PLUTARCH’S MORALIA
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES
VII
523 c—612 B
WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
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The text rests on a collation from photostats of all mss. known to us.\textsuperscript{a} With Bernardakis we silently correct such forms as ἀκρόχολος and ἀβέλητρος. We have departed from all the mss. in aspirating Ἰσρηνός and related words (cf. the note on 606 ρ). The best and oldest mss. write ἀχρι, μέχρι, ἐρνύς, and ἐμπλέω (accusative singular masculine and feminine). We have therefore eliminated ἀχρις, μέχρις, ἐρνύς, ἐμπλεων, and the like from the text. Before consonants we retain the movable ν wherever the mss. allow us to do so, and we follow their nearly unanimous usage in the treatment of elision and the accentuation of ἑστί.

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


\textsuperscript{b} The superior letters υετ and e indicate each an early hand whose relation to the rest we have not ventured to determine. Χ\textsuperscript{d} is the diorthotes of Χ.
superscribed reading, mg a reading in the margin; and s a reading taken from a part of the ms. supplied by a later hand. A list of mss. cited follows; the dating is that of the catalogues and later literature.

A 1671 in the national library at Paris; a.d. 1296.
B 1675 in the national library at Paris; 15th century.
C 1955 in the national library at Paris; 11th–12th century.
D 1956 in the national library at Paris; 11th–12th century.
E 1672 in the national library at Paris; written shortly after a.d. 1302.
F 1957 in the national library at Paris; end of the 11th century.
G 182 in the Barberini collection at the Vatican; 11th century.
H 283 in the Palatine collection at Heidelberg University; 11th–12th century.
I Excerpts in ms. 11360-63 in the royal library at Brussels; 14th–15th century.
J C 195 inf. (881) in the Ambrosian library; 13th century.
K 1309 in the Vatican library; 14th–15th century.
L 69, 13 in the Laurentian library; 10th century.
M Formerly 501 in the library of the Synod at Moscow; 12th century.
N Formerly 502 in the library of the Synod at Moscow; 12th century.
R 4458 in the Mazarin library at Paris; 14th century.
S 264 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
U 97 in the Urbino collection at the Vatican; 10th–11th century.
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V 427 in the library of St. Mark; 14th century.
W 129 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna; 11th–12th century.
WR 45 in the Riccardi library. It is cited for the missing pages of its original, W.
X 250 in the library of St. Mark; 11th and 14th century. The De fato is contained in the later portion.
Y 249 in the library of St. Mark; 11th–12th century.
Z 511 in the library of St. Mark; 14th century.
\( \exists \) Excerpts from the De se ipsum citra invidiam laudando in Johannes Diaconus’ commentary on Hermogenes περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος in ms. 2228 at the Vatican (14th century).
\( a \) Q 89 sup. (689) in the Ambrosian library; 15th century.
\( b \) 18967 in the royal library at Brussels; 15th century.
\( e \) 199 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
\( f \) 26 in the collection of the Conventi soppressi at the Laurentian library; 14th century.
\( h \) 5612 of the Harleian collection in the British Museum; 15th century.
\( i \) 56, 4 in the Laurentian library; 15th century.
\( k \) 80, 28 in the Laurentian library; 15th century. The De cupiditate divitiorum is found in ms. 80, 29, also designated k, of the Laurentian. Both were once parts of the same ms.
\( l \) 56, 5 in the Laurentian library; 14th century.
\( m \) E 10 sup. (271) in the Ambrosian library; 16th century.
\( n \) 350 III E 28 in the national library at Naples; 15th century.
p 178 in the Palatine collection at the Vatican; 15th century.
q 1010 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
r 41 in the Rehdiger collection at Wroclaw University; 16th century.
s 1012 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
v 46 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna; 15th century.
w 36 in the collection of Greek philosophy in the national library at Vienna; 15th century.
y 1009 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
a C 126 inf. (859) in the Ambrosian library; A.D. 1294–95.
\( \beta \) 1013 in the Vatican library; 14th century.
\( \gamma \) 139 in the Vatican library; written shortly after A.
\( \varepsilon \) 4690 in the national library at Madrid; 14th century.
\( \zeta \) Excerpts in ms. X I 13 of the Escorial; 14th century.
\( \mu \) 80, 21 in the Laurentian library; 15th century.
\( \pi \) 80, 22 in the Laurentian library; written (except for folios 12'-13') by Filelfo.
\( \sigma \) 248 in the library of St. Mark; A.D. 1455.
s Excerpts in ms. \( \Phi \) III 11 of the Escorial; 16th century.
v 98 in the Urbino collection at the Vatican; 14th century.
\( \phi \) 145 in the Este library at Modena; 15th century.

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

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

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

\(^b\) Alcuni Opuscolello del Divino Plutarco (Venice, 1543). Tarcagnotta translated the *De cupiditate divitiarum*, Massa the *De vitioso pudore*. In the Seconda Parte (Venice, 1548) of a later edition Tarcagnota translated the *De invidia et odio*, the *De sera numinis vindicta*, and the *De exilium*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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PREFACE

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

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

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

\(^b\) Plutarch *Über Gott und Vorsehung, Dämonen und Weissagung* (Zürich, 1952). Included are the *De sera numinis vindicta* and the *De genio Socratis*. 
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER of the Books of the *Moralia* as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

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(DE CUPIDITATE DIVITIARUM)
INTRODUCTION

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

\[ a \] The fragment (no. 56 Rose) is based on the Euthydemus (280 b 5—281 e 5), where the distinction between not using wealth and using it, and between using it well and ill is drawn.

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

\[ c \] Cf. Plato, Republic, ii. 373 d 9 f., ix. 591 d 6—e 5 and [Andronicus] peri πάθων (p. 19 Kreuttnr; von Arnim, Stoicorum Vet. Frag. iii. 397, p. 97. 18): φιλοχρηστια δε ἐπιθυμια ἄχρηστος ἦ (Wachsmuth wrongly excises ἄχρηστος ἦ: cf. 524 f, 525 b, f) ἀμετρος χρημάτων. Both Aristotle (1256 b 33 f.) and Plutarch (524 e) quote in this connexion the same verse of Solon. The variant in Plutarch (ἀνθρώπωσιν for ἀνδράσι κεῖται) is ancient (cf. Wilamowitz, Sappho und Simonides, pp. 270 f.); Plutarch is no doubt quoting from memory.
ON LOVE OF WEALTH

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

\(^a\) Cf. Plato, Laws, v. 743 b 8. Unlike Aristotle (1119 b 30 —1120 a 4), Plutarch does not restrict the meaning of the word "prodigal." Aristotle here is criticizing Plato's use in Republic, viii. 560 e 2, 5. The source of many of Aristotle's remarks is Plato, Laws, v. 742 a ff. We note that Aristotle (1121 b 33 πορνοβοσκοί) clears up the interpretation of βοσκη-μάτων αἰσχρῶν (743 d 4), an expression that perplexed all commentators before Wilamowitz (Platon, ii, 1919, p. 399).
ON LOVE OF WEALTH

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

A certain exuberance and fancifulness in the diction would incline one to date the essay early in Plutarch's career. A Latin translation by Erasmus appeared at Basle in 1514, another by Richard Pace at Venice in 1522. There is also a German translation by W. Ax. The essay is No. 211 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on LC G Xv I W DZ Φ ab y hki N M vw Ylq. Other mss., J as ee, are cited for an occasional conjecture.

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

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

1. Ἰππόμαχος ὁ ἀλείπτης ἐπανούντων τινῶν ἄν-D θρωπον εὐμήκη καὶ μακρᾶς ἐχοντα χείρας ὡς πυκτικόν, "εἴπερ," ἐφη, "καθελεῖν ἐδει τὸν στέ-

φανον κρεμᾶμεν." 2 τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἴπειν πρὸς τοὺς τά καλὰ χωρία καὶ τὰς μεγάλας οἰκίας καὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀργύριον ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους καὶ μακαρίζοντας:

"εἰ γε ἔδει πωλουμένην πρίασθαι τὴν εὐδαιμο-

νίαν." (καίτοι 5 πολλοὺς ἂν εἴποι 6 τις ὅτι μᾶλλον ἐθέλουσι 8 πλουτεῖν καὶ κακοδαιμονοῦντες ἤ μακα-

ριοι γενέσθαι δόντες ἀργύριον.) ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔστι γι

χρημάτων ὧνιον ἀλυπία μεγαλοφροσύνη εὐστάθεια

θαρραλεώτης αὐτάρκεια.

Τὸ 11 πλουτεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν 11 τὸ πλουτὸν καταφοροεῖν Ἐ οὔδὲ τὸν τα 12 περιττὰ κεκτῆσθαι τὸ ὑή δεῖσθαι τῶν περιττῶν. (2.) τίνος οὖν ἀπαλλάττει τῶν ἄλλων

1 εἴπερ Κ J² DΖφαβ Μ² νν η: καὶ γε Ἰ; ὁσπερ.
2 κρεμᾶμεν (τὸν κρ. ab)] ἠφημενον C.
3 πολὺ ἀργύριον (and so G⁴)] πολυάργυρον G¹.
4 πρίασθαι (and so G⁴; πριάσθαι X N¹; πριάσθαι D N²:

δρᾶσθαι G¹) τὴν εὐδ.] τὴν εὐδ. πρ. C.
5 καίτοι] καὶ W. 6 εἴποι] ἔδωι C J² w² q.
7 ὅτι μ. D hk¹i: μ. οἰ J¹; οἰ μ. Ἰφ(η μ. a)bM² νν ; μ.
8 ἐθέλουσι (and so I)] ἐθέλουντας C G q.
9 κακοδαιμονοῦντες Χυ I W y M² νν : κακοδαιμονεῖν C G

DΖφαβ hkι M¹ q.; κακοδαιμονεῖν οὖν N Yl.
10 μακάριοι γ. δόντες] μακαρίους γ. δόντας C G I y q; μακα-

ρίοις γ. δόντες Χυ.
ON LOVE OF WEALTH

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

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

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

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

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

11 τὸ . . . ἐστὶ . . . τὸ (vw omit the second τὸ): τῷ . . . ἐνεστὶ . . . τῷ DZφαβ.

12 τά] C hk2i omit.
(523) κακῶν ὁ πλοῦτος εἰ μηδὲ φιλοπλουτίας; ἀλλὰ ποτὸν¹ μὲν ἐσβεσεν² τὴν ποτὸν ὦρεξιν καὶ τροφὴν³ τὴν⁴ τροφῆς ἐπιθυμίαν ἥκέσατο⁵. κάκεινος ὁ λέγων
dὸς χλαίναν Ἰππώνακτι, κάρτα γὰρ ῥυγῷ
πλειώνων ἐπιφερομένων⁶ δυσανασχετεὶ καὶ διωθεῖ-
tαι: φιλαργυρίαν δὲ οὐ οἰκονικῶν ἀργυρίων οὐδὲ
χρυσίον, οὐδὲ πλεονεξία παύεται κτωμένη τὸ πλέον,
ἀλλ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸν πλοῦτον ὡς πρὸς⁷ ἱατρὸν
ἀλαζόνα:

τὸ φάρμακον σου τὴν νόσου μείζω ποιεῖ·

Γ ἀρτον δεομένους καὶ οἶκου⁸ καὶ σκέπης μετρίας
καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ὄψου παραλαβὼν ἐμπέπληκεν ἐπι-
θυμίᾳς χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ ἔλεφαντος καὶ σμα-
ράγδων καὶ κυνῶν καὶ ῥπων, εἰς χαλέπα⁹ καὶ
σπάνια καὶ δυσπόριστα¹⁰ καὶ ἀχρηστα μεταβαίνει ἐκ
τῶν ἀναγκαῖων τὴν ὦρεξιν. ἐπεὶ τῶν γε ἄρκουντων
οúdeis πένης ἔστίν, οὐδὲ δεδάνειστα πώποτε ἄν-
θρωπος ἄργυριων ἢν ἀλφίτα πρῆται ἡ τυρών¹¹ ἡ
ἀρτον ἡ ἐλαίας, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν οἰκία πολυτελῆς
524 χρεωφειλέτην πεποίηκεν,¹² τὸν δὲ ὀμοροῦν ἐλαιώ-

¹ ποτὸν hki and Antonii Melissa (PG 136 896 A): ποτὸς G ;
ποτῶ.
² ἐσβεσεν Dac (-σε G hk¹i): ἐσβεσαν.
³ τροφή C¹ G y hki N Y ras: τροφὴν q; τροφῇ (and so I).
⁴ τὴν] τὴν τῆς C w.
⁵ ἥκέσατο (ἡ- X¹ ν q; ἥκάσατο N)] ἥκέσαντο I DZ fab M² vw l².
⁶ πλ. ἐπιφ. is put after διωθεῖται in C.
⁷ ὡς πρὸς C : ὀσεπ.
⁸ οἶκον] οἶνον I W.
⁹ χαλεπὰ] χαλεπώτατα L.C.
wealth deliver us, if it does not even deliver us from the craving for it? a Nay, drink allays the desire of drink, and food is a remedy for hunger; and one who says

A cloak I beg: Hipponax is acold b

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

Your physic but increases the disease. c

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

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a Cf. Teles, p. 35. 9–36. 1 (ed. Hense²).
b Hipponax, frag. 17 (ed. Bergk), 24 b (ed. Diehl); quoted also in Mor. 1058 b, 1068 b.

10 δυσπόριστα] δυσεύρετα καὶ δυσπόριστα LC.
11 τυρόν] πυρόν LC².
12 πεποιήκεν W k N Yl (-κε the rest): ἐποίησε LC.
(524) φυτὼν, τὸν δὲ σιτώνες, ἀμπελώνες, ἄλλον ἡμίονοι
Γαλατικαί, ἄλλον ἦπποι ζυγοφόροι

κεῖν' ὀχεα κροτέοντες

ἐνσεσείκασιν εἰς βάραθρα ἑνβολαίὼν καὶ τόκων καὶ ὑποθηκών. εἴτα ὅσπερ οἱ πίνοντες μετὰ τὸ μή 
δυσῆν ἡ ἐσθίοντες μετὰ τὸ μή πευκὴν καὶ ὀσα 
dιψῶντες ἡ πεινώντες ἑλαβον προσεζεμοῦσιν, οὖτως 
οἱ τῶν ἀχρήστων ἐφίεμενοι καὶ περιττῶν οὐδὲ τῶν 
ἀναγκαίων κρατοῦσιν. οὖτοι μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτοι.

3. Τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν ἀποβάλλοντας ἐξοντας δὲ πολ-
λὰ πλειόνων δὲ ἀεὶ δεομένους ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμά-
σειν ἂν τις τοῦ Ἀριστίππου μεμνημένος. ἐκεῖνος

Β γὰρ εἰώθει λέγειν ὅτι "πολλὰ μὲν τις ἐσθίων 
pολλὰ δὲ πίνων πληρούμενος δὲ μηδέποτε πρὸς 
tοὺς ἱατρούς βαδίζει καὶ πυνθάνεται τί τὸ πάθος 
καὶ τίς ἡ διάθεσις καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπαλλαγεῖσθαι· εἰ δὲ 
tις ἐχὼν πέντε κλίνας δέκα ζητεῖ, καὶ κεκτημένος 
δέκα τραπέζας ἐτέρας συνωνεῖται τοσάτας, καὶ 
χωρίων πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ ἀργυρίου οὐ γίνεται 
μεστὸς ἁλλὰ ἐπ᾽ ἅλλα συντέταται καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖ καὶ 
ἀπλήρωτος ἐστὶν πάντων, οὕτως οὐκ οὕτε ἰδοθαι 
τοῦ θεραπεύουστος καὶ δείξοντος ψφ᾽ ἢς αἰτίας

1 σιτώνες (and so G⁴): σιτόσπορον G¹.
2 βάραθρα, βάραθρον D lki; βάραθρον Zfab.
3 ἀποβάλλοντας (−άλο− b; −es v)]) διαβάλλοντας Xv y hki N Yl.
4 πλ. δὲ ἀεὶ (πλειόνες ἀεὶ φ)] καὶ πλειόνων ἀεὶ L; πλειόνων ἀεὶ C¹; πλειόνων δὲ hki.
5 ἂν] LC omit.
6 τί M vv Yl: the rest omit.
fields and vineyards; and there are still others that Galatian \(^a\) mules or a set of horses

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

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

\(^a\) Or possibly Gallic.

\(^b\) Homer, \(II.\ xv.\ 453\). “Empty” also means “vain.”

\(^c\) Cf. Xenophon, \(Symp.\ iv.\ 37\). The comparison of misers to sufferers from dropsy—who though full of fluid desire drink—was first made by Diogenes: cf. Stobaeus, \(Anth.\ iii.\ 10.\ 45\) (p. 419 Hense with the note), and Teles, p. 39. 3 (ed. Hense\(^2\)).
(524) τοῦτο πέπονθεν; " καλτοι τῶν δυσφόντων τον μὲν
C οὐ πεπωκότα προσδοκήσειεν ἃν τις ἀπαλλαγήσε-
σθαι πιόντα τοῦ δυσφήν, τὸν δὲ πίνοντα συνεχῶς καὶ
μὴ πανόμενον οὐ πληρώσεως ἀλλὰ καθάρσεως οἴο-
μεθα δεῖσθαι καὶ κελεύομεν ἐμείν ωσ τοὺς ἐνδειας ὀχλούμενον ἀλλὰ τινος δριμύτητος ή θερ-
μότητος αὐτῷ παρὰ φύσιν ἐνούσης: οὐκον καὶ τῶν
πορίζοντων ὁ μὲν ἐνδεικυ καὶ ἄπορος παύσατ' ἀν
τοὺς οὐσίαν κτησάμενος ή θησαυρὸν ἐυρὼν ή φίλου
βοηθήσαντος ἐκτίσας καὶ ἀπαλλαγεῖς τοῦ δανειστοῦ,
tὸν δὲ πλείω τῶν ἰκανῶν ἔχοντα καὶ πλειόνων ὅρεγόμενον οὔ7 χρυσόν ἐστίν οὔδε ἀργύρων τὸ
θεραπεύον8 οὐδ' ἵπποι καὶ πρόβατα καὶ βόες, ἀλλ' D
ἐκβολῆς δείται καὶ καθαρμὸς, πενία γὰρ οὐκ
ἔστιν ἀλλ' ἀπληστία τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλο-
πλουτία διὰ κρίσιν φαῦλην καὶ ἀλόγιστον ἐνούσαν9.
ἡν ἄν μὴ τις ἐξέληται τῆς ψυχῆς οἷσπερ ἐλμυγγα
πλατείαν,10 οὐ παύσονται δεόμενοι τῶν περιττῶν,
toutetost οὐθυμοῦντες ἄν οὐ δέονται.

4. "Οταν ιάτρος εἰσελθὼν πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν11 ἐρρυ-
μένον ἐν τῷ12 κλακιδίῳ καὶ στένοντα καὶ μὴ βουλό-

1 τῶν (G1 omits) δυσφόντων (οὐ- N1) τῶν δυσφήν G4 W.
2 τον μὲν] μὲν τὸν LC1.
3 ως DZfab : the rest omit.
4 ἐνούσης Z fab M vv : C1 omits ; ἐνοχλούσης J2vρ ; ἐχοῦσης.
5 παύσατ' ἀν G (παύσατι y) : παύσατι W w (παύσατι δὲ v) ;
παύσαται.
6 οὐσίαν nos : ἐστίαν. 7 οὗ] οὔχι C vv q.
8 θεραπεύον s (as Vasis had conjectured) : θεραπεύον (ἑυω
N1 ; -ευμενον v).
9 ἐνούσαν (οὔσαν C1] ἐνούσα Dab hki Mras.
10 ἐλμυγγα (ἐλμυγγα Bern.) πλατείαν Haupt : ἐλμυγμα (ἐ-) πλάγιον
and so Gc mg ; Gac omits).
11 εἰσελθὼν (ἐλθὼν G1) πρὸς ἀνθ. πρὸς ἀνθ. εἰσελθὼν DZ fab
hki. 12 το[ C omits.
12
Certainly in the case of sufferers from thirst you would expect the one who had had nothing to drink to find his thirst relieved after drinking, while we assume that the one who drinks on and on without stopping needs to relieve, not stuff, himself, and we tell him to vomit, taking his trouble to be caused not by any shortage in anything but by the presence in him of some unnatural pungency or heat. So too with money-getters: he who is in want and destitute would perhaps call a halt once he got an estate or discovered a hidden treasure or was helped by a friend to pay his debt and get free from his creditor; whereas he who has more than enough and yet hungers for still more will find no remedy in gold or silver or horses and sheep and cattle, but in casting out the source of mischief and being purged. For his ailment is not poverty, but insatiability and avarice, arising from the presence in him of a false and unreflecting judgement; and unless someone removes this, like a tapeworm, from his mind, he will never cease to need superfluities—that is, to want what he does not need.

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

\[a\] Cf. Horace, *Epist.* ii. 2. 146-148:

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

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

(524) menon trophi n laβeiv áφηται kai anakrínη kai eû̄rh
mη̄ pûrēttonta, "ψυχικὴ νόσος,"1 éφη kai ápîlhθen-
oûkoūn kai ᾑmeis ὅταν ἔδωμεν ἀνδρα τῷ πορισμῷ
E prostetikóta kai tois ánalōmazon étissténtonta
kai μηδενό̄s² eis χρηματισμὸν συντελοῡντος αὐ̄schoν
μη̄d³ ἀναρο̄v ἑιδόμενον, οἰκίας δὲ ἔχοντα καὶ
χώρας καὶ ἀγέλας καὶ ἀνδράποδα σὺν ἰμάτιωσ, tī
φήσομεν εἰναί τοῦ ἄνθρωπον τὸ πάθος⁴ η̄ πενίαν
ψυχικήν; ἐπεὶ tīn ὑπὲρ χρηματικήν, ὡς φησῑν ὅ̄
Μένανδρος, εἰς ἄν φίλος ἀπαλλάξειν ἐνεργετήσας,
tīn δὲ ψυχικὴν ἑκείνην οὐ̄κ ἀν ἐμπλήσειαν ἀπαντες
οὔτε ξάντες οὔτε ἀποθανόντες. ο̄theν εὖ πρὸς τού-
tous λέλεκται ὑπὸ τοῦ́⁶ Σόλωνος
πλούτου δ' οὐ̄δὲν τέρμα πεφασμένον ἄνθρωποιον⁷.

F ἐπεὶ τῶν γε νοῦν ἐχοῦσιν ὃ tῆς φύ̄σεως πλοῦτος
ἀρισταὶ καὶ τὸ τέρμα πάρεστι, τῇ̄ χρεία⁸ καθάπερ
κέντρω καὶ διαστῆματι περιγραφόμενον.

'Αλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς φιλαργυρίας ἰδιον· ἑπιθυμία
γάρ ἐστὶ μαχομένη πρὸς τήν αὐ̄τήν πλήρωσιν⁹: αἱ
dὲ ᾄλλα καὶ συνεργοῦσιν· οὐ̄δές γοῦν¹⁰ ἀπέχεται
χρήσεως¹¹ ὃ̄ψον διὰ φιλοσφίαν οὐ̄δὲ οἶνον δἰ̄ οἶνοφλυ-
γίαν, ὡς χρημάτων ἀπέχεται διὰ φιλοχρηματίαν.

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1 νό̄σος (ἔστι νό̄σος Cvet)] ῦ νό̄σος DZfab.
2 μηδενό̄s DZfab y M² νw q : μηδεν. ³ μηδ' kai C.
3 εἰναι (Cvet; adds τὸ) τοῦ ἀνθ. (Pohlenz adds τὸ) πάθος C:
to (τὶ Gac) πάθος εἰναι τοῦ ἀνθ.
5 ἀνθρώπουσιν (and so Theognis, 227) : ἀνδράσι κεῖται Solon
(and so Aristotle).
6 τῇ̄ χρεία Zfab : τῆς χρείας.
7 πλήρωσιν] ἑκπλήρωσιν LC G⁴.

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a Citharistes, Frag. 2 (vol. i, p. 108 Körte).
b The dead friend might leave a legacy.
and questioning him finds no fever, he pronounces the disorder mental and departs. We too, then, seeing a man absorbed in money-getting, moaning over his expenditures, and sticking at nothing base or painful that brings him money, though he has houses, land, herds, and slaves together with a supply of clothing, what are we to call his trouble but mental poverty? For poverty in money is a thing from which a single friend, as Menander says, could deliver a man by his bounty. But that other poverty of the mind could never be replenished by all his friends together, whether in life or death. It is to such as these, then, that Solon's words are well applied:

No bourne of wealth is manifest to men,
since for men of sense natural wealth does have a limit and a bourne, which is drawn around it by utility as by a compass.

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

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

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

\(^{e}\) A favourite expression: see Mor. 513 c and note.

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

\(^{g}\) Cf. Teles, p. 38. 3 f. (ed. Hense\(^{2}\)), and Mor. 519 c-d.
525 

par' ἔμοι γάρ ἔστιν ἔνδον, ἡ' ἔστιν δ' μοι, καὶ βούλομαι τοῦθ' ὥς ἂν ἐμμανεστατα ἔρων τις, οὐ̉̂ ποιῶ δ'.

—κατακλείσας πάντα καὶ κατασφραγισάμενος καὶ παραριθμήσας τοκισταίς καὶ πραγματευταίς ἄλλα συνάγω καὶ διώκω, καὶ ξυγομαχῶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς πρὸς τοὺς χρεώστας—

"Ἀπόλλων, ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἀθλιώτερον ἔόρακας; ἀρ' ἔρωντα δυσποτμώτερον;  

5. Ὅ Σοφοκλῆς ἐρωτηθεὶς εἰ δύναται γυναίκι πλησιάζειν, "ἐνθάμει, ἀνθρωπε," εἶπεν. "ἐλευθερος γέγονα λυττῶντας καὶ ἀγρίους δεσπότας διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀποφυγών." ἡρέμων γὰρ ἀμά ταῖς ἱδοναῖς

Β συνεκλείσεως τὰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἃς μὴτε ἡ strides μὲν φησιν Ἀλκαῖος  

τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν

1 [ἐματίω μή] μὴ ἐματίω LC N; ἐματίω C N.  
2 γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον G3 DZfab M vw : ἔνδον G; γάρ ἐστιν ἔνδον ἔνδον.  
3 ἡ' ἔστιν δ' Reiske: ἡ' ἔστι (ἔνδον ἔστι Wilamowitz).  
4 οὗ (followed in G by an erasure of 2 letters) τοῦτο LC.  
5 πάντα LC ac vw : δὲ πάντα.  
6 παραριθμήσας (and so G4) ἀπαριθμήσας Ce G1 ZfabM vw l.  
7 τῶν Meineke: τίν' γ; τινὰ G Zfab q; τινὰ (τίνα C) ἄλλον C D hki; τίνα.  
8 ἀθλιώτερον LC DZfab y hki: ἀθλιώτερον.  
10 ἀρ' ee (ἀρ' W1; ἀρα): ἦ Ce DZfab hki.  
11 δυσποτμώτερον y (ὑ-τερον G3 and the rest; δυσπότερον G4 [δύσ and a lacuna of 4 letters w]) : δυσποτμώτερον G1.
be called anything but madness and misery when a man refuses to put on a cloak because he is cold, to eat a loaf because he is hungry, or to use a wealth because he loves it, and is instead in Thrasonides' plight:

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

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

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

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

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12 γὰρ C4 DZ fab hki: the rest omit.
13 συνεκλείτων G1 M νω: συνεκλείτων (ἐκλείτων ώ).
14 ηὔρεν (so G1 W [ηὔ- N] Y1; ηὔρε L2 C1 M; εὑρε Χυ ν q) μὲν φ. (variously accented; μὲν φ. ο LC1) ἀλκαῖος ἀφρενα φ. ἀλκαῖος ὑ; εὐροῦμι φ. ἀλκαῖος ὃ; ἀνδρα φ. ἀλκαῖος διαφυγεῖν G3 DZ fab hki: ἀνδρα διαφυγεῖν φ. ὁ ἀλκαῖος C3; εὑρεῖν (or εὑρην) φ. Ἀλκαῖος Post.
(525) ἐπὶ τῆς φιλοπλουτίας, ἀλλ' ὦσπερ¹ βαρεία καὶ πικρὰ δέσποινα κτάσθαι μὲν ἄναγκαζει, χρήσθαι δὲ κωλύει, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐγείρει, τὴν δὲ ἱδονήν ἀφαίρεται. τοὺς μὲν οὖν Ῥόδιους ὁ Στρατόνικος ἐπέσκωπτεν εἰς πολυτέλειαν, οἴκοδομεῖν μὲν ὃς ἀθανάτους λέγων, ὁμοιεῖν δὲ ὃς ὀλιγοχρονίους· οἱ δὲ φιλάργυροι κτώνταυ μὲν ὃς πολυτέλεις, χρώνται δὲ ὃς ἀνελεύθεροι, καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόνους ὑπομένουσι, τάς δὲ ἱδονάς οὐκ ἔχουσιν. ὁ γοῦν²

C Δημάδης ἐπιστάς ἀριστῶντι ποτε³ Φωκίωνι καὶ θεασάμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν τράπεζαν αὐστηρὰν καὶ λυτὴν, "θαυμάζω σε, ὡς Φωκίων," εἶπεν, "‟ὅτι οὕτως ἀριστῶν δυνάμενος πολιτεύῃ." αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς τὴν γαστέρα ἐδημαγώγησε, καὶ τὰς Ἀθηνᾶς μικρὸν ἡγούμενος τῆς ἀσωτίας ἐφόδιον ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπεστίζετο. (καὶ διὰ⁴ τοῦτο Ἀντιπατρος εἰπε θεασάμενος αὐτὸν γέροντα καθάπερ ἵερεῖον διαπεπραγμένου⁵ μηδὲν ἐτὶ λοιπὸν ἡ τὴν γλώσσαν εἶναι⁶ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν.) σὲ δὲ οὐκ ἄν τις, ὡς κακόδαιμον, θαυμάσειν, εἰ δυνάμενος οὕτω ξῆν ἀνελευθέρως⁷ καὶ ἀπανθρώπως καὶ ἀμεταδότως καὶ πρὸς φί-

D λους ἀπηνῶς καὶ πρὸς πόλιν ἀφιλοτίμως κακοπαθεῖς καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖς καὶ ἐργολαβεῖς καὶ κληρονομεῖς καὶ ὑποπίπτεις, τηλικοῦτον ἐξων τῆς ἀπραγμοσύνης ἐφόδιον, τὴν ἀνελευθερίαν; Βυζάντιων τινα λέγουσιν ἐπὶ δυσμόρφῳ γυναικὶ μοιχὸν εὐρόντα

¹ ὦσπερ] ὡς LC; ὡς γὰρ I (beginning an excerpt).
² ὁ γοῦν] ὃ μὲν οὖν? G¹.
³ ποτε (or potέ)] G¹ omits.
⁴ διὰ (or διὰ and so G⁴)] G¹ W omit.
⁵ διαπεπραγμένου] διαπεπραμένου G¹c hi.
⁶ ἡ . . . εἶναι] εἶναι ἡ τὴν γλώσσαν LC.
⁷ ξῆν ἀνελ.] ξῆν καὶ ἀνελ. Ζφ; ἀνελ. ξῆν G.
nor woman. But it is otherwise with avarice: like an oppressive and vexatious mistress it compels us to make money but forbids the use of it, and arouses the desire but cheats us of the pleasure. Stratonicus indeed rallied the Rhodians for lavish spending, saying that they built as immortals and furnished their tables as if soon to die. But while lovers of money acquire it as lavish spenders, they use it as churls, and endure the pains, but do not get the pleasures. Thus Demades once found Phocion at luncheon, and remarked, observing the austerity and plainness of his table: "I am astonished, Phocion, that when you can stomach such food you engage in politics." For Demades himself played the demagogue to fill his belly, and regarding Athens as no adequate provision for his prodigality laid in supplies from Macedon as well. (Hence Antipater, seeing him in his old age, said that like a carcass when the butchers had finished, nothing remained but the tongue and the gut.) As for you, unhappy wretch, is one not to be astonished that living as you do—a miser, unsocial, selfish, heedless of friends, indifferent to country—you nevertheless suffer hardships, lose sleep, engage in traffic, chase after legacies, and truckle to others despite this abundant provision for a life of ease, your meaness? We hear that a certain Byzantine said on finding an adulterer with his ill-favoured wife, "Poor fellow!  

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a The Greek is corrupt.
c He was in Macedonian pay.
d Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. i. 3 (741 f); Mor. 183 f.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(525) εἶπεῖν, "ὅ ταλαίπωρε, ᾗς ἀνάγκα;” τρύζ. 1 ἤγε σὺ κυκάς ὑφάπτεις, ὅ πόνηρε, τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐὰν πορίζῃσθαι, 5 τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους τῶν βασιλέων, τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν πρωτεὺειν καὶ ἄρχειν ἑθέλοντας· ἐκείνοις ἀνάγκη διὰ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν καὶ τὴν ἀλάξονειάν καὶ τὴν κενήν δόξαν ἐστίωσιν χαριζομένους δορυφοροῦσιν 7 δῶρα πέμπουσιν στρατεύματα τρέφουσιν μονομάχους ὑνομένους· σὺ δὲ τοσαῦτα πράγματα συγχέεις καὶ ταράττεις καὶ στροβεῖς σεαυτόν 10 κοχλίον βίων ζων διὰ τὴν μικρολογίαν, 11 καὶ τὰ δυσχερὰ πάντα ὑπομένεις οὐδὲν εὐ πάσχων, ὦσπερ ὅνος βαλανέως ξύλα καὶ φρύγανα κατακομίζων, ἀεὶ καπνοῦ καὶ τέφρας ἀναπημπλάμενοι, λουτροῦ δὲ μὴ μετέχων μηδὲ ἀλέας μηδὲ καθαρεύτητος.

6. Καὶ ταῦτα ἔτι 12 πρὸς τὴν ὀνόματον καὶ μυρμήκωδη λέγεται ταύτην 13 φιλοπλούτιαν· ἔτερα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἥθιώδης, συκοφαντοῦσα καὶ κληρονομοῦσα F καὶ παραλογιζομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα 15 καὶ

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1 ὅ ταλαίπωρε] L?C 1 omit.
2 ἀνάγκα Nauck from Mor. 235 E: ἀνάγκη (ἀνάγκη ἀνάγκη Maέ).
3 σαπρά γάρ ἀ τρύζ Nauck: σαπραγόρα (-ώρα γ; πραγόρα v; σαπρά J 2 εκ) προίξ (προίξ or προῖξ Gac y hki N ZfabM 2 w q).
4 ἤγε (ἀγε X; ἄ γε v DZfab y hki) σὺ κυκάς (συκάς G 1; σὺ κυκάς W Y ace; σὺ κακῶς y; σὐκυκάκας M ac; σὐγκυβᾶς w) ὑφάπτεις (-νς Daε; ἐφάπτεις Xace[?]; υφ’ ἀπτῆς N): ἄ γε σὺς κυκά, ἐφάπτει σὺ; Post.
5 ἐκ πορ. Reiske: πορ. δεὶ DZfab; πορίζεσθαι.
6 τὴν LC G W: the rest omit.
7 δορυφοροῦσιν W (-σι Cvet G 3 DZfab νw): δυσφοροῦσι LC 1; δωροφοροῦσα (-σιν N Y).
8 συγχέεις D: συνέχεις (defended by Post).
9 καὶ ταράττεις] LC omit.
10 σεαυτόν Gk Xv y ZfabM 2: έαυτόν.
What drives you to it? The dregs are foul! " a . . . b unhappy man! Let kings and royal stewards and those who would be foremost in their cities and hold office engage in money-getting. These are driven to it, their ambition and pretension and vainglory compel them, engaged as they are in giving banquets, bestowing favours, paying court, sending presents, supporting armies, buying gladiators. But you stir up this vast turmoil of affairs and harass and distract yourself when for meanness you live the life of a snail, and you put up with every discomfort and get no good of it, like a bathhouse keeper's ass c that carries faggots and kindling, always foul with smoke and ashes, but getting no bath or warmth or cleanliness.

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

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

b The Greek is corrupt.

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


11 ζων διὰ τήν μ. διὰ τήν μ. ζων LC.
12 ταῦτα ἐτι G: ταῦτα (ταῦτα μὲν Wilamowitz).
13 λέγεται ταῦταν LC1 w: λέγεται G; λέγετ' (λέγοιτ' J2888) ἄν τή W; λέγε ταῦταν Xy D y hk1i N M v Yl (ταῦτην λέγε q); λέγω ταῦτην Ζφαβα² (λέγε ταῦτα a1).
14 τῆ] DZφαβ omit.
15 καὶ παρ. καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα] D N omit.
525) Plutarch's Moralia,

(525) Φροντίζουσα καὶ ἀριθμοῦσα τῶν φίλων ἔτι πόσοι ξώσιν, εἶτα πρὸς μηδὲν ἀπολαύουσα τῶν πανταχοθὲν προσποριζομένων. ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχιδνας καὶ κανθαρίδας καὶ φαλάγγια μᾶλλον προβαλλόμεθα καὶ δυσχεραίνομεν ἄρκτων καὶ λεόντων, ὅτι κτείνει καὶ ἀπόλλυσιν ἄνθρώπους ἡμῖν χρώμενα τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν, οὕτω δεῖ μᾶλλον δυσχεραίνειν τῶν δι' ἀσωτίαν τοὺς διὰ μικρολογίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν πονηροὺς ἀφαιροῦντας γὰρ ἄλλων οἷς αὐτοῖς 526 ἡρήσατι μὴ δύνανται μηδὲ πεφυκαίν. οὐθὲν ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἐκεχερίσαν ἄγουσιν ἐν ἀφθονοῖς γενόμενοι καὶ χορηγίαν ἔχοντες (ὡσπερ ὁ Δημοσθένης ἐλεγεν4 πρὸς τοὺς νομίζοντας τῆς πονηρίας τὸν5 Δημάδην πεπαυσθαι,6 "νῦν γάρ," ἔφη, "μεστὸν ὀράτε καθάπερ τοὺς λεόντας"). τοῖς δὲ εἰς μηδὲν ἠδοὺ μηδὲ ἡρήσιμον πολυτευμένοις οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνακωχὴ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐδὲ ἀσχολία κενοῖς οὕσιν ἀεὶ καὶ προσδεομένοις ἀπάντων.

7. "Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία," φῆσει τις ὅτι "παυῶν οὕτωι καὶ κληρονόμους φυλάττουσι καὶ θησαυρίζουσιν." Β οἰς δὲ ζώντες οὐδὲν9 μεταδιδόσαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν μυϊῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς μετάλλοις τῆς χρυσίττων ἐσθιόντων οὐκ ἐστιν τοῦ χρυσίου μεταλαβεῖν εἰ μὴ νεκρῶν γενομένων10 καὶ ἀνατμηθέντων; παυσὶ δὲ καὶ κληρονόμους διὰ τί'11 βούλονται πολλὰ χρήματα καὶ μεγάλη12 οὕσιν ἀπολιπεῖν;13 ἢν δηλοῦσι καὶ

1 ἄνθρώπως] τοὺς ἄνθρώπως C.
2 μηδέν] μηδὲ G1. 3 καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν] C1 omits.
4 ἐλεγεν γ. Nasar Y (-γε) : C omits.
5 τὸν] πρὸς τὸν W N Y1; C1 omits.
6 δημάδην (so θ W D2 y hki W; δημάδη) pep. Ππεπαυσθαι δημάδη C.
7 ἢδο μηδὲ (and so G4)] ἢδο καὶ G1 ; ἢ Yae.
scheming, it counts the number of friends still alive, and after all this puts the ill-gotten wealth to no use. Thus as vipers, blister-beetles, and venomous spiders offend and disgust us more than bears and lions, because they kill and destroy men without using what they destroy, so too should men whose rapacity springs from meanness and illiberality disgust us more than those in whom it springs from prodigality, since the miserly take from others what they have no power or capacity to use themselves. Hence prodigals call a truce once they are affluent and well provided for (as Demosthenes said to those who imagined that Demades had ceased to be a scoundrel: "At present you see him like the lions, glutted") a; whereas in those who follow no policy of pleasure or utility there is no suspension of greed or distraction from it by more pressing claims, as they are forever empty and still want the whole world.

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

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a The phrase recurs in the Life of Alexander, chap. xiii. 12 (671 b), and Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxiii. 6 (856 r).

b Cf. Theophrastus, frag. 174. 8 (ed. Wimmer); Pliny, N.H. viii. 57 (222).
(526) oútoi phyláttwsow étěrous kákeínoi pálw,1 ὥσπερ
oî keřemeeoi swlhíves oûdèn ánalambánontes eîs éaut-
tous áll' ékaστοσ eîs ἔτερον εξ ἐαυτοῦ μεθεὶς ἀχρὶ
ἀν τις ἔξωθεν ἡ συκοφάντης ἡ τύραννος ἐκκόψας
τὸν phyláttwnta kai kátåxas3 ἀλλαξόσε παρατρέψῃ
kai paroxetéușh tōn plóutōn, ἡ, καθάπερ λέ-
C γουσίν, eîs ὁ4 πονηρότατος ἐν τῷ γένει γενόμενο
καταφάγη ἃ πάντων' οὐ γὰρ μόνον κατὰ τὸν
Εὐριπίδην

ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελία5 γίνεται δούλων τέκνα

ἀλλὰ καὶ6 μικρολόγων, ὡς ποὺ καὶ7 Διογένης ἐπέ-
sκωψεν8 εἰπὼν Μεγαρέως ἀν9 ἀνδρός βελτιων εἶναι
κριῶν ἡ υἱὸν γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁίς δοκοῦσι παι-
dεύειν ἀπολλύσουι καὶ προσδιαστρέψουσιν10 ἐμφυτεύ-
οντες τὴν11 αὐτῶν φιλαργυρίαν καὶ μικρολογίαν,12
ὑσπερ τι13 φρούριον τῆς κληρονομίας ἐνουκοδο-
μοῦντες τοῖς κληρονόμοις. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐστὶν ἅ
παραινοῦι καὶ διδάσκουσιν: "κέρδαυε καὶ φείδου,
καὶ τοσούτου νόμιζε σεαυτοῦ14 ἀξίον ὅσον ἀν ἔχης."
τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐστὶ παιδευεῖν ἅλλα συντέλλειν καὶ
D ἀπορράπτειν ὅσπερ βαλλάντιον ἢν στέγειν καὶ15

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1 ἄνθων Emperius: παισίν (and so G4; πᾶσιν [?]G1).
2 ἐκκόψας] -ψας by G4 in an erasure.
3 kατάξας (and so G4)] kατακόφαις G1; kατακάξας X y
kαταέξας I D; kατάγξας Z fab.
4 ὁ] DZ fab omit.
5 ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελία nos (ἀκόλαστ' ἀμελεῖα G1)] ἀκόλασθ' ὁμιλεῖν
Diog. Laert. iv. 35; ἀκόλαστα D hki vw; ἀκόλαστα μὲν (and
so G4 mg).
6 ἀλλὰ καὶ ee : καὶ.
7 ὡς ποὺ καὶ (ὅπου καὶ ν)] ὅσπερ καὶ W (ὡσπερ ὃ i); ὡς καὶ D.
8 ἐπέσκωψεν] ἀπέσκωψεν C.
9 ἀν (and so G4)] G1 W omit; γὰρ ν.
ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 526

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

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

b Cf. Aelian, Var. Hist. xii. 56 and Diogenes Laert. vi. 41.
c Cf. Horace, Sat. i. 1. 62 with Heinze’s note.
d The money bag is worth no more than what it contains: cf. Stobaeus, Anth. iv. 31. 33 (p. 744. 9-12 Hense), and Seneca, Ep. lxxxvii. 18 with Teles, p. lxxxiii (ed. Hense2).

10 προσδιαστρέφονσιν (and so G4) διαστρέφονσιν G1 D.
11 τὴν (and so G3) G1 omits.
12 μικρολογίαν] τὴν μ. DZϕ.
13 τι εἰς: ὁδιν τὸ [?] G1; ἀν τι Vasis); D omits.
14 σαυτὸν] σαυτὸν DZϕab hki.
15 καὶ] τὲ καὶ C G.
(526) φυλάττειν τὸ εἰσβληθὲν δύνηται. καίτοι τὸ μὲν 
βαλλάντιον ἐμβληθέντος 1 τοῦ ἄργυριον γίνεται ρω-
παρὸν καὶ δυσώδες, οἳ δὲ τῶν φιλαργύρων παῖδες 
πρὶν ἡ παραλαμβάνειν 2 τὸν πλοῦτον ἀναπίμπλανται 
τῇς φιλοπλούτιαις ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν πατέρων. καὶ 
μέντοι καὶ διδασκάλια 3 καὶ 4 μυθοὺς ἁξίους ἀπο-
τίνουσιν αὐτοῖς, οὐ φιλοῦντες ὅτι πολλὰ λήψονται,
ἄλλα μισοῦντες ὅτι μῆτως λαμβάνουσιν. μηδὲν γὰρ
ἄλλο θαυμάζειν ἢ τὸν πλοῦτον 5 μαθόντες μηδὲ ἐπ’
ἄλλω τινὶ ζην ἢ τῷ πολλὰ κεκτήσθαι κώλυσιν τοῦ
ἰδίου βίου τὸν 6 ἐκεῖνων ποιοῦντα, καὶ νομίζουσιν
αὐτῶν ἀφαιρεῖσθαι 7 τὸν χρόνον ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι προσ-
Ε τίθησιν. διὸ καὶ ζώντων μὲν ἔτι τῶν πατέρων 
λανθάνοντες ἀμωσγέτως παρακλέπτουσι 8 τῆς ἱδονῆς 
καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ὡσπερ ἀλλοτρίων, μεταδιδόντες 
φίλοις, ἀναλίσκοντες εἰς ἐπιθυμίας, ἔτι 9 ἀκοῦντες,
ἔτι 10 μανθάνοντες. 11 όταν δὲ ἀποθανόντων τὰς κλεῖς 
παραλάβωσι καὶ τὰς οφραγίδας, ἔτερον βίου σχήμα 
αὐτοῖς ἔστι καὶ πρόσωπον ἀγέλαστον, αὐστηρὸν,
ἀνέντευκτον. οὐ κολοφών, 12 οὐ σφαίρα, οὐ τραχη-
F λισμός, οὐκ Ἀκαδημία, οὐ Λύκειον, ἄλλ’ ὀικετῶν 
ἀνάκρισις καὶ γραμματείων 13 ἐπίσκεψις καὶ πρὸς 
οἰκονόμους ἡ χρεώστας διαλογισμὸς καὶ ἀσχολία

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1 ἐμβληθέντος (and so G 3)] ἐκβληθέντος G 1; εἰσβληθέντος Ζ.Φ. Ν. 2 παραλαμβάνειν (περιλ. ἅ] λαμβάνειν W 1. 3 καὶ διδασκάλια nos; καὶ διδασκαλία (ἕτα J 2) W; τῆς διδα-

σκαλίας. 4 καὶ] C G X v y hki q omit. 5 ἄλλο . . . πλοῦτον] ἄλλο τῶν ἄλλων (τῶν ἄλλων expunged by Cvet) ἢ τῶν πλ. θαυμ. C. 6 τοῦ ἰδίου βίου τὸν DZ fab: τοῦ αὐτῶν (αὐ- Cvet) βίου τὸν C; δὴ οὖν τοῦ αὐτῶν βίου τὸν G 3 (τοῦ, βίου, τὸν superscribed); βίου τὸν M 2 νω q; βιοῦντων y; δὴ οὖν αὐτῶν G 1 k 1; δὴ οὖν οὗ τῶν hi; δεὶ οὖν οὗ τὸν X v W N (δεὶ [δεὶ l] οὖν οὗ τὸν Y 1); M 1 omits.
keep safe what you have put in. But whereas the bag gets dirty and foul-smelling only after the coin has been stored in it, the children of misers, before touching the money, catch the taint of avarice directly from their fathers. Note, however, that the young pay them for this instruction in the right coin, not loving their fathers because they are to inherit a fortune, but hating them because they have not got it already. For having been taught to look up to nothing but wealth and to live for nothing but great possessions, they consider that their fathers’ lives stand in the way of their own, and conceive that time steals from them whatever it adds to their fathers’ years. Hence even when the father is still alive the son behind his back finds one way or another to steal some pleasure from the money and spends it as if he had no interest in it, giving it to friends and lavishing it on his appetites, when still attending lectures and still at his studies. But when at his father’s death the son takes over the keys and seals, his way of life is altered and his countenance becomes unsmiling, stern, and forbidding. Here is an end of . . . , a of ball-playing, of wrestling, of the Academy and the Lyceum. There is instead the interrogation of servants, inspection of ledgers, the casting up of accounts with stewards and debtors, and occupation and worry

a kolophon is unexplained and possibly corrupt.
(526) καὶ φροντὶς ἀφαιρουμένη τὸ ἀριστον καὶ συνελαύνουσα νυκτὸς εἰς τὸ βαλανεῖον,

gυμνάσια δ’ οἴσιν ἐνετράφη Δίρκης θ’ ὑδρωρ
παρώδευται: κἀν εἶπῃ τις, ‘‘οὐκ ἀκούσῃ τοῦ φιλοσόφου;’’ ‘‘πόθεν ἐμοὶ;’’ φησιν. ‘‘οὐ σχολάζω τοῦ πατρὸς τεθνηκότος.’’ ὁ ταλαίπωρο, τί σου τοιοῦτο καταλέλοιπεν οἴον ἀφήρηται, τήν σχολήν καὶ τῆν ἔλευθερίαν; μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ εἴκεινος ἀλλ’ ὁ πλοῦτος περικυθεὶς καὶ κρατήσας, ὥσπερ ἡ παρ’ Ἡσιόδῳ γυνῆ.

527 εὔει ἄτερ δαλοῦ καὶ ὡμῶ γῆραι δῶκεν, εὐσπερ ῥυτίδας ἀώρους ἡ πολιᾶς ἐπαγαγων τῇ ψυχῇ τὰς φροντίδας ἐκ τῆς φιλαργυρίας καὶ τὰς ἀσχολίας, ὧφ’ ὅν μαραίνεται τὸ γαύρον καὶ τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.

8. ‘‘Τί οἶν;’’ φῆσεὶ τις, ‘‘οὐχ ὄρας καὶ χρωμένους ἐνίους δαμίλως τοῖς χρήμασιν;’’ σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἄκουεις, φῆσομεν, ‘‘Ἀριστοτέλους λέγοντος ὅτι οἱ μὲν οὐ χρῶνται, οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται, καθάπερ οὐδετέρου προσήκοντος;’’ ἀλλ’ εἴκεινος μὲν οὐκ ὄφελεῖ τὸ οἰκεῖον οὐδὲ κοσμεῖ, τούτοις δὲ καὶ βλάπτει καὶ κατασχύνει.

1 θ’ ee: τε ορ τε. 2 ἀκούσῃ Stephanus: ἀκούσεις.
3 οἶον (and so Cvet)] ἰπερ C1; ὦ. 4 ἀφήρηται] ἀφαίρεται DΖφυb hki; ἀφήρηται N.
5 οὐδὲ] οὐκ DΖφαb y. 6 δαλοῦ (so Mor. 100 ε)] δαλοῦ G Xv W y hi N q.
7 ὡμῶ C G Ζφαb hki (and Mor. 100 ε): ἐν ὡμῷ (ἔνιω N).
8 δῶκεν Gk (δῶκε Mor. 100 ε): θήκεν.
9 τῇ ψυχῇ DΖφαb: τῆς ψυχῆς.
10 τὸς Wilamowitz: τῆς (v omits).
11 φῆσει G DΖφαb y hki M2 vw q: φησί.
12 οὐ χρῶνται οἱ δὲ παραχρῶνται DΖφαb: χρ. οἱ δὲ καταχρῶν-
that deny him his luncheon and drive him to the bath at night.

The place of exercise where he was schooled
And Dirce's fount
are passed by; and if someone says, "Are you not going to hear the philosopher?" the answer is, "How could I? I have no time now my father is dead."

Poor soul! What has your father left to compare with what he has taken away, your leisure and your freedom? Rather it is not he, it is your wealth, that overwhelming and overpowering you, like the woman in Hesiod

Singes without a brand and ages ere your time,
bringing upon the mind like premature wrinkles and grey hairs the cares and distractions that come from avarice, whereby all high-heartedness and keenness and friendliness are blighted.

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

a Euripides, Phoenissae, 368.
b For wealth preventing the study of philosophy cf. Teles, pp. 45. 2-46. 6 (ed. Hense), and Seneca, Ep. xvii. 3.
c Works and Days, 705; quoted also in Mor. 100 ε.
d Frag. 56 (ed. Rose); cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. iii. 2 (279 β).

\[\tau\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i\i
Φέρε δὴ σκεφώμεθα τοῦ πρῶτον, ἡ χρήσις αὐτῆς δ' ἦν θαυμάζεται ὁ πλοῦτος, τίς; ὀπέρον τῶν ἀρκοῦντων; οὐδὲν οὖν πλέον ἔχουσιν οἱ πλούσιοι τῶν μέτρια κεκτημένων, ἀλλ' ἀπλουτος ὁ πλούτος ἐστιν, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ ἀζηλος ἀληθῶς, εἰ Καλλίας πλουσιωτάτος Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἰσμηνίας ὁ Θηβαῖοι εὐπορώτατος ἔχρωντο τούτοις οἰς Σωκράτης καὶ Ἑπαμειλώνδας. ὡς γὰρ Ἀγαθων τὸν αὐλὸν ἀπέπεμψεν ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας, οἰόμενοι ἀρκεῖν τοὺς λόγους τῶν παρόντων, οὕτως ἀποτελείας ἂν καὶ στρωμνας ἀλουργοὺς καὶ τραπεζας πολυτελεῖς καὶ τὰ περιττὰ πάντα, τοὺς πλουσίους ὅρων χρωμένους οἰς οἱ πένητες καὶ.

αὐσά τε ἔργα

βοῶν ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἡμῶν ταλαργῶν

ἄλλα χρυσοχών καὶ τορευτῶν καὶ μυρεφῶν καὶ μαγείρων, καλῆς καὶ σώφρονος γενομένης ἕννε-λασίας τῶν ἀχρήστων. εἴ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀρκοῦντα

1 τιὼν τις ἐ D7fab.
2 τίς D7fab omit.
3 οὖν G3 D7fab : the rest omit.
4 ἀλλ' ἀπλουτος ὁ C7et X3 ZfabM2 : ἀλλὰ πλοῦτος (-στος Ν)
5 ο (ἀλλὰ τυφλὸς D).
6 πλουσ.| ὁ πλοῦς. D7fab y hki.
7 καὶ] καὶ ἀριστοφάνης καὶ C1.
8 ἀποτελείας ἂν D7fab : ἀποτελείαν (-ειας G3 y; -ειεν i2 vac : ἀποτελείῃ ἂν C7et).
9 ἀλουργοὺς (or ἀ-; -ους Z188)) ἀλουργεῖς DeZ1t; ἀλουργεῖς Dac (-οῖς φ).
Come, first let us consider what is this "use," for which wealth is highly regarded. Is it the use of what suffices? Then the rich are no better off than men of modest means, and wealth, as Theophrastus\(^a\) says, is "no wealth" and in truth "unenviable,"\(^b\) if Callias, the wealthiest man of Athens, and Hismenias, the richest of Thebes, got the same use of what they had as Socrates and Epameinondas. For as Agathon dismissed the flute-players from the banquet to the women's quarters, holding the conversation of the company to be sufficient entertainment,\(^c\) so too might you dismiss purple coverlets and expensive tables and all superfluities, when you see that the rich have the same service as the poor, and

Soon you'd hang the rudder o'er the hearth
And all for nought would be the patient toil
not

Of ox and mule\(^d\)

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

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

\(^b\) Cf. Mor. 226 e and 679 b, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroem. Gr. ii, p. 253. 25.

\(^c\) Cf. Plato, Symposium, 176 e and Protagoras, 347 c-d.

\(^d\) Hesiod, Works and Days, 45-46, also quoted in Mor. 157 f.

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

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\(^9\) οἱ\( ]\) καὶ οἱ DZ\( \phi\)ab.

\(^10\) καὶ\( ]\) οὐκ Z\( \phi\)abM\(^2\) ; οὐ καὶ X\(^2\) ; D omits.

\(^11\) κε\( ]\) τε D.

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

\(^13\) ταλ.\( ]\) οὐ ταλ. G\(^4\).

\(^14\) ἀλλά\( ]\) ἀλλά καὶ G\(^3\) y.
(527) κοινά καὶ τῶν μη² πλουσίων ἔστιν, σεμνὸνεται δὲ ὁ πλοῦτος ἐπὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς³ καὶ τὸν Σκόπαν τὸν Θεσσαλὸν⁴ ἐπανείς,⁵ ὁς⁶ αἴτηθείς τι⁷ τῶν⁸ κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν ὡς περιττὸν οὕτω⁹ καὶ ἀξρηθοῦν, "ἀλλὰ μὴν," ἐφη, "τούτοις ἐσμὲν ἤμειν εὐδαίμονες καὶ Δ μακάριοι τοῖς περιττοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνος τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις," ὅρα μὴ πομπὴν ἐπανοῦντι καὶ παν- ήγυρν μάλλον η βίον ἔοικας.

'Η πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἔορτή τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπτετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἱλαρῶς· ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματισ, εἶτα τράγον τις εἰλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχα- δών ἄρριχον ἥκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ φαλλός. ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παροράται¹⁰ καὶ ἡφάνισται χρυσωμάτων παραφερομένων¹¹ καὶ ἰματίων πολυ- τελῶν καὶ ξενγῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ προσωπείων· οὕτω¹² τὰ ἀναγκαῖα τοῦ πλούτου καὶ χρήσιμα τοὺς ἀχρήστους κατακέχωσται καὶ τοῖς περιττοῖς. (9.) οἱ Ε δὲ πολλοὶ τὸ τοῦ Τηλεμάχου πάσχομεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας μᾶλλον δὲ¹³ ἀπειροκαλίας τὴν μὲν Νέστορος ὁδὸν οἰκίαν κλίνας ἔχουσαν, τραπέ- ξας, ἵματια, στρώματα, οἶνον ἡδύν, οὐκ ἐμακάριζε

1 καὶ DZae omit. 2 μη DZfab: the rest omit. 3 περιττοῖς C Gk Z fab y: περισσοῖς. 4 τῶν Θ. ] put after ἐτ. in C. 5 ἐπανείς De (from -ῆς): ἐπανέσεις C Z fab w; ἐπανέσας G3 (-σο-Χ) v W hki M Y1q; ἐπανέσας G1 N v (y is wanting). 6 ὁς DZfab hki M vw Y1: the rest omit (y is wanting). 7 τι] γάρ τι C1 G3 (y is wanting). 8 τῶν] καὶ τῶν C.
not rich equally possess enough for their needs, whereas wealth plumes itself on luxuries, and you approve of Scopas \(^a\) the Thessalian, who when begged for some article in his house on the ground that there it was superfluous and not put to any use, exclaimed: "Why it is just these articles of superfluity, and not the indispensables, that give me the name of enviable and fortunate," you must look to it or you will be like one who gives his approval to a pageant or a festival rather than to the business of living.

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

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\(^a\) Cf. Life of Cato the Elder, chap. xviii (346 f—347 a).

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

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\(^9\) oútw] aútw Bryan.

\(^10\) παροράται] παρεώραται D.

\(^11\) παραφερομένων] περιφερομένων C G D Z fab q.

\(^12\) oútw C M I: kai oútwos D: oútwos.

\(^13\) δέ] δ’ Z fab; δὲ ὑπὲρ G (δὲ ὑπὸ yar).
(527) τὸν εὑποροθυτὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἦ καὶ ἔρημίμων, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Μενελάῳ θεασάμενος ἐλέφαντα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἥλεκτρον ἐξεπλάγη καὶ εἴπεν·

Ζηνὸς ποὺ τοιῆδε ὑ’ Ὀλυμπίου ἐνδόθεν αὐλή· ὁσα τάδ’ ἀσπετα πολλὰ· σέβας μ’ ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.

Σωκράτης δ’ ἀν εἴπεν ἢ Διογένης· ὁσα τάδ’ ἀθλία πολλὰ καὶ ἀχρηστα καὶ μάταια.

γέλως μ’ ἔχει εἰσορόωντα.

τί λέγεις ἀβέλτερε; τῆς γυναικὸς οὐδείλων παρελείν τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἵνα παύσηται τρυφώσα καὶ ἐξενομοῦσα, τὴν οἰκίαν πάλιν καλωπίζεις ὡς θέατρον ἢ θυμέλην τοῖς εἰσοβούς;

10. Τουαύτην ὁ πλουτὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἔχει, θεατῶν καὶ μαρτύρων ἢ τὸ μηδὲν οὖσαν. ὁμοίων γε τὸ σωφρονεῖν, τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν, τὸ γυνώσκειν ἄ δει περὶ 528 θεῶν κἂν λανθάνῃ πάντας ἀνθρώπους· ἱδιον δέ σέλας ἔχει καὶ φέγγος ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ μέγα καὶ χαράν

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1 ἦ καὶ καὶ Κ; ἦ καὶ τῶν ν Δ; ἦ ι ω.
2 καὶ] τόσον καὶ Γ.
3 ἦ] ἦ καὶ Ζ fab Μ ν (Δ y are wanting).
4 τάδ’ ύκι: τά γε Γ; τ’ 1; τά γ’ (D y are wanting).
5 παρ. τὴν πορ.] τὴν πορ. παρ. Κ.
6 ἦ] οἰς δεὶ πᾶσιν ἐπιστηπεύειν αὐτὸν ἦ ΔΖ fab ; ee omit.
7 οὖσαν] ἐστιν Δ.
8 ὁμοίων] ἀλλ’ οὐχ ὁμοίων ΔΖ fab.
9 φιλοσοφεῖν] φιλεῖν Κ1.
10 κἂν (κἂν Χ; κἂν Ν)] ἀλλά κἂν Δ; α κἂν Pohlenz.
11 δέ] D omits ; γαρ εε.
was necessary or useful; but when he visited Mene-
laüs and beheld ivory, gold, and amber, he was struck
with amazement and cried:

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

Socrates or Diogenes would have said:

What rubbish past all telling
and superfluity and vanity!
I behold
And laugh.

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

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

\(^a\) Homer, *Od.* iv. 74-75.
\(^b\) Helen had once gone off with Paris.
\(^d\) Cf. Aristotle, frag. 664 (ed. Rose), quoted in *Mor.* 545 A,
and Plato, *Republic*, 580 c with Shorey’s note.
\(^e\) Cf. Aristotle in Diogenes Laert. v. 17: “Sight gets
light from the surrounding air, the soul from studies [or
mathematics].”

\(^{12}\) σέλαν, ἐχ. καὶ φ.] φ. ἐχ. καὶ σέλαν. C.
\(^{13}\) τῇ] W omits.
(528) ποιεῖ σύνοικον αὐτῇ δι᾽ ἑαυτῆς ἀντιλαμβανομένη τάγαθον, ἢν τε ἅδη τις ἢν τὲ λανθάνῃ καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἄπαντας. τοιούτων ἐστὶν ἄρετή, ἀλήθεια, μαθημάτων κάλλος γεωμετρικῶν ἀστρολογικῶν. ὃν τίνι τὰ τοῦ πλούτου φαλαρα ταῦτα καὶ περιδέραια καὶ θέαματα κορασιώδη παραβάλειν ᾧξιον; μηδενὸς ὁρῶντος μηδὲ προσβλέποντος ὄντως τυφλὸς γίνεται καὶ ἀφεγγῆς ὁ πλούτος. μόνος γὰρ ὁ πλούσιος δειπνῶν μετὰ γυναικὸς η τῶν Β συνηθῶν οὔτε ταῖς θυώναις παρέχει πράγματα τραπέζαις οὔτε τοῖς χρυσοῖς ἐκπώμασιν ἄλλα χρήται τοῖς προστυχοῦσι, καὶ ἡ γυνῆ ἄχρυσος καὶ ἀπόρφυρος καὶ ἀφελής πάρεστιν. ὅταν δὲ σύνδειπνον, τούτεστι πομπῇ καὶ θεατρον, συγκροτήται καὶ δράμα πλουσιακὸν εἰσάγεται, "νηὼν δ’ ἐκφερέ λέβητάς τε τρίποδᾶς τε," τῶν τε λύχνων αἱ θηκαι περισπώνται, τὰς κύλικας ἀλλάσσουσι, τοὺς οἴνο-
and make delight her constant companion, as by her sole power she grasps the Good, whether there is anyone to see, or whether no one, god or man, is witness. Such is the nature of virtue, truth, the beauty of mathematics—geometry and astronomy—; and with what of these do your trappings of wealth, your necklaces, your girlish baubles, compare? With no one to see or look on, wealth becomes sightless indeed and bereft of radiance. For when the rich man dines alone with his wife or intimates he lets his tables of citrus-wood and golden beakers rest in peace and uses common furnishings, and his wife attends without her gold and purple and dressed in plain attire. But when a banquet—that is, a spectacle and a show—is got up and the drama of wealth brought on, "out of the ships he fetched the urns and tripods," the repositories of the lamps are given no rest, the cups are changed, the cup-bearers are made

\[Cf.\] Plato, Rep. 580 c.

\[Cf.\] Plato, Gorgias, 475 a.

\[Cf.\] Mor. 679 b. Wealth is proverbially "blind," that is, no respecter of merit (\[cf.\] Plato, Republic, viii. 554 b with Shorey's note and Zwicker in Pauly-Wissowa, xxi. 1, coll. 1045 f.). In this paragraph—and also in Mor. 679 b and the Life of Lycurgus, chap. x. 3 (45 c-d)—Plutarch takes "blind" in the sense of "dark" or "unseen."

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

\[14\] τοῖς (τῆς φή) \[C\] omits.

\[15\] συγκροτήται D: συγκεκρότηται.

\[16\] αἱ θηρκαὶ Paton: δέθη καὶ (variously accented) \[C\] G1 Xv W y N M1 Ylq; ἀντέχονται καὶ \[D\] fab; ἔχονται καὶ \[C\] G3 M2 vw; καἰοῦσι (followed by a lacuna of 10 letters in h, of six in k) καὶ \[hk\] (All but 1 punctuate after κὐλικας, and all but X after οἰνοχόους.)

\[17\] τὰσ] περὶ τὰσ \[D\] fab.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(528) χόους μεταμφιεννύουσι, πάντα¹ κινοῦσιν,² χρυσόν, ἄργυρον, λιθοκόλλητον,³ ἄλλοις⁴ πλουτεῖν ὁμολογοῦντες. ἀλλὰ σωφροσύνης⁵ γε κἀν μόνος δείης δεῖται κἂν⁶ εὖωχή⁷.

¹ πάντα W hki w: πάντα: (-as v) πάντα.
² κινοῦσιν W (-si DZφρ M vw): κοσμοῦσι hki; κοινοῦσι (-swn Yl).
³ λιθοκόλλητον] λιθοκόλλητα D.
⁴ ἄλλοις Pohlenz: ἀπλῶς.
ON LOVE OF WEALTH, 528

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

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5 σωφροσύνης] εὐφροσύνης C^3^ D hk^l^i.
6 κὰν Pohlenz: καὶ.
7 εὐωχίας nos: εὐωχίας (δικαιοσύνης D).
ON COMPLIANCY
(DE VITIOSO PUDORE)
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

b Cf. 528 f below.


d Cf. the expressions "which some call δυσωπείοθαί" (Life of Brutus, loc. cit.) and "what is called δυσωπία" (528 d below).
shown by two passages in the *Nicomachean Ethics* (ii. 7. 14, 1108 a 30-35 and iv. 9. 1-3, 1128 b 10-21). The first runs as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

\(^b\) A criticism of Plato (*Laws*, v. 729 b 5-7).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

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

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

a Here the words *kai δυσωμετείσθαι* are Plutarch’s own addition: compare the explanation added to Zeno’s remark in *Mor.* 603 d below.


d Cf. *Mor.* 510 c-d.

e Elsewhere training comes last. From its unusual order here Pohlenz (“Über Plutarchs Schrift περὶ ἀφργνιασ” *Hermes*, xxxi, 1896, p. 329, note 1) infers that the *De Vitioso Pudore* is later than the *De Se Ipsum Citra Invidiam Laudando*, “da die Einschaltung der ἀκήσις am besten aus dem Streben nach Abwechslung zu erklären ist.”
lessness (533 f—534 b); with suitors of humble station use wit (534 b-c); with powerful suitors appeal to their sense of artistry, their pride, or their claims to virtue (534 c—535 b); with suitors of baser character make use of their vices (535 b-d). The essay concludes with an exhortation to resist the bait of praise and the threat of blame, and the suggestion of a procedure useful against all the passions: to keep fresh in the memory the disgrace and damage suffered from the passion before.

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

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

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

a Plutarchi opusculum de immoderata verecundia a J. Caesario Latine redditum, Rome, 1565.
b De la Honte vicieuse, traité composé par Plutarque de Chéronée, et traduit en notre langue par François Le Grand, Paris, 1554. This version also appeared in the same year at Rouen.
ΠΕΡΙ ΔΥΣΩΠΙΑΣ

1. "Ενια τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων αὐτὰ μέν

D ἐστιν ἄγρια καὶ ἄκαρτα καὶ βλαβερὰν τοῖς ἡμεροῖς σπέρμασι καὶ φυτοῖς τὴν αὐξήσιν ἔχοντα, σημεῖα δὲ αὐτὰ ποιοῦνται χώρας οἱ γεωργοῦντες οὐ πονηρᾶς ἀλλὰ γενναίας καὶ πίονος. οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάθη ψυχῆς ἔστιν οὐ χρήστα, χρήστης δὲ φύσεως οἰον ἕξανθήματα καὶ λόγω παρασχεῖν ἐργάσιμων ἑαυτὴν ἐπιεικῶς δυναμένης. ἐν τούτωι τίθεμαι καὶ τὴν λεγομένην δυσώπιαν, σημεῖον μὲν οὐ φαύλου, αἰτίαν δὲ μοχθηρίας οὖθαν. τὰ γὰρ αὐτὰ τοῖς ἀναισχυντοις οἱ αἰσχυνόμενοι πολλάκις ἀμαρτάνουσι, πλὴν ὅτι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἀλγεῖν ἐφ’ οἷς διὰμαρτάνουσι τούτωι πρόσετε, οὐχ ὡς ἐκείνοις τὸ ἔδεσθαι. ἀναλγῆς μὲν γὰρ ο ἀναίδης πρὸς τὸ αἰσχρὸν, εὐπαθὴς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον αἰσχρὸν ὁ εὐδυσώπητος. ὑπερβολὴ γὰρ τοῦ αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸ δυσώπεισθαι. διὸ καὶ οὕτω κέκληται, τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ προσώπου τῇ ψυχῇ συνδιατρεπομένου καὶ συνεξατονοῦντος. ὡς γὰρ τὴν κατήφειαν ὀρίζονται λύπην κάτω βλέπειν ποιοῦσαν, οὕτω τὴν αἰσχυντηλίαν μέχρι τοῦ μηδὲ ἀντιβλέπειν τοῖς δεομένοις

1 τῆς (and so I)] W DZab Rn1ySs hk3i omit.
2 After ἄγρια we omit τῇ γῇ (τῇ φύσει DZab M3γρ).

Dysōpeomai (to be embarrassed into compliance by importunity) no doubt originally meant “to be affected by hard
ON COMPLIANCY

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

or unpleasant looks." Plutarch takes the etymological sense to be "to be affected in one’s looks," "to become incapable of facing someone."

b Cf. the Townleyan scholiast on Homer, II. xvii. 556: κατηφειη’ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατῶ ἔχειν τὰ φάνη (dejection: from keeping the eyes downcast).
(528) ὑπείκουσαν δυσωπίαν ὁνόμασαν. ὡςεν ὦ μὲν ρήτωρ τὸν ἀναίσχυντον οὐκ ἐφη κόρας ἐν τοῖς ὁμμασιν

F ἔχειν ἄλλα πόρνας· ὦ δ' εὐνυσώπητος αὖ πάλιν ἀγαν τὸ θῆλυ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τρυφερὸν ἐμφαίνει διὰ τῆς ὁψεως, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναισχύντων ἦτταν¹ αἰσχύνην ὑποκοριζόμενος. ὦ μὲν οὖν Κάτων ἔλεγεν τῶν νέων μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν τοὺς ἐρυθριώντας ἣ τοὺς ὀχριώντας, ὁρθῶς ἔθιζων καὶ διδάσκων τὸν ψόγον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν πόνον² δεδείναι καὶ τὴν ὑποψίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν κίνδυνον· οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὸν πρὸς τὸν ψόγον ὑπόπτου καὶ ψοφοδεοῦς τὸ ἀγαν ἀφαιρέτεον,

529 ὦς οὖχ ἦττον ἔνιοι πολλάκις ἀκοῦσαι κακῶς ἢ παθεῖν δεῖσαντες ἀπεδειλίσαν καὶ προῆκαντο τὸ καλὸν οὐ δυνηθέντες ὑπομεῖναι τὸ ἄδοξον.

2. Οὔτε δὴ τούτους περισσέτεον οὔτως ἀσθενῶς ἔχοντας οὔτ' αὖ πάλιν ἐκείνην ἐπαινετέον τὴν ἀτρεπτον καὶ ἀτενὴ διάθεσιν,³ ἀλλ' ἐμμελή τινα μηχανητέον σύγκρασιν ἀμφοῦν, τοῦ μὲν ἀτενοῦς ἀγαν τὴν ἀναιδειαν, τοῦ δὲ ἐπιεικοῦς σφόδρα τὴν ἀσθένειαν

Β ἀφαιροῦσαν. ἢ καὶ τὸ θεράπευμα δυσχερές καὶ οὐκ ἀκίνδυνος ἢ τῶν τοιούτων πλεονασμῶν κόλασις.⁴ ὡς γὰρ ὁ γεωργὸς ἄγριον μὲν ἐκκόστων βλάστημα καὶ ἄγεννὲς αὐτόθεν ἀφειδῶς ἐμβαλὼν⁵

¹ ἦτταν G⁴ W JK¹γρ f²γρ : ὁψιν.
² πόνον Wyettenbach : ἐπαινοῦ (−τε− N ; ἐλεγχοῦ DZab M² ; Χ n¹SS are wanting).
³ After διάθεσιν LC Gk Xv W JK M²Zab vw have (with some variants) ἐν δὲ τὸ βαρσαλέον τε καὶ ἐμμενὲς ὀππὶ ὁροῦσαι φανετ' ἀναξάρχῳ κύνεον μένος.
⁴ κόλασις (L illegible) C¹τ Xras (from κώ−) W : κόλυσις (and so C¹SS ; αἰδηθεις s [but αἰοθ is crossed out]; κόλησις w) ; κόλους Meziriacus.
⁵ 48
look them in the face, it is termed "compliancy." And so, as the orator \(^a\) said that the shameless man had harlots, not maidens,\(^b\) in his eyes, so the compliant man in his turn betrays only too clearly in his countenance the effeminacy and flabbiness of his spirit, giving his surrender to the shameless the fair name of "modesty." Cato \(^c\) indeed said that in the young he preferred the flush of colour to pallor, rightly training and teaching us to dread censure more than labour, and disapproval more than peril. Nevertheless we must also do away with the excess of timidity and apprehension at the prospect of censure, for instances are frequently found of men who, in terror no less of a bad name than of bodily hurt, have played the coward and failed in the good fight, not having the firmness to submit to ill fame.

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

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

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

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

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

\(^5\) εμβαλλων LC\(^c\) (from -λλων) G\(^4\)k W D JK νν: εμβάλλων (and so I; -δλων R N l).
(529) τὸ σκαφεῖον ἀνέτρεψε¹ τὴν ρίζαν ἡ πῦρ προσαγαγῶν ἐπέκαυσεν, ² ἀμπέλων δὲ προσιῶν τομῆς δεομένη καὶ μηλέας ἢ τινος ἐλαίας ἀπτόμενος εὐλαβῶς ἐπιφέρει τὴν χεῖρα, δεδιὸς μὴ τοῦ υγιαίνοντος ἀποτυφλώσῃ, οὔτως ὁ φιλόσοφος φθόνον μὲν ἐξαιρῶν νέου ψυχῆς, ἁγεννές βλάστημα καὶ δυστιθάσευτον, ἢ φιλαργυρίαν ἄωρον ἢ φιληδονίαν ἐπικόπτων ἀκόλαστον αἰμάσσει καὶ πιέζει καὶ τομὴν ποιεῖ καὶ

C οὐλὴν βαθείαν· ὅταν δὲ τρυφερῷ μέρει ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλῶν τοκοῦντα προσαγάγη ὅλον, οἰον ἐστὶ τὸ δυσωπούμενον καὶ διατρεπόμενον, εὐλαβεῖται μὴ λάθῃ τούτοις συναποκόψας τὸ αἰδούμενον. καὶ γὰρ αἰ τίτθαι τῶν βρεφῶν ἐκτρίβουσα πολλάκις τὸν ὑπὸν ἐλκοῦσιν ἐνίοτε τὴν σάρκα καὶ βασανίζουσιν. οἴθεν οὐ δεὶ τῶν νέων παντάπασιν ἐν χρῷ τὴν δυσωπίαν ἐκτρίβοντας ὀλυγόρους ποιεῖν καὶ λίαν ἀτρέπτους· ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ οἱ καταλῦντες οἰκίας ἱεροῖς γειτνώσας τά γε συνεχῆ καὶ πλησίον ἑώοι καὶ διερείδουσιν, οὔτω δεὶ τὴν δυσωπίαν κινεῖν, δεδιότας συνεφελκύσασθαι τὰ ὀμοροῦντα τῆς αἰδοῦς καὶ τῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς ἔμεροτητος οἷς ὑποδέδυκε

D καὶ προσπέπλεκται, κολακεύουσα τὸν εὐδυσώπητον ὡς φιλάνθρωπον καὶ πολιτικὸν καὶ κοινὸν ἔχοντα νοῦν καὶ οὐκ ἄτεγκτον οὐδὲ αὐθέκαστον. οἴθεν εὐθὺς οἱ Στυίκοι καὶ τὸ ρήματι τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι τοῦ αἰδεῖσθαι διέστησαν ἵνα μηδὲ τὴν

¹ ἀνέτρεψε [ἀνέτρεψε Gk Χυ γα.]
² ἐπέκαυσεν [ἀπέκαυσεν Zab ῃ.]
³ ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλῶ (ἀ- X1 N1 Mac) [ψυχῆς καὶ ἀπαλῶ LC¹; καὶ ἀπαλῶ (ἀ- G¹) ψυχῆς G² k.]
⁴ προσαγάγη [προσάγη W D ῃ.]
⁵ ἐλκοῦσιν ο³ A² EC² Z (no accent in b): ἐλκοῦσιν.
⁶ νοῦν καὶ I καὶ W; νοῦν DZab.
ON COMPLIANCY, 529

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

\[ \text{51} \]
(529) ὀμονυμίαν τῷ πάθει πρόφασιν τοῦ βλάπτειν ἀπολίπωσιν. ἀλλ' ἡμῖν χρησθαί τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀσυκοφαντήτως δότωσαν, μᾶλλον δὲ Ὁμηρικῶς· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος εἶπεν

ἀδιώς, ἦ τ' ἄνδράς μέγα σίνεται ἦδ' ὀνίνησι.

καὶ οὐ κακῶς τὸ βλάπτον αὐτῆς πρότερον εἶπεν· γίνεται γὰρ ὡφέλιμος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου τὸ πλεονάζον ἀφελόντος καὶ τὸ μέτριον ἀπολυπόντος.

Ε 3. Πρῶτον οὖν τοῦτο δεῖ πείθεσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ πολλῆς δυσωπίας βιαζόμενον, ὅτι πάθει βλαβερῷ συνέχεται, καλὸν δὲ τῶν βλαβερῶν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ δεῖ τοῖς ἐπαίνοις κηλούμενον ἠδεσθαι κομψὸν καὶ ἱλαρὸν ἀντὶ σεμνοῦ καὶ μεγάλου καὶ δικαίου προσαγορευόμενον, μηδ' ὑσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδου Πήγασος

ἐπτήσῃ ὑπείκων μᾶλλον ἦ3 μᾶλλον4 θέλοι

tῷ Βελλεροφόντῃ, τοῖς δεομένοις ἐαυτὸν ἐκδιδό-

F ναι καὶ συνεκταπεινοῦν φοβοῦμενον ἁκοῦσαι τὸ "σκληρός γε καὶ ἀπηνής." τῷ μὲν γὰρ Αἴγυπτῶν Βοκχόριδι5 φύσει6 χαλεπῷ γενομένῳ τὴν ἀσπίδα λέγουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπιπεμφθεῖσαν καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ περιελιχθεῖσαν ἀνωθὲν ἐπισκιάζειν ἵνα κρίνῃ δικαίως· ἦ δὲ τοῦ ὑποδημία τοῖς ἀτόνοις καὶ ἀνάνδροις ἐπικειμένη καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν ἀνανεῦσαι

1 ἀπολίπωσιν] ἀπολείπωσιν W RnySs Kae v.
2 βλάπτον G188 D and Reiske : βλάπτειν.
3 δ L RnySs hi lsq (δ N1 M Y) : δ.
4 μᾶλλον added from Mor. 807 e.
5 βοκχόριδι (and so C2; -iδi X32; -iδη N) : βικχόριδι LC1; βοκχόριδi G3 (no accent in X1) D R(-ογχ- n)ySs hk188i vw.
52
leave the disorder not even the ambiguity of its name as an occasion of doing harm. But by their leave we shall not quibble about the names, but rather follow Homer,\(^a\) who says

Respect, the bane and blessing of mankind.

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

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

Cringed and yielded as the rider willed

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

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

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

(529) μηδὲ ἀντεπείν ἵσχύονσα καὶ δικάζοντας ἀποτρέπει
tοῦ δικαίου καὶ συμβουλεύοντας ἐπιστομίζει καὶ λέ-
γειν πολλὰ καὶ πράττειν ἀναγκάζει τῶν ἄβουλήτων.
530 ὅ δὲ ἄγνωμονέστατος ἂεὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτον δεσπό-
της ἐστὶ καὶ κρατεῖ τῷ μὴ αἰδεύσθαι τὸ αἰδού-
μενον ἐκβιαζόμενος. ὥθεν ὦσπερ χωρίον ὑπτιον καὶ
μαλακὸν ἡ δυσωπία μηδεμίαν ἐντευξιν ἐξώσαι
μηδὲ ἀποστρέψαι ὑπομενή τοῖς αἰσχρώτοις βάσιμος
ἐστι πάθει καὶ πράγμασι· κακῇ μὲν γὰρ αὕτη
παιδικής φρονίμος ἡλικίας, ὡς ἔλεγε Βροῦτος οὐ
dοκεῖν αὐτῶς καλῶς τὴν ὑπὲρ διαστεθεῖσθαι τὸν πρὸς
μηδὲν ἀρνούμενον· κακὴ δὲ θαλάμου καὶ γυναι-
κωνίτιδος ἐπίτροπος, ὡς φησιν ἡ παρὰ τῷ Σοφο-
κλεί μετανοοῦσα πρὸς τὸν μοιχὸν.

ἐπεισας ἐξέθωψας.

Β ὦσθ' ἦ2 δυσωπία προσδιαφθείρασα3 τὸ ἀκόλαστον4
ἀνώχυρα πάντα καὶ ἀκλειστα καὶ κατὰντη προδι-
δωσι τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. καὶ διδόντες μὲν αἴροντι
tὰς βδελυρωτάτας, τῷ δὲ πείθειν καὶ δυσωπεῖν πολ-
lάκις κατεργάζονται καὶ τὰς ἐπιεικεῖς. ἐῶ5 δὲ6 τὰς
eἰς τὰ χρήματα βλάβας ὑπὸ τοῦ δυσωπεῖσθαι,
dανειζόντων οἰς ἀπιστούσων, ἐγγυωμένων οὗ7 οὐ
θέλουσιν, ἐπανοῦντων μὲν τὸ "ἐγγύα πάρα δ'
ἀτα," χρήσθαι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ τὰ πράγματα μὴ
dυναμένων.

1 ἀποστρέψαι M2 q : ἀποτρέψαι (ἀντιστρέψαι LC).
2 ὦσθ' ἦ N2 M2 vv q : ὦστ' ἦ (ὣς τῇ Cvet G3; ; ὦστε ἦ
DZab RnySs hi f).
3 προσδιαφθείρασα (πρόσδ. X k1]) προσδιαφθείρουσα L?C D hi ;
προσδιαφθείρασα a2AEZab v6.
4 After ἀκόλαστον LC W Gk Xv add αὕτη γάρ.
5 ἐῶ (ἐῶ n)] καὶ D ; ἔα Ss.
denying or refusing anything, turns them aside from justice in their verdicts, silences them in the council, and compels them to say and do many things that go against their will. The most unreasonable person is always master of such a man and controls him, coercing with his effrontery the other’s shyness. And so, like a low-lying and loose terrain, a compliant disposition, being unable to fend off or repulse any appeal, is exposed to the most degrading experiences and deeds. For it is a poor guardian of the years of boyhood (thus Brutus a said that he thought one who denied nothing had made no good disposal of his youthful grace), and a poor custodian of the nuptial chamber and the women’s apartments, as she who repents in Sophocles b says to the adulterer,

You coaxed and wheedled me to ruin.

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

a Cf. Life of Brutus, chap. vi. 9 (986 ε).
c For the proverb cf. Mor. 164 b, 511 b.

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6 δὲ Rαε and Emperius : δὴ (δει N¹).
7 oδς (L illegible)C G⁴k¹ Xv W DZab : oδς.
4. "Οσος δ' ἀνήρηκε τούτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἂν τις ἐξαριθμήσατο ραδίως. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κρέων πρὸς τὴν Μήδειαν εἶπόν,

κρείσσων δὲ μοι νῦν πρὸς σ' ἀπεχθέσθαι, γύναι, ἡ μαλθακισθένθ' ὑστερον μέγα στένειν, 1

ἀλλοις ἐγνωμολογήσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τῆς δυσωπίας ἔττων γενόμενος καὶ μίαν ἥμεραν αἰτουμένη δοὺς ἀπώλεσε τὸν οίκον. ἐνιοῦ δὲ καὶ σφαγὰς ὑφοράμενοι καὶ φαρμακείας διετράπησαν. οὕτω παραπώλετο Δίων, οὐκ ἄγνοήσας ἐπιβουλεύοντα Κάλλιππον ἀλλ' αἰσχυνθεὶς φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον· οὕτως 'Αντίπατρος ὁ Κασάνδρου Δημήτριου καλέσας ἐπὶ δείπνον, εἶτα κληθεῖς τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡδέσθη πεπιστευμένος ἀπιστεῖν, καὶ πορευθεῖς ἐσφάγῃ μετὰ τὸ δείπνον. Ἡρακλέα δὲ τὸν D Ἀλεξάνδρῳ 2 γενόμενον ἐκ Βαρσίνης ὁμιλογήσει μὲν Κασάνδρῳ Πολυπέρχων ἀναιρήσειν ἐπὶ ταλάντοις ἐκατόν, εἶτα ἐπὶ δείπνον ἐκάλει· τοῦ δὲ μειρακίου τὴν κλῆσιν ὑφορωμένου καὶ δεδωκότος, ἀλλος δὲ προφασιζομένου μαλακώτερον ἔχειν, ἥθων ὁ Πολυπέρχων, "πρῶτον," εἰπεν, "ἂν παϊ, μμοῦ τοῦ 3 πατρὸς τὸ εὔκολον καὶ φιλέταιρον, εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία δέδοικας ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοντας:" αἴδεσθεὶς 4 ἥκολουθήσεν ὁ νεανίσκος· οἱ δὲ δειπνίσαντες 5 αὐτὸν ἑστραγγάλισαν. 6 οὐ γελοῖον οὖν, ὡς φασί

1 μέγα στένειν Euripides and W DZab S2s hi JK M2 (στένειν μέγα C2 vv) : στένειν.
2 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ G2 W DZab hki M2: Ἀλεξάνδρου.
3 τοῦ] των τοῦ D. 4 After αἴδεσθείς G3κ DZab have οὖν.
4. The lives that this disorder has cost would not be easy to number. Thus when Creon said to Medea,

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

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

\(^a\) Euripides, Medea, 290-291.
\(^b\) Cf. Life of Dion, chap. lvi. 3 (982 e).
\(^c\) Cf. Life of Demetrius, chap. xxxvi. 9-12 (906 c-d).
\(^d\) Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xlviii. 1 (692 a).
\(^e\) Works and Days, 342; also quoted in Mor. 707 c.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(530) tines, οὕδε ἀβέλτερον, ἀλλὰ σοφὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου τὸν φιλέοντ’ ἔπὶ δαίτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ’ ἔχθρον ἐᾶσαι.

Ε μὴ δυσωποῦ τὸν μισοῦντα μηδ’ ὑπαίκαλλε πιστεύειν δοκοῦντα: κληθήσῃ γὰρ καλέσας καὶ δειπνήσεις ἀν δειπνήσῃς, ὥσπερ βαφήν τὴν φυλάττουσαν ἄπιστίαν μαλαχθεῖσαν αἰσχύνῃ πρόεμενοι. 5. ’Ως οὖν πολλῶν κακῶν αἴτην τὸ νόσημα τούτῳ ὁν πειρατεόν ἀποβιάζεσθαι τῇ ἀσκήσει, πρῶτον ἀρξαμένους, ὥσπερ οἱ τάλλα μελετῶντες, ἀπὸ τῶν μικρῶν καὶ μὴ σφόδρα δυσαντιβλέπων. οἶνον 

F ἐν δείπνῳ προπίνει τις ἄδην ἔχοντι: μὴ δυσωπηθῇς μηδὲ προσβιάςι ταυτόν, ἀλλὰ κατάθου τὸ ποτήριον. αὕτης ἔτερος παρακαλεῖ κυβεῦειν παρὰ πότον: μὴ δυσωπηθῇς μηδὲ δείης σκωπτόμενος· ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ Ἐνεοφάνης Λάσου τοῦ Ἐρμιονέως μὴ βουλόμενον2 αὐτῷ συγκυβεῖειν δειλὸν ἀποκαλοῦντος ὁμολογεῖ καὶ3 πάνυ δειλὸς εἶναι πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀτολμὸς.4 πάλιν ἀδολέσχῃ5 συνήντηκας ἐπιλαμβανομένῳ καὶ περιπλεκομένῳ μὴ δυσωπηθῇς ἀλλὰ διακόψας ἐπείγου καὶ πέρανε τὸ προκείμενον. αἱ 531 γὰρ τοιαῦτα φυγαὶ καὶ διακρύσεις, ἐν ἑλαφραῖς μέμψει τὴν μελέτην ἔχουσα τοῦ ἄδυσωπητοῦ, προεθίζουσι6 ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ μείζονα. καὶ τοῦ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχει διαμυνομενεύειν τῶν γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ὁμημέμνων Ἀρπάλῳ βοηθεῖν

1 ὑπαίκαλλε W (ὑπαίκαλε G572): ὑπεκκάλει C 581 K 50 (from -εκα-)w; ὑπεύγαλε N; ὑπέκβαλε.
2 βουλόμενον] βουλομένω (ἡλομένω R) ny55; βουλομένων hi N M n Y1; βουλόμενος fr.
3 ὁμολογεῖ καὶ Matthaei: ὁμολόγει καὶ (ὁμολόγηκε N).
4 πρὸς ... ἀτολμὸς] καὶ ἀτολμὸς πρὸς τὰ αἰσχρὰ LC.
therefore not absurd or silly, as some assert, but wise:

Your friend invite to dinner, not your foe.

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

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

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\(^a\) Cf. Comm. in Hesiodum, 27 (vol. vii, pp. 65 f. Bern.).
\(^b\) Diels and Kranz, Frag. d. Vorsokratiker\(^6\), Xenophanes, A 16.
(531) καὶ κορυσσομένων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἐξαιρήθη 
ἐπεφάνη Φιλόξενος δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσση πραγμάτων 
Ἀλέξανδρου στρατηγός. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ δή-
μου καὶ σωπάσων διὰ τὸν φόβον δὴ Δημοσθένης, 
"τί ποιήσουσιν," ἔφη, "τὸν ἥλιον ἱδόντες οἱ μὴ 
δυνάμενοι πρὸς λύχνον ἀντιβλέπειν;" τί γὰρ 
ποιήσεις ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλοις, βασιλέως ἐντυν-

Β  
χάνοντος ἡ δήμου δυσωποῦντος, ἐπὶ ποτήριον ἀπὼ-
σασθαι μὴ δύνασθαι προτείνοντος2 συνήθους μηδὲ 
ἀδολέσχων λαβὴν διαφυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρέχεις ἐμπερι-
πατεῖν φλυάρῳ σαυτὸν, οὐκ εὐτονῷ εἰπεῖν, "ὁμο-
μαί σε αὐθής, νῦν δὲ οὐ σχολάζω";

6. Καὶ μὴν οὖν ἣ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπαίνους τοῦ ἄδυσ-
ωπήτου μελέτη καὶ ἀσκήσεις ἐν μικρῷ καὶ ἐλα-
φροῖς ἀχριστός ἐστιν. οἷον ἐν συμποσίῳ φίλου 
κιθαρῳδός ἀδει κακῶς ἡ πολλοῦ κωμῳδὸς ἑωνη-
μένος ἐπιτρίβει Μένανδρον, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ κροτοῦσιν 

C  
καὶ θαυμάζουσιν: οὔδὲν οἶμαι χαλεπῶν οὐδὲ δύσ-
κολον ἀκούειν σωπτῇ καὶ μῆ παρὰ τὸ φαινόμενον 
ἀνελευθέρως ἐπαίνειν. ἢ ἄν γὰρ ἐν τούτοις μὴ κρα-
τῆς σαντοῦ, τί ποιήσεις φίλου ποίησα χαῦλον ἀνα-
γνώσκοντος ἡ λόγον ἐπιδεικνυμένου γεγραμμένον 
ἀβελτέρως καὶ γελοῖς; ἐπανέσεις δὴλοντεί καὶ 
συνεπιθυρβήσεις τοὺς κολακεύσουσι.3 πῶς οὖν ἐν 
πράγμασιν4 ἀμαρτάνοντος ἐπιλήψῃ; πῶς δὲ περὶ 
ἀρχῆς ἡ γάμου ἡ πολιτείαν ἀγνωμονοῦντα νουθε-
τήσεις; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους 
ἀποδέχομαι πρὸς τὸν ἀξίουντα μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ 
μαρτυρῆσαι φίλου, ἡ πρὸς ἀδίκος καὶ ὀρκοσ, εἰπόντος,

1 λύχνον I W: τὸν λύχνον (τὸν ἥλιον D).
2 προτείνοντος (and so L I ; from προτείνον τῆς Cvet]) προ-
τείνοντος Gvetk W yae ; προτείνοντος M2Zab. 

60
girding themselves against Alexander when Alexander's admiral Philoxenus suddenly sailed in view. To the assembly, which its fear had rendered mute, Demosthenes said: "What will they do on seeing the sun who are dazzled by a lamp?" For what will you do in great affairs, in the presence of a king or when the assembled people put you out of countenance, if you want the strength to reject a cup held out by a friend or to escape the clutches of a bore, but allow a driveller to have his will with you because you lack the firmness to say, "I'll see you another time; just now I am busy"?

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

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

3 κολακεύουσι] κολακεύμασι Gk.4
4 εν πράγμασιν] εν γράμμασι W; πράγμασιν N; D Rn1ySs hi omit.
τον βασιλέαν ἐκέλευσε Εὐρυπίδη τὸν παιδα
dοῦναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἐκεῖνὸν ἀποβλέψας,
"οὐ μὲν," ἐπεν, "αἰτεῖν ἐπιτήδειον εἶ καὶ μὴ
λαμβάνειν, οὕτως δὲ λαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ αἰτῶν,
ἀριστα τὸν διδόναι καὶ χαρίζεσθαι κύριον ποιῶν τὸ
κρῖνον ἄλλα μὴ τὸ δυσωπούμενον. Ἰμεῖς δὲ πολ
λάκις ἀνθρώπους ἐπιείκεις καὶ οὐκείους καὶ δεο
μένους περιορώντες ἐτέρους αἰτοῦσιν ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ
ἰταμώς ἐδώκαμεν, οὐ δοῦναι θελήσαντες ἄλλῳ ἄρνη
σάσαθαι μὴ δυνηθέντες. ὦσπερ Ἀντίγωνος δὲ γέρων
ὑπὸ Βίωνος ἐνοχληθεὶς πολλάκις, "δότε," ἐπεν,
"Βία τάλαντον καὶ Ἀνάγκη." καίτοι μάλιστα
τῶν βασιλέων ἐμμελῆς ὢν καὶ πιθανός ἀποτρε
βεσθαὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα. κυνικὸς γὰρ ποτὲ δραχμὴν
αἰτήσαντος αὐτῶν, "ἄλλῳ οὐ βασιλικῶν," ἐφη, "τὸ

1 ἀπόφηναι (and so C²)] ἀπόφηνε LC¹ W JK²ss N M w Yl.
2 μὲν] μὲν γὰρ LC Gk¹ Xv I W J¹K ; μὲν μὲν y.
3 λαμβάνειν (and so G³ : I)] λαμβάνει G¹ N.
4 ὦσπερ] ὦσπερ γὰρ Gk¹.
5 Βίωνος Casaubonus : βιάντος (βιάντι N).
6 βία LC Gr¹sk¹ Xv I W Y¹ss : βιάντι (βιάντα JK ; βιατι q).
ON COMPLIENCY, 531

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

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

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a Bia in the Greek.
(531) doma, ’’... toò de òptotuxontos, “dòs oòv mou tálav-
tov,” ápêtntsev, “allo’ ou kuvnikon to lèmma.”
Dioqénnhs mév ouv toûs ònðriántas ëtei perimòn ev
Keramikò kai ñpro toûs ðavumázontas élægæn òpò-
tunghánev melétan. ëmìn ðe pròton émmeletetéon
èstì toûs fàulois kai gvmnastéón peri òa múkra
pròs òo árnevðhain toûs átopoûn ou pròsqkóntas,
532 ìna toûs pròsqkóntwv lèpsomévous èptikourèiv èxw-
ìen’ oudeis gáro, òs ò Ëmmeðèhíns fìbôi, eis ò ò ìh
dei Kataválnása tò paránta òwn ìh paróntwv
eúporhèse pròs ò dei. gínetai ò ò ìhmìn pollapla-
sion òo òísçrhóv òtan élëlpwmev2 eis òa kalà
pleonásantes toûs perittôi.

8. ’’Epeì ðe ou òhmnátwv múvòon3 ë duvsoßía kakì
kai ãgnómön oikòvnoòs èstìn, álla kai peri òa
meìzona paraireitaì òo ñumférion òoù loqìsmòu
(kai vàp ñatroph òoonuûtes ou paraðakolóvmen òoû
ëmpeiron àisìxhùmòmen ou òonìhì, kai ðaíøi ðidá-
B skálous ìntì tòwn ðhìstwv toûs paraðakolóvtas
àiropùmètha, kai dìkìnè èxontes pollákwv ouk èwmen
eîtæv tòwn òfèlémuò kai ãgòraïòn, álÌ oikèiou
ìvòs ò ñugghènovs òivì ñháxììmenoi parèðwakamèn
èmpanhùrìsaì, téloì ðe pollòuvs èstìn ìdeiv kai
tàw ðíloßèvèin legòmènòn ’’Èptikourèiouv kai Ïtwì-
kòus òntas, ouç èlòmènous ouèkr ðrívntas álÌa
pròstèmènous duvstoûpòòi oikèiouv kai fílòiouv5) fère

1 ìna toûs pròsqkóntwv supplied by Paton (ìna toûs kat’ ãèìan
by Wilamowitz).
2 èllèlpmèn (’’ôs ð Sâc) èllèlpmèn W hi lac.
3 múvòon] múvòwv N M Yl, Zab omit.
4 paraireitaì (’’te D) paraíseitaì LC Waö R hi MZab vv f.
5 oikèiouv kai fílòiouv (and so C2) oikèiouv kai fílòiouv (L illegible) C1
Gk1 Xu (’’kol- N) M1 Ylf1q.
give so little”; and when the other countered, “Then give me a talent,” he replied, “Or Cynics take so much.”

Now Diogenes went about the Cerameicus soliciting the statues, and said to the astonished spectators that he was getting in condition to meet refusals; we, however, must first practise on the vulgar and train ourselves in trivial matters to rebuff those who present unfitting requests, that we may have the means to succour those on whom our bounty will be fittingly bestowed. For no one, says Demosthenes,

after spending what he has on what he should not, will be able to spend what he has not on what he should. And our disgrace is rendered many times greater when we are short of funds for worthy ends because we were lavish in expenditures that were not called for.

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

\[a\] Cf. Seneca, On Benefits, ii. 17. 1.  
\[b\] Or. 3. 19.  
\[c\] Cf. Mor. 90 e : “For it is not so honourable to do a good turn to a friend as it is disgraceful not to do it when he is in need . . . .”  
\[d\] Cf. Mor. 4 d.
(532) δὴ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα πόρρωθεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι καὶ μικροῖς γυμνάζομεν ἑαυτοὺς, ἐθίζοντες μῆτε κουρεῖ μῆτε γναφεῖ¹ κατὰ δυσωπίαν χρῆσθαι μηδὲ² καταλύειν ἐν φαύλῳ πανδοκείω βελτίωνος παρόντος ὁτι 

C πολλάκις ὁ πανδοκεύσ ἠπάσασατο ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐθοὺς ἑνεκα, καὶ ἦ παρὰ μικρόν, αἱρεῖσαι τὸ βέλτιον, ὥστερ οἱ Πυθαγορικοὶ παρεφύλλαττον ἀεὶ μηδέποτε³ τῷ δεξιῷ μηρῷ τὸν εὐνύμυνον ἐπιτιθέναι μηδὲ τὸν⁴ ἀρτιν ἄντι τοῦ περίττου λαβεῖν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπ' ἵσης ἐχόντων, ἐθιστέον δὲ⁵ καὶ θυσίαν ποιοῦμεν ἢ γάμον ἢ τινα ἄλλην τοιαύτην ὑποδοχὴν μὴ τὸν ἀσπασάμενον καλεῖν ἢ προσδραμόντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν εὑνοῦν καὶ χρηστόν· ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἐθύσθης καὶ ἀσκήσας δυσάλωτος ἐσταί, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ἀνεπι-χείρητος, ἐν τοῖς μείζονι.

D 9. Περὶ μὲν οὖν ἀσκήσεως ἱκανά καὶ ταῦτα τῶν δὲ χρησίμων ἐπιλογισμῶν πρῶτός ἐστιν ὁ διδάσκων καὶ ὑπομμηνήσκων ὁτι πᾶσι μὲν τοῖς πάθεσιν ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ τοῖς νοσήμασιν ἡ φεύγειν δι' αὐτῶν δοκοῦμεν· ἀδοξίας πιλοδοξίαις καὶ λύπας φιλοθενίας καὶ πόνοι μαλακίας καὶ φιλονικίας ἦτται καὶ καταδίκαι· τῇ δὲ δυσωπία συμβέβηκεν ἀτεχνώς φευγούση κατὸν ἀδοξίας εἰς πῦρ ἐμβάλλειν ἑαυτὴν· αἰσχυνόμενοι γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς ἀγνωσίως δυσώπουσιν ὑστερον δυσαποροῦν τοὺς δικαίως ἐγκαλοῦντας, καὶ δεδιότες μέμψιν ἐλαφρῶς πολλάκις ἔνειραντον τοῖς ἐπισχόντες ὑπομένουσι· καὶ γὰρ αἰτούντως ἀργύριον τὸ διλητῶς ἀντεπείν

¹ γναφεί[γναφεὶ] γναφεῖ (γ γε legitile in L)C J N²¹ς (ἡ N²¹t) νω; κναφεὶ Dab RnSs hi; W y are wanting. ² μηδὲ Bern. ἐθιζ. ³ μηδέποτε[μηδοτε] μηδοτε Gk. ⁴ τὸν[τὸ Reiske. ⁵ δε] οὖν LC. ⁶ αἰτούντως ἀργύριον[ἀργύριον] ἀργύριον αἰτούντος LC.
friends—let us keep a wide berth and train ourselves for these situations too on ordinary people and in trivial occasions, accustoming ourselves not to patronize a barber or fuller from fear of giving offence or to put up at a bad inn when a better can be had because the innkeeper has often greeted us, but instead, for the habit's sake, to choose the better, though the odds be small, as the Pythagoreans always took care never to cross the left leg over the right or to take the even number instead of the odd, when otherwise there was no difference. We must also form the habit when celebrating a sacrifice or marriage or giving some other entertainment of not inviting a person who has greeted us or run up to welcome us in preference to a friend and honest man; for one who has this habit and training will in greater matters be no easy victim, or rather will be quite proof against assault.

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

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*a* Cf. *Mort.* 502 ε, 519 δ, and Seneca, *De Ira*, i. 12. 5.

(532) οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀσχημονοῦσι μετ' ὁλιγον ἔξελεγχό-
μενοι, καὶ βοηθήσειν ὀμολογήσαντες ἐνίοις δίκην
ἔχουσιν, εἰτα τοὺς ἑτέρους διατραπέντες ἀποκρύ-
πτονται καὶ δραπετεύουσι. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ
γάμου¹ θυγατρὸς² ἡ ἀδελφής εἰς ὀμολογίαν ἀλυσι-
tελή κατακλείσασα δυσωπία ψεύδεσθαι πάλιν ἀναγ-
κάζει μετατιθεμένους.

10. Ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰπὼν ὅτι πάντες οἱ τὴν Ἄσιαν
κατοικοῦντες ἐνὶ δουλεύουσιν ἀνθρώπῳ διὰ τὸ μὴ
ἐυνασθαι μίαν εἰπεῖν τὴν ὁυ συλλαβήν οὐκ ἔσπον-
δασεν ἂλλ' ἐσκωπεῖν τοῖς δὲ δυσωπομένους, καὶ
μηδὲν εἰπωσιν, ἐξεστιν ὁφρύν ἐπάρασι μόνον ἡ
κάτω κύψαι πολλὰς ἀβουλήτους καὶ ἀτόπους
ὑπουργίας διαφεύγειν. τὴν γὰρ³ σωπὴν ὁ μὲν
Εὐρυπίδης φησὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς ἀπόκρισιν εἶναι, κιν-
dυνεύομεν δὲ μᾶλλον αὐτὴς δεῖσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνω-
μονας, ἔπει τοὺς χαρίεντας ἐστὶ καὶ παρηγορήσαι.

Καὶ πρόχειρά γε δεὶ καὶ⁵ συχνὰ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν
καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔχειν ἀποφθέγματα καὶ μνη-
μονεύειν πρὸς τοὺς δυσωποῦντας· οἶνον τὸ Φωκίωνος
533 πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον. "οὐ δύνασαι μοι καὶ⁶ φίλῳ
χρησάν καὶ κόλακι." καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους
ἐπιδουνα κελεύοντας αὐτὸν ἐν ἑορτῇ καὶ κροτοῦντας,
"αἰσχύνομαι,⁷ εἶπεν, "ὑμῖν⁸ ἐπιδιόδουσ τούτῳ δὲ
μὴ ἀποδοίδος," Καλλικλέα δείξας τὸν δανειστὴν."
have, they presently cut a sorry figure when the truth comes out; and having agreed to support one of the parties to a lawsuit, they then are so put out of countenance by the others that they hide and run away. And many, reduced by this feeling to consenting to disadvantageous terms for a daughter’s or a sister’s marriage, are then driven by it in turn to break their word by making new arrangements.

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

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


b Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxx. 3 (755 b); Lives of Agis and Cleomenes, chap. ii. 4 (795 e); Mor. 64 c, 142 b, 188 f.

c Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. ix. 1 (745 d); Mor. 188 a, 822 e.

d ii. 40. 1.

9 δαρ.] δαρ. αὐτοῦ LC Gk X v I W JK M2 vwS2; αὐτοῦ δαρ. Zab.
(533) "πενίαν γὰρ οὖχ ὁμολογεῖν αἰσχρόν," ὡς Θουκυ-
δίδης φησίν, "ἀλλ' ἐργῷ μὴ διαφεύγειν αἰσχίνον." ὃς ὑδέ ἀβελτερίᾳ καὶ μαλακίᾳ πρὸς τὸν αἰτοῦντα 
δυσωποῦμενος εἶπεῖν

οὖκ ἔστ' ἐν ἄντροις λευκός, ὦ ἐξ', ἀργυρός, 
εἴτη ὡσπερ ἐνέχυρον προέμενος τὴν ἐπαγγελιὰν 
αἰδοὺς ἁχαλκεύτοις ἐξευκται πέδαις.

Β ὁ δὲ Περσαῖος ἀργυρίον τινι τῶν γνωρίμων δανείζων 
δι' ἀγορᾶς καὶ τραπέζης ἐποιεῖτο τὸ συμβόλαιον 
µεµνηµένος δηλονότι τοῦ Ἡσίοδου λέγοντος 
καὶ τε κασιγνήτω γελάσας ἐπὶ µάρτυρα βέσθαι:

θαυµάσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰπόντος, "οὔτως, ὦ 
Περσαῖε, νοµικῶς;" "ναὶ," εἶπεν, "ἔνα φιλικῶς 
ἀπολάβω καὶ μὴ νοµικῶς ἀπαιτήσω." πολλοὶ γὰρ 
ἐν ἀρχῇ διὰ δυσωπίαν προέμενοι τὸ πιστὸν ὑστερον 
ἐχρήσαντο τοῖς νοµίµοις¹ μετ' ἔχθρας. (11.) πάλιν 
ὁ Πλάτων Ἐλίκων τῷ Κυζικηνῷ δίδους πρὸς 
C Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆν ἐπήμεσεν αὐτὸν ὡς ἐπιείκὴ 
καὶ μέτριον, εἴτα προσέγραψε τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τελευ-
τάσῃ: "γράφω δὲ σοι ταῦτα περὶ ἀνθρώπου, ζῷου 
φύσει εὐµεταβόλου." Ξενοκράτης δὲ καὶ πέρ ἀντη-
ρὸς ὅν τὸν τρόπον ὄµως ὑπὸ δυσωπίας ἐκάµφθη 
καὶ συνέστησε Πολυπέρχοντι δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἀνθρω-
πὸν ὑ θρηστὸν, ὡς τὸ ἕργον ἐθείξεν· δεξιωσάµένου 
дей αὐτὸν τοῦ Μακεδόνος καὶ πυθοµένου μὴ τῶν 
ἔχοι χρείαν, ἤτησε τάλαντον· ὃ δὲ ἐκείνω µὲν ἐδώκε 

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

ON COMPLIENCY, 533

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

But sir, no silver shines within my caves

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

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

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

Be he your brother, laugh and call a witness.

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


\(^b\) *Works and Days*, 371.

\(^c\) *Ep.* xiii. 360 c-d, cited from memory; also quoted in *Mor.*, 463 c and 474 E.
(533) Ξενοκράτει δὲ ἐγραψε παραϊνών ἐπιμελέστερον τὸ λουπὸν ἐξετάζειν οὕς συνιστήσων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ξενο-
kράτης ἡγνώσεν· ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ πάνυ πολλάκις ἐπι-
stάμενοι τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ γράμματα προϊέμεθα
D καὶ χρήματα, βλάπτοντες ἐαυτοὺς οὐ μεθ' ἢδονῆς
ώσπερ οἱ ταῖς ἐταίραις χαριζόμενοι καὶ τοὺς κόλαξιν,
ἀλλὰ δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ βαρυνόμενοι τὴν ἀναίδειαν
ἀνατρέπουσαν ἡμῶν καὶ καταβιαζομένην τὸν λογι-
σμὸν. εἴ γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλο τι, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυσ-
ωποῦντας ἐξεστίν εἴπειν τὸ

μανθάνω μὲν οἷα δρᾶν μέλλω¹ κακά

τὰ ψευδὴ μαρτυρῶν ἢ τὰ μὴ δίκαια κρίνων ἢ τὰ μὴ
συμφέροντα χειροτονῶν ἢ δανειώμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ
μὴ ἀποδώσοντος.

12. Διὸ τῶν παθῶν μάλιστα τῷ² δυσωπεῖσθαι
τῷ³ μετανοεῖν οὐχ ὑστερον, ἀλλὰ εὐθὺς ἐν οἷς πράττει
πάρεστι· καὶ γὰρ διδόντες ἀχθόμεθα καὶ μαρτυ-
Εροῦντες αἰγυπνόμεθα καὶ συνεργοῦντες ἀδοξοῦ-
μεν καὶ μὴ παρέχοντες ἐλεγχόμεθα. πολλὰ γὰρ
ὑπ’ ἀσθενείας τοῦ ἀντιλέγειν καὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων
ἡμῶν ὑπισχυούμεθα τοῖς λιπαροῖς, ὅσ συντάσεις
ἐν αὐλαῖς καὶ πρὸς ἡγεμόνας ἐντεύξεις, μὴ βουλό-
μενοι μηδὲ εὐτονοῦντες εἰπεῖν "οὐκ οίδεν ἡμᾶς ὁ
βασιλεῦς, ἀλλ’ ἔτεροις ὁρὰ μᾶλλον’ ὅσ Λύσαν-
δρος ’Αγησιάω προσκεκρομένως ἀξιοῦμενος δὲ μέ-
F γιστον δύνασθαι παρ’ αὐτῶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν οὐκ

¹ δρὰν μέλλω (and so ms. L of Euripides and all other cita-
tions)] μέλλω δρὰν LC Gk¹ Xv W J¹K vw; τολμῆσω ms.
ABVP of Euripides.
² τῷ D: τοῦ (and so G⁴; τὸ G¹).
³ τῷ (and so G⁴) τοῦ G¹ R (vw omit).
it but wrote to Xenocrates advising him in future to scrutinize more carefully the persons he recommended. Now Xenocrates acted in ignorance; we, however, although often well aware that a man is a scoundrel, yet part with letters and money, injuring ourselves without the pleasure got by those who indulge courtesans and flatterers, but loathing and resenting the brazen importunity that overthrows and masters our reason. For to no one more aptly than to those who wring concessions from us by their importunity can we say

I know the evil I set out to do—
in giving false testimony, rendering an unjust verdict, voting for an inexpedient measure, or borrowing for one who will never repay.

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

— Euripides, Medea, 1078.

4 μη] Gk1 omit (R is wanting).
5 λιπαροῦσιν Meziriacus: αἰε παροῦσιν (—ςιν v).
6 ἤγεμόνας] ἤγεμόνος D.
7 ὁρὰ D6 and Madvig: ὁρῇ.
(533) ἢσχύνετο παραιτεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, ἀπείναυ· πρὸς ἐτέρους κελεύνων καὶ πειράσθαι τῶν μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῷ βασιλεὶ δυναμένων. οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν τὸ μὴ πάντα δύνασθαι· τὸ δὲ μὴ δυναμένους ἡ μὴ πεφυκότας ἀνάδεχεσθαι τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ παραβιά·ζεσθαι πρὸς τῷ αἰσχρῷ λυπηρότατον ἐστιν.

13. Ἀπ' ἄλλης δὲ ἀρχῆς· τὰ μὲν μέτρια καὶ πρέποντα δεῖ προθύμως ὑπογρεῖν τοῖς ἄξιοις

534 μὴ δυσωπομένους ἀλλ' ἐκόντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς βλα·βεροῖς καὶ ἀτόποις τὸ τοῦ Ζήνωνος ἀεὶ πρόχειρον ἔχειν, ὅς ἀπαντήσας νεανίσκω των τῶν συνήθων παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἴσως βαδίζοντι καὶ πυθόμενος ὁτι φεύγει φίλον ἄξιοντα μαρτυρεῖν υτῷ τὰ φευδή, "τί λέγεις," φησίν, "ἀβελτερε; σὲ μὲν ἐκείνων ἀγνωμονῶν καὶ ἀδικῶν οὐ δέδειν οὐδὲ αἰσχῦνεται, σὺ δὲ ἐκείνων ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων οὐ λαρρεῖς ὑπο·στήναι;" ο μὲν γὰρ εἰπὼν

ποτὶ πονηρὸν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ὅπλον ἀ πονηρία

Β κακῶς ἐθίζει μμούμενον ἀμύνεσθαι τὴν κακίαν, τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἀναιδῶς καὶ ἄδυσωπήτως ἐνοχλοῦντας ἀποτρίβεσθαι τῷ ἄδυσωπήτῳ, καὶ μὴ χαρίζεσθαι τὰ αἰσχρὰ τοῖς ἀναισχύντοις αἰσχυνόμενον, ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως γινόμενον ἐστίν ὑπὸ τῶν νοῦν ἑχόντων.

14. Ἐπὶ τοῖνυν τῶν δυσωποῦντων τοῖς μὲν ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς καὶ μηδενὸς ἄξιοις οὐ μέγα

1 ἀπείναυ M²C²Zab: ἀπείναι (ἀπῆναι Yᵃ).  
2 ὅ (and so Gᵛᵉᵗ) | G¹ Xv W omit.  
3 After αἰσχρῷ DZab have καὶ.  
4 ἐκόντας Meziriacus: ἐκόντας (-τα D; ἐκόντας L?C).  
5 ὅς] ὁς D N.  
ashamed to turn suitors away, directing them to others, and telling them to resort to those who had more influence with the king. For there is no disgrace in not being omnipotent; whereas to undertake such services and to force matters when we have not the power or the talent required, is not only ignominious but mortifying in the extreme.

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

A handy arm with knaves is knavery

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

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

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\[ a \] Cf. Xenophon, *Hell.* iii. 4. 8, also referred to in the *Life of Agesilaüs,* chap. vii. 8 (599 ε).  
\[ b \] Von Arnim, *Stoicorum Vet.* Frag. i. 313 (p. 69).  
\[ c \] Kaibel, *Comicorum Graec.* Frag. i, p. 142, Epicharmus, no. 275; quoted also in *Mor.* 21 ε.
(534) ἕργον ἀντισχεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἐνιοὶ καὶ σκώμματος ἐκκλίνουσι τοὺς τοιούτους, ὡς Θεόκριτος, δυνεῖν αὐτῶν ἐν βαλανεῖω στελεγίδα κιχραμένων, τοῦ μὲν ἔνου, τοῦ δὲ γνωρίμου κλέπτου, μετὰ παιδίας ἀμφοτέρους διεκρούσατο εἰπὼν, "σὲ μὲν οὐκ οἶδα, σὲ δὲ οἶδα." ἄνυσιμαχῆ δὲ Ἀθήνη-νίτην.  


15. Καὶ μὴν ἐάνπερ ὁ δυσωπῶν ἐνδοξὸς ἣ καὶ δυνατός (οὐ δὴ μάλιστα καὶ) δυσπαραίτητοι καὶ δυσαπότριπτοι8 περὶ τὰς κρίσεις καὶ τὰς χειροτονίας ἐντυγχάνοντές εἰσιν), ὃ μὲν ἔπραξεν ὁ Κάτων

D νέος ὃν ἐτί πρὸς Κάτλον οὐκ ἀν τινι φανεὶ ῥάδιον ὦσις οὐδ᾽ ἀναγκαῖον. ὁ γὰρ Κάτλος ἢν μὲν ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν Ῥωμαίων μεγίστω καὶ τότε τήν τιμητικὴν ἀρχὴν εἰχεν· ἀνέβη δὲ πρὸς τὸν9 Κάτωνα τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ δημοσίου ταμείου παρατησομένος τινα τῶν ἐξημιμομένων ὕπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ λυ-

1 τῶν τοιούτων (and so G²) τῶν τοιούτως G¹.
2 αὐτῶν] αὐτῶν v; αὐτῷ RnySS hi ab M² Y¹ss¹(ωss)f¹ssq²ss; αὐτῶ τὸν M¹; παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ D (παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ Z); Pohlenz would delete.
3 εἰπὼν] εἰπας G³ck¹ J¹Kc (εἰπας G³ac X¹v W Kac M¹ Yl); G¹ omits.
4 οὐκ οἶδα σὲ δὲ οἶδα (R omits σὲ δὲ οἶδα)] οἶδα σὲ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα LC vw.
5 ἀλλ᾽ (and so G⁴)] G¹ omits.
6 προαχθῆναι (πραχθῆναι Kac)] προσαχθῆναι Garas Yaras.
7 καὶ] D omits.
resist them; some indeed put them off with an amusing jest. Thus when two men in a bath-house wanted to borrow Theocritus’ scraper, the one a stranger, the other a thieving acquaintance, he evaded both with a quip: “You I don’t know, you I do.” At Athens Lysimachê, priestess of Athenê Polias, when asked for a drink by the muleteers who had brought the sacred vessels, replied: “I fear it will get into the ritual.” And Antigonus answered when a certain youth whose father was a distinguished captain, but who lacked resolution and courage himself, asked for advancement: “At my court, my boy, it is a man’s valour and not his father’s that is rewarded.”

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

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

—Cf. Mor. 183 d and Stobaeus, Anth. iv. 29 b 39 (pp. 717 f. Hense).

—Cato was in the treasury, on the slope of the Capitoline.


—δυσαπότριπτοι A2 νvW: -επτοI (-επτος N2).

—τὸν Gk Xv W J N Ylfq: the rest omit (and so Cvet; LC1 are wanting).
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(534) παρῆς ἐγίνετο¹ ταῖς δεήσει προσβιαζόμενος, ἀχρι ὦ δυσανασχέτησας ἐκεῖνος, “άισχρόν ἔστιν,” ἔφη, “Κάτιε, σὲ τὸν τιμητὴν ἀπαλλαγὴνα μὴ βουλόμενον ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἔλκεσθαι”. καὶ ὁ Κάτλος αἰσχυνθεὶς πρὸς ὀργὴν ἀπήλθεν.

Εἰ σκόπει δὲ μὴ τὸ² τοῦ Ἀγγειολάου καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους³ ἐπιεικέστερον ἔστι καὶ μετριώτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀγγειόλαος ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κελεύμενος κρίναι τινα δίκην παρὰ τὸν νόμον, “ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ σοῦ,” ἔφη, “πάτερ, πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις ἔδιδασκόμην ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς: διὸ καὶ νῦν σοι πείθομαι μηδὲν ποιεῖν⁴ παράνομον.” ὁ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πρὸς τὸν Σιμωνίδην ἀξιοῦντα τι τῶν μὴ δικαίων, “οὔτ’ ἂν σὺ ποιητὴς ἀγαθός εἶνα,” ἔφη, “παρὰ μέλος ἄδων οὔτ’ ἂν ἐγὼ χρηστὸς ἀρχῶν παρὰ νόμον κρίνων.” (16.) καίτοι οὐ διὰ τὴν τοῦ ποδὸς πρὸς τὴν λύραν ἀμετρίαν,⁵ ὡς Πλάτων⁶ ἔλεγε, καὶ πόλεις πόλεις καὶ φιλοί φίλοις διαφερόμενοι τὰ ἔσχατα⁷ δρῶσι τε καὶ πάσχουσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια πλημμελειαν. ἀλλ’ ὁμοὶς ἔνιοι τὴν⁸ ἐν μέλει καὶ γράμμαι καὶ μέτροις ἀκρίβειαν αὐτοῖ φυλάττοντες ἐτέρους ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ κρίσεις καὶ πράξεωις ἀξιοθυμοῦν οἰλιγωρίαν τοῦ καλῶς ἐχοντος. διὸ καὶ τοῦτο⁹ μάλιστα χρηστέον πρὸς αὐτοὺς. ἐντυγχάνει σοι

¹ ἐγίνετο LC G₃k Xv W DZn JK⁶v vw fq : ἐγένετο.
² μὴ τὸ LC¹ Gk¹ Xv I W D J¹K : καὶ τὸ MZab vw l ; μὴ καὶ τὸ RnySs C²k² N Yfq ; μὴ καὶ hi.
³ θεμιστοκλέους] περικλέους DZ RnySs N M¹ Yl.
⁴ ποιεῖν (ποιήν Wae? N¹) ποιών Matthaei.
⁶ πλάτων] ὁ πλάτων Gk¹ Xv h.
persons he had fined, and urged his appeal with great insistence. Cato at last lost patience and said: “It is unseemly, Catulus, that you, the censor, since you won’t take yourself off, should be thrown out by my staff.” Cato was abashed and left in anger. But consider whether the conduct of Agesilaüs and Themistocles was not more courteous and moderate. Told by his father to render an illegal verdict in a certain case, Agesilaüs said: “But it was you, father, that taught me from childhood to obey the laws; I am therefore obeying you when I do nothing unlawful.” When Simonides asked an unjustified favour Themistocles answered: “You would not be a good poet if in your singing you failed to observe the music, nor I a proper officer if in my judgements I failed to observe the law.” Yet, as Plato said, it is not discord of measure and music that sets city against city and friend against friend and leads them to inflict and undergo the greatest calamities, but jarring errors in law and justice. Nevertheless some, themselves sticklers for propriety in music, words, and metre, expect others who hold office, render verdicts, and are engaged in public affairs to disregard what is proper. This therefore is the very point that we must chiefly use against them. A pleader appeals to you

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a Cf. Life of Cato the Younger, chap. xvi. 6-8 (755 d); Mor. 808 e.
b Cf. Life of Themistocles, chap. v. 6 (114 c); Mor. 185 d, 807 b.
c Clitophon, 407 c-d; quoted also in Mor. 439 c.

7 τὰ ἀσχατα [Plato] and Mor. 439 c: τὰ λάχιστα L W N¹ q (τὰ ἀλάχιστα N²; τὰ λάχιστα with or without a grave accent on τὰ the rest); τὰ κάκιστα D A²⁸⁸EZ²⁸⁸; τὰ αἰσχιστα Reiske.
8 τὴν DZab (τὰν S²'s): τῶν.
9 τοῦτω] τοῦτο LC G¹ Xv n hi N wac Yacif.
(534) δικάζοντι ῥήτωρ ἢ βουλεύοντι δημαγωγός: ὁμολόγησον ἐὰν ἐκεῖνος σολοκίση προοιμισαζόμενος ἢ βαρβαρίση δημούμενος; οὐ γὰρ ἔθελήσει διὰ τὸ φανόμενον αἰσχρὸν· ἐνίους γοῦν ὅρμουν οὐδὲ φωνη-εντι συγκρούσαι φωνήσει ἐν τῷ λέγειν ὑπομένοντας.

535 ἔτερον πάλιν δυσωποῦντα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν καὶ ἐν-δόξων κέλευσον ὀρχούμενον δι’ ἀγορᾶς διεξελθεῖν ἢ διαστρέψαντα τὸ πρόσωπον· ἐὰν δὲ ἀρνήσει, σός ἐστιν ὁ καιρὸς εἰπέων καὶ πιθέσθαι τι αἰσχρὸν ἐστιν, τὸ σολοκίσαι καὶ διαστρέψαι τὸ πρόσωπον ἢ τὸ λύσαι τὸν νόμον καὶ παραβήσαι τὸν ὅρκον καὶ πλέον νείμαι τῷ πονηρῷ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον. ἔτι τούτων, ὥσπερ Νικόστρατος ἐ’ Ἀρ-γεῖος Ἀρχιδάμου παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ χρή-μασι πολλοὺς καὶ γάμῳ γυναικὸς ὃ4 βουλεῖται Λακαίνης προδοῦναι Κρώμινον οὐκ ἐφ’ ἐγγονέναι τὸν Ἀρχιδάμον ἀφ’ Ἡρακλέους· ἔκεινον μὲν γὰρ β ἀποκτείνουν περιοῦντα5 τοὺς πονηροὺς, τοῦτον δὲ τοὺς χρήστοις ποιεῖν πονηροὺς· οὔτω καὶ ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀνθρωπὸν ἀξιοῦντα καλὸν κάγαθον λέγεσθαι ῥήτεον, ἄν6 βιάζηται καὶ7 δυσωπή, μὴ πρέποντα ποιεῖν8 μηδὲ ἄξια τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν εὐγενείας καὶ9 ἀρετῆς.

17. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φαύλων ὦρᾶν χρῆ καὶ διανοεῖσθαι τὸν φιλάργυρον εἰ δυσωπήσεσις ἀνευ συμβολαίου δανείσαι τάλαντον ἢ τὸν φιλότιμον ἐκστήναι10 τῆς προεδρίας ἢ τὸν φιλάρχον11 τῆς παραγγελίας ἐπὶ-

1 διεξελθεῖ (L illegible; διεξ- C) Gk41 Xv W J¹K: ἐξελθεῖν.
2 τί αἰσχρόν] τίς αἰσχρόν W; τί αἰσχρόν Leonicus and Donatus Polus.
3 σολοκίσαι (and so G4; ἢςα Cac; -la N; -ςαι l)] ὀρχήσα-σθαι G4k.
4 φ] ἢς DZ.
5 περιοῦντα G4k W DZab s M vw fq: περιοῦντα.
when you are hearing a case, or a party-leader when you hold a seat in the council: give your consent if he will commit a solecism in his proem or a barbarism in his narration. For this he will not do because it appears unseemly—indeed we see that some cannot even abide the collision of one vowel with another in making a speech. Another shameless petitioner is an eminent and respectable personage: tell him to dance or make a face as he passes through the market-place. If he refuses, it is your cue to speak and inquire which is unseemly—to commit a solecism and make a face, or to break the law, to perjure yourself, and unjustly to favour a scoundrel at the expense of an upright man? Furthermore, as Nicostratus the Argive, when offered by Archidamus a great sum and his choice of the Spartan women in marriage if he would betray Cromnon, called Archidamus no true Heraclid, since Heracles had gone about killing malefactors, while Archidamus was making malefactors of honest men, in the same way we must say to one that claims the name of gentleman, if he forces matters and presses an impudent request, that his conduct is unseemly and unworthy of his birth and character.

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

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\[ a \] For this as disgraceful cf. Cicero, De Officiis, iii. 19 (75) and iii. 24 (93).

\[ b \] Cf. Mor. 192 a.
(535) δοξον οντα κρατήσειν. δεινον γαρ αν άληθως
C φανειη τούτοις μεν εν νοσήμασι και παθήμασιν
άκαμπτους διαμένειν και έχυροις και δυσμεταθέ-
tους, ήμας δε βουλομένους και φάσκοντας είναι
φιλοκάλους και φιλοδικαίους μη κρατείν έαυτών
άλλα άνατρέπεσθαι και προέσθαι την άρετήν. και
γαρ ει μεν οι δυσωπούντες ετι δόξη και δυνάμει 2
tούτο πολούσθην άτοπον έστι κοσμούντας έτέρους και
αύξοντας άσχημονείν αυτούς 3 και κακώς άκοιμεν,
ώσπερ οι παραβαβεύντες 4 εν τοις άγωσι και
χαρίζομενοι 5 περι τάς χειροτονίας εξ ου προσή-
kόντων 6 άρχεια και στεφάνους άλλους και δόξαν 7
αφαιροῦνται το ένδοξον αυτών και τό 8 καλόν· ει δε
χρημάτων ένεκα προσκείμενον ορόμεν τόν δυ-
D ωπούντα, πώς ου παρίσταται δεινόν είναι το τής
ίδιας δόξης και άρετής άφειδείν 10 ίνα το τού δεινό
βαλλάντιον βαρύτερον γένηται;
Καίτοι παρίσταταί γε τοις πολλοίς τά τοιαύτα
καί ου λανθάνουσιν έαυτούς εξαμαρτάνοντες, ώσπερ
οι τας μεγάλας κύλικας εκπίνειν 11 αναγκαζόμενοι
μόλις και στένοντες και τά πρόσωπα διαστρέψαντες
έκτελούσι το προστεταγμένον. 13 (18.) άλλα έοικεν
η τής ψυχής άτονία σώματος κράσει και πρός
άλεαν κακώς πεφυκώς και πρός κρύος· έπανού-
μενοί τε 14 γαρ ύπο τών δυσωπούντων παντάπασι
θρύπτονται και χαλώνται, πρός τας μέμψεις

1 νοσήμασι και παθήμασιν | παθήμασι και νοσήμασιν LC Gk Xu
W J1K. 2 δυνάμει (and so G4) : δυναστεία G1k.
3 αυτούς LC G37 X1v W DZab (αυτούς G1k1 X27: JK) :
έαυτοις. 4 παραβρ. (περιβρ. ἡ) βραβεύντες W.
5 χαρίζομενοι] Pohlenz transposes χαρίζομενοι after ἄλλοις ;
Reiske would add διδόντες, νέμοντες, περιποιοῦντες or the like
after ἄλλοις.
ON COMPLIANCY, 535

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

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

6 τροσκόντων (and so Cvet; -οῦν- from -οῦν- N^2)] προσθέ-

κόντως L; προσθέκοντας C^1.

7 ἀλλοις καὶ δόξαν] καὶ δόξαν ἀλλοις LC Gk^1 Xu W J^1K vw.

8 τὸ] X W omit.

9 δὲ] δὲ τὸ N.

10 ἀφειδεῖν (and so L)] ἀφειδεῖν Caras; ἀπιδεῖν G v; παρ-

ιδεῖν k.

11 ἐκπώειν] ἐκπιεῖν DZab RnySs hi.

12 διαστρέφωντες (-ατρ- v)] διαστρέφοντες DZab.

13 τὸ προστατούμενον LC Gk Xu W (τὰ προσταταγμένα J^1K): τὸ προστατούμενον (τὸ προστατούμενον S^1; τὸ προστατούμενον S).

14 τε (and so G^4)] G^1 Wac n^1 JK omit.

83
(535) καὶ υφοράσεις τῶν ἀποτυγχανόντων ψοφοδεῖς Ε καὶ δειλῶς ἔχουσι. δεῖ δὲ ἀντισχυρίζεσθαι πρὸς ἀμφότερα, μήτε τοῖς δεδιδομένοις μήτε τοῖς κολακεύονσιν ἐνδιδόντας. οὐ μὲν οὖν Θουκυδίδης, ὡς ἀναγκαίως ἐπομένου τῷ δύνασθαι τοῦ φθονεῖσθαι, "καλῶς," φησὶ, "βουλεύεσθαι τὸν ἐπὶ μεγίστους λαμβάνοντα τὸ ἐπίφθονον"· ήμείς δὲ τὸν μὲν φθόνον διαφέυγειν χαλεπῶν ἡγούμενοι, τὸ δὲ μέμψει μὴ περιπέσειν μηδὲ ἄντιπρὸν τινὶ γενέσθαι.

Ε τῶν χρωμένων ἀδύνατον παντάπασιν ὅρωντες ὀρθῶς βουλευσόμεθα τὰς τῶν ἀγνωμόνων ἀπεχθείας ἐκδεχόμενοι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς τῶν δικαίως ἐγκαλούντων εάν ἐκεῖνοι μὴ δικαίως ὑπουργῶμεν. καὶ μὴν ἑπανόρθωσεν γε τὸν παρὰ τῶν δυσωποῦντων κίβδηλον ὄντα παντάπασι δεὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μὴ πάθος πάσχειν ύδεσ, ὑπὸ κνησμὸ καὶ γαργαλισμοῦ παρέχοντα χρῆσθαι ράστα τῷ δεομένῳ, καὶ καταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸν ὑποκατακλινόμενον. οὐδὲν γὰρ διαφέροντι τῶν τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὑποστῶσι παρεχόντων οἱ τὰ ὅτα τοῖς κολακεύονσι παραδιδόντες, ἀλλ' 536 οὐσχιον ἀνατρέπονται καὶ πίπτουσιν, οἱ μὲν ἐχθρας καὶ κολάσεις ἀνέντες ἀνθρώπους πονηροῖς ἐν ἐλεήμονες καὶ φιλάνθρωποι καὶ συμπαθεῖς κληθῶσιν, οἱ δὲ τοῦνατόν ἀπεχθείας καὶ κατηγορίας οὐκ ἀναγκαίας οὐδὲ ἀκυνίους ἀναδέχεσθαι πεισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπανοῦντων ὡς μόνους ἄνδρας καὶ μόνους ἄκολοκεύτους καὶ νῆ Δία στόματα καὶ φωνὰς προσαγορευόντων. διὸ καὶ Βίων ἀπείκαζε τοὺς τοιούτους ἀμφορεύσιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀτῶν ῥαδίως

1 Before χαλεπῶν Erasmus and Reiske omit οὐ.
2 τιν G4k W: τι.
3 δικαῖος] δικαίοις W.
the complaints and disapproval of rejected suitors they are timorous and fearful. We should make a bold stand on both fronts, yielding neither to intimidation nor to flattery. Thucydides, indeed, holding that power necessarily attracts envy, says: "He does wisely who incurs envy for the greatest prize," but we, who though we consider envy difficult to avoid, yet observe the utter impossibility of escaping reproach or avoiding offence to some of those with whom we deal, shall do well to incur the wrath of the inconsiderate rather than the wrath of those who will have just cause to complain if we do injustice to oblige the others. Furthermore, the praise that comes from suitors is false coin: we must be thoroughly on our guard against it and not behave like swine, because of our itch to be scratched and tickled allowing the suitor to handle us as he pleases, and sinking to the ground in subservience to him. For he who gives ear to flatterers is no better than he who allows a leghold to one who would throw him; nay, the toss and fall is in his case more disgraceful. Some, to get a name as merciful, humane, and compassionate, release wrongdoers from enmity and punishment; others on the contrary are persuaded to undertake quarrels and prosecutions that are neither compulsory nor free from risk, when they are praised as alone deserving to be called "men" and alone incapable of subservience—yes, and the flatterers even call them "mouths" and "voices." Consequently Bion compared men of this sort to pitchers easily carried away by the ears.\(^4\)

\(^{a}\) ii. 64. 5; also quoted in Mor. 73 a.

\(^{b}\) Cf. Mor. 705 e and Frag. incert. 101 Bern.

\(^{4}\) τοὺς τοιούτους (and so G⁴) τοῖς τοιούτοις G¹.

\(^{5}\) ἀπὸ Dab: ὑπὸ.
(536) μεταφερομένοις. ὁσπερ Ἀλεξίνον ἱστοροῦσι τὸν σοφιστήν πολλὰ φαύλα λέγειν εν τῷ περιπάτῳ περὶ Β Στίλπωνος τοῦ Μεγαρέως, εἰπόντος δὲ τυνὸς τῶν παρόντων, "ἀλλὰ μήν ἐκείνος σε πρώῃ ἐπῆνε," "νῇ Δίᾳ," φάναι, "βέλτιστος γάρ ἄνδρῶν ἔστι καὶ γενναιότατος." ἀλλὰ Μενέδημος τούναντιον, ἀκουσάς ὡς Ἀλεξίνος αὐτὸν ἔπαινει πολλάκις, "ἐγὼ δὲ," εἶπεν, "ἀεὶ ψέγω Ἀλεξίνον· ὥστε κακὸς ἦστιν ἄνθρωπος ἦ διὰ κακῶν ἐπαινῶν ἦ ὑπὸ χρηστοῦ ψεγό-μενος." οὕτως ἀτρέπτου ἦν καὶ ἀνάλωτος ὑπὸ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ κρατῶν ἐκείνης τῆς παρανέσεως ἦν ὁ Ἀντισθένειος Ἡρακλῆς παρῆκε τοῖς παισί, δια-κελευόμενος μηδενὶ χάριν ἐχεῖν ἐπαυνοῦντι· τούτῳ δὲ ἦν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἡ μὴ δυσωπεύσθαι μηδὲ ἀντι-C κολακεύειν τοὺς ἐπαυνοῦντας. ἄρκει γάρ οἴμαι τὸ τοῦ Πινδάρου πρὸς τὸν λέγοντα πανταχοῦ καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἔπαινεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπόντος, "κἀγὼ σοι χάριν ἀποδίδωμι· ποιῶ γάρ σε ἀλήθευεν."

19. "Ο τοῖνυν πρὸς πάντα τὰ πάθη χρήσιμὸν ἐστὶ, τούτου δεῖ μάλιστα τοὺς εὐδυσωπήτους· ὅταν ἐκβιασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους παρὰ γνώμην ἁμάρ-τως καὶ διατραπὼς, ἰσχυρῶς μνημονεύειν καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τοῦ δηλοῦν6 καὶ τῆς μεταμελείας θεμένους7 ἐν εαυτοῖς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐπὶ πλεῖστων χρόνον. ὃς γὰρ οἱ λίθῳ προσπταίσαντες ὁδοιπόροι D ἦ περὶ ἀκραν ἀναπαύετες κυβερνήτας, ἀν μημο-

1 μεταφερομένοις G1 Xv W J1K N2 (from -ρω-) M1 Y1: -ous (and so L? and G4).
2 ἄνθρωπος nos: ἄνθρωπος.
3 ἦ ὑπὸ DZ K vv (ὑπὸ J): ἦ ἀπὸ (and so I; L is illegible).
4 After ἐπαυνοῦντι Bern. omits αὐτοῦς.
5 τὰ] LC Gs k1 Xv W omit.
6 δηλοῦ DZab JK: δῆμο (βίου wae).
Thus it is reported that Alexinus the sophist was roundly abusing Stilpon of Megara in the Promenade when one of the audience said: "But he was praising you the other day." "Exactly," said Alexinus, "he is the most honest and outspoken of men." Menedemus said on the contrary, on hearing that Alexinus often praised him, "For my part I have never a good word for him. The fellow is therefore a knave, as he either praises a knave or is censured by an honest man." So steadfast was he and secure against the likes of these, and so firmly did he hold to the advice that Heracles in Antisthenes \(^a\) gave his sons, to thank no man for his praise, which came exactly to this: not to let themselves be prevailed upon by those who praised them and not to flatter them in return. Pindar's answer is enough, I fancy. To one who said that he praised him everywhere and to everyone he replied: "And I return the courtesy; it is my doing that you tell the truth."

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

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\(^a\) Antisthenes, \textit{Heracles}, Frag. 6 (ed. Dittmar).

\(^b\) Cf. the proverb (Leutsch and Schneidewin, \textit{Paroem. Gr.} i, p. 65) \begin{roman}δις προς τὸν αὐτὸν αἰσχρὰ (νος: αἰσχρὸν) προσκρούειν λίθον \end{roman} "to stumble twice against the same stone is shameful."

\(^7\) \textit{θημένους} \textit{θημένοις} LC\(^1\).
(536) νεύωσιν, οὐκ ἐκεῖνα μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τὰ προσόμοια φρίττοντες καὶ φυλαττόμενοι διατελοῦσιν, οὕτως οἱ τὰ τῆς δυσωπίας αίσχρα καὶ βλαβέρα συνεχῶς τῷ μετανοοῦντι καὶ δακνομένῳ προβάλλοντες ἀντιληφοῦνται πάλιν ἑαυτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις καὶ οὐ προήσονται ὡδίως ὑποφερομένους.

1 προβάλλοντες LCε D fq: προσβάλλοντες.
memory, henceforth never fail to avoid with a shudder not only the occasion of their misadventure, but everything resembling it, so those who constantly hold up to their repentance and remorse the shame and loss involved in compliancy will in similar circumstances resist the feeling and not easily allow it to carry them away.
ON ENVY AND HATE
(DE INVIDIA ET ODIO)
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

\(^b\) Cf. for example *Mor.* 61 e, 455 c, 459 b, 462 a, 468 b, 475 e, 481 d, 501 e.
\(^c\) Note the language used in comparing the two: envy is said to differ (cf. 537 c, 538 d) from hate (or to be the same with it, as at 536 f); we do not hear of hate differing from envy. Envy is similarly emphasized at the expense of hate by the omission of *μὲν* at 537 a.
must study hostility and hate in the light of the opposites; and many points in Plutarch's discussion of hatred were doubtless suggested by Aristotle's discussion of friendship in Rhetoric, ii. 4. 1-29 (1380 b 34—1381 b 37) and books viii-ix of the Nicomachean Ethics. Thus Plutarch calls hatred both a πάθος (536 e, f, 537 e, 538 c, d) and a διάθεσις (538 e; it is a ἐξις in Aristotle: see the note on 538 e); it shows a προαιρέσις (538 e), and it is found in animals (537 b).

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

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

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

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

1. Οὔτω δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ μηθεν' τοῦ μίσους δια-
φέρειν\(^2\) ἀλλ' ὁ\(^3\) αὐτὸς εἶναι. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ
ὡσπερ πολυάγκιστρον ἡ κακία τοῖς ἐξηρτημένοις
αὐτῆς πάθεσιν κινούμενη δεύρο κάκεις πολλὰς
πρὸς ἀλληλα\(^4\) συναφὰς καὶ\(^5\) περιπλοκὰς ἐνδιδοις,
F ταύτα δὲ ὡσπερ νοσήματα συμπαθεῖ ταῖς ἀλλήλων
φλεγμοναῖς. ὃ γάρ εὐτυχῶν ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν μυ-
σοῦντα λυπεῖ καὶ τὸν φθονοῦντα. διὸ καὶ τὴν
ἐνύοιαν ἀμφοτέρους νομίζομεν ἀντικείσθαι, βούλησιν
οὕσαν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς πλησίον, καὶ τῷ μισεῖν τὸ
φθονεῖν ταύτον\(^7\) εἶναι, ὅτι τὴν ἐναντία τῷ φιλεῖν
ἐχει προαίρεσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτω ταύτον αἱ
ὀμοιότηται ὡς ἔτερον αἱ διαφοραι ποιοῦσιν, κατὰ
ταύτας\(^8\) ζητοῦμεν\(^9\) εὰν μεταδιώξωμεν,\(^10\) ἀπὸ τῆς
gενέσεως ἀρξάμενοι τῶν παθῶν.

2. Γεννᾶται τοῦν τὸ μίσος ἐκ φαντασίας τοῦ\(^11\)
ὅτι πονηρὸς ἡ κοινῶς ἡ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐστιν ὁ μισοῦ-

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1 μηθεν] μηθεν (L is wanting) C y nBr E.
2 διαφέρειν (L is wanting) C HU\(^1\) a: δ. ό φθόνος.
3 ό] (L is wanting) C\(^1\) omits.
4 πολλὰς πρὸς ἀλληλα \(^2\) : πολλὰς πρὸς ἀλληλας U\(^3\) a\(^1\); πρὸς
ἀλλας πρὸς ἀλληλας HU\(^1\); πρὸς ἀλλας (L is illegible) C\(^1\); πολλὰς
πρὸς ἄλλας C\(^2\); πρὸς ἄλλας καὶ ἄλλας y\(^1\); πρὸς ἄλλας καὶ ἄλληλα
y\(^2\).
5 καὶ] (L is illegible) C\(^1\) y\(^1\) HU\(^1\) omit.
6 τῷ μ. τῷ H\(^1\) U\(^1\) a: τῷ μ. τῷ L C y H\(^2\) U\(^2\) B.
7 ταύτων C\(^1\) (ταυτῶν y): ταυτὸ οὐ ταυτὸ.
8 ταύτας] ταύτα HU\(^1\).
9 ζητοῦμεν] ζητῶμεν A\(^2\) E.
10 μεταδιώξωμεν (and so L?]; -ομεν y]) μεταδιώξω C\(^1\).
ON ENVY AND HATE

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

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

\(^a\) Envy.

\(^b\) Aristotle calls envy and hate passions: *Eth. Nic.* ii. 5.

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

\(^d\) Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 4-7).
537 μενος (καὶ γὰρ ἄδικείσθαι δόξαντες αὐτοί πεφυκασὶ μισεῖν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἁδικητικοὺς ἡ πονηροὶς προβάλλονται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσιν). φθονοῦσιν δὲ ἀπλῶς τοῖς εὐ πράττειν δοκοῦσιν. οὔθεν έοικεν ὁ φθόνος ἀόριστος εἶναι, καθάπερ ὀφθαλμία πρὸς ἀπάν τὸ λαμπρὸν ἐκταρασσόμενος, τὸ δὲ μύσος ὃρισται, καθ’ ύποκειμένοις οἱ τινῶν ἀπερείδομενον.

3. Δεύτερον δὲ τὸ μισεῖν γίνεται καὶ πρὸς ἄλογα ζῶα (καὶ γὰρ γαλάς καὶ καναρίδας ἔνιοι μισοῦσι καὶ φρύνους καὶ ὀφεις. Αρεμανικὸς δὲ ἀλεκτρυνόν ὀϋτε φωνὴν οὔτε ὀψιν ὑπέμεινεν. οἱ δὲ Περσῶν Β μάγου τοὺς μᾶς ἀπεκτίνυσαν, ὃς αὐτοὶ τε μισοῦντες καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεραίνοντος τὸ ζῶον· ὁμοῦ τι γὰρ πάντες "Αραβεὶς καὶ Αἰθιόπες μυσάττονται· τὸ μέντοι φθονεῖν πρὸς μόνον ἀνθρώπου ἀνθρώπῳ γίνεται.

4. 'Εν τοῖς θηρίοις φθόνον μὲν οὐκ εἰκὸς ἐγνεσθαί πρὸς ἄλληλα (τοῦ γὰρ εὐ πράττειν ἡ κακῶς ἐτέρου φαντασίαν οὐ λαμβάνονουν, οὐδὲ ἀπτεται τὸ ἐνδοξόν ἡ ἀδοξὸν αὐτῶν, οἰς ὁ φθόνος

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1 ἄλλως] ἄλλος L? C y nB.
2 ὁ] ὁ μὲν α3snBr.
3 ἀόριστος] ὁ ἀριστος HU1.
4 μύσος L (μύσος y) α3snBr : μείζον.
5 After ἀπερείδομενον we omit πρὸς αὐτῶν (-τὰ y1), for which Kronenberg conjectures προσώπων.
6 ἄλογα] τὰ ἄλογα LC.
7 τι Reiske : τέ.
8 ἐν (ἐν δὲ γὰρ τοῖς θηρίοις] καν (καν nr) τοῖς θηρίοις δὲ α3snBr.
9 ἐτέρου α3snBr (ἐτέρα y) : ἐτέραν.
10 η] η το LC.

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a Cf. Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 1. 4 (1378 a 1-3).
b Cf. Mor. 39 e ; Aristotle, Eth. Nic. ii. 7. 15 (1108 b 3-5) ; Cicero, De Oratore, ii. 52 (210), Tusc. Disput. iv. 7 (16), that is, von Arnim, Stoicorum Vet. Frag. iii. 415, p. 101: "invidientiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti." (cf. Aris-
ON ENVY AND HATE, 537

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

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

4. In animals it is not likely that envy of one another arises, as they have no notion of another’s good or ill fortune, nor are they affected by glory or disgrace, things by which envy is most exasperated.
(537) ἐκτραχύνεται μάλιστα· μισοῦσι δὲ ἄλληλα¹ καὶ ἀπεχθάνονται καὶ πολεμοῦσιν ὡσπερ ἀσπειστοὺς² τινὰς πολέμους³ ᾖτοί καὶ δράκοντες, κορώναι καὶ γλαύκες, αἰγυπάλλοι καὶ ἀκανθυλλίδες,⁴ ὡστε τούτων γέ φασι μηδέ⁵ τὸ αἶμα κίρνασθαι σφατ- C τομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μίξης, ἵδια πάλιν ἀπορρεῖν⁶ διακρινόμενον. εἶκος⁷ δὲ καὶ τῷ λέοντι πρὸς τὸν ἀλεκτρόνα καὶ τῷ ἐλέφαντι πρὸς τὴν ὅν μίσος ἴσχυρόν γεγεννηκέναι τὸν φόβον· ὅ γὰρ δεδίασι, καὶ μισεῖν πεφύκασιν. ὡστε καὶ ταῦτῃ φαίνεσθαι δια- φέροντα τῷ μίσους τὸν φθόνον, τὸ⁸ μὲν δεχομένης τῆς τῶν θηρίων φύσεως, τὸν⁹ δὲ μὴ δεχομένης.

5. "Ετι τούτων τὸ μὲν φθονεῖν πρὸς οὐδένα γίνεται δικαίως (οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἄδικε τῷ εὐτυχείν, ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ φθονοῦνται): μισοῦνται δὲ πολλοὶ δικαίως, ὡς¹⁰

D ous ἀξιομισήτοις καλοῦμεν, ὡστε καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν¹¹ ἃν μὴ φεύγωσι τοὺς τοιούτους μηδὲ βδελύττωνται¹² καὶ δυσχεραίνωσι.¹³ μέγα δὲ τούτου

¹ ἄλληλα (and so L)] ἄλληλα C¹? HU¹.
² ἀσπειστοὺς Reiske (adding πολέμους before πολεμοῦσιν): ἀπίστους.
³ πολέμους Emperius (πολέμους τάδε Wytenbach): πολε- μοῦσι δὲ.
⁴ ἀκανθυλλίδες -υλι- LC; -ηλι- y.
⁵ μηδὲ] μὴ LC y.
⁶ ἀπορρεῖν H: ἀπορρεῖ U¹; ἀπορρεῖ (and so U²).
⁷ εἰκος Stephanus: εἰκότως.
⁸ τὸ] τὸν Uaras.
⁹ τὸν] τὸ LC y HU¹.
¹⁰ ὡς] Reiske would omit.
¹¹ ὡστε καὶ ... ἐγκαλοῦμεν supplied by Pohlenz.
¹² βδελύττωνται] -ονται C H nr ae.
¹³ δυσχεραίνωσι] -οναι H ae.

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¹ For friendship among animals cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. viii. 1. 3 (1155 a 18 f.), and the Eudemian Ethics, vii. 2. 17 (1236 b 6-10) and vii. 2. 53 (1238 a 32 f.).
But there is mutual hatred, hostility,\(^a\) and what might be called truceless war between eagles and snakes,\(^b\) crows and owls,\(^c\) titmice and goldfinches; indeed it is said that the blood of these last will not mingle\(^d\) when the animals are killed, but even if you mix it, separates again and runs off in two distinct streams. It is likely, moreover, that in lions the strong hatred of cocks,\(^e\) and in elephants of swine,\(^f\) has been engendered by fear; for what they fear they naturally hate as well.\(^g\) Here too, therefore, envy is seen to differ from hate, as animal nature admits the one but not the other.

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

\(^a\) Cf. *ibid.* (609 a 8); Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* v. 48.
\(^d\) Cf. *Mor.* 981 E; Seneca, *De Ira,* ii. 11; Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 9 (27); Aelian, *Nat. Animal.* i. 38, viii. 28, xvi. 36; Horapollo, ii. 86; Polyaenus, iv. 6. 3; Georgius Pisides, *Hexaem.* 963 f.; Aristophanes, *Hist. Animal.* Epit. ii. 106-107 (p. 60. 20-22, ed. Lambros); and Suidas, s.v. κεκραγμόν.
\(^e\) Cf. Stobaeus, *Anth.* iv. 7. 20 (p. 254. 3 Hense).
(537) τεκμήριον ὦτι μυσεῖν μὲν1 πολλοὺς ὁμολογοῦσιν ἔνιοι, φθονεῖν δὲ οὖδεν λέγουσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ μυσο- 
πονηρία τῶν ἐπανουμένων ἔστι· καὶ τὸν ἀδελφοῦδον 
τοῦ Λυκούργου Χάριλλον, βασιλεύοντα τῆς Σπάρ-
τῆς, ἐπιεικῆ δὲ ὄντα, καὶ πρᾶον, ἐπανούντων τινῶν ὁ 
συνάρχων, "καὶ πῶς," ἐφη, "χρηστὸς ἐστὶ Χάριλ-
lλος, ὅς2 οὖδὲ τοὺς πονηροῖς χαλεπός ἔστι·" καὶ 
τοῦ Θερσίτου δ' ποιητὴς τήν μὲν τοῦ σώματος 
κακιὰν πολυμερῶς καὶ περιωδευμένως ἐξεμόρφω-

Ε σεν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἡθὸς μοχθηρίαν συντομώτατα καὶ 
δὴ εὖν ἐφρασεν·

ἐχθιστὸς δ' Ἀχιλῆι3 μάλιστ' ἡν4 ἡδ' Ὁδυσῆι5. 
ὑπερβολῇ γάρ τις6 φαυλότητος τὸ τοῖς κρατίστοις7 
ἐχθρον εἶναι. καὶ8 φθονεῖν δὲ ἀρνοῦνται· κἂν ἐλέγ-
χωνται,9 μυρίας σκήψεις προφανοῦνται, ὀργίζεσθαι 
λέγοντες ἡ φοβείσθαι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἡ μυσεῖν, ἡ10 ὁ 
τὶ ἀν τύχωσιν ἄλλο11 τῷ φθόνῳ12 τοῦ πάθους ὅνομα 
περιβάλλοντες καὶ καλύπτοντες13 ὅς μόνον τοῦτο 
tῶν τῆς14 ψυχῆς νοσημάτων ἀπόρρητον.

6. Ἀνάγκῃ τοῖνυ τὰ πάθη ταῦτα τοῖς αὐτοῖς 
ὡσπερ τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τρέφουσας καὶ αὔξεσθαι, διὸ 
καὶ15 ἐπιτείνεσθαι16 πέφυκεν ἄλλοις.17 μισοῦμεν γὰρ18

1 μὲν] LC1 y omit.
2 δσ] ως LC1.
3 ἀχιλῆι -λλ- y HU s.
4 μάλιστ' ἡν a3nB (from ἡν) : μάλιστα ἡν (L illegible)
C y ; μάλιστ' U ; μάλιστ' ω; from μάλιστα H2.
5 Ὅδυσηι -σο- (L illegible) C y HU nr ; Ὅδυσηι s.
8 καὶ] Wyttenbach would omit.
9 κἂν ἐλέγχωνται] καὶ ἐλέγχοντες (L illegible) C1.
10 ἡ y2] A4E : the rest omit (L illegible).
13 καλύπτοντες] συγκαλύπτοντες LC y.
14 τῆς LC y H : the rest omit.
stance that while some confess that they hate a good many people, there is no one that they will say they envy. Indeed hatred of wickedness is among the things we praise; and when certain persons praised Charillus, Lycurgus’ nephew, who was king of Sparta, but a mild and gentle man, his colleague remarked: “How can you call Charillus a good man, when he is not even severe with scoundrels?” And whereas Homer was very detailed and circumstantial in his description of Thersites’ bodily deformity, he expressed the viciousness of his character very succinctly and in a single statement:

Most hateful he to Achilles and Odysseus.

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

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

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a Cf. Mor. 451 d-e and [Aristotle], De Virt. et Vit. 1250 b 23 f.
b Cf. Mor. 55 e, 218 b, 452 d, and Life of Lycurgus, chap. v. 9 (42 d).
c Il. ii. 220, quoted also in Mor. 30 a.
d Cf. Arrian, Epict. ii. 21. 3.
e Cf. Basil, De Invidia, 92 a.
f Cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. ii. 2. 8 (1104 a 27 f.).
In 537 A it was prosperity that excited envy. But virtue
our hatred increases as the hated progress in vice, envy on the other hand increases with the apparent progress of the envied in virtue. This explains why when Themistocles was still a youth he said that he was doing nothing remarkable, as he was not yet envied. For just as beetles appear most of all in grain when it is ripe for harvest and in roses when they are in full bloom, so envy fastens most of all on characters and persons that are good and increasing in virtue and fame. In contrast unredeemed villainies intensify hate. At any rate, those who brought false charges against Socrates, being held to have reached the limit of baseness, were so hated and shunned by their countrymen that no one would lend them light for a fire, answer their questions, or bathe in the same water, but made the attendants pour it out as polluted, until the men hanged themselves, finding the hatred unendurable. On the other hand supreme and resplendent good fortune often extinguishes envy. For it is hardly likely that anyone envied Alexander or Cyrus when they had prevailed and become masters of the world. But just as the sun, when it stands directly over a man’s head, pouring down its light, either quite obliterates his shadow or makes it small, is the greatest blessing (cf. 538 d, infra), and there is no greater prosperity than the possession of it.


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

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

For envy as the shadow of glory cf. Stobaeus, Anth. iii. 38. 35 (p. 715. 15-18 Hense).
(538) μικράν ἐποίησεν, οὕτω πολὺ τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ὕψος
λαβόντων καὶ γενομένων κατὰ κεφαλῆς τοῦ φθόνου
συστέλλεται καὶ ἀναχωρεῖ καταλαμπόμενος: τὸ
μέντοι μύσος οὐκ ἀνήισεν ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑπεροχῇ καὶ
dύναμις. ὃ γοῦν 'Αλέξανδρος φθονοῦντα μὲν οὐδένα
eἰχεν, μισοῦντας δὲ πολλούς, ὅφεὶ ὁν τέλος ἐπι-
βουλευθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. ὁμοίως τοῖνυν καὶ τὰ δυστυ-
χήματα τοὺς μὲν φθονοῦντας παύει τὰς δ’ αὖ ἐχθρας
οὐκ ἀνατεί. μισοῦσι γὰρ καὶ ταπεινοὺς τοὺς ἐχ-
θροὺς γενομένους, φθονεῖ1 δὲ οὐδεὶς τοῦ δυστυχοῦντι,
C ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τινος τῶν καθ’ ἡμᾶς σο-
φιστῶν, ὅτι2 ἡδίστα οἱ φθονοῦντες ἔλεοσιν, ἀληθὲς
ἔστιν. ὥστε καὶ ταῦτῃ3 μεγάλην εἶναι τῶν παθῶν
dιαφοράν, ὅσ τὸ μὲν4 μύσος οὕτε εὐτυχοῦντος οὕτε
dυστυχοῦντων ἀφιστασθαὶ πέφυκεν, ὅ δὲ φθόνος
πρὸς τὴν ἀμφότερον ὑπερβολὴν ἀπαγορεύει.
7. Ἐτι τοῖνυν—ἡ5 μᾶλλον οὕτως—ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναν-
τίων τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπῶμεν. λύουσι γὰρ ἐχθρας καὶ
μύσος ἡ πεισθέντες μηδὲν ἄδικείσθαι ἡ δόξαν ὡς χρη-
στῶν οὕς ἐμίσουσιν ὡς πονηροὺς λαβόντες ἡ τρίτον εὐ
παθόντες: "ἡ γὰρ τελευταία6 χάρις," ὡσ7 Θουκυ-
δίδης φησὶ, "καὶ ἐλάττων ἡ, καιρὸν ἤχουσα δύναται
D μεῖζον ἑγκλήμα λῦσαι." τοῦτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον
οὐ λυεῖ τὸν φθόνον (πεπεισμένοι γὰρ ἐξ ἄρχῆς
μηδὲν ἄδικείσθαι φθονοῦσι), τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ καὶ παρ-

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1 φθονεῖ] φθονοῦσι H C1.
2 ὅτι] H omits.
3 ταῦτη Reiske: ταῦταν.
4 μὲν] C1 y omits.
5 ἡ] καὶ a3 SN Br y omits; Pohlenz puts it after μᾶλλον.
6 τελευταία] τελευταία L HU1 sn.
7 ὡς] L C1.

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a Cf. Plutarch, Frag. xxiii. 2 Bernardakis.
b Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxx. 7 (707 a).
so when good fortune attains great elevation and comes to stand high over envy, then envy diminishes and withdraws, being overcome by the blaze of glory.\(^a\) Hate, however, is not made to relent by the pre-eminence and power of one's enemies. Alexander certainly had none who envied, but many who hated him, and it was these who plotted against him and killed him in the end.\(^b\) So too with misfortunes: they put a stop to envy but not to hate, for men hate even their humbled enemies,\(^c\) whereas no one envies the unfortunate. Rather it is a true remark of a certain sophist\(^d\) of our day that those who envy take the greatest delight in pitying. Here too, therefore, there is a great difference between the two passions, since it is the nature of hate to depart from neither the fortunate nor the unfortunate, whereas envy is no longer sustained when either fortune is at its height.\(^e\)

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

\(^a\) Cf. Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 4. 31 (1382 a 14).
\(^b\) Unidentified.
\(^c\) Cf. Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 10. 5 (1388 a 11 f.).
\(^d\) i. 42. 3.
\(^e\) Cf. Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 9. 3 (1386 b 20-25), and Cicero, Tusc. Disput. iv. 8 (17).
(538) οἶνει: τοῖς τε γὰρ δοκοῦσι χρήστοις βασκαίνουσι μᾶλλον, ώς δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσι, κἂν εὖ πάσχωσιν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐτυχοῦντων, ἀνιώνται φθονοῦντες αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς προαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀρετὴς ἔστι τὸ δὲ εὐτυχίας, ἀγαθὰ δὲ ἀμφότερα. διὸ παντελῶς ἐτερόν ἔστι τοῦ μύσου,¹ εἰ δὲ ὃν ἐκεῖνο πραύνεται τοῦτο λυπεῖται καὶ παροξύνεται.

8. "Ἡδη τοῖνυν καὶ τὴν προαιρέσειν αὐτὴν ἔκατέρου πάθος σκοπώμεν. ἔστι δὲ μυσοῦντος μὲν Ἐ προαιρέσεις κακῶς ποιήσαι (καὶ τὴν δύναμιν οὖν τως ὀρίζοντας, διάθεσιν τυχαὶ καὶ προαιρέσεις ἐπιτηρητικὴν τοῦ κακῶς ποιήσαι), τῷ φθόνῳ δὲ τοῦτο γοῦν ἀπεστιν, πολλοὺς γὰρ ὃι φθονοῦντες τῶν συνήθων καὶ οἰκείων ἀπολέσθαι μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἔθελοιν οὐδὲ δυστυχῆσαι, βαρύνονται δὲ εὐτυχοῦντας· καὶ κολούνοις³ μὲν, εἰ δύνανται, τὴν δόξαν αὐτῶν καὶ λαμπρότητα, συμφορᾶς δὲ ἀνηκέστους οὐκ ἂν προσβάλοιεν,⁴ ἀλλ' ὃσπερ οἰκίας ὑπερεχοῦσις τὸ ἐπισκοτοῦν αὐτοῖς καθελόντες ἀρκοῦνται.

¹ After μύσους LC y U⁴⁸⁸ add πάθος ὁ φθόνος, which HU¹ omit.
² γὰρ] supplied by Stephanus.
³ κολούνοις Bern. : καλύνοις.
⁴ προσβάλοιεν H?U : προβάλοιεν (L illegible) C³ y² (¬λλ- y¹).

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a Cf. Basil, De Invidia, 93 c.

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

c Thus Aristotle speaks of an "intention" in friendship and says that the intention proceeds from a "habit": Eth. 106.
exasperate it: for enviers eye more jealously those who enjoy a reputation for goodness, feeling that they possess the greatest blessing, virtue; and even if they receive some benefit from the fortunate, are tormented, envying them for both the intention and the power. For the intention proceeds from their virtue, the power from their good fortune, and both are blessings. It is therefore quite distinct from hate, if what soothes the one torments and embitters the other.

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

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

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

* For friends as the object of envy cf. Plato, Philebus, 48 b 11, 49 d 6, 50 a 2-3, the Definitions, 416. 13, and Xenophon, Mem. iii. ix. 8.

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

* Cf. Xenophon, Mem. iii. ix. 8 and Chrysippus' definition of envy (Mor. 1046 b-c).
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ON PRAISING ONESELF INOFFENSIVELY
(DE SE IPSUM CITRA INVIDIAMI LAUDANDO)
INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Plutarch now tells how offence is avoided and

\(^a\) Cf. 539 \(e\), 539 \(f\), 541 \(c\), 542 \(e\), 545 \(d\), and 545 \(e\).

\(^b\) Cf. \(\varepsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\) 546 \(b\) and the first person plural at 546 \(\varphi\) (\(\delta\omicron\kappa\omega\mu\nu\)), 547 \(\lambda\) (\(\omicron\ \delta\ '\ \alpha\llo\oi\ .\ .\ .\ \omicron\phi\epsilon\imath\omicron\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\)), and 547 \(\varphi\) (\(\omicron\phi\epsilon\xi\omicron\omicron\omicron\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha\)).

\(^c\) Cf. 540 \(c\) and \(\acute\kappa\rho\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\varepsilon\omicron\) at 542 \(c\) and 545 \(d\).

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

\(^e\) "Frivolous" or "purposeless" or "vain"—\(\kappa\epsilon\omicron\omicron\) is literally "empty"—self-praise is defined (540 \(\lambda\)) as that of persons thought to praise themselves for no other reason than to receive praise. One might have expected to hear that ill-advised self-praise is praise of themselves by such persons. But Plutarch, unlike the rhetoricians, supposes the speaker
gives further reasons for self-praise. Self-praise escapes censure when the speaker is defending himself, is unfortunate, or is the victim of injustice; again it is acceptable when it is presented indirectly, the speaker showing that the opposite of the conduct with which he is charged would have been shameful; when it is interwoven with praise of the audience; when it appears as praise of others of similar merit; when the credit is given partly to chance and partly to God; when praise has already been introduced by others, and the speaker corrects it; when he includes in it certain shortcomings of his own; or when he mentions the hardships endured in winning the praise. But suspicion of vanity is also avoided when the self-praise is beneficial. A man then might praise himself to arouse emulation in his hearers, to check the headstrong, to overawe an enemy or raise the spirits of his friends; and to prevent vice from being commended he might even set his own praises against those of others.

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

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

Plutarch hints (542 €) that this device can be used at all times, even when the speaker is under no compulsion to praise himself.
ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE

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

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

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

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

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

\(^b\) Quomodo aliquis se se laudare sine invidia possit. *Plutarchi libellus ad Herculanum*, à Iulio Gabrielio Eugubino Latine redditus. Rome, 1552.

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

\(^d\) *Opere Morali di Plutarcho*, nuovamente tradotte, per M. Lodovico Domenichi . . . Come altri possa lodarsi da se stesso senza biasimo . . . Lucca, 1560.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ ΕΠΑΙΝΕΙΝ ΑΝΕΠΙΦΘΟΝΩΣ

1. Τὸ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ λέγειν ὡς τι ὄντος ἡ δυναμένου πρὸς ἑτέρους, ὁ Ἡρκλανέ, λόγῳ μὲν ἐπα-
   χθές ἀποφαίνονσιν, ἐργὼ δὲ οὐ πολλοὶ τὴν ἀηδίαν ἑαυτοῦ διαπεφέυγασιν οὐδὲ τῶν ψεγόντων. ὁ γοῦν
   Εὐριπίδης εἰπὼν

   εἰ δ’ ἦσαν ἀνθρώποιςιν ὄντῃ τοῦ λόγου
   οὕτως ἡν αὐτοῦ εὐ λέον ἐβουλετον.
   νῦν δ’, ἐκ βαθείας γὰρ πάρεστιν αἰθέρος
   λαβεῖν ἠμισθῆ, πᾶς τις ἤδεται λέγων
   τἀ τ’ ὄντα καὶ μὴ ἔμιμνα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχει.

C φορτικωτάτη κέχρηται μεγαλαυχία τῷ συγκατα-
   πλέκειν’ τοῖς πραγματευόμενοι πάθει καὶ πράγμασι
   μηδέν προσήκοντα τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγου. ὄμοιως
   ὁ Πίνδαρος φήσας

   καὶ τὸ καυχάσθαι παρὰ καίρὸν μανίας ὑπο-
   κρέκειν’

1 π. τοῦ ἑαυτ. ἔπ. ἀν.] πῶς ἂν τις ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινέσειν ἅν. Lam-
   prias; ἐν ἀλλῳ περὶ τοῦ πότε καὶ πῶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπαινέιν χρῆ u Immgs
   SImmgs; π. τοῦ ἔπ. ἀν. y2 (y1 omits).
2 ἑαυτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ τ’ C; αὐτοῦ Gc (αὐτοῦ Gac Vvw).
3 Ἡρκλανέ Kontos and Hatzidakis: ἕρκλανε I2 (ἕρκλανε C
   G X1ν I1 W DTZab M2 Vww); ἕρκλανε (no accent in y; ἕρκλανε
   fpq).

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ON Praising OneSelf INOFFENSIVELY

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

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

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

Untimely vaunting plays the tune for madness


b Olympian Odes, ix. 41 f.

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4 ἀποφαίνουσιν D Ry1S1s N M Y1: ἀποφαίνουσι πάντες καὶ ἀνελεύθερον.
5 αὐτὸν or αὐτόν] αὐτῶν G Ry1S1s1 hki1(αὐ- i2) Z N2 l2.
6 αἴθέρος] αἴθριας D2.
7 τῷ συγκ. Χ3e: καὶ τῷ συγκ. C G1? X1v I Ry1Ss hi K1t N2 M Vvw Y1; καὶ τῷ συγκ. G4k W y2 JK1ss Zab N1 fpq; σωνκαταπλέκων D.
8 μανίασ] μανίαισιν Pindar and s; μανίασ Χ3 Wac M1 w.
9 ὑποκρέκειν (-κέ- M1) ὑποκραίκειν Ry1S1 i; κηθερίζειν υποκρέκκειν N.
(539) οὐ παύεται μεγαληγορῶν περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δυνάμεως, ἀξίας μὲν ἐγκωμίων οὕσης—τίς γὰρ οὐ φήσιν;—ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς στεφανουμένους ἐν τοῖς ἄγωσιν ἐτεροι νικῶντας ἀναγορεύουσι, τήν ἀγήδιαν τῆς περι-αυτολογίας ἀφαιροῦντες. ἦ2 καὶ τὸν Τιμόθεον ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ Φρύνιδος νίκη γράφοντα,

μακάριος ἦσθα, Τιμόθεος,3 εὔτε4 κάρυξ5 εἶπεν, "νικᾷ Τιμόθεος
Μιλῆσιος6 τὸν Κάμωνος7 τὸν ἰωνοκάμπταν,'',8

Δ εἰκότως δυσχεραίνομεν ὡς ἁμοῦσις καὶ παρανό- 
μως ἀνακηρύττοντα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νίκην. αὐτῷ μὲν 
γὰρ ὁ παρ᾽ ἄλλων ἐπαίνοσ ηδιστὸν ἀκούσματων 
ἐστίν, ἄσπερ ὁ Ἐνοφῶν εὑρηκεν, ἐτέροις δὲ ὁ περὶ 
αὐτοῦ λυπηρότατον. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἄνωσχύντους 
ηγούμεθα τοὺς ἑαυτοὺς ἐπαίνοντας, αἰδεύοντα προσ- 
ήκων αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἄλλων ἐπαίνων: δεύτερον 
δὲ ἀδίκους, ἄ λαμβάνειν ἐδει παρ᾽ ἐτέρων αὐτοὺς 
αὐτοῖς9 διδόντας: τρίτον ἦ σιωπώντες ἁχθεσθαι καὶ 
φθονεῖν δοκοῦμεν, ἦ τοῦτο δεδοικότες ἀναγκαζό- 
μεθα συνεφάπτεσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τῶν ἐπαινῶν

Ε καὶ συνεπιμαρτυρεῖν, πράγμα κολακεῖα μᾶλλον 
ἀνελευθέρω προσήκον ἦ τιμῆ ὁ ἐπαινεῖν παρόντας 
ὑπομένοντες.

2. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καίπερ οὕτω τούτων ἐχόντων

1 μὲν [μὴ y1; X ras e y2 ab ras omit.
2 ἦ (ἡ Yq)] ἦ C1 C1u W M1 Vvw 1; N omits.
3 Τιμόθεος Hartung: τιμόθεε.
4 εὔτε Wilamowitz: ὅτε (ὅτε Gae? X1u).
5 κάρυξ W s k Vvw Y2 I9 (κάρυξ G1 ν D RyS hi N MC2 Y11f po): κάρυξ C1 G3 X3; JK ab (κάρυξ X1 Z).
6 Μιλῆσιος Bergk: ὁ μιλῆσιος (-ews N).
7 Κάμωνος Pollux: κάρωνος D (from -va) y; κάρβωνος.
he never weary of extolling his own powers, which
indeed deserve all praise—who denies it?—; but
even the winners of the crown at the games are pro-
claimed victors by others, who thus remove the odium
of self-praise. Thus when Timotheüs a writes in cele-
bration of his triumph over Phrynis,

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

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

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

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a Frag. 27 (ed. Wilamowitz).
b It violated the regulations that governed such contests.
c Memorabilia, ii. 1. 31.
d Cf. Demosthenes, On the Crown, 128, quoted also by Quintilian, Education of the Orator, xi. 1. 22.

8 ἰωνοκάμπταν G1t Xv y2S2 MC3: Vvw Ypq (−παν C1 W D Ry1S1s hki N f [οἶνονοκάμπταν l]; −πην G1ss): οἶωνοκάμπτην J1K; πιτυοκάμπτην Z (−πην ab).
9 αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς Kronenberg: αὐτοῖς or αὐτοῖς (αὐτοὺς X1).
(539) ἦς παρακινδυνεύσειν ἃν ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ ἀφασθαὶ τῆς καλουμένης περιαιτολογίας, πρὸς οὐ
dεμιὰν αὐτοῦ δόξαν ἡ χάριν, ἀλλὰ καιροῦ καὶ
πράξεως ἀπαιτοῦσις ὡς περὶ ἄλλον τι¹ λεχθῆναι
καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ² τῶν ἀληθῶν³. μᾶλλον δὲ ὅταν ἦ
τά πεπραγμένα καὶ προσόντα χρηστὰ μὴ⁴ φεισά-
μενον εἰπεῖν⁵ διαπράξασθαι τί τῶν ὦμοιών. καλὸν
γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπαίνος ἐκφέρει⁶ καρπόν, ὥσπερ

F ἀπὸ σπέρματος πλείονων ἐτέρων ἀπʼ αὐτοῦ καὶ
κρειττόνων φυομένων ἑπαίνων. καὶ γὰρ τὴν δόξαν
ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ οὐχ ὡς τινα μισθὸν ἢ παραμυθίαν
tῆς ἁρετῆς ἀπαιτεῖ καὶ ἀγαπᾶ ταῖς πράξεις παρού-
sαν ἄλλ' ὅτι τὸ πιστεύεσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν χρηστὸν
eῖναι πλείονων καὶ καλλιόνων πράξεων ἀφορμὰς
dίδωσι. πειθομένους γὰρ ἀμα καὶ φιλούντας ἢδ' ὧν
καὶ ῥάδιον ὑφελεῖν, πρὸς δὲ ὑποθύναι καὶ διαβολὴν
οὐκ ἐστὶ χρῆσασθαι τῇ ἁρετῇ, φεύγοντας εὖ
παθεῖν προσβιαζόμενον. εἰ δὲ καὶ διʼ ἐτέρας αἰτίας⁷

540 ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀν⁸ αὐτὸν ἐπαίνεσει σκεπτέον,⁹ ὡσπος
ἐξευλαβοῦμενο τὸ κενὸν καὶ δυσχεραινόμενον, εἰ τι
χρῆσιμον ἔχει μὴ παραλίπωμεν.¹⁰

3. Ἔστιν οὖν κενὸς ἐπαίνος ὁ τῶν ἐαυτοῦ ἐπαί

νεύτι ὡσπος ἐπαινεθῶσι δοκοῦντων, καὶ καταφρονεῖται

μᾶλλον, φιλοτιμίας ἑνεκα γίνεσθαι καὶ δόξης ἀκαἱ-

¹ ὡς περὶ ἄλλον τι Wyettenbach: ὡς περὶ ἄλλο τι K³(ε); ὥσπερ

ἀλλὸ τι (ὧσπερ ἄλλ' ὅτι X¹υ).

² αὐτοῦ (αὐ-)] αὐτοῦ τι D.

³ ἀληθῶν ἀληθινῶν W D hki.

⁴ μὴ Pohlenz: τὸ μὴ (τῷ μὴ De²ss S²²s hki JK w¹; τὸν μὴ

R; τῶν μὴ y¹; S¹).

⁵ εἰπεῖν D: εἰπεῖν η.

⁶ ἐκφέρει (ἐκφρέται Z)] ἐπιφέρει C.

⁷ ἐτέρας αἰτίας Pohlenz: ἐτέρας αἰτίας τινὰς D; ἐτέρας (-ων

S¹t) τινὸς Ry¹Ss; ἐτέρας τινὰς.

⁸ ἀν] De RySs hki¹ omit.
statesman might venture on self-glorification, as it is called,\(^a\) not for any personal glory or pleasure, but when the occasion and the matter in hand demand that the truth be told about himself, as it might about another—especially when by permitting himself to mention his good accomplishments and character he is enabled to achieve some similar good. For such praise as this yields a handsome return, as a greater harvest of yet nobler praise springs up from it as from a seed. Indeed it is not as a reward or compensation for his merit that the statesman demands recognition and values it when accorded to his acts: he does so rather because the enjoyment of confidence and good repute affords means for further and yet nobler actions.\(^b\) For when men are trusting and friendly it is pleasant and easy to do them good; whereas in the presence of distrust and dislike it is impossible to put one’s merit to use and force benefits on those who shun them. Whether there are also other reasons for a statesman’s self-praise is a question to consider, so that, while avoiding all that is frivolous and offensive in the practice, we may not overlook its possible uses.

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

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

\(^b\) Cf. Mor. 777 e-f, 821 c.

\(^9\) σκεπτεόν Pohlenz: τίνες εἰσίν αὕται (αὕται X\(^1\)) σκ. G X\(^3\)ε v W ab; σκ. τίνες εἰσίν (σκ. τίνες εἰσίν [σκ. τίνες εἰ- N\(^1\)] N\(^2\) M Yfrpq) αὕται (τίνες αὕται εἰσὶ σκ. J\(^1\)K; τίνες [-ος v] σκ. εἰσίν αὕται Vvw).

\(^10\) παραλέπωμεν (-πο- N)] παραλείπωμεν Dε\(^{2ss}\) p\(^1\).
(540) ρου φαινόμενος. ὡς γὰρ οἱ τροφῆς ἀποροῦντες εξ ἀυτοῦ τοῦ σώματος ἀναγκάζονται παρὰ φύσιν τρέφεθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ λιμου τέλος ἑστίν, οὕτως οἱ πεινώντες ἐπαίνων, ἂν μὴ τυγχάνωσιν ἐτέρων ἐπανούντων, αὐτῷ τῇ φιλοδοξίᾳ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπηγιασθεὶς τι βούλεσθαι καὶ συνεισφέρειν δοκοῦντες ἀσχημονοῦσιν. ὅταν δὲ μηδὲ ἀπλῶς καὶ καθ' αὐτούς ἐπανεἰσθαί ζητῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀμιλλώμενοι πρὸς ἀλλοτρίους ἐπαίνους ἥργα καὶ πράξεις ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν αὐτῶν ὡς ἀμαυρώσοντες ἐτέρους, πρὸς τῷ κενῷ βάσκανον πράγμα καὶ κακόθες ποιοῦσιν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ χορῷ πόδα τιθέντα περιεργον ἡ παροιμία καὶ γελοῖον ἀποδείκνυσιν, τὴν δὲ ἐν ἀλλοτρίους ἐπαίνους εἰς μέσον ὑπὸ φθόνον καὶ ζηλοτυπίας ἐξωθουμένην περιαυτολογιάν εὕ μάλα δεῖ ψυχάττεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ ἐτέρων ὑπομένειν ἐπαινοῦντων αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ παραχωρεῖν τοῖς τιμωμένοις ἄξιοις οὕσιν. ὅταν δὲ ἀνάξιοι καὶ φαύλοι δόξωσιν εἶναι, μὴ τοῖς ἴδιοις ἐπαίνῳ ἀφαιρώμεθα τοὺς ἐκεῖνως, ἀλλ' ἀντικρυσ ἐλέγχουντες καὶ δεικύνουντες τὸ προσηκόντως εὐδοκιμοῦντας. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴλον ὅτι ψυχή τίνων.

4. Αὐτὸν δὲ ἐπανεῖν ἀμέμπτως ἐστὶ πρῶτον μὲν

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1 εξ W omits.
2 τυγχάνουσιν (-οι X1γρι1γρ) τύχωσιν (-οι X1t)ν1t I JK Zab M2.
3 μηδὲ] μη Gae.
4 αὐτούς] εἰ αὐτούς De y2: JK Zab M.
5 ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν (-περι- νυ) ἀντιπαραβάλλουσιν Rae?y h1? N M1 Yfprq.

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

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

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\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 1100 b.

\(^b\) Cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroem. Gr. ii, p. 690, and Mor. 673 d.
(540) ἀνἀπολογούμενος τοῦτο ποιησ ἐπὶ διαβολὴν ἡ κατηγορίαν, ὥς ὁ Περικλῆς. "καῦτοι ἐμοὶ τοιοῦτο ἀνδρὶ ὀργίζεσθε ὡς οὐδὲν ἔσσων οἶνομαι εἶναι γνώναι τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύοι ταῦτα, φιλοπολίς τε καὶ χρηματῶν κρείσσων." οὐ γὰρ μόνον

Δ ἀλάζονείαν καὶ κενότητα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν ἐκπεφυγε τὸ λέγειν τι τηνικαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ σεμνῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος ἀρετῆς διαδείκνυσι τῷ μὴ ταπεινοῦσθαι ταπεινούσης καὶ χειρομένης τὸν φθόνον. οὐδὲ γὰρ κρίνειν ἐτὶ τοὺς τοιούτους ἀξιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἐπαιροῦνται καὶ γὰνυνται καὶ συνέθουσως ταῖς μεγαλαυχίαις, ἀντερ ὁ σὸι βέβαιοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς, ὥς ἐπιμαρτυρεῖ τὰ γινόμενα. Θηβαίοι γοῦν ἐγκαλουμένων τῶν στρατηγῶν ὅτι τοῦ χρόνου τῆς βοωταρχίας ἐξήκοντος αὐτοῖς ὦκ εὐθὺς ἐπανῆλθον ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Δακωνικὴν ἐνέβαλον καὶ 

Ε τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην διώκοσαν Πελοπιδῶν μὲν ὑποπίπτοντα καὶ δεόμενον μόλις ἄπελυσαν, Ἐπαμεινώνδου δὲ πολλὰ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων μεγαληγορήσαντος, τέλος δὲ φήσαντος ὡς ἐτοιμὸς ἔστιν ἀποθυγήσειν ἀν ὀμολογήσωσιν ὅτι τὴν Μεσσήνην ὠκίσε καὶ τὴν Δακωνικὴν διεπόρθησε καὶ συν-

1. ἀνἀπολογούμενος Gac omits.
2. ποιησ (ποιησ Χ ᾽ νῦν; ποιεῖς Y νῦν): ποιη Gc v I Vvv (ποιεῖ Gac wae).
4. τὸ] τῶ X νῦν JK fprq.
5. λέγειν τι τι (as Meziriacus had conjectured). τοῦ.
6. αὐτοῦ (av-)] ἐαυτοῦ G; αὐτοῦ (av- D; ἐαυτ- e) τι (τι Zab) DēZab. (ἀν δὲ) τὸ G νῦν; τῶν γ; τὰ v.
7. ἐτὶ] ἐπὶ καὶ hki; ἐτι followed by an erasure of six letters in M.
8. DeZab.
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you are defending your good name or answering a charge, as Pericles was when he said:

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

For not only is there nothing puffed up, vainglorious, or proud in taking a high tone about oneself at such a moment, but it displays as well a lofty spirit and greatness of character, which by refusing to be humbled humbles and overpowers envy. For men no longer think fit even to pass judgement on such as these, but exult and rejoice and catch the inspiration of the swelling speech, when it is well-founded and true.

The facts confirm this. Thus when the generals were tried on the charge that they had not returned home at once on the expiration of their term as Boeotarchs, but had invaded Laconia and handled the Messenian affair, the Thebans came near to condemning Pelopidas, who truckled to them and entreated mercy; but when Epameinondas expatiated on the glory of his acts and said in conclusion that he was ready to die if they would admit that he had founded Messenê, ravaged Laconia, and united

\[ a \] Thucydides, ii. 60. 5.

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

\[ \text{γάννυται} \] ε \[ \text{Ry: γάννυται.} \]

\[ \text{βέβαιοι}] \] καὶ \[ βέβαιοι \] D.

\[ \text{γίνομαι (γιγνόμενα Ss\textsuperscript{a})} \] γενόμενα \[ \text{D y} \text{1;} \] λεγόμενα \[ \text{V\textsuperscript{288}w.} \]

\[ \text{φύκεσε} \] \[ \text{G} \] \[ \text{v} \] \[ \text{(-} \text{ev W)} \] \[ \text{R} \] \[ \text{γySs hki JK Zab: φύκησε (φύκησεi N} \] \[ \text{1; διώκησε X} \text{3e).} \]

\[ \text{τὴν μ. φωκ. καὶ τὴν λ. διεσρόθ.} \] \[ \text{τὴν λ. διεσρόθ. (ἐπόρθ. ε) καὶ μ. (τὴν μ. M} \text{2; μ. M} \text{3) φωκ. (for μ. φωκ. X} \text{3e have τὰ περὶ μ. διώκησε) G X} \text{1u W ʒ J} \text{K Zab M} \text{2.} \]
(540) ἐστησεν Ἀρκαδίαν ἀκόντων ἑκείνων, οὔδε τὰς ψηφίους ἀναλαβεῖν ἐπ', αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνδραὶς καὶ χαίροντες ἀμα καὶ γελῶντες ἀπηλλάγησαν. οἶθεν οὖδὲ τοῦ 'Ομηρικοῦ Σθενέλου παντάπασιν αἰτιατέον τὸ ἢμεῖς τοι πατέρων μέγ' ἀμείνονες εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι.

541 τὸ Καπιτώλιον καὶ συνέθυσαν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαίως ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ δόξης ἔχριτο τοῖς ἑπάνοις, τοῦ δὲ ἀφθηρεῖ τὸν θόνον ὁ κίνδυνος.

5. Οὐ μόνον δὲ κρινομένοις καὶ κινδυνεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δυστυχοῦσι μᾶλλον ἀρμόζει μεγαλαυχία καὶ κόμπος ἤ εὐτυχοῦσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἱ ὁπι-
Arcadia against their will, they did not even wait to take up the vote against him, but with admiration for the man commingled with delight and laughter broke up the meeting. Neither then should we altogether blame Sthenelus in Homer for saying

Far better men are we than were our sires,

but remember the words

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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7 σκπίωνι X1,3υ D Rαc? J1(-ον)K N Yl: σκπίωνι.
9 συνανέβησαν (and so G4)] συνανέβησαν G1 v p1.
(541) δράττεσθαι τῆς δόξης καὶ ἀπολαυένει χαριζόμενοι τῷ φιλοτίμῳ δοκοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πόρρῳ φιλοτιμίας διὰ τὸν καυρὸν ὄντες ἐξαναφέρειν πρὸς τὴν τύχην καὶ ὑπερείδειν τὸ φρόνημα καὶ φεύγειν ὅλως τὸ ἐλεεινὸν καὶ συνεπιθρήσκουν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις καὶ ταπεινοῦμενοι. ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἐν τῷ περιπατεῖν β ἐπαρομένους καὶ ὕψαυχευόντας ἀνοήτονς ἴγούμεθα καὶ κενοὺς, ἂν δὲ πυκτεύοντες ἡ μαχόμενοι διεγείρωσι καὶ ἀνάγωσι ἑαυτοὺς, ἐπαινοῦμεν, οὕτως ἄνὴρ ὑπὸ τύχης σφαλλόμενος¹ ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὅρθον καθιστάς καὶ ἀντίπαλον

πύκης ὅπως εἰς χεῖρας

ἐκ τοῦ ταπεινοῦ καὶ οἰκτροῦ τῇ μεγαλαυχίᾳ μεταφέρων εἰς τὸ γαύρον καὶ υψηλὸν, οὐκ ἐπαχθῆς οὔδε θρασὺς ἄλλα μέγας εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ ἀντίττητος, ὡς ποικὶ τὸν Πάτροκλον ὁ ποιητὴς μέτριον καὶ ἀνεπίθοδον ἐν τῷ κατορθοῦν, ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευτάν μεγαληγόρον² πεποίηκε λέγοντα

C τοιοῦτοι δὲ εἴπερ μοι ἐείκοσιν³ ἀντεβόλησαν·

καὶ Φωκίων τᾶλα πρᾶος ἦν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν καταδίκην ἄλλος τε πολλοῖς διεδείκνυε τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην, καὶ πρὸς ἕνα τῶν συναποθηκησόντων ὀδυρόμενον καὶ δυσανασχετοῦντα, "τί λέγεις," εἶπεν, "οὕτως;"⁴ οὐκ ἀγαπᾶς ἀποθηκησόν πετὰ Φωκίων;

6. "Ετι τοίνυν οὐχ ἤττον ἄλλα καὶ μᾶλλον ἀδικουμένῳ τῷ πολιτικῷ δέδοται τὸ λέγειν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ

¹ σφαλλόμενος (φαλ- M) σφαλλόμενον G X¹v W.
² μεγαληγόρον X¹v hi N² (from -όρων) M Y¹: μεγαληγόρον.

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

Like a boxer closing in,

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

Had twenty faced me such as thou . . .

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

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

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*Sophocles, Trachinian Women, 442.*  
*Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxxvi. 3 (758 d); Mor. 189 α.*
(541) πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνωμονοῦντας. ὥσπερ ὁ 'Αχιλλεὺς ἄλλως μὲν ὑφίετο τῷ θείῳ τῆς δόξης καὶ μέτριος ἢν λέγων

αἱ κέ ποθὶ Ζεὺς
dῶσι πόλιν Τροίην εὐτείχεον ἐξαλατάξαι.

ὑβρισθεὶς δὲ παρ’ ἀξίαι καὶ προτηλακισθεὶς ἐφίησι τὴν μεγαλαυχίαν τῇ ὀργῇ.

D δώδεκα δὴ σὺν νησοὶ πόλεις ἀλάπαξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ

οὐ γὰρ ἐμῆς κόρυθος λεύσουσι μέτωπον ἐγνυθὶ λαμπομένης.

dέχεται γὰρ ἡ παρρησία, μέρος οὕσα τῆς δικαιολογίας, τὴν μεγαληγορίαν. ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ θεμιστοκλῆς οὐδὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πράξεων εἰπὼν οὐδὲ ποιήσας ἐπαχθὲς, ὅτι οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος ἐώρα μεστοὺς οὖντας αὐτοῦ καὶ περιορώντας οὐκ ἐφείδετο λέγειν.

E "τὰ, δὲ μακάριοι, κοπιάτε πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν εὗ πάσχοντες;" καὶ ὅτι "χειμαζόμενοι μὲν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ δένδρον ὑποφεύγετε, γενομένης δὲ εὐδίας τίλλετε παρεξίόντες."

7. Οὕτωι μὲν οὖν ἄλλως ἀδικούμενοι τῶν κατωρθωμένων ἐμέμνυτο πρὸς τοὺς ἀγνωμονοῦντας. ο

1 λέγων] τῶι λέγειν W.
2 τροιην (and so G⁴; τροίην s k J² ab N⁵ f; τροίκυ D; τροίην N¹)] τροίην G¹ X¹ Y ε¹ l; τρώην Yαι.
3 δὴ W and Homer: γὰρ.
4 λεύσουσι] λεύσουσι De k JK M² w with some mss. of Homer.
5 μέτωπον] μέτωπα X ειρμ? hki J¹K with some mss. of Homer.
6 οὕσα] οὐδαν D.
7 δὲ] s J¹K Vvw omit.
8 λέγειν] λέγων Ω N.
ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE, 541

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

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

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

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

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

For the freedom of speech that is involved in a plea for justice gives scope for self-praise. Thus Themistocles neither said nor did anything invidious at the time of his successes; but when he saw that the Athenians had grown weary of him and indifferent, he did not hesitate to say: “My innocent friends, why so tired of repeated benefits from the same hands?” d And again: “In a storm you take shelter with me, as under a tree; but in fair weather you pluck the leaves as you pass me by.” e

7. Now the wrongs of these men did not bear directly on the triumphs that they recalled to their

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a Homer, Il. i. 128 f.; quoted also in Mor. 29 a.
b Homer, Il. ix. 328.
c Homer, Il. xvi. 70-71.
d Cf. Life of Themistocles, chap. xxii. 2 (123 α); Mor. 812 b.
e Cf. Life of Themistocles, chap. xviii. 4 (121 α); Mor. 185 e.

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9 δένδρον] δένδρων X1v W; δένδρον μ’ Kronenberg.
10 γενομένης] γενομένης W 3 R Z N l.
11 κατορθωμένων Stegmann (κατορθωμένων D): κατορθωμάτων W h1k ε; κατορθουμένων (κατορθουμένων N).
(541) δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ψευδάρνησις καὶ παντάπασι νυνωστός ἐστι καὶ ἄμεμπτος ἐγκωμίασιν τὰ πεπραγμένα: δοκεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ὄνειδίζειν ἀλλ’ ἀπο-λογεῖσθαι. τούτο γοῦν λαμφράν τῷ Δημοσθένει παρρησιάν ἐξίδου καὶ τὸν κόρον ἀφῆρε τῶν ἑπαί-νων οἷς παρὰ πάντα τὸν λόγον ὅμοι τι τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Γ’ στεφάνου κέχρηται σεμνομένοις οἷς ἐνεκολείπο-περί τοῦ πολεμίου προσβεβίωσαν καὶ ψηφίσμασιν.

8. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτου τεταγμένον ἔχει τινὰ χάριν τὸ τῆς ἀντιθέσεως, ὅταν ἐφ’ ὅ τις ἐγκαλεῖται τούτου τοῦνατόν ἀισχρὸν ἀποδεικνύῃ καὶ φαύλων. ὡς οἱ Λυκοῦργος ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐπὶ τῷ πεπεικέναι τὸν συκοφάντην ἄργυριον λοιδορόμουνος, "εἰτα," ἐφη, "ποῖος τις ὕμιν" δοκῶ εἶναι πολίτης, ὃς τοσοῦ-τον χρόνον τὰ δημόσια πράττων παρ’ ὑμῖν διδόν μᾶλλον ἀδίκως ἡ λαμβάνων εἴλημαι;" καὶ ὁ 542 Κικέρων, τοῦ Μετέλλου πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος ὅτι πλείονας ἀνήρικας καταμαρτυρήσας ἡ συνηγορήσας σέσωκε, "τίς δέ," εἶπεν, "οὐ φησιν ἐν ἐμοὶ πλέον εἶναι πίστεως ἡ δευνώτητος;" καὶ τὰ Δημο-σθένους τουίάτα. "τίς δ’ οὐκ ἄν αὐτεκτευνε μὲ δι-καίως εἰ τι τῶν τῇ πόλει καλῶν ὑπαρχόντων λόγω μόνον ἀισχύνειν ἐπεχειρήσα;" καὶ "τί ἂν οἰεσθῇ λέγειν τοὺς μισαροὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους εἰ τότε μου

1 καὶ] Ἰ D RySs omitt.
2 παντάπασι συγγνωστός] παντάπασι γνωστός G1 Ἰ; παντάπασιν ἀγνωστός W.
3 οὐκ] D omits.
4 τοῦτον] τοῦτων G4 W JK Z l (?).
5 ἐγκαλεῖται] ἢ ἢται G Xu W Ἰ s2 i Z M2 w Y.
6 ἀποδεικνύῃ] ἀποδεικνύει Ἰ; ἀποδεικνύει X1v D S1 hki N1?
7 ὕμιν] ἤμιν v Ῥι; D omits.
8 εἶναι] ἑνεῖαι G Xu W Ἰ1K Z.
ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE, 541-542

persecutors. But a man reproached for his very triumphs is entirely pardonable and escapes all censure if he extols what he has done. For this, it is felt, is not recrimination \(^a\) but self-defence. It was this, for example, that allowed Demosthenes to speak with full freedom and made palatable the self-praise with which he fills nearly the whole oration On the Crown, as he glories in the very charges brought against him: his conduct as ambassador and statesman in the war.

8. Not far removed from this is the use of contrast. There is a certain graceful effect in showing that the opposite of what one is charged with would have been shameful and base.\(^b\) Thus Lycurgus \(^c\) said at Athens when abused for buying off an informer: “What do you think of my character as a citizen, when after all these years in office I am caught giving money dishonestly, instead of taking it?” And when Metellus told Cicero \(^d\) that his testimony had killed more men than his pleading had saved, he replied: “Who denies that I am more honest than eloquent?” Such too are the words of Demosthenes \(^e\): “Who would not rightly have condemned me to death if even by word I had tried to sully any of our country’s glories?” And “What do you think these blackguards would have said if the cities had deserted us

\(^a\) For the word cf. Hermogenes, How to be Forceful, chap. 25: ἵνα δοκοῖ τὸν ἐχθρὸν λυπεῖν, μὴ Ἀθηναίοις ὀνειδίζειν.

\(^b\) Cf. Apsines, Art of Rhetoric, chap. vii (pp. 273. 18-274. 20, ed. Hammer).

\(^c\) Cf. Mor. 842 A-B.

\(^d\) Cf. Life of Cicero, chap. xxvi. 6 (873 F), and Mor. 204 E—205 A.

\(^e\) On the Crown, 101.
(542) περὶ τούτων ἀκριβολογουμένου ἀπήλθον αἱ πόλεις;” καὶ ὅλως ὁ περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου λόγος εὐφυεστάτας ἀντιθέσει ταῖς λύσει τῶν αὑτῶν ἐπεισάγει τοὺς ἑπαίνους.

9. Οὕς μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ χρήσιμών ἐστὶν ἐν Βέκεινῷ τῷ λόγῳ καταμαθεῖν, ὅτι μιγνύων ἐμελεστάτα τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγῳ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἀκούοντων ἑπαίνον ἀνεπίθυμον ἐποίει καὶ ἀφίλαντον, οἷος μὲν Ἐυβοεύοιν οἱ Ἀθηναίοι παρέσχον αὐτούς, δὲ Ἐυβοεύοις, ἀγαθὰ καὶ Χερρονησίται ἐποίησαν, αὐτῷ δὲ τῆς διακονίας μετείναι φάσκων. Λαμβάνει γὰρ οὕτως ὁ ἀκροατὴς τῶν ἰδίων ἑπαίνους συνυποδύομενον τὸν τοῦ λέγοντος ἡδέως προσδεχόμενος, καὶ χαίρει μὲν ἐφ’ οἷς κατώρθωσε λεγομένους, τῷ δὲ χαίρει εὐθὺς ἐπεται τὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν δι’ ἄν κατώρθωσεν. οἶον καὶ Ἐπαμεινώνδας Μενεκλείδου

C ποτὲ χλευάζοντος αὐτοῦ ὡς μειζον τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος φρονοῦντα, “δι’ ύμᾶς γε,” εἶπεν, “ἐὰν ἀνδρες Θηβαῖοι, μεθ’ ὅν μόνων ἐν ἡμέρα μιᾷ κατέλυσα τήν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχήν.”

1 τούτων] τούτων W.
2 ὅλως] ὅλος RySs²: hki fp².
3 εὐφυεστάτας (-es D) RySs hk¹i K¹t N : εὐφυεστάτα ταῖς (tας Z¹) K¹yp and the rest. 4 ταῖς Pohlenz : καί.
5 οἱ (and so G⁴; G¹ D omit) ἀδ. παρ. αὐτοὺς (or αὐτοὺς; αὐτοῖς N]) παρ. οἱ ἀδ. αὐτοὺς (αὐτοὺς Vv) M¹ Vvw.
6 βυζάντιοι G⁴ S¹ Z N M³ fpq : -οίς.
7 χερρονησίταις G X¹u W N M² fpq (χερρονη- Z p) : χερρονησίταις (χερρονησίταις X³ i ; χερρονησίταις hk l).
8 οὕτως ὁ ἀκροατής G⁴ : οὕτω τῶν ἀκροατῶν.
9 συνυποδύομενον τὸν τοῦ λ. ἡδ. προσδεχόμενος G⁴ : σ. τὸ (τὸν W Z²) τοῦ λ. ἡδ. προσδεχόμενον G¹ X W Z¹ fpq ; συνυποδύομενον (συναποδύομενος Vv ; -οί w) τὸ τοῦ λ. ἡδ. προσδεχόμενον ν hK¹i JK N M Y¹ ; συνυποδύομενον R (συμπυκνόμενον [-ος y²ss], 132.
while I was busy quibbling about that?" And in general the oration On the Crown uses the most felicitous contrasts, as each charge is refuted, to introduce self-praise.

9. There is in that oration a further point that it is useful to note: by most harmoniously blending the praises of his audience with his own he removed the offensiveness and self-love in his words, praising the Athenians for their conduct toward the Euboeans and toward the Thebans, and for all the good that they had done the people of Byzantium and of the Chersonese, claiming for himself but a share in carrying out instructions. For in this way the hearers, taken off guard, accept with pleasure the praise of the speaker, which insinuates itself along with the praise of themselves; and their delight in the rehearsal of their own successes is followed at once with admiration and approval of him who made them possible. Hence Epameinondas said when Mencleidas derided him as prouder than Agamemnon: "But it is your doing, men of Thebes; with your help alone I overthrew the Spartan empire in a day."

a On the Crown, 240, also quoted in this connexion by Apsines, Art of Rhetoric, chap. vii (p. 274. 4-7, ed. Hammer). b Cf. Cicero, On Invention, i. 16 (22): "ab auditorum persona benivolentia captabitur si res ab eis fortiter, sapienter, mansuete gestae proferentur..." c On the Crown, 80 ff., and especially 88.
10. 'Επεὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν έαυτόν ἐπανοῦντι πολεμοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ σφόδρα καὶ ἀχθονται, τῷ δὲ ἐτέρον¹ οὐχ ὀμοίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίρουσι πολλάκις καὶ συνεπιμαρτυροῦσι προθύμως, εἰώθασιν ἐνιὸ τοὺς ταύτα² προαιρομένους καὶ πράττοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλως ὀμοιοτρόπους³ ἐπανοῦντες ἐν καιρῷ συνοικειοῦν καὶ συνεπιστρέφειν πρὸς έαυτοὺς τὸν ἀκροατήν. ἐπιγινώσκει⁴ γὰρ εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ λέγοντι, κἂν περὶ D ἄλλου λέγηται, δι’ ὀμιλοτήτα τῆς ἁρέτην⁵ τῶν αὐτῶν ἄξιαν ἐπαίνων οὖσαν.⁶ ὡς γὰρ ὁ λοιδόρων ἐτέρον οἷς⁷ αὐτὸς ἐνοχὸς ἐστὶν οὐ⁸ λανθάνει λοιδόρων μᾶλλον έαυτόν⁹ ἢ ἐκείνον, οὕτως οἱ ἅγαθοι τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμῶντες ἀναμμηνήσκουσιν αὐτῶν τοὺς συνειδότας· ὡστε εὐθὺς ἐπιφωνεῖν. “σὺ γὰρ οὗ τοιουτος;’ ᾿Αλέξανδρος μὲν οὖν¹⁰ Ῥακλέα τιμῶν καὶ πάλιν ῾Αλέξανδρον ῾Ανδρόκοττος¹¹ αὐτοὺς¹² εἰς τὸ τιμᾶσθαι προῆγγον¹³ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμοίων. Διονύσιος δὲ τὸν Γέλωνα διασύρων καὶ γέλωτα τῆς Σικελίας ἀποκαλὼν ἐλάνθανεν ὑπὸ φθόνου καθαιρῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ἄξιωμα τῆς περὶ αὐτόν δυνάμεως.

Ε 11. Ταύτα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλως ἐπίστασθαί καὶ παραφυλάττειν¹⁴ τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει. τοὺς δὲ

¹ ἐτέρον] ἐτέρους D; ἐτέρω RySs hki.
² ταύτα (or ταύτα) X³ δ' k JK Z N M² Vw fpq: ταύτα.
³ ὀμοιοτρόπους] ὀμοιοτρόπως W R(-δρόπως) y)Ss iae v; ὀμοιοτρόπως δ'.
⁴ ἐπιγινώσκει X³ε D⁰(ω from o) S²S: ἐπιγινώσκειν.
⁵ δι’ ὀμ. τὴν ἁρέτην G⁴ δ' : ὀμ. ἁρέτησι X³ε; τὴν ὀμ. τῆς ἁρέτης D: δι’ ὀμ. ἁρέτησι.
⁶ τῶν αὐτ. ἄξιαν (-ων W; hk1 omit) ἐπ. (o o) o i9 omits ὀουσιν.] τῶν αὐτ. ἐπ. ἄξιαν οὖσαν J¹K Z; ἐπ. τῶν αὐτ. ἄξιαν οὖσαν VwW.
⁷ οἷς] ἐφ’ ois D; W omits.
⁸ οὖ] D omits.
⁹ έαυτον] αὐτόν W.
¹⁰ οὖν] γὰρ X³ε,
10. Since towards one who praises himself the generality of men feel a great hostility and resentment, but do not feel so strongly against one who praises another, but often even listen with pleasure and voice their agreement, some, when the occasion allows, are in the habit of praising others whose aims and acts are the same as their own and whose general character is similar. In this way they conciliate the hearer and draw his attention to themselves; for although they are speaking of another, he at once recognizes in the speaker a merit that from its similarity deserves the same praises. For as one who vilifies another in terms that apply to himself does not deceive the audience, which sees that he vilifies himself rather than the other, so when one good man commends another he reminds hearers conscious of his merit of himself, so that they at once exclaim: "And are not you one of these?" Alexander by honouring Heracles, and again Androcottus a by honouring Alexander, won esteem for themselves for similar merit; whereas when Dionysius b made sport of Gelon and dubbed him the jest c of Sicily, he unwittingly in his envy defamed the greatness and majesty of his own power.

11. This the statesman must in any case understand and for this he must seize the proper occasions.

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11 a Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. lxii (699 f).
 b Cf. Life of Dion, chap. v. 9 (960 b).
 c Gelōs in Greek.

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11 'Ανδρόκοττος Xylander: ἀνδρόκοτος (-όκοτος S2; J1; K; -οκότος Yl).
 12 αὐτοῦς or αὐτοῦς (αὐτὸς X1)] εαυτοῦς D0 (from ἐ-) RySs hki N M Ylfpq.
 13 προηγοῦν (and so G4)] προηγαγοῦν G1.
(542) ἀναγκασθέντας ἐπανεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐλαφροτέρους παρέχει καὶ τὸ μὴ πάντα προσποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ φορτίον τῆς δόξης τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν τύχην τὸ δὲ εἰς τὸν θεον ἀποτίθεσθαι. διὸ καλῶς μὲν ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς

ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸν ἀνδρα θεοὶ δαμάσασθαι ἔδωκαν καλῶς δὲ Τιμολέων ἐν Συρακούσαις. Αὐτοματίας βωμῶν ἱδρυσάμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς πράξεσι καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν Ἀγαθῆς Δαίμονι καθηρώσας· ἀρίστα δὲ Πύθων ὁ Αἴνως, ἐπειδὴ Κότυν ἀποκτείνας ἦκεν εἰς Ἀθήνας καὶ τῶν δημαγωγῶν διαμιλλωμένων τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον ἤσθετο βασκαίνοντας ἐνίοις καὶ βαρυνομένοις, παρελθὼν, "ταῦτα," εἶπεν, "ἀνδρέας Ἀθηναίοι, θεοὶ τις ἐπράξεν. ἥμεις δὲ τὰς χεῖρας ἐχρήσαμεν." ἀφήρει δὲ καὶ Σύλλας τὸν φθόνον ἃεὶ τὴν τύχην ἐπανών, καὶ τέλος Ἐπαφρόδιτον ἑαυτὸν ἄνηγόρευσε. μᾶλλον γὰρ εὐτυχίας ἢ ἀρετῆς ἠττάσθαι βούλονται, τὸ μὲν ἀλλότριον ἄγαθον ἥγούμενοι, τὸ δὲ οἰκεῖον ἐλλειμμα καὶ παρ’ 543 αὐτοὺς γενόμενον. οὐχ ἦκιστα γοῦν λέγουσιν ἀρέσαι Δοκροῖς τὴν Ζαλεύκου νομοθεσίαν ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηναῖν ἐφασκεν αὐτῷ φοιτῶσαν εἰς ὁψιν ἐκάστοτε τοὺς νόμους ύφηγεῖσαι καὶ διδάσκειν, αὐτοῦ δὲ

1 αὐτοὺς οὗ αὐτοὺς] ἑαυτοῖς W e l.
2 φορτίον X3ε D S2ς Zε22; φορτικὸ (φορτικῆς R; φροντικοῦ M1?).
3 τὸν G (τὸν S W D) : τὸν.
4 Συρακούσαις Συρακοῦσαις G3 D ; συρακοῦσαις G1 Xaras Σ.
5 δὲ καὶ] καὶ J1 M Vvw ; δὲ h.
6 ἀνηγόρευσε (-ev Y1(ἀνή ss) s) προσανηγόρευσε (-ἀ- D) RySs h(-ev k1)i (-ev l1(ἀνή ss))f1(ἀνή ss)p ; προανηγόρευσε N ; προανηγόρευσε Y1111(-e f11) ; προανηγόρευσε q.
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But those who are forced to speak in their own praise are made more endurable by another procedure as well: not to lay claim to everything, but to disburden themselves, as it were, of honour, letting part of it rest with chance, and part with God. For this reason Achilles did well to say

Since I by Heaven’s will have slain this man, and Timoleon did well to erect an altar at Syracuse to the Goddess of Accidents in commemoration of his acts, and to consecrate his house to the Good Daemon. Best of all is what Python of Aenos did. After killing Cotys he had come to Athens and the speakers were outdoing one another in extolling him to the assembly. Noticing that some persons were jealous and disaffected he came forward and said: “This, men of Athens, was the doing of some god; I did but lend my arm.” Sulla too got rid of envy by always praising his luck, eventually proclaiming himself the Fortunate. For men would rather be bested by luck than by merit, feeling that in the first event another has had an advantage, in the second, that the failure lies in themselves and is their own doing. Thus the code of Zaleucus found favour with the Locrians not least, it is said, because he asserted that Athena had constantly appeared to him and had in each case guided and instructed him in his legislation, and that

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a Homer, Il. xxii. 379.
b Cf. Life of Timoleon, chap. xxxvi. 6 (253 d); Mor. 816 e.
c Cf. Mor. 816 e, 1126 c.
d Felix in Latin, Epaphroditos in Greek. Cf. Life of Sulla, chap. xxxvi. 6 (253 d); Mor. 318 c.

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(543) μηδὲν εἶναι διανόημα μηδὲ βουλευμα τῶν εἰσφερομένων.

12. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἵσως πρὸς τοὺς παντάπασι χαλεποὺς καὶ βασκάνους ἀνάγκη τὰ φάρμακα καὶ τὰ παρηγορήματα μηχανάσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μετρίους οὐκ ἀτοπὸν ἔστι χρῆσθαι καὶ ταῖς ἐπανορθώσει τῶν ἐπαίνων, εἰ τις ὡς λόγιον ἢ πλούσιον

Β ἡ δυνατὸν ἐπαινοῖ, κελεύοντα μὴ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν ἄλλα μᾶλλον εἰ χρηστός καὶ ἄβλαβης καὶ ὕφελμος. οὐ γὰρ εἰσφέρει τὸν ἐπαινοῦν ὁ τοῦτο ποιῶν ἄλλα μᾶλλον ὑποτιθησθον, οὐδὲ χαίρειν δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐγκωμιάζουσιν αὐτὸν ἄλλα μᾶλλον ὃτι μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ἐφ’ οίς δεὶ δυσχεραίνειν, καὶ ἀποκρύπτειν τὰ φαυλότερα τοῖς βελτίωσιν οὐκ ἐπανείσθαι βουλόμενοι ἄλλ’ ἐπαίνειν ὡς χρὴ διδάσκων. τὸ γὰρ ‘‘οὐ λίθος ἐτείχισα τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ πλύνθοις ἐγώ. ἄλλ’ ἔαν τὸν ἐμὸν τείχισμὸν βούλῃ σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσεις ὁπλα καὶ ῥπο Callback καὶ συμμάχους τοιοῦτον τινὸς ἐοικεν ἀπτεθαί. καὶ τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους

C ἐπὶ μᾶλλον: ὄλοφυρόμενοι γάρ, ὡς ἑοικεν, ἦδη καταστρέφοντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑσφοροῦντες οἱ ἐπιτήδειοι τῶν στρατηγίων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ὡσα δὴ τρόπαια καὶ κινές καὶ πόλεις Ἀθηναίων κτησάμενος ἀπολέλυτεν δ ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἐπαναστὰς ἐμέμψατο αὐτοὺς ὡς κοινὰ πολλῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἐναι μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐγκώμια λέγοντας, τὸ δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ μέγιστον καὶ ἰδιὸν αὐτοῦ παραλείποντας, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὸν οὔδεὶς Ἀθη-

1 τὰ φ. καὶ τὰ] τὰ φ. τὰ Stegmann; φ. καὶ Wilamowitz. 2 ὡς] ἄ (ᾳ D) RysS. 3 βούλῃ G² W Ἰ s M² w fq: βούλει (ei βούλει Y²).
nothing he proposed was of his own invention or devising.

12. But it is perhaps for the altogether intractable and envious that such medicines and palliatives must be invented. With the fair-minded it is not amiss to use another device, that of amending the praise: when praised as eloquent, rich, or powerful, to request the other not to mention such points but rather to consider whether one is of worthy character, commits no injuries, and leads a useful life. He that does this does not introduce the praise, but transfers it; and he leaves the impression not of delighting in encomiasts but of being displeased with them for praise that is unbecoming and bestowed for the wrong reasons, using his better points to draw attention from the worse, not from a desire for praise, but to show how to praise aright. Indeed the words “Not with stone did I encircle Athens nor with brick; survey the wall I built and you will discover arms, cavalry, and allies”\(^a\) appear to reflect such a procedure. Still more does the saying of Pericles. His friends, we are told, lamented as he lay dying and were disconsolate, recalling his commands and power and the many trophies, victories, and cities he had won and left to Athens. Rallying a moment he rebuked them for extolling what many others had done as well and what was in part the work of fortune rather than of merit, while they passed over the noblest and greatest encomium and his alone, that no Athenian for any

(543) ναίων μέλαν ἵματιον ἀνείληφε. τούτο δὴ τὸ παρά-
δευγμα καὶ ῥήτορι δίδωσιν, ἀντερ ἦ χρηστός,
D ἐπαυνομένω περὶ λόγου δευνότητα μεταθείναι τὸν
ἐπαίνον ἐπὶ τὸν βιόν καὶ τὸ ἔθος· καὶ στρατηγῶν
θαυμαξομένω δι΄ ἐμπειρίαν πολεμικὴν ἣ δι᾽ ἐυ-
tυχίαν περὶ πραότητος τί καὶ δικαιοσύνης αὐτῶν
παρρησιάσασθαι· καὶ τούναντιον αὐτῶν πάλιν, ὑπερ-
φυών τινών λεγομένων ἐπαίνων, οἷα πολλοὶ κολα-
κεύοντες ἐπίθεσιν λέγουσιν, εἶπειν.

"οὐ τίς τοι θεός εἰμι· τί μ᾽ ἀθανάτουσιν έίσκεις;
ἀλλ᾽ εἰ με γνωσκείς ἀληθῶς ἐπαίνει τὸ ἄδωροδόκη-
tον ἢ τὸ σώφρον ἢ τὸ εὐγνωμόν ἢ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.
"ο γὰρ φθόνος οὐκ ἄδικος τῷ τὰ μείζονα παρατω-
μένῳ τὰ μετριώτερα δίδωσι, καὶ τὸ ἄληθὲς ἐγ-
Ε κώμων οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται τῶν τὰ ψευδή καὶ κενά ὑπὸ
προσδέχομένων. διὸ καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τοὺς μὴ
θεοὺς μηδὲ παίδας θεῶν ἀναγορεύοντος θέλοντας;
ἀλλὰ Φιλαδέλφους ἢ Φιλομήτορας ἢ Ευεργέτας ἢ
Θεοφιλεῖς οὐκ ἥχοντο ταῖς καλαῖς μὲν ἀνθρωπικαῖς

1 δὴ] δεὶ γ; δεὶ N¹; W omits.
2 δι᾽] D RySs hki omit.
3 τὶ] τὸ D RySs hki M (τῷ V)vv l.
4 ψευδὴ καὶ κενὰ] κενὰ καὶ ψευδῇ W.
5 θέλοντας] μέλλοντας X388 S² M Vvv.

a Cf. Life of Pericles, chap. xxxviii. 3-4 (178 b-e); Mor. 186 d; Julian, Or. 3 (128 d) ; and Eclogae Vaticanæ, 15 (ap. Stobæus, vol. iii, p. ix Hense). He had not caused the death of political opponents: see H. N. Couch in Classical Journal, xxxi (1935-36), pp. 495-499.

b Homer, Od. xvi. 187; also quoted in Mor. 81 d.

c Among the Seleucids Antiochus II, IV, and VI and Demetrius II and III bore the title “god”; and of course all deified rulers were “gods.”

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act of his had put on mourning. This precedent allows the orator, if meritorious, when praised for eloquence, to transfer the praise to his life and character, and the commander admired for skill or success in war to speak freely of his clemency and justice; and again, when the praise runs on the contrary to extravagance, as with the invidious flattery used by many, it permits one to say:

"No god am I; why likenest thou me
To the immortals?"

If you know me truly, commend my probity, temperance, reasonableness, or humanity." For to him who declines the greater honours envy is not displeased to grant the more moderate, and does not cheat of true praise those who reject what is false and vain. Hence those kings who were unwilling to be proclaimed a god or son of a god, but rather Philadelphus or Philometor or Euergetes or Theophiles, were ungrudgingly honoured by those who gave them these

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d Thus Alexander was called "son of Zeus" (cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xxvii. 9, 680 v), Demetrius Poliorcetes "son of Poseidon" (cf. Athenaeus, vi. 62, 253 c, e).

e That is "lover of his (her) brother (sister)," a title of the Seleucids Demetrius II, Antiochus XI, and Philippus, of the Parthian Artabanus I, of Iotapê, queen of Commagenê, of Mithridates IV of Pontus, of the Egyptian monarchs Arsinoê I, Ptolemy II, X, and XIII, Arsinoê II, and Berenicê III, of the Cappadocian king Ariarathes X, and of Attalus II.

f That is, "lover of his (her) mother," a title of Ptolemy VI, VII, X, and XI, Cleopatra II and III, and Berenicê III; of Ariarathes VII, Paerisades IV, and Attalus III.

g That is, "benefactor," a title of Alexander Balas, Antiochus VII, and Ptolemy III, VI, and VII.

h That is "dear to God (a god)"; we have found no such royal title.
(543) δὲ ταύταις προσηγορίαις τιμώντες. ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τῶν γραφῶν καὶ λεγόντων βαρυνόμενοι τοὺς τῶν τῆς σοφίας ἐπιγραφομένους ὄνομας χαίροντι τοῖς φιλοσοφεῖν ἣ προκόπτειν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνεπίθυμον καὶ μέτριον λέγουσι. οἱ δὲ ῥητορικοὶ Φ σοφισταὶ τὸ "θείως" καὶ τὸ "δαμονίως" etc. ἐν ταῖς ἐπιδείξεις προσδεχόμενοι καὶ τὸ "μετρίως" καὶ τὸ "ἀνθρωπίνως" προσαπολλύονσι.

13. Καὶ μὴν ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ὀφθαλμώμενας ἐν-οχλεῖν φυλαττόμενοι τοὺς ἄγαν λαμπροὺς σκιάν τινα παραμυγνύουσιν, οὔτως ἐνιού τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπαίνους μὴ παντελῶς λαμπροὺς μηδὲ ἀκράτους προσφέροντες, ἀλλὰ τινὰς ἐλλείψεις ἢ ἀποτεύξεις ἢ ἀμαρτίας ἐλαφρᾶς ἐμβάλλοντες ἀφαιροῦσι τὸ ἐπαχθὲς αὐτῶν καὶ νεμεσητὸν. ὥσπερ ὁ Ἐπειός, οὐ μέτρια περὶ τῆς πυκτικῆς εἰπὼν καὶ θρασυνάμενος ὡς ἀντικρυ χρῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ὀστῇ ἀράξει,"

η ὁχ ἄλις,

ἡσίν,

ὅτι μάχης ἐπιδεύομαι;

544 ἀλλ ὀντὸς μὲν ὅσως γελοῖος ἀθλητικὴν ἀλά-ζονεὶαν δειλίας καὶ ἀναιδρίας ἐξομολογήσει παρα-μυθούμενος. ἐμμελῆς δὲ καὶ χαρίεις ὁ λήθην τινὰ καθ' αὐτοῦ λέγων ἡ ὀγνοιάν ἡ φιλοτιμίαν ἣν πρὸς

1 το τῆς W X3 D v τῆς. 2 ὄνομα] τοῦνομα Pohl. 3 τοιοῦτο] τοιοῦτον G Ss M Vww. 4 δαμονίως] δαμονίως καὶ τὸ μεγάλως X μεγάλως uγ̣ρ. 5 τῆς] Χε omit. 6 θρασυνάμενος G2 X3e W D Ry hi N Vv Ylfpq θρασυν-μενος. 7 ῥήξει σύν τ' ὀστὲ ἀράξει (-τέα ῥήξει δ) Homer and D ῥήξει (ῥήξη W). 8 η Bern. from some mss. of Homer η. 142
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noble yet human titles. So again, while men resent the writers and speakers who assume the epithet “wise,” they are delighted with those who say that they love wisdom or are advancing in merit, or put forward some other such moderate and inoffensive claim. Whereas the rhetorical sophists who at their displays of eloquence accept from the audience the cries of “how divine” and “spoken like a god” lose even such commendation as “fairly said” and “spoken as becomes a man.”

13. Again, as those who would spare the susceptibilities of sufferers from sore eyes temper with shade whatever is unduly brilliant, so some do not present their own praise in all its brilliance and undimmed, but throw in certain minor shortcomings, failures, or faults, thus obviating any effect of displeasure or disapproval. Thus Epeius says after his extravagant talk about boxing and his vaunt that a blow from him would rip clean through the skin and smash the bones:

Nay is it not enough
That I am slack in war?

But he indeed is perhaps ridiculous for mitigating his athlete’s bragging by a confession of cowardice and unmanliness. There is tact, however, and grace in one who tells of some slip of his own or some mistake or

\[9\] Cf. Plato, *Phaedrus*, 278 d.
\[10\] Homer, *Il.* xxiii. 673.

\[12\] αὐτοῦ W (au- D; αὐτοῦ h^2; ἑαυτοῦ X^3e): αὐτὸν or αὐτὸν (αὐτὸν y).
\[13\] φιλοτιμίαν] φιλονεικίαν D.
\(\text{(544) τίνα μαθήματα καὶ λόγους ἀκρασίαν ώς ὁ 'Οδυσσεύς: }
\)

\[
\text{αὐτάρ ἐμὸν κῆρ}
\]

\[
\text{ἡθελ' ἀκούεμεναι, λύσαι δ' ἐκέλευν ἐταῖρος ὀφρύσι νευστάζων,}
\]

\[
\text{καὶ πάλιν.}
\]

\[\text{Β ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ πιθώμην—η}^2\text{ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον}
\]

\[
\text{ἡν—}
\]

\[
\text{ὁφρ' αὐτὸν τε\textsuperscript{3} ἰδομι, καὶ εἴ μοι ξείνια\textsuperscript{4} δοῖ.}
\]

\[
\text{καὶ ὅλως ὁσαὶ μὴ παντάπασιν αἰσχραὶ μηδ'\textsuperscript{5} ἀγεννεῖσ ἀμαρτίαι, παρατιθέμεναι\textsuperscript{6} τοῖς ἑπάνως τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιροῦσιν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ πενίας καὶ ἀπορίας\textsuperscript{7} καὶ ἡ Δία δυσγενεῖς ἐξομολόγησιν ἔστιν ὅτε τοῖς ἐγκωμίοις παρεμβάλλοντες\textsuperscript{8} ἀμβλυτέρῳ τῷ φθόνῳ χρώνται. καθάπερ Ἀγαθοκλῆς χρυσά\textsuperscript{9} ποτήρια καὶ τορεῦτα τοῖς νέοις προπίνων ἐκέλευσε καὶ κεραμεᾶ\textsuperscript{10} κομισθήναι, καὶ "τοιοῦτόν ἔστιν," ἐφη, "τὸ ἐνδελεχεῖς καὶ φιλότονον καὶ ἀνδρεῖον.}
\]

\[\text{C ἡμεῖς πάλαι\textsuperscript{11} ταῦτα, νῦν δὲ ἐκείνα ποιοῦμεν."}
\]

\[
\text{ἐδ'κει γὰρ ἐν κεραμεῖο\textsuperscript{12} τεθράφθαι διὰ δυσγένειαν καὶ πενίαν ὁ Ἀγαθοκλῆς, εἶτα συμπάθης ὀλίγου δεῖν ἐβασίλευσε Σικελίας.}
\]

\[\text{14. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐξωθὲν ἔστιν ἐπεισάγεσθαι}
\]

\[\text{1 ἀκρασίαν Meziriacus: ἀκροασὶν (ἀκρόασιν ὀλιγώριν D).}
\]

\[\text{2 ἡ G G1 X3 Yl.}
\]

\[\text{3 αὐτὸν τε (-ὁν ταί N1) αὐτὸν τ' G4 Xu W D hki JK Z Ylfpq; αὐτὸν G1.}
\]

\[\text{4 ξείνια] ξεινήια G Xu with mss. G P2 U of Homer; ξείνια JK.}
\]

\[\text{5 μηδ' Gk J JK: μη δὲ.}
\]

\[\text{6 παρατιθέμεναι (-οι ν J1 K) περιτιθέμεναι D R(-αιναι y) Ss.}
\]

\[\text{7 ἀπορίας Wytenbach: ἀπειρίας.}
\]

\[\text{144}\]
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feeling of ambition or weakness for some piece of instruction or information, like Odysseus:

But my heart
Was fain to hear, and nodding with my brows
I bade my mates unbind me 

and again:

I hearkened not—far better had it been—
For I would see the man himself, and hoped
To have from him some hospitable gift.

And in general when faults not altogether degrading or ignoble are set down beside the praise they do away with envy. Many also blunt the edge of envy by occasionally inserting into their own praise a confession even of poverty and indigence or actually of low birth. Thus when Agathocles at a banquet was presenting the young men with cups of enchased gold he ordered earthen cups also to be brought and said: "You see what perseverance, diligence, and courage can do; I once fashioned cups of clay; I now fashion them of gold." For Agathocles was believed to have been brought up in the potter's trade because of his low birth and poverty; and from this state he rose to become king of well-nigh the whole of Sicily.

14. These antidotes for self-praise we can introduce

a Homer, Od. xii. 192-194.
b Homer, Od. ix. 228-229.
c Cf. Mor. 176 ε.
(544) φάρμακα τῆς περιαντολογίας. ἔτερα δὲ αὐτοῖς τρό-
πον τινὰ τοῖς ἐπαινομένοις ἐνεστὶν· οἷς καὶ. Κάτων ἐχρήτῳ φθονείσθαι λέγων ὅτι τῶν ἰδίων ἁμελεὶ καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἀγρυπνεῖ διὰ τὴν πατρίδα: καὶ τὸ πῶς δ' ἂν φρονοίην, ὦ παρὴν ἀπραγμόνως ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡρθμημένωι στρατοῦ ἱσον μετασχεῖν τῷ σοφωτάτῳ τύχῃς;
καὶ τὸ
οἴκνῶν2 δὲ μόχθων τῶν πρὶν ἐκχέαι χάριν καὶ τοὺς παρόντας3 οὐκ ἀπωθοῦμαι πόνους.

D ὡς γὰρ οἰκίαν καὶ χωρίον, οὕτω καὶ δόξαν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀρετὴν τοῖς προίκα καὶ βαθίως ἐχεῖν ἀποκοσμήν, οὐ τοῖς πριμαμένοις πόνων πολλῶν καὶ κινδύνων φθονοῦσιν.

15. Ἐσπεῖ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἀλύπως καὶ ἀνεπιφθόνως, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρησίμως καὶ ὡφελίμως προσοιουσέοιν ἐστὶ τοὺς ἐπαινοὺς, ἵνα μὴ τοῦτο πράττειν ἄλλ' ἔτερον τι διὰ τούτου4 δοκῶμεν, ορα πρῶτον εἰ προ- 
τροπῆς5 ἐνεκα6 καὶ ζήλου καὶ φιλοτημιᾶς τῶν ἀκού-
όντων αὐτὸν ἄν τις ἐπαινέσειεν, ὡς7 ὁ Νέστωρ τάς 
ἐαυτοῦ διηγούμενοι ἀριστείας καὶ μάχας τὸν τε 
Πάτροκλον παρώρμησε8 καὶ τοὺς ἐννέα πρὸς τὴν

1 καὶ] W omits.
2 οἴκνων Cobet: οἴκνω.
3 παρόντας D: πιπτοῦτας (πιπτοῦτας Valckenarius).
4 διὰ τούτου] διατοῦτο G (διὰ τοῦτο k) 1; Σ omits.
5 προτροπῆς] προκοπῆς D.
from outside; others are in a way inherent in the very content of the praise. Such Cato used when he said that he was envied for neglecting his own affairs and spending sleepless nights to serve his country.\(^a\) So too with the lines

I wise? I could have rested at my ease
Unmarked among the mass of those who served
And shared an equal fortune with the wisest

and

Since I would not my former credit lose
So hardly won, I take upon myself
This present task as well.\(^b\)

For it is with reputation and character as with a house or an estate: the multitude envy those thought to have acquired them at no cost or trouble; they do not envy those who have purchased them with much hardship and peril.\(^c\)

15. It is not enough, however, to praise ourselves without giving offence and arousing envy; there should be some use and advantage in it as well, that we may appear not merely to be intent on praise, but to have some further end in view. Consider first, then, whether a man might praise himself to exhort his hearers and inspire them with emulation and ambition, as Nestor by recounting his own exploits and battles incited Patroclus\(^d\) and roused the nine cham-

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\(^a\) Cf. Life of Cato the Elder, chap. viii. 15 (340 \(r\)).
\(^c\) For this chapter cf. Cicero, De Oratore, ii. 52 (210).
\(^d\) Homer, \(I\. \), xi. 655-762.
(544) μονομαχίαν ἁνέστησεν. ἦ γὰρ ἔργον ὁμοῦ καὶ
Ε λόγον ἐχοῦσα προτροπῆ καὶ παράδειγμα καὶ ζη-
lον οἰκεῖον ἐμφυχος ἐστὶ καὶ κινεῖ καὶ παροξύνει
καὶ μεθ' ὀρμῆς καὶ προαρέσεως ἐλπίδας ὡς ἐφι-
kτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἄνυντῶν παρίστησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι χορῶν ἄδουσιν οἱ μὲν τῶν γερόντων·
ἀμεσ 3 ποτ' 4 ἢμε 5 ἄλκιμοι νεανίαι,
oὶ δὲ τῶν παιδῶν·
ἀμεσ 6 δὲ γ' ἐσοφμεσθα 7 πολλῶ κάρρονες, 8
οὶ δὲ τῶν νεανίσκων·
ἀμεσ 9 δὲ γ' εἰμές 10· αἰ δὲ λῆς, αὐγάσδεο, 11

F καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς τοῦ νομοθέτου τὰ πλησίον
καὶ οἰκεῖα παράδειγματα τοῖς νέοις δὶ αὐτῶν τῶν
eἰργασμένων ἐκτιβέντος.

16. Οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ καταπλῆξεξες ἐνιαχοῦ καὶ
συστολῆς ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ ταπεινώσαι καὶ λαβεῖν
ὑποχείριον τὸν αὐθάδη καὶ ἰταμὸν οὐ χειρὸν ἐστι

1 μονομαχίαν] μοναρχίαν W; συμμαχίαν 3; μοναχίαν N1.
2 ἐμφυχός] ἐμφυχός D.
3 ἀμεσ Bergk: ἀμεσ X M1 Ylfq (ἀμεσ G1 v JK M2); ἀμεσ
(and so G3 and Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxi. 3 [53 b]).
4 ποτ' (ποτ D; ποτ' Vvw fp)] ποθ' (ποθ' k Y) RySs hki N
M1 Y1; τοθ X1(?); τοθ u; ποκ' Life of Lycurgus, ibid.
5 ἢμε S1, S585, 188 M Y (ἴμεσ Ry; ἢμε N l): ἢμεν (ἴμεν D;
eἰμεν fp).
6 ἀμεσ Bergk: ἀμεσ M1 Ylfq (ἀμεσ G1 Ἐv JK M2 p):
ἀμεσ (and so G3; ἀμεσ Y3r).
7 ἐσοφμεσθά D M2: ἐσοφμέθα (ἐσοφμέθα G v Ry Z Vvw l); ε
followed by a lacuna in hk1i.
8 κάρρονες (κάρρονες v; κάρρονες S hk1 Z; κάρρονες J1K)]
κάρρονες N M1 Y (κάρρονες l).
9 ἀμεσ Bergk: ἀμεσ M1 Ylfq (ἀμεσ G1 Ἐv JK M2): ἀμεσ
(and so G3).

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pions to offer themselves for the single combat. For exhortation that includes action as well as argument and presents the speaker’s own example and challenge is endowed with life: it arouses and spurs the hearer, and not only awakens his ardour and fixes his purpose, but also affords him hope that the end can be attained and is not impossible. Therefore in the Spartan choruses the old men sing:

Time was when we were valiant youths;
the boys sing:

So we shall be, and braver far;

and the young men:

So now we are: you need but look.

Here the legislator acted well and like a statesman in proposing to the young examples close at hand and taken from their own people, employing as spokesmen the very men whose actions were to be their model.

16. But there are also times when in order to overawe and restrain the hearer and to humble and subdue the headstrong and rash, it is not amiss to make

\[10 \text{ Homer, Il. vii. 123-160; cf. Aristides, Or. xlix. 35 (p. 153. 6-10, ed. Keil).}\]
\[11 \text{ Cf. Aristides, Or. xlix. 141 (p. 186. 23 f., ed. Keil).}\]
\[12 \text{ Carm. Pop. 17, ed. Diehl; cf. Life of Lycurgus, chap. xxi. 3 (53 b), and Mor. 238 a.}\]
(544) κομπάσαι τι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαληγορήσαι, καθ-ἀπερ αὖ πάλιν ὁ Νέστωρ.


545 οὕτω δὴ καὶ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης οὐ μόνον ἐφή τοῖς πολλῶν κρατοῦσιν ἔξειναι μέγα φρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς περὶ θεῶν δόξας ἀληθεῖς ἔχουσι. χρήσιμα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πολεμίους καὶ πρὸς ἑχθροὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα.

δυστήνων δὲ τε πάιδες ἐμὸν μενεὶ ἀντιώσων·
καὶ περὶ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως μεγάλου δὲ κα-λουμένου ὁ Ἀγασίλαος, "τί δὲ ἐμοῦ γε μείζων ἐκεῖνος, εἰ μὴ καὶ δικαιότερος;" καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Θηβαίων κατηγοροῦντας ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας· "ἡμεῖς μέντοι ὑμᾶς βραχυλογοῦν-τας ἑπαύσαμεν."

Β Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν πρὸς ἑχθροὺς καὶ πολεμίους·
tῶν δὲ φίλων καὶ πολιτῶν οὐ μόνον ἐστὶ τοὺς θρασυνομένους καταστορέσαι καὶ ποιῆσαι ταπεινοτέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς περιφόβους καὶ κατα-πλῆγμες ἐξάραι πάλιν καὶ παρορμήσαι χρησάμενον ἐν δεύοντι μεγαλυκία. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Κύρος παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καὶ τὰς μάχας "ἐμεγαληγόρει, ἄλλοτε "δὲ οὖ μεγαληγόρος ἦν." καὶ Ἀντιγόνος ὁ δεύτερος

some boast and extol oneself. To quote Nestor once more:

Time was I served
With better men than you, and never these
Disdained my counsel.

So too Aristotle said to Alexander that not only the rulers of a great empire have a right to be proud but also those with true opinions about the gods. Useful too against public and private enemies are such remarks as these:

Unhappy they whose sons oppose my power,

and Agesilaüs saying about the King of the Persians (who was called "Great"): "Wherein greater than I, if not more just?" And Epameinondas reply to the Lacedaemonians when they denounced the Thebans: "We have at any rate put a stop to your Laconic speech."

These however are against enemies public and private; among friends and countrymen we can not only calm and chasten the overbold, but also restore and rouse the spirits of the terrified and timorous by a seasonable recourse to self-praise. Thus in danger and in battle Cyrus "boasted, but at other times was not given to high talk." And Antigonus the Second

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*b* Frag. 664 (ed. Rose); cf. *Mor.* 78 d, 472 e.


*d* Cf. *Life of Agesilaüs*, chap. xxiii. 9 (608 r); *Mor.* 78 d, 190 f, 213 c.

*e* Cf. *Mor.* 193 d.

*f* Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedeia*, vii. 1. 17, also referred to by Aristides, *Or.* xlix. 105 (pp. 174-175, ed. Keil).

*g* Cf. *Life of Pelopidas*, chap. ii. 4 (278 d), and *Mor.* 183 d.
(545) τάλλα μὲν ἓν ἀτυφος¹ καὶ μέτριος, ἐν δὲ τῇ περί Κὼ² ναυμαχία τῶν φίλων τινός εἰπόντος, "οὐχ δὲ ὅ- ῥας ὁσω πλείους³ εἰσίν αἱ πολέμιαι νίκης;" "ἐμὲ C δὲ γε αὐτόν," εἶπεν, "πρὸς πόσας⁴ ἀντιτάττετε;" καὶ τούτω δὲ έοικεν συνίδειν "Ομήρος· τὸν γάρ 'Οδυσσέα πεποίηκεν ἀποδειλώντων τῶν ἐτα- ρων πρὸς τὸν ψόφον καὶ κλύδωνα τὸν περὶ τὴν Χά- ρυβδίν ἀναμμηνήσκοντα τῆς αὐτοῦ δεινότητος καὶ ἄνδρειας·

οὐ μὲν δὴ⁵ τόδε μεῖζον ἐπὶ⁶ κακὸν ἓ ὅτε⁷ Κύκλωψ⁸ εἶλει ἐνὶ στηγνο γλαφυρῷ κρατερῇβι⁹ βίη; ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνθὲν ἐμὴ ἀρετή βουλὴ τε νῷ τε ἐκφύγομεν.

οὐ γάρ ἐστι δημαγωγοῦντος οὐδὲ σοφιστῶντος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπαινοὺς οὐδὲ κρότον οὐδὲ ποππυσμοῦν αὐ- τοῦντος,¹⁰ ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐνε- D χυρον τὸν θαρρεῖν τοὺς φίλους διδόντος. μέγα γὰρ ἐν καιροῖς ἐπισφαλέσι πρὸς σωτηρίαν δόξα καὶ πίστις ἄνδρος ἥγεμονικὴν ἐμπειρίαν καὶ δύναμιν ἐχοντος.

17. "Οτι μὲν οὖν τὸ πρὸς ἐπαινούν ἀλλότριον καὶ δόξαν ἀντιπαραβάλλειν¹¹ ἐαυτόν ἥκιστα πολιτικῶν, εἰρηταὶ πρότερον· οὐ μὴν ἅλλ' ὅπου βλάπτει καὶ

¹ ἀτυφος] ἀταφος G G y ; ἀντυφος X.
² Κὼ (κὼ Gara Xara W J1? M1 Yae) κὼ M2.
³ πλείους] πλεῖους W.
⁴ πόσας] πάσας D RySpS hkt N M Vvw Y.
⁵ μὲν δὴ k² and Homer: μὴν.
⁶ τόδε μεῖζον ἐπὶ (ἐπει, ἐπεί) most mss. of Homer: τόδε μεῖζον oι W N o'i M Vvw (με- N Y) ffrq ; τότε δὲ μεῖζον (τ. δὲ μεῖζον u) oï X1 v ; τούτῳ γε μεῖζον G X3 ; oï τόδε μεῖζον D RySpS hkt ; τόδε μεῖζον J1 K Zab.

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was ordinarily sober and moderate, but in the sea-
fight off Cos, when one of his friends said, “Do you
not see how greatly the enemy’s ships outnumber
ours?” he replied, “Yes, but against how many do
you, my friends, set me?” This too Homer appears
to have understood, for he represents Odysseus, when
his men were dismayed at the noise and raging waters
of Charybdis, as recalling to them his own skill and
stout heart:

No greater peril this than when by force
The Cyclops penned us in his hollow cave;
Yet from that cave my manhood and my wit
Availed to save us.\(^a\)

This is not the self-praise of a demagogue or would-be
sophist or of one who courts plaudits and cheers,\(^b\) but
of a man who offers his virtue and understanding to
his friends as security against despair. For at critical
moments a successful outcome may depend largely
on the regard and confidence that are placed in some
man who possesses the experience and talents of a
leader.

17. That it is most unstatesmanlike to pit oneself
against the praise and fame of others was said earlier\(^c\); yet where mistaken praise injures and corrupts by

\(^{a}\) Homer, *Od.* xii. 209-212.

\(^{b}\) Literally “tongue-smacking.”

\(^{c}\) Chapter 3, *supra.*
(545) διαφθείρει ζηλον ἐμποιών πρὸς τὰ φαύλα καὶ προ- αίρεσιν πονηρὰν ἐν πράγμασι μεγάλους ἡμαρτη- μένος ἐπινος, οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἐκκρούσαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀποστρέψαι τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττω τῆς δια- φορὰν ἐνδεικνύμενον. ἀγαπήσεις γὰρ ἂν τις οἴμαι

Ε λοιδορουμένης κακίας καὶ ψευγομένης ἐθέλοντας ἀπέχεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὄρων· εἰ δὲ προσλάβων δόξαν ἡ κακία καὶ τῷ καθ’ ἠδονάς αὐτῆς ἑ’ πλεον- εξίας ἄγοντι προσγένοιτο τιμηκοὶ καὶ τὸ εὐδοκιμεῖν, οὐκ ἔστιν εὐτυχῆς οὔτως οὐδὲ ἵσχυρα φύσις ἢς οὐκ ἂν κρατήσεις. διὸ δεῖ μὴ τοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαίνοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀνπερ’ ἢ φαύλα, πολεμεῖν τὸν πολιτικὸν οὗτοι γὰρ διαστρέ- φουσι καὶ τούτοις τὸ μιμεῖσθαι τὰ αἰσχρὰ καὶ ζηλοῦν ὡς καλὰ συνεισέρχεται.

Μάλιστα δὲ ἐξελέγχονται τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς παρατι- θεμένοις· οἴον δὲ τῶν πραγματικῶν ύποκριτῆς Θεό- δωρος εἰπεῖν ποτὲ πρὸς τὸν κωμικὸν λέγεται Σάτυ- ρον ὡς οὐ θαυμαστόν ἐστι τὸ γελᾶν ποιεῖν τοὺς θεατὰς ἀλλὰ τὸ δακρύει καὶ κλαίειν· ἂν δὲ γε οἶμαι πρὸς τούτον αὐτὸν εἶπη φιλόσοφος ἀνήρ, ἂλλ’ οὐ τὸ ποιεῖν, ὃ βελτιστέ, κλαίειν καὶ δακρύειν, τὸ δὲ παύειν λυπουμένους καὶ κλαίοντας σεμνῶν ἐστιν,” ἐπαινών ἐαυτοῦ ωφελεῖ τὸν ἄκουοντα καὶ μετατί- θησθε τῆν κρίσιν. οὔτω καὶ δ’ Ζήνων πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τῶν Θεοφράστου μαθητῶν, “ὁ ἐκείνου χορός,” ἐφη,

1 ἄχρηστον G D RySs hk;: ἄχρηστον ἐστιν.
2 ἀποστρέψαι] ἀποστρέψαι ε M¹ Vww.
3 ἑ’] καὶ D; έκ RySs hk;.
4 τιμή] το μη M¹; μη Vw; v omits.
5 εὐτυχῆς οὔτως] οὔτως εὐτυχῆς De RySs hki.
6 δεὶ (and so G⁴)] δὴ G¹² X¹²υ Zaæ N¹.
7 ἀνπερ] αṕ D RySs i N Vww.
arousing emulation of evil and inducing the adoption of an unsound policy where important issues are at stake, it is no disservice to counteract it, or rather to divert the hearer’s purpose to a better course by pointing out the difference. One would be well content, I think, to see the multitude, when vice is denounced and censured, willing to abstain from it; but if vice should acquire good standing, and if honour and reputation should be added to its temptations in the way of pleasure or profit, there is no human nature so fortunate or strong as not to succumb. It is not then with the praise of persons, but with that of acts, when they are vicious, that the statesman must wage war. For this sort of praise perverts; it brings with it the imitation and emulation of what is shameful as if it were noble.

Such praise is best shown for what it is when true praise is set beside it. For example the tragic actor Theodorus \(^a\) once remarked, it is said, to the comedian Satyrus that there was nothing wonderful in making the audience laugh, but in making them weep and lament. Now I think if a philosopher replies to this same Theodorus: “Sir, it is not making men lament and weep, but putting an end to sorrow and lamentation that is admirable,” this self-praise \(^b\) benefits the hearer and corrects his judgement. Thus Zeno \(^c\) said of the great number of Theophrastus’ pupils: “His

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\(^a\) Theodorus and Satyrus were celebrated actors of the fourth century. The story is apparently not told elsewhere.

\(^b\) Consolation was a recognized function of a philosopher.

\(^c\) Cf. von Arnin, *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 280; cf. *Mor.* 78 D.

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8 ἂν δὲ γε οἶμαι ἃμενον δ’ οἶμαι, ἂν D.

9 ἐαυτὸν G X1,61,4 V J1,K: γὰρ (γὰρ ὡς y) ἐαυτὸν.
546 "μείζων, οὕμος δὲ συμφωνώτερος." καὶ ὁ Φωκίων ἔτι τοῦ Δεωσθένους εὐμεροῦντος ὑπὸ τῶν ρητόρων ἐρωτώμενος τι τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀγαθὸν πεποίηκεν, "οὐδὲν," εἶπεν, "ἂν ἦ τὸ ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἐπιτάφιον λόγον μὴ εἰπέω, ἄλλα πάντας ἵνα τοῖς πατρώοις μνῆμασι θάπτεσθαι τοὺς ἀποθησκοντας." πάνω δὲ χαριέντως καὶ ὁ Κράτης πρὸς τὸ

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσο' ἐφαγον καὶ ἐφύβρισα καὶ μετ' ἐρωτός τέρπν' ἐπαθον

ἀντέγραψε τὸ

ταῦτ' ἔχω ὅσο' ἐμαθον καὶ ἐφρόντισα καὶ μετὰ Μουσῶν

B σέμν' ἑδάην.

καλὸς γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπαυνὸς καὶ ωφέλιμος καὶ διδάσκων τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα θαυμάζειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν ἀντὶ τῶν κενῶν καὶ περιττῶν. διὸ τοῦτο μὲν συγκατατεταχθοῖς τοῖς εἰρημένοις εἰς τὸ πρόβλημα.

18. Λείπεται δὲ ἦμιν, τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐφεξῆς ἀπαίτοντος καὶ παρακαλοῦντος, εἰπέοι ὅπως ἀν ἐκαστὸς ἐκφύγοι τὸ ἐπαυνεῖν ἀκαίρως ἑαυτὸν. μέγα γὰρ ἡ περαιευλογία τὴν φιλαντρίαν ὀρμητήριον ἑχουσα καὶ τοῖς πάνυ δοκοῦσι μετρίως ἐχειν πρὸς

1 εὐμεροῦντος (and so G¹yp) εὐδοκιμοῦντος G¹ty.
2 ἂλλ' ἦ τὸ D: ἄλλα τούτο (ἀλλ' ἦ τούτο G⁴ ε; ἄλλ' ἦ τούτο τὸ JK).
3 ἐφύβρισα W D RySs hki JK: ἐνύβρισα (ἕσα N¹).
4 καὶ μετ' ἐρωτός (μεθ' ἐρωτός W; μετ' ἐρωτα S²yp) τέρπν'
is the larger chorus, mine the more harmonious." And while Leosthenes still prospered in his campaign Phocion replied when the speakers asked what service he had done the state: "Only that when I was general you speakers delivered no funeral oration, as all who died were buried in their family graves." And the lines

This have I: what I ate, what with high hand
I seized, the lover's soft delight

were very happily answered by Crates when he wrote

This have I: what I learned, what with deep thought
I grasped, the Muses' stern delight.

Such praise as this is good and helpful, teaching admiration and love of the useful and profitable rather than of the vain and superfluous. So let this point take its place with the others in our discussion of the subject.

18. As the discussion now requires and invites us to proceed to the next point, it remains to state how we may each avoid unseasonable self-praise. Boasting has in self-love a powerful base of operations, and we can often detect its assaults even against those

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\( ^{a} \) Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxiii. 2 (751 r). The dead in war were buried in a public grave: cf. Thucydides, ii. 34. 5.

\( ^{b} \) Cf. G. Kinkel, Epicorum Graec. Frag. i. 308-311, and Mor. 330 r with the note (where read Philology for Philosophy). The lines passed for the epitaph of Sardanapalus: cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. v. 35 (101).

\( ^{c} \) Frag. 8 (ed. Diels).
(546) δόξαν ἐμφαίνεται1 πολλάκις ἐπιτιθεμένη. καθάπερ
gάρ τῶν ύψεινῶν ἐν ἐστὶ παραγγελμάτων τῷ τῷ
C νοσώδῃ χωρίᾳ φυλάττεσθαι παντάπασιν ἡ προσ-
έχειν μᾶλλον αὐτῷ γινόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς, οὕτως ἔχει
tινὰς ἡ περιαντολογία καίρους καὶ λόγους2 ὀλισθη-
ρούς καὶ περιφέροντας εἰς3 αὐτὴν ἐκ πάσης προ-
φάσεως.

Πρῶτον μὲν γάρ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοτρίοις ἐπαίνοις,
ὡσπερ εὑρηταί, τὸ φιλότιμον ἐξανθεῖ τὴν περιαντ-
τολογίαν· καὶ τις αὐτῷ καταλαμβάνει δακνόμενον4 καὶ
γαργαλιζόμενον οἶνον ὑπὸ κηρυκαὶ δυσκαρτέρητος
ἐπιθυμία καὶ ὀρμή5 πρὸς δόξαν, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπὶ
tοῖς ἰσούς ἔτερος ἡ6 τοῖς ἐλάττοσιν ἐπαινηταί.7
cαθάπερ γάρ οἱ πεινώντες ἔτερων ἐσθιόντων ἐν
D ὄψιν μᾶλλον ἐρεθίζονται καὶ παροξύνονται τῇ ὁρε-
ξίν,8 οὕτως ὁ τῶν9 πληροῦν ἐπαίνοις ἐκκαίει τῇ
ζηλοτυπίᾳ τούς πρὸς δόξαν ἀκратῶς10 ἐχοντας.

19. Δεύτερον αὐτό11 τῶν εὐτυχῶς καὶ κατὰ νοῦς
πεπραγμένων12 δυνητικεῖς λαυθάνουσι13 πολλοὺς εἰς
μεγαλαυχίαν ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἐκφέρουσα καὶ κόμπον·
ἐμπεσόντες γάρ εἰς τὸ λέγειν νῖκας τινὰς14 αὐτῶν15 ἡ
κατορθώσεις ἐν πολιτεύμασιν ἡ παρ’ ἡγεμός
πράξεις καὶ λόγους εὐδοκιμήσαντας οὐ κρατοῦσιν
οὐδὲ μετριάζουσιν. ὃ γένει μάλιστα τῆς περιαντο-
λογίας τῷ αὐλικῷ16 ιδεῖν ἐστὶ καὶ στρατιωτικὸν

1 ἐμφαίνεται (-φε- N1)] ἐμφύεται M2.
2 λόγους] τόπους Reiske.
3 εἰς] D RySs omit.
4 δακνόμενον (and so G2)] γινόμενον G1; γινόμενον H1 Rp Ξ.
5 ὀρμή (-ἡ i)] ὀργή G1 (ὁ- X1)v W J1?
6 ἡ] η G1 (ηι X1)v RySs.
7 ἐπαινηταί] ἐπαινεῖται G1 X1v S1 N M1 V1v Yl.
ON INOFFENSIVE SELF-PRAISE, 546

who are held to take but a modest interest in glory. For as one of the rules of health is either to avoid unwholesome places altogether, or being in them to take the greater care, so with self-love: there are certain treacherous situations and themes that make us blunder into it on the slightest occasion.

First, when others are praised, our rivalry erupts, as we said, into praise of self; it is seized with a certain barely controllable yearning and urge for glory that stings and tickles like an itch, especially when the other is praised for something in which he is our equal or inferior. For just as in the hungry the sight of others eating makes the appetite sharper and keener, so the praise of others not far removed inflames with jealousy those who are intemperate in seeking glory.

19. Second, in telling of exploits that have been lucky and have turned out according to plan, many are so pleased with themselves that before they know it they have drifted into vainglorious boasting. For once they come to talk of some victory or political success or act or word of theirs that found favour with leading men, they get out of hand and go too far. To this sort of self-glorification one may observe that courtiers and the military most readily succumb.

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Chapter 3, supra.  

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Cf. Mor. 630 b ff.
(546) ἀλισκόμενον. συμβαίνει δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκ πότων
Ε ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων ἐπανήκουσιν
tούτῳ πάσχειν ἐπιεικῶς· μεμνημένοι γὰρ ἀνδρῶν
ἐπιφανῶν καὶ βασιλικῶν συγκαταπλέκουσιν περὶ
αὐτῶν εὐφημίας τινὰς ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνων εἰρημένας, καὶ
νομίζουσιν οὐχ αὐτοὺς ἐπαίνειν ἀλλ’ ἐτέρων ἐπαί
νους διηγεῖονται περὶ αὐτῶν γενομένους. οἱ δὲ ὀλο
οἴονται λανθάνειν τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὅταν βασιλέων καὶ
αὐτοκρατόρων δεξιώσεις καὶ προσαγορεύσεις καὶ
φιλοφροσύνας ἀπαγγέλλωσιν, ὡς οὐχ αὐτῶν ἐπ
αινοῦς, ἀποδείξεις δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιεικείας καὶ
F φιλανθρωπίας διεξόντες. οἶθεν εὖ μάλα δεὶ προσ-
έχειν ἑαυτοῖς περὶ τοὺς ἐτέρων ἐπαίνους, ὅπως
καθαροί καὶ ἀνύποπτοι φιλανθρώποι καὶ περιαυτο
λογίας ὅσιν καὶ μὴ δοκῶμεν "Πάτροκλον πρό
φασιν," σφᾶς δ’ αὐτοῦς δι’ ἐκείνων ἐπαίνειν.
20. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ψόγους καὶ τὰς
καταυτίσαις γένος ἐπισφαλές ἔστι καὶ παρέχον
ἐκτρόπαις τοῖς περὶ δόξαν νοσοῦσιν. ὃ μάλιστα
περιπτώσεις οἱ γέροντες ὅταν εἰς τὸ τοῦ νοσθετέων
ἐτέρως καὶ κακῶς ἐθα δαίλα καὶ πράξεις ἡμαρτή-
μένας προαχήσει, μεγαλύνοντες αὐτοὺς ὃς περὶ
547 ταὐτὰ ἑπιμεσίοις δῆ τινας γενομένους. τοῦτοι
μὲν οὖν, ἂν μὴ μόνον ἔχωσιν ἡλικίαν ἀλλὰ καὶ δόξαν
καὶ ἀρετὴν, δοτέον (οὐ γὰρ ἀνωφελές ἀλλὰ μέγα,
ζηλον ἐμποιοῦν ἀμα καὶ φιλοτιμίαν τινὰ τοῖς οὔτω

1 πότων D1t: τότων (and so D1ss: W is wanting).
2 ἐκεῖνων] ἐκεῖνον C G1.
3 eis to] ei (ei R?) to RySs; 3 omits.
4 ταύτα Pohlenz: ταύτα.
But it may also attack those who have returned from a governor’s banquet or from handling affairs of state. For with the mention of illustrious and royal personages they interweave certain gracious remarks that these personages have addressed to them, and fancy that they are not praising themselves but recounting praise received from others. Some even suppose that the self-praise is quite unobserved by their audience when they report the greetings, salutations, and attentions of kings and generals, feeling that what they recite is not their own praise but proofs of the courtesy and affability of others. We must therefore look warily to ourselves when we recount praise received from others and see that we do not allow any taint or suggestion of self-love and self-praise to appear, lest we be thought to make Patroclus our excuse, while we are really singing our own praise.

20. But the topic of censure and reproof also has its dangers and offers opportunities of deviation to those who suffer from a morbid craving for glory. Here old men especially go astray: once they have been drawn into admonishing others and rating unworthy habits and unwise acts, they magnify themselves as men who in the like circumstances have been prodigies of wisdom. These indeed, if not merely distinguished by years but by reputation and merit as well, must have licence. What they do is not unprofitable—far from it: it arouses emulation and a kind of ambition in the persons so rebuked. But the

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*a Cf. Homer, II. xix. 302, where the slave women lament ostensibly the death of Patroclus, but in reality their own woes: see Eustathius *ad loc.* and Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 294.

5 τούτοις] τούτοις X¹v 3. 6 μέγα v 3 D R hki N: μέγαν.
(547) κολαξομένους. ο οί δε ἄλλοι σφόδρα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ
dediêntai τὴν ἐκτροπὴν ταύτην ὀφείλομεν. ἀνιαροῦ
γάρ ὅντος ἄλλως καὶ μόλις ἄνεκτον τοῦ τῶν πλη-
sίων ἐλέγχου καὶ δειμένου πολλής εὐλαβείας ὁ
μυγνύων ἔπαινον ἴδιον ἄλλοτρίως ψόγω καὶ δι'
adóξίας ἐτέρου δόξαν αὐτῷ θηρώμενος ἐπαχθῆς
παντάπασι καὶ φορτικός ἔστιν, ὡς ἐνευδοκιμεῖν
ἀσχημονοῦσιν ἄλλοις βουλόμενοι.

21. "Ἐπὶ τούτων τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς γέλωτας
Β ἐυκαταφόρους φύσει καὶ προχείρους μάλιστα φεύ-
geιν προσήκει καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς γαργαλισθοῦσιν
cαὶ τὰς ψηλαφήσεις ἐν αἷς τὰ λειότατα τοῦ σώματος
ὁλισθάνουτα καὶ συγγένεα καὶ συνεξορμᾶ τὸ
πάθος· ὅσοι δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἐμπαθέστερον ἔρρυ-
κασιν, τούτως ἂν τις οὐχ ἡκιστα παρανέσσειν
ἀπέχεσθαι τοῦ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπανεῖν ὅταν ὁπ' ἄλλων
ἐπαινώνται. δεὶ γάρ ἐρυθριάν ἐπαινούμενον, οὐκ
ἀπερυθριάν, καὶ καταστέλλειν τους μέγα τι περὶ
ἀυτῶν λέγοντας, ὥσπερ ἐλέγχειν ἔνδεεστερὸν ἐπαι-
νώντας· ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν, ὑπομιμητόκοντες
C αὐτοὶ καὶ προσεμφοροῦντες ἄλλας τινὰς πράξεις
cαὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ἀχρι οὐ τῷ παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν
παρ' ἐτέρων ἐπαινοῦν διαφθείρωσιν. ἐνιοὶ μὲν οὖν

1 ὅντος] ὅντως Cæ Xaras N.
2 πλησίων (and so G4)] πλησίων G1 X1v R1ss N.
3 ἐνευδοκιμεῖν] εὐδοκιμεῖν RySs hk1i ν.
4 γέλωτας C (γέλωτας X1) D S2γρ hki JK1γρ M2 Y2fpq :
γελόντας (and so K11).
5 ὀλισθάνοντα Bern. : ὀλισθάνοντα (ο- C1 ; -ai- in an erasure
in Y).
6 τούτως] τούτως G1.
7 ἐλέγχειν (ἐχειν θ ; ἐλέγχων N)] ἐπελέγχειν C.
8 ἀχρι οὐ G1 Xv W : ἀχρις οὐ (οὐ from οὐ C) G3 JK Z M2 Vvw
fpq ; ἀχρις ἄν De RySs hk1i ; ἀχρις N M1 Yl.

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rest of us must carefully avoid and be wary of this deviation. For to point out the faults of our neighbours in any case gives pain, can hardly be borne, and requires great tact; but when a man intermingles praise of himself with censure of another, and uses another’s disgrace to secure glory for himself, he is altogether odious and vulgar, as one who would win applause from the humiliation of another.\(^a\)

21. Again, as those who are naturally prone and prompt to laugh should take special care to avoid being tickled or so handled that the smoothest particles \(^b\) of the body glide and flow together and thus bring on and precipitate the fit, in the same way those with a too ardent weakness for fame should especially be advised to abstain from praising themselves when they are praised by others. For you should blush when praised, not be unblushing \(^c\); you should restrain those who mention some great merit of yours, not find fault with them for doing you scant justice, as most do, going on themselves to recall and gorge \(^d\) themselves on other actions and feats of prowess until by thus commending themselves they undo the commendation of others. Now some \(^e\) tickle these men

\(^a\) The word _eneudokimein_ may have been suggested by Demosthenes, _On the Crown_, 198.

\(^b\) An atomistic explanation: cf. _Mor._ 765 c, 766 e for a similar explanation of love.


\(^d\) Cf. the comparison of the appetite for praise with hunger (540 a-b and 546 c-d, _supra_).

\(^e\) Cf. _De Garrulitate_, chap. 20.
(547) κολακεύοντες αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ γαργαλιζοῦσι καὶ φυσώσιν, ἐνιοὶ δὲ κακοῆθως οἶνον τι δέλεαρ μικρὸν εὐλογίας ὑποβάλλοντες ἐκκαλοῦνται τῇ περιαυτολογίᾳ, οἱ δὲ1 προστυνθάνονται καὶ διερωτῶσιν, ὡς παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ τὸν στρατιώτην, ἵνα γελάσωσιν.

—πῶς2 τὸ τραύμα τοῦτ’ ἔχεις; —μεσαγκύλῳ.—πῶς πρὸς θεῶν;—ἐπὶ κλίμακα πρὸς τείχος ἀναβαίνων . . . ἔγω μὲν δεικνύω ἑσπονδακώς, οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἐπεμυκτήρισαν.

D 22. Ἐν ἀπασίν οὖν τούτοις εὐλαβητέον ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα μήτε συνεκπίπτοντα τοῖς ἐπαίνοις μήτε ταῖς3 ἐρωτήσεσιν ἑαυτῶν προϊέμενον. ἐντελεστάτη4 δὲ τούτων εὐλάβεια καὶ φυλακὴ τὸ προσέχειν ἑτέρως ἑαυτῶς5 ἐπανοῦσι καὶ μνημονεύειν ὡς ἄγδες τὸ πράγμα καὶ λυπηρὸν ἀπασί6 καὶ λόγος ἄλλος οὐδεὶς7 οὕτως ἐπαχθῆς οὐδὲ βαρύς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχοντες εἴπειν ὅ τι πάσχομεν ἄλλο κακὸν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπανοῦντων ὤσπερ φύσει βαρυνόμενοι τὸ πράγμα καὶ φεύγοντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι σπεύδομεν· ὅποι καὶ8 κόλακε καὶ παρασίτω καὶ

Ε δεομένῳ δύσοιστον ἐν χρείᾳ καὶ δυσεγκαρτέρητον9 ἑαυτὸν ἐγκωμιάζων πλούσιος τις ἡ σατράπης ἡ βασιλεὺς, καὶ συμβολὰς ταύτας ἀποτίνειν μεγίστας

1 οἱ δὲ] οἱ W.
2 πῶς] πῶς δὴ D.
as it were by flattery and puff them up; others maliciously throw out a little tribute as a kind of bait to elicit self-praise; still others press for details and interrogate them for the fun of it, as with Menander’s* soldier:

—What made this scar?—A javelin.—O please Tell us the story.—I was on a ladder Scaling a wall . . . I in all seriousness Proceed to demonstrate; and then once more They sneered at me.

22. In all these circumstances we cannot be too cautious, not allowing ourselves to be drawn out by the praise nor to be led on by the questions. The surest precaution and safeguard is to attend closely to the self-praise of others and to remember the distaste and vexation that was felt by all: no other kind of talk is so odious or offensive. For although we can point to no further harm than the mere hearing of the self-praise, yet as though instinctively irked by the performance and uncomfortable we are eager to escape and breathe freely again. Why even a flatterer, a hanger-on, a man in need, finds it hard in his necessity to stomach and endure a rich man or satrap or king bestowing praises on himself, and calls it the most exorbitant reckoning he ever paid. Wit-


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3 ταίς] ἐν ταίς Ws.
4 ἐντελεστάτη (and so G4)] ἐντελεστατα ἡ v I Ws (ἐντελεστατον ἡ G1 X).
5 εὐρωτοῖς] εὐρωτοῖς C1 X1v I Ws.
6 ἀπαί] ἐν ἄπαι Ws Z.
7 ἀλλος οὐδεὶς] οὐδεὶς ἀλλος G; οὐδεὶς R.
8 ὁποιο καὶ D and Reiske: ὁπως RySs; ὁποι.
9 ὑσεγκαρτέρητον C Garas? Χv I Ws: ὑσκαρτέρητον.
(547) λέγουσιν, ὡς ὁ παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ:

σφάττει¹ με, λεπτὸς γίνομεν, εὐωχούμενος·
τὰ σκώμμαθ'² οία τὰ σοφὰ καὶ στρατηγικὰ³.
οῖος⁴ δ'⁵ ἀλαζῶν ἔστιν ἄλιτήριος.⁶

tαῦτα γὰρ ὅπ πρὸς στρατιώτας μόνον οὐδὲ νεο-
πλούτους εὐπάρχει καὶ σοφαρὰ διηγήματα περαι-
νοντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς σοφιστὰς καὶ φιλοσόφους
καὶ στρατηγοὺς ὡγκωμένους ἐφ' ἕαυτοῖς καὶ με-
γαληγοροῦντας εἰσθότες πάσχειν⁹ καὶ λέγειν, ἄν
μνημονεύωμεν ὅτι τοῖς ἑαυτοῖς ἐπαίνοις ἄλλοτριος
F ἔπεται ψόγος ἅει καὶ γίνεται τέλος ἀδοξία τῆς
κενοδοξίας ταύτης, καὶ τὸ λυπεῖν τοὺς ἄκοιντας,
ὧς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησίν, περίεστιν, οὐ τὸ¹° δοκεῖν
εἶναι τοιοῦτος, ἀφεξόμεθα τοῦ λέγειν περὶ αὐτῶν,
ἄν μὴ τι μεγάλα¹¹ μέλλωμεν ὁφελεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἢ τοὺς
ἀκοίντας.

1 σφάττει[σφάτει Xv I Wsae.

² σκώμμαθ' (and so G⁴)] σκώμμαθ' C² (ὡ from ὡ) G¹ X¹υ I

³ τα σοφα καὶ στρατηγικα] τα στρατιωτικα καὶ σοφα G.

⁴ οῖος (οῖος C¹)] οῖο C¹ ; οῖος RySs hk¹i N.

⁵ δ'] Xe omit ; δι- N.

⁶ ἄλιτήριος u²: I W⁸ (ὁ ἄλιτήριος N ; ἄλιτήριος X¹): ἄλιτήριος

(-λη- Raε? J vaε?).
ness the character in Menander $^a$:

He murders me. The feasting makes me thin.
Good God! The wit! The military wit!
What airs he gives himself, the blasted windbag!

These are the feelings and language to which we are prompted not only by soldiers and the newly rich with their flaunting and ostentatious talk, but also by sophists, philosophers, and commanders who are full of their own importance and hold forth on the theme; and if we remember that praise of oneself always involves dispraise from others, that this vainglory has an inglorious end, the audience being left, as Demosthenes $^b$ says, with a feeling of vexation, not with any belief in the truth of the self-portrait, we shall avoid talking about ourselves unless we have in prospect some great advantage to our hearers or to ourselves.

$^a$ Frag. 746 (vol. ii, p. 234 Körte).

$^b$ On the Crown, 128.
ON THE DELAYS OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE
(DE SERA NUMINIS VINDICTA)
INTRODUCTION

This is perhaps the most admired of Plutarch’s philosophical writings. Proclus a transcribed and adapted large portions of it in antiquity. In modern times it has received high praise from Christians as diverse in belief as Joseph de Maistre b and A. P. Peabody. c In an American edition we find this note d:


c A. P. Peabody, Plutarch on the Delay of the Divine Justice (Boston, 1885), p. xxvi: “The most remarkable of all Plutarch’s writings, the most valuable equally in a philosophical and an ethical point of view, and the most redolent of what we almost involuntarily call Christian sentiment, is that ‘On the Delay of the Divine Justice,’ . . .”


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THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

It is within the knowledge of the writer that the reading of this very treatise of Plutarch, which we are about to examine, had a salutary effect on the mind of Professor Tholuck, at a time when he was inclined to scepticism, and was among the providential means of leading him to find the best solution of his doubts in the teachings of the Bible.

To the translations listed in the Preface may be added, apart from others that we have not seen,\(^a\) those of Bilibaldus Pirckheymerus,\(^b\) Joseph de Maistre,\(^c\) Charles W. Super,\(^d\) and Georges Méautis.\(^e\)

Quietus,\(^f\) to whom the dialogue is addressed, is presumably the same as the Quietus of the De Fraterno Amore (478 b), where a brother Nigrinus is mentioned, and of the Quaestiones Convivales (632 a), where it is implied that he had administered a pro-

\(^a\) J. G. Berndt, Zwei Abhandlungen, 1) Axiochus. 2) Vom Verzuge der göttlichen Strafen. Stendal, 1784.


Plutarchus over het Verwyl der goddelyke straffe : uit het Grieksch vertaald, met aanteekeningen door C. Groen, Dordrecht, 1826.

\(^b\) Plutarchi . . . de his qui tarde a Numine corripiuntur libellus. Nuremberg, 1513.

\(^c\) Sur les délais de la justice divine dans la punition des coupables ; ouvrage de Plutarque, nouvellement traduit, avec des additions et des notes . . . Lyons and Paris, 1816.

\(^d\) Between Heathenism and Christianity : Being a translation of Seneca’s De Providentia, and Plutarch’s De Sera Numinis Vindicta, together with Notes, Chicago, New York, Toronto, 1899.

\(^e\) Des délais de la justice divine par Plutarque. Traduction nouvelle, précédée d’une introduction et accompagnée de notes explicatives. Lausanne, 1935.

\(^f\) Here and in the De Fraterno Amore the restoration of the name is due to Patzig. In our dialogue the archetype had \(k\nu\nu\varepsilon\); in the De Fraterno Amore, \(k\us\nu\varepsilon\).
vince. Perhaps he is the T. Avidius Quietus, senator and sometime proconsul of Achaia, mentioned by the younger Pliny in a letter assigned to the year 102 (Ep. vi. 29. 1) in language that implies he was no longer living. If the letter is correctly dated, and if this identification of Quietus is right, we could infer that the dialogue was written before 103. There was, however, a second T. Avidius Quietus, who was consul in 111 and proconsul of Asia shortly before 127. Pohlenz identifies Plutarch’s friend with this younger man on the ground that the essay De Fraterno Amore is subsequent to the essays De Amicorum Multitudine and De Adulatore et Amico; but the date of none of the three essays is known, and the friendship of Plutarch’s addressee with Sosius Senecio is chronologically more appropriate to the older man. Plutarch’s mention of a brother named Nigrinus also favours this identification. There appear to have been an older and a younger Avidius Nigrinus, generally taken to be father and son. The father was

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probably the brother of the elder Quietus, the son the cousin of the younger."a

Thespesius, the hero of the myth, is doubtless a fiction of Plutarch’s. The name was chosen for its meaning, *thespesios* being often used of things divine and strange.\(^b\) “Aridaeus,” the name borne by Thespesius before his vision, may be none other than the Aridaeus of Plato.\(^c\) His people, the Cilicians, enjoyed no favourable reputation, and to a Greek ear the very name of his city, Soli, suggested perversity.\(^d\)

The scene of the dialogue is Delphi (cf. 552 f, 553 e, 556 f, 560 c), where Plutarch was for many years one of the two priests of Apollo.\(^e\) The speakers are Plutarch himself, his son-in-law Patrocleas, his brother Timon, and Olympichus.

The dialogue was evidently not written before A.D. 81. In the myth the Sibyl foretells the eruption of Vesuvius (24-26 August 79) and speaks of a “good” emperor “of those days” who is to relinquish his

\(^a\) Cf. Groag and Stein, *op. cit.* nos. 1407 and 1408.
\(^b\) Cf. G. Soury, *La Démonologie de Plutarque* (Paris, 1942), p. 213, note 2: “Ce mot [that is, *thespesios*] qui signifie *divin, merveilleux*, s’applique bien à celui qui par une vraie faveur divine, une ‘grâce,’ a pu ‘se convertir.’”
\(^d\) Cf. the use of *σόλωκος* in *Mor.* 817 b.
\(^e\) Cf. K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1 (1951), col. 660. 3-39, who argues with Pomtow that Plutarch became priest in the middle or late nineties. It is perhaps not too fanciful to suppose that Plutarch refers at 559 b to his own experience of seeing Athens after a lapse of thirty years. As he was a student there in 66/7 (*Mor.* 385 b), we might feel justified in dating the dialogue at least thirty years later.
imperial power by dying of disease \( (566 \text{ e}) \).\(^a\) At the time of Thespesius' vision Nero was already dead \( (567 \text{ f}) \). "Those days" must then refer to some time between Nero's death and the eruption. Of the five emperors who reigned in this interval only Vespasian and Titus \(^b\) died a natural death. It is not likely that Vespasian is intended, as he expelled from Rome all the philosophers except Musonius (Dio Cassius, lxvi. 13), and revoked Nero's grant of freedom to Greece (Philostratus, \textit{Vit. Ap.} v. 41 ; Pausanias, vii. 17. 4), acts which might well have kept Plutarch from believing he could be called "good."\(^c\) Titus, who died 13 September 81, was much beloved.\(^d\) The dramatic date of the vision of Thespesius would fall between 24 June, the date of Titus' accession, and 24-26 August, when the eruption of Vesuvius took place, in A.D. 79.

The dialogue itself has two parts, the \textit{logos} or argument, and the myth \( (563 \text{ e ff.}) \).

\( ^a \) In \textit{Mor.} 398 \text{ e}, Plutarch mentions the " recent disasters in Cumae and Dicaearcheia " and the " bursting forth of mountain fire " as foretold long before the event in the Sibylline verses. There is no other evidence that Dicaearcheia (Pozzuoli) and Cumae were destroyed in the eruption \( (\text{cf. R. Flacelière, Plutarque Sur les Oracles de la Pythie, Paris, 1937, p. 8, note 3}) \). Some Sibylline verses doubtless mentioned such a disaster—catastrophes were a favourite subject with prophets—and the prediction came close enough to the truth to satisfy Plutarch.

\( ^b \) It is clear from \textit{Mor.} 123 \text{ d} that Plutarch did not accept the rumour that Titus was poisoned.

\( ^c \) In \textit{Mor.} 771 \text{ c}, Plutarch expresses his abhorrence of Vespasian's execution of the faithful Empone, and says he was punished by the extinction of his line.

\( ^d \) Cf. Suetonius, \textit{Divus Titus}, chap. i. A reference to Titus would be particularly apt as he had begun his career with many violent and vicious acts \( (\text{cf. Suetonius, ibid. chapters vi-vii; Dio Cassius, lxvi. t 3}) \)
When the conversation opens, "Epicurus," who had inveighed against divine providence, has just disappeared. Plutarch is left with his brother, his son-in-law, and Olympichus, all firm believers in the gods. The ensuing discussion is confined to one of the many objections raised by "Epicurus": the late punishment of the wicked.

Plutarch's three interlocutors present each a difficulty involved in such delay; and the logos ends with Plutarch's reply to Bion's objection that it is as absurd for God to punish the children for their fathers' sins as for a physician to treat a descendant for the diseases of an ancestor.

Patrocleas finds that late punishment fails to check further crimes or to comfort the victim (548 d). Olympichus adds that the delay promotes disbelief in providence and makes the punishment of no profit to the culprit. Timon is ready with a third objection, but is diverted for the moment (549 d-e).

In reply Plutarch disclaims any dogmatism; he pretends to do no more than establish a probability or likelihood (549 e). Four reasons are first given for God's delay:

(1) God is our model; he is slow to punish so that we may imitate his slowness and thus escape error (550 c).

(2) God allows the offender who is not incurable a certain period in which to recover; incurables he does away with at once (551 c).

(3) Some offenders are capable of eventually producing great benefits. It is better that their punish-

References:
- Cherniss in Mor. xii, p. 6. The name may hint that a book of Epicurus (the Περὶ θεῶν?) has just been read aloud.
ment should wait until the benefits have been received (552 d).

(4) The manner and time of punishment should be appropriate; hence punishment is often deferred (553 d).

At this point Plutarch indicates that heretofore the company has assumed that punishment is postponed; but it can be argued that punishment is actually contemporaneous with the crime, and consists in the anguish of the guilty soul (553 f).

Timon now comes forward with the third objection: it is unjust to punish a descendant for an ancestor’s crime (556 e).a

The answer falls into two parts, separated by a discussion of the survival of the soul. In the first three points are made:

(1) Many of Timon’s stories of late punishment are fabulous (557 e; Plutarch as much as admits that this answer is made merely to gain time).

(2) Timon approves the rewarding of descendants for services rendered by their ancestors; he must also approve the punishment of descendants for their ancestors’ crimes (557 f).

(3) A city counts as an individual, and has the same sort of continuity; it is right, then, that it should suffer for its past misdeeds (558 f). What holds for a city holds for a family as well (559 c).

Olympichus interrupts to point out that Plutarch assumes the survival of the soul (560 a). Plutarch justifies the assumption, and says that punishments

a Contrast the explanations of Hermias (Hermiae Alexandrini in Platonis Phaedrum Scholia, pp. 96-97, ed. Couvreur).
are inflicted after death through the medium of descendants for two reasons: that the living may see them and be deterred, and because such punishment is especially ignominious and painful (561 a).

Bion had said that God was more ridiculous in punishing a descendant for the crimes of an ancestor than a physician who treats a descendant for an ancestor's disease (561 c). Plutarch's reply is that the analogy holds when the punishment is preventive, and saves a descendant from succumbing to an inherited vicious bent.

The myth now follows (563 b). The "intelligent part" (τὸ φρονοῦν) a of the soul of a certain Aridaeus (who is renamed Thespesius in the course of his adventure) leaves his body (563 e), the rest of the soul remaining behind as an anchor (564 c), and preventing it from ascending very far (566 δ). Four different scenes are visited: the place of emergence, where Thespesius sees the pure and impure souls, the latter showing certain colours due to the passions, and receives an explanation of the three kinds of punishment; the chasm of Lethe; the crater of dreams; and the place of punishment. b

The scene of the emergence is at the confines of the sublunary region, where the atmosphere of air gives way to one of fire or aether. Thus the souls of the dead "make a flamelike bubble as the air is displaced" (563 v) and the stars appear larger and more distant from one another than when seen from the earth. Thespesius is next taken to a vast chasm (565 e) extending clear through to the earth. This

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a For Plutarch's views on the relation of the rational and emotional parts of the soul cf. Mor. 1025 d-e, 1026 c-d.

b Cf. Norden, P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI³, pp. 43 f.
"place of Lethe" is doubtless the earth's shadow, ending at the upper limit of the sublunary region (cf. Mor. 591 a and note). It represents the pleasures of the body which cause the soul to lose its buoyancy and sink down to another birth. A second journey, of equal length with the first, takes him to a mirage-like crater, which turns out on closer view to be a chasm in the ambient. Here he is close enough to the moon to be caught in its wash, but cannot rise high enough to behold the oracle of Apollo. Presumably, then, the crater is also at the confines of the sublunary region and of the empyrean; it is probably the shadow of the moon. Next he views the punishments of wicked souls, including that of his own father. The punishment of ancestors whose crimes have been visited on their descendants is especially noted, as is the punishment that would have awaited him if he had persisted in his covetous way of life. No journey to this scene is mentioned, nor is its situation indicated; perhaps it was thought to be in the southern hemisphere of the earth or of the sublunary region. The final spectacle, which doubtless makes part of this scene, is that of the souls being reshaped for birth in the forms of lower animals (567 e). The Platonic doctrine of reincarnation is here assumed.

As Thespesius is about to turn back, he is snapped

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b Cf. Plato, Republic, 617 d. It had been objected that the souls of men could not be incarnated in lower animals, as the bodies of brutes could not provide the proper organs for a human soul (cf. Aristotle, De Anima, i. 3 [407 b 20-26], and Nemesius, chap. ii [pp. 119 f. Matthaei]). Plutarch meets this objection by letting artisans reshape the souls.
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back to his body in a great rush of wind, opening his eyes again, like Er in Plato, at his grave.

The essay is No. 91 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text is based on GXFZI DRy(SK)hki N M(auq)Vv Y(J) CW(W R qflp). mss. only occasionally cited are here enclosed in parenthesis.
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΥΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ 
ΒΡΑΔΕΩΣ ΤΙΜΩΡΟΥΜΕΝΩΝ

1. Τοιαύτα μὲν ὁ Ἐπίκουρος εἰπὼν, Ὡ Κυήτε, 
Β καὶ πρὶν ἀποκρινασθαι τινα, πρὸς τῷ πέρατι τῆς 
στοὰς γενομένων ἡμῶν, ἡχετο ἀπιών: ἡμεῖς δὲ 
ὀσον τι θαυμάσαι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀτοπίαν 
ἐπιστάντες σωπῆ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους διαβλέψαντες 
ἀνεστρέφομεν πάλιν ὕστερ ἑτυγχάνομεν περιπα-
τοῦντες.

Εἶτα πρῶτος ὁ Πατροκλέας, "τί οὖν;" εἰπεν. 
"ἐὰν δοκεῖ τὴν ζήτησιν, ἦ τῶ λόγῳ καθάπερ 
παρόντος καὶ μὴ παρόντος ἀποκρινόμεθα τοῦ 
eἰπόντος;"

Ὑπολαβῶν δὲ ὁ Τίμων, "ἀλλ' οὖν' εἰ βαλὼν, 
εἰπεν, "ἀπηλλάγη, καλῶς εἴχε περιορὰν τὸ βέλος 
insula εγκείμενον. ὦ μὲν γὰρ Βρασίδας ὡς ἐοικεν ἕξελκύ-
σασ τὸ δόρυ τοῦ σώματος αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸν βαλὸντα 
πατάξας ἀνείλεν· ἡμῶν δὲ ἄμυνασθαι μὲν οὖδὲν

1 π. τ. ὑπὸ τ. θ. βρ. τμ. ] peri βραδέως κολαζομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ 
θείου Λαμπρίας; [peri τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ] θείου [βραδέωσ κολα]ζομένων 
F1 K1 at the end (the bracketed letters are lost in F); ὦτι 
βράδιον οἱ θεοὶ τιμοροῦνται Sopater (Photius, Bibl. 104a40).
2 ἐπίκουρος (cf. p. 175 note, supra]) Ἐπικοῦρεως Fabricius.
3 Κυήτε Patzig : κύνε (κύρε Vv).
4 Πατροκλέας] Vv have πατροκλέης and its cases everywhere 
(at 549 v V188 has -eis); Y2 has -έης here and at 548 c; G X1t

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ON THE DELAYS OF THE DIVINE VENGEANCE

1. When he had made this speech, my dear Quietus, Epicurus did not even wait for an answer, but made off on our reaching the end of the colonnade. The rest of us, pausing only long enough to exchange mute glances of astonishment at the fellow’s singularity, turned about and resumed our walk.

Patrocleas was the first to speak. “Well, what shall we do?” he asked. “Shall we drop the question, or answer the arguments of the speaker in his absence as we should have done in his presence?”

Timon replied: “Why, if he had escaped after striking us with a real shaft, we could not have left it sticking in us. We are told, indeed, that Brasidas plucked the spear from his body and with that very weapon struck and killed the thrower.”

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*a* Cf. the proverbial expression βαλών φεύξεσθαι οιει (do you, having cast your weapon, think to get off scot-free?), Leutsch and Schneidewin, *Paroem. Gr.* i, p. 52, ii, p. 18, and Plato, *Symposium*, 189 b.

*b* Cf. *Mor.* 190 b and 219 c.

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F Z² I have -εις at 549 b; G³ F have -εις at 553 d. The error spread from 549 b, where all except D W² have -έους for -έου.

5 παρώντος καὶ μὴ παρώντος] παρώντος G¹ hki.

6 ἀποκρινόμεθα X³ K² M V Vn Y²: ὑποκρινόμεθα (so N²) or ὑποκρινόμεθα (ὑποκρινόμεθα N¹).
(548) ἔργον ἔστι δὴ ποιοῦ τοὺς ἄτοπον ἣ ψευδή λόγον εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀφέντας, ἀρκεῖ δὲ αὐτοῖς πρὶν ἁμασθαί τὴν δόξαν ἄν ἐκβάλωμεν.

"Τῇ οὖν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "μάλιστα κεκίνηκεν ὑμᾶς τῶν εἰρημένων; ἀθρόα γὰρ πολλὰ καὶ κατὰ τάξιν οὐδέν, ἂλλο δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπος ὥσπερ ὅργῇ τινι καὶ λοιδορία σπαράττων ἀμα κατεφόρει τῆς προνοιᾶς."

2. Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, "ἡ περὶ τὰς τιμωρίας," εἶπε, "τῶν πονηρῶν βραδυτὴς τοῦ δαιμονίου καὶ μέλλησις ἔμοι δοκεῖ μάλιστα δεινὸν εἶναι· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων τούτων ὥσπερ πρόσφατος γέγονα τῇ δόξῃ καὶ καινὸς· ἐκπαλαι δὲ ἡγανάκτουν ἄκοινον Ἐὐριπίδου λέγοντος

μέλλει, τὸ θεῖον δ' ἐστὶ τοιοῦτον φύσει.

καίτοι πρὸς οὔθεν, ἡμιστα δὲ πρέπει πρὸς τοὺς πονηροὺς ῥάθυμον εἶναι τὸν θεόν, οὐ ραθύμους ὄντας αὐτοὺς οὐδὲ ἀμβολεργοὺς τοῦ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅξυτάτας ὀρμαίς ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν φερομένους πρὸς τὰς ἁδικίας. καὶ μὴν τὸ ἁμύνασθαι τῷ παθεῖν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησίν, ἢτι ἐγγυτάτω Εὐκείμενον’ εὐθὺς ἀντιφάττει τὴν ὅδων τοῖς ἐπὶ πλείστον εὐροοῦση τῇ κακίᾳ χρωμένοις. οὔθεν γὰρ οὔτω χρέος ὡς τὸ τῆς δίκης ὑπερήμερον γυνόμενον ἀσθενῆ μὲν ταῖς ἐλπίσι ποιεῖ καὶ ταπεινὸν

1 ἐκβάλωμεν] ἐκβάλωμεν Ry N² (-ο- N¹) M Y.
2 ἀνθρώπος I and Dübner (ἀνθρώπος D Ry K): ἀνθρώπος.
3 κατεφόρει] κατεφρόνει G¹ X¹mg F¹mg.
4 οὔθεν] οὔθεν" Capps.
5 τὸ ἁμύνασθαι (ἀμύνεσθαι hki) τῷ] τὸ ἁμύνασθαι τοῦ D Ry

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ever, no business of ours to strike back at those who have let fly at us an absurd or false argument; for us it is enough to get rid of the doctrine before it becomes lodged in us."

"What did you find most disturbing in his speech?" I asked. "For it was with a jumble of disordered remarks, picked up here and there, that the fellow pelted providence, lashing out at it the while as if in an outburst of scurrilous fury."

2. Patrocleas replied: "The delay and procrastination of the Deity in punishing the wicked appears to me the most telling argument by far, and at this moment these words of his have made me fresh and new, as it were, in my old feeling of exasperation. Yet that feeling dates from long ago, when it would chafe me to hear Euripides a say:

Apollo lags; such is the way of Heaven.

But God should be indolent in nothing b; least of all does it become him to be so in dealing with the wicked, who are not indolent themselves or 'postponers of their work' c of doing wrong; nay, their passions drive them headlong to their crimes. Furthermore, as Thucydides d says, when 'requital follows closest on the injury' it at once blocks the path of those who are carried farthest by their successful facility in vice. For no debt as it falls overdue so weakens the cheated victim in his hopes and breaks

a Orestes, 420.  b Cf. Plato, Laws, 901 e. c Hesiod, Works and Days, 413. d iii. 38. 1.

S²mg K¹ss. The mss. of Thucydides are divided between ἀμύνασθαι τῷ and ἀμύνεσθαι τῷ, both anarthrous. Cf. also 551 A, infra. χρέος] χρέως D¹ v Y¹.
(548) τὸν ἀδικούμενον, αὐξεὶ δὲ θρασύτητι καὶ τόλμη τὸν μοχθηρὸν· αἱ δ’ ύπ’ χεῖρα τοῖς τολμωμένοις ἀπαντῶσαι τιμωρίαι καὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰσὶν ἐπισχέσεις ἀδικημάτων καὶ μάλιστα τὸ παρηγοροῦν τοὺς πεπονθότας ἔνεστιν αὐταίς. ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βίαντος ἐνοχλεῖ πολλάκις ἀναλαμβάνοντι ἔνοχον· ἐφ’ γὰρ, ὡς έούκε, πρὸς τινα πονηρόν ὡς οὐ δέδιεν μὴ οὐ δ WARRANTIES οὕκ αὐτὸς ἐπίδη. τί γὰρ Μεσσήνοις ὄφελος τοῖς προαναρέθεισιν τῆς Ἀριστοκράτους τιμωρίας, ὃς προδοὺς τὴν ἐπὶ Κάπρῳ μάχην καὶ λαθῶν ύπὲρ εἰκοσιν ἐτη καὶ πάντα ταῦτα βασιλεύσας Ἀρκάδων ὑστερον ἐδωκεν δίκην φωραθές, οἱ δὲ οὐκέτ’ ἤσαν; η’ τίνα Ορχομενίων τοῖς ἀποβαλούσι παιδας καὶ φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ύπὸ Λυκίσκου προδοθέντας ἤγεγκε παραμυθίαν ή χρόνοις υστερον πόλλοις ἰαμενη 549 νόσοσ καὶ κατανεμηθείσα τοῦ σώματος, ὃς αἰ βάπτων καὶ βρέχων εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ὄμοσε καὶ κατηράσατο σαπῆναι, προδόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδική- σαντος; τὰς μὲν γὰρ Ἀθήνης τῶν ἐναγων σωμάτων ἱμηεις καὶ νεκρῶν ἔξορισμοὺς οὐδὲ παιδῶν παίσιν ἐπιδείνυ ὑπῆρξε τῶν ἀποσφαγέντων έκεινων.

1 τολμωμένοις] γνωμένοις G F₁t v Y¹mg.  
2 Κάπρῳ Reiske (from Pausanias, iv. 19. 3): κύπρῳ (Τάφρῳ Ald.₂).  
3 νόσος καὶ Gœ X³ F D Ry K k Vv: νόσος.  
4 δς] ουν D.  
5 ἀθήνης X³ D S K M Y³: ἐν ἀθήνης.  
6 ἐπιδείνυ G X F Z Vv: ἰδείν.  

b Plutarch has apparently confused the treason of Aristocrates at the “trench” (for which cf. Polybius, iv. 33. 5-6, and Pausanias, iv. 17. 2, viii. 5. 13) with the victory of Aris-
his spirit, and so strengthens the wrongdoer in confidence and boldness, as the debt of merited punishment; whereas the chastisement that at once confronts audacious acts both serves as a check to future crimes and is of greatest comfort to the injured. Hence, as I consider the argument, I am repeatedly plagued by the saying of Bias. We are told that he remarked to a certain scoundrel: 'I do not fear that you will fail to get your deserts, but that I shall not live to see it.' For what did the punishment of Aristocrates profit those Messenians who were already slain, when, after betraying them in the battle at the Cairn of the Boar and escaping detection for over twenty years (during all which time he was king of the Arcadians), he was later found out and paid the penalty—but his victims were no more? Or what comfort did those Orchomenians who had lost children, friends, and kin through the treason of Lyciscus derive from the disease that attacked him long after and spread over his body, when he was always dipping and wetting it in the river, and with an oath called down a curse that it should rot—after he had betrayed them and done the wrong? As for the casting out at Athens of the polluted dead and banishment of corpses beyond the borders, these were acts that not even the children's children of the slaughtered victims lived to see. And so Euripides is absurd
(549) ὁθεν Εὐρυπίδης ἄτοπος εἰς ἀποτροπὴν κακίας τοῦ-
τοις χρώμενος·

οὔτωι προσελθοῦσ’ ἡ Δίκη σε, μὴ τρέσης,
παίσει πρὸς ἦπαρ οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων βροτῶν
τὸν ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ σύγα καὶ βραδεῖ πολί
B

οὐ γὰρ ἄλλα δήπον, ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὰ τοὺς κακοὺς2
eἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῖς διακελευομένους καὶ παρεγ-
γυώντας ἐπιχειρεῖν3 τοῖς παρανομήμασιν, ὡς τῆς
ἀδικίας τὸν μὲν καρπὸν εὐθὺς ὤφαγον καὶ προούπτον
ἀποδιδούσης, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν ὄφε καὶ πολὺ τῆς
ἀπολαύσεως καθυστεροῦσαν.”

3. Ταῦτα τοῦ Πατροκλέου διελθόντος ἐπιβαλῶν
δ’ Οὐλύμπιχος,4 “ἐκείνο δέ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ Πατροκλέα,
πηλίκον αἰ περὶ ταῦτα τοῦ θείου διατριβαί καὶ
μελλήσεις ἄτοπον ἔχουσιν, ὅτι τὴν πίστιν ἥβραδυ-
τῆς ἀφαιρεῖ5 τῆς προνοίας, καὶ τὸ μὴ παρ’ ἔκαστον
C

ἀδίκημα τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐπακολουθοῦν κακόν, ἀλλ’
ὔστερον, εἰς ἀτυχήματος χώραν τιθέμενοι καὶ συμ-
φοράν, οὐ τιμωρίαν, ὅνομαζοντες οὐθὲν ὁφελοῦται,
toῖς μὲν συμβαίνουσιν ἀχθόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πεπρα-
γμένοις μὴ μεταμελόμενοι. καθάπερ γὰρ ἦππον ἥ
παραχρήμα τὸ πταίσμα καὶ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν διώκουσα
πληγή καὶ νύξις ἐπανορθοῦ καὶ μετάγει πρὸς τὸ
δέον, οἱ δὲ ύστερον καὶ μετὰ χρόνον σπαραγμοὶ
cαὶ ἀνακρούσεις καὶ περιψοφήσεις ἐτέρου τινὸς
ἐνεκα μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσιν6 ἡ διδασκαλίας,
δι’ ὁ τὸ λυποῦν ἀνευ τοῦ παιδεύειν ἔχουσιν, οὕτως

1 μάρψει] μάρπτει Stobaeus.
2 κακοὺς] κακῶς G X1 F Z1 kac N.
3 ἐπιχειρεῖν M2 : ἐπιχαίρειν.
when he would deter us from evil with thoughts like these:

Not to thy face, fear not, nor any villain's
Will Justice deal the fatal blow; but soft
And slow of tread, she will, in her own season,
Stalking the wicked, seize them unawares.

Why, these and none other are the very thoughts
with which the wicked are likely to encourage and
incite one another when they set out to do wrong—
that injustice yields at once a timely and certain harvest, while punishment comes tardily and far too late to prevent the enjoyment.”

3. When Patrocleas had done Olympichus added:
“ But there is another absurdity, Patrocleas—and how great it is!—involved in all this procrastination
and delay of the Deity: that his slowness destroys belief in providence, and the wicked, accounting the
ill that does not follow close upon each separate misdeed, but comes later, ill luck, and naming it not punishment, but mischance, derive no profit: they are to be sure distressed by the consequences, but feel no regret for the act. For just as the blow or
prick that at once follows a misstep or fault serves to correct a horse and put him in the right path, whereas
if you belabour the animal, pull at the reins, and crack the whip later, when time has elapsed, such action,
being felt to have some other purpose than that of training, torments without instructing, in like manner

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4 ὁλυμπικός Bern. (from Mor. 654 b): ὁλυμπιακός (ὁλυμπιακὸς is found at 561 b in X¹ F v; at 563 b in X¹ ν F S).
5 ἀφαιρεῖ ἀφαιρεῖται F D.
6 ἵππον ἦ Reiske: ἦ ποιή ἦ (ποιή ἦ X³).
7 γίνεσθαι δοκοῦσον nos: δοκοῦσι (-ν N) γίνεσθαι (from γενέ-σθαι G⁴). Pohlenz suggests that the hiatus might be removed by deleting ἦ διδασκαλίας.
(549) ἥ καθ᾽ ἐκαστὸν ὅν πταίει καὶ προπίπτει ῥαπιζω-μένη καὶ ἀνακρονομένη τῷ κολάζεσθαι κακία μόλις ἂν γένοιτο σύννους καὶ ταπείνη καὶ κατάφοβος πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς ἐφεστῶτα τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασι καὶ πάθεσιν ὑπὲρ ῥήματον δικαιωτὴν ἡ δὲ ἀτρέμα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὲ κατ᾽ Εὐρυπίδην καὶ ὡς ἐτυχεὶ ἐπιπίπτοισα. Δίκη τοῖς πονηροῖς τῷ αὐτομάτῳ μᾶλλον ἡ τῷ κατὰ πρόνοιαν ὁμοίων ἔχει τὸ πεπλανημένον καὶ ὑπέρ ῥηματον καὶ ἀτακτον. ὡστε οὔχ ὀρᾷ τὰ χρῆσιμον ἔνεστιν τοῖς ὧσε ὅς τούτοις ἔλειν λεγομένοις μῦλοις τῶν θεῶν καὶ ποιοῦσι τὴν δίκην ἄμαυραν καὶ τὸν φόβον ἔξιτηλον τῆς κακίας."

4. Ὁθεντων ὅν τούτων κάμον πρὸς αὐτοῖς ὄντος, ὁ Τίμων, "πότερον," εἶπεν, "ἐπιθῶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἦδη τῷ λόγῳ τὸν κολοφώνα τῆς ἀπορίας, ἡ πρὸς ταῦτα ἑάσω πρότερον αὐτὸν διαγωνίσασθαι;"

"Τὰ γάρ," ἐφην ἐγώ, "δεῖ τὸ τρίτον ἐπενεγκεῖν κύμα καὶ προσκατακλύσαι τὸν λόγον, εἰ τὰ πρῶτα μὴ δυνατὸς ἔσται διώσασθαι μηδὲ ἀποφυγεῖν ἐγκλήματα;"

"Πρὸτὸν οὖν, ὡσπερ ἀφ᾽ ἐστίας ἀρχόμενοι πατρώσις τῆς πρὸς τὸ θείον εὐλαβείας τῶν ἐν

1 προπίπτει F1 hki N M1 Y1: προπίπτει.
2 αὐτοῖς Reiske (cf. Mor. 1100 e): αὐτὸν οὐ αὐτὸν (ἐαυτὸν S).
3 λόγῳ G X F Z I Mαe: λογισμῷ.
4 ἐν X3 hki Vv: μὲν ἐν.

a Cf. 549 b, supra.
b A reference to the proverb

"The mills of the gods are slow in grinding, but grind fine,"

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a viciousness that at every stumble and plunge is whipped and pulled up by punishment might at last become circumspect and humble and fearful of God as one who in his government of the affairs and passions of men is no procrastinating justicer; whereas the Justice that falls upon the wicked with soft tread and slow and in her own season, as Euripides says, resembles the fortuitous rather than the providential in the want of certainty, of timeliness, and of order. I accordingly fail to see the good in that proverbial slow grinding of the mills of the gods, which obscures the fact of punishment and allows the fear of wickedness to fade.”

4. I was pondering these remarks when Timon said: “Shall I now speak in my turn and burden the argument with the crowning difficulty, or shall I first allow it to fight it out with these objections?”

“Why bring on the ‘third wave,”’ said I, “and swamp the argument further, if it proves unable to repel or escape the first charges?”

“First, then, beginning as from our ancestral hearth with the scrupulous reverence of the philo-

or in Longfellow’s version of Friedrich von Logau:

“Though the mills of God grind slowly, yet they grind exceeding small;

Though with patience he stands waiting, with exactness grinds he all.”

The “first wave” is the speech of Patrocleas, the “second” that of Olympichus, and the “third” the speech of Timon (556 e—557 e, infra). For the expression “third wave” cf. Plato, Republic, 472 a; the personification of the argument is also Platonic.

“Ἀφ᾽ ἐστίν ἄρχομενοι (“beginning with the hearth”) is a proverbial expression for beginning with first things first. Cf. Mor. 93 e, 948 b, 1074 e, and Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroem. Gr. i, pp. 14. 9, 385. 14, ii, pp. 62. 3, 321. 5.
(549) Ἀκαδημιάς φιλοσόφων, τὸ μὲν ὡς εἴδότες τι περὶ τούτων λέγειν ἀφοσιωσόμεθα. πλέον γάρ ἐστὶ τοῦ περὶ μουσικῶν ἀμοῦσος καὶ πολέμικῶν ἀστρατεύτων διαλέγεσθαι τὸ τὰ θεία καὶ τὰ δαίμονα πράγματα διασκοπεῖν ἀνθρώπους ὄντας, οίον ἄτεχνους τεχνιτῶν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ δόξης καὶ ὑπονοίας κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς μετιόντας. οὐ γάρ ἵατροῦ μὲν ἰδιώτην ὄντα συμβαλεῖν λογισμὸν, ὡς πρότερον οὐκ ἔτεμεν, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον, οὐδὲ ἔχθες ἐκαυσεν, ἀλλὰ σήμερον, ἐργον ἐστὶ, περὶ θεῶν δὲ θυντὸν ράδιον ἢ βέβαιον εἰπεῖν ἄλλο πλὴν ὧτι τὸν καιρὸν εἰῶς ἀριστά τῆς περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἱατρείας ὡς φάρμακον ἐκάστῳ προσφέρει τὴν κόλασιν, οὔτε μεγέθους μέτρον κοινὸν οὔτε χρόνον ἑνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ πάντων ἔχουσαν. ὧτι γὰρ ἡ περὶ ψυχῆν ἱατρεία, δίκη δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνη προσαγορευομένη, πασῶν ἐστὶ τεχνῶν μεγίστη, πρὸς μυρίους ἔτέρους καὶ Πάνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, 'ἀριστοτέχναν' ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἀρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἀπάντων θεον, ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργόν, ἢ προσήκει τὸ πότε καὶ πῶς καὶ μέχρι πόσου κολαστέον ἔκαστον τῶν πονηρῶν ὀρίζειν. καὶ ταύτης φησὶ τῆς τέχνης ὁ

1 περὶ τούτων λέγειν GXFZI: λέγειν περὶ τούτων.  
2 καὶ τὰ GXFZI: καὶ.  
3 ὑπονοίας Meziriacus: διανοίας (άγνοιας Post).  
4 συμβαλεῖν] συμβάλλειν G1XFZI.  
5 οὐδὲ ἔχθες Bern.: οὐδὲ χήδες (οὐδεχθεῖς X1FkN1).  
6 ἐκαυσεν Klostermann: ἔλουσεν (ἔλουσεν K C).  
7 ἔχουσαν G39X3hkiM1VvY2: ἔχουσα.
sophers of the Academy for the Deity, we shall disavow any pretension to speak about these matters from knowledge. For it is presumptuous enough for those untrained in music to speak about things musical, and for those of no military experience about war; but it is more presumptuous for mere human beings like ourselves to inquire into the concerns of gods and daemons, where we are like laymen seeking to follow the thought of experts by the guesswork of opinion and imputation. It cannot be that while it is hard for a layman to conjecture the reasoning of a doctor—why he used the knife later and not before, and cauterized not yesterday but to-day—it should be easy or safe for a mortal to say anything else about God than this: that he knows full well the right moment for healing vice, and administers punishment to each patient as a medicine, a punishment neither given in the same amount in every case nor after the same interval for all. For that the cure of the soul, which goes by the name of chastisement and justice, is the greatest of all arts, Pindar has attested with countless others, when he invokes the god who is ruler and sovereign of the world as him 'of noblest art,' intimating that he is artificer of justice, which has the task of determining for each evil-doer the time, the manner, and the measure of his punishment. And of this art Minos son of Zeus

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(550) Πλάτων νῦν ὄντα τοῦ Δώς γεγονέναι τὸν Μίνω
Β μαθητήν, ὥς οὐ δυνατὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαίως κατορθοῦν
οὐδέ αἰσθάνεσθαι τοῦ κατορθοῦντος τὸν μὴ μαθόντα
μηδέ κτησάμενον τὴν ἐπιστήμην. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐς
ἀνθρωποί νόμους τίθενται τὸ εὐλογὸν ἀπλῶς
ἐχουσι καὶ πάντοτε φαινόμενον, ἀλλ᾿ ἕνα καὶ δοκεῖ
κομιδὴ γελοία τῶν προσταγμάτων. οἶνον ἐν Λακε-
δαίμονι κηρύττοιοι οἱ ἐφοροὶ παριόντες εὐθὺς εἰς
τὴν ἀρχήν μὴ τρέφειν μῦστακα καὶ πείθεσθαι τοῖς
νόμοις ὑπὲρ μὴ χαλεποὶ ὅτι αὐτοὶς. Ἡρωμαῖοι δὲ,
οὐς ἄν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφαιρῶνται, κάρφος αὐτῶν
λεπτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντι τοὺς σώμασιν· ἄταν δὲ δια-
θῆκας γράφοσιν, ἐτέρους μὲν ἀπολείπουσι κληρο-
C νόμους, ἐτέρους ¹ δὲ πωλοῦσι τὰς οὐσίας· ὁ δοκεῖ
παράλογον εἶναι. παραλογώτατον δὲ τὸ τοῦ Σώ-
λωνος, ἄτιμον εἶναι τὸν ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρα
μερίδι προσθέμενον μηδὲ συστασίασαντα. καὶ
όλως πολλὰς ἄν τις ἐξείποι νόμων ἀτοπίας μήτε
tὸν λόγον ἐχων τοῦ νομοθέτου μήτε τὴν αἰτίαν
συνεὶς ἐκάστου τῶν γραφομένων. τί δὴ θαυμα-
στόν, εἰ, τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὕτως ἥμιν ὄντων δυσ-
θεωρήτων, ούκ εὐπορόν ἐστι τὸ περὶ τῶν θεῶν
eἱπεῖν ὄτιν λόγῳ τοὺς μὲν ὑστεροῦν, τοὺς δὲ προ-
tερον τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων κολάζουσιν;

¹ έτέρους Amyot: έτέροι.

⁠a Cf. Pseudo-Plato, Minos, 319 b-e, and Plato, Laws, 624 a-b; cf. also Mor. 776 e.
⁠b Cf. Aristotle, Frag. 539 (ed. Rose), and Plutarch, Lives of Agis and Cleomenes, chap. xxx. 3 (808 D) and Comm. on Hesiod, Frag. 72 (vol. vii, p. 88 f. Bern.).
⁠c The stalk is the festuca, for which cf. Gaius, Inst. iv. 16.
became a student, as Plato\(^a\) says, who suggests by this that it is impossible to succeed in questions of justice or to recognize success in another if one has not studied and mastered the science. For even in the laws set up by man the reasonableness is not immediately and at all times apparent; indeed, some human ordinances appear downright absurd. Thus in Lacedaemon, as soon as they take office, the ephors make a proclamation forbidding the wearing of moustaches and enjoining men to obey the laws, that the laws may not be harsh with them\(^b\); while the Romans on emancipating a slave touch him with a light stalk,\(^c\) and again, when they write their wills, appoint one set of persons as heirs but sell their property to another, a procedure which appears absurd.\(^d\) Most absurd of all is Solon's law, that anyone who does not take sides and join in the quarrel when the city is rent by factions shall be disfranchised.\(^e\) And in general, many oddities in laws could be brought up by one who did not know the principle that guided the lawgiver and did not see the cause of each enactment. What wonder, then, when we find it so hard to account for human rules, that it should be no easy matter to tell in the case of the gods on what principle they punish some wrongdoers later and others earlier?

\(^a\) Gaius (Inst. ii. 102 f.) explains that in one kind of Roman will the testator designated in addition to the heirs an *emptor* or purchaser, who by a fictitious sale received the estate as his own property (mancipio), with full authority to dispose of it according to the wishes of the deceased. The "purchaser" would therefore act as an executor, protecting the interest of the heirs, and deriving his legal authority from the "sale."

\(^b\) Cf. Life of Solon, chap. xx. 1 (89 A-B), and Mor. 823 F, 965 D.
5. "Ταύτα δὲ οὐκ ἀποδράσεως πρόφασις ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ συγγνώμης αἰτῆσις, ὅπως ὁ λόγος οἶον εἰς λιμένα καὶ καταφυγῆν ἀποβλέπων εὐθαρσέστερον ἐξαναφέρῃ τῷ πιθανῷ πρὸς τὴν ἀπορίαν.

D "Αλλὰ σκοπεῖτε πρώτον ὅτι κατὰ Πλάτωνα πάντων καλῶν ὁ θεὸς ἐαυτὸν ἐν μέσῳ παράδειγμα θέμενος τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀρετήν, ἐξομοίωσον οὕσαν ἀμωσγέπως πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνδίδωσιν τοῖς ἐπεσθαί θεῷ δυναμένους. καὶ γὰρ ἦν πάντων φύσις, ἀτακτὸς οὕσα, ταύτην ἐσχε τὴν ἀρχήν τοῦ μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι1 κόσμος, ὁμοιότητι καὶ μεθέξει των τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον ἱδεας καὶ ἀρετῆς· καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτὸς2 οὕτος ἀνὴρ3 ἀνάμια φησὶν τὴν φύσιν ἐν ἡμῖν ὅπως ὑπὸ θέας τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ φερομένων καὶ θαύματος ἀσπάζεσθαι4 καὶ ἀγαπᾷν ἑθιζομένη τὸ εὐσχῆμον ἡ ψυχή καὶ τεταγμένον ἀπεχθάνηται τοῖς ἀναρμό-

Ε στοις καὶ πλανητοῖς πάθεσι καὶ φεύγῃ τὸ εἰκῆ καὶ ὡς ἐτυχεὶν ὡς κακίας καὶ πλημμελείας ἀπάσης γέ-

νεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστιν ὅ τι μείζον ἀνθρωπος ἀπολαύ-

ειν θεοῦ πέφυκεν ἢ τὸ μυμήσει καὶ διώξει τῶν ἐν ἕκεινω καλῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν εἰς ἀρετὴν καθίστασθαι.

"Δι' ὦ καὶ τοῖς πονηροῖς ἐν χρόνῳ καὶ σχολαῖς

1 μεταβάλλειν καὶ γενέσθαι G¹ X¹ Z I N M¹ Vv Y CW¹: μεταβάλειν καὶ γενέσθαι G³ X³ F D Ry M² W³ (μεταβάλλειν καὶ γίνεσθαι hki).
2 αὐτὸς nos (ὁ αὐτὸς Wytenbach): αὐτὸς.
3 ἀνήρ] ὁ ἀνήρ K (ἀνήρ Dübner).
4 ἀσπάζεσθαι G¹ X¹ F D N² Vv Y²: ἀσπάζεσθαι G⁴ Ry hki M C).

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a Cf. Theaetetus, 176 E.
b Republic, 613 a-b, Theaetetus, 176 b.
c The maxim "follow God" was attributed to Pythagoras (cf. Stobaeus, vol. ii, p. 29. 16 Wachsmuth); cf. also Plato, Laws, 716 b, and Phaedrus, 248 A.

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5. "These remarks are not a pretext for evasion, but a plea for indulgence, that the argument, as though with a haven and refuge in view, may the more boldly in its bark of plausibility keep head against the difficulty.

"Consider first that God, as Plato says, offers himself to all as a pattern of every excellence, thus rendering human virtue, which is in some sort an assimilation to himself, accessible to all who can 'follow God.' Indeed this was the origin of the change whereby universal nature, disordered before, became a 'cosmos': it came to resemble after a fashion and participate in the form and excellence of God. The same philosopher says further that nature kindled vision in us so that the soul, beholding the heavenly motions and wondering at the sight, should grow to accept and cherish all that moves in stateliness and order, and thus come to hate discordant and errant passions and to shun the aimless and haphazard as source of all vice and jarring error; for man is fitted to derive from God no greater blessing than to become settled in virtue through copying and aspiring to the beauty and the goodness that are his.

"Hence it is that he is slow and leisurely in his

\[d\] That is, "order." Cf. Life of Dion, chap. x. 2 (962 b), and Plato, Politicus, 273 b.

\[e\] Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 29 e—30 a, and Plutarch, Mor. 1014 b-c.

\[f\] Cf. Mor. 958 e. Plato does not use the word "kindled" (for which cf. Timaeus Locrus, chap. xi) in describing the framing of the eyes (Timaeus, 45 b; cf. 39 b); further, he assigns the framing of the eyes to the lesser gods and not to nature.

\[g\] Cf. Plato, Timaeus, 39 b, 47 a-c, and Proclus, On Providence, col. 130. 27-36 (ed. Cousin²).
πιθανῶν οὗ θυμὸς τῶν φρενῶν ἀνωτέρω
καθάπερ δίψαι τε ποιόν ἀποπημπλάντας ἐπιπηδάν
tois λευκηκόσιν, ἄλλα μομομένους τὴν ἐκείνου
πραότητα καὶ τὴν' μέλλησιν, ἐν τάξει καὶ μετ'
ἐμμελείας, θεοῦ ἡκιστα μετανοίᾳ προσοιόμενον
χρόνον ἐχοντας σύμβουλον, ἀπέσθαν τῆς δίκης.
ύδαι γὰρ τεταραγμένης προσπεσόντα χρῆσθαι δι'
ἀκρασίαν ἦττὸν ἐστὶ κακὸν, ὡς Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν,
551 ὁ θολερὸν ὁντα καὶ διάπλευ τὸν λογισμὸν ὀργῆς
καὶ μανίας, πρὶν ἡ καταστῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι
καθαρόν, ἐμφορεῖσθαι τιμωρίας συγγενοῦς καὶ
ὀμφύλου σώματος. οὔ γὰρ ἐγγυνάτω τὸ ἀμύ-
νασθαι τοῦ παθεῖν, ὡς Θουκυδίδης ἔλεγεν, ἄλλα
μᾶλλον ἀπωτάτω 'κείμενον' ἀπολαμβάνει τὸ προσ-
ήκον. ὡς γὰρ ὁ θυμὸς κατὰ τὸν Μελάνθιον
τὰ δεῖνα πράττει τὰς φρένας μετοικίσας,
οὔτως καὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τὰ δίκαια πράττει καὶ μέτρια
tὴν ὀργὴν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἐκποδῶν θέμενος. ὃθεν
ἡμεροῦνται καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις παραδείγμασιν,

1 καὶ τὴν D : τὴν (τε καὶ Ge Ry).
2 μετ' ἐμμελείας X3 : μεταμελεία (ἐμμελεία D).
3 τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ G X F Z I Ry : τοῦ ἀμύνασθαι τό (τὸ ἀμύνασθαι τοῦ D).

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b Cf. Proclus, On Providence, coll. 130. 34–131. 7 (ed. Cousin2), and the Life of Pericles, chap. xviii. 2 (163 B).

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punishment of the wicked: not that he fears for himself, that by punishing in haste, he may be involved in error or remorse, but because he would remove from us all brutishness and violence in the infliction of punishment, and would teach us not to strike out in anger at those who have caused us pain, or when in its fiercest fever and convulsion

Our rage o'erleaps our wits,\(^a\)
as if we were appeasing thirst or hunger, but to imitate his mildness and delay and resort to chastisement with all due order and propriety, with Time as our counsellor, who will be least likely to involve us in regret.\(^b\) For to precipitate ourselves upon troubled water and from lack of self-control to drink it, is less of an evil, as Socrates\(^c\) said, than while we are turbid and clouded in our judgement with rage and fury, before becoming settled and clear, to glut ourselves with vengeance on a being of our own kindred and race.\(^d\) For it is not true, as Thucydides\(^e\) said, that 'when requital follows closest on the injury' it then receives its due; it rather does so when farthest 'removed.' For as anger, in the words of Melanthius,\(^f\)

Drives prudence from her seat, then does his worst,

so reason likewise acts with justice and moderation only after putting rage and anger out of the way.\(^g\) For this reason even human patterns and examples

\(^a\) The source has not been identified.
\(^b\) All men are akin: cf. Mor. 601 b, and note.
\(^c\) iii. 38. 1; quoted 548 d-e, supra.
\(^d\) Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Melanthius, 1; quoted also in Mor. 453 e.
\(^e\) Cf. Frag. On Anger (vol. vii, p. 138. 4-6 Bern.).
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B ἀκούοντες ὡς Πλάτων τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἀνατενάμενος τῷ παιδὶ πολὺν ἔστη χρόνον, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, τὸν θυμὸν κολάζων, καὶ ἀρχύτας, οἰκετῶν τινα πλημμέλειαν ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ ἀταξίαν καταμαθῶν, εἶτα εἰσεύρεθε συναισθανόμενος ἐμπαθέστερον ἔχοντος καὶ πραχύτερον πρὸς αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν ἀλλ' ἡ τοσοῦτον, ἀπόλ. 'ευτυχεῖτε,' εἶπεν, 'ὅτι ὀργί-ζομαι ύμῖν.' εἰπερ οὖν ἀνδρῶν λόγου μυημονευό-μενοι καὶ πράξεις λεγόμεναι τὸ τραχὺ καὶ σφοδρόν ἀπαρύτουσι τῆς ὀργῆς, πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἡμᾶς τὸν θεόν ὀρῶντας, ὥ δέος οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μετάνοια πράγματος οὔνομος, δόμος εἰν τῷ μέλλοντι τῇν

C τιμωρίαν κατατιθέμενον καὶ περιμένοντα τὸν χρό-νον, εὑλαβείς περὶ τὰ τοιαύτα γίνεσθαι καὶ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι μόρον ἄρετῆς τὴν πραότητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν 2 ἢν ὁ θεός ἐνδείκνυται, τῷ μὲν κολάζειν ὀλίγους ἐπανορθοῦσαν, τῷ δὲ βραδέως πολλοὺς ὧδελουσαν καὶ νουθετοῦσαν.

6. "Δεύτερον τοίνυν τοῦτο διανοηθῶμεν, ὡς αἱ μὲν δικαιώσεις αἱ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων, μόνον ἔχουσαι τὸ ἀντιλυπόν, καὶ ἐν τῷ κακῶς τὸν δεδρακότα παθεῖν ἵστανται, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐκ ἐξικνοῦται, δι' ὃ τούς ἡμαρτηκόσι 3 κυνὸς δίκην ἐφυλακτοῦσαι

1 πράγματος (and so G4) πραγμάτων G4 X.
2 μεγαλοψυχίαν nos (or μεγαλοφροσύνην, cf. Pohlenz ad loc.): μεγαλοπάθειαν (a variant ἀπάθειαν expelled -ψυχίαν).
3 ἡμαρτηκόσι Paton: ἄμαρτήμασι (-ν N; ἄμαρτήμασι G4 X4 [in an omission in X1]; ἄμαρτάνουσιν ἡκασι R; ἄμαρτάνουσιν ἡμασι y).

a Cf. Seneca, De Ira, iii. 12. 5. In Mor. 10 ν and 1108 Α Plato turns the slave over to Speusippus for punishment; Diogenes Laert. (iii. 38) has the same story, but substitutes 198
serve to make men gentle, when they hear that on raising his staff to strike his slave, Plato long remained motionless, 'chastening' his anger, as he said himself, and that Archytas, finding the servants on his farm guilty of misconduct and insubordination, and thereupon becoming conscious that his feeling toward them was unduly passionate and savage, did no more than say on leaving: 'It is your good fortune that I am furious with you.' If, then, the recollection of human sayings and narration of human acts can allay the harshness and intensity of anger, it is far more likely that when we see that God, who knows no fear or regret in anything, yet reserves his penalties for the future and awaits the lapse of time, we should become cautious in such matters, and hold the gentleness and magnanimity displayed by God a part of virtue that is divine, which by punishment amends a few, while it profits and admonishes many by the delay.

6. "In the second place, let us reflect that chastisements proceeding from man do no more than requite pain with pain, and stop in consequence when the suffering has been returned upon the doer, but go no farther, and hence, like curs, bark at the heels of the Xenocrates for Speusippus. Cf. also Gnomologium Vaticanum 436 ab, ed. Sternbach (Wiener Studien, xi, 1889, p. 201), E. Zeller, Gesch. d. gr. Phil., vol. ii. 1, p. 434, note 1; Galen, De Affectuum Dignotione, v. 21, and Proclus, On Providence, col. 131. 16-20 (ed. Cousin²).  

b Cf. Mor. 10 d; Cicero, Tusc. Disput. iv. 36 (78), De Re P. i. 38 (59); Valerius Maximus, iv. 1, ext. 1; Lactantius, De Ira Dei, chap. xviii. 4; Iamblichus, De Vita Pythagorica, chap. xxxi. 197; St. Jerome, Ep. lxxix. 9; Proclus, On Providence, col. 131. 20-25 (ed. Cousin²).  

c Cf. Proclus, On Providence, coll. 131, 29-132. 4 (ed. Cousin²),
(551) κατακολουθούσι καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπιδιω- 

دة kousoi: τὸν θεὸν δὲ εἰκὸς ἂς ἣν ἑφάπτηται τῇ δίκῃ 

ψυχῆς νοσοῦσης τὰ τε πάθη διορᾶν εἰ πῃ τὶ καμπτό- 

μενα πρὸς μετάνοιαν ἐνδίδωσι καὶ χρόνον γε, οἶς οὐκ ἄκρατος ὁδιέ ἄτρεπτος ἢ κακία πέφυκε, 

προσορίζειν. 2 ἄτε γὰρ εἰδῶς ὡςη μοῖραν ἄρετῆς ἢπ' αὐτοῦ φερόμεναι πρὸς γένεσιν αἱ ψυχαί βαδί- 

ζουσι, καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ὡς ἰσχυρὸν αὑταῖς καὶ οὐκ ἔξειτηλον ἐμπέφυκεν, ἐξανθεὶ δὲ τὴν κακίαν παρὰ 

φύσιν, 3 ὑπὸ τροφῆς καὶ ὁμιλίας φαύλης φθειρό- 

μενον, εἰτα θεραπευθέν ἐνίως καλῶς ἀπολαμβάνει 

Εἰ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐξιν, οὐ πάσι κατεπείγει τὴν 

τιμωρίαν ὀμοίως, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἀνήκεστον εὐθὺς 

ἐξεἰλεν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀπέκοψεν ὡς ἑτέρους γε πάν- 

τως ἠλαβερόν, αὐτῷ 4 τε ἠλαβερώτατον ἂει συνεῖναι 

μετὰ πονηρίας, οἰς δὲ ὑπ' ἀγνοιας τοῦ καλοῦ 

μᾶλλον ἡ προαιρέσει τοῦ αἰσχροῦ τὸ ἀμαρτητικὸν 

εἰκός ἐγγεγονέναι 5 δίδωσι μεταβάλλεσθαι ἑρο- 

χρόνον, εἰάν δὲ ἐπιμένοσι, καὶ τούτους ἀπέδωκε τὴν δίκην' 

οὐ γὰρ πον δέδιεν μὴ διαφύγωσιν. 

"Σκόπει δὲ ὁσι μεταβολαὶ γεγόνασιν εἰς θοδος 

ἀνδρῶν καὶ βίον· ἢ καὶ τρόπος ὁνομάσθη τὸ μετα- 

βάλλον αὐτοῦ καὶ θος, ὡς πλείστον ἐνδύεται τὸ 

F ἦθος καὶ κρατεῖ μᾶλστα καθαπτόμενον. οἴμαι μὲν

1 οἱ, οὐ] οὐι οὐι; 

2 προσορίζειν Pohlenz (from "determinare" in Proclus, 

col. 132. 15 Cousin2): προσιζάνειν. 

3 τὴν κακίαν παρὰ φύσιν G X F Z: παρὰ φύσιν τὴν κακίαν. 

4 αὐτῶ] αὐτῷ X1 F' Z N M1 v1 Y1 CW1. 

5 ἐγγεγονέναι] ἐγγεγονέναι G X1 F1 Z. 

6 μεταβάλλεσθαι G X1 F1 Z: μεταβαλέσθαι (τοῦ μεταβαλέσθαι 

7 αὐτοῦ is omitted by Stegmann after πλείστον.

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offender and set out at once in pursuit of the offence; whereas God, we must presume, distinguishes whether the passions of the sick soul to which he administers his justice will in any way yield and make room for repentance, and for those in whose nature vice is not unrelieved or intractable, he fixes a period of grace. For inasmuch as he knows what rich endowment of virtue the souls carry away from him when they proceed to birth, and how strong and indelible is their innate nobility—that it breaks out into vice against its nature, corrupted by poor nurture and evil company, but on receiving careful treatment is in some restored to its rightful condition—he does not expedite punishment for all alike, but at once removes from life and amputates what is incurable, as constant association with wickedness is certainly harmful to others, and most harmful of all to the sufferer himself; whereas to those whose sinfulness is likely to have sprung from ignorance of good rather than from preference of evil, he grants time for reform, but if they persist, these too he visits with condign punishment; for he need hardly fear they will escape.

"Consider how many changes have occurred in the characters and lives of men; this explains why the changeable part of a man's life was termed his 'bent' (tropos) and again his ethos (character), since habit (ethos) sinks very deep, and taking firm hold, wields power that is very great. I fancy indeed that the

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b Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. xxviii. 5 (633 d).

c Cf. Plato, Laws, 862 e.


e This etymology of ethos is also found in Mor. 3 a and 443 c. Cf. Aristotle, Eth. Nic. ii. 1. 1 (1103 a 17 f.).
οὗν καὶ τὸν Κέκροπα διψαὶ προσαγορεύσαι τοὺς πάλαιοὺς οὐχ, ὡς ἔνοι λέγουσιν, ἐκ χρηστοῦ βα-
sileós ἄγριον καὶ δρακοντώδη γενόμενον τύραν-
nον, ἀλλὰ τούναντιν ἐν ἀρχῇ σκολιὸν ὄντα καὶ
φοβερόν, εἰθ᾽ ύστερον ἀρξαντά πρᾶς καὶ φιλαν-
θρώπος. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ἀδηλον, ἀλλὰ Γέλωνα γε
"ομεν καὶ Ἰέρωνα τοὺς Σικελιώτας καὶ Πεισό-
στρατον τὸν Ἰπποκράτους ὅτι πονηρία κτησάμενοι

552 τυραννίδας ἔχρησαντο πρὸς ἀρετὴν αὐταῖς καὶ
παρανόμως ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν ἑλθόντες, ἐγένοντο μέτριοι
καὶ δημοφιλεῖς ἀρχόντες, οἱ μὲν εὐνομίαν τε
πολλὴν καὶ γῆς ἐπιμέλειαν παρασχόντες αὐτοὺς τε
σώφρονας τοὺς πολῖτας καὶ φιλεργοὺς ἐκ πολυ-
gελων¹ καὶ λάλων κατασκευάσαντες, Γέλων δὲ
καὶ προπολεμήσας² ἀριστα καὶ κρατήσας μάχη
μεγάλη Καρχηδονίων, οὐ πρότερον εἰρήνην ἐπονή-
σατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς δεομένους ἥ καὶ τοῦτο ταῖς
συνθήκαις περιλαβεῖν, ὅτι παύσονται τὰ τέκνα τῷ
Κρόνῳ καταβύντες. ἐν δὲ Μεγάλῃ Πόλει Λυδιάδας

Β ἦν τύραννος, εἰ κ᾽ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τυραννεῖν μεταβαλ-
lόμενος³ καὶ δυσχεράνις τὴν ἀδικίαν ἀπέδυκε μὲν
τοὺς νόμους τοῖς πολῖτας, μαχόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τοὺς
πολεμίους⁴ ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιφανῶς ἔπεσεν.
εἰ δὲ τοὺς ἢ τύραννον ἀπέκτεινεν Μιλτιάδην ἐν
Χερρονήσῳ πρότερον, ἡ Κίμωνα συνόντα τῇ ἁδελφῇ

¹ πολυγελών nos (polygelōn Cobet) : πολυγελων.
² προπολεμήσας X³ Μ⁰ : προπολεμήσας.
³ μεταβαλόμενος] μεταβαλόμενος X³ F M² v Y².
⁴ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους] τοῖς πολεμίοις M¹.

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¹ Cecrops, the first king of Attica, was half man and half
serpent : cf. Eusebius, Chronicon, ii, p. 24. 27 (ed. Schoene),
ancients called Cecrops twy-formed not, as some say, because from a good king he changed into a savage and snakelike tyrant, but on the contrary because he began with devious and fearsome courses and ended by ruling with mildness and humanity. Yet if this is uncertain, we at all events have knowledge of Geron and Hieron the Siceliots, and Peisistratus, son of Hippocrates; we know that after coming to tyrannical power by foul means, they used that power nobly, and after defying the laws to obtain sovereignty, turned out to be sovereigns that were and beneficent to their subjects. Thus Hieron and Peisistratus maintained good order everywhere, promoted husbandry, and created in the people themselves a new sobriety and industry in place of their old derisive and loquacious ways, while Geron was furthermore a stout champion of his country, and after defeating the Carthaginians in a great battle refused their suit for peace until he had added to the treaty the provision that they should no longer sacrifice their children to Cronus. In Megalopolis Lydiadas ruled as tyrant, and it was in the midst of his tyrannical rule that the change in him occurred. Finding that he had no stomach for injustice, he restored their legal government to his countrymen, and while defending his native land against the enemy fell gloriously in battle. If someone had killed Miltiades earlier, when he was tyrant in the Chersonese, or had prosecuted and convicted

\[ b \] Much the same point is also made in Mor. 175 A.

\[ c \] Cf. Mor. 175 A; Theophrastus quoted in the scholia on Pindar, Pythian Odes, ii. 2; Porphyry, De Abstinencia, ii. 56.

\[ d \] Cf. Lives of Agis and Cleomenes, chap. xxviii. 4 (807 D), and Life of Aratus, chap. xxx. 1-8 (1041 A-D).
(552) διώξας εἶλεν, ἦ Θεμιστοκλέους ἐφ’ οίς ἀσελγαίνων ἐκώμαζε καὶ υβρίζε δι’ ἀγορᾶς ἀφείλετο τὴν πόλιν ὡς ύστερον Ἀλκιβιάδο γραψάμενος, ἃρ’ οὐκ ἂν ἀπωλώλεσαν ἢμῖν οἱ Μαραθώνες, οἱ Εὐρυμέδοντες, τὸ καλὸν Ἀρτεμίσιον,

ο̣θὶ παῖδες Ἀθαναίων ἐβάλοντο φαννὰν κρητιδ’ ἐλευθερίας;

C οὐθέν γὰρ αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις μικρὸν ἐκφέρουσιν, οὐδὲ ἀργεί δι’ ἰξύτητα τὸ σφοδρὸν εἰν αὐταῖς καὶ δραστήριον, ἀλλ’ ἐν σάλῳ διαφέρονται πρὶν εἰς τὸ μόνιμον καὶ καθεστηκὸς ἥθος ἔλθειν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ γεωργίας ἀπειρός οὐκ ἂν ἀστάσαυτο χώραν ἑών λόχμης ἐμπλεως δασείας καὶ φυτῶν ἀγρίων καὶ θηρία πολλά καὶ θέματα καὶ πολὺν ἕχουσαν πηλόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μεμαθηκότι διαυθάνεσθαι καὶ κρίνειν αὐτὰ ταύτα τὴν ἱσχὺν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος3 ὑποδέκνυτο καὶ τὴν μαλακότητα τῆς γῆς, οὕτως ἄτοπα πολλὰ D καὶ φαιλα προεξανθοῦσιν αἱ μεγάλαι φύσεις, ὅν ἡμεῖς μὲν εὕθες τὸ τραχὺ καὶ νῦττον οὐ φέροντες, ἀποκόπτειν οἴομεθα δεῖν καὶ κολούειν, ὃ δὲ βελτίων κριτῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸ χρηστὸν ἐνορῶν4 καὶ γενναῖον περιμένει λόγου καὶ ἀρετῆς συνεργὸν ἡλικίαν, καὶ ὥραν ἦ τὸν οὐκεῖον ἡ φύσις καρπὸν ἀποδίδοσι.

7. "Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ταύτη. τὸν δ’ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ νόμον ἃρ’ οὖκ εἰκότως ὑμῖν ἀπογράφασθαι δοκοῦσιν

1 ἀπωλώλεσαν a bc: the rest have ἀπωλώλεσαν or corruptions of it.
2 Ἀθαναίων Böckh: ἀθηναίων.
3 τὸ πλῆθος Wilamowitz (τὸ βάθος Pohlenz): πάνθ’ δεα.
4 τὸ χρηστὸν ἐνορῶν G X F Z: ἐνορῶν τὸ χρηστὸν.

a Cf. Life of Cimon, chap. iv. 6 (480 f).
Cimon for incest with his sister,\textsuperscript{a} or had indicted Themistocles and driven him from Athens, as was later done to Alcibiades, for his insolent revelling in the market-place,\textsuperscript{b} should we not have lost our Marathons, our Eurymedons, and glorious Artemisium,

Where Athens' sons laid freedom's bright foundation?\textsuperscript{c}

For great natures bring forth nothing trivial, and the vigour and enterprise in them is too keen to remain inert; nay, they drift about on heavy seas before coming to rest in their abiding and settled character.\textsuperscript{d} And so, as one ignorant of agriculture, on seeing a piece of ground overgrown with dense thickets and weeds, overrun with wild animals and water-courses, and covered with mud,\textsuperscript{e} would not find it to his liking, while to him who has learned to discriminate and judge these very circumstances reveal the vigour, depth, and looseness of the soil, so great natures put forth at first many strange and villainous shoots, and we, at once impatient of their rough and thorny quality, fancy that we should clear them away and cut them short; whereas the better judge discerns even in this their good and noble strain, and waits for them to reach the maturity that lends support to reason and virtue and the season when their nature yields her proper fruit.

7. "Let us pass to another point. Do you not think that certain Greeks did well to copy the

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Athenaeus, 533 \textsuperscript{d} and 576 \textsuperscript{c}.
\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Athenaeus, 533 \textsuperscript{d} and 576 \textsuperscript{c}.
\textsuperscript{c} Pindar, Frag. 77 (ed. Schroeder); cf. also Mor. 350 \textsuperscript{b} and note.
\textsuperscript{d} Cf. Life of Themistocles, chap. ii. 7 (112 \textsuperscript{e}); Life of Demetrius, chap. i. 7-8 (889 \textsuperscript{c}); Plato, Republic, 491 \textsuperscript{e}.
\textsuperscript{e} The same comparison occurs in Mor. 528 \textsuperscript{c-d}.
(552) ἕνοι τῶν Ἐλλήνων, δι' χελεύει τὴν ἔγκυον, ἀν ἀλῷ θανάτου, μέχρι τέκη φυλάττειν;

"Πάνυ μὲν οὖν," ἐφασαν.

Εἶπον οὖν ἐγώ, "εἰ1 δὲ παιδία μή κυοὶ2 τις, Ἐ ἀλλὰ πράξειν ἡ βουλήν ἀπόρρητον εἰς φῶς ἥλιον δυνατός εἰη3 προαγαγεῖν χρόνω καὶ ἀναδείξαι, κακὸν τι μηνύσας λανθάνον ἡ σωτηρίου γνώμης γενόμενος σύμβουλος ἡ χρείας εὑρετῆς ἀναγκαίας, οὐκ ἀμείνων ὁ περιμείνας τῇ τιμωρίᾳ4 τὸ χρήσιμον τοῦ προανελόντος; ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ," ἔφην,5 "δοκεῖ." "Καὶ ἡμῖν,"6 ο Πατροκλέας εἶπεν.

"Ὅρθως," ἔφην7. "σκόπει γάρ, εἰ Διονύσιος ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς τυραννίδος ἐδωκε δίκην, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἀν Ἐλλήνων ὧκει Σικελίαν, ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίων γενομένην, ὥσπερ οὖδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν οὖδ' Ἀνακτόριον οὐδὲ τὴν Λευκάδιαν χερρόνησον ὤκουν F ἀν8 Ἐλλήνες εἰ Περίανδρος ἐκολάσθη μὴ μετὰ πολύν χρόνον. οὐμαί δὲ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ γενέσθαι τῇ δίκης ἀναβολὴν ὅπως αἱ Θῆβαι συνοικῶνται τάλιν. τῶν δὲ τοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν συγκαταλαβόντων ξένων οἰ πολλοὶ Τιμολέοντι συνδιαβάντες εἰς Σικελίαν, οτὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐνίκησαν καὶ κατέλυσαν

1 ei] εἰαν Bern.
2 κύοι ζ and Paton : κῦει G X F Z Vv; κύη Kontos and Hatzidakis cite κυεῖθαί (Mor. 770 λ) for the accent.
3 εἰη Paton : ἦ (ἡ N1; εἰ Z Ry l).
4 τῇ τιμωρίᾳ nos (πρὸ τῆς τιμωρίας? Post) : τῆς τιμωρίας.
5 ἐφη X3 qflp : ἔφη.
6 ἡμῖν G2 S K1 Y2 : ἡμῶν.
7 ἔφη X3 : ἔφη (omitted in Ry K Y3).
8 ἀν G X F Z Vv : omitted in the rest.
9 ei . . . μὴ μετὰ G X F Z M2 Vv : εἰ μη . . . μετὰ.

a Cf. Diodorus, i. 77. 9-10; Aelian, Var. Hist. v. 18; 206
Egyptian law which provides that a pregnant woman under sentence of death shall be kept in prison until she has borne her child?" a

"Assuredly," they replied.

"If a person," I continued, "instead of having children to bring into the world, should be capable of eventually bringing forth to the light of day some hidden action or plan and of publishing it for all to see, reporting some unnoticed evil or imparting salutary advice or making some discovery of general use, is not he who waits for the benefit before punishing such a person better than he who kills him first? I for one think so," I said.

"And so do we," Patrocleas replied.

"And you are right," I said. "Consider: if Dionysius had met with his deserts when his tyranny began, no Greek would now be living in Sicily, which the Carthaginians would have laid waste b; so, too, no Greeks would now be living in Apollonia, in Anactorium, or on the peninsula of Leucas, if the punishment of Periander had not been long deferred. c Cassander too, I think, was reprieved so that Thebes might become a city again. d Of the mercenaries who helped to seize this temple e the greater part, crossing over to Sicily with Timoleon, f defeated the Carthaginians and overthrew the tyrants before Pharo, De Virtutibus, 139; Clement, Strom. ii. 18. 93. 2; Quintilian, Deel. cclxxvii. For a similar provision in Roman law cf. Julius Paulus, Sent. I tit. 12. 5, and Ulpian in the Digesta Iustiniani Augusti, xlviii. 19. 3.

b Cf. the eighth Platonic Epistle, 353 A-B.
d Cassander restored Thebes (which had been destroyed by Alexander) in 316.
e The temple of Apollo at Delphi: cf. 560 c, infra.
f Cf. Life of Timoleon, chap. xxx. 6-9 (251 A-C).
(552) τὰς τυραννίδας, ἐξώλοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ κακῶς ὑστερον. ἐνίοις γὰρ ἁμέλει καὶ κολαστάις ἔτερων πονηρῶν, οἶνον δημοκοίνους, ἀπεχρήσατο τὸ δαμόνιον, εἶτ' ἐπέτρυφεν, καθάπερ οἶμαι τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους. ὑστερ ἡ γὰρ υαίνης χολή καὶ φώκης
553 πυτία,2 θηρίων τάλλα μιράον, ἔχουσι τι πρὸς τὰς νόσους χρήσιμον, οὕτως ἐνίοις δήμοις δηγμοῦ3 δειμένοις καὶ κολάσεως ἐμβαλῶν ὁ θεὸς πικρῶν τινὰ τυράννου δυσμελικτὸν καὶ τραχύτητα χαλεπὴν4 ἀρχοντος, οὐ πρότερον ἐξεῖλε τὸ λυποῦν καὶ ταράττον ἢ τὸ νοσοῦν ἀπαλάξαι καὶ καθάραι. τοιουτο καὶ Φάλαρις ἦν 'Ακραγαντίνοις φάρμακον καὶ Ῥω-μαίους Μάριους. Σικυωνίους δὲ καὶ διαρρήδην ὁ θεὸς προεῖπεν μαστιγονόμων δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὅτε Τελητίαν5 παῖδα στεφανούμενον ἐν Πυθλοῖς ἀφαιρούμενοι Κλεωναίων ὡς ἰδιον πολίτην διέσπα-Β σαν. ἀλλὰ Σικυωνίους μὲν ὁΡθαγόρας γενόμενος τύραννος καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνον οἶ περὶ Μύρωνα καὶ Κλεισθένη τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἑπαυσάν. Κλεωναίοι δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς οὐ τυχόντες ἰατρείας εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἥκουσιν. καὶ Ὀμήρου δὲ ποὺ λέγουντο ἀκούετε·

tου γένετ' ἐκ πατρὸς πολὺ χείρονος νῦὸς ἁμείνων παντοῦν ἀρετὴν6.

καὶ τοῦ λαμπρὸν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκπρεπές7 ἐργὸν ἐκεῖνος

1 καὶ αὐτοὶ F: the rest omit.
2 πυτία] πυτία G1 X3 hki.
3 ἐνίοις δήμοις δηγμοῦ Plasberg (δήμοις δηγμοῦ Klostermann): ἐνίοις δηγμοῦ.
4 χαλεπὴν G1 X3 Ry K: λεπτὴν.
5 Τελητίαν] Τελευτίαν? Wilamowitz.
6 παντοῦν ἀρετὴν] most mss. of Homer have παντοῖας ἀρετὰς.
7 ἐκπρεπές Wyttenbach: εὑπρεπές.
perishing miserably in their turn. Indeed the Deity has actually made use of some of the wicked as chastisers of others—public executioners, one might say—and then blasted them; this is true, I believe, of most tyrants. For as the gall of the hyena and rennet of the seal—animals unclean in all else—have a certain efficacy in disease, so God has fastened on certain peoples in need of an irritant and of chastening the bitter application of a tyrant's unyielding harshness and a ruler's cruel anger, and has not removed the pain and distress until he has expelled the disorder and purged it away. Such a medicine was Phalaris for the Agrigentines and Marius for the Romans. To the Sicyonians the god even declared in plain terms that the city needed 'pliers of the lash' when, claiming the boy Teletias as their own countryman while he was receiving the crown at the Pythian games, in their attempt to wrest him from the Cleonaeans they tore him to pieces. But the Sicyonians, when Orthagoras became tyrant and after him Myron and Cleisthenes, were checked in their wantonness; whereas the Cleonaeans, who were not granted such a cure, have come to nothing. You doubtless all recall the words of Homer:

From that far baser sire a better son
In every excellence was sprung.

Yet that son of Copreus accomplished no splendid

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*b* Cf. *Mor.* 1065 b.


*d* Cf. Diodorus, viii. 24.

*e* The story is not found elsewhere.

*f* *Il.* xv. 641 f.
Sisyphus, "wiliest of men" (Homer, II. xv. 153), was grandfather of Bellerophon (vi. 155), who in turn was grandfather of Glaucus and Sarpedon (vi. 199, 206). In later literature Sisyphus was held to have been the real father of Odysseus (cf. Mor. 301 d with the note in the L.C.L. and 992 e).
or remarkable deed, while the stock of Sisyphus,\(^a\) of Autolycus,\(^b\) and of Phlegyas\(^c\) came to flower in the glories and virtues of great kings. And at Athens Pericles came of a family that lay under a curse \(^d\); at Rome Pompey the Great was son of Strabo, whose corpse the Roman people in its hate cast out and trampled under foot.\(^e\) Where then is the absurdity, if, as a farmer does not cut away the prickly plant \(^f\) until he has culled its edible shoots, and the Libyans do not set fire to their shrub until they have gathered from it the gum ladanum, so God too does not destroy the rank and thorny root of a glorious and royal race until it has borne its proper fruit? Better for the Phocians to have lost ten thousand cows and mares of Iphitus,\(^g\) and for still more gold and silver to have vanished from Delphi, than that Odysseus and Asclepius should never have been born or those others who, sprung of a base and wicked line, turned out to be men of virtue and authors of great benefits.

8. "Do you not think it better that punishments should take place at a fitting time and in a fitting

\(^a\) Autolycus, who "excelled all men in thievish and perjury" (Homer, Od. xix. 394-396), was the maternal grandfather of Odysseus (xix. 395).

\(^b\) Phlegyas burned the temple of Apollo at Delphi (cf. a scholium on Statius, Thebaid, i. 713; Servius on Aeneiâ, vi. 618; Eusebius, Chronicorum Canonum Liber, pp. 32 f. Schoene). He was the maternal grandfather of Asclepius.

\(^c\) Cf. Thucydidês, i. 127.

\(^d\) Cf. Life of Pompey, chap. i. 2 (619 b).


\(^f\) According to a scholium on Homer, Od. xii. 22, Autolycus stole the twelve mares of Iphitus with their mule foals. Plutarch identifies this Iphitus, son of Eurytus, with Iphitus the Phocian (Homer, Íl. ii. 518, xvii. 306).
καὶ παραχρῆμα νομίζεις, οἷον ἔστι τὸ κατὰ Κάλ-
λιππον, ὃ ξυφιδίῳ φίλος εἶναι δοκῶν ἀπέκτεινε
Δίωνα, τούτῳ πάλιν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀπο-
θανεῖν, καὶ τὸ Μίτυνος τοῦ Ἀργείου κατὰ στάσιν
ἀναρεθέντος ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐν ἄγορᾷ θέας
οὐσις ἐμπεσεὶν τῷ κτείναι τὸν Μίτυν̂ καὶ ἀν-
elείν; καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν Βέσσον τὸν Παίωνα καὶ
'Αρίσταμα τὸν Οἰταίον ξεναγόν οἴσθα δὴπουθεν,
ὁ Πατροκλέα."
manner rather than speedily and at once? That Callippus, for example, should have been murdered by his friends with the very dagger with which, a seeming friend, he murdered Dion, and that the bronze statue of Mitys the Argive, who had met his death in a factious quarrel, should in the course of a spectacle in the market-place have fallen on his slayer and killed him? I presume you also know, Patrocleas, the stories of Bessus the Paeonian and Ariston of Oeta, the captain of mercenaries."

"Indeed I do not," he replied. "But I should like to hear them."

"Ariston," I said, "with the tyrants' leave, took down the jewels of Eriphylê, which had been dedicated here, and carried them off as a present to his wife. His son, incensed at his mother for some reason, set fire to the house, and all who were in it perished in the conflagration. As for Bessus, the story goes that he killed his father and long went unsuspected. At last, when he had come to dine at a certain house, he prodded a swallow's nest with his spear, knocked it down, and killed the nestlings. The rest naturally asked: 'What is wrong with you, man? What is the meaning of such strange behaviour?' To this he answered: 'Why, haven't they all along accused me falsely and denounced me for killing my father?' The company was astonished

a Cf. Life of Dion, chap. lviii. 6-7 (983 D).


c The Phocian leaders who seized and plundered Delphi in the Third Sacred War.

d At Delphi.

e Cf. Diodorus, xvi. 64. 2, and Parthenius, chap. xxv. Ariston's wife, like Eriphylê, met death at the hands of her son.
(553) παρόντες τὸν λόγον ἐμήνυσαν τῷ βασιλεί, καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἐξελεγχθέντος ἐτισεν ὁ Βέσσος τὴν δίκην.

9. "Ἄλλα ταύτα μέν," ἐφην, "ἡμεῖς λέγομεν, ὥσπερ ἥξιωται, γιγνεσθαί τινα τῆς τιμωρίας ἀναβολήν ὑποθέμενοι τοὺς πονηροὺς· τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου χρῆ νομίζειν ἀκροάσθαι λέγοντος οὐχ ἦν Πλάτων, ἀκόλουθον εἶναι τιμωρίαν ἀδικίας πάθην,

554 ἀλλ' ἡλικιώτων ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁμοθέν χώρας καὶ βίωτος συνυποφυμένην· 'ἡ γὰρ 'κακή', φησί, 'βουλὴ τῷ βουλεύσαντι κακίστη' καὶ ὃς δ' ἄλλω κακὰ τεῦχει, ἐώς κακὸν ἦπατι τεῦχει.

ἡ μὲν γὰρ κανθαρίς ἐν αὐτῇ λέγεται τὸ βοηθητικὸν ἐκ τινος ἀντιπαθείας ἔχειν συγκεκραμένον, ἢ δὲ πονηρία συγγεννώσα τὸ λυποῦν ἑαυτῇ καὶ κολάζον, οὐχ ὥστεν ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὑβρεὶ τὴν δίκην τοῦ ἀδίκειν δίδωσιν· καὶ τῷ μὲν σώματι τῶν κολα-

Β ξομένων ἐκαστος κακούργων ἐκφέρει τὸν αὐτοῦ σταυρόν, ἢ δὲ κακία τῶν κολαστηρίων ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ ἐκαστόν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκτάνεται, δεινή τισ' ὁδόν βίου δημιουργὸς οἰκτροῦ καὶ σὺν αἰσχύνη φόβους

1 πάθην Χ3: παθείν (σπάθην G4).
2 ἑαυτῇ] ἐν αὐτῇ F Ry N (ἐν ἑαυτῇ S).
3 κακούργων Χ3 D: τῶν κακούργων.
4 δεινή τισ'] δεινοῦ ἢ τις D; δεινότης Ry.
5 βίου] omitted in G.
6 οἰκτροῦ καὶ F3 Ry hki N2 C1: οἰκτοῦ καὶ G Χ1 F1 Z I (οἰ- Ν1) M Y1 W R1; οἰκτοῦ Β1 v; οἰκτοῦς D V2; οἰκτοῦς καὶ Χ3 Y2.

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b Hesiod, Works and Days, 266; quoted also in Mor. 36 a.
c Instead of Works and Days, 265, Plutarch by a slip of
at these words and reported them to the king. The truth was discovered, and Bessus suffered the penalty.

9. "But hitherto," I said, "the arguments have been our own, and rest on an assumption that the punishment of the wicked is deferred; what remains to be said we must imagine we hear from Hesiod, who does not say with Plato that punishment is a suffering following upon injustice, but holds it to be coeval with injustice, springing up with it from the selfsame soil and root. Thus he says that

The evil plan is worst for him that planned it

and

He that devises ill for other men
For his own vitals does the ill devise.

For whereas the blister beetle is reported to contain, mixed within itself, its own remedy, which operates by a sort of counteraction, wickedness engenders with itself its pain and punishment, and thus pays the penalty of its wrongdoing not later, but at the very moment of commission; and whereas every criminal who goes to execution must carry his own cross on his back, vice frames out of itself each instrument of its own punishment, cunning artisan that it is of a life of wretchedness containing with

memory quotes a similar verse found in Lucilius (Anth. Pal. xi. 183. 5); cf. Callimachus, Aetia, i, frag. 2. 5 (ed. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949).

d Cantharis vesicatoria, L. The beetle, used as a medicament, was poisonous when taken internally. Cf. Mor. 22 a-b and Galen, De Simpl. Med. Temp. ac Fac. iii. 23 (vol. xi, p. 609 Kühn).

e Cf. John xix. 17 and Artemidorus, On the Interpretation of Dreams, ii. 56.

f Cf. Mor. 498 c-d.
(554) τε πολλούς καὶ μεταμελείας καὶ πάθη χαλεπὰ\(^1\) καὶ ταραχὰς ἀπαύστους ἔχοντος. ἀλλ’ οὔθεν\(^2\) ἐνιοῦ διαφέρουσι παιδαρίων, ἃ τοὺς κακούργους ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις θεώμενα, πολλάκις ἐν χιτώσι διαχρύσους καὶ χλαμυδίους ὁλουργοῖς ἐστεφανωμένους καὶ πυρ-ριχίζοντας, ἅγαται καὶ τέθησεν ὡς μακαρίους ἄχρι οὔ κεντούμενοι καὶ μαστίγουμενοι καὶ πῦρ ἀνείνετε· ἐκ τῆς ἀνθίνης\(^3\) ἐκείνης καὶ πολυτελοῦς ἔσθητος.

C ὀφθώσιν. οἱ γὰρ πολλοὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οὐκίας περι-βεβλημένοι μεγάλας καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δυνάμεις περι-φανείς λανθάνουσιν ὧτι κολάζονται πρὶν ἃν φθώσιν\(^4\) ἀποσφαγέντες ὡ κατακρημνιοθέντες· ἀπερ\(^5\) ἂν τις οὔ τις τιμωρίαν ἐἴποι, πέρας δὲ τιμωρίας καὶ συν-τέλειαν. ὥσπερ γὰρ Ἡρόδικον τὸν Σηλυμβριανὸν εἰς φθίσιν, ἀνήκεστον πάθος, ἔμπεσόντα καὶ μίξαντα πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων γυμναστικὴν ἰατρικὴν φήσιν\(^6\) ὁ Πλάτων μακρὸν\(^7\) ποιήσαι τὸν θάνατον αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοίως νοσοῦσιν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν ὅσοι τὴν παραυτίκα πληγὴν ἐκφυγεῖν ἐδοξαῖν, οὐ μετὰ πλείονα χρόνον ἀλλ’ ἐν πλείον χρόνῳ τιμωρίαν.

D μακροτέραν, οὐ βραδυτέραν, τίνους, οὐδὲ γηρά-σαντες ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ’ ἐγνήσαν κολαζόμενοι. λέγω δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πολὺν χρόνον· ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε θεοῖς πᾶν ἀνθρωπίνου βίου διάστημα τὸ μηδέν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ νῦν ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸ ἑτῶν τριάκοντα

\(^{1}\) met., καὶ πάθη X, G X F Z I Vv: πάθη χ. καὶ met.
\(^{2}\) οὔθεν G X F Z I Vv: οὔθεν.
\(^{3}\) ἀνθίνης G X\(^1\) F\(^3\) I N\(^2\) W\(^R\) (confirming Kontos and Hatzidakis): ἀνθίνης F\(^1\) R K\(^{ac}\) N\(^1\) M\(^2\) (ἀθ-Μ\(^1\)) Y C; ἀνθεϊνής X\(^3\) D y S K\(^e\) hki Vv.
\(^{4}\) ἃν φθώσιν Vossianus 2\(^{sm}\): ἃν ὀφθώσιν X\(^3\) F I V Y\(^3\); ἃν φθάσασιν D; ἀναφθώσιν (ἀν ὀφθώσιν, ἃν ἀφθώσιν).
\(^{5}\) ἀπερ] ἀσπερ X\(^1\) F\(^1\) Z I N\(^2\)(ωσ- N\(^1\)) M\(^1\) Y\(^1\).
\(^{6}\) φήσιν X\(^3\) D: ὡς φήσιν.
infamy a host of terrors, regrets, cruel passions, and never-ending anxieties. Yet some there are no wiser than little children, who see criminals in the amphitheatre, clad often in tunics of cloth of gold and purple mantles, wearing chaplets and dancing Pyrrhic measures, and struck with awe and wonderment suppose them supremely happy, till the moment when before their eyes the criminals are stabbed and scourged and that gay and sumptuous apparel bursts into flame.\(^a\) For in most cases it is not suspected that the wicked, when arrayed in greatness of family and office and in positions of splendid power, are suffering punishment, until, before we know it, they are slaughtered or hurled down a precipice, and this one would not call punishment, but the end and consummation of punishment. For as Herodicus of Selymbria, who had fallen ill of phthisis, an incurable disease, and was the first to combine gymnastics with medicine, devised for himself and for others similarly afflicted, as Plato\(^b\) says, a 'lingering death,' so likewise those of the wicked who appear to have escaped the immediate blow, pay not after, but during, a longer period\(^c\) a penalty more lasting, not more delayed, and have not been punished on growing old, but have grown old in punishment. When I speak of a long period I mean it relatively to ourselves, as for the gods any length of human life is but nothing,\(^d\) and to put the evildoer on the rack or hang

\(^a\) The apparel is the tunica molesta: cf. L. Friedlaender, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*\(^g\) (Leipzig, 1920), ii, p. 91.

\(^b\) *Republic*, 406 A-B.

\(^c\) Cf. Proclus, *On Providence*, col. 130. 8-10 (ed. Cousin\(^2\)).


\(^7\) \(\text{μακρόν} \) \(\text{μακράν} \) G X¹ F Z I N M Vv Y¹ WR.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(554) τοιούτων ἐστιν οἷον τὸ δεῖλης ἀλλὰ μὴ πρωὶ στρεβλοῦν ἡ κρεμαννύναι τὸν πονηρὸν, ἀλλως τε καὶ φρουρούμενον ἐν τῷ βίω καθάπερ εἰρκτῇ μηδεμίαν μετανάστασιν ἔχουση μηδὲ διάφευξιν, εὐωχίας δὲ πολλὰς διὰ μέσου καὶ πραγματείας καὶ δόσεις καὶ χάριτας ἀμέλει καὶ παιδίας, ὦσπερ ἐν δεσμωτηρίω κυβευόντων ἡ πεπτευόντων ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τοῦ σχοινίου κρεμαμένου.

10. "Καίτοι τί κωλύει μηδὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ ἔκαθεργυμένους φάναι κολάζεσθαι μέχρι οὗ τις ἀποκόψῃ τόν τραχήλον, μηδὲ τὸν πεπωκότα τὸ κάωνειν εἴτε περιόντα καὶ προσμένοντα βάρος ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς σκέλεσιν αὐτοῦ πρὶν ἡ τὴν συνάπτουσα ἀναισθησία σβέσιν καὶ πῆξιν καταλαβεῖν, εἰ τὸν ἐσχατὸν τῆς τιμωρίας καίρον ἡγούμεθα τιμωρίαν, τὰ δὲ ἐν μέσω παθήματα καὶ φόβους καὶ προσδοκίας καὶ μεταμελείας οἷς ἀδικήσας ἐκαστος ἐνέχεται τῶν πονηρῶν παραλείπομεν, ὦσπερ ἰχθύν καταπεπωκότα τὸ ἀγκιστρον οὐ φάσκοντες ἐαλωκέναι πρὶν ὑπὸ τῶν μαγείρων ὀπτώμενον ἵδωμεν ἡ καταστεμνόμενον; ἐχεται γὰρ ἐκαστος ἀδικήσας τῇ δίκῃ, καὶ τὸ γλυκὺ τῆς ἀδικίας ὦσπερ δέλεαρ εὐθὺς ἐξεδήδοκεν, τὸ δὲ συνειδός ἐγκειμενον ἐξων καὶ ἀποτίνον,

θύννος βολαῖος πέλαγος ὡς διαστροβεί.

ἡ γὰρ ἠταμότης ἑκείνη καὶ τὸ θραυντὴς κακίασ

1 καθειργυμένους] καθειργυμένους G K v ξ.
2 ἀποκόψῃ[ -ει G¹ X¹ I S N Y (ἀποκόψοι D).
3 περιόντα Z I D² : περιόντα.
4 ἱδωμεν] ἱδομεν X¹ Z I N Y¹ ; εἰδομεν G¹ M.
5 ἀποτίνον I Mras Yras C (ἀποτίνον X³ Ry Vv); ἀποτείνον K ; ἀποκτείνον ξ : ἀποτίνων (ἀποτείνων hki),
him now, and not thirty years ago, is like doing it in the evening and not in the morning, especially as he is shut up in his life as in a prison-house affording no removal or escape, although it allows in the interval much feasting and transaction of business, much conferring and receiving of favours, and indeed many pastimes, as when prisoners play at dice or draughts with the rope hanging overhead.

10. "And yet what is to keep us from denying that even prisoners under sentence of death are punished until their necks are severed, or that one who has drunk the hemlock and is walking about, waiting for his legs to become heavy, is punished until he is overtaken by the chill and rigor that immediately precede the loss of all sensation, if we account as punishment only the final moment of punishment and ignore the intervening sufferings, terrors, forebodings, and pangs of remorse to which every wicked man, once he has done evil, is prey, as if we denied that a fish which has swallowed the hook is caught until we see it set to broil or cut in pieces by the cook? For every man, on doing wrong, is held fast in the toils of justice; he has snapped up in an instant the sweetness of his iniquity, like a bait, but with the barbs of conscience embedded in his vitals and paying for his crime,

He, like a stricken tunny, churns the sea."

For the proverbial aggressiveness and boldness of

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*d* Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Adespota, 391; also quoted in the *Life of Lucullus*, chap. i. 5 (491 Ῥ).
(554) ἀχρὶ τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἴσχυρόν ἐστὶ καὶ πρόχειρον, 555 εἶτα, τοῦ πάθους ὄσπερ πνεύματος ὑπολείποντος, ἀσθενεῖς καὶ ταπεινοῖς ὑποπίπτει τοῖς φόβοις καὶ ταῖς δεισιδαιμονίαις: ὡστε πρὸς τὰ γιγνόμενα1 καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἁλήθειαν ἀποπλάττεσθαι τὸ τῆς Κλυταιμνήστρας2 ἐνύπνιον τὸν Στησίχορον, οὕτωσὶ πῶς λέγοντα ἑπάνη.

τὰ δὲ3 δράκων ἐδόκησε μολεῖν κάρα βεβροτωμένος ἄκρον,

ἐκ δ’ ἀρα τοῦ βασιλεὺς Πλεισθενίδας ἑφάνη.

καὶ γὰρ ὀφεὶς ἐνυπνίων καὶ φάσματα μεθημερινὰ καὶ χρησμοὶ καὶ καταβασίαι4 καὶ ὅ τι δόξαν ἔσχεν αἰτία θεοῦ περαίνεσθαι χειμῶνας ἐπάγει καὶ φόβους ἐὰν τοῖς οὕτω διακειμένως, οἷον φασιν Ἀπολλόδωρον ποτε κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὅραν ἐκδερόμενον ἐαυτὸν ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν, εἶτα καθεφόμενον, τὴν δὲ καρδίαν ἐκ τοῦ λέβητος ὑποθεγγομένην καὶ λέγουσαν, 'ἐγὼ σοι τούτων αἰτία,' καὶ πάλιν τὰς θυγατέρας διαπύρους καὶ φλεγομένας τοῖς σώμασιν κύκλῳ περὶ αὐτὸν περιτρεχοῦσας5. Ἡπαρχον δὲ τὸν Πεισιστράτου μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς τελευτῆς αἷμα προσβάλλουσαν6 αὐτῷ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἐκ τυσός φιάλης πρὸς τὸ πρόσωπον. οἱ δὲ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ

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1 γιγνόμενα G X Z: γιγνόμενα (-ονα F1).
2 Κλυταιμνήστρας N1: κλυταιμνήστρας.
3 τὰ δὲ Reiske: τάδε (omitted in Ry).
4 καταβασίαι] καταβασίαi G1 X1 F Ry S hk Y.
5 περιτρεχοῦσας] τρεχοῦσας G Vv.
6 προσβάλλουσαν hki Vv: προσβαλοῦσαν.
vice is strong and ready to hand until the evil deed is done, but thereafter, as the gale of passion dies away, it falls a weak and abject prey to terrors and superstitions; so that Stesichorus a is modelling the dream of Clytemnestra on life and reality when he speaks in this sort:

She thought a serpent came to her, its head
Smeared on the crown with blood; when lo! it changed
Into the royal Pleisthenid. b

For visions in dreams, apparitions by day, c oracles, the fall of thunderbolts, and all else that gets ascribed to the agency of God bring agonies of terror to those in this state. Thus Apollodorus, d it is said, in a dream once saw himself flayed and then boiled by Scythians, when his heart spoke from the cauldron in muffled tones and said: 'It was I that brought you to this;' and another time saw his daughters run about him with bodies glowing like coals and all aflame. And Hipparchus, son of Peisistratus, is said shortly before his death to have seen Aphroditē dashing blood into his face from a cup. e When the friends of Ptolemy

a Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii, Stesichorus, 42.
 b Interpreters differ whether this is Agamemnon, the husband she had murdered (so Jebb in his introduction to the Electra of Sophocles, p. xix), or Orestes, the son who avenged him (so Bowra, Greek Lyric Poetry, pp. 131 f.).
 d Cf. Proclus, On Providence, col. 135. 37-44 (ed. Cousin²). Apollodorus, tyrant of Cassandreia from about 279 to 276 B.C., was a byword for ferocity. The dream of being flayed and boiled is doubtless connected with the killing and eating of Callimeles (cf. 556 d infra and note), while that of the blazing daughters may be connected with the incident told in Poly- aenus, vi. 7. 1.
 e This dream is not mentioned elsewhere; it is easily interpreted.
(555) Κηραυνοῦ φίλοι καλούμενον αὐτόν ἔώρων ἐπὶ δίκην
C ὑπὸ Σελεύκου, γυνῶν καὶ λύκων δικαζόντων, καὶ
κρέα πολλὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις διανέμοντα. 2 Παυσανίας
de Κλεονίκην ἐν Βυζαντίων παρθένον ἔλευθεραν
ὑβρεί μεταπεμφάμενος ὡς ἔξων διὰ νυκτός, εἶτα
προσιόυσαν ἐκ τινος ταραχῆς καὶ ὑποφίας ἀνελὼν,
ἐῶρα πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ὑπνοις λέγουσαν αὐτῷ

βαίνε3 δίκης ἀσον· μάλα τοι κακὸν ἀνδράσιν
ὑβρις.

οὐ παυσομένου δε τοῦ φάσματος, ὡς ἔοικεν, πλεύσας
ἐπὶ το το ψυχοπομπεῖον4 eis Ἡράκλειαν, ἱλασμοῖς τοις
καὶ χοαῖς ἀνεκαλεῖτο την ψυχῆν τῆς κόρης· ἐλθοῦσα
de eis ὤμοι εἶπεν ὅτι παύσεται τῶν κακῶν ὅταν ἐν
Λακεδαίμονι γένηται· γενόμενος δὲ, εὐθὺς ἐτελεύ-
tησεν.

D 11. ""Ωστε εἰ μηθέν ἐστὶ τῇ ψυχῇ μετὰ την
τελευτῆν, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριτος πέρας ἀπάσης καὶ
tμωρίας ὁ θάνατος, μᾶλλον ἃν τις εἰποί τοῖς ταχὺ

1 καλούμενον αὐτόν ἔώρων]. The passage is corrupt. Cf.
Proclus, col. 125. 41-44: "Ptolemaeum autem Ceraunum
vocantem amicos putare se [Post would omit se] ipsum in
somnia vocari ad iudicium a Seleuco, vultures autem ibi
considere et lupos iudices." Pohlenz suggests καλοῦντος αὐτοῦ
παραγενόμενοι νῦκτωρ οὕτως ἔξπληξαν αὐτὸν, ὥστε δοκεῖν ὅταν
καλούμενον αὐτόν. Post suggests καλοῦντος περὶ Σελεύκου
dικάξειν ἐν ὑπνοι καλούμενον αὐτόν ἔώρων.

2 διανέμοντα] διανεμωτῶν Reiske.

3 βαίνε] στείχε Life of Cimon, chap. vi. 5 (422 c).

4 πλεύσας ἐπὶ τὸ ψ.] πέμψας ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. F; ἐμβλέψας (ἐκπέμψας
V2; ἐπεμβλέψας v) ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. V1; ἐπὶ τὸ ψ. πλεύσας (πέμψας C)
W; πέμψας M2mg.

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Ceraunus were called to his presence, they beheld him suffering from the delusion that he was being called to judgement himself\(^a\) by Seleucus before a tribunal of vultures and wolves, and was serving his enemies great portions of meat.\(^b\) When Pausanias was at Byzantium, he had in his insolent lust sent for Cleonicê, a maiden of free birth, intending to keep her for the night. As she drew near, he was seized by some wild suspicion and killed her. Thereafter he often saw her in his dreams, saying to him:

Come meet thy doom; by pride are men undone.

As the apparition did not cease, he sailed (we hear) to the Passage of the Dead at Heracleia and with certain propitiatory rites and libations evoked the maiden's ghost; it appeared to him and said that his troubles would be over when he went to Lace-daemon. On going there he presently died.\(^c\)

11. "And so, if nothing exists for the soul when life is done, and death is the bourne of all reward and punishment, it is rather in its dealing with those

\(^a\) The text is corrupt and the translation conjectural. Proclus says: "And Ptolemy Ceraunus, when he summoned his friends, thought in his dreams that he was himself summoned to judgement by Seleucus. . . ."

\(^b\) Ptolemy Ceraunus murdered Seleucus in 280 B.C. Possibly the dream was suggested by the proverb τὸν (or τὴν) περὶ τῶν κρέαν (cf. Mor. 1087 B), in its fuller form λαγῶς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρέαν τρέχων "the hare runs for her meat," for which see Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroem. Gr. i, pp. 108, 270, 336 f., ii, pp. 37, 121, 496. But cf. also Prov. Coisl. 324: λύκος κρέας νέμει.

\(^c\) The story of Cleonicê is told in greater detail in the Life of Cimon, chap. vi. 4-7 (482 B-D); cf. also Frag. 1 of the Ὀμηρικά Μελέται (vol. vii, p. 99 Bern.), Aristodemus, 8. 1 (F. Jacoby, Die Frag. d. gr. Hist., Zweiter Teil, a, p. 498. 11-20), and Pausanias, iii. 17. 8-9.
(555) κολαζομένοις τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀποθνῄσκουσι μα-
lakῶς καὶ ῥαθύμως χρῆσθαι τὸ δαιμόνιον.

"Καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο φαίη τις ἐν τῷ βίῳ καὶ
tῶ χρόνῳ τῶν πονηρῶν ἐρέχειν κακὸν, ἀλλ' ἐξελεγχομένης ποὺ τῆς ἀδικίας, πράγματος ἀκάρ-
pου καὶ ἀχαρίστου καὶ χρηστοῦ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἄξιον
σπουδῆς ἀναφέροντος ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων
ἀγώνων, ἡ αἴσθησις αὐτῶν ἀνατρέπει τὴν ψυχήν.
οἷον ἑιστοροῦσι δήπον Λυσίμαχον ὑπὸ δύσης ἐκ-
βιασθέντα καὶ παραδόντα τοῖς Γέταις τὸ σῶμα
Ε καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς ἔπειν ὑποχείριος γενόμενος,
eἰπεῖν· 'φεῦ τῆς ἐμῆς κακίας, ὅσ δι' ἥδονην οὔτω
βραχείαν ἑστέρημαι βασιλείας τηλικαύτης.' καίτοι
γε πρὸς φυσικὴν πάθους ἀνάγκην ἀντιβῆναι παγ-
χάλεπόν ἑστιν· ὅταν δὲ ἀνθρωπὸς ἥ χρηματῶν
ἐνέκα πλεονεξίας ἡ φθόνῳ πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ
dυνάμεως ἡ δι' ἥδονην τινα συνουσίας ἀνομοῦν
ἐργον ἐργασάμενος καὶ δεινῶν, εἶτα τοῖ πάθους
F ἅφεις τὸ δυσώδες καὶ μανικὸς ἐν χρόνῳ καθορᾶ τὰ
αἰσχρὰ καὶ φοβερὰ τῆς ἁδικίας πάθη παραμένοντα,
χρῆσιμον δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ἀναγκαίον μηδὲ δυνησί-
φόρον, ἀρ' οὔκ εἰκὸς ἐμπίπτειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις
λογισμὸν ὡς ὑπὸ κενῆς δόξης ἡ δι' ἥδονην ἀνελεύ-
θερον καὶ ἀχάριστον ἀνατρέψας τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ
μέγιστα τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δικαῖων ἐμπέπληκεν
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offenders who meet an early punishment and death
that one would call the Divinity lax and negligent."a

"For even if one should deny any other misery in
the lives and existence of the wicked, yet, surely,
when their iniquity is put to the proof and found
a barren and thankless thing, yielding for all their
great and anxious efforts no solid or valuable return,
this realization overwhels the soul. Thus it is re-
corded, you will recall, that Lysimachus, compelled
by thirst to surrender his person and army to the
Getae, said, when he had come into their power and
had his drink: 'Alas! How base am I, who for so
brief a pleasure have lost so great a kingdom!' b
Yet a feeling enforced by nature c is very hard to
resist; but when it is for the sake of ill-gotten gain,
or from envy of political prestige and power, or to
gratify some lustful pleasure, that a man has done
a lawless and dreadful deed, and then, as he loses the
thirst and madness of his passion, sees at last that
the shame and terror of his crime endure, but nothing
useful or necessary or profitable, must it not be
brought home to him again and again that, misled
by vain opinion or lured on by an unworthy and
thankless pleasure, he has subverted the noblest and
greatest laws of mankind and poisoned his life with

a Cf. Plato, Phaedo, 107 c.
b Cf. Mor. 126 e and 183 e.
c For the distinction between innate and adventitious
desires cf. Mor. 584 e and note.

1 τῶν πονηρῶν] τὸν πονηρὸν G³.
2 παρέχεσθαι] πάσχειν Moser.
3 ποι G (X is wanting) F Z: omitted in the rest (ποτε ؟
Post).
4 αὕτων] αὐτῶν Post; Pohlenz would omit.
5 δήποτε] δή ποτε ؟ Post. 6 γε] omitted in F.
(555) αἰσχύνης καὶ ταραχῆς τοῦ βίου; ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Ἡμωνίδης ἔλεγε παίζων τὴν τοῦ ἄργυριον κιβωτοῦν εὐρίσκειν ἂεὶ πλήρῃ, τὴν δὲ τῶν χαρίτων κενῆν, οὕτως οἱ πονηροί τὴν κακίαν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς διορώντες ἑδονῆς ἡ ἕρμος· κενὴν χάριν ἐξούσης ἐλπίδος ἐρημοῦσιν, φόβῳ δὲ καὶ λυπῶν καὶ μνήμης ἀτηροῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑποψίας, ἀπιστίας δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρόν, ἂεὶ γέμουσαν ὡστε καθάπερ τῆς Ἰνοῦς ἄκουομεν ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις λεγοῦσιν, ἐφ' οἰς ἐδρασε μεταμελομένης,

φίλαι γυναῖκες, πῶς ἂν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόμους Ἀθάμαντοι οἰκήσαμι τῶν πεπραγμένων δράσασα μηδέν;

ταῦτα ἐκάστῳ τῶν πονηρῶν τὴν ψυχήν ἀναπολεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ διαλογίζεσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἐκβάσα τῆς Β μνήμης τῶν ἀδικημάτων καὶ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἐκβαλοῦσα καὶ καθαρὰ γενομένη βίον ἄλλον ἐξ ἀρχῆς βιώσειν. οὐ γάρ ἐστὶ θαρραλέον οὐδὲ ἀτυφον οὐδὲ μόνιμον καὶ βέβαιον ἐν οῖς προατεῖται τὸ πονηρόν, εἰ μὴ νὴ Διὰ σοφοῦς τινος εἶναι φήσομεν τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας· ἀλλ' οὕτως ἀναλογίαν καὶ φιλοδοξίαν περιμανῆς καὶ φθόνος ἀκρατος ἐνοικίκον.

1 ἡδονῆς D: δι' ἡδονῆς.
2 κενὴν] κενὴν τὴν Post, keeping δι'.
3 ἐλπίδος] καὶ ἐλπίδος χρηστῆς D.
4 τὸ μέλλον] τὸ μέλλον μὲν D; μὲν τὸ μέλλον CW.
5 ὡστε καθάπερ nos (ὡς γὰρ Reiske; καὶ ὥσπερ Wyttenbach): ὥσπερ.
6 ἄκουομεν (-ω-Ν) is placed here in G (X is wanting) F Z Vv; after λεγοῦσιν in D S1 hki N M Y CW; before it in Ry.
7 μηδὲν] μηδέν G (X is wanting) F Vv.
8 ταῦτα] ταῦτ' εἰκὸς Bern. (f2 and Stephanus add εἰκὸς after πονηρῶν).
9 ἄλλον] ἄλυσον F Vv.
shame and anxiety? For as Simonides \(^a\) used to jest that he found his coffer of money always full, but his coffer of thanks empty, so, when evil men see through the wickedness within them, they find it bare of pleasure, which allures for a moment with delusive hope, but always full of terrors, sorrows, dismal memories, misgiving for the future, and mistrust of the present. Hence, as we hear Ino say in the theatres, regretting her deed:

Oh, dearest women, would that once again
Within the halls of Athamas I dwelt
As one that had done nought of what is done! \(^b\)

so the thought that the soul of every wicked man revolves within itself and dwells upon is this: how it might escape from the memory of its iniquities, drive out of itself the consciousness of guilt, regain its purity, and begin its life anew. For wickedness is not confident or clear-headed or constant and steadfast in its chosen course—unless, by Heaven, we are to call evildoers wise men of a sort—; but wherever the frantic pursuit of wealth and pleasure, and wherever unmitigated envy, in the company of

\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 520 \(\alpha\) and Stobaeus, vol. iii, pp. 417 f. (ed. Hense): “A man once requested Simonides to compose an encomium for him, promising thanks, but offering no money. ‘I have two chests,’ the poet replied, ‘one for thanks, the other for money. When need arises I open the chest of thanks to find it empty, and only the other of any use.’” Cf. also a scholium on Aristophanes, Peace, 697, a scholium on Theocritus, xvi, Tzetzes, Chiliades, viii. 814-830, and Gnomologium Vaticanum 513, ed. Sternbach (Wiener Studien xi, 1889, p. 227).


\(^10\) περιμανής (or ἀπαραμύθητος) Emperius: περιμάχητος (-ον C); παράπληκτος? Post.
(556) ἢ κακοθείας, ἐνταῦθα καὶ
deισυδαιμονίαν σκοπῶν ἀνευρήσεις ὑποκαθημένην
καὶ μαλακίαν πρὸς πόνον καὶ δειλίαν πρὸς θάνατον
καὶ μετάπτωσιν ἐξεῖαν ὅρμων καὶ χαυνότητα πρὸς
C δόξαν ὑπὸ ἀλαζονείας· καὶ τοὺς ἕγοντας φοβοῦνται
καὶ τοὺς ἐπανοῦντας δεδίασων ὡς ἀδικομενοὺς τῇ
ἀπάτῃ καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς κακοῖς πολεμοῦντας ὅτι
toùς δοκοῦντας ἄγαθοὺς ἐπανοῦσι προθύμως. 
το

γὰρ σκληρῶν ἐν κακίᾳ καθάπερ ἐν φαύλῳ σιδήρῳ
σαθρόν ἐστι καὶ τὸ ἀντίτυπον εὐθραυστόν. ὃθεν ἐν

χρόνῳ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ὡς ἔχουσιν αὐτοὺς καταμανθά-

νοντες ἄχθονται καὶ δυσκολαινοῦσι καὶ προβάλ-

λονται τὸν ἑαυτῶν βίον. οὗ γὰρ δήπον παραθήκην¹

μὲν ἀποδοὺς καὶ γνώριμον ἐγγυησάμενος καὶ

πατρίδι μετὰ δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἐπίδοις καὶ

D συνεισενεγκὼν ὃ φαύλος εὐθὺς ἐστὶν ἐν μεταμελείᾳ

καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀνιάται διὰ τὸ πάντη

μεταπτωτὸν² αὐτοῦ καὶ πλανώμενον τῆς γνώμης,

καὶ κροτοῦμενοί τινες ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εὐθὺς στένου-

σιν ὑπονοστούσης τῆς φιλοδοξίας εἰς τὴν φιλαργυ-

ρίαν, οἱ δὲ καταθύνοντες ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ τυραννίσι

καὶ συνωμοσίαι, ὡς 'Ἀπόλλοδωρος, καὶ χρήματα

φίλων ἀποστεροῦντες, ὡς Γλαύκος ὁ 'Επικύδους,

ὡς μετενόουν οὐδ' ἐμίσουν ἑαυτοὺς οὐδὲ ἣμιώντο

1 παραθήκην (a variant in Herodotus, vi. 86)] παρακαταθήκην

G³ Ry S¹ α³.

2 μεταπτωτὸν D Ry (ἀμετάπτωτον S): εὐμετάπτωτον.

a Cf. Mor. 458 ε.

b Polyaeus (vi. 7. 2) records that Apollodorus butchered

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ill will or malice, take up their abode, there, on closer view, you will discover superstition lurking, with shrinking from effort, cowardice in the face of death, sudden shifting of purpose, and an empty conceit of the opinion of the world that springs from swollen vanity. Such men not only fear those who censure them, but are in terror of those who applaud them, feeling that these are wronged by them in the deception, and that they are besides the bitterest enemies of evildoers because they freely praise such as appear to be good men. For the toughness of evil, like that of defective iron, is brittle, and its hardness easily shattered.\(^a\) Hence, as in the fullness of time they come to better knowledge of their condition, they fret and repine and condemn their own way of life. For if the man of little worth, when he has returned money left to his keeping or gone surety for a friend or bestowed a free gift and contribution on his native city with honour and distinction, is at once filled with regret and distressed at his act from the erratic mobility and unsteadiness of his judgement; and if certain men on receiving applause in the theatre suddenly give a sigh, as their appetite for glory subsides, leaving behind mere love of wealth; surely those who have butchered human victims, like Apollodorus,\(^b\) in conspiracies to seize tyrannical power, or who, like Glaucus,\(^c\) son of Epicydes, have withheld sums entrusted them by friends, cannot have failed to feel remorse, to hate themselves, and a youth called Callimeles and served the flesh and blood (the last mixed in a dark wine) to his fellow-conspirators. By making them partners to the crime he secured their loyalty, and with their help became tyrant. \(Cf.\) also Diodorus, xxii. 5. 1.

\(^{a}\) \(Cf.\) Herodotus, vi. 86.
(556) τοῖς γεγενημένοις. ἐγὼ μὲν, εἰ¹ θέμις ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, οὔτε τινὸς θεῶν οὔτε ἀνθρώπων δεῖσθαι κολαστοῦν νομίζω τοὺς ἀνοσιουργοῦντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν βίον αὐτῶν.² Ε ἐξαρκεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς κακίας διεθθαρμένον ὅλον καὶ συντεταραγμένον.


"'Α γὰρ Εὐρυπίδης ἐγκαλεῖ καὶ παρρησιάζεται πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ' εἰς τοὺς ἐγγόνους τρέποντας, αὐτιάσθαι νόμιζε καὶ τοὺς σιωπῶντας Φ ἡμῶν. εἶτε γὰρ οἱ δράσαντες αὐτοὶ δίκην ἔδοσαν, οὕτων ἐτὶ δεῖ κολάζειν τοὺς μὴ ἀδικήσαντας, ὅπου δὴ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶς οὐδὲ τοὺς δράσαντας δίκαιον· εἶτε ῥαθυμία καταπροέμενοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν τοῖς πονηροῖς ὥσπερ παρὰ τῶν ἀναίτων εἰσπράττουσιν, οὐκ εὗ τῷ ᾧ ἀδίκως τῷ βραδέως ἀναλαμβάνουσιν. οἶνον ἐνταῦθα λέγεται δῆμουθεν⁷ ἐλθεῖν Λίσωπον,

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¹ εἰ G¹ (X is wanting) Z D Ry (γὰρ εἰ F : γὰρ is a corruption of ἤ): ἤ (ἡ G³mg ; ἠ N ; οὗ J¹).
² αὐτῶν] αὐτοῖς D.
³ τυχόν] τυχόν G¹ (X is wanting) F¹ Z N.
⁴ τῷ G (X is wanting) Z D S¹ N M Y¹ CW : τῷ F Ry hki (τῷ δ¹ V ; τῷ δ¹ v).
⁵ τὸ G⁴ (X is wanting) D S¹ W³ : τοῦ.
⁶ βραδέως] βραδέος G¹ (X is wanting) Ry C Vv C.

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to be distressed at what they had done. For my part, if it is not impious to say so, I hold that the perpetrators of unholy deeds need neither god nor man to punish them: their life suffices for that office, as their wickedness has wholly ruined it and plunged it into turmoil.

12. "But consider," I said, "whether my speech is not exceeding the proper limits."

"Perhaps it is," replied Timon, "in view of all that still remains for it to answer; for I am now sending the last problem into the field, like an athlete who has been waiting to engage the winner, since your discourse has done well in its bouts with the earlier problems."a

"Euripides'"b outspoken arraignment of the gods for visiting

The sins of parents on the children

you must suppose is also endorsed by those of us who keep silence. For either the actual offenders have been made to pay, and there is no further need to punish the innocent, since even the guilty may not in justice be twice punished for the same offence, or the gods have indolently allowed the punishment of the guilty to lapse, and then, at a late date, exact payment from the innocent, in which case it is not well done to retrieve the tardiness of their punishment by its injustice.c You will recall, for example, the story that Aesop came here with a sum of gold

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a Cf. 549 e, supra.

λέγεται δήποθεν Benseler (λέγεται δήπου Ry): δήποθεν (δήπου Z) λέγεται.
(556) ἔχοντα παρὰ Κροίσου χρυσίον ὁπως τε θύσηται τῷ θεῷ¹ μεγαλοπρεπῶς καὶ Δελφῶν ἐκάστω διανείμη μνᾶς τέσσαρας· ὤργῆς δὲ τινος, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτῷ² καὶ διαφορᾶς γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς, τὴν μὲν θυσίαν ἐποίησατο, τὸ δὲ χρήμα³ ἀνέπεμψεν⁴

557 εἰς Σάρδεις, ὡς οὐκ ἀξίων ὄντων ωφεληθήναι τῶν ἀνθρώπων· οἱ δὲ συνθέντες αὐτίαν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἱεροσυλίας ἀπέκτειναν ὄσαντες ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας ἑκέινης ἧν 'Ὑάμπειαν καλοῦσιν. ἐκ δὲ τούτου λέγεται μηνίσαν⁵ τὸ θείον αὐτοῖς ἀφορίαν τε γῆς ἐπαγαγεῖν καὶ νόσων ἀτόπων ἰδέαν πᾶσαν, ὡστε περιούντας ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς πανηγύρεις κηρύσσειν καὶ καλεῖν ἀεὶ τὸν Βουλόμενον ὑπὲρ Αἰσώπου δίκην λαβεῖν⁶ παρ' αὐτῶν. τρίτη δὲ γενεὰ Σάμιος Ἰδμων⁷ ἀφίκετο, γένει μὲν οὐδὲν Αἰσώπῳ προσήκων, ἀπόγονος δὲ τῶν πριμαμένων αὐτὸν ἐν Σάμῳ

Β γεγονός· καὶ τούτῳ τινὰς δῖκας δόντες οἱ Δελφοὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐξ ἑκείνου δὲ φασίν καὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν τῶν ἱεροσύλων ἐπὶ τὴν Αὐλίαν⁸ ἀπὸ τῆς 'Ὑαμπείας μετατεθήναι. καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξιαν οὐδὲ οἱ πάνω φιλοῦντες, ὃν ἐσμεν καὶ ἧμεις, ἐπαινοῦσι τὸ Βραχχιδῶν ἀστὸν συγχέαντα

¹ θύσηται (θύσῃ τListItemIcon todynam τῷ θεῷ: τῷ θεῷ θύσηται G (X is wanting) F (χρήσεται Z¹; θύσεται Z²).
² αὐτῷ is placed after γενομένης in Ry CWe; before it in M Vv.
³ τὸ δὲ χρήμα] τὰ δὲ χρήματα X⁸.
⁴ ἀνέπεμψεν J: ἀντέπεμψεν (ἀπέπεμψεν hk).
⁵ μηνίσαν l, as Reiske had conjectured: μηνίσαι.
⁶ λαβεῖν] λαμβάνειν G (X is wanting) F Z S.
⁷ Ἰδμων] Ἰάδμων Herodotus.
⁸ αὐλίαν G¹ R hki M¹: ναυλίαν G³ (X is wanting) F Z y S¹ N M² Y CW; ναυτιλίαν Vv.

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from Croesus, intending to offer a splendid sacrifice to the god and distribute four minas apiece to every Delphian; but falling into an angry dispute (the story goes) with the inhabitants of this place, he performed the sacrifice but sent the money back to Sardis, considering the people unworthy of the bounty. They thereupon trumped up a charge of temple robbery and put him to death, casting him down from the cliff over there called Hyampeia. The angry Godhead then visited them, it is said, with failure of crops and all manner of strange diseases, so that they went from one public festival of the Greeks to another and kept inviting by proclamation anyone who so wished to come and receive atonement at their hands for the wrong they had done Aesop. In the third generation Idmon of Samos came, no kinsman of Aesop, but a descendant of his purchasers at Samos; and on making him certain amends, the Delphians were delivered from their troubles. It is said that in consequence the place of execution for sacrilege was transferred from Hyampeia to Aulia. Again, not even the greatest admirers of Alexander, among whom I count myself, approve his wiping out the city of Branchidae and

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\[a\] Cf. Herodotus, ii. 134, and a scholium on Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1446: "... (Aesop) is said to have come to Delphi and derided the inhabitants for having no land to cultivate for their livelihood but living off the sacrifices offered to the god. The Delphians were angered at this and secretly placed a sacred cup among Aesop’s effects. Aesop, unaware of this, set out on the road to Phocis. But the Delphians ran after, discovered the cup, and charged him with sacrilege ..."  
\[b\] Cf. Plutarch, *Mor.* 401 a.  
\[c\] Cf. Herodotus, ii. 134.  

c The name is uncertain, and the place not elsewhere mentioned.
(557) καὶ διαφθείραντα πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν διὰ τὴν γενομένην τοῦ περὶ Μίλητον ἱερὸν προδοσίαν ὑπὸ τῶν προπάππων αὐτῶν. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ ὁ Συρακοσίων¹ τύραννος καὶ σὺν γέλωτι χλευάζων Κερκυραίους ἐρωτώντας διὰ τὶ πορθοὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐτῶν, 'ὅτι νὴ Δία,' εἶπεν, 'οἱ πατέρες ὦμῶν ὑπεδέξαντο τὸν Οδυσσέα,' καὶ τῶν Ἰθακησίων ὅμοίως ἐγκαλούντων ὃτι πρόβατα λαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν οἱ στρατιώται, 'ὁ δὲ ὑμέτερος,' ἐφη, 'βασιλεὺς ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸν πομένα προσεξετύφλωσεν.' ἀρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀτοπώτερος τούτων ὁ Ἀπόλλων εἰ Φενεάτας ἀπόλυσι τοὺς νῦν, ἐμφράξας τὸ βάραθρον καὶ κατακλύσας τὴν χώραν ἀπασαν αὐτῶν, ὅτι πρὸ χιλίων ἐτῶν, ὡς φασιν, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἀνασπάσας τὸν τρίποδα τὸν μαντικὸν εἰς Φενεὸν ἀπήνεγκεν, Συβαρίταις δὲ φράζων ἀπόλυσιν τῶν κακῶν ὅταν τρισὶν ὀλέθρως ἰλάσωνται τὸ μήνιμα τῆς Δευκαδίας

¹ συρακοσίων N W¹; συρακοσίων G³ X¹ F: συρρακοσίων G¹ Xᵈ Vv²; συρρακοσίων. Cf. also 559 d.

a Cf. Quintus Curtius, vii. 5. 28, and Suidas, s.v. Βραγχίδαι (Aelian, Frag. 54 Hercher): "The men of Dindyma in the territory of Miletus, to gratify Xerxes, betrayed the temple of the local Apollo to the barbarians, and the dedications, which were extremely numerous, were pillaged. The traitors, fearing the vengeance of the laws and of the Milesians, begged Xerxes to reward that detestable treason by removing them to some place in Asia. He consented, and in return for his wicked and impious plunder, allowed them to dwell in a place from which they would no longer be able to set foot in Greece, and where they and their progeny would be relieved of the fear that possessed them. Having thus obtained the land under by no means happy auspices, they raised a city,
his general massacre of young and old because their
great-grandfathers had betrayed the temple near
Miletus.\(^a\) Agathocles, tyrant of Syracuse, even
turned the notion into a derisive taunt in his reply
to the Corcyreans, who asked why he ravaged their
island: ‘because, by Zeus, your forebears harboured
Odysseus.’ \(^b\) And when the Ithacans made a similar
complaint, saying that his troops were taking their
sheep, he answered: ‘when your king came to my
country he blinded the shepherd \(^c\) to boot.’ Is not
Apollo still more absurd than these if he ruins the
Pheneates of the present day, obstructing their
underground channel and putting their whole terri-
tory under water,\(^d\) because Heracles is said to have
pulled up the tripod of prophecy and made off with
it to Pheneüs a thousand years ago? \(^e\) And again,
in telling the Sybarites that their troubles will be over
when they have appeased the wrath of Leucadian
gave it the name Branchidae, and fancied themselves secure
not only from the Milesians but from Justice herself. But
the providence of God did not sleep; for when Alexander
had defeated Darius and taken possession of the Persian
empire, he heard of their evil deed. In his abhorrence for
their posterity he slew them all, judging that of the wicked
the offspring are wicked, and razed the falsely named city,
and its people vanished from the earth.’

\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 176 f.
\(^b\) The shepherd was the Cyclops Polyphemus: cf. Homer,
Od. ix. 375 ff.
\(^c\) The territory of Pheneüs was surrounded by an unbroken
chain of mountains and drained by underground passages
said to have been dug by Heracles. When these were ob-
structed a lake was formed. Cf. Theophrastus, Hist. Plant.
iii. 1. 2, v. 4. 6, and Pausanias, viii. 14, with Frazer’s notes.
\(^d\) For Heracles and the tripod cf. Mor. 387 D, 413 A;
Cicero, De Natura Deorum, iii. 16 (42); Hyginus, Fab.
xxxii; Apollodorus, ii. 6. 2, with Frazer’s note in the L.C.L.;
Pausanias, iii. 21. 8, x. 13. 7.
The oracle is otherwise unknown, and whether the third destruction refers to that of 448 or to some later date is uncertain.

The verses are attributed to Euphorion: cf. J. U. Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina, pp. 40 f., Euphorion, 53.

As the lesser Ajax had violated Cassandra, the priestess of Athena, at the sack of Troy, the Locrians were instructed by an oracle to make atonement by sending maidens to the temple for a thousand years. Cf. Lycophron, Alexandra, 236
Hera by being thrice destroyed? a Again, it is not long since the Locrians gave up sending their maidens to Troy

Who cloakless, bare of foot, like slaves, at dawn
Swept clean the space about Athena's altar
With head uncovered, even in weary age b

all for the wantonness of Ajax. c Where is the logic or justice of this? Nor yet do we commend the Thracians for tattooing their own wives to this day in revenge for Orpheus, d nor the barbarians on the Po for wearing black in mourning for Phaëthon, as the story goes e; and the absurdity, I think, would be all the greater if at the time of Phaëthon's death men had neglected any observance, while those born five or ten generations after the disaster had introduced this change of attire in his honour and gone into mourning. In this, however, there is mere folly, nothing grave or irreparable; but for what reason should the wrath of the gods at first sink out of sight, like certain rivers, only to resurge later against f others, leading in the end to the direst calamities? g

13. At his first pause, fearing that he would bring up a new and longer series of still more formidable absurdities, I at once put a question to him: “Well,


cF. Phanocles, "Ερωτες ἕ καλόν, Frag. 1 (J. U. Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina, pp. 106-108). Incorrigible slaves were tattooed on the forehead.

dCf. Polybius, ii. 16. 13.

eCf. Polybius, ii. 16. 13.

Plutarch plays on the double sense of anapheromai, which can mean “come up from underground” or “be brought into relation with.”
(557) ευθὺς ἥρομην αὐτόν. " εἶεν," ἔφην, " ταῦτα γὰρ 
πάντα ἀληθινὰ γέγη;"

Κάκεινος, " εἰ δὲ μὴ πάντα," εἶπεν, " ἀλλ' ἔνια, 
τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπορίαν ἔχειν οὐ νομίζεις τὸν λόγον;"

" Ἰσως," ἔφην ἔγω, " καὶ τοὺς σφόδρα πυρέτ-
tουσιν, ἐὰν τε ἐν ἰμάτιον ἐὰν τε πολλὰ περιθελη-
μένοι τυγχάνωσιν, ταῦτο καῦμα καὶ παραπλήσιον, 
ὁμως δ' εἰς παραμυθίαιν ἀφελεῖν τὸ πλῆθος· εἰ δὲ 
μὴ βούλει, τοῦτο2 μὲν ἔσον (καίτοι τὰ πλείστα 
μῦθοι ἔοικεν καὶ πλάσμασιν), ἀναμνήσθητι δὲ τῶν 
ἐναγχοι Θεοξενίων3 καὶ τῆς καλῆς ἐκείνης μερίδος 
ἡν ἀφαιροῦντες τοὺς Πινδάρου κηρύττουσιν λαμ-
558 βάνειν ἀπογόνους, ὥς σοι τὸ πράγμα σεμνὸν ἐφάνη 
καὶ ἥδυ;" 

" Τίς δὲ οὐκ ἂν," εἶπεν, " ἡσθείη τῇ χάριτι τῆς 
τιμῆς οὔτως Ἐλληνικῶς καὶ ἀφελῶs4 ἀρχαῖζοσθήν, 
eἰ μὴ 

μέλαναν καρδίαν κεχάλκευται ψυχρὰ φλογι 
κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Πινδαρον;" 

" Ἕω τοίνυν," ἔφην, " ὀμοιον ἐν Σπάρτῃ κη-
ρυγμα τούτω, τὸ ' μετὰ Λέσβιων ὠδόν,' ἐπὶ τιμῆ 
καὶ μνήμη Τερπάνδρου τοῦ παλαιοῦ κηρυττόμε-
νου' ὁ γὰρ αὐτός ἐστι λόγος. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς γε 
δῆπον πλέον ἔχειν ἐτέρων ἐν τε Βοιωτοῖς, Ὀφελ-

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1 δὲ G X1 Z N CW : δεῖ.
2 τοῦτο] τοῦτον N M1 Y1 CW1 (ταῦτα hki).
3 θεοξενίων X3 : τῶν θεοξενίων.
4 ἀφελῶs] φιλοκάλως G4mg X F1γp Ry Y1mg.

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a Frag. 123 (ed. Schroeder), or Sandys, p. 584 (in the L.C.L.).
says in the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians that the ex-
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well”; I said, “so you take all those stories to be true?”

“Even if not all, but only some, are true,” he replied, “do you not think the difficulty for your argument is the same?”

“Perhaps,” said I, “the case is like that of persons with a raging fever, who feel much the same heat, whether they are wrapped in one cloak or in many, and yet are relieved when the additional cloaks are removed. But if you would rather not insist, then let it pass—though most of your stories look very much like fables and fictions—and recollect instead how impressive and pleasing you found the proceeding at the recent festival of the Theoxenia when that noble portion of the sacrifice was set aside and presented by public proclamation to the descendants of Pindar.”

“Who could fail to be delighted and charmed,” he said, “with honour thus shown, so Greek in its old-fashioned simplicity, save one whose

Black heart was forged with frozen flame

in Pindar’s own words?”

“In that case,” I replied, “I pass over a similar proclamation at Sparta, ‘after the singer from Lesbos,’ made in honour and commemoration of Terpander of old; for the point is the same. This, however, I will say: you and your family, I take it, feel entitled to greater consideration than others in Boe-

pression ‘after the singer from Lesbos’ refers to Terpander. It was in honour of Terpander (he says) that in later times his descendants were first invited to perform, while next came any other man of Lesbos who chanced to be present, and finally the rest ‘after the singer from Lesbos,’ that is, after men from Lesbos in general.”

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(558) τιάδαιγένοσεντε,ἀξιούτεκαὶπαρὰΦωκευσι

ΒδιὰΔαίφαντον,ἐμοὶδεκαὶπαρῆτεκαὶσυνελαμβάνεσθεπρώηνότεΛυκόρμαιςκαὶΣατιλαίοις
tὴνπάτριονἩρακλεώνμετιοὺςτιμὴνκαὶστεφανη-

φορίαςυννανασώζονἐλεγοῦνὅτιδεδὲμάλιστατοῖς

ἀφ’Ἡρακλέουςγεγονόσενταςτιμᾶςοπάρχεινβεβαι-

ουςκαὶτὰςχάριταςοὖντοὺς"Ελλήναςεὐεργετήσας

οὐκἐτυχεναὐτὸςἀξίαςχάριτοςοὐδὲἀμοιβὴς." "Καλοῦγε,"εἶπεν,"ἡμᾶςἀγώνοιςκαὶφιλο-

σοφίαμάλαπρέποντοἀνέμνησας." "Ἀφεσοῦν,"εἶπον,"ὡτάν,τὸσφοδρὸντοῦτο

τῆςκατηγορίας,καὶμὴφέρεπικρῶσεικολάζονται

Cτινεςἐκκακῶνγεγονότεςἡπονηρῶν,ἡμὴχαρὲ

μηδ’ἐποίειντιμωμένηςεὐγενείας.δεὶγάρ,εἰτὴν

χάρινἐντῷγένειτῆςἀρετῆςἀνασώζουμεν,εὐλόγως

μηδ’τὴνκόλασινοἴοσθαιδεῖνἀπαυδάνκαὶπροσπο-

λείπεινἐπὶταῖςἀδικίαις,ἀλλὰσυνεκτρέχειν

ἐκείνητὸκατ’ἀξίανἀντιστρόφωςἀποδιδοῦσαν.10

ὁδεῖτοὺςἀπὸΚίμωνοςἡδέωςὁρῶνἈθήνησι

tιμωμένους,τῶνδὲΛαχάρουσηἈριστίνους11

ekγόνωνἐλαυνόμενωνἀχθόμενοικαὶἀγανάκτων,

1'ΟφελτιάδαιXylander,fromLifeofCimon,chap.i.1(478

Ε):ὁ(ὡςX8)φιλτιάδαι.

2γένος]γένουςG8F RyhkiM2.

3ἀξιοῦτεX3:ἀξιοῦτεGXd;ἀξιοῦ.

4πρώηνReiske:πρώτων.

5λυκόρμαικαὶσατιλαίοιςX3Y3:λυκόρμαι(-μοιhk;μοι

W)καὶσατιλαίοι.

6φιλοσοφία]φιλοσοφίαςhkiNMVvYCW.

7μάλαomittedinC1;placedbeforeἀνέμνησαςinMVv.

8πρέποντος]πρέποντοςX1Z1hkiN2M(πρέποντοςV)Y

CW(πρέποντοςVF1N1v).

9προσπολείπειν]προλείπεινG4;προσπελείωνG1X1K(doubt-

lessfromthelostmargintoF,whereanindexbyF1shows

thatamarginalreadingonceexisted)Y1mg.

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otia as descendants of Opheltas, and again in Phocis from your connexion with Daiphantus a; you moreover lent me your presence and support the other day when I helped the Lycormae and Satilaei to recover the hereditary honour of the Heracleidae, the right of wearing a crown. I said at the time that the posterity of Heracles should particularly be maintained in possession of the honours and rewards he had earned by his services to the Greeks, for which he had received no adequate thanks or compensation himself."

"You call to my mind a noble debate," he said, "and one well worthy of philosophy."

"Then lay aside, my friend," said I, "this hotness of denunciation, and do not take it ill that some who come of a bad or wicked line are punished, or else you must withhold your delight and approval when noble birth is honoured. For if we preserve in the descendants our gratitude for virtue, we must in reason expect that neither should the punishment of crime flag or falter in its course, but that it should keep pace with gratitude, matching it in requiting men as they deserve. He that delights to see the descendants of Cimon honoured at Athens, but is displeased and offended at the expulsion of the descendants of Lachares b or Aristion, c is much too

a For Opheltas cf. Life of Cimon, chap. i. 1 (478 e); for Daiphantus, of whom Plutarch composed a Life, now lost, cf. Mor. 244 b and 1099 e. If Timon was Plutarch's brother-german, we have here an account of Plutarch's own descent.

b Lachares became tyrant of Athens and allied himself with Cassander. He escaped from the city shortly before its capture by Demetrius in 294.

c Aristion became tyrant of Athens in 88 b.c.
(558) ύγρός ἐστὶ λίαν καὶ ῥάθυμος, μᾶλλον δὲ φιλαίτιος ὅλως καὶ δύσκολος πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ἐγκαλῶν μὲν, ἂν ἀνδρὸς ἁδίκου καὶ πονηροῦ παῖδες ἐκ παίδων εὐτυχεῖν δοκῶσιν, ἐγκαλῶν δὲ πάλιν, ἂν τὰ γένη

D κολούηται καὶ ἀφανίζηται τῶν φαύλων, αἰτιώμενος δὲ τὸν θεὸν ὁμοίως μὲν, ἂν χρηστοῦ πατρὸς τέκνα πράττῃ κακῶς, ὁμοίως δὲ, ἂν πονηροῦ.

14. "Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν," ἔφην, "ὡσπερ ἀντι-φράγματα σοι κείσθω πρὸς τοὺς ἄγαν πικροὺς καὶ κατηγορικοὺς ἐκείνους· ἀναλαβόντες δὲ αὐθίς ὡσπερ ἁρχὴν κλωστήρος ἐν σκοτεινῷ καὶ πολλοὺς ἐλιγμοὺς καὶ πλάνας ἐχοντι τῷ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγῳ καθοδηγῶμεν αὐτοὺς μετ' εὐλαβείας ἀτρέμα πρὸς τὸ εἰκός καὶ πιθανόν· ὥσ τὸ γε σαφὲς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν οὐδ' ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ πράττομεν ἁσφαλῶς εἰπεῖν ἔχομεν, οὐδ' διὰ τὶ τῶν ὑπὸ φθίσεως ἢ ὑδέρου διαφθαρέντων τοὺς παίδας εἰς ὕδωρ τῷ

Ε πότε βρέχοντας καθίζομαι κελεύομεν ἔως ἃν ὁ νεκρὸς κατακαῇ, δοκεὶ γὰρ οὕτω τὸ νόσημα μὴ μεθίστασθαι μηδ' προσπελάξειν αὐτοὺς. ἦ πάλιν δ' ἦν αἰτίαν, αἰγὸς τὸ ἡρύγγιον λαβοῦσης εἰς τὸ στόμα, ὅλον ἐφίσταται τὸ αἰπόλιον ἄχρι ἃν ἔξελῃ προσελθὼν ὁ αἰπόλος; ἄλλα τε δυνάμεις ἀφὰς ἔχουσαι καὶ διαδόσεις ἀπίστους ὑζύτησι καὶ μήκεις δ' ἐτέρων εἰς ἑτερα περαίνουσιν. ἄλλ' ἡμεῖς τὰ

F κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους διαλείμματα θαυμάζομεν, οὐ

1 δὲ] τε Pohlens ; γε ? Post.
2 ἀναλαβόντες] ἀναλαβόντος G¹ X¹ Z.
3 τοῦ θεοῦ] θεοῦ G hki Vv C.
lax and indulgent, or rather he is downright captious and quarrelsome with heaven, reproaching it if the children's children of an unjust and wicked man appear to prosper, reproaching it again if the progeny of the base is thwarted and wiped out, and finding God alike at fault whether it goes hard with the children of a good or of an evil father.

14. "These remarks," I said, "you are to view as a sort of barricade to hold off those excessively bitter and denunciatory critics. Let us now take up again the beginning of a clue, as it were, in the argument about God, obscure as it is and abounding in intricacy and error, and pick our way cautiously and calmly to a probable and credible issue, since not even in what we human beings do ourselves can we safely speak of certainty and truth. Why, for example, do we tell children whose parents have died of phthisis or the dropsy to sit with their feet in water until the corpse is consumed, the disease (it is thought) being thus kept from passing over or coming near them? Or again, when a goat takes the sea-holly a in its mouth, what makes the whole herd stand by until the goat-herd comes and removes it? And there are other forces, with a capacity for contagion and transmission incredible in its rapidity and the great intervals covered, that reach one object by passing through another. We, however, are amazed at the intervals

a For this story cf. Mor. 700 d, 776 f; Aristotle, Hist. Animal. ix. 3 (610 b 29); Theophrastus, Frag. 174 (ed. Wimmer); Pliny, N.H. viii. 203 f.; Antigonus, Hist. Mir. chap. cvii (115); and a scholium on Nicander, Theriaca, 645.

4 τὸν (τὸ ὅσος) ἡρύγγυον Turnebus; τὸν ἡρυίτην G4mg; τὸν νηρυίτην X1 F R1mg K1t V2mg; τὸν (τὸ ἰ); τὴν C) ἡρυγγύτην.
(558) τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόπους. καίτοι θαυμασιώτερον εἶ πάθους ἐν Αἰθιοπίᾳ λαβόντος ἀρχὴν ἀνεπλήσθησαν αἱ Ἀθῆναι καὶ Περικλῆς ἀπέθανεν καὶ Θουκυδίδης ἐνόσησεν, ἣ ἐι Δελφῶν καὶ Συβαρίτῶν γενομένων πονηρῶν ἡ δίκη φερομένη περιῆλθεν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας. ἦχουσι γὰρ τινὰς αἱ δυνάμεις ἀναφορὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἔπι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ συνάψεις· ὅτι ἡ αἰτία, κἂν ύφ᾽ ἡμῶν ἄγνοηται, σιωπῆ περαινεῖ τὸ οἰκεῖον.

15. "Οὗ μὴν ἄλλα τὰ γε2 δημοσία τῶν πόλεων μηνίματα τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον ἔχει πρόχειρον.3 559 ἐν γὰρ τῇ πράγμα καὶ συνεχεῖς ἡ πόλις ὀσπερ ζύον, οὐκ ἔξιστάμενον αὐτοῦ4 ταῖς καθ᾽ ἡλικίαις μεταβολῖς οὐδὲ ἔτερον ἐξ ἔτερου τῷ χρόνῳ γινόμενον,5 ἄλλα συμπαθεῖς αἰεὶ καὶ οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ πᾶσαν ὅπι πράττει κατὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἥ6 ἐπραξεν αὐτίαν καὶ χάριν ἀναδεχόμενον μέχρι ἃν ἡ ποιοῦσα καὶ συνδέουσα ταῖς ἐπιπλοκαῖς κοινωνία τὴν ἐνότητα διαφυλάττῃ. τὸ δὲ πολλὰς πόλεις διαιροῦντα τῷ χρόνῳ ποιεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπείρους, ὀμοιόν ἐστιν τῷ7 πολλοὺς τὸν ἐνα ποιεῖν ἀνθρωπον ὅτι νῦν πρεσβύτερος ἐστί, πρότερον δὲ νεότερος, ἀνωτέρω δὲ Β μειράκιον ἃν. μᾶλλον δὲ ὅλως ταύτα γε τοῖς Ἐπιχαρμείοις ἔσκεν ἐξ ὅν δὲ αὐξόμενος ἀνέφυ τοῖς σοφισταῖς λόγος· ὁ γὰρ λαβὼν πάλαι τὸ χρέος8

1 καίτοι] καὶ τὸ N¹ M¹ Y¹t CW.
2 τά γε C : γε τά. 3 πρόχειρον] πρόδηλον F¹t.
4 αὐτοῦ Xylander : αὐτῆς or αὐτῆς.
5 γενόμενων] γενόμενον hki N M¹ v Y CW.
6 τὸ κοινὸν ἥ] τὸ κοινὸν G¹ ; τῇ κοινὸν ᾧ X¹ ; τὴν κοινὸν F¹t ; τὴν κοινὴν Z.
7 τῷ] τὸ G¹ Z R N M¹ Y W¹.
8 χρέος] χρέως X¹ N¹.

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in time, not those in space. And yet it is more amazing that a disease which had its origin in Ethiopia should have raged at Athens, killed Pericles, and attacked Thucydides, than that justice, after the crimes of the Delphians and Sybarites, should have found her way to their children. For forces have a way of reverting from their farthest points to their origins and effecting a connexion; and although the cause of this may be unknown to us, it silently achieves its proper effect.

15. 'Nevertheless, the visitations of entire cities by divine wrath are readily justified.' A city, like a living thing, is a united and continuous whole. This does not cease to be itself as it changes in growing older, nor does it become one thing after another with the lapse of time, but is always at one with its former self in feeling and identity, and must take all blame or credit for what it does or has done in its public character, so long as the association that creates it and binds it together with interwoven strands preserves it as a unity. To create a multiplicity, or rather an infinity, of cities by chronological distinctions is like creating many men out of one because the man is now old, but was in his prime before, and yet earlier was a lad. Or rather this procedure altogether resembles the passage of Epicharmus that gave rise to the sophists’ fallacy of the ‘grower’; the man who received the loan in the

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\(a\) Cf. Thucydides, ii. 48. 3.

\(b\) On the topic of this chapter cf. De E Apud Delphos, chap. 18. Proclus (On Providence, col. 136. 31-35 Cousin) summarizes the argument of this chapter and the next.

\(c\) Frag. 170 (ed. Kaibel), translated by Hicks in Diogenes Laert. iii. 11 (in the L.C.L.) ; cf. Mor. 473 B, 1083 A, Life of Theseus, chap. xxiii. 1 (10 B-c).
(559) νῦν οὖκ ὁφείλει, γεγονὼς ἑτερος, ο̣ τε̣ κληθεῖς ἐπὶ δείπνον ἔχθες ἀκλητος ἥκει τῆμερον· ἀλλος γάρ ἔστι.

"Καὶ τοι μείζονας γε παραλλαγάς αἱ ἥλικιαι περὶ ἐκαστὸν ἴμων ποιοῦσιν ἢ κοινῇ περὶ τὰς πόλεις. γνοίη γάρ ἂν τις ἵδων τὰς Ἀθήνας ἔτει τριακοστῷ καὶ τὰ νῦν ἡθη καὶ κυνήματα παιδαί τε καὶ σπουδαῖ καὶ χάριτες καὶ ὄργαι τοῦ δήμου πάνυ γε τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐοίκασιν· ἀνθρώπον3 δὲ μόλις ἂν τις οἰκεῖος ἢ φίλος ἐντυχὼν διὰ χρόνου μορφήν γνωρίσειν, αἱ δὲ τῶν ἡθῶν μεταβολαί, παντὶ λόγῳ καὶ πόνῳ καὶ πάθει καὶ νόμῳ ῥάδίως τρεπόμεναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄει συνόντα τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὴν καινότητα4 θαυμαστὴν ἔχουσιν. ἀλλ' ἀνθρώπος τε λέγεται μέχρι τέλους εἰς ἀπὸ γενέσεως, πόλιν τε τὴν αὐτήν ὄσαυτως διαμένουσαν ἐνέχεσθαι τοῖς ὀνείδεσι τῶν προγόνων ἄξιομένως ὑ ὀικαί μέτεστιν αὐτῇ δόξῃς τε τῆς ἐκείνων καὶ δυνάμεως· η λήσομεν εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλείτειον5 ἀπαντα πράγματα ποταμοὺν6 ἐμβαλόντες, εἰς ὃν οὐ φησί δῖς ἐμβηναι, τῷ πάντα κινεῖν καὶ ἔτεροιοῦν τῆν φύσιν μεταβάλλουσαν.

16. "Εἰ δ' ἔστι τι' πόλις ἐν πρᾶγμα καὶ συν- D ἔχες, ἐστὶ δήπου καὶ γένος, ἐξηρτημένον ἀρχῆς μῖᾶς καὶ δύναμιν τινα καὶ κοινωνίαν διαπεφυκυῖναν

1 τε Pohlenz: δὲ.
2 γε Χ3 Cae: τε.
3 ἀνθρώπου Χ3 Ζ Ry Vv: ἀνθρώπου.
4 καινότητα[ ] κενότητα G X1 F1 Z N M Y.
5 Ἡρακλείτειον (-τι-G1) -κλή- Χ1 F Ζ Υ Υ Υ Υ CWae.

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past is no debtor now, having become a different person, and he who was yesterday invited to dinner comes an unbidden guest to-day, since he is now another man.

"Yet growing older brings about greater alterations in each of us severally than in a city collectively. For one would recognize Athens on seeing it after a lapse of thirty years, and the present traits and moods of its people, their amusements and graver concerns, their displays of partiality and anger, are very similar to those of long ago." But with a man, a kinsman or friend who should meet him after any length of time would find it hard to recognize his appearance, whereas the shifts in his character, responding lightly to every sort of argument, difficulty, passion, and law, are so strange and novel as to astound even a constant companion. Yet a man is called one and the same from birth to death; and we deem it only proper that a city, in like manner retaining its identity, should be involved in the disgraces of its forbears by the same title as it inherits their glory and power; else we shall find that we have unawares cast the whole of existence into the river of Heracleitus, into which he asserts no man can step twice, as nature in its changes shifts and alters everything.

16. "If a city is a single and continuous whole, surely a family is so too, attached as it is to a single origin which reproduces in the members a certain force and common quality pervading them all; and

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a Cf. Life of Aristeides, chap. xxvii. 7 (335 e).
b Diels and Kranz, Frag. der Vorsokratiker, i, p. 171, Heracleitus, 91, or Frag. 91 (ed. Bywater); cf. also Mor. 392 b and 912 a.

7 ἐστὶν τι] ἐστὶ Reiske; ἐστὶν?
(559) ἀναφερούσης, καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν οὐκ ὡς τι δημιουργήμα τοῦ γεννησαντός· ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ, οὐχ ὡς αὐτοῦ, γέγονεν, ὡστ' ἔχει τι καὶ φέρεται τῶν ἐκείνου μέρος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ κολαζόμενον προσηκόντως καὶ τιμώμενον. εἰ δὲ μὴ δόξαμι παίζειν, ἐγὼ φαίην ἂν ἀνδριάντα Κασάνδρου καταχαλκεύμενον ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πάσχειν ἀδικώτερα¹ καὶ τὸ Διονυσίου² σῶμα μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξοριζόμενον ὑπὸ Συρακοσίων³ ἢ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν δίκην τίνοτας. τῷ μὲν γὰρ Ἐ ἀνδριάντι τῆς Κασάνδρου φύσεως οὐθέν ἔνεστιν,⁴ καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν ἡ Διονυσίου ψυχή προλέοιτεν. Νυσαίω δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλοκράτει καὶ Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις ὁμοίως παῖσιν⁵ τῶν πονηρῶν τὸ κυριώτατον ἐμπέφυκεν καὶ πάρεστι μέρος, οὐχ ἦσυχαίον οὐδὲ ἄργον, ἀλλὰ ἠδύνατον αὐτῷ καὶ τρέφονται καὶ διοικοῦνται καὶ φρονοῦσιν· καὶ οὐθέν δεινὸν οὐδὲ ἀτοπὸν ἂν, ἐκείνων ὄντες, ἐχωσιέως⁶ τὰ ἐκείνων.

"Καθὸλον δ' εἶπείν, ὡσπερ ἐν ἱατρικῇ τὸ Φ σχῆσιμον καὶ δίκαιον ἔστιν, καὶ γελοῖος ὁ φάσκων

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¹ ἀδικώτερα Victorius: ἀδικώτατα.
² διονυσίου G³ X³ M³ V (διονύσιον v) Y³ W²: διονύσιον.
³ συρακοσίων N W: συρακοσίων G³ X¹ F; συρακοσίων G¹ X³ hki Vv; συρακοσίων.
⁴ οὐθέν ἔνεστι Reiske: οὐθέν ἔστι (-v N Y; οὐ μέτεστι X³).
⁵ παῖσιν α²: πάσιν.
⁶ ἐχωσιέως Pohlenz; ἐχωσι Post.
⁷ Cf. Mor. 1001 c.

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what has been begotten is not severed from the begetter, as if it were some product of his art; it has been created out of him, not by him, and thus not only contains within itself a portion of what is his, but receives a portion of his due when rightly punished or honoured. If you would not take it for a joke, I would say that a statue of Cassander was more unjustly treated when the Athenians hammered it into scrap, and the body of Dionysius, when after his death the Syracusans cast it beyond their borders, than were their descendants when they paid the price. For in the statue there is nothing of Cassander's nature, and the corpse of Dionysius has been deserted by his soul, whereas in Nysaeus and Apollocrates, in Antipater and Philip, and similarly in the other children of the wicked, the father's principal part is inherent and innate, not quiescent or inert, but by it they live, thrive, are governed, and think; and there is nothing shocking or absurd that they, who are their fathers' children, receive their fathers' due.

"To put it generally, as in medicine what is helpful is also just, and he is ridiculous who calls it unjust

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c Not mentioned elsewhere; it doubtless occurred when Demetrius took Athens in 307.  
d Cf. *Life of Timoleon*, chap. xxii. 2 (246 r).  
e Athenaeus (435 e-f) calls these the sons of the elder Dionysius. Nysaeus was banished after a short reign; the fate of Apollocrates is unknown. As Apollocrates was the name of the eldest son of the younger Dionysius, it has been thought that Athenaeus is mistaken in assigning to the elder Dionysius a son of that name. If so, Plutarch appears to share the error.  
f The sons of Cassander. Philip died of consumption after a few months' reign; Antipater was murdered.  
(559) ἀδικὸν εἶναι τῶν ἰσχίων¹ πονοῦντων καίειν τῶν ἀντίχειρα καὶ τοῦ ἡπατος ὑπούλου γεγονότος ἀμύσσειν τὸ ἐπιγάστριον, καὶ τῶν βοῶν, ἀν εἰς τὰς χηλὰς μαλακίωσιν, προσαλείφειν τὰ ἅκρα τῶν κεράτων, οὔτωσ ὀ. περὶ τὰς κολάσεις ἄλλο τι δύκαιον ἢ τὸ θεραπεύειν² τὴν κακίαν ἰγνώμενος, καὶ ἀγανακτῶν ἑάν τις δι' ἐτέρων ἐφ' ἐτέρους ἀναφέρῃ τὴν ἰατρείαν, ὦσπερ οἱ τὴν φλέβα διε- αἱροῦντες ἵνα τὴν ὀφθαλμίαν κοψίμασιν, οὐδὲν
560 έοικεν περαιτέρω τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐφορᾶν, οὐδὲ μνημονεύειν³ ὅτι καὶ διδάσκαλος παίδων ἕνος καθικόμενος ἐτέρους ἐνουθέτησεν, καὶ στρατηγὸς ἐκ δεκάδος ἀνελῶν ἑνα πάντας ἐνέστρεψεν,⁴ καὶ οὔτως οὐ μέρει διὰ μέρους ἐτέρου μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψυχῇ διὰ ψυχῆς γίνονται τίνες διαθέσεις καὶ κακώσεις καὶ ἐπανορθώσεις μᾶλλον ἢ σώματι⁵ διὰ σώματος. ἐκεὶ μὲν γάρ, ὡς ἐοικεν, τὸ αὐτὸ δει⁶ πάθος ἐγγίνεσθαι καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν μεταβολὴν, ἐν- ταῦθα δ' ἡ ψυχή, ταῖς φαντασίαις ἀγομένη κατὰ τὸ θαρρεῖν καὶ δεδεῖναι, χείρον ἢ βέλτιον δια- γίγνεσθαι πέφυκεν."  

17. Ἔτι δ' ἐμοῦ⁷ λέγοντος ὑπολαβῶν⁸ ὁ Ὄλυμ- πιχος, "ἐοικας," ἐφη, "τὸ λόγω μεγάλην ὑπό- Β θεσιν ὑποτίθεσθαι, τὴν ἐπιμονὴν τῆς ψυχῆς."
to cauterize the thumb of a patient whose hip is diseased,\(^a\) to scarify the epigastric region for a suppurating liver,\(^b\) and when cattle get soft hooves, to anoint the tip of the horns,\(^c\) so too, whoever thinks that in punishments there is any other justice than to heal the vice, and is shocked when some persons are used as intermediaries in treating others, as when ophthalmia\(^d\) is relieved by opening a vein, appears to see no farther than the reach of sense, and not to remember that a schoolmaster who strikes one boy admonishes others, that a general who executes one man in ten\(^e\) inspires his whole army with respect, and that in this way certain dispositions, afflictions, and corrections are transmitted not only to one part through another, but also to one soul through another, and indeed more readily than to the body through the body. For when the transmission is through the body, the same affection and change, it appears, must take place in both parts; whereas the nature of the soul is such that it is guided by imagination to feel assurance or terror, and thus fare better or worse."

17. I was still speaking when Olympichus broke in: "You appear," he said, "to rest your case on a very considerable assumption: the survival of the soul."\(^f\)


\(^b\) Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* viii. 7 and 23 (595 b 13-15, 604 a 14-17); Cato, *De Agri Cultura,* lxxii; Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 266; Columella, vi. 15. 2; *Geoponica,* xvii. 9. It is conjectured that the word "horn" originally meant "hoof."


\(^d\) Cf. Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* viii. 7 and 23 (595 b 13-15, 604 a 14-17); Cato, *De Agri Cultura,* lxxii; Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii. 266; Columella, vi. 15. 2; *Geoponica,* xvii. 9. It is conjectured that the word "horn" originally meant "hoof."

\(^e\) This is the Roman punishment of decimation: cf. Livy, ii. 59; Suetonius, *Augustus,* 24.

\(^f\) The wicked, if punished through their descendants, must somehow survive if the punishment is to reach them.
“Καὶ ὑμῶν γε,” εἶπον ἐγώ, “διδόντων, μᾶλλον δὲ δεδωκότων· ὃς γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ κατ’ ἀξίαν νέμοντος ἦμαι ὁ λόγος ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεύρο προελή-
λυθεν.”

Κάκεινος, “εἴτα δ’,” ἐφη, “νομίζεις ἐπεσθαί τῷ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιβλέπειν καὶ νέμειν ἕκαστα τῶν καθ’ ἦμᾶς τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ὑπάρχειν ἢ πάμπαν ἀφθάρτους ἢ χρόνον τινὰ μετὰ τὴν τελευτην ἐπιμενούσας;”

“Οὐκ, ὅ γαθε;” εἶπον, “ἀλλὰ μικρὸς οὕτω καὶ λινόπουδος ὁ θεὸς ἔστιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἦμῶν ἔχον-
tων θείον ἐν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ προσόμοιον ἀμωσγέτως ὁ ἐκείνῳ καὶ διαρκεῖς καὶ βέβαιον, ἀλλὰ φύλλοις, ὥς ὁμηρὸς ἐφη, παραπλησίως ἀπομαρανομένων παντάπασι καὶ φθινότων ἐν ὀλίγῳ, θοείσθαι λόγον τοσοῦτον, ὥσπερ αἱ τοὺς Ἀδὼνιδος κήπους ἐπ’ ὀστράκοις τισὶ τιθηνούμεναι καὶ θεραπεύονσαι γυναῖκες, ἐφημέρους ἡ ψυχὰς ἐν σαρκὶ τρυφερὰ καὶ βίου ρίζαι ἱσχυρὰν οὐ δεχομένη βλαστανοῦσας, εἰτα ἀποσβεβημένας εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῆς τυχοῦσης προφάσεως; εἰ δὲ βούλει, τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς ἔσσας σκόπει τοινοὶ τοῦ ἐνταυθοὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν τελευτῶν ἀπολλυμέ-
νας ἐπιστάμενος εὐθὺς, ὥσπερ ὀμίχλας ἢ καπνοὺς εἰ

D ἀποπνεοῦσας τῶν σωμάτων, Ἠλασμοῦς τε πολλοὺς προσφέρειν τῶν κατοιχομένων καὶ γέρα μεγάλα καὶ τιμᾶς ἀπαίτειν τοῖς τεθυκόσιν, ἐξαπατῶν καὶ

1 τῷ] τὸ G¹ X¹υαε F¹ Z N CaεW¹.
2 Pohlenz would add στείρων after ἐφημέρους.
3 εὐθὺς G X F Z Ry: ἄει.
"I do," I said, "and you concede or rather have conceded it; for our discussion has proceeded from the outset on the assumption that God allots us our deserts."

"Why, do you think," he said, "that if the gods attend to us and mete out every particular of our lives, it follows that our souls are either altogether imperishable or survive for some time after death?" a

"It doesn't follow, my good friend?" I asked. "Is God instead so petty and so absorbed in trifles that if we had nothing divine in us or in some sort resembling him and enduring and constant, but like leaves, as Homer b said, withered quite away and perished after a brief space, he would make so much of us, and like the women who nurse and tend their 'gardens of Adonis' c in pots of earthenware, would tend souls of a day grown in a frail vessel of flesh that admits no strong root of life, only to be presently extinguished on the slightest occasion? But if you will, leave the other gods aside, and consider whether in your opinion our own god of this place, knowing that when men die their souls perish immediately, exhaled from the body like vapour or smoke, nevertheless prescribes many appeasements of the dead and demands for them great honours and consideration, deluding and cheating those who put faith in

a Cf. Mor. 1107 b.

b Il. vi. 146; cf. Mor. 1090 b.

c These were pots or baskets in which wheat, barley, lettuce, and fennel were sown. When the plants sprouted, the "gardens" were taken out at the funeral of the god and cast into springs. Cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroem. Gr. i, p. 19, with the note.

4 τῶν σωμάτων] τοῦ σώματος F.

5 ἀπαίτειν G3 Z2; Ry k N2: ἀπαιτεῖ.
(560) φενακίζων τούς πιστεύοντας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν προείμην τής ψυχῆς τήν διαμονήν, εἰ μὴ τις ὁσπερ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὤφελών τὸν τρίποδα τῆς Πυθίας ἀναρήσει καὶ διαφθείρῃ τὸ χρηστήριον. ἄχρι δὲ τοῦ πολλά τουαύτα προθεσπίζεσθαι καὶ καθ’ ἡμᾶς οία καὶ Κόρακι τῷ Ναξίῳ χρησθήναι λέγουσιν, οὐχ οὐσών ἐστι τῆς ψυχῆς καταγνώσαι θάνατον."

Καὶ ὁ Πατροκλέας, "τι δ’ ἦν," ἐφη, "τὸ χρησθὲν, ἡ τίς ὁ 'κόραξ' οὗτος; ὡς ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ Εὐράγμα καὶ τὸ ὄνομαζόμενον ζένον."

"Οὐδαμῶς," εἶπον, "ἀλλὰ αὕτως ἐγώ, παρωνύμως χρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος. ὥς γὰρ ἀποκτείνας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τὸν 'Αρχίλοχον έκαλεῖτο Καλλώνδης, ώς έουσώ, ἡν δ’ αὐτῷ Κόραξ ἐπωνύμων. ἐκβληθεὶς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῆς Πυθίας ὡς ἔρον ἄνδρα τῶν Μουσῶν ἀνηρηκώς, εἶτα χρησάμενος λυταῖς τισι καὶ προστροπαῖς μετὰ δικαιολογίας, ἐκελεύσθη πορευθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Τέττιγος οὐκηθῶν ἰλάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ 'Αρχίλοχου ψυχήν. τούτῳ δ’ ἦν ὁ Ταῖναρος. ἐκεῖ γὰρ φασὶν ἐλθόντα μετὰ στόλου Τέττιγα τὸν Κρῆτα πόλιν κτίσαι καὶ

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1 ἀναρήσει] ἀναρήσῃ X F Z N M Y CW.  
2 διαφθείρῃ X3: διαφθείρῃ (διαφθείρει G1 R hi V2 or e).  
3 δὲ added by S1 and Meziriacus.  
4 οἴνομαζόμενον] οἴνομα Ry.  
5 Καλλώνδης X F N M Y: καλλώνδης.  
6 ἐπωνύμων] ἐπώνυμον G R hki.  
7 προστροπαῖς Emperius: προστροπαῖς (τροπαῖς G Vv l).

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a Cf. Life of Numa, chap. iv. 9 (62 c). The fullest version of the story is in Aelian, Frag. 80 (ed. Hercher): "Not even in death do the gods forget the good. Thus Archilochus, a noble poet, if you take away his indecency and abusiveness
him. For my part, I will never give up the survival of the soul until some second Heracles makes off with the tripod of the Pythia and abolishes and destroys the oracle; but so long as many responses are delivered even in our day of the kind that the Naxian Corax a is said to have received, it would be impious to pass sentence of death upon the soul.”

“What response was given?” Patrocleas inquired. “And what manner of creature was this ‘corax’? b I know neither the story nor what is meant by the word.”

“Not so,” said I; “the fault is mine for using a sobriquet instead of the name. The slayer of Archilochus in the battle was called Callondes, we are told; ‘Corax’ was his nickname. At first the Pythia drove him away as one who had killed a man sacred to the Muses; but on resorting to certain prayers and entreaties, and pleading his cause, he was bidden to proceed to the dwelling of Tettix and appease the soul of Archilochus. (The place was Taenarus; Tettix the Cretan is said to have come there with a

and rub it out like a stain, was pitied by the Pythian Apollo, though killed in war, where the chance is equal. When his slayer, Calondas by name, but nicknamed Corax, came to make certain requests to the god, the Pythia refused him entrance as one polluted, and spoke the well-known words [that is, Μουσάων θεράποντα κατέκτας, εξεθι νηοῦ, “The Muses’ servant hast thou slain: begone!” Cf. Galen, Protrepticus, ix. 1]. He pleaded the fortune of war, said that he had either to kill or be killed, begged the god not to regard him as an enemy if he was victim of his fate, and cursed himself for not preferring death to killing. The god took pity on him for this and bade him go to Taenarus, where Tettix is buried, and appease the soul of Telesicles’ son [that is, Archilochus] and deprecate its anger with libations. He obeyed, and was delivered from the god’s wrath.”

b That is, “crow.”
κατουκήσαι περὶ1 τὸ ψυχοπομπέων.2 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Σπαρτιάταις χρησθὲν ἔλασσασθαι τὴν Παυσανίου ψυχήν, ἡς Ἰταλίας μεταπεμφθέντες οἱ ψυχ- αγωγοὶ καὶ θύσαντες ἀπεστάσαντο τοῦ ἱεροῦ τὸ εἴδωλον.

18. “Εἰς οὖν ἐστὶ λόγος,” ἐφην,3 “ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν ἀμα καὶ τὴν διαμονήν4 τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς βεβαιών, καὶ θάτερον οὐκ ἔστω ἀπολυπεῖν ἀναιροῦντα θάτερον. οὔσῃ5 δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ6 μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν μᾶλλον εἰκός ἐστί καὶ τιμᾶς ἀποδίδοσθαι καὶ τιμωρίας. ἀγωνίζεται γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀθλήτης τὸν βίον, ὅταν δὲ διαγωνίσηται, τότε τυγχάνει τῶν προσηκόντων. ἀλλὰ ἂς μὲν ἐκεῖ καθ’ ἑαυτῆν οὖσα κομίζεται τῶν προβεβιωμένων χάριτας ἢ τινὰς κολάσεις οὐθὲν εἰσὶ7 πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοὺς ζωντας, ἀλλ’ ἀπιστοῦνται καὶ λανθάνουσιν. αἱ δὲ διὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἱούσαι καὶ διὰ γένους, ἐμφανεῖς τοῖς δεδρο γινό- μεναι,8 πολλοὺς ἀποτρέπουσι καὶ συστέλλουσι τῶν πονηρῶν. ὅτι δ’ οὐκ ἔστων αὐχέων οὐδὲ λυτοῦσα ποὺ9 μᾶλλον ἐτέρα κόλασις ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν κακὰ πάσχοντας δι’ αὐτοὺς ὀρᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ψυχήν ἀνδρὸς ἀσβεοῦς καὶ παρανόμου μετὰ θάνατον ἐφορώσαν Β οὐκ ἀνδριάντας οὐδὲ τιμᾶς τινας ἀνατρεπομένας,

1 περὶ] παρὰ α.
2 ψυχοπομπέων (-ίων Ν1)] ψυχοπόμπιον G1 Χ1.
3 ἐστὶ λόγος ἐφην G Χ Φ Ζ Ι : ἐστὶν ἐφην (ἐφη Y1) λόγος.
4 διαμονήν] διανομήν G1 Χ1 Ζ ΡΥ Η Ν Μ1 Y1 C1.
5 οὔσῃ] οὔσαι K ; διαμενούση ? Ρος ; περιούση ? Post. Perhaps τότε should be added after ἐστι below.
6 τῇ ψυχῇ] τῷ ψυχῆν Rαε K i.
7 εἰσὶ] ἐστὶ K ΗΚΙ (-ν N) M Y1t CW.
fleé and founded a city, settling at the Passage of Souls.) In like manner the Spartans were directed by an oracle to appease the soul of Pausanias; they then sent to Italy for evocators who performed a sacrifice and drew the shade away from the temple.\(^a\)

18. “It is one and the same argument, then,” I pursued, “that establishes both the providence of God and the survival of the human soul, and it is impossible to upset the one contention and let the other stand. But if the soul survives, we must expect that its due in honour and in punishment is awarded after death rather than before; for its life is like an athlete’s contest, and only when it has fought that contest to the end does it receive its deserts.\(^b\) But the rewards and penalties (as the case may be) for its past life that the soul receives in the other world, in its separate existence, are for us, the living, as if they did not exist—they are disbelieved and escape us—; whereas the rewards and penalties that reach such souls through children and descendants are rendered visible to the inhabitants of this world and thus deter and discourage many of the wicked. That no punishment, we may presume, is more shameful or galling than to see one’s progeny suffer on one’s own account, and that the soul of an impious and lawless man who should behold after death not statues or honours subverted, but children or friends

\(^a\) The temple was that of Athena Chalcioecus at Sparta, where Pausanias starved to death. Cf. Ὄμηρικαὶ Μελέται, Frag. 1 (vol. vii, p. 99 Bern.), and Thucydides, i. 134.

\(^b\) Cf. Mor. 1105 c.
(561) ἀλλὰ παῖδας ἢ φίλους ἢ γένος οἶκεῖον1 αὐτῆς ἀτυχήμασι χρωμένους μεγάλους δι’ αὐτὴν καὶ δίκην τίνοτας, οὓς ἐστὶν αὐτὴς ἀναπείσειεν2 αὐθεὶς ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ Διὸς τιμαῖς ἀδικοῦν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἐχὼ μὲν3 τινα καὶ λόγον εἰπεῖν ἐναγχὼς ἀκηκοῦσ, ὅκνω δὲ μὴ φανῇ μῦθος ὑμῖν· μόνον4 οὖν χρώμαί τῷ εἰκοτί.

"Μηδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Ολύμπιχος, "ἀλλὰ δίελθε κάκειον."

Τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δεομένων, "έάσατε," εἴπον, "ἀποδοῦναί με τὸ λόγῳ τὸ εἰκός· ὑστερον δὲ τὸν μύθον, ἕαν δόξῃ, κινήσωμεν5 εἰ γε δὴ μῦθος ἐστιν.

C 19. "Ὁ γὰρ Βίων τὸν θεὸν κολάζοντα τοὺς παῖδας τῶν πονηρῶν γελοιοτέρον εἶναι φησιν ἰατροῦ διὰ νόσου πάππου καὶ πατρὸς ἐκγονοῦν ἢ παῖδα φαρμακεύοντος. ἦστι δὲ πὴ μὲν ἀνόμοια τὰ πράγματα6 νόσου μὲν γὰρ ἄλλος ἄλλον οὐ παῦει θεραπεύομενος, οὓδε βέλτιον τοῖς ἔσχε τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν  ἢ πυρεττών τῶν ἀλλοι ὑπαλειφόμενον ἢ καταπλαττόμενον. αἱ δὲ τιμωρίαι τῶν πονηρῶν διὰ τοῦτο δείκνυται πάσων, ὅτι δίκης κατὰ λόγον

D περαινομένης ἔργον ἐστὶν ἐτέρους δι’ ἐτέρων κολαζομένων ἐπισχεῖν. ἢ δὲ προσέοικε τῷ ξητουμένῳ τὸ παραβαλλόμενον ύπὸ τοῦ Βίωνος ἐλαθεν αὐτῶν· ἦδη γὰρ ἀνδρὸς εἰς νόσημα μοχθηρὸν, οὐ μὴν

1 οἶκεῖον X3 hki M1: ἢ οἶκεῖον (ἡ οἶκεῖος V2).
2 ἀναπείσειεν Coray: ἀγαπήσειεν (ἀπατήσειεν ? Post).
3 ἔχω μὲν] ἔχομεν X1 Z1 I N1 V2.
5 κινήσωμεν] κινήσομεν Gras v Z Ry S Vv C.
6 πράγματα] πράγματα πὴ δὲ έοικότα καὶ δμοια X3.
or his own kindred involved in terrible calamities through his own fault and paying the price, could never be induced, for all the honours rendered to Zeus,\(^a\) once more to become unjust and licentious, is shown by an account I recently heard; but I fear you would take it for a myth.\(^b\) I confine myself accordingly to probabilities."

"By no means do so," said Olympichus, "but let us have it too."

As the others made the same request, I said: "First let me complete my account of the probabilities; later, if you decide, let us venture upon the myth—if myth it is.

19. "Bion\(^c\) says that in punishing the children of the wicked God is more ludicrous than a physician administering medicine to a grandson or son for a grandfather’s or father’s disorder. The two procedures, it is true, are in one way dissimilar: the treatment of one person cannot arrest the disease of another, and no victim of ophthalmia or fever ever improved on seeing another treated by salve or poultice; whereas the reason for making a public spectacle of the punishment of evildoers is that the function of justice, when rightly administered, is to restrain some men by punishing others. But on the other hand Bion failed to notice where his comparison of the physician really resembles the point under discussion. It has been known to happen that a man has fallen ill of a serious but not incurable disease

\(^{a}\) Cf. Mor. 760 B.

\(^{b}\) Cf. Mor. 589 R. For the contrast between logos ("account" or "argument") and mythos ("myth") cf. Plato, Gorgias, 523 A.

\(^{c}\) Frag. 42 (ed. Mullach); cf. Philo, De Providentia, ii. 7 (p. 49 Aucher).
(561) ἀνίατον, ἐμπεσόντος, εἰτ’ ἀκραία καὶ μαλακία προεμένου τῷ πάθει τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαφθαρέντος, νῦν οὐ δοκοῦντα νοσεῖν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν νόσον, ἵστρος ἢ οἰκείος ἢ ἀλείπτης καταμαθὼν ἡ δεσπότης χρηστός, ἐμβαλὼν εἰς δίαιταν αὐστηρὰν καὶ ἀφελῶν ὀίσα καὶ πέμματα καὶ πότους καὶ γύναια, φαρμακείως δὲ

Ε χρησάμενος ἐνδελεχέσι καὶ διαπονήσας1 γυμνασίως, ἐσκέδασε καὶ ἀπέπεμψεν μεγάλου πάθους σπέρμα μικρόν, οὐκ ἔσασας εἰς μέγεθος προελθεῖν. ἢ γὰρ οὐχ οὕτω παρακελευόμεθα προσέχειν ἄξιοντες ἑαυτοῖς2 καὶ παραφυλάττεσθαι3 καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν ὅσοι γεγόνασιν ἐκ πατέρων ἡ μητέρων νοσηματικῶν, ἀλλ’ εὐθὺς ἐξωθεῖν τὴν ἐγκεκραμένην ἀρχήν, εὐκίνητον οὖσαν καὶ ἀκροσφαλῆ προκαταλαμβάνοντας; ’’’4

“Πάνε μὲν οὖν,” ἐφασαν.

“Οὐ τοίνυν ἀτοποῦ,” εἶπον, “ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαῖον, οὗτα γελοῖον ἀλλ’ ὑφέλιμον πρᾶγμα ποιοῦμεν,

F ἐπιληπτικῶν παιοï καὶ μελαγχολικῶν καὶ ποδαγρικῶν γυμνάσια καὶ διαίτας καὶ φάρμακα προσἀγοντες οὐ νοσοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐνεκα τοῦ μὴ νοσησαί το γὰρ ἐκ πονηροῦ σῶματος γυνόμενον σῶμα τιμωρίας μὲν οὔδεμιᾶς, ἰατρείας δὲ καὶ φυλακῆς ἄξιον ἔστιν’ ἢν εἰ τις, ὅτι τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀφαιρεῖ καὶ δημοῦν ἑπάγει καὶ πόνον, τιμωρίαν ὑπὸ δειλίας καὶ μαλακίας ἀποκαλεῖ, χαίρειν ἑατέον. ἅρ’ οὖν σῶμα μὲν ἐκγυνοῦν βαύλου σῶματος ἄξιον ἔστι θεραπεύειν καὶ φυλάττειν, κακίας δὲ ὀμοιότητα

1 διαπονήσας G X F1: διαπονήσας τὸ σῶμα.
2 ἑαυτοῖς X3 C: ἑαυτοὺς.
and from weakness of will and lack of fortitude has yielded his body up to it and succumbed, while a physician, kinsman, trainer, or kindly master, understanding the situation, has taken that man's son, who to all appearance is not ill, but merely predisposed to the same disease, and by subjecting him to a severe diet, depriving him of relishes, pastry, drink, and women, administering medicine without interruption, and keeping him busy with hard exercise, has dissipated and dispelled the tiny seed of a great disorder by not allowing it to grow to any size. Is this not indeed the advice we press upon the children of a sickly father or mother—to take care of themselves and use precaution and not be negligent, but expel from the start the incipient disease inherent in their constitution, catching it in time when it is still readily dislodged and has as yet but a precarious hold?"

"Certainly," they said.

"Our action, then," said I, "is not absurd, but necessary, and not ridiculous, but salutary, when we prescribe exercise and diet and medicine to the children of epileptics, of melancholiacs, and of sufferers from the gout, not because they have the disease, but to keep them from getting it; for the body born of a vitiated body deserves not punishment, but medical treatment and preventive care; and if anyone is coward and weakling enough to stigmatize such treatment as punishment, we must not let him detain us. If, then, a body that comes of a vitiated body is deserving of treatment and care, is it right to do nothing about a family resemblance in vice as

3 παραφυλάττεσθαι] φυλάττεσθαι G X F.
4 προκαταλαμβάνοντας] προσκαταλαμβάνοντας G X1 F1 Z1 N Y1.
(561) συγγενικὴν ἐν νέῳ βλαστάνουσαν ἤθει καὶ ἀναφυ-562 μένην ἐὰν δεῖ καὶ περιμένειν καὶ μέλλειν ἀρχή ἢν ἐκχυθείσα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμφανῆς γένηται," kακόφρονά τ' ἀμφάνη¹ πραπίδων καρπόν,² ὡς φησὶ Πίνδαρος;

20. ""Ἡ κατὰ τούτο μὲν ὁ θεὸς οὐδὲν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου σοφώτερος διακελευμένου καὶ παρεγ-γυώντος,

μηδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμου τάφου ἀπονοστήσαντα ὁπερμαίνειν γενεὴν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτων ἀπὸ δαιτός, ὡς οὐ κακίαν μόνον οὐδ' ἀρετήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ λύπην καὶ χαρὰν καὶ πᾶν πάθος4 ἀναδεξομένης τῆς γενέσεως, ἑλαροὺς καὶ ἣδεις καὶ διακεχυμένους ἀγοντος⁵ πρὸς τὴν τέκνωσιν; ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐκέτι⁶ B καθ' Ἡσιόδου οὐδὲ ἀνθρωπίνης ἔργον σοφίας ἀλλὰ θεοῦ, τὸ διορᾶν καὶ διαμισθάνεσθαι τὰς ὀμοιοπαθείας καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς πρὶν εἰς μεγάλα τοῖς πάθεσιν ἐμπεσοῦσαν ἀδικήματα γενέῃθαι καταφανεῖς. ἀρ-κτων μὲν γὰρ ἔτι νήπια καὶ λύκων τέκνα καὶ πιθήκων εὐθὺς ἐμφαίνει τὸ συγγενὲς ἦθος, ὅπο μηδενὸς ὑπαμπεχόμενον μηδὲ καταπλαττόμενον· ἢ δ' ἀνθρώπου φύσις, εἰς ἐθή καὶ δόγματα καὶ νόμους ἐαυτὴν ἐμβαλόντα, κρύπτει τὰ φαινα καὶ τὰ καλὰ μιμεῖται πολλάκις, ὥστε ἡ παντάπασιν ἐξαλείψαι καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἐγγενὴ κηλίδα τῆς κακίας,

¹ τ' ἀμφάνη Ruhnken: τ' ἀμφάνη Vv (τάμφανή Κ¹img); τό (τοῦ G³ M²) ἀμφάνη G¹ X¹ F¹ K¹11 N² M¹ Y W (τὸ ἀμφανεὶ N¹); τὸν ἀμφάνη F³ Z hki C¹; τὸ ἐμφανὴ Ry; τ' ἐκφανεὶ X³ (τ' ἀκφανεὶ Μ³).
² καρπῶν] καρπῶν F M¹ Y¹ (καὶ καρπῶν K¹; καὶ καρπῶν K² Vv).

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it germinates and shoots up in a youthful character, and to delay and hold off until, spreading far and wide, it comes to light in the passions and

Shows the malignant harvest of the soul, as Pindar a says?

20. "Or in this is God no wiser than Hesiod, b who offers this exhortation and advice:

Nor yet returning from a burial,
That thing of evil omen, sow thine offspring,
But from a feast of the immortal gods,

bringing men to procreation in a mood of gaiety and pleasure and cheerfulness, because their progeny receive from them not only vice or virtue, but sorrow, joy, and every kind of mood? There is another matter, however, no longer within Hesiod’s capacity, nor a task for human wisdom, but rather for God: to discriminate and distinguish between similar and dissimilar propensities before the actual passions bring them to light by involving them in great acts of wrong. For whereas the young of bears and wolves and apes reveal their congenital character from the outset, undisguised and unfalsified, man has a nature that can enter into customs and doctrines and codes of conduct and thereby often conceal its failings and imitate a virtuous course, with the result that it either wipes out and escapes altogether an inherited stain

a Frag. 211 (ed. Schroeder).
b Works and Days, 735 f.; cf. Mor. 158 b.

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3 ἰοψηφήμοιο G and Hesiod: ἰωσηφήμοιο.
4 πᾶν πάθος Post: πάνθ’ ὀσα (omit καὶ πάνθ’ ὀσα as a corrupt gloss, πένθος ?).
5 ἁγοντος Pohlenz: ἁγεὶ G X¹ F Z y hki N² M Vv C; ἁγη N¹ Y W; ἁγενῷ X³ R.
6 οὐκέτι G X F Z I¹: οὐκ ἔστι.
(562) ἂ διαλαθεῖν πολὺν χρόνον οἶνον ἐλυτρῶν τι τὴν
C πανουργίαν, διαλαθεῖν δὲ ἵμασ τοὺς
ὡστερ ὑπὸ πληγῆς ἢ δήγματος ἐκάστου τῶν
ἀδικημάτων μόλις αἰσθανομένους τῆς κακίας,
μᾶλλον δὲ όλως τότε γίγνεσθαι νομίζοντας ἄδικος
ὅτε ἀδικοῦσιν, ἀκολάστους ὅτε ὑβρίζουσιν, καὶ
ἀνάνδρους ὅτε φεύγουσιν, ὡστερ 2 εἰ τις οἶκοτο
τοὺς σκορπίως ἐμφύεσθαι τὸ κέντρον ὅτε τύπτουσιν,
καὶ ταῖς ἑκίδναις τοῦ ὅν ὅτε δάκνουσιν, εὐθὺς
οἰόμενος· οὐ γὰρ ἀμα γίγνεται καὶ φαίνεται τῶν
πονηρῶν ἐκάστος, ἀλλ' ἔχει μὲν ἐς ἄρχης τὴν
κακίαν, χρῆται δὲ καιροῦ καὶ δυνάμεως ἐπιλαβο-
μενός τῷ κλέπτειν ὁ κλέπτης καὶ τῷ παρανομεῖν
D ὁ τυραννικός. ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς οὔτε ἄγνοει δήπου τὴν
ἐκάστου διάθεσιν καὶ φύσιν, ἀτε ὥ ψυχῆς μᾶλλον
ἢ σώματος αἰσθάνεσθαι περικός, οὔτ', ἀναμένει
τὴν βίαν ἐν χεροὶ γενομένην καὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν ἐν
φωνῇ 3 καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν ἐν αἰδοίοις κολάζειν.
όγαρ ἀμύνεται τὸν ἀδικήσαντα κακῶς παθῶν, οὔδ'
ἀργίζεται τῷ ἀρπάσαντι βιασθεῖς, οὔδε μυσεῖ τὸν
μοιχὸν ύβρισθεῖς, ἀλλ' ἰατρείας ἑνεκα τὸν μοιχοῦ
καὶ τὸν 4 πλεονεκτικόν καὶ ἀδικητικόν κολάζει
πολλάκις, ὡστερ ἐπιληψίαι τὴν κακίαν πρὶν ἡ
καταλαβεῖν ἀναιρῶν.

21. " Ἥμεις δὲ ἀρτίως μὲν ἡγανακτοῦμεν ὡς
Ε ὄψε καὶ βραδέως τῶν πονηρῶν δίκην διδόντων,

1 οἶνον ἐλυτρῶν τι τὴν παν. nos: οἶνον ἐαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν παν. G X
I hki N M1 Y C1W; οἶνον ἐλυτρῶν τι ἐαυτῇ τὴν παν. F M2; οἶνον
ἐλυτρῶν τι (for ἐλ. τι Ry have ἐσθήτα τινὰ) τὴν παν. ἐαυτῇ Ry
Vv; ἐπικάλυψιν οἶνον ἐαυτῇ τινὰ τὴν παν. X3.

2 ὡστερ ὡστὲ ῬX1; ὡς X3 K.

3 ἐν φωνῇ] ἐνφανῆ F; ἐμφανῆ G2 Ry Kt V2mg.

4 καὶ τὸν] καὶ hki M.
of vice, or else eludes detection for a long time by enveloping itself in duplicity as in a cover, eludes detection by ourselves, I say, who stung or bitten, as it were, by the particular vicious act, come at last to be aware of the vice,\(^a\) nay rather, who believe in general that men become unjust when they commit injustice, licentious when they gratify their lust, and cowards when they run away. One might as well fancy that scorpions grow their dart when they sting, and vipers generate their venom when they strike—a foolish notion, for the various kinds of wicked men do not at the same time become wicked and show themselves wicked; rather, the thief and the tyrant possess their vice from the outset, but put their thievish and lawlessness into effect when they find the occasion and the power. But God is surely neither ignorant of the disposition and nature of each individual, as he is naturally better aware of the soul than of the body, nor does he wait for violence to show itself in the hands, impudence in the voice, and lewdness in the parts of shame before inflicting punishment. For he has not been wronged that he should retaliate upon the wrongdoer, nor suffered violence that he should be angry with the robber, nor been injured that he should hate the adulterer; when, as he often does, he punishes those of an adulterous, a rapacious, and a lawless tendency, his purpose is to cure them, removing the vice, like an epilepsy, before the seizure.\(^b\)

21. "As for ourselves, we were a moment ago resentful that the wicked should be punished late and


(562) νῦν δὲ ὤτι καὶ πρὶν ἀδικεῖν ἐνίων ¹ τὴν ἔξιν αὐτὴν ² κολουεὶ καὶ τὴν διάθεσιν ἐγκαλοῦμεν ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τοῦ γενομένου πολλάκις τὸ μέλλον, καὶ τὸ λανθάνον τοῦ προδήλου, χειρὸν ἐστὶ καὶ φοβερώτερον, οὐ δυνάμενοι δὲ συλλογίζεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας δι' ἃς ἐνίως μὲν καὶ ἄδικησαντας ἑαυτὸν ἐστίν, ἐνίως δὲ καὶ διανοομένους προκαταλαμβάνειν ὁππερ ἀμέλει καὶ φάρμακα ἐνίως μὲν οὐχ ἄρμοζε νοσοῦσιν, ἐνίως δὲ λυστελεὶ καὶ μὴ νοσοῦσιν ἐπισφαλέστερον ἐκείνων ἑχουσιν. οὖν

F οὔδὲ πάντα

tὰ τῶν τεκόντων σφάλματ' ³ εἰς τοὺς ἐκγόνους οἱ θεοὶ τρέποσιν,

ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἐκ φαινοῦ γένηται χρηστός, ὁππερ εὐεκτικὸς ἐκ νοσῶδους, ἀφεῖται τῆς τοῦ γένους ποινῆς, οἶον ἐκποιήτος ⁴ τῆς κακίας γενόμενος, νοσοῦσιν ⁵ δὲ εἰς ὁμοιότητα μοχθῆρον γένους ἀναφερομένω προσῆκε δῆπουθεν ὡς χρέα κληρονομίας διαδέχεσθαι τῆς πονηρίας τῆν κόλασιν. οὐ γὰρ Ἀντίγονὸς γε διὰ Δημήτριον, οὔδὲ τῶν προτέρων ⁶ Φυλεὺς δι' Αὐγέαν οὔδε Νέστωρ διὰ Νηλέα δίκας

¹ ἐνίων] ἐνίων X³.
² τὴν ἔξιν αὐτὴν nos: τὴν ἔξιν (τᾶξιν Ry) αὐτῶν (αὐτῶν τὴν ἔξιν hki).
³ σφάλματ'] None of the mss. elides.
⁴ ἐκποιήτος Victorius: ἐκ ποιότητος.
⁵ νοσοῦσιν Post: νόσῳ (νόσου Y; νόσουν vë; νέω X³).
⁶ προτέρων Emperius: πονηρῶν.

Demetrios Poliorcetes, father of Antigonus Gonatas.
Cf. a scholium on Iliad xi. 700 quoted in Callimachus (ed. Pfeiffer), vol. i, p. 85: "At the command of Eurystheus
with delay; we now complain that even before the wrong is done God chastens the mere state and disposition of some. This we do, little knowing that threatened evil is often worse and more to be dreaded than actual, and hidden than manifest, and unable to make out the reasons why it is better to leave some alone, even though they have done wrong, but to forestall the mere intentions of others, exactly as medicine may be unsuitable for some, though ill, but beneficial to others, who although not ill, are in a more precarious condition. Hence comes it that not all

The sins of parents on the children
The gods do visit, a

but where a good man is born of a bad, as a healthy child may come of a sickly parent, the penalty attached to the family is remitted, and he becomes, as it were, adopted out of vice; whereas if a man’s disorder reproduces the traits of a vicious ancestry, it is surely fitting that he should succeed to the punishment of that viciousness as to the debts of an estate. For Antigonus paid no penalty for Demetrius, b nor yet, to go back farther, did Phyleus pay for Augeas c or Nestor for Neleus d (for the sons Heracles cleaned the stables of Augeas, who refused the payment demanded, asserting that Heracles had acted under orders. Phyleus, son of Augeas, was made judge in the affair and decided against his father, who in his resentment drove him from the country. Heracles came with an army and plundered Elis, and sending to Dulichium for Phyleus made him king.” Cf. also Apollodorus, ii. 5. 5, 7. 2, and Pausanias, v. 3. 1.

As Nestor had not joined his father and brothers in the theft of Heracles’ cattle, he was spared and given his father’s kingdom: cf. Philostratus, Heroicus, p. 696, and Socraticeorum Epist. xxxviii. 6.
563 ἐδωκεν¹ (εκ κακῶν μὲν γάρ, ἀγαθοὶ δὲ ἦσαν), ἀλλ’ ὀσῶν² ἡ φύσις ἐστερέξε καὶ προσήκατο τὸ συγγε-
νέα, τούτων ἡ δίκη διώκουσα τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῆς
κακίας διεξῆλθεν.³ ώσ γὰρ ἀκροχορδόνες καὶ
μελάσματα καὶ φακοὶ πατέρων ἐν παισιν ἀφαν-
ισθέντες ἀνέκυψαν ὑστερον ἐν νίνωνσ καὶ θυγατρι-
δοῖς, καὶ γυνή τις Ἐλληνις, τεκοῦσα βρέφος μέλαν,
εἶτα κρινομένη μοιχείας, ἐξανεύρεσ αὐτὴν Αἰθίοπος
οὗσαν γενεὰν τετάρτην, τῶν ὑπ’ Πυθωνος τοῦ Θυ-
σβέως⁴ παῖδων, ὅς ἐναγχὸς τεθηκεν, λεγομένου
τοῖς Σπαρτοῖς προσήκειν, εἰς⁵ ἐξανήγεικεν λόγχης
Β τύπον ἐν τῷ σώματι, διὰ χρόνων τοσοῦτων ἀνα-
σχούσης καὶ ἀναδύσης ὡσπερ ἐκ βυθοῦ τῆς πρὸς τὸ
γένος ὁμοιότητος, οὕτω πολλάκις ἥθη καὶ πάθη ψυ-
χῆς αἰ πρώται κρύπτουσι γενέσεις καὶ καταδύου-
σιν, ὑστερον δὲ ποτε καὶ δι’ ἐτέρων ἐξήνθησεν καὶ
ἀπεδωκε τὸ οἰκεῖον εἰς κακίαν καὶ ἀρετὴν ἡ φύ-
σις.

22. Ἐπει δὲ ταῦτα εἶπον ἔσιώπησα, διαμει-
διάσεις ὁ Ὀλυμπικὸς, “οὐκ ἐπαινοῦμεν σε,” εἶπεν,
“ὀπως μὴ δόξωμεν ἀφιέναι τὸν μύθον, ὡς τοῦ
λόγου πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν ἰκανῶς ἔχωντος ἀλλὰ τότε
dώσωμεν τὴν ἀπόφασιν οταν κάκεινα ἀκούσωμεν.”
Οὐτὼς οὖν ἐφην ὅτι Σολεύς⁷ ἀνήρ, ἑκείνου τοῦ

¹ ἐδωκεν] ἐδωκαν X³ N M Vv Y.
² ὀσῶν] ὀσον G¹ Xᵈ F Z R N.
³ διεξῆλθεν] ἐπεξῆλθεν Keiske.
⁴ θισβέως G⁴ss: νισβίσως G¹ Xᵈ Ry hki (-aiw N; vo- M¹)
Vv Y CW; νισβίσως F X¹ Z M².
⁵ εἰς added by Stegmann after λόγχης, placed here by Bern.
⁶ κάκεινα] κάκεινον X³.
⁷ Σολεύς nos: σωλεύς (so- Xᵈ Fº) θεσπέως G X¹ Fae Z ;
were men of virtue, though sprung from wicked fathers), but only to those whose nature acquiesced in and espoused the family trait, did punishment, pursuing the vicious resemblance, make its way. For as the warts, birthmarks, and moles of the fathers disappear in the children to reappear later in the children of sons and daughters, and as a certain Greek woman, on bearing a black child and being charged with adultery, discovered that she was fourth in descent from a negro, and as among the children of Python of Thisbê, who died the other day, and was said to be akin to the Sown Men, there was one that reproduced on his body the tracing of a spear, the family likeness reappearing and emerging after so many ages as if from the depths of the earth, so too the first generations often conceal and submerge traits and passions of the soul, while later and in the persons of others the family nature breaks out and restores the inherited bent for vice or virtue."

22. With this I fell silent. Olympichus smiled. "We do not applaud," he said, "lest you imagine we are letting you off from the myth, on the ground that your argument suffices to prove your case. No; we shall pass judgement only when we have heard that further recital."

And so I went on to say that a man of Soli—a kins-


\[\text{The "Sown Men" claimed descent from the warriors that sprang from the earth when Cadmus sowed the dragon's teeth. For the spear cf. Dio Chrysostom, Or. iv. 23.}\]

\[\text{σολεὺς (σω- N M¹ Vv Y W) ὁ θεσπέσιος (ὁ Σ. 'Αριδαῖος Hart-}\]

\[\text{man).}\]
(563) γενομένου μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθα Πρωτογένους οἰκείος καὶ φίλος, ἐν πολλῇ βιώσας ἀκολασίᾳ τὸν πρώτον χρόνον, εἰτὰ ταχὺ τὴν οὖσιν ἀπολέσας, ἢδη χρόνον τινά καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐγένετο πονηρός, καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐκ μετανοίᾳ διώκων, ταυτὸ τοῖς ἀκολάστοις ἐπασχε πάθος, οὐ τὰς γυναῖκας ἔχοντες μὲν οὐ φιλάττουσιν, προέμενοι δὲ πειρώσων αὕθις ἁδίκως ἔτεροις συνούσας. 2 οὐδενὸς οὖν ἀπεχόμενος αἰσχροῦ φέροντος εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἡ κέρδος, οὖσιαν μὲν οὐ πολλῆν, δόξαν δὲ πονηρίας ἐν ὅλῳ πλείστην συνήγαγεν. μά-}

D λιστα δὲ αὐτὸν διεβαλεν ἀνενεχθεῖσα τις ἐξ Ἀμφι-
λόχου μαντεία. πέμψας γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡρώτα τὸν
θεὸν εἰ βέλτιον βιώσεται τὸν ἐπίλουτον βίον. ὃ δὲ
ἀνείλεν ὅτι πράξει βέλτιον ὅταν ἀποθάνῃ.

Καὶ δὴ τρόπον τινά τούτο μετ' οὐ πολλὸν χρόνον
αὐτῷ συνέπεσεν. κατενεχθεῖς γὰρ ἐξ ύψους τῶν
eἰς τράχηλον, οὐ γενομένου τραύματος ἀλλὰ
πληγῆς3 μόνον, ἐξέβαλεν, καὶ τριταῖος ἢδη περὶ
tὰς ταφὰς αὐτὰς ἀνήγεγκεν. ταχὺ δὲ ρωσθεῖς καὶ
παρ' αὐτῷ γενόμενος, ἀπιστὸν τινὰ τοῦ βίου τῆς
μεταβολῆν ἐποίησεν. οὕτε γὰρ δικαιότερον περὶ τὰ
συμβόλαια γινώσκουσιν ἔτερον4. Κίλικες ἐν τοῖς
tότε χρόνοις γενόμενον,5 οὕτε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ὅσιώ-

Ε ἔτερον οὕτε λυπηρότερον ἔρξθροῖς ἡ βεβαιότερον
φίλοις. ὡστε καὶ ποθεῖν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αὐτῷ

1 ἡμῶν G1 Vv: ἡμᾶς.
2 διαφθείρευς is omitted by Cobet after συνούσας.
3 πληγῆς] πληγεῖς Z hki Y1.
4 ἔτερον] ἔτερων Ry ; G Z omit.
5 γενόμενον] γινόμενον hᵃο M Y¹.
man and friend of that Protogenes who was once with us here—had spent his early life in great dissipation, and then, soon running through his estate, had for some time practised a further villainy brought on by his straitened circumstances. Reversing his attitude toward wealth, he now courted it, acting like the libertines who when they have a wife do not keep her, but let her go, and then turn round and wrongfully solicit her favours after she has married another. Abstaining, then, from no shameful act conducive to gratification or gain, he accumulated no very considerable fortune, but in a brief space a prodigious reputation for knavery. But the greatest blow to his good name was a response conveyed to him from the oracle of Amphilochus. He had sent (it appears) to ask the god whether the remainder of his life would be better spent. The god answered that he would do better when he died.

In a sense this actually happened to him not long after. He had fallen from a height and struck his neck, and although there had been no wound, but only a concussion, he died away. On the third day, at the very time of his funeral, he revived. Soon recovering his strength and senses, he instituted a change in his way of life that could hardly be believed; for the Cilicians know of no one in those times more honest in his engagements, more pious toward heaven, or more grievous to his enemies and faithful to his friends; so that all who met him longed

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a Protogenes of Tarsus is mentioned in Mor. 749 b.
b A celebrated oracle at Mallos in Cilicia: cf. Mor. 434 d.
c The neck is the "isthmus and boundary" between the head, the abode of the divine part of the soul, and the body, the abode of its mortal part: cf. Plato, Timaeus, 69 c-e.
d Cf. Plato, Republic, 614 b.
23. 'Επεὶ γὰρ ἐξέπεσε τὸ φρονοῦν τοῦ σώματος ὁδὸν ἀν τις ἐκ πλοίου κυβερνήτης εἰς βυθὸν ἀπορριφεῖς πάθοι τοῦ πρώτον, οὐτὸς ύπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐσχεν· εἶτα μικρὸν ἐξαρθεῖς ἐδοξεῖν ἀναπνεῖν ὁ λος καὶ περιορᾶν πανταχόθεν, ὦσπερ ἐνὸς ὀμμάτως ἀνοιχθείσης τῆς ψυχῆς. ἕωρα δὲ τῶν πρότερων οὐθέν ἀλλ' ἦ τὰ ἀστρα παμμεγέθη καὶ ἀπέχοντα πλῆθος ἀλλήλων ἀπλετον, αὐγήν τε τῇ χρόᾳ θαυμαστὴν ἀφιέντα καὶ τόνον ἔχουσαν, ὦστε τὴν ψυχὴν ἐποχουμένην λείως πλοίον ὦσπερ ἐν γαλήνη τῷ φωτὶ ράδιως πάντῃ καὶ ταχὺ διαφέρεσθαι.

Τὰ δὲ πλείστα τῶν θεαμάτων παραλιποῦν, ἐφ' ὑπὸ τῶν τελευτῶν κάτωθεν ἀνοικύσας πομφόλυγα φλογοειδῆ ποιεῖν ἐξισταμένου τοῦ

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1 τῆς δ. οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ τ. οἰ. γ. διακ. Ry; the rest repeat τῆς (and so N) διαφορᾶς before διακ. (τὴν διακ. hk), except X, which has τοῦ βίου instead. τῆς through γεγονέναι is repeated in v; -φορᾶς through γεγονέναι was dropped by M.
2 ὀμοίως G Xᵃ F: ὀμοίως.
3 ἀπορριφεῖς] ἀπορριφθεῖς X F Z i N Y.
4 πρότερων] προτέρων G S hki (προτέρων M) Vv.
5 αὐγήν] αὐγὴ Gac X¹; αὐγὴ Z; αὐγὴν F¹.
6 χρόα C : χροά.
7 ἔχουσαν] ἔχουσα Gac X¹ F¹ Z¹(?).
8 ἐποχουμένην G X³: ἐνοχλουμένην.
9 πλοίον ὦσπερ Schwartz (ὡσπερ πλοίον Emperius): οἶνον ὦσπερ (ὡσπερ l).

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a For the comparison of the soul or intellect to a pilot or
to hear the reason for the difference, supposing nothing ordinary could have caused so great a reformation in character. Such indeed was the case, as appears from the story as told by himself to Protogenes and other worthy friends.

23. He said that when his intelligence was driven from his body, the change made him feel as a pilot might at first on being flung into the depths of the sea; his next impression was that he had risen somewhat and was breathing with his whole being and seeing on all sides, his soul having opened wide as if it were a single eye. But nothing that he saw was familiar except the stars, which appeared very great in size and at vast distances apart, sending forth a marvellously coloured radiance possessed of a certain cohesion, so that his soul, riding smoothly in the light like a ship on a calm sea, could move easily and rapidly in all directions.

Passing over most of the spectacle, he said that as the souls of those who die came up from below they made a flamelike bubble as the air was displaced,

sailor (implied here and in Mor. 586 a) cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 247 c, Aristotle, De Anima, ii. 1 (413 a 8 f.), and Alexander, De Anima, chap. xv. 9. Cf. also Mor. 1008 a.

b His intelligence has risen from the bottom of the air to the enclosing sphere of fire, and this appears to him a short distance. On leaving the body the soul moves upwards: cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 17-18 (40-43).

c Cf. Mor. 590 c.

d Intelligence is the eye of the soul: cf. Plato, Republic, 519 b, with Shorey’s note in the L.C.L. The disembodied soul now sees without the intervention of corporeal “openings” or “windows,” for which cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 20 (46), with Pohlenz’s note, and Lucretius, iii. 360.

e A film of air from the sublunary region envelops the soul—which, for the purposes of the myth, is fiery—as it rises into the empyrean.
564 ἀέρος, εἴτε ῥηγνυμένης ἀτρέμα τῆς πομφόλυγος ἐκβαίνει τῇς ἑχοῦσας ἀνθρωποειδῆ, τὸν δὲ ὅγκον εὐσταλεῖς, κυνούμενας δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως, ἄλλα τὰς μὲν ἐκπιθάν ἐλαφρότητι θαιμαστῆ καὶ διάττευν ἐπ’ εὐθείας ἁνω, τὰς δὲ ὅσπερ ἀτρακτοί περιστρεφομένας ἀμα κύκλω, καὶ τοτε μὲν κάτω τοτε δὲ ἁνω ἰεπούσας, μικτήν τινα φέροσθαι καὶ τεταραγμένην ἐλικα καὶ πολλῷ πάνυ χρόνῳ καὶ μόλις ἀποκαθισταμένην. 

Τὰς μὲν οὖν πολλᾶς ἤγγοει τίνες εἰσίν, δύο δὲ ἦ τρεῖς ιδὼν γνωρίμους, ἐπειράτο προσμιέζαι καὶ προσευπεῖν. αἱ δὲ οὕτε ἢκουν οὕτε ἦσαν παρ’ Β αὐταῖς, ἀλλ’ ἐκφρονει καὶ διεπτομέναι, πάσαν ὄψιν ἀποφεύγουσαν καὶ φαῦσιν, ἐρέμβοντο πρῶτον αὐταί καθ’ ἑαυτᾶς, εἴτα, πολλαῖς ὁμοίως διακειμέναι ἐντυγχάνουσαν καὶ περιπλεκόμεναι, φοράσ τε πάσας πρὸς οὐθέν ἀκρίτως ἐφέροντο καὶ φωνᾶς ἰεσαν ἀσήμους, οἶνον ἀλαλαγμοῖς θρήνου καὶ φόβου μεμιγμένας. ἀλλαὶ δὲ ἁνωθεν εἰς τῷ καθαρῷ τοῦ περιέχοντος ὁβήναι τε φαινοὶ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ὑπ’ εὔμενεῖας θαμὰ πελάζουσαι, τὰς δὲ θορυβώδεις ἐκείνας ἐκτρεπόμεναι, διεσθε- 

C μαίνον ὡς ἐοικεν συστολὴ μὲν εἰς αὐτὰς τὸ δυσχε-

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1 πομφόλυγος] πομφόλυγος X¹ F here and πομφόλυγα above.  
2 ἀτρακτοὶ] οἱ ἀτρακτοὶ G X F Z Ry M² Vv.  
3 ἐλικα supplied by us (cf. Mor. 592 A); κίνησιν by X³. Perhaps ἐλικά (or ἐλίκην ?) should be read for μικτήν.  
4 αὐταῖς] ἑαυταῖς G X F Z K M².  
5 ἐντυγχάνουσαι καὶ περιπλεκόμεναι X³ Ry: ἐντυγχάνουσι (‒αι Y²) καὶ περιπλεκομέναι.  
6 οὐθὲν G X F Z K Vv: οὐδὲν.  
7 ἰεσαν G³ F³ Ry k M C (ἰεσαν G⁶ Xd hi Vv W): ἱεσαν.  
8 ἀλαλαγμοῖς X³ Re (ἀλαλαγμοῖς ῥαγυ): ‒μοὶ (‒μοὶς hki M; ‒μὸν N Vv; ‒μοῦ W).  

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and then, as the bubble gently burst, came forth, human in form, but slight in bulk, and moving with dissimilar motions. Some leapt forth with amazing lightness and darted about aloft in a straight line, while others, like spindles, revolved upon themselves and at the same time swung now downward, now upward, moving in a complex and disordered spiral that barely grew steady after a very long time.

Most of the souls indeed he failed to recognize, but seeing two or three of his acquaintance, he endeavoured to join them and speak to them. These, however, would not hear him and were not in their right mind, but in their frenzy and panic avoiding all sight and contact, they at first strayed about singly; later, meeting many others in the same condition, they clung to them and moved about indistinguishably in all manner of aimless motions and uttered inarticulate sounds, mingled with outcries as of lamentation and terror. Other souls, above, in a pure region of the ambient, were joyful in aspect and out of friendliness often approached one another, but shunned the other, tumultuous souls, indicating their distaste, he said, by contracting into themselves,

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\textit{a} Cf. Mor. 1105 d.


\textit{c} Cf. Mor. 610 c.

\textit{d} In Mor. 943 c good souls are said to dwell for a fixed period in the “mildest part of the air” (ἐν τῷ πραοτάτῳ τοῦ ἀέρος). Cf. also Plato, \textit{Republic}, 520 d.

9 φόβου K a² l² : φόνου.

10 τῷ added by Pohlenz.

11 καθαρῷ Paton : κάρῳ (καλῷ X³ V ; ἄκρῳ a²).
(564) ράνον, ἐκπετάσει δὲ καὶ διαχύσει τὸ χαῖρον καὶ προσιέμενον.

24. Ἑνταῦθα μίαν ἐφη γνώναι συγγενοῦς τινος, οὐ μέντοι σαφῶς· ἀποθανεῖν γὰρ ἐτὶ παῦσος ὄντος· ἀλλ' ἐκείνην προσαναγούσαν ἐγγὺς εἴπειν· "χαίρε Θεσπέσιε." θαυμάσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ φήσαντος ὡς οὐ Θεσπέσιος ἀλλ' Ἀριδαῖος ἐστιν, "πρότερον γε," φάναι, "τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ θυὸν Θεσπέσιος. οὐδὲ γὰρ τοι τέθνηκας, ἀλλὰ μοιρὰ τινὶ θεῶν ἥκεις δεῦρο τῷ φρονοῦντι, τὴν δὲ ἀλλήν ψυχήν ὡσπερ ἀγκύρον ἐν τῷ σώματι καταλέοντας. σύμβολον δὲ σοι καὶ νῦν καὶ αὖθις ἐστω τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν Δτεθνηκότων μήτε σκιὰν ποιεῖν μήτε σκαρδαμύτειν." ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ Θεσπέσιος ἦδη τε μᾶλλον ἑαυτὸν τῷ λογίζοντας συνήγαγεν καὶ διαβλέψας εἰδὲν ἑαυτῷ μὲν τινὰ συναιωρουμένην ἀμυδράν καὶ σκιώδη γραμμῆν, ἐκεῖνος δὲ περιλαμπομένους κύκλω καὶ διαφανεῖς ἐντὸς, οὐ μὴν ὁμοίως ἀπαντᾶς. ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ὡσπερ ἡ καθαρωτάτη πανσέληνος ἐν χρώμα λείον καὶ συνεχὲς ὀμαλῶς ἱέντας, ἑτέρων δὲ φολίδας τινὰς διατρεχούσας ἡ μάλωπας ἀραιοῦς, ἄλλους δὲ κομιδὴ ποικίλους Εκαὶ ἀτόπους τὴν ὄψιν, ὡσπερ οἱ ἑχεῖς μελάσμαι

1 διαχύσει Χ α : διαλύσει.
2 γνώναι added by Paton (ἐπιγνώναι after σαφῶς Reiske; ἰδεῖν after τινος Leonicus).
3 προσαναγούσαν] προσαγότιον C a J (προσαγαγούσαν Reiske).
4 Ἀριδαῖος] Ἀριδαῖος Wyttenbach.
5 θυὸν] τοῦτον G X F (τοῦ γε N).
6 ἐστω] ἐσται G a.
7 Pohlenz would omit τινα, retaining it after ἀμυδράν below.
but their delight and welcome by expansion and diffusion.\(^a\)

24. Here, he said, he recognized one soul, that of a kinsman, though not distinctly, as he was but a child when the kinsman died; but it drew near and said: "Greetings, Thespesius." \(^b\) He was taken aback and said he was not Thespesius but Aridaeus. "You were that before," was the reply, "but henceforth you are Thespesius. For you must further know you are not dead, but through a divine dispensation are present here in your intelligence, having left the rest of your soul, like an anchor, behind in your body. Now and hereafter know it by this token: the souls of the dead neither cast a shadow nor blink their eyes." \(^c\) At this Thespesius, by an effort of thought, became more collected, and looking steadily, saw a certain faint and shadowy line \(^d\) floating along with him, while the rest were enveloped all around with light and translucent within, although not all to the same degree. But some were like the full moon at her clearest, shining evenly with a single smooth and unbroken hue; others were shot through with scales, as it were, or faint bruises; others quite mottled and odd in appearance, covered with black tattoo-marks, like

\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 590 c.

\(^b\) In Or. xxvi (i. 53 Keil) Aristeides dreams that Asclepius addresses him as Theodorus.

\(^c\) Cf. Mor. 300 c, where this belief is attributed to the Pythagoreans.

\(^d\) It is the shadow of the "cable": cf. 566 δ, infra.

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8 ουναιωρουμένην] ουνεωρουμένην G¹ X¹ Z¹ i N M Y¹.
9 ἀμυδράν X F Z hki: ἀμυδράν τῶν.
10 ὁμοίως Rαcy hk M: ὁμοίους.
11 ὀμαλῶς W²: καὶ ὀμαλῶς (καὶ ὀμαλῶν Ῥγ; καὶ ὀμαλῆς X³).
(564) κατεστιγμένους, ἄλλους δέ τινας ἀμβλείας ἀμυχὰς ἔχοντας.

25. ἂν ἔλεγεν οὗτος ἑκατονθράξων ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεδίου συναγερμὸς (οὔτε γὰρ οὗτος κωλύει τὰς ψυχὰς ὅνόματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσαγορεύειν), ὡς Ἀδράστεια μέν, Ἀνάγκης καὶ Διὸς θυγάτηρ, ἕτοι πάσι τιμωρῶς ἀνωτάτω τέτακται τοῖς ἀδικήμασι, καὶ τῶν πονηρῶν οὐτὲ μέγας οὕτως οὔτε οὕτως μικρῶς γέγονεν, οὕτως ἡ λαθῶν διαφυγεῖν ἡ διασά-μενος. ἀλλὰ δὲ ἄλλη τιμωρία, τριῶν οὐσῶν, φύλακι καὶ χειρουργῷ προσήκει τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εὔθὺς ἐν σώμασι καὶ διὰ σωμάτων κολαξομένους ἰματίας ἔρρημοι ἄνθρωποι καὶ παραλεῖπον τολλὰ τῶν καθαρμοῦ δεομένων. ὡν δὲ μειξὼν ἐστὶν ἔργον ἡ περὶ τὴν κακίαν ἰατρεία, τούτους Δίκη μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ δαίμων παρα-δίδωσιν. τοὺς δὲ πάμπαν ἀνατοὺς, ἀπωσαμένης τῆς Δίκης, ἡ τρίτη καὶ ἀγριωτάτη τῶν Ἀδραστείας ὑποργῶν, Ἐρινύς, μεταθέουσα πλανωμένους καὶ περιφεύγοντας ἄλλον ἄλλως, οὐκτρῶς δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἀπαντᾶς, ἡφάνυσεν καὶ κατέδησεν εἰς τὸ ἀρρητὸν καὶ ἀόρατον.

565 ἂν τό νὰ ἄλλων, ἐφῆ, ἁ δικαίωσεν ἡ μὲν ύπὸ τῆς Ποινῆς ἐν τῷ βίῳ ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἔοικεν. ὡς γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις τῶν κολαξομένων τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ τὰς τιάρας ἀποτίλλουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν, οἷ δὲ ἰματίας ἐπομένως ἔστερον ὡς γὰρ ἐν Πέρσαις τῶν κολαξομένων τὰ ἰμάτια καὶ τὰς τιάρας ἀποτίλλουσι καὶ μαστιγοῦσιν, οἷ δὲ

1 οὕτως added by Reiske after οὔτε, placed here by Pohlenz.
2 διαφυγεῖν X3: διαφεύγειν (‒γει Z V12: φεύγειν G; διαφύγειν i).
3 προσήκει] εἶναι προσήκει X3.
4 σώμασι G F: σώματι.
5 σωμάτων] τῶν σωμάτων C.
speckled vipers; and still others bore the faded traces of what looked like scratches.

25. Thespiesius' kinsman—nothing need keep us from thus referring to a man's soul—proceeded to explain. Adrasteia,\(^a\) he said, daughter of Necessity and Zeus, is the supreme requiter; all crimes are under her cognizance, and none of the wicked is so high or low as to escape her either by force or by stealth. There are three others, and each is warden and executioner of a different punishment: those who are punished at once in the body and through it are dealt with by swift Poinê in a comparatively gentle manner that passes over many of the faults requiring purgation; those whose viciousness is harder to heal are delivered up to Dikê by their daemon \(^b\) after death; while those past all healing, when rejected by Dikê, are pursued by the third and fiercest of the ministers of Adrasteia, Erinys, as they stray about and scatter in flight, who makes away with them, each after a different fashion, but all piteously and cruelly, imprisoning them in the Nameless and Unseen.\(^c\)

"Of the other forms of chastisement," he said, "that visited in life by Poinê resembles those in use among the barbarians; for as in Persia the cloaks and head-dresses of the sufferers are plucked and

\(^a\) Cf. Plato, Phaedrus, 248 c. Adrasteia means "the in-escapable."

\(^b\) Cf. Plato, Phaedo, 107 d, 113 d. A religious and personified way of speaking of a man's "lot" is to call it his "daemon."

\(^c\) That is, they are seen and heard of no more: cf. Mor. 1130 e. Hades is etymologized "unseen."

\(^6\) δὲ G¹ X F : τὲ.

\(^7\) κατέδησεν] κατέδυσεν ἥκι ἃ.
(565) παύσασθαι δακρύοντες ἀντιβολοῦν, οὕτως αἱ διὰ χρημάτων καὶ σωμάτων κολάσεις ἀφῆν οὐκ ἔχουσι δριμεῖαν οὐδὲ αὐτῆς ἐπιλαμβάνονται τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς δόξαν αἱ πολλαί καὶ πρὸς αἰσθησιν αὐτῶν εἰσιν. (26.) ὅς δ’ ἂν ἐκείθεν ἀκόλαστος ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀκάθαρτος ἐξίκηται, τοῦτον ἡ Δίκη διαλαβοῦσα τῇ ἴο ψυχῇ καταφανῆ, γυμνὸν, εἰς οὐδὲν Β ἔχοντα καταδύναι καὶ ἀποκρύψασθαι καὶ περιστεῖλαι τὴν μοχθηρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν καὶ ὑπὸ πάντων καὶ πάντα καθορώμενον, ἐδειξε πρῶτον ἀγαθοῖς γονεῦσιν, ἀντερ ὧσι, καὶ προγόνοις2 αὐτοῦ πρόσπτυστον3 οὖτα καὶ ἀνάξιον· ἓν δὲ φαίλοι, κολαξομένους ἐπιδῶν ἐκείνους καὶ ὀφθεῖς, δικαιοδοταὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐξαιρούμενος ἐκαστον τῶν παθῶν ἀλγηδόσι καὶ πόνοις οἱ τοσοῦτο μεγέθει καὶ σφοδρότητι τοὺς4 διὰ σαρκὸς ὑπερβάλλουσιν ὡσον5 τὸ ὑπάρ ἄν εἴῃ τοῦ ὀνείρατος6 ἐναργέστερον.

"Ὅυλαι δὲ καὶ μῶλοντες επὶ τῶν παθῶν ἐκάστου C τοῖς μὲν μᾶλλον ἐμμένουσι τοῖς δὲ ἥσον. ὡρὰ δὲ, εἰπεν, "τὰ ποικίλα ταῦτα καὶ παντοدادὰ χρώματα τῶν ψυχῶν· τὸ7 μὲν ὄρφνινον8 καὶ ὑπαρόν, ἀνελευθερίας ἀλοιφὴν καὶ πλεονεξίας, τὸ δὲ αἰμωπὸν9 καὶ διάπυρω, ὑμόθητος καὶ πικρίας· ὁπον δὲ τὸ

1 καὶ] καὶ διὰ M Vv.
2 καὶ προγόνοις Ry M1 V2ss W2ss: προγόνοις (-ous G1).
3 πρόσπτυστον] προσπτυστον G X (πρὸς πτυστὸν Φ1 N) hki M1 Y.
4 τοὺς G4 Xd2 F Ry M2 (V is wanting) v Y2: τοῖς.
5 τοσοῦτο . . . ὡσον G4: τοσοῦτῳ . . . ὡσον (τοσοῦτῳ . . . ὡσω h k M [V is wanting] v).
6 ὀνείρατος] ὀναρ?
7 τὸ Xd2 F Ry M2 (V is wanting) v Waö?: τοῖς.

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scourged \(^a\) as the tearful owners beg for mercy, so punishment that operates through external possessions and the body establishes no smarting contact and does not fasten upon the viciousness itself, but is for the most part addressed to opinion and the senses. \(^{26}\) But whoever comes here from the world below unpunished and unpurged, is fastened upon \(^b\) by Dikê, exposed to view and naked in his soul,\(^c\) having nothing in which to sink out of sight and hide himself and cloak his baseness, but on all sides plainly visible to all in all his shame. In this state she first shows him to his good parents and ancestors—if such they are—as one execrable and unworthy of them, while if they are wicked, he sees them punished and is seen by them; he then undergoes prolonged chastisement,\(^d\) each of his passions being removed with pains and torments that in magnitude and intensity as far transcend those that pass through the flesh as the reality would be more vivid than a dream.

"The scars and welts \(^e\) left by the different passions are more persistent in some, less so in others. Observe," he said, "in the souls that mixture and variety of colours: one is drab brown, the stain that comes of meanness and greed; another a fiery blood-red, which comes of cruelty and savagery; where you see

\(^{8}\) Cf. Mor. 35 \(\text{e}\) and 173 \(\text{d}\); Pseudo-Dio, Or. xxxvii. 45; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxx. 8.
\(^{b}\) Cf. Plato, Republic, 615 \(\text{e}\).
\(^{c}\) Cf. Plato, Gorgias, 523 \(\text{d}-\text{e}\).
\(^{d}\) In Plato, Republic, 615 \(\text{a}-\text{b}\), everyone must pay for his crime tenfold in a time ten times as long as the span of human life, which is set at a hundred years.
\(^{e}\) Cf. Plato, Gorgias, 524 \(\text{e}\), and Arrian, Epict. ii. 18. 11.
(565) γλαύκινον¹ ἔστιν, ἐντεῦθεν ἀκρασία τις περὶ ἱδονὰς ἐκτέτριπται μόλις· κακόνοια² δ' ἐνοῦσα³ μετὰ φθόνον τουτί τὸ ὴδες⁴ καὶ ὑπολογοῦν, ὥσπερ αἱ σηπία τὸ μέλαν, ἀφίγων. ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἥ⁵ κακία τῆς τε⁶ ψυχῆς τρεπομένης⁷ ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ τρεπούσης⁸ τὸ σῶμα τὰς χρῶσις ἀναδίδωσιν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καθαρμῷ καὶ κολάσιως πέρας ἐστίν τούτων

D ἐκλεαινθέντων παντάπασι τὴν ψυχήν αὐγοειδῆ καὶ σύγχρονον γίνεσθαι⁹. μέχρι δὲ οὗ ταῦτα ἐνεστὶ γίνονται τινες ὑποτροποῦν τῶν παθῶν σφυγμοὺς ἔχουσαι καὶ πήδησιν, ἐνίας μὲν ἀμυδρὰν καὶ ταχὺ κατασβενυμένην, ἐνίας δὲ νεανικῶς ἑντείνουσαν. ὅν αἱ μὲν πάλιν καὶ πάλιν κολασθεῖσαι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐξει καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν,¹⁰ τὰς δὲ αὕτις εἰς σώματα ἑώρων ἐξήνεγκεν βιαστῆς ἀμαθίας καὶ φιληδονίας εἴδος.¹¹ ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἄσθενεὶς λόγου καὶ δι' ἀργίαι τοῦθεν ἔρρεθε τῷ πρακτικῷ

Ε πρὸς γένεσιν, ἡ δὲ ὀργάνου τῷ ἀκολάστῳ¹² δεομένη ποθεὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας συρρέασι ταῖς ἀπολαύσει καὶ

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¹ γλαύκινον] γλαύκιον X (V is wanting) vⁱ W.
² μόλις κακόνοια M³ : μόλις κακόν οὐα G X F hki M¹ (V is wanting) ν C ; μολικακόν οia (μολικακόν οia N) Y ; μολιακόν οia Ry W (οia) ; μολιακόν οι K.
³ δ' ἐνοῦσα Reiske : δειν οὔσα X¹ (δεινοῦσα N Wc² ; δεινοῦσα Y) ; δινοῦσα F Wac ; δεινὸν οὔσα G¹ X d hki M¹ (V is wanting) ν C ; ὀδινοῦσα G₃mg K¹ M³ ; ὀδινοῦσα Ry K².
⁴ τουτί τὸ ὴδες G² F Z M² ; τουτί τοὐδεῖς (τοὐδεῖς N ; τοὐδεῖς C¹W) G¹ X¹ Y ; τὸ τοὐδεῖς i M¹ (V is wanting) ν ; τὸ τοὐδεῖν hk M² ; τυττοῦδεῖς X³ ; in an omission in Ry.
⁵ ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ Pohlenz : ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἡ (ἐι Yac) τε (ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ ἡ Z ; ἡ τε Wac).
⁶ τῆς τε nos : τῆς.
⁷ τρεπομένης F³ M² (τρεπομένης Y²) : τρεπομένη (τερπομένη Y¹).
⁸ τρεπούσης G³ hki M² (τερπούσης Y²) : τρεποῦση (-ση F¹ ; τρέπουσα Ry K [V is wanting] ν ; στροβοῦσα X³ C²).

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the blue-grey, some form of incontinence in pleasure has barely been rubbed out; while if spite and envy are present they give out this livid green, as ink is ejected by the squid. For in the world below viciousness puts forth the colours, as the soul is altered by the passions and alters the body in turn, while here the end of purgation and punishment is reached when the passions are quite smoothed away and the soul becomes luminous in consequence and uniform in colour; but so long as the passions remain within there are relapses, attended by throbblings and a convulsive motion which in some souls is faint and soon subsides, but in others produces a vehement tension. Some of these, after repeated punishment, recover their proper state and disposition, while others are once more carried off into the bodies of living things by the violence of ignorance and the 'image' of the love of pleasure. For one soul, from weakness of reason and neglect of contemplation, is borne down by its practical proclivity to birth, while another, needing an instrument for its licentiousness, yearns to knit its appetites to their fruition

a Cf. Mor. 978 A.

b Eidos ("form"), in the Greek, a doubtful word. In Mor. 945 A the soul is said to receive an impress from the intellect and give one to the body, at the same time enveloping it on all sides and taking on its eidos or form. The soul is thus called an eidolon ("phantom"), when, on being separated from the intellect or the body, it long retains the eidos of either.

9 γίνεσθαι] γενέσθαι Bern.
10 καὶ διάθεσιν ἀναλαμβάνουσιν X³ (καὶ διάθεσιν ἔχουσι C¹ G³ [now erased]; ἔχουσι hki): καὶ διάθεσιν.
11 eidos] ήλος Bern.; ῥιστρος Castilioni; πάθος Richards; ἴμερος Schwartz; πειθώ Pohlenz; εἶλος? (εἰλεα... δεσμοὶ Hesychius) Post.
12 τῷ ἀκολάστῳ Reiske: τοῦ ἀκολάστου.
(565) συνεπαυρέσθαι1 διὰ σώματος· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ οὐδὲν ἢ σκιά τις ἄτελης καὶ ὄναρ ἡδονῆς πλήρωσιν οὐκ ἥχουσις πάρεστιν.’’

27. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰπὼν, ἦγεν αὐτὸν ταχὺ μέν, ἀπλετον δὲ τινὰ τόπον ὡς ἐφαίνετο διεξιόντα ῥαδίως καὶ ἀπλανῶς, οἶον ὑπὸ πτερῶν τῶν τοῦ φωτὸς αὐγῶν ἀναφερόμενον, μέχρι οὗ πρὸς τι χάσμα μέγα καὶ κάτω δύηκον ἀφικόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὥχουσης3 ἀπελεύθη δυνάμεως. καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ψυχὰς ἑώρα τοῦτο4 πασχοῦσας ἐκεῖ· συστελλόμεναι5 γὰρ ἦσσερ αἱ ὀρνιθες καὶ καταφερόμεναι κύκλῳ τὸ χάσμα περιήγησαν (ἀντικρυς δὲ περὰν οὐκ ἑτόλμων), εἶσω μὲν ὁφθήναι τοῖς βακχικοῖς ἀντροῦς ὀμοίως ὑλή καὶ6 χλωρότητι καὶ χρόαις7 ἀνθέων ἀπάσας διαπεποικυμένον· ἐξεπνεῖ δὲ μαλακῆν καὶ πραείαν αὐραν ὀσμᾶς ἀναφέρουσαν ἡδονάς8 τε θαυμασίας καὶ κράσιν οἰαν9 ὦ οἶνος τοῖς μεθυσκο-μένοις ἐμποιοῦσαν· εὐωχοῦμεναι γὰρ αἱ ψυχαὶ ταῖς εὐωδίαις διεχέοντο10 καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐφιλοφρο-νοῦντο· καὶ τὸν τόπον ἐν κύκλῳ κατείχε βακχεῖα καὶ γέλως καὶ πάσα μοῦσα παιζόντων καὶ τερπο-566 μένων. ἐλεγε δὲ11 ταῦτη12 τὸν Διόνυσον ἄνελθείν13

1 συνεπαυρέσθαι (sic) Reiske: συνεπαύρεσθαι.
2 ταχὺ μέν] μέν ταχὺ G X F.
3 ὥχουσις Madvig: ἥχουσις.
4 τοῦτο] τοῦτο Wyttenbach (οὗτοι hki).
5 συστελλόμεναι N M (V is wanting) v: στελλόμεναι.
6 ὑλή καὶ] ὕλης G.
7 χρώαις G I2: χλώαις.
8 ἡδονάς Victorius: ἡδονής.
9 οἰαν X v (V is wanting): οἶον (οἶον ἡ K).

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and gratify them through the body, for here there is nothing but an imperfect shadow and dream of never consummated pleasure.”

27. After this explanation Thespesius was swiftly taken by the guide over what appeared an immense distance, traversing it easily and unerringly, buoyed up by the beams of the light as by wings, until he came to a great chasm extending all the way down and was deserted by the power that sustained him. The other souls too, he observed, were thus affected there, for they drew themselves in like birds and alighted and walked around the circuit of the chasm, not venturing to pass directly across. Within, it had the appearance of a Bacchic grotto: it was gaily diversified with tender leafage and all the hues of flowers. From it was wafted a soft and gentle breeze that carried up fragrant scents, arousing wondrous pleasures and such a mood as wine induces in those who are becoming tipsy; for as the souls regaled themselves on the sweet odours they grew expansive and friendly with one another; and the place all about was full of bacchic revelry and laughter and the various strains of festivity and merry-making. This was the route, the guide said, that Dionysus had

\[\text{a For “bacchic grottoes” cf. Philodamus, Paean to Dionysus, 140 (in Powell, Collectanea Alexandrina, p. 169); Socrates of Rhodes in Athenaeus, 148 b; Philostratus, Imagines, i. 14. 3, and Macrobius, Sat. i. 18. 3.}\]

\[\text{b Cf. Mor. 437 e and Macrobius, Comm. in Som. Scip. i. 12. 17; cf. also Mor. 362 A-B.}\]

\[\text{10 διεκέντο G hki C; διέκεν τε X^1 N M (V is wanting) v Y W^1; διεκέντο τε X^8 F Ry W^2.}\]

\[\text{11 δε added in Aldine.}\]

\[\text{12 ταύτης Gras; Fras Ry k C: ταύτην (ταυτα hi).}\]

\[\text{13 ἀνέλθειν N M^1 Y W: eis θεοὺς (-έαν Ry) ἀνελθεῖν (ἀνελθεῖν eis θεοὺς M^2 l).}\]
(566) καὶ τὴν Σεμέλην ἀναγαγεῖν ὑστερον· καλείσθαι δὲ Λήθης τὸν τόπον. Ὄθεν οὖδὲ διατρίβειν βουλο-
μενον εἰα τὸν Θεσπέσιον, ἀλλ' ἀφείλκε ὄια, διδάσκων ἀμα καὶ λέγων ὡς ἐκτήκται καὶ ἀν-
υγραίνεται τὸ φρουσὺν ύπὸ τῆς ἠδουής, τὸ δὲ ἄλο-
γον καὶ σωματοεἰδεὶς ἀρδόμενον καὶ σαρκοῦμενον ἐμποιεῖ τοῦ σώματος μνήμην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς μνήμης ἱμερον καὶ πόθον ἐλκοντα πρὸς γένεσιν, ἣν οὔτως ἀνομάζειν νευόν ἐπὶ γῆν οὖσαν ὑγρότητι βαρυνο-
μένης τῆς ψυχῆς.

28. "Ἀλλην οὖν τοσαύτην διελθών ὁδὸν ἔδοξεν Β ἀφοράν κρατήρα μέγαν, εἰς δὲ τὸτὸν ἐμβάλλοντα ἰεῦματα, τὸ μὲν ἀφροῦ θαλάσσης ἤ χιόνων λευκό-
τερον, τὸ ὡς ὅποιον ἤρις ἐξανθεί τὸ ἀλουργόν, ἅλλα δ' ἄλλαις βαφαῖς κεχρωσμένα, πρόσωθεν ἴδιου ἐξούσαις φέγγοι. ὡς δὲ πλησίον ἠλθον, ὁ κρατήρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνεφάνη χάσμα βαθὺ τοῦ περιέχοντος, τῶν τε χρωμάτων ἀμαυρωμένων τὸ ἀνθηρότερον ἄπ-
έλευπεν ὑπὶ τῆς λευκότητος. ἐώρα δὲ τρεῖς

1 ἀναγαγεῖν Bern. : ἀνάγειν.
2 ἀφείλκε Reiske: ἀφείλε (ἀφήκη v).
3 ἐπὶ γῆν οὖσαν Meziriacus : ἐπυτείνουσαν (-τίν- N).
4 χιόνων] χιόνος G Z hki.
5 τὸ . . . τὸ Χ³ Υ² W² : τὸν . . . τὸν (τὸν . . . τὰ Ry).
6 δ' (δὲ S k Υ²) ἄλλαις βαφαῖς Χ³ (V is wanting) v W²: δι'
   ἄλλαις βαφαῖς (δι' ἄλλων βαφῶν Ry).
7 ἴδιον a²: ἴδιοι Χ¹ F S¹ N Y C¹ W ; ἴδιοι G Χ³ hki (ἵδιον i)
   M (V is wanting) v ; there is an omission in Ry.
8 ἐξούσαις v (V is wanting) Υ²: ἐξούσαις (there is an
   omission in Ry).
9 ἀνεφάνη χάσμα βαθὺ Kronenberg : ἀφανὴς χλεμαβλου (χλεμ-
   μάλου G¹; χε μαβλου N ; χλεμαβλου v [V is wanting]; χλε-
   μάβλου Υ¹); ἀφανῆς K ; ἀφανῆς ἤν ἐνιαχόν ῬΥ ; ἀφανισθέντος
   μᾶλλον Μ².
10 ἄπελευπεν Ν¹ Y (-πε G⁴ Ry [ἐπ- K]) : ἄπέλευπε.
taken in his ascent and later when he brought up Semelê; and the region was called the place of Lethe. On this account, although Thespesius wished to linger, the guide would not allow it, but pulled him away by main force, informing him as he did so that the intelligent part of the soul is dissolved away and liquefied by pleasure, while the irrational and carnal part is fed by its flow and puts on flesh and thus induces memory of the body; and that from such memory arises a yearning and desire that draws the soul toward birth (genesis), so named as being an earthward (epi gēn) inclination (neusis) of the soul grown heavy with liquefaction.

28. Proceeding as far again, he saw in the distance what he took to be a large crater with streams pouring into it, one whiter than sea-foam or snow, another like the violet of the rainbow, and others of different tints, each having from afar a lustre of its own. On their approach the crater turned out to be a deep chasm in the ambient, and as the colours faded, the brightness, except for the white, disappeared. He


*b* That is, "oblivion."


*d* Cf. the fragment *On the Soul*, chap. ii (vol. vii, p. 22. 9 Bern.).

*e* Thus, when fire or air changes to water, it becomes liquid and heavy.

*f* Literally "mixing-bowl."
(566) δαίμονας ὁμοῦ καθημένους ἐν σχήματι τριγώνου πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ῥεύματα μέτρους τισὶν ἀνα-κερανύντας. ἔλεγεν οὖν ὁ τοῦ Θεσπεσίου ψυχο-πομπὸς ἀχρὶ τούτου τοῦ Ὀρφέα προελθείν ὃτε τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς γυναικὸς μετῆξε, καὶ μὴ καλῶς διαμνημονεύσαντα λόγον εἰς ἀνθρώπους κίβδηλον ἔξενεγκείν ὡς κοινὸν εἰς μαντεῖον ἐν Δελφοῖς ἁπόλλωνος καὶ Νυκτός. οὐδενὸς γὰρ Ἀπόλλων Νύκτα κοινωνεῖν. "ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν," ἔφη, "Νυ-κτός ἐστι καὶ Σελήνης μαντεῖον κοινὸν, οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς περαινοῦ ὡς ἐχον ἔδραν μιὰν ἀλλὰ πάντη πλανητόν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐνυπνίοις καὶ εἰδω-λοῖς. ἐκ τούτου γὰρ οἱ ὁνειροὶ μυγνύμενον, ὡς ὅρασ, τῷ ἀπαθητῷ καὶ ποικίλῳ τὸ ἀπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς παραλαμβάνοντες διασπείρουσι.

D 29. "Τὸ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος οὐκέτ’ οἶδα," ἐπεν, "ἐὶ κατίδειν ἔσῃ δυνατός. ἀνωτέρῳ γὰρ οὐκ

1 proelthein Wyettenbach: προελθεῖν.
2 Post would add οἶον after μαντεῖον.
3 Δελφοῖς[ θεοῖς Pohlenz.
4 ἔφη G X F1 Ry M2 W qftp: ἔφην.
5 περαινοῦ X3 Ry: περαινοῦ μαντεῖον (περαῖνον μαντείαν Reiske, Post).
6 μυγνύμενον Victorius: μυγνύμενοι (δευκνύμενοι οὗ).
7 οὐκέτ’ οἶδα Pohlenz (οὐ κατείδες Cobet): εἰ κάτοικα G1 X F1 Ry N (V is wanting) ν Y W; οὐ κάτοικα G4; οὐ κάτοικας F3 hki M1 C1; οἱ κάτοικα (‑as M1) M1c.
8 εἰ G1 X N (η M1) Y W; οὐ F Ry (V is wanting) ν; οὐδὲ G4 hki M2 C.
9 κατίδειν ἔσῃ Ry M2: κατίδῃ ἐσοὶ G1 X1; κατίδεσσοι N M1 Y (W has a lacuna of 9 letters); κατίδειν ἐσοι (and so G4).

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beheld three daemons seated together in the form of a triangle,\textsuperscript{a} combining the streams in certain proportions. The guide of Thespiesius' soul said that Orpheus \textsuperscript{b} had advanced thus far in his quest for the soul of his wife, and from faulty memory had published among men a false report that at Delphi there was an oracle held in common by Apollo and Night,\textsuperscript{c}—false, as Night has partnership in nothing with Apollo. "This is instead," he pursued, "an oracle shared by Night and the Moon; it has no outlet anywhere on earth nor any single seat,\textsuperscript{d} but roves everywhere throughout mankind in dreams and visions; for this is the source from which dreams derive and disseminate the unadorned and true, commingled, as you see, with the colourful and deceptive.\textsuperscript{e}

29. "As for Apollo's oracle," he said, "I hardly know whether you will be able to catch sight of it;

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Plato, \textit{Republic}, 617 \textit{b}.

\textsuperscript{b} There is doubtless a polemic here against an interpretation of the Delphic oracle attributed to Orpheus. Cf. Dieterich, \textit{Nekyia}\textsuperscript{2}, p. 147, who points out that an Orphic poem was called "Crater." The mixture of truth and falsehood in the crater may have a certain polemical point.

\textsuperscript{c} Night presided over the Delphic oracle before Themis and Apollo: cf. a scholium on Pindar, \textit{Pythian Odes} (vol. ii, p. 2. 6 Drachmann).

\textsuperscript{d} Cf. \textit{Orphicorum Fragmenta}, Pars Posterior, no. 294 (ed. Kern). For the notion that an oracle in this region can have an outlet on earth cf. 566 \textit{d}, \textit{infra}, where the light from Apollo's tripod is said to rest on Parnassus, the seat of the Delphic oracle.

\textsuperscript{e} The white corresponds to the truth in dreams, the varied colours to their deceptiveness; at a distance (that is, when one does not examine closely) the deceptive and many-coloured is more prominent; close at hand the white predominates. Cf. \textit{Mor.} 53 \textit{d} and the \textit{Life of Alcibiades}, chap. xxiii. 5 (203 \textit{c}).

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(566) ἐπὶ διδώσων οὐδὲ χαλῶ το τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπίγυνον, ἀλλὰ κατατείνει τῷ σώματι προσηρτημένον. ἀμα δ' ἐπεφράζω προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν αυτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίτοδος, ὡς ἔλεγεν, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμι-
δος ἀπερειδόμενον εἰς τὸν Παρνασόν. προθυμο-
μενός δ' αὐτὸς ἵδειν οὐκ εἰδὲν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος,
ἀλλ' ἤκουεν παριῶν φωνήν ὄξειαν γυναικὸς ἐν
μέτρῳ φραζούσαν ἀλλὰ τε τινὰ καὶ ἵναν, ὡς
ἐουκεν, τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτής. ἔλεγεν δέ ὃ δαίμων
tὴν φωνήν εἶναι Σιμβύλλης. ἄδειν γὰρ αὐτὴν περὶ
Ετῶν μελλόντων εν τῷ προσώπῳ τῆς σελήνης
περιφερομένην. βουλόμενος οὖν ἀκροαθαὶ πλείονα
τῇ ρύμῃ τῆς σελήνης εἰς τούναντίον ὡσπερ ἐν ταῖς
dίναις ἔξωσθη καὶ βραχέα κατήκουσεν· ὅν ἴν καὶ
tι περὶ τὸ Βέσβιον5 ὦρος καὶ τὴν Δικαιάρχειαν
ὑπὸ πυρὸς φορᾷ6 γενησομένην, καὶ τι κομμάτιον
περὶ τοῦ τότε ἡγεμόνος ὡς

... ἐσθλὸς ἐὼν νούσῳ10 τυραννίδα11 λείψει.

30. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν θεάν τῶν κολα-

1 ἐπίγυνον X1 F N M2 Y W (ἐπίγυνον G Ry K C): ὑπόγυνον
X3 M1 (ὑπόγυνον hki [V is wanting] v); ἐπίγειον l2.

2 ἐπιδεικνύειν] ἐπιδεικνύειν G1 X N M1 Y W1 (-υσθαί S).

3 Παρνασόν] παρνασόν G X F.

4 προθ. δ' αὐτός Pohlenz: προθυμομένος (προθ. δὲ G3;
προθ. οὖν hki C1; καὶ προθ. F Ry M2 [V is wanting] v; δ' προθ. X3).

5 ἀλλὰ τε τινὰ καὶ X3: ἀλλὰ τινὰ G1 X1 (ἀλλὰ τινὰ N) M1 Y W
(ἀλλὸν τινὰ F1 [V is wanting] v; ἀλλὰ τινὰ καὶ G3 F3 Ry hki
M2 C).

6 τι περὶ nos: περὶ (τα περὶ X3 Ry).

7 Βέσβιον G3 K N Y C1W: λέσβιον (τελέσβιον hki).

8 Δικαιάρχειαν G3 R? C (-είαν X1? Y W; -ίαν): Δικαιάρχειας
Reiske.

9 φορᾷ] φορᾶς S; φορὰν K; φὰ v (V is wanting); φθορὰν
l2 and Reiske.

10 νούσῳ hki: νόσῳ.

11 τυραννίδα] τὰ τυραννικὰ?
for the cable a of your soul gives no further upward play and does not grow slack, but holds taut, being made fast to the body." At the same time he endeavoured to draw Thespæius near and show him the light that came (he said) from the tripod, b and passing through the bosom of Themis, c rested on Parnassus, but it was so bright that Thespæius, for all his eagerness, did not see it. But he did hear, as he passed by, a woman's high voice foretelling in verse among other things the time (it appears) of his own death. d The voice was the Sibyl's, the daemon said, who sang of the future as she was carried about on the face of the moon. e He accordingly desired to hear more, but was thrust back, as in an eddy, by the onrush of the moon, and caught but little. Among this was a prophecy about Mt. Vesuvius and the surge of flame that would pass over Dicaearchæia, f and a fragment of verse about the emperor g of those days:

... good, he will through sickness leave the throne.

30. They now turned to view those who were

a Cf. the image of the anchor (564 c, supra), the shadowy line (564 d, supra), and the syndesmos or "tie" of the De Genio Socratis, 591 f—592 b.

b This celestial tripod is evidently connected with the Delphic; it may symbolize the sun: cf. Cornutus, De Nat. Deorum, chap. xxxii.

c Themis preceded Apollo at Delphi.

d In such visions the seer's own death is often foretold: cf. Mor. 592 e and Homer, Od. xi. 134-137.

e Cf. Mor. 398 c and Clement, Strom. i. 15. 70. 4.

f Cf. Mor. 398 e; Dicaearchæia is the modern Pozzuoli. With Reiske's conjecture the text would mean: "the impending destruction of Dicaearchæia by fire." But there is no real evidence that the town was burnt.

(566) ξομένων ἐτρέποντο. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα δυσχερεῖς καὶ οἰκτρᾶς εἶχον μόνον ὁμείς· ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκεῖοι καὶ συνήθεσιν ὁ Θεοπέσιος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν προσδοκήσας, κολαζομένους ἐνετύχανε, καὶ δεινὰ παθήματα καὶ τιμωρίας ἀσχήμονας καὶ ἀλγευνᾶς ὑπομένοντες ἤκτιζοντο πρὸς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἀνεκλαίοντο, τέλος δὲ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐαυτοῦ κατείδευ ἐκ τινὸς βαράθρου στιγμάτων καὶ οὐλῶν μεστῶν ἀναδυόμενον, ὄρεγοντα τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῷ καὶ σωπαν οὐκ ἐώμενον, ἀλλ' ὀμολογεῖν ἀναγκαζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφεστώτων ταῖς τιμωρίαις ὅτι περὶ ξένους τινὰς μιαρῶς γενόμενος χρυσίον ἔχοντας φαρμάκους διαφθείρας καὶ ἐκεῖ διαλαθῶν ἀπαντας ἐνταῦθ' ἔξελεγχθεις τὰ μὲν ἣδη πέπονθε, τὰ δὲ ἀγεταί 567 πεισόμενοι, ἱκετεύειν μὲν ἣ παρατείσθαι περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμα δι' ἐκπληξίν καὶ δέος, ὑποστρέψαι1 δὲ καὶ φυγεῖν βουλόμενοι οὐκέτι τὸν πρᾶον ἐκεῖνον ἑώρα καὶ οἰκεῖον ἐξαναγόν, ἀλλ' ύπ' ἐτέρων τινῶν φοβερῶν τὴν ὁμίαν εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν ὀδυμόμενον, ὥς ἀνάγκην οὐσαν οὕτω διεξελθεῖν, θεάτῳ τῶν μὲν γνωρίμως2 πονηρῶν γενόμενων καὶ3 κολασθέντων αὐτόθι τὴν αἰκίαν4 οὐκέτ' ἐκεῖ5 χαλεπῶς οὖν ὀμοίως τριβομένην, ἄτε δη6 περὶ τὸ ἀλογον καὶ παθητικόν ἐτὶ μόνον7 οὕσαν· ὥσιν δὲ Ἡ πρόσχημα καὶ δόξαν ἄρετῆς περιβαλλόμενοι8 διἐβίωσαν κακία λανθανοῦση, τοῦτος9 ἐπιπόνως καὶ

1 ὑποστρέψαι ἄποστρέψαι hki M¹ Vv Y C¹ W qflp (F and N are wanting).
2 γνωρίμως Reiske: γνωρίμων.
3 καὶ Reiske: ἣ.
4 αἰκίαν Pohlenz: σκιάν.
5 οὐκέτ' ἐκεὶ nos: οὐκέτ' (−τι X K) εἶναι (οὐκέτι λιαν Madvig).
6 ἄτε δη Ῥy l²: ἄτελη (ἄτε τῇ hki).
7 ἓτη μόνον Pohlenz: ἐπίτονον (ἐπίτονον M).

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suffering punishment. At first these presented only a disagreeable and piteous spectacle; but as Thespesius kept meeting friends, kinsmen, and comrades who were being punished, a thing he never would have looked for, and these lamented to him and raised a cry of wailing as they underwent fearful torments and ignominious and excruciating chastisements, and when he at last caught sight of his own father emerging from a pit, covered with brands and scars, stretching out his arms to him, and not allowed by those in charge of the punishments to keep silent, but compelled to confess his foul wickedness to certain guests he had poisoned for their gold, a crime detected by no one in the lower world, but here brought to light, for which he had suffered in part and was now being taken away to suffer more, Thespesius in his consternation and terror did not dare to resort to supplication or intercede for his father, but wishing to turn back and escape, saw no longer that kindly kinsman who had been his guide, but certain others of frightful aspect, who thrust him forward, giving him to understand that he was under compulsion to pass that way. He observed that while the torment of those who had been recognized in their wickedness and punished on the spot was not so harsh or so prolonged in the other world, as it now dealt only with the irrational and passionate part of the soul, those who on the contrary had cloaked themselves in the pretence and repute of virtue and passed their lives in undetected vice were surrounded

\[\text{\footnotesize a For confession as a form of punishment cf. Norden, P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI}^3, \text{p. 275.}\]

8 \(\text{περιβαλλόμενοι} \mid \text{περιβαλλόμενοι} \) X\(^3\) M\(^2\) l\(^2\).
9 \(\text{τούτους} \) G\(^3\) X\(^3\)? (F is wanting) Y\(^2\) : \(\text{τούτοις} \).
(567) ὁδυνηρῶς ἡμάγκαζον ἐτεροὶ περιεστῶτες ἐκτρέπεσθαι τὰ ἐντὸς ἐξω τῆς ψυχῆς, ἱλισπωμένους παρὰ φύσιν καὶ ἀνακαμπτομένους, ὅσπερ αἱ θαλάτται σκολόπενδραι καταπιοῦσαι τὸ ἁγιστρον ἐκτρέπουσιν ἐαυτάς. ἐνίοις δὲ ἀναδέροντες αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναπτύσσοντες ἀπεδεῖκυσαν ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλους, ἐν τῷ λογιστικῷ καὶ κυρίῳ τῇ μο- χθηρίᾳ ἐχοντας, ἀλλὰς δ’ ἔφη ψυχὰς ἰδεῖν ὦσπερ τὰς ἐχθνας περιπεπληγμένας σύνδοι καὶ σύντρεις καὶ πλείονας, ἀλλήλας ἐσθίονσας ὑπὸ μνησικαιίας C καὶ κακοθυμίας ὃν ἔπαθον ἐν τῷ ζην ἡ ἐδρασαν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ λίμνας παρ’ ἀλλήλας, τὴν μὲν χρυσοῦ περιζέουσαν, τὴν δὲ μολίβδου ψυχρώτατην, ἀλλὴν δὲ τραχείαν σιδήρου· καὶ τινας ἐφεστάναι δαίμονας ὦσπερ οἱ χαλκεῖς ὁργάνους ἀναλαμβάνοντας καὶ καθιέντας ἐν μέρει τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν δι’ ἀπληστίαν καὶ πλεονεξίαν πονηρῶν. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ χρυσῷ διαπύρους καὶ διαφανεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ φλέγεσθαι γνομένας ἐνέβαλλον εἰς τὴν τοῦ μολίβδου βάπτοντες· ἐκπαγείσας δὲ αὐτόθι καὶ γενομένας σκληρὰς ὦσπερ αἱ χάλαζαι πάλιν εἰς τὴν τοῦ σιδήρου μεθ- D ἰστασαν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ μέλαιναι τε δεινῶς ἐγίνοντο· καὶ περικλώμεναι διὰ σκληρότητα καὶ συντριβο- μεναι τὰ εἴδη μετέβαλλον· εἴθ’ οὗτω πάλιν εἰς τὸν χρυσὸν ἐκομίζοντο, δεινᾶς, ὅς ἐλεγεν, ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ἁλγηδόνας ὑπομένουσαν.

1 ἀνακαμπτομένους Ry: ἄμα καμπτομένους.
2 θαλάτται] θαλάττιοι X¹ (F is wanting) ρδf188]c (θαλάττιαιιι q).
3 ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλους] ὑπούλους καὶ ποικίλως G⁴ X (F is wanting) M Y: ὑπούλως καὶ ποικίλως hki.

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by a different set of officers who compelled them laboriously and painfully to turn the inward parts of their souls outward, writhing unnaturally and curving back upon themselves, as the sea-scolopendras turn themselves inside out when they have swallowed the hook; and some of them were skinned and laid open and shown to be ulcered and blotched, their wickedness being in their rational and sovereign part. He told of seeing other souls coiled like vipers around each other in twos and threes and yet greater number, devouring one another in rancour and bitterness for what they had endured or done in life; moreover (he said) there were lakes lying side by side, one a seething lake of gold, a second, piercing cold, of lead, and a third of rugged iron, with certain daemons in charge, who, like smiths, were using tongs to raise and lower alternately the souls of those whose wickedness was due to insatiable and overreaching avarice. Thus, when the souls had grown red hot in the gold from the blazing heat, the daemons plunged them into the lake of lead; when they had there been chilled and hardened, like hailstones, they were removed to the lake of iron. Here they turned an intense black and were altered in appearance, as their hardness caused them to become chipped and crushed; and after this they were once more taken to the gold, enduring, as he said, the most fearful agonies in the course of each change.

Cf. Mor. 977 b (where Aristotle’s account of the fox-shark [Hist. Animal. ix. 37, 621 a 12-16] is confused with that of the sea-scolopendra); Aristotle, Hist. Animal. ix. 37 (621 a 6-9); Aelian, De Nat. Animal. vii. 35; Oppian, Halieutica, ii. 424; Dioscorides, ii. 16; Pliny, N.H. ix. 145.

4 περιζέουσαν Reiske: περιζέοντος.
5 ἐγένοτο] ἐγένοτο M Ἱv.
31. Πάντων δὲ πάσχειν ἔλεγεν οἰκτρότατα τάς ἡδή δοκούσας ἀφεισθαί τῆς δίκης, εἰτ' αὕθις συλλαμβανομένας· αὕται δὲ ἦσαν ὅπεις τινὰς ἐκγόνους ἡ παῖδας ἡ ποιή περιήλθεν. ὅποτε γὰρ τις ἐκείνων ἀφίκοιτο καὶ περιτύχοι προσέπττεν ὀργῇ καὶ κατεβόα καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τῶν παθῶν ἐδείκνυεν, Ε ὁνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα1 φεύγειν καὶ ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένην, οὐ δυναμένην δὲ· ταχὺ γὰρ μετέθεον οἱ κολασταί καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην2 ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἤπειγον3 ὀλοφυρομένας τῷ προγύωσκειν τῇ τιμωρίᾳν. ἐνίας4 δὲ καὶ πολλὰς ἀμά τῶν ἐκγόνων ἔλεγε συνηρτήσαν καθάπερ μελίττας ἡ νυκτερίδας ἀτεχνῶς ἐχομένας καὶ τετρυγυίας5 ὑπὸ μνήμης καὶ ὀργῆς ὧν ἔπαθον δὴ αὐτάς.

32. Ἔσχατα6 δὲ ὀρῶντος αὐτοῦ τάς ἐπὶ δευτέραν γένεσιν τρεπομένας ψυχὰς εἰς τε ζῶα παντόδαπα Φ καμπτομένας βία καὶ μετασχηματιζομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα δημουργοῦσιν, ὄργανοι τισὶ καὶ πληγαῖς τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δὲ7 ἀποστρεφόντων, ἐνια δὲ ἐκλεαυνόντων καὶ ἀφανιζόντων παντάπασιν ὅπως ἐφαρμόσειν ἐτέρους ἥθεσι καὶ βίοις, ἐν ταῦταις φανόναι τὴν Νέρωνος,8 τὰ τε ἄλλα κακῶς ἔχουσαι ἡδή καὶ διαπεπαρμένην

1 ὁνειδίζουσα καὶ διώκουσα Victorius: ὁνειδίζουσα καὶ δοκοῦσα [-av R] καὶ δοκοῦσαν Ry; ὁνειδίζουσα δοκοῦσαν Χ3).
2 καὶ πρὸς τὴν δίκην nos: πρὸς τὴν δίκην καὶ.
3 ἤπειγον] ἀπήγον Pohlenz (after Wytttenbach), omitting πρὸς τὴν δίκην.
4 ἐνίας Reiske: ἐνίας.
5 τετρυγυίας] περιτετρυγυίας C.
6 Ἔσχατα] Ἔσχατα hki C.
7 τὰ μὲν κολλώντων μέρη καὶ συνελαυνόντων, τὰ δὲ Pohlenz: τὰ μὲν ὅλων τῶν μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ δὲ Χ1 (N resumes with ὅλων) Y 296.
31. Most piteous of all, he said, was the suffering of the souls who thought that they were already released from their sentence, and then were apprehended again; these were the souls whose punishment had passed over to descendants or children. For whenever the soul of such a child or descendant arrived and found them, it flew at them in fury and raised a clamour against them and showed the marks of its sufferings, berating and pursuing the soul of the other, which desired to escape and hide, but could not. For they were swiftly overtaken by the tormentors and hastened back once more to serve their sentence, lamenting from foreknowledge of the penalty that awaited them. To some, he said, great clusters of the souls of descendants were attached, clinging to them like veritable swarms of bees or bats, and gibbering shrilly in angry memory of what they had suffered through their fault.

32. He was viewing the final spectacle of his vision, the souls returning to a second birth, as they were forcibly bent to fit all manner of living things and altered in shape by the framers of these, who with blows from certain tools were welding and hammering together one set of members, wrenching another apart, and polishing away and quite obliterating a third, to adapt them to new characters and lives, when among them appeared the soul of Nero, already in a sorry plight and pierced with incandescent rivets. 

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a In the Greek dikē.  
b In the Greek poine.  
c Cf. Homer, Od. xxiv. 5 ff.  
d Cf. Mor. 718 δ and Plato, Phaedo, 83 δ.

C1W; τὰ (τῶν M2) μὲν ὄλα τὰ μέρη καὶ σ. τὰ δὲ G hki M1; τῶν μὲν ὄλα τὰ μέρη σ. τῶν (τὰ X3) δὲ F Ry Vv.  
8 νέρωνος] all but G X F add ψυχήν after νέρωνος.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(567) ἥλιος διαπύρως. προκεχειρισμένων δὲ καὶ ταύτη1 τῶν δημιουργῶν Νικανδρικῆς2 ἐχίδνης εἴδος, ἐν δὲ κυνηγείσαν καὶ διαφεύγοσαν3 τὴν μητέρα βιώσεσθαι, φῶς ἐφασκεν ἐξαίφνησι διαλάμψει μέγα καὶ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ φωτὸς γενέσθαι προστάττουσαν εἰς ἄλλο γένος ἰμερότερον μεταβαλεῖν, φύσικὸν⁴ τι μηχανη-

568-33. Μέχρι μὲν οὖν τούτων εἶναι θεατῆς. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφειν ἐμελλεῖν, ἐν παντὶ γενέσθαι⁵ διὰ φόβον·

γυναῖκα γὰρ αὐτοῦ λαβομένην⁶ θαυμαστὴν τὸ εἴδος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, "δεύρο δή," εἴπειν,⁷ "οὗτος, ὅπως ἐκαστα μᾶλλον μνημονεύσης," καὶ τι βαβδίον, ὡσπερ οἱ ξυγράφοι, διάπυρον προσάγειν ἐτέραν δὲ κωλύειν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὦσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν ῥωμιγγοσ⁸ ἐξαίφνης σπασθέντα πνεύματι νεανικῷ σφόδρα καὶ

βιαῖῳ τοῦ σώματι προσπεσείν καὶ ἀναβλέψαι σχεδὸν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ μνήματος.

1 καὶ ταύτη Reiske: καὶ ταύτην (ταύτην Y).
2 Νικανδρικῆς Morel: πυθαρίκης.
3 κυνηγείσαν καὶ διαφεύγοσαν X³: κυνηγείσα καὶ διαφεύγοσα (-φαγούσα G⁴ F M³).
4 φύσικὸν G³ F Ry M² V : φύσικὸν.
5 ξών Xd: M² Vv: ξών.
6 δεδωκέναι Reiske: δεδωκε (-εν N¹ Y ; δεδωκε Vv).
7 τὴν ἐλλάδα deleted by Hartman after ἱλευθέρωση.
8 γενέσθαι Wytenbach: κακῶ γενέσθαι G X F: γενέσθαι κακῶ.
9 αὐτοῦ λαβομένην G X F: τινα λαβομένην αὐτοῦ.
10 εἴπειν X³ hki Y²: εἴπειν.
11 ἀπὸ τῶν ῥωμιγγοσ nos (διὰ σύριγγος Reiske; ἀπὸ μηρίνθου?
For his soul too the framers had made ready a form, that of Nicander’s \(^a\) viper, in which it was to live on eating its way out of its pregnant mother, \(^b\) when suddenly (he said) a great light shot through and a voice came out of the light commanding them to transfer it to a milder kind of brute and frame instead a vocal creature, \(^c\) frequenter of marshes and lakes, as he had paid the penalty for his crimes, and a piece of kindness too was owing him from the gods, since to the nation which among his subjects was noblest and most beloved of Heaven he had granted freedom. \(^d\)

33. Thus much he beheld. He was about to turn back, when he was driven frantic with terror, for a woman marvellously beautiful and tall took hold of him and said: “Come hither, sirrah, the better to remember everything,” and was about to apply to him a red hot rod, such as painters use \(^e\); but another woman interposed, and he was suddenly pulled away as by a cord \(^f\) and cast in a strong and violent gust of wind upon his body, opening his eyes again almost from his very grave.

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\(^b\) Nero had his mother murdered in A.D. 59.

\(^c\) That is, a frog (cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Gesch. d. gr. Rel.* vol. ii, p. 529); Nero was a vocalist.

\(^d\) Nero emancipated Greece in A.D. 67; cf. *Life of Flamininus*, chap. xii. 13 (376 c).

\(^e\) In encaustic painting: cf. the *Life of Cato the Younger*, chap. i. 7 (760 A).

\(^f\) Cf. 566 d, *supra*, and note.
ON FATE
(DE FATO)
INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that the manuscripts are mistaken in ascribing the treatise *On Fate* to Plutarch. There is no need to repeat here all the arguments that have been adduced against its authenticity; it is enough to point out that the incidence of hiatus is far greater than in passages of comparable length in the works admittedly genuine.

The writer, evidently a Platonist, is apparently either a teacher or fellow student of the unknown Piso to whom the treatise is addressed. Doctrine very similar to his own, and doubtless derived from a common source, is found in Nemesius and in the commentary of Chalcidius on the *Timaeus*; echoes

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*a* Cf. K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1, col. 726. O. Apelt, however, accepts the work as genuine, and seems to be unaware that its authenticity has even been called in question: *cf.* the introduction and notes to his translation (*Plutarch Moralische Schriften*, Zweites Bändchen, Leipzig, 1926, pp. 133 ff.). It is also accepted without comment by P. Duhem, *Le Système du monde* (Paris, 1913–1914), vol. i, p. 288; vol. ii, pp. 398 ff.

*b* A. Gercke, *Rheinisches Museum*, xli (1886), p. 277, feels that the words "as we learned before, and as later, in the lectures in the school, we shall know yet better" (568 ν) are those of a fellow student and not of a teacher. Other passages, however, point rather to a teacher: thus, the author speaks of his reluctance to write as well known to Piso, refers to a previous exposition (568 ρ) and to a subsequent detailed examination (574 ρ), and throughout the treatise is quite free with the use of the first person.

of this doctrine appear in Albinus \(^a\) and Apuleius.\(^b\) Nemesius \(^c\) alludes to the work of a certain Philopator *On Fate* and couples him with Chrysippus. The formulation of the doctrine presented in Nemesius can, then, be traced with some probability to the time of Philopator, and as the doctrine in Chalcidius and in the treatise *On Fate* is of the same origin as that of Nemesius’ Platonists, we may conjecture that it was formulated in the early part of the second century A.D.,\(^d\) possibly by Gaius, the teacher of Albinus and the most celebrated Platonist of the day. Our treatise, then, was probably not written before the first decades of the second century.

Our author’s aim is to construct a theory of fate compatible with providence in God and free will in man. His view is opposed to the Stoic view that “everything conforms to fate,” and a polemic against Stoicism is implicit in the treatise. Yet in several respects the argument reveals the influence of Stoic doctrines.

Chrysippus and the Stoics maintained that the

\(^a\) Cf. *Epitome*, chap. xxvi.
\(^b\) Cf. *De Platone*, i. 12.
\(^c\) Chap. xxxv, pp. 291. 9 and 293. 14 (ed. Matthaei).
ON FATE

universe is governed by an immanent divine power, variously called God, providence, fate, or nature. They explained the continual change that occurs in the universe as a "chain" of causes, a series of situations in which an antecedent leads to a consequent, the consequent in its turn becoming the antecedent of the next consequent. In such a series, however, different kinds of causes were distinguished. In the sphere of human conduct, for example, the impression that a person receives from an external object often initiates a course of action, but the exact character of that action is in large part determined by the nature of the person, as revealed in his assent and impulse. A cause which initiates a sequence but does not determine its course is called by the Stoics a procatarctic ("initiatory") cause, whereas causes that determine completely the character of their effects are called autotelē ("complete in themselves"). In such an analysis the continuity of fate is provided by the procatarctic causes, whereas the determination of particular events depends on the nature of the objects involved. It is in some such way as this that the Stoics reconciled fate and free will.

The Stoics used the relation of antecedent to consequent to refute the "indolent" argument, which

a On the procatarctic cause cf. 574 d, infra.

b For the meaning of the term cf. W. Theiler, "Tacitus und die antike Schicksalslehre," in Phylllobolia für Peter von der Mühll, p. 62.

maintained that what is fated to occur cannot be altered by any acts of ours. To this the Stoics replied that a consequent is "co-fated" with its antecedent, and that the one will not occur without the other. It is not fated simply that the patient shall recover whether he calls a physician or no; rather, his calling a physician is co-fated with his recovery.

Our author accepts the Stoic formulation of fate as a relation of antecedent to consequent, but rejects the view that the antecedent is in conformity with fate. He considers fate to be a law which states that a certain consequent will follow upon a certain antecedent, but which does not thereby determine the antecedent. He says further that fate, like human law, is hypothetical and universal, the particular being co-fated with the universal in the sense that it is an instance of the universal law.

The antecedents, which are free, include "what is in our power," chance, the possible and the contingent. Our author proceeds to define them and describe their relations to one another and to the spontaneous (which is not expressly mentioned here, but dealt with later). As human law "includes" our acts, but legislates their consequences only, the acts themselves not being "lawful" or "in conformity with law," so fate "includes" the possible,

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\(a\) For the "co-fated" cf. Cicero, De Fato, 13 (30); Seneca, Nat. Quaest. iii. 37. 1; Diogenianus quoted in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. vi. 8. 16-24.

\(b\) The Stoic doctrine of fate could have been formulated hypothetically ("if the physician is called the patient will recover"), but there is evidence that Chrysippus did not so formulate it: cf. Cicero, De Fato, 6 (12) and 8 (15), and Zeller, Die Philos. d. Gr. iii. 1\(b\), p. 108, note 5.

\(c\) 569 p, infra. Here the Stoic term is used with altered meaning.

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the contingent, what is in our power, chance, and the spontaneous, and is in its turn included in providence.

Providence is defined as the intellection or will or both of the primary God; fate is the rule or law proclaimed by him to the gods who are his offspring. These gods in turn have their own intellection and will, which singly or in combination constitute secondary providence; while the intellection and will of daemons, who are guardians of the acts of men, constitute, singly or in combination, a third kind of providence. While primary providence includes fate, tertiary providence is included in fate, and secondary providence and fate exist side by side, neither including the other. The author, however, does not insist upon this view of the relation of secondary providence to fate, but countenances another view, that secondary providence is contained in fate.

The author's distinction between fate and providence, his interruption of the "chain" of causes by the introduction of antecedents that are not fated, and his assertion that fate is primarily universal serve to differentiate his view from that of the Stoics. In the final chapter he makes this difference explicit by

\[a\] We have here, it seems, two different sorts of inclusion: the inclusion of the possible and the rest in fate, and of our good and evil acts in the law is of one kind, whereas the inclusion of fate in providence is of another. In the former kind, the thing included is not determined or brought about by what includes it; in the latter, the thing included is so determined and brought about.

\[b\] In the definition of providence as "intellection" or "will" or both, and in the inclusion in it of fate, we observe the influence of the Stoic psychology which attempted to preserve free will: as our intellection and will is free, but is the antecedent cause of fated actions, so here the intellection and will of God is free and leads to fate itself.
contrasting the Stoic view with his own and listing the arguments for each in their proper order. He nevertheless shares with the Stoics the doctrine that the universe passes through recurrent cycles, the events of each cycle being repeated in all the rest; he concedes that the argument of the “chain” may correctly apply to celestial phenomena; and he uses in his discussion a number of Stoic terms (though often with altered meanings). He agrees with the Stoics that fate is “not transgressed” (aparabatos) and that it “determines the course” (dieuxagetai) of everything that comes to be. Yet he gives alternate interpretations to the Stoic view that “everything conforms to fate,” and in calling fate a logos he is using the term in a sense quite different from that intended by the Stoics. The latter meant by logos the “reason” of the supreme God, whom they identified with providence, nature, necessity, and the rationale of the universe; our author, to judge by the passages he cites from Plato, takes logos to mean “statement,” “formula,” or “proposition.” This recasting of Stoic language and doctrine into a form acceptable to a Platonist is one of the many causes of the notorious obscurity of the treatise. Others are the condensations and omissions inevitable in an epitome, our imperfect knowledge of the views which the author is attacking, modifying, or defending, the abstruse nature of the subject, and the corruptions and lacunas in the text.  

a Our author appears to have used the Peripatetics as he used the Stoics: although he borrowed much from them, yet he differed from them on some points. But in general his views are less at variance with the Peripatetics than with the Stoics. His debt to Aristotle is especially great in his discussion of chance and the spontaneous (571 e to 572 e).
ON FATE

There are translations by Adrian Turnebus \(^a\) and Hugo Grotius.\(^b\)

The treatise does not appear in the catalogue of Lamprias, which mentions instead a lost work *On Fate*, in two books (No. 58).

The text is based on \(a\) and \(X\). Conjectures are occasionally quoted from descendants of \(a\): \(\alpha\gamma\beta\mu\nu\sigma\varepsilon\nu\), and from \(\alpha\epsilon\nu\), an epitome, breaking off at 569 e, on folios 273\(^v\) and 275\(^r\) of \(a\).

Possible allusions to differences with the Peripatetics have been indicated in notes to 568 d, 569 r, and 573 a.


ΠΕΡΙ ΕΙΜΑΡΜΕΝΗΣ

Τὰ περὶ τῆς εἰμαρμένης δοκοῦντα ἢμῖν ὡς οἶνον, ὅτε σαφῶς καὶ συντόμως πειράσομαι ἐπιστεύλαι σοι, φιλτατε Πείσων, ἐπειδὴ σὺ τοῦτο ἡξίωσας οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ἦν ἔχω πρὸς τὸ γράφειν εὐλάβειαν.

1. Πρῶτον τούνιν ἵσθι ὅτι εἰμαρμένη διχὼς καὶ λέγεται καὶ νοεῖται· ἥ μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἐνέργεια, ἥ δὲ συσία.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐνέργειαν τύπω ὑπέγραφεν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν τε τῷ Φαίδρῳ λέγων "θεσμὸς τε Ἀδραστείας ὅδεν 1. ἡτις ἀν ψυχῆν 2. θεῶ ξυνοπαθὸς γενομένη" ἐν τε3 τῷ Τιμαιῷ "νόμους" οὖς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσει ὁ θεὸς ἐίπεν ταῖς ἀθανάτοις, δ ψυχαῖς· ἐν δὲ τῇ Πολιτείᾳ "Ἀνάγκης θυγατρὸς κόρης Λαχέσεως λόγον" φησίν εἶναι τὴν εἰμαρμένην, οὐ τραγικῶς ἀλλὰ θεολογικῶς τὸ ἄρέσκον αὐτῷ ἀποφαίνομενος. εἰ δὲ κοινότερον ἐθέλοι τις ταῦτα μεταλαβῶν ὑπογράψαι, ὡς μὲν ἐν Φαίδρῳ

1 ὅδε Plato and aep: ὅδε. 2 ψυχή added from Plato.
3 ἐν τε Leonicus: ἐν δὲ.

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b 248 c, quoted more fully 570 a, infra.
c 41 e, quoted more fully 573 d, infra.  d 617 d.
e "Word" translates logos, which is used by our author in the sense of "statement" or "proposition."
ON FATE

I shall endeavour to send you my views on fate in as clear and concise a form as possible, dear Piso, since you have asked this of me although not unaware of my scruple about writing.

The two senses of fate

1. You must know, then, to begin with, that the term "fate" is used and understood in two senses: one fate is an activity, the other, a substance.a

Active fate: its substance

In the first place, Plato has roughly indicated an activity (a) in the Phaedrus b with these words: "This is the ordinance of Adrasteia: if a soul have accompanied a god..." and (b) in the Timaeus, c when he speaks of the "laws," applying to the nature of the universe, which God proclaimed to the immortal soul; while (c) in the Republic d he calls fate the "word e of Lachesis, maiden daughter of Necessity," expressing his view not in high tragic style, but in the language of theology.f Should one wish to recast these descriptions and phrase them in more ordinary language, fate as described in the Phaedrus might

(568) λέγοντ' ἄν ἡ εἰμαρμένη λόγος θείος ἀπαράβατος δι' αἰτίαν ἀναπόδραστον,1 ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ Τιμαίῳ, νόμος ἀκόλουθος τῇ τοῦ παντὸς φύσει καθ' ὃν διεξάγεται τὰ γνώμενα, ὡς δ' ἐν Πολυτείᾳ, νόμος θείος καθ' ὃν συμπλέκεται τοῖς γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς γνωμένοις τὰ γεγονόμενα2. τούτῳ γὰρ ἡ3 Δάχεσις ἐργάζεται, ἡ τῆς Ἀνάγκης ἀληθῶς θυγάτηρ, ὡς καὶ πρότερον παρελάβομεν καὶ ύστερον ἐτί μάλλον εἰσόμεθα ἐν τοῖς κατὰ σχολὴν λόγοις. ἡδὲ4 μὲν οὖν ἡ κατ' ἐνέργειαν εἰμαρμένη.

Ε 2. 'Ἡ δὲ5 κατ' οὖσιάν ἐοικεν εἰναι σύμπασα ἡ τοῦ κόσμου ψυχῆς τριχῆ διανεμηθείσα, εἰς τε τὴν ἀπλανή μοίραν καὶ εἰς τὸν πλανάσθαι νομιζομένην καὶ τρίτην εἰς τὴν ὑπουράνιον τὴν περί γῆν ὑπάρ-

2 ὡς δ' ἐν Πολυτείᾳ through γεγονόμενα our addition from Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 22 f. (ed. Wrobel), and Aëtius, i. 28. 8, p. 328 b 19-21 (ed. Diels), to fill a lacuna indicated by Drexler.
3 ἡ] ἔχει ἦ X (ἐκεῖ ἦ;?).
4 ἡδὲ σ Turnebus: ἡδὴ.
5 ἡ δὲ σ Turnebus: τῇ.

“Formula” translates logos.

The words “while . . . present” translate a conjectural supplement. Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxliv, p. 203. 17-23 (ed. Wrobel): “Possumus ergo inevitabile quidem scitum interpretari legem minime mutabilem ex inevitabili causa; leges vero quas de universae rei natura dixit animis deus, legem quae mundi sequitur naturam et qua reguntur mundana omnia; Lacheseos vero, hoc est necessitatis, orationem, divinam legem qua praeteritis et item praesentibus connectitur futura.”

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be called "a divine formula which, owing to a cause from which there is no escape, is not transgressed"; as described in the Timaeus it would be a "law conforming to the nature of the universe, determining the course of everything that comes to pass"; while as described in the Republic it is a "divine law determining the linking of future events to events past and present." For this is what Lachesis, in very truth the "daughter of Necessity," performs, as we learned before, and as later, in the lectures in the school, we shall know yet better. This, then, is fate in the sense of activity.

**Substantial fate**

2. Fate as a substance appears to be the entire soul of the universe in all three of its subdivisions, the fixed portion, the portion supposed to wander, and third, the portion below the heavens in the region

Perhaps a glance at the Peripatetics: cf. Anon. In Eth. Nic. Comm. p. 150. 2-4 (ed. Heylbut): εἰ ἔν δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰμαρ-μένη λεγομένη κατὰ τούδε τούς ἄνδρας [that is, the Peripatetics] ὑπὸ τὴν φύσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπαράβατον τὸ εἰμαρμένον οὐδ’ ἀναγκαῖον. "According to these philosophers fate would be classed under nature; for what is fated is not incapable of being transgressed and not necessary."


Moira ("portion ") can also mean "Fate."
(568) χουσαν· ὃν ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτων Κλωθών προσαγορεύεται, ἡ δὲ μετ' αὐτῆς Ἀτρόπος, ἡ κατωτάτω δ' αὐτὴ Λάχεσις, δεχομένη μὲν τὰς οὐρανίας τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἑνεργειάς, συμπλέκονσα δὲ καὶ διαδιδοῦσα\(^1\) ταΐτας εἰς τὰ ἐπὶ αὐτῆς τεταγμένα τὰ ἐπίγεια.

Δυνάμει μὲν οὖν εὑρηται ὅποια χρὴ λέγεσθαι F περὶ τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν εἰμαρμένης· καὶ γὰρ ἦτις ἐστὶ καὶ πόσῃ τις καὶ ὅποια καὶ ὅπως τέτακται καὶ ὅπως ἐχει αὐτή τε πρὸς ἐαυτὴν καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐν ἑπιτομῇ εὑρηται· τὰ δὲ καθ' ἐκαστα περὶ τούτων ὁ ἐτερος μόθος, ὁ ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ, μετρίως αἴνιστεται, καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς δυνάμειν σου ταῦτα ἐπειράθημεν ἐξηγήσασθαι.

3. Πάλιν γε μὴν τὴν κατ' ἑνεργειαν εἰμαρμένην ἀναλαβόντες λέγωμεν\(^2\). περὶ γὰρ ταύτην\(^3\) τὰ πολλὰ ζητήματα φυσικά τε καὶ θηηκά καὶ διαλεκτικά τυγχάνει οὕτα. τίς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἐπιευκῆς ἀφώ- ρισταί· ὅποια δὲ ἐστὶν ἔξος ῥήτεουν, εἰ καὶ πολλοῖς ἀτοποῦν φαίνεται.

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\(^1\) διαδιδοῦσα s\(^2\) : διδοῦσα.
\(^2\) λέγωμεν Ald.\(^2\) Turnebus : λέγομεν.
\(^3\) ταύτην Sieveking : ταῦτα.

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\(^b\) Literally, "receiving the celestial activities of her sisters." Mr. Post suggests that the figure is that of a reservoir (dechomenē in Greek).
\(^c\) Cf. Chalcidius, chap. exliv, pp. 203. 26–204. 4 (ed. Wrobel), who assigns Atropos to the sphere of the fixed stars (cf. the etymologies of Chrysippus as given by Diogenianus, quoted in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. vi. 8. 9 f.). The order of 314
of the earth \(^a\); of these the highest is called Clotho, the next Atropos, and the lowest Lachesis, who is receptive to the celestial activities of her sisters,\(^b\) and combines and transmits them to the terrestrial regions subject to her authority.\(^c\)

What needs to be said, then, about substantial fate has been implicitly stated, as an abridged account has been given of its substance, quantity, quality, order, and relation both to itself and to us \(^d\); the full account of these matters is well presented in the imagery of the second myth, that of the Republic,\(^e\) and I have done my best to give you an exposition of that account.\(^f\)

Active fate

3. But let us once more turn our attention to active fate, as the greater number of problems—physical, ethical, and dialectical—are concerned with it.\(^g\) Its substance has been adequately defined \(^h\); we must next tell its quality, strange though it may appear to many.

Clotho and Atropos in our treatise depends on Plato, Republic, 617 c.

\(^a\) Its substance is the soul of the universe; its quantity the triad of portions into which that soul is divided; its quality the characters of these portions; its order their sequence from highest to lowest; and its relation the dependence of Lachesis on her sisters and her authority over the earth.

\(^b\) The first is that of the Phaedrus (245 c—256 ε).


\(^d\) Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cxxxviii, p. 206. 4-6 (ed. Wrobel).

\(^e\) 568 d, supra.
'Απείρων γὰρ ἐξ ἀπείρου καὶ εἰς ἀπειρον ὀντων1 τῶν γινομένων, τὰ πάντα περιβαλοῦσα ἐν κύκλῳ ἢ εἰμαρμένη οὐκ ἀπειρος ἀλλὰ πεπερασμένη ἐστὶν. οὔτε γὰρ νόμος οὔτε λόγος οὔτε τι θεῖον ἀπειρον ἂν εἴη. ἔτι δ' ἂν μάθωσι τὸ λεγόμενον νοῆσας τὴν τε ὀλὴν περιόδον καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον, ""ὅταν2 τῶν ὀκτώ περιοδῶν,""3 ὡς φησιν δ' Τίμαιος, ""τὰ πρὸς ἀλληλα συμπεραυθέντα4 τάχη σχῆ κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ5 ταυτὸ καὶ διοίως ίόντος ἀναμετρηθέντα κύκλῳ." ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ,6 ὄρισμένῳ τε ὀντὶ καὶ θεωρουμένῳ, πάντα ὅσα τε κατ’ οὐρανόν

Β ᾧ τ’ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀνωθεν συνιστάται πάλιν μὲν εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καταστήσεται,7 πάλιν δ’ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατὰ8 τὰ αὐτὰ ὀσαιτως ἀποδοθήσεται. μόνη γογν ἢ κατ’ οὐρανόν σχέσις αὐτῆ τε πρὸς έαυτῆν9 κατὰ10 πάντα τεταγμένῃ πρὸς τε τὴν γῆν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια πάντα διὰ μακρῶν περιοδῶν

1 ὀντων added here by Wytenbach, after γινομένων in s.
2 ὅταν] ἄτασσὼς Plato.
3 περιοδῶν Plato: πόδων (πόλων αεπ).
4 συμπεραυθέντα αεπ E: συμπεραυθέντα.
5 τοῦ added from Plato.
7 καταστήσεται Leonicus: κεῖται στήσεται.
8 κατὰ nos (δὸλα κατὰ Wytenbach; Post deletes): κεῖται.
9 ἔαυτῆν αεπ E: ἔαυτον.
10 κατὰ Vulcobius: κεῖτα.
ON FATE, 569

Its quality

Although events are infinite, extending infinitely into the past and future, a fate, which encloses them all in a cycle, is nevertheless not infinite but finite, as neither a law nor a formula b nor anything divine can be infinite. c Further, you would understand what is meant if you should apprehend the entire revolution and the complete sum of time, “when,” as Timaeus says, “the speeds of the eight revolutions, completing their courses relatively to one another, are measured by the circuit of the Same and Uniformly moving and come to a head.” d For in this time, which is definite and knowable, e everything in the heavens and everything on earth whose production is necessary and due to celestial influences, will once again be restored to the same state and once more be produced anew in the same way and manner. f Thus the arrangement of the heavenly bodies, the only one in all respects ordered both in relation to itself and to the earth and all things terrestrial, will eventually return, at intervals composed of long

a Plato, Timaeus, 39 D; cf. also Chalcidius, chap. cxlviii, p. 206. 12-18 (ed. Wrobel). Plato means that the “Complete Year” has elapsed when the eight bodies—the moon, sun, Venus and Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and the sphere of the fixed stars—all return to the same relative position. This “great year” could be discovered by finding the least common multiple of the eight revolutions. The words “are measured by the circuit of the Same and Uniformly moving” mean that the great year must contain an integral number of sidereal days. e Cf. Cicero, De Nat. Deor. ii. 20 (52).

(569) πάλιν ἐπινήξει ποτέ· αἵ τε μετ' αὐτὴν ἑφεξῆς καὶ ἐχόμεναι ἄλληλαις ἐχομένους παρέβουνται, ἐκάστη τὰ αὐτῆς ἔξ ἀνάγκης φέρουσαι. (ἔστω δὲ πρὸς τὸ σαφὲς τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς νῦν ὄντων ὅτι οὐ συμβαίνει δι' αὐτῶν τῶν οὔραγίων ὡς πάντων αἰτίων ὄντων καὶ τὸ ἐμὲ γράφειν νυνὶ τάδε καὶ ὧδι σὲ τε πράττειν ἀπερ καὶ ὅπως τυγχάνεις πράττων.) πάλιν τοιῶν ἐπειδὰν ἡ αὐτὴ ἀφίκηται αὐτία τὰ αὐτά καὶ ὡσαύτως οἱ αὐτοὶ γενόμενοι πράξομεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ πάντες ἀνθρωποί καὶ τὰ τὲ ἔξης κατὰ τὴν ἐξῆς αἰτίαν γενησεται καὶ πραχθήσεται καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα κατὰ μίαν τὴν ὅλην περίοδον καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην τῶν ὅλων ὡσαύτως ἀποδοθήσεται. φανερὸν τοῖνυν ἡδὴ ὅ τι ἔφαμεν, τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἀπειρον τρόπον τινὰ οὕσαν μὴ ἀπειρον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ γε ῥηθέν, ὅτι κύκλος τίς ἐστι, μετρίως που κατώπται· ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἡ τοῦ κύκλου κίνησις ὁ τε ταύτην παραμετρῶν χρόνος κύκλος τίς ἐστιν, οὕτως καὶ τῶν κατὰ κύκλων γενομένων ὁ λόγος κύκλος ἀν νομισθεῖ.

D 4. Σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο δῆλοι ὅποιὸν τι τυγχάνει ἡ εἰμαρμένη, πλὴν οὐχ ἢ γε κατὰ μέρος

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1 αἵ Ε: ἡ.
2 ἄλληλαι Leonicus (ἄλληλων Post): ἄλληλα.
3 παρέβουνται Post (παρέσωνται Wyttenbach; advenient Grotius; παραδέχονται Drexler): παρέχονται.
4 συμβαίνει δι' αὐτῶν τῶν nos (following Post's συμβαίνει διὰ τῶν): συμβαίνεις αὐτῶν.
5 αἰτίων nos: αἰτίων.
6 πράξομεν Λ: πράξωμεν a X.
7 τ' Wilamowitz (that is, τε or θ'): γε.
8 κατὰ Leonicus: κεῖται.
9 χρόνος s: χρόνου.
10 κατὰ Turnebus: κεῖται.

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revolutions; and those arrangements that come after it in a series and are contiguous to one another, will occur in contiguous fashion, each bringing with itself of necessity its own set of events. (Be it noted, however, to make our present situation clear, that my writing these words at this moment as I write them, and your doing what you happen to be doing as you happen to be doing it are not events brought about by the agency of the heavenly bodies alone as causes of everything.) And so, when the same cause returns again, we shall, once more becoming the same persons, do the same things and in the same way, and so will all men besides; and what comes next in order will come into existence and be done in accordance with the cause that comes next in order, and everything that is found in a single entire revolution will be repeated in similar fashion in each of the entire revolutions as well. And so it is now plain what we meant by our statement that fate, although in a way infinite, is not infinite; and our remark that it is a sort of cycle has, I take it, been adequately understood: for just as the movement of a cycle and the time which measures that movement are cycles, so too the formula of cyclical events would be considered a cycle.

4. Even this treatment, then, I venture to say, shows the quality of fate, except that it does not tell

That is, the heavenly bodies influence us, but we are also causes in our own right. This statement excludes astrological determinism.


569 a, supra.

"Formula" translates logos.

(569) οὔτ' ἕ' καθ' ἐκαστα. ποία τις οὖν καὶ ἥδε κατ' αὖ τόδε τὸ εἶδος τοῦ λόγου; ἐστὶ τοῖνυν, ὡς ἂν τις εἰκάσαι, οἷος ὁ πολιτικός νόμος, ὅς τρωτον μὲν τὰ πλείστα, εἰ καὶ µή πάντα, ἐξ ὑποθέσεως προστάττει, ἐπειτα µήν καθόλου τὰ πόλει προσήκοντα εἰς δύναμιν περιλαμβάνει.

Πάλιν δὴ τούτων ἐκατέρων ὅποιον τί ἐστι σκέπτεον.

Ἀκολούθως τοῖνυν ὁ πολιτικός νόμος περὶ τε ἀριστεῶς καὶ λιποτάκτου διαλέγεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡσαύτως, ἄλλ' οὐ περὶ τοῦδε ἕ' τοῦδ' ὃ

Ε νόμιμων ἔστιν, ἄλλα τὸ τέ μὲν καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ ὑποπίπτοντα τούτω ἐπομένως. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τιμήσαι τόνδε τινὰ ἠριστευκότα καὶ τὸ κολάσαι τόνδε τινὰ λιποτακτήσαντα νόμιμον ἂν φῆσαιμεν, ὡς δυνάμει καὶ περὶ τούτων διατεταγμένου τοῦ νόμου, ὅποι τρόπον ὁ ἰατρικός καὶ ὁ γυμναστικός ὡς εἰσεῖν νόμος δυνάμει τὰ καθ' ἐκαστα τοῖς ὅλοις συμπεριλαμβάνει. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φύσεως νόμος τὰ μὲν καθόλου προηγουμένως, τὰ δὲ καθ'

F ἐκαστα ἐπομένως. ἐστὶ τε εἰμαρμένα τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, ὅντα ἕκεινοις συνειμαρμένα.

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1 ἕ' ἕ Ec.
2 κατ' αὖ τόδε K. F. Hermann (κατὰ τόδε Wytenbach) : κατ' αὐτὸ δὲ (κατ' αὐτὸ δὴ ἕ').
3 ὅς added by Wytenbach.
4 τοῦδ' ὅ nos (τοῦδ' ἕ' Wytenbach) : τοῦδε.
5 τὸ nos : τὰ.
6 τοῦτω s (τοῦτοις Wilamowitz) : τοῦτων.
7 πάντα, ὅντα nos (ὅντα Wytenbach) : πάντα.

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of that fate which is particular or individual. What, then, is the quality of this fate, considered in turn as this kind of formula? It is, we may conjecture, of the quality of the law of a state, which in the first place promulgates most, if not all, of its commands as consequents of hypotheses, and secondly, so far as it can, embraces all the concerns of a state in the form of universal statements.

Let us go on to examine in turn the meaning of these two points.

The universality of fate

The law of a state uses the form of a supposition and its conclusion to speak of a "soldier distinguishing himself in action" and of a "deserter," and so with the rest; it does not lay down the law for this or that individual, but speaks primarily of the general case, and only secondarily of what comes under it. Thus we should say that it is lawful to honour this particular man who has distinguished himself in action, and to punish this other who has deserted his post, on the ground that the law has potentially provided for them, just as the "law" (if one may use the expression) of medicine and of gymnastics embraces the particular cases potentially in its general provisions; so also the law of nature, while dealing with universals primarily, deals secondarily with particulars. The latter too are all fated after a fashion, since they are co-fated with the former. Perhaps a

\[ \text{if } p, \text{ then } q: \]


For the relation of statesmanship and legislation to medicine and gymnastics cf. Plato, \textit{Gorgias}, 464 b-c.

\[ \text{VOL. VII} \quad \text{M} \quad 321 \]
(569) τάχα δ' ἂν τις τῶν ἁγαν ἀκριβολογομένων τὰ
tοιαῦτα καὶ τούναντίον φαίη προηγούμενα συν-
tετάχθαι τὰ¹ καθ' ἐκαστά εἶναι² τε τούτων ἐνεκα
καὶ τὸ καθόλου, προηγείται³ δὲ τῶν ἐνεκά του τὸ
οὗ ἐνεκα. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις σκε-
pτεόν· οτι δὲ οὐ πάντα καθαρῶς οὐδὲ διαρρήδην ἡ
ἐιμαρμένη περιέχει, ἀλλ' ὅσα καθόλου, τούτῳ δὲ
ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἤθελὲν πρὸς τε τὸν ἔξης λόγον καὶ
570 τὸν ὀλίγον ἐμπροσθεν χώραν ἐχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ
ἀρισμένον οἰκεῖον⁴ τῇ θείᾳ φρονήσει ἐν τῷ καθόλου
μᾶλλον θεωρεῖται (τοιοῦτος μέντοι γε ὁ θείος νό-
μος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς⁵), τὸ δ' ἀπειρον ἐν τῷ καθ'
ἐκαστα.

Μετὰ δὴ ταῦτα οἷον μὲν ἔστι τὸ⁶ εὗ ὑποθέσεως,
οτι δὲ τοιοῦτον καὶ ἡ εἰμαρμένη, ὀρίσθω.⁷

'Εξ υποθέσεως δὴ ἐφαμεν τὸ μὴ καθ' ἔαυτο
τιθέμενον, ἀλλὰ πως⁸ ἐτέρω τυι ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπο-
tεθέν, ὅποσα ἀκολουθίαν σημαίνει· "θεσμὸς ς
t' Ἀδραστείας ὃδε· ὅτις ἂν ψυχὴ θεω⁹ συνοπάδος

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1 τὰ a²mg : καὶ.  2 εἶναι Wytenbach : ἐν.
3 προηγεῖται] προηγείσθαι Wytenbach.
4 οἰκεῖον] οἰκεῖον ὃν Post.
5 τοιοῦτος μέντοι γε ὁ θείος νόμος καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς Wytenbach:
tοιοῦτος καὶ ὁ θείος νόμος· ὁ μέντοι γε πολιτικὸς (for ὁ μ. γε s has
καὶ μ. γε δ').
6 ἔστι τὸ Pohlenz : ἔστιν.
7 ὀρίσθω (that is, ὀρίσθω) Wytenbach : οισθω.
8 πως Wytenbach : πρὸς.
9 θεω added from Plato.

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a Such a view is attributed to Boëthus and Alexander the
Peripatetics: cf. Dexippus, In Aristot. Cat. Comm. ii. 12,
p. 45. 12-31 (ed. Busse), and Simplicius, In Aristot. Cat.
Comm. chap. v, p. 82. 22 f. (ed. Kalbfleisch).

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stickler for precision in such matters might insist that on the contrary it is the particulars that have priority, and that the universal exists for their sake—the end being prior to what serves it. But these questions have their place elsewhere, whereas the statement that fate does not contain everything plainly or expressly, but only universals, when made at this point, is properly placed both in respect of the point made shortly before and of the one that is now to be made: the determinate, which is appropriate to divine wisdom, is seen rather in the universal—and the divine law and the political are of this description—while the unlimited is seen in the particular.

The hypothetical character of fate

Let us next determine the character of what is a “consequent of an hypothesis,” and show that fate is of that character.

We meant by “consequent of an hypothesis” that which is not laid down independently, but in some fashion is really “subjoined” to something else, wherever there is an expression implying that if one thing is true, another follows: “this is the ordinance of Adrasteia: if a soul have accompanied a god and

\[ b 569 \textit{a, supra.} \]


\[ d \textit{Hypothesis} has the literal sense of “putting under” or “subjoining.”}
(570) γενομένη κατίδη τί τών ἀληθῶς, 1 μέχρι τε 2 τῆς ἑτέρας περιόδου εἶναι ἀπήμονα, καὶ αἰὲ δύνηται Β τούτο ποιεῖν, αἰὲ 3 ἀβλαβῇ εἶναι.” τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἁμα καὶ καθόλου. ὡσι δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰμαρμένη τοιοῦτον τυχάνει ὃν ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας δήλον· εἰμαρμένη τε γὰρ προσαγορεύεται ὡς ἄν εἰρομένη τις· θεσμὸς δὲ καὶ νόμος ὑπάρχει τῷ τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς γνωμένοις πολιτικῶς διατετάχθαι.

5. Ἕξῆς δὲ σκεπτέον καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸ πρόσ τι πῶς μὲν πρὸς τὴν πρόνοιαν ἡ εἰμαρμένη ἔχει, πῶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν τύχην καὶ τὸ τε 4 ἐφ' ἕμων καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον 5 καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· πρὸς δὲ τούτω διωρίσθω πῇ μὲν ἀληθές, πῇ δὲ ψεύδος τὸ "πάντα καθ' εἰμαρμένην."

C Εἶ μὲν οὖν τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ πάντα περιέχεσθαι δηλοῖ, συγχωρητέον εἶναι ἀληθές (εἴτε 6 ὅσα περὶ ἀνθρώπους εἴτε περὶ 7 γῆν ἁπαντα εἴτε κατ' οὐρανόν γνώμενα βούλεται τις ἐν τῇ εἰμαρμένῃ τίθεσθαί, καὶ ταύτα ὡς πρὸς τὸ παρὸν συγκεκριμένως). εἰ δ', ὅπερ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμφαίνει, τὸ καθ' εἰμαρμένην

2 τε added from Plato.
3 αἰ ἀβλαβῇ added from Plato.
4 τε nos : γε.
5 ἐνδεχόμενον Victorius : ἐπιδεχόμενον.
6 εἴτε] εἴ θ' Sieveking.
7 περὶ a : παρὰ X.
8 περὶ a : παρὰ X (κατὰ Sieveking).

a Plato, Phaedrus, 248 c. Chalcidius, chap. clii, pp. 209 f. (ed. Wrobel) makes a similar use of the same quotation.
b This is Chrysippus’ etymology: cf. Diogenianus, quoted in Eusebius, Praep. Evang. vi. 8. 8.

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beheld aught of reality, it shall suffer nought until the next revolution, and if able to do so ever, it shall ever go unscathed." a What is both consequent upon an hypothesis and universal is, then, of the description given above. That fate is actually of this description is evident from its substance alone and from its name: it is called fate (heimarmenê) as being a thing concatenated (eiromenê) b; and it is an ordinance and a law because it has laid down the consequences which follow upon occurrences, as in the legislation of a state.

The relations of active fate

5. We must next examine what comes under the heading of relation—how fate stands in relation to providence on the one hand, and on the other to chance, to what is in our power and the contingent, and to the like; we must moreover distinguish in what way the dictum "everything conforms to fate" is true, and in what way false. c

Examination of the dictum "Everything conforms to fate"

Now (a) if the statement means that everything is contained in fate, we must grant that it is true (whether it is all human events, or all terrestrial or all celestial events one wishes to place in fate, let us for the present d grant these points too); but (b) if the expression "conforming to fate," as would rather seem to be its implication, designates not everything,

c The topics are discussed in the reverse order of their listing here. This is a mannerism of our author.
d The author has in mind his later discussion of the relation of the secondary providence of the astral gods to fate (574 b-d, infra).
(570) οὐχ ἀπαντᾷ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ μόνον οὕτως σημαίνει, οὐ πάντα ῥητέον καθ' εἰμαρμένην, οὔδ' εἰ καθ' εἰμαρμένην πάντα. οὔδὲ γὰρ νόμιμα οὔδέ κατὰ νόμον πάντα ὁπόσα περιείληφεν ὁ νόμος· καὶ γὰρ προδοσίαι καὶ λιποτάξιαι καὶ μοιχείαι καὶ

D πολλὰ ἔτερα τοιαῦτα περιλαμβάνει, ὃν οὔδὲν ἂν τις εἶποι νόμιμον, ὅποτε οὔδὲ τὸ ἀριστεύσαι ἢ τυραννοκτονῆσαι ἢ τι ἀλλο κατορθώσαι φαῖν ἂν ἔγνωγε νόμιμον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἡ νόμιμον πρόσταγμα νόμου ἐστὶ· τὸ δ' εἴπερ ὁ νόμος προστάττει, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπειθοῦεν καὶ παρανομοῖεν οἱ γε μὴ ἀριστεύσοντες καὶ τυραννοκτονοῦντες καὶ ὅσοι τὰ τοιαῦτα μὴ κατορθοῦσιν; ἢ πῶς, εἰ παράνομοι οἶδε, οὐ δίκαιον κολάξειν τοὺς τουούτους; εἰ γε μὴν ταῦτα λόγον οὔκ ἔχει, μόνα ῥητέον νόμιμα τε καὶ κατὰ νόμον τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ὀρισθέντα ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅπωσοιν πραττομένοις· μόνα δὲ εἰμαρμένα

Ε καὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην τὰ ἀκόλουθα τοῖς ἐν τῇ θείᾳ διατάξει προηγησαμένοις. ὥστε πάντα μὲν τὰ γινόμενα ἡ εἰμαρμένη περιλαμβάνει, πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ σχεδὸν ὅσα προηγεῖται οὐκ ὀρθῶν λέγειν καθ' εἰμαρμένην.

6. Τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντων, ἔχεις ῥητέον ὡς τὸ γ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τύχη, τὸ τε δυνατὸν καὶ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον, καὶ ταῦτα συγγεγένη, ταχθέντα ἐν τοῖς προηγουμένοις, αὐτά' τε σφόδρα ἄν καὶ τὴν

1 μόνον β2ς σ2 : μένον,
2 αὐτῇ Pohlenz (omit ?) : αὐτῶ.
3 καθ' εἰμαρμένην] κάν εἰμαρμένη Sandbach.
4 τὸ] τὰ Pohlenz.
5 ταῦτα λόγον] λόγον ταῦτα X1.
but only the consequences of fate, we must not say that everything conforms to fate, even if "everything conforms to fate." For neither is everything included in law "lawful" or "in conformity with law"; for law includes treason, desertion, adultery, and a good many other things of the sort, none of which one would term lawful; indeed I should not even call an act of valour, the slaying of a tyrant, or the performance of any other right action lawful. For the lawful is what the law enjoins; but if the law enjoins such conduct, how then can we deny that persons who display no valour, slay no tyrant, and perform no such right action, disobey and violate it? Or how, if such persons are lawbreakers, is it not right to punish them? If, however, all this is unreasonable, we must call "lawful" and "in conformity with law" only what the law determines as applicable to any action performed, whatever its character; and we must call "fated" and "in conformity with fate" only the consequents of antecedents in the divine appointment of things. Fate, then, includes everything that occurs, but much of what is thus included, and I might say all antecedents, could not rightly be said to be in conformity with fate.

6. Such being the case with these matters, we must next discuss how it is that what is in our power and chance, the possible and the contingent, and what is akin to these, by being classed among antecedents, might find a place themselves and leave a place in

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\(^a\) That is, in the sense given to the dictum in (a).
\(^b\) Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clxxix, p. 228. 9-25 (ed. Wrobel).
\(^c\) Cf. Chalcidius, chap. cli, p. 209. 5-8 (ed. Wrobel).

\(^6\) ὁρθὸν λέγειν Turnebus: ὁρθολογεῖν.
\(^7\) αὐτά Wyttenbach (ipsa Turnebus): ταὐτά.
(570) εἰμαρρένην σφῶν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εἰμαρρένη πάντα
περιέχει καθάπερ καὶ δοκεῖ· τὰ δ’ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης
F γενήσηται, ἀλλ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν οἶον καὶ πέφυκεν
eĩναι.

Πέφυκε δὲ τὸ δύνατὸν ὡς γένος προὑφεστάναι
τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, τὸ δὲ1 ἐνδεχόμενον ὡς ὑλή τῶν
ἐφ’ ἡμῖν προὐποκείσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ὡς κύριον
χρῆσθαι τῷ ἐνδεχομένῳ· ἡ δὲ τύχη παρεμπόττει
τῷ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν διὰ τὴν ἐφ’ ἐκάτερα βοτήν τοῦ ἐνδεχο-
μένου. μάθουσι δ’ ἂν τὸ λεγόμενον σαφῶς ἐννοῆσας
ὡς τὸ γνώμενον ἀπαν καὶ ἡ γένεσις αὐτῇ οὐ δίχα
571 δυνάμεως, ἡ δὲ δύναμις οὐκ ἀνευ οὐσίας (οἶον
τὸ δ’ ἄνθρωπον,2 εἰτε γένεσις εἰτε γενητὸν, οὐκ
ἀνευ τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτῇ δὲ περὶ ἄνθρωπον, οὐσία
dὲ δ’ ἄνθρωπος). ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως μεταξὺ
οὐσῆς ἡ μὲν οὐσία δυνάμενον, ἡ δὲ γένεσις καὶ τὸ
γνώμενον ἄμφω δυνατά. τριῶν τούν τούτων,

1 δὲ added here by s Leoniclus; after ἐνδεχόμενον in μ.
2 τὸ δ’ ἄνθρωπον is our supplement of a lacuna of 19
letters in a Χ (ἄνθρωπον Ald.2).

Wrobel).
b “Prior in reality” (prohyphestanai) implies the terms
“subsist” (hyphestanai) and “subsistence” (hypostasis).
Galen (Instit. Logica, p. 7. 19-22 Kalbfleisch) asserts that in
his day “subsist,” “exist” (hyparchein), and “be” were
synonymous; other writers observe a difference, as Chry-
sippus, who said (Stoicorum Vet. Frag. ii. 509, 518, pp. 164.
27, 165. 35) that present time “exists” while time past and
future merely “subsists.” Our author seems to use the word
9-13 Busse), implying thereby that what is universal and
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turn for fate. For fate contains them all, as indeed it is held to do; yet these things will not occur necessarily, but each will follow its own nature in its manner of occurrence.\(^a\)

*The possible*

It is the nature of the possible, as genus, to be prior in reality \(^b\) to the contingent \(^c\); of the contingent, as matter, to be prior as substrate to the things which are in our power; of what lies in our power, as sovereign, to make use of the contingent; and chance is incidental to what is in our power because of the variation of the contingent in either direction.\(^d\) You will apprehend my meaning clearly if you reflect that everything that comes to pass, as well as the process itself of coming to pass, is always accompanied with potency,\(^e\) and potency with a substance. For example, what comes about through the agency of man, whether we take the process or the thing which has been brought to pass, is never found without the potency which produces it; this is found in man; and man is a substance. It is owing to the potency, which is intermediate,\(^f\) that the substance is potent, and the process of coming to pass and the thing which comes to pass are both possible. Of these three, then, what is intangible has a higher reality than what is particular or concrete.

\(^a\) Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clv, p. 211. 12-14 (ed. Wrobel).

\(^b\) Cf. 572 e, infra; Chalcidius, chap. clxii, p. 217. 24 f. (ed. Wrobel); Albinus, *Epitome*, chap. xxvi. 3.

\(^c\) *Dynamis* ("potency") can also be translated "capacity" or "capability."

\(^d\) Between the substance on the one hand and the process of coming to pass and the thing that comes to pass on the other.
(571) δυνάμεως καὶ δυναμένου καὶ δυνατοῦ, δυνάμεως μὲν ὃς τὸ εἶναι προϋπόκειται τὸ δυναμενον, δυνατοῦ δὲ ὣ δυναμις προΰψηταται. σαφὲς μὲν οὖν καὶ οὖτως τὸ δυνατὸν τὸπώ δὲ ἄφορισθεὶ κοινότερον μὲν τὸ κατὰ δύναμιν πεφυκὸς γίνεσθαι, κυριώτερον δὲ ταὐτὸ τούτο ὅποται μηδὲν ἐξωθεῖν
Β ἐξὶ πρὸς τὸ γίνεσθαι ἐμποδῶν.

Τῶν δὲ δυνατῶν τὰ μὲν οὐκ ἄν κωλυθεὶς ποτὲ, ὥσπερ τὰ κατ’ οὐρανόν, ἀνατολαὶ καὶ δύσεις καὶ τὰ τούτων παραπλήσιαν τὰ δὲ οἷα τε κωλυθήναι ἐστων, ὥς πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τῶν μεταρσίων. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρότερα ὃς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γινόμενα ἀναγκαῖα προσαγορεύεται, δὲ δὲ πρὸς τούναντιον ἐπιδέχεται ἐνδεχόμενα. ἄφορίζοιτο δὲ ἄν καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα: τὸ μὲν ἀναγκαῖον, δυνατὸν τὸ ἀντικείμενον ἀδύνατω: τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον, δυνατὸν οὐ καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον δυνατὸν.

C τὸ μὲν γὰρ καταδύναι τὸν ᾱλιον ἀναγκαίον τε ἡμα καὶ δυνατὸν ἀντίκειται ἀδύνατον τὸ μὴ καταδύναι.

1 τὸ] τῶ?  
2 ἄ s: τὰ.  
3 πρὸς ἂ X (a lacuna of 7 letters in ἂ; πῶς Bern.; καὶ ἂ; καὶ πρὸς ?).  
4 καὶ κατὰ nos (ad hunc quoque modum Turnebus; κατὰ Pohlenz): καὶ.  
5 δυνατὸν s Leonicus: ἀδύνατον.

a The potent and potency are apparently regarded as relatives, and as such neither is prior to the other; but the potent, in its quality of substance, is prior to potency. Cf. Ammonius’ discussion (In Porphyrii Isagogen, pp. 47. 6–48. 10 Busse) of the priority of genus to species, where, as relatives the two are “simultaneous,” while as substances, the genus is prior to the species.
potency, the potent, and the possible, the potent, in its quality of substance, is prior as substrate to potency, while potency is prior in reality to the possible. It is plain, then, even from this statement, what the possible is; it might, however, be roughly defined in two ways: in a looser fashion as that whose nature it is to occur in conformity with potency, while we might define it more strictly by adding the clause "when there is nothing outside it interfering with its occurrence." 

The contingent

Of things possible some can never be prevented, as celestial phenomena—risings and settings and the like—whereas others are preventible, as for example much of what pertains to man and many meteorological phenomena as well. The former sort, as occurring necessarily, are termed necessary; while those things which in addition allow (epidechetai) their contrary are contingent (endechomena). They might also be defined as follows: the necessary is the possible whose opposite is impossible; whereas the contingent is the possible whose opposite is also possible. Thus, that the sun should set is necessary as well as possible—it has an opposite, its not setting,

b With the preceding discussion of potency cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 287. 2-10 (ed. Matthaei).

c Cf. the Stoic view in Alexander, De Fato, chap. x, p. 176. 15 f. (ed. Bruns): δυνατὸν μὲν εἶναι γενέσθαι τούτο ὅ ὑπ’ οὐδὲν ὡς κωλύεται γενέσθαι, κἂν μὴ γένηται ... "that thing is capable [literally "possible"] of occurring which nothing prevents from occurring, even if it does not occur."

d For this use of metarsia cf. Achilles, Isagoga, chap. xxxii, p. 68. 1-6 (ed. Maass).

(571) τὸ δὲ καταδύντος ἥλιου ὄμβρον γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ γενέσθαι άμφοτέρα δυνατά καὶ ἐνδεχόμενα.

Πάλιν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ ἐλαττον, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπίσης καὶ ὀπότερον ἐτύχεν· τούτῳ μὲν φανερὸν ὡς αὐτῷ αὐτῷ ἀντιτετακται, τὸ δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ καὶ ἐπὶ ἐλαττον ἀλλήλως· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει τὸ πλείστον, ἐφ' ἡμῖν δὲ τὸ ἐπίσης. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ύπὸ κύνα καῦμα ἤ ψύχος, ὥν τὸ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, τὸ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ ἐλαττον, τῇ φύσει ἁμφώ ὑποτετακται.

D τὸ δὲ περιπατεῖν καὶ μὴ καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα, ὡν ἐκάτερον ἐπίσης, τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὀρμή ὑποτετακται, δὴ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ κατὰ προαιρεσιν λέγεται. γενικώτερον δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῖν· δύο γὰρ ἔχει ἐidine, τὸ τε ἐκ πάθους καὶ θυμοῦ ἥ ἐπιθυμίας τὸ τε ἐξ ἐπιλογίσμου ἡ διανοίας, ὁπερ ἥδη κατὰ προαιρεσιν ἄν τις εὑροι. ἔχει δὲ λόγον μὴ τὸ δυνατὸν καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον τούτῳ ὁπερ καθ' ὄρμην καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν

1 καὶ (ἡ s) μὴ γενέσθαι added by s Leonicus.
2 δὲ Gercke: τε.
3 ὥν τὸ μὲν added by Wyttenbach (τὸ μὲν Leonicus).
4 ἐπίσης Maresch, Gercke: ἐπί.
5 ἔχει Wyttenbach: εἶναι, perhaps rightly.
6 ἄν added by Bern.

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a Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 288. 2-4 (ed. Matthaei). The same threefold division of the contingent is found in Ammonius, In Aristot. De Int. Comm. chap. ix, p. 142. 1-5 (ed. Busse); cf. also his remark (ibid. p. 143. 3-6) that only to the ἐπίσης is the phrase ὀπότερον ἐτύχε applied.

which is impossible; whereas the falling and not falling of rain after sunset are both of them possible and contingent.

What is in our power

Again, in the case of the contingent, one form occurs usually, another is unusual, and another is as usual as its opposite and an "even chance." This last is evidently opposed to itself, whereas the usual and the unusual are opposite to each other; and the latter are for the most part determined by nature, while the form which is as usual as its opposite is in our power. Thus, that during the dog days there should be hot weather or cold weather, the former of which is usual, the latter, unusual, is in both cases under the control of nature; whereas walking and not walking and the like, either of which is as usual as its opposite, are under the control of human impulse, and what is under its control is said to lie in our power and be a matter of choice. Of these what is in our power is the more general, as it has two species, the one comprising actions proceeding from passion—anger or desire, the other, actions that proceed from calculation or thought, in which last case we may now speak of "a matter of choice." It is reasonable that the form of the "possible and contingent" which has been said to conform to our impulse and lie in our power should, in a different

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\[a\] The same example appears in Aristotle, *Physics*, ii. 8 (199 a 2 f.), and *Metaphysics*, xi. 8 (1064 b 36 f.).

\[b\] Cf. Nemesius, chap. xxxiv, p. 288. 2-11 (ed. Matthaei), and for the whole preceding discussion of the possible and the contingent Chalcidius, chaps. clv-clvi, pp. 211. 11–212. 12 (ed. Wrobel).
(571) εὑρηται τὸ\(^1\) αὐτὸ κατ᾽ ἄλλο λέγεσθαι\(^2\). κατὰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ μέλλον δυνατὸν τε καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν τε καὶ καθ᾽ ὅρμην. ἀφορίζοιτο δ᾽ ἂν ὡδε· τὸ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον ὑπερ αὐτὸ τε δυνατὸν\(^3\) καὶ τὸ ἀντικείμενον, τὸ δὲ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν Εθάτερον μέρος τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου, τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν ὅρμην ἡδὴ γνώμενον.

"Οτι μὲν οὖν τὸ δυνατὸν τοῦ ἐνδεχομένου πρώτερον τῇ φύσει, τὸ δὲ ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν προϊστάται, καὶ οἶδον αὐτῶν τυγχάνει ὁν ἐκαστὸν καὶ πόθεν ὁνομάζεται καὶ τὰ γε παρακείμενα αὐτοῖς, σχεδὸν εὑρηται.

7. Περὶ δὲ τῆς τύχης καὶ τοῦ αὐτομάτου καὶ εἰ τι παρὰ ταῦτα θεωρεῖται νῦν ἡμῖν λεκτέων.

Αὐτίον μὲν δὴ τι ἡ τύχη. τῶν δὲ αὐτίων τὰ μὲν καθ᾽ αὐτά, τὰ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός· οἶδον οἰκίας ἡ νεῶς καθ᾽ αὐτό μὲν αὐτίον τὸ οἰκοδομικὸν καὶ τὸ Φαυτηνικόν, κατὰ συμβεβηκός δὲ τὸ μουσικὸν ἡ γεωμετρικόν, καὶ πάν ὁ τι ἂν τῷ οἰκοδομικῷ ἡ ναυτηνικῷ εἰδει συμβεβηκή,\(^4\) εἰτε κατὰ σῶμα εἰτε

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1 to Schwartz : μὴ τὸ.
2 <καὶ ἄλλο> λέγεσθαι nos : λέγεται (λέγηται E\(^{1\text{ss}}\)).
3 δυνατὸν added here by us, by Pohlenz after ὑπερ.
4 συμβεβηκή Stephanus : συμβεβήκει.

\(^{a}\) This distinction is no doubt meant to answer the contention that the contingent is concerned exclusively with the future, for which cf. Alexander, \textit{De Fato}, chap. xxvi, p. 197. 12-15 (ed. Bruns).

\(^{b}\) Natural priority appears here to refer to the priority of genus to species : cf. Aristotle, \textit{Metaphysics}, v. 11 (1019 a 2-4); Alexander, \textit{In Aristot. Metaph. Comm.} p. 384. 35 (ed. 334)
connexion, be spoken of under a different name; for in connexion with the future it is called "possible and contingent," in connexion with the present, "in our power," and "in conformity with our impulse." They might be defined as follows: the contingent is that which is both possible itself and has a possible opposite, whereas what is in our power is one of the two parts of the contingent, namely, the one that is already occurring in conformity with our impulse.

Our discussion of the natural priority of the possible to the contingent, of the real priority of the contingent to what is in our power, of their respective characters, of the sources of their names, and of related matters, is now, I trust, complete.

7. We must now speak of chance and the spontaneous and matters the theory of which depends on these.

**Chance**

Chance is a kind of cause. Of causes some are essential, some accidental; thus skill in house-building and skill in shipbuilding are essential causes of a house or of a ship, whereas skill in music or in geometry, and everything accidental, whether in the body, in the soul, or in externals, to the housebuilding


c For "real priority" cf. note on 570 f, supra. The contingent appears to be prior in reality to free will (τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν) and prior as substrate to the things which we are free to do (τὰ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν).


f Literally, *per se.*
(571) κατὰ ψυχὴν εἴτε κατὰ τὰ ἔκτος. ὀθεν καὶ δήλον ὡς τὸ καθ’ αὐτὸ ὁρισμένον καὶ ἐν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ 572 συμβεβηκός οὔχ ἐν τε καὶ ἀόριστον. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀπειρα τῷ ἐνὶ ὑπάρχει παντάπασιν ἄλλῃςν διαφέροντα. τὸ μέντοι κατὰ συμβεβηκός, ὅταν μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ἑνεκά του γίγνηται, ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ὁἷς ἡ προαιρεσις, τότε δὴ καὶ τῷ ἀπὸ τής προσαγωγεῦται. οἴον τὸ εὑρεῖν χρυσίον σκάπτοντα ἢνα φυτεύσῃ, ἡ παθεῖν τὶ δρᾶσαι τῶν παρὰ τὸ ἐθος φεύγοντα ἡ διώκοντα ἡ ἄλλως βαδίζοντα ἡ αὐτὸ μόνον ἐπιστραφέντα οὐ τοῦτο ἑνεκά ὑπὲρ συνεπεσεν, ἄλλ’ ἐτέρου τινὸς χάριν. διὸ καὶ ἀπρονόητον αἰτίαν καὶ ἀδηλον ἀνθρωπίνῳ λογισμῷ τὴν τῦχην ἀπέδοσαν τῶν παλαιῶν ἐνοι. κατὰ δὲ τοὺς Β ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος, ἐγγυον ἐτι προσιόντας αὐτῆς τῷ λόγῳ, οὔτως ἀφώρισται ἡ τῦχη: αἰτία κατὰ συμ- βεβηκός τῶν ἑνεκά του ἐν τοῖς κατὰ προαιρεσιν’ ἐπείτα ἡδη καὶ τὸ ἀπρονόητον καὶ τὸ ἀδηλον ἀνθρω- πίνῳ λογισμῷ προστίθεσιν (καίτοι γε κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τὸ σπάνιον καὶ παράλογον ἐμφαίνεται τῷ κατὰ συμβεβηκός). οἴον δὲ ἐστι τοῦτο, εἰ καὶ 1 τὸ] omitted in n.

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a The form is in the mind of the artisan: cf. Aristotle, Metaphysics, vii. 7 (1032 a 32-b 1).

b Cf. Aristotle, Physics, ii. 5 (196 b 24-27), and Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 213. 24 f. (ed. Wrobel).

c Cf. Aristotle, Physics, ii. 5 (196 b 27-29).

d The example comes ultimately from Aristotle: cf. Eth. Nic. iii. 5 (1112 a 27), Metaphysics, v. 30 (1025 a 15 f.).

e Cf. Aristotle, Physics, ii. 5 (197 a 17 f.).

f Cf. Aristotle, Physics, ii. 6 (197 b 23 f.).

g This view is mentioned by Aristotle, Physics, ii. 4 (196 b 5-7), who may be alluding to Democritus: cf. Diels and
or shipbuilding form, is an accidental cause. Hence it is evident that the essential is determinate and one, whereas the accidental is not one and is indeterminate; for a single thing has a multiplicity, indeed an infinity, of attributes that are quite different from one another. The accidental, however, when found not simply in things directed toward an end, but further in those among them in which choice is found, is then called "by chance" as well; examples are: discovering a sum of gold when one is digging for the purpose of planting, or doing or undergoing something unusual when one is pursuing or being pursued or proceeding on foot in some other way, or merely turning around with some other end in view than the actual result. Hence some of the ancients described chance as a cause unforeseen and not evident to human calculation. But according to the Platonists, who formulate it yet more closely, chance is defined as follows: "chance is an accidental cause found in the class of things directed toward an end which take place in conformity with choice," and only then do they add "unforeseen" and "not evident to human calculation." (For that matter, "rare" and "unexpected" are also similarly implied in the term "accidental.") What sort of thing chance is, if not


h This is Aristotle's definition: cf. *Physics*, ii. 5 (197 a 5 f.).

i Cf. Chalcidius, chap. clviii, p. 214. 4-14 (ed. Wrobel); Nemesius, chap. xxxix, pp. 312. 11-313. 1 (ed. Matthaei). Alexander (*De Animi Libri Mantissa*, p. 170. 2-9 Bruns) says that by the doctrine of accidental causes it is possible to hold that nothing happens without a cause and at the same time to save chance, the spontaneous, and what is in our power.
(572) μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἄρτι ρηθέντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ γε τῶν ἐν τῷ Φαϊδώνι γεγραμμένων σαφέστατα προσπίπτει. γέγραπται δὲ ὅτε· "Οὐδὲ τὰ περὶ τῆς δίκης ἀρα ἐπύθεσθε 3 ὃν τρόπον ἐγένετο; Ναὶ· ταῦτα μὲν ἦμῖν ἡγγείλε τις· καὶ ἑθαυμάζομεν γε ὅτι πάλαι αὐτῆς γενομένης 4 ὑστερον φαίνεται ἀποθανών· τὶ ἤν C τοῦτο, ὁ Φαϊδών; Τύχη τις αὐτῶ, ὁ Ἑχέκρατες, συνέβη· ἐτυχε γὰρ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῆς δίκης ἡ πρύμνα ἐστεμμένη τοῦ πλοίου ὃ εἰς Δήλον Ἀθηναίοι πέμπουσιν." ἐν γὰρ τούτοις τὸ συνέβη οὐκ ἀντὶ τοῦ γέγονεν ἁκουστέον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐκ συνδρομῆς τινος αὐτῶν ἀπέβη, ἄλλου πρὸς ἄλλο γεγονότος. ὃ μὲν γὰρ ἰερεὺς ἔστεφη τὸ πλοῖον ἄλλου χάριν, ἀλλ' οὐ Σωκράτους 7· οἱ δὲ δὲ δὲ ἐτερον κατεβήσαντο αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἀποβὰν παράλογον καὶ τοιοῦτο ἀπέβη οἷον κἂν ἐκ προνοίας ἐγεγόνει ἥτοι ἀνθρωπίνου τινὸς ἡ τῶν ἐτὶ κρειτ-D τόνων. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς τύχης ταῦτα ἰκανά.

'Εξῆς δὲ ῥήτεον 8 οἷς συνυφίστασθαι ἀνάγκη.

tοῦ μὲν ἀπ' αὐτῆς παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἑφ' ἦμῖν

1 ἄρτι ρηθέντων Wytenbach: ἀντιρρηθέντων.
2 γε Dübner: τε.
3 ἐπύθεσθε Plato: ἐπύθοντο.
4 αὐτῆς γενομένης] γενομένης αὐτῆς Plato.
5 τὶ] τὶ οὖν Plato.
6 αὐτίων Sieveking: αὐτίων.
7 σωκράτους a: -ῆς X.
8 εξῆς δὲ ῥητέον our supplement of a lacuna of 12 letters in a, 13 in X (εξῆς δὲ σκεπτέον Sieveking).

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evident from the preceding remarks, is to be seen very clearly in the words of the *Phaedo.*\(^a\) The passage runs as follows: "—And did you not hear of the course of the trial either?—Yes; a report came to us about that; and we were astonished that he was evidently put to death long after the trial had taken place. What was the reason, Phaedo?—There was a certain chance coincidence,\(^b\) Echecrates; the stern of the ship which the Athenians send to Delos chanced to have been garlanded on the day before the trial." In this passage we are not to take "coincidence" as equivalent to "occurrence"; the meaning is rather that the outcome resulted from a concourse of causes,\(^c\) each of them having a different end. Thus the priest placed a garland on the ship for some other purpose, and not for Socrates' sake; and the court condemned him with a different end in view; while the actual outcome was unexpected and fell out as if it had occurred as a result of forethought,\(^d\) whether human or that of some still higher power. So much, then, will suffice for our discussion of chance.

The spontaneous

We must next speak of the things with which it necessarily co-exists. The contingent, we said,\(^e\) is

\(^a\) 58 A.
\(^b\) "Coincidence" translates the verb συνέβη, "fell out," which has the literal meaning "came together."
\(^d\) "Forethought" (*pronoia*) is also translated "providence."
\(^e\) 570 f, 571 e, *supra.*

\(^9\) oïs Wyttenbach: ὁσ.
(572) προϋποκείεσθαι ἐλέξθη τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον; τὸ δὲ αὐτόματον ἐπὶ πλείον τῆς τύχης, εἰ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὴν περιλαβὸν ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἄλλως συμπίπτειν πεφυκότων. ἦστι δὲ καὶ2 κατ’ ὄνομα ὅπερ αὐτόματον3 λέγεται τὸ πεφυκός ἄλλου ἕνεκα όταν μὴ ἔκεινο περαίνῃ οὔ ἕνεκα4 ἔπεφυκεν. οἶον δοκεῖ τὸ ὑπὸ κύνα ψύχος. ποτὲ γὰρ ψύχος οὐ μάτην οὐδὲ αὐτὸ γέγονε χωρὶς οὔ ἕνεκα ἔστιν.5 τὸ δὲ6 Ε ὁλον, ὥς τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν μέρος τοῦ ἐνδεχόμενου, οὕτως ἡ τύχη τοῦ αὐτόματον. ἦστι τε7 ἐκατέρων ἐκάτερον σύμπτωμα, τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον τοῦ ἐνδεχόμενου, ἢ δὲ τύχη τοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ἀπαντός, ἀλλ’ ὅπερ ἂν καὶ κατὰ προαίρεσιν ἦ, ὡς προείρηται. διὸ καὶ τὸ μὲν αὐτόματον κοινὸν ἐμψύχων τε καὶ ἀψύχων, ἢ δὲ τύχη ἴδιον ἀνθρώπου8 ἦδη πράττειν δυναμένου. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι τὸ εὐτυχεῖν καὶ εὐδαιμονεῖν ταυτὰ εἶναι δοξάζεται: ἢ δὲ εὐδαιμονία

1 τοῦ μὲν ... ἐνδεχόμενον nos: τὸ μὲν οὐν ἐνδεχόμενον τοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν προϋποκείεσθαι ἐλέξθη Sieveking; τὸ μὲν ἐνδεχόμενον τῶν κατὰ προαίρεσιν καὶ τοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν προϋποκείεσθαι ἐλέξθη Sandbach (who reads in the next sentence ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτὸ μάτην παρωνύμως λέγεται); τοῦ μὲν αὐτόματον ὅπερ οὖνομάζεται ἀπ’ αὐτὸν παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν προϋποκείεσθαι ἐλέξθη Post: τὸ μὲν ἀπ’ αὐτὸν παρωνύμως καὶ τοῦ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν προϋποκείεσθαι ἐλέξθη.

2 καὶ our addition.

3 αὐτόματον] αὐτὸ μάτην m2 ss.

4 περαίνῃ οὗ ἕνεκα supplied by Bern. for παρ followed by a lacuna of 8 letters in a, 10 in X (περαίνῃ οὗ ἕνεκα ἦν καὶ Wyttenbach).

5 αὐτὸ γέγονε χωρὶς οὗ ἕνεκα ἔστω our supplement of a lacuna of 37 letters in a, 26 in X.

6 δὲ omitted in X.

7 τε] so a X.

8 ἴδιον ἀνθρώπον] ἀνθρώπον ἴδιον X1.
the pre-existent substrate of what, by an expression derived from "chance," is said to be "by chance," and of what is in our power, whereas the spontaneous has a greater extension than chance,\(^a\) since it comprises both the latter and moreover many of the things whose nature it is to fall out differently at different times. What is meant by the term "spontaneous" \((\textit{automaton})\), as the very name shows,\(^b\) is that which has a certain natural end when it does not accomplish that natural end.\(^c\) An example is held to be cold weather during the dog days\(^d\); for at some times cold weather is not purposeless \((\textit{matén})\), and does not occur in isolation \((\textit{auto})\) from its end.\(^e\) To put the matter generally, as what is in our power is a part of the contingent, so chance is a part of the spontaneous. Taken two by two, the one set is incidental to the other, the spontaneous to the contingent, and chance to what is in our power—not to all of the latter, but to that part of it which is also a matter of choice, as has been previously stated.\(^f\) Hence the spontaneous is common both to living things and things without life, whereas chance is peculiar to a man who has reached the stage of being able to act.\(^g\) A sign of this is the belief that enjoying good fortune\(^h\) and enjoying happiness are the same;

\(^a\) Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Physics}, ii. 6 (197 a 36–b 1).

\(^b\) Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Physics}, ii. 6 (197 b 29 f.).

\(^c\) Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Physics}, ii. 6 (197 b 22-27).

\(^d\) Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Metaphysics}, x. 8 (1064 b 36).

\(^e\) The words "occur . . . end" translate a conjectural supplement.

\(^f\) 572 A–b, \textit{supra}.

\(^g\) Cf. Aristotle, \textit{Physics}, ii. 6 (197 b 2-6); Aëtius, i. 29. 3, p. 325 b 16-18 (ed. Diels); Chalcidius, chap. clviii, pp. 213. 18-24 and 214. 10-14, and chap. clx, p. 215. 9-11 (ed. Wrobel); Nemesius, chap. xxxix, p. 313. 8 f. (ed. Matthaei).

\(^h\) Literally "good chance."
(572) εὐπραξία τις, ἢ δὲ εὐπραξία περὶ μόνον καὶ τελειον ἀνθρώπων.

8. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τῆς εἰμαρμένης τοιαῦτα, τὸ τε ἐνδεχόμενον καὶ τὸ δυνατόν, ἢ τε προαῖρεσις καὶ τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν, ἢ τε τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον, τὰ τε παρακείμενα αύτοῖς, ὥν καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ τὸ ᾨσως.· ἢ δὴ πάντα περιέχει μὲν ἡ εἰμαρμένη, οὐδὲν δ’ αὐτῶν ἔστι καθ’ εἰμαρμένην. λοιπὸν δ’ ἂν εἶη καὶ περὶ προνοίας εἶπεῖν, ὡς αὐτὴ γε περιείληπε τὴν εἰμαρμένην.

9. "Εστὶν οὖν πρόνοια ἡ μὲν ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρώτη τοῦ πρώτου θεοῦ νόησις εἴτε καὶ βούλησις οὕσα εὐεργετίς ἀπάντων, καθ’ ἣν πρῶτος ἐκαστα τῶν θείων διὰ παντὸς ἁριστά τε καὶ κάλλιστα κεκόσμηται, ἢ δὲ δευτέρα δευτέρων θεῶν τῶν κατ’ οὐρανὸν ἅγιον, καθ’ ἣν τὰ τε θυητὰ γίνεται τεταγμένως καὶ ὅσα πρὸς διαμονήν καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐκάστων τῶν γενῶν, τρίτη δ’ ἂν εἰκότως ῥηθεὶν πρόνοια τε καὶ προμήθεια τῶν ὅσοι περὶ γῆν δαίμονες τεταγμένοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πράξεων φύλακές τε καὶ ἐπίσκοποι εἴσι. τριτῆς τούν τῆς προνοίας θεωρουμένης, κυριώτατα δὲ καὶ μάλιστα τῆς πρώτης λεγομένης, οὐκ ἂν ὁκνήσαμεν εἰπεῖν, εἰ καὶ φιλοσόφους ἀνδράσι τάναντια λέγεων δόξαιμεν, ὡς πάντα μὲν

1 τὸ added by Pohlenz. 2 εἰκότως σοὶς s Turnebus: εἰκότι.

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a Cf. Aristotle, Physics, ii. 6 (197 b 3-5).
b Literally "the perhaps and the peradventure." For the "perhaps" cf. note on 574 d, infra.

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now happiness is a kind of doing well, and doing well is found in man alone when he has reached his full development.\(^a\)

8. What is included in fate—the contingent and the possible, choice and what is in our power, chance and the spontaneous, as well as matters associated with these, such as what is designated by the words "perhaps" and "peradventure"\(^b\)—is of the description we have given above; and fate contains them all, although none of them conforms to fate. It remains to speak of providence, as it in turn includes fate.

**Primary providence**

9. The highest and primary providence is the intellection or will, beneficent to all things, of the primary God\(^c\); and in conformity with it all things divine are primordially arranged throughout, each as is best and most excellent. Secondary providence belongs to secondary gods, who move in heaven, and in conformity with it all mortal things come into being in orderly fashion, together with all that is requisite to the survival and preservation of the several genera. The providence and forethought which belongs to the daemons stationed in the terrestrial regions as watchers and overseers of the actions of man would reasonably be called tertiary.\(^d\) As providence, then, is seen to be threefold, and as primary providence is providence in the strictest sense and to the highest degree,\(^e\) I should not hesitate to say, even at the cost of appearing to contradict certain philosophers, that while all that conforms to fate

\(^a\) Cf. Apuleius, *De Platone*, i. 12, p. 96. 2-15 (ed. Thomas), and Nemesius, chap. xlv, pp. 345. 2-346. 7 (ed. Matthaei).

\(^b\) Cf. Nemesius, chap. xlv, p. 346. 7-10 (ed. Matthaei).
(573) τὰ¹ καθ’ εἰμαρμένην καὶ κατὰ πρόνοιαν, οὐ μὴν 
Β καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· ἄλλ’ ἔνια μὲν κατὰ πρόνοιαν (καὶ 
ἄλλα γε κατ’ ἄλλην), ἔνια δὲ καθ’ εἰμαρμένην. 
καὶ ἥ μὲν εἰμαρμένη πάντως κατὰ πρόνοιαν, ἥ δὲ 
πρόνοια οὐδαμῶς καθ’ εἰμαρμένην (ἐστω δὲ ο λόγος 
τὰ νῦν περὶ τῆς πρώτης καὶ ἀνωτάτων). τοῦ μὲν γὰρ² 
κατὰ τι ύστερον ἐκεῖνον καθ’ ο τι ἄν καὶ λέγηται 
(οἷον τὸ κατὰ νόμον τοῦ νόμου καὶ τὸ κατὰ φύσιν 
τῆς φύσεως). οὔτω δὲ καὶ τὸ καθ’ εἰμαρμένην τῆς 
eἰμαρμένης νεώτερον ἂν εἰη· ἥ δὲ ἀνωτάτω πρόνοια 
πρεσβύτατον ἀπάντων, πλὴν οὔπερ ἐστιν εἴτε 
βούλησις εἴτε νόθης εἴτε καὶ ἐκάτερον· ἐστὶ δ’, 
ὡς πρότερον εἴρηται, τοῦ πάντων πατρός τε καὶ 
C δημιουργοῦ. "λέγωμεν"³ γὰρ "δὴ," φησὶν ὁ 
Τίμαιος, "δι’ ἤντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν 
tότε ὁ ἐξυπνάσας συνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν⁴. ἀγαθῶ 
δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενοῦ⁵ ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· 
τούτου δὲ ἐκτὸς ὁ, πάντα ὃτι μάλιστα ἐβουλήθη 
γενέσθαι⁶ παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ. ταύτην δὴ γενέσεως 
καὶ κόσμου μάλιστα ἂν τις ἀρχὴν κυριωτάτην παρὰ 

¹ τὰ added by Wytttenbach. 
² γὰρ added by Sieveking. 
³ λέγωμεν Plato: λέγομεν. 
⁴ ἦν Plato: ὄν. 
⁵ οὐδέποτε περὶ οὐδενοῦ] περὶ οὐδενοῦ οὐδέποτε Plato. 
⁶ ἐβουλήθη γενέσθαι] γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη Plato. 
⁷ δὴ] δὲ Plato.

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² Zeno called fate providence and nature (cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag. i. 176, pp. 44. 35 ff. von Arnim). The later Peripatetics held that the fated and the natural were the same (Alexander, De Fato, chap. vi, p. 169. 18-22 Bruns, De An. Libri Mant. p. 182. 4-11 Bruns, and Aëtius, i. 29. 4, p. 325 b 30-32 Diels). The Peripatetics, however, were thought to leave no room for providence (Alexander, Quaest. ii. 21, pp. 70. 33-71. 2 Bruns). Atticus (quoted by Eusebius, Praep. 344}
conforms to providence (though not to nature as well), yet some things conform to providence (some to one, some to another), some to fate. And whereas fate most certainly conforms to providence, providence most certainly does not conform to fate (here it is to be understood that we are speaking of the primary and highest providence): for what is said to "conform to" a thing is posterior to that, whatever it may be, to which it is said to conform (for example, "what conforms to law" is posterior to law and "what conforms to nature" to nature); thus "what conforms to fate" is younger than fate, while the highest providence is eldest of all, save the one whose will or intellection or both it is, and it is that, as has been previously stated, \(^{6}\) of the Father and Artisan of all things. Timaeus says: "Let us state for what reason the realm of events and this universe were framed by him who framed them. He was good; and in the good no grudging ever arises about aught; and being exempt from this, he wished all things to become as similar as might be to himself. To accept from men of wisdom this, rather than any other, as the foremost principle of

Evang. vi. 12. 1) ascribes to Plato the doctrine that since soul and nature are identical, and everything occurs in conformity with nature, everything occurs in conformity with providence. See also W. Theiler in Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll, p. 46, note 2.


\(^{6}\) 572 f., supra.
(573) ἀνδρῶν φρονίμων ἀποδεχόμενος ὀρθότατα ἀπο-
δέχοντ' ἄν. βουληθεῖς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὰ μὲν πάντα,
φαύλον ἃ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι κατὰ δύναμιν, οὕτω δὴ πάν
ὅσον ἢν ὁρᾶτον παραλαβῶν οὐχ ἥσυχίαν ἄγου ἄλλα
κινούμενον πλημμελῶς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν
αὐτὸ ἤγεν ἡ τῆς ἀτάξιας, ἤγεσάμενος ἕκεινο
τοῦτο πάντως ἀμεινον. θέμες δὲ οὔτ' ἢν οὔτε
D ἐστὶ τῷ ἀρίστω ὅρᾶν ἄλλο πλῆν τὸ κάλλιστον."
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα μέχρι ψυχῶν
ἀνθρωπίνων κατὰ πρόνοιαν νομιστεόν τὴν γε πρώ-
την συνεστηκέναι· τὰ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν—οὕτω λεγόμενα:
"συστήσας δὲ τὸ πᾶν διείλειν ψυχὰς ἤσαρκθοὺς
τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἐνεμέν ἡ τῆς ἐκάστην πρὸς ἐκαστὸν,
καὶ ἐμβιβάσας ὡς εἰς ὀχήμα τὴν τοῦ παντὸς φύσιν
ἐδειξὲ νόμους τῇ τοῦς εἰμαρμένους εἶπεν αὐτῶι
"ταῦτα δὲ τίς οὖν ἄν διαρρήθην καὶ σαφέστατα
οἰηθεὶν τὴν εἰμαρμένην δηλοῦν, ὥσπερ τον βάσιν
καὶ πολιτικὴν νομοθεσίαν ταῖς ἀνθρωπίναις ψυχαῖς
προσήκουσαν, ἃς δὴ καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν ἐξῆς ἐπιφέρει;
Τὴν δὲ δευτέραν πρόνοιαν ὅδε πῶς ἐπισημαίνεται
Ε λέγων: "διαθεσμοθετήσας πάντα αὐτοῖς" ἵνα τῆς
ἐπειτα εἰς κακίας ἐκάστων ἀνάιτιος, ἐσπειρε τοὺς

1 φαύλον] φαύλον Plato.  
3 τοῦτο] τοῦτο Plato.  
4 διείλειν . . . ἐνεμένον θ' Plato: ἤσαρκθοὺς τοῖς ἀστροῖς
ἐταξίν (a has here a lacuna of 12 letters; X has ἐταξίν and a
lacuna of 13 letters) διείλε τή ψυχάς.
5 εἶπεν αὐτῶι Plato: a lacuna of 13 letters in a, 17 in X.
6 πάντα αὐτοῖς] δὲ πάντα αὐτοῖς τάδα Plato.
7 τῆς ἐς βις (with some mss. of Plato): τοῖς (with other
mss. of Plato).

a Plato, Timaeus, 29 d—30 a.  
b Plato, Timaeus, 41 d-e.  
c Our author seems to have obtained this notion of
Coming into being and of Order, is to accept most rightly. For God, wishing that all things should be good, and naught, so far as possible, evil, took over all that was visible, which was in no state of rest, but in discordant and disordered motion, and brought it into order out of its disorder, deeming the former in all ways better than the latter. It neither was nor is right for him who is best to do aught save that which is most excellent." 

These matters and what is mentioned after them, as far as and including the souls of men, we must take to have been framed in conformity with providence—primary providence; but the words that follow ("and when he had compounded the whole, he divided it into souls equal in number to the stars and assigned to every star a soul, and mounting them thereon as on a vehicle, showed them the nature of the universe and proclaimed to them the laws of fate"), who would not suppose to indicate fate, explicitly and in the plainest of terms, as a sort of foundation and political legislation appropriate to the souls of men, the very legislation for which he next proceeds to state the reason?

Secondary providence

He indicates secondary providence in the following words: "Having prescribed all these ordinances to them, to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be "foundation" (basis) by pressing Plato's words "mounting (embibasas) them thereon as on a vehicle." It is perhaps significant that the astrologers called the horoscope a basis, as foundation of a man's lot in life (cf. Cumont, "Écrits hermétiques" in Rev. de Philol. xlii, p. 71, note 5).

Plato, Timaeus, 42 D; cf. 573 F, infra.
(573) μὲν εἰς τὴν¹ γῆν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν² σελήνην, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰ ἄλλα² ὄργανα χρόνου. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸν ὁπόρον τοὺς νέους παρέδωκε θεοίς σώματα πλάτειν θυντά, τὸ τε ἐπίλοιπον ὦσον ἐτί ἦν³ ψυχῆς ἀνθρωπίνης δέον προσγενέσθαι, τούτῳ καὶ πάντα ὡς ἀκόλουθα ἐκείνους ἀπεργασαμένους, ἄρχειν καὶ F κατὰ δύναμιν ὁτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἀριστα τὸ θυντὸν διακυβερνᾶν ζῷον, ὦ τι μὴ κακῶν⁴ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ γίνοιτο αἰτιον." ἐν γὰρ τούτως τὸ μὲν "Ἇνα τῆς⁵ ἐπειτα εἶνι κακίας ἀναίτιος ἐκάστῳ⁶ σαφέστατα τὴν⁷ αὐτῖαν σημαίνει τῆς εἰμαρμένης, ἢ δὲ τῶν νέων θεῶν τάξις καὶ δημιουργία τῆς δευτέραν πρόνοιαν δηλοῖ.

Καὶ πῶς καὶ τρίτης παρεφάππτεσθαι έσωκεν, εἰ γε δὴ τούτου χάριν ἢ θεσμοθεσία, "Ἇνα τῆς ἐπειτα εἶνι κακίας ἐκάστῳ⁸ ἀναίτιος⁹. θεός δὲ κακίας ἀμοιροσ οὔτε νόμων οὔτε εἰμαρμένης ἐπιδέοιτ’ ἂν, ἀλλὰ τῇ προνοίᾳ τοῦ γεννήσαντος συνεπιστῶμενος 574 ἐκαστος αὐτῶν πρᾶττει τὰ αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δὲ ὅτι⁹

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¹ τὴν omitted in Plato.
² τὰ ἄλλα] τάλλα ὦσα Plato.
³ ἐτί ἦν Plato : ἐστι.
⁴ κακῶν Plato : κακὸν α; μακρὸν Χ.
⁵ τῆς E²ss (with some mss. of Plato) : τοῖς (with other mss. of Plato).
⁶ ἀναίτιος ἐκάστῳ] ἀναίτιος ἐκάστων E¹; ἐκάστων ἀναίτιος Plato.
⁷ σαφέστατα τὴν nos : σαφεστάτην.
⁸ ἐκάστῳ] ἐκάστων Plato.
⁹ ὅτι our addition (Bern. adds ὅτι δὲ before ταῦτα).

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a Plato, Timaeus, 42 d-e.
severally guilty, he sowed some on the earth, some on the moon, and others on the remaining instruments of time. After the sowing he delegated to the new-made gods the task of modelling mortal bodies, and, when they had completed all the rest of the human soul that it was necessary to add and all that this involved, of ruling and guiding the mortal animal, so far as lay within their powers, in the fairest and best fashion possible, except for those evils which it should incur from its own guilt." In this passage the phrase "to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty" indicates in the plainest language the reason for fate, while the government and creation which is in the hands of the new-made gods refers to secondary providence.

*Tertiary providence*

He appears, moreover, to allude to a third providence as well, inasmuch as the enactment of ordinances is "to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty": a god, having no part in evil, can stand in no need of either laws or fate, but each of them fulfils his own office as the providence of his begetter draws him along in its train. The words

b That is, each of the new-made gods.


d Evil is found in daemons, mortal beings created by the secondary gods. The will or thought (or both) of these daemons constitutes tertiary providence. Hence our author finds an allusion to tertiary providence in the words "to the end that he might not be chargeable for the future wickedness of which they would be severally guilty."
(574) ἀλήθη καὶ ἀρέσκοντα τῷ Πλάτωνι φανερά μοι
dokei μαρτύρια ἐίναι τά πρός τοῦ Νομοθέτου· ἵνα ἀνθρώπων φύσει ἰκανός, θεία μοιρά γεννηθεῖς, παραλαβεῖν δυνατός εἴη, νόμων οὐδὲν ἂν δεόιτο
αὐτοῦ ἀρξόντων· ἐπιστήμης γάρ οὔτε νόμος οὔτε
τάξις οὐδεμία κρείττων, οὔδε θέμας ἐστί νοῦν
οὕδεν ὑπήκουν οὔδε δούλον ἀλλὰ πάντων ἀρχοντα
ἐίναι, ἕαντερ ἀληθινὸς εἰλεύθερος τε ὄντως ἢ κατὰ
φύσιν.

10. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν τὰ πρὸς τοῦ Πλάτωνος
Βτοιαῦτ' ἡ παρόμοια λαμβάνω. τριτῆς γαρ
οὐσις τῆς προνοίας ἡ μέν, ἀτε γεννήσασα την
εἰμαρμένην, τρόπον τινὰ αὐτήν περιλαμβάνει, ἢ δὲ,
συγγεννηθείσα τῆς εἰμαρμένης, πάντως αὐτή συμ-
περιλαμβάνεται, ἢ δὲ, ὥς ὑστερον τῆς εἰμαρμένης
gεννωμένη, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἢ ἐμπεριέχεται ὑπ'
αὐτῆς καθ’ ἢ καὶ τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν καὶ ἡ τύχη εὑρηται.
"οῖς" γὰρ ἀν συλλάβηται τῆς συνουσίας ἡ τοῦ
dαιμονίου δύναμις," ὡς φησὶ Δοκράτης, μονονουχὸ
θεσμὸν τινα (καίτοι οὖ τὸν Ἀδραστείας) διεξών
πρὸς τὸν Θεάγην, "οὔτοι εἰσὶν ὧν καὶ σὺ ἡποθησα
tαχὺ γὰρ παραρχῆμα ἐπιδιδόσαιν." οὐκοῦν ἐν

1 μαρτύρια γ': μαρτυρία.
2 ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' εἰ nos (ἐπεὶ ταῦτα εἰ Plato): ἐπη τοῦ τί.
3 αὐτοῦ ἀρξόντων ἂ X: τῶν ἀρξόντων ἐαυτοῦ Plato.
4 νόμοι Plato : νόμων.
5 ἐστὶ νοῦν Plato : ἐστίν.
6 πάντων Plato : πάντα.
7 πρὸς] omitted by m and Wytenbach.
8 τοιαῦτ' ἡ παρόμοια Pohlenz: ταῦτα τῆς παρομία.
9 τῆς εἰμαρμένης s2 Leonicus: τῆς εἰμαρμένην.
10 γεννωμένη nos (γεννωμένη s Ald.2): γεννωμένη.
11 τῆς συνουσίας ἡ Plato: ἡ τῆς συνοισίας.
12 καίτοι οὖ τὸν Turnebus: καὶ τοιοῦτον.

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of the Lawgiver in the *Laws*\(^a\) are, I think, clear testimony that this is true and the doctrine held by Plato. They are to this effect: "Since if ever any man, gifted by nature, born under a divine dispensation, should be capable of apprehending this, he would need no laws to govern him, for no law or ordinance is mightier than understanding, nor is it permitted that intelligence should be subject or slave to aught; it must rather be ruler in all things, if it be genuine and really free in conformity with its nature."

**The three providences and fate**

10. Now I take Plato's meaning to be as described or very near it: as providence is threefold, the first, since it has begotten fate, includes it in a sense; the second, having been begotten together with fate, is most certainly included together with it\(^b\); and the third, since it is begotten later than fate, is contained in it in the same way as what is in our power and chance were said\(^c\) to be contained in fate.\(^d\) For, "those persons with whom the daemonic power encourages me to associate," as Socrates says in recounting to Theages what is all but an ordinance, although not that of Adrasteia, "are the ones you have remarked; for their progress is immediate and

\(^a\) Plato, *Laws*, 875 c-d. The argument implicit in our author is this: if a man should be gifted with understanding he would need no law to govern him; how much less, then, would a god have need of laws, and of fate, which is a kind of law! \(^b\) That is, in the first or primary providence.

\(^c\) 570 E, *supra*.

PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(574) C

touτω τὸ μὲν συλλαμβάνειν τισὶ τὸ δαμόνιον κατὰ
tὴν τρίτην πρόνοιαν θετέον,1 τὸ δὲ ταχὺ παραχρήμα
ἐπιδιδόναι καθ' έἰμιρμένην· τὸ δὲ ὅλον οὐκ ἄδηλον
ὡς αὐτὸ τοῦτο εἰμάρμένη τὶς ἔστι.

Τάχα δ' ἂν οὖτω2 πολὺ πιθανότερον δόξει καὶ
tὴν δευτέραν πρόνοιαν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμάρμενης peri-
έχεσθαι καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ γινόμενα, εἰ γε καὶ ἥ
κατ' οὖσιν εἰμαρμένη ὁρθῶς ἥμιν εἰς τὰς τρεῖς
μοῖρας διανεῖμηται καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀλύσεως λόγος τὰς
περὶ οὐρανοῦ περιόδους τοῖς εξ ὑποθέσεως ἀπο-
βαίνουσι συγκαταλέγει. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τούτων

D οὖκ ἂν3 ἔγνωε ἐπὶ πλέον διενεχθεῖν πότερον4 εξ
ὑποθέσεως λεγόμενα5 ἣ ὃς μᾶλλον σὺν εἰμαρμένη,6
προκατάρχοντος αὐτῆς τῆς εἰμαρμένης εἰμαρμένου.

1 θετέον Wytenbach : ἀναθετέον.
2 οὖτω] αὖ τῷ Wytenbach.
3 ἂν added by Bern.
4 πότερον Leonicus : πρότερον.
5 λεγόμενα] ἂν εἰη ὁρθῶς λεγόμενα Pohlenz ; γενόμενα Post.
6 σὺν εἰμαρμένη] συνειμμένα Wytenbach.

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a Theages, 129 e. In the context of the dialogue the
"daemonic power" is of course the sign of Socrates.
b That is, while primary providence includes fate, tertiary
providence is included in fate, being the "hypothesis" which
leads to a fated result.
c 568 e, supra.
d To the Stoics the "chain"—that is, the chain of causes
—represents the whole course of cosmic change: cf. Cicero,
De Div. i. 56 (127) ; Alexander, De Fato, chap. xxiii, p. 193.
6 and chap. xxiv, p. 194. 3 (ed. Bruns) ; and Eustathius on
Homer, II. viii. 19. See also W. Theiler in Phyllobolia für
Peter von der Mühll, p. 44, note 5.

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rapid." \(^a\) In this passage we must posit that the encouragement given to association with certain persons by the daemonic power conforms to tertiary providence, while their immediate and rapid progress conforms to fate; and the whole complex is plainly enough none other than a form of fate.\(^b\)

On this view, however, it might appear much more credible that secondary providence also, and indeed all things, without any limitation, that come to pass, are contained in fate, if we were right \(^c\) in dividing substantial fate into the three portions and if the argument of the "chain" \(^d\) brings the revolutions in heaven \(^e\) into the class of consequences of an hypothesis. Yet with regard to this question I for one would not pursue the quarrel further whether these matters are to be termed consequences of an hypothesis, the initiatory cause of fate itself being fated,\(^f\) or, as I rather take to be the case, they exist side by side with fate.

\(^e\) The author means the planetary movements. The planets constitute the second division of substantial fate.

\(^f\) The Stoics called a cause external to the thing affected "procatarctic" or "initiatory." Thus the man who starts a cylinder rolling down a slope is the procatarctic cause of the course of the cylinder. He does not determine what that course shall be; he merely sets the cylinder in motion. Cf. 

*Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* ii. 346, pp. 119 f. (ed. von Arnim); Cicero, *De Fato*, 19 (43); Galen, *De Causis Pulsiuum*, i. 1, vol. ii, p. 261 (ed. Kühn); Proclus, *In Plat. Rem P. Comm.* ii, p. 261 (ed. Kroll); M. Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* (Göttingen, 1948), vol. i, pp. 104 ff., vol. ii, pp. 60 f. Our author's meaning appears to be that on the theory which presents secondary providence as included in fate, we shall find that secondary providence or the planets initiate certain terrestrial situations, which are fated, while the movements of the planets are themselves fated, inasmuch as they are the results of certain antecedent conditions.
11. Ο μὲν οὖν ἡμετέρος λόγος ἐπὶ κεφαλαίων εἰπεῖν τοιούτος τις ἂν εἴῃ, ὁ δὲ τούτων ἐναντίος οὐ μόνον ἐν εἰμαρμένη ἄλλα καὶ καθ' εἰμαρμένην πάντα τίθεται. πάντα δὲ θατέρῳ συνάδειν τὰ δὲ τῷ θεῷ συνωδά δῆλον ὅτι καὶ θατέρῳ. 2

Κατὰ μὲν οὖν τόνδε τὸν λόγον τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πρῶτον3 εἰρηται καὶ τὸ γε ἐφ' ἡμῖν δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἡ τε τύχη καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον καὶ ὅσα κατ' αὐτά· ἔπαινος δὲ καὶ ψόγος καὶ τὰ τούτων συγγενῆ τέταρτα, πέμπτον δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν εὐχαί Εθεῶν καὶ θεραπεῖαι λεγέσθων ἀργοὶ4 δὲ καὶ θερίζοντες λόγου καὶ ο παρὰ τὴν εἰμαρμένην ὄνομα-

1 μὲν added by Stephanus.

2 θατέρῳ Turnebus (κατὰ θατέρον Pohlenz): θατέρον.

3 πρῶτον added by Drexler.

4 ἀργοὶ Leonicus: ἀγροὶ.

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a The Stoic view.

b That is, praise and blame are not made meaningless by the author's view of fate: cf. Cicero, De Fato, 17 (40); Albinus, Epitome, chap. xxvi. 1; Chrysippus in Stoicorum Vet. Frag. ii. 998, pp. 292 f. (ed. von Arnim); Alexander, De Fato, chap. xxxiv, p. 206. 1 (ed. Bruns).

c For the "indolent argument" cf. Cicero, De Fato, 12 f. (28 f.); Gellius, vii. 2. 4-5; Stoicorum Vet. Frag. ii. 957, p. 278. 19-26 (ed. von Arnim). Addressed to a sick man, it runs as follows: "If it is fated for you to recover from your illness, you will recover whether you call a physician or no; again, if it is fated for you not to recover, you will not recover, whether you call a physician or no; now it is fated for you
The order of points in the present argument

11. Our argument, then, presented under its main heads, would be as described; the contrary argument, on the other hand, posits that everything is not only in fate but also conforms to it. But everything is consistent with the former contention, and what is consistent with the latter is evidently consistent with the former as well.

In our argument the contingent is placed first; what is in our power, second; third come chance and the spontaneous and all that conforms to them; fourth, praise and blame and whatever is related to them; while the fifth and final place must be given to prayers to the gods and worship of them. But the "indolent argument," that of the "reaper," and either to recover or not recover: you therefore call a physician in vain.

For the argument of the reaper cf. Diogenes Laert. vii. 25 and Ammonius, In Aristot. De Int. Comm. chap. ix, p. 131. 25-32 (ed. Busse): εἰ θερείες, φησίν [scil. το λόγος], οὐχὶ τάχα μὲν θερείες τάχα δὲ οὐ θερείες, ἄλλα πάντως θερείες, καὶ εἰ μή θερείες, ὡςαύτως οὐχὶ τάχα μὲν θερείες τάχα δὲ οὐ θερείες, ἄλλα πάντως οὐ θερείες· ἄλλα μὴν εἴς ἀνάγκης ἦτοι θερείες ἦ οὐ θερείες· ἀνήμηται ἄρα τό τάχα, εἴπερ μήτε κατὰ τὴν ἀντίθεσιν τοῦ θερείου πρὸς τὸ μή θερείων ἔχει χώραν, εἴς ἀνάγκης τοῦ ἔτερου τούτων ἐκβαίνοντος, μήτε κατὰ τὸ ἐπάμενον ὀποτεραοῦν τῶν ὑποθέσεων· τὸ δὲ τάχα ἤν τὸ εἰσόφερον τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον· οἴκεται ἄρα τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον. "If you are going to reap (the argument runs) it does not follow that you will perhaps reap, perhaps not, but you will certainly reap; and similarly if you are not going to reap: it does not follow that you will perhaps reap, perhaps not, but you will certainly not reap. But necessarily you are either going to reap or not going to reap. ‘Perhaps’ then is eliminated, since it has no place in the opposition between ‘going to reap’ and ‘not going to reap’—as one of these two must necessarily occur—nor yet in what follows on either supposition. But ‘perhaps’ is what introduced the contingent. The contingent therefore disappears."
(574) ξόμενος σοφίσματα ὡς ἀληθῶς κατὰ τούτον τὸν λόγον τυγχάνει ὄντα.

Κατὰ δὲ τὸν ἐναντίον μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρῶτον ἂν¹ εἶναι δόξειν τὸ μηδὲν ἀναντίως γίγνεσθαι ἄλλα κατὰ προηγουμένας αὐτίας, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ φύσει διοικεῖσθαι τόνδε τὸν κόσμον σύμπνουν καὶ συμ-παθή αὐτὸν αὐτῷ ὄντα, τρίτον δὲ ἄ² πρὸς τούτοις μαρτύρια μᾶλλον ἐοικεν εἶναι· μαντικὴ μὲν ἄπασιν³ ἀνθρώποις εὐδόκιμος ὡς ἀληθῶς θεῷ συνυπάρχουσα,⁴ ἢ δὲ τῶν σοφῶν πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα εὐαρέστησις ὡς πάντα κατὰ μοίραν γιγνόμενα δευτέρα,⁵ τρίτον δὲ τὸ πολυθρύλητον⁶ τοῦτο ὦτὶ πᾶν ἀξίωμα ἡ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν ἡ ψευδῆς.

Τούτων γε μὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐμνήσθημεν ἵνα

¹ ἂν added by Bern.  ² ἄ Wytenbach : τὰ.
³ ἄπασιν] πρῶτον πάσιν Patzig.
⁴ θεῷ συνυπάρχουσα Schwartz (σὺν θεῷ υπάρχουσα von Arnim) : θεῷ ὑπάρχουσα.
⁵ δευτέρα Patzig : δεύτερα.
⁶ πολυθρύλητον Dübner : πολυθρύλητον.

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a The argument "contrary to fate" is not mentioned elsewhere by name; for a conjecture cf. Zeller, Die Philos. der Griechen, iii. 15, p. 171, note 1.

b Chrysippus had tried to show that the "indolent argument" was a fallacy: cf. Cicero, De Fato, 13 (30). Our author would regard all three arguments as valid against the Stoic position, while fallacious against his own.


d "Spirit" (pneuma) in Stoic theory is a corporeal substance pervading the whole universe and holding it together (cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag. ii. 439-444, pp. 144-146 and 543, 356
that termed "contrary to fate" a turn out on this view to be sophisms indeed. b

The order of points in the Stoic argument

According to the opposing argument the chief and first point would appear to be that nothing occurs without cause, and that instead everything occurs in conformity with antecedent causes e; the second, that this universe, at one with itself in spirit and in affections, d is governed by nature; and in the third place comes what would rather seem to be evidence added to these points in corroboration: the good repute in which the art of divination is held by all mankind, in the belief that its existence and that of God are in fact involved in one another e; the acquiescence of the wise f in whatever befalls, in the belief that everything that occurs is in order, g in the second place; and third, that oft repeated dictum, that every proposition is either true or false. h

I have dealt with these matters thus briefly in order

p. 172. 19 von Arnim). Sympathes (here rendered "at one with itself . . . in affections") points to their theory of "sympathy": that the universe is so perfectly integrated a whole that when one part of it is affected all its other parts are affected as well.

e For the proof of the existence of fate from that of divination cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag. ii. 939-944, pp. 270-272 (ed. von Arnim); for the appeal to all mankind cf. Cicero, De Div. i. 6 (11); for the involvement of the existence of God in that of divination cf. Cicero, ibid. i. 5 (9) and i. 38 (82-83).

f Cf. W. Theiler in Phyllobolia für Peter von der Mühll, p. 86, note 3.

g The expression κατὰ μοῖραν ("in order") can mean "duly" or "in conformity with fate."

(574) ὡς ἐπὶ βραχὺ τὰ τῆς εἰμαρμένης κεφάλαια δηλωθεῖ ἕν. ἁ χρή διερευνήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβὴ βάσανον ἐκατέρων τῶν λόγων, τὰ δὲ καθ ἑκάστα τούτων ἐσάθιος μέτιμεν.

1 κεφάλαια δηλωθεῖ supplied by Wyttenbach to fill a lacuna of 13 letters in a, 7 in X.
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to present the main headings of the topic of fate in a compendious form; these we must investigate when we subject the two arguments to exact scrutiny. The details that come under these headings we shall enter into at some later time.
ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES
(DE GENIO SOCRATIS)
INTRODUCTION

In the *De Genio Socratis* Caphisias, Epameinondas' brother, gives Archedamus and a distinguished circle at Athens an account of the recent exploits and discussions at Thebes. The exploits were those of the conspiracy that freed the city from Spartan domination; the discussions took place at the conspirators' meetings, and were concerned with the meaning of an ancient inscription, the question when benefactions should be rejected, and above all with the interpretation of Socrates' sign.

Thebes was liberated in December, 379 B.C. The story is also told by Plutarch in the *Life of Pelopidas* (chapters vi-xiii), and brief accounts are preserved in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (v. 4. 1-13), in Nepos' *Pelopidas* (ii. 1-iv. 1), and in Diodorus Siculus (xv. 25-27). There are irreconcilable differences between the

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*c* Cf. also Polyaeon, ii. 3. 1 and ii. 4. 3.
accounts of Xenophon, Diodorus, and Plutarch; and there are even a few discrepancies between Plutarch’s briefer account in the Life of Pelopidas and his fuller account here. Such incidents, however, as the assassination of Androcleidas at Athens, the execution of Hismenias, the meeting at Charon’s house, Chlidon’s failure to deliver the message to the exiles, the letter from Archias of Athens to Archias of Thebes, and the banquet given for Archias by Phyllidas, appear in either Nepos or Xenophon (or both) as well as in the Life of Pelopidas. Xenophon differs from Plutarch in setting the number of returning exiles at seven, rather than at twelve, and

a For the fullest discussion of the different accounts cf. the two works of Ernst von Stern: Gesch. d. spart. u. theb. Hegemonie vom Königsfrieden bis zur Schlacht bei Mantinea, Dorpat, 1884, and Xenophons Hell. u. d. böot. Geschichtsüberlieferung, Dorpat, 1887.

b In the dialogue (576 c-d) a messenger arrives the day the exiles cross the frontier, informs the conspirators of the fact, and is told where the exiles are to lodge; in the Life (chaps. vii. 4, viii. 3, 281 b, d) the house where they are to lodge is agreed upon in advance. In the Life (chap. x. 5, 283 a-b) Charon tells the truth about his interview to Pelopidas alone, inventing a fictitious story for the rest; in the dialogue (595 ff.) he tells the truth to all. In the Life (chap. xi. 8, 283 f) Cephisodorus dies before Leontiades is killed, in the dialogue (597 f), after. Again, in the dialogue (596 d) only a few of the conspirators in Melon’s group are dressed as women; in the Life (chap. xi. 2, 283 c-d) all apparently are. Cf. Lattanzi, p. 81.

c Hell. v. 4. 1 and 3.

d 576 c; cf. Nepos, Pel. ii.

e Of the conspirators named in the course of the dialogue three, Pelopidas, Damocleidas, and Theopompus, evidently (594 d) belong to the twelve. We learn of two more, Melon and Menecleidas, from the Life of Pelopidas (chap. viii. 2, 281 c, and chap. xxv. 5, 290 f). Possibly Eumolpidas, Samidas, Lysitheüs, and Cephisodorus can be added to the number; but there is no proof that they were exiles.
in stressing the rôle of Melon; he does not even mention Pelopidas' part in the exploit. Again, he places a day's interval between the return of the exiles and the revolt, a and he gives two versions of the entrance of the conspirators into the presence of Archias. In the first, three were disguised as ladies, the rest as maids; in the second, they entered as revellers. b Plutarch says that some were attired as revellers, and a few disguised as women (596 d). Xenophon goes on to say that after the seven had killed Archias, Phyllidas went with three of them to kill Leontiades c; whereas in Plutarch the exiles divide into two groups, Melon's group killing Archias and Philippus, Pelopidas' Leontiades and Hypates (577 c, 596 c-d, 596 f—598 a).

Most of the personages of the dialogue are known from other sources and may be considered historical. Archedamus is evidently an Athenian public figure with well-known Theban sympathies (575 d, f). Such a person was Archedemus of Pelex, surnamed "the blear-eyed," and mentioned by Aeschines (Or. ii. 139) as one who had risked much for the sake of Thebes. d There is no external evidence for Caphisias, whom Plutarch presents as a brother of Epameinondas, or for his embassy to Athens. But there is no reason

a Hell. v. 4. 3.
b Hell. v. 4. 6 f.
c Hell. v. 4. 5-7.
d Cf. Kirchner, Prosop. Att. no. 2326. The form Archedamos is not Attic, although not unknown at Athens (cf. ibid. no. 2312; the name Archidamos occurs seven times: ibid. nos. 2482-2488). The forms Archedamos and Archidamos both occur in Boeotian inscriptions: cf. the index to IG, vol. vii. Plutarch may have used the Boeotian form to show the bearer's intimacy with Boeotians and friendliness to Thebes,

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to doubt the existence of a brother of that name; and embassies from Thebes must have been fairly frequent at Athens in the stirring times that followed the liberation. As the philosophical discussions are scarcely historical, there is no compelling reason to suppose that the personages exclusively concerned with them are authentic. Timarchus, the hero of the myth, is probably a fiction of Plutarch's, and the same may hold true of the Pythagorean Theanor (literally, "man of God"); no other ancient author speaks of them. No mention is found elsewhere of the conspirators Bacchylidas, Eumolpidas, Hismenodorus, Lysitheüs, and Samidas; but here there is no reason to suppose that the names were invented. Plutarch, a local patriot, was well read in Boeotian history, and there are other instances where he alone has preserved some detail of it.

The dialogue opens with a speech by Archedamus, who asks Caphisias for the story of the events he had taken part in and for an account of the discussions he had heard at the time. Caphisias asks where he shall begin; and Archedamus, briefly sketching the events already known to himself and the audience, tells him to begin with the return of the exiles and the overthrow of the tyrants.

a Like Plutarch, Timarchus is a Chaeronean, and his name was presumably modelled on Plutarch's own; cf. also the unhistorical detail about Lamprocles (590 A with the note, and von Arnim, "Plutarch über Dämonen und Mantik," in Verhandelingen d. K. Akad. van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afd. Lect. Nieuwe Reeks, Deel xxii (1921), pp. 17 f.).

b Cf. Mor. 548 f—549 A with Reiske's note: "Res Boeoticas alii auctores negligentius tractarunt, quas, ut patrias, attingere Plutarchus amat."

c Plutarch avoids the terms "assassination" and "conspiracy."
The rest of the dialogue consists of Caphisias' narrative. A messenger from Athens informs the conspirators that the exiles will arrive at nightfall, and asks to what house they shall proceed. Charon offers his own. The party, which includes Charon, Caphisias, and Theocritus, a diviner, is now met by Archias (the leading spirit among the Theban oligarchs), Lysanoridas (the Spartan commander), and Phyllidas, a conspirator who is secretary to the Theban polemarchs. Theocritus is called away for a private conversation with Lysanoridas, and Phyllidas, drawing Caphisias aside, learns that the exiles are to come that evening, and congratulates himself on having chosen that time for a banquet to which Archias will be invited and made drunk. At the house of Simmias, the meeting-place of the conspirators, Pheidolauës asks the party to wait, as Simmias is closeted with Leontiades, an influential oligarch, interceding for the life of Amphititheüs, an imprisoned democrat.

While they are waiting, Theocritus asks Pheidolauës about the discoveries made by the Spartans who excavated Alcmena's tomb in the territory of Pheidolauës' native city of Haliartus. An inscription in unknown characters was the most remarkable, and Agesilaüs was reported to have sent a copy to Egypt for the priests to interpret.

Meanwhile Leontiades leaves. The party enter and find Simmias very downcast; his intercession had evidently failed. As Simmias had recently returned from Egypt, Theocritus asks whether the priests succeeded in reading the inscription. Simmias answers that such a document had been interpreted by a priest with whom Plato and he had studied
philosophy; and that it contained a divine command that the Greeks should settle their disputes by appealing not to arms, but to the Muses and discussion. Plato had remembered this message when the Delians consulted him about the duplication of the cube: they had received an oracle to the effect that when the cubical altar at Delos had been doubled the miseries of Delos and of all Greece would be at an end. Plato promised help, but told them that Apollo’s real purpose was to urge the Greeks to cultivate geometry, great proficiency being required for the solution, and to make an end of war by calming their passions in such mathematical and philosophical pursuits.

So ends the first discussion. Polymnis, the father of Epameinondas and Caphisias, now enters with the news that Epameinondas is bringing a Pythagorean stranger who had spent the night at the tomb of Lysis, a Pythagorean who had trained the sons of Polymnis in philosophy. The stranger had intended to remove the remains to Italy, if no sign from heaven should prevent him; and had brought a large sum of gold, with which he insisted on rewarding Epameinondas for supporting Lysis in his old age.

Galaxidorus, in a burst of indignation at the stranger’s superstitious practices, denounces religious mummerly in general, contrasting it with the simplicity and frankness of Socrates. Theocritus retorts that Socrates after all had a divine sign; to this Galaxidorus replies that Socrates allowed himself to be guided by the signs of ordinary divination—sneezes and chance remarks overheard—when the rational grounds for a decision were evenly balanced. Polymnis adds that he has heard that the sign was a
sneeze, but is astonished that Socrates did not call it so. The sneeze, Galaxidorus answers, was a mere instrument, the real agent being Heaven; and Socrates, who knew the proper use of words, spoke therefore of receiving intimations from Heaven (to daimonion), a not from its instrument.

The conversation is interrupted by the entrance of Epameinondas and the Pythagorean. Theanor (for that is the stranger's name) begs the company to judge between them: Epameinondas rejects the proffered money. A dialogue follows between the two on the question when it is right to accept a benefaction; and Epameinondas justifies his refusal by the need to refrain from even legitimate gain if he would harden himself against profiting from injustice. Simmias' decision is that the disputants must settle the question themselves.

Phyllidas now enters with Hippostheneidas, another conspirator, and draws Charon, Theocritus, and Caphisias aside. It appears that Hippostheneidas, alarmed among other things by an ominous dream, had sent a mounted messenger to meet the exiles at the frontier and tell them to turn back. Theocritus shows that the dream was actually a propitious omen, and the whole episode ends happily when the messenger appears and tells how a violent quarrel with his wife prevented him from setting out.

Caphisias and Theocritus return to Simmias, who has answered Galaxidorus in the interval, and is now presenting his own theory. The sign was Socrates' perception of the unspoken language of the higher powers. Simmias goes on to tell the story or myth

a To daimonion is also the name of the divine sign, the "genius" of Socrates.
ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

of Timarchus. The substance of Timarchus' vision is this: all souls have understanding or intellect, but some are so deeply sunk in the body that their understanding loses its character and becomes irrational. Others keep partly clear of the body, and the portion not immersed in it is called the daemon. Souls that obey this daemon from their earliest years are those of seers and divine men, and such was Socrates.

Theanor has the last word. Setting aside the myth, he combines parts of the explanations of Simmias and Galaxidorus, maintaining that the gods view certain persons with special favour and communicate with them directly by symbols. Others they help indirectly: when the cycle of birth is over, good men become daemons, and are allowed by the gods to call out to and help those who are approaching the end of their cycle.

At the conclusion of the discussion Theocritus, Galaxidorus, and Caphisias urge Epameinondas to join them in killing the oligarchs. Epameinondas gives his reasons for refusing.

Toward nightfall the exiles slip into the city and gather at Charon's house. When all the conspirators have assembled there two officers appear and summon Charon to the presence of Archias and Philippus. The rest, convinced that the plot is discovered, are preparing a desperate sortie when Charon returns with the joyful news that the magistrates have no definite information and are already the worse for drink.

The conspirators now set out in two parties, the one to attack Leontiades and Hypates, the other, Archias and Philippus. Meanwhile a letter is brought
to Archias, revealing the whole plot. The bearer says that it deals with serious business; but Archias slips it under his cushion with the remark that serious business can wait for the morrow. Both parties are completely successful: Archias, Philippus, Leontiades, and Hypates are all dispatched. Epameinondas and his followers join the conspirators and call the citizenry to arms. The Spartan sympathizers flee to the citadel; and the terrified garrison makes no descent into the lower town. The Spartans capitulate and withdraw their forces.

By the very nature of its dramatic setting the De Genio Socratis contains no reference to the events of Plutarch's own time. No absolute date can then be fixed. Von Arnim,\(^a\) comparing the myths of the De Defectu Oraculorum, De Facie in Orbe Lunae, De Genio Socratis, and De Sera Numinis Vindicta, supposes that the four were composed in that order. If so—and many of his arguments are hardly cogent\(^b\)—the De Genio Socratis was written after 95 or thereabouts, the approximate date of Plutarch's election to the Delphic priesthood.\(^c\)

A few translations can be added to those listed in the Preface.\(^d\)

Only two manuscripts contain the dialogue, E and B. In estimating the length of lacunas we mention E first.


\(^c\) Cf. p. 173, note e, supra. For the question of the relative dates of the De Genio Socratis and the Life of Pelopidas see the papers quoted by K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi. 1, coll. 842 f.

\(^d\) J. Mähly, Plutarch, Über den Genius des Sokrates. Politische Vorschriften (Stuttgart, 1890).
The work is No. 69 in the catalogue of Lamprias, where it is called περὶ Σωκράτους δαίμονίου πρὸς Ἀλκιδάμαντα.


A. Kontos, Πλούταρχου Ἡθικά· Περὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους Δαίμονίου (Athens, 1939).


ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΥ

B 1. —Ζωγράφου τινός, ὁ Καφισία, μέμνημαι ποτε3 περί τῶν θεωμένων τοὺς γεγραμμένους πίνακας λόγον οὐ φαίλον ἁκούσας ἐν εἰκόνι λελεγμένου. ἔφη γὰρ ἐοικέναι τοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας καὶ ἀτέχνους θεατάς οἱ χλὸν ὁμοῦ πολὺν ἀσπαζομένους,4 τοὺς δὲ κομψοὺς καὶ φιλοτέχνους, καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἴδια τῶν ἐντυχανόντων προσαγορεύουσι. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀκριβῆς, ἀλλὰ τύπῳ τινὶ γίνεται μόνον, ἡ τῶν ἀποτελεσμάτων σύνοψις, τοὺς δὲ, τῇ κρίσει κατὰ μέρος τὸ ἔργον διαλαμβάνοντας, οὐδὲν ἄθεατον οὐδὲ ἀπροσφάνητον ἐκφεύγει τῶν καλῶς ἡ τούναντίον γεγονότων. οἶμαι δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰς Ὁ ἀληθινὰς πράξεις ὁμοίως τῷ μὲν ἄργοτέρῳ5 τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξαρκεῖν πρὸς ἱστορίαν εἰ τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ πέρας πῦθοιτο τοῦ πράγματος, τὸν δὲ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον τῶν ύπ' ἀρετῆς ὑσπερ τέχνης μεγάλης ἀπειργασμένων6 θεατὴν τὰ καθ' ἐκαστα μᾶλλον εὐφραίνειν, ὡς7 τοῦ μὲν τέλος

1 τοῦ Σωκράτους δαιμονίου] σωκράτους δαιμονίου πρὸς ἀλκιδάμαντα Lamprias.
2 Καφισία Cobet: καφεσία and so passim.
3 μέμνημαι ποτε Wilamowitz (μέμνημαι Xylander) to fill a lacuna of 17-11 letters.
4 ἀσπαζομένου Basle edition of 1542: ἀσπαζομένου.
ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES

(The persons who take part in the dialogue are Archedamus, an Athenian, and Caphisias, a Theban.)

1.—I recall, Caphisias, that a painter once gave me, in the form of a comparison, no bad description of those who view pictures. Spectators who are laymen and without instruction in the art resemble, he said, those who greet a large company with a single salutation, whereas cultivated and artistic spectators resemble men who have a private word of welcome for everyone they meet; for the general impression that the first obtain of the performance is inaccurate and as it were a mere sketch; whereas the others use their critical judgement for a separate scrutiny of each detail, and thus allow nothing well or poorly executed to pass without a look or word of recognition. I think the same is true of real events: duller minds are content with history if they learn the mere general drift and upshot of the matter, whereas the spectator fired with emulation and the love of noble conduct, when he views the works which virtue, like a great art, has executed, is more delighted with the particulars, feeling that in the outcome much is due

5 τῷ μὲν ἄργοτέρῳ Ἐμπερίου: τῶν μὲν ἄργοτέρων.
6 τὸν δὲ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλόκαλον τῶν ὑπ’ ὑπέρ Ἐμπερίου ἄρετης... ἀπειργασμένων Reiske: τῶν δὲ φιλοτιμων καὶ φιλοκάλων τὸν ὑπέρ ἄρετης... ἀπειργασμένον.
7 ὡς added by Sieveking.
(575) πολλὰ κοινὰ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἔχοντος, τοὺς¹ δ’ ἐν² ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ τοῖς ἑργοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔπι³ μέρους ἀγώνας ἀρετῆς⁴ πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ τόλμας ἐμφρονας παρὰ τὰ δεινὰ καθορῶντα⁵ καιρῷ καὶ πάθει μεμηγμένον λογισμοῦ. τούτου δὴ τοῦ γένους

D τῶν θεατῶν καὶ ἡμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων εἶναι διέλθε 

τε τὴν πράξειν ἡμῶν⁶ ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ὡς ἐπράξθη καὶ τοῦ λόγου μετάδος ὅν ἀκούομεν⁷ γενέσθαι τότε σοῦ⁸ παρόντος, ὡς ἐμοὶ μηδ’ ἂν εἰς Θῆβας ἐπὶ τούτῳ κατοκήσαντος ἔλθειν, εἰ μή καὶ νῦν Ἀθηναίοις 

πέρα τοῦ δέοντος ἔδοκον βουωτιάζειν.⁹

— Ἀλλὰ ἐδει μὲν, ὁ Ἀρχέδαμε,¹⁰ σοῦ δ’ εὐνοιαν οὕτω προθύμως τὰ πεπραγμένα μαθεῖν σπουδάζοντος, ἐμε “καὶ ἀσκολίας ὑπέρτερον” θέσθαι κατὰ Πίνδαρον τὸ δεύτερο ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν διήγησιν· τὸ δὲ προσβείας ἀφιγμένοις ένεκα καὶ σχολὴν ἄγοντας ἄχρι οὗ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοῦ δήμου λάβω-

Ε μὲν ἀντιτείνειν καὶ ἀγροκίζεσθαι πρὸς εὐγνώμονα καὶ φίλου ἐταῖρον¹¹ δοκεῖ καὶ ἀνεγείρειν¹² τὸ κατὰ Βουωτῶν ἀρχαῖον εἰς μισολογίαν ονείδος ἡδη μαραυνόμενον παρὰ Σωκράτη τὸν ὑμέτερον, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ δυσὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σπουδάζοντες οὕτως διε-

1 τοὺς Pohlenz: τοῦ. 2 δ’ ἐν Bern.: δὲ.
3 ἑργοὺς αὐτοῖς ἔπι Pohlenz (ἐπὶ Turnebus) to fill a lacuna of 19-23 letters. 4 ἀρετῆς Turnebus: ἀρετῆ.
5 Post reads the passage as follows: τοῦ δὲ ταῖς αἰτίαις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι (ὁρ ανωτίως) μέρους [σχ. ἔχοντος] ἀγώνας ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὰ συντυγχάνοντα καὶ τόλμας ἐμφρονας περὶ (ὁρ πρὸς οὐ παρὰ) τὰ δεινὰ καὶ θορυβοῦντα.
6 ἡμῶν Schaefer: ἡτίς.
7 μετάδος δὸν ἀκούομεν Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 19-22 letters.
8 τότε σοῦ Pohlenz (σοῦ Turnebus) to fill a lacuna of 15 letters.
9 βουωτιάζειν Bern.: βουωτίζειν.

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to chance, whereas in the actions themselves and
in their causes he observes the details of the struggles
of virtue pitted against fortune, and the sober acts of
daring in peril that come of reason blended with the
stress and passion of the moment.\(^a\) Take us to be
spectators of this sort; tell us of your enterprise
from the beginning, and impart to us the discussion
that we hear was held at the time in your presence;
for you may rest assured that to hear the story I
should not have shrunk from journeying all the way
to Thebes, except that the Athenians consider me
unduly pro-Boeotian as it is.

—Indeed, Archedamus, seeing this friendly eager-
ness of yours to know what happened, I, for my part,
should have been obliged to hold it a duty “trans-
cending any business,” as Pindar \(^b\) says, to come
here to tell the story; as it is, when I am already here
on an embassy and at leisure until the assembly
delivers its reply, to refuse and be uncivil with one
so sympathetic and friendly, would be enough, I
think, to revive the ancient reproach against Boeotians
of hostility to discussion,\(^c\) just when that reproach
was dying out. . . . \(^d\) Yet consider whether the

\(^a\) A desperate and much-emended sentence. The meaning
is uncertain.

\(^b\) Isthmian Odes, i. 2. \(^c\) Cf. Mor. 864 d.

\(^d\) The Greek is corrupt. The sense was possibly: “now
that Simmias and Cebes have distinguished themselves by
their zeal for philosophy through their association with your
countryman Socrates, and we [that is, Caphisias and Epamei-
nondas] through ours with the holy Lysis.”

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10 'Αρχέδαμε νοσ (the mss. have ἀρχέδαμε 595 b, d and 596 d,
infra): ἀρχίδαμε (cf. 'Αλκιδάμαντα Λαμπρίας).
11 φίλον έταίρον Wilamowitz : φιλέταίρον.
12 δοκει καν ἀνεγείρειν Post (δόξειν ἀν ἐγείρειν Holwerda):
δοκεῖν ἀνεγείρειν.
(575) φάνημεν. ἂλλο ὑπερ τῆς παρόντας εἰ πρὸς ἀκροάσιν ἀμα πράξεων καὶ λόγων τοσσοῦτων εὐκαίρως ἔχουσιν· οὐ γὰρ βραχὺ μῆκός ἐστι τῆς διηγήσεως, ἑπεὶ σὺ καὶ τοὺς λόγους προσπερβαλέσθαι κελεῖσι.

—’Ἀγνοεῖς, ὦ Κάφισία, τοὺς ἄνδρας. ἡ μὴν ἀξίων εἰδέναι, πατέρων ὄντας ἀγαθῶν καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἰκείως ἐχόντων. ὅδι μὲν ἐστιν ἄδελφιδοὺς Φ Ὀρασυβούλου Λυσιθείδης, ὅδι δὲ Τιμόθεος Κόνωνος υἱός, οὗτοι δὲ Ἀρχίνου παῖδες, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι τῆς ἑταρείας καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πάντες· ἠστε σοι τοῦ θεάτρου εἰνοῦν καὶ οἰκείαν ἔχον τὴν διήγησιν.

—Εὖ λέγεις. ἅλλα τις ἄν ὑμῖν μέτριος ἀρχὴ γένοιτο τῆς διηγήσεως πρὸς ὃς ἔστε πράξεις;

—’Ἡμεῖς, ὦ Καφισία, σχεδὸν ὡς εἶχον αἰ Θῆβαι πρὸ τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων ἐπιστάμεθα. καὶ γὰρ ὃς οἱ περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Λεοντιάδην Φοιβίδαν πείσαντες ἐν σπονδαῖς καταλαβεῖν τὴν Καθεκείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐξέβαλον τῶν πολιτῶν, τοὺς δὲ φόβῳ 576 κατείργον, ἀρχοντες αὐτοὶ παρανόμως καὶ βιαίως,

1 The passage is corrupt. Schwartz indicates a lacuna after μαραυόμενον, supposing that some mention of Simmias and Cebes has dropped out; K. F. Hermann reads Δύσων τὸν ἱερὸν (Bern. Δύσων τὸν γέροντα) for δυσὶ τῶν ἱερῶν. Post reads as follows after μαραυόμενον: ἐπεὶ πρὸς Σωκράτη τὸν ὑμέτερον ἡμεῖς γε περὶ λύσων ἀπορίων σπουδάζοντες οὕτως ὁδιεφάνημεν. We translate as if the following were written: ἐπεὶ παρὰ Σωκράτει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ Σιμμίας μὲν καὶ Κέβης, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Δύσων τῷ ἱερῷ σπουδάζοντες οὕτως ὁδιεφάνημεν.

2 ἀμα πράξεων Basle edition of 1542; ἀναπράξεων.

3 ἑταρείας Bern.; ἑταρίας.
company is disposed to hear a narrative involving so much history and philosophy combined; it will not be short in the telling, as you would have me include the discussions with the rest.

—You are unacquainted, Caphisias, with these gentlemen. I assure you that they are well worth knowing: their fathers were excellent men and good friends of your country. This is Lysitheides, a nephew of Thrasybulus; this, Timotheüs, son of Conon; these are the sons of Archinus; and the rest, like these, are all men of our society. Your narrative, then, will have a friendly and interested audience.

—Excellent. But at what point would it suit you for me to begin the tale so as to connect it with the events you already know?

—We know pretty well, Caphisias, how matters stood at Thebes before the exiles' return. Thus, the news that after inducing Phoebidas to seize the Cadmeia in time of peace, Archias and Leontiades had expelled some of your countrymen and were holding the rest in terrified submission, exercising authority themselves in defiance of the laws and by

\[\text{[Footnotes: a Cf. Kirchner, Procop. Att. no. 9392.} \]
\[\text{b The celebrated Athenian statesman: cf. Kirchner, ibid. no. 7305.} \]
\[\text{c The celebrated Athenian admiral: cf. Kirchner, ibid. no. 13700.} \]
\[\text{d An Athenian statesman: cf. Kirchner, ibid. no. 2526.} \]
\[\text{e The 'King's Peace' or Peace of Antalcidas of 386 B.C. is meant. The Cadmeia was seized in 382.} \]

\[\text{[Footnotes: \(\text{kau' a\'tou} \tau\hat{n} \alpha\nu\lambda \\text{Wilmowitz (\(\tau\hat{n} \alpha\nu\lambda \text{Ald.})\ to fill a lacuna of 14-10 letters.} \]
\[\text{5 \(\sigma\omega \tau\omega \alpha\nu \text{nos: } \sigma\omega \).} \]
\[\text{6 oike\'iav } \hat{e} \chi\nu\nu | \text{oike\'iav } \hat{e} \chi\nu\nu \text{ Madvig; oike\'iav } \hat{e} \chi\nu\nu \text{ } \pi\rho\alpha\sigma \text{ Post.} \]
\[\text{7 } \lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\iota\delta\nu \text{ nos (cf. Mor. 1099 e and Life of Agesilaius, chaps. xxiii. 11, 609 a and xxiv. 2, 609 b): } \lambda\epsilon\omega\nu\tau\iota\delta\nu \text{ and so passim.} \]

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(576) ἐγνώμεν ἐνταῦθα τῶν περὶ Μέλωνα καὶ Πελοπίδαν, ὡς οἴσθα, ἱδοξεῖν γενόμενοι καὶ παρ' ὅν χρόνον ἐφευγοῦν ἀεὶ συνδιατρίβοντες αὐτοῖς· καὶ πάλιν ὡς Λακεδαμόνοι Φοιβίδαν μὲν ἔξημίωσαν ἐπὶ τῷ τήν Καδμείαν καταλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς εἰς Ὀλυνθον στρατηγίας ἀπέστησαν, Λυσανορίδαν\\ud83d\udef3 δὲ τρίτον αὐτὸν ἀντ' ἑκείνου πέμψαντες ἐγκρατέστερον ἐφρούρουν τὴν ἀκραν, ἥκουσαμεν' ἐγνωμεν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἰσμηνίαν\\ud83d\udef3 οὐ τοῦ βελτίστου βαλάτου τυχόντα εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῆς δίκης τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ γενομένης, Γοργίδου πάντα τοῦς φυγάσι δεῦρο διὰ Β γραμμάτων ἐξαγγείλαντος. ὥστε σοι λείπεται τὰ περὶ τὴν κάθοδον αὐτήν\\ud83d\udef3 τῶν φίλων καὶ τῆν ἀλωσιν τῶν τυράννων διηγεῖσθαι.

2. —Καὶ μὴν ἑκείναις γε ταῖς ἡμέραις, ὡ 'Αρχέδαμε, πάντες οἱ τῶν πραπτομένων μετέχοντες εἰώθειμεν εἰς τὴν Σιμμίου συνιόντες οἰκίαν ἐκ τῶν πληγῆς περὶ τὸ σκέλος ἀναλαμβάνοντος αὐτοῦ ἐντυγχάνειν μὲν ἄλληλοις εἰ τοῦ δεήσει, φανερῶς δὲ διατρίβειν ἐπὶ λόγοις καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ, πολλάκις ἐφελκόμενοι τὸν 'Αρχίαν καὶ τὸν Λεοντιάδην εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον, οὐκ ὄντας ἀλλοτρίους παντάπασι ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης διατριβῆς. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σιμμίας πολὺν χρόνον ἐπὶ τῆς ἔξενσις γεγονὼς καὶ πεπλανημένοις ἐν ἄλλοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις ὀλίγῳ πρόσθεν εἰς Θήβας ἀφίκτω μύθων τε παντοδαπῶν καὶ λόγων

1 Λυσανορίδαν] Ziegler reads the form Λυσανδρίδας in the Life of Pelopidas, chap. xiii. 3 (284 d), following Wade-Gery (in Classical Quarterly, xxi, 1927, p. 159, note 4), who com-
the use of force, reached us here, as we had opened our homes to Melon and Pelopidas, as you know, and for the duration of their exile were constantly in their company. Again, we have heard that although the Lacedaemonians fined Phoebidas for seizing the Cadmeia and relieved him of the command against Olynthus, they nevertheless sent in his place Lysanoridas with two others and strengthened the garrison in the citadel; we have also learned that Hismenias, immediately after his trial, met death not in its noblest form; all this Gorgidas reported in letters to the exiles here. So all that remains for you to tell is the story how your friends returned and overthrew the tyrants.

2. — In those days, Archedamus, all who were in the plot used to forgather at the house of Simmias, who was recovering from a wound in the leg. Our real purpose was to see each other as the need arose, but ostensibly we met for philosophical discussion; often, to avoid suspicion, we brought Archias and Leontiades along, who were not entire strangers to such pursuits. Indeed, after a long stay abroad and much travel among strange peoples, Simmias had but recently returned to Thebes with a great store of all manner

a At Athens.

b The army sent against Olynthus had seized the Cadmeia on the way.

c That is, Arcesus and Herippidas: cf. 598 f., infra.

d The oligarchic usurpers in Thebes are meant: Leon- tiades, Archias, Philippus, and Hypates.


2 ἰομηνιαῖος nos (cf. the note on the text of Mor. 606 f): ἰομηνιαῖος and so passim and in all related words.

3 αὐτὴν Reiske: αὐτῶν.

4 τέ Dübner: δὲ.
(576) βαρβαρικῶν ὑπόπλεως· ὧν¹ ὀπότε τυγχάνοι σχολήν ἀγών ὁ Ἀρχιάς ἰδέως ἱκροάτο συγκαθιεῖς² μετὰ τῶν νέων καὶ βουλόμενος ἡμᾶς ἐν λόγοις διάγεν μᾶλλον ἡ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν οἷς ἔπραττον ἐκεῖνοι.

Τῆς δὲ ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἐν ἧ σκότους ἔδει γενομένου τούς φυγάδας ἤκειν κρύφα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχος ἀφικνεῖται τις ἐνθένδε Φερενίκου³ πέμψαντος ἀνθρωπος οὐδενί τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἡ Χάρωνι⁴ γνώριμος· ἐδηλου ὑπὲ τῶν φυγάδων οὔτας δώδεκα τοὺς νεωτάτους μετὰ κυνῶν περὶ τὸν Κιθαρώνα θηρεύσαι,

D ὡς πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφιξομένους⁵· αὐτὸς δὲ πεμφθῆναι ταὐτά τε προερῶν καὶ τὴν οὐκίαν ἐν ἧ κρυβῆσονται παρελθόντες ὃς παρέξει γνωσόμενος, ὡς ἂν εἰδότες εὐθὺς ἐκεὶ βαδίζοιεν. ἀπορουμένων δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ σκοπούντων αὐτὸς ὁμολόγησεν ὡς Χάρων παρέξειν. ὧ μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπος ἐγὼν πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν σπουδὴ πρὸς τοὺς φυγάδας.

3. Ἐμοὶ δὲ ὁ μάντις Θεόκριτος τὴν χείρα πιέσας σφόδρα καὶ πρὸς τὸν Χάρωνα βλέψας προερχόμενον, "οὕτος," εἶπεν, "ὁ Καφωνία, φιλόσοφος οὐκ ἐστιν οὔτε μετείληφε πανδείας διαφόρου καὶ περιττῆς, ὥσπερ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ὁ σὸς ἀδελφός·

Ε ἄλλο ὅτι φύσει πρὸς τὸ καλὸν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀγόμενου τὸν μέγαστον ὑποῦται κίνδυνον ἐκουσάως ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. Ἐπαμεινόνδας δὲ, Βοιωτῶν

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¹ ὑπόπλεως· ὧν Wyettenbach: ὑπόπλεως ὧν.
² συγκαθιεῖς] συγκαθιεῖς B.
³ Φερενίκου Stephanus: ἀφερενίκου and so 577 α, infra.
⁴ τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν η Χάρωνi Benseler: η χάρων τῶν παρ’ ἡμῖν.
⁵ ἀφιξομένουs Reiske: ἀφιξομένουs.

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² A Theban exile at Athens: cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. v. 3 (280 c) and chap. viii. 1 (281 c).
³ A mountain ridge between Attica and Boeotia.
of foreign legends and information; to this Archias delighted to listen in his leisure moments, mingling affably with the youthful company and preferring that we should spend our time in talk rather than attend to what he and his party were doing.

On the day when the exiles were to come secretly to the walls after dark, a messenger from Pherenicus, known to none of us except Charon, arrived from here with word that the youngest exiles, twelve in number, had taken hounds and gone out to hunt on Cithaeron, intending to reach Thebes that evening; he had been sent, he said, to give notice of this and to learn who would provide a house for their concealment when they slipped into the city, so that with this information they could proceed to it at once. In the midst of our hesitation and perplexity, Charon offered to provide his own house. The messenger, then, determined to rejoin the exiles with all speed.

3. Grasping my hand firmly, with his eyes on Charon, who was going on before, the soothsayer said: "This man, Caphisias, is no philosopher, nor has he, like your brother Epameinondas, had any schooling of a distinguished and exceptional kind; yet you observe that he is naturally guided to noble conduct by the laws, and willingly assumes the gravest risks for his country's sake. Whereas

c Cf. Nepos, Pelopidas, chap. ii. 5. Xenophon, Hell. v. 4. 3, sets the number at seven.
d Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. vii. 4 (281 b).
e We are not told where the messenger found the conspirators; no doubt it was at Charon's house, as Charon alone was known to him. At all events the conspirators now leave and meet Archias and his party on the way; they then proceed to Simmias' house. Cf. G. M. Lattanzi, Il "De genio Socratis" di Plutarco, p. 19 note 4.
f Mentioned in the Life of Pelopidas, chap. xxii. 3 (289 c).
(576) ἀπάντων τῷ πεπαιδευθαί πρὸς ἀρετήν ἀξίων
diaφέρειν, ἀμβλύς ἦστι καὶ ἀπρόθυμος . . . τούτον
ἡ τινα¹ βελτίωνα καιρὸν αὐτῷ² πεφυκότι καὶ
παρεσκευασμένω καλῶς οὕτω χρησόμενος.”

F Καγώ πρὸς αὐτὸν, “ὡς προθυμότατε,” εἶπον,
“Θεόκριτε, τὰ δεδογμένα πράττομεν ἥμεισ.” 'Επα-
μενώνδας δέ, μὴ πείθων, ὦς οἴεται βέλτιων εἶναι,
tαῦτα μὴ πράσσειν, εἰκότως ἀντιτείνει πρὸς αὐτῇ
πέφυκε μηδὲ δοκιμάζει παρακαλούμενος. οὐδὲ γὰρ
ιατρὸν ἄνευ σιδήρου καὶ πυρὸς ὑποχνούμενον τὸ
νόσημα παύσειν εὐγνωμονίας ἄν, οἴμαι, τέμνειν
ἡ ἀποκαίειν βιαζόμενος τὸ νοσοῦν.” ἐκείνου δ’
ὁμολογήσαντος,³ “οὐκοῦν καὶ οὕτος,” ἐφην ἐγώ,
“αὐτὸς μὲν⁴ δῆπον μηδένα⁵ τῶν πολιτῶν φησιν
ἄνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἀποκτενεῖν ἀκρίτου, ἀλλὰ
καὶ αἴματος ἄτερ⁶ ἐμφυλίου καὶ σφαγῆς τὴν πόλιν
ἐλευθερούσι συναγωνιεύσατί προθύμωσ. ἐπεὶ δὲ
οὐ πεῖθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀλλὰ ταύτῃ ὃρμηκαμεν
τὴν ὁδὸν, ἐὰν αὐτὸν κελεύει, φόνον καθαρὸν ὄντα
577 καὶ ἀναίτιον, ἐφεστάναι τοῖς καιροῖς, μετὰ τοῦ

¹ There is here a lacuna of 60-56 letters followed by τοῦτον
ἡ τινα. Emperius reads τοσοῦτον ἀγώνα τίνα; van Herwerden
ἐν τῷ παρόντι βοθεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ Θηβῶν κυνδυνεύουσιν, ὥς λαβῶν
tοῦτον δὴ τίνα; Bern. βοθεῖν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κυνδυνεύου-
σιν, ὥς εἰ μὴ παρὰ τοῦτον παρὰ τίνα; Holwerda ὥς πρὸς τοῦτον
dὴ τίνα; Wyttenbach εἰ μὴ εἰς τοῦτον, εἰς τίνα.
² αὐτῷ] αὐτῷ Pohlenz.
³ τὸ σῶμα (νοσοῦν nos). ἐκείνου δ’ ὁμολογήσαντος Bern.,
to fill a lacuna of 40-32 letters ; τὸ πεποιθός Wyttenbach.
⁴ ἐφην ἐγώ, αὐτὸς μὲν Bern., to fill a lacuna of 20-19 letters ;
lόγῳ καὶ πειθοὶ ταῦτα διαπράττεσθαι διανοοῦμενος, καὶ δοκιμάζων
Wyttenbach ; συγγνώμης ἄξιος Pohlenz.
⁵ μηδένα Wyttenbach : μηδε δια.
Epameinondas, who feels that by reason of his schooling he is superior in virtue to all other Boeotians, is not keen or eager to help the men who are braving danger for their country. Yet what better occasion can he desire than this for putting himself to use, splendidly equipped as he is by nature and training?

I replied: "We, my eager friend, are carrying out our own decisions, whereas Epameinondas has been unsuccessful in his endeavour to persuade us to drop them, as he believes would be for the best. It is hardly surprising, then, that he refuses our invitation to proceedings that run counter to his nature and his judgement. Suppose a physician promised to cure a disease without recourse to the knife or cautery: here too it would be unreasonable of you, I think, to compel him to cut or sear the diseased member." Theocritus admitted this was true, and I pursued: "And is not Epameinondas in the same case? He asserts, does he not? that unless driven to it by extreme necessity, he will put no countryman to death untried, but will gladly join forces with all who endeavour without resorting to civil bloodshed and slaughter to set our city free. But since the majority are against him, and we are already engaged in this course, he would have us allow him to await the favourable moment for intervention, remaining innocent and guiltless of bloodshed. Thus interest

\[6 \text{φησιν ἀνευ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης ἀποκτενεῖν Bern., to fill a lacuna of 51-39 letters.}\]
\[7 \text{καὶ αἰματος ἀτέρ (or καὶ χωρὶς αἰματος) nos (καὶ τοῖς δίχ' αἰματος or δίχ' αἰματος Post): καὶ αἰματος.}\]
(577) δικαίου καὶ τῷ συμφέροντι προσοισόμενον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀρον ἔξειν τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ Φερένικον μὲν ἵνας καὶ Πελοπίδαν ἔπι τοὺς αὐτίους μᾶλιστα τρέψεσθαι καὶ πονηροῖς, Ἐὔμολπίδαν δὲ καὶ Σαμίδαν, ἀνθρώπους διαπύρους πρὸς ὄργην καὶ θυμοειδεῖς, ἐν νυκτὶ λαβόντας ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἀποθήσεσθαι τὰ ἔξοφα πρὶν ἐμπλήσαι τὴν πόλιν ὅλην φόνων καὶ διαφθείραι πολλοὺς τῶν ἵδια διαφόρων ὄντων." 3

4. Ταῦτα μου διαλεγομένου πρὸς τὸν Θεόκριτον διακρούοντι 4 ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος ἐγγὺς Ἀρχίαν ἤγγειλεν καὶ Λυσανορίδαν τὸν Σπαρτιάτην ἀπὸ τῆς Καδμείας Β ὥσπερ εἰς ταῦτον ἥμιν σπεύδοντας. ἥμεις μὲν οὖν ἑπέσχομεν· ὁ δὲ Αρχίας καλέσας τὸν Θεόκριτον καὶ τῷ Λυσανορίδᾳ προσαγαγὼν ἰδία λαλεῖ 7 πολὺν χρόνον ἐκνεύσας ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ μικρόν ὕπο τὸ Ἀμφιόν, ὡσθ' ἡμᾶς ἀγωνιάν μὴ τις ὑπόνοια προσπέπτωκεν ἡ μήνυσις αὐτοῖς, περὶ ἂς ἀνακρίνουσι τὸν Θεόκριτον.

'Εν τούτῳ δὲ Φυλλίδας, ὅν οἶσθα, ὁ Ἀρχέδαμε, τότε τοῖς περὶ τόν Ἀρχίαν πολεμαρχοῦσι γραμματεύον, 10 συνειδῶς τοὺς φυγάδας μέλλοντας ἥξειν καὶ τῆς πράξεως μετέχων, λαβόμενός μου

1 ἔξειν Xylander: ἔσει.
2 Σαμίδαν Reiske: σαμιάδαν.
3 διαφόρων ὄντων Cobet: διαφερόντων.
4 διακρούσαν nos (διέκρουσεν or διέκρουν Bern.): διακούνων.
5 Γαλαξίδωρος Salmassius: ἀναξίδωρος.
7 λαλεῖ] dieλάλει Wilamowitz.
8 ἐκ nos, to fill a lacuna of 2 letters in E: B omits, leaving no lacuna.
9 οἴσθα] οἴσθα Ald. 2.
10 γραμματεύων] γραμματεύοντα Wilamowitz.
as well as justice will be served. For, he contends, no distinction will be drawn in the actual fighting; Pherenicus perhaps and Pelopidas will turn their arms against those most deep in guilt and crime, but Eumolpidas and Samidas, a men white-hot in anger and passionate in temper, once they get a free hand in the night, will not lay their swords aside until they have filled the entire city with slaughter and destroyed many of their personal enemies."

4. As I was thus conversing with Theocritus Galaxidorus b interrupted us to announce that Archias and Lysanoridas the Spartan were close at hand, hastening from the Cadmeia as if bent on meeting us. We, then, broke off; and Archias, summoning Theocritus and taking him to Lysanoridas, talked privately for a long time, withdrawing a short distance from the street to the foot of the Amphion, c so that we were in an agony of fear that some suspicion or intelligence had reached them and they were interrogating Theocritus about it.

Meanwhile Phyllidas d—you know the man, Archedamus—at that time secretary to Archias and the other polemarchs, e who was in the secret of the exiles' intended return and one of the conspiracy, took my

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a The correct form is possibly Samiadas.

b Mentioned in Xenophon, Hell. iii. 5. 1.

c The Amphion or Ampheion was taken by Plutarch to be a hill in the neighbourhood of the Cadmeia: cf. F. Schober in Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. "Thebai" (vol. v. A, col. 1446. 34-62).

d Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. vii. 4 (281 b); Xenophon, Hell. v. 4. 2.

e There were probably three polemarchs. The names of two, Archias and Philippus, are known.

11 συνείδως τοὺς φυγάδας μέλλοντας Wilamowitz (συνείδως Schadewaldt) to fill a lacuna of 23-19 letters.
(577) ἡς χειρὸς ὡσπερ εἰώθει φανερῶς ἐσκεπτεν εἰς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν πάλην, εἶτα, πόρρω τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγαγῶν, ἐπυνθάνετο περὶ τῶν φυγάδων εἰ τὴν C ἤμεραν φυλάττουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ φήσαντος, "οὐκοῦν," εἰπεν, "ὁρθῶς ἐγὼ τὴν ὑποδοχήν παρεσκεύακα σήμερον ως δεξόμενος 'Αρχίαν καὶ παρέξων ἐν οἴνῳ καὶ μέθῃ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν εὐχείρωτον."

"Ἀριστα μὲν οὖν," εἶπον, "ἡ Φυλλίδα, καὶ πειράθητι πάντας ἡ πλείους εἰς ταῦτο τῶν ἐχθρῶν συναγαγεῖν."

"'Αλλ' οὗ ῥάδιον," ἔφη, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἀδύνατον· ὁ γὰρ 'Αρχίας ἑλπίζων τυά τῶν ἐν ἁξιώματι γυναικῶν ἀφίξεσθαι τηρικάτα πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐ βούλεται παρεῖναι τὸν Λεοντιάδην. ὡσθ' ὑμῖν2 δίχα διαιρετέον αὐτοὺς3 ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας. 'Αρχίον γὰρ ἄμα καὶ Λεοντιάδου προκαταληφθέντων οἴμαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἕκποδῶν ἐσεσθαι φεύγοντας ἡ μενείν4 μεθ' ἡσυχίας, ἀγαπῶντας ἀν τις διδῶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν."

"'Οὕτως," ἔφην, "ποιήσομεν. ἀλλὰ τὶ πράγμα τούτως πρὸς Ἐοκρίτον ἐστιν ὑπέρ οὐ διαλέγονται;"

Καὶ ὁ Φυλλίδας, "οὐ σαφῶς," εἰπεν, "ἐχὼ λέγεων5 οὐδὲ ὡς ἐπιστάμενος, ἦκουν ὃς σημεία καὶ μαντεύματα δυσχερή καὶ χαλεπὰ προτεθεσπίσθαι6 τῇ Σπάρτῃ."

...? Φειδόλαος ὁ 'Αλιάρτιος8 ἀπαντῆσας, "μη—

1 ἡ] ἡ τοὺς γε Wilamowitz.  2 ὑμῖν] ὑμῖν B.  3 αὐτοὺς] αὐτοὺς B.  4 μενείν Stephanus: μένειν.  5 ἐχὼ λέγεων added by Pohlenz (ἐχὼ εἶπεν Wytenbach).  6 προτεθεσπίσθαι Emperius: προστιθεσθαι.  7 There is a lacuna in the mss. here of 99–81 letters; Amyot supplies ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπανελθόντος.  8 'Αλιάρτιος Amyot: τίος.
hand and made a show of twitting me in his usual fashion about my fondness for exercise and wrestling; then, when he had drawn me aside from the rest, he asked if the exiles were keeping to the appointed day. When I answered that they were, he said: "I did well, then, to prepare for to-day the entertainment in which I am to receive Archias into my house and make him an easy prey for our men at a drunken banquet."

"Well done indeed, Phyllidas," I answered; "and endeavour to bring all or most of our enemies together."

"That is no easy matter," he said; "or rather it is impossible, as Archias, who expects a visit at that very time from a certain lady of rank, does not desire Leontiades to be present. You must therefore split forces and take the houses separately; for with Archias and Leontiades both disposed of I imagine the rest will take to flight and be out of the way, or make no trouble if they remain, only too glad to be offered safety."

"That we will do," I said. "But what business have these men with Theocritus that they are talking about?"

Phyllidas answered: "I cannot tell you definitely and do not speak from knowledge, but I have heard that disquieting and ominous portents and prophecies bode ill for Sparta."

Meantime Theocritus rejoined us and we proceeded to Simmias' house, where \( a \) we were met by Pheidolaüs \( b \) of Haliartus. "Simmias," he said, "asks you

\( a \) The words "Meantime . . . where" are a guess at the sense of words that have been lost in a long lacuna.

\( b \) Otherwise unknown.
κρόν'" εἶπεν, "ューμᾶς ἐνταῦθα περιμεῖναι παρακαλεῖ. Συμμίας ἐντυγχάνει γὰρ ἤδη Λεοντιάδης περὶ 'Αμψιθέου, παραπομπομενος μεῖναι τὸ δια-Ε πράξασθαι φυγήν ἀγτὶ θανάτου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ.

5. Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, "εἰς καιρὸν," ἔφη, "καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες καὶ γὰρ ἐβουλόμην πυθεσθαι τίνα ἣν τὰ εὑρεθέντα καὶ τίς ὅλως ἢ ὅψις τοῦ Ἀλκμήνης τάφου παρ' ύμῖν ἀνοιχθέντος, εἰ δὴ5 παρεγένου καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτε πέμψας Ἀγασίλαος εἰς Σπάρτην τὰ λείψανα μετεκόμιζε."

Καὶ ὁ Φειδόλαος, "οὗ γὰρ," ἔφη, "παρέτυχον, καὶ πολλὰ δυσανασχέτων καὶ ἀγανακτῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐγκατελείφθην ὑπ' αὐτῶν. εὐρέθη δ' οὖν ἐν μὲν τῷ μνήματι πλὴν λίθου λείψανον οὐδὲν τοῦ6 Φ σώματος, ἤλθιν δὲ7 χαλκοῖν οὐ μέγα καὶ δύο ἁμφορεῖς κεραμεοὶ8 γῆν ἔχοντες ἐντὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου λειβωμένην ἦδη καὶ συμπέπηγναν, ἐμπροσθεν δὲ9 τοῦ μνήματος ἐκειτο10 πίναξ χαλκοὺς11 ἔχων γράμματα πολλὰ θαυμαστὰ12 ὡς παμπάλαια γυνὰι γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν13 οὐδὲν14 παρεῖχε καὶ πέρι ἐκφανέντα τοῦ χαλκοῦ καταπλυθέντος, ἀλλ’ ἰδίος τις ὁ τύπος

1 περιμεῖναι Λειώνικος (κελεύει περιμεῖναι Reiske): περιμεῖναι
2 παρακαλεῖ added by Klaffenbach.
3 ἤδη Λεοντιάδης Reiske: διὰ λεοντιάδην.
4 μεῖναι τὸ] αὐτὸν Sieveking: ἐνέιναι τὸ Post.
5 εἰ δὴ Leonicus: ἦδη.
6 ἐν μὲν through τοῦ our supplement of a lacuna of 37-33 letters: λείψανον μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ or πλὴν ἢ λίθος λείψανον οὐδὲν τοῦ Castiglioni; λίθος ἀντὶ τοῦ Wilamowitz.
7 δὲ] τὸ Emperius.
8 ἁμφορεῖς κεραμεοὶ Bern.: ἁμφορέες κεράμειοι.
9 ἐμπροσθεν δὲ nos (ἐπάνω δὲ Bern.), to fill a lacuna of 15-14 letters.
to await him here a moment; he is conferring in private with Leontiades about Amphitheeus,\textsuperscript{a} entreatling him to wait until he can arrange for a sentence of banishment instead of death."

5. "You come most opportunely and as if by design," said Theocritus. "I had been desiring to hear what objects were found and what was the general appearance of Alcmena’s tomb when it was opened up in your country—that is, if you were present when the remains were removed to Sparta on orders received from Agesilaus."\textsuperscript{b}

"I was not present," Pheidolaüs replied; "and although I expressed to my countrymen my strong indignation and exasperation at the outrage, they left me helpless. Be that as it may, in the tomb itself no remains were found, but only a stone,\textsuperscript{c} together with a bronze bracelet of no great size and two pottery urns containing earth which had by then, through the passage of time, become a petrified and solid mass. Before the tomb, however, lay a bronze tablet with a long inscription of such amazing antiquity that nothing could be made of it, although it came out clear when the bronze was washed; but

\textsuperscript{a} A leader of the anti-Spartan party, now in prison: cf. 598 b, infra.
\textsuperscript{b} This act is elsewhere unrecorded.
\textsuperscript{c} For the disappearance of Alcmena’s body at her burial and the substitution for it of a stone cf. Life of Romulus, chap. xxviii. 7 (35 e); Pherecydes, Frag. 84 (ed. Jacoby); and Pausanias, ix. 16. 7.
The king of Egypt is meant, doubtless Nektanebis, whose reign began about 380 (cf. M. Pieper in Pauly-Wissowa, xvi, col. 2234; Beloch, Griech. Gesch. iii. 2, pp. 123 f.).
the characters had a peculiar and foreign conformation, greatly resembling that of Egyptian writing. Agesilaüs accordingly, it was said, dispatched copies to the king, with the request to submit them to the priests for possible interpretation. But about these matters Simmias might perhaps have something to tell us, as at that time he saw a good deal of the priests in Egypt in the pursuit of his philosophical inquiries. At Haliartus the great failure of crops and encroachment of the lake are held to have been no mere accident, but a judgement on us for having allowed the excavation of the tomb."

After a short pause Theocritus replied: "No more do the Lacedaemonians themselves appear to have escaped the wrath of heaven, as is evinced by the portents about which Lysanoridas was consulting me just now; indeed he is now leaving for Haliartus to close up the tomb and pour libations to Alcmena and Aleüs, in obedience to some oracle—though quite in the dark as to who this Aleüs was—; and on his return he intends to search out the tomb of Dirce, which is unknown to any Theban who has not served as hipparch. For the retiring hipparch takes his successor and shows him the tomb in private and his visit to Egypt Eudoxus carried a letter of introduction from Agesilaüs to Nektanebis (cf. Diogenes Laert. viii. 87).

b These events are not recorded elsewhere. In modern times the Copaic lake reached its greatest height in February or March (cf. J. G. Frazer, Pausanias's Description of Greece, v, p. 112). This would be at the latest in the opening months of 379, as the Cadmeia was freed in the December of that year.

c The people of Haliartus identified Aleüs with Rhadamantys, whom Alcmena married after Amphitryon's death; cf. Life of Lysander, chap. xxviii. 8 (499 d).
(578) νύκτωρ, καὶ τινας\(^1\) ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ δράσαντες ἀπύρους\(^2\) ἱερουργίας, ὃν τὰ σημεῖα συγχέουσι καὶ ἀφανίζουσιν, ὑπὸ σκότους ἀπέρχονται χωρισθέντες. ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ\(^3\) μὲν, ὦ Φειδολαῖ, σπουδάζειν οὗτῳ περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἐπαινῶ, τὸν δὲ τοῦ τάφου τόπον οὐκ εὐκόλως\(^4\) ἐξευρήσειν αὐτοὺς νομίζω· φεύγοντες γὰρ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἱππαρχηκτότων νομίμως, μᾶλθον δὲ πάντες πλην Γοργίδου καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὃν οὖν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειαν ἐκπυνθάνονσι, δεδίστε τοὺς ἄνδρας· οἱ δὲ νῦν ἄρχοντες ἐν τῇ Καδμείᾳ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὴν σφραγίδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὐκ\(^5\) εἰδότες οὐδὲν οὔτε περὶ τῶν δρωμένων οὔτε τοῦ τάφου.\(^6\)

6. Ταῦτα τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος ὁ Λεοντιάδης έξῆγε μετὰ τῶν φιλῶν, ἡμεῖς δὲ εἰσελθόντες ἡσπαζόμεθα τὸν Σιμμίαν ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης καθεζόμενον οὐ κατατετευχότα τῆς δεήσεως, οἷμαι, μάλα σύννομον καὶ διαλευκηθημένον· ἀποβλέψας δὲ πρὸς ἄπαντας δ ἡμᾶς, "ὁ Ἰράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ἀγρίων καὶ βαρβάρων ἥθων· εἶτα οὐχ ὑπέρευ Θαλῆς ὁ παλαιός, ἀπὸ ξένης ἐλθὼν διὰ χρόνου, τῶν φιλῶν ἐρωτώντων ὃ τι καινότατον ἱστορήκοι, 'τύραννον,' ἐφη, 'γέροντα'; καὶ γὰρ ὃ μηδὲν ἵδια συμβέβηκεν ἀδικεῖσθαι, τὸ βάρος αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν σκληρότητα

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\(^1\) τινας Ald.\(^2\) : τινες.
\(^3\) τὸ nos (τὸ μνήμα Bern.; τοῦτο Pohlenz): t followed by a lacuna of a single letter.
\(^4\) ἐπαινῶ τὸ οὗτῳ σπουδάζειν περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν (we read σπουδάζειν οὗτῳ περὶ τῶν ἱερουργιῶν ἐπαινῶ), τὸν δὲ τοῦ τάφου 392
at night; and upon performing certain rites there in which no fire is used, they rub out and destroy all trace of them and return their separate ways in the darkness. Now I commend our opponents' zeal, Pheidolaüs, for the performance of the rites, but they will not, I think, find it easy to discover the place of the tomb, as most of those who have legally held the office of hipparch are in exile, or rather all of them except Gorgidas and Platon—and from these they would not even attempt to secure the information, so greatly do they fear them—whereas the present magistrates on the Cadmeia take over the spear and the seal in utter ignorance of both the ritual and the tomb.”

6. While Theocritus spoke Leontiades and his friends left. We entered and greeted Simmias, who was sitting up on his couch, very downcast and distressed, doubtless because his petition had failed. Looking up at all of us, he exclaimed: “Good God! What cruel and barbarous natures! Was that not a most excellent answer of Thales of old, when asked by his friends on his return from a long absence abroad for the greatest curiosity he had discovered: ‘a tyrant in old age’? For even if a man happens to have endured no personal injury, yet his disgust at the offensive and brutal society of such men is in

a Gorgidas was boeotarch in 379 and founded the Sacred Band; Platon is otherwise unknown.

b Cf. Mor. 147 b, Gnomologium Vaticanum, 321 e (ed. Sternbach) and Philodemus, On Death, xxxviii. 29-31.

tόπου οὐκ εὐκόλως Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 140-114 letters followed by καλῶς.

5 οὐκ Wilamowitz : οὔτε.

6 περὶ τῶν δρωμέων οὔτε περὶ τοῦ τάφου Wilamowitz (we omit the second περὶ), to fill a lacuna of 26-20 letters.
(578) τῆς ὀμιλίας δυσχεραίνων ἐχθρὸς ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνόμων καὶ ἀνυπευθύνων δυναστεῖῶν. ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν ὅσως θεῷ μελήσει· τὸν δὲ ξένον ἵστε τὸν ἀφιγμένον, ὡς Καφισία, πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅστις ἑστίν;

"Οὐκ οἶδα," ἔφην ἔγω, "τίνα λέγεις."

"Καὶ μὴν," ἔφη, "Λεοντιάδης φησιν’ ἀνθρωπον ὄφθαι παρὰ τὸ Λύσιδος μνημεῖον ἐκ νυκτῶν Ἐ ἄνιστάμενον, ἀκολουθίας πλῆθει καὶ κατασκευῆ σοβαρόν, αὐτὸθι κατηνυσμένον ἐπὶ στιβάδων· φαίνεσθαι γὰρ ἄγνου καὶ μυρίκης χαμεύνας ἐτὶ δ’ ἐμπύρων λείψανα καὶ χοᾶς γάλακτος· ἐωθεν δὲ πυνθάνεσθαι τῶν ἀπαντώντων εἰ τοὺς Πολυμνίους παίδας ἐνδημοῦντας εὑρήσει."

"Καὶ τίς ἂν," εἶπον, "ὁ ξένος εἶη; περιττῷ γὰρ ἄφ’ ὤν λέγεις τινὶ καὶ οὐκ ἱδιώτη προσέοικεν."

7. "Οὐ γὰρ οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Φειδόλαος· "ἄλλα τοῦτον μὲν, ὅταν ἥκη πρὸς ἡμᾶς, δεξόμεθα· νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ ὄν ἄρτιώς ἢποροῦμεν, ὡς Συμμία, γραμμάτων, εἰ τι γινώσκεις πλεῖον, ἐξάγγειλον ἥμῖν. F λέγονται γὰρ οἱ κατ’ Αὐγυπτον ἰερεῖς2 τὰ γράμματα συμβαλέιν τοῦ πίνακος ἃ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἐλαβεν Ἀγγεισίλαος τὸν Ἀλκμήνης τάφον ἄνασκευασάμενος."

Καὶ ὁ Συμμίας εὐθὺς ἀναμνησθεὶς, "οὐκ οἶδα," ἔφη, "τὸν πίνακα τοῦτον, ὡς Φειδόλαε, γράμματα δὲ πολλὰ παρὰ Ἀγησιλάου κομίζων Ἀγητορίδας ὁ Σπαρτιάτης ἤκεν εἰς Μέμφιν ὡς Χόνουφιν τὸν 394
itself enough to make him an enemy to lawless and irresponsible domination. But these matters Heaven will perhaps attend to. Does your family, Caphisias, know who the stranger is that has come to see them?"

"I do not know whom you mean," I replied.

"Yet Leontiades," said he, "asserts that a man making an imposing figure with a numerous and splendid retinue has been seen breaking camp before dawn at the tomb of Lysis, where he had lodged on rude beds, couches of chaste tree and tamarisk being found there—and traces of burnt offerings and libations of milk as well—; and that this morning he had asked passers-by whether he should find the sons of Polymnis in town."

"Who indeed could the stranger be?" I said.

"From your description he seems to be of some consequence and not a private person."

7. "He does indeed," said Pheidolaüs; "and we shall make him welcome when he comes. But at present, Simmias, to return to the inscription we were wondering about just now, give us what further information you may have; for it is said that the priests in Egypt were able to read the inscription which was written on the tablet and which Agesilaüs took from us at Haliartus when he dismantled Alcmena’s tomb."

Simmias at once recollected: "Of your tablet, Pheidolaüs, I know nothing. But Agetoridas a the Spartan came to Memphis with a long document from Agesilaüs for the spokesman of the god, Chonuphis, b

a Otherwise unknown.

b Chonuphis of Memphis taught Eudoxus: cf. Mor. 354 e and Clement, Strom. i. 15. 69. 1.

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1 φησιν added by Amyot and Wytenbach.
2 ιερεὺς Turnebus: ιερεῖς.
(578) προφήτης, ὃ πολλὰ τότε¹ συμφιλοσοφοῦντες διετριβομεν ἐγὼ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἐλλοπίων ὁ Πεπαρήθιος. ἦκε δὲ πέμφαντος βασιλέως καὶ κελεύσαντος τὸν Χόνουφιν εἰ τι συμβάλλοι τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐρμηνεύσαντα ταχέως ἀποστείλαι· πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ τρεῖς ἦμέρας ἀναλεξάμενος βιβλίων τῶν παλαιῶν 579 παντοδαποὺς χαρακτήρας ἀντέγραψε τῷ βασίλει καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔφρασεν ὡς Μοῦσας ἀγάνα συντελείσθαι κελευ̣² τὰ γράμματα, τοὺς δὲ τύπους εἶναι τῆς ἔπι Πρωτεί βασιλεύοντι γραμματικῆς, ἦν³ Ἡρακλέα τὸν Ἀμφιτρύώνος⁴ ἐκμαθεῖν, ύφηγείσθαι μέντοι καὶ παρανεῖν τοῖς Ἐλλησι διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων τὸν θεὸν ἅγειν σχολὴν καὶ εἰρήνην διὰ φιλοσοφίας ἀγωνιζομένους ἄει, Μοῦσας καὶ λόγω διακρινομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων τὰ ὀπλα καταθέντας. ἦμείς δὲ καὶ τότε λέγειν καλῶς ἡγούμεθα τὸν Χόνουφιν, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅπηνικα κομιζομένοις ἦμῖν ἀπ' Ἀἰγύπτου περὶ Καρίαν Δηλίων τινές Β ἀπήντησαν δεόμενοι Πλάτωνος ὡς γεωμετρικοῦ λῦσαι χρησμὸν αὐτοῖς ἄτοπον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προβεβλημένων. ἦν δ' ὃς χρησμὸς Δηλίως καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἐλλησι παύλαν τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐσεσθαι διπλασιάσασι⁶ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ βωμὸν. οὔτε

¹ ὃ πολλὰ τότε Schwartz (παρ’ ὁπερ τότε van Herwerden; παρ’ ὃ τότε Bern.) to fill a lacuna of 9-8 letters followed by ποτε.

² συντελείσθαι κελεύει κελευ̣ τὰ γράμματα Β.

³ ἦν added by Cobet.

⁴ Ἀμφιτρύώνος Stephanus: ἀμφιτρύωνος.

⁵ δ' ὁ van Herwerden: δὲ.

⁶ διπλασιάσασι B: διπλασιάσι E.
with whom Plato, Ellopion of Peparethos and I had many philosophical discussions in those days. He brought orders from the king that Chonuphis should translate the writing, if he could make anything of it, and send the translation to him at once. Chonuphis shut himself up for three days, conning scripts of all kinds in the ancient books, and then wrote his answer to the king, of which he also informed us. The document, he said, ordered the celebration of a contest in honour of the Muses; the characters had the forms of the script current in the time of King Proteus, which Heracles, the son of Amphitryon, had learned; and the god was using the inscription to instruct and urge the Greeks to live in the enjoyment of leisure and peace by always taking philosophy as their field of contention, laying their arms aside and settling their disputes about right and wrong by an appeal to the Muses and discussion. As for ourselves, we felt at the time that Chonuphis was right; we felt so yet more when on our return from Egypt a party of Delians met us in Caria and requested Plato, as a geometer, to solve a problem set them by the god in a strange oracle. The oracle was to this effect: the present troubles of the Delians and the rest of the Greeks would be at an end when they had doubled the altar at Delos. As

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^n Otherwise unknown.

(579) δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκεῖνοι συμβάλλεις δυνάμενοι καὶ 
περὶ τὴν τοῦ βωμοῦ κατασκευὴν γελοία πάσχοντες 
(ἐκάστης γὰρ τῶν τεσσάρων πλευρῶν διπλασιαζο-
μένης ἐλαθὼν ἡ αὐξῆσει τὸν στερεὸν ὀκτα-
πλάσιον ἀπεργασάμενοι δι’ ἀπειρίαν ἀναλογίας ἢ 

C τὸ¹ μήκει διπλάσιον παρέχεται) Πλάτωνα τῆς 
ἀπορίας ἐπεκαλούντο βοηθὸν. ὁ δὲ, τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου 
μνησθεὶς, προσπαίζειν ἐφ’ τοῦ θεὸν Ἐλληνικοῦ 
ὁλυγωροῦν παιδείας, οἶδον ἐφυβρίζοντα τὴν ἀμαθίαν 
ἡμῶν καὶ κελεύοντα γεωμετρίας ἀπτεσθαι μὴ 
παρέργως· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς² φαῦλης οὐδ’ ἀμβλυ 
διανοίας ὀρώσῃ, ἀκρως δὲ τὰς γραμμὰς ἰσοκήμενης, ἔργον 
ἐίναι καὶ³ δυὸν μέσων⁴ ἀνάλογον λῆψιν, ἢ μόνῃ 
διπλασιάζεται σχῆμα κυβικὸ γόματος ἐκ πάσης 
ὅμοίως αὐξόμενον διαστάσεως. τούτῳ μὲν τὸν 
Εὐδόξον αὐτοῖς τὸν Κνίδιον ἢ τὸν Κυζικηνὸν Ἐλι-
κωνα⁵ συντελέσειν· μὴ τούτῳ δ’ οἴεσθαι⁶ χρῆναι 

D ποθεῖν τὸν θεὸν ἀλλὰ προστάσσειν Ἐλληνικό πάσι, 
πολέμου καὶ κακῶν μεθεμένους, Μοῦσας ὁμιλεῖν 
καὶ διὰ λόγων καὶ μαθημάτων τὰ πάθη κατα-
πραύνοντας, ἄβλαβῶς καὶ ὕφελίμως ἀλλήλους 
συμφέρεσθαι.

8. Μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ Συμμίου λέγοντος ὁ πατὴρ 
ἡμῶν Πόλυμνις⁷ ἐπεισῆλθε καὶ καθίσας παρὰ τὸν 
Συμμίαν, ἵνα ἔπαμενύνδας,” ἐφη, “καὶ σὲ καὶ

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1 ἢ τὸ nos (ἵν τὸ Hartman): ἢ τῷ.
2 τοῖ] τι E.
3 καὶ]Wytttenbach deletes; τὴν Holwerda.
4 μέσων Leonicus: μέσον.
5 Ἐλικώνα Bern.: ελικώνα.
6 δ’ οἴεσθαι Reiske: δείσθαι.
7 Πόλυμνις Kontos and Hatzidakis: πολύμνις and so 
passim (πολυμνίας 585 D; cf. δ' πολύμνι E and B1 (?) in 585 B, and E in 583 B, infra).
they not only were unable to penetrate its meaning, but failed absurdly in constructing the altar (for upon doubling all four sides they discovered to their surprise that in their ignorance of the progression from which the linear double \( a \) is obtained they had produced by this increase a solid eight times as large), they called on Plato for help in their difficulty. Plato, recalling the Egyptian, replied that the god was rallying the Greeks for their neglect of education, deriding, as it were, our ignorance and bidding us engage in no perfunctory study of geometry; for no ordinary or near-sighted intelligence, but one well versed in the subject, was required to find two mean proportionals, that being the only way in which a body cubical in shape can be doubled with a similar increment in all dimensions. This would be done for them by Eudoxus of Cnidus or Helicon \(^b\) of Cyzicus; they were not, however, to suppose that it was this the god desired, but rather that he was ordering the entire Greek nation to give up war and its miseries and cultivate the Muses, and by calming their passions through the practice of discussion and study of mathematics, so to live with one another that their intercourse should be not injurious, but profitable.

8. While Simmias was speaking my father Polymnis entered. Sitting down beside Simmias he said: "Epameinondas entreats you and the whole com-

\(^a\) The progression is \( a : x :: x : y :: y : 2a \), where \( a \) is the volume of the given cube, \( 2a \) that of its double; \( x \) then is the cube root of \( 2a \), and the three ratios are each equal to the ratio \( \frac{3}{\sqrt{2}} \). The square root of 2 was called "double in power" of 1; and a similar expression was doubtless used for the cube root of 2. The "linear" double of 1 is 2.

\(^b\) Helicon is mentioned in the Life of Dion, chap. xix. 6 (966 A).
(579) τούτους παρακαλεῖ πάντας, εἰ μὴ τις ἀσχολία
μείζων, ἐνταῦθα περιμεῖναι, βουλόμενος δὴν γνωρί-
σαι τὸν ξένον, ἀνδρὰ γενναίον μὲν αὐτὸν ὄντα, 1 μετὰ
dὲ γενναίας καὶ καλῆς ἀφιγμένον τῆς προαιρέσεως
ἀποστειλάντων ἡς Ἰταλίας τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν.
ἀφίκται δὲ Λύσιδι τῷ γέροντι χοάς χέασθαι περὶ
Ε τὸν τάφον ἐκ τινῶν ἐνυπνίων ὡς φησὶ καὶ φασμάτων
ἐναργῶν, συχνὸν δὲ κομίζων χρυσίον οἴεται δεῖν
'Ἐπαμεινώνδα τὰς Λύσιδος γηροτροφίας ἀποτίνειν
καὶ προθυμότατός ἐστιν οὐ δεομένων οὔδὲ βου-
λομένων ἡμῶν τῇ πενίᾳ βοηθεῖν.'
Καὶ ὁ Σιμμίας ἡσθεὶς πάνυ, 4 "θαυμαστὸν γε
λέγεις," εἴπεν, "ἀνδρὰ καὶ φιλοσοφίας ἄξιον· ἀλλὰ
tὸς αὐτία δι' ἣν οὐκ εὐθὺς ἤκει πρὸς ἡμᾶς;
Εἰ "'Εκείνον," ἐφη, "νυκτερεύσαντα περὶ τὸν τά-
φον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τὸν Λύσιδος ἤγεν 'Ἐπαμεινώνδας
πρὸς τὸν Ἰσμηνοῦ ἀπολουσόμενον, εἰτ' ἀφίξονται
δεύρῳ πρὸς ἡμᾶς· πρὶν δὲ ἐντυχεῖν ἡμῶν ἐνηυλίσατο
τῷ τάφῳ διανουσόμενον ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λεῖψαν τοῦ
σώματος καὶ κομίζειν εἰς Ἰταλίαν, εἰ μὴ τι νύκτωρ
ὑπεναντιωθεί γαμμόνιον." ο μὲν οὖν πατήρ ταῦτ'
eἰπὼν ἐσωτήσεν.
9. Ο δὲ Γαλαξίδωρος, "ο Ἡράκλεις," εἴπεν,
"ὡς ἔργον ἐστὶν εὐρεῖν ἀνδρὰ καθαρεύοντα τύφον
καὶ δεισιδαιμονίας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄκοντες ὑπὸ τῶν
παυθῶν τοῦτων ἄλυσκονται δὲ ἀπερίαν ἦ δὲ ἀ-
σθένειαν, οἱ δὲ, ὡς θεοφιλεῖς καὶ περίττοι τινές
εἶναι δοκοῖν, ἐπιθειάζουσι τὰς πράξεις, ὅνειρα

1 ὄντα Reiske to fill a lacuna of 9-5 letters.
pany, unless you have some pressing business, to await him here, as he wishes to acquaint you with the stranger, a man of generous spirit who has been sent on a generous and noble errand by the Pythagoreans in Italy. He comes to offer libations at the grave of the aged Lysis, in consequence, he says, of certain vivid dreams and apparitions; and he brings with him a large sum of gold, thinking it proper to repay Epameinondas for the support of Lysis in his old age. This he is very intent on doing, although we neither ask nor desire him to relieve our poverty."

Simmias exclaimed, in great delight, "An admirable man, and worthy of philosophy! But why does he not join us directly?"

"As he had, I believe, spent the night at Lysis' grave," my father replied, "Epameinondas was first taking him to the Hismenus to wash himself clean; they will then join us here. His motive in encamping at the tomb before meeting us was to take up the remains and remove them to Italy, unless some sign from heaven should appear in the night to forbid it." With this my father fell silent.

9. "Good God!" exclaimed Galaxidorus. "How hard it is to find a man untainted with humbug and superstition! Some, through no desire of their own, succumb to these disorders from ignorance or weakness, whereas others, to be reputed the favourites of heaven and above the common sort, invest their doings with a character of sanctity, hiding what

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2 δὲ added here by Turnebus; after γενναῖας by Xylander.
3 ἀποστειλάντων Wilamowitz (πεμφάντων van Herwerden) to fill a lacuna of 8-10 letters.
4 ἡθεῖς πάνω,] ἡθεῖς, Πάνω Stephanus.
5 τίς] τίς ἡ B.
6 ἴσμηνὸν Basle ed. of 1542: ἴσμηνιάν.
καὶ φάσματα καὶ τοιοῦτον ἄλλον ὁγκον προ-
580 ὕστάμενοι τῶν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἱόντων. ὁ πολιτικὸς μὲν
ἀνδράσι καὶ πρὸς αὐθάδη καὶ ἀκόλαστον ὁχλὸν
ηναγκασμένοις ζῆν οὐκ ἄχρηστον ἱσώς ἐστὶν ώσπερ
ἐκ χαλινοῦ τῆς δεισιδαμονίας πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον
ἀντεπιστάσαι καὶ μεταστήσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς. φιλο-
σοφία¹ δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐοικὲν ἄσχήμων ὁ τοιοῦτος
eἶναι σχηματισμός, ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν
ἐναντίος, ἡ,² πάν ἐπαγγειλαμένη λόγῳ τάγαθὸν καὶ
τὸ συμφέρον διδάσκειν, εἰς θεοὺς ἐπαναχωρεῖ τῆς
tῶν πράξεων ἀρχῆς³ ὡς τοῦ λόγου καταφρονοῦσα,
καὶ τὴν ἀπόδειξιν, ἡ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀτιμάσσα
πρὸς μαντεύματα τρέπεται καὶ ὀνείρατῶν ὤψεις,
Β ἐν οἷς ὁ φαυλότατος οὐχ ἤττον τῶν κατατυχάντων
πολλάκις φέρεται τοῦ κρατίστου. διὸ καὶ Σωκρά-
της ὁ ὑμετέρος, ὁ Σιμμία, δοκεῖ μοι φιλοσοφῶτερον
χαρακτῆρα παιδείας καὶ λόγου περιβαλέσθαι,⁴ τὸ
ἀφελὲς τούτῳ καὶ ἀπλαστὸν ὡς ἐλευθέρων καὶ
μάλιστα φίλον ἀληθείας ἐλόμενος, τὸν δὲ τύφον,
ωσπερ τυνα καπνὸν φιλοσοφίας, εἰς τοὺς σοφιστὰς
ἀποσκεδάσας.’

Ὑπολαβῶν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος, “τί γάρ,” εἶπεν, “ὁ
Γαλαξίδωρε; καὶ σὲ Μέλητος πέπεικεν ὃτι Σω-
κράτης ὑπερεώρα τὰ θεία; τοῦτο γάρ αὐτοῦ καὶ
C πρὸς Ἀθηναίοις κατηγόρησεν.”

“Οὐδαμῶς,” ἔφη, “τὰ γε θεία· φασμάτων δὲ
καὶ μῆθων καὶ δεισιδαμονίας ἀνάπλεω φιλοσοφίαν
ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ

¹ φιλοσοφία Reiske: φιλοσοφίας.
² ἡ EB : ei margin of Hamburg Aldine.
³ ἐπαναχωρεῖ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς ἐπαναχωρεῖ ταῖς . . . ἀρχαῖς
Emperius; ἐπαναφέρει τὰς . . . ἀρχάς οὔ ὑπαναχωρεῖ τῆς . . .
ἀρχῆς Bern.; ἐπαναχωρεῖ περὶ τῆς . . . ἀρχῆς Post.
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occurs to their intelligence behind a pretence of dreams and apparitions and the like mummerly. For men engaged in public affairs and compelled to live at the caprice of a self-willed and licentious mob this may have its use—to treat the superstition of the populace as a bridle,\textsuperscript{a} and thereby pull them back to the profitable course and set them right; but for Philosophy such outward seeming appears not only unseemly but in open conflict with her claims. Professing to teach the whole of the good and the profitable by the sole use of reason, she nevertheless withdraws from the government of conduct to take refuge with the gods, as if holding reason in contempt, and scorning demonstration, where her chief excellence is supposed to lie, resorts to divination and the visions seen in dreams, wherein the least of men is often no less rewarded with success than the greatest. For this reason, Simmias, I think your friend Socrates embraced a manner of teaching and speaking that had more of the true philosophic stamp, choosing that simplicity and sincerity of his for its manliness and great affinity to truth; as for humbug, the mere vapour as it were of philosophy, he sent it flying to the sophists.”

“What is this, Galaxidorus?” Theocritus broke in. “Has Meletus convinced you too that Socrates had no use for things divine? That was the charge Meletus brought against him before the Athenians.”

“Things really divine,” he answered, “he by no means ignored; but he took philosophy, left by Pythagoras and his company a prey to phantoms,

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Life of Numa, chap. iv. 12 (62 e).

\textsuperscript{4} \textit{περιβαλέσθαι} Reiske: \textit{περιβάλλεσθαι}. 
(580) δὴ καὶ παρ’ Ἑμπεδοκλέους δεξάμενος εὐ μάλα 
βεβακχευμένην εἴθιοσεν ὥσπερ πρὸς τὰ πράγματα 
πεπνύοθαι καὶ λόγω νήφοντι μετιέναι2 τὴν ἁλή-
θειαν."

10. "Εἰεν," εἶπεν ὁ Θεόκριτος: "τὸ δὲ δαμό-
νιον, ὑ βέλτιστε, τὸ Σωκράτους ψεῦδος ἦ τί φαμεν;
ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτως μέγα τῶν περὶ Πυθαγό-
ρου λεγομένων εἰς, μαντικὴν ἐδοξε καὶ θείον. ἀ-
τεχνῶς γὰρ οἴαν3 "Ομηρος Ὀδυσσεὶ πεποίηκε 
τὴν Ἀθηνάν 'ἐν πάντεσοι πόνοις παρισταμέ-
νην,' τοιαύτην ἐοίκε Σωκράτει τοῦ βίου προπο-
δηγον ἔξ ἀρχῆς τινα συνάβαι τὸ δαμόνιον ὅμων,

D 'ἡ' μοίνῃ 'οἱ' πρόσθεν ιοῦσα τίθει φάος 'ἐν πρα-
γμασιν ἀδήλους καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρωπίνην ἀσυλλογίστωι 
φρόνησιν, οἰ5 αὐτῶ συνεφθέγγετο πολλάκις τὸ 
δαμόνιον ἐπιθειάζον ταῖς αὐτοῦ προαιρέσει. τὰ 
μὲν οὖν πλείονα καὶ μείζονα Σιμμίου χρὴ καὶ τῶν 
ἄλλων ἐκπυρήνασθαι Σωκράτους ἐταῖρων. ἐμοὶ 
δὲ παρόντος, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύφρονα τὸν μάντιν ἤκον,6 
ἐτυχὲ μὲν, ὡς Σιμμία, μέμνησαι γὰρ, ἀνω πρὸς 
τὸ Σύμβολον Σωκράτης καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν 'Αν-
δοκίδου βαδίζων ἀβα τι διερωτῶν καὶ διασείων

1 καὶ τῶν μετ’ αὐτοῦ γενομένην καὶ δὴ καὶ παρ’ our supple-
ment of a lacuna of 39-29 letters.
2 μετιέναι Dübner : μετείναι (i.e. μετίναι).
3 οἴαν Bern. : οίον.
4 οἱ Wilamowitz (γ’ οἱ? Bern.) : τοι.
5 οῖς] ἐν οῖς Wyttenbach ; ὡς ? Post.
6 ἤκον] ἤκομεν Reiske.

a Cf. Homer, Od. x. 494 f. of Teiresias :
To him alone, though dead, Persephoné
Gave steadfast wit; the rest are fleeting shades.

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fables, and superstition, and by Empedocles in a wild state of exaltation, and trained her to face reality with steadfast understanding, as it were, and to rely on sober reason in the pursuit of truth."

10. "Very well," said Theocritus; "but what, my dear sir, do we call Socrates' sign? An imposture? For my part, nothing reported of Pythagoras' skill in divination has struck me as so great or so divine; for exactly as Homer has represented Athena as 'standing at 'Odysseus' 'side in all his labours,' so Heaven seems to have attached to Socrates from his earliest years as his guide in life a vision of this kind, which alone

showed him the way, illuminating his path in matters dark and inscrutable to human wisdom, through the frequent concordance of the sign with his own decisions, to which it lent a divine sanction. For further and greater instances you must ask Simmias and Socrates' other friends; but I was myself present (I had come to visit Euthyphron the soothsayer) when Socrates—you recall the incident, Simmias—happened to be making the ascent toward the Symbolon and the house of Andocides, putting some question to Euthyphron the while and sounding

b Daimonion, here rendered "sign" or "sign from Heaven," is literally "the divine thing" or (pressing the etymology) "the daemonic thing."

c Od. xiii. 301 (cf. II. x. 279); cf. also Apuleius, De Deo Socratis, 165 ff.

d Homer, II. xx. 95; cf. Od. xix. 34.

e Otherwise unknown; perhaps it was a city square—D-shaped to judge by its name: cf. W. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, p. 178.

(580) τὸν Εὐθύφρονα μετὰ παιδιᾶς· ἂφνω δὲ ἐπιστὰς
Ε καὶ σιωπῆσας¹ προσέσχεν αὐτῷ² συχνὸν χρόνον,
εἰτ' ἀναστρέψας ἐπορεύετο τὴν διὰ τῶν κιβω-
τοποιῶν καὶ τοὺς προκεχωρικότας ἦδη τῶν
ἐταῖρων ἀνεκαλείτο, φάσκων αὐτῷ³ γεγονέναι τὸ
δαιμόνιον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ συνανέστρεφον, ἐν
οἷς κἀγώ, τοῦ Εὐθύφρωνος ἔχομενος, νεανίσκοι δὲ
tiues τὴν εὐθείαν βαδίζοντες, ὡς δὴ τὸ Σωκράτους
ἐλέγξοντες δαιμόνιον, ἐπεσπάσαντο Χάριλλον τὸν
αὐλητὴν ἥκοντα καὶ αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀθῆνας μετ' ἐμοῦ⁴
πρὸς Κέβητα· πορευομένους δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν
ἐρμογλύφων⁵ παρὰ τὰ δικαστήρια σὺς ἀπαντῶσιν
F ἀθρόοι⁶ βορβόρου περίπλεοι⁷ καὶ κατ' ἄλληλοις
ἀθοῦμεν διὰ πλῆθος, ἐκτροπῆς δὲ μὴ παροῦσις
touς μὲν ἀνέτρεφαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι τοὺς δὲ ἀνεμο-
λυναν. ἤκεν οὖν καὶ ὁ Χάριλλος οὕκαδε τά τε
σκέλη καὶ τὰ ἵματα βορβόρου μεστός, ὡστ' ἀεὶ
touῦ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον μεμήνθαι μετὰ γέλωτος
ἡμᾶς, ἀμα καὶ⁸ θαυμάζοντας εἰ μηδαμοῦ προλεῖπε
τὸν ἄνδρα μηδ' ἀμελεῖ τὸ θείον αὐτοῦ."

11. Καὶ ὁ Γαλαξιδώρος, "οὐε γὰρ," ἔφη, "Θεό-
κριτε, τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἰδίαν καὶ περιτ-
τὴν ἐσχηκέναι δύναμιν, οὐχὶ τῆς κοινῆς μόριον τι
μαντικῆς⁹ τὸν ἄνδρα πείρα βεβαιωσάμενον ἐν τοῖς
ἀδήλοις καὶ ἀτεκμάρτος τῷ λογισμῷ ῥοπῆν ἐπ-
ἀγεῖν; ὡς γὰρ ὀλκὴ μία καθ'. αὐτὴν οὐκ ἄγει

¹ σιωπῆσας Wyttenbach: συμπεῖσας.
² αὐτῷ Wyttenbach: οὕτω.
³ ἀνεκαλείτο φάσκων αὐτῷ Amyot, to fill a lacuna of 24-27 letters.
⁴ μετ' ἐμοῦ put here by Benseler (after ἥκοντα?): after αὐτοῦ in the mss.
him out playfully. Suddenly he stopped short and fell silent, lost for a good time in thought; at last he turned back, taking the way through the street of the cabinetmakers, and called out to the friends who had already gone onward to return, saying that the sign had come to him. Most turned back with him, I with the rest, clinging close to Euthyphron; but certain young fellows went straight ahead, imagining that they would discredit Socrates' sign, and drew along Charillus a the flute-player, who had also come to Athens with me to visit Cebes. As they were walking along the street of the statuaries past the law-courts, they were met by a drove of swine, covered with mud and so numerous that they pressed against one another; and as there was nowhere to step aside, the swine ran into some and knocked them down, and befouled the rest. Charillus came home like the others, his legs and clothes covered with mud; so that we always mentioned Socrates' sign with laughter, at the same time marveling that Heaven never deserted or neglected him."

11. "You suppose, then, Theocritus," replied Galaxidorus, "that Socrates' sign had some peculiar and extraordinary power, and that he did not, upon verifying from experience some rule of ordinary divination, let it turn the scale in matters dark and beyond the reach of reason? For just as a single

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5 ἐρμογνυφὼν or ἐρμογνυφεῖς Reiske (ἐρμογνυφεῖς Passow, misquoting Reiske): ἐρμογνυφιῶν.
6 ἄθροι] ἄθροί Bern.
7 περιπλεοὶ] περιπλεῖα Bern., from 589 a, infra.
8 ἡμᾶς, ἂμα καὶ Wyttenbach (ἡμᾶς αφόδρα Wilamowitz) to fill a lacuna of 10-7 letters.
9 μαντικῆς Holwerda: ἀνάγκης.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

581 τὸν ἕνεγον, ὑστοροποῦντι δὲ βάρει προστιθεμένη κλίνει τὸ σύμπαν ἐφ' ἐαυτῆν, οὕτω πταρμὸς ἦν κληδών ἦ τι τοιοῦτον σύμβολον οὐχ οἶνον τε, μικρὸν ὄν καὶ κούφον, ἐμβρυθῇ διάνοιαν ἐπιστάσασθαι πρὸς πρᾶξιν. δυοῖν δὲ ἐναντίων λογισμῶν θατέρῳ προσελθὼν ἔλυσε τὴν ἀπορίαν, τῆς ἰσότητος ἀναφεύγεισιν, ὡστε κίνησιν γίνεσθαι καὶ ὀρμήν.

Τὸ πολαβών δὲ ὁ πατήρ, "ἀλλὰ μὴν," ἐφη, "καὶ αὐτός, ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος, Μεγαρικὸς τυνὸς ἦκουσα, Τερψίωνος δὲ ἐκείνος, ὅτι τὸ Σωκράτους δαμόνον πταρμὸς ἦν, ὅ τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παρ' ἄλλων. Β ἐτέρου μὲν γὰρ πταρόντος ἐκ δεξιᾶς, εἰτ' ὁπίσθεν εἰτ' ἐμπροσθεν, ὁρμῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν πρᾶξιν, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἀριστερᾶς, ἀποτρέπεσθαι τῶν δ' ἐαυτοῦ πταρ-μῶν τὸν μὲν ἔτι μέλλοντος βεβαιοῦν, τὸν δὲ ἦδη πράσσοντος ἐπέχειν καὶ κωλύειν, τῆν ὀρμῆν. ἀλλ' ἐκείνῳ μοι δοκεῖ θαυμαστόν, εἰ πταρμῷ χρώμενοι οὐ τοῦτο τοῖς ἐταίροις ἀλλὰ δαμόνον εἶναι τὸ κωλύον ἢ κελεύον ἔλεγεν. τύφου γὰρ αὐτῶν, ὁ φίλε, κενόν καὶ κόμπου τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐκ ἀληθεῖας καὶ ἀπλότητος οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα μεγάν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν πολλῶν γεγονέναι δοκοῦμεν, ὑπὸ φωνῆς ἐξωθεὶ ἢ πταρμοῦ τυνὸς ὀπηνικὰ τὺχοι θο- ρυβοῦμενον ἐκ τῶν πρᾶξεων ἀνατρέπεσθαι καὶ προ- θεσθαι τὸ δεδογμένον. αἱ δὲ Σωκράτους ὀρμαί·

1 τοῦ Ald. 2 (cf. Life of Camillus, chap. xxix. 2, 143 f.): τὸ.
2 οὕτως ἐστὶ (οὕτω Bern.) πταρμὸς ἦν Pflugk: οὕτως ἐφαρ- μόζει.
3 οὐχ οἶνον τε μικρὸν ὄν added by von Arnim to fill a lacuna of 15 letters (μικρὸν ἐστὶ Bern.).
4 προσελθὼν Emperius: προσελθὼν.
5 δ' ἐαυτοῦ nos: δὲ αὐτοῦ.
ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 581

drachm does not by itself tip the beam, but when joined to a weight in equilibrium with another inclines the whole mass in the direction of its own pull, so too a sneeze or chance remark or any such omen cannot, being trivial and light, incline a weighty mind to action; but when it is joined to one of two opposing reasons, it solves the dilemma by destroying the balance, and thus allows a movement and propulsion to arise." 

"Just so, Galaxidorus," my father broke in. "I have it from one of the Megarian school, who had it from Terpsion, that Socrates' sign was a sneeze, his own and others': thus, when another sneezed at his right, whether behind or in front, he proceeded to act, but if at his left, desisted; while of his own sneezes the one that occurred when he was on the point of acting confirmed him in what he had set out to do, whereas the one occurring after he had already begun checked and prevented his movement. But what astonishes me is that, supposing he relied on sneezes, he did not speak to his friends of being prompted or deterred by these, but by a sign from Heaven; for here again, my dear friend, we have a form of hollow affectation and boasting, and not the sincerity and simplicity that made him to our feeling truly great and superior to the generality of men—to be upset at odd moments by such external matters as a voice or sneeze, and thus be diverted from his actions and abandon his decisions. Nay, Socrates' 

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a Plutarch's statics may be at fault. If so, he inferred the physical process from the mental: cf. Mor. 1045 b-c.
(581) τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον ἑχούσαι καὶ σφοδρότητα φαίνονται πρὸς ἀπαν, ὡς ἂν ἐξ ὀρθῆς καὶ ἱσχυρᾶς ἀφειμέναι κρίσεως καὶ ἀρχῆς· πενίᾳ γὰρ ἐμμείνανε παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως, σὺν ἦδονῇ καὶ χᾰρίτι τῶν διδόντων ἔχειν δυνάμενον, καὶ φιλοσοφίας μὴ ἐκστήναι πρὸς τοσαύτα κωλύματα, καὶ τέλος εἰς σωτηρίαν καὶ φυγὴν αὐτῷ σπουδῆς ἐταίρων καὶ παρασκευῆς εὐμηχάνου γενομένης μῆτε καμφθῆναι λιπαροῦ καὶ καθ᾽ ὑποχωρήσαι τῷ θανάτῳ πελάζοντι, ἡρῆσθαι δ’ ἀτρέπτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ δεινόν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνδρος ἐκ κληδόνων ἢ πταρμῶν μεταβαλλομένην ὅτε τῶν γνώμην ἑχόντος ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ μείζονος ἐπιστασίας καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀγομένου πρὸς τὸ καλὸν.

"Ακούω δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῆς 'Αθηναίων δυνάμεως φθορὰν προειπεῖν αὐτὸν ἐνίοις τῶν φίλων. καὶ πρότερον ἐτὶ τούτων Πυριλάμπης ὁ 'Αντιφώντος, ἄλοις ἐν τῇ διώξει περὶ Δήλου υφ᾽ ἡμῶν δορατίω τετρωμένοι, ὥσ ἦκουσε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς σπονδὰς ἀφικομένων 'Αθηναίθεν ὁτι Σωκράτης μετὰ 'Αλκιβιάδου καὶ Δάχητος ἐπὶ ῥηγίστης Ἐκαταβάς ἀπονεοςτήκοι, πολλά μὲν τοῦτον ἀνε-

1 τόνον ἀμετάστρεπτον Schwartz (τόνον Reiske) for τὸ followed by a lacuna of 16 letters.
2 πελάζοντι Faehse: παίζοντι.

3 Δάχητος Victorius, Turnebus: μάχητος E, πάχητος B.
4 ἐπὶ ῥηγίστης corrupt; εἰς Ὡρώπτων (ἐπὶ τὴν Ὡρώπτων [Γραϊκήν])?
movements are observed to have had an indefectible force and intensity in all he did, which implies that they were launched forth from a correct and powerful judgement and foundation; for of his own free will to have remained poor throughout his life when he could have had money which the donors would have been delighted and thankful to see him accept, and not to have forsaken philosophy despite so many obstacles, and in the end, although his followers had spared no efforts to save his life and had contrived a perfectly feasible means of escape, neither to have yielded to their entreaties nor to have flinched at the approach of death, but to have faced its terrors with reasoning unshaken, are not acts of a man whose views are at the mercy of voices or sneezes, but of one guided by a higher authority and principle to noble conduct.

"I also hear that he foretold to some of his friends the loss of the Athenian forces in Sicily. And still earlier, when Pyrilampes, the son of Antiphon, who had been wounded with a javelin and taken prisoner by us in the pursuit at Delion, was told by the commissioners that came from Athens to negotiate a truce that Socrates had reached the coast at Oropus with Alcibiades and Laches and come home safe, he often invoked the name of Socrates, and often

\[a\] Cf. Life of Nicias, chap. xiii. 9 (532 b); Life of Alcibiades, chap. xvii. 5 (199 r); [Plato], Theages, 129 c-d.

\[b\] Pyrilampes was Plato's stepfather.

\[c\] "At Oropus" translates a conjecture. Thucydides (iv. 96. 7) mentions three routes taken by the defeated Athenians: to Delion and the sea, to Oropus, and toward Parnes. The corruption in the Greek text doubtless conceals a reference to one of the former two.

\[d\] Cf. Plato, Symposium, 221 a, and Laches, 181 e.
(581) καλέσατο, πολλά δὲ φίλους τινάς καὶ λοχίτας οἷς συνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τῇ Πάρνηθα¹ φεύγουσιν ύπὸ τῶν ἡμιτέρων ἐπιέων² ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς τοῦ Σωκράτους δαμινίου παρακούσαντας ἐτέραν ὁδόν, οὕτω ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἤγε, τρεπομένος ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης. ταῦτα δ' οἴμαι καὶ Συμμίαν ἀκηκοέναι."

"Πολλάκις," ὁ Συμμίας ἐφη, "καὶ πολλῶν διεβοήθη γάρ οὐκ ἥρεμα τὸ Σωκράτους 'Αθήνησιν ἐκ τούτων δαμίονον."

12. "Τί οὖν," ὁ Φειδόλαος εἶπεν, "ὁ Συμμία; Γαλαξίδωρον ἐάσωμεν παίζοντα καταβάλλειν το- 2

F σοῦ το μαντεῖας ἐργον εἰς πταρμοὺς καὶ κληρόνας, οἷς καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἰδιῶται περὶ μικρὰ προσ- 3

χρόνται καὶ παίζοντες, ὅταν δὲ κύνδυνοι βαρύτεροι καὶ μείξινες καταλάβωσι πράξεις, ἐκεῖνο γίνεται τὸ 4

Εὐρύπίδειον 5

οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταῦτα μωραίνει πέλασ;"

Καὶ ὁ Γαλαξίδωρος, "Συμμίον μὲν," ἐφη, "Φει- 6

dόλας, περὶ τούτων, εἰ τι Σωκράτους αὐτὸς λέ- 7

γοντος ἦκοσεν, ἐτομος ἀκροάσθαι καὶ φείδεσθαι³ 8

μεθ' ὑμῶν· τὰ δ' ὑπὸ σοῦ λελεγμένα καὶ Πολύμνιος 9

οὐ χαλέπων ἀνελεῖν. ὡς γὰρ ἐν ἱατρικῇ σφυγμῷ 10

ἡ φλυκταία μικρόν, οὐ μικροῦ δὲ σημεῖον ἑστι, καὶ 11

κυβερνῆτη πελαγίου⁴ φθόγγος ὁρνίθος ἡ δια- 12

582 δρομὴ κυνηγᾶς ἀραίας πνεῦμα σημαίνει καὶ κίνησιν 13

τραχυτέραν θαλάσσης, οὕτω μαντικῇ ψυχῇ πταρμός 14

ἡ κληδών οὐ μέγα καθ' αὐτό, μεγάλου δὲ τύνω 15

1 Πάρνηθα Stephanus: πάρνης.
2 ἐπιέων Keil (1841) and Dübner (1841): ἐπηποι.
3 φείδεσθαι] πείθεσθαι Xylander.
4 πελαγίου Xylander (πελαγίας Bern.): πελάγους.
those of certain friends and members of his company who had fled with him toward Mount Parnes and been killed by our cavalry, as they had (he said) disregarded Socrates' sign and taken a different way, not following where Socrates led, in their retreat from the battle. Simmias too has heard of this I think.

"Many times," said Simmias, "and from many persons; for these events led to no little talk at Athens about Socrates' sign."

12. "Are we, then, Simmias," said Pheidolaüs, "to let Galaxidorus in sport reduce so mighty a work of divination to sneezes and chance remarks? Even the ignorant multitude rely on these in trivial matters and in playful moods, but when graver dangers and actions of greater moment confront them, the words of Euripides come true:

None talks such folly when the fray impends."

"I am ready, Pheidolaüs," rejoined Galaxidorus, "to listen to what Simmias has to say about these matters, if he has himself heard Socrates talk of them, and to share your forbearance; but what you and Polymnís have said is not hard to refute. For as in medicine a rapid pulse or a blister, trifling in itself, is a sign of something by no means trifling, and as for a skipper the cry of a marine bird or the passing of a wisp of yellow cloud betokens wind and a rising sea, so for a mind expert in divination a sneeze or random utterance, in itself no great matter, may yet

\[a\] The story is also found in Cicero, De Div. i. 54 (123), and Pseudo-Socrates, Ep. 1. 9.
\[b\] From the Autolycus: Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Eur. 282. 22; quoted also in Mor. 803 b.
(582) σημεῖον ἃν εἰὴν συμπτώματος· ἐπ' οὐδεμᾶς γὰρ τέχνης καταφρονεῖται τὸ μικρὸς μεγάλα καὶ δι' ὀλίγων πολλὰ προμηνύει. ἀλλ' ὦσπερ εἰ τις ἀπειρος γραμμάτων δυνάμεως, ὅρων ὀλίγα πλήθει καὶ φαδλά τὴν μορφήν, ἀπιστοῖς ἄνδρα γραμ-
ματικόν ἐκ τούτων ἀναλέγεσθαι πολέμους μεγάλους ὁ οἱ τοῖς πάλαι συνέτυχον, καὶ κτίσεις πόλεων πρά-
Βές τε καὶ παθήματα βασιλέως, εἶτα φαίη δαι-
μόνιον τι μηνύει καὶ καταλέγει νέκειν τὸ ἱστορικῷ τοῦτων ἐκαστὸν, ἦδος ἂν, ὦ φίλε, γέλως 
σοι τοῦ ἄνθρωπον τῆς ἀπειρίας ἐπέλθοι, οὕτω 
σκόπει μή καὶ ἡμεῖς τῶν μαντικῶν ἐκάστοτε τὴν 
δύναμιν ἄγνοοιντες ἢ συμβάλλει πρὸς τὸ μέλλον, 
eὐθὺς ἀγανακτῶμεν εἰ νοῦν ἔχον ἄνθρωπος ἐκ 
tούτων ἀποφαίνεται τι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων, καὶ 
tαῦτα φάσκων αὐτὸς οὐ πταρμὸν ούδὲ φωνῇ,
ἀλλὰ δαιμόνιον αὐτῷ τῶν πράξεων υφηγεῖσθαι.
μέτειμι γὰρ ἦδη πρὸς σέ, Ὦ Πολυμνῖ, θαυμάζοντα 
Σωκράτους, ἄνδρος ἄτυφία καὶ ἀφελεία μάλιστα 
ἡ φιλοσοφίαν ἐξανθρωπίσαντος, εἰ μὴ πταρμὸν 
C μηδὲ κληδόνα τὸ σημεῖον, ἀλλὰ τραγικῶς πάνυ τὸ 
δαμόνιον ὠνόμαζεν. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἂν τοῦναντίον ἐθαύμαζον ἄνδρος ἄκρου διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κρατεῖν ὄνο-
ματων, ὦσπερ Σωκράτης, εἰ τὸν πταρμὸν ἀλλὰ

1 μεγάλου δέ των σημείων ἃν εἰὴ (μεγάλου δὲ σημείων Χυ-
lander; σύμβολον δὲ μεγάλου Bern.) our supplement of a 
lacuna of 45-29 letters.
2 ἐπ' added by Wilamowitz.
3 καταφρονεῖται] καταφρονήσαι Holwerda.
4 ἀπιστοῖς ἄνδρα] ἀπιστοῖς μὴ ἄνδρα Stegmann; delete 
ἀνδρα? 5 κτίσεις Χυλαντέρ: κτήσεις.
6 παθήματα Leonicus: μαθήματα.
7 φαίη δαμόνιον τι Wytenbach (φαίη φωνὴν ἢ ὁμοιόν τι 
Bern.): φανήσαι ὄμνυντι.
be a sign of some great event; for in no art is the prediction of great things from small, or of many things from few, neglected. No; if a man ignorant of the significance of writing, on seeing letters few in number and mean in appearance, should doubt that a literate person could gather from them the story of great wars that happened to men in the past, of foundations of cities, and of acts and sufferings of kings, and should then assert that what revealed and recounted all this to that student of history was something divine, you would, my friend, be moved to hearty laughter at the fellow's simplicity; so here too take heed lest it be simplicity in us, in our ignorance of the significance for the future of the various signs interpreted by the art of divination, to resent the notion that a man of intelligence can draw from them some statement about things hidden from our view—and that too when it is the man himself who says that it is no sneeze or utterance that guides his acts, but something divine. For I shall now deal with you, Polymnis, who are astonished that Socrates, a man who by his freedom from humbug and affectation had more than any other made philosophy human, should have termed his token not a 'sneeze' or 'omen' but in high tragic style 'the sign from Heaven.' I, on the contrary, should have been astonished if a master of dialectic and the use of words, like Socrates, had spoken of receiving intimations not from 'Heaven'

a Cf. Mor. 410 d.
b For a comparison of divination to reading cf. Plotinus, Enn. iii. 1. 6.
c Cf. the words of Polymnis, 581 b, supra.

8 τῶν ἱστορικῶν] τῶν ἱστορικῶν Wytenbach.
9 ἂν before ἀποφαίνεται omitted by Pflugk.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(582) μὴ τὸ δαμόνιον¹ αὐτῶ σημαίνειν ἔλεγεν. ὥσπερ εἶ τις ὑπὸ τοῦ βέλους φαίη τετρώσθαι, μὴ τῷ βέλει ὑπὸ τοῦ βαλόντος, μεμετρήθαι δὲ αὐ τὸ βάρος ὑπὸ τοῦ ζυγοῦ, μὴ τῷ ζυγῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱστάντος. οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὁργάνον τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλʼ οὐ καὶ τὸ ὁργανόν ὃ χρήται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον: ὁργανὸν δὲ τι καὶ τὸ σημείον ὃ χρήται τὸ σημαίνον. ἀλλʼ ὅπερ εἶπον, εἶ τι Σιμμίας ἔχοι² λέγειν, ἀκουστέον, ὡς εἰδότος ἀκριβέστερον.

13. Καὶ ὁ Θεόκριτος, "πρὸτερὸν γ'," ἔφη, D "τοὺς εἰσίν τας οἴτινεςετειν ἀποσκεφαλέναι, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸν ξένον⁴ έοικεν ἡμῖν Ἐπαμεινώνδας δὴ κομίζειν."

'Αποβλέψαντες οὖν πρὸς τὰς θύρας ἔωρῳ μεν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν καὶ τῶν⁵ συνεστώτων⁶ φίλων Ἰσμηνόδωρον καὶ Βακχυλλίδαν⁷ καὶ Μέλισσον τὸν αὐλητήν, ἐπόμενον δὲ τὸν ξένον, οὐκ ἄγεννη τὸ εἶδος ἅλλα πραότητα καὶ φιλοφροσύνην τοῦ ἡθοὺς ὑποφαίνοντα καὶ σέμιως ἀμπεχόμενον τὸ σῶμα. καθισάντος οὖν ἐκείνου μὲν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν Σιμμίαν, τοῦ δὲ ἄδελφον παρ' ἐμέ, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ως ἐκατοσ το ἐτυχε, καὶ γενομένης σιωπῆς, ὃ Σιμμίας τὸν ἄδελφον ἡμῶν καλέσας, "εἶεν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, τίνα ἐχρή τὸν ξένον καὶ πῶς καὶ πόθεν προσαγορεύειν; ἀρχὴ γάρ τις ἐντυχίας καὶ γνώσεως αὐτῇ συνῆθης."

Καὶ ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "Θεάνωρ," εἶπεν, "ὁ

¹ τὸν πταρμόν ἅλλα μὴ τὸ δαμόνιον nos (μὴ τὸ δαμόνιον ἅλλα τὸν πταρμόν Leonicus): μὴ τὸν πταρμόν ἅλλα τὸ δαμόνιον.
² ἔχοι] ἔχεi Aldine.
³ οἰτινές Stephanus: εἰ tines.
⁴ ξένον] ξένον ὅν Bern.
⁵ τῶν added by Wyttenbach.
but from the 'Sneeze': it is as if a man should say that the arrow wounded him, and not the archer with the arrow, or that the scales, and not the weigher with the scales, measured the weight. For the act does not belong to the instrument, but to the person to whom the instrument itself belongs, who uses it for the act; and the sign used by the power that signals is an instrument like any other. But, as I said, if Simmias should have anything to say, we must listen to him, as he is better informed.'

13. "First," said Theocritus, "we must see who the persons are that are entering the room—but I see it is Epameinondas, who is apparently bringing the stranger to meet us."

We looked toward the door and saw Epameinondas in the lead, with Hismenodorus, Bacchyllidas, and Melissus the fluteplayer among our friends in the plot, while the stranger came last, a man of no ignoble presence, but showing gentleness and kindness in his demeanour and in person magnificently attired. When the stranger had taken his place beside Simmias, my brother beside me, and the rest as they happened to find seats, and all had fallen silent, Simmias called out to my brother: "Well, Epameinondas, what name and title are we to give the stranger, and what is his country? Such inquiries are the usual preliminaries to intercourse and acquaintance."

Epameinondas answered: "His name, Simmias,

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6 οὐνεστῶτων] οὐνηθεστάτων Wilamowitz.
7 Ἰσμηνόδωρον nos: ἰσμηνόδωρον.
8 Βακχυλλίδαν] βακχυλλίδαν Aldine.
(582) Συμμεία, ὁνομα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρί, γένος δὲ Κροτωνιάτης
tῶν ἐκεῖ φιλοσόφων οὐ κατασχύνων τὸ μέγα
Πυθαγόρου κλέος. ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἤκει δείπρο μακρὰν
ὀδὸν ἡς Ἰταλίας ἐργοις καλοῖς καλὰ δόγματα
βεβαιῶν.

Ὑπολαβῶν δὲ οἱ ἕξονος, "οὐκοδοῦν," ἐφη, "οὐ
κωλύεις, ὥστεμεν ὅποιον ὃ οὐκ ἤττον ἐφο
πάσχειν ὑπὸ φίλων; ὥ γὰρ χάρις, οὐχ ἤττον ὑπο-
μένῃ τοῦ λαμβάνοντος ὃ τοῦ διδόντος, ἐξ ἀμφοῦν
τελειοῦται πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ὃ δὲ μὴ δεξάμενος ὡσπερ
σφαιραν εὐθερμένην κατήχυσει ἀτελῆ πεσοῦσαν.
ποίου γάρ οὔτως σκοποῦ βάλλοντα καὶ τυχεὶν ἢδον
καὶ διαμαρτάνειν ἁμαρτῶν ὡς ἀνδρὸς εὐταθεὶν
ἀξίου διὰ χάριτος ἐφείμενον; ἄλλα ἐκεῖ μὲν ό τοῦ
σκοποῦ μένοντος ἀτυχήσας σφαλλται δὴ αὐτῶν,
ἐνταῦθοι δὲ οἱ παραιτούμενος καὶ ύποφεύγων ἄδικεὶ
tὴν χάριν εἰς δὲ ἐσπευκε μὴ περαινοῦσαν. σοὶ μὲν
οὖν τὰς αἰτίας ἡδη διηθλθον ύφ᾽ ὅν ἐπλευσα δεῖρο,
583 βούλομαι δὲ καὶ τοῦτοις2 διελθῶν χρήσασθαι πρὸς
σὲ δικασταίς.

"Ἔπει γὰρ ἐξέπεσον αἰ κατὰ πόλεις ἐταύρειαι3
tῶν Πυθαγορικῶν στάσει κρατηθέντων, τοῖς δὲ ἐτι
συνεστώσων ἐν Μεταποντίῳ συνεδρεύσων ἐν οἰκίᾳ
πῦρ οἱ Κυλώνειοι περιένησαν καὶ διέφθειραν ἐν

1 δὲ Post.
2 τοῦτοις E2 (and so Turnebus): τοῦτοις.
3 ἐταύρεια Eac (and so Bern.): ἐταύρειαι.

For the comparison of the ball cf. Chrysippus, quoted in
Seneca, De Beneficiis, ii. 17. 3, and Plutarch, Comm. in
Hesiodum, 32 (vol. vii, p. 68. 11-16 Bern.).

b The head of the anti-Pythagorean faction.

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is Theanor; he is a native of Croton, one of the philosophers of that region, and reflects no dishonour on the great fame of Pythagoras; indeed, he has come here at present on a long journey from Italy, confirming noble doctrines by noble works."

Here the stranger spoke: "Are not you, Epameinondas, preventing the noblest of those works? For if it is a noble act to benefit friends, it is no disgrace to be benefited by them; for the favour, requiring a recipient no less than a giver, needs both to be made perfect in nobility. He who refuses to accept the favour, like the man who refuses to catch a well-directed ball, disgraces it, allowing it to fall to the ground without achieving its end. For what target is so delightful to hit and so painful to miss, as a man deserving kindness at whom we aim a favour? Yet in the case of the target the man who misses has only himself to blame, as the mark is fixed; whereas with favours, the man who declines and moves aside is guilty of an offence against the favour, allowing it to fall short of its goal. To you I have already recounted the motives of my voyage hither; but I desire to recount them to these others as well and let them judge between us.

"After the Pythagorean societies throughout the different cities had been defeated by the revolutionaries and driven out, and after the partisans of Cylon, heaping fuel about the house where the society that still held together at Metapontum was in session, and setting fire to it, had destroyed them

Most ancient authorities agree that Pythagoras died at Metapontum, but put the conflagration at Croton: cf. Diogenes Laert. viii. 39 f. with the passages adduced by A. Delatte (La Vie de Pythagore de Diogène Laërce, Brussels, 1922, pp. 136 f.).
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(583) ταύτῳ¹ πάντας πλὴν Φιλολάου καὶ Λύσιδος νέων ὄντων ἔτι, ρώμη καὶ κοινφοτητὶ διωσαμένων τὸ πῦρ, Φιλόλαος μὲν εἰς Δευκανοῦς φυγὼν ἐκεὶθεν ἀνεσώθη πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους φίλους ἥδη πάλιν ἁθροιζόμενος καὶ κρατοῦσας τῶν Κυλωνείων, Λύσις δὲ ὅπου γέγονεν ἥγνοεῖτο πολὺν χρόνον, Β πρὶν² γε δὴ Γοργίας ὁ Λεοντῖνος ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀναπλέων εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆγγελλε τοῖς περὶ Ἀρεσάν³ βεβαίως Λύσιδι συγγεγονέναι διατίβοτοι περὶ Θήβας. ὤρμυσε μὲν ὁ Ἀρεσᾶς⁴ πόθω τοῦ ἄνδρος αὐτῶς ὡς εἰχε πλεύσαι, κομίδη δὲ διὰ γῆρας καὶ ἀσθένειαν ἐλλείπων ἐπέσκηψε μάλιστα μὲν ζῷντα κομίσαι τὸν Λύσιν εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἥ τὰ λείμανα τεθνηκότος. οἱ δὲ ἐν μέσῳ πόλεμοι καὶ στάσεις καὶ τυραννίδες ἐκώλυσαν αὐτῷ ζῷντι συντελέσαι τοὺς φίλους τὸν ἄθλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤμιν τὸ Λύσιδος δαμιόνου ἥδη τεθνηκότος ἐναργῶς προούπέφαυνε⁵ τὴν τελευτήν, καὶ τὰς παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὁ Πόλυμνι,
C θεραπείας καὶ διαίτας τοῦ ἄνδρος οἱ σαφῶς εἰδότες ἀπῆγγελλον, ὅτι πλούσιας ἐν οἰκῶ πένητι γηροκομίας⁶ τυχῶν καὶ πατηρ τῶν σῶν υἱῶν ἐπιγραφεῖς οὐχίοτο μακαριστὸς, ἀπεστάλην ἐγὼ νέος καὶ εἰς ύπὸ πολλῶν καὶ πρεσβυτέρων, ἐχόντων οὐκ ἐχουσι χρήματα⁷ διδόντων, πολλήν⁸ χάριν καὶ

¹ ταύτῳ Wytenbach: τούτῳ.
² πρὶν Sieveking (donee Xylander): πλὴν.
³ 'Αρεσᾶν nos (from Iamblichus, De Vit. Pyth. chap. xxxvi. 266): ἀρκεσον.
⁴ Ἀρεσᾶς nos: ἀρκεσος.
⁵ προούπέφαυεν] προούπέφαυε Cobet.
⁶ γηροκομίας Aldine: γηρωκομίας.
⁷ χρήματα Leonicus: γράμματα.
⁸ πολλήν] πολλήν δὲ Reiske.

Archippus is usually mentioned as escaping with Lysis:

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all in the conflagration except Philolaüs and Lysis, who were still young and forced a way through the flames by strength and agility, Philolaüs escaped to Lucania and from there reached in safety our remaining adherents, who had once more begun to assemble and prevail over Cylon’s party, but for a long time no one knew what had become of Lysis; at last Gorgias of Leontini, on his return from Greece to Sicily, brought definite word, and told Aresas of meeting Lysis, who was living in Thebes. Aresas so felt his absence that he proposed with no more ado to make the voyage himself, but from age and infirmity proving quite unequal to the effort, he charged us to bring Lysis back to Italy alive if possible, or his remains if dead. The intervening wars, seditious and usurpations, however, kept his friends from carrying out the task for him during his lifetime. But when the daemon of Lysis—who had died in the interval—clearly revealed to us his death, and reports from men well acquainted with the circumstances told, Polymnis, how he had been cared for by your family and lived with you—that in the poverty of your household he had received rich provision for his age and departed in felicity, enrolled as father of your sons—I was sent, young and unaccompanied, by a company numerous and advanced in years, offering money, of which they have provision, to you who have

cf. Zeller, *Die Philos. d. Griechen*, i. 16, p. 419, note. Olympiodorus (*In Plat. Phaedon. Comm.* p. 9. 16-20 Norvin) says that Lysis and Hipparchus were the two that escaped, and that Philolaüs went to Thebes to offer libations at the grave of Lysis, his teacher.

b Perhaps on the return from his embassy to Athens in 427.

c The head of the Pythagorean societies: cf. Iamblichus, *De Vita Pythagorica*, 266 f.
(583) φιλίαν ἀντιλαμβανόντων. Λύσις δὲ καὶ κείται
calóς υφ’ υμῶν, καὶ τάφου καλοῦ κρείττων αὐτῶ
χάρις ἐκτινομένη φίλοις ύπὸ φίλων καὶ οἰκείων.’’

14. Ταῦτα τοῦ ἐξενού λέγοντος ὁ μὲν πατὴρ ἐπεδήκρυσε τῇ μνήμῃ τοῦ Λύσιδος πολὺν χρόνων,

D ο δὲ ἀδελφὸς ὑπομειδίων ὦσπερ εἶσθε2 πρὸς ἐμε, "πῶς," ἔφη, "ποιοῦμεν, ὁ Καφισία; προοιέμεθα
tὴν πενίαν τοῖς χρῆμασι καὶ σιωπῶμεν;’’

""Ἡκιστ,’’ ἔφην ἔγω, “τὴν φίλην καὶ ἀγαθὴν
cουροτρόφον, ἀλλ’ ἀμυνε σος γὰρ ὁ λόγος.’’

"Καὶ μὴν ἔγω,’’ εἶπεν, “ὁ πάτερ, ταύτη μόνη3
tὴν οἰκίαν ἐμεθεὶν ἀλώσιμον ὧπο χρημάτων εἶναι,
kατὰ τὸ Καφισίου σῶμα, καλὴς μὲν ἔσθήτως δεό-
μενον ὡν τοῖς ἐρασταῖς ἐγκαλλωπίζεται τοσοῦτος
οὖσιν, ἀφθόνοι δὲ καὶ πολλῆς τροφῆς ἦν ἀντέχῃ
πρὸς τὰ γυμνᾶσια καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς παλαι-
στραίς ἀγώνας· ὀπηνίκα δὲ οὕτος οὐ προδίδωσιν4

Ε ὦνδὲ ὃς βαφὴν ἁνίησο τὴν πάτριον πενίαν, ἀλλὰ
cαίπερ ὡν μείράκιον εὐτελεῖα καλλωπίζεται καὶ
στέργει τὰ παρόντα, τῖς ἄν ἡμῶν γένοιτο τῶν
χρημάτων διάθεσι καὶ χρῆσις; ἦπου καταχρυ-
σώσομεν τὰ ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα πορφύρα συμ-
μεμογμένη πρὸς χρυσίον, ὢσπερ Νικίας ὁ Ἀθηναῖος,
dιαποκιλοῦμεν; σοὶ δὲ, ὁ πάτερ, Μιλησίαν
χλανίδα5 τῇ δὲ μητρὶ παραλογρηγὸν ὄνησόμεθα
χιτῶνοι; οὐ γὰρ εἰς γαστέρα δήποτο καταχρη-

1 καὶ κείται] κεκύδευται Cobet.
2 εἰσθε] εἰόθει B.
3 μόνη] μόνον Holwerda, but cf. Herodotus, i. 84. 3, iii. 5. 1,
Life of Pelopidas, chap. xvi. 3 (286 A), and possibly Life of
Sulla, chap. xiv. 1 (460 c) and ἡ μόνη 579 c, supra.
4 Sieveking deletes τὴν πενίαν after προδίδωσι.
none in return for great favour and friendship. Lysis has had from you a fitting burial, and better in his sight than a fitting burial is favour requited to friends by friends and fellows.”

14. While the stranger spoke my father wept a long time at the memory of Lysis. My brother said, smiling gently at me, as is his wont: "What are we doing, Caphisias? Are we yielding up our poverty to riches without a word?"

"Let us by no means yield up," said I, "that dear and 'goodly nurse of youth' b: fly to her defence; it is for you to speak."

"Well, my dear father," he said, "I had feared that in the defences of our household against money there was but this one vulnerable spot: Caphisias' person, which requires fine dress that he may display himself to advantage to his numerous admirers, and unstinted and abundant food to sustain him in his exercises and his bouts on the wrestling grounds; but now that we see him refusing to surrender his ancestral poverty or let its tempered edge be taken off, but instead, for all his youth, displaying himself in frugality c and content with what he has, how could we lay the money out and use it? Are we to gild our arms and like Nicias of Athens d decorate our shields with a blend of purple and gold? Are we, father, to buy you a Milesian mantle and our mother a tunic bordered with purple? For surely we shall not expend

a Theanor's style is as elaborate as his dress.

b Homer, Od. ix. 27: cf. Plutarch, Contra Divitias, Frag. 4 (vol. vii, p. 124. 3-6 Bern.).

c For the phrase cf. Mor. 406 d.

d Cf. Life of Nicias, chap. xxviii. 6 (542 b).

5 χλανίδα a correction in E: χλαμώδα.
(583) σόμεθα τὴν δωρεὰν εὐωχοῦντες αὐτοῦ πολυτελέστερον, ὥσπερ ἔξενον ὑποδεδεγμένοι βαρύτερον τὸν πλοῦτον."

"Ἀπαγε," εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ, "ὡς παῖ: μηδέποτε ἔργον ἐπιδομῇ μετακόσμησιν τοῦ βίου."

"Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ ἄργον," ἐφη, "καθισόμεθα φρουροῦντες οἴκοι τὸν πλοῦτον. ἀχαῖς γὰρ ἃν οὔτως ἡ χάρις καὶ ἀτύμως ἡ κτῆσις εἰῆ."

"Τί μὴν;" εἶπεν ὁ πατήρ.

"Οὐκοῦν," ἐφη ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "Ἰάσων;" μὲν τῷ Θετταλῶν ταγῷ πέμψαντι δεύρο πολύ χρυσὸν ἕναγχος πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ δεομένω λαβεῖν ἄγροικότερος ἐφάνην ἀποκρινόμενος ἀδίκων χειρῶν αὐτὸν κατάρχειν, ὅτι μοναρχίας ὡν ἐραστής ἀνδρα δημότην ἔλευθέρας καὶ αὐτονόμου πόλεως ἐπείρα 584 διὰ χρημάτων. σοῦ δ', ὃ εὔνε, τῆν μὲν προθυμίαν (καλὴ γὰρ καὶ φιλόσοφος) δέχομαι καὶ ἀγαπῶ διαφερόντως, ήκεις δὲ φάρμακα φίλοις μὴ νοσοῦντι κομίζων. ἃς πέταν εἰ πολεμεῖσθαι πυθόμενος ἡμᾶς ἐπλευσας ὁπλοῖς καὶ βέλεσιν ωφελήσων, εἶτα φιλίαν καὶ εἰρήνην εὔρες, οὖκ ἂν ὑπὸν δεῖν ἐκεῖνα διδόναι καὶ ἀπολείπειν μὴ δεομένοις, οὔτως σύμμαχος μὲν ἀφίζαι πρὸς πενίαν ὡς ἐνοχλούμενοι ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἡ δ' ἐστὶ βάστη φέρειν ἡμῖν καὶ

1 ἡμῶν after βίου deleted by Bern.; place before τοῦ?
2 ἐπὶ. Τί μὴν Reiske: ἐπὶ τιμῆν.
3 'Ιάσων Kontos and Hatzidakis: ιάσων.
4 ἡμᾶς, repeated after ἐπλευσας in E, and after βέλεσιν in B, is deleted by Sieveking.

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a Jason of Pherae: cf. Mor. 193 b; Aelian, Var. Hist. xi. 9.
b A play on the phrase ἄρχειν χειρῶν ἀδίκων, literally "to
the bounty on our belly by treating ourselves to more sumptuous fare, as if we had admitted wealth to our house as a burdensome guest."

"Heaven forbid, my son," said my father; "may I never live to see our way of life so changed!"

"Nor yet," Epameinondas pursued, "shall we sit at home to guard a wealth that remains idle; for then the favour would be no favour and our ownership without honour."

"Of course we shall not," said my father.

"Lately," Epameinondas went on, "when Jason, the prince of Thessaly,\(^a\) sent me a great sum of gold and begged me to accept it, I was openly rude, was I not? when I replied that he was the assailant in a hand-to-hand affair,\(^b\) since to gratify his lust for royal power, he was tempting with money a common citizen of a free and independent state.\(^c\) As for you, sir, I welcome your kind thought and am delighted with it—it was generous and worthy a philosopher—but you come with medicine to friends who are not ill. If you had heard that we were under hostile attack and sailed to our aid with arms and missiles, but found on arrival that all was friendliness and peace, you would not have felt called upon to offer and leave those provisions with men who had no use for them. Just so you have come to help us against Poverty, supposing us molested by her; whereas we find her most companionable and a friendly member begin unrighteous hands," that is, to strike the first blow in a case of assault and battery. Hands are also the donors and recipients of bribes.

\(^c\) This incident is doubtless here placed too early in Epameinondas' career. Jason was not elected prince until some years after the liberation of Thebes (cf. Busolt, Griech. Gesch. iii. 2, pp. 237 f.).
(584) φίλη σύνοικος: οὐκ οὖν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπλῶν ἐπ’ Β αὐτὴν μηδὲν ἁνώσαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπάγγελε τοῖς ἐκεῖ γνωρίμοις ὅτι κάλλιστα μὲν αὐτοὶ πλοῦτῳ χρῶνται καλῶς δὲ πενίᾳ χρωμένους αὐτοῦ φίλους ἔχουσι, τὰς δὲ Λύσιδος ἡμῖν τροφὰς καὶ ταφὰς αὐτῶς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Λύσις ἀπέδωκε, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πενίαι διδάξας μὴ δυσχεραίνειν.’

15. Ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ Θεάνωρ, ‘ἄρ’ οὖν,’ ἐφη, ‘τὸ πενίαν δυσχεραίνειν ἀγεννές ἔστι, τὸ δὲ πλούτον δεδιέναι καὶ φεύγειν οὐκ ἄτοπον;’

‘Ἀτόπον,’ εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἐὰν μὴ λόγῳ τις αὐτὸν ἄλλα σχηματιζόμενος ἦ δὲ ἀπειροκαλίαν ἦ τυφόν τινα διωθεῖται.’

‘Καὶ τίς ἂν,’ ἐφη, ‘λόγος ἀπείργου τὴν ἐκ καλῶν καὶ δικαίων κτήσιν, ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας;’ μάλλον δὲ (πραότερον γὰρ ἡμῖν ἦ τῷ Θετταλῷ C πρὸς τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐνδίδου σαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων) εἶπεν μοι πότερον ἡγῆ δόσων μὲν εἰναί τινα χρημάτων ὀρθήν, λήψων δὲ μηδεμίαν, ἤ καὶ τοὺς διδόντας ἀμαρτάνειν πάντως καὶ τοὺς λαμβάνοντας;

‘Οὐδαμῶς,’ εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ‘ἄλλ’ ὀσπερ ἀλλοῦ τυὸς ἑγὼ καὶ πλοῦτον χάριν τε καὶ κτῆσιν εἰναί νομίζω τὴν μὲν αἰσχρὰν τὴν δὲ ἀστείαν.’

‘Ἄρ’ οὖν,’ ἐφη ὁ Θεάνωρ, ‘ὁ μὲν ὀφείλων διδοὺς ἐκουσίως καὶ προθύμως οὐ καλῶς δίδωσιν;’

Ωμολογησεν.

‘Ὁ δ’ ἂ τις καλῶς δίδωσι δεξάμενος οὐ καλῶς

1 οὐδὲ deleted by Sieveking before ὑπλῶν.
2 ἄτοπον εἶπεν (ὁ added by Pohlenz) Ἐπαμεινώνδας added by Bern. (ἄτοπον Wyttenbach).

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of our household; no armament of riches, then, is needed against her who gives us no offence. No; report to your comrades abroad that while they put riches to the best of uses themselves, they here have friends who make good use of poverty; and that Lysis has repaid us himself for the cost of his keeping and burial by teaching us, among other lessons, to feel no disgust at poverty."

15. Theanor rejoined: "Is it vulgar to feel disgust at poverty, and yet not absurd to dread and shun wealth?"

"It is absurd," replied Epameinondas, "if what moves a man to reject it is not reason, but a pose arising from coarseness or a kind of vanity."

"Indeed! And what reason, Epameinondas," he said, "would forbid its acquisition by noble and honest means? Or rather tell me this (for I beg you to show me a milder temper than you did the Thessalian in your answers on this point): do you think it sometimes proper to give money, but never to accept it, or do you think that under all circumstances givers are at fault as well as takers?"

"Not at all," said Epameinondas; "but in wealth as in other things I hold that the conferring and acceptance of a favour are sometimes shameful and sometimes honourable."

"Does not," Theanor went on, "the man who pays his debt willingly and cheerfully, do well in giving?" Epameinondas agreed.

"And does not he who accepts a gift well given do

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{3 } & \text{ ἐπαμεινόνδα Wyttenbach; ὡς ἐπαμεινόνδας E; ὡς ὁ ἐπαμεινόνδας B.} \\
\text{4 } & \text{ πρότερον Wyttenbach: πρότερον.} \\
\text{5 } & \text{ μὲν Dübner: ἀ.}
\end{align*} \]
εἰληφεν· ἡ γένοιτ' ἂν δικαιοτέρα χρημάτων λήψις 
τῆς παρὰ τοῦ δικαιῶς διδόντος;
""Οὐκ ἂν," ἔφη, "γένοιτο."

"Δυοῖν ἁρὰ φίλων," εἶπεν, "ὡ Ἐπαμεινώνδα, 
εἰ θατέρῳ δοτέον, θατέρῳ δὴποι ληπτεόν· ἐν μὲν 
γὰρ ταῖς μάχαις τὸν εὐ βάλλοντα τῶν πολεμίων 
ἐκκλιτέον, ἐν δὲ ταῖς χάρισι τοῦ καλῶς διδόντα 
τῶν φίλων οὔτε φεύγειν οὔτε ἀπωθεῖσθαι δίκαιον· 
εἰ γὰρ ἡ πενία μὴ δυσχερές, οὖδ' αὖ πάλιν ὁ 
πλοῦτος οὔτως ἀτύμος καὶ ἀπόβλητος." 

"Οὐ γὰρ οὖν," εἶπεν ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, "ἀλλ' 
ἐστιν ὅτι μὴ λαβόντι τὸ καλῶς διδόμενον τιμώ-
τερον ὑπάρχει καὶ κάλλιον· οὔτωσι δ' ἐπίσκεψαι 
μεθ' ἡμῶν."

"Εἰσι δὴποιθεῖν ἐπιθυμία πολλαί καὶ πολλῶν,
ἐναί μὲν ἐμφυτοί λεγόμεναι καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα 
βλαστάνουσαι πρὸς τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἡδονάς, αἱ δὲ 
ἐπήλυδες, αἱ ἕνεκα κενῶν δοξῶν, ἵσχυν δὲ καὶ 
βιάν ὑπὸ χρόνου καὶ συνθείας ἐν τροφῇ μοχθηρᾷ 
λαβοῦσαι, πολλάκες ἐλκουσι καὶ τατενοῦσι τὴν 
ψυχὴν ἐρρωμενέστερον τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ἐθεὶ δὲ 
καὶ μελέτη πολὺ μὲν τὶς ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν ἐμφυτῶν 
ἀπαρύσαι παθῶν τῷ λόγῳ παρέσχε· τὸ δὲ πᾶν τῆς 
ἀσκήσεως κράτος, ὁ φίλε, ταῖς ἑπευσοδοῖς καὶ 
περιτταῖς προσαγαγοῦτας ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπονεῖν χρῆ 
καὶ ἀποκόπτειν αὐτὰς ἀνείρξεαι καὶ κατοχαίς ὑπὸ 
τοῦ λόγου κολαζομένας. εἰ γὰρ διῆμαν ἐκβιάζεται 
καὶ πείναν ἥ πρὸς τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν ἀντίβασις τοῦ 

1 θατέρῳ Leonicus : θατερον.  
2 λαβόντi Wytenbach : διδόντι.  
3 αἴ ἕνεκα Bern. (αἴ μὲν ἐκ Post) : αἴ ἕνεκεν.  
4 προσαγαγούντας] προσάγοντας Klaffenbach.  
5 πείναν B : πείν E.
well in receiving? Or how could money be more honestly accepted than by accepting it from one who gives it honestly?"

"In no other way," was the reply.

"Therefore, Epameinondas," he went on, "if of two friends the one ought to give, the other surely ought to accept; in battles one should elude the enemy who casts well, but in the matter of favours it is not right either to evade or to repulse the friend who gives well; for granting poverty no burden, no more is wealth in its turn so valueless and undesirable as all that."

"True," said Epameinondas; "yet there is a case where the rightly offered gift is more valuable and honourable if not accepted. Consider the point with me in the light of the following considerations.

"There are, I take it, many desires, and these have many objects. Some desires, called innate, spring up in the body with the necessary pleasures as objects. Others are adventitious, and seek to gratify mere empty fancies. Yet when a man has had a poor upbringing, long habit makes them strong and violent, and often they drag the soul along and humble it more forcibly than do the necessary desires. Habit and practice, however, have been known to enable reason to abate much of even the innate passions; and one must apply the whole might of a strict course of training, my dear friend, to the intrusive and superfluous desires and wear them down and cut them off by letting reason chasten them with repeated repression and restraint. For if thirst and hunger are overpowered by the resistance of reason

(584) λογισμοῦ, μακρῷ δήπου βάὸν ἐστὶ φιλοπλουτίαν κολοῦσαι καὶ φιλοδοξίαν ἀποχαίς ὤν ἐφίένται καὶ ἀνείφεσιν εἰς τέλος καταλυθεῖσας· ἡ οὖ δοκεῖ σοι;

"Ομολογήσεν ὁ ξένος.

"'Αρ' οὖν," ἐφη, "διαφορὰν ὅρας ἀσκῆσεως καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ὁ ἡ ἀσκησις ἔργου, καὶ καθάπερ ἀθλητικῆς ἔργου μὲν ἄν εἴποις τὴν ύπέρ τοῦ στεφάνου πρὸς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἀμιλλᾶν, ἀσκησιν δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦτο1 διὰ τῶν γυμνασίων παρασκευήν τοῦ σώματος, οὕτως καὶ ἀρετῆς ὀμολογεῖς τὸ μὲν ἔργου εἶναι, τὸ δ' ἀσκῆσιν;"

'Ομολογήσαντος δὲ τοῦ ξένου, "φέρε τοίνυν πρῶτον," εἶπεν, "ἐπὶ2 τῆς ἑγκρατείας· τὸ τῶν αἰσχρῶν καὶ παρανόμων ἡδονῶν ἀπέχεσθαι τό-585 τερον ἀσκησιν ἡ μᾶλλον ἔργου καὶ ἀπόδειξιν ἀσκήσεως εἶναι νομίζεις;"3

"Εργον," εἶπεν,4 "ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόδειξιν."

"'Ασκησιν δὲ καὶ μελέτην ἑγκρατείας5 οὐχ ἤπερ ἐτὶ νῦν εφελκύσθη πάντες ύμείς, ὅταν γυμναζό-μενοι6 καὶ κινήσαντες ὅσπερ ξίων τὸς ῥέξεις ἐπι-στήτη ταμπραίς τραπέζαις καὶ πουκίλοις ἑδεσμασι πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα, ταῦτα τοῖς οἰκέταις ύμῶν εὐωχείσθαι παραδόντες, αὐτοὶ τὰ λιτὰ καὶ ἀπλὰ προσφέρησθε κεκολασμέναι ἥδη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις; ἡ γὰρ ἐν ὦς ἑξεστὶ ἀποχή τῶν ἡδονῶν ἀσκησις ἐστὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς ἀ κεκώλυται."

1 τοῦτο] τούτω B.
2 εἶπεν ἐπὶ nos (ἐπὶ Kronenberg): εἰτε (εἰτε ἐπὶ Warmington).
3 νομίζεις Basle edition of 1542: νομίζειν.
4 εἶπεν Reiske: εἶπον.
to food and drink, it is surely far easier to check the appetites for wealth and fame and break their power in the end by abstaining from what they desire and holding them back. Do you not agree?"

The stranger assented.

"Do you observe," he asked, "a difference between a course of training and the goal such training serves; and as you would say that in athletics the goal is to compete with one's opponent for the crown, whereas the training is the preparation of the body for that end through exercise, so do you agree that in virtue as well the goal is one thing and the training another?"

When the stranger had agreed, Epameinondas continued: "First take the case of continence: do you regard abstention from shameful and unlawful pleasures as training or rather as the goal and evidence of training?"

"The goal and evidence," he replied.

"And do you not consider it as training and practice in continence to achieve it as you have all achieved it to this day? Exercising till your appetites, like so many animals, have been stirred up, you place yourselves for some time before splendid tables and varied meats; then, relinquishing to your slaves the enjoyment of the feast, you partake yourselves of plain and simple fare with desires which by that time have been chastened. For abstention from pleasure in what is allowed is a training of the soul to resist what is forbidden."

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5 μετὰ before ἐγκρατεῖας omitted by Reiske.
6 γυμναζόμενοι] γυμνασάμενοι Reiske.
""Εστίν οὖν τις, ὦ φίλε, καὶ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς
Β φιλοπλουτίαν καὶ φιλαργυρίαν ἁσκήσις, οὐ τὸ μὴ
κλέπτειν ἐπίοντα νύκτωρ τὰ τῶν πέλας μηδὲ
λωποδυτεῖν, οὐδ' εἰ μὴ προδίδωσί τις πατρίδα καὶ
φίλους δι' ἀργύριον, οὗτος ἁσκεῖ πρὸς φιλαργυρίαν
(καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ᾧδῆς ἐνταῦθα καὶ ὁ φόβος ἀπείρηκε
τὴν πλεονεξίαν τοῦ ἄδικείν), ἀλλὰ τῶν δικαίων
καὶ συγκεχωρημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου κερδῶν πολ-
λάκις ἁφιστᾶς ἑαυτὸν ἐκουσίως ἁσκεῖ καὶ προσθή-
ζεται μακρὰν εἶναι παντὸς ἄδικου καὶ παρανόμου
λήμματος. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν ἡδοναῖς μεγάλαις μὲν,
ἀτόποις δὲ καὶ βλαβεραῖς, οἴον τε τὴν διάνοιαν
Ω ἁρμεῖν μὴ πολλάκις ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀπολαύειν
καταφρονήσασιν, οὔτε λήμματα μοχθηρὰ καὶ
πλεονεξίας μεγάλας εἰς ἐφικτὸν ἥκουσας ὑπερβῆναι
ῥάδιον ὥστιν μὴ πόρρωθεν ἐνδέδωκε¹ καὶ κεκό-
λασται τὸ φιλοκερδὲς, ἄλλ' ἐν οἷς ἐξεστιν² ἀνέδην³
eis τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀνατεθραμμένον σπαργά⁴ περὶ
tὰς ἄδικιας⁵ μᾶλα μόλις καὶ χαλεψῶς τοῦ πλεον-
εκτεῖν ἀπεχόμενον. ἀνδρὶ δὲ μὴ φίλων προϊεμένῳ
χάρισι, μὴ βασιλέων δωρεάσι αὐτόν, ἄλλα καὶ τύχης
κλήρον ἀπειπαμένῳ καὶ θησαυροῦ φανέντος ἐπι-
πηδῶσαν ἀποστήσαντι τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν οὐκ ἐπαν-

¹ ἐνδέδωκε Ε: ἐνδέδοται B (δέδεται Schwartz: ἐνδέδεται Reiske).
² ἄλλ' ἐν οἷς ἐξεστὶν Pohlenz (ἀλλ' οἷς ἐξεστὶν Emperius):
ἀλλαὶ ἐξεσευν.
"Assuredly," he said.

"For justice too, then, my dear friend, a mode of training exists, whereby we resist the appetite for riches and money. It does not lie in abstention from going about at night to steal our neighbours’ goods or strip men of their cloaks; nor yet does the man who refuses to betray country and friends for gold train himself to resist the passion for money (here, actually, it is perhaps the law and fear that keeps his cupidity from crime); it is instead the man who of his own free will repeatedly holds back from profits honourable and conceded by the law, that trains and accustoms himself to keep well aloof from all dishonest and unlawful gain. For neither in the midst of great but unseemly and harmful pleasures can the mind remain unmoved, unless it has often, while free to enjoy it, held pleasure in contempt; nor yet is it easy to forgo sordid profits and lucrative but dishonest gains, when they come within our power, if a man’s avarice, instead of being subdued well in advance and chastened, has been bred to profit without stint where profit is legitimate, and so is all agog for fraud and crime, held back just barely and with difficulty from unlawful gain. He, on the other hand, who does not yield himself up to the favours of friends or the bounty of kings, but rejects even the windfalls of fortune, and on discovering hidden treasure, calls off the cupidity that leaps at it, finds that his cupidity does not rise in

\[a\] Cf. Mor. 522 b.

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3 ἀνεδὴν Reiske: ἀναίδην.
4 σπαργά Emperius: ὁ γὰρ σπαργὰ Ἐκβ (σ inserted by E², replacing a σ superscribed over π by Ec and now erased).
5 περὶ τὰς ἀδίκιας Stegmann (πρὸς τὰς ἀδίκιας Bern.; Schwartz deletes): περὶ τῆς ἀδίκιας.
(585) ἵσταται πρὸς τὰς ἀδικίας οὐδὲ θορυβεῖ τὴν διάνοιαν,
D ἀλλὰ εὐκόλως χρῆται πρὸς τὸ καλὸν αὐτῷ μέγα
φρονῶν καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ συνειδῆς. τού-
tων ἐγὼ καὶ Καφισίας ἔρασται τῶν ἀνθρώπων
όντες, ὥ φίλε Συμμία, παραιτοῦμεθα τὸν ξένον
ἐὰν ἥμας ἰκανῶς ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι1 τῇ πενίᾳ πρὸς
tὴν ἀρετὴν ἑκεῖνην."

16. Ταῦτα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ διελθόντος, ὅσον2 ὁ
Συμμίας δίς ἡ τρίς ἐπινεύσας τῇ κεφαλῇ, "μέγας,
ἐφη, "μέγας ἀνήρ ἐστιν Ἐπαμεινώνδας, τοῦτον
δ' αὑτός ὅτοσι Πόλυμνις εἷς ἀρχὴς τὴν ἀρίστην
tροφὴν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ τοῖς παισὶ παρασκευασάμενος.
ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων αὐτῶς3 διαλύεσθαι4 πρὸς
E αὐτούς,5 ὁ ἔξενε· τὸν δὲ Λύσων ἥμιν, εἴ θέμισ ἄκοι-
σαι, πότερον ἄρα κινεῖς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου καὶ μετ-
ioικίζεις εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἡ καταμένει ἐνταῦθα παρ'
ὕμιν ἐάσεις εὐμενεσι καὶ φίλοις, οἶταν ἐκεῖ γενώ-
μεθα, συνὸκοις χρησόμενον;

Καὶ ὁ Θεάνωρ ἐπιμειδίαςας, "ἐοικεν," ἐφη,
Λύσως, ὁ Συμμία, φιλοχωρεῖν, οὐδενὸς τῶν καλῶν
ἐνδεῆς γεγονὼς δι᾽ Ἐπαμεινώνδαν.6 ἐστὶ γὰρ τι
γνώμενον7 ἵδια περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν
ὁσιον, οὐ μὴ τυχόντες οὐ δοκοῦμεν ἀπέχειν τὸ
μακαριστὸν καὶ οἴκειον τέλος. ὡς ὅντ ἐγνώμεν ἐκ
tῶν ὑνείρων τὴν Λύσωδος τελευτήν (διαγινώσκομεν

1 ἐγγεγυμνάσθαι Stephanus (ἐγγυμνάσασθαι Wytenbach):
2 ὅσον] deleted by Reiske.
3 αὐτῶς] αὐτοI Vulcobius.
4 διαλύεσθαι] διαλύσθε Turnebus (but the infinitive is used
5 αὐτοὺς] αὐτούς Reiske.
6 Ἐπαμεινώνδαν] ἐπαμινώνδα E.

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rebellion against him at the prospect of wrongdoing nor throw his thoughts into turmoil; instead, he readily disposes of himself for all good ends, holding his head high and conscious of the presence in his soul of nothing but the noblest thoughts. In our admiration for such men, dear Simmias, Caphisias and I entreat this grace of the stranger—to allow us practice enough in our poverty to achieve that excellence."

16. When my brother had done, Simmias nodded some two or three times in assent, and said: "Epameinondas is a great man, great indeed, and his greatness is due to Polymnis here, who from their early years provided his sons with the best upbringing, schooling them in philosophy. But this dispute, sir, you must settle with them yourself. To return to Lysis: if it is lawful for us to be told, are you going to remove him from his grave and take him to Italy, or will you permit him to remain here with us? He will find us good and friendly neighbours when we join him there."

Theanor smiled at this and said: "It would appear, Simmias, that Lysis is attached to his present abode, since, thanks to Epameinondas, he lacks no honourable provision. For a certain special rite a is performed at the burials of Pythagoreans, and without it we do not feel in full possession of the blessed end that is proper to our sect. And so, when we learned from our dreams of Lysis' death (we tell by a certain

a The rite is unknown. For the funeral observances of the Pythagoreans cf. F. Cumont, "A propos des dernières paroles de Socrate" in Comptes-Rendus, Ac. des Inschr. et Belles-Lettres (1943), pp. 114 f.

7 γινόμενον Stegmann: γενόμενον.
δέ σημείω τινι φανομένω κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους εἴτε τεθνηκότος εἴτε ζῶντος εἰδωλόν ἐστιν), ἐννοια πολλοῖς ἐπεισήλθεν ὡς ἐπὶ ξένης ὁ Λύσις ἄλλως κεκήδευται καὶ κινητέος ἐστιν ἥμων ὅπως ἐκεί1 μεταλάχη τῶν νομίζομενων. τοιαύτῃ δὲ διανοία παραγενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸν τάφον εὐθὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ὀδηγηθεὶς ἐσπέρας ἥδη, ὁχαὶ ἐχεόμην ἀνακαλούμενοι τὴν Λύσιδος φυχὴν κατελθεῖν ἀποθεσπίζουσαν ὡς χρὴ ταῦτα πρᾶσσειν. προιόντος δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶδον μὲν οὐδὲν, ἀκούσαν δὲ φωνῆς ἐδοξα τὰ ἀκίνητα μὴ κινεῖν. ὁσίως γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων κεκηδεύοθαι τὸ Λύσιδος σῶμα, τὴν δὲ φυχὴν, ἥδη κεκριμένην, ἀφείσθαι πρὸς ἅλλην γένεσιν ἄλλω δαίμονι συλλαχοῦσαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ συμβαλῶν ἐωθεν 'Επα-586 μεινώνδα καὶ τὸν τρόπον ἀκούσας ὧθάψειε Λύσιν ἐπέγνων ὃτι καλῶς ἀχρὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων πεπαιδευμένοι ὑπ' ἐκείνου τάνδρος εἶναι καὶ χρῶτο ταύτῳ δαίμονι πρὸς τὸν βίον, ἐὶ μὴ κακὸς ἡγὼ τεκμηρασθαί τῷ πλώ τὸν κυβερνήτην. μυρίαι2 μὲν γὰρ ἀτραποὶ βίων, ὀλίγαι δὲ ἂς δαίμονες ἀνθρώπους ἄγουσιν.' ὃ μὲν οὖν Θεάνωρ, ταῦτ' εἰπὼν, τῷ Ἐπαμεινώνδα προσεβλεψεν, οἴον εξ ὑπαρχῆς ἀναθεώμενος3 αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ4 τὸ εἶδος.

17. Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὃ μὲν ἰατρὸς προσελθὼν περι-

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1 ἐκεί[ ] οἰκοτ Holwerda.
2 μυρίαi Richards (συναί van Herwerden) : εὐρείαι.
3 ἀναθεώμενος Leonicus : ἀναθέμενος.
4 καὶ added by Victorius.

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* G. Méautis, Recherches sur le pythagorisme (Neuchâtel, 1922), pp. 34 f., compares Mor. 564 ὁ and 300 ε to show that if the apparition blinked its eyes or cast a shadow it was taken to belong to a living person.
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token appearing in our sleep whether the apparition is of the dead or of the living)\(^a\) it occurred to many that Lysis had been improperly buried in a foreign land and that we must remove him so that over there\(^b\) he might have the benefit of our customary rites. It was with this in mind that I came here; and as soon as the people of the country had led me to the grave (it was evening by then) I poured libations, summoning the soul of Lysis to return and reveal what course I should take. As the night advanced I saw no vision, but seemed to hear a voice that said ‘touch not the inviolable,’\(^c\) as Lysis’ friends had given his body consecrated burial, while his soul, already judged, had been joined by lot to another daemon\(^d\) and released for another birth. Moreover, on meeting Epameinondas this morning and hearing how he had buried Lysis, I recognized that he had been well instructed by that other,\(^e\) even in the secrets, and that he had the same daemon for his life, if I have any skill to judge of the skipper by the navigation. For while the paths of life are numberless, yet those are few on which men are guided by daemons.” On saying this Theanor looked at Epameinondas as though in renewed study of his character and appearance.

17. Meanwhile the physician approached Simmias

\(^a\) Probably “in Italy”; but possibly the meaning is “in the other world.”

\(^b\) Literally “not to move (or disturb) what may not be moved (or disturbed).”

\(^c\) For theories about the daemon of the Pythagoreans cf. P. C. van der Horst, Les Vers d’or pythagoriciens (Leyden, 1932), pp. 49-53.

(586) ἔλυσε τοῦ Σιμμίου τὸν ἐπίδεσμον ὡς θεραπεύσων
Β τὸ σῶμα, Φυλλίδας δὲ ἔπεισελθὼν μεθ’ Ἰππο-
σθενείδου καὶ κελεύσας ἐμὲ καὶ Χάρωνα καὶ Θεό-
κριτον ἐξαναστήναι προσήχειν εἰς τινα γωνίαν τοῦ
περιστύλου, σφόδρα τεταραγμένος, ώς διεφανεῖν
τῷ προσώπῳ. κάμοι, "μή τι καυνότερον, ὡ
Φυλλίδα, προσπέπτωκεν;" εἰπόντος, "ἐμοὶ μὲν
οὐδέν," ἐφη, "καυνόν, ὡ Καφισία καὶ γὰρ προή-
δειν καὶ προὐλεγὸν ὑμῖν τὴν Ἰπποσθενείδου
μαλακίαν, δεόμενος μὴ ἀνακοινούσθαι μηδὲ παρα-
λαμβάνειν εἰς τὴν πρᾶξιν."

Εκπλαγέντων δὲ τὸν λόγον ἡμῶν, ὁ Ἰππο-
σθενείδας, "μὴ λέγε πρὸς θεῶν," ἐφη, "Φυλλίδα,
ταῦτα, μηδὲ τὴν προπέτειαν εὐτολμίαν οἰόμενος
ἀνατρέψῃς καὶ ἡμᾶς καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ’ ἔσον
C ἀσφαλῶς, εἴπερ εἰμαρταί, κατελθεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας."

Καὶ ὁ Φυλλίδας παροξυνόμενος, "εἰπέ μοι,"
φησίν, "ὁ Ἰπποσθενείδα, πόσους οἱ ἐμεῖς μετέχειν
τῶν ἀπορρήτων εἰς τὴν πράξιν ἡμῖν;"

"Εγὼ μέν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐλάσσοσ ἡ τριάκοντα
γυνώσκω."

"Τὰ οὖν," ἐφη, "τοσοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ὄντων,
τὰ πάσι δόξαντα μόνος ἄνήρηκας καὶ διακεκώ-
λυκας, ἑκπέμψας ἰππέα πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἡδη καθ’
όδὸν ὄντας, ἀναστρέφειν κελεύσας καὶ μὴ κατα-
τεῖναι σήμερον, ὅτε τῶν πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον αὐτοῖς
τὰ πλείστα καὶ τὸ αὐτόματον συμπαρασκεύασεν;"

Εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Φυλλίδου, πάντες μὲν
D διεταράχθημεν, ὁ δὲ Χάρων, τῷ Ἰπποσθενείδα πάνω
σκληρῶς τὴν ὑμιν ἐνερείσας, "ὁ μοχθηρέ, εἶπεν,
"ἀνθρωπε, τί δεδρακας ἡμᾶς;"

"Οὐδέν," ἐφη, "ἀεινόν," ὁ Ἰπποσθενείδας,
and removed the bandage, preparing to dress the wound. But Phyllidas entered with Hippostheneidas, and calling Charon, Theocritus, and myself aside, led us to a corner of the peristyle, in great agitation as his face revealed. When I asked: "Has anything unexpected occurred, Phyllidas?" he replied: "nothing I had not expected, Caphisias; I knew and forewarned you that Hippostheneidas was a weakling and begged you not to inform him of our plans or include him in the execution."

We were alarmed at these words; and Hippostheneidas said: "In the name of the gods, Phyllidas, do not say that; do not, mistaking rashness for courage, bring ruin on ourselves and on our country, but allow the exiles to return (if such is their fate) in safety."

Phyllidas said in exasperation: "Tell me, Hippostheneidas, how many do you think are in the secret of our enterprise?"

"For my part," he answered, "I know of not less than thirty."

"Then why," he asked, "when the number is so great, have you, acting alone, ruined and thwarted the plans agreed upon by all? Sending a mounted messenger to the exiles, already on the way, you told them to turn back and not press on to-day—to-day when mere luck has helped to bring about most of the conditions favourable to their return."

At these words of Phyllidas' we were all dismayed, and Charon said, with a cold stare at Hippostheneidas, "Wretch! What have you done to us?"

"Nothing terrible," said Hippostheneidas, "if you

a The story of Hippostheneidas and Chlidon is also told in the Life of Pelopidas, chap. viii. 5-9 (281 d—282 a).
(586) "εὰν ἀνεῖς τὴν τραχύτητα τῆς φωνῆς ἀνδρὸς ἡλικιώτου καὶ πολίας παραπλησίως ἔχοντος λογισμῶν μετάσχης. εἰ μὲν γὰρ εὐνυχίαν φιλοκίνδυνον ἀποδείξασθαι τοῖς πολίταις καὶ θυμὸν ὀλιγωροῦντα τοῦ βίου προηρήμεθα, Φυλλίδα, πολὺ τὸ τῆς ἠμέρας μῆκος ἐτι, καὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν μὴ περιμένωμεν, ἀλλ’ ἡδὴ βαδίζωμεν ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους τὰ ἔξιθη λαβόντες· ἀποκτινωνυμέν, ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ἀφειδώμεν ἕαυτών. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν οὔτε δρᾶσαι χαλεπῶν Ε οὔτε παθεῖν, ἐξελέσθαι δὲ τὰς Ὁηβας ὀπλῶν τοσοῦτων πολεμίων περιεχόντων καὶ τὴν Σπαρτιάτῶν φρουράν ἀπώσασθαι δυσὶ νεκροὶς ἡ τρισίν οὐ βάδιον (οὔδὲ γὰρ τοσοῦτον εἰς τὰ συμπόσια καὶ τὰς ὑποδοχὰς παρεσκεύακε Φυλλίδας ἄκρατων ὡστε τοὺς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους 'Αρχία1 μεθυσθῆναι δορυφόρους· ἄλλα κἂν ἐκεῖνον ἄνελωμεν, ἐφεδρεύει τῇ νυκτὶ νῆφων 'Ἡριπίδας2 καὶ 'Ἀρκεσος), τί στεῦδομεν κατάγειν φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἄνδρας ἐπὶ προὔπτον ολέθρου καὶ τούτο μηδὲ ἄγνοοντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασι τὴν κάθοδον; διὰ τί γὰρ Φ Θεσπιεύσι μὲν παρήγγελται τρίτην ἠμέραν ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς εἶναι καὶ προσέχειν ὅτι τοι Σπαρτιάτῶν ἡγεμόνες καλῶσιν; 'Αμφίθεουν δὲ σήμερον, ὡς πυθάνομαι, μέλλουσιν ἀνακρίναντες, ὅταν 'Αρχίας ἐπανέλθη, διαφθείρειν. οὐ μεγάλα ταῦτα σημεῖα τοῦ μὴ λανθάνειν τὴν πράξιν; οὐ κράτιστον ἐπισκεῖν χρόνον οὐχὶ πολὺν ἀλλ' ὀσον ἔξοσιωσάσθαι

1 'Ἀρχία] the mss. have ἀρχία, interpreted by all editors except Bern. as a genitive.
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will soften the harshness of your voice and listen to the reasons of a man of your own age with white hairs like yourself. If we are resolved to show our countrymen an example of undaunted courage and of a high spirit that holds life cheap, Phyllidas, much of the day still remains; let us not wait for nightfall, but at once set out against the tyrants, sword in hand; let us slay and be slain and be prodigal of our lives. But slaying or being slain is not difficult, whereas it is no easy task to capture Thebes when hostile arms beset us in such numbers and to repel the Spartan garrison at the cost of but two or three dead; for the store of unmixed wine laid in by Phyllidas for his banquets and entertainments is not enough to make the fifteen hundred men in Archias’ bodyguard drunk, and even if we succeed in killing Archias, we still have Herippidas and Arcesus,\(^a\) sober men, to face in the morning. Why then this haste to bring friends and kinsmen home to certain destruction, and that too when our foes are not entirely unaware of their coming? Why have the Thespians had orders these past two days to stand under arms and hold themselves ready for the summons of the Spartan commanders? They are going to interrogate Amphitheüs to-day, I hear, and on Archias’ return \(^b\) put him to death. Is not all this strong evidence that our plot is known? Is it not best to wait a little, just long enough to propitiate Heaven? For when they

\(^a\) Herippidas and Arcesus were the Spartan commanders still remaining in Thebes. Lysanoridas, the third, had gone to Haliartus: \textit{cf.} 578\(^a\), \textit{supra.}  
\(^b\) Archias had left to escort Lysanoridas on the way to Haliartus: \textit{cf.} 594, \textit{infra.}

\(^2\) Ηριππίδας Reiske (‘Ερμιππίδας Hutten): κριππίδας.
(586) τὰ θεῖα; καὶ γὰρ οἱ μάντεις τῇ Δήμητριτι τὸν βοῦν θύοντες πολὺν θόρυβον καὶ κύδυνον λέγουσι δημόσιον ἀποσημαίνειν τὰ ἕμπυρα. καὶ τὸ σοὶ πλείστης δεόμενον, ὁ Χάρων, εὐλαβείας. ἐξῆς ἕξ ἀγροῦ μοι συνοδεύων Ὑπατόδωρος ὁ Ἔριάνθους, χρηστὸς μὲν ἄλλως καὶ οὐκεῖος ἀνήρ, οὐδὲν δὲ τῶν 587 πρασσομένων ὑπειδιός, 'ءστι σοι,' φησίν, 'ὁ Ἰπποσθενείδα, Χάρων ἔταρχος ἐμοὶ δ' οὐ πάνω συνήθης. ἐὰν οὖν δοκῇ σοι, φράσων αὐτῷ φυλάττεσθαι τινα κύδυνον ἐξ ἐνυπνίου μάλα δυσχεροῦς καὶ ἀτόπου. τῆς γὰρ ἄλλης νυκτὸς ζῆμην αὐτοῦ τὴν οἰκίαν ὁδίνειν ὅσπερ κυόσαν, αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ τοὺς φίλους συναγωνιώντας εὐχεσθαι καὶ κύκλῳ παρεῖναι, τὴν4 δὲ μυκᾶσθαι καὶ ἀφιέναι φωνὰς τινὰς ἀνάρθρους, τέλος δὲ πῦρ λάμψι πολὺ καὶ δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐνδοθεν, ὡς τὰ πλείστα τῆς πόλεως φλέγεσθαι, τὴν5 δὲ Καδμείαν καπνῷ μόνῳ περιέχε-βασθαι, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἅνω μὴ περιπολάζειν.5' ἡ μὲν οὖν ὄψις, ὁ Χάρων, ἥν ὁ ἄνθρωπος διεξῆλθε, τοιαύτη τῆς ἕνε ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ παραχρῆμα κατέδεισα καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἀκούσας σήμερον ὡς εἰς6 τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν οἱ φυγάδες καταίρειν μέλλουσιν, ἀγωνιό μὴ μεγάλων κακῶν ἐμπλήσωμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς, οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον τοὺς πολεμίους δράσαντες ἀλλ' ὅσον διαταράξατες. τὴν γὰρ πόλιν πρὸς ἡμῶν τίθεμαι, τὴν6 δὲ Καδμείαν, ὃσπερ ἐστὶ, πρὸς ἐκείνων.

18. Ὑπολαβῶν δὲ ὁ Θεόκριτος καὶ κατασχῶν τὸν Χάρωνα βουλόμενον εἰπεῖν τι πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποσθενείδαν, "ἀλλ' ἐμοιγε," εἶπεν, "ἀπ̣' οὐδενὸς

1 Δήμητρι Bern.: δημήτρα.

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sacrificed the ox to Demeter the diviners say that the flesh burnt on the altar portended great tumult and danger to the state. And for you, Charon, here is something that requires the greatest caution. Yesterday I came in from the country with Hypatodorus, son of Erianthes, an excellent person and a kinsman of mine, but quite unaware of what is afoot. ‘Charon,’ he said, ‘is a close friend of yours, Hippostheneidas, but not well known to me; you must put him on his guard, then, if you will, against a danger portended by a most ominous and extraordinary dream. Last night I dreamed that his house was in labour, as with child, and that as he and his friends in their anxiety were offering prayers and gathered around it, it groaned and gave utterance to certain inarticulate sounds; at last a great and terrible fire flared up from within, so that most of the city was in flames, though the Cadmeia was only veiled in smoke, as the fire enveloping it did not rise so high.’ Such, Charon, was the vision he recounted. For my part, I was alarmed even at the time, and on hearing to-day that it is at your house the exiles intend to stay, I have become much more apprehensive, for fear that we may involve ourselves in disaster and yet do the enemy no serious injury, but merely give them a fright. For I take the city to stand for ourselves, and the Cadmeia to be on their side, as indeed it is.”


2 πρασσομένων Pflugk: προσσομένων.
3 κυνόσαν (cf. note on Mor. 552 D): κύνουσαν.
4 την B188: τον.
5 περιπολάζειν] ἐπιπολάζειν Turnebus. 6 εἰς B: E omits.
οὐτώς οὐδέποτε θαρρῆσαι πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς Ἰπποσθενείδα, παρέστη, καίτερ ἑρείος ἀεὶ χρησαμένῳ καλοῖς ύπέρ τῶν φυγάδων, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὀψεως ταύτης· εἶ γε φῶς μὲν πολὺ καὶ λαμπρὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει λέγεις ἐξ οὐκίας φίλης ἀνασχέιν, καπνῷ δὲ συμμελανθηναι τὸ τῶν πολεμίων οἰκητήριον, οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε δακρύων καὶ ταραχῆς φέροντι κρείπτον, ἀσήμους δὲ φωνᾶς, ἐκφερεθαί παρ' ἡμῶν, ὡστε κἂν τις ἐπιχειρητικὴ κατηγορεῖν, περιφύνησιν ἀσαφῆ καὶ τυφλῆν ὑπόνοιαν ἡ πράξεις λαβοῦσα μόνον, ἀμα καὶ φανησθαι καὶ κατήσθε.1 δυσερεῖν δὲ γε θύνεται εἰκὸς· ἢ γὰρ ἀρχή καὶ τὸ ἱερεῖον οὐ δημόσιον ἀλλὰ τῶν κρατουσῶν ἑστὶν.”

"Ετι δὲ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου λέγοντος λέγω πρὸς τὸν Ἰπποσθενείδαν, "τίνα πρὸς τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐξαιτεύσεις; εἰ γὰρ οὐ πολὺ προεύληφας, διώξομεθα.”

Καὶ ὁ Ἰπποσθενείδας, "οὐκ οἶδ’," εἶπεν, "ὁ Καφισία (ὅτι γὰρ ὑμῖν τάληθη λέγειν) εἰ καταλάβοις ἂν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ὑπῆρξε χρώμενον τῶν ἑν Θῆβαις κρατίστως· γνώριμος δ’ ὑμῖν ὁ ἄνθρωπός ἐστι, τῶν Μέλωνος ἀρματηλατῶν ἐπιστάτης καὶ διὰ Μέλωνα τὴν πράξιν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς συνειδώς.”

Κάγω, κατιδῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, "ἀρ’ οὐ Χλίδωνα λέγεις,” εἶπον, "ὁ Ἰπποσθενείδα,4 τὸν κέλητι τὰ Ἡράκλεια5 νικῶντα πέρπουν;”

"Εκείνον μὲν οὖν αὐτόν,” ἐφήσε.

"Καὶ τὸς οὖτος,” ἐφην, "ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς ταῖς αὐλείοις θύραις ἐφεστῶς πάλαι καὶ προσβλέπων ἡμῖν;”

1 κἂν τις ἐπιχειρητικὴ Pohlenz (κἂν εἰ τις ἐπιχειρητικὴ Bern.): κἂν εἰ τις ἐπιχειρητικὴ.

2 περιφύνησιν Reiske: περί φωνῆς, ὡς.

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has ever so encouraged me in our venture as this vision, although my sacrifices have always augured well for the exiles—if as you say a great and brilliant light arose in the city from a friendly house, while the habitation of the enemy was darkened with smoke (which never leads to anything better than tears and confusion), and indistinct sounds got abroad from our side, so that even if an attempt is made to denounce us, our enterprise, attended with but indistinct rumours and blind suspicion, will be revealed only by its triumph. As for their sacrifice, it was of course unfavourable. The official and the victim do not represent the state but the faction in power.”

While Theocritus was still speaking I asked Hippostheneidas: “Whom did you send with the message? If you have given him no great start, we will set out in pursuit.”

He replied: “I am afraid, Caphisias (I must tell you and the others the truth), that you cannot overtake him, as he has the best mount in Thebes. You all know the man: he is overseer of Melon’s charioteers and through Melon has been aware of the plot from the beginning.”

And I, who had caught sight of the man, remarked: “It must be Chlidon you mean, Hippostheneidas, who won the horse-race at the games of Heracles last year.”

“The very man,” he replied.

“And who,” I asked, “is this? He has been standing for some time at the outer door looking our way.”

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3 κρατήσει Dübner: κρατήσῃ.
4 Ἰπποσθενεῖδα Leonicus: ἀντισθενεῖδα.
5 Ἡράκλεια Christ: ἡραία.
(587) Ἐπιστρέψας οὖν ὁ Ἰπποσθενείδας, "Χλίδων," Ἐ ἔφη, "νη τὸν Ἦρακλέα· φεῦ, μὴ τι χαλεπώτερον συμβέβηκε;"

Κάκείνος, ός εἶδεν ἡμᾶς προσέχοντας αὐτῷ, ἀπὸ τῆς θύρας ἰσχυρὰ προσῆγε. τοῦ δ' Ἰπποσθενείδου νεύσαντος αὐτῷ καὶ λέγειν κελεύσαντος εἰς ἀπαντας, ώς καὶ αὐτοῦς τῆς πράξεως μετέχοντας, 1 "οἶδ'," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἀνδρᾶς ἄκριβῶς, Ἰπποσθενείδα, καὶ σὲ μήτε κατ' οἶκον εὐρών2 μήτε ἐπ'

F ἀγορᾶς, δεύρο πρὸς τούτους ἐτεκμαίρομην ἦκειν καὶ συνετεινον εὐθὺς ἣνα μηδὲν ἀγνοήτε τῶν γεγονότων.

"'Ως γὰρ ἐκέλευσας τάχει παντὶ χρησάμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπαντήσαι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, εἰςήλθον οὐκαδε ληψόμενος τὸν ὕππον· αὐτοῦντι δὲ μοι τὸν χαλινόν οὐκ εἶχεν ἡ γυνὴ δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ διέτριβεν3 ἐν τῷ ταμιείῳ4 πολὺν χρόνον ως5 ζητοῦσα καὶ σκευωρουμένη τὰ ἐνδόν· ἰκανῶς δ' ἀπολαύσασα μου, τέλος ὠμολόγησε κεχρηκέναι τῷ γείτον τὸν χαλινόν ἐσπέρας αἰτησαμένης αὐτοῦ τῆς γυναίκος. ἀγανακτοῦντος δὲ ἐμοῦ καὶ κακῶς αὐτῆς λέγοντος τρέπεται πρὸς δυσφημίας7 ἀποτροπαίους ἐπαρω-588 μένῃ κακᾶς ὅδοις, κακᾶς δ' ἐπανόδους· ἀ νη Δία πάντα τρέψειαν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην οἱ8 θεοὶ. τέλος δὲ μέχρι πληγῶν προαχθεῖς ὑπὸ ὀργῆς, εἶτα ὁχλον γειτόνων καὶ γυναίκῶν συνδραμόντος αὐσχίστα ποιήσας καὶ παθῶν μόλις ἄφιγμαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,

1 ός ... μετέχοντας nos (ός τοῦ πράγματος μ. Pohlenz), to fill a lacuna of 40-26 letters.
2 εὐρὼν Leonicus: εὐρόν.
Hippiestheneidas turned and exclaimed: “Good heavens! It is Chlidon. Dear me, has anything serious happened?”

Seeing our eyes on him, Chlidon slowly advanced from the door. When Hippiestheneidas had nodded to him and told him to speak out before all of us, as all were in the plot, he said: “I know the gentlemen well, Hippiestheneidas. Not finding you either at home or in the market-place, I guessed that you had joined them here and came as fast as I could, so that you might all know everything that has happened.

“On receiving your order to ride at full speed and meet the men on the mountain⁴ I went home for my horse. I called for the bridle but my wife didn’t have it, and spent a long time in the storeroom, rummaging through the contents as if looking for it. When she had had enough of making a fool of me she at last admitted lending it the evening before to our neighbour at his wife’s request. In my exasperation I railed at her; she then resorted to ominous and appalling language, cursing me with an unlucky journey and an unlucky return; by Heaven! may the gods send all of it on her own head. Finally I got so furious I beat her. Then neighbours and women came running up and a crowd collected; and it was all I could do to get here to you gentlemen, after the shameful way I had acted and been treated, so that

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³ δετριβεν Xylander: δετριβον.
⁴ ταμείω Bern.: ταμείω.
⁵ Wilamowitz deletes δὲ after ὡς, inserting δ’ after ίκανως; Post reads δὴ for δὲ, inserting τριν after εῦδον.
⁶ σκαιωρομένη Ald.²: σκαιωρομένη.
⁷ δυσθηλιας Leonicus: δυσθυλιας. ⁸ οἶ] omitted in B.

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⁴ Cithaeron, a mountain ridge on the Attic border.
(588) ὁπως ἄλλον ἐκπέμπητε πρὸς τοὺς ἀνδρας, ὡς ἐμοὶ παντάπασιν ἐκστατικῶς ἐν τῷ παρόντι καὶ κακῶς ἔχοντος."

19. Ἡμᾶς δὲ τις ἐσχεν ἄτοπος μεταβολὴ τοῦ πάθους. μικρὸν γὰρ ἐμπροσθὲν τῷ κεκωλύθαι δυσχεραίνοντες, πάλιν διὰ τὴν ὃς γένητα τοῦ καιροῦ καὶ το τάχος, ὡς οὐκ οὕσης ἀναβολῆς, εἰς ἀγωνίαν ὑπηγόμεθα καὶ φόβουν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐγὼ προσ-

B αγορεύσας τὸν Ἰπποσθενείδαν καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ἐθάρρυνοι ὡς καὶ τῶν θεῶν παρακαλοῦντων ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν.

Ἐκ δὲ τούτου Φυλλίδας μὲν ὢχετο τῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐπιμελησόμενος καὶ τὸν Ἀρχίαν εὐθὺς εὐσείσων εἰς τὸν πότον, Χάρων δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευάσων, ὡς δεξόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας, ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ Θεόκριτος πάλιν πρὸς τὸν Σιμμίαν ἐπανήλ-

θομέν ὀπως τῷ Ἑπαμεινώνδα καιροῖν λαβόντες ἐντύχοιμεν.

20. Οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἦδη πρόσω ἐπτήσεως οὐκ ἄγεν-

νοῦς ἀλλ' ἦσ οἵ λίγον ἐμπροσθὲν οἴ περὶ Γαλαξίδωρον καὶ Φειδόλαον ἦμαντο, διαποροῦντες τίνος οὕσιας

C καὶ δυνάμεως εἶν τῷ Σωκράτους λεγόμενον δαι-

μόνιον. ἄ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὸν Γαλαξίδώρον λόγον ἀντεῖπεν ο Σιμμίας οὐκ ἥκουσαμεν· αὐτὸς δὲ Σωκράτη μὲν ἐφὴ περὶ τούτων ἔρομενὸς ποτε μή τυχεῖν ἀποκρίσεως, διὸ μηδ' αὐθῖς ἔρεσθα, πολ-

λάκις δ' αὐτῷ παραγενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν δ' ὀψεως ἐντυχεῖν θείῳ τινι λέγοντας ἀλαξόνας ἡγομένως,

1 το τάχος] τοῦ τάχους Eαe.
2 τὰ ἀναγκαῖα παρασκευάσων, ὡς δεξόμενος τοὺς φυγάδας
Amyot and Wyttenbach, to fill a lacuna of 46-18 letters.
3 ἦσαν ἦδη E; B puts ἦδη after ἄγεννοῦς.
you might send someone else to meet the men, as I am just now in a thoroughly distracted and wretched state."

19. As for ourselves, our feelings suffered an odd reversal; a little before we had been disappointed at the failure of our plans, while now, with the decision at hand and the need for immediate action upon us (postponement being impossible), we were yielding to anxiety and fear. Nevertheless, I spoke to Hippotheneidas and gave him my hand, encouraging him with the thought that the very gods were calling on us to act.

Thereupon Phyllidas left to prepare his entertainment and lure Archias at once to his cups, and Charon to make the necessary preparations in his house for receiving the exiles. Theocritus and I returned to Simmias for an opportunity to confer with Epameinondas.

20. They were already well along in an inquiry of no trivial scope, the one Galaxidorus and Pheidolaüs had engaged in shortly before, when they raised the problem of the nature and mode of operation of the so-called sign of Socrates. Simmias' reply to Galaxidorus' argument we did not hear; speaking for himself, however, he said that he had once asked Socrates about the matter without receiving an answer and had therefore never asked again; but he had often heard Socrates express the view that men who laid claim to visual communication with Heaven were impostors, while to such as affirmed

*a Cf. K. Reinhardt, Poseidonios, pp. 464 ff.*

\[4 \tau\imath\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma \ \text{Turnebus:} \ \tau\i\varsigma \ \omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha.\]

\[5 \hat{
u}\gamma\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\varsigma \ \text{Stephanus:} \ \hat{
u}\gamma\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\varsigma.\]
(588) τοῖς δ' ἀκοῦσαι τινὸς φωνῆς φᾶσκουσιν ἐπιστρέφοντι τὸν νοῦν καὶ διαπυνθανομένῳ μετὰ σπουδῆς. "Θεν ἡμῖν παρίστατο σκοποποιοῦν ἵδια πρὸς ἄλλην ὑπονοεῖν μήποτε τὸ Σωκράτους δαίμονιν οὐκ ὁμοίως αὐθεντεῖν ἄροφόν τινὶ τρόπῳ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὥσπερ καὶ καθ' ὑπνὸν οὐκ ἐστὶ φωνή, λόγων δὲ τινῶν δόξας καὶ νοήσεις λαμβάνοντες οὖνται φθεγγομένων ἀκούειν.

"Ἄλλα τοῖς μὲν ὃς ἀληθῶς ὅναρ ἡ τοιαύτη σύνεσις γίνεται δὲ ἴσχυσι καὶ γαλήνην τοῦ σῶματος ὅταν καθεύδωσι μᾶλλον ἀκούουσιν, ὑπαρ δὲ μόλις ἐπῆκοον ἐχουσί τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν κρείττων καὶ πεπνυμένου, γε θορύβῳ τῶν παθῶν καὶ περιαγωγῆ τῶν χρειῶν εἰσακοῦσαι καὶ παρασχεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐ δύνανται τοῖς δηλουμένοις. Σωκράτης δὲ τοὺς καθαρὸς ὅν καὶ ἀπαθῆς, τῷ σῶματι μικρὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων χάριν καταμιγνύον ἰτὸν, εὐαφῆς ἦν καὶ λεπτὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ προσπεδόντος ὀξέως μεταβαλεῖν· τὸ δὲ προσπίπτον ὁ φθόγγον ἄλλα λόγον ἄν τις εἰκάσεις δαίμονος ἀνευ φωνῆς ἐφαπτόμενον αὐτῷ τῷ δηλουμένῳ τοῦ νουντος.

1 φᾶσκουσι Leonicus: φασκοῦσης.
2 ἠ λόγον Ald.: ἠ λόγου.
3 μᾶλλον ἀκούουσιν, ὑπαρ δὲ Pohlenz, to fill a lacuna of 20-15 letters.
4 πεπνυμένοι Turnebus (πεπνυμένων οἴ Schwartz; πεπνυμένην οἴ Post): πεπνυμένοι.
5 μὴ before μικρά (μικρα Ε) deleted in Basle edition of 1542.

a Cf. Cicero, De Div. i. 49 (110): "Sed vigilantes animi vitae necessitatibus serviant diiunguntique se a societate divina vinculis corporis impediti"; ibid. i. 53 f. (121 f.) and 57 (129 f.).
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that they had heard a voice he paid close attention and earnestly inquired after the particulars. "It thus occurred to us," Simmias went on to say, "as we examined the question in private among ourselves, to surmise that Socrates' sign was perhaps no vision, but rather the perception of a voice or else the mental apprehension of language that reached him in some strange way. So in sleep, where no sound is uttered, we fancy, as we receive the impression or notion of certain statements, that we hear people speaking.

"But whereas some men actually have this sort of apprehension in dreams, hearing better asleep, when the body is quiet and undisturbed, while when they are awake their soul can hear the higher powers but faintly, and moreover, as they are overwhelmed by the tumult of their passions and the distractions of their wants, they cannot listen or attend to the message; Socrates, on the other hand, had an understanding which, being pure and free from passion, and commingling with the body but little, for necessary ends, was so sensitive and delicate as to respond at once to what reached him. What reached him, one would conjecture, was not spoken language, but the unuttered words of a daemon, making voiceless contact with his intelligence by their sense alone."
(588) πληγη γαρ ἡ φωνη προσέοικε, της ψυχης δι' ὦτων βια τον λόγον εἰσδεχομένης ὅταν ἀλλήλοις ἐντυν-χάνωμεν. δ' δε τον κρείττονος νοὺς ἁγει την εὐφυὰ ψυχην ἐπιθυγγάνων τῷ νοηθέντι πληγης μὴ δεο-μένην, ἡ δ' ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτῷ χαλῶντι καὶ συντείνοντι

F τὰς ὀρμᾶς οὐ βιαῖως ὑπὸ παθῶν ἀντιτεινώντων, ἀλλ' εὐστρόφους καὶ μαλακάς, ὥσπερ ἡνίας ἐν-δούσας. οὐ δεὶ δ' θαυμάζειν, ὀρῶντας τοῦτο μὲν ὑπὸ μικροῖς οἰαξὶ μεγάλων περιαγωγὰς ὀλκάδων, τοῦτο δὲ τροχῶν κεραμεικῶν δίνησιν ἀκρας παρα-ψαύσει χειρὸς ὀμαλῶς περιφερομένων. ἡψις μὲν γάρ, ἀλλ' οἷς, τροχαλὰ ταῖς κατασκευαῖς, ὑπὸ λειότητος ἐνδίδωσι πρὸς τὸ κυνῦν, ῥοπῆς γενο-μένης. ψυχῆ δὲ ἀνθρώπου μυρίας ὀρμῶν οἰον ὑσπληξίν ἐντεταμένη μακρῶ πάντων ὀργάσιν εὐ-στροφώτατόν ἐστιν, ἀν τις κατὰ λόγον ἀπτηται, 589 ῥοπὴν λαβοῦσα πρὸς τὸ νοηθὲν κινεῖσθαι. ἐνταῦθα γάρ εἰς τὸ νουὸν αἱ τῶν παθῶν καὶ ὀρμῶν κατατει-νουσιν ἄρχαι, τοῦτο δὲ σεισθέντος, ἐλκομεναι στῶσι καὶ συντείνονσι τὸν ἀνθρωπον. ἡ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ νοηθὲν ἡλίκην ἔχει ρώμην καταμαθεῖν δίδωσιν· ὅστα γάρ ἀναίσθητα καὶ νέφρα καὶ σάρκες υγρῶν περίπλεαι καὶ βαρὺς ὁ ἐκ τοῦτων ὄγκος ἡσυχάζων καὶ κείμενος, ἁμα τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐν νῷ

1 βιαῖως] βιαῖους Reiske.
2 ἡνίας] ἡνίας Post.
3 ἀκρας van Herwerden : ἀκρα.
4 ἁμα] ἀλλ' ἁμα Stegmann ; ἁμα δε Wilamowitz.

a For definitions and descriptions of “speech” or “voice” (phone) as a “blow on the air” cf. Plato, Timaeus, 67 b, and Aristotle, De Anima, ii. 8 (420 b 29).
b Hyspleges (rendered “resilient cords”) are probably
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For speech is like a blow—a—when we converse with one another, the words are forced through our ears and the soul is compelled to take them in—; whereas the intelligence of the higher power guides the gifted soul, which requires no blows, by the touch of its thought; and the soul on its part yields to the slackening and tightening of its movements by the higher intelligence. No constraint is exerted, as no passion pulls the other way, and the movements of the soul respond easily and gently, like reins that give. This should occasion no surprise, when we observe that large merchantmen are brought round by small tillers, and that potters' wheels whirl about evenly at the touch of the finger tip; for these, though inanimate, nevertheless, being constructed to revolve easily, move so smoothly that they respond to the mover at the slightest pressure. But the soul of man, which is strung with countless inward movements, as with resilient cords, is, when rationally dealt with, by far the most sensitive of all instruments, moving at a slight impulse toward the goal conceived by the understanding. For here it is in the understanding, to which they are made fast and taut, that the passions and inward movements have their origins; and when that is struck, these are pulled and thereby exercise traction on the man and give him tension. Indeed, it is most of all by this that we are enabled to comprehend the great power of an idea. For insensate bones and thews and flesh saturated with humours, and the inert and prostrate mass they constitute, the instant the soul conceives here the twisted cords that supplied the motive power in certain ancient automata (cf. Hero, Automata, ii. 8).

\(^c\) Cf. Mor, 163 e.
(589) τι βαλέσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ κινήσαι τὴν ὅρμην, ὁλος ἀναστὰς καὶ συνταθεῖς πάσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ὦν ἐπτερωμένοις φέρεται πρὸς τὴν πράξιν.

“Οὐδὲ δ’ τῆς κινήσεως καὶ συνεντάσεως καὶ
Β παραστάσεως τρόπος χαλεπῶς ἡ παντελῶς ἀπορος
συνοφθήναι καθ’ ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ νοῆσασα ἐφέλκεται ταῖς
ὅρμαις τὸν ὄγκον. ἀλλ’ εἰ σῶμα μὲν δίχα φωνῆς
ἐννοηθεῖς κυνεῖ λόγοι ἀπραγμόνως οὕτως, οὐκ ἂν
οἶμαι δυσπίστως ἐξομενοῦ ὕπο νοῦ κρείσσονος νοῦν
καὶ ψυχῆς7 θεοτέρας ἃν ἀγεσθαι8 θύραθεν ἐφαπτο-
μένης ἐ9 πέφυκεν ἑπαφήν10 λόγος ἱσχεω πρὸς λόγον
ώσπερ φῶς11 ἀνταύγειαν. τῷ γαρ ὃν τὰς μὲν
ἀλλήλων νοῆσεις οἶον ὕπο σκότῳ διὰ φωνῆς ψηλα-
φώντες γνωρίζομεν; αἱ δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων φέγγος
ἐχουσα τοῖς δαιμονίοις12 ἐλλάμπουσιν, οὐ δεδέμεναι

C ῥημάτων οὐδὲ ὄνομάτων, οἷς χρώμενοι πρὸς ἄλλη-
λουσ οἱ ἀνθρωποι συμβόλοι13 εἰδωλα τῶν νοουμένων
καὶ εἰκόνας ὅρωσιν, αὕτα δ’ οὐ γινώσκουσι πλή
οῖς ἐπεστὶν ἰδιόν τι καὶ δαιμόνιον ὦσπερ εἰρηται
φέγγος. καίτοι τὸ περὶ τὴν φωνὴν γυνόμενον

1 νῶ τι Wyttenbach (νῶ Turnebus; νοῆσεi Apelt): νηστεία.  
2 οὐδὲ δ’] εἰ δ’ δ’ Wyttenbach; δ’ δ’ Emperius. 
3 συνεντάσεως καὶ παραστάσεως] συντάσεως καὶ παραστάσεως 
Reiske.  
4 ἀλλ’ εἰ σῶμα μὲν nos (ἀλλ’ ὄμως σῶμα Wyttenbach; ἀλλ’ 
ἡ τὸ σῶμα Emperius; ἀλλ’ οἶον σῶμα Wilamowitz): ἀλλ’ 
followed by a lacuna, containing an acute accent, of 1-2 
letters and σῶ μαλα Ε; ἀλλ’ εὖ δῶ σω μάλα B. 
5 δυσπίστως] δυσπείστως B. 
6 ἐξομεν Wyttenbach (ἐχει Post): ἐχει μὲν. 
7 ψυχῆς] ψυχὴν ψυχῆς Reiske. 
8 ἃν ἀγεσθαι Wyttenbach (ἀγεσθαι Emperius): ἀγαγέσθαι. 
9 ἐ] ἐ Reiske. 
10 ἑπαφήν] ἑπαφῆ Wyttenbach. 
11 φῶς] φῶς πρὸς Bern.
a purpose in the understanding and sets its movement going for that end, arise as a whole, tense and co-ordinate in all its parts, and fly as if winged to carry the idea to execution.\(^a\)

"Moreover, it is no hard or hopeless task to understand by what manner of impact, co-ordination, and suggestion the soul receives a thought and thereby with its movements draws after it the corporeal mass.\(^b\) But if the body is moved with so little trouble by a notion that enters the understanding without the help of spoken language, it cannot be hard, I think, to believe that the understanding may be guided by a higher understanding and a diviner soul, that lays hold of it from without by a touch, which is the way in which it is the nature of thought to impinge on thought,\(^c\) just as light produces a reflection. For in very truth our recognition of one another's thoughts through the medium of the spoken word is like groping in the dark; whereas the thoughts of daemons are luminous and shed their light on the daemonic man. Their thoughts have no need of verbs or nouns, which men use as symbols in their intercourse, and thereby behold mere counterfeits and likenesses of what is present in thought, but are unaware of the originals except for those persons who are illuminated, as I have said, by some special and daemonic radiance. Even so the phenomenon of speech serves in a way

\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 442 c-e.

\(^b\) Cf. Life of Coriolanus, chap. xxxii. 7-8 (229 d-e).

\(^c\) "Thought" (logos) can mean notion or the rational soul.

\(^{12}\) δαμιονίος van Herwerden (συνείναι δυναμένοις Stegmann; δυναμένοις ἀνταγείν Kahle; δυναμένοις ἰδείν Wilamowitz): δυ-ναμένοις.

\(^{13}\) συμβόλοις B\(^{11}\): συμβούλοις EB\(^{188}\),

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(589) ἐστιν ἢ παραμυθεῖται τοὺς ἀπιστοῦντας· ὲ γὰρ ἀνρ, 
φθόγγους ἐνάρθρους τυπωθεῖς, καὶ γενόμενος δὴ 
ὅλου λόγος καὶ φωνή, πρὸς τὴν ψυχήν τοῦ ἀκροω-
μένου περαινεῖ τὴν νόησιν. ὡστε τῇ θαυμάζειν ἄξιον 
εἰ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν τὸ νοηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀμει-
νόνων 4 ὢ ἀνρ τρεπόμενος δὴ εὐπάθειαν ἐνσημαι-
νεται τοῖς θείοις καὶ περιττοῖς ἀνδράσι τὸν τοῦ 
 νοῆσαντος λόγον; · ὡσπερ γὰρ αἱ πληγαὶ τῶν ὑπ-

Δ' ὀροουτόντων 4 ἀστίσιν χαλκαῖς ἄλοικοιται διὰ τὴν 
ἀντήχησιν ὅταν ἐκ βάθους ἀναφέρομεν προσ-
πέσωσι, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἄδηλως διεκθέουσι λανθά-
νουσιν, οὕτως οἱ τῶν δαμόνων λόγοι διὰ πάντων 
φερόμενοι μόνοις ἐνηχοῦσι τοῖς ἀθόρυβον τὸ 5 ἴθος 
καὶ νήμενον ἔχουσι τὴν ψυχὴν, οὓς δὴ καὶ οἰροὺς 
καὶ δαμόνιοις ἀνθρώπους καλοῦμεν. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ 
kαταδαρθοῦσιν οἴονται τὸ δαμόνον ἀνθρώποις 
ἐπιθειάζειν, εἰ δ' ἐγρηγορότας καὶ καθεστώτας ἐν 
tῷ φρονεῖν ὁμοίως κινοῦσι, θαυμαστὸν ἡγοῦνται 
καὶ ἀπιστον. ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ τις οἴοιτο τὸν μονοικόν, 
ἀνεμένη τῇ λύρᾳ χρώμενον, ὅταν συστή τοῖς 
tόνοις ἡ καθαρμοσθῇ μὴ ἀπτεσθαι μηδὲ χρήσθαι. 

Ε' τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὶν οὐ συνορῶσι, τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς 6 ἀναρ-
μοστὶν καὶ ταραχήν, ἡς ἀπήλλακτο 7 Σωκράτης 
ob' ἐταίρος ἡμῶν, ὡσπερ ὅ δοθεὶς ἔτι παιδὸς ὅντος 
aυτοῦ τὸ πατρὶ χρησμὸς ἀπεθέσπισεν· ἐὰν γὰρ 
aυτὸν ἐκέλευσεν ὃ τι ἂν ἐπὶ νοῦν ὕπ πρᾶττειν, καὶ

1 τὶ added by us (Castiglioni adds μη after εἰ, Amyot οὐκ before ἄξιον).
2 κατ' αὐτὸ von Arnim (κατὰ Wilamowitz): κατὰ τοῦτο.
3 ἀμεινόνων Turnebus (δαμόνων Wyttenbach): ἀμει fol-
lowed by a lacuna of 5-4 letters.
4 ὑπορουτόντων van Herwerden: a lacuna of 8-10 letters 
followed by ὄντων.

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to allay the doubts of the incredulous. For on receiving the impression of articulate sounds, the air is fully changed to language and speech and conveys the thought to the soul of the hearer. Need we then feel surprised that the air, with its ready susceptibility, should also be transformed by the mere ideas of higher beings and thereby indicate to divine and exceptional men the meaning of him who conceived the idea? For just as the sound of sappers' blows is detected by bronze shields,\(^a\) which re-echo it as it rises from the depths of the earth and strikes them, whereas through everything else it slips unnoticed; so the messages of daemons pass through all other men, but find an echo in those only whose character is untroubled and soul unruffled, the very men in fact we call holy and daemonic. In popular belief, on the other hand, it is only in sleep that men receive inspiration from on high; and the notion that they are so influenced when awake and in full possession of their faculties is accounted strange and incredible. This is like supposing that a musician uses his lyre when the strings are slack, but does not touch or play it when it has been adjusted to a scale and attuned. This belief arises from ignorance of the cause of this insensibility: the inner lack of attunement and the confusion in the men themselves. From this my friend Socrates was free, as is shown by the oracle delivered to his father when Socrates was yet a boy. It bade him let the child do whatever came into his

\(^a\) Cf. Herodotus, iv. 200. 2-3; Aeneas Tacticus, chap. xxxvii. 6-7.
(589) μὴ βιάζεσθαι μηδὲ παράγειν ἀλλ’ ἐφιέναι τὴν ὅρμην τοῦ παιδός, εὐχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Διὶ Αγοραῖῳ καὶ Μούσαις, τὰ δ’ ἄλλα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖν περὶ Σωκράτους, ὡς κρείττονα δήπουθεν ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ μυρίων διδασκάλων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν ἤγεμόνα πρὸς τὸν βίον.

21. "Ἡμῖν μὲν, ὁ Φειδόλας, καὶ ζωντὸς Σωκράτους καὶ τεθνηκότος οὐτως ἐννοεῖν περὶ τοῦ δαμονίου παρίσταται, τῶν κληδόνας ἡ πταρμοὺς ἡ τι τοιοῦτον παραγόντων ἀλλο καταφρονοῦν. ἀ δὲ Τιμάρχου τοῦ Χαιρωνέως ἱκουσαμεν ὑπὲρ τούτου διεξόντος, οὐκ οἶδα μὴ μῦθοι ὀμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἡ λόγους ὁντα ̣ σωπάν ἀμεινον."

"Μηδαμῶς," εἶπεν ὁ Θεόκριτος, "ἀλλὰ διέλθε αὐτά. καὶ γὰρ εἴ μὴ λιαν ἄκριβῶς, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ὁπι ἑαυτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ τὸ μυθῶδες. πρότερον 590 δὲ τίς ἦν οὐτὸς ὁ Τίμαρχος φράσον ὁ γὰρ ἐγνων τὸν ἄνθρωπον."

"Εἰκότως γε," εἶπεν ὁ Σιμμίας, "ὁ Θεόκριτενέος γὰρ ὅν κομιδῇ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον καὶ Σωκράτους δεηθεῖς ταφῆναι παρὰ Λαμπροκλέα τὸν Σωκράτους υἱὸν, ὀλίγας πρότερον ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ παραγόντων added by Wilamowitz (εἰρηκότων by Bern here; after ἀλλο by Leonicus; παρεισαγόντων? Post).

1 μὴ] μη van Herwerden.
2 ἐν ὑπὲρ by Leonicus; παρεισαγόντων? Post).
3 ὀμοιότερα καὶ πλάσμασιν ἡ (ὁμοιότερα ἡ van Herwerden) our supplement of a lacuna of 24-22 letters.
4 λόγοις ὁντα van Herwerden: λογίσονται.
5 κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον added by Drexler,
mind, and not do violence to his impulses or divert them, but allow them free play, taking no further trouble about him than to pray to Zeus Agoraeus and the Muses, surely implying by this that he had a better guide of life in himself than a thousand teachers and attendants.

21. "Such was the notion, Pheidolaüs, that we for our part held about Socrates' sign while he was alive and still hold now he is dead; we have scant use for those who account for it by chance remarks overheard or sneezes or the like. The story I had about it from Timarchus of Chaeroneia, as it more resembles a myth or fiction than an argument, I had better perhaps leave untold."

"Do no such thing," said Theocritus, "but let us have it; for myths, too, despite the loose manner in which they do so, have a way of reaching the truth. But first tell us who this Timarchus was, as I do not recognize the name."

"And little wonder, Theocritus," said Simmias, "for he died very young, after asking Socrates' leave to be buried beside Lamprocles, Socrates' son, his friend and agefellow, who had died a few days

a That is, "Zeus of the Market-Place": cf. Mor. 789 d, 792 f. For Socrates' conversations in the market-place cf. Plato, Apology, 17 c.

b For the contrast of "myth" and "argument" cf. Mor. 561 b and note.

c Lamprocles, the eldest of Socrates' children, was presumably alive at the time of his father's death (cf. Zeller, Die Phil. der Griechen, ii. 14, pp. 54, note 2, and 56, note). This unhistorical detail may have been added to warn the reader that Timarchus, like his story, is a fable.

6 καὶ Σωκράτους] καὶ followed by a lacuna of 3 letters and κράτους E; καὶ τοῦ σωκράτους B.

7 οἵλγαις Basle edition of 1542: aīs.
(590) τεθνηκότα, φίλον καὶ ἡλικιώτην γενόμενον. οὗτος οὖν ποθῶν γνώναι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον ἦν ἔχει δύναμιν, ἀτε δὴ νεὸς οὐκ ἀγεννής ἀρτὶ γε- γενμένος φιλοσοφίας, ἐμοὶ καὶ Κέβητι κοινωσά- μενος μόνοις εἰς Τροφωνίου κατηλθεὶς δράσας τὰ νομίζόμενα περὶ τὸ μαντεῖον. ἐμμείνας δὲ δύο 

Β νύκτας κάτω καὶ μίαν ἡμέραν, τῶν πολλῶν ἀπεγνω- κότων αὐτὸν ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων ὀδυρομένων, προὶ μάλα φαιδρὸς ἀνήλθε. προσκυνήσας δὲ τὸν 

θεόν, ὡς πρῶτον διέφυγε¹ τὸν ὀχλον, διηγεῖτο ἡμῖν 

θαυμάσια πολλά καὶ ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι.

22. "Ἐφε δὲ καταβᾶς εἰς τὸ μαντεῖον περι- 

τυχεῖν σκότῳ πολλῷ τὸ πρῶτον, εἶτα ἐπευξάμενος 

κεῖσθαι πολὺν χρόνον οὔ μάλα συμφρονῶν ἑναργῶς 

εἰτ' ἐγρήγορεν εἴτε ὀνειροπολεῖ². πλὴν δόξαι γε 

τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀμα ψόφω προσπεσόστι πληγείσης 

τᾶς ραφᾶς διαστάσας μεθεῖν τὴν ψυχήν. ὥς δ' 

ἀναχωροῦσα κατεμίγνυτο πρὸς ἀέρα διανυγ̊ 

καὶ καθαρὸν ἁσμενή, πρῶτον μὲν ἀναπνεύσαι τότε 

Σ δοκεῖν διὰ χρόνου συχνοῦ, τεινομένην³ τέως, καὶ 

πλείονα γίνεσθαι τῆς πρότερον ὅσπερ ἱστίον ἐκ- 

πετανυμένην,⁴ ἐπειτα κατακούειν ἁμαυρῶς ῥοῖζου 

tινὸς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς περιελαυνομένου φωνῆν ἠδείαν 

¹ διέφυγε Bern. : διέφευγε. 
² ὀνειροπολεῖ Stegmann : ὀνειροπόλει. 
³ τεινομένην] στεινομένη Emperius ; διαιτεινομένη Post ; 

πυγμείου μένην ? 
⁴ ἐκπετανυμένην nos (ἐκπετανυμένον Basle ed. of 1542) : 

ἐκπετανυμένην Ἐκ (-νυμ- is in an erasure) ; ἐκπετανυμένον B. 

a Those who wished to consult the oracle of Trophonius,
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before. Timarchus, then, in his desire to learn the nature of Socrates’ sign, acted like the high-spirited young initiate in philosophy he was: consulting no one but Cebes and me, he descended into the crypt of Trophonius, first performing the rites that are customary at the oracle. He remained underground two nights and a day, and most people had already given up hope, and his family were lamenting him for dead, when he came up in the morning with a radiant countenance. He did obeisance to the god, and as soon as he had escaped the crowd, began to tell us of many wonders seen and heard.

22. “He said that on descending into the oracular crypt his first experience was of profound darkness; next, after a prayer, he lay a long time not clearly aware whether he was awake or dreaming. It did seem to him, however, that at the same moment he heard a crash and was struck on the head, and that the sutures parted and released his soul. As it withdrew and mingled joyfully with air that was translucent and pure, it felt in the first place that now, after long being cramped, it had again found relief, and was growing larger than before, spreading out like a sail; and next that it faintly caught the whir of something revolving overhead with a pleasant sound.

at Lebadeia in Boeotia, descended into a cave and waited there for the divine message to be revealed in a dream: cf. Pausanias, ix. 39. 5-14.

And so belying the proverb εἰς Τροφωνίου μεμάντευται "he has consulted Trophonius’ oracle," used of persons with a gloomy countenance (cf. Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroem. Gr. i, p. 72. 1 and note).

This is the music of the spheres. Aristotle (De Caelo, ii. 9) argues that the sound would be excruciatingly loud. For a smooth motion producing a smooth sound cf. Plato, Timaeus, 67 b.
(590) ἰέντος. ἀναβλέψας δὲ τὴν μὲν γῆν οὐδαμοῦ καθορᾶν, νῆσους δὲ λαμπρομένας μαλακῷ πυρὶ κατ’ ἄλληλων ἐξαμειβούσας ἄλλην ἄλλοτε χρόαν ὡσπερ βαφήν ἂεὶ τῷ φωτὶ ποικιλλομένῳ κατὰ τὰς μεταβολὰς. φαίνεσθαί δὲ πλῆθει μὲν ἀναρίθμους, μεγέθει δὲ ύπερφυεῖς, οὐκ ἵσας δὲ πᾶσας ἄλλ’ ὁμοίως κυκλοτερεῖς; ο’εσθαί δὲ ταύταις τὸν αὐθέρα κύκλῳ φερομέναις ὑπορροοῖειν λιγυρῶς· εἶναι γὰρ D ὁμολογομενήν τῇ τῆς κινήσεως λειτήτη τὴν πραότητα τῆς φωνῆς ἐκείνης ἐκ πασῶν συνηρμοσμένης. διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θάλασσαν ἡ λίμνη ὑποκεχύσθαι τοῖς χρώμασι διαλάμπουσαν διὰ τῆς γλαυκότητος ἐπιμιγγυμένοις; καὶ τῶν νῆσων ὀλίγας μὲν ἐκπλείν4 κατὰ πόρον καὶ διακομίζεσθαι πέραν τοῦ ἰεύματος, ἄλλας δὲ πολλὰς τούτω συνεφέλκεσθαι,5 τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ αὐτῆς ὀμαλῶς καὶ λείως κύκλῳ6 σχεδὸν υποφερομένης. εἶναι δὲ τῆς θαλάσσης τῇ μὲν πολὺ βάθος κατὰ νότον μάλιστα, τῇ δὲ ἀραιὰ τενάγη καὶ βράχεια, πολλαχῇ δὲ ύπερχεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπολείπειν9 αὕθις οὐ μεγάλας ἔκβολας λαμβά-

1 κατ’ ἄλληλων] καταλλήλως 8’ von Arnim.
2 ἂεὶ Wilamowitz (προσάγειν Reiske; ἄμα Wyttenbach; ἐπάγειν von Arnim): ἀγειν.
3 λιγυρῶς Wilamowitz, to fill a lacuna of 6-9 letters.
4 ἐκπλείν] διεκπλεῖν von Arnim.
5 τούτω συνεφέλκεσθαι von Arnim, to fill a lacuna of 10 letters followed by ἐφέλκεσθαι.
6 τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ αὐτῆς (ὁμαλῶς καὶ λείως our addition) κύκλῳ von Arnim: τῇ followed by a lacuna of 43-25 letters.

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When he lifted his eyes the earth was nowhere to be seen; but he saw islands illuminated by one another with soft fire, taking on now one colour, now another, like a dye, as the light kept varying with their mutations. They appeared countless in number and huge in size, and though not all equal, yet all alike round; and he fancied that their circular movement made a musical whirring in the aether, for the gentleness of the sound resulting from the harmony of all the separate sounds corresponded to the evenness of their motion. In their midst lay spread a sea or lake, through whose blue transparency the colours passed in their migrations; and of the islands a few sailed out in a channel and crossed the current, while many others were carried along with it, the sea itself drifting around, as it were, smoothly and evenly in a circle. In places it was very deep, mainly toward the south, but elsewhere there were faint shoals and shallows; and in many parts it overflowed and again receded, never extending

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7 πῆ added by Bern.  
8 βραχεῖα π. δὲ E: βραχεῖα π. δὲ καὶ B.  
9 ἀπολείπειν Bern.: ἀπολιπεῖν.
The overflow and recession may represent the various distances separating the stars from the surface of the sphere: cf. Aëtius, ii. 15. 1-2, and Geminus, chap. i. 23 with Manitius' note. Or they may have been suggested by the Pythagorean theory of the breathing universe (cf. Aristotle, Physics, iv. 6, 213 b 22-24). Von Arnim (op. cit. pp. 34 f.) takes them to represent the variations in breadth of the Milky Way.

The clouded colour belongs to the region below the moon.

The "surge" may be the belt bounded by the tropics, so called from its rapid motion, or the tropics themselves, as being the shores of the planetary sea mentioned in the following sentence.
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very far.\(^a\) Some of it was of the pure hue of the high seas, while elsewhere the colour was not unmixed, but turbid and like that of a pool.\(^b\) As they crested the surge the islands came back, without, however, returning to their point of departure or completing a circle; but with each new circuit they advanced slightly beyond the old, describing a single spiral in their revolution.\(^c\) The sea containing these was inclined at an angle of somewhat less than eight parts of the whole toward the midmost and largest portion of the surrounding envelope, as he made out; and it had two openings receiving rivers of fire emptying into it across from one another, so that it was forced far back, boiling, and its blue colour was turned to white.\(^d\) All this he viewed with enjoyment of the

\(^a\) The planets.
\(^b\) The spiral (for which cf. Life of Phocion, chap. ii. 6, 742 d, and Plato, Timaeus, 39 a) represents the apparent paths of the planets, which result from their own motion combined with the apparent diurnal motion of the sphere.
\(^c\) The sea is the zodiac. "Eight parts" of the whole are eight sixtieths of a meridian (for the division into sixtieths cf. Strabo, ii. 5. 7, pp. 113 f. ; Manilius, i. 561-593; Geminus, chap. v. 46; Achilles, I saq. chap. xxvi; and Hyginus, Astron. i. 6). This is 48°, only slightly in excess of the figures given by the astronomers for the distance between the tropics (cf. Sir T. L. Heath, Aristarchus of Samos, p. 131, note 4).
\(^d\) The celestial equator, which "surrounds" the ecliptic: cf. Plato, Timaeus, 36 c, with Cornford's discussion. A certain mystery (appropriate in a myth) results from counting both the arcs intercepted by the ecliptic and the equator on the solstitial colure in reckoning the inclination. The words "as he made out" hint that the error is Timarchus' own. We have found no ancient measure corresponding to 3°.
\(^h\) The reference is doubtless to the Milky Way; the openings are at the intersections of the zodiac and the galactic circle.

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(590) κάτω δ᾿ ἀπιδόντι φαίνεσθαι χάσμα μέγα στρογ-γύλον οἰον ἐκτετμημένης σφαίρας, φοβερὸν δὲ δεινῶς καὶ βαθὺ, πολλοῦ σκότους πλῆρες οὐχ ἡσυχάζοντος ἀλλ’ ἐκταραπτομένου καὶ ἀνακλύ-ζοντος πολλάκις· οἶθεν ἀκούεσθαι μνήμας μὲν ἄριν-γάς καὶ στεναγμοὺς ζῴων, μυρίων δὲ κλαυθμὸν βρεφῶν καὶ μεμυγμένοις ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὀδυρμοὺς, ψόφους δὲ παντοδαποὺς καὶ θορύβους ἐκ 591 βάθους πόρρωθεν ἀμυδροὺς ἀνάπεμπομένους, οἰς οὐ μετρίως αὐτὸς ἐκπεπλήθθαι.

"Χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος εἰπεῖν τινα πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅρωμενον· ὃς Τίμαρχε, τὶ ποθεῖς πυθέσθαι;

"Φράσαι δ᾿ αὐτὸν ἵνα οἵ πάντα· τὶ γὰρ οὐ θαυ-μάσων;

"Αλλ᾿ ἤμιν, φάναι, τῶν ἀνω μέτεστι μικρόν· ἄλλων γὰρ θεῶν ἐκεῖνα· τὴν δὲ Φερσεφόνης μοῦραν, ἢν ἤμείς διέπομεν, τῶν τετάρων μιᾶν οὖσαν ὡς ἡ Στυξ ὀρίζει, βουλομένῳ σοι σκοπεῖν πάρεστιν.

"Ἐρομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸς ἡ Στυξ ἐστίν, ὅδος εἰς "Αιδοῦ, φάναι, καὶ πρόεισσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῆς σχιζουσα τῇ κορυφῇ τὸ φῶς· ἀνατείνουσα δ`, ὡς ὀρᾶς, ἐκ τοῦ "Αιδοῦ κάτωθεν, ἡ ψαύει περι-

1 δ᾿ αὐτὸν] δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν B.
2 ἐξ added by Wyttenbach (ἡμῖν ἐξ von Armin).
3 αὐτή nos (αὐτῆ Reiske): αὐτή.

a F. Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains (Paris, 1942), p. 136, note 3, points out that ektarat-tomenou ("agitated") contains a common etymology of Tartaros. In Mor. 940 f it is said that if an inhabitant of the moon should hear Homer’s description of Hades and Tartarus (II. xx. 65, viii. 16) he would take them to be in the region of the earth. Cf. also Mor. 948 e.

b The abyss is Hades or the earth (cf. 591 a, infra),
spectacle. But looking down he saw a great abyss, round, as though a sphere had been cut away; most terrible and deep it was, and filled with a mass of darkness that did not remain at rest, but was agitated and often welled up. From it could be heard innumerable roars and groans of animals, the wailing of innumerable babes, the mingled lamentations of men and women, and noise and uproar of every kind, coming faintly from far down in the depths, all of which startled him not a little.

"After an interval someone he did not see addressed him: 'Timarchus, what would you have me explain?'

"'Everything,' he answered; 'for what is here that is not marvellous?'

"'Nay,' the voice replied, 'in the higher regions we others have but little part, as they belong to gods; but you may, if you wish, inquire into the portion of Persephonê, administered by ourselves; it is one of the four, and marked off by the course of the Styx.'

"'What is the Styx?' he asked. 'It is the path to Hades,' came the answer; 'it passes across from you here, cleaving the light with its vertex; it extends upward, as you see, from Hades below, and which is a place of punishment and opposed to the world of eternal light. Cumont (op. cit. p. 56) takes the "sphère coupée" to be the lower hemisphere of the universe.

c The speaker is presumably a daemon: cf. 591 c, infra.

d The first lies outside the surface of the celestial sphere; the second between that and the path of the sun; the third between the paths of the sun and of the moon; and the fourth, "the portion of Persephonê," below the path of the moon, that is, of the earth's shadow, which is dissipated beyond the moon. The earth is "Hades" (cf. Mor. 942 f; the etymology is "unseen"), and its shadow is the "Styx."
(591) ϕερομένη καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀφορίζει τὴν ἔσχάτην
μερίδα τῶν ὅλων. τέσσαρες δὲ εἰσὶν ἀρχαὶ πάντων, ἵνα μὲν ἡ πρώτη, κυνῆσεως δὲ ἡ δεύτερα, γενέσεως δὲ ἡ τρίτη, φθορᾶς δὲ ἡ τελευταία. συνδεῖ δὲ τῇ μὲν δευτέρᾳ τὴν πρώτην Μονᾶς κατὰ τὸ ἀόρατον, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῇ τρίτη Νοῦς καθ’ ἴλιον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην πρὸς τετάρτην Φύσις κατὰ σελήνην. τῶν δὲ σύνδεσμων ἐκάστου Μοῖρα κλειδοῦχος 'Ανάγκης θυγατήρ καθήται, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου Ἀτροπος, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου Κλωθώ, τοῦ δὲ πρὸς σελήνην Λάχεσις, περὶ ἣν ἡ καμπή τῆς C γενέσεως. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαυ νῆσοι θεοὺς ἔχουσιν. σελήνη δὲ, δαμόνων ἐπιχθονίων οὐσα, φεύγει τὴν Στύγα μικρὸν ὑπερφέρουσα, λαμβάνεται δὲ ἀπαξ ἐν μέτροις δευτέροις ἐκατὸν ἐβδομήκοντα ἑπτά. καὶ τῆς Στυγὸς ἐπιφερομένης αἱ ψυχαὶ βοῶσι δειμαίνουσι: πολλὰς γὰρ ὁ Ἀιδὸς ἀφαρπάζει περιολυσθαυνούσας, ἀλλὰς δ' ἀνακοιμίζεται κάτωθεν ἡ σελήνῃ προσνηχομένας, αἰς εἰς καϊρον ἡ τῆς γενέσεως τελευτή συνέπεσεν, πλὴν ὁσα μιαραί καὶ ἀκάθαρτον ταῦτας δ', ἀστράπτουσα καὶ μυκω-μένῃ φοβερὸν, οὐκ ἐὰν πελάζειν, ἀλλὰ θηρνοῦσαι

1 καὶ] Wyettenbach deletes.
2 πάντων Leonicus: πάσης.
3 περιολυσθαυνούσας] περιολυσθαυνοῦσας B.
4 συνέπεσε Bern.: ἐνέπεσε (ἐνέπεσεν Eac).

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a Cf. Stobaeus, vol. i, pp. 198. 10-12, 448. 12-16 Wachsmuth.

b The surface of the celestial sphere.

c In Mor. 943 a earth provides man's body, the moon his soul, and the sun his intellect.

d Cf. Mor. 568 e, 745 b, 945 c. The ultimate source is Plato, Phaedo, 72 b.
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where in its revolution it also touches the world of light, it bounds the last region of all.a Four principles there are of all things: the first is of life, the second of motion, the third of birth, and the last of decay; the first is linked to the second by Unity at the invisible,b the second to the third by Mind at the sun, and the third to the fourth by Nature at the moon.c A Fate, daughter of Necessity, holds the keys and presides over each link: over the first Atropos, over the second Clotho, and over the link at the moon Lachesis. The turning point of birth d is at the moon. For while the rest of the islands belong to gods, the moon belongs to terrestrial daemons and avoids the Styx by passing slightly above it; it is caught, however, once in a hundred and seventy-seven secondary measures.e As the Styx draws near the souls cry out f in terror, for many slip off g and are carried away by Hades; others, whose cessation of birth h falls out at the proper moment, swim up from below i and are rescued by the Moon, the foul and unclean excepted.j These the Moon, with lightning and a terrible roar, forbids to approach, and bewailing their

e A primary measure is a "day" in Geminus' first sense (chap. vi. 1, p. 68. 13 f. Manitius), the time from sunrise to sunset; a secondary measure is "day" in Geminus' second sense (chap. vi. 1, p. 68. 15 f. Manitius), the time between two successive risings of the sun (cf. also Priscianus Lydus, Solut. ad Chosroem, p. 65. 22-26 Bywater). One hundred and seventy-seven days of this latter kind make six lunar months. For lunar eclipses at intervals of six lunar months cf. Mor. 933 d-e, 942 e-f and R. Flacelière in Revue des Études Anciennes, vol. liii (1951), pp. 203-221.

f Cf. Mor. 944 b.

g Cf. Mor. 943 d.

h The "cessation of birth" is the release from the cycle of birth and death.

i Cf. Mor. 944 b. 

j Cf. Mor. 942 f.
τὸν ἐαυτῶν πότμον ἀποσφαλλόμεναι φέρονται κάτω πάλιν ἐπ’ ἄλλην γένεσιν, ὡς ὅρας.

D "'Ἀλλ’ οὐδὲν ὅρα,’ τὸν Τίμαρχον εἶπεῖν, 'ἡ πολλοὺς ἀστέρας περὶ τὸ χάσμα παλλομένους, ἑτέρους δὲ καταδυνόμενους εἰσ αὐτό, τοὺς δὲ ἄπτοντας οὐ κάτωθεν.’

'Αὐτοὺς ἄρα,’ φάναι, 'τοὺς δαίμονας ὅραν ἀγνοεῖς. ἔχει γὰρ ὅσ’ ὑπή ψυχὴ πάσα νοῦ μετέσχεν, ἄλογος δὲ καὶ ἄνους οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ὅσον ἀν αὐτῆς σαρκὶ μυχὴ καὶ πάθεσιν, ἄλλουμένους τρέπεται καθ’ ἡδονᾷ καὶ ἀλγηδόνας εἰς τὸ ἄλογον. μίγνυται δ’ οὐ πάσα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἀλλ’ οὐ μὲν ὅλαι κατέδυσαν εἰς σῶμα, καὶ δ’ ὅλων ἀναταραχθεῖσαι τὸ σύμπαυ ὑπὸ παθῶν διαφέρονται κατὰ τὸν βίον.

Ε οὐ δὲ πὴ μὲν ἀνεκράθησαν, πὴ δὲ ἐλπιὸν ἐξω τὸ καθαρῶτατον, οὐκ ἐπιστώμενον ἀλλ’ οἰνον ἀκρόπλουν ἐπιμαθὼν ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καθάπερ ἐν βυθῷ δεδυκότος ἁρτημα κορυφαῖον, ὀρθομένης περὶ αὐτὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνέχουσαν ὅσον ὑπακούει καὶ οὗ κρατεῖται τοῖς πάθεσι. τὸ μὲν οὐν ὑποβρύχιον ἐν τῷ σώματι φερόμενον ψυχὴ λέγεται: τὸ δὲ φθορᾶς λειψθέν τοι πολλοὶ νοῦν καλοῦντες ἐντὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν αὐτῶν, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐσόπτροι τὰ φαινόμενα κατ’ ἀνταύγειαν: οἱ δὲ ὅρθως ὑπονοοῦντες ὡς ἐκτὸς ὁντα δαίμονα προσαγορεύουσι. τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀποσβέννυσθαι δοκοῦνται ἀστέρας, ὁ Τίμαρχε,

F φάναι, 'τὰς εἰς σῶμα καταδυνόμενα ὅλας ψυχᾶς

1 ἄπτοντας Reiske: ἄποντας.
2 μὲν added by Leonicus.

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a Cf. Mor. 943 d.  

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b Cf. Mor. 943 a.
lot they fall away and are borne downward again to another birth, as you see.\textsuperscript{a}

"But I see nothing," said Timarchus; 'only many stars trembling about the abyss, others sinking into it, and others again shooting up from below.'

"Then without knowing it," the being replied, 'you see the daemons themselves. I will explain: every soul partakes of understanding; none is irrational or unintelligent. But the portion of the soul that mingles with flesh and passions suffers alteration and becomes in the pleasures and pains it undergoes irrational.\textsuperscript{b} Not every soul mingles to the same extent: some sink entirely into the body, and becoming disordered throughout, are during their life wholly distracted by passions; others mingle in part, but leave outside what is purest in them. This is not dragged in with the rest, but is like a buoy attached to the top, floating on the surface in contact with the man’s head, while he is as it were submerged in the depths; and it supports as much of the soul, which is held upright about it, as is obedient and not overpowered by the passions. Now the part carried submerged\textsuperscript{c} in the body is called the soul, whereas the part left free from corruption is called by the multitude the understanding, who take it to be within themselves, as they take reflected objects to be in the mirrors that reflect them; but those who conceive the matter rightly call it a daemon,\textsuperscript{d} as being external. Thus, Timarchus,' the voice pursued, 'in the stars that are apparently extinguished, you must understand that you see the souls that sink entirely into the body; in the stars

\textsuperscript{a} For "submerged" cf. Plato, \textit{Phaedrus}, 248 A.

\textsuperscript{b} Cf. Plato, \textit{Timaeus}, 90 A.
(591) ὅραν νόμιζε, τοὺς δὲ οἶνον ἀναλάμποντας πάλιν καὶ ἀναφαίνομένους κάτωθεν, ἀχλὺν τινα καὶ ζόφον ὁσ-πέρ πηλὸν ἀποσειομένους, τὰς ἐκ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπαναπλεούσας μετὰ τὸν θάνατον. οἱ δὲ ἂνω δια-φερομένοι1 δαιμονεῖς εἰς τῶν νοῦν ἔχειν λεγομένων ἀνθρώπων. πειράθητε δὲ κατιδεῖν ἐκάστου τὸσύνδεσμον ἢ τῇ ψυχῇ συμπέφυκε."

"Ταῦτα ἀκούσας αὐτὸς ἀκριβέστερον προσέχει καὶ θεᾶσθαι τῶν ἀστέρων ἀποσαλεύοντας τοὺς μὲν 592 ἕττον τοὺς δὲ μᾶλλον, ὃσπέρ τοὺς τὰ δίκτυα δια-σημαινοντας ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ φελλοὺς ὀρῶμεν ἐπι-φερομένους· ενίοις δὲ τοῖς κλωθομένους ἀτράκτοις ὁμοίως ἑλικα τεταραγμένην2 καὶ ἀνώμαλον ἐλκον-τας, οὗ δυναμένους καταστήσαι τὴν κίνησιν ἐπτ' εὐθείας. λέγειν δὲ τὴν φωνήν τοὺς μὲν εὐθείαν καὶ τεταραγμένην κίνησιν ἔχοντας εὐθείας ψυχὰς χρησθαι διὰ τροφὴν καὶ παίδευσαι ἀστείαν, οὐκ ἂγαν3 σκληρὸν καὶ ἄγριον παρεχομένως τὸ ἀλογον· τοὺς δὲ ἂνω καὶ κάτω πολλάκις ἀνωμάλως καὶ Β τεταραγμένως ἑγκλίνοντας, οἶον ἐκ δεσμοῦ σπαρατ-τομένους, δυσπεθέσι καὶ ἀναγώγους4 δι' ἀπαίδευ-σίαν ἰγγομαχεῖν ἤθελοι, τῇ μὲν κρατοῦντας καὶ περιάγοντας ἐπὶ δεξιάν,5 τῇ δὲ καμπτομένους ὑπὸ τῶν παθῶν καὶ συνεφελκομένους τοὺς ἀμαρτή-μασιν, εἶτα πάλιν ἀντιτείνοντας καὶ βιαζομένους. τὸν μὲν γὰρ σύνδεσμον, οὗ χαλινὸν τῷ ἀλόγῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐμβεβηλμένον, ὅταν ἀντισπάσῃ, τὴν λεγο-

1 ἂνω διαφερομένοι] ἂνω κάτω διαφερομένοι von Arnim; ἂνω διαφερομένοι Pohlenz.
2 ἑλικα τεταραγμένην von Arnim: ἐγκατατεταραγμένην.
3 οὐκ ἂγαν Turnebus: οὐ κατά γαῖαν.
4 ἀναγώγους Turnebus: ἀνάλωτοις.
5 ἐπὶ δεξιάν] ἐπὶ δεξιά or ἐπίδεξια von Arnim.
that are lighted again, as it were, and reappear from below, you must understand that you see the souls that float back from the body after death, shaking off a sort of dimness and darkness as one might shake off mud; while the stars that move about on high are the daemons of men said to "possess understanding."\(^a\) See whether you can make out in each the manner of its linkage and union with the soul.

"Hearing this, he attended more carefully and saw that the stars bobbed about, some more, some less, like the corks we observe riding on the sea to mark nets; a few described a confused and uneven spiral, like spindles as they twist the thread, and were unable to reduce their movement to a straight and steady course. The voice explained that the daemons whose motion was straight and ordered had souls which good nurture and training had made submissive to the rein,\(^b\) and whose irrational part was not unduly hard-mouthed and restive; whereas those which were constantly deviating in all directions from a straight course in an uneven and confused motion, as though jerked about on a tether, were contending with a character refractory and unruly from lack of training, at one moment prevailing over it and wheeling to the right, at another yielding to their passions and dragged along by their errors, only to resist them later and oppose them with force. For, exerting a contrary pull on the tie, which is like a bridle inserted into the irrational part of the soul, the daemon

\(^a\) The common expression *noun echein*, meaning "to be sensible," is here taken in its literal sense, "to possess understanding." All souls, strictly speaking, possess understanding, but the daemon is explaining a popular expression (cf. 591 E, *supra*).

\(^b\) Cf. *Mor.* 943 D and 445 B-D.
(592) μένην μεταμέλειαν ἐπάγειν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἠδοναῖς, ὡσαὶ παράνομοι καὶ ἀκρατεῖς, αἰσχύνην, ἀλγηδόνα καὶ πληγὴν οὕσαν ἐνθένδε τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατοῦντος καὶ ἄρχοντος ἐπι-C στομιζομένης, μέχρι ἃν οὕτως κολαζομένη πειθή-
νιος γένηται καὶ συνήθης, ὥσπερ θρέμα πρᾶον, ἀνευ πληγῆς καὶ ἀλγηδόνας ὑπὸ συμβόλων ὀξέως καὶ σημείων αἰσθανομένη τοῦ δαίμονος. 'αὕτα
μὲν οὖν ὑψὲ ποτε καὶ βραδέως ἀγνωται καὶ καθ-
ίστανται πρὸς τὸ δέον. ἐκ δὲ τῶν εὐθύνων ἐκείνων καὶ2 κατηκών εὐθὺς ἔξ ἀρχῆς καὶ γενέσεως τοῦ
οἰκείου δαίμονος καὶ τὸ μαντικὸν ἔστι καὶ θεοκλυ-
tούμενον γένος· ὃν τὴν 'Ερμοδώρου3 τοῦ Κλαζo-
μενίου ψυχῆν ἀκήκοας δῆπουθεν ὡς ἀπολείπουσα
παντάπασι τὸ σώμα νῦκτωρ καὶ μεθ’ ἡμέραν
D ἐπλανάτο πολὺν τόπουν, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐπανήμει πολλοῖς
tῶν μακρὰν λεγομένων καὶ πραττομένων ἐντυχοῦσα καὶ παραγενομένη, μέχρι οὗ τὸ σώμα, τῆς γυναικὸς
προδούσης, λαβόντες οἱ ἐχθροὶ ψυχῆς ἔρημον οἴκοι
κατέπρησαν. τούτῳ μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀληθεῖς ἐστιν· οὐ
γὰρ ἐξέβαινεν ἡ ψυχῆ τοῦ σώματος, ὑπείκουσα δὲ
ἀεὶ καὶ χαλῶσα τῷ δαίμον τοῦ σύνδεσμον ἐδίδον
περιδρομῆν καὶ περιφοίτησιν, ὡστε πολλὰ συν-
ορώντα καὶ κατακοῦοντα τῶν ἐκτὸς εἰσαγγέλλειν.
oὶ δὲ ἀφανίσαντες τὸ σῶμα κοιμωμένου μέχρι νῦν
Ε δίκην ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ τίνουσι. ταῦτα δὲ εἶσιν,'

1 ἐνθένδε[ ἐνδόθεν (sic) van Herwerden.
2 καὶ added by Turnebus.
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applies what is called remorse to the errors, and shame for all lawless and wilful pleasures—remorse and shame being really the painful blow inflicted from this source upon the soul as it is curbed by its controlling and ruling part—until from such chastening the soul, like a docile animal, becomes obedient and accustomed to the reins, needing no painful blows, but rendered keenly responsive to its daemon by signals and signs. 'These souls indeed,' the voice pursued, 'are brought to their duty and made firm in it late and gradually; but from those other souls, which from their very beginning and birth are docile to the rein and obedient to their daemon, a comes the race of diviners and of men inspired. Among such souls you have doubtless heard of that of Hermotimus b of Clazomenae—how night and day it used to leave his body entirely and travel far and wide, returning after it had met with and witnessed many things said and done in remote places, until his wife betrayed him and his enemies found his body at home untenant ed by his soul and burnt it. The story as thus told is indeed not true: his soul did not leave his body, but gave its daemon free play by always yielding to it and slackening the tie, permitting it to move about and roam at will, so that the daemon could see and hear much that passed in the world outside and return with the report. The men who destroyed his body as he slept are still atoning for the deed in Tartarus. Of these matters,' the voice

a Cf. Mor. 445 b.


3 'Ερμοδώρου] 'Ερμοτίμου ? Xylander.
(592) φάναι, 'σαφέστερον, ὃ νεανία, τρίτῳ μηνίν, νόν ὦ ἀπιθή.

''Παυσαμένης δὲ τῆς φωνῆς βούλεσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ Τίμαρχος ἔφη θεάσασθαι περιστρέφοντα, τίς ὁ φθεγγόμενος εἶναι σφόδρα δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐθίνης ἀλγήσας, καθάπερ βίᾳ συμπιεσθείσαν, οὐδὲν ἢ τοῖς γυνώσκειν οὐδὲ αὐσθάνεσθαι τῶν καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἤετα μέντοι μετὰ μικρὸν ἀνενεγκών ὅραν αὐτὸν ἐν Τροφωνίου παρὰ τὴν έἰσοδον, οὐπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατεκλίθη, κείμενον.

23. ''Ὁ μὲν οὖν Τιμάρχον μῦθος οὗτος ἐπεί δὲ ἔλθων Ἀθηναίες τρίτῳ μηνὶ κατὰ τὴν γενομένην Φ φωνήν ἐτελεύτησεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ Σωκράτει θαυμάζοντες ἀπηγγέλλομεν, ἐμέμψατο Σωκράτης ἡμᾶς ὅτι μὴ ξώντος ἐκ τοῦ Τιμάρχου διήλθομεν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἴδεως εἰκεῖνον πυθέσθαι καὶ προσανακρῖναι σαφέστερον.

''Ἀπέχεις, ὃ Θεόκριτε, μετὰ τοῦ λόγου τὸν μῦθον. ἀλλὰ ὁρὰ μὴ καὶ τὸν ξένον ἠμῶν παρακλητέον ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν· οἶκεία γὰρ πάνω καὶ προσήκουσα θείοις ἀνδράσι.''

''Τί δ', εἶπεν, ''Ἐπαμεινώνδας οὐ συμβάλλει γνώμην, ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγόμενος ἡμῖν;''

Καὶ ὁ πατὴρ μειδίασις, ''τοιοῦτον,''' ἔφη, ''τὸ θὸς, ὃ ξένε, τὸ τούτου, σιωπηλὸν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς λόγους εὐλαβῆς, ἀπληστὸν δὲ τοῦ μανθάνειν καὶ ἀκροάσθαι· διὸ καὶ Σπίνθαρος ὁ Ταραντίνος οὐκ ὁλίγον αὐτῷ συνδιατρύπας ἐνταῦθα χρόνον ἀεὶ δὴπου

1 αὐτὸν Sieveking: αὐτὸν.
2 περιστρέφοντα] περιστρέφων Schwartz; περιστραφέντα E. Harrison.
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said, 'you will have better knowledge, young man, in the third month from now; for the present, depart.'

"When the voice ceased Timarchus desired to turn (he said) and see who the speaker was. But once more he felt a sharp pain in his head, as though it had been violently compressed, and he lost all recognition and awareness of what was going on about him; but he presently recovered and saw that he was lying in the crypt of Trophonius near the entrance, at the very spot where he had first laid himself down.

23. "Such then is the myth of Timarchus. When he had come to Athens and died in the third month, as the voice had foretold, we were amazed and told Socrates the story, who censured us for recounting it when Timarchus was no longer alive, as he would have been glad to hear it from Timarchus himself and question him about it more closely.

"My statement is now complete, Theocritus, and you have the myth along with the argument. But consider whether we should not also invite the stranger to join in the inquiry, for it is one most fitting and appropriate to inspired men."

"Why does not Epameinondas make his contribution?" asked the stranger. "He draws upon the same doctrines as I."

"That is his way, sir," said my father with a smile: "to be silent and chary of speech, but insatiable of learning and listening. On this account Spintharus of Tarentum, who was long associated with him here,

\[ a \] The visionary often hears a prediction of his own death: cf. Mor. 566 d and note.

\[ b \] Cf. Mor. 39 b.

\[ 3 \] Τροφωνίου Stephanus : τροφωνείου.
(592) λέγει μηδενί πη¹ τών καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἐντε-593 τυχηκέναι μήτε πλείονα γινώσκοντι μήτε ἐλάσσονα 
φθεγγομένω. σὺ οὖν ἃ φρονεῖς αὑτὸς διέλθε περὶ 
tῶν εἰρημένων.''

24. ''Εγὼ τοῖνυν,'' ἐφη, ''τὸν μὲν Τιμάρχου 
λόγον ὠσπέρ ἑρῶν καὶ ἄσυλον ἀνακείσθαί φημι 
tῷ θεῷ² χρῆναι. θαυμάζω δ' εἰ τοῖς ὑπὸ Συμμίου 
λεγομένους αὐτοῦ δυσπιστήσουσι τινες, κύκνους 
μὲν³ ἑρῶν καὶ δράκοντας καὶ κύνας καὶ ἵππους 
ὄνομαξοντες, ἀνθρώπους δὲ θείους εἶναι καὶ θεο-
φιλεῖς ἀπιστοῦντες, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν οὐ φίλοριν 
ἀλλὰ φιλάνθρωπον ἤγομενοι. καθάπερ οὖν ἀνὴρ 
ἵλιππος οὐ πάντων ὁμοίως ἐπιμελεῖται τῶν ὑπὸ 
Β ταυτὸ⁴ γένος, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τινὰ ἀριστὸν ἕξαιρὼν⁵ καὶ ἀποκρίνων καθ' αὐτὸν ἀσκεῖ καὶ τρέφει καὶ ἀγατὰ 
διαφερόντως, καὶ ἡμῶν ὃ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς τοὺς βελ-
tίστους οἶν ἐξ ἀγέλης χαράξαντες ἰδίας τινὸς καὶ 
περιτῆς παιδαγωγίας ἀξιοῦσιν, οὐχ ὑφ' ἡμῶς 
οὐδὲ ῥυτήρων, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ διὰ συμβόλων εὐθύνοντες 
νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγελαῖοι παντάπασιν ἀπείρως 
ἐχουσιν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ κύνες τῶν θηρατίκων 
σημείων οὐδὲ ἵπποι⁷ τῶν ἱππικῶν συνιάσων,⁸ ἀλλ' 
οἱ μεμαθηκότες εὐθὺς ἀπὸ σιγμοῦ τοῦ τυχόντος ἦ 
C ποππυσμοῦ τὸ προσταττόμενον αἰσθανόμενοι ραδίως 
eis ὃ dei⁹ καθίσταται. φαίνεται δὲ γινώσκων καὶ

1 πη] ποιν B ; πω ? Post.
2 φημι τῷ θεῷ] τῷ θεῷ φημὶ B.
3 γὰρ omitted by Reiske after μὲν.
4 ὑπὸ ταυτὸ Bern. (ὑπὸ τῷ Wilamowitz) : ὑπ' αὐτὸ τό.
5 ἕξαιρὼν Dübner : ἕξαιρων.
6 καὶ] οὕτω καὶ an early conjecture.
7 οἱ πολλοὶ deleted by Wilamowitz before ἱπποῖ (place it after ἱππικῶν ?).
keeps saying, as you know, that nowhere in his generation has he met a man of greater knowledge and fewer words. You must accordingly present your views about what has been said yourself.

24. "I say, therefore," he said, "that the story of Timarchus, as sacred and not to be profaned, should be dedicated to the god." As for Simmias' own statement, I should be surprised if any should find it hard to accept, and when they call swans, serpents, dogs, and horses sacred, refuse to believe that men are divine and dear to God, and that too holding him no lover of birds, but of men. As, then, a man that loves horses does not devote the same care to all members of the species, but always singles out and sets apart some one horse that is best, training and rearing it by itself and cherishing it above the rest, so too our betters take the best of us, as from a herd, and setting a mark on us, honour us with a peculiar and exceptional schooling, guiding us not by rein or bridle, but by language expressed in symbols quite unknown to the generality and common herd of men. So too it is not the generality of hounds that understand the hunter's signals, or of horses the horseman's; it is only such as have been taught that readily take their orders from a mere casual whistle or clucking of the tongue and do what is required. Homer too,

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a G. M. Lattanzi, *Il "De genio Socratis" di Plutarco*, p. 64, note 2, quotes Pausanias, ix. 39. 14: "Those who have made the descent into the cave of Trophonius must write what they have seen or heard on a tablet and set it up as a dedication."

b Cf. *Life of Numa*, chap. iv. 4 (62 a-b), and [Plato], *Minos*, 319 a.

8 οὐνίασιν Stegmann: οὐνίάσιν.
9 δεῖ Β: δή Ε.
(593) "Ομηρος δὴν λέγομεν διαφορὰν ἕμεις· τῶν γὰρ μάν
tεων οἰωνοπόλους τινὰς καλεῖ καὶ ἑρεῖς, ἔτερος
de τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν διαλεγομένων συνεντασ καὶ
sυμφρονοῦντας1 ἀποσημαίνειν οὔτει τὸ μέλλον, ἐν
οὲς λέγει
tῶν δ' "Ελενος, Πρίαμοιο φίλος παις, ξύνθετο
θυμῷ
βουλήν, ἢ ῥα θεοῖσιν ἐφήνδανε μητιώσα
καὶ

ὡς γὰρ ἐγὼν ὅτ' ἀκουσα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.2

驽περ γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν τὴν
dιάνοιαν οἱ μὲν ἐκτὸς αἰσθάνονται καὶ γινώσκουσι
πυρσοῖς τυσι καὶ κηρύγμασι καὶ ὑπὸ σαλπίγγων,
D τοῖς δὲ πιστοῖς καὶ συνήθεσιν αὐτοῖ φράζουσιν,
οὔτω τὸ θείον ὀλίγους ἐντυγχάνει δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ
σπανῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς σημεῖα δίδωσιν, ἐξ ὅν ἡ
λεγομένη μαντικὴ συνέστηκε. θεοὶ μὲν γὰρ3 οὖν
ὁλίγων ἀνθρώπων κοσμοῦσι βίον, οὔς ἂν ἄκρως
μακαρίοις τε καὶ θείοις ὡς ἄληθῶς ἀπεργάσσοθα
βουληθῶσιν· αἱ δὲ ἀπηλλαγμέναι γενέσεως ψυχαί
cαι σχολάζουσα τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπὸ σώματος, οἷον
ἐλεύθεραι πάμπαν ἀφειμέναι,4 δαίμονέσ ἐὼς ἀν-
thrωπων ἐπιμελείς καθ’ Ἡσίοδον. ὡς γὰρ ἄθλητὰς
καταλύσατας ἀσκησιν ὑπὸ γήρως οὐ τελέως ἀπο-
λείπει τὸ φιλότιμον καὶ φιλοσώματον, ἀλλὰ ἔτερους

1 συμφρονοῦντας Leonicus: σωφρονοῦντας.
2 αἰειγενετάων Homer: γενετάων.
3 μὲν γὰρ] μὲν Pohlenz. 4 ἀφειμέναι Bern.: ἀφιέμεναι.

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it is evident, knew the distinction a of which we others speak, as he calls some diviners 'consulters of birds' b and 'priests,' c but thinks that others indicate the future from an understanding and awareness of the actual conversation of the gods. These are his words:

That counsel Helenus in his heart perceived,
The son of Priam, which the gods had reached
In their deliberation a

and

Such speech of the immortal gods I heard. e

For as outsiders perceive and recognize the intention of kings and generals from beacons and the proclamations of heralds and the blare of trumpets, whereas to confidants and intimates it is imparted by the kings and generals themselves, so heaven consorts directly with but few, and rarely, but to the great majority gives signs, from which arises the art called divination. The gods, then, order the life of but few among men, such as they wish to make supremely blessed and in very truth divine; whereas souls delivered from birth and henceforth at rest from the body—set quite free, as it were, to range at will—are, as Hesiod f says, daemons that watch over man. For as athletes who from old age have given up training do not entirely lose their ardour and their love of bodily prowess, but look on with pleasure as

a That is, the Stoic distinction between "artificial" divination, which interprets omens, and so-called "artless" or "untaught" divination, which is found in dreams and inspiration. Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, De Vita et Poesi Homerii, ii. 212, and Cicero, De Div. i. 6 (11) with Pease's note.
b Cf. ll. i. 69, vi. 76. c Cf. ll. i. 62, xxiv. 221.
c Il. vii. 44 f. e Il. vii. 53.
f Works and Days, 122 ff.; quoted also in Mor. 361 B, 431 E.

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(593) ἀσκοῦντας οὕτως ἵδονται καὶ παρακάλουσι καὶ
Ε ὑμπαραθέουσιν, οὕτως οἱ πεπαυμένοι τῶν περὶ
tῶν βίων ἁγώνων δι’ ἀρετὴν ψυχῆς γενόμενοι
daímones οὐ παντελῶς ἀτιμάζουσι τὰ ἐνταῦθα
πράγματα καὶ λόγους καὶ σπουδᾶς, ἄλλα τοῖς ἐπὶ
tαύτῳ γυμναζομένοι τέλος εὐμενεῖς ὄντες καὶ
συμφιλοτιμοῦμενοι πρὸς τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐγκελεύονται
καὶ συνεξορμοῦσιν ὅταν ἐγγὺς ἥδη τῆς ἑλπίδος
ἀμιλλωμένους καὶ ἤσαιντος ὀρώσων. οὐ γὰρ οἷς
F ἔτυχε συμφέρεται τὸ δαίμονιν, ἄλλ’ οἶον ἐπὶ τῶν
νηχομένων ἐν θαλάττῃ τοὺς μὲν πελαγίουσ ἐπὶ
cαὶ πρόσω τῆς γῆς φερομένους οἱ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐστῶτες
σιωτῇ θεώνται μόνον, τοὺς δ’ ἐγγὺς ἥδη παραθεῦνες
cαὶ παρεμβαίνοντες ἀμα καὶ χειρὶ καὶ φωνῇ
βοηθοῦντες ἀνασφάλουσιν, οὕτος, ὁ φίλοι, καὶ τοῦ
daímöνιον τρόπος. ἕξι γὰρ ἡμᾶς, βαπτιζομένους
ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ σώματα πολλὰ καθάπερ
ὄχήματα μεταλαμβάνοντας, αὐτοὺς ἐξαμιλλᾶσθαι
καὶ μακροθυμεῖν, δι’ οἰκείας πειρωμένους ἀρετὴς
σώζεσθαι καὶ τυγχάνειν λιμένος. ἥττις δ’ ἀν ἥδη
dιὰ μυρίων γενέσεων ἡγωνισμένη μακροῦ ἁγῶνας
ἐν καὶ προδύμωσι ψυχή, τῆς περίδου συμπέρανο-
2 482
2 594 μένης, κινδυνεύουσα καὶ φιλοτιμοῦμένη περὶ τὴν
ἐκβασίν ἵδρυτι πολλῷ τοῖς ἄνω προσφέρηται,
tαύτῃ τὸν οἰκεῖον οὐ νεμεσά δαίμονα βοηθεῖν θεὸς ἄλλ’ ἄφισι τῷ προθυμομένῳ προθυμεῖται δ’
1 οὕτος Reiske: οὕτως.
2 φίλοι, καὶ Wilamowitz, to fill a lacuna of 9-7 letters.
3 τρόπος nos: ὁ τρόπος. For the passage Post doubtfully
suggests the following: οὕτος ὡφελείας τῆς δαιμονίας (or περὶ
tὸ δαίμονιν) ὁ τρόπος.
others train, and call out encouragement and run along beside them, so those who are done with the contests of life, and who, from prowess of soul, have become daemons, do not hold what is done and said and striven after in this world in utter contempt, but are propitious to contenders for the same goal, join in their ardour, and encourage and help them to the attainment of virtue when they see them keeping up the struggle and all but reaching their heart’s desire. For daemons do not assist all indifferently, but as when men swim at sea, those standing on the shore merely view in silence the swimmers who are still far out and distant from land, whereas they help with hand and voice alike such as have come near, and running along and wading in beside them bring them safely in, such too, my friends, is the way of daemons: as long as we are head over ears in the welter of worldly affairs and are changing body after body, like conveyances, they allow us to fight our way out and persevere unaided, as we endeavour by our own prowess to come through safe and reach a haven; but when in the course of countless births a soul has stoutly and resolutely sustained a long series of struggles, and as her cycle draws to a close, she approaches the upper world, bathed in sweat, in imminent peril and straining every nerve to reach the shore,\(^a\) God holds it no sin for her daemon to go to the rescue, but lets whoever will lend aid. One

\(^a\) The word *ekbasis*, translated “shore,” but literally “egress,” was suggested by Homer, *Od.* v. 410.

\(^4\) εἶ ὑπ Bern. (εἶ μὲν ὑπ Amyot) to fill a lacuna of 6-13 letters.

\(^5\) τοῖς ἀνω προσφέρηται Maas (πρὸς τὰνω φέρηται Bern.): ἀνω προσφέρηται.
25. Τούτων εἰρημένων ὁ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ἀποβλέψας εἰς ἐμὲ, "σοι μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Καφισία, σχεδὸν ὡρα βαδίζειν εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἤδη καὶ μὴ Β ἀπολείπειν τοὺς συνήθεις. ἦμεις δὲ Θεάνορος ἐπιμελησόμεθα διαλύσαντες ὅταν δοκῇ τὴν συνούσιαν.

Καγώ, "ταῦτα," ἐφην, "πράττομεν. ἀλλὰ μικρὸν οἴμαι τι μετ' ἐμοῦ καὶ Γαλαξιδώρῳ βουλεταί σοι διαλέξθηναι Θεόκριτος οὕτως." διαλεγέσθων, καὶ προήγεν ἀναστὰς εἰς τὸ ἐπικάμπτων τῆς στοάς. καὶ ἦμεις περισχόντες αὐτὸν ἐπεχειροῦμεν παρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πράξειν. ὦ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐφὶ πάνυ σαφῶς εἰδέναι τῆς καθόδου τῶν φυγάδων καὶ συντετάχθαι μετὰ Γοργίδου τοὺς φίλους πρὸς τὸν καιρὸν, ἀποκτενεῖν δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν ἄκριτον οὐδένα μὴ μεγάλης ἀνάγκης γενομένης, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ C πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ἀρμόζειν τὸ Θηβαίων εἶναι τινας ἀναίτιος καὶ καθαροὺς τὸν πεπραγμένων, οὐ μάλλον ἐξουσιαν ἀνυπόττως πρὸς τὸν δήμου ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου παραμοῦντες. ἐδόκει ταῦτα ἡμῖν. κάκεινος μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἀθῆς ὡς τοὺς περὶ Σμυμίαν, ἦμεις δὲ καταβάντες εἰς τὸ γυμνάσιον ἐνετυγχάνομεν τοῖς φίλοις, καὶ διαλαμβάνον ἄλλος ἄλλον ἐν τῷ συμπαλαίει τὰ μὲν ἐπυνθάνετο τὰ δὲ ἐφραζε

1 πράττομεν] πράττωμεν Ald. 2, Wytenbach.
2 Θεόκριτος οὕτως Stegmann (οὕτως Θεόκριτος Dohner): οὐτοὶ δὲ Θεόκριτος.
3 ἐπικάμπτων L. Dindorf: ἐπικάμπτειον.
4 τούς φίλους] τοῖς φίλοις Reiske.
5 οὐ added by Wytenbach. 6 πρὸς added by Reiske.
daemon is eager to deliver by his exhortations one soul, another another, and the soul on her part, having drawn close, can hear, and thus is saved; but if she pays no heed, she is forsaken by her daemon and comes to no happy end."

25. When Theanor had done, Epameinondas looked at me and said: "Caphisias, it is time, I believe, for you to go to the gymnasium and not disappoint your companions; when we decide to break up this gathering, we will look after Theanor ourselves."

"That I shall do," I replied; "but I think Theocritus here would like a few words with you, in the presence of Galaxidorus and myself."

"He shall have them; and good luck attend!" he said, rising and leading us to the angle in the colonnade. We gathered about and endeavoured to prevail upon him to join in the attack. He was perfectly well informed, he replied, of the day appointed for the exiles' return; indeed Gorgidas and he had organized their friends for the occasion. But he would never put a countryman to death without trial unless driven to it by extreme necessity. Apart from this it was to the interest of democratic government at Thebes that there should be some men not chargeable with the guilt of what was done: these would enjoy the greater confidence of the people, as their counsels would be less suspected of bias. With this we agreed; and he returned to Simmias and the company while I went down to the gymnasium and joined my friends. Shifting partners as we wrestled, we exchanged information and made arrangements

*Epameinondas and Gorgidas appear on the scene with their band of followers after the assassinations: cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. xii. 2 (284 b) and 598 c, infra.*
(594) καὶ συνετάττετο πρὸς τὴν πράξιν. ἐωρῶμεν δὲ καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἀρχίαν καὶ Φιλιππον ἀληλιμμένους

D ἀπιόντας ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον. δὲ γὰρ Φυλλίδας, δεδότως μὴ τὸν Ἀμφίθεον προανέλωσιν, εὑρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς

Λυσανορίδου προπομπῆς τὸν Ἀρχίαν δεξάμενος καὶ περὶ τῆς ὑπάνδρου¹ γυναικὸς ἥσ ἐπιθυμῶν

ἐτύγχανεν εἰς ἐλπίδας ἐμβαλὼν ὡς ἀφιξομένης εἰς τὸν πότον,² ἐπεισε πρὸς ῥαθυμίαν καὶ ἀνεσιν

τραπέζαι μετὰ τῶν εἰωθότων αὐτῷ συνακολο-

σταῖνειν.

26. Ὄψε δὲ ἢν³ ἡδὴ τὸ τε ψυχὸς ἑπέτευνε, πνεῦ-

ματος γενομένου, καὶ διὰ τούτο τῶν πολλῶν τάχιων

εἰς τὰς οίκιας ἀνακεχωρηκότων ἥμεῖς μὲν τοὺς⁴

περὶ Δαμοκλείδαν καὶ Πελοπίδαν καὶ Θεόπομπον

ἐντυχόντες ἀνελαμβάνομεν, ἀλλοι δὲ ἄλλους· ἐσχί-

Ε σθήσαν γὰρ εὗρος ὑπερβάλλοντες⁵ τὸν Κιθαιρώνα,

καὶ παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ὁ χειμών τὰ πρόσωπα συγκε-

καλυμμένους ἀδεώς διελθείν τὴν πόλιν. ἐνίοτες δὲ

ἐπήστραφε δεξιὸν ἀνευ βροντῆς εἰσώβυς διὰ τῶν

πυλῶν· καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐδόκει καλὸν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν

καὶ δόξαν, ὡς λαμπρῶν, ἀκινδύνων δὲ, τῶν πράξεων

ἐσομένων.

27. Ὄσον οὖν ἀπαντεῖ ἐνδον ἡμεῖς, πεντήκοντα

δυοῦν δέοντες, ἡδη τοῦ Θεοκρίτου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν

οἰκίσκω των σφαγιαζομένου, πολὺς ἢ τῆς θύρας

ἀραγμός,⁶ καὶ μετὰ μικρῶν ἤκε τις ἀγνέλλων

ὑπηρέτας τοῦ Ἀρχίου δύο κόπτειν τὴν αὐλειον

¹ ὑπάνδρου Bern. from the Life of Pelopidas, chap. ix. 4

(282 b) (ἐν ἀξιώματι Pohlenz; γαμετῆς Post; Wilamowitz and

Sykutris suppose that the husband's name has dropped out)

to fill a lacuna of 6 letters in E; there is no lacuna in B.

² πότον Salmasius: τόπου.

³ ἢν added by Kronenberg.
ON THE SIGN OF SOCRATES, 594

for the execution of the plot. We also saw Archias and Philippus, freshly anointed, going off to dinner; for when Archias had returned after escorting Lysanoridas, Phyllidas immediately took him into his house, fearing that Amphitheus might be put to death before we could prevent it; and leading Archias to hope that the married woman he desired would come to the banquet, he prevailed on him to dismiss his cares and relax with the usual companions of his debauches.\(^a\)

26. It was now late and growing colder, as a wind had arisen; and most of the townspeople had on this account withdrawn into their houses earlier than usual, when our group met and picked up Damocleidas, Pelopidas, and Theopompus, and other groups picked up the rest (for they had separated as far back as the crossing of Cithaeron); and the bad weather allowed them to muffle up their faces and pass through the city without fear. Some, as they entered the gates, saw a flash of lightning on the right, not followed by thunder; and the sign was taken to portend safety and glory—our acts would be brilliant and yet unattended with danger.\(^b\)

27. Now when we were all in the house, to the number of forty-eight,\(^c\) and Theocritus was taking sacrificial omens off in a room by himself, there came a loud pounding at the door. It was shortly after announced that two officers of Archias, dispatched

\(^a\) Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. ix. 4 (282 b).
\(^b\) Cf. Xenophon, Hell. v. 4. 3 ff.
\(^c\) Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. ix. 3 (282 a).

4 τοὺς] τοῖς E\(^{188}\) B\(^{11t}\).
5 ύπερβαλόντες] ύπερβαλόντες van Herwerden.
6 ἀραγμός Stephanus: ἀραγμός.
(594) ἀπεσταλμένους σπουδῇ πρὸς Χάρωνα καὶ κελεύειν ἀνοίγειν καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν βράδιον ὑπακουόντων. θορυβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Χάρων ἐκείνους μὲν εὐθὺς ἀν- 
οιγύναι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπαντήσας ἔχων 
στέφανον ὡς τεθυκὼς καὶ πίνων ἐπινυθάνετο τῶν 
ὑπηρετῶν ὁ τι βούλοντο.

Δέγει δ' ἂτερος, "Αρχίας καὶ Φίλιππος ἐπεμψαν ἡμᾶς κελεύοντες ὡς τάχιστα σε ἥκειν πρὸς αὐ- 
τοὺς."

Ερωμένου δὲ τοῦ Χάρωνος τίς ἡ σπουδὴ τῆς 
τηνικάυτα μεταπέμψεως αὐτοῦ καὶ μή τι κανό- 
τερον, "οὐδὲν ἵσμεν," ὁ ὑπηρέτης ἔφη, "πλέον· 
ἀλλὰ τί λέγωμεν αὐτοῖς;"

"'Οτι νὴ Δία," εἶπεν ὁ Χάρων, "θείς τὸν 
στέφανον ἡδῆ καὶ λαβῶν τὸ ἰμάτιον ἔπομαι· μεθ' 
ὑμῶν γὰρ τηνικάυτα βαδίζουν διαταράξω τινᾶς ὡς 
ἀγόμενος."

595 "Οὔτως," ἔφη, "ποίει καὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς δεῖ τοῖς 
ὑπὸ πόλιν φρουροῖς κομίσαι τι πρόσταγμα παρὰ 
tῶν ἀρχόντων."

Εκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν ὑχοντο, τοῦ δὲ Χάρωνος εἰσελ- 
θόντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς καὶ ταῦτα φράσαντο ἐκπλήξεις 
ἀπαντας ἔσχεν οἰομένους μεμηνύσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰπ- 
pοσθενείδαν ὑπενόουν οἱ πλείστοι κωλύσαν μὲν ἐπι- 
χειρῆσαι τὴν κάθοδον διὰ τοῦ Χλίδωνος, ἐπεὶ 
δ' ἀπέτυχε καὶ συνῆπτε τῷ καιρῷ τὸ δεινὸν, 
ἐξενηνοχέναι πιθανὸν ὄντα τὴν πραξίν ὑπὸ δεόν 
οὐ γὰρ ἀφίκετο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν,
on urgent business to Charon, were knocking at the outer door and ordering it to be opened, and showed impatience at the delay in answering.\(^a\) Charon, in great alarm, gave orders to open it at once, and going to meet them in person, with a chaplet on his head, as if he was in the midst of drinking after a sacrifice, asked the officers what they wanted.

The one replied: "Archias and Philippus have sent us with orders for you to report to them at once."

When Charon asked to what urgency this summons at such an hour was due and whether anything serious had happened, the messenger answered: "That is all we know. What shall we tell them?"

"Why, tell them," said Charon, "that I am laying my chaplet aside this moment and putting on my cloak and following after; for if I accompany you at this hour some people will take alarm, supposing me under arrest."

"Do so," the man answered; "it so happens that we have an order from the authorities to convey to the guards at the foot of the citadel."

With that they left. When Charon rejoined us with the news we were all struck with consternation, imagining ourselves betrayed; and most of us suspected that Hippostheneidas, after using Chlidon in his attempt to prevent the exiles' return, when this failed and the crisis was upon us, had in his fear denounced the plot (being a man who would be credited); for he had not come to the house with the rest and

\(^a\) Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. ix. 8 (282 c).

1 \(\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\nu\) Aldine: \(\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\).

2 Post puts the inverted commas before \(\epsilon\pi\omicron\omicron\mu\iota\iota\).  

3 \(\epsilon\phi\eta\] \(\epsilon\phi\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\) B.
(595) ἀλλ' ὄλως ἐδόκει πονηρός γεγονόντας καὶ παλήμβολος. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τὸν γε Ὑάρωνα πάντες χώμεθα
Β χρήμα και λέγειν καὶ ύπακούειν τοῖς ἄρχοντι καλούμενον. ὃ δὲ κελεύσας τὸν νῦν ἐλθεῖν, κάλλωτον
οντα Θηβαίων, ὃ Ἀρχέδαμε, παῖδα καὶ φιλοπο
νώταν περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια, πεντεκαιδεκέτη μὲν σχεδόν, πολὺ δὲ βομή καὶ μεγέθει διαφέροντα τῶν
όμηλίκων, "οὐτος," εἶπεν, "ὡς ἄνδρες, ἐμοὶ μόνος
ἐστι καὶ ἀγαπητός, ὥσπερ ἵστε: τοῦτον ὡμὶν παρα-
δίδωμι πρὸς θεοὶ ἀπασι πρὸς δαιμόνων ἐπι-
σκήπτων: εἰ φανεί έγώ πονήρος περὶ ύμᾶς,
ἀποκείνατε, μὴ φείσησθε ἡμῶν τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ώς
ἄνδρε ἀγαθοὶ πρὸς τὸ συμμετείχον· ἀντιτάξασθε:
C μὴ προήθετε τὰ σώματα διαφερέραι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς
ἀνάνδρω καὶ ἀκλεώς, ἀλλ' ἀμύνασθε, τὰς ψυχὰς
ἀηττήτους τῇ πατρίδι φυλάττοντες."

Ταῦτα τοῦ Χάρωνος λέγοντος τὸ μὲν φρόνημα
καὶ τὴν καλοκαγαθίαν έθαυμάζομεν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
ὑποβλάν ἡγανακτοῦμεν καὶ ἀπάγειν εκελεύομεν τὸν
παῖδα.

"Τὸ δ' ὅλον," εἶπεν ὁ Πελοπίδας, "οὐδ' εὖ
βεβουλευθαὶ δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὁ Χάρων, μὴ μεταστη-
σάμενος εἰς οἰκίαι έτέραν τὸν νῦν· τί γὰρ αὐτὸν
dεῖ κινδυνεύειν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐγκαταλαμβανόμενον;
καὶ νῦν ἐκπεπτέος, ἐν ἡμῖν, εάν τι πάσχωμεν,
εὔγενος ὑποτρέφηται τιμωρῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς τυράννους."

D "Οὐκ έστιν," εἶπεν ὁ Χάρων, "ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ
παραμενεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύει μεθ' ὡμών. οὐδὲ γὰρ

1 ὤλως corrected from ὥλος in EB.
2 ὡς Kronenberg: ὁ.
3 συμμετείχον Reiske: συμμόσιοι.
4 ἐχθροῖς Wyttenbach: αἰσχροῖς.
had on all counts, it was felt, shown himself base and treacherous. Still, we all felt that Charon should go in obedience to the summons he had received from the magistrates. He gave orders for his son to enter, the most handsome boy in Thebes, Archedamus, and most diligent in athletic exercise; he was, I should say, about fifteen years old, but far stronger and taller than others of his age. "Gentlemen," he said, "this is my only child, and very dear to me, as you know; I place him in your hands, adjuring all of you in the name of gods and daemons: if it should appear that I have played you false, kill him, show us no mercy. For the rest, face what has befallen like the brave men you are; do not surrender your bodies to unmanly and inglorious destruction by your bitterest foes, but fight back, keeping your souls unconquered for your country's sake."

As Charon said this we were filled with admiration for his high heart and noble mind, but indignant at the thought of suspicion, and told him to take the boy away.

"In any case, Charon," said Pelopidas, "I think you were ill-advised in not removing your son to another house; for why should he be exposed to danger by being shut up with us here? Even now he should be sent away, so that, if anything happens to us, he may grow up in our place to be our noble avenger upon the tyrants."

"That may not be," replied Charon; "here he shall stay and meet the danger with you; for him

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6 The Stoics defined eupsychia (valour) as a science that keeps the soul unconquered (Stoicorum Vet. Frag. iii. 264, p. 64. 38 f., 269, p. 66. 19 von Arним).

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PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(595) τούτω καλὸν ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι τοῖς ἔχθροῖς. ἀλλὰ τόλμα παρ' ἥλικιαν, ὥ παι, γενόμενοι ἀθλῶν ἀναγκάιων καὶ κινδύνευσι καὶ ἀγαθῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὲρ ἑλευθερίας καὶ ἀρετῆς· πολλῇ δ' ἐλπὶς ἐτι λείπεται, καὶ ποῦ τις ἐφορὰ θεῶν ἡμᾶς ἀγωνιζομένους περὶ τῶν δικαίων.'

28. Δάκρων πολλοῖς ἐπῆλθεν ἡμῶν, ὁ Ἀρχέ- δαμε, πρός τοὺς λόγους τοῦ ἄνδρός, αὐτὸς1 δὲ ἀδακριν καὶ ἀτεγκτὸς ἐγχειρίσας Πελοπίδα τὸν νιὼν ἐχώρει διὰ θυράν δεξιοῦμενος ἐκαστὸν ἡμῶν καὶ παραθαρρύων. ἐτὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἂν ἡγάσω τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν φαιδρότητα καὶ τὸ ἀδεῖες2

Ε πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον, ὦσπερ τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου, μὴτε ὑχριάσαντος μήτε ἐκπλαγέντος, ἀλλ' ἐλκοντος τὸ ξίφος τοῦ Πελοπίδου καὶ καταμανθάνοντος.

Ἐν τούτῳ Κηφισόδωρος ο Νιογείτονος,3 εἰς τῶν φίλων, παρῆ τούς ἡμᾶς ξίφος ἐχων καὶ θύρανα σιδηρῶν ὑπενδυμένος καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν Χάρωνος ὑπ' Ἀρχίου μετάπεμψιν ἡτίατο. τὴν μέλλον ἡμῶν καὶ παρώξυνεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰς οἰκίας βαδίζειν· φθῆσθαι γὰρ ἐμπεσόντας αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή, βέλτιον εἶναι προελθόντας ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ συμπλέκεσθαι πρὸς ἀλήλους4 ἀσυντάκτους καὶ στοράδας ἡ μέ-

F νειν ἐν οἰκίσκῳ καθείρξαντας αὐτοὺς ὦσπερ σμη-

νος ἐξαιρεθησομένος ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ἐνήγε 

дель καὶ ο μάντις Θεόκριτος, ὡς τῶν ιερῶν σω-

τηρίων καὶ καλῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν ἐχεγγύων αὐτῶ γεγονότων.

1 αὐτὸς Reiske: οὕτος.
2 ἀδεῖες Basle edition of 1542, Ald.2: ἀδέδεις.
3 Κηφισόδωρος ο Νιογείτονος Wilamowitz and Sykutris: κηφισοδώρῳ (κηφισοδόρῳ Β) διότονος.
4 ἀλήλους Xylander deletes; ἀλλοὺς or αὐτοὺς Wyttenbach.
too it would be no honour to fall into the hands of the enemy. But, my son, be brave in this first trial before your age of the real business of fighting, and encounter peril at the side of many brave countrymen, with freedom and virtue as the prize; much hope yet remains, and doubtless some god is watching over us as we struggle for the right.

28. Tears came to the eyes of many of us, Archedamus, at his words; but he was dry-eyed himself and unmoved as he put his son into the charge of Pelopidas and passed through the door, taking every one of us by the hand and speaking words of encouragement. Even more admirable would you have found the boy's own radiance and fearlessness in face of danger; like Neoptolemus, he neither blenched nor was dismayed, but drew Pelopidas' sword and studied it with care.

Meanwhile Cephisodorus, son of Diogeiton, one of our party, arrived, armed with a sword and wearing an iron corslet under his cloak. When he heard that Charon had been summoned by Archias, he blamed our delay and spurred us on to proceed to the houses at once; we should thus be upon them before they could attack, and failing that, it was better to get out into the open and engage with an enemy unorganized and scattered like ourselves than to remain where we were, confining ourselves in a small room for them to collect like a swarm of bees. Theocritus the diviner also urged us to act, as his sacrifice promised deliverance and triumph and assured our safety.

\[a\] The son of Achilles: cf. Homer, Od. xi. 528-530:

"Him never have I seen
Blench from his ruddy hue, or from his cheek
Brush off the coward tears."
29. ὢτριξιπειντος εἰς ἄκραὶ τῷ προσώπῳ καὶ μεταξῷ, καὶ προσβλέπτων εἰς ἄκρας θαρρεῖν ἔκελενον, ὡς δεινον μηδενός ὄντος ἄλλα τῆς πράξεως ὁδῷ βαδιζοῦσης. " δ' ἕτερον Ἀρχίας," ἔφη, " καὶ ὁ Φίλ-

596 ἱππος, ὡς ἦκουσαν ἦκεν ἐμὲ κεκλήμενον, ἦδη βαρεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ὄντες καὶ συνεκλεισόμενοι 
tοῖς σώμασι τὰς ψυχὰς, μόλις διαναλατάντες ἐξω 

προῆλθον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρχίου 

ἐλνᾶδας, ὁ Χάρων, ἀκούομεν ἐν τῇ πόλει κρύ-

πτεσθαι παρευσελθόντας, ου̃ μετρίως ἐγὼ διαταρα-

χθεῖς, "πού δ', εἴπον, ' εἴναι λέγονται καὶ τίνες;'

ἀγνοούμεν,' ὁ Ἀρχίας εἶπε, ' καὶ σε τοῦτον χάριν 

ἐλθεῖν ἐκελεύσαμεν, εἴ δή τι τυγχάνοι σαφέστερον 

ἀκηκοώς.'

"Καθὼς, μικρὸν ὠσπερ ἐκ πληγῆς ἀναφέρων 
tὴν διάνοιαν, ἐλογιζόμην λόγον εἶναι τὴν μήνυσιν

Β οὐ̃ βέβαιον οὐ̃ ὑπὸ τῶν συνεκδότων ἐξενηχθάν 
tὴν πράξειν οὐ̃δὲνς: οὐ̃ γὰρ ἄν ἁγνοεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν 

αὐτοὺς, εἰ̃ τις εἴδως ἀκριβῶς ἔμηνυν, ἄλλως δὲ̃ 

ὑποθείας ἡ λόγον ἄσθμαν ἐν τῇ πόλει περιφερομένον 

ἡκεν εἰς ἐκέινους. εἴπον οὖ̃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι̃

ζῶντος μὲν Ἀνδροκλεῖδου πολλάκις ἐπίσταμαι̃ 

φήμας τοιωτας ρύειςας διακενῆς καὶ λόγους̃ 

ψευδεῖς ἐνοχλήσαντας ἦμιν, νυνί δὲ̃ ' ἔφην, ' οὐ̃δὲν̃ 

ἀκήκοα τουοῦτον, ὁ ᾧ̃ Ἀρχίας σκέψομαι δὲ̃ τὸν λόγον, 

εἰ̃ κελεύεις, κἂ̃ν πῦθωμαι τὶ φροντίδος ἅξιον, ὑμᾶς̃ 

οὐ̃ λήσεται.'

1 ἀδής Turnebus: αὐτοῖς.
2 ἐκ πληγῆς Turnebus: ἐκπλαγεῖς.
29. We were arming and preparing for combat when Charon returned with a cheerful and smiling face, and looking us straight in the eye told us to be of good courage; there was nothing to fear, and our plans were working smoothly. "When Archias and Philippus," he said, "heard that I had answered the summons, they were already heavy with drink and their minds, like their bodies, had lost their vigour; it was all they could do to get up and come out to the door. 'We hear, Charon,' said Archias, 'that exiles have slipped into the city and are lying concealed.' At this I felt no ordinary alarm and asked: 'Where are they reported to be, and who are they?' 'We do not know,' he replied; 'that is why we sent for you, to see if you had heard any more definite news.' "Recovering my wits somewhat as from a blow, I reflected that the report was mere hearsay; that our plot had not been denounced by anyone privy to it (for if someone knowing the true state of affairs had betrayed us, they would not be ignorant of the house); and that a mere suspicion or vague report circulating in the city had reached them. And so I replied: 'When Androcleidas was alive I understand that spates of such idle rumours and false reports often gave us trouble, but at present,' I said, 'I have heard nothing of the sort, Archias; I shall however investigate the story, if you so direct, and if I hear of anything alarming it will be brought to your attention.'

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\(^a\) Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. x. 1-5 (282 f—283 A).

\(^b\) A Theban exile assassinated at Athens at Leontiades' command: cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. vi. 3 (280 e).

\(^3\) ἄν added by Wyttenbach.

\(^4\) ὑμᾶς οὐ λῆσεται Wilamowitz: οὐ λῆσεται ὑμᾶς.
(596) "'Πάνυ μὲν οὖν,' ὁ Φυλλίδας εἶπε· 'μηδέν, ὦ Χάρων, ἀδιερεύνητον μηδὲ ἀπυστον ὑπὲρ τούτων οἱ ἀπολύτης· τί γὰρ κωλύει μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν ἄλλα πάντα φυλάττεσθαι καὶ προσέχειν; καλὸν γὰρ ἡ πρόνοια καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς.' ἀμα δὲ τὸν Ἀρχίαν ὑπολαβὼν ἀπῆγγεν εἰς τὸν οἰκὸν ἐν ὧ πίνοντες τυγχάνομεν.

"'Ἀλλὰ μὴ μέλλωμεν, ἄνδρες,' ἐφθη, "προσευξάμενοι δὲ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐξίωμεν.' ταῦτα τοῦ Χάρωνος εἰπόντος, εὐχόμεθα τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν ἀλλήλους.

30. "Ὡρα μὲν οὖν ἣν καθ' ἣν ἄνθρωποι εὐλογεῖται περὶ δειπνόν εἰσι, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα μάλλον ἐπιτείνων ἡδὴ νυφετὸν ὑπεκίνει ψεκάδι λεπτῇ μεμυγμένον, ὥστε πολλὴν ἐρημίαν εἶναι διὰ τῶν στενωπῶν διεξούσιον. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν Δεοντιάδην καὶ τὸν Ἰπάτην3 ταχθέντες ἐγγὺς ἄλληλων οἰκοῦντας4 ἐν ἵματίοις εξῆσαν ἐχοντες οὐδὲν ἑτερον τῶν ὄπλων ἣ μάχαιραν ἑκαστος (ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἢν καὶ Πελοπίδας καὶ Δαμοκλείδας καὶ Κηφισόδωρος), Χάρων δὲ καὶ Μέλων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐπιτρέπεισθαι τοῖς περὶ Ἀρχίαν μέλλοντες, ἡμιθρώρακα ἐνδεδυμένοι καὶ στεφάνους δασεῖς ἐχοντες, οἱ μὲν ἐλάτης οἱ δὲ πεύκης, ἐνοὶ δὲ καὶ χιτῶνα τῶν γυναικείων5 ἀμπεχόμενοι, μεθύοντας ἀπομυμουμένοι κῶμω χρωμένως μετὰ γυναικῶν.

'Ἡ6 δὲ χείρων,' ὁ Ἀρκέδαμε, τύχη καὶ τὰς τῶν πολεμίων μαλακίας καὶ ἀγνοίας ταῖς ἡμετέραις

1 γὰρ EB1mg: δὲ B.
2 ἄνθρωποι] ἄνθρωποι Sieveking.
3 Ἰπάτην Xylander (cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. xi. 1, 283 c): ὑπάτην.
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By all means do so, Charon,' said Phyllidas; 'omit no search or inquiry in this matter; for what is to keep us from making light of nothing, but being everywhere cautious and vigilant? Forethought and circumspection are an excellent thing.' With this he took Archias in hand and led him back to the dining hall where they are now carousing.

"Then let us not delay, gentlemen," he said; "but address our prayers to the gods and go forth." When Charon had thus spoken we began praying to the gods and cheering one another on.

30. It was the hour when people are mostly at dinner; and the wind, growing stronger, had begun to bring on a fall of snow mixed with a thin drizzle, so that we found very few people abroad as we passed through the streets. The party appointed to attack Leontiades and Hypates, who lived near one another, went out in their mantles, taking none of their weapons but a knife each; among them were Pelopidas, Damocleidas, and Cephisodorus. Charon and Melon and their party, who were to set upon Archias, went out wearing the front plates of their corslets and crowned with bushy chaplets, some of silver fir and some of pine; a few were dressed in women's clothing. Thus the party represented a band of tipsy revellers in the company of women.\(^a\)

Our worse fortune, Archedamus, which would have made all the indolence and blindness of the enemy

\(^a\) Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. xi. 1-2 (283 c-d).
(596) ἐπανισσούσα τὸλμαὶς καὶ παρασκευαῖς καὶ καθάπερ 
δρᾶμα τὴν πράξιν ἡμῶν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς διαποκύλλουσα 
Ε κινδυνώδεσιν ἐπεισοδίους εἰς αὐτὸ συνέδραμε τὸ 
ἔργον, οἷς ἐπιφέρουσα καὶ δεινὸν ἀνελπίστου 
περιπετείας ἀγώνα. τοῦ γὰρ Χάρωνος ὡς ἐνέπεσε 
τοῖς1 περὶ Ἄρχιαν καὶ Φίλιππον ἀναχωρήσαντο 
οἴκαδε καὶ διασκεύαζοντος ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν 
ἡκεν ἐνθεύνε παρ’ ὑμῶν ἐπιστολὴ παρ’ Ἄρχιον 
τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς Ἄρχιαν ἐκείνον, ὅντα φίλον 
αὐτῷ καὶ ξένον, ὡς ἔουκεν, ἔξαγγέλλουσα τῇν 
F κάθοδον καὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τῶν φυγάδων καὶ τὴν 
οἰκίαν εἰς ὁν παρεληλύθεισαν καὶ τοὺς συμπράττον- 
τας αὐτοῖς. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τῇ μέθη κατακεκλασμένος2 
ὁ Ἄρχιας καὶ3 τῇ προσδοκίᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν ἀνεπτοπ- 
μένος ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν ἐπιστολὴν, τοῦ δὲ γραμ- 
ματοφόρου φήσαντος ὑπὲρ τῶν4 σπουδαίων αὐτῷ 
γεγράθαι, "τὰ σπουδαιὰ τοῖνυ εἰς αὑρίον," 
ἐφη. καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπέθηκεν ὑπὸ τὸ 
προσκεφάλαιον, αὐτήσας δὲ ποτήριον ἐκέλευσεν 
ἐγχεῖν καὶ τὸν Φυλλίδαν ἐξέπεμπε συνεχῶς ἐπὶ 
θύρας σκεφόμενον εἰ τὰ γύναια πρόσευσιν. 

31. Τοιαύτης δὲ τὸν πότον ἐλπίδος διαπαιδαγω- 
γησάσης προσμιέχαντες ἡμεῖς καὶ διὰ τῶν οἰκετῶν 
eὐθὺς ὠσάμενοι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρωνα μικρὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς 
θύραις ἐστημεν ἐφορῶντες τῶν κατακειμένων ἐκα- 
597 στον. ἦ μὲν οὖν τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος 
سياسات παραλογιζομένη τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ἡμῶν συγῆν

1 ἐνέπεσε τοῖς] ἐνέπεσε τοῖς Reiske: ἐνέπυξε τοῖς Emperius; 
ἐνεγέλασε τοῖς? Post.

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a match for all our daring and preparation, and which had from the outset been enlivening the course of our enterprise, like the action of a play, with perilous incidents, now joined issue with us in the very moment of execution, involving us in a sudden and terrible ordeal that threatened unlooked-for disaster to our hopes. When Charon, on returning home from his encounter with Archias and Philippus, was disposing us for the attack, a letter came from Archias the hierophant here at Athens to the Archias at Thebes, his friend it appears and host, revealing the exiles' return, their plot, the house they had entered, and their confederates. Archias, now quite overcome with wine and all agog, too, with his expectation of the women, took the letter in his hand, but when the messenger said that it concerned important business, remarked, "If business is important it can wait till tomorrow," and slipped it under his cushion. Calling for a beaker he ordered it filled and every moment kept sending Phyllidas to the street to see if the women were coming.

31. These were the hopes that had beguiled them over the wine when we came up and, forcing a way at once through the servants to the banqueting hall, stood for a moment at the door, looking over each of the company reclining there. The sight of our chaplets and dress deceived them about our presence in

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a Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. x. 6-10 (283 b-c); Nepos, Pelopidas, chap. iii; Paroem. Gr. i, p. 404.

b Cf. Mor. 619 d-e.

2 κατακεκλασμένος κατακεκλυσμένος Cobet.
3 κα'ν] καὶ Turnebus ; κατι? Post.
4 τῶν] των van Herwerden (cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. x. 8, 283 c) : Cobet deletes.
(597) ἐπούησεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πρῶτος ὁ Μέλων ὤρμησε διὰ μέσου τὴν χείρα τῇ λαβῇ τοῦ ξίφους ἐπιβεβληκός, Καβίριχος ὁ κυαμευτὸς ἀρχων, τοῦ βραχίωνος αὐτῶν παραπομεόμενον ἀντισπάσας, ἀνεβόησεν, "οὐ Μέλων οὖτος, ὁ Φυλλίδα;" τούτου μὲν οὖν ἐξέκρουσε τὴν ἐπιβολὴν ἀμα τὸ ξίφος ἀνέλκων, διανιστάμενον δὲ χαλέπῳς τὸν Ἀρχίαν ἐπιδραμών οὐκ ἀνήκε παίων ἐως ἀπέκτεινε.

Τὸν δὲ Φίλιππον ἔτρωσε μὲν Χάρων παρὰ τὸν τράχηλον, ἀμυνόμενον δὲ τοῖς παρακεκεφαλόσ γειτω-Β μασίν ὁ Λυσίθεος ἀπὸ τῆς κλίνης χαμαί καταβαλὼν ἀνείλε.

Τὸν δὲ Καβίριχον ἥμεις κατεπραύνομεν ἄξιοντες μὴ τοῖς τυράννοις βοηθεῖν ἀλλὰ τὴν πατρίδα συνελεύθερον, ἱερὸν ὀντα καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς καθωσω-μένον ὑπέρ αὐτῆς· ὡς δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν οἶνον οὐκ ἦν εὐπαρακόμιστος τῷ λογισμῷ πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μετέωρος καὶ τεταραγμένος ἀνίστατο καὶ τὸ δόρυ προεβάλλετο κατ' αἰχμὴν ὀπερ ἔξ ἔθους ἀεὶ φοροῦσιν οἱ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀρχοντες, ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκ μέσου διαλαβὼν τὸ δόρυ καὶ μετεωρίσας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐβόων ἀφεῖναι καὶ σωζεῖν ἑαυτόν, εἰ δὲ μή, πε-πλήξεσθαι· Θεόπομπος δὲ παραστὰς ἐκδεξιῶν C καὶ τῷ ξίφει πατάξας αὐτὸν, "ἐνταῦθα," ἐφη, "κείσο μετὰ τούτων οὐς ἑκολάκενες· μὴ γὰρ ἐν ἐλευθέραις στεφανώσαι τοῖς Θήβαις μηδὲ θύσειας

1 Καβίριχος] Καβείριχος Cobet.
2 κυαμευτὸς W. Dindorf: κύαμιστος.
3 ἐπιβολὴν Reiske: ἐπιβουλὴν.
the city and kept them quiet; but when Melon, the first to make a move, set out through their midst, his hand on his sword hilt, Cabirichus, the magistrate appointed by lot, caught his arm as he passed and shouted: “Isn’t this Melon, Phyllidas?” Melon, however, disengaged himself, drawing his sword as he did so, and rushing at Archias, who was having trouble getting to his feet, did not slacken his blows until he had killed him.

Philippus was wounded by Charon near the neck, and as he defended himself with the goblets set before him, Lysitheüs threw him from his couch to the ground and dispatched him.

We endeavoured to quiet Cabirichus, adjuring him not to lend aid to the tyrants but help us set his country free, as his person was sacred and consecrated to the gods in that country’s behalf. But as he was not easily to be won over to the wiser course by an appeal to reason, the wine also having its effect, but was getting to his feet, excited and confused, and couching the spear our magistrates are accustomed to keep always with them, I seized it in the middle and raising it above my head shouted to him to let go and save himself, as he would otherwise be cut down; but Theopompus came up at his right and struck him with his sword, saying: “Lie there with these you toadied to: may you never wear the chaplet when Thebes is free and never sacrifice again

In the Life of Pelopidas (chap. xi. 3, 283 v) the appearance of the supposed women is greeted with shouts and applause.

4 Θεόπουσ Amyot, Ald.2: θέως.
(597) ἔτι τοῖς θεοῖς ἔφ' ἄν κατηράσω πολλά τῇ πατρίδι, πολλάκις ὑπὲρ τῶν πολεμίων εὐχόμενοι." πεσόν-
tος δὲ τοῦ Καβαρίχου τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν δόρυ Θεόκριτος
παρὰν ἀνήρτασεν ἐκ τοῦ φόνου, τῶν δὲ θεραπόντων
ὁλίγως τολμήσαντας ἀμύνασθαι διεφθείραμεν ἥμεις,
tοὺς δὲ ἤσυχίαι ἀγοντας εἰς τὸν ἀνδρῶνα κατεκλει-
σαμεν οὐ βουλόμενοι διαπεσόντας ἐξαγγεῖλαι τὰ
D πεπραγμένα πρὶν εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐτέρων¹ εἰ
καλῶς κεχώρηκεν.

32. Ἐπράξθη δὲ κάκεινα τοὺτον τὸν τρόπον:
ἐκοψαν οἱ περὶ Πελοπίδαν τοῦ Λεοντιάδου τὴν αὐ-
λειον ἰσυχῇ προσελθόντες καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὑπακοῦ-
σαντα τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐφασαν ἥκειν Ἄθηνηθέν
γράμματα τῷ Λεοντιάδῃ παρὰ Καλλιστράτου
κομίζοντες. ὡς δὲ ἀπαγγείλας καὶ κελευθεῖς
ἀνοίξας τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφεῖλε καὶ μικρὸν ἐνέδωκε τὴν
θύραν, ἐμπεσόντες ἄθροί καὶ ἀνατρέψαντες τὸν
ἀνθρωπὸν ἐντὸ δρόμῳ διὰ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν
θάλαμον. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐξενεχθεὶς
Ε τῇ ὑπονοίᾳ καὶ ἀπασάμενοι τὸ ἐγχειρίδιον ὀρμήσε
πρὸς ἄμυναν, ἀδίκος μὲν ἄνηρ καὶ τυραννικός,
eὐρωστὸς δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ κατὰ χειρὰ ῥωμαλέος·
οὐ μὴν ἔγνω γε τὸν λύχνον καταβαλεῖν καὶ διὰ
σκότους συμμίξας τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους, ἀλλ' ἐν φωτὶ
kαθορόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦτον ἀμα τῆς θύρας ἀνουγο-
μένης παίει τὸν Κηφισόδωρον εἰς τὸν λαγόνα καὶ
dευτέρῳ τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ συμπέσαν, μέγα βοῶν
ἀνεκαλεῖτο τοὺς θεραπόντας. ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν
οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαμίδαν² ἀνείργην, οὐ παρακινδυνεύον-
tας εἰς χειρὰς ἐλθεῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐπιφανεστάτοις τῶν

¹ ἐτέρων] ἐταῖρων Leonicus.
² καὶ] van Herwerden deletes.
to the gods before whom you have invoked so many

curses on your country in your many prayers for her
enemies." When Cabirichus had fallen, Theocritus
(who was standing near) caught up the sacred spear
from the blood, while we dispatched the few servants
who had ventured to fight back and locked up the
rest, who made no resistance, in the banqueting hall,
as we did not wish them to slip away and report what
had been done until we knew whether the other party
had been successful.

32. That action too was carried out as I will de-
scribe. Pelopidas' party quietly went up to Leonti-
des' outer door and knocked, telling the slave who
answered that they came from Athens with a letter
for Leontiades from Callistratus. The slave took
the message and was ordered to open. When he had
removed the bolt and partly opened the door, they
all burst in together, bowled the fellow over, and
dashed through the courtyard to the bedchamber.
Leontiades guessed the truth at once, and drawing
his dagger, prepared to defend himself; he was, it
is true, an unjust and tyrannical man, yet firm of
soul and stout of arm. He did not, however, deter-
mine to dash the lamp to the ground and close with
his assailants in the dark, but was visible to them
in the lamplight as he struck Cephisodorus in the
side the instant the door opened and engaging with
Pelopidas, who came next, called loudly for the
servants. But these were held back by Samidas and
the men with him, and did not risk coming to blows
with opponents who were the most illustrious citizens

a Doubtless the well-known Athenian statesman. That
he was no friend of Thebes can be gathered from Mor. 810 r.

8 Σαμίδαν Reiske: σαμείδαν (σάμείδαν E).
(597) πολιτῶν καὶ κατ' ἀλκήν διαφέρουσιν. ἀγὼν δὲ ἦν Φ τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ πρὸς τὸν Λεοντιάδην καὶ διαξιφισμὸς ἐν ταῖς θύραις τοῦ θαλάμου στεναῖς οὕσας καὶ τοῦ Κηφισοδώρου πεπτωκότος ἐν μέσαις αὐταῖς καὶ θυγήσκοντος, ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους προσβοθεῖν. τέλος δ' ὁ ἠμέτερος λαβὼν μὲν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν οὐ μέγα τραδία, δοὺς δὲ πολλὰ καὶ καταβαλὼν τὸν Λεοντιάδην ἐπέσφαξε θερμῶς τῷ Κηφισοδώρῳ καὶ γὰρ εἶδε πίπτοντα τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ τὴν δεξιὰν ἐνέβαλε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀσπασάμενος ἁμα ἑλεως ἔξεπνευσε. γενόμενοι δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων, ἐπὶ τὸν 'Ὑπάτην τρεπονται καὶ τῶν θυρῶν ὅμοιως αὐτοῖς ἀνοιχθεῖσαν φεύγοντα τὸν 'Ὑπάτην ὑπὲρ τέγος τινὸς ἐς τοὺς γείτονας ἀποσφάττουσιν.

598 33. Ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἤπειγοντο καὶ συμβάλλουσιν ἡμῖν ἔωθεν παρὰ τὴν πολύστυλον. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ ἅλλους καὶ συλλαλήσαντες ἐχωροῦμεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον. ἐκκαλέσας δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ὁ Φυλλίδας, "Ἀρχίας," ἔφη, "καὶ Φίλιππος κελεύοντι σε ταχέως ἀγεν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀμφίθεουν." ὁ δὲ, ὅρων καὶ τῆς ὠρας τὴν ἀτοπίαν καὶ τὸ μὴ καθεστηκότα λαλεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν Φυλλίδαν, ἄλλα θερμῶν ὄντα τῷ ἀγωνὶ καὶ μετέωρον, ὑπιδόμενος τὸ πλάσμα, "πότε," ἔλεγεν, "ὁ Φυλλίδα, Β τηνικαῦτα μετεπέμψαντο δεσμώτην οἱ πολέμαρχοι; πότε δὲ διὰ σοῦ; τί δὲ κομίζεις παράσημον;" "ιδοὺ," ἔφη ὁ Φυλλίδας, "τὸ παράσημον". ἀμα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ ἔυστον ἰππικὸν ἔχων δυνῆκε τῶν πλευρῶν καὶ κατέβαλε πονηρὸν ἀνθρωπον, ὡ καὶ μεθ'
of Thebes and excellent fighters. Pelopidas struggled and fenced with Leontiades in the doorway of the chamber; as the passage was narrow and Cephasdorus had fallen between the folding doors and lay there dying, the rest were kept from coming to his aid. Finally our champion, after receiving a slight wound in the head and dealing out many, struck Leontiades to the ground and killed him over the body of Cephasdorus, still warm with life, who saw his enemy fall, gave Pelopidas his hand, and when he had saluted the rest, serenely breathed his last. This done they turned their attention to Hypates, and gaining admittance by a similar stratagem, killed him as he fled over a roof-top to the neighbouring house.

33. From there they made haste to join us and met us outside the Porch of Many Columns. After exchanging greetings and talk we proceeded to the prison. Phyllidas called the gaoler out and said: “Archias and Philippus order you to bring Amphitheüs to them at once.” The man, observing the unusual hour and that Phyllidas was not talking to him coolly, but was flushed with the combat and in a ferment, saw through the trick and asked: “When have the polemarchs ever sent for a prisoner at such an hour? And when through you? What token of authority do you bring?” “This is my authority,” said Phyllidas, and, as he said it, ran him through the body with a cavalry lance he held, striking down a

1 μέσους αὐταῖς Holwerda: μέσους αὐτοῖς.
2 Τράπην Xylander: ἱππάτην E; ὑπάτην corrected from ἱππάτην B.
3 δὲ τὸν Turnebus, to fill a lacuna of 8-7 letters.
4 ὑπειδόμενος Bern.: ὑπειδόμενος.
5 πλάσμα B: πάλαισμα E.
6 ἰδοὺ through παράσημον added by Pohlenz.
(598) ἦμέραν ἐπενεβήσαν καὶ προσέπτυσαν οὐκ ὀλίγας γυναίκες.

'Ἡμεῖς δὲ τὰς θύρας τῆς εἰρκτῆς κατασχίσαντες ἐκαλοῦμεν ὀνομαστὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸν Ἀμφίθεον, εἰτὰ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς ὅν ἐκαστὸς ἐπιτηδεύσεις εἰχεν· οἱ δὲ, τὴν φωνὴν γυνῳίζοντες, ἀνεπήδων ἕκ τῶν χαμευνῶν ἄσμενοι, τὰς ἀλύσεις ἐφέλκοντες, οἱ δὲ τοὺς πόδας ἐν τῷ ἔλυσι δεδεμένου τὰς χεῖρας ὁρέγοντες ἐβόων δε δέμενοι μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι. λυσμένων

C δὲ τούτων ἦδη πολλοὶ προσέφεροντο τῶν ἐγγὺς οἰκούντων, αἰσθανόμενοι τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ καίροντες. αἱ δὲ γυναίκες, ὡς ἐκάστη περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἥκουσεν, οὐκ ἐμμένουσαι τοῖς Βουωτῶν ἠθεσιν, εξέτρεχον πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ διεπνυμάντων παρὰ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων, αἱ δὲ ἀνευρόσας πατέρας ἤ ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἥκολονθουν, οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκώλυσεν γὰρ ἦν μεγάλη πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἔλεος καὶ δάκρυα καὶ ἐνέσεις σωφρόνων γυναικῶν.

34. Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντων, πυθομενός τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐγώ καὶ τὸν Γοργίδαν

D ἦδη μετὰ τῶν φίλων συναθροίζονται περὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν, ἐπορεύομην πρὸς αὐτούς. ἦκον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ συνέρρεον αἰεὶ πλείονες. ὡς δὲ ἀπήγγειλα καθ’ ἐκαστὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πεπραγμένα καὶ παρεκάλουν βοθεῖν ἐλθόντας εἰς τὴν ἀγοράν, ἀμα πάντες εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐκήρυττον τοὺς πολίτας. τοῖς δὲ τότε ὁχλοῖς τῶν συνισταμένων ὁπλα παρείχον αἱ τε στοι,

1 ἀνεπήδων Wyttenbach: ἀπεπήδων.
2 χαμευνῶν Stephanus: χαμεῦνων.
3 ἠθεσιν] ἠθεσιν Wyttenbach.
vile fellow, on whom not a few women trod and spat the next day.

We then split down the gaol door and first called out the name of Amphitheüs and then those of the rest with whom we were severally connected. Recognizing our voices they leapt joyfully from their pallets, dragging their chains; and those whose feet were confined in the stocks stretched out their arms and cried out, begging not to be left behind. While these were released, not a few of the people who lived near by were already joining us, getting wind of what was afoot and elated with it. The women, as one after another heard news of someone close to her, ran out into the streets to meet one another, unmindful of our Boeotian manners, and made inquiries of the passers-by. Those who had found a father or husband followed along, no one stopping them; for all who met them were mightily swayed by their own pity and the tears and entreaties of decent women.

34. This was the situation when I heard that Epameinondas and Gorgidas were already assembling with their friends at the temple of Athena and went to find them. Many brave citizens had gathered there and more and more kept arriving. When I had given them a full account of what had passed, urging them to go to the market place and reinforce us, all of them at once set to summoning the citizenry to rally to the cause of liberty. The crowds that then formed found weapons in the colonnades, which were

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\( \text{Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. xii. 1-4 (284 a-c) for the remaining scenes of the night.} \)

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\( \text{ai τε στοια} \) Turnebus (from Life of Pelopidas, chap. xii. 1, 284 A): \( \text{αί θ' έστια} \).
(598) πλήρεις οὖσαί παντοδαπῶν λαφύρων, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἑγγὺς οἰκούντων ἑργαστηρία μαχαροποιών. ήκε δὲ καὶ Ἰπποθενείδας μετὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ οἰκετῶν τοὺς ἐπιδεδημηκότας κατὰ τύχην πρὸς τὰ Ἡρά-
Ε κλεια σαλπιγκτάς¹ παραλαμβάνων. εὐθέως δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἑσήμανον οἱ δὲ κατ’ ἄλλους τόπους, πανταχόθεν ἐκταράττοντες τοὺς ὑπεναν-
tίους, ὡς πάντων ἀφεστῶτων. οἱ μὲν οὖν λακω-
νιζόντες² ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἐφευγον ἐπισπασάμενοι καὶ τοὺς κρείττους³ λεγο-
mένους, εἰωθότας δὲ περὶ τὴν ἄκραν κάτω⁴ νυ-
kτερεύειν. οἱ δὲ άνω, τοῦτων μὲν ἀτάκτως καὶ τεθορυμημένως ἐπιχεομένων, ἥμας δὲ περὶ τὴν ἀγορᾶν ἀφορώντες, οὐδενὸς μέρους ἡσυχάζοντος, ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν ψόφων καὶ θορύβων ἀναφερο-
μένων, καταβαίνειν μὲν οὐ διενοόντο, καίπερ περὶ πεντακόσιοις καὶ χιλίοις⁵ τὸ πλῆθος ὄντες, ἐκπε-
πληγμένοι δὲ τὸν κίνδυνον ἄλλως προσφασίζοντο
Λυσανορίδαν περιμένειν,⁷ παρέσεσθαι γὰρ ἐφη⁸ τῆς
ημέρας ἐκείνης. διὸ καὶ τούτων μὲν ύστερον, ὡς
πυθανόμεθα, χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐξημίωσαν⁹ τῶν
Λακεδαμονίων οἱ γέροντες, 'Ἡρππίδαν¹⁰ δὲ καὶ
"Ἀρκεσον¹¹ ἀπέκτειναν εὖθυς ἐν Κορίνθῳ λαβόντες.
τὴν δὲ Καδμείαν ὑπόσπονδον παραδόντες ἡμῖν
ἀπῆλλαττόν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

¹ σαλπιγκτάς] σαλπιγκτάς B.
² οὖν λακωνίζοντες Reiske : καὶ καπνίζοντες.
³ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπὶ (ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Bern.) our supplement of a lacuna of 21-19 letters.
⁴ κρείττους] ἐκκρίτους Wilamowitz ; κριτοῦ ?
⁵ κάτω Turnebus : καὶ τῶ.
⁶ πεντακόσιοις καὶ χιλίοις Wilamowitz (from Life of Polypo-
pidas, chap. xii. 4, 284 b ; cf. also 586 e, supra, and Diodorus,
xv. 25. 3) : πεντακισχίλιοι.

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full of trophies of all kinds, and in the workshops of the cutlers who dwelt near by. Hippostheneidas too appeared with his friends and servants, bringing the trumpeters who happened to be in town for the festival of Heracles. They at once set to blowing their trumpets, some in the market place, others elsewhere, from all sides filling our opponents with alarm as if the whole city had risen. The partisans of Sparta fled from the town to the Cadmeia, drawing along with them the so-called “Incomparables,” a body of men whose custom it was to bivouac nightly at the foot of the citadel. The garrison on the height, with this disordered and terrified rout pouring in, and with us visible to them down in the market place, no quarter remaining quiet, but noises and the sounds of tumult being borne up to them from all sides, were in no mood to descend into the town, although fifteen hundred strong, but were terror-struck and took refuge in the pretext that they were waiting for Lysanoridas, who had promised to return that day. For this reason he was later sentenced by the Spartan Elders to a large fine; Herippidas and Arcesus were put to death by them the moment they were apprehended in Corinth. They surrendered the Cadmeia to us under a truce and set about withdrawing with their forces.

a Lysanoridas had gone to Haliartus: cf. 578 a, supra.
b Cf. Life of Pelopidas, chap. xiii. 3 (284 d).

7 περιμένειν Reiske: παραμένειν.
8 παρέσεσθαι γὰρ ἐφι Post: γὰρ followed by a lacuna of 16 letters and ἰ.
9 πολλοῖς (μόνον Manton) ἐξημίωσαν nos, to fill a lacuna of 17 letters in E: ν οὐκ ὀλγοὺς ἐξημίωσαν B.
10 Ἦρμππίδαν Bern. (cf. textual note on 586 ε, supra): ἐρμππίδαν.
11 ἀρχεσον B1ss: ἀρχεσον EcB1t; ἀρχὲ τὸν Eac.
ON EXILE
(DE EXILIO)
INTRODUCTION

The essay is evidently addressed to an exile from Sardis (cf. 600 a, 601 b), probably at the moment in Athens (cf. 604 c, 607 e), who has been plausibly identified with the Menemachus of Sardis for whom Plutarch wrote the essay Praecepta Gerendae Reipublicae. Plutarch does not state the terms of exile, except to say that his friend was not banished to one specified area, but could travel freely so long as he did not return home (cf. 604 b).

There is no evidence, internal or external, which makes possible a precise dating of the essay. The reference to Sunium, Taenarus, and the Ceraunian mountains as the limits of continental Greece (601 a) may mean that the essay was written at a time when Epeirus, at least in part, was still included in the province of Achaia; but this gives little help, since it is not known when Epeirus was established as a

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b It is evident that one of the milder forms of relegatio was used here: cf. Mommsen, Römisches Strafrecht, p. 967. Plutarch’s suggestion (602 b-c) that his friend should choose a new city indicates that the exile was in perpetuum.
separate province." Again, as the very similar words in the Life of Phocion (754 f) show, Plutarch may here be taking over an expression from some earlier author. Nor does the remark in 605 b help to fix the date of the work. Throughout the period of Plutarch's literary activity there were many prominent figures—such men as Martial, Quintilian, Juvenal, Dio Chrysostom, Epictetus, Musonius, and Favorinus—who lived for many years away from their native lands. Seneca says that in his time a large part of the persons living in any given city came from elsewhere.\(^b\)

The identification of Plutarch's exiled friend with Menemachus of Sardis has some bearing on the date of the essay. If this identification is correct, it was written some time after the Praecepta Gerendae Republicae, which refers to Domitian in a way that suggests that his reign had recently ended: έναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ (815 d). Hence the essay must have been written after the death of Domitian in a.d. 96.

Plutarch has employed in this essay many of the conventional topics which occur also in the consolations on exile written by Teles, Musonius, Seneca, and others.\(^c\) A. Giesecke, who made a study of


\(^b\) Seneca, Ad Helv. 6. 4-5; cf. Favorinus, περὶ φυγής col. viii. 41 (G. Vitelli and M. Norsa, Il Papiro Vaticano Greco 11. 1, Studi e Testi, 53, Vatican City, 1931).

\(^c\) The use of commonplaces in moral essays was a recognized procedure among ancient philosophers, as Cicero has indicated in the Tusc. Disput. iii. 34 (81): "Sunt enim certa quae de paupertate, certa quae de vita inhonorata et ingloria dici soleant; separatim certae scholae sunt de exilio, 514
ancient writings on exile, found that the similarities between Plutarch, Musonius, and Teles are especially conspicuous. He concluded that Bion and Aristo
of Chios must have provided a common source for these writers. Subsequently, B. Häsl
er made a comparative study of consolatory topics in connexion with the recently discovered work of Favorinus on exile.

In the initial exhortation to a rational attitude toward exile, Plutarch asserts that the evil of exile lies in opinion only (599 d, 600 d), but that, even assuming that exile itself is an evil, we can abate it by diluting it with the good still remaining to us, as wealth (601 f, 602 a, 604 b), friends, and leisure.

The second main division of the De Exilio proceeds from the statement that "no native land is such by nature" (600 e). Plutarch then develops the common theme that the whole universe is our native land. The consequence that he draws from this, however, is not that the particular place where he happens to be is a matter of no importance to a wise man, but rather that the exile would do well to choose for

de interitu patriae, de servitute, de debilitate, de caecitate, de omni casu in quo nomen poni solet calamitatis. Haec Graecici in singulas scholas et in singulos libros dispersiunt; . . .”


c B. Häsl, Favorin über die Verbannung (Bottrop i. W., 1935).

d Cf. Seneca’s similar statement about grief in Ad Marc. 19. 1.

e Contrast the attack on wealth as a good in Favorinus, col. xvi. 31, and Seneca’s argument that poverty is not an evil in Ad Helv. 10.

f Cf. Seneca, Ad Helv. 8. 6: “Quantum refert mea quid calcem?”
himself the best spot he can find, and in time it will become his native land (602 c).

In the following discussion of places of exile Plutarch praises at some length the islands of the Aegean. That he is still thinking primarily of external goods is abundantly clear from his portrayal of life on an island (603 e). The advantages of exile are further supported by the example of the many great men who voluntarily departed from home (604 d ff.).

The fourth major division of Plutarch's essay is a refutation of certain charges commonly brought against exile. This division contains many topics in common with the Cynic-Stoic consolations. Plutarch first answers the charges Euripides brings against exile in the *Phoenissae*, a work which was also attacked by Favorinus and Musonius. He also quotes apophthegms of the two famous Cynics, Diogenes and Antisthenes (606 b, 607 b). Toward the end of this section he mentions several mythological instances of exile, and an allusion to the exile of Apollo provides a transition to the Empedoclean teaching that human life on earth is an exile from heaven (607 c). The conclusion of the essay is Platonic in character, containing allusions to the *Phaedrus*, the *Timaeus*, and the *Phaedo* (607 e-f).

Thus the *De Exilio* does not have the severity of the Cynic doctrine, but rather combines in Plutarch's typical manner acceptance of the good things of this life with expectation of a better life to come. Plutarch uses the commonplaces of popular philosophy to

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*a* This is also a topic in Seneca, *Ad Helv.* 6. 2 ff., and Favorinus, col. viii. 41.

*b* Cf. Musonius, p. 48. 6 ff. (ed. Hense); and Favorinus, col. xv. 35.

*c* See the notes on 606 a ff.
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develop his theme, but imposes on them his own distinctive outlook on life.

One translation can be added to those already listed.\textsuperscript{a} The essay is No. 101 in the catalogue of Lamprias.

The text rests on \( \text{vw}\beta^2 a \). Occasionally \( \text{AE}\gamma\pi n \) are cited.

\textsuperscript{a} \textit{Plutarchus de exilio}, Angelo Barbato interprete. Nuremberg, 1517.
ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΓΗΣ

1. Τῶν λόγων ἀρίστους καὶ βεβαιωτάτους, ὡσπερ τῶν φίλων, φασὶν εἶναι τούς ἐν ταῖς συμφοραῖς παρόντας ὡφελίμως καὶ βοηθοῦντας. ἔπει πάρεισι ἐνε γε πολλοὶ καὶ προσδιαλέγονται τοῖς ἐπταυκόσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀχρήστως, μᾶλλον δὲ βλαβερῶς, καθάπερ ἀκόλυμβοι πυγμομένοι ἐπιχειροῦντες βοηθεῖν, περιπλεκόμενοι καὶ συγκαταδύοντες. δεὶ δὲ τὸν παρὰ τῶν φίλων καὶ τῶν βοηθοῦντων λόγον παρηγορίαν εἶναι, μὴ συνηγορίαν, τοῦ λυποῦντος· οὐ γάρ συνδακρυόντων καὶ συνεπιθηρηνοῦντων ὡσπερ χορῶν τραγικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις χρείαν ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ παρρησιαζομένων καὶ διδασκόντων ὃτι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ταπεινοῦν ἐαυτὸν ἐπὶ παντὶ μὲν ἀχρηστὸν Κ ἐστὶ καὶ γινόμενον κενῶς καὶ ἀνοήτως, ὅπου δ' αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα διδωσίν, ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ψυλαφηθέντα καὶ ἀνακαλυφθέντα, πρὸς ἐαυτὸν εἰπεῖν οὔδεν πέπουθας δεινόν, ἃν μὴ προσποιῆ, κομιδὴ γελοίόν ἐστι μὴ τῆς σαρκὸς πυθάνεσθαι τί πέπονθε, μηδὲ τῆς ψυχῆς εἰ διὰ τὸ σύμπτωμα 1 συγκαταδύοντες ν' : συγκαταδύοντες. 2 τὸ] omitted by νωβ. 3 εἰ αὐτῷ· εἰ δὲ.
ON EXILE

1. As it is with our friends, so it is with the words we speak: best and most to be depended upon, we are told, are those which appear in adversity to some purpose and give help; for many people visit the unfortunate and talk to them, but their efforts do no good, or rather do harm. These people are like men unable to swim who try to rescue the drowning—they hug them close and help to drag them under. The language addressed to us by friends and real helpers should mitigate, not vindicate, what distresses us; it is not partners in tears and lamentation, like tragic choruses, that we need in unwished-for circumstances, but men who speak frankly and instruct us that grief and self-abasement are everywhere futile, that to indulge in them is unwarranted and unwise, and that where the facts themselves, when reason has groped them out and brought them to light, enable a man to say to himself

You’ve not been hurt, unless you so pretend,

it is utterly absurd not to ask the body what it has suffered, or the soul whether it is the worse for this

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a The distress is due to unfounded opinion: cf. 600 d-e, infra.
b From the Epitrepontes of Menander: frag. 9 (vol. i, p. 44 Körte); cf. Mor. 475 b.
(599) τοῦτοι χείρων γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐξωθεὶς συναχθομένοι καὶ συναγαγακτοῦσι διδασκάλοις χρῆσθαι τῆς λύπης.

2. “Οθεν αὐτὸι καθ’ αὐτοὺς γινόμενοι τῶν συμπτωμάτων, ὡσπερ φορτίων, ἐκάστου τὸν σταθμὸν ἐξετάζωμεν. τὸ μὲν γὰρ σώμα πιέζεται τῷ τοῖς Βαρύνοντος ἀρχθεῖ, ἃ δὲ ψυχή τοῖς πράγμασι πολλάκις τὸ βάρος ἐξ αὐτῆς προστίθησιν. ὁ λίθος φύσει σκληρός, ὁ κρύσταλλος φύσει ψυχρός ἔστιν, οὐκ ἐξωθεὶς εἰκῇ ταύτας τὰς ἀντιτυπίας ἐπιφέροντες καὶ τὰς πῆξιν. φυγάς δὲ καὶ ἀδοξιὰς καὶ τιμῶν ἀποβολάς, ὡσπερ αὕτη τάναντια, στεφάνους καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ προεδρίας, οὐ τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κρίσιν μέτρον ἔχοντα τοῦ λυπεῖν καὶ εὐφραίνειν, ἐκαστὸς ἑαυτῷ κοῦφα καὶ βαρέα καὶ ράδια φέρειν ποιεῖ καὶ τοῦναντῖον. ἐξεστὶ δὲ ἄκολον τοῦ μὲν Πολυνείκους ἀποκρινομένου πρὸς τὸ ἐρώτημα τοῦτο

Ε — τι τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
— μέγιστον ἔργῳ δ’ ἐστὶ μείζον ἡ λόγῳ.

τοῦ δὲ Ἀλκμάνος, ὡς ὁ γράφας τὸ ἐπιγραμμάτιον

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mischance, but instead to seek instruction in grief from those who come from the outside world to join their vexation and resentment to our own.  

2. Let us, therefore, withdraw from the world and taking our calamities one by one examine their weight, as if they were so many loads; for while the burden felt by the body is the actual weight of the thing that presses upon it, the soul often adds the heaviness to circumstances from itself. It is by nature that stone is hard, it is by nature that ice is cold; it is not from outside themselves, fortuitously, that they convey the sensation of rigidity and freezing; but banishment, loss of fame, and loss of honours, like their opposites, crowns, public office, and front-seat privileges, whose measure of causing sorrow and joy is not their own nature, but our judgement, every one makes light or heavy for himself, and easy to bear or the reverse. We can listen on the one hand to Polyneices, when, on being asked

What is the loss of country? A great ill?  
he replies  

The greatest; and no words can do it justice; on the other hand, we can hear what Alcman has to say, as the author of the little epigram has repre-

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1 Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 23. 3.  
2 Cf. Mor. 610 b-c.  
3 Cf. Mor. 475 b and Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 23. 4.  
4 Euripides, Phoenissae, 388 f.; quoted 605 r, infra.

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1 τοῦτο] τούτων νν.
2 σταθμὸν ἐξετάζωμεν Wytenbach: θυμὸν ἐξετάζομεν.
3 ἑπιφέροντες νν c a1: φέροντες wac (ἐπιφέρομεν a258).
4 τάναντία] τούναντίον νν.
Σάρδιες, ἄρχαῖος πατέρων νομός, εἰ μὲν ἐν ώμὶν ἐτρεφόμαν, κέρνας ἤ τις ἂν ἤ μακέλας χρυσοφόρος, βῆσσων λάλα τύμπανα· νῦν δὲ μοι Ἀλκιμᾶν οὖνομα, καὶ Σπάρτας εἶμι πολυτρίποδος, καὶ Μοῦσας ἔδαγν Ἐλληνίδας, οἱ μὲ τυράννων θήκαν Δασκύλεως κρείσσονα καὶ Γύγεω.

Γ τὸ γὰρ αὐτὸ πράγμα τῷ μὲν εὔχρηστον ἡ δόξα, καθάπερ νόμισμα δόκιμον, τῷ δὲ δύσχρηστον καὶ βλαβερὸν ἐποίησεν.

3. Ἔστω δὲ δεινόν, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ λέγουσι καὶ ἄδουσιν, ὡς φυγῇ. καὶ γὰρ τῶν βρωμάτων πικρὰ πολλὰ καὶ δριμέα καὶ δάκνοντα τὴν αἰσθησίν ἦστιν, ἀλλὰ μεγάντες αὐτοῖς ἐνια τῶν γλυκέων καὶ προσηνῶν τὴν ἀνδίαν ἀφαιροῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ χρώματα λυπηρὰ τῇ ὁψεῖ, πρὸς ἃ γίνεται τὸ συνχείσθαι καὶ μαραυγεῖν διὰ σκληροτητα καὶ βιάν 600 ἀνίατον. εἰ τοῖνυν ἱαμα τῆς δυσχρηστίας ἐκεῖνης ἐμίζαμεν τὴν σκιάν αὐτοῖς ἡ τὴν ὁψιν ἀπεστρέψαμεν ἐπὶ τὶ τῶν χλεορῶν καὶ προσηνῶν, τοῦτο ἐξεστὶ ποιεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὰ συμπτώματα, κερανύντος αὐτοῖς τὰ χρήσιμα καὶ φιλάνθρωπα τῶν νυνὶ σοὶ παρόντων· εὔπορίαν, φίλους, ἀπραγμοσύνην.

1 ἄρχαῖος] ἄρχαῖαι Anth.
2 ἐτρεφόμαν Anth.: ἐτρεφόμην.
3 κέρνας Anth.: κέλσας.
4 ἢν (and so π.; ἢ Reiske) τίς ἂν ἢ Salmasius: ἡ τίς ἂν ἢρ (ἡ στισαν ἢ Anth.).
5 μακέλας] βακέλας Ursinus.
6 λάλα Meineke: καλά.
7 πολυτρίποδος Anth.: πολίτης.
8 Ἐλληνίδας] Ἐλληκώνιδας Anth.
9 κρείσσονα] μείζονα Anth.
sented him:

Sardis, of old the sojourn of my sires,
Had I been bred in thee, then had I been
Some priest or temple eunuch, tricked in gold,
Smiting the voluble timbrels; now instead
My name is Alcman, and my country Sparta,
City of many tripods; I have been taught
The Hellenic Muses, who have raised me high
Above the despots Dascyles and Gyges.

Thus opinion had made the same event useful for the one, as it makes a coin pass current, but useless and harmful to the other.

3. Assume that exile is a calamity, as the multitude declare in speech and song. So too, many foods are bitter and pungent and irritate the taste; but by combining with them certain sweet and pleasant ingredients we get rid of the disagreeable savour. There are colours too, painful to the sight, and when confronted with them our vision is blurred and dazzled by their harshness and unrelieved intensity.

Now if we have found that we could remedy this inconvenience by mingling shadow with them or turning our eyes aside and resting them upon something of a greenish and pleasant shade, the same can be done with misfortunes as well: they can be blended with whatever is useful and comforting in your present circumstances: wealth, friends, freedom.

a The Greek name Alcman is supposed to have replaced the poet's original Lydian name.


c Cf. Mor. 406 b.

d A favourite analogy with Plutarch: cf. Mor. 469 a with the note in the L.C.L.

e Cf. Mor. 854 b-c.

f Cf. Mor. 610 e.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

(600) νην, τὸ μὴθὲν ἐνδεῖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων πρὸς τὸν βίον. οὐ γὰρ οἶμαι πολλοὺς εἶναι Σαρδιανῶν οἱ μὴ τὰ σὰ πράγματα, καὶ μετὰ φυγῆς, μᾶλλον ἐθελήσουσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχειν καὶ ἀγαπῆσουσιν ἐπὶ ἔννησ οὕτω διάγοντες, \(^1\) ἦ, \(^2\) καθάπερ οἱ κοχλίαι, τοῖς Β ὀστράκοις συμφυεῖς ὄντες, ἀλλο δὲ μηθὲν ἀγαθὸν ἔχοντες, τῶν \(^3\) οἴκοι μετέχειν ἀλώπους. (4.) ὡσπερ οὖν ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ τις ἡτυχηκότα φίλον θαρρεῖν καὶ τὴν τύχην ἀμύνεσθαι \(^4\) παρακαλῶν, ἔρομένου, "τίνα τρόπον;" ἀποκρίνεται, "φιλοσόφως," οὕτω καὶ ἤμεις αὐτὴν ἀμυνόμεθα φιλοσοφοῦντες ἀξίως.

τὸν Δία δὲ πῶς ὑοντὰ; τὸν βορέαν δὲ πῶς;

πῦρ ξητοῦμεν, βαλανεῖον, ἵματιον, στέγην· καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὑόμενοι καθῆμεθα οὐδὲ κλαίομεν. καὶ σοὶ τοίνυν παρ' ὄντων ἔστι τὸ κατεψυχμέαν τοῦ τοῦ βίου μέρος ἀναξωπυρεῖν καὶ ἀναβάλπευν, ἐτέρων βοηθημάτων μὴ δεόμενου, ἀλλὰ χρώμενον

C εὐλογίστως τοῖς παροῦσιν. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱατρικὰ σικύα τὸ φαιλότατον ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἀναλαμβάνονσι κοιφίζουσι καὶ σῶζουσι τὸ λουπόν, οἱ δὲ φιλόλυποι καὶ φιλαίτιοι τῷ τὰ χείριστα τῶν ἴδιων συνάγειν ἅει καὶ διαλογίζοντες καὶ προστετηκέναι τοῖς ἀναρόις ἄχρηστα καὶ τὰ χρήσιμα ποιοῦσιν ἐαυτοῖς ἐν ὃ μάλιστα καιρῷ βοηθεῖν πέφυκε. τοὺς

\(^1\) διάγοντες \(w\) \(^2\) : διάγοντα \(vβ\) \(^{288}\) \(a\).

\(^2\) ἦ \(w\) \(^2\) : οὶ \(v\) ; ἦ οἰ \(w\).

\(^3\) τῶν \(w\) \(^{288}\) \(a\) : τῶ \(v\) ; τοῖς \(w\) \(^{1β}\) \(^{288}\).

\(^4\) ἀμύνεσθαι ἀμύνεσθαι \(v\).

\(^5\) τοὺς Donatus Polus : τὸ.
from politics, and lack of none of the necessities of life. For I fancy that there are not many Sardians who would not prefer your circumstances, even with exile thrown in, and be content to live on such terms in a foreign land, rather than, like snails, which are of a piece with their shells but enjoy no other blessing, maintain a painless connexion with their homes. (4.) As, then, in the comedy a character who is urging an unfortunate friend to take heart and make a stand against Fortune, when asked, "How?" replies, "like a philosopher," so let us too make a stand against her by playing the philosopher worthily. But how are we to face

Zeus when he pours down rain? And how the North Wind? Why, we look for a fire, a bath-house, a cloak, a roof: in a rainstorm we do not sit idle or lament. You too, then, are as able as any man to revive this chilled portion of your life and restore it to warmth: you need no further resources; it is enough to use wisely those you have. For whereas the cupping-glasses of physicians, by drawing out of the body its most worthless elements, relieve and preserve the rest, lovers of grief and fault-finding, by constantly collecting and counting up what is worst in their lot, and by getting absorbed in their troubles, make even the most useful things in it useless for themselves at the moment when these would naturally afford the greatest help. For it is not Zeus, dear friend,

\[ a \quad \text{Cf. Mor. 469 a.} \\
\[ b \quad \text{Cf. Mor. 611 b and Boëthius, Philos. Cons. ii. 4. 17.} \\
\[ c \quad \text{Cf. Mor. 611 b.} \\
\[ d \quad \text{Kock, C.A.F. iii, Adespota, 118.} \\
\[ e \quad \text{For the analogy of the cupping-glass cf. Mor. 469 b and 518 b.} \]
(600) γὰρ "δοιοὺς πίθους," ὃ φίλε, οὖς "Ομηρος ἔφη "κηρῶν ἐμπλείους" ἐν οὐρανῷ κείσθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων, οὐχ ὁ Ζεὺς ταμιεύων κάθηται καὶ μεθείς τοῖς μὲν ἢπια καὶ μεμιγμένα, τοῖς δὲ ἀκρατα βεύματα τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ ἢμῶν αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν νοῦν ἔχοντες, ἐκ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς κακοῖς ἑπαρυτόμενοι, τὸν βίον ποιοῦσιν ἠδίω καὶ ποτημώτερον, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς, ὥσπερ ἡθοῖς, ἐμ-μένει καὶ προσίσχεται τὰ φαιλότατα, τῶν βελ-τιώνων ὑπεκρέοντων.

5. Διὸ κἂν ἀληθῶς κακῶ τινι καὶ λυπηρῶ περι-πέσωμεν, ἐπάγεσθαι δεῖ τὸ ἔλαρον καὶ τὸ εὐθυμον ἐκ τῶν ἔραχοντων καὶ ὑπολειπόμενων ἀγαθῶν, τῶ οἶκείῳ τὸ ἀλλότριον ἐκλείσιντας. ὥν δὲ ἡ φύσις οὐδὲν ἔχει κακόν, ἀλλὰ όλον καὶ πᾶν τὸ Ἑλυποῦν ἐκ κενῆς δόξης ἀναπέπλασται, ταύτα δεί, καθάπερ τοῖς δεδοικοί τὰ προσωπεία παιδίων ἐγγύς καὶ ύπὸ χείρα ποιοῦντες καὶ ἀναστρέφουτες ἐθίζομεν καταφρονεῖ, οὕτως ἐγγύς ἀπτομένου καὶ συνερείδοντας τὸν λογισμόν, τὸ σαθρὸν καὶ τὸ κενὸν καὶ πετραγῳδημένου ἀποκαλύπτειν.

Οἴον ἐστιν ἡ νῦν σοὶ παροῦσα μετάστασις ἐκ τῆς νομιξομένης πατρίδος. φύσει γὰρ οὐκ ἐστὶ πατρίς, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ οἰκός οὐδὲ ἀγρός οὐδὲ χαλ-κεῖον, ὡς Ἀρίστων ἐλεγεν, οὐδὲ ἱατρεῖον ἀλλὰ γίνεται, μᾶλλον δὲ ὀνομάζεται καὶ καλεῖται, τού-

1 metástaosis Xylander: katástaosis.

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a Il. xxiv. 527-532 as quoted and paraphrased by Plato, Republic, 379 d; the version of the mss. of Homer is different. The Platonic version is quoted in Mor. 24 b, 369 c and 473 b (where see the notes in the L.C.L.); the Homeric version is 526
that sits by the "two urns" of Homer,a which stand in heaven "brimful," the one of good, the other of evil "dooms," dispensing them, releasing to some a gentle and well-tempered flow, to others, an undiluted stream of misery; rather, it is ourselves: the wise among us, by drawing from the good and pouring it upon the bad, make their lives more pleasant and potable b; whereas in the multitude, as in filters, the worst remains and adheres as the better flows away and vanishes.

5. If, therefore, we suffer some real and truly painful calamity, we must summon cheerfulness and peace of spirit by drawing upon the store of good still left us, using our own resources to smooth out the roughness of what comes from outside ourselves; but with things which have no evil in their nature, and whose painfulness is wholly and entirely a figment of unfounded opinion, we must act as we do with little children who are frightened by masks c: by bringing the masks close and putting them into their hands and turning them about we accustom the child to make light of them; so, by coming to close quarters with these things and applying to them the firm pressure of reason, we must expose their unsoundness, their hollowness, and their theatrical imposture.

Such is your present removal from what you take to be your native land. For by nature there is no such thing as a native land, any more than there is by nature a house or farm or forge or surgery, as Aristond said; but in each case the thing becomes so, or rather quoted with approval in the Letter of Condolence to Apollonius (Mor. 105 c).

b Cf. Mor. 469 c and 610 f.

c Cf. Arrian, Epict. ii. 1. 15.


'Αργείος ἦ Θηβαῖος· ού γὰρ εὑχομαι μᾶς· ἀπας μοι πύργος Ἑλλήνων πατρίς.

ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης βέλτιον, οὐκ Ἀθηναῖος οὐδὲ Ἑλλην, ἀλλὰ "Κόσμιος" εἶναι φήσας, ὥς ἂν τις "Ῥόδιος" εἶπεν ἦ "Κορίνθιος," ὅτι μηδὲ Σουνίῳ μηδὲ Ταυνάρῳ μηδὲ τοῖς Κεραυνίοις ἐνέκλεισεν εἰαυτὸν.

'Ορᾶς τὸν υψοῦ τόνο ἀπειρον αἰθέρα καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἑχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;

οὔτου τῆς πατρίδος ἡμῶν ὅροι, καὶ οὐδεὶς οὔτε φυγάς ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ξένους οὔτε ἄλλοδαπόσ, ὅπου τὸ αὐτὸ πῦρ, ὑδωρ, ἄηρ, ἄρχοντες οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ διοικηταὶ καὶ προτάνεις· ἡλιος, σελήνη, φωσφόρος· οἱ αὐτοὶ νόμοι πάσιν, ύφ' ἐνός προστάγματος καὶ μιᾶς ἡγεμονίας· τροπάι βόρειοι, τροπαὶ νότιοι,

B ἱσημερία, Πλείας, Ἀρκτοῦρος, ὥραι οπόρων, ὥραι φυτεύων· εἰς δὲ βασιλεύς καὶ ἄρχων, "θεὸς, ἄρχην

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1 ἵστώσης] ἵστασις Bern. 2 εὖ μὲν ὁ Ἐστόβεος ὁ μὲν. 3 εἶπεν] εἶπεν ἐρωτηθέν τοῖς Ἐστόβεος. 4 εἶχονθ' ὑγραῖς ἐν Lucian, Jup. Trag. 41: ἑχοντα ὑγραῖς. 5 Benseler deletes εἰαὶ after ὅροι. 6 αὐτοὶ] αὐτοὶ δὲ ν. 7 ύφ'] ἐφ' ν. 8 ἱσημερία] ἱσημερίαι a² Capps. 9 φυτεύων] φυτῶν ν. vv.

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a Timaeus, 90 a; cf. Mor. 400 b.

b For the notion that the upper parts of plants are "down" and the lower parts "up" (implied in Plato, Timaeus, 90 a-b)
ON EXILE, 600–601

is so named and called, with reference to the occupant and user. For man, as Plato \( \text{a} \) says, is "no earthly" or immovable "plant," but a "celestial" one,—the head, like a root, keeping the body erect—inverted to point to heaven.\( \text{b} \) Thus Heracles spoke well when he said

an Argive I

Or Theban, for I boast no single city;
There is no fort in Greece but is my country \( \text{c} \);
whereas the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or Greek, but a "Cosmian" \( \text{d} \) (as one might say "Rhodian" or "Corinthian"), because he did not shut himself up within Sunium and Taenarus and the Ceraunian mountains.\( \text{e} \)

Seest thou yon boundless aether overhead
That holds the earth within its soft embrace? \( \text{f} \)

This is the boundary of our native land, and here no one is either exile or foreigner or alien; here are the same fire, water, and air; the same magistrates and procurators and councilors—Sun, Moon, and Morning Star; the same laws for all, decreed by one commandment and one sovereignty—the summer solstice, the winter solstice, the equinox, the Pleiades, Arcturus, the seasons of sowing, the seasons of planting \( \text{g} \); here one king and ruler, " God, holding the

cf. Aristotle, De Anima, ii. 4 (416 a 2-5), De Part. An. iv. 10 (686 b 34 f.), De Inc. An. 4 (705 a 26-b 8).
\( \text{d} \) Cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. v. 37 (108); Musonius, p. 42. 1-2 (ed. Hense); Arrian, Epict. i. 9. 1.
\( \text{e} \) The limits of Greece to the east, south, and north: cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxix. 4 (745 v).
\( \text{f} \) Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Eur. 941. 1-2; also quoted in Mor. 780 d, 919 b.
\( \text{g} \) The civil months differed in Greece from city to city.

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6. To δὲ σε μὴ κατοικεῖν Σάρδεις οὐθέν ἔστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ Ἀθηναίοι πάντες κατοικοῦν Κολλυτόν, οὐδὲ Κορίνθιοι Κράνειον, οὐδὲ Πιτάνην Λάκωνας. ἀρα οὖν ξένου καὶ ἀπόλιδες εἰσίν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ Μελίτης εἰς Διόμεια, ὁποῦ καὶ μὴνα Μεταγειτινώνα καὶ θυσίαν ἐπώνυμον ἁγοῦσιν. Κ τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ τὰ Μεταγειτινα, τὴν πρὸς ἑτέρους γειτνίασιν εὐκόλως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι, καὶ στέργοντες; οὐκ ἄν εἴποις. τί οὖν τῆς οὐκουμενής μέρος, ἡ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης, ἑτερον ἑτέρου μακράν ἐστιν, ἡν ὑποδεικνύουσιν οἱ μαθηματικοὶ σημεῖον λόγον ἐχουσαν ἀδιαστάτου πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, ὦσπερ μύρμηκες ἡ μελλται, μυρμηκίας μιᾶς ἡ κυψέλης ἐκπεσόντες, ἀδημονοῦμεν καὶ ἕνοπαθοῦμεν, οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μεμαθηκότες οἴκεια τὰ πάντα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ νομίζειν, ὀσπερ ἐστί.

1 μέσα through παντός] τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὁντων ἀπάντων ἔχων Plato.  
2 ἐπεταὶ ἄει συνέπεται Plato.

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a Plato, Laws, 715 e—716 a; quoted Mor. 781 f, 1124 f.  
b For the notion that the whole world is our country cf. Mor. 329 c; Democritus (Diels and Kranz, Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, ii, p. 194. 16 f., Democritus, 247); Philo, Quod Omniss Probus Liber Sit, 145; Seneca, Ad Helv. 9. 7, Ep. xxviii. 4; Arrian, Epict. iii. 24. 66; Favorinus, col. ix. 23. 530
beginning, middle, and end of the universe, proceeds directly, as is his nature, in his circuit; upon him follows Justice, who visits with punishment those that fall short of the divine law," a the justice which all of us by nature observe toward all men as our fellow-citizens.

6. That you do not live in Sardis is nothing; neither do all Athenians live in Collytus, all Corinthians in Craneion, all Laconians in Pitanê. Are those Athenians foreigners and men without a country who removed from Melî to the region of Diomeia, where they observe both the month Metageitnion and a festival, "the Metageitnia," c named for their migration, accepting this change of neighbours in a serene and joyful spirit, and remaining content with their condition? You would not say so. What part, then, of the inhabited world, or of the whole earth, is remote from another, when astronomers teach that in comparison to the universe the earth is a mere point, without extension? d But we, when like ants or bees we have been driven out of one anthill or beehive, are dismayed and feel strange, possessing neither the knowledge nor the instruction that would teach us to take and consider the whole world to be


d Cf. Aristarchus, p. 352. 5 (ed. Heath; cf. pp. 308-310); Geminus, 16, p. 176. 9 f. (ed. Manitius); Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 7 (40); Seneca, Ad Marc. 21. 2; Theo Smyrnæus, pp. 120, 128 f. (ed. Hiller); Ptolemy, Syntaxis Mathematica, i. 6, p. 20. 5 ff. (ed. Heiberg); Cleomedes, i. 11, p. 102. 22 ff. (ed. Ziegler); Chalcidius, chap. lxiv, p. 132. 9 f. (ed. Wrobel).
(601) καίτοι γελῶμεν τὴν ἀβελτερίαν τοῦ φάσκοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις βελτίωνα σελήνην εἶναι τῆς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, τρόπον τινα τὸ αὐτὸ πάσχοντες ὅταν ἀμφίγνωμεν, ἐπὶ ξένης γενόμενοι, τὴν γῆν, τὴν θάλατταν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὸν οὐρανόν, ὡς ἑτερα καὶ διαφέροντα τῶν Δ συνήθων. ἦ μὲν γὰρ φύσις ἔλευθερος ἡμᾶς καὶ λελυμένους ἀφήσιν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς¹ συνδέομεν ἐαυτούς, συστηνοχωρούμεν, ἐγκατοικοδομοῦμεν, εἰς μικρὰ καὶ γλύσχρα συνελαύνομεν. εἶτα τῶν μὲν Περσῶν βασιλέων καταγελῶμεν, εἴ γε δὴ ἄληθῶς² τὸ τοῦ Χοάσπον μόνον ὕδωρ πίνοντες ἄνυδρον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἄλλην ποιοῦσιν οἰκουμένην· ὅταν δὲ μεταστώμεν εἰς ἑτερα χωρία, τοῦ Κηφισοῦ γλυκόμενοι καὶ τῶν Ἐυρώταν ἢ τοῦ Ταύγητον³ ἢ τὸν Παρνασόν ἐπιποθοῦντες, ἀπολιν καὶ ἀοίκητον αὐτοῖς τὴν οἰκουμένην ποιοῦμεν.

7. Αἰγυπτίων μὲν οὖν οἱ δὲ ὀργῆν τινα καὶ Ε χαλεπότητα τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν μετοικιζόμενοι, πρὸς τοὺς δεομένους ἐπανελθεῖν ἐπὶ τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας, ἐπιδεικνύτες τὰ αἰδοῖα κυνκώτερον, οὔτε γάμων ἐφασαν οὔτε παῖδων ἀπορρίσαν ἄχρι οὗ ταῦτα μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχωσιν· εὐπρεπέστερον δὲ ἐστι καὶ σεμνότερον εἰπεῖν ὡς ὑπὸν καὶ ὅτῳ μετρίων⁴ πρὸς τὸν βίον εὐπορεῖν συμβέβηκεν, ἐν-ταῦθα οὗτος οὔτ' ἀπολίς οὔτ' ἀνέστιος οὔτε ξένος

¹ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς Stobaeus: ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτοὶ.
² ἄληθῶς] ἄληθες a.
³ τὸ Ταύγητον nos: τὸν ταύγητον a²; τὸν τηύγητον.
⁴ μετρίων] μετρίων τῶν Castiglioni.

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ᵃ Cf. Teles, p. 23. 3 f. (ed. Hense); Arrian, Epict. i. 25. 28.
b Cf. Herodotus, i. 188.
our own, as indeed it is. Yet we laugh at the stupidity of the man who asserts that at Athens there is a better moon than at Corinth, although we are in a sense in the same case as he, when, on coming to a foreign land, we fail to recognize the earth, the sea, the air, the sky, as though they were distinct and different from those familiar to us. For nature leaves us free and untrammelled; it is we who bind ourselves, confine ourselves, immure ourselves, herd ourselves into cramped and sordid quarters. And then we scoff at the Persian kings, if in truth, by drinking no water but that of the Choaspe, they turn the rest of the inhabited world for themselves into a waterless waste; but when we move to other lands, in our attachment to the Cephisus and our longing for the Eurotas or Taygetus or Parnassus, we make the inhabited world empty of cities for ourselves and unfit for habitation.

7. The Egyptians indeed, who because of some outburst of anger and severity on the part of their king, were migrating to Ethiopia, replied to those who entreated them to return to their children and wives by pointing with Cynic licence to their private parts and remarking that they would be at no loss for either marriage or children so long as they had these with them. One can, however, with greater decency and decorum, say that wherever a man happens to find a moderate provision for his livelihood, there that man lacks neither city nor hearth

* Cf. Herodotus, ii. 30; Diodorus, i. 57. Plutarch, perhaps intentionally, represents the Egyptians as migrating because of their king's "anger and severity;" in Herodotus and Diodorus they migrate from resentment at being slighted by him.

* Cf. Musonius, p. 44, 16 (ed. Hense).
(601) ἄστι. μόνον ἔχειν δεῖ πρὸς τοὺς νοῦν καὶ λογι-

F ομόν, ὥσπερ ἀγκυραν κυβερνήτην ἤνα παντὶ χρή-

θαι λιμένι προσορμοσθεὶς δύνηται. πλοῦτον μὲν γὰρ
ἀποβαλόντα ῥαδίως καὶ ταχέως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον
συναγαγεῖν, πατρὶς δὲ γίνεται πᾶσα πόλις εὐθὺς
ἀνθρώπων χρήσθαι μεμαθηκότι καὶ βίζας ἔχοντι
πανταχόν ζῆν τε καὶ τρέψοντι καὶ παντὶ τόπῳ

προσφύεσθαι δυναμένας, οίας εἴχε Θεμιστοκλῆς,
οἷς Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ἐν
Ἀλεξάνδρείᾳ μετὰ τὴν φυγήν πρῶτος ὕσ τῶν
Πτολεμαίου φίλων, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐν ἀφθόνοις
dιήγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις δωρεάς ἔπεμπεν,

602 Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ, χορηγία βασιλικῆς πρυτανεύωμενος,
eἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τὴν γυναικα καὶ τοὺς παῖδας: "ἀπωλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ μὴ ἀπωλόμεθα." διὸ καὶ Διο-

gένης ὁ κύων, πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, "Συνωπεῖς σοι
φυγὴν ἐκ Πόντου κατέγνωσαν," "εγὼ δέ," εἶπεν,
"ἐκεῖνων ἐν Πόντῳ μονήν"—

ἄκραις ἐπὶ ῥημιώσων ἄξενον πόρου. 4

Στρατόνικος δὲ τὸν ἐν Σερίφῳ ἄξενον ἠρώτησεν ἐφ'

ὅτῳ τῶν ἀδικημάτων φυγή τέτακται παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς
ἐπιτίμην ἀκούσας δ᾽ ὧτι τοὺς ῥαδιουργοὺς φυγα-

dεύουσι, "τῷ οὖν," εἶπεν, "οὐκ ἐραδιούργησας

Β ὅπως ἐκ τῆς στενοχωρίας ταύτης μεταστῆς;" ὅπου

1 ῥαδίως καὶ ταχέως οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλον Stobaeus: ῥαὸν οὐκ ἔστι καὶ ταχέως.
2 τόπῳ Donatus Polus: τρόπω.
3 ἄξενον Hercher (from Eur.): εὐξείνου (with a papyrus of Eur.).
4 πόρου Salmasius: πόντου.

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nor is an alien. Only he must also have good sense and reason, as a skipper needs an anchor that he may moor in any haven and make use of it. For while loss of wealth cannot easily and quickly be repaired, every city at once becomes a native city to the man who has learned to make use of it and has roots which can live and thrive everywhere and take hold in any region, roots such as Themistocles and Demetrius of Phalerum had. For Demetrius was after his banishment first among the friends of Ptolemy at Alexandria, and not only lived in plenty himself, but even used to send largesse to the Athenians; while Themistocles, when royally maintained by the King’s bounty, is reported to have said to his wife and children: “It would have been our undoing not to have been undone.” a For this reason, to the one who remarked: “The Sinopians condemned you to banishment from Pontus,” Diogenes the Cynic replied: “But I condemned them to stay there,” b—

Out where meet the shore
The breakers of the In hospitable Sea. c

Stratonicus d asked his host in Seriphos what crime was punished there with banishment; when told that persons guilty of fraud were expelled, he said: “Then why not commit fraud and escape from this confinement?” —where the comic poet e says that

b Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 49.
c Euripides, Iphigenia in Tauris, 253.
d A celebrated Athenian citharoedus and wit of the fourth century.
(602) φησίν ὁ κωμικὸς τὰ σῦκα ταῖς σφενδόναις τρυγάσθαι καὶ πάντα ἔχειν ὃσα μὴ1 δεῖ τὴν νῆσον.

8. "Ἀν γὰρ σκοτῆς ἀνευ κενῆς δόξης τὴν ἀλήθειαν, ὁ μίαν πόλιν ἔχων ξένος ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν καὶ ἀλλότριος· οὐ γὰρ δοκεῖ καλὸν οὐδὲ δίκαιον εἶναι καταλιπόντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ νέμειν ἔτεραν·

Σπάρταν ἐλαχεῖς, ταύταν2 κόσμει

καὶ άδοξὸς ἢ, καὶ νοσώδης, καὶ ταράττηται στάσεως ὑφ᾽ ἐαυτῆς καὶ πράγμασι μὴ υγιανοῦσιν. οὐ δὲ ἡ τύχη τὴν ἱδίαν ἀφήρηται, τούτω διδωσιν ἔχειν τὴν ἀρέσασαν. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν ἐκείνο παράγοντος τῶν Πυθαγορείων, " ἐλοῦ βίον τὸν3 ἀριστον, ἣδιν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡ συνήθεια ποιήσει," κανταύδα σοφὸν ἐστι καὶ χρήσιμον. " ἐλοῦ πόλιν τὴν ἀρίστην καὶ ἡδίστην, πατρίδα δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ χρόνος ποιήσει," καὶ πατρίδα μὴ περισσῶσαν, μὴ ἐνοχλόσαν, μὴ προστάτουσαν: " εἰσένεγκαι, " " πρέσβευσον εἰς Ἐρωμήν, " " ὑπόδεξαι τὸν ἦγεμόνα, " " λειτούργησον." ἃν γὰρ τούτων τις μημονεύῃ φρένας ἔχων καὶ μὴ παντάπασι τετυφωμένοις, αἱρήσεται καὶ νῆσον οἰκεῖν, φυγὰς γενόμενοι, Γύαρον ἡ Κίναρον,

σκληράν, ἀκαρπον, καὶ φυτεύεσθαι κακήν,

οὐκ ἄθυμων οὐδὲ ὀδυρόμενος οὐδὲ λέγων ἐκείνα

1 ὃσα μὴ nos (ὡσον οὐ Cobet; ὡς' οὐ ?): ὡσων.
2 ταύταν Eur.: ταύτην.
3 τὸν (cf. Mor. 123 c)] omitted in a.
the figs are gathered in with slings, and remarks that
the island is well provided with every incommmodity.

8. Indeed, if you lay aside unfounded opinion and
consider the truth, the man who has a single city is
a stranger and an alien to all the rest; for it is felt
he can neither in decency nor in justice forsake his
own city to inhabit another:

Your lot is Sparta: look to Sparta then, a
whether it be obscure, or unhealthy, or a prey to
faction and turbulence. But Fortune grants possess-
on of what city he pleases to the man she has de-
prived of his own. For that excellent precept of the
Pythagoreans, “choose the best life, and familiarity
will make it pleasant,” b is here too wise and useful:
“choose the best and most pleasant city, and time
will make of it your native land”—a native land that
does not distract you, is not importunate, does not
command: “pay a special levy,” “go on an embassy
to Rome,” “entertain the governor,” “undertake a
public service at your own expense.” For if a person
in his senses and not utterly infatuated bears this in
mind, he will choose, if exiled, to live even on an
island, Gyaros or Cinaros,

Rocky, unfit for corn or vine or tree, c
not downcast or lamenting or uttering the words of

a From the Telephus of Euripides: Nauck, Trag. Graec.
Frag., Eur. 723; cf. Mor. 472 d and note.
b Cf. Mor. 123 c and 466 f, and the Gnomologium Vatica-
um, 461 (ed. Sternbach, Wiener Stud. xi, 1889, pp. 209 f.)
with the parallels noted there.
c Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Adespota, 393; Kock,
C.A.F., Adespota, 1238.

4 eισένεγκαι] eισένεγκε Cobet, but see Lysias, Or. 19. 43, p. 155.
(602) τὰ τῶν παρὰ Σιμωνίδη γυναικῶν,

D ἵσχει δὲ με πορφυράς ἄλος ἀμφιταρασσωμένας ὀρυμαγδὸς, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου λογιζόμενος· πεσὼν γὰρ ἐν παλαιστρᾳ καὶ μεταστραφεῖς, ὡς εἶδε τοῦ σώματος τὸν τύπον, "οὐ Ἡράκλεις," εἶπεν, "ὡς μικρὸν μέρους τῆς γῆς φύσει μετέχοντες ὅλης ἐφιέμεθα τῆς οἰκουμένης."

9. Οἶμαι σὲ τῆς Νάξου γεγονέναι θεατήν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τῆς γ᾽ Ὑρίας, ἑνταῦθα πλησίον οὕσης· ἀλλὰ ἐκείνη μὲν ἐχώρει τὸν Ἐφιάλτην καὶ τὸν Ὀτων, αὐτὴ δὲ τοῦ Ὀρίωνος ἤν οἰκητήριον. ὁ δὲ Ἀλκμαιών ἠλίθν νεοπαγῆ τοῦ Ἀχελώου προσχωνύντος

Ε ἐπέκκησεν ὑποφεύγων τὰς Εὐμενίδας, ὡς οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν· ἔγω δὲ κἀκεῖνον εἰκάζω, φεύγοντα πολυτικὰς ταραχὰς καὶ στάσεις καὶ συκοφάντιας ἔρυνώδεις, ἐλέσθαι βραχὺ χωρίων ἀπραγμόνως ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατοικεῖν. Τιβέριος δὲ Καῖσαρ ἐν Καπρίαις ἐπτὰ ἐτη διητήθη μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς, καὶ τὸ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἡμεμοικοῦν μόριον, ὡσπερ εἰς καρδιάν

1 ὀρυμαγδὸς β.: ὀρυμαγδὸς.
2 γ᾽ Ὑρίας L. Holstenius, Dübner: θουρίας.
3 ταραχὰς Emperius: ἀρχὰς.
4 καπρίας γ.: κεστρίας.
5 μόριον Kronenberg (Wilamowitz deletes): ἱερὸν.

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b Plutarch is doubtless writing from Chaeroneia.
c These are the Aloadae, who when nine years old were nine cubits broad and nine fathoms high: cf. Homer, Od. xi. 305-310. For their stay at Naxos cf. Pindar, Pythian Odes, iv. 88 f., and Diodorus, v. 52.
d Orion was yet huger than the Aloadae (cf. Homer, Od. 538.
the women in Simonides

The clamour of the blue salt sea
Tossing about me, hems me in,

but he will rather reason as Philip did, who said, on being thrown in wrestling, as he turned about and saw the imprint of his body: "Good God! How small a portion of the earth we hold by nature, yet we covet the whole world!"

9. You have, I think, seen Naxos, if not, Hyria, which is not far from here; yet Naxos had room for Ephialtes and Otus; Hyria was the habitation of Orion. When Alcmaeon was fleeing before the Eumenides, he settled, as poets tell, on newly hardened silt built up by the Acheloüs; but my conjecture is that he too, fleeing from the tumults, factions, and fiendish legal blackmail of his countrymen, chose to dwell on a small plot unharassed and in peace. Tiberius Caesar passed the last seven years of his life at Capri; and the ruling part of the inhabited world, as if gathered up into a heart, made xi. 309 f.); for his birth at Hyria cf. Strabo, ix. 2. 12 (p. 404).

* Eriphylê, the wife of Amphiaraüs, was bribed by a necklace to betray her husband, who in consequence took part in the war of the Seven against Thebes, and disappeared from among the living, but not until he had ordered their son, Alcmaeon, to avenge him. After slaying his mother Alcmaeon was told by the Delphic oracle that he could escape the Furies by finding a country that had not existed when his mother uttered her dying curse. He found such a land in the alluvial deposits at the mouth of the Acheloüs. Cf. Thucydides, ii. 102; Pausanias, viii. 24. 8-9; and Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. pp. 379-380.

† An allusion to the Stoic doctrine that man's soul has a ruling part situated in the heart: cf. Stoicorum Vet. Frag. ii. 837-839, p. 228 (ed. von Arnim).
(602) συνηγμένον, οὐδάμοι μετέστη τοσοῦτον χρόνον. ἂλλ' ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ τῆς ἡγεμονίας φροντίδες, ἐπι-
χεόμεναι καὶ προσφερόμεναι πανταχόθεν, οὐ καθα-
ράν παρεῖχον οὐδὲ ἀκύμονα τῆν νησιώτων ἣσυχίαν.
 Φ ὁ δὲ ἐξεστιν, εἰς μικρὰν ἀποβάντι νῆσον, οὐ μικρῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν, οὔτος ἀθλιός ἐστι μὴ προσ-
λαλῶν ἐαυτῷ τά Πινδαρικά μηδὲ ἐπάδων πολλάκις,

'ea, φρήν, κυτάρισσον,
'ea δὲ νομὸν περιδαίον. 1
ἐμοὶ δ' ὀλίγον δέδοται μὲν γάς, 2 ὅθεν ἀ δρός, 3
οὐ πενθέων δ' ἐλαχῶν, οὐ στασίων, 4
οὐδὲ προσταγμάτων ἡγεμονικῶν, οὐδὲ ὑπουργιῶν
ἐν πολιτικάῖς χρείαις καὶ λειτουργιῶν δυσπαραιτή-
tων. (10.) ὅπου γὰρ οὐ φαύλως δοκεῖ λέγειν ὁ
Καλλίμαχος τὸ
μὴ σχοίνῳ Περσίδι τῆς σοφίν,

603 μετροῦντες, ἔαν νῆσον οἰκῶμεν διακοσίων σταδίων,
ἀλλα μὴ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν, ὥσπερ ἡ Σικελία,
περίπλουν ἐξουσιαν, ὀδυνᾶν έαυτοὺς καὶ θρηνεῖν
οθείλομεν ὡς κακοδαιμονοῦντες; τί γὰρ ἡ πλατεία

1 εα φρήν κυτάρισσον εαν δε νομον περιδαιον Papy. Oxyg. v.
841 : ἐλαφρῶν κυτάρισσον φιλεῖν εὰν (ἐὰν a2) δὲ νομὸν κρήτας
περιδαίοιν.
2 δέδοται μὲν γὰς Housman : μὲν γὰς δέδοται.
3 ἀ δρός Reiske : ἀδρός (ἀδρός w).
4 οὗ πενθέων δ' ἐλαχὼν οὐ στασίων Grenfell and Hunt:
πενθέων δὲ οὐκ ἐλαχὼν στασίων.

Paeans, iv. 50 ff., partly preserved in Oxyrhynchus
Papyri, v. 841 ; cf. Sandys, Pindar, pp. 530 ff. in the L.C.L.
The words are spoken by the hero Euxantius of Ceos ; he had
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not the slightest change in its abode for all that time. Yet in his case the cares of state, pouring in upon him and brought in from everywhere, made the island repose not unmixed and not free from storms; whereas the man who finds that by disembarking on a small island he can be rid of no small troubles, is pitiful indeed if he does not recite to himself the words of Pindar and often repeat them as a spell:

Forgo, my heart, the cypress;
Forgo the contested land;
To me but little earth is given, where grows the oak;
But to my lot has fallen no sorrow, no discord,
or commands from the governor or ministrations to the needs of countrymen and public services that are difficult to decline. (10.) For when Callimachus is applauded for saying,

Use not a Persian rope to measure art,
are we to measure felicity by "ropes" and parasangs, and if we dwell on an island of two hundred stades' circumference, and not, like Sicily, four days' sail in circuit, are we to torment ourselves and lament our wretched plight? For what has breadth of land to been offered land in Crete, but preferred to remain on his little island. The text and translation of this fragment are in places uncertain.

For chanting words over oneself as a spell cf. Plato, Phaedo, 114 d, Republic, 608 a, and Laws, 665 c.

Callimachus, Aetia, Frag. 1. 18 (ed. Pfeiffer, Oxford, 1949). Callimachus doubtless had in mind the largest of the figures given for the schoinos or "rope," sixty stades (Herodotus, ii. 6), which would be nearly seven miles.

Thucydides (vi. 1. 2) says that for a merchant vessel the voyage around the island required not much less than eight days; Ephorus (quoted by Strabo, vi. 2. 1, p. 266) says that the trip required five days and nights.
(603) χώρα πρὸς τὸν ἀλυπον βίον; οὐκ ἄκοινεις τοῦ Ταντάλου λέγοντος ἐν τῇ τραγῳδίᾳ,

σπείρω δ' ἀρουραν δῶδεξ' ἡμερῶν ὄδον,
Βερέκυνθα1 χώρον,

εἶτα μετ' ὅλιγον λέγοντος:

οὐμὸς δὲ πότμος2 οὐρανῷ κυρῶν ἄνω
ἐραζὲ πίπτει καὶ με προσφωνεὶ τάδε.
γίνωσκε τάνθρωπεια μὴ σέβειν ἄγαν;

ὁ δὲ Ναυσίθοος τὴν εὐρύχωρον Ἡπέρειαν κατα-
λιπῶν διὰ τὸ γειτναῖν τοὺς Κύκλωπας αὐτῆ καὶ
Β μεταστὰς εἰς νῆσον "ἐκας ἄνδρῶν³ ἀλφηστάων"
καὶ κατοικῶν ἀνεπίμικτος ἄνθρώπων "ἀπάνευθε
πολυκλύστῳ ἐνὶ πόντῳ," τὸν ἡδιστὸν παρεσκεύασε
βίον τοῖς Χαίτοις πολίταις. τὰς δὲ Κυκλάδας
πρότερον μὲν οἱ Μίνω παῖδες, ύστερον δὲ οἱ
Κόδρον καὶ Νείλεω, κατώκησαν, ἐν αἷς τὰ νῦν οἱ
ἀνόητοι φυγάδες οὐνταί κολάζοσθαι. καίτοι ποία
φυγαδική νῆσος οὐκ ἔστι πλατυτέρα τῆς Σκυλ-
λουντίας χώρας, ἐν ἧ Ξενοφῶν μετὰ τὴν στρατεύαι
τὸ "λιπαρὸν" εἰδὲ "γῆρας"; ἡ δ' Ἀκαδημία,
τρισχιλῶν δραχμῶν χωρίδιον ἐωνημένον, οἰκη-
τήριον ἥν Πλάτωνος καὶ Ξενοκράτους καὶ Πολέμω-

1 βερεκύνθα A²E: ἐρεκύνθα (ἐρεκάνθα β²ss).
2 οὐμὸς δὲ πότμος Porson: θυμὸς δὲ ποθ' ἄμος (ἀμνὸς νν).
3 ἄνδρῶν Homer: ἄλλων.

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a From the Niobé of Aeschylus: Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Aesch. 158; cf. Mor. 778 b and note.
c Homer, Od. vi. 4.
d Homer, Od. vi. 8.
do with the life free from pain? Have you not heard
the words of Tantalus in the tragedy? He says,

The field I sow is twelve days' journey long,
The Berecynthian land

and then says a little later:

My fate, while reaching upward to the skies,
Falls to the earth, and speaks these words to me:
Learn not to honour human things too much.

Nausithoüs, by leaving "the broad land of Hypereia" because the Cyclopes were its neighbours, moving to an island "far from industrious men," and dwelling apart from human traffic "far off in the stormy seas," provided his countrymen with the most pleasant of lives. It was first the children of Minos, and later the children of Codrus and Neileus, that settled the Cyclades, where at present the thoughtless exiles fancy they are punished. Yet what island of exile is not more spacious than the district of Scillus, where Xenophon after his campaign lived to see a "comfortable old age"? The Academy, a little plot of ground bought for three thousand drachmas, was the dwelling of Plato and Xenocrates.

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* Homer, *Od. vi. 204 f.

After taking part in the expedition of the Ten Thousand, in the Spartan campaigns in Asia, and in the battle of Coroneia, Xenophon was exiled and settled at Scillus, a district in Elis south of Olympia. Here, according to Diogenes Laertius (ii. 52), he composed his histories: cf. 605 c, *infra.* By "campaign" Plutarch doubtless means the march of the Ten Thousand, as Xenophon's participation in this expedition was thought to have led to his banishment (cf. Diogenes Laert. ii. 58; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* viii. 1; Pausanias, v. 6. 5).
(603) vos, αὐτὸθι σχολαζόντων καὶ καταβιούντων τὸν
C ἄπαντα χρόνον πλὴν μίαν ἡμέραν ἐν ἧ Ἐυνοκράτης
καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἔτος εἰς ἄστυ κατῆκε, Διονυσίων
καυνοῖς τραγῳδοῖς, ἐπικοσμῶν, ὡς ἔφασαν, τὴν
ἔορτήν. Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ καὶ λελοιδορηκε Θεό-
κριτος ὁ Χῖος ὃτι τὴν παρὰ 3 Φιλίππω καὶ Ἀλεξ-
ἀνδρῶ δίαιταν ἀγαπήσας

ἐξῆτο ναίειν
ἀντ’ Ἀκαδημείας Βορβόρου ἐν προχοσίω
(ἔστι γὰρ ποταμὸς περὶ Πέλλαν 4 διν Μακεδόνες
Βόρβορον καλοῦσι). τὰς δὲ νῆσους ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες
ὑμνῶν καὶ συνιστάς ἥμιν ὁ ποιητής—

Λήμνον δ’ εἰσαφίκανε, πόλιν θείου Θόαντος
καὶ

D ὅσον 5 Λέσβος ἄνω, μακάρων ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἐέργει
καὶ

Σκύρον ἠλών αἰπεῖαν, 'Ενυῆς πτολείθρον
καὶ

οἱ δ’ ἐκ Δουλιχίοιο 'Εχινάων θ’ ιεράων
νῆσων αἱ ναϊούσι πέρην ἄλος Ἡλίδος ἄντα—
καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἄνδρῶν νῆσον οἰκεῖν φησὶ τὸν
θεοφιλέστατον Αἴόλον, τὸν σοφῶτατον Ὄδυσσεα,
tὸν ἄνδρειότατον Αἰαντα, τὸν φιλοξενώτατον
'Αλκίνουν.

11. Ὅ μὲν οὖν Ζήνων, πυθόμενος ἢν ἐτι λοιπὴν
εἰχὲ ναῦν μετὰ τῶν φορτίων καταπεπομένην ὑπὸ

1 μίαν] τὴν μίαν Capps. 2 'Αριστοτέλη] -ης v ; -ην a.

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and Polemon, who taught and spent their lives there, except for the one day every year when Xenocrates went down to the city for the new tragedies at the Dionysia, and graced the festival, as people said. Theocritus \(^a\) of Chios went so far as to abuse Aristotle, because he had conceived a taste for the style of living at the court of Philip and Alexander, and preferred to Academe
A dwelling in the flow of Slime,—
there being a river near Pella which the Macedonians call Borborus.\(^b\) Homer, who praises the islands and recommends them to us as though by design—

To Lemnos came she, town of godlike Thoas, \(^c\) and

All that Lesbos bounds toward the sea,  
Seat of the blest, \(^d\) and

Taking steep Scyros, fortress of Enyeus, \(^e\) and

Men from Dulichium and the sacred isles  
Echinae, facing Elis over the sea \(^f\)—
also says that of famous men Aeolus the dearest to the gods, Odysseus the wisest, Ajax the bravest, and Alcinoüs the most hospitable, dwelt on islands.

11. Zeno indeed, when he learned that his only remaining ship had been engulfed with its cargo by

\(b\) That is, "Slime."  
\(c\) *Il.* xiv. 230.  
\(d\) *Il.* xxiv. 544.  
\(e\) *Il.* ix. 668.  
\(f\) *Il.* ii. 625 f.

\(4\) Πέλλαν nos : τέλλην (πόλων w).  
\(5\) ὁσον Homer : ὁσα.  
\(6\) μακάρων] Μάκαρος most mss. of Homer.  
\(7\) φησι Donatus Polus : φασι.
Ε ἡμᾶς·” ἀνὴρ δὲ μὴ τετυφωμένος παντάπασι μὴδὲ ὀχλομανών οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι, μέμψαιο τὴν τύχην\(^1\) συνελαύνομενος εἰς νῆσον, ἀλλ' ἐπαινέσειν ὧτι τὸν πολὺν ἁλὸν καὶ βέμβον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ πλάνας ἐν ἀποδημίαις, καὶ κινδύνους ἐν θαλάσσῃ, καὶ θορύ-βους ἐν ἀγορᾷ, περιελουσα, μόνιμων καὶ σχολαίων καὶ ἀπερίσπαστον καὶ ἱδιον βίον ὡς ἀληθῶς δίδωσι, κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι περιγράφασα τὴν τῶν ἀναγ-καίων χρείαν. ποία γάρ νῆσος οἰκίαιν οὐκ ἔχει, περίπατον, λουτρόν, ἱχθὺς, λαγωύς, άγρα καὶ παιδία χρήσαθαι βουλομένοις; τὸ δὲ\(^2\) μέγιστον, ἡσυχίας, ἣς δυσώσων ἑτεροί, σοι πολλάκις τυχεῖν Εὔνεστιν. ἀλλὰ πεπεῦνοντας καὶ ἀποκρυπτομένους οὐκοι συκοφάνται καὶ πολυπράγμονες ἐξιχνεύοντες καὶ διώκοντες ἐκ τῶν προαστίων καὶ τῶν κήπων εἰς ἄγοραν καὶ εἰς αὐλῆς θίας κατάγουσιν, εἰς δὲ νῆσον οὐκ ἐνοχλῶν τις, οὐκ αἴτων, οὐ δανειζόμενος, οὐκ ἐγγυήσασθαι παρακαλῶν, οὐ συναρχαίρεσιάσαι, 604 δι' εὖνοιν δὲ καὶ πόθον οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἀναγ-καίων καὶ οἰκείων πλέουσιν, ὃ δὲ ἄλλος βίος ἀσυλος καὶ ἱερὸς ἀνεῖται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ μεμαθηκότι σχολάζειν. ὃ δὲ τοὺς περιτρέχοντας ἐξώ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ πλεῖστον ἐν πανδοκείωι καὶ πορθμείοις\(^3\) ἀναλίσκοντας εὐδαμονίζων ὁμοίος ἔστι τῷ τοὺς πλάνητας οἰομένω τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων πράττειν

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\(^1\) μέμψαιο τὴν τύχην νὼ: τὴν τύχην μέμψαιο.

\(^2\) δὲ added by Bern.

\(^3\) πορθμείοις ὦ: πορθμίοις.
the sea, exclaimed: "Well done, Fortune! thus to confine me to a threadbare cloak" and a philosopher's life; while a man not wholly infatuated or mad for the mob would not, I think, on being confined to an island, reproach Fortune, but would commend her for taking away from him all his restlessness and aimless roving, wanderings in foreign lands and perils at sea and tumults in the market place, and giving him a life that was settled, leisurely, undistracted, and truly his own, describing with centre and radius a circle containing the necessities that meet his needs. For what island is there that does not afford a house, a walk, a bath, fish and hares for those who wish to indulge in hunting and sport? And best of all, the quiet for which others thirst, you can repeatedly enjoy. But at home, as men play at draughts and retire from the public eye, informers and busybodies track them down and hunt them out of their suburban estates and parks and bring them back by force to the market place and court; whereas it is not the persons who plague us, who come to beg or borrow money, to entreat us to go surety for them or help in canvassing an election, that sail to an island, it is the best of our connexions and intimates that do so out of friendship and affection, while the rest of life, if one desires leisure and has learned to use it, is left inviolate and sacred. He that calls those persons happy who run about in the world outside and use up most of their lives at inns and ferry-stations is like the man who fancies that the planets enjoy greater

\[a\] Cf. *Stoicorum Vet. Frag.* i. 277, p. 64 (ed. von Arnim); *Mor.* 87 a and notes; and the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (ed. Sternbach, *Wiener Stud.* x, 1888, pp. 243 f.). Plutarch amplifies the quotation here, as in *Mor.* 467 d.

\[b\] Cf. *Mor.* 513 c and note.

B 12. Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν, ὦ φίλε, καὶ τὰ τουαῦτα πρὸς ἑκείνους λέγωμεν κάκεινος ἐπάδωμεν οἷς εἰς νῆσον ἀπωκισμένοις ἀνεπίμακτα ποιεῖ τὰ ἄλλα

πόντος ἄλος πολῖς, ὥς πολεῖς ἀέκοντας ἐρύκει·

οὐλ δὲ, οὐχ ἐνὸς δεδομένου μόνον, ἄλλα ἀπειρή·

μένου τόπου, πασῶν ἑστιν ἔξουσια πόλεων ἡ μᾶς κάλυσις. ἄλλα μὴν τῷ "οὐκ ἄρχομεν οὐδὲ βου·

λέομεν οὐδὲ ἀγωνοθετοῦμεν" ἀντίθες 2 τὸ "οὐ

πανταξίωμεν, οὐκ 3 ἀναλίσκομεν οὐδὲ προσηπτή·

μεθαθύρας ἠγεμόνος. οὐδὲν 5 μέλει νῦν ἡμῖν 6 ὅστις ὁ

κεκληρωμένος τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ἑστιν, εἰ ἀκράχολος,

C εἰ ἐπαχθῆς ἀλλως." ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς, καθάπερ Ἀρχί·

λοχος, τῆς Θάσου τὰ καρποφόρα καὶ οἰνόπεδα

παρορῶν διὰ τὸ τραχύ καὶ ἀνώμαλον, διέβαλε τὴν

νῆσον εἰπὼν

ηδὲ δ' 8 ὡστ' ὅνου ράχις

ἐστηκεν ὑλής ἄγρινος ἐπιστεφής,

οὐτως τῆς φυγῆς πρὸς ἐν μέρος τὸ ἁδοξον ἐντει

1 πολιῆς added from Homer.
2 ἀντίθες Emperius: ἀν ἀντίθες. 3 οὐκ] οὐδ' Stegmann.
4 προσηπτήμεθα] προσαρτήμεθα Capps.
5 οὐδὲν Reiske: οὐδὲ.
6 μέλει νῦν ἡμῖν nos: νῦν μέλει ἡμῖν (νῦν ἡμῖν μέλει Benseler; νῦν μέλει Sieveking).
7 ἀλλως, ἀλλ' Reiske (ἀλλ' Basle ed. of 1542; ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς Castiglioni): ἀλλ' ὡς.
8 ηδὲ δὲ a²: ἡ δὲ.
9 ἄγρινος Bergk: ἄγριας.
felicity than the fixed stars. And yet each planet, revolving in a single sphere, as on an island, preserves its station; for "the Sun \(^a\) will not transgress his bounds," says Heracleitus \(^b\); "else the Erinyes, ministers of Justice, will find him out."

12. But, my dear friend, let us address the preceding remarks and the like and repeat them as a spell to those others who have been banished to an island and are cut off from the rest of the world by

The grey salt sea, that bars the way to many
Against their will \(^c\);

but for you, to whom one solitary spot is not appointed. but forbidden, the exclusion from one city is the freedom to choose from all. Further, set off against the consideration "I do not hold office or sit in the council or preside at games" the other consideration: "I am not involved in faction; I am not exhausting my fortune; I wait upon no governor; I care not now who has obtained the province, whether he is quick to anger or in other ways oppressive." But we are like Archilochus.\(^d\) As he, overlooking the fruitful fields and vineyards of Thasos, because of its steep and rugged surface maligned it, saying

This island, like the backbone of an ass,
Stands up beneath its cover of wild wood,

so we, intent upon one part of exile, lack of fame,

\(^a\) In Greek astronomy the sun is a planet.
\(^b\) Diels and Kranz, *Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, i, p. 172, Heracleitus, b 94; quoted also in *Mor.* 370 d.
\(^c\) Homer, *II.* xxi. 59.
(604) νόμενοι, παρορώμεν τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην καὶ τὴν σχολὴν καὶ τὴν ἑλευθερίαν. καὶ τοὺς γε Περσῶν βασιλέας ἐμακάριζον ἐν Βαβυλών τὸν χειμῶνα διάγοντας, ἐν δὲ Μηδία τὸ θέρος ἐν δὲ Σοῦσοις τὸ ἦδιστον τοῦ ἕαρος. ἔξεστι δὴ παν ἄν ὑπὸ τὸ μεθεστῶτι1 μυστηρίοις ἐν 'Ελευσῖν διατρίβειν, Διονυσίοις ἐν ἀστεὶ2 πανηγυρίζειν,3 Πυθίων ἁγομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς παρελθεῖν, Ἰσθμίων εἰς Κόρινθον, 

D ἀντερ ἡ φιλοθέωρος· εἰ δὲ μῆ, σχολή, περίπατος, ἀνάγνωσις, ὑπνος ἄθορόβητος, τὸ τοῦ Διογένους "Ἀριστοτέλης ἀριστὰ ὅταν δοκῇ Φιλίππῳ, Διογένης, ὅταν Διογένει," μήτε πραγματείας, μήτε ἄρχοντος, μήτε ἤγεμόνος τὴν συνήθη δίαιταν περιστῶν.

13. Διὰ τοῦτο τῶν φρονιμωτάτων καὶ σοφωτάτων ὀλίγους ὡς εὖροις ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδι κεκηδεμένους, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι, μηδενὸς ἀναγκάζοντος, αὐτοὶ3 τὸ ἀγκύρων5 ἀράμενοι, μεθωρμίαντο τοὺς βίους καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ μὲν εἰς 'Αθῆνας, οἱ δὲ εἰς 'Αθηνῶν. τὶς γὰρ εἴρηκε τῆς ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδος ἐγκώμιον τοιοῦτον οἶον Εὐριπίδης;

ἡ πρῶτα μὲν λεῶς ὦν ἐπακτὸς ἄλλοθεν,

Ε αὐτόχθονες δ' ἐφυμεν· αἱ δ' ἀλλαὶ πόλεις,

πεσσῶν ὀμοίως6 διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαὶς,7

1 μεθεστῶτι] μεγεστῶτι w; μετέξοντι β.88.
2 ἀστεὶ Reiske: ἀργυρίον.
3 πανηγυρίζειν] συμπανηγυρίζειν Capps.
4 αὐτοὶ β.88 Α.88 E: αὐτὸ.
5 ἀγκύρων a.88 : ἄργυρον a; ἄργυρα vv.

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overlook its lack of politics, its leisure, and its freedom. Yet the kings of the Persians were called happy for spending the winter in Babylon, the summer in Media, and the most pleasant part of spring in Susa.\(^a\) Surely the exile too is free to sojourn in Eleusis during the Mysteries, to keep holiday in the city \(^b\) at the Dionysia, and to visit Delphi for the Pythian and Corinth for the Isthmian games, if he is fond of spectacles; if not, he has at his command leisure, walking, reading, undisturbed sleep, and what Diogenes expressed when he said: "Aristotle lunches at Philip's pleasure, Diogenes at his own," \(^c\) since no politics or magistrate or governor disrupts the customary tenor of his life.

13. On this account you will find that few men of the greatest good sense and wisdom have been buried in their own country,\(^d\) and that most of them, under compulsion from no one, weighed anchor of their own accord and found a new haven for their lives, removing some to Athens, some from Athens. For who has pronounced such an encomium on his native land as Euripides?

Where, first, the people are no immigrants
But native to the soil; all other cities,
Disrupted once, as in the game, have been

\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 499 a-b and note, and Dio Chrysostom, Or. vi. 1-7.

\(^b\) That is, Athens.

\(^c\) Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 45.

\(^d\) Plutarch here answers the complaint that the exile is not buried in his country: cf. Teles, p. 29. 1 (ed. Hense) and Favorinus, col. xxix. 1.

\(^7\) διαφορηθεῖσαι βολαῖσ] διαφορᾶς ἐκτισμέναι Lycurgus.
(604) ἀλλ' ὁ ταύτα γράφας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ὤχετο καὶ ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι.1 εἰ δὴ2 πάρεργον χρῆ τι κομπάσαι, γυναι,3 οὕρανον ὑπὲρ γῆς εἴχομεν εἰς κεκραμένον,4 ἵνα οὔτ' ἄγαν πῦρ οὔτε χείμα συμπίνει5. ἁ δ' Ἑλλάς Ἀσία τ' ἐκτρέφει6 κάλλιστα, γῆν δέλεαρ' ἔχοντες τήνδε,7 συνθηρεύομεν.

ἀλλ' ὁ ταύτα γράφας εἰς Μακεδονίαν ὤχετο καὶ ἄλλων εἰσὶν εἰσαγώγιμοι.1 εἰ δὴ2 πάρεργον χρῆ τι κομπάσαι, γυναι,3 οὕρανον ὑπὲρ γῆς εἴχομεν εἰς κεκραμένον,4 ἵνα οὔτ' ἄγαν πῦρ οὔτε χείμα συμπίνει5. ἁ δ' Ἑλλάς Ἀσία τ' ἐκτρέφει6 κάλλιστα, γῆν δέλεαρ' ἔχοντες τήνδε,7 συνθηρεύομεν.

καὶ γὰρ καὶ οὗτος εἰς Σικελίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ Σιμωνίδης πρότερον. τὸ δὲ "Ἡροδότου Ἀλικαρνασέως10 ἱστορίας ἀπόδειξις τὸῦ τὸδε"11 πολλοὶ μεταγράφοντον "Ἡροδότου Θουρίου"12 καὶ τῆς ἀποκιάς ἑκείνης μετέσχε. τὸ δὲ 605 ἱερὸν καὶ δαμόνιον ἐν μούσαις πνεῦμα,

Φρυγίας κοσμήτορα μάχας,

"Ομηρον, οὗ τοῦτο πεποίηκε πολλαῖς ἀμφισβητήσι-

1 εἰσαγώγιμοι Lycurgus: ἀγώγιμοι.
2 δὴ Xylander (δ' οὖν Dobree: καὶ Emperius): δε.
3 γυναι Stephanus, Ald.2: γυναίκες.
4 κεκραμένον Xylander: συγκεκραμένον (-μυ- vv).
5 συμπίνει Nauck: συμπιντεῖ.
6 τ' ἐκτρέφει Musgrave: τε τρέφει.
7 γῆν δέλεαρ Lobeck: τῆος δέλεαρ.
8 τήνδε added by Lobeck.
9 δὲ που Emperius (δὲ δὴν τού Wyttenbach): δη' ἐπών.
10 Ἀλικαρνασέως: Ἀλικαρνασέως a (-ασέως v; -ασθός w).
11 ἀπόδειξις τὸδε ἀπόδειξις ἦδε w.
Pieced out by importation from abroad.\(^a\)
If, madam, you permit a passing boast,
The sky above our land is temperate,
Where neither comes excess of heat nor cold,
And all the fairest fruits of Greece and Asia
With Attica as bait entice we hither.\(^b\)

Yet the writer of these lines went off to Macedonia
and spent his remaining years at the court of Arche-
laüs. You have doubtless also heard this little poem:

The Athenian, Aeschylus, Euphorion’s son,
This grave conceals in Gela’s fields of corn.\(^c\)

For he also sailed away to Sicily, as Simonides did
before him. The statement “This is the setting
forth of the researches of Herodotus of Halicarn-
assus”\(^d\) is altered by many to read “Herodotus of
Thurii,” as the author migrated to Thurii and joined
in the settlement of that colony. Take that spirit
of poetry, holy and inspired,

Who glorified the Phrygian fray,\(^e\)

Homer: what else has made many cities contend

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\(^a\) From the *Erechtheus* of Euripides: Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Eur. 360. 7-10. There was a game in which a compact body of pieces was called a “city.” Cf. Adam on Plato, *Republic*, 422 ε (Cambridge, 1902).


\(^d\) Herodotus, i. 1. For the “change,” which may be what Herodotus actually wrote, see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. ii. 205-213, and J. E. Powell, *The History of Herodotus* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 63 f.

\(^e\) Pindar, frag. 345 (ed. Snell).

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\(^{12}\) *Θουρίος Xylander:* *θούρος,*

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(605) μον πόλεσιν, οτι μὴ μᾶς ἐστιν ἐγκωμιαστής; καὶ ἔξεινον Διὸς πολια τιμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι.

14. Εἰ δὲ φήσει τις ὅτι δόξαν οὐτοι καὶ τιμᾶς έθέρευν, ἐπὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐλθὲ καὶ τὰς σοφὰς Ὄμηνου σχολὰς καὶ διατριβὰς ἀναπέμπασαι τὰς ἐν Λυκείῳ, τὰς ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, τὴν Στοάν, τὸ Παλλάδιον, τὸ Ωιδεῖον. Εἰ τὴν Περιπατητικὴν ἀσπάζῃ μάλιστα καὶ τεθαύμακας, Ὅμηνους ἂν ἐκ Σταγείρων, Θεόφραστος ἔξει 'Ερέσου,1 Στράτων ἐκ Λαμψάκου, Γλύκων2 ἐκ Τριφάδος, Ὅμηνους ἂν Κέω, Κριτόλαος Φασηλίτης. Εἰ3 τὴν Στωικὴν, Ζήνων Κυτεύς, Κλεάνθης Ἀσσοῖος,4 Χρύσιππος Σολεύς, Διογένης Βαβυλώνιος, Ἀντίπατρος Ταρσεύς, Ὅμηνους ἂν ἐκ Στωικὴν διαδοχὴν ἀπέλιπε. τὰς οὖν τούτους ἐδόξωξεν; οὐδεὶς ἂν αὐτοὶ δι- ωκοντες ἡσυχίαν,6 ἂς οὖν πάνυ μέτεστοι οὐκοὶ τοὺς ἡντιναυοὺν δόξαν ἣ δύναμιν ἔχουσι, πᾶ ἀλλὰ λόγοι τοῦτο δὲ ἐργοὶς ἡμᾶς7 διδάσκοισι. καὶ γὰρ ἕών οἱ δοκιμῶταυ καὶ κράτιστοι ζῶσιν ἐπὶ ἔξειν,

C οὐ μετασταθέντες, ἂν μεταστάντες, οὐδὲ φυγα- δεύθεντες, ἂν μέντοι αὐτοὶ πράγματα καὶ περισπασμοὺς καὶ ἁσχολίας, ἃς ἂν πατρίδες φέρουσι.

1 'Ερέσου Victorius: ἐρεσίου Stobaeus: ἐφέσου.
2 Γλύκων] γλαύκων de Stobaeus; Δύκων Xylander.
3 εἰ n Par. 2076: εἰς.
4 Ἀσσοῖος Leonicus: λύσοι.
5 πάρθων a2: πάρθων.
6 ἡσυχίαν] ἡσυχίαν καὶ σπουδὴν Stobaeus.
7 ἐργοὶς ἡμᾶς] ἡμᾶς ἐργῶ Stobaeus.

a That is, the god of strangers.

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for him, but the fact that he eulogizes no single one? So too the honours of Zeus Xenios is are numerous and great.

14. If it is objected that these men went in quest of fame and honours, go to the wise men and to the schools and resorts of wisdom at Athens; pass in review those in the Lyceum, in the Academy; the Porch, the Palladium, the Odeum. If it is the Peripatetic school you favour and admire most, Aristotle was from Stageira, Theophrastus from Eresus, Straton from Lampsacus, Glycon from the Troad, Ariston from Ceos, Critolaüs from Phaselis; if the Stoic, Zeno was from Citium, Cleanthes from Assos, Chrysippus from Soli, Diogenes from Babylon, Antipater from Tarsus, and the Athenian Archedemus removed to the country of the Parthians and left a Stoic succession at Babylon. Who, then, pursued these men? No one; it was they who pursued peace, which at home is hardly the portion of those who have any fame or power, and thus, while teaching the rest of their doctrines by what they said, teach us this lesson by what they did. So too at present those men who are of most approved and surpassing merit live abroad, not forced to depart, but departing of themselves, and not put to flight, but themselves fleeing the cares, distractions, and press of business that are the product of their native lands. Indeed the

b For Cleitomachus' lectures in the Palladium cf. S. Mekler, Academicorum Philosophorum Index Herculaneensis, coll. xxiv. 36, xxv. 8, xxx. 9.

c Chrysippus is said to have taught in the Odeum: cf. Mor. 1033 ε, Diogenes Laert. vii. 184, and Athenaeus, 336 ε.

d More commonly known as Lycon: cf. Diogenes Laert. v. 66.

e Cf. Musonius, p. 43. 8 ff. (ed. Hense).
(605) καὶ γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὡς ἔοικεν, αἱ Μοῦσαι τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν συνταγμάτων καὶ δοκιμώτατα φυγὴν λαβοῦσαι συνεργὸν ἐπετέλεσαν. "Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναίος συνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων" εν Θράκῃ περὶ τὴν Σκαπτὴν Ὡλη, Ξενοφών εν Σκιλλοῦντι τῆς Ἡλείας, Φιλίστος1 εν Ἡπείρῳ, Τίμαιος ὁ Ταυρομενεῖτης εν D Ἀθήναις, Ἀνδροτίων Ἀθηναίοι εἰς Μεγάροις, Βακχυλίδης ὁ ποιητής2 εἰς Πελοποννήσῳ. πάντες οὕτωι καὶ πλέονες ἄλλοι, τῶν πατρίδων ἐκπεσόντες, οὐκ ἀπέγνωσαν οὔτε ἔρρυεν έαυτούς, ἀλλ' ἔχρησαν ταῖς εὐφυίαις, ἔφοδον παρὰ τῆς τύχης τὴν φυγὴν λαβόντες, δι' ἧν πανταχοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότες μνημονεύονται. τῶν δὲ ἐκβαλόντων καὶ καταστασάντων3 οὔτε εἰς λόγος οὐθενὸς4 ἀπολέειται.

15. Αὐτὸ καὶ γελοίος ἦστιν ὁ νομίζων ἀδοξίαν τῇ φυγῇ προσεῖναι. τί λέγεις; ἀδοξός ἦστι Διογένης, ὅν ἰδὼν Ἀλέξανδρος εν ἡλίῳ καθήμενον ἐπιστάς ἦρωτησεν εἰ tίνος δεῖται, τοῦ δὲ μηθέν ἀλλ' ἦν Ἐ συμφορὸν ἀποσκότισαι κελεύσαντος, ἐκπλαγεὶς τῷ φρόνημα, πρὸς τοὺς φίλους εἶπεν, "εἰ μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἡμῶν, Διογένης ἃν ἡμῶν;" ἦδοξε δὲ Κάμιλλος ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἐλαυνόμενος, ἂς δεύτερος κτίστης νῦν ἀναγορεύεται; καὶ μὴν Θεμιστοκλῆς οὐ τὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἕλληνι δόξαν φυγῶν ἀπέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις προσέλαβε· καὶ οὐδεὶς

1 Φιλίστος Λεονίκος: φιλίππος.
2 ποιητής] Τουλίτης Cobet; Κείος ποιητής Capps.
3 καταστασίασάντων Emperius: στασίασάντων.
4 οὐθενὸς] οὐθενὸς a.

a Thucydides, i. 1.
b For the fame of exiles cf. Favorinus, col. iii. 24 ff., where Diogenes, Heracles, and Odysseus are cited as examples,
Muses, it appears, called exile to their aid in perfecting for the ancients the finest and most esteemed of their writings. "Thucydides of Athens composed the history of the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians" in Thrace at Scaptê Hylê; Xenophon wrote at Scillus in Elis, Philistus in Epeirus, Timaeus of Tauromenium at Athens, Androton of Athens at Megara, and the poet Bacchylides in the Peloponnese. All these and many more, when driven from their country, did not despair or lie prostrate in grief, but put their native abilities to use, accepting their exile as a provision granted by Fortune for this end, an exile that has made them everywhere remembered even in death; while of those who banished them and triumphed over them in the struggle of factions not one enjoys at present the slightest recognition.

15. He, therefore, who thinks that loss of fame is attendant upon exile is ridiculous. What nonsense! Is Diogenes lacking in fame? Why, Alexander, seeing him sitting in the sun, stopped to ask whether he wanted anything; and when Diogenes merely requested him to stand a bit out of his light, the king, struck with such high spirit, said to his friends: "Were I not Alexander, I should be Diogenes." Was Camillus deprived of fame when he was banished from Rome, of which he is now acclaimed the second founder? Indeed Themistocles after his banishment did not lose his fame among the Greeks, but won new fame among the barbarians; and no one

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c Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 38; Cicero, Tusc. Disput. v. 32 (92).

d Cf. Life of Alexander, chap. xiv. 2 (671 d-e), and Mor. 331 E-F and 782 A.

e Cf. Life of Camillus, chap. i. 1 (129 B), and Livy, vii. 1. 10.

f Cf. Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 26. 3.
(605) ἦστιν οὕτως ἀφιλότιμος οὐδὲ ἀγεννής, ὃς μᾶλλον ἂν ἐβουλευτος Λεωβώτης ἡ Θεομορφολογικής ὁ φυγαδευθεὶς εἶναι, καὶ Κλώδιος ὁ ἐκ-Φ βαλόν ἡ Κικέρων ὁ ἐκβληθεις, καὶ Ἀριστοφῶν ὁ κατηγορήσας ἡ Τιμόθεος ὁ μεταστὰς ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος.

16. 'Ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ πολλοὺς τὰ τοῦ Ἐὐρυπίδου κυνεὶ, δυνατῶς τῆς φυγῆς κατηγορεῖν δοκοῦντος, ἵδωμεν ἃ λέγει καθ' ἐκαστὸν ἐρωτῶν καὶ ἀποκρινόμενος·

— τί τὸ στέρεσθαι πατρίδος; ἢ κακὸν μέγα;
— μέγιστον: ἔργῳ δ' ἐστὶ μείζον ἡ λόγῳ.
— τίς ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ; τί φυγάσιν 2 τὸ δυστυχές; 3
— ἐν μὲν μέγιστον' οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.
— δούλου τὸδ' εἴπας, μὴ λέγειν ἃ τις φρονεῖ.
— τὴν τῶν κρατοῦντων ἀμαθίαν 4 φέρειν χρεῶν.

ταῦτα πρῶτος 5 οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ἀληθῶς ἀξιοῦται. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οὐ δούλου τὸ "μὴ λέγειν ἃ τις φρονεῖ," ἀλλὰ νόον ἐχοντος ἀνδρὸς ἐν καιροῖς καὶ πράγμασιν ἐχεμωθίας καὶ σιωπῆς δεομένοις, ἀδιπερ αὐτὸς ἀλλαχόθι βέλτιον εἰρήκε.

συγὰν θ' ὅπου δεῖ καὶ λέγειν ἵν' ἀσφαλές·

ἐπειτα "τὴν τῶν κρατοῦντων ἀμαθίαν" οὐχ ἦττον οὐκοὶ μένοντας ἢ φεύγοντας ἀνάγκη φέρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μᾶλλον πολλάκις οἱ μένοντες τῶν ἀπαλλαγέντων τοὺς ἱσχύοντας ἐν πόλεσιν ἄδικως τῷ συ-

1 Λεωβώτης Kontos: λεωβάτης (λεωκράτης β').
2 φυγάσιν Eur.: φυγάσι. 3 δυστυχές] δυσχερές Eur.
4 τὴν ... ἀμαθίαν] τὰς ... ἀμαθίας Eur.
5 πρῶτος] ὀρᾶς ὡς Reiske; πρῶθ' ὀρᾶς ὡς Pohlenz.

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is so indifferent to fame or so ignoble that he would rather have been Leobotes,\textsuperscript{a} who brought the indictment, than Themistocles, who was condemned to exile, Clodius the banister than Cicero the banished, or Aristophon, who made the accusation, than Timotheüs, who withdrew from his native land.

16. But since many are stirred by the words of Euripides,\textsuperscript{b} who is thought to arraign exile very forcibly, let us see what he has to say on the several counts of his indictment, as he presents them in the form of question and answer:

\begin{quote}
Joc. What is the loss of country? A great ill?
Pol. Surpassing great; no words can do it justice.
Joc. What is it like? What ills beset the banished?
Pol. One greater than the rest: speech is not free.
Joc. That is a slave's part—not to speak one's mind.
Pol. The folly of the mighty must be borne.
\end{quote}

These initial assumptions are wrong and untrue. In the first place it is not a slave's part "not to speak one's mind," but that of a man of sense on occasions and in matters that demand silence and restraint of speech, as Euripides\textsuperscript{c} himself has elsewhere put it better:

Silence in season, speech where speech is safe.

In the next place we are compelled to bear "the folly of the mighty" no less at home than in exile; indeed, those who remain behind are often in even greater terror of men who wield unjust power in cities through chicane or violence than those who

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Life of Themistocles, chap. xxiii. 1 (123 c).
\textsuperscript{b} Phoenissae, 388-393; cf. Musonius, p. 48. 6 ff. (ed. Hense). Jocasta asks the questions, Polyneices answers.
\textsuperscript{c} From the Ino of Euripides: Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Eur. 413. 2; quoted also in Mor. 506 c.
κοφαντεῖν ἡ βιαζέσθαι δεδίασι. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον καὶ ἀτοπώτατον εἰ παρρησίαν τῶν φυγάδων ἀφαιρεῖται. θαυμαστὸν γὰρ εἰ Θεόδωρος ἀπαρρησίαστος ἦν, ὡς ἂν Λυσιμάχος τοῦ βασιλέως εἰπόντος πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἡ πατρὶς σε τοιούτον οὖντα ἐξεβάλε;" "ναι," εἶπε, "μὴ δυναμένη φέρειν, ὡσπερ ἡ Σεμέλη τὸν Διόνυσον." ἐπιδείξαντος δὲ αὐτῷ Τελεσφόρον ἐν γαλαέγρα, τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔξορω-ρυγμένοι καὶ περικεκομμένου τὴν δίνα καὶ τὰ ὦτα καὶ τὴν γλώτταν ἐκτετμημένον, καὶ εἰπόντος, "οὔτως ἐγὼ διατίθημι τοὺς κακῶς με ποιοῦντας ". "τι δὲ Θεόδωρῳ μέλει," ἔφη, "πότερον υπὲρ γῆς

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2 Τελεσφόρον] Τελέσφορον (cf. Athenaeus, 616 c)?
3 γλῶτταν] γλώσσαν νν.
4 τί δὲ through σήπεται supplied by Bern. from Mor. 499 d.
5 τῷ] τῷ τοῦ αρ.
6 μαχούμενοι] μαχόμενοι (-ον νν) νν.
7 ἄφιξαί τίς ἀπληστίας] τίς ἀπληστίας ἄφιξαί α. 
8 οὔντα βασιλέα Bern.: βασιλέα οὔντα.
9 ἐκέλευεν] ἐκέλευσεν νν.

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have taken their departure. But the last and greatest absurdity is that banishment should deprive the exile of free speech: it is astonishing if Theodorus was without free speech, the man who, when King Lysimachus said to him: “Did your country cast out a man of your qualities?” replied: “Yes; I was too much for it, as Dionysus was for Semelê.” And when the king showed him Telesphorus in a cage, his eyes gouged out, his nose and ears lopped off, his tongue cut out, and said: “To this plight I bring those who injure me,” Theodorus replied: “What cares Theodorus whether he rots above the ground or under it?” And did Diogenes lack freedom of speech—Diogenes who appeared at the camp of Philip as the king was advancing to join battle with the Greeks, was brought before him as a spy, and answered that he had come to spy indeed—on Philip’s insatiable greed and folly in coming to stake on the cast of the dice in a few decisive moments both his empire and his person? Did Hannibal the Carthaginian mince his words to Antiochus, an exile to a king, on that occasion when he urged him to

b Theodorus of Cyrenê, surnamed “the atheist” or “the god,” a philosopher of the Cyrenaic school, lived in the fourth and third centuries.

Cf. Diogenes Laert. ii. 102; Philo, Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit, 129 f.; Philodemus, On Death, col. xxxii. 23 f. Semelê, when big with Dionysus, asked to see Zeus in his full glory; Zeus complied, and Semelê was consumed in flames. Zeus took the unborn child and sewed it in his thigh, and thus Dionysus was born a second time.

c Cf. Athenaeus, 616 c, and Seneca, De Ira, iii. 17. 2-4.


e Cf. Mor. 70 c; Life of Demosthenes, chap. xx. 3 (855 b); Diogenes Laert. vi. 43.
(606) οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα κωλὺειν φάσκοντος, ἐπετίμησεν εἰπὼν: "οὐ τί κρέας λέγει ποιεῖς, ἐπεὶ τί νοῦν ἔχων ἄνθρωπος;" ἀλλὰ οὔδε γεωμετρῶν φυγή παρρησιάν οὔδε γραμματικῶν ἀφαίρεται, περὶ ὧν ἴσασι καὶ D μεμαθηκασι διαλεγομένων, πόθεν γε δὴ καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἀνθρώπων; ἀλλὰ τὸ ἄγεννες πάνταχον τὴν φωνήν "ἐμφράττει, τὴν γλώσσαν ἀποστρέφει, ἀγχεῖ, σιωπᾶν ποιεῖ." Τὰ δ' ἔξης τοῦ Εὐριπίδου ποιὰ τινὰ ἔστιν;

— αἱ δ' ἐλπίδες βόσκουσι φυγάδας, ὡς λόγος.
— καλοῖς βλέπουσι' γ' ὀμμασιν, μέλλουσι δὲ.

καὶ τούτο τῆς ἀβελτερίας ἐγκλήμα μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς φυγῆς ἔστιν. οὐ γὰρ οἱ μαθόντες οὔδε ἐπιστάμενοι χρῆσθαι τοὺς παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ οἱ αἰεὶ τοῦ ἐκκρεμάμενοι καὶ γλυκόμενοι τῶν ἀπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ

Ε σχέδιας διαφέρονται τῆς ἐλπίδος, κἂν μηδέποτε τοῦ τείχους ἐκτὸς προέλθωσι.

— φίλοι δὲ πατρὸς καὶ ἔνοι σ' οὐκ ὑφέλουν;
— εῦ πράσσε- τὰ φίλων δ' οὔδέν, ἥν τις δυστυχῆ.
— οὔδε ἡγένεια σ' ἤρεν εἰς υψὸς μέγα;
— κακὸν τὸ μὴ ἔχεν· τὸ γένος οὐκ ἐβοσκέ με.

2 γραμματικῶν w: γραμμικῶν.
4 ὀμμασιν a2: ὀμμασι.
5 ἥν τις δυστυχῆ] ἥν τι δυστυχῆς Elmsley.
6 γένος some mss. of Eur.: γένος δ'.

a Cf. Cicero, De Div. ii. 24 (52), copied by Valerius

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seize a favourable chance to attack the enemy, and when the king resorted to sacrifice and said that the entrails opposed such a course, Hannibal rebuked him with the words: "You defer to a piece of meat, and not a man of sense"?

Nay, exile does not even destroy freedom of speech in geometers and grammarians, when they converse about the subjects they know and have been taught; how, then, could exile destroy it in good and worthy men? It is meanness of spirit that everywhere "stops up the voice, ties the tongue, chokes, imposes silence." What are we to say of the next words of Euripides?

Joc. 'Tis said that exiles live upon their hopes.
Pol. Their eyes hold promise, but they tarry ever.

This too is rather a charge against stupidity than against exile. For it is not those who have learned and know how to put the present to good use, but those who are ever hanging upon the future and longing for what they do not have, that are tossed about on hope as on a raft, though they never go beyond the city wall.

Joc. Did not your father's friends and hosts avail you?
Pol. Prosper: your friends are naught when trouble comes.
Joc. Nor yet did noble lineage raise you high?
Pol. To have not is a curse; birth would not feed me.

Maximus, ii. 7, ext. 6. Here the king is Prusias, not Antiochus.

\( ^b \) Cf. Philo, Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit, 48-50. Teles (p. 21. 2-5 Hense) cites flute-players and actors—notorious migrants—as examples.

\( ^c \) Demosthenes, Or. xix (De Falsa Leg.). 208 (p. 406); quoted also in Mor. 88 c. \( ^d \) Phoenissae, 396-397.

\( ^e \) Cf. Musonius, p. 50. 15 ff. (ed. Hense).

\( ^f \) Euripides, Phoenissae, 402-405.
(606) ῥήση καὶ ἀχάριστα, τοῦ Πολυνείκους ἀτμίαν μὲν εὐγενείας, ἀφίλιαν δὲ τῆς φυγῆς κατηγοροῦντος, ὅσ διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν ἤξιωθη μὲν φυγὰς ὦν γάμων βασιλικῶν, φίλον δὲ συμμαχία καὶ δυνάμει 

πολλοὶ δὲ Δαναῶν καὶ Μυκηναίων ἀκροι πάρεισι, λυπρὰν χάριν, ἀναγκαίαν δ’, ἐμοὶ διδόντες.

ομοία δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς μητρός, ὀλοφυρομένησ

ἐγὼ δὲ σοι οὔτε πῦρ ἄνηψα

νόμιμον ἐν γάμωι,

ἀνυμέναια δ’ Ἰσμηνὸς ἐκηδεύθη

λουτροφόρου χλιδᾶς.

ταύτην ἔδει χαίρειν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν πυθανομένην ναύοντα βασιλεία τηλικαύτα τὸν νιόν· ἢ δὲ θρηνοῦσα τὴν οὐκ ἀναφθείσαν λαμπάδα καὶ τὸν οὐ παρά-

607 σχόντα λουτρόν Ἰσμηνόν, ὡς ἐν Ἄργει μῆτε ὦδωρ τῶν γαμοῦντων μῆτε πῦρ ἔχοντων, τὰ τοῦ τύφου κακὰ καὶ τῆς ἀβελτερίας τῆς φυγῆς περιτίθεσιν.

17. Ἀλλ’ ἐπονειδιστὸν ὁ φυγᾶς ἐστι. παρὰ γε τοῖς ἀφροσίων, οὐ καὶ τῶν πτωχῶν’ λοιδόρημα

1 μὲν] μὲν τῆς Capps.

2 δὲ added from Eur.

3 ἐγὼ through ἄνηψα] ἐγὼ δ’ οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἄνηψα φῶς Eur.

4 νόμιμον Eur. : γονιμον.

5 γάμωι] γάμωις ὡς πρέπει ματέρι μακαρία Eur.

6 ἀνυμέναια δ’ Ἰσμηνὸς ἀνυμέναια δ’ Ἰσμηνοῦ χωρὶς Capps.

For Plutarch’s aspiration of Ἰσμηνὸς cf. W. Schulze, Kleine Schriften, p. 393.

7 πυθανομένην] omitted in vw.

8 ναύοντα α2 : καίοντα.
These words of Polyneices now smack of ingratitude, when he charges noble birth with depriving him of honours and banishment with robbing him of friends; for he, an exile, won a princess in marriage by his noble birth, and when he took the field had that great and powerful alliance of friends to defend him, as he himself admits a few lines later:

And many Danaan chiefs and Mycenaean
Are here to do me kindness—sorry kindness,
But sorry though it be, I need it sore.\(^a\)

In the same vein are his mother's words, when she laments:

But I have lighted
No ritual torch to celebrate thy nuptials;
No hymeneal pride of soft ablution
Attended this alliance of Hismenus.\(^b\)

She should have rejoiced and been content when she learned that her son dwelt in so great a palace; instead, bewailing the unlit torch and Hismenus, who had provided no ablution, as though in Argos bridegrooms had neither water nor fire, she imputes to exile the miseries arising from infatuation and stupidity.

17. But "exile" is a term of reproach.\(^c\) Yes, among fools, who make terms of abuse out of

\(^a\) Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 430-432.

\(^b\) Euripides, *Phoenissae*, 344 f., 347 f. Hismenus was the river in Thebes from which the water for the bridegroom's ritual bath was taken. Jocasta appears to speak of the river as if it were a kinsman of the bridegroom and had thus become allied to the bride. Text and interpretation have both been disputed.

\(^c\) This charge is also presented and answered by Teles (p. 25. 8-10 Hense), Seneca, *Ad Helv*. 13. 4 ff., and Favorinus, col. xxv. 13 ff.
(607) ποιοῦνται καὶ "τὸν φαλακρόν" καὶ "τὸν μικρόν" καὶ νῆ Δία "τὸν ξένον" καὶ "τὸν μετοικον." ἀλλὰ μὴν οἱ μὴ τούτοις υποφερόμενοι θαυμάζουσι τοὺς ἄγαθοὺς, κἀν πένητες ὤσι, κἀν ξένου, κἀν φυγάδες. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὄρωμεν, ὥσπερ τὸν Παρθενώνα καὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον, οὔτω καὶ τὸ Θησείων ἀπαντας προσκυνοῦντας; καὶ μὴν ἐφύγε Θησεύς ἐξ 'Αθη-νῶν, δι' ὅν οἶκοιν νῦν 'Αθῆνας ἀνθρωποὶ, καὶ Β πόλιν ἀπέβαλεν ἢν οὐκ ἐσχεν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐποίησε. τῇ δὲ Ἐλευσίνῃ τί λείπεται καλόν, ἀν αἰσχυνώμεθα τὸν Εὐμολπον, ὅσ ἐκ Ὁράκης μεταστάς ἐμύησε καὶ μην τοὺς Ἐλλήνας; Κόδρος δὲ τίνος ὦν ἐβασίλευσεν; οὐ Μελάνθου, φυγάδος ἐκ Μεσσήνης; τὸ δὲ τοῦ 'Ἀντισθένους οὐκ ἐπαινεῖς πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα ὅτι "Φρυγία σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ μήτηρ"· "καὶ γὰρ ἡ τῶν θεῶν"; τί οὖν οὐ καὶ σὺ, λοιδορούμενος "φυγάς," ἀποκρίνη, "καὶ γὰρ ὁ τοῦ 'Ηρακλέους τοῦ καλλινίκου πατήρ φυγάς ἢν, καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διονύσου πάππος, ὥσ ἐξεπέμψῃ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀνευρεῖν, οὔδε αὐτὸς ἐπανήλθε, 'Φοῖνιξ πεφυκὼς, ἐκ δ' Κ ὄριζεται 'γένος' εἰς τὰς Θῆβας παραγενόμενος

1 ποιοῦνται α2: ποιοῦντα.
2 eis after νῦν deleted by Dübner.
3 αἰσχυνώμεθα Stephanus: ἡσχυνώμεθα (ἡσχυνώμεθα vv).
4 σοῦ] omitted in vv.
5 ἀνευρεῖν] ἔξευρεῖν α1; ἀνδρεῖν v; ἀνελεῖν w.

a Cf. Diogenes Laert. vi. 1. Plutarch calls Antisthenes' mother a Phrygian; Diogenes Laertius and Seneca (De Const. Sap. 18. 5) call her a Thracian.

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"pauper," "bald," "short," and indeed "foreigner" and "immigrant." But those who are not carried away by such considerations admire good men, even if they are poor or foreigners or exiles. Nay, do we not observe that like the Parthenon and the Eleusinium, so the Theseum is saluted with reverence by all? Yet Theseus was banished from Athens, though it is because of him that Athens is now inhabited; and that city was lost to him which he did not take possession of, but himself created. What glory remains to Eleusis, if we are to be ashamed of Eumolpus, who, a migrant from Thrace, initiated and still initiates the Greeks into the mysteries? Whose son was Codrus, who became king? Was it not of Melanthus, an exile from Messenê? Do you not commend Antisthenes' retort to the man who remarked, "Your mother is a Phrygian:" "So too is the Mother of the Gods"? Why then do not you, when "exile" is cast in your teeth, make a similar reply: "So too the father of Heracles the victorious was an exile, so too the grandsire of Dionysus, when sent out to find Europa, like her, did not return, though 'Phoenician born,' but by coming to Thebes expatriated his 'descendant,'

b That is, Cadmus. For Cadmus as an exile held in honour cf. Teles, p. 28. 4 (ed. Hense).

c Adapted by Plutarch from the Phrixus of Euripides: Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Eur. 819. 3:

Φοίνικες πεθυκός, ἐκ δ' ἀμείβεται γένος
Ἐλληνικὸν

"Phoenician born, his race he did exchange
For Greek."

Plutarch uses the word genos ("race" in Euripides) in the sense of "descendant," and substitutes "expatriated" for "did exchange."


καὶ περὶ μὲν ὃν Ἀισχύλος ἦν ξατό καὶ ὑπεδῆλωσεν εἰπὼν,

ἀγνὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλων φυγαδ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ θεόν,

“ἐὔστομά μοι κέκισθω” καθ’ Ἡρόδοτον δ’ Ἔμπεδοκλῆς ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς φιλοσοφίας προαναφωνήσας,

ἐστιν ἀνάγκης χρῆμα, θεῶν ψῆφισμα παλαιὸν,

εὐτέ τις ἀμπλακίζησι φώνῃ θῖλα γυῖα μηνῆ; δαίμονες οἱ τε μακραῖνος λελάχασι βίοιο, τρίς μν μυρίας ὦρας ἀπὸ μακάρων ἀλάλησθαι,

D τὴν καὶ ἕγῳ νῦν εἰμὶ, φυγάς θεόθεν καὶ ἀλήτης,

οὐχ ἔαυτόν, ἀλλ’ ἀφ’ ἐαυτοῦ πάντας ἀποδείκνυσι μετανάστας ἐνταῦθα καὶ ξένους καὶ φυγαδᾶς ἡμᾶς ὄντας. “οὐ γὰρ αἶμα, φησίν, ἡ μὴν οὐδὲ πνεῦμα συγκράθην, ὡς ἄνθρωποι, ψυχῆς οὐσίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν παρέσχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τούτων τὸ σῶμα συμπέπλασται, γηγενεῖς καὶ θνητῶν,” τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς ἄλλαχόθεν

1 εὐιον ὅροιγύναια Mor. 389 B, 671 c: εὐηνοροι γυναῖκα.
2 μανομέναις (μανομένας v) διόνυσον Mor. 389 B: διόνυσον μανομένας (diόνυσον is put after τιμαῖς in Mor. 671 c).
3 ἀνθέοντα Mor. 389 B, 671 c: θύοντα.
4 τιμαῖς] τιμαῖοι Mor. 671 c.
5 Ἀπόλλων Aesch.: ἀπόλλωνος.
6 ἔστιν Simplicius: ἔστι τι.
7 φώνῃ Hippolytus: φόβῳ. 8 μην Ἡ Hippolytus: μν.
8 μακραῖνος λελάχασι Hippolytus: μακραῖνους λελόγχασι.
9 ἀλάλησθαι Stephanus: ἀλάλησθε (ἐλάλησθε v).
10 τὴν (σὺν w): τῶν Hippolytus.
11 τὴν (σὺν w): τῶν Hippolytus. 12 εἰμι Bern.: εἰμι.

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ON EXILE, 607

Euhius Dionysus,
Rouser of women,
Him that is adored in frenzy "? a

Now as to the matters at which Aeschylus b hinted darkly when he said

And pure Apollo, god exiled from heaven

"let my lips " in the words of Herodotus c " be sealed ’; Empedocles, d however, when beginning the presentation of his philosophy, says by way of prelude:

A law there is, an oracle of Doom,
Of old enacted by the assembled gods,
That if a Daemon—such as live for ages—
Defile himself with foul and sinful murder,
He must for seasons thrice ten thousand roam
Far from the Blest: such is the path I tread,
I too a wanderer and exile from heaven,

indicating that not he himself merely, but all of us, beginning with himself, are sojourners here and strangers and exiles. "For," he says, "no commingling of blood or breath, O mortals, gave our souls their being and beginning; it is the body, earth-born and mortal, that has been fashioned out of these," e and as the soul has come hither from else-

a Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec., Adesota, 131; quoted also in Mor. 389 b and 671 c.

b Supplices, 214; quoted also in Mor. 417 e.

c ii. 171. 1 and 2. The phrase is also used in Mor. 417 c and 636 e.

d From the Kaαρψσν: cf. Diels and Kranz, Frag. d. Vorsokratiker, i, pp. 357 f., Empedocles, b 115. 1, 3, 5, 6, 13. Cf. also Mor. 418 e.

e This is Plutarch’s interpretation, not a direct quotation or paraphrase.
(607) ἕκουσης δέδρο, τὴν γένεσιν ἀποδημίαν ὑποκορίζεται τῷ πραστάτῳ τῶν ὄνομάτων. τὸ δὲ ἀληθέστατον, φεύγει καὶ πλανᾶται, θείους ἑλαυνομένη δόγμασι καὶ νόμοις, εἰτα, ὦσπερ ἐν νῆσῳ σάλον ἐχούσῃ¹ πολύν, καθάπερ φησίν ὁ Πλάτων, "ὀστρέου Ε ὑπόπτων" ἐνδεδεμένη² τῷ σώματι διὰ τὸ μὴ μνημονεύειν μηδὲ ἀναφέρειν.

ἐξ οὗ ἡ τιμῆς τε καὶ ὅσον⁴ μήκεος ὀλβοῦ μεθέστηκεν, οὐ Σάρδεων Ἀθήνας, οὐδὲ Κορίθου Λήμνον ἢ Σκύρον, ἀλλ' οὐρανοῦ καὶ σελήνης γῆν ἀμευψαμένη καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς βίον, ἀν⁵ μικρὸν ἐνταῦθα τόπον ἐκ τῶν παραλλάξεων, δυσανασχετεί καὶ ἕνοπαθεί, καθάπερ φυτὸν ἀγεννῆς ἀπομαραννομένη. καίτοι φυτῷ μὲν ἔστι τις χώρα μᾶλλον ἐτέρας ἐτέρα πρόσφορος, ἐν ὑπόπτες καὶ βλαστάνει βελτίων, ἀνθρώπου δὲ ο嗥δείς ἀφαιρεῖται.

Ε τόπος εὐδαιμονίαν, ὦσπερ οὐδὲ ἁρετὴν οὐδὲ φρόνησιν. ἀλλ' Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ τοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τετραγωνισμὸν ἔγραφε, Σωκράτης δὲ, φάρμακον πίνων, ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ παρεκάλει φιλοσοφεῖν τοὺς συνήθεις, εὐδαιμονιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν δὲ Φαέθοντα καὶ τῶν Τάνταλον, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβάντας, οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι ταῖς μεγίσταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην.

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¹ ἐχοῦσῃ] ἐχοῦσων vv.
² ἐνδεδεμένῃ] δεδεμένη Stobaeus (δεδεμεμένῳ Plato).
³ μνημονεύειν μηδὲ ἀναφέρειν] ἀναφέρειν μηδὲ μνημονεύειν Stobaeus.
⁴ ὅσον Ald.²: ὅσον.
⁵ ἀν Stobaeus: ἵνα.

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ᵃ This is apparently Plutarch's interpretation of "that path is mine."
ᵇ Phaedrus, 250 c.

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where, he euphemistically calls birth a "journey," using the mildest of terms. But it is truest to say that the soul is an exile and a wanderer, driven forth by divine decrees and laws; and then, as on an island buffeted by the seas, imprisoned within the body "like an oyster in its shell," as Plato says, because it does not remember or recall

What honour and what high felicity it has left, not leaving Sardis for Athens or Corinth for Lemnos or Seyros, but Heaven and the Moon for earth and life on earth, if it shifts but a short distance here from one spot to another, it is resentful and feels strange, drooping like a base-born plant. And yet for a plant one region is more favourable than another for thriving and growth, but from a man no place can take away happiness, as none can take away virtue or wisdom; nay, Anaxagoras in prison was busied with squaring the circle, and Socrates, when he drank the hemlock, engaged in philosophy and invited his companions to do the same, and was by them deemed happy; whereas Phaëthon and Tantalus, as poets tell, when they had ascended to heaven, met with the most grievous disasters through their folly.


\(^{d}\) Cf. Plato's description of man as a "celestial plant" quoted 600 \(f\), supra, and note.

\(^{e}\) Cf. Life of Aристейдес, chap. xii. 2 (326 \(b\); Musonius, p. 42. 6 (ed. Hense); Dio Cassius, xxxviii. 26. 2; Philo, \textit{Quod Omnis Probus Liber Sit}, 150.


\(^{g}\) Cf. \textit{Mor.} 499 \(b\) and Plato, \textit{Phaedo}, 58 \(e\).

\(^{h}\) Socrates and Phaëthon are also contrasted in \textit{Mor.} 466 \(\text{e-f}\).
CONSOLATION TO HIS WIFE
(CONSOLATIO AD UXOREM)
INTRODUCTION

The *Consolatio ad Uxorem* is the letter written by Plutarch to his wife on receiving news of the death of their daughter Timoxena (611 d), who died at the age of two (610 e). She was named after her mother, and her birth had been preceded by that of four boys (608 c). Of Plutarch’s children two had already died, the eldest and “fair Charon” (609 d). It has been supposed that the four sons and Timoxena were Plutarch’s only children. But this means that ϑυγατρίδη (608 b)—literally “daughter’s daughter”—and γαμβρός—literally “son-in-law”—must be taken in some other sense. The passage cited by R. Volkmann a (Dionysius, *Lysias*, 27) does not establish the sense of “niece” for ϑυγατρίδη, as the person in question was both niece (on her father’s side) and granddaughter (on her mother’s) of the same man. Three persons are mentioned in the *Moralia* as “sons-in-law,” b which would imply at least one other

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a Leben, Schriften, und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea (Berlin, 1869), i, p. 29.
b Craton (Mor. 620 Α); Firmus (Mor. 636 Α); and Patrocleas (Mor. 642 c). R. Volkmann, op. cit. i, pp. 57 f., Wilamowitz, *Commentariolum Grammaticum*, iii, pp. 23 f., and W. Christ, *Gesch. d. gr. Litt.*, ii, 1, p. 368, suppose that γαμβρός, as applied to these three, does not mean “son-in-law.” Volkmann thinks it may mean “brother-in-law,” while Wilamowitz takes it to mean “niece’s husband” and asks what other name Plutarch could have given to such a relation.
daughter. There has been some reluctance to admit the existence of such a daughter because of a passage that might be taken to indicate that Plutarch was married but once, and because the other known children of Plutarch—Soclarus, Autobulus, and Plutarchus—can all be accounted for among the four sons mentioned in the letter.

Plutarch must have written the letter in the interval between receiving the news at Tanagra and rejoining his wife at Chaeroneia, which is somewhat over forty miles distant as the crow flies—a journey of one or two days. Presumably the letter was written at Tanagra and sent on in advance. Several of Plutarch's writings are judged from their incomplete state to have been draughts found among his papers after his death; this letter, then, may not have been published by Plutarch himself, but given to the world by the piety of his literary heirs. Yet consolations in epistolary form were often, like other letters, written for publication.

Traditional topics are common in all literary genres, and especially so in consolations, which must be produced within a limited time if they are to have

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\[a\] Life of Cato the Younger, chap. vii. 3 (762 e); cf. K. Ziegler in Pauly-Wissowa, vol. xxi 1 (1951), coll. 648 f.

\[b\] For Soclarus cf. Mor. 15 a; for Autobulus and Plutarchus, Mor. 1012 a. It is conjectured that the eldest child who had died (609 d) was Soclarus, as his name does not appear with those of Autobulus and Plutarchus in the dedication of the De Animae Procreatione in Timaeo (1012 a).

\[c\] The title varies in the mss. It is not unlikely, then, that it does not come from Plutarch. In spite of the haste in which the letter was probably written, it contains only one serious hiatus, \(\text{ἐχέτω ὅς (608 β)}\)—and here the text is doubtless corrupt.

\[d\] The epistolary form is frequent in consolations; it is the natural form for conveying a message of comfort at a distance.
their fullest effect. Consequently the writer has all the more reason to avail himself of traditional arguments, modifying them to suit the particular circumstances. In this essay Plutarch’s selection and adaptation of these topics is in part influenced by the particular circumstances (the death of their infant daughter) and in part by his Platonic philosophy.

A comparison with other ancient consolations, such as the Consolatio ad Apollonium, the Pseudo-Platonic Axiochus, Seneca’s Ad Polybium de Consolatione and Ad Marciam de Consolatione, the first book of Cicero’s Tusculans, and the third of Lucretius’ De Rerum Natura, reveals these constantly recurring themes. For example, some answer must be given to the question, What becomes of the soul after death? In the Axiochus and the Tusculans it is argued that whether the soul survives or perishes, death is in neither case an evil. Lucretius maintains that death is no evil because the soul perishes; Plutarch, because the soul survives.

The pattern for the philosophical consolations of the Hellenistic age was set by Crantor.\(^a\) Behind Crantor there was a long literary tradition, extending from Homer through tragedy and the public funeral orations at Athens. Plutarch treats traditional themes with great freedom. For example, it is a commonplace that the state of man after death is comparable to that before birth. Plutarch refers this topic, not to the child who died, but to the grieving

mother, exhorting her to turn her mind back to the time before the child was born (610 d). The conventional device of giving comfort by dwelling on the losses of others, equally or more grievous, here takes the form of reminding the mother of her earlier bereavements (609 d). The warning against the irritation of grief by ill-timed consolations becomes in this essay a reproof to the person who “allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore” (610 c). The calculation of the good and evil in life, which in most consolations leads to the reflection that life is mostly evil and death an escape, here results in a favourable balance, and Plutarch reminds his wife of the many blessings she still enjoys (610 e ff.). Finally, the traditional topic that the manner of burying the body is of no importance to the soul gives place in this essay to the observation that the traditional manner of burying children indicates their freedom from earthly things and their departure to a better dispensation (612 a).

The date of the essay cannot be fixed with precision, but the mention of a granddaughter indicates at least that Plutarch was no longer very young. If the identification of the deceased eldest child with Soclarus is correct, then this letter must have been

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a Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, Mor. 118 d ff.; Seneca, Ad Marc. 2. 3; Consolatio ad Liviam, 429 ff.

b E.g. Axiochus, 366 d ff.; Pseudo-Plutarch, Mor. 113 e, 115 e, 117 e; Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 34 (83); i. 36 (87); Seneca, Ad Polyb. 4. 2 f.; 9. 4; Ad Marc. 22.

c Cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 43 (104).

d In making this interpretation of the burial customs Plutarch substitutes for the notion of ritual purity that of purity or freedom from error.

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composed after the essay *Quomodo Adolescens Poetas Audire Debeat*, in which Soclarus’ education is discussed.

A few translations of the letter can be added to those listed earlier.\(^a\)

The work is No. 112 in the catalogue of Lamprias, where two other consolations, now lost, are mentioned: παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀσκληπιάδην (No. 111) and πρὸς Φηστίαν παραμυθητικός (No. 157).

The text is based on LC α ν. ΑΕπτν are occasionally cited.

\(^a\) *La Mesnagerie de Xenophon* ; *les Règles de mariage de Plutarque* ; *Lettre de consolation de Plutarque à sa femme* ; le tout traduit de grec en français par M. Estienne de La Boétie . . . (Paris, 1571-1572).

“A Consolatory Epistle from Plutarch to his Wife, on the Death of their Daughter, translated into English by E. Goodwin,” *Gentleman’s Magazine*, vol. liv, no. 6 (June 1785), pp. 425-428.


(608) ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΗΤΙΚΟΣ' ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ²

Πλούταρχος τῇ γυναικὶ εὖ πράττειν

Β 1. "Οὖν ἐπεμψας ἀπαγγελοῦντα περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδίου τελευτῆς ἐούκε διμαρτηκέναι καθ' ὅδον εἰς Ἀθήνας πορευόμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ εἰς Τάναγραν ἐλθὼν ἐπυθόμην παρά τῆς θυγατρίδος.⁵ τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν ταφὴν ἥδη νομίζω γεγονέναι, γεγονότα δὲ ἔχετω ⁶ ὦς σοι μέλλει καὶ νῦν ἀλυπότατα καὶ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἔξειν. εἰ δὲ τι βουλομένη μὴ πεποίηκας ἀλλὰ μένεις τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην, οὐεὶ δὲ κουφότερον οἴσειν γενομένου, καὶ τοῦτο ἔσται ⁷ δίχα πάσης περιεργίας καὶ δεισίδαιμονίας, ὅν ἥκιστά σοι μέσετι.

C 2. Μόνον, ὡ γῦναι, τῷρει κἀκε τῷ πάθει καὶ σεαυτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ καθεστῶτος. ⁸ ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ ⁹ μὲν οἶδα καὶ ὁρίζω ¹⁰ τὸ συμβεβηκός ἥλικον ἐστίν· ὅν δὲ σὲ τῷ δυσφορείν ὑπερβάλλουσαν εὐρῷ, τοῦτό μοι μᾶλλον ἐνοχλήσει τοῦ γεγονότος. καίτοι γε¹¹ οὖν'

¹ παραμυθητικὸς] παραμυθητική C (?).
² πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ν Lamprias: εἰς τὴν γυναίκα τὴν αὐτοῦ, διὰ τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς τελευτῆν C; πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν γυναίκα.
³ περὶ] τὰ περὶ C¹.
⁴ παρὰ C ν π¹π: περὶ.
⁵ θυγατρίδος] θυγατρίδοιος C¹.
⁶ ἔχετω] omitted by C¹.
⁷ ἔσται] ἔστι C¹; ἔστω Λ².
⁸ καθεστῶτος] γεγονότος C¹.
⁹ αὐτὸ] αὐτὸς Reiske.

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Plutarch to his wife, best wishes

1. The messenger you sent to report the death of our little child seems to have missed me on the way as he travelled to Athens; but when I reached Tanagra I learned of it from my granddaughter. Now the funeral, I suppose, has already been held—and my desire is that it has been so held as to cause you the least pain, both now and hereafter; but if you want something done that you are leaving undone while you await my decision, something that you believe will make your grief easier to bear, that too you shall have, so it be done without excess or superstition, faults to which you are not at all prone.

2. Only, my dear wife, in your emotion keep me as well as yourself within bounds. For I know and can set a measure to the magnitude of our loss, taken by itself; but if I find any extravagance of distress in you, this will be more grievous to me than what has happened. Yet neither was I born "from oak


10 ὁρίζω] ὤρίζω Post. 11 γε added by Stegmann.
(608) autós " ἀπὸ δρυὸς οὐδ’ ἀπὸ πέτρης " εγενόμην· ὁδόθα δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ, τοσοῦτων μοι τέκνων ἀνατροφῆς κοινωνοῦσα, πάντων ἐκτεθραμμένων οἶκοι δι’ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν. ταύτη δὲ, ὡς καὶ σοι ποθούσῃ θυγάτηρ μετὰ τέσσαρας υἱῶν ἐγεννήθη κάμοι τὸ σὸν ὄνομα θέσθαι παρέσχεν ἄφορμήν, οἶδα ἄγαπητὸν διαφερόντως γενόμενον. πρόσετι δὲ καὶ δρμύτης ἱδία τις τῷ πρὸς τὰ τηλικαύτα φιλοστόργῳ, τὸ εὐφραίνων αὐτοῦ καθαρὸν τὸ ὄν ἀ- τεχνῶς καὶ πάσης ἀμυγές ὅργης καὶ μέμψεως.

D αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ φύσει θαυμαστὴν ἐσχεν εὐκολίαν καὶ πραότητα, καὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλοῦν καὶ χαριζόμενον αὐτῆς ἡδονὴν ἄμα καὶ κατανόησιν τοῦ φιλανθρώπου παρέίχεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον βρέφεσιν ἄλλοις, ἄλλα καὶ σκέψεων οἷς ἐτέρπετο καὶ παιγνίοις τὴν τίθην διδόναι καὶ προσφέρειν τὸν μαστὸν προεκαλεῖτο καθάπερ πρὸς τράπεζαν ἰδίαν, ὑπὸ φιλανθρωπίας μεταδιδούσα τῶν καλῶν ὅν εἶχε καὶ τὰ ἡδίστα κοινομένη τοῖς εὐφράϊνουσι αὐτὴν.

3. 'Ἀλλ' οὖχ ὄρω, γυναῖ, διὰ τὶ ταύτα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ζώσης μὲν ἔτερπεν ἡμᾶς, νυνὶ δὲ ἀνιάσει καὶ συνταράξει λαμβάνοντας ἐπίνοιαν αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ
or rock "a; you know this yourself, you who have reared so many children in partnership with me, all of them brought up at home under our own care. And I know what great satisfaction lay in this—that after four sons the longed-for daughter was born to you, and that she made it possible for me to call her by your name. Our affection for children so young has, furthermore, a poignancy all its own: the delight it gives is quite pure and free from all anger or reproach. She had herself, moreover, a surprising natural gift of mildness and good temper, and her way of responding to friendship and of bestowing favours gave us pleasure while it afforded an insight into her kindness. For she would invite the nurse to offer the breast and feed with it not only other infants, but even the inanimate objects and play-things she took pleasure in, as though serving them at her own table, dispensing in her kindness what bounty she had and sharing her greatest pleasures with whatever gave her delight.

3. But I do not see, my dear wife, why these things and the like, after delighting us while she lived, should now distress and dismay us as we take thought of

a Homer, ll. xxii. 126; Od. xix. 163.
δέδια πάλιν\(^1\) μὴ συνεκβάλωμεν τῷ λυποῦντι τὴν Ἐμνήμην, ὥσπερ ἡ Κλυμένη λέγουσα

μισῶν\(^2\) δ' ἀγκύλον\(^3\)

tοξον κρανείας,\(^4\) γυμνάσια τ'\(^5\) οἰχοιατο,\(^6\)

ἀεὶ φεύγουσα καὶ τρέμουσα τὴν ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ παιδός, ὅτι συμπαροῦσαν λύπην\(^7\) εἰχε' πάν γὰρ ἡ φύσις φεύγει τὸ δυσχεραίνομενον. δεὶ\(^8\) δὲ,\(^9\) ὥσπερ αὐτὴ πάντων ἥδιστον ἡμῖν ἄσπασμα καὶ θέαμα καὶ ἀκουσμα παρείχεν\(^10\) ἐαυτὴν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν

F αὐτὴς ἐνδιατάσσαται καὶ συμβιοῦν ἡμῖν πλέον ἐχουσαν, μάλλον δὲ πολλαπλάσιον,\(^11\) τὸ εὑραίων ἡ τὸ λυποῦν (εἴπερ ἀρα τί τῶν λόγων οὐς πολλάκις εἰρήκαμεν πρὸς ἐστίν 

11 εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν ὀφελος ἐν καιρῷ γενέσθαι),\(^12\) καὶ μὴ καθῆσθαι μηδ' ἐγκεκλείσθαι\(^13\) πολλαπλασίας\(^15\) ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐκείνας λύπας ἀνταποδιδόντας.\(^16\)

4. Καὶ τούτῳ λέγοισιν οἱ παραγενόμενοι καὶ θαυμάζουσιν,\(^17\) ὡς οὐδὲ ἐμάτιον ἀνείληφας πένθιμον\(^18\) οὐδὲ σαυτῇ τινα προσήγαγες ἥθεραπαινίου ἀμορ-

1 πάλιν] omitted in LC\(^1\).
2 μισῶν] μιμή LC\(^1\).
3 ἀγκύλον Salmasius: εὐάγκυλον.
4 κρανείας [κρανεῖς LC n.
5 τ' Keil: δ'.
6 οἰχοιατο Emperius: οἶχετ' LC\(^1\); οἰχοίτο.
7 λύπην Emperius: αὐτὴν.
8 δε[]\(^1\) ἐαὶ LC\(^1\).
9 δε[]\(^1\) γὰρ LC.
10 παρείχεν] παρέχειν LC\(^1\).
11 πολλαπλάσιον LC v: πολυπλάσιον.
12 ἐστίν ἐστὶ καὶ ἡμῖν ὀφελος HC\(^1\).
13 The punctuation is due to Schömann.
14 ἐγκεκλείσθαι LC\(^1\): ἐγκαλείσθαι.
15 πολλαπλασίας] πολλαπλασίας LC\(^1\).
16 ἀνταποδιδόντας] ἀντιδιδόντας LC\(^1\).
them. Rather I fear on the contrary that while we banish painful thoughts we may banish memory as well, like Clymenê, who said

I hate the crooked bow of cornel wood,
I hate the sports of youth: away with them!  

ever shunning and shrinking from what reminded her of her son, because it was attended with pain; for nature shuns everything unpleasant. But rather, just as she was herself the most delightful thing in the world to embrace, to see, to hear, so too must the thought of her live with us and be our companion, bringing with it joy in greater measure, nay in many times greater measure, than it brings sorrow (if indeed it is reasonable that the arguments we have often used to others should be of seasonable aid to ourselves as well), and we must not sit idle and shut ourselves in, paying for those pleasures with sorrows many times as great.

4. This also those who were present report—with amazement—that you have not even put on mourning, that you did not subject yourself or your women

a From the Phaëthon of Euripides: Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Eur. 785. Cf. the contrasted cases of Octavia and Livia in Seneca, Ad Marc. 2-3; cf. also Ad Polyb. 18. 7.

b Phaëthon.

c Cf. Epicurus, Frag. 398 (ed. Usener); Seneca, Ad Polyb. 18. 7: “... naturale est enim ut semper animus ab eo refugiat ad quod cum tristitia revertitur.”

d Cf. Pseudo-Plutarch, Mor. 118 b-c, and the letter of Servius Sulpicius to Cicero (Fam. iv. 5. 5): “sed potius quae aliis tute praecipere soles ea tute tibi subiace atque apud animum propone.”

e Cf. Mor. 356 d.

17 θαυμάζουσιν] θαυμάζοντες LC1.
18 ἀνειληφὼς πένθιμον] ἡλλαξας LC1.
(608) φίαν καὶ αἰκίαν¹ οὐδὲ ἦν παρασκευὴ² πολυτελείας πανηγυρικῆς³ περὶ τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλὰ ἐπράττετο κοσμίως πάντα καὶ σιωπῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

609 ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐθαύμαζον, εἰ μηδέποτε καλλωπισαμένη περὶ θέατρον ἡ πομπήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἡδονᾶς ἀχρηστον ἡγησαμένη τὴν πολυτελείαν, ἐν τοῖς σκυθρωποῖς διεφύλαξα τὸ ἀσφαλές⁴ καὶ λιτὸν· οὐ γὰρ εὖ βακχεύμασι δεῖ μόνον τὴν⁵ σώφρονα μένειν ἀδιάφθορον, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἤττον οἴεσθαι⁶ τὸν⁷ ἐν πένθεσι σάλον καὶ τὸ κίνημα τοῦ πάθους ἐγκρατείας δεῖσθαι διαμαχομένης οὐ πρὸς τὸ φιλόστοργον, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλαστον⁸ τῆς ψυχῆς. τῷ μὲν γὰρ φιλοστόργῳ χαρέζομεθα τὸ ποθεῖν καὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ τὸ μεμυθήσασθαι τῶν Β ἀπογενομένων, ἡ δὲ θρήνων ἀπληστὸς εἰπθυμία καὶ πρὸς ὀλοφύρωσις ἐξάγουσα καὶ κοπετοὺς αἰσχρὰ μὲν οὐχ ἤττον τῆς περὶ τὰς ἡδονᾶς ἀκρασίας, λόγῳ δὲ συγγνώμης ἔτυχεν ὅτι τὸ λυπηρὸν αὐτῆς καὶ πικρὸν ἀντὶ τοῦ τερπνοῦ τῷ αἰσχρῷ πρόσεστο. τῷ γὰρ ἀλογώτερον ἡ τὸ γέλωτος· μὲν ὑπερβολᾶς καὶ περιχαρείας ἀφαίρεῖν, τοῖς δὲ κλαυθμῶν καὶ ὀδυρμῶν ῥεύμασιν, ἐκ μιᾶς πτηγῆς φερομένων,⁹ εἰς ἀπαν


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⁰ Cf. Seneca, Ad Helv. 16. 3 f.
to any uncomeliness or ill-usage, and that there was no sumptuous display, like that of a festival, at the burial, but that everything was done with decorum and in silence, in the company of our nearest kin. But this was no surprise to me, that you, who have never decked yourself out at theatre or procession, but have regarded extravagance as useless even for amusements, should have preserved in the hour of sadness the blameless simplicity of your ways; for not only "in Bacchic riot" must the virtuous woman remain uncorrupted; but she must hold that the tempest and tumult of her emotion in grief requires continence no less, a continence that does not resist maternal affection, as the multitude believe, but the licentiousness of the mind. For it is yielding to a parent's love to long for and honour and remember the departed; whereas the never-sated passion for lamentation, a passion which incites us to transports of wailing and of beating the breast, is no less shameful than incontinence in pleasures, although it finds an excuse—more apparent than real—in the circumstance that its shamefulness is attended with pain and bitterness instead of delight. For what is more unreasonable than to do away with excess of laughter and jubilation, and yet allow free course to the torrents of weeping and wailing that burst forth from the same source? Or more

\[ \text{Cf. Euripides, Bacchae, 317 f.:} \]
\[ \text{kai} \ \gamma'\rho\ \epsilonν \ \betaακχευμασιν} \]
\[ \sigmaυστη \ \gamma' \ \gammaε \ \sigmaψφρων \ \alphaυ \ \deltaιαφβαρησεται} \]
\[ \text{"For even in Bacchic riot} \]
\[ \text{The virtuous woman will not be corrupted."} \]

\[ \text{Cf. Seneca, Ad Marc. 3. 4:} \]
\[ \text{"Quam in omni vita servasti morum probitatem et verecundiam, in hac quoque re prae-stabis; est enim quaedam et dolendi modestia."} \]
(609) ἔφιέναι; καὶ περὶ μύρου μὲν ἐνίοις καὶ πορφύρας διαμάχεσθαι ταῖς γυναῖξι, κουρᾶς δὲ συγχωρεῖν πενθίμους καὶ βαφὸς ἐσθῆτος μελαίνας¹ καὶ καθι−
C σεις ἀμόρφους καὶ κατακλίσεις ἐπιπόνους; καὶ,
ô δὴ πάντων ἐστὶ χαλεπώτατον, ἂν οἰκέτας ἥ
θεραπαινίδας κολάζωσιν ἀμέτρως καὶ ἅδικως,
ἐνίστασθαι καὶ κωλύειν αὐτάς, γφ' ἐαυτῶν δὲ ἥμις
cολαζομένας καὶ πικρῶς περιορᾶν ἐν πάθει καὶ
tύχαις² ῥαστάνης καὶ φιλανθρωπίας δεομέναις;

5. 'Αλλὰ ἥμιν γε, γύναι, πρὸς ἄλληλους οὐτ'
ἐκεῖνης ἐδέσος τῆς μάχης οὔτε ταύτης οἶμαι δεή−
σειν. εὐτελεία μὲν γὰρ τῇ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ
ἀθρυψία τῇ περὶ δίασταν οὔδεις ἐστὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων
ὅν οὐκ ἐξέπληξας ἐν ὁμιλίᾳ καὶ συνθείᾳ γενόμενον
ἡμᾶς, οὔδε⁴ τῶν πολιτῶν⁵ ὧ μῆ θέαμα παρέχεις
D ἐν ἑρείς καὶ θυσίαις καὶ θεάτροις τῇ σεαυτῆς
ἀφέλειαν; ἡδὴ δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλῆν
evστάθειαν ἐπεδείξω τὸ πρεσβύτατον τῶν τέκνων
ἀποβαλοῦσα καὶ πάλιν ἐκείνου τοῦ καλοῦ Χάρωνος⁶
ἡμᾶς προλυπόντος. μέμνημαι γὰρ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης
ξένους μοι συνοδεύσαντας ἀπηγγελμένης τῆς τοῦ
παιδίου τελευτῆς καὶ συνελθόντας ἀμα τοῖς ἄλλοις
εἰς τὴν οἶκιαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὴν κατάστασιν ἐώρῳ
καὶ θυσίαν, ὡς ὑστερον διηγοῦντο καὶ πρὸς ἐτέ−
ρους, ὡςτο μηδὲν εἶναι δεινόν, ἀλλὰ κενὸν ἄλλως
Ε ἐξενηνέχθαι λόγον· οὔτω σωφρόνως κατεκόσμησας
tὸν οἶκον ἐν καιρῷ πολλῆν ἀκοσμίας ἐξουσίαν

1 μελαίνας Emperius: μελαίνας.
2 τύχαις] δυστυχίας Capps, who compares Thucydides,
vi. 55. 4: but cf. 611 ε, infra.
3 οὐδὲ Stegmann: οὔτε.
4 πολιτῶν] συμπολιτῶν Capps.

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unreasonable than for husbands to quarrel, as some do, with their wives about scented unguent for the hair and the wearing of purple, but to permit them to crop their heads in mourning, to dye their clothes black, to sit in an uncomely posture and lie in discomfort? And worst of all, if they punish their maidservants or maidservants excessively and unjustly, to resist and oppose them, but to pay no heed when they savagely and cruelly punish themselves in the midst of passions and misfortunes that require gentle and kindly treatment?

5. But we, my dear wife, in our relations with each other have had no occasion for the one quarrel, nor, I think, shall we have any for the other. For, on the one hand, your plainness of attire and sober style of living has without exception amazed every philosopher who has shared our society and intimacy, neither is there any townsman of ours to whom at religious ceremonies, sacrifices, and the theatre you do not offer another spectacle—your own simplicity. On the other hand, you have already shown great steadfastness in circumstances like the present, when you lost your eldest child and again when the fair Charon left us. For I remember that strangers accompanied me in my journey from the sea and gathered at our house with the rest at the news of the little child's death; and observing great composure and quiet, as they later recounted to others, they thought that no tragedy had occurred, and that a false report had got abroad—such was the self-possession with which you kept order in your household at a time that gave full scope to disorderly

\[5 \text{ Χάρωνος} \mid \text{Χαλρώνος} \text{Xylander, after the eponymous hero of Chaeroneia.}\]
(609) διδόντι, καίτοι τῷ σεαυτῆς ἐκεῖνον¹ ἐξέθρεψας μαστῷ² καὶ τομῆς ἥνεσχον, τῆς θηλῆς περίθλασιν λαβούσης: γενναίᾳ γὰρ³ ταύτα καὶ φιλόστοργα.

6. Τὰς δὲ πολλὰς ὄρωμεν μητέρας, οταν ὑπ’ ἄλλων τὰ παιδία καθαρθῇ καὶ γανωθῇ, καθάπερ παίγνια λαμβανοῦσας εἰς χεῖρας, εἰτ’ ἀποθανοῦντων ἐκχεομένας εἰς κενὸν καὶ ἀχάριστον πένθος, οὐχ ὑπ’ εὐνοίας (εὐλόγιστον γὰρ εὐνοία καὶ καλὸν), ἀλλὰ μικρῷ τῷ φυσικῷ πάθει πολὺ συγκεραννύ-

F μενον τὸ πρὸς κενὴν δόξαν ἄγρια ποιεῖ καὶ μανικὰ καὶ δυσεξίλαστα τὰ⁴ πένθη. καὶ τούτῳ φαίνεται μὴ λαθεῖν Αἴσωτον. ἐφὴ γὰρ οὕτος οτι τοῦ Διὸς τὰς τιμᾶς διανέμουντος τοῖς θεοῖς ἦτει καὶ τὸ Πένθος. ἔδωκεν οὖν αυτῷ, παρὰ τοῖς αἵρουμένοις δὲ μόνοις καὶ θέλουσιν. ἐν ἄρχῃ μὲν οὖν οὕτω τοῖς γινόμενον ἐστιν. αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐκαστος εἰσάγει τὸ πένθος ἐφ’ ἑαυτόν. οταν δὲ ἱδρυνθῇ χρόνῳ καὶ γένηται σύντροφον καὶ σύνοικον, οὔδὲ πάνυ⁵ βουλομένων ἀπαλλάττεται. διὸ δεὶ μάχεσθαι περὶ θύρας αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ προσίσεθαι⁶ φροοράν δι’ ἐσθῆτος ἢ

610 κούρας ἢ τίνος ἄλλου τῶν τοιούτων ἢ καθ’ ἠμέραν ἀπαντώντα καὶ δυσωποῦντα μικρὰν καὶ στενήν καὶ

1 ἐκεῖνον v : ἐκεῖνῳ a¹ ; ἐκείνην n ; ἐκείνο a². 2 ἐξέθρεψας μαστῷ Benseler : μασθῶ (μαστῷ v n) ἐξέθρεψας. 3 γὰρ] γε Pohlenz ; Wilamowitz would omit. 4 τὰ added by Reiske. 5 πάνυ Α²Ε : πάλιν. 6 προσίσεθαι] προσίσθαι Reiske.

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² Cf. Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxii. 3 (855 f).
⁴ Cf. Life of Solon, chap. vii. 5 (82 a) ; Diogenes Laert. 590
confusion, and yet you had nursed him at your own breast and had submitted to surgery when your nipple was bruised. For such conduct was noble, and it showed true mother love.\(^a\)

6. But we observe that most mothers, after others have cleansed and prettied up their children, receive them in their arms like pets; and then, at their death, give themselves up to an unwarranted and ungrateful \(^b\) grief, not out of good will toward them—for good will is rational and right \(^c\)—but because the combination with a little natural feeling of a great deal of vain opinion \(^d\) makes their mourning wild, frenzied, and difficult to calm. And this appears not to have escaped Aesop,\(^e\) who said that when Zeus was apportioning honours among the gods, Grief asked for a share, which Zeus accordingly granted, but only from such as should choose and so desire. At the outset indeed this is true; for each person takes grief in of his own accord. But once it has fixed itself with the passing of time and become his companion and household intimate, it will not quit him even at his earnest desire. We must, therefore, resist it at the door and must not let it in to be quartered on us by wearing mourning or cropping the hair or by any other manifestations of the kind that, confronting the mind daily and shaming it into submission, make it dispirited, cramped, shut in,

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\(^a\) Cf. Mor. 102 c-d and Seneca, Ad Marc. 7. 1; 19. 1; Ad Polyb. 18. 4.

\(^b\) Cf. Mor. 112 a, where the story is ascribed to an "ancient philosopher" who used it to comfort Queen Arsinoë. Sotion (Stobaeus, iii, p. 972. 7 Hense) ascribes a shortened version to an unnamed woman.

(610) ἀνέξοδον καὶ ἀμείλυκτον καὶ ψοφοδεῖ ποιεῖ τὴν
dιάνοιαν, ὡς οὔτε γέλωτος αὐτῇ μετὸν οὔτε φωτὸς
οὔτε φιλανθρώπου τραπέζης τοιαῦτα περικεμένη
καὶ μεταχειριζομένη διὰ τὸ πένθος. ἀμέλειαι δὲ
σώματος ἐπονται τῷ κακῷ τούτῳ καὶ διαβολαι
πρὸς ἀλειμμα καὶ λουτρόν καὶ τὴν ἀλλὴν δίαιταν·
ὡν πᾶν τοῦναντίον ἔδει τὴν ψυχήν πονοῦσαν αὐτὴν
βοηθεῖσαι διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐρρωμένου. πολὺ
γὰρ ἀμβλύνεται καὶ ἧλαται τοῦ λυποῦντος, οὕσπερ
Β ἐν εὐδίᾳ κύμα, τῇ γαλήνῃ τοῦ σώματος διαχεο-
μενον, ἕαν δὲ αὐχμὸς ἐγγένηται καὶ τραχύτης ἐκ
φαύλης διαίτης καὶ μηδὲν εὐμενές ῥηστὸν
ἀναπέμπῃ τὸ σῶμα τῇ ψυχῇ πλὴν ὁδύνας καὶ
λύτας, ὦσπερ τινὰς πικρὰς καὶ δυσχερεῖς ἀναθυ-
μίασεις, οὔδὲ βουλομένοις ἐτί βαδίως ἀναλαβεῖν
ἐστιν· τοιαῦτα λαμβάνει πάθη τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω
κακωθεῖσαν.

7. Καὶ μὴν ὁ γε μέγιστον ἐν τούτῳ καὶ φοβερῶ-
tατόν ἐστιν οὕκ ἄν φοβηθεῖν, "κακῶν γυναικῶν
eἰσόδους" καὶ φωνᾶς καὶ συνεπιθρηνῆσεις αἰς
ἐκτρίβουσι καὶ παραθήγουσι τὴν λύπην, οὔθ᾿ ὑπ᾿
C ἀλλων οὔτε αὐτήν ἐφ᾿ ἐαυτῆς ἐώσαι μαρανθήναι.
γυνῶσκω γὰρ ποίοισ ἐναγχὸς ἠγώνας ἡγωνίσω τῇ
Θέωνος ἀδελφῆ βοηθοῦσα καὶ μαχομένη ταῖς μετὰ

1 αὐτῆ] αὐτὴν καθ᾿ αὐτὴν Σιεβκίνγ.
2 L (folios 131rv and 124rv, an unbroken series) resumes
with [ταῖ].
3 van Herwerden would delete ἐν.
4 κύμα] omitted in L.
5 τοῦ] omitted in L.
6 διαχεομένου L (as Pohlenz had conjectured): διαχεομένου.
7 εὐμενές] εὐγενές L.
8 πλὴν through τινὰς omitted in L and v.
9 οὔδὲ βουλομένοις L α²: οὔδὲ βουλόμενοι α¹ π: οὔδὲ βου-
λόμενον n: omitted in v.

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deaf to all soothing influences, and a prey to vain terrors, in the feeling that it has no part in laughter or the light of day or the friendly board, since it has adopted such habiliments and engages in such practices because of its grief. This unhappy state leads to widespread neglect of the body and aversion to ointment, the bath, and the other usages of our daily life. Quite the contrary should happen; in its own suffering the soul should be helped by a vigorous condition of the body. For its distress loses much of its keenness and intensity when dissipated in the calm of the body, as waves are dispersed in fair weather; whereas if the body is in the interval allowed to become squalid and unkempt from a mean way of life, and if it sends up to the soul nothing benign or good, but only pains and sorrows, like acrid and noisome exhalations, the sufferings that take possession of the soul when it has undergone such ill-usage are so serious that an easy recovery is no longer possible even if desired.

7. On the other hand, what is most grave and to be dreaded in such a case holds no terrors for me: "the visits of pernicious women" and their cries and their chiming in with lamentations, whereby they polish and whet the keen edge of pain, and do not allow our grief to subside either from other influences or of itself; for I know what struggles you recently sustained when you went to the aid of Theon's sister

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10 λαμβάνει πάθη τῆν] λαμβάνουσαν πάθη L (λαμβάνοντα πάθη τῆν or λαμβάνει πάθη καὶ τῆν Capps).

11 οὐκ] apparently omitted in L.

12 ἐφ'] ὑφ'] L (?) n.  

13 ἐαυτῆς] αὐτῆς L (?).  

14 ποίους] οίους L.  

15 μαχομένη] μεμφομένη L.
(610) ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν ἐξωθεὶν ἐπιούσαις, ὅσπερ ἀτεχνῶς πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ φερούσαις. 2 τὰς μὲν γὰρ οἰκίας τῶν φίλων ὅταν καιομένας ἰδωσί 3 σβεννύουσιν ὃς ἔχει τάχους ἔκαστος 4 ἡ δυνάμεως, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς φλεγομένους 5 αὐτῶς προσφέρουσιν ὑπεκκαύματα. καὶ τῷ μὲν ὀφθαλμῶντι τὰς χείρας οὐκ ἔδωσι προσάγειν τὸν βουλόμενον οὖδὲ ἀπτονται τοῦ φλεγμαίνοντος, ὁ δὲ πενθῶν κάθηται παντὶ τῷ προσ- 

D τυχόντι παρέχων ὀσπέρ ῥεῦμα κυνεῖν καὶ διαγραίνειν τὸ πάθος, ἐκ μικροῦ τοῦ γαργαλίζοντος καὶ κνώντος 6 εἰς πολλῆν καὶ δυσχερὴ κάκωσιν ἁναξινόμενον. 7 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἴδ' ὅτι φυλάξῃ.

8. Πειρῶ δὲ τῇ ἐπινοιᾳ μεταφέρουσα σεαυτὴν ἀποκαθιστάναι πολλάκις εἰς 8 ἔκεινον τὸν χρόνον ἐν ὁ μηδέπω τοῦ παιδίου τοῦτον 9 γεγονότος μηδὲν 10 ἐγκλῆμα πρὸς τὴν τύχην εἴχομεν, εἶτα τὸν νῦν καιρόν 11 τοῦτον ἔκεινῳ συνάπτεων, 12 ὃς 13 ὁμοίων πάλιν τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς γεγονότων. ἐπεὶ τὴν γένεσιν, ὁ γὰρ, τοῦ τέκνου δυσχεραίνειν δῶξομεν ἁμεμπτο-

1 ὀλοφυρμῶν καὶ ἀλαλαγμῶν] στεναγμῶν καὶ ὀλοφυρμῶν L. 
2 φεροῦσαις] ἐπιφεροῦσαις L. 
3 καιομένας ἰδωσὶ] ἰδωσὶ καιομένας L. 
4 σβεννύουσιν through ἔκαστος] σβεννύουσι βοηθοῦντες ἔκαστος ὃς ἔχει τάχους L. 
5 φλεγομένους L : φλεγομένας. 
6 κνὼτος Kronenberg : κλώντος L ; κνὼντος. 
7 ἁναξινόμενον Reiske : ἁναξιηρανόμενον. 
8 εἰς] omitted in L. 
9 τοῦτον] τοῦτε L. 
10 μηδὲν] οὐδὲν L. 
11 καιρόν] omitted in L. 
12 συνάπτεων] συναλλάττεων Capps. 
13 ὃς] omitted in L.

a A favourite proverb : cf. Mor. 61 a, 123 e, 143 f, 919 d, 594
and fought off the assaults of the women who came from the world outside with wailing and screaming, as if they were in very truth adding "fire to fire." For when people see the houses of their friends in flames, they put the fire out with all the speed or power at their command; but when those friends are themselves ablaze with fire in their hearts, they bring more fuel. And whereas men refuse to permit anyone who so desires to lay his hands on a sufferer from ophthalmia, and do not touch the inflammation, the person who mourns sits patiently and allows anyone who happens to pass by to meddle with his suffering as with a rheumatic sore and to envenom it, a little tickling and scratching making it break out into a far-reaching and troublesome affliction. This thing, then, I know you will guard against.

8. Do, however, try to carry yourself back in your thoughts and return again and again to the time when this little child was not yet born and we had as yet no complaint against Fortune; next try to link this present time with that as though our circumstances had again become the same. For, my dear wife, we shall appear to be sorry that our child was ever born if our conduct leads us to regard the state

Life of Artaxerxes, chap. xxviii. 1 (1025 ε) ; cf. also Plato, Laws, 666 a.

b Cf. Mor. 102 a, where a delay in consoling a bereaved person is justified by a comparison with the treatment of a rheumatic sore or "fluxion." Cf. also Chrysippus, quoted by Cicero, Tusc. Disput. iv. 29 (63), with Pohlenz's remarks in Hermes, vol. xli (1906), p. 336 ; Letter of Theano, v. 7 (Epist. Gr. p. 605 Hercher) ; Seneca, Ad Helv. 1. 2 f. Plutarch has modified the topic.

c Cf. Teles, p. 61. 2-4 (ed. Hense).

d Cf. Seneca, Ad Helv. 19. 7 : "... idagas ne quis te putet partus tui paenitere."
(610) τερα ποιούντες αὐτοῖς τὰ πρὶν ἔκεινην γενέσθαι Ἐ πράγματα. τὴν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ διετίαν ἐξαιρεῖν μὲν οὐ δεῖ τῆς μνήμης, ὡς δὲ χάριν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν παρασχοῦσαν ἐν ἡδονῇ τίθεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ μικρὸν ἁγαθὸν μέγα νομίζειν κακὸν, μηδὲ ὅτι τὸ ἐλπιζόμενον οὐ προσέθηκεν ἢ τύχη καὶ περὶ τοῦ δοθέντος ἀχαριστεῖν. ἂεὶ μὲν γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὸ θείον εὐφημία καὶ τὸ πρὸς τὴν τύχην ἔλεων καὶ ἁμεμφῆς καλὸν καὶ ἡδὸν ἀποδίδωσι καρπόν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ὁ μάλιστα τῆς μνήμης τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀπαρυτόμενος καὶ τοῦ βίου πρὸς τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰ μεταστρέφων καὶ μεταφέρων ἐκ τῶν σκοτεινῶν καὶ 

Ἐ ταρακτικῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἡ παντάπασιν ἐσβεσε τὸ λυποῦν ἢ τῇ πρὸς τοῦνασίον μίξει μικρὸν καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἐποίησεν. ὡσπέρ γὰρ τὸ μύρον ἄεὶ μὲν εὐφραίνει τὴν ὀδυρῆσιν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δυσώδη¹ φάρμακόν ἐστιν, οὕτως² ἢ ἐπίνοια τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ βοηθήματος ἀναγκαίου παρέχεται χρείαν τοῖς μὴ φεύγουσι τὸ μεμνημον τῶν χρηστῶν μηδὲ πάντα καὶ πάντως μεμφομένοι τὴν τύχην. ὅπερ ἦμῖν παθεῖν οὐ προσήκει, συκοφαντοῦσι τὸν

611 ἑαυτῶν βίον εἰ μίαν ἐσχηκεν, ὡσπέρ βιβλίον, ἀλουφὴν ἐν πᾶσι καθαροῖς καὶ ἀκεραίοις τοῖς ἀλλοις.³ (9.) ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὀρθῶν ἐπιλογισμῶν εἰς εὐσταθῆ διάθεσιν τελευτῶν ἠρτηται τὸ μακάριον, αἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης τραπεῖ μεγάλας οὐ

¹ δυσώδη] λυσώδη L.
² οὕτως] ὃς (ὡς nos) L.
of things before her birth as preferable to the present. Yet we must not obliterate the intervening two years from our memory; rather, since they afforded us delight and enjoyment of her, we should credit them to the account of pleasure; and we should not consider the small good a great evil, nor, because Fortune did not add what we hoped for, be ungrateful for what was given. For reverent language toward the Deity and a serene and uncomplaining attitude toward Fortune never fail to yield an excellent and pleasant return; while in circumstances like these he who in greatest measure draws upon his memory of past blessings and turns his thought toward the bright and radiant part of his life, averting it from the dark and disturbing part, either extinguishes his pain entirely, or by thus combining it with its opposite, renders it slight and faint. For just as perfume, while always a delight to the smell, serves on occasion to counteract foul odours, so the thought of our blessings has in time of trouble a further, necessary, use: it is an antidote in the hands of those who do not shun the remembrance of happiness and do not insist on reproaching Fortune in everything. It ill becomes us to fall into this state by cavilling at our own life for receiving, like a book, a single stain, while all the rest is clean and unspoiled. (9.) For you have often heard that felicity depends on correct reasoning resulting in a stable habit, and that the changes due to fortune

\[a \text{ Cf. Seneca, } Ad \text{ Marc. 12. 1: } \ldots \text{ oportet te non de eo quod detractum est queri, sed de eo gratias agere quod contigit; } Ad \text{ Polyb. 10. 2: } \ldots \text{ avidus, qui non lucri loco habet quod accepit, sed damn\i quod reddidit.}\]

\[b \text{ Cf. Mor. 469 A, 600 D.}\]

\[3 \text{ Capps reads } \ddot{\delta}s \text{ after } \beta\i\nu\nu \text{ and } \mu\acute{e}r\acute{e}\varsigma \ \tau\i\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}l\lambda\i\varsigma \ \mu\acute{a}l\nu\epsilon\tau\acute{a}i \ \text{ for } \tau\i\varsigma \ \acute{\alpha}l\lambda\i\varsigma.}\]
(611) ποιοῦσιν ἀποκλίσεις1 οὔδε ἐπιφέρουσι2 συγχυτικὰς3 ὀλισθήσεις τοῦ4 βίου, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας.

Εἰ δὲ δεῖ5 καὶ ἡμᾶς, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ, τοῖς ἔξωθεν κυβερνᾶσθαι πράγμασι καὶ τὰ παρὰ6 τῆς τύχης ἀπαριθμεῖν καὶ κριταίς χρήσθαι πρὸς7 εὐδαιμονίαι τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι8 ἀνθρώποις, μὴ σκοπεῖ τά B νῦν δάκρυα καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμήσεις τῶν εἰσιόντων, ἐθεὶ τινὶ φαύλῳ περαινομένα9 πρὸς ἐκαστὸν, ἀλλ' ἐννόει μάλλον ὃς ζηλοῦμένη διατελέσῃ ὑπὸ τοῦτων ἐπὶ τέκνους καὶ οἴκω καὶ βίῳ. καὶ δειγνόν ἐστιν ἐτέρους μὲν ἤδεως ἐὰν ἐλέσθαι τὴν σὴν τύχην, καὶ τοῦτον προσόντος ἐφ' ὃ νῦν ἀνιώμεθα, σὲ δὲ ἐγκαλεῖν καὶ δυσφορεῖν παροῦσῃ,10 καὶ μηδὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δάκρυντος αἰσθάνεσθαι πηλίκας ἔχει τὰ σωζόμενα χάριτας ήμῖν, ἀλλ', ὅσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἀκεφάλους καὶ μειούρου 'Ομήρου στίχους ἐκλέγοντες, τὰ δὲ πολλά καὶ μεγάλα τῶν πεποιημένων ὑπέρευ παρορώντες, οὗτως ἐξακριβοῦν καὶ συκοφαντεῖν τοῦ βίου τὰ φαίλα, τοῖς δὲ χρηστοῖς ἀνάρθρως καὶ C συγκεκχυμένως ἐπιβάλλουσαν,11 ὅμοιον τι τοῖς ἀνελεθέροις καὶ φιλαργύρους πάσχειν, οἱ πολλά συν-άγοντες οὐ χρώνται παροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ θρηνοῦσι καὶ δυσφοροῦσιν ἀπολομένων. εἰ δὲ ἐκεῖνης ἔχεις

1 οὗ ποιοῦσιν ἀποκλίσεις L: ἀποκλίσεις οὐ ποιοῦσιν.
2 ἐπιφέρουσι] ἀποφέρουσι L.
3 συγχυτικὰς L (as Reiske had conjectured): συντυχικὰς.
4 τοῦ] τούτου του Capps.
5 δεῖ] μὴ δεῖ Capps.
6 παρὰ L v: περὶ.
7 κριταῖς χρήσθαι πρὸς] χρήσθαι κριταίς πρὸς τὴν L.
8 ἐπιτυχοῦσι] παρατυχοῦσιν L.
9 Folio 124v of L ends after περαινομένας. The next two folios are lost.
10 παροῦσῃ] παροῦσῃ Schwartz.
11 ἐπιβάλλουσαν] ἐπιβάλλουσάν τι' Capps.

a Cf. Mor. 499 A-D; Aristotle, Nicomachean Ethics, i. 10
occasion no serious departure from it and do not bring with them a falling away that destroys the character of our lives.\(^a\)

But if, like the multitude, we too are to be guided by external circumstances, to reckon up the dispensations of fortune, and to take any chance persons as our judges of felicity, you must not dwell upon the present tears and lamentations of your visitors, a performance dictated by a pernicious custom and rehearsed to every sufferer; you must rather bear in mind how enviable you still appear in their eyes for your children, home, and way of life. And it is unreasonable, when others would gladly choose your lot,\(^b\) even with our present grief thrown in, for you, whose lot it actually is, to complain and be disconsolate; nor yet to be taught by the very bitterness of your grief how great is the delight for us in what is still left, but instead, like the critics who pick out the "headless" and "docked" lines of Homer,\(^c\) overlooking the many splendid passages of flawless execution, to keep a strict account of the shortcomings of your life and cavil at them, and by noting its advantages without particularity or discrimination, to resemble in your attitude the illiberal and miserly, who make no use of the great wealth they accumulate when it is in their possession, but lament and are disconsolate when it is lost. If you pity her for

(1101 a 6-8): Seneca, Ad Helv. 5. 1: "... unusquisque facere se beatum potest. Leve momentum in adventiciis rebus est et quod in neutram partem magnas vires habeat; ..."

\(^b\) Cf. Mor. 600 a and Boëthius, Philos. Cons. ii. 4. 17.

10. Καὶ μὴν ὃ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούεις οἱ πείθουσι πολλοὺς λέγοντες τὸν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῇ τῷ διαλυθέντι κακὸν οὐδὲν λυπηρὸν ἔστων, ὡς ὁτι κωλύει σε πιστεύειν ὁ πάτριος λόγος καὶ τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῶν περὶ τῶν Διόνυσον ὀργιασμῶν, ἃ σύνισμεν ἀλλήλοις οἱ κοινωνοῦντες. ὡς οὖν ἀφθαρτὸν οὖσαν ἔτην ψυχὴν διανοοῦ ταῦτο ταῖς ἀληθικομέναις ὀρνισὶ πάσχειν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ πολὺν ἐντραφῇ τῷ σώματι

1 παραγενόμεναι] περιγενόμεναι Reiske.
2 ἔννοιαν nos (cf. Mor. 763 ἀ νὰ μή δι’ αἰσθήσεως ἡμῖν εἰς ἔννοιαν ἥκει): ἐπίνοιαν.
3 Reiske would either delete οὔτ’ ἐλαβεν ἐπίνοιαν or read ἐπιθυμίαν for ἐπίνοιαν.

a This remark usually introduces the consideration that the dead person has escaped all the miseries connected with marriage and children: cf. Mor. 115 e-f.

b Cf. Mor. 469 f.
c Cf. Pseudo-Plato, Axiocbus, 327 a: ψυχὴ ἄπασα ἀδάνακτος, ἢ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ τοῦ χωρίου μετασταθέσα καὶ ἀληθός.
d The Epicureans. The first set were the “pernicious women” who added “fire to fire”: cf. chap. 7, supra.
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departing unmarried and childless, you can find comfort for yourself in another consideration, that you have lacked fulfilment of and participation in neither of these satisfactions; for these are not great blessings for those deprived of them, but small for their possessors. That she has passed to a state where there is no pain need not be painful to us; for what sorrow can come to us through her, if nothing now can make her grieve? For even great deprivations lose their power to cause pain when they reach the point where the want is no longer felt; and your Timoxena has been deprived of little, for what she knew was little, and her pleasure was in little things; and as for those things of which she had acquired no perception, which she had never conceived, and to which she had never given thought, how could she be said to be deprived of them?

10. Furthermore, I know that you are kept from believing the statements of that other set, who win many to their way of thinking when they say that nothing is in any way evil or painful to "what has undergone dissolution," by the teaching of our fathers and by the mystic formulas of the Dionysiac rites, the knowledge of which we who are participants share with each other. Consider then that the soul, which is imperishable, is affected like a captive bird: if it has long been reared in the body and has become

\[\text{Cf. Epicurus, Ad Menoeceum, 124, and Kúriai δόξαι, ii (quoted in Mor. 1103 \textit{d} and 1105 \textit{a})}: \text{'O} \thetaάνατος οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· τὸ γὰρ διαλυθὲν ἀναισθητεῖ· τὸ δ' ἀναισθητοῦν οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς. "Death is nothing to us; for what has suffered dissolution has no perception, and what has no perception has nothing to do with us." \]

\[\text{Cf. Mor. 756 \textit{b}}.\]

\[\text{Cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 13 (29)}: \text{"reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis: \ldots\"} \]

601
(611) χρόνον καὶ γένηται τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ τιθασός ὑπὸ πραγμάτων πολλῶν καὶ μακράς συνηθείας, ἀδίσκατα ἐνδυται καὶ οὐκ ἀνήσουν οὐδὲ λήγει τοὺς ἐνταῦθα συμπλεκομένη πάθει καὶ τύχαις διὰ τῶν γενέσεων. μὴ γὰρ οἶου λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν τὸ γῆρας διὰ τὴν ὑσυτητά καὶ τὴν πολικάν καὶ τὴν ἀσθενειαν τοῦ σώματος· ἄλλα τούτο αὐτοῦ τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἔστιν, ὅτι

There is a lacuna here in a of 86 letters. In v the lacuna includes ἣ δὲ λῃσθείσα μὲν and is of 79 letters. Wyttenbach supplies μένουσα δὲ βραχὺν εἰς τῷ σώματι χρόνον ἑλευθερωθείσα.  

There is a lacuna here in a of 162 letters; in v of 129. Sieveking, combining supplements proposed by Wyttenbach and Bernardakis, suggests the following reading: ἣ δὲ πλείονα χρόνον ἀποσβεσθέν μείνῃ, χαλεπωτέραν ἔχει τὴν ἀναξιωτύρωσιν, οὔτω καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀριστα πράττονσιν, αἰς συμβεβηκε κατὰ τὸν ποιητήν.

The supplement and translation of this passage are uncertain.

602
tamed to this life by many activities and long familiarity, it alights again and re-enters the body, and does not leave off or cease from becoming entangled in the passions and fortunes of this world through repeated births. For do not fancy that old age is vilified and ill spoken of because of the wrinkles, the grey hairs, and the debility of the body; no, its most grievous fault is to render the soul stale in its memories of the other world and make it cling tenaciously to this one, and to warp and cramp it, since it retains in this strong attachment the shape imposed upon it by the body. Whereas the soul that tarries after its capture but a brief space in the body before it is set free by higher powers proceeds to its natural state as though released from a bent position with flexibility and resilience unimpaired. For just as a fire flares up again and quickly recovers, if a person who has extinguished it immediately lights it again, but is harder to rekindle if it remains extinguished for some time, so too those souls fare best whose lot it is, according to the poet.

\[b\] Cf. Mor. 591 b and De Anima, Frag. 6 (vol. vii, p. 22. 5 Bern.): λόγον ἔχει καθάπερ ἐκ καμπῆς (Dübner: εἰ κάμπης) τινος ἀνέλος οἶνον ἐξάπτευ (Koenius: ἔξάπτευ) καὶ ἀναθεῖν (Gesner: ἀναθεῖναι) τὴν ψυχὴν ἀποπνέοντος τοῦ σώματος ἀναπνέοντας αὐτὴν καὶ ἀναψύχονταν. For the general idea cf. Seneca, Ad Marc. 23. 1: "... facili
dum ad superos iter est animis cito ab humana conversatione dimissis; minimum enim faecis, ponderis traxerunt. Ante quam obdurescerent et altius terrena concipèrent liberati leviors ad originem suam revolant et facilius quicquid est illud obsoleti inlitique eluant"; cf. Menander, peri ἐπιδεικτικῶν (vol. iii, p. 414. 21-23 Spengel; p. 122 Bursian): καὶ τάχα ποὺ καὶ μέμφεται τοῖς θερμοῦσιν συγγενῆς γὰρ οὖσα τοῦ θεοῦ ἡ ψυχὴ κάκειθεν κατισόσα σπεύδει πάλιν ἀνω πρὸς τὸ συγγενὲς ... 

c There is a long lacuna in the mss. here, but the general sense is clear.
(611) ὀπως ὡκιστα πύλασ 'Αἴδαο περίσαι

πρὶν¹ ἔρωτα πολὺν ἐγγενέσθαι τῶν αὐτόθι πραγμάτων καὶ μαλαχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ σῶμα καὶ συντακῆναι καθάπερ ὑπὸ φαρμάκων.

612 11. Τοῖς δὲ πατρίως καὶ παλαιῶς ἔθεσι καὶ νόμους ἐμφαίνεται μάλλον ἢ περὶ τούτων ἀλήθεια. τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν νηπίως ἀποθανοῦσιν οὔτε χοᾶς ἐπιφέρουσιν οὔτ＇ ἄλλα δρᾶσι περὶ αὐτὰ² οία εἰκὸς ὑπὲρ θανόντων ποιεῖν τοὺς ἄλλους³· οὐ γὰρ μέτεστι γῆς ούδεν οὔδε⁴ τῶν περὶ γῆν αὐτοῖς· οὖδ᾿ αὐτοῦ⁵ περὶ ταφᾶς καὶ μνήματα καὶ προθέσεις νεκρῶν φιλοχωροῦσι καὶ παρακάθηται τοῖς σώμασιν· οὐ γὰρ ἐώσιν οἱ νόμοι⁶ τους τηλικούτους, ὡς οὐχ ὅσιον εἰς βελτίωνα καὶ θειοτέραν μοίραν ἁμα καὶ χώραν⁷ μεθεσποκότας ... ⁸ ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ⁹ ἀποστεῖν ἀλεπώτερον ἐστὶν αὐτοῖς ἢ τὸ πιστεύειν, τὰ μὲν Β ἐκτὸς οὕτως ὡς οἱ νόμοι προστάσσοσαι ἐξωμεν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἀμίαντα καὶ καθαρὰ καὶ σώφρονα.¹⁰

¹ πρὶν Reiske: πλὴν.
² αὐτὰ] αὐτοὺς v n.
³ Wilamowitz would omit τοὺς ἄλλους.
⁴ οὔδε Stegmann: οὔτε.
⁵ αὐτοῦ] αὐ Wilamowitz.
⁶ νόμοι] νόμοι περὶ Wilamowitz.
⁷ Folio 39r of L begins with χώραν. Hardly a word is distinctly legible.
⁸ There is here a lacuna of 40 letters in α, 16 in v (in v the lacuna includes the ἐ of ἐπεὶ). In L we can make out χώραν and after an interval of some 85 letters οι νόμοι. The lacuna would thus correspond to some 6 letters in L. Tentative
Soon as they may to pass through Hades' gates before much love of the business of our life here has been engendered in them, and before they have been adapted to the body by becoming softened and fused with it as by reagents.

11. It is rather in our ancestral and ancient usages and laws that the truth of these matters is to be seen; for our people do not bring libations to those of their children who die in infancy, nor do they observe in their case any of the other rites that the living are expected to perform for the dead, as such children have no part in earth or earthly things; nor yet do they tarry where the burial is celebrated, at the graves, or at the laying out of the dead, and sit by the bodies. For the laws forbid us to mourn for infants, holding it impiety to mourn for those who have departed to a dispensation and a region too that is better and more divine. And since this is harder to disbelieve than to believe, let us keep our outward conduct as the laws command, and keep ourselves within yet freer from pollution and purer and more temperate.

\[a\] Theognis, 427.
\[b\] Cf. Plato, Laws, 904 c-d, where the region tenanted by a soul is associated with the lot it obtains.
\[c\] The text in one ms. is illegible here; in the rest there is a lacuna. The supplement and translation are uncertain.
\[d\] Cf. Cicero, Tusc. Disput. i. 45 (108 f.).

supplements are: \(\pi\nu\theta\epsilon\nu\nu\) \(\kappa\alpha\iota\) \(\delta\epsilon\gamma\nu\omega\) \(\mu\epsilon\nu\), \(\delta\tau\iota\) \(\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\) \(\pi\omega\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma\) ἔχει ἀπόριας Wyttenbach. \(\theta\) \(\tau\delta\) omitted in v. 
\(\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\alpha\] \(\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\omicron\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\) \(\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\) +L (?) \(\sigma\omega\phi\rho\nu\alpha\) \(\delta\iota\alpha\) \(\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\tau\tau\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\) Wyttenbach.
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