲν συγκατατετάχθω τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα.

18. Λείπεται δὲ ἡμῖν,⁵ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἀπαιτοῦντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος, εἰπεῖν ὅπως⁶ ἂν ἕκαστος ἐκφύγοι τὸ ἐπαινεῖν ἀκαίρως ἑαυτόν. μέγα γὰρ ἢ περιαιτολογία τὴν φιλαυτίαν ὀρμητήριον ἔχουσα καὶ τοῖς πάνυ δοκοῦσι μετρίως ἔχειν πρὸς

¹ εὐημεροῦντος (and so G^{1γρ})] εὐδοκιμοῦντος G^{1τ}.

² ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸ D : ἀλλὰ τοῦτο (ἀλλ’ ἢ τοῦτο G⁴ ε ; ἀλλ’ ἢ τοῦτο τὸ JK).

³ ἐφύβρισα W D RySs hki JK : ἐνύβρισα (-ησα N¹).

⁴ καὶ μετ’ ἔρωτος (μεθ’ ἔρωτος W ; μετ’ ἔρωτα S^{2γρ}) τέρπν’

is the larger chorus, mine the more harmonious." And while Leosthenes still prospered in his campaign Phocion replied when the speakers asked what service *he* had done the state: "Only that when I was general you speakers delivered no funeral oration, as all who died were buried in their family graves."^a And the lines

This have I: what I ate, what with high hand
I seized, the lover's soft delight^b

were very happily answered by Crates^c when he wrote

This have I: what I learned, what with deep thought
I grasped, the Muses' stern delight.

Such praise as this is good and helpful, teaching admiration and love of the useful and profitable rather than of the vain and superfluous. So let this point take its place with the others in our discussion of the subject.

18. As the discussion now requires and invites us to proceed to the next point, it remains to state how we may each avoid unseasonable self-praise. Boasting has in self-love a powerful base of operations, and we can often detect its assaults even against those

^a Cf. *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxiii. 2 (751 F). The dead in war were buried in a public grave: cf. Thucydides, ii. 34. 5.

^b Cf. G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Graec. Frag.* i. 308-311, and *Mor.* 330 F with the note (where read *Philology* for *Philosophy*). The lines passed for the epitaph of Sardanapalus: cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 35 (101).

^c Frag. 8 (ed. Diels).

ἔπαθον G Xv W S²γρ JK Z M²: ἡδὲ (εἰ δὲ h; ἡ δὲ M¹ V; καὶ w) μετ' ἔρωτος (μετέρωτος D) τέρφθην (τέρφην y; ἐτέρφθην w).

⁵ ἡμῖν] ὑμῖν JK N.

⁶ ὅπως] πῶς Wilamowitz.

(546) δόξαν ἐμφαίνεται¹ πολλάκις ἐπιτιθεμένη. καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν ὑγιεινῶν ἓν ἐστὶ παραγγελμάτων τὸ τὰ C νοσώδη χωρία φυλάττεσθαι παντάπασιν ἢ προσέχειν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ γινόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἔχει τινὰς ἢ περιαιτολογία καιροὺς καὶ λόγους² ὀλισθηροὺς καὶ περιφέροντας εἰς³ αὐτὴν ἐκ πάσης προφάσεως.

Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπαίνοις, ὡσπερ εἴρηται, τὸ φιλότιμον ἐξανθεῖ τὴν περιαιτολογίαν· καὶ τις αὐτὸ καταλαμβάνει δακνόμενον⁴ καὶ γαργαλιζόμενον οἷον ὑπὸ κνησμοῦ δυσκαρτέρητος ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὄρμη⁵ πρὸς δόξαν, ἄλλως τε κἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις ἕτερος ἢ⁶ τοῖς ἐλάττωσιν ἐπαινῆται.⁷ καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ πεινῶντες ἐτέρων ἐσθιόντων ἐν D ὄψει μᾶλλον ἐρεθίζονται καὶ παροξύνονται τὴν ὄρεξιν,⁸ οὕτως ὁ τῶν⁹ πλησίον ἔπαινος ἐκκαίει τῇ ζηλοτυπία τοὺς πρὸς δόξαν ἀκρατῶς¹⁰ ἔχοντας.

19. Δεύτερον αἱ¹¹ τῶν εὐτυχῶς καὶ κατὰ νοῦν πεπραγμένων¹² διηγήσεις λαιθάνουσι¹³ πολλοὺς εἰς μεγαλαυχίαν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐκφέρουσαι καὶ κόμπον· ἐμπεσόντες γὰρ εἰς τὸ λέγειν νίκας τινὰς¹⁴ αὐτῶν¹⁵ ἢ κατορθώσεις ἐν πολιτεύμασιν ἢ παρ' ἡγεμόσι πράξεις καὶ λόγους εὐδοκιμήσαντας οὐ κρατοῦσιν οὐδὲ μετριάζουσιν. ᾧ γένει μάλιστα τῆς περιαιτολογίας τὸ αὐλικὸν¹⁶ ἰδεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν

¹ ἐμφαίνεται (-φέ- N¹)] ἐμφύεται M².

² λόγους] τόπους Reiske.

³ εἰς] D RySs omit.

⁴ δακνόμενον (and so G²)] γινόμενον. G¹ ; γινόμενον v¹γρ J.

⁵ ὄρμη (-ῆ i)] ὄργη G¹ (ὁ- X¹)v W J¹?

⁶ ἢ] ἦ G¹ (ἦι X¹)v RySs.

⁷ ἐπαινῆται] ἐπαινεῖται G¹ X¹v S¹ N M¹ V¹v Yl.

⁸ τὴν ὄρεξιν] W omits : πρὸς ὄρεξιν hk.

⁹ τῶν G Xev W JK Z : τοῦ.

who are held to take but a modest interest in glory. For as one of the rules of health is either to avoid unwholesome places altogether, or being in them to take the greater care, so with self-love: there are certain treacherous situations and themes that make us blunder into it on the slightest occasion.

First, when others are praised, our rivalry erupts, as we said,^a into praise of self; it is seized with a certain barely controllable yearning and urge for glory that stings and tickles like an itch, especially when the other is praised for something in which he is our equal or inferior. For just as in the hungry the sight of others eating makes the appetite sharper and keener, so the praise of others not far removed inflames with jealousy those who are intemperate in seeking glory.

19. Second, in telling of exploits that have been lucky and have turned out according to plan, many are so pleased with themselves that before they know it they have drifted into vainglorious boasting. For once they come to talk of some victory or political success or act or word of theirs that found favour with leading men, they get out of hand and go too far.^b To this sort of self-glorification one may observe that courtiers and the military most readily succumb.

^a Chapter 3, *supra*.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 630 B ff.

¹⁰ ἀκρατῶς] ἀκράτως W.

¹¹ αἰ] δὲ αἰ Vvw.

¹² πεπραγμένων] πεπραχότων W.

¹³ λανθάνουσι X^{3ε} D hki: λαμβάνουσι.

¹⁴ τινὰς] G omits.

¹⁵ αὐτῶν or αὐτῶν G Xu W JK Vvw: ἐαυτῶν.

¹⁶ τὸ αὐλητικὸν G^{4mg} X^{1v} D RySs hki J² N M¹ Yl: τὸ αὐλητικὸν G¹; τὸ ναυλικὸν X^{rec mg}; τὸ ναυτικὸν J¹K Vvw; τὸ ναυτικὸν M² W^{R2} fpq; W is wanting.

(546) ἀλίσκομενον. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ πότων¹

Ε ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἐπανήκουσι τοῦτο πάσχειν ἐπιεικῶς· μεμνημένοι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν συγκαταπλέκουσι περὶ αὐτῶν εὐφημίας τινὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἰρημένας, καὶ νομίζουσιν οὐχ αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν ἀλλ' ἐτέρων ἐπαίνους διηγείσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν γενομένους. οἱ δὲ ὄλως οἴονται λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅταν βασιλέων καὶ αὐτοκρατόρων δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἀπαγγέλλωσιν, ὡς οὐχ αὐτῶν ἐπαίνους, ἀποδείξεις δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιεικείας καὶ

Φ φιλανθρωπίας διεξιόντες. ὅθεν εὖ μάλα δεῖ προσέχειν ἑαυτοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἐτέρων ἐπαίνους, ὅπως καθαροὶ καὶ ἀνύποπτοι φιλαυτίας καὶ περιαντολογίας ὦσιν καὶ μὴ δοκῶμεν “ Πάτροκλον πρόφασιν,” σφᾶς δ' αὐτοὺς δι' ἐκείνων² ἐπαινεῖν.

20. Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ψόγους καὶ τὰς καταϊτιάσεις γένος ἐπισφαλές ἐστι καὶ παρέχον ἐκτροπὰς τοῖς περὶ δόξαν νοσοῦσιν. ὧ μάλιστα περιπίπτουσιν οἱ γέροντες ὅταν εἰς τὸ³ νουθετεῖν ἐτέρους καὶ κακίζειν ἔθνη φαῦλα καὶ πράξεις ἡμαρτημένας προαχθῶσι, μεγαλύνοντες αὐτοὺς ὡς περὶ
547 ταῦτά⁴ θαυμασίους δὴ τινὰς γενομένους. τούτοις⁵ μὲν οὖν, ἂν μὴ μόνον ἔχωσιν ἡλικίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἀρετήν, δοτέον (οὐ γὰρ ἀνωφελές ἀλλὰ μέγα,⁶ ζῆλον ἐμποιοῦν ἅμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ τοῖς οὕτω

¹ πότων D^{1t}: τόπων (and so D^{1ss}; W is wanting).

² ἐκείνων] ἐκείνον C G¹.

³ εἰς τὸ] εἰ (εἰ R?) τὸ RySs; 3 omits.

⁴ ταῦτά Pohlenz: ταῦτα.

But it may also attack those who have returned from a governor's banquet or from handling affairs of state. For with the mention of illustrious and royal personages they interweave certain gracious remarks that these personages have addressed to them, and fancy that they are not praising themselves but recounting praise received from others. Some even suppose that the self-praise is quite unobserved by their audience when they report the greetings, salutations, and attentions of kings and generals, feeling that what they recite is not their own praise but proofs of the courtesy and affability of others. We must therefore look warily to ourselves when we recount praise received from others and see that we do not allow any taint or suggestion of self-love and self-praise to appear, lest we be thought to make Patroclus our excuse,^a while we are really singing our own praise.

20. But the topic of censure and reproof also has its dangers and offers opportunities of deviation to those who suffer from a morbid craving for glory. Here old men especially go astray: once they have been drawn into admonishing others and rating unworthy habits and unwise acts, they magnify themselves as men who in the like circumstances have been prodigies of wisdom. These indeed, if not merely distinguished by years but by reputation and merit as well, must have licence. What they do is not unprofitable—far from it—: it arouses emulation and a kind of ambition in the persons so rebuked. But the

^a Cf. Homer, *Il.* xix. 302, where the slave women lament ostensibly the death of Patroclus, but in reality their own woes: see Eustathius *ad loc.* and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 294.

⁵ τούτοις] τούτους X¹v J.

⁶ μέγα v J D R hki N: μέγαν.

(547) *κολαζομένοις*). οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι σφόδρα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ δεδιέναι τὴν ἐκτροπὴν ταύτην ὀφείλομεν. ἀνιαροῦ γὰρ ὄντος¹ ἄλλως καὶ μόλις ἀνεκτοῦ τοῦ τῶν πλησίον² ἐλέγχου καὶ δεομένου πολλῆς εὐλαβείας ὁ μιγνύων ἔπαινον ἴδιον ἀλλοτρίῳ ψόγῳ καὶ δι' ἀδοξίας ἐτέρου δόξαν αὐτῷ θηρώμενος ἐπαχθῆς παντάπασι καὶ φορτικός ἐστιν, ὡς ἐνευδοκιμεῖν³ ἀσχημονοῦσιν ἄλλοις βουλόμενος.

21. Ἔτι τοίνυν τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς γέλωτας⁴ Β εὐκαταφόροις φύσει καὶ προχείροις μάλιστα φεύγειν προσήκει καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς γαργαλισμοὺς καὶ τὰς ψηλαφήσεις ἐν αἷς τὰ λειότατα τοῦ σώματος ὀλισθάνοντα⁵ καὶ συρρέοντα κινεῖ καὶ συνεξορμᾷ τὸ πάθος· ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἐρρυνήκασιν, τούτοις⁶ ἂν τις οὐχ ἥκιστα παραινέσειεν ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινεῖν ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων ἐπαινῶνται. δεῖ γὰρ ἐρυθριᾶν ἐπαινούμενον, οὐκ ἀπερυθριᾶν, καὶ καταστέλλειν τοὺς μέγα τι περὶ αὐτῶν λέγοντας, οὐκ ἐλέγχειν⁷ ὡς ἐνδεέστερον ἐπαινοῦντας· ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες C αὐτοὶ καὶ προσεμφοροῦντες ἄλλας τινὰς πράξεις καὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἄχρι οὗ⁸ τῷ⁹ παρ' αὐτῶν¹⁰ καὶ τὸν¹¹ παρ' ἐτέρων ἔπαινον διαφθείρῳσιν. ἔνιοι μὲν οὖν

¹ ὄντος] ὄντως C^{ac} X^{aras} N.

² πλησίον (and so G⁴)] πλησίων G¹ X^{1v} R^{1ss} N.

³ ἐνευδοκιμεῖν] εὐδοκιμεῖν RySs hk¹ⁱ v.

⁴ γέλωτας C (γελωτας X^r) D S^{2γρ} hki JK^{1γρ} M² Y^{2lfrq} : γελῶντας (and so K^{1t}).

⁵ ὀλισθάνοντα Bern.: ὀλισθαίνοντα (ὀ- C¹; -αι- in an erasure in Y).

⁶ τούτοις] τούτους G¹.

⁷ ἐλέγχειν (ἔχειν s; ἐλέγχων N)] ἐπελέγχειν C.

⁸ ἄχρι οὗ G¹ X^v W : ἄχρις οὗ (οὗ from οὗ C) G³ JK Z M² Vvw frq; ἄχρις ἂν Dε RySs hk¹ⁱ; ἄχρις N M¹ Yl.

rest of us must carefully avoid and be wary of this deviation. For to point out the faults of our neighbours in any case gives pain, can hardly be borne, and requires great tact; but when a man intermingles praise of himself with censure of another, and uses another's disgrace to secure glory for himself, he is altogether odious and vulgar, as one who would win applause from the humiliation of another.^a

21. Again, as those who are naturally prone and prompt to laugh should take special care to avoid being tickled or so handled that the smoothest particles^b of the body glide and flow together and thus bring on and precipitate the fit, in the same way those with a too ardent weakness for fame should especially be advised to abstain from praising themselves when they are praised by others. For you should blush when praised, not be unblushing^c; you should restrain those who mention some great merit of yours, not find fault with them for doing you scant justice, as most do, going on themselves to recall and gorge^d themselves on other actions and feats of prowess until by thus commending themselves they undo the commendation of others. Now some^e tickle these men

^a The word *eneudokimein* may have been suggested by Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 198.

^b An atomistic explanation: cf. *Mor.* 765 c, 766 E for a similar explanation of love.

^c Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 128; Menander, frag. 527 (vol. ii, p. 176 Körte).

^d Cf. the comparison of the appetite for praise with hunger (540 A-B and 546 c-D, *supra*).

^e Cf. *De Garrulitate*, chap. 20.

⁹ τῶ X³ε D : τὸν (τῶν C M¹).

¹⁰ παρ' αὐτῶν Xylander (παρ' ἐαυτῶν X³ε): περὶ αὐτῶν or περὶ αὐτῶν.

¹¹ καὶ τὸν] καὶ τῶν D J N Y^ac|f^q (καὶ K¹).

(547) *κολακεύοντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ γαργαλίζουσι καὶ φυσῶσιν, ἔνιοι δὲ κακοήθως οἷόν τι δέλεαρ μικρὸν εὐλογίας ὑποβάλλοντες ἐκκαλοῦνται τὴν περιαιτολογίαν, οἱ δὲ¹ προσπνυθάνονται καὶ διερωτῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ τὸν στρατιώτην, ἵνα γελάσωσιν·*

—*πῶς² τὸ τραῦμα τοῦτ' ἔχεις ;*
—μεσαγκύλω.—πῶς πρὸς θεῶν ;—ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρὸς τεῖχος ἀναβαίνων . . . ἐγὼ μὲν δεικνύω ἐσπουδακῶς, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἐπεμυκτήρισαν.

D 22. Ἐν ἅπασιν οὖν τούτοις εὐλαβητέον ὡς ἐνι μάλιστα μῆτε συνεκπίπτοντα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις μῆτε ταῖς³ ἐρωτήσεσιν ἑαυτὸν προϊέμενον. ἐντελεστάτῃ⁴ δὲ τούτων εὐλάβεια καὶ φυλακὴ τὸ προσέχειν ἑτέροις ἑαυτοῦς⁵ ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ μνημονεύειν ὡς ἀηδὲς τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ λυπηρὸν ἅπασι⁶ καὶ λόγος ἄλλος οὐδεὶς⁷ οὕτως ἐπαχθῆς οὐδὲ βαρῦς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχοντες εἰπεῖν ὅ τι πάσχομεν ἄλλο κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦς ἐπαινούντων ὥσπερ φύσει βαρυνόμενοι τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ φεύγοντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἀναπνεῦσαι σπεύδομεν· ὅπου καὶ⁸ κόλακι καὶ παρασίτῳ καὶ

E δεομένῳ δύσοιστον ἐν χρεῖα καὶ δυσεγκαρτέρητον⁹ ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων πλούσιός τις ἢ σατράπης ἢ βασιλεύς, καὶ συμβολὰς ταύτας ἀποτίνειν μεγίστας

¹ οἱ δέ] οἱ W.

² πῶς] πῶς δὴ D.

as it were by flattery and puff them up ; others maliciously throw out a little tribute as a kind of bait to elicit self-praise ; still others press for details and interrogate them for the fun of it, as with Menander's ^a soldier :

—What made this scar ?—A javelin.—O please
Tell us the story.—I was on a ladder
Scaling a wall . . . I in all seriousness
Proceed to demonstrate ; and then once more
They sneered at me.

22. In all these circumstances we cannot be too cautious, not allowing ourselves to be drawn out by the praise nor to be led on by the questions. The surest precaution and safeguard is to attend closely to the self-praise of others and to remember the distaste and vexation that was felt by all : no other kind of talk is so odious or offensive. For although we can point to no further harm than the mere hearing of the self-praise, yet as though instinctively irked by the performance and uncomfortable we are eager to escape and breathe freely again. Why even a flatterer, a hanger-on, a man in need, finds it hard in his necessity to stomach and endure a rich man or satrap or king bestowing praises on himself, and calls it the most exorbitant reckoning he ever paid. Wit-

^a Frag. 745 (vol. ii, p. 234 Körte).

³ ταῖς] ἐν ταῖς W^s.

⁴ ἐντελεστάτη (and so G⁴) ἐντελέστατα ἢ υ I W^s (ἐντελέστατον ἢ G¹ X).

⁵ ἐαυτοῦς] ἐαυτοῖς C¹ X¹υ I W^s.

⁶ ἅπασι] ἐν ἅπασι W^s Z.

⁷ ἄλλος οὐδείς] οὐδείς ἄλλος G ; οὐδείς R.

⁸ ὅπου καὶ D and Reiske : ὅπως RySs ; ὅπου.

⁹ δυσεγκαρτέρητον C G^{ατ}α^β? Xυ I W^s : δυσκαρτέρητον.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(547) λέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ·

σφάττει¹ με, λεπτὸς γίνομ' εὐωχούμενος·
τὰ σκώμμαθ'² οἶα τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά³.
οἶος⁴ δ'⁵ ἀλαζών, ἔστιν ἀλιτήριος.⁶

ταῦτα γὰρ οὐ πρὸς στρατιώτας μόνον οὐδὲ νεο-
πλούτους εὐπάρυφα καὶ σοβαρὰ διηγήματα περαι-
νοντας,⁷ ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους
καὶ στρατηγούς ὠγκωμένους⁸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς καὶ με-
γαληγοροῦντας εἰωθότες πάσχειν⁹ καὶ λέγειν, ἂν
μνημονεύωμεν ὅτι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπαίνοις ἀλλότριος
F ἔπεται ψόγος ἀεὶ καὶ γίνεται τέλος ἀδοξία τῆς
κενοδοξίας ταύτης, καὶ τὸ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας,
ὡς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησὶν, περίεστιν, οὐ τὸ¹⁰ δοκεῖν
εἶναι τοιούτους, ἀφεξόμεθα τοῦ λέγειν περὶ αὐτῶν,
ἂν μή τι μεγάλα¹¹ μέλλωμεν ὠφελεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἢ τοὺς
ἀκούοντας.

¹ σφάττει] σφάτει Xv I W^{sac}.

² σκώμμαθ' (and so G⁴)] σκώμαθ' C² (ὦ from ὠ) G¹ X^{1v} I
W^s S w Yl.

³ τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικά] τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ σοφὰ G.

⁴ οἶος (οἶος C²)] οἶο C¹; οἶς RySs hk¹i N.

⁵ δ'] Xε omit; δι- N.

⁶ ἀλιτήριος v²; I W^s (ὁ ἀλιτήριος N; ἀλητήριος X¹): ἀλιτήριος
(-λη- R^{ac}? J v^{ac}?).

ness the character in Menander ^a :

He murders me. The feasting makes me thin.
 Good God ! The wit ! The military wit !
 What airs he gives himself, the blasted windbag !

These are the feelings and language to which we are prompted not only by soldiers and the newly rich with their flaunting and ostentatious talk, but also by sophists, philosophers, and commanders who are full of their own importance and hold forth on the theme ; and if we remember that praise of oneself always involves dispraise from others, that this vainglory has an inglorious end, the audience being left, as Demosthenes ^b says, with a feeling of vexation, not with any belief in the truth of the self-portrait, we shall avoid talking about ourselves unless we have in prospect some great advantage to our hearers or to ourselves.

^a Frag. 746 (vol. ii, p. 234 Körte).

^b *On the Crown*, 128.

⁷ περαιίνοντας (and so G⁴; παι- N; -ες X¹? w; -ος s)]
 παραινοῦντας G¹.

⁸ ὠγκωμένους nos (ὄγκωμένους N; ὄγκουομένους W⁸): ὄγκου-
 μένους.

⁹ πάσχειν W⁸: φάσκειν.

¹⁰ οὐ τὸ] οὐ τῶ X¹v I; οὕτω J¹K.

¹¹ τι μεγάλα] τινα μεγάλα Dε; τι μέγα Z and Reiske.

ON THE DELAYS OF THE
DIVINE VENGEANCE
(DE SERA NUMINIS VINDICTA)

INTRODUCTION

THIS is perhaps the most admired of Plutarch's philosophical writings. Proclus ^a transcribed and adapted large portions of it in antiquity. In modern times it has received high praise from Christians as diverse in belief as Joseph de Maistre ^b and A. P. Peabody. ^c In an American edition we find this note ^d :

^a In "The Ten Objections Brought Against Providence" (*περὶ τῶν δέκα πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀπορημάτων*), preserved in the translation of William of Moerbeke, and published in Victor Cousin, *Procli Philosophi Platonici Opera Inedita . . .* (Paris, 1864), second edition, coll. 76-145. The borrowings, confined to the eighth and ninth "objections," were apparently first pointed out by A. Chassang in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale* edited by Dr. Hoefer, Paris, Didot, vol. xl, p. 509, *s.v.* "Plutarque."

^b Cf. Joseph de Maistre, *Sur les délais de la justice divine . . .* (Paris, 1858), pp. ii-iii : "Enfin je ne vois pas trop ce qu'on pourrait opposer à cet Ouvrage, parmi ceux des anciens philosophes. On trouvera sans doute ça et là, et dans Platon surtout, des traits admirables, de superbes éclairs de vérité ; mais nulle part, je crois, rien d'aussi suivi, d'aussi sagement raisonné, d'aussi fini dans l'ensemble."

^c A. P. Peabody, *Plutarch on the Delay of the Divine Justice* (Boston, 1885), p. xxvi : "The most remarkable of all Plutarch's writings, the most valuable equally in a philosophical and an ethical point of view, and the most redolent of what we almost involuntarily call Christian sentiment, is that 'On the Delay of the Divine Justice,' . . ."

^d *Plutarch on the Delay of the Deity in Punishing the Wicked*, Revised Edition, with Notes, by Professors H. B. Hackett and W. S. Tyler, New York, 1868, p. 66, note.

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

It is within the knowledge of the writer that the reading of this very treatise of Plutarch, which we are about to examine, had a salutary effect on the mind of Professor Tholuck, at a time when he was inclined to scepticism, and was among the providential means of leading him to find the best solution of his doubts in the teachings of the Bible.

To the translations listed in the Preface may be added, apart from others that we have not seen,^a those of Bilibaldus Pirckheymerus,^b Joseph de Maistre,^c Charles W. Super,^d and Georges Méautis.^e

Quietus,^f to whom the dialogue is addressed, is presumably the same as the Quietus of the *De Fraterno Amore* (478 B), where a brother Nigrinus is mentioned, and of the *Quaestiones Convivales* (632 A), where it is implied that he had administered a pro-

^a J. G. Berndt, *Zwei Abhandlungen*, 1) Axiochus. 2) Vom Verzuge der göttlichen Strafen. Stendal, 1784.

Dialogo di Plutarco del tardo gastigo della Divinità, tradotto dall' Ab. Sebastiano Ciampi. Florence, 1805.

Plutarchus over het Verwyl der goddelyke straffe: uit het Grieksch vertaald, met aantekeningen door C. Groen, Dordrecht, 1826.

^b *Plutarchi . . . de his qui tarde a Numine corripuntur libellus*. Nuremberg, 1513.

^c *Sur les délais de la justice divine dans la punition des coupables*; ouvrage de Plutarque, nouvellement traduit, avec des additions et des notes . . . Lyons and Paris, 1816.

^d *Between Heathenism and Christianity*: Being a translation of Seneca's *De Providentia*, and Plutarch's *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, together with Notes, Chicago, New York, Toronto, 1899.

^e *Des délais de la justice divine par Plutarque*. Traduction nouvelle, précédée d'une introduction et accompagnée de notes explicatives. Lausanne, 1935.

^f Here and in the *De Fraterno Amore* the restoration of the name is due to Patzig. In our dialogue the archetype had κύνε; in the *De Fraterno Amore*, κύντε.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

vince. Perhaps he is the T. Avidius Quietus, senator and sometime proconsul of Achaia,^a mentioned by the younger Pliny in a letter assigned to the year 102 (*Ep.* vi. 29. 1)^b in language that implies he was no longer living. If the letter is correctly dated, and if this identification of Quietus is right, we could infer that the dialogue was written before 103. There was, however, a second T. Avidius Quietus, who was consul in 111 and proconsul of Asia shortly before 127.^c Pohlenz^d identifies Plutarch's friend with this younger man on the ground that the essay *De Fraterno Amore* is subsequent to the essays *De Amicorum Multitudine* and *De Adulatore et Amico*; but the date of none of the three essays is known,^e and the friendship of Plutarch's addressee with Sosius Senecio is chronologically more appropriate to the older man.^f Plutarch's mention of a brother named Nigrinus also favours this identification. There appear to have been an older and a younger Avidius Nigrinus, generally taken to be father and son. The father was

^a Cf. Groag and Stein, *Prosop. Imp. Rom. Saec. I. II. III.* Pars I² (1933), no. 1410, pp. 288 f.

^b Cf. A. von Premerstein, "C. Julius Quadratus Bassus," in *Szb. d. bayr. Ak., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, no. 3 (Munich, 1934), p. 84, note 4.

^c Cf. Groag and Stein, *op. cit.* no. 1409, pp. 287 f.; Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* vi, col. 18, s.v. "Avidius" 7a; J. and L. Robert, *Hellenika*, vol. vi (Paris, 1948), pp. 82 f.

^d *Plutarchi Moralia*, vol. iii recc. et emendd. W. R. Paton, M. Pohlenz, W. Sieveking (Leipzig, 1929), p. 221. Pohlenz accepts Brokate's view of the chronological relation of the three essays involved: cf. K. Brokate, *De Aliquot Plut. Libellis* (Göttingen, 1913), pp. 17 ff.

^e Cf. G. Hein, *Quaestiones Plut.* (Berlin, 1916).

^f Cf. *Mor.* 478 B, 632 A. Sosius Senecio was consul in 99: cf. Groag in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. iii A, coll. 1180 ff., s.v. "Q. Sosius Senecio."

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

probably the brother of the elder Quietus, the son the cousin of the younger.^a

Thespesius, the hero of the myth, is doubtless a fiction of Plutarch's. The name was chosen for its meaning, *thespesios* being often used of things divine and strange.^b "Aridaeus," the name borne by Thespesius before his vision, may be none other than the Ardiaeus of Plato.^c His people, the Cilicians, enjoyed no favourable reputation, and to a Greek ear the very name of his city, Soli, suggested perversity.^d

The scene of the dialogue is Delphi (*cf.* 552 F, 553 E, 556 F, 560 c), where Plutarch was for many years one of the two priests of Apollo.^e The speakers are Plutarch himself, his son-in-law Patrocleas, his brother Timon, and Olympichus.

The dialogue was evidently not written before A.D. 81. In the myth the Sibyl foretells the eruption of Vesuvius (24-26 August 79) and speaks of a "good" emperor "of those days" who is to relinquish his

^a *Cf.* Groag and Stein, *op. cit.* nos. 1407 and 1408.

^b *Cf.* G. Soury, *La Démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942), p. 213, note 2: "Ce mot [that is, *thespesios*] qui signifie *divin, merveilleux*, s'applique bien à celui qui par une vraie faveur divine, une 'grâce,' a pu 'se convertir.'"

^c *Cf.* Wyttenbach's note on 564 c. In quoting *Republic*, 615 E f., Justin Martyr (*Coh. ad Gent.* chap. xxvii, 25 D), Clement (*Strom.* v. 14. 90), and Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xiii. 5, 669 D) give the form Aridaeus.

^d *Cf.* the use of *σόλοικος* in *Mor.* 817 B.

^e *Cf.* K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1 (1951), col. 660. 3-39, who argues with Pomtow that Plutarch became priest in the middle or late nineties. It is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose that Plutarch refers at 559 B to his own experience of seeing Athens after a lapse of thirty years. As he was a student there in 66/7 (*Mor.* 385 B), we might feel justified in dating the dialogue at least thirty years later.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

imperial power by dying of disease (566 E).^a At the time of Thespesius' vision Nero was already dead (567 F). "Those days" must then refer to some time between Nero's death and the eruption. Of the five emperors who reigned in this interval only Vespasian and Titus^b died a natural death. It is not likely that Vespasian is intended, as he expelled from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius (Dio Cassius, lxi. 13), and revoked Nero's grant of freedom to Greece (Philostratus, *Vit. Ap.* v. 41; Pausanias, vii. 17. 4), acts which might well have kept Plutarch from believing he could be called "good."^c Titus, who died 13 September 81, was much beloved.^d The dramatic date of the vision of Thespesius would fall between 24 June, the date of Titus' accession, and 24-26 August, when the eruption of Vesuvius took place, in A.D. 79.

The dialogue itself has two parts, the *logos* or argument, and the myth (563 E ff.).

^a In *Mor.* 398 E, Plutarch mentions the "recent disasters in Cumae and Dicaearchia" and the "bursting forth of mountain fire" as foretold long before the event in the Sibylline verses. There is no other evidence that Dicaearchia (Pozzuoli) and Cumae were destroyed in the eruption (cf. R. Flacelière, *Plutarque Sur les Oracles de la Pythie*, Paris, 1937, p. 8, note 3). Some Sibylline verses doubtless mentioned such a disaster—catastrophes were a favourite subject with prophets—and the prediction came close enough to the truth to satisfy Plutarch.

^b It is clear from *Mor.* 123 D that Plutarch did not accept the rumour that Titus was poisoned.

^c In *Mor.* 771 C, Plutarch expresses his abhorrence of Vespasian's execution of the faithful Emponê, and says he was punished by the extinction of his line.

^d Cf. Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, chap. i. A reference to Titus would be particularly apt as he had begun his career with many violent and vicious acts (cf. Suetonius, *ibid.* chapters vi-vii; Dio Cassius, lxi. 13)

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

When the conversation opens, "Epicurus,"^a who had inveighed against divine providence, has just disappeared. Plutarch is left with his brother, his son-in-law, and Olympichus, all firm believers in the gods. The ensuing discussion is confined to one of the many objections raised by "Epicurus": the late punishment of the wicked.

Plutarch's three interlocutors present each a difficulty involved in such delay; and the *logos* ends with Plutarch's reply to Bion's objection that it is as absurd for God to punish the children for their fathers' sins as for a physician to treat a descendant for the diseases of an ancestor.

Patrocleas finds that late punishment fails to check further crimes or to comfort the victim (548 D). Olympichus adds that the delay promotes disbelief in providence and makes the punishment of no profit to the culprit. Timon is ready with a third objection, but is diverted for the moment (549 D-E).

In reply Plutarch disclaims any dogmatism; he pretends to do no more than establish a probability or likelihood (549 E). Four reasons are first given for God's delay:

(1) God is our model; he is slow to punish so that we may imitate his slowness and thus escape error (550 c).

(2) God allows the offender who is not incurable a certain period in which to recover; incurables he does away with at once (551 c).

(3) Some offenders are capable of eventually producing great benefits. It is better that their punish-

^a Cf. Cherniss in *Mor.* xii, p. 6. The name may hint that a book of Epicurus (the *Περὶ θεῶν*?) has just been read aloud.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ment should wait until the benefits have been received (552 D).

(4) The manner and time of punishment should be appropriate; hence punishment is often deferred (553 D).

At this point Plutarch indicates that heretofore the company has assumed that punishment is postponed; but it can be argued that punishment is actually contemporary with the crime, and consists in the anguish of the guilty soul (553 F).

Timon now comes forward with the third objection: it is unjust to punish a descendant for an ancestor's crime (556 E).^a

The answer falls into two parts, separated by a discussion of the survival of the soul. In the first three points are made:

(1) Many of Timon's stories of late punishment are fabulous (557 E; Plutarch as much as admits that this answer is made merely to gain time).

(2) Timon approves the rewarding of descendants for services rendered by their ancestors; he must also approve the punishment of descendants for their ancestors' crimes (557 F).

(3) A city counts as an individual, and has the same sort of continuity; it is right, then, that it should suffer for its past misdeeds (558 F). What holds for a city holds for a family as well (559 C).

Olympichus interrupts to point out that Plutarch assumes the survival of the soul (560 A). Plutarch justifies the assumption, and says that punishments

^a Contrast the explanations of Hermias (*Hermiae Alexandrini in Platonis Phaedrum Scholia*, pp. 96-97, ed. Couvreur).

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

are inflicted after death through the medium of descendants for two reasons : that the living may see them and be deterred, and because such punishment is especially ignominious and painful (561 A).

Bion had said that God was more ridiculous in punishing a descendant for the crimes of an ancestor than a physician who treats a descendant for an ancestor's disease (561 c). Plutarch's reply is that the analogy holds when the punishment is preventive, and saves a descendant from succumbing to an inherited vicious bent.

The myth now follows (563 B). The "intelligent part" (τὸ φρονοῦν)^a of the soul of a certain Aridaeus (who is renamed Thespesius in the course of his adventure) leaves his body (563 E), the rest of the soul remaining behind as an anchor (564 c), and preventing it from ascending very far (566 D). Four different scenes are visited : the place of emergence, where Thespesius sees the pure and impure souls, the latter showing certain colours due to the passions, and receives an explanation of the three kinds of punishment ; the chasm of Lethe ; the crater of dreams ; and the place of punishment.^b

The scene of the emergence is at the confines of the sublunary region, where the atmosphere of air gives way to one of fire or aether. Thus the souls of the dead "make a flamelike bubble as the air is displaced" (563 F) and the stars appear larger and more distant from one another than when seen from the earth. Thespesius is next taken to a vast chasm (565 E) extending clear through to the earth. This

^a For Plutarch's views on the relation of the rational and emotional parts of the soul cf. *Mor.* 1025 D-E, 1026 C-D.

^b Cf. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*³, pp. 43 f.

“place of Lethe” is doubtless the earth’s shadow, ending at the upper limit of the sublunary region (*cf. Mor.* 591 A and note). It represents the pleasures of the body which cause the soul to lose its buoyancy and sink down to another birth. A second journey, of equal length with the first, takes him to a mirage-like crater, which turns out on closer view to be a chasm in the ambient. Here he is close enough to the moon to be caught in its wash, but cannot rise high enough to behold the oracle of Apollo. Presumably, then, the crater is also at the confines of the sublunary region and of the empyrean; it is probably the shadow of the moon. Next he views the punishments of wicked souls, including that of his own father. The punishment of ancestors whose crimes have been visited on their descendants is especially noted, as is the punishment that would have awaited him if he had persisted in his covetous way of life. No journey to this scene is mentioned, nor is its situation indicated; perhaps it was thought to be in the southern hemisphere of the earth^a or of the sublunary region. The final spectacle, which doubtless makes part of this scene, is that of the souls being reshaped for birth in the forms of lower animals (567 E). The Platonic doctrine of reincarnation is here assumed.^b

As Thespesius is about to turn back, he is snapped

^a *Cf. Axiochus*, 371 A-B, and Cumont, “Les Enfers selon l’Axiochos” in *Comptes-Rendus*, Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres, 1920, pp. 272-285.

^b *Cf. Plato, Republic*, 617 D. It had been objected that the souls of men could not be incarnated in lower animals, as the bodies of brutes could not provide the proper organs for a human soul (*cf. Aristotle, De Anima*, i. 3 [407 b 20-26], and Nemesius, chap. ii [pp. 119 f. Matthaei]). Plutarch meets this objection by letting artisans reshape the souls.

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

back to his body in a great rush of wind, opening his eyes again, like Er in Plato, at his grave.

The essay is No. 91 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on GXFZI DRy(SK)hki N M(avξ)Vv Y(J) CW(W^R qflp). mss. only occasionally cited are here enclosed in parenthesis.

(548)

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ
ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ¹

1. Τοιαῦτα μὲν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος² εἰπὼν, ὦ Κυῆτε,³
B καὶ πρὶν ἀποκρίνασθαί τινα, πρὸς τῷ πέρατι τῆς
στοᾶς γενομένων ἡμῶν, ὥχето ἀπιών· ἡμεῖς δὲ
ὅσον τι θαυμάσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀτοπίαν
ἐπιστάντες σιωπῆ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαβλέψαντες
ἀνεστρέφομεν πάλιν ὥσπερ ἐτυγχάνομεν περιπα-
τοῦντες.

Εἶτα πρῶτος ὁ Πατροκλέας,⁴ “ τί οὖν; ” εἶπεν.
“ ἔαν δοκεῖ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἢ τῷ λόγῳ καθάπερ
παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος⁵ ἀποκρινώμεθα⁶ τοῦ
εἰπόντος; ”

Ἐπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Τίμων, “ ἀλλ’ οὐδ’ εἰ βαλών,”
εἶπεν, “ ἀπηλλάγη, καλῶς εἶχε περιορᾶν τὸ βέλος
C ἐγκείμενον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Βρασίδης ὡς ἔοικεν ἐξελκύ-
σας τὸ δόρυ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν βαλόντα
πατάξας ἀνείλεν· ἡμῶν δὲ ἀμύνασθαι μὲν οὐδὲν

¹ π. τ. ὑπὸ τ. θ. βρ. τιμ.] περὶ βραδέως κολαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ
θείου Lamprias; [περὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ] θείου [βραδέως κολα]ζομένων
F¹ K¹ at the end (the bracketed letters are lost in F); ὅτι
βράδιον οἱ θεοὶ τιμωροῦνται Sopater (Photius, *Bibl.* 104a40).

² ἐπίκουρος (cf. p. 175 note, *supra*) Ἐπικούρειος Fabricius.

³ Κυητέ Patzig: κύνιε (κύριε Vv).

⁴ Πατροκλέας] Vv have πατροκλέης and its cases everywhere
(at 549 v V¹⁸³ has -εις); Y² has -έης here and at 548 c; G X¹⁴

ON THE DELAYS OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

1. WHEN he had made this speech, my dear Quietus, Epicurus did not even wait for an answer, but made off on our reaching the end of the colonnade. The rest of us, pausing only long enough to exchange mute glances of astonishment at the fellow's singularity, turned about and resumed our walk.

Patrocleas was the first to speak. "Well, what shall we do?" he asked. "Shall we drop the question, or answer the arguments of the speaker in his absence as we should have done in his presence?"

Timon replied: "Why, if he had escaped after striking us with a real shaft,^a we could not have left it sticking in us. We are told, indeed, that Brasidas plucked the spear from his body and with that very weapon struck and killed the thrower.^b It is, how-

^a Cf. the proverbial expression *βαλὼν φεύγεσθαι οἶει* (do you, having cast your weapon, think to get off scot-free?), Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 52, ii, p. 18, and Plato, *Symposium*, 189 b.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 190 b and 219 c.

F Z² I have -εις at 549 b; G³² F have -εις at 553 d. The error spread from 549 b, where all except D W² have -έους for -έου.

⁵ παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος] παρόντος G¹ hki.

⁶ ἀποκρινώμεθα X³ K² M Vv Y²: ὑποκρινώμεθα (so N²) or ὑποκρινόμεθα (ὑπόκρινόμεθα N¹).

(548) ἔργον ἐστὶ δῆπου τοὺς ἄτοπον ἢ ψευδῆ λόγον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀφέντας, ἀρκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἄψασθαι τὴν δόξαν ἂν ἐκβάλλωμεν.¹

“ Τί οὖν,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ μάλιστα κεκίνηκεν ὑμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων; ἀθρόα γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τάξιν οὐδέν, ἄλλο δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν ἄνθρωπος² ὥσπερ ὀργῆτινι καὶ λοιδορία σπαράπτων ἅμα κατεφόρει³ τῆς προνοίας.”

2. Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, “ ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας,” εἶπε, “ τῶν πονηρῶν βραδυτῆς τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ D μέλλησις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μάλιστα δεινὸν εἶναι· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὥσπερ πρόσφατος γέγονα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ καινός· ἔκπαλαι δὲ ἡγανάκτουν ἀκούων Εὐριπίδου λέγοντος

μέλλει, τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον φύσει.

καίτοι πρὸς οὐθέν,⁴ ἤκιστα δὲ πρέπει πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ῥαθύμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, οὐ ῥαθύμους ὄντας αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ ‘ ἀμβολιεργοὺς ’ τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀξύτάταις ὀρμαῖς ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν φερόμενους πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας. καὶ μὴν ‘ τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τῷ⁵ παθεῖν,’ ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ‘ ὅτι ἐγγυτάτω E κείμενον ’ εὐθύς ἀντιφράττει τὴν ὁδὸν τοῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐροούσῃ τῇ κακίᾳ χρωμένοις. οὐθὲν γὰρ οὕτω χρέος⁶ ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπερήμερον γινόμενον ἀσθενῆ μὲν ταῖς ἐλπίσι ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινὸν

¹ ἐκβάλλωμεν] ἐκβάλλωμεν Ry N² (-o- N¹) M Y.

² ἄνθρωπος I and Dübner (ὁ ἄνθρωπος D Ry K): ἄνθρωπος.

³ κατεφόρει] κατεφρόνει G¹ X^{1mg} F^{1mg}.

⁴ οὐθέν] οὐθέν' Capps.

⁵ τὸ ἀμύνασθαι (ἀμύνεσθαι hki) τῷ] τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ D Ry

ever, no business of ours to strike back at those who have let fly at us an absurd or false argument ; for us it is enough to get rid of the doctrine before it becomes lodged in us."

"What did you find most disturbing in his speech?" I asked. "For it was with a jumble of disordered remarks, picked up here and there, that the fellow pelted providence, lashing out at it the while as if in an outburst of scurrilous fury."

2. Patrocleas replied : "The delay and procrastination of the Deity in punishing the wicked appears to me the most telling argument by far, and at this moment these words of his have made me fresh and new, as it were, in my old feeling of exasperation. Yet that feeling dates from long ago, when it would chafe me to hear Euripides ^a say :

Apollo lags ; such is the way of Heaven.

But God should be indolent in nothing ^b ; least of all does it become him to be so in dealing with the wicked, who are not indolent themselves or 'postponers of their work' ^c of doing wrong ; nay, their passions drive them headlong to their crimes. Furthermore, as Thucydides ^d says, when 'requit follows closest on the injury' it at once blocks the path of those who are carried farthest by their successful facility in vice. For no debt as it falls overdue so weakens the cheated victim in his hopes and breaks

^a *Orestes*, 420.

^b Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 901 E.

^c Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 413.

^d iii. 38. 1.

S^{2mg} K^{1ss}. The MSS. of Thucydides are divided between ἀμύνασθαι τῷ and ἀμύνεσθαι τῷ, both anarthrous. Cf. also 551 A, *infra*.

⁶ χρέος] χρέως D¹ v Y¹.

- (548) τὸν ἀδικούμενον, αὔξει δὲ θρασύτητι καὶ τόλμῃ τὸν μοχθηρόν· αἱ δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρα τοῖς τολμωμένοις¹ ἀπαντῶσαι τιμωρίαί καὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσὶν ἐπισχέσεις ἀδικημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τὸ παρηγοροῦν τοὺς πεπονθότας ἔνεστιν αὐταῖς. ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βίαντος ἐνοχλεῖ πολλάκις ἀναλαμβάνοντι τὸν λόγον· ἔφη γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, πρὸς τινὰ πονηρόν ὡς οὐ δέδιεν μὴ οὐ δῶ δίκην, ἀλλὰ μὴ οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐπίδη. τί γὰρ Μεσσηνίοις ὄφελος τοῖς προαναιρεθείσι τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας, ὃς προδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Κάπρῳ² μάχην καὶ λαθῶν ὑπὲρ εἴκοσιν ἔτη καὶ πάντα ταῦτα βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων ὕστερον ἔδωκεν δίκην φωραθείς, οἱ δὲ οὐκέτ' ἦσαν; ἢ τίνα Ὀρχομενίων τοῖς ἀποβαλοῦσι παῖδας καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ὑπὸ Λυκίσκου προδοθέντας ἠνεγκε παραμυθίαν ἢ χρόνοις ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀψαμένῃ νόσῳ καὶ³ κατανεμηθεῖσα τοῦ σώματος, ὃς⁴ αἰεὶ βάπτων καὶ βρέχων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὤμοσε καὶ κατηράσατο σαπῆναι, προδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδίκησαντος; τὰς μὲν γὰρ Ἀθήνησι⁵ τῶν ἐναγῶν σωμαμάτων ρίψεις καὶ νεκρῶν ἐξορισμοὺς οὐδὲ παίδων παισὶν ἐπιδεῖν⁶ ὑπῆρξε τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων ἐκείνων.

¹ τολμωμένοις] γινομένοις G F^{1t} v Y^{1mg}.

² Κάπρῳ Reiske (from Pausanias, iv. 19. 3) : κύπρῳ (Τάφρῳ Ald.²).

³ νόσος καὶ G^c X³ F D Ry K k Vv : νόσος.

⁴ ὃς] ὅσον D.

⁵ ἀθήνησι X³ D S K M Y³ : ἐν ἀθήνησι.

⁶ ἐπιδεῖν G X F Z Vv : ιδεῖν.

^a Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 126. 12-16 (ed. Cousin²).

^b Plutarch has apparently confused the treason of Aristocrates at the "trench" (for which cf. Polybius, iv. 33. 5-6, and Pausanias, iv. 17. 2, viii. 5. 13) with the victory of Aris-

his spirit, and so strengthens the wrongdoer in confidence and boldness, as the debt of merited punishment^a; whereas the chastisement that at once confronts audacious acts both serves as a check to future crimes and is of greatest comfort to the injured. Hence, as I consider the argument, I am repeatedly plagued by the saying of Bias. We are told that he remarked to a certain scoundrel: 'I do not fear that you will fail to get your deserts, but that I shall not live to see it.' For what did the punishment of Aristocrates profit those Messenians who were already slain, when, after betraying them in the battle at the Cairn of the Boar^b and escaping detection for over twenty years (during all which time he was king of the Arcadians), he was later found out and paid the penalty—but his victims were no more? Or what comfort did those Orchomenians who had lost children, friends, and kin through the treason of Lyciscus derive from the disease that attacked him long after and spread over his body, when he was always dipping and wetting it in the river, and with an oath called down a curse that it should rot—after he had betrayed them and done the wrong?^c As for the casting out at Athens of the polluted dead and banishment of corpses beyond the borders, these were acts that not even the children's children of the slaughtered victims lived to see.^d And so Euripides^e is absurd

tomenes at the Cairn of the Boar (for which *cf.* Pausanias, iv. 19. 3).

^c Lyciscus and his fate are otherwise unknown; both text and translation are doubtful. Perhaps the destruction of Minyan Orchomenus in 364 B.C. is meant, for which *cf.* Diodorus, xv. 79. 5.

^d *Cf. Life of Solon*, chap. xii. 3-4 (84 c), and Thucydides, i. 126. 12.

^e Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 979.

(549) ὅθεν Εὐριπίδης ἄτοπος εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κακίας τού-
τοις χρώμενος·

οὔτοι προσελθοῦς' ἢ Δίκη σε, μὴ τρέσης,
παίσει πρὸς ἦπαρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων βροτῶν
τὸν ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ σίγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ

B στείχουσα μάρψει¹ τοὺς κακοὺς ὅταν τύχη.

οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα δήπου, ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὰ τοὺς κακοὺς²
εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῖς διακελευομένους καὶ παρεγ-
γυῶντας ἐπιχειρεῖν³ τοῖς παρανομήμασιν, ὡς τῆς
ἀδικίας τὸν μὲν καρπὸν εὐθύς ὠραῖον καὶ προὔπτον
ἀποδιδούσης, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν ὀψέ καὶ πολὺ τῆς
ἀπολαύσεως καθυστεροῦσαν."

3. Ταῦτα τοῦ Πατροκλέου διελθόντος ἐπιβαλὼν
ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος,⁴ "ἐκεῖνο δέ," εἶπεν, "ὦ Πατροκλέα,
πηλίκον αἰ περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θείου διατριβαὶ καὶ
μελλήσεις ἄτοπον ἔχουσιν, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἢ βραδυ-
τῆς ἀφαιρεῖ⁵ τῆς προνοίας, καὶ τὸ μὴ παρ' ἕκαστον
C ἀδίκημα τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπακολουθοῦν κακόν, ἀλλ'
ὔστερον, εἰς ἀτυχήματος χώραν τιθέμενοι καὶ συμ-
φοράν, οὐ τιμωρίαν, ὀνομάζοντες οὐθὲν ὠφελοῦνται,
τοῖς μὲν συμβαίνουσιν ἀχθόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πεπρα-
γμένοις μὴ μεταμελόμενοι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἵππον ἢ⁶
παραχρήμα τὸ πταῖσμα καὶ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν διώκουσα
πληγὴ καὶ νύξις ἐπανορθοῖ καὶ μετάγει πρὸς τὸ
δέον, οἱ δὲ ὔστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνον σπαραγμοὶ
καὶ ἀνακρούσεις καὶ περιψοφήσεις ἐτέρου τινὸς
ἔνεκα μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν⁷ ἢ διδασκαλίας,
δι' ὃ τὸ λυποῦν ἄνευ τοῦ παιδεύειν ἔχουσιν, οὕτως

¹ μάρψει] μάρπτει Stobaeus.

² κακοὺς] κακῶς G X¹ F Z¹ k^{ac} N.

³ ἐπιχειρεῖν M²: ἐπιχαίρειν.

when he would deter us from evil with thoughts like these :

Not to thy face, fear not, nor any villain's
Will Justice deal the fatal blow ; but soft
And slow of tread, she will, in her own season,
Stalking the wicked, seize them unawares.

Why, these and none other are the very thoughts with which the wicked are likely to encourage and incite one another when they set out to do wrong—that injustice yields at once a timely and certain harvest, while punishment comes tardily and far too late to prevent the enjoyment.”

3. When Patrocleas had done Olympichus added : “ But there is another absurdity, Patrocleas—and how great it is !—involved in all this procrastination and delay of the Deity : that his slowness destroys belief in providence, and the wicked, accounting the ill that does not follow close upon each separate misdeed, but comes later, ill luck, and naming it not punishment, but mischance, derive no profit : they are to be sure distressed by the consequences, but feel no regret for the act. For just as the blow or prick that at once follows a misstep or fault serves to correct a horse and put him in the right path, whereas if you belabour the animal, pull at the reins, and crack the whip later, when time has elapsed, such action, being felt to have some other purpose than that of training, torments without instructing, in like manner

⁴ Ὀλύμπιχος Bern. (from *Mor.* 654 B) : ὀλυμπικός (ὀλυμπιακός is found at 561 B in X¹ F v ; at 563 B in X^{1v} F S).

⁵ ἀφαιρέει] ἀφαιρέεται F D.

⁶ ἴππον ἢ Reiske : ἢ ποινή ἢ (ποινή ἢ X³).

⁷ γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν nos : δοκοῦσι (-v N) γίνεσθαι (from γενέσθαι G⁴). Pohlenz suggests that the hiatus might be removed by deleting ἢ διδασκαλίας.

(549) ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν πταίει καὶ προπίπτει¹ ῥαπιζο-
 D μένη καὶ ἀνακρουομένη τῷ κολάζεσθαι κακία μόλις
 ἂν γένοιτο σύννουσ καὶ ταπεινὴ καὶ κατάφοβος
 πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πρά-
 γμασι καὶ πάθεσιν οὐχ ὑπερήμερον δικαιοτήν· ἢ
 δὲ ἀτρέμα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ κατ' Εὐριπίδην καὶ ὡς
 ἔτυχεν ἐπιπίπτουσα Δίκη τοῖς πονηροῖς τῷ αὐτο-
 μάτῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ὁμοιον ἔχει τὸ
 πεπλανημένον καὶ ὑπερήμερον καὶ ἄτακτον. ὥστε
 οὐχ ὀρῶ τί χρήσιμον ἔνεστιν τοῖς ὀψὲ δὴ τούτοις
 E ἀλεῖν λεγομένοις μύλοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν
 δίκην ἀμαυρὰν καὶ τὸν φόβον ἐξίτηλον τῆς κακίας."

4. Ῥηθέντων οὖν τούτων κάμου πρὸς αὐτοῖς²
 ὄντος, ὁ Τίμων, "πότερον," εἶπεν, "ἐπιθῶ καὶ
 αὐτὸς ἤδη τῷ λόγῳ³ τὸν κολοφῶνα τῆς ἀπορίας, ἢ
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἐάσω πρότερον αὐτὸν διαγωνίσασθαι;"

"Τί γάρ," ἔφην ἐγώ, "δεῖ τὸ τρίτον ἐπενεγκεῖν
 κῦμα καὶ προσκατακλύσαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ τὰ πρῶτα
 μὴ δυνατὸς ἔσται διώσασθαι μηδὲ ἀποφυγεῖν ἐγ-
 κλήματα;"

"Πρῶτον οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐστίας ἀρχόμενοι
 πατρώας τῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐλαβείας τῶν ἐν⁴

¹ προπίπτει F¹ hki N M¹ Y¹: προσπίπτει.

² αὐτοῖς Reiske (*cf.* *Mor.* 1100 E): αὐτὸν οἱ αὐτὸν (ἐαυτὸν
 S).

³ λόγῳ G X F Z I Mac: λογισμῳ.

⁴ ἐν X³ hki Vv: μὲν ἐν.

^a *Cf.* 549 B, *supra*.

^b A reference to the proverb

ὀψὲ θεῶν ἀλέουσι μύλοι, ἀλέουσι δὲ λεπτά

"The mills of the gods are slow in grinding, but grind fine,"

a viciousness that at every stumble and plunge is whipped and pulled up by punishment might at last become circumspect and humble and fearful of God as one who in his government of the affairs and passions of men is no procrastinating justicer ; whereas the Justice that falls upon the wicked with soft tread and slow and in her own season, as Euripides ^a says, resembles the fortuitous rather than the providential in the want of certainty, of timeliness, and of order. I accordingly fail to see the good in that proverbial slow grinding of the mills of the gods,^b which obscures the fact of punishment and allows the fear of wickedness to fade."

4. I was pondering these remarks when Timon said : " Shall I now speak in my turn and burden the argument with the crowning difficulty, or shall I first allow it to fight it out with these objections ? "

" Why bring on the ' third wave, ' " ^c said I, " and swamp the argument further, if it proves unable to repel or escape the first charges ? "

" First, then, beginning as from our ancestral hearth ^d with the scrupulous reverence of the philo-

or in Longfellow's version of Friedrich von Logau :

" Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small ;

Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all."

^c The " first wave " is the speech of Patrocleas, the " second " that of Olympichus, and the " third " the speech of Timon (556 E—557 E, *infra*). For the expression " third wave " *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 472 A ; the personification of the argument is also Platonic.

^d 'Αφ' ἐστίας ἀρχόμενοι (" beginning with the hearth ") is a proverbial expression for beginning with first things first. *Cf.* *Mor.* 93 E, 948 B, 1074 E, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, pp. 14. 9, 385. 14, ii, pp. 62. 3, 321. 5.

(549) Ἀκαδημία φιλοσόφων, τὸ μὲν ὡς εἰδότες τι περι
 F τούτων λέγειν¹ ἀφοσιωσόμεθα. πλέον γάρ ἐστι
 τοῦ περι μουσικῶν ἀμούσους καὶ πολεμικῶν ἀστρα-
 τεύτους διαλέγεσθαι τὸ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ² δαιμόνια
 πράγματα διασκοπεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, οἷον ἀτέ-
 χνους τεχνιτῶν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ ὑπονοίας³
 κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς μετιόντας. οὐ γὰρ ἰατροῦ μὲν
 ἰδιώτην ὄντα συμβαλεῖν⁴ λογισμόν, ὡς πρότερον
 οὐκ ἔτεμεν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον, οὐδ' ἐχθές⁵ ἔκαυσεν,⁶
 ἀλλὰ σήμερον, ἔργον ἐστί, περι θεῶν δὲ θνητὸν
 ράδιον ἢ βέβαιον εἰπεῖν ἄλλο πλὴν ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν
 550 εἰδὼς ἄριστα τῆς περι τὴν κακίαν ἰατρείας ὡς
 φάρμακον ἐκάστῳ προσφέρει τὴν κόλασιν, οὔτε
 μεγέθους μέτρον κοινὸν οὔτε χρόνον ἓνα καὶ τὸν
 αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχουσαν.⁷ ὅτι γὰρ ἢ περι ψυχῆν⁸
 ἰατρεία, δίκη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσαγορευομένη,
 πασῶν ἐστι τεχνῶν μεγίστη, πρὸς μυρίοις ἑτέροις
 καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, 'ἀριστοτέχναν' ἀνα-
 καλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἀπάντων θεόν,
 ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργόν, ἧ προσήκει τὸ πότε
 καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἕκαστον τῶν
 πονηρῶν ὀρίζειν. καὶ ταύτης φησὶ τῆς τέχνης ὁ

¹ περι τούτων λέγειν G X F Z I : λέγειν περι τούτων.

² καὶ τὰ G X F Z I : καί.

³ ὑπονοίας Meziriacus : διανοίας (ἀγνοίας Post).

⁴ συμβαλεῖν] συμβάλλειν G¹ X¹ F Z I.

⁵ οὐδ' ἐχθές Bern. : οὐδὲ χθές (οὐδεχθές X¹ F k N¹).

⁶ ἔκαυσεν Klostermann : ἔλουσε (ἔλυσε K C).

⁷ ἔχουσαν G³ X³ hki M¹ Vv Y² : ἔχουσα.

sophers of the Academy for the Deity, we shall disavow any pretension to speak about these matters from knowledge. For it is presumptuous enough for those untrained in music to speak about things musical, and for those of no military experience about war; but it is more presumptuous for mere human beings like ourselves to inquire into the concerns of gods and daemons, where we are like laymen seeking to follow the thought of experts by the guesswork of opinion and imputation. It cannot be that while it is hard for a layman to conjecture the reasoning of a doctor—why he used the knife later and not before, and cauterized not yesterday but to-day—it should be easy or safe for a mortal to say anything else about God than this: that he knows full well the right moment for healing vice, and administers punishment to each patient as a medicine, a punishment neither given in the same amount in every case nor after the same interval for all.^a For that the cure of the soul, which goes by the name of chastisement and justice,^b is the greatest of all arts,^c Pindar^d has attested with countless others, when he invokes the god who is ruler and sovereign of the world as him 'of noblest art,' intimating that he is artificer of justice, which has the task of determining for each evil-doer the time, the manner, and the measure of his punishment. And of this art Minos son of Zeus

^a Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 128. 8-14; 127. 16-20; 132. 7-19 (ed. Cousin²).

^b Perhaps an allusion to Plato, *Gorgias*, 464 B.

^c Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 127. 38-40 (ed. Cousin²).

^d Frag. 57 (ed. Schroeder), quoted also in *Mor.* 618 B, 807 c, 927 B, and 1065 E. The god is Zeus.

⁸ ψυχῆν G X F Z hki Vv : τὴν ψυχῆν.

(550) Πλάτων υἱὸν ὄντα τοῦ Διὸς γεγονέναι τὸν Μίνω
 Β μαθητὴν, ὡς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαίοις κατορθοῦν
 οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦ κατορθοῦντος τὸν μὴ μαθόντα
 μηδὲ κτησάμενον τὴν ἐπιστήμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὓς
 ἄνθρωποι νόμους τίθενται τὸ εὐλογον ἀπλῶς
 ἔχουσι καὶ πάντοτε φαινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ δοκεῖ
 κομιδῇ γελοῖα τῶν προσταγμάτων. οἷον ἐν Λακε-
 δαίμονι κηρύττουσιν οἱ ἔφοροι παριόντες εὐθύς εἰς
 τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς
 νόμοις ὡς μὴ χαλεποὶ ᾧσιν αὐτοῖς. Ῥωμαῖοι δέ,
 οὓς ἂν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρῶνται, κάρφος αὐτῶν
 λεπτὸν ἐπιβάλλουσι τοῖς σώμασιν· ὅταν δὲ δια-
 θήκας γράφωσιν, ἑτέρουσ μὲν ἀπολείπουσι κληρο-
 C νόμους, ἑτέροις¹ δὲ πωλοῦσι τὰς οὐσίας· ὃ δοκεῖ
 παράλογον εἶναι. παραλογώτατον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Σό-
 λωνος, ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρα
 μερίδι προσθέμενον μηδὲ συστασιάσαντα. καὶ
 ὄλως πολλὰς ἂν τις ἐξείποι νόμων ἀτοπίας μήτε
 τὸν λόγον ἔχων τοῦ νομοθέτου μήτε τὴν αἰτίαν
 συνιεῖς ἐκάστου τῶν γραφομένων. τί δὴ θαυμα-
 στόν, εἰ, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὕτως ἡμῖν ὄντων δυσ-
 θεωρήτων, οὐκ εὐπορόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τῶν θεῶν
 εἰπεῖν ᾧτινι λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ὕστερον, τοὺς δὲ πρό-
 τερον τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων κολάζουσιν;

¹ ἑτέροις Amyot: ἕτεροι.

^a Cf. Pseudo-Plato, *Minos*, 319 B-E, and Plato, *Laws*, 624 A-B; cf. also *Mor.* 776 E.

^b Cf. Aristotle, *Frag.* 539 (ed. Rose), and Plutarch, *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, chap. xxx. 3 (808 D) and *Comm. on Hesiod*, *Frag.* 72 (vol. vii, p. 88 f. Bern.).

^c The stalk is the *festuca*, for which cf. Gaius, *Inst.* iv. 16.

became a student, as Plato^a says, who suggests by this that it is impossible to succeed in questions of justice or to recognize success in another if one has not studied and mastered the science. For even in the laws set up by man the reasonableness is not immediately and at all times apparent; indeed, some human ordinances appear downright absurd. Thus in Lacedaemon, as soon as they take office, the ephors make a proclamation forbidding the wearing of moustaches and enjoining men to obey the laws, that the laws may not be harsh with them^b; while the Romans on emancipating a slave touch him with a light stalk,^c and again, when they write their wills, appoint one set of persons as heirs but sell their property to another, a procedure which appears absurd.^d Most absurd of all is Solon's law, that anyone who does not take sides and join in the quarrel when the city is rent by factions shall be disfranchised.^e And in general, many oddities in laws could be brought up by one who did not know the principle that guided the lawgiver and did not see the cause of each enactment. What wonder, then, when we find it so hard to account for human rules, that it should be no easy matter to tell in the case of the gods on what principle they punish some wrongdoers later and others earlier?

^a Gaius (*Inst.* ii. 102 f.) explains that in one kind of Roman will the testator designated in addition to the heirs an *emptor* or purchaser, who by a fictitious sale received the estate as his own property (*mancipio*), with full authority to dispose of it according to the wishes of the deceased. The "purchaser" would therefore act as an executor, protecting the interest of the heirs, and deriving his legal authority from the "sale."

^e Cf. *Life of Solon*, chap. xx. 1 (89 A-B), and *Mor.* 823 F, 965 D.

(550) 5. “ Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἀποδράσεως πρόφασίς ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης αἴτησις, ὅπως ὁ λόγος οἷον εἰς λιμένα καὶ καταφυγὴν ἀποβλέπων εὐθαρσέστερον ἐξαναφέρῃ τῷ πιθανῶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν.

D “ Ἄλλὰ σκοπεῖτε πρῶτον ὅτι κατὰ Πλάτωνα πάντων καλῶν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παράδειγμα θέμενος τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετὴν, ἐξομοίωσιν οὖσαν ἀμωσγέπως πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνδίδωσιν τοῖς ἔπεσθαι θεῷ δυναμένοις. καὶ γὰρ ἡ πάντων φύσις, ἄτακτος οὖσα, ταύτην ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι¹ κόσμος, ὁμοιότητι καὶ μεθέξει τινὶ τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ιδέας καὶ ἀρετῆς· καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὸς² οὗτος ἀνὴρ³ ἀνάψαι φησὶν τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἡμῖν ὅπως ὑπὸ θεάς τῶν ἐν οὐρανῶ φερομένων καὶ θαύματος ἀσπάζεσθαι⁴ καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἐθιζομένη τὸ εὐσχημον ἢ ψυχὴ καὶ τεταγμένον ἀπεχθάνηται τοῖς ἀναρμό-

E στοῖς καὶ πλανητοῖς πάθεσι καὶ φεύγῃ τὸ εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν ὡς κακίας καὶ πλημμελείας ἀπάσης γένεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅ τι μείζον ἀνθρώπος ἀπολαύειν θεοῦ πέφυκεν ἢ τὸ μιμῆσει καὶ διώξει τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν καθίστασθαι.

“ Δι’ ὃ καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ σχολαίως

¹ μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι G¹ X¹ Z I N M¹ V_v Y CW¹ : μεταβαλεῖν καὶ γενέσθαι G³ X³ F D Ry M² W³ (μεταβάλλειν καὶ γίνεσθαι hki).

² αὐτὸς nos (ὁ αὐτὸς Wytttenbach) : αὐτὸς.

³ ἀνὴρ] ὁ ἀνὴρ K (ἀνὴρ Dübner).

⁴ ἀσπάζεσθαι G¹ X³ F D N² V_v Y² : ἀσπάζεται (ἀσπάζεται G⁴ Ry hki M C).

^a Cf. *Theaetetus*, 176 E.

^b *Republic*, 613 A-B, *Theaetetus*, 176 B.

^c The maxim “follow God” was attributed to Pythagoras (cf. Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 29. 16 Wachsmuth); cf. also Plato, *Laws*, 716 B, and *Phaedrus*, 248 A.

5. " These remarks are not a pretext for evasion, but a plea for indulgence, that the argument, as though with a haven and refuge in view, may the more boldly in its bark of plausibility keep head against the difficulty.

" Consider first that God, as Plato ^a says, offers himself to all as a pattern of every ^{in nobis} excellence, thus rendering human virtue, which is in some sort an assimilation to himself, ^b accessible to all who can ' follow God.' ^c Indeed this was the origin of the change whereby universal nature, disordered before, became a ' cosmos ' ^d : it came to resemble after a fashion and participate in the form and excellence of God. ^e The same philosopher says further that nature kindled vision in us ^f so that the soul, beholding the heavenly motions and wondering at the sight, should grow to accept and cherish all that moves in stateliness and order, and thus come to hate discordant and errant passions and to shun the aimless and haphazard as source of all vice and jarring error ^g ; for man is fitted to derive from God no greater blessing than to become settled in virtue through copying and aspiring to the beauty and the goodness that are his.

" Hence it is that he is slow and leisurely in his

^d That is, " order." Cf. *Life of Dion*, chap. x. 2 (962 B), and Plato, *Politicus*, 273 B.

^e Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 29 E—30 A, and Plutarch, *Mor.* 1014 B-C.

^f Cf. *Mor.* 958 E. Plato does not use the word " kindled " (for which cf. *Timaeus* Locrus, chap. xi) in describing the framing of the eyes (*Timaeus*, 45 B ; cf. 39 B) ; further, he assigns the framing of the eyes to the lesser gods and not to nature.

^g Cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 39 B, 47 A-C, and Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 130. 27-36 (ed. Cousin²).

(550) τὴν δίκην ἐπιτίθησιν, οὐκ αὐτός τινα τοῦ ταχὺ
 κολάζειν ἀμαρτίαν δεδιὼς ἢ μετάνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἡμῶν
 τὸ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας θηριῶδες καὶ λάβρον ἀφαιρῶν
 F καὶ διδάσκων μὴ σὺν ὀργῇ μηδ' ὅτε μάλιστα φλέ-
 γεται καὶ σφαδάζει

πηδῶν ὁ θυμὸς τῶν φρενῶν ἀνωτέρω

καθάπερ δίψαν ἢ πείναν ἀποπιμπλάντας ἐπιπηδᾶν
 τοῖς λελυπηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ μιμουμένους τὴν ἐκείνου
 πραότητα καὶ τὴν¹ μέλλησιν, ἐν τάξει καὶ μετ'
 ἐμμελείας,² τὸν ἥκιστα μετανοία προσοισόμενον
 χρόνον ἔχοντας σύμβουλον, ἄπτεσθαι τῆς δίκης.
 ὕδατι γὰρ τεταραγμένῳ προσπεσόντα χρῆσθαι δι'
 ἀκρασίαν ἡττόν ἐστι κακόν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν,
 551 ἢ θολερὸν ὄντα καὶ διάπλευ τὸν λογισμὸν ὀργῆς
 καὶ μανίας, πρὶν ἢ καταστῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι
 καθαρὸν, ἐμφορεῖσθαι τιμωρίας συγγενοῦς καὶ
 ὁμοφύλου σώματος. οὐ γὰρ 'ἐγγυτάτω τὸ ἀμύ-
 νασθαι τοῦ³ παθεῖν,' ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ
 μᾶλλον ἀπωτάτω 'κείμενον' ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ προσ-
 ἦκον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς κατὰ τὸν Μελάνθιον

τὰ δεινὰ πράττει τὰς φρένας μετοικίσας,

οὕτως καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τὰ δίκαια πράττει καὶ μέτρια
 τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκποδῶν θέμενος. ὅθεν
 ἡμεροῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις παραδείγμασιν,

¹ καὶ τὴν D : τὴν (τε καὶ G^c Ry).

² μετ' ἐμμελείας X³ : μεταμελεία (ἐμμελεία D).

³ τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ G X F Z I Ry : τοῦ ἀμύνασθαι τὸ (τὸ
 ἀμύνασθαι τῷ D).

^a Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 390.

^b Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, coll. 130. 34-131. 7 (ed. Cousin²), and the *Life of Pericles*, chap. xviii. 2 (163 v).

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE, 550-551

punishment of the wicked : not that he fears for himself, that by punishing in haste, he may be involved in error or remorse, but because he would remove from us all brutishness and violence in the infliction of punishment, and would teach us not to strike out in anger at those who have caused us pain, or when in its fiercest fever and convulsion

Our ^{thrust}rage o'erleaps our wits,^a

as if we were appeasing thirst or hunger, but to imitate his mildness and delay and resort to chastisement with all due order and propriety, with Time as our counsellor, who will be least likely to involve us in regret.^b For to precipitate ourselves upon troubled water and from lack of self-control to drink it, is less of an evil, as Socrates^c said, than while we are turbid and clouded in our judgement with rage and fury, before becoming settled and clear, to glut ourselves with vengeance on a being of our own kindred and race.^d For it is not true, as Thucydides^e said, that 'when requital follows closest on the injury' it then receives its due; it rather does so when farthest 'removed.' For as ^{Drumet's}anger, in the words of Melanthis,^f

Drives prudence from her seat, then does his worst,

so reason likewise ^{in a sudden}acts with justice and moderation only after putting ^{in a}rage and ^{Drumet's}anger out of the way.^g For this reason even human patterns and examples

^c The source has not been identified.

^d All men are akin : cf. *Mor.* 601 B, and note.

^e iii. 38. 1 ; quoted 548 D-E, *supra*.

^f Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Melanthis, 1 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 453 E.

^g Cf. *Frag. On Anger* (vol. vii, p. 138. 4-6 Bern.).

(551) ἀκούοντες ὡς Πλάτων τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἀνατεινόμενος τῷ παιδί πολὺν ἔστη χρόνον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, τὸν θυμὸν κολάζων, καὶ Ἀρχύτας, οἰκετῶν τινα πλημμέλειαν ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀταξίαν καταμαθὼν, εἶτα ἑαυτοῦ συναισθανόμενος ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχοντος καὶ τραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτούς, οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν ἀλλ' ἢ τοσοῦτον, ἀπιῶν, 'εὐτυχεῖτε,' εἶπεν, 'ὅτι ὀργίζομαι ὑμῖν.' εἶπερ οὖν ἀνδρῶν λόγοι μνημονευόμενοι καὶ πράξεις λεγόμεναι τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφοδρὸν ἀπαρτύτουσι τῆς ὀργῆς, πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν θεὸν ὀρῶντας, ᾧ δέος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μετάνοια πράγματος¹ οὐδενός, ὅμως ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι τὴν

C τιμωρίαν κατατιθέμενον καὶ περιμένοντα τὸν χρόνον, εὐλαβεῖς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γίνεσθαι καὶ θεῖον ἠγείσθαι μόριον ἀρετῆς τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν² ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐνδείκνυται, τῷ μὲν κολάζειν ὀλίγους ἐπανορθοῦσαν, τῷ δὲ βραδέως πολλοὺς ὠφελοῦσαν καὶ νουθετοῦσαν.

6. " Δεύτερον τοίνυν τοῦτο διανοηθῶμεν, ὡς αἱ μὲν δικαιώσεις αἱ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, μόνον ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀντιλυποῦν, καὶ ἐν τῷ κακῶς τὸν δεδρακότα παθεῖν ἴστανται, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦνται, δι' ὃ τοῖς ἡμαρτηκόσι³ κυνὸς δίκην ἐφυλακτοῦσαι

¹ πράγματος (and so G⁴)] πραγμάτων G¹ X.

² μεγαλοψυχίαν nos (or μεγαλοφροσύνην, cf. Pohlenz *ad loc.*): μεγαλοπάθειαν (a variant ἀπάθειαν expelled -ψυχίαν).

³ ἡμαρτηκόσι Paton: ἀμαρτήμασι (-ν N; ἀμαρτήσασι G¹ X^d [in an omission in X¹]; ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἦκασι R; ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἡμασι γ).

^a Cf. Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 12. 5. In *Mor.* 10 D and 1108 A Plato turns the slave over to Speusippus for punishment; Diogenes Laert. (iii. 38) has the same story, but substitutes

serve to make men gentle, when they hear that on raising his staff to strike his slave, Plato long remained motionless, 'chastening' his anger, as he said himself,^a and that Archytas, finding the servants on his farm guilty of misconduct and insubordination, and thereupon becoming conscious that his feeling toward them was unduly passionate and savage, did no more than say on leaving: 'It is your good fortune that I am furious with you.'^b If, then, the recollection of human sayings and narration of human acts can allay the harshness and intensity of anger, it is far more likely that when we see that God, who knows no fear or regret in anything, yet reserves his penalties for the future and awaits the lapse of time, we should become cautious in such matters, and hold the gentleness and magnanimity displayed by God a part of virtue that is divine, which by punishment amends a few, while it profits and admonishes many by the delay.^c

6. "In the second place, let us reflect that chastisements proceeding from man do no more than requite pain with pain, and stop in consequence when the suffering has been returned upon the doer, but go no farther, and hence, like curs, bark at the heels of the

Xenocrates for Speusippus. Cf. also *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 436 ab, ed. Sternbach (*Wiener Studien*, xi, 1889, p. 201), E. Zeller, *Gesch. d. gr. Phil.*, vol. ii. 1⁵, p. 434, note 1; Galen, *De Affectuum Dignotione*, v. 21, and Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 131. 16-20 (ed. Cousin²).

^b Cf. *Mor.* 10 D; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 36 (78), *De Re P.* i. 38 (59); Valerius Maximus, iv. 1, ext. 1; Lactantius, *De Ira Dei*, chap. xviii. 4; Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, chap. xxxi. 197; St. Jerome, *Ep.* lxxix. 9; Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 131. 20-25 (ed. Cousin²).

^c Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, coll. 131, 29-132. 4 (ed. Cousin²).

(551) κατακολουθοῦσι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπιδιώ-
 D κουσι· τὸν θεὸν δὲ εἰκὸς ἦς ἂν ἐφάπτηται τῇ δίκῃ
 ψυχῆς νοσοῦσης τὰ τε πάθη διορᾶν εἴ πῆ τι καμπτό-
 μενα πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἐνδίδωσι καὶ χρόνον γε, οἷς¹
 οὐκ ἄκρατος οὐδὲ ἄτρεπτος ἢ κακία πέφυκε,
 προσορίζειν.² ἅτε γὰρ εἰδὼς ὄσην μοῖραν ἀρετῆς
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ φερόμεναι πρὸς γένεσιν αἱ ψυχαὶ βαδί-
 ζουσι, καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ὡς ἰσχυρὸν αὐταῖς καὶ οὐκ
 ἐξίτηλον ἐμπέφυκεν, ἐξανθεί δὲ τὴν κακίαν παρὰ
 φύσιν,³ ὑπὸ τροφῆς καὶ ὀμιλίας φαύλης φθειρό-
 μενον, εἶτα θεραπευθὲν ἐνίοις καλῶς ἀπολαμβάνει
 E τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔξιν, οὐ πᾶσι κατεπείγει τὴν
 τιμωρίαν ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστον εὐθύς
 ἐξείλεν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀπέκοψεν ὡς ἑτέροις γε πάν-
 τως βλαβερὸν, αὐτῷ⁴ τε βλαβερῶτατον αἰεὶ συνεῖναι
 μετὰ πονηρίας, οἷς δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοίας τοῦ καλοῦ
 μᾶλλον ἢ προαιρέσει τοῦ αἰσχροῦ τὸ ἀμαρτητικὸν
 εἰκὸς ἐγγεγονέναι⁵ δίδωσι μεταβάλλεσθαι⁶ χρόνον,
 εἰάν δὲ ἐπιμένωσι, καὶ τούτοις ἀπέδωκε τὴν δίκην·
 οὐ γὰρ που δέδιεν μὴ διαφύγωσιν.

“ Σκόπει δὲ ὅσαι μεταβολαὶ γεγόνασιν εἰς ἦθος
 ἀνδρῶν καὶ βίου· ἥ καὶ τρόπος ὠνομάσθη τὸ μετα-
 βάλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἦθος, ὡς πλείστον⁷ ἐνδύεται τὸ
 F ἔθος καὶ κρατεῖ μάλιστα καθαπτόμενον. οἶμαι μὲν

¹ γε, οἷς] οἷς γε?

² προσορίζειν Pohlenz (from “determinare” in Proclus, col. 132. 15 Cousin²): προσιζάνειν.

³ τὴν κακίαν παρὰ φύσιν G X F Z: παρὰ φύσιν τὴν κακίαν.

⁴ αὐτῷ] αὐτό X¹ F' Z N M¹ V^{1v} Y¹ CW¹.

⁵ ἐγγεγονέναι] ἐκγεγονέναι G X¹ F¹ Z.

⁶ μεταβάλλεσθαι G X¹ F¹ Z: μεταβαλέσθαι (τοῦ μεταβαλέσθαι W^c).

⁷ αὐτοῦ is omitted by Stegmann after πλείστον.

offender and set out at once in pursuit of the offence ; whereas God, we must presume, distinguishes whether the passions of the sick soul to which he administers his justice will in any way yield and make room for repentance, and for those in whose nature vice is not unrelieved or intractable, he fixes a period of grace.^a For inasmuch as he knows what rich endowment of virtue the souls carry away from him when they proceed to birth, and how strong and indelible is their innate nobility—that it breaks out into vice against its nature,^b corrupted by poor nurture and evil company, but on receiving careful treatment is in some restored to its rightful condition—he does not expedite punishment for all alike, but at once removes from life and amputates what is incurable, as constant association with wickedness is certainly harmful to others, and most harmful of all to the sufferer himself^c ; whereas to those whose sinfulness is likely to have sprung from ignorance of good rather than from preference of evil, he grants time for reform, but if they persist, these too he visits with condign punishment^d ; for he need hardly fear they will escape.

“ Consider how many changes have occurred in the characters and lives of men ; this explains why the changeable part of a man’s life was termed his ‘ bent ’ (*tropos*) and again his *ēthos* (character), since habit (*ēthos*)^e sinks very deep, and taking firm hold, wields power that is very great. I fancy indeed that the

^a Cf. Philo, *De Prov.* ii, p. 54 (ed. Aucher), quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* viii. 14. 386.

^b Cf. *Life of Pompey*, chap. xxviii. 5 (633 D).

^c Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 862 E.

^d Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 131. 7-12 (ed. Cousin²).

^e This etymology of *ēthos* is also found in *Mor.* 3 A and 443 C. Cf. Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* ii. 1. 1 (1103 a 17 f.).

(551) οὖν καὶ τὸν Κέκροπα διφυᾶ προσαγορευῆσαι τοὺς παλαιοὺς οὐχ, ὡς ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ χρηστοῦ βασιλέως ἄγριον καὶ δρακοντώδη γενόμενον τύραννον, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐν ἀρχῇ σκολιὸν ὄντα καὶ φοβερὸν, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἄρξαντα πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἄδηλον, ἀλλὰ Γέλωνα γε ἴσμεν καὶ Ἰέρωνα τοὺς Σικελιώτας καὶ Πεισίστρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτους ὅτι πονηρία κτησάμενοι 552 τυραννίδας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς καὶ παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἐλθόντες, ἐγένοντο μέτριοι καὶ δημωφελεῖς ἄρχοντες, οἱ μὲν εὐνομίαν τε πολλὴν καὶ γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν παρασχόντες αὐτοὺς τε σώφρονας τοὺς πολίτας καὶ φιλεργοὺς ἐκ πολυγελων¹ καὶ λάλων κατασκευάσαντες, Γέλων δὲ καὶ προπολεμήσας² ἄριστα καὶ κρατήσας μάχῃ μεγάλῃ Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους ἢ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύσονται τὰ τέκνα τῷ Κρόνω καταθύοντες. ἐν δὲ Μεγάλῃ Πόλει Λυδιάδας Β ἦν τύραννος, εἶτ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τυραννεῖν μεταβαλλόμενος³ καὶ δυσχεράνας τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀπέδωκε μὲν τοὺς νόμους τοῖς πολίταις, μαχόμενος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους⁴ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιφανῶς ἔπεσεν. εἰ δὲ τις ἢ τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν Μιλτιάδην ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πρότερον, ἢ Κίμωνα συνόντα τῇ ἀδελφῇ

¹ πολύγελων nos (πολυτελών Cobet) : πολυγέλων.

² προπολεμήσας X³ M^{c?} : προσπολεμήσας.

³ μεταβαλλόμενος] μεταβαλόμενος X³ F M² v Y².

⁴ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους] τοῖς πολεμίους M¹.

^a Cecrops, the first king of Attica, was half man and half serpent : cf. Eusebius, *Chronicon*, ii, p. 24. 27 (ed. Schoene), and Apollodorus, iii. 14. 1, with Frazer's note (in the L.C.L.).

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE, 551-552

ancients called Cecrops twy-formed^a not, as some say, because from a good king he changed into a savage and snakelike tyrant, but on the contrary because he began with devious and fearsome courses and ended by ruling with mildness and humanity. Yet if this is uncertain, we at all events have knowledge of Gelon and Hieron the Siceliots, and Peisistratus, son of Hippocrates; we know that after coming to tyrannical power by foul means, they used that power nobly,^b and after defying the laws to obtain sovereignty, turned out to be sovereigns that were mild^{mildness} and beneficent to their subjects. Thus Hieron and Peisistratus maintained good order everywhere, promoted husbandry, and created in the people themselves a new sobriety and industry in place of their old derisive and loquacious ways, while Gelon was furthermore a stout champion of his country, and after defeating the Carthaginians in a great battle refused their suit for peace until he had added to the treaty the provision that they should no longer sacrifice their children to Cronus.^c In Megalopolis Lydiadas ruled as tyrant, and it was in the midst of his tyrannical rule that the change in him occurred. Finding that he had no stomach for injustice, he restored their legal government to his countrymen, and while defending his native land against the enemy fell gloriously in battle.^d If someone had killed Miltiades earlier, when he was tyrant in the Chersonese, or had prosecuted and convicted

^b Much the same point is also made in *Mor.* 175 A.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 175 A; Theophrastus quoted in the scholia on Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, ii. 2; Porphyry, *De Abstemientia*, ii. 56.

^d Cf. *Lives of Agis and Cleomenes*, chap. xxviii. 4 (807 D), and *Life of Aratus*, chap. xxx. 1-8 (1041 A-D).

(552) διώξας εἶλεν, ἢ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐφ' οἷς ἀσελγαίνων ἐκώμαζε καὶ ὕβριζε δι' ἀγορᾶς ἀφείλετο τὴν πόλιν ὡς ὕστερον Ἀλκιβιάδου γραψάμενος, ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπωλώλεσαν¹ ἡμῖν οἱ Μαραθῶνες, οἱ Εὐρυμέδοντες, τὸ καλὸν Ἀρτεμίσιον,

ὅθι παῖδες Ἀθηναίων² ἐβάλλοντο φαεινὰν κρηπίδ' ἐλευθερίας;

C οὐθὲν γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσι, οὐδὲ ἀργεῖ δι' ὀξύτητα τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐν αὐταῖς καὶ δραστήριον, ἀλλ' ἐν σάλῳ διαφέρονται πρὶν εἰς τὸ μόνιμον καὶ καθεστηκὸς ἦθος ἐλθεῖν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ γεωργίας ἄπειρος οὐκ ἂν ἀσπάσαιτο χώραν ἰδὼν λόχμης ἔμπλεω δασείας καὶ φυτῶν ἀγρίων καὶ θηρία πολλὰ καὶ ρεύματα καὶ πολὺν ἔχουσαν πηλόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μεμαθηκότι διαισθάνεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν αὐτὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος³ ὑποδείκνυσι καὶ τὴν μαλακότητα τῆς γῆς, οὕτως ἄτοπα πολλὰ
D καὶ φαῦλα προεξανθοῦσιν αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις, ὧν ἡμεῖς μὲν εὐθύς τὸ τραχὺ καὶ νύττον οὐ φέροντες, ἀποκόπτειν οἴομεθα δεῖν καὶ κολοῦειν, ὁ δὲ βελτίων κριτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ χρηστὸν ἐνορῶν⁴ καὶ γενναῖον περιμένει λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς συνεργὸν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ὦραν ἧ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἢ φύσις καρπὸν ἀποδίδωσι.

7. “ Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ταύτη. τὸν δ' ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμον ἄρ' οὐκ εἰκότως ὑμῖν ἀπογράψασθαι δοκοῦσιν

¹ ἀπωλώλεσαν ^{a^c}: the rest have ἀπωλώλεισαν or corruptions of it.

² Ἀθηναίων Böckh: ἀθηναίων.

³ τὸ πλῆθος Wilamowitz (τὸ βάθος Pohlenz): πάνθ' ὅσα.

⁴ τὸ χρηστὸν ἐνορῶν G X F Z: ἐνορῶν τὸ χρηστὸν.

^a Cf. *Life of Cimon*, chap. iv. 6 (480 F).

Cimon for incest with his sister,^a or had indicted Themistocles and driven him from Athens, as was later done to Alcibiades, for his insolent revelling in the market-place,^b should we not have lost our Marathons, our Eurymedons, and glorious Artemisium,

Where Athens' sons laid freedom's bright foundation?^c

For great natures bring forth nothing trivial, and the vigour and enterprise in them is too keen to remain inert; nay, they drift about on heavy seas before coming to rest in their abiding and settled character.^d And so, as one ignorant of agriculture, on seeing a piece of ground overgrown with dense thickets and weeds, overrun with wild animals and water-courses, and covered with mud,^e would not find it to his liking, while to him who has learned to discriminate and judge these very circumstances reveal the vigour, depth, and looseness of the soil, so great natures put forth at first many strange and villainous shoots, and we, at once impatient of their rough and thorny quality, fancy that we should clear them away and cut them short; whereas the better judge discerns even in this their good and noble strain, and waits for them to reach the maturity that lends support to reason and virtue and the season when their nature yields her proper fruit.

7. "Let us pass to another point. Do you not think that certain Greeks did well to copy the

^b Cf. Athenaeus, 533 D and 576 c.

^c Pindar, Frag. 77 (ed. Schroeder); cf. also *Mor.* 350 B and note.

^d Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. ii. 7 (112 E); *Life of Demetrius*, chap. i. 7-8 (889 c); Plato, *Republic*, 491 E.

^e The same comparison occurs in *Mor.* 528 c-D.

(552) ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὃς κελεύει τὴν ἔγκυον, ἂν ἀλώ
θανάτου, μέχρι τέκῃ φυλάττειν; ”

“ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ” ἔφασαν.

Εἶπον οὖν ἐγώ, “ εἰ¹ δὲ παιδία μὴ κοι² τις,
Ε ἀλλὰ πράξιν ἢ βουλὴν ἀπόρρητον εἰς φῶς ἡλίου
δυνατὸς εἶη³ προαγαγεῖν χρόνῳ καὶ ἀναδείξαι, κακόν
τι μηνύσας λανθάνον ἢ σωτηρίου γνώμης γενό-
μενος σύμβουλος ἢ χρείας εὐρετῆς ἀναγκαίας, οὐκ
ἀμείνων ὁ περιμείνας τῇ τιμωρίᾳ⁴ τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ
προανελόντος; ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ, ” ἔφην,⁵ “ δοκεῖ.”

“ Καὶ ἡμῖν, ”⁶ ὁ Πατροκλέας εἶπεν.

“ Ὅρθῶς, ” ἔφην⁷. “ σκόπει γάρ, εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν
ἀρχῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἔδωκε δίκην, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἂν
Ἑλλήνων ᾧκει Σικελίαν, ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ Καρχη-
δονίων γενομένην, ὥσπερ οὐδ’ Ἀπολλωνίαν οὐδ’
Ἀνακτόριον οὐδὲ τὴν Λευκαδίων χερρόνησον ᾧκουν
F ἂν⁸ Ἕλληνες εἰ Περίανδρος ἐκολάσθη μὴ μετὰ⁹
πολὺν χρόνον. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ γενέσθαι
τῆς δίκης ἀναβολὴν ὅπως αἱ Θῆβαι συνοικῶνται
πάλιν. τῶν δὲ τουτὶ τὸ ἱερόν συγκαταλαβόντων
ξένων οἱ πολλοὶ Τιμολέοντι συνδιαβάντες εἰς Σικε-
λίαν, ὅτε Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησαν καὶ κατέλυσαν

¹ εἰ] ἐὰν Bern.

² κοις ζ and Paton : κύει G X F Z Vv ; κύη. Kontos and Hatzidakis cite κνεῖσθαι (*Mor.* 770 A) for the accent.

³ εἶη Paton : ἦ (ἦ N¹; εἶ Z Ry l).

⁴ τῇ τιμωρίᾳ nos (πρὸ τῆς τιμωρίας? Post) : τῆς τιμωρίας.

⁵ ἔφην X³ qflp : ἔφη.

⁶ ἡμῖν G² S K^t Y² : ὑμῖν.

⁷ ἔφην X³ : ἔφη (omitted in Ry K Y³).

⁸ ἂν G X F Z Vv : omitted in the rest.

⁹ εἰ . . . μὴ μετὰ G X F Z M² Vv : εἰ μὴ . . . μετὰ.

Egyptian law which provides that a pregnant woman under sentence of death shall be kept in prison until she has borne her child ? ” ^a

“ Assuredly,” they replied.

“ If a person,” I continued, “ instead of having children to bring into the world, should be capable of eventually bringing forth to the light of day some hidden action or plan and of publishing it for all to see, reporting some unnoticed evil or imparting salutary advice or making some discovery of general use, is not he who waits for the benefit before punishing such a person better than he who kills him first ? I for one think so,” I said.

“ And so do we,” Patrocleas replied.

“ And you are right,” I said. “ Consider : if Dionysius had met with his deserts when his tyranny began, no Greek would now be living in Sicily, which the Carthaginians would have laid waste ^b ; so, too, no Greeks would now be living in Apollonia, in Anactorium, or on the peninsula of Leucas, if the punishment of Periander had not been long deferred. ^c Cassander too, I think, was reprieved so that Thebes might become a city again. ^d Of the mercenaries who helped to seize this temple ^e the greater part, crossing over to Sicily with Timoleon, ^f defeated the Carthaginians and overthrew the tyrants before

Philo, *De Virtutibus*, 139 ; Clement, *Strom.* ii. 18. 93. 2 ; Quintilian, *Decl.* cclxxvii. For a similar provision in Roman law *cf.* Julius Paulus, *Sent.* I tit. 12. 5, and Ulpian in the *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, xlvi. 19. 3.

^b *Cf.* the eighth Platonic *Epistle*, 353 A-B.

^c *Cf.* Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 134. 7-29 (ed. Cousin²).

^d Cassander restored Thebes (which had been destroyed by Alexander) in 316.

^e The temple of Apollo at Delphi : *cf.* 560 c, *infra*.

^f *Cf.* *Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxx. 6-9 (251 A-C).

(552) τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐξώλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ¹ κακοὶ κακῶς ὕστερον. ἐνίοις γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ κολασταῖς ἐτέρων πονηρῶν, οἷον δημοκοίνοις, ἀπεχρήσατο τὸ δαιμόνιον, εἴτ' ἐπέτριψεν, καθάπερ οἶμαι τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὑαίνης χολή καὶ φώκης
 553 πυτία,² θηρίων τᾶλλα μιαρῶν, ἔχουσί τι πρὸς τὰς νόσους χρήσιμον, οὕτως ἐνίοις δήμοις δηγμοῦ³ δεομένοις καὶ κολάσεως ἐμβαλῶν ὁ θεὸς πικρίαν τινὰ τυράννου δυσμείλικτον καὶ τραχύτητα χαλεπὴν⁴ ἄρχοντος, οὐ πρότερον ἐξείλε τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ταραττον ἢ τὸ νοσοῦν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ καθᾶραι. τοιοῦτο καὶ Φάλαρις ἦν Ἀκραγαντίνοις φάρμακον καὶ Ῥωμαίοις Μάριος. Σικυωνίοις δὲ καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ θεὸς προεῖπεν μαστιγονόμων δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε Τελητίαν⁵ παῖδα στεφανούμενον ἐν Πυθίοις ἀφαιρούμενοι Κλεωναίων ὡς ἴδιον πολίτην διέσπασαν.
 Β ἄλλὰ Σικυωνίοις μὲν Ὀρθαγόρας γενόμενος τύραννος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον οἱ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένη τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἔπαυσαν. Κλεωναῖοι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐ τυχόντες ἰατρείας εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἤκουσιν. καὶ Ὀμήρου δέ που λέγοντος ἀκούετε·

τοῦ γένητ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολὺ χείρονος υἱὸς ἀμείνων παντοίην ἀρετὴν⁶.

καίτοι λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκπρεπὲς⁷ ἔργον ἐκείνος

¹ καὶ αὐτοὶ F : the rest omit.

² πυτία] πιτύα G¹ X³ hki.

³ ἐνίοις δήμοις δηγμοῦ Plasberg (δήμοις δηγμοῦ Klostermann): ἐνίοις δηγμοῦ. ⁴ χαλεπὴν G¹ X³ Ry K : λεπτήν.

⁵ Τελητίαν] Τελευτίαν? Wilamowitz.

⁶ παντοίην ἀρετὴν] most mss. of Homer have παντοίας ἀρετάς.

⁷ ἐκπρεπὲς Wytttenbach : εὐπρεπὲς.

perishing miserably in their turn. Indeed the Deity has actually made use of some of the wicked as chastisers of others—public executioners, one might say—and then blasted them; this is true, I believe, of most tyrants.^a For as the gall of the hyena^b and rennet of the seal^c—animals unclean in all else—have a certain efficacy in disease, so God has fastened on certain peoples in need of an irritant and of chastening the bitter application of a tyrant's unyielding harshness and a ruler's cruel anger, and has not removed the pain and distress until he has expelled the disorder and purged it away. Such a medicine was Phalaris for the Agrigentines and Marius for the Romans. To the Sicyonians the god even declared in plain terms that the city needed 'pliers of the lash'^d when, claiming the boy Teletias as their own countryman while he was receiving the crown at the Pythian games, in their attempt to wrest him from the Cleonaeans they tore him to pieces.^e But the Sicyonians, when Orthagoras became tyrant and after him Myron and Cleisthenes, were checked in their wantonness; whereas the Cleonaeans, who were not granted such a cure, have come to nothing. You doubtless all recall the words of Homer^f:

From that far baser sire a better son
In every excellence was sprung.

Yet that son of Copreus accomplished no splendid

^a Cf. Philo, *De Prov.*, quoted by Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* viii. 39 (pp. 70 f. ed. Aucher). ^b Cf. *Mor.* 1065 B.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 1029 F. It was used against epilepsy: cf. Aristotle, *Frag.* 370 (ed. Rose), and Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* ix. 11. 3, and *Frag.* 175 (ed. Wimmer).

^d Cf. Diodorus, viii. 24.

^e The story is not found elsewhere.

^f *Il.* xv. 641 f.

(553) ὁ τοῦ Κοπρέως παρέσχεν· ἀλλὰ τὸ Σισύφου καὶ τὸ Αὐτολύκου καὶ τὸ¹ Φλεγύου γένος ἦνθησεν ἐν δόξαις καὶ ἀρεταῖς μεγάλων βασιλέων. γέγονε δὲ καὶ Περικλῆς Ἀθήνησιν ἐναγοῦς οἰκίας· καὶ Πομ-
 C πῆιος Μάγνος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Στράβωνος ἦν υἱός, οὗ τὸν νεκρὸν ὁ Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ὑπὸ μίσους ἐξέβαλε καὶ κατεπάτησεν. τί οὖν ἄτοπον εἶ, καθάπερ γεωργὸς οὐκ ἐκκόπτει τὴν ἄκανθαν ἂν μὴ λάβῃ τὸν ἀσπάραγον, οὐδ' οἱ Λίβυες τὸ φρύγανον ἐπικαίουσι πρότερον ἢ τὸ λήδανον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συναγαγεῖν, οὕτως ὁ θεὸς ἐνδόξου καὶ βασιλικοῦ γένους ρίζαν πονηρὰν καὶ τραχεῖαν οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ πρότερον ἢ φῦναι τὸν προσήκοντα καρπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς; μυρίας γὰρ Ἰφίτου βοῦς καὶ ἵππους ἀπολέσθαι κρεῖττον ἦν Φωκεῦσι, καὶ πλείονα χρυσὸν ἐκ Δελφῶν
 D οἷχεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον, ἢ μήτε Ὀδυσσεά μήτε Ἀσκληπιὸν φῦναι μήτε τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ κακῶν καὶ πονηρῶν ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μεγαλωφελεῖς γενομένους.

8. “Τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ καὶ τρόπῳ τῷ προσήκοντι γενέσθαι² τὰς τιμωρίας οὐ βέλτιον εἶναι τοῦ ταχῆ

¹ καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ τὸ G X F Z: καὶ τὸ . . . καὶ M Vv; καὶ . . . καὶ τὸ Ry hki N Y CW.

² γενέσθαι] γίνεσθαι X³ M³⁸⁸.

^a Sisyphus, “wiliest of men” (Homer, *Il.* xv. 153), was grandfather of Bellerophon (vi. 155), who in turn was grandfather of Glaucus and Sarpedon (vi. 199, 206). In later literature Sisyphus was held to have been the real father of Odysseus (*cf.* *Mor.* 301 D with the note in the L.C.L. and 992 E).

or remarkable deed, while the stock of Sisyphus,^a of Autolycus,^b and of Phlegyas^c came to flower in the glories and virtues of great kings. And at Athens Pericles came of a family that lay under a curse^d; at Rome Pompey the Great was son of Strabo, whose corpse the Roman people in its hate cast out and trampled under foot.^e Where then is the absurdity, if, as a farmer does not cut away the prickly plant^f until he has culled its edible shoots, and the Libyans do not set fire to their shrub until they have gathered from it the gum ladanum, so God too does not destroy the rank and thorny root of a glorious and royal race until it has borne its proper fruit? Better for the Phocians to have lost ten thousand cows and mares of Iphitus,^g and for still more gold and silver to have vanished from Delphi, than that Odysseus and Asclepius should never have been born or those others who, sprung of a base and wicked line, turned out to be men of virtue and authors of great benefits.

8. "Do you not think it better that punishments should take place at a fitting time and in a fitting

^b Autolycus, who "excelled all men in thievery and perjury" (Homer, *Od.* xix. 394-396), was the maternal grandfather of Odysseus (xix. 395).

^c Phlegyas burned the temple of Apollo at Delphi (*cf.* a scholium on Statius, *Thebaid*, i. 713; Servius on *Aeneid*, vi. 618; Eusebius, *Chronicorum Canonum Liber*, pp. 32 f. Schoene). He was the maternal grandfather of Asclepius.

^d *Cf.* Thucydides, i. 127.

^e *Cf.* *Life of Pompey*, chap. i. 2 (619 B).

^f *Asparagus acutifolius*: *cf.* *Mor.* 138 D and Theophrastus, *Caus. Plant.* vi. 12. 9, *Hist. Plant.* vi. 4. 1-2.

^g According to a scholium on Homer, *Od.* xii. 22, Autolycus stole the twelve mares of Iphitus with their mule foals. Plutarch identifies this Iphitus, son of Eurytus, with Iphitus the Phocian (Homer, *Il.* ii. 518, xvii. 306).

(553) καὶ παραχρῆμα νομίζεις,¹ οἷόν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ Κάλ-
λιππον, ᾧ ξιφιδίῳ φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀπέκτεινε
Δίωνα, τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπο-
θανεῖν, καὶ τὸ Μίτυος² τοῦ Ἀργείου κατὰ στάσιν
ἀναιρεθέντος ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ θεᾶς
οὔσης ἐμπεσεῖν τῷ κτείναντι τὸν Μίτυν³ καὶ ἀν-
ελεῖν; καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Βέσσον τὸν Παίονα καὶ
Ἀρίστωνα τὸν Οἰταῖον ξεναγὸν οἶσθα δῆπουθεν,
ὧ Πατροκλέα.”

Ε “Μὰ Δί’,” εἶπεν,⁴ “ἀλλὰ δέομαι μαθεῖν.”

“Ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστων,” ἔφην,⁵ “τὸν Ἐριφύλης
κόσμον ἐνταῦθα κείμενον καθελών, τῶν τυράννων
διδόντων, ἐκόμισε τῇ γυναικὶ δῶρον· ὁ δ’ υἱὸς
αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν μητέρα διοργανθεὶς ἔκ τινος αἰτίας
ὑφῆψε τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ πάντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κατέκαυ-
σεν. ὁ δὲ Βέσσος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀπεκτονῶς τὸν πα-
τέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, πολὺν χρόνον ἐλάνθανεν, ὕστερον
δὲ πρὸς ξένους ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐλθὼν χελιδόνων τινὰ
νεοσσιὰν⁶ τῇ λόγχῃ νύξας κατέβαλεν καὶ τοὺς
νεοσσοὺς διέφθειρεν· λεγόντων δὲ οἷον εἰκὸς τῶν

Φ παρόντων, ‘ἀνθρωπε, τί παθὼν ἔργον οὕτως ἀλλό-
κοτον ἔπραξας;’ ‘οὐ γάρ,’ ἔφη, ‘μου πάλαι κατα-
μαρτυροῦσιν αὐταὶ ψευδῶς καὶ καταβοῶσιν ὡς
ἀπεκτονότος τὸν πατέρα;’ θαυμάσαντες δὲ οἱ

¹ νομίζεις Bern. : νομίζειν (placed before τοῦ ταχὺ in F).

² Μίτυος L. Dindorf from Aristotle : μίτιος (τίμιος Ry) ;
μίτιον G² F Z M³ Y³.

³ Μίτυν L. Dindorf : μίτιον.

⁴ εἶπεν X³ hki C : εἰπεῖν.

⁵ ἔφην Ald.² : ἔφη.

⁶ νεοσσιὰν] νοσσιὰν G X F (-σ- Z) hk Vv.

manner rather than speedily and at once? That Callippus, for example, should have been murdered by his friends with the very dagger with which, a seeming friend, he murdered Dion,^a and that the bronze statue of Mityls the Argive, who had met his death in a factious quarrel, should in the course of a spectacle in the market-place have fallen on his slayer and killed him? ^b I presume you also know, Patrocleas, the stories of Bessus the Paeonian and Ariston of Oeta, the captain of mercenaries."

"Indeed I do not," he replied. "But I should like to hear them."

"Ariston," I said, "with the tyrants' ^c leave, took down the jewels of Eriphylê, which had been dedicated here,^d and carried them off as a present to his wife. His son, incensed at his mother for some reason, set fire to the house, and all who were in it perished in the conflagration.^e As for Bessus, the story goes that he killed his father and long went unsuspected. At last, when he had come to dine at a certain house, he prodded a swallow's nest with his spear, knocked it down, and killed the nestlings. The rest naturally asked: 'What is wrong with you, man? What is the meaning of such strange behaviour?' To this he answered: 'Why, haven't they all along accused me falsely and denounced me for killing my father?' The company was astonished

^a Cf. *Life of Dion*, chap. lviii. 6-7 (983 D).

^b Cf. Aristotle, *Poetics*, chap. ix (1452 a 7-10), and Pseudo-Aristotle, *De Mir. Ausc.* chap. clvi (846 a 22-24).

^c The Phocian leaders who seized and plundered Delphi in the Third Sacred War.

^d At Delphi.

^e Cf. Diodorus, xvi. 64. 2, and Parthenius, chap. xxv. Ariston's wife, like Eriphylê, met death at the hands of her son,

(553) παρόντες τὸν λόγον ἐμήνυσαν τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελεγχθέντος ἔτισεν ὁ Βέσσος τὴν δίκην.

9. “ Ἄλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν,” ἔφην, “ ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ὥσπερ ἠξίωται, γίνεσθαι τινα τῆς τιμωρίας ἀναβολὴν ὑποθέμενοι τοῖς πονηροῖς· τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου χρὴ νομίζειν ἀκροᾶσθαι λέγοντος οὐχ ἢ Πλάτων, ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τιμωρίαν ἀδικίας πάθην,¹
554 ἀλλ’ ἠλικιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμόθεν χώρας καὶ ρίζης συνυποφουομένην· ‘ ἢ ’ γὰρ ‘ κακή,’ φησί, ‘ βουλή τῷ βουλευσάντι κακίστη ’ καὶ

ὅς δ’ ἄλλω κακὰ τεύχει, ἐῷ κακὸν ἥπατι τεύχει.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ καθαρὸς ἐν αὐτῇ λέγεται τὸ βοηθητικὸν ἐκ τινος ἀντιπαθείας ἔχειν συγκεκραμένον, ἡ δὲ πονηρία συγγενῶσα τὸ λυποῦν ἑαυτῇ² καὶ κολάζον, οὐχ ὕστερον ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὕβρει τὴν δίκην τοῦ ἀδικεῖν δίδωσιν· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τῶν κολα-
B ζομένων ἕκαστος κακούργων³ ἐκφέρει τὸν αὐτοῦ σταυρόν, ἡ δὲ κακία τῶν κολαστηρίων ἐφ’ ἑαυτὴν ἕκαστον ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκταίνεται, δεινὴ τις⁴ οὔσα βίου⁵ δημιουργὸς οἴκτροῦ καὶ⁶ σὺν αἰσχύνῃ φόβους

¹ πάθην X³: παθεῖν (σπάθην G⁴).

² ἑαυτῇ] ἐν αὐτῇ F Ry N (ἐν ἑαυτῇ S).

³ κακούργων X³ D: τῶν κακούργων.

⁴ δεινὴ τις] δεινοῦ ἢ τις D; δεινότης Ry.

⁵ βίου] omitted in G.

⁶ οἴκτροῦ καὶ F³ Ry hki N² C¹: οἴκτου καὶ G X¹ F¹ Z I (οἴ- N¹) M Y¹ WR¹; οἴκτου V^{1v}; οἴκτους D V²; οἴκτους καὶ X³ Y².

^a *Laws*, 728 c; cf. Plutarch, *Comm. on Hesiod*, 25 (vol. vii, p. 63. 14 f. Bern.).

^b Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 266; quoted also in *Mor.* 36 A.

^c Instead of *Works and Days*, 265, Plutarch by a slip of

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE, 553-554

at these words and reported them to the king. The truth was discovered, and Bessus suffered the penalty.

9. "But hitherto," I said, "the arguments have been our own, and rest on an assumption that the punishment of the wicked is deferred; what remains to be said we must imagine we hear from Hesiod, who does not say with Plato^a that punishment is a suffering following upon injustice, but holds it to be coeval with injustice, springing up with it from the selfsame soil and root. Thus he says that

The evil plan is worst for him that planned it^b

and

He that devises ill for other men
For his own vitals does the ill devise.^c

For whereas the blister beetle,^d is reported to contain, mixed within itself, its own remedy, which operates by a sort of counteraction, wickedness engenders with itself its pain and punishment, and thus pays the penalty of its wrongdoing not later, but at the very moment of commission; and whereas every criminal who goes to execution must carry his own cross on his back,^e vice frames out of itself each instrument of its own punishment, cunning artisan^f that it is of a life of wretchedness containing with

memory quotes a similar verse found in Lucilius (*Anth. Pal.* xi. 183. 5); cf. Callimachus, *Aetia*, i, frag. 2. 5 (ed. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949).

^d *Cantharis vesicatoria*, L. The beetle, used as a medication, was poisonous when taken internally. Cf. *Mor.* 22 A-B and Galen, *De Simpl. Med. Temp. ac Fac.* iii. 23 (vol. xi, p. 609 Kühn).

^e Cf. John xix. 17 and Artemidorus, *On the Interpretation of Dreams*, ii. 56.

^f Cf. *Mor.* 498 C-D.

(554) τε πολλοὺς καὶ μεταμελείας καὶ πάθη χαλεπὰ¹
καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπαύστους ἔχοντας. ἀλλ' οὐθέν² ἔνιοι
διαφέρουσι παιδαρίων, ἃ τοὺς κακούργους ἐν τοῖς
θεάτροις θεώμενα, πολλάκις ἐν χιτῶσι διαχρύσοις
καὶ χλαμυδίοις ἀλουργοῖς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πυρ-
ριχίζοντας, ἄγαται καὶ τέθηπεν ὡς μακαρίους ἄχρι
οὗ κεντούμενοι καὶ μαστιγούμενοι καὶ πῦρ ἀνιέντες
ἐκ τῆς ἀνθίνης³ ἐκείνης καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἐσθήτος
C ὀφθῶσιν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οἰκίας περι-
βηβλημένοι μεγάλας καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δυνάμεις περι-
φανεῖς λανθάνουσιν ὅτι κολάζονται πρὶν ἂν φθῶσιν⁴
ἀποσφαγέντες ἢ κατακρημμισθέντες· ἄπερ⁵ ἂν τις
οὐ τιμωρίαν εἴποι, πέρασ δὲ τιμωρίας καὶ συν-
τέλειαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἡρόδικον τὸν Σηλυμβριανὸν
εἰς φθίσειν, ἀνήκεστον πάθος, ἐμπεσόντα καὶ μίξαντα
πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων γυμναστικὴν ἰατρικῇ φησιν⁶ ὁ
Πλάτων μακρὸν⁷ ποιῆσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ
τοῖς ὁμοίως νοσοῦσιν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ὅσοι
τὴν παραυτίκα πληγὴν ἐκφυγεῖν ἔδοξαν, οὐ μετὰ
πλείονα χρόνον ἀλλ' ἐν πλείονι χρόνῳ τιμωρίαν
D μακροτέραν, οὐ βραδυτέραν, τίνουσιν, οὐδὲ γηρά-
σαντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ἐγήρασαν κολαζόμενοι.
λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πολὺν χρόνον· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε
θεοῖς πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διάστημα τὸ μηδὲν
ἐστι, καὶ τὸ νῦν ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα

¹ μετ. καὶ πάθη χ. G X F Z I Vv : πάθη χ. καὶ μετ.

² οὐθέν G X F Z I Vv : οὐδέν.

³ ἀνθίνης G X¹ F³ I N² W^R (confirming Kontos and Hatzidakis) : ἀνθινῆς F¹ R K^{ac} N¹ M² (ἀθ- M¹) Y C ; ἀνθεινῆς X³ D y S K^c hki Vv.

⁴ ἂν φθῶσιν Vossianus 2²ms : ἂν ὀφθῶσιν X³ F I V Y³ ; ἂν φθάσωσιν D ; ἀναφθῶσιν (ἂν ἀφθῶσιν, ἂν ἀφθῶσιν).

⁵ ἄπερ] ἄσπερ X¹ F¹ Z I N² (ῶσ- N¹) M¹ Y¹.

⁶ φησιν X³ D : ὡς φησιν.

infamy a host of terrors, regrets, cruel passions, and never-ending anxieties. Yet some there are no wiser than little children, who see criminals in the amphitheatre, clad often in tunics of cloth of gold and purple mantles, wearing chaplets and dancing Pyrrhic measures, and struck with awe and wonderment suppose them supremely happy, till the moment when before their eyes the criminals are stabbed and scourged and that gay and sumptuous apparel bursts into flame.^a For in most cases it is not suspected that the wicked, when arrayed in greatness of family and office and in positions of splendid power, are suffering punishment, until, before we know it, they are slaughtered or hurled down a precipice, and this one would not call punishment, but the end and consummation of punishment. For as Herodicus of Selymbria, who had fallen ill of phthisis, an incurable disease, and was the first to combine gymnastics with medicine, devised for himself and for others similarly afflicted, as Plato^b says, a 'lingering death,' so likewise those of the wicked who appear to have escaped the immediate blow, pay not after, but during, a longer period^c a penalty more lasting, not more delayed, and have not been punished on growing old, but have grown old in punishment. When I speak of a long period I mean it relatively to ourselves, as for the gods any length of human life is but nothing,^d and to put the evildoer on the rack or hang

^a The apparel is the *tunica molesta*: cf. L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*⁹ (Leipzig, 1920), ii, p. 91.

^b *Republic*, 406 A-B.

^c Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 130. 8-10 (ed. Cousin²).

^d Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 10-19 (ed. Cousin²).

(554) τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν οἶον τὸ δειλῆς ἀλλὰ μὴ πρῶι στρεβλοῦν ἢ κρεμαννῦναι τὸν πονηρόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ φρουρούμενον ἐν τῷ βίῳ καθάπερ εἰρκτῇ μηδεμίαν μετανάστασιν ἐχούσῃ μηδὲ διάφευξιν, εὐωχίας δὲ πολλὰς διὰ μέσου καὶ πραγματείας καὶ δόσεις καὶ χάριτας ἀμέλει καὶ παιδιάς, ὥσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίῳ κυβευόντων ἢ πεττευόντων ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ σχοινοῦ κρεμαμένον.

10. “ Καίτοι τί κωλύει μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ
 E καθειργνυμένους¹ φάναι κολάζεσθαι μέχρι οὐ τις ἀποκόψῃ² τὸν τράχηλον, μηδὲ τὸν πεπωκότα τὸ κώνειον εἶτα περιόντα³ καὶ προσμένοντα βάρους ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς σκέλεσιν αὐτοῦ πρὶν ἢ τὴν συνάπτουσαν ἀναισθησίᾳ σβέσιν καὶ πῆξι καταλαβεῖν, εἰ τὸν ἔσχατον τῆς τιμωρίας καιρὸν ἠγούμεθα τιμωρίαν, τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ παθήματα καὶ φόβους
 F καὶ προσδοκίας καὶ μεταμελείας οἷς ἀδικήσας ἕκαστος ἐνέχεται τῶν πονηρῶν παραλείπομεν, ὥσπερ ἰχθὺν καταπεπωκότα τὸ ἄγκιστρον οὐ φάσκοντες ἐάλωκέναι πρὶν ὑπὸ τῶν μαγείρων ὀπτώμενον ἴδωμεν⁴ ἢ κατατεμνόμενον; ἔχεται γὰρ ἕκαστος ἀδικήσας τῇ δίκῃ, καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀδικίας ὥσπερ δέλεαρ εὐθύς ἐξεδήδοκεν, τὸ δὲ συνειδὸς ἐγκείμενον ἔχων καὶ ἀποτίνον,⁵

θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὡς διαστροβεῖ.

ἢ γὰρ ἰταμότης ἐκείνη καὶ τὸ θρασὺ τῆς κακίας

¹ καθειργνυμένους] καθειργμένους G K v ζ.

² ἀποκόψῃ] -ει G¹ X¹ I S N Y (ἀποκόψοι D).

³ περιόντα Z I D²; περιόντα.

⁴ ἴδωμεν] ἴδομεν X¹ Z I N Y¹; εἶδομεν G¹ M.

⁵ ἀποτίνον I M^{gas} Y^{gas} C (ἀποτίνον X³ Ry Vv); ἀποτεῖνον K; ἀποκτεῖνον ζ; ἀποτίνων (ἀποτείνων hki).

him now, and not thirty years ago, is like doing it in the evening and not in the morning, especially as he is shut up in his life as in a prison-house affording no removal or escape, although it allows in the interval much feasting^a and transaction of business, much conferring and receiving of favours, and indeed many pastimes, as when prisoners play at dice or draughts with the rope hanging overhead.

10. " And yet what is to keep us from denying that even prisoners under sentence of death are punished until their necks are severed, or that one who has drunk the hemlock and is walking about, waiting for his legs to become heavy,^b is punished until he is overtaken by the chill and rigor that immediately precede the loss of all sensation, if we account as punishment only the final moment of punishment and ignore the intervening sufferings, terrors, forebodings, and pangs of remorse to which every wicked man, once he has done evil, is prey, as if we denied that a fish which has swallowed the hook is caught until we see it set to broil or cut in pieces by the cook? For every man, on doing wrong, is held fast in the toils of justice; he has snapped up in an instant the sweetness of his iniquity, like a bait,^c but with the barbs of conscience embedded in his vitals and paying for his crime,

He, like a stricken tunny, churns the sea.^d

For the proverbial aggressiveness and boldness of

^a Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 116 E.

^b Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 117 E.

^c Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 29-33 (ed. Cousin²).

^d Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 391; also quoted in the *Life of Lucullus*, chap. i. 5 (491 F).

(554) ἄχρι τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἰσχυρόν ἐστι καὶ πρόχειρον,
 555 εἶτα, τοῦ πάθους ὥσπερ πνεύματος ὑπολείποντος,
 ἀσθενὲς καὶ ταπεινὸν ὑποπίπτει τοῖς φόβοις καὶ
 ταῖς δεισιδαιμονίαις· ὥστε πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα¹ καὶ
 πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀποπλάττεσθαι τὸ τῆς Κλυται-
 μήστρας² ἐνύπνιον τὸν Στησίχορον, οὕτωςί πως
 λέγοντα

τῆ δὲ³ δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κᾶρα βεβρωτω-
 μένος ἄκρον,

ἐκ δ' ἄρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἐφάνη.

καὶ γὰρ ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων καὶ φάσματα μεθημερινὰ
 καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ καταβασίαι⁴ καὶ ὅ τι δόξαν ἔσχεν
 αἰτία θεοῦ περαίνεσθαι χειμῶνας ἐπάγει καὶ φόβους
 B τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένοις, οἷόν φασιν Ἀπολλόδωρόν
 ποτε κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὄραν ἐκδερόμενον ἑαυτὸν
 ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν, εἶτα καθεψόμενον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν
 ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος ὑποφθεγγομένην καὶ λέγουσαν,
 'ἐγὼ σοι τούτων αἰτία,' καὶ πάλιν τὰς θυγατέρας
 διαπύρους καὶ φλεγόμενας τοῖς σώμασιν κύκλω
 περὶ αὐτὸν περιτρεχούσας⁵. Ἴππαρχον δὲ τὸν
 Πεισιστράτου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς αἵμα
 προσβάλλουσαν⁶ αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἔκ τινος
 φιάλης πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον. οἱ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ

¹ γινόμενα G X Z : γινόμενα (-αινα F¹).

² Κλυταιμήστρας N¹ : κλυταιμνήστρας.

³ τῆ δὲ Reiske : τάδε (omitted in Ry).

⁴ καταβασίαι] καταβασίαι G¹ X¹ F Ry S hk Y.

⁵ περιτρεχούσας] τρεχούσας G Vv.

⁶ προσβάλλουσαν hki Vv : προσβαλοῦσαν.

vice is strong and ready to hand until the evil deed is done, but thereafter, as the gale of passion dies away, it falls a weak and abject prey to terrors and superstitions ; so that Stesichorus ^a is modelling the dream of Clytemnestra on life and reality when he speaks in this sort :

She thought a serpent came to her, its head
Smeared on the crown with blood ; when lo ! it changed
Into the royal Pleisthenid. ^b

For visions in dreams, apparitions by day, ^c oracles, the fall of thunderbolts, and all else that gets ascribed to the agency of God bring agonies of terror to those in this state. Thus Apollodorus, ^d it is said, in a dream once saw himself flayed and then boiled by Scythians, when his heart spoke from the cauldron in muffled tones and said : 'It was I that brought you to this ;' and another time saw his daughters run about him with bodies glowing like coals and all aflame. And Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, is said shortly before his death to have seen Aphroditê dashing blood into his face from a cup. ^e When the friends of Ptolemy

^a Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* iii, Stesichorus, 42.

^b Interpreters differ whether this is Agamemnon, the husband she had murdered (so Jebb in his introduction to the *Electra* of Sophocles, p. xix), or Orestes, the son who avenged him (so Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*, pp. 131 f.).

^c Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 21 f. (ed. Cousin²).

^d Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 135. 37-44 (ed. Cousin²). Apollodorus, tyrant of Cassandreia from about 279 to 276 B.C., was a byword for ferocity. The dream of being flayed and boiled is doubtless connected with the killing and eating of Callimeles (cf. 556 D *infra* and note), while that of the blazing daughters may be connected with the incident told in Poly-aenus, vi. 7. 1.

^e This dream is not mentioned elsewhere ; it is easily interpreted.

(555) Κεραυνοῦ φίλοι καλούμενον αὐτὸν ἐώρων¹ ἐπὶ δίκην
 C ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, γυπῶν καὶ λύκων δικαζόντων, καὶ
 κρέα πολλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις διανεμόντα.² Πausanίας
 δὲ Κλεονίκην ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρθένον ἐλευθέραν
 ὕβρει μεταπεμψάμενος ὡς ἕξων διὰ νυκτός, εἶτα
 προσιοῦσαν ἕκ τινος ταραχῆς καὶ ὑποψίας ἀνελών,
 ἐώρα πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις λέγουσαν αὐτῷ

βαῖνε³ δίκης ἄσπον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν
 ὕβρις.

οὐ παυομένου δὲ τοῦ φάσματος, ὡς ἔοικεν, πλεύσας
 ἐπὶ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον⁴ εἰς Ἡράκλειαν, ἰλασμοῖς τισι
 καὶ χοαῖς ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς κόρης· ἐλθοῦσα
 δὲ εἰς ὄψιν εἶπεν ὅτι παύσεται τῶν κακῶν ὅταν ἐν
 Λακεδαίμοι γένηται· γενόμενος δέ, εὐθύς ἐτελεύ-
 τησεν.

D 11. “Ὡστε εἰ μηθέν ἐστι τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ τὴν
 τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτος πέρας ἀπάσης καὶ
 τιμωρίας ὁ θάνατος, μᾶλλον ἢ τις εἴποι τοῖς ταχῶ

¹ καλούμενον αὐτὸν ἐώρων]. The passage is corrupt. Cf. Proclus, col. 125. 41-44: “Ptolemaeum autem Ceraunum vocantem amicos putare se [Post would omit se] ipsum in somnia vocari ad iudicium a Seleuco, vultures autem ibi considerare et lupos iudices.” Pohlenz suggests καλοῦντος αὐτοῦ παραγενόμενοι νύκτωρ οὕτως ἐξέπληξαν αὐτόν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὄραν καλούμενον αὐτόν. Post suggests καλοῦντος περὶ Σελεύκου δικάζειν ἐν ὕπνῳ καλούμενον αὐτόν ἐώρων.

² διανεμόντα] διανεμόντων Reiske.

³ βαῖνε] στείχε *Life of Cimon*, chap. vi. 5 (422 c).

⁴ πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ ψ.] πέμψας ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. F; ἐμβλέψας (ἐκπέμψας V²; ἐπεμβλέψας v) ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. V¹; ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. πλεύσας (πέμψας C) W; πέμψας M^{2mg}.

Ceraunus were called to his presence, they beheld him suffering from the delusion that he was being called to judgement himself^a by Seleucus before a tribunal of vultures and wolves, and was serving his enemies great portions of meat.^b When Pausanias was at Byzantium, he had in his insolent lust sent for Cleonicê, a maiden of free birth, intending to keep her for the night. As she drew near, he was seized by some wild suspicion and killed her. Thereafter he often saw her in his dreams, saying to him :

Come meet thy doom ; by pride are men undone.

As the apparition did not cease, he sailed (we hear) to the Passage of the Dead at Heracleia and with certain propitiatory rites and libations evoked the maiden's ghost ; it appeared to him and said that his troubles would be over when he went to Lacedaemon. On going there he presently died.^c

11. " And so, if nothing exists for the soul when life is done, and death is the bourne of all reward and punishment, it is rather in its dealing with those

^a The text is corrupt and the translation conjectural. Proclus says : " And Ptolemy Ceraunus, when he summoned his friends, thought in his dreams that he was himself summoned to judgement by Seleucus. . . ."

^b Ptolemy Ceraunus murdered Seleucus in 280 B.C. Possibly the dream was suggested by the proverb τὸν (or τῆν) περὶ τῶν κρεῶν (*cf. Mor.* 1087 B), in its fuller form λαγῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχων " the hare runs for her meat," for which see Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, pp. 108, 270, 336 f., ii, pp. 37, 121, 496. But *cf. also Prov. Coisl.* 324 : λύκος κρέας νέμει.

^c The story of Cleonicê is told in greater detail in the *Life of Cimon*, chap. vi. 4-7 (482 B-D) ; *cf. also* Frag. 1 of the Ὀμηρικαὶ Μελέται (vol. vii, p. 99 Bern.), Aristodemus, 8. 1 (F. Jacoby, *Die Frag. d. gr. Hist.*, Zweiter Teil, A, p. 498. 11-20), and Pausanias, iii. 17. 8-9.

(555) *κολαζομένοις τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀποθνήσκουσι μαλακῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως χρῆσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον.*

“ Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πονηρῶν¹ παρέχειν² κακόν, ἀλλ’ ἐξελεγχομένης που³ τῆς ἀδικίας, πράγματος ἀκάρπου καὶ ἀχαρίστου καὶ χρηστὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄξιον σπουδῆς ἀναφέροντος ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων, ἢ αἴσθησις αὐτῶν⁴ ἀνατρέπει τὴν ψυχὴν. οἷον ἱστοροῦσι δήπου⁵ Λυσίμαχον ὑπὸ δύψης ἐκβιασθέντα καὶ παραδόντα τοῖς Γέταις τὸ σῶμα

E καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἔπιεν ὑποχείριος γενόμενος, εἰπεῖν· ‘ φεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς κακίας, ὅς δι’ ἡδονὴν οὕτω βραχεῖαν ἐστέρημαι βασιλείας τηλικαύτης.’ καίτοι γε⁶ πρὸς φυσικὴν πάθους ἀνάγκην ἀντιβῆναι παγχάλεπόν ἐστιν· ὅταν δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἢ χρημάτων ἔνεκα πλεονεξίας ἢ φθόνῳ πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἢ δι’ ἡδονὴν τινα συνουσίας ἀνομον ἔργον ἐργασάμενος καὶ δεινόν, εἶτα τοῦ πάθους

F ἀφιεῖς τὸ διψῶδες καὶ μανικὸν ἐν χρόνῳ καθορᾶ τὰ αἰσχροῦ καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ἀδικίας πάθη παραμένοντα, χρήσιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀναγκαῖον μηδὲ ὄνησιφόρον, ἅρ’ οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐμπίπτειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις λογισμὸν ὡς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ἢ δι’ ἡδονὴν ἀνελεύθερον καὶ ἀχαρίστον ἀνατρέψας τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δικαίων ἐμπέπληκεν

offenders who meet an early punishment and death that one would call the Divinity lax and negligent.^a

“ For even if one should deny any other misery in the lives and existence of the wicked, yet, surely, when their iniquity is put to the proof and found a barren and thankless thing, yielding for all their great and anxious efforts no solid or valuable return, this realization overwhelms the soul. Thus it is recorded, you will recall, that Lysimachus, compelled by thirst to surrender his person and army to the Getae, said, when he had come into their power and had his drink : ‘ Alas ! How base am I, who for so brief a pleasure have lost so great a kingdom ! ’^b Yet a feeling enforced by nature^c is very hard to resist ; but when it is for the sake of ill-gotten gain, or from envy of political prestige and power, or to gratify some lustful pleasure, that a man has done a lawless and dreadful deed, and then, as he loses the thirst and madness of his passion, sees at last that the shame and terror of his crime endure, but nothing useful or necessary or profitable, must it not be brought home to him again and again that, misled by vain opinion or lured on by an unworthy and thankless pleasure, he has subverted the noblest and greatest laws of mankind and poisoned his life with

^a Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 107 c.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 126 E and 183 E.

^c For the distinction between innate and adventitious desires cf. *Mor.* 584 E and note.

¹ τῶν πονηρῶν] τὸν πονηρὸν G³.

² παρέχειν] πάσχειν Moser.

³ που G (X is wanting) F Z : omitted in the rest (ποτέ ? Post).

⁴ αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν Post ; Pohlenz would omit.

⁵ δῆπου] δῆ ποτε ? Post.

⁶ γε] omitted in F.

(555) αἰσχύνῃς καὶ ταραχῆς τὸν βίον; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ἔλεγε παίζων τὴν τοῦ ἀργυρίου κιβωτὸν εὐρίσκειν αἰεὶ πλήρη, τὴν δὲ τῶν χαρίτων κενήν, οὕτως οἱ πονηροὶ τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διορῶντες ἡδονῆς¹ μὲν εὐθύς κενήν² χάριν ἐχούσης ἐλπίδος³ ἔρημον εὐρίσκουσιν, φόβων δὲ καὶ λυπῶν καὶ 556 μνήμης ἀτερποῦς καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον⁴ ὑποψίας, ἀπιστίας δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρόν, αἰεὶ γέμουσαν· ὥστε καθάπερ⁵ τῆς Ἰνουῦς ἀκούομεν⁶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις λεγούσης, ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασε μεταμελομένης,

φίλαι γυναικες, πῶς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόμους
Ἄθάμαντος οἰκήσαιμι τῶν πεπραγμένων
δράσασα μηδέν;⁷

ταῦτα⁸ ἐκάστου τῶν πονηρῶν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀναπολεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἐκβᾶσα τῆς B μνήμης τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐκβαλοῦσα καὶ καθαρὰ γενομένη βίον ἄλλον⁹ ἐξ ἀρχῆς βιώσειεν. οὐ γάρ ἐστι θαρραλέον οὐδὲ ἄτυφον οὐδὲ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον ἐν οἷς προαιρεῖται τὸ πονηρόν, εἰ μὴ νῆ Δία σοφούς τινας εἶναι φήσομεν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας· ἀλλ' ὅπου φιλοπλουτία καὶ φιληδονία περιμανῆς¹⁰ καὶ φθόνος ἄκρατος ἐνοικί-

¹ ἡδονῆς D : δι' ἡδονῆς.

² κενήν] κενὴν τὴν Post, keeping δι'.

³ ἐλπίδος] καὶ ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς D.

⁴ τὸ μέλλον] τὸ μέλλον μὲν D ; μὲν τὸ μέλλον CW.

⁵ ὥστε καθάπερ nos (ὡς γὰρ Reiske ; καὶ ὥσπερ Wyttenbach) : ὥσπερ.

⁶ ἀκούομεν (-ω-N) is placed here in G (X is wanting) F Z Vv ; after λεγούσης in D S¹ hki N M Y CW ; before it in Ry.

⁷ μηδέν] μηθέν G (X is wanting) F Vv.

⁸ ταῦτα] ταῦτ' εἰκὸς Bern. (f² and Stephanus add εἰκὸς after πονηρῶν).
⁹ ἄλλον] ἄλυπον F Vv.

shame and anxiety? For as Simonides ^a used to jest that he found his coffer of money always full, but his coffer of thanks empty, so, when evil men see through the wickedness within them, they find it bare of pleasure, which allures for a moment with delusive hope, but always full of terrors, sorrows, dismal memories, misgiving for the future, and mistrust of the present. Hence, as we hear Ino say in the theatres, regretting her deed :

Oh, dearest women, would that once again
 Within the halls of Athamas I dwelt
 As one that had done nought of what is done ! ^b

so the thought that the soul of every wicked man revolves within itself and dwells upon is this : how it might escape from the memory of its iniquities, drive out of itself the consciousness of guilt, regain its purity, and begin its life anew. For wickedness is not confident or clear-headed or constant and steadfast in its chosen course—unless, by Heaven, we are to call evildoers wise men of a sort—; but wherever the frantic pursuit of wealth and pleasure, and wherever unmitigated envy, in the company of

^a Cf. *Mor.* 520 A and Stobaeus, vol. iii, pp. 417 f. (ed. Hense) : “ A man once requested Simonides to compose an encomium for him, promising thanks, but offering no money. ‘ I have two chests,’ the poet replied, ‘ one for thanks, the other for money. When need arises I open the chest of thanks to find it empty, and only the other of any use.’ ” Cf. also a scholium on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 697, a scholium on Theocritus, xvi, Tzetzes, *Chiliades*, viii. 814-830, and *Gnomologium Vaticanum* 513, ed. Sternbach (*Wiener Studien* xi, 1889, p. 227).

^b From the *Ino* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 399.

¹⁰ περιμανής (or ἀπαραμύθητος) Emperius : περιμάχητος (-ον C) ; παράπληκτος ? Post.

(556) ζεται μετὰ δυσμενείας ἢ κακοηθείας, ἐνταῦθα καὶ δεισιδαιμονίαν σκοπῶν ἀνευρήσεις ὑποκαθημένην καὶ μαλακίαν πρὸς πόνον καὶ δειλίαν πρὸς θάνατον καὶ μετάπτωσιν ὀξείαν ὀρμῶν καὶ χαννότητα πρὸς C δόξαν ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας· καὶ τοὺς ψέγοντας φοβοῦνται καὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας δεδίασιν ὡς ἀδικουμένους τῇ ἀπάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κακοῖς πολεμοῦντας ὅτι τοὺς δοκοῦντας ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι προθύμως. τὸ γὰρ σκληρὸν ἐν κακίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν φαύλῳ σιδήρῳ σαθρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον εὐθραυστον. ὅθεν ἐν χρόνῳ πολλῶ μᾶλλον ὡς ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς καταμανθάνοντες ἄχθονται καὶ δυσκολαινοῦσι καὶ προβάλλονται τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον. οὐ γὰρ δήπου παραθήκη¹ μὲν ἀποδοὺς καὶ γνώριμον ἐγγυησάμενος καὶ πατρίδι μετὰ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπιδοὺς καὶ D συνεισενεγκῶν ὁ φαῦλος εὐθύς ἐστὶν ἐν μεταμελείᾳ καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀνιᾶται διὰ τὸ πάντῃ μεταπτωτὸν² αὐτοῦ καὶ πλανώμενον τῆς γνώμης, καὶ κροτούμενοί τινες ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐθύς στένουσιν ὑπονοστούσης τῆς φιλοδοξίας εἰς τὴν φιλαργυρίαν, οἱ δὲ καταθύοντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τυραννίσαι καὶ συνωμοσίαις, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος, καὶ χρήματα φίλων ἀποστεροῦντες, ὡς Γλαῦκος ὁ Ἐπικύδους, οὐ μετενόουν οὐδ' ἐμίσουν ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲ ἠνιῶντο

¹ παραθήκην (a variant in Herodotus, vi. 86)] παρακαταθήκην
G³ Ry S¹ α³.

² μεταπτωτὸν D Ry (ἀμετάπτωτον S) : εὐμετάπτωτον.

^a Cf. *Mor.* 458 E.

^b Polyaeus (vi. 7. 2) records that Apollodorus butchered

ill will or malice, take up their abode, there, on closer view, you will discover superstition lurking, with shrinking from effort, cowardice in the face of death, sudden shifting of purpose, and an empty conceit of the opinion of the world that springs from swollen vanity. Such men not only fear those who censure them, but are in terror of those who applaud them, feeling that these are wronged by them in the deception, and that they are besides the bitterest enemies of evildoers because they freely praise such as appear to be good men. For the toughness of evil, like that of defective iron, is brittle, and its hardness easily shattered.^a Hence, as in the fullness of time they come to better knowledge of their condition, they fret and repine and condemn their own way of life. For if the man of little worth, when he has returned money left to his keeping or gone surety for a friend or bestowed a free gift and contribution on his native city with honour and distinction, is at once filled with regret and distressed at his act from the erratic mobility and unsteadiness of his judgement; and if certain men on receiving applause in the theatre suddenly give a sigh, as their appetite for glory subsides, leaving behind mere love of wealth; surely those who have butchered human victims, like Apollodorus,^b in conspiracies to seize tyrannical power, or who, like Glaucus,^c son of Epiccydes, have withheld sums entrusted them by friends, cannot have failed to feel remorse, to hate themselves, and

a youth called Callimeles and served the flesh and blood (the last mixed in a dark wine) to his fellow-conspirators. By making them partners to the crime he secured their loyalty, and with their help became tyrant. Cf. also Diodorus, xxii. 5. 1.

^c Cf. Herodotus, vi. 86.

(556) τοῖς γεγενημένοις. ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ¹ θέμις ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε τινὸς θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων δεῖσθαι κολαστοῦ νομίζω τοὺς ἀνοσιουργοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον αὐτῶν² Εἰ ἐξαρκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας διεφθαρμένον ὄλον καὶ συντεταραγμένον.

12. “ Ἄλλὰ σκοπεῖτε τὸν λόγον,” ἔφην, “ μὴ τοῦ καιροῦ πορρωτέρω πρόεισι.”

Καὶ ὁ Τίμων, “ τυχόν,”³ ἔφη, “ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ λειπόμενον αὐτῷ μῆκος. ἤδη γὰρ ὡσπερ ἔφεδρον ἀνίστημι τὴν τελευταίαν ἀπορίαν, ἐπεὶ ταῖς πρώταις διηγώνισται μετρίως.

“ Ἄ γὰρ Εὐριπίδης ἐγκαλεῖ καὶ παρρησιάζεται πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς

τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ' εἰς τοὺς ἐγγόνους τρέποντας, αἰτιᾶσθαι νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς σιωπῶντας F ἡμῶν. εἴτε γὰρ οἱ δράσαντες αὐτοὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν, οὐθὲν ἔτι δεῖ κολάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας, ὅπου δις ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τοὺς δράσαντας δίκαιον· εἴτε ῥαθυμία καταπροέμενοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς ὀψέ παρὰ τῶν ἀναιτίων εἰσπράττουσιν, οὐκ εὖ τῷ⁴ ἀδίκως τὸ⁵ βραδέως⁶ ἀναλαμβάνουσιν. οἷον ἐνταῦθα λέγεται δῆπουθεν⁷ ἐλθεῖν Αἴσωπον,

¹ εἰ G¹ (X is wanting) Z D Ry (γὰρ εἰ F : γὰρ is a corruption of ἦ) : ἦ (ἦ G^{3mg} ; ἦ N ; οὐ J¹).

² αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς D.

³ τυχόν] τυχών G¹ (X is wanting) F¹ Z N.

⁴ τῷ G (X is wanting) Z D S¹ N M Y¹ CW : τὸ F Ry hki (τὸ δ' V ; τῷ δ' v).

⁵ τὸ G⁴ (X is wanting) D S¹ W³ : τοῦ.

⁶ βραδέως] βραδέος G¹ (X is wanting) Ry^c Vv C.

to be distressed at what they had done. For my part, if it is not impious to say so, I hold that the perpetrators of unholy deeds need neither god nor man to punish them : their life suffices for that office, as their wickedness has wholly ruined it and plunged it into turmoil.

12. " But consider," I said, " whether my speech is not exceeding the proper limits."

" Perhaps it is," replied Timon, " in view of all that still remains for it to answer ; for I am now sending the last problem into the field, like an athlete who has been waiting to engage the winner, since your discourse has done well in its bouts with the earlier problems.^a

" Euripides' ^b outspoken arraignment of the gods for visiting

The sins of parents on the children

you must suppose is also endorsed by those of us who keep silence. For either the actual offenders have been made to pay, and there is no further need to punish the innocent, since even the guilty may not in justice be twice punished for the same offence, or the gods have indolently allowed the punishment of the guilty to lapse, and then, at a late date, exact payment from the innocent, in which case it is not well done to retrieve the tardiness of their punishment by its injustice.^c You will recall, for example, the story that Aesop came here with a sum of gold

^a Cf. 549 E, *supra*.

^b Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 980.

^c Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 136. 8-22 (ed. Cousin²).

⁷ λέγεται δήπουθεν Benseler (λέγεται δήπου Ry) : δήπουθεν (δήπου Z) λέγεται.

(556) ἔχοντα παρὰ Κροίσου χρυσίον ὅπως τε θύσῃται τῷ θεῷ¹ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ Δελφῶν ἐκάστῳ διανείμῃ μνᾶς τέσσαρας· ὀργῆς δέ τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ² καὶ διαφορᾶς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτόθι, τὴν μὲν θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο, τὸ δὲ χρῆμα³ ἀνέπεμψεν⁴ 557 εἰς Σάρδεις, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων ὠφεληθῆναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οἱ δὲ συνθέντες αἰτίαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱεροσυλίας ἀπέκτειναν ὄσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἐκείνης ἦν Ἰάμπειαν καλοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου λέγεται μνηῖσαν⁵ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῖς ἀφορίαν τε γῆς ἐπαγαγεῖν καὶ νόσων ἀτόπων ἰδέαν πᾶσαν, ὥστε περιμόντας ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πανηγύρεσι κηρύσσειν καὶ καλεῖν αἰεὶ τὸν βουλόμενον ὑπὲρ Αἰσώπου δίκην λαβεῖν⁶ παρ' αὐτῶν. τρίτῃ δὲ γενεᾷ Σάμιος Ἰδμων⁷ ἀφίκετο, γένει μὲν οὐδὲν Αἰσώπῳ προσήκων, ἀπόγονος δὲ τῶν πριαμένων αὐτὸν ἐν Σάμῳ B γεγωνῶς· καὶ τούτῳ τινὰς δίκας δόντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐξ ἐκείνου δὲ φασιν καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἱεροσύλων ἐπὶ τὴν Αὐλίαν⁸ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰαμπείας μετατεθῆναι. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον οὐδὲ οἱ πάνυ φιλοῦντες, ὧν ἔσμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἐπαινοῦσι τὸ Βραγχιδῶν ἄστῳ συγχέαντα

¹ θύσῃται (θύση hki) τῷ θεῷ: τῷ θεῷ θύσῃται G (X is wanting) F (χρήσεται Z¹; θύσεται Z²).

² αὐτῷ is placed after γενομένης in Ry CW^c; before it in M Vv. ³ τὸ δὲ χρῆμα] τὰ δὲ χρήματα X^s.

⁴ ἀνέπεμψεν J: ἀντέπεμψεν (ἀπέπεμψεν hk).

⁵ μνηῖσαν l, as Reiske had conjectured: μνηῖσαι.

⁶ λαβεῖν] λαμβάνειν G (X is wanting) F Z S.

⁷ Ἰδμων] Ἰάδμων Herodotus.

⁸ αὐλίαν G¹ R hki M¹: ναυλίαν G³ (X is wanting) F Z y S¹ N M² Y CW; ναυτιλίαν Vv.

from Croesus, intending to offer a splendid sacrifice to the god and distribute four minas apiece to every Delphian; but falling into an angry dispute (the story goes) with the inhabitants of this place, he performed the sacrifice but sent the money back to Sardis, considering the people unworthy of the bounty. They thereupon trumped up a charge of temple robbery and put him to death, casting him down from the cliff over there called Hyampeia.^a The angry Godhead then visited them, it is said, with failure of crops and all manner of strange diseases, so that they went from one public festival of the Greeks to another and kept inviting by proclamation anyone who so wished to come and receive atonement at their hands for the wrong they had done Aesop. In the third generation Idmon^b of Samos came, no kinsman of Aesop, but a descendant of his purchasers at Samos; and on making him certain amends, the Delphians were delivered from their troubles. It is said that in consequence the place of execution for sacrilege was transferred from Hyampeia to Aulia.^c Again, not even the greatest admirers of Alexander, among whom I count myself, approve his wiping out the city of Branchidae and

^a Cf. Herodotus, ii. 134, and a scholium on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1446: ". . . (Aesop) is said to have come to Delphi and derided the inhabitants for having no land to cultivate for their livelihood but living off the sacrifices offered to the god. The Delphians were angered at this and secretly placed a sacred cup among Aesop's effects. Aesop, unaware of this, set out on the road to Phocis. But the Delphians ran after, discovered the cup, and charged him with sacrilege . . ." Cf. also Plutarch, *Mor.* 401 A.

^b Cf. Herodotus, ii. 134.

^c The name is uncertain, and the place not elsewhere mentioned.

(557) καὶ διαφθείραντα πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διὰ τὴν γενομένην τοῦ περὶ Μίλητον ἱεροῦ προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν προπάππων αὐτῶν. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Συρακοσίων¹ τύραννος καὶ σὺν γέλωτι χλευάζων Κερκυραίους ἐρωτῶντας διὰ τί πορθοίη τὴν νῆσον αὐτῶν, 'ὅτι νῆ Δία,' εἶπεν, 'οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὑπεδέξαντο τὸν C Ὀδυσσεά,' καὶ τῶν Ἰθακησίων ὁμοίως ἐγκαλούντων ὅτι πρόβατα λαμβάνουσι αὐτῶν οἱ στρατιῶται, 'ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος,' ἔφη, 'βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν ποιμένα προσεξετύφλωσεν.' ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀτοπώτερος τούτων ὁ Ἀπόλλων εἰ Φενεάτας ἀπόλλυσι τοὺς νῦν, ἐμφράξας τὸ βάραθρον καὶ κατακλύσας τὴν χώραν ἅπασαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι πρὸ χιλίων ἐτῶν, ὡς φασιν, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνασπάσας τὸν τρίποδα τὸν μαντικὸν εἰς Φενεὸν ἀπήνεγκεν, Συβαρίταις δὲ φράζων ἀπόλυσι τῶν κακῶν ὅταν τρισὶν ὀλέθροις ἰλάσωνται τὸ μῆνιμα τῆς Λευκαδίας

¹ συρακοσίων N W¹: συρακοσσίων G³ X¹ F: συρρακουσίων G¹ X^d Vv²; συρακουσίων. Cf. also 559 D.

^a Cf. Quintus Curtius, vii. 5. 28, and Suidas, s.v. Βραγχίδαί (Aelian, Frag. 54 Hercher): "The men of Dindyma in the territory of Miletus, to gratify Xerxes, betrayed the temple of the local Apollo to the barbarians, and the dedications, which were extremely numerous, were pillaged. The traitors, fearing the vengeance of the laws and of the Milesians, begged Xerxes to reward that detestable treason by removing them to some place in Asia. He consented, and in return for his wicked and impious plunder, allowed them to dwell in a place from which they would no longer be able to set foot in Greece, and where they and their progeny would be relieved of the fear that possessed them. Having thus obtained the land under by no means happy auspices, they raised a city,

his general massacre of young and old because their great-grandfathers had betrayed the temple near Miletus.^a Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, even turned the notion into a derisive taunt in his reply to the Coreyreans, who asked why he ravaged their island: 'because, by Zeus, your forebears harboured Odysseus.'^b And when the Ithacans made a similar complaint, saying that his troops were taking their sheep, he answered: 'when your king came to my country he blinded the shepherd^c to boot.' Is not Apollo still more absurd than these if he ruins the Pheneates of the present day, obstructing their underground channel and putting their whole territory under water,^d because Heracles is said to have pulled up the tripod of prophecy and made off with it to Pheneüs a thousand years ago?^e And again, in telling the Sybarites that their troubles will be over when they have appeased the wrath of Leucadian

gave it the name Branchidae, and fancied themselves secure not only from the Milesians but from Justice herself. But the providence of God did not sleep; for when Alexander had defeated Darius and taken possession of the Persian empire, he heard of their evil deed. In his abhorrence for their posterity he slew them all, judging that of the wicked the offspring are wicked, and razed the falsely named city, and its people vanished from the earth."

^b Cf. *Mor.* 176 F.

^c The shepherd was the Cyclops Polyphemos: cf. Homer, *Od.* ix. 375 ff.

^d The territory of Pheneüs was surrounded by an unbroken chain of mountains and drained by underground passages said to have been dug by Heracles. When these were obstructed a lake was formed. Cf. Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* iii. 1. 2, v. 4. 6, and Pausanias, viii. 14, with Frazer's notes.

^e For Heracles and the tripod cf. *Mor.* 387 D, 413 A; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 16 (42); Hyginus, *Fab.* xxxii; Apollodorus, ii. 6. 2, with Frazer's note in the L.C.L.; Pausanias, iii. 21. 8, x. 13. 7.

(557) Ἡρας; καὶ μὴν οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ Λοκροὶ
 D πέμποντες εἰς Τροίαν πέπαιναν τὰς παρθένους

αἱ καὶ ἀναμπέχονοι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν ἢ ὅτε δούλαι
 ἦοιαι σαίρεσκον Ἀθηναίης περὶ βωμόν,
 νόσφι κρηδέμνοιο, καὶ εἰ βαρὺ¹ γῆρας ἰκάνοι

διὰ τὴν Αἴαντος ἀκολασίαν. ποῦ δὴ ταῦτα τὸ
 εὐλογον ἴσχει καὶ δίκαιον; οὐδὲ γὰρ Θρωάκας ἐπαι-
 νοῦμεν ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρι νῦν τιμωροῦντες Ὀρφεῖ
 τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας, οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἡριδανὸν
 βαρβάρους μελανοφοροῦντας ἐπὶ πένθει τοῦ Φαέθου-
 E τος, ὡς περ λέγουσιν. ἔτι δ' ἄν, οἶμαι, γελοιότερον
 ἦν εἰ, τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅτε διεφθάρη Φαέθου
 παραμελησάντων, οἱ πέντε γενεαῖς ἢ δέκα τοῦ
 πάθους ὕστερον γεγονότες ἤρξαντο τὴν ἐσθῆτα
 μεταβάλλειν ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ πένθειν. καίτοι τοῦτο
 ἀβελτερίαν² μὲν ἔχει μόνον, οὐδὲν δὲ δεινὸν οὐδὲ
 ἀνήκεστον· αἱ δὲ τῶν θεῶν ὄργαι τίνι λόγῳ παρα-
 χρήμα δυόμεναι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι τῶν ποταμῶν, εἶτα
 ὕστερον ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀναφερόμεναι, πρὸς ἐσχάτας
 συμφορὰς τελευτῶσιν; ”

13. Ὡς δὲ πρῶτον ἐπέσχεν, δείσας ἐγὼ μὴ πάλιν
 ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐπαγάγη πλείονας καὶ μείζονας ἀτοπίας,

¹ βαρὺ] βαθὺ C¹.

² ἀβελτερίαν M¹ Y : ἀβελτηρίαν.

^a The oracle is otherwise unknown, and whether the third destruction refers to that of 448 or to some later date is uncertain.

^b The verses are attributed to Euphorion : cf. J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 40 f., Euphorion, 53.

^c As the lesser Ajax had violated Cassandra, the priestess of Athena, at the sack of Troy, the Locrians were instructed by an oracle to make atonement by sending maidens to the temple for a thousand years. Cf. Lycophron, *Alexandra*,

Hera by being thrice destroyed? ^a Again, it is not long since the Locrians gave up sending their maidens to Troy

Who cloakless, bare of foot, like slaves, at dawn
Swept clean the space about Athena's altar
With head uncovered, even in weary age ^b

all for the wantonness of Ajax. ^c Where is the logic or justice of this? Nor yet do we commend the Thracians for tattooing their own wives to this day in revenge for Orpheus, ^d nor the barbarians on the Po for wearing black in mourning for Phaëthon, as the story goes ^e; and the absurdity, I think, would be all the greater if at the time of Phaëthon's death men had neglected any observance, while those born five or ten generations after the disaster had introduced this change of attire in his honour and gone into mourning. In this, however, there is mere folly, nothing grave or irreparable; but for what reason should the wrath of the gods at first sink out of sight, like certain rivers, only to resurge later against ^f others, leading in the end to the direst calamities? "

13. At his first pause, fearing that he would bring up a new and longer series of still more formidable absurdities, I at once put a question to him: "Well,

1141-1173, with the scholia; Strabo, xiii. 1. 40 (600 f.); Aelian, Frag. 47 (ed. Hercher); Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, chap. viii. 42; A. Wilhelm, "Die lokrische Mädcheninschrift" in *Jahreshefte des öster. arch. Inst.* xiv (1911), pp. 163-256; Wilamowitz, *Die Ilias und Homer*, pp. 383-394.

^a Cf. Phanocles, "Ἐρωτες ἢ καλοί, Frag. 1 (J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, pp. 106-108). Incurable slaves were tattooed on the forehead.

^b Cf. Polybius, ii. 16. 13.

^f Plutarch plays on the double sense of *anapheromai*, which can mean "come up from underground" or "be brought into relation with."

(557) ^F εὐθὺς ἠρόμην αὐτόν· “ εἶεν,” ἔφην, “ ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἀληθινὰ ἦγγῃ; ”

Κάκεϊνος, “ εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα,” εἶπεν, “ ἀλλ’ ἔνια, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχειν οὐ νομίζεις τὸν λόγον; ”

“ Ἴσως,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ καὶ τοῖς σφόδρα πυρέττουσιν, εἴαν τε ἐν ἱμάτιον εἴαν τε πολλὰ περιβεβλημένοι τυγχάνωσιν, ταῦτὸ καῦμα καὶ παραπλήσιον, ὅμως δὲ¹ εἰς παραμυθίαν ἀφελεῖν τὸ πλῆθος· εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, τοῦτο² μὲν ἔασον (καίτοι τὰ πλείστα μύθοις ἔοικεν καὶ πλάσμασιν), ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ τῶν ἔναγχος Θεοξενίων³ καὶ τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης μερίδος ἣν ἀφαιροῦντες τοὺς Πινδάρου κηρύττουσιν λαμβάνειν ἀπογόνους, ὡς σοι τὸ πρᾶγμα σεμνὸν ἐφάνη καὶ ἡδύ.”

“ Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἄν,” εἶπεν, “ ἡσθεῖη τῇ χάριτι τῆς τιμῆς οὕτως Ἑλληνικῶς καὶ ἀφελῶς⁴ ἀρχαϊζούσης, εἰ μὴ

μέλαιναν καρδίαν κεχάλκευται ψυχρᾶ φλογί

κατ’ αὐτὸν τὸν Πίνδαρον; ”

“ Ἐὼ τοίνυν,” ἔφην, “ ὅμοιον ἐν Σπάρτῃ κήρυγμα τούτῳ, τὸ ‘ μετὰ Λέσβιον ᾠδόν,’ ἐπὶ τιμῇ καὶ μνήμῃ Τερπάνδρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ κηρυττόμενον· ὁ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος. ἀλλ’ ὑμεῖς γε δήπου πλέον ἔχειν ἐτέρων ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς, Ὁφελ-

¹ δὲ G X¹ F Z N CW : δεῖ.

² τοῦτο] τοῦτον N M¹ Y¹ CW¹ (ταῦτα hki).

³ θεοξενίων X³ : τῶν θεοξενίων.

⁴ ἀφελῶς] φιλοκάλως G^{4mg} X F^{1γρ} Ry Y^{1mg}.

^a Frag. 123 (ed. Schroeder), or Sandys, p. 584 (in the L.C.L.).

^b Cf. Aristotle, Frag. 545 (ed. Rose): “ And Aristotle says in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* that the ex-

well"; I said, "so you take all those stories to be true?"

"Even if not all, but only some, are true," he replied, "do you not think the difficulty for your argument is the same?"

"Perhaps," said I, "the case is like that of persons with a raging fever, who feel much the same heat, whether they are wrapped in one cloak or in many, and yet are relieved when the additional cloaks are removed. But if you would rather not insist, then let it pass—though most of your stories look very much like fables and fictions—and recollect instead how impressive and pleasing you found the proceeding at the recent festival of the Theoxenia when that noble portion of the sacrifice was set aside and presented by public proclamation to the descendants of Pindar."

"Who could fail to be delighted and charmed," he said, "with honour thus shown, so Greek in its old-fashioned simplicity, save one whose

Black heart was forged with frozen flame

in Pindar's ^a own words?"

"In that case," I replied, "I pass over a similar proclamation at Sparta, 'after the singer from Lesbos,' ^b made in honour and commemoration of Terpander of old; for the point is the same. This, however, I will say: you and your family, I take it, feel entitled to greater consideration than others in Boe-

pression 'after the singer from Lesbos' refers to Terpander. It was in honour of Terpander (he says) that in later times his descendants were first invited to perform, while next came any other man of Lesbos who chanced to be present, and finally the rest 'after the singer from Lesbos,' that is, after men from Lesbos in general."

(558) **Β** τιάδαι¹ γένος² ὄντες, ἀξιοῦτε³ καὶ παρὰ Φωκεῦσι
 δια Δαιΐφαντον, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ παρῆτε καὶ συνελαμβά-
 νεσθε πρώην⁴ ὅτε Λυκόρμαις καὶ Σατιλαίοις⁵ τὴν
 πάτριον Ἡρακλειδῶν μετιοῦσι τιμὴν καὶ στεφανη-
 φορίαν συνανασώζων ἔλεγον ὅτι δεῖ μάλιστα τοῖς
 ἀφ' Ἡρακλέους γεγονόσι τὰς τιμὰς ὑπάρχειν βεβαί-
 ουσ καὶ τὰς χάριτας ὧν τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργετήσας
 οὐκ ἔτυχεν αὐτὸς ἀξίας χάριτος οὐδὲ ἀμοιβῆς."

"Καλοῦ γε," εἶπεν, "ἡμᾶς ἀγῶνος καὶ φιλο-
 σοφία⁶ μάλα⁷ πρέποντος⁸ ἀνέμνησας."

"Ἄφες οὖν," εἶπον, "ὦ τᾶν, τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦτο
 τῆς κατηγορίας, καὶ μὴ φέρε πικρῶς εἰ κολάζονται
Γ τινες ἐκ κακῶν γεγονότες ἢ πονηρῶν, ἢ μὴ χαῖρε
 μηδ' ἐπαίνει τιμωμένης εὐγενείας. δεῖ γάρ, εἰ τὴν
 χάριν ἐν τῷ γένει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνασώζομεν, εὐλόγως
 μηδὲ τὴν κόλασιν οἰεσθαι δεῖν ἀπαυδᾶν καὶ προαπο-
 λείπειν⁹ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀδικίαις, ἀλλὰ συνεκτρέχειν
 ἐκείνη τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀντιστρόφως ἀποδιδούσαν.¹⁰
 ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ Κίμωνος ἠδέως ὀρών Ἀθήνησι
 τιμωμένους, τῶν δὲ Λαχάρους ἢ Ἀριστίωνος¹¹
 ἐκγόνων ἐλαυνομένων ἀχθόμενος καὶ ἀγανακτῶν,

¹ Ὁφελτιάδαι Xylander, from *Life of Cimon*, chap. i. 1 (478 E): ὦ (ὡς X³) φιλιτιάδαι.

² γένος] γένους G³ F Ry hki M².

³ ἀξιοῦτε X³: ἀξίου τέ G X^d; ἀξίου.

⁴ πρώην Reiske: πρώτων.

⁵ λυκόρμαις καὶ σατιλαίοις X³ Y³: λυκόρμαι (-μοι hk; -μούς W) καὶ σατιλαῖοι.

⁶ φιλοσοφία] φιλοσοφίας hki N M Vv Y CW.

⁷ μάλα] omitted in C¹; placed before ἀνέμνησας in M Vv.

⁸ πρέποντος] πρεπόντως X¹ Z¹ hki N² M (πρέποντως V) Y CW (πρεπόντως v F¹ N¹ v).

⁹ προαπολείπειν] προλείπειν G⁴; προαπειλεῖν G¹ X¹ K (doubtless from the lost margin of F, where an index by F¹ shows that a marginal reading once existed) Y^{1mg}.

otia as descendants of Opheltas, and again in Phocis from your connexion with Daiphantus^a; you moreover lent me your presence and support the other day when I helped the Lycormae and Satilaei to recover the hereditary honour of the Heracleidae, the right of wearing a crown. I said at the time that the posterity of Heracles should particularly be maintained in possession of the honours and rewards he had earned by his services to the Greeks, for which he had received no adequate thanks or compensation himself."

"You call to my mind a noble debate," he said, "and one well worthy of philosophy."

"Then lay aside, my friend," said I, "this hotness of denunciation, and do not take it ill that some who come of a bad or wicked line are punished, or else you must withhold your delight and approval when noble birth is honoured. For if we preserve in the descendants our gratitude for virtue, we must in reason expect that neither should the punishment of crime flag or falter in its course, but that it should keep pace with gratitude, matching it in requiting men as they deserve. He that delights to see the descendants of Cimon honoured at Athens, but is displeased and offended at the expulsion of the descendants of Lachares^b or Aristion,^c is much too

^a For Opheltas *cf.* *Life of Cimon*, chap. i. 1 (478 E); for Daiphantus, of whom Plutarch composed a *Life*, now lost, *cf.* *Mor.* 244 B and 1099 E. If Timon was Plutarch's brother-german, we have here an account of Plutarch's own descent.

^b Lachares became tyrant of Athens and allied himself with Cassander. He escaped from the city shortly before its capture by Demetrius in 294.

^c Aristion became tyrant of Athens in 88 B.C.

¹⁰ ἀποδιδούσαν X³: ἀποδιδούση.

¹¹ Ἀριστίωνος Reiske: ἀρίστωνος.

(558) ὕγρός ἐστι λίαν καὶ ῥάθυμος, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλαίτιος ὅλως καὶ δύσκολος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἐγκαλῶν μὲν, ἂν ἀνδρὸς ἀδίκου καὶ πονηροῦ παῖδες ἐκ παίδων εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶσιν, ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πάλιν, ἂν τὰ γένη

D κολούηται καὶ ἀφανίζεται τῶν φαύλων, αἰτιώμενος δὲ τὸν θεὸν ὁμοίως μὲν, ἂν χρηστοῦ πατρὸς τέκνα πρᾶττη κακῶς, ὁμοίως δέ, ἂν πονηροῦ.

14. “Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν,” ἔφην, “ὥσπερ ἀντιφράγματα σοι κείσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν πικροὺς καὶ κατηγορικοὺς ἐκείνους· ἀναλαβόντες² δὲ αὐθις ὥσπερ ἀρχὴν κλωστήηρος ἐν σκοτεινῷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἔχοντι τῷ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ³ λόγῳ καθοδηγῶμεν αὐτοὺς μετ’ εὐλαβείας ἀτρέμα πρὸς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ πιθανόν· ὡς τό γε σαφὲς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐδ’ ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ πρᾶττομεν ἀσφαλῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, οἶον διὰ τί τῶν ὑπὸ φθίσεως ἢ ὑδέρου διαφθαρέντων τοὺς παῖδας εἰς ὕδωρ τῷ

E πόδε βρέχοντας καθίζεσθαι κελεύομεν ἕως ἂν ὁ νεκρὸς κατακαῆ, δοκεῖ γὰρ οὕτω τὸ νόσημα μὴ μεθίστασθαι μηδὲ προσπελάζειν αὐτοῖς· ἢ πάλιν δι’ ἣν αἰτίαν, αἰγὸς τὸ ἠρύγγιον⁴ λαβούσης εἰς τὸ στόμα, ὅλον ἐφίσταται τὸ αἰπόλιον ἄχρι ἂν ἐξέλῃ προσελθὼν ὁ αἰπόλος; ἄλλαι τε δυνάμεις ἀφὰς ἔχουσαι καὶ διαδόσεις ἀπίστους ὀξύτησι καὶ μήκεσι δι’ ἐτέρων εἰς ἕτερα περαίνουσιν. ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς τὰ

F κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους διαλείμματα θαυμάζομεν, οὐ

¹ δὲ] τε Pohlenz ; γε? Post.

² ἀναλαβόντες] ἀναλαβόντος G¹ X¹ Z.

³ τοῦ θεοῦ] θεοῦ G hki Vv C.

lax and indulgent, or rather he is downright captious and quarrelsome with heaven, reproaching it if the children's children of an unjust and wicked man appear to prosper, reproaching it again if the progeny of the base is thwarted and wiped out, and finding God alike at fault whether it goes hard with the children of a good or of an evil father.

14. "These remarks," I said, "you are to view as a sort of barricade to hold off those excessively bitter and denunciatory critics. Let us now take up again the beginning of a clue, as it were, in the argument about God, obscure as it is and abounding in intricacy and error, and pick our way cautiously and calmly to a probable and credible issue, since not even in what we human beings do ourselves can we safely speak of certainty and truth. Why, for example, do we tell children whose parents have died of phthisis or the dropsy to sit with their feet in water until the corpse is consumed, the disease (it is thought) being thus kept from passing over or coming near them? Or again, when a goat takes the sea-holly ^a in its mouth, what makes the whole herd stand by until the goat-herd comes and removes it? And there are other forces, with a capacity for contagion and transmission incredible in its rapidity and the great intervals covered, that reach one object by passing through another. We, however, are amazed at the intervals

^a For this story cf. *Mor.* 700 D, 776 F; Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 3 (610 b 29); Theophrastus, *Frag.* 174 (ed. Wimmer); Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 203 f.; Antigonus, *Hist. Mir.* chap. cvii (115); and a scholium on Nicander, *Theriaca*, 645.

⁴ τὸν (τὸ nos) ἡρύγγιον Turnebus; τὸν ἡρσίτην G^{4mg}; τὸν νηρσίτην X¹ F R^{1mg} K^{1t} V^{2mg}; τὸν (τὸ i¹; τῆν C) ἡρρυγίτην.

(558) τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους. καίτοι¹ θαυμασιώτερον εἰ πάθους ἐν Αἰθιοπία λαβόντος ἀρχὴν ἀνεπλήσθησαν αἱ Ἀθηναίαι καὶ Περικλῆς ἀπέθανεν καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐνόσησεν, ἢ εἰ Δελφῶν καὶ Συβαριτῶν γενομένων πονηρῶν ἢ δίκη φερομένη περιῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας. ἔχουσι γὰρ τινὰς αἱ δυνάμεις ἀναφορὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα καὶ συνάψεις ὧν ἡ αἰτία, κὰν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀγνοῆται, σιωπῇ περαίνει τὸ οἰκεῖον.

15. “ Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τά γε² δημόσια τῶν πόλεων μηνύματα τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ἔχει πρόχειρον.³
 559 ἐν γάρ τι πρᾶγμα καὶ συνεχὲς ἡ πόλις ὥσπερ ζῶον, οὐκ ἐξιστάμενον αὐτοῦ⁴ ταῖς καθ' ἡλικίαν μεταβολαῖς οὐδ' ἕτερον ἐξ ἑτέρου τῷ χρόνῳ γινόμενον,⁵ ἀλλὰ συμπαθὲς αἰεὶ καὶ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσαν ὧν πράττει κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ⁶ ἔπραξεν αἰτίαν καὶ χάριν ἀναδεχόμενον μέχρι ἂν ἡ ποιούσα καὶ συνδέουσα ταῖς ἐπιπλοκαῖς κοινωνία τὴν ἐνότητα διαφυλάττη. τὸ δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις διαιροῦντα τῷ χρόνῳ ποιεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπείρους, ὁμοίον ἐστὶν τῷ⁷ πολλοὺς τὸν ἕνα ποιεῖν ἄνθρωπον ὅτι νῦν πρεσβύτερός ἐστι, πρότερον δὲ νεώτερος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ Β μειράκιον ἦν. μᾶλλον δὲ ὄλως ταῦτά γε τοῖς Ἐπιχαρμείοις ἔοικεν ἐξ ὧν ὁ αὐξόμενος ἀνέφθη τοῖς σοφισταῖς λόγος· ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν πάλαι τὸ χρέος⁸

¹ καίτοι] καὶ τὸ N¹ M¹ Y^{1t} CW.

² τά γε C : γε τὰ. ³ πρόχειρον] πρόδηλον F^{1t}.

⁴ αὐτοῦ Xylander : αὐτῆς or αὐτῆς.

⁵ γινόμενον] γενόμενον hki N M¹ v Y CW.

⁶ τὸ κοινὸν ἢ] τὸ κοινὸν G¹ ; τῇ κοινὸν ἢ X¹ ; τὴν κοινὸν F^{1t} ; τὴν κοινὴν Z.

⁷ τῷ] τὸ G¹ Z R N M¹ Y W¹.

⁸ χρέος] χρέως X¹ N¹.

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE, 558-559

in time, not those in space. And yet it is more amazing that a disease which had its origin in Ethiopia should have raged at Athens, killed Pericles, and attacked Thucydides,^a than that justice, after the crimes of the Delphians and Sybarites, should have found her way to their children. For forces have a way of reverting from their farthest points to their origins and effecting a connexion; and although the cause of this may be unknown to us, it silently achieves its proper effect.

15. "Nevertheless, the visitations of entire cities by divine wrath are readily justified.^b A city, like a living thing, is a united and continuous whole. This does not cease to be itself as it changes in growing older, nor does it become one thing after another with the lapse of time, but is always at one with its former self in feeling and identity, and must take all blame or credit for what it does or has done in its public character, so long as the association that creates it and binds it together with interwoven strands preserves it as a unity. To create a multiplicity, or rather an infinity, of cities by chronological distinctions is like creating many men out of one because the man is now old, but was in his prime before, and yet earlier was a lad. Or rather this procedure altogether resembles the passage of Epicharmus^c that gave rise to the sophists' fallacy of the 'grower': the man who received the loan in the

^a Cf. Thucydides, ii. 48. 3.

^b On the topic of this chapter cf. *De E Apud Delphos*, chap. 18. Proclus (*On Providence*, col. 136. 31-35 Cousin²) summarizes the argument of this chapter and the next.

^c Frag. 170 (ed. Kaibel), translated by Hicks in Diogenes Laert. iii. 11 (in the L.C.L.); cf. *Mor.* 473 D, 1083 A, *Life of Theseus*, chap. xxiii. 1 (10 B-C).

(559) νῦν οὐκ ὀφείλει, γεγωνὸς ἕτερος, ὃ τε¹ κληθεὶς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἐχθρὸς ἄκλητος ἦκει τήμερον· ἄλλος γάρ ἐστι.

“Καίτοι μείζονάς γε² παραλλαγὰς αἱ ἡλικίαί περὶ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ποιοῦσιν ἢ κοινῇ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. γνοίη γὰρ ἂν τις ἰδὼν τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἦθη καὶ κινήματα παιδιαί τε καὶ σπουδαί καὶ χάριτες καὶ ὄργαι τοῦ δήμου πάνυ γε τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἰκόασιν· ἀνθρώπου³ δὲ μόλις ἂν τις οἰκείος ἢ φίλος ἐντυχῶν διὰ χρόνου μορφὴν γνωρίσειεν, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβολαί, παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πόνῳ καὶ πάθει καὶ νόμῳ ῥαδίως τρεπόμεναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν αἰεὶ συνόντα τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὴν καινότητα⁴ θαυμαστὴν ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ’ ἀνθρωπὸς τε λέγεται μέχρι τέλους εἰς ἀπὸ γενέσεως, πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτὴν ὡσαύτως διαμένουσιν ἐνέχεσθαι τοῖς ὀνειδέσει τῶν προγόνων ἀξιούμεν ὧς δικαίῳ μέτεστιν αὐτῇ δόξης τε τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ δυνάμεως· ἢ λήσομεν εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον⁵ ἅπαντα πράγματα ποταμὸν⁶ ἐμβαλόντες, εἰς ὃν οὐ φησι δις ἐμβῆναι, τῷ πάντα κινεῖν καὶ ἑτεροιοῦν τὴν φύσιν μεταβάλλουσιν.

16. “Εἰ δ’ ἔστι τι⁷ πόλις ἐν πρᾶγμα καὶ συν-
D εχρὸς, ἔστι δήπου καὶ γένος, ἐξηρητημένον ἀρχῆς
μιάς καὶ δυνάμιν τινα καὶ κοινωνίαν διαπεφυκυῖαν

¹ τε Pohlenz : δέ.

² γε X³ C^{ac} : τε.

³ ἀνθρώπου X^{d2} Z Ry Vv : ἀνθρωπον.

⁴ καινότητα] κενότητα G X¹ F¹ Z N M Y.

⁵ Ἡρακλείτειον (-τι-G¹) -κλή- X¹ F Z y hk N¹ M¹ Y¹ CW^{ac}.

⁶ ἄπ. πρ. ποτ. S¹ hki N M Y CW (ποτ. ἄπ. πρ. Vv) : ἄπ. τὰ πρ. ποτ. G X F Z Ry.

past is no debtor now, having become a different person, and he who was yesterday invited to dinner comes an unbidden guest to-day, since he is now another man.

“ Yet growing older brings about greater alterations in each of us severally than in a city collectively. For one would recognize Athens on seeing it after a lapse of thirty years, and the present traits and moods of its people, their amusements and graver concerns, their displays of partiality and anger, are very similar to those of long ago.^a But with a man, a kinsman or friend who should meet him after any length of time would find it hard to recognize his appearance, whereas the shifts in his character, responding lightly to every sort of argument, difficulty, passion, and law, are so strange and novel as to astound even a constant companion. Yet a man is called one and the same from birth to death ; and we deem it only proper that a city, in like manner retaining its identity, should be involved in the disgraces of its forbears by the same title as it inherits their glory and power ; else we shall find that we have unawares cast the whole of existence into the river of Heraclitus,^b into which he asserts no man can step twice, as nature in its changes shifts and alters everything.

16. “ If a city is a single and continuous whole, surely a family is so too, attached as it is to a single origin which reproduces in the members a certain force and common quality pervading them all ; and

^a Cf. *Life of Aristideides*, chap. xxvii. 7 (335 E).

^b Diels and Kranz, *Frag. der Vorsokratiker*⁶, i, p. 171, Heraclitus, B 91, or *Frag.* 91 (ed. Bywater) ; cf. also *Mor.* 392 B and 912 A.

⁷ ἔστι τι] ἔστι Reiske ; ἔστιν ?

(559) ἀναφερούσης, καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν οὐχ ὡς τι δημιούρ-
 γημα πεποιημένον ἀπήλλακται τοῦ γεννήσαντος·
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ γάρ, οὐχ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, γέγονεν, ὥστ' ἔχει
 τι καὶ φέρεται τῶν ἐκείνου μέρος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ
 κολαζόμενον προσηκόντως καὶ τιμώμενον. εἰ δὲ
 μὴ δόξαιμι παίζειν, ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἀνδριάντα Κα-
 σάνδρου καταχαλκευόμενον ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πάσχειν
 ἀδικώτερα¹ καὶ τὸ Διονυσίου² σῶμα μετὰ τὴν
 τελευταίαν ἐξοριζόμενον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων³ ἢ τοὺς
 ἐγγόνους αὐτῶν δίκην τίνοντας. τῷ μὲν γὰρ
 E ἀνδριάντι τῆς Κασάνδρου φύσεως οὐθὲν ἔνεστιν,⁴
 καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ἢ Διονυσίου ψυχὴ προλέλοιπεν·
 Νυσαίῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλοκράτει καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ
 Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίως παισι⁵ τῶν
 πονηρῶν τὸ κυριώτατον ἐμπέφυκεν καὶ πάρεστι
 μέρος, οὐχ ἡσυχαιῶν οὐδὲ ἀργόν, ἀλλὰ ζῶσιν αὐτῷ
 καὶ τρέφονται καὶ διοικοῦνται καὶ φρονοῦσιν· καὶ
 οὐθὲν δεινὸν οὐδ' ἄτοπον ἂν, ἐκείνων ὄντες, ἔχωσι⁶
 τὰ ἐκείνων.

“ Καθόλου δ' εἰπεῖν,⁷ ὥσπερ ἐν ἰατρικῇ τὸ
 F χρήσιμον καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν, καὶ γελοῖος ὁ φάσκων

¹ ἀδικώτερα Victorius : ἀδικώτατα.

² διονυσίου G³ X³ M³ V (διονύσιον v) Y³ W² : διονύσου.

³ συρακοσίων N W : συρακοσσίων G³ X¹ F ; συρρακουσίων
 G¹ X³ hki Vv ; συρακουσίων.

⁴ οὐθὲν ἔνεστι Reiske : οὐθὲν ἐστι (-ιν N Y ; οὐ μέτεστι X³).

⁵ παισι α³ : πᾶσι.

⁶ ἔχωσι] πάσχωσι Pohlenz ; ἀπέχωσι Post.

⁷ εἰπεῖν X³ : εἶπον.

what has been begotten is not severed from the begetter, as if it were some product of his art ^a; it has been created out of him, not by him, and thus not only contains within itself a portion of what is his, but receives a portion of his due when rightly punished or honoured.^b If you would not take it for a joke, I would say that a statue of Cassander was more unjustly treated when the Athenians hammered it into scrap,^c and the body of Dionysius, when after his death the Syracusans cast it beyond their borders,^d than were their descendants when they paid the price. For in the statue there is nothing of Cassander's nature, and the corpse of Dionysius has been deserted by his soul, whereas in Nysaeus and Apollocrates,^e in Antipater and Philip,^f and similarly in the other children of the wicked, the father's principal part is inherent and innate, not quiescent or inert, but by it they live, thrive, are governed, and think; and there is nothing shocking or absurd that they, who are their fathers' children, receive their fathers' due.

“ To put it generally, as in medicine what is helpful is also just,^g and he is ridiculous who calls it unjust

^b Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 137. 32-39 (ed. Cousin²).

^c Not mentioned elsewhere; it doubtless occurred when Demetrius took Athens in 307.

^d Cf. *Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxii. 2 (246 F).

^e Athenaeus (435 E-F) calls these the sons of the elder Dionysius. Nysaeus was banished after a short reign; the fate of Apollocrates is unknown. As Apollocrates was the name of the eldest son of the younger Dionysius, it has been thought that Athenaeus is mistaken in assigning to the elder Dionysius a son of that name. If so, Plutarch appears to share the error.

^f The sons of Cassander. Philip died of consumption after a few months' reign; Antipater was murdered.

^g For what follows cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 138. 7-15 (ed. Cousin²).

(559) ἄδικον εἶναι τῶν ἰσχύων¹ πονούντων καίειν τὸν ἀντίχειρα καὶ τοῦ ἥπατος ὑπούλου γεγονότος ἀμύσσειν τὸ ἐπιγᾶστριον, καὶ τῶν βοῶν, ἂν εἰς τὰς χηλὰς μαλακίῳσιν, προσαλείφειν τὰ ἄκρα τῶν κεράτων, οὕτως ὁ, περὶ τὰς κολάσεις ἄλλο τι δίκαιον ἢ τὸ θεραπεύειν² τὴν κακίαν ἡγούμενος, καὶ ἀγανακτῶν εἰάν τις δι' ἐτέρων ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἀναφέρῃ τὴν ἰατροίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὴν φλέβα διαιροῦντες ἵνα τὴν ὀφθαλμίαν κουφίσωσιν, οὐδὲν
 560 ἔοικεν περαιτέρω τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐφορᾶν, οὐδὲ μνημονεύειν³ ὅτι καὶ διδάσκαλος παιδῶν ἐνὸς καθικόμενος ἐτέρους ἐνουθέτησεν, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐκ δεκάδος ἀνελῶν ἕνα πάντας ἐνέτρεψεν,⁴ καὶ οὕτως οὐ μέρει διὰ μέρους ἐτέρου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῇ διὰ ψυχῆς γίνονται τινες διαθέσεις καὶ κακώσεις καὶ ἐπανορθώσεις μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι⁵ διὰ σώματος. ἐκεῖ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, τὸ αὐτὸ δεῖ⁶ πάθος ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μεταβολήν, ἐνταῦθα δ' ἡ ψυχῇ, ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀγομένη κατὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ δεδιέναι, χεῖρον ἢ βέλτιον διαγίγνεσθαι πέφυκεν."

17. "Ἐτι δ' ἐμοῦ⁷ λέγοντος ὑπολαβῶν⁸ ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος, "ἔοικας," ἔφη, "τῷ λόγῳ μεγάλην ὑπόθεσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, τὴν ἐπιμονὴν τῆς ψυχῆς."

¹ ἰσχύων] ἰσχύων G¹ X¹ F R N M v¹ Y W¹.

² θεραπεύειν] θεραπεύειν Reiske.

³ μνημονεύειν G¹ Z i M³ C²: μνημονεύει.

⁴ ἐνέτρεψε l² and Reiske: ἀνέτρεψε X³ hki W²; ἀνέστρεψε (-εν Y; ἀνέστρεψε N). ⁵ σώματι] τῷ σώματι G X F Z.

⁶ δεῖ] δὴ X¹ v F Z^{1ss} (omitted in G).

⁷ δ' ἐμοῦ Bern.: δέ μου.

⁸ ὑπολαβῶν] ὑποβαλῶν G¹ X¹ F Z.

^a Cf. Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Chron.* v. 1. 21.

to cauterize the thumb of a patient whose hip is diseased,^a to scarify the epigastric region for a suppurating liver,^b and when cattle get soft hooves, to anoint the tip of the horns,^c so too, whoever thinks that in punishments there is any other justice than to heal the vice, and is shocked when some persons are used as intermediaries in treating others, as when ophthalmia^d is relieved by opening a vein, appears to see no farther than the reach of sense, and not to remember that a schoolmaster who strikes one boy admonishes others, that a general who executes one man in ten^e inspires his whole army with respect, and that in this way certain dispositions, afflictions, and corrections are transmitted not only to one part through another, but also to one soul through another, and indeed more readily than to the body through the body. For when the transmission is through the body, the same affection and change, it appears, must take place in both parts; whereas the nature of the soul is such that it is guided by imagination to feel assurance or terror, and thus fare better or worse.”

17. I was still speaking when Olympichus broke in: “You appear,” he said, “to rest your case on a very considerable assumption: the survival of the soul.”^f

^b Cf. Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Chron.* iii. 4. 57, 66, and Paul of Aegina, vi. 47.

^c Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* viii. 7 and 23 (595 b 13-15, 604 a 14-17); Cato, *De Agri Cultura*, lxxii; Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 266; Columella, vi. 15. 2; *Geoponica*, xvii. 9. It is conjectured that the word “horn” originally meant “hoof.”

^d Cf. Hippocrates, *Epidem.* ii. 6. 12; Galen, *De Cur. Rat. per Venae Sect.* chap. xvii (vol. xi, pp. 299-301 Kühn).

^e This is the Roman punishment of decimation: cf. Livy, ii. 59; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 24.

^f The wicked, if punished through their descendants, must somehow survive if the punishment is to reach them.

(560) “Καὶ ὑμῶν γε,” εἶπον ἐγώ, “διδόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ δεδωκότων· ὡς γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν νέμοντος ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεῦρο προελήλυθεν.”

Κἀκεῖνος, “εἶτα δ’,” ἔφη, “νομίζεις ἔπεσθαι τῷ¹ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ νέμειν ἕκαστα τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπάρχειν ἢ πάμπαν ἀφθάρτους ἢ χρόνον τινὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευταίαν ἐπιμενούσας;”

“Οὐκ, ὦ γαθέ;” εἶπον, “ἀλλὰ μικρὸς οὕτω καὶ κενόσπουδος ὁ θεὸς ἐστίν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἡμῶν ἐχόντων θεῖον ἐν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ προσόμοιον ἀμωσγέπως C ἐκείνῳ καὶ διαρκὲς καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ φύλλοις, ὡς Ὀμηρος ἔφη, παραπλησίως ἀπομαραιομένων παντάπασιν καὶ φθινόντων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, ποιῆσθαι λόγον τοσοῦτον, ὥσπερ αἱ τοὺς Ἀδώνιδος κήπους ἐπ’ ὀστράκοις τισὶ τιθηνοῦμεναι καὶ θεραπεύουσαι γυναιῖκες, ἐφημέρους² ψυχὰς ἐν σαρκὶ τρυφερᾷ καὶ βίου ρίζαν ἰσχυρὰν οὐ δεχομένη βλαστανούσας, εἶτα ἀποσβεννυμένας εὐθύς³ ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης προφάσεως; εἰ δὲ βούλει, τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἐάσας σκόπει τουτονὶ τὸν ἐνταυθοῖ τὸν ἡμέτερον εἴ σοι δοκεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτώντων ἀπολλυμένας ἐπιστάμενος εὐθύς, ὥσπερ ὀμίχλας ἢ καπνοὺς D ἀποπνεούσας τῶν σωμάτων,⁴ ἰλασμούς τε πολλοὺς προσφέρειν τῶν κατοικομένων καὶ γέρα μεγάλα καὶ τιμὰς ἀπαιτεῖν⁵ τοῖς τεθνηκόσιν, ἐξαπατῶν καὶ

¹ τῷ] τὸ G¹ X^{1,ac} F¹ Z N C^{ac} W¹.

² Pohlenz would add σπεύρων after ἐφημέρους.

³ εὐθύς G X F Z Ry: αἰεῖ.

“ I do,” I said, “ and you concede or rather have conceded it ; for our discussion has proceeded from the outset on the assumption that God allots us our deserts.”

“ Why, do you think,” he said, “ that if the gods attend to us and mete out every particular of our lives, it follows that our souls are either altogether imperishable or survive for some time after death ? ”^a

“ It doesn't follow, my good friend ? ” I asked. “ Is God instead so petty and so absorbed in trifles that if we had nothing divine in us or in some sort resembling him and enduring and constant, but like leaves, as Homer^b said, withered quite away and perished after a brief space, he would make so much of us, and like the women who nurse and tend their ‘ gardens of Adonis ’^c in pots of earthenware, would tend souls of a day grown in a frail vessel of flesh that admits no strong root of life, only to be presently extinguished on the slightest occasion ? But if you will, leave the other gods aside, and consider whether in your opinion our own god of this place, knowing that when men die their souls perish immediately, exhaled from the body like vapour or smoke, nevertheless prescribes many appeasements of the dead and demands for them great honours and consideration, deluding and cheating those who put faith in

^a Cf. *Mor.* 1107 B.

^b *Il.* vi. 146 ; cf. *Mor.* 1090 B.

^c These were pots or baskets in which wheat, barley, lettuce, and fennel were sown. When the plants sprouted, the “ gardens ” were taken out at the funeral of the god and cast into springs. Cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 19, with the note.

⁴ τῶν σωμάτων] τοῦ σώματος F.

⁵ ἀπαιτεῖν G³ Z²² Ry k N² : ἀπαιτεῖ.

(560) φενακίζων τοὺς πιστεύοντας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν προείμην τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν διαμονήν, εἰ μὴ τις ὡσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὑφελὼν τὸν τρίποδα τῆς Πυθίας ἀναιρήσει¹ καὶ διαφθερεῖ² τὸ χρηστήριον· ἄχρι δὲ³ τοῦ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα προθεσπίζεσθαι καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς οἶα καὶ Κόρακι τῷ Ναξίῳ χρησθῆναι λέγουσιν, οὐχ ὁσιόν ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καταγνῶναι θάνατον."

Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, "τί δ' ἦν," ἔφη, "τὸ χρησθέν, ἢ τίς ὁ 'κόραξ' οὗτος; ὡς ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ Ε πρᾶγμα καὶ τὸ ὀνομαζόμενον⁴ ξένον."

"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπον, "ἀλλ' αἴτιος ἐγώ, παρωνύμῳ χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. ὁ γὰρ ἀποκτείνας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀρχίλοχον ἐκαλεῖτο Καλλώνδης,⁵ ὡς ἔοικεν, ἦν δ' αὐτῷ Κόραξ ἐπωνύμιον.⁶ ἐκβληθεὶς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς ἱερὸν ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν ἀνηρηκῶς, εἶτα χρησάμενος λιταῖς τισι καὶ προστροπαῖς⁷ μετὰ δικαιολογίας, ἐκελεύσθη πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τέττιγος οἴκησιν ἰλάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιλόχου ψυχὴν. τοῦτο δ' ἦν ὁ Ταίναρος· ἐκεῖ γάρ φασι ἐλθόντα μετὰ στόλου Τέττιγα τὸν Κρήτα πόλιν κτίσαι καὶ

¹ ἀναιρήσει] ἀναιρήση X¹ F Z N M Y CW.

² διαφθερεῖ X³: διαφθείρη (διαφθείρει G¹ R hi V² or c).

³ δὲ added by S¹ and Meziriacus.

⁴ ὀνομαζόμενον] ὄνομα Ry.

⁵ Καλλώνδης X F N M Y: καλώνδης.

⁶ ἐπωνύμιον] ἐπώνυμον G R hki.

⁷ προστροπαῖς Emperius: προτροπαῖς (τροπαῖς G Vv l).

^a Cf. *Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 9 (62 c). The fullest version of the story is in Aelian, Frag. 80 (ed. Hercher): "Not even in death do the gods forget the good. Thus Archilochus, a noble poet, if you take away his indecency and abusiveness

him. For my part, I will never give up the survival of the soul until some second Heracles makes off with the tripod of the Pythia and abolishes and destroys the oracle ; but so long as many responses are delivered even in our day of the kind that the Naxian Corax ^a is said to have received, it would be impious to pass sentence of death upon the soul."

"What response was given ?" Patrocleas inquired. "And what manner of creature was this 'corax ?' ^b I know neither the story nor what is meant by the word."

"Not so," said I ; "the fault is mine for using a sobriquet instead of the name. The slayer of Archilochus in the battle was called Callondes, we are told ; 'Corax' was his nickname. At first the Pythia drove him away as one who had killed a man sacred to the Muses ; but on resorting to certain prayers and entreaties, and pleading his cause, he was bidden to proceed to the dwelling of Tettix and appease the soul of Archilochus. (The place was Taenarus ; Tettix the Cretan is said to have come there with a

and rub it out like a stain, was pitied by the Pythian Apollo, though killed in war, where the chance is equal. When his slayer, Calondas by name, but nicknamed Corax, came to make certain requests to the god, the Pythia refused him entrance as one polluted, and spoke the well-known words [that is, Μουσάων θεράποντα κατέκτανες, ἔξιθι νηοῦ, "The Muses' servant hast thou slain : begone !" Cf. Galen, *Protrepticus*, ix. 1]. He pleaded the fortune of war, said that he had either to kill or be killed, begged the god not to regard him as an enemy if he was victim of his fate, and cursed himself for not preferring death to killing. The god took pity on him for this and bade him go to Taenarus, where Tettix is buried, and appease the soul of Telesicles' son [that is, Archilochus] and deprecate its anger with libations. He obeyed, and was delivered from the god's wrath."

^b That is, "crow."

(560) **F** κατοικῆσαι περὶ¹ τὸ ψυχοπομπεῖον.² ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάταις χρησθὲν ἰλάσασθαι τὴν Πausανίου ψυχὴν, ἐξ Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντες οἱ ψυχαγωγοὶ καὶ θύσαντες ἀπεσπάσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ εἶδωλον.

18. “ Εἰς οὖν ἐστι λόγος,” ἔφην,³ “ ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν⁴ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς βεβαιῶν, καὶ θάτερον οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπολιπεῖν ἀναιροῦντα θάτερον. οὔση⁵ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ⁶ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστι καὶ τιμὰς ἀποδίδοσθαι
561 καὶ τιμωρίας· ἀγωνίζεται γὰρ ὡσπερ ἀθλητῆς τὸν βίον, ὅταν δὲ διαγωνίσηται, τότε τυγχάνει τῶν προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ἅς μὲν ἐκεῖ καθ’ ἑαυτὴν οὔσα κομίζεται τῶν προβεβιωμένων χάριτας ἢ τινὰς κολάσεις οὐθέν εἰσι⁷ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ζῶντας, ἀλλ’ ἀπιστοῦνται καὶ λανθάνουσιν· αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν παίδων ἰοῦσαι καὶ διὰ γένους, ἐμφανεῖς τοῖς δεῦρο γινόμεναι,⁸ πολλοὺς ἀποτρέπουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι τῶν πονηρῶν. ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν αἰσχίων οὐδὲ λυποῦσά που⁹ μᾶλλον ἑτέρα κόλασις ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ πάσχοντας δι’ αὐτοὺς ὁρᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ψυχὴν ἀνδρὸς ἀσεβοῦς καὶ παρανόμου μετὰ θάνατον ἐφορῶσαν
B οὐκ ἀνδριάντας οὐδὲ τιμὰς τινὰς ἀνατρεπομένας,

¹ περὶ] παρὰ α.

² ψυχοπομπεῖον (-ίον N¹)] ψυχοπόμπιον G¹ X¹.

³ ἐστι λόγος ἔφην G X F Z I : ἐστιν ἔφην (ἔφη Y¹) λόγος.

⁴ διαμονὴν] διανομὴν G¹ X¹ Z Ry hi N M¹ Y¹ C¹.

⁵ οὔση] οὔσαν K ; διαμενούση ? nos ; περιούση ? Post. Perhaps τότε should be added after ἐστι below.

⁶ τῇ ψυχῇ] τὴν ψυχὴν R^{ac} K i.

⁷ εἰσι] ἐστι K hki (-ν N) M Y¹¹ CW.

fleet and founded a city, settling at the Passage of Souls.) In like manner the Spartans were directed by an oracle to appease the soul of Pausanias; they then sent to Italy for evocators who performed a sacrifice and drew the shade away from the temple.^a

18. "It is one and the same argument, then," I pursued, "that establishes both the providence of God and the survival of the human soul, and it is impossible to upset the one contention and let the other stand. But if the soul survives, we must expect that its due in honour and in punishment is awarded after death rather than before; for its life is like an athlete's contest, and only when it has fought that contest to the end does it receive its deserts.^b But the rewards and penalties (as the case may be) for its past life that the soul receives in the other world, in its separate existence, are for us, the living, as if they did not exist—they are disbelieved and escape us—; whereas the rewards and penalties that reach such souls through children and descendants are rendered visible to the inhabitants of this world and thus deter and discourage many of the wicked. That no punishment, we may presume, is more shameful or galling than to see one's progeny suffer on one's own account, and that the soul of an impious and lawless man who should behold after death not statues or honours subverted, but children or friends

^a The temple was that of Athena Chalcoecus at Sparta, where Pausanias starved to death. Cf. *Ὀμηρικαὶ Μελέται*, Frag. 1 (vol. vii, p. 99 Bern.), and Thucydides, i. 134.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 1105 c.

⁸ γινόμεναι X³ Ry hki Vv : γενόμεναι.

⁹ οὐδέ λυπούσά που X^d Ry Vv : καὶ λυπούσά που X¹ F S Y^{1ms}; οὐδέ λυπούσα G Z I hki N M Y^{1t} C¹W^R.

(561) ἀλλὰ παῖδας ἢ φίλους ἢ γένος οἰκείον¹ αὐτῆς ἀτυχήμασι χρωμένους μεγάλοις δι' αὐτὴν καὶ δίκην τίνοντας, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀναπείσειεν² αὐτίς ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Διὸς τιμαῖς ἄδικον γενέσθαι καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἔχω μὲν³ τινα καὶ λόγον εἰπεῖν ἔναγχος ἀκηκῶς, ὁκνῶ δὲ μὴ φανῆ μῦθος ὑμῖν· μόνον⁴ οὖν χρώμαι τῷ εἰκότι."

"Μηδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος, "ἀλλὰ διέλθε κάκεινον."

Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων, "ἔασατε," εἶπον, "ἀποδοῦναί με τῷ λόγῳ τὸ εἰκός· ὕστερον δὲ τὸν μῦθον, εἰ δόξῃ, κινήσωμεν,⁵ εἴ γε δὴ μῦθος ἔστιν.

C 19. "Ὁ γὰρ Βίων τὸν θεὸν κολάζοντα τοὺς παῖδας τῶν πονηρῶν γελοιώτερον εἶναί φησιν ἱατροῦ διὰ νόσον πάππου καὶ πατρὸς ἔκγονον ἢ παῖδα φαρμακεύοντος. ἔστι δὲ πῆ μὲν ἀνόμοια τὰ πράγματα⁶· νόσου μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος ἄλλον οὐ παύει θεραπευόμενος, οὐδὲ βέλτιόν τις ἔσχε τῶν ὀφθαλμιῶντων ἢ πυρεττόντων ἰδὼν ἄλλον ὑπαλειφόμενον ἢ καταπλαττόμενον· αἱ δὲ τιμωρίαι τῶν πονηρῶν διὰ τοῦτο δείκνυνται πᾶσιν, ὅτι δίκης κατὰ λόγον

D περαινομένης ἔργον ἔστιν ἐτέρους δι' ἐτέρων κολαζομένων ἐπισχεῖν. ἧ δὲ προσέοικε τῷ ζητουμένῳ τὸ παραβαλλόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Βίωνος ἔλαθεν αὐτόν· ἦδη γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εἰς νόσημα μοχθηρόν, οὐ μὴν

¹ οἰκείον X³ hki M¹ : ἢ οἰκείον (ἢ οἰκείους V²).

² ἀναπείσειεν Coray : ἀγαπήσειεν (ἀπατήσειεν ? Post).

³ ἔχω μὲν] ἔχομέν X¹ Z¹ I N¹ V².

⁴ μόνον Bern. (μόνον δ' ? Pohlenz ; μόνῳ γ' Sieveking) : μόνῳ.

⁵ κινήσωμεν] κινήσομεν G^{ras} v Z Ry S Vv C.

⁶ πράγματα] πράγματα πῆ δὲ εἰκότα καὶ ὅμοια X³.

or his own kindred involved in terrible calamities through his own fault and paying the price, could never be induced, for all the honours rendered to Zeus,^a once more to become unjust and licentious, is shown by an account I recently heard; but I fear you would take it for a myth.^b I confine myself accordingly to probabilities.”

“By no means do so,” said Olympichus, “but let us have it too.”

As the others made the same request, I said: “First let me complete my account of the probabilities; later, if you decide, let us venture upon the myth—if myth it is.

19. “Bion^c says that in punishing the children of the wicked God is more ludicrous than a physician administering medicine to a grandson or son for a grandfather’s or father’s disorder. The two procedures, it is true, are in one way dissimilar: the treatment of one person cannot arrest the disease of another, and no victim of ophthalmia or fever ever improved on seeing another treated by salve or poultice; whereas the reason for making a public spectacle of the punishment of evildoers is that the function of justice, when rightly administered, is to restrain some men by punishing others. But on the other hand Bion failed to notice where his comparison of the physician really resembles the point under discussion. It has been known to happen that a man has fallen ill of a serious but not incurable disease

^a Cf. *Mor.* 760 B.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 589 F. For the contrast between *logos* (“account” or “argument”) and *mythos* (“myth”) cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 523 A.

^c Frag. 42 (ed. Mullach); cf. Philo, *De Providentia*, ii. 7 (p. 49 Aucher).

(561) ἀνίατον, ἐμπεσόντος, εἴτ' ἀκρασία καὶ μαλακία προεμένου τῷ πάθει τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθαρέντος, υἷον οὐ δοκοῦντα νοσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν νόσον, ἰατρὸς ἢ οἰκείος ἢ ἀλείπτῃς καταμαθῶν ἢ δεσπότης χρηστός, ἐμβαλὼν εἰς δίαιταν αὐστηρὰν καὶ ἀφελῶν ὄψα καὶ πέμματα καὶ πότους καὶ γύναια, φαρμακείαις δὲ **Ε** χρησάμενος ἐνδελεχέσι καὶ διαπονήσας¹ γυμνασίοις, ἐσκέδασε καὶ ἀπέπεμψε μεγάλου πάθους σπέρμα μικρόν, οὐκ ἔασας εἰς μέγεθος προελθεῖν. ἦ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω παρακελευόμεθα προσέχειν ἀξιοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς² καὶ παραφυλάττεσθαι³ καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἐκ πατέρων ἢ μητέρων νοσηματικῶν, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐξωθεῖν τὴν ἐγκεκραμένην ἀρχήν, εὐκίνητον οὖσαν καὶ ἀκροσφαλῆ προκαταλαμβάνοντας;''⁴

“ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφασαν.

“ Οὐ τοίνυν ἄτοπον,” εἶπον, “ ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον, οὐδὲ γελοῖον ἀλλ' ὠφέλιμον πρᾶγμα ποιούμεν, **Ε** ἐπιληπτικῶν παισὶ καὶ μελαγχολικῶν καὶ ποδαγρικῶν γυμνάσια καὶ διαίτας καὶ φάρμακα προσάγοντες οὐ νοσοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ νοσήσαι· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ πονηροῦ σώματος γινόμενον σῶμα τιμωρίας μὲν οὐδεμιᾶς, ἰατρείας δὲ καὶ φυλακῆς ἀξιόν ἐστιν· ἦν εἴ τις, ὅτι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ δηγμὸν ἐπάγει καὶ πόνον, τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ μαλακίας ἀποκαλεῖ, χαίρειν ἑατέον. ἄρ' οὖν σῶμα μὲν ἔκγονον φαύλου σώματος ἀξιόν ἐστι θεραπεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν, κακίας δὲ ὁμοιότητα

¹ διαπονήσας G X F¹: διαπονήσας τὸ σῶμα.

² ἑαυτοῖς X³ C: ἑαυτοῦς.

and from weakness of will and lack of fortitude has yielded his body up to it and succumbed, while a physician, kinsman, trainer, or kindly master, understanding the situation, has taken that man's son, who to all appearance is not ill, but merely predisposed to the same disease, and by subjecting him to a severe diet, depriving him of relishes, pastry, drink, and women, administering medicine without interruption, and keeping him busy with hard exercise, has dissipated and dispelled the tiny seed of a great disorder by not allowing it to grow to any size. Is this not indeed the advice we press upon the children of a sickly father or mother—to take care of themselves and use precaution and not be negligent, but expel from the start the incipient disease inherent in their constitution, catching it in time when it is still readily dislodged and has as yet but a precarious hold ? ”

“ Certainly,” they said.

“ Our action, then,” said I, “ is not absurd, but necessary, and not ridiculous, but salutary, when we prescribe exercise and diet and medicine to the children of epileptics, of melancholiacs, and of sufferers from the gout, not because they have the disease, but to keep them from getting it ; for the body born of a vitiated body deserves not punishment, but medical treatment and preventive care ; and if anyone is coward and weakling enough to stigmatize such treatment as punishment, we must not let him detain us. If, then, a body that comes of a vitiated body is deserving of treatment and care, is it right to do nothing about a family resemblance in vice as

³ παραφυλάττεσθαι] φυλάττεσθαι G X F.

⁴ προκαταλαμβάνοντας] προσκαταλαμβάνοντας G X¹ F¹ Z¹ N Y¹.

(561) συγγενικὴν ἐν νέῳ βλαστάνουσαν ἦθει καὶ ἀναφυο-
562 μένην ἕαν δεῖ καὶ περιμένειν καὶ μέλλειν ἄχρι ἂν
ἐκχυθεῖσα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμφανῆς γένηται,

κακόφρονά τ' ἀμφάνη¹ πραπίδων καρπὸν,²
ὥς φησι Πίνδαρος;

20. “ Ἡ κατὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν τοῦ
Ἡσιόδου σοφώτερος διακελευομένου καὶ παρεγ-
γυῶντος,

μηδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο³ τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα
σπερμαίνειν γενεήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ δαιτός,

ὡς οὐ κακίαν μόνον οὐδ' ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύπην
καὶ χαρὰν καὶ πᾶν πάθος⁴ ἀναδεχομένης τῆς
γενέσεως, ἰλαροὺς καὶ ἡδέεις καὶ διακεχυμένους
ἄγοντος⁵ πρὸς τὴν τέκνωσιν; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκέτι⁶
B καθ' Ἡσιόδον οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργον σοφίας ἀλλὰ
θεοῦ, τὸ διορᾶν καὶ διαισθάνεσθαι τὰς ὁμοιοπαθείας
καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς πρὶν εἰς μεγάλα τοῖς πάθεσιν
ἐμπεσοῦσας ἀδικήματα γενέσθαι καταφανεῖς. ἄρ-
κτων μὲν γὰρ ἔτι νήπια καὶ λύκων τέκνα καὶ
πιθήκων εὐθύς ἐμφαίνει τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος, ὑπὸ
μηδενὸς ὑπαμπεχόμενον μηδὲ καταπλαττόμενον·
ἢ δ' ἀνθρώπου φύσις, εἰς ἔθνη καὶ δόγματα καὶ
νόμους ἑαυτὴν ἐμβαλοῦσα, κρύπτει τὰ φαῦλα καὶ
τὰ καλὰ μιμείται πολλάκις, ὥστε ἢ παντάπασιν
ἐξαλεῦψαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἐγγενῆ κηλίδα τῆς κακίας,

¹ τ' ἀμφάνη Ruhnken : τ' ἀμφανῆ Vv (τάμφανῆ K^{1ms}); τὸ
(τὸν G³ M²) ἀμφανῆ G¹ X¹ F¹ K^{1t} N² M¹ Y W (τὸ ἀμφανεῖ
N¹); τὸν ἀφανῆ F³ Z hki C¹; τὸ ἐμφανῆ Ry; τ' ἐκφανεῖ X³
(τ' ἀκφανεῖ M³).

² καρπὸν] καρπῶν F M¹ Y¹ (καὶ καρπῶν K¹; καὶ καρπὸν K²
Vv).

THE DIVINE VENGEANCE, 561-562

it germinates and shoots up in a youthful character, and to delay and hold off until, spreading far and wide, it comes to light in the passions and

Shows the malignant harvest of the soul,

as Pindar ^a says ?

20. " Or in this is God no wiser than Hesiod, ^b who offers this exhortation and advice :

Nor yet returning from a burial,
That thing of evil omen, sow thine offspring,
But from a feast of the immortal gods,

bringing men to procreation in a mood of gaiety and pleasure and cheerfulness, because their progeny receive from them not only vice or virtue, but sorrow, joy, and every kind of mood? There is another matter, however, no longer within Hesiod's capacity, nor a task for human wisdom, but rather for God: to discriminate and distinguish between similar and dissimilar propensities before the actual passions bring them to light by involving them in great acts of wrong. For whereas the young of bears and wolves and apes reveal their congenital character from the outset, undisguised and unfalsified, man has a nature that can enter into customs and doctrines and codes of conduct and thereby often conceal its failings and imitate a virtuous course, with the result that it either wipes out and escapes altogether an inherited stain

^a Frag. 211 (ed. Schroeder).

^b *Works and Days*, 735 f. ; cf. *Mor.* 158 v.

³ δυσφήμοιο G and Hesiod : δυστήνοιο.

⁴ πᾶν πάθος Post : πᾶνθ' ὄσα (omit καὶ πᾶνθ' ὄσα as a corrupt gloss, πένθος?).

⁵ ἄγοντος Pohlenz : ἄγει G X¹ F Z y hki N² M Vv C ; ἄγη N¹ Y W ; ἄγειν X³ R.

⁶ οὐκέτι G X F Z I I ; οὐκ ἔστι.

(562) ἢ διαλαθεῖν πολὺν χρόνον οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι τὴν
 C πανουργίαν¹ περιβαλοῦσαν, διαλαθεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς τοὺς
 ὡσπερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἢ δῆγματος ἐκάστου τῶν
 ἀδικημάτων μόλις αἰσθανομένους τῆς κακίας,
 μᾶλλον δὲ ὄλως τότε γίνεσθαι νομίζοντας ἀδίκους
 ὅτε ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀκολάστους ὅτε ὑβρίζουσιν, καὶ
 ἀνάνδρους ὅτε φεύγουσιν, ὡσπερ² εἴ τις οἴοιτο
 τοῖς σκορπίοις ἐμφύεσθαι τὸ κέντρον ὅτε τύπτουσιν,
 καὶ ταῖς ἐχίδναις τὸν ἰὸν ὅτε δάκνουσιν, εὐήθως
 οἰόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἅμα γίνεται καὶ φαίνεται τῶν
 πονηρῶν ἕκαστος, ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν
 κακίαν, χρήται δὲ καιροῦ καὶ δυνάμει ἐπιλαβό-
 μενος τῷ κλέπτειν ὁ κλέπτης καὶ τῷ παρανομεῖν
 D ὁ τυραννικός. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς οὔτε ἀγνοεῖ δήπου τὴν
 ἐκάστου διάθεσιν καὶ φύσιν, ἅτε δὴ ψυχῆς μᾶλλον
 ἢ σώματος αἰσθάνεσθαι πεφυκώς, οὔτ' ἀναμένει
 τὴν βίαν ἐν χερσὶ γενομένην καὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἐν
 φωνῇ³ καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἐν αἰδοίοις κολάζειν. οὐ
 γὰρ ἀμύνεται τὸν ἀδικήσαντα κακῶς παθῶν, οὐδ'
 ὀργίζεται τῷ ἀρπάσαντι βιασθεῖς, οὐδὲ μισεῖ τὸν
 μοιχὸν ὑβρισθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἰατρείας ἔνεκα τὸν μοιχικὸν
 καὶ τὸν⁴ πλεονεκτικὸν καὶ ἀδικητικὸν κολάζει
 πολλάκις, ὡσπερ ἐπιληψίαν τὴν κακίαν πρὶν ἢ
 καταλαβεῖν ἀναιρῶν.

21. “Ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀρτίως μὲν ἡγανακτοῦμεν ὡς
 E ὁσπὲ καὶ βραδέως τῶν πονηρῶν δίκην διδόντων,

¹ οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι τὴν παν. nos : οἷον ἑαυτῇ τιὰ τὴν παν. G X¹
 I hki N M¹ Y C¹W ; οἷον ἔλυτρόν τι ἑαυτῇ τὴν παν. F M² ; οἷον
 ἔλυτρόν τι (for ἔλ. τι Ry have ἐσθῆτα τιὰ) τὴν παν. ἑαυτῇ Ry
 Vv ; ἐπικάλυψιν οἷον ἑαυτῇ τιὰ τὴν παν. X³.

² ὡσπερ] ὡστ' X¹ ; ὡς X³ K.

³ ἐν φωνῇ] ἐνφανῆ F ; ἐμφανῆ G² Ry K^t V²mg.

⁴ καὶ τὸν] καὶ hki M.

of vice, or else eludes detection for a long time by enveloping itself in duplicity as in a cover, eludes detection by ourselves, I say, who stung or bitten, as it were, by the particular vicious act, come at last to be aware of the vice,^a nay rather, who believe in general that men become unjust when they commit injustice, licentious when they gratify their lust, and cowards when they run away. One might as well fancy that scorpions grow their dart when they sting, and vipers generate their venom when they strike—a foolish notion, for the various kinds of wicked men do not at the same time become wicked and show themselves wicked; rather, the thief and the tyrant possess their vice from the outset, but put their thievery and lawlessness into effect when they find the occasion and the power. But God is surely neither ignorant of the disposition and nature of each individual, as he is naturally better aware of the soul than of the body, nor does he wait for violence to show itself in the hands, impudence in the voice, and lewdness in the parts of shame before inflicting punishment. For he has not been wronged that he should retaliate upon the wrongdoer, nor suffered violence that he should be angry with the robber, nor been injured that he should hate the adulterer; when, as he often does, he punishes those of an adulterous, a rapacious, and a lawless tendency, his purpose is to cure them, removing the vice, like an epilepsy, before the seizure.^b

21. "As for ourselves, we were a moment ago resentful that the wicked should be punished late and

^a Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, coll. 139. 34–140. 25 (ed. Cousin²).

^b Cf. *Comm. on Hesiod*, Frag. 18 (vol. vii, p. 59 Bern.); Caelius Aurelianus, *Morb. Chron.* i. 4. 95.

(562) νῦν δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρὶν ἀδικεῖν ἐνίων¹ τὴν ἕξιν αὐτὴν² κολουεὶ καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐγκαλοῦμεν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τοῦ γενομένου πολλάκις τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ λανθάνον τοῦ προδήλου, χεῖρόν ἐστι καὶ φοβερώτερον, οὐ δυνάμενοί δὲ συλλογίζεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἐνίους μὲν καὶ ἀδικήσαντας ἔαν βέλτιόν ἐστιν, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ διανοουμένους προκαταλαμβάνειν· ὡσπερ ἀμέλει καὶ φάρμακα ἐνίοις μὲν οὐχ ἀρμόζει νοσοῦσιν, ἐνίοις δὲ λυσιτελεῖ καὶ μὴ νοσοῦσιν ἐπισφαλέςτερον ἐκείνων ἔχουσιν. ὅθεν
F οὐδὲ πάντα

τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ'³ εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους οἱ θεοὶ τρέπουσιν,

ἀλλ' ἔαν μὲν ἐκ φαύλου γένηται χρηστός, ὡσπερ εὐεκτικὸς ἐκ νοσώδους, ἀφεῖται τῆς τοῦ γένους ποινηῆς, οἷον ἐκποιήτος⁴ τῆς κακίας γενόμενος, νοσῶδει⁵ δὲ εἰς ὁμοιότητα μοχθηροῦ γένους ἀναφερομένῳ προσήκει δῆπουθεν ὡς χρέα κληρονομίας διαδέχεσθαι τῆς πονηρίας τὴν κόλασιν. οὐ γὰρ Ἀντίγονός γε διὰ Δημήτριον, οὐδὲ τῶν προτέρων⁶ Φυλεὺς δι' Αὐγέαν οὐδὲ Νέστωρ διὰ Νηλέα δίκας

¹ ἐνίων] ἐνίους X³.

² τὴν ἕξιν αὐτὴν nos : τὴν ἕξιν (τάξιν Ry) αὐτῶν (αὐτῶν τὴν ἕξιν hki).

³ σφάλματ'] None of the mss. elides.

⁴ ἐκποιήτος Victorius : ἐκ ποιότητος.

⁵ νοσῶδει Post : νόσῳ (νόσου Y ; νόσων y^c ; νέῳ X³).

⁶ προτέρων Emperius : πονηρῶν.

^a Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 980 : cf. 556 E, *supra*.

^b Demetrius Poliorcetes, father of Antigonus Gonatas.

^c Cf. a scholium on *Iliad* xi. 700 quoted in Callimachus (ed. Pfeiffer), vol. i, p. 85 : " At the command of Eurystheus

with delay ; we now complain that even before the wrong is done God chastens the mere state and disposition of some. This we do, little knowing that threatened evil is often worse and more to be dreaded than actual, and hidden than manifest, and unable to make out the reasons why it is better to leave some alone, even though they have done wrong, but to forestall the mere intentions of others, exactly as medicine may be unsuitable for some, though ill, but beneficial to others, who although not ill, are in a more precarious condition. Hence comes it that not all

The sins of parents on the children
The gods do visit,^a

but where a good man is born of a bad, as a healthy child may come of a sickly parent, the penalty attached to the family is remitted, and he becomes, as it were, adopted out of vice ; whereas if a man's disorder reproduces the traits of a vicious ancestry, it is surely fitting that he should succeed to the punishment of that viciousness as to the debts of an estate. For Antigonus paid no penalty for Demetrius,^b nor yet, to go back farther, did Phyleus pay for Augeas^c or Nestor for Neleus^d (for the sons

Heracles cleaned the stables of Augeas, who refused the payment demanded, asserting that Heracles had acted under orders. Phyleus, son of Augeas, was made judge in the affair and decided against his father, who in his resentment drove him from the country. Heracles came with an army and plundered Elis, and sending to Dulichium for Phyleus made him king." Cf. also Apollodorus, ii. 5. 5, 7. 2, and Pausanias, v. 3. 1.

^a As Nestor had not joined his father and brothers in the theft of Heracles' cattle, he was spared and given his father's kingdom : cf. Philostratus, *Heroicus*, p. 696, and *Socraticorum Epist.* xxxviii. 6.

563 ἔδωκεν¹ (ἐκ κακῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' ὄσων² ἢ φύσις ἔστερξε καὶ προσήκατο τὸ συγγενές, τούτων ἢ δίκη διώκουσα τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς κακίας διεξῆλθεν.³ ὡς γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνες καὶ μελάσματα καὶ φακοὶ πατέρων ἐν παισὶν ἀφανισθέντες ἀνεκύψαν ὕστερον ἐν νύκτι καὶ θυγατρίδοις, καὶ γυνὴ τις Ἑλληνίς, τεκοῦσα βρέφος μέλαν, εἶτα κρινομένη μοιχείας, ἔξανεῦρεν αὐτὴν Αἰθίοπος οὔσαν γενεὰν τετάρτην, τῶν δὲ Πύθωνος τοῦ Θισβέως⁴ παίδων, ὃς ἔναγχος τέθηκεν, λεγομένου τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς προσήκειν, εἰς⁵ ἔξανήνεγκεν λόγχης Β τύπον ἐν τῷ σώματι, διὰ χρόνων τοσοῦτων ἀνασχούσης καὶ ἀναδύσης ὡσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ γένος ὁμοιότητος, οὕτω πολλάκις ἦθη καὶ πάθη ψυχῆς αἱ πρῶται κρύπτουσι γενέσεις καὶ καταδύουσιν, ὕστερον δὲ ποτε καὶ δι' ἐτέρων ἐξήνηθησεν καὶ ἀπέδωκε τὸ οἰκεῖον εἰς κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἢ φύσις."

22. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐσιώπησα, διαμεδιάσας ὁ Ὀλύμπιχος, "οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμέν σε," εἶπεν, "ὅπως μὴ δόξωμεν ἀφιέναι τὸν μῦθον, ὡς τοῦ λόγου πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἱκανῶς ἔχοντος· ἀλλὰ τότε δώσομεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν ὅταν κάκεῖνα⁶ ἀκούσωμεν."

Οὕτως οὖν ἔφην ὅτι Σολεὺς⁷ ἀνὴρ, ἐκείνου τοῦ

¹ ἔδωκεν] ἔδωκαν X³ N M Vv Y.

² ὄσων] ὄσον G¹ X^{d2} F Z R N.

³ διεξῆλθεν] ἐπεξῆλθεν Reiske.

⁴ θισβέως G^{4ss}: νισβέως G¹ X^d Ry hki (-αιως N; νο- M¹) Vv Y CW; νισβέως F X¹ Z M².

⁵ εἰς added by Stegmann after λόγχης, placed here by Bern.

⁶ κάκεῖνα] κάκεῖνον X³.

⁷ Σολεὺς nos: σωλεὺς (σο- X^d F^c) θεσπέσιος G X¹ F^{ac} Z;

were men of virtue, though sprung from wicked fathers), but only to those whose nature acquiesced in and espoused the family trait, did punishment, pursuing the vicious resemblance, make its way. For as the warts, birthmarks, and moles of the fathers disappear in the children to reappear later in the children of sons and daughters, and as a certain Greek woman, on bearing a black child and being charged with adultery, discovered that she was fourth in descent from a negro,^a and as among the children of Python of Thisbê, who died the other day, and was said to be akin to the Sown Men,^b there was one that reproduced on his body the tracing of a spear, the family likeness reappearing and emerging after so many ages as if from the depths of the earth, so too the first generations often conceal and submerge traits and passions of the soul, while later and in the persons of others the family nature breaks out and restores the inherited bent for vice or virtue."

22. With this I fell silent. Olympichus smiled. "We do not applaud," he said, "lest you imagine we are letting you off from the myth, on the ground that your argument suffices to prove your case. No; we shall pass judgement only when we have heard that further recital."

And so I went on to say that a man of Soli—a kins-

^a Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* vii. 6 (586 a 2-4), *Gen. Animal.* i. 18 (722 a 8-11), Antigonus, *Hist. Mir.* chap. cxii (122), Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal. Epit.* ii. 272, Pliny, *N.H.* vii. 51.

^b The "Sown Men" claimed descent from the warriors that sprang from the earth when Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth. For the spear cf. Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* iv. 23.

σολεὺς (σω- N M¹ Vv Y W) ὁ θεσπέσιος (ὁ Σ. Ἀριδαῖος Hartman).

(563) γενομένου μεθ' ἡμῶν¹ ἐνταῦθα Πρωτογένους οἰ-
 C κείος καὶ φίλος, ἐν πολλῇ βιώσας ἀκολασίᾳ τὸν
 πρῶτον χρόνον, εἶτα ταχὺ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπολέσας,
 ἤδη χρόνον τινὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο
 πονηρός, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ μετανοίας διώκων,
 ταῦτὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἔπασχε πάθος, οἱ τὰς
 γυναῖκας ἔχοντες μὲν οὐ φυλάττουσιν, προέμενοι
 δὲ πειρῶσιν αὐθις ἀδίκως ἐτέροις συνούσας.²
 οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀπεχόμενος αἰσχροῦ φέροντος εἰς
 ἀπόλαυσιν ἢ κέρδος, οὐσίαν μὲν οὐ πολλήν, δόξαν
 δὲ πονηρίας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πλείστην συνήγαγεν. μά-
 D λιστα δὲ αὐτὸν διέβαλεν ἀνενεχθεῖσά τις ἐξ Ἀμφι-
 λόχου μαντεία· πέμψας γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἠρώτα τὸν
 θεὸν εἰ βέλτιον βιώσεται τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον· ὁ δὲ
 ἀνεῖλεν ὅτι πράξει βέλτιον ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ.

Καὶ δὴ τρόπον τινὰ τοῦτο μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον
 αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν. κατενεχθεῖς γὰρ ἐξ ὕψους τινὸς
 εἰς τράχηλον, οὐ γενομένου τραύματος ἀλλὰ
 πληγῆς³ μόνον, ἐξέθανεν, καὶ τριταῖος ἤδη περὶ
 τὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνήνεγκεν. ταχὺ δὲ ῥωσθεῖς καὶ
 παρ' αὐτῷ γενόμενος, ἄπιστόν τινα τοῦ βίου τὴν
 μεταβολὴν ἐποίησεν· οὔτε γὰρ δικαιότερον περὶ τὰ
 συμβόλαια γινώσκουσιν ἕτερον⁴ Κίλικες ἐν τοῖς
 τότε χρόνοις γενόμενον,⁵ οὔτε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὀσιώ-
 E τερον οὔτε λυπηρότερον ἐχθροῖς ἢ βεβαιότερον
 φίλοις· ὥστε καὶ ποθεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ

¹ ἡμῶν G¹ Vv : ἡμᾶς.

² διαφθεῖρειν is omitted by Cobet after συνούσας.

³ πληγῆς] πληγῆς Z hki Y¹.

⁴ ἕτερον] ἐτέρων Ry ; G Z omit.

⁵ γενόμενον] γινόμενον h^{ac} M Y¹.

man and friend of that Protogenes ^a who was once with us here—had spent his early life in great dissipation, and then, soon running through his estate, had for some time practised a further villainy brought on by his straitened circumstances. Reversing his attitude toward wealth, he now courted it, acting like the libertines who when they have a wife do not keep her, but let her go, and then turn round and wrongfully solicit her favours after she has married another. Abstaining, then, from no shameful act conducive to gratification or gain, he accumulated no very considerable fortune, but in a brief space a prodigious reputation for knavery. But the greatest blow to his good name was a response conveyed to him from the oracle of Amphilochus. ^b He had sent (it appears) to ask the god whether the remainder of his life would be better spent. The god answered that he would do better when he died.

In a sense this actually happened to him not long after. He had fallen from a height and struck his neck, ^c and although there had been no wound, but only a concussion, he died away. On the third day, at the very time of his funeral, he revived. ^d Soon recovering his strength and senses, he instituted a change in his way of life that could hardly be believed; for the Cilicians know of no one in those times more honest in his engagements, more pious toward heaven, or more grievous to his enemies and faithful to his friends; so that all who met him longed

^a Protogenes of Tarsus is mentioned in *Mor.* 749 B.

^b A celebrated oracle at Mallos in Cilicia: *cf.* *Mor.* 434 D.

^c The neck is the "isthmus and boundary" between the head, the abode of the divine part of the soul, and the body, the abode of its mortal part: *cf.* Plato, *Timæus*, 69 C-E.

^d *Cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 614 B.

(563) τὴν αἰτίαν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς διαφορᾶς, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος οἰομένους γεγονέναι διακόσμησιν¹ εἰς ἦθος τοσαύτην. ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, ὡς αὐτὸς διηγείτο τῷ τε Πρωτογένει καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως² ἐπικέει τῶν φίλων.

23. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσε τὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος οἷον ἂν τις ἐκ πλοίου κυβερνήτης εἰς βυθὸν ἀπορριφεῖς³ πάθοι τὸ πρῶτον, οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἔσχεν· εἶτα μικρὸν ἐξαρθεὶς ἔδοξεν ἀναπνεῖν
F ὅλος καὶ περιορᾶν πανταχόθεν, ὥσπερ ἐνὸς ὄμματος ἀνοιχθείσης τῆς ψυχῆς. ἑώρα δὲ τῶν πρότερον⁴ οὐθέν ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ ἄστρα παμμεγέθη καὶ ἀπέχοντα πλῆθος ἀλλήλων ἀπλετον, αὐγῆν⁵ τε τῇ χρόᾳ⁶ θαυμαστὴν ἀφιέντα καὶ τόνον ἔχουσαν,⁷ ὥστε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐποχουμένην⁸ λείως πλοῖον ὥσπερ⁹ ἐν γαλήνῃ τῷ φωτὶ ῥαδίως πάντῃ καὶ ταχὺ διαφέρεσθαι.

Τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῶν θεαμάτων παραλιπῶν, ἔφη τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτώντων κάτωθεν ἀνιούσας πομφόλυγα φλογοειδῆ ποιεῖν ἐξισταμένου τοῦ

¹ τῆς δ. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τ. οἱ. γ. διακ. Ry; the rest repeat τῆς (and so N) διαφορᾶς before διακ. (τὴν διακ. hk), except X³, which has τοῦ βίου instead. τῆς through γεγονέναι is repeated in v; -φορᾶς through γεγονέναι was dropped by M¹.

² ὁμοίως G X^{d1} F: ὁμοίοις.

³ ἀπορριφεῖς] ἀπορριφθεὶς X¹ F Z i N Y.

⁴ πρότερον] προτέρων G¹ S hki (πρότερων M) Vv.

⁵ αὐγῆν] αὐγῆ G^{ac} X^{1?}; αὐγῆ Z; αὐγῆν F¹.

⁶ χρόα C: χροῖα.

⁷ ἔχουσαν] ἔχουσα G^{ac} X¹ F¹ Z¹(?).

⁸ ἐποχουμένην G³ X³: ἐνοχλουμένην.

⁹ πλοῖον ὥσπερ Schwartz (ὥσπερ πλοῖον Emperius): οἷον ὥσπερ (ὥσπερ l).

^a For the comparison of the soul or intellect to a pilot or

to hear the reason for the difference, supposing nothing ordinary could have caused so great a reformation in character. Such indeed was the case, as appears from the story as told by himself to Protogenes and other worthy friends.

23. He said that when his intelligence was driven from his body, the change made him feel as a pilot ^a might at first on being flung into the depths of the sea; his next impression was that he had risen somewhat ^b and was breathing ^c with his whole being and seeing on all sides, his soul having opened wide as if it were a single eye.^d But nothing that he saw was familiar except the stars, which appeared very great in size and at vast distances apart, sending forth a marvellously coloured radiance possessed of a certain cohesion, so that his soul, riding smoothly in the light like a ship on a calm sea, could move easily and rapidly in all directions.

Passing over most of the spectacle, he said that as the souls of those who die came up from below they made a flamelike bubble as the air was displaced,^e

sailor (implied here and in *Mor.* 586 A) *cf.* Plato, *Phaedrus*, 247 c, Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 1 (413 a 8 f.), and Alexander, *De Anima*, chap. xv. 9. *Cf.* also *Mor.* 1008 A.

^b His intelligence has risen from the bottom of the air to the enclosing sphere of fire, and this appears to him a short distance. On leaving the body the soul moves upwards: *cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 17-18 (40-43).

^c *Cf.* *Mor.* 590 c.

^d Intelligence is the eye of the soul: *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 519 B, with Shorey's note in the L.C.L. The disembodied soul now sees without the intervention of corporeal "openings" or "windows," for which *cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 20 (46), with Pohlenz's note, and Lucretius, iii. 360.

^e A film of air from the sublunary region envelops the soul—which, for the purposes of the myth, is fiery—as it rises into the empyrean.

564 αἶρος, εἶτα ῥηγνυμένης ἀτρέμα τῆς πομφόλυγος¹
 ἐκβαίνειν τύπῳ ἐχούσας ἀνθρωποειδῆ, τὸν δὲ
 ὄγκον εὐσταλεῖς, κινουμένας δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἀλλὰ
 τὰς μὲν ἐκπηδᾶν ἐλαφρότητι θαυμαστῇ καὶ διαίπτειν
 ἐπ' εὐθείας ἄνω, τὰς δὲ ὥσπερ ἄτρακτοι² περι-
 στρεφομένας ἅμα κύκλῳ, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κάτω τοτὲ
 δὲ ἄνω ῥεπούσας, μικτήν τινα φέρεσθαι καὶ τε-
 ταραγμένην ἔλικα³ καὶ πολλῶ πάνυ χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις
 ἀποκαθισταμένην.

Τὰς μὲν οὖν πολλὰς ἠγνόει τίνες εἰσίν, δύο δὲ
 ἢ τρεῖς ἰδὼν γνωρίμους, ἐπειράτο προσμίξαι καὶ
 προσειπεῖν· αἱ δὲ οὔτε ἠκουον οὔτε ἦσαν παρ'
 Β αὐταῖς,⁴ ἀλλ' ἐκφρονες καὶ διεπτοημένοι, πᾶσαν
 ὄψιν ἀποφεύγουσαι καὶ ψαῦσιν, ἐρέμβοντο πρῶτον
 αὐταὶ καθ' ἑαυτάς, εἶτα, πολλαῖς ὁμοίως διακει-
 μέναις ἐντυγχάνουσαι καὶ περιπλεκόμεναι,⁵ φορές
 τε πάσας πρὸς οὐθέν⁶ ἀκρίτως ἐφέροντο καὶ φωνὰς
 ἴεσαν⁷ ἀσήμους, οἷον ἀλαλαγμοῖς⁸ θρήνου καὶ
 φόβου⁹ μεμιγμένας. ἄλλαι δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐν τῷ¹⁰
 καθαρῷ¹¹ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὀφθῆναί τε φαιδραὶ καὶ
 πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπ' εὐμενείας θαμὰ πελάζουσαι,
 τὰς δὲ θορυβώδεις ἐκείνας ἐκτρεπόμεναι, διεσή-
 C μαινον ὡς ἔοικεν συστολῇ μὲν εἰς αὐτὰς τὸ δυσχε-

¹ πομφόλυγος] πομφόλυγγος X¹ F here and πομφόλυγγα above. ² ἄτρακτοι] οἱ ἄτρακτοι G X F Z Ry M² Vv.

³ ἔλικα supplied by us (cf. *Mor.* 592 A); κίνησιν by X³. Perhaps ἔλικά (or ἐλίκην?) should be read for μικτήν.

⁴ αὐταῖς] ἐαυταῖς G X F Z K M².

⁵ ἐντυγχάνουσαι καὶ περιπλεκόμεναι X³ Ry: ἐντυγχάνουσι (-σαι Y²) καὶ περιπλεκομέναις.

⁶ οὐθέν G X F Z K Vv: οὐδέν.

⁷ ἴεσαν G³ F³ Ry k M C (ἴεσαν G^c X^d hi Vv W): ἦεσαν.

⁸ ἀλαλαγμοῖς X³ R^c (ἀλλαλαγμοῖς R^{ac}y): -μοῖ (-μοῦς hki M; -μόν N Vv; -μοῦ W).

and then, as the bubble gently burst, came forth, human in form, but slight^a in bulk, and moving with dissimilar motions. Some leapt forth with amazing lightness and darted about aloft in a straight line, while others, like spindles, revolved upon themselves and at the same time swung now downward, now upward, moving in a complex and disordered spiral that barely grew steady after a very long time.

Most of the souls indeed he failed to recognize, but seeing two or three of his acquaintance, he endeavoured to join them and speak to them. These, however, would not hear him and were not in their right mind, but in their frenzy and panic avoiding all sight and contact, they at first strayed about singly^b; later, meeting many others in the same condition, they clung to them and moved about indistinguishably in all manner of aimless motions and uttered inarticulate sounds, mingled with outcries as of lamentation and terror.^c Other souls, above, in a pure region of the ambient,^d were joyful in aspect and out of friendliness often approached one another, but shunned the other, tumultuous souls, indicating their distaste, he said, by contracting into themselves,

^a Cf. *Mor.* 1105 D.

^b For the isolation of impure souls after death cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 108 B-C, and the Pythagorean doctrine in Diogenes Laert. viii. 31. Cf. also Plutarch, *Frag. Inc.* 146 (vol. vii, pp. 174. 20-175. 1 Bern.).

^c Cf. *Mor.* 610 C.

^d In *Mor.* 943 C good souls are said to dwell for a fixed period in the "mildest part of the air" (ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ αἵρος). Cf. also Plato, *Republic*, 520 D.

⁹ φόβου K a² l²: φόνου.

¹⁰ τῷ added by Pohlenz.

¹¹ καθαρῷ Paton: κάρῳ (καλῷ X³ V; ἄκρω a²).

(564) ραῖνον, ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει¹ τὸ χαῖρον καὶ προσιέμενον.

24. Ἐνταῦθα μίαν ἔφη γνῶναι² συγγενοῦς τινος, οὐ μέντοι σαφῶς· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος· ἀλλ' ἐκείνην προσανάγουσαν³ ἐγγὺς εἰπεῖν· “χαῖρε Θεσπέσιε.” θαυμάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ φήσαντος ὡς οὐ Θεσπέσιος ἀλλ' Ἀριδαῖός⁴ ἐστίν, “πρότερόν γε,” φάναι, “τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦδε⁵ Θεσπέσιος. οὐδὲ γάρ τοι τέθνηκας, ἀλλὰ μοίρα τινὶ θεῶν ἦκεις δεῦρο τῷ φρονούντι, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην ψυχὴν ὥσπερ ἀγκύριον ἐν τῷ σώματι καταλέλοιπας. σύμβολον δέ σοι καὶ νῦν καὶ αὖθις ἔστω⁶ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν D τεθνηκότων μήτε σκιὰν ποιεῖν μήτε σκαρδαμύττειν.” ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Θεσπέσιος ἦδη τε μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν τῷ λογίζεσθαι συνήγαγεν καὶ διαβλέψας εἶδεν ἑαυτῷ μὲν τινα⁷ συναιωρουμένην⁸ ἀμυδρὰν⁹ καὶ σκιώδη γραμμὴν, ἐκείνους δὲ περιλαμπομένους κύκλῳ καὶ διαφανεῖς ἐντός, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως¹⁰ ἅπαντας· ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὥσπερ ἢ καθαρωτάτη πανσέληνος ἐν χρῶμα λεῖον καὶ συνεχὲς ὁμαλῶς¹¹ ἰέντας, ἐτέρων δὲ φολίδας τινὰς διατρεχούσας ἢ μώλωπας ἀραιούς, ἄλλους δὲ κομιδῇ ποικίλους E καὶ ἀτόπους τὴν ὄψιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἔχεις μελάσμασι

¹ διαχύσει X³ l²: διαλύσει.

² γνῶναι added by Paton (ἐπιγνῶναι after σαφῶς Reiske; ἰδεῖν after τινος Leonicus).

³ προσανάγουσαν] προσάγουσαν C² J¹ (προσαγαγοῦσαν Reiske).

⁴ Ἀριδαῖός] Ἀρδιαῖός Wyttenbach.

⁵ τοῦδε] τούτου G X F (τοῦ γε N).

⁶ ἔστω] ἔσται G¹.

⁷ Pohlenz would omit τινα, retaining it after ἀμυδρὰν below.

but their delight and welcome by expansion and diffusion.^a

24. Here, he said, he recognized one soul, that of a kinsman, though not distinctly, as he was but a child when the kinsman died; but it drew near and said: "Greetings, Thespesius."^b He was taken aback and said he was not Thespesius but Aridaeus. "You were that before," was the reply, "but henceforth you are Thespesius. For you must further know you are not dead, but through a divine dispensation are present here in your intelligence, having left the rest of your soul, like an anchor, behind in your body. Now and hereafter know it by this token: the souls of the dead neither cast a shadow nor blink their eyes."^c At this Thespesius, by an effort of thought, became more collected, and looking steadily, saw a certain faint and shadowy line^d floating along with him, while the rest were enveloped all around with light and translucent within, although not all to the same degree. But some were like the full moon at her clearest, shining evenly with a single smooth and unbroken hue; others were shot through with scales, as it were, or faint bruises; others quite mottled and odd in appearance, covered with black tattoo-marks, like

^a Cf. *Mor.* 590 c.

^b In *Or.* xxvi (i. 53 Keil) Aristeides dreams that Asclepius addresses him as Theodorus.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 300 c, where this belief is attributed to the Pythagoreans.

^d It is the shadow of the "cable": cf. 566 D, *infra*.

⁸ *συναιωρουμένην*] *συνεωρουμένην* G¹ X¹ Z¹ i N M Y¹.

⁹ *ἀμυδρὰν* X F Z hki: *ἀμυδρὰν τινα*.

¹⁰ *ὁμοίως* R^{acy} hk M: *ὁμοίους*.

¹¹ *ὁμαλῶς* W²: *καὶ ὁμαλῶς* (καὶ ὁμαλὸν Ry; καὶ ὁμαλῆς X³).

(564) κατεστιγμένους, ἄλλους δέ τινας ἀμβλείας ἀμυχὰς ἔχοντας.

25. Ἐλεγεν οὖν ἕκαστα φράζων ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου συγγενῆς (οὐδέν γὰρ οὕτω κωλύει τὰς ψυχὰς ὀνόματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσαγορεύειν), ὡς Ἀδραστεια μὲν, Ἀνάγκης καὶ Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ἐπὶ πᾶσι τιμωρὸς ἀνωτάτῳ τέτακται τοῖς ἀδικήμασι, καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οὔτε μέγας οὔτως¹ οὐδεὶς οὔτε μικρὸς γέγονεν ὥστε ἢ λαθῶν διαφυγεῖν² ἢ βιασάμενος. ἄλλη δὲ ἄλλη τιμωρία, τριῶν οὐσῶν, φύλακι καὶ χειρουργῶ προσήκει³. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὐθύς ἐν σώμασι⁴ καὶ διὰ σωματῶν⁵ κολαζομένους

Ἐ μεταχειρίζεται Ποινὴ ταχεῖα, πρᾶϋ τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ παραλείποντι πολλὰ τῶν καθαρμοῦ δεομένων. ὧν δὲ μείζον ἐστὶν ἔργον ἢ περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἰατρεία, τούτους Δίκη μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ δαίμων παραδίδωσιν. τοὺς δὲ πάμπαν ἀνιάτους, ἀπωσαμένης τῆς Δίκης, ἢ τρίτη καὶ ἀγριωτάτῃ τῶν Ἀδραστείας ὑπουργῶν, Ἐρινύς, μεταθέουσα πλανωμένους καὶ περιφεύγοντας ἄλλον ἄλλως, οἰκτρῶς δὲ⁶ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἅπαντας, ἠφάνισεν καὶ κατέδησεν⁷ εἰς τὸ ἄρρητον καὶ ἀόρατον.

565 “Τῶν δ’ ἄλλων,” ἔφη, “δικαιώσεων ἢ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς Ποινῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἔοικεν. ὡς γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις τῶν κολαζομένων τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰς τιάρας ἀποτίλλουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ

¹ οὔτως added by Reiske after οὐδεὶς, placed here by Pohlenz.

² διαφυγεῖν X³: διαφεύγειν (-γει Z V¹²; φεύγειν G; διαφυγειν i).

³ προσήκει] εἶναι προσήκει X³.

⁴ σώμασι G F: σώματι.

⁵ σωματῶν] τῶν σωματῶν C.

speckled vipers; and still others bore the faded traces of what looked like scratches.

25. Thespesius' kinsman—nothing need keep us from thus referring to a man's soul—proceeded to explain. Adrasteia,^a he said, daughter of Necessity and Zeus, is the supreme requiter; all crimes are under her cognizance, and none of the wicked is so high or low as to escape her either by force or by stealth. There are three others, and each is warden and executioner of a different punishment: those who are punished at once in the body and through it are dealt with by swift Poinê in a comparatively gentle manner that passes over many of the faults requiring purgation; those whose viciousness is harder to heal are delivered up to Dikê by their daemon^b after death; while those past all healing, when rejected by Dikê, are pursued by the third and fiercest of the ministers of Adrasteia, Erinys, as they stray about and scatter in flight, who makes away with them, each after a different fashion, but all piteously and cruelly, imprisoning them in the Nameless and Unseen.^c

“Of the other forms of chastisement,” he said, “that visited in life by Poinê resembles those in use among the barbarians; for as in Persia the cloaks and head-dresses of the sufferers are plucked and

^a Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 c. Adrasteia means “the inescapable.”

^b Cf. Plato, *Phaedo*, 107 D, 113 D. A religious and personified way of speaking of a man's “lot” is to call it his “daemon.”

^c That is, they are seen and heard of no more: cf. *Mor.* 1130 E. Hades is etymologized “unseen.”

⁶ δὲ G¹ X F: τε.

⁷ κατέδησεν] κατέδυσεν hki α.

(565) παύσασθαι δακρύνοντες ἀντιβολουῖσιν, οὕτως αἱ διὰ χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων κολάσεις ἀφήν οὐκ ἔχουσι δριμείαν οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν αἱ πολλαὶ καὶ πρὸς αἴσθησιν αὐτῶν εἰσιν. (26.) ὃς δ' ἂν ἐκεῖθεν ἀκόλαστος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἐξίκηται, τοῦτον ἢ Δίκη διαλαβοῦσα τῇ ψυχῇ καταφανῆ, γυμνόν, εἰς οὐδὲν
 Β ἔχοντα καταδύναι καὶ ἀποκρύψασθαι καὶ περιστεῖλαι τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ πάντα καθορώμενον, ἔδειξε πρῶτον ἀγαθοῖς γονεῦσιν, ἄνπερ ὦσι, καὶ προγόνοις² αὐτοῦ πρόσπτυστον³ ὄντα καὶ ἀνάξιον· ἐὰν δὲ φαῦλοι, κολαζομένους ἐπιδὼν ἐκείνους καὶ ὀφθείς, δικαιοῦται πολὺν χρόνον ἐξαιρούμενος ἕκαστον τῶν παθῶν ἀλγηδόσι καὶ πόνοις οἷ τοσοῦτο μεγέθει καὶ σφοδρότητι τοὺς⁴ διὰ σαρκὸς ὑπερβάλλουσιν ὅσον⁵ τὸ ὕπαρ ἂν εἴη τοῦ ὀνειράτος⁶ ἐναργέστερον.

“ Οὐλαὶ δὲ καὶ μώλωπες ἐπὶ τῶν παθῶν ἐκάστου
 C τοῖς μὲν μᾶλλον ἐμμένουσι τοῖς δὲ ἦσσαν. ὄρα δέ,” εἶπεν, “ τὰ ποικίλα ταῦτα καὶ παντοδαπὰ χρώματα τῶν ψυχῶν· τὸ⁷ μὲν ὄρφνινον⁸ καὶ ῥυπαρόν, ἀνελευθερίας ἀλοιφήν καὶ πλεονεξίας, τὸ δὲ αἰμωπὸν⁹ καὶ διάπυρον, ὀμότητος καὶ πικρίας· ὅπου δὲ τὸ

¹ καὶ] καὶ διὰ M Vv.

² καὶ προγόνοις Ry M¹ V^{2ss} W^{2ss}: προγόνοις (-ους G¹).

³ πρόσπτυστον] προσπτυστόν G X (πρὸς πτυστόν F¹ N) hki M¹ Y.

⁴ τοὺς G⁴ X^{d?} F Ry M² (V is wanting) v Y²: τοῖς.

⁵ τοσοῦτο . . . ὅσον G⁴: τοσοῦτω . . . ὅσον (τοσοῦτω . . . ὅσω hk M [V is wanting] v).

⁶ ὀνειράτος] ὄναρ?

⁷ τὸ X^{d?} F Ry M² (V is wanting) v W^{ac?}: τοῖς.

scourged ^a as the tearful owners beg for mercy, so punishment that operates through external possessions and the body establishes no smarting contact and does not fasten upon the viciousness itself, but is for the most part addressed to opinion and the senses. (26.) But whoever comes here from the world below unpunished and unpurged, is fastened upon ^b by Dikê, exposed to view and naked in his soul, ^c having nothing in which to sink out of sight and hide himself and cloak his baseness, but on all sides plainly visible to all in all his shame. In this state she first shows him to his good parents and ancestors—if such they are—as one execrable and unworthy of them, while if they are wicked, he sees them punished and is seen by them; he then undergoes prolonged chastisement, ^d each of his passions being removed with pains and torments that in magnitude and intensity as far transcend those that pass through the flesh as the reality would be more vivid than a dream.

“The scars and welts ^e left by the different passions are more persistent in some, less so in others. Observe,” he said, “in the souls that mixture and variety of colours: one is drab brown, the stain that comes of meanness and greed; another a fiery blood-red, which comes of cruelty and savagery; where you see

^a Cf. *Mor.* 35 E and 173 D; Pseudo-Dio, *Or.* xxxvii. 45; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 8.

^b Cf. Plato, *Republic*, 615 E.

^c Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 523 D-E.

^d In Plato, *Republic*, 615 A-B, everyone must pay for his crime tenfold in a time ten times as long as the span of human life, which is set at a hundred years.

^e Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 524 E, and Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 18. 11.

⁸ ὄρφνιον L. Dindorf: ὄρφνιον.

⁹ αἰμωπὸν G⁴ Ry K (αἱμαπὸν X¹ F¹): αἱματωπὸν.

(565) γλαύκινόν¹ ἔστιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀκρασία τις περὶ ἡδονὰς ἐκτέτριπται μόλις· κακόνοια² δ' ἐνοῦσα³ μετὰ φθόνου τουτὶ τὸ ἰώδες⁴ καὶ ὕπουλον, ὥσπερ αἰ σηπίαι τὸ μέλαν, ἀφήσιν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ⁵ κακία τῆς τε⁶ ψυχῆς τρεπομένης⁷ ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τρεπούσης⁸ τὸ σῶμα τὰς χροὰς ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καθαρμοῦ καὶ κολάσεως πέρας ἔστιν τούτων
 D ἐκλεανθέντων παντάπασι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐγοειδῆ καὶ σύγχρουν γίνεσθαι⁹. μέχρι δὲ οὗ ταῦτα ἔνεστι γίνονται τινες ὑποτροπαὶ τῶν παθῶν σφυγμοὺς ἔχουσαι καὶ πήδησιν, ἐνίαις μὲν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ταχὺ κατασβεννυμένην, ἐνίαις δὲ νεανικῶς ἐντείνουσαν. ὧν αἰ μὲν πάλιν καὶ πάλιν κολασθεῖσαι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἔξιν καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν,¹⁰ τὰς δὲ αὐθις εἰς σώματα ζώων ἐξήνεγκεν βιαιότης ἀμαθίας καὶ φιληδονίας εἶδος.¹¹ ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀσθενεῖα λόγου καὶ δι' ἀργίαν τοῦ θεωρεῖν ἔρρεψε τῷ πρακτικῷ
 E πρὸς γένεσιν, ἡ δὲ ὀργάνου τῷ ἀκολάστῳ¹² δεομένη ποθεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας συρράψαι ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι καὶ

¹ γλαύκινόν] γλαύκιόν X (V is wanting) v¹⁴ W.

² μόλις κακόνοια M³: μόλις κακὸν οἶα G X F hki M¹ (V is wanting) v C; μολικακὸν οἶα (μόλικακὸν οἶα N) Y; μολιακὸν οἶα Ry W (οἶα); μολιακὸν οἶ K.

³ δ' ἐνοῦσα Reiske: δεῖν οὔσα X¹ (δεινοῦσα N W^{c?}; δεινούσα Y); δινοῦσα F W^{ac?}; δεινὸν οὔσα G¹ X^d hki M¹ (V is wanting) v C; ὠδίνουσα G^{3mg} K¹ M³; ὠδινούσης Ry K².

⁴ τουτὶ τὸ ἰώδες G^{3?} F Z M²; τουτὶ τοιωδες (τοιωδὲς N; ποιωδὲς C¹W) G¹ X¹ Y; τὸ τοιωδες i M¹ (V is wanting) v; τὸ τοιοῦτον hk M³; τιτυῶδες X³; in an omission in Ry.

⁵ ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ Pohlenz: ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ (εἶ Y^{ac}) τε (ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ ἡ Z; ἡ τε W^{ac}).

⁶ τῆς τε nos: τῆς.

⁷ τρεπομένης F³ M² (τερπομένης Y²): τρεπομένη (τερπομένη Y¹).

⁸ τρεπούσης G³ hki M² (τερπούσης Y²): τροπούσης (-ση F¹; τρέπουσα Ry K [V is wanting] v; στροβοῦσα X³ C²).

the blue-grey, some form of incontinence in pleasure has barely been rubbed out ; while if spite and envy are present they give out this livid green, as ink is ejected by the squid.^a For in the world below viciousness puts forth the colours, as the soul is altered by the passions and alters the body in turn, while here the end of purgation and punishment is reached when the passions are quite smoothed away and the soul becomes luminous in consequence and uniform in colour ; but so long as the passions remain within there are relapses, attended by throbbings and a convulsive motion which in some souls is faint and soon subsides, but in others produces a vehement tension. Some of these, after repeated punishment, recover their proper state and disposition, while others are once more carried off into the bodies of living things by the violence of ignorance and the 'image'^b of the love of pleasure. For one soul, from weakness of reason and neglect of contemplation, is borne down by its practical proclivity to birth, while another, needing an instrument for its licentiousness, yearns to knit its appetites to their fruition

^a Cf. *Mor.* 978 A.

^b *Eidos* ("form"), in the Greek, a doubtful word. In *Mor.* 945 A the soul is said to receive an impress from the intellect and give one to the body, at the same time enveloping it on all sides and taking on its *eidōs* or form. The soul is thus called an *eidolon* ("phantom"), when, on being separated from the intellect or the body, it long retains the *eidōs* of either.

⁹ γίνεσθαι] γενέσθαι Bern.

¹⁰ καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν X³ (καὶ διάθεσιν ἔχουσι C¹ G³? [now erased]; ἔχουσι hki) : καὶ διάθεσιν.

¹¹ εἶδος] ἦλος Bern. ; οἶστρος Castiglioni ; πάθος Richards ; ἡμερος Schwartz ; πειθῶ Pohlenz ; εἶλος? (εἴλεα . . . δεσμοί Hesychius) Post.

¹² τῷ ἀκολάστῳ Reiske : τοῦ ἀκολάστου.

(565) συνεπαυρέσθαι¹ διὰ σώματος· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ σκιά τις ἀτελής καὶ ὄναρ ἡδονῆς πλήρωσιν οὐκ ἐχούσης πάρεστιν.”

27. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν, ἤγεν αὐτὸν ταχὺ μὲν,² ἄπλετον δέ τινα τόπον ὡς ἐφαίνετο διεξιόντα ῥαδίως καὶ ἀπλανῶς, οἷον ὑπὸ πτερῶν τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς αὐγῶν ἀναφερόμενον, μέχρι οὗ πρὸς τι χάσμα μέγα καὶ κάτω διῆκον ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὀχούσης³ ἀπελείφθη δυνάμεως. καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ψυχὰς ἑώρα τοῦτο⁴ πασχούσας ἐκεῖ· συστελλόμεναι⁵ F γὰρ ὡσπερ αἱ ὄρνιθες καὶ καταφερόμεναι κύκλω τὸ χάσμα περιήεσαν (ἄντικρυς δὲ περᾶν οὐκ ἐτόλμων), εἴσω μὲν ὀφθῆναι τοῖς βακχικοῖς ἄντροις ὁμοίως ὕλη καὶ⁶ χλωρότητι καὶ χροαῖς⁷ ἀνθέων ἀπάσαις διαπεποικιλμένον· ἐξέπνει δὲ μαλακὴν καὶ πραεῖαν αὔραν ὁσμὰς ἀναφέρουσαν ἡδονάς⁸ τε θαυμασίας καὶ κρᾶσιν οἶαν⁹ ὁ οἶνος τοῖς μεθυσκομένοις ἐμποιοῦσαν· εὐχούμεναι γὰρ αἱ ψυχὰι ταῖς εὐωδίαις διεχέοντο¹⁰ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐφιλοφρονοῦντο· καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν κύκλω κατεῖχε βακχεῖα καὶ γέλωσ καὶ πᾶσα μουσα παιζόντων καὶ τερπο- 566 μένων. ἔλεγε δέ¹¹ ταύτη¹² τὸν Διόνυσον ἀνελθεῖν¹³

¹ συνεπαύρεσθαι (sic) Reiske : συνεπαίρεσθαι.

² ταχὺ μὲν] μὲν ταχὺ G X F.

³ ὀχούσης Madvig : ἐχούσης.

⁴ τοῦτο] ταυτό Wyttenbach (οὔτω hki).

⁵ συστελλόμεναι N M (V is wanting) v : στελλόμεναι.

⁶ ὕλη καὶ] ὕλης G.

⁷ χροαῖς G I² : χλόαις.

⁸ ἡδονάς Victorius : ἡδονῆς.

⁹ οἶαν X³ v (V is wanting) : οἶον (οἶον ἂν K).

and gratify them through the body, for here there is nothing but an imperfect shadow and dream of never consummated pleasure."

27. After this explanation Thespesius was swiftly taken by the guide over what appeared an immense distance, traversing it easily and unerringly, buoyed up by the beams of the light as by wings, until he came to a great chasm extending all the way down and was deserted by the power that sustained him. The other souls too, he observed, were thus affected there, for they drew themselves in like birds and alighted and walked around the circuit of the chasm, not venturing to pass directly across. Within, it had the appearance of a Bacchic grotto ^a: it was gaily diversified with tender leafage and all the hues of flowers. From it was wafted a soft and gentle breeze that carried up fragrant scents, arousing wondrous pleasures and such a mood as wine induces in those who are becoming tipsy ^b; for as the souls regaled themselves on the sweet odours they grew expansive and friendly with one another; and the place all about was full of bacchic revelry and laughter and the various strains of festivity and merry-making. This was the route, the guide said, that Dionysus had

^a For "bacchic grottoes" cf. Philodamus, *Paeon to Dionysus*, 140 (in Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, p. 169); Socrates of Rhodes in Athenaeus, 148 b; Philostratus, *Imagines*, i. 3, and Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 18. 3.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 437 E and Macrobius, *Comm. in Som. Scip.* i. 12. 17; cf. also *Mor.* 362 A-B.

¹⁰ διεχέοντο G hki C: διέχέον τε X¹ N M (V is wanting) v Y W¹; διεχέοντό τε X³ F Ry W². ¹¹ δε added in Aldine.

¹² ταύτη G^{ras?} F^{ras} Ry k C: ταύτην (ταῦτα hi).

¹³ ἀνελθεῖν N M¹ Y W: εἰς θεοὺς (-έαν Ry) ἀνελθεῖν (ἀνελθεῖν εἰς θεοὺς M² l).

(566) καὶ τὴν Σεμέλην ἀναγαγεῖν¹ ὕστερον· καλεῖσθαι δὲ Λήθης τὸν τόπον. ὅθεν οὐδὲ διατρίβειν βουλόμενον εἶα τὸν Θεσπέσιον, ἀλλ' ἀφείλκε² βία, διδάσκων ἅμα καὶ λέγων ὡς ἐκτῆκεται καὶ ἀνυγραίνεται τὸ φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς, τὸ δὲ ἄλογον καὶ σωματοειδὲς ἀρδόμενον καὶ σαρκούμενον ἐμποιεῖ τοῦ σώματος μνήμην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μνήμης ἴμερον καὶ πόθον ἔλκοντα πρὸς γένεσιν, ἣν οὕτως ὠνομάσθαι νεῦσιν ἐπὶ γῆν οὔσαν³ ὑγρότητι βαρυνόμενης τῆς ψυχῆς.

28. Ἄλλην οὖν τοσαύτην διελθὼν ὁδὸν ἔδοξεν
 B ἀφορᾶν κρατῆρα μέγαν, εἰς δὲ τοῦτον ἐμβάλλοντα
 ρεύματα, τὸ μὲν ἀφροῦ θαλάσσης ἢ χιόνων⁴ λευκό-
 τερον, τὸ⁵ δὲ ὁποῖον Ἴρις ἐξανθεῖ τὸ ἀλουργόν, ἄλλα
 δ' ἄλλαις βαφαῖς⁶ κεχρωσμένα, πρόσωθεν ἴδιον⁷
 ἐχούσαις⁸ φέγγος. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἦλθον, ὁ κρατῆρ
 ἐκείνος ἀνεφάνη χάσμα βαθύ⁹ τοῦ περιέχοντος, τῶν
 τε χρωμάτων ἀμαυρουμένων τὸ ἀνθηρότερον ἀπ-
 ἐλείπεν¹⁰ πλὴν τῆς λευκότητος. ἑώρα δὲ τρεῖς

¹ ἀναγαγεῖν Bern. : ἀνάγειν.

² ἀφείλκε Reiske : ἀφείλε (ἀφῆκε v).

³ ἐπὶ γῆν οὔσαν Meziriacus : ἐπιτείνουσαν (-τίν- N).

⁴ χιόνων] χιόνος G Z hki.

⁵ τὸ . . . τὸ X³ Y² W² : τὸν . . . τὸν (τὸν . . . τὰ Ry).

⁶ δ' (δὲ S k Y²) ἄλλαις βαφαῖς X³ (V is wanting) v W² : δι' ἄλλαις βαφαῖς (δι' ἄλλων βαφῶν Ry).

⁷ ἴδιον α² : ἴδοι X¹ F S¹ N Y C¹ W ; ἴδοις G X³ hk (ἴδοιεν i) M (V is wanting) v ; there is an omission in Ry.

⁸ ἐχούσαις v (V is wanting) Y² : ἐχούσας (there is an omission in Ry).

⁹ ἀνεφάνη χάσμα βαθύ Kronenberg : ἀφανῆς χλεμάβλου (χλεμβάλου G¹ ; χε μαβλου N ; χλεμαμβλοῦ v [V is wanting] ; χλεμάμβλου Y¹) ; ἀφανῆς K ; ἀφανῆς ἦν ἐνιαχοῦ Ry ; ἀφανισθέντος μάλλον M².

¹⁰ ἀπέλειπεν N¹ Y (-πε G⁴ Ry [ἐπ- K]) : ἀπέλιπε.

taken in his ascent and later when he brought up Semelê^a; and the region was called the place of Lethe.^b On this account, although Thespesius wished to linger, the guide would not allow it, but pulled him away by main force, informing him as he did so that the intelligent part of the soul is dissolved away and liquefied^c by pleasure, while the irrational and carnal part is fed by its flow and puts on flesh and thus induces memory of the body; and that from such memory arises a yearning and desire that draws the soul toward birth (*genesis*), so named as being an earthward (*epi gēn*) inclination (*neusis*)^d of the soul grown heavy with liquefaction.^e

28. Proceeding as far again, he saw in the distance what he took to be a large crater^f with streams pouring into it, one whiter than sea-foam or snow, another like the violet of the rainbow, and others of different tints, each having from afar a lustre of its own. On their approach the crater turned out to be a deep chasm in the ambient, and as the colours faded, the brightness, except for the white, disappeared. He

^a Dionysus brought his mortal mother, Semelê, up from Hades and made her immortal: *cf.* Diodorus, iv. 25. 4; Pausanias, ii. 31. 2, 37. 5; and Apollodorus, iii. 5. 3, with Frazer's note in the L.C.L. The later Platonists regarded Dionysus, son of Semelê, as the god who presided over rebirth: *cf.* Hermeias, *In Plat. Phaedr. Schol.* chap. xxiv, p. 32. 11-14, chap. lii, p. 55. 21 (ed. Couvreur); Proclus, *In Tim.* vol. iii, p. 421. 29 f. (ed. Diehl); Olympiodorus, *In Phaed.* p. 208. 1 f. (ed. Norvin).

^b That is, "oblivion."

^c For the image of dissolving away *cf.* Plato, *Republic*, 411 B; for liquefaction *cf.* *Mor.* 1053 B-C.

^d *Cf.* the fragment *On the Soul*, chap. ii (vol. vii, p. 22. 9 Bern.).

^e Thus, when fire or air changes to water, it becomes liquid and heavy.

^f Literally "mixing-bowl."

(566) δαίμονας ὁμοῦ καθημένους ἐν σχήματι τριγώνου πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ρεύματα μέτροις τισὶν ἀνακεραυνύντας. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου ψυχο-
 C πομπὸς ἄχρι τούτου τὸν Ὀρφέα προελθεῖν¹ ὅτε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς γυναικὸς μετῆει, καὶ μὴ καλῶς διαμνημονεύσαντα λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους κίβδηλον ἐξενεγκεῖν ὡς κοινὸν εἶη μαντεῖον² ἐν Δελφοῖς³ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Νυκτός· οὐδενὸς γὰρ Ἀπόλλωνι Νύκτα κοινωνεῖν. “ ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν,” ἔφη,⁴ “ Νυκτός ἐστι καὶ Σελήνης μαντεῖον κοινόν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς περαῖνον⁵ οὐδ’ ἔχον ἔδραν μίαν ἀλλὰ πάντη πλανητὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνυπνίοις καὶ εἰδώλοις· ἐκ τούτου γὰρ οἱ ὄνειροι μιγνύμενον,⁶ ὡς ὄρας, τῷ ἀπατηλῷ καὶ ποικίλῳ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς παραλαμβάνοντες διασπείρουσι.

D 29. “ Τὸ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐκέτ’ οἶδα,”⁷ εἶπεν, “ εἰ⁸ κατιδεῖν ἔση⁹ δυνατός· ἀνωτέρω γὰρ οὐκ

¹ προελθεῖν Wyttenbach : προσελθεῖν.

² Post would add οἶον after μαντεῖον.

³ Δελφοῖς] θεοῖς Pohlenz.

⁴ ἔφη G X^a Ry M² W² qflp : ἔφην.

⁵ περαῖνον X³ Ry : περαῖνον μαντεῖον (περαῖνον μαντεῖαν Reiske, Post).

⁶ μιγνύμενον Victorius : μιγνύμενοι (δεικνύμενοι v).

⁷ οὐκέτ’ οἶδα Pohlenz (οὐ κατεῖδες Cobet) : εἰ κάτοιδα G¹ X F¹ Ry N (V is wanting) v Y W ; οὐ κάτοιδα G⁴ ; οὐ κάτοιδας F³ hki M² C¹ ; οἱ κάτοιδα (-as M^c) M^{ac}.

⁸ εἰ G¹ X N (ἦ M¹) Y W ; οὐ F Ry (V is wanting) v ; οὐδέ G⁴ hki M² C.

⁹ κατιδεῖν ἔση Ry M² : κατίδη ἐσοί G¹ X¹ ; κατιδέσσει N M¹ Y (W has a lacuna of 9 letters) ; κατιδεῖν ἐσοί (and so G⁴).

beheld three daemons seated together in the form of a triangle,^a combining the streams in certain proportions. The guide of Thespesius' soul said that Orpheus^b had advanced thus far in his quest for the soul of his wife, and from faulty memory had published among men a false report that at Delphi there was an oracle held in common by Apollo and Night,^c—false, as Night has partnership in nothing with Apollo. "This is instead," he pursued, "an oracle shared by Night and the Moon; it has no outlet anywhere on earth nor any single seat,^d but roves everywhere throughout mankind in dreams and visions; for this is the source from which dreams derive and disseminate the unadorned and true, commingled, as you see, with the colourful and deceptive."^e

29. "As for Apollo's oracle," he said, "I hardly know whether you will be able to catch sight of it ;

^a Cf. Plato, *Republic*, 617 B.

^b There is doubtless a polemic here against an interpretation of the Delphic oracle attributed to Orpheus. Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*², p. 147, who points out that an Orphic poem was called "Crater." The mixture of truth and falsehood in the crater may have a certain polemical point.

^c Night presided over the Delphic oracle before Themis and Apollo: cf. a scholium on Pindar, *Pythian Odes* (vol. ii, p. 2. 6 Drachmann).

^d Cf. *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Pars Posterior, no. 294 (ed. Kern). For the notion that an oracle in this region can have an outlet on earth cf. 566 D, *infra*, where the light from Apollo's tripod is said to rest on Parnassus, the seat of the Delphic oracle.

^e The white corresponds to the truth in dreams, the varied colours to their deceptiveness; at a distance (that is, when one does not examine closely) the deceptive and many-coloured is more prominent; close at hand the white predominates. Cf. *Mor.* 53 D and the *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxiii. 5 (203 c).

(566) ἐπιδίδωσιν οὐδὲ χαλᾶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπίγυιον,¹ ἀλλὰ κατατείνει τῷ σώματι προσηρητημένον." ἅμα δ' ἐπειρᾶτο προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν² αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπειριδόμενον εἰς τὸν Παρνασόν.³ προθυμούμενος δ' αὐτὸς⁴ ἰδεῖν οὐκ εἶδεν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος, ἀλλ' ἤκουεν παριῶν φωνὴν ὀξεῖαν γυναικὸς ἐν μέτρῳ φράζουσας ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ⁵ χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς. ἔλεγεν δὲ ὁ δαίμων τὴν φωνὴν εἶναι Σιβύλλης· ἄδειν γὰρ αὐτὴν περὶ

Ε τῶν μελλόντων ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ τῆς σελήνης περιφερομένην. βουλόμενος οὖν ἀκροᾶσθαι πλείονα τῇ ῥύμη τῆς σελήνης εἰς τοῦναντίον ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς δίναις ἐξεώσθη καὶ βραχέα κατήκουσεν· ὧν ἦν καί τι περὶ⁶ τὸ Βέσβιον⁷ ὄρος καὶ τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν⁸ ὑπὸ πυρὸς φορᾶ⁹ γενησομένην, καί τι κομμάτιον περὶ τοῦ τότε ἡγεμόνος ὡς

. . . ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν νούσῳ¹⁰ τυραννίδα¹¹ λείψει.

30. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν θεάν τῶν κολα-

¹ ἐπίγυιον X¹ F N M² Y W (ἐπίγυιον G Ry K C) : ὑπόγυιον X³ M¹ (ὑπόγυιον hki [V is wanting] v) ; ἐπίγειον l².

² ἐπιδεικνύειν] ἐπιδείκνυσιν G¹ X N M¹ Y W¹ (-υσθαι S).

³ Παρνασόν] παρνασσόν G X F.

⁴ προθ. δ' αὐτὸς Pohlenz : προθυμούμενος (προθ. δὲ G³ ; προθ. οὖν hki C¹ ; καὶ προθ. F Ry M² [V is wanting] v ; ὁ προθ. X³).

⁵ ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ X³ : ἄλλα τινα G¹ X¹ (ἀλλὰ τινα N) M¹ Y W (ἄλλον τινα F¹ [V is wanting] v ; ἄλλα τινα καὶ G³ F³ Ry hki M² C).

⁶ τι περὶ nos : περὶ (τὰ περὶ X³ Ry).

⁷ βέσβιον G³ K N Y C¹ W : λέσβιον (τελέσβιον hki).

⁸ δικαιάρχειαν G³ R? C (-εῖαν X¹? Y W ; -ίαν) : Δικαιαρχείας Reiske.

⁹ φορᾶ] φορᾶς S ; φορὰν K ; φᾶ v (V is wanting) ; φθορὰν l² and Reiske.

¹⁰ νούσῳ hki : νόσῳ.

¹¹ τυραννίδα] τὰ τυραννικὰ ?

for the cable ^a of your soul gives no further upward play and does not grow slack, but holds taut, being made fast to the body." At the same time he endeavoured to draw Thespesius near and show him the light that came (he said) from the tripod,^b and passing through the bosom of Themis,^c rested on Parnassus, but it was so bright that Thespesius, for all his eagerness, did not see it. But he did hear, as he passed by, a woman's high voice foretelling in verse among other things the time (it appears) of his own death.^d The voice was the Sibyl's, the daemon said, who sang of the future as she was carried about on the face of the moon.^e He accordingly desired to hear more, but was thrust back, as in an eddy, by the onrush of the moon, and caught but little. Among this was a prophecy about Mt. Vesuvius and the surge of flame that would pass over Dicaeacheia,^f and a fragment of verse about the emperor ^g of those days :

. . . good, he will through sickness leave the throne.

30. They now turned to view those who were

^a Cf. the image of the anchor (564 c, *supra*), the shadowy line (564 d, *supra*), and the *syndesmos* or "tie" of the *De Genio Socratis*, 591 F—592 B.

^b This celestial tripod is evidently connected with the Delphic; it may symbolize the sun: cf. Cornutus, *De Nat. Deorum*, chap. xxxii.

^c Themis preceded Apollo at Delphi.

^d In such visions the seer's own death is often foretold: cf. *Mor.* 592 E and Homer, *Od.* xi. 134-137.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 398 c and Clement, *Strom.* i. 15. 70. 4.

^f Cf. *Mor.* 398 E; Dicaeacheia is the modern Pozzuoli. With Reiske's conjecture the text would mean: "the impending destruction of Dicaeacheia by fire." But there is no real evidence that the town was burnt.

^g Titus: cf. Introduction, p. 174.

- (566) ζομένων ἐτρέποντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δυσχερεῖς καὶ οἰκτρὰς εἶχον μόνον ὄψεις· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις καὶ συνήθεσιν ὁ Θεσπέσιος, οὐκ ἂν
F προσδοκήσας, κολαζομένοις ἐνετύγχανε, καὶ δεινὰ παθήματα καὶ τιμωρίας ἀσχήμονας καὶ ἀλγεινὰς ὑπομένοντες ὠκτίζοντο πρὸς ἐκείνον καὶ ἀνεκλαίοντο, τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατείδεν ἔκ τινος βαράθρου στιγμάτων καὶ οὐλῶν μεστὸν ἀναδύμενον, ὀρέγοντα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ σιωπᾶν οὐκ ἐώμενον, ἀλλ' ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστῶτων ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὅτι περὶ ξένους τινὰς μιαρὸς γενόμενος χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαρμάκοις διαφθείρας καὶ ἐκεῖ διαλαθὼν ἅπαντας ἐνταῦθ' ἐξελεγχθεὶς τὰ μὲν ἤδη πέπονθε, τὰ δὲ ἄγεται
 567 πεισόμενος, ἰκετεύειν μὲν ἢ παραιτεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμα δι' ἔκπληξιν καὶ δέος, ὑποστρέψαι¹ δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμενος οὐκέτι τὸν πρᾶον ἐκείνον ἐώρα καὶ οἰκεῖον ξεναγόν, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἐτέρων τινῶν φοβερῶν τὴν ὄψιν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὠθούμενος, ὡς ἀνάγκην οὔσαν οὕτω διεξελεθεῖν, ἐθεᾶτο τῶν μὲν γνωρίμως² πονηρῶν γενομένων καὶ³ κολασθέντων αὐτόθι τὴν αἰκίαν⁴ οὐκέτ' ἐκεῖ⁵ χαλεπῶς οὐδ' ὁμοίως τριβομένην, ἅτε δὴ⁶ περὶ τὸ ἄλογον καὶ παθητικὸν ἔτι μόνον⁷ οὔσαν· ὅσοι δὲ
B πρόσχημα καὶ δόξαν ἀρετῆς περιβαλλόμενοι⁸ διέβιωσαν κακία λανθανούσῃ, τούτους⁹ ἐπιπόνως καὶ

¹ ὑποστρέψαι] ἀποστρέψαι hki M¹ Vv Y C¹W qflp (F and N are wanting).

² γνωρίμως Reiske : γνωρίμων.

³ καὶ Reiske : ἢ.

⁴ αἰκίαν Pohlenz : σκιάν.

⁵ οὐκέτ' ἐκεῖ nos : οὐκέτ' (-τι X K) εἶναι (οὐκέτι λίαν Madvig).

⁶ ἅτε δὴ Ry l² : ἀτελεῆ (ἅτε τῇ hki).

⁷ ἔτι μόνον Pohlenz : ἐπίπονον (ἐπίτονον M).

suffering punishment. At first these presented only a disagreeable and piteous spectacle; but as Thespesius kept meeting friends, kinsmen, and comrades who were being punished, a thing he never would have looked for, and these lamented to him and raised a cry of wailing as they underwent fearful torments and ignominious and excruciating chastisements, and when he at last caught sight of his own father emerging from a pit, covered with brands and scars, stretching out his arms to him, and not allowed by those in charge of the punishments to keep silent, but compelled to confess^a his foul wickedness to certain guests he had poisoned for their gold, a crime detected by no one in the lower world, but here brought to light, for which he had suffered in part and was now being taken away to suffer more, Thespesius in his consternation and terror did not dare to resort to supplication or intercede for his father, but wishing to turn back and escape, saw no longer that kindly kinsman who had been his guide, but certain others of frightful aspect, who thrust him forward, giving him to understand that he was under compulsion to pass that way. He observed that while the torment of those who had been recognized in their wickedness and punished on the spot was not so harsh or so prolonged in the other world, as it now dealt only with the irrational and passionate part of the soul, those who on the contrary had cloaked themselves in the pretence and repute of virtue and passed their lives in undetected vice were surrounded

^a For confession as a form of punishment cf. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*³, p. 275.

⁸ περιβαλλόμενοι] περιβαλόμενοι X³ M² l².
⁹ τούτους G^{3?} X^{3?} (F is wanting) Y²: τούτοις.

(567) ὀδυνηρῶς ἠνάγκαζον ἕτεροι περιεστῶτες ἐκτρέ-
 πεσθαι τὰ ἐντὸς ἕξω τῆς ψυχῆς, ἰλυσπωμένους
 παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀνακαμπομένους,¹ ὥσπερ αἱ
 θαλάττιαι² σκολόπενδραι καταπιούσαι τὸ ἄγκιστρον
 ἐκτρέπουσιν ἑαυτάς· ἐνίου δὲ ἀναδέροντες αὐτῶν
 καὶ ἀναπτύσσοντες ἀπεδείκνυσαν ὑπούλους καὶ
 ποικίλους,³ ἐν τῷ λογιστικῷ καὶ κυρίῳ τὴν μο-
 χθηρίαν ἔχοντας. ἄλλας δ' ἔφη ψυχὰς ἰδεῖν ὥσπερ
 τὰς ἐχίδνας περιπεπλεγμένας σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις
 C καὶ κακοθυμίας ὧν ἔπαθον ἐν τῷ ζῆν ἢ ἔδρασαν·
 εἶναι δὲ καὶ λίμνας παρ' ἀλλήλας, τὴν μὲν χρυσοῦ
 περιζέουσιν,⁴ τὴν δὲ μολίβδου ψυχροτάτην, ἄλλην
 δὲ τραχεῖαν σιδήρου· καὶ τινες ἐφεστάναι δαίμονας
 ὥσπερ οἱ χαλκεῖς ὄργανοις ἀναλαμβάνοντας καὶ
 καθιέντας ἐν μέρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δι' ἀπληστίαν
 καὶ πλεονεξίαν πονηρῶν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ χρυσῷ
 διαπύρους καὶ διαφανεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φλέγεσθαι γινο-
 μένας ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὴν τοῦ μολίβδου βάπτοντες·
 ἐκπαγείσας δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ γενομένας σκληρὰς ὥσ-
 D ἴστασαν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ μέλαιναί τε δεινῶς ἐγίνοντο⁵
 καὶ περικλώμεναι διὰ σκληρότητα καὶ συντριβό-
 μεναι τὰ εἶδη μετέβαλλον· εἶθ' οὕτω πάλιν εἰς τὸν
 χρυσὸν ἐκομίζοντο, δεινὰς, ὡς ἔλεγεν, ἐν ταῖς
 μεταβολαῖς ἀλγηδόνας ὑπομένουσαι.

¹ ἀνακαμπομένους Ry : ἄμα καμπομένους.

² θαλάττιαι] θαλάττιοι X¹ (F is wanting) p^ef^{1ss}]c (θαλάττιοι
 q).

³ ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλους] ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλως G⁴ X (F is
 wanting) M Y : ὑπούλως καὶ ποικίλως hki.

by a different set of officers who compelled them laboriously and painfully to turn the inward parts of their souls outward, writhing unnaturally and curving back upon themselves, as the sea-scolopendras turn themselves inside out when they have swallowed the hook ^a; and some of them were skinned and laid open and shown to be ulcered and blotched, their wickedness being in their rational and sovereign part. He told of seeing other souls coiled like vipers around each other in twos and threes and yet greater number, devouring one another in rancour and bitterness for what they had endured or done in life; moreover (he said) there were lakes lying side by side, one a seething lake of gold, a second, piercing cold, of lead, and a third of rugged iron, with certain daemons in charge, who, like smiths, were using tongs to raise and lower alternately the souls of those whose wickedness was due to insatiable and overreaching avarice. Thus, when the souls had grown red hot in the gold from the blazing heat, the daemons plunged them into the lake of lead; when they had there been chilled and hardened, like hailstones, they were removed to the lake of iron. Here they turned an intense black and were altered in appearance, as their hardness caused them to become chipped and crushed; and after this they were once more taken to the gold, enduring, as he said, the most fearful agonies in the course of each change.

^a Cf. *Mor.* 977 B (where Aristotle's account of the fox-shark [*Hist. Animal.* ix. 37, 621 a 12-16] is confused with that of the sea-scolopendra); Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* ix. 37 (621 a 6-9); Aelian, *De Nat. Animal.* vii. 35; Oppian, *Halieutica*, ii. 424; Dioscorides, ii. 16; Pliny, *N.H.* ix. 145.

⁴ περιζέουσιν Reiske: περιζέοντος.

⁵ ἐγίνοντο] ἐγένοντο M Vv.

(567) 31. Πάντων δὲ πάσχειν ἔλεγεν οἰκτρότατα τὰς ἤδη δοκούσας ἀφείσθαι τῆς δίκης, εἴτ' αὖθις συλλαμβανομένας· αὐταὶ δ' ἦσαν ὧν εἰς τινὰς ἐκγόνους ἢ παῖδας ἢ ποινὴ περιῆλθεν. ὁπότε γὰρ τισ ἐκείνων ἀφίκοιτο καὶ περιτύχοι προσέπιπτεν ὀργῇ καὶ κατεβόα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν παθῶν ἐδεικνυεν, E ὄνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα¹ φεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένην, οὐ δυναμένην δέ. ταχὺ γὰρ μετέθεον οἱ κολασταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην² ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἠπειγον³ ὀλοφυρομένας τῷ προγινώσκειν τὴν τιμωρίαν. ἐνίαις⁴ δὲ καὶ πολλὰς ἅμα τῶν ἐκγόνων ἔλεγε συνηρτηῆσθαι καθάπερ μελίττας ἢ νυκτερίδας ἀτεχνῶς ἐχομένας καὶ τετριγυίας⁵ ὑπὸ μνήμης καὶ ὀργῆς ὧν ἔπαθον δι' αὐτάς.

32. Ἔσχατα⁶ δὲ ὀρώντος αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐπὶ δευτέραν γένεσιν τρεπομένας ψυχὰς εἰς τε ζῶα παντοδαπὰ F καμπτομένας βία καὶ μετασχηματιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα δημιουργούντων, ὀργάνοις τισὶ καὶ πληγαῖς τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δέ⁷ ἀποστρεφόντων, ἔνια δ' ἐκλειαινόντων καὶ ἀφανιζόντων παντάπασιν ὅπως ἐφαρμόσειεν ἑτέροις ἤθεσι καὶ βίοις, ἐν ταύταις φανῆναι τὴν Νέρωνος,⁸ τά τε ἄλλα κακῶς ἔχουσαν ἤδη καὶ διαπεπαρμένην

¹ ὄνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα Victorius: ὄνειδίζουσα καὶ δοκοῦσα (ὄνειδίζουσα [-an R] καὶ δοκοῦσαν Ry; ὄνειδίζουσα δοκοῦσαν X³).

² καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην nos: πρὸς τὴν δίκην καί.

³ ἠπειγον] ἀπῆγον Pohlenz (after Wyttenbach), omitting πρὸς τὴν δίκην.

⁴ ἐνίαις Reiske: ἐνίας.

⁵ τετριγυίας] περιτετριγυίας C.

⁶ ἔσχατα] ἔσχατας hki C.

⁷ τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δέ Pohlenz: τὰ μὲν ὄλων τῶν μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ δέ X¹ (N resumes with ὄλων) Y

31. Most piteous of all, he said, was the suffering of the souls who thought that they were already released from their sentence,^a and then were apprehended again; these were the souls whose punishment^b had passed over to descendants or children. For whenever the soul of such a child or descendant arrived and found them, it flew at them in fury and raised a clamour against them and showed the marks of its sufferings, berating and pursuing the soul of the other, which desired to escape and hide, but could not. For they were swiftly overtaken by the tormentors and hastened back once more to serve their sentence, lamenting from foreknowledge of the penalty that awaited them. To some, he said, great clusters of the souls of descendants were attached, clinging to them like veritable swarms of bees or bats, and gibbering shrilly^c in angry memory of what they had suffered through their fault.

32. He was viewing the final spectacle of his vision, the souls returning to a second birth, as they were forcibly bent to fit all manner of living things and altered in shape by the framers of these, who with blows from certain tools were welding and hammering together one set of members, wrenching another apart, and polishing away and quite obliterating a third, to adapt them to new characters and lives, when among them appeared the soul of Nero, already in a sorry plight and pierced with incandescent rivets.^d

^a In the Greek *diké*.

^b In the Greek *poiné*.

^c Cf. Homer, *Od.* xxiv. 5 ff.

^d Cf. *Mor.* 718 D and Plato, *Phaedo*, 83 D.

C¹W; τὰ (τῶν M²) μὲν ὅλα τὰ μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ δὲ G hki M¹; τῶν μὲν ὅλα τὰ μέρη σ. τῶν (τὰ X³) δὲ F Ry Vv.

⁸ νέρωνος] all but G X F add ψυχὴν after νέρωνος.

(567) ἤλοις διαπύροις. προκεχειρισμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτη¹
 τῶν δημιουργῶν Νικανδρικῆς² ἐχίδνης εἶδος, ἐν ᾧ
 κυηθεῖσαν καὶ διαφαγοῦσαν³ τὴν μητέρα βιώσεσθαι,
 φῶς ἔφασκεν ἐξαίφνης διαλάμψαι μέγα καὶ φωνὴν
 ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς γενέσθαι προστάπτουσαν εἰς ἄλλο
 γένος ἡμερώτερον μεταβαλεῖν, ὠδικόν⁴ τι μηχανη-
 σαμένους περὶ ἔλη καὶ λίμνας ζῶον⁵. ὧν μὲν γὰρ
 ἠδίκησεν δεδωκένας⁶ δίκας, ὀφείλεσθαι δέ τι καὶ
 568 χρηστὸν αὐτῷ παρὰ θεῶν ὅτι τῶν ὑπηκόων τὸ
 βέλτιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον γένος ἠλευθέρωσε.⁷

33. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων εἶναι θεατῆς. ὡς δὲ
 ἀναστρέφειν ἔμελλεν, ἐν παντὶ γενέσθαι⁸ διὰ φόβον·
 γυναῖκα γὰρ αὐτοῦ λαβομένην⁹ θαυμαστὴν τὸ εἶδος
 καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, “ δεῦρο δὴ,” εἶπεῖν,¹⁰ “ οὗτος,
 ὅπως ἕκαστα μᾶλλον μνημονεύσης,” καὶ τι ῥαβδίον,
 ὥσπερ οἱ ζωγράφοι, διάπυρον προσάγειν· ἑτέραν
 δὲ κωλύειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ θώμιγγος¹¹
 ἐξαίφνης σπασθέντα πνεύματι νεανικῶ σφόδρα καὶ
 βιαίῳ τῷ σώματι προσπεσεῖν καὶ ἀναβλέψαι σχεδὸν
 ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μνήματος.

¹ καὶ ταύτη Reiske : καὶ ταύτην (ταύτην Y).

² Νικανδρικῆς Morel : πινδαρικῆς.

³ κυηθεῖσαν καὶ διαφαγοῦσαν X³ : κυηθεῖσα καὶ διαφυγοῦσα
 (-φαγοῦσα G⁴ F M³).

⁴ ὠδικόν G³ F Ry M² V : ἄδικόν.

⁵ ζῶον X^d M² Vv : ζῶων.

⁶ δεδωκένας Reiske : δέδωκε (-εν N¹ Y ; ἔδωκε Vv).

⁷ τὴν ἑλλάδα deleted by Hartman after ἠλευθέρωσε.

⁸ γενέσθαι Wytttenbach : κακῶ γενέσθαι G X F : γενέσθαι
 κακῶ.

⁹ αὐτοῦ λαβομένην G X F : τινα λαβομένην αὐτοῦ.

¹⁰ εἶπεῖν X³ hki Y² : εἶπεν.

¹¹ ἀπὸ θώμιγγος nos (διὰ σύριγγος Reiske ; ἀπὸ μνήθου?)

For his soul too the framers had made ready a form, that of Nicander's ^a viper, in which it was to live on eating its way out of its pregnant mother,^b when suddenly (he said) a great light shot through and a voice came out of the light commanding them to transfer it to a milder kind of brute and frame instead a vocal creature,^c frequenter of marshes and lakes, as he had paid the penalty for his crimes, and a piece of kindness too was owing him from the gods, since to the nation which among his subjects was noblest and most beloved of Heaven he had granted freedom.^d

33. Thus much he beheld. He was about to turn back, when he was driven frantic with terror, for a woman marvellously beautiful and tall took hold of him and said: "Come hither, sirrah, the better to remember everything," and was about to apply to him a red hot rod, such as painters use ^e; but another woman interposed, and he was suddenly pulled away as by a cord ^f and cast in a strong and violent gust of wind upon his body, opening his eyes again almost from his very grave.

^a Nicander, *Theriaca*, 133 f. For the story that the young of vipers eat their way out of the womb *cf.* Herodotus, iii. 109; Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* xv. 16; Antigonus, *Hist. Mir.* chap. xxi; Pliny, *N.H.* x. 170; Hierax in Stobaeus, vol. iii, p. 428. 20-22 Hense (of the muraena).

^b Nero had his mother murdered in A.D. 59.

^c That is, a frog (*cf.* M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.* vol. ii, p. 529); Nero was a vocalist.

^d Nero emancipated Greece in A.D. 67; *cf.* *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xii. 13 (376 c).

^e In encaustic painting: *cf.* the *Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. i. 7 (760 A).

^f *Cf.* 566 D, *supra*, and note.

ON FATE
(DE FATO)

INTRODUCTION

IT has long been recognized that the manuscripts are mistaken in ascribing the treatise *On Fate* to Plutarch.^a There is no need to repeat here all the arguments that have been adduced against its authenticity; it is enough to point out that the incidence of hiatus is far greater than in passages of comparable length in the works admittedly genuine.

The writer, evidently a Platonist, is apparently either a teacher or fellow student of the unknown Piso to whom the treatise is addressed.^b Doctrine very similar to his own, and doubtless derived from a common source, is found in Nemesius and in the commentary of Chalcidius on the *Timaeus* ^c; echoes

^a Cf. K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1, col. 726. O. Apelt, however, accepts the work as genuine, and seems to be unaware that its authenticity has even been called in question: cf. the introduction and notes to his translation (*Plutarch Moralische Schriften*, Zweites Bändchen, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 133 ff.). It is also accepted without comment by P. Duhem, *Le Système du monde* (Paris, 1913-1914), vol. i, p. 288; vol. ii, pp. 398 ff.

^b A. Gercke, *Rheinisches Museum*, xli (1886), p. 277, feels that the words "as we learned before, and as later, in the lectures in the school, we shall know yet better" (568 D) are those of a fellow student and not of a teacher. Other passages, however, point rather to a teacher: thus, the author speaks of his reluctance to write as well known to Piso, refers to a previous exposition (568 F) and to a subsequent detailed examination (574 F), and throughout the treatise is quite free with the use of the first person.

^c Cf. A. Gercke, "Eine platonische Quelle des Neuplatonismus" in *Rheinisches Museum*, xli (1886), pp. 266-291.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

of this doctrine appear in Albinus ^a and Apuleius. ^b Nemesius ^c alludes to the work of a certain Philopator *On Fate* and couples him with Chrysippus. The formulation of the doctrine presented in Nemesius can, then, be traced with some probability to the time of Philopator, and as the doctrine in Chalcidius and in the treatise *On Fate* is of the same origin as that of Nemesius' Platonists, we may conjecture that it was formulated in the early part of the second century A.D., ^d possibly by Gaius, the teacher of Albinus and the most celebrated Platonist of the day. Our treatise, then, was probably not written before the first decades of the second century.

Our author's aim is to construct a theory of fate compatible with providence in God and free will in man. His view is opposed to the Stoic view that "everything conforms to fate," and a polemic against Stoicism is implicit in the treatise. Yet in several respects the argument reveals the influence of Stoic doctrines.

Chrysippus and the Stoics maintained that the

^a Cf. *Epitome*, chap. xxvi.

^b Cf. *De Platone*, i. 12.

^c Chap. xxxv, pp. 291. 9 and 293. 14 (ed. Matthaei).

^d Galen attended the lectures of Albinus at Smyrna in 151 or 152 (cf. *De Libris Propriis*, chap. ii, vol. xix, p. 16 Kühn); he heard a Stoic, pupil of Philopator, and a Platonist, pupil of Gaius, at Pergamum in 143 or 144 (cf. *De Cognoscendis Curandisque Animi Morbis*, chap. viii, vol. v, p. 41 Kühn). Thus both Philopator and Gaius would belong to the first half of the second century. Alexander (*De Anima Libri Mantissa*, p. 186. 30 f. Bruns) mentions a book *On Fate* by Polyzelus, presumably a Peripatetic, but otherwise unknown. It may well belong to this period. Cf. W. Theiler, "Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre" in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl* (Basle, 1946), pp. 71, 81 f.

universe is governed by an immanent divine power, variously called God, providence, fate, or nature. They explained the continual change that occurs in the universe as a "chain" of causes, a series of situations in which an antecedent leads to a consequent, the consequent in its turn becoming the antecedent of the next consequent. In such a series, however, different kinds of causes were distinguished. In the sphere of human conduct, for example, the impression that a person receives from an external object often initiates a course of action, but the exact character of that action is in large part determined by the nature of the person, as revealed in his assent and impulse. A cause which initiates a sequence but does not determine its course is called by the Stoics a *procatartetic* ("initiator") cause,^a whereas causes that determine completely the character of their effects are called *autotelé* ("complete in themselves").^b In such an analysis the continuity of fate is provided by the *procatartetic* causes, whereas the determination of particular events depends on the nature of the objects involved. It is in some such way as this that the Stoics reconciled fate and free will.^c

The Stoics used the relation of antecedent to consequent to refute the "indolent" argument, which

^a On the *procatartetic* cause cf. 574 D, *infra*.

^b For the meaning of the term cf. W. Theiler, "Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre," in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl*, p. 62.

^c The views of Chrysippus are most conveniently consulted in A. Gercke, "Chrysisippea," in *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, Vierzehnter Supplementbd. (Leipzig, 1885), pp. 689-779. Cf. also M. Pohlenz, "Grundfragen der stoischen Philosophie," in *Abh. d. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Philol.-Hist. Klasse, Dritte Folge, Nr. 26 (1940), pp. 104-112, and W. Theiler, *op. cit.* pp. 61-66.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

maintained that what is fated to occur cannot be altered by any acts of ours. To this the Stoics replied that a consequent is "co-fated" with its antecedent, and that the one will not occur without the other.^a It is not fated simply that the patient shall recover whether he calls a physician or no; rather, his calling a physician is co-fated with his recovery.

Our author accepts the Stoic formulation of fate as a relation of antecedent to consequent, but rejects the view that the antecedent is in conformity with fate. He considers fate to be a law which states that a certain consequent will follow upon a certain antecedent, but which does not thereby determine the antecedent. He says further that fate, like human law, is hypothetical^b and universal, the particular being co-fated^c with the universal in the sense that it is an instance of the universal law.

The antecedents, which are free, include "what is in our power," chance, the possible and the contingent (570 E). Our author proceeds to define them and describe their relations to one another and to the spontaneous (which is not expressly mentioned here, but dealt with later). As human law "includes" our acts, but legislates their consequences only, the acts themselves not being "lawful" or "in conformity with law," so fate "includes" the possible,

^a For the "co-fated" cf. Cicero, *De Fato*, 13 (30); Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* iii. 37. 1; Diogenianus quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 8. 16-24.

^b The Stoic doctrine of fate could have been formulated hypothetically ("if the physician is called the patient will recover"), but there is evidence that Chrysippus did not so formulate it: cf. Cicero, *De Fato*, 6 (12) and 8 (15), and Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Gr.* iii. 1⁵, p. 108, note 5.

^c 569 F, *infra*. Here the Stoic term is used with altered meaning.

the contingent, what is in our power, chance, and the spontaneous, and is in its turn included in providence.^a

Providence is defined as the intellection or will or both of the primary God ; fate is the rule or law proclaimed by him to the gods who are his offspring. These gods in turn have their own intellection and will, which singly or in combination constitute secondary providence ; while the intellection and will of daemons, who are guardians of the acts of men, constitute, singly or in combination, a third kind of providence. While primary providence includes fate, tertiary providence is included in fate, and secondary providence and fate exist side by side, neither including the other. The author, however, does not insist upon this view of the relation of secondary providence to fate, but countenances another view, that secondary providence is contained in fate.^b

The author's distinction between fate and providence, his interruption of the " chain " of causes by the introduction of antecedents that are not fated, and his assertion that fate is primarily universal serve to differentiate his view from that of the Stoics. In the final chapter he makes this difference explicit by

^a We have here, it seems, two different sorts of inclusion : the inclusion of the possible and the rest in fate, and of our good and evil acts in the law is of one kind, whereas the inclusion of fate in providence is of another. In the former kind, the thing included is not determined or brought about by what includes it ; in the latter, the thing included is so determined and brought about.

^b In the definition of providence as " intellection " or " will " or both, and in the inclusion in it of fate, we observe the influence of the Stoic psychology which attempted to preserve free will : as our intellection and will is free, but is the antecedent cause of fated actions, so here the intellection and will of God is free and leads to fate itself.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

contrasting the Stoic view with his own and listing the arguments for each in their proper order. He nevertheless shares with the Stoics the doctrine that the universe passes through recurrent cycles, the events of each cycle being repeated in all the rest ; he concedes that the argument of the " chain " may correctly apply to celestial phenomena ; and he uses in his discussion a number of Stoic terms (though often with altered meanings). He agrees with the Stoics that fate is " not transgressed " (*aparabatos*) and that it " determines the course " (*diexagetai*) of everything that comes to be. Yet he gives alternate interpretations to the Stoic view that " everything conforms to fate," and in calling fate a *logos* he is using the term in a sense quite different from that intended by the Stoics. The latter meant by *logos* the " reason " of the supreme God, whom they identified with providence, nature, necessity, and the rationale of the universe ; our author, to judge by the passages he cites from Plato, takes *logos* to mean " statement," " formula," or " proposition." This recasting of Stoic language and doctrine into a form acceptable to a Platonist is one of the many causes of the notorious obscurity of the treatise. Others are the condensations and omissions inevitable in an epitome, our imperfect knowledge of the views which the author is attacking, modifying, or defending, the abstruse nature of the subject, and the corruptions and lacunas in the text.^a

^a Our author appears to have used the Peripatetics as he used the Stoics : although he borrowed much from them, yet he differed from them on some points. But in general his views are less at variance with the Peripatetics than with the Stoics. His debt to Aristotle is especially great in his discussion of chance and the spontaneous (571 E to 572 E).

ON FATE

There are translations by Adrian Turnebus ^a and Hugo Grotius. ^b

The treatise does not appear in the catalogue of Lamprias, which mentions instead a lost work *On Fate*, in two books (No. 58).

The text is based on *a* and X. Conjectures are occasionally quoted from descendants of *a*: $\text{A}\gamma\beta\mu\mu\sigma\text{E}\nu\sigma$, and from *a*^{ep}, an epitome, breaking off at 569 E, on folios 273^v and 275^r of *a*.

Possible allusions to differences with the Peripatetics have been indicated in notes to 568 D, 569 F, and 573 A.

^a Adriani Turnebi . . . Opera . . . , Argentorati . . . M.DC, vol. ii, pp. 48-57.

^b Philosophorum Sententiae De Fato . . . Collectae partim, & de Graeco versae, per Hugonem Grotium. Amsterodami . . . , MDCXLVIII, pp. 42-61.

C Τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης δοκοῦντα ἡμῖν ὡς οἶόν
 σοι, φίλτατε Πείσων, ἐπειδὴ σὺ τοῦτο ἠξίωσας οὐκ
 ἀγνοῶν ἦν ἔχω πρὸς τὸ γράφειν εὐλάβειαν.

1. Πρῶτον τοίνυν ἴσθι ὅτι εἰμαρμένη διχῶς καὶ
 λέγεται καὶ νοεῖται· ἡ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἐνέργεια, ἡ
 δὲ οὐσία.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐνέργειαν τύπῳ ὑπέγραψεν ὁ
 Πλάτων ἐν τε τῷ Φαίδρῳ λέγων “θεσμός τε
 Ἀδραστείας ὄδε¹. ἦτις ἂν ψυχῇ² θεῶ ξυνοπαδὸς
 γενομένη” ἐν τε³ τῷ Τιμαίῳ “νόμους” οὓς ἐπὶ
 τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσει ὁ θεὸς εἶπεν ταῖς ἀθανάτοις
 D ψυχαῖς· ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ “Ἀνάγκης θυγατρὸς
 κόρης Λαχέσεως λόγον” φησὶν εἶναι τὴν εἰμαρ-
 μένην, οὐ τραγικῶς ἀλλὰ θεολογικῶς τὸ ἀρέσκον
 αὐτῷ ἀποφαινόμενος. εἰ δὲ κοινότερον ἐθέλοι τις
 ταῦτα μεταλαβὼν ὑπογράψαι, ὡς μὲν ἐν Φαίδρῳ

¹ ὄδε Plato and ^a ^{ep} : ὄδε. ² ψυχῇ added from Plato.

³ ἐν τε Leonicus : ἐν δὲ.

^a Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxliii, p. 203. 9-13 (ed. Wrobel), and Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 303. 9 f. (ed. Matthaei).

^b 248 c, quoted more fully 570 A, *infra*.

^c 41 E, quoted more fully 573 D, *infra*. ^d 617 D.

^e “Word” translates *logos*, which is used by our author in the sense of “statement” or “proposition.”

ON FATE

I SHALL endeavour to send you my views on fate in as clear and concise a form as possible, dear Piso, since you have asked this of me although not unaware of my scruple about writing.

The two senses of fate

1. You must know, then, to begin with, that the term "fate" is used and understood in two senses: one fate is an activity, the other, a substance.^a

Active fate : its substance

In the first place, Plato has roughly indicated an activity (a) in the *Phaedrus*^b with these words: "This is the ordinance of Adrasteia: if a soul have accompanied a god . . ." and (b) in the *Timaeus*,^c when he speaks of the "laws," applying to the nature of the universe, which God proclaimed to the immortal soul; while (c) in the *Republic*^d he calls fate the "word^e of Lachesis, maiden daughter of Necessity," expressing his view not in high tragic style, but in the language of theology.^f Should one wish to recast these descriptions and phrase them in more ordinary language, fate as described in the *Phaedrus* might

^f Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxliii, p. 203. 13-16 (ed. Wrobel).

(568) λέγοιτ' ἂν ἡ εἰμαρμένη λόγος θεῖος ἀπαράβατος δι' αἰτίαν ἀναπόδραστον,¹ ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ, νόμος ἀκόλουθος τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσει καθ' ὃν διεξάγεται τὰ γινόμενα, ὡς δ' ἐν Πολιτείᾳ, νόμος θεῖος καθ' ὃν συμπλέκεται τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς γινομένοις τὰ γενησόμενα². τοῦτο γὰρ ἡ³ Λάχεσις ἐργάζεται, ἡ τῆς Ἀνάγκης ἀληθῶς θυγάτηρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον παρελάβομεν καὶ ὕστερον ἔτι μᾶλλον εἰσόμεθα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σχολὴν λόγοις. ἡδὲ⁴ μὲν οὖν ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν εἰμαρμένη.

E 2. Ἡ δὲ⁵ κατ' οὐσίαν ἔοικεν εἶναι σύμπασα ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχὴ τριχῇ διανεμηθεῖσα, εἰς τε τὴν ἀπλανῆ μοῖραν καὶ εἰς τὴν πλανᾶσθαι νομιζομένην καὶ τρίτην εἰς τὴν ὑπουράνιον τὴν περὶ γῆν ὑπάρ-

¹ ἀναπόδραστον nos (cf. Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. ii, p. 166. 2, and *De Anima Libri Mantissa*, p. 180. 1 Bruns; Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 303. 12 Matthaei; Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 18 Wrobel; Plutarch quoted by Stobaeus, vol. i, p. 81. 26 Wachsmuth): ἀνεμπόδιστον (defended by Post, who refers to ἐμποδῶν 571 B, *infra*).

² ὡς δ' ἐν Πολιτείᾳ through γενησόμενα our addition from Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 22 f. (ed. Wrobel), and Aëtius, i. 28. 3, p. 328 b 19-21 (ed. Diels), to fill a lacuna indicated by Drexler.

³ ἡ] ἔχει ἡ X (ἐκεῖ ἡ?).

⁴ ἡδὲ s Turnebus: ἡδη.

⁵ ἡ δὲ s Turnebus: τῇ.

^a "Formula" translates *logos*.

^b The words "while . . . present" translate a conjectural supplement. Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 17-23 (ed. Wrobel): "Possumus ergo inevitabile quidem scitum interpretari legem minime mutabilem ex inevitabili causa; leges vero quas de universae rei natura dixit animis deus, legem quae mundi sequitur naturam et qua reguntur mundana omnia; Lacheseos vero, hoc est necessitatis, orationem, divinam legem qua praeteritis et item praesentibus conecuntur futura."

be called " a divine formula ^a which, owing to a cause from which there is no escape, is not transgressed " ; as described in the *Timæus* it would be a " law conforming to the nature of the universe, determining the course of everything that comes to pass " ; while as described in the *Republic* it is a " divine law determining the linking of future events to events past and present." ^b For this is what Lachesis, in very truth ^c the " daughter of Necessity," performs, as we learned before, and as later, in the lectures in the school, we shall know yet better. This, then, is fate in the sense of activity.^a

Substantial fate

2. Fate as a substance appears to be the entire soul of the universe in all three of its subdivisions, the fixed portion,^e the portion supposed to wander, and third, the portion below the heavens in the region

^e Perhaps a glance at the Peripatetics : *cf.* Anon. *In Eth. Nic. Comm.* p. 150. 2-4 (ed. Heylbut) : εἷη δὲ ἂν καὶ ἡ εἰμαρμένη λεγομένη κατὰ τούσδε τοὺς ἄνδρας [that is, the Peripatetics] ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπαράβατον τὸ εἰμαρμένον οὐδ' ἀναγκαῖον. " According to these philosophers fate would be classed under nature ; for what is fated is not incapable of being transgressed and not necessary."

^a *Cf.* the three definitions of Chrysippus in Aëtius, i. 28. 3, p. 323 (ed. Diels) : Χρύσιππος . . . πολυτρόπως ἀποφαίνεται λέγων· εἰμαρμένη ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ κόσμου λόγος, ἢ νόμος [νόμος Plutarch : λόγος Stobaeus] τῶν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ προνοία διοικουμένων, ἢ λόγος καθ' ὃν τὰ μὲν γεγονότα γέγονε, τὰ δὲ γινόμενα γίνεται, τὰ δὲ γενησόμενα γενήσεται. The terms *aparabatos* and *diexagein* both appear in Stoic accounts of fate : for the former *cf.* *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 917 f. pp. 265 f. and 1000, pp. 293 f. (ed. von Arnim) ; for the latter, Diogenes Laert. vii. 149.

^e *Moirā* (" portion ") can also mean " Fate."

(568) χουσαν· ὧν ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτῳ Κλωθῶ προσαγορεύε-
ται, ἡ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν Ἄτροπος, ἡ κατωτάτῳ δ' αὖ
Λάχεσις, δεχομένη μὲν τὰς οὐρανίας τῶν ἀδελφῶν
ἐνεργείας, συμπλέκουσα δὲ καὶ διαδιδούσα¹ ταύτας
εἰς τὰ ἐπ' αὐτῆς τεταγμένα τὰ ἐπίγεια.

Δυνάμει μὲν οὖν εἴρηται ὅποια χρῆ λέγεσθαι
F περὶ τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν εἰμαρμένης· καὶ γὰρ ἦτις
ἐστὶ καὶ πόση τις καὶ ὅποια καὶ ὅπως τέτακται
καὶ ὅπως ἔχει αὐτὴ τε πρὸς ἑαυτὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν ἐπιτομῇ εἴρηται· τὰ δὲ καθ'
ἕκαστα περὶ τούτων ὁ ἕτερος μῦθος, ὁ ἐν τῇ
Πολιτείᾳ, μετρίως αἰνίττεται, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς δύ-
ναμίν σοι ταῦτα ἐπειράθημεν ἐξηγήσασθαι.

3. Πάλιν γε μὴν τὴν κατ' ἐνέργειαν εἰμαρμένην
ἀναλαβόντες λέγωμεν²· περὶ γὰρ ταύτην³ τὰ πολλὰ
ζητήματα φυσικά τε καὶ ἠθικά καὶ διαλεκτικὰ
τυγχάνει ὄντα. τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπιεικῶς ἀφώ-
ρισται· ὅποια δὲ ἐστὶν ἐξῆς ῥητέον, εἰ καὶ πολλοῖς
ἄτοπον φαίνεται.

¹ διαδιδούσα σ²: διδοῦσα.

² λέγωμεν Ald.² Turnebus: λέγομεν.

³ ταύτην Sieveking: ταῦτα.

^a Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 23-25 (ed. Wrobel).

^b Literally, "receiving the celestial activities of her sisters." Mr. Post suggests that the figure is that of a reservoir (*dechomenē* in Greek).

^c Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, pp. 203. 26-204. 4 (ed. Wrobel), who assigns Atropos to the sphere of the fixed stars (cf. the etymologies of Chrysippus as given by Diogenianus, quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 8. 9 f.). The order of

of the earth ^a; of these the highest is called Clotho, the next Atropos, and the lowest Lachesis, who is receptive to the celestial activities of her sisters,^b and combines and transmits them to the terrestrial regions subject to her authority.^c

What needs to be said, then, about substantial fate has been implicitly stated, as an abridged account has been given of its substance, quantity, quality, order, and relation both to itself and to us ^a; the full account of these matters is well presented in the imagery of the second myth, that of the *Republic*,^e and I have done my best to give you an exposition of that account.^f

Active fate

3. But let us once more turn our attention to active fate, as the greater number of problems—physical, ethical, and dialectical—are concerned with it.^g Its substance has been adequately defined ^h; we must next tell its quality, strange though it may appear to many.

Clotho and Atropos in our treatise depends on Plato, *Republic*, 617 c.

^a Its substance is the soul of the universe; its quantity the triad of portions into which that soul is divided; its quality the characters of these portions; its order their sequence from highest to lowest; and its relation the dependence of Lachesis on her sisters and her authority over the earth.

^e The first is that of the *Phaedrus* (245 c—256 E).

^f Apparently a reference to a previous book or lecture on the myth of the *Republic*. Proclus (*In Plat. Rem Pub. Comm.* ii, p. 96. 11-13 Kroll) mentions Numenius, Albinus, Gaius, Maximus of Nicaea, Harpocration, Eucleides, and Porphyry as expounders of this myth.

^g Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 4-6 (ed. Wrobel).

^h 568 D, *supra*.

569 Ἀπείρων γὰρ ἐξ ἀπείρου καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ὄντων¹
 τῶν γινομένων, τὰ πάντα περιβαλοῦσα ἐν κύκλῳ
 ἢ εἰμαρμένη οὐκ ἄπειρος ἀλλὰ πεπερασμένη ἐστίν·
 οὔτε γὰρ νόμος οὔτε λόγος οὔτε τι θεῖον ἄπειρον
 ἂν εἶη. ἔτι δ' ἂν μάθοις τὸ λεγόμενον νοήσας τὴν
 τε ὄλην περίοδον καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον, “ ὅταν²
 τῶν ὀκτὼ περιόδων,”³ ὡς φησιν ὁ Τίμαιος, “ τὰ
 πρὸς ἄλληλα συμπερανθέντα⁴ τάχῃ σχῆ κεφαλὴν
 τῷ τοῦ⁵ ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίως ἰόντος ἀναμετρηθέντα
 κύκλῳ.” ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,⁶ ὠρισμένῳ τε
 ὄντι καὶ θεωρουμένῳ, πάντα ὅσα τε κατ' οὐρανὸν
 Β ἄ τ' ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄνωθεν συνίσταται
 πάλιν μὲν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καταστήσεται,⁷ πάλιν δ' ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς κατὰ⁸ τὰ αὐτὰ ὡσαύτως ἀποδοθήσεται.
 μόνῃ γοῦν ἢ κατ' οὐρανὸν σχέσις αὐτῆ τε πρὸς
 ἑαυτὴν⁹ κατὰ¹⁰ πάντα τεταγμένη πρὸς τε τὴν γῆν
 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα διὰ μακρῶν περιόδων

¹ ὄντων added here by Wytttenbach, after γινομένων in s.

² ὅταν] ὅταν ἀπασῶν Plato.

³ περιόδων Plato : ποδῶν (πόλων a^{ep}).

⁴ συμπερανθέντα a^{ep} E : συμπεραθέντα.

⁵ τοῦ added from Plato.

⁶ χρόνῳ Maresch from Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 18 f.
 (ed. Wrobel) : λόγῳ.

⁷ καταστήσεται Leonicus : κείται στήσεται.

⁸ κατὰ nos (ὅλα κατὰ Wytttenbach ; Post deletes) : κείται.

⁹ ἑαυτὴν a^{ep} E : ἑαυτὸν.

¹⁰ κατὰ Vulcobius : κείται.

^a The phrase is Stoic, doubtless from Chrysippus, as Gercke (*Chrysippea*, Index, s.v. ἄπειρος) points out: cf. Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxii, p. 192. 15-17 (ed. Bruns).

^b “Formula” translates *logos*.

^c Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 7-11 and chap. cxlix, pp. 206. 25-207. 3 (ed. Wrobel).

Its quality

Although events are infinite, extending infinitely into the past and future,^a fate, which encloses them all in a cycle, is nevertheless not infinite but finite, as neither a law nor a formula^b nor anything divine can be infinite.^c Further, you would understand what is meant if you should apprehend the entire revolution and the complete sum of time, "when," as Timaeus says, "the speeds of the eight revolutions, completing their courses relatively to one another, are measured by the circuit of the Same and Uniformly moving and come to a head."^d For in this time, which is definite and knowable,^e everything in the heavens and everything on earth whose production is necessary and due to celestial influences, will once again be restored to the same state and once more be produced anew in the same way and manner.^f Thus the arrangement of the heavenly bodies, the only one in all respects ordered both in relation to itself and to the earth and all things terrestrial, will eventually return, at intervals composed of long

^a Plato, *Timaeus*, 39 D; cf. also Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 12-18 (ed. Wrobel). Plato means that the "Complete Year" has elapsed when the eight bodies—the moon, sun, Venus and Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the sphere of the fixed stars—all return to the same relative position. This "great year" could be discovered by finding the least common multiple of the eight revolutions. The words "are measured by the circuit of the Same and Uniformly moving" mean that the great year must contain an integral number of sidereal days. ^e Cf. Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 20 (52).

^f Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 18-22 (ed. Wrobel). This is the Stoic *apokatastasis*, or return of the cosmos to its former state: cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 599, p. 184. 35 (ed. von Arnim), and Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, pp. 309. 4-310. 3 (ed. Matthaei).

(569) πάλιν ἐπανήξει ποτέ· αἷ¹ τε μετ' αὐτὴν ἐφεξῆς καὶ ἐχόμεναι ἀλλήλαις² ἐχομένως παρέφονται,³ ἐκάστη τὰ αὐτῆς ἐξ ἀνάγκης φέρουσαι. (ἔστω δὲ πρὸς τὸ σαφὲς τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς νῦν ὄντων ὅτι οὐ συμβαίνει δι' αὐτῶν τῶν⁴ οὐραγίων ὡς πάντων αἰτίων⁵ ὄντων

C καὶ τὸ ἐμὲ γράφειν νυνὶ τάδε καὶ ὠδὶ σέ τε πράττειν ἄπερ καὶ ὅπως τυγχάνεις πράττων.) πάλιν τοίνυν ἐπειδὰν ἡ αὐτὴ ἀφίκηται αἰτία τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι πράξομεν,⁶ οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι· καὶ τὰ τε⁷ ἐξῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐξῆς αἰτίαν γενήσεται καὶπραχθήσεται καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ⁸ μίαν τὴν ὅλην περίοδον καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ὅλων ὡσαύτως ἀποδοθήσεται. φανερόν τοίνυν ἤδη ὅ τι ἔφαμεν, τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἄπειρον τρόπον τινὰ οὖσαν μὴ ἄπειρον εἶναι, καὶ τό γε ῥηθέν, ὅτι κύκλος τίς ἐστι, μετρίως που κατῶπται· ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κύκλου κίνησις ὅ τε ταύτην παραμετρῶν χρόνος⁹ κύκλος τίς ἐστίν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν κατὰ κύκλον γινομένων ὁ λόγος κύκλος ἂν νομισθεῖη.

D 4. Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῖ ὁποῖόν τι τυγχάνει ἡ εἰμαρμένη, πλὴν οὐχ ἧ γε κατὰ¹⁰ μέρος

¹ αἷ E : ἦ.

² ἀλλήλαις Leonicus (ἀλλήλων Post) : ἄλληλα.

³ παρέφονται Post (παρέσσονται Wytttenbach ; *advenient* Grotius ; παραδέχονται Drexler) : παρέχονται.

⁴ συμβαίνει δι' αὐτῶν τῶν nos (following Post's συμβαίνει διὰ τῶν) : συμβαίνειν αὐτῶν.

⁵ αἰτίων nos : αἰτιῶν.

⁶ πράξομεν A² E : πράξωμεν a X.

⁷ τ' Wilamowitz (that is, τε or θ') : γε.

⁸ κατὰ Leonicus : κείται.

⁹ χρόνος s : χρόνου.

¹⁰ κατὰ Turnebus : κείται.

^a Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 22-24 (ed. Wrobel).

revolutions ; and those arrangements that come after it in a series and are contiguous to one another, will occur in contiguous fashion, each bringing with itself of necessity its own set of events.^a (Be it noted, however, to make our present situation clear, that my writing these words at this moment as I write them, and your doing what you happen to be doing as you happen to be doing it are not events brought about by the agency of the heavenly bodies alone as causes of everything.)^b And so, when the same cause returns again, we shall, once more becoming the same persons, do the same things and in the same way, and so will all men besides ; and what comes next in order will come into existence and be done in accordance with the cause that comes next in order, and everything that is found in a single entire revolution will be repeated in similar fashion in each of the entire revolutions as well.^c And so it is now plain what we meant by our statement that fate, although in a way infinite, is not infinite ; and our remark^d that it is a sort of cycle has, I take it, been adequately understood : for just as the movement of a cycle and the time which measures that movement are cycles, so too the formula^e of cyclical events would be considered a cycle.^f

4. Even this treatment, then, I venture to say, shows the quality of fate, except that it does not tell

^b That is, the heavenly bodies influence us, but we are also causes in our own right. This statement excludes astrological determinism.

^c Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 310. 3-10 (ed. Matthaei).

^d 569 A, *supra*.

^e "Formula" translates *logos*.

^f Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxlix, pp. 206. 25-207. 6 (ed. Wrobel).

(569) οὐδ' ἢ¹ καθ' ἕκαστα. ποία τις οὖν καὶ ἦδε κατ' αὐτόδε² τὸ εἶδος τοῦ λόγου; ἔστι τοίνυν, ὡς ἂν τις εἰκάσαι, οἷος ὁ πολιτικὸς νόμος, ὃς³ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πλεῖστα, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα, ἐξ ὑποθέσεως προστάττει, ἔπειτα μὴν καθόλου τὰ πόλει προσήκοντα εἰς δύναμιν περιλαμβάνει.

Πάλιν δὴ τούτων ἑκάτερον ὁποῖόν τί ἐστι σκεπτέον.

Ἀκολουθῶς τοίνυν ὁ πολιτικὸς νόμος περί τε ἀριστέως καὶ λιποτάκτου διαλέγεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' οὐ περὶ τοῦδε ἢ τοῦδ' ὃ⁴
 E νόμιμον ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ τὸ⁵ μὲν καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ ὑποπίπτοντα τούτῳ⁶ ἐπομένως. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τιμῆσαι τόνδε τινὰ ἠριστευκότα καὶ τὸ κολάσαι τόνδε τινὰ λιποτακτήσαντα νόμιμον ἂν φήσαιμεν, ὡς δυνάμει καὶ περὶ τούτων διατεταγμένου τοῦ νόμου, ὃν τρόπον ὁ ἱατρικὸς καὶ ὁ γυμναστικὸς ὡς εἰπεῖν νόμος δυνάμει τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα τοῖς ὅλοις συμπεριλαμβάνει· οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος τὰ μὲν καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ καθ'
 F ἕκαστα ἐπομένως. ἔστι τε εἰμαρμένα τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, ὄντα⁷ ἐκείνοις συνειμαρμένα.

¹ ἢ] ἢ E^c.

² κατ' αὐτόδε K. F. Hermann (κατὰ τόδε Wytttenbach): κατ' αὐτό δὲ (κατ' αὐτό δὴ s). ³ ὃς added by Wytttenbach.

⁴ τοῦδ' ὃ nos (τοῦδ' ἢ Wytttenbach): τοῦδε.

⁵ τὸ nos: τὰ.

⁶ τούτῳ s (τούτοις Wilamowitz): τούτων.

⁷ πάντα, ὄντα nos (ὄντα Wytttenbach): πάντα.

^a Cf. Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 1-2; Porphyry, *On the Things in Our Power*, quoted in Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 169. 3-20 (ed. Wachsmuth); Oenomaüs, *The Charlatans Detected*, quoted in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 7. 32 f.; Aristides Quintilianus, *On Music*, iii. 26, p. 96. 8-12 (ed. Jahn).

of that fate which is particular or individual. What, then, is the quality of this fate, considered in turn as this kind of formula? It is, we may conjecture, of the quality of the law of a state, which in the first place promulgates most, if not all, of its commands as consequents of hypotheses,^a and secondly, so far as it can, embraces all the concerns of a state in the form of universal statements.

Let us go on to examine in turn the meaning of these two points.

The universality of fate

The law of a state uses the form of a supposition and its conclusion^b to speak of a "soldier distinguishing himself in action" and of a "deserter," and so with the rest; it does not lay down the law for this or that individual, but speaks primarily of the general case, and only secondarily of what comes under it.^c Thus we should say that it is lawful to honour this particular man who has distinguished himself in action, and to punish this other who has deserted his post, on the ground that the law has potentially provided for them, just as the "law" (if one may use the expression) of medicine and of gymnastics^d embraces the particular cases potentially in its general provisions; so also the law of nature, while dealing with universals primarily, deals secondarily with particulars. The latter too are all fated after a fashion, since they are co-fated with the former. Perhaps a

^b That is, it uses a statement of the form: if *p*, then *q*: cf. *akolouthia*, 570 A, *infra*.

^c Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clxxix, p. 228. 20 f. (ed. Wrobel).

^d For the relation of statesmanship and legislation to medicine and gymnastics cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 464 B-c.

(569) τάχα δ' ἂν τις τῶν ἄγαν ἀκριβολογουμένων τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τούναντίον φαίη προηγούμενα συντετάχθαι τὰ¹ καθ' ἕκαστα εἶναι² τε τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ καθόλου, προηγείται³ δὲ τῶν ἕνεκά του τὸ οὗ ἕνεκα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις σκεπτέον· ὅτι δὲ οὐ πάντα καθαρῶς οὐδὲ διαρρήδην ἢ εἰμαρμένη περιέχει, ἀλλ' ὅσα καθόλου, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥηθὲν πρὸς τε τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον καὶ 570 τὸν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν χώραν ἔχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὠρισμένον οἰκείον⁴ τῇ θείᾳ φρονήσει ἐν τῷ καθόλου μᾶλλον θεωρεῖται (τοιούτος μέντοι γε ὁ θεῖος νόμος καὶ ὁ πολιτικός⁵), τὸ δ' ἄπειρον ἐν τῷ καθ' ἕκαστα.

Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα οἶον μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ⁶ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, ὅτι δὲ τοιούτον καὶ ἢ εἰμαρμένη, ὠρίσθω.⁷

Ἐξ ὑποθέσεως δὴ ἔφαμεν τὸ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸ τιθέμενον, ἀλλὰ πῶς⁸ ἐτέρῳ τινὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑποτεθέν, ὅποσα ἀκολουθίαν σημαίνει· “θεσμός τε Ἄδραστείας ὄδε· ἦτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεῶ⁹ συνοπαδὸς

¹ τὰ α^{2mg} : καὶ.

² εἶναι Wyttenbach : ἐν.

³ προηγείται] προηγείσθαι Wyttenbach.

⁴ οἰκείον] οἰκείον ὄν Post.

⁵ τοιούτος μέντοι γε ὁ θεῖος νόμος καὶ ὁ πολιτικός Wyttenbach : τοιούτος καὶ ὁ θεῖος νόμος· ὁ μέντοι γε πολιτικός (for ὁ μ. γε s has καὶ μ. γε ὁ).

⁶ ἐστὶ τὸ Pohlenz : ἐστιν.

⁷ ὠρίσθω (that is, ὠρίσθω) Wyttenbach : οἰέσθω.

⁸ πῶς Wyttenbach : πρὸς.

⁹ θεῶ added from Plato.

^a Such a view is attributed to Boëthus and Alexander the Peripatetics : cf. Dexippus, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* ii. 12, p. 45. 12-31 (ed. Busse), and Simplicius, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* chap. v, p. 82. 22 f. (ed. Kalbfleisch).

stickler for precision in such matters might insist that on the contrary it is the particulars that have priority,^a and that the universal exists for their sake—the end being prior to what serves it. But these questions have their place elsewhere, whereas the statement that fate does not contain everything plainly or expressly, but only universals, when made at this point, is properly placed both in respect of the point made shortly before^b and of the one that is now to be made: the determinate, which is appropriate to divine wisdom, is seen rather in the universal—and the divine law and the political are of this description—while the unlimited is seen in the particular.

The hypothetical character of fate

Let us next determine the character of what is a “consequent of an hypothesis,” and show that fate is of that character.^c

We meant by “consequent of an hypothesis” that which is not laid down independently, but in some fashion is really “subjoined”^d to something else, wherever there is an expression implying that if one thing is true, another follows: “this is the ordinance of Adrasteia: if a soul have accompanied a god and

^b 569 A, *supra*.

^c Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, pp. 304. 7-305. 1 (ed. Matthaei). Chalcidius (chaps. cl-clii, pp. 207-210 Wrobel) uses *ex praecessione* for the καθ' ὑπόθεσιν of Nemesius, and *secundum praecessionem* or *iuxta praecessionem* (in chap. cl, p. 208. 1-6 Wrobel the mss. appear to vary between *secundum praecessionem* and *secundum concessionem*) for his ἐξ ὑποθέσεως. Cf. Willy Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl*, pp. 72 f.

^d *Hypothesis* has the literal sense of “putting under” or “subjoining.”

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(570) γενομένη κατίδη τι τῶν ἀληθῶς,¹ μέχρι τε² τῆς
 ἑτέρας περιόδου εἶναι ἀπήμονα, κἂν αἰεὶ δύνηται
 Β τοῦτο ποιεῖν, αἰεὶ³ ἀβλαβῆ εἶναι." τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ
 τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἄμα καὶ καθόλου. ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ
 εἰμαρμένη τοιοῦτον τυγχάνει ὃν ἔκ τε τῆς οὐσίας
 αὐτῆς καὶ ἔκ τῆς προσηγορίας δῆλον· εἰμαρμένη
 τε γὰρ προσαγορεύεται ὡς ἂν εἰρομένη τις· θεσμὸς
 δὲ καὶ νόμος ὑπάρχει τῷ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς γινο-
 μένοις πολιτικῶς διατετάχθαι.

5. Ἐξῆς δὲ σκεπτέον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τι
 πῶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν ἡ εἰμαρμένη ἔχει, πῶς
 δὲ πρὸς τὴν τύχην καὶ τό τε⁴ ἔφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὸ ἐνδε-
 χόμενον⁵ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ διωρίσθω
 πῆ μὲν ἀληθές, πῆ δὲ ψεῦδος τὸ " πάντα καθ'
 εἰμαρμένην."

С Εἰ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰμαρμένη πάντα περιέχεσθαι
 δηλοῖ, συγχωρητέον εἶναι ἀληθές (εἴτε⁶ ὅσα περὶ
 ἀνθρώπους εἴτε περὶ⁸ γῆν ἅπαντα εἴτε κατ' οὐρανὸν
 γινόμενα βούλεται τις ἐν τῇ εἰμαρμένη τίθεσθαι,
 καὶ ταῦτα ὡς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν συγκεχωρήσθω)· εἰ
 δ', ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμφαίνει, τὸ καθ' εἰμαρμένην

¹ ἀληθῶς (cf. Chalcidius, chap. clii, p. 209. 19 Wrobel)]
 ἀληθῶν Plato.

² τε added from Plato.

³ αἰεὶ added from Plato.

⁴ τε nos : γε.

⁵ ἐνδεχόμενον Victorius : ἐπιδεχόμενον.

⁶ εἴτε] εἴ θ' Sieveking.

⁷ περὶ α : παρὰ X.

⁸ περὶ α : παρὰ X (κατὰ Sieveking).

^a Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 c. Chalcidius, chap. clii, pp. 209 f.
 (ed. Wrobel) makes a similar use of the same quotation.

^b This is Chrysippus' etymology : cf. Diogenianus, quoted
 in Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* vi. 8. 8.

beheld aught of reality, *it shall suffer nought until the next revolution*, and if able to do so ever, *it shall ever go unscathed.*"^a What is both consequent upon an hypothesis and universal is, then, of the description given above. That fate is actually of this description is evident from its substance alone and from its name: it is called fate (*heimarmenê*) as being a thing concatenated (*eiromenê*)^b; and it is an ordinance and a law because it has laid down the consequences which follow upon occurrences, as in the legislation of a state.

The relations of active fate

5. We must next examine what comes under the heading of relation—how fate stands in relation to providence on the one hand, and on the other to chance, to what is in our power and the contingent, and to the like; we must moreover distinguish in what way the dictum "everything conforms to fate" is true, and in what way false.^c

Examination of the dictum "Everything conforms to fate"

Now (a) if the statement means that everything is contained *in* fate, we must grant that it is true (whether it is all human events, or all terrestrial or all celestial events one wishes to place *in* fate, let us for the present^d grant these points too); but (b) if the expression "conforming to fate," as would rather seem to be its implication, designates not everything,

^c The topics are discussed in the reverse order of their listing here. This is a mannerism of our author.

^d The author has in mind his later discussion of the relation of the secondary providence of the astral gods to fate (574 B-D, *infra*).

(570) οὐχ ἅπαντα, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον¹ τὸ ἐπόμενον αὐτῇ² σημαίνει, οὐ πάντα ῥητέον καθ' εἰμαρμένην, οὐδ' εἰ καθ' εἰμαρμένην³ πάντα. οὐδὲ γὰρ νόμιμα οὐδὲ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ὅποσα περιείληφεν ὁ νόμος· καὶ γὰρ προδοσίαν καὶ λιποταξίαν καὶ μοιχείαν καὶ
 D πολλὰ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα περιλαμβάνει, ὧν οὐδὲν ἄν τις εἴποι νόμιμον, ὁπότε οὐδὲ τὸ ἀριστεύσαι ἢ τυραννοκτονῆσαι ἢ τι ἄλλο κατορθῶσαι φαίην ἄν ἔγωγε νόμιμον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ δὴ νόμιμον πρόσταγμα νόμου ἐστί· τὸ⁴ δ' εἶπερ ὁ νόμος προστάττει, πῶς οὐκ ἄν ἀπειθοῖεν καὶ παρανομοῖεν οἳ γε μὴ ἀριστεύοντες καὶ τυραννοκτονοῦντες καὶ ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ κατορθοῦσιν; ἢ πῶς, εἰ παράνομοι οἶδε, οὐ δίκαιον κολάζειν τοὺς τοιούτους; εἴ γε μὴν ταῦτα λόγον⁵ οὐκ ἔχει, μόνα ῥητέον νόμιμά τε καὶ κατὰ νόμον τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὀρισθέντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν πραττομένοις· μόνα δὲ εἰμαρμένα
 E καὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ διατάξει προηγησαμένοις. ὥστε πάντα μὲν τὰ γινόμενα ἢ εἰμαρμένη περιλαμβάνει, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ σχεδὸν ὅσα προηγείται οὐκ ὀρθὸν λέγειν⁶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

6. Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἐξῆς ῥητέον ὡς τό γ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τύχη, τό τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγενῆ, ταχθέντα ἐν τοῖς προηγουμένοις, αὐτά⁷ τε σώζοιτ' ἄν καὶ τὴν

¹ μόνον β¹⁸⁸ σ² s : μένον.

² αὐτῇ Pohlenz (omit ?) : αὐτῶ.

³ καθ' εἰμαρμένην] κὰν εἰμαρμένη Sandbach.

⁴ τὸ] τὰ Pohlenz.

⁵ ταῦτα λόγον] λόγον ταῦτα X¹.

but only the consequences of fate, we must not say that everything conforms to fate, even if "everything conforms to fate."^a For neither is everything included in law "lawful" or "in conformity with law"; for law includes treason, desertion, adultery, and a good many other things of the sort, none of which one would term lawful; indeed I should not even call an act of valour, the slaying of a tyrant, or the performance of any other right action lawful. For the lawful is what the law enjoins; but if the law enjoins such conduct, how then can we deny that persons who display no valour, slay no tyrant, and perform no such right action, disobey and violate it? Or how, if such persons are lawbreakers, is it not right to punish them? If, however, all this is unreasonable, we must call "lawful" and "in conformity with law" only what the law determines as applicable to any action performed, whatever its character; and we must call "fated" and "in conformity with fate" only the consequents of antecedents in the divine appointment of things.^b Fate, then, includes everything that occurs, but much of what is thus included, and I might say all antecedents, could not rightly be said to be in conformity with fate.^c

6. Such being the case with these matters, we must next discuss how it is that what is in our power and chance, the possible and the contingent, and what is akin to these, by being classed among antecedents, might find a place themselves and leave a place in

^a That is, in the sense given to the dictum in (a).

^b Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clxxix, p. 228. 9-25 (ed. Wrobel).

^c Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cli, p. 209. 5-8 (ed. Wrobel).

⁶ ὀρθὸν λέγειν Turnebus: ὀρθολογεῖν.

⁷ ἀντά Wytttenbach (*ipsa* Turnebus): ταῦτά.

(570) εἰμαρμένην σῶζοι. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰμαρμένη πάντα περιέχει καθάπερ καὶ δοκεῖ· τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης γενήσεται, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν οἶον καὶ πέφυκεν εἶναι.

Πέφυκε δὲ τὸ δύνατον ὡς γένος προῦφεστάναι τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, τὸ δὲ¹ ἐνδεχόμενον ὡς ὕλη τῶν ἐφ' ἡμῖν προῦποκεῖσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ὡς κύριον χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐνδεχομένῳ· ἡ δὲ τύχη παρεμπίπτει τῷ ἐφ' ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ῥοπήν τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου. μάθοις δ' ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐννοήσας ὡς τὸ γινόμενον ἅπαν καὶ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῆ οὐ δίχα
 571 δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἄνευ οὐσίας (οἶον τὸ δι' ἀνθρώπου,² εἴτε γένεσις εἴτε γενητόν, οὐκ ἄνευ τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτῆ δὲ περὶ ἀνθρωπον, οὐσία δὲ ὁ ἀνθρωπος). ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μεταξὺ οὐσης ἡ μὲν οὐσία δυνάμενον, ἡ δὲ γένεσις καὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἄμφω δυνατά. τριῶν τοίνυν τούτων,

¹ δὲ added here by s Leonicus; after ἐνδεχόμενον in μ.

² τὸ δι' ἀνθρώπου is our supplement of a lacuna of 19 letters in α X (ἀνθρώπου Ald.²).

^a Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clxxvii, pp. 226. 23-227. 1 (ed. Wrobel).

^b "Prior in reality" (*prohuphestanai*) implies the terms "subsist" (*hyphestanai*) and "subsistence" (*hypostasis*). Galen (*Instit. Logica*, p. 7. 19-22 Kalbfleisch) asserts that in his day "subsist," "exist" (*hyparchein*), and "be" were synonymous; other writers observe a difference, as Chrysippus, who said (*Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 509, 518, pp. 164. 27, 165. 35) that present time "exists" while time past and future merely "subsist." Our author seems to use the word in the sense of real existence (cf. Porphyry, *Isagogé*, p. 1. 9-13 Busse), implying thereby that what is universal and

turn for fate. For fate contains them all, as indeed it is held to do ; yet these things will not occur necessarily, but each will follow its own nature in its manner of occurrence.^a

The possible

It is the nature of the possible, as genus, to be prior in reality ^b to the contingent ^c ; of the contingent, as matter, to be prior as substrate to the things which are in our power ; of what lies in our power, as sovereign, to make use of the contingent ; and chance is incidental to what is in our power because of the variation of the contingent in either direction.^d You will apprehend my meaning clearly if you reflect that everything that comes to pass, as well as the process itself of coming to pass, is always accompanied with potency,^e and potency with a substance. For example, what comes about through the agency of man, whether we take the process or the thing which has been brought to pass, is never found without the potency which produces it ; this is found in man ; and man is a substance. It is owing to the potency, which is intermediate,^f that the substance is potent, and the process of coming to pass and the thing which comes to pass are both possible. Of these three, then,

what is intangible has a higher reality than what is particular or concrete.

^a Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clv, p. 211. 12-14 (ed. Wrobel).

^d Cf. 572 E, *infra* ; Chalcidius, chap. clxii, p. 217. 24 f. (ed. Wrobel) ; Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 3.

^e *Dynamis* ("potency") can also be translated "capacity" or "capability."

^f Between the substance on the one hand and the process of coming to pass and the thing that comes to pass on the other.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(571) δυνάμεως καὶ δυναμένου καὶ δυνατοῦ, δυνάμεως μὲν ὡς τὸ¹ εἶναι προϋπόκειται τὸ δυνάμενον, δυνατοῦ δὲ ἢ δύναμις προϋφίσταται. σαφὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ οὕτως τὸ δυνατόν· τύπῳ δ' ἂν ἀφορισθεῖη κοινότερον μὲν τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι, κυριώτερον δὲ ταῦτο τοῦτο ὅποταν μηδὲν ἕξωθεν Β ἔχη πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι ἐμποδῶν.

Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἂν κωλυθεῖη ποτέ, ὡσπερ τὰ κατ' οὐρανόν, ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις καὶ τὰ τούτοις παραπλήσια· τὰ δὲ οἷά τε κωλυθῆναι ἔστιν, ὡς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μεταρσίων. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρότερα ὡς ἕξ ἀνάγκης γινόμενα ἀναγκαῖα προσαγορεύεται, ἃ² δὲ πρὸς³ τοῦναντίον ἐπιδέχεται ἐνδεχόμενα. ἀφορίζοιτο δ' ἂν καὶ κατὰ⁴ ταῦτα· τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, δυνατόν τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἀδυνάτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον, δυνατόν οὐ καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δυνατόν.⁵
 C τὸ μὲν γὰρ καταδῦναι τὸν ἥλιον ἀναγκαῖόν τε ἅμα καὶ δυνατόν· ἀντίκειται ἀδύνατον τὸ μὴ καταδῦναι·

¹ τὸ] τῷ?

² ἃ s: τὰ.

³ πρὸς ἃ² X (a lacuna of 7 letters in ἃ¹; πως Bern.; καὶ s; καὶ πρὸς?).

⁴ καὶ κατὰ nos (*ad hunc quoque modum* Turnebus; κατὰ Pohlenz): καὶ.

⁵ δυνατόν s Leonicus: ἀδύνατον.

^a The potent and potency are apparently regarded as relatives, and as such neither is prior to the other; but the potent, in its quality of substance, is prior to potency. Cf. Ammonius' discussion (*In Porphyrii Isagogen*, pp. 47. 6-48. 10 Busse) of the priority of genus to species, where, as relatives the two are "simultaneous," while as substances, the genus is prior to the species.

potency, the potent, and the possible, the potent, in its quality of substance,^a is prior as substrate to potency, while potency is prior in reality to the possible. It is plain, then, even from this statement, what the possible is; it might, however, be roughly defined in two ways: in a looser fashion as that whose nature it is to occur in conformity with potency,^b while we might define it more strictly by adding the clause "when there is nothing outside it interfering with its occurrence."^c

The contingent

Of things possible some can never be prevented, as celestial phenomena—risings and settings and the like—whereas others are preventible, as for example much of what pertains to man and many meteorological phenomena^d as well. The former sort, as occurring *necessarily*, are termed necessary; while those things which in addition allow (*epidechetai*) their contrary are contingent (*endechomena*).^e They might also be defined as follows: the necessary is the possible whose opposite is impossible; whereas the contingent is the possible whose opposite is also possible. Thus, that the sun should set is necessary as well as possible—it has an opposite, its not setting,

^b With the preceding discussion of potency *cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 287. 2-10 (ed. Matthaei).

^c *Cf.* the Stoic view in Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. x, p. 176. 15 f. (ed. Bruns): δυνατὸν μὲν εἶναι γενέσθαι τοῦτο ὃ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς κωλύεται γενέσθαι, κἂν μὴ γένηται . . . "that thing is capable [literally "possible"] of occurring which nothing prevents from occurring, even if it does not occur."

^d For this use of *metarsia* *cf.* Achilles, *Isagoga*, chap. xxxii, p. 68. 1-6 (ed. Maass).

^e *Cf.* Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, pp. 287. 14-288. 2 (ed. Matthaei).

(571) τὸ δὲ καταδύντος ἡλίου ὄμβρον γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι¹ ἀμφοτέρω δυνατὰ καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα.

Πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπ' ἔλαττον, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ ὀπότερον ἔτυχεν· τοῦτο μὲν φανερόν ὡς αὐτὸ αὐτῷ ἀντιτέτακται, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐπ' ἔλαττον ἀλλήλοις· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει τὸ πλείστον, ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ² τὸ ἐπίσης. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ κύνα καῦμα ἢ ψῦχος, ὧν τὸ μὲν³ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τὸ δ' ὡς ἐπ' ἔλαττον, τῇ φύσει ἄμφω ὑποτέτακται.

D τὸ δὲ περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ὧν ἑκάτερον ἐπίσης,⁴ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὀρμῇ ὑποτέτακται, ὃ δὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν λέγεται. γενικώτερον δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν· δύο γὰρ ἔχει⁵ εἶδη, τό τε ἐκ πάθους καὶ θυμοῦ ἢ ἐπιθυμίας τό τε ἐξ ἐπιλογισμοῦ ἢ διανοίας, ὅπερ ἤδη κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἄν⁶ τις εἴποι. ἔχει δὲ λόγον μὴ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦτο ὅπερ καθ' ὀρμὴν καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν

¹ καὶ (ἢ s) μὴ γενέσθαι added by s Leonicus.

² δὲ Gercke : τε.

³ ὧν τὸ μὲν added by Wyttenbach (τὸ μὲν Leonicus).

⁴ ἐπίσης Maresch, Gercke : ἐπί.

⁵ ἔχει Wyttenbach : εἶναι, perhaps rightly.

⁶ ἄν added by Bern.

^a Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 288. 2-4 (ed. Matthaei). The same threefold division of the contingent is found in Ammonius, *In Aristot. De Int. Comm.* chap. ix, p. 142. 1-5 (ed. Busse); cf. also his remark (*ibid.* p. 143. 3-6) that only to the ἐπ' ἴσης is the phrase ὀπότερον ἔτυχε applied.

^b Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 286. 13 f. and chap. xl, p. 318. 4 f. (ed. Matthaei); Ammonius, *ibid.* chap. ix, p. 143. 1 f. (ed. Busse).

which is impossible ; whereas the falling and not falling of rain after sunset are both of them possible and contingent.

What is in our power

Again, in the case of the contingent, one form occurs usually, another is unusual, and another is as usual as its opposite and an " even chance." ^a This last is evidently opposed to itself, whereas the usual and the unusual are opposite to each other ; and the latter are for the most part determined by nature, while the form which is as usual as its opposite is in our power.^b Thus, that during the dog days there should be hot weather or cold weather,^c the former of which is usual, the latter, unusual, is in both cases under the control of nature ; whereas walking and not walking and the like, either of which is as usual as its opposite, are under the control of human impulse, and what is under its control is said to lie in our power and be a matter of choice.^d Of these what is in our power is the more general, as it has two species, the one comprising actions proceeding from passion—anger or desire, the other, actions that proceed from calculation or thought, in which last case we may now speak of " a matter of choice." It is reasonable that the form of the " possible and contingent " which has been said to conform to our impulse and lie in our power should, in a different

^c The same example appears in Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 8 (199 a 2 f.), and *Metaphysics*, xi. 8 (1064 b 36 f.).

^d Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 288. 2-11 (ed. Matthaëi), and for the whole preceding discussion of the possible and the contingent Chalcidius, chaps. clv-clvi, pp. 211. 11-212. 12 (ed. Wrobel).

(571) εἴρηται τὸ¹ αὐτὸ κατ' ἄλλο λέγεσθαι². κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δυνατόν τε καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ἡμῖν τε καὶ καθ' ὄρμην. ἀφορίζοιτο δ' ἂν ὧδε· τὸ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον ὅπερ αὐτό τε δυνατόν³ καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
 Ε θάτερον μέρος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὄρμην ἤδη γινόμενον.

“Ὅτι μὲν οὖν τὸ δυνατόν τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου πρότερον τῇ φύσει, τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προϋφίσταται, καὶ οἷον αὐτῶν τυγχάνει ὃν ἕκαστον καὶ πόθεν ὀνομάζεται καὶ τά γε παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς, σχεδὸν εἴρηται.

7. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ ταῦτα θεωρεῖται νῦν ἡμῖν λεκτέον.

Αἴτιον μὲν δὴ τι ἢ τύχη. τῶν δὲ αἰτίων τὰ μὲν καθ' αὐτά, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός· οἷον οἰκίας ἢ νεῶς καθ' αὐτὸ μὲν αἴτιον τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν καὶ τὸ
 F ναυπηγικόν, κατὰ συμβεβηκός δὲ τὸ μουσικόν ἢ γεωμετρικόν, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ἂν τῷ οἰκοδομικῷ ἢ ναυπηγικῷ εἶδει συμβεβήκη,⁴ εἴτε κατὰ σῶμα εἴτε

¹ τὸ Schwartz : μὴ τὸ.

² <καὶ ἄλλο?> λέγεσθαι nos : λέγεται (λέγεται E^{1ss}).

³ δυνατόν added here by us, by Pohlenz after ὅπερ.

⁴ συμβεβήκη Stephanus : συμβεβήκει.

^a This distinction is no doubt meant to answer the contention that the contingent is concerned exclusively with the future, for which cf. Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxvi, p. 197. 12-15 (ed. Bruns).

^b Natural priority appears here to refer to the priority of genus to species : cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, v. 11 (1019 a 2-4) ; Alexander, *In Aristot. Metaph. Comm.* p. 384. 35 (ed.

connexion, be spoken of under a different name ; for in connexion with the future it is called " possible and contingent," in connexion with the present, " in our power " and " in conformity with our impulse." ^a They might be defined as follows : the contingent is that which is both possible itself and has a possible opposite, whereas what is in our power is one of the two parts of the contingent, namely, the one that is already occurring in conformity with our impulse.

Our discussion of the natural priority ^b of the possible to the contingent, of the real priority ^c of the contingent to what is in our power, of their respective characters, of the sources of their names, and of related matters, is now, I trust, complete.

7. We must now speak of chance and the spontaneous and matters the theory of which depends on these. ^d

Chance

Chance is a kind of cause. ^e Of causes some are essential, ^f some accidental ; thus skill in housebuilding and skill in shipbuilding are essential causes of a house or of a ship, whereas skill in music or in geometry, and everything accidental, whether in the body, in the soul, or in externals, to the housebuilding

Hayduck) ; Simplicius, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* chap. xii, pp. 421. 12, 422. 21-24 (ed. Kalbfleisch) ; Dexippus, *In Aristot. Cat. Comm.* ii. 11, p. 45. 5-11 (ed. Busse).

^c For " real priority " *cf.* note on 570 F, *supra*. The contingent appears to be prior in reality to free will ($\tau\acute{o}\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi'\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$) and prior as substrate to the things which we are free to do ($\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\phi'\ \acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$).

^d *Cf.* Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 213. 14-18 (ed. Wrobel).

^e *Cf.* Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 4 (195 b 31) ; Aëtius, i. 29. 3, p. 326 b 16 (ed. Diels).

^f Literally, *per se*.

- (571) κατὰ ψυχὴν εἴτε κατὰ τὰ ἐκτός. ὅθεν καὶ δῆλον ὡς τὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ὠρισμένον καὶ ἓν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ
 572 συμβεβηκὸς οὐχ ἓν τε καὶ ἀόριστον· πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἄπειρα τῷ ἐνὶ ὑπάρχει παντάπασιν ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα. τὸ μέντοι κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὅταν μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἔνεκά του γίγνηται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν οἷς ἢ προαίρεσις, τότε δὴ καὶ τὸ¹ ἀπὸ τύχης προσαγορεύεται· οἷον τὸ εὐρεῖν χρυσίον σκάπτοντα ἵνα φυτεύσῃ, ἢ παθεῖν τι ἢ δρᾶσαι τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἔθος φεύγοντα ἢ διώκοντα ἢ ἄλλως βαδίζοντα ἢ αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιστραφέντα οὐ τούτου ἔνεκα ὅπερ συνέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἑτέρου τινὸς χάριν. διὸ καὶ ἀπρονόητον αἰτίαν καὶ ἄδηλον ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ τὴν τύχην ἀπέδοσαν τῶν παλαιῶν ἔνιοι. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς
 Β ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἔγγιον ἔτι προσιόντας αὐτῆς τῷ λόγῳ, οὕτως ἀφώριστα ἢ τύχῃ· αἰτία κατὰ συμβεβηκός τῶν ἔνεκά του ἐν τοῖς κατὰ προαίρεσιν· ἔπειτα ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἀπρονόητον καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ προστιθέασιν (καίτοι γε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ παράλογον ἐμφαίνεται τῷ κατὰ συμβεβηκός). οἷον δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ

¹ τὸ] omitted in n.

^a The form is in the mind of the artisan: cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, vii. 7 (1032 a 32–b 1).

^b Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 5 (196 b 24–27), and Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 213. 24 f. (ed. Wrobel).

^c Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 5 (196 b 27–29).

^d The example comes ultimately from Aristotle: cf. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 5 (1112 a 27), *Metaphysics*, v. 30 (1025 a 15 f.).

^e Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 5 (197 a 17 f.).

^f Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 23 f.).

^g This view is mentioned by Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 4 (196 b 5–7), who may be alluding to Democritus: cf. Diels and

or shipbuilding form,^a is an accidental cause.^b Hence it is evident that the essential is determinate and one, whereas the accidental is not one and is indeterminate ; for a single thing has a multiplicity, indeed an infinity, of attributes that are quite different from one another.^c The accidental, however, when found not simply in things directed toward an end, but further in those among them in which choice is found, is then called "by chance" as well ; examples are : discovering a sum of gold when one is digging for the purpose of planting,^d or doing or undergoing something unusual when one is pursuing or being pursued^e or proceeding on foot^f in some other way, or merely turning around with some other end in view than the actual result. Hence some of the ancients described chance as a cause unforeseen and not evident to human calculation.^g But according to the Platonists, who formulate it yet more closely, chance is defined as follows : "chance is an accidental cause found in the class of things directed toward an end which take place in conformity with choice,"^h and only then do they add "unforeseen" and "not evident to human calculation." (For that matter, "rare" and "unexpected" are also similarly implied in the term "accidental.")ⁱ What sort of thing chance is, if not

Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, ii, p. 101, Democritus, A 70. It is also the Stoic definition : cf. Aëtius, i. 29. 7, p. 326. 3-4 (ed. Diels) ; *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 956 f., 970 f., pp. 280 f. (ed. von Arnim).

^h This is Aristotle's definition : cf. *Physics*, ii. 5 (197 a 5 f.).

ⁱ Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 214. 4-14 (ed. Wrobel) ; Nemesius, chap. xxxix, pp. 312. 11-313. 1 (ed. Matthaëi). Alexander (*De Animi Libri Mantissa*, p. 170. 2-9 Bruns) says that by the doctrine of accidental causes it is possible to hold that nothing happens without a cause and at the same time to save chance, the spontaneous, and what is in our power.

(572) μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἄρτι ρηθέντων,¹ ἀλλ' ἐκ γε² τῶν ἐν τῷ Φαίδωνι γεγραμμένων σαφέστατα προσπίπτει. γέγραπται δὲ ᾧδε· “ Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἄρα ἐπύθεσθε³ ὄν τρόπον ἐγένετο; Ναί· ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν ἠγγειλέ τις· καὶ ἐθαυμάζομεν γε ὅτι πάλαι αὐτῆς γενομένης⁴ ὕστερον φαίνεται ἀποθανῶν· τί⁵ ἦν C τοῦτο, ᾧ Φαίδων; Τύχη τις αὐτῷ, ᾧ Ἐχέκρατες, συνέβη· ἔτυχε γὰρ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης ἢ πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη τοῦ πλοίου ὃ εἰς Δῆλον Ἀθηναῖοι πέμπουσιν.” ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ συνέβη οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ γέγονεν ἀκουστέον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ συνδρομῆς τινος αἰτίων⁶ ἀπέβη, ἄλλου πρὸς ἄλλο γεγονότος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἱερεὺς ἔστεφε τὸ πλοῖον ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐ Σωκράτους⁷. οἱ δὲ δι' ἕτερον κατειψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἀποβὰν παράλογον καὶ τοιοῦτο ἀπέβη οἷον κἂν ἐκ προνοίας ἐγεγόνει ἦτοι ἀνθρωπίνου τινὸς ἢ τῶν ἔτι κρειτ- D τόνων. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τύχης ταῦτα ἱκανά.

Ἐξῆς δὲ ρητέον⁸ οἷς⁹ συνυφίστασθαι ἀνάγκη. τοῦ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν

¹ ἄρτι ρηθέντων Wytttenbach : ἀντιρρηθέντων.

² γε Dübner : τε.

³ ἐπύθεσθε Plato : ἐπύθοντο.

⁴ αὐτῆς γενομένης] γενομένης αὐτῆς Plato.

⁵ τί] τί οὖν Plato.

⁶ αἰτίων Sieveking : αἰτιῶν.

⁷ σωκράτους α : -ης X.

⁸ ἐξῆς δὲ ρητέον our supplement of a lacuna of 12 letters in α, 13 in X (ἐξῆς δὲ σκεπτέον Sieveking).

evident from the preceding remarks, is to be seen very clearly in the words of the *Phaedo*.^a The passage runs as follows: "—And did you not hear of the course of the trial either?—Yes; a report came to us about that; and we were astonished that he was evidently put to death long after the trial had taken place. What was the reason, Phaedo?—There was a certain chance coincidence,^b Echecrates; the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos chanced to have been garlanded on the day before the trial." In this passage we are not to take "coincidence" as equivalent to "occurrence"; the meaning is rather that the outcome resulted from a concurrence of causes,^c each of them having a different end. Thus the priest placed a garland on the ship for some other purpose, and not for Socrates' sake; and the court condemned him with a different end in view; while the actual outcome was unexpected and fell out as if it had occurred as a result of forethought,^d whether human or that of some still higher power. So much, then, will suffice for our discussion of chance.

The spontaneous

We must next speak of the things with which it necessarily co-exists. The contingent, we said,^e is

^a 58 A.

^b "Coincidence" translates the verb *συνέβη*, "fell out," which has the literal meaning "came together."

^c Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxix, p. 313. 1-4 (ed. Matthaei), and Chalcidius, chap. clix, pp. 214, 15-215. 3 (ed. Wrobel).

^d "Forethought" (*pronoia*) is also translated "providence."

^e 570 F, 571 E, *supra*.

(572) προῦποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον,¹ τὸ δὲ αὐτόματον ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς τύχης, εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν περιλαβὼν ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλως συμπίπτειν πεφυκότων. ἔστι δὲ καὶ² κατ' ὄνομα ὅπερ αὐτόματον³ λέγεται τὸ πεφυκὸς ἄλλου ἔνεκα ὅταν μὴ ἐκεῖνο περαίνει οὐδ' ἔνεκα⁴ ἐπεφύκει· οἷον δοκεῖ τὸ ὑπὸ κύνα ψῦχος. ποτὲ γὰρ ψῦχος οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτὸ γέγονε χωρὶς οὐδ' ἔνεκά ἐστιν.⁵ τὸ δὲ⁶ Ε ὄλον, ὡς τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν μέρος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, οὕτως ἡ τύχη τοῦ αὐτομάτου. ἔστι τε' ἐκατέρου ἐκάτερον σύμπτωμα, τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, ἡ δὲ τύχη τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ἅπαντος, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἂν καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἦ, ὡς προείρηται. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον κοινὸν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων, ἡ δὲ τύχη ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου⁸ ἤδη πράττειν δυναμένου. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τὸ εὐτυχεῖν καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν ταῦτ' εἶναι δοξάζεται· ἡ δὲ εὐδαιμονία

¹ τοῦ μὲν . . . ἐνδεχόμενον nos : τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προῦποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη Sieveking ; τὸ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον τῶν κατὰ προαίρεσιν καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προῦποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη Sandbach (who reads in the next sentence ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου μάτην παρωνύμως λέγεται) ; τοῦ μὲν αὐτομάτου ὅπερ ὀνομάζεται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προῦποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη Post : τὸ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ' ἡμῖν προῦποκεῖσθαι ἐλέχθη.

² καὶ our addition.

³ αὐτόματον] αὐτὸ μάτην m^{2ss}.

⁴ περαίνει οὐδ' ἔνεκα supplied by Bern. for παρ followed by a lacuna of 8 letters in a, 10 in X (περαίνει οὐδ' ἔνεκα ἦν καὶ Wyttentbach).

⁵ αὐτὸ γέγονε χωρὶς οὐδ' ἔνεκά ἐστιν our supplement of a lacuna of 37 letters in a, 26 in X.

⁶ δὲ omitted in X.

⁷ τε] so a X.

⁸ ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου] ἀνθρώπου ἴδιον X¹.

the pre-existent substrate of what, by an expression derived from "chance," is said to be "by chance," and of what is in our power, whereas the spontaneous has a greater extension than chance,^a since it comprises both the latter and moreover many of the things whose nature it is to fall out differently at different times. What is meant by the term "spontaneous" (*automaton*), as the very name shows,^b is that which has a certain natural end when it does not accomplish that natural end.^c An example is held to be cold weather during the dog days^d; for at some times cold weather is not purposeless (*matên*), and does not occur in isolation (*auto*) from its end.^e To put the matter generally, as what is in our power is a part of the contingent, so chance is a part of the spontaneous. Taken two by two, the one set is incidental to the other, the spontaneous to the contingent, and chance to what is in our power—not to all of the latter, but to that part of it which is also a matter of choice, as has been previously stated.^f Hence the spontaneous is common both to living things and things without life, whereas chance is peculiar to a man who has reached the stage of being able to act.^g A sign of this is the belief that enjoying good fortune^h and enjoying happiness are the same;

^a Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 a 36-b 1).

^b Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 29 f.).

^c Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 22-27).

^d Cf. Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, x. 8 (1064 b 36).

^e The words "occur . . . end" translate a conjectural supplement. ^f 572 A-B, *supra*.

^g Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 2-6); Aëtii, i. 29. 3, p. 325 b 16-18 (ed. Diels); Chalcidius, chap. clviii, pp. 213. 18-24 and 214. 10-14, and chap. clix, p. 215. 9-11 (ed. Wrobel); Nemesius, chap. xxxix, p. 313. 8 f. (ed. Matthaei).

^h Literally "good chance."

(572) εὐπραξία τις, ἢ δὲ εὐπραξία περὶ μόνον καὶ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον.

8. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς εἰμαρμένης τοιαῦτα, τό τε ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ τὸ¹ δυνατόν, ἢ τε προαίρεσις καὶ τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν, ἢ τε τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον, F τὰ τε παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς, ὧν καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ τὸ ἴσως· ἃ δὴ πάντα περιέχει μὲν ἡ εἰμαρμένη, οὐδὲν δ' αὐτῶν ἐστι καθ' εἰμαρμένην. λοιπὸν δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ περὶ προνοίας εἰπεῖν, ὡς αὐτὴ γε περιείληφε τὴν εἰμαρμένην.

9. Ἔστιν οὖν πρόνοια ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτη τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ νόησις εἶτε καὶ βούλησις οὕσα εὐεργέτις ἀπάντων, καθ' ἣν πρώτως ἕκαστα τῶν θείων διὰ παντὸς ἄριστά τε καὶ κάλλιστα κεκόσμηται, ἢ δὲ δευτέρα δευτέρων θεῶν τῶν κατ' οὐρανὸν 573 ἰόντων, καθ' ἣν τὰ τε θνητὰ γίνεται τεταγμένως καὶ ὅσα πρὸς διαμονὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐκάστων τῶν γενῶν, τρίτη δ' ἂν εἰκότως² ῥηθείη πρόνοιά τε καὶ προμήθεια τῶν ὅσοι περὶ γῆν δαίμονες τεταγμένοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων φύλακές τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποί εἰσι. τριττῆς τοίνυν τῆς προνοίας θεωρουμένης, κυριώτατα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς πρώτης λεγομένης, οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμεν εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ φιλοσόφοις ἀνδράσι τὰναντία λέγειν δόξαιμεν, ὡς πάντα μὲν

¹ τὸ added by Pohlenz. ² εἰκότως σ² s Turnebus : εἰκότι.

^a Cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 6 (197 b 3-5).

^b Literally "the perhaps and the peradventure." For the "perhaps" cf. note on 574 D, *infra*.

^c Cf. Nemesius, chap. xliii, p. 343. 11 f. (ed. Matthaei), and Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 204. 6 f. (ed. Wrobel).

now happiness is a kind of doing well, and doing well is found in man alone when he has reached his full development.^a

8. What is included in fate—the contingent and the possible, choice and what is in our power, chance and the spontaneous, as well as matters associated with these, such as what is designated by the words “perhaps” and “peradventure”^b—is of the description we have given above; and fate contains them all, although none of them conforms to fate. It remains to speak of providence, as it in turn includes fate.

Primary providence

9. The highest and primary providence is the intellection or will, beneficent to all things, of the primary God^c; and in conformity with it all things divine are primordially arranged throughout, each as is best and most excellent. Secondary providence belongs to secondary gods, who move in heaven, and in conformity with it all mortal things come into being in orderly fashion, together with all that is requisite to the survival and preservation of the several genera. The providence and forethought which belongs to the daemons stationed in the terrestrial regions as watchers and overseers of the actions of man would reasonably be called tertiary.^d As providence, then, is seen to be threefold, and as primary providence is providence in the strictest sense and to the highest degree,^e I should not hesitate to say, even at the cost of appearing to contradict certain philosophers, that while all that conforms to fate

^a Cf. Apuleius, *De Platone*, i. 12, p. 96. 2-15 (ed. Thomas), and Nemesius, chap. xlv, pp. 345. 2-346. 7 (ed. Matthaei).

^e Cf. Nemesius, chap. xlv, p. 346. 7-10 (ed. Matthaei).

(573) τὰ¹ καθ' εἰμαρμένην καὶ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, οὐ μὴν
 B καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· ἀλλ' ἔνια μὲν κατὰ πρόνοιαν (καὶ
 ἄλλα γε κατ' ἄλλην), ἔνια δὲ καθ' εἰμαρμένην.
 καὶ ἡ μὲν εἰμαρμένη πάντως κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἡ δὲ
 πρόνοια οὐδαμῶς καθ' εἰμαρμένην (ἔστω δὲ ὁ λόγος
 τὰ νῦν περὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀνωτάτω). τὸ μὲν γὰρ²
 κατὰ τι ὕστερον ἐκείνου καθ' ὅ τι ἂν καὶ λέγῃται
 (οἶον τὸ κατὰ νόμον τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν
 τῆς φύσεως). οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ' εἰμαρμένην τῆς
 εἰμαρμένης νεώτερον ἂν εἴη· ἡ δὲ ἀνωτάτω πρόνοια
 πρεσβύτατον ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὐπὲρ ἐστὶν εἴτε
 βούλησις εἴτε νόησις εἴτε καὶ ἐκάτερον· ἔστι δ',
 ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, τοῦ πάντων πατρός τε καὶ
 C δημιουργοῦ. “λέγωμεν”³ γὰρ “δή,” φησὶν ὁ
 Τίμαιος, “δι' ἣντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν
 τόδε ὁ ξυριστὰς συνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν⁴. ἀγαθῶ
 δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενός⁵ ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος·
 τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὄν, πάντα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη
 γενέσθαι⁶ παραπλήσια ἑαυτῶ. ταύτην δὴ⁷ γενέσεως
 καὶ κόσμου μάλιστα ἂν τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρὰ

¹ τὰ added by Wyttenbach.

² γὰρ added by Sieveking.

³ λέγωμεν Plato : λέγομεν.

⁴ ἦν Plato : ὄν.

⁵ οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενός] περὶ οὐδενός οὐδέποτε Plato.

⁶ ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι] γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη Plato.

⁷ δὴ] δὲ Plato.

^a Zeno called fate providence and nature (cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 176, pp. 44. 35 ff. von Arnim). The later Peripatetics held that the fated and the natural were the same (Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. vi, p. 169. 18-22 Bruns, *De An. Libri Mant.* p. 182. 4-11 Bruns, and Aëtius, i. 29. 4, p. 325 b 30-32 Diels). The Peripatetics, however, were thought to leave no room for providence (Alexander, *Quaest.* ii. 21, pp. 70. 33-71. 2 Bruns). Atticus (quoted by Eusebius, *Praep.*

conforms to providence (though not to nature as well ^a), yet some things conform to providence (some to one, some to another), some to fate. And whereas fate most certainly conforms to providence,^b providence most certainly does not conform to fate (here it is to be understood that we are speaking of the primary and highest providence): for what is said to "conform to" a thing is posterior to that, whatever it may be, to which it is said to conform (for example, "what conforms to law" is posterior to law and "what conforms to nature" to nature); thus "what conforms to fate" is younger than fate, while the highest providence is eldest of all, save the one whose will or intellection or both it is, and it is that, as has been previously stated,^c of the Father and Artisan of all things. Timaeus says: "Let us state for what reason the realm of events and this universe were framed by him who framed them. He was good; and in the good no grudging ever arises about aught; and being exempt from this, he wished all things to become as similar as might be to himself. To accept from men of wisdom this, rather than any other, as the foremost principle of

Evang. vi. 12. 1) ascribes to Plato the doctrine that since soul and nature are identical, and everything occurs in conformity with nature, everything occurs in conformity with providence. See also W. Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl*, p. 46, note 2.

^a Cf. also Chalcidius, chap. cxly, p. 204. 19-22 (ed. Wrobel): "Et divina quidem et intellegibilia quaeque his proxima sunt [*scil.* Platoni placet esse] secundum providentiam solam, naturalia vero et corporea iuxta fatum . . ."

^b Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxviii, p. 304. 5-7 (ed. Matthaei); Chalcidius, chap. cxlvii, p. 206. 2 f. and chap. cxliv, p. 204. 9-14 (ed. Wrobel); and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* iv. 6. 14.

^c 572 F, *supra*.

(573) ἀνδρῶν φρονίμων ἀποδεχόμενος ὀρθότατα ἀποδέχοιτ' ἄν. βουλευθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα, φαῦλον¹ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν, οὕτω δὴ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ὄρατόν παραλαβὼν οὐχ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον ἀλλὰ κινούμενον πλημμυλῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγεν² ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας, ἡγησάμενος ἐκείνο τοῦδε³ πάντως ἄμεινον. θέμις δὲ οὗτ' ἦν οὔτε

D ἐστὶ τῷ ἀρίστῳ δρᾶν ἄλλο πλὴν τὸ κάλλιστον." ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα μέχρι ψυχῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κατὰ πρόνοιαν νομιστέον τὴν γε πρώτην συνεστηκέναι· τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν—οὕτω λεγόμενα· " συστήσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν διεΐλεν ψυχὰς ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς ἄστροις ἐνειμέν θ'⁴ ἐκάστην πρὸς ἕκαστον, καὶ ἐμβιβάσας ὡς εἰς ὄχημα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν ἔδειξε νόμους τε τοὺς εἰμαρμένους εἶπεν αὐταῖς"⁵—ταῦτα δὲ τίς οὐκ ἂν διαρρήδην καὶ σαφέστατα οἰηθείη τὴν εἰμαρμένην δηλοῦν, ὥσπερ τινὰ βάσιν καὶ πολιτικὴν νομοθεσίαν ταῖς ἀνθρωπίαις ψυχαῖς προσήκουσαν, ἧς δὴ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει;

Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν πρόνοιαν ᾧδὲ πως ἐπισημαίνεται E λέγων· " διαθεσμοθετήσας πάντα αὐτοῖς⁶ ἵνα τῆς⁷ ἔπειτα εἴη κακίας ἐκάστων ἀναίτιος, ἔσπειρε τοὺς

¹ φαῦλον] φλαῦρον Plato.

² ἤγεν] ἤγαγεν Plato.

³ τοῦδε] τούτου Plato.

⁴ διεΐλεν . . . ἐνειμέν θ' Plato: ἰσαριθμούς τοῖς ἄστροις ἔταξεν (a has here a lacuna of 12 letters; X has ἔταξε and a lacuna of 13 letters) διεΐλε τε ψυχὰς.

⁵ εἶπεν αὐταῖς Plato: a lacuna of 13 letters in a, 17 in X.

⁶ πάντα αὐτοῖς] δὲ πάντα αὐτοῖς ταῦτα Plato.

⁷ τῆς E^{2ss} β^{1ss} (with some mss. of Plato): τοῖς (with other mss. of Plato).

^a Plato, *Timaeus*, 29 D—30 A.

^b Plato, *Timaeus*, 41 D-E.

^c Our author seems to have obtained this notion of

Coming into being and of Order, is to accept most rightly. For God, wishing that all things should be good, and naught, so far as possible, evil, took over all that was visible, which was in no state of rest, but in discordant and disordered motion, and brought it into order out of its disorder, deeming the former in all ways better than the latter. It neither was nor is right for him who is best to do aught save that which is most excellent." ^a These matters and what is mentioned after them, as far as and including the souls of men, we must take to have been framed in conformity with providence—primary providence; but the words that follow ("and when he had compounded the whole, he divided it into souls equal in number to the stars and assigned to every star a soul, and mounting them thereon as on a vehicle, showed them the nature of the universe and proclaimed to them the laws of fate"), ^b who would not suppose to indicate fate, explicitly and in the plainest of terms, as a sort of foundation ^c and political legislation appropriate to the souls of men, the very legislation for which he next proceeds to state the reason? ^d

Secondary providence

He indicates secondary providence in the following words: "Having prescribed all these ordinances to them, to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be

"foundation" (*basis*) by pressing Plato's words "mounting (*embibasas*) them thereon as on a vehicle." It is perhaps significant that the astrologers called the horoscope a *basis*, as foundation of a man's lot in life (*cf.* Cumont, "Écrits hermétiques" in *Rev. de Philol.* xlii, p. 71, note 5).

^a Plato, *Timaeus*, 42 D; *cf.* 573 F, *infra*.

(573) μὲν εἰς τὴν¹ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν¹ σελήνην, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα² ὄργανα χρόνου. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν σπόρον τοῖς νέοις παρέδωκε θεοῖς σώματα πλάττειν θνητά, τό τε ἐπίλοιπον ὅσον ἔτι ἦν³ ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δέον ἵπροσγενέσθαι, τοῦτο καὶ πάντα ὅσα ἀκόλουθα ἐκείνοις ἀπεργασαμένους, ἄρχειν καὶ
 F κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἄριστα τὸ θνητὸν διακυβερνᾶν ζῶον, ὃ τι μὴ κακῶν⁴ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ γίνοιτο αἴτιον." ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ μὲν "ἵνα τῆς⁵ ἔπειτα εἶη κακίας ἀναίτιος ἐκάστω"⁶ σαφέστατα τὴν⁷ αἰτίαν σημαίνει τῆς εἰμαρμένης, ἣ δὲ τῶν νέων θεῶν τάξις καὶ δημιουργία τὴν δευτέραν πρόνοιαν δηλοῖ.

Καί πως καὶ τρίτης παρεφάπτεσθαι ἔοικεν, εἴ γε δὴ τούτου χάριν ἢ θεσμοθεσία, "ἵνα τῆς ἔπειτα εἶη κακίας ἐκάστω⁸ ἀναίτιος"· θεὸς δὲ κακίας ἄμοιρος οὔτε νόμων οὔτε εἰμαρμένης ἐπιδέοιτ' ἄν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ γεννήσαντος συνεπισπώμενος
 574 ἕκαστος αὐτῶν πράττει τὰ αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι⁹

¹ τὴν omitted in Plato.

² τὰ ἄλλα] τὰλλα ὅσα Plato.

³ ἔτι ἦν Plato: ἐστὶ.

⁴ κακῶν Plato: κακὸν α; μακρὸν X.

⁵ τῆς E^{2SS} (with some mss. of Plato): τοῖς (with other mss. of Plato).

⁶ ἀναίτιος ἐκάστω] ἀναίτιος ἐκάστων E¹; ἐκάστων ἀναίτιος Plato.

⁷ σαφέστατα τὴν nos: σαφεστάτην.

⁸ ἐκάστω] ἐκάστων Plato.

⁹ ὅτι our addition (Bern. adds ὅτι δὲ before ταῦτα).

^a Plato, *Timaeus*, 42 D-E.

severally guilty, he sowed some on the earth, some on the moon, and others on the remaining instruments of time. After the sowing he delegated to the new-made gods the task of modelling mortal bodies, and, when they had completed all the rest of the human soul that it was necessary to add and all that this involved, of ruling and guiding the mortal animal, so far as lay within their powers, in the fairest and best fashion possible, except for those evils which it should incur from its own guilt." ^a In this passage the phrase "to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty" indicates in the plainest language the reason for fate, while the government and creation which is in the hands of the new-made gods refers to secondary providence.

Tertiary providence

He appears, moreover, to allude to a third providence as well, inasmuch as the enactment of ordinances is "to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty": a god, having no part in evil, can stand in no need of either laws or fate, but each of them ^b fulfils his own office ^c as the providence of his begetter draws him along in its train.^d The words

^b That is, each of the new-made gods.

^c Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 247 A.

^d Evil is found in daemons, mortal beings created by the secondary gods. The will or thought (or both) of these daemons constitutes tertiary providence. Hence our author finds an allusion to tertiary providence in the words "to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty."

(574) ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ Πλάτῳ φανερά μοι δοκεῖ μαρτύρια¹ εἶναι τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Νομοθέτου ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις οὕτω λεγόμενα· “ ἐπεὶ τοῦτ’ εἴ² ποτέ τις ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἰκανός, θεία μοῖρα γεννηθείς, παραλαβεῖν δυνατὸς εἴη, νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν δέοιτο αὐτοῦ ἀρξόντων³. ἐπιστήμης γὰρ οὔτε νόμος⁴ οὔτε τάξις οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὐδὲ θέμις ἐστὶ νοῦν⁵ οὐδενὸς ὑπήκοον οὐδὲ δούλον ἀλλὰ πάντων⁶ ἄρχοντα εἶναι, ἑάνπερ ἀληθινὸς ἐλεύθερός τε ὄντως ἢ κατὰ φύσιν.”

10. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Πλάτωνος Β τοιαῦτ’ ἢ παρόμοια⁸ λαμβάνω. τριττῆς γὰρ οὔσης τῆς προνοίας ἢ μὲν, ἅτε γεννήσασα τὴν εἰμαρμένην, τρόπον τινὰ αὐτὴν περιλαμβάνει, ἢ δέ, συγγεννηθεῖσα τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ, πάντως αὐτῇ συμπεριλαμβάνεται, ἢ δέ, ὡς ὕστερον τῆς εἰμαρμένης⁹ γεννωμένη,¹⁰ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὴ ἐμπεριέχεται ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καθ’ ἃ καὶ τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τύχη εἴρηται. “ οἷς ” γὰρ “ ἂν συλλάβηται τῆς συνουσίας ἢ¹¹ τοῦ δαιμονίου δύναμις, ” ὡς φησι Σωκράτης, μονονουχὶ θεσμόν τινα (καίτοι οὐ τὸν¹² Ἀδραστείας) διεξιὼν πρὸς τὸν Θεάγην,¹³ “ οὗτοί εἰσιν ὧν καὶ σὺ ἤσθησαι· ταχὺ γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐπιδιδόασιν.” οὐκοῦν ἐν

¹ μαρτύρια γ: μαρτυρία.

² ἐπεὶ τοῦτ’ εἴ nos (ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἴ Plato): ἔπη τοῦ τί.

³ αὐτοῦ ἀρξόντων α X: τῶν ἀρξόντων ἑαυτοῦ Plato.

⁴ νόμος Plato: νόμων.

⁵ ἐστὶ νοῦν Plato: ἐστίν.

⁶ πάντων Plato: πάντα.

⁷ πρὸς] omitted by m and Wytttenbach.

⁸ τοιαῦτ’ ἢ παρόμοια Pohlenz: ταύτῃ τῇ παροιμίᾳ.

⁹ τῆς εἰμαρμένης σ² Leonicus: τὴν εἰμαρμένην.

¹⁰ γεννωμένη nos (γενομένη s Ald.²): γεναμένη.

¹¹ τῆς συνουσίας ἢ Plato: ἢ τῆς οὐσίας.

¹² καίτοι οὐ τὸν Turnebus: καὶ τοιοῦτον.

of the Lawgiver in the *Laws*^a are, I think, clear testimony that this is true and the doctrine held by Plato. They are to this effect: "Since if ever any man, gifted by nature, born under a divine dispensation, should be capable of apprehending this, he would need no laws to govern him, for no law or ordinance is mightier than understanding, nor is it permitted that intelligence should be subject or slave to aught; it must rather be ruler in all things, if it be genuine and really free in conformity with its nature."

The three providences and fate

10. Now I take Plato's meaning to be as described or very near it: as providence is threefold, the first, since it has begotten fate, includes it in a sense; the second, having been begotten together with fate, is most certainly included together with it^b; and the third, since it is begotten later than fate, is contained in it in the same way as what is in our power and chance were said^c to be contained in fate.^d For, "those persons with whom the daemonic power encourages me to associate," as Socrates says in recounting to Theages what is all but an ordinance, although not that of Adrasteia, "are the ones you have remarked; for their progress is immediate and

^a Plato, *Laws*, 875 c-d. The argument implicit in our author is this: if a man should be gifted with understanding he would need no law to govern him; how much less, then, would a god have need of laws, and of fate, which is a kind of law!

^b That is, in the first or primary providence.

^c 570 E, *supra*.

^d Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clxxvii, pp. 226. 18-227. 1 (ed. Wrobel).

¹³ Θεάγην Xylander: θεατήν.

(574)
C τούτω τὸ μὲν συλλαμβάνειν τισὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον κατὰ τὴν τρίτην πρόνοιαν θετέον,¹ τὸ δὲ ταχὺ παραχρῆμα ἐπιδιδόναι καθ' εἰμαρμένην· τὸ δὲ ὄλον οὐκ ἄδηλον ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰμαρμένη τίς ἐστι.

Τάχα δ' ἂν οὕτω² πολὺ πιθανώτερον δόξειε καὶ τὴν δευτέραν πρόνοιαν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης περιέχεσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ γινόμενα, εἴ γε καὶ ἡ κατ' οὐσίαν εἰμαρμένη ὀρθῶς ἡμῖν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς μοίρας διανεμένηται καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀλύσεως λόγος τὰς περὶ οὐρανὸν περιόδους τοῖς ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀποβαίνουσι συγκαταλέγει. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων D οὐκ ἂν³ ἔγωγε ἐπὶ πλέον διενεχθεῖην πότερον⁴ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως λεγόμενα⁵ ἢ ὡς μᾶλλον σὺν εἰμαρμένη,⁶ προκατάρχοντος αὐτῆς τῆς εἰμαρμένης εἰμαρμένου.

¹ θετέον Wyttenbach : ἀναθετέον.

² οὕτω] αὐτῷ Wyttenbach.

³ ἂν added by Bern.

⁴ πότερον Leonicus : πρότερον.

⁵ λεγόμενα] ἂν εἴη ὀρθῶς λεγόμενα Pohlenz ; γενόμενα Post.

⁶ σὺν εἰμαρμένη] συνειμαρμένα Wyttenbach.

^a *Theages*, 129 E. In the context of the dialogue the "daemonic power" is of course the sign of Socrates.

^b That is, while primary providence includes fate, tertiary providence is included in fate, being the "hypothesis" which leads to a fated result.

^c 568 E, *supra*.

^d To the Stoics the "chain"—that is, the chain of causes—represents the whole course of cosmic change: *cf.* Cicero, *De Div.* i. 56 (127); Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxiii, p. 193. 6 and chap. xxiv, p. 194. 3 (ed. Bruns); and Eustathius on Homer, *Il.* viii. 19. See also W. Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühlh.*, p. 44, note 5.

rapid." ^a In this passage we must posit that the encouragement given to association with certain persons by the daemonic power conforms to tertiary providence, while their immediate and rapid progress conforms to fate; and the whole complex is plainly enough none other than a form of fate. ^b

On this view, however, it might appear much more credible that secondary providence also, and indeed all things, without any limitation, that come to pass, are contained in fate, if we were right ^c in dividing substantial fate into the three portions and if the argument of the "chain" ^d brings the revolutions in heaven ^e into the class of consequences of an hypothesis. Yet with regard to this question I for one would not pursue the quarrel further whether these matters are to be termed consequences of an hypothesis, the initiatory cause of fate itself being fated, ^f or, as I rather take to be the case, they exist side by side with fate.

^e The author means the planetary movements. The planets constitute the second division of substantial fate.

^f The Stoics called a cause external to the thing affected "procatactic" or "initiatory." Thus the man who starts a cylinder rolling down a slope is the procatactic cause of the course of the cylinder. He does not determine what that course shall be; he merely sets the cylinder in motion. Cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 346, pp. 119 f. (ed. von Arnim); Cicero, *De Fato*, 19 (43); Galen, *De Causis Pulsuum*, i. 1, vol. ii, p. 261 (ed. Kühn); Proclus, *In Plat. Rem P. Comm.* ii, p. 261 (ed. Kroll); M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1948), vol. i, pp. 104 ff., vol. ii, pp. 60 f. Our author's meaning appears to be that on the theory which presents secondary providence as included in fate, we shall find that secondary providence or the planets initiate certain terrestrial situations, which are fated, while the movements of the planets are themselves fated, inasmuch as they are the results of certain antecedent conditions.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(574) 11. Ὁ μὲν¹ οὖν ἡμέτερος λόγος ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων εἰπεῖν τοιοῦτός τις ἂν εἴη, ὁ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίος οὐ μόνον ἐν εἰμαρμένῃ ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην πάντα τίθεται. πάντα δὲ θατέρῳ συνάδει· τὰ δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ συνωδὰ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ θατέρῳ.²

Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τόνδε τὸν λόγον τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πρῶτον³ εἴρηται καὶ τό γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἢ τε τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ ὅσα κατ' αὐτά· ἔπαινος δὲ καὶ ψόγος καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγενῆ τέταρτα, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εὐχαὶ Ἐθεῶν καὶ θεραπείαι λεγέσθω· ἀργοὶ⁴ δὲ καὶ θερίζοντες λόγοι καὶ ὁ παρὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ὀνομα-

¹ μὲν added by Stephanus.

² θατέρῳ Turnebus (κατὰ θατέρου Pohlenz): θάτερον.

³ πρῶτον added by Drexler.

⁴ ἀργοὶ Leonicus: ἀγροὶ.

^a The Stoic view.

^b That is, praise and blame are not made meaningless by the author's view of fate: cf. Cicero, *De Fato*, 17 (40); Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 1; Chrysippus in *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 998, pp. 292 f. (ed. von Arnim); Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. xxxiv, p. 206. 1 (ed. Bruns).

^c For the "indolent argument" cf. Cicero, *De Fato*, 12 f. (28 f.); Gellius, vii. 2. 4-5; *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 957, p. 278. 19-26 (ed. von Arnim). Addressed to a sick man, it runs as follows: "If it is fated for you to recover from your illness, you will recover whether you call a physician or no; again, if it is fated for you not to recover, you will not recover, whether you call a physician or no; now it is fated for you

The order of points in the present argument

11. Our argument, then, presented under its main heads, would be as described; the contrary argument,^a on the other hand, posits that everything is not only *in* fate but also *conforms* to it. But everything is consistent with the former contention, and what is consistent with the latter is evidently consistent with the former as well.

In our argument the contingent is placed first; what is in our power, second; third come chance and the spontaneous and all that conforms to them; fourth, praise and blame and whatever is related to them^b; while the fifth and final place must be given to prayers to the gods and worship of them. But the "indolent argument,"^c that of the "reaper,"^d and either to recover or not recover: you therefore call a physician in vain."

^a For the argument of the reaper *cf.* Diogenes Laert. vii. 25 and Ammonius, *In Aristot. De Int. Comm.* chap. ix, p. 131. 25-32 (ed. Busse): εἰ θεριεῖς, φησὶν [scil. ὁ λόγος], οὐχὶ τάχα μὲν θεριεῖς τάχα δὲ οὐ θεριεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντως θεριεῖς, καὶ εἰ μὴ θεριεῖς, ὡσαύτως οὐχὶ τάχα μὲν θεριεῖς τάχα δὲ οὐ θεριεῖς, ἀλλὰ πάντως οὐ θεριεῖς· ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἤτοι θεριεῖς ἢ οὐ θεριεῖς· ἀνήρηται ἄρα τὸ τάχα, εἴπερ μῆτε κατὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τοῦ θεριεῖν πρὸς τὸ μὴ θεριεῖν ἔχει χώραν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης τοῦ ἐτέρου τούτων ἐκβαίνοντος, μῆτε κατὰ τὸ ἐπόμενον ὁποτεροῦν τῶν ὑποθέσεων· τὸ δὲ τάχα ἦν τὸ εἰσφέρων τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον· οἴχεται ἄρα τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον. "If you are going to reap (the argument runs) it does not follow that you will perhaps reap, perhaps not, but you will certainly reap; and similarly if you are not going to reap: it does not follow that you will perhaps reap, perhaps not, but you will certainly not reap. But necessarily you are either going to reap or not going to reap. 'Perhaps' then is eliminated, since it has no place in the opposition between 'going to reap' and 'not going to reap'—as one of these two must necessarily occur—nor yet in what follows on either supposition. But 'perhaps' is what introduced the contingent. The contingent therefore disappears."

(574) ζόμενος σοφίσματα ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον τυγχάνει ὄντα.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἂν¹ εἶναι δόξειεν τὸ μηδὲν ἀναιτίως γίγνεσθαι ἀλλὰ κατὰ προηγουμένης αἰτίας, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ φύσει διοικεῖσθαι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον σύμπνουν καὶ συμπαθῆ αὐτὸν αὐτῷ ὄντα, τρίτον δὲ ἂ² πρὸς τούτοις μαρτύρια μᾶλλον ἔοικεν εἶναι· μαντικὴ μὲν ἅπασιν³ ἀνθρώποις εὐδόκιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῶ συνυπάρχουσα,⁴ ἢ δὲ τῶν σοφῶν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίοντα εὐαρέστησις ὡς πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν γιγνόμενα δευτέρα,⁵ τρίτον δὲ τὸ πολυθρύλητον⁶ τοῦτο ὅτι πᾶν ἀξίωμα ἢ ἀληθές ἐστὶν ἢ ψευδές.

Τούτων γε μὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμνήσθημεν ἵνα

¹ ἂν added by Bern.

² ἂ Wyttenbach: τὰ.

³ ἅπασιν] πρῶτον πᾶσιν Patzig.

⁴ θεῶ συνυπάρχουσα Schwartz (σὺν θεῶ ὑπάρχουσα von Arnim): θεῶ ὑπάρχουσα.

⁵ δευτέρα Patzig: δεύτερα.

⁶ πολυθρύλητον Dübner: πολυθρύλλητον.

^a The argument "contrary to fate" is not mentioned elsewhere by name; for a conjecture cf. Zeller, *Die Philos. der Griechen*, iii. 1⁵, p. 171, note 1.

^b Chrysippus had tried to show that the "indolent argument" was a fallacy: cf. Cicero, *De Fato*, 13 (30). Our author would regard all three arguments as valid against the Stoic position, while fallacious against his own.

^c Cf. Alexander, *De Fato*, chap. ix, p. 175. 12 (ed. Bruns).

^d "Spirit" (*pneuma*) in Stoic theory is a corporeal substance pervading the whole universe and holding it together (cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 439-444, pp. 144-146 and 543,

that termed "contrary to fate" ^a turn out on this view to be sophisms indeed. ^b

The order of points in the Stoic argument

According to the opposing argument the chief and first point would appear to be that nothing occurs without cause, and that instead everything occurs in conformity with antecedent causes ^c; the second, that this universe, at one with itself in spirit and in affections, ^d is governed by nature; and in the third place comes what would rather seem to be evidence added to these points in corroboration: the good repute in which the art of divination is held by all mankind, in the belief that its existence and that of God are in fact involved in one another ^e; the acquiescence of the wise ^f in whatever befalls, in the belief that everything that occurs is in order, ^g in the second place; and third, that oft repeated dictum, that every proposition is either true or false. ^h

I have dealt with these matters thus briefly in order

p. 172. 19 von Arnim). *Sympathes* (here rendered "at one with itself . . . in affections") points to their theory of "sympathy": that the universe is so perfectly integrated a whole that when one part of it is affected all its other parts are affected as well.

^c For the proof of the existence of fate from that of divination cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 939-944, pp. 270-272 (ed. von Arnim); for the appeal to all mankind cf. Cicero, *De Div.* i. 6 (11); for the involvement of the existence of God in that of divination cf. Cicero, *ibid.* i. 5 (9) and i. 38 (82-83).

^f Cf. W. Theiler in *Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühl*, p. 86, note 3.

^g The expression *κατὰ μοῖραν* ("in order") can mean "duly" or "in conformity with fate."

^h Cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 962, p. 275, 23-27 (ed. von Arnim).

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(574) ὡς ἐπὶ βραχὺ τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης κεφάλαια δηλω-
 θείη¹. ἃ χρὴ διερευνήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβῆ
 βάσανον ἑκατέρου τῶν λόγων· τὰ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστα
 τούτων ἔσαῦθις μέτιμεν.

¹ κεφάλαια δηλωθείη supplied by Wyttenbach to fill a lacuna
 of 13 letters in α, 7 in X.

ON FATE, 574

to present the main headings of the topic of fate in a compendious form ; these we must investigate when we subject the two arguments to exact scrutiny. The details that come under these headings we shall enter into at some later time.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES
(DE GENIO SOCRATIS)

INTRODUCTION

IN the *De Genio Socratis* Caphisias, Epameinondas' brother, gives Archedamus and a distinguished circle at Athens an account of the recent exploits and discussions at Thebes.^a The exploits were those of the conspiracy that freed the city from Spartan domination; the discussions took place at the conspirators' meetings, and were concerned with the meaning of an ancient inscription, the question when benefactions should be rejected, and above all with the interpretation of Socrates' sign.

Thebes was liberated in December, 379 B.C.^b The story is also told by Plutarch in the *Life of Pelopidas* (chapters vi-xiii), and brief accounts are preserved in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (v. 4. 1-13), in Nepos' *Pelopidas* (ii. 1-iv. 1), and in Diodorus Siculus (xv. 25-27).^c There are irreconcilable differences between the

^a That Plutarch composed his dialogue with Plato's *Phaedo* in mind was long ago pointed out by R. Hirzel (*Der Dialog*, Zweiter Theil, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 148-151; cf. also W. Christ, "Plutarchs Dialog vom Daimonion des Sokrates," in *Sitz. Munich*, 1901, pp. 59-110, K. Kahle, *De Plut. Rat. Dialogorum Componendorum*, Göttingen, 1912, pp. 17-19, and G. M. Lattanzi, *Il "De genio Socratis" di Plutarco*, Rome, 1933, pp. 15-17).

^b E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, vol. v, pp. 373 f.

^c Cf. also Polyaeus, ii. 3. 1 and ii. 4. 3.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

accounts of Xenophon, Diodorus, and Plutarch ^a; and there are even a few discrepancies between Plutarch's briefer account in the *Life of Pelopidas* and his fuller account here. ^b Such incidents, however, as the assassination of Androcleidas at Athens, the execution of Hismenias, the meeting at Charon's house, Chlidon's failure to deliver the message to the exiles, the letter from Archias of Athens to Archias of Thebes, and the banquet given for Archias by Phyllidas, appear in either Nepos or Xenophon (or both) as well as in the *Life of Pelopidas*. Xenophon ^c differs from Plutarch ^d in setting the number of returning exiles at seven, rather than at twelve, ^e and

^a For the fullest discussion of the different accounts *cf.* the two works of Ernst von Stern: *Gesch. d. spart. u. theb. Hegemonie vom Königsfrieden bis zur Schlacht bei Mantinea*, Dorpat, 1884, and *Xenophons Hell. u. d. böot. Geschichtsüberlieferung*, Dorpat, 1887.

^b In the dialogue (576 c-d) a messenger arrives the day the exiles cross the frontier, informs the conspirators of the fact, and is told where the exiles are to lodge; in the *Life* (chaps. vii. 4, viii. 3, 281 b, d) the house where they are to lodge is agreed upon in advance. In the *Life* (chap. x. 5, 283 a-b) Charon tells the truth about his interview to Pelopidas alone, inventing a fictitious story for the rest; in the dialogue (595 f ff.) he tells the truth to all. In the *Life* (chap. xi. 8, 283 f) Cephisodorus dies before Leontiades is killed, in the dialogue (597 f), after. Again, in the dialogue (596 d) only a few of the conspirators in Melon's group are dressed as women; in the *Life* (chap. xi. 2, 283 c-d) all apparently are. *Cf.* Lattanzi, p. 81.

^c *Hell.* v. 4. 1 and 3.

^d 576 c; *cf.* Nepos, *Pel.* ii.

^e Of the conspirators named in the course of the dialogue three, Pelopidas, Damocleidas, and Theopompus, evidently (594 d) belong to the twelve. We learn of two more, Melon and Meneleidas, from the *Life of Pelopidas* (chap. viii. 2, 281 c, and chap. xxv. 5, 290 f). Possibly Eumolpidas, Samidas, Lysitheüs, and Cephisodorus can be added to the number; but there is no proof that they were exiles.

in stressing the rôle of Melon ; he does not even mention Pelopidas' part in the exploit. Again, he places a day's interval between the return of the exiles and the revolt,^a and he gives two versions of the entrance of the conspirators into the presence of Archias. In the first, three were disguised as ladies, the rest as maids ; in the second, they entered as revellers.^b Plutarch says that some were attired as revellers, and a few disguised as women (596 D). Xenophon goes on to say that after the seven had killed Archias, Phyllidas went with three of them to kill Leontiades^c ; whereas in Plutarch the exiles divide into two groups, Melon's group killing Archias and Philippus, Pelopidas' Leontiades and Hypates (577 C, 596 C-D, 596 F—598 A).

Most of the personages of the dialogue are known from other sources and may be considered historical. Archedamus is evidently an Athenian public figure with well-known Theban sympathies (575 D, F). Such a person was Archedemus of Pelex, surnamed " the blear-eyed," and mentioned by Aeschines (*Or.* ii. 139) as one who had risked much for the sake of Thebes.^d There is no external evidence for Caphisias, whom Plutarch presents as a brother of Epameinondas, or for his embassy to Athens. But there is no reason

^a *Hell.* v. 4. 3.

^b *Hell.* v. 4. 6 f.

^c *Hell.* v. 4. 5-7.

^d Cf. Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* no. 2326. The form Archedamos is not Attic, although not unknown at Athens (*cf. ibid.* no. 2312 ; the name Archidamos occurs seven times : *ibid.* nos. 2482-2488). The forms Archedamos and Archidamos both occur in Boeotian inscriptions : *cf.* the index to *IG*, vol. vii. Plutarch may have used the Boeotian form to show the bearer's intimacy with Boeotians and friendliness to Thebes.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

to doubt the existence of a brother of that name ; and embassies from Thebes must have been fairly frequent at Athens in the stirring times that followed the liberation. As the philosophical discussions are scarcely historical, there is no compelling reason to suppose that the personages exclusively concerned with them are authentic. Timarchus, the hero of the myth, is probably a fiction of Plutarch's,^a and the same may hold true of the Pythagorean Theanor (literally, " man of God ") ; no other ancient author speaks of them. No mention is found elsewhere of the conspirators Bacchylidas, Eumolpidas, Hismenodorus, Lysitheüs, and Samidas ; but here there is no reason to suppose that the names were invented. Plutarch, a local patriot, was well read in Boeotian history, and there are other instances where he alone has preserved some detail of it.^b

The dialogue opens with a speech by Archedamus, who asks Caphisias for the story of the events he had taken part in and for an account of the discussions he had heard at the time. Caphisias asks where he shall begin ; and Archedamus, briefly sketching the events already known to himself and the audience, tells him to begin with the return of the exiles and the overthrow ^c of the tyrants.

^a Like Plutarch, Timarchus is a Chaeronean, and his name was presumably modelled on Plutarch's own ; *cf.* also the unhistorical detail about Lamprocles (590 A with the note, and von Arnim, " Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik," in *Verhandelingen d. K. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam*, Afd. Lett. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xxii (1921), pp. 17 f.).

^b *Cf.* *Mor.* 548 F—549 A with Reiske's note: " Res Boeoticas alii auctores negligentius tractarunt, quas, ut patrias, attingere Plutarchus amat."

^c Plutarch avoids the terms " assassination " and " conspiracy."

The rest of the dialogue consists of Caphisias' narrative. A messenger from Athens informs the conspirators that the exiles will arrive at nightfall, and asks to what house they shall proceed. Charon offers his own. Thé party, which includes Charon, Caphisias, and Theocritus, a diviner, is now met by Archias (the leading spirit among the Theban oligarchs), Lysanoridas (the Spartan commander), and Phyllidas, a conspirator who is secretary to the Theban polemarchs. Theocritus is called away for a private conversation with Lysanoridas, and Phyllidas, drawing Caphisias aside, learns that the exiles are to come that evening, and congratulates himself on having chosen that time for a banquet to which Archias will be invited and made drunk. At the house of Simmias, the meeting-place of the conspirators, Pheidolaüs asks the party to wait, as Simmias is closeted with Leontiades, an influential oligarch, interceding for the life of Amphitheüs, an imprisoned democrat.

While they are waiting, Theocritus asks Pheidolaüs about the discoveries made by the Spartans who excavated Alcmena's tomb in the territory of Pheidolaüs' native city of Haliartus. An inscription in unknown characters was the most remarkable, and Agesilaüs was reported to have sent a copy to Egypt for the priests to interpret.

Meanwhile Leontiades leaves. The party enter and find Simmias very downcast; his intercession had evidently failed. As Simmias had recently returned from Egypt, Theocritus asks whether the priests succeeded in reading the inscription. Simmias answers that such a document had been interpreted by a priest with whom Plato and he had studied

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

philosophy ; and that it contained a divine command that the Greeks should settle their disputes by appealing not to arms, but to the Muses and discussion. Plato had remembered this message when the Delians consulted him about the duplication of the cube : they had received an oracle to the effect that when the cubical altar at Delos had been doubled the miseries of Delos and of all Greece would be at an end. Plato promised help, but told them that Apollo's real purpose was to urge the Greeks to cultivate geometry, great proficiency being required for the solution, and to make an end of war by calming their passions in such mathematical and philosophical pursuits.

So ends the first discussion. Polymnis, the father of Epameinondas and Caphisias, now enters with the news that Epameinondas is bringing a Pythagorean stranger who had spent the night at the tomb of Lysis, a Pythagorean who had trained the sons of Polymnis in philosophy. The stranger had intended to remove the remains to Italy, if no sign from heaven should prevent him ; and had brought a large sum of gold, with which he insisted on rewarding Epameinondas for supporting Lysis in his old age.

Galaxidorus, in a burst of indignation at the stranger's superstitious practices, denounces religious mummery in general, contrasting it with the simplicity and frankness of Socrates. Theocritus retorts that Socrates after all had a divine sign ; to this Galaxidorus replies that Socrates allowed himself to be guided by the signs of ordinary divination—sneezes and chance remarks overheard—when the rational grounds for a decision were evenly balanced. Polymnis adds that he has heard that the sign was a

sneeze, but is astonished that Socrates did not call it so. The sneeze, Galaxidorus answers, was a mere instrument, the real agent being Heaven; and Socrates, who knew the proper use of words, spoke therefore of receiving intimations from Heaven (*to daimonion*),^a not from its instrument.

The conversation is interrupted by the entrance of Epameinondas and the Pythagorean. Theanor (for that is the stranger's name) begs the company to judge between them: Epameinondas rejects the proffered money. A dialogue follows between the two on the question when it is right to accept a benefaction; and Epameinondas justifies his refusal by the need to refrain from even legitimate gain if he would harden himself against profiting from injustice. Simmias' decision is that the disputants must settle the question themselves.

Phyllidas now enters with Hippostheneidas, another conspirator, and draws Charon, Theocritus, and Caphisias aside. It appears that Hippostheneidas, alarmed among other things by an ominous dream, had sent a mounted messenger to meet the exiles at the frontier and tell them to turn back. Theocritus shows that the dream was actually a propitious omen, and the whole episode ends happily when the messenger appears and tells how a violent quarrel with his wife prevented him from setting out.

Caphisias and Theocritus return to Simmias, who has answered Galaxidorus in the interval, and is now presenting his own theory. The sign was Socrates' perception of the unspoken language of the higher powers. Simmias goes on to tell the story or myth

^a *To daimonion* is also the name of the divine sign, the "genius" of Socrates.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

of Timarchus. The substance of Timarchus' vision is this: all souls have understanding or intellect, but some are so deeply sunk in the body that their understanding loses its character and becomes irrational. Others keep partly clear of the body, and the portion not immersed in it is called the daemon. Souls that obey this daemon from their earliest years are those of seers and divine men, and such was Socrates.

Theanor has the last word. Setting aside the myth, he combines parts of the explanations of Simmias and Galaxidorus, maintaining that the gods view certain persons with special favour and communicate with them directly by symbols. Others they help indirectly: when the cycle of birth is over, good men become daemons, and are allowed by the gods to call out to and help those who are approaching the end of their cycle.

At the conclusion of the discussion Theocritus, Galaxidorus, and Caphisias urge Epameinondas to join them in killing the oligarchs. Epameinondas gives his reasons for refusing.

Toward nightfall the exiles slip into the city and gather at Charon's house. When all the conspirators have assembled there two officers appear and summon Charon to the presence of Archias and Philippus. The rest, convinced that the plot is discovered, are preparing a desperate sortie when Charon returns with the joyful news that the magistrates have no definite information and are already the worse for drink.

The conspirators now set out in two parties, the one to attack Leontiades and Hypates, the other, Archias and Philippus. Meanwhile a letter is brought

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

to Archias, revealing the whole plot. The bearer says that it deals with serious business ; but Archias slips it under his cushion with the remark that serious business can wait for the morrow. Both parties are completely successful : Archias, Philippus, Leontiades, and Hypates are all dispatched. Epameinondas and his followers join the conspirators and call the citizenry to arms. The Spartan sympathizers flee to the citadel ; and the terrified garrison makes no descent into the lower town. The Spartans capitulate and withdraw their forces.

By the very nature of its dramatic setting the *De Genio Socratis* contains no reference to the events of Plutarch's own time. No absolute date can then be fixed. Von Arnim,^a comparing the myths of the *De Defectu Oraculorum*, *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, *De Genio Socratis*, and *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*, supposes that the four were composed in that order. If so—and many of his arguments are hardly cogent ^b—the *De Genio Socratis* was written after 95 or thereabouts, the approximate date of Plutarch's election to the Delphic priesthood.^c

A few translations can be added to those listed in the Preface.^d

Only two manuscripts contain the dialogue, E and B. In estimating the length of lacunas we mention E first.

^a *Op. cit.* pp. 21-27, 42-46.

^b Cf. W. Hamilton, "The Myth in Plutarch's *De Genio*" in *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. xxviii (1934), pp. 175-182.

^c Cf. p. 173, note e, *supra*. For the question of the relative dates of the *De Genio Socratis* and the *Life of Pelopidas* see the papers quoted by K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1, coll. 842 f.

^d J. Mähly, Plutarch, *Über den Genius des Sokrates. Politische Vorschriften* (Stuttgart, 1890).

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

The work is No. 69 in the catalogue of Lamprias, where it is called *περὶ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου πρὸς Ἀλκιδάμαντα*.

K. S. Guthrie, *Three Selections from Plutarch's Genius of Socrates* (New York, 1904).

A. O. Prickard, *The Return of the Theban Exiles 379-378 B.C.* (Oxford, 1926). This is a revision of the excellent version Mr. Prickard published in 1918.

A. Kontos, *Πλουτάρχου Ἠθικά· Περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους Δαιμονίου* (Athens, 1939).

W. Ax, *Plutarch Moralia* (Leipzig, 1942), pp. 202-261.

É. des Places, S.J., *Le Démon de Socrate de Plutarque* (Paris, 1950), published with H. Pourrat, *Le Sage et son démon*.

(575) ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥ¹

B 1. — Ζωγράφου τινός, ὦ Καφισία,² μέμνημαί ποτε³ περὶ τῶν θεωμένων τοὺς γεγραμμένους πίνακας λόγον οὐ φαῦλον ἀκούσας ἐν εἰκόνι λελεγμένον. ἔφη γὰρ εἰκέναι τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀτέχνους θεατὰς ὄχλον ὁμοῦ πολὺν ἀσπαζομένοις,⁴ τοὺς δὲ κομψοὺς καὶ φιλοτέχνους, καθ' ἕκαστον ἰδίᾳ τῶν ἐντυγχανόντων προσαγορεύουσι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀκριβῆς, ἀλλὰ τύπῳ τινὶ γίνεται μόνον, ἢ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σύνοψις, τοὺς δέ, τῇ κρίσει κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἔργον διαλαμβάνοντας, οὐδὲν ἀθέατον οὐδὲ ἀπροσφώνητον ἐκφεύγει τῶν καλῶς ἢ τοῦναντίον γεγονότων. οἶμαι δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰς
C ἀληθινὰς πράξεις ὁμοίως τῷ μὲν ἀργοτέρῳ⁵ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξαρκεῖν πρὸς ἱστορίαν εἰ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πέρασ πύθοιτο τοῦ πράγματος, τὸν δὲ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον τῶν ὑπ' ἀρετῆς ὥσπερ τέχνης μεγάλης ἀπειργασμένων⁶ θεατὴν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν, ὡς⁷ τοῦ μὲν τέλους

¹ τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου] σωκράτους δαιμονίου πρὸς ἀλκιδάμαντα Lamprias.

² Καφισία Cobet: καφισία and so *passim*.

³ μέμνημαί ποτε Wilamowitz (μέμνημαι Xylander) to fill a lacuna of 17-11 letters.

⁴ ἀσπαζομένοις Basle edition of 1542: ἀσπαζομένους.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

(*The persons who take part in the dialogue are Archedamus, an Athenian, and Caphisias, a Theban.*)

1.—I RECALL, Caphisias, that a painter once gave me, in the form of a comparison, no bad description of those who view pictures. Spectators who are laymen and without instruction in the art resemble, he said, those who greet a large company with a single salutation, whereas cultivated and artistic spectators resemble men who have a private word of welcome for everyone they meet; for the general impression that the first obtain of the performance is inaccurate and as it were a mere sketch; whereas the others use their critical judgement for a separate scrutiny of each detail, and thus allow nothing well or poorly executed to pass without a look or word of recognition. I think the same is true of real events: duller minds are content with history if they learn the mere general drift and upshot of the matter, whereas the spectator fired with emulation and the love of noble conduct, when he views the works which virtue, like a great art, has executed, is more delighted with the particulars, feeling that in the outcome much is due

⁵ τῶ μὲν ἀργοτέρῳ Emperius: τῶν μὲν ἀργοτέρων.

⁶ τὸν δὲ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον τῶν ὑπ' (ὑπὲρ Emperius) ἀρετῆς . . . ἀπειργασμένων Reiske: τῶν δὲ φιλοτίμων καὶ φιλοκάλων τὸν ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς . . . ἀπειργασμένον.

⁷ ὡς added by Sieveking.

(575) πολλὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἔχοντος, τοὺς¹ δ' ἐν² ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ³ μέρους ἀγῶνας ἀρετῆς⁴ πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ τόλμας ἔμφρονας παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καθορῶντα⁵ καιρῶ καὶ πάθει μεμιγμένου λογισμοῦ. τούτου δὴ τοῦ γένους
D τῶν θεατῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι διελθέτε τὴν πράξιν ἡμῖν⁶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐπράχθη καὶ τοῦ λόγου μετάδος ὃν ἀκούομεν⁷ γενέσθαι τότε σοῦ⁸ παρόντος, ὡς ἐμοῦ μηδ' ἂν εἰς Θήβας ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατοκνήσαντος ἐλθεῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ νῦν Ἀθηναίους πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἐδόκουν βοιωτιάζειν.⁹

— Ἀλλὰ ἔδει μὲν, ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε,¹⁰ σοῦ δι' εὐνοίαν οὕτω προθύμως τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθεῖν σπουδάζοντος, ἐμὲ “καὶ ἀσχολίας ὑπέρτερον” θέσθαι κατὰ Πίνδαρον τὸ δεῦρο ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν· τὸ δὲ πρεσβείας ἀφιγμένους ἔνεκα καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἄχρι οὗ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ δήμου λάβω-
E μεν ἀντιτείνειν καὶ ἀγροικίζεσθαι πρὸς εὐγνώμονα καὶ φίλον ἑταῖρον¹¹ δοκεῖ κἂν ἀνεγείρειν¹² τὸ κατὰ Βοιωτῶν ἀρχαῖον εἰς μισολογίαν ὄνειδος ἥδη μαραινόμενον παρὰ Σωκράτη τὸν ὑμέτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ δυσὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διε-

¹ τοὺς Pohlenz : τοῦ.

² δ' ἐν Bern. : δέ.

³ ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ Pohlenz (ἐπὶ Turnebus) to fill a lacuna of 19-23 letters.

⁴ ἀρετῆς Turnebus : ἀρετῆ.

⁵ Post reads the passage as follows : τοῦ δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι (or συναιτίαις) μέρους [sc. ἔχοντος] ἀγῶνας ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ τόλμας ἔμφρονας περὶ (or πρὸς or παρὰ) τὰ δεινὰ καὶ θορυβοῦντα.

⁶ ἡμῖν Schaefer : ἦτις.

⁷ μετάδος ὃν ἀκούομεν Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 19-22 letters.

⁸ τότε σοῦ Pohlenz (σοῦ Turnebus) to fill a lacuna of 15 letters.

⁹ βοιωτιάζειν Bern. : βοιωτίζειν.

to chance, whereas in the actions themselves and in their causes he observes the details of the struggles of virtue pitted against fortune, and the sober acts of daring in peril that come of reason blended with the stress and passion of the moment.^a Take us to be spectators of this sort; tell us of your enterprise from the beginning, and impart to us the discussion that we hear was held at the time in your presence; for you may rest assured that to hear the story I should not have shrunk from journeying all the way to Thebes, except that the Athenians consider me unduly pro-Boeotian as it is.

—Indeed, Archedamus, seeing this friendly eagerness of yours to know what happened, I, for my part, should have been obliged to hold it a duty “transcending any business,” as Pindar^b says, to come here to tell the story; as it is, when I am already here on an embassy and at leisure until the assembly delivers its reply, to refuse and be uncivil with one so sympathetic and friendly, would be enough, I think, to revive the ancient reproach against Boeotians of hostility to discussion,^c just when that reproach was dying out. . . .^d Yet consider whether the

^a A desperate and much-emended sentence. The meaning is uncertain.

^b *Isthmian Odes*, i. 2.

^c *Cf. Mor.* 864 D.

^d The Greek is corrupt. The sense was possibly: “now that Simmias and Cebes have distinguished themselves by their zeal for philosophy through their association with your countryman Socrates, and we [that is, Caphisias and Epameinondas] through ours with the holy Lysis.”

¹⁰ Ἀρχέδαμε nos (the mss. have ἀρχέδαμε 595 B, D and 596 D, *infra*): ἀρχίδαμε (*cf.* Ἀλκιδάμαντα Lamprias).

¹¹ φίλον ἑταῖρον Wilamowitz: φιλέταιρον.

¹² δοκεῖ κἄν ἀνεγείρειν Post (δόξειεν ἂν ἐγείρειν Holwerda): δοκεῖν ἀνεγείρειν.

(575) φάνημεν.¹ ἀλλ' ὄρα τοὺς παρόντας εἰ πρὸς ἀκρόα-
σιν ἅμα πράξεων² καὶ λόγων τοσοῦτων εὐκαίρως
ἔχουσιν· οὐ γὰρ βραχὺ μῆκός ἐστι τῆς διηγήσεως,
ἐπεὶ σὺ καὶ τοὺς λόγους προσπεριβαλέσθαι κελεύεις.

—'Αγνοεῖς, ὦ Κάφισία, τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἦ μὴν
ἄξιον εἰδέναί, πατέρων ὄντας ἀγαθῶν καὶ πρὸς
ὑμᾶς οικείως ἐχόντων. ὁδὶ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀδελφιδοῦς
F Θρασυβούλου Λυσιθείδης, ὁδὶ δὲ Τιμόθεος Κό-
νωνος υἱός, οὗτοι δὲ Ἀρχίνου παῖδες, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι
τῆς ἐταιρείας³ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς⁴ ἡμετέρας πάντες·
ὥστε σοι τὸ⁵ θέατρον εὖνον καὶ οικείαν ἔχον⁶ τὴν
διήγησιν.

—Εὖ λέγεις. ἀλλὰ τίς ἂν ὑμῖν μέτριος ἀρχὴ
γένοιτο τῆς διηγήσεως πρὸς ἃς ἴστε πράξεις;

—'Ημεῖς, ὦ Καφισία, σχεδὸν ὡς εἶχον αἱ Θῆβαι
πρὸ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἐπιστάμεθα. καὶ
γὰρ ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντιάδην⁷ Φοιβίδα
πέισαντες ἐν σπονδαῖς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Καδμείαν
τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φόβω
576 κατεῖργον, ἄρχοντες αὐτοὶ παρανόμως καὶ βιαίως,

¹ The passage is corrupt. Schwartz indicates a lacuna after *μαραινόμενον*, supposing that some mention of Simmias and Cebes has dropped out; K. F. Hermann reads *Λῦσιν τὸν ἱερόν* (Bern. *Λῦσιν τὸν γέροντα*) for *δυσὶ τῶν ἱερών*. Post reads as follows after *μαραινόμενον*: *ἐπεὶ πρὸς Σωκράτη τὸν ὑμέτερον ἡμεῖς γε περὶ λύσιν ἀποριῶν σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διεφάνημεν*. We translate as if the following were written: *ἐπεὶ παρὰ Σωκράτει τῷ ὑμέτερῳ Σιμμίας μὲν καὶ Κέβης, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Λύσιδι τῷ ἱερῷ σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διεφάνημεν*.

² ἅμα πράξεων Basle edition of 1542; *ἀναπράξεων*.

³ ἐταιρείας Bern.; *ἐταιρίας*.

company is disposed to hear a narrative involving so much history and philosophy combined; it will not be short in the telling, as you would have me include the discussions with the rest.

—You are unacquainted, Caphisias, with these gentlemen. I assure you that they are well worth knowing: their fathers were excellent men and good friends of your country. This is Lysitheides,^a nephew of Thrasybulus^b; this, Timotheüs,^c son of Conon; these are the sons of Archinus^d; and the rest, like these, are all men of our society. Your narrative, then, will have a friendly and interested audience.

—Excellent. But at what point would it suit you for me to begin the tale so as to connect it with the events you already know?

—We know pretty well, Caphisias, how matters stood at Thebes before the exiles' return. Thus, the news that after inducing Phoebidas to seize the Cadmeia in time of peace,^e Archias and Leontiades had expelled some of your countrymen and were holding the rest in terrified submission, exercising authority themselves in defiance of the laws and by

^a Cf. Kirchner, *Prosop. Att.* no. 9392.

^b The celebrated Athenian statesman: cf. Kirchner, *ibid.* no. 7305.

^c The celebrated Athenian admiral: cf. Kirchner, *ibid.* no. 13700.

^d An Athenian statesman: cf. Kirchner, *ibid.* no. 2526.

^e The "King's Peace" or Peace of Antalcidas of 386 B.C. is meant. The Cadmeia was seized in 382.

⁴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς Wilamowitz (τῆς Ald.²) to fill a lacuna of 14-10 letters.

⁵ σοι τὸ nos: σοι.

⁶ οἰκείαν ἔχον] οἰκείων ἔχειν Madvig; οἰκείως ἔχον πρὸς? Post.

⁷ Λεοντιάδην nos (cf. *Mor.* 1099 E and *Life of Agesilaüs*, chaps. xxiii. 11, 609 A and xxiv. 2, 609 B): λεοντίδην and so *passim*.

(576) ἔγνωμεν ἔνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Μέλωνα καὶ Πελοπίδαν, ὡς οἶσθα, ἰδιόξενοι γενόμενοι καὶ παρ' ὄν χρόνον ἔφευγον ἀεὶ συνδιατρίβοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ πάλιν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιοι Φοιβίδα μὲν ἐξήμειωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆν Καδμείαν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀλυνθον στρατηγίας ἀπέστησαν, Λυσανορίδαν¹ δὲ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου πέμψαντες ἐγκρατέστερον ἐφρούρουν τὴν ἄκραν, ἠκούσαμεν· ἔγνωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν² οὐ τοῦ βελτίστου θανάτου τυχόντα εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένης, Γοργίδου πάντα τοῖς φυγάσι δεῦρο διὰ
 Β γραμμάτων ἐξαγγείλαντος. ὥστε σοι λείπεται τὰ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτὴν³ τῶν φίλων καὶ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῶν τυράννων διηγείσθαι.

2. —Καὶ μὴν ἐκείναις γε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ὧ Ἄρχεδαμε, πάντες οἱ τῶν πραττομένων μετέχοντες εἰώθειμεν εἰς τὴν Συμμίου συνιόντες οἰκίαν ἕκ τινος πληγῆς περὶ τὸ σκέλος ἀναλαμβάνοντος αὐτὸν ἐντυγχάνειν μὲν ἀλλήλοις εἶ του δεήσειε, φανερώς δὲ διατρίβειν ἐπὶ λόγοις καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ, πολλάκις ἐφελκόμενοι τὸν Ἄρχιαν καὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον, οὐκ ὄντας ἀλλοτρίους παντάπασιν
 C τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Συμμίας πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ξένης γεγωνὼς καὶ πεπλανημένος ἐν ἀλλοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν εἰς Θήβας ἀφίκτο μύθων τε⁴ παντοδαπῶν καὶ λόγων

¹ Λυσανορίδαν] Ziegler reads the form Λυσανδρίδας in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xiii. 3 (284 D), following Wade-Gery (in *Classical Quarterly*, xxi, 1927, p. 159, note 4), who com-

the use of force, reached us here,^a as we had opened our homes to Melon and Pelopidas, as you know, and for the duration of their exile were constantly in their company. Again, we have heard that although the Lacedaemonians fined Phoebidas for seizing the Cadmeia and relieved him of the command against Olynthus,^b they nevertheless sent in his place Lysanoridas with two others^c and strengthened the garrison in the citadel; we have also learned that Hismenias, immediately after his trial, met death not in its noblest form; all this Gorgidas reported in letters to the exiles here. So all that remains for you to tell is the story how your friends returned and overthrew the tyrants.^d

2. —In those days, Archedamus, all who were in the plot used to forgather at the house of Simmias, who was recovering from a wound in the leg. Our real purpose was to see each other as the need arose, but ostensibly we met for philosophical discussion; often, to avoid suspicion, we brought Archias and Leontiades along, who were not entire strangers to such pursuits. Indeed, after a long stay abroad and much travel among strange peoples, Simmias had but recently returned to Thebes with a great store of all manner

^a At Athens.

^b The army sent against Olynthus had seized the Cadmeia on the way.

^c That is, Arcesus and Herippidas: *cf.* 598 F, *infra*.

^d The oligarchic usurpers in Thebes are meant: Leontiades, Archias, Philippus, and Hypates.

pares Theopompus, Frag. 240 (*Die Frag. d. gr. Hist.*, Zweiter Teil, pp. 587 f. Jacoby).

² Ἰσμηνίαν nos (*cf.* the note on the text of *Mor.* 606 F): ἰσμηνίαν and so *passim* and in all related words.

³ ἀντήν Reiske: ἀντῶν.

⁴ τε Dübner: δέ.

(576) βαρβαρικῶν ὑπόπλεως· ὦν¹ ὁπότε τυγχάνοι σχολὴν ἄγων ὁ Ἀρχίας ἠδέως ἠκροῶτο συγκαθιεῖς² μετὰ τῶν νέων καὶ βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἐν λόγοις διάγειν μάλλον ἢ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν οἷς ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι.

Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἧ σκότους ἔδει γενομένου τοὺς φυγάδας ἦκειν κρύφα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀφικνεῖται τις ἐνθένδε Φερενίκου³ πέμψαντος ἀνθρωπος οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ Χάρωνι⁴ γνώριμος· ἐδήλου δὲ τῶν φυγάδων ὄντας δώδεκα τοὺς νεωτάτους μετὰ κυνῶν περὶ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα θηρεῦσαι,
 D ὡς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφιξομένους⁵. αὐτὸς δὲ πεμφθῆναι ταῦτά τε προερῶν καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐν ἧ κρυβήσονται παρελθόντες ὃς παρέξει γνωσόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰδότες εὐθύς ἐκεῖ βαδίζοιεν. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ σκοπούντων αὐτὸς ὠμολόγησεν ὁ Χάρων παρέξει. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπος ἔγνω πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν σπουδῆ πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας.

3. Ἐμοῦ δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκριτος τὴν χεῖρα πιέσας σφόδρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα βλέψας προερχόμενον, “ οὗτος,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Καφισία, φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ μετείληφε παιδείας διαφόρου καὶ περιττῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁ σὸς ἀδελφός·
 E ἀλλ' ὄρας ὅτι φύσει πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀγόμενος τὸν μέγιστον ὑποδύεται κίνδυνον ἐκουσίως ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐπαμεινώνδας δέ, Βοιωτῶν

¹ ὑπόπλεως· ὦν Wytttenbach : ὑπόπλεως ὦν.

² συγκαθιεῖς] συγκαθιεῖς B.

³ Φερενίκου Stephanus : φερενείκου and so 577 A, *infra*.

⁴ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἢ Χάρωνι Benseler : ἢ χάρωνι τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν.

⁵ ἀφιξομένους Reiske : ἀφικομένους.

^a A Theban exile at Athens : *cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. v. 3 (280 c) and chap. viii. 1 (281 c).

^b A mountain ridge between Attica and Boeotia.

of foreign legends and information ; to this Archias delighted to listen in his leisure moments, mingling affably with the youthful company and preferring that we should spend our time in talk rather than attend to what he and his party were doing.

On the day when the exiles were to come secretly to the walls after dark, a messenger from Pherenicus,^a known to none of us except Charon, arrived from here with word that the youngest exiles, twelve in number, had taken hounds and gone out to hunt on Cithaeron,^b intending to reach Thebes that evening^c ; he had been sent, he said, to give notice of this and to learn who would provide a house for their concealment when they slipped into the city, so that with this information they could proceed to it at once. In the midst of our hesitation and perplexity, Charon offered to provide his own house.^d The messenger, then, determined to rejoin the exiles with all speed.

3. Grasping my hand firmly, with his eyes on Charon, who was going on before,^e Theocritus^f the soothsayer said: "This man, Caphisias, is no philosopher, nor has he, like your brother Epameinondas, had any schooling of a distinguished and exceptional kind ; yet you observe that he is naturally guided to noble conduct by the laws, and willingly assumes the gravest risks for his country's sake. Whereas

^c Cf. Nepos, *Pelopidas*, chap. ii. 5. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 3, sets the number at seven.

^d Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vii. 4 (281 B).

^e We are not told where the messenger found the conspirators ; no doubt it was at Charon's house, as Charon alone was known to him. At all events the conspirators now leave and meet Archias and his party on the way ; they then proceed to Simmias' house. Cf. G. M. Lattanzi, *Il "De genio Socratis" di Plutarco*, p. 19 note 4.

^f Mentioned in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xxii. 3 (289 c).

(576) ἀπάντων τῷ πεπαιδεῦσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀξιῶν διαφέρειν, ἀμβλύς ἐστι καὶ ἀπρόθυμος . . . τοῦτον ἢ τινα¹ βελτίονα καιρὸν αὐτῷ² πεφυκότι καὶ παρεσκευασμένῳ καλῶς οὕτω χρησόμενος.”

F Κὰ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν, “ὦ προθυμότατε,” εἶπον, “Θεόκριτε, τὰ δεδογμένα πράττομεν ἡμεῖς· Ἐπαμεινώνδας δέ, μὴ πείθων, ὡς οἴεται βέλτιον εἶναι, ταῦτα μὴ πράσσειν, εἰκότως ἀντιτείνει πρὸς ἃ μὴ πέφυκε μηδὲ δοκιμάζει παρακαλούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἰατρὸν ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς ὑπισχνούμενον τὸ νόσημα παύσειν εὐγνωμονοίης ἄν, οἶμαι, τέμνειν ἢ ἀποκαίειν βιαζόμενος τὸ νοσοῦν.” ἐκείνου δ’ ὁμολογήσαντος,³ “οὐκοῦν καὶ οὗτος,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “αὐτὸς μὲν⁴ δήπου μηδένα⁵ τῶν πολιτῶν φησιν ἄνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἀποκτενεῖν⁶ ἄκριτον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἵματος ἄτερ⁷ ἐμφυλίου καὶ σφαγῆς τὴν πόλιν ἔλευθεροῦσι συναγωνιεῖσθαι προθύμως. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐ πείθει τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλὰ ταύτην ὠρμήκαμεν τὴν ὁδόν, ἔαν αὐτὸν κελεύει, φόνου καθαρὸν ὄντα 577 καὶ ἀναίτιον, ἐφεστάναι τοῖς καιροῖς, μετὰ τοῦ

¹ There is here a lacuna of 60-56 letters followed by τοῦτον ἢ τινα. Emperius reads τοσοῦτον ἀγῶνα τίνα; van Herwerden ἐν τῷ παρόντι βοηθεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Θηβῶν κινδυνεύουσιν, ὡς λαβῶν τούτου δή τινα; Bern. βοηθεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κινδυνεύουσιν, ὡς εἰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦτον παρὰ τίνα; Holwerda ὡς πρὸς τούτου δή τινα; Wyttenbach εἰ μὴ εἰς τοῦτον, εἰς τίνα.

² αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ Pohlenz.

³ τὸ σῶμα (νοσοῦν nos). ἐκείνου δ’ ὁμολογήσαντος Bern., to fill a lacuna of 40-32 letters; τὸ πεπονθός Wyttenbach.

⁴ ἔφην ἐγώ, αὐτὸς μὲν Bern., to fill a lacuna of 20-19 letters; λόγῳ καὶ πειθοῖ ταῦτα διαπράττεσθαι διανοούμενος, καὶ δοκιμάζω Wyttenbach; συγγνώμης ἄξιος Pohlenz.

⁵ μηδένα Wyttenbach: μηδὲ διὰ.

Epameinondas, who feels that by reason of his schooling he is superior in virtue to all other Boeotians, is not keen or eager ^a to help the men who are braving danger for their country. Yet what better occasion can he desire than this for putting himself to use, splendidly equipped as he is by nature and training ? ”

I replied : “ We, my eager friend, are carrying out our own decisions, whereas Epameinondas has been unsuccessful in his endeavour to persuade us to drop them, as he believes would be for the best. It is hardly surprising, then, that he refuses our invitation to proceedings that run counter to his nature and his judgement. Suppose a physician promised to cure a disease without recourse to the knife or cautery : here too it would be unreasonable of you, I think, to compel him to cut or sear the diseased member.” Theocritus admitted this was true, and I pursued : “ And is not Epameinondas in the same case ? He asserts, does he not ? that unless driven to it by extreme necessity, he will put no countryman to death untried, but will gladly join forces with all who endeavour without resorting to civil bloodshed and slaughter to set our city free.^b But since the majority are against him, and we are already engaged in this course, he would have us allow him to await the favourable moment for intervention, remaining innocent and guiltless of bloodshed. Thus interest

^a There is a long lacuna in the text here ; we translate a conjectural supplement.

^b In the Greek text rendered by these three sentences are three considerable lacunas. The translation is conjectural.

⁶ φησιν ἄνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἀποκτενεῖν Bern., to fill a lacuna of 51-39 letters.

⁷ καὶ αἵματος ἄτερ (or καὶ χωρὶς αἵματος) nos (καὶ τοῖς δίχ' αἵματος or δίχ' αἵματος Post) : καὶ αἵματος.

(577) δικαίου καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι προσοισόμενον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄρον ἔξειν¹ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ Φερένικον μὲν ἴσως καὶ Πελοπίδαν ἐπὶ τοὺς αἰτίους μάλιστα τρέψεσθαι καὶ πονηροὺς, Εὐμολπίδαν δὲ καὶ Σαμίδαν,² ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους πρὸς ὀργὴν καὶ θυμοειδεῖς, ἐν νυκτὶ λαβόντας ἔξουσίαν οὐκ ἀποθήσασθαι τὰ ξίφη πρὶν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πόλιν ὄλην φόνων καὶ διαφθεῖραι πολλοὺς τῶν ἰδία διαφόρων ὄντων."³

4. Ταῦτά μου διαλεγόμενου πρὸς τὸν Θεόκριτον διακρούων⁴ ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος⁵ ἐγγὺς Ἀρχίαν ἠγγειλεν⁶ καὶ Λυσανορίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας ὡςπερ εἰς ταῦτὸν ἡμῖν σπεύδοντας. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν ἐπέσχομεν· ὁ δ' Ἀρχίας καλέσας τὸν Θεόκριτον καὶ τῷ Λυσανορίδᾳ προσαγαγὼν ἰδία λαλεῖ⁷ πολὺν χρόνον ἐκνεύσας ἐκ⁸ τῆς ὁδοῦ μικρὸν ὑπὸ τὸ Ἄμφιον, ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγωνιᾶν μὴ τις ὑπόνοια προσπέπτωκεν ἢ μήνυσις αὐτοῖς, περὶ ἧς ἀνακρίνουσι τὸν Θεόκριτον.

Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Φυλλίδας, ὃν οἴσθας,⁹ ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, τότε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν πολεμαρχοῦσι γραμματεῶν,¹⁰ συνειδὼς τοὺς φυγάδας μέλλοντας¹¹ ἦξειν καὶ τῆς πράξεως μετέχων, λαβόμενός μου

¹ ἔξειν Xylander : ἔξει.

² Σαμίδαν Reiske : σαμιάδαν.

³ διαφόρων ὄντων Cobet : διαφερόντων.

⁴ διακρούων nos (διέκρουσεν or διέκρουεν Bern.) : διακούων.

⁵ Γαλαξίδωρος Salmasius : ἀναξίδωρος.

⁶ Ἀρχίαν ἠγγειλεν nos (γὰρ Ἀρχίαν ἑώρα Bern. ; γὰρ Ἀρχίαν ἔδειξε Wilamowitz) : γὰρ followed by a lacuna of 15-16 letters. ⁷ λαλεῖ] διελάλει Wilamowitz.

⁸ ἐκ nos, to fill a lacuna of 2 letters in E : B omits, leaving no lacuna. ⁹ οἴσθας] οἴσθα Ald.².

¹⁰ γραμματεῶν] γραμματεύοντα Wilamowitz.

as well as justice will be served. For, he contends, no distinction will be drawn in the actual fighting; Pherenicus perhaps and Pelopidas will turn their arms against those most deep in guilt and crime, but Eumolpidas and Samidas,^a men white-hot in anger and passionate in temper, once they get a free hand in the night, will not lay their swords aside until they have filled the entire city with slaughter and destroyed many of their personal enemies.”

4. As I was thus conversing with Theocritus Galaxidorus^b interrupted us to announce that Archias and Lysanoridas the Spartan were close at hand, hastening from the Cadmeia as if bent on meeting us. We, then, broke off; and Archias, summoning Theocritus and taking him to Lysanoridas, talked privately for a long time, withdrawing a short distance from the street to the foot of the Amphion,^c so that we were in an agony of fear that some suspicion or intelligence had reached them and they were interrogating Theocritus about it.

Meanwhile Phyllidas^d—you know the man, Arche-damus—at that time secretary to Archias and the other polemarchs,^e who was in the secret of the exiles’ intended return and one of the conspiracy, took my

^a The correct form is possibly Samiadas.

^b Mentioned in Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 5. 1.

^c The Amphion or Ampheion was taken by Plutarch to be a hill in the neighbourhood of the Cadmeia: *cf.* F. Schober in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* “Thebai” (vol. v. A, col. 1446. 34-62).

^d *Cf.* *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vii. 4 (281 B); Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 2.

^e There were probably three polemarchs. The names of two, Archias and Philippus, are known.

¹¹ *συνειδῶς τοὺς φυγάδας μέλλοντας* Wilamowitz (*συνειδῶς* Schadewaldt) to fill a lacuna of 23-19 letters.

(577) τῆς χειρὸς ὡσπερ εἰώθει φανερώς ἔσκωπεν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν πάλην, εἶτα, πόρρω τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγαγών, ἐπυνθάνετο περὶ τῶν φυγάδων εἰ τὴν C ἡμέραν φυλάττουσιν. ἐμοῦ δὲ φήσαντος, “ οὐκοῦν,” εἶπεν, “ ὀρθῶς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑποδοχὴν παρεσκεύακα σήμερον ὡς δεξόμενος Ἀρχίαν καὶ παρέξων ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐχείρωτον.”

“ Ἀριστα μὲν οὖν,” εἶπον, “ ὦ Φυλλίδα, καὶ πειράθῃτι πάντα ἢ¹ πλείους εἰς ταῦτὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συναγαγεῖν.”

“ Ἄλλ’ οὐ ράδιον,” ἔφη, “ μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον· ὁ γὰρ Ἀρχίας ἐλπίζων τινὰ τῶν ἐν ἀξιώματι γυναικῶν ἀφίξεσθαι τηνικαῦτα πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ βούλεται παρεῖναι τὸν Λεοντιάδην. ὡσθ’ ὑμῖν² δίχα διαιρετέον αὐτοὺς³ ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας· Ἀρχίου γὰρ D ἅμα καὶ Λεοντιάδου προκαταληφθέντων οἶμαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκποδῶν ἔσσεσθαι φεύγοντας ἢ μενεῖν⁴ μεθ’ ἡσυχίας, ἀγαπῶντας ἂν τις διδῶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.”

“ Οὕτως,” ἔφη, “ ποιήσομεν. ἀλλὰ τί πρᾶγμα τούτοις πρὸς Θεόκριτόν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ οὗ διαλέγονται;”

Καὶ ὁ Φυλλίδας, “ οὐ σαφῶς,” εἶπεν, “ ἔχω λέγειν⁵ οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπιστάμενος, ἤκουον δὲ σημεῖα καὶ μαντεύματα δυσχερῆ καὶ χαλεπὰ προτεθεσπίσθαι⁶ τῇ Σπάρτῃ.”

. . . ? Φειδόλαος ὁ Ἀλιάρτιος⁸ ἀπαντήσας, “ μι-

¹ ἢ] ἢ τοὺς γε Wilamowitz.

² ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν B.

³ αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς B.

⁴ μενεῖν Stephanus : μένειν.

⁵ ἔχω λέγειν added by Pohlenz (ἔχω εἰπεῖν Wytttenbach).

⁶ προτεθεσπίσθαι Emperius : προστίθεσθαι.

⁷ There is a lacuna in the mss. here of 99-81 letters; Amyot supplies ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανελθόντος.

⁸ Ἀλιάρτιος Amyot : τίος.

hand and made a show of twitting me in his usual fashion about my fondness for exercise and wrestling; then, when he had drawn me aside from the rest, he asked if the exiles were keeping to the appointed day. When I answered that they were, he said: "I did well, then, to prepare for to-day the entertainment in which I am to receive Archias into my house and make him an easy prey for our men at a drunken banquet."

"Well done indeed, Phyllidas," I answered; "and endeavour to bring all or most of our enemies together."

"That is no easy matter," he said; "or rather it is impossible, as Archias, who expects a visit at that very time from a certain lady of rank, does not desire Leontiades to be present. You must therefore split forces and take the houses separately; for with Archias and Leontiades both disposed of I imagine the rest will take to flight and be out of the way, or make no trouble if they remain, only too glad to be offered safety."

"That we will do," I said. "But what business have these men with Theocritus that they are talking about?"

Phyllidas answered: "I cannot tell you definitely and do not speak from knowledge, but I have heard that disquieting and ominous portents and prophecies bode ill for Sparta."

Meantime Theocritus rejoined us and we proceeded to Simmias' house, where ^a we were met by Pheidolaüs ^b of Haliartus. "Simmias," he said, "asks you

^a The words "Meantime . . . where" are a guess at the sense of words that have been lost in a long lacuna.

^b Otherwise unknown.

(577) κρόν," εἶπεν, " ὑμᾶς ἐνταῦθα περιμεῖναι¹ παρακαλεῖ² Σιμμίας· ἐντυγχάνει γὰρ ἰδίᾳ Λεοντιάδῃ³ περὶ Ἀμφιθέου, παραιτούμενος μείναι τὸ⁴ δια-
 E πράξασθαι φυγὴν ἀγτὶ θανάτου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ."

5. Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, " εἰς καιρόν," ἔφη, " καὶ ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες· καὶ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην πυθέσθαι τίνα ἦν τὰ εὐρεθέντα καὶ τίς ὄλως ἢ ὄψις τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης τάφου παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνοιχθέντος, εἰ δὴ⁵ παρεγένου καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτε πέμψας Ἀγησίλαος εἰς Σπάρτην τὰ λείψανα μετεκόμιζε."

Καὶ ὁ Φειδόλαος, " οὐ γάρ," ἔφη, " παρέτυχον, καὶ πολλὰ δυσανασχετῶν καὶ ἀγανακτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐγκατελείφθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν. εὐρέθη δ' οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ μνήματι πλὴν λίθου λείψανον οὐδὲν τοῦ⁶
 F σώματος, ψέλλιον δέ⁷ χαλκοῦν οὐ μέγα καὶ δύο ἀμφορεῖς κεραμεοῖ⁸ γῆν ἔχοντες ἐντὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου λελιθωμένην ἤδη καὶ συμπεπηγυῖαν, ἔμπροσθεν δέ⁹ τοῦ μνήματος ἔκειτο¹⁰ πίναξ χαλκοῦς¹¹ ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαυμαστὰ¹² ὡς παμπάλαια· γινῶναι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν¹³ οὐδὲν¹⁴ παρέιχε καίπερ ἐκφανέντα τοῦ χαλκοῦ καταπλυθέντος, ἀλλ' ἴδιός τις ὁ τύπος

¹ περιμεῖναι Leonicus (κελεύει περιμεῖναι Reiske): περιμεῖναισι.

² παρακαλεῖ added by Klaffenbach.

³ ἰδίᾳ Λεοντίδῃ Reiske: διὰ λεοντίδην.

⁴ μείναι τὸ] αὐτὸν Sieveking; ἐνεῖναι τὸ Post.

⁵ εἰ δὴ Leonicus: ἤδη.

⁶ ἐν μὲν through τοῦ our supplement of a lacuna of 37-33 letters; λείψανον μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ or πλὴν ἢ λίθος λείψανον οὐδὲν τοῦ Castiglioni; λίθος ἀντὶ τοῦ Wilamowitz.

⁷ δέ] τε Emperius.

⁸ ἀμφορεῖς κεραμεοῖ Bern.: ἀμφορέες κεράμειοι.

⁹ ἔμπροσθεν δέ nos (ἐπάνω δέ Bern.), to fill a lacuna of 15-14 letters.

to await him here a moment; he is conferring in private with Leontiades about Amphitheüs,^a entreating him to wait until he can arrange for a sentence of banishment instead of death."

5. "You come most opportunely and as if by design," said Theocritus. "I had been desiring to hear what objects were found and what was the general appearance of Alcmena's tomb when it was opened up in your country—that is, if you were present when the remains were removed to Sparta on orders received from Agesilaüs."^b

"I was not present," Pheidolaüs replied; "and although I expressed to my countrymen my strong indignation and exasperation at the outrage, they left me helpless. Be that as it may, in the tomb itself no remains were found, but only a stone,^c together with a bronze bracelet of no great size and two pottery urns containing earth which had by then, through the passage of time, become a petrified and solid mass. Before the tomb, however, lay a bronze tablet with a long inscription of such amazing antiquity that nothing could be made of it, although it came out clear when the bronze was washed; but

^a A leader of the anti-Spartan party, now in prison: *cf.* 598 B, *infra*.

^b This act is elsewhere unrecorded.

^c For the disappearance of Alcmena's body at her burial and the substitution for it of a stone *cf.* *Life of Romulus*, chap. xxviii. 7 (35 E); Pherecydes, Frag. 84 (ed. Jacoby); and Pausanias, ix. 16. 7.

¹⁰ ἔκειτο Reiske, to fill a lacuna of 9-8 letters.

¹¹ χαλκοῦς Bern.: χάλκεος.

¹² θαυμαστά] θαυμαστόν Bern.

¹³ αὐτῶν Sieveking: αὐτῶν.

¹⁴ οὐδὲν Leonicus: οὐδέ.

(577) καὶ βαρβαρικὸς τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐμφερέστατος Αἰγυπτίοις· διὸ καὶ Ἀγησίλαος, ὡς ἔφασαν, ἐξέπεμψεν ἀντίγραφα¹ τῷ βασιλεῖ δεόμενος δεῖξαι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰ ξυνήσουσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ τούτων μὲν ἴσως ἂν ἔχοι τι καὶ Σιμμίας ἡμῖν ἀπαγγεῖλαι, 578 κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολλὰ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διὰ φιλοσοφίαν συγγενόμενος. Ἀλιάρτιοι δὲ τὴν μεγάλην ἀφορίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπίβασιν τῆς λίμνης οὐκ ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου² γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ μήνιμα τοῦ τάφου τοῦτο περιελθεῖν ἀνασχομένους ὀρυττόμενον."

Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, μικρὸν διαλιπὼν, "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ αὐτοῖς," ἔφη, "Λακεδαιμονίοις ἀμήνιτον ἔοικεν εἶναι τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς προδείκνυσι τὰ σημεῖα περὶ ὧν ἄρτι Λυσανορίδας ἡμῖν ἐκοινοῦτο· καὶ νῦν μὲν ἄπεισιν εἰς Ἀλιάρτον ἐπιχώσων αὐθις τὸ σῆμα B καὶ χοὰς ποιησόμενος Ἀλκμήνη καὶ Ἀλέω³ κατὰ δὴ τινα χρησμόν, ἀγνοῶν τὸν⁴ Ἄλεον ὅστις ἦν· ἐπανελθὼν δὲ ἐκεῖθεν οἴός ἐστι τὸν Δίρκης ἀναζητεῖν τάφον, ἀγνωστον ὄντα τοῖς Θηβαίοις πλὴν τῶν ἱππαρχηκότων. ὁ γὰρ ἀπαλλαττόμενος τὸν παραλαμβάνοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν μόνος ἄγων μόνον ἔδειξε

¹ ἀντίγραφα Reiske : ἀντιγραφὰς.

² ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου B : ἀπαντομάτου E.

³ Ἀλέω Dübner : ἄλεον.

⁴ τὸν B : τὸ E.

^a The king of Egypt is meant, doubtless Nektanebis, whose reign began about 380 (*cf.* M. Pieper in Pauly-Wissowa, xvi, col. 2234 ; Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, pp. 123 f.). On 390

the characters had a peculiar and foreign conformation, greatly resembling that of Egyptian writing. Agesilaüs accordingly, it was said, dispatched copies to the king,^a with the request to submit them to the priests for possible interpretation. But about these matters Simmias might perhaps have something to tell us, as at that time he saw a good deal of the priests in Egypt in the pursuit of his philosophical inquiries. At Haliartus the great failure of crops and encroachment of the lake^b are held to have been no mere accident, but a judgement on us for having allowed the excavation of the tomb."

After a short pause Theocritus replied: "No more do the Lacedaemonians themselves appear to have escaped the wrath of heaven, as is evinced by the portents about which Lysanoridas was consulting me just now; indeed he is now leaving for Haliartus to close up the tomb and pour libations to Alcmena and Aleüs,^c in obedience to some oracle—though quite in the dark as to who this Aleüs was—; and on his return he intends to search out the tomb of Dircê, which is unknown to any Theban who has not served as hipparch. For the retiring hipparch takes his successor and shows him the tomb in private and

his visit to Egypt Eudoxus carried a letter of introduction from Agesilaüs to Nektanebis (*cf.* Diogenes Laert. viii. 87).

^b These events are not recorded elsewhere. In modern times the Copaic lake reached its greatest height in February or March (*cf.* J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, v, p. 112). This would be at the latest in the opening months of 379, as the Cadmeia was freed in the December of that year.

^c The people of Haliartus identified Aleüs with Rhadamantys, whom Alcmena married after Amphitryon's death; *cf.* *Life of Lysander*, chap. xxviii. 8 (499 D).

(578) νύκτωρ, καί τινας¹ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δράσαντες ἀπύρους² ἱερουργίας, ὧν τὰ σημεῖα συγγέουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσιν, ὑπὸ σκοτός ἀπέρχονται χωρισθέντες. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ³ μὲν, ᾧ Φειδόλαε, σπουδάζειν οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἐπαινῶ, τὸν δὲ τοῦ τάφου τόπον οὐκ εὐκόλως⁴ ἐξευρήσειν αὐτοὺς νομίζω· φεύγουσι γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἱππαρχηκότων νομίμως, μᾶλλον δὲ πάντες πλην Γοργίδου καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειαν ἐκπυθάνεσθαι, δεδιότες τοὺς ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄρχοντες ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὐκ⁵ εἰδότες οὐδὲν οὔτε περὶ τῶν δρωμένων οὔτε τοῦ τάφου."⁶

6. Ταῦτα τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος ὁ Λεοντιάδης ἐξήκει μετὰ τῶν φίλων, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσελθόντες ἠσπαζόμεθα τὸν Συμμίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης καθεζόμενον οὐ κατατετευχότα τῆς δεήσεως, οἶμαι, μάλα σύννου καὶ διαλελυπημένον· ἀποβλέψας δὲ πρὸς ἅπαντας D ἡμᾶς, “ ᾧ Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπεν, “ ἀγρίων καὶ βαρβάρων ἠθῶν· εἶτα οὐχ ὑπέρευ Θαλῆς ὁ παλαιός, ἀπὸ ξένης ἐλθὼν διὰ χρόνου, τῶν φίλων ἐρωτῶντων ὅ τι καινότατον ἱστορήκοι, ‘ τύραννον,’ ἔφη, ‘ γέροντα ’; καὶ γὰρ ᾧ μηδὲν ἰδία συμβέβηκεν ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ βάρος αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σκληρότητα

¹ τινας Ald.²: τινες.

² ἀπύρους Leonicus: ἀπίρους.

³ τὸ nos (τὸ μνημα Bern.; τοῦτο Pohlenz): τ followed by a lacuna of a single letter.

⁴ ἐπαινῶ τὸ οὕτω σπουδάζειν περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν (we read σπουδάζειν οὕτω περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἐπαινῶ), τὸν δὲ τοῦ τάφου

at night ; and upon performing certain rites there in which no fire is used, they rub out and destroy all trace of them and return their separate ways in the darkness. Now I commend our opponents' zeal, Pheidolaüs, for the performance of the rites, but they will not, I think, find it easy to discover the place of the tomb, as most of those who have legally held the office of hipparch are in exile, or rather all of them except Gorgidas and Platon^a—and from these they would not even attempt to secure the information, so greatly do they fear them—whereas the present magistrates on the Cadmeia take over the spear and the seal in utter ignorance of both the ritual and the tomb."

6. While Theocritus spoke Leontiades and his friends left. We entered and greeted Simmias, who was sitting up on his couch, very downcast and distressed, doubtless because his petition had failed. Looking up at all of us, he exclaimed : " Good God ! What cruel and barbarous natures ! Was that not a most excellent answer of Thales of old, when asked by his friends on his return from a long absence abroad for the greatest curiosity he had discovered : ' a tyrant in old age ' ?^b For even if a man happens to have endured no personal injury, yet his disgust at the offensive and brutal society of such men is in

^a Gorgidas was boeotarch in 379 and founded the Sacred Band ; Platon is otherwise unknown.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 147 B, *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, 321 e (ed. Sternbach) and Philodemus, *On Death*, xxxviii. 29-31.

τόπον οὐκ εὐκόλως Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 140-114 letters followed by καλῶς.

⁵ οὐκ Wilamowitz : οὔτε.

⁶ περὶ τῶν δρωμένων οὔτε περὶ τοῦ τάφου Wilamowitz (we omit the second *περὶ*), to fill a lacuna of 26-20 letters.

(578) τῆς ὀμιλίας δυσχεραίνων ἐχθρός ἐστι τῶν ἀνόμων καὶ ἀνυπευθύνων δυνασκειῶν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἴσως θεῷ μελήσει· τὸν δὲ ξένον ἴστε τὸν ἀφιγμένον, ὦ Καφισία, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅστις ἐστίν;”

“ Οὐκ οἶδα,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ τίνα λέγεις.”

“ Καὶ μὴν,” ἔφη, “ Λεοντιάδης φησὶν¹ ἄνθρωπον ὠφθαί παρὰ τὸ Λύσιδος μνημεῖον ἐκ νυκτῶν
 Ε ἀνιστάμενον, ἀκολουθίας πλήθει καὶ κατασκευῇ σοβαρόν, αὐτόθι κατηυλισμένον ἐπὶ στιβάδων· φαίνεσθαι γὰρ ἄγνου καὶ μυρικής χαμεύνας ἔτι δ’ ἐμπύρων λείψανα καὶ χοὰς γάλακτος· ἔωθεν δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν ἀπαντώντων εἰ τοὺς Πολύμνιος παῖδας ἐνδημοῦντας εὐρήσει.”

“ Καὶ τίς ἄν,” εἶπον, “ ὁ ξένος εἶη; περιπτῶ γὰρ ἀφ’ ὧν λέγεις τινὶ καὶ οὐκ ἰδιώτῃ προσέοικεν.”

7. “ Οὐ γὰρ οὖν,” εἶπεν ὁ Φειδόλαος· “ ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν, ὅταν ἦκη πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δεξόμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀρτίως ἠποροῦμεν, ὦ Σιμμία, γραμμάτων, εἴ τι γινώσκεις πλείον, ἐξάγγελον ἡμῖν·
 F λέγονται γὰρ οἱ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ἱερεῖς² τὰ γράμματα συμβαλεῖν τοῦ πίνακος ἃ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἔλαβεν Ἀγησίλαος τὸν Ἀλκμήνης τάφον ἀνασκευασάμενος.”

Καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας εὐθὺς ἀναμνησθεὶς, “ οὐκ οἶδα,” ἔφη, “ τὸν πίνακα τοῦτον, ὦ Φειδόλαε, γράμματα δὲ πολλὰ παρὰ Ἀγησιλάου κομίζων Ἀγητορίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἦκεν εἰς Μέμφιν ὡς Χόνουφιν τὸν

itself enough to make him an enemy to lawless and irresponsible domination. But these matters Heaven will perhaps attend to. Does your family, Caphisias, know who the stranger is that has come to see them?"

"I do not know whom you mean," I replied.

"Yet Leontiades," said he, "asserts that a man making an imposing figure with a numerous and splendid retinue has been seen breaking camp before dawn at the tomb of Lysis, where he had lodged on rude beds, couches of chaste tree and tamarisk being found there—and traces of burnt offerings and libations of milk as well—; and that this morning he had asked passers-by whether he should find the sons of Polymnis in town."

"Who indeed could the stranger be?" I said. "From your description he seems to be of some consequence and not a private person."

7. "He does indeed," said Pheidolaüs; "and we shall make him welcome when he comes. But at present, Simmias, to return to the inscription we were wondering about just now, give us what further information you may have; for it is said that the priests in Egypt were able to read the inscription which was written on the tablet and which Agesilaüs took from us at Haliartus when he dismantled Alcmena's tomb."

Simmias at once recollected: "Of your tablet, Pheidolaüs, I know nothing. But Agetoridas^a the Spartan came to Memphis with a long document from Agesilaüs for the spokesman of the god, Chonuphis,^b

^a Otherwise unknown.

^b Chonuphis of Memphis taught Eudoxus: *cf. Mor.* 354 E and Clement, *Strom.* i. 15. 69. 1.

¹ φησὶν added by Amyot and Wytttenbach.

² ἰερείς Turnebus: ἰερέες.

- (578) προφήτην, ᾧ πολλὰ τότε¹ συμφιλοσοφοῦντες διειρ-
 βομεν ἐγὼ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἑλλοπίων ὁ Πεπαρή-
 θιος. ἦκε δὲ πέμψαντος βασιλέως καὶ κελεύσαντος
 τὸν Χόνουφιν εἶ τι συμβάλλοι τῶν γεγραμμένων
 ἐρμηνεύσαντα ταχέως ἀποστεῖλαι· πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ
 579 τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων τῶν παλαιῶν
 παντοδαποὺς χαρακτῆρας ἀντέγραψε τῷ βασιλεῖ
 καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφρασεν ὡς Μούσαις ἀγῶνα συν-
 τελεῖσθαι κελεύει² τὰ γράμματα, τοὺς δὲ τύπους
 εἶναι τῆς ἐπὶ Πρωτεῖ βασιλεύοντι γραμματικῆς,
 ἣν³ Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀμφιτρύωνος⁴ ἐκμαθεῖν, ὑφη-
 γεῖσθαι μέντοι καὶ παραινεῖν τοῖς Ἑλλησι διὰ τῶν
 γραμμάτων τὸν θεὸν ἄγειν σχολὴν καὶ εἰρήνην διὰ
 φιλοσοφίας ἀγωνιζομένους αἰεὶ, Μούσαις καὶ λόγῳ
 διακρινομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ὄπλα κατα-
 θέντας. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τότε λέγειν καλῶς ἡγούμεθα
 τὸν Χόνουφιν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὀπηνίκα κομιζομένους
 ἡμῖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου περὶ Καρίαν Δηλίων τινὲς
 Β ἀπήνητησαν δεόμενοι Πλάτωνος ὡς γεωμετρικοῦ
 λῦσαι χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ἄτοπον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προ-
 βεβλημένον. ἦν δ' ὁ⁵ χρησμὸς Δηλίοις καὶ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι παῦλαν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν
 ἔσεσθαι διπλασιάσασι⁶ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμόν. οὔτε

¹ ᾧ πολλὰ τότε Schwartz (παρ' ᾧπερ τότε van Herwerden ; παρ' ᾧ τότε Bern.) to fill a lacuna of 9-8 letters followed by ποτέ.

² συντελεῖσθαι κελεύει] κελεύει συντελεῖσθαι B.

³ ἣν added by Cobet.

⁴ Ἀμφιτρύωνος Stephanus : ἀμφιτρύωνος.

⁵ δ' ὁ van Herwerden : δέ.

⁶ διπλασιάσασι B : διπλασίασι E.

with whom Plato, Ellopion^a of Peparethos and I had many philosophical discussions in those days. He brought orders from the king that Chonuphis should translate the writing, if he could make anything of it, and send the translation to him at once. Chonuphis shut himself up for three days, conning scripts of all kinds in the ancient books, and then wrote his answer to the king, of which he also informed us. The document, he said, ordered the celebration of a contest in honour of the Muses; the characters had the forms of the script current in the time of King Proteus, which Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, had learned; and the god was using the inscription to instruct and urge the Greeks to live in the enjoyment of leisure and peace by always taking philosophy as their field of contention, laying their arms aside and settling their disputes about right and wrong by an appeal to the Muses and discussion. As for ourselves, we felt at the time that Chonuphis was right; we felt so yet more when on our return from Egypt a party of Delians met us in Caria and requested Plato, as a geometer, to solve a problem set them by the god in a strange oracle. The oracle was to this effect: the present troubles of the Delians and the rest of the Greeks would be at an end when they had doubled the altar at Delos.^b As

^a Otherwise unknown.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 386 E. For the "Delian problem," that of constructing a cube with twice the volume of a given cube, cf. Theon of Smyrna, p. 2 (ed. Hiller). Cf. also *Mor.* 718 E-F; E. Hiller, *Eratosthenis Carminum Rel.* pp. 122-137; M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Gesch. d. Math.*³, vol. i, pp. 211, 226-234; Sir T. Heath, *A Hist. of Greek Math.* vol. i, pp. 244-270; I. Thomas, *Selections Illustrating the Hist. of Greek Math.* vol. i, pp. 256-308 (in the L.C.L.).

(579) δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκείνοι συμβάλλειν δυνάμενοι καὶ περὶ τὴν τοῦ βωμοῦ κατασκευὴν γελοῖα πάσχοντες (ἐκάστης γὰρ τῶν τεσσάρων πλευρῶν διπλασιαζομένης ἔλαθον τῇ αὐξήσει τόπον στερεὸν ὄκταπλάσιον ἀπεργασάμενοι δι' ἀπειρίαν ἀναλογίας ἢ C τὸ¹ μήκει διπλάσιον παρέχεται) Πλάτωνα τῆς ἀπορίας ἐπεκαλοῦντο βοηθόν. ὁ δέ, τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μνησθεὶς, προσπαίξειν ἔφη τὸν θεὸν Ἑλλῆσιν ὀλιγωροῦσι παιδεῖας, οἷον ἐφυβρίζοντα τὴν ἀμαθίαν ἡμῶν καὶ κελεύοντα γεωμετρίας ἄπτεσθαι μὴ παρέργως· οὐ γάρ τοι² φαύλης οὐδ' ἀμβλὺ διανοίας ὀρώσης, ἄκρως δὲ τὰς γραμμὰς ἡσκημένης, ἔργον εἶναι καὶ³ δυοῖν μέσων⁴ ἀνάλογον λῆψιν, ἣ ἴσως μόνῃ διπλασιάζεται σχῆμα κυβικοῦ σώματος ἐκ πάσης ὁμοίως αὐξόμενον διαστάσεως. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Εὐδοξὸν αὐτοῖς τὸν Κνίδιον ἢ τὸν Κυζικηνὸν Ἑλίκωνα⁵ συντελέσειν· μὴ τοῦτο δ' οἶεσθαι⁶ χρῆναι D ποθεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ προστάσειν Ἑλλῆσι πᾶσι, πολέμου καὶ κακῶν μεθεμένους, Μούσαις ὁμιλεῖν καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ μαθημάτων τὰ πάθη καταπραΰνοντας, ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ὠφελίμως ἀλλήλοις συμφέρεσθαι.”

8. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Σιμμίου λέγοντος ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν Πόλυμνις⁷ ἐπεισηῆθε καὶ καθίσας παρὰ τὸν Σιμμίαν, “Ἐπαμεινώνδας,” ἔφη, “καὶ σὲ καὶ

¹ ἢ τὸ nos (ἦν τὸ Hartman) : ἢ τῶ.

² τοι| τι E.

³ καὶ| Wyttenbach deletes ; τὴν Holwerda.

⁴ μέσων Leonicus : μέσον.

⁵ Ἑλίκωνα Bern. : ἐλικῶνα.

⁶ δ' οἶεσθαι Reiske : δεῖσθαι.

⁷ Πόλυμνις Kontos and Hatzidakis : πολύμνις and so *passim* (πολυμνίας 585 D ; cf. ὦ πολύμμι E and B¹ (?) in 585 B, and E in 583 B, *infra*).

they not only were unable to penetrate its meaning, but failed absurdly in constructing the altar (for upon doubling all four sides they discovered to their surprise that in their ignorance of the progression from which the linear double ^a is obtained they had produced by this increase a solid eight times as large), they called on Plato for help in their difficulty. Plato, recalling the Egyptian, replied that the god was rallying the Greeks for their neglect of education, deriding, as it were, our ignorance and bidding us engage in no perfunctory study of geometry ; for no ordinary or near-sighted intelligence, but one well versed in the subject, was required to find *two* mean proportionals, that being the only way in which a body cubical in shape can be doubled with a similar increment in all dimensions. This would be done for them by Eudoxus of Cnidus or Helicon ^b of Cyzicus ; they were not, however, to suppose that it was this the god desired, but rather that he was ordering the entire Greek nation to give up war and its miseries and cultivate the Muses, and by calming their passions through the practice of discussion and study of mathematics, so to live with one another that their intercourse should be not injurious, but profitable."

8. While Simmias was speaking my father Polymnis entered. Sitting down beside Simmias he said : " Epameinondas entreats you and the whole com-

^a The progression is $a : x :: x : y :: y : 2a$, where a is the volume of the given cube, $2a$ that of its double ; x then is the cube root of $2a$, and the three ratios are each equal to

the ratio $1 : \sqrt[3]{2}$. The square root of 2 was called " double in power " of 1 ; and a similar expression was doubtless used for the cube root of 2. The " linear " double of 1 is 2.

^b Helicon is mentioned in the *Life of Dion*, chap. xix. 6 (966 A).

(579) τούτους παρακαλεῖ πάντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἀσχολία μείζων, ἐνταῦθα περιμεῖναι, βουλόμενος ὑμῖν γνωρίσαι τὸν ξένον, ἄνδρα γενναῖον μὲν αὐτὸν ὄντα,¹ μετὰ δέ² γενναίας καὶ καλῆς ἀφυγμένον τῆς προαιρέσεως ἀποστειλάντων³ ἐξ Ἰταλίας τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν. ἀφίκται δὲ Λύσιδι τῷ γέροντι χοὰς χέασθαι περὶ

Ε τὸν τάφον ἕκ τινων ἐνυπνίων ὡς φησι καὶ φασμάτων ἐναργῶν, συχνὸν δὲ κομίζων χρυσίον οἶεται δεῖν Ἐπαμεινώνδα τὰς Λύσιδος γηροτροφίας ἀποτίνειν καὶ προθυμότητός ἐστιν οὐ δεομένων οὐδὲ βουλομένων ἡμῶν τῇ πενία βοηθεῖν.”

Καὶ ὁ Συμμίας ἤσθεις πάνυ,⁴ “ θαυμαστόν γε λέγεις,” εἶπεν, “ ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἄξιον· ἀλλὰ τίς⁵ αἰτία δι’ ἣν οὐκ εὐθύς ἤκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς; ”

Ε “ Ἐκεῖνον,” ἔφη, “ νυκτερεύσαντα περὶ τὸν τάφον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸν Λύσιδος ἦγεν Ἐπαμεινώνδας πρὸς τὸν Ἰσμηνὸν⁶ ἀπολουσόμενον, εἶτ’ ἀφίξονται δεῦρο πρὸς ἡμᾶς· πρὶν δ’ ἐντυχεῖν ἡμῖν ἐνηυλίσατο τῷ τάφῳ διανοούμενος ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα τοῦ σώματος καὶ κομίζειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ τι νύκτωρ ὑπεναντιωθεῖη δαιμόνιον.” ὁ μὲν οὖν πατήρ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἐσιώπησεν.

9. Ὁ δὲ Γαλαξίδωρος, “ ὦ Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπεν, “ ὡς ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἄνδρα καθαρεύοντα τύφου καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν τούτων ἀλίσκονται δι’ ἀπειρίαν ἢ δι’ ἀσθένειαν, οἱ δέ, ὡς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ περιττοὶ τινες εἶναι δοκοῦεν, ἐπιθειάζουσι τὰς πράξεις, ὀνειράτα

¹ ὄντα Reiske to fill a lacuna of 9-5 letters.

pany, unless you have some pressing business, to await him here, as he wishes to acquaint you with the stranger, a man of generous spirit who has been sent on a generous and noble errand by the Pythagoreans in Italy. He comes to offer libations at the grave of the aged Lysis, in consequence, he says, of certain vivid dreams and apparitions; and he brings with him a large sum of gold, thinking it proper to repay Epameinondas for the support of Lysis in his old age. This he is very intent on doing, although we neither ask nor desire him to relieve our poverty."

Simmius exclaimed, in great delight, "An admirable man, and worthy of philosophy! But why does he not join us directly?"

"As he had, I believe, spent the night at Lysis' grave," my father replied, "Epameinondas was first taking him to the Hismenus to wash himself clean; they will then join us here. His motive in encamping at the tomb before meeting us was to take up the remains and remove them to Italy, unless some sign from heaven should appear in the night to forbid it." With this my father fell silent.

9. "Good God!" exclaimed Galaxidorus. "How hard it is to find a man untainted with humbug and superstition! Some, through no desire of their own, succumb to these disorders from ignorance or weakness, whereas others, to be reputed the favourites of heaven and above the common sort, invest their doings with a character of sanctity, hiding what

² δὲ added here by Turnebus; after *γενναίας* by Xylander.

³ ἀποστειλάντων Wilamowitz (*πεμφάντων* van Herwerden) to fill a lacuna of 8-10 letters.

⁴ ἡσθεῖς πάνυ,] ἡσθεῖς, Πάνυ Stephanus.

⁵ τίς] τίς ἢ B.

⁶ ἰσμηγόν Basle ed. of 1542: ἰσμηγίαν.

(579) καὶ φάσματα καὶ τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ὄγκον προ-
 580 ιστάμενοι τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἰόντων. ὁ πολιτικοῖς μὲν
 ἀνδράσι καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδη καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὄχλον
 ἠναγκασμένοις ζῆν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἴσως ἐστὶν ὡσπερ
 ἐκ χαλινῶν τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον
 ἀντεπισπάσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι τοὺς πολλούς· φιλο-
 σοφία¹ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἔοικεν ἀσχήμων ὁ τοιοῦτος
 εἶναι σχηματισμός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν
 ἐναντίος, ἥ,² πᾶν ἐπαγγειλαμένη λόγῳ τὰγαθὸν καὶ
 τὸ συμφέρον διδάσκειν, εἰς θεοὺς ἐπαναχωρεῖ τῆς
 τῶν πράξεων ἀρχῆς³ ὡς τοῦ λόγου καταφρονουῦσα,
 καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἣ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀτιμάσασα
 πρὸς μαντεύματα τρέπεται καὶ ὀνειράτων ὄψεις,
 B ἐν οἷς ὁ φαυλότατος οὐχ ἦττον τῷ κατατυγχάνειν
 πολλάκις φέρεται τοῦ κρατίστου. διὸ καὶ Σωκρά-
 τῆς ὁ ὑμέτερος, ὦ Σιμμία, δοκεῖ μοι φιλοσοφώτερον
 χαρακτῆρα παιδείας καὶ λόγου περιβαλέσθαι,⁴ τὸ
 ἀφελές τοῦτο καὶ ἄπλαστον ὡς ἐλευθέριον καὶ
 μάλιστα φίλον ἀληθείας ἐλόμενος, τὸν δὲ τύφον,
 ὡσπερ τινὰ καπνὸν φιλοσοφίας, εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς
 ἀποσκεδάσας.”

Ἰπολαβῶν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος, “ τί γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ
 Γαλαξίδωρε; καὶ σὲ Μέλητος πέπεικεν ὅτι Σω-
 κράτῆς ὑπερεώρα τὰ θεῖα; τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ
 C πρὸς Ἀθηναίους κατηγορήσεν.”

“ Οὐδαμῶς,” ἔφη, “ τὰ γε θεῖα· φασμάτων δὲ
 καὶ μύθων καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας ἀνάπλεω φιλοσοφίαν
 ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ

¹ φιλοσοφία Reiske : φιλοσοφίας.

² ἢ EB : εἰ margin of Hamburg Aldine.

³ ἐπαναχωρεῖ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς] ἐπαναχωρεῖ ταῖς . . . ἀρχαῖς
 Emperius; ἐπαναφέρει τὰς . . . ἀρχὰς οἱ ὑπαναχωρεῖ τῆς . . .
 ἀρχῆς Bern. ; ἐπαναχωρεῖ περὶ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς Post.

occurs to their intelligence behind a pretence of dreams and apparitions and the like mummery. For men engaged in public affairs and compelled to live at the caprice of a self-willed and licentious mob this may have its use—to treat the superstition of the populace as a bridle,^a and thereby pull them back to the profitable course and set them right; but for Philosophy such outward seeming appears not only unseemly but in open conflict with her claims. Professing to teach the whole of the good and the profitable by the sole use of reason, she nevertheless withdraws from the government of conduct to take refuge with the gods, as if holding reason in contempt, and scorning demonstration, where her chief excellence is supposed to lie, resorts to divination and the visions seen in dreams, wherein the least of men is often no less rewarded with success than the greatest. For this reason, Simmias, I think your friend Socrates embraced a manner of teaching and speaking that had more of the true philosophic stamp, choosing that simplicity and sincerity of his for its manliness and great affinity to truth; as for humbug, the mere vapour as it were of philosophy, he sent it flying to the sophists.”

“What is this, Galaxidorus?” Theocritus broke in. “Has Meletus convinced you too that Socrates had no use for things divine? That was the charge Meletus brought against him before the Athenians.”

“Things really divine,” he answered, “he by no means ignored; but he took philosophy, left by Pythagoras and his company a prey to phantoms,

^a Cf. *Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 12 (62 E).

⁴ περιβαλέσθαι Reiske : περιβάλλεσθαι.

(580) δὴ καὶ παρ¹ Ἐμπεδοκλέους δεξάμενος εἶ μάλα βεβακχευμένην εἶθισεν ὥσπερ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα πεπνύσθαι καὶ λόγῳ νήφοντι μετιέναι² τὴν ἀλήθειαν."

10. "Εἶεν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεόκριτος· "τὸ δὲ δαιμόνιον, ὦ βέλτιστε, τὸ Σωκράτους ψεῦδος ἢ τί φαμεν; ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτως μέγα τῶν περὶ Πυθαγόρου λεγομένων εἰς μαντικὴν ἔδοξε καὶ θεῖον· ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ οἶαν³ Ὀμηρος Ὀδυσσεῖ πεποίηκε τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἐν πάντεσσι πόνοισι παρισταμένην; τοιαύτην ἔοικε Σωκράτει τοῦ βίου προποδηγὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τινα συνάψαι τὸ δαιμόνιον ὄψιν, D ἢ ἢ μόνῃ οἶ⁴ πρόσθεν ἰούσα τίθει φάος ἐν πράγμασιν ἀδήλοισι καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσυλλογίστοις φρόνησιν, οἷς⁵ αὐτῷ συνεφθέγγετο πολλάκις τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐπιθειάζον ταῖς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσεσι. τὰ μὲν οὖν πλείονα καὶ μείζονα Σιμμίου χρῆ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐκπυθάνεσθαι Σωκράτους ἐταίρων· ἐμοῦ δὲ παρόντος, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύφρονα τὸν μάντιν ἤκον,⁶ ἔτυχε μὲν, ὦ Σιμμία, μέμνησαι γάρ, ἄνω πρὸς τὸ Σύμβολον Σωκράτης καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν Ἀνδοκίδου βαδίζων ἅμα τι διερωτῶν καὶ διασεῖων

¹ καὶ τῶν μετ' αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ δὴ καὶ παρ' our supplement of a lacuna of 39-29 letters.

² μετιέναι Dübner : μετεῖναι (i.e. μετῖναι).

³ οἶαν Bern. : οἶον.

⁴ οἶ Wilamowitz (γ' οἶ? Bern.) : τοι.

⁵ οἷς] ἐν οἷς Wyttenbach ; ὡς? Post.

⁶ ἤκον] ἤκομεν Reiske.

^a Cf. Homer, *Od.* x. 494 f. of Teiresias :

To him alone, though dead, Persephonè
Gave steadfast wit ; the rest are fleeting shades.

fables, and superstition, and by Empedocles in a wild state of exaltation, and trained her to face reality with steadfast understanding,^a as it were, and to rely on sober reason in the pursuit of truth."

10. "Very well," said Theocritus; "but what, my dear sir, do we call Socrates' sign?^b An imposture? For my part, nothing reported of Pythagoras' skill in divination has struck me as so great or so divine; for exactly as Homer^c has represented Athena as 'standing at' Odysseus' 'side in all his labours,' so Heaven seems to have attached to Socrates from his earliest years as his guide in life a vision of this kind, which alone

Showed him the way, illumining his path^d

in matters dark and inscrutable to human wisdom, through the frequent concordance of the sign with his own decisions, to which it lent a divine sanction. For further and greater instances you must ask Simmias and Socrates' other friends; but I was myself present (I had come to visit Euthyphron the soothsayer) when Socrates—you recall the incident, Simmias—happened to be making the ascent toward the Symbolon^e and the house of Andocides,^f putting some question to Euthyphron the while and sounding

^b *Daimonion*, here rendered "sign" or "sign from Heaven," is literally "the divine thing" or (pressing the etymology) "the daemonic thing."

^c *Od.* xiii. 301 (*cf.* *Il.* x. 279); *cf.* also Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis*, 165 ff.

^d Homer, *Il.* xx. 95; *cf.* *Od.* xix. 34.

^e Otherwise unknown; perhaps it was a city square—D-shaped to judge by its name; *cf.* W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 178.

^f *cf.* W. Judeich, *ibid.* p. 353; *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xxi, 2 (201 F).

(580) τὸν Εὐθύφρονα μετὰ παιδιᾶς· ἄφνω δὲ ἐπιστὰς

Ε καὶ σιωπήσας¹ προσέσχεν αὐτῷ² συχνὸν χρόνον, εἶτ' ἀναστρέψας ἐπορεύετο τὴν διὰ τῶν κιβωτοποιῶν καὶ τοὺς προκεχωρηκότας ἤδη τῶν ἐταίρων ἀνεκαλείτο, φάσκων αὐτῷ³ γεγονέναι τὸ δαιμόνιον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ συνανέστρεφον, ἐν οἷς καὶ γὰρ, τοῦ Εὐθύφρονος ἐχόμενος, νεανίσκοι δέ τινες τὴν εὐθείαν βადίζοντες, ὡς δὴ τὸ Σωκράτους ἐλέγξοντες δαιμόνιον, ἐπεσπάσαντο Χάριλλον τὸν αὐλητὴν ἤκοντα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας μετ' ἐμοῦ⁴ πρὸς Κέβητα· πορευομένοις δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐρμογλύφων⁵ παρὰ τὰ δικαστήρια σύες ἀπαντῶσιν

Ε ἀθροοὶ⁶ βορβόρου περίπλεοι⁷ καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμεναι διὰ πλήθος, ἐκτροπῆς δὲ μὴ παρούσης τοὺς μὲν ἀνέτρεψαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀνεμόλυναν. ἦκεν οὖν καὶ ὁ Χάριλλος οἴκαδε τά τε σκέλη καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια βορβόρου μεστός, ὥστ' αἰε τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου μεμνηῆσθαι μετὰ γέλωτος ἡμᾶς, ἅμα καὶ⁸ θαυμάζοντας εἰ μηδαμοῦ προλείπει τὸν ἄνδρα μηδ' ἀμελεῖ τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ."

11. Καὶ ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος, "οἶε γάρ," ἔφη, "Θεόκριτε, τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἰδίαν καὶ περιττὴν ἐσχηκέναι δύναμιν, οὐχὶ τῆς κοινῆς μόριόν τι μαντικῆς⁹ τὸν ἄνδρα πείρα βεβαιωσάμενον ἐν τοῖς ἀδήλοις καὶ ἀτεκμάρτοις τῷ λογισμῷ ῥοπήν ἐπάγειν; ὡς γὰρ ὀλκὴ μία καθ' αὐτὴν οὐκ ἄγει

¹ σιωπήσας Wytttenbach: συμπίσας.

² αὐτῷ Wytttenbach: οὕτω.

³ ἀνεκαλείτο φάσκων αὐτῷ Amyot, to fill a lacuna of 24-27 letters.

⁴ μετ' ἐμοῦ put here by Benseler (after ἤκοντα?): after αὐτὸν in the mss.

him out playfully. Suddenly he stopped short and fell silent, lost for a good time in thought; at last he turned back, taking the way through the street of the cabinetmakers, and called out to the friends who had already gone onward to return, saying that the sign had come to him. Most turned back with him, I with the rest, clinging close to Euthyphron; but certain young fellows went straight ahead, imagining that they would discredit Socrates' sign, and drew along Charillus ^a the flute-player, who had also come to Athens with me to visit Cebes. As they were walking along the street of the statuaries past the law-courts, they were met by a drove of swine, covered with mud and so numerous that they pressed against one another; and as there was nowhere to step aside, the swine ran into some and knocked them down, and befouled the rest. Charillus came home like the others, his legs and clothes covered with mud; so that we always mentioned Socrates' sign with laughter, at the same time marvelling that Heaven never deserted or neglected him."

11. "You suppose, then, Theocritus," replied Galaxidorus, "that Socrates' sign had some peculiar and extraordinary power, and that he did not, upon verifying from experience some rule of ordinary divination, let it turn the scale in matters dark and beyond the reach of reason? For just as a single

^a Otherwise unknown.

⁵ ἔρμογλύφων or ἔρμογλυφείων Reiske (ἔρμογλυφέων Passow, misquoting Reiske): ἔρμογλυφιῶν.

⁶ ἀθρόοι] ἀθρόαι Bern.

⁷ περίπλειοι] περίπλαι Bern., from 589 A, *infra*.

⁸ ἡμᾶς, ἄμα καὶ Wyttenbach (ἡμᾶς σφόδρα Wilamowitz) to fill a lacuna of 10-7 letters.

⁹ μαντικῆς Holwerda: ἀνάγκης.

581 τὸν¹ ζυγόν, ἰσορροποῦντι δὲ βάρει προστιθεμένη κλίνει τὸ σύμπαν ἐφ' ἑαυτήν, οὕτω πταρμὸς ἢ² κληδὼν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον σύμβολον οὐχ οἶόν τε, μικρὸν ὄν³ καὶ κοῦφον, ἐμβριθῆ διάνοιαν ἐπισπάσασθαι πρὸς πρᾶξιν· δυοῖν δ' ἐναντίων λογισμῶν θατέρω προσελθὸν⁴ ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῆς ἰσότητος ἀναιρεθείσης, ὥστε κίνησιν γίνεσθαι καὶ ὄρμην.”

Ἰπολαβὸν δὲ ὁ πατήρ, “ ἀλλὰ μὴν,” ἔφη, “ καὶ αὐτός, ὦ Γαλαξίδωρε, Μεγαρικοῦ τινος ἤκουσα, Τερψίωνος δὲ ἐκείνος, ὅτι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον πταρμὸς ἦν, ὃ τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παρ' ἄλλων. Β ἑτέρου μὲν γὰρ πταρόντος ἐκ δεξιᾶς, εἴτ' ὀπισθεν εἴτ' ἔμπροσθεν, ὁρμᾶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἀποτρέπεσθαι· τῶν δ' ἑαυτοῦ⁵ πταρμῶν τὸν μὲν ἔτι μέλλοντος βεβαιοῦν, τὸν δὲ ἤδη πράσσοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ κωλύειν, τὴν ὄρμην. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνό μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν, εἰ πταρμῶ χρώμενος οὐ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον εἶναι τὸ κωλύον ἢ κελεῦον ἔλεγε· τύφου γὰρ αὐ⁶ τινος, ὦ φίλε, κενοῦ καὶ κόμπου τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἀληθείας καὶ ἀπλότητος οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα μέγαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν πολλῶν γεγονέναι δοκοῦμεν, ὑπὸ φωνῆς ἔξωθεν ἢ πταρμοῦ τινος ὀπηνίκα τύχοι θορυβούμενον ἐκ τῶν πράξεων ἀνατρέπεσθαι καὶ προ- C ἵεσθαι⁷ τὸ δεδογμένον. αἱ δὲ Σωκράτους ὀρμαῖ⁸

¹ τὸν Ald.² (cf. *Life of Camillus*, chap. xxix. 2, 143 F): τὸ.

² οὕτως ἐστὶ (οὕτω Bern.) πταρμὸς ἢ Pflugk: οὕτως ἐφάρμοσει.

³ οὐχ οἶόν τε μικρὸν ὄν added by von Arnim to fill a lacuna of 15 letters (μικρὸν ἐστὶ Bern.).

⁴ προσελθὸν Emperius: προσελθῶν.

⁵ δ' ἑαυτοῦ nos: δὲ αὐτοῦ.

drachm does not by itself tip the beam, but when joined to a weight in equilibrium with another inclines the whole mass in the direction of its own pull, so too a sneeze or chance remark or any such omen cannot, being trivial and light, incline a weighty mind to action ; but when it is joined to one of two opposing reasons, it solves the dilemma by destroying the balance, and thus allows a movement and propulsion to arise.”^a

“ Just so, Galaxidorus,” my father broke in. “ I have it from one of the Megarian school, who had it from Terpsion, that Socrates’ sign was a sneeze, his own and others’ : thus, when another sneezed at his right, whether behind or in front, he proceeded to act, but if at his left, desisted ; while of his own sneezes the one that occurred when he was on the point of acting confirmed him in what he had set out to do, whereas the one occurring after he had already begun checked and prevented his movement. But what astonishes me is that, supposing he relied on sneezes, he did not speak to his friends of being prompted or deterred by these, but by a sign from Heaven ; for here again, my dear friend, we have a form of hollow affectation and boasting, and not the sincerity and simplicity that made him to our feeling truly great and superior to the generality of men—to be upset at odd moments by such external matters as a voice or sneeze, and thus be diverted from his actions and abandon his decisions. Nay, Socrates’

^a Plutarch’s statics may be at fault. If so, he inferred the physical process from the mental : *cf.* *Mor.* 1045 B-C.

⁶ αὐ] ἀν ἦν Reiske.

⁷ προῖσθαι Xylander : προσίεσθαι.

⁸ ὄρμαι Sieveking (αὐ ὄρμαι Xylander) : ἀφορμαι.

(581) τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον¹ ἔχουσαι καὶ σφοδρότητα φαίνονται πρὸς ἅπαν, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἰσχυρᾶς ἀφειμέναι κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς· πενία γὰρ ἐμμεῖναι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, σὺν ἡδονῇ καὶ χάριτι τῶν διδόντων ἔχειν δυνάμενον, καὶ φιλοσοφίας μὴ ἐκστήναι πρὸς τοσαῦτα κωλύματα, καὶ τέλος εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ φυγὴν αὐτῷ σπουδῆς ἐταίρων καὶ παρασκευῆς εὐμηχάνου γενομένης μήτε καμφθῆναι λιπαροῦσι μήτε ὑποχωρῆσαι τῷ θανάτῳ πελάζοντι,² χρῆσθαι δ' ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ δεινόν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς ἐκ κληδόνων ἢ παταρμῶν μεταβαλλομένην ὅτε τύχοι γνώμην ἔχοντος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ μείζονος ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀγομένου πρὸς τὸ καλόν.

“ Ἀκούω δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως φθορὰν προειπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐνίοις τῶν φίλων. καὶ πρότερον ἔτι τούτων Πυριλάμπης ὁ Ἀντιφῶντος, ἀλοῦς ἐν τῇ διώξει περὶ Δήλιον ὑφ' ἡμῶν δορατίῳ τετρωμένος, ὡς ἤκουσε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀφικομένων Ἀθήνηθεν ὅτι Σωκράτης μετὰ Ἀλκιβιάδου καὶ Λάχητος³ ἐπὶ ῥηγίστης⁴ καταβὰς ἀπονενοστήκοι, πολλὰ μὲν τοῦτον ἀνε-

¹ τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον Schwartz (τόνον Reiske) for τὸ followed by a lacuna of 16 letters.

² πελάζοντι Faehse : παίζοντι.

³ Λάχητος Victorius, Turnebus : μάχητος E, πάχητος B.

⁴ ἐπὶ ῥηγίστης corrupt; εἰς Ὠρωπὸν (ἐπὶ τὴν Ὠρωπίαν [Γραϊκὴν])?

movements are observed to have had an inflexible force and intensity in all he did, which implies that they were launched forth from a correct and powerful judgement and foundation ; for of his own free will to have remained poor throughout his life when he could have had money which the donors would have been delighted and thankful to see him accept, and not to have forsaken philosophy despite so many obstacles, and in the end, although his followers had spared no efforts to save his life and had contrived a perfectly feasible means of escape, neither to have yielded to their entreaties nor to have flinched at the approach of death, but to have faced its terrors with reasoning unshaken, are not acts of a man whose views are at the mercy of voices or sneezes, but of one guided by a higher authority and principle to noble conduct.

“ I also hear that he foretold to some of his friends the loss of the Athenian forces in Sicily.^a And still earlier, when Pyrilampes,^b the son of Antiphon, who had been wounded with a javelin and taken prisoner by us in the pursuit at Delion, was told by the commissioners that came from Athens to negotiate a truce that Socrates had reached the coast at Oropus^c with Alcibiades and Laches^d and come home safe, he often invoked the name of Socrates, and often

^a Cf. *Life of Nicias*, chap. xiii. 9 (532 B) ; *Life of Alcibiades*, chap. xvii. 5 (199 F) ; [Plato], *Theages*, 129 C-D.

^b Pyrilampes was Plato's stepfather.

^c “ At Oropus ” translates a conjecture. Thucydides (iv. 96. 7) mentions three routes taken by the defeated Athenians : to Delion and the sea, to Oropus, and toward Parnes. The corruption in the Greek text doubtless conceals a reference to one of the former two.

^d Cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 221 A, and *Laches*, 181 E.

(581) καλέσατο, πολλὰ δὲ φίλους τινὰς καὶ λοχίτας οἷς συνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὴν Πάρνηθα¹ φεύγουσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱππέων² ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου παρακούσαντας ἑτέραν ὁδόν, οὐχ ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἤγε, τρεπομένους ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. ταῦτα δ' οἶμαι καὶ Σιμμίαν ἀκηκοέναι."

"Πολλάκις," ὁ Σιμμίας ἔφη, "καὶ πολλῶν διεβοήθη γὰρ οὐκ ἤρέμα τὸ Σωκράτους Ἀθήνησιν ἐκ τούτων δαιμόνιον."

12. "Τί οὖν," ὁ Φειδόλαος εἶπεν, "ὦ Σιμμία; Γαλαξίδωρον ἐάσωμεν παίζοντα καταβάλλειν το-
F σοῦτο μαντείας ἔργον εἰς πταρμούς καὶ κληδόνας, οἷς καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἰδιῶται περὶ μικρὰ προσ-
χρῶνται καὶ παίζοντες, ὅταν δὲ κίνδυνοι βαρύτεροι καὶ μείζονες καταλάβωσι πράξεις, ἐκεῖνο γίνεται τὸ Εὐριπίδειον

οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλας;"

Καὶ ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος, "Σιμμίου μὲν," ἔφη, "Φει-
δόλαε, περὶ τούτων, εἴ τι Σωκράτους αὐτὸς λέ-
γοντος ἤκουσεν, ἔτοιμος ἀκροᾶσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι³
μεθ' ὑμῶν· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ λελεγμένα καὶ Πολύμνιος
οὐ χαλεπὸν ἀνελεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἰατρικῇ σφυγμὸς
ἢ φλύκταινα μικρόν, οὐ μικροῦ δὲ σημείον ἐστι,
καὶ κυβερνήτῃ πελαγίου⁴ φθόγγος ὄρνιθος ἢ δια-
582 δρομῇ κνηκίδος ἀραιᾶς πνεῦμα σημαίνει καὶ κίνησιν
τραχυτέραν θαλάσσης, οὕτω μαντικῇ ψυχῇ πταρμὸς
ἢ κληδὼν οὐ μέγα καθ' αὐτό, μεγάλου δέ τινος

¹ Πάρνηθα Stephanus : πάρνηθα.

² ἱππέων Keil (1841) and Dübner (1841) : ἱππων.

³ φείδεσθαι] πείθεσθαι Xylander.

⁴ πελαγίου Xylander (πελαγίας Bern.) : πελάγους.

those of certain friends and members of his company who had fled with him toward Mount Parnes and been killed by our cavalry, as they had (he said) disregarded Socrates' sign and taken a different way, not following where Socrates led, in their retreat from the battle.^a Simmias too has heard of this I think."

"Many times," said Simmias, "and from many persons; for these events led to no little talk at Athens about Socrates' sign."

12. "Are we, then, Simmias," said Pheidolaüs, "to let Galaxidorus in sport reduce so mighty a work of divination to sneezes and chance remarks? Even the ignorant multitude rely on these in trivial matters and in playful moods, but when graver dangers and actions of greater moment confront them, the words of Euripides^b come true:

None talks such folly when the fray impends."

"I am ready, Pheidolaüs," rejoined Galaxidorus, "to listen to what Simmias has to say about these matters, if he has himself heard Socrates talk of them, and to share your forbearance; but what you and Polymnis have said is not hard to refute. For as in medicine a rapid pulse or a blister, trifling in itself, is a sign of something by no means trifling, and as for a skipper the cry of a marine bird or the passing of a wisp of yellow cloud betokens wind and a rising sea, so for a mind expert in divination a sneeze or random utterance, in itself no great matter, may yet

^a The story is also found in Cicero, *De Div.* i. 54 (123), and Pseudo-Socrates, *Ep.* 1. 9.

^b From the *Autolytus*: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 282. 22; quoted also in *Mor.* 803 B.

- (582) σημείον ἂν εἴη¹ συμπτώματος· ἐπ'² οὐδεμιᾶς γὰρ τέχνης καταφρονεῖται³ τὸ μικροῖς μεγάλα καὶ δι' ὀλίγων πολλὰ προμηνύειν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἴ τις ἄπειρος γραμμάτων δυνάμεως, ὄρων ὀλίγα πλήθει καὶ φαῦλα τὴν μορφήν, ἀπιστοίη ἄνδρα⁴ γραμματικὸν ἐκ τούτων ἀναλέγεσθαι πολέμους μεγάλους οἱ τοῖς πάλαι συνέτυχον, καὶ κτίσεις⁵ πόλεων πράξεις τε καὶ παθήματα⁶ βασιλέων, εἶτα φαίη δαιμόνιον τι⁷ μηνύειν καὶ καταλέγειν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἱστορικῷ⁸ τούτων ἕκαστον, ἡδὺς ἂν, ὦ φίλε, γέλως σοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐπέλθοι, οὕτω σκόπει μὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν μαντικῶν ἕκαστου τὴν δύναμιν ἀγνοοῦντες ἧ συμβάλλει πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, εὐθήτως ἀγανακτῶμεν εἰ νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος ἐκ τούτων ἀποφαίνεται⁹ τι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ ταῦτα φάσκων αὐτὸς οὐ πταρμὸν οὐδὲ φωνήν, ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ τῶν πράξεων ὑφηγεῖσθαι. μέτειμι γὰρ ἤδη πρὸς σέ, ὦ Πόλυμνι, θαυμάζοντα Σωκράτους, ἀνδρὸς ἀτυφία καὶ ἀφελεία μάλιστα δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἐξανθρωπίσαντος, εἰ μὴ πταρμὸν
- C μηδὲ κληδόνα τὸ σημείον, ἀλλὰ τραγικῶς πάνυ τὸ δαιμόνιον ὠνόμαζεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τούναντίον ἐθαύμαζον ἀνδρὸς ἄκρου διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ὀνομάτων, ὥσπερ Σωκράτης, εἰ τὸν πταρμὸν ἀλλὰ

¹ μεγάλου δὲ τιως σημείον ἂν εἴη (μεγάλου δὲ σημείον Xylander; σύμβολον δὲ μεγάλου Bern.) our supplement of a lacuna of 45-29 letters.

² ἐπ' added by Wilamowitz.

³ καταφρονεῖται] καταφρονῆσαι Holwerda.

⁴ ἀπιστοίη ἄνδρα] ἀπιστοίη μὴ ἄνδρα Stegmann; delete ἄνδρα? ⁵ κτίσεις Xylander: κτήσεις.

⁶ παθήματα Leonicus: μαθήματα.

⁷ φαίη δαιμόνιον τι Wyttenbach (φαίη φωνήν ἢ ὁμοίον τι Bern.): φανῆναι ὀμνύοντι.

be a sign of some great event ^a; for in no art is the prediction of great things from small, or of many things from few, neglected. No; if a man ignorant of the significance of writing, on seeing letters few in number and mean in appearance, should doubt that a literate person ^b could gather from them the story of great wars that happened to men in the past, of foundations of cities, and of acts and sufferings of kings, and should then assert that what revealed and recounted all this to that student of history was something divine, you would, my friend, be moved to hearty laughter at the fellow's simplicity; so here too take heed lest it be simplicity in us, in our ignorance of the significance for the future of the various signs interpreted by the art of divination, to resent the notion that a man of intelligence can draw from them some statement about things hidden from our view—and that too when it is the man himself who says that it is no sneeze or utterance that guides his acts, but something divine. For I shall now deal with you, Polymnis, who are astonished that Socrates, a man who by his freedom from humbug and affectation had more than any other made philosophy human, should have termed his token not a 'sneeze' or 'omen' but in high tragic style 'the sign from Heaven.' ^c I, on the contrary, should have been astonished if a master of dialectic and the use of words, like Socrates, had spoken of receiving intimations not from 'Heaven'

^a Cf. *Mor.* 410 D.

^b For a comparison of divination to reading cf. Plotinus, *Enn.* iii. 1. 6.

^c Cf. the words of Polymnis, 581 B, *supra*.

⁸ τῶ ἱστορικῶ] τῶν ἱστορικῶν Wyttenbach.

⁹ ἂν before ἀποφαίνεται omitted by Pflugk.

(582) μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον¹ αὐτῷ σημαίνειν ἔλεγεν· ὥσπερ εἴ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ βέλους φαίη τετρώσθαι, μὴ τῷ βέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ βαλόντος, μεμετρῆσθαι δὲ αὐτὸ τὸ βάρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ, μὴ τῷ ζυγῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰστάντος. οὐ γὰρ τοῦ ὄργανου τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' οὐ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον ὧ χρηταὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· ὄργανον δέ τι καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ὧ χρηταὶ τὸ σημαῖνον. ἀλλ' ὅπερ εἶπον, εἴ τι Συμμίας ἔχοι² λέγειν, ἀκουστέον, ὡς εἰδότες ἀκριβέστερον."

13. Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, "πρότερόν γ'," ἔφη,
 D "τοὺς εἰσιόντας οἵτινές³ εἰσὶν ἀποσκεψαμένοις, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν ξένον⁴ ἔοικεν ἡμῖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας ὁδὶ κομίζειν."

Ἀποβλέψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἐωρῶμεν ἡγούμενον μὲν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ τῶν⁵ συνεστώτων⁶ φίλων Ἰσμηνόδωρον⁷ καὶ Βακχυλλίδαν⁸ καὶ Μέλισσον τὸν αὐλητήν, ἐπόμενον δὲ τὸν ξένον, οὐκ ἀγεννή τὸ εἶδος ἀλλὰ πραότητα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην τοῦ ἠθους ὑποφαίνοντα καὶ σεμνῶς ἀμπεχόμενον τὸ σῶμα. καθίσαντος οὖν ἐκείνου μὲν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Συμμίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφοῦ παρ' ἐμέ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὡς ἕκαστος ἔτυχε, καὶ γενομένης σιωπῆς, ὁ Συμμίας τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν καλέσας, "εἶεν," εἶπεν, "ὧ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, τίνα
 E χρῆ τὸν ξένον καὶ πῶς καὶ πόθεν προσαγορεύειν; ἀρχὴ γάρ τις ἐντυχίας καὶ γνώσεως αὕτη συνήθης."

Καὶ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "Θεάνωρ," εἶπεν, "ὧ

¹ τὸν παρμόν ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον nos (μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀλλὰ τὸν παρμόν Leonicus) : μὴ τὸν παρμόν ἀλλὰ τὸ δαιμόνιον.

² ἔχοι] ἔχει Aldine.

³ οἵτινές Stephanus : εἴ τινες.

⁴ ξένον] ξένον ὄν Bern.

⁵ τῶν added by Wyttenbach.

but from the 'Sneeze': it is as if a man should say that the arrow wounded him, and not the archer with the arrow, or that the scales, and not the weigher with the scales, measured the weight. For the act does not belong to the instrument, but to the person to whom the instrument itself belongs, who uses it for the act; and the sign used by the power that signals is an instrument like any other. But, as I said, if Simmias should have anything to say, we must listen to him, as he is better informed."

13. "First," said Theocritus, "we must see who the persons are that are entering the room—but I see it is Epameinondas, who is apparently bringing the stranger to meet us."

We looked toward the door and saw Epameinondas in the lead, with Hismenodorus, Bacchylidas,^a and Melissus the fluteplayer among our friends in the plot, while the stranger came last, a man of no ignoble presence, but showing gentleness and kindness in his demeanour and in person magnificently attired. When the stranger had taken his place beside Simmias, my brother beside me, and the rest as they happened to find seats, and all had fallen silent, Simmias called out to my brother: "Well, Epameinondas, what name and title are we to give the stranger, and what is his country? Such inquiries are the usual preliminaries to intercourse and acquaintance."

Epameinondas answered: "His name, Simmias,

^a Perhaps one of the seven boeotarchs who commanded at Leuctra: *cf.* Pausanias, ix. 13. 7.

⁶ *συνεστώτων*] *συνηθεστάτων* Wilamowitz.

⁷ *Ἰσμηνόδωρον* nos: *ἰσμηνόδωρον*.

⁸ *Βακχυλλίδαν*] *βακχυλίδαν* Aldine.

(582) Σιμμία, ὄνομα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρί, γένος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης τῶν ἐκεῖ φιλοσόφων οὐ καταισχύνων τὸ μέγα Πυθαγόρου κλέος· ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἦκει δεῦρο μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἔργοις καλοῖς κατὰ δόγματα βεβαιῶν.”

Ἵπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ ξένος, “ οὐκοῦν,” ἔφη, “ σὺ κωλύεις, ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, τῶν ἔργων τὸ κάλλιστον. F εἰ γὰρ εὖ ποιεῖν φίλους καλόν, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εὖ πάσχειν ὑπὸ φίλων· ἢ γὰρ χάρις, οὐχ ἦττον δεομένη τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ἢ τοῦ διδόντος, ἐξ ἀμφοῖν τελειοῦται πρὸς τὸ καλόν, ὁ δὲ μὴ δεξάμενος ὥσπερ σφαῖραν εὖ φερομένην κατήσχυεν ἀτελῆ πεσοῦσαν. ποίου γὰρ οὕτως σκοποῦ βάλλοντα καὶ τυχεῖν ἠδὺ καὶ διαμαρτάνειν ἀνιαρὸν ὡς ἀνδρὸς εὖ παθεῖν ἀξίου διὰ χάριτος ἐφιέμενον; ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖ μὲν ὁ τοῦ σκοποῦ μένοντος ἀτυχήσας σφάλλεται δι’ αὐτόν, ἐνταυθοῖ δὲ ὁ παραιτούμενος καὶ ὑποφεύγων ἀδικεῖ τὴν χάριν εἰς ὃ¹ ἔσπευκε μὴ περαίνουσαν. σοὶ μὲν οὖν τὰς αἰτίας ἤδη διῆλθον ὑφ’ ὧν ἔπλευσα δεῦρο, 583 βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τούτοις² διελθὼν χρήσασθαι πρὸς σὲ δικασταῖς.

“ Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσον αἱ κατὰ πόλεις ἑταιρεῖαι³ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν στάσει κρατηθέντων, τοῖς δ’ ἔτι συνεστῶσιν ἐν Μεταποντίῳ συνεδρεύουσιν ἐν οἰκίᾳ πῦρ οἱ Κυλώνειοι περιένησαν καὶ διέφθειραν ἐν

¹ δ] ὄν Post.

² τούτοις E² (and so Turnebus) : τούτους.

³ ἑταιρεῖαι E^{ac} (and so Bern.) : ἑταιρίαι.

^a For the comparison of the ball cf. Chrysippus, quoted in Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, ii. 17. 3, and Plutarch, *Comm. in Hesiodum*, 32 (vol. vii, p. 68. 11-16 Bern.).

^b The head of the anti-Pythagorean faction.

is Theanor ; he is a native of Croton, one of the philosophers of that region, and reflects no dishonour on the great fame of Pythagoras ; indeed, he has come here at present on a long journey from Italy, confirming noble doctrines by noble works."

Here the stranger spoke : " Are not you, Epameiondas, preventing the noblest of those works ? For if it is a noble act to benefit friends, it is no disgrace to be benefited by them ; for the favour, requiring a recipient no less than a giver, needs both to be made perfect in nobility. He who refuses to accept the favour, like the man who refuses to catch a well-directed ball, disgraces it, allowing it to fall to the ground without achieving its end.^a For what target is so delightful to hit and so painful to miss, as a man deserving kindness at whom we aim a favour ? Yet in the case of the target the man who misses has only himself to blame, as the mark is fixed ; whereas with favours, the man who declines and moves aside is guilty of an offence against the favour, allowing it to fall short of its goal. To you I have already recounted the motives of my voyage hither ; but I desire to recount them to these others as well and let them judge between us.

" After the Pythagorean societies throughout the different cities had been defeated by the revolutionaries and driven out, and after the partisans of Cylon,^b heaping fuel about the house where the society that still held together at Metapontum^c was in session, and setting fire to it, had destroyed them

^a Most ancient authorities agree that Pythagoras died at Metapontum, but put the conflagration at Croton : cf. Diogenes Laert. viii. 39 f. with the passages adduced by A. Delatte (*La Vie de Pythagore de Diogène Laërce*, Brussels, 1922, pp. 136 f.).

(583) ταὐτῶ¹ πάντας πλὴν Φιλολάου καὶ Λύσιδος νέων ὄντων ἔτι, ῥώμη καὶ κουφότητι διωσαμένων τὸ πῦρ, Φιλόλαος μὲν εἰς Λευκανοὺς φυγῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεσώθη πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φίλους ἤδη πάλιν ἀθροιζομένους καὶ κρατοῦντας τῶν Κυλωνείων, Λῦσις δὲ ὅπου γέγονεν ἠγνοεῖτο πολὺν χρόνον, B πρίν² γε δὴ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναπλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπήγγελλε τοῖς περὶ Ἄρεσᾶν³ βεβαίως Λύσιδι συγγεγονέναι διατρίβοντι περὶ Θήβας. ὤρμησε μὲν ὁ Ἄρεσᾶς⁴ πόθῳ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτὸς ὡς εἶχε πλεῦσαι, κομιδῇ δὲ διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐλλείπων ἐπέσκηψε μάλιστα μὲν ζῶντα κομίσει τὸν Λῦσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἢ τὰ λείψανα τεθνηκότος. οἱ δ' ἐν μέσῳ πόλεμοι καὶ στάσεις καὶ τυραννίδες ἐκώλυσαν αὐτῶ ζῶντι συντελέσαι τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἄθλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμῖν τὸ Λύσιδος δαιμόνιον ἤδη τεθνηκότος ἐναργῶς προὔπεφαινε⁵ τὴν τελευτήν, καὶ τὰς παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Πόλυμνι, C θεραπειάς καὶ διαίτας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς οἱ σαφῶς εἰδότες ἀπήγγελλον, ὅτι πλουσίας ἐν οἴκῳ πένητι γηροκομίας⁶ τυχῶν καὶ πατῆρ τῶν σῶν υἱέων ἐπιγραφεῖς οἴχοιτο μακαριστός, ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ νέος καὶ εἰς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, ἐχόντων οὐκ ἔχουσι χρήματα⁷ διδόντων, πολλήν⁸ χάριν καὶ

¹ ταὐτῶ Wyttenbach : τούτω.

² πρίν Sieveking (*donec* Xylander) : πλὴν.

³ Ἄρεσᾶν nos (from Iamblichus, *De Vit. Pyth.* chap. xxxvi. 266) : ἄρκεσον.

⁴ Ἄρεσᾶς nos : ἄρκεσος.

⁵ προὔπεφαινε] προὔφαινε Cobet.

⁶ γηροκομίας Aldine : γηρωκομίας.

⁷ χρήματα Leonicus : γράμματα.

⁸ πολλήν] πολλήν δὲ Reiske.

^a Archippus is usually mentioned as escaping with Lysis :

all in the conflagration except Philolaüs and Lysis,^a who were still young and forced a way through the flames by strength and agility, Philolaüs escaped to Lucania and from there reached in safety our remaining adherents, who had once more begun to assemble and prevail over Cylon's party, but for a long time no one knew what had become of Lysis; at last Gorgias of Leontini, on his return from Greece to Sicily,^b brought definite word, and told Aresas^c of meeting Lysis, who was living in Thebes. Aresas so felt his absence that he proposed with no more ado to make the voyage himself, but from age and infirmity proving quite unequal to the effort, he charged us to bring Lysis back to Italy alive if possible, or his remains if dead. The intervening wars, seditions and usurpations, however, kept his friends from carrying out the task for him during his lifetime. But when the daemon of Lysis—who had died in the interval—clearly revealed to us his death, and reports from men well acquainted with the circumstances told, Polymnis, how he had been cared for by your family and lived with you—that in the poverty of your household he had received rich provision for his age and departed in felicity, enrolled as father of your sons—I was sent, young and unaccompanied, by a company numerous and advanced in years, offering money, of which they have provision, to you who have

cf. Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, i. 1⁶, p. 419, note. Olympiodorus (*In Plat. Phaedon. Comm.* p. 9. 16-20 Nörrvin) says that Lysis and Hipparchus were the two that escaped, and that Philolaüs went to Thebes to offer libations at the grave of Lysis, his teacher.

^b Perhaps on the return from his embassy to Athens in 427.

^c The head of the Pythagorean societies: *cf.* Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, 266 f.

(583) φιλίαν ἀντιλαμβανόντων. Λῦσις δὲ καὶ κείται¹
καλῶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν, καὶ τάφου καλοῦ κρείττων αὐτῶ
χάρις ἐκτινομένη φίλοις ὑπὸ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων.”

14. Ταῦτα τοῦ ξένου λέγοντος ὁ μὲν πατὴρ
ἐπεδάκρυσεν τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ Λύσιδος πολὺν χρόνον,
D ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὑπομειδιῶν ὥσπερ εἴωθε² πρὸς ἐμέ,
“ πῶς,” ἔφη, “ ποιούμεν, ὦ Καφισία; προῖέμεθα
τὴν πενίαν τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σιωπῶμεν;”

“ “Ἡκιστ’,” ἔφην ἐγώ, “ τὴν φίλην καὶ ἀγαθὴν
κουροτρόφον, ἀλλ’ ἄμυνε· σὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος.”

“ Καὶ μὴν ἐγώ,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ πάτερ, ταύτῃ μόνῃ³
τὴν οἰκίαν ἐδεδίειν ἀλώσιμον ὑπὸ χρημάτων εἶναι,
κατὰ τὸ Καφισίου σῶμα, καλῆς μὲν ἐσθῆτος δεό-
μενον ἵνα τοῖς ἐρασταῖς ἐγκαλλωπίσῃται τοσοῦτοις
οὔσιν, ἀφθόνου δὲ καὶ πολλῆς τροφῆς ἵν’ ἀντέχῃ
πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παλαί-
στραις ἀγῶνας· ὀπηνίκα δὲ οὗτος οὐ προδίδωσιν⁴
E οὐδὲ ὡς βαφὴν ἀνίησι τὴν πατριὸν πενίαν, ἀλλὰ
καίπερ ὢν μειράκιον εὐτελείᾳ καλλωπίζεται καὶ
στέργει τὰ παρόντα, τίς ἂν ἡμῖν γένοιτο τῶν
χρημάτων διάθεσις καὶ χρήσις; ἤπου καταχρυ-
σώσομεν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα πορφύρα συμ-
μειγμένη πρὸς χρυσίον, ὥσπερ Νικίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
διαποικιλοῦμεν; σοὶ δέ, ὦ πάτερ, Μιλησίαν
χλανίδα⁵ τῇ δὲ μητρὶ παραλουργὸν ὠνησόμεθα
χιτώνιον; οὐ γὰρ εἰς γαστέρα δήπου καταχρη-

¹ καὶ κείται] κεκήδεται Cobet.

² εἴωθε] εἰώθει B.

³ μόνῃ] μόνον Holwerda, but cf. Herodotus, i. 84. 3, iii. 5. 1, *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xvi. 3 (286 A), and possibly *Life of Sulla*, chap. xiv. 1 (460 c) and ἡ μόνῃ 579 c, *supra*.

⁴ Sieveking deletes τὴν πενίαν after προδίδωσι.

none in return for great favour and friendship. Lysis has had from you a fitting burial, and better in his sight than a fitting burial is favour requited to friends by friends and fellows." ^a

14. While the stranger spoke my father wept a long time at the memory of Lysis. My brother said, smiling gently at me, as is his wont: "What are we doing, Caphisias? Are we yielding up our poverty to riches without a word?"

"Let us by no means yield up," said I, "that dear and 'goodly nurse of youth' ^b: fly to her defence; it is for you to speak."

"Well, my dear father," he said, "I had feared that in the defences of our household against money there was but this one vulnerable spot: Caphisias' person, which requires fine dress that he may display himself to advantage to his numerous admirers, and unstinted and abundant food to sustain him in his exercises and his bouts on the wrestling grounds; but now that we see him refusing to surrender his ancestral poverty or let its tempered edge be taken off, but instead, for all his youth, displaying himself in frugality ^c and content with what he has, how could we lay the money out and use it? Are we to gild our arms and like Nicias of Athens ^d decorate our shields with a blend of purple and gold? Are we, father, to buy you a Milesian mantle and our mother a tunic bordered with purple? For surely we shall not expend

^a Theanor's style is as elaborate as his dress.

^b Homer, *Od.* ix. 27; cf. Plutarch, *Contra Divitias*, Frag. 4 (vol. vii, p. 124. 3-6 Bern.).

^c For the phrase cf. *Mor.* 406 D.

^d Cf. *Life of Nicias*, chap. xxviii. 6 (542 B).

⁵ *χλανίδα* a correction in E: *χλαμύδα*.

(583) σόμεθα τὴν δωρεὰν εὐωχοῦντες αὐτοὺς πολυτελέστερον, ὥσπερ ξένον ὑποδεδεγμένοι βαρύτερον τὸν πλοῦτον."

"Ἀπαγε," εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ, "ὦ παῖ· μηδέποτε
F τοιαύτην ἐπίδομι μετακόσμησιν τοῦ βίου.¹"

"Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἄργόν," ἔφη, "καθισόμεθα φρουροῦντες οἴκοι τὸν πλοῦτον· ἄχαρις γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἢ χάρις καὶ ἄτιμος ἢ κτῆσις εἶη."

"Τί μὴν;"² εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ.

"Οὐκοῦν," ἔφη ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "Ἰάσωνι³ μὲν τῷ Θετταλῶν ταγῶ πέμψαντι δεῦρο πολὺ χρυσίον ἔναγχος πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ δεομένῳ λαβεῖν ἀγροικότερος ἐφάνην ἀποκρινόμενος ἀδίκων χειρῶν αὐτὸν κατάρχειν, ὅτι μοναρχίας ὧν ἔραστής ἄνδρα δημότην ἐλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμου πόλεως ἐπέιρα
584 διὰ χρημάτων· σοῦ δ', ὦ ξένε, τὴν μὲν προθυμίαν (καλὴ γὰρ καὶ φιλόσοφος) δέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ διαφερόντως, ἥκεις δὲ φάρμακα φίλοις μὴ νοσοῦσι κομίζων. ὥσπερ οὖν εἰ πολεμείσθαι πυθόμενος ἡμᾶς ἔπλευσας⁴ ὄπλοις καὶ βέλεσιν ὠφελήσων, εἶτα φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην εὔρες, οὐκ ἂν ᾧου δεῖν ἐκεῖνα διδόναι καὶ ἀπολείπειν μὴ δεομένοις, οὕτως σύμμαχος μὲν ἀφίξει πρὸς πενίαν ὡς ἐνοχλουμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἢ δ' ἐστὶ ράστη φέρειν ἡμῖν καὶ

¹ ἡμῶν after βίου deleted by Bern. ; place before τοῦ ?

² εἶη. Τί μὴν Reiske : ἐπὶ τιμῆν.

³ Ἰάσωνι Kontos and Hatzidakis : ἰάσωνι.

⁴ ἡμᾶς, repeated after ἔπλευσας in E, and after βέλεσιν in B, is deleted by Sieveking.

^a Jason of Pherae : cf. *Mor.* 193 B ; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* xi. 9.

^b A play on the phrase ἄρχειν χειρῶν ἀδίκων, literally "to

the bounty on our belly by treating ourselves to more sumptuous fare, as if we had admitted wealth to our house as a burdensome guest."

"Heaven forbid, my son," said my father; "may I never live to see our way of life so changed!"

"Nor yet," Epameinondas pursued, "shall we sit at home to guard a wealth that remains idle; for then the favour would be no favour and our ownership without honour."

"Of course we shall not," said my father.

"Lately," Epameinondas went on, "when Jason, the prince of Thessaly,^a sent me a great sum of gold and begged me to accept it, I was openly rude, was I not? when I replied that he was the assailant in a hand-to-hand affair,^b since to gratify his lust for royal power, he was tempting with money a common citizen of a free and independent state.^c As for you, sir, I welcome your kind thought and am delighted with it—it was generous and worthy a philosopher—but you come with medicine to friends who are not ill. If you had heard that we were under hostile attack and sailed to our aid with arms and missiles, but found on arrival that all was friendliness and peace, you would not have felt called upon to offer and leave those provisions with men who had no use for them. Just so you have come to help us against Poverty, supposing us molested by her; whereas we find her most companionable and a friendly member

begin unrighteous hands," that is, to strike the first blow in a case of assault and battery. Hands are also the donors and recipients of bribes.

^c This incident is doubtless here placed too early in Epameinondas' career. Jason was not elected prince until some years after the liberation of Thebes (*cf.* Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 2, pp. 237 f.).

(584) φίλη σύνοικος· οὐκουν δεῖ χρημάτων ὄπλων¹ ἐπ' Β αὐτὴν μηδὲν ἀνιῶσαν, ἀλλ' ἀπάγγελλε τοῖς ἐκεῖ γνωρίμοις ὅτι κάλλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ πλούτῳ χρῶνται καλῶς δὲ πενία χρωμένους αὐτόθι φίλους ἔχουσι, τὰς δὲ Λύσιδος ἡμῖν τροφὰς καὶ ταφὰς αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Λῦσις ἀπέδωκε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πενίαν διδάξας μὴ δυσχεραίνειν."

15. Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Θεάνωρ, "ἄρ' οὖν," ἔφη, "τὸ πενίαν δυσχεραίνειν ἀγεννές ἐστι, τὸ δὲ πλούτον δεδιέναι καὶ φεύγειν οὐκ ἄτοπον;"

"Ἄτοπον," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας,² "εἰ μὴ λόγῳ τις αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ σχηματιζόμενος ἢ δι' ἀπειροκαλίαν ἢ τῦφόν τινα διωθεῖται."

"Καὶ τίς ἄν," ἔφη, "λόγος ἀπειργοὶ τὴν ἐκ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων κτηῆσιν, ὧ Ἐπαμεινώνδα;³ μᾶλλον δὲ (πραότερον⁴ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἢ τῷ Θετταλῷ C πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐνδίδουσαν αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων) εἶπέ μοι πότερον ἡγῆ δόσιν μὲν εἶναι τινα χρημάτων ὀρθήν, λήψιν δὲ μηδεμίαν, ἢ καὶ τοὺς διδόντας ἀμαρτάνειν πάντως καὶ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας;"

"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλου τινὸς ἐγὼ καὶ πλούτου χάριν τε καὶ κτηῆσιν εἶναι νομίζω τὴν μὲν αἰσχροὺς τὴν δὲ ἀστεῖαν."

"Ἄρ' οὖν," ἔφη ὁ Θεάνωρ, "ὁ μὲν⁵ ὀφείλων διδούς ἐκουσίως καὶ προθύμως οὐ καλῶς δίδωσιν;"

Ἐμολόγησεν.

"Ὁ δ' ἄ τις καλῶς δίδωσι δεξάμενος οὐ καλῶς

¹ οὐδὲ deleted by Sieveking before ὄπλων.

² ἄτοπον εἶπεν (ὁ added by Pohlenz) Ἐπαμεινώνδας added by Bern. (ἄτοπον Wytttenbach).

of our household ; no armament of riches, then, is needed against her who gives us no offence. No ; report to your comrades abroad that while they put riches to the best of uses themselves, they here have friends who make good use of poverty ; and that Lysis has repaid us himself for the cost of his keeping and burial by teaching us, among other lessons, to feel no disgust at poverty."

15. Theanor rejoined : " Is it vulgar to feel disgust at poverty, and yet not absurd to dread and shun wealth ? "

" It is absurd," replied Epameinondas, " if what moves a man to reject it is not reason, but a pose arising from coarseness or a kind of vanity."

" Indeed ! And what reason, Epameinondas," he said, " would forbid its acquisition by noble and honest means ? Or rather tell me this (for I beg you to show me a milder temper than you did the Thesalian in your answers on this point) : do you think it sometimes proper to give money, but never to accept it, or do you think that under all circumstances givers are at fault as well as takers ? "

" Not at all," said Epameinondas ; " but in wealth as in other things I hold that the conferring and acceptance of a favour are sometimes shameful and sometimes honourable."

" Does not," Theanor went on, " the man who pays his debt willingly and cheerfully, do well in giving ? "

Epameinondas agreed.

" And does not he who accepts a gift well given do

³ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδα Wyttenbach ; ὡς ἐπαμεινώνδας E ; ὡς ὁ ἐπαμεινώνδας B.

⁴ πρῶτον Wyttenbach : πρότερον.

⁵ μὲν Dübner : ἄ.

(584)

D εἴληφεν; ἢ γένοιτ' ἄν δικαιοτέρα χρημάτων λήψις τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δικαίως διδόντος; ”

“ Οὐκ ἄν, ” ἔφη, “ γένοιτο. ”

“ Δυοῖν ἄρα φίλων, ” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, εἰ θατέρῳ δοτέον, θατέρῳ¹ δήπου ληπτέον· ἐν μὲν γὰρ ταῖς μάχαις τὸν εὖ βάλλοντα τῶν πολεμίων ἐκκλιτέον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χάρισι τὸν καλῶς διδόντα τῶν φίλων οὔτε φεύγειν οὔτε ἀπωθεῖσθαι δίκαιον· εἰ γὰρ ἢ πενία μὴ δυσχερές, οὐδ' αὖ πάλιν ὁ πλοῦτος οὕτως ἄτιμος καὶ ἀπόβλητος. ”

“ Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ” εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, “ ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτω μὴ λαβόντι² τὸ καλῶς διδόμενον τιμιώτερον ὑπάρχει καὶ κάλλιον· οὕτως δ' ἐπίσκειψαι μεθ' ἡμῶν. ”

E “ Εἰσὶ δήπουθεν ἐπιθυμῖαι πολλαὶ καὶ πολλῶν, ἔναι μὲν ἔμφυτοι λεγόμεναι καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα βλαστάνουσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἡδονάς, αἱ δὲ ἐπήλυδες, αἱ ἔνεκα³ κενῶν δοξῶν, ἰσχὺν δὲ καὶ βίαν ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνηθείας ἐν τροφῇ μοχθηρᾷ λαβοῦσαι, πολλάκις ἔλκουσι καὶ ταπεινοῦσι τὴν ψυχὴν ἔρρωμενέστερον τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἔθει δὲ καὶ μελέτῃ πολὺ μὲν τις ἤδη καὶ τῶν ἐμφύτων ἀπαρύσαι παθῶν τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχε· τὸ δὲ πᾶν τῆς ἀσκήσεως κράτος, ὦ φίλε, ταῖς ἐπεισοδίοις καὶ περιτταῖς προσαγαγόντας⁴ ἐπιθυμῖαις ἐκπονεῖν χρὴ καὶ ἀποκόπτειν αὐτὰς ἀνείρξῃσι καὶ κατοχαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου κολαζομένας. εἰ γὰρ δίψαν ἐκβιάζεται F καὶ πείναν⁵ ἢ πρὸς τροφήν καὶ ποτὸν ἀντίβασις τοῦ

¹ θατέρῳ Leonicus : θάτερον.

² λαβόντι Wyttenbach : διδόντι.

³ αἱ ἔνεκα Bern. (αἱ μὲν ἐκ Post) : αἱ ἔνεκεν.

⁴ προσαγαγόντας] προσάγοντας Klaffenbach.

⁵ πείναν B : πείν E.

well in receiving? Or how could money be more honestly accepted than by accepting it from one who gives it honestly?"

"In no other way," was the reply.

"Therefore, Epameinondas," he went on, "if of two friends the one ought to give, the other surely ought to accept; in battles one should elude the enemy who casts well, but in the matter of favours it is not right either to evade or to repulse the friend who gives well; for granting poverty no burden, no more is wealth in its turn so valueless and undesirable as all that."

"True," said Epameinondas; "yet there is a case where the rightly offered gift is more valuable and honourable if not accepted. Consider the point with me in the light of the following considerations.

"There are, I take it, many desires, and these have many objects. Some desires, called innate, spring up in the body with the necessary pleasures as objects. Others are adventitious,^a and seek to gratify mere empty fancies. Yet when a man has had a poor upbringing, long habit makes them strong and violent, and often they drag the soul along and humble it more forcibly than do the necessary desires. Habit and practice, however, have been known to enable reason to abate much of even the innate passions; and one must apply the whole might of a strict course of training, my dear friend, to the intrusive and superfluous desires and wear them down and cut them off by letting reason chasten them with repeated repression and restraint. For if thirst and hunger are overpowered by the resistance of reason

^a Cf. *Mor.* 989 B-C and Aristoxenus, quoted by Stobaeus, vol. iii, p. 424. 15-18 (ed. Hense).

(584) λογισμοῦ, μακρῶ δῆπου ῥᾶόν ἐστι φιλοπλουτίαν κολοῦσαι καὶ φιλοδοξίαν ἀποχαῖς ὧν ἐφίενται καὶ ἀνείρξεσιν εἰς τέλος καταλυθείσας· ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι;”

᾽Ωμολόγησεν ὁ ξένος.

“Ἄρ’ οὖν,” ἔφη, “διαφορὰν ὀράς ἀσκήσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὃ ἢ ἀσκησις ἔργου, καὶ καθάπερ ἀθλητικῆς ἔργον μὲν ἂν εἴποις τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ στεφάνου πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἄμιλλαν, ἀσκησιν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτο¹ διὰ τῶν γυμνασίων παρασκευὴν τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς ὁμολογεῖς τὸ μὲν ἔργον εἶναι, τὸ δ’ ἀσκησιν;”

᾽Ομολογήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ξένου, “φέρε τοίνυν πρῶτον,” εἶπεν, “ἐπὶ² τῆς ἐγκρατείας· τὸ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν καὶ παρανόμων ἡδονῶν ἀπέχεσθαι πό-
585 τερον ἀσκησιν ἢ μᾶλλον ἔργον καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἀσκήσεως εἶναι νομίζεις;”³

“Ἔργον,” εἶπεν,⁴ “ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόδειξιν.”

“Ἄσκησιν δὲ καὶ μελέτην ἐγκρατείας⁵ οὐχ ἦπερ ἔτι νῦν ἐφείλκυσθε πάντες ὑμεῖς, ὅταν γυμναζόμενοι⁶ καὶ κινήσαντες ὥσπερ ζῶα τὰς ὀρέξεις ἐπιστήτε λαμπραῖς τραπέζαις καὶ ποικίλοις ἐδέσμασι πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα, ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκέταις ὑμῶν εὐωχεῖσθαι παραδόντες, αὐτοὶ τὰ λιτὰ καὶ ἀπλᾶ προσφέρησθε κεκολασμέναις ἤδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις; ἢ γὰρ ἐν οἷς ἕξεσθιν ἀποχὴ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀσκησίς ἐστι τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς ἃ κεκώλυται.”

¹ τοῦτο] τούτω Β.

² εἶπεν ἐπὶ nos (ἐπὶ Kronenberg): εἶπέ (εἶπέ περὶ Warmington).

³ νομίζεις Basle edition of 1542: νομίζην.

⁴ εἶπεν Reiske: εἶπον.

to food and drink, it is surely far easier to check the appetites for wealth and fame and break their power in the end by abstaining from what they desire and holding them back. Do you not agree ? ”

The stranger assented.

“ Do you observe,” he asked, “ a difference between a course of training and the goal such training serves ; and as you would say that in athletics the goal is to compete with one’s opponent for the crown, whereas the training is the preparation of the body for that end through exercise, so do you agree that in virtue as well the goal is one thing and the training another ? ”

When the stranger had agreed, Epameinondas continued : “ First take the case of continence : do you regard abstention from shameful and unlawful pleasures as training or rather as the goal and evidence of training ? ”

“ The goal and evidence,” he replied.

“ And do you not consider it as training and practice in continence to achieve it as you have all achieved it to this day ? Exercising till your appetites, like so many animals, have been stirred up, you place yourselves for some time before splendid tables and varied meats ; then, relinquishing to your slaves the enjoyment of the feast, you partake yourselves of plain and simple fare with desires which by that time have been chastened.^a For abstention from pleasure in what is allowed is a training of the soul to resist what is forbidden.”

^a For this practice of the Pythagoreans cf. Diodorus, x. 5. 2, and Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, chap. xxi. 187.

⁵ μετὰ before ἐγκρατείας omitted by Reiske.

⁶ γυμναζόμενοι] γυμνασάμενοι Reiske.

(585) “ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,” εἶπεν.

“ Ἔστιν οὖν τις, ᾧ φίλε, καὶ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς
 Β φιλοπλουτίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἄσκησις, οὐ τὸ μὴ
 κλέπτειν ἐπιόντα νύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πέλας μηδὲ
 λωποδυτεῖν, οὐδ’ εἰ μὴ προδίδωσί τις πατρίδα καὶ
 φίλους δι’ ἀργύριον, οὗτος ἄσκει πρὸς φιλαργυρίαν
 (καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἴσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ φόβος ἀπείργει
 τὴν πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἀδικεῖν), ἀλλὰ ὁ τῶν δικαίων
 καὶ συγκεχωρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κερδῶν πολ-
 λάκις ἀφιστὰς ἑαυτὸν ἐκουσίως ἄσκει καὶ προσεθί-
 ζεται μακρὰν εἶναι παντὸς ἀδίκου καὶ παρανόμου
 λήμματος. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἡδοναῖς μεγάλαις μὲν,
 ἀτόποις δὲ καὶ βλαβεραῖς, οἷόν τε τὴν διάνοιαν
 C ἡρεμεῖν μὴ πολλάκις ἐν ἐξουσία τοῦ ἀπολαύειν
 καταφρονήσασαν, οὔτε λήμματα μοχθηρὰ καὶ
 πλεονεξίας μεγάλας εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἠκούσας ὑπερβῆναι
 ῥάδιον ᾧτινι μὴ πόρρωθεν ἐνδέδωκε¹ καὶ κεκό-
 λασται τὸ φιλοκερδές, ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἕξεστιν² ἀνέδην³
 εἰς τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀνατεθραμμένον σπαργᾶ⁴ περὶ
 τὰς ἀδικίας⁵ μάλα μόλις καὶ χαλεπῶς τοῦ πλεον-
 εκτεῖν ἀπεχόμενον. ἀνδρὶ δὲ μὴ φίλων προἰεμένῳ
 χάρισι, μὴ βασιλέων δωρεαῖς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχης
 κλῆρον ἀπειπαμένῳ καὶ θησαυροῦ φανέντος ἐπι-
 πηδῶσαν ἀποστήσαντι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν οὐκ ἐπαν-

¹ ἐνδέδωκε E : ἐνδέδοται B (δέδεται Schwartz : ἐνδέδεται Reiske).

² ἀλλ’ ἐν οἷς ἕξεστιν Pohlenz (ἀλλ’ οἷς ἕξεστιν Emperius) : ἀλλαις ἕξεσιν.

“ Assuredly,” he said.

“ For justice too, then, my dear friend, a mode of training exists, whereby we resist the appetite for riches and money. It does not lie in abstention from going about at night to steal our neighbours’ goods or strip men of their cloaks ; nor yet does the man who refuses to betray country and friends for gold train himself to resist the passion for money (here, actually, it is perhaps the law and fear that keeps his cupidity from crime) ; it is instead the man who of his own free will repeatedly holds back from profits honourable and conceded by the law, that trains and accustoms himself to keep well aloof from all dishonest and unlawful gain.^a For neither in the midst of great but unseemly and harmful pleasures can the mind remain unmoved, unless it has often, while free to enjoy it, held pleasure in contempt ; nor yet is it easy to forgo sordid profits and lucrative but dishonest gains, when they come within our power, if a man’s avarice, instead of being subdued well in advance and chastened, has been bred to profit without stint where profit is legitimate, and so is all agog for fraud and crime, held back just barely and with difficulty from unrightful gain. He, on the other hand, who does not yield himself up to the favours of friends or the bounty of kings, but rejects even the windfalls of fortune, and on discovering hidden treasure, calls off the cupidity that leaps at it, finds that his cupidity does not rise in

^a Cf. *Mor.* 522 B.

³ ἀνέδην Reiske : ἀναίδην.

⁴ σπαργᾶ Emperius : ὁ γὰρ σπαργᾶ E^cB (σ inserted by E², replacing a σ superscribed over π by E^c and now erased).

⁵ περὶ τὰς ἀδικίας Stegmann (πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας Bern. ; Schwartz deletes) : περὶ τῆς ἀδικίας.

(585) ἴσεται πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας οὐδὲ θορυβεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν,
 D ἀλλὰ εὐκόλως χρῆται πρὸς τὸ καλὸν αὐτῷ μέγα
 φρονῶν καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ συνειδώς. τού-
 των ἐγὼ καὶ Καφισίας ἔρασταὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ὄντες, ὦ φίλε Σιμμία, παραιτούμεθα τὸν ξένον
 εἶαν ἡμᾶς ἱκανῶς ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι¹ τῇ πενίᾳ πρὸς
 τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐκείνην.”

16. Ταῦτα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διελθόντος, ὅσον² ὁ
 Σιμμίας δις ἢ τρις ἐπινεύσας τῇ κεφαλῇ, “ μέγας,”
 ἔφη, “ μέγας ἀνὴρ ἐστὶν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, τούτου
 δ’ αἴτιος οὐτοσὶ Πόλυμνις ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν ἀρίστην
 τροφὴν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ τοῖς παισὶ παρασκευασάμενος.
 ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὐτὸς³ διαλύεσθαι⁴ πρὸς
 E αὐτούς,⁵ ὦ ξένε· τὸν δὲ Λῦσιν ἡμῖν, εἰ θέμις ἀκουῖ-
 σαι, πότερον ἄρα κινεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου καὶ μετ-
 οικίζεις εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἢ καταμένειν ἐνταῦθα παρ’
 ἡμῖν ἐάσεις εὐμένεσι καὶ φίλοις, ὅταν ἐκεῖ γενώ-
 μεθα, συνοίκοις χρησόμενον;”

Καὶ ὁ Θεάνωρ ἐπιμειδιάσας, “ ἔοικεν,” ἔφη,
 Λῦσις, ὦ Σιμμία, φιλοχωρεῖν, οὐδενὸς τῶν καλῶν
 ἐνδεῆς γεγωνῶς δι’ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν.⁶ ἐστὶ γάρ τι
 γινόμενον⁷ ἰδίᾳ περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν
 ὄσιον, οὗ μὴ τυχόντες οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἀπέχειν τὸ
 μακαριστὸν καὶ οἰκέϊον τέλος. ὡς οὖν ἐγνωμεν ἐκ
 τῶν ὀνειρών τὴν Λύσιδος τελευτὴν (διαγινώσκομεν

¹ ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι Stephanus (ἐγγυμνάσασθαι Wytttenbach):
 ἐγγυμνάσθαι E; ἐγγυμνάσθαι B.

² ὅσον] deleted by Reiske.

³ αὐτὸς] αὐτοὶ Vulcobius.

⁴ διαλύεσθαι] διαλύεσθε Turnebus (but the infinitive is used
 as an imperative in *Life of Sulla*, chap. xxi. 3, 465 E).

⁵ αὐτούς] αὐτούς Reiske.

⁶ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν] ἐπαμινώνδα E.

rebellion against him at the prospect of wrongdoing nor throw his thoughts into turmoil; instead, he readily disposes of himself for all good ends, holding his head high and conscious of the presence in his soul of nothing but the noblest thoughts. In our admiration for such men, dear Simmias, Caphisias and I entreat this grace of the stranger—to allow us practice enough in our poverty to achieve that excellence.”

16. When my brother had done, Simmias nodded some two or three times in assent, and said: “Epa-meinondas is a great man, great indeed, and his greatness is due to Polymnis here, who from their early years provided his sons with the best upbringing, schooling them in philosophy. But this dispute, sir, you must settle with them yourself. To return to Lysis: if it is lawful for us to be told, are you going to remove him from his grave and take him to Italy, or will you permit him to remain here with us? He will find us good and friendly neighbours when we join him there.”

Theanor smiled at this and said: “It would appear, Simmias, that Lysis is attached to his present abode, since, thanks to Epameinondas, he lacks no honourable provision. For a certain special rite^a is performed at the burials of Pythagoreans, and without it we do not feel in full possession of the blessed end that is proper to our sect. And so, when we learned from our dreams of Lysis’ death (we tell by a certain

^a The rite is unknown. For the funeral observances of the Pythagoreans cf. F. Cumont, “A propos des dernières paroles de Socrate” in *Comptes-Rendus, Ac. des Inscr. et Belles-Lettres* (1943), pp. 114 f.

⁷ γινόμενον Stegmann: γένόμενον.

(585) δὲ σημείω τινὶ φαινομένῳ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶτε
 F τεθνηκότος εἶτε ζῶντος εἶδωλόν ἐστιν), ἔννοια πολ-
 λοῖς ἐπεισῆλθεν ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης ὁ Λύσις ἄλλως κεκή-
 δευται καὶ κινητέος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ὅπως ἐκεῖ¹ μεταλάχη
 τῶν νομιζομένων. τοιαύτη δὲ διανοία παραγενό-
 μενος καὶ πρὸς τὸν τάφον εὐθύς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων
 ὀδηγηθεὶς ἐσπέρας ἤδη, χοὰς ἐχεόμεν ἀνακαλού-
 μενος τὴν Λύσιδος ψυχὴν κατελθεῖν ἀποθεσπίσουςαν
 ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα πράσσειν. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς
 εἶδον μὲν οὐδέν, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ φωνῆς ἔδοξα τὰ ἀκίνητα
 μὴ κινεῖν· ὁσίως γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων κεκηδεῦσθαι
 τὸ Λύσιδος σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν, ἤδη κεκριμένην,
 ἀφεῖσθαι πρὸς ἄλλην γένεσιν ἄλλῳ δαίμονι συλ-
 λαχοῦσαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ συμβαλὼν ἔωθεν Ἐπα-
 586 μεινώνδα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀκούσας ᾧ θάψειε Λύσιν
 ἐπέγνων ὅτι καλῶς ἄχρι τῶν ἀπορρήτων πεπαιδευ-
 μένος ὑπ' ἐκείνου τάνδρὸς εἶη καὶ χρῶτο ταύτῳ
 δαίμονι πρὸς τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ κακὸς ἐγὼ τεκμή-
 ρασθαι τῷ πλῶ τὸν κυβερνήτην· μυρίαί² μὲν γὰρ
 ἀτραποὶ βίων, ὀλίγαι δὲ ἄς δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους
 ἄγουσιν." ὁ μὲν οὖν Θεάνωρ, ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, τῷ
 Ἐπαμεινώνδα προσέβλεψεν, οἷον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀνα-
 θεώμενος³ αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ⁴ τὸ εἶδος.

17. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἰατρὸς προσελθὼν περι-

¹ ἐκεῖ] οἴκοι Holwerda.

² μυρίαί Richards (συχναὶ van Herwerden) : εὐρεῖαι.

³ ἀναθεώμενος Leonicus : ἀναθέμενος.

⁴ καὶ added by Victorius.

^a G. Méautis, *Recherches sur le pythagorisme* (Neuchâtel, 1922), pp. 34 f., compares *Mor.* 564 D and 300 C to show that if the apparition blinked its eyes or cast a shadow it was taken to belong to a living person.

token appearing in our sleep whether the apparition is of the dead or of the living) ^a it occurred to many that Lysis had been improperly buried in a foreign land and that we must remove him so that over there ^b he might have the benefit of our customary rites. It was with this in mind that I came here ; and as soon as the people of the country had led me to the grave (it was evening by then) I poured libations, summoning the soul of Lysis to return and reveal what course I should take. As the night advanced I saw no vision, but seemed to hear a voice that said ' touch not the inviolable,' ^c as Lysis' friends had given his body consecrated burial, while his soul, already judged, had been joined by lot to another daemon ^d and released for another birth. Moreover, on meeting Epameinondas this morning and hearing how he had buried Lysis, I recognized that he had been well instructed by that other, ^e even in the secrets, and that he had the same daemon for his life, if I have any skill to judge of the skipper by the navigation. For while the paths of life are numberless, yet those are few on which men are guided by daemons." On saying this Theanor looked at Epameinondas as though in renewed study of his character and appearance.

17. Meanwhile the physician approached Simmias

^b Probably " in Italy " ; but possibly the meaning is " in the other world."

^c Literally " not to move (or disturb) what may not be moved (or disturbed)."

^d For theories about the daemon of the Pythagoreans cf. P. C. van der Horst, *Les Vers d'or pythagoriciens* (Leyden, 1932), pp. 49-53.

^e Literally " that man," an expression of respect among the Pythagoreans. Cf. P. Shorey in *Classical Philology*, xii (1917), p. 436.

(586) ἔλυσε τοῦ Σιμμίου τὸν ἐπίδεσμον ὡς θεραπεύσων
 B τὸ σῶμα, Φυλλίδας δὲ ἐπεισελθὼν μεθ' Ἴππο-
 σθενείδου καὶ κελεύσας ἐμὲ καὶ Χάρωνα καὶ Θεό-
 κριτον ἔξαναστῆναι προσῆγεν εἰς τινα γωνίαν τοῦ
 περιστύλου, σφόδρα τεταραγμένος, ὡς διεφαίνετο
 τῷ προσώπῳ. κάμου, “ μὴ τι καινότερον, ὦ
 Φυλλίδα, προσπέπτωκεν; ” εἰπόντος, “ ἐμοὶ μὲν
 οὐδέν, ” ἔφη, “ καινόν, ὦ Καφισία· καὶ γὰρ προή-
 δειν καὶ προὔλεγον ὑμῖν τὴν Ἴπποσθενείδου
 μαλακίαν, δεόμενος μὴ ἀνακοινοῦσθαι μηδὲ παρα-
 λαμβάνειν εἰς τὴν πράξιν.”

Ἐκπλαγέντων δὲ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν, ὁ Ἴππο-
 σθενείδας, “ μὴ λέγε πρὸς θεῶν, ” ἔφη, “ Φυλλίδα,
 ταῦτα, μηδὲ τὴν προπέτειαν εὐτολμίαν οἰόμενος
 ἀνατρέψης καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἔασον
 C ἀσφαλῶς, εἴπερ εἴμαρται, κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας.”

Καὶ ὁ Φυλλίδας παροξυνόμενος, “ εἰπέ μοι, ”
 φησὶν, “ ὦ Ἴπποσθενείδα, πόσους οἶει μετέχειν
 τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰς τὴν πράξιν ἡμῖν; ”

“ Ἐγὼ μὲν, ” εἶπεν, “ οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἢ τριάκοντα
 γινώσκω.”

“ Τί οὖν, ” ἔφη, “ τοσοῦτων τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων,
 τὰ πᾶσι δόξαντα μόνος ἀνήρηκας καὶ διακεκώ-
 λυκας, ἐκπέμψας ἰππέα πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἤδη καθ'
 ὁδὸν ὄντας, ἀναστρέφειν κελεύσας καὶ μὴ κατα-
 τεῖναι σήμερον, ὅτε τῶν πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῖς
 τὰ πλείστα καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον συμπαρασκευάσεν; ”

Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Φυλλίδου, πάντες μὲν
 D διαταράχθημεν, ὁ δὲ Χάρων, τῷ Ἴπποσθενείδα πάνυ
 σκληρῶς τὴν ὄψιν ἐνερείσας, “ ὦ μοχθηρέ, ” εἶπεν,
 “ ἄνθρωπε, τί δέδρακας ἡμᾶς; ”

“ Οὐδέν, ” ἔφη, “ δεινόν, ” ὁ Ἴπποσθενείδας,

and removed the bandage, preparing to dress the wound. But Phyllidas entered with Hippostheneidas, and calling Charon, Theocritus, and myself aside, led us to a corner of the peristyle, in great agitation as his face revealed.^a When I asked: "Has anything unexpected occurred, Phyllidas?" he replied: "nothing I had not expected, Caphisias; I knew and forewarned you that Hippostheneidas was a weakling and begged you not to inform him of our plans or include him in the execution."

We were alarmed at these words; and Hippostheneidas said: "In the name of the gods, Phyllidas, do not say that; do not, mistaking rashness for courage, bring ruin on ourselves and on our country, but allow the exiles to return (if such is their fate) in safety."

Phyllidas said in exasperation: "Tell me, Hippostheneidas, how many do you think are in the secret of our enterprise?"

"For my part," he answered, "I know of not less than thirty."

"Then why," he asked, "when the number is so great, have you, acting alone, ruined and thwarted the plans agreed upon by all? Sending a mounted messenger to the exiles, already on the way, you told them to turn back and not press on to-day—to-day when mere luck has helped to bring about most of the conditions favourable to their return."

At these words of Phyllidas' we were all dismayed, and Charon said, with a cold stare at Hippostheneidas, "Wretch! What have you done to us?"

"Nothing terrible," said Hippostheneidas, "if you

^a The story of Hippostheneidas and Chlidon is also told in the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. viii. 5-9 (281 D—282 A).

(586) “ ἔὰν ἀνεῖς τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς φωνῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικιώτου καὶ πολὺς παραπλησίως ἔχοντος λογισμῶν μετάσχης. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐψυχίαν φιλοκίνδυνον ἀποδείξασθαι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ θυμὸν ὀλιγωροῦντα τοῦ βίου προηγήμεθα, Φυλλίδα, πολὺ τὸ τῆς ἡμέρας μῆκος ἔτι, καὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν μὴ περιμένωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἤδη βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους τὰ ξίφη λαβόντες· ἀποκτιννύωμεν, ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ἀφειδῶμεν ἑαυτῶν. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὔτε δρᾶσαι χαλεπὸν

Ε οὔτε παθεῖν, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ τὰς Θήβας ὄπλων τοσούτων πολεμίων περιεχόντων καὶ τὴν Σπαρτιατῶν φρουρὰν ἀπώσασθαι δυσὶ νεκροῖς ἢ τρισὶν οὐ ῥάδιον (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς παρεσκευάκε Φυλλίδας ἄκρατον ὥστε τοὺς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους Ἀρχία¹ μεθυσθῆναι δορυφόρους· ἀλλὰ κὰν ἐκείνον ἀνέλωμεν, ἐφεδρεύει τῇ νυκτὶ νήφων Ἡριπίδας² καὶ Ἄρκεσος), τί σπεύδομεν κατάγειν φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἀνδρας ἐπὶ προὔπτον ὄλεθρον καὶ τοῦτο μηδὲ ἀγνοούντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασιν τὴν κάθοδον; διὰ τί γὰρ

Φ Θεσπιεῦσι μὲν παρήγγελται τρίτην ἡμέραν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις εἶναι καὶ προσέχειν ὅταν οἱ Σπαρτιατῶν ἡγεμόνες καλῶσιν; Ἀμφίθεον δὲ σήμερον, ὡς πυνθάνομαι, μέλλουσιν ἀνακρίναντες, ὅταν Ἀρχίας ἐπανέλθῃ, διαφθερεῖν. οὐ μεγάλα ταῦτα σημεῖα τοῦ μὴ λανθάνειν τὴν πρᾶξιν; οὐ κράτιστον ἐπισχεῖν χρόνον οὐχὶ πολὺν ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἐξοσιώσασθαι

¹ Ἀρχία] the mss. have ἀρχία, interpreted by all editors except Bern. as a genitive.

will soften the harshness of your voice and listen to the reasons of a man of your own age with white hairs like yourself. If we are resolved to show our countrymen an example of undaunted courage and of a high spirit that holds life cheap, Phyllidas, much of the day still remains ; let us not wait for nightfall, but at once set out against the tyrants, sword in hand ; let us slay and be slain and be prodigal of our lives. But slaying or being slain is not difficult, whereas it is no easy task to capture Thebes when hostile arms beset us in such numbers and to repel the Spartan garrison at the cost of but two or three dead ; for the store of unmixed wine laid in by Phyllidas for his banquets and entertainments is not enough to make the fifteen hundred men in Archias' bodyguard drunk, and even if we succeed in killing Archias, we still have Herippidas and Arcesus,^a sober men, to face in the morning. Why then this haste to bring friends and kinsmen home to certain destruction, and that too when our foes are not entirely unaware of their coming ? Why have the Thespians had orders these past two days to stand under arms and hold themselves ready for the summons of the Spartan commanders ? They are going to interrogate Amphitheüs to-day, I hear, and on Archias' return ^b put him to death. Is not all this strong evidence that our plot is known ? Is it not best to wait a little, just long enough to propitiate Heaven ? For when they

^a Herippidas and Arcesus were the Spartan commanders still remaining in Thebes. Lysanoridas, the third, had gone to Haliartus : *cf.* 578 A, *supra*.

^b Archias had left to escort Lysanoridas on the way to Haliartus : *cf.* 594, *infra*.

² Ἡριππίδας Reiske ('Ερριππίδας Hutten) : κριππίδας.

(586) τὰ θεῖα; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάντις τῇ Δήμητρι¹ τὸν βοῦν
 θύοντες πολὺν θόρυβον καὶ κίνδυνον λέγουσι δη-
 μόσιον ἀποσημαίνειν τὰ ἔμπυρα. καὶ τὸ σοὶ
 πλείστης δεόμενον, ὦ Χάρων, εὐλαβείας· ἐχθές
 ἐξ ἀγροῦ μοι συνοδεύων Ὑπατόδωρος ὁ Ἐριάνθους,
 χρηστὸς μὲν ἄλλως καὶ οἰκείος ἀνὴρ, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν
 587 πρασσομένων² συνειδώς, ‘ἔστι σοι,’ φησὶν, ‘ὦ
 Ἴπποσθενεΐδα, Χάρων ἐταῖρος ἐμοὶ δ’ οὐ πάνυ
 συνήθης· ἐὰν οὖν δοκῇ σοι, φράσον αὐτῷ φυλάτ-
 τεσθαί τινα κίνδυνον ἐξ ἐνυπνίου μάλα δυσχεροῦς
 καὶ ἀτόπου. τῆς γὰρ ἄλλης νυκτὸς ὤμην αὐτοῦ
 τὴν οἰκίαν ὠδίνειν ὥσπερ κνουσαν,³ αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ
 τοὺς φίλους συναγωνιῶντας εὔχεσθαι καὶ κύκλω
 παρεῖναι, τὴν⁴ δὲ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ ἀφιέναι φωνάς
 τινὰς ἀνάρθρους, τέλος δὲ πῦρ λάμψαι πολὺ καὶ
 δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔνδοθεν, ὡς τὰ πλείστα τῆς πόλεως
 φλέγεσθαι, τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν καπνῷ μόνῳ περιέχε-
 Β σθαι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἄνω μὴ περιπολάζειν.’⁵ ἡ μὲν οὖν
 ὄψις, ὦ Χάρων, ἦν ὁ ἄνθρωπος διεξῆλθε, τοιαύτη
 τις ἦν· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παραχρῆμα κατέδεια καὶ πολὺ
 μᾶλλον, ἀκούσας σήμερον ὡς εἰς⁶ τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν
 οἱ φυγάδες καταίρειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγωνιῶ μὴ με-
 γάλων κακῶν ἐμπλήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, οὐδὲν
 ἀξιόλογον τοὺς πολεμίους δράσαντες ἀλλ’ ὅσον
 διαταράξαντες. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν πρὸς ἡμῶν τίθεμαι,
 τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ, πρὸς ἐκείνων.”

18. Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος καὶ κατασχὼν
 τὸν Χάρωνα βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τὸν Ἴππο-
 σθενεΐδαν, “ἀλλ’ ἔμοιγε,” εἶπεν, “ἀπ’ οὐδενὸς

¹ Δήμητρι Bern. : δημήτρα.

sacrificed the ox to Demeter the diviners say that the flesh burnt on the altar portended great tumult and danger to the state. And for you, Charon, here is something that requires the greatest caution. Yesterday I came in from the country with Hypatodorus, son of Erianthes, an excellent person and a kinsman of mine, but quite unaware of what is afoot. 'Charon,' he said, 'is a close friend of yours, Hippostheneidas, but not well known to me; you must put him on his guard, then, if you will, against a danger portended by a most ominous and extraordinary dream. Last night I dreamed that his house was in labour, as with child, and that as he and his friends in their anxiety were offering prayers and gathered around it, it groaned and gave utterance to certain inarticulate sounds; at last a great and terrible fire flared up from within, so that most of the city was in flames, though the Cadmeia was only veiled in smoke, as the fire enveloping it did not rise so high.' Such, Charon, was the vision he recounted. For my part, I was alarmed even at the time, and on hearing to-day that it is at your house the exiles intend to stay, I have become much more apprehensive, for fear that we may involve ourselves in disaster and yet do the enemy no serious injury, but merely give them a fright. For I take the city to stand for ourselves, and the Cadmeia to be on their side, as indeed it is."

18. Theocritus interposed, checking Charon, who desired to say something to Hippostheneidas. "But as for myself, Hippostheneidas," he said, "nothing

² *πρασσομένων* Pflugk : *προεσσομένων*.

³ *κνούσαν* (cf. note on *Mor.* 552 D) : *κύουσαν*.

⁴ *τὴν* B^{1ss} : *τὸν*.

⁵ *περιπολάζειν*] *ἐπιπολάζειν* Turnebus.

⁶ *εἰς* B : E omits.

(587)
 C οὕτως οὐδέποτε θαρρήσαι πρὸς τὴν πράξιν, ὧ
 Ἰπποσθενεΐδα, παρέστη, καίπερ ἱεροῖς ἀεὶ χρησα-
 μένω καλοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὄψεως
 ταύτης· εἶ γε φῶς μὲν πολὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ
 πόλει λέγεις ἐξ οἰκίας φίλης ἀνασχεῖν, καπνῶ δὲ
 συμμελανθῆναι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἰκητήριον, οὐδὲν
 οὐδέποτε δακρύων καὶ ταραχῆς φέροντι κρεῖττον,
 ἀσήμους δὲ φωνὰς, ἐκφέρεσθαι παρ' ἡμῶν, ὥστε
 κἂν τις ἐπιχειρῇ¹ κατηγορεῖν, περιφώνησιν² ἀσαφῆ
 καὶ τυφλὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἢ πράξις λαβοῦσα μόνον, ἅμα
 καὶ φανήσεται καὶ κρατήσει.³ δυσιερεῖν δέ γε
 θύοντας εἰκός· ἢ γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον οὐ δη-
 μόσιον ἀλλὰ τῶν κρατούντων ἐστίν."

"Ἐτι δὲ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος λέγω πρὸς τὸν
 D Ἰπποσθενεΐδαν, "τίνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξαπ-
 ἔστειλας; εἶ γὰρ οὐ πολὺ προεἰλήφας, διωζόμεθα."

Καὶ ὁ Ἰπποσθενεΐδας, "οὐκ οἶδ'," εἶπεν, "ὧ
 Καφισία (δεῖ γὰρ ὑμῖν τάληθῆ λέγειν) εἰ κατα-
 λάβοις ἂν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἵππῳ χρώμενον τῶν ἐν
 Θήβαις κρατίστω· γνώριμος δ' ὑμῖν ὁ ἄνθρωπός
 ἐστι, τῶν Μέλωνος ἀρματηλατῶν ἐπιστάτης καὶ
 διὰ Μέλωνα τὴν πράξιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς συνειδώς."

Καὶ γὰρ, κατιδὼν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ἄρ' οὐ Χλίδωνα
 λέγεις," εἶπον, "ὧ Ἰπποσθενεΐδα,⁴ τὸν κέλητι τὰ
 Ἡράκλεια⁵ νικῶντα πέρυσιν;"

"Ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὖν αὐτόν," ἔφησε.

"Καὶ τίς οὗτος," ἔφην, "ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς ταῖς
 αὐλείοις θύραις ἐφεστὼς πάλαι καὶ προσβλέπων
 ἡμῖν;"

¹ κἂν τις ἐπιχειρῇ Pohlenz (κἂν εἴ τις ἐπιχειροῖη Bern.): κἂν
 εἴ τις ἐπιχειρῇ. ² περιφώνησιν Reiske: περὶ φωνῆς, ἴν'.

has ever so encouraged me in our venture as this vision, although my sacrifices have always augured well for the exiles—if as you say a great and brilliant light arose in the city from a friendly house, while the habitation of the enemy was darkened with smoke (which never leads to anything better than tears and confusion), and indistinct sounds got abroad from our side, so that even if an attempt is made to denounce us, our enterprise, attended with but indistinct rumours and blind suspicion, will be revealed only by its triumph. As for their sacrifice, it was of course unfavourable. The official and the victim do not represent the state but the faction in power.”

While Theocritus was still speaking I asked Hippostheneidas : “ Whom did you send with the message ? If you have given him no great start, we will set out in pursuit.”

He replied : “ I am afraid, Caphisias (I must tell you and the others the truth), that you cannot overtake him, as he has the best mount in Thebes. You all know the man : he is overseer of Melon’s charioteers and through Melon has been aware of the plot from the beginning.”

And I, who had caught sight of the man, remarked : “ It must be Chlidon you mean, Hippostheneidas, who won the horse-race at the games of Heracles last year.”

“ The very man,” he replied.

“ And who,” I asked, “ is this ? He has been standing for some time at the outer door looking our way.”

³ κρατήσει Dübner : κρατήση.

⁴ Ἰπποσθενείδα Leonicus : ἀντισθενείδα.

⁵ Ἡράκλεια Christ : ἡραῖα.

(587) Ἐπιστρέψας οὖν ὁ Ἴπποσθενείδης, “Χλίδων,”
 Ε ἔφη, “νῆ τὸν Ἡρακλέα· φεῦ, μὴ τι χαλεπώτερον
 συμβέβηκε;”

Κακείνος, ὡς εἶδεν ἡμᾶς προσέχοντας αὐτῷ,
 ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ἠσυχῆ προσῆγε. τοῦ δ' Ἴπποσθε-
 νείδου νεύσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος εἰς
 ἅπαντας, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὺς τῆς πράξεως μετέχον-
 τας,¹ “οἶδ’,” ἔφη, “τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀκριβῶς, Ἴππο-
 σθενείδα, καὶ σὲ μῆτε κατ' οἶκον εὐρών² μῆτε ἐπ'
 F ἀγορᾶς, δεῦρο πρὸς τούτους ἐτεκμαιρόμην ἤκειν καὶ
 συνέτεινον εὐθὺς ἵνα μηδὲν ἀγνοῆτε τῶν γεγονότων.

“Ὡς γὰρ ἐκέλευσας τάχει παντὶ χρησάμενον
 ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαντῆσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἰσῆλθον
 οἴκαδε ληψόμενος τὸν ἵππον· αἰτοῦντι δέ μοι τὸν
 χαλινὸν οὐκ εἶχεν ἢ γυνὴ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ διέτριβεν³
 ἐν τῷ ταμειῷ⁴ πολὺν χρόνον ὡς⁵ ζητοῦσα καὶ
 σκευωρουμένη⁶ τὰ ἔνδον· ἱκανῶς δ' ἀπολαύσασά
 μου, τέλος ὠμολόγησε κεχρηκέναι τῷ γείτονι τὸν
 χαλινὸν ἐσπέρας αἰτησαμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς γυναικός.
 ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ ἐμοῦ καὶ κακῶς αὐτὴν λέγοντος
 τρέπεται πρὸς δυσφημίας⁷ ἀποτροπαίους ἐπαρω-
 588 μένη κακὰς ὁδοὺς, κακὰς δ' ἐπανόδους· ἃ νῆ Δία
 πάντα τρέψειαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην οἱ⁸ θεοί. τέλος
 δὲ μέχρι πληγῶν προαχθεὶς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, εἶτα ὄχλου
 γειτόνων καὶ γυναικῶν συνδραμόντος αἴσχιστα
 ποιήσας καὶ παθῶν μόλις ἀφίγμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,

¹ ὡς . . . μετέχοντας nos (ὡς τοῦ πράγματος μ. Pohlenz),
 to fill a lacuna of 40-26 letters.

² εὐρών Leonicus: εὔρον.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 587-588

Hippotheneidas turned and exclaimed: "Good heavens! It is Chlidon. Dear me, has anything serious happened?"

Seeing our eyes on him, Chlidon slowly advanced from the door. When Hippotheneidas had nodded to him and told him to speak out before all of us, as all were in the plot, he said: "I know the gentlemen well, Hippotheneidas. Not finding you either at home or in the market-place, I guessed that you had joined them here and came as fast as I could, so that you might all know everything that has happened.

"On receiving your order to ride at full speed and meet the men on the mountain^a I went home for my horse. I called for the bridle but my wife didn't have it, and spent a long time in the storeroom, rummaging through the contents as if looking for it. When she had had enough of making a fool of me she at last admitted lending it the evening before to our neighbour at his wife's request. In my exasperation I railed at her; she then resorted to ominous and appalling language, cursing me with an unlucky journey and an unlucky return; by Heaven! may the gods send all of it on her own head. Finally I got so furious I beat her. Then neighbours and women came running up and a crowd collected; and it was all I could do to get here to you gentlemen, after the shameful way I had acted and been treated, so that

^a Cithaeron, a mountain ridge on the Attic border.

³ διέτριβεν Xylander: διέτριβον.

⁴ ταμείω Bern.: ταμείω.

⁵ Wilamowitz deletes δὲ after ὡς, inserting δ' after ἰκανῶς; Post reads δὴ for δὲ, inserting πρὶν after ἔνδον.

⁶ σκευωρουμένη Ald.²: σκαιωρουμένη.

⁷ δυσφημίας Leonicus: δυσθυμίας. ⁸ οἱ] omitted in B.

(588) ὅπως ἄλλον ἐκπέμπητε πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὡς ἐμοῦ παντάπασιν ἐκστατικῶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος."

19. Ἡμᾶς δέ τις ἔσχεν ἄτοπος μεταβολὴ τοῦ πάθους. μικρὸν γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν τῷ κεκωλύσθαι δυσχεραίνοντες, πάλιν διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ τὸ τάχος,¹ ὡς οὐκ οὔσης ἀναβολῆς, εἰς ἀγωνίαν ὑπηγόμεθα καὶ φόβον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγὼ προσ-
B αγορεύσας τὸν Ἴπποσθενεῖδαν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐθάρρυνον ὡς καὶ τῶν θεῶν παρακαλούντων ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φυλλίδας μὲν ὥχето τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐπιμελησόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν εὐθύς ἐνσεΐσων εἰς τὸν πότον, Χάρων δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευάσων, ὡς δεξόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας,² ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Θεόκριτος πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Σιμμίαν ἐπανήλθομεν ὅπως τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδα καιρὸν λαβόντες ἐντύχοιμεν.

20. Οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἤδη³ πρόσω ζητήσεως οὐκ ἀγενοῦς ἀλλ' ἦς ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν οἱ περὶ Γαλαξιδώρον καὶ Φειδόλαον ἦψαντο, διαποροῦντες τίνος οὐσίας⁴
C καὶ δυνάμεως εἶη τὸ Σωκράτους λεγόμενον δαιμόνιον. ἃ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Γαλαξιδώρου λόγον ἀντίειπεν ὁ Σιμμίας οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Σωκράτη μὲν ἔφη περὶ τούτων ἐρόμενός ποτε μὴ τυχεῖν ἀποκρίσεως, διὸ μηδ' αὐθις ἐρέσθαι, πολ-
λάκις δ' αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν δι' ὄψεως ἐντυχεῖν θείῳ τινὶ λέγοντας ἀλαζόνας ἠγουμένῳ,⁵

¹ τὸ τάχος] τοῦ τάχους E^{ac}.

² τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευάσων, ὡς δεξόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας Amyot and Wyttenbach, to fill a lacuna of 46-18 letters.

³ ἦσαν ἤδη E; B puts ἤδη after ἀγενοῦς.

you might send someone else to meet the men, as I am just now in a thoroughly distracted and wretched state."

19. As for ourselves, our feelings suffered an odd reversal; a little before we had been disappointed at the failure of our plans, while now, with the decision at hand and the need for immediate action upon us (postponement being impossible), we were yielding to anxiety and fear. Nevertheless, I spoke to Hippostheneidas and gave him my hand, encouraging him with the thought that the very gods were calling on us to act.

Thereupon Phyllidas left to prepare his entertainment and lure Archias at once to his cups, and Charon to make the necessary preparations in his house for receiving the exiles. Theocritus and I returned to Simmias for an opportunity to confer with Epameinondas.

20. They were already well along in an inquiry of no trivial scope, the one Galaxidorus and Pheidolaüs had engaged in shortly before, when they raised the problem of the nature and mode of operation of the so-called sign of Socrates.^a Simmias' reply to Galaxidorus' argument we did not hear; speaking for himself, however, he said that he had once asked Socrates about the matter without receiving an answer and had therefore never asked again; but he had often heard Socrates express the view that men who laid claim to visual communication with Heaven were impostors, while to such as affirmed

^a Cf. K. Reinhardt, *Poseidonios*, pp. 464 ff.

⁴ τίνας οὐσίας Turnebus: τίς οὐσία.

⁵ ἡγουμένῳ Stephanus: ἡγούμενον.

(588) τοῖς δ' ἀκοῦσαί τινος φωνῆς φάσκουσι¹ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν καὶ διαπυνθανομένῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς. “ ὅθεν ἡμῖν παρίστατο σκοπουμένοις ἰδίᾳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπονοεῖν μήποτε τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον οὐκ
 D ὄψις ἀλλὰ φωνῆς τινος αἰσθησις ἢ λόγου² νόησις εἶη συνάπτοντος ἀτόπῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ καθ' ὕπνον οὐκ ἔστι φωνή, λόγων δέ τινων δόξας καὶ νοήσεις λαμβάνοντες οἴονται φθεγγομένων ἀκούειν.

“ Ἄλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄναρ ἢ τοιαύτη σύνεσις γίνεται δι' ἡσυχίαν καὶ γαλήνην τοῦ σώματος ὅταν καθεύδωσι μᾶλλον ἀκούουσιν, ὕπαρ δέ³ μόλις ἐπήκοον ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν κρειτόνων καὶ πεπνυγμένοι⁴ γε θορύβῳ τῶν παθῶν καὶ περιαγωγῇ τῶν χρειῶν εἰσακοῦσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐ δύνανται τοῖς δηλουμένοις. Σωκράτει δὲ ὁ νοῦς καθαρὸς ὢν καὶ ἀπαθήs, τῷ
 E σώματι μικρὰ⁵ τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάριν καταμιγνύς αὐτόν, εὐαφῆs ἦν καὶ λεπτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ προσπεσόντος ὀξέως μεταβαλεῖν· τὸ δὲ προσπίπτον οὐ φθόγγον ἀλλὰ λόγον ἂν τις εἰκάσειε δαίμονος ἄνευ φωνῆς ἐφαπτόμενον αὐτῷ τῷ δηλουμένῳ τοῦ νοῦντος.

¹ φάσκουσι Leonicus : φασκούσης.

² ἢ λόγου Ald.² : ἀλόγου.

³ μᾶλλον ἀκούουσιν, ὕπαρ δὲ Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 20-15 letters.

⁴ πεπνυγμένοι Turnebus (πεπνυμένων οἱ Schwartz ; πεπνυμένην οἱ Post) : πεπνυμένοι.

⁵ μῆ before μικρὰ (μικρᾶ E) deleted in Basle edition of 1542.

^a Cf. Cicero, *De Div.* i. 49 (110) : “ Sed vigilantes animi vitae necessitatibus serviunt diiunguntque se a societate divina vinculis corporis inpediti ” ; *ibid.* i. 53 f. (121 f.) and 57 (129 f.).

that they had heard a voice he paid close attention and earnestly inquired after the particulars. "It thus occurred to us," Simmias went on to say, "as we examined the question in private among ourselves, to surmise that Socrates' sign was perhaps no vision, but rather the perception of a voice or else the mental apprehension of language that reached him in some strange way. So in sleep, where no sound is uttered, we fancy, as we receive the impression or notion of certain statements, that we hear people speaking.

"But whereas some men actually have this sort of apprehension in dreams, hearing better asleep, when the body is quiet and undisturbed, while when they are awake ^a their soul can hear the higher powers but faintly, and moreover, as they are overwhelmed by the tumult of their passions and the distractions of their wants, they cannot listen or attend to the message; Socrates, on the other hand, had an understanding which, being pure and free from passion, and commingling with the body but little, for necessary ends, was so sensitive and delicate as to respond at once to what reached him. What reached him, one would conjecture, was not spoken language, but the unuttered words of a daemon, making voiceless contact with his intelligence by their sense alone.^b

^b Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cclv, p. 288 (ed. Wrobel): "Now the voice that Socrates heard was not, I think, of the sort that is made when air is struck; rather it revealed to his soul, which was, by reason of his great purity, unpolluted and therefore more perceptive, the presence and society of his familiar deity, since only the pure may meet and mingle with the pure. And as in dreams we fancy that we hear voices and the words of spoken language, and yet here there is no voice, but only meaning, doing the duty of voice; so the mind of Socrates, by the token of a vivid sign, could divine in waking moments the presence of the deity."

- (588) πληγῇ γὰρ ἡ φωνὴ προσέοικε, τῆς ψυχῆς δι' ὧτων βία τὸν λόγον εἰσδεχομένης ὅταν ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχάνωμεν· ὁ δὲ τοῦ κρείττονος νοῦς ἄγει τὴν εὐφυσῆ ψυχὴν ἐπιθυγιάνων τῷ νοηθέντι πληγῆς μὴ δεομένην, ἢ δ' ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτῷ χαλῶντι καὶ συντείνοντι
- ¶ τὰς ὁρμὰς οὐ βιαίως¹ ὑπὸ παθῶν ἀντιτεινόντων, ἀλλ' εὐστροφούς καὶ μαλακάς, ὥσπερ ἡνίας² ἐνδούσας. οὐ δεῖ δὲ θαυμάζειν, ὁρῶντας τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ μικροῖς οἴαξι μεγάλων περιαιγωγὰς ὀλκάδων, τοῦτο δὲ τροχῶν κεραμεικῶν δίνησιν ἄκρας³ παραψαύσει χειρὸς ὁμαλῶς περιφερομένων· ἄψυχα μὲν γάρ, ἀλλ' ὅμως, τροχαλὰ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, ὑπὸ λειότητος ἐνδίδωσι πρὸς τὸ κινεῖν, ῥοπῆς γενομένης. ψυχὴ δὲ ἀνθρώπου μυρίαῖς ὁρμαῖς οἷον ὑσπληξιν ἐντεταμένη μακρῷ πάντων ὀργάνων εὐστροφώτατόν ἐστιν, ἂν τις κατὰ λόγον ἄπτηται,
- 589 ῥοπῆν λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὸ νοηθὲν κινεῖσθαι. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ εἰς τὸ νοεῖν αἱ τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὁρμῶν κατατείνουσι ἀρχαί, τούτου δὲ σεισθέντος, ἐλκόμεναι σπῶσι καὶ συντείνουσι τὸν ἄνθρωπον. ἥ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ νοηθὲν ἠλίκην ἔχει ῥώμην καταμαθεῖν δίδωσιν· ὅστ' ἀναίσθητα καὶ νεῦρα καὶ σάρκες ὑγρῶν περίπλεαι καὶ βαρῦς ὁ ἐκ τούτων ὄγκος ἡσυχάζων καὶ κείμενος, ἅμα⁴ τῷ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐν νῷ

¹ βιαίως] βιαίους Reiske.

² ἡνίας] ἡνίας Post.

³ ἄκρας van Herwerden : ἄκρα.

⁴ ἅμα] ἀλλ' ἅμα Stegmann ; ἅμα δὲ Wilamowitz.

^a For definitions and descriptions of " speech " or " voice " (*phonē*) as a " blow on the air " cf. Plato, *Timaeus*, 67 B, and Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 8 (420 b 29).

^b *Hyspleges* (rendered " resilient cords ") are probably

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 588-589

For speech is like a blow ^a—when we converse with one another, the words are forced through our ears and the soul is compelled to take them in—; whereas the intelligence of the higher power guides the gifted soul, which requires no blows, by the touch of its thought; and the soul on its part yields to the slackening and tightening of its movements by the higher intelligence. No constraint is exerted, as no passion pulls the other way, and the movements of the soul respond easily and gently, like reins that give. This should occasion no surprise, when we observe that large merchantmen are brought round by small tillers, and that potters' wheels whirl about evenly at the touch of the finger tip; for these, though inanimate, nevertheless, being constructed to revolve easily, move so smoothly that they respond to the mover at the slightest pressure. But the soul of man, which is strung with countless inward movements, as with resilient cords,^b is, when rationally dealt with, by far the most sensitive of all instruments,^c moving at a slight impulse toward the goal conceived by the understanding. For here it is in the understanding, to which they are made fast and taut, that the passions and inward movements have their origins; and when that is struck, these are pulled and thereby exercise traction on the man and give him tension. Indeed, it is most of all by this that we are enabled to comprehend the great power of an idea. For insensate bones and thews and flesh saturated with humours, and the inert and prostrate mass they constitute, the instant the soul conceives

here the twisted cords that supplied the motive power in certain ancient automata (*cf.* Hero, *Automata*, ii. 8).

^c *Cf.* *Mor.* 163 E.

(589) τι¹ βαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ κινήσαι τὴν ὀρμὴν, ὅλος ἀναστὰς καὶ συνταθεὶς πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν οἷον ἐπτερωμένος φέρεται πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν.

“ Οὐδὲ ὁ² τῆς κινήσεως καὶ συνεντάσεως καὶ Β παραστάσεως³ τρόπος χαλεπὸς ἢ παντελῶς ἄπορος συνοφθῆναι καθ’ ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ νοήσασα ἐφέλκεται ταῖς ὀρμαῖς τὸν ὄγκον. ἀλλ’ εἰ σῶμα μὲν⁴ δίχα φωνῆς ἐννοηθεὶς κινεῖ λόγος ἀπραγμόνως οὕτως, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι δυσπίστως⁵ ἔχοιμεν⁶ ὑπὸ νοῦ κρείσσονος νοῦν καὶ ψυχῆς⁷ θειοτέρας ἂν ἄγεσθαι⁸ θύραθεν ἐφαπτομένης ἢ⁹ πέφυκεν ἐπαφήν¹⁰ λόγος ἴσχειν πρὸς λόγον ὥσπερ φῶς¹¹ ἀνταύγειαν. τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τὰς μὲν ἀλλήλων νοήσεις οἷον ὑπὸ σκότῳ διὰ φωνῆς ψηλαφῶντες γνωρίζομεν· αἱ δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων φέγγος ἔχουσαι τοῖς δαιμονίοις¹² ἐλλάμπουσιν, οὐ δεόμεναι C ῥημάτων οὐδὲ ὀνομάτων, οἷς χρώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ ἄνθρωποι συμβόλοις¹³ εἴδωλα τῶν νοουμένων καὶ εἰκόνας ὀρῶσιν, αὐτὰ δ’ οὐ γινώσκουσι πλὴν οἷς ἔπεστιν ἰδίον τι καὶ δαιμόνιον ὥσπερ εἴρηται φέγγος. καίτοι τὸ περὶ τὴν φωνὴν γινόμενον

¹ νῶ τι Wyttenbach (νῶ Turnebus ; νοῆσει Apelt) : νηστεία.

² οὐδὲ ὁ] εἰ δ’ ὁ Wyttenbach ; ὁ δὲ Emperius.

³ συνεντάσεως καὶ παραστάσεως] συντάσεως καὶ παρασπάσεως Reiske.

⁴ ἀλλ’ εἰ σῶμα μὲν nos (ἀλλ’ ὅμως σῶμα Wyttenbach ; ἀλλ’ ἢ τὸ σῶμα Emperius ; ἀλλ’ οἷον σῶμα Wilamowitz) : ἀλλ’ followed by a lacuna, containing an acute accent, of 1-2 letters and σω μάλα E ; ἀλλ’ ἐν ὅσω μάλα B.

⁵ δυσπίστως] δυσπειστως B.

⁶ ἔχοιμεν Wyttenbach (ἔχειν Post) : ἔχει μὲν.

⁷ ψυχῆς] ψυχὴν ψυχῆς Reiske.

⁸ ἂν ἄγεσθαι Wyttenbach (ἄγεσθαι Emperius) : ἀγαγέσθαι.

⁹ ἢ] ἦν Reiske.

¹⁰ ἐπαφήν] ἐπαφή Wyttenbach.

¹¹ φῶς] φῶς πρὸς Bern.

a purpose in the understanding and sets its movement going for that end, arise as a whole, tense and co-ordinate in all its parts, and fly as if winged to carry the idea to execution.^a

“ Moreover, it is no hard or hopeless task to understand by what manner of impact, co-ordination, and suggestion the soul receives a thought and thereby with its movements draws after it the corporeal mass.^b But if the body is moved with so little trouble by a notion that enters the understanding without the help of spoken language, it cannot be hard, I think, to believe that the understanding may be guided by a higher understanding and a diviner soul, that lays hold of it from without by a touch, which is the way in which it is the nature of thought to impinge on thought,^c just as light produces a reflection. For in very truth our recognition of one another’s thoughts through the medium of the spoken word is like groping in the dark ; whereas the thoughts of daemons are luminous and shed their light on the daemonic man. Their thoughts have no need of verbs or nouns, which men use as symbols in their intercourse, and thereby behold mere counterfeits and likenesses of what is present in thought, but are unaware of the originals except for those persons who are illuminated, as I have said, by some special and daemonic radiance. Even so the phenomenon of speech serves in a way

^a Cf. *Mor.* 442 c-e.

^b Cf. *Life of Coriolanus*, chap. xxxii. 7-8 (229 d-e).

^c “Thought” (*logos*) can mean notion or the rational soul.

¹² δαμονίοις van Herwerden (συνείναι δυναμένοις Stegmann ; δυναμένοις ἀνταυγείν Kahle ; δυναμένοις ἰδεῖν Wilamowitz) : δυναμένοις.

¹³ συμβόλοις B¹⁴ : συμβούλοις EB¹⁵⁵.

- (589) ἔστιν ἢ παραμυθεῖται τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας· ὁ γὰρ ἀήρ, φθόγγοις ἐνάρθροις τυπωθεῖς, καὶ γενόμενος δι' ὄλου λόγος καὶ φωνή, πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ ἀκρωμένου περαίνει τὴν νόησιν. ὥστε τί¹ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον εἶ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ² τὸ νοηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμεινόνων³ ὁ ἀήρ τρεπόμενος δι' εὐπάθειαν ἐνσημαίνεται τοῖς θείοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸν τοῦ νοήσαντος λόγον; ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ πληγαὶ τῶν ὑπορουττόντων⁴ ἀσπίσι χαλκαῖς ἀλίσκονται διὰ τὴν ἀντήχησιν ὅταν ἐκ βάθους ἀναφερόμεναι προσπέσωσι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀδήλως διεκθέουσαι λανθάνουσιν, οὕτως οἱ τῶν δαιμόνων λόγοι διὰ πάντων φερόμενοι μόνοις ἐνηχοῦσι τοῖς ἀθόρυβον τὸ⁵ ἦθος καὶ νήνεμον ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἱεροὺς καὶ δαιμονίους ἀνθρώπους καλοῦμεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ καταδαρθοῦσιν οἷονται τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀνθρώποις ἐπιθειάζειν, εἰ δ' ἐργηγορότας καὶ καθεστῶτας ἐν τῷ φρονεῖν ὁμοίως κινουῦσι, θαυμαστὸν ἡγοῦνται καὶ ἀπιστον· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις οἶοιτο τὸν μουσικόν, ἀνειμένη τῇ λύρᾳ χρώμενον, ὅταν συστή τοῖς τόνοις ἢ καθαρμοσθῇ μὴ ἄπτεσθαι μηδὲ χρῆσθαι.
- Ε τὸ γὰρ αἷτιον οὐ συνορῶσι, τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς⁶ ἀναρμοστίαν καὶ ταραχὴν, ἧς ἀπήλλακτο⁷ Σωκράτης ὁ ἐταῖρος ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ὁ δοθεὶς ἔτι παιδὸς ὄντος αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ χρησμὸς ἀπεθέσπισεν· ἔαν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὅ τι ἂν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἦ πράττειν, καὶ

¹ τί added by us (Castiglioni adds *μη* after *εἶ*, Amyot *οὐκ* before *ἄξιον*).

² κατ' αὐτὸ von Arnim (κατὰ Wilamowitz): κατὰ τοῦτο.

³ ἀμεινόνων Turnebus (δαιμόνων Wytttenbach): ἀμει followed by a lacuna of 5-4 letters.

⁴ ὑπορουττόντων van Herwerden: a lacuna of 8-10 letters followed by *όντων*.

to allay the doubts of the incredulous. For on receiving the impression of articulate sounds, the air is fully changed to language and speech and conveys the thought to the soul of the hearer. Need we then feel surprised that the air, with its ready susceptibility, should also be transformed by the mere ideas of higher beings and thereby indicate to divine and exceptional men the meaning of him who conceived the idea? For just as the sound of sappers' blows is detected by bronze shields,^a which re-echo it as it rises from the depths of the earth and strikes them, whereas through everything else it slips unnoticed; so the messages of daemons pass through all other men, but find an echo in those only whose character is untroubled and soul unruffled, the very men in fact we call holy and daemonic. In popular belief, on the other hand, it is only in sleep that men receive inspiration from on high; and the notion that they are so influenced when awake and in full possession of their faculties is accounted strange and incredible. This is like supposing that a musician uses his lyre when the strings are slack, but does not touch or play it when it has been adjusted to a scale and attuned. This belief arises from ignorance of the cause of this insensibility: the inner lack of attunement and the confusion in the men themselves. From this my friend Socrates was free, as is shown by the oracle delivered to his father when Socrates was yet a boy. It bade him let the child do whatever came into his

^a Cf. Herodotus, iv. 200. 2-3; Aeneas Tacticus, chap. xxxvii. 6-7.

⁵ τὸ added by Hubert.

⁶ αὐτοῖς Bern. : αὐτοῖς.

⁷ ἀπήλλακτο Reiske : ἀπήλλακται.

(589) μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ παράγειν ἄλλ' ἐφίεσθαι τὴν ὄρμην τοῦ παιδός, εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Διὶ Ἀγοραίῳ καὶ Μούσαις, τὰ δ' ἄλλα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν περὶ **F** Σωκράτους, ὡς κρείττονα δῆπουθεν ἔχοντας ἐν αὐτῷ μυρίων διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν ἡγεμόνα πρὸς τὸν βίον.

21. “ Ἡμῖν μὲν, ὦ Φειδόλαε, καὶ ζῶντος Σωκράτους καὶ τεθνηκότος οὕτως ἐννοεῖν περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου παρίσταται, τῶν κληδόνας ἢ παρμους ἢ τι τοιοῦτον παραγόντων¹ ἄλλο καταφρονοῦσιν· ἃ δὲ Τιμάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως ἠκούσαμεν ὑπὲρ τούτου διεξιόντος, οὐκ οἶδα μὴ² μύθοις ὁμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἢ³ λόγοις ὄντα⁴ σιωπᾶν ἄμεινον.”

“ Μηδαμῶς,” εἶπεν ὁ Θεόκριτος, “ ἀλλὰ διέλθε αὐτά· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ λίαν ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅπη ψαύει τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες. πρότερον **590** δὲ τίς ἦν οὗτος ὁ Τιμάρχος φράσον· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνω τὸν ἄνθρωπον.”

“ Εἰκότως γε,” εἶπεν ὁ Συμμίας, “ ὦ Θεόκριτε· νέος γὰρ ὢν κομιδῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον⁵ καὶ Σωκράτους⁶ δεηθεὶς ταφῆναι παρὰ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν Σωκράτους υἱόν, ὀλίγαις⁷ πρότερον ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ

¹ παραγόντων added by Wilamowitz (εἰρηκότων by Bern. here ; after ἄλλο by Leonicus ; παρεισαγόντων ? Post).

² μὴ] εἰ μὴ van Herwerden.

³ ὁμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἢ (ὁμοιότερα ἢ van Herwerden) our supplement of a lacuna of 24-22 letters.

⁴ λόγοις ὄντα van Herwerden : λογίσονται.

⁵ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον added by Drexler,

mind, and not do violence to his impulses or divert them, but allow them free play, taking no further trouble about him than to pray to Zeus Agoraeus^a and the Muses, surely implying by this that he had a better guide of life in himself than a thousand teachers and attendants.

21. "Such was the notion, Pheidolaüs, that we for our part held about Socrates' sign while he was alive and still hold now he is dead; we have scant use for those who account for it by chance remarks overheard or sneezes or the like. The story I had about it from Timarchus of Chaeroneia, as it more resembles a myth or fiction than an argument,^b I had better perhaps leave untold."

"Do no such thing," said Theocritus, "but let us have it; for myths, too, despite the loose manner in which they do so, have a way of reaching the truth. But first tell us who this Timarchus was, as I do not recognize the name."

"And little wonder, Theocritus," said Simmias, "for he died very young, after asking Socrates' leave to be buried beside Lamprocles,^c Socrates' son, his friend and agefellow, who had died a few days

^a That is, "Zeus of the Market-Place": cf. *Mor.* 789 D, 792 F. For Socrates' conversations in the market-place cf. Plato, *Apology*, 17 c.

^b For the contrast of "myth" and "argument" cf. *Mor.* 561 B and note.

^c Lamprocles, the eldest of Socrates' children, was presumably alive at the time of his father's death (cf. Zeller, *Die Phil. der Griechen*, ii. 1⁴, pp. 54, note 2, and 56, note). This unhistorical detail may have been added to warn the reader that Timarchus, like his story, is a fable.

⁶ καὶ Σωκράτους] καὶ followed by a lacuna of 3 letters and κράτους E; καὶ τοῦ σωκράτους B.

⁷ ὀλίγαις Basle edition of 1542: αἰς.

(590) τεθνηκότα, φίλον καὶ ἡλικιώτην γενόμενον. οὗτος οὖν ποθῶν γνῶναι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἦν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἅτε δὴ νέος οὐκ ἀγεννῆς ἄρτι γεγευμένος φιλοσοφίας, ἐμοὶ καὶ Κέβητι κοινωσάμενος μόνοις εἰς Τροφωνίου κατήλθε δράσας τὰ νομιζόμενα περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον. ἐμμείνας δὲ δύο
 Β νύκτας κάτω καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν, τῶν πολλῶν ἀπεγνωκότων αὐτὸν ἤδη καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὄδυρομένων, πρῶτὴ μάλα φαιδρὸς ἀνῆλθε· προσκυνήσας δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὡς πρῶτον διέφυγε¹ τὸν ὄχλον, διηγεῖτο ἡμῖν θαυμάσια πολλὰ καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

22. “Ἐφη δὲ καταβὰς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον περιτυχεῖν σκότῳ πολλῷ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐπευξάμενος κεῖσθαι πολὺν χρόνον οὐ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἐναργῶς εἴτ’ ἐγρήγορεν εἶτε ὄνειροπολεῖ². πλὴν δόξαι γε τῆς κεφαλῆς ἅμα ψόφῳ προσπεσόντι πληγείσης τὰς ῥαφὰς διαστάσας μεθιέναι τὴν ψυχὴν. ὡς δ’ ἀναχωροῦσα κατεμίγνυτο πρὸς ἀέρα διαυγῆ καὶ καθαρὸν ἀσμένη, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναπνεῦσαι τότε
 C δοκεῖν διὰ χρόνου συχνοῦ, τεινομένην³ τέως, καὶ πλείονα γίνεσθαι τῆς πρότερον ὥσπερ ἰστίον ἐκπεταννυμένην,⁴ ἔπειτα κατακούειν ἀμαυρῶς ροίζου τινὸς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς περιελαυνομένου φωνῆν ἠδεῖαν

¹ διέφυγε Bern. : διέφευγε.

² ὄνειροπολεῖ Stegmann : ὄνειροπόλει.

³ τεινομένην] στεινομένην Emperius ; διατεινομένην Post ; συστελλομένην ?

⁴ ἐκπεταννυμένην nos (ἐκπεταννυμένον Basle ed. of 1542) : ἐκτεταννυμένην E^c (-ννυμ- is in an erasure) ; ἐκτεταννυμένον B.

before. Timarchus, then, in his desire to learn the nature of Socrates' sign, acted like the high-spirited young initiate in philosophy he was : consulting no one but Cebes and me, he descended into the crypt of Trophonius, first performing the rites that are customary at the oracle.^a He remained underground two nights and a day, and most people had already given up hope, and his family were lamenting him for dead, when he came up in the morning with a radiant countenance.^b He did obeisance to the god, and as soon as he had escaped the crowd, began to tell us of many wonders seen and heard.

22. " He said that on descending into the oracular crypt his first experience was of profound darkness ; next, after a prayer, he lay a long time not clearly aware whether he was awake or dreaming. It did seem to him, however, that at the same moment he heard a crash and was struck on the head, and that the sutures parted and released his soul. As it withdrew and mingled joyfully with air that was translucent and pure, it felt in the first place that now, after long being cramped, it had again found relief, and was growing larger than before, spreading out like a sail ; and next that it faintly caught the whir of something revolving overhead with a pleasant sound.^c

at Lebadeia in Boeotia, descended into a cave and waited there for the divine message to be revealed in a dream : *cf.* Pausanias, ix. 39. 5-14.

^b And so belying the proverb *εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται* " he has consulted Trophonius' oracle," used of persons with a gloomy countenance (*cf.* Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 72. 1 and note).

^c This is the music of the spheres. Aristotle (*De Caelo*, ii. 9) argues that the sound would be excruciatingly loud. For a smooth motion producing a smooth sound *cf.* Plato, *Timaeus*, 67 B.

(590) *ιέντος*. ἀναβλέψας δὲ τὴν μὲν γῆν οὐδαμοῦ καθορᾶν, νήσους δὲ λαμπομένας μαλακῶ πυρὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων¹ ἐξαιμβούσας ἄλλην ἄλλοτε χροῶν ὥσπερ βαφὴν αἰεὶ² τῷ φωτὶ ποικιλλομένῳ κατὰ τὰς μεταβολάς. φαίνεσθαι δὲ πλήθει μὲν ἀναρίθμους, μεγέθει δὲ ὑπερφυεῖς, οὐκ ἴσας δὲ πάσας ἀλλ' ὁμοίως κυκλοτερεῖς· οἶεσθαι δὲ ταύταις τὸν αἰθέρα κύκλῳ φερομέναις ὑπορροιζεῖν λιγυρῶς³. εἶναι γὰρ D ὁμολογουμένην τῇ τῆς κινήσεως λειότητι τὴν πραότητα τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης ἐκ πασῶν συνηρμοσμένης. διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θάλασσαν ἢ λίμνην ὑποκεχύσθαι τοῖς χρώμασι διαλάμπουσαν διὰ τῆς γλαυκότητος ἐπιμιγνυμένοις· καὶ τῶν νήσων ὀλίγας μὲν ἐκπλεῖν⁴ κατὰ πόρον καὶ διακομίζεσθαι πέραν τοῦ ρεύματος, ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς τούτῳ συνεφέλκεσθαι,⁵ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ αὐτῆς ὁμαλῶς καὶ λείως κύκλῳ⁶ σχεδὸν ὑποφερομένης. εἶναι δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης πῆ μὲν πολὺ βάθος κατὰ νότον μάλιστα, πῆ⁷ δὲ ἀραιὰ τενάγη καὶ βράχεια, πολλαχῆ δὲ⁸ ὑπερχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπολείπειν⁹ αὐθις οὐ μεγάλας ἐκβολὰς λαμβά-

¹ κατ' ἀλλήλων] καταλλήλως δ' von Arnim.

² αἰεὶ Wilamowitz (προσάγειν Reiske; ἄμα Wytttenbach; ἐπάγειν von Arnim): ἄγειν.

³ λιγυρῶς Wilamowitz, to fill a lacuna of 6-9 letters.

⁴ ἐκπλεῖν] διεκπλεῖν von Arnim.

⁵ τούτῳ συνεφέλκεσθαι von Arnim, to fill a lacuna of 10 letters followed by ἐφέλκεσθαι.

⁶ τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ αὐτῆς (ὁμαλῶς καὶ λείως our addition) κύκλῳ von Arnim: τῆ followed by a lacuna of 43-25 letters.

When he lifted his eyes the earth was nowhere to be seen ; but he saw islands illuminated by one another with soft fire, taking on now one colour, now another, like a dye, as the light kept varying with their mutations. They appeared countless in number and huge in size, and though not all equal, yet all alike round ; and he fancied that their circular movement made a musical whirring in the aether, for the gentleness of the sound resulting from the harmony of all the separate sounds corresponded to the evenness of their motion. In their midst lay spread a sea or lake,^a through whose blue transparency the colours passed in their migrations ; and of the islands a few sailed out in a channel and crossed the current,^b while many others ^c were carried along with it, the sea itself drifting around, as it were, smoothly and evenly in a circle. In places it was very deep, mainly toward the south, but elsewhere there were faint shoals and shallows ^d ; and in many parts it overflowed and again receded, never extending

^a The sea and its circular movement represent the celestial sphere and its apparent diurnal motion. Von Arnim, "Plut. über Dämonen u. Mantik," in *Verh. d. kon. Ak. v. Wet.*, Afd. Lett. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xxii, Amsterdam, 1921, p. 34, takes the sea to represent the Milky Way.

^b The current is the celestial equator (the part of the celestial sphere which has the most rapid apparent motion) ; the islands that cross it are the planets ; the channel is the zodiac.

^c The fixed stars.

^d The shoals and shallows may represent nebulae and the Milky Way. The great deep in the south was suggested by the starless space around the invisible pole in Greek globes.

⁷ πῆ added by Bern.

⁸ βραχέα π. δὲ Ε : βράχρα π. δὲ καὶ Β.

⁹ ἀπολείπειν Bern. : ἀπολιπεῖν.

(590)

E

νουσαν· καὶ τῆς¹ χροῶς τὸ μὲν ἄκρατον καὶ πελάγιον, τὸ δὲ οὐ καθαρὸν ἀλλὰ συγκεχυμένον καὶ λιμνῶδες. τῶν δὲ ῥοθίων² τὰς νήσους ἅμα περιγυνομένας³ ἐπανάγειν· οὐ μὴν⁴ εἰς ταῦτὸ τῆ ἀρχῆ συνάπτειν τὸ πέρασ οὐδὲ ποιεῖν κύκλον, ἀλλ' ἡσυχῆ παραλλάσσειν τὰς ἐπιβολάς, ἔλिका ποιούσας μίαν ἐν τῷ περιστρέφεσθαι. τούτων δὲ πρὸς τὸ μέσον μάλιστα τοῦ περιέχοντος καὶ μέγιστον ἐγκεκλίσθαι

F

τὴν θάλασσαν ὀλίγω τῶν ὀκτῶ μερῶν τοῦ παντὸς ἔλαττον, ὡς αὐτῷ⁵ κατεφαίνετο· δύο δὲ αὐτὴν ἔχειν ἀναστομώσεις, πυρὸς ἐμβάλλοντας⁶ ἐναντίους ποταμοὺς δεχομένας, ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀνακοπτομένην κοχλάζειν⁷ καὶ ἀπολευκαίνεσθαι τὴν γλαυκότητα. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὄραν τερπόμενος τῆ θέα·

¹ τῆς Bern. : τὰς.

² τῶν δὲ ῥοθίων] τὸν δὲ ῥόμβον von Arnim.

³ περιγυνομένας Sieveking (περαιουμένας Wytttenbach ; πέραν ἱκομένας (καὶ ?) Post) : περαινομένας.

⁴ οὐ μὴν von Arnim : οὐδὲν.

⁵ αὐτῷ Leonicus : αὐτὸ.

⁶ ἐμβάλλοντας Bern. (ἐμβαλόνας Wytttenbach) : ἐμβαλότος.

⁷ κοχλάζειν Bern. (καχλάζειν Reiske) : κολάζειν.

^a The overflow and recession may represent the various distances separating the stars from the surface of the sphere : cf. Aëtius, ii. 15. 1-2, and Geminus, chap. i. 23 with Manitius' note. Or they may have been suggested by the Pythagorean theory of the breathing universe (cf. Aristotle, *Physics*, iv. 6, 213 b 22-24). Von Arnim (*op. cit.* pp. 34 f.) takes them to represent the variations in breadth of the Milky Way.

^b The clouded colour belongs to the region below the moon.

^c The "surge" may be the belt bounded by the tropics, so called from its rapid motion, or the tropics themselves, as being the shores of the planetary sea mentioned in the following sentence.

very far.^a Some of it was of the pure hue of the high seas, while elsewhere the colour was not unmixed, but turbid and like that of a pool.^b As they crested the surge ^c the islands ^d came back, without, however, returning to their point of departure or completing a circle; but with each new circuit they advanced slightly beyond the old, describing a single spiral in their revolution.^e The sea containing these was inclined at an angle of somewhat less than eight parts of the whole ^f toward the midmost and largest portion of the surrounding envelope,^g as he made out; and it had two openings receiving rivers of fire emptying into it across from one another, so that it was forced far back, boiling, and its blue colour was turned to white.^h All this he viewed with enjoyment of the

^a The planets.

^e The spiral (for which *cf. Life of Phocion*, chap. ii. 6, 742 D, and Plato, *Timaeus*, 39 A) represents the apparent paths of the planets, which result from their own motion combined with the apparent diurnal motion of the sphere.

^f The sea is the zodiac. "Eight parts" of the whole are eight sixtieths of a meridian (for the division into sixtieths *cf. Strabo*, ii. 5. 7, pp. 113 f.; *Manilius*, i. 561-593; *Geminus*, chap. v. 46; *Achilles*, *Isag.* chap. xxvi; and *Hyginus*, *Astron.* i. 6). This is 48°, only slightly in excess of the figures given by the astronomers for the distance between the tropics (*cf. Sir T. L. Heath*, *Aristarchus of Samos*, p. 131, note 4).

^g The celestial equator, which "surrounds" the ecliptic: *cf. Plato*, *Timaeus*, 36 c, with Cornford's discussion. A certain mystery (appropriate in a myth) results from counting both the arcs intercepted by the ecliptic and the equator on the solstitial colure in reckoning the inclination. The words "as he made out" hint that the error is Timarchus' own. We have found no ancient measure corresponding to 3°.

^h The reference is doubtless to the Milky Way; the openings are at the intersections of the zodiac and the galactic circle.

(590) κάτω δ' ἀπιδόντι φαίνεσθαι χάσμα μέγα στρογγύλον οἶον ἐκτετμημένης σφαίρας, φοβερὸν δὲ δεινῶς καὶ βαθύ, πολλοῦ σκοτούς πλήρες οὐχ ἡσυχάζοντος ἀλλ' ἐκταραττομένου καὶ ἀνακλύζοντος πολλάκις· ὅθεν ἀκούεσθαι μυρίας μὲν ὠρυγὰς καὶ στεναγμούς ζώων, μυρίων δὲ κλαυθμὸν βρεφῶν καὶ μεμιγμένους ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὄδυρμούς, ψόφους δὲ παντοδαπούς καὶ θορύβους ἐκ
591 βάθους πόρρωθεν ἀμυδρούς ἀναπεμπομένους, οἷς οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸς ἐκπεπλήχθαι.

“Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος εἰπεῖν τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ὀρώμενον· ‘ὦ Τίμαρχε, τί ποθεῖς πυθέσθαι;’

“Φράσαι δ' αὐτὸν¹ ὅτι ‘πάντα· τί γὰρ οὐ θαυμάσιον;’

“‘Ἄλλ' ἡμῖν,’ φάναι, ‘τῶν ἄνω μέτεστι μικρὸν· ἄλλων γὰρ θεῶν ἐκείνα· τὴν δὲ Φερσεφόνης μοῖραν, ἣν ἡμεῖς διέπομεν, τῶν τεττάρων μίαν οὔσαν ὡς ἡ Στύξ ὀρίζει, βουλομένῳ σοι σκοπεῖν πάρεστιν.’

“Ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τίς ἡ Στύξ ἐστίν, ‘ὁδὸς εἰς Ἄιδου,’ φάναι, ‘καὶ πρόεισιν ἐξ² ἐναντίας αὐτῆ³ σχίζουσα τῇ κορυφῇ τὸ φῶς· ἀνατείνουσα δ', ὡς ὄρας, ἐκ τοῦ Ἄιδου κάτωθεν, ἣ ψαυεῖ περι-

¹ δ' αὐτὸν] δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν B.

² ἐξ added by Wyttenbach (ἡμῖν ἐξ von Arnim).

³ αὐτῆ nos (αὐτῇ Reiske) : αὐτῆ.

^a F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains* (Paris, 1942), p. 136, note 3, points out that *ektaratomenou* (“agitated”) contains a common etymology of *Tartaros*. In *Mor.* 940 F it is said that if an inhabitant of the moon should hear Homer's description of Hades and Tartarus (*Il.* xx. 65, viii. 16) he would take them to be in the region of the earth. Cf. also *Mor.* 948 E.

^b The abyss is Hades or the earth (cf. 591 A, *infra*),

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 590-591

spectacle. But looking down he saw a great abyss, round, as though a sphere had been cut away; most terrible and deep it was, and filled with a mass of darkness that did not remain at rest, but was agitated^a and often welled up. From it could be heard innumerable roars and groans of animals, the wailing of innumerable babes, the mingled lamentations of men and women, and noise and uproar of every kind, coming faintly from far down in the depths, all of which startled him not a little.^b

"After an interval someone he did not see addressed him: 'Timarchus, what would you have me explain?'

"'Everything,' he answered; 'for what is here that is not marvellous?'

"'Nay,' the voice replied, 'in the higher regions we others^c have but little part, as they belong to gods; but you may, if you wish, inquire into the portion of Persephonê, administered by ourselves; it is one of the four,^d and marked off by the course of the Styx.'

"'What is the Styx?' he asked. 'It is the path to Hades,' came the answer; 'it passes across from you here, cleaving the light with its vertex; it extends upward, as you see, from Hades below, and

which is a place of punishment and opposed to the world of eternal light. Cumont (*op. cit.* p. 56) takes the "sphère coupée" to be the lower hemisphere of the universe.

^c The speaker is presumably a daemon: *cf.* 591 c, *infra*.

^d The first lies outside the surface of the celestial sphere; the second between that and the path of the sun; the third between the paths of the sun and of the moon; and the fourth, "the portion of Persephonê," below the path of the moon, that is, of the earth's shadow, which is dissipated beyond the moon. The earth is "Hades" (*cf.* *Mor.* 942 F; the etymology is "unseen"), and its shadow is the "Styx."

(591) φερομένη καὶ¹ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφορίζει τὴν ἐσχάτην
 B μερίδα τῶν ὄλων. τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσιν ἀρχαὶ πάντων,²
 ζωῆς μὲν ἢ πρώτη, κινήσεως δὲ ἢ δευτέρα, γενέ-
 σεως δὲ ἢ τρίτη, φθορᾶς δὲ ἢ τελευταία· συνδεῖ
 δὲ τῇ μὲν δευτέρα τὴν πρώτην Μοῦσας κατὰ τὸ
 ἀόρατον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῇ τρίτῃ Νοῦς καθ'
 ἥλιον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην πρὸς τετάρτην Φύσις κατὰ
 σελήνην. τῶν δὲ συνδέσμων ἐκάστου Μοῦσα κλειδ-
 οὔχος Ἀνάγκης θυγάτηρ κάθηται, τοῦ μὲν πρῶ-
 του Ἄτροπος, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου Κλωθώ, τοῦ δὲ
 πρὸς σελήνην Λάχεσις, περὶ ἣν ἢ καμπὴ τῆς
 C γενέσεως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι νῆσοι θεοὺς ἔχουσι·
 σελήνη δέ, δαιμόνων ἐπιχθονίων οὔσα, φεύγει τὴν
 Στύγα μικρὸν ὑπερφέρουσα, λαμβάνεται δὲ ἅπαξ
 ἐν μέτροις δευτέροις ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐπτὰ.
 καὶ τῆς Στυγὸς ἐπιφερομένης αἱ ψυχαὶ βοῶσι
 δειμαίνουσαι· πολλὰς γὰρ ὁ Ἄιδης ἀφαρπάζει
 περιολισθανούσας,³ ἄλλας δ' ἀνακομίζεται κάτωθεν
 ἢ σελήνη προσνηχομένας, αἷς εἰς καιρὸν ἢ τῆς
 γενέσεως τελευτῇ συνέπεσεν,⁴ πλὴν ὅσαι μιαι-
 καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι· ταύτας δ', ἀστράπτουσα καὶ μυκω-
 μένη φοβερόν, οὐκ ἐᾷ πελάζειν, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦσαι

¹ καὶ] Wyttenbach deletes.

² πάντων Leonicus: πάσης.

³ περιολισθανούσας] περιολισθαινούσας B.

⁴ συνέπεσε Bern.: ἐπέπεσε (ἐπέπεσεν E^{ac}).

^a Cf. Stobaeus, vol. i, pp. 198. 10-12, 448. 12-16 Wachsmuth.

^b The surface of the celestial sphere.

^c In *Mor.* 943 A earth provides man's body, the moon his soul, and the sun his intellect.

^d Cf. *Mor.* 568 E, 745 B, 945 C. The ultimate source is Plato, *Phaedo*, 72 B.

where in its revolution it also touches the world of light, it bounds the last region of all.^a Four principles there are of all things : the first is of life, the second of motion, the third of birth, and the last of decay ; the first is linked to the second by Unity at the invisible,^b the second to the third by Mind at the sun, and the third to the fourth by Nature at the moon.^c A Fate, daughter of Necessity, holds the keys and presides over each link : over the first Atropos, over the second Clotho, and over the link at the moon Lachesis. The turning point of birth^d is at the moon. For while the rest of the islands belong to gods, the moon belongs to terrestrial daemons and avoids the Styx by passing slightly above it ; it is caught, however, once in a hundred and seventy-seven secondary measures.^e As the Styx draws near the souls cry out^f in terror, for many slip off^g and are carried away by Hades ; others, whose cessation of birth^h falls out at the proper moment, swim up from belowⁱ and are rescued by the Moon, the foul and unclean excepted.^j These the Moon, with lightning and a terrible roar, forbids to approach, and bewailing their

^e A primary measure is a " day " in Geminus' first sense (chap. vi. 1, p. 68. 13 f. Manitius), the time from sunrise to sunset ; a secondary measure is " day " in Geminus' second sense (chap. vi. 1, p. 68. 15 f. Manitius), the time between two successive risings of the sun (cf. also Priscianus Lydus, *Solut. ad Chosroem*, p. 65. 22-26 Bywater). One hundred and seventy-seven days of this latter kind make six lunar months. For lunar eclipses at intervals of six lunar months cf. *Mor.* 933 D-E, 942 E-F and R. Flacelière in *Revue des Études Anciennes*, vol. liii (1951), pp. 203-221.

^f Cf. *Mor.* 944 B.

^g Cf. *Mor.* 943 D.

^h The " cessation of birth " is the release from the cycle of birth and death.

ⁱ Cf. *Mor.* 944 B,

^j Cf. *Mor.* 942 F.

(591) τὸν ἑαυτῶν πότμον ἀποσφαλλόμεναι φέρονται
κάτω πάλιν ἐπ' ἄλλην γένεσιν, ὡς ὀραῖς.'

D “ ‘ Ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ὀρώ, ’ τὸν Τίμαρχον εἶπειν, ‘ ἢ
πολλοὺς ἀστέρας περὶ τὸ χάσμα παλλομένους,
έτέρους δὲ καταδυομένους εἰς αὐτό, τοὺς δὲ ἄττον-
τας¹ αὖ κάτωθεν.’

“ ‘ Αὐτοὺς ἄρα, ’ φάναι, ‘ τοὺς δαίμονας ὀρῶν
ἀγνοεῖς. ἔχει γὰρ ὧδε· ψυχὴ πᾶσα νοῦ μετέσχεν,
ἄλογος δὲ καὶ ἄνους οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ἂν αὐτῆς
σαρκὶ μιχθῆ καὶ πάθεισιν, ἀλλοιούμενον τρέπεται
καθ' ἡδονὰς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας εἰς τὸ ἄλογον. μίγνυται
δ' οὐ πᾶσα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον· ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν² ὄλαι
κατέδυσαν εἰς σῶμα, καὶ δι' ὄλων ἀναταραχθεῖσαι
τὸ σύμπαν ὑπὸ παθῶν διαφέρονται κατὰ τὸν βίον·

E αἱ δὲ πῆ μὲν ἀνεκράθησαν, πῆ δὲ ἔλιπον ἔξω τὸ
καθαρώτατον, οὐκ ἐπισπώμενον ἀλλ' οἶον ἀκρό-
πλουν ἐπιψαῦον ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ
ἐν βυθῶ δεδυκότος ἄρτημα κορυφαῖον, ὀρθουμένης
περὶ αὐτὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνέχον ὅσον ὑπακούει καὶ οὐ
κρατεῖται τοῖς πάθεισιν. τὸ μὲν οὖν ὑποβρύχιον ἐν
τῷ σώματι φερόμενον ψυχὴ λέγεται· τὸ δὲ φθορᾶς
λειφθὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νοῦν καλοῦντες ἐντὸς εἶναι νομί-
ζουσιν αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσόπτροις τὰ φαινό-
μενα κατ' ἀνταύγειαν· οἱ δὲ ὀρθῶς ὑπονοοῦντες
ὡς ἐκτὸς ὄντα δαίμονα προσαγορεύουσι. τοὺς μὲν
οὖν ἀποσβέννυσθαι δοκοῦντας ἀστέρας, ὧ Τίμαρχε, ’

F φάναι, ‘ τὰς εἰς σῶμα καταδυομένας ὄλας ψυχὰς

¹ ἄττοντας Reiske : ἀπόντας.

² μὲν added by Leonicus.

^a Cf. *Mor.* 943 D.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 943 A.

lot they fall away and are borne downward again to another birth, as you see.' ^a

" 'But I see nothing,' said Timarchus; 'only many stars trembling about the abyss, others sinking into it, and others again shooting up from below.'

" 'Then without knowing it,' the being replied, 'you see the daemons themselves. I will explain: every soul partakes of understanding; none is irrational or unintelligent. But the portion of the soul that mingles with flesh and passions suffers alteration and becomes in the pleasures and pains it undergoes irrational.^b Not every soul mingles to the same extent: some sink entirely into the body, and becoming disordered throughout, are during their life wholly distracted by passions; others mingle in part, but leave outside what is purest in them. This is not dragged in with the rest, but is like a buoy attached to the top, floating on the surface in contact with the man's head, while he is as it were submerged in the depths; and it supports as much of the soul, which is held upright about it, as is obedient and not overpowered by the passions. Now the part carried submerged^c in the body is called the soul, whereas the part left free from corruption is called by the multitude the understanding, who take it to be within themselves, as they take reflected objects to be in the mirrors that reflect them; but those who conceive the matter rightly call it a daemon,^d as being external. Thus, Timarchus,' the voice pursued, 'in the stars that are apparently extinguished, you must understand that you see the souls that sink entirely into the body; in the stars

^c For "submerged" cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 248 A.

^d Cf. Plato, *Timæus*, 90 A.

(591) ὄραν νόμιζε, τοὺς δὲ οἶον ἀναλάμποντας πάλιν καὶ ἀναφαινομένους κάτωθεν, ἀχλὺν τινα καὶ ζόφον ὥσπερ πηλὸν ἀποσειομένους, τὰς ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπαναπλευούσας μετὰ τὸν θάνατον· οἱ δὲ ἄνω διαφερόμενοι¹ δαίμονές εἰσι τῶν νοῦν ἔχειν λεγομένων ἀνθρώπων. πειράθητι δὲ κατιδεῖν ἐκάστου τὸν σύνδεσμον ἢ τῆ ψυχῇ συμπέφυκε·

592 “ Ταῦτα ἀκούσας αὐτὸς ἀκριβέστερον προσέχειν καὶ θεᾶσθαι τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποσαλεύοντας τοὺς μὲν ἦττον τοὺς δὲ μᾶλλον, ὥσπερ τοὺς τὰ δίκτυα διασημαίνοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ φελλοὺς ὀρώμεν ἐπιφερομένους· ἐνίους δὲ τοῖς κλωθομένοις ἀτράκτοις ὁμοίως ἔλικα τεταραγμένην² καὶ ἀνώμαλον ἔλκοντας, οὐ δυναμένους καταστήσαι τὴν κίνησιν ἐπ’ εὐθείας. λέγειν δὲ τὴν φωνὴν τοὺς μὲν εὐθείαν καὶ τεταγμένην κίνησιν ἔχοντας εὐηνίοις ψυχαῖς χρῆσθαι διὰ τροφήν καὶ παιδευσιν ἀστείαν, οὐκ ἄγαν³ σκληρὸν καὶ ἄγριον παρεχομέναις τὸ ἄλογον· τοὺς δὲ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ἀνωμάλως καὶ Β τεταραγμένως ἐγκλίνοντας, οἶον ἐκ δεσμοῦ σπαρτομένους, δυσπειθέσι καὶ ἀναγώγοις⁴ δι’ ἀπαιδευσίαν ζυγομαχεῖν ἦθεσι, πῆ μὲν κρατοῦντας καὶ περιάγοντας ἐπὶ δεξιάν,⁵ πῆ δὲ καμπτομένους ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ συνεφελκομένους τοῖς ἀμαρτήμασιν, εἶτα πάλιν ἀντιτείνοντας καὶ βιαζομένους. τὸν μὲν γὰρ σύνδεσμον, οἷα χαλινὸν τῷ ἀλόγῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμβεβλημένον, ὅταν ἀντισπάσῃ, τὴν λεγο-

¹ ἄνω διαφερόμενοι] ἄνω κάτω διαφερόμενοι von Arnim ; ἄνω φερόμενοι Pohlenz.

² ἔλικα τεταραγμένην von Arnim : ἐγκατατεταραγμένην.

³ οὐκ ἄγαν Turnebus : οὐ κατὰ γαῖαν.

⁴ ἀναγώγοις Turnebus : ἀναλώτοις.

⁵ ἐπὶ δεξιάν] ἐπὶ δεξιὰ οἱ ἐπιδέξια von Arnim.

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 591-592

that are lighted again, as it were, and reappear from below, you must understand that you see the souls that float back from the body after death, shaking off a sort of dimness and darkness as one might shake off mud; while the stars that move about on high are the daemons of men said to "possess understanding."^a See whether you can make out in each the manner of its linkage and union with the soul.'

"Hearing this, he attended more carefully and saw that the stars bobbed about, some more, some less, like the corks we observe riding on the sea to mark nets; a few described a confused and uneven spiral, like spindles as they twist the thread, and were unable to reduce their movement to a straight and steady course. The voice explained that the daemons whose motion was straight and ordered had souls which good nurture and training had made submissive to the rein,^b and whose irrational part was not unduly hard-mouthed and restive; whereas those which were constantly deviating in all directions from a straight course in an uneven and confused motion, as though jerked about on a tether, were contending with a character refractory and unruly from lack of training, at one moment prevailing over it and wheeling to the right, at another yielding to their passions and dragged along by their errors, only to resist them later and oppose them with force. For, exerting a contrary pull on the tie, which is like a bridle inserted into the irrational part of the soul, the daemon

^a The common expression *noun echein*, meaning "to be sensible," is here taken in its literal sense, "to possess understanding." All souls, strictly speaking, possess understanding, but the daemon is explaining a popular expression (cf. 591 E, *supra*).

^b Cf. *Mor.* 943 D and 445 B-D.

- (592) μένην μεταμέλειαν ἐπάγειν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς, ὅσαι παράνομοι καὶ ἀκρατεῖς, αἰσχύνην, ἀλγηδόνα καὶ πληγὴν οὔσαν ἐνθένδε¹ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπι-
C στομιζομένης, μέχρι ἂν οὕτως κολαζομένη πειθή-
 νιος γένηται καὶ συνήθης, ὥσπερ θρέμμα πρᾶον, ἄνευ πληγῆς καὶ ἀλγηδόνης ὑπὸ συμβόλων ὀξέως καὶ σημείων αἰσθανομένη τοῦ δαίμονος. ‘αὐται μὲν οὖν ὀψέ ποτε καὶ βραδέως ἄγονται καὶ καθίστανται πρὸς τὸ δέον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐνηίων ἐκείνων καὶ² κατηκόων εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως τοῦ οἰκείου δαίμονος καὶ τὸ μαντικόν ἐστι καὶ θεοκλυτούμενον γένος· ὧν τὴν Ἑρμοδώρου³ τοῦ Κλαζομενίου ψυχὴν ἀκήκοας δήπουθεν ὡς ἀπολείπουσα παντάπασι τὸ σῶμα νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν
D ἐπλανᾶτο πολὺν τόπον, εἴτ’ αὐθις ἐπανήει πολλοῖς τῶν μακρὰν λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων ἐντυχοῦσα καὶ παραγενομένη, μέχρι οὗ τὸ σῶμα, τῆς γυναικὸς προδοῦσης, λαβόντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ ψυχῆς ἔρημον οἶκοι κατέπρησαν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀληθές ἐστιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξέβαινεν ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ σώματος, ὑπέικουσα δὲ αἰεὶ καὶ χαλῶσα τῷ δαίμονι τὸν σύνδεσμον ἐδίδου περιδρομὴν καὶ περιφοίτησιν, ὥστε πολλὰ συν-
 ορῶντα καὶ κατακούοντα τῶν ἐκτὸς εἰσαγγέλλειν. οἱ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες τὸ σῶμα κοιμωμένου μέχρι νῦν
E δίκην ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ τίνουσι. ταῦτα δὲ εἴση,’

¹ ἐνθένδε] ἐνδόθεν (sic) van Herwerden.

² καὶ added by Turnebus.

applies what is called remorse to the errors, and shame for all lawless and wilful pleasures—remorse and shame being really the painful blow inflicted from this source upon the soul as it is curbed by its controlling and ruling part—until from such chastening the soul, like a docile animal, becomes obedient and accustomed to the reins, needing no painful blows, but rendered keenly responsive to its daemon by signals and signs. ‘These souls indeed,’ the voice pursued, ‘are brought to their duty and made firm in it late and gradually; but from those other souls, which from their very beginning and birth are docile to the rein and obedient to their daemon,^a comes the race of diviners and of men inspired. Among such souls you have doubtless heard of that of Hermodorus^b of Clazomenae—how night and day it used to leave his body entirely and travel far and wide, returning after it had met with and witnessed many things said and done in remote places, until his wife betrayed him and his enemies found his body at home untenanted by his soul and burnt it. The story as thus told is indeed not true: his soul did not leave his body, but gave its daemon free play by always yielding to it and slackening the tie, permitting it to move about and roam at will, so that the daemon could see and hear much that passed in the world outside and return with the report. The men who destroyed his body as he slept are still atoning for the deed in Tartarus. Of these matters,’ the voice

^a Cf. *Mor.* 445 B.

^b The story is elsewhere told of Hermetimus of Clazomenae: cf. J. H. Waszink’s note on Tertullian, *De Anima*, chap. xlv (Amsterdam, 1947), pp. 475 f.

³ ‘Ερμωδωρου] ‘Ερρωσιμου? Xylander.

(592) φάναι, 'σαφέστερον, ὦ νεανία, τρίτῳ μηνί· νῦν δ' ἄπιθι.'

“ Πανουσαμένης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν¹ ὁ Τίμαρχος ἔφη θεάσασθαι περιστρέφοντα² τίς ὁ φθεγγόμενος εἶη· σφόδρα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐθις ἀλγήσας, καθάπερ βία συμπιεσθεῖσαν, οὐδὲν ἔτι γινώσκειν οὐδ' αἰσθάνεσθαι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτόν· εἶτα μέντοι μετὰ μικρὸν ἀνενεγκῶν ὄραν αὐτὸν ἐν Τροφωνίου³ παρὰ τὴν εἴσοδον, οὐπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεκλίθη, κείμενον.

23. “ Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τιμάρχου μῦθος οὗτος· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔλθων Ἀθήναζε τρίτῳ μηνί κατὰ τὴν γενομένην φωνὴν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Σωκράτει θαυμάζοντες ἀπηγγέλλομεν, ἐμέμψατο Σωκράτης ἡμᾶς ὅτι μὴ ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ Τιμάρχου διήλθομεν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἂν ἠδέως ἐκείνου πυθέσθαι καὶ προσανακρίναι σαφέστερον.

“ Ἀπέχεις, ὦ Θεόκριτε, μετὰ τοῦ λόγου τὸν μῦθον. ἀλλ' ὄρα μὴ καὶ τὸν ξένον ἡμῖν παρακλητέον ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν· οἰκεία γὰρ πάνυ καὶ προσήκουσα θείοις ἀνδράσι.”

“ Τί δ' ” εἶπεν, “ Ἐπαμεινώνδας οὐ συμβάλλεται γνώμην, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγόμενος ἡμῖν; ”

Καὶ ὁ πατὴρ μειδιάσας, “ τοιοῦτον, ” ἔφη, “ τὸ ἦθος, ὦ ξένε, τὸ τούτου, σιωπηλὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους εὐλαβές, ἀπληστον δὲ τοῦ μαθάνειν καὶ ἀκροᾶσθαι· διὸ καὶ Σπίνθαρος ὁ Ταραντῖνος οὐκ ὀλίγον αὐτῷ συνδιατρίψας ἐνταῦθα χρόνον ἀεὶ δήπου

¹ αὐτὸν Sieveking : αὐτόν.

² περιστρέφοντα] περιστρέφων Schwartz ; περιστραφέντα E. Harrison.

said, ' you will have better knowledge, young man, in the third month from now ; for the present, depart.'

" When the voice ceased Timarchus desired to turn (he said) and see who the speaker was. But once more he felt a sharp pain in his head, as though it had been violently compressed, and he lost all recognition and awareness of what was going on about him ; but he presently recovered and saw that he was lying in the crypt of Trophonius near the entrance, at the very spot where he had first laid himself down.

23. " Such then is the myth of Timarchus. When he had come to Athens and died in the third month, as the voice had foretold,^a we were amazed and told Socrates the story, who censured us for recounting it when Timarchus was no longer alive, as he would have been glad to hear it from Timarchus himself and question him about it more closely.

" My statement is now complete, Theocritus, and you have the myth along with the argument. But consider whether we should not also invite the stranger to join in the inquiry, for it is one most fitting and appropriate to inspired men."

" Why does not Epameinondas make his contribution ? " asked the stranger. " He draws upon the same doctrines as I."

" That is his way, sir," said my father with a smile : " to be silent and chary of speech, but insatiable of learning and listening. On this account Spintharus^b of Tarentum, who was long associated with him here,

^a The visionary often hears a prediction of his own death : *cf. Mor.* 566 D and note.

^b *Cf. Mor.* 39 B.

³ Τροφωνίου Stephanus : τροφωνείου.

(592) λέγει μηδενί πη¹ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐντε-
 593 τυχηκένοι μήτε πλείονα γινώσκοντι μήτε ἐλάσσονα
 φθεγγομένῳ. σὺ οὖν ἂ φρονεῖς αὐτὸς διέλθε περι
 τῶν εἰρημένων.”

24. “ Ἐγὼ τοίνυν,” ἔφη, “ τὸν μὲν Τιμάρχου
 λόγον ὡσπερ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀνακεῖσθαί φημι
 τῷ θεῷ² χρῆναι· θαυμάζω δ' εἰ τοῖς ὑπὸ Σιμμίου
 λεγομένοις αὐτοῦ ἄδυσπιστήσουσί τινες, κύκνους
 μὲν³ ἱεροῦς καὶ δράκοντας καὶ κύνας καὶ ἵππους
 ὀνομάζοντες, ἀνθρώπους δὲ θεῖους εἶναι καὶ θεο-
 φιλεῖς ἀπιστοῦντες, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν οὐ φίλορσιν
 ἀλλὰ φιλάνθρωπον ἡγούμενοι. καθάπερ οὖν ἀνὴρ
 Β φίλιππος οὐ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ὑπὸ
 ταῦτό⁴ γένος, ἀλλ' αἰεί τινα ἄριστον ἐξαιρῶν⁵ καὶ
 ἀποκρίνων καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσκεῖ καὶ τρέφει καὶ ἀγαπᾷ
 διαφερόντως, καὶ⁶ ἡμῶν οἱ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς βελ-
 τίστους οἷον ἐξ ἀγέλης χαράξαντες ἰδίας τινὸς καὶ
 περιττῆς παιδαγωγίας ἀξιοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡνίας
 οὐδὲ ῥυτήρων, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ διὰ συμβόλων εὐθύνοντες
 ὧν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγελαῖοι παντάπασιν ἀπείρως
 ἔχουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ κύνες τῶν θηρατικῶν
 σημείων οὐδὲ ἵπποι⁷ τῶν ἵππικῶν συνιασιν,⁸ ἀλλ'
 οἱ μεμαθηκότες εὐθύς ἀπὸ σιγμοῦ τοῦ τυχόντος ἢ
 C ποππυσμοῦ τὸ προσταττόμενον αισθανόμενοι ῥαδίως
 εἰς ὃ δεῖ⁹ καθίστανται. φαίνεται δὲ γινώσκων καὶ

¹ πη] που B ; πω ? Post.

² φημι τῷ θεῷ] τῷ θεῷ φημι B.

³ γὰρ omitted by Reiske after μὲν.

⁴ ὑπὸ ταῦτό Bern. (ὑπὸ τὸ Wilamowitz) : ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ.

⁵ ἐξαιρῶν Dübner : ἐξαίρων.

⁶ καὶ] οὕτω καὶ an early conjecture.

⁷ οἱ πολλοὶ deleted by Wilamowitz before ἵπποι (place it after ἵππικῶν ?).

ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 592-593

keeps saying, as you know, that nowhere in his generation has he met a man of greater knowledge and fewer words. You must accordingly present your views about what has been said yourself."

24. "I say, therefore," he said, "that the story of Timarchus, as sacred and not to be profaned, should be dedicated to the god.^a As for Simmias' own statement, I should be surprised if any should find it hard to accept, and when they call swans, serpents, dogs, and horses sacred, refuse to believe that men are divine and dear to God, and that too holding him no lover of birds, but of men.^b As, then, a man that loves horses does not devote the same care to all members of the species, but always singles out and sets apart some one horse that is best, training and rearing it by itself and cherishing it above the rest, so too our betters take the best of us, as from a herd, and setting a mark on us, honour us with a peculiar and exceptional schooling, guiding us not by rein or bridle, but by language expressed in symbols quite unknown to the generality and common herd of men. So too it is not the generality of hounds that understand the hunter's signals, or of horses the horseman's; it is only such as have been taught that readily take their orders from a mere casual whistle or clucking of the tongue and do what is required. Homer too,

^a G. M. Lattanzi, *Il "De genio Socratis" di Plutarco*, p. 64, note 2, quotes Pausanias, ix. 39. 14: "Those who have made the descent into the cave of Trophonius must write what they have seen or heard on a tablet and set it up as a dedication."

^b Cf. *Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 4 (62 A-B), and [Plato], *Minos*, 319 A.

⁸ *συνιάσιν* Stegmann: *συνίασιν*.

⁹ *δεῖ* B: *δῆ* E.

(593) Ὁμηρος ἦν λέγομεν διαφορὰν ἡμεῖς· τῶν γὰρ μάν-
 τεων οἰωνοπόλους τινὰς καλεῖ καὶ ἱερεῖς, ἑτέρους
 δὲ τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγομένων συνιέντας καὶ
 συμφρονοῦντας¹ ἀποσημαίνειν οἶεται τὸ μέλλον, ἐν
 οἷς λέγει

τῶν δ' Ἐλενος, Πριάμοιο φίλος παῖς, ξύνθετο
 θυμῶ
 βουλήν, ἧ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφήνδανε μητιώσιν

καί

ὥς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὄπ' ἄκουσα θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν.²

ὥσπερ γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν
 διάνοιαν οἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς αἰσθάνονται καὶ γινώσκουσι
 πυρσοῖς τισι καὶ κηρύγμασι καὶ ὑπὸ σαλπύγγων,
 D τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς καὶ συνήθεσιν αὐτοὶ φράζουσιν,
 οὕτω τὸ θεῖον ὀλίγοις ἐντυγχάνει δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ
 σπανίως, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς σημεῖα δίδωσιν, ἐξ ὧν ἡ
 λεγομένη μαντικὴ συνέστηκε. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ³ οὖν
 ὀλίγων ἀνθρώπων κοσμοῦσι βίον, οὓς ἂν ἄκρως
 μακαρίους τε καὶ θείους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπεργάσασθαι
 βουληθῶσιν· αἱ δὲ ἀπηλλαγμένοι γενέσεως ψυχαὶ
 καὶ σχολάζουσαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ σώματος, οἷον
 ἐλεύθεραι πάμπαν ἀφειμέναι,⁴ δαίμονές εἰσιν ἀν-
 θρώπων ἐπιμελεῖς καθ' Ἡσίοδον. ὡς γὰρ ἀθλητὰς
 καταλύσαντας ἄσκησιν ὑπὸ γήρως οὐ τελῶς ἀπο-
 λείπει τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλοσώματον, ἀλλὰ ἑτέρου

¹ συμφρονοῦντας Leonicus : σωφρονοῦντας.

² αἰειγενετῶν Homer : γενετῶν.

³ μὲν γὰρ] μὲν Pohlenz.

⁴ ἀφειμέναι Bern. : ἀφιέμεναι.

it is evident, knew the distinction ^a of which we others speak, as he calls some diviners 'consulters of birds' ^b and 'priests,' ^c but thinks that others indicate the future from an understanding and awareness of the actual conversation of the gods. These are his words :

That counsel Helenus in his heart perceived,
The son of Priam, which the gods had reached
In their deliberation ^d

and

Such speech of the immortal gods I heard. ^e

For as outsiders perceive and recognize the intention of kings and generals from beacons and the proclamations of heralds and the blare of trumpets, whereas to confidants and intimates it is imparted by the kings and generals themselves, so heaven consorts directly with but few, and rarely, but to the great majority gives signs, from which arises the art called divination. The gods, then, order the life of but few among men, such as they wish to make supremely blessed and in very truth divine; whereas souls delivered from birth and henceforth at rest from the body—set quite free, as it were, to range at will—are, as Hesiod ^f says, daemons that watch over man. For as athletes who from old age have given up training do not entirely lose their ardour and their love of bodily prowess, but look on with pleasure as

^a That is, the Stoic distinction between "artificial" divination, which interprets omens, and so-called "artless" or "untaught" divination, which is found in dreams and inspiration. Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Vita et Poesi Homeri*, ii. 212, and Cicero, *De Div.* i. 6 (11) with Pease's note.

^b Cf. *Il.* i. 69, vi. 76.

^c Cf. *Il.* i. 62, xxiv. 221.

^d *Il.* vii. 44 f.

^e *Il.* vii. 53.

^f *Works and Days*, 122 ff.; quoted also in *Mor.* 361 B, 431 E.

(593) ἀσκοῦντας ὀρώντες ἡδοναὶ καὶ παρακαλοῦσι καὶ
 Ε συμπαραθέουσιν, οὕτως οἱ πεπαυμένοι τῶν περὶ
 τὸν βίον ἀγῶνων δι' ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς γενόμενοι
 δαίμονες οὐ παντελῶς ἀτιμάζουσι τὰ ἐνταῦθα
 πράγματα καὶ λόγους καὶ σπουδὰς, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ
 ταῦτὸ γυμναζομένοις τέλος εὐμενεῖς ὄντες καὶ
 συμφιλοτιμούμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐγκελεύονται
 καὶ συνεχρομῶσιν ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἦδῃ τῆς ἐλπίδος
 ἀμιλλωμένους καὶ ψαύοντας ὀρώσιν. οὐ γὰρ οἷς
 F ἔτυχε συμφέρεται τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἀλλ' οἷον ἐπὶ τῶν
 νηχομένων ἐν θαλάττῃ τοὺς μὲν πελαγίους ἔτι
 καὶ πρόσω τῆς γῆς φερομένους οἱ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστῶτες
 σιωπῇ θεῶνται μόνον, τοὺς δ' ἐγγὺς ἦδῃ παραθέον-
 τες καὶ παρεμβαίνοντες ἅμα καὶ χειρὶ καὶ φωνῇ
 βοηθοῦντες ἀνασώζουσιν, οὗτος,¹ ὦ φίλοι, καὶ² τοῦ
 δαιμονίου τρόπος³. ἔῃ γὰρ⁴ ἡμᾶς, βαπτιζομένους
 ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ σώματα πολλὰ καθάπερ
 ὀχήματα μεταλαμβάνοντας, αὐτοὺς ἐξαμιλλᾶσθαι
 καὶ μακροθυμεῖν, δι' οἰκείας πειρωμένους ἀρετῆς
 σώζεσθαι καὶ τυγχάνειν λιμένος· ἦτις δ' ἂν ἦδῃ
 διὰ μυρίων γενέσεων ἡγωνισμένη μακροὺς ἀγῶνας
 εὖ καὶ προθύμως ψυχῇ, τῆς περιόδου συμπεραινο-
 594 μένης, κινδυνεύουσα καὶ φιλοτιμουμένη περὶ τὴν
 ἔκβασιν ἰδρῶτι πολλῶ τοῖς ἄνω προσφέρηται,⁵
 ταύτῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐ νεμεσᾷ δαίμονα βοηθεῖν ὁ
 θεὸς ἀλλ' ἀφίησι τῷ προθυμουμένῳ· προθυμεῖται δ'

¹ οὗτος Reiske : οὕτως.

² φίλοι, καὶ Wilamowitz, to fill a lacuna of 9-7 letters.

³ τρόπος nos : ὁ τρόπος. For the passage Post doubtfully suggests the following : οὗτος ὠφελείας τῆς δαιμονίας (or περὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον) ὁ τρόπος.

others train, and call out encouragement and run along beside them, so those who are done with the contests of life, and who, from prowess of soul, have become daemons, do not hold what is done and said and striven after in this world in utter contempt, but are propitious to contenders for the same goal, join in their ardour, and encourage and help them to the attainment of virtue when they see them keeping up the struggle and all but reaching their heart's desire. For daemons do not assist all indifferently, but as when men swim at sea, those standing on the shore merely view in silence the swimmers who are still far out and distant from land, whereas they help with hand and voice alike such as have come near, and running along and wading in beside them bring them safely in, such too, my friends, is the way of daemons: as long as we are head over ears in the welter of worldly affairs and are changing body after body, like conveyances, they allow us to fight our way out and persevere unaided, as we endeavour by our own prowess to come through safe and reach a haven; but when in the course of countless births a soul has stoutly and resolutely sustained a long series of struggles, and as her cycle draws to a close, she approaches the upper world, bathed in sweat, in imminent peril and straining every nerve to reach the shore,^a God holds it no sin for her daemon to go to the rescue, but lets whoever will lend aid. One

^a The word *ekbasis*, translated "shore," but literally "egress," was suggested by Homer, *Od.* v. 410.

⁴ ἐὰ γὰρ Bern. (ἐὰ μὲν γὰρ Amyot) to fill a lacuna of 6-13 letters.

⁵ τοῖς ἄνω προσφέρηται Maas (πρὸς τᾶν φέρηται Bern.): ἄνω προσφέρηται.

(594) ἄλλος ἄλλην ἀνασώζειν ἐγκελευόμενος, ἢ δὲ συνακούει διὰ τὸ πλησιάζειν καὶ σώζεται, μὴ πειθομένην δέ, ἀπολιπόντος τοῦ δαίμονος, οὐκ εὐτυχῶς ἀπαλλάσσει."

25. Τούτων εἰρημένων ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἀποβλέψας εἰς ἐμέ, "σοὶ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὦ Καφισία, σχεδὸν ὥρα βαδίζειν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἤδη καὶ μὴ Β ἀπολείπειν τοὺς συγγήθεις· ἡμεῖς δὲ Θεάνορος ἐπιμελησόμεθα διαλύσαντες ὅταν δοκῇ τὴν συνουσίαν."

Καγώ, "ταῦτα," ἔφην, "πράττομεν¹· ἀλλὰ μικρὸν οἶμαί τι μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ Γαλαξιδώρου βούλεται σοι διαλεχθῆναι Θεόκριτος οὔτοσί."²

"Ἄγαθῇ τύχῃ," εἶπε, "διαλεγέσθω," καὶ προῆγεν ἀναστάς εἰς τὸ ἐπικάμπιον³ τῆς στοᾶς. καὶ ἡμεῖς περισχόντες αὐτὸν ἐπεχειροῦμεν παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἔφη πάνυ σαφῶς εἰδέναί τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων καὶ συντετάχθαι μετὰ Γοργίδου τοὺς φίλους⁴ πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν, ἀποκτενεῖν δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον οὐδένα μὴ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης γενομένης, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ C πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀρμόζειν τὸ Θηβαίων εἶναί τινας ἀναιτίους καὶ καθαρούς τῶν πεπραγμένων, οἳ⁵ μᾶλλον ἔξουσι ἀνυπόπτως πρὸς⁶ τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου παραινοῦντες. ἐδόκει ταῦτα ἡμῖν. κάκεῖνος μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν αὐθις ὡς τοὺς περὶ Σιμμίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καταβάντες εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐνετυγχάνομεν τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ διαλαμβάνων ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐν τῷ συμπαλαίειν τὰ μὲν ἐπυνθάνετο τὰ δὲ ἔφραζε

¹ πράττομεν] πράττωμεν Ald.², Wytttenbach.

² Θεόκριτος οὔτοσί Stegmann (οὔτοσί Θεόκριτος Döhner): οὔτοσί ὁ θεόκριτος. ³ ἐπικάμπιον L. Dindorf: ἐπικάμπειον.

⁴ τοὺς φίλους] τοῖς φίλοις Reiske.

⁵ οἳ added by Wytttenbach. ⁶ πρὸς added by Reiske.

daemon is eager to deliver by his exhortations one soul, another another, and the soul on her part, having drawn close, can hear, and thus is saved ; but if she pays no heed, she is forsaken by her daemon and comes to no happy end."

25. When Theanor had done, Epameinondas looked at me and said : " Caphisias, it is time, I believe, for you to go to the gymnasium and not disappoint your companions ; when we decide to break up this gathering, we will look after Theanor ourselves."

" That I shall do," I replied ; " but I think Theocritus here would like a few words with you, in the presence of Galaxidorus and myself."

" He shall have them ; and good luck attend !" he said, rising and leading us to the angle in the colonnade. We gathered about and endeavoured to prevail upon him to join in the attack. He was perfectly well informed, he replied, of the day appointed for the exiles' return ; indeed Gorgidas and he had organized their friends for the occasion.^a But he would never put a countryman to death without trial unless driven to it by extreme necessity. Apart from this it was to the interest of democratic government at Thebes that there should be some men not chargeable with the guilt of what was done : these would enjoy the greater confidence of the people, as their counsels would be less suspected of bias. With this we agreed ; and he returned to Simmias and the company while I went down to the gymnasium and joined my friends. Shifting partners as we wrestled, we exchanged information and made arrangements

^a Epameinondas and Gorgidas appear on the scene with their band of followers after the assassinations : *cf. Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii, 2 (284 B) and 598 c, *infra*.

(594) καὶ συνετάττετο πρὸς τὴν πράξιν. ἑωρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀλληλιμμένους
 D ἀπιόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. ὁ γὰρ Φυλλίδας, δεδιὼς μὴ τὸν Ἀμφίθειον προανέλωσιν, εὐθύς ἀπὸ τῆς Λυσανορίδου προπομπῆς τὸν Ἀρχίαν δεξάμενος καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑπάνδρου¹ γυναικὸς ἧς ἐπιθυμῶν ἐτύγχανεν εἰς ἐλπίδας ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἀφιξομένης εἰς τὸν πότον,² ἔπεισε πρὸς ῥαθυμίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν τραπέσθαι μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων αὐτῷ συνακολασταίνειν.

26. Ὅψὲ δὲ ἦν³ ἤδη τό τε ψῦχος ἐπέτεινε, πνεύματος γενομένου, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῶν πολλῶν τάχιον εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἡμεῖς μὲν τοὺς⁴ περὶ Δαμοκλείδαν καὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ Θεόπομπον ἐντυχόντες ἀνελαμβάνομεν, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλους· ἐσχίσθησαν γὰρ εὐθύς ὑπερβάλλοντες⁵ τὸν Κιθαιρῶνα, καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ χειμὼν τὰ πρόσωπα συγκεκαλυμμένοις ἀδεῶς διελθεῖν τὴν πόλιν· ἐνίοις δὲ ἐπήστραψε δεξιὸν ἄνευ βροντῆς εἰσιοῦσι διὰ τῶν πυλῶν· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐδόκει καλὸν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ δόξαν, ὡς λαμπρῶν, ἀκινδύνων δέ, τῶν πράξεων ἐσομένων.

27. Ὡς οὖν ἅπαντες ἔνδον ἦμεν, πεντήκοντα δυοῖν δέοντες, ἤδη τοῦ Θεοκρίτου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ τινὶ σφαγιαζομένου, πολὺς ἦν τῆς θύρας ἀραγμός,⁶ καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἦκέ τις ἀγγέλλων ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Ἀρχίου δύο κόπτειν τὴν αὔλειον

¹ ὑπάνδρου Bern. from the *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 4 (282 B) (ἐν ἀξιώματι Pohlenz; γαμετῆς Post; Wilamowitz and Sykutris suppose that the husband's name has dropped out) to fill a lacuna of 6 letters in E; there is no lacuna in B.

² πότον Salmasius: τόπον.

³ ἦν added by Kronenberg.

for the execution of the plot. We also saw Archias and Philippus, freshly anointed, going off to dinner; for when Archias had returned after escorting Lysanoridas, Phyllidas immediately took him into his house, fearing that Amphitheüs might be put to death before we could prevent it; and leading Archias to hope that the married woman he desired would come to the banquet, he prevailed on him to dismiss his cares and relax with the usual companions of his debauches.^a

26. It was now late and growing colder, as a wind had arisen; and most of the townspeople had on this account withdrawn into their houses earlier than usual, when our group met and picked up Damocleidas, Pelopidas, and Theopompus, and other groups picked up the rest (for they had separated as far back as the crossing of Cithaeron); and the bad weather allowed them to muffle up their faces and pass through the city without fear. Some, as they entered the gates, saw a flash of lightning on the right, not followed by thunder; and the sign was taken to portend safety and glory—our acts would be brilliant and yet unattended with danger.^b

27. Now when we were all in the house, to the number of forty-eight,^c and Theocritus was taking sacrificial omens off in a room by himself, there came a loud pounding at the door. It was shortly after announced that two officers of Archias, dispatched

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 4 (282 B).

^b Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* v. 4. 3 ff.

^c Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 3 (282 A).

⁴ τοὺς] τοῖς E^{1ss}B^{1t}.

⁵ ὑπερβάλλοντες] ὑπερβαλόντες van Herwerden.

⁶ ἀραγμός Stephanus: ἀραγμός.

(594)
 F ἀπεσταλμένους σπουδῇ πρὸς Χάρωνα καὶ κελεύειν ἀνοίγειν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν βράδιον ὑπακουόντων. θορυβηθεῖς οὖν ὁ Χάρων ἐκείνοις μὲν εὐθύς ἀνοιγνύναι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαντήσας ἔχων στέφανον ὡς τεθυκῶς καὶ πίνων ἐπυνθάνετο τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ὃ τι βούλοιντο.

Λέγει δ' ἄτερος, “ Ἄρχίας καὶ Φίλιππος ἔπεμψαν ἡμᾶς κελεύοντες ὡς τάχιστα σε ἦκειν πρὸς αὐτούς.”

Ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Χάρωνος τίς ἢ σπουδὴ τῆς τηνικαῦτα μεταπέμψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ μή τι καινότερον, “ οὐδὲν ἴσμεν,” ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἔφη, “ πλεόν· ἀλλὰ τί λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς;”

“ Ὅτι νῆ Δία,” εἶπεν¹ ὁ Χάρων, “ θεῖς² τὸν στέφανον ἦδη καὶ λαβὼν τὸ ἱμάτιον ἔπομαι· μεθ' ὑμῶν γὰρ τηνικαῦτα βαδίζων διαταράξω τινὰς ὡς ἀγόμενος.”

595 “ Οὕτως,” ἔφη,³ “ ποίει· καὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοῖς ὑπὸ πόλιν φρουροῖς κομίσαι τι πρόσταγμα παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων.”

Ἐκείνοι μὲν οὖν ὥχοντο, τοῦ δὲ Χάρωνος εἰσελθόντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ταῦτα φράσαντος ἔκπληξις ἅπαντας ἔσχεν οἰομένους μεμνηῦσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἴπποσθενεΐδαν ὑπενόουν οἱ πλείστοι κωλύσαι μὲν ἐπιχειρήσαντα τὴν κάθοδον διὰ τοῦ Χλίδωνος, ἐπεὶ δ' ἀπέτυχε καὶ συνῆπτε τῷ καιρῷ τὸ δεινόν, ἐξενηνοχέται πιθανὸν ὄντα τὴν πρᾶξιν ὑπὸ δέους· οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκετο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,

on urgent business to Charon, were knocking at the outer door and ordering it to be opened, and showed impatience at the delay in answering.^a Charon, in great alarm, gave orders to open it at once, and going to meet them in person, with a chaplet on his head, as if he was in the midst of drinking after a sacrifice, asked the officers what they wanted.

The one replied: "Archias and Philippus have sent us with orders for you to report to them at once."

When Charon asked to what urgency this summons at such an hour was due and whether anything serious had happened, the messenger answered: "That is all we know. What shall we tell them?"

"Why, tell them," said Charon, "that I am laying my chaplet aside this moment and putting on my cloak and following after; for if I accompany you at this hour some people will take alarm, supposing me under arrest."

"Do so," the man answered; "it so happens that we have an order from the authorities to convey to the guards at the foot of the citadel."

With that they left. When Charon rejoined us with the news we were all struck with consternation, imagining ourselves betrayed; and most of us suspected that Hippostheneidas, after using Chlidon in his attempt to prevent the exiles' return, when this failed and the crisis was upon us, had in his fear denounced the plot (being a man who would be credited); for he had not come to the house with the rest and

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ix. 8 (282 c).

¹ εἶπεν Aldine: εἰπεῖν.

² Post puts the inverted commas before ἔπομαι.

³ ἔφη] ἔφησαν B.

(595) ἄλλ' ὅλως¹ ἐδόκει πονηρὸς γεγονέναι καὶ παλίμ-
 βολος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν γε Χάρωνα πάντες ὠόμεθα
 B χρῆναι βαδίζειν καὶ ὑπακούειν τοῖς ἄρχουσι καλού-
 μενον. ὁ δὲ κελεύσας τὸν υἱὸν ἐλθεῖν, κάλλιστον
 ὄντα Θηβαίων, ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, παῖδα καὶ φιλοπο-
 νώτατον περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια, πεντεκαϊδεκέτη μὲν
 σχεδόν, πολὺ δὲ ῥώμῃ καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντα τῶν
 ὁμηλικῶν, “ οὗτος,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μόνος
 ἐστὶ καὶ ἀγαπητός, ὥσπερ ἴστε· τοῦτον ὑμῖν παρα-
 δίδωμι πρὸς θεῶν ἅπασι πρὸς δαιμόνων ἐπι-
 σκῆπτων· εἰ φανείην ἐγὼ πονηρὸς περὶ ὑμᾶς,
 ἀποκτεínaτε, μὴ φείσησθε ἡμῶν· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὡς²
 ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τὸ συμπεσόν³ ἀντιτάξασθε·
 C μὴ πρόησθε τὰ σώματα διαφθεῖραι τοῖς ἐχθίστοις⁴
 ἀνάνδρως καὶ ἀκλεῶς, ἀλλ' ἀμύνασθε, τὰς ψυχὰς
 ἀηττήτους τῇ πατρίδι φυλάττοντες.”⁵

Ταῦτα τοῦ Χάρωνος λέγοντος τὸ μὲν φρόνημα
 καὶ τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν ἐθαυμάζομεν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
 ὑποψίαν ἠγανακτοῦμεν καὶ ἀπάγειν ἐκελεύομεν τὸν
 παῖδα.

“ Τὸ δ' ὅλον,” εἶπεν ὁ Πελοπίδας, “ οὐδ' εὖ
 βεβουλευσθαι δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ Χάρων, μὴ μεταστη-
 σάμενος εἰς οἰκίαν ἑτέραν τὸν υἱόν· τί γὰρ αὐτὸν
 δεῖ κινδυνεύειν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενον;
 καὶ νῦν ἐκπεμπτέος, ἵν' ἡμῖν, ἕάν τι πάσχωμεν,
 εὐγενῆς ὑποτρέφῃται τιμωρὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους.”

D “ Οὐκ ἔστιν,” εἶπεν ὁ Χάρων, “ ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ
 παραμενεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύσει μεθ' ὑμῶν⁶. οὐδὲ γὰρ

¹ ὅλως corrected from ὅλος in EB.

² ὡς Kronenberg : ὦ.

³ συμπεσόν Reiske : συμπόσιον.

⁴ ἐχθίστοις Wytttenbach : αἰσχίστοις.

had on all counts, it was felt, shown himself base and treacherous. Still, we all felt that Charon should go in obedience to the summons he had received from the magistrates. He gave orders for his son to enter, the most handsome boy in Thebes, Archedamus, and most diligent in athletic exercise; he was, I should say, about fifteen years old, but far stronger and taller than others of his age. "Gentlemen," he said, "this is my only child, and very dear to me, as you know; I place him in your hands, adjuring all of you in the name of gods and daemons: if it should appear that I have played you false, kill him, show us no mercy. For the rest, face what has befallen like the brave men you are; do not surrender your bodies to unmanly and inglorious destruction by your bitterest foes, but fight back, keeping your souls unconquered^a for your country's sake."

As Charon said this we were filled with admiration for his high heart and noble mind, but indignant at the thought of suspicion, and told him to take the boy away.

"In any case, Charon," said Pelopidas, "I think you were ill-advised in not removing your son to another house; for why should he be exposed to danger by being shut up with us here? Even now he should be sent away, so that, if anything happens to us, he may grow up in our place to be our noble avenger upon the tyrants."

"That may not be," replied Charon; "here he shall stay and meet the danger with you; for him

^a The Stoics defined *eupsychia* (valour) as a science that keeps the soul unconquered (*Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* iii. 264, p. 64. 38 f., 269, p. 66. 19 von Arnim).

⁵ φυλάττοντες] διαφυλάττοντες? ⁶ ὑμῶν E^cB: ἡμῶν E^{ac}.

(595) τούτῳ καλὸν ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς. ἀλλὰ τόλμα παρ' ἡλικίαν, ὧ παῖ, γευόμενος ἄθλων ἀναγκαίων καὶ κινδύνευε μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀρετῆς· πολλή δ' ἐλπίς ἔτι λείπεται, καὶ πού τις ἐφορᾶ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ἀγωνιζομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων.''

28. Δάκρυα πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῶν, ὧ Ἀρχέ-
δαμει, πρὸς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἀνδρός, αὐτὸς¹ δὲ
ἄδακρυς καὶ ἄτεγκτος ἐγχειρίσας Πελοπίδα τὸν
υἱὸν ἐχώρει διὰ θυρῶν δεξιούμενος ἕκαστον ἡμῶν
καὶ παραθαρρύνων. ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν ἠγάσσω
τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν φαιδρότητα καὶ τὸ ἀδέες²
E πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ὥσπερ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, μήτε
ὠχριάσαντος μήτε ἐκπλαγέντος, ἀλλ' ἔλκοντος τὸ
ξίφος τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ καταμανθάνοντος.

Ἐν τούτῳ Κηφισόδωρος ὁ Διογείτονος,³ εἰς τῶν
φίλων, παρῆν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ξίφος ἔχων καὶ θώρακα
σιδηροῦν ὑπενδεδυμένος καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν Χάρω-
νος ὑπ' Ἀρχίου μετάπεμψιν ἠτιᾶτο. τὴν μέλλησιν
ἡμῶν καὶ παρώξυνεν εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας βαδίζειν·
φθῆσεσθαι γὰρ ἐμπεσόντας αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή,
βέλτιον εἶναι προελθόντας ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ συμπλέκεσθαι
πρὸς ἀλλήλους⁴ ἀσυντάκτους καὶ σποράδας ἢ μέ-
F νειν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ καθείρξαντας αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ σμῆ-
νος ἐξαιρεθησομένους ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐνῆγε
δὲ καὶ ὁ μάντις Θεόκριτος, ὡς τῶν ἱερῶν σω-
τηρίων καὶ καλῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐχεγγύων
αὐτῷ γεγονότων.

¹ αὐτὸς Reiske: οὗτος.

² ἀδέες Basle edition of 1542, Ald.²: ἀδαές.

³ Κηφισόδωρος ὁ Διογείτονος Wilamowitz and Sykutris: κηφισοδώρω (κηφισοδόρω B) διότονος.

⁴ ἀλλήλους] Xylander deletes; ἄλλους or αὐτούς Wytttenbach.

too it would be no honour to fall into the hands of the enemy. But, my son, be brave in this first trial before your age of the real business of fighting, and encounter peril at the side of many brave countrymen, with freedom and virtue as the prize ; much hope yet remains, and doubtless some god is watching over us as we struggle for the right."

28. Tears came to the eyes of many of us, Archdamus, at his words ; but he was dry-eyed himself and unmoved as he put his son into the charge of Pelopidas and passed through the door, taking every one of us by the hand and speaking words of encouragement. Even more admirable would you have found the boy's own radiance and fearlessness in face of danger ; like Neoptolemus,^a he neither blenched nor was dismayed, but drew Pelopidas' sword and studied it with care.

Meanwhile Cephisodorus, son of Diogeiton, one of our party, arrived, armed with a sword and wearing an iron corslet under his cloak. When he heard that Charon had been summoned by Archias, he blamed our delay and spurred us on to proceed to the houses at once ; we should thus be upon them before they could attack, and failing that, it was better to get out into the open and engage with an enemy unorganized and scattered like ourselves than to remain where we were, confining ourselves in a small room for them to collect like a swarm of bees. Theocritus the diviner also urged us to act, as his sacrifice promised deliverance and triumph and assured our safety.

^a The son of Achilles : *cf.* Homer, *Od.* xi. 528-530 :

" Him never have I seen
Blench from his ruddy hue, or from his cheek
Brush off the coward tears."

(595) 29. Ὀπλιζομένων δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ συνταττομένων αὐθις¹ ἀφικνεῖται Χάρων ἰλαρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ μειδιῶν, καὶ προσβλέπων εἰς ἡμᾶς θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευεν, ὡς δεινοῦ μηδενὸς ὄντος ἀλλὰ τῆς πράξεως ὁδῶ βαδιζούσης. “ὁ γὰρ Ἀρχίας,” ἔφη, “καὶ ὁ Φίλ-
596 ιππος, ὡς ἤκουσαν ἤκειν ἐμὲ κεκλημένον, ἤδη βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὄντες καὶ συνεκλελυμένοι τοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχάς, μόλις διαναστάντες ἔξω προῆλθον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχίου ‘φυγάδας, ὦ Χάρων, ἀκούομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει κρύπτεσθαι παρεισελθόντας,’ οὐ μετρίως ἐγὼ διαταραχθεῖς, ‘ποῦ δ’;’ εἶπον, ‘εἶναι λέγονται καὶ τίνες;’ ‘ἀγνοοῦμεν,’ ὁ Ἀρχίας εἶπε, ‘καὶ σε τούτου χάριν ἐλθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν, εἰ δὴ τι τυγχάνοις σαφέστερον ἀκηκόως.’

“Κἀγώ, μικρὸν ὥσπερ ἐκ πληγῆς² ἀναφέρων τὴν διάνοιαν, ἐλογιζόμεν λόγον εἶναι τὴν μήνυσιν
B οὐ βέβαιον οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνειδότην ἐξενηρέχθαι τὴν πράξιν οὐδενός· οὐ γὰρ ἂν³ ἀγνοεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτούς, εἴ τις εἰδὼς ἀκριβῶς ἐμήνυεν, ἄλλως δὲ ὑποψίαν ἢ λόγον ἄσημον ἐν τῇ πόλει περιφερόμενον ἤκειν εἰς ἐκείνους. εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι ‘ζῶντος μὲν Ἀνδροκλείδου πολλάκις ἐπίσταμαι φήμας τοιαύτας ῥυείσας διακενῆς καὶ λόγους ψευδεῖς ἐνοχλήσαντας ἡμῖν, νυνὶ δέ,’ ἔφην, ‘οὐδὲν ἀκήκοα τοιοῦτον, ὦ Ἀρχία· σκέψομαι δὲ τὸν λόγον, εἰ κελεύεις, κἂν πύθωμαί τι φροντίδος ἄξιον, ὑμᾶς οὐ λήσεται.’⁴

¹ αὐθις Turnebus : αὐτοῖς.

² ἐκ πληγῆς Turnebus : ἐκπλαγεῖς.

29. We were arming and preparing for combat when Charon returned with a cheerful and smiling face, and looking us straight in the eye told us to be of good courage ; there was nothing to fear, and our plans were working smoothly.^a "When Archias and Philippus," he said, "heard that I had answered the summons, they were already heavy with drink and their minds, like their bodies, had lost their vigour ; it was all they could do to get up and come out to the door. 'We hear, Charon,' said Archias, 'that exiles have slipped into the city and are lying concealed.' At this I felt no ordinary alarm and asked : 'Where are they reported to be, and who are they ?' 'We do not know,' he replied ; 'that is why we sent for you, to see if you had heard any more definite news.'

"Recovering my wits somewhat as from a blow, I reflected that the report was mere hearsay ; that our plot had not been denounced by anyone privy to it (for if someone knowing the true state of affairs had betrayed us, they would not be ignorant of the house) ; and that a mere suspicion or vague report circulating in the city had reached them. And so I replied : 'When Androcleidas^b was alive I understand that spates of such idle rumours and false reports often gave us trouble, but at present,' I said, 'I have heard nothing of the sort, Archias ; I shall however investigate the story, if you so direct, and if I hear of anything alarming it will be brought to your attention.'

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. x. 1-5 (282 F—283 A).

^b A Theban exile assassinated at Athens at Leontiades' command : cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. vi. 3 (280 E).

³ *äv* added by Wytttenbach.

⁴ *ύμᾶς οὐ λήσεται* Wilamowitz : *οὐ λήσεται ύμᾶς*.

(596) “ ‘ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,’ ὁ Φυλλίδας εἶπε· ‘ μηδέν, ὦ Χάρων, ἀδιερεύνητον μηδὲ ἄπυστον ὑπὲρ τούτων ἀπολίπης· τί γὰρ κωλύει μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν ἀλλὰ πάντα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν; καλὸν γὰρ¹ ἢ πρόνοια καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλές.’ ἅμα δὲ τὸν Ἄρχιαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀπῆγεν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ πίνοντες τυγχάνουσιν.

“ Ἄλλὰ μὴ μέλλωμεν, ἄνδρες,” ἔφη, “ προσευξάμενοι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξίωμεν.” ταῦτα τοῦ Χάρωνος εἰπόντος, εὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν ἀλλήλους.

30. “Ὡρα μὲν οὖν ἦν καθ’ ἣν ἄνθρωποι² μάλιστα περὶ δεῖπνόν εἰσι, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα μᾶλλον ἐπιτεῖνον ἤδη νιφετὸν ὑπεκίνει ψεκάδι λεπτῇ μεμιγμένον, ὥστε πολλὴν ἐρημίαν εἶναι διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξιούσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην καὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην³ ταχθέντες ἐγγὺς ἀλλήλων οἰκοῦντας⁴ ἐν ἱματίοις ἐξήησαν ἔχοντες οὐδὲν ἕτερον τῶν ὄπλων ἢ μάχαιραν ἕκαστος (ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἦν καὶ Πελοπίδας καὶ Δαμοκλείδας καὶ Κηφισόδωρος), Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων καὶ οἱ μετ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τοῖς περὶ Ἄρχιαν μέλλοντες, ἡμιθωράκια ἐνδεδυμένοι καὶ στεφάνους δασεῖς ἔχοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλάτης οἱ δὲ πεύκης, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ χιτῶνια τῶν γυναικείων⁵ ἀμπεχόμενοι, μεθύοντας ἀπομιμούμενοι κώμῳ χρωμένους μετὰ γυναικῶν.

Ἡ⁶ δὲ χείρων,⁷ ὦ Ἀρχέδαμε, τύχη καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μαλακίας καὶ ἀγνοίας ταῖς ἡμετέρας

¹ γὰρ EB^{1mg}: δὲ B.

² ἄνθρωποι] ἄνθρωποι Sieveking.

³ Ὑπάτην Xylander (cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xi. 1, 283 c): ὑπάτην.

“ ‘ By all means do so, Charon,’ said Phyllidas ; ‘ omit no search or inquiry in this matter ; for what is to keep us from making light of nothing, but being everywhere cautious and vigilant ? Forethought and circumspection are an excellent thing.’ With this he took Archias in hand and led him back to the dining hall where they are now carousing.

“ Then let us not delay, gentlemen,” he said ; “ but address our prayers to the gods and go forth.” When Charon had thus spoken we began praying to the gods and cheering one another on.

30. It was the hour when people are mostly at dinner ; and the wind, growing stronger, had begun to bring on a fall of snow mixed with a thin drizzle, so that we found very few people abroad as we passed through the streets. The party appointed to attack Leontiades and Hypates, who lived near one another, went out in their mantles, taking none of their weapons but a knife each ; among them were Pelopidas, Damocleidas, and Cephisodorus. Charon and Melon and their party, who were to set upon Archias, went out wearing the front plates of their corslets and crowned with bushy chaplets, some of silver fir and some of pine ; a few were dressed in women’s clothing. Thus the party represented a band of tipsy revellers in the company of women.^a

Our worse fortune, Archedamus, which would have made all the indolence and blindness of the enemy

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xi. 1-2 (283 c-D).

⁴ οἰκοῦντας Xylander (cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xi. 1, 283 c) : οἰκοῦντες.

⁵ γυναικείων van Herwerden : γυναικῶν.

⁶ ἢ Leonicus : ὁ E ; ὁ B.

⁷ χείρων] χεῖρον B.

(596) ἐπανισοῦσα τόλμαις καὶ παρασκευαῖς καὶ καθάπερ
 δράμα τὴν πράξιν ἡμῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διαποικίλλουσα

Ε κινδυνώδεσιν ἐπεισοδίοις εἰς αὐτὸ συνέδραμε τὸ
 ἔργον, ὅξυν ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ δεινὸν ἀνεπίστου
 περιπετείας ἀγῶνα. τοῦ γὰρ Χάρωνος ὡς ἐνέπεσε
 τοῖς¹ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀναχωρήσαντος
 οἴκαδε καὶ διασκευάζοντος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν
 ἦκεν ἐνθένδε παρ' ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴ παρ' Ἀρχίου

Φ κάθοδον καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τῶν φυγάδων καὶ τὴν
 οἰκίαν εἰς ἣν παρεληλύθεισαν καὶ τοὺς συμπράττον-
 τας αὐτοῖς. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τῇ μέθῃ κατακεκλασμένους²
 ὁ Ἀρχίας κᾶν³ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεπτοη-
 μένος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, τοῦ δὲ γραμ-
 ματοφόρου φήσαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν⁴ σπουδαίων αὐτῷ
 γεγράφθαι, “ τὰ σπουδαῖα τοίνυν εἰς αὔριον,”
 ἔφη. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολήν ὑπέθηκεν ὑπὸ τὸ
 προσκεφάλαιον, αἰτήσας δὲ ποτήριον ἐκέλευσεν
 ἐγχεῖν καὶ τὸν Φυλλίδα ἐξέπεμπε συνεχῶς ἐπὶ
 θύρας σκεψόμενον εἰ τὰ γύναια πρόσεισι.

31. Τοιαύτης δὲ τὸν πότον ἐλπίδος διαπαιδαγω-
 γησάσης προσμίξαντες ἡμεῖς καὶ διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν
 εὐθὺς ὡσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα μικρὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς
 θύραις ἔστημεν ἐφορῶντες τῶν κατακειμένων ἕκα-
 597 στον. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τῆς ἐσθῆτος
 ὄψις παραλογιζομένη τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἡμῶν σιγὴν

¹ ἐνέπεσε τοῖς] ἀνέπεισε τοὺς Reiske : ἐνέτυχε τοῖς Emperius ;
 ἐνεγέλασε τοῖς? Post.

a match for all our daring and preparation, and which had from the outset been enlivening the course of our enterprise, like the action of a play, with perilous incidents, now joined issue with us in the very moment of execution, involving us in a sudden and terrible ordeal that threatened unlooked-for disaster to our hopes. When Charon, on returning home from his encounter with Archias and Philippus, was disposing us for the attack, a letter came from Archias the hierophant here at Athens to the Archias at Thebes, his friend it appears and host, revealing the exiles' return, their plot, the house they had entered, and their confederates.^a Archias, now quite overcome with wine and all agog, too, with his expectation of the women, took the letter in his hand, but when the messenger said that it concerned important business, remarked, "If business is important it can wait till tomorrow,"^b and slipped it under his cushion. Calling for a beaker he ordered it filled and every moment kept sending Phyllidas to the street to see if the women were coming.

31. These were the hopes that had beguiled them over the wine when we came up and, forcing a way at once through the servants to the banqueting hall, stood for a moment at the door, looking over each of the company reclining there. The sight of our chaplets and dress deceived them about our presence in

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. x. 6-10 (283 B-C); Nepos, *Pelopidas*, chap. iii; *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 404.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 619 D-E.

² κατακεκλασμένος] κατακεκλυσμένος Cobet.

³ κἀν] καὶ Turnebus; κᾶτι? Post.

⁴ τῶν] τινῶν van Herwerden (cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. x. 8, 283 c): Cobet deletes.

(597) ἐποίησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Μέλων ὤρμησε διὰ μέσου τὴν χεῖρα τῇ λαβῇ τοῦ ξίφους ἐπιβεβληκώς, Καβίριχος¹ ὁ κυαμευτὸς² ἄρχων, τοῦ βραχίονος αὐτὸν παραπορευόμενον ἀντισπάσας, ἀνεβόησεν, “ οὐ Μέλων οὗτος, ὦ Φυλλίδα; ” τούτου μὲν οὖν ἐξέκρουσε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν³ ἅμα τὸ ξίφος ἀνέλκων, διανιστάμενον δὲ χαλεπῶς τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐπιδραμῶν οὐκ ἀνῆκε παίων ἕως ἀπέκτεινε.

Τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἔτρωσε μὲν Χάρων παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ἀμυνόμενον δὲ τοῖς παρακειμένοις ἐκπώ-
 Β μασιν ὁ Λυσίθεος ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης χαμαὶ καταβαλὼν ἀνείλε.

Τὸν δὲ Καβίριχον ἡμεῖς κατεπραῦνομεν ἀξιοῦντες μὴ τοῖς τυράννοις βοηθεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν πατρίδα συνελευθεροῦν, ἱερὸν ὄντα καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καθωσιω-
 μένον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν οἶνον οὐκ ἦν εὐπαρακόμιστος τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος καὶ τεταραγμένος ἀνίστατο καὶ τὸ δόρυ προεβάλλετο κατ' αἰχμὴν ὅπερ ἐξ ἔθους αἰεὶ φοροῦσιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῖν ἄρχοντες, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκ μέσου διαλαβὼν τὸ δόρυ καὶ μετεωρίσας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐβῶν ἀφεῖναι καὶ σώξειν ἑαυτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, πεπλήξεσθαι· Θεόπομπος⁴ δὲ παραστὰς ἐκδεξιῶν⁵
 C καὶ τῷ ξίφει πατάξας αὐτόν, “ ἐνταῦθα, ” ἔφη, “ κείσο μετὰ τούτων οὓς ἐκολάκευες· μὴ γὰρ ἐν ἐλευθέραις στεφανώσαιο ταῖς Θήβαις μηδὲ θύσειας

¹ Καβίριχος] Καβεῖριχος Cobet.

² κυαμευτὸς W. Dindorf: κυάμιστος.

³ ἐπιβολὴν Reiske: ἐπιβουλήν.

the city and kept them quiet ^a ; but when Melon, the first to make a move, set out through their midst, his hand on his sword hilt, Cabirichus, the magistrate appointed by lot, caught his arm as he passed and shouted : “ Isn’t this Melon, Phyllidas ? ” Melon, however, disengaged himself, drawing his sword as he did so, and rushing at Archias, who was having trouble getting to his feet, did not slacken his blows until he had killed him.

Philippus was wounded by Charon near the neck, and as he defended himself with the goblets set before him, Lysitheüs threw him from his couch to the ground and dispatched him.

We endeavoured to quiet Cabirichus, adjuring him not to lend aid to the tyrants but help us set his country free, as his person was sacred and consecrated to the gods in that country’s behalf. But as he was not easily to be won over to the wiser course by an appeal to reason, the wine also having its effect, but was getting to his feet, excited and confused, and couching the spear our magistrates are accustomed to keep always with them, I seized it in the middle and raising it above my head shouted to him to let go and save himself, as he would otherwise be cut down ; but Theopompus came up at his right and struck him with his sword, saying : “ Lie there with these you toadied to : may you never wear the chaplet when Thebes is free and never sacrifice again

^a In the *Life of Pelopidas* (chap. xi. 3, 283 D) the appearance of the supposed women is greeted with shouts and applause.

⁴ Θεόπομπος Amyot, Ald.² : θέσπος.

⁵ So EB ; for the accent cf. Herodian, vol. i, p. 509. 22 (ed. Lentz).

(597) ἔτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφ' ὧν κατηράσω πολλὰ τῇ πατρίδι, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων εὐχόμενος." πεσόντος δὲ τοῦ Καβιρίχου τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν δόρυ Θεόκριτος παρῶν ἀνῆρπασεν ἐκ τοῦ φόνου, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων ὀλίγους τολμήσαντας ἀμύνασθαι διεφθείραμεν ἡμεῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντας εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα κατεκλείσαμεν οὐ βουλόμενοι διαπεσόντας ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ D πεπραγμένα πρὶν εἰδέναί καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων¹ εἰ καλῶς κεχώρηκεν.

32. Ἐπράχθη δὲ κάκεῖνα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἔκοψαν οἱ περὶ Πελοπίδαν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου τὴν αὐλειον ἡσυχῇ προσελθόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑπακούσαντα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἔφασαν ἥκειν Ἀθήνηθεν γράμματα τῷ Λεοντιάδῃ παρὰ Καλλιστράτου κομίζοντες. ὡς δὲ ἀπαγγείλας καὶ κελευσθεῖς ἀνοῖξαι τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφείλε καὶ μικρὸν ἐνέδωκε τὴν θύραν, ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροοι καὶ ἀνατρέψαντες τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἴεντο δρόμῳ διὰ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον. ὁ δὲ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξενεχθεῖς E τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ καὶ² σπασάμενος τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὤρμησε πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἀδικος μὲν ἀνὴρ καὶ τυραννικός, εὖρωστος δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα ῥωμαλέος· οὐ μὴν ἔγνω γε τὸν λύχνον καταβαλεῖν καὶ διὰ σκότους συμμῖξαι τοῖς ἐπιφερομένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν φωτὶ καθορώμενος ὑπὸ τούτων ἅμα τῆς θύρας ἀνοιγομένης παίει τὸν Κηφισόδωρον εἰς τὸν λαγόνα καὶ δευτέρῳ τῷ Πελοπίδα συμπεσών, μέγα βοῶν ἀνεκαλείτο τοὺς θεράποντας. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαμίδαν³ ἀνεῖργον, οὐ παρακινδυνεύοντας εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀνδράσιν ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν

¹ ἐτέρων] ἐταίρων Leonicus.

² καὶ] van Herwerden deletes.

to the gods before whom you have invoked so many curses on your country in your many prayers for her enemies." When Cabirichus had fallen, Theocritus (who was standing near) caught up the sacred spear from the blood, while we dispatched the few servants who had ventured to fight back and locked up the rest, who made no resistance, in the banqueting hall, as we did not wish them to slip away and report what had been done until we knew whether the other party had been successful.

32. That action too was carried out as I will describe. Pelopidas' party quietly went up to Leontiades' outer door and knocked, telling the slave who answered that they came from Athens with a letter for Leontiades from Callistratus.^a The slave took the message and was ordered to open. When he had removed the bolt and partly opened the door, they all burst in together, bowled the fellow over, and dashed through the courtyard to the bedchamber. Leontiades guessed the truth at once, and drawing his dagger, prepared to defend himself; he was, it is true, an unjust and tyrannical man, yet firm of soul and stout of arm. He did not, however, determine to dash the lamp to the ground and close with his assailants in the dark, but was visible to them in the lamplight as he struck Cephisodorus in the side the instant the door opened and engaging with Pelopidas, who came next, called loudly for the servants. But these were held back by Samidas and the men with him, and did not risk coming to blows with opponents who were the most illustrious citizens

^a Doubtless the well-known Athenian statesman. That he was no friend of Thebes can be gathered from *Mor.* 810 f.

³ Σαμίδαν Reiske : σαμείδαν (σάμειδαν E).

(597) πολιτῶν καὶ κατ' ἀλκὴν διαφέρουσιν. ἀγὼν δὲ ἦν
 F τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ πρὸς τὸν Λεοντιάδην καὶ διαξιφισμὸς
 ἐν ταῖς θύραις τοῦ θαλάμου στεναῖς οὔσαις καὶ τοῦ
 Κηφισοδώρου πεπτωκότες ἐν μέσαις αὐταῖς¹ καὶ
 θνήσκοντες, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους προσ-
 βοηθεῖν. τέλος δ' ὁ ἡμέτερος λαβὼν μὲν εἰς τὴν
 κεφαλὴν οὐ μέγα τραῦμα, δούς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ
 καταβαλὼν τὸν Λεοντιάδην ἐπέσφαξε θερμῷ τῷ
 Κηφισοδώρῳ· καὶ γὰρ εἶδε πίπτοντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν
 ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπασάμενος ἅμα ἵλεως ἐξέπνευσε.
 γενόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ τὸν Ὑπάτην² τρέ-
 πονται καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεισῶν
 φεύγοντα τὸν Ὑπάτην² ὑπὲρ τέγους τινὸς ἐς τοὺς
 γείτονας ἀποσφάπτουσιν.

598 33. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἠπειγόντο καὶ συμ-
 βάλλουσιν ἡμῖν ἕξωθεν παρὰ τὴν πολύστυλον.
 ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἀλλήλους καὶ συλλαλήσαντες ἐχω-
 ροῦμεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ἐκκαλέσας δὲ τὸν³
 ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ὁ Φυλλίδας, “ Ἀρχίας,” ἔφη, “ καὶ
 Φίλιππος κελεύουσί σε ταχέως ἄγειν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
 Ἀμφίθεον.” ὁ δέ, ὁρῶν καὶ τῆς ὥρας τὴν ἀτοπίαν
 καὶ τὸ μὴ καθεστηκότα λαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Φυλλίδα,ν,
 ἀλλὰ θερμὸν ὄντα τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ μετέωρον, ὑπιδό-
 μενος⁴ τὸ πλάσμα,⁵ “ πότε,” ἔλεγεν, “ ὦ Φυλλίδα,
 B τηνικαῦτα μετεπέμψαντο δεσμώτην οἱ πολέμαρχοι;
 πότε δὲ διὰ σοῦ; τί δὲ κομίζεις παράσημον;”
 “ ἰδού,” ἔφη ὁ Φυλλίδας, “ τὸ παράσημον”⁶. ἅμα
 δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ξυστὸν ἵππικὸν ἔχων διῆκε τῶν πλευ-
 ρῶν καὶ κατέβαλε πονηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ᾧ καὶ μεθ’

of Thebes and excellent fighters. Pelopidas struggled and fenced with Leontiades in the doorway of the chamber; as the passage was narrow and Cephisodorus had fallen between the folding doors and lay there dying, the rest were kept from coming to his aid. Finally our champion, after receiving a slight wound in the head and dealing out many, struck Leontiades to the ground and killed him over the body of Cephisodorus, still warm with life, who saw his enemy fall, gave Pelopidas his hand, and when he had saluted the rest, serenely breathed his last. This done they turned their attention to Hypates, and gaining admittance by a similar stratagem, killed him as he fled over a roof-top to the neighbouring house.

33. From there they made haste to join us and met us outside the Porch of Many Columns. After exchanging greetings and talk we proceeded to the prison. Phyllidas called the gaoler out and said: "Archias and Philippus order you to bring Amphitheüs to them at once." The man, observing the unusual hour and that Phyllidas was not talking to him coolly, but was flushed with the combat and in a ferment, saw through the trick and asked: "When have the polemarchs ever sent for a prisoner at such an hour? And when through you? What token of authority do you bring?" "This is my authority," said Phyllidas, and, as he said it, ran him through the body with a cavalry lance he held, striking down a

¹ μέσαις αὐταῖς Holwerda : μέσοις αὐτοῖς.

² Ὑπάτην Xylander : ἰππάτην E ; ὑπάτην corrected from ἰππάτην B.

³ δέ τόν Turnebus, to fill a lacuna of 8-7 letters.

⁴ ὑπιδόμενος Bern. : ὑπειδόμενος.

⁵ πλάσμα B : πάλαισμα E.

⁶ ἰδού through παράσημον added by Pohlenz.

(598) ἡμέραν ἐπενέβησαν καὶ προσέπτυσαν οὐκ ὀλίγαι γυναῖκες.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς θύρας τῆς εἰρκτῆς κατασχίσαντες ἐκαλοῦμεν ὄνομαστί πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Ἀμφίθεον, εἶτα τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὃν ἕκαστος ἐπιτηδείως εἶχεν· οἱ δέ, τὴν φωνὴν γνωρίζοντες, ἀνεπήδων¹ ἐκ τῶν χαμευνῶν² ἄσμενοι, τὰς ἀλύσεις ἐφέλκοντες, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἐν τῷ ξύλῳ δεδεμένοι τὰς χεῖρας ὀρέγοντες ἐβρόων δεόμενοι μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι. λυομένων C δὲ τούτων ἤδη πολλοὶ προσεφέροντο τῶν ἐγγύς οἰκούντων, αἰσθανόμενοι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ χαίροντες. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἐκάστη περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἤκουσεν, οὐκ ἐμμένουσαι τοῖς Βοιωτῶν ἤθεσιν,³ ἐξέτρεχον πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ διεπυθάνοντο παρὰ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων, αἱ δὲ ἀνευροῦσαι πατέρας ἢ ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἠκολούθουν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκώλυε· ῥοπή γὰρ ἦν μεγάλη πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλεος καὶ δάκρυα καὶ δεήσεις σωφρόνων γυναικῶν.

34. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, πυθόμενος τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐγὼ καὶ τὸν Γοργίδαν D ἤδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων συναθροίζεσθαι περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηναῶν ἱερόν, ἐπορευόμεν πρὸς αὐτούς. ἦκον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ συνέρρεον αἰεὶ πλείονες. ὡς δὲ ἀπήγγειλα καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτοῖς τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ παρεκάλουν βοηθεῖν ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἅμα πάντες εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυττον τοὺς πολίτας. τοῖς δὲ τότε ὄχλοις τῶν συνισταμένων ὄπλα παρεῖχον αἶ τε στοαί,⁴

¹ ἀνεπήδων Wytttenbach : ἀπεπήδων.

² χαμευνῶν Stephanus : χαμεύνων.

³ ἤθεσιν] ἔθεσιν Wytttenbach.

vile fellow, on whom not a few women trod and spat the next day.

We then split down the gaol door and first called out the name of Amphitheüs and then those of the rest with whom we were severally connected. Recognizing our voices they leapt joyfully from their pallets, dragging their chains ; and those whose feet were confined in the stocks stretched out their arms and cried out, begging not to be left behind. While these were released, not a few of the people who lived near by were already joining us, getting wind of what was afoot and elated with it. The women, as one after another heard news of someone close to her, ran out into the streets to meet one another, unmindful of our Boeotian manners, and made inquiries of the passers-by. Those who had found a father or husband followed along, no one stopping them ; for all who met them were mightily swayed by their own pity and the tears and entreaties of decent women.

34. This was the situation when I heard that Epameinondas and Gorgidas were already assembling with their friends at the temple of Athena and went to find them. Many brave citizens had gathered there and more and more kept arriving.^a When I had given them a full account of what had passed, urging them to go to the market place and reinforce us, all of them at once set to summoning the citizenry to rally to the cause of liberty. The crowds that then formed found weapons in the colonnades, which were

^a Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 1-4 (284 A-C) for the remaining scenes of the night.

⁴ αἱ τε στοαί Turnebus (from *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 1, 284 A) : αἱ θ' ἐστίαι.

(598) πλήρεις οὔσαι παντοδαπῶν λαφύρων, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἔγγυς οἰκούντων ἐργαστήρια μαχαιροποιῶν. ἦκε δὲ καὶ Ἴπποσθενείδας μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεδημηκότας κατὰ τύχην πρὸς τὰ Ἡράκλεια σαλπικτὰς¹ παραλαμβάνων. εὐθέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἐσήμαινον οἱ δὲ κατ' ἄλλους τόπους, πανταχόθεν ἐκταράττοντες τοὺς ὑπεναντίους, ὡς πάντων ἀφεστώτων. οἱ μὲν οὖν λακωνίζοντες² ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπὶ³ τὴν Καδμείαν ἔφευγον ἐπισπασάμενοι καὶ τοὺς κρείττους⁴ λεγομένους, εἰωθότας δὲ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν κάτω⁵ νυκτερεύειν. οἱ δὲ ἄνω, τούτων μὲν ἀτάκτως καὶ τεθορυβημένως ἐπιχεομένων, ἡμᾶς δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀφορῶντες, οὐδενὸς μέρους ἡσυχάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ψόφων καὶ θορύβων ἀναφερομένων, καταβαίνειν μὲν οὐ διανοοῦντο, καίπερ περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους⁶ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ἐκπεπληγμένοι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ἄλλως προουφασίζοντο Λυσανορίδαν περιμένειν,⁷ παρέσεσθαι γὰρ ἔφη⁸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης. διὸ καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὕστερον, ὡς πυνθανόμεθα, χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐζημίωσαν⁹ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων οἱ γέροντες, Ἡριππίδαν¹⁰ δὲ καὶ Ἄρκεσον¹¹ ἀπέκτειναν εὐθὺς ἐν Κορίνθῳ λαβόντες. τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν ὑπόσπονδον παραδόντες ἡμῖν ἀπήλλαττον μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

¹ σαλπικτὰς] σαλπικτὰς B.

² οὖν λακωνίζοντες Reiske : καὶ καπνίζοντες.

³ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπὶ (ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Bern.) our supplement of a lacuna of 21-19 letters.

⁴ κρείττους] ἐκκρίτους Wilamowitz ; κριτοὺς ?

⁵ κάτω Turnebus : καὶ τῷ.

⁶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους Wilamowitz (from *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xii. 4, 284 v ; cf. also 586 E, *supra*, and Diodorus, xv. 25. 3) : πεντακισχιλίου.

full of trophies of all kinds, and in the workshops of the cutlers who dwelt near by. Hippostheneidas too appeared with his friends and servants, bringing the trumpeters who happened to be in town for the festival of Heracles. They at once set to blowing their trumpets, some in the market place, others elsewhere, from all sides filling our opponents with alarm as if the whole city had risen. The partisans of Sparta fled from the town to the Cadmeia, drawing along with them the so-called "Incomparables," a body of men whose custom it was to bivouac nightly at the foot of the citadel. The garrison on the height, with this disordered and terrified rout pouring in, and with us visible to them down in the market place, no quarter remaining quiet, but noises and the sounds of tumult being borne up to them from all sides, were in no mood to descend into the town, although fifteen hundred strong, but were terror-struck and took refuge in the pretext that they were waiting for Lysanoridas, who had promised to return that day.^a For this reason he was later sentenced by the Spartan Elders to a large fine; Herippidas and Arcesus were put to death by them the moment they were apprehended in Corinth.^b They surrendered the Cadmeia to us under a truce and set about withdrawing with their forces.

^a Lysanoridas had gone to Haliartus: cf. 578 A, *supra*.

^b Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. xiii. 3 (284 D).

⁷ περιμένειν Reiske: παραμένειν.

⁸ παρέσθαι γὰρ ἔφη Post: γὰρ followed by a lacuna of 16 letters and ἦ.

⁹ πολλοῖς (μόνον Manton) ἐζημίωσαν nos, to fill a lacuna of 17 letters in E: -ν οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐζημίωσαν B.

¹⁰ Ἡριππίδαν Bern. (cf. textual note on 586 E, *supra*): ἔριππίδαν. ¹¹ ἄρκεσον B¹⁸⁸: ἄρχεσον E^cB^{1t}; ἄρχε τὸν E^{ac}.

ON EXILE
(DE EXILIO)

INTRODUCTION

THE essay is evidently addressed to an exile from Sardis (*cf.* 600 A, 601 B), probably at the moment in Athens (*cf.* 604 C, 607 E), who has been plausibly identified with the Menemachus of Sardis for whom Plutarch wrote the essay *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*.^a Plutarch does not state the terms of exile, except to say that his friend was not banished to one specified area, but could travel freely so long as he did not return home (*cf.* 604 B).^b

There is no evidence, internal or external, which makes possible a precise dating of the essay. The reference to Sunium, Taenarus, and the Ceraunian mountains as the limits of continental Greece (601 A) may mean that the essay was written at a time when Epeirus, at least in part, was still included in the province of Achaia; but this gives little help, since it is not known when Epeirus was established as a

^a *Cf.* G. Siefert, "De Aliquot Plutarchi Scriptorum Moralium Compositione atque Indole," in *Commentationes Philol. Jenenses*, vol. vi (1896), pp. 74-89; Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, lxii (1927), p. 296.

^b It is evident that one of the milder forms of *relegatio* was used here: *cf.* Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 967. Plutarch's suggestion (602 B-C) that his friend should choose a new city indicates that the exile was *in perpetuum*.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

separate province.^a Again, as the very similar words in the *Life of Phocion* (754 F) show, Plutarch may here be taking over an expression from some earlier author. Nor does the remark in 605 B help to fix the date of the work. Throughout the period of Plutarch's literary activity there were many prominent figures—such men as Martial, Quintilian, Juvenal, Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, Musonius, and Favorinus—who lived for many years away from their native lands. Seneca says that in his time a large part of the persons living in any given city came from elsewhere.^b

The identification of Plutarch's exiled friend with Menemachus of Sardis has some bearing on the date of the essay. If this identification is correct, it was written some time after the *Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae*, which refers to Domitian in a way that suggests that his reign had recently ended: ἐναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ (815 D). Hence the essay must have been written after the death of Domitian in A.D. 96.

Plutarch has employed in this essay many of the conventional topics which occur also in the consolations on exile written by Teles, Musonius, Seneca, and others.^c A. Giesecke, who made a study of

^a J. A. O. Larsen, *Roman Greece (An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome)*, vol. iv, Baltimore, 1938), p. 438, note, gives the evidence for the reduction in size of Achaia under Hadrian or Antoninus Pius.

^b Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 6. 4-5; cf. Favorinus, *περὶ φυγῆς* col. viii. 41 (G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, *Il Papiro Vaticano Greco* 11. 1, *Studi e Testi*, 53, Vatican City, 1931).

^c The use of commonplaces in moral essays was a recognized procedure among ancient philosophers, as Cicero has indicated in the *Tusc. Disput.* iii. 34 (81): "Sunt enim certa quae de paupertate, certa quae de vita inhonorata et ingloria dici soleant; separatim certae scholae sunt de exilio,

ancient writings on exile,^a found that the similarities between Plutarch, Musonius, and Teles are especially conspicuous. He concluded that Bion and Ariston of Chios must have provided a common source for these writers.^b Subsequently, B. Häsler made a comparative study of consolatory topics in connexion with the recently discovered work of Favorinus on exile.^c

In the initial exhortation to a rational attitude toward exile, Plutarch asserts that the evil of exile lies in opinion only (599 D, 600 D),^d but that, even assuming that exile itself is an evil, we can abate it by diluting it with the good still remaining to us, as wealth (601 F, 602 A, 604 B),^e friends, and leisure.

The second main division of the *De Exilio* proceeds from the statement that "no native land is such by nature" (600 E). Plutarch then develops the common theme that the whole universe is our native land. The consequence that he draws from this, however, is not that the particular place where he happens to be is a matter of no importance to a wise man,^f but rather that the exile would do well to choose for

de interitu patriae, de servitute, de debilitate, de caecitate, de omni casu in quo nomen poni solet calamitatis. Haec Graeci in singulas scholas et in singulos libros dispertiunt; . . ."

^a A. Giesecke, *De Philos. Vet. quae ad Exil. Spectant Sententiis* (Leipzig, 1891). ^b *Op. cit.* p. 94.

^c B. Häsler, *Favorin über die Verbannung* (Bottrop i. W., 1935).

^d Cf. Seneca's similar statement about grief in *Ad Marc.* 19. 1.

^e Contrast the attack on wealth as a good in Favorinus, col. xvi. 31, and Seneca's argument that poverty is not an evil in *Ad Helv.* 10.

^f Cf. Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 8. 6: "Quantum refert mea quid calcem?"

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

himself the best spot he can find, and in time it will become his native land (602 c).

In the following discussion of places of exile Plutarch praises at some length the islands of the Aegean. That he is still thinking primarily of external goods is abundantly clear from his portrayal of life on an island (603 E). The advantages of exile are further supported by the example of the many great men who voluntarily departed from home (604 D ff.).^a

The fourth major division of Plutarch's essay is a refutation of certain charges commonly brought against exile. This division contains many topics in common with the Cynic-Stoic consolations. Plutarch first answers the charges Euripides brings against exile in the *Phoenissae*, a work which was also attacked by Favorinus and Musonius.^b He also quotes apophthegms of the two famous Cynics, Diogenes and Antisthenes (606 B, 607 B).^c Toward the end of this section he mentions several mythological instances of exile, and an allusion to the exile of Apollo provides a transition to the Empedoclean teaching that human life on earth is an exile from heaven (607 c). The conclusion of the essay is Platonic in character, containing allusions to the *Phaedrus*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Phaedo* (607 E-F).

Thus the *De Exilio* does not have the severity of the Cynic doctrine, but rather combines in Plutarch's typical manner acceptance of the good things of this life with expectation of a better life to come. Plutarch uses the commonplaces of popular philosophy to

^a This is also a topic in Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 6. 2 ff., and Favorinus, col. viii. 41.

^b Cf. Musonius, p. 48. 6 ff. (ed. Hense); and Favorinus, col. xv. 35.

^c See the notes on 606 A ff.

ON EXILE

develop his theme, but imposes on them his own distinctive outlook on life.

One translation can be added to those already listed.^a The essay is No. 101 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text rests on $\nu\omega\beta^2 a$. Occasionally $\Lambda\text{E}\gamma\pi\eta$ are cited.

^a *Plutarchus de exilio*, Angelo Barbato interprete. Nuremberg, 1517.

1. Τῶν λόγων ἀρίστους καὶ βεβαιοτάτους, ὥσπερ τῶν φίλων, φασὶν εἶναι τοὺς ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρόντας ὠφελίμως καὶ βοηθοῦντας· ἐπεὶ πάρεισι
 B γε πολλοὶ καὶ προσδιαλέγονται τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀχρήστως, μᾶλλον δὲ βλαβερῶς, καθάπερ ἀκόλυμβοι πιυγομένοις ἐπιχειροῦντες βοηθεῖν, περιπλεκόμενοι καὶ συγκαταδύοντες¹. δεῖ δὲ τὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν βοηθούτων λόγον παρηγορίαν εἶναι, μὴ συνηγορίαν, τοῦ λυποῦντος· οὐ γὰρ συνδακρύντων καὶ συνεπιθρηγούντων ὥσπερ χορῶν τραγικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις χρεῖαν ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ παρρησιαζομένων καὶ διδασκόντων ὅτι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ² ταπεινοῦν ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ παντὶ μὲν ἄχρηστόν
 C ἐστὶ καὶ γινόμενον κενῶς καὶ ἀνοήτως, ὅπου δ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα δίδωσιν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ψηλαφηθέντα καὶ ἀνακαλυφθέντα, πρὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰπεῖν

οὐδὲν πέπονθας δεινόν, ἂν μὴ προσποιῇ, κομιδῇ γελοῖόν ἐστι μὴ τῆς σαρκὸς πυνθάνεσθαι τί πέπονθε, μηδὲ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰ³ διὰ τὸ σύμπτωμα

¹ συγκαταδύοντες v : συγκαταδύνοντες.

² τὸ] omitted by vwβ².

³ εἰ α² : εἰ δέ.

ON EXILE

1. As it is with our friends, so it is with the words we speak : best and most to be depended upon, we are told, are those which appear in adversity to some purpose and give help ; for many people visit the unfortunate and talk to them, but their efforts do no good, or rather do harm. These people are like men unable to swim who try to rescue the drowning—they hug them close and help to drag them under. The language addressed to us by friends and real helpers should mitigate, not vindicate, what distresses us ^a ; it is not partners in tears and lamentation, like tragic choruses, that we need in unwished-for circumstances, but men who speak frankly and instruct us that grief and self-abasement are everywhere futile, that to indulge in them is unwarranted and unwise, and that where the facts themselves, when reason has groped them out and brought them to light, enable a man to say to himself

You've not been hurt, unless you so pretend, ^b

it is utterly absurd not to ask the body what it has suffered, or the soul whether it is the worse for this

^a The distress is due to unfounded opinion : cf. 600 D-E, *infra*.

^b From the *Epitrepointes* of Menander : frag. 9 (vol. i, p. 44 Körte) ; cf. *Mor.* 475 v.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(599) τοῦτο¹ χείρων γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἕξωθεν συναχθόμενοις καὶ συναγανακτοῦσι διδασκάλοις χρήσθαι τῆς λύπης.

2. Ὅθεν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς γινόμενοι τῶν συμπτωμάτων, ὥσπερ φορτίων, ἐκάστου τὸν σταθμὸν ἐξετάζωμεν.² τὸ μὲν γὰρ σῶμα πιέζεται τῷ τοῦ
D βαρύνοντος ἄχθει, ἣ δὲ ψυχὴ τοῖς πράγμασι πολλακίς τὸ βάρος ἐξ αὐτῆς προστίθησιν. ὁ λίθος φύσει σκληρός, ὁ κρύσταλλος φύσει ψυχρός ἐστίν, οὐκ ἕξωθεν εἰκῆ ταύτας τὰς ἀντιτυπίας ἐπιφέροντες³ καὶ τὰς πῆξις· φυγὰς δὲ καὶ ἀδοξίας καὶ τιμῶν ἀποβολάς, ὥσπερ αὐτὰναντία,⁴ στεφάνους καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ προεδρίας, οὐ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν μέτρον ἔχοντα τοῦ λυπεῖν καὶ εὐφραίνειν, ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα καὶ ῥάδια φέρειν ποιεῖ καὶ τοῦναντίον. ἕξεστι δὲ ἀκούειν τοῦ μὲν Πολυνείκου ἀποκρινομένου πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τοῦτο

E — τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
 — μέγιστον· ἔργω δ' ἐστὶ μείζον ἢ λόγῳ·

τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκμᾶνος, ὡς ὁ γράψας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον
 520

mischance,^a but instead to seek instruction in grief from those who come from the outside world to join their vexation and resentment to our own.^b

2. Let us, therefore, withdraw from the world and taking our calamities one by one examine their weight, as if they were so many loads ; for while the burden felt by the body is the actual weight of the thing that presses upon it, the soul often adds the heaviness to circumstances from itself. It is by nature that stone is hard, it is by nature that ice is cold ; it is not from outside themselves, fortuitously, that they convey the sensation of rigidity and freezing ; but banishment, loss of fame, and loss of honours, like their opposites, crowns, public office, and front-seat privileges, whose measure of causing sorrow and joy is not their own nature, but our judgement, every one makes light or heavy for himself, and easy to bear or the reverse.^c We can listen on the one hand to Polyneices, when, on being asked

What is the loss of country ? A great ill ?

he replies

The greatest ; and no words can do it justice ^d ;

on the other hand, we can hear what Alcman has to say, as the author of the little epigram has repre-

^a Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 23. 3.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 610 B-C.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 475 B and Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 23. 4.

^d Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 388 f. ; quoted 605 F, *infra*.

¹ τοῦτο] τούτων VW.

² σταθμὸν ἐξετάζωμεν Wyttenbach : θυμὸν ἐξετάζομεν.

³ ἐπιφέροντες VW^c α¹ : φέροντες wa^c (ἐπιφέρομεν α^{2ss}).

⁴ τὰναντία] τούναντίον VW.

(599) πεποιήκε

Σάρδιες, ἀρχαῖος¹ πατέρων νομός, εἰ μὲν ἐν ὑμῖν
 ἔτρεφόμαν,² κέρνας³ ἢ τις ἂν ἢ⁴ μακέλας⁵
 χρυσοφόρος, ρήσσων λάλα⁶ τύμπανα· νῦν δέ μοι
 Ἀλκμάν

οὔνομα, καὶ Σπάρτας εἰμί πολυτρίποδος,⁷
 καὶ Μούσας ἐδάην Ἑλληνίδας,⁸ αἶ με τυράννων
 θῆκαν Δασκύλεω κρείσσονα⁹ καὶ Γύγεω.

Ἐ τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα τῷ μὲν εὔχρηστον ἢ δόξα,
 καθάπερ νόμισμα δόκιμον, τῷ δὲ δύσχρηστον καὶ
 βλαβερὸν ἐποίησεν.

3. Ἔστω δὲ δεινόν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι
 καὶ ἄδουσιν, ἢ φυγή. καὶ γὰρ τῶν βρωμάτων
 πικρὰ πολλὰ καὶ δριμέα καὶ δάκνοντα τὴν αἴσθησίν
 ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ μιγνύντες αὐτοῖς ἔνια τῶν γλυκέων
 καὶ προσηνῶν τὴν ἀηδίαν ἀφαιροῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ
 χρώματα λυπηρὰ τῇ ὄψει, πρὸς ἃ γίνεται τὸ συγ-
 χεῖσθαι καὶ μαραγεῖν διὰ σκληρότητα καὶ βίαν
 600 ἀνίατον.¹⁰ εἰ τοίνυν ἴαμα τῆς δυσχρηστίας ἐκείνης
 ἐμίξαμεν τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῖς ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἀπεστρέ-
 ψαμεν¹¹ ἐπὶ τι τῶν χλοερῶν καὶ προσηνῶν, τοῦτο
 ἔξεστι ποιεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμπτώματα, κεραν-
 νύνας αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν
 νυνὶ σοι παρόντων· εὐπορίαν, φίλους, ἀπραγμοσύ-

¹ ἀρχαῖος] ἀρχαῖαι Anth.

² ἔτρεφόμαν Anth. : ἔτρεφόμην.

³ κέρνας Anth. : κέλας.

⁴ ἢν (and so π²; ἢ Reiske) τις ἂν ἢ Salmasius : ἢ τις ἀνήρ
 (ἢ τιςαν ἢ Anth.). ⁵ μακέλας] βακέλας Ursinus.

⁶ λάλα Meineke : καλά.

⁷ πολυτρίποδος Anth. : πολίτης.

⁸ Ἑλληνίδας] Ἑλικωνίδας Anth.

⁹ κρείσσονα] μείζονα Anth.

sented him :

Sardis, of old the sojourn of my sires,
 Had I been bred in thee, then had I been
 Some priest or temple eunuch, tricked in gold,
 Smiting the voluble timbrels ; now instead
 My name is Alcman,^a and my country Sparta,
 City of many tripods ; I have been taught
 The Hellenic Muses, who have raised me high
 Above the despots Dascyles and Gyges.^b

Thus opinion had made the same event useful for the one, as it makes a coin pass current,^c but useless and harmful to the other.

3. Assume that exile is a calamity, as the multitude declare in speech and song. So too, many foods are bitter and pungent and irritate the taste ; but by combining with them certain sweet and pleasant ingredients we get rid of the disagreeable savour. There are colours too, painful to the sight, and when confronted with them our vision is blurred and dazzled by their harshness and unrelieved intensity.^d Now if we have found that we could remedy this inconvenience by mingling shadow with them or turning our eyes aside and resting them upon something of a greenish and pleasant shade,^e the same can be done with misfortunes as well : they can be blended^f with whatever is useful and comforting in your present circumstances : wealth, friends, freedom

^a The Greek name Alcman is supposed to have replaced the poet's original Lydian name.

^b Alexander Aetolus, frag. 9 in *Collectanea Alexandrina* (ed. J. U. Powell). ^c Cf. *Mor.* 406 B.

^d A favourite analogy with Plutarch : cf. *Mor.* 469 A with the note in the L.C.L.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 854 B-C.

^f Cf. *Mor.* 610 E.

¹⁰ ἀνίατον] ἄκρατον Wilamowitz.

¹¹ ἀπεστρέψαμεν] ἀπεστράψαμεν α.

(600) νην, τὸ μηθὲν ἐνδεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸν βίον. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι Σαρδιανῶν οἱ μὴ τὰ σὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ φυγῆς, μᾶλλον ἐθελήσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἀγαπήσουσιν ἐπὶ ξένης οὕτω διάγοντες,¹ ἢ,² καθάπερ οἱ κοχλῖαι, τοῖς Β ὀστράκοις συμφυεῖς ὄντες, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες, τῶν³ οἴκοι μετέχειν ἀλύπως. (4.) ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ τις ἠτυχηκότα φίλον θαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀμύνεσθαι⁴ παρακαλῶν, ἐρομένου, “τίνα τρόπον;” ἀποκρίνεται, “φιλοσόφως,” οὕτως καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν ἀμυνώμεθα φιλοσοφούντες ἀξίως·

τὸν Δία δὲ πῶς ὕοντα; τὸν βορέαν δὲ πῶς;

πῦρ ζητοῦμεν, βαλανεῖον, ἰμάτιον, στέγην· καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὑόμενοι καθήμεθα οὐδὲ κλαίομεν. καὶ σοὶ τοίνυν παρ’ ὄντιναοῦν ἔστι τὸ κατεψυγμένον τοῦτο τοῦ βίου μέρος ἀναζωπυρεῖν καὶ ἀναθάλπειν, ἐτέρων βοηθημάτων μὴ δεόμενον, ἀλλὰ χρώμενον C εὐλογίστως τοῖς παροῦσιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἰατρικαὶ σικύαι τὸ φαυλότατον ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀναλαμβάνουσαι κουφίζουσι καὶ σώζουσι τὸ λοιπόν, οἱ δὲ φιλόλυποι καὶ φιλαίτιοι τῷ τὰ χεῖριστα τῶν ἰδίων συνάγειν αἰεὶ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι καὶ προστετηκέναι τοῖς ἀνιαιοῖς ἄχρηστα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ποιοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα καιρῷ βοηθεῖν πέφυκε. τοὺς⁵

¹ διάγοντες w a²: διάγοντα vβ^{2ss} a¹.

² ἢ w² a: οἱ v; ἢ οἱ w.

³ τῶν w^{2ss} a: τῷ v; τοῖς w^{1β}2ss.

⁴ ἀμύνεσθαι] ἀμύνασθαι vw.

⁵ τοὺς Donatus Polus: τὸ.

from politics, and lack of none of the necessities of life.^a For I fancy that there are not many Sardi-ans who would not prefer your circumstances,^b even with exile thrown in, and be content to live on such terms in a foreign land, rather than, like snails, which are of a piece with their shells but enjoy no other blessing, maintain a painless connexion with their homes.^c (4.) As, then, in the comedy a character who is urging an unfortunate friend to take heart and make a stand against Fortune, when asked, "How?" replies, "like a philosopher," so let us too make a stand against her by playing the philosopher worthily. But how are we to face

Zeus when he pours down rain? And how the North Wind?^d

Why, we look for a fire, a bath-house, a cloak, a roof: in a rainstorm we do not sit idle or lament. You too, then, are as able as any man to revive this chilled portion of your life and restore it to warmth: you need no further resources; it is enough to use wisely those you have. For whereas the cupping-glasses^e of physicians, by drawing out of the body its most worthless elements, relieve and preserve the rest, lovers of grief and fault-finding, by constantly collecting and counting up what is worst in their lot, and by getting absorbed in their troubles, make even the most useful things in it useless for themselves at the moment when these would naturally afford the greatest help. For it is not Zeus, dear friend,

^a Cf. *Mor.* 469 A.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 611 B and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* ii. 4. 17.

^c Cf. *Mor.* 611 B.

^d Kock, *C.A.F.* iii, Adespota, 118.

^e For the analogy of the cupping-glass cf. *Mor.* 469 B and 518 B.

(600) γὰρ “δοιούς πίθους,” ὦ φίλε, οὗς Ὀμηρος ἔφη
 D “κηρῶν ἐμπλείους” ἐν οὐρανῷ κείσθαι, τὸν μὲν
 ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων, οὐχ ὁ Ζεὺς ταμιεύων
 κάθηται καὶ μεθίεις τοῖς μὲν ἥπια καὶ μεμιγμένα,
 τοῖς δὲ ἄκρατα ρεύματα τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ ἡμῶν
 αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς
 κακοῖς ἐπαρυστόμενοι, τὸν βίον ποιοῦσιν ἡδίω καὶ
 ποτιμώτερον, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἡθμοῖς, ἐμ-
 μένει καὶ προσίσχεται τὰ φαυλότατα, τῶν βελ-
 τιόνων ὑπεκρεόντων.

5. Διὸ καὶ ἀληθῶς κακῷ τινι καὶ λυπηρῷ περι-
 πέσωμεν, ἐπάγεσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἰλαρὸν καὶ τὸ εὐθυμον
 ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων καὶ ὑπολειπομένων ἀγαθῶν,
 τῷ οἰκείῳ τὸ ἀλλότριον ἐκλεαίνοντας· ὧν δὲ ἡ
 φύσις οὐδὲν ἔχει κακόν, ἀλλὰ ὄλον καὶ πᾶν τὸ
 E λυποῦν ἐκ κενῆς δόξης ἀναπέπλασται, ταῦτα δεῖ,
 καθάπερ τοῖς δεδοικόσι τὰ προσωπεῖα παιδίοις
 ἐγγὺς καὶ ὑπὸ χεῖρα ποιοῦντες καὶ ἀναστρέφοντες
 ἐθίζομεν καταφρονεῖν, οὕτως ἐγγὺς ἀπτομένους
 καὶ συνερείδοντας τὸν λογισμόν, τὸ σαθρὸν καὶ
 τὸ κενὸν καὶ τετραγωδημένον ἀποκαλύπτειν.

Οἶόν ἐστιν ἡ νῦν σοὶ παροῦσα μετάστασις¹ ἐκ
 τῆς νομιζομένης πατρίδος. φύσει γὰρ οὐκ ἔστι
 πατρίς, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἶκος οὐδὲ ἀγρὸς οὐδὲ χαλ-
 κεῖον, ὡς Ἀρίστων ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ ἰατρεῖον· ἀλλὰ
 γίνεται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀνομάζεται καὶ καλεῖται, τού-

¹ μετάστασις Xylander : κατάστασις.

^a Π. xxiv. 527-532 as quoted and paraphrased by Plato, *Republic*, 379 D ; the version of the mss. of Homer is different. The Platonic version is quoted in *Mor.* 24 B, 369 C and 473 B (where see the notes in the L.C.L.) ; the Homeric version is

that sits by the "two urns" of Homer,^a which stand in heaven "brimful," the one of good, the other of evil "dooms," dispensing them, releasing to some a gentle and well-tempered flow, to others, an undiluted stream of misery; rather, it is ourselves: the wise among us, by drawing from the good and pouring it upon the bad, make their lives more pleasant and potable^b; whereas in the multitude, as in filters, the worst remains and adheres as the better flows away and vanishes.

5. If, therefore, we suffer some real and truly painful calamity, we must summon cheerfulness and peace of spirit by drawing upon the store of good still left us, using our own resources to smooth out the roughness of what comes from outside ourselves; but with things which have no evil in their nature, and whose painfulness is wholly and entirely a figment of unfounded opinion, we must act as we do with little children who are frightened by masks^c: by bringing the masks close and putting them into their hands and turning them about we accustom the child to make light of them; so, by coming to close quarters with these things and applying to them the firm pressure of reason, we must expose their unsoundness, their hollowness, and their theatrical imposture.

Such is your present removal from what you take to be your native land. For by nature there is no such thing as a native land, any more than there is by nature a house or farm or forge or surgery, as Ariston^d said; but in each case the thing becomes so, or rather quoted with approval in the *Letter of Condolence to Apollonius* (*Mor.* 105 c).

^b Cf. *Mor.* 469 c and 610 r.

^c Cf. Arrian, *Epict.* ii. 1. 15.

^d Cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 371, p. 85 (ed. von Arnim).

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(600)
 F των ἕκαστον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὸν οἰκοῦντα καὶ χρώμενον.
 ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος, ἣ φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, “φυτὸν οὐκ
 ἔγγειον” οὐδὲ ἀκίνητον, “ἀλλ’ οὐράνιον” ἔστιν,
 ὡσπερ ἐκ ρίζης τὸ σῶμα τῆς κεφαλῆς ὀρθὸν
 ἰστώσης,¹ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεστραμμένον. ὅθεν
 εὖ μὲν ὁ² Ἡρακλῆς εἶπεν³

Ἄργεῖος ἢ Θηβαῖος· οὐ γὰρ εὐχομαι
 μιᾶς· ἅπας μοι πύργος Ἑλλήνων πατρίς.

ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλληνας,
 ἀλλὰ “Κόσμιος” εἶναι φήσας, ὡς ἂν τις “Ῥό-
 601 διος” εἶπεν ἢ “Κορίνθιος,” ὅτι μηδὲ Σουνίῳ μηδὲ
 Ταυνάρῳ μηδὲ τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ἐνέκλεισεν ἑαυτόν.

Ὅρας τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ’ ἀπειρον αἰθέρα
 καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ’ ὑγραῖς ἐν⁴ ἀγκάλαις;

οὗτοι τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν ὄροι,⁵ καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε
 φυγὰς ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ξένος οὔτε ἀλλοδαπός, ὅπου
 τὸ αὐτὸ πῦρ, ὕδωρ, ἀήρ, ἄρχοντες οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ
 διοικηταὶ καὶ πρυτάνεις· ἥλιος, σελήνη, φωσφόρος·
 οἱ αὐτοὶ⁶ νόμοι πᾶσιν, ὑφ’⁷ ἐνὸς προστάγματος
 καὶ μιᾶς ἡγεμονίας· τροπαὶ βόρειοι, τροπαὶ νότιοι,
 B ἰσημερία,⁸ Πλειάς, Ἀρκτοῦρος, ὦραι σπόρων, ὦραι
 φυτειῶν⁹· εἰς δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄρχων, “θεός, ἀρχὴν

¹ ἰστώσης] ἰστάσης Bern. ² εὖ μὲν ὁ Stobaeus : ὁ μὲν.

³ εἶπεν] εἶπεν ἐρωτηθεὶς Stobaeus.

⁴ ἔχονθ’ ὑγραῖς ἐν Lucian, *Jur. Trag.* 41 : ἔχοντα ὑγραῖς.

⁵ Benseler deletes εἰσὶ after ὄροι.

⁶ αὐτοὶ] αὐτοὶ δὲ vw. ⁷ ὑφ’] ἀφ’ vwβ².

⁸ ἰσημερία] ἰσημερία a² Capps. ⁹ φυτειῶν] φυτῶν vw.

^a *Timaeus*, 90 A ; cf. *Mor.* 400 B.

^b For the notion that the upper parts of plants are “down” and the lower parts “up” (implied in Plato, *Timaeus*, 90 A-B)

is so named and called, with reference to the occupant and user. For man, as Plato ^a says, is "no earthly" or immovable "plant," but a "celestial" one,—the head, like a root, keeping the body erect—inverted to point to heaven.^b Thus Heracles spoke well when he said

an Argive I

Or Theban, for I boast no single city ;
There is no fort in Greece but is my country ^c ;

whereas the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or Greek, but a "Cosmian" ^d (as one might say "Rhodian" or "Corinthian"), because he did not shut himself up within Sunium and Taenarus and the Ceraunian mountains.^e

Seest thou yon boundless aether overhead
That holds the earth within its soft embrace ? ^f

This is the boundary of our native land, and here no one is either exile or foreigner or alien ; here are the same fire, water, and air ; the same magistrates and procurators and councillors—Sun, Moon, and Morning Star ; the same laws for all, decreed by one commandment and one sovereignty—the summer solstice, the winter solstice, the equinox, the Pleiades, Arcturus, the seasons of sowing, the seasons of planting ^g ; here one king and ruler, "God, holding the

cf. Aristotle, *De Anima*, ii. 4 (416 a 2-5), *De Part. An.* iv. 10 (686 b 34 f.), *De Inc. An.* 4 (705 a 26-b 8).

^c Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 392, imitated by Crates (Frag. 15, Diels, *Poetarum Phil. Frag.* p. 222).

^d *Cf.* Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 37 (108) ; Musonius, p. 42. 1-2 (ed. Hense) ; Arrian, *Epict.* i. 9. 1.

^e The limits of Greece to the east, south, and north : *cf.* *Life of Phocion*, chap. xxix. 4 (745 f).

^f Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 941. 1-2 ; also quoted in *Mor.* 780 D, 919 B.

^g The civil months differed in Greece from city to city.

(601) τε καὶ μέσα καὶ τελευτήν ἔχων τοῦ παντός,¹ εὐθεία περαίνει κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· τῷ δὲ ἔπεται² Δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός," ἣ χρώμεθα πάντες ἄνθρωποι φύσει πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὥσπερ πολίτας.

6. Τὸ δέ σε μὴ κατοικεῖν Σάρδεις οὐθέν ἐστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες κατοικοῦσι Κολλυτόν,³ οὐδὲ Κορίνθιοι Κράνειον, οὐδὲ Πιτάνην Λάκωνες. ἄρα οὖν ξένοι καὶ ἀπόλιδες εἰσιν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ Μελίτης εἰς Διόμεια,⁴ ὅπου καὶ μῆνα Μεταγειτινῶνα⁵ καὶ θυσίαν ἐπώνυμον ἄγουσι
 C τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ τὰ Μεταγειτία, τὴν πρὸς ἑτέρους γειτνίασιν εὐκόλως καὶ ἰλαρῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι, καὶ στέργοντες; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις. τί οὖν τῆς οἰκουμένης μέρος, ἢ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης, ἕτερον ἑτέρου μακρὰν ἐστίν, ἣν ὑποδεικνύουσιν⁶ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ σημείου λόγον ἔχουσαν ἀδιαστάτου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὥσπερ μύρμηκες ἢ μέλιτται, μυρμηκίᾳ μιᾶς ἢ κυφέλης ἐκπεσόντες, ἀδημονοῦμεν καὶ ξενοπαθοῦμεν, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μεμαθηκότες⁷ οἰκεία τὰ⁸ πάντα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ νομίζειν, ὥσπερ ἐστί.

¹ μέσα through παντός] τελευτήν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων Plato. ² ἔπεται] αἰεὶ συνέπεται Plato.

³ Κολλυτόν Dübner: κολυττόν.

⁴ Διόμεια Xylander: διωμίδα.

⁵ μεταγειτινῶνα w: μεταγειτινῶντα.

⁶ ὑποδεικνύουσιν] ἀποδεικνύουσιν vw.

⁷ οὐδὲ μεμαθηκότες Stobaeus only. ⁸ τὰ Stobaeus only.

^a Plato, *Laws*, 715 E—716 A; quoted *Mor.* 781 F, 1124 F.

^b For the notion that the whole world is our country cf. *Mor.* 329 c; Democritus (Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, ii, p. 194. 16 f., Democritus, 247); Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 145; Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 9. 7, *Ep.* xxviii. 4; Arrian, *Epict.* iii. 24. 66; Favorinus, col. ix. 23.

beginning, middle, and end of the universe, proceeds directly, as is his nature, in his circuit; upon him follows Justice, who visits with punishment those that fall short of the divine law,"^a the justice which all of us by nature observe toward all men as our fellow-citizens.^b

6. That you do not live in Sardis is nothing; neither do all Athenians live in Collytus, all Corinthians in Craneion, all Laconians in Pitanê. Are those Athenians foreigners and men without a country who removed from Melitê to the region of Diomeia, where they observe both the month Metageitnion and a festival, "the Metageitnia,"^c named for their migration, accepting this change of neighbours in a serene and joyful spirit, and remaining content with their condition? You would not say so. What part, then, of the inhabited world, or of the whole earth, is remote from another, when astronomers teach that in comparison to the universe the earth is a mere point, without extension?^d But we, when like ants or bees we have been driven out of one anthill or beehive, are dismayed and feel strange, possessing neither the knowledge nor the instruction that would teach us to take and consider the whole world to be

For the whole topic cf. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2⁵, p. 203, note 5, and W. W. Tarn, "Alexander the Great and the Unity of Mankind," in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xix (1933).

^c Metageitnios means "of the change of neighbours." Cf. L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin, 1932), p. 202.

^d Cf. Aristarchus, p. 352. 5 (ed. Heath; cf. pp. 308-310); Geminus, 16, p. 176. 9 f. (ed. Manitius); Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 7 (40); Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 21. 2; Theo Smyrnaeus, pp. 120, 128 f. (ed. Hiller); Ptolemy, *Syntaxis Mathematica*, i. 6, p. 20. 5 ff. (ed. Heiberg); Cleomedes, i. 11, p. 102. 22 ff. (ed. Ziegler); Chalcidius, chap. lxiv, p. 132. 9 f. (ed. Wrobel).

(601) καίτοι γελῶμεν τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τοῦ φάσκοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις βελτίονα σελήνην εἶναι τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τρόπον τινὰ τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχοντες ὅταν ἀμφιγνοῶμεν, ἐπὶ ξένης γενόμενοι, τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλατταν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἕτερα καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν D συνήθων. ἡ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἐλευθέρους ἡμᾶς καὶ λελυμένους ἀφήσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς¹ συνδέομεν ἑαυτούς, συστενοχωροῦμεν, ἐγκατοικοδομοῦμεν, εἰς μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα συνελαύνομεν. εἶτα τῶν μὲν Περσῶν βασιλέων καταγελῶμεν, εἴ γε δὴ ἀληθῶς² τὸ τοῦ Χοάσπου μόνον ὕδωρ πίνοντες ἄνδρον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄλλην ποιοῦσιν οἰκουμένην· ὅταν δὲ μεταστῶμεν εἰς ἕτερα χωρία, τοῦ Κηφισοῦ γλιχόμενοι καὶ τὸν Εὐρώταν ἢ τὸ Ταῦγετον³ ἢ τὸν Παρνασὸν ἐπιποθοῦντες, ἀπολιν καὶ ἀοίκητον αὐτοῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην ποιοῦμεν.

7. Αἰγυπτίων μὲν οὖν οἱ δι' ὀργὴν τινα καὶ E χαλεπότητα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν μετοικιζόμενοι, πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ αἰδοῖα κυνικώτερον, οὔτε γάμων ἔφασαν οὔτε παίδων ἀπορήσειν ἄχρι οὗ ταῦτα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχωσιν· εὐπρεπέστερον δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ σεμνότερον εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅπου καὶ ὅτω μετρίων⁴ πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐπορεῖν συμβέβηκεν, ἐνταῦθα οὗτος οὐτ' ἀπολις οὐτ' ἀνέστιος οὔτε ξένος

¹ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς Stobaeus : ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ.

² ἀληθῶς] ἀληθὲς α.

³ τὸ Ταῦγετον nos : τὸν ταῦγετον α² ; τὸν τηῦγετον.

⁴ μετρίων] μετρίων τῶν Castiglioni.

^a Cf. Teles, p. 23. 3 f. (ed. Hense) ; Arrian, *Epict.* i. 25. 28.

^b Cf. Herodotus, i. 188.

our own, as indeed it is. Yet we laugh at the stupidity of the man who asserts that at Athens there is a better moon than at Corinth, although we are in a sense in the same case as he, when, on coming to a foreign land, we fail to recognize the earth, the sea, the air, the sky, as though they were distinct and different from those familiar to us. For nature leaves us free and untrammelled; it is we who bind ourselves, confine ourselves, immure ourselves, herd ourselves into cramped and sordid quarters.^a And then we scoff at the Persian kings, if in truth, by drinking no water but that of the Choaspes,^b they turn the rest of the inhabited world for themselves into a waterless waste; but when we move to other lands, in our attachment to the Cephisus and our longing for the Eurotas or Taygetus or Parnassus, we make the inhabited world empty of cities for ourselves and unfit for habitation.

7. The Egyptians indeed, who because of some outburst of anger and severity on the part of their king, were migrating to Ethiopia, replied to those who entreated them to return to their children and wives by pointing with Cynic licence to their private parts and remarking that they would be at no loss for either marriage or children so long as they had these with them.^c One can, however, with greater decency and decorum, say that wherever a man happens to find a moderate provision for his livelihood,^d there that man lacks neither city nor hearth

^c Cf. Herodotus, ii. 30; Diodorus, i. 57. Plutarch, perhaps intentionally, represents the Egyptians as migrating because of their king's "anger and severity;" in Herodotus and Diodorus they migrate from resentment at being slighted by him.

^d Cf. Musonius, p. 44, 16 (ed. Hense).

- (601) ἐστί. μόνον ἔχειν δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις νοῦν καὶ λογι-
 F σμόν, ὥσπερ ἄγκυραν κυβερνήτην ἵνα παντὶ χρηῖ-
 σθαι λιμένι προσορμισθεὶς δύνηται. πλοῦτον μὲν γὰρ
 ἀποβαλόντα ῥαδίως καὶ ταχέως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον¹
 συναγαγεῖν, πατρὶς δὲ γίνεται πᾶσα πόλις εὐθὺς
 ἀνθρώπῳ χρηῖσθαι μεμαθηκότι καὶ ρίζας ἔχοντι
 πανταχοῦ ζῆν τε καὶ τρέφεσθαι καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ²
 προσφύεσθαι δυναμένας, οἷας εἶχε Θεμιστοκλῆς,
 οἷας Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεὺς. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐν
 Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν πρῶτος ὢν τῶν
 Πτολεμαίου φίλων, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἀφθόνοις
 διῆγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δωρεὰς ἔπεμπεν,
 602 Θεμιστοκλῆς δέ, χορηγία βασιλικῇ πρυτανευόμενος,
 εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας·
 “ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα.” διὸ καὶ Διο-
 γένης ὁ κύων, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, “Σινωπεῖς σου
 φυγὴν ἐκ Πόντου κατέγνωσαν,” “ἐγὼ δέ,” εἶπεν,
 “ἐκείνων ἐν Πόντῳ μονήν” —

ἄκραις ἐπὶ ῥηγμίσιιν ἀξένου³ πόρου.⁴

Στρατόνικος δὲ τὸν ἐν Σεριφῶ ξένον ἠρώτησεν ἐφ'
 ὅτῳ τῶν ἀδικημάτων φυγὴ τέτακται παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἐπιτίμιον· ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τοὺς ῥαδιουργοὺς φυγα-
 δεύουσι, “τί οὖν,” εἶπεν, “οὐκ ἐραδιούργησας
 B ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στενοχωρίας ταύτης μεταστῆς;” ὅπου

¹ ῥαδίως καὶ ταχέως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον Stobaeus: ῥᾶον οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ταχέως.

² τόπῳ Donatus Polus: τρόπον.

³ ἀξένου Hercher (from Eur.): εὐξείνου (with a papyrus of Eur.).

⁴ πόρου Salmasius: πόντου.

nor is an alien. Only he must also have good sense and reason, as a skipper needs an anchor that he may moor in any haven and make use of it. For while loss of wealth cannot easily and quickly be repaired, every city at once becomes a native city to the man who has learned to make use of it and has roots which can live and thrive everywhere and take hold in any region, roots such as Themistocles and Demetrius of Phalerum had. For Demetrius was after his banishment first among the friends of Ptolemy at Alexandria, and not only lived in plenty himself, but even used to send largesse to the Athenians; while Themistocles, when royally maintained by the King's bounty, is reported to have said to his wife and children: "It would have been our undoing not to have been undone."^a For this reason, to the one who remarked: "The Sinopians condemned you to banishment from Pontus," Diogenes the Cynic replied: "But I condemned them to stay there,"^b—

Out where meet the shore
The breakers of the Inhospitable Sea.^c

Stratoniceus^d asked his host in Seriphos what crime was punished there with banishment; when told that persons guilty of fraud were expelled, he said: "Then why not commit fraud and escape from this confinement?"—where the comic poet^e says that

^a Cf. *Mor.* 185 F and the note; Teles, p. 22. 14 f. (ed. Hense); Aristeides, *Or.* xx. 9, vol. ii, p. 19 (ed. Keil).

^b Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 49.

^c Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 253.

^d A celebrated Athenian *citharoedus* and wit of the fourth century.

^e Kock, *C.A.F.*, Adespota, 812; perhaps from the *Seriphioi* of Cratinus: cf. Meineke, *Frag. Com. Graec.* iv, p. 672, frag. com. anon. CCXCV c.

(602) φησὶν ὁ κωμικὸς τὰ σῦκα ταῖς σφενδόταις τρυγᾶσθαι καὶ πάντα ἔχειν ὅσα μὴ¹ δεῖ τὴν νῆσον.

8. Ἄν γὰρ σκοπῆς ἄνευ κενῆς δόξης τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁ μίαν πόλιν ἔχων ξένος ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν καὶ ἀλλότριος· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ καλὸν οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι καταλιπόντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νέμειν ἑτέραν·

Σπάρταν ἔλαχες, ταύταν² κόσμει

κἂν ἄδοξος ᾗ, κἂν νοσώδης, κἂν ταραττήται στάσειν ὑφ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ πράγμασι μὴ ὑγιαίνουσιν. οὐ δὲ ἢ τύχη τὴν ἰδίαν ἀφήρηται, τούτῳ δίδωσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρέσασαν. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐκείνο παράγ-
 C γελμα τῶν Πυθαγορείων, “ ἑλοῦ βίον τὸν³ ἄριστον, ἠδὺν δὲ αὐτὸν ἢ συνήθεια ποιήσει,” κἂνταῦθα σοφὸν ἐστὶ καὶ χρήσιμον· “ ἑλοῦ πόλιν τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ ἠδίστην, πατρίδα δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ χρόνος ποιήσει,” καὶ πατρίδα μὴ περισπῶσαν, μὴ ἐνοχλοῦσαν, μὴ προστάττουσαν· “ εἰσένεγκαι,”⁴ “ πρέσβευσον εἰς Ῥώμην,” “ ὑπόδεξαι τὸν ἡγεμόνα,” “ λειτούργησον.” ἂν γὰρ τούτων τις μνημονεύῃ φρένας ἔχων καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τετυφωμένος, αἰρήσεται καὶ νῆσον οἰκεῖν, φυγὰς γενόμενος, Γύαρον ἢ Κίναρον,

σκληράν, ἄκαρπον, καὶ φυτεύεσθαι κακὴν,
 οὐκ ἀθυμῶν οὐδὲ ὀδυρόμενος οὐδὲ λέγων ἐκεῖνα

¹ ὅσα μὴ nos (ὅσων οὐ Cobet ; ὅσ' οὐ ?) : ὅσων.

² ταύταν Eur. : ταύτην.

³ τὸν (cf. Mor. 123 c)] omitted in a.

the figs are gathered in with slings, and remarks that the island is well provided with every incommmodity.

8. Indeed, if you lay aside unfounded opinion and consider the truth, the man who has a single city is a stranger and an alien to all the rest ; for it is felt he can neither in decency nor in justice forsake his own city to inhabit another :

Your lot is Sparta : look to Sparta then,^a

whether it be obscure, or unhealthy, or a prey to faction and turbulence. But Fortune grants possession of what city he pleases to the man she has deprived of his own. For that excellent precept of the Pythagoreans, "choose the best life, and familiarity will make it pleasant,"^b is here too wise and useful : "choose the best and most pleasant city, and time will make of it your native land"—a native land that does not distract you, is not importunate, does not command : "pay a special levy," "go on an embassy to Rome," "entertain the governor," "undertake a public service at your own expense." For if a person in his senses and not utterly infatuated bears this in mind, he will choose, if exiled, to live even on an island, Gyaros or Cinaros,

Rocky, unfit for corn or vine or tree,^c

not downcast or lamenting or uttering the words of

^a From the *Telephus* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 723 ; cf. *Mor.* 472 D and note.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 123 c and 466 F, and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, 461 (ed. Sternbach, *Wiener Stud.* xi, 1889, pp. 209 f.) with the parallels noted there.

^c Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 393 ; Kock, *C.A.F.*, Adespota, 1238.

⁴ εἰσένεγκαι] εἰσένεγκε Cobet, but see Lysias, *Or.* 19. 43, p. 155.

(602) τὰ τῶν παρὰ Σιμωνίδῃ γυναικῶν,

D ἴσχει δέ με πορφυρέας ἀλὸς ἀμφιταρασσομένας
ὄρυμαγδός,¹

ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου λογιζόμενος· πεσὼν γὰρ ἐν παλαιστρα καὶ μεταστραφείς, ὡς εἶδε τοῦ σώματος τὸν τύπον, “ὦ Ἡράκλεις,” εἶπεν, “ὡς μικροῦ μέρους τῆς γῆς φύσει μετέχοντες ὅλης ἐφίεμεθα τῆς οἰκουμένης.”

9. Οἶμαί σε τῆς Νάξου γεγονέναι θεατήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῆς γ' Ὑρίας,² ἐνταῦθα πλησίον οὔσης· ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν ἐχώρει τὸν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ τὸν Ὄττον, αὕτη δὲ τοῦ Ὀρίωνος ἦν οἰκητήριον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαίων ἰλὺν νεοπαγῆ τοῦ Ἀχελώου προσχωρνύντος
E ἐπόκησεν ὑποφεύγων τὰς Εὐμενίδας, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ κακείνον εἰκάζω, φεύγοντα πολιτικὰς παραχὰς³ καὶ στάσεις καὶ συκοφαντίας ἐρινυώδεις, ἐλέσθαι βραχὺ χωρίον ἀπραγμόνως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατοικεῖν. Τιβέριος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Καπρίαῖς⁴ ἑπτὰ ἔτη διητήθη μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡγεμονικὸν μόριον,⁵ ὥσπερ εἰς καρδίαν

¹ ὄρυμαγδός β: ὄρυγμαδός.

² γ' Ὑρίας L. Holstenius, Dübner: θουρίας.

³ παραχὰς Emperius: ἀρχὰς.

⁴ καπρίαῖς γ²: κεστρίαῖς.

⁵ μόριον Kronenberg (Wilamowitz deletes): ἱερὸν.

^a Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*, Simonides, 51; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* ii. 28.

^b Plutarch is doubtless writing from Chaeroneia.

^c These are the Aloadae, who when nine years old were nine cubits broad and nine fathoms high: cf. Homer, *Od.* xi. 305-310. For their stay at Naxos cf. Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, iv. 88 f., and Diodorus, v. 52.

^d Orion was yet huger than the Aloadae (cf. Homer, *Od.*

the women in Simonides ^a

The clamour of the blue salt sea
Tossing about me, hems me in,

but he will rather reason as Philip did, who said, on being thrown in wrestling, as he turned about and saw the imprint of his body: "Good God! How small a portion of the earth we hold by nature, yet we covet the whole world!"

9. You have, I think, seen Naxos, if not, Hyria, which is not far from here ^b; yet Naxos had room for Ephialtes and Otus ^c; Hyria was the habitation of Orion.^d When Alcmaeon was fleeing before the Eumenides, he settled, as poets tell, on newly hardened silt built up by the Acheloüs ^e; but my conjecture is that he too, fleeing from the tumults, factions, and fiendish legal blackmail of his countrymen, chose to dwell on a small plot unharassed and in peace. Tiberius Caesar passed the last seven years of his life at Capri; and the ruling part of the inhabited world, as if gathered up into a heart,^f made

xi. 309 f.); for his birth at Hyria *cf.* Strabo, ix. 2. 12 (p. 404).

^e Eriphylê, the wife of Amphiaräus, was bribed by a necklace to betray her husband, who in consequence took part in the war of the Seven against Thebes, and disappeared from among the living, but not until he had ordered their son, Alcmaeon, to avenge him. After slaying his mother Alcmaeon was told by the Delphic oracle that he could escape the Furies by finding a country that had not existed when his mother uttered her dying curse. He found such a land in the alluvial deposits at the mouth of the Acheloüs. *Cf.* Thucydides, ii. 102; Pausanias, viii. 24. 8-9; and Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* pp. 379-380.

^f An allusion to the Stoic doctrine that man's soul has a ruling part situated in the heart: *cf.* *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 837-839, p. 228 (ed. von Arnim).

(602) συνηγμένον, οὐδαμοῦ μετέστη τοσοῦτον χρόνον. ἀλλ' ἐκείνω μὲν αἰ τῆς ἡγεμονίας φροντίδες, ἐπιχεόμεναι καὶ προσφερόμεναι πανταχόθεν, οὐ καθαρὰν παρείχον οὐδὲ ἀκύμονα τὴν νησιῶτιν ἡσυχίαν. F ὧ δὲ ἕξεστιν, εἰς μικρὰν ἀποβάντι νῆσον, οὐ μικρῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, οὗτος ἄθλιός ἐστι μὴ προσλαλῶν ἑαυτῷ τὰ Πινδαρικὰ μηδὲ ἐπάδων πολλάκις,

ἕα, φρήν, κυπάρισσον,
ἕα δὲ νομὸν περιδαΐον.¹

ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται μὲν γᾶς,² ὅθεν ἄ δρῦς,³
οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον, οὐ στασίων,⁴

οὐδὲ προσταγμάτων ἡγεμονικῶν, οὐδὲ ὑπουργιῶν ἐν πολιτικαῖς χρεῖαις καὶ λειτουργιῶν δυσπαραιτήτων. (10.) ὅπου γὰρ οὐ φαύλως δοκεῖ λέγειν ὁ Καλλίμαχος τό

μὴ σχοίνω Περσίδι τὴν σοφίην,

ἦπου τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν σχοίνοις καὶ παρασάγγαις
603 μετροῦντες, ἐὰν νῆσον οἰκῶμεν διακοσίῳν σταδίων, ἀλλὰ μὴ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικελία, περίπλουν ἔχουσαν, ὀδυνᾶν ἑαυτοὺς καὶ θρηνεῖν ὀφείλομεν ὡς κακοδαιμονοῦντες; τί γὰρ ἡ πλατεῖα

¹ εα φρήν κυπάρισσον· εαν δε νόμον περιδαΐον Papy. Oxycr. v. 841: ἐλαφρὰν κυπάρισσον φιλέειν ἐὰν (ἐᾶν α²) δὲ νομὸν κρήτας περιδαΐων.

² δέδοται μὲν γᾶς Housman: μὲν γᾶς δέδοται.

³ ἄ δρῦς Reiske: ἄδρῦς (ἄρδῦς w).

⁴ οὐ πενθέων δ' ἔλαχον οὐ στασίων Grenfell and Hunt: πενθέων δὲ οὐκ ἔλαχον στασίων.

^a *Paeans*, iv. 50 ff., partly preserved in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, v. 841; cf. Sandys, *Pindar*, pp. 530 ff. in the L.C.L. The words are spoken by the hero Euxantius of Ceos; he had

not the slightest change in its abode for all that time. Yet in his case the cares of state, pouring in upon him and brought in from everywhere, made the island repose not unmixed and not free from storms ; whereas the man who finds that by disembarking on a small island he can be rid of no small troubles, is pitiful indeed if he does not recite to himself the words of Pindar ^a and often repeat them as a spell ^b :

Forgo, my heart, the cypress ;
 Forgo the contested land ;
 To me but little earth is given, where grows the oak ;
 But to my lot has fallen no sorrow, no discord,

or commands from the governor or ministrations to the needs of countrymen and public services that are difficult to decline. (10.) For when Callimachus ^c is applauded for saying,

Use not a Persian rope to measure art,

are we to measure felicity by "ropes" and parasangs, and if we dwell on an island of two hundred stades' circumference, and not, like Sicily, four days' sail in circuit,^d are we to torment ourselves and lament our wretched plight ? For what has breadth of land to

been offered land in Crete, but preferred to remain on his little island. The text and translation of this fragment are in places uncertain.

^b For chanting words over oneself as a spell *cf.* Plato, *Phaedo*, 114 D, *Republic*, 608 A, and *Laws*, 665 C.

^c Callimachus, *Aetia*, Frag. 1. 18 (ed. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949). Callimachus doubtless had in mind the largest of the figures given for the *schoinos* or "rope," sixty stades (Herodotus, ii. 6), which would be nearly seven miles.

^d Thucydides (vi. 1. 2) says that for a merchant vessel the voyage around the island required not much less than eight days ; Ephorus (quoted by Strabo, vi. 2. 1, p. 266) says that the trip required five days and nights.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(603) χώρα πρὸς τὸν ἄλυπον βίον; οὐκ ἀκούεις τοῦ
Ταντάλου λέγοντος ἐν τῇ τραγωδίᾳ,

σπείρω δ' ἄρουραν δώδεχ' ἡμερῶν ὁδόν,
Βερέκυνθα¹ χῶρον,

εἶτα μετ' ὀλίγον λέγοντος·

οὐμὸς δὲ πότμος² οὐρανῶ κυρῶν ἄνω
ἔραζε πίπτει καί με προσφωνεῖ τάδε·
γίνωσκε τὰνθρώπεια μὴ σέβειν ἄγαν;

ὁ δὲ Ναυσίθοος τὴν εὐρύχωρον Ὑπέρειαν κατα-
λιπὼν διὰ τὸ γειτνιαῖν τοὺς Κύκλωπας αὐτῇ καὶ
B μεταστὰς εἰς νῆσον “ ἐκὰς ἀνδρῶν³ ἀλφηστάων ”
καὶ κατοικῶν ἀνεπίμικτος ἀνθρώπων “ ἀπάνευθε
πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,” τὸν ἥδιστον παρεσκεύασε
βίον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ πολίταις. τὰς δὲ Κυκλάδας
πρότερον μὲν οἱ Μίνω παῖδες, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ
Κόδρου καὶ Νείλεω, κατώκησαν, ἐν αἷς τὰ νῦν οἱ
ἀνόητοι φυγάδες οἴονται κολάζεσθαι. καίτοι ποία
φυγαδικὴ νῆσος οὐκ ἔστι πλατυτέρα τῆς Σκιλ-
λουντίας χώρας, ἐν ἣ Ἰενοφῶν μετὰ τὴν στρατείαν
τὸ “ λιπαρὸν ” εἶδε “ γῆρας ”; ἢ δ' Ἀκαδημία,
τρισχιλίων δραχμῶν χωρίδιον ἐωνημένον, οἰκη-
τήριον ἦν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ξενοκράτους καὶ Πολέμω-

¹ βερεκύνθα A²E : ἐρεκύνθα (ἐρεκάνθα β^{2ss}).

² οὐμὸς δὲ πότμος Porson : θυμὸς δὲ ποθ' ἀμὸς (ἀμνὸς vw).

³ ἀνδρῶν Homer : ἄλλων.

^a From the *Niobé* of Aeschylus : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aesch. 158 ; cf. *Mor.* 778 B and note.

^b Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Aesch. 159.

^c Homer, *Od.* vi. 4.

^d Homer, *Od.* vi. 8.

do with the life free from pain? Have you not heard the words of Tantalus in the tragedy? He says,

The field I sow is twelve days' journey long,
The Berecynthian land ^a

and then says a little later :

My fate, while reaching upward to the skies,
Falls to the earth, and speaks these words to me :
Learn not to honour human things too much. ^b

Nausithoüs, by leaving "the broad land of Hypereia" ^c because the Cyclopes were its neighbours, moving to an island "far from industrious men," ^d and dwelling apart from human traffic "far off in the stormy seas," ^e provided his countrymen with the most pleasant of lives. It was first the children of Minos, and later the children of Codrus and Neileus, that settled the Cyclades, where at present the thoughtless exiles fancy they are punished. Yet what island of exile is not more spacious than the district of Scillus, where Xenophon after his campaign lived to see a "comfortable old age" ? ^f The Academy, a little plot of ground bought for three thousand drachmas, was the dwelling of Plato and Xenocrates

^e Homer, *Od.* vi. 204 f.

^f Cf. Homer, *Od.* iv. 210, xi. 136, xix. 368, xxiii. 283. After taking part in the expedition of the Ten Thousand, in the Spartan campaigns in Asia, and in the battle of Coroneia, Xenophon was exiled and settled at Scillus, a district in Elis south of Olympia. Here, according to Diogenes Laertius (ii. 52), he composed his histories: cf. 605 c, *infra*. By "campaign" Plutarch doubtless means the march of the Ten Thousand, as Xenophon's participation in this expedition was thought to have led to his banishment (cf. Diogenes Laert. ii. 58; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* viii. 1; Pausanias, v. 6. 5).

(603) vos, αὐτόθι σχολαζόντων καὶ καταβιούντων τὸν
 C ἅπαντα χρόνον πλὴν μίαν¹ ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ Ξενοκράτης
 καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος εἰς ἄστνυ κατήγει, Διονυσίων
 καινοῖς τραγωδοῖς, ἐπικοσμῶν, ὡς ἔφασαν, τὴν
 ἑορτήν. Ἀριστοτέλη² δὲ καὶ λελοιδόρηκε Θεό-
 κριτος ὁ Χίος ὅτι τὴν παρὰ³ Φιλίππῳ καὶ Ἀλεξ-
 ἀνδρῳ δίαιταν ἀγαπήσας

εἴλετο ναίειν

ἀντ' Ἀκαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς

(ἔστι γὰρ ποταμὸς περὶ Πέλλαν⁴ ὃν Μακεδόνες
 Βόρβορον καλοῦσι). τὰς δὲ νήσους ὡσπερ ἐπίτηδες
 ὑμῶν καὶ συνιστὰς ἡμῖν ὁ ποιητής—

Λῆμνον δ' εἰσαφίκανε, πόλιν θείοιο Θόαντος
 καί

D ὄσσον⁵ Λέσβος ἄνω, μακάρων⁶ ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἔέργει
 καί

Σκῦρον ἔλῶν αἰπέϊαν, Ἐνυῆος πτολίεθρον
 καί

οἱ δ' ἐκ Δουλιχίου Ἐχινάων θ' ἱεράων
 νήσων αἰ ναίουσι πέρην ἀλὸς Ἥλιδος ἅντα—
 καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν νῆσον οἰκεῖν φησι⁷ τὸν
 θεοφιλέστατον Αἰόλον, τὸν σοφώτατον Ὀδυσσεά,
 τὸν ἀνδρειότατον Αἴαντα, τὸν φιλοξενώτατον
 Ἀλκίνοον.

11. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζήνων, πυθόμενος ἦν ἔτι λοιπὴν
 εἶχε ναῦν μετὰ τῶν φορτίων καταπεπομένην ὑπὸ

¹ μίαν] τὴν μίαν Capps.

² Ἀριστοτέλη] -ης v ; -ην a.

³ παρὰ] περὶ Laur. Conv. Soppr. 57.

and Polemon, who taught and spent their lives there, except for the one day every year when Xenocrates went down to the city for the new tragedies at the Dionysia, and graced the festival, as people said. Theocritus ^a of Chios went so far as to abuse Aristotle, because he had conceived a taste for the style of living at the court of Philip and Alexander, and

preferred to Academe
A dwelling in the flow of Slime,—

there being a river near Pella which the Macedonians call Borborus.^b Homer, who praises the islands and recommends them to us as though by design—

To Lemnos came she, town of godlike Thoas,^c

and

All that Lesbos bounds toward the sea,
Seat of the blest,^d

and

Taking steep Scyros, fortress of Enyeus,^e

and

Men from Dulichium and the sacred isles
Echinae, facing Elis over the sea ^f—

also says that of famous men Aeolus the dearest to the gods, Odysseus the wisest, Ajax the bravest, and Alcinoüs the most hospitable, dwelt on islands.

11. Zeno indeed, when he learned that his only remaining ship had been engulfed with its cargo by

^a Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* i. 1³, p. 127.

^b That is, "Slime."

^c *Il.* xiv. 230.

^d *Il.* xxiv. 544.

^e *Il.* ix. 668.

^f *Il.* ii. 625 f.

⁴ Πέλλαν nos : πέλλην (πόλιν w). ⁵ ὄσσον Homer : ὄσα.

⁶ μακάρων] Μάκαρος most mss. of Homer.

⁷ φησι Donatus Polus : φασί.

- (603) τῆς θαλάσσης, “ εὖγε,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ τύχη, ποιεῖς, εἰς τρίβωνα ” καὶ βίον φιλόσοφον “ συνελαύνουσα Ε ἡμᾶς.” ἀνὴρ δὲ μὴ τετυφωμένος παντάπασι μηδὲ ὀχλομανῶν οὐκ ἄν, οἶμαι, μέμφαιτο τὴν τύχην¹ συνελαυνόμενος εἰς νῆσον, ἀλλ’ ἐπαινέσειεν ὅτι τὸν πολὺν ἄλυν καὶ ῥέμβον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πλάνας ἐν ἀποδημίαις, καὶ κινδύνους ἐν θαλάσση, καὶ θορύβους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, περίελοῦσα, μόνιμον καὶ σχολαῖον καὶ ἀπερίσπαστον καὶ ἴδιον βίον ὡς ἀληθῶς δίδωσι, κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι περιγράψασα τὴν τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρεῖαν. ποία γὰρ νῆσος οἰκίαν οὐκ ἔχει, περίπατον, λουτρόν, ἰχθῦς, λαγωγούς, ἄγρα καὶ παιδιᾷ χρῆσθαι βουλομένοις; τὸ δέ² μέγιστον, ἡσυχίας, ἧς διψῶσιν ἕτεροι, σοὶ πολλάκις τυχεῖν F ἔνεστιν. ἀλλὰ πεττεύοντας καὶ ἀποκρυπτομένους οἴκοι συκοφάνται καὶ πολυπράγμονες ἐξίχνεύοντες καὶ διώκοντες ἐκ τῶν προαστίων καὶ τῶν κήπων εἰς ἀγορὰν καὶ εἰς αὐλὴν βία κατάγουσιν, εἰς δὲ νῆσον οὐκ ἐνοχλῶν τις, οὐκ αἰτῶν, οὐ δανειζόμενος, οὐκ ἐγγυήσασθαι παρακαλῶν, οὐ συναρχαιρεσιάσαι, 604 δι’ εὐνοίαν δὲ καὶ πόθον οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καὶ οἰκείων πλέουσιν, ὁ δὲ ἄλλος βίος ἄσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνεῖται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ μεμαθηκότι σχολάζειν. ὁ δὲ τοὺς περιτρέχοντας ἔξω καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν πανδοκείοις καὶ πορθμείοις³ ἀναλίσκοντας εὐδαιμονίζων ὁμοίός ἐστι τῷ τοὺς πλάνητας οἰομένῳ τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων πράττειν

¹ μέμφαιτο τὴν τύχην vw : τὴν τύχην μέμφαιτο.

² δὲ added by Bern.

³ πορθμείοις w : πορθμίους.

the sea, exclaimed: "Well done, Fortune! thus to confine me to a threadbare cloak" and a philosopher's life^a; while a man not wholly infatuated or mad for the mob would not, I think, on being confined to an island, reproach Fortune, but would commend her for taking away from him all his restlessness and aimless roving, wanderings in foreign lands and perils at sea and tumults in the market place, and giving him a life that was settled, leisurely, undistracted, and truly his own, describing with centre and radius a circle containing the necessities that meet his needs.^b For what island is there that does not afford a house, a walk, a bath, fish and hares for those who wish to indulge in hunting and sport? And best of all, the quiet for which others thirst, you can repeatedly enjoy. But at home, as men play at draughts and retire from the public eye, informers and busybodies track them down and hunt them out of their suburban estates and parks and bring them back by force to the market place and court; whereas it is not the persons who plague us, who come to beg or borrow money, to entreat us to go surety for them or help in canvassing an election, that sail to an island, it is the best of our connexions and intimates that do so out of friendship and affection, while the rest of life, if one desires leisure and has learned to use it, is left inviolate and sacred. He that calls those persons happy who run about in the world outside and use up most of their lives at inns and ferry-stations is like the man who fancies that the planets enjoy greater

^a Cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 277, p. 64 (ed. von Arnim); *Mor.* 87 A and notes; and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (ed. Sternbach, *Wiener Stud.* x, 1888, pp. 243 f.). Plutarch amplifies the quotation here, as in *Mor.* 467 D.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 513 c and note.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(604) ἄμεινον. καίτοι τῶν πλανήτων ἕκαστος, ἐν μιᾷ σφαίρα, καθάπερ ἐν νήσῳ, περιπολῶν, διαφυλάττει τὴν τάξιν· “ἥλιος γὰρ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα,” φησὶν ὁ Ἡράκλειτος· “εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν, Δίκης ἐπίκουροι, ἐξευρήσουσιν.”

B 12. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὦ φίλε, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἐκείνους λέγωμεν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐπάδωμεν οἷς εἰς νῆσον ἀπωκισμένοις ἀνεπίμικτα ποιεῖ τὰ ἄλλα

πόντος ἀλὸς πολιῆς,¹ ὁ πολεῖς ἀέκοντας ἐρύκει·

σοὶ δέ, οὐχ ἐνὸς δεδομένου μόνον, ἀλλὰ ἀπειρημένου τόπου, πασῶν ἐστὶν ἐξουσία πόλεων ἢ μιᾶς κώλυσις. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῷ “οὐκ ἄρχομεν οὐδὲ βουλεύομεν οὐδὲ ἀγωνοθετοῦμεν” ἀντίθεσ² τὸ “οὐ στασιάζομεν, οὐκ³ ἀναλίσκομεν οὐδὲ προσηρτήμεθα⁴ θύραις ἡγεμόνος· οὐδὲν⁵ μέλει νῦν ἡμῖν⁶ ὅστις ὁ κεκληρωμένος τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἐστίν, εἰ ἀκράχολος, C εἰ ἐπαχθῆς ἄλλως.” ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς, καθάπερ Ἀρχίλοχος, τῆς Θάσου τὰ καρποφόρα καὶ οἰνόπεδα παρορῶν διὰ τὸ τραχὺ καὶ ἀνώμαλον, διέβαλε τὴν νῆσον εἰπῶν

ἦδε δ’⁸ ὥστ’ ὄνου ράχισ
ἔστηκεν ὕλης ἀγρίης⁹ ἐπιστεφής,

οὕτως τῆς φυγῆς πρὸς ἓν μέρος τὸ ἄδοξον ἐντει-

¹ πολιῆς added from Homer.

² ἀντίθεσ Emperius : ἀν ἀντιθῆς.

³ οὐκ] οὐδ’ Stegmann.

⁴ προσηρτήμεθα] προσαρτώμεθα Capps.

⁵ οὐδὲν Reiske : οὐδέ.

⁶ μέλει νῦν ἡμῖν nos : νῦν μέλλει ἡμῖν (νῦν ἡμῖν μέλει Benseler ; νῦν μέλει Sieveking).

⁷ ἄλλως, ἀλλ’ Reiske (ἀλλ’ Basle ed. of 1542 ; ἀλλ’ ἀπλῶς Castiglioni) : ἀλλ’ ὡς.

⁸ ἦδε δὲ α² : ἦ δέ.

⁹ ἀγρίης Bergk : ἀγρίας.

felicity than the fixed stars. And yet each planet, revolving in a single sphere, as on an island, preserves its station; for "the Sun ^a will not transgress his bounds," says Heracleitus ^b; "else the Erinyes, ministers of Justice, will find him out."

12. But, my dear friend, let us address the preceding remarks and the like and repeat them as a spell to those others who have been banished to an island and are cut off from the rest of the world by

The grey salt sea, that bars the way to many
Against their will ^c;

but for you, to whom one solitary spot is not appointed. but forbidden, the exclusion from one city is the freedom to choose from all. Further, set off against the consideration "I do not hold office or sit in the council or preside at games" the other consideration: "I am not involved in faction; I am not exhausting my fortune; I wait upon no governor; I care not now who has obtained the province, whether he is quick to anger or in other ways oppressive." But we are like Archilochus.^d As he, overlooking the fruitful fields and vineyards of Thasos, because of its steep and rugged surface maligned it, saying

This island, like the backbone of an ass,
Stands up beneath its cover of wild wood,

so we, intent upon one part of exile, lack of fame,

^a In Greek astronomy the sun is a planet.

^b Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, i, p. 172, Heracleitus, B 94; quoted also in *Mor.* 370 D.

^c Homer, *Il.* xxi. 59.

^d Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 389, Archilochus, 21; or Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.*³ fasc. 3, frag. 18.

(604) νόμειοι, παρορῶμεν τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. καίτοι τοὺς γε Περσῶν βασιλέας ἐμακάριζον ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τὸν χειμῶνα διάγοντας, ἐν δὲ Μηδία τὸ θέρος ἐν δὲ Σούσοις τὸ ἡδιστον τοῦ ἔαρος. ἕξεστι δῆπου καὶ τῷ μεθεστῶτι¹ μυστηρίοις ἐν Ἐλευσίνι διατρίβειν, Διονυσίοις ἐν ἄστει² πανηγυρίζειν,³ Πυθίων ἀγομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς παρελθεῖν, Ἴσθμίων εἰς Κόρινθον, D ἄνπερ ἧ φιλοθέωρος· εἰ δὲ μὴ, σχολή, περίπατος, ἀνάγνωσις, ὕπνος ἀθορύβητος, τὸ τοῦ Διογένους “ Ἄριστοτέλης ἀριστᾶ ὅταν δοκῇ Φιλίππῳ, Διογένει, ὅταν Διογένει,” μήτε πραγματείας, μήτε ἄρχοντος, μήτε ἡγεμόνος τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν περισπῶντος.

13. Διὰ τοῦτο τῶν φρονιμωτάτων καὶ σοφωτάτων ὀλίγους ἂν εὖροις ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι κεκηδευμένους, οἱ δὲ πλείστοι, μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, αὐτοὶ⁴ τὸ ἀγκύριον⁵ ἀράμενοι, μεθωρμίσαντο τοὺς βίους καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ μὲν εἰς Ἀθήνας, οἱ δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν. τίς γὰρ εἶρηκε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἐγκώμιον τριούτον οἶον Εὐριπίδης;

E ἧ πρῶτα μὲν λεῶς οὐκ ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν, αὐτόχθονες δ' ἔφυμεν· αἱ δ' ἄλλαι πόλεις, πεσσῶν ὁμοίως⁶ διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖς,⁷

¹ μεθεστῶτι] μεγεστῶτι w ; μετέξοντι β^{2ss}.

² ἄστει Reiske : ἄργει.

³ πανηγυρίζειν] συμπανηγυρίζειν Capps.

⁴ αὐτοὶ β^{2ss} A^{2ss}E : αὐτὸ.

⁵ ἀγκύριον α^{2ss} : ἀργύριον a ; ἀργύρια vw.

⁶ ὁμοίως] ὁμοίαις Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 100, p. 161.

overlook its lack of politics, its leisure, and its freedom. Yet the kings of the Persians were called happy for spending the winter in Babylon, the summer in Media, and the most pleasant part of spring in Susa.^a Surely the exile too is free to sojourn in Eleusis during the Mysteries, to keep holiday in the city ^b at the Dionysia, and to visit Delphi for the Pythian and Corinth for the Isthmian games, if he is fond of spectacles; if not, he has at his command leisure, walking, reading, undisturbed sleep, and what Diogenes expressed when he said: "Aristotle lunches at Philip's pleasure, Diogenes at his own,"^c since no politics or magistrate or governor disrupts the customary tenor of his life.

13. On this account you will find that few men of the greatest good sense and wisdom have been buried in their own country,^d and that most of them, under compulsion from no one, weighed anchor of their own accord and found a new haven for their lives, removing some to Athens, some from Athens. For who has pronounced such an encomium on his native land as Euripides?

Where, first, the people are no immigrants
But native to the soil; all other cities,
Disrupted once, as in the game, have been

^a Cf. *Mor.* 499 A-B and note, and Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* vi. 1-7.

^b That is, Athens.

^c Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 45.

^d Plutarch here answers the complaint that the exile is not buried in his country: cf. Teles, p. 29. 1 (ed. Hense) and Favorinus, col. xxix. 1.

⁷ διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖς] διαφοραῖς ἐκτισμένοι Lycurgus.

- (604) ἄλλαι παρ' ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι.¹
 εἰ δὴ² πάρεργον χρή τι κομπάσαι, γύναι,³
 οὐρανὸν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἔχομεν εὖ κεκραμένον,⁴
 ἴν' οὐτ' ἄγαν πῦρ οὔτε χεῖμα συμπίτνει⁵.
 ἃ δ' Ἑλλάς Ἀσία τ' ἐκτρέφει⁶ κάλλιστα, γῆν
 δέλεαρ⁷ ἔχοντες τήνδε,⁸ συνθηρεύομεν.

ἄλλ' ὁ ταῦτα γράψας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ὤχετο καὶ
 παρ' Ἀρχελάω κατεβίωσεν. ἀκήκοας δέ που⁹ καὶ
 τουτὶ τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον·

- F Αἰσχύλον Εὐφορίωνος Ἀθηναῖον τόδε κεύθει
 μνήμα καταφθίμενον πυροφόροιο Γέλας·

καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ Σιμωνίδης
 πρότερον. τὸ δὲ “ Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνασέως¹⁰
 ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις τόδε ”¹¹ πολλοὶ μεταγράφουσιν
 “ Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ”· μετώκησε γὰρ εἰς Θου-
 ρίους¹² καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἐκείνης μετέσχε. τὸ δὲ
 605 ἱερὸν καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐν μούσαις πνεῦμα,

Φρυγίας κοσμήτορα μάχας,

“Ὀμηρον, οὐ τοῦτο πεποίηκε πολλαῖς ἀμφισβητήσι-

¹ εἰσαγώγιμοι Lycurgus : ἀγώγιμοι.

² δὴ Xylander (δ' οὖν Dobree ; καὶ Emperius) : δέ.

³ γύναι Stephanus, Ald.² : γυναῖκες.

⁴ κεκραμένον Xylander : συγκεκριμένον (-μμ- vw).

⁵ συμπίτνει Nauck : συμπιτνεῖ.

⁶ τ' ἐκτρέφει Musgrave : τε τρέφει.

⁷ γῆν δέλεαρ Lobeck : τῆσδε ἔλεαρ.

⁸ τήνδε added by Lobeck.

⁹ δέ που Emperius (δὲ δήπου Wyttenbach) : δι' ἐπῶν.

¹⁰ ἀλικαρνασέως] ἀλικαρνασέως α (-ασσέως ν ; -ασσῆος w).

¹¹ ἀπόδειξις τόδε] ἀπόδεξις ἧδε w.

Pieced out by importation from abroad.^a
 If, madam, you permit a passing boast,
 The sky above our land is temperate,
 Where neither comes excess of heat nor cold,
 And all the fairest fruits of Greece and Asia
 With Attica as bait entice we hither.^b

Yet the writer of these lines went off to Macedonia and spent his remaining years at the court of Archelaüs. You have doubtless also heard this little poem :

The Athenian, Aeschylus, Euphorion's son,
 This grave conceals in Gela's fields of corn.^c

For he also sailed away to Sicily, as Simonides did before him. The statement "This is the setting forth of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus"^d is altered by many to read "Herodotus of Thurii," as the author migrated to Thurii and joined in the settlement of that colony. Take that spirit of poetry, holy and inspired,

Who glorified the Phrygian fray,^e

Homer : what else has made many cities contend

^a From the *Erechtheus* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 360. 7-10. There was a game in which a compact body of pieces was called a "city." Cf. Adam on Plato, *Republic*, 422 ε (Cambridge, 1902).

^b Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 981. Plutarch, no doubt relying on his notes (cf. *Mor.* 464 f), has here combined two different passages.

^c Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.* ii, p. 241, Aeschylus, no. 4 ; or Diehl, *Anth. Lyr. Gr.* i. 1³, p. 78.

^d Herodotus, i. 1. For the "change," which may be what Herodotus actually wrote, see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa, *Suppl.* ii. 205-213, and J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 63 f.

^e Pindar, frag. 345 (ed. Snell).

¹² Θούπιος Xyländer ; θούπος,

(605) μον πόλεσιν, ὅτι μὴ μιᾶς ἐστὶν ἐγκωμιαστής; καὶ ξενίου Διὸς πολλαὶ τιμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

14. Εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ὅτι δόξαν οὗτοι καὶ τιμὰς ἐθήρενον, ἐπὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἔλθῃ καὶ τὰς σοφὰς Ἀθήνησι σχολὰς καὶ διατριβάς· ἀναπέμψασαι τὰς ἐν Λυκείῳ, τὰς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τὴν Στοάν, τὸ Παλλάδιον, τὸ Ὠιδεῖον. εἰ τὴν Περιπατητικὴν ἀσπάζῃ μάλιστα καὶ τεθαύμακας, Ἀριστοτέλης ἦν ἐκ Σταγειρίων, Θεόφραστος ἐξ Ἐρέσου,¹ Στράτων ἐκ Λαμφιάκου, Γλύκων² ἐκ Τρωάδος, Ἀρίστων ἐκ Κέω, Κριτόλαος Φασηλίτης· εἰ³ τὴν Στωικὴν, Ζήνων Κιτιεύς, Κλεάνθης Ἄσσιος,⁴ Χρύσιππος Σολεύς, Διογένης Βαβυλώνιος, Ἀντίπατρος Ταρσεύς, ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέδημος, εἰς τὴν Πάρθων⁵ μεταστάς, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι Στωικὴν διαδοχὴν ἀπέλιπε. τίς οὖν τούτους ἐδίωξεν; οὐδεὶς· ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ διώκοντες ἡσυχίαν,⁶ ἧς οὐ πάνυ μέτεστιν οἴκοι τοῖς ἡντιναοῦν δόξαν ἢ δύναμιν ἔχουσι, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα λόγοις τοῦτο δὲ ἔργοις ἡμᾶς⁷ διδάσκουσι. καὶ γὰρ νῦν οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ κράτιστοι ζῶσιν ἐπὶ ξένης, οὐ μετασταθέντες, ἀλλὰ μεταστάντες, οὐδὲ φυγαδευθέντες, ἀλλὰ φυγόντες αὐτοὶ πράγματα καὶ περισπασμοὺς καὶ ἀσχολίας, ἃς αἱ πατρίδες φέρουσι.

¹ Ἐρέσου Victoriis : ἐρεσίου Stobaeus : ἐφέσου.

² Γλύκων] γλαύκων δὲ Stobaeus ; Λύκων Xylander.

³ εἰ n Par. 2076 : εἰς.

⁴ Ἄσσιος Leonicus : λύσιος.

⁵ πάρθων a² : πάρθων.

⁶ ἡσυχίαν] ἡσυχίαν καὶ σπουδὴν Stobaeus.

⁷ ἔργοις ἡμᾶς] ἡμᾶς ἔργω Stobaeus.

^a That is, the god of strangers.

for him, but the fact that he eulogizes no single one ? So too the honours of Zeus Xenios ^a are numerous and great.

14. If it is objected that these men went in quest of fame and honours, go to the wise men and to the schools and resorts of wisdom at Athens ; pass in review those in the Lyceum, in the Academy ; the Porch, the Palladium,^b the Odeum.^c If it is the Peripatetic school you favour and admire most, Aristotle was from Stageira, Theophrastus from Eresus, Straton from Lampsacus, Glycon ^d from the Troad, Ariston from Ceos, Critolaüs from Phaselis ; if the Stoic, Zeno was from Citium, Cleanthes from Assos, Chrysippus from Soli, Diogenes from Babylon, Antipater from Tarsus, and the Athenian Archedemus removed to the country of the Parthians and left a Stoic succession at Babylon. Who, then, pursued these men ? No one ; it was they who pursued peace, which at home is hardly the portion of those who have any fame or power, and thus, while teaching the rest of their doctrines by what they said, teach us this lesson by what they did. So too at present those men who are of most approved and surpassing merit live abroad, not forced to depart, but departing of themselves, and not put to flight, but themselves fleeing the cares, distractions, and press of business that are the product of their native lands.^e Indeed the

^b For Cleitomachus' lectures in the Palladium *cf.* S. Mekler, *Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculanensis*, coll. xxiv. 36, xxv. 8, xxx. 9.

^c Chrysippus is said to have taught in the Odeum : *cf.* *Mor.* 1033 E, Diogenes Laert. vii. 184, and Athenaeus, 336 E.

^d More commonly known as Lycon : *cf.* Diogenes Laert. v. 66.

^e *Cf.* Musonius, p. 43. 8 ff. (ed. Hense).

(605) καὶ γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱ Μοῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν συνταγμάτων καὶ δοκιμώτατα φυγὴν λαβοῦσαι συνεργὸν ἐπετέλεσαν. “Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων” ἐν Θράκῃ περὶ τὴν Σκαπτὴν Ὑλην, Ξενοφῶν ἐν Σκιλλοῦντι τῆς Ἡλείας, Φιλίστος¹ ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενεΐτης ἐν Δ’ Ἀθήναις, Ἀνδροτίων Ἀθηναῖος ἐν Μεγάροις, Βακχυλίδης ὁ ποιητῆς² ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ. πάντες οὗτοι καὶ πλέονες ἄλλοι, τῶν πατρίδων ἐκπεσόντες, οὐκ ἀπέγνωσαν οὐδὲ ἔρριψαν ἑαυτούς, ἀλλ’ ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς εὐφυΐαις, ἐφόδιον παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὴν φυγὴν λαβόντες, δι’ ἣν πανταχοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότες μνημονεύονται· τῶν δὲ ἐκβαλόντων καὶ καταστασιασάντων³ οὐδὲ εἰς λόγος οὐθενὸς⁴ ἀπολέλειπται.

15. Διὸ καὶ γελοῖός ἐστιν ὁ νομίζων ἀδοξίαν τῇ φυγῇ προσεῖναι. τί λέγεις; ἀδοξός ἐστι Διογένης, ὃν ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν ἡλίῳ καθήμενον ἐπιστὰς ἠρώτησεν εἴ τις δεῖται, τοῦ δὲ μῆθὲν ἀλλ’ ἢ Ε σμικρὸν ἀποσκοτίσαι κελεύσαντος, ἐκπλαγείς τὸ φρόνημα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, “εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἤμην, Διογένης ἂν ἤμην;” ἠδόξει δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλαυνόμενος, ἧς δεῦτερος κτίστης νῦν ἀναγορεύεται; καὶ μὴν Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δόξαν φυγῶν ἀπέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις προσέλαβε· καὶ οὐδεὶς

¹ Φιλίστος Leonicus : φίλιππος.

² ποιητῆς] Ἰουλιήτης Cobet ; Κείος ποιητῆς Capps.

³ καταστασιασάντων Emperius : στασιασάντων.

⁴ οὐθενός] οὐδενὸς α.

^a Thucydides, i. 1.

^b For the fame of exiles cf. Favorinus, col. iii. 24 ff., where Diogenes, Heracles, and Odysseus are cited as examples,

Muses, it appears, called exile to their aid in perfecting for the ancients the finest and most esteemed of their writings. "Thucydides of Athens composed the history of the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians"^a in Thrace at Scaptê Hylê; Xenophon wrote at Scillus in Elis, Philistus in Epeirus, Timaeus of Tauromenium at Athens, Androtion of Athens at Megara, and the poet Bacchylides in the Peloponnese. All these and many more, when driven from their country, did not despair or lie prostrate in grief, but put their native abilities to use, accepting their exile as a provision granted by Fortune for this end, an exile that has made them everywhere remembered even in death; while of those who banished them and triumphed over them in the struggle of factions not one enjoys at present the slightest recognition.

15. He, therefore, who thinks that loss of fame is attendant upon exile is ridiculous.^b What nonsense! Is Diogenes lacking in fame? Why, Alexander, seeing him sitting in the sun, stopped to ask whether he wanted anything; and when Diogenes merely requested him to stand a bit out of his light,^c the king, struck with such high spirit, said to his friends: "Were I not Alexander, I should be Diogenes."^d Was Camillus deprived of fame when he was banished from Rome, of which he is now acclaimed the second founder?^e Indeed Themistocles after his banishment did not lose his fame among the Greeks, but won new fame among the barbarians^f; and no one

^c Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 38; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* v. 32 (92).

^d Cf. *Life of Alexander*, chap. xiv. 2 (671 D-E), and *Mor.* 331 E-F and 782 A.

^e Cf. *Life of Camillus*, chap. i. 1 (129 B), and Livy, vii. 1. 10.

^f Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 26. 3.

(605) ἔστιν οὕτως ἀφιλότιμος οὐδὲ ἀγεννής, ὃς μᾶλλον ἢ ἐβούλετο Λεωβώτης¹ ὁ γραψάμενος ἢ Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ φυγαδευθεὶς εἶναι, καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ ἐκβαλὼν ἢ Κικέρων ὁ ἐκβληθεὶς, καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ κατηγορήσας ἢ Τιμόθεος ὁ μεταστὰς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος.

16. Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς τὰ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου κινεῖ, δυνατῶς τῆς φυγῆς κατηγορεῖν δοκοῦντος, ἴδωμεν ἃ λέγει καθ' ἕκαστον ἐρωτῶν καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος·

— τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;

— μέγιστον· ἔργῳ δ' ἐστὶ μείζον ἢ λόγῳ.

— τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγάσιν² τὸ δυστυχές;³

— ἐν μὲν μέγιστον· οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.

— δούλου τόδ' εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ.

606 — τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίαν⁴ φέρειν χρεῶν.

ταῦτα πρώτως⁵ οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς ἀξιούται. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ δούλου τὸ “ μὴ λέγειν ἅ τις φρονεῖ,” ἀλλὰ νοῦν ἔχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐν καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σιωπῆς δεομένοις, ὥσπερ αὐτὸς ἀλλαχόθι βέλτιον εἶρηκε

σιγᾶν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἴν' ἀσφαλές·

ἔπειτα “ τὴν τῶν κρατούντων ἀμαθίαν ” οὐχ ἦττον οἴκοι μένοντας ἢ φεύγοντας ἀνάγκη φέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πολλάκις οἱ μένοντες τῶν ἀπαλλαγέντων τοὺς ἰσχύοντας ἐν πόλεσιν ἀδίκως τῷ συ-

¹ Λεωβώτης Kontos : λεωβάτης (λεωκράτης β²).

² φυγάσιν Eur. : φυγάσι. ³ δυστυχές] δυσχερές Eur.

⁴ τὴν . . . ἀμαθίαν] τὰς . . . ἀμαθίας Eur.

⁵ πρώτως] ὀρᾶς ὡς Reiske ; πρῶθ' ὀρᾶς ὡς Pohlenz.

is so indifferent to fame or so ignoble that he would rather have been Leobotes,^a who brought the indictment, than Themistocles, who was condemned to exile, Clodius the banisher than Cicero the banished, or Aristophon, who made the accusation, than Timotheüs, who withdrew from his native land.

16. But since many are stirred by the words of Euripides,^b who is thought to arraign exile very forcibly, let us see what he has to say on the several counts of his indictment, as he presents them in the form of question and answer :

JOC. What is the loss of country ? A great ill ?

POL. Surpassing great ; no words can do it justice.

JOC. What is it like ? What ills beset the banished ?

POL. One greater than the rest : speech is not free.

JOC. That is a slave's part—not to speak one's mind.

POL. The folly of the mighty must be borne.

These initial assumptions are wrong and untrue. In the first place it is not a slave's part "not to speak one's mind," but that of a man of sense on occasions and in matters that demand silence and restraint of speech, as Euripides^c himself has elsewhere put it better :

Silence in season, speech where speech is safe.

In the next place we are compelled to bear "the folly of the mighty" no less at home than in exile ; indeed, those who remain behind are often in even greater terror of men who wield unjust power in cities through chicane or violence than those who

^a Cf. *Life of Themistocles*, chap. xxiii. 1 (123 c).

^b *Phoenissae*, 388-393 ; cf. Musonius, p. 48. 6 ff. (ed. Hense). Jocasta asks the questions, Polyneices answers.

^c From the *Ino* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 413. 2 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 506 c.

(606)
 B κοφαντεῖν ἢ βιάζεσθαι δεδίασι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον
 καὶ ἀτοπώτατον εἰ παρρησίαν τῶν φυγάδων ἀφαι-
 ρεῖται· θαυμαστὸν γὰρ εἰ Θεόδωρος ἀπαρρησίαστος
 ἦν, ὃς¹ Λυσιμάχου τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος πρὸς
 αὐτόν, “ ἡ πατρίς σε τοιοῦτον ὄντα ἐξέβαλε; ”
 “ ναί, ” εἶπε, “ μὴ δυναμένη φέρειν, ὥσπερ ἡ
 Σεμέλη τὸν Διόνυσον. ” ἐπιδειξάντος δὲ αὐτῷ
 Τελεσφόρον² ἐν γαλαάγρα, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορω-
 ρυγμένον καὶ περικεκομμένον τὴν ρίνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα
 καὶ τὴν γλῶτταν³ ἐκτετμημένον, καὶ εἰπόντος,
 “ οὕτως ἐγὼ διατίθημι τοὺς κακῶς με ποιοῦντας ”·
 “ τί δὲ Θεοδώρῳ μέλει, ” ἔφη, “ πότερον ὑπὲρ γῆς
 C ἢ ὑπὸ γῆς σήπεται; ”⁴ τί δέ; Διογένης οὐκ εἶχε
 παρρησίαν, ὃς εἰς τὸ⁵ Φιλίππου στρατόπεδον παρ-
 ελθὼν ὀπηνίκα μαχοῦμενος⁶ ἐχώρει τοῖς Ἑλλήσι,
 καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναχθεὶς ὡς κατάσκοπος, “ ναί, ”
 κατάσκοπος ἔφη ἀφίχθαι τῆς ἀπληστίας⁷ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τῆς ἀφροσύνης, ἥκοντος ἐν βραχεῖ καιρῷ δια-
 κυβεῦσαι περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἅμα καὶ τοῦ σώματος;
 τί δέ; Ἄννιβας ὁ Καρχηδόνιος οὐκ ἐχρήτο παρ-
 ρησία πρὸς Ἀντίοχον, ὄντα βασιλέα⁸ φυγὰς ὦν,
 ὀπηνίκα, καιροῦ διδόντος, ἐκέλευεν⁹ αὐτὸν ἐπιχει-

¹ ὃς Laur. Conv. Soppr. 57² : ὁ.

² Τελεσφόρον] Τελέσφορον (cf. Athenaeus, 616 c) ?

³ γλῶτταν] γλῶσσαν vw.

⁴ τί δέ through σήπεται supplied by Bern. from *Mor.* 499 D.

⁵ τὸ] τὸ τοῦ α.

⁶ μαχοῦμενος] μαχόμενος (-on w) vw.

⁷ ἀφίχθαι τῆς ἀπληστίας] τῆς ἀπληστίας ἀφίχθαι α.

⁸ ὄντα βασιλέα Bern. : βασιλέα ὄντα.

⁹ ἐκέλευεν] ἐκέλευσεν v.

^a Cf. Musonius, p. 48. 19 ff. (ed. Hense).

have taken their departure.^a But the last and greatest absurdity is that banishment should deprive the exile of free speech : it is astonishing if Theodorus^b was without free speech, the man who, when King Lysimachus said to him : “ Did your country cast out a man of your qualities ? ” replied : “ Yes ; I was too much for it, as Dionysus was for Semelê.”^c And when the king showed him Telesphorus^d in a cage, his eyes gouged out, his nose and ears lopped off, his tongue cut out, and said : “ To this plight I bring those who injure me,” Theodorus replied : “ What cares Theodorus whether he rots above the ground or under it ? ”^e And did Diogenes lack freedom of speech—Diogenes who appeared at the camp of Philip as the king was advancing to join battle with the Greeks, was brought before him as a spy, and answered that he had come to spy indeed—on Philip’s insatiable greed and folly in coming to stake on the cast of the dice in a few decisive moments both his empire and his person ?^f Did Hannibal the Carthaginian mince his words to Antiochus, an exile to a king, on that occasion when he urged him to

^b Theodorus of Cyrenê, surnamed “ the atheist ” or “ the god,” a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, lived in the fourth and third centuries.

^c Cf. Diogenes Laert. ii. 102 ; Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 129 f. ; Philodemus, *On Death*, col. xxxii. 23 f. Semelê, when big with Dionysus, asked to see Zeus in his full glory ; Zeus complied, and Semelê was consumed in flames. Zeus took the unborn child and sewed it in his thigh, and thus Dionysus was born a second time.

^d Cf. Athenaeus, 616 c, and Seneca, *De Ira*, iii. 17. 2-4.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 499 D with the note, and Stobaeus, vol. iii, pp. 316 f. (ed. Hense).

^f Cf. *Mor.* 70 c ; *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xx. 3 (855 B) ; Diogenes Laert. vi. 43.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(606) ρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοῦ δὲ θυσαμένου καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κωλύειν φάσκοντος, ἐπετίμησεν εἰπών· “σὺ τί κρέας λέγει ποιεῖς,¹ οὐ τί νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος;” ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ γεωμετρῶν φυγὴ παρρησίαν οὐδὲ γραμματικῶν² ἀφαιρεῖται, περὶ ὧν ἴσασι καὶ D μεμαθήκασι διαλεγομένων, πόθεν γε δὴ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀγεννὲς πανταχοῦ τὴν φωνὴν “ἐμφράττει, τὴν γλῶσσαν ἀποστρέφει, ἄγχει, σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ.”

Τὰ δ’ ἐξῆς τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ποῖά τινά ἐστιν;

— αἱ δ’ ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας, ὡς λόγος.

— καλοῖς βλέπουσί³ γ’ ὄμμασιν,⁴ μέλλουσι δέ.

καὶ τοῦτο τῆς ἀβελτερίας ἔγκλημα μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς φυγῆς ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ μαθόντες οὐδὲ ἐπιστάμενοι χρῆσθαι τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἀλλ’ οἱ αἰεὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐκκρεμάμενοι καὶ γλιχόμενοι τῶν ἀπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ E σχεδιάς διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, κἂν μηδέποτε τοῦ τείχους ἐκτὸς προέλθωσι.

— φίλοι δὲ πατρὸς καὶ ξένοι σ’ οὐκ ὠφέλουσι;

— εὖ πράσσει· τὰ φίλων δ’ οὐδέν, ἦν τις δυστυχῆ⁵.

— οὐδ’ ἠυγένειά σ’ ἦρεν εἰς ὕψος μέγα;

— κακὸν τὸ μὴ ἔχειν· τὸ γένος⁶ οὐκ ἔβοσκέ με.

¹ ποιεῖς] σκοπεῖς Pflugk (but for τίς=ὄς cf. Mayser, *Gramm. d. griech. Pap. aus d. Ptolemäerzeit*, ii. 1, p. 80 and note 1). Hannibal’s Greek is colloquial.

² γραμματικῶν w: γραμμικῶν.

³ βλέπουσί] βλέπουσαί a scholium on Eur.

⁴ ὄμμασιν a²: ὄμμασι.

⁵ ἦν τις δυστυχῆ] ἦν τι δυστυχῆς Elmsley.

⁶ γένος some mss. of Eur.: γένος δ’.

seize a favourable chance to attack the enemy, and when the king resorted to sacrifice and said that the entrails opposed such a course, Hannibal rebuked him with the words: "You defer to a piece of meat, and not a man of sense" ?^a Nay, exile does not even destroy freedom of speech in geometers and grammarians, when they converse about the subjects they know and have been taught; how, then, could exile destroy it in good and worthy men ?^b It is meanness of spirit that everywhere "stops up the voice, ties the tongue, chokes, imposes silence."^c

What are we to say of the next words of Euripides ?^d

Joc. 'Tis said that exiles live upon their hopes.

Pol. Their eyes hold promise, but they tarry ever.

This too is rather a charge against stupidity than against exile.^e For it is not those who have learned and know how to put the present to good use, but those who are ever hanging upon the future and longing for what they do not have, that are tossed about on hope as on a raft, though they never go beyond the city wall.

Joc. Did not your father's friends and hosts avail you ?

Pol. Prosper: your friends are naught when trouble comes.

Joc. Nor yet did noble lineage raise you high ?

Pol. To have not is a curse; birth would not feed me.^f

Maximus, ii. 7, ext. 6. Here the king is Prusias, not Antiochus.

^b Cf. Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 48-50. Teles (p. 21. 2-5 Hense) cites flute-players and actors—notorious migrants—as examples.

^c Demosthenes, *Or.* xix (*De Falsa Leg.*), 208 (p. 406); quoted also in *Mor.* 88 c. ^d *Phoenissae*, 396-397.

^e Cf. Musonius, p. 50. 15 ff. (ed. Hense).

^f Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 402-405.

(606) ταῦτα ἤδη καὶ ἀχάριστα, τοῦ Πολυνείκου ἀτιμίαν μὲν¹ εὐγενείας, ἀφιλίαν δὲ τῆς φυγῆς κατηγοροῦντος, ὃς διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἠξιώθη μὲν φυγὰς ὧν γάμων βασιλικῶν, φίλων δὲ συμμαχία καὶ δυνάμει
 F τοσαύτη πεφραγμένος ἐστράτευσεν, ὡς αὐτὸς μετὰ μικρὸν ὁμολογεῖ·

πολλοὶ δὲ² Δαναῶν καὶ Μυκηναίων ἄκροί πάρεισι, λυπρὰν χάριν, ἀναγκαίαν δ', ἐμοὶ διδόντες.

ὅμοια δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρός, ὀλοφυρομένης

ἐγὼ δέ σοι οὔτε πῦρ ἀνήψα³
 νόμιμον⁴ ἐν γάμοις,⁵
 ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἴσμηνός⁶ ἐκηδεύθη
 λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς.

ταύτην ἔδει χαίρειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν πυνθανομένην⁷ ναίοντα⁸ βασιλεία τηλικαῦτα τὸν υἱόν· ἡ δὲ θρηνοῦσα τὴν οὐκ ἀναφθεῖσαν λαμπάδα καὶ τὸν οὐ παρα-
 607 σχόντα λουτρὸν Ἴσμηνόν, ὡς ἐν Ἄργει μήτε ὕδωρ τῶν γαμούντων μήτε πῦρ ἐχόντων, τὰ τοῦ τύφου κακὰ καὶ τῆς ἀβελτερίας τῇ φυγῇ περιτίθησιν.

17. Ἄλλ' ἐπονείδιστον ὃ φυγὰς ἐστὶ. παρά γε τοῖς ἄφροσιν, οἳ καὶ “ τὸν πτωχὸν ” λοιδώρημα

¹ μὲν] μὲν τῆς Capps.

² δὲ added from Eur.

³ ἐγὼ through ἀνήψα] ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνήψα φῶς Eur.

⁴ νόμιμον Eur. : γόνιμον.

⁵ γάμοις] γάμοις ὡς πρέπει ματέρι μακαρία Eur.

⁶ ἀνυμέναια δ' Ἴσμηνός] ἀνυμεναία δ' Ἴσμηνοῦ χωρὶς Capps. For Plutarch's aspiration of Ἴσμηνός cf. W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 393.

⁷ πυνθανομένην] omitted in vw.

⁸ ναίοντα α²: καίοντα.

These words of Polyneices now smack of ingratitude, when he charges noble birth with depriving him of honours and banishment with robbing him of friends ; for he, an exile, won a princess in marriage by his noble birth, and when he took the field had that great and powerful alliance of friends to defend him, as he himself admits a few lines later :

And many Danaan chiefs and Mycenaean
Are here to do me kindness—sorry kindness,
But sorry though it be, I need it sore.^a

In the same vein are his mother's words, when she laments :

But I have lighted
No ritual torch to celebrate thy nuptials ;
No hymeneal pride of soft ablution
Attended this alliance of Hismenus.^b

She should have rejoiced and been content when she learned that her son dwelt in so great a palace ; instead, bewailing the unlit torch and Hismenus, who had provided no ablution, as though in Argos bridegrooms had neither water nor fire, she imputes to exile the miseries arising from infatuation and stupidity.

17. But "exile" is a term of reproach.^c Yes, among fools, who make terms of abuse out of

^a Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 430-432.

^b Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 344 f., 347 f. Hismenus was the river in Thebes from which the water for the bridegroom's ritual bath was taken. Jocasta appears to speak of the river as if it were a kinsman of the bridegroom and had thus become allied to the bride. Text and interpretation have both been disputed.

^c This charge is also presented and answered by Teles (p. 25. 8-10 Hense), Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 13. 4 ff., and Favorinus, col. xxv. 13 ff.

- (607) ποιούνται¹ καὶ “ τὸν φαλακρὸν ” καὶ “ τὸν μικρὸν ” καὶ νῆ Δία “ τὸν ξένον ” καὶ “ τὸν μέτοικον.” ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ μὴ τούτοις ὑποφερόμενοι θαυμάζουσι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, κἂν πένητες ὦσι, κἂν ξένοι, κἂν φυγάδες. ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὀρώμεν, ὥσπερ τὸν Παρθενῶνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίσιον, οὕτω καὶ τὸ Θησεῖον ἅπαντας προσκυνοῦντας; καὶ μὴν ἔφυγε Θησεὺς ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, δι’ ὃν οἰκοῦσι νῦν² Ἀθήνας ἄνθρωποι, καὶ Β πόλιν ἀπέβαλεν ἣν οὐκ ἔσχεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. τῇ δὲ Ἐλευσίῃ τί λείπεται καλόν, ἂν αἰσχυνώμεθα³ τὸν Εὐμόλπον, ὃς ἐκ Θυράκης μεταστὰς ἐμύησε καὶ μυεῖ τοὺς Ἕλληνας; Κόδρος δὲ τίνας ὧν ἐβασίλευσεν; οὐ Μελάνθου, φυγάδος ἐκ Μεσσηνίας; τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀντισθένου οὐκ ἐπαινεῖς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι “ Φρυγία σου⁴ ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ ”· “ καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν θεῶν ”; τί οὖν οὐ καὶ σύ, λοιδορούμενος “ φυγὰς,” ἀποκρίνη, “ καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους τοῦ καλλινίκου πατὴρ φυγὰς ἦν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου πάππος, ὡς ἐξεπέμφθη τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀνευρεῖν,⁵ οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπανῆλθε, ‘ Φοῖνιξ πεφυκῶς, ἐκ δ’ ”
- Γ ὀρίζεται ‘ γένος ’ εἰς τὰς Θήβας παραγενόμενος

¹ ποιούνται α²: ποιούντα.

² εἰς after νῦν deleted by Dübner.

³ αἰσχυνώμεθα Stephanus: ἡσχυνόμεθα (ἡσχυνώμεθα vw).

⁴ σου] omitted in vw.

⁵ ἀνευρεῖν] ἐξευρεῖν α¹; ἀνδρεῖν v; ἀνελεῖν w.

^a Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 1. Plutarch calls Antisthenes' mother a Phrygian; Diogenes Laertius and Seneca (*De Const. Sap.* 18. 5) call her a Thracian.

“ pauper,” “ bald,” “ short,” and indeed “ foreigner ” and “ immigrant.” But those who are not carried away by such considerations admire good men, even if they are poor or foreigners or exiles. Nay, do we not observe that like the Parthenon and the Eleusinium, so the Theseum is saluted with reverence by all ? Yet Theseus was banished from Athens, though it is because of him that Athens is now inhabited ; and that city was lost to him which he did not take possession of, but himself created. What glory remains to Eleusis, if we are to be ashamed of Eumolpus, who, a migrant from Thrace, initiated and still initiates the Greeks into the mysteries ? Whose son was Codrus, who became king ? Was it not of Melanthus, an exile from Messenê ? Do you not commend Antisthenes’ retort to the man who remarked, “ Your mother is a Phrygian : ” “ So too is the Mother of the Gods ” ? ^a Why then do not you, when “ exile ” is cast in your teeth, make a similar reply : “ So too the father of Heracles the victorious was an exile, so too the grandsire ^b of Dionysus, when sent out to find Europa, like her, did not return, though ‘ Phoenician born,’ but by coming to Thebes expatriated his ‘ descendant,’ ” ^c

^b That is, Cadmus. For Cadmus as an exile held in honour *cf.* Teles, p. 28. 4 (ed. Hense).

^c Adapted by Plutarch from the *Phrixus* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 819. 3 :

Φοῖνιξ πεφυκῶς, ἐκ δ’ ἀμείβεται γένος
Ἑλληνικόν

“ Phoenician born, his race he did exchange
For Greek.”

Plutarch uses the word *genos* (“ race ” in Euripides) in the sense of “ descendant,” and substitutes “ expatriated ” for “ did exchange.”

(607)

εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα¹
 μαινομέναις Διόνυσον²
 ἀνθέοντα³ τιμαῖς⁴ ;

Καὶ περὶ μὲν ὧν Αἰσχύλος ἠνίξαστο καὶ ὑπεδή-
 λωσεν εἰπών,

ἀγνόν τ' Ἀπόλλω⁵ φυγάδ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ θεόν,

“εὔστομά μοι κείσθω” καθ' Ἡρόδοτον· ὁ δ'
 Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προανα-
 φωνήσας,

ἔστιν⁶ ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψήφισμα παλαιόν,
 εὔτέ τις ἀμπλακίησι φόνω⁷ φίλα γνῖα μίηνη,⁸
 δαίμονες οἳ τε μακραίωνος λελάχασι⁹ βίοιο,
 τρίς μιν μυρίας ὥρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλάγησθαι,¹⁰
 D τὴν¹¹ καὶ ἐγὼ νῦν εἶμι,¹² φυγὰς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτης,

οὐχ ἑαυτόν, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ πάντας ἀποδείκνυσι
 μετανάστας ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξένους καὶ φυγάδας ἡμᾶς
 ὄντας. “οὐ γὰρ αἶμα,” φησὶν, “ἡμῖν οὐδὲ πνεῦμα
 συγκραθέν, ὧ ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῆς οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν
 παρέσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τούτων τὸ σῶμα συμπέπλασται,
 γηγενὲς καὶ θνητόν,” τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἀλλαχόθεν

¹ εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα *Mor.* 389 B, 671 C : εὐήνορσι γυναικα.

² μαινομέναις (μαινομένας V) διόνυσον VW *Mor.* 389 B : διό-
 νυσον μαινομέναις (διόνυσον is put after τιμαῖσι in *Mor.* 671 C).

³ ἀνθέοντα *Mor.* 389 B, 671 C : θύοντα.

⁴ τιμαῖς] τιμαῖσι *Mor.* 671 C.

⁵ Ἀπόλλω *Aesch.* : ἀπόλλωνος.

⁶ ἔστιν *Simplicius* : ἔστι τι.

⁷ φόνω *Hippolytus* : φόβω. ⁸ μίηνη *Hippolytus* : μιν.

⁹ μακραίωνος λελάχασι *Hippolytus* : μακραίωνες λελόγησθαι.

¹⁰ ἀλάγησθαι *Stephanus* : ἀλάγησθε (ἐλάγησθε V).

¹¹ τὴν (σὺν W) : τῶν *Hippolytus*. ¹² εἶμι *Bern.* : εἶμι.

ON EXILE, 607

Euhius Dionysus,
Rouser of women,
Him that is adored in frenzy " ? ^a

Now as to the matters at which Aeschylus ^b hinted darkly when he said

And pure Apollo, god exiled from heaven

" let my lips " in the words of Herodotus ^c " be sealed " ; Empedocles, ^d however, when beginning the presentation of his philosophy, says by way of prelude :

A law there is, an oracle of Doom,
Of old enacted by the assembled gods,
That if a Daemon—such as live for ages—
Defile himself with foul and sinful murder,
He must for seasons thrice ten thousand roam
Far from the Blest : such is the path I tread,
I too a wanderer and exile from heaven,

indicating that not he himself merely, but all of us, beginning with himself, are sojourners here and strangers and exiles. " For," he says, " no comingling of blood or breath, O mortals, gave our souls their being and beginning ; it is the body, earth-born and mortal, that has been fashioned out of these," ^e and as the soul has come hither from else-

^a Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*, Adespota, 131 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 389 B and 671 c.

^b *Supplices*, 214 ; quoted also in *Mor.* 417 E.

^c ii. 171. 1 and 2. The phrase is also used in *Mor.* 417 c and 636 E.

^d From the *Καθαρμοί* : cf. Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*^s, i, pp. 357 f., Empedocles, B 115. 1, 3, 5, 6, 13. Cf. also *Mor.* 418 E.

^e This is Plutarch's interpretation, not a direct quotation or paraphrase.

(607) ἡκούσης δεῦρο, τὴν γένεσιν ἀποδημίαν ὑποκορίζεται τῷ πραοτάτῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων. τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστατον, φεύγει καὶ πλανᾶται, θείοις ἐλαυνομένη δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις, εἶτα, ὥσπερ ἐν νήσῳ σάλον ἐχούσῃ¹ πολύν, καθάπερ φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, “ ὄστρέου Ε τρόπον ” ἐνδεδεμένη² τῷ σώματι διὰ τὸ μὴ μνημονεύειν μηδὲ ἀναφέρειν³

ἐξ οἷς τιμῆς τε καὶ ὅσσου⁴ μήκεος ὄλβου

μεθέστηκεν, οὐ Σάρδεων Ἀθήνας, οὐδὲ Κορίνθου Λῆμνον ἢ Σκύρον, ἀλλ’ οὐρανοῦ καὶ σελήνης γῆν ἀμειψαμένη καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς βίον, ἂν⁵ μικρὸν ἐνταῦθα τόπον ἐκ τόπου παραλλάξῃ, δυσανασχετεῖ καὶ ξενοπαθεῖ, καθάπερ φυτὸν ἀγεννὲς ἀπομαραιομένη. καίτοι φυτῷ μὲν ἔστι τις χώρα μᾶλλον ἐτέρας ἐτέρα πρόσφορος, ἐν ἣ τρέφεται καὶ βλαστάνει βέλτιον, ἀνθρώπου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἀφαιρεῖται

F τόπος εὐδαιμονίαν, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἀρετὴν οὐδὲ φρόνησιν. ἀλλ’ Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τὸν τοῦ κύκλου τετραγωνισμόν ἔγραφε, Σωκράτης δέ, φάρμακον πίνων, ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ παρεκάλει φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς συνήθεις, εὐδαιμονιζόμενος ὑπ’ αὐτῶν· τὸν δὲ Φαέθοντα καὶ τὸν Τάνταλον, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβάντας, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην.

¹ ἐχούσῃ] ἐχούσης vw.

² ἐνδεδεμένη] δεδεμένη Stobaeus (δεδεσμευμένοι Plato).

³ μνημονεύειν μηδὲ ἀναφέρειν] ἀναφέρειν μηδὲ μνημονεύειν Stobaeus.

⁴ ὅσσου Ald.²: ὄσου.

⁵ ἂν Stobaeus: ἴνα.

^a This is apparently Plutarch's interpretation of "that path is mine."
^b *Phaedrus*, 250 c.

where, he euphemistically calls birth a "journey,"^a using the mildest of terms. But it is truest to say that the soul is an exile and a wanderer, driven forth by divine decrees and laws; and then, as on an island buffeted by the seas, imprisoned within the body "like an oyster in its shell," as Plato^b says, because it does not remember or recall

What honour and what high felicity^c

it has left, not leaving Sardis for Athens or Corinth for Lemnos or Scyros, but Heaven and the Moon for earth and life on earth, if it shifts but a short distance here from one spot to another, it is resentful and feels strange, drooping like a base-born plant.^d And yet for a plant one region is more favourable than another for thriving and growth, but from a man no place can take away happiness, as none can take away virtue or wisdom^e; nay, Anaxagoras in prison was busied with squaring the circle,^f and Socrates, when he drank the hemlock, engaged in philosophy and invited his companions to do the same, and was by them deemed happy^g; whereas Phaëthon and Tantalus, as poets tell, when they had ascended to heaven, met with the most grievous disasters through their folly.^h

^c From Empedocles' *Καθαρμοί*: cf. Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, i. p. 359, Empedocles, B 119. 1.

^d Cf. Plato's description of man as a "celestial plant" quoted 600 F, *supra*, and note.

^e Cf. *Life of Aristeides*, chap. xii. 2 (326 B); Musonius, p. 42. 6 (ed. Hense); Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 26. 2; Philo, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit*, 150.

^f Cf. Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*⁶, ii, p. 14, Anaxagoras, A 38.

^g Cf. *Mor.* 499 B and Plato, *Phaedo*, 58 E.

^h Socrates and Phaëthon are also contrasted in *Mor.* 466 E-F.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE
(CONSOLATIO AD UXOREM)

INTRODUCTION

THE *Consolatio ad Uxorem* is the letter written by Plutarch to his wife on receiving news of the death of their daughter Timoxena (611 D), who died at the age of two (610 E). She was named after her mother, and her birth had been preceded by that of four boys (608 C). Of Plutarch's children two had already died, the eldest and "fair Charon" (609 D). It has been supposed that the four sons and Timoxena were Plutarch's only children. But this means that *θυγατριδῆ* (608 B)—literally "daughter's daughter"—and *γαμβρός*—literally "son-in-law"—must be taken in some other sense. The passage cited by R. Volkmann^a (Dionysius, *Lysias*, 27) does not establish the sense of "niece" for *θυγατριδῆ*, as the person in question was both niece (on her father's side) and granddaughter (on her mother's) of the same man. Three persons are mentioned in the *Moralia* as "sons-in-law,"^b which would imply at least one other

^a *Leben, Schriften, und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea* (Berlin, 1869), i, p. 29.

^b Craton (*Mor.* 620 A); Firmus (*Mor.* 636 A); and Patrocleas (*Mor.* 642 C). R. Volkmann, *op. cit.* i, pp. 57 f., Wilamowitz, *Commentariolum Grammaticum*, iii, pp. 23 f., and W. Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*⁵, ii, 1, p. 368, suppose that *γαμβρός*, as applied to these three, does not mean "son-in-law." Volkmann thinks it may mean "brother-in-law," while Wilamowitz takes it to mean "niece's husband" and asks what other name Plutarch could have given to such a relation.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

daughter. There has been some reluctance to admit the existence of such a daughter because of a passage that might be taken to indicate that Plutarch was married but once,^a and because the other known children of Plutarch—Soclarus, Autobulus, and Plutarchus—can all be accounted for among the four sons mentioned in the letter.^b

Plutarch must have written the letter in the interval between receiving the news at Tanagra and rejoining his wife at Chaeroneia, which is somewhat over forty miles distant as the crow flies—a journey of one or two days. Presumably the letter was written at Tanagra and sent on in advance. Several of Plutarch's writings are judged from their incomplete state to have been draughts found among his papers after his death; this letter, then, may not have been published by Plutarch himself, but given to the world by the piety of his literary heirs.^c Yet consolations in epistolary form were often, like other letters, written for publication.^d

Traditional topics are common in all literary genres, and especially so in consolations, which must be produced within a limited time if they are to have

^a *Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. vii. 3 (762 E); cf. K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi 1 (1951), coll. 648 f.

^b For Soclarus cf. *Mor.* 15 A; for Autobulus and Plutarchus, *Mor.* 1012 A. It is conjectured that the eldest child who had died (609 D) was Soclarus, as his name does not appear with those of Autobulus and Plutarchus in the dedication of the *De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo* (1012 A).

^c The title varies in the MSS. It is not unlikely, then, that it does not come from Plutarch. In spite of the haste in which the letter was probably written, it contains only one serious hiatus, ἐχέρω ὥς (608 B)—and here the text is doubtless corrupt.

^d The epistolary form is frequent in consolations; it is the natural form for conveying a message of comfort at a distance.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE

their fullest effect. Consequently the writer has all the more reason to avail himself of traditional arguments, modifying them to suit the particular circumstances. In this essay Plutarch's selection and adaptation of these topics is in part influenced by the particular circumstances (the death of their infant daughter) and in part by his Platonic philosophy.

A comparison with other ancient consolations, such as the *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, the Pseudo-Platonic *Axiochus*, Seneca's *Ad Polybium de Consolatione* and *Ad Marciam de Consolatione*, the first book of Cicero's *Tusculans*, and the third of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, reveals these constantly recurring themes. For example, some answer must be given to the question, What becomes of the soul after death? In the *Axiochus* and the *Tusculans* it is argued that whether the soul survives or perishes, death is in neither case an evil. Lucretius maintains that death is no evil because the soul perishes; Plutarch, because the soul survives.

The pattern for the philosophical consolations of the Hellenistic age was set by Crantor.^a Behind Crantor there was a long literary tradition, extending from Homer through tragedy and the public funeral orations at Athens. Plutarch treats traditional themes with great freedom. For example, it is a commonplace that the state of man after death is comparable to that before birth. Plutarch refers this topic, not to the child who died, but to the grieving

^a Cf. C. Buresch, "Consolationum a Graecis Romanisque Scriptarum Historia Critica," in *Leipziger Studien*, ix (1886); J. van Wageningen, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der 'Consolatio mortis' bij Grieken en Romeinen," in *Verlagen en Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde (Amsterdam, 1918), pp. 175-197.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

mother, exhorting her to turn her mind back to the time before the child was born (610 D). The conventional device of giving comfort by dwelling on the losses of others, equally or more grievous,^a here takes the form of reminding the mother of her earlier bereavements (609 D). The warning against the irritation of grief by ill-timed consolations becomes in this essay a reproof to the person who "allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore" (610 C). The calculation of the good and evil in life, which in most consolations leads to the reflection that life is mostly evil and death an escape,^b here results in a favourable balance, and Plutarch reminds his wife of the many blessings she still enjoys (610 E ff.). Finally, the traditional topic that the manner of burying the body is of no importance to the soul^c gives place in this essay to the observation that the traditional manner of burying children indicates their freedom from earthly things and their departure to a better dispensation (612 A).^d

The date of the essay cannot be fixed with precision, but the mention of a granddaughter indicates at least that Plutarch was no longer very young. If the identification of the deceased eldest child with Soclarus is correct, then this letter must have been

^a Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Mor.* 118 D ff.; Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 2. 3; *Consolatio ad Liviam*, 429 ff.

^b E.g. *Axiochus*, 366 D ff.; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Mor.* 113 E, 115 E, 117 E; Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 34 (83); i. 36 (87); Seneca, *Ad Polyb.* 4. 2 f.; 9. 4; *Ad Marc.* 22.

^c Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 43 (104).

^d In making this interpretation of the burial customs Plutarch substitutes for the notion of ritual purity that of purity or freedom from error.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE

composed after the essay *Quomodo Adolescens Poetas Audire Debeat*, in which Soclarus' education is discussed.

A few translations of the letter can be added to those listed earlier.^a

The work is No. 112 in the catalogue of Lamprias, where two other consolations, now lost, are mentioned: παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην (No. 111) and πρὸς Φηστίαν παραμυθητικὸς (No. 157).

The text is based on LC a v. ΑΕππ are occasionally cited.

^a *La Mesnagerie de Xenophon ; les Règles de mariage de Plutarque ; Lettre de consolation de Plutarque à sa femme ; le tout traduit de grec en françois par M. Estienne de La Boétie . . .* (Paris, 1571-1572).

"A Consolatory Epistle from Plutarch to his Wife, on the Death of their Daughter, translated into English by E. Goodwin," *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. liv, no. 6 (June 1785), pp. 425-428.

B. Snell, *Plutarch Von der Ruhe des Gemütes und andere philosophische Schriften* (Zürich, 1948), pp. 1-8.

M. Hadas, *On Love, the Family, and the Good Life. Selected Essays of Plutarch* (New York, 1957), pp. 93-100.

(608) ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ¹ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ²

Πλούταρχος τῇ γυναικὶ εὖ πράττειν

B 1. Ὅν ἔπεμψας ἀπαγγελοῦντα περὶ³ τῆς τοῦ παιδίου τελευτῆς ἔοικε διημαρτηκένοι καθ' ὁδὸν εἰς Ἀθήνας πορευόμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς Τάναγραν ἔλθων ἐπυθόμην παρὰ⁴ τῆς θυγατριδῆς.⁵ τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἤδη νομίζω γεγονέναι, γεγονότα δὲ ἐχέτω⁶ ὡς σοι μέλλει καὶ νῦν ἀλυπότατα καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξειν. εἰ δέ τι βουλομένη μὴ πεποιήκας ἀλλὰ μένεις τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, οἷε δὲ κουφότερον οἴσειν γενομένου, καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται⁷ δίχα πάσης περιεργίας καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας, ὧν ἤκιστά σοι μέτεστι.

C 2. Μόνον, ὦ γύναι, τήρει καμὲ τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθεστῶτος.⁸ ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ⁹ μὲν οἶδα καὶ ὀρίζω¹⁰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς ἡλικὸν ἔστιν· ἂν δὲ σὲ τῷ δυσφορεῖν ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὕρω, τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσει τοῦ γεγονότος. καίτοι γε¹¹ οὐδ'

¹ παραμυθητικός] παραμυθητικὴ C (?).

² πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα v Lamprias : εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς τελευτὴν C ; πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναῖκα.

³ περὶ] τὰ περὶ C¹.

⁴ παρὰ C v n¹π : περὶ.

⁵ θυγατριδῆς] θυγατριδοῦς C¹.

⁶ ἐχέτω] omitted by C¹.

⁷ ἔσται] ἔστι C¹ ; ἔστω A².

⁸ καθεστῶτος] γεγονότος C¹.

⁹ αὐτὸ] αὐτὸς Reiske.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE

Plutarch to his wife, best wishes^a

1. THE messenger you sent to report the death of our little child seems to have missed me on the way as he travelled to Athens; but when I reached Tanagra I learned of it from my granddaughter. Now the funeral, I suppose, has already been held—and my desire is that it has been so held as to cause you the least pain, both now and hereafter; but if you want something done that you are leaving undone while you await my decision, something that you believe will make your grief easier to bear, that too you shall have, so it be done without excess or superstition, faults to which you are not at all prone.

2. Only, my dear wife, in your emotion keep me as well as yourself within bounds. For I know and can set a measure to the magnitude of our loss, taken by itself; but if I find any extravagance of distress in you, this will be more grievous to me than what has happened. Yet neither was I born “from oak

^a Literally “do well” or “prosper.” Plutarch uses no other form of salutation: *cf.* *Mor.* 138 A, 464 E, and 1012 A. For his motives *cf.* the third Epistle ascribed to Plato, 315 A-C, and the remarks of L. A. Post, *Thirteen Epistles of Plato* (Oxford, 1925), p. 145, and F. Novotný, *Platonis Epistulae* (Brno, 1930), pp. 98-101.

¹⁰ ὀπίζω] ὠπίζω Post.

¹¹ γε added by Stegmann.

(608) αὐτὸς “ ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρης ” ἐγενόμην· οἶσθα δὲ καὶ¹ αὐτῆ, τοσοῦτων μοι τέκνων² ἀνατροφῆς κοινωνοῦσα,³ πάντων ἐκτεθραμμένων οἴκοι δι’ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν.⁴ ταύτῃ⁵ δέ, ὅτι καὶ σοὶ ποθούσῃ θυγάτηρ μετὰ τέσσαρας υἱοὺς ἐγεννήθη καὶ μοὶ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα θέσθαι παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν, οἶδα ἀγαπητὸν⁶ διαφερόντως γενόμενον.⁷ πρόσεστι δὲ καὶ δριμύτης ἰδία τις⁸ τῷ πρὸς τὰ τηλικαῦτα φιλοστόργῳ, τὸ⁹ εὐφραίνον αὐτοῦ¹⁰ καθαρὸν τε ὃν ἀτεχνῶς¹¹ καὶ πάσης ἀμιγῆς ὀργῆς καὶ μέμφεως·

D αὐτῆ δὲ καὶ φύσει θαυμαστὴν ἔσχεν εὐκολίαν¹² καὶ πραότητα, καὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλοῦν καὶ χαριζόμενον αὐτῆς ἡδονὴν ἅμα¹³ καὶ κατανόησιν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου παρεῖχεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον βρέφεσιν ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ σκεύεσιν οἷς ἐτέρπετο καὶ παιγνίοις¹⁴ τὴν τίτθην διδόναι καὶ προσφέρειν τὸν μαστὸν προεκαλείτο¹⁵ καθάπερ πρὸς¹⁶ τράπεζαν ἰδίαν, ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας μεταδιδούσα τῶν καλῶν ὧν εἶχε καὶ¹⁷ τὰ ἥδιστα κοινουμένη τοῖς εὐφραίνουσιν αὐτήν.

3. Ἄλλ’ οὐχ ὀρώ, γύναι, διὰ τί ταῦτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζώσης μὲν ἔτερπεν ἡμᾶς, νυνὶ δὲ ἀνιάσει καὶ συνταράξει λαμβάνοντας ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ¹⁸

¹ καὶ] omitted by C¹.

² τέκνων] παίδων C¹.

³ κοινωνοῦσα] κοινωνήσασα C¹.

⁴ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν] ἡμῶν αὐτῶν C E¹n.

⁵ ταύτῃ] τοῦτο Meziriacus; τούτοις C¹.

⁶ παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν οἶδα ἀγαπητὸν] παρέσχεν ἀφορμὴν, ἀγαπητὸν Wilamowitz; ποιούμενον ἐν αὐτῇ παρέσχεν ἀγαπητοῦ C¹.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 608

or rock " ^a ; you know this yourself, you who have reared so many children in partnership with me, all of them brought up at home under our own care. And I know what great satisfaction lay in this—that after four sons the longed-for daughter was born to you, and that she made it possible for me to call her by your name. Our affection for children so young has, furthermore, a poignancy all its own : the delight it gives is quite pure and free from all anger or reproach. She had herself, moreover, a surprising natural gift of mildness and good temper, and her way of responding to friendship and of bestowing favours gave us pleasure while it afforded an insight into her kindness. For she would invite the nurse to offer the breast and feed with it not only other infants, but even the inanimate objects and playthings she took pleasure in, as though serving them at her own table, dispensing in her kindness what bounty she had and sharing her greatest pleasures with whatever gave her delight.

3. But I do not see, my dear wife, why these things and the like, after delighting us while she lived, should now distress and dismay us as we take thought of

^a Homer, *Il.* xxii. 126 ; *Od.* xix. 163.

⁷ γενόμενον] μοι γενομένου C¹.

⁸ τις] omitted by C¹.

⁹ τὸ] κατὰ τὸ Post ; καὶ τὸ C.

¹⁰ αὐτοῦ nos (αὐτῶν Stegmann) : αὐτὸν C¹ ; αὐτῆς.

¹¹ τε ὃν ἀτεχνῶς] ἐστι C¹. ¹² εὐκολίαν C¹ : ἀσχολίαν.

¹³ ἄμα] ἀλλὰ C¹.

¹⁴ παιγνίοις] παιγνίοις, ἐκέλευε C.

¹⁵ προεκαλείτο] καὶ προσεκαλείτο C.

¹⁶ L (folio 40^{rv}) begins with πρὸς.

¹⁷ μεταδιδούσα τῶν καλῶν ὧν εἶχε καὶ ὥσπερ (ὧνπερ Bern.)

ἐγίνωσκε καὶ εἶχε LC¹.

¹⁸ ἀλλὰ] ἀλλὰ καὶ LC.

(608) δέδια πάλιν¹ μὴ συνεκβάλωμεν τῷ λυποῦντι τὴν
 Ε μνήμην, ὥσπερ ἡ Κλυμένη λέγουσα

μισῶ² δ' ἀγκύλον³
 τόξον κρανείας,⁴ γυμνάσιά τ'⁵ οἰχοίατο,⁶

ἀεὶ φεύγουσα καὶ τρέμουσα τὴν ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ
 παιδός, ὅτι συμπαραοῦσαν λύπην⁷ εἶχε· πᾶν γὰρ ἡ
 φύσις φεύγει τὸ δυσχεραίνόμενον. δεῖ⁸ δέ,⁹ ὥσπερ
 αὐτὴ πάντων ἡδιστον ἡμῖν ἄσπασμα καὶ θέαμα καὶ
 ἄκουσμα παρείχεν¹⁰ ἑαυτήν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν
 F αὐτῆς ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι καὶ συμβιοῦν ἡμῖν πλέον ἔχου-
 σαν, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλαπλάσιον,¹¹ τὸ εὐφραῖνον ἢ τὸ
 λυποῦν (εἴπερ ἄρα τι τῶν λόγων οὓς πολλάκις
 εἰρήκαμεν πρὸς ἑτέρους¹² εἰκός ἐστι καὶ ἡμῖν ὄφελος
 ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι),¹³ καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι μηδ' ἐγκε-
 κλείσθαι¹⁴ πολλαπλασίας¹⁵ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκείναις
 λύπας ἀνταποδιδόντας.¹⁶

4. Καὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ παραγενόμενοι καὶ
 θαυμάζουσιν,¹⁷ ὡς οὐδὲ ἰμάτιον ἀνείληφας πένθιμον¹⁸
 οὐδὲ σαυτῇ τινα προσήγαγες ἢ θεραπευίσιν ἀμορ-

¹ πάλιν] omitted in LC¹. ² μισῶ] μιμῆ LC¹.

³ ἀγκύλον Salmasius: εὐάγκαλον.

⁴ κρανείας] κρανείης LC n. ⁵ τ' Keil: δ'.

⁶ οἰχοίατο Emperius: οἶχετ' LC¹; οἶχοιτο.

⁷ λύπην Emperius: αὐτήν. ⁸ δεῖ] ἀεὶ LC¹.

⁹ δέ] γὰρ LC. ¹⁰ παρείχεν] παρέχειν LC¹.

¹¹ πολλαπλάσιον LC v: πολυπλάσιον.

¹² ἑτέρους] τῆς ἐταίρους LC¹.

¹³ The punctuation is due to Schömann.

¹⁴ ἐγκεκλείσθαι LC¹: ἐγκαλείσθαι.

¹⁵ πολλαπλασίας] πολλαπλασίαις LC¹.

¹⁶ ἀνταποδιδόντας] ἀντιδιδόντας LC¹.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 608

them. Rather I fear on the contrary that while we banish painful thoughts we may banish memory as well, like Clymenê, who said

I hate the crooked bow of cornel wood,
I hate the sports of youth : away with them ! ^a

ever shunning and shrinking from what reminded her of her son,^b because it was attended with pain ; for nature shuns everything unpleasant.^c But rather, just as she was herself the most delightful thing in the world to embrace, to see, to hear, so too must the thought of her live with us and be our companion, bringing with it joy in greater measure, nay in many times greater measure, than it brings sorrow (if indeed it is reasonable that the arguments we have often used to others should be of seasonable aid to ourselves as well ^d), and we must not sit idle and shut ourselves in, paying for those pleasures with sorrows many times as great.

4. This also those who were present report—with amazement—that you have not even put on mourning,^e that you did not subject yourself or your women

^a From the *Phaëthon* of Euripides : Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 785. Cf. the contrasted cases of Octavia and Livia in Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 2-3 ; cf. also *Ad Polyb.* 18. 7.

^b Phaëthon.

^c Cf. Epicurus, *Frag.* 398 (ed. Usener) ; Seneca, *Ad Polyb.* 18. 7 : “. . . naturale est enim ut semper animus ab eo refugiat ad quod cum tristitia revertitur.”

^d Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, *Mor.* 118 B-C, and the letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero (*Fam.* iv. 5. 5) : “ sed potius quae aliis tute praecipere soles ea tute tibi subiace atque apud animum proponere.”

^e Cf. *Mor.* 356 D.

¹⁷ θαυμάζουσιν] θαυμάζοντες LC¹.

¹⁸ ἀνείληφας πένθιμον] ἤλλαξας LC¹.

- (608) φίαν καὶ αἰκίαν¹ οὐδὲ ἦν παρασκευῆ² πολυτελείας πανηγυρικῆς³ περὶ τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλ' ἐπράττετο κοσμίως πάντα καὶ σιωπῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.
- 609 ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ μηδέποτε καλλωπισαμένη περὶ θέατρον ἢ πομπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὰς ἄχρηστον ἡγησαμένη τὴν πολυτέλειαν, ἐν τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς διεφύλαξας τὸ ἀσφαλές⁴ καὶ λιτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐν βακχέυμασι δεῖ μόνον τὴν⁵ σῶφρονα μένειν ἀδιάφθορον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἤττον οἶεσθαι⁶ τὸν⁷ ἐν πένθεσι σάλον καὶ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ πάθους ἐγκρατείας δεῖσθαι διαμαχομένης οὐ πρὸς τὸ φιλόστοργον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλαστον⁸ τῆς ψυχῆς. τῷ μὲν γὰρ φιλοστόργῳ χαριζόμεθα τὸ ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν Β ἀπογενομένων, ἢ δὲ θρήνων ἄπληστος ἐπιθυμία καὶ πρὸς ὀλοφύρσεις ἐξάγουσα καὶ κοπετοὺς αἰσυχρὰ μὲν οὐχ ἤττον τῆς περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀκρασίας, λόγῳ δὲ συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν ὅτι τὸ λυπηρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πικρὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ τερπνοῦ τῷ αἰσυχρῷ πρόσσεστι. τί γὰρ ἀλογώτερον ἢ τὸ γέλωτος μὲν ὑπερβολὰς καὶ περιχαρείας ἀφαιρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ κλαυθμῶν καὶ ὄδυρμῶν ρεύμασιν, ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς φερομένων,⁹ εἰς ἅπαν

¹ ἀμορφίαν καὶ αἰκίαν] ἐπιμέλειαν LC¹.

² C breaks off after πα]. ³ πανηγυρικῆς] omitted in L.

⁴ ἀσφαλές] ἀφελές Reiske.

⁵ τὴν] ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πένθεσι τὴν τε (γε nos) L.

⁶ ἤττον οἶεσθαι η : οἶεσθαι ἤττον L a v.

⁷ τὸν] omitted in L.

⁸ After ἀκόλαστον two folios of L are lost.

⁹ φερομένων] ἐκφερομένων v.

^a Cf. Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 16. 3 f.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 608-609

to any uncomeliness or ill-usage, and that there was no sumptuous display, like that of a festival, at the burial, but that everything was done with decorum and in silence, in the company of our nearest kin. But this was no surprise to me, that you, who have never decked yourself out ^a at theatre or procession, but have regarded extravagance as useless even for amusements, should have preserved in the hour of sadness the blameless simplicity of your ways; for not only "in Bacchic riot" ^b must the virtuous woman remain uncorrupted; but she must hold that the tempest and tumult of her emotion in grief requires continence no less, a continence that does not resist maternal affection, as the multitude believe, but the licentiousness of the mind.^c For it is yielding to a parent's love to long for and honour and remember the departed; whereas the never-sated passion for lamentation, a passion which incites us to transports of wailing and of beating the breast, is no less shameful than incontinence in pleasures, although it finds an excuse—more apparent than real—in the circumstance that its shamefulness is attended with pain and bitterness instead of delight. For what is more unreasonable than to do away with excess of laughter and jubilation, and yet allow free course to the torrents of weeping and wailing that burst forth from the same source? Or more

^b Cf. Euripides, *Bacchae*, 317 f. :

καὶ γὰρ ἐν βακχεύμασιν
οὐδ' ἢ γε σῶφρων οὐ διαφθαρήσεται

"For even in Bacchic riot

The virtuous woman will not be corrupted."

^c Cf. Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 3. 4: "Quam in omni vita servasti morum probitatem et verecundiam, in hac quoque re prae-stabis; est enim quaedam et dolendi modestia."

(609) ἐφίεναι; καὶ περὶ μύρου μὲν ἐνίουσ καὶ πορφύρας
 διαμάχεσθαι ταῖς γυναιξί, κουράσ δὲ συγχωρεῖν
 C πενθίμους καὶ βαφὰς ἐσθῆτος μελαίνας¹ καὶ καθί-
 σεις ἀμόρφους καὶ κατακλίσεις ἐπιπόνους; καί,
 ὃ δὴ πάντων ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατον, ἂν οἰκέτας ἢ
 θεραπευίδας κολάζωσιν ἀμέτρως καὶ ἀδίκως,
 ἐνίστασθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτάς, ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν δὲ ὠμῶς
 κολαζομένας καὶ πικρῶς περιορᾶν ἐν πάθεσι καὶ
 τύχαις² ῥαστώνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας δεομένας;

5. Ἄλλὰ ἡμῖν γε, γύναι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐτ'
 ἐκείνης ἐδέησε τῆς μάχης οὔτε ταύτης οἶμαι δεή-
 σειν. εὐτελεία μὲν γὰρ τῇ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ
 ἀθρυψία τῇ περὶ δίαιταν οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων
 ὃν οὐκ ἐξέπληξας ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ συνηθείᾳ γενόμενον
 ἡμῖν, οὐδὲ³ τῶν πολιτῶν⁴ ᾧ μὴ θέαμα παρέχεις
 D ἐν ἱεροῖς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θεάτροις τὴν σεαυτῆς
 ἀφέλειαν· ἤδη δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὴν
 εὐστάθειαν ἐπεδείξω τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν τέκνων
 ἀποβαλοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ Χάρωνος⁵
 ἡμᾶς προλιπόντος. μέμνημαι γὰρ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
 ξένους μοι συνοδεύσαντας ἀπηγγελμένης τῆς τοῦ
 παιδίου τελευτῆς καὶ συνελθόντας ἅμα τοῖς ἄλλοις
 εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴν κατάστασιν ἐώρω
 καὶ ἡσυχίαν, ὡς ὕστερον διηγοῦντο καὶ πρὸς ἐτέ-
 ρους, ᾧοντο μηδὲν εἶναι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ κενὸν ἄλλως
 E ἐξενηνέχθαι λόγον· οὕτω σωφρόνως κατεκόσμησας
 τὸν οἶκον ἐν καιρῷ πολλὴν ἀκοσμίας ἐξουσίαν

¹ μελαίνας Emperius : μελαίνης.

² τύχαις] δυστυχίαις Capps, who compares Thucydides, vi. 55. 4; but cf. 611 E, *infra*.

³ οὐδὲ Stegmann : οὔτε.

⁴ πολιτῶν] συμπολιτῶν Capps.

unreasonable than for husbands to quarrel, as some do, with their wives about scented unguent for the hair and the wearing of purple, but to permit them to crop their heads in mourning, to dye their clothes black, to sit in an uncomely posture and lie in discomfort? And worst of all, if they punish their manservants or maidservants excessively and unjustly, to resist and oppose them, but to pay no heed when they savagely and cruelly punish themselves in the midst of passions and misfortunes that require gentle and kindly treatment?

5. But we, my dear wife, in our relations with each other have had no occasion for the one quarrel, nor, I think, shall we have any for the other. For, on the one hand, your plainness of attire and sober style of living has without exception amazed every philosopher who has shared our society and intimacy, neither is there any townsman of ours to whom at religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and the theatre you do not offer another spectacle—your own simplicity. On the other hand, you have already shown great steadfastness in circumstances like the present, when you lost your eldest child and again when the fair Charon left us. For I remember that strangers accompanied me in my journey from the sea and gathered at our house with the rest at the news of the little child's death; and observing great composure and quiet, as they later recounted to others, they thought that no tragedy had occurred, and that a false report had got abroad—such was the self-possession with which you kept order in your household at a time that gave full scope to disorderly

⁵ *Χάρωνος*] *Χαίρωνος* Xylander, after the eponymous hero of Chaeroneia.

(609) διδόντι, καίτοι τῷ σεαυτῆς ἐκείνον¹ ἐξέθρεψας μαστῶ² καὶ τομῆς ἠνέσχου, τῆς θηλῆς περίθλασιν λαβούσης· γενναῖα γὰρ³ ταῦτα καὶ φιλόστοργα.

6. Τὰς δὲ πολλὰς ὀρώμεν μητέρας, ὅταν ὑπ' ἄλλων τὰ παιδία καθαρθῆ καὶ γανωθῆ, καθάπερ παίγνια λαμβανούσας εἰς χεῖρας, εἴτ' ἀποθανόντων ἐκχεομένας εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἀχάριστον πένθος, οὐχ ὑπ' εὐνοίας (εὐλόγιστον γὰρ εὖνοια καὶ καλόν), ἀλλὰ μικρῶ τῷ φυσικῶ πάθει πολὺ συγκεραννύ-
 F μενον τὸ πρὸς κενὴν δόξαν ἄγρια ποιεῖ καὶ μανικὰ καὶ δυσεξίλαστα τὰ⁴ πένθη. καὶ τοῦτο φαίνεται μὴ λαθεῖν Αἴσωπον· ἔφη γὰρ οὗτος ὅτι τοῦ Διὸς τὰς τιμὰς διανέμοντος τοῖς θεοῖς ἦται καὶ τὸ Πένθος· ἔδωκεν οὖν αὐτῶ, παρὰ τοῖς αἵρουμένοις δὲ μόνοις καὶ θέλουσιν. ἐν ἀρχῇ μὲν οὖν οὕτω τοῦτο γινόμενόν ἐστιν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἕκαστος εἰσάγει τὸ πένθος ἐφ' ἑαυτόν. ὅταν δὲ ἰδρυνθῆ χρόνῳ καὶ γένηται σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον, οὐδὲ πάνυ⁵ βουλομένων ἀπαλλάττεται. διὸ δεῖ μάχεσθαι περὶ θύρας αὐτῶ καὶ μὴ προσίεσθαι⁶ φρουρὰν δι' ἐσθῆτος ἢ
 610 κουρᾶς ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν τοιούτων ἅ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀπαντῶντα καὶ δυσωποῦντα μικρὰν καὶ στενὴν καὶ

¹ ἐκείνον v : ἐκείνω a¹ ; ἐκείνην n ; ἐκείνο a².

² ἐξέθρεψας μαστῶ Benseler : μασθῶ (μασθῶ v n) ἐξέθρεψας.

³ γὰρ] γε Pohlenz ; Wilamowitz would omit.

⁴ τὰ added by Reiske.

⁵ πάνυ A²E : πάλιν.

⁶ προσίεσθαι] προίεσθαι Reiske.

^a Cf. *Life of Demosthenes*, chap. xxii. 3 (855 f).

^b Cf. *Seneca, Ep.* xcix. 4.

^c Cf. *Life of Solon*, chap. vii. 5 (82 A) ; *Diogenes Laert.*

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 609-610

confusion, and yet you had nursed him at your own breast and had submitted to surgery when your nipple was bruised. For such conduct was noble, and it showed true mother love.^a

6. But we observe that most mothers, after others have cleansed and prettied up their children, receive them in their arms like pets; and then, at their death, give themselves up to an unwarranted and ungrateful ^b grief, not out of good will toward them—for good will is rational and right ^c—but because the combination with a little natural feeling of a great deal of vain opinion ^d makes their mourning wild, frenzied, and difficult to calm. And this appears not to have escaped Aesop,^e who said that when Zeus was apportioning honours among the gods, Grief asked for a share, which Zeus accordingly granted, but only from such as should choose and so desire. At the outset indeed this is true; for each person takes grief in of his own accord. But once it has fixed itself with the passing of time and become his companion and household intimate, it will not quit him even at his earnest desire. We must, therefore, resist it at the door and must not let it in to be quartered on us by wearing mourning or cropping the hair or by any other manifestations of the kind that, confronting the mind daily and shaming it into submission, make it dispirited, cramped, shut in,

vii. 116; and Arius Didymus in Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 73. 19 (ed. Wachsmuth).

^a Cf. *Mor.* 102 c-d and Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 7. 1; 19. 1; *Ad Polyb.* 18. 4.

^e Cf. *Mor.* 112 A, where the story is ascribed to an "ancient philosopher" who used it to comfort Queen Arsinoë. Sotion (Stobaeus, iii, p. 972. 7 Hense) ascribes a shortened version to an unnamed woman.

(610) ἀνέξοδον καὶ ἀμείλικτον καὶ ψοφοδεῆ ποιεῖ τὴν
 διάνοιαν, ὡς οὔτε γέλωτος αὐτῇ μετὸν οὔτε φωτὸς
 οὔτε φιλανθρώπου τραπέζης τοιαῦτα περικειμένη
 καὶ μεταχειριζομένη διὰ τὸ πένθος. ἀμέλειαι δὲ
 σώματος ἔπονται τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ καὶ διαβολαὶ
 πρὸς ἄλειμμα καὶ λουτρὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαιταν.
 ὧν πᾶν τούναντίον ἔδει τὴν ψυχὴν πονουῖσαν αὐτὴν¹
 βοηθεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐρρωμένου. πολὺ
 γὰρ ἀμβλύνεται καὶ χαλαῖται² τοῦ λυποῦντος, ὥσπερ
 B ἐν³ εὐδία κῦμα,⁴ τῇ γαλήνῃ τοῦ⁵ σώματος διαχεό-
 μενον,⁶ ἂν δὲ αὐχμὸς ἐγγένηται καὶ τραχύτης ἐκ
 φαύλης διαίτης καὶ μηδὲν εὐμενές⁷ μηδὲ χρηστὸν
 ἀναπέμπῃ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ πλὴν ὀδύνας καὶ
 λύπας, ὥσπερ τινὰς⁸ πικρὰς καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀναθυ-
 μιάσεις, οὐδὲ βουλομένοις⁹ ἔτι ῥαδίως ἀναλαβεῖν
 ἐστίν· τοιαῦτα λαμβάνει πάθη τὴν¹⁰ ψυχὴν οὕτω
 κακωθεῖσαν.

7. Καὶ μὴν ὃ γε μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ καὶ φοβερῶ-
 τατόν ἐστιν οὐκ¹¹ ἂν φοβηθείην, “κακῶν γυναικῶν
 εἰσόδους” καὶ φωνὰς καὶ συνεπιθρηνήσεις αἷς
 ἐκτρίβουσι καὶ παραθήγουσι τὴν λύπην, οὔθ’ ὑπ’
 C ἄλλων οὔτε αὐτὴν ἐφ’¹² ἑαυτῆς¹³ ἐῴσαι μαρανθῆναι.
 γινώσκω γὰρ ποίους¹⁴ ἔναγχος ἀγῶνας ἠγωνίσω τῇ
 Θέωνος ἀδελφῇ βοηθοῦσα καὶ μαχομένη¹⁵ ταῖς μετὰ

¹ αὐτὴν] αὐτὴν καθ’ αὐτὴν Sieveking.

² L (folios 131^rv and 124^rv, an unbroken series) resumes with]ται.

³ van Herwerden would delete ἐν.

⁴ κῦμα] omitted in L.

⁵ τοῦ] omitted in L.

⁶ διαχεόμενον L (as Pohlenz had conjectured): διαχεομένου.

⁷ εὐμενές] εὐγενές L.

⁸ πλὴν through τινὰς omitted in L and v.

⁹ οὐδὲ βουλομένοις L a²: οὐδὲ βουλόμενος a¹ π; οὐδὲ βου-
 λόμενον n; omitted in v.

deaf to all soothing influences, and a prey to vain terrors, in the feeling that it has no part in laughter or the light of day or the friendly board, since it has adopted such habiliments and engages in such practices because of its grief. This unhappy state leads to widespread neglect of the body and aversion to ointment, the bath, and the other usages of our daily life. Quite the contrary should happen; in its own suffering the soul should be helped by a vigorous condition of the body. For its distress loses much of its keenness and intensity when dissipated in the calm of the body, as waves are dispersed in fair weather; whereas if the body is in the interval allowed to become squalid and unkempt from a mean way of life, and if it sends up to the soul nothing benign or good, but only pains and sorrows, like acrid and noisome exhalations, the sufferings that take possession of the soul when it has undergone such ill-usage are so serious that an easy recovery is no longer possible even if desired.

7. On the other hand, what is most grave and to be dreaded in such a case holds no terrors for me: "the visits of pernicious women"^a and their cries and their chiming in with lamentations, whereby they polish and whet the keen edge of pain, and do not allow our grief to subside either from other influences or of itself^b; for I know what struggles you recently sustained when you went to the aid of Theon's sister

^a Euripides, *Andromaché*, 930; quoted more fully in *Mor.* 143 E. ^b Cf. *Mor.* 599 A ff.

¹⁰ λαμβάνει πάθη τήν] λαμβάνουσαν πάθη L (λαμβάνοντα πάθη τήν or λαμβάνει πάθη καὶ τήν Capps).

¹¹ οὐκ] apparently omitted in L.

¹² ἐφ'] ὑφ' L (?) n.

¹⁴ ποίους] οἴους L.

¹³ ἐαυτῆς] αὐτῆς L (?).

¹⁵ μαχομένη] μεμφομένη L.

(610) ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν¹ ἕξωθεν ἐπιούσαις, ὥσπερ ἀτεχνῶς πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ φερούσαις.² τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἰκίας τῶν φίλων ὅταν καιομένας ἴδωσι³ σβεννύουσιν ὡς ἔχει τάχους ἕκαστος⁴ ἢ δυνάμεως, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς φλεγομένοις⁵ αὐτοῖς προσφέρουσιν ὑπεκκαύματα. καὶ τῷ μὲν ὀφθαλμιῶντι τὰς χεῖρας οὐκ ἐῶσι προσάγειν τὸν βουλόμενον οὐδὲ ἄπτονται τοῦ φλεγμαίνοντος, ὁ δὲ πενθῶν κάθηται παντὶ τῷ προσ-
 D τυχόντι παρέχων ὥσπερ ρεῦμα κινεῖν καὶ διαγριαίνειν τὸ πάθος, ἐκ μικροῦ τοῦ γαργαλιζόντος καὶ κνῶντος⁶ εἰς πολλήν καὶ δυσχερῆ κάκωσιν ἀναξαινόμενον.⁷ ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἶδ' ὅτι φυλάξῃ.

8. Πειρῷ δὲ τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ μεταφέρουσα σεαυτὴν ἀποκαθιστάναί πολλακίς εἰς⁸ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ᾧ μηδέπω τοῦ παιδίου τούτου⁹ γεγονότος μηδὲν¹⁰ ἔγκλημα πρὸς τὴν τύχην εἶχομεν, εἶτα τὸν νῦν καιρὸν¹¹ τοῦτον ἐκείνω συνάπτειν,¹² ὡς¹³ ὁμοίων πάλιν τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγονότων. ἐπεὶ τὴν γένεσιν, ᾧ γύναι, τοῦ τέκνου δυσχεραίνειν δόξομεν ἀμεμπτό-

¹ ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν] στεναγμῶν καὶ ὀλοφυρμῶν L.

² φερούσαις] ἐπιφερούσαις L.

³ καιομένας ἴδωσι] ἴδωσι καιομένας L.

⁴ σβεννύουσιν through ἕκαστος] σβεννύουσι βοθηοῦντες ἕκαστος ὡς ἔχει τάχους L.

⁵ φλεγομένοις L : φλεγομένας.

⁶ κνῶντος Kronenberg : κλῶντος L ; κινῶντος.

⁷ ἀναξαινόμενον Reiske : ἀναξηραινόμενον.

⁸ εἰς] omitted in L.

⁹ τούτου] τοῦδε L.

¹⁰ μηδὲν] οὐδὲν L.

¹¹ καιρὸν] omitted in L.

¹² συνάπτειν] συναλλάττειν Capps.

¹³ ὡς] omitted in L.

and fought off the assaults of the women who came from the world outside with wailing and screaming, as if they were in very truth adding "fire to fire."^a For when people see the houses of their friends in flames, they put the fire out with all the speed or power at their command; but when those friends are themselves ablaze with fire in their hearts, they bring more fuel. And whereas men refuse to permit anyone who so desires to lay his hands on a sufferer from ophthalmia, and do not touch the inflammation, the person who mourns sits patiently and allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore^b and to envenom it, a little tickling and scratching making it break out into a far-reaching and troublesome affliction. This thing, then, I know you will guard against.

8. Do, however, try to carry yourself back in your thoughts and return again and again to the time when this little child was not yet born and we had as yet no complaint against Fortune; next try to link this present time with that as though our circumstances had again become the same.^c For, my dear wife, we shall appear to be sorry that our child was ever born^d if our conduct leads us to regard the state

Life of Artaxerxes, chap. xxviii. 1 (1025 E); cf. also Plato, *Laws*, 666 A.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 102 A, where a delay in consoling a bereaved person is justified by a comparison with the treatment of a rheumatic sore or "fluxion." Cf. also Chrysippus, quoted by Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* iv. 29 (63), with Pohlenz's remarks in *Hermes*, vol. xli (1906), p. 336; *Letter of Theano*, v. 7 (*Epist. Gr.* p. 605 Hercher); Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 1. 2 f. Plutarch has modified the topic.

^c Cf. Teles, p. 61. 2-4 (ed. Hense²).

^d Cf. Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 19. 7: ". . . id agas ne quis te putet partus tui paenitere."

- (610) τερα ποιούντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὶν ἐκείνην γενέσθαι
 Ε πράγματα. τὴν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διετίαν ἐξαιρεῖν μὲν
 οὐ δεῖ τῆς μνήμης, ὡς δὲ χάριν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν
 παρασχούσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τίθεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ μικρὸν
 ἀγαθὸν μέγα νομίζειν κακόν, μηδὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐλπιζό-
 μενον οὐ προσέθηκεν ἢ τύχῃ καὶ περὶ τοῦ δοθέντος
 ἀχαριστεῖν. αἰεὶ μὲν γὰρ ἢ περὶ τὸ θεῖον εὐφημία
 καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἴλεων καὶ ἀμεμφές καλὸν
 καὶ ἡδὺν ἀποδίδωσι καρπὸν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις
 ὁ μάλιστα τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπαρτυόμενος
 καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ μετα-
 στρέφων καὶ μεταφέρων ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ
 F ταρακτικῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἢ παντάπασιν ἔσβεσε τὸ
 λυποῦν ἢ τῇ πρὸς τοῦναντίον μίξει μικρὸν καὶ
 ἀμαυρὸν ἐποίησεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ μύρον αἰεὶ μὲν
 εὐφραίνει τὴν ὄσφρησιν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δυσώδη¹ φάρ-
 μακόν ἐστιν, οὕτως² ἢ ἐπίνοια τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τοῖς
 κακοῖς καὶ βοηθήματος ἀναγκαίου παρέχεται
 χρεῖαν τοῖς μὴ φεύγουσι τὸ μεμνήσθαι τῶν χρηστῶν
 μηδὲ πάντα καὶ πάντως μεμφομένοις τὴν τύχην.
 ὅπερ ἡμῖν παθεῖν οὐ προσήκει, συκοφαντοῦσι τὸν
 611 ἑαυτῶν βίον εἰ μίαν ἔσχηκεν, ὥσπερ βιβλίον,
 ἀλοιφήν ἐν πᾶσι καθαροῖς καὶ ἀκεραίοις τοῖς ἄλ-
 λοις.³ (9.) ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὀρθῶν ἐπιλογισμῶν εἰς
 εὐσταθῆ διάθεσιν τελευτώντων ἤρτηται τὸ μακά-
 ριον, αἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης τροπαὶ μεγάλας οὐ

¹ δυσώδη] λυσσώδη L.

² οὕτως] ὅς (ὡς nos) L.

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 610-611

of things before her birth as preferable to the present. Yet we must not obliterate the intervening two years from our memory ; rather, since they afforded us delight and enjoyment of her, we should credit them to the account of pleasure ; and we should not consider the small good a great evil, nor, because Fortune did not add what we hoped for, be ungrateful for what was given.^a For reverent language toward the Deity and a serene and uncomplaining attitude toward Fortune never fail to yield an excellent and pleasant return ; while in circumstances like these he who in greatest measure draws upon his memory of past blessings and turns his thought toward the bright and radiant part of his life, averting it from the dark and disturbing part, either extinguishes his pain entirely, or by thus combining it with its opposite, renders it slight and faint.^b For just as perfume, while always a delight to the smell, serves on occasion to counteract foul odours, so the thought of our blessings has in time of trouble a further, necessary, use : it is an antidote in the hands of those who do not shun the remembrance of happiness and do not insist on reproaching Fortune in everything. It ill becomes us to fall into this state by cavilling at our own life for receiving, like a book, a single stain, while all the rest is clean and unspoiled. (9.) For you have often heard that felicity depends on correct reasoning resulting in a stable habit, and that the changes due to fortune

^a Cf. Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 12. 1 : “. . . oportet te non de eo quod detractum est queri, sed de eo gratias agere quod contigit” ; *Ad Polyb.* 10. 2 : “. . . avidus, qui non lucri loco habet quod accepit, sed damni quod reddidit.”

^b Cf. *Mor.* 469 A, 600 D.

³ Capps reads *ὁς* after *βίον* and *μέρεσι τοῖς ἄλλοις μαιίνεται* for *τοῖς ἄλλοις*.

(611) ποιούσιν ἀποκλίσεις¹ οὐδὲ ἐπιφέρουσι² συγχυτικὰς³ ὀλισθήσεις τοῦ⁴ βίου, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ⁵ καὶ ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοί, τοῖς ἔξωθεν κυβερνᾶσθαι πράγμασι καὶ τὰ παρὰ⁶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαριθμεῖν καὶ κριταῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς⁷ εὐδαιμονίαν τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσιν⁸ ἀνθρώποις, μὴ σκόπει τὰ Β νῦν δάκρυα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθρηνήσεις τῶν εἰσιόντων, ἔθει τινὶ φαύλῳ περαινομένης⁹ πρὸς ἕκαστον, ἀλλ' ἐννόει μᾶλλον ὡς ζηλούμενη διατελεῖς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπὶ τέκνοις καὶ οἴκῳ καὶ βίῳ. καὶ δεινὸν ἐστὶν ἑτέρους μὲν ἠδέως ἂν ἐλέσθαι τὴν σὴν τύχην, καὶ τούτου προσόντος ἐφ' ᾧ νῦν ἀνιώμεθα, σὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ δυσφορεῖν παρούσης,¹⁰ καὶ μηδὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δάκνοντος αισθάνεσθαι πηλίκας ἔχει τὰ σφζόμενα χάριτας ἡμῖν, ἀλλ', ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἀκεφάλους καὶ μειούρους Ὀμήρου στίχους ἐκλέγοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα τῶν πεποιημένων ὑπέρευ παρ-
 ορώωντες, οὕτως ἐξακριβοῦν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν τοῦ βίου τὰ φαῦλα, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς ἀνάρθρως καὶ C συγκεχυμένως ἐπιβάλλουσαν,¹¹ ὁμοίον τι τοῖς ἀνελευθέροις καὶ φιλαργύροις πάσχειν, οἳ πολλὰ συνάγοντες οὐ χρῶνται παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦσι καὶ δυσφοροῦσιν ἀπολομένων. εἰ δὲ ἐκείνης ἔχεις

¹ οὐ ποιούσιν ἀποκλίσεις L : ἀποκλίσεις οὐ ποιούσιν.

² ἐπιφέρουσι] ἀποφέρουσι L.

³ συγχυτικὰς L (as Reiske had conjectured) : συντυχικὰς.

⁴ τοῦ] τοιούτου του Capps.

⁵ δεῖ] μὴ δεῖ Capps.

⁶ παρὰ L v : περὶ.

⁷ κριταῖς χρῆσθαι πρὸς] χρῆσθαι κριταῖς πρὸς τὴν L.

⁸ ἐπιτυχοῦσιν] παρατυχοῦσιν L.

⁹ Folio 124^v of L ends after περαινομένης. The next two folios are lost.

¹⁰ παρούσης] παρούση Schwartz.

¹¹ ἐπιβάλλουσαν] ἐπιβάλλουσάν τιν' Capps.

^a Cf. *Mor.* 499 A-D ; Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, i. 10

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 611

occasion no serious departure from it and do not bring with them a falling away that destroys the character of our lives.^a

But if, like the multitude, we too are to be guided by external circumstances, to reckon up the dispensations of fortune, and to take any chance persons as our judges of felicity, you must not dwell upon the present tears and lamentations of your visitors, a performance dictated by a pernicious custom and rehearsed to every sufferer; you must rather bear in mind how enviable you still appear in their eyes for your children, home, and way of life. And it is unreasonable, when others would gladly choose your lot,^b even with our present grief thrown in, for you, whose lot it actually is, to complain and be disconsolate; nor yet to be taught by the very bitterness of your grief how great is the delight for us in what is still left, but instead, like the critics who pick out the "headless" and "docked" lines of Homer,^c overlooking the many splendid passages of flawless execution, to keep a strict account of the shortcomings of your life and cavil at them, and by noting its advantages without particularity or discrimination, to resemble in your attitude the illiberal and miserly, who make no use of the great wealth they accumulate when it is in their possession, but lament and are disconsolate when it is lost. If you pity her for

(1101 a 6-8); Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 5. 1: ". . . unusquisque facere se beatum potest. Leve momentum in adventiciis rebus est et quod in neutram partem magnas vires habeat; . . ."

^b Cf. *Mor.* 600 A and Boëthius, *Philos. Cons.* ii. 4. 17.

^c Cf. Athenaeus, 632 d ff.; Pseudo-Plutarch, *De Metris*, chap. ii (vol. vii, p. 468 Bern.); K. Meister, *Die homerische Kunstsprache*, p. 43; W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*, pp. 374 ff.

- (611) οἶκτον ἀγάμου καὶ ἄπαιδος οἰχομένης, αὐτὸς ἔχει ἐπ' ἄλλοις ἠδῖω σεαυτὴν ποιεῖν, μηδενὸς τούτων ἀτελῆ μηδὲ ἄμοιρον γενομένην· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ ταῦτα μεγάλα μὲν τοῖς στερομένοις ἀγαθὰ, μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἔχουσιν. ἐκείνη δ' εἰς τὸ ἄλυπον ἤκουσα λυπεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐ δεῖται· τί γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀπ' ἐκείνης κακόν, εἰ μηδὲν ἐκείνη νῦν ἐστὶ λυπηρόν; καὶ γὰρ αἱ τῶν
 D μεγάλων στερήσεις ἀποβάλλουσι τὸ λυποῦν εἰς τὸ μὴ δεῖσθαι παραγερόμεναι.¹ Τιμοξένα δὲ ἢ σὴ μικρῶν μὲν ἐστέρηται, μικρὰ γὰρ ἔγνω καὶ μικροῖς ἔχαιρεν· ὧν δὲ οὔτε αἴσθησιν ἔσχεν οὔτε εἰς ἔννοιαν² ἦλθεν οὔτ' ἔλαβεν ἐπίνοιαν,³ πῶς ἂν στέρεσθαι λέγοιτο;

10. Καὶ μὴν ἂ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις οἱ πείθουσι πολλοὺς λέγοντες ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδαμῆ τῷ διαλυθέντι κακόν οὐδὲ λυπηρόν ἐστίν, οἶδα ὅτι κωλύει σε πιστεῦειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες. ὡς οὖν ἀφθαρτον οὔσαν
 E τὴν ψυχὴν διανοοῦ ταῦτὸ ταῖς ἀλικομέναις ὄρνισι πάσχειν· ἂν μὲν γὰρ πολὺν ἐντραφῆ τῷ σώματι

¹ παραγερόμεναι] περιγερόμεναι Reiske.

² ἔννοιαν nos (cf. *Mor.* 763 B ὅσα μὴ δι' αἰσθήσεως ἡμῖν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἦκει) : ἐπίνοιαν.

³ Reiske would either delete οὔτ' ἔλαβεν ἐπίνοιαν or read ἐπιθυμίαν for ἐπίνοιαν.

^a This remark usually introduces the consideration that the dead person has escaped all the miseries connected with marriage and children : cf. *Mor.* 115 E-F.

^b Cf. *Mor.* 469 F.

^c Cf. Pseudo-Plato, *Asiarchus*, 327 A : ψυχὴ ἅπασα ἀθάνατος, ἢ δὲ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ χωρίου μετασταθεῖσα καὶ ἄλυπος.

^d The Epicureans. The first set were the "pernicious women" who added "fire to fire" : cf. chap. 7, *supra*.

departing unmarried and childless,^a you can find comfort for yourself in another consideration, that you have lacked fulfilment of and participation in neither of these satisfactions ; for these are not great blessings for those deprived of them, but small for their possessors.^b That she has passed to a state where there is no pain ^c need not be painful to us ; for what sorrow can come to us through her, if nothing now can make her grieve ? For even great deprivations lose their power to cause pain when they reach the point where the want is no longer felt ; and your Timoxena has been deprived of little, for what she knew was little, and her pleasure was in little things ; and as for those things of which she had acquired no perception, which she had never conceived, and to which she had never given thought, how could she be said to be deprived of them ?

10. Furthermore, I know that you are kept from believing the statements of that other set,^d who win many to their way of thinking when they say that nothing is in any way evil or painful to “ what has undergone dissolution,”^e by the teaching of our fathers ^f and by the mystic formulas of the Dionysiac rites,^g the knowledge of which we who are participants share with each other. Consider then that the soul, which is imperishable, is affected like a captive bird : if it has long been reared in the body and has become

^e Cf. Epicurus, *Ad Menoeceum*, 124, and *Κύρια δόξαι*, ii (quoted in *Mor.* 1103 D and 1105 A) : ‘Ο θάνατος οὐδέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ’ ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδέν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. “Death is nothing to us ; for what has suffered dissolution has no perception, and what has no perception has nothing to do with us.”

^f Cf. *Mor.* 756 B.

^g Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 13 (29) : “reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis : . . .”

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(611) χρόνον καὶ γένηται τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τιθασὸς ὑπὸ πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μακρᾶς συνηθείας, αὐτὸς καταίρουσα πάλιν ἐνδύεται καὶ οὐκ ἀνίησιν οὐδὲ λήγει τοῖς ἐνταῦθα συμπλεκομένη πάθεισι καὶ τύχαις διὰ τῶν γενέσεων. μὴ γὰρ οἷον λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν τὸ γῆρας διὰ τὴν ῥυσότητα καὶ τὴν πολιὰν καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν τοῦ σώματος· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ, τὸ χαλεπώτατόν ἐστιν, ὅτι
 F τὴν ψυχὴν ἔωλόν τε ποιεῖ ταῖς μνήμαις τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ λιπαρῇ περὶ ταῦτα καὶ κάμπτει καὶ πιέζει, τὸν σχηματισμὸν ὃν ἔσχεν ὑπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἐν τῷ προσπεπονθένει¹ διαφυλάττουσαν.² ἡ δὲ ληφθεῖσα μὲν . . .³ ὑπὸ κρειπτόνων ἔρχεται,⁴ καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς⁵ ὑγρᾶς καὶ μαλθακῆς⁶ ἀναχαιτίσασα⁷ πρὸς ὃ πέφυκεν. ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ πῦρ, ἂν τις ἀποσβέσας εὐθὺς ἐξάπτῃ, πάλιν ἀναρριπίζεται καὶ ἀναλαμβάνει ταχέως . . .⁸

¹ προσπεπονθένει Reiske : πεπονθένει.

² διαφυλάττουσαν Reiske : διαφυλάττουσα.

³ There is a lacuna here in *a* of 86 letters. In *v* the lacuna includes ἡ δὲ ληφθεῖσα μὲν and is of 79 letters. Wyttenbach supplies μένουσα δὲ βραχὺν ἐν τῷ σώματι χρόνον ἐλευθερωθεῖσα.

⁴ ἔρχεται Wyttenbach : ἔχεται.

⁵ καμπῆς] κάμπης Pearson.

⁶ ὑγρᾶς καὶ μαλθακῆς] ὑγρῶς καὶ μαλθακῶς ?

⁷ ἀναχαιτίσασα Wyttenbach (ἀνακαίσιμα ? Post) : ἀναχαιτίσιμα.

⁸ There is a lacuna here in *a* of 162 letters ; in *v* of 129. Sieveking, combining supplements proposed by Wyttenbach and Bernardakis, suggests the following reading : ἂν δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἀποσβεσθέν μείνῃ, χαλεπωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ἀναζωπύρωσιν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἄριστα πράττουσιν, αἷς συμβέβηκε κατὰ τὸν ποιητὴν.

^a The supplement and translation of this passage are uncertain.

tamed to this life by many activities and long familiarity, it alights again and re-enters the body, and does not leave off or cease from becoming entangled in the passions and fortunes of this world through repeated births. For do not fancy that old age is vilified and ill spoken of because of the wrinkles, the grey hairs, and the debility of the body ; no, its most grievous fault is to render the soul stale in its memories of the other world and make it cling tenaciously to this one, and to warp and cramp it, since it retains in this strong attachment the shape imposed upon it by the body. Whereas the soul that tarries after its capture but a brief space in the body before it is set free by higher powers ^a proceeds to its natural state as though released from a bent position with flexibility and resilience unimpaired.^b For just as a fire flares up again and quickly recovers, if a person who has extinguished it immediately lights it again, but is harder to rekindle if it remains extinguished for some time, so too those souls fare best whose lot it is, according to the poet,^c

^b Cf. *Mor.* 591 B and *De Anima*, Frag. 6 (vol. vii, p. 22. 5 Bern.): λόγον ἔχει καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς (Dübner: εἰ κάμπης) τινος ἀνείσης οἶον ἐξάπτειν (Koenius: ἐξάπτειν) καὶ ἀναθεῖν (Gesner: ἀναθεῖναι) τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποπνέοντος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπνεύσαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναψύχουσαν. For the general idea cf. Seneca, *Ad Marc.* 23. 1: “. . . facillimum ad superos iter est animis cito ab humana conversatione dimissis; minimum enim faecis, ponderis traxerunt. Ante quam obdurescerent et altius terrena conciperent liberati leviores ad originem suam revolant et facilius quicquid est illud obsoleti inlitiq̄ue eluunt”; cf. Menander, *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (vol. iii, p. 414. 21-23 Spengel; p. 122 Bursian): καὶ τάχα πού καὶ μέμφεται τοῖς θρηνοῦσιν συγγενῆς γὰρ οὔσα τοῦ θείου ἢ ψυχὴ κάκειθεν κατιούσα σπεύδει πάλιν ἄνω πρὸς τὸ συγγενές. . . .

^c There is a long lacuna in the mss. here, but the general sense is clear.

(611) ὅπως ὤκιστα πύλας Ἀίδαο περῆσαι

πρὶν¹ ἔρωτα πολλὴν ἐγγενέσθαι τῶν αὐτόθι πραγμάτων καὶ μαλαχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συντακῆναι καθάπερ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

612 11. Τοῖς δὲ πατρίοις καὶ παλαιοῖς ἔθεσι καὶ νόμοις ἐμφαίνεται μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τούτων ἀλήθεια. τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν νηπίοις ἀποθανοῦσιν οὔτε χοὰς ἐπιφέρουσιν οὔτ' ἄλλα δρῶσι περὶ αὐτὰ² οἷα εἰκὸς ὑπὲρ θανόντων ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους³. οὐ γὰρ μέτεστι γῆς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ⁴ τῶν περὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς· οὐδ' αὐτοῦ⁵ περὶ ταφὰς καὶ μνήματα καὶ προθέσεις νεκρῶν φιλοχωροῦσι καὶ παρακάθηνται τοῖς σώμασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐῶσιν οἱ νόμοι⁶ τοὺς τηλικούτους, ὡς οὐχ ὄσιον εἰς βελτίονα καὶ θειοτέραν μοῖραν ἅμα καὶ χώραν⁷ μεθεστηκότας . . .⁸ ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ⁹ ἀπιστεῖν χαλεπώτερόν ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἢ τὸ πιστεύειν, τὰ μὲν

B ἐκτὸς οὕτως ὡς οἱ νόμοι προστάσσουσιν ἔχωμεν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀμίαντα καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ σῶφρονα.¹⁰

¹ πρὶν Reiske : πλήν.

² αὐτὰ] αὐτοὺς v n.

³ Wilamowitz would omit τοὺς ἄλλους.

⁴ οὐδὲ Stegmann : οὔτε.

⁵ αὐτοῦ] αὐ Wilamowitz.

⁶ νόμοι] νόμοι περὶ Wilamowitz.

⁷ Folio 39^r of L begins with χώραν. Hardly a word is distinctly legible.

⁸ There is here a lacuna of 40 letters in α, 16 in ν (in ν the lacuna includes the ε̄ of ἐπεῖ). In L we can make out χώραν and after an interval of some 85 letters οἱ νόμοι. The lacuna would thus correspond to some 6 letters in L. Tentative

CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE, 611-612

Soon as they may to pass through Hades' gates ^a

before much love of the business of our life here has been engendered in them, and before they have been adapted to the body by becoming softened and fused with it as by reagents.

11. It is rather in our ancestral and ancient usages and laws that the truth of these matters is to be seen ; for our people do not bring libations to those of their children who die in infancy, nor do they observe in their case any of the other rites that the living are expected to perform for the dead, as such children have no part in earth or earthly things ; nor yet do they tarry where the burial is celebrated, at the graves, or at the laying out of the dead, and sit by the bodies. For the laws forbid us to mourn for infants, holding it impiety to mourn for those who have departed to a dispensation and a region too ^b that is better and more divine.^c And since this is harder to disbelieve than to believe, let us keep our outward conduct as the laws command, and keep ourselves within yet freer from pollution and purer and more temperate.^d

^a Theognis, 427.

^b Cf. Plato, *Laws*, 904 c-d, where the region tenanted by a soul is associated with the lot it obtains.

^c The text in one ms. is illegible here ; in the rest there is a lacuna. The supplement and translation are uncertain.

^d Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* i. 45 (108 f.).

supplements are : *πενθεῖν* nos ; *καὶ οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μὲν, ὅτι ταῦτα πολλὰς ἔχει ἀπορίας* Wytttenbach. ⁹ τὸ] omitted in v.

¹⁰ *σώφρονα]* *σωφρονοῦντα φυλάττωμεν* + L (?) ; *σώφρονα διαφυλάττωμεν* Wytttenbach.

INDEX

- ACADEMY, the, 27, 191, 543, 545, 555 : the school of philosophy founded by Plato at Athens
- Accidents, goddess of, 137
- Acheloüs, 539 : a river in Aetolia
- Achilles, 101, 129, 137 : one of the Greek commanders at Troy
- Adonis, gardens of, 253
- Adrasteia, 279, 311, 323, 351 : supervisor of punishments after death
- Aenos, 137 : a town in Thrace
- Aeolus, 545 : ruler of the winds
- Aeschylus, 553, 569 ; quoted, 543 : Athenian tragic poet ; 525-456 B.C.
- Aesop, 231, 233, 591 : a writer of fables of the 6th century B.C.
- Agamemnon, 133 : commander-in-chief of the Greeks in the Trojan War
- Agathocles, 145, 235 : ruler of Syracuse 318-289 B.C.
- Agathon, 31 : an Athenian tragic poet ; a speaker in Plato's *Symposium*
- Agesilaüs, 73, 79, 151, 389, 391, 395 : king of Sparta 398-360 B.C.
- Agetoridas, 395 : a Spartan
- Agoraeus, 459 : an epithet of Zeus
- Agrigentines, 209
- Ajax, 237 : son of Oileus ; one of the Greeks at Troy.
- Ajax, 545 : son of Telamon ; one of the Greeks at Troy
- Alcaeus, 17 : lyric poet ; 7th to 6th cent. B.C.
- Alcibiades, 205, 411 : Athenian general and statesman, *circa* 451-404 B.C.
- Alcinoüs, 545 : king of the Phaeacians
- Alcmaeon, 539 : son of Eriphylê, whom he slew
- Alcman, 521, 523 : choral poet of the 2nd half of the 7th century B.C.
- Alcmena, 389, 391, 395 : mother of Heracles
- Aleüs, 391 : see p. 319, note c
- Alexander, 57, 61, 103, 105, 135, 151, 233, 545, 557 : the Great, king of Macedon ; 356-323 B.C.
- Alexander, quoted, 523 : of Aetolia, tragic poet ; 3rd century B.C.
- Alexandria, 535 : a city in Egypt founded by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.
- Alexinus, 87 : a sophist of the late 4th century B.C.
- Amphilochus, oracle of, 271
- Amphion, 385 : a hill near the Cadmeia in Thebes
- Amphitheüs, 389, 441, 487, 505, 507 : a Theban
- Amphitryon, 397 : mythical Greek hero
- Anactorium, 207 : a city on the Ambracian Gulf
- Anaxagoras, 571 : a philosopher ; 5th century B.C.
- Andocides, house of, 405
- Androcleidas, 495 : a Theban
- Androcottus, 135 : a king of India, late 4th to early 3rd cent. B.C. ; also known as Sandracottus or Chandragupta
- Androtion, 557 : Athenian author and public figure ; 4th century B.C.
- Antigonus, 63, 77, 151, 267 :

INDEX

- Gonatas, or the Second; king of Macedonia 283-240 B.C.
- Antiochus, 561: the Great, king of the Seleucid Empire; 241-187 B.C.
- Antipater, 19, 69: a Macedonian general; 397-319 B.C.
- Antipater, 555: of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher; 2nd century B.C.
- Antipater, 57, 249: son of Cassander; murdered by Demetrius Poliorcetes
- Antiphon, 411: father of Pyrilampes; 5th century B.C.
- Antisthenes, 87, 567: a follower of Socrates; *circa* 455-360 B.C.
- Aphroditê, 221
- Apollo, 183, 235, 289, 569
- Apollocrates, 249: son of Dionysius the Elder (*sic*) of Syracuse
- Apollodorus, 221, 229: tyrant of Cassandrea *circa* 279-276 B.C.
- Apollonia, 207: a town in Illyria founded by Periander
- Arabs, 97
- Arcadia, 125
- Arcadians, 185
- Arcesus, 441, 509: a Spartan commander during the occupation of Thebes; 4th century B.C.
- Archedamus, 375, 379, 385, 491, 493, 497: an Athenian friendly to Thebes; 4th century B.C.
- Archedemus, 555: a Stoic philosopher
- Archelaüs, 63, 553: king of Macedonia 413-399 B.C.
- Archias, 377, 379, 381, 385, 387, 441, 449, 487, 489, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501, 505: a Theban
- Archias, 499: an Athenian hierophant; 4th century B.C.
- Archidamus, 81: king of Sparta 360-338 B.C.
- Archilochus, 255, 549: iambic poet; 7th century B.C.
- Archinus, 377: an Athenian statesman; early 4th century B.C.
- Archytas, 199: a Pythagorean philosopher; 4th century B.C.
- Arcturus, 529
- Areas, 421: a Pythagorean philosopher
- Argive, 81, 213, 529
- Argos, 565
- Aridaeus, 277: of Soli; central figure in the myth of the *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*
- Aristion, 241: tyrant of Athens 88 B.C.
- Aristippus, 11: of Cyrenê; a follower of Socrates and founder of the Cyrenaic school
- Aristocrates, 185: king of the Arcadians at the time of the Second Messenian War, 7th century B.C.
- Ariston, 555: of Ceos, a Peripatetic philosopher; 3rd century B.C.
- Ariston, 527: of Chios, a Stoic philosopher; 3rd century B.C.
- Ariston, 213: of Oeta, a captain of mercenaries in the Third Sacred War; 4th century B.C.
- Aristophon, 559: Athenian politician of the 4th century B.C.
- Aristotle, 29, 151, 545, 551, 555; quoted, 337: the philosopher; 384-322 B.C.
- Artemisium, 205: a promontory on the north-west coast of Euboea, scene of a sea-battle between Greeks and Persians in 480 B.C.
- Asclepius, 211: the god of healing
- Asia, 69, 553
- Assos, 555: a town in the Troad
- Athamas, 227: a mythical hero, son of Aeolus and husband of Ino
- Athena, 137, 237, 405, 507
- Athenê Polias, 77
- Athenian, 411, 529, 553, 555
- Athenians, 59, 69, 129, 133, 249, 339, 375, 403, 531, 535, 557
- Athens, 19, 31, 77, 131, 137, 139, 185, 205, 211, 241, 245, 247, 407, 411, 413, 423, 477, 499, 503, 533, 551, 555, 557, 567, 571, 581
- Atropos, 315, 469: one of the three Fates
- Attica, 553
- Augeas, 267: a mythical king of Elis, whose stables Heracles cleansed
- Aulia, 233: an unidentified place in or near Delphi

INDEX

- Autolyclus, 211: the maternal grandfather of Odysseus
- BABYLON, 551, 555
- Bacchic, 285, 587
- Bacchylides, 557: lyric poet of the 5th century B.C.
- Bacchylidas, 417: a Theban
- Barsinê, 57: a Persian who bore to Alexander a son named Heracles
- Bellerophon, 53: a mythical hero, son of Glaucus, king of Corinth
- Berecynthian land, 543: in Phrygia
- Bessus the Paeonian, 213, 215
- Bias, 185: of Priênê, one of the Seven Wise Men; 6th century B.C.
- Bion, 63, 85, 259: the Borysthenite, a popular philosopher noted for his pungent sayings; 3rd century B.C.
- Bocchoris, 53: Bekneranef, king of Egypt *circa* 718-712 B.C.
- Boeotarchs, 123
- Boeotia, 239
- Boeotian, 507
- Boeotians, 375, 383
- Borborus, 545: a river near Pella
- Branchidae, 233: seat of an oracle of Apollo, near Miletus; also called Didyma
- Brasidas, 181: a Spartan commander in the Peloponnesian War; he was killed in 422 B.C.
- Brutus, M. Junius, 55: the tyrannicide; 85-42 B.C.
- Byzantine, 19
- Byzantium, 133, 223
- CABIRICHUS, 501, 503: a Theban
- Cadmeia, 377, 379, 385, 393, 443, 509: citadel of Thebes
- Cairn of the Boar, 185
- Callias, 31: a wealthy Athenian; *circa* 450-370 B.C.
- Callicles, 69: a moneylender
- Callimachus, 541: of Cyrenê, Alexandrian poet and scholar; *circa* 310-240 B.C.
- Callippus, 57, 213: an Athenian who followed Dion to Syracuse, assassinated him, and became ruler of Syracuse for a short time
- Callistratus, 503: a prominent Athenian statesman; 4th century B.C.
- Callondes, 255: slayer of Archilochus
- Camillus, M. Furius, 557: conqueror of Veii and saviour of Rome after the battle of the Allia; 4th century B.C.
- Camon, 117: father of Phrynus
- Caphisias, 373, 377, 381, 395, 423, 435, 439, 445, 485: brother of Epameinondas; principal speaker in Plutarch's dialogue *De Genio Socratis*
- Capitol, the, 125: at Rome
- Capri, 539
- Caria, 397
- Carthaginian, 561
- Carthaginians, 203, 207
- Cassander, 57, 207, 249: son of Antipater and ruler of Macedonia 317-297 B.C.
- Catiline (L. Sergius Catilina), 125: led an unsuccessful revolution at Rome, 63-62 B.C.
- Cato, M. Porcius, 49, 147: the Elder; *circa* 234-149 B.C.
- Cato, M. Porcius, 77, 79: the Younger; 95-46 B.C.
- Catulus, Q. Lutatius, 77, 79: a Roman magistrate, consul 78 B.C.
- Cebes, 407, 461: a follower of Socrates
- Cecrops, 203: mythical king of Athens
- Ceos, 555: an island in the Aegean
- Cephisodorus, 493, 497, 503, 505: a Theban
- Cephisus, 533: name of the river which flows past Chaeroneia and of the most considerable stream in Attica
- Cerameicus, 65: a district in Athens
- Ceraunian mountains, 529: in Epeirus
- Chaeroneia, 459: a town in Boeotia, birthplace of Plutarch
- Charillus, 101: an early king of Sparta, nephew of Lycurgus

INDEX

- Charillus, 407 : a Theban flute-player
- Charon, 589 : a child of Plutarch
- Charon, 381, 439, 443, 449, 489, 491, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501 : a Theban
- Charybdis, 153
- Chersonese, 133, 203 : the Gallipoli peninsula
- Chios, 545 : an island in the Aegean
- Chlidon, 445, 447, 489 : a Theban
- Choaspes, 533 : a river at Susa
- Chonuphis, 395, 397 : a priest in Memphis
- Chrysippus, 555 : of Soli, a Stoic philosopher ; 280-206 B.C.
- Cicero, M. Tullius, 125, 131, 559 : Roman orator, statesman, philosopher ; 106-43 B.C.
- Cilicians, 271
- Simon, 205, 241 : Athenian commander, son of Miltiades ; died 449 B.C.
- Cinaros, 537 : an island in the Aegean
- Cithaeron, 381, 487 : a mountain range between Attica and Boeotia
- Citium, 555 : a city in Cyprus
- Clazomenae, 475 : a city on the western coast of Asia Minor
- Cleanthes, 555 : of Assos, a Stoic philosopher ; 331-232 B.C.
- Cleisthenes, 209 : tyrant of Sicily *circa* 600-570 B.C.
- Cleonaean, 209
- Cleonicè, 223 : a young woman of Byzantium killed by Pausanias *circa* 478 B.C.
- Clodius, 559 : P. Clodius Pulcher, bitter enemy of Cicero
- Clotho, 315, 469 : one of the three Fates
- Clymenè, 585 : mother of Phaëthon
- Clytemnestra, 221 : wife of Agamemnon
- Cnidus, 399 : a city in Caria
- Codrus, 543, 567 : an early king of Athens
- Collytus, 531 : a district in Attica
- Conon, 377 : an Athenian general ; died 392 B.C.
- Copreus, 209 : father of Periphetes
- Corax, 255 : also called Callondes
- Corcyreans, 235
- Corinth, 509, 533, 551, 571
- Corinthian, 529
- Corinthians, 531
- Cos, 153 : an island in the Aegean
- Cosmian, 529
- Cotys, 137 : a king of Thrace, murdered by Python 358 B.C.
- Craneion, 531 : a suburb of Corinth
- Crates, 157 : of Thebes, a Cynic philosopher ; 3rd century B.C.
- Creon, 57 : king of Corinth in Euripides' *Medea*
- Cretan, 255
- Critolaüs, 555 : a Peripatetic philosopher ; *circa* 240-157 B.C.
- Croesus, 233 : king of Lydia ; 6th century B.C.
- Cromnon, 81 : a town in Arcadia
- Cronus, 203 : a Titan, father of Zeus
- Croton, 419 : a city in southern Italy
- Cyclades, 543 : a cluster of islands in the Aegean
- Cyclopes, 543
- Cyclops, 153
- Cylon, 419, 421 : of Croton, opponent of the Pythagoreans ; 5th century B.C.
- Cynic, 63, 533, 535
- Cynics, 65
- Cyrus, 103, 151 : the Great, founder of the Persian Empire ; killed in 529 B.C.
- Cyzicus, 71, 399 : a city on the Propontis
- DAIPHANTUS, 241 : a national hero of the Phocians
- Damocleidas, 487, 497 : a Theban
- Danaan, 565
- Dascyles, 523 : a Lydian, father of Gyges ; 7th century B.C.
- Deliens, 397
- Delion, 411 : in Boeotia, scene of an engagement in the Peloponnesian War, 424 B.C.
- Delos, 339, 397 : an island in the Aegean
- Delphi, 211, 289, 551

INDEX

- Delphian, 233
 Delphians, 245
 Demades, 19, 23 : Athenian orator; *circa* 385–318 B.C.
 Demeter, 443
 Demetrius, 57, 267 : called Poliorcetes; 336–283 B.C.
 Demetrius, 535 : of Phalerum, a Peripatetic; he governed Athens for the Macedonians, 317–307 B.C., and was later a librarian at Alexandria
 Demosthenes, 23, 59, 61, 65, 131, 167; quoted, 139, 563 : Athenian orator; 385–322 B.C.
 Dicaearchia, 291 : the Roman Puteoli, modern Pozzuoli
 Dikê, 279, 281 : Justice, one of the ministers of Adrasteia
 Diogeiton, 493 : a Theban, father of Cephisodorus
 Diogenes, 555 : of Babylon, a Stoic philosopher; *circa* 240–152 B.C.
 Diogenes, 25, 35, 65, 535, 551, 557, 561 : of Sinopê, the celebrated Cynic philosopher; *circa* 400–325 B.C.
 Diomede (Tydeus' son), 125 : one of the Greek commanders at Troy
 Diomeia, 531 : a district of Attica
 Dion, 57, 213 : of Syracuse, friend and pupil of Plato; *circa* 408–353 B.C.
 Dionysia, the, 33, 545, 551
 Dionysiac rites, 601
 Dionysius, 135, 207, 249 : the Elder, tyrant of Syracuse 405–367 B.C.
 Dionysius, 71 : the Younger, tyrant of Syracuse *circa* 367–357, 347–343 B.C.
 Dionysus, 285, 561, 567, 569
 Dirce, 29, 391 : mythical queen of Thebes; also, a Theban spring
 Dulichium, 545 : an island near Ithaca

 ECHECRATES, 339 : a character in Plato's *Phaedo*
 Echinae, 545 : a group of islands off the coast of Acarnania
 Egypt, 391, 395, 397
 Egyptian, 53, 207, 391, 399
 Egyptians, 533
 Eleusinium, 567 : shrine at Eleusis
 Eleusis, 551, 567 : a city in Attica
 Elis, 545, 557
 Elloption of Peparethos, 397 : a friend of Plato
 Empedocles, 405, 569 : a philosopher of Acragas; *circa* 493–433 B.C.
 Enyeus, 545 : legendary king of Scyros
 Epameinondas, 31, 123, 133, 151, 381, 383, 399, 401, 417, 419, 425, 427, 429, 431, 435, 437, 449, 477, 485, 507 : a great Theban general; *circa* 420–362 B.C.
 Epeirus, 557
 Epeius, 143 : one of the Greeks at Troy; fashioner of the Wooden Horse
 Ephialtes, 539 : one of the Aloadae, who tried to climb to Heaven
 Epicharmus, 245; quoted, 75 : a comic poet of Megara in Sicily; 5th century B.C.
 Epicureans, 65
 Epicurus, 181
 Epicycles, 229 : father of Glaucus, a Spartan
 Eresus, 555 : a town on Lesbos
 Eriantes, 443 : a Theban
 Erinyes, 549 : the Furies
 Erinys, 279 : a Fury
 Eriphylê, 213 : wife of the mythical hero Amphiaraius
 Ethiopia, 245, 533
 Ethiopians, 97
 Euboeans, 133
 Eudoxus, 399 : of Cnidus, a member of Plato's Academy; 4th century B.C.
 Euergetes, 141 : a royal title
 Euhius, 569 : an epithet of Dionysus
 Eumenides, 539 : the Furies
 Eumolpidas, 385 : a Theban
 Eumolpus, 567 : mythical founder of the Eleusinian Mysteries
 Euphorion, 553 : father of Aeschylus

INDEX

- Euphorian, quoted, 237 : Alexandrian poet ; 3rd century B.C.
- Euripides, 25, 53, 63, 69, 115, 183, 185, 189, 231, 413, 551, 559, 563 ; quoted, 29, 57, 73, 147, 187, 227, 521, 529, 535, 537, 565, 567, 585, 587, 593 : Athenian tragic poet ; *circa* 485-406 B.C.
- Europa, 567 : in mythology, a Phoenician, sister of Cadmus, abducted by Zeus
- Eurotas, 533 : a river in Laconia
- Eurymedons, 205 : Eurymedon is a river of Pamphylia where Cimon won a victory over the Persians *circa* 466 B.C.
- Euthyphron, 405, 407 : an Athenian soothsayer, a character in Plato's *Euthyphro*
- FATE, 311-359**
- GALATIAN mules, 11**
- Galaxidorus, 385, 401, 403, 407, 409, 413, 449, 485 : a Theban
- Gela, 553 : a city in Sicily
- Gelon, 135, 203 ; tyrant of Gela and of Syracuse ; *circa* 540-478 B.C.
- Germanicus Caesar, 97 : nephew of Tiberius ; 15 B.C.-A.D. 19
- Getae, 225
- Glauco, son of Epicycles, 229 : a Spartan
- Glycon, 555 : also known as Lyccon ; a Peripatetic philosopher ; 3rd century B.C.
- Gorgias, 421 : of Leontini, a Sophist ; 5th century B.C.
- Gorgidas, 379, 393, 485, 507 : a Theban
- Great King, the, 151, 535
- Greece, 421, 529, 553
- Greek, 207, 239, 269, 399, 529
- Greeks, 205, 207, 233, 241, 397, 399, 557, 561, 567
- Gyaros, 537 : an island in the Aegean
- Gyges, 523 : king of Lydia ; 7th century B.C.
- HAIRES, 467, 469, 605**
- Haliartus, 387, 391, 395 : a city of Boeotia
- Halicarnassus, 553 : a city on the west coast of Asia Minor
- Hannibal, 561, 563 : a great Carthaginian general ; 247-183 B.C.
- Harpalus, 59 : a Macedonian of the 4th century B.C.
- Helenus, 481 : a son of Priam
- Helicon, 71, 399 : of Cyzicus, a friend of Plato
- Hellenic Muses, 523
- Hera, 237
- Heraclia, 223 : a city on the Black Sea
- Heraclidae, 241
- Heraclitus, 247, 549 : Ionian philosopher ; 6th century B.C.
- Heracles, 81, 87, 135, 235, 241, 255, 397, 445, 509, 529, 567 : mythical hero
- Heracles, 57 : son of Alexander the Great
- Heraclid, 81 : a descendant of Heracles
- Herculanus, 115 : a friend of Plutarch
- Herippidas, 441, 509 : a Spartan commander in Thebes ; 4th century B.C.
- Hermionë, 59 : a city in the Peloponnese
- Hermodorus of Clazomenae, 475
- Herodotus of Selymbria, 217
- Herodotus, 553, 569 : of Halicarnassus, distinguished historian of the 5th century B.C.
- Hesiod, 29, 57, 71, 215, 263, 481 ; quoted, 31, 183 : of Ascræ in Boeotia ; a didactic poet ; 8th century B.C.
- Hieron, 203 : brother of Gelon ; tyrant of Gela and Syracuse ; 5th century B.C.
- Hipparchus, 221 : son of Peisistratus, murdered by Harmodius and Aristogeiton 514 B.C.
- Hippocrates, 203 : father of Peisistratus
- Hippomachus, 7 : a trainer ; 4th century B.C.
- Hipponax, 9 : of Ephesus, an iambic poet ; 6th century B.C.
- Hippotheneidas, 439, 443, 445, 447, 449, 489, 509 : a Theban
- Hismenias, 379 : a Theban executed by the Spartans

INDEX

- Hismenias, 31 : a wealthy Theban ; 4th century B.C.
 Hismenodorus, 417 : a Theban
 Hismenus, 401, 565 : a river at Thebes
 Homer, 53, 101, 125, 127, 153, 209, 253, 405, 479, 527, 545, 553, 599 ; quoted, 129, 137, 141, 143, 145, 151, 423, 481, 543, 549, 581-583
 Hyampeia, 233 : a place of punishment at Delphi
 Hypates, 497, 505 : a Theban
 Hypatodorus, 443 : a Theban
 Hypereia, 543 : original home of the Phaeacians
 Hyria, 539 : a town in Boeotia

 IDMON, 233 : a descendant of Aesop's purchasers
 Incomparables, 509 : a military unit stationed at Thebes
 Ino, 227 : wife of Athamas
 Ionic cadences, 117
 Iphitus, 211 : a Phocian ; see p. 211, note *g*
 Isis, 53
 Ismenias, see Hismenias
 Ismenodorus, see Hismenodorus
 Ismenus, see Hismenus
 Isthmian games, 551
 Italy, 257, 401, 419, 421, 435
 Ithacans, 235

 JASON, 425 : tyrant of Pherae *circa* 380-370 B.C.
 Jocasta, 559, 563 : mother of Polyneices

 LACEDAEMON, 193, 223
 Lacedaemonians, 151, 379, 391
 Lachares, 241 : Athenian general, friend of Cassander
 Laches, 411 : of Athens, a character in Plato's *Laches*
 Lachesis, 311, 313, 315, 469 : one of the three Fates
 Laconia, 123
 Laconians, 531
 Laconic speech, 151
 Lamprocles, 459 : son of Socrates
 Lampsacus, 555 : a city on the Hellespont
 Lasus, 59 : of Hermionê, poet and musician of the late 6th century B.C.
 Laws, the, 351 : a dialogue of Plato
 Lemnos, 545, 571 : an island in the Aegean
 Leobotes, 559 : indicted Themistocles
 Leontiades, 377, 379, 387, 389, 393, 395, 497, 503, 505 : a Theban
 Leontini, 421 : a city of Sicily
 Leosthenes, 157 : Athenian general and captain of mercenaries ; died 322 B.C.
 Lesbos, 239, 545 : an island in the Aegean
 Lethe, 287
 Leucadian Hera, 235
 Leucas, 207 : off the coast of Acarnania
 Libyans, 211
 Locrians, 137, 237
 Lucania, 421 : a district in southern Italy
 Lyceum, 27, 555 : the school of philosophy founded by Aristotle at Athens
 Lyciscus, 185 : betrayer of the Orchomenians
 Lycon, see Glycon
 Lycormae, 241 : a family claiming descent from Heracles
 Lycurgus, 131 : Athenian statesman ; 4th century B.C.
 Lycurgus, 101 : reputed author of the Spartan constitution
 Lydiadas, 203 : tyrant of Megalopolis ; 3rd century B.C.
 Lysander, 73 : Spartan general and statesman ; died 395 B.C.
 Lysanoridas, 379, 385, 391, 487, 509 : a Spartan commander in Thebes ; 4th century B.C.
 Lysimachê, 77 : priestess of Athenê Polias
 Lysimachus, 225, 561 : one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great ; slain in battle 281 B.C.
 Lysis, 395, 401, 421, 423, 427, 435, 437 : a Pythagorean, teacher of Epameinondas
 Lysitheides, 377 : nephew of Thrasybulus
 Lysitheüs, 501 : a Theban

INDEX

- MACEDON, 19**
 Macedonia, 553
 Macedonian, 71
 Macedonians, 63, 545
 Marathons, 205 : Marathon was the scene of a Greek victory over the Persians, 490 B.C.
 Marius, C., 209 : Roman general and statesman ; 157-86 B.C.
 Medea, 57 : daughter of Aëtes, wife of Jason
 Media, 551
 Megalopolis, 203 : a city in Arcadia
 Megara, 87, 557
 Megarian, 25, 409
 Melanthius, 197 : a tragic poet
 Melanthus, 567 : father of Codrus
 Meletus, 403 : one of Socrates' accusers
 Melissus, 417 : a Theban flute-player
 Melitê, 531 : a district in Attica
 Melon, 379, 445, 497, 501 : a Theban
 Memphis, 395
 Menander, 15, 61, 165, 167 ; quoted, 17, 519 : Athenian poet of the New Comedy ; 342-291 B.C.
 Menecleidas, 133 : opponent of Epameinondas
 Menedemus, 87 : a philosopher of the 4th century B.C.
 Menelaüs, 33 : husband of Helen, brother of Agamemnon
 Messenê, 123 : a city in the Peloponnese
 Messenê, 567 : a district in the Peloponnese, also called Messenia
 Messenians, 185
 Metageitnia, the, 531 : an Athenian festival
 Metageitnion, 531 : an Athenian month
 Metapontum, 419 : a city in southern Italy
 Metellus, 131 : Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos, opponent of Cicero ; consul 57 B.C.
 Milesian mantle, 423
 Miletus, 117, 235 : a city on the west coast of Asia Minor
 Miltiades, 203 : Athenian general and statesman ; *circa* 550-489 B.C.
 Minos, 191, 543 : son of Zeus and Europa, king of Crete
 Mitys the Argive, 213
 Mother of the Gods, 567
 Muses, 157, 255, 397, 399, 459, 523, 557
 Mycenaean, 565
 Myron, 209 : tyrant of Sicily ; 7th century B.C.
 Mysteries at Eleusis, 551

NAUSITHOÛS, 543 : king of the Phaeacians
 Naxian, 255
 Naxos, 539 : an island in the Aegean
 Necessity, mother of Adrasteia, 279 ; mother of the Fates, 469 ; mother of Lachesis, 311, 313
 Neileus, 543 : son of Codrus and founder of Miletus
 Neleus, 267 : father of Nestor
 Neoptolemus, 493 : son of Achilles
 Nero, 297 : emperor of Rome A.D. 54-68
 Nestor, 33, 147, 151, 267 : king of Pylos in the Homeric poems
 Nicander, 299 : of Colophon, a didactic poet ; 2nd century B.C.
 Nicias, 423 : Athenian general ; died at Syracuse 413 B.C.
 Nicostratus, 81 : Argive general ; middle of the 4th century B.C.
 Nysaeus, 249 : son of Dionysius the Elder of Syracuse

ODEUM, 555 : a roofed theatre in Athens
 Odysseus, 101, 145, 153, 211, 235, 405, 545 : a leader of the Greeks at Troy
 Oeta, 213 : a mountain in Thessaly
 Olympian, 35 : epithet of Zeus
 Olympichus, 187, 251, 259, 269 : a friend of Plutarch and a speaker in his dialogue *De Sera Numinis Vindicta*
 Olynthus, 379 : a city of Chalcidicê
 Opheltas, 241 : a king who mi-

INDEX

- grated with his people from Thessaly to Boeotia
- Orchomenians, 185
- Orion, 539: a great hunter, placed among the stars after his death
- Oropus, 411: a town on the frontier between Attica and Boeotia
- Orpheus, 237, 289: a Thracian singer who descended to the Underworld in search of his wife Eurydicê; he was later torn to pieces by Thracian women
- Orthagoras, 209: tyrant of Sicily; 7th century B.C.
- Otus, 539: one of the Aloadae, who tried to climb to Heaven
- PAEONIAN, 213
- Palladium, 555: a building in Athens
- Parnassus, 291, 533: a mountain near Delphi
- Parnes, 413: a mountain in Attica
- Parthenon, 567: temple of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens
- Parthians, 555
- Passage of Souls, 257
- Passage of the Dead, 223
- Patrocleas, 181, 183, 187, 207, 213, 255: Plutarch's son-in-law
- Patroclus, 127, 147, 161: friend and companion of Achilles
- Pausanias, 223, 257: a Spartan general; early 5th century B.C.
- Pegasus, 53: a winged horse
- Peisistratus, 203, 221: tyrant of Athens, 6th century B.C.
- Pella, 545: capital of Macedonia
- Pelopidas, 123, 379, 385, 487, 491, 493, 497, 503, 505: Theban statesman and general; *circa* 410-364 B.C.
- Peloponnese, 557
- Peloponnesians, 557
- Peparethos, 397: an island in the Aegean
- Periander, 207: ruler of Corinth *circa* 625-585 B.C.
- Pericles, 61, 123, 139, 211, 245: Athenian statesman; *circa* 495-429 B.C.
- Peripatetic school, 555
- Persaeus, 71: a Stoic philosopher; 3rd century B.C.
- Persephonê, 467: queen of the Underworld
- Persia, 279
- Persian, 97, 533, 541, 551
- Persians, 151
- Phaedo, 339: a follower of Socrates; the name of a dialogue of Plato
- Phaedrus*, 311: a dialogue of Plato
- Phaëthon, 237, 571: son of Helios and Clymenê; killed while attempting to drive his father's chariot
- Phalaris, 209: tyrant of Acragas; 6th century B.C.
- Phalerum, 535: a town near Athens
- Phaselis, 555: a district on the southern coast of Asia Minor
- Pheidolaüs of Haliartus, 387, 389, 393, 395, 413, 449, 459
- Pheneates, the, 235
- Pheneis, 235: a city in Arcadia
- Pherenicus, 381, 385: a Theban
- Philadelphus, 141: a royal title
- Philip, 539, 545, 551, 561: king of Macedon 359-336 B.C.
- Philip, 249: son of Cassander
- Philippus, 487, 489, 495, 499, 501, 505: a Theban
- Philistus, 557: of Syracuse, an historian; died 356 B.C.
- Philolaüs, 421: a Pythagorean philosopher; 5th century B.C.
- Philometor, 141: a royal title
- Philoxenus, 61: Alexander the Great's admiral
- Phlegyas, 211: the maternal grandfather of Asclepius
- Phocians, 211
- Phocion, 19, 69, 127, 157: an Athenian general and statesman; 4th century B.C.
- Phocis, 241: a district in north central Greece
- Phoebidas, 377, 379: a Spartan commander; 4th century B.C.
- Phoenician, 567
- Phrygian, 553, 567
- Phrynis, 117: a musician

INDEX

- Phyleus, 267 : son of Augeas
 Phyllidas, 385, 387, 439, 441, 449, 487, 497, 499, 501, 505 : a Theban
 Pindar, 87, 115, 191, 239, 263, 375, 541 ; quoted, 553
 Piso, 311 : the person to whom the *De Fato* is addressed
 Pitanê, 531 : a place in Laconia
 Plato, 71, 79, 193, 195, 199, 215, 217, 311, 351, 397, 399, 529, 543, 571 ; quoted, 313, 315, 317, 323, 339, 345, 347, 349, 351 : Athenian philosopher ; *circa* 427-347 B.C.
 Platon, 393 : a Theban hipparch
 Platonists, 337
 Pleiades, 529 : a constellation
 Pleisthenid, 221 : see p. 221, note *b*
 Plutarch, 581
 Po, 237 : a river in northern Italy
 Poinê, 279 : one of the ministers of Adrasteia
 Polemon, 545 : a philosopher of the Academy ; died 270 B.C.
 Polymnis, 395, 399, 413, 415, 421, 435 : father of Epameinondas
 Polyneices, 521, 559, 563, 565 : son of Jocasta and Oedipus
 Polyperchon, 57, 71 : a Macedonian general ; 4th century B.C.
 Pompey the Great, 211 : Cn. Pompeius, Roman general and statesman ; 106-48 B.C.
 Pontus, 535
 Porch, the, 555 : a building in Athens, home of the Stoic school of philosophy
 Porch of Many Columns, 505 : a building in Thebes
 Priam, 481 : king of Troy
 Proteus, 397 : a sea-god, who appears also as king of Egypt
 Protogenes, 271, 273 : of Tarsus, a contemporary of Plutarch
 Ptolemy, 535 : Soter, ruler of Egypt, 322-285 B.C.
 Ptolemy Ceraunus, 221 : son of Ptolemy Soter and Eurydicê
 Pylilampes, 411 : Plato's step-father
 Pyrrhic measures, 217
 Pythagoras, 403, 405, 419 : a philosopher ; 6th century B.C.
 Pythagorean societies, 419
 Pythagoreans, 67, 401, 435, 537
 Pythia, 255 : priestess of Apollo at Delphi
 Pythian games, 209, 551
 Python of Aenos, 137
 Python of Thisbê, 269
 QUIETUS, 181 : a friend of Plutarch
 REPUBLIC, the, 311, 313, 315 : a work of Plato
 Rhodian, 529
 Rhodians, 19
 Roman people, 211
 Romans, 125, 193, 209
 Rome, 211, 537, 557
 SAMIDAS, 385, 503 : a Theban
 Samos, 233 : an island in the Aegean
 Sardians, 525
 Sardis, 233, 523, 531, 571 : a city of Asia Minor
 Satilaei, 241 : a family claiming descent from Heracles
 Satyrus, 155 : a comic actor ; 4th century B.C.
 Scaptê Hylê, 557 : a town in Thrace
 Scillus, 543, 557 : a district in Elis
 Scipio, 125 : P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Major, a Roman general ; 235-183 B.C.
 Scopas the Thessalian, 33
 Scyros, 545, 571 : an island in the Aegean
 Scythians, 221
 Seleucus, 223 : one of the successors of Alexander ; died 280 B.C.
 Selymbria, 217 : a city on the Propontis
 Semelê, 287, 561 : mother of Dionysus
 Seriphos, 535 : an island in the Aegean
 Sibyl, 291 : a prophetess
 Siceliots, 203
 Sicily, 135, 145, 207, 411, 421, 541, 553
 Sicyonians, 209
 Simmias, 379, 387, 391, 393, 395,

INDEX

- 399, 401, 403, 405, 413, 417, 435, 437, 449, 451, 459, 479, 485 : a Theban, follower of Socrates
- Simonides, 79, 227, 539, 553 : of Ceos, lyric poet ; *circa* 556-468 B.C.
- Sinopians, 535
- Sisyphus, 211 : son of Aeolus ; see p. 210, note *a*
- Slime (Borborus), 545 : a river near Pella
- Socrates, 31, 35, 103, 197, 339, 351, 373, 403, 405, 407, 409, 411, 413, 415, 449, 451, 457, 459, 461, 477, 529, 571 : Athenian philosopher ; 468-399 B.C.
- Soli, 269, 555 : a city of Cilicia
- Solon, 15, 193 : Athenian legislator and poet ; *circa* 638-558 B.C.
- Sophocles, 17, 55 ; quoted, 127 : Athenian tragic poet ; 495-406 B.C.
- Sown Men, 269
- Sparta, 101, 239, 387, 389, 509, 523, 537
- Spartan, 81, 133, 149, 385, 395, 441, 509
- Spartans, 257
- Spintharus of Tarentum, 477
- Stageira, 555 : a city of Chalcidicê
- Stesichorus, 221 : a lyric poet ; 6th century B.C.
- Sthenelus, 125 : one of the Greek commanders at Troy
- Stilpon, 87 : of Megara, philosopher of the 4th century B.C.
- Stoic, 357, 555
- Stoics, 51, 65
- Strabo, Cn. Pompeius, 211 : father of Pompey the Great
- Straton, 555 : a Peripatetic philosopher ; 4th to 3rd century B.C.
- Stratonicus, 19, 535 : an Athenian *citharoedus* and wit of the 4th century B.C.
- Styx, 467, 469 : a river of the Underworld
- Sulla, 137 : a Roman general and statesman ; 138-78 B.C.
- Sunium, 529 : a promontory in Attica
- Susa, 551 : capital of the Persian empire
- Sybarites, 235, 245
- Symbolon, 405 : possibly a city square in Athens
- Syracusans, 249
- Syracuse, 137, 235 : a city in Sicily
- TAENARUS, 255, 529 : a peninsula on the southern shore of the Peloponnese
- Tanagra, 581 : a city of Boeotia
- Tantalus, 543, 571 : mythical king of Sipylus in Lydia ; condemned to eternal punishment
- Tarentum, 477 : a city in southern Italy
- Tarsus, 555 : a city in Cilicia
- Tartarus, 475 : place of punishment in the Underworld
- Tauromenium, 557 : a city in Sicily
- Taygetus, 533 : a mountain in Laconia
- Telemachus, 33 : son of Odysseus
- Telesphorus, 561 : a victim of King Lysimachus
- Teletias, 209 : a victor in the Pythian games
- Terpander, 239 : a musician and poet ; 7th century B.C.
- Terpsion, 409 : a companion of Socrates
- Tettix, 255 : a Cretan, buried at Taenarus
- Thales, 393 : a philosopher ; 6th century B.C.
- Thasos, 549 : an island in the Aegean
- Theages, 351 : a companion of Socrates
- Theanor, 419, 427, 437, 485 : a Pythagorean
- Theban, 391, 529
- Thebans, 123, 133, 151
- Thebes, 31, 133, 207, 375, 377, 379, 381, 421, 441, 445, 485, 491, 499, 501, 505, 567
- Themis, 291 : goddess of prophecy and of righteousness
- Themistocles, 79, 103, 129, 205, 535, 557, 559 : Athenian statesman in the period of the Persian Wars

INDEX

- Theocritus, 381, 383, 385, 387, 389, 391, 393, 403, 405, 407, 417, 439, 443, 445, 449, 459, 477, 485, 487, 493, 503 : a Theban soothsayer
- Theocritus, 77, 545 : of Chios, historian and wit of the 4th century B.C.
- Theodorus, 155 : a tragic actor ; 4th century B.C.
- Theodorus, 561 : of Cyrenê, a philosopher of the late 4th century B.C.
- Theognis, quoted, 605 : elegiac poet ; 6th century B.C.
- Theon, 593 : a friend of Plutarch
- Theophiles, 141 : a suggested royal title
- Theophrastus, 31, 155, 555 : of Eresus, Aristotle's successor as head of the Peripatetic school
- Theopompus, 487, 501 : a Theban
- Theoxenia, 239 : a festival
- Thersites, 101 : a Greek soldier at Troy
- Theseum, 567 : temple of Theseus at Athens
- Theseus, 567 : national hero of Athens
- Thespesius, 277, 279, 285, 287, 289, 291, 293 : see Aridaeus
- Thespians, 441
- Thessalian, 33, 427
- Thessaly, 425
- Thisbê, 269 : a city in Boeotia
- Thoas, 545 : in Homer, king of Lemnos
- Thrace, 557, 567
- Thracians, 237
- Thrasionides, 17 : a character in a comedy of Menander
- Thrasylbulus, 377 : Athenian general and statesman ; died 388 B.C.
- Thucydides, 69, 85, 105, 183, 197, 245, 557 ; quoted, 123 : Athenian historian of the Peloponnesian War
- Thurii, 553 : an Athenian colony in southern Italy
- Tiberius Caesar, 539 : emperor of Rome A.D. 14-37
- Timaeus, 311, 313, 317, 345 : a dialogue of Plato ; also, the principal speaker in the dialogue
- Timaeus, 557 ; quoted, 49 : of Tauromenium, rhetorician and historian ; *circa* 356-260 B.C.
- Timarchus of Chaeroneia, 459, 461, 467, 471, 477, 479 : central figure of the myth in the *De Genio Socratis*
- Timoleon, 137, 207 : Corinthian general who campaigned in Sicily
- Timon, 189, 231 : Plutarch's brother
- Timotheüs, 117 : of Miletus, a dithyrambic poet ; 5th to 4th cent. B.C.
- Timotheüs, 377, 559 : son of Conon, prominent in Athenian affairs of the early 4th century B.C.
- Timoxena, 601 : name of Plutarch's wife and daughter
- Troad, the, 555
- Trophonius, crypt of, 461, 477 : at Lebadeia in Boeotia
- Troy, 129, 237
- Tydeus' son, 125 : Diomedes, one of the Greeks at Troy
- VESUVIUS, Mt., 291
- XENIOS, 555 : epithet of Zeus
- Xenocrates, 71, 73, 543, 545 : follower of Plato and head of the Academy 339-314 B.C.
- Xenophanes, 59 : of Colophon, a philosopher and poet ; 6th century B.C.
- Xenophon, 117, 543, 557 ; quoted, 151 : Athenian historian ; 430-359 B.C.
- ZALEUCUS, 137 : lawgiver of Italian Locri ; 7th century B.C.
- Zeno, 75, 155, 545, 555 : of Citium, founder of the Stoic school ; died *circa* 264 B.C.
- Zeus, 35, 129, 191, 235, 259, 279, 459, 525, 555, 591

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED

LATIN AUTHORS

- AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
- APULEIUS : THE GOLDEN ASS (METAMORPHOSES). W. Adlington (1566). Revised by S. Gaselee. (*7th Imp.*)
- ST. AUGUSTINE : CITY OF GOD. 7 Vols. Vol. I. G. E. McCracken.
- ST. AUGUSTINE, CONFESSIONS OF. W. Watts (1631). 2 Vols. (Vol. I *7th Imp.*, Vol. II *6th Imp.*)
- ST. AUGUSTINE : SELECT LETTERS. J. H. Baxter. (*2nd Imp.*)
- AUSONIUS. H. G. Evelyn White. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- BEDE. J. E. King. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- BOETHIUS : TRACTS AND DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE. Rev. H. F. Stewart and E. K. Rand. (*6th Imp.*)
- CAESAR : ALEXANDRIAN, AFRICAN AND SPANISH WARS. A. G. Way.
- CAESAR : CIVIL WARS. A. G. Peskett. (*6th Imp.*)
- CAESAR : GALLIC WAR. H. J. Edwards. (*11th Imp.*)
- CATO AND VARRO : DE RE RUSTICA. H. B. Ash and W. D. Hooper. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CATULLUS. F. W. Cornish ; TIBULLUS. J. B. Postgate ; and PERVIGILIUM VENERIS. J. W. Mackail. (*13th Imp.*)
- CELSUS : DE MEDICINA. W. G. Spencer. 3 Vols. (Vol. I *3rd Imp. revised*, Vols. II and III *2nd Imp.*)
- CICERO : BRUTUS AND ORATOR. G. L. Hendrickson and H. M. Hubbell. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CICERO : DE FATO ; PARADOXA STOICORUM ; DE PARTITIONE ORATORIA. H. Rackham. (With *De Oratore*, Vol. II.) (*2nd Imp.*)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- CICERO : DE FINIBUS. H. Rackham. (*4th Imp. revised.*)
- CICERO : DE INVENTIONE, etc. H. M. Hubbell.
- CICERO : DE NATURA DEORUM AND ACADEMICA. H. Rackham. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CICERO : DE OFFICIIS. Walter Miller. (*7th Imp.*)
- CICERO : DE ORATORE. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- CICERO : DE REPUBLICA, DE LEGIBUS, SOMNIUM SCIPIONIS. Clinton W. Keyes. (*4th Imp.*)
- CICERO : DE SENECTUTE, DE AMICITIA, DE DIVINATIONE. W. A. Falconer. (*6th Imp.*)
- CICERO : IN CATILINAM, PRO MURENA, PRO SULLA, PRO FLACCO. Louis E. Lord. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
- CICERO : LETTERS TO ATTICUS. E. O. Winstedt. 3 Vols. (Vol. I *7th Imp.*, Vols. II and III *4th Imp.*)
- CICERO : LETTERS TO HIS FRIENDS. W. Glynn Williams. 3 Vols. (Vols. I and II *4th Imp.*, Vol. III *2nd Imp. revised and enlarged.*)
- CICERO : PHILIPPICS. W. C. A. Ker. (*4th Imp.*)
- CICERO : PRO ARCHIA, POST REDITUM, DE DOMO, DE HARUSPICUM RESPONSIS, PRO PLANCIO. N. H. Watts. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CICERO : PRO CAECINA, PRO LEGE MANILIA, PRO CLUENTIO, PRO RABIRIO. H. Grose Hodge. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CICERO : PRO CAELIO, DE PROVINCIIS CONSULARIBUS, PRO BALBO. R. Gardner.
- CICERO : PRO MILONE, IN PISONEM, PRO SCAURO, PRO FONTEIO, PRO RABIRIO POSTUMO, PRO MARCELLO, PRO LIGARIO, PRO REGE DEIOTARO. N. H. Watts. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CICERO : PRO QUINCTIO, PRO ROSCIO AMERINO, PRO ROSCIO COMOEDO, CONTRA RULLUM. J. H. Freese. (*3rd Imp.*)
- CICERO : PRO SESTIO, IN VATINIUM. R. Gardner.
- [CICERO] : RHETORICA AD HERENNIUM. H. Caplan.
- CICERO : TUSCULAN DISPUTATIONS. J. E. King. (*4th Imp.*)
- CICERO : VERRINE ORATIONS. L. H. G. Greenwood. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II *2nd Imp.*)
- CLAUDIAN. M. Platnauer. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- COLUMELLA : DE RE RUSTICA ; DE ARBORIBUS. H. B. Ash, E. S. Forster, E. Heffner. 3 Vols. (Vol. I *2nd Imp.*)
- CURTIUS, Q. : HISTORY OF ALEXANDER. J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- FLORUS. E. S. Forster ; and CORNELIUS NEPOS. J. C. Rolfe. (2nd Imp.)
- FRONTINUS : STRATAGEMS AND AQUEDUCTS. C. E. Bennett and M. B. McElwain. (2nd Imp.)
- FRONTO : CORRESPONDENCE. C. R. Haines. 2 Vols. (3rd Imp.)
- GELLIUS. J. C. Rolfe. 3 Vols. (Vol. I 3rd Imp., Vols. II and III 2nd Imp.)
- HORACE : ODES AND EPODES. C. E. Bennett. (14th Imp. revised.)
- HORACE : SATIRES, EPISTLES, ARS POETICA. H. R. Fairclough. (9th Imp. revised.)
- JEROME : SELECT LETTERS. F. A. Wright. (2nd Imp.)
- JUVENAL AND PERSIUS. G. G. Ramsay. (8th Imp.)
- LIVY. B. O. Foster, F. G. Moore, Evan T. Sage, A. C. Schlesinger and R. M. Geer (General Index). 14 Vols. Vols. I-XIII. (Vol. I 5th Imp., Vol. V 4th Imp., Vols. II-IV, VI, VII, IX-XII 3rd Imp., Vol. VIII 2nd Imp. revised.)
- LUCAN. J. D. Duff. (4th Imp.)
- LUCRETIVS. W. H. D. Rouse. (7th Imp. revised.)
- MARTIAL. W. C. A. Ker. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 5th Imp., Vol. II 4th Imp. revised.)
- MINOR LATIN POETS : from PUBLILIUS SYRUS to RUTILIUS NAMATIANS, including GRATTIUS, CALPURNIUS SICULUS, NEMESIANUS, AVIANUS, with "Aetna," "Phoenix" and other poems. J. Wight Duff and Arnold M. Duff. (3rd Imp.)
- OVID : THE ART OF LOVE AND OTHER POEMS. J. H. Mozley. (4th Imp.)
- OVID : FASTI. Sir James G. Frazer. (2nd Imp.)
- OVID : HEROIDES AND AMORES. Grant Showerman. (7th Imp.)
- OVID : METAMORPHOSES. F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 11th Imp., Vol. II 10th Imp.)
- OVID : TRISTIA AND EX PONTO. A. L. Wheeler. (3rd Imp.)
- PETRONIUS. M. Heseltine ; SENECA : APOCOLOCYNTOSIS. W. H. D. Rouse. (9th Imp. revised.)
- PLAUTUS. Paul Nixon. 5 Vols. (Vol. I 6th Imp., Vol. II 5th Imp., Vol. III 4th Imp., Vols. IV and V 2nd Imp.)
- PLINY : LETTERS. Melmoth's translation revised by W. M. L. Hutchinson. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 7th Imp., Vol. II 6th Imp. revised.)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- PLINY: NATURAL HISTORY.** 10 Vols. Vols. I-V and IX.
 H. Rackham. Vols. VI and VII. W. H. S. Jones.
 (Vols. I-III *3rd Imp.*, Vol. IV *2nd Imp.*)
- PROPERTIUS.** H. E. Butler. (*7th Imp.*)
- PRUDENTIUS.** H. J. Thomson. 2 Vols.
- QUINTILIAN.** H. E. Butler. 4 Vols. (Vols. I and IV *4th Imp.*, Vols. II and III *3rd Imp.*)
- REMAINS OF OLD LATIN.** E. H. Warmington. 4 Vols.
 Vol. I (Ennius and Caecilius). Vol. II (Livius, Naevius,
 Pacuvius, Accius). Vol. III (Lucilius, Laws of the XII
 Tables). Vol. IV (Achaic Inscriptions). (*2nd Imp.*)
- SALLUST.** J. C. Rolfe. (*4th Imp. revised.*)
- SCRIPTORES HISTORIAE AUGUSTAE.** D. Magie. 3 Vols.
 (Vol. I *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II and III *2nd Imp. revised.*)
- SENECA: APOCOLOCYNTOSIS.** *Cf.* PETRONIUS.
- SENECA: EPISTULAE MORALES.** R. M. Gummere. 3 Vols.
 (Vol. I *4th Imp.*, Vols. II and III *3rd Imp. revised.*)
- SENECA: MORAL ESSAYS.** J. W. Basore. 3 Vols. (Vol. II
3rd Imp. revised, Vols. I and III *2nd Imp. revised.*)
- SENECA: TRAGEDIES.** F. J. Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *4th Imp.*, Vol. II *3rd Imp. revised.*)
- SIDIUS: POEMS AND LETTERS.** W. B. Anderson. 2 Vols.
 (Vol. I *2nd Imp.*)
- SILIUS ITALICUS.** J. D. Duff. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *2nd Imp.*,
 Vol. II *3rd Imp.*)
- STATIUS.** J. H. Mozley. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- SUETONIUS.** J. C. Rolfe. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *7th Imp.*, Vol. II
6th Imp.)
- TACITUS: DIALOGUS.** Sir Wm. Peterson; and **AGRICOLA
 AND GERMANIA.** Maurice Hutton. (*7th Imp.*)
- TACITUS: HISTORIES AND ANNALS.** C. H. Moore and J.
 Jackson. 4 Vols. (Vols. I and II *4th Imp.*, Vols. III and
 IV *3rd Imp.*)
- TERENCE.** John Sargeaunt. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *8th Imp.*, Vol.
 II *7th Imp.*)
- TERTULLIAN: APOLOGIA AND DE SPECTACULIS.** T. R. Glover;
MINUCIUS FELIX. G. H. Rendall. (*2nd Imp.*)
- VALERIUS FLACCUS.** J. H. Mozley. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
- VARRO: DE LINGUA LATINA.** R. G. Kent. 2 Vols. (*3rd
 Imp. revised.*)
- VELLEIUS PATERCULUS AND RES GESTAE DIVI AUGUSTI.**
 F. W. Shipley. (*2nd Imp.*)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- VIRGIL. H. R. Fairclough. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 19th *Imp.*, Vol. II 14th *Imp. revised.*)
VITRUVIUS: DE ARCHITECTURA. F. Granger. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 3rd *Imp.*, Vol. II 2nd *Imp.*)

GREEK AUTHORS

- ACHILLES TATIUS. S. Gaselee. (2nd *Imp.*)
AELIAN: ON THE NATURE OF ANIMALS. A. F. Scholfield. 3 Vols. Vols. I and II.
AENEAS TACTICUS, ASCLEPIODOTUS AND ONASANDER. The Illinois Greek Club. (2nd *Imp.*)
AESCHINES. C. D. Adams. (3rd *Imp.*)
AESCHYLUS. H. Weir Smyth. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 7th *Imp.*, Vol. II 6th *Imp. revised and enlarged.*)
ALCIPHRON, AELIAN AND PHILOSTRATUS: LETTERS. A. R. Benner and F. H. Fobes.
APOLLODORUS. Sir James G. Frazer. 2 Vols. (3rd *Imp.*)
APOLLONIUS RHODIUS. R. C. Seaton. (5th *Imp.*)
THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS. Kirsopp Lake. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 8th *Imp.*, Vol. II 6th *Imp.*)
APPIAN'S ROMAN HISTORY. Horace White. 4 Vols. (Vol. I 4th *Imp.*, Vols. II-IV 3rd *Imp.*)
ARATUS. *Cf.* CALLIMACHUS.
ARISTOPHANES. Benjamin Bickley Rogers. 3 Vols. (5th *Imp.*) Verse trans.
ARISTOTLE: ART OF RHETORIC. J. H. Freese. (3rd *Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: ATHENIAN CONSTITUTION, EUDEMIAN ETHICS, VIRTUES AND VICES. H. Rackham. (3rd *Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: GENERATION OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck. (2nd *Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: METAPHYSICS. H. Tredennick. 2 Vols. (4th *Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: METEOROLOGICA. H. D. P. Lee.
ARISTOTLE: MINOR WORKS. W. S. Hett. "On Colours," "On Things Heard," "Physiognomics," "On Plants," "On Marvellous Things Heard," "Mechanical Problems," "On Indivisible Lines," "Situations and Names of Winds," "On Melissus, Xenophanes, and Gorgias." (2nd *Imp.*)
ARISTOTLE: NICOMACHEAN ETHICS. H. Rackham. (6th *Imp. revised.*)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- ARISTOTLE : OECONOMICA AND MAGNA MORALIA. G. C. Armstrong. (With *Metaphysics*, Vol. II.) (4th Imp.)
- ARISTOTLE : ON THE HEAVENS. W. K. C. Guthrie. (3rd Imp.)
- ARISTOTLE : ON THE SOUL, PARVA NATURALIA, ON BREATH. W. S. Hett. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- ARISTOTLE : ORGANON—THE CATEGORIES. ON INTERPRETATION. H. P. Cooke; PRIOR ANALYTICS. H. Tredennick. (3rd Imp.)
- ARISTOTLE : ORGANON—POSTERIOR ANALYTICS. H. Tredennick; TOPICS. E. S. Forster.
- ARISTOTLE : ORGANON—SOPHISTICAL REFUTATIONS. COMING-TO-BE AND PASSING-AWAY. E. S. Forster. ON THE COSMOS. D. J. Furley.
- ARISTOTLE : PARTS OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck; MOTION AND PROGRESSION OF ANIMALS. E. S. Forster. (3rd Imp.)
- ARISTOTLE : PHYSICS. Rev. P. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 2nd Imp., Vol. II 3rd Imp.)
- ARISTOTLE : POETICS AND LONGINUS. W. Hamilton Fyfe; DEMETRIUS ON STYLE. W. Rhys Roberts. (5th Imp. revised.)
- ARISTOTLE : POLITICS. H. Rackham. (4th Imp.)
- ARISTOTLE : PROBLEMS. W. S. Hett. 2 Vols. (2nd Imp. revised.)
- ARISTOTLE : RHETORICA AD ALEXANDRUM. H. Rackham. (With *Problems*, Vol. II.)
- ARRIAN : HISTORY OF ALEXANDER AND INDICA. Rev. E. Iliffe Robson. 2 Vols. (3rd Imp.)
- ATHENAEUS : DEIPNOSOPHISTAE. C. B. Gulick. 7 Vols. (Vols. I-IV, VI and VII 2nd Imp., Vol. V 3rd Imp.)
- ST. BASIL : LETTERS. R. J. Deferrari. 4 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
- CALLIMACHUS : FRAGMENTS. C. A. Trypanis.
- CALLIMACHUS : HYMNS AND EPIGRAMS, AND LYCOPHRON. A. W. Mair; ARATUS. G. R. Mair. (2nd Imp.)
- CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA. Rev. G. W. Butterworth. (3rd Imp.)
- COLLUTHUS. Cf. OPPIAN.
- DAPHNIS AND CHLOE. Cf. LONGUS.
- DEMOSTHENES I : OLYNTHIACS, PHILIPPICS AND MINOR ORATIONS : I-XVII AND XX. J. H. Vince. (2nd Imp.)
- DEMOSTHENES II : DE CORONA AND DE FALSA LEGATIONE. C. A. Vince and J. H. Vince. (3rd Imp. revised.)
- DEMOSTHENES III : MEIDIAS, ANDROTION, ARISTOCRATES, TIMOCRATES, ARISTOGEITON. J. H. Vince. (2nd Imp.)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- DEMOSTHENES IV-VI: PRIVATE ORATIONS AND IN NEAERAM.
A. T. Murray. (Vol. IV *3rd Imp.*, Vols. V and VI *2nd Imp.*)
- DEMOSTHENES VII: FUNERAL SPEECH, EROTIC ESSAY,
EXORDIA AND LETTERS. N. W. and N. J. DeWitt.
- DIO CASSIUS: ROMAN HISTORY. E. Cary. 9 Vols. (Vols.
I and II *3rd Imp.*, Vols. III-IX *2nd Imp.*)
- DIO CHRYSOSTOM. 5 Vols. Vols. I and II. J. W. Cohoon.
Vol. III. J. W. Cohoon and H. Lamar Crosby. Vols. IV
and V. H. Lamar Crosby. (Vols. I-IV *2nd Imp.*)
- DIODORUS SICULUS. 12 Vols. Vols. I-VI. C. H. Oldfather.
Vol. VII. C. L. Sherman. Vols. IX and X. Russel M.
Geer. Vol. XI. F. R. Walton. (Vols. I-IV *2nd Imp.*)
- DIOGENES LAERTIUS. R. D. Hicks. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *5th Imp.*,
Vol. II *4th Imp.*)
- DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. Spel-
man's translation revised by E. Cary. 7 Vols. (Vols.
I-V *2nd Imp.*)
- EPICTETUS. W. A. Oldfather. 2 Vols. (*3rd Imp.*)
- EURIPIDES. A. S. Way. 4 Vols. (Vols. I and IV *7th Imp.*,
Vol. II *8th Imp.*, Vol. III *6th Imp.*) Verse trans.
- EUSEBIUS: ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. Kirsopp Lake and
J. E. L. Oulton. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II *5th Imp.*)
- GALEN: ON THE NATURAL FACULTIES. A. J. Brock. (*4th
Imp.*)
- THE GREEK ANTHOLOGY. W. R. Paton. 5 Vols. (Vols. I-
IV *5th Imp.*, Vol. V *3rd Imp.*)
- THE GREEK BUCOLIC POETS (THEOCRITUS, BION, MOSCHUS).
J. M. Edmonds. (*7th Imp. revised.*)
- GREEK ELEGY AND IAMBUS WITH THE ANACREONTEA. J. M.
Edmonds. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II *2nd Imp.*)
- GREEK MATHEMATICAL WORKS. Ivor Thomas. 2 Vols.
(*3rd Imp.*)
- HERODES. Cf. THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS.
- HERODOTUS. A. D. Godley. 4 Vols. (Vol. I *4th Imp.*, Vols.
II and III *5th Imp.*, Vol. IV *3rd Imp.*)
- HESIOD AND THE HOMERIC HYMNS. H. G. Evelyn White.
(*7th Imp. revised and enlarged.*)
- HIPPOCRATES AND THE FRAGMENTS OF HERACLEITUS. W. H. S.
Jones and E. T. Withington. 4 Vols. (Vol. I *4th Imp.*,
Vols. II-IV *3rd Imp.*)
- HOMER: ILIAD. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (*7th Imp.*)
- HOMER: ODYSSEY. A. T. Murray. 2 Vols. (*8th Imp.*)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- ISAEUS. E. S. Forster. (*3rd Imp.*)
- ISOCRATES. George Norlin and LaRue Van Hook. 3 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- ST. JOHN DAMASCENE: BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. Rev. G. R. Woodward and Harold Mattingly. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
- JOSEPHUS. H. St. J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus. 9 Vols. Vols. I-VII. (Vol. V *4th Imp.*, Vol. VI *3rd Imp.*, Vols. I-IV, VII *2nd Imp.*)
- JULIAN. Wilmer Cave Wright. 3 Vols. (Vols. I and II *3rd Imp.*, Vol. III *2nd Imp.*)
- LONGUS: DAPHNIS' AND CHLOE. Thornley's translation revised by J. M. Edmonds; and PARTHENIUS. S. Gaselee. (*4th Imp.*)
- LUCIAN. A. M. Harmon. 8 Vols. Vols. I-V. (Vols. I and II *4th Imp.*, Vol. III *3rd Imp.*, Vols. IV and V *2nd Imp.*)
- LYCOPHRON. Cf. CALLIMACHUS.
- LYRA GRAECA. J. M. Edmonds. 3 Vols. (Vol. I *5th Imp.*, Vols. II (*revised and enlarged*) and III *4th Imp.*)
- LYSIAS. W. R. M. Lamb. (*3rd Imp.*)
- MANETHO. W. G. Waddell; PTOLEMY: TETRABIBLOS. F. E. Robbins. (*3rd Imp.*)
- MARCUS AURELIUS. C. R. Haines. (*4th Imp. revised.*)
- MENANDER. F. G. Allinson. (*3rd Imp. revised.*)
- MINOR ATTIC ORATORS. 2 Vols. K. J. Maidment and J. O. Burt. (Vol. I *2nd Imp.*)
- NONNOS: DIONYSIACA. W. H. D. Rouse. 3 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- OPPIAN, COLLUTHUS, TRYPHIODORUS. A. W. Mair. (*2nd Imp.*)
- PAPYRI. NON-LITERARY SELECTIONS. A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*) LITERARY SELECTIONS (Poetry). D. L. Page. (*3rd Imp.*)
- PARTHENIUS. Cf. LONGUS.
- PAUSANIAS: DESCRIPTION OF GREECE. W. H. S. Jones. 5 Vols. and Companion Vol. arranged by R. E. Wycherley. (Vols. I and III *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II, IV and V *2nd Imp.*)
- PHILO. 10 Vols. Vols. I-V. F. H. Colson and Rev. G. H. Whitaker; Vols. VI-IX. F. H. Colson. (Vol. IV *4th Imp.*, Vols. I, II, V-VII *3rd Imp.*, Vols. III, VIII, IX *2nd Imp.*)
- Two Supplementary Vols. Translation only from an Armenian Text. Ralph Marcus.
- PHILOSTRATUS: THE LIFE OF APOLLONIUS OF TYANA. F. C. Conybeare. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *4th Imp.*, Vol. II *3rd Imp.*)

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- PHILOSTRATUS : IMAGINES ; CALLISTRATUS : DESCRIPTIONS.
A. Fairbanks. (2nd Imp.)
- PHILOSTRATUS AND EUNAPIUS : LIVES OF THE SOPHISTS.
Wilmer Cave Wright. (2nd Imp.)
- PINDAR. Sir J. E. Sandys. (8th Imp. revised.)
- PLATO I : EUTHYPHRO, APOLOGY, CRITO, PHAEDO, PHAEDRUS.
H. N. Fowler. (11th Imp.)
- PLATO II : THEAETETUS AND SOPHIST. H. N. Fowler. (4th Imp.)
- PLATO III : STATESMAN, PHILEBUS. H. N. Fowler ; Ion.
W. R. M. Lamb. (4th Imp.)
- PLATO IV : LACHES, PROTAGORAS, MENO, EUTHYDEMUS.
W. R. M. Lamb. (3rd Imp. revised.)
- PLATO V : LYSIS, SYMPOSIUM, GORGIAS. W. R. M. Lamb.
(5th Imp. revised.)
- PLATO VI : CRATYLUS, PARMENIDES, GREATER HIPPIAS,
LESSER HIPPIAS. H. N. Fowler. (4th Imp.)
- PLATO VII : TIMAEUS, CRITIAS, CLITOPHO, MENEXENUS, EPI-
STULAE. Rev. R. G. Bury. (3rd Imp.)
- PLATO VIII : CHARMIDES, ALCIBIADES, HIPPARCHUS, THE
LOVERS, THEAGES, MINOS AND EPINOMIS. W. R. M. Lamb.
(2nd Imp.)
- PLATO : LAWS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 2 Vols. (3rd Imp.)
- PLATO : REPUBLIC. Paul Shorey. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 5th Imp.,
Vol. II 4th Imp.)
- PLUTARCH : MORALIA. 14 Vols. Vols. I-V. F. C. Babbitt ;
Vol. VI. W. C. Helmbold ; Vol. VII. P. H. De Lacy and
B. Einarson ; Vol. X. H. N. Fowler ; Vol. XII. H.
Cherniss and W. C. Helmbold. (Vols. I-VI, X 2nd Imp.)
- PLUTARCH : THE PARALLEL LIVES. B. Perrin. 11 Vols.
(Vols. I, II, VI, VII and XI 3rd Imp., Vols. III-V and
VIII-X 2nd Imp.)
- POLYBIUS. W. R. Paton. 6 Vols. (2nd Imp.)
- PROCOPIUS : HISTORY OF THE WARS. H. B. Dewing. 7 Vols.
(Vol. I 3rd Imp., Vols. II-VII 2nd Imp.)
- PTOLEMY : TETRABIBLOS. Cf. MANETHO.
- QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS. A. S. Way. (3rd Imp.) Verse trans.
- SEXTUS EMPIRICUS. Rev. R. G. Bury. 4 Vols. (Vol. I 4th
Imp., Vols. II and III 2nd Imp.)
- SOPHOCLES. F. Storr. 2 Vols. (Vol. I 10th Imp., Vol. II
6th Imp.) Verse trans.
- STRABO : GEOGRAPHY. Horace L. Jones. 8 Vols. (Vols. I,

THE LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

- V and VIII *3rd Imp.*, Vols. II-IV, VI and VII *2nd Imp.*)
- THEOPHRASTUS: CHARACTERS. J. M. Edmonds; HERODES, etc. A. D. KNOX. (*3rd Imp.*)
- THEOPHRASTUS: ENQUIRY INTO PLANTS. Sir Arthur Hort. 2 Vols. (*2nd Imp.*)
- THUCYDIDES. C. F. Smith. 4 Vols. (Vol. I *5th Imp.*, Vols. II and IV *4th Imp.*, Vol. III *3rd Imp.*)
- TRYPHIODORUS. Cf. OPIAN.
- XENOPHON: CYROPAEDIA. Walter Miller. 2 Vols. (Vol. I *4th Imp.*, Vol. II *3rd Imp.*)
- XENOPHON: HELLENICÁ, ANABASIS, APOLOGY, AND SYMPOSIUM. C. L. Brownson and O. J. Todd. 3 Vols. (Vols. I and III *3rd Imp.*, Vol. II *4th Imp.*)
- XENOPHON: MEMORABILIA AND OECONOMICUS. E. C. Marchant. (*3rd Imp.*)
- XENOPHON: SCRIPTA MINORA. E. C. Marchant. (*3rd Imp.*)

VOLUMES IN PREPARATION

GREEK AUTHORS

- ARISTOTLE: HISTORY OF ANIMALS. A. L. Peck.
- PLOTINUS. A. H. Armstrong.

LATIN AUTHORS

- BABRIUS AND PHAEDRUS. B. E. Perry.

DESCRIPTIVE PROSPECTUS ON APPLICATION

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.	LONDON
HARVARD UNIV. PRESS	WILLIAM HEINEMANN LTD
Cloth \$2.50	Cloth 15s.

