

JOINT ASSOCIATION OF CLASSICAL TEACHERS

GREEK COURSE

# Reading Greek

TEXT

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THE JOINT ASSOCIATION OF  
CLASSICAL TEACHERS' GREEK COURSE

## *Reading Greek*

TEXT

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## FOREWORD

There is one criterion, and one only, by which a course for the learners of a language no longer spoken should be judged: the efficiency and speed with which it brings them to the stage of reading texts in the original language with precision, understanding and enjoyment. The setting-up of the Greek Project by the Joint Association of Classical Teachers was the product of a conviction that it was possible to compose an Ancient Greek course which would satisfy that criterion substantially better than any course already existing.

There would have been little point in such a project if the current decline of Greek in schools had clearly reflected a general, growing and irreversible failure on the part of modern society to respond aesthetically and intellectually to Greek culture; but there has been no such failure of response, for the popularity of Greek literature in translation and of courses in Greek art and history has continued to increase. It seemed to the Joint Association that there was a gap waiting for a bridge. Bridges cost money, and when an appeal for £40,000 was launched at the beginning of 1974 by Dr Michael Ramsey and others it was legitimate to wonder how the cause of Greek would fare in competition with louder claims. But the optimists were justified: by November £63,000 had been contributed, a sum which more than compensated for the effect of inflation after the original costing of the project, and in 1976 an appeal for the money required for a fourth and final year of work brought in more than £15,000. Gratitude is due to hundreds of individuals, to many schools, colleges, institutions and trusts, and in particular to the Leverhulme Trust Fund, the Ernest Cook Trust and the Cambridge University Faculty of Classics.

It would not have been difficult to compile yet another systematic

descriptive grammar of Greek and interleave it with exercises which would test the learner's progress through grammar stage by stage. Nor would it have been difficult to confront the learner with an anthology of Greek literature, translate most of it for him, offer from time to time some grammatical rules-of-thumb and inspire him with the hope that he would get the hang of the language and eventually pick up the 'gist' or the 'essentials' of any Greek text.

Anyone who learns Greek by the first of those two ways will take a very long time to reach the point of reading a genuine Greek text; on the way he will have acquired much more grammatical knowledge than he needs and much less knowledge than he needs of Greek thought and feeling. The technique of compiling a descriptive grammar for reference purposes and the technique of introducing a learner to a language are utterly different, as teachers of modern languages know.

The notion that one can get the gist of alien texts simply by reading a lot of them with the help of translations but without careful linguistic guidance is equally illusory. We can indeed hope to understand much of what is said to us in a modern language if we are put into an environment in which we hear it all day; but our progress depends on our being an ingredient of the situation in which the words are uttered and on the readiness of the native speaker to repeat, simplify, slow down and supplement language by signs and gestures. Our relationship to Greek authors is different; if we tackle Platonic argument or tragic dialogue with only a hazy idea of grammar the chances of misunderstanding – not marginal, but total misunderstanding – are very high.

The Project course has been composed and scrutinised by people who care most about what works best and do not use 'traditional' or 'modern' as complimentary or derogatory terms. In the earlier sections the commonest words and constructions preponderate, and the sentences are short; but the sentence-structure has not been anglicised, and the test of frequency has not been so rigorously applied to the admission of vocabulary and idiom as to bleach all colour out of the language. At the start the Greek text is modern composition, though its subject-matter is derived from Greek sources, but the voices of Plato and Aristophanes soon begin to be heard, and thereafter modern composers are edged out as the ancient authors, progressively less rewritten to suit the beginner's limitations, take over. The content of the text is determined as seldom as possible by linguistic tidiness

and as often as possible by the need to acquaint the adult and near-adult learner directly with the characteristic features of Greek culture.

Not everyone thinks that it is right to make up Greek or to adapt original texts. There is nothing, in any language course, that everyone thinks is right. The Project Team, the Steering Committee and the Advisory Panel have been compelled repeatedly to take decisions – sometimes against the judgment of a minority, but never without patient and friendly discussion – which will incur criticism. Critics are asked to reflect that the combined class-room, lecture-room and tutorial experience of Team, Committee and Panel is not only considerable but also very varied; that successive drafts, having been tested in the JACT Summer School and elsewhere, in this country and in the United States, have been constantly revised in the light of what emerged from the testing; and that in language-learning occasions may arise on which one man's succulent meat is another man's cold cabbage. The Team has been from first to last imaginative and resourceful, prompt and cheerful in response to criticism and unflinchingly resilient in the face of technical difficulties. They have produced a course which they have many good reasons to believe will prove, for the majority of learners, a straighter and shorter path than any other into Greek literature as the Greeks themselves knew it.

K.J. Dover

## PREFACE

The Joint Association of Classical Teachers' Greek Course *Reading Greek* has been written for beginners in the upper school, at university and in adult education. Its aim is to enable students to read fifth- and fourth-century Attic Greek, Homer and Herodotus, with some fluency and intelligence in one to two years. The main medium of learning is a continuous, graded Greek text, adapted from original sources (contained in *Reading Greek (Text)*), coupled with a grammar, vocabulary and exercise book (*Reading Greek (Grammar, Vocabulary and Exercises)*) which runs in phase with the text.

### Method

The two books are to be used in conjunction.

*Stage One* (using the *Text* and the running vocabularies of the *Grammar* book) With the help of the teacher and the full running vocabularies, read and translate the Greek in the *Text* up to the point in the *Grammar* book where the running vocabularies end and grammatical explanations begin. The text has been written to encourage beginners to read with increasing fluency and confidence. The running vocabularies are so written as to enable students to read ahead out of class once the main grammatical principles have been established. It is vital to encourage students to do this.

*Stage Two* (using the *Grammar*) Ensure that the learning vocabularies have been mastered.

*Stage Three* Turn to the running Grammar, which lays out and explains clearly and practically the relevant grammar which should now be learnt.

*Stage Four* Turn to the Exercises and do as many of these as the teacher considers necessary to clarify and reinforce the grammar. When all

this has been done, the student should be able to tackle successfully the Test Exercise as an unseen.

Then return to the *Text* and repeat the process. As the student progresses, adaptation of the *Text* lessens until wholly unadapted Greek is being read.

At the back of the *Grammar* is a Reference Grammar which summarises the material in the running Grammar, and also a number of Language Surveys which review and expand upon the features met in the running Grammar.

### After Reading Greek

Reading Greek prepares students to read mainstream fifth- and fourth-century Attic, Homer and Herodotus.

The second part of the Course is in two volumes and consists of 600- to 900-line selections from Homer, Herodotus, Sophocles, Euripides, Thucydides and Plato, with vocabulary and notes to serve the needs of those who have used *Reading Greek*. These volumes will act as an introduction to the work and thought of six of Greece's greatest writers, and when the Course is publicly examined will probably serve as the source of set-texts.

The Background Material book will cover the whole Course. Its purpose is to provide the social and historical perspective in which the texts can be set, so that students can pursue for themselves the issues raised. The book consists of sources, texts in translation, diagrams, illustrations and essays. It is arranged by topic.

### The use of the Course

It is essential that students should be encouraged to read the *Text* with as much speed – consonant with accurate understanding – as possible. The amount of reading given, its controlled gradient and the very full vocabulary help should all further this end. The Grammar and Exercises contain the detailed linguistic work needed to clinch the grammatical lessons of the *Text*.

The design of the Course makes it ideal for students who can only spend a short time with their teachers each week. Because there is a great deal of carefully graded reading, supported by full vocabulary help, such students will find plenty of reading which they can do on their own.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Greek Course has been developed by a Project Team (Dr P.V. Jones, Dr K.C. Sidwell and Miss F.E. Corrie) under the guidance of a Steering Committee and Advisory Panel made up as follows:

*Steering Committee:* Professor J.P.A. Gould (Bristol University) (Chairman); M.G. Balme (Harrow School); R.M. Griffin (Manchester Grammar School); Dr J.T. Killen (Joint Treasurer, Jesus College, Cambridge); Sir Desmond Lee (Joint Treasurer, President, Hughes Hall, Cambridge); A.C.F. Verity (Headmaster, Leeds Grammar School); Miss E.P. Story (Hughes Hall, Cambridge).

*Advisory Panel:* G.L. Cawkwell (University College, Oxford); Dr J. Chadwick (Downing College, Cambridge); Professor A. Morpurgo Davies (Somerville College, Oxford); Sir Kenneth Dover (President, Corpus Christi College, Oxford); Professor E.W. Handley (University College, London); B.W. Kay (HMI); Dr A.H. Sommerstein (Nottingham University); Dr B. Sparkes (Southampton University); G. Suggitt (Headmaster, Stratton School); A.F. Turberfield (HMI). The Committee and Panel met in full session three times a year during the period 1974-8 while the Course was being developed, but also divided up into sub-committees to give specific help to the Project Team on certain aspects of the Course, as follows:

*Text:* K.J.D.; E.W.H.

*Grammar:* J.C.; A.M.D.; A.H.S. (who, with K.J.D., have kindly made individual contributions to the Reference Grammar and Language Surveys).

*Exercises:* M.G.B.; R.M.G.; A.C.F.V.

*Background:* G.L.C.; J.P.A.G.; B.S.

*Dissemination:* B.W.K.; H.D.P.L.; E.P.S.; G.S.; A.F.T.

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We would like to stress the immense debt of gratitude which we all owe to the Steering Committee, Advisory Panel and our overseas advisers. But we would also like to make it clear that the final decisions about every aspect of the Course and any errors of omission and commission are the sole responsibility of the Team.

We gratefully acknowledge the help and advice of Professor D.W. Packard (Chapel Hill, N. Carolina, U.S.A.) on the use of the computer in analysing and printing Greek; and of Dr John Dawson of the Cambridge University Literary and Linguistic Computing Laboratory, who made available to us the resources of the Computer Centre for printing and analysing draft material in the early stages of the Project.

We have learnt a great deal from members of the Team who produced the Cambridge Latin Course, and are extremely grateful to them for help, especially in the early stages of the Project. If we have produced a Course which takes a more traditional view of language-learning, our debt to many of the principles and much of the practice which the C.L.C. first advocated is still very great.

Finally, our best thanks go to all the teachers in schools, universities and adult education centres both in the U.K. and overseas who used and criticised draft materials. We owe an especial debt of thanks to the organisers of the J.A.C.T. Greek Summer School in Cheltenham, who allowed us to use our material at the School for the three years while the Course was being developed.

Peter V. Jones (Director)  
Keith C. Sidwell (Second Writer)  
Frances E. Corrie (Research Assistant)

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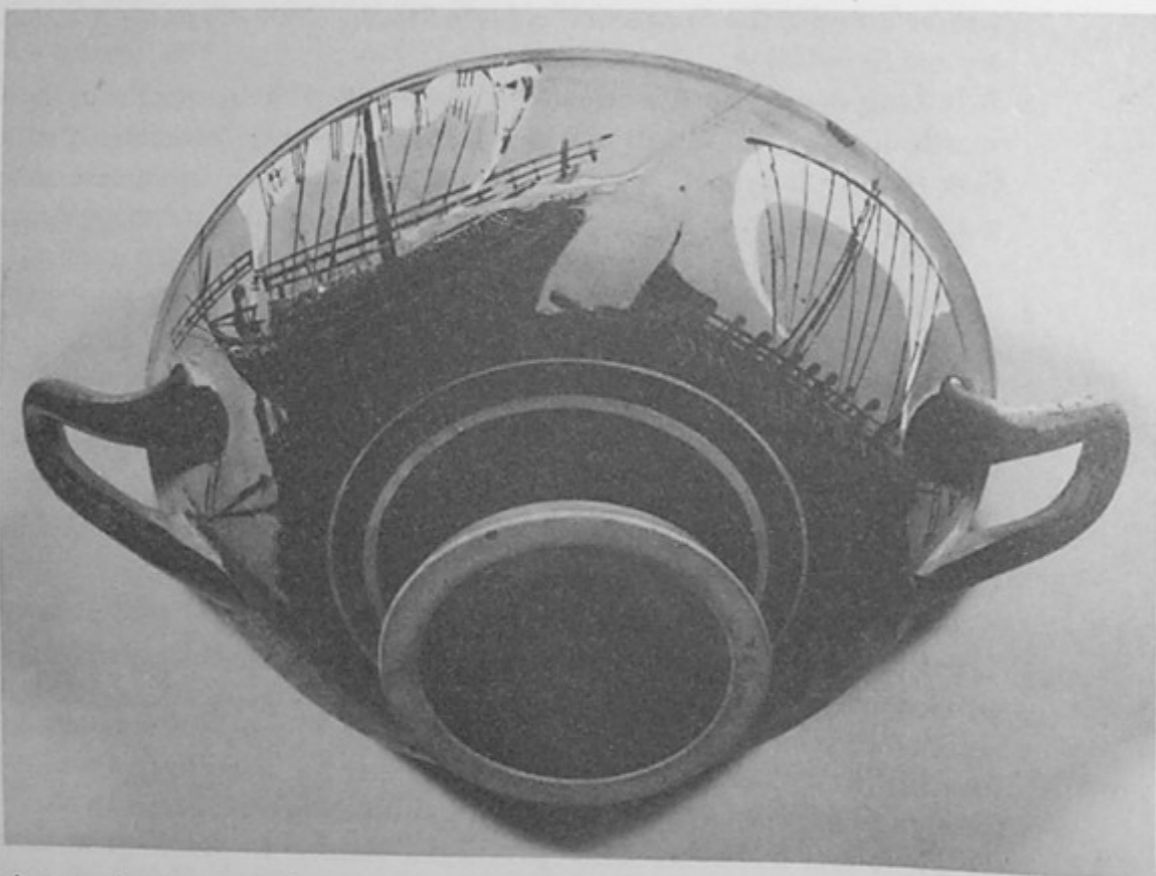
Thanks are due to Harper and Row, Publishers, for permission to include lines from Homer's *Odyssey* translated by Richmond Lattimore.

Cover picture: Partygoers

### NOTES

- 1 Grammar, vocabulary and exercises, written to run in step with the *Text*, will be found in the companion volume *Reading Greek (Grammar, Vocabulary and Exercises)*.
- 2 A linking-device ( ) is used in places in the *Text*. Its purpose is to show words or groups of words which should be taken together either because they agree or because they make a phrase. When the words to be linked are separated by intervening words, the linking device takes the shape <sup>r</sup> ). Look up such linked phrases in the vocabulary *under the first word*.
- 3 The sources quoted on the title-page of each Part are the major (though by no means exclusive) sources for the whole Part.
- 4 The title-page of each Part carries time recommendations for that Part. They are based on a three to four-session week, and assume preparation by students (particularly by reading ahead on their own, with the help of the vocabularies). If the recommendations are followed, *Reading Greek* will be completed in 37 weeks. Universities will find that they can cover the Course at a considerably faster pace.  
There are 118 sub-sections (i.e. sections marked A, B, C, etc.)
- 5 Transcriptions of proper names into English:
  - (a) Generally, proper names are transcribed from Greek into English in accordance with the transcriptions given in the *Grammar, Vocabulary and Exercises* (Reference Grammar A.2). Note that the transcription will not distinguish between  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$ ,  $o$  and  $\omega$ , or other long and short vowels.
  - (b) There are, however, some 'privileged' names, so common in their received form that to alter them by the principles of transcription that we generally adopt would be off-putting. You will find, for example, 'Athens', not 'Athenai' (*Ἀθῆναι*), 'Homer', not 'Homeros' (*Ὅμηρος*), and 'Plato', not 'Platon' (*Πλάτων*).
  - (c) All proper names met in the *Text* are transcribed either in the running vocabulary or in the List of Proper Names in the *Grammar, Vocabulary and Exercises* book. (Most Greek words have, traditionally, been transcribed according to Latin principles, and the most important of these are given in Language Survey (13), (vi) of the *Grammar, Vocabulary and Exercises* Book.
- 6 All dates are B.C., except where otherwise stated.





A merchantman and a warship

## PART ONE

### *Athens at sea*

#### *Introduction*

Dikaiopolis sails towards the harbour of Athens, Piraeus. On board ship a criminal plot is foiled, and then the story of the naval battle of Salamis is recalled while the ship passes the island. As the ship comes into port, the Spartans launch a surprise attack.

The scene is set during the early part of the Peloponnesian War, which began in 431.

#### *Sources*

Demosthenes, *Orations* 32

Plato, *Ion* 540eff.

A comic fragment, *Com.*

*Adespot.* 340 (Edmonds)

Lysias, *Funeral Speech* 27ff.

Herodotus, *Histories* 8.83ff.

Homer, *Iliad* (*pass.*)

Aeschylus, *Persians* 353ff.

Thucydides, *Histories* 2.93-4,  
1.142, 6.32

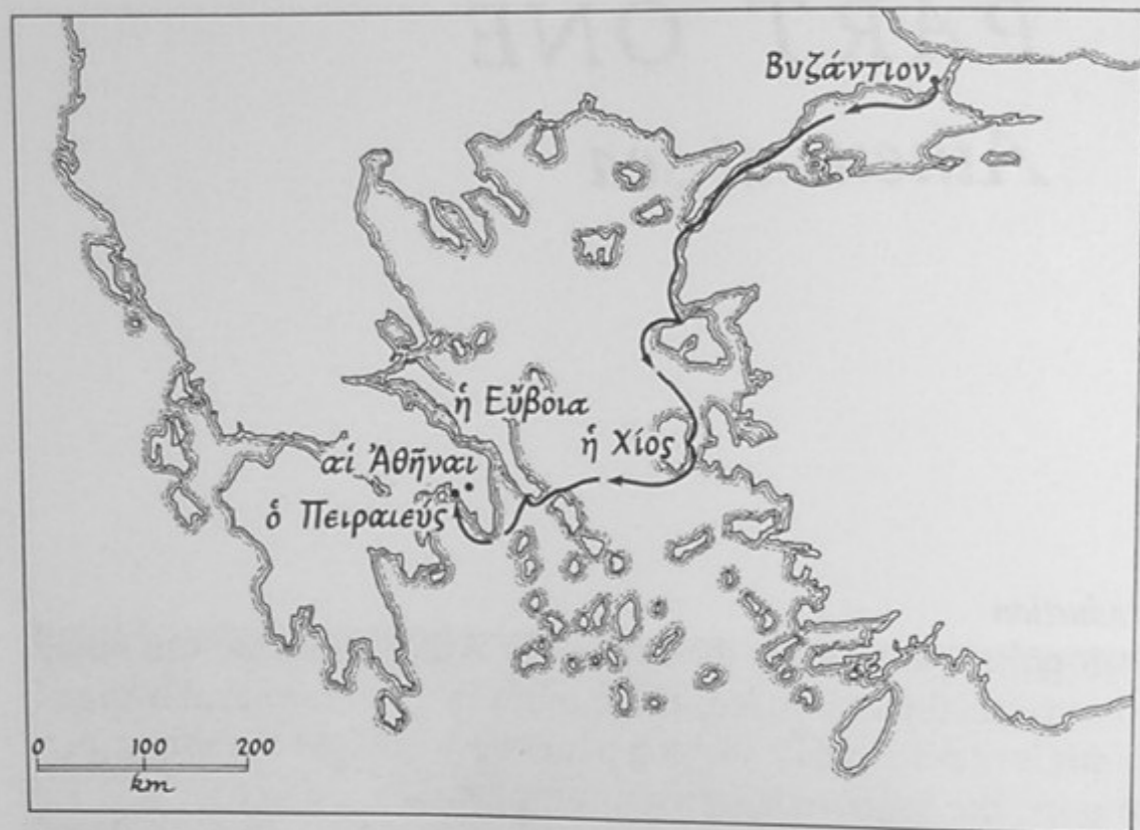
Xenophon, *Hellenika* 5.i. 19-23

Aristophanes, *Akharnians* 393ff.

Euripides, *Helen* 1577ff.

#### *Time to be taken*

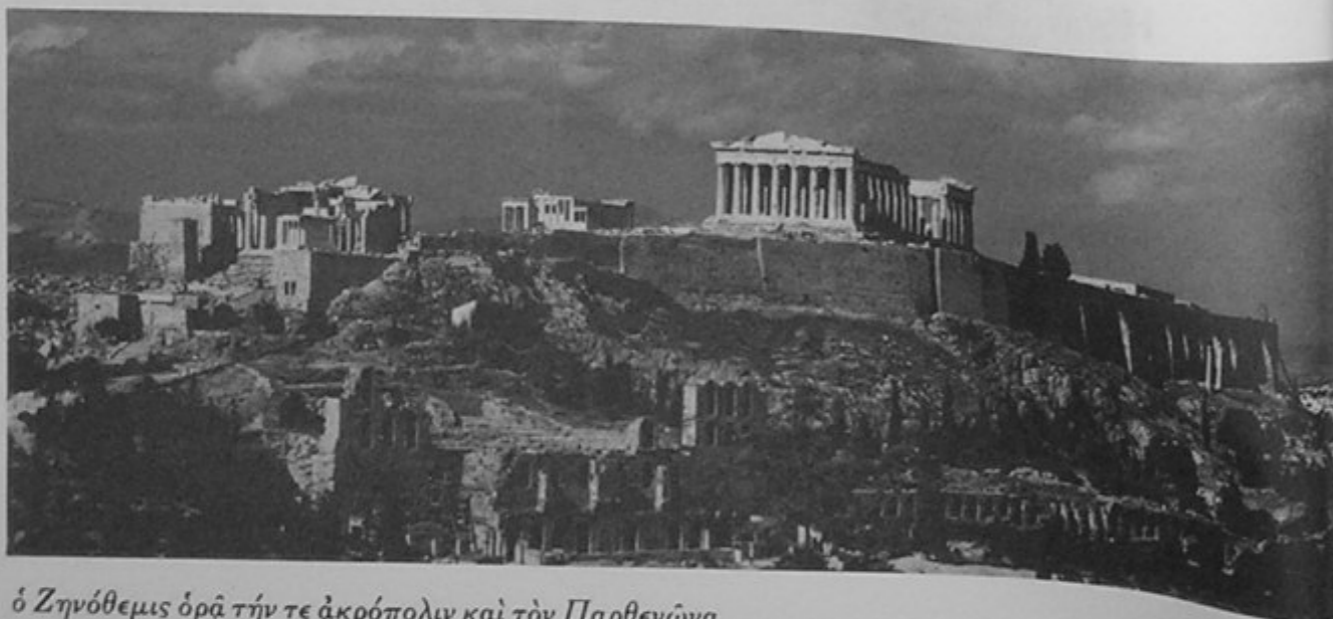
Five weeks (=twenty sessions at four sessions a week)



The route from Byzantium to Athens



τὸ πλοῖον



ὁ Ζηνόθεμις ὁρᾷ τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα

## Section One A–J

### The insurance fraud

#### A

Hegestratos and Sdenothemis, partners in the corn-shipping business, have insured the load of grain on board their ship for far more than it is worth. They embark in Byzantium, with captain and crew. The ship sails to Chios (where a rhapsode boards) and Euboea (where Dikaiopolis gets on), and eventually comes into sight of Athens and its harbour, Piraeus. While Sdenothemis engages the passengers' attention with an appreciation of the sights, a strange noise is heard below . . .

τὸ πλοῖόν ἐστιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ. ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ,  
 ὁ Ἡγέστρατος βαίνει εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, ἔπειτα ὁ Ζηνόθεμις  
 βαίνει εἰς τὸ πλοῖον, τέλος δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης καὶ οἱ ναῦται  
 εἰσβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον. τὸ δὲ πλοῖον πλεῖ εἰς Χίον. ἐν  
 δὲ Χίῳ, ὁ ῥαψωδὸς εἰσβαίνει. ἔπειτα δὲ πλεῖ τὸ πλοῖον  
 εἰς Εὐβοίαν. ἐν δὲ Εὐβοίᾳ, εἰσβαίνει ὁ Δικαιοπόλις. τέλος δὲ  
 πρὸς τὰς Ἀθήνας πλεῖ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ.  
 τὸ μὲν οὖν πλοῖον πλεῖ, ὃ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις πρὸς τὴν γῆν  
 βλέπει. τί ὁρᾷ ὁ Ζηνόθεμις; ὁ Ζηνόθεμις ὁρᾷ τὴν τε  
 ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα. ἔπειτα δὲ ὃ τε Δικαιοπόλις  
 καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης πρὸς τὴν γῆν βλέπουσιν. τί ὁρῶσιν  
 ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης; καὶ ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ  
 ὁ κυβερνήτης τὴν τε ἀκρόπολιν ὁρῶσι καὶ τὸν Παρθενῶνα.  
 ἐξαίφνης ὃ τε Δικαιοπόλις καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης ψόφον  
 ἀκούουσιν.

5

10

15

## B

- ZHNOΘEMIS (pointing to the land)  
 δεῦρο ἔλθέ, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, καὶ βλέπε. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 τὴν ἄκρόπολιν ὄρω. ἄρα καὶ σὺ τὴν ἄκρόπολιν ὄρᾳς;  
 ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ (peering towards the land)  
 ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἄκρόπολις; ἐγὼ γὰρ τὴν ἄκρόπολιν οὐχ  
 ὄρω.  
 ZHN. δεῦρο ἔλθέ, καὶ βλέπε. ἄρα οὐχ ὄρᾳς σὺ  
 τὸν Παρθενῶνα;  
 ΔΙΚ. ναί. νῦν γὰρ τὴν ἄκρόπολιν ὄρω καὶ ἐγώ.  
 ZHN. ὦ Ζεῦ. ὡς καλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Παρθενῶν, καλὴ δὲ  
 ἡ ἄκρόπολις.  
 ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ (agreeing)  
 ἀληθῆ σὺ λέγεις, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι.  
 (with a sudden start)  
 ἄκουε, ψόφος. ἄρα ἀκούεις; τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ψόφος; ἄρα  
 ἀκούεις καὶ σὺ τὸν ψόφον, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι;  
 ZHN. (hurriedly dismissing the subject)  
 οὐ μὰ Δία, οὐδὲν ἀκούω ἐγώ, ὦ κυβερνήτα. μὴ  
 φρόντιζε. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἔλθε καὶ βλέπε. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 τὸ νεώριον ὄρω καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ἄρα ὄρᾳς καὶ σὺ  
 τὸ νεώριον;  
 ΚΥΒ. ναί.  
 ZHN. ὦ Ζεῦ, ὡς καλὸν ἐστὶ τὸ νεώριον, καλὸς δὲ  
 ὁ Πειραιεύς.  
 ΚΥΒ. (agreeing impatiently)  
 ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι. ἰδοῦ, ψόφος. αὐθις γὰρ  
 τὸν ψόφον ἀκούω ἐγώ.  
 ΔΙΚ. καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν ψόφον αὐθις ἀκούω, ὦ κυβερνήτα,  
 σαφῶς. ἐγὼ οὖν καὶ σὺ ἀκούομεν τὸν ψόφον.

## C

- ZHN. (more frantically)  
 ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ἀκούω, ὦ φίλοι. μὴ φροντίζετε. ἀλλὰ  
 δεῦρο ἔλθετε καὶ βλέπετε, δεῦρο. ὄρω γὰρ τὰ ἔμπορια

- καὶ τὰς ὀλκάδας ἐγώ γε. ἄρα ὄρατε τὰ ἔμπορια καὶ  
 ὑμεῖς;  
 ΚΥΒ. καὶ ΔΙΚ. ὄρωμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. τί μὴν;  
 ZHN. (waxing lyrical)  
 ὦ Πόσειδον, ὡς καλαί εἰσιν αἱ ὀλκάδες, ὡς καλά ἐστὶ  
 τὰ ἔμπορια. ἀλλὰ δεῦρο βλέπετε, ὦ φίλοι.  
 ΚΥΒ. ἄκουε, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι, καὶ μὴ λέγε 'ὡς καλά ἐστὶ  
 τὰ ἔμπορια.' ἡμεῖς γὰρ τὸν ψόφον σαφῶς ἀκούομεν.  
 ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ πόθεν ὁ ψόφος;  
 ΚΥΒ. (pointing down below)  
 κάτωθεν, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι. διὰ τί οὐ καταβαίνομεν  
 ἡμεῖς; ἔλθέ, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι –  
 ZHN. (by now quite desperate)  
 ποῖ βαίνετε ὑμεῖς; ποῖ βαίνετε; διὰ τί οὐ μένετε, ὦ  
 φίλοι; μὴ φροντίζετε. ὄρω γὰρ ἐγώ –

## D

The captain goes into the hold followed by Dikaiopolis and the crew.  
 There they come upon Hegestratos, the author of the mysterious noise.

- καταβαίνει μὲν οὖν ὁ κυβερνήτης, καταβαίνουσι δὲ ὄτε  
 Δικαιοπόλις καὶ οἱ ναῦται. κάτωθεν γὰρ ὁ ψόφος. κάτω δὲ  
 τὸν Ἡγέστρατον ὄρωσιν ὄτε κυβερνήτης καὶ οἱ ναῦται. ὄτε  
 δὲ Ἡγέστρατος τὸν ψόφον ποιεῖ κάτω.  
 ΚΥΒ. οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς;  
 (suddenly realising it is Hegestratos)  
 ἀλλὰ τί ποιεῖς σὺ, ὦ Ἡγέστρατε; τίς ὁ ψόφος;  
 ΗΓΕΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ (innocently)  
 οὐδὲν ποιῶ ἐγώ γε, ὦ κυβερνήτα, οὐδὲ ψόφον οὐδένα  
 ἀκούω. μὴ φρόντιζε.  
 ΔΙΚ. (looking behind Hegestratos' back)  
 δεῦρο ἔλθε καὶ βλέπε, ὦ κυβερνήτα. ἔχει γὰρ τι  
 ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ὁ Ἡγέστρατος.  
 ΚΥΒ. τί ἔχεις ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ, ὦ Ἡγέστρατε;  
 ΗΓ. (desperately trying to cover up)  
 οὐδὲν ἔχω ἐγώ γε, ὦ φίλε.



πέλεκυν γὰρ ἔχει



ρίπτω ἑμαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου

- ΔΙΚ. ὦ Ζεῦ. οὐ γὰρ ἀληθῆ λέγει ὁ Ἡγέστρατος. πέλεκυν γὰρ ἔχει ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ ὁ Ἡγέστρατος. ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸ πλοῖον καταδύει. 15
- ΚΥΒ. (shocked)  
τί λέγεις, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι; δύει τὸ πλοῖον ὁ Ἡγέστρατος;  
(calling to the crew)  
ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οὐ λαμβάνετε ὑμεῖς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὦ ναῦται; δεῦρο, δεῦρο. 20
- ΗΓ. οἶμοι, φεύγω ἔγωγε, καὶ ρίπτω ἑμαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου.
- ΚΥΒ. (urging the crew to pursue)  
βοηθεῖτε, ὦ ναῦται, βοηθεῖτε καὶ διώκετε. 25

## E

- ὁ γὰρ Ἡγέστρατος φεύγει κάτωθεν, οἱ δὲ ναῦται βοηθοῦσι καὶ τὸν Ἡγέστρατον διώκουσιν. ἄνω μένει ὁ Ζηνόθεμις. ὁ γὰρ Ἡγέστρατος πρὸς τὸν Ζηνόθεμιν βλέπει, ὁ δὲ Ζηνόθεμις πρὸς τοὺς ναύτας. ἀναβαίνουνσι γὰρ οἱ ναῦται καὶ διώκουσιν. 30
- ΖΗΝ. ἀλλὰ τί ποιεῖς, ὦ Ἡγέστρατε;  
ΗΓ. (running up to Sdenothemis)  
ἰδοῦ, διώκουσί με οἱ ναῦται, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι. ἐγὼ δὲ φεύγω. μὴ μένε, ἀλλὰ φεύγε καὶ σύ, καὶ ρίπτε 40

- σεαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ πλοίου. ἀναβαίνουνσι γὰρ ἤδη οἱ ἄνδρες.
- ΖΗΝ. (with a glance at the pursuing crew)  
οἶμοι. τοὺς γὰρ ναύτας ἤδη γε ὄρω. σὺ δὲ ποῖ φεύγεις; 5
- ΗΓ. φεύγω εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἔγωγε. ὁ γὰρ λέμβος ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ ἐστίν. ἄγε δὴ σύ, σῶζε σεαυτὸν. ρίπτε σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, καὶ μὴ μένε. 10

## F

Hegestratos and Sdenothemis leap into the waves and head for the life-boat. But the captain has other ideas. 15

- ὁ Ἡγέστρατος καὶ Ζηνόθεμις οὐ μένουσιν ἀλλὰ φεύγουσιν. εἰς τὴν γὰρ θάλατταν ρίπτουσιν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὸν λέμβον ζητοῦσιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ναῦται ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου τὴν φυγὴν ὀρώσιν, ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης τὸν λέμβον ἀπολύει. ὁ δὲ λέμβος ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου ἀποχωρεῖ. 20
- ΖΗΝ. (thrashing around in the waves)  
οἶμοι, ποῦ ὁ λέμβος; ποῦ ἐστίν, ὦ Ἡγέστρατε;  
ΗΓ. ἐγὼ τὸν λέμβον οὐχ ὄρω, ὦ Ζηνόθεμι – οἶμοι.  
ΖΗΝ. ἀποθνήσκω, ὦ Ἡγέστρατε. βοηθεῖτε, ὦ ναῦται, βοηθεῖτε. 25
- ΗΓ. ἀποθνήσκω –  
ΔΙΚ. ἄρα τοὺς ἄνθρώπους ὄρας σύ, ὦ κυβερνήτα; ἀποθνήσκουσι γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι. ὁ γὰρ λέμβος ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου ἀποχωρεῖ. 30
- ΚΥΒ. μὴ φρόντιζε· κακοὶ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, καὶ κακῶς ἀποθνήσκουσιν. 35

## G

- (suddenly realising the danger)  
ΚΥΒ. ἀλλὰ ἄρα ἔστι σῶον τὸ πλοῖον, σῶοι δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς; διὰ τί ἐγὼ οὐ καταβαίνω καὶ περισκοπῶ ἀκριβῶς; ἐγὼ γὰρ ὁ κυβερνήτης· ἐμὸν οὖν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ 40



ὁ Ποσειδῶν



ὁ ραψωδός

ἐν ἔμοι ἡ σωτηρία.

(καταβαίνει ὁ κυβερνήτης καὶ σκοπεῖ. ὁ δὲ Δικαιοπόλις ἄνω μένει.)

ΔΙΚ. (praying fervently)

νῦν, ὦ Πόσειδον, σῶζε ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν λιμένα. ἡμεῖς  
 μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ σοι θυσίας θύομεν, σὺ δὲ αἰεὶ σῶζεις  
 τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν  
 ἀποθνήσκομεν· τὸ γὰρ πλοῖον καταδύνει  
 εἰς τὴν θάλατταν, ὁ δὲ λέμβος ἀποχωρεῖ, καὶ οὐ  
 βεβαία ἡ σωτηρία.

(ἀναβαίνει ὁ κυβερνήτης.)

ΚΥΒ. (with relief)

σιώπα, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι. σῶον μὲν γὰρ τὸ πλοῖον, σῶοι  
 δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς. ἐν κινδύνῳ οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔσμεν.  
 καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγγὺς ἐστὶν ὁ λιμὴν. βεβαία οὖν  
 ἡ σωτηρία.

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## H

The captain brings the ship towards harbour. By now it has become dark. A rhapsode, who insists on quoting Homer on every possible occasion, is submitted to a Socratic style of inquiry about his art by Dikaiopolis.

5

ὁ οὖν κυβερνήτης τὸ πλοῖον κυβερνᾷ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα.  
 ναύτης δὲ τις τὸν κυβερνήτην ἐρωτᾷ ποῦ εἰσιν. ὁ γὰρ ναύτης  
 οὐ σαφῶς οἶδε ποῦ εἰσι· νύξ γὰρ ἐστίν. ὁ οὖν κυβερνήτης  
 λέγει ὅτι εἰς τὸν λιμένα πλέουσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ  
 ραψωδός τις. ὁ δὲ ραψωδὸς αἰεὶ ὀμηρίζει. ὁ δὲ Δικαιοπόλις  
 παίζει πρὸς τὸν ραψωδὸν ὡς περ ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς  
 τοὺς μαθητάς.

10

ΝΑΥΤΗΣ ποῦ ἔσμεν ἡμεῖς, ὦ κυβερνήτα; ἄρα οἶσθα σύ;  
 οὐ γὰρ σαφῶς οἶδα ἔγωγε. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐδὲν ὀρώ διὰ  
 τὴν νύκτα, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ποῦ ἔσμεν.

15

ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΗΣ οἶδα σαφῶς. πλέομεν γὰρ πρὸς τὸν λιμένα, ὦ  
 ναῦτα.

ΡΑΨΩΙΔΟΣ (butting into the conversation with a Homeric phrase)

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‘πλέομεν δ’ ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον.’

ΝΑΥ. τί λέγει ὁ ἄνθρωπος;

ΔΙΚ. δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι ὀμηρίζει ὁ ἄνθρωπος. ραψωδὸς οὖν  
 ἐστίν.

ΡΑΨ. ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ὦ τᾶν·

25

‘πλέομεν δ’ ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ.’

ΔΙΚ. τί λέγεις, ὦ ραψωδέ; τί τὸ ‘ἐν νηὶ μελαίνῃ’; οὐ γὰρ  
 μέλαινα ἡ ναῦς. δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι μῶρος εἶ σύ, καὶ οὐκ  
 οἶσθα οὐδὲν, ἀλλὰ παίζεις πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

ΡΑΨ. σιώπα. ‘ἐν νηὶ θοῇ’ πλέομεν, ‘κοίλῃ ἐνὶ νηί.’

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ΔΙΚ. ἄρα ἀκούετε, ὦ ναῦται; δεῦρο ἔλθετε καὶ ἀκούετε.  
 δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι μῶρος ὁ ραψωδός. οὐ γὰρ οἶδεν οὐδὲν  
 ἀκριβῶς ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ παίζει πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

## I

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ΡΑΨ. ἀλλὰ ἐγὼ μῶρος μὲν οὐκ εἰμί, πολλὰ δὲ γιννώσκω.

ΔΙΚ. πῶς σὺ πολλὰ γιννώσκεις; δῆλον μὲν οὖν ὅτι  
 ἀπαίδευτος εἶ, ὦ ραψωδέ. οὐ γὰρ οἶσθα σὺ πότερον  
 ‘μέλαινα’ ἢ ‘ναῦς’ ἢ ‘θοῇ’ ἢ ‘κοίλῃ’.

40

- ΡΑΨ. οὐ μὰ Δία, οὐκ ἀπαίδευτός εἰμι ἐγὼ περὶ Ὀμήρου.  
πολλὰ γὰρ γινώσκω διότι πολλὰ γινώσκει Ὀμηρος.  
γινώσκει γὰρ Ὀμηρος τὰ τε πολεμικὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰ  
ναυτικὰ καὶ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ καὶ τὰ στρατηγικά –
- ΔΙΚ. γινώσκεις οὖν καὶ σὺ τὰ στρατηγικὰ ἔργα;
- ΡΑΨ. πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ἐμὸν γὰρ τὸ ἔργον.
- ΔΙΚ. τί δέ; ἄρα ἔμπειρος εἶ περὶ τὰ στρατηγικά, ὦ  
ῥαψωδέ;
- ΡΑΨ. ναί. ἔμπειρος μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὰ στρατηγικὰ ἔργα ἐστὶν  
Ὀμηρος, ἔμπειρος δέ εἰμι καὶ ἐγώ.

## J

- ΔΙΚ. μία ὄν τε ἄρτι τε ῥαψωδικὴ καὶ ἡ στρατηγική;
- ΡΑΨ. μία τέχνη, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι.
- ΔΙΚ. οὐκοῦν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ῥαψωδοὶ εἰσὶν ἅμα καὶ στρατηγοὶ  
ἀγαθοί;
- ΡΑΨ. ναί, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι.
- ΔΙΚ. καὶ σὺ ἄριστος ῥαψωδὸς εἶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων;
- ΡΑΨ. μάλιστα, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι.
- ΔΙΚ. σὺ οὖν, ὦ ῥαψωδέ, στρατηγὸς ἄριστος εἶ  
τῶν Ἑλλήνων;
- ΡΑΨ. πῶς γὰρ οὐ;
- ΔΙΚ. τί λέγετε, ὦ ναῦται; ἄρα μῶρος ὁ ῥαψωδὸς ἢ οὐ;
- ΡΑΨ. μῶρος μέντοι νῆ Δία ὁ ῥαψωδός, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι.  
στρατηγὸς μὲν γὰρ δήπου ἄριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀλλὰ οὐκ οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς πότερον  
ἄριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγός.
- ΡΑΨ. δῆλόν ἐστιν, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, ὅτι Σωκρατεῖς καὶ παίζεις  
πρὸς ἐμέ. ὅ γὰρ Σωκράτης οὕτως αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς  
μαθητὰς παίζει.
- ΔΙΚ. ναί. οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ παῖδες εἰσιν.

## Section Two A–D

### The glorious past

## A

The ship is now passing the island of Salamis. The rhapsode is invited to show his skill by narrating the great naval battle of 480, fought in these straits between the Greeks and Persians.

ἢ μὲν ναῦς πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ βραδέως ἔρχεται. ὁ δὲ  
Δικαιοπόλις καὶ οἱ ναῦται καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης καὶ ὁ ῥαψωδὸς  
πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡδέως διαλέγονται. ἔρχεται δὲ ἡ ναῦς ἤδη  
παρὰ τὴν Σαλαμίνα καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης λέγει 'διὰ τί ὁ  
ῥαψωδὸς οὐ διέρχεται τὴν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν, καὶ  
διὰ τί οὐ λέγει τί γίνεται ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς καὶ πῶς  
μάχονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι, καὶ τίνα ἔργα τολμῶσι,  
καὶ ὅποσοι πίπτουσιν;' ὁ δὲ ῥαψωδὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἡδέως  
διέρχεται.

Πέρσης τις

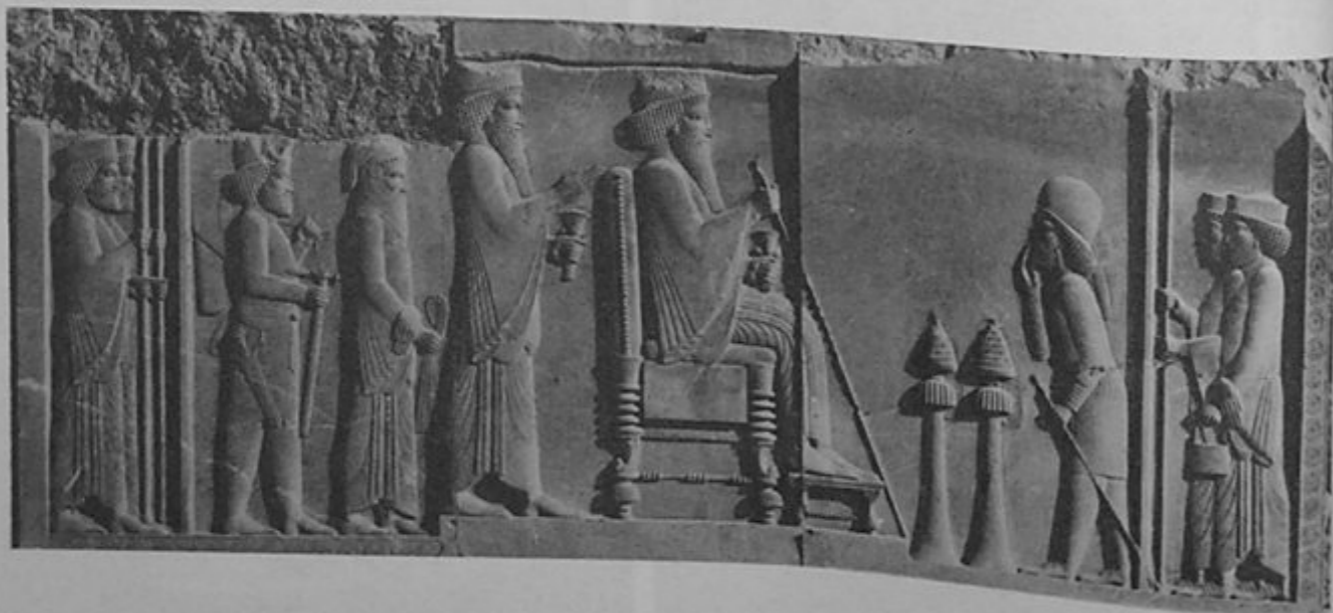
μάχονται οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι



- KYB. σὺ δέ, ὦ ραψωδέ, πολλὰ γινώσκεις περὶ Ὀμήρου.  
 πολλὰ οὖν γινώσκεις καὶ περὶ τὰ ῥητορικὰ  
 (ῥητορικὸς γὰρ Ὀμηρὸς οὐ γάρ;) ἄγε δὴ, δεῦρο ἔλθε  
 καὶ λέγε ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἵπράγματα. ἐκεῖ μὲν  
 γὰρ Σαλαμῖς ἡ νῆσος, ἐρχόμεθα δὲ ἡμεῖς βραδέως  
 παρὰ Σαλαμίνα πρὸς τὰς Ἀθήνας. λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν τὰ  
 τε Μηδικὰ καὶ τὴν περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἵναυμαχίαν καὶ  
 τὴν ἡμετέραν τόλμαν καὶ τὴν νίκη. λέγε ἡμῖν τί  
 γίγνεται ἐν τοῖς Μηδικοῖς καὶ πῶς μάχονται  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ὅποσοι πίπτουσι. σὺ  
 γάρ, ὦ φίλε, οἶσθα σαφῶς τὰ περὶ Σαλαμίνα  
 ἵπράγματα, οἱ δὲ ναῦται οὐδὲν ἴσασι.
- NAY. ναί. οὐδὲν ἴσμεν ἀκριβῶς ἡμεῖς οἱ ναῦται. ἡδέως οὖν  
 ἀκούομεν. ἀλλὰ λέγε, ὦ ραψωδέ, καὶ κάλλιστον ποιεῖ  
 τὸν λόγον.
- PAΨ. μάλιστα. ἐγὼ γὰρ αἰεὶ τοὺς λόγους καλλίστους ποιῶ.  
 ἡσυχάζετε οὖν, ὦ ναῦται, καὶ ἀκούετε.

## B

- PAΨ. ἄμην ἄειδε, Θεά, Ξέρξου θεοῦ βασιλῆος  
 ἰούλομένην  
 οἱ μὲν οὖν βάρβαροι βραδέως προσέρχονται πρὸς  
 τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀποροῦσι καὶ φοβοῦνται.  
 ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς



- πολλὴ μὲν γὰρ ἦ τῶν Περσῶν ἵστρατιά, ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν αἰ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες,  
 ὀλίγαι δὲ αἱ νῆες αἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. πολὺς μὲν οὖν ὁ  
 τῶν Ἀθηναίων κίνδυνος, πολλὴ δὲ ἡ ἀπορία, πολὺς  
 δὲ καὶ ὁ φόβος. τὰς μὲν οὖν θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς θύουσιν  
 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ πολλὰ εὐχονται, εἰσβαίνουσι δὲ  
 ταχέως εἰς τὰς ναῦς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας  
 μάχονται. ἀγαθὸν γὰρ ἡ ἐλευθερία.  
 τέλος δὲ ἀφικνοῦνται οἱ Πέρσαι, μάχονται δὲ  
 οἱ Ἕλληνες. πολλὴ γὰρ ἡ τόλμα ἡ τῶν τε Ἑλλήνων  
 καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν. καὶ ἐν τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ ὅσαι εἰσὶν  
 αἱ βροαί, ὅσαι αἱ ἀπορίαί, ὅσαι αἰ τῶν θεῶν ἵκετεῖαι.  
 τέλος δὲ νικῶσι μὲν τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ναυτικὸν οἱ  
 Ἀθηναῖοι, πίπτουσι δὲ οἱ Πέρσαι. καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα  
 ἐλευθεροῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα σώζουσι  
 διὰ τὴν τόλμαν. ἡ γὰρ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ τόλμα τὴν τε  
 ἕβριν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αἰεὶ νικῶσιν. οὕτως οὖν βεβαία  
 γίγνεται ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἵσωτηρία.

## C

The captain is not impressed, and proceeds to give his grandfather's  
 first-hand version of the battle,

σιωπᾶ ὁ ραψωδός. ὁ δὲ κυβερνήτης λέγει ὅτι οὐδὲν λέγει ὁ  
 ραψωδός. ἔπειτα καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης λέγει τὰ περὶ Σαλαμίνα  
 ἵπράγματα.

- KYB. οὐδὲν λέγεις, ὦ φίλε, καὶ οὐκ οἶσθα οὐδὲν. οὐκ οὖν  
 κάλλιστον τὸν λόγον ποιεῖς.
- PAΨ. τί φῆς; διὰ τί οὐ κάλλιστον ποιῶ τὸν λόγον;
- KYB. σκόπει δὴ. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀληθῆ ζητοῦμεν, σὺ δὲ  
 ψευδῆ λέγεις.
- PAΨ. σὺ δὲ πῶς οἶσθα πότερον τὰ ἀληθῆ λέγω ἢ ψευδῆ;
- KYB. ἄκουε, ὦ φίλε. ὁ γὰρ πάππος ὁ ἐμὸς Σαλαμινομάχης  
 καὶ πολλάκις τὰ περὶ Σαλαμίνα ἵπράγματα ἀληθῶς  
 μοι λέγει, ἀλλὰ οὐχ ὥσπερ σύ, ψευδῶς. σὺ μὲν γὰρ  
 ἴσως καλὸν τινὰ λόγον ἡμῖν λέγεις, ὁ δὲ πάππος  
 τὰ ἵπράγματα. ἡσυχίαν οὖν ἔχετε, καὶ ἀκούετε αὐθις,  
 ὦ ναῦται, τὰ καλὰ ἔργα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ὦδε γὰρ



ἡ σάλπιγξ ἤχει

τὰ πράγματα τὰ περὶ Σαλαμίνα λέγει ὁ πάππος.  
(ἡσυχίαν ἔχουσιν οἱ ναῦται)

ἀφικνεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὸ τῶν Περσῶν ναυτικόν, καὶ ἔγγυς Σαλαμῖνος μένει, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἡσυχίαν ἔχομεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ νύξ γίγνεται, ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα πλέουσι βραδέως αἱ τῶν Περσῶν νῆες. ἀλλὰ ἅμα ἔω βοή τις γίγνεται, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ σάλπιγξ ἤχει ἐκ τῶν πετρῶν, φόβος ἅμα γίγνεται ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις. ἀκούουσι γὰρ ἤδη σαφῶς τὴν βοήν.

‘ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε,  
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ’, ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ  
παῖδας, γυναῖκας· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.’

## D

ΚΥΒ. προσέρχονται μὲν οὖν ταχέως οἱ πολέμοι ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν (θεᾶται δὲ ἡδέως τὴν ναυμαχίαν Ξέρξης ὁ βασιλεύς), ἐγὼ δὲ ἀναχωρῶ καὶ ἀναχωροῦσιν οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες. ἐξαίφνης δὲ φαίνεται φάσμα τι γυναικείον, μάλα δεινόν. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ φάσμα φοβοῦμαι. ἀλλὰ λέγει τὸ φάσμα: ‘ὦ φίλοι, διὰ τί ἐτι ἀναχωρεῖτε; μὴ φοβεῖσθε τοὺς Μήδους ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖτε καὶ τολμᾶτε.’ καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν ταχέως ἐπιπλέω τε καὶ οὐκέτι φοβοῦμαι, ἐπιπλέουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι

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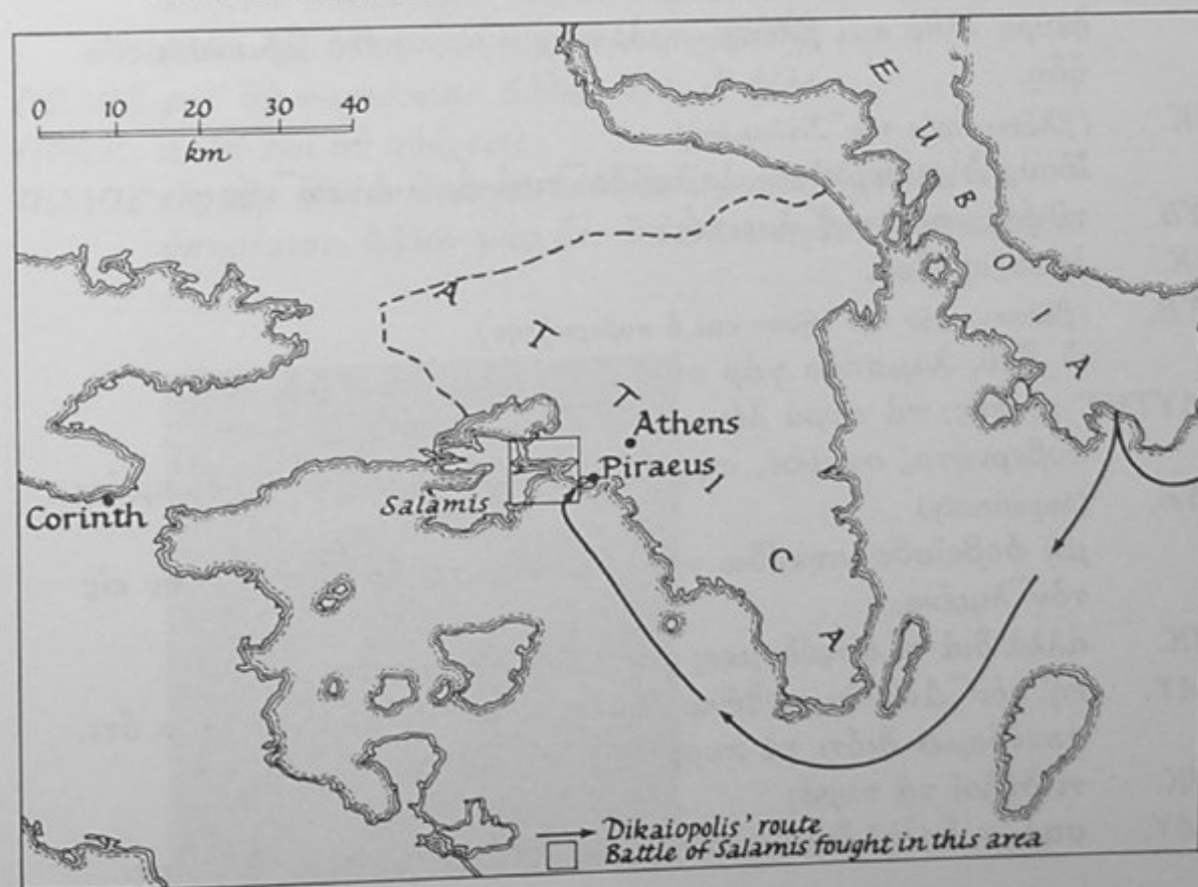
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Ἕλληνες ταχέως καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Μήδους ἐπέρχονται. νῦν δὲ κόσμῳ μαχόμεθα ἡμεῖς καὶ κατὰ τάξιν, ἀκόσμως δὲ καὶ ἀτάκτως μάχονται οἱ βάρβαροι, ἐπειδὴ οὐ τολμῶσιν ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς.

τέλος δὲ τῶν Περσῶν οἱ μὲν φεύγουσι, οἱ δὲ μένουσι καὶ πίπτουσι. καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν διώκουσι τοὺς Πέρσας, οἱ δὲ λαμβάνουσι τὰς ναῦς καὶ τοὺς ναύτας. ἐπειδὴ δὲ διώκουσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Πέρσας, φεύγει καὶ ὁ Ξέρξης καὶ τὴν ναυμαχίαν οὐκέτι θεᾶται. ἐλεύθεροι οὖν γίνονται οἱ Ἕλληνες διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν. οὕτως οὖν οἱ θεοὶ κολάζουσι τὴν τῶν Περσῶν ὑβρίν καὶ σώζουσι τὴν πόλιν.

ΔΙΚ. εὖ λέγεις, ὦ κυβερνήτα. νῦν δὲ σαφῶς καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἴσμεν περὶ τὰ Μηδικά. ἀλλὰ πολλὴ νῦν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων μεταβολή· τότε μὲν γὰρ φίλοι ἀλλήλοις οἱ Ἕλληνες, νῦν δὲ οὐκέτι ὁμονοοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. τότε μὲν ὁμόνοια ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι, νῦν δὲ μῖσος. φεῦ φεῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, φεῦ τοῦ πολέμου.

Attica and Salamis



5

10

15

20



## Section Three A–E

### Athens and Sparta

#### A

As the ship enters the harbour, Dikaiopolis sees a light shining from Salamis. The reaction of the captain is abrupt.

οὕτως οὖν ἡ ναὺς πρὸς τὸν λιμένα βραδέως χωρεῖ. ὁ δὲ Δικαιοπόλις λαμπάδα τινὰ ὄρα ἐν Σαλαμίῳ. ἐρωτᾷ οὖν ὁ κυβερνήτης πόθεν ἡ λαμπάς· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὄρα, εὐθὺς σπεύδει πρὸς τὸν λιμένα.

KYB. (pointing towards the harbour)

δεῦρο ἔλθέ καὶ βλέπε. πρὸς γὰρ τὸν λιμένα ἀφικνούμεθα ἤδη.

ΔΙΚ. (βλέπει πρὸς τὴν Σαλαμίνα)

ἰδοῦ, ὦ κυβερνήτα· λαμπάδα τινὰ ὄρω ἐν τῇ νήσῳ.

KYB. τί φῆς; πόθεν ἡ λαμπάς;

ΔΙΚ. ὀπόθεν; ἰδοῦ.

KYB. (βλέπει πρὸς τὴν νήσον καὶ ὁ κυβερνήτης)

ὦ Ζεῦ. λαμπάδα γὰρ οὐχ ὄρας, ἀλλὰ τὰ πυρά.

ΝΑΥΤΗΣ τί φῆς; τὰ πυρά λέγεις; ὦ Ζεῦ. ἄγε δὴ, ὦ κυβερνήτα, σπεῦδε, σπεῦδε καὶ σῶζε ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν λιμένα.

KYB. (impatiently)

μὴ φοβεῖσθε· σπεύδω γάρ, καὶ ἐπιστρέφει ἤδη ἡ ναὺς εἰς τὸν λιμένα.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί σπεύδομεν; ἄρα κίνδυνός τις ἐστιν;

ΝΑΥ. νῆ τὸν Δία· ἐν κινδύνῳ ἐσμέν, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι σπεύδομεν διότι τὰ πυρά δηλοῖ τι δεινόν.

ΔΙΚ. τί δηλοῖ τὰ πυρά;

ΝΑΥ. σαφῶς δηλοῖ ὅτι αἱ πολέμια νῆες ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς ἐπέρχονται.

#### B

The scene on shore is one of utter confusion. Polos comes out of his house to find out what is going on, and meets his neighbour Protarchos who, as an armed soldier on a trireme, is running to get his weapons.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ταῦτα τὰ πυρά ὄρωσι, πολὺς γίνεται ἐν τῷ λιμένι θόρυβος, πολλαὶ δὲ αἱ βοαί, οὐδαμοῦ δὲ κόσμος. νύξ γάρ ἐστι, καὶ πολλοὶ ἄνδρες φαίνονται ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ τὰ πυρά θεῶνται. Πρώταρχος καὶ Πῶλος ὁ γείτων ὄρωσι τοὺς ἄνδρας.

ΠΩΛΟΣ (ἔξω θεῖ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας)

εἰπέ μοι, τίς ἡ βοή αὕτη; τίς ὁ θόρυβος οὗτος, ὦ γείτον; ἄρα οἶσθα; μέγας μὲν γὰρ ὁ θόρυβος, μεγάλη δὲ ἡ βοή ἡ ἐν τῷ λιμένι.

ΠΡΩΤΑΡΧΟΣ (θεῖ οἴκαδε)

δεῦρο ἔλθέ, ὦ γείτον, καὶ ἐκεῖσε βλέπε. ἄρα οὐχ ὄρας ἐκεῖνα τὰ πυρά; ἰδοῦ. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐν κινδύνῳ ἐστὶν ἡ Σαλαμίς.

ΠΩΛΟΣ εἰπέ μοι, ὦ γείτον, ποῖ τρέχεις;

ΠΡΩΤ. οἴκαδε τρέχω ἔγωγε ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα. εἶτα δὲ εἰς τὴν ναῦν ταχέως πορεύομαι. δεινὸς γὰρ οὗτος ὁ κίνδυνος καὶ μέγας. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί σὺ οὐ μετὰ ἐμοῦ πορεύῃ;

ΠΩΛΟΣ καὶ δὴ πορεύομαι. ἀλλὰ μένε, ὦ φίλε.

ΠΡΩΤ. ἀλλὰ ποῖ σὺ τρέχεις;

ΠΩΛΟΣ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ἔγωγε, ἐπὶ τὸν τροπωτήρα καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πορευόμεθα.



τὰ ὄπλα

οὕτως οὖν ἐκφέρει ὁ μὲν Πῶλος τὸν τε ἵτροπωτῆρα καὶ τὸ ὑπηρέσιον, ὃ δὲ τοῦ Πρωτάρχου ἵπαις τὰ τε ὄπλα καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα ἐκφέρει. ἔπειτα πορεύονται οἱ ἄνδρες πρὸς τὸν λιμένα.

## C

Back on the ship, the rhapsode is terrified, but the crew assures him all will be well.

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ ὃ τε Δικαιοπόλις καὶ οἱ ναῦται ἔτι πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλέγονται.

ΔΙΚ. ὦ Ζεῦ. δεινὸς ὁ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κίνδυνος καὶ μέγας. ἰδού, ὦ ῥαψωδέ· ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνήρ; οὐ γὰρ ὄρω ἐκείνον τὸν ἄνδρα.

ΝΑΥ. ἰδού, 'πτώσσει' οὗτος ὁ ῥαψωδὸς ἐν τῇ νηί, ὥσπερ Ἀχαιὸς ὑφ' Ἑκτορί'. φοβεῖται γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους.

ΔΙΚ. εἰπέ μοι, ὦ ῥαψωδέ, τί ποιεῖς; τίς φόβος λαμβάνει σε; σὺ γὰρ στρατηγὸς εἶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστος. μὴ ποίει τοῦτο μηδὲ φοβοῦ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τούτους. ἰδού, ἐγγὺς τοῦ λιμένος ἐσμὲν ἤδη. μὴ οὖν φοβοῦ.

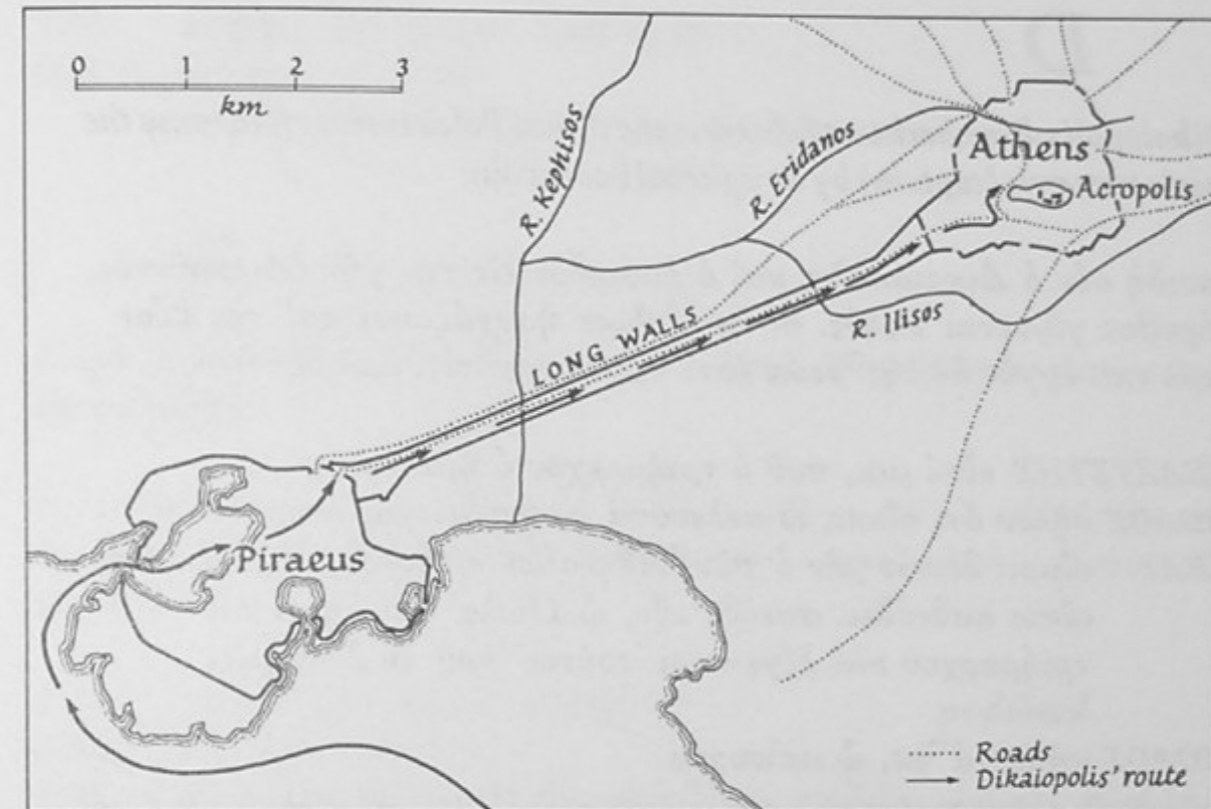
ΡΑΨ. (still shaking with fear)

τί φῆς; ἄρα ἀφικνοῦνται οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι; φοβοῦμαι γὰρ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἔγωγε. τοὺς γὰρ ναύτας λαμβάνουσιν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιν.

ΝΑΥ. ἀλλὰ οὐδεμία ναὺς ἔρχεται, ὦ τᾶν, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ἀφικνεῖται Λακεδαιμόνιος οὐδεὶς, οὐδὲ λαμβάνει οὐδένα οὐδὲ ἀποκτείνει. σὺ δὲ οὐ μιμνήσκῃ τοὺς τοῦ Περικλέους λόγους;

ΡΑΨ. τίνες οἱ λόγοι; λέγε μοι· οὐ γὰρ μιμνήσκομαι.

ΝΑΥ. ἄκουε οὖν τί λέγει ὁ Περικλῆς ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν· 'μὴ φοβεῖσθε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ κρατοῦσι κατὰ γῆν, ἡμεῖς δὲ κατὰ θάλατταν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔχομεν ἐμπειρίαν τινὰ κατὰ γῆν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσιν εἰς τὰ ναυτικά ἔμπειρίαν. καὶ δὴ καὶ οὐ ῥαδίως μανθάνουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ναυτικά, εὖ οἶδα ὅτι, ἐπειδὴ γεωργοὶ εἰσι καὶ οὐ θαλάττιοι.



Athens and the harbours of Piraeus

τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνη ἐστὶ· καὶ ταύτην μανθάνουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὴν μελετήν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας, ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς. ὑμεῖς γὰρ δὴ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι οὐ ῥαδίως, ἀλλὰ χαλεπῶς καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς μελετῆς, μανθάνετε ταύτην τὴν τέχνην. — “ἀλλὰ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι” — φησί τις ὑμῶν — “ἄρα οὐ μελετῶσιν;” — ἐγὼ δὲ ἀποκρίνομαι “οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς, ἐπειδὴ κρατοῦμεν κατὰ θάλατταν, κωλύομεν.”

ΔΙΚ. (comfortingly)

καὶ μὴν ὀράτε τὸν λιμένα. ὅσαι αἱ λαμπάδες, ὅσαι αἱ νῆες, ὅσος ὁ θόρυβος, ὅσοι οἱ ἄνδρες. ἰδού· ὥσπερ μύρμηκες, οὕτω συνέρχονται ἐκεῖνοι οἱ ναῦται εἰς τὸν λιμένα. μέγα γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ τῶν τε νεῶν καὶ τῶν τριηράρχων.

## D

Dikaiopolis disembarks and observes the chaos. Polos is sent off to rouse the ship's trierarch (captain) by an agitated boatswain.

ἐπειδὴ οὖν ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ ὁ ῥαψωδὸς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀφικνοῦνται, θόρυβος γίγνεται πολὺς. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες ἠσυχάζουσι καὶ τὴν θεάν θεῶνται. ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς νεώς ἐστὶ κελευστής τις, βοᾷ δὲ οὕτως.

ΚΕΛΕΥΣΤΗΣ εἰπέ μοι, ποῦ ὁ τριήραρχος ὁ ἡμέτερος; 10  
ΠΩΛΟΣ δῆλον ὅτι οἴκοι, ὦ κελευστά. καθεύδει γάρ που.  
ΚΕΛ. οἴμοι. δεινὸς μὲν ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κίνδυνος, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνος οἴκοι καθεύδει. σπεύδε οὖν, ὦ Πῶλε, καὶ ζήτητε τὸν τριήραρχον καὶ λέγετε περὶ τούτου τοῦ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι κινδύνου. 15

ΠΩΛΟΣ μάλιστα γέ, ὦ κελευστά.  
(οὕτως οὖν τρέχει ταχέως πρὸς τὸν τριήραρχον ὁ Πῶλος. τέλος δὲ εἰς τὴν θύραν ἀφικνεῖται.)

ΠΩΛΟΣ (knocks on the door)  
παῖ, παῖ. τί ποιεῖς; ἄρα καθεύδει ὁ παῖς; παῖ, παῖ. 20  
ΠΑΙΣ (blearily)  
τίς ἐστι; τίς βοᾷ;  
(opens the door)  
διὰ τί καλεῖς με; τίνα ζητεῖς;

ΠΩΛΟΣ εἰπέ μοι, ἄρα ἔνδον ἐστὶν ὁ τριήραρχος; ἢ οὐχ οὕτως; 25  
ΠΑΙΣ οὕτως γέ.

ΠΩΛΟΣ φέρε, ὦ παῖ, διὰ τί ἔτι μένεις καὶ οὐ καλεῖς τὸν δεσπότην; ζητῶ γὰρ ἐκείνον.

ΠΑΙΣ ἀλλὰ ἀδύνατον· καθεύδει γὰρ ὁ δεσπότης ἤσυχος.  
(shuts the door)

ΠΩΛΟΣ τί φῆς; ἀδύνατον; βάλλε εἰς κόρακας· μὴ παίξε πρὸς ἐμέ. 30  
(he approaches the door)  
διὰ τί οὐ κόπτω ταύτην τὴν θύραν; τριήραρχε, τριήραρχε· σὲ γὰρ βοῶ.

ΤΡΙΗΡΑΡΧΟΣ βάλλε εἰς κόρακας. ἀλλὰ τίς κόπτει τὴν θύραν; τί 35  
τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐστὶ; τίς καλεῖ με; τίς βοᾷ;

ΠΩΛΟΣ Πῶλος καλεῖ σε, ὁ Κυδαθηναίευσ, ἐγώ.

ΤΡΙ. ἀλλὰ καθεύδω ἤσυχος –

ΠΩΛΟΣ ἀλλὰ μὴ κάθευδε, ὦ τριήραρχε· ἐν κινδύνῳ γὰρ ἡ Σαλαμίς. 40  
ἔλθε καὶ βλέπε ἐκείσε. ἄρα οὐχ ὄρας ἐκεῖνα τὰ πυρά;

ΤΡΙ. τί φῆς; ἄρα παίζεις πρὸς ἐμέ;  
(ὄρα τὰ πυρά τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ)  
οἴμοι. μένε, ὦ Πῶλε. ταχὺ γὰρ ἔρχομαι.

## E

Captain and crew finally embark on their trireme. Ritual prayers accompany their departure.

τέλος δὲ ἐμβαίνουσι μὲν εἰς τὰς ναῦς οἱ ναῦται καὶ ὁ κελευστής, 10  
ἐμβαίνει δὲ καὶ ὁ τριήραρχος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκείνος κελεύει, ἡ ναῦς ἀποπλεῖ.

ΤΡΙ. κατακέλευε δὴ, ὦ κελευστά. 15

ΚΕΛ. ὦπ ὄπ ὦπ ὄπ.

ΤΡΙ. εὖ γε. νῦν γὰρ σπονδὴν τοῖς θεοῖς σπένδω καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς εὐχομαι.

(τὰς εὐχὰς εὐχεται)

ὦναξ Πόσειδον – σὺ μὲν γὰρ σωτὴρ ἄριστος τῶν ναυτῶν, 20  
ἡμεῖς δὲ πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας σοι θυσίας  
θύομεν – σῶζε ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα πάλιν.

(τὴν σπονδὴν σπένδει)

νῦν δὲ κατακέλευε αὖθις, ὦ κελευστά.

ΚΕΛ. ὦπ ὄπ ὦπ ὄπ. εὖ γε, ὦνδρες. ἀποπλεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἡμετέρα 25  
ναῦς.

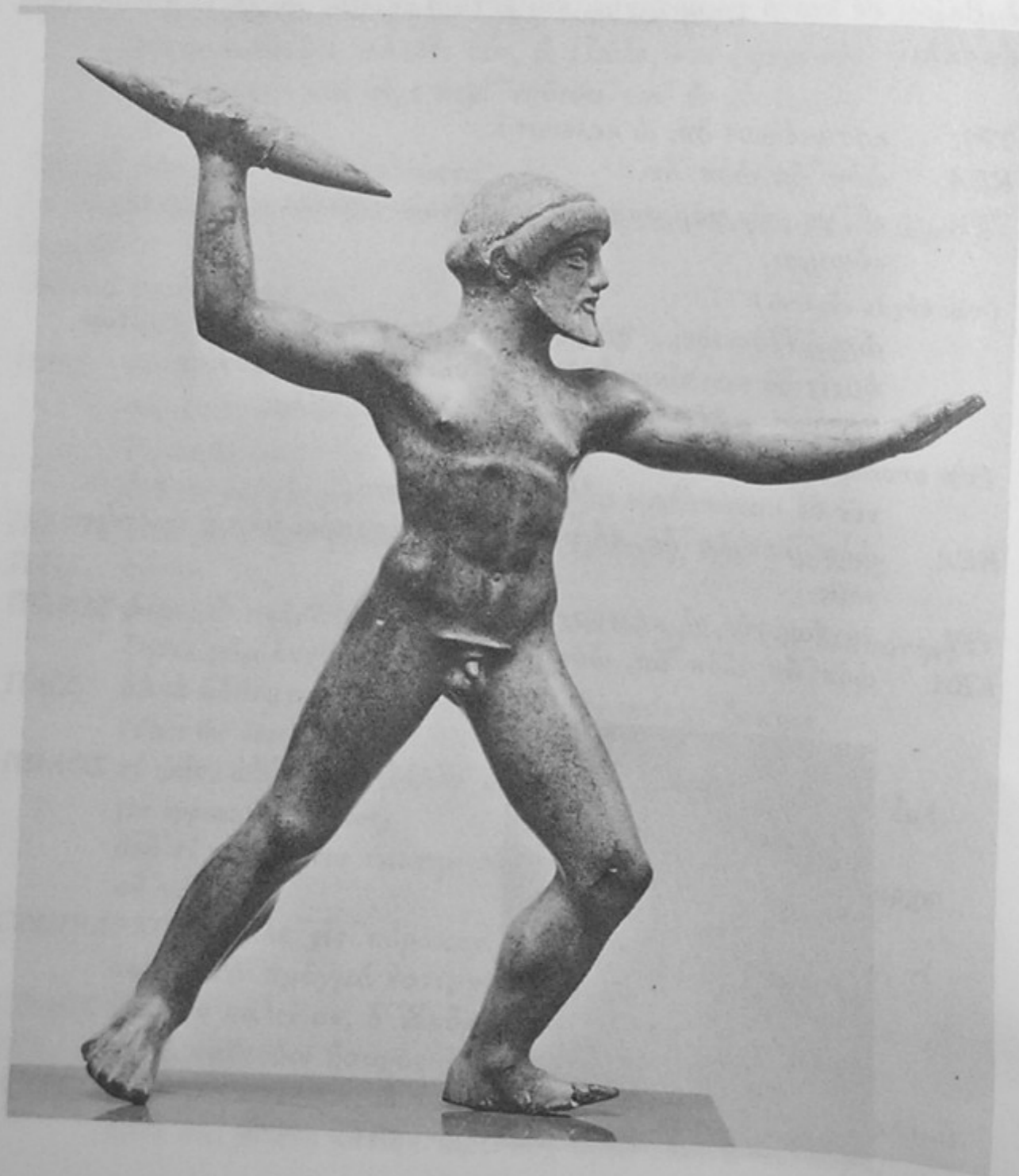
ΤΡΙ. ταχέως νῦν, ὦ κελευστά· κατακέλευε δὴ.

ΚΕΛ. ὦπ ὄπ, ὦπ ὄπ, ὦπ ὄπ.



τὴν σπονδὴν σπένδει

Zeús



## PART TWO

### *Moral decay?*

#### *Introduction*

The later part of the fifth century was a time when many traditional values were shaken by new ideas. As Dikaiopolis and the rhapsode make their way towards Athens, a city torn by war and plague, they see examples of the breakdown of conventional respect for law and the gods.

The changing attitude to traditional values is explored further through consideration of the influence of Socrates (*Σωκράτης*) as seen by both the comic poet Aristophanes (*Ἀριστοφάνης*) and the philosopher Plato (*Πλάτων*) and of the sophists.

Contemporary interest in the comparison of behaviour in different societies is illustrated by a story from the historian Herodotus (*Ἡρόδοτος*) before we return to Dikaiopolis and the immediate problems of the war.

#### *Sources*

Thucydides, *Histories* 2.13–

17, 51–3, 66–7; 3.83

Pindar, *Pythian* 8.135

Euripides, *Alkestis* 78off.

Xenophon, *Hellenika* 2.iii.52ff.

Solon, *Elegies* 4.31–2 (West)

Aristophanes, *Clouds* 1–246,

694–791

Plato, *Apology* 20c–23b

*Euthydemus* 275–277c

Herodotus, *Histories* 4.110–16

#### *Time to be taken*

Seven weeks

## Section Four A–D

### Lawlessness in Athenian life

#### A

Dikaiopolis and the rhapsode walk up towards the city between the Long Walls, through an area crowded with makeshift dwellings, where Dikaiopolis has now made his home. All around are funeral pyres, ready to receive their dead; one belongs to a neighbour of Dikaiopolis.

- ΡΑΨ. ὦ Ἡράκλεις. ὅσον ἄνθρώπων ἰπλήθος. πλέα γὰρ φαίνεται τὰ τεῖχη. διὰ τί τοσοῦτον ἰπλήθος ἔχει ἡ πόλις, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι; οἴμοι, τί τοῦτο; πυράς τινας ὄρω. εἶπέ μοι, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, τίς ἡ αἰτία; ἡ ἴπου δῆλον ὅτι δαίμων τις κακὸς κολάζει τὴν πόλιν.
- ΔΙΚ. κακοδαίμων νῆ Δία ἡ πόλις ἐστίν, ὦ ραψωδέ, κακόδαιμον δὲ τὸ πλῆθος, κακοδαίμονες δὲ οἱ γεωργοὶ μάλιστα. αἴτιος δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ πόλεμος, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς.
- ΡΑΨ. ἀλλὰ στρατηγὸς ἄριστος ὁ Περικλῆς. ὁ γὰρ ναύτης –
- ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι φιλεῖ τὸν Περικλέα ἐκεῖνος, ναύτης ὢν. ἐγὼ δὲ ναύτης οὐκ εἰμι, ἀλλὰ γεωργός. καὶ γεωργὸς ὢν Περικλέα αἴτιον νομίζω. φησὶ γάρ – ‘ἡμεῖς μὲν κρατοῦμεν κατὰ θάλατταν, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κατὰ γῆν. καταλείπετε οὖν, ὦ γεωργοί, τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὴν γῆν, καὶ εἰσκομίζεσθε εἰς τὸ ἄστυ τὰ ὑμέτερα ἰσκεύη. καὶ μὴ φροντίζετε. πόλις γὰρ οὐκ οἰκήσεις ἡ γῆ, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρες.’ οὕτω μὲν οὖν πείθει ἡμᾶς ὁ Περικλῆς, ῥήτωρ ὢν πιθανός. ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσκομιζόμεθα ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἰσκεύη. τὰ δὲ πρόβατα εἰς τὴν Εὐβοίαν διαπεμπόμεθα.
- ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡμεῖς, πολλοὶ ὄντες, ἀφικνούμεθα εἰς τὸ ἄστυ, χαλεπὸν γίνεταί τὸ πρᾶγμα. τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἰκήσεις, ὀλίγας οὔσας, ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄστοί, ἡμεῖς δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ



ὀλοφύρομαι τὸν ἐμὸν υἱόν, οὐκέτ' ὄντα

μακρὰ τεῖχη, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ ἱερὰ οἰκοῦμεν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἡ νόσος ἐπιγίγνεται, καὶ δεινὴ οὔσα πολλοὺς ἄνδρας διαφθείρει καὶ πολλὰς γυναῖκας καὶ πολλὰ παιδιά. διαφθείρει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς οἰκείους ἡ νόσος. ὀλοφύρομαι γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν τὸν ἐμὸν υἱόν, οὐκέτ' ὄντα, καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν γυναῖκα, οὐκέτ' οὔσαν. ἔχεις τὸ πρᾶγμα. ἐμὲ οὖν ὄρας, ὦ ραψωδέ, κακοδαίμονα ὄντα. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ὄρας κακοδαίμονα δὴ οὔσαν. τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄρας κακοδαίμονας ὄντας.

#### B

At this moment a young man approaches, followed at a distance by his slave, who is labouring under a heavy weight.

- NEANIAΣ ἰδοῦ, πυρά. δεῦρ' ἔλθέ, ὦ παῖ, ταχέως.
- ΔΟΥΛΟΣ μένε, ὦ δέσποτα, μένε καὶ μὴ σπεῦδε. βαρὺς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ νεκρὸς οὗτος, βαρὺν δ' ὄντα βραδέως δὴ φέρω ἔγωγε.
- ΔΙΚ. (overhearing)  
τί φῆς; νεκρὸν τίνα φέρεις;
- NEAN. (ignoring Dikaiopolis)  
ἄγε νυν, ὦ παῖ, ἐπίβαλλε τὸν νεκρὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ταύτην.
- ΔΙΚ. (shocked, comes forward)  
ἀλλὰ τί ποιεῖτε; μὴ ποιεῖτε τοῦτο, πρὸς θεῶν. παύεσθε.

NEAN. (turns angrily on Dikaiopolis and hits him)

μη κώλυε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε.

ΔΙΚ. ὦ μίαιρε, τύπτεις ἐμὲ πολίτην ὄντα; ὦ τῆς ὑβρεως. μη τύπτε.

ΓΕΡΩΝ (comes out of his shack)

τί τὸ πρᾶγμα; τίνες αἱ βοαί; οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς; τύπτεις πολίτην; ὦ τῆς ἀνομίας. παῦε. οἴμοι, τί τοῦτο; νεκρὸν ἐπιβάλλεις ἐπ' ἐκείνην τὴν πυράν; ὦ τῆς ἀσεβείας. παῦε —

NEAN. (threateningly)

μη κώλυε, ὦ γέρον.

ΓΕΡ. ἀλλὰ θάπτω τήμερον τὸν ἐμὸν υἱόν, καὶ ἐμὴ ἢ πυρά.

NEAN. οὐ φροντίζω ἔγωγε.

ΓΕΡ. ἄρ' οὐ σέβη τοὺς θεοὺς; ἄρ' οὐ τιμᾶς τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων νόμους; ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει σε, οὔτε θεῶν φόβος οὔτε ἀνθρώπων νόμος;

NEAN. τί φῆς; νεκροὶ ἐπὶ νεκροῖς πίπτουσιν, ἀποθνήσκουσι δ' οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡσπερ πρόβατα ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. σὺ δέ μοι θεοὺς λέγεις καὶ νόμους; ὦ μῶρε σὺ — οἱ γὰρ θεοὶ ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν ἢ οὐ φροντίζουσιν ἡμῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ νόσος διαφθείρει τοὺς ἄσεβεῖς ἅμα καὶ τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς. ποῦ γὰρ ἡ ἐμὴ μήτηρ καὶ ὁ πατήρ, εὐσεβοῦντες αἰεὶ; νῦν δὲ ποῦ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀδελφός, εὐσεβέστατος ἀνθρώπων ὢν; ἰδοῦ.

(points to the corpse)

καὶ μή μοι λέγε περὶ νόμων καὶ ὑβρεως. οὐ γὰρ φοβοῦμαι τὴν κόλασιν. ἢ οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι ἐφήμεροι οἱ ἄνθρωποι; τί δ' ἐσμὲν; τί δ' οὐκ ἐσμὲν;

ἄσκιας ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος'.

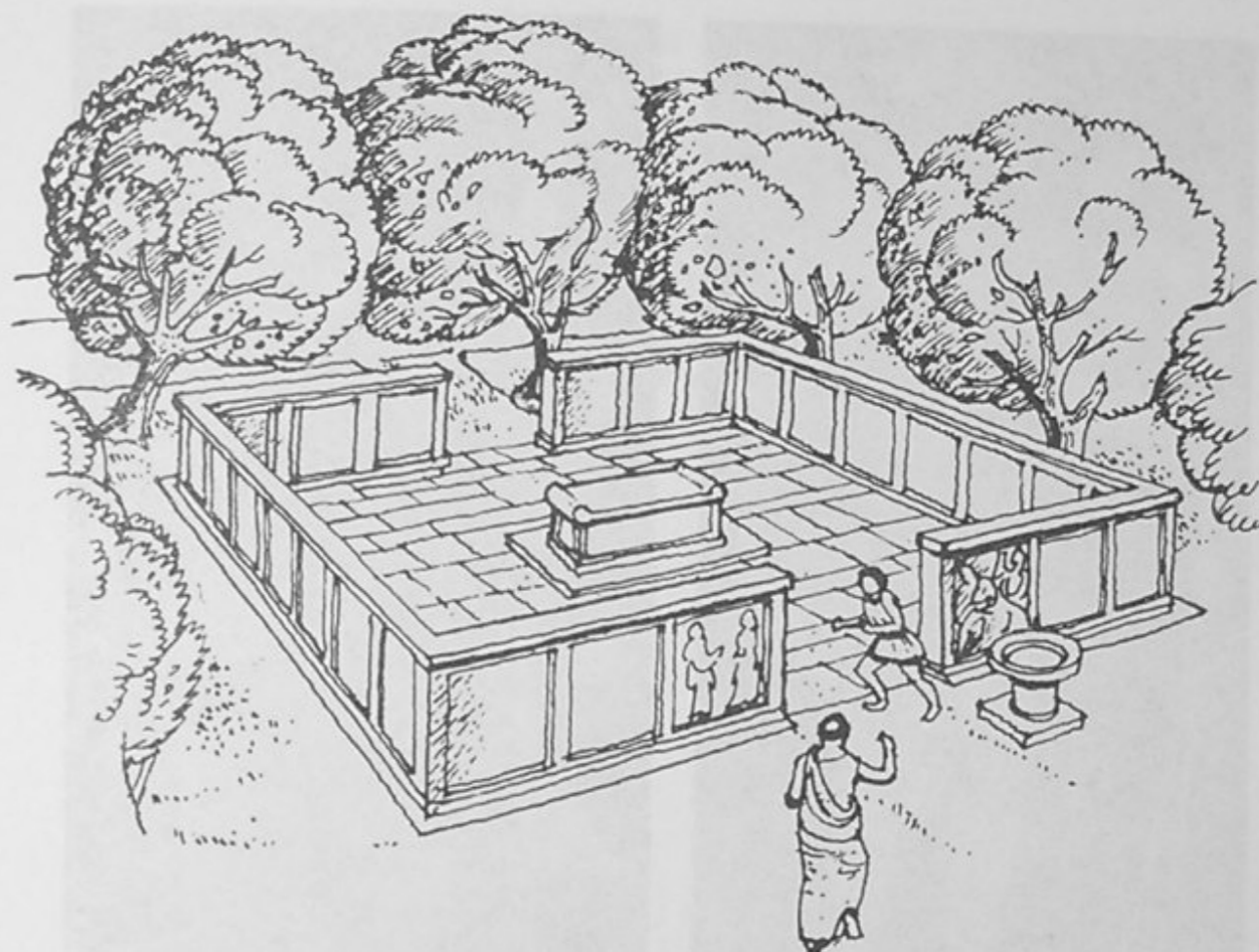
(sets light to the pyre)

ΓΕΡ. παῦε, παῦε. ἀτιμάζεις γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς, θνητὸς ὢν.

NEAN. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀτιμάζω τοὺς θεοὺς ἔγωγε. τιμῶ γὰρ μάλιστα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. καλὴ γὰρ καὶ εὐφρων ἡ θεός. καλὴ γὰρ καὶ εὐφρων οὐσα ἡ θεός, εὐδαίμονα ποιεῖ τὸν βίον. ἐγὼ οὖν πρὸς Ἀφροδίτην τρέπομαι καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν, καλὰς οὐσας.

He goes off, helped by the slave. The old man looks on.

ΔΙΚ. ἄρα θαυμάζεις, ὦ ῥαψωδέ, ὅτι τὸ ἄστυ μισῶ, γεωργὸς ὢν, καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶ; ἐν γὰρ τῇ πόλει οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀνομία καὶ ἀσέβεια καὶ νόσος καὶ πολὺ τῶν νεκρῶν πλῆθος.



τὸ ἱερόν

## C

Δικαιοπόλις καὶ ὁ ῥαψωδὸς πορεύονται εἰς τὸ ἄστυ. ἐξαίφνης δ' ἀνὴρ τις τρέχει πρὸς αὐτοὺς.

ΔΙΚ. εἶπέ μοι, ὦ ῥαψωδέ, τίς ὁ θόρυβος; τίνες αἱ βοαί; τί γίνεται;

ΡΑΨ. ἰδοῦ, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, ἄνθρωπός τις δεῦρο τρέχει. ἄρ' ὄρας τὸν ἄνδρα; ἢ λανθάνει σε ὁ ἀνὴρ δεῦρο τρέχων;

ΔΙΚ. οὐ μὰ Δία. ὄρω γὰρ αὐτὸν προστρέχοντα. ἀλλ' ἄτοπον τὸ πρᾶγμα. τίς πότ' ἐστίν;

ΡΑΨ. ἴσως δούλός τις ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποφεύγων τυγχάνει.



χλαμύδα ἔχει

καθίζεται ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ξένος,  
ικέτης ὦν

- ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ δοῦλος μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὀδοιπόρος δὲ ὦν φαίνεται. ἢ  
λανθάνει σε ὁ ἀνὴρ χλαμύδα ἔχων;
- ΡΑΨ. ὀρθῶς λέγεις, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι. ἀλλ' ἴσως ξένος ἐστίν.
- ΔΙΚ. ἰδοῦ. τρέχει γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἱερόν. ἀλλὰ τί  
πάσχει, φεύγων εἰς τὸ ἱερόν;
- ΡΑΨ. δῆλον ὅτι ἐφ' ἰκετεῖαν τρέπεται. καὶ μὴν προσέρχονται  
ἄνδρες τινές. καὶ δῆλοί εἰσι διώκοντες τὸν ἄνδρα.
- ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο τὸ πρᾶγμα; προσέρχεται γὰρ κῆρυξ  
καὶ — οἱ ἔνδεκα καὶ οἱ ὑπηρέται. ἀλλὰ ὁ ἀνὴρ φθάνει  
τοὺς ἔνδεκα εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τρέχων.
- The leader of the Eleven, Satyros, approaches.  
ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ ποῖ φεύγει ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος; ποῦ ἔστιν;  
(turns to the rhapsode)

40

οὗτος, ἄρ' οἴσθα ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ φεύγων; ἢ λανθάνει σε ὁ ἀνὴρ  
φεύγων;

ΡΑΨ. οὐ λανθάνει ἐμέ. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἱερῷ ἔστιν, ἰκέτης ὦν.

ΣΑΤ. δεῦρ' ἔλθετε, ὦ ὑπηρέται, εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ ἱερόν. ἀπάγετε  
ταχέως τὸν ξένον, Λακεδαιμόνιον ὄντα.

ΔΙΚ. μὴ ἄπαγε τὸν φεύγοντα, ὦ κῆρυξ, καίπερ Λακεδαιμόνιον  
ὄντα. ἰκέτης γὰρ τυγχάνει ὦν ὁ ξένος, καὶ φθάνει ὑμᾶς εἰς  
τὸ ἱερόν τρέχων. ἰκέτης δ' ὦν, ὅσιός ἐστιν.

ΡΑΨ. 'πρὸς' γὰρ ἸΔιός εἰσιν ἅπαντες  
ξείνοι'

The herald intervenes.

ΚΗΡΥΞ μὴ φροντίζετε, ὦ ὑπηρέται, ἀλλ' ἀπάγετε τὸν ἄνδρα.

ΔΙΚ. ὦ τῆς ἀνομίας. δυστυχῆς δὴ φαίνεται ὦν ὁ ξένος.

## D

(looks inside the sanctuary)

ΔΙΚ. ἰδοῦ, ὦ ραψωδέ, ἄρ' ὄρας; ὦ τῆς ἀσεβείας. καθίζεται γὰρ  
ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ δυστυχῆς ξένος, ἰκέτης ὦν, ἀλλ'  
ἀφέλκουσι μὲν αὐτὸν οἱ ὑπηρέται, λαμβάνεται δὲ  
τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ξένος καὶ ἐπικαλεῖται τοὺς θεούς. ὦ πόλις,  
πόλις.

(watches what happens inside)

ΣΑΤ. ἀφέλκετε τὸν ἄνδρα τούτον, Λακεδαιμόνιον ὄντα, ἀπὸ  
τοῦ βωμοῦ.

ΞΕΝΟΣ ἐπικαλοῦμαι τοὺς θεούς —

ΥΠΗΡΕΤΗΣ ΤΙΣ ἀλλὰ λαμβάνεται ὁ ξένος τοῦ βωμοῦ, ὦ Σάτυρε.

ΣΑΤ. ἀπόκοπτε τὰς χεῖρας.

ΞΕΝΟΣ (sees Dikaiopolis and the rhapsode)

ἐπικαλοῦμαι ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες.

ΔΙΚ. ἐπικαλεῖται ἡμᾶς ὁ ξένος, ὦ ραψωδέ, καὶ οὐ παύεται  
ἐπικαλούμενος.

ΡΑΨ. (ἡσυχάζει ὁ ραψωδός. τέλος δὲ λέγει)

ἀλλ' ὅμως ἡσύχαζε καὶ σύ, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, καὶ παῦε  
ὀλοφυρόμενος, καὶ μὴ ποίει μηδέν. ἄρ' οὐχ ὄρας ἐκείνους  
τοὺς ὑπηρέτας, τοὺς τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας;

ΞΕΝΟΣ (οὐ παύεται ἐπικαλούμενος τοὺς θεούς)

ὦ θεοί, καθοράτε τί πάσχω. καθοράτε τοὺς περι Δία  
ἰκέσιον καὶ ξένιον ἄσεβοῦντας.

40

(ἀφέλκουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ οἱ ὑπηρέται τὸν τοὺς θεοὺς ἑπικαλούμενον)

ΣΑΤ. παῦε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τοὺς θεοὺς ἑπικαλούμενος. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὦ ὑπηρέται, ἀπάγετε τὸν ἄνθρωπον πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Λακεδαιμονίους.

ΞΕΝΟΣ ἄρ' ὑμεῖς, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀφέλκετε τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἱερά φεύγοντας; ἄρ' ἀποκτείνετε τοὺς ἐφ' ἱκετείαν ἵτρεπομένους; ἀλλά, ναὶ τῷ σιῶ, δῆλοί ἐστε περὶ ἀνθρώπους ἄδικοι ὄντες καὶ περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖς.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ξένος ἐκεῖνος;

ΣΑΤ. πρεσβευτῆς τις ὢν τυγχάνει –

ΔΙΚ. τί φῆς; πρεσβευτῆς; ὦ τῆς ἀνομίας. ἄρ' ἀποκτείνεις τοὺς πρέσβεις;

ΣΑΤ. πρεσβευτῆς τις καὶ πορευόμενος τυγχάνει πρὸς βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν. σὺ δὲ δῆλος εἶ φιλῶν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. σιώπα οὖν καὶ παῦε ὀλοφυρόμενος τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον.

(οἱ μὲν ὑπηρέται ἀπάγουσι τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον πρὸς τὴν ἀγοράν. ὁ δὲ ξένος οὐ παύεται βοῶν καὶ δηλῶν τί πάσχει ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.)

ΔΙΚ. δῆλόν ἐστιν ὅτι μισοῦσι τὸν ἄνδρα οἱ θεοί. ἀποκτείνουσι γὰρ αὐτόν, καίπερ πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἱκέτην ὄντα. ἦ ποῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη ἐκ θεῶν λαμβάνει αὐτὸν διὰ τοὺς προγόνους καὶ τὴν τῶν προγόνων ὕβριν.

ἀλλὰ τί πάσχει ἡ πόλις ἢ ἡμετέρα; τί γίγνεται; βίαιος διδάσκαλος φαίνεται ὢν ὁ πόλεμος, ὦ ῥαψωδέ. ἐν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ οὐ γίγνεται ταῦτα. ἐν μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνῃ εὐνομία καὶ εὐπορία ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἐν δὲ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀνομία καὶ ἀπορία.

ΡΑΨ. ὥς κακὰ πλείστα πόλει Δυσνομίη παρέχει, Εὐνομίη δ' εὐκοσμία καὶ ἄρτια πάντ' ἀποφαίνει.'

## Section Five A–H

### 'Socrates corrupts the young'

#### Introduction

The questioning of traditional morality, which could be seen either as a new humanism or as moral degeneracy, was popularly associated with the influence of people like Socrates and the sophists. Socrates had a profound influence on Greek thought of his time, and the philosopher Plato, from whose writings we derive much of our idea of Socrates, was one of his most ardent disciples. Others, however, regarded him as a pernicious influence on Athenian society, and the claims that he 'corrupted the young' and 'believed in strange gods' led to his trial and execution in 399.

The comic poet Aristophanes exploits all the humorous possibilities of popular prejudice against 'intellectuals' with their 'new-fangled' ideas and their arguments which are 'too clever by half' in his portrayal of Socrates in his comedy *Clouds*.

#### Note

The Greek you have been reading so far has been adapted very heavily from original sources. The ideas and original vocabulary have been kept, but the sentence construction has been noticeably different.

From now on, you will, for the most part, be reading continuous extracts from single works (rather than collations of sources), and the Greek of the text will approximate more and more closely to the original. For example, Strepsiades' first ten words in this extract are the actual opening of the *Clouds*.



## A

Strepsiades, an old man, is deep in debt because of his son's expensive tastes and cannot sleep because of his worries.

ὁ Στρεψιάδης ὀλοφυρόμενος τυγχάνει διότι πολλὰ χρήματα ὀφείλει. ὁ γὰρ υἱός, ἵππομανῆς ὢν, πολλὰ χρήματα ἀεὶ λαμβάνει. νῦν δὲ τυγχάνει βαθέως καθεύδων ὁ υἱός, ὕπνος δ' οὐκ ἔχει τὸν πατέρα.

ΣΤΡΕΨΙΑΔΗΣ (yawning and groaning)

ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ. τὸ χρήμα τῶν νυκτῶν, ὅσον ἐστὶ καὶ οὐδέπω ἡμέρα γίγνεται.

(turns round as he hears some loud snores)

ἰδοῦ, βαθέως καθεύδει ὁ υἱός καὶ οὐ παύεται καθεύδων.

(lies down again to try to sleep)

οἴμοι τάλας. ἀλλ' ὕπνος βαθὺς οὐδέπω μ' ἔχει. ἄγρυπνος δ' εἰμὶ ὁ δυστυχής. ἄγρυπνον δ' ὄντα με δάκνει τὰ χρέα βαρέα ὄντα. χρήματα γὰρ πολλὰ ὀφείλω διὰ τὸν υἱὸν τουτονί, ὀφείλοντα δέ με διώκουσιν οἱ χρήσται καὶ δίκην λαμβάνουσιν ἀεὶ.

(again tries to sleep)

ἀλλ' ἔτι ἄγρυπνός εἰμι, καὶ ἀπορώ. καὶ χθὲς ἄγρυπνος ἦ ἐγώ, σχεδὸν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα. ὀλίγον γὰρ τινα χρόνον ἐκάθευδον ἐγώ. ἀλλ' ὅτε ἐκάθευδον, τότε ἐν τοῖς ὄνειροις ἐδίωκόν με οἱ χρήσται καὶ δίκην ἐλάμβανον διὰ τὸν ἐμὸν



τὰ χρήματα

υἱόν. καὶ ἐν ἀπορίᾳ μ' ὄντα οὐδεὶς ἔσωζεν, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ὅλην τὴν νύκτα τὰς δίκας ταύτας ἀεὶ ἔφευγον, ὁ δ' υἱὸς οὐτοσὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἀεὶ ἐλάμβανεν, ἵππομανῆς ὢν. καὶ δὴ καὶ καθεύδων ὀνειροπολεῖ ὁ νεανίας ἵππους. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι παῖς ὢν ὀνειροπόλει τοὺς ἵππους. οἴμοι. τίς αἴτιος ἦν; αἰτία ἡ γυνή, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι. ἐκείνη γὰρ ἀεὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐλάμβανε καὶ δι-ελέγετο περὶ τῶν ἵππων. ὁ οὖν υἱὸς ἀεὶ περὶ ἵππων ἤκουε καὶ ἐμάνθανεν.

(a loud snore is heard from his son)

σύ δέ, ὥσπερ ἔχεις, βαθέως κάθευδε· τὰ γὰρ χρέα, εὖ οἶσθ' ὅτι, εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν ἐμὴν τρέπεται. οἴμοι. οὐ γὰρ ἐπαυόμεθα οὐδέποτ' ἐγώ τε καὶ ἡ γυνὴ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς λαιδορούμενοι· ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐλοιδορούμεθα. ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ,



ἵππος τις



ὁ λυχνός

διὰ τί τοὺς γάμους οὕτω πικροὺς ποιεῖς; αἰεὶ γὰρ πικρὸν  
ποιεῖ τὸν ἐμὸν βίον ἢ γυνή. ἀλλ' ὡς ἡδὺς ἦν ὁ ἀγροικὸς  
βίος. ὁ δὲ γάμος ὡς πικρός. ἢ γὰρ γυνή ἢ ἐμὴ ἐξ ἄστεως  
οὔσα τυγχάνει καί, ἀστική οὔσα, πολλήν τὴν δαπάνην  
εἰσ-έφευρεν. αὕτη δ' ἢ δαπάνη τότε ἤδη με δι-έφθειρεν. καὶ  
ἔτι καὶ νῦν διαφθείρει.

## B

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (suddenly decides to check on his debts)

ἀλλὰ τί ὀφείλω; παῖ, δεῦρ' ἐλθέ. ἄπτε λυχνόν. νῦν γὰρ οὐχ  
ὀρῶ οὐδέν· νῦξ γὰρ ἐστὶ βαθεῖα.

ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ πῶς οὖν λυχνὸν ἄπτω, ὦ δέσποτα; ἰδοῦ· ἔλαιον οὐκ  
ἔνεστι ἐν τῷ λυχνῷ.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τί φῆς; ἔλαιον οὐκ ἔχει ὁ λυχνός; οἴμοι τάλας. δεῦρ' ἐλθέ  
καὶ κλαίε.

(lifts his hand to strike, but checks himself)

ὡς κακός ἐσθ' ὁ πόλεμος. τοὺς γὰρ οἰκέτας οὐ κολάζω  
οὐκέτι, καίπερ ἀργοὺς ὄντας. ὁ γὰρ πόλεμος κωλύει.  
οἴμοι τῶν κακῶν. νῦν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν κελεύομεν, ἐκεῖνοι δ'  
οὐ πείθονται. ἀλλ' ὅτε νέοι ἦμεν ἡμεῖς, τότε οἱ γέροντες αἰεὶ  
ἐκόλαζον τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἀργοὶ οὖν οὐκ ἦσαν ἐκεῖνοι, οὐδὲ  
τοὺς δεσπότες κακὰ ἐποίουν, ἦσαν δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ αἰεὶ  
ἐπείθοντο. ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ τὴν κόλασιν.

(with determination)

ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οὐ σώζω ἑμαυτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἐκ τῶν χρεῶν;  
διὰ τί οὐ ζητῶ γνώμην τινά, καὶ παύω τὰ χρέα ταῦτα;  
(thinks furiously)

νῦν οὖν, ὦ Στρεψιάδη, σώζε σεαυτόν.

(in triumph)

ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. γνώμην τινὰ ἔχω. νῦν δὲ διὰ τί οὐ παύω  
καθεύδοντα τοῦτον τὸν νεανίαν;

## C

Strepsiades' plan involves his son, Pheidippides, taking a course of higher  
education, but this is a subject which must be broached gently to the horse-mad  
youth.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. Φειδιππίδη, Φειδιππίδιον.

ΦΕΙΔΙΠΠΙΔΗΣ τί, ὦ πάτερ;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. εἰπέ μοι, ὦ υἱέ, ἄρα φιλεῖς με;

ΦΕΙΔ. ἔγωγε, καὶ οὐ παύομαι οὐδέποτε.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἄρ' αὔριον φιλήσεις με;

ΦΕΙΔ. νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τουτονὶ τὸν ἵππιον, αὔριόν σε φιλήσω, καὶ  
οὐ παύσομαι οὐδέποτε.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. μὴ λέγε μηδαμῶς τοῦτον τὸν ἵππιον, ὦ παῖ – τῶν γὰρ  
κακῶν τῶν ἐμῶν ἐκεῖνος τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχει – ἀλλ' ἄκουε, καὶ  
πείθου.

ΦΕΙΔ. ἰδοῦ, ἀκούω, καὶ πείθομαι καὶ πείσομαι αἰεὶ. σὺ δὲ λέγε δή.  
τί κελεύεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. σμικρόν τι κελεύσω, ὦ παῖ, πάνυ σμικρόν τι. ἔχω γὰρ  
διάνοιάν τινα, καὶ διανοοῦμαι τι· ἀλλὰ πείση;

ΦΕΙΔ. πείσομαι, νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον· μὴ φρόντιζε, πάτερ.  
(immediately falls asleep)

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἄρ' ἤκουες; ἢ οὐκ ἤκουες; ἢ μάτην λέγω; παύσω σε  
καθεύδοντα.

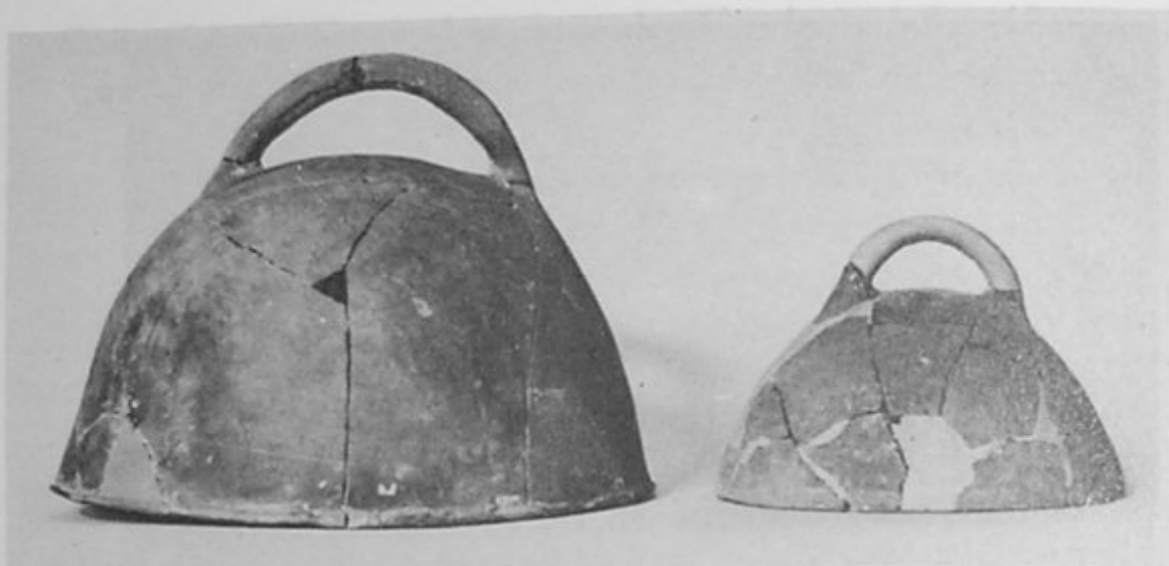
ΦΕΙΔ. (wakes up again)

ναί. ἤκουον ἐγὼ καὶ ἀκούω ἐγὼ νυνὶ καὶ ἀκούσομαι. ἀλλὰ  
τί μοι ἔλεγες;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἔλεγόν σοι ὅτι διάνοιάν τινα ἔχω.

ΦΕΙΔ. ἀλλὰ τίς ἡ διάνοια; τί ἐν νῷ ἔχεις, καὶ τί διανοῆ; ἄρ'  
ἔλεγες;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. οὐχί, ἀλλά σοι λέξω. ἴσως γὰρ αὕτη ἡ διάνοια ἡμᾶς παύσει



δύο πνιγείς

πως ἐκ τῶν χρεῶν. μέγα γάρ τι διανοοῦμαι.

ΦΕΙΔ. εἶπέ δὴ. τίς ἢ σὴ διάνοια, ὦ πάτερ; τί κελεύσεις; πῶς ἢ διάνοια σώσει ἡμᾶς; πῶς παυσόμεθα ἐκ τῶν χρεῶν;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. σὺ δὲ ποιήσεις;

ΦΕΙΔ. ποιήσω νῆ τὸν Διόνυσον.

## D

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (takes him outside and points to a building across the road)

δεῦρό νυν ἀπόβλεπε. ὄρᾳς τὸ θύριον τοῦτο καὶ τὸ οἰκίδιον;

ΦΕΙΔ. ὄρῶ. τί οὖν τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὦ πάτερ;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ψυχῶν σοφῶν τοῦτό ἐστι φροντιστήριον. ἔνδον ἐνοικοῦσιν ἄνδρες σοφοί, λέγοντες δὲ πείθουσι τοὺς μαθητὰς ὡς ὁ οὐρανός ἐστι πνιγεὺς καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πνιγεὺς οὗτος περὶ ἡμᾶς, ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ ἄνθρακες ἐσμεν. πείθουσι τοὺς μαθητὰς οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι, διδάσκοντες αἰεὶ καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ δεχόμενοι. καὶ νῆ Δία οὐ παύσεται οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν χρήματα πολλὰ δεχόμενος παρὰ τῶν μαθητῶν.

ΦΕΙΔ. ἀλλὰ τί διδάσκουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες; τί μαθήσονται οἱ νεανίαί, μαθηταὶ ὄντες;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. λόγους μαθήσονται οἱ μαθηταί.

ΦΕΙΔ. τίνας λόγους λέγεις, ὦ πάτερ;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τίνας; τὸν δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἄδικον λόγον λέγω.

ΦΕΙΔ. τούτους οὖν τοὺς λόγους μαθήσονται οἱ μαθηταί;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. νῆ τὸν Δία. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ταῖς δίκαις τοὺς ἀντιδίκους νικήσουσιν αἰεὶ.

ΦΕΙΔ. εἰσὶν δὲ τίνες οἱ ἄνδρες οὗτοι; τί τὸ ὄνομα τῶν ἀνδρῶν;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. οὐκ οἶδα τὸ ὄνομα. σοφισταὶ δὲ εἰσι καλοῖ τε κάγαθοί.

ΦΕΙΔ. (in disgust)

αἰβοῖ. πονηροί γ', οἶδα. τοὺς τε ὠχρούς καὶ ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις, τὸν κακοδαίμονα Ἰσωκράτη καὶ Χαιρεφῶντα.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (desperately silencing him)

ἢ ἢ σιώπα. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀκούσῃ;

ΦΕΙΔ. ἀκούσομαι. ἀλλὰ τί μοι λέξεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἔλεγον, δύο ἔχουσι τοὺς λόγους οἱ ἔνδον, τὸν δίκαιον καὶ τὸν ἄδικον. σὺ δὲ διὰ τί οὐκ εἰσέρχῃ μαθητής; οὕτω γὰρ παυσόμεθα ἐκ τῶν χρεῶν.

ΦΕΙΔ. ἀλλὰ τί μαθήσομαι;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τὸν ἄδικον λόγον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἄδικος λόγος διαφθερεῖ τὰ χρέα, ὁ δὲ δίκαιος οὐχί. σὺ δὲ μάνθανε. οὕτως οὖν οἱ χρήσται οὐ λήψονται οὐδὲν τούτων τῶν χρεῶν. διὰ τί οὐκ εἰσέρχῃ σὺ εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον, ὦ ἄριστε ἀνθρώπων;

ΦΕΙΔ. τί φῆς; ἐγὼ εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον; μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τὸν ἵππιον οὐ ποιήσω τοῦτό γε. οὔτε τήμερον εἰσέρχομαι οὔτε αὔριον εἴσειμι οὔτε ποιήσω τοῦτο οὐδαμῶς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἵππους φιλῶ ἐγώ, τοὺς δὲ σοφιστὰς οὔ.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. οὐκ οὖν πείσῃ, οὐδὲ ποιήσεις;

ΦΕΙΔ. οὐ πείσομαι ἔγωγε, οὐδὲ ποιήσω. ὠχρὸς γὰρ γενήσομαι, μαθητῆς ὢν.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἀλλ' εἰ σὺ μὴ εἴσει, τίς εἴσεισι;

(makes one last effort to engage Pheidippides)

ἄρ' εἴσιμεν ἅμα σὺ τε καγῶ;

ΦΕΙΔ. οὐκ ἔγωγε.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (in a rage)

ἀλλὰ διώξω σε ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἐκβαλῶ εἰς κόρακας.

ΦΕΙΔ. καγῶ δὴ φεύξομαι.

(turns to leave)

ἀλλ' εἴσειμι εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν φροντιστήριον.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τί δῆτα ποιήσω;

(with determination)

οὐ γὰρ νικήσει Φειδιππίδης, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ νικηφόρος γενήσομαι.

(has a sudden idea)

ἀλλ' οἶδ' ἔγωγε. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸς εἴσειμι εἰς τὸ  
φροντιστήριον, μαθητῆς δὲ τῶν σοφιστῶν γενήσομαι καὶ  
γνώσομαι τὸν ἄδικον λόγον. οὕτως οὖν τοὺς χρήστας  
ἐκείνους παύσω ἔγωγε λαμβάνοντας τὰ χρήματα.

(a wave of despair hits him)

πῶς οὖν γέρων ὦν καὶ βραδὺς περὶ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς  
ἀκριβεῖς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μαθήσομαι; ὅμως εἴσειμι. ἀλλὰ  
διὰ τί οὐ κόπτω τὴν θύραν ταύτην καὶ βοῶ;

(with a deep breath)

ἀλλὰ ποιήσω τοῦτο καὶ κόψω τὴν θύραν καὶ βοήσομαι.

## Ε

(Στρεψιάδης κόπτει τὴν θύραν καὶ βοᾷ)

ΣΤΡΕΨ. παῖ, παιδίον.

ΜΑΘΗΤΗΣ (comes out of the phrontisterion)

βάλλ' εἰς κόρακας. τίς ἔκοψε τὴν θύραν; τίς ἐβόησεν;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἔγωγε ἔκοψα τὴν θύραν καὶ ἐβόησα.

ΜΑΘ. τίς ὦν σὺ τοῦτο ἐποίησας; ἀμαθῆς τις, εὖ οἶδα.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. Στρεψιάδης Κικυννόθεν.

ΜΑΘ. εἰς κόρακας αὖθις.

(goes back into the phrontisterion)

ΣΤΡΕΨ. οἴμοι, τί ποιήσω; ἀλλ' αὖθις κόψω.

(αὖθις κόπτει τὴν θύραν)

ΜΑΘ. τίς ὁ κόπτων; διὰ τί οὗτος οὐκ ἐπαύσατο κόπτων ὁ  
ἄνθρωπος, ἐπεὶ ἐκέλευσα ἐγώ;

(re-appears, annoyed)

διὰ τί σὺ πάλιν κόπτεις; τί ἐν νῶ ἔχεις; τὴν γὰρ ἐμὴν  
φροντίδα ἀπ-έκοψας, ποιῶν τοῦτο.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἀλλ' ἄρτι ἐπαυσάμην, ὦ γαθέ. ἐκέλευσας γὰρ σύ. μὴ οὖν  
ἐκβαλλέ με, καίπερ ἄγροικον ὄντα καὶ ἀμαθῆ. ἀλλὰ τίς ἢ  
φροντίς, εἶπέ δή.

ΜΑΘ. ἀλλ' οὐ θέμις. μόνοι γὰρ μανθάνουσι τὰς τῶν σοφιστῶν  
φροντίδας ταύτας οἱ μαθηταί.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. εἶπέ μοι οὖν. ἦκω γὰρ ἐγὼ μαθητῆς τῶν σοφιστῶν εἰς τὸ  
φροντιστήριον.

ΜΑΘ. λέξω σοι ψύλλα γὰρ τις δάκνει τὴν Χαιρεφώντος ὄφρυν.  
ὅτε δὲ πηδᾷ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν τὴν Σωκράτους, οὕτω  
διαλέγονται οἱ ἄνδρες.



ἐμβάδες

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ὄρα, ὦ Χαιρέφων. οὐ γὰρ λανθάνει με ἡ ψύλλα  
ἀξία οὕσα τοῦ Ὀλυμπικοῦ στεφάνου. ἀλλὰ λέγε,  
ὅπόσους τοὺς ἑαυτῆς πόδας ἐπήδησεν ἡ ψύλλα.

ΧΑΙΡΕΦΩΝ οὐκ οἶδα, ὦ Σώκρατες. ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οὐ  
μετροῦμεν τὸ χωρίον;

ΣΩΚ. ἀλλὰ πῶς μετρήσομεν, ὦ Χαιρέφων;

ΧΑΙ. ἰδού. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κηρὸν λαμβάνω, εἶτα τὸν  
κηρὸν θερμὸν ποιῶ. τέλος δὲ τοὺς τῆς ψύλλης  
πόδας εἰς τὸν κηρὸν τίθημι.

ΣΩΚ. τί δέ;

ΧΑΙ. νῦν ὁ κηρὸς ψυχρὸς γίγνεται. ἰδού, ὦ Σώκρατες. ἡ  
γὰρ ψύλλα ἐμβάδας ἔχει.

ΣΩΚ. ἀλλὰ τί νῦν ποιεῖς;

ΧΑΙ. νῦν δὲ τὰς ἐμβάδας λύω. ἰδού.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ. ὦ τῆς σοφίας τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

(admiration fades into bewilderment)

ἀλλ' εἶπέ μοι, τί ποτ' ἐποίησαν οἱ ἄνδρες, ὦ μαθητά;

ΜΑΘ. οὐ λανθάνεις με ἄγροικος ὦν, ὦ Στρεψιάδη, οὐ μανθάνων  
οὐδέν. ἀλλ' ὡς ἔλεγον, πρῶτον μὲν θερμὸν ἐποίησαν τὸν  
κηρὸν. ἔπειτα τοὺς τῆς ψύλλης πόδας ἔθεσαν εἰς τὸν κηρὸν.  
τέλος δὲ τὰς ἐμβάδας ἔλυσαν καὶ ἐμέτρησαν – πῶς γὰρ  
οὔ; – τὸ χωρίον.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ. σοφοὶ δὴ φαίνονται ὄντες οἱ ἄνδρες.

τί δῆτ' ἐκείνον τὸν Θαλῆν θαυμάζομεν; ἢ ῥαδίως φεύξομαι  
τὴν δίκην. γνώσομαι γὰρ τὸ ψύλλης πήδημα.

(shouts)

ἀλλ' ἄνοιγε, ἄνοιγε τὴν θύραν.

## F

The door opens and Strepsiades starts back in horror.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὦ Ἡράκλεις, τίνα ταῦτα τὰ θηρία;

ΜΑΘ. οὗτος, διὰ τί ἐθαύμασας; διὰ τί αὐθις ἐβόησας; ἄρα τοὺς  
μαθητὰς τούτους θαυμάζεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ναὶ μὰ Δία θαυμάζω. ἀλλὰ τί ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι οἱ εἰς τὴν γῆν  
βλέποντες;

ΜΑΘ. ζητοῦσιν οὗτοι τὰ κατὰ γῆς.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. βολβούς ἄρα ζητοῦσι. μὴ νῦν τοῦτό γ' ἔτι φροντίζετε, ὦ  
θηρία· ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶδα ὅπου εἰσὶ μεγάλοι καὶ καλοί. ἀλλὰ τίς  
οὐτοσί; διὰ τί ὁ πρωκτὸς εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπει;

ΜΑΘ. διότι ἀστρονομεῖ ὁ πρωκτός.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (points to one of the strange devices cluttering up the phrontisterion)  
ἰδού· τί δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο; δίδασκέ με.

ΜΑΘ. ἀστρονομία μὲν αὕτη.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (points to another device)

τοῦτο δὲ τί;

ΜΑΘ. γεωμετρία.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. καὶ εἰς τί χρήσιμον αὕτη; δίδασκει.

ΜΑΘ. ταύτη τὴν γῆν ἀναμετροῦμεν.

(picks up a map)

αὕτη δ' ἐστὶ γῆς περίοδος.

(points at the map)

ὄρα; αὗται μὲν Ἀθῆναι.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (in disbelief)

τί σὺ λέγεις; οὐ πείθομαι, ἐπεὶ τῶν δικαστῶν οὐχ ὄρω οὐδὲ  
ἓνα καθιζόμενον. ποῦ δ' ἐστ' ὁ ἐμὸς δῆμος;

ΜΑΘ. (points at the map)

ἐνταῦθα ἐνεστίν. τὴν δ' Εὐβοίαν ὄρα;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὄρω. ἀλλ' ἢ Λακεδαίμων ποῦ τυγχάνει οὐσα;

ΜΑΘ. ὅπου; αὕτη.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (taken aback)

παπαί. ἀπελθε, ἀπελθε. ὡς ἐγγὺς ἡμῶν ἢ Λακεδαίμων.

ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οὐκ ἀπάγεις ταύτην ἀφ' ἡμῶν πόρρω πάνυ;

ΜΑΘ. ἀλλ' ἀδύνατον.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. νῆ Δία ὀλοφυρεῖσθε ἄρα.

(looks up and sees Socrates hanging in a basket)

ἀλλ' εἶπέ μοι, τίς οὗτος ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς κρεμάθρας ὢν;

ΜΑΘ. αὐτός.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τίς αὐτός;

ΜΑΘ. Σωκράτης.

## G

(ἀπέρχεται ὁ μαθητής. ὁ Στρεψιάδης τὸν Σωκράτη καλεῖ.)

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὦ Σώκρατες, ὦ Σωκρατίδιον, δεῦρ' ἐλθέ.

ΣΩΚ. τίς ἐβόησε; τίς ἐβιάσατο εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον τὸ τῶν  
σοφιστῶν;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἐβόησα ἐγὼ, Στρεψιάδης Κικυννόθεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐβιασάμην  
εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον.

ΣΩΚ. τί με καλεῖς, ὦ ἐφήμερε; ἦλθες δὲ σὺ κατὰ τί;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἦλθον μαθητῆς εἰς τὸ φροντιστήριον. ἤδη γὰρ σε ἤκουσα  
ὡς εἶ σοφός.

ΣΩΚ. εἶπέ μοι, τίς εἶπε τοῦτο; πῶς δ' ἤκουσάς με ὡς σοφός εἰμι;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. εἶπε τοῦτο τῶν μαθητῶν τις.

ΣΩΚ. τί δ' εἶπεν ὁ μαθητής; λέγε.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. εἶπε γὰρ ὁ μαθητῆς ὡς ψύλλα τις ἔδακε τὴν Χαιρεφῶντος  
ὄφρῦν. εἶτα ἐπὶ τὴν σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπήδησε. σὺ δὲ τὸν  
Χαιρεφῶντα ἤρου ὀπόσους τούτους ἑαυτῆς πόδας ἐπήδησεν ἢ  
ψύλλα. ἀν-εμετρήσατε δ' ὑμεῖς οὕτως· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ τὴν  
ψύλλαν ἐλάβετε καὶ ἔθετε εἰς κηρὸν θερμόν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
ψυχρὸς ἐγένετο ὁ κηρός, ἢ ψύλλα ἔσχεν ἐμβάδας τινὰς  
Περσικὰς. εἶτα δὲ ἀν-εμετρήσατε τὸ χωρίον.

(with an admiring glance)

οὐδέποτε εἶδον ἔγωγε πρᾶγμα οὕτω σοφόν.

ΣΩΚ. οὐδέποτε εἶδες σὺ γε πρᾶγμα οὕτω σοφόν; ἀλλὰ πόθεν ὢν  
τυγχάνεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. Κικυννόθεν.

ΣΩΚ. οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθές με ἄγροικος ὢν, καὶ ἀμαθής.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. μὴ μέμφου μοι. ἀλλ' εἶπέ, τί δρᾶς  
ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς κρεμάθρας ὢν, ὦ Σώκρατες;

ΣΩΚ. (solemnly)

ἀεροβατῶ καὶ περιφρονῶ τὸν ἥλιον.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τί δ' ἀπὸ κρεμάθρας τοῦτο δρᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; τί

ΣΩΚ. ἐξευρίσκεις ἢ τί μανθάνεις, ἐπὶ κρεμάθρας ὦν;  
οὐδέποτε γὰρ ἐξηύρον ἐγὼ τὰ μετέωρα πράγματα οὐδ'  
ἔμαθον οὐδέν, ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς σκοπῶν. ἢ γὰρ γῆ ἔτυχε  
κωλύουσα τὴν φροντίδα.

## Η

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἀλλ' ὦ Σωκρατίδιον, τί οὐ καταβαίνεις; ἦλθον γὰρ ἐγὼ εἰς  
τὸ φροντιστήριον διότι, χρήματα πολλὰ ὀφείλων, ὑπόχρεός  
εἰμι.

ΣΩΚ. ἀλλὰ πῶς σὺ ὑπόχρεως ἐγένου; πῶς τοῦτο πάσχεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἔλαθον ἑμαυτὸν ἵππομανῆ τὸν υἱὸν ἔχων. ὑπόχρεως οὖν  
ἐγενόμην. καὶ τοῦτο ἔπαθον διὰ τὴν ἵππικὴν καὶ διὰ τὸν  
ἑμὸν υἱόν. ἀεὶ γὰρ δίκας λαμβάνουσιν οἱ χρήσται, καὶ εἰ μὴ  
τι ποιήσω, εἰς ἀεὶ λήφονται. δίδασκε οὖν με τὸν ἕτερον τῶν  
σῶν λόγων.

ΣΩΚ. τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων; πότερον λέγεις; τὸν κρείττονα  
ἢ τὸν ἥττονα;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τὸν ἄδικον λέγω, τὸν ἥττονα, τὸν τὰ χρέα παύοντα. οὗτος  
γὰρ ὁ λόγος τὰς δίκας νικήσει, ὁ κρείττων δ' οὐ. τί δράσω;

ΣΩΚ. (points to a couch)

ὄ τι; πρῶτον μὲν κατακλίνηθι ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης. ἔπειτα  
ἐκφρόντιζέ τι τῶν σεαυτοῦ πραγμάτων.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. (sees the bugs)

κακοδαίμων ἐγώ. δίκην γὰρ λήφονται οἱ κόρεις τήμερον.

He lies down. There is a long pause. Eventually . . .

ΣΩΚ. οὗτος, τί ποιεῖς; οὐχὶ φροντίζεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἐγώ; νῆ τὸν Ποσειδῶ.

ΣΩΚ. καὶ τί δῆτ' ἐφρόντισας;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. εἰ ἄρα λήσω τοὺς κόρεις, τοὺς δάκνοντας ἐμὲ δεινῶς.

ΣΩΚ. (with annoyance)

οὐδὲν λέγεις.

(another long pause)

ἀλλὰ σιγῆ ὁ ἄνθρωπος. τί δρά οὗτος;

(τὸν Στρεψιάδη προσαγορεύει)

οὗτος, καθεύδεις;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ.

ΣΩΚ. ἔχεις τι;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. μὰ Δι' οὐ δῆτ' ἔγωγε.

ΣΩΚ. οὐδὲν πάνυ;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. τὸ πέος ἔχω ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ.

ΣΩΚ. εἰς κόρακας. μὴ παίζε, ὦ ἄνθρωπε.

(after a long pause)

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὦ Σωκρατίδιον.

ΣΩΚ. τί, ὦ γέρον;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ἔχω γνώμην τινά.

ΣΩΚ. λέγε τὴν γνώμην.

ΣΤΡΕΨ. λήψομαι γυναῖκα φαρμακίδα καὶ κλέψω ἐν νυκτὶ τὴν  
σελήνην.

ΣΩΚ. (puzzled)

τί φῆς; κλέψεις τὴν σελήνην; εἰπέ δή — πῶς τοῦτο  
χρήσιμον;

ΣΤΡΕΨ. ὅπως; ἄκουε. οἱ γὰρ χρήσται δανείζουσι τὰ χρήματα κατὰ  
μῆνα. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν κλέψω τὴν σελήνην. ἢ δὲ σελήνη οὐκέτι  
ἀνατελεῖ. πῶς οὖν τὰ χρήματα λήφονται οἱ χρήσται;

ΣΩΚ. (very annoyed)

βάλλ' εἰς κόρακας. ἄγροικος εἶ καὶ ἀμαθής. οὐ διδάξω σ'  
οὐκέτι, ἀμαθῆ δὴ ὄντα.

Strepsiades goes back out into the street, and sadly contemplates his fate.



ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς

## Section Six A–H

### Socrates and intellectual inquiry

#### Introduction

Plato's picture of Socrates is quite different from Aristophanes'. The following passage is based on Plato's account of Socrates' defence when he was on trial for his life on a charge of corrupting the young and introducing new gods.

#### A

Socrates addresses the dikasts (jurors) at his trial and tells them the reason for his methods of inquiry and the causes of his unpopularity. He first puts a question into the mouths of the dikasts which he will proceed to answer.

ἐρωτῶσιν οὖν τινες· 'ἀλλ', ὦ Σώκρατες, διὰ τί διαβάλλουσί σε οὔτοι οἱ ἄνδρες; τί ἐν νῶ ἔχουσιν; πόθεν γίνονται αὐταὶ αἱ διαβολαὶ καὶ ἡ δόξα ἢ σή; λέγε οὖν, καὶ δίδασκε ἡμᾶς. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐ βουλόμεθα διαβάλλειν σε.' βούλομαι οὖν διδάσκειν ὑμᾶς καὶ λέγειν διὰ τί διέβαλόν με οὔτοι οἱ ἄνδρες καὶ πόθεν ἐγένοντο αἱ διαβολαὶ καὶ ἡ δόξα. ἀκούετε δῆ. καὶ εὖ ἴστε ὅτι οὐ βούλομαι παίζειν πρὸς ὑμᾶς. ἴσως μὲν γὰρ φανοῦμαι παίζειν, εὖ μέντοι ἴστε ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγειν βούλομαι.

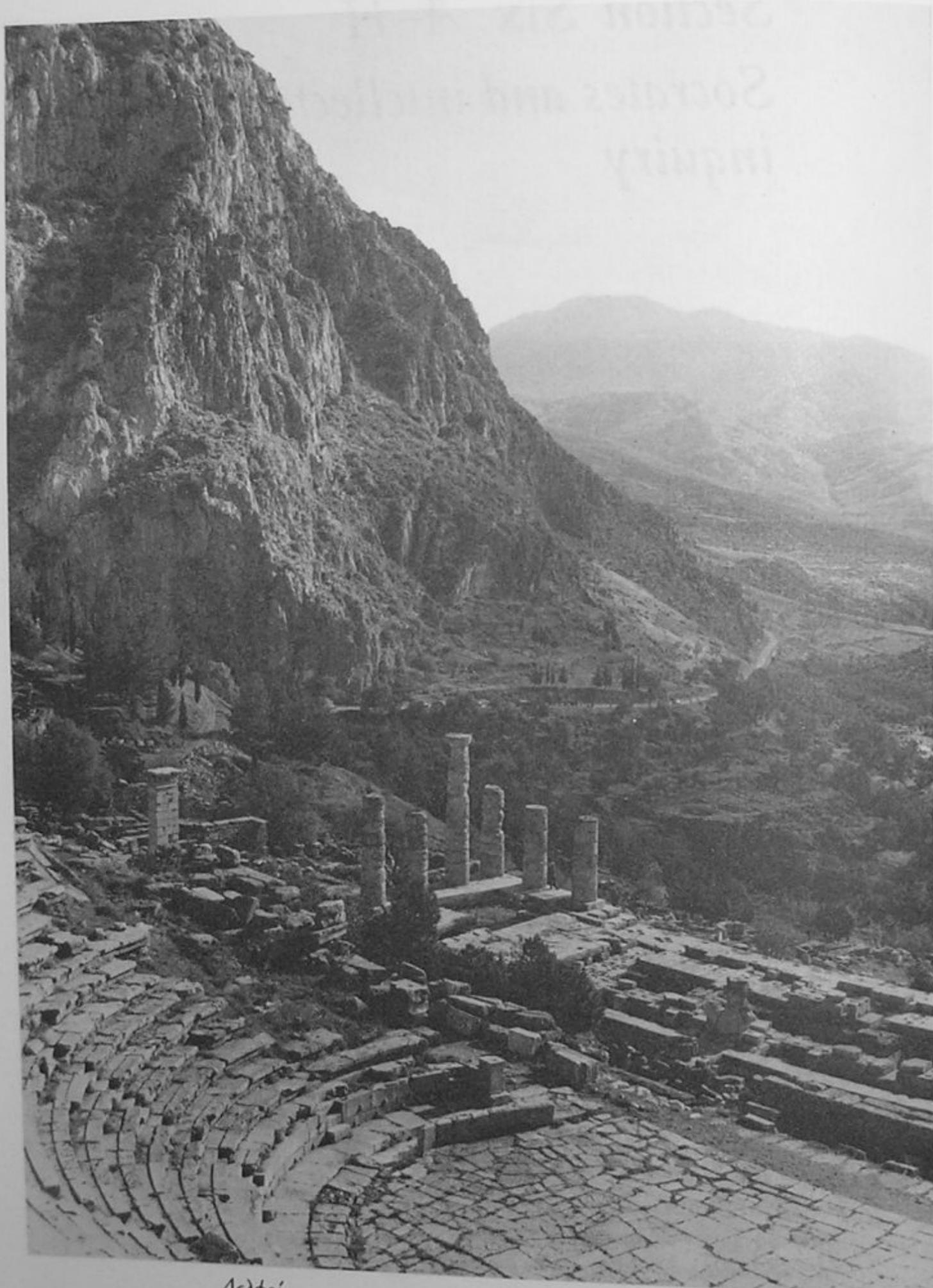
ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, διὰ σοφίαν τινὰ τυγχάνω ἔχων τὴν δόξαν ταύτην. ἀρα βούλεσθε εἰδέναι τίς ἐστὶν ἡ σοφία αὐτῆ; ὡς μάρτυρα βούλομαι παρέχεσθαι τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαρτυρήσει τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ἐμήν. καὶ μὴν ἀνάγκη ἔστι τὸν θεὸν λέγειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

Χαιρεφῶντα γὰρ ἴστε ἴπου. οὗτος γὰρ ἐμὸς ἐταῖρος ἦν ἐκ νέου.

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Δελφοί

καὶ ἴστε δὴ, ὡς σφοδρὸς ἦν ὁ Χαιρεφῶν περὶ πάντα. καὶ ὁ Χαιρεφῶν οὕτως ποτὲ ἐλογίζετο πρὸς ἑαυτόν. 'ὅτι Σωκράτης σοφὸς ἐστίν, εὖ οἶδα. βούλομαι δ' εἰδέναι εἴ τίς ἐστι σοφώτερος ἢ Σωκράτης. ἴσως γὰρ Σωκράτης σοφώτατός ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων. τί οὖν ποιεῖν με δεῖ; δῆλον ὅτι δεῖ με εἰς Δελφοὺς ἵεναι, καὶ μαντεύεσθαι. πολλὴ γὰρ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγειν.'

ἦει οὖν ὁ Χαιρεφῶν εἰς Δελφοὺς, καὶ ταύτην τὴν μαντείαν ἐμαντεύσατο παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. καὶ μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ὦνδρες. ἤρετο γὰρ δὴ εἴ τίς ἐστι σοφώτερος ἢ Σωκράτης, ἀπεκρίνατο δ' ἡ Πυθία ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἐστι σοφώτερος.

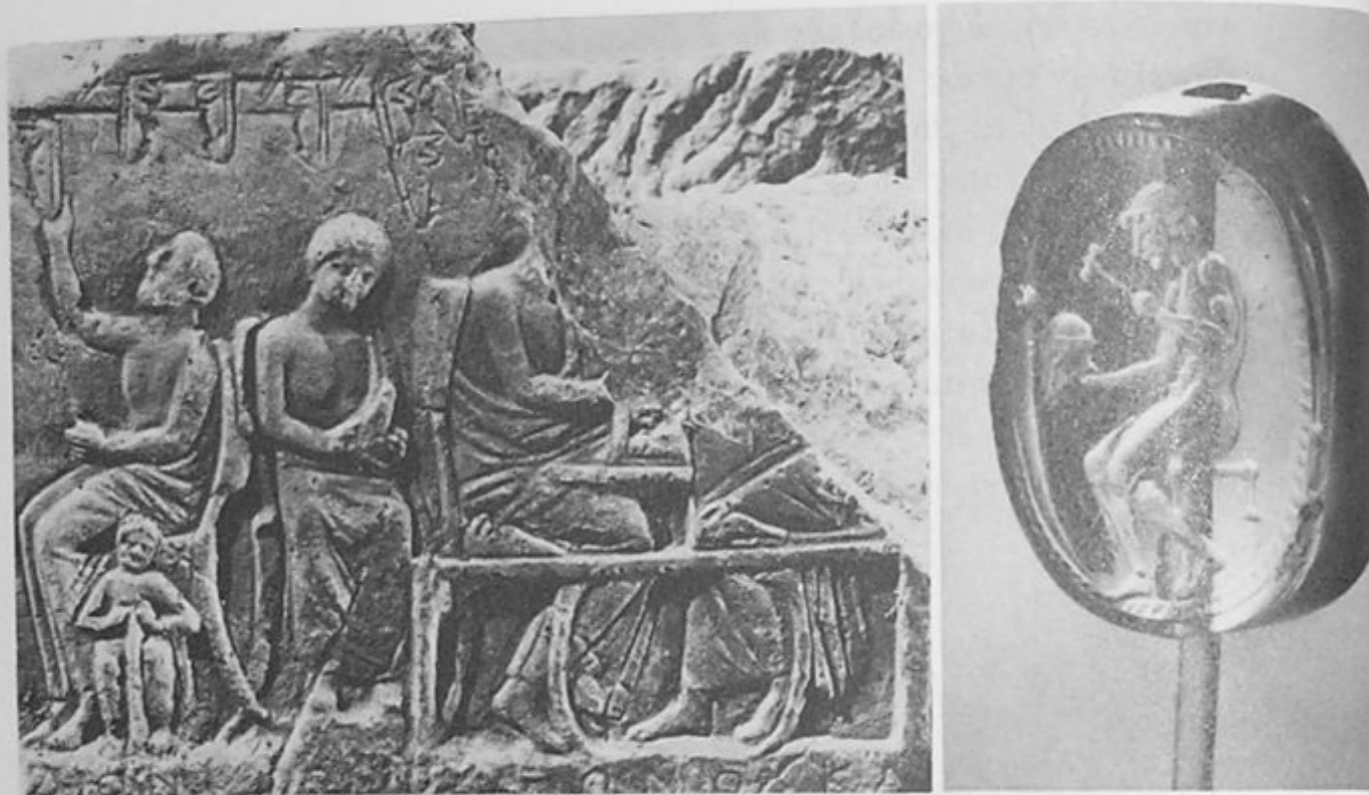
## B

ἐγὼ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσα, ἐλογιζόμενη οὕτως πρὸς ἑμαυτόν. 'τί ποτε βούλεται λέγειν ὁ θεός; ἐγὼ γὰρ δὴ οἶδα ὅτι σοφὸς οὐκ εἰμι. τί οὖν ποτε λέγει ὁ θεός, λέγων ὡς ἐγὼ σοφώτατός εἰμι, καὶ ὡς οὐδεὶς σοφώτερος; οὐ γὰρ δήπου ψεύδεται ἕγε. οὐ γὰρ θέμις αὐτῷ. ἀνάγκη γὰρ ἔστι τὸν θεὸν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ τὴν ἀλήθειαν λέγειν.' καὶ πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἠπόρουσαν τί ποτε λέγει, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἐτραπόμην πότερον ἀληθῆ λέγει ὁ θεός, ἢ οὐ. οὐ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἐν ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον.

ἦλθον οὖν ἐπὶ σοφόν τινα (ἐδόκει γοῦν σοφὸς εἶναι). ἐβουλόμην γὰρ ἐλέγχειν τὸ μαντεῖον καὶ ἀποφαίνειν ὅτι 'σὺ μὲν, ὦ Ἄπολλον, ἔλεγες ὅτι ἐγὼ σοφώτατος, οὗτος δὲ σοφώτερός ἐστιν.' διελεγόμενη οὖν ἐγὼ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν σοφόν, πολιτικόν τινα ὄντα. ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤμην, ἔδοξέ γε σοφὸς εἶναι, οὐκ ὦν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐπειρώμην ἀποφαίνειν αὐτὸν δοκοῦντα σοφὸν εἶναι, οὐκ ὄντα, οὗτος καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐμίσησαν με. πρὸς ἑμαυτόν οὖν οὕτως ἐλογιζόμενη, ὅτι 'ἐγὼ σοφώτερός εἰμι ἢ οὗτος. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τι εἰδέναι, οὐδὲν εἰδώς, ἐγὼ δέ, οὐδὲν εἰδώς, οὐδὲ δοκῶ εἰδέναι.' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπ' ἄλλον τινὰ σοφὸν ἦα, καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ ἐκεῖνός τι εἰδέναι, οὐκ εἰδώς. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν παρόντων ἐμίσησαν με.

μετὰ ταῦτα οὖν ἦα ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς δοκοῦντάς τι εἰδέναι. καὶ νῆ τὸν κύνα, οἱ μὲν δοκοῦντές τι εἰδέναι ἦσαν μωρότεροι, ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤμην, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι σοφώτεροι. μετὰ γὰρ τοὺς πολιτικούς ἦα ἐπὶ τοὺς ποιητάς. αἰσχύνομαι δὲ λέγειν τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὦνδρες, ὅμως δὲ λέγειν με δεῖ. οὐ γὰρ διὰ σοφίαν ποιοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰ ποιήματα, ἀλλὰ διὰ φύσιν καὶ ἐνθουσιασμόν, ὥσπερ οἱ





χειροτέχνη

θεομάντεις καὶ οἱ χρησμοδοί. καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι λέγουσι μὲν πολλὰ καὶ  
καλά, τοὺς δὲ λόγους τούτους οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅ τι νοοῦσιν. καὶ ἅμα  
ἔδόκουν οἱ ποιηταὶ διὰ τὴν ποίησιν εἰδέναι τι, οὐκ εἰδότες, καὶ  
σοφώτατοι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ὄντες. ἀπῆα οὖν καὶ ἐγὼ ἐντεῦθεν,  
σοφώτερος δοκῶν εἶναι ἢ οἱ ποιηταί.

## C

τέλος δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνας ἦα. ἤδη γὰρ ὅτι οὐδὲν οἶδα καὶ ὅτι οἱ  
χειροτέχνη πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἴσασιν. πολλὰ οὖν εἰδότες, σοφώτεροι  
ἦσαν οἱ χειροτέχνη ἢ ἐγώ. ἀλλ' ἔδοξαν, ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤμην, διὰ τὴν  
τέχνην σοφώτατοι εἶναι περὶ ἄλλα πολλά, οὐκ ὄντες. τοιοῦτον οὖν  
πάθος ἐφαίνοντο καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ οἱ χειροτέχνη πάσχοντες.

ἐκ ταυτησὶ δὴ τῆς ζήτησεως, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐγένοντο αἱ  
ἐμαὶ διαβολαί, βαρεῖαι δὴ οὖσαι, καὶ ἡ δόξα. καὶ δὴ καὶ οἱ νεανῖαι,  
οἱ γε πλούσιοι ὄντες καὶ μάλιστα σχολὴν ἔχοντες, ἡδονταὶ  
ἀκούοντες τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους καὶ πολλάκις πειρῶνται ἄλλους  
ἐξετάζειν, ὡς περ ἐγώ. ὑβριστὰὶ γὰρ οἱ νεανῖαι καὶ μάλιστα ἡδονταὶ  
ἐξετάζοντες τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. καί, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, ἐξετάζοντες  
εὐρίσκουσι πολὺ πλῆθος τῶν δοκούντων μὲν τι εἰδέναι, εἰδόντων δ'

ὀλίγα ἢ οὐδέν. ἐντεῦθεν οὖν οἱ δοκούντες τι εἰδέναι ὀργίζονται καὶ  
λέγουσιν ὅτι 'Σωκράτης τίς ἐστι μιαιώτατος καὶ διαφθείρει τοὺς  
νέους.' ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐρωτᾶν βούλομαι 'πῶς διαφθείρει τοὺς νέους ὁ  
Σωκράτης; τί ποιῶν, ἢ τί διδάσκων, διαφθείρει αὐτούς;' ἔχουσι μὲν  
οὐδὲν λέγειν ἐκεῖνοι, οὐ μὲντοι βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν ἀπορεῖν, λέγουσιν  
ὅτι, ὡς περ οἱ ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι, διδάσκει Σωκράτης 'τὰ μετέωρα  
καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ γῆς' καὶ 'θεοὺς μὴ νομίζειν' καὶ 'τὸν ἥττονα λόγον  
κρείττονα ποιεῖν'. οὐ γὰρ βούλονται, ὡς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, τάληθῆ λέγειν,  
ὅτι κατάδηλοι γίνονται δοκούντες μὲν τι εἰδέναι, εἰδότες δ' οὐδέν.

## D

## Introduction

According to Plato, Socrates did not claim to teach, nor did he take  
fees for teaching, even though he was popularly linked, as we have  
seen from Aristophanes, with the sophists, who *were* professional  
teachers. One of the most important lessons offered by the sophists in  
their courses of higher education was the art of speaking with equal  
persuasion on both sides of a question, a facility which could be used  
unscrupulously. In the following incident Plato shows how empty  
such verbal dexterity could be.

Socrates relates to his friend Kriton how he asked two sophists, Euthydemos  
and his brother Dionysodoros, to help a young man called Kleinias in his  
search for the truth. But Kleinias fell victim to Euthydemos' verbal trickery.

ἦλθον χθὲς εἰς τὸ Λύκειον, ὡς Κρίτων, καὶ κατέλαβον Εὐθύδημόν τε  
καὶ Διονυσόδωρον διαλεγόμενους μετ' ἄλλων πολλῶν. καὶ οἶσθα σύ  
γε ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὅτι καλὴν δόξαν ἔχουσι, προτρέποντες  
εἰς φιλοσοφίαν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐγὼ οὖν τοὺς ἐκείνων λόγους  
ἀκούειν βουλόμενος,

'ὕμεῖς ἄρα', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, 'ὡς Διονυσόδωρε, δόξαν ἔχετε ὅτι  
προτρέπετε τοὺς ἀνθρώπους εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἢ οὐ;  
'δοκοῦμέν γε δὴ, ὡς Σώκρατες', ἦ δ' ὅς.

'εἶεν', ἦν δ' ἐγώ. 'δεῖ οὖν ὑμᾶς προτρέπειν τουτονὶ τὸν νεανίσκον  
εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν. καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὸν Κλεινίαν. ἐστὶ δὲ νέος.  
ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οὐκ ἐξετάζετε τὸν νεανίσκον, διαλεγόμενοι ἐνθάδε  
ἐναντίον ἡμῶν;'

ὁ δ' Εὐθύδημος εὐθύς ἀνδρείως ἀπεκρίνατο·  
'βουλόμεθα δὴ ἐνθάδε διαλέγεσθαι, ὦ Σώκρατες. ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὸν  
νεανίσκον ἀποκρίνεσθαι.'

'ἀλλὰ μὲν δὴ', ἔφην ἐγώ, 'ὅ γε Κλεινίας ἤδεται ἀποκρινόμενος.  
πολλάκις γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸν προσέρχονται οἱ φίλοι ἐρωτῶντες καὶ  
διαλεγόμενοι, αἰεὶ δὲ λέγοντα αὐτὸν καὶ ἀποκρινόμενον ἐξετάζουσιν.'

καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, 'ἀκουε οὖν, ὦ Κλεινία', ἦ δ' ὅς, 'ἀκούσας δέ,  
ἀποκρίνου.'

ὁ δὲ Κλεινίας, 'ποιήσω τούτο', ἦ δ' ὅς, 'καὶ ἀποκρινούμαι.  
ἤδομαι γὰρ ἔγωγε ἀποκρινόμενος. λέγε οὖν, ὦ Εὐθύδημε, καὶ  
ἐξετάζε. λέγων γὰρ δήπου καὶ ἐξετάζων ὁ σοφιστῆς προτρέπει  
τοὺς μαθητὰς εἰς ἀρετήν.'

καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος 'εἰπέ οὖν', ἔφη, 'πότεροί εἰσιν οἱ μανθάνοντες,  
οἱ σοφοὶ ἢ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς;'

καὶ ὁ νεανίσκος – μέγα γὰρ ἔτυχεν ὃν τὸ ἐρώτημα – ἠπόρησεν.  
ἀπορήσας δ' ἔβλεπεν εἰς ἐμέ, καὶ ἠρυθρίασεν.

ἐγὼ δ' ἐρυθριῶντα αὐτὸν ὀρών 'μὴ φρόντιζε', ἔφην, 'μηδὲ φοβοῦ,  
ἀλλ' ἀνδρείως ἀποκρίνου.'

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Διονυσόδωρος ἐγέλασεν, γελάσας δέ,  
'καὶ μὴν', ἦ δ' ὅς, 'εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι Εὐθύδημος αὐτὸν νικήσει λέγων.'

καὶ ἐγὼ οὐκ ἀπεκρινάμην. ὁ γὰρ Κλεινίας, ἕως ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὁ  
Διονυσόδωρος, ἀποκρινάμενος ἔτυχεν ὅτι οἱ σοφοὶ εἰσιν οἱ  
μανθάνοντες.

## E

Kleinias has answered that it is the clever who learn. But Euthydemus now exploits an ambiguity in the terms 'clever', 'ignorant', 'learner': a man may be clever either because he has learnt something, or because he is able to learn it. The same word covers both cases, and this gives Euthydemus room to manoeuvre.

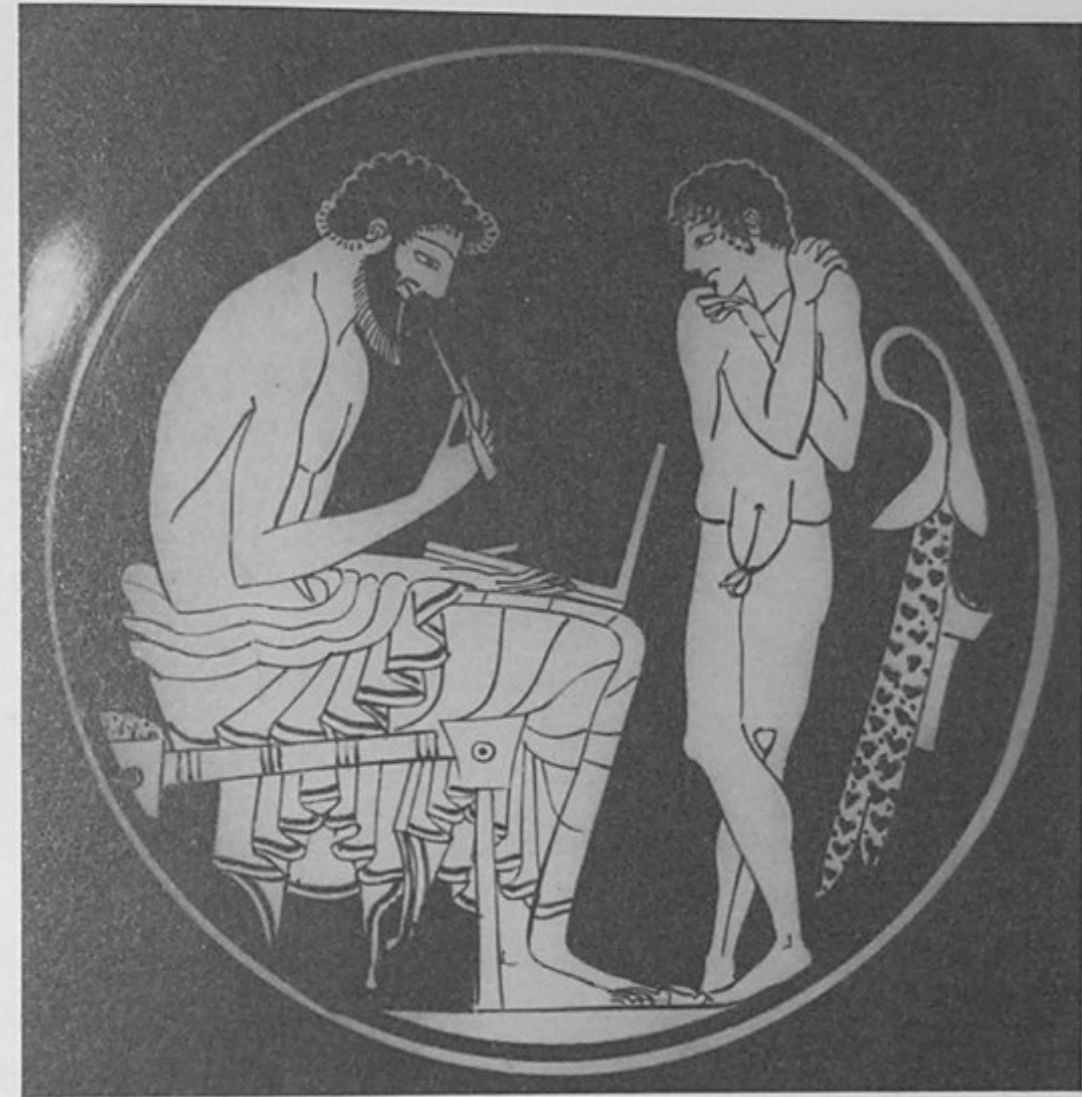
καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, 'ἀλλὰ τίς διδάσκει τοὺς μανθάνοντας', ἔφη, 'ὁ  
διδάσκαλος, ἢ ἄλλος τις;'

ὠμολόγει ὅτι ὁ διδάσκαλος τοὺς μανθάνοντας διδάσκει.

'καὶ ὅτε ὁ διδάσκαλος ἐδίδασκεν ὑμᾶς παῖδας ὄντας, ὑμεῖς  
μαθηταὶ ἦτε;'

ὠμολόγει.

'καὶ ὅτε μαθηταὶ ἦτε, οὐδὲν ἦστέ πω;'



ὁ διδάσκαλος τὸν μανθάνοντα διδάσκει

'οὐ μὰ Δία. μαθηταὶ γὰρ ὄντες οὐδὲν ἦσμεν.'

'ἄρ' οὖν σοφοὶ ἦτε, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδέν;'

'οὐ δῆτα σοφοὶ ἦμεν', ἦ δ' ὅς ὁ Κλεινίας, 'ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἦσμεν  
οὐδέν.'

'οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ σοφοί, ἀμαθεῖς;'

'πάνυ γε.'

'ὕμεῖς ἄρα, μαθηταὶ ὄντες, οὐκ ἦστε οὐδέν, ἀλλ' ἀμαθεῖς ὄντες  
ἐμανθάνετε;'

ὠμολόγει τὸ μειράκιον.

'οἱ ἀμαθεῖς ἄρα μανθάνουσιν, ὦ Κλεινία, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ οἱ σοφοί, ὡς  
σύ οἶη.'

## F

It is left for Dionysodoros to confuse Kleinias further, by turning the argument on its head.

ταῦτ' οὖν εἶπεν ὁ Εὐθύδημος. οἱ δὲ μαθηταί, ἅμα θορυβήσαντές τε καὶ γελάσαντες, τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην ἐπήνεσαν. καὶ ὥσπερ σφαῖραν εὐθύς ἐξεδέξατο τὸν λόγον ὁ Διονυσόδωρος, ἐκδεξάμενος δέ,

'τί δέ, ὦ Κλεινία;' ἔφη. 'καὶ ἤδη λέγει ὁ διδάσκαλος λόγους τινάς. πότεροι μανθάνουσι τοὺς λόγους, οἱ σοφοὶ ἢ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς;'

'οἱ σοφοί', ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Κλεινίας.

'οἱ σοφοὶ ἄρα μανθάνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ οἱ ἀμαθεῖς, καὶ οὐκ εὖ σὺ ἄρτι ἀπεκρίνω.'

ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ πάνυ γελάσαντές τε καὶ θορυβήσαντες οἱ μαθηταὶ τὴν σοφίαν ταύτην εὐθύς ἐπήνεσαν. ἡμεῖς δ' ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ἐμπίπτοντες,

ἔσιωπῶμεν.

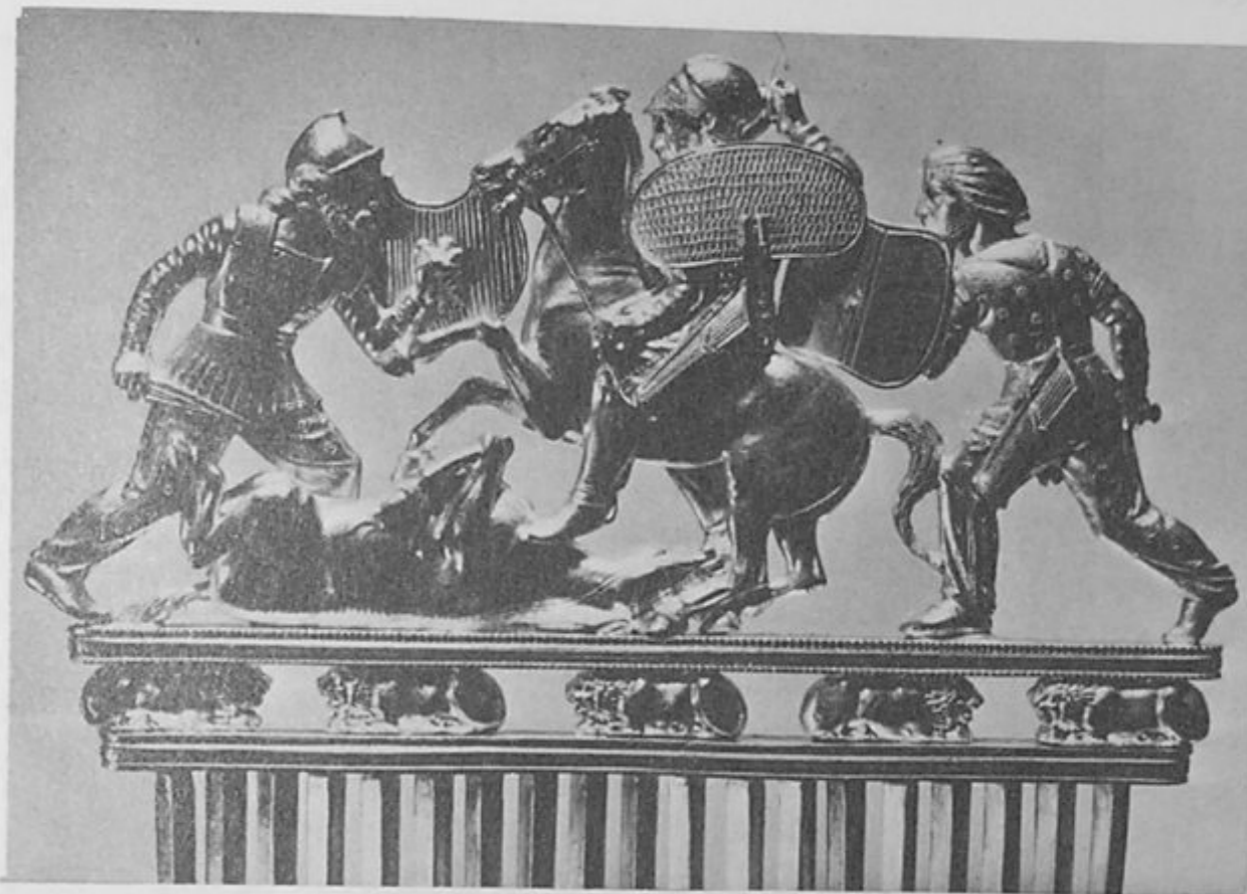
## G

## Introduction

The traditional view of universal standards relating to human behaviour and sanctioned by the gods was challenged by the ability of the sophists to present cogent arguments for both sides of a moral issue. It was also shaken as the Greeks became aware that other nations behaved and thought in ways entirely different from themselves. This interest is particularly reflected in the work of the Greek historian Herodotus ('*Ἡρόδοτος*'), from whose *Histories* the following story is taken. Herodotus assiduously collected stories of the different habits of foreign peoples and related them within the context of his main theme, the history of the Greek and Persian peoples that culminated in the Persian Wars.

Although the Greeks conquer the Amazons in battle, their Amazon prisoners take them by surprise on the voyage home.

ὅτε δ' οἱ Ἕλληνες εἰσπεσόντες εἰς τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἐμάχοντο, τότε δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν αὐτὰς ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. νικήσαντες δέ, τὰς Ἀμαζόνας τὰς ἐκ τῆς μάχης περιούσας ἔλαβον. λαβόντες δ' αὐτάς, ἀπῆλθον ἐν τρισὶ πλοίοις· οὐ μέντοι ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ θαλάττῃ ὄντες οὐκ ἐφύλαξαν τὰς Ἀμαζόνας. αἱ δ'



οἱ Σκύθαι

'Ἀμαζόνες, ἰδοῦσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ φυλάττοντας, ἀπέκτειναν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔμπειροι ἦσαν περὶ τὰ ναυτικὰ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. ἀποκτείνασαι οὖν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἔπλεον ἢ περὶ ἔφερεν ὁ ἄνεμος.

τέλος δ' εἰς τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν γῆν ἀφικόμεναι καὶ ἀποβάσαι ἀπὸ τῶν πλοίων, ἠῦρον ἵπποφόρβιον, καὶ τοὺς ἵππους λαβούσαι διήρπασαν τὴν τῶν Σκυθῶν γῆν. οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὴν φωνὴν καὶ ἄνδρας νομίζοντες τὰς Ἀμαζόνας, ἐμπεσόντες καὶ μαχεσάμενοι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνείλον. οὕτως οὖν ἔγνωσαν γυναῖκας οὔσας, ἀνελόντες τοὺς νεκροὺς.

γνόντες δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ οὐ βουλόμενοι ἀποκτείνειν ἔτι, ἀλλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν παιδοποιεῖσθαι, τοὺς ἐαυτῶν νεανίσκους ἀπέπεμψαν εἰς αὐτάς, κελεύοντες μάχεσθαι μὲν μὴ, ἔπεσθαι δὲ καὶ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι πλησίον τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. πλησίον οὖν ἐλθόντες εἶποντο οἱ νεανίσκοι, καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀπῆλθον αἱ Ἀμαζόνες, ἀπελθούσαι δ' εἶδον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπομένους. αἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀμαζόνες ἐδίωκον, οἱ δ' ἄνδρες ἔφευγον. ἰδοῦσαι οὖν φεύγοντας τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἡσύχαζον αἱ Ἀμαζόνες. οὕτως οὖν, μαθούσαι τοὺς ἄνδρας οὐ πολεμίους ὄντας, οὐκέτι ἐφρόντιζον αὐτῶν.



ἡμεῖς τοξεύομεν καὶ ἵππαζόμεθα

## H

The Scythians track the Amazons, and notice that, at midday, they disperse in ones and twos. An enterprising Scythian follows one, and . . .

οὕτως οὖν νεανίσκος τις Ἀμαζόνα τινὰ μόνην οὖσαν καταλαβὼν  
εὐθὺς ἐχρήτη. καὶ ἡ Ἀμαζὼν οὐκ ἐκώλυσεν. καὶ φωνεῖν μὲν οὐκ  
ἐδύνατο, διὰ δὲ ἰσημερίου ἐκέλευε τὸν νεανίαν εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν  
ἵεναι εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον καὶ ἕτερον νεανίαν ἄγειν, σημαίνουσα ὅτι  
αὐτὴ τὸ αὐτὸ ποιήσει καὶ ἕτερον Ἀμαζόνα ἄξει. ὁ δὲ νεανίας  
ἀπελθὼν εἶπε ταῦτα πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς, τῆ δ' ὑστεραία ἐλθὼν  
αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρίον, ἕτερον ἄγων νεανίαν, τὴν Ἀμαζόνα  
αὐτὴν ἠῦρεν, ἕτερον ἀγαγοῦσαν Ἀμαζόνα. οἱ δὲ δύο νεανίαι,  
εὐρόντες τὰς Ἀμαζόνας καὶ χρησάμενοι, ἀπήλθον. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ τῶν

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νεανιῶν, μαθόντες τὰ γενόμενα, ἐποίουν τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτοί.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συνώκουν ὁμοῦ οἷ τε Σκύθαι καὶ αἱ Ἀμαζόνες.  
τὴν δὲ φωνὴν τὴν μὲν τῶν Ἀμαζόνων οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐδύνατο  
μανθάνειν, τὴν δὲ τῶν Σκυθῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ἔμαθον. τέλος δὲ εἶπον  
πρὸς αὐτὰς οἱ νεανίαι: 'τοκέας καὶ κτήματα ἔχομεν ἡμεῖς. διὰ τί  
οὖν οὐκ ἀπερχόμεθα εἰς τὸ ἡμέτερον πλῆθος; γυναῖκας δ' ἔξομεν  
ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐδεμίας ἄλλας.' αἱ δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα 'ἡμεῖς', ἔφασαν, 'οὐ  
δυνάμεθα οἰκεῖν μετὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων γυναικῶν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἷ  
τε ἡμέτεροι νόμοι καὶ οἱ τῶν Σκυθῶν. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ τοξεύομεν καὶ  
ἵππαζόμεθα, ἔργα δὲ γυναικεία οὐκ ἐμάθομεν. αἱ δ' ὑμέτεραι  
γυναῖκες οὐδὲν τούτων ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἔργα γυναικεία ἐργάζονται,  
μένουσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις καὶ οὐ τοξεύουσαι οὐδ' ἵππαζόμεναι. ἀλλ'  
εἰ βούλεσθε γυναῖκας ἔχειν ἡμᾶς, ἐλθόντας εἰς τοὺς τοκέας δεῖ ὑμᾶς  
ἀπολαγχάνειν τὸ τῶν κτημάτων μέρος, καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπανελθόντας  
συνοικεῖν μεθ' ἡμῶν.'

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ταῦτα δ' εἰπούσαι ἔπεισαν τοὺς νεανίσκους. ἀπολαχόντες οὖν οἱ  
νεανίσκοι τὸ τῶν κτημάτων μέρος, ἐπανήλθον πάλιν παρὰ τὰς  
Ἀμαζόνας. εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἱ Ἀμαζόνες: 'ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς ἔχει  
φόβος τις μέγας. οὐ γὰρ δυνάμεθα οἰκεῖν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χώρῳ,  
διαρπάσασαι τὴν γῆν. ἀλλ' εἰ βούλεσθε ἡμᾶς γυναῖκας ἔχειν, διὰ τί  
οὐκ ἐξανιστάμεθα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ταύτης καὶ τὸν Τάναιν ποταμὸν  
διαβάντες ἐκεῖ οἰκοῦμεν;' καὶ ἐπέιθοντο καὶ ταῦτα οἱ νεανίαι.  
ἐξαναστάντες οὖν καὶ ἀφικόμενοι πρὸς τὸν χώρον, ὤκησαν αὐτόν.

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Comic actors

## PART THREE

### *Athens through the comic poet's eyes*

#### *Introduction*

The narrative returns to Dikaiopolis, who continues on his way through the city with the rhapsode. They meet Euelpides and Peisetairos, two friends who plan to escape from Athens and its troubles and found a new city, Cloudcuckooland (*Νεφελοκοκκυγία*), a Utopia in the sky with the birds.

We have already seen some of the troubles they want to escape – the war, the plague, increasing lawlessness and disrespect for the gods and human institutions, the collapse of morality and the challenge of the sophists – but Euelpides mentions another, the Athenian obsession with law-suits, a theme which is comically explored in scenes from Aristophanes' *Wasps*.

Peisetairos and Euelpides have already decided on their plan of escape, but Aristophanes provides two other possible comic solutions: in *Lysistrata*, the women of Athens stage a sex-strike to end the war, and in *Akharnians*, Dikaiopolis finally finds his own solution to the problems of Athens at war.

## Sources

- |  |   |
|--|---|
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| <i>Knights</i> 303–7, 752–3                                    | <i>Akharnians</i> 19–61,<br>129–32, 175–203               |
| Homer, <i>Odyssey</i> 1.267                                    | Plato, <i>Republic</i> 557e–558c, 563c–e                  |
| <i>Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i> 216–17                          | <i>Alkibiades</i> 1, 134b                                 |
| Philemon (fragment – Kock 71)                                  | Aristophanes, <i>Knights</i> 1111–30                      |
| Plato, <i>Gorgias</i> 515b–516a                                | (Xenophon), <i>Constitution of Athens</i><br>1.6–8, 3.1–2 |
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## Time to be taken

Seven weeks

## Section Seven A–C

### Aristophanes' *Birds* and visions of Utopia

## A

*Dikaiopolis and the rhapsode walk on through Athens, leaving the Spartan ambassador to his fate. On the way Dikaiopolis meets his old friends, Peisetairos and Euelpides, who are leaving Athens. They explain their dissatisfaction with Athens, and particularly the politicians, and in the course of this Dikaiopolis determines to make peace somehow. The rhapsode is not eager to involve himself, and takes a different course.*

θεασάμενος τὴν τῶν ἔνδεκα ἀνομίαν ὁ Δικαιοπόλις καὶ ἀκούσας  
τοὺς τοῦ ἱκέτου λόγους, ἀπέρχεται διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν πλήθους  
πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν μετὰ τοῦ ῥαψωδοῦ. καὶ Εὐελπίδης, ὁ  
τοῦ Πολεμάρχου υἱός, καθορᾷ αὐτὸν πρὸς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀπιόντα  
μετὰ τοῦ ῥαψωδοῦ, κατιδὼν δὲ πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν παῖδα.  
προσέρχεται οὖν ὁ παῖς ὁ τοῦ Εὐελπίδου ὡς τὸν Δικαιοπόλι, 20  
προσιῶν δὲ βοᾷ. 25

ΠΑΙΣ μένε, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, μένε.

ΔΙΚ. τίς ἢ βοή; τίς αἰτιός ἐστι τῆς βοῆς ἐκείνης;

(ὁ παῖς προσελθὼν λαμβάνεται τοῦ ἱματίου)

ΠΑΙΣ ἐγὼ αἰτιός τῆς βοῆς.

ΔΙΚ. τίς ὦν σύ γε τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἱματίου λαμβάνη, ὦ ἄνθρωπε;

ΠΑΙΣ παῖς εἰμι.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ τίνας ἀνθρώπου παῖς ὦν τυγχάνεις; τίς σε ἔπεμψεν;

ΠΑΙΣ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ τοῦ Εὐελπίδου παῖς, καὶ ἔτυχε πέμψας με  
ἐκείνος. ἀσπάζεται γάρ σε Εὐελπίδης, ὁ τοῦ Πολεμάρχου. 30

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ ποῦ ἐστὶν αὐτός;

ΠΑΙΣ οὗτος ὅπισθεν προσέρχεται. ἀρ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε αὐτὸν τρέχοντα  
διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν πλήθους; καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἑταῖρός τις  
ἔπεται, Πεισέταιρος, ὁ Στιλβωνίδου. δῆλον ὅτι 40



παῖς τις κανοῦν ἔχων

ὑμῶν ἕνεκα τρέχει. ἀλλὰ περιμένετε.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ περιμενοῦμεν.

(ὁ Εὐελπίδης προστρέχει, κανοῦν ἔχων ἐν τῇ χειρὶ. προσδραμῶν δὲ φθάνει τὸν Πεισέταιρον, καὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς τοῦ Δικαιοπόλεως λαβόμενος ἀσπάζεται)

ΕΥΕΛΠΙΔΗΣ χαίρε, ὦ φίλε Δικαιοπόλι. ποῖ δὴ καὶ πόθεν;

ΔΙΚ. ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς, ὦ βέλτιστε. προσιῶν δὲ τυγχάνω πρὸς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. κυρία γὰρ ἐκκλησία γενήσεται τήμερον.

(ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τυγχάνει προσιῶν Πεισέταιρος, κόρακα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ)

ΔΙΚ. χαίρε καὶ σύ γε, ὦ Πεισέταιρε. ποῖ δὴ μετ' ἐκείνου τοῦ κόρακος; μὴν εἰς κόρακας;

ΠΕΙΣΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ πῶς δ' οὐ; ἀνιστάμεθα γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ τί βουλόμενοι οὕτως ἀνιστασθε, ὦ φίλοι; λέγοιτε ἄν.

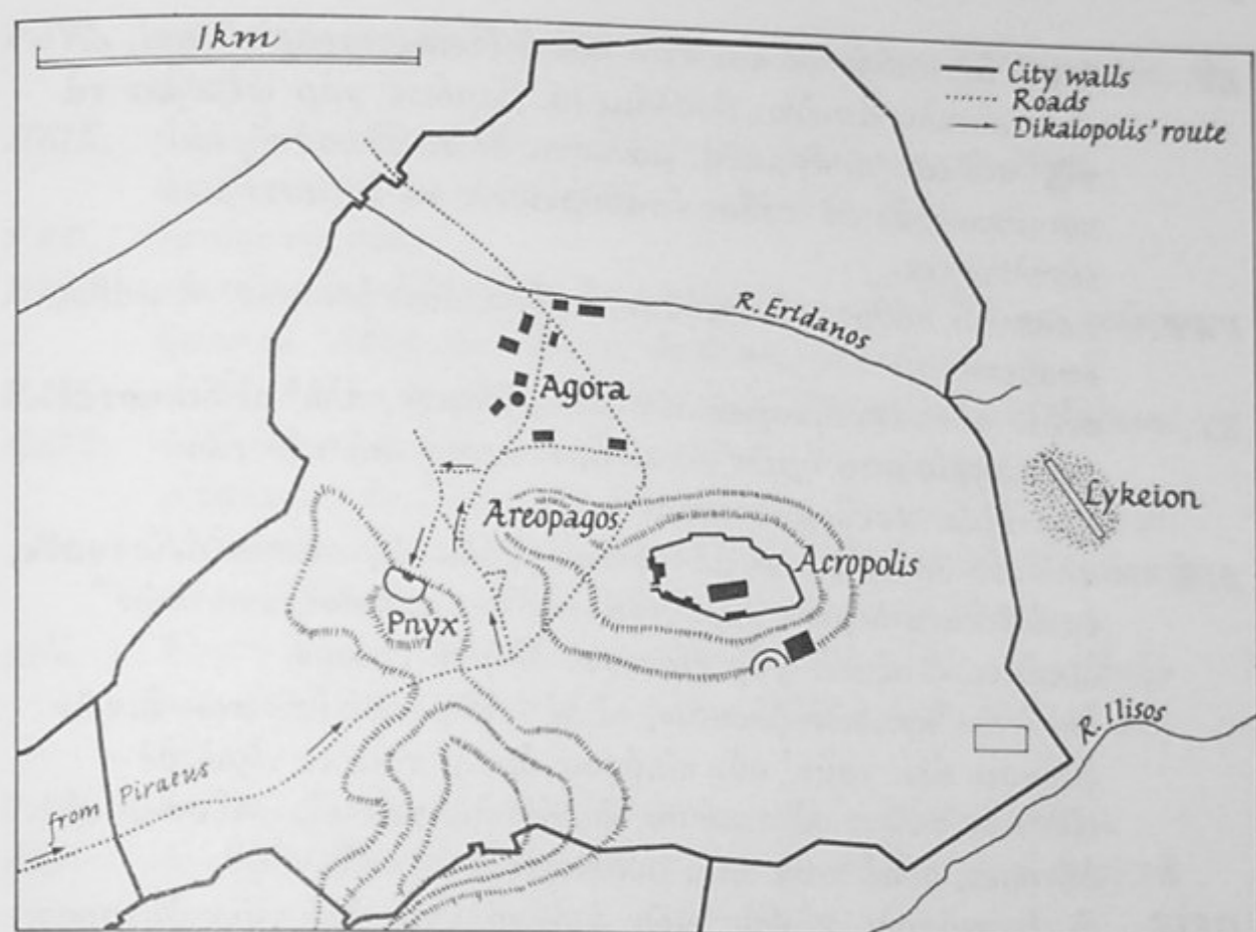
ΕΥ. ἐγὼ γὰρ πάνυ ἠδέως ἂν ἀκούοιμι τὴν αἰτίαν.

ΔΙΚ. λέγοιμι ἄν. ζητοῦμεν γὰρ ἡμεῖς τόπον τινὰ ἀπράγμονα.

ΕΥ. ἐκεῖσε δ' ἴμεν, ἐλθόντες δὲ πόλιν ἀπράγμονα οἰκιοῦμεν.

ΔΙΚ. ἀλλὰ τί βουλόμενος ἐκείνον τὸν κόρακα ἔχεις ἐπὶ τῇ χειρὶ;

ΠΕΙΣ. οὗτος μὲν ὁ κόραξ ἡγείται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐπόμεθα. τίς γὰρ



A sketch plan of Athens about 425. The agora was the town centre and market place, where the main civic buildings were. The assembly (ἐκκλησία) met on the hill of the Pnyx, and the Lykeion sports ground (γυμνάσιον) was a place for the men of the city to meet, exercise and discuss.

The Areopagos was the hill of Ares, where the Council of 400 met

ἡγεμῶν βελτίων εἰς κόρακας ἢ κόραξ;

ΡΑΨ. ἡγεμῶν βέλτιστος δὴ.

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## B

ΔΙΚ. μείζονα οὖν τινα πόλιν ἢ τὰς Ἀθήνας ζητεῖς;

ΕΥ. οὐ μὰ Δία οὐκ ἐκείνο διανοοῦμαι. οὐκ ἔστι μείζων ταύτης τῆς πόλεως πόλις. μέγισται γὰρ νῆ Δία αἱ Ἀθηναί φαινόνται οὔσαι.

ΡΑΨ. ἔπειτα εὐδαιμονεστέρα ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ζητεῖς πόλιν;

ΕΥ. οὐκ ἔστιν εὐδαιμονεστέρα ἢ αὕτη ἡ πόλις. εὐδαιμονέσταται γὰρ αἱ Ἀθηναί.

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ΔΙΚ. τί οὖν δὴ; τί ἐν νῶ ἔχετε; μὴν μισεῖτε τὴν πόλιν;

ΠΕΙΣ. ἀλλ' οὐ μὰ Δία οὐκ αὐτὴν μισοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν.

ΔΙΚ. λέγετε οὖν, ὦ φίλοι, τί παθόντες ἢ τί βουλόμενοι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέρχεσθε;

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- ΕΥ. δεινὰ δὴ παθόντες καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ Πεισέταιρος οὐτοσί, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, ἀπιέναι βουλόμεθα. βαρέως γὰρ ἔφερομεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια. τοιοῦτον γὰρ τὸ πάθος ἐπάθομεν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον εἰσελθόντες.
- ΡΑΨ. ποῖον τὸ πάθος; τί ποιήσαντες ἢ τί ἀδικήσαντες τὸ πάθος ἐπάθετε;
- ΕΥ. οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἐποιήσαμεν οὐτ' ἠδικήσαμεν, ἀλλ' οἱ δικασταὶ κατεψηφίσαντο ἡμῶν ἀναιτίων ὄντων διὰ τὴν τῶν μαρτύρων ψευδομαρτυρίαν.
- ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ' οὐ θαυμάζω εἰ ἄλλην τινὰ πόλιν ζητοῦντες ἀνίστασθε, ἐπεὶ δίκαια λέγετε περὶ τοῦτ' τε ἰδικαστηρίου καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τέττιγες ὀλίγον χρόνον ἐπὶ τῶν κραδῶν ἄδουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν ἄδουσιν αἰεὶ. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰκότως ὑμεῖς ποιεῖτε. ἐγὼ δὲ εἰκότως ταῦτα οὐ ποιήσω. φιλόπολις γὰρ εἰμι, ὥσπερ οἱ ῥήτορες, οὐδὲ παύσομαι οὐδέποτε φιλόπολις ὢν.
- ΠΕΙΣ. ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, τί φῆς; μὴν φιλοπόλιδας ἠγῆ τοὺς ῥήτορας;
- ΔΙΚ. ἔγωγε. τί μῆν;
- ΠΕΙΣ. ἀλλὰ πῶς φιλοῦσι τὸν δῆμον οἱ ῥήτορες; σκόπει γάρ. ὁ μὲν πόλεμος ἔρπει, πανταχοῦ δὲ κλαυθμοὶ καὶ πυραὶ διὰ τὴν νόσον, πανταχοῦ δὲ νεκροί, πολλή δ' ἡ ἀνομία. ἄρ' οἰκτίρουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες τὸν δῆμον; οἰκτίρουσιν ἢ οὐ; λέγε. τί σιωπᾶς; οὐκ ἔρεῖς; οὐκ οἰκτίρουσιν, ἀλλ' ἀπολοῦσι τὴν πόλιν, εὖ οἶσθ' ὅτι. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὑπὲρ σοῦ ἀποκρινοῦμαι. καὶ πλέα μὲν ἢ γῆ τῆς τόλμης αὐτῶν, πλέα δ' ἢ ἐκκλησία, πλέα δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια, ὁ δὲ δῆμος πλέως τῆς ἀπορίας.

## C

- ΔΙΚ. ἀληθῆ γε δοκεῖς λέγειν, ὦ Πεισέταιρε. ἀλλὰ τίς σώσει τὴν πόλιν, ἐπεὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι φαίνονται ὄντες οἳ γε ῥήτορες; ἴσως αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος –
- ΕΥ. ὦ Ἡράκλεις, μὴ λέγε τοῦτό γε. ὁ γὰρ δῆμος οἴκοι μὲν ἐστὶ δεξιώτατος, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ μωρότατος.
- ΡΑΨ. ἀλλ' εἰ Περικλῆς –
- ΔΙΚ. τὸν Περικλέα μὴ λέγε.

- ΡΑΨ. πῶς φῆς, ὦ τᾶν; πάντων ἄριστός γε ἐδόκει ὁ Περικλῆς, ὡς φασίν.
- ΠΕΙΣ. ἀλλ' ὁ ἀγαθὸς πολίτης βελτίονας ποιεῖ τοὺς πολίτας ἀντὶ χειρόνων. τοῦτ' ἐποίει Περικλῆς, ἢ οὐ;
- ΡΑΨ. ἐποίει νῆ Δία.
- ΠΕΙΣ. οὐκοῦν, ὅτε Περικλῆς ἤρχετο λέγειν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ, χείρονες ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτε δὲ ἀπέθανε, βελτίονες;
- ΡΑΨ. εἰκός. ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς πολίτης βελτίους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους.
- ΠΕΙΣ. ἀλλ' ἴσμεν σαφῶς καὶ ἐγὼ καὶ σύ, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν εὐδόκιμος ἦν Περικλῆς ὅτε χείρους, ὡς σὺ φῆς, ἦσαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐγένοντο βελτίους διὰ αὐτόν, κλοπῆν κατεψηφίσαντο αὐτοῦ, δῆλον ὅτι ἰπονηροῦ ὄντος.
- ΔΙΚ. ἀληθῆ λέγεις, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι. τίς οὖν σώσει τὴν πόλιν; ἀνὴρ γὰρ φιλόπολις σώσει τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπολεῖ. τί δεῖ ποιεῖν;
- ΡΑΨ. δεῖ σε, ὦ Δικαιοπόλι, ζητεῖν τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθόν.
- ΔΙΚ. τί τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὦ ῥαψωδέ; οὐ γὰρ αὐτό, ὃ τι ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, τυγχάνω εἰδώς.
- ΡΑΨ. σὺ δ' οὐκ οἶσθα τί τὸ ἀγαθόν; ἐν δὲ τῇ νῆϊ ἔδοξάς γε φιλόσοφος τις εἶναι, γνοὺς τὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων.
- ΔΙΚ. μὴ παίζε πρὸς ἐμέ, ὦ ῥαψωδέ. οἱ γὰρ φιλόσοφοι ζητοῦσιν, ὡς ἀκούω, τί ἐστὶν ἀγαθόν, εὐρίσκειν δ' οὐδεὶς δύναται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴν, οἱ δὲ δικαιοσύνην ἠγοῦνται τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἴσασιν ἐκείνοι. οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἴσασιν, τί ἐστὶν. ἐν ἀγρῷ γὰρ ἔτυχον εὐρόντες αὐτό. ἐστὶ δ' εἰρήνη. ὁ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμος πλέως πραγμάτων, ἀπορίας, νόσου, παρασκευῆς νεῶν, ἢ δ' εἰρήνη πλέα γάμων, ἐορτῶν, συγγενῶν, παίδων, φίλων, πλούτου, ὑγιείας, σίτου, οἴνου, ἡδονῆς. εἰ δ' ἄλλος τις βούλεται σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ εἰρήνην ἄγειν, οὐκ οἶδα. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ αὐτὸς ἄν βουλοίμην. ἀλλὰ πῶς μόνος ὢν τὸν δῆμον ἀναπέισω; τί λέγων, ἢ τί βοῶν, ἢ τί κελεύων, σπονδὰς ποιήσομαι; ἀλλ' οὖν εἰμι, ἐτοιμὸς ὢν βοᾶν καὶ κακὰ λέγειν τὸν ἄλλο τι πλὴν περὶ εἰρήνης ἰλέγοντα. φέρε νυν, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Δικαιοπόλι.
- ΕΥ. καὶ ΠΕΙΣ. καίτοι ἡμεῖς γ' ἀνιστάμεθα εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ἀπράγμονα. χαίρετε.
- ΡΑΨ. μῶρους δὴ ἠγοῦμαι τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ποιοῖην ταῦτα. οὔτε γὰρ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν σπεύδοιμι ἄν, οὔτε ἄν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος φεύγειν βουλοίμην. ἄρ' οὐκ



ἴσασιν ὅτι ἀληθῆ ἐποίησεν ὁ ποιητῆς ὁ ποιήσας·

‘ἀλλ’ ἦ τοι μὲν ταῦτα θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείται;’

δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς τὰ τῶν θεῶν δῶρα καρτερεῖν, καὶ χαλεπὰ καὶ τὰ βελτίω.

‘ἀλλὰ θεῶν μὲν δῶρα, καὶ ἀχνύμενοί ἴπερ, ἀνάγκη  
τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι. ἐπὶ γὰρ ζυγὸς ἰαυχένη κείται.’

## Section Eight A–J

### Aristophanes' Wasps

#### Introduction

The reason that Euelpides gave for leaving Athens was that he and Peisetairos had been unjustly found guilty in a law-suit. Whatever the actual rights and wrongs of the matter, the Athenians' reputation for litigiousness was notorious throughout the Mediterranean. Pericles (Περικλῆς) had introduced pay for dikasts (δικασταί, jurors), so that even the poorest might be encouraged to take part in the democratic process of judging their fellow-man, and it would appear that some men were happy to scrape a living out of serving as dikasts. The courts handled not only judicial business, but political cases as well: their power was, potentially, enormous, and could be wielded to deadly effect. There was little 'procedure' in the courts; certainly no judge to guide dikasts and clarify the law; no question of the dikasts (usually 501 Athenian males) retiring to discuss what they had heard; few rules of evidence; and no cross-questioning of witnesses. The dikasts listened to both sides, and voted on the issue at once. In such an atmosphere, the law could easily be abused.

In *Wasps*, Aristophanes presents his vision of the 'typical' Athenian dikast, and leaves us to ponder its implications for the administration of justice in Athens.

## A

The stage-set represents a house with a door and a window at a higher level. There is a bar across the door and a net draped over the window. In front of the house are standing two slaves, Sosias and Xanthias. They are supposed to be on guard duty, but Xanthias keeps falling asleep.

(ἐμπροσθεν τῆς οἰκίας εἰσὶ δούλοι δύο. διαλέγονται πρῶτον μὲν ἀλλήλοις, ἔπειτα τοῖς θεαταῖς.)

ΣΩΣΙΑΣ οὗτος, τί πάσχεις;

(again, louder)

οὗτος, τί πάσχεις;

(louder still)

σοὶ λέγω, ὦ Ξανθία.

ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ (wakes up with a start) τίς ἢ βοή;

(sees Sosias)

τίνι λέγεις, Σωσία; τί βουλόμενος οὕτω βοᾷς; ἀπολεῖς με βοῶν.

Σ. σοὶ λέγω, ὦ κακόδαιμον Ξανθία, καὶ σοῦ ἕνεκα βοῆ χρώμαι. ἀλλὰ τί πάσχεις;

Ξ. καθεύδω ἠδέως.

Σ. καθεύδεις; ἀλλὰ λέγοιμ' ἂν τί σοι, κακοδαίμονι ἄνθρώπῳ ὄντι, καὶ δυστυχεῖ.

Ξ. τί μοι λέγοις ἂν;

Σ. λέγοιμ' ἂν σοι ὅτι μέγα κακόν σοι ἐμπεσεῖται. ἀπολεῖ γάρ σε ὁ δεσπότης. μὴ οὖν κάθειυδε. ἄρ' οὐ τυγχάνεις εἰδῶς οἶον θηρίον φυλάττομεν;

Ξ. δοκῶ γ' εἰδέναι.

Σ. ἀλλ' οὐτοῖ οὐκ ἴσασιν οἱ θεαταί. κάτειπε οὖν τὸν τοῦ δράματος λόγον τοῖς θεαταῖς, πολλοῖς δὲ ἰούσιν.

Ξ. καὶ δὴ καταλέξω τῶν τῶν θεατῶν πληθεῖ τὸν τοῦ ἡμετέρου δράματος λόγον.

## B

Ξ. ἔστιν γὰρ ἡμῖν δεσπότης ἐκεινοσί, ὁ ἄνω ἤσυχος καθεύδων. ἄρ' οὐχ ὁράτε αὐτὸν καθεύδοντα;

(points up to the roof)

ἔστι μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν δεσπότης οὗτος. τῶν δὲ δεσπότη πατὴρ ἔστι πάνυ γέρον. ὁ δὲ δεσπότης ἡμᾶς ἐκέλευε φυλάττειν τὸν πατέρα, κελεύοντι δὲ ἐπιθόμεθα. ἐν γὰρ ἀπορία ἐνέπεσεν ὁ δεσπότης περὶ τοῦ πατρός, ἐπειδὴ ἔγνω αὐτὸν πονηρότερον ὄντα τῶν ἄλλων ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αἴτιον κακῶν πολλῶν. ἔστι γὰρ τῶν πατρὶ τῶν τοῦ δεσπότου νόσος



ΗΟ ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ

τις. ἐρωτῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ θεαταί, τί τυγχάνει ὄν τὸ ὄνομα ταύτῃ τῇ νόσῳ; ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποκρίνεσθε ἡμῖν ἐρωτῶσιν.

(appeals to the audience for suggestions)

φέρε νυν· τί φησιν οὗτος;

Σ. οὕτοσι μὲν ἡμῖν ἀποκρινόμενος 'φιλόκυβον' ἡγείται τὸν γέροντα. ἀλλὰ λέγω τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὅτι δηλός ἐστιν οὐδὲν λέγων, τοιαῦτα ἀποκρινόμενος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ 'φιλο' μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ κακοῦ.

Ξ. φιλεῖ γὰρ τι ὁ γέρον. ἀλλὰ τί φησιν οὗτος;

Σ. οὗτος δὲ μοι ἐρομένῳ ἀποκρίνεται ὅτι 'φιλοθύτην' ἢ 'φιλόξενον' νομίζει τὸν πατέρα εἶναι.

Ξ. μὰ τὸν κύνα, ὦ τᾶν, οὐ φιλόξενος, ἐπεὶ καταπύγων ἐστὶν ὁ γε Φιλόξενος.

## C

Ξ. οὐδέποτ' ἐξευρήσετε, ὦ θεαταί. εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε εἰδέναι τίς ἡ νόσος ἢ τῶν πατρὶ ἐμπεσοῦσα, σιωπάτε νυν. λέξω γὰρ ὑμῖν ἐν ἀπορία δὲ ἰούσι τὴν τοῦ γέροντος νόσον. φιληλιαστής ἐστὶν ὡσπερ οὐδεὶς ἀνὴρ. δίκας γὰρ αἰεὶ δικάζει καὶ τὸ δικαστήριον φιλεῖ, τῆς μὲν ἡμέρας καθιζόμενος ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ, τῆς δὲ ἑνυκτὸς ὄνειροπολῶν δίκας. καίτοι οἱ μὲν ἐρασταὶ γράφουσιν ἐν θύρα τινὶ 'Δῆμος καλός', οὗτος δὲ ἰδὼν καὶ προσιῶν

παραγράφει πλησίον 'Κημὸς καλός'. τοῦτον οὖν φυλάττομεν  
τούτοις τοῖς μοχλοῖς ἐγκλείσαντες, πολλοῖς τε οὔσι καὶ  
μεγάλοις. ὁ γὰρ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ τὸν πατέρα ἔμαθεν  
φιληλιαστὴν ὄντα, τὴν νόσον βαρέως φέρων, πρῶτον μὲν  
ἐπειράτο ἀναπείθειν αὐτὸν μὴ ἐξιέναι θύραζε, τοιάδε λέγων·  
'διὰ τί, ἦ δ' ὅς, 'αἰὲ δίκας δικάζεις, ὦ πάτερ, ἐν  
τῷ δικαστηρίῳ; ἄρ' οὐ παύση ἡλιαστῆς ὢν; ἄρα  
τῷ σῷ υἱῷ οὐ πείσῃ;

ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐξιέναι ἀναπείθονται οὐκ ἐπείθετο.  
εἶτα ὁ υἱὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐκορυβάντιζεν. ὁ δὲ πατὴρ εἰς τὸ  
δικαστήριον ἐμπροσθὼν αὐτῷ τῷ τυμπάνῳ ἐδίκασεν.  
ἐντεῦθεν ἔνδον ἐγκλείσαντες αὐτὸν ἐφυλάττομεν τούτοις  
τοῖς δικτύοις. ἔστι δ' ὄνομα τῷ μὲν γέροντι Φιλοκλέων,  
τῷ δ' υἱῷ γε τούτῳ Βδελυκλέων.



αὐτῷ τῷ τυμπάνῳ

## D

ΒΔΕΛΥΚΛΕΩΝ (βοᾷ τοῖς δούλοις ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγους)

ὦ Ξανθία καὶ Σωσία, καθεύδετε;

Ξ. οἴμοι, τάλας.

Σ. τί ἐστίν;

Ξ. ὁ δεσπότης οὐκέτι καθεύδει ἀλλ' ἀνίσταται ἤδη καὶ βοῆ  
χρήται.

Σ. ἀλλὰ τίσι λέγει ὁ ἀνὴρ;

Ξ. λέγει τι ἡμῖν ὁ Βδελυκλέων, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ. καὶ  
ἡμῖν καθεύδουσιν ἐντυχῶν ἀπολεῖ ὁ δεσπότης.

Σ. κἀμοὶ δοκεῖ λέγειν τι, Ξανθία. ἀλλὰ τί βουλόμενος  
ἀνίστασαι, ὦ δέσποτα;

ΒΔΕΛ. (pointing inside the house)

ὁ τι; λόγῳ μὲν ὁ πατὴρ ἡσυχάζει, Σωσία, ἔργῳ δὲ  
βούλεται ἐξιέναι. καὶ αἰὲ τόλμη χρήται ὁ πατὴρ ἐξιέναι  
βουλόμενος. νῦν δέ, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὁ πατὴρ εἰς τὸν ἵπνον  
εἰσελθὼν ὁπῆν τινα ζητεῖ πολλῆ σπουδῇ.

(looking at the chimney)

ἄναξ Πόσειδον, τί ποτ' ἄρ' ἡ κάπνη ψοφεῖ;

(ἐκ τῆς κάπνης ἐξέρχεται ὁ Φιλοκλέων)

οὗτος τίς εἶ σύ;

ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΩΝ (emerging from the chimney)

καπνὸς ἔγωγε ἐξέρχομαι.

ΒΔΕΛ. καπνός; ἀλλὰ καπνῷ μὲν ἔξιόντι οὐχ ὅμοιος εἶ, ὡς ἔμοιγε  
δοκεῖ, Φιλοκλέωνι δ' ὁμοιότερος. τί δέ σοι δοκεῖ, Ξανθία;

Ξ. οὐδενὶ ὁμοιότερος εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ ἢ τῷ Φιλοκλέωνι, ὦ  
δέσποτα.

ΒΔΕΛ. (puts the cover back on the chimney)

ἐνταῦθά νυν ζήτην τιν' ἄλλην μηχανήν.

## E

ΦΙΛ. (commandingly)

ἀλλ' ἀνοίγε τὴν θύραν.

ΒΔΕΛ. (resolutely)

μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, πάτερ, οὐδέποτε γε.

ΦΙΛ. (a pause, then craftily)

ἀλλ' ἔστι νομηγία τήμερον.



ὁ ἡμίονος . . .



. . . φέρει Ὀδυσσέα τινά

ΒΔΕΛ. ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὗτος μέγα τι κακὸν παρασκευάζεται, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. τί σοι δοκεῖ, Ξανθία;

Ξ. καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.

ΦΙΛ. (overhears)

μὰ τὸν Δία οὐ δῆτα, ἀλλ' ἔξειμι, ἐπεὶ τὸν ἡμίονον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλεῖν βούλομαι αὐτοῖς τοῖς κανθηλίοις.

ΒΔΕΛ. πωλεῖν βούλη τὸν ἡμίονον αὐτοῖς τοῖς κανθηλίοις; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῦτο ἂν δρᾶν δυναίμην.

ΦΙΛ. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο ἂν δυναίμην ἄμεινον ἢ σὺ.

ΒΔΕΛ. οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σοῦ ἄμεινον.

ΦΙΛ. ἀλλὰ εἰσιὼν τὸν ἡμίονον ἔξαγε.

The mule is led out of the courtyard.

ΒΔΕΛ. ἀλλὰ τί παθὼν στένεις, ἡμίονε; ἄρα ὅτι τήμερον πωλήσομέν σε; ἀλλὰ μὴ στένε μηκέτι, ἡμίονε. τί δὲ τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα; τί στένεις, εἰ μὴ φέρεις Ὀδυσσέα τινά;

Σ. (looks under the mule)

ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία φέρει κάτω γε τουτονί τινα.

ΒΔΕΛ. τίνα φέρει ὁ ἡμίονος; τίς εἶ ποτ', ὦ ἄνθρωπε;

ΦΙΛ. Οὐτίς νῆ Δία.

ΒΔΕΛ. Οὐτίς σύ; ποδαπὸς εἶ;

ΦΙΛ. Ἰθακήσιος, ὁ τοῦ Ἀποδρασιππίδου.

ΒΔΕΛ. (to Sosias)

ὑφελκε αὐτόν.

(looks at Philokleon with disgust)

ὦ μιαρῶτατος. γιγνώσκω γάρ σε πάντων πονηρότατον ὄντα. τῷ γὰρ Ὀδυσσεῖ δὴ ὁμοιότατός ἐστιν ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. ἀλλ' ὦ πάτερ, σπουδῆ πάσῃ ὤθει τὸν ἡμίονον καὶ σεαυτὸν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

(points to a pile of stones)

σὺ δέ, Σωσία, ὤθει ταῖς χερσὶ πολλοὺς τῶν λίθων πρὸς τὴν θύραν.

Σ. (busies himself with the task. Suddenly . . .)

οἴμοι τάλας. τί τοῦτο; πόθεν ποτ' ἐνέπεσέ μοι τὸ βῶλιον;

Ξ. (points to the roof)

ἰδοῦ, ὦ δέσποτα. ὁ ἀνὴρ στρουθὸς γίγνεται.

ΒΔΕΛ. οἴμοι κακοδαίμων. οὐ γάρ με λανθάνει ὁ πατήρ στρουθὸς γιγνόμενος. ἀλλὰ φθήσεται ἡμᾶς ἐκφυγῶν. ποῦ ποῦ ἐστὶ μοι τὸ δίκτυον; σοῦ σοῦ, πάλιν σοῦ.

(τῷ δικτύῳ διώκει τὸν πατέρα)

Σ. (with relief, determined that the old man will give no more trouble)

ἄγε νυν. ἐπειδὴ τουτονὶ μὲν ἐνεκλείσαμεν, ἐγκλείσασι δ' ἡμῖν καὶ φύλαξιν οὔσι πράγματα οὐκ αὐτίς παρέξει ὁ γέρων οὐδὲ λήσει ἡμᾶς ἀποδραμών, τί οὐ καθεύδομεν ὀλίγον χρόνον;

## F

Bdelykleon now persuades Philokleon that he should not go out to the court, but should stay at home and judge offences committed by members of his own household. The old man agrees, and they begin to set up the courtroom.

(Bdelykleon now persuades Philokleon that he should not go out to the court, but should stay at home and judge offences committed by members of his own household. The old man agrees, and they begin to set up the courtroom.)

ΒΔΕΛ. ἄκουε, ὦ πάτερ, οὐκέτι σε εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον ἀπιέναι, οὐδ' ἐμὲ λήσεις πειρώμενος ἐξιέναι.

ΦΙΛ. (dismayed)

τί τοῦτο; ἀλλ' ἀπολείς με, οὐκ εἰσάσας ἐξιέναι.

ΒΔΕΛ. (firmly)

ἐνθάδε μένειν σε χρή, πάτερ, καὶ ἐμοὶ πιθέσθαι.

ΦΙΛ. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ δικάζειν βούλομαι.

(falls to the floor in a rage)

- ΒΔΕΛ. ἀνίστασο, ὦ πάτερ, ἐπεὶ τήμερον δικάσαι δυνήσῃ.  
 ΦΙΛ. ἀλλὰ πῶς δικάζειν μοι ἐξέσται, ἐνθάδε μένοντι;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. ἐν τῇ σαυτοῦ οἰκίᾳ ἔσται σοι δικαστήριον καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις  
 δικάσαι ἐξέσται.  
 ΦΙΛ. τί φῆς; ἀλλὰ τίνι τρόπῳ καὶ περὶ τίνος;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. περὶ πολλῶν. φέρε γάρ. εἰσὶ γάρ σοι πολλοὶ οἰκέται, ἀλλὰ  
 εὖ οἶσθ' ὅτι οἱ οἰκέται οὐ βούλονται παύσασθαι ἀδικοῦντες  
 ἀλλ' αἰτιοὶ εἰσὶ πολλῶν κακῶν. χρῆ οὖν σε κατάσκοπον  
 γενέσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γιγνομένων. καὶ  
 ταῦτα τὰ κακὰ ἐξέσται σοι σκοπομένῳ τήμερον ἐξευρεῖν,  
 ἐξευρόντι δὲ δίκην λαβεῖν. οὐκ οὖν ἂν βούλοιο τοῦτο δρᾶν,  
 καὶ ἀναγκάζειν τοὺς οἰκέτας τῶν κακῶν παύσασθαι καὶ  
 βελτίους γενέσθαι;  
 ΦΙΛ. (eagerly)  
 καὶ πάνυ βουλοίμην ἂν. ἀναπέθεις γάρ με τοῖς λόγοις. ἀλλ'  
 ἐκείνο οὐπὼ λέγεις, τὸν μισθὸν ὀπόθεν λαβεῖν δυνήσομαι.  
 οὐκ οὖν βούλοιο ἂν τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλοῦν;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. λήψη παρ' ἐμοῦ.  
 ΦΙΛ. (satisfied)  
 καλῶς λέγεις.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. καὶ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο ἐθέλοισ ἂν;  
 ΦΙΛ. τοῦτο ἂν ποιοίην.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. ἀνάμενέ νυν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ταχέως ἤξω φέρων τὰ τοῦ  
 δικαστηρίου ταῖς χερσί. νῆ Δία, ἐξοίσω πάντα.  
 (ἀναμένει μὲν ὁ γέρον, ὁ δ' υἱὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσέρχεται. δι' ὀλίγου Βδελυκλέων  
 ἐξελθὼν τὰ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ταῖς χερσὶ μόγις ἐκφέρει.)  
 ΒΔΕΛ. (ranting, and finally depositing the equipment)  
 ἰδοῦ. τέλος γὰρ ἐξήνεγκον τὰ τοῦ δικαστηρίου ἐγώ.  
 ΦΙΛ. (looking at what Bdelykleon brought in)  
 ἐξήνεγκας δὴ σὺ πάντα;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. νῆ Δία, δοκῶ γ' ἐνεγκεῖν πάντα.  
 (points to a brazier)  
 καὶ πῦρ γε τουτὶ ἐξήνεγκον. ἰδοῦ, ἐγγὺς τοῦ πυρὸς φακῆ  
 τίς σοί ἐστιν.  
 ΦΙΛ. (joyfully)  
 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ. ἐξεσται γάρ μοι δικάζοντι τὴν φακῆν ἐσθίειν. καὶ  
 νῆ τὸν Δία αὐτὴν ἔδομαι, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ,  
 δεινὸς δὴ ὦν φαγεῖν.  
 (pointing at a cockerel)



κάδον φέρει



‘ΚΑΔΟΣ ΕΙΜΙΓ’

- ἀτὰρ τί βουλόμενος τὸν ἀλεκτρυόνα ἐξήνεγκας;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. ὅ τι; ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν σ' ἐγείρειν οἶός τ' ἔσται τῇ φωνῇ.  
 μακροὶ μὲν γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ τῶν κατηγορῶν λόγοι, σὺ δὲ  
 δεινὸς καθεύδειν, καίπερ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ καθιζόμενος.

## G

- ΒΔΕΛ. ἄρα πάντ' ἀρέσκει σοι, πάτερ; εἰπέ μοι.  
 ΦΙΛ. πάντα δὴ μοι ἀρέσκει, εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. οὐκοῦν κάθιζε, πάτερ. ἰδοῦ. τὴν γὰρ πρώτην δίκην καλῶ.  
 ΦΙΛ. μὴ κάλει τὴν δίκην, ὦ παῖ, ἀλλ' ἄκουσον.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. καὶ δὴ ἀκούω. τί λέγεις; ἴθι, ὦ πάτερ, λέξον.  
 ΦΙΛ. ποῦ εἰσιν οἱ κάδοι; οὐ γὰρ δύναμαι τὴν ψῆφον θέσθαι ἄνευ  
 τῶν κάδων, εὖ ἴσθ' ὅτι.  
 (ἐκτρέχων ἄρχεται ὁ γέρον)  
 ΒΔΕΛ. (shouting after him)  
 οὗτος, σὺ ποῖ σπεύδεις;  
 ΦΙΛ. κάδων ἕνεκα ἐκτρέχω.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. μὴ ἄπιθι μηδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ καὶ ἄκουσον, ὦ πάτερ.  
 ΦΙΛ. (looking back over his shoulder)  
 ἀλλ' ὦ παῖ, δεῖ με τοὺς κάδους ζητήσαντα τὴν ψῆφον



αἱ κλεψύδραι



ἡ ἀμὶς κλεψύδρα ἀρίστη

θέσθαι. ἀλλ' ἔασον.

(αὐθις ἄρχεται ἐκτρέχων)

ΒΔΕΛ. (points to some cups)

παῦσαι ἐκτρέχων, πάτερ, ἐπειδὴ τυγχάνω ἔχων ταῦτα τὰ  
κυμβία. μὴ οὖν ἄπιθι.

ΦΙΛ. (satisfied)

καλῶς γε. πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοῦ δικαστηρίου πάρεστι —

(has a sudden thought)

πλὴν —

ΒΔΕΛ. λέξον· τὸ τί;

ΦΙΛ. πλὴν τῆς κλεψύδρας. ποῦ ἐστὶν ἡ κλεψύδρα; ἔνεγκέ μοι.

ΒΔΕΛ. ἰδού.

(τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμίδα δηλοῖ)

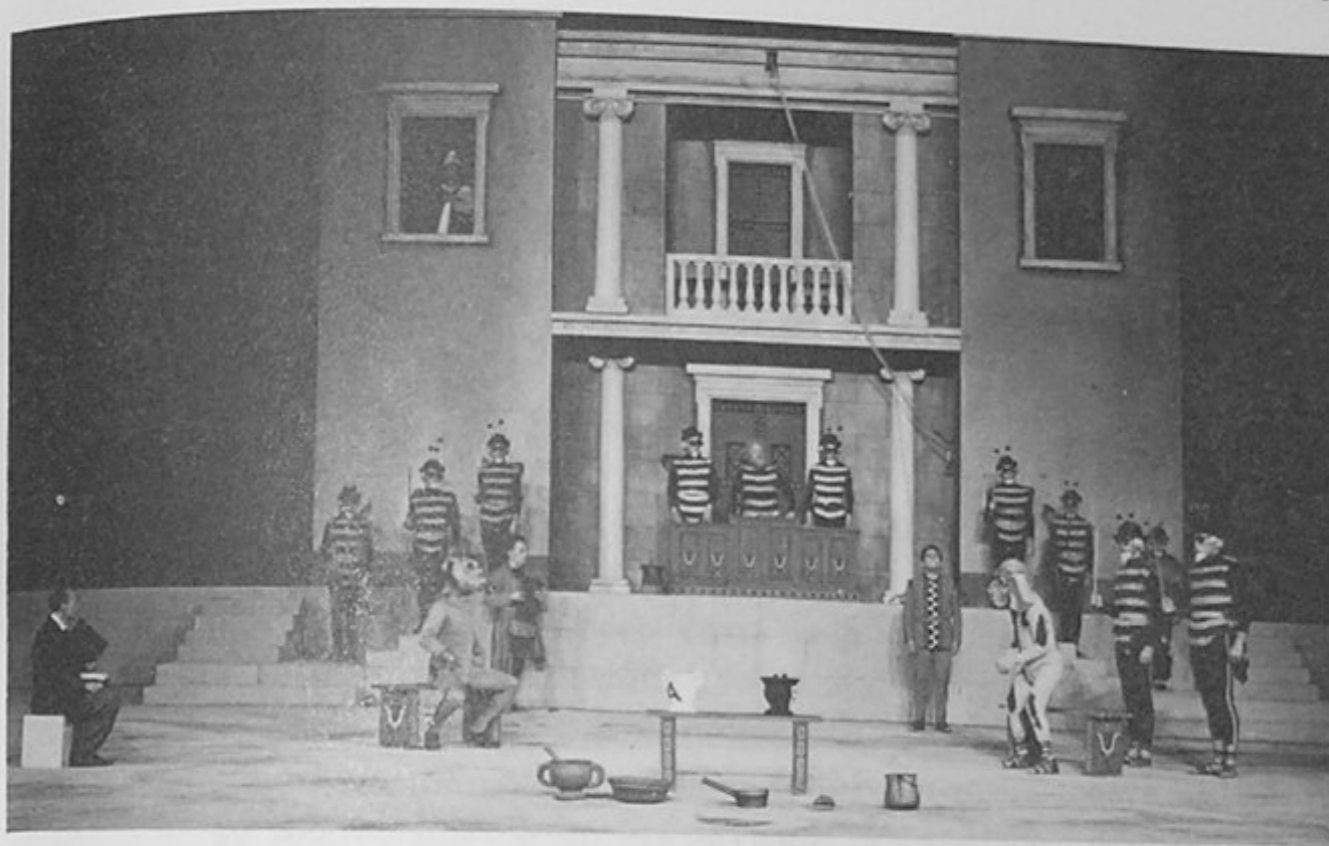
εἰπέ, αὕτη δὴ τίς ἐστίν; οὐχὶ κλεψύδραν ἀρίστην ἡγή τὴν  
ἀμίδα ταύτην; πάντα νῦν πάρεστιν.

Sosias enters leading two dogs. It seems that one, Labes (Λάβης 'Grabber'), has wolfed  
a whole cheese, and it is decided that the other dog should charge him with theft.

Bdelykleon orders the slaves to clear the 'courtroom' and asks for ritual prayers.

ΒΔΕΛ. κάθιζε οὖν, πάτερ, καὶ παῦσαι φροντίζων. ἀκούσατε,  
παῖδες, καὶ ἐμοὶ πίθεσθε, καὶ ἐξενέγκατε τὸ πῦρ. ὑμεῖς δὲ  
εὗξασθε πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς, εὗξάμενοι δὲ κατηγορεῖτε.

(ἐξενεγκόντες τὸ πῦρ ἀπέρχονται πάντες οἱ δούλοι, εὗχονται δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς οἱ  
παρόντες)



The trial of Labes from Aristophanes' Wasps

## H

After the prayers, Bdelykleon acts as herald and opens the proceedings.  
Philokleon eats happily as he listens to the case, which is a γραφή for theft  
brought by Dog against Labes.

ΒΔΕΛ. εἴ τις ἡλιαστής ἔξω ὦν τυγχάνει, εἰσίτω καὶ σπευδέτω.

ΦΙΛ. (looks about expectantly)

τίς ἐσθ' ὁ φεύγων; προσίτω.

(προσέρχεται ὁ φεύγων, κύων ὦν)

ΒΔΕΛ. ἀκούσατ' ἤδη τῆς γραφῆς.

(he reads out the charge)

ἐγράψατο Κύων Κυδαθηναῖος κύνα Λάβητ' Αἰξωνέα  
κλοπῆς. ἠδίκησε γὰρ ὁ φεύγων, μόνος τὸν τυρὸν  
καταφαγών. καὶ μὴν ὁ φεύγων οὐτοσὶ Λάβης πάρεστιν.

ΦΙΛ. (regarding the dog balefully)

προσίτω. ὦ μιαρὸς οὗτος, γινώσκω σε κλέπτην ὄντα. ἀλλ'  
ἐξαπατήσειν μ' ἐλπίζεις, εὐ οἶδα. ποῦ δ' ἐσθ' ὁ διώκων, ὁ  
Κυδαθηναῖος κύων; ἴθι, κύων.



χύτρα και τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη

ΚΥΩΝ αὐτῷ.

ΒΔΕΛ. πάρεστιν οὗτος.

ΞΑΝΘΙΑΣ ἕτερος οὗτος αὐτῷ Λάβης εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ, λόγῳ μὲν ἀναίτιος ὢν, ἔργῳ δὲ κλέπτης καὶ αὐτός, καὶ ἀγαθός γε καταφαγεῖν πάντα τὸν τυρόν.

ΒΔΕΛ. σίγα, κάθιζε. σὺ δέ, ὦ κύων, ἀναβὰς κατηγορεῖ.

(ὁ δὲ κύων, ἀναβῆναι οὐκ ἐθέλων, ἀποτρέχει)

The dog runs off round the courtroom. At last he is caught and put on the rostrum.

ΦΙΛ. εὐγε. τέλος γὰρ ἀνέβη ὁ κύων. ἐγὼ δέ, ἅμα δικάζων, πᾶσαν τὴν φακὴν ἔδομαι, τῆς δὲ κατηγορίας ἀκούσομαι ἐσθίων.

ΚΥΩΝ τῆς μὲν γραφῆς ἠκούσατ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀδικήσας με ἔλαθε ἀπιὼν μόνος καὶ πάντα τὸν τυρόν καταφαγών. καὶ ὅτε μέρος ἤτησα ἐγώ, οὐ παρείχε μοι αἰτοῦντι. παύσομαι κατηγορῶν· δίκασον.

ΦΙΛ. ἀλλ' ὦ ἄγαθέ, τὸ πρᾶγμα φανερόν ἐστιν. αὐτὸ γὰρ βοᾷ. τὴν ψῆφον οὖν θέσθαι με δεῖ, καὶ ἐλεῖν αὐτόν.

ΒΔΕΛ. (appeals to Philokleon)

ἴθι, πάτερ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐμοὶ πιθοῦ καὶ μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκε. δεῖ γὰρ σε ἀμφοτέρων ἀκούσαι, ἀκούσαντα δὲ οὕτω τὴν ψῆφον θέσθαι.

ΚΥΩΝ κολάσατε αὐτόν, ὡς ὄντα αὐτὸν πολὺ κυνῶν ἀπάντων ἄνδρα μονοφαγίστατον, καὶ ἔλετε τοῦτον.

ΒΔΕΛ. νῦν δὲ τοὺς μάρτυρας εἰσκαλῶ ἔγωγε.

(calls out a summons)

προσιόντων πάντες οἱ Λάβητος μάρτυρες, κυμβίον, τυρόκνηστις, χύτρα, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη πάντα. ἴθι, ὦ κύων, ἀνάβαινε, ἀπολογοῦ.

(there is a long silence from Labes)

τί παθῶν σιωπᾶς; λέγοις ἄν. ἔξεστι γάρ· καὶ δὴ δεῖ σε ἀπολογεῖσθαι.

ΦΙΛ. ἀλλὰ οὐ δύναται οὗτός γ', ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. οὐ γὰρ ἐπίσταται λέγειν.

ΒΔΕΛ. κατάβηθι, ὦ κύων. ἐγὼ γὰρ μέλλω ἀπολογήσεσθαι, εὖ εἰδὼς περὶ τὰ δικανικά.

## I

(ὁ Βδελυκλέων τῆς ἀπολογίας ἀρχόμενος λέγει)

ΒΔΕΛ. χαλεπὸν μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ κυνὸς τοσαύτης διαβολῆς τυχόντος ἀποκρίνασθαι, λέξω δ' ὅμως. γιγνώσκω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ διώκοντα τοὺς λύκους.

ΦΙΛ. (dissenting)

κλέπτης μὲν οὖν οὗτός γ' εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄξιος θανάτου. δεῖ οὖν με ἐλεῖν αὐτὸν κλέψαντα, ἐλόντα δ' ἑτέραν αὐτῷ δίκην δικάζειν.

ΒΔΕΛ. μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἄριστός ἐστι πάντων τῶν νυνὶ κυνῶν, ἐπειδὴ οἷός τ' ἐστὶ πολλὰ πρόβατα φυλάττειν.

ΦΙΛ. τί οὖν ὄφελος, εἰ τὸν τυρόν ὑφαιρεῖται, ὑφελόμενος δὲ κατεσθίει;

ΒΔΕΛ. ὅ τι; φυλάττει γὰρ καὶ τὴν θύραν. εἰ δ' ὑφείλετο τὸν τυρόν, συγγνώμην ἔχετε. κιθαρίζειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταται. ἄκουσον, ὦ δαιμόνιε, τῶν μαρτύρων. ἀνάβηθι, τυρόκνηστι, καὶ λέξον



γυνή τις τυροκνήστιδι χρωμένη

- μέγα. σὺ γὰρ τὸν τυρὸν φυλάττουσα ἔτυχες.  
 (ἀνίσταται ἢ τυρόκηστις)  
 ἀπόκρῖναι σαφῶς· ἄρα κατέκνησας τὸν τυρὸν ἀμφοτέροις  
 τοῖς κυσίν;  
 (bends his head towards the grater and pretends to listen)  
 λέγει ὅτι πάντα κατέκνησεν ἀμφοτέροις.  
 ΦΙΛ. νῆ Δία, ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκω αὐτὴν ψευδομένην.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. (pleading)  
 ἀλλ' ὦ δαιμόνιε, οἴκτιρε τοὺς κακὰ πάσχοντας. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ  
 Λάβης οὐδέποτε ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μένει, ἀλλὰ τὰ σιτία ζητῶν ἐκ  
 τῆς οἰκίας ἐξέρχεται. ὁ δ' ἕτερος κύων τὴν οἰκίαν φυλάττει  
 μόνον. ἐνθάδε γὰρ μένων ἐλπίζει τὰ σιτία ὑφαιρήσεσθαι  
 παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων. καὶ ὑφελόμενος μηδέν, δάκνει.  
 ΦΙΛ. (feels his resolve breaking)  
 αἰβοῖ. τί κακὸν πότ' ἐστὶ τόδε; κακὸν τι περιβαίνει με, καὶ  
 ὁ λέγων με πείθει τοῖς λόγοις.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. (still pleading)  
 ἴθ' ἀντιβολῶ σε, οἰκτίρατε αὐτόν, ὦ πάτερ, κακὰ παθόντα,  
 καὶ ἀπολύσατε. ποῦ τὰ παιδιά; ἀναβαίνετε, ὦ πονηρά,  
 αἰτεῖτε καὶ ἀντιβολεῖτε δακρύνοντα.  
 ΦΙΛ. (exasperated)  
 κατάβηθι, κατάβηθι, κατάβηθι, κατάβηθι.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. καταβήσομαι. καίτοι τὸ 'κατάβηθι' τοῦτο πολλοὺς δὴ πάνυ  
 ἐξαπατᾷ. οἱ γὰρ δικάσται τὸν φεύγοντα καταβῆναι  
 κελεύουσιν, εἶτα καταβάντος αὐτοῦ καταδικάζουσιν. ἀτὰρ  
 ὅμως καταβήσομαι.

## J

- ΦΙΛ. (weeping)  
 εἰς κόρακας. ὡς οὐκ ἀγαθὴν νομίζω τὴν φακὴν. ἐγὼ γὰρ  
 ἀπεδάκρυσσα, τὴν φακὴν ταύτην κατεσθίων.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. οὐκουν ἀποφεύγει δῆτα ὁ κύων;  
 ΦΙΛ. χαλεπὸν μοί ἐστιν εἰδέναι.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. (pleads again)  
 ἴθ', ὦ πατρίδιον, ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω τρέπου.  
 (hands him a voting-pebble)  
 τήνδε λαβὼν τὴν ψῆφον τῇ χειρί, θεὸς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω κάδῳ,

- καὶ ἀπόλυσον, ὦ πάτερ.  
 ΦΙΛ. (his resolve returns)  
 οὐ δῆτα. κιθαρίζειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. φέρε' νῦν σε τῆδε ἵπεριάγω.  
 (περιάγων οὖν περίπατον πολὺν, ἐπὶ τὸν ὑστερον κάδον πρῶτον βαδίζει)  
 ΦΙΛ. ὄδε ἐσθ' ὁ πρότερος;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. οὗτος. θεὸς τὴν ψῆφον.  
 ΦΙΛ. αὐτὴ ἢ ψῆφος ἐνταῦθ' ἔνεστιν.  
 (puts pebble into the acquittal urn)  
 ΒΔΕΛ. (πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγει)  
 εὐγε. ἐξηπάτησα αὐτόν. ἀπέλυσε γὰρ Φιλοκλέων τὸν κύνα  
 οὐχ ἐκῶν, τὴν ψῆφον θεὸς ἐν τῷ ὑστέρω κάδῳ.  
 ΦΙΛ. πῶς ἄρ' ἠγωνισάμεθα;  
 ΒΔΕΛ. δηλώσειν μέλλω.  
 (looks in the urn, counts, and then declares)  
 ἀπέφυγες ὦ Λάβης.  
 (Philokleon faints)  
 πάτερ, πάτερ. τί πάσχεις; οἴμοι ποῦ ἐσθ' ὕδωρ; ἔπαιρε  
 σεαυτόν, ἀνίστασο.  
 ΦΙΛ. (still not believing what has happened)  
 εἰπέ νυν ἐκεῖνό μοι, ὄντως ἀπέφυγεν; ἀπολεῖς με τῷ λόγῳ.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. νῆ Δία.  
 ΦΙΛ. οὐδέν εἰμ' ἄρα.  
 ΒΔΕΛ. μὴ φρόντιζε, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ἀλλ' ἀνίστασο.  
 ΦΙΛ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντα ἀπέλυσα ἄνδρα τῇ ψῆφῳ; τί πάσχω; τί  
 ποτε πείσομαι; ἀλλ' ὦ πολυτίμητοι θεοὶ συγγνώμη' μοι  
 ἔχετε, ὅτι ἄκων αὐτὸ ἔδρασα τὴν ψῆφον θεὸς καὶ οὐχ ἐλών.



## Section Nine A–E

# Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*

### Introduction

Peisetairos and Euelpides decided that the only solution to the troubles of Athens was to escape to Cloudcuckooland. In *Lysistrata*, Aristophanes envisages the women of Athens finding a different solution by staging a sex-strike and forcing their men to end the war.

An Athenian woman had no political rights at all, but that did not mean that she had no influence, and Aristophanes could make good comedy from the idea of women taking command of their men and of public affairs, as he did in more than one play. *Lysistrata* raises perfectly serious questions about family life and husband–wife relations in general, but we should not forget that Aristophanes' aim is to make us laugh.

### Note

While this passage is adapted, many lines from the original still survive. You may find it profitable to compare the original sources (quoted on p. 58) with the adaptation.

## A

*Lysistrata* has gathered together a group of women from all over Greece to talk of ways to end the war. Lampito is a Spartan.

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ (Λυσιστράτη, ἡ Ἀθηναία ἐστὶ γυνή, παρελθοῦσα λέγει)  
ἄρα ἐλπίζετε, ὦ γυναῖκες, μετ' ἐμοῦ καταλύσειν τὸν πόλεμον; εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὅτι τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσασαι τὴν εἰρήνην αὐθις ὀψόμεθα.

ΜΥΡΡΙΝΗ (Μυρρίνη, ἡ φίλη ἐστὶ Λυσιστράτη, ὁμολογεῖ)  
νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἠδέως ἂν ἴδοιμι ἔγωγε τὴν εἰρήνην τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσασα. 10

ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΗ (καὶ Κλεονίκη, ἡ ἑτέρα φίλη τυγχάνει οὔσα, ὁμολογεῖ)  
κάμοι δοκεῖ τὸν πόλεμον καταλύσαι. ἀλλὰ πῶς ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν, γυναιξὶν οὔσαις; ἄρα μηχανὴν τιν' ἔχεις; δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς ἄνδρας, οἱ τὰς μάχας μάχονται, καταλύσαντας τὸν πόλεμον σπονδὰς ποιῆσθαι. 15

ΛΥ. λέγοιμ' ἂν. οὐ γὰρ δεῖ σιωπᾶν. ἀλλ', ὦ γυναῖκες, εἴπερ μέλλομεν ἀναγκάσειν τοὺς ἄνδρας εἰρήνην ἄγειν, ἡμᾶς χρὴ ἀπέχεσθαι – 20

ΜΥ. τίνοσ; τίς ἢ μηχανή; λέξον ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἐν νῶ ἔχεις.

ΛΥ. ποιήσεται οὖν ὃ κελεύω;

ΜΥ. ποιήσομεν πάνθ' ἃ κελεύεις.

ΛΥ. δεῖ τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀφροδισίων.

(αἱ γυναῖκες πᾶσαι, ἀκούσασαι τοὺς λόγους, οὓς λέγει Λυσιστράτη, ἀπιέναι ἄρχονται) 25

ΛΥ. ποῖ βαδίζετε; τί δακρύετε; ποιήσεται ἢ οὐ ποιήσετε ἃ κελεύω; ἢ τί μέλλετε;

ΜΥ. (resolutely)  
οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμι τοῦθ' ὃ λέγεις, ὦ Λυσιστράτη, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω. 30

ΚΛ. μὰ Δί' οὐδ' ἐγὼ γάρ, ἀλλ' ὁ πόλεμος ἐρπέτω. κέλευσόν με διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς βαδίζειν. τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἔθελήσαιμι ἂν ποιεῖν ἢ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἀπέχεσθαι. οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις ὅμοιον, ὦ φίλη Λυσιστράτη. οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμι οὐδαμῶς. 35

ΛΥ. (turns back to Myrrhine)

τί δαὶ σύ; ποιήσεαι ἂν ἃ κελεύω;

ΜΥ. καγὼ ἐθελήσαιμ' ἂν διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς. οὐ μὰ Δία, οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιμι ἐγώ.

ΛΥ. ὦ παγκατάπυγον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἅπαν γένος. ἄρ' οὐδεμία ποιήσειε ἄν, ὃ κελεύω;  
(addresses the Spartan, Lampito)  
ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη Λάκαινα, ἄρα συμψηφίσαιο ἄν μοι; οὕτω γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα σώσαιμεν ἄν ἔτι.

ΛΑΜΠΙΤΩ χαλεπὸν μὲν ναὶ τῶ σιῶ ἐστὶν ἡμῖν ἄνευ τῶν ἀφροδισίων καθεύδειν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον καταλυσάσας εἰρήνην ἄγειν. συμψηφισαίμην ἄν σοι.

ΛΥ. (joyfully)  
ὦ φιλτάτη σὺ καὶ μόνη τούτων γυνή.

ΜΥ. (reluctantly)  
εἴ τοι δοκεῖ ὑμῖν ταῦτα, καὶ ἡμῖν συνδοκεῖ.

## B

ΛΑΜ. ἡμεῖς οὖν τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄνδρας πείσασαι ἀναγκάσομεν εἰρήνην ἄγειν. τίνι τρόπῳ τοὺς ὑμετέρους δυνήσεσθε πείσαι, οἳ τὰς τριήρεις γ' ἔχουσι καὶ τὰργύριον; ἢ χρήμασιν ἢ δώροις ἢ τί ποιούσαι;

ΛΥ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτ' εὖ παρεσκευασάμεθα, ὅτι καταληψόμεθα τήμερον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, θύειν δοκούσαι. καταλαβούσαι δὲ φυλάξομεν αὐτὴν αὐτῶ τῷ ἀργυρίῳ.

(βοῆν τινα ἐξαίφνης ἀκούει ἢ Λαμπιτώ, ἀκούσασα δὲ τὴν Λυσιστράτην προσαγορεύει)

ΛΑΜ. τίς ἐβόησε; τίς αἴτιος τῆς βοῆς;

ΛΥ. τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο ὃ ἔλεγον. αἱ γὰρ γράες, ἃς ἔδει τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τῆς θεοῦ καταλαβεῖν, νῦν ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' ὦ Λαμπιτοῖ, σὺ μὲν οἴκαδε ἐλθούσα τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν εὖ θές, ἡμεῖς δ' εἰσελθούσαι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ἣν ἄρτι κατέλαβον αἱ γράες, φυλάξομεν.

(ἢ μὲν Λαμπιτῶ ἀπιούσα βαδίζει τὴν ὁδόν, ἢ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα φέρει, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι εἰσελθούσαι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φυλάττουσιν. ἐξαίφνης δὲ βοᾷ ἢ Λυσιστράτη ἰδοῦσα ἄνδρα τινά, ὃς τυγχάνει προσιών.)

ΛΥ. ἰοὺ ἰοὺ γυναῖκες, ἴτε δεῦρο ὡς ἐμὲ ταχέως.

ΚΛ. τί δ' ἐστίν; εἶπέ μοι, τίς ἢ βοή;

ΛΥ. ἄνδρα ἄνδρα ὁρῶ προσιόντα. ὁράτε. γινώσκει τις ὑμῶν τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς προσέρχεται;

ΜΥ. οἴμοι.

ΚΛ. ἀλλὰ δήλον, Λυσιστράτη, ὅτι ἢ Μυρρίνη αὐτὸν ἔγνω.

ἰδοῦσα γὰρ καὶ γνοῦσα ὦμωξε.

ΛΥ. λέγε, ὦ Μυρρίνη. ἄρ' ἢ Κλεονίκη ἀληθῆ λέγει; τὸν ἄνδρα ἔγνωσ σύ; κάμοι γὰρ δοκεῖς τὸν ἄνδρα γνῶναι.

ΜΥ. νῆ Δία ἔγνω ἔγωγε. ἔστι γὰρ Κινησίας, οὗ γυνή εἰμι ἐγώ.

ΛΥ. (reveals her plan)

σὸν ἔργον ἤδη τοῦτον, ὦ συνοικεῖς, ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ φιλεῖν.

ΜΥ. ποιήσω ταῦτ' ἐγώ.

ΛΥ. καὶ μὴν ἐγὼ συνεξαπατήσαιμ' ἄν σοι παραμένουσα ἐνθάδε, ἀποπέμψασα τὰς γραῦς, ὧν ἔργον ἐστὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν φυλάττειν.

## C

(αἱ μὲν οὖν γράες ἀπέρχονται, ὃ δὲ Κινησίας ἀφικνεῖται, προσιών δ' ὀλοφύρεται)  
ΚΙΝΗΣΙΑΣ οἴμοι κακοδαίμων, οἷος ὃ σπασμός μ' ἔχει.

ΛΥ. (ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους λέγουσα)

τίς οὗτος ὃς διὰ τῶν φυλάκων λαθὼν ἐβιάσατο;

ΚΙΝ. ἐγώ.

ΛΥ. ἀνὴρ εἶ;

ΚΙΝ. ἀνὴρ δῆτα.

ΛΥ. οὐκ ἄπει δῆτ' ἐκποδών;

ΚΙΝ. σὺ δ' εἶ τίς, ἢ ἐκβάλλεις με;

ΛΥ. φύλαξ.

ΚΙΝ. οἴμοι.

(πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγων)

δήλον ὅτι δεῖ με δυστυχή ὄντα εὐξασθαι τοῖς θεοῖς ἅπασιν. ἴσως δὲ οἱ θεοί, οἷς εὐχομαι, δώσουσί μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἰδεῖν.

(εὐχεται ὁ ἀνὴρ)

ἀλλ' ὦ πάντες θεοί, δότε μοι τὴν γυναῖκα ἰδεῖν.

(αὖθις τὴν Λυσιστράτην προσαγορεύει)

πρὸς τῶν θεῶν νῦν ἐκκάλεσόν μοι Μυρρίνην.

ΛΥ. (appearing to soften)

σὺ δὲ τίς εἶ;

ΚΙΝ. ἀνὴρ ἐκείνης, Κινησίας Παιονίδης, ὃ συνοικεῖ.

(πρὸς ἑαυτὸν λέγων)

εὐγε, ὡς εὐξαμένῳ ἔδοσάν μοι οἱ θεοὶ τὴν Μυρρίνην ἰδεῖν.

- ΛΥ. (very friendly)  
ὦ χαίρε φίλτατε Κινησία. εὖ ἴσμεν γὰρ τὸ σὸν ὄνομα καὶ  
ἡμεῖς. αἰεὶ γὰρ ἡ γυνὴ σ' ἔχει διὰ στόμα. καὶ μὴν λαβούσα  
μῆλον ὡς ἠδέως', φησί, 'Κινησία τοῦτ' ἄν διδοίην.'
- KIN. (his passion increasing)  
ὦ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν· ἐγὼ ὁ ἀνὴρ ὧ Μυρρίνη βούλεται μῆλα  
διδόναι;
- ΛΥ. νῆ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην. καὶ δὴ καὶ χθές, ὅτε περὶ ἀνδρῶν  
ἐνέπεσε λόγος τις, ἡ σὴ γυνὴ 'πάντων', ἔφη, 'ἄριστον  
νομίζω τὸν Κινησίαν.'
- KIN. (desperately)  
ἴθι νυν κάλεσον αὐτήν.
- ΛΥ. (stretching out her hand)  
τί οὖν; δώσεις τί μοι;
- KIN. νῆ τὸν Δία ἔγωγέ σοι τι δώσω. ἔχω δὲ τοῦτο· ὅπερ οὖν  
ἔχω δίδωμί σοι. σὺ οὖν, ἢ δίδωμι τόδε, κάλεσον αὐτήν.  
(ὁ ἔχει ἐν τῇ χειρὶ δίδωσι τῇ Λυσιστράτῃ)
- ΛΥ. εἶεν· καταβάσα καλῶ σοι αὐτήν.  
(καταβαίνει ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους)
- KIN. ταχέως.
- ΜΥ. (ένδον οὔσα)  
σὺ δ' ἐμέ τούτῳ μὴ κάλει, Λυσιστράτη. οὐ γὰρ βούλομαι  
καταβῆναι.
- KIN. ὦ Μυρρινίδιον, τί ταῦτα δρᾷς; καταβάσα πάση σπουδῇ  
δεῦρ' ἔλθέ.
- ΜΥ. μὰ Δί' ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ. ἀλλ' ἄπειμι.
- KIN. μὴ δῆτ' ἄπιθι, ἀλλὰ τῷ γοῦν παιδίῳ ὑπάκουσον.  
(τῷ παιδίῳ λέγει, ὁ θεράπων τις φέρει)
- ΠΑΙΣ οὗτος, οὐ καλεῖς τὴν μαμμίαν;
- KIN. μαμμία μαμμία μαμμία.  
αὕτη, τί πάσχεις; ἄρ' οὐκ οἰκτίρεις τὸ παιδίον, ὃ ἄλουτον  
ὄν τυγχάνει;
- ΜΥ. ἔγωγε οἰκτίρω δῆτα.
- KIN. κατάβηθι οὖν, ὦ δαιμονία, τοῦ παιδίου ἔνεκα.
- ΜΥ. (sighing)  
οἶον τὸ τεκεῖν. χρὴ καταβῆναι.

35

## D

(καταβάσα δὲ καὶ ἀφικομένη ἡ Μυρρίνη εἰς τὴν πύλην, τὸ παιδίον προσαγορεύει)

- ΜΥ. (fondling the child)  
ὦ τέκνον, ὡς γλυκὺς εἶ σύ. φέρε' σε φιλήσω. γλυκὺ γὰρ τὸ  
τῆς μητρὸς φίλημα. γλυκεῖα δὲ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ· ἀλλ' οὐ  
γλυκὺν ἔχεις τὸν πατέρα, ἀλλ' ἀμελῆ. ἐγὼ δὲ μέμφομαι τῷ  
σῷ πατρὶ ἀμελεῖ ὄντι. ὦ τέκνον, ὡς δυστυχῆς φαίνη ὦν διὰ  
τὸν πατέρα.
- KIN. (angrily)  
ἀλλὰ σὺ τὸν ἄνδρα ἀμελῆ καλεῖς; οὐδεμία μὲν γάρ ἐστι σοῦ  
ἀμελεστέρα, οὐδεὶς δὲ δυστυχέστερος ἐμοῦ.  
(προσάγων τῇ γυναικὶ τὴν χεῖρα, λέγει)
- τί βουλομένη, ὦ πονηρά, ταῦτα ποιεῖς, γυναιξὶ πιθομένη  
τοιαύταις;
- ΜΥ. (brushing aside his advances)  
παῦσαι, κάκιστε, καὶ μὴ πρόσαγε τὴν χεῖρά μοι.
- KIN. (pleading)  
οἴκαδε δ' οὐ βαδιῆ πάλιν;
- ΜΥ. (firmly)  
μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἔγωγε οἴκαδε βαδιοῦμαι. ἀλλὰ πρότερον τοὺς  
ἄνδρας δεῖ τοῦ πολέμου παυσαμένους σπονδὰς ποιεῖσθαι.  
ποιήσετε ταῦτα;
- KIN. σὺ δὲ τί οὐ κατακλίνῃ μετ' ἐμοῦ ὀλίγον χρόνον;
- ΜΥ. οὐ δῆτα· καίτοι σ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γ' ὡς οὐ φιλῶ.



καίτοι σ' οὐκ ἐρῶ γ' ὡς οὐ φιλῶ

- KIN. φιλείς; τί οὖν οὐ κατακλίνῃ;  
 MY. ὦ καταγέλαστε, ἐναντίον τοῦ παιδίου;  
 KIN. (turning to the slave)  
 μὰ Δί', ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γ' οἴκαδε, ὦ Μανῆ, φέρε.  
 (ὁ θεράπων, ὃς τὸ παιδίον φέρει, οἴκαδε ἀπέρχεται)  
 ἴδου τὸ μὲν σοι παιδίον καὶ ἤδη ἐκποδῶν, σὺ δ' οὐ  
 κατακλίνῃ;  
 MY. ἀλλὰ ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις ἴδρασειε τοῦτο; πρῶτον γὰρ δεῖ μ'  
 ἐνεγκεῖν κλινίδιον.  
 KIN. μηδαμῶς, ἐπειδὴ ἔξεστιν ἡμῖν χαμαὶ κατακλίεσθαι.  
 MY. (firmly)  
 μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, οὐκ ἐάσω σ' ἐγὼ καίπερ τοιοῦτον ὄντα  
 κατακλίεσθαι χαμαί.  
 (ἐξέρχεται)  
 KIN. (joyfully)  
 ὦ τῆς εὐτυχίας· ἦ τοι γυνὴ φιλοῦσά με δήλη ἐστίν.

## E

- (ἐπανέρχεται ἡ Μυρρίνη κλινίδιον φέρουσα)  
 MY. ἴδου ἐγὼ ἐκδύομαι.  
 (has a sudden thought)  
 καίτοι ψίαθον χρὴ μ' ἐνεγκεῖν.  
 KIN. (surprised)  
 ποία ψίαθος; μὴ μοί γε. ἀλλὰ δός μοί νυν κύσαι.  
 MY. ἰδού.  
 (κύσασα τὸν ἄνδρα αὐθις ἐξέρχεται. φέρουσα δὲ ψίαθον πάνυ ταχέως  
 ἐπανέρχεται.)  
 ἰδού, ψίαθος. ἀλλὰ τί οὐ κατακλίνῃ; καὶ ἤδη ἐκδύομαι.  
 (another sudden thought)  
 καίτοι προσκεφάλαιον οὐκ ἔχεις.  
 KIN. (belligerently)  
 ἀλλ' οὐ δέομαι οὐδὲν ἔγωγε.  
 MY. (firmly)  
 νῆ Δί', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ δέομαι.  
 (αὐθις ἐξέρχεται. ἐπανέρχεται δὲ προσκεφάλαιον φέρουσα.)  
 MY. ἀνίστασο, ἀναπήδησον.

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τὸ στρόφιον ἤδη λύομαι

νῦν σε φιλήσω

- KIN. (shaking his head)  
 ἤδη πάντ' ἔχω, ὅσων δέομαι.  
 MY. ἅπαντα δήτα;  
 KIN. δεῦρό νυν, ὦ Μυρρινίδιον.  
 MY. (teasing, then seriously)  
 τὸ στρόφιον ἤδη λύομαι. ἀλλὰ φύλαξαι μὴ μ' ἐξαπατᾶν  
 περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν, περὶ ὧν ἄρτι λόγους ἐποιούμεθα.  
 KIN. (absently)  
 νῆ Δί', ἀπολοίμην ἄρα.  
 MY. (ἐξαίφνης παύεται ἐκδυομένη)  
 σισύραν οὐκ ἔχεις.  
 KIN. (shouting out in frustration)  
 μὰ Δί', οὐδὲ δέομαί γε, ἀλλὰ βινεῖν βούλομαι.  
 MY. (teasing again)  
 ἀμέλει ποιήσεις τοῦτο. ταχὺ γὰρ ἔρχομαι.  
 (ἐξέρχεται)  
 KIN. (sighing wearily)  
 ἦ ἄνθρωπος διαφθερεῖ με ταῖς σισύραις.  
 (ἐπανέρχεται ἡ Μυρρίνη σισύραν φέρουσα)  
 (firmly)  
 νῦν σε φιλήσω. ἰδού.  
 MY. (holds him off)  
 ἀνάμενε. ἄρα μυριῶ σε;  
 KIN. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, μὴ ἐμέ γε.

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- MY. (firmly, picking up a flask of ointment)  
 νή τήν Ἀφροδίτην, ποιήσω τοῦτο. πρότεινε δὴ τὴν χεῖρα  
 καὶ ἀλείφου λαβών, ὃ σοι δώσω.
- KIN. (suspiciously)  
 οὐχ ἤδὺ τὸ μύρον ὃ μοι ἔδωκας. διατριβῆς γὰρ ὄζει, ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ὄζει γάμων. 5
- MY. (looking in mock anger at the flask)  
 τάλαιν' ἐγώ, τὸ Ῥόδιον ἤνεγκον μύρον.
- KIN. (impatiently)  
 ἀγαθόν. ἔα αὐτό, ὦ δαιμονία. κάκιστ' ἀπόλοιτο, ὅστις  
 πρῶτος ἐποίησε μύρον. ἀλλὰ κατακλίνθητι καὶ μή μοι φέρε  
 μηδέν. 10
- MY. ποιήσω ταῦτα, νή τήν Ἄρτεμιν. ὑπολύομαι γοῦν. ἀλλ', ὦ  
 φίλτατε, σπονδὰς ποιείσθαι ψηφιεῖ;
- KIN. (absently) 15  
 ψηφιοῦμαι.
- (ἡ Μυρρίνη ἀποτρέχει)  
 τί δὲ τουτὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα; ἡ γυνὴ ἀπελθούσά μ' ἔλιπεν. οἴμοι,  
 τί πάσχω; τί πείσομαι; οἴμοι, ἀπολεῖ με ἡ γυνή. τίνα νῦν  
 βνήσω; οἴμοι. δυστυχέστατος ἐγώ. 20

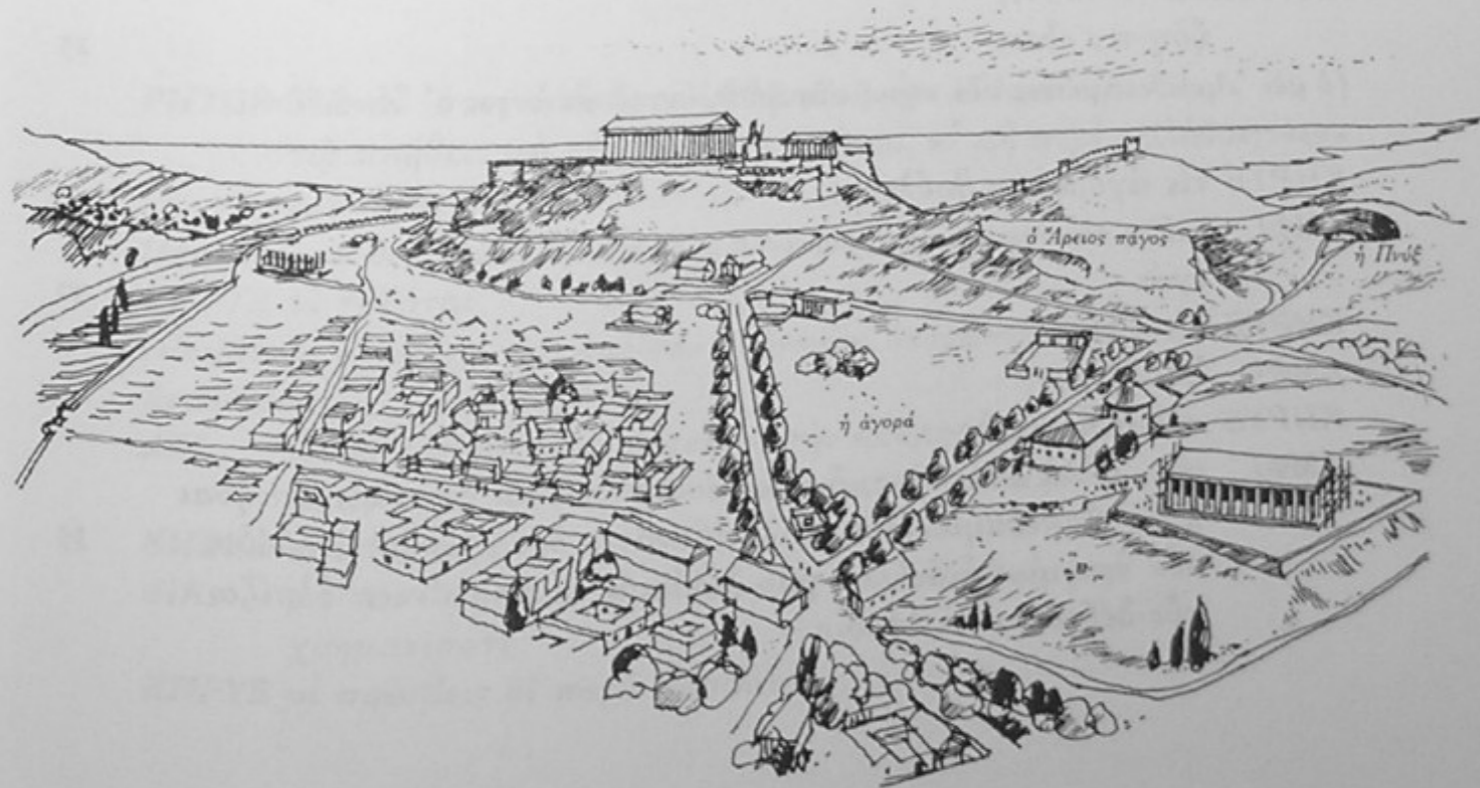
## Section Ten A–C

### Aristophanes' *Akharnians*

#### Introduction

We return for the last time to Dikaiopolis, who ceases to be a mere observer of the troubles which seem to him to infect Athens, and which he attributes chiefly to the war and the Athenians' obstinate refusal to end it. Dikaiopolis is the hero of Aristophanes' comedy *Akharnians*.

View across the agora from the north west (c. 425)



## A

Dikaiopolis has made his way to the Assembly on the Pnyx, and is determined to take action to find peace for himself. He looks around in surprise at the empty Assembly.

ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι κυρία ἐκκλησία  
γενήσεσθαι μέλλει τήμερον. ἀλλ' ἐρήμος ἡ Πνυξ αὐτή.

(looks down into the agora)

οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαλεγόμενοι ἄνω καὶ  
κάτω τὸ σχοινίον φεύγουσιν. ὄψε δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἤξουσιν,  
εὖ οἶδα. ἀλλ' ὅπως εἰρήνη ἔσται φροντίζει οὐδεὶς. ἐγὼ δ'  
αἰεὶ πρῶτος εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν εἰσιὼν καθίζω, καὶ μόνος ὢν,  
ἀποβλέπω εἰς τὸν ἀγρόν, εἰρήνην φιλῶν, μισῶν μὲν ἄστν,  
τὸν δ' ἐμὸν δῆμον ποθῶν.

(pauses; looks at the entrance)

ἀλλ' οἱ πρυτάνεις γὰρ οὐτοῦ ὄψε ἤκουσι. τοῦτ' ἐκείνο ὃ  
ἐγὼ ἔλεγον.

Proceedings begin: the herald invites speakers.

ΚΗΡΥΞ (κηρύττει)

πάριτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. πάριτ' ἐντὸς τοῦ καθάρματος.

(παρέρχονται εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν πάντες οἱ παρόντες. παρελθόντων δὲ πάντων,  
ἐξαίφνης τὸν κήρυκα προσαγορεύει τις, Ἀμφίθεος ὀνόματι.)

ΑΜΦΙΘΕΟΣ (anxiously)

ἤδη τις εἶπε;

(ὁ μὲν Ἀμφίθεος μένει, ὁ δὲ κήρυξ οὐκ ἀποκρίνεται. μένοντος δ' Ἀμφιθέου,  
κηρύττει ἔτι.)

ΚΗΡΥΞ τίς ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;

ΑΜΦΙ. (αὐθις τὸν κήρυκα προσαγορεύει)

ἐγώ.

ΚΗΡΥΞ τίς ὢν;

ΑΜΦΙ. Ἀμφίθεος.

ΚΗΡΥΞ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος;

ΑΜΦΙ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ ἀθάνατος, ὃν ἐκέλευσαν οἱ θεοὶ σπονδὰς ποιῆσαι  
πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους. ἀλλ' ἀθανάτω ὄντι, ὦνδρες, ἐφόδια  
οὐκ ἔστι μοι ἅ δει. οὐ γὰρ διδόασιν οἱ πρυτάνεις. ἐλπίζω  
οὖν δέξεσθαι τὰ ἐφόδια —



τοξότης τις

ΡΗΤΩΡ ΤΙΣ εὖ ἴστε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι εὖνους εἰμὶ  
τῷ πλήθει. μὴ οὖν ἀκούετε τούτου, εἰ μὴ περὶ πολέμου  
λέγοντος.

(ἐπαινοῦσι καὶ θορυβοῦσιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι)

ΚΗΡΥΞ οἱ τοξόται.

(εἰσελθόντες οἱ τοξόται τὸν Ἀμφίθεον ἀπάγουσιν. ἀπαγόντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ὀργίζεται  
Δικαιοπόλις.)

ΔΙΚ. ὦνδρες πρυτάνεις, ἀδικεῖτε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὸν ἄνδρα  
ἀπάγοντες, ὅστις ἡμῖν ἔμελλε σπονδὰς ποιῆσειν.

ΚΗΡΥΞ κάθιζε, σίγα.

ΔΙΚ. μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ, ἀλλὰ περὶ εἰρήνης  
χρηματίσατε.

ΚΗΡΥΞ οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρὰ βασιλέως.

## B

- ΔΙΚ. ὄλουντο πάντες Ἀθηναῖοι ὅσοι ἐπαινοῦσί τε καὶ πείθονται οἷς λέγουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις, κάκιστα δ' ἀπόλουντο οἱ ῥήτορες οἱ τὸν δῆμον θωπεύουσι καὶ ἐξαπατῶσιν αἰεὶ. τί γὰρ οὐ πάσχομεν ἡμεῖς οἱ γεωργοὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν; αἰεὶ γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐξαπατῶμεθα καὶ ἀδικούμεθα καὶ ἀπολλύμεθα. ἀλλὰ τί ἐξεστὶν ἡμῖν ποιεῖν, οὕτως αἰεὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένοις; ὁ γὰρ δῆμος δοκεῖ γ' ἠδεσθαι πειθόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων, καὶ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν θωπευόμενος καὶ ἐξαπατῶμενος καὶ διαφθειρόμενος. αἰεὶ γὰρ τιμᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ὁ λέγων ὅτι 'εὖνους εἰμὶ τῷ πλήθει', οὐδέποτε τιμᾶται ὁ χρηστὸς ὁ τὰ χρηστὰ συμβουλεύων.
- ἴσως δὲ ἂν φαίη τις 'τί οὖν; ἐλεύθερός γ' ὁ δῆμος καὶ αὐτὸς ἄρχει, καὶ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου ἄρχεται. εἰ δὲ τυγχάνει βουλόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἐξαπατᾶσθαι καὶ πείθεσθαι καὶ θωπεύεσθαι, ἔστω.'
- ἐγὼ δ' ἀποκρίνομαι, 'καίτοι οἱ μὲν ναῦται κρατοῦσιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ἄκοντες ἀναγκάζονται οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἀπολλύμενοι τῇ οἰκῆσει καὶ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ καὶ τῇ νόσῳ.'
- ἴσως δὲ ἀποκρίναιτ' ἂν οὗτος 'σὺ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ὢν οὐ τυγχάνεις; μὴ οὖν φρόντιζε μηδέν, μήτε τοῦ δήμου μήτε τῶν ῥητόρων μήτε τοῦ πολέμου μήτε τῶν νόμων ἢ γεγραμμένων ἢ ἀγράφων. ἐν γὰρ ταύτῃ τῇ πόλει οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἀναγκάζεται ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐθέλει. ἀτεχνῶς δὲ ἐλευθέρους ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς τε ἵππους καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόνους τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, οἱ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς πορευόμενοι ἐμβάλλειν φιλοῦσι τοῖς ὁδοιπόροις τοῖς μὴ ἐξισταμένοις.'
- εἰεν. γνοὺς οὖν ἐμαυτὸν ἐλεύθερόν γ' ὄντα καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαζόμενον ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ποιεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐθέλω, τῶν ἄλλων πολεμούντων ἐγὼ αὐτὸς οὐ πολεμήσω, ἀλλ' εἰρήνην ἄξω. Ἀμφίθεε, δεῦρ' ἔλθέ. ἀλλ' Ἀμφίθεός μοι ποῦ ἐστίν;
- ΑΜΦΙ. πάρεμι.
- ΔΙΚ. (δοὺς τῷ Ἀμφιθέῳ ὀκτὼ δραχμάς)
- σὺ ταυτασὶ λαβῶν ὀκτὼ δραχμάς σπονδὰς ποιήσαι πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐμοὶ μόνῳ καὶ τοῖς παιδίοις.
- (τοῦ Δικαιοπόλεως δόντος τὰ ἐφόδια, ἀπέρχεται ὁ Ἀμφίθεος)
- (turns to the Prytanes)
- ὑμεῖς δὲ πρεσβεύεσθε, ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκδικάζετε, ἔπειτα

χρηματίζετε περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ περὶ πόρου χρημάτων καὶ περὶ νόμων θέσεως καὶ περὶ συμμάχων καὶ περὶ τριήρων καὶ περὶ νεωρίων καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν. ἀλλ' οὔτε τριήρων οὔτε νεωρίων δεῖται ἡ πόλις, εἰ μέλλει εὐδαιμονήσειν, οὔτε πλήθους οὔτε μεγέθους, ἄνευ εἰρήνης.

## C

- ΔΙΚ. ἀλλ' ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος γὰρ Ἀμφίθεος ὀδί. χαῖρ' Ἀμφίθεε. (Δικαιοπόλεως δὲ ταῦτα εἰπόντος, ὁ Ἀμφίθεος τρέχει ἔτι)
- ΑΜΦΙ. μήπω γε, Δικαιοπόλι. δεῖ γὰρ με φεύγοντ' ἐκφυγεῖν Ἀχαρνέας.
- ΔΙΚ. τί δ' ἐστίν;
- ΑΜΦΙ. (looks around anxiously)
- ἐγὼ μὲν δεῦρό σοι σπονδὰς φέρων ἔσπευδον. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλαθον τοὺς Ἀχαρνέας. οἱ δὲ γέροντες ἐκείνοι, Μαραθωνομάχαι ὄντες, εὐθὺς αἰσθόμενοί με σπονδὰς φέροντα ἐβόησαν πάντες, 'ὦ μιαρῶτατε, σπονδὰς φέρεις, Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν ἡμετέραν γῆν ὀλεσάντων;' καὶ λίθους ἔλαβον. λίθους δὲ λαβόντων αὐτῶν, ἐγὼ ἔφευγον. οἱ δ' ἐδίωκον καὶ ἐβόων.
- ΔΙΚ. οἱ δ' οὖν βοώντων. ἀλλὰ τὰς σπονδὰς φέρεις;
- ΑΜΦΙ. ἔγωγέ φημι. (produces some sample bottles from his pouch)
- τρία γε ταυτὶ γεύματα. (δίδωσιν αὐτῷ γεύματι)



δίδωσιν αὐτῷ γεύματι

αὐται μὲν εἰσι πεντέτεϊς. γεῦσαι λαβῶν.

ΔΙΚ. (δόντος Ἀμφιθέου, γεύεται Δικαιοπόλις)  
αἰβοῖ.

ΑΜΦΙ. τί ἐστίν;

ΔΙΚ. οὐκ ἀρέσκουσί μοι ὅτι ὄζουσι παρασκευῆς νεῶν.

ΑΜΦΙ. (δὸς ἄλλο τι γεῦμα)

σύ δ' ἀλλὰ τασδί τὰς δεκέτεις γεῦσαι λαβῶν.

ΔΙΚ. ὄζουσι χαῦται πρεσβέων εἰς τὰς πόλεις ὀξύτατα.

ΑΜΦΙ. ἀλλ' αὐταί εἰσι σπονδαὶ τριακοντούτεις κατὰ γῆν τε καὶ θάλατταν.

ΔΙΚ. (joyfully)

ὦ Διονύσια, αὐται μὲν ὄζουσ' ἀμβροσίας καὶ νέκταρος.  
ταύτας ἦδιστ' ἂν αἰροίμην, χαίρειν ἄπολλά κελεύων τοὺς  
Ἀχαρνέας. ἐγὼ δὲ πολέμου καὶ κακῶν παυσάμενος ἄξειν  
μέλλω εἰσιῶν τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς Διονύσια.

ΑΜΦΙ. (κατιδὼν προσιόντας τοὺς Ἀχαρνέας)

ἐγὼ δὲ φεύξομαί γε τοὺς Ἀχαρνέας.

## PART FOUR

### Women in Athenian society

#### Introduction

Institutionally, Athenian society was male-dominated; and nearly all Greek literature was written by men. How then can we assess the impact and importance of women in Athenian society, especially when we cannot help but see them through twentieth-century eyes? A straight, short and true answer is 'With much difficulty'. But the question is an important one for many reasons, particularly because women play such a dominant role in much Greek literature (e.g. Homer, tragedy and, as we have seen, comedy).

One of the best sources we have for the attitudes and prejudices of the ordinary people in Athenian society is the speeches from the law courts, and much information about women's lives emerges almost

#### An Athenian wedding





incidentally from these to balance the silence of some literary sources and the 'tragic' stature of the great dramatic heroines.

In the *Prosecution of Neaira* the prosecutor, Apollodoros, charges the woman Neaira with being an alien (i.e. non-Athenian) and living with an Athenian Stephanos as if she were his wife, so falsely claiming the privileges of Athenian citizenship. Apollodoros mentions her early life in Corinth as a slave and prostitute, and how her subsequent career took her all over Greece and brought her into contact with men in the first rank of Athenian society, before she eventually settled down with Stephanos. Apollodoros' condemnation of her behaviour, which he denounces as a threat and affront to the status and security of native Athenian women, indicates by contrast his attitude to citizen women.

It is important to remember that Apollodoros' aim is to win his case. We can therefore assume that everything he says is, in his opinion, calculated to persuade the hearts and minds of the jury, 501 Athenian males over the age of 30. You must continually ask yourself the question 'What do Apollodoros' words tell us about the average Athenian male's attitude to the subject under discussion?'

Counterpointing the speech are discussions of some of the prosecutor's points by three listening dikasts, Komias, Euergides and Strymodoros. Their reactions serve to bring out some of the attitudes and prejudices which the prosecutor was trying to arouse.

The picture of the status of women in Athens given in Apollodoros' prosecution of Neaira is balanced by the figure of a mythical heroine. Alkestis was traditionally the supreme example of a woman's devotion. Euripides enables us to see the mythical heroine very much in terms of a fifth-century Athenian woman in her concern for her husband and children.

#### Sources

Demosthenes 59, *The Prosecution of Neaira* (pass.)

Euripides, *Alkestis* 150–207

(For the dikast dialogue) Extracts from Plato, Aristophanes, Solon, Theokritos, Demosthenes, Lysias

#### Time to be taken

Seven weeks

## Sections Eleven to Thirteen

### The prosecution of Neaira

#### Introduction

These selections are adapted from the speech *Katà Neaίpas*, *The Prosecution of Neaira* (attributed to Demosthenes), given by Apollodoros in the Athenian courts about 340. Neaira is accused of being non-Athenian and of claiming marriage to the Athenian Stephanos, and so usurping the privileges of citizenship. Citizenship at Athens was restricted to the children of two Athenian citizen parents, legally married, and it was a jealously guarded privilege. Apollodoros was therefore able to bring the charge as a matter of public interest, in a *γραφή*. He sketches Neaira's past to prove that she is an alien, but also makes great play of the fact that she was a slave and prostitute as well, thus making her 'pretence' to Athenian citizenship all the more shocking; and goes on to show that Stephanos and Neaira were treating Neaira's alien children as if they were entitled to Athenian citizenship. This evidence gives Apollodoros the occasion to claim that Neaira and Stephanos are undermining the whole fabric of society.

Apollodoros had a personal interest in the matter as well, for he had a long-standing feud with Stephanos, as the start of the speech makes clear. If Apollodoros secured Neaira's conviction, she would be sold into slavery: Stephanos' 'family' would be broken up (and Neaira and Stephanos, formally married or not, had been living together for probably thirty years by the time of this case) and Stephanos himself would be liable to a heavy fine; if he could not pay it, he would lose his rights of citizenship (*ἀτιμία*). It is revenge on Stephanos that Apollodoros is really after, which is why Stephanos is so heavily implicated in the incidents cited. Neaira just happens to be the weak point through which Apollodoros can hit at Stephanos.

The speech draws attention to a number of important points about the Athenian world, among which we draw especial attention to:

(i) Personal security for oneself, one's property and one's family depended first and foremost on being a full citizen of the *πόλις*. In return for this personal security, the citizen was expected to do his duty by the community of which he was a member. This bond of obligation between citizen and *πόλις*, expressed most powerfully in the laws of the community, was shaken if outsiders forced their way in, and consequently the *πόλις* was at risk if those who had no duty to it inveigled their way in. The close link which the native inhabitants felt with their local patron god, on whose protection they had a strong claim, could also be weakened by the intrusion of outsiders.

(ii) Athenians were extremely sensitive about their status in other people's eyes. In the face of a personal affront (however justified), an Athenian would be applauded for taking swift and decisive steps to gain revenge (remember that Christianity was some 500 years away from fifth-century Athens). Any citizen whose rights to citizenship had been put at risk (as Apollodoros' had been by Stephanos) would be quick to seek retribution, on whatever grounds he could find, and he would not be afraid to explain that personal revenge was the motive for the attack (imagine the consequences of saying that to a jury today).

(iii) While it is dangerous to generalise about the status of women in the ancient world, Apollodoros in this speech says what he thinks he *ought* to say about Neaira in particular and women in general in order to win over a jury of 501 males over the age of 30. He paints an unpleasant and quite unsympathetic picture of Neaira because he hopes the jury will respond favourably to that; and while we may feel moved to sympathy by Neaira's experience as a slave and prostitute (over which she almost certainly had no choice) and by her efforts to gain security for her children by marriage with Stephanos, Apollodoros clearly presumed that his audience's response would be very different.

Again, Apollodoros' picture of citizen women as either highly virtuous or rather weak-headed was not drawn because he necessarily believed it or because it was the case. It was supposed to strike a chord in the hearts of his listeners – nothing more or less. The speech thus gives us an invaluable glimpse into what an average Athenian male might be presumed to think about the opposite sex, both citizen and alien. With such evidence of attitudes and prejudices before us, it

should be easier for us to assess, for example, the emotional impact that a figure such as Antigone or Medea might have had upon an Athenian audience.

(iv) In a world where the spoken word is the main means of communication and persuasion, and the mass meeting the main context, the orator's art is of the highest importance. It was a skill much cultivated and admired by Athenian writers, and much suspected by thinkers like Plato (himself, of course, a master of the art). However unsympathetic the twentieth century may be to the orator's art (though it is simply one variant of a number of means of persuading people, with which we are far more conversant than the Greeks who did not have radio, T.V. or *The Sunday Times*), it is important to understand it and the impact it had on the Greek world.

### *The speech*

The speech is set in the context of a meeting between three of the dikasts who will be judging the case – the experienced Komias and Euergides, and the inexperienced Strymodoros. They appear at the beginning and end of the speech, but hardly interrupt the flow of evidence at all.

The speech is divided up as follows:

#### *Section Eleven: Neaira as slave*

A–B: The dikasts enter the court.

C: Apollodoros outlines in general his motives for bringing the action and the dikasts urge Strymodoros not to believe everything that he hears.

D: Apollodoros reviews his grudge against Stephanos and details the charge against Neaira.

E: The dikasts argue about the validity of Apollodoros' motives.

F: Apollodoros sketches Neaira's past as a slave in Corinth.

G: Strymodoros' memory lets him down.

H: Neaira runs away from Phrynion and meets Stephanos.

I: Neaira sets up home with Stephanos in Athens.

#### *Section Twelve: Neaira as married woman*

A: Stephanos marries off Neaira's daughter Phano to the Athenian Phrastor, briefly.

B: Phrastor falls ill and re-adopts Phano's son.

C: Phrastor recovers and marries someone else.

- D: The incident between Phano and Phrastor is reviewed.  
 E: Stephanos marries Phano off to Theogenes.  
 F: The Areopagos find out and call Theogenes to account.  
 G: Komias suggests arguments Stephanos will use to clear his name.  
 I: Apollodoros implicates Stephanos along with Neaira in the charges.

*Section Thirteen: guarding a woman's purity*

- A–B: How could anyone not condemn a woman like Neaira?  
 C–D: Komias argues that the acquittal of Neaira would be intolerable.  
 E: Apollodoros' final appeal to the dikasts.  
 F: The dikasts await the speech for the defence – and their pay.

*The characters*

The main characters involved are:

- Komias, Euergides, Strymodoros: three listening dikasts.  
 Apollodoros: the prosecutor, making the speech, a man with a reputation for litigiousness.  
 Neaira: the defendant, a woman now living in Athens with Stephanos. It is her past that Apollodoros uncovers in an attempt to prove that she is non-Athenian and pretending to be married to Stephanos.  
 Stephanos: a personal enemy of Apollodoros and an old adversary in several legal and political battles in the past. He brought Neaira back to Athens from Megara, and is claimed by Apollodoros to be living with Neaira as if they were husband and wife.  
 Nikarete: Neaira's owner and 'madam' in Corinth in her youth.  
 Phrynion: one of Neaira's lovers, a wealthy and well-connected figure in Athenian society. She went to live with him after buying her freedom from her two previous lovers Timanoridas and Eukrates (largely because he gave her most of the money for her freedom). She ran away from him to Megara; on her return to Athens with Stephanos, Phrynion and Stephanos clashed over who rightfully owned her.  
 Phano: Neaira's daughter, and therefore non-Athenian. But Stephanos tried to palm her off as *his* own Athenian daughter to a number of Athenian men. These included:  
 Phrastor: a self-made man who had quarrelled with his family, and  
 Theogenes: a poor man who had been chosen by lot as *archon basileus*, the position of greatest importance in conducting the religious rites of the Athenian state.

## Section Eleven A–I

### Neaira as slave

#### A

κελεύοντος τοῦ κήρυκος ἤκουσιν οἱ δικασταὶ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.  
 καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλον ὡς ὀρώσιν ἤκοντα, εὐθύς ἀσπάζονται, λαβόμενοι  
 τῆς χειρός. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσιν ὁ Κωμίας καὶ Εὐεργίδης εἰς τὸ  
 δικαστήριον – οὗ μέλλουσι δικάσειν γραφήν τινα περὶ  
 Νεαίρας – ἀσπάζεται ὁ ἕτερος τὸν ἕτερον.

15

ΕΥΕΡΓΙΔΗΣ χαῖρε, ὦ Κωμία.

ΚΩΜΙΑΣ νῆ καὶ σύ γε, ὦ Εὐεργίδη. ὅσος ὁ ὄχλος. ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστιν  
 οὗτοςί; οὐ δῆπου Στρυμόδωρος ὁ γείτων; ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δία,  
 αὐτὸς δῆτ' ἐκεῖνος. ὦ τῆς τύχης. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤλπιζον  
 Στρυμοδώρῳ ἐντεύξεσθαι ἐν δικαστηρίῳ διατρίβοντι, νέω  
 δὴ ὄντι καὶ ἀπείρῳ τῶν δικανικῶν.

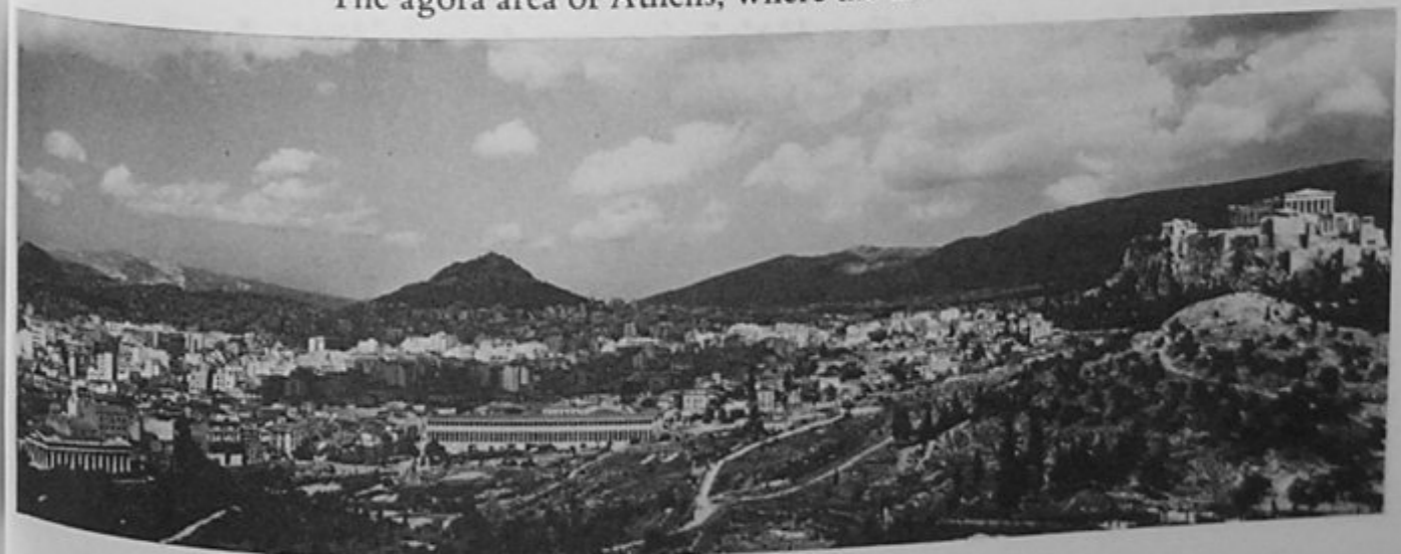
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ΕΥ. τί οὐ καλεῖς αὐτὸν δεῦρο; ἐξέσται γὰρ αὐτῷ μεθ' ἡμῶν  
 καθίζειν.

25

ΚΩ. ἀλλὰ καλῶς λέγεις καὶ καλοῦμεν αὐτόν. ὦ Στρυμόδωρε,  
 Στρυμόδωρε.

The agora area of Athens, where the law-courts were.



ΣΤΡΥΜΟΔΩΡΟΣ χαίρετε, ὦ γείτονες. ὅσον τὸ χρήμα τοῦ ὄχλου.

(ὠθεῖται ὑπὸ δικαστοῦ τινος, ὃς τοῦ ἱματίου λαμβάνεται)

οὗτος, τί βουλόμενος ἐλάβου τοῦ ἐμοῦ ἱματίου; ὄλοιο.

EY. εὖ γε. κάθιζε.

## B

(εἰσέρχεται Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ κατήγορος)

ΣΤΡ. ἀλλὰ τίς ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνος, ὃς πρὸς τὸ βῆμα προσέρχεται  
ταχέως βαδίζων;

KΩ. τυγχάνει κατηγορῶν ἐν τῇ δίκῃ οὗτος, ᾧ ὄνομά ἐστιν  
Ἀπολλόδωρος, φύσις δὲ αὐτοῦ πολυπράγμων.

EY. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν διαφέρει εἴτε πολυπράγμων ἢ φύσις αὐτοῦ ἢ οὐ.  
δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς κοινὴν τὴν εὐνοίαν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις  
παρέχειν καὶ ὁμοίως ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς λόγους οἷς χρήται  
ἐκάτερος, κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον ὃν ἀπέδομεν.

καὶ μὴν ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐαυτῷ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς  
δοκεῖ εὐεργετεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ κυρίους ποιεῖν τοὺς νόμους,  
τὴν Νέαιραν γραψάμενος γραφὴν ξενίας.

KΩ. ἴσως δὴ φιλόπολις ἔφυ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος. ἀλλὰ γινώσκω  
σέ, ὦ Εὐεργίδη, κατήγορον ὄντα πάνυ δεινὸν λέγειν. αἰεὶ  
γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν διωκόντων λέγεται τὰ τοιαῦτα. καὶ  
Ἀπολλόδωρος, εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐρεῖ· 'οὐχ ὑπήρξα τῆς  
ἐχθρας', φήσει, καὶ 'ὁ φεύγων ἡμᾶς ἠδίκησε μάλιστα', καὶ  
'βούλομαι τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτόν.' ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ αἰεὶ ὑπὸ τῶν  
τοιούτων πείθομαι.

EY. εἰκός. νῦν δὲ οὐκ ἂν σιγῶης καὶ προσέχοις τὸν νοῦν;  
χρέμπτεται γὰρ ἤδη ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὅπερ ποιοῦσιν οἱ  
ἀρχόμενοι λέγοντες, καὶ ἀνίσταται.

KΩ. σιγήσομαι, ὦ Εὐεργίδη. ἀλλ' ὅπως σιωπήσεις καὶ σύ, ὦ  
Στρυμόδωρε, καὶ προσέξεις τὸν νοῦν.

## C

Apollodoros outlines in general his motives for bringing the action, and the dikasts urge Strymodoros not to believe everything that he hears.

πολλῶν ἔνεκα, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐβουλόμην γράψασθαι Νέαιραν  
τὴν γραφὴν, ἣν νυνὶ διώκω, καὶ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς ὑμᾶς. καὶ γὰρ  
ἠδίκηθην μεγάλα ὑπὸ Στεφάνου, οὗ γυνὴ ἐστὶν ἡ Νέαιρα αὐτῆ. καὶ  
ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ εἰς κινδύνους τοὺς ἐσχάτους κατέστην, καὶ  
οὐ μόνον ἐγὼ ἀλλὰ καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ ἐμή. τιμωρίας  
οὖν ἔνεκα ἀγωνίζομαι τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτονί, καταστὰς εἰς τοιοῦτον  
κίνδυνον. οὐ γὰρ ὑπήρξα τῆς ἐχθρας ἐγὼ, ἀλλὰ Στέφανος, οὐδὲν  
ὑφ' ἡμῶν πώποτε οὔτε λόγῳ οὔτε ἔργῳ ἀδικηθεῖς. βούλομαι δ'  
ὑμῖν προδιηγῆσθαι πάνθ' ἃ ἐπάθομεν καὶ ὡς ἀδικηθέντες ὑπ'  
αὐτοῦ εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους κατέστημεν περὶ τε τῆς πενίας  
καὶ περὶ ἀτιμίας.

ΣΤΡ. δεινὸς δὴ λέγειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀπολλόδωρος, ὃς ὑπὸ  
Στεφάνου ἠδίκηθη. εὐνοίαν δ' ἔχω εἰς αὐτὸν ὅτι ὑπήρξε τῆς  
ἐχθρας Στέφανος. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν βούλοιο τιμωρεῖσθαι τὸν  
ἐχθρόν; πάντες γὰρ ἐθέλουσι τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὖ ποιεῖν,  
τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς.

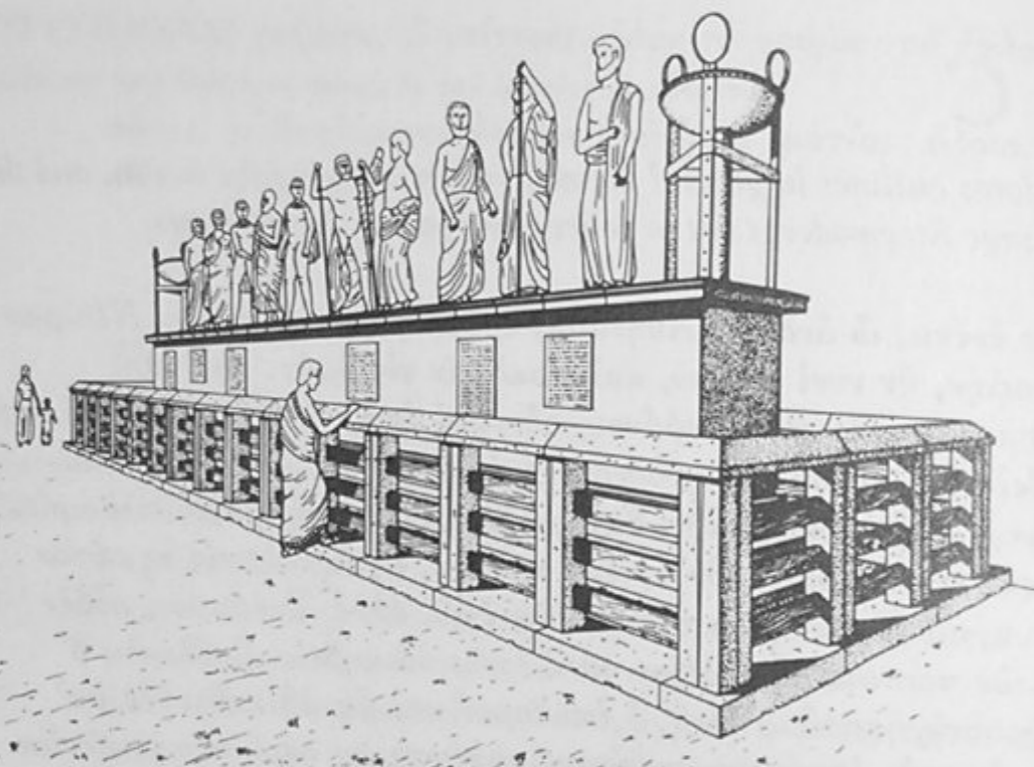
KΩ. ὅπως μὴ ῥαδίως τοῖς ἀντιδίκοις πιστεύσεις, ὦ  
Στρυμόδωρε. ἀναστάντες γὰρ ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ οἱ  
ἀντίδικοι τοὺς δικαστὰς πάσαις χρώμενοι τέχναις εἰς  
εὐνοίαν καθίστασιν.

ΣΤΡ. ἀλλ' ἠδέως ἂν τι μάθοιμι. ὁ γὰρ Ἀπολλόδωρος λέγει ὅτι  
ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Στεφάνου εἰς κίνδυνον κατέστη περὶ τῆς  
πενίας. τί ποιῶν ὁ Στέφανος κατέστησε τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον  
εἰς τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον;

EY. ἀλλ' ἄκουε. περὶ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ ἀγῶνος ἀρχῆς διατελεῖ λέγων  
ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος.

## D

Apollodoros reviews his grudge against Stephanos—that some time ago  
Stephanos had successfully brought a charge (γραφὴ παρανόμων) against



Proposals for new laws were displayed in front of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the agora

him for proposing an illegal change in the law, and this had almost reduced him to poverty. He details the charge against Neaira.

ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ βουλευτῆς ποτε καταστὰς ἔγραψα ψήφισμά τι ὁ  
ἐξήνεγκα εἰς τὸν δῆμον. ὁ δὲ Στέφανος οὕτως, γραψάμενος  
παρανόμων τὸ ἐμὸν ψήφισμα, τῆς ἔχθρας ὑπήρξεν. ἐλὼν γὰρ τὸ  
ψήφισμα, ψευδεῖς μάρτυρας παρασχόμενος, ἤτησε τίμημα μέγα, ὃ  
οὐχ οἶός τ' ἦ ἐκτεῖσαι. ἐζήτει γάρ, εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀπορίαν  
καταστήσας ἐμέ, ἄτιμον ποιεῖσθαι, ὀφείλοντα τὰ χρήματα τῇ πόλει  
καὶ οὐ δυνάμενον ἐκτεῖσαι.

ἐμέλλομεν οὖν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες εἰς ἔνδειαν καταστήσεσθαι. μεγάλη  
δ' ἐμελλεν ἔσεσθαι ἡ συμφορὰ καὶ μεγάλη ἡ αἰσχύνη μοι ὑπὲρ τε  
τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων, εἰς πενίαν καταστάντι καὶ προῖκα  
οὐ δυναμένῳ παρασχεῖν καὶ τὸ τίμημα τῇ πόλει ὀφείλοντι. πολλὴν  
οὖν χάριν οἶδα τοῖς δικασταῖς, οἳ οὐκ ἐπέισθησαν ὑπὸ Στεφάνου,  
ἀλλ' ἐλάττονά μοι ἐτίμησαν δίκην.

οὐκοῦν τοσούτων κακῶν αἴτιος ἡμῖν πᾶσιν ἐγίγνετο Στέφανος,  
οὐδέποτε ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀδικηθεῖς. νῦν δέ, πάντων τῶν φίλων  
παρακαλούντων με καὶ κελευόντων τιμωρεῖσθαι Στέφανον, ὑφ' οὗ  
τοιαῦτα ἠδίκηθην, εἰσάγω εἰς ὑμᾶς ταύτην τὴν δίκην. ὀνειδίζουσι

γάρ μοι οἱ φίλοι, ἀνανδρότατον ἀνθρώπων καλοῦντες, εἰ μὴ  
λήψομαι δίκην ὑπὲρ τε τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς τῆς ἐμῆς.

εἰσάγω οὖν εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐξελέγχω τὴν Νέαιραν ταυτηνί, ἢ εἰς  
τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖ καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὑβρίζει καὶ τῶν νόμων τῶν  
ὑμετέρων καταφρονεῖ. Στέφανος γὰρ ἐπειράτό με ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τοὺς  
οἰκείους παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. οὕτω καὶ ἐγὼ ἤκω εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ φάσκω  
Στέφανον τοῦτον συνοικεῖν μὲν ξένη γυναικὶ παρὰ τὸν νόμον,  
εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ ἀλλοτρίους παῖδας εἰς τε τοὺς φράτερας καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
δημότας, ἐγγυᾶν δὲ τὰς τῶν ἑταίρων θυγατέρας ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ  
οὔσας, ἀσεβεῖν δὲ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς.

ὅτι μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Στεφάνου πρότερον ἠδίκηθην, εὖ ἴστε. ὅτι δὲ  
Νέαιρά ἐστι ξένη καὶ συνοικεῖ Στεφάνῳ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ταῦθ'  
ὑμῖν βούλομαι σαφῶς ἐπιδείξαι.

## E

The dikasts argue about the validity of Apollodoros' motives.

ΚΩ. οὐχ ὀρᾶς; τοῦτ' ἐκείνο ὃ ἔλεγον. τοιαῦτα δὲ αἰεὶ λέγουσιν οἱ  
ἀντίδικοι. ἀλλ' οὐ πείθομαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔγωγε.

ΣΤΡ. εἰκὸς γε· φησὶ γὰρ ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τὸν Στέφανον ἄρξαι  
τῆς ἔχθρας καὶ αὐτὸς τιμωρίας ἔνεκα ἀγωνίζεσθαι  
ἀδικηθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἃ πάντα ἔλεγε σύ, ὦ Κωμία.

ΕΥ. ταῦτα δὲ ἐλέχθη ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου, ἀλλ' ἠγοῦμαι τὸν  
Ἀπολλόδωρον ἴσως γέ τι σπουδαῖον λέγειν. πρῶτον μὲν  
γὰρ ἔφη Ἀπολλόδωρος εἰς κίνδυνον καταστήναι περὶ  
πενίας καὶ ἀτιμίας, καὶ οὐ δυνήσεσθαι τὰς θυγατέρας  
ἐκδοῦναι. ἔπειτα δὲ Στέφανον καὶ Νέαιραν τῶν νόμων  
καταφρονεῖν καὶ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβεῖν. τίς οὐκ ἂν  
σπουδάξοι περὶ ταῦτα;

ΣΤΡ. οὐδεὶς, μὰ Δία. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν αἰσχύνοιτο ὁ  
Ἀπολλόδωρος τὰς θυγατέρας ἀνεκδότους ἔχων; καὶ τίς ἂν  
γαμοίη γυναῖκα προῖκα οὐκ ἔχουσαν παρὰ τοιοῦτου πατρός;  
ἀλλ' ἴσως ὁ Κωμίας οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογοίη;

ΕΥ. περὶ τῆς πενίας ὁμολογοίην ἂν. πῶς γὰρ οὐ; περὶ δὲ τῶν  
ΚΩ. νόμων καὶ τῶν θεῶν, οὐ σαφῶς οἶδα. τεκμηρίων δὲ  
βεβαίων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλοδώρου παρεχομένων ἀκριβῶς  
μαθησόμεθα.

## F

## Introduction

Apollodoros has introduced the case by indicating his personal and political motives for bringing it, and has outlined the charges he is making against Neaira. The law he is invoking runs as follows:

'If a ξένος lives with (συνοικεῖν) an ἀσθή in any way at all, any qualified Athenian who wishes to may bring a case against him before the Thesmothetai. If he is convicted, both the man and his property shall be sold and a third of the proceeds shall go to the man who secured the conviction. The same shall apply if a ξένη lives with an ἀστός. In this case, the man living with the convicted ξένη shall be fined 1,000 drachmas in addition.'

ξένος a non-Athenian male, without Athenian citizen rights; an alien.

ξένη a non-Athenian female, without Athenian citizen rights; an alien.

ἀστός a male Athenian citizen.

ἀσθή a female Athenian citizen.

Apollodoros has then to establish two charges. First, that Neaira is an alien; second, that Stephanos is living with her as if she were his wife. The proof of the first charge will occupy the rest of Section Eleven; the proof of the second charge will occupy Section Twelve.

*Apollodoros sketches Neaira's past as a slave in Corinth, under the 'care' of Nikarete.*

τοῦ νόμου τοίνυν ἠκούσατε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ὃς οὐκ ἐὰ τὴν ξένην τῷ ἀστῷ συνοικεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀσθὴν τῷ ξένῳ, οὐδὲ παιδοποιεῖσθαι. ὅτι οὖν ἐστὶν οὐ μόνον ξένη Νέαιρα ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλη καὶ ἑταῖρα, τοῦθ' ὑμῖν βούλομαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀκριβῶς ἐπιδείξαι.

ἢ γὰρ Νέαιρα πρῶτον μὲν δούλη ἐν Κορίνθῳ ἦν Νικαρέτης, ὑφ' ἧς ἐτρέφετο παῖς μικρὰ οὖσα. καὶ τότε φανερόν καὶ βέβαιον τεκμήριόν ἐστι τούτου· ἦν γὰρ δὴ ἑτέρα δούλη Νικαρέτης, Μετάνειρα ὀνόματι, ἧς ἔραστὴς ὦν Λυσίας ὁ σοφιστὴς πολλὰς δραχμὰς ἔθηκεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ὑπὸ Νικαρέτης ἐλήφθησαν πᾶσαι αἱ δραχμαὶ ἃς ἔθηκεν, ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ μνησαί αὐτὴν καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα καταθεῖναι εἰς τε τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ τὰ μυστήρια, βουλομένῳ ὑπὲρ Μετανείρας καὶ οὐχ ὑπὲρ Νικαρέτης τιθέναι τὰ χρήματα. καὶ

30

35



The courtesan Niinnion set up this plaque to commemorate her initiation into the Mysteries at Eleusis

ἐπίσθη Νικαρέτῃ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ἄγουσα τὴν Μετάνειραν. ἀφικομένας δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ Λυσίας εἰς μὲν τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰσάγει (ἠσχύνετο γὰρ τὴν γυναῖκα ἣν εἶχε καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἢ γραῦς οὖσα ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ συνώκει). καθίστησι δ' αὐτὰς ὁ Λυσίας ὡς 30  
Φιλόστρατον, ἧθεον ἔτι ὄντα καὶ φίλον αὐτῷ. μεθ' ὧν συνήλθεν Ἀθήναζε Νέαιρα, δούλη Νικαρέτης οὖσα καὶ αὐτή, ἐργαζομένη μὲν ἤδη τῷ σώματι, νεωτέρα δὲ οὖσα. ὡς οὖν ἀληθῆ λέγω, ὅτι Νέαιρα Νικαρέτης ἦν καὶ συνήλθε μετ' αὐτῆς, τούτων ὑμῖν αὐτὸν τὸν 35  
Φιλόστρατον μάρτυρα καλῶ.

## EVIDENCE

(The heading EVIDENCE means that the passage quoted was read out in court. It was *not* spoken by the witness, nor was there any questioning of it.)

'Philostratos, son of Dionysios, from Kolonos, gives evidence that he knows that Neaira was Nikarete's property, as was Metaneira too; that they were residents of Corinth; and that they lodged at his house when they came to Athens for the Mysteries; and that Lysias, a close friend of his, brought them to his house.'

## G

[The incident with Lysias and Metaneira is not the only one that Apollodoros quotes. He goes on to Neaira's later career, which takes her all over Greece, but always in the company of men of wealth and high social position. They include Simos, a Thessalian, who brought her to Athens for the great Panathenaia, Xenokleides the poet and Hipparchos the actor; then Timanoridas from Corinth and Eukrates from Leukadia eventually decide to buy Neaira outright from Nikarete, and do so for 30 mnas. She lives a long time with them. No wonder that Strymodoros' memory lets him down . . .]

*Strymodoros' memory lets him down.*

ΣΤΡ. ἀπολοίμην, εἰ μνημονεύω —

ΚΩ. δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε, εἰς ἀπορίαν τινὰ καταστήναι. μὴ οὖν ἐπικάλυπτε τὴν ἀπορίαν, αἰσχυρόμενος τὸν Εὐεργίδην, ἀλλὰ λέγε μοι ὃ ἀπορεῖς.

ΣΤΡ. ἐγὼ σοι ἐρῶ, ὦ Κωμία, ὃ ἀπορῶ. διὰ τί μνεῖαν ἐποιήσατο ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος τοῦ Λυσίου καὶ τῆς Μετανείρας; οὐ γὰρ μνημονεύω ἔγωγε. βουλοίμην μεντὰν νῆ Δία μνημονεύειν ἃ λέγει ὁ ἀντίδικος. εἴθε μνημονεύοιμι πάνθ' ἃ λέγει, καὶ ἀπολοίμην, εἰ μνημονεύω. πῶς γὰρ ἂν δικαίως τιθεῖτό τις

25

30

τὴν ψῆφον, μὴ μνημονεύσας τοὺς λόγους;  
ΚΩ. χαλεπὸν δὴ ἔστι τῷ δικαστῇ διακρίνειν τὴν δίκην, μὴ μνημονεύοντι πάνθ' ἃ λέγει ὁ κατήγορος. εἰ μέντοι σοφιστῆς γένοιο σύ, ῥαδίως ἂν μνημονεύσαις πάντας τοὺς λόγους, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐπιλάθοιο τῶν λεχθέντων. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ Ἰππίας τις, ἅπαξ ἀκούσας, πάντα μνημονεύσαις ἂν.

5

ΣΤΡ. ὥσπερ Ἰππίας; εἴθε Ἰππίας γενοίμην ἐγώ.

ΚΩ. εἰ νῦν Ἰππίας ἦσθα, οἴός τ' ἂν ἦσθα καταλέγειν πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Σόλωνος ἄρχοντας. ὁ γὰρ Ἰππίας, ἅπαξ ἀκούσας, ἐμνημόνευε πεντήκοντα ὀνόματα.

10

ΣΤΡ. ὦ τῆς τέχνης. εἴθε τοσαῦτα μνημονεύσαιμι. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ φύσει σοφὸς οὐκ εἰμί. εἰ πάντες οἱ σοφισταί με διδάσκοιεν, οὐκ ἂν οἴοί τ' εἶεν σοφιστὴν με ποιεῖν. ἀλλ' εἰ Ἰππίας ἡμῖν νῦν συνεγίγνετο, πῶς ἂν ἐδίδασκέ με, καὶ τί ἂν ἔλεγεν; καὶ πῶς ἂν ἐμάνθανον ἐγώ;

15

ΚΩ. εἴθε ταῦτα εἰδείην, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα ἤδη ἐγώ, πλούσιος ἂν ἦ τὸ νῦν, καὶ οὐ πένης οὐδὲ δικαστῆς.

ΣΤΡ. οἴμοι. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὥσπερ γέρων τις, ἐπιλανθάνομαι πάνθ' ἃ ἀκούω, τῶν τε νόμων καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν μαρτυριῶν. εἰ δέ τις τοσαῦτα ἐπιλάθοιτο, πῶς ἂν δικάσειε τὴν δίκην καὶ τὴν ψῆφον θεῖτο ἂν;

20

ΚΩ. οὐκ οἶδ' ἔγωγε, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε. οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτό ποτε ἀγαθὸς δικαστῆς, εἰ μὴ μνημονεύσειε τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ κατηγόρου λεχθέντα. ἀλλ' ὅπως προθύμως προσέξεις τὸν νοῦν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ ταῖς μαρτυρίαις. τοῦτο γὰρ ποιοῦντες ῥαδίως τὴν ψῆφον τίθενται οἱ δικασταί.

25

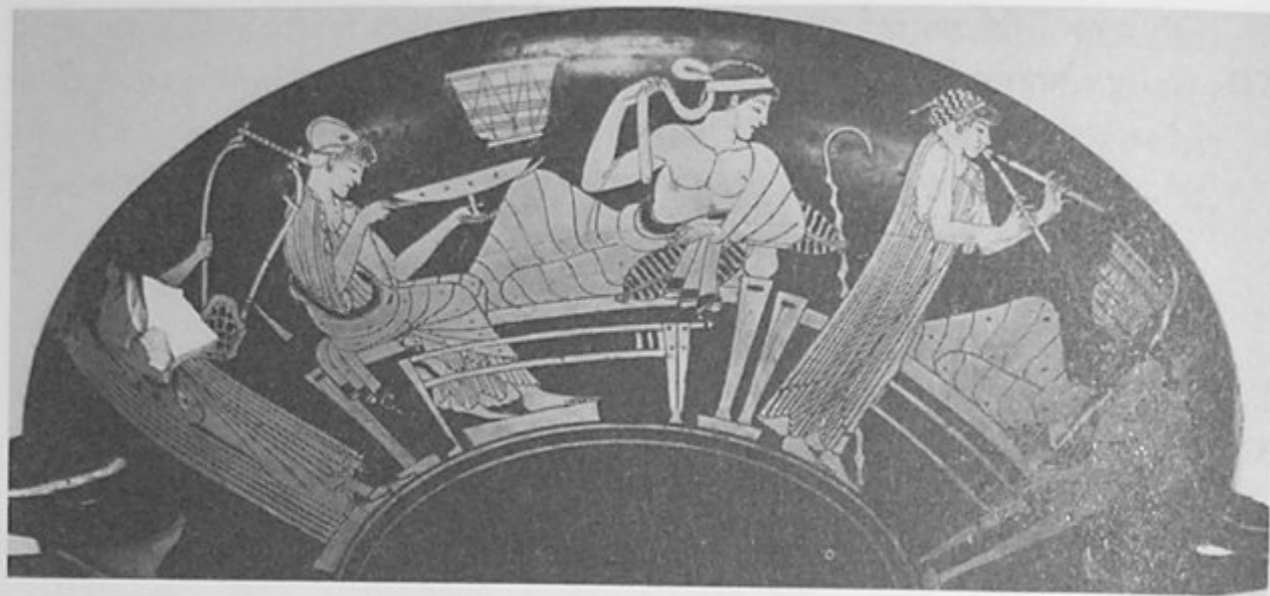
ΣΤΡ. ἀπόλουντο οἵτινες δικασταὶ ὄντες ἐπιλανθάνονται ἃ λέγουσιν οἱ ἀντίδικοι.

## H

[Eventually, Timanoridas and Eukrates both decide to get married. They give Neaira the chance to buy her freedom for 20 mnas (as against the 30 they gave for her). She collects donations from old admirers, of which the handsomest sum comes from an Athenian acquaintance, Phrynion. In gratitude to Phrynion, Neaira goes to live with him in Athens, where she mixes with the highest and wealthiest levels of Athenian male society.]



ΨΗΦΟΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΙ



ἐκώμαζέ τ' αἰεὶ μετ' αὐτῆς

*Neaira runs away from Phrynion and meets Stephanos.*

ὁ τοίνυν Φρυνίων, καταθεὶς τὸ ἀργύριον ὑπὲρ Νεαίρας ἐπ' ἐλευθερία, ὥχεται Ἀθήναζε ἀπάγων αὐτήν. ἀλλ' ἀφικόμενος Ἀθήναζε ἀσελγῶς ἐχρήτο αὐτῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἔχων αὐτὴν πανταχοῖ ἐπορεύετο, ἐκώμαζέ τ' αἰεὶ μετ' αὐτῆς. Νεαίρα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀσελγῶς προὔπηλακίζετο ὑπὸ τοῦ Φρυνίωνος καὶ οὐχ, ὡς ὥχεται, ἠγαπάτο, συνεσκευάσατο πάντα τὰ Φρυνίωνος ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὰ χρυσία, ἃ Φρυνίων αὐτῇ ἔδωκεν. ἔχουσα δὲ ταῦτα πάντα, καὶ θεραπαίνας δύο, Θράτταν καὶ Κοκκαλίην, ἀποδιδράσκει εἰς Μέγαρα. διέτριψε δὲ Νεαίρα ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις δύο ἔτη, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἰκανὴν εὐπορίαν παρέχειν εἰς τὴν τῆς οἰκίας διοίκησιν. τότε δ' ἐπιδημήσας ὁ Στέφανος οὕτως εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα, κατήγετο ὡς αὐτήν, ἑταίραν οὖσαν. ἡ δὲ Νεαίρα, διηγησαμένη πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ τὴν ὕβριν τοῦ Φρυνίωνος, ἔδωκε Στεφάνῳ πάνθ' ἃ ἔχουσα ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπιθυμοῦσα μὲν τῆς ἐνθάδε οἰκίσεως, φοβουμένη δὲ τὸν Φρυνίωνα. ἦδει γὰρ ἀδικηθέντα μὲν τὸν Φρυνίωνα ὑφ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὀργιζόμενον αὐτῇ, σοβαρὸν δὲ καὶ ὀλίγων αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον ὄντα. δοῦσα οὖν Νεαίρα πάντα τὰ αὐτῆς τῷ Στεφάνῳ, προίσταται ἐκείνον αὐτῆς.

## I

*Neaira sets up home with Stephanos in Athens. Phrynion hears of it and demands Neaira's return and compensation from Stephanos.*

ὁ δὲ Στέφανος οὕτως εἰς μεγίστην ἐλπίδα κατέστησε Νεαίραν ἐν τοῖς Μεγάροις τῷ λόγῳ. ἐκόμπαζε γὰρ τὸν μὲν Φρυνίωνα οὐχ ἄψεσθαι αὐτῆς οὐδέποτε, αὐτὸς δὲ γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ἔξειν. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῆς εἰσαχθήσεσθαι εἰς τοὺς φράτερας ὡς αὐτοῦ ὄντας, καὶ πολίτας γενήσεσθαι, ἀδικηθήσεσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων. ταῦτα δ' εἰπὼν, ἀφικνεῖται αὐτὴν ἔχων δεῦρο ἐκ τῶν Μεγάρων, καὶ παιδία μετ' αὐτῆς τρία, Πρόξενον καὶ Ἀρίστωνα καὶ παῖδα κόρην, ἣ νυνὶ Φανὼ καλεῖται.

καὶ εἰσάγει αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ παιδία εἰς τὸ οἰκίδιον ὃ ἦν αὐτῷ Ἀθήνησι παρὰ τὸν ψιθυριστὴν Ἑρμῆν, μεταξὺ τῆς Δωροθέου τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου οἰκίας καὶ τῆς Κλεινομάχου. δυοῖν δὲ ἔνεκα ἦλθεν ἔχων αὐτὴν, ὡς ἔξ ἀτελείας ἔξων καλὴν ἑταίραν καὶ ὡς ἐργασομένην αὐτὴν καὶ θρέψουσαν τὴν οἰκίαν. εὖ γὰρ ἦδει Στέφανος ἄλλην πρόσοδον οὐκ ἔχων οὐδὲ βίον, εἰ μὴ τι λαβὼν διὰ τὴν συκοφαντίαν. ὁ δὲ Φρυνίων, πυθόμενος Νεαίραν ἐπιδημοῦσαν καὶ οὖσαν παρὰ Στεφάνῳ, παραλαβὼν νεανίσκουσ μεθ' αὐτοῦ, ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν τοῦ Στεφάνου, ὡς ἄξων αὐτὴν. ἀφαιρουμένου δὲ αὐτὴν τοῦ Στεφάνου κατὰ τὸν νόμον εἰς ἐλευθερίαν, κατηγγύησεν αὐτὴν ὁ Φρυνίων πρὸς τῷ πολεμάρχῳ, ἡγούμενος αὐτὴν δούλην εἶναι αὐτῷ, τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καταθέντι.

### *The settlement*

One way of avoiding a court-case was to appoint three arbitrators to reach a decision. Both parties would appoint their own representative, and would agree on a third 'neutral'. The decision of these three was final and binding. Here is the translation of the passage in which Apollodoros explains what happened, giving the details of the arbitration and the evidence for it:

'The case Phrynion brought against Stephanos rested on two points: first, that Stephanos had taken Neaira from him and had asserted that she was free, and second, that Stephanos had taken possession of all the goods that Neaira had brought with her from Phrynion's house. But their friends brought them together and persuaded them to submit their quarrel to arbitration (*δίαίτα*). Satyros, from Alopeke, the



brother of Lakedaimonios, acted as arbitrator on Phrynion's behalf, while Saurias from Lamptraï acted for Stephanos here. Both sides also agreed to make Diogeiton from Akharnai the third member of the panel. These men met in the sacred place and heard the facts from both sides and from Neaira herself. They then gave their decision, which met with agreement from both sides. It was:

(a) that the woman should be free and her own mistress (*αὐτῆς κυρία*);

(b) that she should return to Phrynion everything she had taken with her from his house, apart from the clothes and gold jewellery and the female servants (since these had been bought for her own personal use);

(c) that she should live with each man on alternate days, although if the men reached any other mutually satisfactory arrangement, it should be binding;

(d) that maintenance for the woman should be provided by whichever of them had her in his keeping at the time;

(e) that from now on the two men should be on friendly terms and should harbour no further resentment against each other.

Such were the terms of the reconciliation between Phrynion and Stephanos which the arbitrators brought about in regard to this woman Neaira.

To prove that these statements of mine are true, the clerk shall read you the depositions regarding these matters.

#### EVIDENCE

"Satyros from Alopeke, Saurias from Lamptraï and Diogeiton from Akharnai depose that, having been appointed arbitrators in the matter of Neaira, they brought about a reconciliation between Stephanos and Phrynion, and that the terms on which the reconciliation was brought about were such as Apollodoros produces."

## Section Twelve A-I

### Neaira as married woman

#### Introduction

Apollodoros has now established that Neaira is non-Athenian. He has sketched her past as a slave and prostitute in Corinth, detailed a number of her lovers, and shown how she came to live with Stephanos in Athens. Now that it has been proved that Neaira is non-Athenian, Apollodoros has to prove that she is living with Stephanos *as his wife*. A formal betrothal was normally validated by witnesses and the marriage itself confirmed by cohabitation to produce legitimate heirs. Apollodoros, however, produces no evidence of the birth of children to Neaira and Stephanos. In the absence of evidence from such children, Apollodoros concentrates on establishing the marriage of Stephanos and Neaira in other ways. The most important evidence is that Stephanos attempted to pass off Neaira's children *as if they were his own children* (as he indeed boasted that he would do at 11. I.).

#### A

Stephanos marries off Neaira's daughter Phano to the Athenian Phrastor, pretending that Phano was a true-born Athenian. Phrastor discovers the truth, and wants a divorce.

ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δούλη ἦν Νέαιρα καὶ ἑταίρα, καὶ ἀπέδρα ἀπὸ τοῦ Φρυνίωνος εἰς Μέγαρα, καὶ ὁ Φρυνίων ἐπανελθοῦσαν Ἀθήναζε αὐτὴν κατηγγύησε πρὸς τῷ πολεμάρχῳ ὡς ξένην οὖσαν, δῆλά ἐστι τὰ τεκμήρια.



Women working in the home weaving and spinning

νῦν δὲ βούλομαι ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι ὅτι Στέφανος αὐτὸς καταμαρτυρεῖ  
Νεαίρας ὡς ξένη οὐσα συνοικεῖ αὐτῷ ὡς γυνή.

ἦν γὰρ τῇ Νεαίρα θυγάτηρ, ἣν ἦλθεν ἔχουσα εἰς τὴν τοῦ  
Στεφάνου οἰκίαν. καὶ Ἀθήναζε ἐλθόντες τὴν κόρην ἐκάλουν Φανῶ.  
πρότερον γὰρ Στρυβήλη ἐκαλεῖτο, πρὶν Ἀθήναζε ἐλθεῖν. αὕτη δὲ ἡ  
κόρη ἐξεδόθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Στεφάνου τουτουί, ὡσπερ αὐτοῦ θυγάτηρ  
οὐσα καὶ ἐξ ἀστῆς γυναικός, ἀνδρὶ Ἀθηναίῳ, Φράστορι Αἰγιλεῖ.  
καὶ προῖκα ἔδωκεν ὁ Στέφανος τριάκοντα μνᾶς. καὶ δὴ ἴστε τὴν  
Φανῶ, πρὶν συνοικεῖν τῷ Φράστορι, τὴν τῆς μητρὸς φύσιν καὶ  
ἀκολασίαν μαθοῦσαν. ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἦλθεν ὡς τὸν Φράστορα, ὃς ἀνὴρ  
ἐργάτης ἦν καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὸν βίον συνελέγετο, οὐκ ἠπίστατο τοῖς  
τοῦ Φράστορος τρόποις ἀρέσκειν.

ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Φράστωρ αὐτὴν οὔτε κοσμίαν οὐσαν οὔτ' ἐθέλουσαν  
πείθεσθαι αὐτῷ, ἅμα δὲ πυθόμενος σαφῶς τὴν Φανῶ οὐ Στεφάνου  
ἀλλὰ Νεαίρας θυγατέρα οὐσαν, ὠργίσθη μάλιστα, ἠγούμενος ὑπὸ  
Στεφάνου ὑβρισθῆναι καὶ ἐξαπατηθῆναι. ἔγημε γὰρ τὴν Φανῶ πρὶν  
εἰδέναι αὐτὴν Νεαίρας οὐσαν θυγατέρα. ἐκβάλλει οὖν τὴν Φανῶ,  
ἐνιαυτὸν συνοικήσας αὐτῇ, κνουσαν, καὶ τὴν προῖκα οὐκ  
ἀποδίδωσιν. ἀλλ' εἰ ὑπὸ Στεφάνου μὴ ἐξηπατήθη ὁ Φράστωρ καὶ  
Φανῶ γνησία ἦν, ἣ οὐκ ἂν ἐξέβαλεν αὐτὴν ὁ Φράστωρ ἢ ἀπέδωκεν  
ἂν τὴν προῖκα.

ἐκπεσοῦσης δὲ Φανοῦς, ἔλαχε Στέφανος δίκην τῷ Φράστορι,  
κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃς κελεύει τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἀποπέμποντα τὴν γυναῖκα  
ἀποδιδόναι τὴν προῖκα. λαχόντος δὲ Στεφάνου τὴν δίκην ταύτην,  
γράφεται Φράστωρ Στέφανον τουτονὶ γραφὴν κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃς  
οὐκ ἔῃ τινα ἐγγυῆσαι τὴν ξένης θυγατέρα ἀνδρὶ Ἀθηναίῳ. γνοὺς δὲ  
Στέφανος ὅτι ἐξελεγχθήσεται ἀδικῶν καὶ ὅτι ἐξελεγχθεὶς

κινδυνεύσει ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις περιπεσεῖν (ξένης γὰρ θυγάτηρ  
ἦν ἡ Φανῶ) διαλλάττεται πρὸς τὸν Φράστορα καὶ ἀφίσταται τῆς  
προϊκός καὶ ἀνείλετο τὴν δίκην. καὶ πρὶν εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσελθεῖν,  
καὶ ὁ Φράστωρ ἀνείλετο τὴν γραφὴν. ἀλλ' εἰ ἀστῆς θυγάτηρ ἦν  
Φανῶ, οὐκ ἂν διηλλάχθη Στέφανος.

## B

Phrastor then falls ill but, not wishing to die childless, decides to take back  
Phano and her son.

βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν παρέχειν ἑτέραν μαρτυρίαν τοῦ τε Φράστορος καὶ  
τῶν φρατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν γεννητῶν, ὡς ἔστι ξένη Νεαίρα  
αὕτη. οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ γὰρ ὕστερον ἢ ἐξεπέμφθη ἡ τῆς Νεαίρας  
θυγάτηρ, ἠσθένησεν ὁ Φράστωρ καὶ πάνυ πονηρῶς διετέθη καὶ εἰς  
πάσαν ἀπορίαν κατέστη. καί, πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀσθενεῖν, πρὸς τοὺς  
οἰκείους αὐτοῦ διαφορὰ ἦν παλαιὰ καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ μῖσος. καὶ ἅπαις ἦν  
Φράστωρ. ἀλλ' εἰς ἀπορίαν καταστάς, ὑπὸ τε τῆς Νεαίρας καὶ τῆς  
Φανοῦς ἐψυχαγωγεῖτο. ἐβάδιζον γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν,  
ὡς θεραπεύσουσαι καὶ προθύμως ἐπιμελησόμεναι (ἐρήμος δὲ  
τῶν θεραπευσόντων ἦν Φράστωρ), καὶ ἔφερον τὰ πρόσφορα τῇ  
νόσῳ καὶ ἐπεσκοποῦντο. ἴστε δήπου καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοί, ὧ ἄνδρες  
δικασταί, ὡς ἀξία πολλοῦ ἐστὶ γυνὴ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, παρούσα  
κάμνοντι ἀνθρώπῳ.

τοῦτο οὖν ποιουσῶν αὐτῶν, ἐπέισθη Φράστωρ, πρὶν ὑγιαίνειν,  
πάλιν λαβεῖν τὸ τῆς Φανοῦς παιδίον καὶ ποιήσασθαι υἱὸν αὐτοῦ.  
τοῦτο δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἔτεκε Φανῶ ὅτε ἐξεπέμφθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Φράστορος  
κνουσα. καὶ πρὶν ὑγιαίνειν ὑπέσχετο δὴ τοῦτο ποιήσειν ὁ Φράστωρ,  
λογισμὸν ἀνθρώπινον καὶ εἰκότα λογιζόμενος, ὅτι πονηρῶς μὲν  
ἔχει καὶ οὐκ ἐλπίζει περιγενήσεσθαι, ἐβούλετο δὲ ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ τῆς  
Φανοῦς παιδίον πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν (καίπερ εἰδὼς αὐτὸν οὐ γνήσιον  
ὄντα), οὐκ ἐθέλων τοὺς οἰκείους λαβεῖν τὰ αὐτοῦ, οὐδ' ἅπαις  
ἀποθανεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαις ἀπέθανε Φράστωρ, οἱ οἰκείοι ἐλαβον ἂν τὰ  
αὐτοῦ.

## C

*Phrastor recovers and at once marries someone else. The status of Phano's son in the eyes of the Athenian γένος is made quite clear.*

νῦν δὲ μεγάλῳ τεκμηρίῳ καὶ περιφανεί ἐγὼ ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἔπραξε τοῦτο ὁ Φράστῳρ, εἰ μὴ ἠσθένησε. ὡς γὰρ ἀνέστη ἴταχιστα ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς ἀσθενείας ὁ Φράστῳρ, λαμβάνει γυναῖκα ἀστὴν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, Σατύρου μὲν τοῦ Μελιτέως θυγατέρα γνησίαν, Διφίλου δὲ ἀδελφὴν· ὁ ὑμῖν ἐστι τεκμήριον, ὅτι οὐχ ἐκὼν ἀνέλαβε τὸ παιδίον, ἀλλὰ βιασθεὶς διὰ τὸ νοσεῖν καὶ τὸ ἄπαισι εἶναι καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ τοὺς οἰκείους ἴμισεῖν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἠσθένησε Φράστῳρ, οὐκ ἂν ἀνέλαβε τὸ παιδίον.

καὶ δὴ καὶ ἄλλο τεκμήριον βούλομαι ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξαι ὅτι ξένη ἐστὶ Νεαίρα αὐτῆί. ὁ γὰρ Φράστῳρ, ἐν τῇ ἀσθενείᾳ ὢν, εἰσήγαγε τὸν Φανοῦς παῖδα εἰς τοὺς φράτερας καὶ τοὺς Βρυτίδας, ὧν Φράστῳρ ἐστὶ γεννήτης. ἀλλὰ οἱ γεννῆται, εἰδότες τὴν γυναῖκα θυγατέρα Νεαίρας οὖσαν, καὶ ἀκούσαντες Φράστορα αὐτὴν ἀποπέμψαντα, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸ ἀσθενεῖν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ παιδίον, ἀποψηφίζονται τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐνέγραφον αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ γένος. ἀλλ' εἰ ἀστῆς θυγάτηρ ἦν Φανῶ, οὐκ ἂν ἀπεψηφίσαντο τοῦ παιδὸς οἱ γεννῆται, ἀλλ' ἐνέγραψαν ἂν εἰς τὸ γένος. λαχόντος οὖν τοῦ Φράστορος αὐτοῖς δίκην, προκαλοῦνται αὐτὸν οἱ γεννῆται ὁμόσαι καθ' ἱερῶν τελείων ἢ μὴν νομίζειν τὸν παῖδα εἶναι αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐξ ἀστῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἐγγυητῆς κατὰ τὸν νόμον. προκαλουμένων δ' αὐτὸν τῶν γεννητῶν, ἔλιπεν ὁ Φράστῳρ τὸν ὄρκον καὶ ἀπῆλθε πρὶν ὁμόσαι τὸν παῖδα γνήσιον εἶναι. ἀλλ' εἰ ὁ παῖς γνήσιος ἦν καὶ ἐξ ἀστῆς γυναικὸς, ὤμοσεν ἂν.

## D

*The incident between Phrastor and Phano is reviewed by Apollodoros.*

οὐκοῦν περιφανῶς ἐπιδεικνύω ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς οἰκείους Νεαίρας ταυτησί καταμαρτυρήσαντας αὐτὴν ξένην εἶναι, Στέφανόν τε τουτονὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην νυνὶ καὶ συνοικοῦντ' αὐτῇ καὶ

Φράστορα τὸν λαβόντα τὴν θυγατέρα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Στέφανος καταμαρτυρεῖ Νεαίρας διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐθέλησαι ἀγωνίσασθαι ὑπὲρ τῆς θυγατρὸς περὶ τῆς προικὸς, Φράστῳρ δὲ μαρτυρεῖ ἐκβαλεῖν τε τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν Νεαίρας ταυτησί καὶ οὐκ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν προίκα, ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Νεαίρας καὶ Φανοῦς πεισθῆναι διὰ τὴν ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὸ ἄπαισι εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀναλαβεῖν τὸ παιδίον καὶ υἱὸν ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰσαγαγεῖν τὸν παῖδα εἰς τοὺς γεννήτας, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁμόσαι τὸν υἱὸν ἐξ ἀστῆς γυναικὸς εἶναι· ὕστερον δὲ γῆμαι γυναῖκα ἀστὴν κατὰ τὸν νόμον. αὐταὶ δὲ αἱ πράξεις, περιφανεῖς οὔσαι, μεγάλας μαρτυρίας διδόασιν, ὅτι ἤδεσαν ξένην οὖσαν τὴν Νεαίραν ταυτησί. εἰ γὰρ ἀστὴ ἦν Νεαίρα, οὐκ ἂν ἐξεπέμφθη ἢ Φανῶ. Φανῶ γὰρ ἀστὴ ἂν ἦν. καὶ δὴ καί, εἰ Φανῶ ἀστὴ ἦν, οἱ γεννήται οὐκ ἂν ἀπεψηφίσαντο τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς. διὰ οὖν τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν ὁμόσαι τὸν Φράστορα καὶ τὸ τοὺς γεννήτας τοῦ παιδὸς ἀποψηφίσασθαι, Στέφανος δῆλός ἐστιν ἀδικῶν καὶ ἀσεβῶν εἰς τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς θεούς.

## E

*Introduction*

The incident between Phrastor and Phano is the first major piece of evidence that Apollodoros brings to bear on his contention that Stephanos and Neaira are living together as man and wife.

The second incident would have appeared yet more heinous to the dikasts – for Stephanos tried to marry Phano off to a man who was standing for the office of βασιλεὺς ἄρχων, an office which entailed performing, with one's wife, some of Athens' most sacred rites on behalf of the state.

*Stephanos takes advantage of Theogenes' poverty to win political power for himself and a marriage for Phano.*

διὰ οὖν ταῦτα πάντες ἔγνωσαν τὴν Φανῶ περιφανῶς ξένην οὖσαν καὶ οὐκ ἀστὴν. σκοπεῖτε τοίνυν ὅποια ἦν ἡ ἀναίδεια ἢ τοῦ Στεφάνου καὶ Νεαίρας καὶ ὅπως τὴν πόλιν ἠδίκησαν. ἐμφανῶς γὰρ ἐτόλμησαν φάσκειν τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν Νεαίρας ἀστὴν εἶναι. ἦν γὰρ ποτε Θεογένης τις, ὃς ἔλαχε βασιλεὺς, εὐγενὴς μὲν ὢν, πένης δὲ καὶ ἄπειρος τῶν πραγμάτων. καὶ πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν τὸν Θεογένη εἰς

τὴν ἀρχὴν, χρήματα παρείχεν ὁ Στέφανος, ὡς πάρεδρος  
γενησόμενος καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς μεθέξων. ὅτε δὲ Θεογένης εἰσῆγει εἰς τὴν  
ἀρχὴν, Στέφανος οὕτως, πάρεδρος γενόμενος διὰ τὸ Θεογένει  
χρήματα παρασχεῖν, δίδωσι τὴν Νεαίρας θυγατέρα γυναῖκα  
Θεογένει καὶ ἐγγυᾶ αὐτὴν ὡς αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα οὖσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἤδει ὁ  
Θεογένης ὅτου θυγάτηρ ἐστὶ οὐδὲ ὁποῖα ἐστὶν αὐτῆς τὰ ἔθνη. οὕτω  
πολὺ τῶν νόμων καὶ ὑμῶν κατεφρόνησεν οὗτος. καὶ αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ  
ὑμῖν ἔθνε τα ἄρρητα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ εἶδεν ἂν οὐ  
προσῆκεν αὐτῇ ὄραν, ξένη οὖσα. καὶ εἰσῆλθεν οἱ οὐδεὶς ἄλλος  
'Αθηναίων εἰσέρχεται ἀλλ' ἢ ἡ τοῦ βασιλέως γυνή, ἐξεδόθη δὲ τῷ  
Διονύσῳ γυνή, ἔπραξε δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τὰ πάτρια τὰ πρὸς τοὺς  
θεοὺς, πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀπόρρητα.

βούλομαι δ' ὑμῖν ἀκριβέστερον περὶ τούτων διηγήσασθαι. οὐ  
μόνον γὰρ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων τὴν ψῆφον θήσεσθε,  
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς εὐλαβείας. δεδήλωκα τοίνυν ὑμῖν ὅτι  
Στέφανος ἀσεβέστατα πεποίηκε. τοὺς γὰρ νόμους ἀκύρους  
πεποίηκε καὶ τῶν θεῶν καταπεφρόνηκε, τὴν Νεαίρας θυγατέρα  
γυναῖκα Θεογένει βασιλεύοντι ἐκδούς. καὶ μὴν αὕτη πεποίηκε τὰ  
ἱερὰ καὶ τὰς θυσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως τέθυκεν. ὅτι δ' ἀληθῆ λέγω,  
αὐταὶ αἱ πράξεις δηλώσουσιν.

## F

The Areopagos Council finds out about Phano's true status, and calls  
Theogenes to account.

Στέφανος μὲν τοίνυν τὴν θυγατέρα γυναῖκα Θεογένει βασιλεύοντι  
ἠγγύησεν, αὕτη δὲ ἐποίει τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα. γενομένων δὲ τούτων τῶν  
ἱερῶν καὶ ἀναβάντων εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων, ἤρετο  
ἡ βουλή ἢ ἐν Ἄρειῳ πάγῳ περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν, τίς αὐτὰ ποιήσειε καὶ  
πῶς πράξειαν οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ εὐθὺς ἐζήτησε ἡ βουλή τὴν γυναῖκα  
ταύτην τὴν Θεογένους, ἣ τις εἶη. καὶ πυθομένη ἤστινος θυγατέρα  
γυναῖκα ἔχει Θεογένης καὶ ὁποῖα ποιήσειεν αὐτῇ, περὶ τῶν ἱερῶν  
πρόνοιαν ἐποιεῖτο καὶ ἐζημίον τὸν Θεογένη. γενομένων δὲ λόγων  
καὶ χαλεπῶς φερούσης τῆς ἐν Ἄρειῳ πάγῳ βουλῆς καὶ ζημιούσης  
τὸν Θεογένη ὅτι τοιαύτην λάβοι γυναῖκα καὶ ταύτην ἐάσειε ποιῆσαι  
τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἄρρητα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἐδείτο ὁ Θεογένης, ἰκετεύων  
καὶ ἀντιβολῶν. ἔλεγεν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ εἰδείη Νεαίρας αὐτὴν οὖσαν

θυγατέρα, ἀλλ' ἐξαπατηθεῖη ὑπὸ Στεφάνου, καὶ αὐτὸς λάβοι Φανῶ  
ὡς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ οὖσαν γνησίαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον· διὰ δὲ τὸ  
ἄπειρος εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τὴν ἀκακίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ  
ποιήσασθαι πάρεδρον τὸν Στέφανον, ὡς διοικήσοντα τὴν ἀρχὴν·  
εὖνον γὰρ φαίνεσθαι εἶναι τὸν Στέφανον· διὰ δὲ τοῦτο, κηδεῦσαι  
αὐτῷ πρὶν μαθεῖν σαφῶς ὁποῖος εἶη. ὅτι δέ, ἔφη, 'οὐ ψεύδομαι,  
μεγάλῳ τεκμηρίῳ ἐπιδείξω ὑμῖν. τὴν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον ἀποπέμψω ἐκ  
τῆς οἰκίας, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐστὶ Στεφάνου θυγάτηρ ἀλλὰ Νεαίρας.'  
ὑποσχομένου δὲ ταῦτα ποιήσειε Θεογένους καὶ δεομένου, ἡ ἐν  
'Αρείῳ πάγῳ βουλή, ἅμα μὲν ἐλεήσασα αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ ἄκακον εἶναι,  
ἅμα δὲ ἠγουμένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Στεφάνου ἀληθῶς ἐξαπατηθῆναι,  
ἐπέσχε. ὡς δὲ κατέβη ἐξ Ἄρειου πάγου ὁ Θεογένης, εὐθὺς τὴν τε  
ἄνθρωπον, τὴν τῆς Νεαίρας θυγατέρα, ἐκβάλλει ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας, τὸν  
τε Στέφανον, τὸν ἐξαπατήσαντα αὐτόν, ἀπελαύνει ἀπὸ τοῦ  
συνεδρίου. καὶ ἐκπεσούσης τῆς Φανούς ἐπαύσαντο οἱ Ἄρεοπαγῖται  
κρίνοντες τὸν Θεογένη καὶ ὀργιζόμενοι αὐτῷ, καὶ συγγνώμην εἶχον  
ἐξαπατηθέντι.

## EVIDENCE

'Theogenes from Erkhia deposes that when he was βασιλεὺς ἄρχων  
he married Phano, believing her to be the daughter of Stephanos  
and that, when he found he had been deceived, he divorced the  
woman and ceased to live with her, and that he expelled Stephanos  
from his post of Assistant, and no longer allowed him to serve in  
that capacity.'

## G

Komias suggests arguments that Stephanos will use to clear his name.

ΣΤΡ. ὦ τῆς ἀνομίας. πολλὰ γὰρ αἰσχρῶς διεπράξατο Στέφανος.

ΕΥ. εἰ ἀληθῆ γε λέγει Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἀσεβέστατα δὴ  
πεποιήκασιν Στέφανος καὶ Νεαίρα. τῶν γὰρ νόμων τῶν  
ὑπὲρ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν θεῶν καταπεφρονήκασιν.

ΣΤΡ. εἰκὸς γε. πολλοὶ γὰρ μεμαρτυρήκασιν αὐτοὺς  
καταπεφρονήκεναι τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῶν θεῶν. θαυμάζω  
δὲ τί ποτ' ἐρεῖ Στέφανος ἐν τῇ ἀπολογίᾳ.

ΚΩ. τοιαῦτα ἐρεῖ Στέφανος οἷα πάντες οἱ φεύγοντες ἐν τῷ

ἀπολογεῖσθαι λέγουσιν, ὡς 'εὐ πεπολίτευμαι' καὶ 'αἴτιος  
γεγένημαι οὐδεμιᾶς συμφορᾶς ἐν τῇ πόλει.' εὐ γὰρ οἶσθ'  
ὅτι πάντες οἱ φεύγοντες φάσκουσι φιλοτίμως τὰς  
λειτουργίας λειψουργηκέναι καὶ νίκας πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς  
ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι νενικηκέναι καὶ πολλὰ κάγαθὰ διαπεπράχθαι  
τῇ πόλει.

EY. εἰκότως. πολλάκις γὰρ ἀπολελύκασιν οἱ δικασταὶ τοὺς  
ἀδικοῦντας οἷ ἂν ἀποφαίνωσι τὰς τῶν προγόνων ἀρετὰς  
καὶ τὰς σφετέρας εὐεργεσίας. ἀλλ' εὐ ἴσμεν τὸν Στέφανον  
οὔτε πλούσιον ὄντα οὔτε τετριτηραρχικότα οὔτε χορηγὸν  
καθεστῶτα οὔτε εὐ πεπολιτευμένον οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν τῇ  
πόλει διαπεπραγμένον.

## H

The dikasts have found Apollodoros very persuasive.

ΣΤΡ. τί δέ; τί ποτ' ἐρεῖ Στέφανος ἐν τῷ ἀπολογεῖσθαι; ἄρα ὅτι  
ἀστὴ ἔφυ ἡ Νέαιρα καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους συνοικεῖ αὐτῷ;

ΚΩ. ἀλλὰ τεκμηρίοις ἰσχυροτάτοις κέχρηται Ἀπολλόδωρος,  
φαίνων Νέαιραν ἐταίραν οὔσαν καὶ δούλην Νικαρέτης  
γεγεννημένην, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀστὴν πεφυκυῖαν. ὥστε δῆλον ὅτι  
ἐξελεγχθήσεται ὁ Στέφανος ψευδόμενος, φάσκων τοιαῦτα.

ΣΤΡ. τί δέ; ὅτι οὐκ εἴληφε τὴν Νέαιραν ὡς γυναῖκα, ἀλλ' ὡς  
παλλακὴν ἔνδον;

EY. ἀλλὰ καταμεμαρτύρηται Στέφανος αὐτὸς ὑφ' αὐτοῦ. οἱ γὰρ  
παῖδες, Νεαίρας ὄντες καὶ εἰσηγμένοι εἰς τοὺς φρατέρας  
ὑπὸ Στεφάνου, καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ, ἀνδρὶ Ἀθηναίῳ ἐκδοθείσα,  
περιφανῶς Νέαιραν ἀποφαίνουσι συνοικοῦσαν τῷ Στεφάνῳ  
ὡς γυναῖκα.

ΣΤΡ. καὶ γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι τὰ ἀληθῆ εἴρηται ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου. ἐν  
τοῖς δεινοτάτοις οὖν κινδύνοις καθέστηκε Νέαιρα δι' ἃ  
πέπρακται ὑπὸ Στεφάνου.

EY. ἀλλ' ἀπόλωλε καὶ ὁ Στέφανος, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ· πεφύκασί τοι  
πάντες ἀμαρτάνειν.

## I

Apollodoros implicates Stephanos along with Neaira in the charges he is bringing.

τὰς μαρτυρίας οὖν ἀκηκόατε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ ἀκριβῶς  
μεμαθήκατε, Νέαιραν μὲν ξένην οὔσαν καὶ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἡσεβηκυῖαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μεγάλα ἡδίκημένοι καὶ ὑβρισμένοι. καὶ πρὶν  
δικάζειν ἴστε ὅτι οὗτος ὁ Στέφανος ἀξιός ἐστιν οὐκ ἐλάττω  
δοῦναι δίκην ἢ καὶ Νέαιρα αὐτῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῷ μείζω δι' ἃ  
εἴργασται. δεδήλωκα γὰρ αὐτόν, Ἀθηναῖον φάσκοντα εἶναι, οὔτω  
πολὺ τῶν νόμων καὶ ὑμῶν καταπεφρονηκέναι καὶ εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἡσεβηκέναι. τιμωρίαν οὖν ποιείσθε τῶν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς  
ἡσεβηκότων, καὶ κολάζετε τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἡδίκηκότας καὶ πρὸς τὸ  
ἀσεβεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ εὐσεβεῖν πεφυκότας.

## Section Thirteen A–F

### Guarding a woman's purity

#### Introduction

The evidence is over. Apollodoros has shown to his own satisfaction that Neaira is an alien and is living with Stephanos as his wife. But the matter cannot simply rest there, on the 'facts'. An appeal to the heart may carry far more weight than one to the intellect; and in an Athenian court, where there was no judge to warn the dikasts against such appeals or to guide them in what the issue at hand really was, pleas directed at the dikasts' emotions were common. Apollodoros thus makes a final emotional appeal to the dikasts and sketches an imagined picture of the likely reaction of their own womenfolk to Neaira, especially were she to be acquitted. Clearly, Apollodoros felt that the male dikasts would respond readily to such a picture.

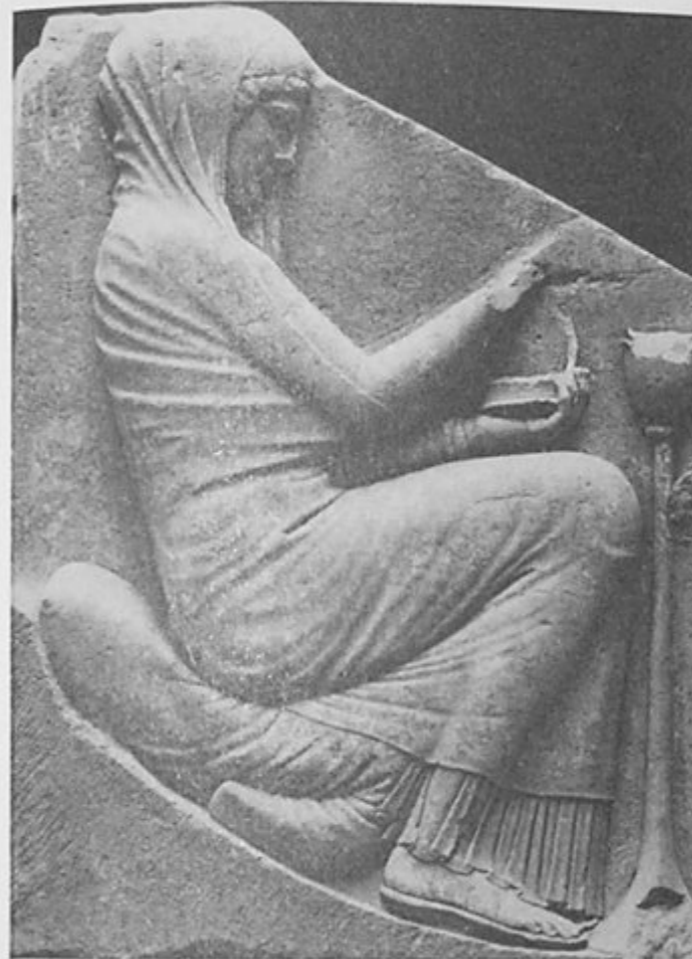
## A

How could any Athenian not condemn a woman like Neaira? The slur upon Athenian womanhood would be intolerable.

ἄρ' οὖν ἐάσετε, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τὴν Νέαιραν ταύτην αἰσχρῶς  
καὶ ὀλιγῶρως ὑβρίζειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἣν οὔτε οἱ πρόγονοι ἀσπὴν  
κατέλιπον, οὔθ' ὁ δῆμος πολίτην ἐποιήσατο; ἄρ' ἐάσετε αὐτὴν  
ἀσεβεῖν εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀτιμώρητον, ἢ περιφανῶς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ  
'Ελλάδι πεπόρνευται; ποῦ γὰρ αὕτη οὐκ εἴργασται τῷ σώματι; ἢ  
ποῖ οὐκ ἐλήλυθεν ἐπὶ τῷ καθ' ἡμέρας μισθῷ; ἄρα τὴν Νέαιραν  
περιφανῶς ἐγνωσμένην ὑπὸ πάντων τοιαύτην οὔσαν ψηφιεῖσθε  
ἀσπὴν εἶναι; καὶ τί καλὸν φήσετε πρὸς τοὺς ἐρωτῶντας

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ἢ πολίτις καὶ ἡ πόρνη

διαπεπράχθαι, οὕτω ψηφισάμενοι;

πρότερον γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἀδικήματα ταύτης ἦν, ἢ δ' ἀμέλεια τῆς  
πόλεως, πρὶν γραφῆναι ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ταύτην καὶ εἰς ἀγῶνα καταστήναι  
καὶ πυθέσθαι πάντας ὑμᾶς ἣτις ἦν καὶ οἷα ἡσέβηκεν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ  
πέπυσθε καὶ ἴστε ὑμεῖς πάντες, καὶ κύριοί ἐστε κολάσαι, ἀσεβήσετε  
καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐὰν μὴ ταύτην κολάσητε.

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## B

τί δὲ καὶ φήσειεν ἂν ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, εἰσιὼν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα  
ἢ παῖδα κόρην ἢ μητέρα, ἀποψηφισάμενος Νεαίρας; ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τις  
ἔρηται ὑμᾶς 'ποῦ ἦτε;' καὶ εἶπητε ὅτι 'ἐδικάζομεν', ἐρήσεται τις  
εὐθὺς 'τίνι ἐδικάζετε;' ὑμεῖς δὲ φήσετε 'Νεαίρα' (οὐ γάρ;) 'ὅτι ξένη  
οὔσα ἀστῶ συνοικεῖ παρὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ ὅτι τὴν θυγατέρα ἐξέδωκε  
Θεογένει τῷ βασιλεύσαντι καὶ αὕτη ἔθνε τὰ ἱερά τὰ ἄρρητα ὑπὲρ  
τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ γυνὴ ἐδόθη.' (καὶ τὰ ἄλλα περὶ τῆς  
κατηγορίας διηγῆσεσθε, ὡς εὖ καὶ ἐπιμελῶς καὶ μνημονικῶς περὶ

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ἐκάστου κατηγορήθη.) αἱ δέ, ἀκούσασαι, ἐρήσονται 'τί οὖν ἐποιήσατε;' ὑμεῖς δὲ φήσετε 'ἀπεψηφισάμεθα'. οὐκουν ἤδη αἱ σωφρονέσταται τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐπειδὴν πύθωνται, ὀργισθήσονται ὑμῖν διότι ὁμοίως αὐταῖς κατηξιούτε Νεαίραν μετέχειν τῶν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν; καὶ δὴ καὶ ταῖς ἀνοήτοις γυναιξὶ δόξετε ἄδειαν διδόναι ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούλωνται. δόξετε γὰρ ὀλίγωροι εἶναι καὶ αὐτοὶ ὁμογνώμονες τοῖς Νεαίρας τρόποις.

## C

Komias argues that the acquittal of a woman like Neaira would pose an intolerable threat to Athenian public and private life.

- ΣΤΡ. σὺ δὲ δὴ τί σιγᾶς, ὦ Εὐεργίδη, καὶ οὔτε συνεπαινεῖς τοὺς λόγους οὔτε ἐλέγχεις; ἡδομαι γὰρ ἔγωγε μάλιστα ἀκούσας τὸν λόγον ὃν διέρχεται Ἀπολλόδωρος. τί οὖν λέγεις περὶ ὧν διήλθεν; ἄρ' ἡδεῖ καὶ σύ γε τοῖς λόγοις;
- ΕΥ. μάλιστα γὰρ ἔδηπου, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε, τοῖς λόγοις ἡδομαι οἷς διελέλυθεν Ἀπολλόδωρος. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ τις καλῶς λέγῃ καὶ ἀληθῆ, τίς οὐχ ἡδεῖται ἀκούσας;
- ΣΤΡ. τί δέ; ἄρα δεῖ ἡμᾶς καταδικάσαι τῆς Νεαίρας;
- ΕΥ. πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ἐὰν γὰρ ἀποψηφισώμεθα Νεαίρας, ἐξέσται ταῖς πόρναις συνοικεῖν οἷς ἂν βούλωνται, καὶ φάσκεν τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι οὐκ ἂν τύχωσιν.
- ΣΤΡ. οὐ μόνον γε, ὦ Εὐεργίδη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μὲν καθεστῶτες νόμοι ἄκυροι ἔσονται, αἱ δὲ ἑταῖραι κύριαι διαπράττεσθαι ὅτι ἂν βούλωνται. τί φῆς, ὦ Κωμία; ἄρ' οἶοι τοὺς νόμους ἀκύρους ἔσεσθαι;
- ΚΩ. ὑμῖν μὲν μέλει τῶν τε ἑταιρῶν καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἐμοὶ δὲ οὐδὲν τούτων μέλει. τῶν γὰρ πολιτῶν μοι μέλει.
- ΣΤΡ. σοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν μέλει; πῶς φῆς; ἴσως μὲν τι λέγεις, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μανθάνω.
- ΚΩ. εἰ σὺ γυνὴ ἦσθα, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε, ἐμάνθανες ἂν, καὶ σοὶ ἂν ἔμελε τῶν πολιτῶν. σκόπει δὴ, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε.

## D

- ΚΩ. νῦν μὲν γάρ, καὶ ἐὰν ἀπορηθῆ γυνὴ τις καὶ ὁ πατήρ εἰς πενίαν καθεστήκη καὶ μὴ δύνηται προῖκα δοῦναι τῇ θυγατρὶ, ἱκανὴν τὴν προῖκα παρέχει ὁ νόμος.
- ΣΤΡ. πῶς λέγεις;
- ΚΩ. ἐὰν τις βούληται παῖδας ἀστοὺς τρέφειν, δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀστοῦ θυγατέρα γαμεῖν, εἰ καὶ πένητος ὄντος. οὕτως οἱ νομοθέται σκοποῦσιν ὅπως αἱ τῶν πολιτῶν θυγατέρες μὴ ἀνέκδοτοι γενήσονται –
- ΣΤΡ. ἐὰν ἡ φύσις μετρίαν ὄψιν τῇ κόρῃ ἀποδῶ.
- ΕΥ. τί οὖν δὴ;
- ΚΩ. ἐὰν δὲ ἀπολυθῆ Νεαίρα, ἐξέσται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνοικεῖν ταῖς ἑταῖραις καὶ παιδοποιεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν βούλωνται. ἀλλ' ἐὰν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι παιδοποιῶνται ὡς ἂν βούλωνται, πῶς ἐξέσται ἡμῖν διακρίνειν τὸν τε ἀστὸν καὶ τὸν ξένον; ἐὰν δὲ μὴ δυνώμεθα διακρίνειν τὸν τε ἀστὸν καὶ τὸν ξένον, οὐ δεήσει τοὺς Ἀθηναίους γαμεῖν τὰς ἀστέρας, ἀλλ' ἦντινα ἂν βούλωνται. ἐὰν οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι γαμῶσιν ἦντινα ἂν βούλωνται, τίς γαμεί τὰς τῶν πενήτων θυγατέρας, τὰς προῖκας μὴ ἔχουσας; παντελῶς οὖν ἡ μὲν τῶν πορνῶν ἐργασία ἦξει εἰς τὰς τῶν πολιτῶν θυγατέρας διὰ τὸ προῖκα μηδεμίαν ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐλευθέρων γυναικῶν ἀξίωμα εἰς τὰς ἑταῖρας. ἐξέσται γὰρ ταῖς ἑταῖραις παιδοποιεῖσθαι ὡς ἂν βούλωνται καὶ τελετῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ τιμῶν μετέχειν ἐν τῇ πόλει. οὕτως μοι μέλει τῶν πολιτῶν.
- ΕΥ. καλῶς μὲν διελέλυθε τὸν λόγον Ἀπολλόδωρος, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ ἀληθέστερον δὴ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπὸ Κωμίου εἴρηται. ἀλλὰ σιγᾶτε, ὦ φίλοι. παύεται γὰρ λέγων Ἀπολλόδωρος.

## E

Apollodoros appeals to the dikasts to vote in the interests of their families and of the state and its laws.

βούλομαι οὖν ἕνα ἕκαστον ὑμῶν εἰδέναι ὅτι τίθεσαι τὴν ψήφον ὁ μὲν ὑπὲρ γυναικός, ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ θυγατρός, ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ μητρός, ὁ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. μὴ οὖν τιμᾶτε

αὐτὰς ὁμοίως Νεαίρα τῇ πόρνη. τρέφετε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τρέφετε αὐτὰς μετὰ πολλῆς καὶ καλῆς σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐπιμελείας, καὶ ἐκδίδοτε κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. Νεαίρα δέ, μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀσελγῶν τρόπων, πολλοῖς πολλακίς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συγγεγένηται. καὶ ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ κατηγορεῖν γένησθε, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἀκούετε, δι' ὧν οἰκοῦμεν τὴν πόλιν, καὶ καθ' οὓς ὁμωμόκατε δικάσειν. ὅταν δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀπολογεῖσθαι ἦτε, μνημονεύετε τὴν τῶν νόμων κατηγορίαν καὶ τὸν τῶν εἰρημένων ἔλεγχον ὃν ἀκηκόατε. καὶ ὅταν εἰς τὴν Νεαίρας ὄψιν ἀποβλέπητε, ἐνθυμείσθε τοῦτο μόνον, εἰ Νεαίρα οὐσα ταῦτα διαπέπρακται.

## F

The dikasts await the speech for the defence – and their pay.

- EY. εἶεν. τοσαύτη ἢ γε κατηγορία ἦν διελήλυθεν Ἀπολλόδωρος. τὴν δὲ ἀπολογία τὴν τοῦ Στεφάνου νῦν δεῖ ἡμᾶς ἀκούειν, ἀκούσαντας δὲ τὴν ψήφον θέσθαι.
- ΣΤΡ. ἀλλὰ τί ἐρῶ, ὅταν οἱ παῖδες οἱ ἐμοὶ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἔρωνται πότερον κατεδίκασα ἢ ἀπεψηφισάμην;
- EY. εἰ μὲν καταδικασθῆ Νεαίρα, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε, ἐρεῖς ὅτι κατεδίκασας, εἰ δὲ ἀπολυθῆ, ὅτι ἀπεψηφίσω.
- ΣΤΡ. πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ἀλλὰ καίπερ προθυμούμενος οὐχ οἶός τ' εἰμὶ μνημονεύειν τὴν κατηγορίαν· περιέλκει γάρ με κύκλω ὁ κατήγορος, ὥσπερ σοφιστής τις, καὶ εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν με καθίστησιν.
- ΚΩ. καὶ περιέλξει σε κύκλω ὁ ἀπολογούμενος, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε.
- ΣΤΡ. πῶς οὖν μοι ἐξέσται διακρίνειν τὴν δίκην;
- EY. πρῶτον μὲν ἄκουσον, ἔπειτα δὲ διάκρινον.
- ΣΤΡ. εἶεν. ὅταν δὲ τὴν ψήφον θώμεθα, τί;
- ΚΩ. ὅ τι; ἐκ τῆς ἔδρας ἀνεστῶτες καὶ τὴν ψήφον θέμενοι, τὸ τριώβολον ληψόμεθα, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε. ἡδιστον δὴ ἐστὶ τοῦτο, ὅταν οἴκαδ' ἴω, τὸ τριώβολον ἔχων ἐν τῷ στόματι, καὶ πάντες οἱ οἰκείοι ἀσπάζονται με διὰ τὸ τριώβολον.
- EY. εἰκότως. ἀλλὰ παῦε φλυαρῶν, ὦ Κωμία. ἀνέστηκε γὰρ ἡδη Στέφανος ὡς ἀπολογησόμενος. σιγῆς ἄν, καὶ τὸν νοῦν προσέχοις ἄν. καὶ σύ γε, ὦ Στρυμόδωρε, ὅπως μνημονεύσεις τὰ εἰρημένα ὑπὸ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ προσέξεις τὸν νοῦν πρὸς πάνθ' ἃ ἄν λέγη Στέφανος.

So ends the speech for the prosecution of Neaira. To the questions 'What did Stephanos reply? Who won?' we have no answer. But however damning Apollodoros' case may seem, it has a number of weaknesses that Stephanos would have exploited. Firstly, he could claim that Neaira was no wife of his, but simply a 'kept woman' (ἐταίρα), a normal practice in ancient Athens. Secondly, he could claim that Phano was not Neaira's child, but his own by a previous citizen woman, and therefore fully entitled to Athenian citizenship (and one may imagine how emotionally he would have described to the jury how his own dear child had had her reputation slurred simply because of his perfectly normal extra-marital relationship with Neaira). If you have read Apollodoros' evidence on one side of the case, there is absolutely no doubt at all that Stephanos would have produced plenty of quite contrary evidence on the other side. Apollodoros' case rested on his claim that by passing off Phano as free-born, Stephanos and Neaira have asserted the validity of their marriage and that this is an act of criminal collusion in which they are both implicated. His pleas for the preservation of public morality against the threat of people like Neaira must have added considerable emotional weight to his argument. If the birth of citizen children from marriage was the *sole* criterion for judging whether two people were married or not, Apollodoros had not a leg to stand on. The fact that he still brought the case illustrates that there were many other considerations which could sway the jury.

Whatever your feelings about the people involved (and remember you have heard only one side of the argument), bear in mind, as you leave Neaira to whatever fate she met, that at the time of the trial she was probably between fifty and sixty, and that a great number of the incidents referred to must have happened anything up to fifty years previously; and that she had been living with Stephanos in Athens for up to thirty years before this case. Apollodoros' desire for revenge was strong, and he left few stones unturned in his quest for it, however deeply time had buried them. One is left reflecting on what Neaira herself must have been thinking as her past was so ruthlessly dug up in the cause of Apollodoros' revenge on her man.



## Section Fourteen A–C

### *Alkestis in Euripides' play*

#### Introduction

The extracts from *The Prosecution of Neaira* may have given you one impression of the responsibilities, dignity and status of Athenian women, and of other women, seen through the eyes of one man. In the following brief extract, taken from Greek drama – the circumstances and conventions of which place it on a far different level from a speech in a courtroom (though both are written to win – the one a case, the other a dramatic prize) – you may receive a quite different impression, and one no less important than that given by *Neaira*.

The god Apollo, sentenced by Zeus to live a life of serfdom to a mortal (because he had killed Zeus' firemakers, the Cyclopes), serves his time under the human Admetos and, finding Admetos a pious man, tricks the Fates into offering him a reprieve from imminent death – on the condition that another will die in his place. No one can be found, except Admetos' wife, Alkestis. The day has now come on which Death is to take Alkestis away.

#### Note

For verse metre, see *Grammar*, 179, 228. The text is unadapted.

#### Wedding preparations



## A

A Chorus (χορός) of townsmen has come to Admetos' palace to find out whether Alkestis is already dead. A maidservant (θεράπαινα) comes weeping from Alkestis' rooms; she heartily agrees with the Chorus' praise of Alkestis' noble death, and describes Alkestis' last actions and her prayer for her husband and children.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ἴστω νυν εὐκλεῆς γε κατθανουμένη  
 γυνή τ' ἀρίστη τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ μακρῶ. 10  
 ΘΕΡΑΠΑΙΝΑ πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀρίστη; τίς δ' ἐναντιώσεται;  
 τί χρὴ γενέσθαι τὴν ὑπερβεβλημένην  
 γυναικα; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐνδείξαιτό τις  
 πόσιν προτιμῶσ' ἢ θέλουσ' ὑπερθανεῖν; 15  
 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πᾶσ' ἐπίσταται πόλις·  
 ἃ δ' ἐν δόμοις ἔδρασε θαυμάση κλύων.  
 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦσθεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κυρίαν  
 ἤκουσαν, ὕδασι ποταμίοις λευκὸν χροῖα  
 ἐλούσατ', ἐκ' δ' ἔλουσα κεδρίνων δόμων 20  
 ἐσθήτα κόσμον τ' εὐπρεπῶς ἠσκήσατο,  
 καὶ στᾶσα πρόσθεν Ἑστίας κατηύξατο·  
 'δέσποινα, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔρχομαι κατὰ χθονός,  
 πανύστατόν σε προσπίτνουσ' αἰτήσομαι,  
 τέκν' ὀρφανεῦσαι τὰμά· καὶ τῷ μὲν φίλην 25  
 σύζευξον ἄλοχον, τῇ δὲ γενναῖον πόσιν.  
 μηδ' (ὥσπερ αὐτῶν ἢ τεκούσ' ἀπόλλυμαι)  
 θανεῖν ἄωρους παῖδας, ἀλλ' εὐδαίμονας  
 ἐν γῆ πατρώᾳ τερπνὸν ἐκπλήσαι βίον.'

## B

The servant describes Alkestis' calm, and then her breakdown as she approaches her marriage bed.

πάντας δὲ βωμούς, οἳ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους,  
 προσῆλθε κάξέστεψε καὶ προσῆύξατο,  
 ἄκλαυτος ἀστένακτος, οὐδὲ τοῦπιόν  
 κακὸν μεθίστη χρωτὸς εὐεῖδη φύσιν.  
 κάπειτα θάλαμον ἐσπεσοῦσα καὶ λέχος, 40



παῖδες δὲ πέπλων μητρὸς ἐξηρτημένοι  
ἔκλαιον

ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἴδ' ἀδάκρυσε καὶ λέγει τάδε·  
 ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένει' ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ  
 κορεύματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, οὐ θνήσκω πέρι,  
 χαῖρ'· οὐ γὰρ ἐχθαίρω σ'· ἀπώλεσας δ' ἐμέ  
 μόνην· προδοῦναι γάρ σ' ὄκνουσα καὶ πόσιν  
 θνήσκω. σὲ δ' ἄλλη τις γυνὴ κεκτήσεται,  
 σώφρων μὲν οὐκ ἂν μᾶλλον, εὐτυχῆς δ' ἴσως.'

25

30

## C

The reaction of her children and servants is described – and finally, Admetos' tearful lament.

35

κυνεὶ δὲ προσπίτνουσα, πᾶν δὲ δέμνιον  
 ὀφθαλμοτέγκτω δεύεται πλημμυρίδι.  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλῶν δακρύων εἶχεν κόρον,  
 στείχει προνωπῆς ἐκπεσοῦσα δεμνίων,

40

καὶ πολλὰ θαλάμων ἐξιούσ' ἐπεστράφη  
 κᾶρριψεν αὐτὴν αὐθις ἐς κοίτην πάλιν.  
 παῖδες δὲ πέπλων μητρὸς ἐξηρτημένοι  
 ἔκλαιον· ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσ' ἐς ἀγκάλας  
 ἠσπάζετ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον, ὡς θανουμένη.  
 πάντες δ' ἔκλαιον οἰκέται κατὰ στέγας  
 δέσποιναν οἰκτίροντες. ἢ δὲ δεξιὰν  
 προὔτειν' ἐκάστω, κοῦτις ἦν οὕτω κακὸς  
 ὃν οὐ προσεῖπε καὶ προσερρήθη πάλιν.  
 τοιαῦτ' ἐν οἴκοις ἐστὶν Ἀδμήτου κακά.  
 καὶ κατθανῶν τᾶν ὤλετ', ἐκφυγῶν δ' ἔχει  
 τοσοῦτον ἄλγος, οὐ ποτ' – οὐ λελήσεται.

5

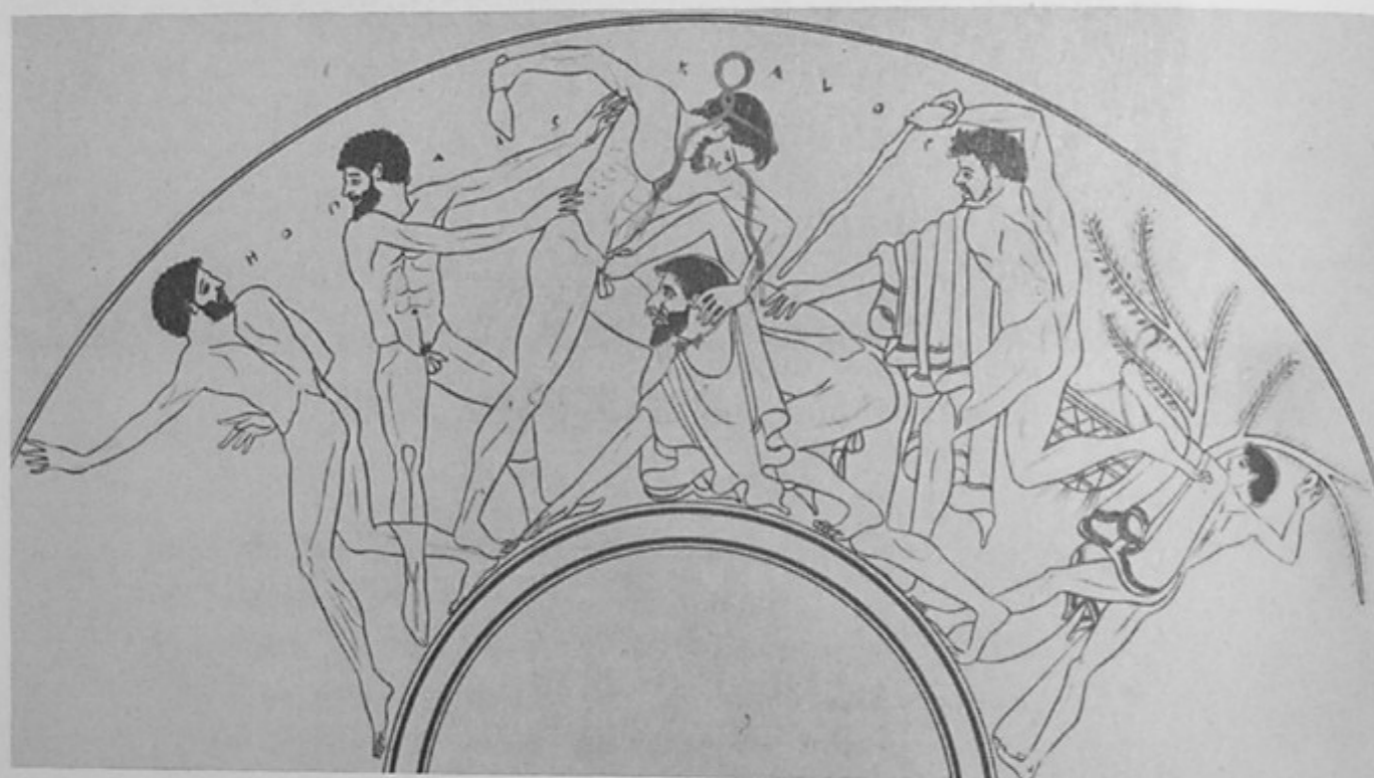
10

ΧΟΡΟΣ ἢ που στενάζει τοισίδ' Ἀδμητος κακοῖς,  
 ἐσθλῆς γυναικὸς εἰ στερηθῆναί σφε χρή;

ΘΕΡ. κλαίει γ' ἄκοιτιν ἐν χεροῖν φίλην ἔχων,  
 καὶ μὴ προδοῦναι λίσσεται, τὰμήχανα  
 ζητῶν· φθίνει γὰρ καὶ μαραίνεται νόσῳ.  
 παρειμένη δέ, χειρὸς ἄθλιον βάρος,  
 ὅμως δὲ (καίπερ σμικρὸν) ἐμπνέουσ' ἔτι  
 βλέψαι πρὸς αὐγὰς βούλεται τὰς ἡλίου  
 ὡς οὐποτ' αὐθις, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον.

15

20



A fight

## PART FIVE

### *Athenian views of justice*

#### *Introduction*

A number of Greek writers and thinkers were greatly concerned with the question of the nature of justice – what is it? What should it be? What is the relationship between justice and law? Why should one be so concerned about it? What are the origins of law and justice in our society?

The extracts from *Neaira* have already shown you something of legal process. Part Five concentrates on the actual workings of justice in the Athenian world, and shows the problems of enforcing it and making it work. It ends with a *μῦθος*, ascribed by Plato to the Greek sophist Protagoras (*Πρωταγόρας*), which explains the origins of human civilisation and shows how *δίκη* became an essential ingredient of it.

#### *Sources*

Demosthenes 47, *Against Mnesiboulos and Euergos* (*pass.*).

Plato, *Phaidros* (*pass.*), and other dialogues.

Plato, *Protagoras* 321d–323a

#### *Time to be taken*

Five weeks

## Sections Fifteen to Sixteen

### Official and private justice

Aristarkhos had been appointed in succession to Theophemos as a trierarch, whose duty it was to equip and man, at his own expense, a trireme of the Athenian navy. It was Theophemos' duty to hand over the ship's gear to his successor, but this he refused to do. In his attempts to recover the gear Aristarkhos got into a fight with Theophemos: Theophemos then brought a charge of assault and battery which he won, thanks to false evidence and the suppression of the testimony of a slave woman. Aristarkhos sought an extension of time in which to pay the fine, but at this Theophemos and a bunch of friends descended on Aristarkhos' farm, grabbing all they could lay their hands on and mauling an old servant so badly that she subsequently died.

Aristarkhos is uncertain what action he can take against Theophemos, and consults the *Exegetai*, state officials who advised on what to do in cases of murder. He is returning home when he meets Apollodoros, and tells him the whole story.

Note

Aristarkhos' monologue is almost entirely unadapted.

## Section Fifteen A–H

### Official justice: ships, state and individuals

#### A

*Aristarkhos is on his way home from the agora where he has been taking the advice of the Exegetai about the death of a faithful servant. By the city gate he meets Apollodoros, who is taking a walk outside the walls. Aristarkhos agrees to tell Apollodoros the whole story.*

πορεύεται ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος εὐθὺς Ἰλισοῦ, τὴν ἔξω τείχους ὁδὸν  
βαδίζων ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τείχος. ἐπειδὴ δὲ γίγνεται κατὰ τὴν πύλην,  
ἐνταῦθα συντυγχάνει Ἀριστάρχῳ τῷ Ἀριστῶνος πάνυ  
ἀθύμως ἔχοντι. καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον προσιόντα ὁ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἰδὼν  
προσαγορεύει. 20

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ ποῖ δὴ πορεύει καὶ πόθεν, ὦ Ἀρίσταρχε;  
ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς, ὦ Ἀπολλόδωρε, πορεύομαι οἴκαδε. 25

ΑΠ. ἀλλὰ, ὦ βέλτιστε, δοκεῖς μοι ἀθύμως ἔχειν. ἔοικας γὰρ  
βαρέως φέρειν τι. εἰπέ οὖν, τί βουλόμενος ἐν ἀγορᾷ  
διέτριβες;

ΑΡ. ἦλθον, ὦ Ἀπολλόδωρε, πρὸς τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς. 30

ΑΠ. τί φῆς; περὶ καθάρσεως, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἢ περὶ ταφῆς πρὸς  
αὐτοὺς ἦλθες;

ΑΡ. μάλιστά γε, ὦ φίλε. ὀργιζόμενος γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ τινὶ  
ὑβριστῇ, Θεοφῆμῳ ὀνόματι, δι' ἃ ἐπεποιήκει, οὕτως ἦλθον.  
οὗτος γὰρ ἠδικήκει με μάλιστα, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ χωρίον καὶ  
ὑβρίζων εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ δὴ καὶ φονεύσας γραῦν τινα,  
ἀπελευθέραν οὖσαν. ταύτην οὖν τὴν συμφορὰν ἐνθυμούμενος 35  
καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενος τοῦτον, ὡς τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς  
ἦλθον, διεξελθόντι δέ μοι ἃ ἐπεπόνθη ἐγὼ καὶ Θεοφῆμος  
διεπέπρακτο, οὐκ ἔφασαν ἐξεῖναι τιμωρεῖσθαι τρόπῳ ᾧ ἐν  
νῶ εἶχον. 40

## B

- ΑΠ. μὴ ἀπορήσης, ὦ Ἀρίσταρχε, μηδὲ ἀθυμῆσης ἔτι. καὶ γὰρ οὐ δεῖ βαρέως φέρειν τὰ γεγενημένα οὐδὲ ἀθυμεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἀθυμητέον ἀλλὰ προθυμητέον. ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἄρα σκεπτέον ἡμῖν 5  
περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. μὴ οὖν μ' ἀτιμάσης, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τρόπῳ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν προθυμοῦ τοῦτο, ὅπως σαφέστατά μοι τὸ πρᾶγμα διέξει. εἰπέ οὖν, ὦ βέλτιστε, καὶ μὴ ἀποκρύψης μηδέν.
- ΑΡ. ἀλλὰ φοβοῦμαι μὴ σ' ἀπολέσω λέγων. οὐ γὰρ βραχὺς ὁ λόγος. 10
- ΑΠ. μὴ φοβοῦ μὴ τοῦτο γένηται. σχολὴ γάρ μοι ἐστίν. εἰπέ οὖν καὶ μὴ ἐπίσχης.
- ΑΡ. διηγητέον ἄρα μοι πάντα ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ὡς ἔοικε. καὶ δὴ, ὦ Ἀπολλόδωρε, προσήκουσά γέ σοι ἡ ἀκοή. σὺ γὰρ 15  
κατήγορος δεινὸς εἶ καὶ ἐπιεικῶς ἔμπειρος περὶ τὰ δικανικά. τί δέ; ἄρα περίπατον ποιούμενος βούλη ἀκούειν, ἢ καθήμενος; πάντως δὲ ἢ ὁδὸς ἢ παρὰ τὸν Ἴλισόν ἐπιτηδεῖα πορευομένοις καὶ λέγειν καὶ ἀκούειν.
- ΑΠ. πῶς δ' οὐ; οὐπω γὰρ πνίγός ἐστι τὸ νῦν. ἐγὼ γὰρ μάλιστα 20  
ἐπιθυμῶ ἀκούσαι, ἵνα σοι βοηθήσω ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ὄντι καὶ ἀθυμοῦντι. ὥστε, ἐὰν βαδίζων ποιῇ τὸν περίπατον καὶ Μέγαράδε, οὐ παύσομαι ἐπόμενός σοι, ἵνα τὰ γεγενημένα μάθω. σὺ δὲ λέγε, ἵνα ἀκούσας μετὰ σοῦ συμβουλευσώμαι.
- ΑΡ. πάντῃ μὲν οὖν. χάριν γὰρ εἶσομαί σοι, ἐὰν ἀκούης. 25
- ΑΠ. καὶ μὴν καὶ γὰρ σοι, ἐὰν λέγῃς.
- ΑΡ. διπλῆ ἂν εἴη ἡ χάρις. ἀλλ' οὖν ἄκουε. 30

## C

Aristarkhos tells how his feud with Theophemos arose. In a time of state crisis, Aristarkhos had been appointed a trierarch, but Theophemos had refused to co-operate with him.

- βούλομαι οὖν σοι διηγήσασθαι ὅθεν ἐγένετο ἡ ἔχθρα πρὸς 35  
Θεόφημον, ἵνα μάθῃς τί ἐγένετο καὶ γινώσκῃς ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐμὲ ἠδίκησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τε δῆμον καὶ τὴν βουλήν. ἔτυχον γὰρ ἐγὼ τριηραρχῶν, καὶ τριηραρχοῦντα ἔδει με τὰ σκεύη καὶ τὴν τριήρη παρὰ Θεοφήμου παραλαβεῖν· εὐ γὰρ οἶσθα ὅτι δεῖ τὸν 40

τριηραρχήσαντα, ἐξιούσης τῆς ἀρχῆς, παραδοῦναι τὴν τε τριήρη καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῷ μέλλοντι τριηραρχῆσειν, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὸς δύνηται παρασκευάζειν τὴν ναῦν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ δέον τὸν Θεόφημον ἀποδοῦναι τὰ σκεύη, οὐ παρέλαβον ἐγὼ παρὰ τούτου τῶν σκευῶν οὐδέν. καὶ δὴ καί, ἦν τότε, ὅτε τριηραρχῆσειν ἔμελλον, κίνδυνος 5  
μέγας τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν τῶν συμμάχων στάσιν, ὥστε ἔδει τοὺς τριηράρχους διὰ τᾶχος τριήρων βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλειν. ἀλλὰ καίπερ δέον ἡμᾶς ὡς τᾶχιστα ἀποστέλλειν τὰς ναῦς, σκεύη ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ οὐχ ὑπῆρχε ταῖς ναῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀπέδωκαν τὰ σκεύη οἱ ὀφείλοντες, ἐν οἷς ἦν Θεόφημος. 10

πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἦν ἄφθονα ὀθόνια καὶ στυππεῖον καὶ σχοινία, ὥστε οὐκ ἐξῆν πρίασθαι. καὶ οὐκ ἐξὸν πρίασθαι, οὐδὲ τῶν ὀφειλόντων ἀποδόντων, γράφει Χαιρέδημος ψήφισμα ἵνα ἡμεῖς οἱ καθεστῶτες τριήραρχοι προστάττωμεν καὶ ἀναγκάζωμεν τοὺς τριηραρχήσαντας ἀποδοῦναι τὰ σκεύη, ὅς ἂν μὴ 15  
ἀποδιδῶ. καὶ δὴ ἡμᾶς κελεύει τὸ ψήφισμα κομίζεσθαι τὰ σκεύη

## Ship's gear

The city kept meticulous lists of the equipment which each trierarch was supposed to have in order to equip his ship. The following is an excerpt from an inscription detailing such equipment.

ὅσοι τῶν τριηράρχων γεγραμμένοι εἰσὶν ἔχοντες εἰς πλοῦν ἐντελῆ σκεύη κρεμαστά ἢ ξύλινα, ὅσοι μὲν κρεμαστά, τάδε ἔχουσιν· ὑποζώματα, ἰστόν, τοπεῖα, ὑπόβλημα, κατάβλημα, παραρύματα λευκά, παραρύματα τρίχυνα, σχοινία ὀκτωδάκτυλα ||||, ἐξδάκτυλα ||||, ἀγκύρας σιδηρᾶς ||· ὅσοι δὲ ξύλινα, ἔχουσιν ταρρόν, πηδάλια, κλιμακίδας, ἰστόν, κεραίας, κοντούς. 'All the trierarchs who are listed as having gear complete for their voyage, whether hanging or wooden, have the following: those with hanging gear, swifters, sails, sail-tackle, hypoblema, katablema, canvas side-screens, hair side-screens, 4 heavy ropes of eight fingers, 4 heavy ropes of six fingers, 2 iron anchors: those with wooden gear have a set of oars, steering-oars, ladders, a mast, sail-yards, poles.'

|              |   |
|--------------|---|
| swifters     | heavy cables passed around the outside of a ship's hull and made tight, to hold the fabric together |
| hypoblema    | unknown   |
| katablema    |   |
| side-screens | for the protection of the rowers during battle  |

(From: *Inscriptiones Graecae*, II, 2, 1627)

τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν δυνώμεθα, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα τὰς ναῦς παρασκευάζωμεν καὶ βοήθειαν ἀποστέλλωμεν.

πολλὴ οὖν ἦν μοι ἀνάγκη κομίζεσθαι τὰ σκεύη ἵνα τὴν ναῦν παρασκευάζοιμι καὶ παρασκευάσας ἀποστέλλοιμι ὡς τάχιστα. δέον οὖν με ταῦτα ποιεῖν, Θεοφῆμῳ προσῆλθον ἵνα τὰ σκεύη κομισαίμην.

## D

Since Theophemos is not at home, Aristarkhos approaches Theophemos' brother Euergos for information about their property.

ἀλλὰ ἀπόντος Θεοφῆμου καὶ οὐκ ἐξόν μοι ἰδεῖν, προσελθὼν τῷ Εὐέργῳ, τῷ τοῦ Θεοφῆμου ἀδελφῷ, ἀπήτησα τὰ σκεύη καὶ ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν φράσαι Θεοφῆμῳ. ἔστι γὰρ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ψήφισμα κομίζεσθαι τὰ σκεύη, ὅποταν οἱ ὀφείλοντες μὴ ἀποδιδῶσι, τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν δυνώμεθα. ἐκέλευον μὲν οὖν ἐγώ, καὶ διέλιπον ἡμέρας τινάς, ἵνα Εὐεργὸς φράσειε Θεοφῆμῳ, Εὐεργὸς δὲ οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὰ σκεύη, ἀλλὰ κακὰ μ' ἔλεγεν. παραλαβὼν οὖν μάρτυρας ὡς πλείστους ἡρόμην αὐτὸν πότερον κοινῇ εἶη ἢ οὐσία ἢ οὐ, ἐρομένῳ δέ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο Εὐεργὸς ὅτι κοινῇ οὐκ εἶη ἢ οὐσία καὶ χωρὶς οἰκοῖη ὁ ἀδελφός.

πυθόμενος οὖν ἄλλοθεν οὐ οἰκεῖ Θεοφῆμος, καὶ λαβὼν ὑπηρέτην παρὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Θεοφῆμου οἰκίαν ἵνα αὐτὸν ἴδοιμι.

## E

Aristarkhos demands the gear from Theophemos.

κόψας δὲ τὴν θύραν, ἡρόμην ὅπου εἶη, ἀποκρίνεται δὲ ἡ ἄνθρωπος ὅτι 'οὐκ ἔνδον, ὅπου ἂν νῦν γε τυγχάνη ᾧν.' καταλαβὼν οὖν αὐτὸν ἔνδον οὐκ ὄντα, ἐκέλευον τὴν ἄνθρωπον τὴν ὑπακούσασαν μετελθεῖν αὐτὸν ὅπου ᾧν τυγχάνοι. ὡς δ' ἀφικνεῖται Θεοφῆμος, μετελθούσης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ἀπήτουν αὐτὸν τὸ διάγραμμα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἐδείκνυον τὸ ψήφισμα τῆς βουλῆς, ὃ ἐκέλευέ με κομίζεσθαι τὰ

σκεύη τρόπῳ ᾧ δυναίμην. καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ἐγὼ μόνος οὕτως ἔπραξα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν τριηράρχων, ὅποτε τις τὰ σκεύη μὴ ἀποδιδοίη.

ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἐδείχθη τὸ ψήφισμα ἐκείνῳ καὶ ἀπητήθη τὸ διάγραμμα, ὃ Θεοφῆμος οὐκ ἀπεδίδου. πρὶν οὖν ἄλλο τι ποιῆσαι, ἐκέλευον τὸν παῖδα καλέσαι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ πολίτας, εἴ τινες ἴδοι, ἵνα μάρτυρές μοι εἶεν τῶν λεχθέντων. καλέσαντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ παρόντων μαρτύρων τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κληθέντων, ἐκέλευον πάλιν ἐγὼ τὸν Θεοφῆμον ἢ αὐτὸν ἀκολουθεῖν πρὸς τὴν βουλήν, εἴ μὴ φησιν ὀφείλειν τὰ σκεύη, ἢ ἀποδιδόναι τὰ σκεύη. εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἔλεγον ὅτι ληψοίμην ἐνέχυρα κατὰ τε τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψήφισματα.

## F

Theophemos refuses to comply and a fight at the house ensues. Worsted, Aristarkhos takes his grievance to the βουλή, who encourage him to bring a (successful) case against Theophemos.

ἐθέλοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν τούτων ποιεῖν, καίπερ κελευσθέντος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἦγον τὴν ἄνθρωπον ἐστηκυῖαν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ, τὴν μετελθούσαν αὐτόν, ἵνα μάρτυρα ἔχοιμι. καὶ ὁ Θεοφῆμός με ἀφηρείτο αὐτήν, καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν μὲν ἄνθρωπον ἀφήκα, εἰς δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσῆα ἵνα ἐνέχυρόν τι λάβοιμι τῶν σκευῶν. ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ θύρα ἀνεωγμένη. καὶ πρὶν εἰσιέναι, ἐπεπύσμη ὅτι οὐ γεγαμηκῶς εἶη. εἰσιόντος δέ μου, παίει πύξ τὸ στόμα ὁ Θεοφῆμος καὶ ἐγώ, ἐπιμαρτυράμενος τοὺς παρόντας, ἡμυνάμην.

ἐπειδὴ οὖν τὰ ἐνέχυρα ἐλήφθη ὑπὸ Θεοφῆμου, καὶ συνεκόπη ἐγώ, ἦλθον εἰς τὴν βουλήν ἵνα δείξαιμι τὰς πληγὰς καὶ εἶποιμι πάνθ' ἃ πεπονθῶς ἢ κομιζόμενος τὰ σκεύη τῇ πόλει. ἡ δὲ βουλή, ἀγανακτήσασα ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεπόνθη καὶ ἰδοῦσα ὡς διεκέειμην ὑπὸ Θεοφῆμου, ἐβούλετο αὐτὸν ἀλῶναι καὶ ζημιωθῆναι. ἐκελεύσθη οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς εἰσαγγέλλειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀδικοῦντα καὶ διακωλύοντα τὸν ἀπόστολον. ἠγγῆσατο γὰρ ἡ βουλή ὑβρισθῆναι οὐκ ἐμὲ ἀλλ' ἑαυτὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὸν νόμον. καὶ γὰρ εὖ ᾔδει ἡ βουλή ὅτι εἰσαγγελθεὶς ὁ Θεοφῆμος ἀλώσεται καὶ ζημιωθήσεται. γενομένης τοίνυν τῆς κρίσεως ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ πυθομένων τῶν βουλευτῶν τὴν πόλιν ὑβρισθῆσαν καὶ ἀδικηθέντα ἐμὲ, ἐάλω ὁ Θεοφῆμος καὶ ἐζημιώθη. καὶ ἐξὸν ταῖς πεντακοσίαις δραγμαῖς ζημιῶσαι αὐτόν, ἐγώ, καίπερ ἀδικηθεὶς, μέτριος καὶ ἐπιεικῆς ἐγενόμην καὶ συνεχώρησα πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι δραγμαῖς.

## G

The heat of the day is too much for Apollodoros, who asks for a rest in the shade by the river. Aristarkhos now explains how the tables were turned on him by Theophrastos.

- ΑΠ. ἐπεικῆς δὴ καὶ μέτριος ἐγένου περὶ ὧν ἐπεποιήκει ὁ Θεόφημος, ὦ Ἀρίσταρχε. ἀλλὰ τί οὐ παυόμεθα περιπατοῦντες; πνίγος γὰρ γίγνεται νῦν, καὶ ἐὰν πλεον περιπατήσω, εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καταστήσομαι. παυόμεθα οὖν, ἕως ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας συλλέγω ἑμαυτόν. 10
- ΑΡ. οὕτως οὖν ποιητέον, εἴ σοι δοκεῖ. παυόμεθα οὖν καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καθιζώμεθα παρὰ τὸν Ἰλισόν, ἕως ἂν ἡπιώτερον γένηται τὸ πνίγος.
- ΑΠ. προάγε δὴ, καὶ σκοπῶμεν ἅμα ὅπου καθιζήσομεθα. 15
- ΑΡ. ὄρας οὖν ἐκείνην τὴν ὑψηλοτάτην πλάτανον;
- ΑΠ. τί μῆν;
- ΑΡ. ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶ καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον καὶ ποὰ καθίζεσθαι, ἐὰν βουλώμεθα. ἐκεῖσε οὖν ἴωμεν, ἵνα καθιζώμεθα ἀναπαυόμενοι. 20
- ΑΠ. προάγοις ἂν. νῆ τὴν Ἑραν, καλὴ γέ ἡ καταγωγὴ. νῦν οὖν δεῦρο ἀφικόμενοι μένωμεν ἕως ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας συλλέγω ἑμαυτόν. 25
- ἀλλὰ σύ, ὦ Ἀρίσταρχε, ὡς ἔφησ, ἐνίκησας τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν. τί οὖν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα; πῶς πρὸς σέ διέκειτο ὁ Θεόφημος; κακῶς, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τεκμαιρομένῳ τῇ σῇ ἀθυμίᾳ. τί οὖν οὐ διατελεῖς τὸν λόγον διηγούμενος, εἰ μὴ τί σε κωλύει; ὡς μοι δοκῶ καθέξειν σε ἐνθάδε ἕως ἂν εἴπῃς ἅπαντα.
- ΑΡ. ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδέν γε κωλύει με διατελεῖν διεξιόντα τὸν λόγον, ἕως ἂν λεχθῇ ἅπαντα. ἄκουε οὖν, ἵνα σαφέστερον μάθῃς. 30

## H

ἐνενηκῆκη τοίνυν ἐγὼ τὴν εἰσαγγελίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο, φασίν, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ κακοῦ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Θεόφημος, αὐτίκα μάλα ἐνθυμούμενος τὴν καταδίκην καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι βουλόμενος, 5

ἔλαχέ μοι δίκην αἰκείας, φάσκων ἐμὲ ἄρξαι τῶν πληγῶν τῶν ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ. ἐγὼ δ' ἡσύχαζον, οὐ φοβούμενος μὴ καταδικάσειαν ἐμοῦ οἱ δικασταί. ἤκιστα γὰρ ἡγούμην 10

ἐξελεγχθήσεσθαι, ἀναίτιος ὢν. ὁ δὲ Θεόφημος, ψευδεῖς παρασχόμενος μάρτυρας, Εὐεργον τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ 10

Μνησίβουλον τὸν κηδεστήν, καὶ ὑποσχόμενος παραδώσειν τὸ σῶμα τῆς ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ ἐστηκυίας (ὃ οὐ πεποιήκε), ἐξηπάτησε τοὺς δικαστάς, οἱ ὑπὲρ Θεοφῆμου 15

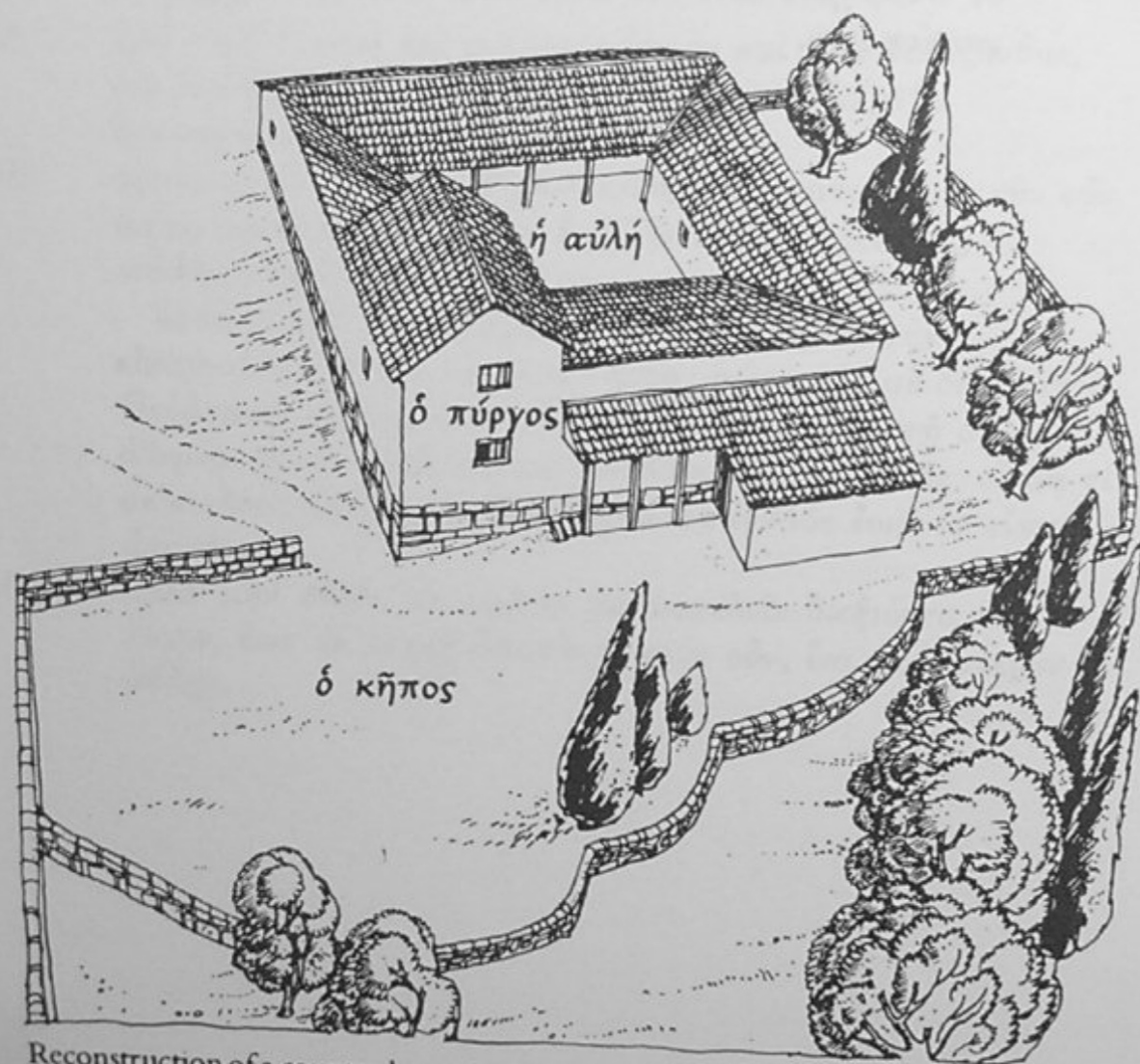
ἐπέισθησαν τὴν ψῆφον θέσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν οὕτω ζημιωθείς, οὐ πολλαῖς ἡμέραις ὕστερον προσελθὼν Θεοφῆμῳ ἐκέλευον ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν ἀκολουθοῦντα κομίζεσθαι τὴν καταδίκην. ὁ δὲ Θεόφημος ἀντὶ τοῦ καταδίκην ἀπολαβεῖν ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον μου.



ὕδρια χαλκῆ



ἐκφορεῖ τὰ σκεύη



Reconstruction of a country house in Attica

## Section Sixteen A–E

### Private justice: trouble down at the farm

#### Introduction

Aristarkhos has thus had the tables turned on him by Theophemos. Thanks to false evidence, Theophemos managed to convince the dikasts that Aristarkhos had been responsible for the fight at the house, and has landed him with a substantial fine to pay. Aristarkhos needed time, but set a date for payment. Theophemos wouldn't wait, but took his own measures to collect the fine.

## A

*Theophemos and his cronies swoop on Aristarkhos' farm.*

ὁ οὖν Θεόφημος οὐκ εἶασέ με ἐκτεῖσαι τὰ χρήματα. οὐ γὰρ ἔμεινε  
 ἕως τὰ χρήματα παρέχοιμι, ἀλλ' ἐλθὼν μου τὰ πρόβατα λαμβάνει,  
 πεντήκοντα μαλακά, ποιμαίνόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιμένου. πρὶν οὖν με  
 εἰδέναι τὰ γεγενημένα, λαμβάνεται ὑπὸ Θεοφήμου οὐ μόνον τὰ  
 πρόβατα ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἀκόλουθα τῇ ποιμνῇ καὶ ὁ ποιμὴν μετ'  
 αὐτῶν, ἔπειτα καὶ παῖς διάκονος, ἀποφέρων ὑδρίαν χαλκῆν, παρὰ  
 φίλου τινὸς ἡτημένην, πολλοῦ ἀξίαν. τούτων δὲ πάντων ληφθέντων,  
 ἐπεισελθόντες ὁ Θεόφημος καὶ Εὐεργος εἰς τὸ χωρίον (γεωργῶ δὲ  
 πρὸς τῷ ἵπποδρόμῳ, καὶ οἰκῶ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ μεираκίου), πρῶτον μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἤξαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ οἰκέται οὐκ ἔμειναν ἕως ἄλοιεν  
 ἀλλ' ἔφθασαν διαφυγόντες, ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἐξέβαλον τὴν  
 θύραν τὴν εἰς τὸν κῆπον φέρουσαν. ἐκβληθείσης δὲ τῆς θύρας,  
 εἰσελθόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκά μου καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἐξεφόρησαν πάντα  
 τὰ σκεύη, ὅσα ἔτι ὑπόλοιπά μοι ἦν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, καὶ ὤχοντο  
 λαβόντες ἅ βούλοιντο.

30

35

40



πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, πρὶν αὐτοὺς εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἔτυχεν ἡ γυνὴ μου μετὰ τῶν παιδίων ἀριστώσα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς τίτθη τις ἐμὴ γενομένη πρεσβυτέρα, ἄνθρωπος εὖνους καὶ πιστὴ καὶ ἐλευθέρα ἀφειμένη (ἀφῆκε γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμός. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφείθη ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ, συνώκησεν ἀνδρὶ. ἀποθανόντος δὲ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὡς αὐτὴ γραῦς ἦν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἔτρεφεν αὐτήν, ἐπανῆλθεν ὡς ἐμέ. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν ἦν μοι τρέφειν αὐτήν, τίτθην γενομένην.) ἀριστῶντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ, ὀρμώνται οὗτοι καὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν αὐτὰς καὶ ἤρπαζον τὰ σκεύη. τῶν δὲ σκευῶν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀρπαζομένων, αἱ ἄλλαι θεράπαινοι (ἐν γὰρ τῷ πύργῳ ἦσαν, οὐπὲρ δαιτῶνται), ὡς ἤκουσαν κραυγῆς καὶ βοῆς, οὐκ ἐπέσχον ἕως εἰσελθοῖεν ἐκεῖνοι ἀλλὰ κλείουσι τὸν πύργον πρὶν αὐτοὺς ὀρμᾶσθαι.

## B

Despite the intervention of Aristarkhos' wife, the plundering continues, and the old maidservant is badly beaten up. Aristarkhos' neighbours witness the scene.

ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν οὐκ εἰσῆλθον ἐκεῖνοι, τὰ δ' ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης οἰκίας σκεύη ἐξέφερον. ἀπέειπε δ' ἡ γυνὴ, λέγουσα ὅτι αὐτῆς εἶη τὰ σκεύη, ἐν τῇ προικὶ τετιμημένα, καὶ ὅτι ἔχετε τὰ πρόβατα πεντήκοντα καὶ τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὸν ποιμένα, ἃ ἄξιά ἐστι τῆς καταδίκης. (ἀπήγγειλε γὰρ τις τῶν γειτόνων, κόψας τὴν θύραν.) καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῖν κείται ἐπὶ τῇ τραπέζῃ. (ἤκηκόει γὰρ ἐμοῦ). μὴ οὖν λάβητε τὰ λοιπὰ σκεύη πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸ τίμημα ἔχοντα, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἔχοντες ἄξια τῆς καταδίκης.

ἀλλὰ καίπερ ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γυναικός, οὐ παύονται πρὶν ἂν λάβωσι πάνυ πολλά. ἡ δὲ τίτθη, ἐπειδὴ εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἔνδον ὄντας, λαβοῦσα τὸ κυμβίον παρακείμενον αὐτῇ, ἐξ οὗ ἔπινεν, ἐνετίθετο εἰς τὸν κόλπον, ἵνα μὴ οὗτοι λάβοιεν. Θεόφημος δὲ καὶ Εὐεργος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ, κατιδόντες αὐτήν, ἀφείλοντο καὶ οὕτω διέθεσαν τὴν γραῦν ὥστε ὕφαιμοι μὲν ἐγένοντο οἱ βραχίονες καὶ οἱ καρποὶ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτῆς, ἀποστρεφομένης ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ἐλκομένης. καὶ δὴ ἀμυχὰς εἶχεν ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, ἀγχομένη ὑπὸ τούτων, πελιὸν δὲ ἐγένετο τὸ στήθος. οὕτω δὲ πονηροὶ ἦσαν ὥστε οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο ἄγχοντες καὶ τύπτοντες τὴν γραῦν πρὶν πέσοι μὲν αὐτὴ πρὸς τὴν γῆν, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀφέλουντο τὸ κυμβίον ἐκ τοῦ κόλπου αὐτῆς.

ἀκούοντες δ' οἱ τῶν γειτόνων θεράποντες τῆς τε κραυγῆς καὶ βοῆς, εἶδον τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πορθουμένην. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν τεγῶν τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἐκάλουν τοὺς παριόντας, οἱ δέ, εἰς τὴν ἑτέραν ὁδὸν ἐλθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες τὸν Ἀγνόφιλον παριόντα, ἐκέλευον αὐτὸν παραγενέσθαι. προσελθὼν δ' ὁ Ἀγνόφιος, προσκληθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀνθεμίωνος, ὅς ἐστί μοι γείτων, εἰς μὲν τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν (οὐ γὰρ παρῆν ὁ τῆς οἰκίας κύριος· παρόντος δὲ τοῦ κυρίου, εἰσῆλθεν ἄν), ἐν δὲ τῷ χωρίῳ ὣν τῷ τοῦ Ἀνθεμίωνος ἐώρα τὰ τε σκεύη ἐκφερόμενα καὶ Εὐεργον καὶ Θεόφημον ἐξιόντας ἐκ τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας. οὐ μόνον τοίνυν λαβόντες μου τὰ σκεύη ὥχοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν ἤγον ὡς οἰκέτην ὄντα, ἕως Ἐρμογένης, τῶν γειτόνων τις, ἀπαντήσας αὐτοῖς, εἶπεν ὅτι υἱὸς μου εἶη.

## C

Aristarkhos is informed of what has happened, and orders Theophemos to appear at the bank next day, to receive payment of the fine. Euergos makes a second swoop on the farm.

ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν μοι ἀπηγγέλλθη εἰς Πειραιᾶ τὰ γεγενημένα ὑπὸ τῶν γειτόνων, ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀγρὸν, τούτους μὲν οὐκέτι καταλαβεῖν ἐδυνήθη (οὐ γὰρ ἀφικόμην πρὶν ἀπῆλθον), ἰδὼν δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκπεφορημένα καὶ τὴν γραῦν οὕτω διακειμένην ὥστε περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κινδυνεύειν, καὶ ἀκούων τῆς γυναικὸς τὰ γενόμενα, σφόδρα ὠργίσθη καὶ προσῆλθον τῷ Θεοφῆμῳ τῇ ὑστεραία ἔωθεν ἐν τῇ πόλει, μάρτυρας ἔχων. ἐκέλευον δ' αὐτὸν πρῶτον μὲν τὴν καταδίκην ἀπολαμβάνειν καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν, ἔπειτα τὴν γραῦν θεραπεύειν ἣν συνέκοψαν καὶ ἰατρὸν εἰσάγειν ὃν βούλοιντο. ταῦτα δὲ μοι λέγοντος καὶ διαμαρτυρομένου, ὠργίσθη καὶ κακᾶ με ἰπολλά εἶπεν ὁ Θεόφημος. ἔπειτα δ' ὁ μὲν Θεόφημος ἠκολούθει μόλις, διατριβὰς ἐμποιῶν καὶ φάσκων βούλεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς παραλαβεῖν μάρτυρας. ὁ δ' Εὐεργος οὕτως εὐθύς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μεθ' ἑτέρων ὁμοίων αὐτῷ ἦλθεν εἰς ἀγρὸν τὸν ἐμόν. τὰ δ' ὑπόλοιπα σκεύη, εἴ τινα τῇ προτεραία ἐν τῷ πύργῳ ἦν καὶ οὐκ ἔτυχεν ἔξω ὄντα, κατηνέχθη ὑπ' ἐμοῦ διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν. ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τὴν θύραν ὁ Εὐεργος (ἦνπερ καὶ τῇ προτεραία ἐξέβαλον), ὥχετό μου λαβὼν τὰ σκεύη.



τὰ σκεύη

ἐν δὲ τούτῳ, ἐκτίνοντός μου τὸ ἀργύριον τῷ Θεοφῆμῳ, χιλίας τριακοσίας δέκα τρεῖς δραχμὰς δὺ ὀβολούς, πολλῶν παρόντων μαρτύρων, καὶ ἀπαιτοῦντος τὰ τε πρόβατα καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἥρπασμένα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Θεόφημος οὐκ ἔφη ἀποδώσειν μοι. ταῦτα δ' ἀποκρινομένου αὐτοῦ, μάρτυρας μὲν ἐποίησάμην τῆς ἀποκρίσεως τοὺς παρόντας, τὴν δὲ δίκην ἐξέτεισα. οὐ γὰρ ἤδη Εὐεργὸν εἰσεληλυθότα μου εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα τὴν δίκην ἐξέτεισα. ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐπλεονέκτει ὁ Θεόφημος ὥστε λαβεῖν τὴν δίκην καὶ ἔχειν τὰ πρόβατα καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ σκεύη, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐκτετεισμένης τῆς δίκης ἄγγελος ἦλθέ μοι, λιθοκόπος τις, τὸ πλησίον μνήμα ἐργαζόμενος, λέγων ὅτι πάλιν οἴχοιτο Εὐεργὸς, τὰ ὑπόλοιπα σκεύη ἐκφορήσας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας.

## D

Despite medical treatment the old servant dies. Aristarkhos goes to the Exegetai to see what action he can take in revenge, but meets with an unsatisfactory response.

τί οὖν ἔδει με ποιεῖν, ὦ Ἀπολλόδωρε, καὶ ποῖ τρέπεσθαι, ἐκπεφορημένων μὲν τῶν σκευῶν, τῆς δὲ γραὸς περὶ ψυχῆς

κινδυνευούσης, ἐκτετεισμένης δὲ τῆς καταδίκης; ἀλλ' οὖν, εἴ μὴ τι ἄλλο, ἐπήγγειλα τὸν Θεόφημον θεραπεύειν τὴν ἀνθρωπον ἢ συνεκόπη καὶ ἰατρὸν εἰσάγειν ὃν βούλοιο. ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐβουλήθη Θεόφημος οὐδ' ἐδυνήθη ἐγὼ πείσαι αὐτόν, εἰσήγαγον ἰατρὸν ᾧ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐχρώμην. χθὲς δέ, ἕκτη οὔση ἡμέρα ὕστερον ἢ οὗτοι ὠρμήθησαν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, ἐτελεύτησεν ἡ τίτθη. ἐγὼ οὖν αὐτίκα μὲν ὠργίσθη, πρῶ δ' ἦλθον (ὡς εἶρηκα) ὡς τοὺς ἐξηγητάς, ἵνα εἰδείην ὅ τι ποιητέον περὶ τούτων, καὶ διηγησάμην αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα τὰ γενόμενα, τό τε ὄρμηθῆναι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ χωρίον καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἀσελγείας ἐλθεῖν ὥστε μὴ αἰσχυνηθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰ παιδιά εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ τὴν γραῦν συγκόψαι, κυμβίου ἕνεκα, καὶ τὰ σκεύη ἐκφορῆσαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐμνήσθη τὴν εὐνοίαν τῆς ἀνθρώπου καὶ ὡς διὰ τὸ μὴ ἀφείναι τὸ κυμβίον τελευτήσειεν.

ἀκούσαντες δέ μου οἱ ἐξηγηταὶ ταῦτα, τάδε παρήνεσαν· 'ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ παρεγένου, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἄλλοι δέ σοι μάρτυρες οὐκ ἐφάνησαν, εὐλαβήθητι μὴ προαγορεύης μηδενὶ ὄνομασί, μηδὲ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα δίκην φόνου λάχης. οὐ γὰρ ἔστι ἐν γένει σοι ἡ ἀνθρωπος, οὐδὲ θεράπεινα, ἐξ ὧν σὺ λέγεις. ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ σεαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀφοσιωσάμενος, ὡς ῥᾶστα τὴν συμφορὰν φέρε, ἄλλη δέ, εἴ πη βούλει, τιμωροῦ.'

## E

Apollodoros agrees to help Aristarkhos in any way he can.

AP. εἶεν. ἔχεις τὸ πρᾶγμα. τί οὖν ποιήσω; ποῖ τράπωμαι; τί γένωμαι; οὐ γὰρ οἶδα ὅ τι χρώμαι ἔμαντῶ. οὐ γὰρ δήπου οὕτως ἀνόητός γ' ἂν εἶην ὥστε τολμήσαι ψεύσασθαι πρὸς τοὺς δικαστάς, οὐδ' ἂν εἰ εὖ εἰδείην ὅτι αἰρήσοιμι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδικήσαντας. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω τούτους μισῶ ὡς ἔμαντόν φιλῶ. ὅρα οὖν τί δρώμεν.

AP. σκοπῶμεν κοινῇ, ὦ γαθέ, καὶ μὴ φοβηθῆς μὴ οὐ συμπροθυμῶμαί σοι. καὶ γὰρ δεινὸν ἂν εἶη ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ τοῦτό γε, τὸ μὴ ἐθέλειν συμπροθυμείσθαι τοῖς φίλοις ὅπως τιμωρήσονται τοὺς ἐχθροὺς. ὥστε δεῖ με μάλιστα πάντων βοηθησαί σοι ἐν ἀπορίᾳ ὄντι.

AP. καὶ χάριν εἶσομαί σοι, ὦ βέλτιστε, συμπροθυμηθέντι.  
AP. ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ποιῶμεθα ταῦτα καὶ ἀναλάβωμεν τὸν λόγον. ὕει γὰρ καὶ οὐ κυνὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς νυνὶ πλανητέον. σὺ δέ

μοι οὕτωςι ποιήσον. αὔριον ἔωθεν ἀφικου̅ οἴκαδε καὶ μὴ  
ἄλλως ποιήσης, ἵνα βουλευσώμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων.

AP. ἐμοὶ ἀρέσκει ἂ σὺ λέγεις, ὦ Ἀπολλόδωρε, καὶ ὁμολογῶ ὡς  
οὐ ποιητέον οὐδὲν πρὶν ἂν μετὰ σοῦ συμβουλεύωμαι. ἤξω  
οὖν παρὰ σέ αὔριον, ἐὰν θεὸς ἐθέλη.

AP. πράττωμεν ταῦτα. ἴωμεν οὖν.

5

## Section Seventeen A–E

### How Zeus gave justice to men

#### Introduction

Whether Aristarkhos was telling the truth or not (and it was probably six of one and half a dozen of the other), the fact was that the actual working of justice could be a slow, messy and unsatisfactory business – slow because of the variety of claims and counter-claims that could be lodged, messy because it was always up to individuals to bring cases, gather evidence, present the case and enforce the verdict, and unsatisfactory because the scanty rules of legal process made dikasts liable to be swayed by purely emotional or personal appeals. Nevertheless, there is no denying that the law was an intensely *personal* concern for a Greek (far more, perhaps, than it is for us with our batteries of solicitors, policemen, barristers and judges) and that the Greeks regarded the laws, by means of which justice was upheld, as the absolute heart and soul of the πόλις. (Though one should remember that νόμος means more than statutory law – it means also ‘custom’, ‘convention’, the collected wisdom of the past, the ‘accepted inheritance which formed the permanent background of [a Greek’s] life’ (Dodds). Consequently, the word νόμος had much deeper associations for a Greek than ‘law’ does for us.) Again, Greek citizens actually *made* the laws by their vote in the ἐκκλησία; and, as we have seen, thousands of citizens could be daily involved in the process of law as dikasts.

The following passage is taken from Plato’s dialogue *Protagoras*. Socrates has asked Protagoras, the great sophist and thinker, whether it is possible to teach people to be good citizens, a skill that Protagoras himself claimed to teach. Socrates suggests that it is not, for experts are called to advise on subjects that can be taught, like carpentry and ship-building, but on questions of e.g. state policy everyone in the



ὁ Προμηθεύς

ἐκκλησία has a say – as if expertise on that topic did not exist. Protagoras, with the agreement of his listeners, elects to answer with a μῦθος (myth? story? parable?), which describes the creation of the world and the implantation in man of δίκη and αἰδώς (i.e. a sense of right and a moral awareness of others and of their response to one's actions.).

Note

This text is unadapted.

## A

The Creation story, and how Epimetheus, Prometheus' brother, distributed various characteristics and capacities amongst the animals.

ἦν γάρ ποτε χρόνος ὅτε θεοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, θνητὰ δὲ γένη οὐκ ἦν.  
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ἦλθεν εἰμαρμένος γενέσεως, τυποῦσιν  
 αὐτὰ θεοὶ γῆς ἔνδον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς μείζαντες καὶ τῶν ὅσα πυρὶ  
 καὶ γῆ κεράννυται. ἐπειδὴ δ' ἄγειν αὐτὰ πρὸς φῶς ἔμελλον,  
 προσέταξαν Προμηθεὶ καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὶ κοσμήσαι τε καὶ νεῖμαι  
 δυνάμεις ἐκάστοις ὡς πρέπει. Προμηθεὶα δὲ παραιτεῖται Ἐπιμηθεὺς  
 αὐτὸς νεῖμαι, 'νείμαντος δέ μου', ἔφη, 'ἐπίσκεψαι'. καὶ οὕτω πείσας  
 νέμει. νέμων δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἰσχὺν ἄνευ τάχους προσήπτε, τοὺς δ'  
 ἀσθενεστέρους τάχει ἐκόσμη· τοὺς δ' ὤπλιζε, τοῖς δ' ἄοπλον διδοὺς  
 φύσιν ἄλλην τιν' αὐτοῖς ἐμηχανᾶτο δύναμιν εἰς σωτηρίαν. ἃ μὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτῶν σμικρότητι ἤμπισχε, πτηνὸν φυγῆν ἢ κατάγειον οἴκησιν  
 ἔνεμεν· ἃ δὲ ἠῤῥξε μεγέθει, τῶδε αὐτῶ αὐτὰ ἔσωζε· καὶ τὰλλα  
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 35  
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οὕτως ἐπανισῶν ἔνεμε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐμηχανᾶτο εὐλάβειαν ἔχων μή τι  
 γένος αἰστωθείη.

## B

Further attributes are distributed.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἀλληλοφθοριῶν διαφυγὰς ἐπήρκεσε, πρὸς τὰς ἐκ  
 Δίος ὄρας εὐμάρειαν ἐμηχανᾶτο ἀμφιεννὺς αὐτὰ πυκναῖς τε θριξὶ  
 καὶ στερεοῖς δέρμασιν, ἱκανοῖς μὲν ἀμῦναι χειμῶνα, δυνατοῖς δὲ καὶ  
 καύματα, καὶ εἰς εὐνάς ἰοῦσιν ὅπως ὑπάρχοι τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα  
 στρωμνὴ οἰκεία τε καὶ αὐτοφυῆς ἐκάστω· καὶ ὑποδῶν τὰ μὲν  
 ὄπλαῖς, τὰ δὲ δέρμασι στερεοῖς καὶ ἀναίμοις. τούντεῦθεν τροφὰς  
 ἄλλοις ἄλλας ἐξεπόριζε, τοῖς μὲν ἐκ γῆς βοτάνην, ἄλλοις δὲ  
 δένδρων καρπούς, τοῖς δὲ ῥίζας· ἔστι δ' οἷς ἔδωκεν εἶναι τροφήν  
 ζῶων ἄλλων βοράν· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὀλιγογονίαν προσήψε, τοῖς δ'  
 ἀναλισκομένοις ὑπὸ τούτων πολυγονίαν, σωτηρίαν τῷ γένει  
 πορίζων.  
 10  
 15  
 20

## C

But when it comes to man, Epimetheus has run out of characteristics to  
 distribute. Prometheus takes a hand.

ἄτε δὴ οὖν οὐ πάνυ τι σοφὸς ὢν, ὁ Ἐπιμηθεὺς ἔλαθεν αὐτὸν  
 καταναλώσας τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὰ ἄλογα· λοιπὸν δὲ ἀκόσμητον ἔτι  
 αὐτῷ ἦν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος, καὶ ἠπόρει ὅτι χρήσαιτο. ἀποροῦντι  
 δὲ αὐτῷ ἔρχεται Προμηθεὺς ἐπισκεψόμενος τὴν νομήν, καὶ ὄρα τὰ  
 μὲν ἄλλα ζῶα ἐμμελῶς πάντων ἔχοντα, τὸν δὲ ἄνθρωπον γυμνὸν τε  
 καὶ ἀνυπόδητον καὶ ἄστρωτον καὶ ἄοπλον· ἦδη δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰμαρμένη  
 ἡμέρα παρήν, ἐν ἣ ἔδει καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐξιέναι ἐκ γῆς εἰς φῶς.  
 ἀπορία οὖν σχόμενος ὁ Προμηθεὺς ἦντινα σωτηρίαν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ  
 εὔροι, κλέπτει Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηναῖς τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν  
 πυρὶ – ἀμήχανον γὰρ ἦν ἄνευ πυρὸς αὐτὴν κτητὴν τῷ ἡ χρησίμην  
 γενέσθαι – καὶ οὕτω δὴ δωρεῖται ἀνθρώπῳ. τὴν μὲν οὖν περὶ τὸν  
 βίον σοφίαν ἄνθρωπος ταύτῃ ἔσχεν, τὴν δὲ πολιτικὴν οὐκ εἶχεν· ἦν  
 γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Δίῳ. τῷ δὲ Προμηθεὶ εἰς μὲν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν τοῦ  
 Διὸς οἴκησιν οὐκέτι ἐνεχώρει εἰσελθεῖν – πρὸς δὲ καὶ αἱ Διὸς  
 30  
 35  
 40

φυλακαὶ φοβεραὶ ἦσαν – εἰς δὲ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἡφαίστου οἴκημα τὸ κοινόν, ἐν ᾧ ἐφιλοτεχνεῖτην, λαθῶν εἰσέρχεται, καὶ κλέψας τὴν τε ἔμπυρον τέχνην τὴν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τὴν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώπῳ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου εὐπορία μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ βίου γίνεταί, Προμηθεὰ δὲ δι' Ἐπιμηθεὰ ὕστερον, ἥπερ λέγεται, κλοπῆς δίκη μετήλθεν.

## D

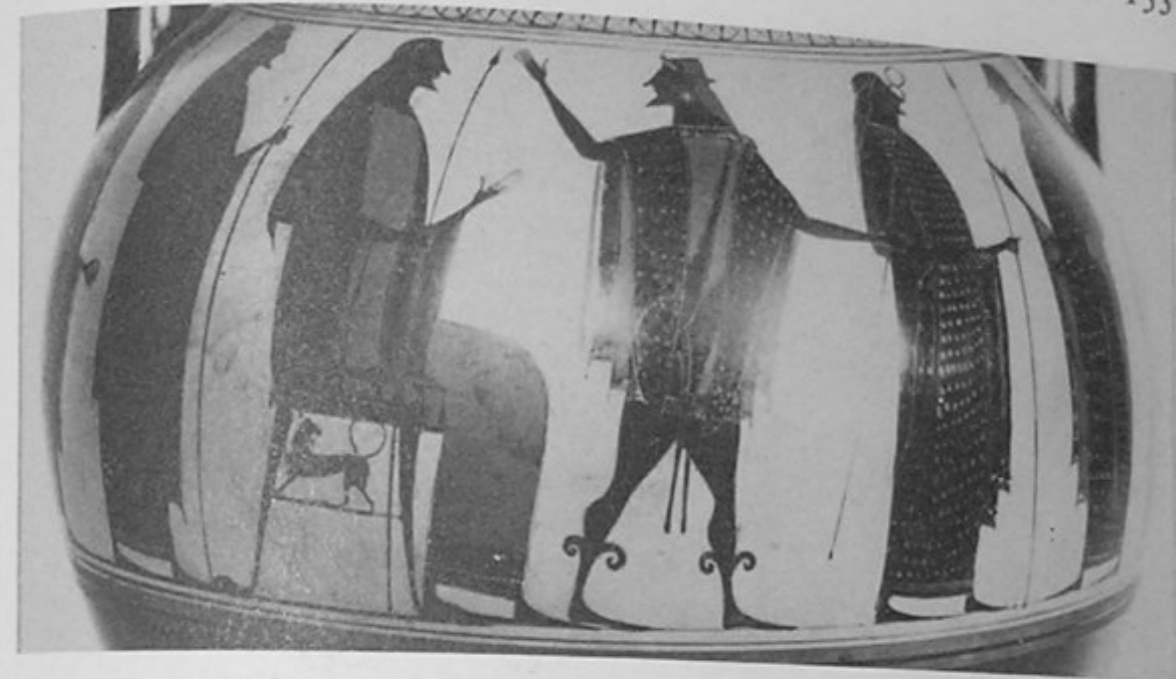
*Men form communities for protection, but this is not enough.*

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ ἄνθρωπος θείας μετέσχε μοίρας, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συγγένειαν ζῶν μόνον θεοὺς ἐνόμισε, καὶ ἐπεχείρει βωμούς τε ἰδρύεσθαι καὶ ἀγάλματα θεῶν· ἔπειτα φωνὴν καὶ ὀνόματα ταχὺ διηρθρώσατο τῇ τέχνῃ, καὶ οἰκήσεις καὶ ἐσθῆτας καὶ ὑποδέσεις καὶ στρωμνὰς καὶ τὰς ἐκ γῆς τροφὰς ἤϋρετο. οὕτω δὲ παρεσκευασμένοι κατ' ἀρχὰς ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν σποράδην, πόλεις δὲ οὐκ ἦσαν· ἀπώλλυντο οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων διὰ τὸ πανταχῆ αὐτῶν ἀσθενέστεροι εἶναι, καὶ ἡ δημιουργικὴ τέχνη αὐτοῖς πρὸς μὲν τροφὴν ἰκανὴ βοηθὸς ἦν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν τῶν θηρίων πόλεμον ἐνδεής – πολιτικὴν γὰρ τέχνην οὐπω εἶχον, ἧς μέρος πολεμική – ἐζήτουν δὲ ἀθροίζεσθαι καὶ σώζεσθαι κτίζοντες πόλεις· ὅτ' οὖν ἀθροισθεῖεν, ἠδίκουν ἀλλήλους ἅτε οὐκ ἔχοντες τὴν πολιτικὴν τέχνην, ὥστε πάλιν σκεδαννύμενοι διεφθείροντο.

## E

*Zeus sends Hermes to ensure that men are all given a share of those moral qualities which are essential for their survival.*

Ζεὺς οὖν δείσας περὶ τῷ γένει ἡμῶν μὴ ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν, Ἐρμῆν πέμπει ἄγοντα εἰς ἀνθρώπους αἰδῶ τε καὶ δίκην, ἵν' εἰεν πόλεων κόσμοι τε καὶ δεσμοὶ φιλίας συναγωγοί. ἐρωτᾷ οὖν Ἐρμῆς Δία τίνα οὖν τρόπον δοίη δίκην καὶ αἰδῶ ἀνθρώποις· ἴπτερον ὡς αἱ τέχναι νεμέμηνται, οὕτω καὶ ταύτας νείμω; νεμέμηνται δὲ ὧδε· εἰς ἔχων ἰατρικὴν πολλοῖς ἰκανὸς ἰδιώταις, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δημιουργοί·



Ζεὺς Ἐρμῆν πέμπει

καὶ δίκην δὴ καὶ αἰδῶ οὕτω θῶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἢ ἐπὶ πάντας νείμω; ἔπὶ πάντας, ἔφη ὁ Ζεὺς, καὶ πάντες μετεχόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο πόλεις, εἰ ὀλίγοι αὐτῶν μετέχοιεν ὡς περ ἄλλων τεχνῶν· καὶ νόμον γε θὲς παρ' ἐμοῦ τὸν μὴ δυνάμενον αἰδοῦς καὶ δίκης μετέχειν κτείνειν ὡς νόσον πόλεως. οὕτω δὲ, ὦ Σώκρατες, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οἷ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν μὲν περὶ ἀρετῆς τεκτονικῆς ἢ λόγος ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς δημιουργικῆς, ὀλίγοι οἴονται μετεῖναι συμβουλής, καὶ ἔάν τις ἐκτὸς ὧν τῶν ὀλίγων συμβουλεύῃ, οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ὡς σὺ φῆς – εἰκότως, ὡς ἐγὼ φημι – ὅταν δὲ εἰς συμβουλήν πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἴωσιν, ἣν δεῖ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πᾶσαν ἰέναι καὶ σωφροσύνης, εἰκότως ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς ἀνέχονται, ὡς παντὶ προσήκον ταύτης γε μετέχειν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἢ μὴ εἶναι πόλεις. αὕτη, ὦ Σώκρατες, τούτου αἰτία.



ὁ Κροῖσος ἐπὶ τῆς πυρᾶς

## PART SIX

### Gods, fate and man

#### Introduction

Section Eighteen, the story of Adrastus, is taken entirely from Herodotus. All places referred to will be found on the map. Croesus is king of Lydia, whose capital city was Sardis. The story takes place c. 590. For the previous 150 years, Asia Minor had been subject to pressure from a number of sides, and seen the influx and outflux of a variety of different peoples. The Lydians and Phrygians between them now controlled most of the mainland, but the Greeks, through assiduous colonisation, had established a firm foothold on the coastal regions and were welcomed by the natives. It was through this crucial contact with Near East culture that Greek art and literature developed in the way that it did. Croesus was especially well disposed to the Greeks and had adopted a number of their customs.

Croesus' wealth was legendary (cf. 'as rich as Croesus'). The tale you are about to read, one of the most powerful and tragic in the whole of Herodotus, is just one incident in the saga of Croesus' life which Herodotus uses at the very start of his *Histories* to tell us about the way in which gods deal with men. The 'reason' that Herodotus propounds for Croesus' tragedy will be found in the translation of the episode immediately prior to the Adrastus story (given below) – the visit of the great Athenian politician and law-giver Solon to Croesus' court.

The story of Croesus ends in 546 with the capture of Sardis by the Persians, who swiftly emerged as a major power. Within sixty years (550–490) they had absorbed the empire of the Medes, Babylonia, Egypt, the whole of Asia Minor, and were threatening mainland Greece.

*Greek dialect*

Greece is a mountainous country, and communication between one πόλις and another could be a difficult business. This geographical fragmentation of the country is reflected not only in the number of small, self-governing πόλεις it contained (e.g. Athens, Sparta, Corinth) but also in the number of dialects spoken. Since the Greeks colonised heavily overseas as well, Greek dialects emerged in places other than the Greek mainland. One such area of heavy colonisation was the Ionian coast (see map) and perhaps the most important literary dialect after Attic – the dialect of Athens and Attica which you have been learning so far – is Ionic, the dialect used for his *Histories* by Herodotus (who came from Halikarnassos) and an important element in the dialect of the Ionian Homer, though Homer's language is a mixture of a great number of dialects, of all eras and provenances. In the course of reading the story of Adrastus, you will meet all the most important features of Ionic dialect, which are mercifully fairly few and easy to recognise because Attic and Ionic are quite similar. You will find the major features of Ionic dialect summarised for you in the appropriate grammar section.

*Note*

This text is unadapted, as the rest of the reading in this Course will be from now on. The linking device is now used to indicate word-groups which might be difficult to spot. These are no longer necessarily glossed under the first word of the group in the vocabulary.

*Source*

Herodotus *Histories* 1.34–45

*Time to be taken*

Three weeks.

## Section Eighteen A–F

### The story of Adrastus

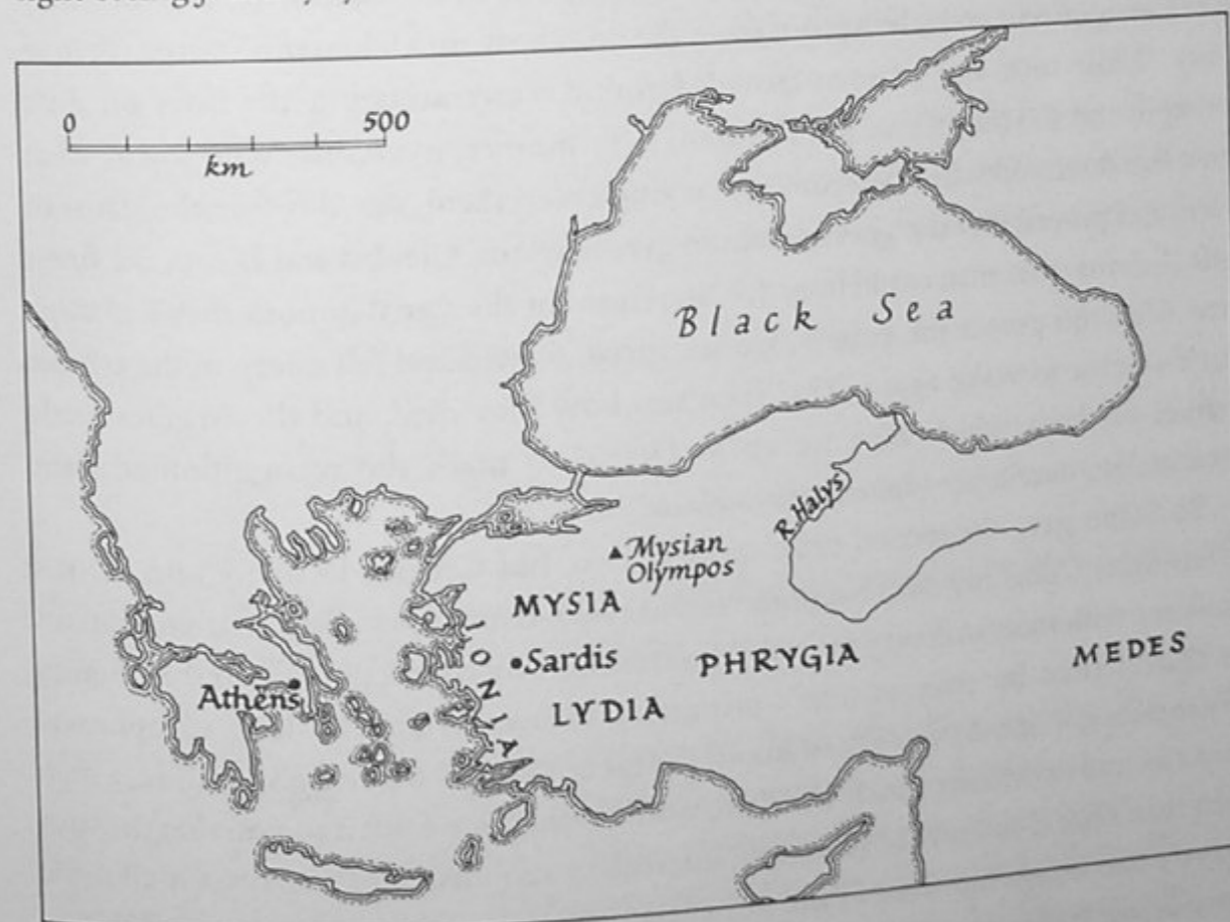
*Introduction*

*Solon's visit to Croesus (translated from Herodotus Histories 1.29–33)*

When Sardis was at its most prosperous, all the teachers (σοφισταί) of the Greek world paid a visit, including Solon the Athenian. On arrival, he was entertained by Croesus in the palace and after three or four days was, at Croesus' command, shown around the palace treasury in all its greatness and magnificence by the servants. When he had dutifully examined and admired everything as best he could, Croesus asked him, 'Guest from Athens, we have frequently been told of your wisdom and of the sight-seeing journeys you have undertaken all over the world to foster it. Now then, I

15

20



Map of Greece and Asia Minor

find myself quite unable to resist asking you if you have ever seen anyone who is the happiest (ὄλβιος) man in the world.' He asked this fully confident that the happiest man was he himself. Solon did not however flatter him, but spoke the truth without dissimulation. 'Yes, O King, Tellos the Athenian.' Croesus, astonished at what Solon said, acidly asked the reason for his judgment. Solon replied, 'First, Tellos' city was prosperous, and he had fine sons, and he saw children born to them all, who all survived; second, he was as well off as a man can expect, and his death was glorious. For in a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours in Eleusis, it was he who rescued the situation, routed the enemy and died gloriously. And the Athenians demonstrated the high honour in which they held him by giving him a public funeral on the spot where he fell.'

This tale of Tellos' many blessings (πολλά τε καὶ ὄλβια) aroused Croesus' curiosity, and he asked who was the next happiest man Solon had seen, certain that he was bound to take at least second prize. 'Cleobis and Biton', said Solon, 'two young Argives. They had sufficient to live on, and were also endowed with great physical strength. While both carried off prizes in athletics, there is this story in particular which is told of them. It was the Argive festival of Hera, and the young men's mother had to drive an ox-cart to the temple. But the oxen were late in arriving from the fields. So the young men, left no option because of the lack of time, harnessed themselves to the cart and dragged it off, with their mother sitting on it. They pulled it the 6 miles to the temple and were witnessed by the whole assembly. And then they met a magnificent end (clear proof from the gods how much better it is to die than to live). While men and women crowded round, congratulating the boys on their strength and the mother on her children, their mother, overcome with joy at what they had done and what everyone was saying about them, stood before the statue of Hera and prayed that the goddess would give her sons, Cleobis and Biton, the finest gift (ἄριστον) that man could hope for, in return for the signal honour they had done her. After this prayer the young men sacrificed, feasted and fell asleep in the temple itself – never to wake again. That then was how they died, and the Argives made statues of them which they set up in Delphi to mark the recognition of their outstanding excellence (ἀρίστων γενομένων).'

So Solon gave the second prize to these two, but Croesus heatedly said, 'Guest from Athens, does my own happiness (εὐδαιμονίη) count for so little that you cannot rank me with mere ordinary mortals?' Solon said, 'My conviction is that the divinity is characterised by envy at man's prosperity (φθονερός) and by love of upheaval (ταραχώδης) – and do you ask me about the lot of man? In the fullness of time, a man must see and experience much which he would rather not. I put it to you that the span of a man's life is 70 years or (counting intercalary months), 26,250 days. Of all those days, none brings the same as the next. Man, then, is entirely a creature of chance (συμφορῆ). As for you, you seem to me to be very rich and king over many people.'

But the question you ask me I will not answer yet – that is, until I hear that you have ended your life well (τελευτᾶν καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα). For the multi-millionaire is no happier than the man who lives from hand to mouth, unless fortune grants that he should end his life well (εὖ), in full possession of every good thing (πάντα καλά). I do not need to tell you that many very rich men are unhappy (ἀνόλβιος), while many of moderate means are blessed with good fortune (εὐτυχής). The rich, but unhappy, man has two advantages over the man who is poor but blessed with good fortune: first, he is more able to fulfil his earthly desires, and second, he is in a better position to ride disaster. But the poor man, who is blessed with good fortune, has the advantage in many more ways. If he is not so able to deal with either material desires or disaster, yet good fortune protects him from these anyway, and he is granted a sound body, excellent health, freedom from trouble, a fine family and good looks. If on top of all this he also ends his life well, this will be precisely the man you are looking for, and he really will deserve to be called happy. But until he is dead, hold back: call him "lucky", but not yet "happy".

'No mortal can, of course, have all these things, just as no country will be entirely self-sufficient in what it produces. Different countries specialise in different things, and the best is the one which has most. So with mankind. We are self-sufficient in some things, but not in others; but the man who has the most advantages and holds on to them and dies at peace (εὐχαρίστως), that man, O King, in my view deserves the accolade. It is to the end of all things that mankind must look, to see how they will eventually turn out. God holds out the prospect of happiness to many men and then ruins them utterly.'

It was out of the question that these sentiments could bring any pleasure to Croesus, so he dismissed Solon as a man of no account, firmly convinced that only a fool could disregard present prosperity and suggest one should look to the end of all things.

(The Greek text takes the story on from here)

## A

Croesus has a dream, in which he is told that his son will be killed by a metal spear. He takes measures accordingly.

μετὰ δὲ Σόλωνα οἰχόμενον, ἔλαβε ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη Κροῖσον, ὡς εἰκάσαι, ὅτι ἐνόμισε ἐωυτὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων ὀλβιώτατον. αὐτίκα δὲ οἱ εὐδοντι ἐπέστη ὄνειρος, ὃς οἱ τὴν ἀληθείην ἔφαινε τῶν μελλόντων γενέσθαι κακῶν κατὰ τὸν παῖδα. ἦσαν δὲ τῷ Κροίσῳ δύο παῖδες, τῶν οὐτερος μὲν διέφθαρτο, (ἦν



γὰρ δὴ κωφός,) ὁ δὲ ἕτερος τῶν ἡλικίων μακρῶ τὰ πάντα πρῶτος· οὐνομα δέ οἱ ἦν Ἄτυς. τοῦτον δὲ ὦν τὸν Ἄτυν σημαίνει τῷ Κροίσῳ ὁ ὄνειρος, ὡς ἀπολέει μιν αἰχμῇ σιδηρῆ βληθέντα. ὁ δὲ ἐπεῖτε ἐξηγέρθη καὶ ἑωυτῷ λόγον ἔδωκε, καταρρωδήσας τὸν ὄνειρον ἄγεται μὲν τῷ παιδὶ γυναῖκα, ἐωθότα δὲ στρατηγέειν μιν τῶν Λυδῶν, οὐδαμῇ ἔτι ἐπὶ τοιοῦτο πρῆγμα ἐξέπεμπε, ἀκόντια δὲ καὶ δοράτια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, τοῖσι χρέωνται ἐς πόλεμον ἄνθρωποι, ἐκ τῶν ἀνδρεῶνων ἐκκομίσας ἐς τοὺς θαλάμους συνένησε, μὴ τί οἱ κρεμάμενον τῷ παιδὶ ἐμπέση.

## B

*Adrastos, a Phrygian of the royal household, arrives at Croesus' palace and begs for purification for having accidentally killed his brother. Croesus welcomes him in.*

ἔχοντος δὲ οἱ ἐν χερσὶ τοῦ παιδὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀπικνέεται ἐς τὰς Σάρδις ἀνὴρ συμφορῇ ἐχόμενος καὶ οὐ καθαρὸς χεῖρας, ἐὼν Φρυγῆ μὲν γενεῇ, γένεος δὲ τοῦ βασιλίου. παρελθὼν δὲ οὗτος ἐς τὰ Κροίσου οἰκία κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καθαρσίου ἐδέετο ἐπικυρῆσαι, Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἐκάθηρε. ἔστι δὲ παραπλησίη ἢ κάθαρσις τοῖσι Λυδοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι Ἑλλησιν. ἐπεῖτε δὲ τὰ νομιζόμενα ἐποίησε ὁ Κροῖσος, ἐπυθάνετο ὀκόθεν τε καὶ τίς εἶη, λέγων τάδε· 'ὦ ἄνθρωπε, τίς τε ἐὼν καὶ κόθεν τῆς Φρυγίης ἦκων, ἐπίστιός μοι ἐγένεο; τίνα τε ἀνδρῶν ἢ γυναικῶν ἐφόνευσας;' ὁ δὲ ἀμείβετο· 'ὦ βασιλεῦ, Γορδίῳ μὲν τοῦ Μίδεω εἰμι παῖς, ὀνομάζομαι δὲ Ἄδρηστος, φονεύσας δὲ ἀδελφεὸν ἐμεωυτοῦ ἀέκων πάριμι, ἐξεληλαμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐστερημένος πάντων.' Κροῖσος δὲ μιν ἀμείβετο τοισίδε· 'ἀνδρῶν τε φίλων τυγχάνεις ἔκγονος ἐὼν καὶ ἐλήλυθας ἐς φίλους, ἔνθα ἀμηχανήσεις χρήματος οὐδενός, μένων ἐν ἡμετέρου. συμφορῇ δὲ ταύτην ὡς κουφότατα φέρων κερδανέεις πλείστον.'

## C

*News is brought of a wild boar which is causing havoc in Mysia. The Mysians beg Croesus to send an expedition to kill it, and Croesus agrees.*

ὁ μὲν δὴ δίαιταν εἶχε ἐν Κροίσου, ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ, ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ, ὑὸς ἰχρήματ' γίνεται ἰμέγα· ὀρμώμενος δὲ οὗτος ἐκ τοῦ ὄρεος τούτου, τὰ τῶν Μυσῶν ἔργα διαφθείρεσκε, πολλάκις δὲ οἱ Μυσοὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξεληθόντες ποιέεσκον μὲν κακὸν οὐδέν, ἔπασχον δὲ πρὸς αὐτοῦ. τέλος δέ, ἀπικόμενοι παρὰ τὸν Κροῖσον, τῶν Μυσῶν ἄγγελοι ἔλεγον τάδε· 'ὦ βασιλεῦ, ὑὸς ἰχρήματ' μέγιστον ἀνεφάνη ἡμῖν ἐν τῇ χώρῃ, ὃς τὰ ἔργα διαφθείρει. τοῦτον προθυμεόμενοι ἐλεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα. νῦν ὦν προσδεόμεθά σευ τὸν παῖδα καὶ λογάδας νεηνίας καὶ κύνας συμπέμψαι ἡμῖν, ὡς ἂν μιν ἐξέλωμεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.' οἱ μὲν δὴ τούτων ἐδέοντο, Κροῖσος δὲ, μνημονεύων τοῦ ὀνειροῦ τὰ ἔπεα, ἔλεγε σφι τάδε· 'παιδὸς μὲν περὶ τοῦ ἐμοῦ μὴ μνησθῆτε ἔτι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμῖν συμπέμψαιμι· νεόγαμός τε γὰρ ἔστι καὶ ταῦτά οἱ νῦν μέλει. Λυδῶν μέντοι λογάδας καὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον πᾶν συμπέμψω καὶ διακελεύσομαι τοῖσι ἰουῖσι εἶναι ὡς προθυμοτάτοισι συνεξελεῖν ὑμῖν τὸ θηρίον ἐκ τῆς χώρας.' ταῦτα ἀμείψατο.

## D

*Croesus' son begs to be allowed to join the expedition.*

ἀποχρεωμένων δὲ τούτοις τῶν Μυσῶν, ἐπεσέρχεται ὁ τοῦ Κροίσου παῖς, ἀκηκοὺς τῶν ἐδέοντο οἱ Μυσοί. οὐ φαμένου δὲ τοῦ Κροίσου τὸν γε παῖδά σφι συμπέμψειν, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ νεηνίης τάδε· 'ὦ πάτερ, τὰ κάλλιστα πρότερόν κοτε καὶ γενναϊότατα ἡμῖν ἦν ἐς τε πολέμους καὶ ἐς ἄγρας φοιτέοντας εὐδοκιμέειν. νῦν δὲ ἀμφοτέρων με τούτων ἀποκληίσας ἔχεις, οὔτε τινὰ δειλίην μοι παριδῶν οὔτε ἀθυμίην. νῦν τε τέοισί με χρῆ ὄμμασι ἐς τε ἀγορῇν καὶ ἐξ ἀγορῆς φοιτέοντα φαίνεσθαι; κοῖος μὲν τις τοῖσι πολιήτησι δόξω εἶναι, κοῖος δὲ τις τῇ νεογάμῳ γυναικί; κοίῳ δὲ ἐκείνη δόξει ἀνδρὶ συνοικέειν; ἐμὲ ὦν σὺ ἢ μέθες ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν θήρην, ἢ λόγῳ ἀνάπεισον ὅκως μοι ἀμείνω ἐστὶ ταῦτα οὕτω ποιέόμενα.' ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος τοισίδε· 'ὦ παῖ, οὔτε δειλίην οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἄχαρι

παριδών τοι ποιέω ταῦτα, ἀλλά μοι ὄψις ὄνειρου ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ  
 ἐπιστάσα ἔφη σε ὀλιγοχρόνιον ἔσσεσθαι, ὑπὸ γὰρ αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης  
 ἀπολέεσθαι. πρὸς ὧν τὴν ὄψιν ταύτην, τὸν τε γάμον τοι τοῦτον  
 ἔσπευσα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ παραλαμβανόμενα οὐκ ἀποπέμπω,  
 φυλακὴν ἔχων, εἴ κως δυναίμην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμῆς σε ζόης διακλέψαι.  
 εἰς γὰρ μοι μῦθος τυγχάνεις ἐὼν παῖς· τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἕτερον  
 διεφθαρμένον τὴν ἀκοὴν οὐκ εἶναι μοι λογίζομαι. ἀμείβεται ὁ  
 νεηνίης τοισίδε· συγγνώμη μὲν, ὦ πάτερ, τοι, ἰδόντι γε ὄψιν  
 τοιαύτην, περὶ ἐμὲ φυλακὴν ἔχειν· τὸ δὲ οὐ μανθάνεις, ἀλλὰ λέληθέ  
 σε τὸ ὄνειρον, ἐμὲ τοι δίκαιόν ἐστι φράζειν. φῆς τοι τὸ ὄνειρον ὑπὸ  
 αἰχμῆς σιδηρέης φάναι ἐμὲ τελευτήσιν· ὑὸς δὲ κοῖαι μὲν εἰσι  
 χεῖρες, κοίη δὲ αἰχμὴ σιδηρῆ, τὴν σὺ φοβέαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ  
 ὀδόντος τοι εἶπε τελευτήσιν με, ἢ ἄλλου τευ ὅ τι τούτῳ οἴκε, χρῆν  
 δὴ σε ποιέειν τὰ ποιέεις· νῦν δὲ ὑπὸ αἰχμῆς. ἐπεῖτε ὧν οὐ πρὸς  
 ἄνδρας ἡμῖν γίνεται ἡ μάχη, μέθεσ με. ἀμείβεται Κροῖσος· ὦ παῖ,  
 ἔστι τῇ με νικᾶς, γνώμην ἀποφαίνων περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου· ὡς ὧν  
 νενικημένος ὑπὸ σέο, μεταγινώσκω μετήμῃ τέ σε ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἄγρην.

## E

Adrastus is placed in charge of Croesus' son and promises to bring him safely back.

εἶπας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κροῖσος μεταπέμπεται τὸν Φρύγα Ἄδρηστον,  
 ἀπικομένῳ δὲ οἱ λέγει τάδε· Ἄδρηστε, ἐγὼ σε, συμφορῇ  
 πεπληγμένον ἀχάριτι, (τὴν τοι οὐκ ὄνειδίζω,) ἐκάθηρα καὶ οἰκίοισι  
 ὑποδεξάμενος ἔχω, παρέχων πᾶσαν δαπάνην· νῦν ὧν, ὀφείλεις γάρ,  
 ἐμεῦ προποιήσαντος χρηστὰ ἐς σέ, χρηστοῖσί με ἀμείβεσθαι,  
 φύλακα παιδὸς σε τοῦ ἐμοῦ χρηρίζω γενέσθαι ἐς ἄγρην ὀρμωμένου,  
 μή τινες κατ' ὁδὸν κλώπες κακοῦργοι ἐπὶ δηλήσι φανέωσι ὑμῖν.  
 πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ, καὶ σέ τοι χρεόν ἐστι ἰέναι ἔνθα ἀπολαμπρυνεῖαι  
 τοῖσι ἔργοισι πατρώϊόν τε γὰρ τοί ἐστι καὶ προσέτι ῥώμη  
 ὑπάρχει. ἀμείβεται ὁ Ἄδρηστος· ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἄλλως μὲν ἔγωγε ἂν  
 οὐκ ἦια ἐς ἄεθλον τοιόνδε· οὔτε γὰρ συμφορῇ τοιῆδε κεχρημένον  
 οἶκός ἐστι ἐς ὀμήλικας εὖ πρήσσοντας ἰέναι, οὔτε τὸ βούλεσθαι  
 πάρα, πολλαχῇ τε ἂν ἰσχον ἐμεωυτόν. νῦν δέ, ἐπεῖτε σὺ σπεύδεις  
 καὶ δεῖ τοι χαρίζεσθαι (ὀφείλω γὰρ σε ἀμείβεσθαι χρηστοῖσι),

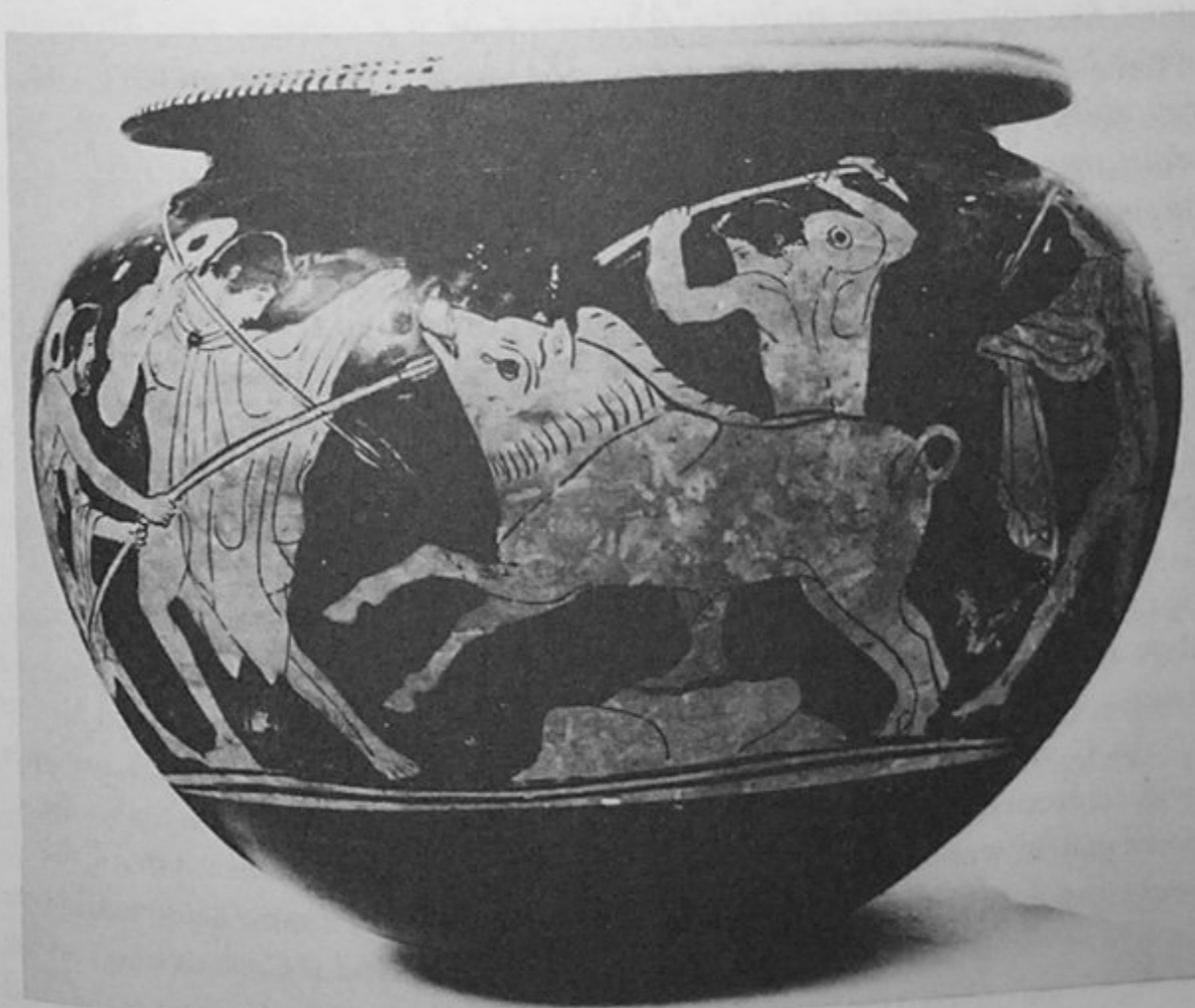
ποιέειν εἰμὶ ἔτοιμος ταῦτα, παῖδά τε σόν, τὸν διακελεύεαι  
 φυλάσσειν, ἀπήμονα, τοῦ φυλάσσοντος εἵνεκεν, προσδόκα τοι  
 ἀπονοστήσειν.

## F

ἐκ θεοῦ νέμεσις μεγάλη

τοιούτοισι ἐπεῖτε οὗτος ἀμείψατο Κροῖσον, ἦσαν μετὰ ταῦτα,  
 ἐξηρτυμένοι λογάσι τε νεηνίησι καὶ κυσί. ἀπικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὸν  
 Ὀλυμπον τὸ ὄρος, ἐζήτεον τὸ θηρίον, εὐρόντες δὲ καὶ περιστάντες  
 αὐτὸ κύκλω, ἐσηκόντιζον. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ ξεῖνος, οὗτος δὴ ὁ καθαρθεὶς  
 τὸν φόνον, καλεόμενος δὲ Ἄδρηστος, ἀκοντίζων τὸν ὕν, τοῦ μὲν  
 ἀμαρτάνει, τυγχάνει δὲ τοῦ Κροῖσου παιδός. ὁ μὲν δὴ, βληθεὶς τῇ  
 αἰχμῇ, ἐξέπλησε τοῦ ὄνειρου τὴν φήμην, ἔθεε δὲ τις ἀγγελέων τῷ  
 Κροῖσῳ τὸ γεγονός, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς τὰς Σάρδις τὴν τε μάχην καὶ

περιστάντες αὐτὸ κύκλω, ἐσηκόντιζον



τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς μόρον ἐσήμηνέ οἱ. ὁ δὲ Κροῖσος, τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ  
 παιδὸς συντεταραγμένος, μᾶλλον τι ἐδεινολογέετο ὅτι μιν ἀπέκτεινε  
 τὸν αὐτὸς φόνου ἐκάθηρε. περιημεκτέων δὲ τῇ συμφορῇ, δεινῶς  
 ἐκάλεε μὲν Δία καθάρσιον, μαρτυρόμενος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ ξείνου  
 πεπονθῶς εἶη, ἐκάλεε δὲ ἐπίστιόν τε καὶ ἑταιρήιον, τὸν αὐτὸν  
 τοῦτον ὀνομάζων θεόν, τὸν μὲν ἐπίστιον καλέων, διότι δὴ οἰκίοισι  
 ὑποδεξάμενος τὸν ξείνον φονέα τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλάνθανε βόσκων, τὸν δὲ  
 ἑταιρήιον, ὡς φύλακα συμπέμφας αὐτὸν εὐρήκοι πολεμιώτατον.  
 παρήσαν δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Λυδοὶ φέροντες τὸν νεκρόν, ὅπισθε δὲ  
 εἶπετό οἱ ὁ φονεύς. στὰς δὲ οὗτος πρὸ τοῦ νεκροῦ, παρεδίδου  
 ἑωυτὸν Κροῖσῳ, προτείνων τὰς χεῖρας, ἐπικατασφάζει μιν κελεύων  
 τῷ νεκρῷ, λέγων τὴν τε προτέραν ἑωυτοῦ συμφορὴν, καὶ ὡς ἐπ'  
 ἐκείνη τὸν καθήραντα ἀπολωλεκῶς εἶη, οὐδέ οἱ εἶη βιώσιμον.  
 Κροῖσος δέ, τούτων ἀκούσας, τὸν τε Ἄδρηστον κατοικτίρει,  
 καίπερ ἔων ἐν κακῷ οἰκίῳ τοσοῦτῳ, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτόν· ἔχω,  
 ὦ ξεῖνε, παρὰ σεῦ πᾶσαν τὴν δίκην, ἐπειδὴ σεωυτοῦ καταδικάζεις  
 θάνατον. εἰς δὲ οὐ σύ μοι τοῦδε τοῦ κακοῦ αἴτιος, εἴ μὴ ὅσον  
 ἀέκων ἐξεργάσαο, ἀλλὰ θεῶν κού τις, ὅς μοι καὶ πάλαι  
 προεσήμαινε τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. Κροῖσος μὲν νυν ἔθαψε, ὡς  
 οἶκος ἦν, τὸν ἑωυτοῦ παῖδα· Ἄδρηστος δὲ ὁ Γορδίῳ τοῦ Μίδεω,  
 οὗτος δὴ ὁ φονεύς μὲν τοῦ ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῦ γενόμενος, φονεύς δὲ  
 τοῦ καθήραντος, ἐπίειτε ἡσυχίῃ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐγένετο περὶ τὸ  
 σῆμα, συγγινωσκόμενος ἀνθρώπων εἶναι, τῶν αὐτὸς ἦδεε,  
 βαρυσυμφωρότατος, ἐπικατασφάζει τῷ τύμβῳ ἑωυτόν.

So ends the story of Adrastus. Croesus continued to be hounded, yet  
 loved, by the gods, as you can now read in the following account, by  
 Herodotus, of his end as king of Lydia. As you have read on p. 155,  
 the Persians were already pushing against Croesus' frontiers and  
 eventually Sardis fell. Cyrus is the Persian king.

So the Persians captured Sardis and took Croesus alive. The siege had lasted fourteen  
 days, and Croesus' reign fourteen years, and he had fulfilled the oracle that he would  
 bring a mighty empire to an end – his own. The Persians took him and led him to  
 Cyrus. Cyrus had a great pyre built and on it, bound in chains, set Croesus, together  
 with fourteen Lydian boys. He intended perhaps to offer them all up as first-fruits to  
 some god, or wished to fulfil some vow, or again perhaps he had heard that Croesus  
 was a god-fearing man and had set him up on the pyre to see if some deity would save  
 him from incineration. Anyway, this was what he did. And as Croesus stood on the  
 pyre, he remembered the words of Solon and realised how divinely inspired they had

been, that no man was happy while he still lived. As this memory came back to him,  
 he broke his silence and groaning deeply called aloud three times 'Solon'.

When Cyrus heard this, he instructed his interpreters to ask Croesus who it was on  
 whom he was calling. Croesus at first maintained silence in the face of their questions,  
 but eventually, under compulsion, said, 'He was a man whom I would have given  
 much money to see in conversation with every ruler in the world.' The interpreters  
 could not understand this and asked again what he meant. Under the pressure of their  
 insistent questioning, Croesus explained how the Athenian Solon had come to visit  
 him in Sardis, had seen all the magnificence he had to offer, and had dismissed it in so  
 many words; and how everything Solon had said had turned out to be the case,  
 although his words had not been directed so much at Croesus as at all mankind,  
 especially at those who considered themselves happy.

While Croesus spoke, the fire had been lit and the edges of the pyre were already  
 burning. But when Cyrus heard what the interpreters said, he had a change of heart,  
 moved by the consideration that he, a mortal, was burning alive another whose  
 happiness had been no less than his own; besides, he feared retribution (for it occurred  
 to him that instability was the hallmark of all human life). So he ordered his men to  
 put the fire out as quickly as possible and to bring Croesus and those with him down  
 from the pyre. But try as they might, the fire was too strong for them.

Then, as the Lydians relate, Croesus, who had learnt of Cyrus' change of heart and  
 saw the men's vain efforts to douse the fire, called in supplication upon Apollo to  
 come down and save him from his plight, if ever he had offered pleasing gifts to him.  
 So in tears he called upon the god; and suddenly, from out of a clear and windless sky,  
 storm clouds gathered and burst in a torrential downpour, extinguishing the fire. So  
 Cyrus, realising that Croesus was a good man and loved by the gods, brought him  
 down from the pyre and questioned him as follows: 'Who was it, Croesus, who  
 persuaded you to march against my country and make yourself my enemy rather  
 than my friend?' And Croesus replied, 'O king, it was I who *did* it – to your great  
 advantage, though to my own great misfortune. But responsibility for what has  
 happened rests with the god of the Greeks, who encouraged me to fight. No one is so  
 foolish that he prefers war to peace. For in the one, sons bury their fathers, in the other  
 fathers bury their sons. But I must suppose it was the gods' will that these things  
 should happen.'

When Croesus said this, Cyrus had him released and brought him to sit near  
 himself and treated him with much consideration; and it was with the greatest respect  
 that both he and all those with him looked upon Croesus.

Odysseus, Athene and Nausikaa



## PART SEVEN

### *Homeric hero and heroine*

#### *Introduction*

Section Nineteen, the final section of the first half of the Course, introduces Homer through the story of Odysseus and Nausikaa. The shift of emphasis apparent in Section Eighteen, which took you away from the secular society of Neaira and Aristarkhos to an interpretation of history which depended on the intervention of the gods in man's affairs, is continued here. Homer's world is one in which the gods move easily amongst the (mortal) heroes of the Greeks (whom the gods are made, in many ways, to resemble), and heroes are quite often, as a result, called 'godlike'. Yet there is a deeper sense of the value of mere humanity in Homer than perhaps in any other Greek writer.

#### *Homer and his poems*

The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are the very first works of literature of Western civilisation, and some would say they are rivalled only by Shakespeare. In reading them, you will be placing yourself in a mainstream of human experience which stretches back for some 2,700 years, and will stretch forward for as long as books are read. No other works have made, directly or indirectly, such a profound impact upon Western literature, or exercised such a compelling grip upon the human imagination over so long a period.

The two poems had probably reached the form in which we now have them by about 750. Tradition tells us that their composer was Homer and that he was blind. Both poems deal with events surrounding the Trojan War which, if it did take place (and it may have), occurred about 1,200. What is certain is that the poems are the result of hundreds of years of oral (not written) story-telling, passed on

down through generations of singers who altered, adapted and modified the traditional tales to suit their own vision and ability. Homer is the culmination of that tradition.

The *Iliad* describes an incident that occurred during the siege of Troy by the Greeks, triggered off by an ugly clash between Agamemnon, the Greek commander-in-chief, and Akhilleus, mainstay of the Greek army. The *Odyssey* describes the home-coming of the Greek hero Odysseus from Troy after the war is over, and Odysseus' re-establishment as lord of his homeland, Ithaka, in the face of the opposition of 108 suitors who have spent the years of his absence courting his wife Penelope. The incident you are about to read is taken from Odysseus' adventures on his way home from Troy to Ithaka.

The most striking feature of Homer's work is the repetition of words, phrases and clauses. This is the direct consequence of the oral style of composition in which Homer worked. But, as you will quickly find out, far from acting as a constraint upon the poetry this repetition actually enhances it.

#### *Homeric dialect*

Homeric dialect consists of a mixture of Aeolic and Ionic forms, with a scattering of Attic, Arcado-Cypriot and others. Forms you will not know are noted in the vocabulary, and a summary of the main differences between Homeric and Attic Greek is made in the appropriate section of the grammar. If you have a good grasp of Ionic, you will not find Homeric dialect difficult to grasp, and sentences tend to be very straightforward grammatically. It is the very large Homeric vocabulary which always presents problems, although the repetition helps considerably.

For a brief description of Homeric hexameters, see the *Grammar*, 226.

#### *Source*

Homer, *Odyssey* 6

#### *Time to be taken*

Three weeks



Odysseus, on his way home from Troy, hears the song of the Sirens unscathed. One of the Sirens, doomed to die in this event, falls to her death.

## Section Nineteen A–G

### Odysseus and Nausikaa

# A

#### Introduction

Odysseus has left Troy for home with his contingent of ships, but is swept off course and, in a series of adventures with such mythical creatures as the Cyclopes, the Lotus Eaters, Kirke, the Sirens and Skylla and Kharybdis, loses all his ships and men. He himself is washed up on the island of the demi-goddess Kalypso, where he is kept against his will for a number of years. Eventually, the gods order his release and Odysseus builds himself a boat and sets sail for his home, Ithaka. But Poseidon the sea-god, still enraged at Odysseus for blinding his son the Cyclops, wrecks the boat. Odysseus swims to land and arrives at Scheria, where he hauls himself ashore and collapses joyfully under a bush to sleep. Meanwhile his patron goddess, Athene, is working on his behalf to arrange a welcome for him amongst the Phaiakians, who inhabit the island.

The interleaved translation is by Richmond Lattimore.

While Odysseus sleeps, Athene visits Nausikaa, the daughter of Alkinoös (king of the Phaiakians), in a dream and suggests that she should go to the river next day to wash the royal linen. Her part played, Athene returns to Mount Olympos.

ὡς ὁ μὲν ἔνθα καθεῦθε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς  
ὑπνῶ καὶ καμάτῳ ἀρημένος· αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη  
βῆ ῥ' ἐς Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε,  
men, who formerly lived in the spacious land, Hyperaia,  
next to the Cyclopes, who were men too overbearing,  
and who had kept harrying them, being greater in strength. From here  
godlike Nausithoös had removed and led a migration,

35

40

and settled in Scheria, far away from men who eat bread,  
and driven a wall about the city, and built the houses,  
and made the temples of the gods, and allotted the holdings.  
But now he had submitted to his fate, and gone to Hades,  
and Alkinoös, learned in designs from the gods, now ruled there.  
It was to his house that the gray-eyed goddess Athene  
went, devising the homecoming of great-hearted Odysseus,  
and she went into the ornate chamber, in which a girl  
was sleeping, like the immortal goddesses for stature and beauty,  
Nausikaa, the daughter of great-hearted Alkinoös,  
and beside her two handmaidens with beauty given from the Graces  
slept on either side of the post with the shining doors closed.

5

10

ἢ δ', ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιή, ἐπέσσυτο δέμνια κούρης,  
στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, καί μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν,  
εἰδομένη κούρη ναυσικλειτοῖο Δύμαντος,  
ἧ οἱ ὀμηλική μὲν ἔην, κεχάριστο δὲ θυμῶ.  
τῇ μιν ἔεισαμένη προσέφη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη·

15

Ἐνασικαῖα, τί νύ σ' ὦδε μεθήμονα γείνατο μήτηρ;  
εἶματα μὲν τοι κείται ἀκηδέα σιγαλόεντα,  
σοὶ δὲ γάμος σχεδὸν ἔστιν, ἵνα χρῆ καλὰ μὲν αὐτὴν  
ἐννυσθαι, τὰ δὲ τοῖσι παρασχεῖν ἴοι κέ σ' ἄγωνται.  
ἐκ γάρ τοι τούτων φάτις ἀνθρώπους ἀναβαίνει  
ἐσθλή, χαίρουσιν δὲ πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ.  
ἀλλ' ἴομεν πλυνέουσαι ἅμ' ἠοὶ φαινομένηφι·  
καὶ τοι ἐγὼ συνέριθος ἅμ' ἔψομαι, ὄφρα τάχιστα  
ἐντύνεται, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι ἔτι δὴν παρθένος ἔσσει·  
ἦδη γάρ σε μνῶνται ἀριστῆες κατὰ δῆμον  
πάντων Φαιήκων, ὅθι τοι γένος ἔστι καὶ αὐτῆ.  
ἀλλ' ἄγ' ἐπότρυνον πατέρα κλυτὸν ἠῶθι πρὸ  
ἠμιόνους καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐφοπλίσει, ἧ κεν ἄγῃσι

20

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30



ἠμιόνους καὶ ἄμαξαν

ζώστρά τε καὶ πέπλους καὶ ῥήγεα σιγαλόεντα.

καὶ δὲ σοὶ ὦδ' αὐτῇ πολὺ κάλλιον ἢ πόδεσσιν  
ἔρχεσθαι· πολλὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ πλυνοῖ ἔϊσι πόλῃος.'

ἢ μὲν ἄρ' ὡς εἰποῦσ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη

Οὔλυμπόνδ', ὅθι φασὶ θεῶν ἔδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ

ἔμμεναι· οὔτ' ἀνέμοισι τινάσσεται οὔτε ποτ' ὄμβρω

δεύεται οὔτε χιῶν ἐπιπίλναται, ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἶθρη

πέπταται ἀνέφελος, λευκῇ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἶγλη·

τῷ ἐνὶ τέρπονται μάκαρες θεοὶ ἤματα πάντα.

ἔνθ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις, ἐπεὶ διεπέφραδε κούρη.

## B

Prompted by the dream, Nausikaa approaches her father and, with the innocent guile of a favourite daughter, suggests that he should grant her permission to do the washing for the family at the river next day.

αὐτίκα δ' Ἦως ἦλθεν εὐθρονος, ἣ μιν ἔγειρε

Ναυσικάαν εὐπεπλον· ἄφαρ δ' ἀπεθαύμασ' ὄνειρον,

βῆ δ' ἴμεναι διὰ δώμαθ', ἵν' ἀγγείλειε τοκεῦσι,

πατρὶ φίλῳ καὶ μητρὶ· κυχῆσατο δ' ἔνδον ἔοντας·

ἣ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχάρη ἦστο, σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξίν,

ἠλάκατα στρωφῶσ' ἀλιπόρφυρα· τῷ δὲ θύραζε

ἔρχομένῳ ξύμβλητο μετὰ κλειτοῦς βασιλῆας

ἔς βουλήν, ἵνα μιν κάλεον Φαίηκες ἀγαυοί.

ἣ δέ, μάλ' ἄγχι στᾶσα, φίλον πατέρα προσέειπε·

'πάππα φίλ', οὐκ ἂν δῆ μοι ἐφοπλίσειας ἀπήνην

ὑψηλὴν εὐκυκλον, ἵνα κλυτὰ εἴματ' ἄγωμαι

ἔς ποταμὸν πλυνέουσα, τὰ μοι ῥερυπωμένα κείται;

καὶ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῷ ἔοικε μετὰ πρώτοισιν ἔοντα

βουλὰς βουλεύειν καθαρὰ χροὶ εἴματ' ἔχοντα.

πέντε δέ τοι φίλοι υἱες ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν γεγάασιν,

οἱ δὲ ὀπιούντες, τρεῖς δ' ἠΐθεοι θαλέθοντες·

οἱ δ' αἰεὶ ἐθέλουσι, νεόπλυτα εἴματ' ἔχοντες,

ἔς χορὸν ἔρχεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἐμῇ φρενὶ πάντα μέμηλεν.'

ὡς ἔφατ'· αἶδετο γὰρ θαλερὸν γάμον ἐξονομῆναι

πατρὶ φίλῳ· ὁ δὲ πάντα νόει καὶ ἀμείβετο μύθῳ·

'οὔτε τοι ἡμιόνων φθονέω, τέκος, οὔτε τευ ἄλλου.

ἔρχε· ἀτὰρ τοι δμῶες ἐφοπλίσουσιν ἀπήνην

ὑψηλὴν εὐκυκλον, ὑπερτερὴν ἀραρυῖαν.'

ὡς εἰπὼν, δμῶεσσιν ἐκέκλετο, τοὶ δ' ἐπίθοντο.

and brought the mule wagon with good wheels outside and put it

together, and led the mules under the yoke and harnessed them,

and the girl brought the bright clothing out from the inner chamber

and laid it in the well-polished wagon. Meanwhile her mother

put in a box all manner of food, which would preserve strength,

and put many good things to eat with it, and poured out

wine in a goatskin bottle, and her daughter put that in the wagon.

She gave her limpid olive oil in a golden oil flask

for her and her attendant women to use for anointing.

Nausikaa took up the whip and the shining reins, then

whipped them into a start and the mules went noisily forward

and pulled without stint, carrying the girl and the clothing.

She was not alone. The rest, her handmaidens, walked on beside her.

Now when they had come to the delightful stream of the river,

where there was always a washing place, and plenty of glorious

water that ran through to wash what was ever so dirty,

there they unyoked the mules and set them free from the wagon,

and chased them out along the bank of the swirling river

to graze on the sweet river grass, while they from the wagon

lifted the wash in their hands and carried it to the black water,

and stamped on it in the basins, making a race and game of it

until they had washed and rinsed all dirt away, then spread it

out in line along the beach of the sea, where the water

of the sea had washed the most big pebbles up on the dry shore.

Then they themselves after bathing and anointing themselves with olive oil,

ate their dinner all along by the banks of the river

and waited for the laundry to dry out in the sunshine.

But when she and her maids had taken their pleasure in eating,

they all threw off their veils for a game of ball, and among them

it was Nausikaa of the white arms who led in the dancing;

and as Artemis, who showers arrows, moves on the mountains

either along Taÿgetos or on high-towering

Erymanthos, delighting in boars and deer in their running,

and along with her the nymphs, daughters of Zeus of the aegis,

range in the wilds and play, and the heart of Leto is gladdened,

for the head and the brows of Artemis are above all the others,

and she is easily marked among them, though all are lovely,

so this one shone among her handmaidens, a virgin unwedded.

## C

*As the girls play ball by the beach, Athene engineers an encounter with Odysseus.*

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ἄρ' ἔμελλε πάλιν οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι,  
 ζεύξασ' ἡμίονους, πτύξασά τε εἴματα καλά,  
 ἔνθ' αὖτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη,  
 ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς ἔγροιτο, ἴδοι τ' εὐώπιδα κούρην,  
 ἢ οἱ Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ἠγγήσαιτο.  
 σφαῖραν ἔπειτ' ἔρριψε μετ' ἀμφίπολον βασιλεία·  
 ἀμφιπόλου μὲν ἄμαρτε, βαθείη δ' ἔμβαλε δίνη,  
 αἰ δ' ἐπὶ μακρὸν ἄϋσαν. ὁ δ' ἔγρετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἐζόμενος δ' ὄρμαινε κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν·  
 ὦ μοι ἐγώ, τέων αὖτε βροτῶν ἐς γαίαν ἰκάνω;  
 ἦ ῥ' οἷ γ' ὕβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδὲ δίκαιοι,  
 ἦε φιλόξενοι, καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστὶ θεουδής;  
 ὡς τέ με κουράων ἀμφήλυθε θήλυς αὐτή,  
 νυμφάων, αἱ ἔχουσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα  
 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεια ποιήεντα.  
 ἦ νύ που ἀνθρώπων εἰμὶ σχεδὸν αὐδηέντων;  
 ἀλλ' ἄγ', ἐγὼν αὐτὸς πειρήσομαι ἠδὲ ἴδωμαι.'

## D

*Naked, but discreetly clutching a leafy branch, Odysseus emerges. The girls flee – all except Nausikaa. Odysseus considers how he may best address her.*

ὡς εἰπὼν θάμνων ὑπεδύσετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἐκ πυκινῆς δ' ὕλης πτόρθον κλάσε χειρὶ παχείῃ  
 φύλλων, ὡς ῥύσαιτο περὶ χροῖ μῆδεα φωτός.  
 βῆ δ' ἴμεν ὡς τε λέων ὀρεσίτροφος, ἀλκὶ πεποιθώς,  
 ὅς τ' εἶσ' ὕόμενος καὶ ἀήμενος, ἐν δέ οἱ ὄσσε  
 δαίεται· αὐτὰρ ὁ βουσί μετέρχεται ἢ ὄτεσσιν  
 ἠὲ μετ' ἀγροτέρας ἐλάφους· κέλεται δέ ἐ γαστήρ,  
 μῆλων πειρήσοντα, καὶ ἐς πυκινὸν δόμον ἐλθεῖν·  
 ὡς Ὀδυσσεὺς κούρησιν ἐϋπλοκάμοισιν ἔμελλε  
 μίξεσθαι, γυμνός περ ἐὼν· χρεῖω γὰρ ἴκανε.



τρέσσαν δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη

σμερδαλέος δ' αὐτῆσι φάνη κεκακωμένος ἄλμη,  
 τρέσσαν δ' ἄλλυδις ἄλλη ἐπ' ἠϊόνας προύχουσας·  
 οἷη δ' Ἀλκινόου θυγάτηρ μένε· τῇ γὰρ Ἀθήνη  
 θάρσος ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε καὶ ἐκ' δέος ἔειλετο γυίων.  
 στή δ' ἄντα σχομένη· ὁ δὲ μερμήριξεν Ὀδυσσεύς,  
 ἢ γούνων λίσσοιτο λαβὼν εὐώπιδα κούρην,  
 ἢ αὐτῶς ἐπέεσσιν ἀποσταδὰ μελιχίοισι  
 λίσσοιτ', εἰ δείξειε πόλιν καὶ εἴματα δοίη.  
 ὡς ἄρα οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι,  
 λίσσεσθαι ἐπέεσσιν ἀποσταδὰ μελιχίοισι,  
 μὴ οἱ γούνα λαβόντι χολώσαιτο φρένα κούρη.  
 αὐτίκα μελιχίον καὶ κερδαλέον φάτο μῦθον·



## E

Odysseus' speech. He indicates his awe of Nausikaa, relates his past sufferings (hinting at his own importance in passing), and closes with a plea for help.

ἄγουνούμαί σε, ἄνασσα· θεός νύ τις ἢ βροτός ἔσσι;  
 εἰ μὲν τις θεός ἔσσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν,  
 Ἄρτεμιδί σε ἐγὼ γε, Διὸς κούρη μέγалоιο,  
 εἰδός τε μέγεθός τε φυήν τ' ἄγχιστα εἶσκω·  
 εἰ δέ τις ἔσσι βροτῶν, τοὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσι,  
 τρισμάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ,  
 τρισμάκαρες δὲ κασίγνητοι· μάλα πού σφισι θυμὸς  
 αἰὲν εὐφροσύνησιν ἰαίνεται εἴνεκα σεῖο,  
 λευσσόντων τοιόνδε θάλος χορὸν εἰσοιχνεῦσαν.  
 κείνος δ' αὖ περὶ κῆρι μακάρτατος ἔξοχον ἄλλων,  
 ὅς κέ σ', ἐέδνοισι βρίσας, οἰκόνδ' ἀγάγηται.  
 οὐ γάρ πω τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
 οὔτ' ἄνδρ' οὔτε γυναῖκα· σέβας μ' ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.  
 Δήλω δὴ ποτε τοῖον, Ἄπόλλωνος παρὰ βωμῶ,  
 φοῖνικος νέον ἔρνος ἀνερχόμενον ἐνόησα·  
 ἦλθον γὰρ καὶ κείσε, πολὺς δέ μοι ἔσπετο λαὸς  
 τὴν ὁδὸν ἢ δὴ μέλλεν ἐμοὶ κακὰ κήδε' ἔσεσθαι.  
 ὡς δ' αὐτῶς, καὶ κείνο ἰδὼν, ἐτεθήπεα θυμῶ  
 δὴν, ἐπεὶ οὐ πω τοῖον ἀνήλυθεν ἐκ δόρυ γαίης,  
 ὡς σέ, γύναι, ἄγαμαί τε τέθηπά τε δεῖδιά τ' αἰνῶς  
 γούνων ἄψασθαι· χαλεπὸν δέ με πένθος ἰκάνει.  
 χθιζὸς ἐεικοστῶ φύγον ἡματι οἴνοπα πόντον·  
 τόφρα δέ μ' αἰεὶ κύμ' ἐφόρει κραιπναί τε θύελλαι  
 νήσου ἀπ' Ὠγγίης· νῦν δ' ἐνθάδε κάββαλε δαίμων,  
 ὄφρα τί που καὶ τῆδε πάθω κακόν· οὐ γὰρ οἴω  
 παυσεσθ', ἀλλ' ἔτι πολλὰ θεοὶ τελέουσι πάροιθεν.  
 ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαιρε· σέ γὰρ κακὰ πολλὰ μογήσας  
 ἐς πρώτην ἰκόμην, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ τινα οἶδα  
 ἀνθρώπων, οἳ τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαίαν ἔχουσιν.  
 ἄστυ δέ μοι δείξον, δὸς δὲ ῥάκος ἀμφιβαλέσθαι,  
 εἴ τί που εἴλυμα σπείρων ἔχες ἐνθάδ' ἰούσα.  
 σοὶ δὲ θεοὶ τόσα δοῖεν ὅσα φρεσὶ σῆσι μενοινᾶς,

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Ἄρτεμις



Ἄπόλλων

ἄνδρα τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ ὁμοφροσύνην ὀπάσειαν  
 ἐσθλήν· οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρείσσον καὶ ἄρειον,  
 ἢ ὄθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασιν οἶκον ἔχητον  
 ἀνὴρ ἠδὲ γυνή· πόλλ' ἄλγεα δυσμενέεσσι,  
 χάρματα δ' εὐμενέτησι· μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοί.'

## F

Nausikaa, with halting formality, promises help, introduces herself and recalls her terrified servants.

τὸν δ' αὖ Νausικαά λευκώλενος ἀντίον ἠῦδα·  
 'ξείν', ἐπεὶ οὔτε κακῶ οὔτ' ἄφρονι φωτὶ ἔοικας,  
 Ζεὺς δ' αὐτὸς νέμει ὄλβον Ὀλύμπιος ἀνθρώποισιν,  
 ἐσθλοῖς ἠδὲ κακοῖσιν, ὅπως ἐθέλησιν, ἐκάστω·  
 καὶ που σοὶ τάδ' ἔδωκε, σὲ δὲ χρῆ τετλάμεν ἔμπης.  
 νῦν δ', ἐπεὶ ἡμετέρην τε πόλιν καὶ γαίαν ἰκάνεις,  
 οὔτ' οὖν ἐσθήτος δευήσεται οὔτε τευ ἄλλου,  
 ὧν ἐπέοιχ' ἰκέτην ταλαπείριον ἀντιάσαντα.  
 ἄστου δέ τοι δείξω, ἐρέω δέ τοι οὔνομα λαῶν.  
 Φαίηκες μὲν τήνδε πόλιν καὶ γαίαν ἔχουσιν,  
 εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο,  
 τοῦ δ' ἐκ Φαιήκων ἔχεται κάρτος τε βίη τε.'  
 ἦ ῥα, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισιν εὐπλοκάμοισι κέλευσε·  
 'στήτέ μοι, ἀμφίπολοι· πόσε φεύγετε φῶτα ἰδοῦσαι;  
 ἦ μή ποῦ τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν;  
 οὐκ ἔσθ' οὗτος ἀνὴρ διερὸς βροτὸς οὐδὲ γένηται,  
 ὅς κεν Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν ἐς γαίαν ἴκηται  
 δηϊότητα φέρων· μάλα γὰρ φίλοι ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 οἰκέομεν δ' ἀπάνευθε πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ,  
 ἔσχατοι, οὐδέ τις ἄμμι βροτῶν ἐπιμίσγεται ἄλλος.  
 ἀλλ' ὅδε τις δύστηνος ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνει,  
 τὸν νῦν χρῆ κομέειν· πρὸς γὰρ Διὸς εἰσιν ἅπαντες  
 ξείνοί τε πτωχοί τε, δόσις δ' ὀλίγη τε φίλη τε.  
 ἀλλὰ δότ', ἀμφίπολοι, ξείνῳ βρώσιν τε πόσιν τε,  
 λούσατέ τ' ἐν ποταμῶ, ὅθ' ἐπὶ σκέπας ἔστ' ἀνέμοιο.'

## G

As Odysseus bathes, Athene increases his attractiveness. Nausikaa describes to her servants the effect upon her of his transformation.

ὡς ἔφαθ', αἰ δ' ἔσταν τε καὶ ἀλλήλησι κέλευσαν,  
 καδ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆ' εἶσαν ἐπὶ σκέπας, ὡς ἐκέλευσε  
 Νausικαά, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἀλκινόοιο·  
 πὰρ δ' ἄρα οἱ φᾶρός τε χιτῶνά τε εἴματ' ἔθηκαν,  
 δῶκαν δὲ χρυσέῃ ἐν ληκύθῳ ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον,  
 ἠνωγον δ' ἄρα μιν λούσθαι ποταμοῖο ῥοῆσι.  
 δῆ ῥα τότε ἀμφιπόλοισι μετηύδα διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς·  
 'ἀμφίπολοι, στήθ' οὔτω ἀπόπροθεν, ὄφρ' ἐγὼ αὐτὸς  
 ἄλμην ὤμοιῖν ἀπολούσομαι, ἀμφὶ δ' ἐλαίῳ  
 χρίσομαι· ἦ γὰρ δηρὸν ἀπὸ χροός ἔστιν ἀλοιφή.  
 ἀντην δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γε λοέσσομαι· αἰδέομαι γὰρ  
 γυμνοῦσθαι κούρησιν εὐπλοκάμοισι μετελθών.'  
 ὡς ἔφαθ', αἰ δ' ἀπάνευθεν ἴσαν, εἶπον δ' ἄρα κούρη.  
 αὐτὰρ ὁ ἐκ ποταμοῦ χροά νίζετο διὸς Ὀδυσσεύς  
 ἄλμην, ἣ οἱ νῶτα καὶ εὐρέας ἄμπεχεν ὤμους·  
 ἐκ κεφαλῆς δ' ἔσμηχεν ἀλὸς χνόον ἀτρυγέτοιο.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα λοέσσατο καὶ λίπ' ἄλειψεν,  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ εἴματα ἔσσαθ' ἃ οἱ πόρε παρθένος ἀδμῆς,  
 τὸν μὲν Ἀθηναίη θῆκεν, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα,  
 μείζονά τ' εἰσιδέειν καὶ πάσσονα, καδ' δὲ κάρητος  
 οὔλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας.  
 ὡς δ' ὅτε τις χρυσὸν περιχεύεται ἀργύρῳ ἀνὴρ,  
 ἴδρις, ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη  
 τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει,  
 ὡς ἄρα τῷ κατέχευε χάριν κεφαλῆ τε καὶ ὤμοις.  
 ἔζετ' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε, κιῶν ἐπὶ θίνα θαλάσσης,  
 κάλλει καὶ χάρισι στίλβων· θηεῖτο δὲ κούρη.  
 δῆ ῥα τότε ἀμφιπόλοισιν εὐπλοκάμοισι μετηύδα·  
 'κλυτέ μευ, ἀμφίπολοι λευκώλενοι, ὄφρα τι εἴπω.  
 οὐ πάντων ἀέκητι θεῶν, οἱ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσι,  
 Φαιήκεσσ' ὅδ' ἀνὴρ ἐπιμίσγεται ἀντιθέοισι·  
 πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ δὴ μοι ἀεικέλιος δέατ' εἶναι,  
 νῦν δὲ θεοῖσιν ἔοικε, τοῖ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν.  
 αἶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τοιόσδε πόσις κεκλημένος εἶη

ἐνθάδε ναιετάων, καί οἱ ἄδοι αὐτόθι μίμνειν.

ἀλλὰ δότ', ἀμφίπολοι, ξείνῳ βρώσιν τε πόσιν τε.'

ὡς ἔφαθ', αἰ δ' ἄρα τῆς μάλα μὲν κλύον ἦδ' ἐπίθοντο,

πὰρ δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσσῆϊ ἔθεσαν βρώσιν τε πόσιν τε.

ἦτοι ὁ πῖνε καὶ ἦσθε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεὺς

ἀρπαλέως· δηρὸν γὰρ ἔδητύος ἦεν ἄπαστος.

Then Nausikaa of the white arms thought what to do next.

She folded the laundry and put it away in the fine mule wagon,  
and yoked the mules with powerful hooves, and herself mounted,  
and urged Odysseus and spoke a word and named him by title:

'Rise up now, stranger, to go to the city, so I can see you  
to the house of my own prudent father, where I am confident  
you will be made known to all the highest Phaiakians.

Or rather, do it this way; you seem to me not to be thoughtless.

While we are still among the fields and the lands that the people  
work, for that time follow the mules and the wagon, walking  
lightly along with the maids, and I will point the way to you.

But when we come to the city, and around this is a towering  
wall, and a handsome harbor either side of the city,

and a narrow causeway, and along the road there are oarswept  
ships drawn up, for they all have slips, one for each vessel;

and there is the place of assembly, put together with quarried  
stone, and built around a fine precinct of Poseidon,

and there they tend to all that gear that goes with the black ships,  
the hawsers and the sails, and there they fine down their

oarblades;

for the Phaiakians have no concern with the bow or the quiver,  
but it is all masts and the oars of ships and the balanced vessels  
themselves, in which they delight in crossing over the gray sea;  
and it is their graceless speech I shrink from, for fear one may mock us  
hereafter, since there are insolent men in our community,

and see how one of the worse sort might say when he met us,

'Who is this large and handsome stranger whom Nausikaa

has with her, and where did she find him? Surely, he is

to be her husband, but is he a stray from some ship of alien

men she found for herself, since there are no such hereabouts?

Or did some god after much entreaty come down in answer

to her prayers, out of the sky, and all his days will he have her?

Better so, if she goes out herself and finds her a husband

from elsewhere, since she pays no heed to her own Phaiakian

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neighbors, although many of these and the best ones court her.'

So they will speak, and that would be a scandal against me,

and I myself would disapprove of a girl who acted

so, that is, without the good will of her dear father

and mother making friends with a man, before being formally

married. Then, stranger, understand what I say, in order

soon to win escort and a voyage home from my father.

You will find a glorious grove of poplars sacred to Athene

near the road, and a spring runs there, and there is a meadow

about it, and there is my father's estate and his flowering orchard,

as far from the city as the shout of a man will carry.

Sit down there and wait for time enough for the rest of us

to reach the town and make our way to my father's palace.

But when you estimate that we shall have reached the palace,

then go to the city of the Phaiakians and inquire for

the palace of my father, great-hearted Alkinoös. This is

easily distinguished, so an innocent child could guide you

there, for there are no other houses built for the other

Phaiakians anything like the house of the hero Alkinoös.

But when you have disappeared inside the house and the

courtyard,

then go on quickly across the hall until you come to

my mother, and she will be sitting beside the hearth, in the firelight,

turning sea-purple yarn on a distaff, a wonder to look at,

and leaning against the pillar, and her maids are sitting behind her;

and there is my father's chair of state, drawn close beside her,

on which he sits when he drinks his wine like any immortal.

Go on past him and then with your arms embrace our mother's

knees; do this, so as to behold your day of homecoming

with happiness and speed, even if you live very far off.

For if she has thoughts in her mind that are friendly to you,

then there is hope that you can see your own people, and come back

to your strong-founded house, and to the land of your fathers.'

So Nausikaa spoke and with the shining lash whipped up

her mules, and swiftly they left the running river behind them,

and the mules, neatly twinkling their feet, ran very strongly,

but she drove them with care, so that those on foot, Odysseus

and the serving maids, could keep up, and used the whip with discretion.

And the sun went down and they came to the famous grove, sacred

to Athene; and there the great Odysseus sat down

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and immediately thereafter prayed to the daughter of great Zeus:  
'Hear me, Atrytone child of Zeus of the aegis,  
and listen to me now, since before you did not listen  
to my stricken voice as the famous shaker of the earth battered me.  
Grant that I come, as one loved and pitied, among the Phaiakians.'

So he spoke in prayer, and Pallas Athene heard him,  
but she did not yet show herself before him, for she respected  
her father's brother, Poseidon, who still nursed a sore anger  
at godlike Odysseus until his arrival in his own country.

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