PREFACE

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

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LOVE STORIES
(AMATORIAE NARRATIONES)
INTRODUCTION

These five short stories are interesting to the modern reader chiefly as examples of the kind of tale which appealed to the readers of Plutarch's time; for they were probably written during his lifetime, though not by him. In style and content they differ greatly from his genuine works. The elements of passion and of sentimental love are made to appear important in them rather on account of their dire consequences than for their own sake.
ΕΡΩΤΙΚΑΙ ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ

Α

(771) Ἐν Ἁλιάρτῳ τῆς Βοιωτίας κόρη τῆς γάνεται κάλλει διαπρέποντα ἄνωμα Ἀριστόκλεια: θυγάτηρ δ᾽ ἤν Θεοφάνους. ταύτην μεν ἔθειν Στράτων Ὀρχομένιος καὶ Καλλισθένης Ἁλιάρτιος.1 πλουσιότερος δ᾽ ἦν Στράτων καὶ μᾶλλον τῇ παρθένῳ ήττημένος· ἔπηγγε γὰρ ἅπαν αὐτὴν ἐν Ἀεβαδείᾳ λουο-μένην ἐπὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ 'Ερκίνῃ· ἐμελλε γὰρ τῷ 772 Διὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ καταφορεῖν. ἄλλ᾽ ὁ Καλλισθένης γε πλέον ἐφῄσε τῷ γὰρ καὶ γένει προσήκων τῇ κόρῃ. ἀπορῶν δὲ τῷ πράγματι ὁ Θεοφάνης, ἔδειξε γὰρ τὸν Στράτωνα πλούσιον τε καὶ γένει ἱσχόν ἀπάντων διαφέρουσα τῶν Βοιωτῶν, τῆς αἴρεσις ἐβούλετο τῷ Τροφώνῳ ἐπιτρέψαι· καὶ ὁ Στράτων, ἀνεπεπιστο γὰρ ὕπο τῶν τῆς παρθένου οἰκετῶν, ὡς πρὸς αὐτὸν μᾶλλον ἐκείνη βέποι, ἢξίου ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ποιεῖσθαι τῇ γαμομενή τῆς ἐκλογῆς. ὡς δὲ τῆς παιδὸς ὁ Θεοφάνης ἐπιπράσετο ἐν ὅψει πάντων, ἡ δὲ τὸν Καλλισθένην προκράνειν, Β εὐθὺς μὲν ὁ Στράτων δῆλος ἢν βαρέως φέρων τὴν

1 Ἁλιάρτιος Wyttenbach: Ἁλιάρτω.
LOVE STORIES

I

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

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

b A hero whose oracular shrine was at Lebadeia.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(772) ἀπειλήσας ἡμέρας δὲ διαλυτῶν δύο προσῆλθε τῷ Θεοφάνει καὶ τῷ Καλλιοθέντει, ἀξίων τὴν φιλίαν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτούς διαφυλάττεσθαι, εἰ καὶ τοῦ γάμου ἀφθονία ὑπὸ δαμοσίων τινὸς. οἱ δ' ἐπήνουν τὰ λεγόμενα, ὡστε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν τῶν γάμων παρεκάλλουν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ παρεσκευασμένος ἐταῖροι ὄχλοι, καὶ πλῆθος οὐκ ὄλιγον ἑραστῶν, διεσπαρμένους παρὰ τούτους καὶ λαυθάνοντας, ἦσε η ἱκόρη κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπὶ τὴν Κισσάδεος καλουρίεν κρήνην κατέβη τοῖς Νύμφαις τὰ προτέλεια.

Ὁ θύσοντας, τότε δὲ συνδραμόντες πάντες οἱ λογίωντες ἐκεῖνοι συνελάμβανον αὐτῶν. καὶ ὁ Στράτων γ' ἐγέρτο τῆς παρθένου ἀντελμαβάνετο δ' ὡς εἰκός ὁ Καλλιοθέντης ἐν μέρει καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ, ὡς ἐλαθεῖν ἡ παῖς ἐν χεραὶ τῶν ἀνθρεκτῶν διαφθαρεῖσα. ὁ Καλλιοθέντης μὲν σὺν παραχρῆμα ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, εἰτε διαχρησάμενος ἑαυτῶν εἰτε φυγάς ἀπελθών ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτίας οὐκ εἶχα δ' οὖν τις εἰπεῖν ὅ τι καὶ πεπόνθαι. ὁ δὲ Στράτων φανερῶς ἐπικατέσφαξεν ἑαυτῶν τῇ παρθένῃ.

B

D Φείδων τις τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀρχῆς, τὴν 'Αργείων πόλιν, τὴν παρθένα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἡγεμονεύει τῶν λοιπῶν βουλόμενος, πρῶτον ἐπεβούλευε Κορινθίοις: πέμψας γὰρ ἦτει παρ' αὐτῶν νεανίας χιλίους τοὺς ἀκρὶ διαφέροντας καὶ ἀνδρείας ὁ δὲ πέμπουσι τοὺς χιλίους, στρατηγὸν αὐτῶν

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

II

A man named Pheidon, who was striving to make himself ruler of the Peloponnesians and wished his own native city of Argos to be the leader of all the other states, plotted first against the Corinthians. He sent and asked of them the thousand young men who were the best in vigour and valour; and they sent the thousand, putting Dexander in
άποδείξατες Δέξανθρου. ἐν νῷ δ' ἤχων ὁ Φείδων ἐπιθέεσθαι τούτοις, ὥς ἤχοι Κόρινθου ἀτοινωτέραν καὶ τῇ πόλει χρήσατο, προτείχισμα γάρ τούτο ἐπικαιρότατον ἔσεθαί τῆς ὀλῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἢ τὴν πράξεν ἀνέθετο τῶν ἐπαίρων τισίν. ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἀβρων ἐν αὐτῶισιν ὁούς δὲ ξένως ἐν τῷ Δέξανθρου ἐφρασεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν. καὶ οὕτως οἱ μὲν χίλιοι1 πρὸ τῆς ἐπιβέβευσες εἰς τὴν Κόρινθον ἐσώθησαν, Φείδων δ' ἀνεφείπ ἐπειράτο τὸν προδότα καὶ ἐπιμελῶς ἐξῆτε. δειας δ' ὁ Ἀβρων φεύγει εἰς Κόρινθον, ἀναλαβόν τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τῶν οἰκείων, εἰς Μελίσσου, καμή τις τῆς Κορινθίων κὕρως ἐνθα καὶ παίδα γενήσας Μέλισσον προσηγορευέσθαι, ἀπὸ τοῦτον θέμενος τούτωμα αὐτῷ. τούτῳ δὴ τοῦ Μελίσσου υἱὸς Ἀκταίων γίνεται, καλλιστος καὶ σωφρονέστατος τῶν ὁμηλίων, οὐ πλεῖστοι μὲν ἐγένοντο ἐρασταί, διαφερόντως δ' Ἀρχίας, γένεσις μὲν ἔν τῷ τῶν Ἰππακελείδῶν, πλούτω δὲ καὶ τῇ Ῥάλη δυνάμει λαμπρότατος Κορινθίων. ἐπεὶ δὲ πεθεὶν ὡσ ἢδύνατο τοῦ παίδα, ἐγνωσασθαι καὶ συναρπᾶσαι τὸ μειράκιον ἐπεκάλομαι οὐν2 ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ Μελίσσου, πλῆθος ἐπαγόμενος καὶ φίλων καὶ οἰκετῶν, καὶ ἀπαγεῖν τῶν παίδα ἐπειράτο, ἀντιποιομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῶν φίλων, ἐπεκαλομένως δὲ καὶ τῶν γειτόνων καὶ 773 ἀνθρικῶν, ἀνθελκόμενως ὁ Ἀκταίων διεφθάρη· καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπεκάροροι. Μέλισσος δὲ τὸν νεκρὸν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν τῶν Κορινθίων παρακομίσας ἐπεδείκνυε, δικτυν ἀπαίτων παρὰ τῶν ταῦτα πραξάντων· οἱ δὲ πλέον οὐδὲν ή τῶν ἄνδρα

1 χίλια Meziricus after Amyot: Φλάσια.
2 συναρπᾶσαι Leonicus: συναρπᾶσα.
command of them. Now Pheidon intended to make an onslaught upon these young men, that Corinth might be weakened and he might have the city in his power, for he considered that it would be the most advantageous bulwark of the whole Peloponnesus, and he confided this matter to some of his friends, among whom was Habron. Now he was a friend of Dexander and told him of the plot, so before the onslaught was made the thousand young men escaped safely to Corinth; but Pheidon tried to discover the betrayer of his plot and searched for him with great care. So Habron was frightened and fled to Corinth with his wife and his servants, settling in Melissus, a village in Corinthian territory. There he begot a son whom he called Melissus from the name of the place. This Melissus had a son named Actaeon, the handsomest and most modest youth of his age, who had many lovers, chief of whom was Archias, of the family of the Heracleidae, in wealth and general influence the most outstanding man in Corinth. Now when he could not gain the boy by persuasion, he determined to carry him off by force. So he got together a crowd of friends and servants, went as in a drunken frolic to the house of Melissus, and tried to take the boy away. But his father and his friends resisted, the neighbours also ran out and pulled against the assailants, and so Actaeon was pulled to pieces and killed; the assailants thereupon went away. But Melissus took his son's body and exhibited it in the market-place of the Corinthians, demanding the punishment of the men who had done the deed; but the Corinthians merely pitied him and did nothing further. So, being unsuccess-
(773) ἡλέουν. ἀπρακτος δ' ἀναχωρήσας παρεφύλασε τὴν πανήγυριν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, ἀναβὰς τ' ἐπὶ τῶν τοῦ Ποσειδώνας νεῶν κατεβάα τῶν Βακχιάδων καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς "Αθρωνος εὐφρενίαν ὑπεμιμήνησε, τοὺς τε θεοὺς ἐπικαλεσάμενοι ῥίπτει ἐστῶν κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν. μετ' οὖν πολὺ δ' αἰχμάς καὶ λοιμῶς ἐκ τακτάμβανε τὴν πόλην καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς χρωμένων, ὅ θεος ἀνεῖλε μήν εἰναι Ποσειδώνας οὐκ ἄνησοντος, ἔμεν αὖ τὸν Ἀκταλίωνος βάναυσον μετέλθοιεν. ταῦτα πυθόμενος Ἀρχίας, αὐτὸς γὰρ θεωρῶ ἦν, εἰς μὲν τὴν Κόρινθον ἐκὼν οὐκ ἐπαινήθη, πλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Σικελίαν Συρακούσας ἐκτισε. πατήρ δὲ γενόμενος ἐνταιθα βυγατέρων δυνῆν, Ἐρυτύνες τε καὶ Συρακούσης, ὧδε τοῦ Τήλεφου δολοφονεῖται, δὲ ἐγεγόνει μὲν αὐτοῦ παιδικά, νεὼς δ' ἀφηγούμενος συνέπλευσεν εἰς Σικελίαν.

Γ

'Ανὴρ πένης Σκέδασσος τοῦνομα κατάφεκε Δεθκτρα: ἄστι δὲ κόμμων τῆς τῶν Θεσπιέων χώρας. Κ ὄντων βυγατέρες γίνονται δύο· ἐκαλοῦντο δ' Ἱππώ καὶ Μιλήτεα, ἢ, ὡς τενεῖ, Θεανώ καὶ Εὐδέππη. ἢν δὲ χρηστός ὁ Σκέδασσος καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτίθενας, καλσπε οὐ πολλὰ κεκτημένος. ἀφικομένους οὖν πρὸς αὐτὸν δύο Σπαρτιάτας νεανίας ὑπεδέξατο προσήμον· οἱ δὲ τῶν παρθένων ἤττωμεν διεκκαλύνοντο πρὸς τὴν τόλμαν ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ

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

III

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

a The noble family which ruled Corinth in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. Periander is its most famous member.
(773) Σκεδάσσου χρηστότητος. τῇ δ' ύστερα Πυθώδες ἀπῆσαν· αὕτη γὰρ αὐτοῖς προύκειτο ἡ ὀδὸς· καὶ τῷ θεῷ χρησάμενοι περὶ ὅν ἐδέντο, πάλιν ἐπηνήσαν οἰκάδε, καὶ χωροῦντες διὰ τῆς Βουστίας Δ ἐπέστησαν πάλιν τῇ τοῦ Σκεδάσου οἰκίᾳ. ὦ δ' ἐπίγχαραν οὐκ ἐπιδημίων τοῖς Δεῦκτροις, ἀλλ' αἱ δυνατέρες αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς συνήθους ἀγωγῆς τοῦς ἀπόκυψις ὑπεδέχατο. οἱ δὲ καταλαβόντες ἐρήμους τὰς κόρας βιάζονται· ὁρῶντες δ' αὐτὰς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν τῇ ὑβρεὶ γαλαταινοῦσας ἀπέκτειναν, καὶ ἐμβαλόντες ἐσὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἀπηλλάγησαν. ἐπανελθόντων δ' οἱ Σκεδάσος τὰς μὲν κόρας οὐχ ἔφερα, πάντα δὲ τὰ καταλευθέρων εὐρίσκει αὐτὰ καὶ τῷ πράγματι ἡπόρει, ἦσεν τῆς κυνὸς κυνωμένης καὶ πολλάκις μὲν προστρεχοῦσας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ δ' αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἐπαινοῦσας, εἶκασαν ὅπερ ἦν, καὶ τῶν δυνατῶν τὰ νεκρὰ αὐτῶς ἀναμεσάτω. πυθόμενος Ε δὲ παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων, ὅτι ἰδοὺν τῇ χθές ημέρᾳ τοὺς καὶ πρόληπτας κατακλῆσας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰσίντας, συνεδόστω τὸν πρᾶξιν ἐκεῖνον, ὅτι καὶ πρόληπτα συνεχῶς ἐπήγγειν τὰς κόρας, μακαρίζοντες τοὺς γαμήσαντας.

'Απῆκε εἰς Λακεδαιμονία, τοὺς ἔφορους ἐντευκούσμενος· γενόμενος δ' ἐν τῇ 'Αργολικῇ, νυκτὸς καταλαμβανούσης, εἰς πανδοκείαν τῇ κατήχησι, κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ προσβύζει τοὺς ἕτεροι τὸ γένος ἐξ Ε' Ὀρεοῦ πόλεως τῆς 'Εστιαμότιδος· σὺν στενάξαντας καὶ κατὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀράς ποιουμένου ἀκοῦσας ὁ Σκεδάσος ἐπηθῆκεν τὸ κακὸν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων πεπουθῶς εἰη. δ' δὲ διηγείτο, ὡς ὑπήκοος

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

Scædasus set out for Lacedaemon to see the ephors, and when he was in the territory of Argos night came upon him, so he put up at an inn, and at the same inn was another elderly man, a native of the city of Oreus in the territory of Hestiaea. Scædasus heard him groaning and uttering curses against the Lacedaemonians, so he asked him what harm the Lacedaemonians had done him. Then he proceeded to
μὲν ἄστι τῆς Σπάρτης, περιβείος δ' εἰς Ὄμεδων Αριστοδήμου ἀρμοστής παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων αἰμάτητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐπιδείξατο πολλήν. "ἐφορεῖς γὰρ," ἐφη, "τοῦ ἦμου παιδός, ἐπειδὴ πεθεὶς ἀδύνατο ἢ, ἐπεξεχείρη βιῶσαθαί καὶ ἀπάγειν αὐτὸν τῆς παλαίστρας· καλύτερος δὲ τοῦ παι- δοτρίβου καὶ νεανίσκων πολλῶν ἐκβιοθοῦντων, παραχρῆμα ὁ Ἀριστοδῆμος ἀπεχώρησε τῇ δ' ὀστερᾷ πληρώσας τρεῖρην συνήρπασε τὸ μειράκιον, καὶ ἐξ Ὄμεδου διαπλεύσας εἰς τὴν περαιάν ἐπεχειρεῖ ὑβρίσθην, οὐ συγχυμοῦσαν δ' αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν.

774 ἐπανελθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν Ὄμεδου εὐσωκείτο. ἐγώ δ' ἐφη, "τὸ πραξάτευν ποθόμενος καὶ τὸ σῶμα κηδεύσας παρεγεινόμην εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην καὶ τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐνεντυγχάνων οἱ δὲ λόγοι οὐκ ἐποιῆσθοι." Σκέδασος δὲ ταῦτα ἄκουὼν ἀθώμοις διέκειτο, ὑπολαμβάνων ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτοῦ λόγον τινὰ ποιήσονται οἱ Σπαρτιάται· ἐν μέρει τε τὴν οἰκείων διηγήματα συμφορὰν τῷ ἐξορῷ· ὅ δὲ παρεκάλει αὐτὸν μηδ' ἐντυχεῖν τοῖς ἐφόροις, ἀλλ' ὑποστρέφοντα eis τὴν ᾿Ακατάν κτίσας τῶν θυγατέρων τὸν τάφον. οὐκ ἐπείθετο δ' ὅμως οΣκέδασος, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν Σπάρτην

Β' ἀφικόμενος τοῖς ἐφόροις ἐνεντυγχάνει· οὖν μηδὲν προσεχόντων, ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπολογισμόν οὐκαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦτων ἐκάστη τῶν δημοτῶν προσωπάν ἀδύστητο, μηδὲν δὲ πλέον ἄκων ἔθει διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, ἀνταίνων πρὸς Ἴλιον τῶν χειρή, αὐτός δὲ τὴν γῆν τῶν ἄνεκαλεῖτο τὰς Ἐρυμάς καὶ τέλος αὐτόν τοῦ ἥμη μετέστησεν.

Τοσάτροι γε μὴν χρόνῳ δῖκας ἔδωσαν οἱ Λακε-

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

Later, however, the Lacedaemonians certainly paid
(774) δαμόμοιοι ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαντῶν ἦρξαν καὶ τὰς πόλεις φρουράς κατειλήφθησαν, Ἐπαμεινόνδας ὁ Ὑθβαιός πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ φρουράν ἀπέσφαξε Λακεδαιμονίων τὰν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ Ἀκαλκεδοῦς ὑποφέροντα λαβὼν ἐπεμένεσε τὴν δασμον. Ἀκαλκεδοῦς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Εὐβοιῶν ἀποκτείνας. συνεβη δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων ἦταν παντελῆ γενέσθαι περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μνήμα τῶν Σκέδασου θυγατέρων. φασὶ δὲ πρὸ τῆς μάχης Πελοπίδης, ἐν τῶν στρατηγῶν τοῦ Ὡθβαιοῦ στρατεύματος, ἐπὶ σημείος τούτος ὅτι καλοῖς κρινομένως ἀνθρωπομένῳ Σκέδασον ἐπιστῆμα κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς, θαρρεῖν κελέσσατο παραγίνεσθαι γὰρ εἰς Ὁκτερτα Λακεδαιμονίους, αὐτῷ τε καὶ ταῖς θυγατράσι διώθοντας δίκας πρὸ μιᾶς θ' ἡμέρας ὑποβαλεῖν τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, πόλιον ἐκεῖνον ἡπτὸν λεωκὸν ἔτοιμον παρὰ τῷ τάφῳ τῶν παρθένων σφαγάσσασθαι. τὸν δὲ Πελοπίδαν, ἐν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων στρατευόμενων ἐν Τεγέας, ἐν Ὁκτερτα πέμψαε τοὺς ἀξιόστοις περὶ τοῦ τάφου τούτου, καὶ πυθόμενον παρὰ τῶν ἐγχώρων θαρ- ροῦντα τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξαγαγεῖν καὶ νικῆσαι.
the penalty. For when they were rulers of all the Greeks and had placed their garrisons in the cities, Epaminondas the Theban first slaughtered the garrison of the Lacedaemonians in his own city, and when thereupon the Lacedaemonians made war upon the Thebans, the latter met them at Leuctra, a thinking it a place of good omen, because at an earlier time they had gained their freedom there, when Amphitectyon, having been driven into exile by Sthenelus, came to the city of the Thebans and, finding them tributaries of the Chalcidians, freed them from the tribute by killing Chalcodon, king of the Euboeans. Now it happened that the utter defeat of the Lacedaemonians took place precisely in the vicinity of the tombstone of the daughters of Sc她们us. And the story goes that before the battle Pelopidas, one of the generals of the Theban army, was disturbed by some omens which were considered unfavourable and that in his sleep Sc她们us came and stood over him and told him to be of good courage, for the Lacedaemonians were coming to Leuctra to pay the penalty to him and his daughters; and he enjoined upon him one day before fighting the Lacedaemonians to make ready a white colt and sacrifice it at the tomb of the maidens. So Pelopidas, while the Lacedaemonians were still in camp at Tegea, sent some men to Leuctra to find out about this tomb, and when he learned about it from the inhabitants of the place, he led out his army with confidence and was victorious.

* A village in Boeotia. The battle, which ended the Spartan hegemony, took place in 371 B.C.
Ε. Φίλιππος Βασιλεύς τοῦ ξένου, τὸ γαῖρον τῆς τοιχωρίας τῆς Κάλυμνος καθώς καὶ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες τοῦ Μαγείου τῆς Βοιωτίας, οἱ Φίλιππος Δαμίανος καὶ οἱ Φίλιππος Διόπερτος καὶ οἱ Φίλιππος Διονύσιος καὶ οἱ Φίλιππος Καραγκούσης καὶ οἱ Φίλιππος Βρισκάτης καὶ οἱ Φίλιππος Χανάς, διέταξαν εἰς τὰς αὐτοκράτορες τῆς Κάλυμνος, ὡς τοιχωρίας τῆς Κάλυμνος καὶ τῆς Αιγύπτου καὶ τῆς Υορίας καὶ τῆς Κύπρου καὶ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Μικρασιάς καὶ τῆς Αμαλίδος καὶ τῆς Αθηναίας καὶ τῆς Συρίας καὶ τῆς Παλαιαπόλεως καὶ τῆς Ασίας καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ρωμαίας καὶ τῆς Βαρβαρίας καὶ τῆς Βυζαντίου καὶ τῆς Ιορδανίας καὶ τῆς Αραβίας καὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ τῆς Μαυρίτιας καὶ τῆς Αφρικής καὶ τῆς Μεσοποτημίας καὶ τῆς Αραβίας καὶ τῆς Ασίας καὶ τῆς Μακεδονίας καὶ τῆς Ρωμαίας καὶ τῆς Βαρβαρίας καὶ τῆς Ιορδανίας καὶ τῆς Αραβίας καὶ τῆς Μαυρίτιας καὶ τῆς Αφρικής καὶ τῆς Μεσοποτημίας.
Phocus was by birth a Bocotian, for he was from the town of Glisas, and he was the father of Callirrhoë, who excelled in beauty and modesty. She was wooed by thirty young men, the most highly esteemed in Bocotia; but Phocus found one reason after another for putting off her marriage, for he was afraid that violence would be done to him; at last, however, he yielded to their demands, but asked to leave the choice to the Pythian oracle. The suitors were incensed by the proposal, rushed upon Phocus, and killed him. In the confusion the maiden got away and fled through the country, but the young men pursued her. She came upon some farmers making a threshing-floor, and found safety with them, for the farmers hid her in the grain, and so her pursuers passed by. But she waited in safety until the festival of the Pamboeotia, when she went to Coroneia, took her seat on the altar of Athena Itonia, and told of the lawless act of the suitors, giving the name and birthplace of each. So the Boeotians pitied the maid and were angry with the young men. When they learned of this, they fled for refuge to Orchomenus, and when the Orchomenians refused to receive them, they forced their way into Hippotae, a village lying on the slope of Mount Helicon between Thisbé and Coroneia. There they were received. Then the Thebans sent and demanded the slayers of Phocus, and when the people of Hippotae refused to deliver them, the Thebans, along with the rest of the Ionians when they were driven out by the Thessalians. Her sanctuary near Coroneia was the place of the Pamboeotia, the festival of the united Boeotians.
(775) Διάλειυν Βοιωτών, στρατηγοῦντος Φοίδου, δε τότε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Θηβαίων διείσει. πολυκρήσαντες δὲ τὴν κόμην ὁχυρὰν σύνα γειμεί, δήμει δὲ τῶν ἑνδών κρατη-
θέντων, τοὺς μὲν φονεῖς ληφθέντας κατελευσαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τῇ κόμῃ ἑξηυδραποδίσαντο. κατα-
Βοιωτίαν δὲ τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς οἴκιας διένεμαν τὴν χώραν Θεσπεδία
1 τε καὶ Κορωνεύσαν. φασὶ δὲ μικτόν, πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῶν Ἰπποτῶν, φωνῆν ἐκ τοῦ Ἐλικῶνος πολλάκις ἀκουσθῆναι λέγοντος τῶν ἁπα-
"πάρειμι"· τοὺς δὲ μικρότερας τοὺς τριάκοντα τόθε τὸ φάνημα γνωρίζειν, ὅτι Φῶκου εἰη. ἢ
d' ἡμέρα κατελεύσαν, τὸ ἐν Γλίσαντι
2 μνήμα τοῦ γέρωντος κράκης φασὶ βρέθαιναι Φοίδου δὲ, τῷ Θηβαίων ἄρχοντι καὶ στρατηγῷ, ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπανίόντι ἀγγελθήμεν βυγατέρα γεγενημένην, ἢ ἀλισοῦμεν προσαγωρεύσα Νικοστράτην.
LOVE STORIES, 775

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

V

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

i.e. "She of the conquering host."
(775) βουλομένην ἐπεσθαί τάνδρι ἑκάλυψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν
οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐδήμενος, ἵνα μὴ εὑπαρώσῃ προικὸς
Δαῖ παρθένου. ἔπει δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐμμηχεύσατό τινες
τὰς παιδὰς διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετὴν, ἑκάλυπτα
οἱ ἐχθροὶ διὰ ψηφίσματος μνηστεύεσθαι τινὰς τὰς
κόρας, λέγοντες ὡς ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν Δαμοκρίτα
πολλάκις εἶξατο τὰς θυγατέρας ταχέως γεννήσαι
παιδὰς τιμωροῦσα τῷ πατρὶ γεννησομένους. παν-
ταχόθεν δ' ἡ Δαμοκρίτα περιελαυνομένη ἐτήρησε
τινὰ πάνθημον ἑορτὴν, ἐν ἣ γυναῖκες ἀμα παρ-
θένους καὶ οἰκεῖους καὶ νηπίους ἐσώργαζον, αἱ δὲ
τῶν ἐν τῆς καθ' ἐαυτὰς ἐν ἀνδρῶν μεγάλω δι-
ἐπανύχιζον ἐξέστη τοὺς υποζωσμένη καὶ τὰς κόρας
λαβούσα νυκτὸς ἤλθεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καιρὸν παρα-
Εφυλάξασα, ἐν ὃ πάσας τὸ μυστήριον ἐπετέλουν ἐν
τῷ ἀνδρῶν καὶ κεκλεισμένων τῶν εἰσόδων, ἔσι
ταῖς θύραις πολλά προσνήσασα (ταῦτα δ' ἦν εἰς
τὴν τῆς ἑορτῆς θυσίαν ὑπ' ἐκείνων παρεσκευα-
σμένα), πῦρ ἐνῆκεν. συνθεότατοι δὲ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ
τὴν βοηθείαν, ἡ Δαμοκρίτα τὰς θυγατέρας ἀπέσφαξε
καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνως ἐαυτὴν. οὐκ ἔχοντες δ' οἱ Λακε-
δαιμόνιοι, διὰ τὸν θυμὸν ἀπερείπωντο,1 ἐκτὸς
ὡς ἀρων ἔρριφαν τῆς τε Δαμοκρίτας καὶ τῶν θυγα-
τέρων τὰ σώματα. ἐφ' ὃ μηρίσατο τοῦ θεοῦ
τὸν μέγαν ἱστοροῦσι Λακεδαιμονίως σειμὼν ἐπι-
γενότοιον.

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

* Probably the earthquake of 464 B.C. is meant.
THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER

(MAXIME CUM PRINCIPIBUS PHILOSOPHOS ESSE DISSERENDUM)
INTRODUCTION

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

778 1. Σωκράτους ἐγκολπίσασθαι καὶ φιλίαν τιμᾶν β καὶ μετείλας καὶ προσδέχεσθαι καὶ γεωργεῖν, πολι
doις μὲν ἢδικοὶ πολλοὶς δὲ καὶ δημοσία χρήσιμον καὶ ἐγκαρπὸν γεννομένην, φιλοκάλοις ἐστὶ καὶ πολι
tικῶν καὶ φιλανθρώπων σὺν ὅσ ἐννοι νομίζουσι φιλοδοξοῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοιναντίων, φιλόδοξος ἐστι καὶ
ψοφοδεῖς ὁ φεύγων καὶ φοβούμενος ἀκούσαι λεπτῆς τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ θεραπευτικός. ἐπεὶ τὸ φησὶ ἀνὴρ θεραπευτικὸς\textsuperscript{2} καὶ φιλοσοφίας δεό
μενος; Σίμων οὖν γένωμαι ὁ συκυτόμος ὁ Διονύσιος ὁ γραμματιστὴς ἐκ Περικλέους ἡ Κάτωνος, ἵνα μοι προσδιαλέγηται καὶ προσκαβίζῃ

Ο ὡς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος; καὶ Ἀριστοτέλους μὲν ὁ Χῖος ἐπὶ τῶν πάσιν διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς βουλομένους ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κακῶς ἀκούων "ὦ φιλέν," εἰπὲ, "καὶ τὰ θηρία λόγων συνεῖναι κινητικῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν"· ἡμεῖς δὲ φευξόμεθα τοῖς δυνατοῖς καὶ

\textsuperscript{1} Bermadakis, following Pape, would prefer Σωκράτος.
\textsuperscript{2} θεραπευτικὸς Duhmner; poliutikos Reiske; proetidos Bermadakis; cf. 777 A.
\textsuperscript{3} oδὲ Bermadakis; el.
\textsuperscript{4} ὁς Σωκράτης ἐκεῖνος Σαρρᾶς ὁ Σωκράτης ὁς ἐκεῖνος
THAT A PHILOSOPHER OUGHT TO CONVERSE ESPECIALLY WITH MEN IN POWER

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

(776) ἡγεμονικός ο.herokuapp καὶ ἀνημέρος γίγνεσθαι συνήθεις;

Οὔκ "ἀνδριαντοποιός" ἔστιν ο τῆς φιλοσοφίας λόγος, "ὁτ' ἠλιθόντα ποιεῖ άγάλματ' ἐπ' αὐτῶς βαθμίδος ἐσταύτα" κατὰ Πάνδαρον ἢ ἀλλ' ἐνεργά βουλεῖται ποιεῖν ὅποι ἀφηται καὶ πρακτικά καὶ ἐμφυχα καὶ κυνητικὰς ὁμιᾶς ἐντίθηται· καὶ κρίνεις ἀγωγοῦς ἐπὶ τὰ αφελίμα καὶ πραιτρίσεις Δεῖκολών καὶ φρόνημα καὶ μέγεθος μετὰ πρακτικῶς καὶ ἀδικίας, ἢ δ' ὅποι τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι καὶ δυνατοῖς ὁμιλοῦσιν οἱ πολιτικοὶ προθυμότεροι. καὶ γάρ, ἂν λατρέω τ' ἐφολακαλος, ήδιον ἀφθολοῖς ἱόστις τὸν ὑπέρ πολλῶν ἐλέπτοντα καὶ πολλοὺς φιλάσσοντα· καὶ φιλόσοφος φυχῆς ἐπιμελήμενος προθυμότερον, ἢν ὑπέρ πολλῶν φροντίζουσαν ὁραὶ καὶ πολλοῖς φρονεῖ καὶ σωφρονεῖ καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖ αφιερωσάν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δεινὸς ἢν περὶ Εἰ ἐπενεργοῦν ὑδάτων καὶ συναγωγῆς, ο.herokuapp ἱστοροῦσι τοῦ Ἡρακλεία καὶ πολλῶν τῶν πάλαι, οὔκ ἢ ἐχαίρε φρειωρυχών ἐν ἑσχατίᾳ "παρὰ Κόρακος πέτρη" τὴν συμβασικὴν ἐκείνην 'Ἀρέθουσαν, ἀλλὰ ποταμῷ τινος ἀνάς πηγᾶς ἀνακαλύπτων πόλεις· καὶ στρατοπέδους καὶ φυτείαις βασιλέως καὶ ἀλεσίων. ἀκούσας δὲ Ὁμήρου τὸν Μάω "θεοῦ μεγάλου ἱεριστῆν" ἀποκαλούντος· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν,

1 ἐντίθηται Reiske: ἐντίθητοι.
2 ἀδικίας] ἀδικίας Wytenbach, Frerichs.
3 πολιτικοὶ] πολιτῇς Hartman. Perhaps φιλοσοφοὶ?
4 πόλει Puhlens: πόλει τε.
powerful men and rulers, as if they were wild and savage?

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

* Pindar, Nem. v. 1 σε δήμαρχοποιός εσθ', δοσ' θεωρήματα ἑραμβοθείς ἐστιν' αὐτός βασιλέας, loosely quoted. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (in L.C.I.).
* Homer, Od. xiii. 404-410. The allusion is to the feeding-place of the swine tended by Eumaeus.
* Od. xix. 179.
Δις φησι ο Πλάτων, ὁμολογήσας καὶ μαθητήν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴδιώτας οὐδ’ οἰκουροὺς οὐδ’ ἀπράκτους ἦξιόν εἶναι θεῶν μαθητὰς, ἀλλὰ βασιλείς, οίς Φευβούλλας ἐγγενομένης καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης, πάντες ἔμελλον ὠφελήθησθαι καὶ ἀπολαύσεις οἱ χρώμενοι, τὸ ἡγύγιον τὸ βοτάνιον λέγουσι μᾶς αἰγὸς εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβοῦσι, αὐτὴν τε πρώτην ἔκεινην καὶ τὸ λουτόν αἰσθανόμεθα, μέχρι ὅσον ὁ αἰτώλης ἐξέλη προσελθὼν, τοιαύτην ἔχουσιν αἱ ἀπορροιαὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ὑγίης, πυρὸς δίκην ἐπινεμόμενην τὰ γειτνάτα καὶ κατασκευασμένην, καὶ μὴ ὁ τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ λόγος, εἰνὲ μὲν ἴδιωτὴν ἕνα λάβῃ, χαῖροντα ἀπαγομοσύνην καὶ περιγράφοντα ἑαυτὸν ὡς κέντρῳ καὶ διαστήματι γεωμετρικῷ.  

777 ταῖς περὶ τὸ σώμα χρείαις, οὐ διαδιδοῦσιν εἰς ἑτέρους, ἀλλ’ ἐν εἰς ποιήσας ἐκεῖνη γαλήνην καὶ ἡμερίαν ἀπεμαράνθη καὶ συνεξέλεπεν. ἂν δ’ ἀρχόντος ἀνδρός καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ πρακτικοῦ καθάριστος καὶ τούτων ἀναπλήρης καλακαγαθίας, πολλοὺς δ’ ἐνός ὠφελήσει, ὡς Ἄνθιστος Περικλῆς συγγενόμενος καὶ Πλάτων Δίων καὶ Πυθαγόρας τοὺς πρωτεύουσιν 'Ιταλιστῶν. Κατὰ δ’ αὐτοῦ ἐπέλευσε αὕτη στραταῖς ἐπ᾿ Ἀθηνόδωρον καὶ Σκιπίων μετεπέμψατο Παναίτιον, ὅτι αὐτὸν ἡ σύγκλητος ἐξέπεμψεν.
means, according to Plato,  "familiar friend and pupil." For they did not think that pupils of the gods should be plain citizens or stay-at-homes or idlers, but kings, from whose good counsel, justice, goodness, and high-mindedness, if those qualities were implanted in them, all who had to do with them would receive benefit and profit. Of the plant eryngium they say that if one goat take it in its mouth, first that goat itself and then the entire herd stands still until the herdsman comes and takes the plant out, such pungency, like a fire which spreads over everything near it and scatters itself abroad, is possessed by the emanations of its potency. Certainly the teachings of the philosopher, if they take hold of one person in private station who enjoys abstention from affairs and circumscribes himself by his bodily comforts, as by a circle drawn with geometrical compasses, do not spread out to others, but merely create calmness and quiet in that one man, then dry up and disappear. But if these teachings take possession of a ruler, a statesman, and a man of action and fill him with love of honour, through one he benefits many, as Anaxagoras did by associating with Pericles, Plato with Dion, and Pythagoras with the chief men of the Italiote Greeks. Cato himself sailed from his army to visit Athenodorus; and Scipio sent for Panaetius when he himself was sent out by the senate
to view the violence and lawfulness of men.

* Minos, 319 d. Generally regarded as spurious.

5 ἰφορούμενον Xylander; ἰφοραῖος, Homer, Od. xvii. 487: ἰφορούμενον.
(777)

B ως φησι Ποσειδώνος. τὸ οὖν ἔδει λέγειν τὸν Παναθνιον; εἶ μὲν ὥς ἢ Βάτων ἢ Πολυδεικης ἢ τῆς ἄλλης ἠκούσης, τὰ μέσα τῶν πόλεων ἀποδιδράσκειν βουλόμενοι, ἢ γωνία τινὶ καθ' ἑσυχίαν ἀναλύων συλλογισμοῦ καὶ περιέλκους φιλοσόφων, ἄσμενος ἢν σε προσεδεξάμενό καὶ συνήν ἔπει δ' ὑλὸς μὲν Αμελίου Παύλου τοῦ δισυμπτομῇ γέγονες, νόμος δὲ Σκισίωνος τοῦ Ἀφρικανοῦ τοῦ μεκάναιτος τοῦ Ἀρνίβαν τῶν Καρχηδώνων, οὐκ οὖν σοι διαλέξομαι;

2. Τὸ δὲ λέγειν ὅτι δύο λόγοι εἶσιν, ὁ μὲν ἐνδιάθετος ἡγεμόνος 'Ερμοῦ δῶρον, ὁ δ' ἐν προφορᾷ διάκτορος καὶ ὀργανικός, ἔσων ἦσι καὶ ὑποπτέτων τῷ

τούτῳ μὲν ἃδειν πρὸν Θεόν ἐπεδοθέναι.

ἐκεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνσυχλήσειν, ὅτε καὶ τοῦ ἐνδιαθέτου λόγου καὶ τοῦ προφορικοῦ φιλία τέλος ἔστι, τοῦ μὲν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δὲ πρὸς ἔτερον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀρετὴν διὰ φιλοσοφίας τελευτών σύμφωνον ἑαυτῷ καὶ ἀμεμπτον ύπ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ μεστὸν εἰρήμης καὶ φιλοφροσύνης τῆς πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δὲ παρέχεται τοῦ ἀνθρώπου.

1 Βάτων Wylliebach: κάτω.
2 περιέλκους] περιέλκους Mezirincus; περί ἄλγχαυς φιλοσόφων Xylander.
3 οὐκ οὖν H.N.F.; οὐκον Bernardakis; οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἄν Pohlens; οὐκ ἂν.
4 διαλέξομαι] προσδιαλέξαμας Frerichs after some mss.
5 ἃδειν] ἃδειν Schadowaldt.
6 ὑπὸ added by Cornes.
PHILOSOPHERS AND MEN IN POWER, 777

as Poseidonius says. Now what should Panætius have said? "If you were Bato or Polydænæus or some other person in private station who wished to run away from the midst of cities and quietly in some corner solve or quibble over the syllogisms of philosophers, I would gladly welcome you and consort with you; but since you are the son of Aemilius Paulus, who was twice consul, and the grandson of Scipio Africanus who overcame Hannibal the Carthaginian, shall I, therefore, not converse with you?"

9. But the statement that there are two kinds of speech, one residing in the mind, the gift of Hermes the Leader, and the other residing in the utterance, merely an attendant and instrument, is out of date; we will let it come under the heading

Yes, this I knew before Theognis' birth.

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

9 Homer, Od. xvii. 487.
9 περιελθων, literally "pull about." Plato (Republic, 539 b) says that the young, when new to argument, find pleasure δια τινων ακουσματων τω δικαιωμα τω λογικω τως πληρων δει, "like little dogs, in pulling and tearing apart by argument those who happen to be near them."
(777) οὔ στάσις οὐδὲ τε δήμος ἀνάλογος⁵ εἰς μελέτασιν, 
οὔ πάθος λόγω δυσπεπτίς, οὐχ ὀρμής μάχη πρὸς ὀρμήν, οὐ λογισμὸν πρὸς λογισμὸν αὐτήμασιν, οὐχ ἔστερ εἰς μεθορίματο τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος καὶ τοῦ μετα-
νοοῦντος τὸ τραχύ καὶ ταραχώδες καὶ τὸ ἡδομενον.

D ἀλλ' εὔμενη πάντα καὶ φίλα καὶ ποιότατα πλείστων 
τυγχάνειν ἄγαθων καὶ ἀμαρτωλῶν καὶ ἀσωτῶν καὶ ἀσάμενων 
τοῦ δὲ προφορικοῦ τὴν Μούσαν ὁ Πίνδαρος " οὐ 
φιλοκερδῆ, φησίν, οὐδέργατιν εἶναι πρότερον,
οἷς δὲ μηδὲ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἀμοισία καὶ ἀπειροκαλία 
τὸν κοινὸν ἑρμῆν εμπολαίοι καὶ ἐμμυθαθεῖν γενέσθαι, 
οὐ γὰρ ἡ μὲν Ἄφροδιτῆ ταῖς τοῦ Προποίουνθ 
ζυγαράσαι ἐμήνειν ὅτι

πρῶται μίσεις μηχανήσαντο⁶ κακαχεῖν νεανί-

² οὔτω ὡς Οὐρανία καὶ Καλλιόπη καὶ Ἡ Κλεοὶ καὶ Ἡ Ἴλιος καὶ τοῖς ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ λυμαναμένοιοι⁷ τὸν λόγον. ἀλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ τῶν Μούσων ἔργα καὶ δώρα μᾶλλον 
ἡ τὸς Ἄφροδιτῆς φιλοτηθείον εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ 
Ε ἔνδοξον, δ' τινες τοῦ λόγου ποιοῦνται τέλος, ὡς 
ἄρχῃ καὶ σπέρμα φιλίᾳ ἡγαπηθῇ μᾶλλον δ' ἀλων 
οὐ γε πολλαὶ καὶ ἐναντίον τὴν δόξαν τίθενται, νομί-

1 οὐδὲ τε Χυλάνδερ; ἦν ἐν Βεργκ; ὧν.
3. ἀνάλογος Μεξιρίκος; ἀδιάφορος Βεργκ; ἀνάλογος.
4 καὶ added by Reiske; τοῖ added by Freichs.
5 Προποίουσι Αμιγιος; cf. Ovid, Metam. x. 221: προποίου 
6 στρατεύειν. 
7 μεχανεσαντο] μαχασαντο Bernardakis, Freichs, and some mss.
8 εἴ' Reiske; ἦν.
9 λυμαναμένοις Reiske; διαδοθομένοις Freichs: διαδεχομένοις.

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

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

a Koiné Ἐπαφή is a proverbial expression meaning "good luck should be shared" (cf. Menander, Arbitrants, 67; Lucian, Navium, 19, p. 256; Theophrastus, Characters, 30. 7; Aristotle, 1301 a 20). But Hermes was god, not only of gain and luck, but also of eloquence, and here the meaning is that eloquence, which should be for the common good of all, has to be bought.

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

c From an unknown poet.
ξανθες ἡμᾶς μόνον ἐπιαινειν οὐς ψιλούμεν. ἀλλ' οὖτοι μὲν, ὥς ὁ Ἰέων διάκων τὴν Ἡραν ἠλισθεν εἰς τὴν νεφέλην, οὔτως ἄντι τῆς ψιλίας εἰδοκολον ἀπαθηλον καὶ πανηγυρικὸν καὶ περιφερόμενον ὕπολαμβάνουσιν. ὡς δὲ νοῦν ἐχων, ἂν ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ πράξεωι ἀναστρέφηται, δείχνεται δόξης τοσαύτης, ὡς δύναμιν περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐκ τοῦ πιστεύειν διδωσιν οὔτε γὰρ ἤδυ μὴ βουλομένους οὔτε ράδιον ὀφελείν, βούλεσθαι δὲ ποιεῖ τὸ πιστεύειν. ἐσπερ γὰρ τὸ φῶς μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἁγαθὸν τοῖς βλέπουσιν ἢ τοῖς βλέπομενοις. οὔτως ἢ δόξα τοῖς αὐθαυμώμενοις ἢ τοῖς μὴ παραρωμένοις. ὡς ἀπηλλαγμένος τοῦ τὸ κοινὸν πράττειν καὶ συνῶν ἐωτὴρ καὶ τάγαθον ἐν ἁυχία καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνη τυθέμενος τὸν μὲν ἐν ὄχλοι καὶ θεάτροι πανθημονοῦν 778 καὶ ἀναπεσπαμένην δόξαν οὔτως ὡς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Ἰππόλυτος ἢ ἡ βλησθεὶς, ἔτι σὲ γε τῶν ἐπιεικῶν καὶ ἐλλογίμων οὐδὲ αὐτὸς καταφρονεῖ. πλοῦτον δὲ καὶ δόξαν ἵγεμονικὴν καὶ δύναμιν ἐν φιλίας οὐ διώκει, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ φεύγει ταῦτα μετρών προσώπην ἢ δέοις οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς καλοὺς τῶν νέων διώκει καὶ ὄραλος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐαγγελοὺς καὶ κοσμίους καὶ φιλομάθεις οὐδὲ οἷς ὀρα καὶ χάρις συνέπεται καὶ ἄνθος δεδίδεται τὸν φιλοσοφικὸν οὐδὲ ἀποσοβεῖ καὶ ἀπελευθερίζει τῶν ἀξίων ἐπιμελείας τὸ κάλλος. οὔτως οὖν ἡ ἰγμανικής καὶ δυνάμεως ἀνδρὶ μετρῶς καὶ ἀστείως προσώπησις,

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

* Euripides, Hipp. 109.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Β οὐκ ἀφεῖται τοῦ φίλεων καὶ ἀγαπῶν οὐδὲ φοβηθεῖται (778) τὸ αὐλικὸς ἄκοδσαι καὶ θεραπευτικός·

οἱ γὰρ Κύπρων φεύγοντες ἀνθρώπων ἄγαν
νοσοῦ ὁμοίως τοὺς ἄγαν θηρευμένους·

καὶ οἱ πρὸς ἐνδοξον οὕτως καὶ ἵγεμωνκὴν φιλίαν
ἔχοντες. ὡ μὲν οὖν ἀπράγμων φιλόσοφος οὐ̃
ἀφεῖται τοὺς τοιούτους, ὡ δὲ πολιτικὸς καὶ περιέχεται
αὐτῶν, ἄκωσιν 1 οὐκ ἐνοχλῶν οὐδὲ ἐπισταθμεῖν
τὰ ὦτα διαλέξεων ἀκαίρως καὶ σοφιστικῶς, βουλο-
μένους δὲ χαίρων καὶ διαλεγόμενοι καὶ σχολάξον
καὶ συνών προθύμως.

3. Σπείρως δ' ἄρουραν δόδεχ' Ἡμερῶν οὖν
Βερέκυντα χόρον·

Ο οὕτως εἰ μὴ μόνον φιλογέωργος· ἄλλα καὶ φιλ-
ἀνθρωπος ἢ, 2 ήδιον ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ τοιούτους
τρέφειν δυναμένην ἡ τὸ 'Ἀντισθένειον ἐκείνο χωρί-
διον, ὡ μόλις Ἀντολύκης 3 παλαίες 4 ἡ ἡρκεσσα 5· εἰ δὲ
σε ἑρώτημα τὴν ἀλομεμένην ἀπασαν ἐπιστρέψειν παρ-

1 ἄκωσιν Reiske: ὕκοδεν.
2 ἂν added by J uninus.
3 Ἀντολύκη Wytenbach: αὐτὸ (αὐτῷ) αὐ.
4 παλαις Bernardakis: παλιν.

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

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

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

3. The field I sow is twelve days' journey round;
Berecynthian land; 
if this speaker was not merely a lover of agriculture but also a lover of his fellow men, he would find more pleasure in sowing the field which could feed so many men than in sowing that little plot of Antisthenes' which would hardly have been big enough for Autolycus to wrestle in; but if [he meant]: "I sow all this in order that I may subjugate the whole inhabited world," I deprecate the sentiment.4

his land is hardly enough to furnish sand to sprinkle Autolycus with before wrestling.

The text is very corrupt, but the general course of the argument based upon the lines supposed to have been spoken by Tantalus may very well have been what is given in the translation. If the rich and powerful use their advantages for the common good of men, they are worthy of the philosopher's attention, but not so if they use their resources for purely selfish ends. See critical note, p. 42.

41
(778) αυτοῦμαι.1 καὶ τοὺς Ἐπίκουρος τάγαθον ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ τῆς Ἱουχίας ὡσπέρ ἐν ἀκλόστω ὠμένων καὶ κοινῶν τεθέμενος τοῦ εἰς πάσχειν τὸ εἴς ποιεῖν οὐ μόνον κάλλιον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤδιον εἶναι φησιν.

χαρᾶς γὰρ οὕτω γόνιμον οὐδὲν2 ἐστιν

ὡς χάρις.

ἀλλὰ σοφὸς ἢν ὁ ταῖς Χάρισι τὰ ὀνόματα θέμενος

D' Αγλαίην καὶ Εὐθροσύνην καὶ Θάλειαν· τὸ γὰρ ἀγαλλόμενον καὶ τὸ χαίρον ἐν τῷ διδόντι τὴν χάριν πλεῖόν ἐστι καὶ καθαρώτερον. διό τι πάσχειν εἰς3 αἰσχύνεται πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ δ' ἀγάλλονται τῶν εἰς ποιεῖν εἰς δὲ ποιοῦσι πολλοὺς οἱ ποιοῦντες ἀγαθοὺς ὀς πολλοὶ δεόνται· καὶ τούτοις, οἷς δὲ διαφθείροντες ηγεμόνας ἢ βασιλεῖς ἢ τυράννους διάβολοι καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ κόλακας ὅπως πάντες ἔλαιόνται καὶ κολάζονται, καθάπερ οὐκ εἰς μίαν κύλικα φάρμακον ἐμβάλλοντες θανάσιμον, ἀλλ' εἰς πηγήν δημοσίας δέσιν, ἢ χρωμένους πάντας ὀργῶν· ὡσπερ οὖν τοὺς Καλλίου κομψοδομεῖν κόλακας γε- λάσων, οὐσ.4

οὐ πῶπος οὐδὲν κέδρος

οὐδὲ χάλκος ἀπείροις

μὴ φοιτῶν ἐπὶ δείπνων

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

For chiefest joy doth gracious kindness give.*

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

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

* b From the Flatterers, by Eupolis; Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 303.

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2 oūδὲν transposed by Kock metri gratia: γὰρ οὐδὲν.
3 οὗ πάσχειν Benseler.
4 γελῶσιν oüs Wyttenbach: ἠγώνου.
5 oūδὲ Meineke: oû.
6 ἀμφοτέρων Meineke: ἀρρα.
κατὰ τῶν Εὐπολίων τοὺς Ὁ Ἀπολλοδότων τοῦ τυράννου καὶ Φαλάριδος καὶ Διανυσίλος φίλος καὶ συνθέσεις ἀπετυμπάνιζον, ἐστρέβλουν καὶ ἐνεκίμησαν, ἔναγες ἐποιεύτω καὶ καταράτους, ὡς ἐκείνων μὲν ἀδικήτων ἦν τῶν δὲ πολλῶν δὲ ἐνὸς τοῦ ἄρχοντος· οὕτως οἱ μὲν θιάτας συν- ὀντες αὐτῶς ἐκεῖνοι ποιοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς ἀλύπτους καὶ ἀθλαβεῖς καὶ προσηνείς, ὡς ἄρχοντας ἦδος Β ἀφαιρένθηρι ἡ γνώμην ἐφ' ὁ δὲ συγκατευ- θύνων τρόπον τινα δημοσίως φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπαναρθοῦται, ὡς πάντες διοικοῦνται. τοὺς ἰερεῖςν αἰθήν καὶ τιμήν αἱ πάλεις νέμονων, ὅτι τάγαθα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν οὐ μόνον αὐτοῖς καὶ φίλοις καὶ οἰκείοις, ἀλλὰ κωνή πάσων αἰτοῦνται τοῖς πολιταῖ- καίτοι τοὺς θεοὺς οἱ ἱερεῖς οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἄγαθων ἄτιτρας, ἀλλὰ ποιοῦσιν ἄντας παρακαλοῦσι· τοὺς ὁ ἄρχοντας οἱ συνόντες τῶν φιλοσόφων δικαιοτέ- ρους ποιοῦσι καὶ μετριωτέρους καὶ προδικοτέρους εἰς τὸ εὐ ποιεῖν, ὅπως καὶ καθ' εἰκός ἐστὶ μᾶλλον.

779 4. Ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ λυροπόιδος ἄν ὕδων λύραν ἐργάσασθαι καὶ προδικοτέρους, μαθῶν ὡς ὁ ταύτῃ κηρούμενος τὴν λύραν μὲλλει τὸ Θηβαῖον ἀστυ τειχίζειν ὡς ὁ Ἀμφιτών, ὑ τὴν Δακεδαμονίαν οτάσιν πάσην ἐπάθον καὶ παραμυθούμενος ὡς Θαλῆς· καὶ τέκτων ὁμοιῶς πηδάλιον δημιουργῶν

1 καὶ added by Wytenbach.
2 ὁ Ἰούλιος ὁ ἅσ.
3 Θαλῆς ὁ Θαλῆς Bernardakis; Θαλῆς Frerichs.

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

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

a Nothing is known of a musician or poet Thales. The musician Thaletas is said to have taught the lawgiver Lycurgus, but we do not hear of his putting an end to faction at Sparta.
(779) ἡσθήναι, πυθόμενος ὅτι τούτο τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους ναυαρχίδα κυβερνήσει προπολεμοῦσαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἡ τὴν Πομπηίου τὰ πειρατικὰ καταναυμαχοῦτος· τί οὖν ὁι ἐπὶ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ φιλόσοφου, διανοοῦν·
Β μενον ὡς ὁ τούτον παραλαβὼν πολιτικὸς ἄνὴρ καὶ ἡγεμονικὸς κοινὸν ὀφελός ἔσται δικαιοδοτών, νομικῶν, κολάξων τοὺς πονηροὺς, αὔξων τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ ἁγαθοὺς; ἔμοι δὲ δοκεῖ καὶ ναυπηγὸς ἀστείος ἢδιον ἄν ἐργάσασθαι πηδάλιον, πυθόμενος ὅτι τούτο τὴν Ἀργώ κυβερνήσει τὴν "πάσι μέλουσαν" καὶ τεκτονικὸς οὐκ ἂν οὕτω κατα-
σκευάσαι ἄρτοτον προθύμως ἡ ἄμαξαν, ὡς τοὺς ἄξονας, ὃς ἔμελλε Σόλων τοὺς νόμους ἐγχαράξειν, καὶ μὴν οἱ λόγοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, εὰν ψυχαῖς ἡγεμονικῶν καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐγγραφῶσι βεβαιῶς καὶ κρατήσωσι, νόμων δύναμιν λαμ-
βάνουσιν; ἢ καὶ Πλάτων εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλευσεν, ἐλπίζων τὰ δόγματα νόμους καὶ ἐργα ποιήσεων ἐν
Ο τοῦς Διονύσου πράγμασιν ἀλλ’ εὔρη Διονύσου ὥσπερ βιβλίων παλιμῆθην ἡδὶ μολυσμῶν ἀνά-
πλευν καὶ τὴν βαφήν οὐκ ἀνένετα τῆς τυραννίδος, ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ δευσοποιοῦν οὕσαν καὶ δυσέκπλυ-
τον ἄκμαίους 1 δὲ ὄντας ἐτὶ δεῖ τῶν χρηστῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι λόγων.

1 ἄν added by Fränkel (or read καὶ for καὶ or ἔργασασθαι should be changed to ἔργασασθαι, Bernardakis).
2 ἄκμαίους Coraes: δρομαίους.

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1 Homer, Od. xii. 70.
2 In his Life of Solon, xxv., Plutarch says that Solon’s laws were originally inscribed on revolving wooden tablets (axones) in wooden frames. The axones were set up in the
pleased if he knew that it would steer the flagship of Themistocles fighting in defence of Hellas, or that of Pompey when he overcame the pirates. What, then, do you imagine the philosopher thinks about his teaching, when he reflects that the statesman or ruler who accepts it will be a public blessing by dispensing justice, making laws, punishing the wicked, and making the orderly and the good to prosper? And I imagine that a clever shipbuilder, too, would take greater pleasure in making a tiller if he knew that it was to steer the Argo, "the concern of all,"¹ and a carpenter would not be so eager to make a plough or a wagon as the axones ² on which the laws of Solon were to be engraved. And surely the teachings of philosophers, if they are firmly engraved in the souls of rulers and statesmen and control them, acquire the force of laws; and that is why Plato sailed to Sicily, in the hope that his teachings would produce laws and actions in the government of Dionysius; but he found Dionysius, like a book which is erased and written over, already befouled with stains and incapable of losing the dye of his tyranny, since by length of time it had become deeply fixed and hard to wash out. No, it is while men are still at their best that they should accept the worthy teachings.

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

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

Ως δέ παρατησιον φήσαι χαλεπὸν εἶναι Κυρηναῖος κυριακετέων οὔτως εὔπνοιοιν,
οὐδὲν γὰρ οὔτως γαθρὸν
καὶ τραχὺ καὶ δυσάρετον
οὐς ἀνὴρ ἔφη
εὔπραγίας δοκοῦσης ἐπιλαμβανόμενος. διὸ τοῖς
Ε ἀρχουσι χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ σύμβουλον περὶ ἀρχῆς
γενόσθαι τὸν γὰρ λόγον ὡσπερ ἀρχιτάρα παρα-
δεξασθαι φοβεῖται, μή τῆς ἐξουσίας αὐτῶν
tάγαθον κολούσῃ τῷ καθήκοντι δουλωσάμενος.
οὐ γὰρ ἦσασι τὰ Θεσπόμπου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτῶν
βασιλέως, ὅς πρῶτος ἐν Ἐπάρτη τοῖς βασιλεύσοις
καταμίζει τοὺς Ἐφόρους, εἰτ’ ὑπενδεξόμενος ὑπὸ
tῆς γυναικὸς, εἰ τοῖς παισίς ἐλάττων παραδώσει
tὴν ἀρχὴν ἢς παρέλαβε, "μείζονα μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν,
"ὅσον καὶ βεβαιοτέραν." τὸ γὰρ σφοδρὸν ἀνείης

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

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

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

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

For nothing is so haughty
harsh, and ungovernable
by nature as a man,

when he possesses what he regards as prosperity. And that is why it is difficult to give advice to rulers in matters of government, for they are afraid to accept reason as a ruler over them, lest it curtail the advantage of their power by making them slaves to duty. For they are not familiar with the saying of Theopompus, the King of Sparta who first made the Ephors associates of the Kings; then, when his wife reproached him because he would hand down to his children a less powerful office than that which he had received he said: “Nay, more powerful rather, inasmuch as it is more secure.” For by giving up that which was excessive and absolute in

tribes, were in charge of civil law and public order. Whether they were established by Lycurgus or by Theopompus (about 757 B.C. or later) is uncertain. In the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. they seem to have had more power than the kings.
καὶ ἀκρατὸν αὐτῆς ἥμα τῷ φθόνῳ διέφυγε τὸν Β′ κύνδυνον. καὶοὶ Θεόπομπος μὲν εἰς εἴη ἔτερον τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ βεῦματος μεγάλου παραγετευσάμενος, ὡςον ἄλλοις ἐδωκεν, αὐτοῦ περιεκομένος ὁ δὲ ἐκ φιλοσοφίας τῷ ἄρχοντι πάρεδρος καὶ φύλαξ ἐγκατοικισθεὶς λόγος, ὡςπερ εὐεξίας τῆς δυνάμεώς τὸ ἐπισφαλῆς ἄφαιρόν, ἀπολείπει τὸ ὑγιαίνον.

2. Ἀλλὰ νοῦς ταῦτα ἔχοντες αἱ πολλοὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἀρχόντων μισοῦν τοὺς ἀτέχνους ἀνδραυτόποιοὺς, αἱ νομίζουσι μεγάλους καὶ ἀδροὺς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς κολοσσοὺς, ἀν διαβεβηκότας σφόδρα 780 καὶ διατεταμένους καὶ κεχυμένος πλάσσωσι καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι βαρύτητι φοινῆς καὶ βλέμματος τραχύτητι καὶ δυσκολίας τρόπων καὶ ἀμέξα διαίτης ὄγκον ἡγεμονίας καὶ σειμώτητα μιμεῖον δικοῦν, οὕτως εἰσὶν τῶν κολοσσικῶν διαφέρουσεν ἀνδραυτοῖς, οἷς πὴν ἡξώθην ἡρωικὴ καὶ θεοπρής μορφὴ ἔχοντες ἐντὸς εἰς γῆς μεστοὶ καὶ λίθου καὶ μαλυμένους πλὴν οἵ τῶν μὲν ἀνδραυτῶν ταῦτα τὰ βάρη τῆς ὀρθότητας μόνιμον καὶ άκλινή διαφυλάττει, οἷς Βδ' ἀπαίδευτοι στρατηγοὶ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ὑπὸ τῆς ἐντὸς ἀγνωσομούσης πολλάκις σαλεύονται καὶ περιτρέπονται βάσιν γὰρ οὐ κειμένη πρὸς ὄρθας ἡξώθησαν ἐποικοδομοῦντες ύψηλῆν συναπονεῖσωσιν: δεῖ δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ κανόνας αὐτὸς, ἀστραβήθης γενόμενος καὶ ἀδιάστροφος, οὕτως ἀπευθύνει τὰ λουτά τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφαρμογῇ καὶ παραβάει συνεφομοιῶν, παραπλησίως τὸν ἄρχοντα πρῶτον τὴν ἀρχὴν κτησάμενον ἐν ἐαυτῇ καὶ κατευθύνατα τὴν θυγήν καὶ καταστήσαμεν τὸ ἄθος οὕτω συν-

1 συνεφομοίων Stobaeus (xl. 98 [100]): συνεφομοίων Wyttenbach: συνεφομοίων.

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

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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{\(\delta\rho\varepsilon\iota\varepsilon\varepsilon\kappa\nu\lambda\varepsilon\) Stobaeus and Reiske: \(\phi\omega\chi\varepsilon\nu\).}}\]
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(780) ἀρμόττειν τὸ ὑπῆκοον οὐτε γὰρ πίπτοντος ἐστὶν ὀρθοὶν οὐτε διδάσκειν ἄγνωστος οὐτε κοσμεῖν ἀκοσμοῦντος ἢ τάττειν ἀπακτοῦντος ἢ ἄρχειν μὴ ἢ ἀρχομένου ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακῶς φρασοῦντες οἴονται πρῶτον ἐν τῷ ἄρχειν ἄγαθὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ ἄρχεισθαι, καὶ ὃ γε Περσῶν βασιλεὺς πάντας ἥγειτο δουλεύς πλὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναικὸς, ἢς μάλιστα δεσπότης ὦφειλεν εἶναι.
3. Τίς οὖν ἄρει τοῦ ἄρχοντος; ὁ νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς θυσίων τε καὶ ἀθανάτων,

ὡς ἐφ' Πάνδαρος, οὐκ ἐν βιβλίοις ἔξω γεγραμμένος οὐδὲ τισι ἔξω, ἀλλ' ἐμμυχὸς ἢν ἐν αὐτῷ λόγος, ἀεὶ συνοικῶν καὶ παραφυλάττων καὶ μηδέποτε τῷ φυσικῷ εἰς ἄρμιν ἄρμην ἂγαθόν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐνα τῶν κατευναστῶν εἴχε πρὸς τοῦτο τεταγμένον, ὡσθ' ἐσθαίνεται διεσώτατα λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν "ἄνδατα, ὅ βασιλεῦ, καὶ φροντίζει πραγμάτων, ὃν σε φροντίζειν ὁ μέγας Ὑμηρομάθης θέλομαι".

D τού δὲ πεπαιδευμένου καὶ σωφρονοῦντος ἄρχοντος ἐντὸς ὅσον ὁ τοῦτο φθεγγόμενος ἄν καὶ παρακελεύομεν. Πολέμων γὰρ ἐλέγει τὸν ἑρωταί εἶναι "θεῶν ύπηρεσίαν εἰς νέον ἐπιμελεῖαν καὶ σω-

τηρίαν"· ἀληθέστερον δ' ἄν τις εἶποι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ύπηρετεῖν θεῷ πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελεῖαν καὶ

1 ὑμαϊν Pindar (Bergk-Schroeder, p. 458, no. 169 [151]);
2 γεγραμμένος Menandroς: γεγραμμένος.
3 ὃ άφτον Copges: άφτον ἢ ἀφτοῦ.
4 μέγας Ὑμηρομάθης Kaltwasser: μεγαρμαθης; cf. Life of
56
jects fit his pattern. For one who is falling cannot hold others up, nor can one who is ignorant teach, nor the uncultivated impart culture, nor the disorderly make order, nor can he rule who is under no rule. But most people foolishly believe that the first advantage of ruling is freedom from being ruled. And indeed the King of the Persians used to think that everyone was a slave except his own wife, whose master he ought to have been most of all.

3. Who, then, shall rule the ruler? The

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

a Bergk-Schroeder, p. 458, no. 169 [151]; Sandys, p. 602, no. 169 (L.C.L.). Quoted by Plato, Gorg. 784 b, Laws, 690 b.

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

c Oromasdes is the Greek form of Ormazd, Auramasda, or Ahura Mazdah, the great god of the Persians.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(780) σωτηρίαν, ὅπως ἄν θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν καὶ ἄγαθῶν τὰ μὲν νέμωσι τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσι.

ὁ μὲν καθήσαις ἀρχὰς σπερμάτων προσήκοντων γῆ
δ' ἀναβίδωσι, αὐξέται δὲ τὰ μὲν ὄμβροις τὰ δ' ἀνέμως τὰ δ' ἀστροι ἐπιθαλάσσουν καὶ σελήνη.

Ἡ κοιμεῖ δ' ἥλιος ἄπαντα καὶ πάσιν τούτο δὴ τὸ παρ' αὐτὸν φίλτρον ἐγκεράνθησιν. ἀλλὰ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἃ θειὸν χαρίζονται δώρων καὶ ἄγαθῶν οὐκ ἔστω ἀπόλαυσις οὐδὲ χρήσις ὀρθή διὰ νόμου καὶ δίκης καὶ ἀρχαίτος. δίκη μὲν οὖν νόμου τέλει ἑστὶ, νόμος δ' ἀρχαίτος ἑργαῖ, ἀρχαῖον δ' εἰκών θεοῦ τοῦ πάντα κοσμοῦτος, οὐ Φειδίου δεόμενος πλάττοντος οὐδὲ Παλαμείτου καὶ Μύρωνος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς αὐτὸν εἰς ὁμοιότητα θεῷ δὲ ἀρετῆς Ἐκαθοστάς καὶ δημιουργῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸ θύσιον ὄμβρημαι καὶ θεοπρεπέστατον. οἶον δ' ἥλιον ἐν ὁμοιώματι περικαλλαίς ἐδιώκει οὖν καὶ σελήνην ὁ θεὸς ἐνεδρυσε, τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει μίμημα καὶ φέγγως ἄρχων

δοτε θεοῦ ὑπό<

ειδωλίας ἀνέχοντι,

τούτωσι θεῷ λύγον ἄχον, διάνοιαν, οὐ σκέπτρον οὐδὲ κεραυνόν οὐδὲ τρίαιναν, ὃς ἔνοικοι πλάττουσι

1 καὶ σωτηρίαν added by Bernardakis. Cf. Thes. and Rom. chap. 11.
2 τοιούτων Bernardakis; cf. Stobaeus, xlv. 99 (101); τοιούτων.
3 διάνοιαν] καὶ διάνοιαν Reiske; ὁδιάνοιαν Frerichs.
order that of the glorious gifts which the gods give to men they may distribute some and safeguard others.

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

who in God's likeness

Righteous decisions upholds, b

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

* Euripides, unknown drama, Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 683. The following line is τεθραυσάτηκε Ζησα, τόδε πρὸς θεόν, "Believe that this is Zeus, consider this thy God." Cicero translates this line in De Natura Deorum, ii. 25. 65.

b Homer, Od. xix. 109 and 111.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ἔαυτος καὶ γράφοντι τῷ ἀνεφίκτω ποιοῦντες ἐπίθεσιν τῷ ἀνόητου νεμεῖξὺ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς ἀπομμηνουμένοις βροντᾶς καὶ κεραυνοὺς καὶ ἀκτινοβο-781 λῶς, τοὺς δὲ τὴν ἄρετην ἐχλοῦντας αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἀφαμοιοῦντας ἐαυτός ἡδόμενος ἀδείς καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν εὐφορίας καὶ δίκης καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ πραότητος ἀνθεότερον οὐ πῦρ ἔστοι ὡς φῶς ὁ ἄλοιπον δρόμος οὐκ ἀναταλαι καὶ δύσεις ἀστρων οὐ τὸ ἀίδιον καὶ ἀβάνατον. οὐ γὰρ χρωμὶς ζωῆς ὁ θεὸς εὐδαιμόνων ἀλλὰ τῆς ἄρετῆς τῷ ἄρχοντι τοῦτο γὰρ θείων ἔστι, καλὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἀρχόμενον.

4. Ἀνάξαρχος μὲν οὖν ἔπει τῷ Κλείτου φόρφε δευσοδοθέντα παραμυθούμενος Ἀλέξανδρον ἐμοί
Β καὶ τῷ Δίῳ τὴν Δίκην εἶναι καὶ τὴν Θέμιν" παρ-782 εῖρον, ἵνα πᾶν πραττόμενον ὑπὸ βασιλέως δαίμονος ἐπὶ καὶ δίκαιον, οὐκ ἀρᾶς οὕτως ὁφελέμοις τῷ ἔφει ζῶσ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μετανοοῦντας αὐτοῦ τῷ πρὸς τα ὦμια διαφόρων ἡμέρας. εἰ δὲ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εἰκάζειν, ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς οὐκ ἔχει τὴν Δίκην πάρειδρον, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸς Δίκη καὶ Θέμις ἐστὶ καὶ νόμων ὁ πρεσβύτατος καὶ τελειώτατος. οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ οὕτω λέγουσι καὶ γράφουσι καὶ διδάσκουσιν, ὡς ἄνευ Δίκης ἄρχειν μηδὲ τῷ Δίῳς καλῶς δυναμένου: "ὁ δὲ γε" παρ
Ο θένος ἐστὶ" καὶ Ἡσιόδον ἀδιάφορος, αἴδους

καὶ τῷ Δίῳ... τὴν Ἐρίμ Wyttenbach: κλείτω δὴ... τὴν τῶν θεῶν.

* Just as at Athens the archons had their paredroi who aided them in the performance of some of their functions, so here Justice and Right are called the paredroi of Zeus.

* Hesiod, Works and Days, 266-237 τὰ περιβόδον ἄττικ Ἀδησία, ἄθροι ἐκγεγομένη κυβρῆ τ' αἰδοῖς τε θεοῖς, ὕτε ὂλυμπικὸν ἔχουσιν. "And there is Virgin Justice, the daughter of Zeus, who is
in sculpture and painting, thus causing their folly to arouse hostile feelings, because they claim what they cannot attain. For God visits his wrath upon those who imitate his thunders, lightnings, and sunbeams, but with those who emulate his virtue and make themselves like unto his goodness and mercy he is well pleased and therefore causes them to prosper and gives them a share of his own equity, justice, truth, and gentleness, than which nothing is more divine,—nor fire, nor light, nor the course of the sun, nor the risings and settings of the stars, nor eternity and immortality. For God enjoys felicity, not through the length of his life, but through the ruling quality of his virtue; for this is divine; and excellent also is that part of virtue which submits to rule.

4. Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as righteous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well. "She is a virgin," according to Hesiod, uncorropted, dwelling honoured and reverenced among the gods who dwell on Olympus" (tr. H. G. Evelyn White in L.C.L.).
(781) καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ ὠφελείας\(^1\) σύνοικος\(^2\). Ὅθεν "αἰδοῖος" προσαγορεύουσι τοὺς βασιλεῖς· μάλιστα γὰρ αἰδεύει οὗτοι προσήκει τοῖς ἥκιστα φοβούμενοι. φοβείσθαι δὲ δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ παθῶν κακῶς μάλλον τὸ ποιῆσαι· τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκεῖνον καὶ οὕτως ἴστιν ὁ φόβος τοῦ ἄρχοντος φιλάθρωπος καὶ σὺς ἁγεννής, ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχομένων δεδιέναι μὴ λάθωσι βλαβεῖτε.

ὦς δὲ κόνως περὶ μᾶλα δυσωρθήσονται ἐν αὐλῇ, θηρὸς ἀκούσατες κρατερόφρονος,

οὕχ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν φιλαττομένων. ὦ δ' Ἑπαμεινάνδρας, εἰς ἐκεῖνη τινα καὶ πότον ἀνει-

D μένως τῶν Ἐθναίων Ῥωμαίων, μόνος ἐφόδευε τὰ ὀπλα καὶ τὰ τελέγη, νήφειν λέγων καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν ὡς ἄν ἐξή τοῖς ἀλλοις μεθών καὶ καθεύδεων. καὶ

Κάτων ἐν Ἰτύκη τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντᾷ ἀπὸ τῆς ἠττησι ἐκείρουτε σὲ Ἱππακτίναν ἐπὶ βάλλανταν καὶ ἐμβε-

βάσας, εὐπλοιαν εὐξάμανος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, εἰς οἶκον ἐπανελθών ἐαυτὸν ἀπεσταλμένον διδάξας ὑπὲρ τῶν διὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῷ φόβῳ χρῆσθαι καὶ τῶν δεῖ τὸν ἄρχοντα καταφρονεῖν. Κλειρχος δ' ὁ Ποντικός τύραννος εἰς κεφατὸν ἐνδυόμενος ὡσπερ ὁ φις

Ε ἐκάθευδε, καὶ Ἀριστόδημος\(^3\) ὁ Ἀργεῖος εἰς ὑπερφόν οἴκημα θύραν ἔχον ἐπιρροκτήν, ἢς ἑπάνω τιθεὶς τὸ κλειδίων ἐκάθευδε μετὰ τῆς ἐταίρας· ὣ δὲ μήτηρ ἐκεῖνη ὑφέλλει κάτωθεν τὸ κλημάκιον, εἰδ' ἤμερας πάλιν προσετίθει φέρουσα.

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

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

When they have heard a ferocious wild beast,

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

\[ a \text{ e.g. Homer, II. iv. 402.} \]
\[ b \text{ Homer, II. x. 183-184.} \]
πῶς οὕτως, οἷον, τὸ θέατρον ἐπέφρικε καὶ τὸ ἀρχεῖον, τὸ βαυλευτήριον, τὸ συμπόσιον, ὁ τὸν βάλαμον ἐαυτῷ δεσμωτήριον πεποιηκός; τῷ γὰρ ὄντι δεδίασω οἱ βασιλεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαμένων, οἱ δὲ τύραννοι τοὺς ἄρχομενους· διὰ τῇ δὴ δυνάμει τὸ δέος συναίσθησι· πλειόνων γὰρ ἄρχοντες πλείονας φοβοῦνται.

Ε 5. Οὐ γὰρ εἰκός οὐδὲ πρέπον, ὃσπερ ἐναὶ φιλόσοφοι λέγουσιν, τὸν θεὸν ἐν ὑλῇ πάντα πασχοῦσα καὶ πράγμασι μιράς δεχομένοις ἀνάγκας καὶ τύχας καὶ μεταβολάς ὑπάρχειν ἀναμεμειγμένοιν· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἄνω που περὶ τὴν δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ὁμοτός φύσιν ἠχοῦσαν ἱδρυμένοις ἐν βάθροις ἀγίοις ἢ φησί Πλάτων, εἰθεὶς περαιεῖ κατὰ φύσιν περιπορευόμενος· οἶον δ' ἡλιός ἐν οὐρανῷ μέμημα τὸ περικάλλες αὐτοῦ δι' ἐσόπτρου εἰδωλον ἀναφαίρεται τοῖς ἐκεῖνοι ἐνθαρρύν δι' αὐτοῦ δινατοῖς, αὐτῷ τὸ ἐν πόλεσί φέγγος εὐκίσθηκα καὶ λόγου τοῦ 782 περὶ αὐτόν ὃσπερ εἰκόνα κατέστησεν, ἢν οἱ μακρόι καὶ σωφρόνες ἐκ φιλοσοφίας ἀπογράφονται πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον τῶν πραγμάτων πλάττοντες ἐαυτούς. ταύτην δ' οὖν ἐμποιεῖ τὴν διάθεσιν ἢ λόγος ἐκ φιλοσοφίας παραγενόμενος· ἢν μὴ πάσχομεν τὸ τοῦ Ἀλέξανδρος, ὡς ἐν Κορίνθῳ Διογένη Δεσσάμενος καὶ δι' εὑρίσκαν ἁγαπήσας καὶ δαιμόνια τὸ φόνημα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἀνδρός εἰπε τ'' ἐι μὴ Ἀλέξανδρος ἦμεν, Διογένης

1 ο μὲν Wyttenbach: ἡμῖν.
2 ἐπαύτως Reiske: αὐτῶς.
4 αὐτῶν Abresch: αὐτήν ὅτι αὐτῶν.
imagine he must have shuddered at the theatre, the city hall, the senate-chamber, the convivial feast, he who had made his bedchamber a prison cell? For in reality kings fear for their subjects, but tyrants fear their subjects; and therefore they increase their fear as they increase their power, for when they have more subjects they have more men to fear.

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

a Phaedrus, 254 b.

782) ὃν ἦμνη": ὁ λέγων δέον· εἶπεν, τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐντυχείαν καὶ λαμπρότητα καὶ δύναμιν ὡς κάλυπτος Βάρντης καὶ ἀγοράλων βαρυνόμενος καὶ ἐπιστυπών τὸν τρίβωνα καὶ τὴν πήραν, ὅτι τούτων ἦν ἀνέκτως καὶ ἀνάλωτος Διογένης, οὐχ ὃς ἐκεῖνος ὀπλασὶ καὶ ἱππος καὶ σαρίσσας· ἐξήν ὁνείρου πολυκράτους καὶ τῇ διαθέσει γίγνεσθαι Διογένης καὶ τῇ τύχῃ μένειν Ἀλέξανδρον, καὶ διὰ τούτο γενέσθαι Διογένης μᾶλλον, ὅτι ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὃς πρὸς τύχην μεγάλην παλὺ πνεύμα καὶ σάλον ἔχουσαν ἐμματός πολλοῦ καὶ κυβερνήτου μεγάλου δεδόμενον.

6. Ἔν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθενεῖσι καὶ ταπεινοῖς καὶ ἰδιώταῖς τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μιγνύμενον τὸ ἀνάρτητον εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τελευτήν, ὡσπέρ ἐν ὁνείρασι φαύλοις τις ἄνια τὴν ὁψικὴν διαταράσσει σωματικά. Ο έξαναστήναι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ δυναμένην· η δὲ ἐξουσία παραλαβόντα τὴν κακίαν νεφρὰ τοῖς πάθεσι προστίθησι καὶ τῷ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀληθές ἐστιν· ἐφ᾽ ὅτι ἄφθονοι πάλιν ἄρχητα τῆς ἀρχῆς, ὅταν ταχεῖς ὁ βουλεύτης ποιήσῃ. μεγάς οὖν ὁ κίνδυνος βουλεύσει ἅμε δεῖ τοῖς ὁ βουλεύτης ποιεῖν δυνάμενον·

αὐτίκα ἐπειτά γε μέθος ἔην, τετελεστο δὲ ἔργον. ἐξόν ἡ κακία διὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐκαμάρα ἐξονσά πᾶν πάθος ἐξωθεὶς, ποιοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν φόνου τῶν ἐρωταμαχεῖν τὴν πλεονεξίαν δήμεους.

1 ἰνον] ἰνον Madvig; δέων Courbes; δέω Frerichs.
2 αὐρὲν Duhler; αὐτῶν.
3 μιγνύμενον] δεισεμένων Stobaeus, xlvii. 100 (102).
4 ἀναμάρτητον] ἀμαρτάνειν Stobaeus.
5 τελευτή omitted by Stobaeus. 6 ὁ Stobaeus.
7 ἄνια] ἄρετα καὶ πάθον Frerichs; some ms. have a gap after ἀνία οἱ τοῖς πάθοις Stobaeus.
TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 782

which he almost said that he was weighed down by his good fortune, glory, and power which kept him from virtue and left him no leisure, and that he envied the cynic's cloak and wallet because Diogenes was invincible and secure against capture by means of these, not, as he was himself, by means of arms, horses, and pikes. So by being a philosopher he was able to become Diogenes in disposition and yet to remain Alexander in outward fortunes, and to become all the more Diogenes because he was Alexander, since for his great ship of fortune, tossed by high winds and surging sea, he needed heavy ballast and a great pilot.

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

Straightway then was the word, and the deed was forthwith accomplished.*

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

* Homer, II. xix. 242.

* ἡ δακὺς τοῖς Στοβαίεσι: ἄναρχος.
αὐτῶς ἐπειδὴ ἀμα μῦθος ἦν,

καὶ ἀπάθεων ὁ προσκρούσας ὑπόνοια, καὶ τέθυνε-κεν ὁ διαβληθείς. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι τὴν ἀστρατὴν τῆς βροντῆς ὑστέραν μὲν ἐκπέπτευσιν ὡς αἶμα τραύματος, προτέραν δὲ φαίνεσθαι, τὸν μὲν όφον ἐκδεχομένης τῆς ἀκοῆς τῷ δὲ φιάστῃ τῆς ὤφεως ἀπαντώσης: οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαίς φθάνουσιν αἱ κολάσεις τὰς κατηγορίας καὶ προεκπέπτουσι αἱ καταδίκαι τῶν ἀποδείξεων.

ἐϊκεὶ γὰρ ἢδη θυμὸς οὐδ᾽ ἐτ' ἀντέχει, 

θειόθες ός ἐγκυμονοῦ ἀγκυρὰς σάλω,3

ἀν μὴ βάρος ἔχων ὁ λογισμὸς ἐπιθλῆθη καὶ πέξη τὴν ἐξουσίαν, μιμουμένου τῶν ἠλιον τοῦ ἄρχοντος, 

Ε ὅσ ὅταν ὠμωμα λάβῃ μέγιστον, ἐξαρθεῖς ἐν τοῖς βορείοις, ἐλάχιστα κινεῖται, τῷ σχολαστέρῳ τὸν δρόμον εἰς ἀσφαλές καθιστάμενος.

7. Οὐδὲ γὰρ λαθείων οἷον τε τὰς κακίας ἐν ταῖς ἐξουσίαις: ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἐπιληπτικοὺς, ἂν ἐν ὑφει τινὶ γένονται καὶ περιενεχθοῦσιν, ὄλυγος ἱσχει καὶ σαλός, ἐξελέγχων τὸ πάθος αὐτῶν, τοὺς δ' ἀπαι-

δεῦτους καὶ ἀμαθεῖς ἢ τύχῃ μικρὸν ἐκκοσμήσασα πλαύτους τινος ἢ δόξαις ἢ ἀρχαῖς μετεώρους γε-

νομένους εὐθὺς ἐπειδέκυσε πιπτούτας: μᾶλλον δ', ὥσπερ τῶν κενῶν ἀγγείων οὐκ ἂν διαγωνήσις 

τὸ ἀκέραιον καὶ πεπονηκόσ, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐγκεῖσις, 

Γ. φαίνεται τὸ ἰένων: οὕτως αἱ σαθραὶ ζυγαῖ τὰς ἐξουσίας μὴ στέγονται ἰένων ἰένου ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, 

ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, ταῖς ἀλαζονείαις, ταῖς ἀπειροκαλίαις.

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2 οὐδ᾽ Moralia, 446 A: οὐδ.  
3 σάλω ibid.: σάλω (σάλων V').
TO AN UNEDUCATED RULER, 782

Straightway then was the word,
and the offender is done away with; suspicion arises,
the man who is slandered is put to death. But as
the physicists say that the lightning breaks forth later
than the thunder, as the flowing of blood is later
than the wound, but is seen sooner, since the hearing
waits for the sound, whereas the sight goes to meet
the light; so in governments punishments come
before the accusations and convictions are pronounced
before the proofs are given.

For now the spirit yields and holds no longer firm,
As yields the anchor's fluke in sand when waves are high, *

unless the weight of reason presses upon power and
holds it down, and the ruler imitates the sun, which,
when it mounts up in the northern sky and reaches
its greatest altitude, has the least motion, thus by
greater slowness ensuring the safety of its course.

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

* From a work of an unknown tragic poet; see Nauck,
καίτως τι δει ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅποι καὶ τὰ σμικρότατα τῶν ἑλλειμμάτων περί τοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ἑνδώξους συκοφαντεῖται; Κλεισθόνος ἦν ὁ ἄινος διαβολή, Σκιτσίσσους ὁ ὤμος, Δεύκολλος ἐπί τῷ δεινῷ πωλητέλεστέρον ἡκούε κακῶς

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

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

Β 1. "Οτι μεν, ο ευφανες, επαινετης ουν Παυδαρου παλλακις έχεις δια στοματος ως ειρημένου ει και πιθαινος ών αυτου τιθεμένων αγώνων πρόφασις ἀρεταν εσ1 αιτην ἔβαλε σκότον, συν ἀγνοομις. ἡπειδη δε πλείστας αι πρὸς τους πολιτικους αγώνας ἀποκνησεις και μαλακίας προ-
φάσεις ἠχοναι τελευταίαν ὠσπερ την "ἀφ' ἱερᾶς" ἐπάγοναι ἡμῖν τὸ γήρας, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ τούτω τὸ φιλότιμον ἀμβλύνειν και δυσωπείαν δοκοῦσαν πείθουσιν εὑνα των πρόστοσιν οὐκ ἀθλητικής μόνον ἀλλὰ και πολιτικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσιν· οἴομαι δειν α πρὸς ἐμαυτῶν ἐκαστότες λογίζομαι καὶ πρὸς σὲ διελθεῖν περὶ τῆς πρεσβυτυκῆς πολιτείας· ἄρως μεθέτερος ἀπολείψει τῆν μακρὰν συνοδίαν μέχρι δειρο κοινὴ προεχαρμένη μηδὲ τὸν πολι-
τικὸν βίον ὠσπερ ἡλικιώτην καὶ συνῆθη φίλον

1 εἰς Pindar: ed.

* Pindar, ed. Bergk-Schroeder, p. 475, no. 228 (222).
* In one form of the game of draughts the "pieces" or "men" stood on lines, of which there were five for each of the two players. One of these, perhaps the middle one, was 76
WHETHER AN OLD MAN SHOULD ENGAGE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

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

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

But inasmuch as our shrinking from the contests of political life and our various infirmities furnish innumerable excuses and offer us finally, like "the move from the sacred line" in draughts, old age; and since it is more especially because of this last that these excuses seem to blunt and baffle our ambition and begin to convince us that there is a fitting limit of age, not only to the athlete's career, but to the statesman's as well, I therefore think it my duty to discuss with you the thoughts which I am continually going over in my own mind concerning the activity of old men in public affairs, that neither of us shall desert the long companionship in the journey which we have thus far made together, and neither shall renounce public life, which is, as it were, a familiar friend of our own called the "sacred line." The expression as here used seems to be about equivalent to "playing the highest trump."
(783) ἀπορρίφας μεταβαλεῖται1 πρὸς ἄλλον ἀσυνήθη καὶ χρόνον οὐκ ἔχοντα αἰνήθη γενέσθαι καὶ οἰκείον, ἀλλ' ἐμμενοῦμεν οἷς ἀπ' ἄρχης προελόμεθα, ταυτά 
τοῦ ξην καὶ τοῦ καλῶς ξην ποιησάμενοι πέρας· 
εἰ γε δὴ μὴ μέλλομεν ἐν βραχεί τῷ λεπτομένῳ τῶν 
πολλῶν ἐλέγχειν χρόνων, ὡς ἐπ' οὔδενι καλῶ μάτη 
ἀνθλωμένον.

D Ὁ γὰρ ἡ τυραννίς, ὡς τις εἶπε Διονυσίω, 
καλῶν ἐντάφιον ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνῳ γε τὴν μοναρχίαν 
μετὰ τῆς ἀδίκειας τὸ γε μὴ παύσασθαι συμφορὰν 
tελευταρίαν ἐποίησε. καὶ καλῶς2 Διογένης ὄστερον 
ἐν Κορίνθῳ τῶν ὕδων αὐτοῦ θεασάμενος ἰδιοτή 
ἐκ τυραννίου γεγενημένον "ὁς ἀναξίως," ἐφη, 
"Διονύσιε, σεαυτὸν πράττεις· οὐ γὰρ ἐνταθὰ 
σε μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔδει ξῆν ἐλευθερεῖν καὶ ἀδεῶς, 
ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ τῶν τυραννείων ἐγκατακουδουμένου 
ὁσπερ ὁ πατὴρ ἀχρε γῆρως ἑγκαταβιώσαι." 
πολιτεία δὲ δημοκρατικὴ καὶ νόμιμος ἀνθρώ 
ποιμένου παρέχει αὐτῶν οὐχ ἦτον ἀρχόμενον 
Ε ὕφελμος ὃ ἐργοῦτα καλῶν ἐντάφιον ὡς ἀληθῶς 
τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ βίου δόξαν τῷ θανάτῳ προστίθην 
τοῦτο γὰρ 

ἔσχατον δύεται κατὰ γάς 

ἀς φησι Σμυρνίδης, πλὴν ὅπως λειτονήσατε τὸ 
φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόκαλον καὶ προαπανδὸ 
τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐπιθυμίας οὐ τῶν καλῶν ξῆλος, ὡς 
tὰ πρακτικὰ μέρη καὶ θέα τῆς φυκῆς ἐξηγήστε 
tῶν παθητικῶν καὶ σωματικῶν ἔχουσις. ὑπερ

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

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

last of all descends below the ground,

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

* Cf. Isocrates, vi. 125.

* Bergk, Post. Lyr. Græc. iii. p. 417, no. 63 (104).
oude legiwn kalon oide' apodechovai tov legontov, E'ous kerδaivontes mouv ou kopywmew alla kal to tov Thoukvdidou paragwv epi to belion, mp to filotimwv ghnwrw mouv gnomewv, allw melwv to koivnikov kai politikov, 'i kai mirmhzw axrav tevwv paramevnei kai melittas' oudeis gar piwov' eidev' upo ghrwv kaphna gnomewn melitew, va'per enoi tov politikov axiosin, othan parakmawsw, oixoi stoumevnoi kathsevai kai apokeivai, kathaper iwd oidhrwv upo argyas thn praktikh anetik obeynwmewn periwrwntas.

184 o gar Kato'v elegen, oti pollass idias ekswte tov ghr' khras ou dei thn apo ths kalkias ekwnas eupagew aigwvnu' pollwv de kaiwv oideumais hetan aprafia kai deillia kai malakia kataisoxounov anvra prorwth, ev politikovv arxewv kataavomwv eis oikouriavn gnwskwn o kata' ayrwv efarynta kalamintridas' kai theristav:

o 0 Oidipous po' kai ta kleiv' ainiymata;

To mem gar en ghr' politelias arxesthai kai me prwteron, vaspw' Ephimevthn legewi katakoimh
thnta neanian egevrethai yerwnta meta penteikonta

1 ophro Thucydides, ii. 44. 4: ophros.
2 mptere from Stobaeus, xlv. 20.
3 en ibid. 1 othor.
4 kalamintridas Coraces: kalamintria.

Thucydides, ii. 44. 4. Pericles, in his great oration over the Athenians who fell in war, says "The love of honour alone never grows old, and in the useless time of old age
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 783–784

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

But Oedipus, where is he and his riddles famed?

For as to beginning public life in old age and not before (as they say that Epimenides slept while a youth and awoke as an aged man after fifty years), the greatest pleasure is not, as some say, in gaining money, but in being honoured.”

1 See Life of Cato the Elder, ix. 10.

2 Euripides, Phoen. 1668. This line is spoken by Antigone to her blind father Oedipus. Plutarch seems to imply that the old man who enters political life without experience is no better off than was Oedipus, in spite of his famous solution of the riddle of the sphinx, when exposed to the vicissitudes of exile.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Β ἐτη' εἶτα τὴν" οὖτω μακράν καὶ συμβεβεβεβαίων" (784) Ἰουνίαν ἀποθέμενον ἐπιβαλεῖν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ἁγίωνας καὶ ἁγιολίας, ἀλήθη καὶ ἁγύμναστον ὅρατα καὶ μήτε πράγματιν ἐνωμιληκότα πολιτικῶς μήτ' ἀνθρώπως, ἵστως ἂν αἰτιωμένος τινὶ παράσχοι τῷ τῆς Πυθαγορίους ἐπείν" ὁμο" ἔλθες" ἄρχην καὶ δημαγωγιῶν διξήμενος, καὶ παρ᾽ ὅραν στρατηγικὸν κόπτεις θύραν, ὡσπερ τις ἀτεχνότερος ὃς νῦκτωρ ἐπί-κώμος ἀφιγμένος, ἢ ξένος οὗ τόπον οὐδὲ χώραν ἀλλὰ βίον, οὕτω πεπείρασαι, μεταλλάττων. τὸ γὰρ "πόλεις ἀνδρὰ διδάσκει" κατὰ Σιμωνίδην ἀληθές ἡττιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπὶ χρόνων ἐχόντων μεταδιδαχθήναι καὶ μεταμαθεῖν μάθημα, διὰ πολλῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἱ πραγμάτων μόλις ἐκποιοῦμενον, ἀντερ ἐν καριφφάρη ψύχες ψιλάβηται καὶ πόνῳ ἐνεγκείναι καὶ δυσ-ημερίαν εὐκάλως δυναμεῖς. ταῦτα δόξει τις μὴν κακώς λέγεισθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀρχόμενον ἐν γῆρᾳ πολιτείας.

2. Καλτοὶ τοιναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν νοῦν ἐχόντων τὰ μειράκια καὶ τοὺς νέους ἀποτρεπτο-μένους τοῦ τὰ κοινὰ πράττειν καὶ μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ νόμοι διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐκ Ἀλκιβιάδας οὐδὲ Πυθαγόρας ἀνατάντες ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα πρῶτος, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἐτης γεγονό-

...
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 784

and then, after casting off such a long-familiar state of repose, throwing oneself into strife and time-absorbing affairs when one is unaccustomed to them and without practice and is conversant neither with public affairs nor with public men; that might give a fault-finder a chance to quote the Pythia and say, "Too late you have come" seeking for office and public leadership, and you are knocking unseasonably at the door of the practorium, like some ignorant man who comes by night in festive condition or a stranger exchanging, not your place of residence or your country, but your mode of life for one in which you have had no experience. For the saying of Simonides, "the State teaches a man," 4 is true for those who still have time to unlearn what they have been taught and to learn a new subject which can hardly be acquired through many struggles and labours, even if it encounters at the proper time a nature capable of bearing toll and misery with ease. Such are the remarks which one may believe are fittingly addressed to a man who begins public life in his old age.

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

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4 τοιούτους (or τοιουτων) Babbitt: τοιοῦτον.
(784) καλεῖν πρὸς τροπαίον κατ' αὐτιστασιώντων. εἰ δὲ Κάτων μετ' ὀμοθήκου ἐτη δίκην ἀπολογούμενον ἦν τη χαλεπὸν εἶναι βεβιωκότα μετ' ἄλλων ἐν ἄλλοις ἀπολογεῖται. Καίσαρος δὲ τοῦ καταλύσαντος Ἀντώνιον οὐτί μικρὸν βασιλικότερα καὶ δημο- ωφελέστερα γενέσθαι ποιεῖται πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς νέους ἔθεσει καὶ νόμους αὐτοκράτος συμφωνεῖντως, ὡς ἐθορύβησαν, "ἀκαίτωτα," εἶπε, "νέοι γέροντος οὐ νέον γέροντες Εἰκονον." ἢ δὲ Περικλέας πολιτεία τὸ μέγιστον ἐν γῇρα κράτος ἔσχεν, οτὲ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀρασθεί τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔτεεες καὶ προθυμουμένων οὐ κατὰ καιρὸν μάχεσθαι πρὸς ἕξαικισμιρίσους ὀπλέτας, ἐνέστη καὶ διεκόλυσε, μανονοῦ τὰ ὀπλα τοῦ δήμου καὶ τὰ κλεῖς τῶν πυλῶν ἀποσφραγισμένος, ἀλλὰ μὴν αὐτὸς Ξενοφῶν περὶ Ἀγασιλάου γέγραφεν, αὐτοῖς ἄνόμαιοι ἄξιον ἔστε παραδόθηκαν: "πολας γάρ," φησί, "νεότητος οὐ κρείττον τὸ ἐκεῖνον γῆρας ἐφάνη; τὸς μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἱχθροῖς ἀκινδυνών οὕτω φοβερὸς ἦν, ὡς Ἀγασιλαὸς τὸ μύκιστον τοῦ αἰῶνος ἐχθρῶν; τῶν δὲ ἐκποδῶν γενομένου μᾶλλον ἠσθῆσαν οἱ πολέμιοι ἡ Ἀγασιλάου, καίπερ γηραιοὶ τελευτήσαντος; τὸς δὲ συμμάχους θάρσος παρέσχεν ἡ Ἀγασιλαὸς, καίπερ ἤδη πρὸς τῶν τέρματι τοῦ βίου ἄν; τίνα δὲ νέου οἱ φίλοι πλέον ἔποθήσαν ἡ Ἀγασιλαοῦ γηραιοῦ ἀποδανάτα; "

3. Εἰς ἐκεῖνος μὲν τηλεκαίτα πράττειν ὁ χρόνος οὐκ ἐκώλυτεν, ἦμεῖς δὲ οἱ νῦν τρυφώντες εἰν

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

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

\* i.e. Augustus.

πολετελείας, μὴ τυραννίδα μὴ πόλεμον τινα μὴ πολιορκίαν ἐχούσας, ἀπολέμους δ᾽ ἀμίλλας καὶ φιλοτημίας νόμῳ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ λόγῳ μετὰ δίκης 785 περαινομένας ἀποδεικλώμεν; οὐ μόνον στρατηγῶν τῶν τότε καὶ δημιαγωγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν καὶ ὑποκριτῶν ὁμολογούντες εἶναι καλίσσαι εἶγε Σεμωνίδης μὲν ἐν γῇρα χοροῖς ἐνίκα, ὡς 1 ταὐτόγραμμα δηλοῦ τοῖς τελευταίοις ἔπειταν·

ἀμφὶ διδασκαλίᾳ δὲ Σεμωνίδη ἔσπερο κόδος ἀγδικοκονταῖτε παιδὶ Δεισπρέπεος.

Σοφοκλῆς δὲ λέγεται μὲν ὑπὸ παῖδων ἡ παρανόλας δύσην φεύγουν ἀναγρῶναι τὴν ἐν Οἰδίποδι τῷ ἐπὶ Κολωνῷ 2 πάροδον, ἢ ἔστιν ἄρχή

εὐππού, ξένε, τάσσε χώρας ἵκον τὰ κράτιστα γὰς ἑπαυλά, τῶν ἀργήτα Κολωνοῦ, ἐνθ 3 λίγεια μινύρεται θαμίζονα μάλιστ' ἀρχων χλωραῖς ὑπὸ βάσσαις.

Βασιλείατοι δὲ τού μέλους φανέρως, ὡσπερ ἐκ θεάτρου τοῦ δικαστηρίου προσεμφήνηται μετὰ κράτους καὶ βοής τῶν παρόντων. τούτι δ' ὀμολογομένως Σοφοκλέους ἐστὶ τοιούχρηματίου ἀδίκην Ἡραδότω τεῦξεν Σοφοκλῆς ἐτέων ὅπ' ἐπὶ πεντῆκοντα.

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

But for his skill with the chorus great glory Simonides followed,
Octogenarian child sprung from Leoprepes' seed.\(^a\)

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

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

and the song aroused such admiration that he was escorted from the court as if from the theatre, with the applause and shouts of those present. And this little epigram of Sophocles corroborates the tale:

Song for Herodotus Sophocles made when the years of his age were
Five in addition to fifty.\(^d\)

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\(^b\) This story, though repeated by several ancient writers, deserves no credit.
(785) Φθιόμονα δὲ τῶν κωμικῶν καὶ 'Αλεξίων ἐπὶ τῆς 
σκηνῆς ἀγωνιζομένους καὶ στεφανομένους ὁ 
θάνατος κατέλαβε. Πώλου δὲ τῶν 
τραγῳδίων Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Φιλόχορος ἱστοροῦσιν ἑβδομή-
κοντ' ἐπὶ γεγονήμενον οίκτω τραγῳδίας † ἐν τέτ-
ταρες ἡμέραις διαγωνίσασθαι μικρῶν ἐμπροσθεν 
τῆς τελευτῆς.

4. *Αρ' ὅτι οὐκ ἀληχρόν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς 
γερῶντων τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἀγεννεστέρους 
ὀρᾶσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξισταμένους 
ἀγώνων ἀποτίθεσθαι τῷ πολιτικῷ πρόσωπων, οὐκ 
οἴδ᾽ ὅποιον ἀντιμεταλαμβάνοντας; καὶ γὰρ τὸ 
τῆς γεωργίας ἐκ βασιλικοῦ ταπεινοῦ ὅπου γὰρ ὁ 
Δημοσθένης φρονὶς ἀνάξια πάσης τῆς Πάραλος, 
ἱερῶν οὐσιν τριήρη, ἡμέλη καὶ χάρακας καὶ βουκή-
ματα τῷ Μειδίᾳ παρακομιζομένων, ἡ ποιον πολιτικὸς 
ἀνήρ ἀγωνιθείας καὶ βουλαρχίας καὶ τὰς ἐν 
Δ'Αμφικτύοις προεδρίας ἀπολυτῶν, ἐδοὺ ὅρομενοι ἐν 
ἀλφαίων καὶ στεφανίων διαμετρήσαι καὶ πάκου 
προβάτων οὐ παντάπαισι δόξει τούτο δὴ τὸ καλοῦ-
μενον "ὑπὸν γῆρας" ἐπάγεονι, μικρὸν ἀναγ-
κάζοντος; ἐργασίας γε μὴ βαραύνου καὶ ἀγο-
ράλας ἀντεσθαί μετὰ πολιτείαν ὁμαίαν ἐστὶ τῷ 
γυναικὸς θεωρήσεως καὶ σώφρονος ξύδημα περι-
σπάσαντα καὶ περίζωμα δόντα συνεχεῖν ἐπὶ
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 785

But Philemon a the comic dramatist and Alexis b were overtaken by death while they were on the stage acting and being crowned with garlands. And Polus the tragic actor, as Eratosthenes and Philochorus tell us, when he was seventy years old acted in eight tragedies in four days shortly before his death. c

4. Is it, then, not disgraceful that the old men of the public platform are found to be less noble than those of the stage, and that they withdraw from the truly sacred contests, put off the political rôle, and assume I do not know what in its stead? For surely after the rôle of a king that of a farmer is a mean one. For when Demosthenes says d that the Paralus, being the sacred galley, was unworthily treated when it was used to transport beams, stakes, and cattle for Meidias, will not a public man who gives up such offices as superintendent of public games, Boeotian magistrate, and president of the Amphictyonic council, and is thereafter seen busying himself with measuring flour and olive cakes and with tufts of sheep’s wool—will not he be thought to be bringing upon himself “the old age of a horse,” as the saying is, when nobody forces him to do so? Surely taking up menial work fit only for the market-place after holding public offices is like stripping a freeborn and modest woman of her gown, putting a cook’s apron on her, and keeping her in a tavern; for just so

prolific productivity and great age of Alexis, the foremost poet of the Middle Comedy, who lived circa 370-270 B.C. See Kalbel in Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl. Bd., and Am. Jour. Phil. xxii. (1900) pp. 59 ff.

a A long list of Greeks who lived to an advanced age is given by B. E. Richardson, Old Age among the Ancient Greeks, pp. 215-239.

d Demosthenes, xxi. (Against Meidias) 568.
κατηλείπον· καὶ γὰρ τῆς πολιτικῆς δρετῆς οὕτως ἀπόλυται τὸ ἄξιωμα καὶ τὸ μέγεθος πρὸς τινας
Εἰς οἰκονομίας καὶ χρηματισμοῦς ἄγωμένης. ἂν δ’, ὅπερ λοιπὸν ἔστι, βραστώνας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις τὰς
ἡδυπαθείας καὶ τὰς τρυφὰς ὁμομάζοντες ἐν ταῦταις
μαρανώμενον ἰσχυρὰς παρακαλώσις γηράκειν τὸν
πολιτικὸν, οὐκ οἶδα ποτέρα δεινοί εἰκόνων αἰχμάρων
πρέπειν δέξει μᾶλλον ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ· ποτέραν
ἀφοροδίαν ναῦταις ἄγονεί πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν ἡδῆ
χρόνον οὐκ ἐν λυμένι τὴν ναῦν ἔχουσιν ἀλλ’ ἐτὶ
πλέουσαν ἀπολείπουσιν; ἢ καθάπερ ἔννοι τῶν
Ἡρακλέα παίξοντες οὐκ εἴπερ γράφουσιν ἐν Ὀμφάλης
κροκωτοφόρον ἐνδιδόντα Λυδάις θεραπανίας ῥητο-
ζειν καὶ παραπλέκειν ἔατον, οὕτω τὸν πολιτικὸν
Φ’ ἐκδύσαντες τὴν λεωτῆν καὶ κατακλίναντες εἰ-
ωχῆσομεν θείο καταβαλλόμενον καὶ καταυλούμενον,
οὔδ’ ἐγὼ τοῦ Πομπήλου Μάγνου φωνῇ διατραπέντες
τῇ πρὸς Λευκόλλουν’ αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς λουτρὰ καὶ
dείπνα καὶ συνοισίας μεθημερίνας καὶ πολυν ἄλων
καὶ κατασκευὰς οἰκοδομημάτων νεοπρεπείς μετὰ
tὰς στρατείας καὶ πολυτελίας ἀφεικότα, τῷ δὲ
Πομπήλῳ φιλαρξίαν ἐγκαλοῦντα καὶ φιλοτυμίαν
παρ’ ἥλικιν· ἐφ’ ὅρα τὸ Πομπῆλος ἀωρότερον
786 ἐναὶ γέροντι τὸ τρυφάν ἡ τὸ ἀρχειν ἐπεὶ δὲ
νοσοῦντα συνετάξει κήλην ὁ ἱατρός, ἢ δὲ δυσπόρι-
στον καὶ παρ’ ὠραν, ἐφ’ ὅτι ἐναὶ παρὰ Λευκόλλω
πολλὰς τρεφομένας, οὐκ ἐπεμβὰς υἱόν ἐλαβεν
εἰπὼν, ὡς δὲ Λευκόλλος ἐτρύφα, Πομπῆλος
οὐκ ἐν ἐξήσει;
5. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἧπτεῖ πάντως ἡ φύσις τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ

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

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

ἡ Ἀφροδίτη τοῖς γέρονσιν ἀχθεται

Β μόνον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης φησίν, ἄλλα καὶ τὰς περὶ πάσιν καὶ βρωσιν ἐπιθυμίας ἀπημβλυμένας τὰ πολλὰ καὶ νωδὰς κατέχοντες μόλις ἦλθαν ἐπιθήγοναι καὶ χαράττονται· ἐν δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ παρασκευαστέον ἱδονάς οὐκ ἀγενεῖς οὔθ᾽ ἀνελευθέρους, ὡς Σημανίδης ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς ἐγκαλοῦντας αὐτῷ φιλαργυρίαν, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεστερημένος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἱδονῶν ὑπὸ μαῖς ἐτε γηροβοσκεῖται τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν· ἀλλά ἡ πολιτεία καλλίστας μὲν ἱδονὰς ἔχει καὶ μεγίστας, αἷς καὶ τοὺς βεθοὺς εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἡ μόναι ἡ μᾶλλον χαίρειν· αὕται δ᾽ εἰσίν, ὡς τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν καὶ καλὸν τί πράττειν ἀναδίδωσιν. εἰ γὰρ Νικίας ὁ ζωγράφος οὕτως ἔχαιρε τοῖς τῆς ὁ τέχνης ἔργοις, ὡστε τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐρωτῶν πολλάκις, εἰ λέονται καὶ ἱστάτηκεν· Ἀρχεμήδην δὲ τῇ σανίδι προσκελίμενον ἀποσπάντες βία καὶ ἀποδύνοντες ἔλειφον οἱ θεράποντες, ὅ ̣δε ἐπὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀλημμέμενον διέγραφε τὰ σχῆματα· Κάνος² δὲ ὁ αὐλητής, ὃν καὶ ὡς γυννόκεις, ἔλεγεν ἀγνοεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὥσπερ μᾶλλον αὐτῶν αὐλῶν ἢ

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

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


Διὰ τὸ γὰρ θὰ νῦν Κάρπαν καὶ ἁλτο τὸν Ἑρμήν ἔτη
Αφροδίτη τοῖς γεροδων ἀλεθείας,

"But either old to Cypris bids farewell
Or Aphrodite with old men is wroth."
(786) ἑτέρον εἰθαράνει: λαμβάνειν γὰρ ἂν μισθὸν οὐ διδόναι τοὺς ἁκοῦσιν ἐνθαλητας· ἃρ' οὐκ ἐπινοοῦμεν, ἥλικας ἡδωνας αἰ ἄρεται τοῖς χρωμένοις ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν πράξεων καὶ τῶν κωνικῶν ἔργων καὶ φιλανθρώπων παρασκευάζουσιν, οὐ κισσαίοι οὐδὲ δρόμουσιν, ὅσπερ αἱ εἰς σάρκα λείαι καὶ προστήκεις

D γινόμεναι κατήκεις; ἀλλ' αὕται μὲν οἰστρῶδες καὶ ἀβέβαιοι καὶ μεμηγμένοι σοφισταὶ τὸ γαργαλίζον ἰχνον, αἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἐργοῖς, οἰνοῦς δημουργὸς ὁ πολιτευόμενος ἀρθώς ἐστίν, οὐ τοῖς Εὐρυπίδου χρωμαῖς πτέρυξιν, ἀλλ' τοῖς Πλατανικοῖς ἐκείνοις καὶ οὐράνιοις πτεροῖς ὁμοία τὴν ψυχὴν μέγεθος καὶ φρόνημα μετὰ γήθους λαμβάνοντον ἀναφέρουσιν.

6. Ἡ πομήνησε δὲ σεαυτὸν ὅπ παλλάκες ἀκήκοας· ὅ μὲν γὰρ Ἐπαμεινόνδας ἔφωτθεις τῇ ἡδίστοι αὐτῶ γέγονεν, ἀπεκρίνατο τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτὶ ζάντος καὶ τῆς μεθρός νικήσει τὴν ἐν Δεύκτρος μάχην. ὅ δὲ Σύλλας, ὅτε τῶν ἐμφυλίων πολέμων Εὐτῶν Ἰταλίαν καθήκα συνέδεσε τῇ Ῥώμη πρώτον, οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ κατειδαρεῖν, ὅπο γῆθους καὶ χαρᾶς μεγαλής ὁσπερ πνεύματος ἀναφεύγομεν τὴν ψυχήν καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραφεν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι. ἀκούσαμα μὲν γὰρ ἐστι τηθὲν ἡδίν ἐπαινοῦ κατὰ τὸν Σενοφώντα, θέαμα δὲ καὶ μεταμόνευμα καὶ διανόημα τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἦστιν ὅ τοι αὐτήν φέρει χάριν, διὸν πράξεων ἐδίον ἐν ἀρχαῖς καὶ πολιτείαις ὁσπερ ἐν τόποις λαμπροῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀναθεώρησις. οὐ μὲν

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

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

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

* Xenophon, Memorabilia, ii. 1. 31.
πάλι και χάρις εύμενης συμμαρτυροῦσα· τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ συμμαχόμενοις ἐπαινόντος, εὐνόμιας δικαίως ἡγεμόνι, ὅτι τε φῶς καὶ γάνωμα τῷ χαίροντι τῆς ἀρετῆς προστίθησον· καὶ δέ μη περιορῶν ὅσπερ ἀθλητικῶν στέφανον ἐν γῇρᾳ ἐγέραν γενομένην τὴν δόξαν, ἀλλὰ καὶν ἐκ τὲ καὶ πρόσφατον ἐπιφέροντα τὴν τῶν παλαιῶν χάριν ἐγείρειν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄμελενοι καὶ μόνῳς ὅσπερ οὐ περικύκτησι φροντίζειν σώον εἶναι τῷ Δηλιακῷ πλοῖον, ἀντὶ τῶν πονοῦντων ήχον εἰμβάλλοντες ἀλλὰ καὶ συμπηγμονῶτες ἀδίδων ἐκ τῶν τῶν χρόνων καὶ ἀφθαρτον 787 ἑδόκουν διαφυλάττειν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξης καὶ φλογὸς τῆς χαλεπῆ σωτηρίας καὶ τήρησις ἀλλὰ μικρῶν ὑπεκκαυμάτων δεσμόν, κατασβέσαν δὲ καὶ ὑποστήριχθην οὐδέτερον ἐν τίς ἀπραγμόνοις πάλιν ἐξάφειεν. ὡς δὲ Λάμπις ὁ ναυακληροςκριτικός, ἐφρυτριεῖς πώς ἐκτίθησον τὸν πλοῖον "οὐ χαλεπῶς" ἐξή "τοῦ μέγαν, τὸν δὲ βραχὺν ἐπιτόνως καὶ βραδέως". οὕτω τῆς πολιτικῆς δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἄρχῃ τυχεῖν οὐ βρέφιον ἔστι, τὸ δὲ συναξῆσαι καὶ διαφυλάξαι μεγάλην γενομένην ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ἔτοιμον· ὡς γὰρ ἄπιος ἦν γενήθη πολλάς Β λειτουργίας ἐπιτίθεται καὶ μεγάλας, ἵνα μὴν ἄπιος, μικροῖς δὲ σημείοις τὸ ἐνδελεχὲς δεῖ διαφυλάττει τὴν εὐνοίαν ἢ τε δήμου φιλία καὶ πίστεις σωκ

1 συμμαρτυροῦσα Bernardaklis ή μαρτυροῦσα.
2 ναυακληρος Λεόνικις: ναυακληρικός.
3 So Wytenbach: ἀπὸ τῶν τυχόντων γενομένη.

* By "Dellian ship" is meant the Paralus which was sent
people. Yes, and moreover kindly gratitude, bearing witness to the acts, and praise, competing with gratitude and ushering in deserved goodwill, add, as it were, a light and brilliance to the joy that comes from virtue. And it is a man's duty not to allow his reputation to become withered in his old age like an athlete's garland, but by adding constantly something new and fresh to arouse the sense of gratitude for his previous actions and make it better and lasting; just as the artisans who were responsible for keeping the Delian ship in good condition, by inserting and fastening in new timbers to take the place of those which were becoming weak, seemed to keep the vessel from those ancient times everlasting and indestructible. Now the preservation and maintenance of reputation, as of fire, is not difficult and demands little fuel, but no one can without trouble rekindle either of them when it has gone out and grown cold. And just as Lampis the sea captain, when asked how he acquired his wealth, said, "My great wealth easily, but the small beginnings of it slowly and with toil," so political reputation and power are not easy to attain at first, but when once they have grown great it is easy to augment them and keep them great by taking advantage of casual opportunities. For when a man has once become a friend, he does not require many and great services that he may remain a friend, but constancy shown by small tokens always preserves his goodwill, and so likewise the friendship and confidence of the people do annually from Athens with delegates to the festival at Delos. Annual repairs were so long continued that none of the original timbers remained and the question arose whether it was the same ship or not.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(787) ἀρχὸς χορηγοῦντος οὐδὲ προδικούντος οὐδὲ ἀρχὸς αὐτῇ τῇ προθυμίᾳ συνέχεται καὶ τῷ μὴ προσπαλεύοντι μὴ ἀπαγορεύοντι τῇς ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φροντίδος. οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ στρατεύει παρατάξεις ἀλλὰ καὶ μάχαι καὶ πολιορκίας ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θυσίας ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ συνοφρύας διὰ μέσου καὶ σχολῆς ἄφθονον ἐν παιδιάς καὶ φλανδρίας δέχονται. 

τὸδε γε ἡ τῆς πολιτείαν φοβητέον, ἡς ἀπαραμίθητον καὶ πολύπονον καὶ βαρεῖαν, ὅπου καὶ θέατρα καὶ πομπαὶ καὶ νεμέσεις καὶ "χοροὶ καὶ Ὁ Μοῦσα καὶ Ἀγαλία" καὶ θεοὺς τίνος ἀλή τας ἄφως λύουσα παντὸς ἄρχειν καὶ συνεδρίαν πολλαπλάσιον τὸ ἐπιτερπὲς καὶ κεχαρισμένον ἀποδίδοσιν;

7. "Ἡ τῶν μέγιστων κακῶν ἐχουσιν αἱ πολιτείαι, τὸν φθόνον, ἢκιστα διερείδεται πρὸς τὸ γῆρας "καίνες γάρ καὶ βαδίζουσιν ὅν ἄν μὴ γινώσκωσι" καὶ Ἡρακλεῖον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχήμενον ὃσπερ ἐν θύραις τοῦ βήθους μάχεται καὶ πάροδον οὐ δίδωσιν τῇ δὲ σύντροφον καὶ συννήθη δόξαν οὐκ ἄγριος οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἀλλὰ πράως ἀνέχεται. διὸ τὸν φθόνον ἐμοὶ τῷ κατηφ θεοφησίστου πολλὸς γάρ ἐν τοῖς ἀρχομένοις διὰ τὸ φλέγεσθαι προερ-

D πιπτῶν, ὅταν ἐκλάμψουσιν, ἀφανίζεται. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ὑπεροχαῖς προσμάχονται καὶ διαμφισ-

βητούσιν ἄρετῆς καὶ γένους καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ὡς

1 δεσμένη Jannot: δεσμόνη.
2 προδικούντος Jannot: προσδικούντος.
3 Μοῖά Bousch: μοῖα.
4 τῶν H.N.F.: τό. 

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

7. Now the greatest evil attendant upon public life, envy, is least likely to beset old age, "for dogs do indeed bark at whom they do not know," according to Heracleitus, and envy fights against a man as he begins his public career, at the doorway, as it were, of the orator's platform, and tries to refuse him access, but familiar and accustomed reputation it does not savagely and roughly resent, but puts up with mildly. For this reason envy is sometimes likened to smoke, for in the case of those who are beginning their public career it pours out before them in great volume because they are enkindled, but when they burst into full flame it disappears. And whereas men attack other kinds of eminence and themselves lay claim to good character, good birth, and honour, as though they were depriving Aglaia, one of the Graces, was especially connected with festive merriment.
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(787) ἀφαιροῦντες αὐτῶν δόσων ἄλλος ὑφελεῖται τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου πρωτεύον, ἃ καλεῖται κύριως πρεσβεία, ἀγηλοτυπήτων ἐστὶ καὶ παραχώραμενον· ὁδειμὴ γὰρ αὐτῶ συμβαθηκέ τῶν τιμῶντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν τιμῶντων κοσμεῖν, ὡς τῇ τῶν γερόντων. ἔτι τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πλούσιον δύναμιν ἢ λόγου δεινότητος ἢ σοφίας οὐ πάντας αὐτοῖς γενόσεσθαι προσδοκώσω, ἐφ’ ὅν δὲ προάγει τὸ γῆρας αἴθω καὶ δόξαν ουδεὶς ἀπελπίζει τῶν πολιτευμένων. οὐδὲν οὖν διαφέρει κυβερνήτου πρὸς ἐναντίον κύμα καὶ πεθαίνει πλεύσαντος ἐπὶ.

Βοσάλως, εὐπόρος δὲ καὶ εὐθαρσὶς γενομένης ὁμιλοῦσαν ζητοῦσαν, ὃ τῶ ἐφόνω διανομαχήσας πολὺν χρόνον, εἰτὰ παρασκεὐαν καὶ στορευσέντος, ἀνακρούμενον ἐκ τῆς πολύτιλας καὶ προϊδέμενος ἀμα τὰς πράξεις τὰς κοιμωνίας καὶ τὰς ἐταιρείας, οὕτω γὰρ χρόνος γέγονε πλεύσω, καὶ φίλους πλείονας καὶ συναγωνιστὰς πεποίηκεν, οὐδ’ οὕτω συνεξάγων ἐαυτῷ πάντας ἐνδέχεται καθάπερ διδασκάλον χώραν

Εἰ δὲ ἐγκαταλείποντες ἐὰν δικαίον ἀλλ’ ὠσπερ τὰ παλαιὰ δένδρα τὴν μακρὰν πολιτείαν οὐ ράδιον ἀρτίν ἀναπάσας πολυρρίζουν οὖς καὶ πράγμασιν ἑμπεπληγμένην, ἡ πλείονας παρέχει ταραγάς καὶ συναγχήμας ἀπερχομένοις ἢ μέγανοι, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ περίστι φθόνον λείψανον ἢ φιλονεικίας πρὸς τοὺς γέροντας ἐκ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἄγονων, κατα- σβεστέον τοῦτο τῇ δυνάμει μᾶλλον ἢ δοτέον τὰ μόνα, γυμνοὺς καὶ ἄσπλους ἀπιόντας· οὐ γὰρ
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themselves of so much of these as they grant to others; yet the primacy which comes from time, for which there is the special word presbeion or "the prerogative due to seniority in age," arouses no jealousy and is freely conceded; for of no honour is it so true that it adorns the giver more than the receiver as of that which is paid to old age. Moreover, not all men expect that the power derived from wealth, eloquence, or wisdom will accrue to them, but no one who takes part in public life is without hope of attaining the reverence and repute to which old age leads. So there is no difference between the pilot who has sailed in great danger against adverse winds and waves, and, after clear weather and fair winds have come, seeks his moorings, and the man who has struggled in the ship of State a long time against the billows of envy, and then, when they have ceased and become smooth, backs water and withdraws from public life, giving up his political affiliations and clubs along with his public activities. For the longer the time has been the greater the number of those whom he has made his friends and fellow-workers, and he cannot take them all out with him, as a trainer leads out his chorus, nor is it fair to leave them in the lurch. But a long public career is, like old trees, hard to pull up, for it has many roots and is interwoven with affairs which cause more troubles and torments to those who withdraw from them than to those who remain in them. And if any remnant of envy or jealousy does continue against old men from their political contests, they should rather extinguish this by power than turn their backs and go away naked and unarmed. For people
οὕτως ἀγωνιζομένους φθονοῦστε ὡς ἀπεταμένους καταφρονήσαντες ἐπιτίθενται.

788 8. Μαρτυρεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ λεγ̓θὲν ὑπ’ Ἐσαμενώνδα τοῦ μεγάλου πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους, ὅτε χειμῶνος ἦν οἱ Ἀρκάδες παρεκάλουσιν αὐτοὺς ἐν ταῖς αἰκίαις διανυσσαίς παρελθόντας εἰς τὴν πόλιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰσαγην, ἀλλὰ ἐν καὶ μὲν ἐφη, ἡθεματοῦσιν ὡμᾶς καὶ θεῶν τὸ ὅπλα γυμναζομένους καὶ παλαίοντας· ὅπερ δὲ πρὸς τῇ πυρὶ καθημένους ὀρῶς τοῦ κόσμου κάπτοντας, οὖν εἰς αὐτῶν ἠγγίζονται διαφέρειν." οὕτω δὴ σεμινὸν ἐστὶν θέμα προσβύτης

Β λέγων τι καὶ πράττων καὶ τιμώμενος, ὅ δ’ ἐν κλήρῳ διημεριθῶν ἡ καθήμενος ἐν γυμνίᾳ στοῖς φλυαρῶν καὶ ἀπαμιτόμενος εὐκαταφρόνητος. τοῦτο δ’ ἀμέλει καὶ ὁμοίας διδάσκει τοὺς ὁρθῶς ἄκούοντας· ὅ μὲν γὰρ Νέστωρ στρατευόμενος ἐν Τρολά σεμινὸς ἐν καὶ πολυτίμωτος, ὁ δὲ Πηλεὺς καὶ ὁ Λαέρτης ὀικουροῦντες ἀπερρῆσαν καὶ κατεφρονήσαν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς φρονεῖν ἔτι ὁμοίως παραμένει τοῖς μεθείοις αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὧπερ ἄργλας ἔκατιμον ἢ καὶ ἀναλυομένη κατὰ μικρὸν ἐν τοῖς ποθεῖ θοτόν κυναγοὺς μελετηρίων, τὸ λογιστικόν καὶ πρακτικὸν ἐγειροῦσαν καὶ διακαθαρισθής.

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαις, ὅπερ εὑπρεπῆς χαλκός.

Καί γὰρ τόσον σώματος ἀπεθανεῖ καὶ πρόσευται τοῖς πολεμεῖσι τῶν παρ’ ἡλικιαν ἔπει τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατήγην βοωδεῖς τῶν, ὅτι ἔχουσιν ἄγαθον

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

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

For when in use it gleams like beauteous bronze.*

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

* From an unknown drama of Sophocles; Nauck, Troy. Græc. Frag. p. 314, no. 780; it is quoted in fuller form in Moralia, 793 a and 1129 c.
(788) τὴν εἰλισκεὶν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον. Ἀλλοτριοφοβία οὖσα ὅτε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κενῆς, προσπέπτει πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ συνεδρίκεσθαι τὸν ὄχλον, ὥσπερ θάλατταν ὑπὸ πνευμάτων ἐκταραττόμενον, ἄλλα πράσινα τὸ χορὸςθαλοκαί καὶ μετρίως τοῖς ἑντυγχάνονσιν. Ὅθεν αἱ πόλεις, ὅταν πταίσωσιν ἡ φαβρικαί, προσβύτεροι ποδόσων ἀρχήν Δανθρώπων καὶ πολλάκις εἰς ἀγροῦ κατάγονται γέροντα μὴ δεομένον μηδὲ βουλόμενον ἡμάγκασαν ὥσπερ οἶκων εὐφαυλίουν εἰς ἀσφάλεις καταστήσαν τὰ πράγματα, παρασώμεναι τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ δημαγγοροὺς βοῶν μέγα καὶ λέγειν ἀποκεφαλίσαι καὶ νῆ Δία τοῖς πολεμίωις διαβάνας εἰς μάχεσθαι δυναμένους· οἶον οἱ ρήτορες Ἀθηναίοις Τιμοθέων καὶ Ἰφικράτει Χάρητα τῶν Θεοχάρων ἐπανδούντες ἀκμαίοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ ῥωμαλόν ἡξένων ταὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίω οἱ στρατηγῶν, ὥς ὁ Θεός Τιμόθεος "οὐ μᾶ τοὺς θεούς," εἶπεν, "ἀλλὰ ταὐτότερον μὲν εἶναι τὸν μέλλοντα τῷ στρατηγῷ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ κομίζειν, τὸν δὲ στρατηγὸν ἂμα πρόσω καὶ ὑπόσω τῶν πραγμάτων ὀρῶντα καὶ μηδενὶ πάθει τοὺς περὶ τῶν συμφερόντων λογισμοὺς ἐπιταραττόμενον." ὡ γὰρ Ὀσφυκλῆς ἄσμενος ἐφῆ τὰ ἀφροδισία γεγονός ἀποπεφυγώνει καθάπερ ἀγρίων καὶ λισσάννα διεσπότην· ἐν δὲ ταῖς πολιτείαις

1 καὶ τὸ μὴ φερόμενον Fowler: καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον. Bernardakis suggests ότε μὴ φαινόμενον (ἐκ τῶν παρ' ἤλειον ἐώς τὰ βήμα βαδίζοντα) ἀλλοτριοφοβίας ότε δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτέ. Reiske conjectured καὶ τὸ μὴ φαινόμενον (ἐκ τῶν) ἄμα τὸ μὴ ἐφαπλέα τὸ δ' ὑπὸ δόξης κτέ.
2 ἀλλοτριοφοβίας: ἀλλὰ τά·
3 δ' added at Caps's suggestion by Fowler.
4 ότε δ' Bernardakis: τά δ'.

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

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*a* A reminiscence of Tyrtacus, 8. 31 ἄλλα τις ἐν διάβας περιόν, and Homer, Ἡ. xii. 438.  
*b* Homer, Ἤ. i. 343.  
*cf.* Plato, Republic, 329 c, with Shorey's note.

*τὸ χρόνος* G. Papavassiliou: κακρέον.
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οὖς ἐνα δεῖ δεσπότην, ἔρωτα παύσων ὡς γυναικῶν, ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μανικωτέρους τούτων, φίλουςκινίαν, φιλοδοξίαν, τὴν τοῦ πρῶτον εἶναι καὶ μέγιστον ἐπιθυμίαν, γονιμώτατον φθόνον νόημα Ε' καὶ ξηλοτυπίας καὶ διχοστασίας. δι' τά μὲν ἀνέησι καὶ παραμβλύνει, τά δ' ὅλως ἀποσβέννυσι καὶ καταφύγει τὸ γῆρας, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῆς πρακτικῆς ὀρμῆς παραιροῦμενον, οὐκοῦν τῶν ἁκρατῶν καὶ δια- πύρων ἀπεράκη παθῶν, ὡστε νήφοντα καὶ καθ- εστηκότα τῶν λογισμῶν ἐπάγειν ταῖς φροντίσιν.

9. Οὐ μήν ἀλλ' ἔστω καὶ δοκεῖται διατρεπτικὸς εἶναι λόγος πρὸς τὸν ἀρχάμενον ἐν πολλαῖς νεανι- εύσεις λεγόμενος καὶ καθαπτόμενος ἐκ μακρὰς οἰκουρίας ὥσπερ νοσηλεύεις ἐξανασταμένου καὶ κυνουμένου γέροντος ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἢ πραγματείαν,

μὲν', ὡς ταλαίπωρ', ἀπέρα οὐσὶ ἐν δεμνίοις'.

789 ὃ δὲ τὸν ἐμβρεβιωκότα πολιτικὰς πράξεις καὶ δι- γγωνομένων οὐκ οὕν ἐπὶ τὴν δᾶδα καὶ τὴν καρω- νίδα τοῦ βίου προκελεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀνακαλομένως καὶ κελεύων ὥσπερ ἐξ ὁδοὶ μακρὰς μεταβαλεόθαι, παντάπασιν ἀγνόμως καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνω προσ- 

εικόνως ἔστων. ὅστε γὰρ ὁ γαμεύν παρασκευαζό- 


méνον στεφαναμένον καὶ μυριώδομενον ἀποτρέπων καὶ λέγων τά πρὸς τὸν Φιλοκτήτην

tis δ' ἀν σε νόμφη, tis dè pαρθένον νέα
déxai̱n' ἀν; eiv γον' ós gαμεύν éxheis tálas

1 γον' Musgrave: γ' οὖν.
but in public life one must escape, not from one tyrant, the love of boys or women, but from many loves which are more insane than that: love of contention, love of fame, the desire to be first and greatest, which is a disease most prolific of envy, jealousy, and discord. Some of these old age does slacken and dull, but others it quenches and cools entirely, not so much by withdrawing a man from the impulse to action as by keeping him from excessive and fiery passions, so as to bring sober and settled reasoning to bear upon his thoughts.

9. However, let us grant that the words

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

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

these lines to Strattis, a poet of the Middle Comedy; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.* p. 841, no. 10, to an unknown tragical poet.
Βούκ ἀτοπός ἐστιν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸλ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα (789) παίζουσιν εἰς εαυτοὺς

γαμώ γέρων, εὖ αὖδα, καὶ τοῖς γείτοσιν:

ὁ δὲ τὸν πάλαι συνοικοῦντα καὶ συμβιοῦντα πολὺν χρόνον ἀμέμπτως οἱ ἰῶμενοι δειν ἀφεῖναι διὰ τὸ γῆρας τὴν γυναικα καὶ ζῆν καθ ἐαυτὸν ἢ παλλακίδιον ἀντὶ τῆς γαμετῆς ἐπιστάσασθαι, σκαίοττος ὑπερβολὴν οὐκ ἀπολείπωσεν σὺν τῶν ὑπὸ λόγον τὸ προσίσατα δήμῳ πρεσβύτην, ἡ Χλίδανα τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ Λάμπωνα τὸν ναύκληρον ἢ τῶν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου φιλοσόφων, νουθετήσει καὶ κατασχέειν

Ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς συνήθους ἀπαγγευσάντης ὁ δὲ Φωκίδεως ἡ Κάτωνος ἡ Περικλέους ἐπιλαβόμενος καὶ λέγων

"ὡς ἢς ἦν Ἀθηναίε ἢ Ρωμαίες;

ἀζαλέω γῆρας κράτ᾽ ἀνθίζον τήδει,"

γραφάμενος ἀπολείπωσεν τῇ πολυτείᾳ καὶ τὰς περὶ τὸ βῆμα καὶ τὸ στρατηγ现金 αφεῖς διατριβάς καὶ τὰς φροντίδας εἰς ἀγρών ἐπείγον σὺν ἀμφισβή τῇ γεωργίᾳ συνεςάμενος ἢ πρὸς οἰκονομίᾳ τινὶ καὶ λογισμοῖς διαθησάμενος τῶν λοιπῶν χρόνων,

"ἀδικα πειθεῖ καὶ ἀχάριστα πράττειν τῶν πολιτικῶν Καὶ οὐν; φόροι τις ἢν, οὐκ ἀκούσων ἐν κωμῳδίᾳ στρατιώτου λέγουσιν

λευκῇ μὲ θρίξ ἀπόμομοιον ἐντεῦθεν πολεῖ;

1 κράτ᾽ ἀνθίζον κήδει Fowler; κατακλίζον κάρα, ἤδη Madvig; κράτ᾽ ἀνθίζον οὖν Bernardakis: κατακλίζον.
2 ἀπολείπωσεν Jutius: ἀπολείπωσεν.
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for old men themselves crack many such jokes on themselves, saying

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

With withered age bedecked for funeral rites,

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

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

My white hair grants me henceforth full discharge?" 4


5 i.e. the Epicureans.

6 Evidently a line from some tragedy or comedy.

(789) πάνω μὲν οὖν, οὐ ἑταῖρε· τοὺς γὰρ "Ἀρεσος θερά-
pοντας ἤβαν πρέπει καὶ ἀκμάζειν, οὐδὲν πόλεμον πολέμωι τε μέρμερα ἔργα

Δ'iéποντας, ἐν οἷς τοῦ γέροντος καὶ τὸ κράνος ἰποκρύφη τὰς πολιάς,

ἀλλὰ τῇ λάθρῃ γυνὴ βαρύνεται

καὶ προαπολείπει τῆς προθυμίας ή δύναμις τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολιέως Διὸς άπτετας οὐ ποδῶν ἔργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βουλής καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου, μὴ βαχίλει ποιόντος εν δήμῳ καὶ φύσον ἀλλὰ υἱκήν ἔχοντος καὶ φροντίδα πεπομένην καὶ ἀσφάλειαν· οἷς ἡ γελομένη πολία καὶ ρυτίς ἐμπειρίας, μάρτυς ἐπιφανείται, καὶ πειθώς συνεργὸν ἄυφώ καὶ δόξαν Εὔθειος προστίθησιν. πειθαρχικῶν γὰρ ἡ νεότης ἡγεμονικῶν δὲ τὸ γῆρας, καὶ μάλιστα σφύζεται πόλις

ἐνθα βουλαί γερόντων, καὶ νέων ἀνδρῶν ἀριστεύοντων σ' αἰχμαί

καὶ τὸ

βουλὴν δὲ πρῶτον μεγαθυμὼν Ξε γερόντων

Νεστορέῃ παρὰ νηπίων

θαυμαστῶς ἐπανεῖπε. διὸ τὴν μὲν ἐν Δακεδαί-
pον παραβευκτάς ἀριστοκράτιας τοῖς βασιλεύ-
σιν ο Ὄμηλος "προβιγινέας" δὲ Διοκλήρως ἀντίκρυς "γέροντας" οἰκόμασεν, ὡ δὲ Ῥωμαίων

1 ἀριστεύουσα Βεκκχ: ἀριστεύουσα.

* Homer, Il. viii. 458.
* Homer, Il. xix. 165.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 789

Certainly, my friend, for the servants of Ares should properly be young and in their prime, as practising war and war’s practices baneful, in which even if an old man’s hoary hair is covered by a helmet,

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

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

and the lines

First he established a council of old men lofty in spirit
Hard by the vessel of Nestor meet with wonderful approval. And therefore the Pythian Apollo named the aristocracy which was coupled with the kingship at Lacedaemon “Ancients” (Presbygeneas), and Lycurgus named it “Elders” (Gerontes), and the council at Rome is

* Pindar, Bergk-Schroeder, p. 467, no. 199 (213).
* Homer, Ili. ii. 53.
οὐ γιγκλήτος ἂν ὅν "γερονία" καλεῖται. καὶ καθάπερ ὦ νόμος τὸ διάδημα καὶ τῶν στέφανων; οὔτω τὴν πολιάν ἡ φύσις ἐντιμούν ἣγεμονικοῦ σώματος βολὸν ἀξιόματος ἐπιτίθησι· καὶ τὸ "γέρας" οἴμαι καὶ τὸ "γεραίρειν" ὅνομα σεμνον ἀπὸ τῶν γεροντῶν γενόμενον διαμένει, οὕτω ὅτι θερμολυτοῦσα καὶ καθεδρίσας μακαρότερον; ἀλλὰ ὡς βασιλικὴν ἐχόντων τὰ ἄνευ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν, ἡς καθάπερ αἰ⇌κάρτων φυτοῦ τὸ οὐκείον ἄγαθόν καὶ τελείον ἐν γῇρᾳ μόλις ἡ φύσις ἀποδίδεισθαι. τὸν γὰρ βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων εὐχόμενον τοῖς θεοῖς τιμῶται δέκα μοι συμφράδομοις εἰνὲν Ἀχαιῶν.

790 οἷος ἦν ὁ Νέστωρ, οὐδεὶς ἐμέμβατο τῶν "ἄρηιν" καὶ "μένει πινεώταν Ἀχαιῶν," ἀλλὰ συνεχόμοις ἀπαντεῖ οὐκ ἐν πολιτείᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ μεγάλην ἔχειν ῥοπὴν τὸ γῆρας·

σοφὸν γὰρ ἐν βασιλείῳ τὰς πολλὰς χέρας ἴκα

καὶ μία γνώμη λόγου ἔχουσα καὶ πειθῶ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα διαπράττεται τῶν κοινῶν.

11. Ἀλλὰ μὴ γεὶ βασιλεία, τελευτάτῃ πασῶν οἶκα καὶ μεγίστῃ τῶν πολιτειῶν, πλείστας φροντιστῶν ἔχει καὶ πόνους καὶ ἀγχολίας; τὸν γὰρ Σέλευκον ἐκατοτοῦτε λέγειν ἤφασαν, εἰ γνοίην οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ γράφειν μόνον ἐπιστολῆς τοσοῦτος καὶ ἀνάγωνα· Βοσκεὶν ὡς ἑργῳδεῖς ἔστει, ἐφεμερέων οὐκ ἀν ἀνελθείς διάδημα· τῶν δὲ Φιλίππων ἐν καλῷ χωρίῳ

1 γε Comes: τε. 2 ἀν ἐνδόθοις Reiske: ἀν ἐδόθοι.
still called the Senate ("body of elders"). And just as the law places diadem and crown upon the head, so nature puts grey hair upon it as an honourable symbol of the high dignity of leadership. And the words geras ("honour," also "reward") and gerairein ("venerate") retain, I believe, a meaning of veneration derived from old men (gerontes), not because they bathe in warm water or sleep in softer beds than other men, but because they hold royal rank in the States in accordance with their wisdom, the proper and perfect fruit of which, as of a late-bearing plant, nature produces after long effort in old age. At any rate when the king of kings prayed to the gods:

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

For one wise counsel over many hands
Is victor,

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

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

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(790) μέλλοντα καταστρατοπεδεύειν, ὡς ἦκουσεν ὅτι χόρτος οὐκ ἔστι τοὺς ὑποζυγίους "ὁ Ἡράκλεις," εἴπειν, "οἷος ἤμων ὁ βίος, εἰ καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὄνων καίρον ὀφείλομεν ζην." ὧρα τοίνυν καὶ βασιλεῖ παραμεῖν ἅρμα ἄγενμεν τὸ μὲν διάδημα καταθέσατο καὶ τὴν πορφύραν, ἰμάτιον δὲ ἀναλαβόντα καὶ καμπύλην ἐν ἄγρῳ διατρίβειν, μὴ δοκῇ περίεργα καὶ ἀωρὰ πράττειν ἐν πολλαῖς βασιλεύων. εἰ δ' οὖν ἄξιον ταῦτα λέγειν περὶ 

C ᾿Αγησιλάου καὶ Νομὰς καὶ Δαρείου, μηδὲ τῆς ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βούλης Σόλωνα μηδὲ τῆς συγκλήτου Κάτωνα διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἐξάγωμεν, οὐκοῦν ἀμήδεις ἀλλὰ γάρ ἄλλως λόγοι ἔχει νέον ἰπτὸ κατασκιρτῆσαι τοῦ βήματος, εἰτ' ἐκχέειν ταῖς μανικᾶς ἐγκαταλήπτων τὴν δημοκρατίαν, ὧν ἐν γὰρ ἐπεφέρον ἐμπεπειράν ἠλκία παραγένηται, προεσθαί καὶ καταλείπειν ὥσπερ γυναῖκα τὴν πολιτείαν καταρχησάμενον.

12. 'Ἡ μὲν γάρ Αἰσώπειος ἀλώπηξ τοῦ ἐξίνον οὖν εἰα τοὺς κρότωνας αὐτῆς ἀφαιρέει βουλόμενον. 

D 'ἀν γὰρ τούτους," ἔφη, "μεστοῖς ἀπαλλάξεις, ἔτεροι προσίσαι πεινώντες" τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν ἀεὶ τοὺς γέροντας ἀποβάλλουσαν ἀνατίμησας νέων ἀνάγκη δυσώντων δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως, νοῦν δὲ πολιτικοῦ οὖν ἐχόντων. πόθεν γὰρ, εἰ μηδὲν ἐσοντα μαμοῖηθαί μηδὲ θεται πολίτευμον γέροντος; ἥ πλοῖοι μὲν ἀρχοντας οὐ ποτει γράμματα κυβερνητικά, μὴ πολλάκις γενομένους ἐν προύμνη

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

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

θεατάς τῶν πρὸς κῆμα καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ νόκτα χειμέριοι ἀγώνων,

ὅτε Τυνδαρείδαν ἀδελφῶν ἄλων ναύταιν πόθος βάλλει,

πόλιν δὲ μεταχειρίσασθαι καὶ πείσαι δήμου ἡ Εθνελήν δύναται, ἣν ὅρθως νέας ἀναγνώσθη βίβλον
η σχολήν περὶ πολιτείας ἐν Δυκέλῳ γραφίσθησαν, ἐν μία παρ' ἱμίαν καὶ παρ' οίκα πολλάκις στὰς
δημαγωγῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀγωνιζομένων ἐμπερ- ρήσει ἁμα καὶ τύχαις συναποκλίνον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα;
μετὰ κινδύνων καὶ πραγμάτων λάβῃ τῆν μάθησιν;
οὐκ ἔστων εἴπετει: ἄλλ' ἐὰν διὰ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῷ γέροντι
παιδείας ἔνεκα τῶν νέων καὶ διδασκαλίας πολιτε-
teon ἐστίν, ὡς γὰρ οἱ γράμματα καὶ μουσική διδάσκοντες,
αὐτοὶ προανακρούονται καὶ προανα-
F γνώσεως τοὺς μαθήματιν, οὕτως
ὁ πολιτικὸς οὐ λέγων μόνον οὐδ' ὑπαχορεφόν
ἔξωθεν ἄλλα πράττον τὰ κοινὰ καὶ διοικών ἐπε-
ευθύνει τῶν νέων, ἐργοῖς ἁμα καὶ λόγοις πλαττό-
μενον ἐμμυχύς καὶ κατασχηματιζόμενον. ὁ γὰρ
τοῦτον ἀνακριβεῖς τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἐν πάλαιστρας
cαὶ κηρώμασιν ἀκινδύνως εὐρόθμους σοφιστῶν,
ἄλλο ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν Ὤλυμπικοῖς καὶ Πυθικοῖς
ἀγώνων

ἀθηλὸς Ἰπποῦ πόλας ὡς ἁμα τρέχει
κατὰ Σμυρνῆν, ὡς Ἀριστείδης Κλεισθένης καὶ
791 Κήμων Ἀριστείδη καὶ Φινυκίων Χαβρίδη καὶ Κάτων

1 χειμέριον Reiske: χειμέριον.

* Castor and Pollux, who were supposed to aid sailors.
* Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Græc. iii. p. 719, no. 91.
of the struggles against wind and wave and wintry night,

When yearning for the twin Tyndaridae
Dole strike the sailor driven o'er the sea;

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

Keeps pace as foal just weaned runs with the mare,

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

Aristophanes, *Knights* 543, uses the metaphor of the pilot, though with a different application.

(791) Μαξίμω Φαβλαρ καὶ Σύλλα Πομπήιος καὶ Φιλο-
ποίμενε Πολίβιος: νέοι γὰρ ὄντες πρεσβυτέροις ἐπιβάλλοντες, εἰδ' οἶον παραβλαστάνοντες καὶ συν-
εξαντάμενοι ταῖς ἕκεινοι πολιτείαις καὶ πρά-
ξεσιν, ἐμπειρίαν καὶ συνήθειαν ἐκτόντο πρὸς τὰ
couv μετὰ δόξης καὶ δυνάμεως.

13. 'Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀκαδημαῖκος Αἰσχύνης, σοφι-
στῶν τῶν λεγόντων ὅτι προσποιεῖται γεγονέναι
Καρνεάδου μὴ γεγονός μαθητής, "ἄλλα τότε γ',"
εἶπεν, "ἐγὼ Καρνεάδου διήκουν, ὅτε τὴν 
B καὶ τὸν ψόφον ἀφεικὼ τὸ λόγον αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ γῆρας
ἐις τὸ χρῆσινον συνήκτο καὶ κοινωνικόν": τῆς δὲ
πρεσβυτείας πολιτείας οὐ τῷ λόγῳ μόνον ἄλλα καὶ
taiς πράξεσιν ἀνθηληγέμην πανηγυρισμῷ καὶ
δοξολογίας, διόπερ τὴν ἤρωτι λέγουσιν ὅταν παλαιὰ
γενομένη τὸ βρομώδες ἀποτρείσῃ καὶ θολοῖν
eπειδῆστερον τὰ ἀρωματικὰ ἱσχεῖν, οὕτως οἴδ'ἐν
ἐστὶ δόγμα γεροντικὸν οὐδὲ βασίλευμα τεταραγ-
μένον ἄλλ' ἐμβριθή πάντα καὶ καθεστώτα. διὸ καὶ
tῶν νέων ἕνεκα δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, πολιτεύεσθαι
τὸν πρεσβύτην, ἔνα, ὅπερ τρόπος φησὶ Πλάτων ἐπὶ
τοῦ μανήματι πρὸς ὑδρῷ ἄκρατου, μανήμενον
ο θεὸν ἐτέρῳ θεῷ νήφοντι σωφρονίζεσθαι κολαξο-
μένον, οὕτως εὐλάβεια γεροντικὴ κεραυνωμένη
πρὸς θέλουσιν ἐν δήμῳ νεώτητα, βασκειόσθαι ὑπὸ
δόξης καὶ φιλοτιμίας, ἀφαίρῃ τὸ μανῖκον καὶ
λίαν ἄκρατον.

14. "Αυε δὲ τούτων ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ οἶον
tο

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

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

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

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* Plato, Laws, 773 b. He refers to Dionysus (wine) and Poseidon (water).
(791) πλεύσαι καὶ τὸ στρατεύσασθαι, τοιοῦτον ἡγούμενοι καὶ τὸ πολιτεύσασθαι πρὸς ἄλλο τι¹ πραπτόμενον, εἶτα καταλήγον ἐν τῷ τυχεῖν ἐκεῖνον λειτουργίᾳ γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ πολιτεία τὴν χρεῖαν ἔχουσα πέρας, ἀλλὰ βίος ἡμεροῦ καὶ πολιτικοῦ καὶ κοινωνικοῦ ζῆνος καὶ πεφυκότος ὁσον χρῆ χρόνον πολιτικῶς καὶ φιλοκάλως καὶ φιλανθρώπως ζῆν. διὸ πολιτεύ-σαθαί καθήκον ἔστιν οὐ πεπολιτεύσαθαί, καθάπερ ἀληθεύειν οὐκ ἀληθεύσατε καὶ δικαιοπραγεῖν οὐ δικαιοπραγήσατε καὶ φιλεῖν οὐ φιλήσατε τὴν πατρίδα Δ καὶ τοὺς πολίτας ἐπὶ ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ φύσις ἀγεί, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπαγορεύει τὰς φωνὰς τοῖς μὴ διεθρόσου τελεῖως ὑπ' ἀργίας καὶ μαλακίας:

πολλοῦ σὲ θυτοῦς ἄξιον τίκτει πατήρ
καὶ

μὴ τι² πανοσύμεσθα δρῶντες εἰδί βροτοὺς.

15. Οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀρρωστίας προβαλλόμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀδυναμίας νόσου καὶ πηρώσεως μάλλον ἡ γῆρως κατηγοροῦσι καὶ γὰρ νέοι πολλοὶ νοσῶδες καὶ ὑμαλέοι γέροντες ὡστε δεῖ μὴ τοὺς γέροντας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἀδύνατους ἀποτρέπειν, μηδὲ τοὺς νέους Επαρακαλέων ἀλλὰ τοὺς δυναμένους. καὶ γὰρ καὶ Ἀριδαῖος ἢν νέος γέρων δ' Ἀντιγόνος, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπασάν ὀλίγου δεῖν κατεκτήσατο τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅ δ' ἐωσπέρ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς δορυφόρημα κωφὸν ἢν ὀνόμα

¹ ἄλλο τι Reiske: ἄλλα.
² μὴ τί Mezriacus: μὴτε.

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

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

Your sire begets you of great worth to men

and

Let us ne'er cease from doing mortals good.

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

\[\text{b Nauck, Trag. Græc. Frag. p. 917, ailespota no. 410 quoted also Moralia, 1089 a.}\]
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βασιλέως καὶ πρόσωπον ὑπὸ τῶν ᾨν ἐκ τηροῦντων παρεπιστοίμενον. ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Πρὸδικὸς τὸν σοφοτὴν Ἡ Φιλήταν τὸν υψηλὸν ἁγιῶν πολιτείασας, νέοις μὲν ἱσχύοις δὲ καὶ νοσῶδεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλικοπτεῖς διὰ ἀρρωστιάν ἄντας, ἀβέλετερος ἐστιν, οὕτως ἡ καλώς ἀρχαίν καὶ στρατηγεῖν τοιούτους γέροντας, οὗτος ἴνα Φωκίων ὁ Φωκίων ὁ Μασανάσσης ὁ Λίβυς ὁ Κάτων ὁ Ρωμαῖος. δὲ μὲν γὰρ Φωκίων, ἀγαρικάς πολεμεὺν ἀκαίρως τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἡ παράγοντες τοὺς ἀχρείας, ἑτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν ὑπὸ λαβόντας: ὡς δ' ἡγανάκτου, “αὐδέν,” ἐφι, “δεικνύς ἐγὼ γὰρ ἔσσομαι μεθ' ὑμῶν ὁ στρατηγὸς ὑπὲρ ὀρθοῦχον,” ἐπὶ γεγονός. Ἡ καθαρὰ ὁ Σωτήρ Πολυβίου ἐγενότει, καὶ ἔτως ἐπιθαυμάσθη τῆς τελευτῆς μάχης ἀρχιτύχος μεγάλη Καρχηδονίους ὁφθηκε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς βυσσαρίων ἀρτοῦ ἐσθίοντα, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θαυμάζοντας εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοῦτο ποιεῖ.

λάμπει γὰρ ἐν χρείαις ὡσπερ εὐπρεπῆς χαλκός· χρύσῳ δ' ἀργηθαίν ἡμών αὐτός, ὡς φησίν Ἀριστοκλῆς· ὡς δ' ἡμέως φαίμεν, ἐκεῖνο τῆς πυξῆς τὸ γάμος καὶ τὸ φέγγος, ὃ λογιζόμεθα καὶ μημονεύομεν καὶ ἀρκουόμεν.

16. Διὸ καὶ τους βασιλείας φασὶ γίγνεσθαι βελτίως ἐν τούς πολέμους καὶ τοῖς στρατείαις ἡ

1 γεγονόν: Bernardakis: γεγενήτω.
2 pole]: Reiske marks a gap here. Bernardakis supplies δίκ τοῦ ἄνω (or διὰ τὸ πορεῦ) δὲ, referring to Cicero, Cato Major, chap. x.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 791-792

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

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

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

(792) σχολήν ἀγοντας. "Ατταλον γοῦν τὸν Ἑλμένους. Ἡ ἀδελφον, ὑπ’ ἀργίας μακρὰς καὶ εἰρήνης ἐκλυθέντα κομιδὴ, Φιλοποίημα εἰς τῶν ἑταῖρων ἐποίμανεν ἀγερώδως πιαυμόμενον· ὡστε καὶ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους παιλοντας ἐκάστοτε διαπυθάνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐξ ὄσιας πλεοντων, εἰ διναται παρὰ τῷ Φιλοποίημεν βασιλεύς. Λευκόλλου δὲ Ῥωμαίοι οὐ πολλοὶ ἂν τις εὐροϊ δευτέρους στρατηγοὺς, ὡστε τῷ πράττειν τὸ φρονεῖν συνείχεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ μεθηκεν ἑαυτον εἰς βλον ἀπρακτον καὶ διὰτιν ἀνθυρων καὶ ἄφροντων, ὡσπερ οἱ σπόγγοι ταῖς γαλήναις ἐνεκρωθεὶς καὶ καταμαραθεῖς, εἶτα Καλλιονθένει τινὶ τῶν ἀπελευνοιν βόσκειν καὶ τιθαισθείν παρέχουν τὸ γῆρας, ἐδόκει καταφαρμακεύεσθαι φιλτροι υπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ γοητεύμασιν, ἄχρι οὗ Μάρκος ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἀπελάσας τοῦ ἀνθρώπου αὐτοῦ ἤκουμαι καὶ ἑπαιδεύγων τὸν λοιπὸν αὐτοῦ βλον, οὐ πολὺν γευόμενον. ἀλλὰ Δαρείου ὁ Σέρβου πατήρ ἐλεγεν αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὰ δειμα γνίνεσθαι φρονιμώτερος, ὡς ὁ Σκύθης Ἀτεέας μηδὲν οἰεσθαι τῶν ἑποκαίμων διαφερέσσαν ἑαυτόν, ὡς σχολάζεις. Διοκύσως δ’ ὁ πρεσβύτερος πρὸς τῶν πυθόμενον εἰ σχολάζεις "μηδέποτ’, ἐπειδ’ ἐν αὐτῷ κακούσθησί; τοξον μὲν γὰρ, ὡς φασιν, ἐπὶ

D τευχόμενον βήγνουτα, ψυχὴ δ’ ἀνεμένῃ. καὶ γὰρ ἀμοινικὸν τὸ κατακόουν ἡμιομεσμένου καὶ γεωμέτραι τὸ ἀναλεῖν καὶ ἀριθμητικοὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ λογίζοντας συνέχειαν ἐκλαδώντες ἁμα ταῖς ἐνεργείαις ἀμαυρωθεὶς ταῖς ἡλικίαις ταῖς ἔξεσι, καὶ περὶ οὐ πρακτικὰς ἀλλὰ θεωρητικὰς τέχνας ἔχοντες η δὲ τῶν πολιτικῶν

1 Ἐφερέρων Cornes: εἴρονος.
2 σχολάζει Moralia, 176 A: σχολάζει. 124
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 792

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

* Cf. Moralia, 172 ff.*
(702) ἔκεισα, εὐθυμία καὶ φρόνησις καὶ δικαιοσύνη, πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἐμπείρια στοχαστικὴ καὶ ὁμοίως, πειθοῦς δημιουργὸς δύναμις οὕτα, τῶν λέγειν ἀεὶ τι καὶ πράσσειν καὶ λογίζεσθαι καὶ δικάζειν συνέχεται· καὶ δεινόν, εἰ τούτων ἀποδράσα περιόφηται τηλικαύτας ἀφετᾶς καὶ τουσίτας ἐκρυείας τῆς ψυχῆς· ἢ καὶ γάρ τὸ φελάνθρωπον ἐκός ἐστιν ἀπομαραϊνόθαι καὶ τὸ κοινωνικὸν καὶ τὸ εὐχάριστον, ὅπως ὑδέμαλα εἶναι δὲ τελευτὴν οὐδὲ πέρας.

17. Εἰ γοῦν πατέρα τὸν Τιμίων εἶχες, ἀθάνατον μὲν ὃντα χρείαν δ' ἐχοῦτε διὰ γῆρας ἀεὶ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, οὐκ ἂν οἶμαι σε φυγεῖν οὐδ' ἀπείπαιρθαι τὸ ὑθαπετευκαὶ προσαγορευέναι καὶ βοήθειν ὡς λειτουργηκότα πολὺν χρόνον· ἢ τὸν πατρὶς καὶ μητρὶς ὡς Κρήτης καλοῦσα, πρεσβύτερα καὶ μελζόνα.

Εἰ δέκαια γονέων ἔχουσα, πολυχρόνιος μὲν ἐστιν οὐ μὴν ἀγήρως οὐδ' ἀυτάρκης, ἂλλ' ἂεὶ πολυμερίας δεομένη καὶ βοηθείας καὶ φροντίδας ἐπισπάται καὶ κατέχει τὸν πολιτικὸν

εἴσοδο ἀποτελέσθη καὶ τ' ἐσσύμεινον κατερύκει.

Καὶ μήν οἴοθά με τῷ Πυθίῳ λειτουργοῦντα πολλὰς Πυθιάδας· ἄλλ' οὐκ ἂν εἴποις ὡς ικανά σοι, ὦ Πλούταρχε, τέθυται καὶ πεπόμπευται καὶ κεχάρευται, νῦν δ' ὡρα πρεσβύτερον ἄντα τὸν στέφανον ἀποθέουσαι καὶ τὸ χρυσῆριον ἀπολιπέται διὰ τὸ γῆρας.’’ οὐκοῦν μηδὲ σεαυτὸν οἶον δεῖν, τῶν πολιτικῶν ἱερῶν ἐξάρχον ὅτα καὶ προφήτην, ἀφεῖναι τὰς τοῦ

* Homer, I. xvi. 9.
* Periods of four years marked by the quadrennial celebration of the Pythian games in honour of Apollo at Delphi.

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mental habit of public men—deliberation, wisdom, and justice, and, besides these, experience, which hits upon the proper moments and words and is the power that creates persuasion—is maintained by constantly speaking, acting, reasoning, and judging; and it would be a crime if, by deserting these activities, it should allow such great and so many virtues to leak out from the soul; for it is reasonable to suppose that love of humanity, public spirit, and graciousness would waste away, none of which ought to have any end or limit.

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

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

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

793 18. Ἀλλ' ἀφέντες, εἰ βούλει, τὸν ἀποσπώντα τῆς πολιτείας λόγον ἐκεῖνο σκοπῶμεν ἂν ἐν καὶ φιλοσοφῶμεν, ὡπεὶς μηδὲν ἀπρεπὲς μηδὲ βαρύ τῷ γῆρᾳ προσέξωμεν ἀγάπημα, πολλὰ μέρη τῆς πολιτείας ἐχούσης ἀρμόδια καὶ πρόσφορα τοῖς τηλεούτοις. ἀπέστερ γὰρ, εἰ καθήκον ἢν ἠδονας διατελεῖν, ἐδεί, πολλῶν τῶν καὶ τρόπων ὑποκειμένων φωνῆς, οὗτοι ἄρμονοι οἱ μουσικοὶ καλοῦσιν, μὴ τὸν ἄχρον ἁμα καὶ σύντονον διάκειν γέροντας γενομένους, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ ἀντί τοῦ ῥάδιον ἦστε μετά τοῦ πρέποντος ἠδουσ' ἔστως, ἐπει τὸ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπωι οὐ κύκνοις τὸ ἄχρον ἄχρι τελευτήσας κατὰ ψυμῇ ἐστιν, οὔτε ἀφετέρῳ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἄπαθεν τινά λύπαν σύντονον, ἀλλ' ἀνετέον ἐπὶ τὰ καθήκα καὶ μέτρια καὶ προσφοβὰ πρεσβύταις πολιτεύσατα μεθαρμοστομένους. οὔτε γὰρ τὰ σώματα παντελῶς ἀκίνητα καὶ ἀγύμναστα περιουρῶμεν, ὅτε μὴ δυνάμεθα σκαφέοις μηδὲ ἀλτήρω χρήσαται μηδὲ διακεκεφαλωμ' ὡς καὶ πρότερον, ἀλλ' αἰείραις καὶ περιπάτοις, ἐνοι δὲ καὶ πολυάραι προσπαλαίοντες ελαφρῶς καὶ διαλεγόμενοι κινοῦσι τὸ πνεύμα καὶ οὐ τὸ θερμὸν ἀναρριπίζουσιν· μήτε δὴ τελέως εἰκονεύσι τον οὐτός καὶ κατασκυθεύτας ἀπραξία περίδωμεν· μήτε αὐτὸν πάσαν ἀρχὴν ἐπαιρόμενοι καὶ παντὸς ἐπιδραττόμενοι πολιτεύματος ἀναγκάξωμεν

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

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

793) τὸ γῆρας ἐξελεγχόμενον ἐπὶ τοιαύτας φωνὰς καταφέρεσθαι

ἀδεξά χείρ, ὡς ποθεῖς λαβεῖν δόρυ
ἐν δ' ἀσθενείᾳ τὸν πόθον διώκεισας.

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκμάξων καὶ δυνάμεως ἀνὴρ ἐπαινεῖται,
πάντα συλλήβδην ἀναπελθεῖς ἐαυτῷ τὰ κοινὰ πράγματα καὶ μηδὲν ἑτέρῳ παριέναι βουλόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ Σταυροὶ τῶν Δίων λέγουσιν, εἰς πάντα παρενερῶν καὶ πᾶσι καταμυγνώς ἐαυτὸν ἀπληστικὴ δόξης ἡ φθόνος τῶν μεταλαμβανόμενων ἀμώσητος τιμῆς τινος ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ δυνάμεως πρεσβύτηρα δὲ κομβῆ, κἂν τὸ ἄδοξον ἀφέλης, ἔπιπλονος καὶ ταλαιπωρος ἡ πρὸς πᾶν μὲν ἀεὶ κηρυσσόμενον ἀπαντῶσα φιλαρχία, παντὶ δ' ἑφεδρεύουσα δικαστηρίου καιρῷ καὶ συνεδρίᾳ πολυπραγμοσύνη, πᾶσαν δὲ πρεσβεῖαν καὶ προδικίαν ὕφαρτάξουσα φιλοτιμία, καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πράττει πολλ' εὐνοιας βαρώ παρ' ἡλικίαις, συμβαίνει δὲ γε τάναντία μισουσία μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν νέων, ὡς οὐ προείμενοι πράξεων αὐτῶν ἀφαίρεσθαι μὴδ' εἰς μέσον ἑωντες προελθεῖν, ἀδοξέ οὐ δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ φιλόπρωτον αὐτῶν καὶ φιλαρχόν οὐχ ἔτουν ἦ τὸ φιλόπλουτον ἑτέρων γερόντων καὶ φιλόδομον.

19. Ὡσπερ οὖν τὸν Βουκέφαλον ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος πρεσβύτερον ὄντα μὴ βουλόμενος πιέζειν ἑτέρους ἐπωχεῖτο πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἔποιος, ἐφοδεύσαν τὴν

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

O my right hand, thou yearnest to seize the spear,
But weakness brings thy yearning all to naught.\(^a\)

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

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

фάλαγγα καὶ καθιστάς εἰς τὴν τάξιν, ἔτα δεῦ τὸ
Β σύνθεμα καὶ μεταβάς ἐπὶ ἐκείνου εὐθὺς ἐπῆξε τοῖς
πολεμίοις καὶ διεκινδύνενεν οὕτως ὁ πολιτικός, ἄν
ἐχῃ νοῦν, αὐτὸς αὐτὸν ἤμοικόν προσβήνην γενό-
μενον ἀφέξεται τῶν οὐκ ἀναγκαίων καὶ παρῆται
τοῖς ἀκράξουσι χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μικρότερα τὴν
πάλιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις αὐτὸς ἁγωνιζεται προ-
θόμως. οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἀδηται τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνα-
γκαίων πόλεων ἄθικτα ἡμών καὶ ἀκέραια πρὸς τοὺς
ἀρχηστοὺς· ἠμεῖς δὲ τοῦνατον, ἔωντες τὰ μικρὰ
καὶ φαύλα, τοῖς ἀξίοις ὀποῦς φιλάξομεν ἐαυτούς.
"νέως" μὲν γὰρ ἔσω "ἐπέοικε" καθὶ "Ομηροῦ
"πάντα," καὶ δέχονται1 καὶ ἀγαπῶσι τὸν μὲν
μικρὰ καὶ πολλὰ πράστατα δημοτικόν καὶ φιλό-
794 πολον τὸν δὲ λαμπρὰ καὶ σεμνὰ γενναίον καὶ
μεγαλόφρονα καλοῦντες· ἐστὶ δ’ ὅπως καὶ τὸ φιλό-
νεικον καὶ παράβολον ὦραν ἔχει τινά καὶ χάριν
ἐπιπρέπουσαν τοῖς τηλικοῦτοις. ὁ προσβύτης δ’
ἄνὴρ ἐν πολιτείᾳ διακονικῆς λειτουργίας ὑπομένων,
οὐ τελών πράσεις καὶ λιμένων ἐπιμελείς καὶ
ἀγορᾶς, ἢτὶ δὲ προσβέλασα καὶ ἀποδήμας πρὸς
ήγεμόνας καὶ δινάστας ὑποτρέχον, ἐν αὐτὸ ἀναγκαῖον
οὐδὲν οὐδὲ σεμνὸν ἔσεσθι ἄλλα τερατεία καὶ τὸ
πρὸς χάριν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οικτρόν, δ’ φιλε, φαίνεται καὶ
ἀξίλλον, ἐτέρος δ’ ἑσος καὶ ἐπαχθής3 φαίνεται καὶ
φορτικόν.
20. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχαὶς τὸν τηλικοῦτον ἦρα
Β φέρεσθαι, πλὴν ὥσπερ γε μέγεθος τι κέκτηται καὶ

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

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

a Homer, Il. xxii. 71.
(794) ἀξίωμα οὖσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀθήνης μεταχειρίζεται ἡ Ἀρεία πάγος βουλής ἐπιστασιάν καὶ τῇ Διᾷ τῷ πρόσχημα τῆς Ἀμφικτυονίας, ἦν σοι διὰ τοῦ βλου παντὸς ἡ πατρίς ἀνατέθεικεν "πόνον ἤδην κἂν ἐκάμασαν τῇ εὐκάμασαν." δεδε καὶ ταῦτας μη διώκει ταῖς τιμᾶς ἄλλα φεύγωντας ἀρχαῖα, μηδὲ αἴτουμενός ἄλλα παραιτοῦμενός, μηδὲ ὡς αὐτοῖς τῷ ἄρχειν λαμβάνωντας ἄλλ' ὡς αὐτοὺς τῷ ἄρχειν ἐπιδίδοντας. οὖ γὰρ, ὡς Τιθέρυς ὁ Καίπαρ ἔλεγεν, οὗ τὴν χείρα τῷ ἱερῷ προτείνει ὑπὲρ ἕξηκον ἐτη γεγονότας αἰσχρόν ἔστιν, ἄλλα μάλλον τῷ τῇ χείρᾳ τῷ δήμῳ προτείνειν ψῆφον αἴτουτας ἢ φωνὴν ἀρχαιοπαθικοῦς ἄγεννῆς γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ ταπεινῶτι ὡς τούτων ἔχει τινὰ σεμινότητα καὶ κόσμον, αἴρουμεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδος καὶ καλοῦσας καὶ περιμενοῦσας, κατιόντα μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ φιλοδοξίας ἕρασθαν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ περιβλεπτὸν ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ δεξιώσασθαι τῷ γέρᾳ.

21. Οὕτω δὲ πιστοὶ καὶ λόγω χρηστεύον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ προεβάλειν γενόμενον, μὴ ἐπιποδῶντας συμεγιβὸς τῷ βήματι μηδὲ δὲ δίκην ἀλεκτριώνος ἀντίδοντα τοῖς ἑβεγγυμένοις, μηδὲ τῷ συμπλεκέσθαι καὶ διερεθίζειν ἀποχαλυπτεῖν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν δοκεῖν τῶν νέων μηδὲ μελέτην ἐμπαιζόντα καὶ συνήθειαν ἀπειθεῖας καὶ δυσηκοτας, ἄλλα καὶ παρείναι ποτὲ καὶ διδόντα πρὸς δόξαν ἀναγεννήσω καὶ θρασύνωσθαι,1 μηδὲ παρόντα μηδὲ πολυπραγμονοῦντα, ὥπου μὴ μέγα τὸ καινομοδομένον ἔστι

1 ἀρασίνωσθαι Cureas: θρασύνωσθαι.

* Cf. Euripides, Bacch. 96.
* i.e. for medical assistance.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 794

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

21. And in somewhat the same way a man who has grown old ought to treat speech-making in the assembly; he should not be constantly jumping up on the platform, nor always, like a cock, crowing in opposition to what is said; nor should he, by getting involved in controversy, loose the curb of reverence for him in the young men's minds and instil into them the practice and custom of disobedience and unwillingness to listen to him; but he should sometimes both slacken the reins and allow them to throw up their heads boldly to oppose his opinion and to show their spirit, without even being present or interfering except when the matter
πρὸς σωτηρίαν κοινῆν ὡ τὸ καλὸν καὶ πρέπον. ἕκει δὲ χρὴ καὶ μηδενὸς καλοῦντος ὡθεῖσθαι δρόμῳ παρὰ δύναμιν, ἀναθέτα χειραγωγοῖς αὐτῶν ἡ φοράδην κομιζόμενοι, ὥστερ ἰσοτροπῶν ἐν Ἡρώμην Κλαύδιον Ἀππιον ἁττημένων γὰρ ὑπὸ Πύρρου μάχῃ μεγάλῃ, Εὐποθάμενος τὴν σύγκλητον εἰδέχεσθαι λόγους περὶ σποιδῶν καὶ εἰρήνης αὐτ ἀνασχέτων ἐποιήσατο, καίτερ ἀμφότερα ἀποβεβληκός τὰς ὁψιν, ἀλλ' ἦκε δὲ ἄγορᾶς φερόμενος πρὸς τὸ βουλευτήριον εἰσελθὼν δὲ καὶ καταστὰς εἰς μέσον ἐφι πρότερον μὲν ἀχθεσθαι τῷ τῶν ἀμμάτων στέρεσθαι, νῦν δ' ἂν εὔξασθαι μηδ' ἀκούειν οὕτως αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀγενῆ βουλευμένους καὶ πράττοντας ἐκείνους. ἐκ δὲ τούτου τὰ μὲν καθαφάμενος αὐτῶν τὰ δὲ διδάξας Π καὶ παραρρήσας, ἔστειλεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα χωρεῖν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας πρὸς τὸν Πύρρον. ὁ δὲ Σόλιος, τῆς Πεισοτράτου δημαργίας, ὅτι τυραννίδος ἢ μηχάνημα, φανερὰς γενομένης, μηδενὸς ἀμώνεσθαι μηδὲ καλλύεις τολμῶντος, αὐτὸς ἐξενεγκάμενος τὰ ὅπλα καὶ πρὸ τῆς οἰκίας θέμενος ἥξιον βοηθεῖν τούς πολίτας· πέμψαις δὲ τοῦ Πεισοτράτου πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πυθανομένου τῶν πεποίθως ταῦτα πράττει, ὁτι γὰρ, εἶπεν.

99. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν οὕτως ἀναγκαία καὶ τοὺς ἀπεσθηκότας κομιδὴ γέροντας, ὃν μόνον ἐμπνέωσιν, ἔδαπτε καὶ διανιώτησιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοί ποτὲ μὲν, ὥστε εἰρήται, παραποτόμενος ἐμμέλης ἄστι τὸ γλίστρα καὶ διακονικὰ καὶ μείζονας ἔχοντα τοὺς

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

22. However, matters of such urgent necessity do kindle and arouse aged men whose fire is quite extinct, provided they merely have breath; yet in other matters the aged man will sometimes, as has been said, act fittingly by declining mean and petty offices which bring more trouble to those who
(795) πράττοντων ἀσχολίας ἢ δὲ οὐς πράττεται χρείας καὶ ὀφελείας: ἐστὶ δὲ ὅπου περιμένουν καλέσαι καὶ ποθῆσαι καὶ μετελθεῖν οὐκοδεδ τοὺς πολέτας ἀξιοπιστοτέρος δεομένως κάτεις. τὰ δὲ πλείοτα καὶ παρὰν σωσθῆ τοῖς νεωτέροις λέγειν παρέχουσιν, οἶον βραβεύων φιλοτιμίας πολιτικῆς ἀμίλλαν· εάν δ᾿ ὑπερβάλλῃ τὸ μέτρον, καθαπτόμενος ἡπίως καὶ μετ᾿ εὐμενείας ἀφαιρῶν φιλονεικίας καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ ὀργῆς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς γνώμαις τὸν ἀμαρτάνοντα παραμυθούμενον ἁνευ ψόγου καὶ διδάσκον, ἔπαινον δ᾿ ἀφόβασι, τὸν καταρθοῦντα καὶ νικώμενος ἐκου. 

Βοῶς καὶ προϊέμενος τὸ πεῖσαι καὶ περιγενέσθαι πολλάς ὅπως αυξάνωμεν καὶ ἀραξώσως, ἐνλος δὲ καὶ συναναπληρῶμεν μετ᾿ εὐφημίας τὸ ἔλλειπον, ὡς Ὁ Νέστωρ

οὕτως τοι τὸν μῦθον ὅνοσσεται ὅσοι Ἀχαιοὶ, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρέει· ἀτάρ οὐ τέλος ἐκεο μῦθον. 

ἡ μὴ καὶ νέος ἐσσι, ἐμὸς δὲ κε καὶ πάις εὖς.

23. Τούτου δὲ πολιτικώτερον, μὴ μόνον ἐμφανῶς μηδὲ δημοσίως ἀνειδίζων, ἀνευ δημοσίως οφόδρα κολούντοσ καὶ ταπεινοῦντος, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἰδίᾳ τοῖς εὐ φυκώπι πρὸς πολιτείαν ὑποτιθέμενος

καὶ συνειπηγούμενος εὐμενῶς λόγους τε χρηστώς καὶ πολιτεύματα, συνεξαρμῶν πρὸς τὰ καλά καὶ συνεπιλαμβάνων τὸ φρόνησα καὶ παρέχων ἀναπαράσκευοντες ἐπιπέδεις, ἐν ἀρχῇ χειροτόθη

1 ἀφόβας] ἀφόβως Reiske.
2 ἀνειδίζων Madvig: ἀνειδίζων.

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

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

23. But more statesmanlike than this it is, not merely to avoid, when rebuking them openly and in public, any biting speech which violently represses and humiliates them, but rather in kindly spirit to suggest and inculcate in private to those who have natural ability for public affairs advantageous words and policies, urging them on towards that which is noble, adding brilliancy to their minds, and, after the manner of riding-teachers,
(795) καὶ πράξον ἐπιθύμηται τῶν δήμων· εἰ δὲ τῆς σφαλείας, μὴ περιοράων ἐξαθυμοῦτα τὸν νέον, ἀλλ' ἀναστὰς καὶ παραμυθοῦμενος, ὡς ἂριστείδης Κήμωνα καὶ Μηναύμιλος Θεμιστοκλέα, δυσχεραινομένους καὶ κακῶς ἀκολούθος ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸ πρῶτον ὡς ἴσαμως καὶ ἀκολόθως, ἐπήραν καὶ ἀνεθάρρυναν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένεως ἐκπεσόντος ἐν τῷ Δήμῳ καὶ βαρέως βεροντος ἀφαισθαί παλαιῶν τινα γέροντα τῶν ἀκηκοῶν Περικλέους καὶ εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τάνδρι προσεοικὸς τὴν φώναν οὐ δικαίως αὐτοῦ κατέγνωκεν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Τιμόθεος Εὐριπίδης συνειπόμενον ἑπὶ τῇ κανονομίᾳ καὶ παρανομεῖν εἰς τὴν μονοικὴν δοκοῦντα βαρβαρώς ἔκλεισεν, ὡς ὄλγου χρόνου τῶν θεάτρων ὡς αὐτῷ γενησιμένων.

24. Καθόλου δ' ὀσπερ ἐν Ὁρμῆς ταῖς Ἑπτάδοις παρθένοις τοῦ χρόνου διώρισται τὸ μὲν μαυθαρῆν τὸ δὲ δρᾶν τὰ νεφομεμένα τὸ δὲ πρῶτον ἡδὴ διδάσκειν, καὶ τὰν ἐν Ὁρμῆς περί τὴν "Ἀρτεμίναν Ἐμμούσαν ἐκάστην" Μελείρουν τὸ πρῶτον εἰδὶ Ἰερήν τὸ δὲ πρῶτον Παριέρην καλοῦσιν· οὕτως ὁ τελέως πολιτικὸς ἀνήρ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα μαυθαρῆν ἐστὶ πολιτείαι καὶ μυούμενας τὰ δ' ἐσχατὰ διδάσκον καὶ μυσταγωγῶν· τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάτην ἀθλοῦν ἐτέρως οὐκ ἑστιν αὐτῶν ἀθλεῖν, ὁ δὲ παιδοτριβόν χρόνον ἐν πράγμασι κοινοῖς καὶ δημοσίοις ἀγῶνι καὶ παρασκεύαζον τῇ πατρίδι.

μάθων τῇ ῥήτῳ ἔμεναι πρηκτήμα τῇ ἐργῇ

1 Ἐμμούσαν Χύλλανδος: Ἐμμούσαν.
2 πολιτείαις Wyltenhuch: πολιτείαις.
3 τῶν... ἐπιστάτην Καρία: τῶν... ἐπιστάτην.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 795

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

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

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

* Homer, II. ix. 443.
ἐν οὗ μικρῷ μέρει πολιτείας οὔδὲ φαίλων χρῆσιμός ἦτοι, ἀλλ' εἰς δ' μάλλον καὶ πρῶτον ο̣ Δικαίερος. Ο̣ δ' εὐτελής δαυτόν εἰδον τοὺς νέους πάντι προσβύτη καθαπερ νομοθέτῃ πειθομένους διατελεῖν, ἐπει πρὸς τι βλέφας ο̣ Δυσανδρός εἶπεν, ἀλο ἐν Δακεδαίμον κάλλιστα γηράσαν; ἀρ' ὅτι γ' ἄργειν ἔξεστι μάλλον τοὺς προσβύτέρους ἐκεῖ καὶ δανείζειν ἡ κυβερνεῖν συγκαθεξομένους ἡ πίνειν εἰς ἄρα συνάγοντας; οὐχ οὖν εἴποις ἀλλ' ὅτι τρόπον τινά πάντες ὁ τηλικῶτα τάξιν ἄρχοντων ἡ γινόμεν ἀποτέλεσμα πατριώμων ἡ παιδαγωγών ἔχοντες οὗ τὰ κοινὰ ἒν ποιήσκοιοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νέων ἕκαστ', ἀεὶ περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ παιδίας καὶ διαίτας καταμαθήσασθαίς οὐ παρέργαζαι, φοβοφόροι μὲν ὅτες τοῖς ἀμαρτάνονσι περιστατοὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ ποθεῖσθαι θεραπεοῦσι γάρ ἀεὶ καὶ διόκουσιν αὐτοὺς οἷς νέοι, τὸ κόσμον καὶ τὸ γεννητὸν αὐξοντας καὶ συνεπιγινωρίζοντας ἄνευ φθόνου.

25. Τούτῳ γάρ τὸ πάθος οὔθεν ἠρύθανεν ἵλειοσ, δόμως ἐν νέοισ εὐπορεῖ χρηστῶν ὀνομάτων, ἀμφότεροι καὶ ἔνοχοι καὶ πειρατημία προσαγορευόμενοι, εὖ δὲ προσβύταις παντελῶς ἀσφάλων ἢ ἄρα καὶ ἄγαθων καὶ ἀγεννέστων. εἰ δὲὶ πορρώτατον τοῦ φθονεῖν ὡντα τὸν πολιτικόν γεροντα μὴ καθάπερ τὰ βάσκαια Β γερανθρῶν τῶν παραβλασταντῶν καὶ ὑποφυσιομένων σαφῶς ἀφαιρέσθαι καὶ κολονεῖν τὴν βλάστησιν καὶ τὴν αὐξησίαν, ἀλλ' εἰμενῶς προσφέρεσθαι καὶ παρέχειν τοῖς ἀντίλαμβανομένοις καὶ προσπλεκο-
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is useful to the State in no small or mean degree, but helps towards that for which Lycurgus first and especially exerted himself when he accustomed the young always to obey every old man as if he were a lawgiver. For what had Lysander in mind when he said that men grow old most nobly in Lacedaemon? Was it because there the older men are more than elsewhere allowed to live in idleness and to lend money or sit together and throw dice or get together betimes for drinking-parties? You could not say that. No, it was because all men of advanced age hold more or less the position of magistrates, fatherly counsellors, or instructors, and not only oversee public affairs, but also make it their business to learn all details about the gymnasium, the sports, and the daily lives of the young men, and, therefore, they are feared by those who do wrong but revered and desired by the good; for the young men always cultivate and follow them, since they enhance and encourage the decorum and innate nobility of the young without arousing their envy.

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

* Cf. Athenaeus 279 e and 365 c.
(796) μένοις ἐαυτῶν ὅρθωσαν καὶ χειραγωγοῦντα καὶ 
τρέφοντα μὴ μόνον ὑφηγήσεσθαι καὶ συμβουλέας 
ἀγαθῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραχωρήσεσθαι πολιτευμάτων 
τιμήν ἐχόντων καὶ δόξαν ἢ τινας ὑπουργίας ἀβλαβεὶς 
μὲν ἰδείας δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πρὸς χάριν ἐσομένας. 
οὐκ αὖ ἐστὶν ἀντίτυπα καὶ προσάντη καὶ καθάπερ 
τὰ φάρμακα δάκρυε παραχρῆμα καὶ λυπεῖ τὸ δὲ 
Ὁ καλὸν καὶ λυστελές ὅστερον ἀποδίδωσι, μὴ τοὺς 
νέους ἐπὶ ταῦτα προσάγοντα μὴ δ' ὑποβαλλόντα 
θορῆσαι, ὅχλων ἀγνωμονοῦντων ἰδέαις ὑποτά, ἀλλ' 
αυτὸν ἐκδεχόμενον τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν συμφερόντων 
ἀπεγενέσθαι τούτω γὰρ εὐνοοντέρους τε ποιήσει 
τοὺς νέους καὶ προδυνατέρους ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις 
ὑπηρεσιαῖς.

26. Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτα χρὴ μυθημονεύειν, ὡς 
οὐκ ἐστὶ πολιτευσθαι μόνον τὸ ἄρχειν καὶ προε- 
βεβεβείν καὶ μέγα βοῶν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ περὶ τὸ 
βήμα βακχεῖν λέγοντας ἢ γράφοντας, ἃ αἱ πολλαὶ 
τοῦ πολιτεύσειν νομίζουσιν, ὡσπερ ἀμέλεια καὶ 
δ' ἐστὶ τῷ φιλοσοφεῖν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι. Σωκράτης

1 τοῦ τὰ Coræs: τοῦ omitted by Reiske.
2 ὅμαλῶς Coræs: οὐδεμίως.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 796

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

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

* This is a play on the name of the Peripatetic school of philosophy. Cf. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. p. 226.
γαν οὕτε βάθρα θείς οὗτ' εἰς θρόνον καθίσας οὖθ' ὃραν διατρήθης ἢ περιπάτου τοῖς γνωρίμοις τεταγμένην φιλόττον τού ἐν κατοικίαν αὐτὸν καὶ συμπαίξον, ὅτε τύχω, καὶ συμπίνων καὶ συστρατευόμενος ἐνίοις καὶ συναγοράς, τέλος δὲ καὶ δεκαμένος καὶ Ποίμνιο τὸ φάρμακον, ἐπιστράφει πρώτας ἀποδείξεις τοῦ βίου ἀποτιμήσεις καὶ μέρες καὶ πόλεις καὶ πράγματα ἀπλῶς ἀπαίσιον καὶ ἀφανομονεῖ ἀκρὶς πολιτείας, ὅσα τοῦς μὲν ἀνώτερον, οὕτ' ὅταν στρατηγοῦσαν ἡ γραμματεύσεως ἡ δημηγορία, πολιτευόμενος ἄλλη ὀχλοκοποῦστες ἡ παραγόριξες ἡ στασιάζονται ἡ λειτουργοῦσας ἀναγκαίως· τοῦ δὲ κοινωνίκην καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ φιλόπολιν καὶ κεδαμικόν καὶ πολιτικον ἀληθῶς, καὶ μεθέποτε τὴν κλαμίδα περιβάλλει, πολιτευόμενον οἱ τῶν παραμένων τοὺς όρον οὕτως, ὃν κατέχει θείος δεικνύοις, συμπαρέσχει τοῖς βουλευομένοις, διατρέπει τοὺς κακοπραγμόνως, ἐπιρρωνώνα τοὺς εὐγνώμονας, φανερῶν δὲ παρέγεις προσέχοντα τοῖς καυσίμοις μηδὲ ὅπου ὑπὸν ἡ παράκλησις διὰ τὸ πρωτεύον εἰς τὸ δέατρον βαδίζοντα καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον, ἀλλὰ δὲ διαγωγῆς χάριν ὅσο ἐπὶ θέαν ἢ ἀκράταιον. 797 οἴον ἐπεξέθη, παραγιγνόμενον, ἀλλὰ, καὶ μὴ παραγένητα τῷ σώματι, παράντα τῷ γενόμεν καὶ τῷ πυθάνεσθαι τὰ μὲν ἀποδεχόμενον τοῖς δὲ δυσκολαιότα τῶν πραπτωμένων.

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

27. For not even Aristides was often ruler of the
(797) μαίων Κάτων ἦρε τάξις πολλάκις, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῶν αὐτῶν βέβαι σένερον δὲ ταῖς πατρίσι παρέσχον. Ἡσαμενώνδας δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ μεγάλα κατάφθιε τοῦτον, οὐκ ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτοῦ πανθεμενενείεται μηδὲ στρατηγοῦντος μηδὲ ἄρχοντος ἔργον περὶ Θεσσαλίαν, οτε τῶν στρατηγῶν εἰς τόπους ἀκείμενος ἔμβαλον τὴν φάλαγγα καὶ θορυμβο-Β μένων (ἐπέκειντο γὰρ οἱ πολέμωι βάλλοντες), ἀνακληθέντες ἐκ τῶν ὅπλιτῶν πρῶτον μὲν ἔπαισε διαρκώς τὸν τοῦ στρατεύματος τάραχον καὶ φόβον, ἐπείτα διατάξας καὶ διαρμοσάμενος τὴν φάλαγγα συγκεκριμένην ἐξήγαγε βαδίσματι καὶ καταιτήσεις ἐναντίαν τῶν πολέμων, ὅστ̣· ἀπελθέν τεκίνους μεταβαλόμενους. Ἄγνως δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἀρκαδία τῶν πολέμων ἐπάγοντος ἤδη τὸ στρατεύμα συντεταγμένον εἰς μάχην, τῶν προσβυτέρων τοῖς Σπαρτιατῶν ἐπεβάσαν, ὅτι διαφερεῖται κακῶν κακῷ ἱάσθαι, δηλοῦν τῆς ἐξ Ἀργοὺς ἐπαινοῦντι

Ο ἀναγωρηθείσης τὴν παροῦσαν ἀκαρυον προβυπλάν ἀνάληψιν βουλόμενην εἶναι, ὡς ὁ Θουκυδίδης φησίν: ὁ δὲ Ἀγία ἀκούσας ἐπειδῆς καὶ ἀνέρχόμενος. Μενεκράτει δὲ καὶ δήφος ἐκείνο καθ’ ἡμέραν παρὰ ταῖς θύραις τοῦ ἄρχειος, καὶ πολλάκις ἀνιστάμενοι πρὸς αὐτοῦο ὁ Ἐφόροι διεπυθάνοντο καὶ συνεβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. ἔδοκε γὰρ ἐμφρον ἀνήρ εἶναι καὶ συνετὸς ἵστορεσθαι διὸ καὶ παντάπασιν ἤδη τήν τοῦ σώματος ἐξημαυρωμένος δύναμιν καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλειδήσθη γεμερεύον, μεταπεμφιμένων εἰς ἀγορὰν τῶν Ἐφόρων, ὀρμήσε μὲν ἡμαστὰς

1 ἱάσθαι... ἐπειδῆς Θουκυδίδης, ν. 65: ἱάσθαι... ἐπειδῆς.
2 βουλόμενη Θουκυδίδης: βουλόμενον.
3 Μενεκράτει δὲ Jannot: μὲν, δεκάτει δὲ.
OLD MEN IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 797

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

* Thucydides, v. 65. 2.
(797) βαδίζειν, μόλις δὲ καὶ χαλεπώς προερχόμενος, εἶτα
Δ' παιδαρίοις ἐστιμών καθ' ὕδων, ἠρώτησεν, εἰ τι
γινάσκοντων ἀναγκαῖοτέρων αὐτῷ πείθεσθαι δε-
σιτήν τῶν δὲ φησάντων "τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι," τούτῳ
τῆς ὑποργίας λογισάμενος πέρας ἀνέστρεφεν
οἶκαδε. δεὶ γὰρ μὴ προαπολείπειν τὴν προθυμίαν
τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔγκαταλειφθεῖσαν δὲ μὴ βιάζεσθαι.
καὶ μὴν Γαῖας Λαϊλήρ Σκιπίων ἕχρητο συμβουλή
στρατηγῶν δεὶ καὶ πολιτεύμονες, ὅστε καὶ λέγειν
ἐνδοὺς ὑπακριτήν τῶν πράξεων Σκιπίωναν ποιήσιν
δὲ τὸν Γαύου εἶναι. Κυκέρων δὲ αὐτὸς ὁμολογεῖ τὰ
κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν συμβουλευμάτων, οἷς
ἀφέθεσαν ὑπατέους τὴν πατρίδα, μετὰ Ποπλίων
Νεκρίδου τοῦ φιλοσόφου συνθέσαται.
Ε 28. Οὕτω διὰ πολλῶν τρόπων τῆς πολιτείας
οὐδὲν ἀποκαλύπτι τοὺς γέροντας ὠφελεῖν τὸ κοινὸν
ἀπὸ τῶν βελτίστων, λόγου καὶ γνώμης καὶ παρ-
ρησιάς καὶ φροντίδος πινακῆς, ὅστε δὴ ποιηταὶ λέ-
γουσιν. οὐ γὰρ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐδ᾽ οἱ πόδες, οὐδὲ
ἡ τοῦ σώματος ρώμη κτῆμα καὶ μέρος ἐστὶν τῆς
πόλεως μόνον, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὰ τῆς
ψυχῆς κάλλη, δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ
φρονήσεις: ἄν οὖν καὶ βραδέως τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀπολαμ-
βανόντων, ἀποπιθὲ τῇ τῆς μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ τὸν ἄγρον
Φάπολαίνει καὶ τὰ λουτά χρήματα καὶ κτήματα,
κοινὴ δὲ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῶν πολέταις μηκέτι
χρησίμους εἰναι διὰ τῶν χρόνων, οὐ τοσοῦτον τῶν
ὑπηρετικῶν παραιτούμενον δυνάμεως, ἀλλὰ ταύς

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

28. There are, then, many kinds of political activity by which old men may readily benefit the commonwealth by giving of their best, namely reason, judgement, frankness, and "sapience profound," as poets say 2; for not only do our hands or our feet or the strength of our body constitute a possession and a part of the State, but first of all our soul and the beauties of the soul—justice, moderation, and wisdom. And since these acquire their proper quality late and slowly, it is absurd that house, farm, and other property or possessions should derive all the benefit from aged men but that they should be no longer of use to their country in general and their fellow-citizens by reason of their age, for age does not so much diminish our power to perform

* Plutarch seems to have no particular poet in mind, but merely indicates that he is using poetic diction.
(797) ἡγεμονικαὶς καὶ πολιτικαῖς προστίθησι. διὸ καὶ τῶν Ἐρμών τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους ἄχειρας καὶ ἀπόδας ἐντεταμένους δὲ τῶν μορίας δημιουργοῦσιν, αἰνετοτέρους τῶν γερόντων ἑλάχιστα δεῖσθαι διὰ τούτων οὐματος ἐνεργοῦσιν, εἰς τόν λόγον ἐνεργὸν, ὡς προσήκει, καὶ γόνιμον ἔχοσιν.

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

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

This essay is addressed to Menemachus, a young man who has asked Plutarch for advice concerning public life. Nothing further is known of the young man, except that Pardalas of Sardis is mentioned as his fellow-citizen (819 r.; 825 n.); but some of those to whom Plutarch's various essays are addressed are known to be real persons, and it is, therefore, probable that Menemachus also actually existed. Plutarch held at different times various public offices, and moreover he was highly regarded by his fellow-citizens and many others as a guide, philosopher, and friend; it is, therefore, not unnatural that a young man who was thinking of entering upon a political career should appeal to him for advice and counsel, though it is also possible that Plutarch wrote the essay without being asked to do so and addressed it to Menemachus merely as a matter of form.

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

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

738 1. Εἰ πρὸς ἄλλο τι χρῆσασθαι καλῶς ἐστὶν ἔχον, ὡς Μενέμαχε, τῷ

αὕτην τοῦ τῶν μύθων ὁνόμασται ὁσοί Ἀχαιοὶ, οὐδὲ πάλιν ἐρεῖς· ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἰκεῖ μύθων,

Β καὶ πρὸς τοὺς προτρεπομένους τῶν φιλοσόφων διδάσκοντας δὲ μηδὲν μηδὲ ὑποτιθεμένους· ὅμως γὰρ εἰτὶ τοῖς τοῦς λύχνους προμύττουσιν ἐλαιον δὲ μὴ ἐγχείουσιν. ὁρῶν οὖν σε παραρρημημένον αξίως τῆς εὐγενείας ἐν τῇ πατρίδι

μύθων τε ὑπηρέτῃ ἐμεῖναι προκείμενα τε ἔργων,

ἐπειδὴ χρόνων οὐκ ἔχεις ἀνδρὸς φιλοσόφου βίον ὑπανθρών ἐν πράξεις πολιτικαῖς καὶ δημοσίους ἀγῶνα κατανοῆσαι καὶ γενέσθαι παραδειγμάτων ὁ ἔργως μὴ λόγος περαινομένων θεατῆς, ἀξιοῖς δὲ παραγγέλματα λαβεῖν πολιτικά, τὴν μὲν ἄρνησιν οὐδαμῶς ἐμαυτῷ προσήκουσα πότες, τὸ δ' ἔργον εὐχομαι καὶ τῆς οὐς ἄξιον σπουδῆς καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας γενόσθαι· τοῖς δὲ παραδείγμασι ποικιλωτέροις, ὀσπερ ἡξίωσας, ἔχρησάμην.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑποκείσθω πολιτεῖα καθάπερ
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT

1. If, Menemachus, it is suitable to apply to anything at all the saying

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

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

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

   Homer, Iliad, ix. 55; cf. Moralia, 795 b.
   Homer, Iliad, ix. 443; cf. Moralia, 795 e.
(796) ἔδαφος βέβαιον καὶ ἱσχυρὸν ἢ προαίρεσις ἀρχήν ἔχουσα κρίσιν καὶ λόγου, ἀλλὰ μὴ πτολειν ὑπὸ δόξης κενῆς ἢ φιλονεκίας τινὸς ἢ πράξεως ἐτέρων ἀπορίας. ὦσπερ γὰρ οἷς αὐθεν ἔστιν οἷκοι χρηστῶν, ἐν δὲ πολλῷ διατρίβουσι, καὶ μὴ δεῖσται, τὸν πλείστον

Δὶ κρόνων, οὕτως ἔναν τῷ μηδὲν ἔχειν ὑδίον ἀλλὰ πράττειν ἐξων ἀπουδής ἐμβάλλουσιν ἑαυτοῖς εἰς δημόσια πράγματα, τῇ πολυτείᾳ διαγωγῇ χρώμενοι. πολλοὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τούχης ἀφῆμενοι τῶν κοινῶν καὶ ἀναπληθέντες οὐκέτε ῥβίας ἀπελθεῖν δύνανται, ταῦτα τοὺς ἐμβαίον εἰς πλοῖον αἰώρας χάριν εἰτ᾿ ἀποσπασθέων εἰς πέλαγος πεπονθότες. ξέω βλέποντες ναυτίαντες καὶ παραπτώμενοι, μένειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσαί τοῖς παρούσιοι ἀνάγκην ἔχοντες.

λευκάς καθύπερθε γαλάνας
eὐπρόσωποι σφῆς παρῆσιν ἐρωτεῖς νάτας
κλαῖδος ἁραξηπόντου δαιμονίαν ἐς ὑβριν.

οὕτω καὶ μάλιστα διαβάλλουσι τὸ πράγμα τῷ

Εἰ μετανοεῖν καὶ ἀσχάλλειν, ὅταν ἡ δόξαν ἐλπίσαντες ἀδοξία περιπέσωσιν, ἢ φοβεροὶ προσδοκήσαντες ἐτέροις ἔσεσθαι διὰ δύναμιν εἰς πράγματα κευδά
νους ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὰς ἀγωνίας. δὲ ὡς μάλιστα προσόχον ἑαυτῷ καὶ καλλιστὸν ἐργὸν ἀπὸ γνώμης καὶ λογισμῶ τὰ κοινὰ πράσσειν ἀρξάμενος ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς ἐκπλήττεται ταύτων οὕς ἀναστρέφεται τὴν γνώμην. οὕτω γὰρ ἐπὶ ἐργασίᾳ καὶ χρηματισμῷ προσχέτον τοῖς κοινῶς, ὡς οἱ περὶ Στρατοκλέα

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

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

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

*Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 396, ascribed to Simonides.*
καὶ Δρομοκλείδην ἐπὶ τὸ χρυσοῦν θέρος, τὸ βῆμα μετὰ παιδίας οὕτως ὀνομάζοντες, ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν· οὐθ' οἷον ἐπιλήπτους ὑπὸ πάθους ἄφιναι γενομένους, ὥσ Γάιος Γράκχος ἐπὶ θερμῶς τοῖς περὶ τὸν ἄδελφόν ἀτυχήμασιν ἀπωτάτῳ τῶν κοινῶν τὸν βίων θέμενος, εἰθ' ὑβρεὶ τινῶν καὶ λοιδορία πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀναφλεχθεὶς ὑπ' ἀργῆς, ἐνέπεσε τοῖς κοινοῖς· καὶ ταχὺ μὲν ἐπιλήσθη πραγμάτων καὶ δόξης, ἦσθον δὲ παύσασθαι καὶ δεόμενος μεταβολῆς καὶ ἑσυχίας ὃν εὑρε καταβέβαις τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διὰ μέγεθος ἀλλὰ προαπόλετο· τοὺς τε πρὸς ἁμαμάν ἢ δόξαν ὁσπερ ὑποκρίτας εἰς θεατρον ἀναπλάττοντας οὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη μετανοεῖν, ἡ δουλεύοντας ὅν ἄρχειν ἀξιώσαι ἢ προσκρούοντας αἰς ἁρέσεις καὶ ἔθελους. ἀλλ' ὁσπερ εἰς φρέαρ οἴμαι τὴν πολιτείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐμπέπτοντας αὐτομάτως καὶ παραλόγως ταραττόντες καὶ μετανοεῖν, τοὺς δὲ καταβαίνοντας ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ λογισμοῦ καὶ ἑσυχίαν χρῆσθαι τε τοῖς πράγμασι μετρίως καὶ πρὸς μηδὲν δυσκολαὶνειν, ὅτε δὴ τὸ καλὸν αὐτὸ καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο τῶν πράξεων ἑξοντας τέλος.

Β 3. Οὕτω δὴ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἀπερείσαντας ἐν ἑαυτοῖς καὶ ποιήσαντας ἀπροπτον καὶ δυσμετάθετον, τρέπεσθαι χρή πρὸς κατανόησιν τοῦ ἅθους τῶν πολιτῶν, ὃ μάλιστα συγκραθεῖν ἐκ πάντων ἐπιφαίνεται καὶ ἱσχύει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ εὖθως αὐτὸν

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

3. So, after thus determining their choice in their own minds and making it invariable and unchangeable, statesmen must apply themselves to the understanding of the character of the citizens, which shows itself as in the highest degree a compound of all their individual characters and is powerful. For any attempt
(799) ἐπειδὴ εἰς ἡθοποιεῖς καὶ μεθαρμόττειν τοῦ δήμου τῆς φύσιν αὐτοῦ ράδιον ὄνα ἄσφαλες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἁρμόνιον δεόμενον πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεις. δει δὲ, ὦς καὶ ὤν ἐν ἄρχῃ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἠθῶν κρατεῖται τοῦ πίνοντος ἡσυχίᾳ δὲ διαβάλλεται καὶ ὁ κατακεραυνόμενος αὐτῶν ἡθοποιεῖ τῶν πίνοντα καὶ μεθαρμόττειν, οὕτω καὶ τοῦ πολιτικὸν, ἔσσω ἐν ἱσχύν ἀγωγοῦ ἐν δόξῃ καὶ πίστεως κατασκευάσεται, τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἡθεῖοι εὐάρμοστον εἴναι καὶ στοχάζεσθαι τῶν, ἐνεστάμενοι οἷς χαίρειν ὁ δήμος καὶ ὑπὸ ἁγεσθαι πέφυκεν· οἷον ὁ μαθηματικὸς ἐστὶ πρὸς ὄργανον, αὐτοπλήθες πρὸς ἔλεον, μᾶλλον ὁ βούλωμεν ὑπονεῖται καὶ διδάσκεσθαι καὶ ἴδανθανοι ἔφεσιν· οὕτω τῶν ἄνδρῶν τοῖς ἀδόξοις καὶ ταπεινοῖς βοηθεῖν προσβιβότερος. οὕτω τῶν λόγων τοὺς παιγμαδίας καὶ γελοίους ἀσπάζεται καὶ προτιμᾷ τοῖς μὲν ἐπαινοῦσιν αὐτὸν μάλιστα χαίρει, τοῖς δὲ ὁκώπτοις ἡκιστὰ δυσχεραίνει· φοβερὸς ἐστίν Δάρκρι τῶν ἀρχαίων, εἶτα ὁ πλαναρωτεῖς ἀχρί τῶν πολεμίων. ἔτερος ἦς τοῦ Καρχηδονίων δήμου, πικρὸν, σκυθρωτόν, ὑπήκοον τοῖς ἄρχοις, βαρύ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις, ἀγεννήστατον ἐν φόβοις, ἀγριώτατον ἐν ὀργαῖς, ἐπίμονον τοῖς γνωσθέοις, πρὸς παιδιὰν καὶ χάριν ἀνήδυντον καὶ σκληρὸν οὐκ ἂν ὄντοι, Κλέωνος ἁξιούντος αὐτῶν, ἐπεὶ τέθυκε καὶ ξένους ἐστιν μέλλει, τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπερθέσας, γελάσαντες ἂν καὶ κροτήσαντες ἀνέστησαν· ὁδὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ὅρτυγος ἐν τῷ λέγεσιν διαφυγόντος

1 προθυμότερος] προθυμότατος Reiske.

* The story of the adjournment of the assembly is told by Plutarch in the Life of Nicias, chap. vii. p. 527.

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

ἐκ τοῦ ἱματίου, φιλοτήμως συνθηρεύοντες ἀπ' ἑνδώκαν ἂν· ἄλλα καὶ ἀπέκτειναν ἂν, ὡς ὑβρίζοντας καὶ τρυφώντας· ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίων λέοντες χρώμανον σκέυος παρὰ τὰς στρατεύσεις αὐτισάμενοι ταῖς ῥανικὰς φρονέων ἐξήλασαν. οὕτως δὲ ἂν ἕγογε μηδὲ Θηβαίους ἀποσχέοντες γραμμάτων πολεμίων κυρίους γενομένους, ὡς Ἀθηναίοι Φιλίππου γραμματοφόρους λαβόντες ἐπιστολήν ἐπιγεγραμμένην Ὁλυμπιάδει κομιζόντας οὐκ ἔλυσαν οὐδὲ ἀπεκάλυψαν ἀπόρρητον ἄνδρὸς ἀποδήμου πρὸς γυναικα φιλοφροσύνην· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὶ Πάλαι Ἀθηναίοι, Ἐπαρμεινόνθεν πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν ἀπολογείσθει μηθὲ ἄλλον τοῦ θεάτρου καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς τὸ γυμνασίον ἀπίνοντος, εὐκόλως ἐνεγκειρήσατε τὴν ὑπορείαν καὶ τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἄνδρὸς πολλοῦ δὲ ἂν ἔτι καὶ Ἐπαρμεινόνθεν δεῖσθαι τὴν Ἐπαρμείνεσθαι όμως ὑπομείναι καὶ βωμολοχίαν, πείθουσαν μὲν αὐτοὺς εὐαγγέλων θύειν ὡς νεκροκότας, ἐπεὶ δὲ, τῆς ᾽Αθηναίων ἀπαγγελθείσης, 800 ἡγανάκτους, ἐρωτώντος τοῦ δήμου τὸ ἱδίκεται, τρεῖς ἡμέρας δὲ αὐτῶν ἡδέως γεγονός. οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐλικοὶ κόλακες ἄσπερ ὀρισθήσαντες μημούμενοι τῇ φωνῇ καὶ συνεξομολογώντες έαυτοὺς ὑποδύονται μάλιστα καὶ προσάγουσι δὲ ἀπότης τοῖς βασιλεύσων τῷ δὲ πολιτικῷ μυμεῖσθαι μὲν αὖ προσνῄει τὸν δήμον τὸν τρόπον, ἐπίτιμασθεὶ δὲ καὶ χρησθαί πρὸς

1 ἀπέδωκαν ἂν Ἰβελίκος: ἀπεδωκαν.

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

4. Τὸ μὲν ὅσον τῶν πολιτῶν ἦθος ἴσχυοντα δὲ καὶ πιστεύομεν ἢδη πειρᾶσθαι μυθιζέων ἀπέρα

Β πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ὑπάγοντα καὶ πράως μεταχειριζόμενον ἐργώδης γὰρ ἡ μετάθεσις τῶν πολλῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὕσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ τὸ λοιπὸν ἁναπαυτημένος βιωσόμενος, ἐξάκει καὶ κατακόψμει τὸν πρότον· εἰ δὲ μὴ βράδιον ἀπαλλάξαι παρτάπασι τῆς φυγῆς τὴν κακίαν, ὃσα γοῦν ἐπανθεὶ μάλιστα καὶ προ-

πίπτει1 τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἀφαιρῶν καὶ κολούνων. ἀκοῦεις γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἀπεσάξαι τῆς πολετείας διανοούμενος ἀπέστησε τῶν πότων καὶ τῶν κόμων ἑαυτὸν, ἀγαπητῶν δὲ καὶ νήφων καὶ πεφρονικῶς ἔλεγεν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις, ὅς οὐκ ἐξειδεύεται αὐτὸν τὸ Μιλτιάδον τρόπαιον.

Ο Περικλῆς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν διάτουν ἐξήλλαξεν αὐτὸν ἡρέμα βαδίζειν καὶ πράως δια-

λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον δὲι συνεστηκός ἐπι-

δείκνυσθαι καὶ τὴν χείρα συνέχειν ἐντός τῆς περιβολῆς καὶ μίαν ὀδὸν παρακεῖσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ

βήμα καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον. οὐ γὰρ εἰμιταχειριστὸν οὐδὲ βραδίον ἀλώνα τὴν σωτήραν ἀλώνα ὑπὸ τοῦ τυχόντος ὀχλού,2 ἀλλ’ ἀγαπητὸν, ἐμὴ μὴ δίδων μήτε ὑμνὴν πτυρόμενος ὑσπερ θηρίων ὑποποντον καὶ ποικίλον ἐνδέχετο τὴν ἐπιστασίαν. ὡς τούτων οὐδὲ

Δ τούτων ἐπιμελητέων ἐστὶ παρέργος, ὃποιον τῶν περὶ τῶν βίων καὶ τὸ ἢθος ἐμελητέων ὡς ἢ φόγου

1 προσπίπτει. Coraes: προσπίπτει.
2 ὀχλος Bernardakis (ὁ ὀχλος Cobet): ὀχλος ότα ὀχλοῦ.
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 800

which it can be brought under his control. For ignorance of their characters leads to no less serious mistakes and failures in free States than in the friendships of kings.

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

a Miltiades was the victorious general at Marathon, 490 B.C.
καθαρά καὶ διαβολῆς ἀπάσης; οὐ γὰρ ὅπων λέγουσιν ἐν κοινῷ καὶ πράττουσιν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι μόνον εἰδώνας διδάσκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διέποντον αὐτῶν πολυπραγμονέται καὶ κατέτη καὶ γάμος καὶ παιδιὰ καὶ σπουδὴ πάσα. τί γὰρ δεῖ λέγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, ὅν περὶ τὰ κοινὰ πάντων ἐνεργότατον οἶντα καὶ στρατηγὸν ἁγίτητον ἀπώλεσεν ή περὶ τὴν διαίτην ἀναγωγία καὶ θρασύτητι, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἀρώνητον ἔποιήση διὰ τὴν πολυτέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἀκολασίαν; ὅπου καὶ Κέρκυρας οὐδεὶς Ἐτὸν οἶνον, καὶ Ἐρμαῖοι Σκηπλίνοι οὐδεὶς ἄλλο ἔχοντες λέγειν τὸν ὑπὸν ἡταώντο. Πομπήιοι δὲ Μάγνοι ἤλειδόροις οἱ ἔχθροι, παραφιλαξάντες ἐν διακύϊῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν κνώμενον, ὅσ τὸ ἐν προσώπῳ φακὸς καὶ ἀκροχαρδών διαχεραίνεις μᾶλλον ἡ στέγματα καὶ κολοσσήτες καὶ οὐκ αὐτῷ τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος, οὕτω τὰ μικρὰ φαίνεται μεγάλα τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἐν ἡγεμονικὸς καὶ πολιτικὸς ὀρόμενα βίως διὰ δόξαν, ἢν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ πολιτείας ἔχουσι, ὅσ πράγματος μεγάλου καὶ καθαρεύειν ἄξιον πάσης ἀτοπίας καὶ πλημμελείας. εἰκότως οὖν Ὑσίανθος Ἰρρωθεὶς ὁ δημαγωγὸς εὐδοκήσεις ὅτι, τῆς οἰκίας αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μέρη κάτοπτα τοῖς γειτνιάσον ἐχώροσι καὶ τῶν τεχνιτῶν τινος ὑποσχομένου ταῦτα ἀποστρέφεις καὶ μεταβήσεις ἀπὸ πέντε μόνων ταλάντων, ἵνα δέκα, ἵνα λαβὼν δόρυντοι μου ποιήσον καταφεῖν τὴν οἰκίαν, ἵνα πάντες ὀρῶσιν οἱ πολεῖται πῶς διαμαρτύρομαι " καὶ γὰρ τὴν ἀνήρ σώφρον καὶ

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1 Λυσῖων Χυλάντερ: λεοντος οτ ιολιως.

2 Cf. Moralia, 972 v.

3 Cf. Moralia, 89 κ, with note a in Babbitt’s translation.
that they may be clear of blame and ill report of every kind? For not only are men in public life held responsible for their public words and actions, but people busy themselves with all their concerns: dinner, love affair, marriage, amusement, and every serious interest. What need is there, for instance, to speak of Alcibiades, who, though he was most active of all the citizens in public affairs and was undefeated as general, was ruined by his audacious and dissolute habits in private life, and, because of his extravagance and lack of restraint, deprived the State of the benefit of his other good qualities? Why, the Athenians blamed Cimon for wine-drinking, and the Romans, having nothing else to say, blamed Scipio for sleeping; and the enemies of Pompey the Great, observing that he scratched his head with one finger, reviled him for it. For, just as a mole or a wart on the face is more unpleasant than brand-marks, mutilations, or scars on other parts of the body, so small faults appear great when observed in the lives of leaders and statesmen on account of the opinion which the majority has of governing and public office, regarding it as a great thing which ought to be clean of all eccentricities and errors. With good reason, therefore, did Livius Drusus the tribune gain in reputation because, when many parts of his house were exposed to the view of his neighbours and an artisan promised to turn them the other way and change their position for only five talents, Drusus replied, "Take ten and make the whole house open to view, that all the citizens may see how I live." For he was a man of temperate and (L.C.L.), where the habit is spoken of as a mark of effemi-nacy and licentiousness.
κόσμος. ᾧς δὲ ταύτης αὐτῆς ἔδει τῆς κατα-
φανείας αὐτῆς διαφόρως γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ τὰ πάντα
βαθέως περιαμενεῖον δοκοῦντα τῶν πολιτειω-
801 μένων ἡθη καὶ βαυλεύματα καὶ πράξεις καὶ βίους,
onx ἦττον ἀπὸ τῶν ἢθων ἡ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπι-
τηθεμάτων τῶν μὲν φιλούντες καὶ θαυμάζοντες
τὸν δὲ δυσχεραίνοντες καὶ καταφρονοῦντες.
Τι ὤν δή; οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἀσελγῶς καὶ τεθρυμμένοις
ξώσιν αἱ πόλεις χρῶνται; καὶ γὰρ αἱ κινεῖσαι
λίθους καὶ οἱ ναυτιώντες ἀλμυρίδας καὶ τὰ τουιττα
βρώματα διώκουσι πολλάκις, εἰτ' ἀλγόν ὑποεῖρον
ἐζεπτυσασι καὶ ἀπεστράφησαν οὕτω καὶ οἱ δήμοι
διὰ τριφῆν καὶ ὑβριν ἡ βελτιώνων ἀπορία δημα-
βγοῦν χρῶνται τοῖς ἐπιτυχοῦσι βελτιώττομοι καὶ
καταφρονοῦντες, εἴτε χαρώντες τοιούτων εἰς αὐτοὺς
λεγομένων, ὥλα Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς τὸν Δήμον
αὐτὸν λέγοντα ποιεῖ.

λαβὼθ, λαβὼθ τῆς χειρὸς ὡς τάχιστα μου,
μέλλων στρατηγῶν χειροτονεῖν Ἀγγέλλων
καὶ πάλιν αἰνοῦντα λεκάνη καὶ πτερών, ὡπως
ἐμέσῃ, λέγοντα

προσέπεται μου πρὸς τὸ βῆμα Μαντίας
καὶ

βούσκει δυσώδῃ Κέφαλοι, ἐχθιστὴν νόσου,
ὅ δὲ 'Ραμαιών δῆμος, ὑπογνομένου τι Κάρβωνως
καὶ προστιθέντος ὄρκων δή τινα καὶ ἀράν, ἀντι-
ώμοσεν ὁμοί μὴ πιστεύει. ἐν δὲ Λακεδαίμονι

* Kock, Com. Att. Prog. 1. p. 652, no. 185; on Agyrrhius
cf. Aristophanes, Plutus, 179.
well-ordered life. And perhaps he had no need of that exposure to the public view; for the people see through the characters, counsels, acts, and lives of public men, even those that seem to be very thickly cloaked; they love and admire one man and dislike and despise another quite as much for his private as for his public practices.

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

Take, take my hand as quickly as you can;  
I’m going to choose Agyrhrius general;  
and again, when he makes the People ask for a basin and a feather in order to vomit and then say,

Beside my platform Mantias takes his stand;  
and

It feeds foul Cephalus, most hateful pest.  
And the Roman people, when Carbo promised something and confirmed his promise with an oath and a curse, unanimously took a counter-oath that it did not trust him. And at Lacceidaemon, when a

* From the same play as the preceding.
τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀνδρὸς ἀκολάστου γνώμην (801) εἰπάντος ἀμφότεροι, ἀπέρριψεν ὁ δήμος, οἱ δ’ Ἕφθοροι κληροῦσιν ἡν τῶν γερόντων ἑκέλευσαν εἰπέν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἑκένων, ὥστε περὶ καθαρὸν ἀγγείων ἐκ Ῥωμαίου μετεράσαντες; ὅπως εὐπρόσδεκτος γένηται τοῖς πολλοῖς. οὕτω μεγάλη ἦτο ἡ φασὶν ἐν πολεμίδες πλοῖσι πόλεως καὶ τοιχωμένως.

5. Οὐ μὴν ἁμελετέον γε διὰ τοῦτο τῆς σερί τῶν λόγων χάριτος καὶ δυνάμεως ἐν ἁρετῇ θεμέλους τῷ σώματι, ἀλλὰ τὴν δημοτικὴν νομίζασθά τις δῆμους ἀλλὰ τοῖς συνεργοῖς ἐστὶν πειθαζός, ἐπαινοθετέον τῷ τοῦ Μενάνδρου τρόπῳ ἐσθ’ ὁ πείθων τοῦ λέγοντος, οὗ λόγος· καὶ γὰρ ὁ τρόπος καὶ ὁ λόγος· εἰ μὴ νῦν Δία φησεῖ τις, ὅσ τοιν κυβερνήτην ἁγεῖ τὸ πλοῖον οὖ τὸ πη-

D δάλλον, καὶ τὸν ἐπέα αὐτῷ τάφον τὸν ἔπεον οὐ τῶν χαλικών, οὕτω πόλιν πείθειν οὐ λόγος, ἀλλὰ τρόπῳ χρυσίμενην ὡστε πάντα καὶ χαλικὺ τῆς πολιτικῆς ἁρετῆς, ἴπτερον εὐπροσδεκτοῦ τοῦ ζωοῦ, ὅσ φησιν Πλάτων, ὁμοιοῦ ἀποπληθεὶς καὶ κατευθύνωναι, ὅπου γὰρ οἱ μεγάλοι βασιλεῖς ἐκεῖνοι καὶ διογενεῖς, ὅσ ὁ Ὁμήρος φησιν, ἄλοιποι καὶ σκῆπτροι καὶ δορυφόροι καὶ θεῖοι χρησμοῖς ἐξουσιώθησαν ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ δουλεύμενοι τῇ σεμιότητι τοὺς πολλοὺς ὡς

1 Δημοσθένους] Τμησθένους Madvig.
2 μετεράσαντες Dilhaut: μετακερδόσαντες.
3 νομίζασθα Madvig: νομίζοντες εἶναι.
4 ἴπτερ Capps (cf. Plato’s ἴπτερ): ἴπτερ.
dissolute man named Demosthenes made a desirable motion, the people rejected it, but the ephors chose by lot one of the elders and told him to make that same motion, in order that it might be made acceptable to the people, thus pouring, as it were, from a dirty vessel into a clean one. So great is the importance, in a free State, of confidence or lack of confidence in a man's character.

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

The speaker's nature, not his speech, persuades,*

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

* Crisus, 109 e "only it was not our bodies that they [the gods] constrained by bodily force, like shepherds guiding their flocks by stroke of staff, but they directed from the stern, where the living creature is easiest to turn about (μαλιστα στερεωτω ζωη), laying hold on the soul by persuasion, as by a rudder, according to their own disposition" (trans. H. G. Bury in L.C.L.).
κρείττουνε, ἰμαως ἐβούλωντο "μέθοὺς ἐκτῆρε" εἶναι καὶ ὦκ ἡμέλουν τῆς τοῦ λέγειν χάριτος, ὦθ’ ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ’ ἄνδρες ἀριστερέσειτε τελεόσωσιν. Ἐν οὔδε Διὸς Βουλαιοῦ μόνον ἔχρηζον οὐδ’ "Ἀρεος Ἑνυαλλίου καὶ Ἐφραίας Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Καλλιόπην παρεκάλουσιν ἡ δὴ βασιλεῖσα ἤμ’ αἰδοίοισιν ὁπηδεῖ, πραψοῦσα πειθοῖ καὶ κατάδουσα3 τῶν δήμων τὸ αὐθαίρει καὶ βίαιον4 ἦ ποὺ δυνατὸν ἄνδρωπον ἰδιώτην ἐξ ἰματίου καὶ σχήματος δημοτικοῦ πόλεως ἄγεις βουλόμενον ἐξισχύσαι καὶ κρατῆσαι τῶν πολλῶν, εἰ μὴ λόγον ἔχουσι συμπειδώντα καὶ προσαγόμενον; Εἰς μὲν ὅλα τὰ πλοῖα κυβερνόντες ἐτέροις χρῶνται κελευσταί, ὃ δὲ πολιτικός ἐν ἐαυτῷ μὲν ὁφελεῖ τὸν κυβερνώντα νοῦν ἔχειν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δὲ τὸν ἐγκενελέμενον λόγον, ὅπως μὴ δέηται φωνῆς ἀλλοτρίας μηδ’ ὀσπερ Ἰφικράτης ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Ἀριστοφάντα καταρρητορευόμενος λέγῃ "Βελτίων μὲν οὶ τῶν ἀντιδίκων ὑποκρίτης δράμα δὲ τούμων ἀνεμενον," μηδὲ πολλάκις δέηται τῶν Ἐθεριπεδελῶν ἐκάινον

εἰδ’ ἦν ἄφωνον σπέρμα δυστῆνων βροτῶν

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φεῦ φεῦ, τὸ μὴ τὰ πράγματ’ ἄνθρώποις ἐχειν φωνῆν, ὡς ἦσαν μηδέν οἱ δεινοὶ λέγειν.

1 μόνον Benseler: μόνον.
2 δὴγὰρ καὶ Hesiod.
3 κατάδουσα, suggested by Wyttenbach (also καταδοῦσα, καταδοούσα Bernardakis): καταδοῦσα.

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

Nor the assemblies in which men make themselves greatly distinguished,

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

who accompanies reverend monarchs,

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

Oh that the seed of wretched men were mute,

and

Ah, would that deeds of men possessed a voice,
That clever speakers might become as naught;

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*a* Homer, *H. lix. 441.*  
*b* Hesiod, *Theog. 80.*  
(803) ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ ἴσως Ἀλκαμένει καὶ Νησιώτη καὶ Ἰκτίνῳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς βαναύσους καὶ χειρώναξι τὸ διάσωζαί λέγειν ἀπομιμήσεις δοτέον ἀποδιδράσκειν ὡσπερ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχιτέκτονων ποτὲ δύειν ἕξεταξιμένων πρὸς δημόσιον ἔργον ὁ μὲν αἰμίλος καὶ κομμήσας εἰπεῖν λόγοι τινὰ διελθῶν περὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς μεμελετημένων ἐκώμης τὸν ὅμοιον, ὁ βὸς βελτίων τῇ τέχνῃ λέγειν 5' ἀδύνατος, παρελθὼν εἰς μέσον εἰπεν ἄνδρες Ἀθηναίοι, ὡς οὗτος ἄρθρον ἐξηκές, ἐγὼ ποιήσων" τῷ γὰρ Ἐργάνθη σφοτεύοντων ὡς φησι Σοφοκλῆς, οἱ "παρ' ἄκμοιν τυπάδε βαρεία" καὶ πληγαὶς ὅπακούοντων ἔλθην ἄφυκον δημιουργοῦντες ὁ δὲ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς Βουλαίας Θέμιδος,

ἡ τ' ἄνδρῶν ἄγορας ὑμεῖς λύει ἤδε καθίζει,

προφήτης, ἐνὶ χρώμενος ὄργανῳ τῷ λόγῳ τὰ μὲν πλαττῶν καὶ συναρμόττων, τὰ δ' ἀντιστατοῦντα πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὡσπερ ὄρας τυφάς ἐν λίθῳ καὶ διπλῶς ἐν σιδήρῳ μαλάσσων καὶ καταλειμών,

οὐ κοσμεῖ τὴν πόλιν. διὰ τούτ' ἦν ἡ κατὰ Περικλέα πολειτεία "λόγῳ μὲν," ὡς φησι Θουκυδίδης, "δημοκρατία, ἔργω δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου ἄνδρος ἀρχῆ" διὰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου δύναμιν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Κίμων ἁγαθός ἦν καὶ Ἀρσιάτης καὶ Θουκυδίδης, ἀλλ' ἐρωτηθεὶς οὗτος ὅπ τοῦ Ἀρχιδάμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν πότερον ἄντος ἡ Περικλῆς

1 ὃς added by Bernardakis.
2 τοῦ added by Bernardakis.

* Alcamenes and Nesiotes were sculptors of the fifth century B.C. Ictinus was architect of the Parthenon.
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for these sayings ought perhaps to be granted as
a refuge to Alcamenes, Nesiotes, Ictinus, and all
artisans and craftsmen if they take an oath that
they are no speakers; as once at Athens, when two
architects were being questioned with a view to a
public work, one of them, a wheedling and elegant
speaker, moved the people by declaiming a prepared
speech about the construction of it, but the other,
who was a better architect but lacked the power of
speech, came forward and said: "Men of Athens,
what he has said, I will do." For, as Sophocles
says, only those are servants of the goddess of
artistry who "on the anvil with a heavy hammer"
and with blows work the yielding and inanimate
material of their art. But the spokesman for
Athena of the City and Themis of Counsel,
She who dismisses assemblies of men and who also
convenes them,
employing speech as his only instrument, moulding
and adapting some things and softening and smooth-
ing off those which are hindrances to his work, such
as would be knots in wood or flaws in iron, is an
ornament to the city. For this reason the govern-
ment in Pericles' time was "in name," as Thucy-
dides says, "a democracy, but in fact the rule of
the foremost man," because of his power of speech.
For Cimon also was a good man, as were Ephialtes
and Thucydides, but when the last named was asked
by Archidamus King of the Spartans whether he

\[\text{\small a Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 309, no. 760, perhaps from}
\text{the satyr drama Pandora.}
\]\n\[\text{\small c Homer, Od. ii. 69.}
\]\n\[\text{\small d Cf. Plato, Sophist, 267 e.}
\]\n\[\text{\small e Thucydides, ii. 65. 8.}
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(802) παλαίει βέλτιον "οὐκ ἂν εἰδείης τις" εἶπεν: "ὅταν γὰρ ἔγγυ καταβάλω παλαίων, ἐκεῖνος λέγων μὴ πεπτωκέναι νικᾷ καὶ πεῖθει τοὺς θεωμένους." τούτο δ' οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνον ἐκεῖνος δόξαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ πόλει σωτηρίαν ἔφερεν πειθομένη γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐθαμονίαν ἐσοφζε, τῶν δ' ἐκτὸς Δ' ἀπελέχετο. Νικίας δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν προαιρεσίν ἔχων, πεθοῦσι δὲ τοιαύτης ἐνδείξει ὡν καὶ καθάπερ ἁμβλεί χαλινῷ τῷ λόγῳ πειρώμενος ἀποστρέφειν τὸν δήμον, οὐ κατέσχεν οὐδ' ἐκράτησεν, ἀλλ' ὕστερον βία φερόμενος εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ συνεκτραχτει- λόμενος. τὸν μὲν οὖν λύκον οὐ φασι τῶν ὠτών κρατεῖν, δήμον δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ὠτῶν ἀγείν δεί μάλιστα, μή, καθάπερ ἑνοὶ τῶν ἀγρόναστων περὶ λόγου λαβάς ἀμοιέοις καὶ αὐτχνίς ἐξεύρεις ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῆς γαστρός ἐλκούσις εὐωχοὺσες ἡ τοῦ βαλλαντίου διδόντες, ἡ μερίκης τινὰς ἡ μονομάχων θεάματα παρασκευάζοντες ἀεὶ δημ- Ε' ἀγωγούσι, μᾶλλον δὲ δημοκοπουσί. δημακωγία γὰρ ἡ διὰ λόγου πειθομένων ἔστιν, αἱ δὲ τοιαύται τιβασεύσεις τῶν ὀχλῶν οὕθεν ἀλόγων ἱών ἄγρας καὶ βουκολήσεως διαφέρουσι.

6. 'Ὁ μέντοι λόγος ἔστι τοῦ πολιτικοῦ μήτε νεαρός καὶ θεατικός, ὥσπερ πανθυμρίζοντος καὶ στεφανηπλοκούντος ἐξ ἀπαλών καὶ ἀνθρώπων ὁνο- μάτων· μήτ' αὐτά πάλιν, ὡς ὁ Πυθέας τῶν Δημο- σθένους ἐλεγεν, ἐλλυχνίων ὁξων καὶ σοφιστικῆς G περιεργίας ἐνθυμήμασι πικρῶς καὶ περίοδοις πρὸς κανόνα καὶ διαβήτην ἀπηκριβωμέναι· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἱ μουσικοὶ τὴν θίξων ἄξιούσι τῶν χορδῶν ἥδικην

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

6. The speech of the statesman, however, must not be juvenile and theatrical, as if he were making a speech for show and weaving a garland of delicate and flowery words; on the other hand it must not, as Pythecas said of the speech of Demosthenes, smell of the lamp and elaborate literary labour, with sharp arguments and with periods precisely measured by rule and compass. No, just as musicians demand that the touch upon the strings exhibit feel-
καταφαινεσθαι μὴ κρουστικῶν, οὕτω τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ πολιτευμένου καὶ συμβουλεύωντος καὶ ἀρχοντος ἐπιφαινέσθω μὴ δεινότης μηδὲ πανουργία, μὴ δ’ εἰς ἔπαινον αὐτοῦ τιθέσθω τὸ ἐκτικῶς ἢ τεχνικῶς ἢ διαρετηκῶς, ἀλλ’ ἦθος ἀπλάστου καὶ φρονήματος ἀληθινοῦ καὶ παρρησίας πατρικῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ συνεσεως κηδομένης ὁ λόγος ἔστω μεστός, ἐπὶ τῷ καλῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον ἔχων καὶ ἀγωγὸν ἐκ τε σεμνῶν ὄνομάτων καὶ νοημάτων ἵδιων καὶ πιθανῶν. δέχεται δ’ ὁ πολιτικὸς λόγος δικαίως μᾶλλον καὶ γνωμολογίας καὶ ἱστορίας καὶ μίθους καὶ μετα- φοράς, αλς μάλιστα κινούσιν οἱ χρώμενοι μετρίως καὶ κατὰ καύρον· ὡς ὁ εἰπὼν "μὴ ποιήσητε ἔτερον- φθαλμὸν τὴν 'Ελλάδα," καὶ Δημάδης τὰ νανάγια λέγων πολιτεύεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, καὶ Ἀρχιλόχος μηδ’ ὁ Ταντάλου λίθος τῆς ὑπὲρ νῆσου κρεμάσθων· καὶ Περικλῆς τὴν λήμνην τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἀφελεῖν κελεύων· καὶ Φωκίων ἐπὶ τῆς Λεωσθένους νύκης. 

Β καλὸν τὸ στάδιον εἶναι, δεδείναι δὲ τοῦ πολέμου τὸν δόλιχον. καθόλου δ’ ὁ μὲν οὖκος καὶ τὸ μέ- γεθος τῷ πολιτικῷ μᾶλλον ἀρμόττει, παράδειγμα δ’ οἱ τε Φιλιππικοὶ καὶ τῶν Θουκυδίδου δημη- γοριῶν ἢ Σθενελαΐδα τοῦ Ἐφοροῦ καὶ Ἀρχιδάμου

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

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

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


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

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

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

\[ \text{Cf. Life of Phocion, chap. xxiii.} \]
οὐδεὶς σιδήρου ταύτα μωραίνει πέλας.

7. Οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ σκώμμα καὶ γελοῖον ἔστιν ὅτε γίγνεται πολιτικὸς λόγος μέρος, εἰ μὴ πρὸς Κύβιν ἡ βωμολοχίαν, ἀλλὰ χρησίμως ἐπιπλήστητον ἡ διασύροντος λέγωντο. μάλιστα δ᾽ εὐδοκιμεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα περὶ τὰς ἀμέλειες καὶ τὰς ἀπαντήσεις· τὸ γὰρ ἐκ παρασκευῆς καὶ κατάρχοντα γελωτοποιοῦντος ἐστὶ καὶ δόξα κακοπέθειας πρόσεστιν, ὡς προσὴν τοὺς Κικέρωνος σκόμμασι καὶ τοὺς Κάτωνος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ Εὐδίδου τοῦ 'Αριστοτέλους συνήθοις· οὕτω γὰρ ἐσκοιτον ἄρχομενοι πολλάκις. ἀμυνομένω δὲ συγγνώμην ἁμα καὶ χάριν ὁ καιρὸς δίδωσι, καθάπερ Δημοσθένει πρὸς τὸν αὐτῶν ἔχοντα κλέπτειν χλευάζοντα δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὰς ἅγκτογραφίας, "οἷς ὅτι σε λυπῶ λύχνον καῖνω". καὶ πρὸς Δημάδην βοώντα Δημοσθένης ἐμὲ βουλεῖται διορθὸν "ἡ ὡς τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν," "αὐτῆ μέντοι πέρυσιν ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ μοιχεύονσα ἑλήφθη." χάριεν δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἑυανέτου πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας λοιδοροῦντας αὐτὸν ὥτι στρατηγὸς ὃν πέφευγε, "μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν γ᾽, ὅ

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a Thucydides, i. 86; ii. 72; ii. 60.
b Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag. p. 441, l. 22; from the Autolyceus of Euripides.
c These two retorts are recorded by Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes, chap. xi. p. 851. The second obviously refers to misconduct on the part of Demades. "The sow (teaches 184
damus at Plataea, and that of Pericles after the pestilence. But as for the rhetorical efforts and grand periods of Ephorus, Theopompus, and Anaximenes, which they deliver after they have armed and drawn up the armies, it can be said of them,

None talks so foolishly when near the steel.

7. It is true, however, that derision and ridicule are sometimes proper parts of the statesman’s speech if employed, not as insults or buffoonery, but for needful reproof and disparagement. That sort of thing is most laudable in rejoinders and replies; for when employed of set purpose and without provocation, it makes the speaker appear to be a clown and carries with it a suspicion of malice, such as was attached to the ridicule in the speeches of Cicero, Cato the Elder, and Aristotle’s pupil Euxitheus, all of whom frequently employed ridicule without previous provocation. But for one who employs it in self-defence the occasion makes it pardonable and at the same time pleasing, as when Demosthenes, in reply to a man who was suspected of being a thief and who mocked him for writing at night, said, “I am aware that I offend you by keeping a light burning,” and to Demades who shouted, “Demosthenes would correct me—‘the sow correcting Athena,’” he replied, “Yes, your Athena was caught in adultery last year!” Witty too was Xenaenetus’s rejoinder to the citizens who reviled him for running away when he was general, “Yes, or contends with) Athena” was a proverbial expression; cf. Theocritus, Idyl, v. 23. As sus (docet) Minerveam the proverb was current in Latin; cf. Festus, p. 310 Müller, p. 408 Lindsay; Cicero, Ad Familiares, ix. 18. 8; Academica, i. 4. 18; De Oratore, ii. 57. 233.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

"φιλαι κεφαλαί." τὸ δ' ἄγαν φυλακτέον ἐν τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν ἀκαίρως τοὺς ἀκοῦοντας ἢ τὸν λέγοντα ποιοῦν ἁγενή καὶ ταπεινόν, ὡσπερ τὰ Δημοκράτους· ἀναβαίνων μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔφη, καθάπερ ἡ πόλις, μικρὸν ἰσχύειν καὶ μέγα φυσάν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς Χαιρωνικοῖς παρελθὼν εἰς τὸν Εὐδήμων, "οὐκ ἂν ἐβουλόμην κακῶς οὕτω πεπραγέναι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε κάμοι συμβουλεύοντος ὡμᾶς ἀκούειν"· καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτο μικρὸν κάκειν μανικοῦ, πολιτικῷ δ' οὐδέτερον ἀρμόττων. Φωκίλωνος δὲ καὶ τὴν βραχυλογίαν θαύμαζον· ὅ γον Πολύ-ευκτος ἀπεφαίνετο ρήτορα μέγιστον εἶναι Δημοσθένην, δεινότατον δ' εἰπεῖν Φωκίλωνα· πλείστον γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν λόγον ἐν λέξει βραχυτάτη νοῦν περιέχειν. καὶ ὁ Δημοσθένης τῶν ἄλλων καταφρονῶν εἰσθηθεὶ λέγειν, ἀντισταμένου Φωκίλωνος, "ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν λόγων κοπίς ἀνίσταται."

F 8. Μάλιστα μὲν οὖν ἐσκεμμένῳ πειρῷ καὶ μὴ διακείμενῳ τῷ λόγῳ χρῆσθαι πρὸς τους πολλοὺς μετ' ἀσφαλείας, εἰδὼς ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος εὐχέτος πρὸ τοῦ δημογορεῖν μηδὲ ρήμα μηδὲν ἄλλοτρον τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπελθέων αὐτῷ. δει δ' ἀκμὸς καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀπαντήσεις τοῦ λόγου εὐστροφον ἔχειν καὶ γεγυμνασμένον· ὅξεις γὰρ οἱ καίροι καὶ πολλὰ φέροντες εν ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱφνίδια. διὸ καὶ Δημοσθένης ἡλαττοῦτο πολλῶν, ὡς φασί, παρὰ τὸν καίρον ἀναδύομενος καὶ κατοκινών. Ἄλκιβιάδης δ' ὁ Θεόφραστος ἴστορεῖ, μὴ μόνον ἀ δει λέγειν ἄλλα

1 pepgraýena Herwerden: pepgraýeina.
2 eúχeto Bernardakis: ἐὐχέτο.

* Cf. Life of Alcibiades, chap. x.
to keep you company, my dears." But in jesting one must guard against going too far and against offending one's hearers by jesting at the wrong moment or making the speaker appear ignoble and mean-spirited, as Democrats did; for he went up into the assembly and said that he, like the State, had little strength but much bluster, and at the time of the disaster at Chacronela he came forward among the people and said, "I wish the State had not met with so great a misfortune as to make you listen even to me as adviser," for this remark showed him to be mean-spirited, the other to be crazy, and neither is becoming to a statesman. But in Phocion conciseness of speech was admired. At any rate Polyenetus declared that Demosthenes was the greatest orator, but Phocion the cleverest in speaking, because his speech contained the most meaning in the fewest words. And Demosthenes, though he despised the other orators, used to say when Phocion rose to speak, "The cleaver of my speeches is getting up."

8. Most of all, then, try to employ in addressing the people well-considered, not empty, speech, and to use precaution, knowing that even the great Pericles used to pray before making a public speech that no single utterance foreign to the matter in hand might occur to him. But nevertheless the orator must always keep his speech nimble and in good practice for making apt rejoinders; for occasions arise quickly and often bring with them in public affairs sudden developments. That is why Demosthenes was inferior to many, as they say, because he drew back and hesitated when the occasion called for the opposite course. And Theophrastus tells us that Alcibiades, because he planned, not only to say
(804) καὶ ὡς δεῖ βουλευόμενον, πολλάκις ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λέγειν ἥτοιντα καὶ συντιθέντα τὰς λέξεις ἐν-ισχείγαται καὶ διαπίπτειν. ὁ δ’ ὕπο τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἀνιστάμενος καὶ ὕπο τῶν καρδῶν ἐκπλήττει μάλιστα καὶ προσάγεται τοὺς πολλούς καὶ μετα-τίθεν· οἶον ὁ Βυζάντιος Λέων ἦκε δὴ ποτὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις στασιάζοντι διαλεξόμενον· ὅφθεις δὲ Β μικρὸς καὶ γελασθεῖς “τί δ’” εἴπεν “εἰ τὴν γυ-ναίκα μου θεάσασθε μόλις ἐξικυνομένην πρὸς τὸ γόνον;” πλείων οὖν ἐγένετο γέλως· “ἀλλ’ ἡμᾶς” εἶδη “μικρὸς οὕτως ὄντας, ὅταν διαφερόμεθα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἡ Βυζαντίων πόλις οὐ χωρεῖ.” Πυθέας δ’ ὁ βήτωρ, ὅτε πρὸς τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου τιμὰς ἀντέλεγεν, εὑρίσκοντος τῶν “οὕτως αὐτῶν ἡ ἄλλη πολιτεία ἡ κυρία τεκνών καὶ τῶν θυμάτων, καὶ ἂν αὐτοὶ τοίχοι ἀναμίκτων πολιτείας” καὶ μην Ἀλεξάνδρου” εἴπεν “ἐν ἐμοὶ νεώτερὸς ἔστιν, δὴ ἴσος ἐξαναπνεύσεις θεων εἶναι.”

9. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ φωνῆς εὔεξίας καὶ πνεύματος ρώμη πρὸς οὐ φαῦλον ἀλλὰ πάμμαχον ἀγώνα τῶν τῆς Κολοκυθάς θηληκότα κομίζει τοῦ λόγου, ὡς μὴ πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύοντα καὶ σβεννύμενον ὑπερβάλλην τις αὐτῶν ἀρπαξ κεκράκτης, κυκλοβόρου φωνῆ ἔχων.

Κάτων δὲ, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἠλπίζε πεῖσεν τῷ προκατ-έχεσθαι χάρισι καὶ σπουδαῖς τῶν δημόν ἢ τῆς βουλῆς, ἐλεγε τὴν ἡμέραν ὅλην ἁναστάς καὶ τὸν

1 ὑπερβάλλη Bernardakis: ὑπερβάλλοι.

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

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

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

Rapacious bawler with a torrent's voice. Cato, when he had no hope of winning his cause by persuasion because the popular assembly or the senate was gained over beforehand by favours and interests, used to get up and speak the whole day,
(804) καὶ ρὸν ὦτως ἐξεκροευ. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς τοῦ λόγου παρασκευῆς καὶ χρείας ἴκανα ταῦτα τῷ δυναμένῳ τὸ ἀκόλουθον προσεξευρίσκειν.

10. Εἰσοβλαί δὲ καὶ ὃδοι δύο τῆς πολιτείας εἰςών, ἡ μὲν ταχεία καὶ λαμπρὰ πρὸς δόξαν οὐ Δ μὴν ἀκίνδυνος, ἡ δὲ πεζοτέρᾳ καὶ βραδυτέρᾳ τὸ δ' ἀσφαλὲς ἔχουσα μᾶλλον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὖθυς ὡσπερ ἐξ ᾗκρας πελαγίου πράξεως ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ μεγάλης ἔχουσις δὲ τόλμαν ἀραντες ἀφήκαν ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἡγούμενοι λέγειν ὀρθῶς τὸν Πύνδαρον ὡς

ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργον πρόσωπον
χρῆ θέμεν τηλαυγές:

καὶ γὰρ δέχονται προθυμότερον οἱ πολλοὶ κόρῳ τῷ καὶ πλησιμονὶ τῶν συνήθῳ τῶν ἀρχόμενον,

ὡσπερ ἄγωνισθην θεαταὶ, καὶ τὸν φθόνον ἐκπλήττονσιν τις ἄνθρωποι καὶ ταχείαν ἀυξήσων

Ε ἀρχαι καὶ δυνάμεις. οὔτε γὰρ πῦρ φθησιν ὦ Ἀριστοκράτων κατὰν ποιεῖν οὔτε δοξαν φθόνον, ἣν εὖθυς ἐκλάμψῃ καὶ ταχεός, ἀλλὰ τῶν κατὰ μικρῶν αὐξανομένων καὶ σχολαίς ἀλλὸν ἀλλαχόθεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι· διὸ πολλοὶ πρὸς ἀνθήσαι περὶ τὸ βῆμα κατεμαράνθησαν. ὅπου δ', ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ Λάδα

λέγουσιν,

ὁ ψόφος ἢν ὑσπληγὸς ἐν ὁυασίαν,

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\[a\] OI. vi. 4. The translation is adapted from that of Sir John Sandys (L.C.I.).

\[b\] Paton's translation (in L.C.I.) of the phrase in Anth. 190
thus destroying his opponents' opportunity. On the subject, then, of the preparation of one's speech and the way to use it these remarks are enough for one who has the ability to go on and discover the conclusions to be drawn from them.

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

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

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

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

Plut. xi. 86 on Pericles, quoted from the earlier epigram on Ladas, a famous runner of Sparta. The sudden cutting or loosening of the taut rope stretched across the starting-line was accompanied by an audible sound. See E. N. Gardiner, Jour. Hell. Studies xxiii. p. 262.
ένθα κάστεφανοῦτο 1 πρεσβεύων ἡ θριαμβεύων ἡ
στρατηγῶν ἐπιφανώς, οὗτῷ οἱ φθονοῦντες οὐθὲ οἱ
καταφρονοῦντες ὤμοις ἐπὶ τοιούτων ἱσχύοντιν. οὗτῷ
παρῆλθεν εἰς δόξαν Ἄρατος, ἄρχην ποιη-
Γόσμενος πολιτείας τὴν Νικοκλέους τοῦ τυράννου
κατάλυσιν οὗτῳ Ἀλκιβιάδη, τὰ Μαντινικὰ
συστήσας ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους. Πομπήιος δὲ καὶ
θριαμβεύειν ἡξίου μήτω παριδί οἰς σύγκλητον οὐκ
ἐώς τοῦ Ἐλλά, "πλεῖονες" ἔφη "τὸν ἦλιον
ἀνατέλλοντα προσκυνοῦσιν ἡ δύομεν" καὶ Σύλλας
ὑπείξε τούτῳ ἀκούσας. καὶ Σκιπίωνα δὲ Κορνήλιου
οὐκ ἄφθω ἦν ἄρχης ὁ 'Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἀγο-
ρομαίων μετεχόμενον ἐξαίρετον ὑπόταν ἀπέδειξεν
805 παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ θαυμάσας αὐτοῦ μειραίου
μὲν ὄντος τὴν Ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ μονομαχίαν καὶ νίκην,
μικρὸν δ' ὑστερον τὰ πρὸς Καρχηδόνι χειραρχοῦντος
ἐργα, περὶ ὅν καὶ Κάτων ὁ πρεσβύτερος ἀν-
εφώνησεν:

οἷς πέπνυται, τοῖ δὲ σκιαὶ ἁλύσουσιν.

νῦν οὖν οτε τὰ πράγματα τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἔχει
πολέμων ἠγεμονίας οὔτε τυραννῶν καταλύσεις
οὔτε συμμαχικὰς πράξεις, τίν' ἂν τις ἄρχην ἐπι-
φανοῦς λάβοι καὶ λαμπρᾶς πολιτείας; αἱ δικαὶ τε
λειτουργοὶ αἱ δημόσιαι καὶ πρεσβεῖαι πρὸς αὐτο-
Β κράτορα ἀνδρὸς διαπύρου καὶ θάρσους ἁμα καὶ νοῦ
ἐχοντος ἀνέμεναι. πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παρει-

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

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

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

* Homer, Od. xi. 495 (slightly changed).
(805) μένων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καλῶν ἀναλαμβάνοντα καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἑθος φαίλου παραδημένων ἐπ’ αἰσχύνῃ τινὶ τῆς πόλεως ἤ βλάβη μεθυσάντα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστρέφειν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ δίκη μεγάλη καλῶς δικασθείσα καὶ πίστις ἐν συνηγορίᾳ πρὸς ἀντίδικον ἵσχυρὸν ὑπὲρ ἁσθενοῦς καὶ παρρησία πρὸς ἡγεμόνα μοχθηρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου κατέστησεν ἐνίοις εἰς ἀρχὴν πολιτείας ἔνδοξον. οὐκ ὅλιγοι δὲ καὶ δι’ ἔχθρας ἴσχυσθησαν, ἐπιχειρήσαντες ἀνθρώποις ἐπιφθονὸν ἔχοντο ἀξίωμα καὶ φοβερὸν εὐθὺς γὰρ ἢ

C τοῦ καταλυθέντος ἵσχυς τῷ κρατήσασθε μετὰ βελτίων δόξης ὑπάρχει. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἄνδρι χρηστῷ καὶ δι’ ἄρετὴν πρωτεῦοντι προσμάχεσθαι κατὰ φθόνον, ὡς Περικλεὶ Σιμμίας, Ἀλκμέων1 δὲ Θεμιστοκλεῖ, Πομπηίῳ δὲ Κλάδιος, Ἐπαμεινώνδα δὲ Μενεκλείδης ὁ βήτωρ, οὔτε πρὸς δόξαν καλὸν οὔτ’ ἄλλοι συμφέρον ὅταν γὰρ ἐξαμαρτόντες οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς ἄνδρα χρηστόν, εἰθ’ ὃ γίγνεται ταχέως ἐπ’ ὀργῇ μετανοήσωσι, πρὸς τούτο τὴν ράστην ἀπολογίαν δικαιοτάτην νομίζουσι, ἐπιτρύβας τὸν ἀναπείσαντα καὶ καταρξάμενον. τὸ μέντοι φαίλον ἀνθρωπον, ἀπονοὶ δὲ καὶ δεινότητι πεποιημένον

D ύφ’ αὐτῷ τὴν πόλιν, οἶδος ἢν Κλέων Ἀθηναίος καὶ Κλεοφῶν, ἔπαυστάντα καθελεῖν καὶ ταπεινώσαι λαμπρὰν ποιεῖται τὴν πάροδον ὡσπερ δράματος τῆς πολιτείας. οὐκ ἄγνωστο ὃ ὅτι καὶ βουλὴν τινὸς ἐπαχθῇ καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὴν κολούσαντες, ὡσπερ

1 Ἀλκμέων Bernardakis: ἀλκμαῖος.
in our cities which a man may take up, and also
many practices resulting from evil custom, that have
insinuated themselves to the shame or injury of the
city, which a man may remove, and thus turn them
to account for himself. Indeed in past times a just
verdict gained in a great suit, or good faith in acting
as advocate for a weak client against a powerful
opponent, or boldness of speech in behalf of the right
against a wicked ruler, has opened to some men a
glorious entrance into public life. And not a few
also have grown great through the enemies they have
made by attacking men whose position made them
enviable or caused them to be feared; for when
such a man is overthrown his power passes at once,
and with better reputation, to the man who over-
came him. For attacking, through motives of envy,
a good man who, on account of his virtue, is leader
of the state, as Pericles was attacked by Simmias,
Themistocles by Alcmeon, Pompey by Claudius, and
Epaminondas by Menecleides the orator, is neither
conducive to a good reputation nor advantageous in
any other way; for when the people have committed
a wrong against a good man and then (which happens
quickly) repent of their anger, they think the easiest
way to excuse themselves for this offence is the most
just, namely, to destroy the man who was the
author of it and persuaded them to commit it. On
the other hand, to revolt against a bad man who by
shameless audacity and cunning has made the city
subject to himself, such as Cleon and Cleophon were
at Athens, and to pull him down and humble him
provides a glorious entrance upon the stage of public
life. And I am not ignorant of the fact that some
men by curtailing the power of an oppressive and
(805) Ἐφίαλτος Ἀθήνης καὶ Φορμίων παρ᾽ Ἡλείως, δύναμιν ἀμα καὶ δόξαν έσχον· ἄλλα μέγας ἄρχομένωσιν πολυτελαῖος οὕτος ὦ κύνδυνος ἐστι. διὸ καὶ βελτίωνα Σόλων ἔλαβεν ἄρχην, διεστώτης ἐς τρία μέρη τῆς Επόλεως, τὸ τῶν Διακρίων λεγομένων καὶ τὸ τῶν Πεδιέων καὶ τὸ τῶν Παραλίων οὔδενι γὰρ ἐμμίξας ἑαυτὸν, ἄλλα κοινὸς ὦν πᾶσι καὶ πάντα λέγων καὶ πράττων πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν ἡρέθη νομοθέτης ἐπὶ τὰς διαλύσεις καὶ κατέστησεν οὕτω τὴν ἀρχὴν. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεστέρα πάροδος εἰς τὴν πολυτελίαν τοσαύτης ἔχει καὶ τοιαύτας ἄρχας.

11. Τὴν δ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ σχολαίαν εἶλοντο πολλοὶ τῶν ἑνδόξων, Ἀριστείδης, Φωκίων, Παμμένης ὁ Θηραῖος, Λεύκολλος ἐν Ρώμῃ, Κάτων, Ἀγγαίλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος· τούτων γὰρ ἐκατόσ, ἀσπερ οἱ κυττοι τόσι ἱσχύουσι τῶν δένδρων περιπλεκόμενοι οὐ καθαρότεροι, προσδραμών ἄνδρι πρεσβυτέρῳ νέος ἐτί καὶ ἀδόξος ἑνδόξῳ, κατὰ μικρὸν αἱρόμενος ὕπο τῆς περὶ ἔκεινον δυνάμεως καὶ συναυξανόμενος ἔρευσε καὶ κατέρριψεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν πολυτελίαν. Ἀριστείδης μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρησε Κλεοθέντης καὶ Φωκίων Χαβρίας, Λεύκολλον ἐν Σύλλας, Κάτωνα ἐν Μάξιμος, Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν Παμμένη, καὶ Λύσανδρος Ἀγγαίλαον ἀλλ' οὕτως μὲν ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας ἁκάριον καὶ ζητουτίπις διὰ δόξαν ὑβρίσας ἀποέρρυτος ταχὺ τὸν καθηγεμόνα τῶν πράξεων· οἱ δὲ ἀλλοὶ καλῶς καὶ πολιτικῶς καὶ ἀρχι τέλους ἔθερά-

1 νέος ἐτί Benseler: ἐτί νέος.
2 Λεύκολλον] Πομπήιον Kaltwasser.
3 Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐν Παμμένη Kaltwasser: ἐπαμεινώνδαν ἐν παμμένῃ.
4 ὑπὸ added by Meziriacus.
5 διὰ δόξαν Schaefer: δόξαν.
6 πράξεων Emperius: πραξέων.

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oligarchical senate, as Ephialtes did at Athens and Phormio at Elis, have gained at the same time both power and glory; but to one who is just entering upon public life there is a great risk in this. Therefore Solon made a better beginning, when the State was divided into three factions called the Diaerians ("hillfolk"), the Pedieans ("plainsfolk"), and the Paralians ("coastfolk"); for he entangled himself with none of them, but acted for all in common and said and did everything to bring about concord among them, so that he was chosen lawgiver to reconcile their differences and in this way established his rule.* So many, then, and of such kinds are the more conspicuous ways of entering upon a public career.

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

806 πευσαν καὶ συνεπεκόσμησαν, ὡσπερ τὰ πρὸς ἦλιον ὕφιστάμενα σώματα, τὸ λαμπρύνων αὐτοὺς πάλιν ἀφ’ ἐαυτῶν αὔξοντες καὶ συνεκφωτίζοντες. οἱ γοῦν Σκιπίων βασκάιόντες ὑποκριτὴν αὐτὸν ἀπεφαινοντο τῶν πράξεων ποιητὴν ἐκ Λαίλοιον τὸν ἐταίρον, ὁ δὲ Λαίλος ὑπ’ οὐδὲνος ἐπήρθη τούτων ἄλλ’ ἀεὶ διετέλεσε τὴν Σκιπίωνος ἀρετῆ καὶ δόξη συμφιλοτιμούμενος. Αφράνιος δὲ Πομπηίου φίλος, εἰ καὶ πάνυ ταπεινὸς ἦν, ὀμοὶ ἐπίδοξοι ὃν ὑπάτος αἱρεθήσεται, Πομπηίουν σπουδάζοντος ἐτέρους, ἀπέστη τῆς φιλοτιμίας εἰπὼν ὅτι ἂν οὕτω λαμπρόν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὸ τυχεῖν ὑπατείας, ὃς ἀνιαρὸν ἀμα καὶ δυσχερές, εἰ Πομπηίου μὴ θέλοντος μηδὲ συμπράττοντος· ἐναυτὸν οὖν ἀνασχόμενος μόνον ὄρθε τὴν ἀρχήν ἀπέτυχε καὶ τὴν φιλίαν διετήρησε. τοῖς δ’ οὕτω χειραγωγοῦμένοις υφ’ ἐτέρων ἐπὶ δόξαν ἀμα συμβαίνει χαρίζεσθαι τε πολλοῖς, κἂν τι συμβαίνῃ δύσκολον, ἦττον ἀπεχθάνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ Φίλιππος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ παρήγγει κτάσθαι φίλους, ἐνώς ἔξεσθι, βασιλεύσων ἐτέρου πρὸς χαρὰν ὀμιλοῦντα καὶ φιλοφρονοῦμενον.

12. Αἱρεῖσθαι δὲ δεὶ τὸν ἀρχόμενον πολιτείας. Καὶ ἦγεμόνα μὴ ἀπλῶς τῶν ἐνδοξῶν καὶ δυνατῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν δὲ ἀρετὴν τοιούτων. ὡς γὰρ οὐ πάν ἐνδοξῶν ἐθέλει προσέθεσθαι καὶ φέρειν περιπλεκομένην τὴν ἀμπελον ἀλλ’ ἐνα καταπνίγει καὶ διαφθείρει τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτῆς, οὕτως ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οἱ μὴ φιλόκαλοι, φιλότιμοι δὲ καὶ φιλαρχοὶ μόνον, οὐ προέντα τοῖς νέοις πράξεων ἀφορμᾶς, ἀλλ’ ὡσπερ

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

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

12. But anyone who is entering upon a public career should choose as his leader a man who is not merely of established reputation and powerful, but one who is all this on account of real worth. For just as not every tree will accept and support the grape-vine which entwines itself about it, but some trees stifle and ruin its growth, so in States, the men who are not lovers of what is noble, but merely lovers of honours and of office, do not afford young men opportunities for public activities, but through
(806) τροφήν ἐαυτῶν τὴν δόξαν ἁφαιρουμένους πιέζουσιν ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ καταμαραίνουσιν. ὡς Μάριος ἐν Λιβύη καὶ πάλιν ἐν Γαλατία πολλὰ διὰ Σύλλα κατορθώσε ἐπαύσατο χρώμενος, ἀχθεσθεὶς μὲν D αὐτοῦ τῇ αὐξήσει, πρόφασιν δὲ τὴν ςφαγίδα ποιησάμενος ἀπέρριψεν· ὅ γάρ Σύλλας, ὦτε τῷ Μαρίῳ στρατηγοῦντι συνή ταμειών ἐν Λιβύῃ, πεμφθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πρὸς Βώκχον ἦγαγεν 'Ἰογόρθαν αἰχμάλωτον· οὐδὲ νέος φιλότιμος, ἀρτι δόξης γεγευμένος, οὐκ ἠγγίκε μετρίως τὸ εὐτύχημα, γλυφάμενος δ’ εἰκόνα τῆς πράξεως ἐν σφαγίδι τὸν 'Ἰογόρθαν αὐτῷ παραδιδόμενον ἐφόρει· καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐγκαλῶν ὁ Μάριος ἀπέρριψεν αὐτόν· δ’ ἐν πρὸς Κάτουλον¹ καὶ Μέτελλον ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ Μαρίῳ διαφόρους μεταστὰς ταχὺ τὸν Μάριον ἐξῆλασε καὶ κατέλυσε τῷ ἐμφυλίῳ πολέμῳ μικρῷ Ἐ δεήσαντα τὴν 'Ῥώμην ἀνατρέψαι. Σύλλας μὲντοι καὶ Πομπήιον ἕκ νέου μὲν ἦρεν ὑπεξανιστᾶμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἄποκαλυπτόμενος ἐπιούντι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νέοις πράξεως ἤγεμονικῶν μεταδιδοὺς ἀφορμᾶς, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ παροξύνων ἄκοντας, ἐνέπλησε φιλοτιμίας καὶ ζήλου τὰ στρατεύματα· καὶ πάντων ἐκράτησε βουλόμενος εἶναι μὴ μόνος ἄλλα πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις. τούτων οὖν ἔχεσθαι δεὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τούτων ἐμφύεσθαι, μὴ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἀἰσιόππος βασιλέας Φ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμών τοῦ ἀετοῦ κομμαθεὶς αἰφνιδίου ἐξ-

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

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

\* Cf. Life of Marius, chap. x., and Life of Sulla, chap. iii.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

έπτη καὶ προέφθασεν, οὕτω τὴν ἐκείνων δόξαν ὑφ- 
ἀρπάξοντας αὐτοὺς ἄλλα παρ’ ἐκείνων ἁμα μετ’ 
εὐνοίας καὶ φιλίας λαμβάνοντας, ὡς οὖν ἄρξαι 
καλῶς τοὺς μὴ πρότερον ὀρθῶς δουλεύοντας, ἦ 
φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, δυναμένους.

13. “Επεταί δὲ τούτοις ἡ περὶ φίλων κρίσις, 
μήτε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέως ἐπαινοῦσα μήτε τὴν 
Κλέωνος διάνοιαν. ὦ μὲν γὰρ Κλέων, ὅτε πρῶτον 
ἐγνω τῆς πολιτείας ἀπεσθαί, τοὺς φίλους συν-
αγαγὼν εἰς ταύτο διελύσατο τὴν φιλίαν πρὸς αὐτούς, 
ὡς πολλὰ τῆς ὀρθῆς καὶ δικαίας προαιρέσεως 
μαλάσσουσαν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ παράγουσαν 
ἀμείνον δὴ ἀν ἐποίησε τὴν φιλοπλουτίαν ἕκβαλὼν 
807 τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν φιλονεκίαν καὶ φθόνον καὶ 
κακονθελίας καθήρας αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ ἀφίλων αἱ 
pόλεις ἀνδρῶν καὶ ἀνεταίρων ἀλλὰ χρηστῶν καὶ 
σωφρόνων δέονται: νυνὶ δὲ τοὺς μὲν φίλους 
ἀπήλασεν,

ἐκατὸν δὲ κύκλῳ κεφαλὰς κολάκων οἱμωξο-
μένων1 ἔλυχμωντο 
περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς οἱ κωμικοὶ λέγουσιν καὶ τραχὺς 
ὡν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς καὶ βαρὺς ἀθίς υπὲβαλλε 
τοῖς πολλοῖς πρὸς χάριν ἑαυτῶν,

γερονταγωγῶν κἀκαμισθαρεῖν2 διδοὺς,
καὶ τὸ φαιλότατον καὶ τὸ νοσοῦν μάλιστα τοῦ 
δήμου προσεταιριζόμενον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους. οὐ 
δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς πάλιν πρὸς τὸν ἀτοφηνάμενον, 
ὡς ἄρξῃ καλῶς ἵσον ἀπασί παρέχων ἑαυτῶν,

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

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receiving it from them in goodwill and friendship, knowing that no one can ever command well who has not first learned rightly to obey, as Plato says.¹

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

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

Its old age tending, dosing it with pay,²

and making the basest and most unsound element of the people his associates against the best. But Themistocles on the other hand, when someone said that he would govern well if he showed himself equally impartial to all, replied: "May I never

* Lacte, 762 E.
* Aristophanes, Peace, 756. The poet refers to Cleon.
B "μηδέποτ';" εἶπεν, "εἰς τοιούτον ἑγὼ καθίσαμι (807) θρόνον, ἐν δὲ πλέον οὐχ ἔχουσιν οἱ φίλοι παρ' ἐμοὶ τῶν μὴ φίλων," οὐδ' οὗτος ὡρθῶς τῇ φιλίᾳ κατεπαγγελλόμενος τὴν πολιτείαν καὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ δημοσία ταῖς ἴδιαις χάρισι καὶ σπουδαίς ύφεμένοις. καίτοι πρὸς γέ Σιμωνίδην ἀξιοῦντά τι τῶν μῆ δικαίων "οὔτε ποιητής," ἔφη, "σπουδαίος ἔστων ἄδων παρὰ μέλος οὐθ' ἄρχων ἐπιεικῆς παρὰ τὸν νόμον χαρίζομεν." δείγοι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ σχέτλιον, εἰ νάυτας μὲν ἐκλέγεται κυβερνήτης καὶ κυβερνήτην ναύκληρος

C εὖ μὲν ἐνὶ πρύμνῃ οἴημον, εὖ δὲ κεραίην εἰδότας ἐντείνασθαι ἐπορνυμένου ἀνέμου·

καὶ τις ἀρχιτέκτων ὑπουργοὺς καὶ χειροτέχνας, οἱ μὴ διαφθεροῦσιν αὐτοῦ τοῦργον ἀλλ' ἄριστα συνεκπονήσουν· ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, ἀριστοτέχνας τις ἦν κατὰ Πίνδαρον καὶ δημουργός εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης, οὐκ εὐθὺς αἰρήσεται φίλοις ὀμοιοπαθεῖς καὶ ὑπηρέτας καὶ συνενθουσίωτας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν, ἀλλ' ἀλλος πρὸς ἀλλην ἀεὶ χρείαν

D κάμπτοντας αὐτῶν ἀδίκως καὶ βιαίως· οὐδὲν τ' ὀφθήσεται διαφέρων ὀικοδόμου τινὸς ἡ τέκτωνος ἀπειρία καὶ πλημμελεία γνώνιας χρωμένον καὶ κανόνι καὶ στάθμαν, υπ' ἂν διαστρέφεσθαι τούργον ἐμελλέν ὄργανα γὰρ οἱ φίλοι ξάντα καὶ φρονοῦντα τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰσι, καὶ οὐ δεῖ συνολισθάνειν αὐτοῖς παραβαίνουσιν, ἀλλὰ προσ-

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

Well knowing how at the stern to hold steady the tiller and
also
How to stretch taut the yard ropes when rises the onrushing tempest,

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


* Pindar, Frag. 57, p. 403 Schroeder.
έχειν ὅπως μηδ' ἄγνοοντων αυτῶν ἐξαμαρτάνοισιν ὑπὸ τὸ γὰρ καὶ Σόλωνα κατηχοῦντες καὶ διεβαλεῖ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν λαβοῦν τὰ ὦ ὄφθαλμα καυχάσαι καὶ τὴν σεισάχθειν (τοῦτο δ' ἡν ὑποκόρισμα χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς) ἐσενεγκαίον ἐκοινώσατο τοῖς φίλοις· οἱ δ' ἔργον ἀδικώτατον ἑπράζαν ἐδανείσαντο γὰρ ὑποθέσαντες ἀργύριον πολὺ καὶ μετ' ὅλην χράσαν εἰς φῶς τοῦ νόμου προαχθέντος οἱ μὲν ἐφάνησαν οἰκίας τε λαμπράς καὶ γῆν συνεσιμμένοι πολλήν ἐξ ὧν ἐδανείσαντο χρημάτων· οὖ δὲ Σόλων αἰτίαν ἔσχε συναδίκεις ἡδικημένως· Ἀγισθάνου δὲ σερί τὰς τῶν φίλων αποδέχαται αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γιγνόμενος ἀσθενείσατο καὶ ταπευότατος ἄστερε ὁ ᾿Ευρίπιδος Πήγασος·

ἐπτη' ὑπείκον μᾶλλον εἰ μᾶλλον θέλοι, καὶ ταῖς ἀτυχίας προθυμότερον βοηθῶν τοῦ δέοντος· Εἴδοκει συνεξομοιώθαι ταῖς ἀδικίαις καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Φοιβίδαν κρενόμενον ἐσοφην ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν Καθμείναν καταλαβεῖν ἀνευ ὑποπόγαμας, φήσας τὰ τοιαύτα δὲν αὐτοματίζομεν καὶ Σφοδρίαν ἐπ᾽ ἐργῷ παραμώμενος καὶ δεινὸς φεύγωντα δίκην (ἐνέβαλε γὰρ εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν φίλων ἄντων καὶ συμμάχων) ἀφεθήμαι διεπράξατο, δεῖσεσαν ἐρωτικῶς τοῦ παιδὸς μαλαχθεῖς· καὶ πρὸς τινα δυνάστην ἐπιστόλαν αὐτοῦ τοιούτων φέρεται· "Νικίαν, εἰ μὲν οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἀφεῖ· εἰ δὲ ἀδικεῖ, ἐμοὶ ἀφεῖ· πάντως δὲ ἁφεῖ." ἄλλα

* The cancellation of debts was one of the chief features of Solon's reorganisation of the government of Athens in the sixth century B.C. The popular term means "shaking off burdens." This incident is discussed by Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, chap. vi., where Solon's innocence of wrongdoing is maintained.

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

Crouched down and yielded more if more he wished,

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

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* Cf. Moralia, 209 ε.
(608) Φωκίων οὖν οὐδὲ τῷ γαμβρῷ Ἡρακλῆς ἔχοντι περὶ τῶν Ἀρσαλείων συνεισήλθεν, ἀλλ’ "ἐγὼ σε," φήμας, "ἐπὶ πάντα τοῖς δικαίως ἐποιησάμην κηδεστήν," ἔχειτ' ἀπιῶν. καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ Καρύνθιος τὸν ἄδελφόν ἐπεὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεόμενος οὐκ ἀπεστήσα τῆς τυραννίδος, συνέπραξε τοῖς ἀνελούσι. δεῖ γὰρ οὐκ ἀχρὶ τοῦ βασιλεύ φίλον εἶναι τῷ μὴ Β συνεπορκεῖν;  ὡς ποτε Περικλῆς εἶπεν, ἀλλ’ ἀχρὶ παντὸς νόμου καὶ δικαίου καὶ συμφέροντος, ὁ παροβιθεὶν εἰς τινα μεγάλην βλάβην ἀναφέρει καὶ κοινήν, ὡς ἀνέφερε τὸ μὴ δοῦναι δίκην Σφοδρίαν μετεθεὶς Φοιβίδαν οὗτος γὰρ οὖν ἦκεν τῇ Σπάρτῃ ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὸν Λευκτρικὸν πόλεμον. ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε μετρίοις ἀμαρτήμασι τῶν φίλων ἐπεμβαίνειν βάρον ὁ πολιτικὸς οὐκ ἀναγκάζει λόγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διδωσιν εἰς ἀσφαλείς θεμένους τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κοινῶν ἐκ περιοικίας βοηθεῖν τοῖς φίλως καὶ παρίστασθαι καὶ συνεκπονεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. εἰς δὲ καὶ χάριτες ἀνεπίθυμους, συλλαβάζεται πρὸς ἀρχὴν τῷ φιλῷ μάλλον, ἐγχειρώσκει τινὰ διοικήσεων ἐνδεχόμενην ἢ προεβείαν ὁ φιλάνθρωπος, οἷον ἡγεμόνος τιμᾶς ἔχονσιν, ἢ πρὸς πόλιν ὑπὲρ φιλίας καὶ ὀμονοίας ἐπενεχθεῖν ἢν δ’ ἢ τις ἐργώδης ἐπιφανῆς δὲ καὶ μεγάλη πράξεις, αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς τάξεστα πρῶτον εἶναι προσελέσθαι τῶν φίλων, ὡς ὁ Διομήδης

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

a Cf. Life of Timoleon, chaps. iv., v., pp. 237, 238.
A proverbial expression (Latin usque ad aras) equivalent to our "to the bitter end"; cf. Moralia, 531 d.

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(808) ei μὲν δὴ ἔταρόν γε κελεύετε μ' αὐτὸν ἐλέσθαι, πῶς ἂν ἔπειτ' Ὁδυσσῆος ἐγὼ θεὸν λαθοῦμην; κάκεινος αὖ πάλιν ἀνταποδίδωσιν οἰκείως τοῦ ἐπαινοῦν ἢποι δ' οἶδε, γεραιὲ, νεῖλυδες, οὗς ἔρεελεις, Θρηκίοι, τὸν δὲ σφιν ἀνακτ' ἀγαθὸς Διομήδης ἐκτανεῖ, πάρ δ' ἐτάρους δυνακάδεκα πάντας ἀρίστους. αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ύφεσις οὐχ ἦττον. D ἐπικοσμεῖ τῶν ἐπαινομένων τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας: ἢ δ' αὐθάδεια, φησιν οἳ Πλάτων, ἔρημικα σύνοικος. ἔτι τοῖνω ταῖς καλαῖς καὶ φιλανθρώπους χάρισι δεὶ τοὺς φίλους συνεισποιεῖν καὶ κελεύειν τοὺς εἴ παθόντας ἐκεῖνους ἐπαίνει καὶ ἀγαπάν, ὡς αὐτοὺς ἁμα καὶ συμβούλους γεγενημένους. τὰς δὲ φαύλας καὶ ἀτόπους αξιῶσεις ἀποτρίβεσθαι μὴ πικρᾶς ἄλλα πράως, διδάσκοντα καὶ παραμυθούμενον ὡς οὐκ ἔξια τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετής εἰς καὶ δόξης. ἀριστα δ' ἀνθρώπων ὁ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἀρνησάμενος δεηθέντι τῷ Πελοπίδᾳ τὸν κάτηλον ἐκ τῆς εἰρκτῆς ἀφεῖναι καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων τῆς ἐρωμένης δεηθείσης ἀφεῖ, “τοιαύτας,” ἔφη, “χάριτας, ὁ Πελοπίδα, λαμβάνειν ἐταυρίδους οὐ στρατηγοὺς πρέπον ἐστίν.” δὲ Κάτων βαρέως καὶ αὐθάδως, ἐπεὶ Κάτιος ὁ τυμητής, φιλος ὄν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ συνήθης, ἔχειτε τινα τῶν κρινομένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ταμευόντος “αἰσχρὸν ἐστίν,” ἔφη, “σὲ τὸν ὄφειλοντα τοὺς νέους ἦμᾶς σωφρονίζειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰμητέρων ὑπηρετῶν ἐκβάλλεσθαι.” τῷ γὰρ ἐργῷ τῆς χάριν 210
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 808

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

And Odysseus again fittingly returns the compliment:

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

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

* Homer, Il. x. 242.
* Homer, Il. x. 538.
* Plato, Letters, iv. 331 a.
Πλούταρχος, Μοραλίες

Εφέτην ἀπεισάμενον ἀφελείν τοῦ λόγου τὴν τραχύτητα καὶ πικραίαν, ὡς μηδὲ τῇ πράξει τὸ λυπηρὸν ἔκουσίως ἀλλ’ ἀναγκαίως ἐπιφέροντα διὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς χρηματισμὸν οὐκ ἀγεννεῖς ἐν πολιτείᾳ τοὺς δεσμένους τῶν φίλων αἱ συλλήψεις· οἷον ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς, μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἰδίων νεκρὸν στρεπτα χρυσά καὶ μανιάκην περικείμενον αὐτὸς μὲν παρῆλθεν, ἑπιστραφεὶς δὲ πρὸς τὸν φίλον "ἀνελοῦς ταῦτ’" εἶπεν, "οὐ γὰρ καὶ 809 οὐ Θεμιστοκλῆς γέγονας." διδώσει γὰρ καὶ τούτο πολλάκις τῷ πολιτικῷ τὰ πράγματα πρὸς τοὺς φίλους. οὔ γὰρ δὴ Μενέμαχοι πάντες εἰσὶ· τῶν μὲν ἐγχείρισον συνηγορῶν ἐμμισθὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου, τῶν δὲ σύμτησιν πλουσίων ἐπιμελείας καὶ προστασίας δεόμενον· ἄλλω δὲ εἰς ἐργαλεῖαν τινὰ σύμπραξον ἢ μίσθωσιν ὑφελείας ἐχοῦσαν. Ἐπαθεμεωσάμενας δὲ καὶ πλουσίων τινὶ προσελθόντα φίλον αἰτεῖν ἐκέλευσε τάλαντον, ὡς αὐτὸν δοθαι κελεύσαντος· εἶπε δ’ ὁ αἰτηθεῖς ἐλθὼν ἐπιυπνάντεο τὴν αἰτίαν, "ὅτι χρηστός," εἶπεν, "οὔτος ὁν πένης ἔστι, οὐ δὲ πλουτεῖς πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως νεοσφι-βισμένος." καὶ τὸν Ἀργαίλαου ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἀγάλλωσε θεεί πλουτίζοντα τοὺς φίλους, αὐτὸν δὲ κρείττονα χρημάτων.

14. Ἐπεὶ δὲ "πᾶσαι κορυβαλλόσι" κατὰ Σμιμωνίδην "χρή λόφον ἐγγενέσθαι" καὶ πᾶσα πολιτεία φέρει τινὰς ἔχθρας καὶ διαφοράς, οὐχ ἡκιστα προσηκεὶ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐσκέφθαι τῶν πολιτικῶν, οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Ἀριστείδην ἑπαμούσιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων

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

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

* Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 416, no. 68.
πῆς ἡμέρας ἀνδροδικίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπετέλεσαν

D ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήκοα καὶ τὸν θάλασσαν, καὶ

φάντασα, ἀλλὰ περιπτώθηκεν ἡ μέλλων φύλα,

ποὺ ὑπέκειον ἕτερος ὑποτατοῦ καὶ ἄλλος δυσθενὴς καὶ θάρρους ὁ δὲ πρὸς τὸν φως ἔπεσεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θάλασσαν ἀνήκοα καὶ τὸν θάλασσαν, καὶ

πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνήκοα καὶ τὸν θάλασσαν, καὶ
mand of an army, laid down their private enmity at
the frontier, then took it up again later. And some
people also are immensely pleased by the conduct of
Cretinas of Magnesia. He was a political opponent
of Hermeias, a man who was not powerful but was
of ambitious spirit and brilliant mind, and when the
Mithridatic war broke out, seeing that the State was
in danger, he told Hermeias to take over the com-
mand and manage affairs, while he himself withdrew;
or, if Hermeias wished him to be general, then
Hermeias should remove himself, that they might
not by ambitious strife with one another destroy the
State. The challenge pleased Hermeias, and saying
that Cretinas was more versed in war than himself,
he went away with his wife and children. And as he
was departing Cretinas escorted him, first giving him
out of his own means such things as were more useful
to exiles than to people besieged in a city, after which
by his excellent military leadership he saved the State
unexpectedly when it was on the brink of destruction.
For if it is a noble thing and the mark of an exalted
spirit to exclaim

*I love my children, but I love my country more,*
would it not have been easier for each of them to say,
"I hate so-and-so and wish to do him harm, but
I love my country more"? For to be unwilling to
make peace with a personal enemy for the sake of
those things for which we ought even to give up a
friend is shockingly uncivilized and as low as the
beasts. Certainly Phocion and Cato and their like
acted much better, for they would allow no personal
enmity to have any bearing whatsoever upon political
from the *Erechtheus* of Euripides and spoken by Praxithena,
wife of Erechtheus.
Ε διαφοράς, άλλα δεινοί καὶ ἀπαραίτητοι μόνον ἐν τοῖς δημοσίωσι ἀγώνων οὔτε μὴ προέσθαι τὸ συμφέρον, ἕν δὲ τοῖς ἱδίοις ἀμηνίτασι καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρώμενοι τοῖς ἐκεῖ διαφερομένοις. Δεί γὰρ ἑκατέρον μηδένα πολέτην νομίζειν, ἀν μὴ τις, οἶας Ἀριστίων ἡ Νάβις ἡ Κατελίνας, νόησις καὶ ἀπόστημα πόλεως ἐγχένηται· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπάδοντας ὦσπερ ἀρµονικὸν ἐπιείκοντα καὶ χαλώντα πράσως εἰς τὸ ἐμμελὲς ἁγεῖν, μὴ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνοντες σὺν ἄρης καὶ πρὸς ἄβρον ἐπεφυόμενον, ἀλλ’ ὡς "Ομηρὸς ἡθικώτερον.

Ε ὁ πέπων, ἢ τ’ ἐφάμην σε περὶ φρένας ἐμμεναὶ ἄλλων καὶ οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μέθον ἀμείωνα τοῦτο νοῆσαι.

ἄν τε τι χρηστὸν εἶποσιν ἢ πράξωσιν, μὴ τιμαῖς ἀχθόμενοι αὐτῶν μηδὲ λόγων εὐφήμων ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις¹ φειδόμενοι- οὖτω γὰρ ὅ τε φόρος ὁποὺ δεὶ πλοῖν ἔξει, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κακίαν διαβαλοῦμεν αὐτοὺς αὐξόντες τὴν ἅρετην καὶ ταύτα παραβάλλοντες ἐκεῖνος ὡς ἄξια καὶ πρέποντα μᾶλλον. 810 ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ μαρτυρέων ἄξιω τὰ δίκαια καὶ τοῖς διαφόροις τὸν πολιτικὸν ἄνδρα καὶ βοηθεῖν κρινο-μένοις πρὸς τοὺς συκοφάντας καὶ ταῖς διαβολαῖς ἀπιστεῖν, ἀν ὡσιν ἀλλότρια τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν ὦσπερ ὁ Νέρων ἐκεῖνος ἀλέγων ἐμπροσθεν ἢ κτεῖναι τὸν Ὁρασίαν μάλιστα μισῶν καὶ φοβοῦ-

¹ καλοῖς ἔργοις Rolske: καλοῖς.

* Homer, II. xvii. 171.
* Homer, II. vii. 388.
differences, but were stern and inexorable only in public contests against sacrificing what was for the common good; yet in private matters they treated kindly and without anger their political opponents. For the statesman should not regard any fellow-citizen as an enemy, unless some man, such as Aristion, Nabis, or Catiline, should appear who is a pest and a running sore to the State. Those who are in other ways out of harmony he should, like a skilful musician, bring into unison by gently tightening or relaxing the strings of his control, not attacking angrily and insultingly those who err, but making an appeal designed rather to make a moral impression, as Homer does:

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

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

But if they say or do anything good, he should not be vexed by their honours, nor should he be sparing of complimentary words for their good actions; for if we act in this way our blame, where it is needed, will be thought justified, and we shall make them dislike evil by exalting virtue and showing through comparison that good actions are more worthy and fitting than the other kind. And I think also that the statesman should give testimony in just causes even for his opponents, should aid them in court against the blackmailers, and should discredit calumnies about them if such accusations are alien to the principles they profess; just as the infamous Nero, a little before he put Thraseas to death, whom he hated and feared intensely, nevertheless
μενος, διως ἐγκαλοθυτός τινος ὡς κακῶς κεκρε-μένου καὶ ἀδίκως, "ἐβουλόμην ἂν," ἔφη, "Θρασέαν οὔτως ἐμὲ φιλεῖν, ὡς δικαστὴς ἀριστός ἔστω." Οὐ̣ χείρον δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐπιπλήξειν ἑτέρων φύσει πονηρῶν καὶ μᾶλλον ἀμαρτανόντων ἐχθροῦ μισθοθετέτων κομματίτερον τὸ ἱθός εἰπεῖν "ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνος Βοῦκ ἂν τοὺς εἰπεν οὐδ’ ἔποιησεν." ὑπομηνυτέον δὲ καὶ πατέρων ἀγαθῶν εῖνος, ὅταν ἐξαμαρ-τάνωσιν ὅλου "Ομηρος

ἡ ὅλην οἱ παῖδα ἐσκότα γείνατο Τιτιδῆς·
καὶ πρὸς Σκιπίωνα τὸν Ἄφρικανον "Ἀποικος ἐν ἀρχαίοις διαγωνιζόμενος ἢλίκοιν ἂν," εἶπεν, "ὡς Παύλε, στενάξεις ὑπὸ γῆς, αἰσθάμενος ὅτι σου τὸν υἱὸν ἐπὶ τιμητικὴν ἀρχὴν καταβαίνοντα Φιλόνικος ὁ τελώνης δορυφορεί." τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα νοεθετεῖ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἡμα καὶ κοσμεῖ τοὺς νοθετοῦντας. πολιτικῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ Νέστωρ ὁ τοῦ Σοφοκλέους ἀποκρίνεται λοιδοροζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Λάιαντος.

Ο ὁμέροις σε: δρῶν γὰρ εἰ κακῶς λέγεις.
καὶ Κάτων δυναχθεὶς πρὸς τῶν Πομπήιον ἐν οἷς ἐβιάζετο τὴν πόλιν μετὰ Καλσάρους, ἐπεὶ κατα-δύσθησαν εἰς πόλεμον, ἐκέλευσε Πομπήιος παρα-δούναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, ἐπειδὴ ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστι καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ μεγάλα κακὰ καὶ παύειν. ὁ γὰρ μεμιμημένος ἐπάλυσ τὸν ἄγος σὰκ ἔχων ὑβρίς ἄλλα

1 kal added by H.N.F.
2 olos added by Bernardakis.
3 Φιλόνικος Reiske: ἀντέλλωνος.
when someone accused him of a bad and unjust decision in court, said: “I wish Thraseas were as good a friend to me as he is a most excellent judge.”

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

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

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

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

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

* Homer, H. v. 800, referring to Diomedes.
* Scipio Africanus the younger (185–129 B.C.) was the son of L. Aemilius Paulus.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(810) παρρησιαν, αὖδὲ θυμὸν ἄλλα δηγμὸν ἐμποίην καὶ μετάνοιαν, εὐμενὴς φαίνεται καὶ θεραπευτικὸς· αἱ δὲ λοιδορίαι τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἥκιστα πρέπουσαν. ὥρα δὲ τὰ πρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρην ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους εἰρημένα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοῦτον ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ πάλιν ἀ πρὸς Δημάδην γέγραφεν Ἱππείδης, εἰ Σόλων ἢ ἂν εἶπεν ἡ Περικλῆς ἡ Δικούργος ὁ Δακεδαμίωνος ἡ Πιττακός ἡ Λέοβις. καὶ τοι γε καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ δικαίῳ τὸ λοιδοροῦν ἔχει μόνον, οἱ δὲ Φιλιππικοὶ καθαρεύοντο καὶ σκάμματος καὶ βωμολοχίας ἀπάσης· τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀκούστων μᾶλλον Ἀλεξάνδρου τοὺς λέγοντας, ἐτε δὲ καὶ σύγχυσιν ἀπεργάζεται τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ διαταραχτεί τὰ βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἐκκλησίας. οὗτος ἠρισθεὶς ὁ Φωκίδης ὑπεκοστὰς τῷ λοιδοροῦντι καὶ πανσάμενος τοῦ λέγειν, ἐπεὶ μόλις ὄντωπος ὁ ἄθρωπος, αὐτῆς παρελθὼν "οὐκοῦν," ἐφη, "περὶ μὲν τῶν ἐπτέων καὶ τῶν ὀπλωτῶν ἀκτικάστε, λέπτηται δὲ μοι περὶ Β τῶν ψυλῶν καὶ πελταστῶν διελθέαν·" ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ πολλοῖς γε δυσκαθεκτῶν ἔστι τὸ ἐφάγμα καὶ πολλάκις ὑπ’ ἄρρητος οἱ λοιδοροῦντες ἐπιστομῆ-ζονται ταῖς ἀπαντήσεωιν, ἔστω βραχεία τῇ λέξει καὶ μή θυμὸν ἐμφαίνωσα μηδ’ ἄκραχελιάν, ἀλλὰ πρασίττε μετὰ παιδίας καὶ χάριτος ἀμωσγέπους δάκνουσαν αἱ δ’ ἀντιστρέφουσαν μάλιστα τοι-αύται. καθάπερ γὰρ τῶν βελῶν ὥσα πρὸς τὸν βαλόντα φέρεται πάλιν ῥόμη τινὶ δοκεῖ καὶ στερεά- γε την πληγέντος ἀνακρουόμενα τούτο πάσχειν·

1 ἦν δὲ Wullenbach: ἦν (ὅτι Coraces).
of speech, and arouses not anger but a prickling of the conscience and repentance, appears both kindly and healing; but abusive speech is not at all fitting for statesmen. Observe the things that were said by Demosthenes against Aeschines and by Aeschines against him and again those which Hypercides wrote against Demades, and ask yourself if a Solon or a Pericles or Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian or Pittacus the Lesbian would have said them. And yet even Demosthenes employs abuse only in his speeches before a court of law; the Philippics are free from all jeering and scurrility. For such things bring disgrace upon the speakers rather than upon those spoken of, and moreover they bring confusion into the conduct of affairs and they disturb councils and assemblies. Therefore Phocion did well when he stopped speaking and yielded the floor to a man who was reviling him, and then, when the fellow had at last become silent, came forward again saying: "Well, then, about the cavalry and the heavy infantry you have heard already; it remains for me to discuss the light infantry and the targeteers." But since many men find it hard to endure that sort of thing quietly, and abusive speakers are often, and not without general benefit, made to shut their mouths by the retorts they evoke, let the reply be brief in wording, showing no temper and no extreme rancour, but urbanity mingled with playfulness and grace which somehow or other has a sting in it. Retorts which turn his own words back upon the speaker are especially good in this way. For just as things which are thrown and return to the thrower seem to do this because they are driven back by some force and firmness of that against
οδυο τὸ λεγὼν ὅπως ῥώμης καὶ συνέσεως τοῦ λαοδορθέντος ἐπὶ τοὺς λαοδορθόσαντας ἀναστρέφεις ἔσθικεν· ὡς τὸ Ἐσπαμεινώνδου πρὸς Καλλιάστρατον, ὁμειδίζοντα Θηβαῖοις καὶ Ἀργελοὶ τὴν Οἰδίποδος πατροκτονίαν καὶ τὴν Ὀρέστου μητροκτονίαν, οὔτε "τοὺς ταύτα ποιήσαντας ἴματι ἐκβαλλόντων ἴματις ἐξετασθεν"· καὶ τὸ Ἀυταλκήδου τοῦ Σπαρτιάτου πρὸς τὸν Ἀθηναίον τοῦ φήσαντα "πολλάκις ἴματος ἀπὸ τοῦ Κηφισοῦ ἐδιώκαμεν," "καὶ ἴματις ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐμύρατος οὐδέποτε." χαριέστως δὲ καὶ ὁ Φωκίων, τοῦ Δημάρδους κεκραγότος "Ἀθηναίοι σε ἀποκτενοῦν"· "αἰνιγμένων," ἐφη, "σε δὲ, ἄν σωφρονοστε" καὶ Κράτωσος ὁ Ῥήτωρ, Δομιτῆρ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντος "οὐ σοὶ μυράχθης ἐν κολυμβήθρᾳ σοι, τρεφομένης εἰς ἀποθανοῦσης ἐκκλαμουσάς;", ἀνταράχτησεν "οὐ σοὶ τρεῖς γυναῖκες θαλαμαὶς καὶ οὐκ ἔρκυφας;", ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἠχεῖ τινά χρειᾶν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἄλλον βίον.

15. Πολυτείας δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς ἀπαν ἐνθύνονται μέρος, ὁπερ δ' Κάτων, οὐδεμᾶς ἄξιοντες εἰς Β δύναμιν ἀπολείπεσθαι φροντίδος οὐθ' ἐπιμελείας τοῦ ἀγαθὸν πολίτην καὶ τῶν Ἐσπαμεινωνίων ἐπίμανον, ὁτι φθόνοι καὶ πρὸς ὑβρὶς ἀποδειχθεῖς τέλμαρχος· ὡς τῶν Θηβαίων οὐκ ἔμελπησεν, ἀλλ' εἵπαν ὅσα οὐ μόνον ἄρχη ἀνδὴ δείκνυσιν ἄλλα

1 τέλμαρχος Wineckelmann and van Herwerden: τέλμαρχος.

* No such official as telearchos is mentioned elsewhere, and the word itself describes no function. On the other hand, telmarchos or telmatarchos, conjectured independently
which they are thrown, so that which is spoken seems
to callistratus, who reproached the Thebans and the
argives because oedipus killed his father and orestes
killed his mother: "when we had driven out the
doors of those deeds, you took them in," and that of
antalcidas the spartan to the Athenian who said
"We have often chased you away from the cephasus,"
"Yes, but we have never had to chase you from the
eurotas." and phocion also made a witty retort,
when, after demades had screamed "the Athenians
will put you to death," he replied, "Yes, if they are
crazy; but you are the one whom they will execute,
if they are sane." and crassus the orator, when
domitian said to him, "It was you, was it not, who
wept when a lamprey died that you kept in a tank?"
retorted with the question, "It was you, was it not,
who buried three wives without shedding a tear?"
apt replies of this sort, however, are of some use
also in life in general.

15. There are men who enter upon every kind of
public service, as cato did, claiming that the good
citizen ought, so far as in him lies, to omit no trouble
or diligence; and they commend epameinondas
because, when through envy and as an insult he
had been appointed telmarch by the Thebans, he did
not neglect his duties, but saying that not only does
the office distinguish the man, but also the man the
by Winkelmann and van herwerden, although not found
elsewhere, gives a meaning which accords with Plutarch's
description, "official of stagnant pools," or a special kind of
collector of refuse and other nuisances from the streets, very
like the koprologos of Athens.
καὶ ὁρχὴν ἀνήρ, εἰς μέγα καὶ σεμώνων ἀξίωμα προ-
ήγαγε τὴν τελμαρχίαν, οὐδὲν οδοὺν πρότερον ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς ἐκβολῆς κατῆρων καὶ βευ-
μάτων ἀποτροπῆς ἐπιμελείαν τινα. καὶ γὰρ δὲ ἀμέλει-
παρέχει γέλωτα τοῖς παρεπιδημοῦσιν, ὄρωμενος ἐν 
δημοσίῳ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλὰς ἄλλα βοηθεῖ 
μου τὸ τοῦ 'Ἀντισθένους μνημονευόμενον' θαυμά-

Ο σαντος γὰρ τινος, εἰ δὲ ἄγορὰς αὐτὸς φέρει τάριχος,
"ἐμαυτῷ γ'," εἶπεν ἐγώ δ' ἀνάπαυς πρὸς τοὺς 
ἐγκαλοῦντας, εἰ κεράμῳ παρέστηκα διαμετρομένως 
καὶ φυράμασι καὶ λίθοις παρακομιζόμενος, οὐκ 
ἐμαυτῷ γ' φημί ταῦτ' οἰκονομεῖν' ἀλλὰ τῇ πατρίδι, 
καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἄλλα πολλὰ μικρὸς ἄν τὸ ἐξή καὶ 
γλίσχρος αὐτῷ διοικῶν καὶ δ' αὐτὸν πραγμα-
τευόμενος· εἰ δὲ δημοσίᾳ καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, οὐκ 
ἀγεννης, ἄλλα μείζον τὸ μέχρι μικρὸν ἐπιμελεῖ 
καὶ πρόθυμων. ἄτεροι δὲ σεμώτερον οἴονται καὶ 
μεγαλοπρεπέστερον εἶναι τὸ τοῦ Περικλέους· ἀπὸ 
καὶ Κριτόλαος ἐστὶν ὁ Περιστατητικὸς ἄξιων, ὡσπερ 
ὁ Ἑλληνικὸς ναῦς 'Αθηναίοι καὶ ὁ Πήραλς οὐκ ἐπὶ 
τὸν ἐργὸν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας καὶ μεγάλας κατ-
εσπώντα πράξεις, οὕτως ἐαυτῷ πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα 
καὶ μέγιστα χρῆσθαι, ὡς ὁ τοῦ κόσμου βασιλεὺς,

τῶν ἄγαν γὰρ ἀπετεί 
θεὸς, τὰ μικρὰ δ' εἰς τὴχνην ἀνέισ᾿ ἐξ

κατὰ τὸν Ἑθεριδῆν.

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1 τελμαρχίας Wineckelmann and van Herwerden: τελεστριχα.  
2 οἰκονομεῖν Χυλανδέρ: οἰκοδομεῖν.  
3 ἀνέισ᾿ ἀνέισ Moralia, 464 a.

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

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

according to Euripides.
(811) Οὔδε γὰρ τοῦ Θεαγένους τὸ φιλότιμον ἁγαν καὶ ἕπονεικόν ἐπαινοῦμεν, δε σὺ μόνον τὴν περίοδον νεικηκᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἁγῶνας, οὐ παγκρατίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πυγμῆς καὶ δολίχω, τέλος ἤρωα δειπτῶν ἐπιτάφιον τινός, ὅστερ εἰσέδει, προτεθείσης ἐπικατά τὴς μερίδος, ἀναπηδήσας διεπαγκρατίσας, ὡς οὐδένα μικὰν δέον αὐτοῦ παρόντος· ὅθεν ἦττοις χιλίους καὶ διακοσίους στεφάνους, ὃν συνθετὸν ἐν τις ἡγήσατο τοὺς πλείστους. οὐδὲν οὖν τούτων διαφέρεται οἵ πόροι πάσαι ἀποδεόμενοι πολιτικήν πράξιν, ἀλλὰ μεμποτοὺς τε ταχύ ποιοῦσιν ἐαυτούς τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπαχθεῖς τε γίγνονται καὶ κατορθοῦντες ἐπίθεους, καὶ σφαλώσων, ἐπίχαρτοι, καὶ τὸ θαυμαζόμενον αὐτῶν ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς ἐπιμελείας εἰς χλευασμὸν ὑπονοεῖται καὶ γέλωτα. τοιοῦτον τό Ἡ Μητίοχος μὲν γὰρ στρατηγεῖ, Μητίοχος δὲ τὰς ὁδοὺς,
Μητίοχος δ’ ἄρτους ἐποπα, Μητίοχος δὲ τάλφετα,
Μητίοχος δὲ πάντ' ἀκεῖται, Μητίοχος δ’ οἰ- μῶξεται.

τῶν Περικλέους οὗτος εἰς ἓν ἑταῖρον, τῇ δὲ ἐκεί- νον, ὡς ἔοικε, δυνάμει χράμενος ἐπιφθόνως καὶ κατακόρως. δεὶ δὲ, ὡς φαίνει, ἔξωτο τῇ δήμῳ τῶν πολιτικῶν προσφέρεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρόντος

1 δολίχω Bernardakis: δολιά.
2 τοιοῦτον τὸ Dindorf: τοιοῦτον.
3 ἐποπα Dindorf: ἐποπα τα ἐποπάτα.
4 πάντ' ἀκεῖται Abresch and Bernardakis: πάντα κεῖται.

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

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

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

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

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ὅσων πόθον ἐναπολείπειν· δὲ καὶ Ἡκιστῆς ὁ
812 Ἀφρικανὸς ἔποιεῖ πολύν χρόνον ἐν ἀγρῷ διατύπω-
μενὸς, ἀµα καὶ τοῦ φθόνου τὸ βάρος ἀφαιρών καὶ
διδοὺς ἀναπνοήν τοῖς πεέξεσθαι δοκοῦν ὅπω τῆς
ἐκείνου δόξης. Τιμησίας δὲ ὁ Κλαξομένιος τὰ μὲν
ἀλλὰ ἦν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνὴρ ἁγαθός, τῷ δὲ πάντα
πράσσειν δὲ ἔστων φθονοῦμενος ἡγοοῦται καὶ μισοῦ-
μενος, ἐως αὐτῷ συνῆκτα τι τοιοῦτον ἔτυχον ἐν ὁδῷ
παῖδες ἐκ λάκκου τῶν ἀστράγαλον ἐκκόπτοντες,
ἐκείνου παριστούσος· ὅν οἱ μὲν ἐφασκὸν μένειν, ὃ δὲ
πατάξας " αὐτῷς," εἶπεν, " ἐκκόψαμι Τιμησίου
τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, ὥς οὗτος ἐκκέκοπται." τοὺς δὲ
Τιμησίας ἀκούσας καὶ συνείς τὸν διήκοντα διὰ
Β πᾶντων αὐτοῦ φθόνου, ἀναστέφας ἔφρασε τὸ
πράγμα τῇ γυναικί, καὶ κελέουσα ἔπεσθαι συν-
εκαυσαμένην εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν ὁχύτ' ἀπωλὼν
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως.· ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς, τοιοῦ-
του τῶν ἀπαστώντος αὐτῶν παρὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων,
εἶπεν " τι, ὦ μακάριοι, κοπιάτε παλλάκις εὖ
πάσχοντες;" τῶν δὲ τοιούτων τὰ μὲν ἄρθρας τὰ δὲ οὐκ εὖ
λελείπαν· τῇ μὲν γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ καὶ κηδεμονίᾳ δεῖ
μηδενὸς ἀφεστάναι τῶν κωμῶν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι προσ-
έχειν καὶ γεγνώσκειν ἐκαστα, μενέ ὡσπερ ἐν
Ϲ πλοῦτος σκέυος ἐρῶν ἀποκαλυπταί τὰς ἐσχάτας περι-
μένουτα χρέιας τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἄλλης· ὅσι δὲ
κυβερνήται τὰ μὲν ταῖς χερεῖ δὲ αὐτῶν πράττουσι,
τὰ δ οργάνως ἐτέροις δὲ ἐτέρων ἀπωθηθὲν καθ-
1 αὐτοῦ Bernardakis: αὐτοῦ.

* Meaning the largest anchor, held in reserve and used only in a crisis; cf. below, 815 u and Lucian, Iuppiter Tragedus, chap. ii. and scholium.
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him when he is not there; which Scipio Africanus accomplished by spending much of his time in the country, thereby at one and the same time removing the weight of envy and giving a breathing-space to those who thought they were oppressed by his glory. But Timesias of Clazomenae was in other respects a good man in his service to the State, but by doing everything himself he had aroused rancour and hatred; but of this he was unaware until the following incident took place:—Some boys were knocking a knuckle-bone out of a hole when he was passing by; and some of them said it was still in the hole, but the boy who had struck at it said: "I'd like to knock the brains out of Timesias as truly as this has been knocked out of the hole." Timesias, hearing this and understanding that dislike of him had permeated all the people, returned home and told his wife what had happened; and directing her to pack up and follow him, he went immediately away from his house and out from the city. And it appears that Themistocles, when he met with some such treatment from the Athenians, said, "Why, my dear people, are you tired of receiving repeated benefits?"

Now of such sayings some are well said, others are not. For so far as goodwill and solicitude for the common weal are concerned, a statesman should not hold aloof from any part of public affairs, but should pay attention to them all and inform himself about all details; nor should he, as the ship's gear called sacred a is stowed apart, hold himself aloof, waiting for the extreme necessities and fortunes of the State; but just as pilots do some things with their own hands but perform other duties by means of different instruments operated by different agents, thus giving
(802) ἢμενοι περιάγουνι καὶ στρέφουσι, χρώται δὲ καὶ
ναύταις καὶ πρωρεθὶς καὶ κελευσταῖς, καὶ τοῦτων ἐνίοτε ἀνακαλοῦμεν πολλάκις εἰς πρόμαν ἐγχει-
ρίζουσι τὸ πηδᾶλουν, οὕτω τῷ πολιτικῷ προσήκει παραχωρεῖν μὲν ἑτέροις ἄρχειν καὶ προσκαλέσθαι
πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετ' εὐμενείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας,
kinein δὲ μῆ πάντα τὰ τῆς πόλεως τῶν αὐτοῦ
λόγους καὶ ψηφίσματαν ἢ πράξεως, ἀλλ' ἔχοντα
πιστὸν καὶ ἄγαθον ἄνδραν ἐκαστὸν ἑκάστῃ χρεία
κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον προσαρμόστεν' ὡς Περικλῆς

Δ. Μενίππῳ μὲν ἔχρητο πρὸς τὰς ὀφθαλμίας, δι' Ἐφιάλτου δὲ τῆς εἰς Ἀρείου πάγου βουλήν ἔταπεί-
νυσε, διὰ δὲ Χαρίνου τὸ κατὰ Μεγαρέων ἐκφύσει
ψῆφισμα, Λάμπυνα δὲ Θουρίλων οἰκείσθην ἐξ-
ἐπεμέθη, οὐ γὰρ μόνον, τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς πολλοὺς
διανεμεῖται δοκεῖσθη, ἢττον ἐνοχλεῖ τῶν φθόνων
τὸ μέγεθος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν χρείων ἐπιτελεῖται
μᾶλλον. ὡς γὰρ τῆς χειρὸς εἰς τοὺς διακύκλους
μεροσμὸς οὐκ ἀσθενεῖ πεποίηκεν ἀλλὰ τεχνεῦκ
καὶ ὀργανικὴν αὐτῆς τὴν χρῆσιν, οὕτως ὁ πραγμάτων

Ε. ἑτέροις εἰς πολιτείας μεταδίδοις ἐνεργοτέραν ποιεῖ
tῇ κοινωνίᾳ τὴν πράξειν. ὁ δ' ἀπληστὶς δόξης ἢ
dυνάμεως πάσιν αὐτῶ τῆς πόλεως ἁπαθεῖς καὶ πρὸς
ὁ μὴ πέφυκε μηδ' ἔσκοιτα προσάγων αὐτῶν, ὡς
Κλέων πρὸς τὸ ὀφθαλμή, Φιλοποίμην δὲ πρὸς
τὸ ναυαρχεῖν, Ἀνυβας δὲ πρὸς τὸ δημηγορεῖν, οὐκ
ἐχει παραίτησιν ἀμαρτάνων ἀλλὰ προσακούει τὸ
τοῦ Εὐριπίδου

τέκτων γὰρ ὡς ἐπράσεις οὐ ξυλουργικά

*a* Passed in 432 B.C. excluding Megara from commerce with Athens and her allies.

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

A joiner thou, yet didst a task essay
That was no carpentry.
λόγων ἀπάθως ὁμ ἐπρέσβευες ἡ ῥάθυμος ὁμ ἀκο-νόμεις, ψήφων ἀπειρός ἐταμίευες ἤ γέρων καὶ
Ε ἀσθενῆς ἐστρατήγεις. Περικλῆς δὲ καὶ πρὸς Κέ-
μωνα διενέματο τὴν δύναμιν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν ἀστεί, τὸν δὲ πληρώσαντα τὰς ναύς τοῖς βαρβά-
ροις πολεμεῖν ὦ γὰρ ὦ μὲν πρὸς πολιτείαν ὦ δὲ
πρὸς πόλεμον εὐφυέστερος. ἐπανοθοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν
'Αναφλύστιον Ἑὐδούλου, ὦτι πίστιν ἔχων ἐν τοῖς
μάλιστα καὶ δύναμιν οὐδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἐπράξα
νῦν ἐπὶ στρατηγίαν ἤθελεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὰ χρήματα
τάξας ἑαυτὸν ἤξειρε τὰς κοινὰς προσώπους καὶ μεγάλα τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀφέλθησεν. 'Ἰφικράτης
δὲ καὶ μελέτας λόγων ποιούμενος ἐν ὀκεὶ πολλῶν
813 παρόντων, ἐχλενάζετο καὶ γὰρ εἶ λογεῖς ἁγαθὸς
ἀλλὰ μὴ φαύλος ἦν, ἐδει τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις δόξαν
ἀγαπάων τῆς σχολῆς ἕξιστασθαι τοῖς σοφισταῖς.
16. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παντὶ δῆμῳ τὸ κακόσθες καὶ φιλ-
αίτιον ἔνεστι πρὸς τοὺς πολιτευόμενους καὶ πολλὰ
tῶν χρησίμων, ἂν μὴ στάσιν ἔχῃ μηδ' ἀντιλογίαν,
ὑπονοοθεὶ πράττεσθαι συνωμοτικῶς, καὶ τούτῳ δια-
βάλλει μάλιστα τὰς ἑταρείας καὶ φιλίας, ἀλληλοῦν
μὲν ἔχθραν ἡ διαφορὰν οὐδεμίαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπο-
λειπτέον, ὡς ὁ τῶν Χίων δημαγωγὸς Ὀνομάδημος
οὐκ εἶ ὑπὸ στᾶσει κρατήσας πάντας ἐκβάλλει τοὺς
Β ὑπεναντίους " ὅπως " ἐφ᾽ ὡς μὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους
ἀρξώμεθα διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἔχθρῶν παντάποισιν
ἀπαλλαγέντες." - τούτῳ μὲν γὰρ εὐθεῖα ἀλλ' ὅταν

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

16. But since there is in every democracy a spirit of malice and fault-finding directed against men in public life, and they suspect that many desirable measures, if there is no party opposition and no expression of dissent, are done by conspiracy, and this subjects a man’s associations and friends to calumny, statesmen ought not to let any real enmity or disagreement against themselves subsist, as Onomademus the popular leader of the Chians did when, after his victory in the factional strife, he refused to have all his opponents banished from the city, “that we may not,” he said “begin to quarrel with our friends when we have altogether got rid of our enemies.” Now that was silly; but when the popu-
(813) ὑπόπτως ἔχωσιν οἱ πολλοὶ πρὸς τι πράγμα καὶ μέγα καὶ σωτήριον, οὐ δὲ πάντας ὠσπερ ἀπὸ συντάξεως ἡκοντας τὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν γνώμην, ἄλλα καὶ δύο καὶ τρεῖς διαστάντας ἀντιλέγεσθαι ἡρέμα τῶν φίλων, εἰ δ’ ὠσπερ ἐξελεγκόμενοι μετατίθεσθαι συνεφέλονται γὰρ οὕτω τὸν δήμον, ὅπο τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀγεσθαι δύοισιν. ἐν μέντοι τούς ἐλάττωσει καὶ πρὸς μέγα μηδέν διήκουσιν οὐ χειρόν ἐστι καὶ ἀληθῶς ἔαν διαφέρεσθαι τοὺς φίλους, ἕκαστον οὕτω λογισμῷ χρωμένον, ὅπως περὶ τὰ κυριώτάτα καὶ μέγιστα φαίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον οὐκ ἐκ παρασκευῆς ὁμοφρονοῦντες.

17. Φύσει μὲν, οὖν ἄρχων ἄει πάλεως ὁ πολιτικὸς ὤσπερ ἄγεμων ἐν μελαίναι, καὶ τοῦτο χρῆ διανοοῦμεν ἐχεῖν τὰ δημόσια διὰ χειρὸς· ὡς δ’ ἀνομάζοντις ἐξονοίας καὶ χειροτονοῦσιν ἄρχων μῆτ’ ἀγαν διώκειν καὶ πολλάκις, οὐ γὰρ σεμνὸν οἰδὲ δημοτικὸν ἡ φιλαρχία· μῆτ’ ἀποπεθείσα, τὸν δήμον κατὰ νόμον διδόντος καὶ καλούντος· ἀλλὰ κἂν ταπεινότερα τῆς δόξης ὄσιν, δέχεσθαι καὶ συμ-

D φιλοτιμεῖσθαι· δέκαςον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν μειζόνων κοιμομημένως ἄρχων ἀντικοσμεῖν τὰς ἐλάττονας, καὶ τῶν μὲν βαρυτέρων οὖν στρατηγίας Ἀθηναίων καὶ πρυτανείας ἐν Ἡρώδε καὶ βοωσταρχίας παρ’ ἦμαν, ὑφίσται τι καὶ παρενεδόναι μετριάζοντα ταῖς δὲ μικρότεραις ἄξιους προστίθεναι καὶ ὄγκον, ὅπως μῆτε περὶ ταύτας εὐκαταφρόνητοι μῆτ’ ἐπιφθονοὶ περὶ ἐκείνας οἴμεν. εἰσίοντα δ’ εἰς ἀπασαν

* The Greeks did not know that the most important bee in the hive was female—the queen bee.
lace are suspicious about some important and salutary measure, the statesmen when they come to the assembly ought not all to express the same opinion, as if by previous agreement, but two or three of the friends should dissent and quietly speak on the other side, then change their position as if they had been convinced; for in this way they draw the people along with them, since they appear to be influenced only by the public advantage. In small matters, however, which do not amount to much, it is not a bad thing to let one's friends really disagree, each following his own reasoning, that in matters of the highest importance their agreement upon the best policy may not seem to be prearranged.

17. Now the statesman is always by nature ruler of the State, like the leader a bee in the hive, and bearing this in mind he ought to keep public matters in his own hands; but offices which are called "authorities" and are elective he ought not to seek too eagerly or often, for love of office is neither dignified nor popular; nor should he refuse them, if the people offer them and call him to them in accordance with the law, but even if they be too small for a man of his reputation, he should accept them and exercise them with zeal; for it is right that men who are adorned with the highest offices should in turn adorn the lesser, and that statesmen should show moderation, giving up and yielding some part of the weightier offices, such as the generalship at Athens, the prytany at Rhodes, and the Bocotarchy here, and should add to the minor offices dignity and grandeur, that we may not be despised in connexion with the latter, nor envied on account of the former. And when entering upon any office whatsoever, you
άρχην οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνος δεῖ προχειρίζεσθαι τοὺς λογισμούς, οὐ δέ Περικλῆς αὐτῶν ὑπεμιμηθέντες ἔναντι ἑαυτῶν τὴν χλαμύδα, "πρόσεχε, Περικλεις, ἐλευθέρων ἄρχεις, Ἑλλήνων ἄρχεις, πολιτῶν 'Αθηναίων". ἀλλὰ κάκεινο λέγειν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν, "ἀρχαῖον ἄρχεις, ὑποταγμένης πόλεως ἀνθυπάτως, ἐπιτρόπως Καλεσάρος" ὁ δέ ταῦτα λόγχη πεδίας, οὐδ' ἀλλ' ἐπικαλεί Σάρδεις ὁδὸν ἡ Λυδῶν ἐκεῖνη δύναμις" εὐσταλεστέραν δεῖ τὴν χλαμύδα ποιεῖν, καὶ βλέπειν ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ μὴ πολὺ φρονεῖν μηδὲ πιστεύειν, ἄρνοντα τοὺς καλίκους ἐπάνω τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἀλλὰ μιμεῖαν

ὅ τους ὑποκρίνας, πάθος μὲν ἔδω καὶ ἠθος καὶ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἁγίων προστιθέντας, τοῦ δ' ὑποβολέως ἀκούοντας καὶ μὴ παρεκβαίνοντας τοὺς ρυθμοὺς καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς διδασκαλίας έξουσίας ὑπὸ τῶν κρατιστῶν. ἡ γὰρ ἐκπτώσης ὑπὸ φέρει συριγμὸν οὐδὲ χλευάσμην οὐδὲ κλωμήν, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς μὲν ἐπέβη δεινὸς κολασθῆς πέλεκυς αὐχένος τομεῖς, ὅσ τοὶς περὶ Παρθάλαν τῶν ὑμέτερον ἐκλαθημένοις τῶν ὁρὸν ὁ δὲ τοὺς ἐκρυβεῖς εἰς νήσου γέγονε κατὰ τὸν Σόλωνα.

Φολεγάνδριος ἡ Σικυώνητης, 614 ἀντὶ γ' 'Αθηναίων πατρίδ' ἀμειμφάμενος.

1 λόγχη πεδίας Duelmner (from Sophocles, Trach. 1058): λόγχης πεδίας.
2 επὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὸ βῆμα] ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος πρὸς τὸ στρατηγοῦ Kaltwasser.
3 φρονεῖν μὴν διότι Cottas: φρονήμα.
5 Σικυώνητης Bergk: σικυώνης,

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

The dread chastiser, axe that cleaves the neck,

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

Phoegandrian or Sicinite,

No more Athenian, having changed his home.

* In Greece of Plutarch's time "those in authority" in political matters were the Romans.
* Nauck, Trag. Græc. Frag. p. 918, no. 412; from an unknown play.
* Börgk, Poet. I. y. Grœc. ii. p. 34.
(814) Τὰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ παιδία τῶν πατέρων ὅρῶντες ἐπιχειροῦσα τὰς κρηνίδας ὑποδεισθαι καὶ τῶν στεφάνων περιτίθεσθαι μετὰ παιδίας γελῶμεν, α' δ’ ἀρχοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀνοίγτως τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ φρονήματα καὶ πράξεις ἀναμέτρουσ ποιοῦσιν καὶ παράσιτοι καὶ πράγμασιν ὁθός μειεύθαι κελεύστες ἐξαίρουσι τὰ πλήθη, γελωτὰ τε ποιοῦσιν 1 οὐκέτι γελώστων ἄξια πάσχονσιν, ἆν μὴ πάνω καταφρονηθῶσι. πολλὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄλλα τῶν πρότερον ἐξειδίκευτα τοῖς νῦν ἡσυχοίς καὶ σωφρονίζειν, ὅσ Ἀθηναίοι ὑπομονήσκοντα μὴ τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἀλλ’ οἶδον ἔστι τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ τῆς ἀμυντικὰς ἕπι τοῖς τριάκοντας καὶ τὸ ἐγκώσαι Φρύνιχος πραγμάτα διδάχαστα τὴν Μιλήτου ἀλωνίκα καὶ δι’ Ῥήβας Κασανδροῦ κτίζοντας, ἑστεφανοφόρησαν τὸν δ’ ἐν Ὄργει πυθόμενα σκυταλισμοῦν, ἐν ὧι πεντακοσίων καὶ χιλίους ἀναμένεσαν ἐξ αὐτῶν 2 οἴ Ὄργεοι, περιενεκτέον καθάρων περὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκελεύουσαν ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρπαλείοις τὰς οἰκίας ἑρευνῶντες μόνη τὴν ἐγαμμηκότος νεωτὶ παρῆλθον. ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἐξετάζει ζηγ-

1 γελωτὰ τε ποιοῦσι Bernardakis: γελωτοποιοῦσιν 2 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

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*a The Thirty Tyrants at Athens were overthrown in 403 B.C.; Phrynichus presented the tragedy shortly after Miletus was captured by the Persians in 404 B.C.; Cassander
Furthermore when we see little children trying playfully to bind their fathers' shoes on their feet or fit their crowns upon their heads, we only laugh, but the officials in the cities, when they foolishly urge the people to imitate the deeds, ideals, and actions of their ancestors, however unsuitable they may be to the present times and conditions, stir up the common folk and, though what they do is laughable, what is done to them is no laughing matter, unless they are merely treated with utter contempt. Indeed there are many acts of the Greeks of former times by recounting which the statesman can mould and correct the characters of our contemporaries, for example, at Athens by calling to mind, not deeds in war, but such things as the decree of amnesty after the downfall of the Thirty Tyrants, the fining of Phrynichus for presenting in a tragedy the capture of Miletus, their decking their heads with garlands when Cassander refounded Thebes; how, when they heard of the clubbing at Argos, in which the Argives killed fifteen hundred of their own citizens, they decreed that an expiatory sacrifice be carried about in the assembly; and how, when they were searching the houses at the time of Harpalus' frauds, they passed by only one, that of a newly married man. By emulating acts like these it is even now possible to resemble our ancestors, but Marathon, the Eurymedon, Plataea, and all the other examples which make the common folk vainly to swell with refounded Thebes in 316–315 B.C., ten years after its destruction by Alexander; the clubbing of aristocrats at Argos by the mob took place in 370 B.C.; Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, brought to Athens in 320 B.C. funds stolen from Alexander and was supposed to have bribed many prominent Athenians, one of whom was Demosthenes.
(814) τεθαλ θικερης τους πολλους, ἀπολυτόντας ἐν ταῖς
σχολαῖς τῶν σοφιστῶν.

18. Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεί παρέχειν αὐτόν τε καὶ θὴ
πατρίδα πρὸς τοὺς ἱγεμόνας ἀναίτιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
φιλόν ἔχειν. ᾧ τίς τῶν ἄρω διαταγμάτων, ἱ
στόταν ἡ πολιτεία βέβαιον αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσι. Ἡ Ῥω-
μαίοι πρὸς τὰς πολιτικὰς σπουδὰς προθυμότατοι
τοῖς φιλοῖς· καὶ καρπὸν ἐκ φιλίας ἱγεμονικῆς λαμ-
βάνοντας, εἶν έλαβε Πολύβιος καὶ Πανατίτιοι τῇ
Οὔτως εὐνοίᾳ πρὸς αὐτούς μεγάλα τὰς πα-
τρίδας ὧφελήσαντες, εἰς εἰδαμονίαν δημοσίαν
ἐξενέγκασθαι καλόν. Ἀρείον τε Καῖσαρ, ὅτε τὴν
'Αλεξάνδρειαν εἶλε, διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων καὶ μόνω
προσομιλῶν τῶν συνῆθων συνεισήλαβεν, εἰτα τοῖς
'Αλεξάνδρειοι τὰ ἔσχατα προσδιοκᾶσαι καὶ δεο-
μένοις ἔφη διαλλάττεσθαι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
πόλεως καὶ διὰ τῶν οἰκουσίν 'Αλεξάνδρου, 'καὶ
τρίτων,' ἔφη, 'τῇ φίλῳ μου τούτῳ χαριζόμενος.'
δρά γ' ἔξων τῇ χάριτι ταύτης παραβαλεῖν τὰς
πολυτάλαντες ἐπιτροπὰς καὶ διωκήσεις τῶν
ἐπαρχῶν, ἢ διακοσμεῖς οἱ πολλοὶ γηράσκουσι
πρὸς ἀλλοτρίας θύρας, τὰ οἰκεῖοι προλειπόντες· ἦ

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

2 λαμβάνοντας Χυλάντες: λαμβάνοντες.

3 αὐτούς] αὐτοῖς Bernardakis.

4 εἰδαμονίαν δημοσίαν Bernardakis (δημοσίαν εἰδαμονίαν
Wytenbach): εἰδαμονίαν.

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

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

a i.e. the Romans.
b Arcadia and Rhodes respectively. Polybius was a statesman and historian, Panactius a Stoic philosopher.
c Augustus Caesar is meant. For a further account of his treatment of Arelius see *Life of Antony*, chap. lxxx.
d This refers to the Roman custom of greeting at the front door.
Euripides in Phoenissae 524 f. represents Rhesus as saying—

\[ \text{εἰπερ γὰρ ἑδοκέων χρή, τυρασσίδος περί καλλιστον ἄκωλπον.} \]

If wrong he ever right, for the throne's sake
Were wrong most right. (Way's translation.)

If Plutarch quotes this passage, correcting it to suit his pur-
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 814–815

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

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

3 This doubtless refers to honorary citizenship, crowns, statues, and the like.
The citizens of most ancient states were divided into tribes or clans.
willing to occupy an inferior position among their fellow-citizens, they call in those who are mightier; and as a result senate, popular assembly, courts, and the entire local government lose their authority. But the statesman should soothe the ordinary citizens by granting them equality and the powerful by concessions in return, thus keeping them within the bounds of the local government and solving their difficulties as if they were diseases, making for them, as it were, a sort of secret political medicine; he will prefer to be himself defeated among his fellow-citizens rather than to be successful by outraging and destroying the principles of justice in his own city and he will beg everyone else to do likewise, and will teach them how great an evil is contentiousness. But as it is, not only do they not make honourable and gracious compromises with their fellow-citizens and tribesmen at home and with their neighbours and colleagues in office, but they carry their dissensions outside to the doors of professional orators and put them in the hands of lawyers, to their own great injury and disgrace. For when physicians cannot entirely eradicate diseases, they turn them outwards to the surface of the body; but the statesman, if he cannot keep the State entirely free from troubles, will at any rate try to cure and control whatever disturbs it and causes sedition, keeping it meanwhile hidden within the State, so that it may have as little need as possible of physicians and medicine drawn from outside. For the policy of the statesman should be that which holds fast to security and avoids the tumultuous and mad impulse of empty opinion, as has been said. In his disposition, however, high spirit and
μένος πολυβαρὸς ἐνέστω ἄτρομον, οἷον τ' ἄνδρας ἐσέρχεται;¹ οἱ περὶ πάτρης ἄνδρας διαμενέεοι καὶ πράγμασι δυσκάλαις καὶ καιροῖς ἀντερείδουσι καὶ διαμάχονται. δεῖ γὰρ οὐ ποιεῖν χειμῶνας αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ μὴ πραλείπειν ἐπιπεσόντων, οὐδὲ δικεινὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπισφαλῆς, σφαλλομένη δὲ καὶ κυνωνευόσθη βοηθεῖν, ὥσπερ ἀγκυράν ἱερὰν ἁρά- μενον εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ τοὺς μεγάλους· οί Δεργαμηνοὶ ἐπὶ Νέρωνος κατέλαβε πράγματα, καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐναγχος ἐπὶ Δομετιανοῦ, καὶ Θεσ- σαλοὶ πρότερον ἐπὶ τούτοις Σεβαστοῦ Πετραῖον ἔνοτα κατακαῦσαντας.

ἐνθ' οὖν ἄν βρίζοντα ἰδοὺς οὐδὲ καταπτώσοντα τὸν ἀληθῶς πολιτικόν οὐδὲ αἰτιώμενον ἔτέρως αὐτὸν δὲ τῶν δεινῶν ἔξω τιθέμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσβείοντα καὶ πλέοντα καὶ λέγοντα πρῶτον οὐ μόνον

ἡκομεν οἱ κτείναντες, ἀπότρεπε λουγὸν, Ἀπολ- λοῦν,

ἀλλὰ, κἂν τῆς ἀμαρτίας μὴ μετάσχῃ τοῖς πολλοῖς; Ἐ τοὺς κινδύνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀναδεχόμενον. καὶ γὰρ καλὸν τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τῷ καλῷ πολλάκις ἐνὸς ἄνδρας, ἀρετὴ καὶ φρονήμα ταυρμασθέν ἡμαύρωσεν

¹ ἐσέρχεται Homer: ἐσέρχεται.

* Homer, Π. xviii. 156 ff.
courage must be, full of daring,
Dauntless, and such as inspires all men who for weal of
their country
'Gainst men of hostile intent

and against difficult conditions and times stand
firm in resistance and struggle to the end. For
he must not create storms himself, and yet he
must not desert the State when storms fall upon
it; he must not stir up the State and make it reel
perilously, but when it is reeling and in danger, he
must come to its assistance and employ his frank-
ness of speech as a sacred anchor heaved over in
the greatest perils. Such were the troubles which
overtook the Pergamenes under Nero and the
Rhodians recently under Domitian and the Thessa-
lians earlier under Augustus, when they burned
Petraeus alive.

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

Here we have come, the slayers; avert thou the plague, O
Apollo,

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

* See note on 812 a above.
* Homer, II. iv. 253. Spoken of Agamemnon.
* Callimachus, p. 787 ed. Schneider.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

τὴν πρὸς πάντας ἀρχὴν καὶ διεσκέδασε τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ πικρὸν τῆς ἀπειλῆς ὡς καὶ πρὸς θυσίαν ἔδωκε καὶ Σπέρμων τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας παθεῖν ὁ Πέρσης, καὶ πρὸς Σθέννων Πομπήιος ἔπαθεν, ὅτε, Μαμερτίνους μελλόντως αὐτοῦ καλάξειν διὰ τῆς ἀπόστασιν, ἑνὸς ἔφη δίκαια πράξειν αὐτὸν ὁ Σθέννων, εἰ πολλοὺς ἀναιτίους ἀπολεῖ δὲ ἕνα τῶν αὐτῶν· ὁ γὰρ ἀποστῆσας τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς εἶναι τοὺς μὲν φίλους πεῖσας τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς βιασάμενος. οὕτως ταῦτα διήλθηκε τῶν Πομπήιων, ὅστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀφεῖναι καὶ τῷ Σθέννων χρῆσασθαι φιλανθρώπως. ὁ δὲ Σύλλα ξένος ὀμολογήσας ἀρετὴν πρὸς οὐχ ὀμοίων ἐνεχρησάμενος εὐγενῶς ἐπελεύθησεν ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἔλαν Πραυνεστὸν ὁ Σύλλας ἔμελλε τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπανταῖς ἀποσφάττειν ἕνα δ’ ἐκεῖνον ἥφθει διὰ τὴν ἐξελάν, εἰπὼν ὅσ’ ὦ θυγατέρα σωτηρίας χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ φονεὶ τῆς πατρίδος, ἀνέμεξεν ἑαυτῶν καὶ συγκατεκόπη τοῖς πολίταις. τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν κατεύθυνε ἀπεύχεσθαι δεὶ καὶ τὰ βελτίων προσδοκικάν.

20. Ἱερὸν δὲ χρῆσαι καὶ μέγα πάσαν ἀρχὴν οὕσων καὶ ἀρχοντα δεὶ κλάτων τιμῶν, τιμῇ δ’ ἀρχῆς ὀμοφρασία καὶ φιλία πρὸς συνάρχοντας πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ στέφανοι καὶ κλαμῖς περιπόρφυροι. οἱ δὲ τὸ συστατεύσασθαι καὶ συνεφηβεύσαι φιλίας

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4 The story of these two is told in Moralia, 235 p, 236.
5 See Moralia, 203 ν, where the name is Σθήννιος, and Life of Pompey, chap. x.
6 Athenian youths from eighteen to twenty years of age were called ephèbei. For one year they were trained chiefly in gymnastics and military drill, then for a year they served 248
aroused against the whole people and has dissipated the threatened terror and bitterness. Something of that sort seems to have happened to the Persian king in the case of Bouli and Sperchis a the Spartans, and happened to Pompey in the case of Sthenno, b when, as he was going to punish the Mamertines for revolting, Sthenno told him that he would be doing wrong if he should destroy many innocent men for the fault of one; for, he said, it was he himself who had caused the city to revolt by persuading his friends and compelling his enemies. This so affected Pompey that he let the city go unpunished and also treated Sthenno kindly. But Sulla's guest-friend, practising virtue of the same sort but not having to do with the same sort of man, met with a noble end. For when Sulla, after the capture of Praeneste, was going to slaughter all the rest of the citizens but was letting that one man go on account of his guest-friendship, he declared that he would not be indebted for his life to the slayer of his fatherland, and then mingled with his fellow-citizens and was cut down with them. However, we must pray to be spared such crises and must hope for better things.

20. And deeming every public office to be something great and sacred, we must also pay the highest honour to one who holds an office; but the honour of an office resides in concord and friendship with one's colleagues much more than in crowns and a purple-bordered robe. But those who consider that serving together in a campaign or in the school for young citizens c is the beginning as guards on the frontier. Cf. Aristotle, Constitution of Athens, chap. xiii.
(816) ἄρχήν τιθέμενοι, τὸ δὲ συνοτραπτηθεῖν καὶ συνάρχειν ἐχθρασ αἰτίαν λαμβάνοντες, ἐν τῶν τριῶν κακῶν οὐ διαπεφεύγασιν ἢ γάρ ἰσος ἤγοσμεν τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτοὶ στασιάζουσιν ἢ κρείττονας φθοροῦσιν ἢ ταπεινωτέροις καταφρονοῦσι. δεὶ δὲ καὶ θεραπεῦει τὸν κρείττονα καὶ κοιμεῖν τόν ἦττονα καὶ τιμᾶν τὸν ὅμοιον, ἀσπάζεσθαι δὲ καὶ φιλεῖν ἀπαντας, ὡς

οὐ διὰ τραπέζης

οὐδὲ κόσμωνος,

οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἐστίας,

ἀλλὰ κοινῆ καὶ δημοσία ψήφῳ φίλους γεγονότας καὶ τρόπων τινά πατρίδαν τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος C εὐνοοι ἔχοντας. ὁ γοῦν Σκιπίων ἦκουσεν ἐν Ὀρομῆ κακῶς, ὅτι φίλους ἐστίων ἐπὶ τῇ καθιστήριῳ τῷ Ἡράκλειοί τὸν συνάρχοντα Μόμμουν οὐ παρέλαβε· καὶ γάρ, εἶ τάλλα μὴ φίλους ἐνόμιζον ἑαυτούς, ἐν τοῖς γαὶ τοιούτοις ἥξίον τιμᾶν καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἄρχην. ὅπου τοῦν ἄνδρι τάλλα θαυμασία τῷ Σκιπίων μικρὸν οὕτω φιλανθρώπευμα παραλείψθεν ὑπεροφίας ἤνεγκε δόξαν, ἤπων κολονων ἄν τις ἀξίωμα συνάρχοντος ἢ πράξεων ἐχθροῦς φιλοτιμίαν ἐπηρεάζῃν ἢ πάντα συλλήβδην ἀναπεθείς ἀμα καὶ περιάγων ὑπ᾽ αὐθαδεῖας D εἰς ἑαυτῶν ἐκείνων ἡ ἀφανοῦμενος, ἐπικεκτής ἂν φανετῇ καὶ μέτριος; μέμνημαι νέον ἑμαυτὸν ἐπὶ πρεσβευτὴν μεθ᾽ ἐτέρου πεμφθέντα πρὸς ἀνθρώπων, 250
of friendship, but regard joint service in the generalship or other office as the cause of enmity, have failed to avoid one of the three evils; for either they regard their colleagues as their equals and are themselves factious, or they envy them as their superiors, or despise them as their inferiors. But a man ought to conciliate his superior, add prestige to his inferior, honour his equal, and be affable and friendly to all, considering that they have been made Friends, not of festive board, nor of tankard, nor of fireside's cheer,* but all alike by vote of the people, and that they bear goodwill toward one another as a heritage, so to speak, from their fatherland. At any rate Scipio was criticized in Rome because, when he entertained his friends at the dedication of the temple of Hercules, he did not include his colleague Mummius; for even if in general the two men did not consider themselves friends, on such occasions they usually thought it proper to show honour and friendliness to each other on account of their office. Inasmuch, therefore, as the omission of so slight an act of courtesy brought a reputation for haughtiness to Scipio, a man in other respects admirable, how can anyone be considered honourable and fair-minded who detracts from the dignity of a colleague in office, or maliciously flouts him by actions which reveal ambitious rivalry, or is so self-willed that he arrogates and annexes to himself everything, in short, at the expense of his colleague? I recollect that when I was still a young man I was sent with another as envoy to

* Apparently a quotation from a comedy. See Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 495.
(816) ἀπολειφθέντος δὲ πώς ἐκείνου, μοῦν ἐνυχώντα καὶ διαπραξάμενον· ὡς οὖν ἐμελλόν ἐπανελθὼν ἀποπροσβεβίων, ἀναστὰς ὁ πατήρ κατ’ ἰδίαν ἐκε- λευνε μὴ λέγειν "ἀφήμην" ἀλλ' "ἀφόμηθα," μηδ' "εἰςον" ἀλλ' "εἴπομεν," καὶ τάλα συνεφαστό- μενον οὐτω καὶ καυσομένον ἀπαγγέλλειν. οὐ γὰρ Ε μοῦν ἐπιεικὲς τὸ τοιοῦτον καὶ φιλάνθρωπὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ λυποῦν τὸν φθόνον ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς δόξης. ὅθεν οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ δαίμονα καὶ τύχην τοῖς κατ- ὀρθώμασι συνεπιγράφουσιν, ὡς Τιμολέων ὁ τάς ἐν Σικελίᾳ καταλύσας τυχανίδας Αὐτοματίας ἰερὸν ἱδρύσατο· καὶ Πύθων ἐπὶ τῷ Κόττυν ἀποκτείνα- βαιμαζόμενος καὶ τιμόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων "ὁ θεὸς," ἐφ' ἡμαῖς, "ταῦτ' ἐπραξε, τὴν χεῖρα παρ' ἐμοὶ χρησάμενος." Θεόπορτος δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Δακε- δαμονίων πρὸς τὸν εἰπότα σφίζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην διὰ τοὺς βασιλεὺς ἁρχικοὺς ὑντας "μᾶλλον," ἐφ', "διὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς πειθαρχικοὺς ὑντας." F 21. Γίγνεται μὲν οὖν δὲ ἀλλήλων ἄμφοτερα ταῦτα. λέγοντες δ' οἱ πλείστοι καὶ νομίζουσι πολιτικὴς παιδείας ἐργον εἶναι τὸ καλὸς ἀρχομένους παρασκεύω: καὶ γὰρ πλέον ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐν ἕκαστῃ πόλει τὸ ἄρχομενον καὶ χρόνου ἐκαστος ἀρχηθείς βραχύς, ἀρχεται δὲ τῶν ἁπάντα χρόνον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ πολεμενόμενος· ὥστε κάλλιστον εἶναι μάθημα καὶ χρησιμώτατον τὸ πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἤγουμένους, καὶ ὑποδείκτερον δυνάμει καὶ δόξῃ τυχανίδωσιν ὑντες. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐστὶ τὸν μὲν ἐν τρα-
the proconsul; the other man was somehow left behind; I alone met the proconsul and accomplished the business. Now when I came back and was to make the report of our mission, my father left his seat and told me in private not to say "I went," but "we went," not "I said," but "we said," and in all other ways to associate my colleague in a joint report. For that sort of thing is not only honourable and kind, but it also takes the sting out of any envy of our reputation. And therefore great men ascribe to God and to Fortune a share in their successes, as Timoleon, who put down the tyrannies in Sicily, founded a sanctuary of Automatia (Chance); and Python, when he was admired and honoured by the Athenians for slaying Cotys, said "God did this, borrowing from me the hand that did the deed." And Theopompus, King of the Lacedaemonians, replied to the man who said that Sparta was preserved because the kings were fitted to rule, "No, it is rather because the people are fitted to obey."

21. Now both of these arise from each other. Most people say and believe that it is the business of political teaching to cause men to be good subjects; for, they say, the subject class is in every State larger than the ruling class; and each official rules but a short time, whereas he is ruled all the time, if he is a citizen of a democracy; so that it is a most excellent and useful thing to learn to obey those in authority, even if they happen to be deficient in power and reputation. For it is absurd that in a tragedy the chief actor, even though he is
γραία πρωταγωνιστὴν, Θεόδωρον ή Πώλον ὅντα μισθωτῷ 1 τὰ τρίτα λέγοντι πολλάκις ἐπεσθαί καὶ προσδιαλέγεισθαι ταπεινώς, ἂν ἔκεινος ἔχῃ τὸ διά-
817 δήμα καὶ τὸ σκηντρὸν· ἐν δὲ πράξεωι ἀληθινᾷ καὶ πολιτείᾳ τῶν πλαύσιων καὶ ἐνδοξῶν ὀλγωρεῶν καὶ καταφρονεῖν ἀρχόντος ἱδιότως καὶ πένητος, ἐνυμβρίζοντα καὶ καθωραίνοντα 3 τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν 4 ἀξιώ-
ματι τὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ μὴ μᾶλλον αὐξόντα καὶ προστιθέντα τὴν ἄφ' αὐτὸν 5 δόξαν καὶ δύναμιν τῇ ἀρχῇ. καθάπερ ἐν Σπάρτῃ τοῖς ἑδώροις οἷς βασιλεῖς ὑπεξανυστάντο, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὁ κληθεὶς ὑπὸ βάδην ὑπῆκοουν ἀλλὰ δρόμω καὶ ὕποδῆ δὲ ἁγορᾶς δέουτες ἐπεδείκνυτο τὴν εἰσπείθειαν τοῖς πολίταις, ἀγαλλόμενοι τῷ τιμῶν τούτων ἀρχόνται·

Βούχῳ δὲ διότι τῶν ἀπειροκάλων καὶ σολοκών, οἷον ἰσχύος ἔσχατών καλλωπιζόμενοι περιουσία, βρα-
βευτᾶς ἐν ἁγίωι προπηλακίζοντας καὶ χορηγοὺς ἐν Διονυσίοις λοιδοροῦς καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ γυμ-
νασιάρχων καταγελώσως, οὐκ ἔδοτες οὐδὲ μαν-
θανόντες ὅτι τού τιμῶθαι τῷ τιμῶν πολλάκις ἔστιν ἐνδοξότερον. ἄνθρο γὰρ ἐν πόλει δυνάμει μέγα 
μείζονα φέρει κόσμον ἀρχῶν δορυφοροῦμενος ὑπ' 
αὐτῶν καὶ προπεμπόμενος ἡ δορυφορῶν καὶ προ-
πέμπων· μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦτο μὲν ἁγίαν καὶ φθόνον,

1 Madvig erroneously proposed to read μισθωτόν τῷ for the μισθωτῶν τῷ of the ms.
3 καθαροτάτης[καθαροτάτης Reiske.
4 αὖ' αὐτῶν Bernardakis: ἄφ' αὐτὸν.
5 γυμνασιάρχων Bernardakis: γυμνασιάρχων.

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

History of Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, pp. 100, 128. The terms πραγμάτας and καθηγόρους were used for actors who had been assigned to the highest rank and were privileged to bring out old plays at the festivals, and they stand in sharp contrast to the "hireling" actors, usually referred to after Demosthenes' time as "tritagonists," to whom were often given the "third-class" roles of kings; see ibid. chap. 1.
(817) ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὴν ἀληθινὴν φέρει, τὴν ἀπ' εὐνοίας, οὔτ' ὡσεὶς έ ἐπὶ θέρας ποτὲ καὶ πρῶτος ἀνταπάνεμος καὶ λαβὼν ἐν περιπάτῳ μέσον, οὐδὲν ἀφαιρούμενον έαυτῷ, τῇ πάλιν κόσμων περιήθησι. 22. Δημοσικόν δὲ καὶ βλασφημίαν ἐνεγκείν καὶ ἄρξετο ἀρχοντος ὁ τὸ τοῦ Διομάζους ὑπειπότα

τούτω μὲν γὰρ κύδος ἀμ' ἐξεταῖ

ἡ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὦτι νῦν οὐκ ἔστι Δημοσθένης μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ θεομοβέτης ἡ χορηγὸς ἡ στεφανοφόρος. ἀναθέτειν οὖν τὴν ἄμων εἰς τὸν χρόνον. ἡ γὰρ ἐπέζευγεν ἀπαλλαγέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡ κερδανοθυμεῖν ἐν τῷ περιπέτειο πάνταςαθαι τῆς ὀργῆς.

D 23. Σπουδὴ μὲντοι καὶ προνοία περὶ τὰ κοινὰ καὶ φροντίδι πρὸς ἀπασάν ἄρξῃ ἄλλο ποιήσωμεν, ἐὰν μὲν ὄσοι χαρίτες, αὐτόν υφηγούμενον ἄ δει καὶ χράζοντα καὶ διδόντα χρησθαι τοῖς βεβουλευμένοις ὀρθῶς καὶ τὸ κοινὸν εὐδοκιμεῖν ὕφελοντας. εἰν' ἡ τὰς ἐκείνους δικοὺς ἡ μέλλῃς ἡ κακοθεία πρὸς τὴν πράξειν, οὕτω χρῆ παρεῖναι καὶ λέγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μὴ παραμελεῖν μηδ' ὕφελονται τῶν κοινῶν, ὡς οὐ προσήκον, ἀρχοντος ἔτέρου, πολυ-

1 Before χρόνον Retske adds oλέτων.
2 ὑφελούντας Mittelhaus: ὑφελούντα.

*a Of. Life of Cicero, chap. ii., “Cicero placed in their midst, as a mark of honour,” Perrin’s translation, L.C.L.
*b Homer, Π. iv. 415.
*c Demosthenes, xxii. (Against Meidias) 524. Meidias had insulted Demosthenes in public when Demosthenes was choregus, officially appointed to bear the expense of a chorus.
*d The thesmothetae were the six junior archons at Athens. Their chief duty was supervision of the courts of law.
envy, but the former brings true reputation, that which comes from goodwill; and by being seen sometimes at the official’s door, by greeting him first, and by putting him in the middle place in walking a man adds lustre to the State without taking anything from himself.

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

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

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

* The stephanephori were officials whose duties varied in different cities. At Athens they were concerned with public festivals.
πράγματες καὶ παραδοσίαι. ὦ γὰρ νόμος ἀεὶ τῷ Ἐτὰ δικαία πράσατο καὶ γεγνώσκοντα τὰ συμ-
φέροντα τὴν πρότην τὰξιν ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δίδωσιν.
"ἡν δὲ τις," φησιν, "ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ξενοφόν,
οὕτε στρατηγὸς οὕτε λοχαγός," ἀλλὰ τῷ φρονεῖν τὰ
dέοντα καὶ τοιμάν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἀρχεῖν καταστήσας
dιέθεισε τοὺς "Ἑλληνας. καὶ τῶν Φιλοποίμενος
ἐργῶν ἐπιφανέστατῶν ἔστι τό, τοῦ Νάβιδου. Μεσ-
σήνην καταλαβόντος οὐκ ἔθελοντος δὲ τοῦ στρα-
τηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν βοηθεῖν ἀλλ’ ἀποδειλώντος,
αὐτὸν ὑμήςαντα μετὰ τῶν προθυμιστάτων ἄνευ
θόματος εὐελθότα τὴν πόλιν. οὐ μὴν διὰ μικρὰ
τεῦχον καὶ τὰ τυχόντα καινοτομεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς
ἀναγκαῖοι ὡς ὁ Φιλόποιμης, ἃ τοῖς καλοῖς ὡς
Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ἔπωθαν τέππας μῆνας τῇ βοιωτ-
αρχία πάρα τὸν νόμον, ἐν οἷς εἰς τὴν Δακωνικήν
ἐνθέλει καὶ τὰ περὶ Μεσσήνην ἐπράξεν ὅπως, καὶ
ἀπαντᾷ τις ἐπὶ τούτων κατηγορία καὶ μέμβρα, ἀπο-
λογίαν τῆς αἰτίας τὴν ἀνάγκην ἔχωμεν ἡ παρα-
μολόν τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ μέγεθος τῆς πράξεως καὶ
tὸ κέλλος.

24. Ἰάσιονος τοῦ Θεσσαλῶν μονάρχον γνώμην
ἀπομνημονεύσαντος, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐβίαζόντο καὶ παρ-
818 ἡμῶν λεγόντας, ἵνα λεγομένη, ὡς ἀναγκαῖον ἄκικεῖν
tα μικρὰ τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ μεγάλα δικαιο-
πραγεῖν. τούτων μὲν οὖν ἂν τὸς εὑθὺς καταμάθωι
tὸν λόγον ὡς ἐστι δυναστευτικός· ἐκείνο δὲ πολιτι-

1 τοῦ Νάβιδος Μεζιριακοῦ· ἁγιὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος ἢ ἁγιὸς.

* The author of the Anabasis. But Plutarch may have
written ἄναξ ἀτός.
* Xenophon, Anab. iii. 1. 4.
* The Boeotarchy was the chief office of the Boeotian con-
federacy. Its term was one year.

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

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

These measures included the freeing of Messenia from Spartan domination and the founding of the city of Messenê.
κάτερον παράγγελμα, τὸ τὰ μικρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς προέκυψεν χαριζόμενον ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς μείζονι ἔντονας καὶ καλοῦν εξαμαρτάνοντας. ὁ γὰρ ἀπὶ πάντα λίγαν ἀκριβῆς καὶ σφαιράς, οὐδὲν ὑποχωρὼν οὐδ’ ὑπείκουν ἀλλὰ τραχύς ἀεὶ καὶ ἀπαραίτητος, ἀντιφελονείκειν τὸν δῆμον αὐτῷ καὶ προσδυσκολαίνειν ἔδιδει.

μικρὸν δὲ δὲν ὁδὸς χαλάσαι μεγάλη κύματος ἀλλή,

Β  τὰ μὲν αὐτὸν ἐνδιδόντα καὶ συμπαλάξοντα κεχαρισμένος οἷον ἐν θυσίαις καὶ ἄγωσι καὶ θεάτροις, τὰ δὲ ὁσπέρ ἐν οἰκή νέων ἀμαρτήματα προσποιοῦμεν παροηρὰ καὶ παρακούσεις, ὡς ὡς τὸν νοσθετεῖν καὶ παρρησιάζοντα δύναμις ὁσπέρ φαρμάκον μὴ κακακεχρημένη μηδ’ ἐκλογὸς ἀλλ’ ἀκμὴν ἔχουσα καὶ πίστις ἐν τοῖς μείζονι μάλλον καθ’ ἀπτηται καὶ δάκρυ τοὺς πολλοὺς. Ἀλέξανδρος μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσας τὴν ἀδελφήν ἐγνωκέναι τοὺς τῶν Καλῶν καὶ νέων οὐκ ἤγανάκτησεν εἰς τῶν, ὅτι κάκειν τὸ δοτέον ἀπολαμβάνει τῆς βασιλείας· οὐκ ὁρθῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα συγχωρῶν οὐδ’ ἐξίσος ἐστὶν· δεῖ γὰρ ἀρχῆς τὴν κατάλυσιν καὶ ὑβρίν ἀπολαμβανον μὴ νομίζειν. δῆμος δ’ ὑβριν μὲν οὐδεὶς εἰς πολιτείας οὐδ’ δημοσίου ἀλλοτρίου οὐδ’ κοιμῶν

1 δὲ δὲν Nauck; δὲν Bernardakis: δὲ.

Nauck, Trog. Graec. Frag. p. 918, no. 413.
statesmanlike precept: "Win the favour of the
people by giving way in small things in order that
in greater matters you may oppose them stubbornly
and thus prevent them from committing errors."
For a man who is always very exact and strenuous
about everything, not giving way or yielding at all,
but always harsh and inexorable, gets the people
into the habit of opposing him and being out of
temper with him;

But he should let the sheet
Run out a bit before the waves' great force, 

sometimes by giving way and playing graciously
with them himself, as at sacrifices, public games,
and spectacles in the theatre, and sometimes by pre-
tending not to see or hear their errors, just as we
treat the errors of the young people in a family,
in order that the force of his rebukes and outspoken
criticism—like that of a medicine—may not become
exhausted or stale, but may in matters of greater
importance, retaining its full strength and its credit,
take a stronger hold upon the people and sting
them into obedience. Alexander, for example, when
he heard that his sister had had intercourse with a
handsome young man, did not burst into a rage,
but merely remarked that she also ought to be
allowed to get some enjoyment out of her royal
station. In making such concessions he did not
act rightly or in a manner worthy of himself; for
the weakening of a throne and outrageous conduct
should not be regarded as mere enjoyment. But to
the people the statesman will, so far as is possible,
permit no outrageous conduct towards the citizens,
no confiscation of others' property, nor distribution
(818) διανέμησαν οι πολιτικοί ἐφήσει κατ' ἀνείαν, ἄλλα
πείθων καὶ διδάσκων καὶ δεδιετόμενος διαμαχεύται
ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐπιθυμίαις, οἷς οἱ περὶ Κλέωνα
βόσκοντες καὶ αἰχμάτες πολλῶν, ὡς φησίν οἱ Πλάτων,
κηφήνα τῇ πόλει κεκεντρωμένων ἐπεισοδιαν. ἐὰν
δ' ἔστην πάτρων οἱ παλλαὶ καὶ θεοῦ τιμῆν προ-
φασίν λαβόντες ὀρμήσωσι πρὸς τινὰ θέαν ἢ νέμεσιν
ἐλαφρῶν ἡ χάριν τινὰ φιλανθρωπίαν ἢ ψυχότητιαν,

D έστω πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα ἡ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἁμι καὶ

τῆς εὐπορίας ἀπόλαυσις αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ τοῖς
Περικλέους πολιτείαμα καὶ τοῖς Δημητρίου πολλὰ
tοιαῦτα ἔνεσθι, καὶ Κελθοῦ ἔκοψαν τὴν ἀγορὰν
πλατάνων φυτέας καὶ περιπάτους. Κατὼν δὲ τὸν
ὅμων ὑπὸ Κάσαρος ὅρων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κατιλίναν
dιαταρασσόμενον καὶ πρὸς μεταβολὴν τῆς πολι-
tείας ἐπισφαλῆς ἔχοντα συνέπεσε τὴν βουλὴν
ψηφίσασθαι νεμήσεις τοῖς πένησι, καὶ τοῦτο
βοήθει εὐθεῖα τὸν βόρυνθο καὶ κατέπαυσε τὴν ἐπ-
avάστασιν. ὡς γὰρ ἱερὸς, ἀφελῶν πολὺ τοῦ

Ε διευθυνότοις αἱματος, ὀλίγον ἀβαθοῦς τροφῆς
προσήνεγκεν, αὕτως ὁ πολιτικὸς ἀϊνή, μέγα τι
τῶν ἀδεξών ἢ βλαβερῶν παρελόμενος, ἐλαφρὰ
πάλιν χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρώπω τὸ δυσκολαῖον
καὶ μεμφυομεθ' παρηγόρησεν.

25. Οὔ χείρον δὲ καὶ μετάγειν ἐπ' ἄλλα χρειώθη
τὸ σπουδαζόμενον, ὅσο ἐποίησε Δημάδης, ὅτε τὰς
προσόδους εἰσέλεγεν υφ' ἐαυτῶ τῆς πόλεως: ὀρμημένων
γὰρ ἐκπέμπειν πρινῆς βοήθους τοῖς ἀφιστάμενοις
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ χρήματα κελεύστων παρέχειν
ἐκεῖνον, "ἐστιν ὑμῖν," ἐφ' ἐφ' "χρήματα: παρ-
of public funds, but by persuasion, arguments, and
threats he will oppose to the bitter end desires of
that sort, by nourishing and increasing which Cleon
and his partizans produced in the State, as Plato
says, a swarm of drones with stings. But if the
people, taking an ancestral festival or the worship
of some god as a pretext, are bent upon some public
spectacle or a slight distribution of funds, or a gift
for the general good or some lavish show prompted
by private ambition, for such purposes let them reap
the benefit both of their generosity and of their
prosperity. Why, among the public acts of Pericles
and of Demetrius are many of that sort, and Cimon
beautified the market-place by planting plane-trees
and laying out walks. And Cato, seeing that the
people was being greatly stirred up by Caesar in the
affair of Catiline and was dangerously inclined towards
a revolution, persuaded the senate to vote a dole to
the poor, and the giving of this halted the distur-
dance and ended the uprising. For just as a physician,
after drawing off a great deal of infected blood,
supplies a little harmless nourishment, so the states-
man, after doing away with something big which
was discreditable or harmful, appeases the spirit of
discontent and fault-finding by some slight and kindly
act of favour.

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

8 In 330 B.C. King Agis of Sparta headed the revolt.
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εσκευασάμην γάρ εἰς τοὺς χόας, ὥσπερ ἐκαστὸν ὦμῶν λαμβην ἡμιμακών· εἰ δ’ εἰς ταῦτα βούλεσθε Θεός, εἰς τοὺς τῶν τρόπων, ὅπως μὴ στηριξτό τῆς διανομῆς, ἄφες τὸν ἀπόστολον, ἐλθαί τῷ πρὸς Αλέξανδρον ἐγκήρυμα τοῦ δήμου. πολλὰ γάρ ἁπλὰ εὐθεῖας ὀφθαλμά τῶν ἀλυστέλλων, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τίνος ἁμωσιγένως καμπής καὶ περιαγωγῆς, οἷα καὶ παρὰ τῶν καφρόν· ἔκτινες γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖν ἀφ’ ἥδης τοὺς μέχρι ἐτῶν ἐξήκοντα· καὶ θορύβου τῶν πρεσβυτέρων γενομένου· "τι δεινῶν;" εἶπεν: "ἐγώ γὰρ ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀνδρεῖκον γεγονός ἐστὶ μεθ’ ὦμῶν ἔσομαι." τούτω δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ καὶ προσβείας διακοπτέον ἀκαίρως, συγκαταλέγοντα πολλαὶ τῶν ἀνεπιτηδείως ἐχόντων, καὶ κατασκευάζοντας ἁρχήσωστος, κελεύοντα συνεισφέρειν, καὶ δίκαια καὶ ἀποδημίας ἀντιμείς, ἀξιόντα συμπαρεῖναι καὶ συναποδημεῖν. πρῶτος δὲ τοῦς γράφοντας τά τοιαῦτα καὶ παραξύνοντας ἐλκείν δεῖ καὶ παραλαμβάνειν· ἢ γάρ ἀναδέπεμπετο τὴν πράξειν αὐτοῦ διαλύειν ὁδούσιον ἢ μεθέξουσι τῶν δυσχερῶν παράστες.

26. "Ὅπον μέντοι μέγα δεὶ τε περαισθήσαντες καὶ χρήσιμον ἄγωνος δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐπονομής δείκεισθεν, ἐνταῦθα πειρῶ ὧν φίλων αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς κρατι·

1 ἄνθρωπος καὶ ἀποδημίας Χυλάνδερ's translation: ἀποδημίας Cornes: διανομήν.
2 ἀντιμεῖς] ἀντιμεῖς Cornes.
3 δεῖ τι Bernardakis: δεῖ.

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

20. When, however, something important and useful but requiring much conflict and serious effort is to be accomplished, then try to select from among your friends those who are most powerful, or from
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(819) οὕτως ἦ τῶν κρατίστων τοὺς πραστάτους· ἢ κισσα γὰρ ἀντιπράξεων οὐτοὶ καὶ μᾶλλον συνεργήσουσιν, τὸ φρονεῖν ἀνευ τοῦ φιλονεικεῖν ἔχοντες. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐμπεφυγὼν οὔτα δὲ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτέρου πέφυκας αἱρέσθαι τοὺς

Ο μᾶλλον δυναμένους ἀντὶ τῶν ὁμοίων, ὡς ὁ Διομήδης ἐπὶ τὴν κατασκαλίνα μεθ' ἐαυτοῦ τὸν φρόνιμον εἶλετο, τοὺς ἀνδρείους παρελθόντας. καὶ γὰρ αἱ πράξεις μᾶλλον ἰσορροποῦσι καὶ τὸ φιλονεικεῖν οὐκ ἐγγίγνεται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοὺς ἀφ' ἐτέρους ἀρετῶν καὶ δυνάμεων φιλοτιμιούμενοι. λάμβανε δὴ καὶ δίκης συνεργοῦν καὶ προσβείας κοινωνόν, ἃν λέγειν μὴ δυνατὸς ἦς, τὸν ῥητορικόν, ὡς Πελοπίδας Ἔπαμενονδαν· κἂν ἦς ἀπίθανος πρὸς ὁμόλογον τῷ πλῆθει καὶ ὑψηλῷ, ὡς Καλλικράτιδας, τὸν εὐχαριν καὶ θεραπευτικόν· κἂν ἀθένης καὶ δύσεργος τὸ σώμα, τὸν φιλόπονον καὶ ῥαμαλέον, ὡς Νικίας

Δ' Λάμαχον. οὕτω γὰρ ἢ τὸ Γηρυώνης ξηλωτὸς ἔχων σκέλη πολλὰ καὶ χείρας καὶ ὀφθαλμοὺς, εἰ πάντα μὴν ψυχὴν διώκει. τοῖς δὲ πολίτησιν ἐκείνῃ μὴ σάματα μὴδὲ χρήματα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τύχας καὶ δυνάμεις καὶ ἀρετὰς, ἃν ὁμοφωνόσθων, εἰς μίαν χρεῖαν συντιθέντας εὐδοκιμεῖ μᾶλλον ἄλλοι· περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πράξεως οὕτως ὡσπέρ οἱ Ἀργοναύται τὸν Ἱππάλεα καταλιπόντες ἤναγκάζοντο διὰ τῆς γυναικωνιτίδος καταδόμμενο καὶ φαρμακευμένοι σώζειν ἐαυτοὺς καὶ κλέπτειν τὸ νῖκος.

1 γάρ ἢν Wytenbach: γάρ.

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

* This refers to Jason’s seduction of Medea.
Ε Χρυσόν μὲν εἰς ἐννα τῶν ἱερῶν εἰσόντες ἐξω καταλείπουσιν, αἰδηρον δ` ὅσ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν εἰς οὐδὲν συνεισφέροναι. ἔπει δὲ κοινὸν ἅτιν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Δίως καὶ Πολιέως καὶ Ὁμίδος καὶ Δίκης, αὐτόθεν μὲν ἤδη φιλοπλουτίαι καὶ φιλοχρηστίαι, ὡσπερ σιδηρον μεστὸν ιὸν καὶ νόσημα τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀπαδωγαμένος εἰς ἀγορᾶς κατήλθοι ἡ δανειοτῶν ἀπόρρυψιν,

αὐτὸς δ` ἀπονόσφι τραπέσθαι
tὸν ἀπὸ δημοσίων χρηματιζόμενον ἤγονεμένος ἀφ᾽ ἱερῶν κλέπτειν, ἀπὸ τάφων, ἀπὸ φίλων, ἐκ προδοσίας, ἀπὸ φευγομαρτυρίας, σώμβουλον ἀπιστον εἶναι, δικαστήν ἐπιλοχον, ἀρχοντα διωδόκουν, σῳδεμίὰς ἀπλῶς καθαρὸν ἀδίκια. ὅδεν οὐ δεῖ πολλὰ F peri τούτων λέγειν.

27. Ἡ δὲ φιλοτιμία, καὶπερ ὅσα σαβαραυτέρᾳ τῆς φιλοκηρδείας, οὐκ ἐλάττονας ἔχει κῆρας ἐν πολιτείᾳ· καὶ γὰρ τὸ τολμάν αὐτῇ προσέπτι μᾶλλον, ἐμφάνεται γὰρ οὐκ ἀργαῖς οὐδὲ ταπειναῖς ἀλλ′ ἐρρομέναις μάλιστα καὶ νεανικαῖς προαιρέσει, καὶ τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἤχουν ῥόθων πολλάκις συνεξάρθοιν αὕτην 820 καὶ συνεξώθουν τοῖς ἐπαίνως ἀκατάσχετον ποιεῖ καὶ δυσμενεῖφιστον. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πλάτων ἀκουοστέον εἶναι τοῖς νέοις έλεγεν ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς, ὥσ οὔτε περικείθαι χρυσὸν αὐτοῖς ἐξώθειν οὕτε κεκτήθαι δόμιο, οἰκεῖον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ συμμεμειγμένον ἔχοντας, αἰσθητόμενος οἴμαι τὴν ἑκ γένους διατείνουσαν εἰς τὰς φύσεις αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οὕτω παρα-

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*a* Cf. Plato, Republic, 609 ι. 
*b* Homer, Od. v. 350. 
*c* Plato, Republic, 416 κ.
PRECEPTS OF STATECRAFT, 819-820

When entering some sanctuaries men leave their gold outside; but iron, one may say, they do not at all carry into any sanctuary. And since the orators' platform is a sanctuary common to Zeus the Counsellor and the Protector of Cities, to Themis and to Justice, do you strip off all love of wealth and of money, as you would iron full of rust⁵ and a disease of the soul, cast them straightway at the beginning into the market-place of hucksters and money-lenders,

and turning your back depart from them,⁶ believing that a man who makes money out of public funds is stealing from sanctuaries, from tombs, from his friends, through treason and by false testimony, that he is an untrustworthy adviser, a perjured judge, a venal magistrate, in brief not free from any kind of iniquity. And therefore there is no need of saying much about these evils.

27. But ambition, although it is a more pretentious word than "covetousness," is no less pernicious in the State; for there is more daring in it; since it is innate, not in slothful and abject spirits, but in the most vigorous and impetuous, and the surge which comes from the masses, raising it on the crest of the wave and sweeping it along by shouts of praise, often makes it unrestrained and unmanageable. Therefore, just as Plato said⁷ that young people should be told from childhood that it is not proper for them to wear gold on their persons or to possess it, since they have a gold of their own mingled in their souls,—a figurative reference, I believe, to the virtue derived by descent, which permeates their natures,—so let us moderate our
(820) μυθάμεθα τὴν φιλοτιμίαν, λέγοντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἔχειν χαρακτόν ἀδιάφορον καὶ ἀκτήρατον καὶ ἄρχατον ὑπὸ φθόνου καὶ μόριον τιμῆς, ἀματὶ λογισμῷ καὶ παραθεωρήσει τῶν πεπραγμένων ἡμῶν καὶ πεπολεμημένων αὐτῶν αὐτόμενον. διὸ μὴ δείσθαι γραφομένων τιμῶν ἢ πλατομένων ἢ χαλκοτυπουμένων, ἐν αἷς καὶ τῷ εὐθοκείῳ ἀλλότριον ἐστιν· ἐπινεῖται γὰρ οὐχ ὁ γέγονεν ἀλλ’ ὠς ὁ γέγονεν ὡς ὁ σαλπτής καὶ ὁ δορυφόρος. ὃ δὲ Κάτων, ἢδη τότε τῆς "Ῥώμης κατατυπλαμένης ἀνδριάστων, οὐκ ἐώς αὐτοὶ γενέσθαι "μᾶλλον," ἐφι, "βοθλομαι πυνθάνεσθαι τινας, διὰ τὸ μον ἀνδριάς αὐτὸ κεῖται ἢ διὰ τὶ κεῖται." καὶ γὰρ φθόνον ἔχει τὰ τουστὰ καὶ νομίζον τοῖς πολλοῖς μὴ λαβώσειν αὐτοὶ χάριν ὀφείλειν, τοὺς δὲ λαβόντας αὐτοῖς καὶ βαρεῖς εἶναι, οἶον ἐπὶ μισθῷ τῶν χρείας ἀπαιτοῦντας. ὁσπερ οὖν ὁ παραπλεύσας τὴν Σύρτιν εἶτ’ ἀνατραπεῖς περὶ τῶν πορίμον αὐτῶν μέγα πεποίηκεν οὐδὲ σεμιόν, οὕτως ὁ τὸ ταμεῖον φυλαξάμενος καὶ τὸ δημοσιόκοιν ἀλλοῦ δὲ περὶ τὴν προεδρίαν ἢ τὸ πρωταρχίαν, ὑψηλόν μὲν προσεπταικεν ἀκρωτηρίῳ βαστίζεται δ’ ὁμολογοῦν, ἀριστος μὲν οὖν ὁ μηδενός δεόμενος τῶν τοιαύτων ἀλλά φεύγων καὶ παραιτούμενος· ἂν δ’ ἢ μὴ ράδιον τὸν ἰδίου τὸν χάριν ἀπαύγασθαι καὶ φιλοφροσύνην πρὸς τοῦτο ῥύετος, ὡσπερ οὖν ἀργυρίτην οὐδὲ δωρίκτην ἀγώνια πολεμεῖας ἀγώνιζομένους ἄλλ’ ἰερὸν ὡς

1 τιμῆς, ἀματόν ἐν πλήθοιν Hartman.
2 σαλπτής οἰκονομικός: σαλπτής
3 αὐτοῖς Madvig: αὐτοῖς.
4 μὲν added by Reiske.

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

a Two famous statues. The doryphorus (spear-bearer) was by Polycleitus.
Πλούταρχος καὶ στεφανίτην, ἑπιγραφὴ τις ἄρκει καὶ πινάκιον καὶ ψήφωμα καὶ βαθλός, ως Ἰππομενίδης ἔλαβεν ἐς ἀκροπόλεως καθήρας τὴν πόλιν. Ἁναγόμενος δὲ τὰς διδομένας ἄφεσις τιμὰς ἦττάσατο τὴν ἡμέραν ἕκπληκτη, καθ’ ὑπὸ τὴν τελευτήσῃ, τοὺς παίδας ἀφεναι παῖζειν καὶ σχολάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν μαθημάτων. τοὺς δὲ τοὺς Μάγους ἀνέλουσαν ἐπτὰ Πέρσας ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν γενομένους εἰς ταὐματος τῆς κεφαλῆς τὴν τιμάναν φορεῖν· τοῦτο ἔγαρ ἐποιήσαντο σύμβολον, ως ξεικε, χωρούντες ἐπὶ τὴν πράξειν. ἔχει δὲ τι καὶ ἡ τοῦ Πεντακοῦ τιμὴ πολεμικῶν· ἄρα γὰρ ἐκτῆσατο χόρας τοὺς πολέμους γῆν ὅσην ἥθελοι λαβεῖν κελευθερεῖς ἔλαβε τοσάριν, ὅσην ἐπῆλθε τὸ ἀκόντιον αὐτοῦ βαλόντος· ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος Κόκλης, ἕση μὴ χαλῶς ὅπερ περιέρθησον. οὐ γὰρ μικρόν εἶναι δὲ τῆς πράξεως ἀλλὰ σύμβολον τὴν τιμήν, ἵνα καὶ διαμένῃ πολῖν χρόνον, ἀσπερ ἐκεῖναι δείμεναι. τῶν δὲ Δημητρίου τοῦ Φαληρέως τριακοσίων ἀνδριάντων ὀὐδέις ἔσχεν ἵνα σώδη πίνον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔτι ζῶντος προανηρθήσαν· τοὺς δὲ Δημάδου κατεχόνευσαν εἰς ἀμῖδας καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τιμαὶ πεπόνθαις οὐ μογθηρὰ τοῦ λαβόντος μόνον ἄλλα καὶ μεγέθει τοῦ δοθέντος δυσχεραινθεῖσα, διὸ κἀκιστὸν καὶ βεβαιότατον εὐτελεία τιμῆς φιλακτήρων, αἰ δὲ μεγά-

1 τῆς κεφαλῆς] τὰ σκῆλα συστᾶντος τῇ κεφαλῇ Bernardaklis with no indication of ses. authority.
2 φορεῖν Wytenbach and others: φέρειν.
3 Κόκλης Codex Basileensis: πόλιας.
4 δοῦν Wytenbach: ἔν.

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

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

Epimenides of Crete was called in by the Athenians, apparently not far from 500 B.C., to purify the city of a pestilence.

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λαὶ καὶ ἐπέροικοι καὶ βάρος ἔχουσαι παραπλησίως τοῖς ἀσυμμέτροις ἄνθρωποι ταχὺ περιτρέπονται. 28. Ὁ νομίζω δὲ νῦν τιμᾶς, ὡς οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ Ἑμπεδοκλέα.

δὲ θέμας οὗ καλέουσι, νόμῳ δ᾿ ἐπίφημι καὶ αὐτός· ἐπεὶ τὴν γ᾿ ἀληθείαν τιμήν καὶ χάριν ἰδρυμένην ἐν εὐνοίᾳ καὶ διαθέσει τῶν μεμημένων οὐχ ὑπερ-821 ὀφεται πολιτικὸς αὐτὴ, οὐδὲ γε δόξαν ἀτμάσει φεύγων τὸ "τοῖς πέλας ἀνθάνειν," ὡς ἦλιον Δημόκριτος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κυνῶν ἀστασίμως οὔδ᾿ ἐπον ἐνυφά τῆρατος καὶ ἐπιστροφοὶ ἀπόβλητον, ἄλλα καὶ χρήσιμον καὶ ἰδὺ συντρόφοις καὶ συνήθεις ζῶοις τοιαύτην ἐνεργάσασθαι διάθεσιν πρὸς αὐτόν, οἷον ὁ Δυσομάχος κυνῶν ἐπεδείκνυτο καὶ τῶν Ἀχιλλέως ἀπών ὁ ποιητὴς δηυεῖται περὶ τῶν Πατροκλοῦν ὁμια δ᾿ ἄν καὶ τὰς μελίττας ἀπαλλάσσει βέλτιον. 

Β ἐὰν τοὺς τρέφοντας καὶ θεραπεύοντας ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ προσέλθαι μάλλον ἡ κεντεῖν καὶ χαλεπὰν ἔβολλον ἵνα δὲ ταύτας μὲν καπνῷ καλάζουσαι, ἁπὶς δ᾿ ὑβριστὰς καὶ κύνας ἀποστάσεις κλοιοῖς καὶ χαλινοῖς ἁγουσῶν ἱκανοχρόνους· ἀνθρώποι δ᾿ ἀνθρώπῳ χαροῦσι καὶ πρῶν ἐκουσίως οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾿ ἡ πλείστως εὐνοίας καὶ καλοκαγαθίας δόξα καὶ δικαιοσύνης παριστησί. δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένης ὁρθῶς μέγιστον ἀποφαίνεται πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους φυλακτήριον ἀπιστίαν ταῖς πόλεις· τούτῳ γὰρ μάλιστα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μέρος, ᾧ πιστεύομεν, ἀλώσιμον ἔστων.

§ Θέμας οὗ Mæciriscus: § Θέμας.

* Quoted with slightly different wording by Plutarch, Moralia, 1113 a.

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

29. And I now give the name "honours" to those which the multitude, to quote Empedocles,\footnote{Mallach, *Praq. Phil. Graec.* i. p. 355.}

Do not call as is right; and I, too, myself follow custom.\footnote{Homer, *Iliad* xix. 404 ff.}

For the statesman will not despise the true honour and favour founded upon the goodwill and disposition of those who remember his actions, nor will he disdain reputation and avoid "pleasing his neighbours," as Democritus\footnote{Demosthenes, vi. (second *Philippic*) 24.} demanded. For not even the greeting of dogs nor the affection of horses is to be spurned by huntsmen and horse-trainers, but it is both advantageous and pleasant to instil into animals which are brought up with us and live with us such a disposition towards us as was exhibited by the dog of Lysimachus and as the poet tells us that Achilles' horses felt towards Patroclus.\footnote{And I believe even bees would come off better if they would only welcome and placate their keepers and attendants instead of stinging them and making them angry. But as it is, people punish bees with smoke and lead unruly horses and runaway dogs by force of bits and dog-collars; but nothing makes a man willingly tractable and gentle to another man except trust in his goodwill and belief in his nobility and justice. And therefore Demosthenes is right in declaring that the greatest safeguard States possess against tyrants is distrust; for that part of the soul with which we trust is most easily taken captive. Therefore just as}
"άκραντα γάρ με" φησὶν "έθηκε θεοπίζειν θεός,
καὶ πρὸς παθόντων καὶ κακοῖς κειμένων
σοφὴ κέκλημαι, πρὸν παθεῖν δὲ 'μαίνομαι,'"
οὕτως ἢ πρὸς 'Αρχύταν πίστις καὶ πρὸς Βάττον εὐνοια τῶν πολιτῶν μεγάλα τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν δόξαν ὑφέλησε. καὶ τὸ τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον ἔνεστι τῇ δόξῃ τῇ τῶν πολιτικῶν ἀγαθοῖ, ἡ πάροδον ἐπὶ τὰς πράξεις διδοθα πίστις·
δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τοὺς βασικάνως καὶ πονηρῶς ὅπλον ἢ παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν εὐνοια τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς ἔστιν
ὡς ὅτι μήτηρ
παιδὸς ἐφέργει μυῖαν, δὴ ἢδεὶ λέξεται ὑπνῳ,
ἀπερίκουσα τῶν φθάνων καὶ πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις ἐπανισσοῦσα τὸν ἄγεννη τοῖς εὐπατριδίας καὶ τῶν πένητα τοῖς πλουσίοις καὶ τῶν ἰδιώτην τοῖς ἄρχουσι: 
καὶ ἄλως, ὅταν ἅλθεια καὶ ἄρετη προσγένηται, φορόν ἐστι πνεῦμα καὶ βέβαιον ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν, ἀκόπει δὲ τὴν ἐναντίαν καταμανθάνουν διάθεσιν ἐν τοῖς παραδείγμασι. τοὺς μὲν γάρ Διονυσίου παιδας καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καταπορνεύσαντες οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀνέλλον, εἰτὰ καίσαντες τὰ αὐάματα τὴν τέφραν κατέσπειραν ἐκ πλοίου κατὰ τῆς χαλάττης.

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

"has made me prophesy in vain,
And those who suffer or have suffered woes
Have called me 'wise'; but o'er they suffer, 'mad,' "

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

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

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

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

† Homer, H. iv. 130.

‡ Dionysius II. of Syracuse; cf. Life of Timoleon, chap. xiii., and Aelian, Var. Hist. vi. 12.
Μενάνδρου δὲ τινὸς ἐν Βάκτροις ἐπιεικῶς βασι-κὴν λεύθαις εἶτ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου, τὴν μὲν ἄλλην ἐπουρήσατο κηδεῖαν κατὰ τὸ κωνὸν αἱ πόλεις, περὶ δὲ τῶν λειψάνων αὐτῶν καταστάντες εἰς ἁγώνα μόλις συνεβήσαν, ὡςτε νειμάμενοι μέρος Ἰον τῆς τέφρας ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ γενέσθαι μυχεῖα παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνδρῶσ. αὖθις 8' Ἀκραγαντῖνοι μὲν ἀπαλλαγέντες Φαλάρεις ἐφηρέσαντο μηδένα φορεῖν ἑμάτιον γλαύκων· οἱ γὰρ υπηρέται τοῦ τυράννου γλαυκῶνος ἥρωντο περιζώματι. Πέροι δ', ὅτι Εργυτὸς ἦν ὁ Κύρος, ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρωτε τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ καλλίστος ὑπολαμβανομαι.

29. Όστις ἀπάντων ἐρωτῶν ἱσχυρότατος ἄμα καὶ διεύθυντος ἐστιν ὁ πόλεως καὶ δήμως πρὸς ἕνα δὲ ἀρετὴν ἐγχύνομεν· αἱ δ' ἀπὸ θεάτρων ἡ νε-μέσαις ἡ μονομάχων φευδάνεται τιμαί καὶ ψευδο-μάρτυρες ἐταιρικαῖς ἐοικασὶ κολακεῖας, ὡχλον ἀλλ' τῷ διδόντι καὶ χαριζομένῳ προσμειδώντων, ἐφήμερον τινα καὶ ἀβεβαιον δόξαν. εὗ μὲν οὖν οἱ πρώτοι εἰσεῖν καταλιθήναι δήμου ὅπο τοῦ πρώτου δεκάσαντος συνεϊθεν, τοῦ τινὸς ἴσχυς ἀποβάλλουσιν

622 οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦ λαμβάνειν ἤπτονες γενόμενοι· δεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς δεκάσαντας οἴσθαι καταλιθεῖν ἐκατον, ὅταν ἀναλοματῶν μεγάλων ἀνοίγομεν τὴν δόξαν ἱσχυρῶς ποιῶσι καὶ θρασεῖς τοὺς πολλοὺς, ἀσ μέγα τι καὶ δούναι καὶ ἀφελέσθαι κυρίους ὄντας.

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

1 αὖθις 8' Bernardakis: αὖθις.
2 πρῶτος] πρῶτως Dubeuer.
a certain man named Menander, who had been a good king of the Bactrians, died in camp, the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities. But, on the other hand, the Agrigentines, when they had got rid of Phalaris, decreed that no one should wear a grey cloak; for the tyrant’s servants had worn grey garments. But the Persians, because Cyrus was hook-nosed, even to this day love hook-nosed men and consider them the most handsome.

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

30. We ought not, however, on this account to be niggardly as to the customary public contributions,
(822) πορίαν παρεχόντων· ὁς μᾶλλον οἱ πολλοὶ μὴ μεταδίδοντα τῶν ἰδίων πλούσιων ἢ πέντε σε τῶν
δημοσίων κλέπτοντα δι’ ἐχθροὺς ἐχοῦσων, ὑπερομιᾶι
τὸῦτο καὶ περιφράνσων αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνο δ’ ἀνάγκην
Β ἡγούμενοι. γιγνέσθωσαν οὖν αἱ μεταδόσεις πρῶτον
μὲν ἀντὶ μηδενὸς· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκπλήττουσι καὶ κει-
ροῦνται μᾶλλον τοὺς λαμβάνοντας· ἔπειτα οὖν καὶ τῷ
πρὸφασιν ἀστείαν καὶ καλὴν ἔχοντι, μετὰ τιμῆς ὑπὲρ
πάντας ἁγοῦσιν πρὸς εὐσέβειαν· ἐγγίνεται γὰρ
άμα τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱσχυρὰ διάθεσις καὶ δόξα τοῦ
tὸ δαιμόνιον εἶναι μέγα καὶ σεμνὸν, ὅταν, οὕς ἀυτοὶ
tιμῶσι καὶ μεγάλους νομίζουσιν, οὕτως ἀφειδῶς
καὶ προσομοίσω περὶ τὸ θεῖον ὅρασιν φιλοτιμο-
μένους. ἀπέρ οὖν ὁ Πλάτον ἀφελέ τῶν παι-
Ο δευομένων νέων τὴν ἁρμονίαν τὴν Δαίδαλον καὶ τὴν
λαστὶ, τὴν μὲν τὸ θρημάδες καὶ φιλοπενθεῖς ήμῶν
ἐγείρουσαν τῆς ψυχῆς, τὴν δὲ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἅλι-
σιτηρὰ καὶ ἀκόλαστον αὐξοῦσαν· οὕτω σοὶ τῶν
φιλοτιμών ὅσια τὸ φωικόν καὶ θηριῶδες ἢ τὸ
βασιλείαν καὶ ἀκόλαστον ἐρεθίζουσι καὶ τρέφουσι,
μάλιστα μὲν ἔξελανε τῆς πόλεως, εἰ δὲ μῆ, φεύγε
καὶ διαμάχον τοῖς πολλοῖς αὐτομένως τὰ τοιοῦτα
θεάματα· χρηστὰς δὲ καὶ σάφορονς ἂεὶ ποιοῦ τῶν
ἀναλωμάτων ὑποθέσεις, τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον
ἐχοῦσας τέλος ἢ τὸ γοῦν ἢδυ καὶ κεχαρισμένον
ἄνευ βλάβης καὶ ὑβρείως προσομοίωσιν.

D 31. "Ἀν δ’ ἣ τὰ τῆς οὐσίας μέτρια καὶ κέντρω

1 αὐτῶν Bernardakis: αὐτῶν.

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

31. But if your property is moderate and in re-
(822) καὶ διαστήματι περιγραφόμενα πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, οὕτως ἀγεννέστερον οὐδέν ἐστὶ πενίαν ὁμολογοῦντα ταῖς τῶν ἑχόντων ἐξετασθαι φιλοτιμίας, καὶ μὴ δανειζόμενον οἰκτρὸν ἁμα καὶ καταγέλαστον εἶναι περὶ τὰς λειτουργίας· οὐ γὰρ λανθάνοντον ἐξασθενοῦντες ἡ φίλοις ἐνοχλοῦντες ἡ θωπεύοντες δανειστάς, ὥστε μὴ δόξαν αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἰσχὺν ἀλλὰ μάλλον αἰσχύνη καὶ καταφρόνησιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀναλωμάτων ὑπάρχειν. διὸ χρὴσιμον ἀεὶ πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα μεμνήσθαι τοῦ Λαμάχου καὶ τοῦ Φωκίωνος· οὕτως μὲν γὰρ, ἀξιοῦντων αὐτὸν ἐν θυσίᾳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδοῦναι καὶ κροτοῦντων πολλάκις "αἰσχυνομὴν ἂν" εἶπεν "ὑμῖν μὲν ἐπιδιδοὺς Καλλικλῆι δὲ τούτῳ μὴ ἀποδιδοὺς," δείχνας τὸν δανειστήν. Λάμαχος δὲ ἐν τοῖς τῆς στρατηγίας ἀεὶ προσέγγαρα ἀπολογισμοῖς ἄργυρον εἰς κρητιδας αὐτῷ καὶ ἰμάτιον. Ἔρμον δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ φεύγοντι τῇ ἀρχῇ ὑπὸ πενίας ἐφηφίσαιτο λάγυνον οὐνοῦ κατὰ μῆνα διδόναι καὶ μέδιμνον ἀλφίτων ἀφ’ ἐκάστης τετράδος. οὕτως οὕτως ἀπεγνένει ἡ πενίαν ὁμολογεῖν, οὕτω λείπονται πρὸς δύναμιν ἐν πόλεισι τῶν ἑστώ[των καὶ] ἐχορηγοῦντων οἱ πένητες, ἀν παρρησίαν ἀπ’ αρετῆς καὶ πίστης ἕχωσι. δεῖ δὴ μάλιστα κρατεῖν ἑαυτῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καὶ μὴ εἰς πεδία καταβαίνειν πεζῶν

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

*b* Phocion was a famous Athenian general in the fourth century B.C. He was elected general forty-five times. He was virtual ruler of Athens when Antipater was in power, but in 318 B.C. was tried and executed by the Athenians. 282
lation to your needs strictly circumscribed "as by centre and radius," it is neither ignoble nor humiliating at all to confess your poverty and to withdraw from among those who have the means for public expenditures, instead of borrowing money and making yourself at once a pitiful and a ridiculous object in the matter of your public contributions; for men are plainly seen to lack resources when they keep annoying their friends or truckling to money-lenders; so that it is not reputation or power, but rather shame and contempt, which they acquire by such expenditures. And therefore it is always desirable in connexion with such things to remember Lamachus\(^a\) and Phocion\(^b\); for the latter, when the Athenians at a sacrifice called upon him to contribute and repeatedly raised a clamour, said, "I should be ashamed if I gave you a contribution and did not pay Callicles here what I owe him," pointing to his money-lender. And Lamachus always, when he was general, entered in his accounts money for shoes and a cloak for himself. And when Hermon tried to avoid office on the plea of poverty, the Thessalians voted to give him a flask\(^c\) of wine monthly and a measure\(^d\) of meal every four days. So it is not ignoble to confess poverty, and poor men, if by reason of their virtue they enjoy freedom of speech and public confidence, have no less influence in their cities than those who give public entertainments and exhibitions. The statesman must, then, do his best to control himself in such matters and not go down.

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

\(^{a}\) About six pints.

\(^{b}\) About a bushel and a half.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

ἐπευδε σαμαχούμενον μὴτ' ἐπὶ στάδια καὶ θυμέλας καὶ τραπέξας πέντε πλούσιος ὑπὲρ δόξης καὶ
dυναστείας διαγωνιζόμενον. ἀλλ' ἀπ' ἀρετῆς καὶ
φρονήματος ἄει μετὰ λόγου πειρωμένοις ἄγειν τὴν
πόλιν, οἷς οὐ μόνον τὸ καλὸν καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν ἄλλα καὶ
tὸ κεχαρισμένον καὶ ἀγωγὸν ἐνεστὶ "Κροίσεων
αἱρετώτερον στατήρων." οὐ γὰρ αἰθάδες οὐδ' ἐπαχθῆ ὁ χρηστός οὐδ' αὐθέκαστος ἐστιν ὁ
σώφρων ἀνήρ καὶ

στείχει πολίταις οἷμι ἔχων ἱδεῖν πικρόν,

ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν εὐπροσήγορος καὶ κοινὸς ὁν
πελάσας καὶ προσελθεῖν ἀπασιν, οἰκίαν τε παρέχων
ἀκλειστὸν ὡς λιμένα φύζομον ἀεὶ τῶν χρῆζονσι,
καὶ τὸ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον οὐ χρέαιας
ουδὲ πράξεις μόνον ἄλλα καὶ τῷ συναλγεῖν πταίσαι
Β καὶ κατορθοῦσι συγχαίρειν ἐπιδεικτύμενος· οὐδαμῇ
de λυπηρῷ οὐδ' ἐνοχλῶν οἰκετῶν πληθεὶς περὶ λου-
τρόν ἡ καταλήψεις τῶν ἐν θεάτροις οὐδὲ τοὺς
eἰς τρυφήν καὶ πολυτέλειον ἐπιφθόνοις παράσημος:
ἀλλ' ἵσος καὶ ὁμαλὸς ἔσθητι καὶ διαίτη καὶ τροφαὶς
παίδων καὶ θεραπείᾳ γυναικὸς, ὡς ὁμοδημεῖν καὶ
sυνανθρωπεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς βουλόμενος. ἐπειτα
σύμβουλον εὐνοῦν καὶ συνήγορον ἁμισθοῦν καὶ
dι-
αλλακτὴν εὐμενὴ πρὸς γυναικὲς ἄνδρῶν καὶ φίλων
πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρέχων ἑαυτῶν, οὐ μικρὸν ἡμέρας

1 παράσημος] Reiske suggests παρασήμον, Bernardakis
παρασήμων, Hartman ἐπιφθόνοις ἐπισήμοι.

a Cf. Pollux, iii. 87, ix. 84, but, as Bernardakis suggests,
Plutarch may have added the word for "more desirable;" in which case there is here no real quotation.
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into the plain on foot to fight with cavalry; if he is poor, he must not produce foot-races, theatrical shows, and banquets in competition with the rich for reputation and power, but he should vie with those who try always to lead the State on the strength of virtue and wisdom, combined with reason, for in such are found not only nobility and dignity but also the power to win and attract the people, a thing "more desirable than gold coins of Croesus." For the good man is neither presumptuous nor offensive, and the prudent man is not over-blunt in speech, nor does he

Walk with a mien his townsmen bitter find,

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

(823) μέρος ἐπὶ τῶν βήματος ἡ τοῦ λογείου πολιτεύμενος, εἰτ' ἡ ἕξη πάντα τῶν ἄλλων βιῶν

ELYLOV EEP' AUTON' OSTE KAIKIAS VEFH

τὰς χρείας καὶ τὰς οἰκονομίας πανταχόθεν ἄλλα δημοσιεύων ἀεὶ ταῖς φρονίσι τινών, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν βιῶν καὶ πράξεις οὓς ἄσχολαν ἄσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ λειτουργίαν ἠγούμενος, πάσι τούτως καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπιστρέφει καὶ προσάγεται τούς πολλοὺς, νόθα καὶ κίβθηλα τὰ τῶν ἄλλων θυσεύματα καὶ δειλαόμενα πρὸς τὴν τούτου κηδεμοίων καὶ φρόνησιν ἑρόντας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δημητρίου κόλακες οὐκ ἦσιν βασιλεῖς τῶν ἄλλως προσαγορευέν, ἄλλα τὸν μὲν Ἀλευκονόν ἔλεφαντάρχην τοῦ δ' Λυ-

D σύμαχον γαζοφυλάκα τῶν δ' Πτολεμαῖον ναύαρχον ἐκάλουν, τὸν δ' ἴλαροκλέα νησιάρχην οἱ δ' ἐπὶ πολλοῖ, καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν ἰαθόν καὶ φρόνιμου ἀπορρίφεσιν, ὕστερον καταμανθάνουτες τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄχρη τοῦτον ἤρθεται μόνον πολιτικῶν καὶ δημοσιεύσεως καὶ ἔρχοντα, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τῶν μὲν χρησίμων τῶν δ' ἐστιάτορον τὸν δ' γυμνασιαρχόν καὶ νομίζοντο καὶ χαλώον. εἶτ' ἀσπέρ ἐν τοῖς συμμοσίοις, Καλλίου δαπανώτητος ἡ 'Αλκι-

βιάδου, Σωκράτης ακούεται καὶ πρὸς Σωκράτην ἐπὸντες ἀποβλέπουσιν, αὐτοὶς ἐν ταῖς ὑγιαινοῦσις πόλεως Ἰσημείνας μὲν ἐπιδίδοσι καὶ, δευτερίᾳ Λήγας καὶ χρησίμων Νικηφόρας, 'Επαμεινώνδας δὲ καὶ Ἀριστέρως καὶ Λυσανδρός καὶ ἔρχοντο καὶ

1 eúdo Næsiricus: Óeptou.

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

Ε 32. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἔμπειροι θεραπείας καὶ τροφῆς μελετῶν τὸν μάλιστα βομβοῦντα τῶν σύμβουλον καὶ δορίδου μεστὸν τούτον εὐθυνεῖ καὶ ὑγιαίνειν νομίζουσιν δὲ τὸν λογικά καὶ πολιτικοὶ συμφόρους ἐπιμελεῖν ἔχειν ὁ θεός ἔδωκεν, ἠσυχαί μάλιστα καὶ πραότητι δήμου τεκμαίρομενος εὐθα-μοιαν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῦ Σῶλωνος ἀποδείχτει καὶ μιμῆσαι κατὰ δύναμιν, ἀπορήσει δὲ καὶ θεμάζει τὸ παθῶν ἔκεινος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγραμμέν ἄτιμῳ εἶναι τὸν 824 ἐν στάσει πόλεως μηδετέρως προσθέμενον. οὕτε γὰρ σώματι νοοῦντι γίνεται μεταβολής ἀρχῆ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἀπὸ τῶν συννοσοῦντων μερῶν, ἀλλ’ ὅταν ὕπαρ τοῖς ἐρρωμένοις ἰσχύσασα κράσις ἐκπάθης τὸ παρὰ φύσιν· ἐν τῷ δήμῳ στασιάζοντα μὴ δεινὴ μηδ’ ὀλεθρίου στάσιν ἄλλα πανομοίην ποτὲ δὲ τὸ ἀπαθές καὶ τὸ ὑγιαῖν ἐγκεκράθει, πολὺ καὶ παραμένειν καὶ συνοικεῖν· ἐπιρρεῖ γὰρ τούτῳ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἐκ τῶν σωφρονοῦντων καὶ δίεισι διὰ τὸν νεόορκότος· αἱ δὲ δὲ ἔλαιν ἀναταραχθεῖσαι πόλεως κομιδὴ διεφθάρρησαν, ἄν μὴ τούς ἅναγκες ἂν ἐξωθέν τινος καὶ κολάσεως ὑπὸ κάκων βίᾳ σωφρονήσασιν· οὐ μὴν ἁναλόθητον οὔθ’ ἁνάλυτον 288
men, and generals. So, observing these things, we must not be humiliated or overwhelmed by the reputation with the masses gained from theatres, kitchens, and assembly-halls, remembering that it lasts but a short time and ends the minute the gladiatorial and dramatic shows are over, since there is nothing honourable or dignified in it.

32. Now those who are skilled in tending and keeping bees think that the hive which hums loudest and is most full of noise is thriving and in good condition; but he to whom God has given the care of the rational and political swarm will judge of its happiness chiefly by the quietness and tranquillity of the people; he will accept and imitate to the best of his ability the other precepts of Solon, but will wonder in great perplexity why that great man prescribed that in case of factional disorder whoever joined neither faction should be deprived of civic rights. For in a body afflicted with disease the beginning of a change to health does not come from the diseased parts, but it comes when the condition in the healthy parts gains strength and drives out that which is contrary to nature; and in a people afflicted with faction, if it is not dangerous and destructive but is destined to cease sometime, there must be a strong, permanent, and permeating admixture of sanity and soundness; for to this element there flows from the men of understanding that which is akin to it, and then it permeates the part which is diseased; but States which have fallen into complete disorder are utterly ruined unless they meet with some external necessity and chastisement and are thus forcibly compelled by their misfortunes to be reasonable. Yet certainly it is not fitting in time
(824) ἐν στάσει καθήσατε προσήκει τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἄταραξίαν ὑμοῦντα καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα καὶ μακάριον βίον, ἐν ἑτέροις ἐπιτερπόμενον ἀγνωμονώσαν ἀλλ’ ἐνταῦθα δεὶ μάλιστα τὸν Ὀηραμένου κόθορον ὑποδούμενον ἀμφοτέρως ὀμιλεῖν καὶ μηδετέρως προστίθεσθαι. δόξεις γὰρ οὐχὶ τῷ μῇ συναδικεῖν ἀλλότριος ἀλλὰ τῷ βοηθεῖν καὶ σώσαις εἶναι πάντων· καὶ τὸ μὴ συνατισάς ὑμῖν ἐξει φθόνον, ἐὰν πάση φαύνη συναλγῶν ὀμοίως. κράτιστον δὲ προνοεῖν ὑπὸς μηδέποτε οτανάζωσι, καὶ τοῦτο τῆς πολιτικῆς ὀσπερ τέχνης μέγιστον ἂγεῖσθαι καὶ κάλλιστον. ὥρα γὰρ ότι τῶν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἰρήνης ἐλευθερίας ἐνετηρίας ἐνανδρίας ὀμονοίας, πρὸς τὸν εἰρήνην οὐδὲν οἱ δῆμοι τῶν πολιτικῶν ἐν γε τῷ παράντι χρόνῳ δέονται· πέφευγε γὰρ ἡ ἴμων καὶ ἱγανοήσας πᾶς μὲν Ἐλλην πᾶς δὲ βάρβαρος πόλεμος· ἐλευθερίας δὲ δοσον οἱ κρατοῦντες νέμονα τοῖς δήμοις μέτεστι καὶ τὸ πλέον ἱσως ὑπὸ ἀμεινον· εὐφορίαν δὲ γῆς ἀφθονον εὐμενή τε κράσων ὑφῶν καὶ τίκτεων

D γυναικας "ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῖοι" καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῖς γεννωμένοις εὐχόμενοι δ γε σώφρων αἰτήηται παρὰ θεῶν τοῖς δαυτοῖς πολιταῖς.

1 καὶ added by Reiske.

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8 This refers to the doctrine held by the Epicurean and Sceptic Schools of philosophy that the perfect state is that of complete tranquillity.
9 Themmenenes was prominent in the oligarchy at Athens in 411 B.C., but later turned against his former associates. In 404 B.C. he was elected one of the "Thirty Tyrants," but
of disorder to sit without feeling or grief, singing
the praises of your own impassiveness and of the in-
active and blessed life, and rejoicing in the follies
of others; on the contrary, at such times you should
by all means put on the buskin of Theramenes, con-
versing with both parties and joining neither; for
you will appear to be, not an outsider by not joining
in wrongdoing, but a common partisan of all by
coming to their aid; and your not sharing in their
misfortunes will not arouse envy, if it is plain that
you sympathize with all alike. But the best thing is
to see to it in advance that factional discord shall never
arise among them and to regard this as the greatest
and noblest function of what may be called the art
of statesmanship. For observe that of the greatest
blessings which States can enjoy,—peace, liberty,
plenty, abundance of men, and concord,—so far
as peace is concerned the peoples have no need of
statesmanship at present; for all war, both Greek
and foreign, has been banished from among us
and has disappeared; and of liberty the peoples
have as great a share as our rulers grant them, and
perhaps more would not be better for them; but
bounteous productiveness of the soil, kindly tem-
pering of the seasons, that wives may bear "children
like to their sires," and that the offspring may live
in safety—these things the wise man will ask the
gods in his prayers to grant his fellow-citizens.

tried to restrain his colleagues and was put to death by them.
He was nicknamed Colhurnus because the buskin could be
worn on either foot, as he was a member of each party in
turn (cf. "turncoat"). Aristotle, Constitution of Athens,
28. 5, praises him as a patriot.

* For the phrase cf. Thucydides, ii. 364.
* Hesiod, Works and Days, 283.
Λείπεται δὴ τῷ πολιτικῷ μόνῳ ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων ἔργων, ὁ μηδενὸς ἔλαττὸν ἐστὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁμόνοιαν ἐμποιεῖν καὶ φιλίαν ἀεὶ τοῦς συνοικοῦσιν, ἐρίζως δὲ καὶ διαφοροῦντας καὶ δυσμένειας ἔξαιρεῖν ἀπασαν, ὡσπερ ἐν φιλῶν διαφοραῖς, τὸ μάλλον οἴόμενον ἄδικενθαὶ μέρος ἐξομολογεῖν πρότερον καὶ συναδικεῖσθαι δικαίων καὶ συναγαγάκτειν, ἐδ' οὕτως ἐπειδήροιτα πράπων καὶ διδάσκεων ὧς τῶν βιάζεσθαι καὶ νικῶν ἔριξόν ὑπὶ παρέντες σοῦ ἐπισκείκαι καὶ ἂθει μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ φρονήματι καὶ μεγεθείς ψυχῆς διαφέρουσι, καὶ μικρῶν ὑφιέμενοι νικῶσιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις καὶ μεγίστοις· ἔπειτα καὶ καθ' ἕνα καὶ κοινῇ διδάσκοντα καὶ φράζοντα τῆς τῶν Ἔλληνων πραγμάτων ἀσθένειαν, ἢς ἐν ἀπολαῦσαι ἄμειναν ἐστι τοῖς εἰ δρονούσι, μεθ' ἧμιχίας καὶ ὄμοιολας καταθίων, μηδὲν ἐν μέσορ τῆς τόχης ἄθλου ὑπολελοίμας. τὸ γὰρ ἤγεμονία, τὸς δέξα τοῖς περιγενομένοις; ποῖα δύναμις, ἢ μικρῶν ἀνθράκτου

Διάπαγμα κατέλυσαν ἡ μετέστησεν εἰς ἄλλου, οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀν παραμένῃ οποιόδ' ᾠδον ἔχουσαν; ἐπεὶ δὲ, ὡσπερ ἐμπρησόμος οὐ πολλάκις ἐκ τόπων ἑτέρων ἀρχεται καὶ δημοσίων, ἀλλὰ λόγοις τις ἐν αὐθίνῃ παραμεληθείς ἡ συρρήτους διακαεῖς ἀνήκε φόλον πολλῆν καὶ δημοσίων φθοράν ἀπεγιασαμένην, οὕτως οὐκ ἀεὶ στάσιν πόλεως αἱ περί τὰ κοινὰ φιλονενικίαι διακόσων, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἐκ πραγμάτων καὶ προσκρουμένων ἱδίων εἰς δημόσιον αὶ διαφοράς προπρεθεῖσαν συνετάραξαν ἀπασαν τὴν πόλιν οὐδενὸς

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

Οἶνον ἐν Δελφοῖς ὁ μέγιστος λέγεται γενέσθαι νεωτερισμός ὑπὸ Κράτητος, οὗ μέλλων θυγατέρα γαμεῖν Ὀρσίλαος ὁ Φάλιδος, εἶτα, τοῦ κρατήρος αὐτομάτως ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑποδέεσσι μέσου βαγέντος, οἰωνισάμενος καὶ καταλυῶν τὴν νύμφην ἀπῆλθε μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς: ὁ δὲ Κράτης ἐλύγον ὑπεροχθήνον αὐτοῖς ὑποβαλαν χρυσὸν τῷ τῶν ἱερῶν κατεκρήμνισε τὸν Ὀρσίλαον καὶ τῶν ἁδελφῶν ἀκράτως, καὶ πάλιν τῶν φίλων τῶν καὶ οἰκείων ἑκείνων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἐρωταίας ἀνείλε· πολλῶν δὲ τοιούτων γενομένων, ἀποκεφαλάτες οἱ Δελφοὶ τὸν Κράτητα

καὶ τοὺς συστασιάζοντας ἐκ τῶν χειμάτων ἔναγκων προσαγορευθέντων τοὺς κατὸς ἱερὸς ἀνοικοδόμησαν. ἐν δὲ Ἑυρακούσαις δυνώ νεανίσκων συνήθων ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐρωμένων τοῦ ἔτερου λαβῶν φυλάσσειν διέφθειρεν ἀποδημοῦντος, ὁ δ' ἐκείνων πάλιν ὅσπερ ἀνταποδίδοντι ὅρην ἐμφύησε τῇ γυναίκα· τῶν δὲ πρεσβυτέρων τις εἰς βουλὴν παρ-

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

For example, at Delphi the greatest insurrection is said to have been caused by Crates, whose daughter was to be married to Orsilaus, the son of Phalis; but then, when at the betrothal the mixing-bowl broke in the middle of its own accord, Orsilaus regarded that as an omen, left his bride, and went away with his father. But Crates a little later, secretly putting a sacred object of gold into their possession while they were sacrificing, caused Orsilaus and his brother to be hurled over the precipice without trial and later slew some of their friends and relatives when they were suppliants in the sanctuary of Athena-before-the-Temple. But after many such things had taken place the Delphians put Crates and his fellow-partisans to death, and with their property, which had been declared accursed, they built the lower temples. And at Syracuse there were two young men, intimate friends, one of whom, being entrusted with his friend’s beloved for safe-keeping, seduced him while the other was away; then the latter, as if to repay outrage with outrage, committed adultery with the offender’s wife. Thereupon one of the elder men came forward in the senate and
(825) ελθὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἀμφοτέρους ἑλαύνειν, πρὶν ἀπολάυσαι1 καὶ ἀναπληρωθῆναι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῆς ἐχθρᾶς· οὐ μὴν ἔπεσεν, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τούτου σταυρόν. 

Διὸ χρῆ μὴ καταφρονεῖν τὸν πολιτικὸν ὅσπερ ἐν σώματι προσκρωμάτων2 διαδρομάς ἡξείας ἡχόντων, ἀλλ’ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ πιέζειν καὶ βοηθῆσαι προσοχῇ γὰρ, ὡς φησιν ὁ Κάτων, καὶ τὸ μέγα γλυκεῖται μικρὸν καὶ τὸ μικρὸν εἰς τὸ μεγάλον ἔγεται. μηχανῆ δ’ ἐπὶ ταῦτα πειθοῦς οὐκ ἐστὶ μείζων ἢ τὸ Εἰ παρέχειν ο颛τὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις διαφοραῖς ἦμερον διαλλακτηρίν, ἀμήντου, ἐπὶ τῶν πρῶτων αἰτίων μένοντα καὶ μηδενὶ προστιθέντα φιλονεκίαν μηδ’ ὀργήν μηδ’ ἄλλο πάθος ἐμποιοῦν τραχύτητα καὶ πικρίαν τοῖς ἀναγκαίοις ἀμφιβαθμίας. τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ταῖς παλαιότεραις διαμαχαιμένοις ἐπισφαλεῖς περιδέουσι τὰς χεῖρας, ὡς εἰς ἄνηκεστον ἢ ἀμβληθῆσαι· τοῖς άκιντοι, μαλακὴν ἔχουσα τὴν πληγὴν καὶ ἀλλοποιεῖν ἐν δὲ ταῖς κρίσεις καὶ ταῖς δίκαις πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἀμείνων ἐστὶ καθαραῖς καὶ φιλαῖς ταῖς αἰτίαις χρώμενον ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ Φ βέλη τὰ πράγματα χαράσσοντα καὶ φιλατάσσοντα ταῖς βλασφημίαις καὶ ταῖς κακοπεθείσαις καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς ἀνήκεστα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ δημόσια ποιεῖν.

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

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

4 προορισμάτων Bernardakis: προορισμένων.
(825) ὅ γάρ οὖτω προσφερόμενος τοῖς καθ' αὐτὸν ὑπηκόους ἔξει καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους· οἱ δὲ περὶ τὰ δημόσια
φιλοτιμῶν, τῶν ἱδίων ὑφαίρουμένων ἀπεχθεῖν, εὐτελεῖς γίνονται καὶ δυσχέρες οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀν-
ήκεστον ἐπιφέρουσιν.
For a man who proceeds in this way towards those with whom he himself has to do will find that others also yield to him; and rivalries affecting public interests, if private enmities are done away with, become of slight importance and do no serious or incurable harm.
ON MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND OLIGARCHY

(DE UNIUS IN REPUBLICA DOMINATIONE, POPULARI STATU, ET PAUCORUM IMPERIO)
INTRODUCTION

This essay is evidently only a fragment, as Wyttenbach long ago pointed out. The opening words indicate that the author delivers it as an address before an audience to which he has spoken on the day before, but nothing further is known about the circumstances. Few scholars now believe that the author is Plutarch, though who the writer was is not known. The substance of the fragment is derived chiefly from the Republic of Plato.
1. Ἐἰς τούτο δὴ τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ αὐτὸς Ὁ ἑισάγων τὴν γενομένην μοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς διάλεξιν ἔχθες, ὄμην τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ὕπαρ οὐκ ὕπαρ ἀκούσαι λεγοῦσιν

κεκρότηται χρυσάλα κρητικής ἱεραίσις αἰώνας,

δὲ προτρεπόμενος καὶ διάρροι ἐπὶ πολιτείαν βεβληται λόγος· ἓπε γαρ τὴν ὀφειλομένην ἐποικοδομοῦντες τῇ προτροπῇ διδασκαλίαν, ὀφειλεῖται δὲ τῷ παράδειγμα τῇ ἔπει τὸ πράττειν τὰ κοινὰ προτροπὴν καὶ ὄρμην ἔσεσθαι ἀκούσαι καὶ λαβέων παραγγέλματα πολιτείας, οἷς χρώμενος,

ὁ ως ἀνωτὸν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ, δημοφιλῆς ἐσται, μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἀμα καὶ τιμῆς δικαίας εἰ τεθέμενος τὸ ὀίκειον. δὲ προφέρομαι μὲν ἐστὶν εἰς τὰ μέλλοντα τούτοις περὶ προλειμενέοις ἐπεται, σκεπτέον ἵτις ἀρίστη πολιτεία. καθάπερ γὰρ ἀνθρώπου βίου πλείουσιν,

1 Wythtenbach assumes that the beginning is lost.
2 οὐκ Χυλανδέρ: ὡς.
3 ὁ added by Wythtenbach.
4 καὶ δὲ καὶ codex E.
5 διάρροι Salmashius: διαρρο.
7 πλείους Bernardakis: πλείουσιν.
ON MONARCHY, DEMOCRACY, AND Oligarchy

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

Golden foundation is wrought for canticles sacred, b

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

a Cf. Homer, Od. xix. 547.


c Pindar, ibid.
(826) ἐστι καὶ δήμου ἡ πολιτεία βίος· οἷον λαβέων τὴν ἀρίστην ἀναγκαίων· ἢ γὰρ ἐκ πασῶν αἱρέσεις ταύτην ὁ πολιτικὸς ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν τὴν ὁμοιοτάτην, εἶ ταύτην ἄδυνατον.

2. Λέγεται μὲν δὴ πολιτεία καὶ μετάληψις τῶν ἐν πόλει δικαίων· ὥσ φαμεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πολιτείαν Μεγαρῶν ψηφίσασθαι· τοῦ δὲ εἰς γέλωτα θεμένου τὴν σπουδὴν αὐτῶν, εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος στὶς μόνης πρότερον τὴν πολιτείαν· Ἡρακλεί λιμενί, εἰς ἐκείνους αὐτῶ ἔνωσαν καὶ μετ᾿ ἐκείνων αὐτῶ ἔστη ἀνθρώπινα διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ σπανὶ πεδίμην· λέγεται δὲ καὶ βίος ἁνδρὸς πολιτικοῦ καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πράττοντος πολιτείας· καθὼ τὴν Περικλείου πολιτείαν ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν Βλατον, ψέγομεν δὲ τὴν Ὑπερβόλου καὶ Ἐλευθερίας. ἐνοι δὲ καὶ μίν πράξεων εὐστρέφον εἰς τὰ κοινὰ καὶ λαμπρὰν πολιτείαν προσαγωγεύουσιν, ὅπως χρημάτων ἐπίδοσιν, διάλυσιν πολέμου, ψηφίσματος εἰσήγησιν· καθὼ καὶ πολιτεύσασθαι τὸν δὲνα σήμερον λέγομεν, εἰ τύχοι τι διαπραξάμενος ἐν κοινῷ τῶν δεόντων.

3. Παρὰ πάντα ταύτα λέγεται πολιτεία τάξιν· ἐκαὶ κατάστασις πόλεως διοικοῦσα τὰς πράξεις· καθά φασί τρεῖς εἶναι πολιτείας, μοναρχίαν καὶ ολυγαρχίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν, ὅπως Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ σύγκρισιν πεποίησε· καὶ δοκοῦσι γενικῶτατα εἶναι. τὰς γὰρ ἄλλας, ὅσπερ ἐν τοῖς μοιοίς διαγράμματι τῶν πρῶτων τρόπων ἀνεμένως ἢ ἐπιτευνομένως, συμβέβηκε παρακρούσεις καὶ ἥμισυ αὐξάνειν.
government (politeia) is the life of a people, and therefore it is essential for us to take the best form of it; for of all forms the statesman will choose the best or, if he cannot obtain that, then the one of all the rest which is most like it.

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

3. Besides all these, politeia is defined as an order and constitution of a State, which directs its affairs; and accordingly they say that there are three politeiae (forms of government), monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, a comparison of which is given by Herodotus in his third book. They appear to be the most typical forms; for the others, as happens in musical scales when the strings of the primary notes are relaxed or tightened, turn out to be errors
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β διαφθοράς κατ' ἠλλεσθων καὶ ὑπερβολήν εἶναι. ταύτας δὲ καὶ πλείστον καὶ μέγιστον ἐν ἰγκεμονίαις δυνητέοις τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀπεκληρώσαντο τὰς πολιτείας. Πέρσαι μὲν αὐτοκρατὴ βασιλείαν καὶ ἀνυπερεύθυνον, Σπαρτιάται δὲ ἀριστοκρατικὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ ἀνθέκαστον, 'Αθηναῖοι δὲ αὐτόνωμοι καὶ ἀκρατῶν δημοκρατίαν. ὃν ἀμαρτανομένων παρατροπαὶ καὶ ὑπερχύσεις εἰσὶν αἱ λεγόμεναι τυραννίδες καὶ δυναστείαι καὶ ὀχλοκρατίαι· ὅταν βασιλεία μὲν 827 ὕβρις ἑντέκη καὶ τὸ ἀνυπερεύθυνον ὀλιγαρχία δὲ ὑπερφροσύνη καὶ τὸ αὐθαίρετον δημοκρατία δὲ ἀναρχίαν, ἠστότης δὲ ἀμετρικῶν, πᾶσαι δὲ τὸ ἀνόητον.

4. Ὡσπέρ οὖ ν ὁ ἄρμονικὸς καὶ μοσοῦκος ἀνὴρ παντὶ μὲν ὄργανῳ χρησίetai προσφερὼν τεχνικῶν ἀρμοσάμενος καὶ λόγῳ κρουόν ἔκαστον, ὡς πέφικεν ἐμελεῖς ὑπηχεῖν· ἵνα μὲντοι συμβούλως Πλάτωνι χρησάμενος, πρεσβίδας, σαμβίκας καὶ ψαλτηρία πολυφθογγα καὶ βαρβίτους καὶ τρίγωνα παραπέμψας, Β τὴν λύραν καὶ τὴν κιθάραν προτείησεν· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὁ πολιτικός ἀνὴρ εὗ μὲν ὀλιγαρχίαν Λακωνικὴν καὶ Λυκοῦργειον μεταχειρίσται, συναρμοσάμενος αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀνθρωποὺς καὶ ὑμνῶν ἄνδρας, ἠνοικηθεὶς προσβιοσάμενος· εὗ δὲ πολυφτογγῷ καὶ πολυχόρῳ συνοίηεται δημοκρατία, τὰ μὲν ἁνεῖς τὰ δὲ ἐπιτείχειν τῆς πολιτείας, χαλάσας τὲ ἐν καιρῷ καὶ καρτερῶς ἀδύνα ἐμφύος, ἀντιβιβοῦν καὶ ἀντισχεῖν ἐπιστάμενος· εὗ δὲ αἴρεσις αὐτῷ δοθεῖ, καθάπερ

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

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

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* See Aristotle, Politics, iv. 4. 1 on Δυναμεὶς.
* Plato, Republic, 389 C, D.
(827) ὁργάνων, τῶν πολιτειῶν, οὗτ ἄν ἄλλην ἔλεος πλήν τὴν μοναρχίαν, Πλάτων πειθόμενος, τὸν μόνην δυναμένην τὸν ἐνελθῆ καὶ ἐρθέν ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἄλη-
C θώς τῆς ἀρετῆς τόνον ἀνασχέσθαι καὶ μήτε πρὸς ἀνάγκην μήτε πρὸς χάριν ἁρμόσαι τοῦ συμφέροντος. αἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πολιτεῖαι τρόπον τινὰ κρατοῦμεν καὶ ἀφίγομεν καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τῶν πολιτικῶν, οὐκ ἔχουν τὴν ἰσχύν βέβαιαν ἐπὶ τούτων, παρ’ ἀν ἔχει τὸ ἰσχὺν, ἄλλα πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ Ἀισχύλειον ἀναφωνεῖν, ὥστε τῆς τύχης ἐχρῆτο Δημήτριος ὁ πολιορκητής ἀποβαλὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν
σῷ τοῖς μὲ φυσῷς, οὕτω μὲ καταίθενε μοι δοκεῖσ.

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

Thou fanst my flame, methinks thou burnst me up.

a Nanck, _Frag. Græc. Frag._ p. 107, no. 359; _Life of Demetrius_, chap. xxxv.

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

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

1. Ὅ ο Πλάτων ἐν τοῖς Νόμοις οὐκ εἰς μεταλαμβάνον τοὺς θείους γεῖτονας, ἀλλὰ παρὰ αὐτοῖς ὑπάρχοντας ἄρχον τῆς κεραμικῆς καλουμένης γῆς ἀγονου εὑροσο νάματος τὸ χωρίον. ἢ γὰρ κεραμικῆς φύσεων ἔχουσα λαπαράν καὶ πυκνὴν στέγει παραλαβοῦσα τὸ ἄγρον καὶ οὐ διήσου. δὲν δὲ μεταλαμβάνειν τάλλοστρον τὸς ἱδιὸν κτήσασθαι μὴ δυναμένους ἁπορίας γὰρ βοηθεῖν τὸν νόμον. ἃρ' οὖν δὴ ἔδει καὶ περὶ χρημάτων εἶναι νόμον, ὅπως μὴ

1 Δὲν Xylander: δὲν.
2 τάλλοστρον Bernardakis: τοῦ τάλλοστρον.
3 ἃρ' ὁς Dübner: ἄρ' ὁς ἄρ.'
4 δὴ ἔδει καὶ Wyttenbach: διδέως.
THAT WE OUGHT NOT TO BORROW

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

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βασιλὴν ἔχεις, ἢτι ἐχεῖς, πιστεύεσθαι, δέον ἔχοντα μὴ δανείζεσθαι.

2. Τὸ θεραπεύεις τὸν τραπεζίτην ἢ πραγματευ-828 τὴν; ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας δανείσαι τραπεζίτης· ἐκπώμει ἐχεῖς, παροιμίδαις ἀργυρῷς, λεκανίδαις· ὑπὸ διὸ ταῦτα τῇ χρείᾳ· τῇ δὲ τραπεζίτῃ· τῇ Λύλις· τῇ Τένεσις ἀντικομίησαι τοῖσ κεραμεοῖς, καθαριστέρους οἴοι τῶν ἀργυρῶν· οὐκ ἔχεις τόκον βαρὺ καὶ δυσχερές ὡσπερ ἴον καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπηρρυθεῖται τῇ πολυ-τέλειαν, οὐδὲ ἀναμενόει τῶν καλανδῶν καὶ τῆς νουμηνίας, ἢν ἑρωτάτην ἡμερῶν ἀνοιχτῶν ἀποφράδα ποιοῦσιν οἱ δανειοῦσι καὶ στόχον. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ πολείου τιθέντος ἔνεχυρα ταύτῶν οὐδὲ

Β δὲν ὁ θεὸς σώσειν ὃ Κτίσιος· αἰσχύνονται τιμήν λαμβάνοντες, οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τόκον τῶν ἰδιῶν διδόντες. καὶ τοιὸ θεὸς Περικλῆς ἐκεῖνος τὸν τής θεᾶς κόσμου, ἄγοντα τάλαντα τεσσαράκοντα χρυ-σίου ἀπέθεθον, περιαίρετον ἐποίησεν, ὅπως, ἐφι, χρησάμενοι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἅθις ἀποδώμεθα μὴ ἐλαττών, οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄστερον ἐν πολιορκίᾳ ταῖς χρεῖαις μὴ παραδεχόμεθα φρούρων δανειστοῦ πολε-μίου, μὴ ὅραν ταύτῶν ἐπὶ δουλεία διδόμενα· ὅλλα τῆς τραπεζίτης περιελώντες ταύτης χρῆσιμα, τῆς καίτης, τῶν ἀχμάτων, τῆς διαίτης, εἰληθέρους δια-φυλάττωμεν οὖν, ὡς ἀποδώμουμεν ἅθις, ἑαυτοῦ ἐνυπηχύσωμεν.

C 3. Λέ μὲν οὖν ὅτι 'Ρωμαίων γυναῖκες εἰς ἀπαρχήν τῇ Πυθίᾳ Ἀπόλλωνι τῶν κόσμων ἑπέδωκαν, οἴον

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

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

3. Now the Roman women gave their ornaments as an offering to Pythian Apollo and from them made the

Satires, l. 3. 87 (tristes kalendas), for the detestation of the day.

* Thucydidès, ii. 18.
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(828) ο χρυσός κρατήρ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπέμβη· αἱ δὲ Ἐρμηνεύσεων γυναῖκες ἕκείραντο τὰς κεφαλᾶς καὶ ταῖς θρεῖσιν ἐντείνας τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ τὰ ὄργανα παρέσχουν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος· ἡμεῖς δὲ τὴν αὐτό- ἀρκεινα αὐτοκινώμενοι καταδουλοῦμεν ἐαυτοὺς ὑπο- θήκαις καὶ συμβολάδος, δέον εἰς αὐτὰ τὰ χρήσιμα συνταλέσαι καὶ συνπεραθέντας ἐκ τῶν ἀχρηστῶν καὶ περιπτῶν κατακοπτών ἡ πραθέντων ἐλευθερίας αὐτοῖς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσασθαι καὶ τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν.

Δὴ μὲν γὰρ Ἀρτεμις ἡ ἐν Ἑσφαῖο τοῖς χρεώστοις, οταν καταφύγωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτῆς, ἀσωλθεὶν παρέχει καὶ ἄδειαν ἀπὸ τῶν δανελῶν1· τὸ δὲ τῆς εὐτελείας καὶ ἄσιλου καὶ ἀβατον παιταχοῦ τοῖς σώφροσιν ἀναπέπτταται, πολλῆς σχολῆς εὐρυγωρίας παρέχου Ἴλαραν καὶ ὑπίπτωμον. ὡς γὰρ ἦν Πυθία τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τὰ Μηδικὰ τεῖγος ξυλον διδόναι τὸν θεὸν ἔφη, κάκευσι τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ κτήματα καὶ τὰς οἰκίας ἀφέντες εἰς τὰς ναὸς κατέφυγον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, οὕτως ἡμῶν ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι ξυλίνην τράπεζαν καὶ κεραμεῖς λεικάνην καὶ τραχὺ ἰμάτιον, εὰν ἐλευθεροὶ ξῦν ἐθέλωμεν.

Εἰ μηδὲ σύ γ' ἐπισκόπον τῇ μέσῳ,
μηδ' ὁχήματα ζευκτὰ κερασφώρα2 καὶ κατάγρυπρα, ἂ τούτοι ταχεῖς καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ παρατρέχουσιν· ἄλλῳ ἄνω τινι τοῖς τυχόντι καὶ καβάλλη χρώμενος 
φέυγε πολέμιον καὶ θάρασσον δανειστήν, οὐ γ' ἢν3

danerōν) "a creditoribus," i.e. δανειστῶν, Xylander's version.
2 κερασφόρα] κατάχρυσον οτ δανασφόρα Hulsek.
3 γ' Xylander: πορ.

* Beginning with the fourth century B.C. the ancients employed various machines to hurl projectiles. They are commonly called catapults (κατασρέφτρα). Their power lay in the elasticity of wooden beams which were bent by means 820
golden bowl which was sent to Delphi; and the women of Carthage shore their heads and gave their hair to make ropes for the tension of machines and instruments in defence of their native city. But we, ashamed to be independent, enslave ourselves by mortgages and notes, when we ought to limit and restrict ourselves to actual necessities and from the proceeds of the breaking up or the sale of useless superfluities to found a sanctuary of Liberty for ourselves, our children, and our wives. The goddess Artemis at Ephesus grants to debtors when they take refuge in her sanctuary protection and safety from their debts, but the protecting and inviolable sanctuary of Frugality is everywhere wide open to sensible men, offering them a joyous and honourable expanse of plentiful leisure. For just as the Pythian prophetess in the time of the Persian wars told the Athenians that the God offered them a wooden wall, and they, giving up their land, their city, their possessions, and their houses, took refuge in their ships for the sake of liberty, so to us God offers a wooden table, a pottery dish, and a coarse cloak if we wish to live as free men.

Do not abide the attack of the horsemen, nor of yoked chariots adorned with horn or silver, which rapid interest overtakes and outruns. No, make use of any chance donkey or nag and flee from your enemy and tyrant, the money-lender, who does of ropes rendered taut by twisting, whence the Latin name tormentum. The story is found in Appian, viii. 13. 93.

* Herodotus, vii. 141. The quotation is from the oracle in hexameters delivered to the Athenians by the priestess at Delphi when the Persians invaded Attica in 480 B.C. before the battle of Salamis.
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αἵτωνα καὶ ὕδωρ ὡς οἱ Μῆδοι, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπότομον καὶ προγράφοντα τὴν ἐπετμάων· καὶ μὴ δίδος, ἐνοχλοῦντα· κἀν ἔχης, μὴ λαμβάνοντα· κἀν πωλῆς, ἐπευσπάνεται· κἀν μὴ πωλῆς, ἀναγκάζοντα· κἀν δικάιας, ἐνυγχαίνοντα· κἀν Ἐθώνες, ἐπιτάττοντα· κἀν βαδίζεις ἐπὶ θύρας, ἀπατελεῖται· κἀν οἶκοι μένης, ἐπισταθμεύοντα καὶ θυροκοποῦντα.

4. Τι γάρ ὄντι τοιούτως Δαίμονας Ἀθηναίους ἀπελλάξας τοῦ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὀφελεῖν; δουλεύοντι γὰρ ἄπασι τοῖς ἀφανισταῖς, μᾶλλον δ' οὖθ' αὐτοῖς: τι γάρ ἢν τα δεινόν· ἀλλὰ δούλους ὑδροσταῖς καὶ βαρβάροις καὶ ἀγρίοις, ὡσπερ οὐκ ὁ Πλάτων φησι καθ' Ἀιδοῦ διαπόρους κολαστάς καὶ δημοκρινούς ἐφεστάναι τοῖς ἱσεβηκότως. καὶ γάρ οὔτοι τῶν ἀγορᾶς

829 ἀπεβαίνει χώραν ἀποδεξάντες τοῖς ἀθλίωσ χρεός ταῖς γυμνῶν δίκην ἐσθοῦσι καὶ ὑποκείρουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐμέτρον ἔσω διάνοιτες, τοῖς δ' ὡσπερ Ταντάλους ἐφεστάτες ἐφόροις γεύμασθαι τῶν ἱδίων τρυγανίτας καὶ συγκομίζοντας. ὥσ τοις Δαρείοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθηναίας ἐπεμψε Δάτων καὶ Ἀρταφέρμην ἐν ταῖς χερσίν ἠλοίπεις ἔχοντας καὶ δεσμαί κατὰ τῶν ἀγαμαλώτων, παραπληκτῶς οὕτω τῶν χειρογράφων καὶ συμβολαίων ὡσπερ πεδῶν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κομίζοντες ἀγγεία μεστὰ τὰς πόλεις ἐπιποτεῦονται καὶ διελαύνοντες.

Β) νοοῦτε, ὑπερβοῦσ οὐχ ἂμερον καρπὸν ὡς ὁ Τριπόλεμος, ἀλλ' ὄφλημάτων ρίζας πολυπόνων καὶ πολυτόκως καὶ δυσκελστῶς τιθέντες, ἄτο κύκλῳ νεμόμεναι καὶ περιβλαστάνουσαι κάμπτουσιν, καὶ

1 προγράφοντα Madvig: προγράφοντα.

* Plut., Republic, 615 e.
* Homer, Od. xi. 378.
not, like the Persian, demand earth and water, but attacks your liberty and brings suit against your honour. If you will not pay him, he duns you; if you have funds, he won't accept payment; if you sell, he beats down the price; if you will not sell, he forces you to do so; if you sue him, he meets you in court; if you take your oath, he orders you to do so; if you go to his door, he shuts it in your face; if you stay at home, he installs himself there and keeps knocking at your door.

4. For what good did Solon do the Athenians when he put an end to giving one's person as security for debt? For debtors are slaves to all the men who ruin them, or rather not to them either (for what would be so terrible in that?), but to outrageous, barbarous, and savage slaves, like those who Plato says stand in Hades as fiery avengers and executioners over those who have been impious in life. For these money-lenders make the market-place a place of the damned for the wretched debtors; like vultures they devour and flay them, "entering into their entrails," or in other instances they stand over them and inflict on them the tortures of Tantalus by preventing them from tasting their own produce which they reap and harvest. And as Dareius sent Datis and Artaphernes against Athens with chains and fetters in their hands for their captives, in similar fashion these men, bringing against Greece jars full of signatures and notes as fetters, march against and through the cities, not, like Triptolemus, sowing beneficent grain, but planting roots of debts, roots productive of much toil and much interest and hard to escape from, which, as they sprout and shoot up round about, press down and strangle the
(829) ἄχουσι τὰς πόλεις. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λαγὸς λέγουσιν τίκτειν ἄμα καὶ τρέφειν ἔτερα καὶ ἔπικυψκεσθαι πόλιν, τὰ δὲ τῶν μαστιγῶν τούτων καὶ βαρβάρων χρέα πρὶν ἢ συλλαβεῖν τίκτειν διδόντες γὰρ εἴδος ἀπαίτουσιν καὶ τιθέντες αἰροῦσι καὶ δανείζουσιν ὅ λαμβάνουσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δανείου.

5. Λέγεται μὲν παρὰ Μεσσηνίους

Ο έστι Πύλος πρὸς Πύλοις. Πύλος γε μὲν ἔστι καὶ ἄλλος.

λεχθήσεται δὲ πρὸς τοὺς δανειστὰς

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

εἶτα τῶν φυσικῶν δήποτε καταγελώσει, λεγόμενον μηδὲν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ δύντος γενέσθαι: παρὰ τούτοις γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ μηκέτι ὄντος μηδὲ ὑφεστώτος γεννᾶται τόκος καὶ τὸ τελονεῖν ὑνείδος θησοῦται, τοῦ νόμου διδόντος· αὐτὸι γὰρ ἑπταύμων δανείζουσι τελονοῦντες, μάλλον δὲ, εἰ δὲ τάληθες εἴπειν, ἐν τῷ δανείζειν χρεωκοποιοῦντες· δὲ γὰρ οὗτῳ γράφει λαμβάνον ἔλαττον χρεωκοπεῖται. καίτοι Πέρσαι γε τὸ φεύδεσθαι δεύτερον ἡγοῦνται τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων, πρῶτον δὲ τὸ φεύδειν· ὅτε καὶ τὸ φεύδεσθαι τοῖς ὑφελοῦσι

Δυσμβαινει πολλάκις· φεύδονται δὲ μᾶλλον οἱ δανειζόντες καὶ βαρδιουργοῦν χρεὶας εἰς τὰς εαυτῶν ἐφημερίας, γράφοντες ὅτι τῷ δεῖν τοσοῦτον διδόσαι, ἐλαττὸν διδόντες· καὶ τὸ φεύδος αὐτίναι ἔχει πλεονεξίαν, οὐκ ἀνάγκην οὔτε ὑποτίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀπληστίαν, ἢς ἀναισ-

1 αὐτὸι γὰρ Ἅρμανδακίς; αὐτὸι δὲ Μεζιριακός: αὐτὸι.
2 οὗ Bongars: εὐ.

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

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

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

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

* Strabo, viii. 7, p. 339; Aristophanes, Knights, 1059.
* Herodotus, i. 138, puts lying first and debt second.
Λαυστάν ἦσθιν αὐτοὶς τὸ τέλος καὶ ἀνωφελές ὁλέθριον δὲ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις. οὔτε γὰρ ἁγροῦς οὐς ἀφαιροῦντα τῶν χρεωστῶν γεωργοῦσιν, οὔτε οἰκίας αὐτῶν, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκεῖνους, οἰκοῦν, οὔτε τραπέζιας παρατίθενται οὔτ' ἐσθήτας ἐκείνων· ἄλλα πρῶτος τις ἀπόλουσε, καὶ δεύτερος κυνηγετεῖται ἔν τις ἐκεῖνος δελεαζόμενος. νέμεται γὰρ ὡς πύρ τὸ ἁγρον αὐξόμενον ὁλέθρῳ καὶ φθορᾷ τῶν ἐμπεσόντων, ἀλλον εὖ ἄλλου καταναλίσκον· ὁ δὲ τοῦτο ῥυπίζων καὶ τρέφων ἐπὶ πολλὰς δανειστής αὐθέν ἔχει πλέον ἢ διὰ χρόνου λαβὼν ἀναγκώναι πόσους πέπρακε καὶ πόσους ἐκβεβλικε καὶ πόθεν που κυλιόμενον καὶ σωρεύόμενον διαβεβηκε τὸ ἄργοριον.

6. Καὶ ταῦτα μὴ μ' οἰεσθε λέγειν πόλεμον ἐξ-ευνοχότα πρὸς τοὺς δανειστάς·

οὐ γὰρ πώποτε ἐμάς βοῶς ἠλάσαν αὐθέν μὲν ἵππουσ·

F ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενον τοῖς προσχήροις δανειζομένοις, ὅσην ἔχει τὸ πράγμα αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν καὶ ὅτι τὸ δανείζεσθαι τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀφροσύνης καὶ μαλακίας ἐστίν. ἔχεις; μὴ δανείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἀ-ποτελεῖς. οὐκ ἔχεις; μὴ δανείσῃ, οὐ γὰρ ἔκτισες. καὶ ἰδίων δ' οὕτως ἐκάτερα σκοπῶμεν. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ πρὸς τινα πρεσβύτην ποιησόμενον "οὐ ἀνθρωπε, τῇ τῷ γῆρα," ἔφη, "πολλὰ κακὰ ἔχοντε τὴν ἐκ τῆς ποιησίας αἰσχύνην προστίθης;" οὐκοῦν καὶ οὐ 830 τῇ πενίᾳ, πολλῶν κακῶν προσόντων, μὴ ἐπιστάρευε

* Homer, Π. 1. 154.
ON BORROWING, 829-830

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

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

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

οὐ δύναμαι τὴν ἀλήθη φέρειν, ἐπὶ μοι θέτει τὸν βοῶν.

πενίαν φέρειν μὴ δυνάμενος δανεισθῇ ἐπιτίθης σεαυτῷ, φορτίον καὶ πλουτοῦντι δύσοιεστον. πῶς οὖν διατραφῶ; τούτ’ ἐρωτᾶσ, ἔχων χεῖρας, ἔχων πόδας, ἔχων φωνήν, ἀνθρώπος ὁ ὁ, ὡ τὸ φιλεῖν ἔστι καὶ φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ εὐχα-Βριστεῖν; γράμματα διδάσκοντα καὶ παιδαγωγῶν, καὶ ἰθαρωμών, πλευρῶν, παραπλέων; οὐδέν ἐστι τούτων αἰγαρχι νουδέ διασχερέστερον τοῦ ἄκομιον ἀπόδος.

7. Ὁ 'Ρουτήλιος ἕκεινος ἐν Ρώμη τῷ Μοουσώνιῳ προσελθὼν "Μουσώνε," εἶπεν, "ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ σωτήρ, δεν οὐ μην καὶ ζηλοῖς, οὐ δανειζηται." καὶ ο Μουσώνιος μειδίασε εἶπεν "οὐδέ δανειζει." ο γαρ 'Ρουτήλιος, δανείζων αὐτὸς ὑπείδηξεν ἐκείνην δανειζομένην. Σταυρωθῆ της αἰτή τυφομανία τη γάρ σε δει τὸν Δία τὸν σωτήρα κινεῖν, αὐτόθεν ὑπομήνσαι τοῖς φαινομένοις ἐνόν; οὐ δανειζομαι χελιδόνες, οὐ δανειζομαι μῦρμηκες, οὐσ ἡ φύσις οὐ ζεῖν, οὐ λόγον, οὐ τέχνην δεδώκεν ἀνθρώποι θείς περίσσειαν συνέπεσε διὸ τὸ ἐυμήχανον ἱπποὺς παρατρέφοις, κινεῖς, πέρδικας, λαγωνίους, κολοσσῶς τί σου γε σεαυτῷ κατέγνυκας, ἀπιβανώτερος οὖν

2 ἔδει μοι βέβαια Ρείσκε: κατέγνυτε.
3 Σταυρωθῆ Βιττενμπαχ: οὐ σταυρωθῆ.
4 πέρδικας λαγωνίους Ακλίνε τελείω: πέρδικας.
arise from borrowing and owing, and do not deprive poverty of the only advantage which it possesses over wealth, namely freedom from care; since by so doing you will incur the derision of the proverb,

I am unable to carry the goat, put the ox then upon me.*

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

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

* Paroemiographi Graeci, ii. 592.
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(830) καλοῦν καὶ ἄφωνότερος πέρικος καὶ κινός ἄγεννεστερος, ὥστ' ἀπ' ἀνθρώπου μηδενὸς ὠφελεῖσθαι περίπετον, ἰδιαγωγόν, φιλάττων, προμαχόμενος; οὐχ ἥρξι, ἀλλ' πολλὰ μὲν γὰρ παρέχει πολλὰ δὲ βαλλαττα;

καὶ μὴν Μίκκυλος εἰσεῖδον

φησὶν ὁ Κράτης

τῶν ἔριων ξαίροντα, γυναίκα τε συγξυνόουσαν,

τὸν λίμον φεύγοντας ἐν αἰνὴ δημιοῦτε.

Κλεάνθη δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀρτέμιδος ηρώτα διὰ χράνου θεασάμενος ἐν ταῖς "Ἀθήναις " ἀλέις ἦτο, Κλέ- 

 Данθες;" "ἀλώ," φησίν, "ὁ βασιλεὺς δ' ποιῶ ξένηκα τοῦ Ζήνωνος μή ἀποστῆναι μηδὲ φιλο-

σοφίας." ὅσον τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀπὸ τοῦ 

μύλου καὶ τῆς μάκτρας πεπτωθὲς χειρί καὶ ἀλούση 

γράφειν περὶ θεῶν καὶ σεληνίους καὶ στρων καὶ 

ήλιον. ἡμῖν δὲ δαυλικὰ δοκεῖ ταῦτ' ἐργα. 

τοι- 

γαροῦν ἐν ἔλευθεροι οἶμεν δανεισάμενως, κολα-

κεβομεν οἰκοτριβεῖσιν ἀνθρώπους καὶ δορυφοροῦμεν 

καὶ δειπνήσουμεν καὶ βύρα καὶ φόρους ὑποτελοῦμεν, 

οὗ διὰ τὴν πενίαν (οὐδεὶς γὰρ δανείζει πένητι), 

ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν πολυτελείαν. εἰ γὰρ ἡρκοῦμεθα τοῖς

1 Μίκκυλος Χυλιάντερ: μέκαλλον ὁπ' μέκαλλον. Cobet supplies κρατέρ' ἄλγε' ἤξερα from Homer. Od. xi. 593; of. Bergk, 


given a longer version of this story and adds καὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζήνων 

αὐτὸν ὀνειρόμενον εἰς νότον, "for Zeno trained him for this." 

Capps suggests ὁ νοῦ . . . τοῦ ζῆν μᾶνον, ὡς κ' ἀποστήναι

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ON BORROWING, 880

persuasive than a jackdaw, more dumb than a partridge, less well-born than a dog, so that you can obtain no help from any human, being by waiting on him, entertaining him, guarding him, or fighting for him? Do you not see how many opportunities are offered on land and on the sea?

Lo, even Miccylus I behold," says Crates,

Carding the wool, and his wife too carding the wool along with him,

Striving in terrible conflict to 'scape from the onslaught of famine.

King Antigonus asked Cleanthes, when he met him in Athens after not seeing him for a while, "Are you still grinding corn, Cleanthes?" "Yes, Your Majesty," he replied; "and I do it on account of Zeno's precept not to desist from it, nor from philosophy either." What a great spirit the man had who came from the mill and the kneading-trough, and with the hand which ground the flour and baked the bread wrote about the gods, the moon, the stars, and the sun! But to us such labours seem slavish. And therefore, in order to be free, we contract debts and pay court to men who are ruiners of homes, we act as bodyguard to them, dine them, make them presents, and pay them tribute, not because of our poverty (for no one lends to poor men), but because of our extravagance. For if we were content with the necessaries of life,

\[\text{μὴ δὲ φιλοσοφεῖν, "merely to live, that I may not have to abandon philosophy."} \]

\[\text{οἰκορμᾶσαι Καπρᾶ: οἰκορμᾶσαι.} \]

* Crates, Frag. 6, Bergk, Poet. Inv. Græc. ed. 4, ii. p. 366. The last three words occur also in Homer, Od. xii. 257.
πρὸς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἂν ἦν γένος δανειστών, διότι οὐδὲ Κενταύρων ἦστών οὐδὲ Γοργόνων. Ε ἔδει η τρυφὴ δανειστῶν ἐποίησεν οὐχ ἦπτον ἢ χρυσοχόους καὶ ἀργυροκόπους καὶ μυρθίους καὶ ἄνθρωπος. οὐ γάρ ἄρτων οὐδ’ οἴνου τιμὴν ὀφελομεν, ἀλλὰ χυμίων καὶ ἀνθραπόδων καὶ ἡμιών καὶ τρικάλων καὶ τραπεζῶν, καὶ χορηγοῦντες ἐκκελυμένους πόλεις, φιλοτιμούμενοι φιλοτιμίας ἀκάρπως καὶ ἀχαρίστως. ὁ δ’ ἄπαξ ἐνειλθήσεις μὲνει χρεώστησι διὰ παντός, ἄλλου ἐξ ἀλλού μεταλαμβάνων ἀναβάτην, ὀσπέρ ἰππός ἐγ- ἔρχεται· ἀποφυγῆ δ’ οὐκ ἔστω ἐπὶ τὰς νομίς ἑκεῖνας καὶ τοὺς λειμάους, ἀλλὰ πλᾶξονται καθ’ ἄλλος τιθέμενοι καὶ οὐρανοπετεῖς ἑκεῖνοι τοῦ Βοσπεδοκλέους δαίμονος.

αἰθέριον μὲν γάρ σφε μένος πάντοτε διώκει, πάντος δ’ ἐς χθονὸς οὐδας ἀπέπνυεν· γαῖα δ’ ἐς αὐγὰς ἥλιον ἀκάριον· ὁ δ’ αἰθέρος ἐμβαλε διόσισ.

331 “ἄλλος δ’ ἐς ἄλλον δέχεται” τοκιστὴς ἡ πραγματευτὴς Κορώνιος, εἶτα Πατρεύς, εἰς τ’ Ἀθηναίος, ἄρμῃ αὐτὸ πάντων περικρούμενοι εἰς τόκους διαλύθη καὶ κατακερματιζή. καθάπερ γάρ ἀναστήναι δεῖ τῶν πεπηλωμένων ὁ μένει, ὁ δὲ στρεφόμενος καὶ κυλισούμενος ύγρῷ τῷ σώματι καὶ διαβρόχῳ προσπερβάλλεται πλεῖον μαλακόν· οὕτως ἐν ταῖς μεταγραφαῖς καὶ μεταπτώσεις τῶν δανείων τοὺς τόκους προσαναλαμβάνοντες αὐτοῖς

1  δ’ ἐς Mesambria: δι.
2 ἀπέπνυε Moralia, 361 c: ἀπέπνυε.
the race of money-lenders would be as non-existent as that of Centaurs and Gorgons; but luxury produced money-lenders just as it did goldsmiths, silversmiths, perfumers, and dyers in gay colours; for our debts are incurred, not to pay for bread or wine, but for country-seats, slaves, mules, banquet-halls, and tables, and because we give shows to the cities with unrestrained expenditure, contending in fruitless and thankless rivalries. But the man who is once involved remains a debtor all his life, exchanging, like a horse that has once been bridled, one rider for another. And there is no escape to those former pastures and meadows, but they wander like the spirits described by Empedocles, who have been expelled by the gods and thrown out from heaven:

Into the waves of the sea they are driv’n by the might of the ether;
Then on the floor of the earth the sea vomits them; earth then ejects them
Into the unerring sun’s rays; and he hurls them to eddying ether.*

And so "one after another takes over" the borrower, first a usurer or broker of Corinth, then one of Patrac, then an Athenian, until, attacked on all sides by all of them, he is dissolved and chopped up into the small change of interest payments. For just as a man who has fallen into the mire must either get up or stay where he is, but he who turns and rolls over covers his wet and drenched person with more dirt; so in their transfers and changes of loans, by assuming additional interest payments

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* Mullach, ibid. vs. 35.
Β καὶ προσπλάττοντες ἅεὶ βαρύτεροι γέγονονται καὶ (631) τῶν χολερικῶν οὔθεν διαφέρονται, οὐθεραπείαν μὲν οὐ προσδέχονται, τὸ δὲ προστεταγμένον ἐξερρόντες, εἶτα πλέον αὕτης συλλέγοντες ἢεὶ διαπλασοῦν: καὶ γὰρ οὗτοι καθαρθήναι μὲν οὐ θέλουσι, δὲν δ’, δοκεῖ τοῦ ἐτούτου ὄρας, μετ’ ὀδύνης καὶ ἀπαραγμῶν τὸν τόκον ἀναφέροντες, ἐπιρρέοντος εὖθες ἐτέρου καὶ προσταμένου, πάλιν γαυτίῳ καὶ καρπηθαροῦσι δέν οἱ παλαλαγόντας εἰλικρινεῖς καὶ ἐλευθέρους γέγνεσθαι.

8. "Ἡ δὲ γὰρ μοι πρὸς τοὺς εὐπορωτέρους καὶ μαλακωτέρους ὁ λόγος ἔστι, τοὺς λέγοντας "ἀδούλος ὁ οὖν γένωμαι καὶ ἀνέστιος καὶ ἄσικος;" ὡσπερ οἱ λέγοι πρὸς ἱστρόν ἄρρωστος ὑδρωπίων καὶ ὁδηγὸς "ισχυρὸς οὖν γένωμαι καὶ κενός;" τι δ’ οὖ μελλεῖς, ἢ ὑγιαίνῃς; καὶ οὐ γενοῦ ἄδοϋλος, ἵνα μὴ δούλος ἢς καὶ ἀκτήμων, ἕνα μὴ κπήλη ἢς ἄλλοι. καὶ τὸν τῶν γυμνῶν λόγον ἀκουσον ἐμοῦ ὅπο τοῦ ἐτέρου καὶ λέγοντος τὰ σπλάγχνα ἐκβάλλειν, ἐτέροις παρὼν "καὶ τί δεινόν;" εἶπεν: "οὔ γὰρ τὰ σαυτοῦ σπλάγχνα ἐκβάλλεις, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ ὅν ἀρτι ἑσπαράττομεν," καὶ τῶν χρεωτῶν οὐ πωλεῖ ἐκαστὸς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ χωρίου οὐδὲ τὴν ἰδίαν οἰκίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τοῦ δανείσαντος ὁ τῷ νόμῳ θυρίσιν. Κάροιν αὐτῶν πεποίηκε. "νῇ Δίᾳ," φησίν, "ἀλλ’ ὁ πατήρ μου τὸν ἄγρον τούτον κατέλιπε." καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὴν ὑλονορκίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυμίαν ὁ πατήρ

1 ἐξερρόντες Reiske: ἐξαρρόντες.
2 τὰ added by Bernardakis.

* Evidently the man in debt is supposed to borrow from one lender in order to pay another.

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and plastering themselves with them, they weigh themselves down more and more; and they are much like persons ill with cholera, who do not accept treatment, but vomit up the prescribed medicine and then continue constantly to collect more disease. Similarly these borrowers refuse to be purged, and always, at every season of the year, when painfully and with convulsions they cough up the interest while another payment immediately accrues and presses upon them, they suffer a fresh attack of nausea and headache. What they ought to do is to get rid of debts and become healthy and free again.

8. From now on my words are addressed to those who are more well-to-do and accustomed to a softer way of living, those who say "Am I, then, to be without slaves, without hearth and home?", as if a sick man who is swollen up with dropsy should say to his physician "Am I, then, to be made thin and empty?" Why not, to make you get well? And so you should do without slaves, that you may not be a slave yourself, and without property, that you may not be the property of another. Hear the tale of the vultures: One of them had an attack of vomiting and said he was spewing out bowels, but the other, who was there, said "What harm is there in that? For you are not spewing out your own bowels, but those of the corpse we tore to pieces a little while ago." So any man in debt sells, not his own plot of land, nor his own house, but those of his creditor whom by law he has made their owner. "Not so, by Zeus," he says; "why my father left me this field." Yes, and your father left you your liberty and your good reputation, which you ought
(831) ἔδωκεν, δὲν οὖν ἐκείνον ἐχεῖν πλείονα. καὶ τῶν πόδων καὶ τὴν χεῖρ' ὁ γεννήσας ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ὅταν σατῆ, μυθῶν δίδως τῷ ἀποκάλπτοντε. τῷ δ' Ὁδυσσεί τὴν ἐσθήτα ἡ Καλυφώ περιέθηκεν ἃ ἐματ' ἄμφιεισμα θυώδεια τὸν ἀδανάτου πνεόντα, δόρα καὶ μνημόσυνα τῆς φιλίας ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνης; ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ περιτραπεῖς καὶ βυθυθθεῖς μόλις ἁνέσχε, τῆς ἐσθήτος γενομένης διαβρόχου καὶ βαρείας, ἐκείνην μὲν ἐρρυθεῖν ἀποδυσάμενος, κρηδέμων δὲ τῶν γυμνῶν ὑποξόσας τὸ στέρνον

Ε

νήχει παρεξ ἐς γαῖαν ὀρόμενος

καὶ διασωθεῖς οὗτ' ἐσθήτος οὔτε τρόφης ἀπόρησε. τί οὖν; οὔ γάρ γνίνεται χειμῶν περὶ τοὺς χρεώστας, ὅταν ἐπιστῇ διὰ χρόνου δανειστής λέγων ἃ ἀπόδος;

ὡς εἰπὼν σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον

οἷν δ' εὐρόσ τε νότος τ' ἐπεσε ξέφυρός τε δυσαί

tόκων τόκως ἐπικυλισθέντων· ὃ δὲ συγκυλιζόμενος ἀντέχεται τῶν βαρυρῶν, ἀπονήσαται καὶ φυγεῖν μὴ δυνάμενος· ἀλλ' ὅθεν κατὰ βυθόν, μετὰ τῶν ἐγκυμησάμενων φύλων αφανιζόμενος. Κράτης δ' ὁ Θηρίας ὡς ὡδενὸς ἀπαιτούμενος οὐδ' ὀφελών, αὐτὰς δὲ τὰς οἰκονομίας καὶ φροντιδὰς καὶ περικοπαμόν δυσχεραῖν, ἀφήκειν οὐσίαν ὁκτὼ ταλάντων, καὶ τρίβεσκαν καὶ πήραν ἀναλαβόν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν καὶ πενίαι κατέφυγεν. Ἀναραγόμενος δὲ τὴν χώραν κατέληπτε μυλόβοτον. καὶ τί δει

1 θυώδεια Xylander from Od. v. 264: ixódeia.
to value more. So, too, he who begat you made your foot and your hand, but when it is mortified, you pay a surgeon for cutting it off. Calypso clothed Odysseus in her garment, "putting fragrant raiment upon him" that breathed of her divine person, as a gift and a memento of her love; but when he was capsized and engulfed by the waves and could hardly keep himself up since the garment had become soaked and heavy, he took it off and threw it from him, then, binding a wimple about his naked breast,

Long-shore he swam looking landward, and when he reached safety he had no lack of garment or food. Well, then, is it not a tempest that arises about debtors when the lender after a while comes up to them saying "Pay"?

Thus having spoken he gathered the clouds and stirred up the great waters; East wind and South wind and West with furious blasts raged together.

as interest rolled up upon interest; and the debtor, overwhelmed, struggles against them as they weigh him down, but cannot swim away and escape; no, he sinks down to the bottom and disappears along with the friends who have endorsed his notes. Crates the Theban, when he was not pressed for payment and did not even owe anything, because he disliked the mere administration of property, its cares and distractions, abandoned an estate valued at eight talents and, donning cloak and wallet, took refuge in philosophy and poverty. Anaxagoras also left his land to be grazed over by

* Homer, Od. v. 291, 292.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

tou'tous légein, òpou Filóxenos o melopoiás ein ápolikía Sikelikí, klírou métașchón kai biou kai oíkou pollí̂n evóporían éxontos, órhn de trophián kai ἕδεπαθειάν και ἁμονοίαν ἐπ'χωριάζουσαν "μᾶ τοὺς θεούς," εἶπεν, "ἐμὲ ταῦτα τάγαθά" οὐκ ἀπολεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ταῦτα καὶ καταλιπών ἐτέροις τὸν κλήρον ἐξῆπλευσεν. οἴ δ' οφεὶλοντες ἀπαιτούμενοι δασμολογούμενοι δουλεύοντες ὑπαργυρεύοντες ἄν- ἐχονται, καρτεροῦσιν, ὡς ὁ Φινεύς, Ἀρταμίας τινὰς ὑποπτέρους βόσκοντες, αἱ φέρουσι τὴν προφήν καὶ διαρπάζουσιν, οἳ καὶ ἅραν ἄλλα πρὶν θερισθῆναι τὸν οὗτον ὑμούμενοι, καὶ πρὶν ἢ πεσεῖν τὴν ἐλαιὰν ἁγοράζουσις τοῦλαμον καὶ "τον οὗν έχων," φησι, "τοιούτον" καὶ πρόσγραφον ἐδικεῖ τῆς τιμῆς. ὁ δὲ βότρυς κρέμαται καὶ προσπέφυκεν ἕτε τὸν ἀρκτοῦρον ἐκδεχόμενος.

* Cf. Himerius, Eclogues, iii. 18.
sheep. But what need is there of mentioning these men, when Philoxenus the lyric poet, who shared in the allotment of lands in a colony in Sicily, which ensured him a livelihood and a household furnished with abundant resources, when he saw that luxury, indulgence in a life of pleasure, and lack of culture were prevalent there, said, "By the Gods, these good things shall not make me lose myself; I will rather lose them," and leaving his allotment to others, he sailed away. But people in debt are content to be dunned, mulcted of tribute, enslaved, and cheated; they endure, like Phineus, to feed winged harpies which carry off their food and devour it, buying their grain, not at the proper season, but before it is harvested, and purchasing the oil before the olives have been plucked. And "I have wine," says the borrower, "at such and such a price," and he gives his note for its value; but the cluster still hangs clinging on the vine and waiting for the rising of Arcturus.
LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS
(VITAE DECEM ORATORUM)
INTRODUCTION

At some time in the second century before Christ ten Attic orators were selected, probably by Apollodorus of Pergamum, as the orators whose speeches were most worthy of preservation and study, and this "Canon" of the Ten Attic Orators was generally accepted. The Lives of these orators which are contained in manuscripts of Plutarch's Moralia were certainly not written by Plutarch. They are altogether lacking in the charm which characterizes Plutarch's careful and elaborate style. Facts are stated one after another with little variety and with little or no distinction between mere anecdotes and matters of real importance; but the Lives are of interest on account of their subject matter.

The "decrees" appended to the Lives are, except in some details, fairly accurate copies of official documents (see F. Ladek, Wiener Studien, xiii., 1891, pp. 111 ff.). The two which are concerned with Demosthenes and his family are not really decrees, but petitions addressed to the Senate, copies of which were undoubtedly kept among the official records at Athens, whereas the third—that in honour of Lycurgus—is a decree of the people. A large part of the inscription recording this decree has been found and is published in the Inscriptiones Graecae, ii. No. 240 (editio minor, ii. No. 457), Dittenberger, 842.
LIVES OF THE TEN ORATORS

Syllage Inscriptionum Graecarum, third edition, No. 826. The text which has been handed down in the manuscripts of Plutarch varies somewhat from that of the inscription, but hardly more than is to be expected. It may well be that whoever appended the "decrees" to the Lives of the orators derived them, not directly from inscriptions or other official documents, but (as suggested by B. Keil in Hermes, xxx. pp. 210 ff.) from the work of Heliodorus On Monuments.

The Lives, with the "decrees," are published by Anton Westermann in his Biographi Graeci (1833 and 1845).
'Αντιφών Σοφίλου μὲν ἦν πατρὸς τῶν δέ ὁ δήμων 'Ραμνούσιος· μαθητεύσας δὲ τῷ πατρί (ὅν γὰρ σοφιστής, ὦ καὶ 'Αλκιβιάδην φασὶν ἔτι παῖδα οὕτω φασίσαι) καὶ δύναμιν λόγων κτησάμενος, ὡς τινες νομίζοντο, ἀπ’ οἰκείαις φύσεως, ὄρμησε μὲν πολιτεύσας· διατριβὴν δὲ συνέστησε καὶ Σωκράτει τῷ φιλοσόφῳ διεφέρετο τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων διάφοραν οὐ φιλονείκης ἀλλ’ ἐλεγκτικός, ὡς Σενοφῶν ιστορήκεν ἐν τοῖς 'Απομημονεύμαις. καὶ τινας λόγους τοὺς δεσμένους τῶν πολιτῶν συνέγραφεν εἰς τοὺς ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀγώνας πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοῦτο τραπέζης, ὡς περὶ τινὲς φασιν τῶν γονῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὕδενός φέρεται δικαιικός λόγος, ἀλλ’ αὐθὲ τῶν κατ’ αὐτῶν, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐν ἔνει τοῦ συγγράφεως ἔναι, ὁ Θεμιστοκλέους οὐ 'Αριστείδου οὐ Περικλέους, καίτοι πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς καὶ ἀνάγκας παρασχόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν καιρῶν· καὶ γὰρ ὅτι δὲ ἀσθενείας ἀπελεύθερον τοῦ συγγράφεως, ὡς δὴ λοι ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων παρὰ τοῖς συγγραφεύοντα περὶ ἑνὸς ἔκάστου τῶν προειρημένων ἀνδρῶν. ὡς οὖν μὲντοι ἔχομεν ἐπὶ τὸ παλαιότατον ἀναφέροντες ἀπο-

Β μνημονεύσας τὴν ἴδεαν τῶν λόγων ταῖς μεταχειρισμένως, τούτους εὐροὶ τες ἐν ἐπιβεβληκότας

1 πρῶτος Μεστριακος ἡ πρῶτος.
I. ANTIPHON

ANTIPHON was the son of Sophilus, and his deme was Rhamnus. He was a pupil of his father (for his father was a sophist, and it is said that Alcibiades as a boy attended his school), and having acquired power in speaking—as some think, through his own natural ability—he entered upon a public career. And he set up a school and had his disagreement with Socrates on the subject of words, not in a contentious spirit, but for the sake of argument, as Xenophon has narrated in his Memoirs.* And he wrote some speeches for citizens who wanted them for their suits in the law-courts, being the first who practised this profession, as some say. At any rate no legal oration is extant of any of those who lived before his time, nor of his contemporaries either, because the custom of speech-writing had not yet arisen; there is none by Themistocles, Aristeides, or Pericles, although the times afforded them many opportunities and also occasions when such speeches were needed. And it was not for lack of ability that they refrained from such speech-writing, as is evident from what is said by the historians about each of the above-mentioned orators. Yet all those whom we are able to record as having practised this kind of speeches, going back to the earliest occurrence, will be found

* Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 6.
"Αρχιμάχος, πρεσβύτη ἦν ὄντε, οἷον 'Αλκιβιάδην, Κριτέαν, Λυσίαν, 'Αρχίνον. πρῶτος δὲ καὶ μητορικῶς τέχνας ἔξηνεγκε, γενόμενος ἀρχαῖος. διὸ καὶ Νέστωρ ἐπεκαλεῖτο.

Κακίλως δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτοῦ συντάγματι Θουκυδίδου τοῦ συγγραφέως καθηγητήν τε καὶ τεκμαίρεται γεγονέναι ἐξ ἂν ἐπαινεῖται παρ' αὐτῷ ὁ 'Αρχιμάχος. ἦστι δ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀκριβῆς καὶ πιθανός καὶ δεινὸς περὶ τὴν εὐρεσιν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἁπάροις τεχνικοῖς καὶ ἐπιχειρήμασιν εἰς ἀδήλου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦς νόμους καὶ τὰ πάθη τρέπαν τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Ἐὔμπεποος μάλιστα στοχαζόμενος. γέγονε δὲ κατὰ τά Περσικα καὶ Γοργίαν τῶν σαφιστῶν, ὅλῳ νεότεροι αὐτοῖς καὶ παρατέκτευσεν ἐως καταλύεις τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων γενομένης, ἥν αὐτὸς δοκεῖ συγκατασκευάσαι, ὅτε μὲν δυσὶ τριμαρχῶν ναυσὶν ὅτε δὲ στρατηγῶν, καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις μικῶν, καὶ συμμαχίας μεγάλας αὐτοῖς προσαγόμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀκμαίζουσαν ὅπλην, καὶ

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* Cf. Thucydides, viii. 68 ἥπερ "Ἀθηναῖων τών καὶ καθὼς ἀρετῆς τοῦ εὐθύγρατος καὶ κράτειος ἀνθρωπός γενόμενος καὶ ἀ γνωστὸς εἰσὶν, "a man inferior to none of the Athenians of his own day in force of character, and one who had proved himself most able both to formulate a plan and to set forth his conclusions in speech" (Smith's translation, L.C.L.).

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

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

* Antiphon was a common name at Athens in the fifth century. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed. i. 346
to have followed Antiphon when he was already old; I mean such as Alcibiades, Critias, Lysias, and Archinus. He was also the first to publish rules of the art of oratory, being of sharp intellect, and for this reason he was nicknamed Nestor.

And Caecilius, in the treatise he compiled about him, conjectures from the terms in which Antiphon is praised in the work of the historian Thucydides that he was the latter’s teacher. In his speeches he is accurate and persuasive, clever in invention, ingenious in handling perplexing cases; he attacks unexpectedly, and he addresses his arguments to both the laws and the emotions, aiming especially at propriety. He was born at the time of the Persian wars and of the sophist Gorgias, who was somewhat older than he; and his life extended until the destruction of the democracy by the Four Hundred, in causing which he seems himself to have had a part, at one time by being trierarch of two ships, at another by being general and gaining many victories in battle and winning important alliances for the Four Hundred, by arming the men of military age, pp. 93 ff., distinguishes, in addition to the orator: (1) a patriotic and worthy citizen (Xenophon, Hell. ii. 3. 40) in defence of whose daughter Lysias wrote a speech, and to whom the military activities belong which are here ascribed to the orator; (2) the tragic poet who was put to death by Dionysius of Syracuse (Aristotle, Rhet. ii. 6. p. 1385 a 9); (3) Antiphon the sophist (Xenophon, Mem. i. 6. 5; Diog. Laert. ii. 5. 26), who is probably the one who practised mental healing at Corinth; (4) the son of Pyrilampus (Plato, Parmenides, 127 a); (5) the son of Lysonides (Moralia, 883 a); and (6) an Antiphon derided by Aristophanes (W^naps, 1270), as a starveling. The Pseudo-Plutarch has evidently fused several of these personalities with that of the orator.
τριήρεις πληρῶν ἐξήκοντα, καὶ πρεσβευῶν δὲ ἐκά-
στοτε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰς Λακεδαιμονα, ἢμικα ἐτε-
833 τείχισθα τ' Ἑπιώνεια.² μετὰ δὲ τὴν κατάλυσιν τῶν
tetraκοσίων εἰσαγγελεῖς σὺν Ἀρχεπτολέμῳ, ἐν
τῶν τετρακοσίων, ἐάλω, καὶ τοῖς περὶ τῶν προ-
dοτῶν ἐπιτιμοῖς ὑπαχθεῖς ἀταφὸς ἔρριψῃ καὶ σὺν
τοῖς ἐγκύνοις ἅτιμος ἀνεγράφη.³ οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν
triάκοντα ἀνηρῆσθαι αὐτὸν ἱστοροῦσιν, ἀναπερ
Λυσίας ἐν τῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ἀντιφῶντος θυγατρὸς λόγῳ·
ἐγένετο γὰρ αὐτῷ θυγάτριον, οὐ Δαλλασκρος
ἐπεδικάσατο. ὅτι δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν triάκοντα ἀπέθανεν,
ἱστορεῖ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ πεντεκαδέκατῇ τῶν
Β Φιλιππικῶν ἄλλος γ' ⁴ αὐτῷ γ' ἂν εἴη ἄτερος, ⁵ Ἀυτὶς-
δώνιδον πατρὸς, οὗ καὶ Κρατίδος ἐν Πυθέῃ ἂς
πανηγυρικὰ μεμονεῖν πάυε γὰρ ἂν ὁ προτεθνεῖς καὶ
ἀυριθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πάλιν ἐπὶ τῶν
triάκοντα ἐδρό, ἢτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλος λόγος περὶ τῆς
τελευτῆς αὐτοῦ. πρεσβευὴν γὰρ δυνα αὐτὸν εἰς
Συρακούσας πλεῦσαν, ἢμικα ἡπεμαζὲν ἦ τοῖ το
προτέρου Διονυσίου τυχαίνεις γενομένης δὲ παρὰ πότων
ζητήσεως, τὸς ἄριστος ἦστε χαλκός, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν
diaφερομένων, αὐτὸν εἰπέν ἄριστον εἶναι ἐξ ὧν
'Αρμόδιος καὶ 'Αριστογείτων υποθέτεται· τούτῳ
dὲ ἀκούσαντα τῶν Διονύσιον καὶ ὑπονύμωντα προ-

² ὑπὲρ Reiske: ἓν.
³ 'Ἑπιώνεια Blasis: ἑφεσία ('Hepiônia Xylander).
⁴ ἀνεγράφη Westermann: ἀνεγράφη.
⁵ triάκοντα] u' (i.e. tetrakosion) Photius.
⁶ γ' Taylor: αὖτε γε.
⁷ ἂν εἴη ἄτερος Taylor: ἄν ἡμέτερος.
⁸ εὖ added by Sauppe.

* Ἐστίονεια, the mole which formed the northern side of 348
by manning sixty triremes, and by being on every occasion their envoy to Lacedaemon at the time when Eetioneia had been fortified. And after the overthrow of the Four Hundred he was indicted along with Archeptolemus, one of the Four Hundred, was found guilty, subjected to the punishments prescribed for traitors, thrown out unburied, and inscribed along with his descendants in the list of the disfranchised. But some tell us that he was put to death by the Thirty, as Lysias says in his speech in defence of Antiphon’s daughter; for he had a daughter whom Callaeschrus claimed in marriage by legal process. And that he was put to death by the Thirty is told also by Theopompos in the fifteenth book of his Philippias; but that must have been another Antiphon, the son of Lysidonides, whom Cratinus also, in his play The Flask, mentions as a rascal; for how could a man who had died previously and had been put to death by the Four Hundred be living again in the time of the Thirty? But there is also another story of his death: that he sailed as envoy to Syracuse when the tyranny of Dionysius the First was at its height, and at a convivial gathering the question arose what bronze was the best; then when most of the guests disagreed, he said that bronze was the best from which the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton were made; and when Dionysius heard this, suspecting that the remark

the great Harbour of Peiraecus, was fortified by the Four Hundred in order to command the entrance.

(833) τροπήν εἰς ἐπίθεσιν εἶναι τὸ βρέθην προστάξαι
ο ἀναφεβήναι αὐτῶν· οἱ δὲ, ὅτι τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτού
dιέσυρε χαλεπτήνατα.

Φέρονται δὲ τοῦ ρήτορος λόγοι ἐξήκοντα, διὸ
κατεξεραμένους φησὶ Καίκιλος εἶναι τοὺς εἰκοσι-
Pλάτανος ἐν' Πεισάνδρῳ. λέγεται δὲ τραγῳδίας
συνθεῖται καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ σὺν Διονυσίῳ τῷ τυράννῳ.
ἔτι δὲ ὅπερ τῇ ποιήσει τέχνην ἄλλης συν-κατέστησα, ὅσπερ τοὺς νοούσσων ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν
θεραπεία ὑπάρχει· ἐν Κορίνθῳ τε κατεσκευασμένος
οἰκτημά παρὰ τὴν ἁγοράν προέγραφεν, δὲ δύναται
τοὺς λυπουμένους διὰ λόγων θεραπεῦει· καὶ πυν-
θανόμενος τὰς αἰτίας παρεμμεθεῖτο τοὺς κάμνοντας.

νομίζειν δὲ τὴν τέχνην ἐλάττω ἢ καθ' αὐτῶν εἶναι
ἐπὶ ρήτορικῆς ἀπετράπη, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ καὶ τὸ Γλαυκοῦ
τοῦ Ῥηγίνου περὶ ποιητῶν βιβλίων εἰς Ἀντιφώντα
ἀναφέρουσιν. ἐπηνεῖται δὲ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα ὁ περὶ
Ἡρώδου, καὶ δ' πρὸς Ἑρασίστατον περὶ τῶν
ταῦτα, καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς εἰσαγγελίας, ὁ ὁπερ ἐαυτοῦ
γέγραφε, καὶ ὁ πρὸς Δημοσθένη τῶν στρατηγῶν
παρανόμων. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ κατὰ Ἰππακράτους τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ λόγου καὶ εἶλεν αὐτῶν ἐξ ἑρήμου.

Ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Θεοπόμπου ἄρχοντος, ἔφ' οὖτι οἴ

1 ἐν Cassaubon from Photius: οἷον.
2 Ἡρώδου Palmer: Ὁρώδου.
3 καὶ ὁ Dübner: καί.  4 ταῦτα Ruhnken: ἠκούσω.
5 εἰσαγγελίας Xylander: ἑγγελίας.
6 στρατηγοῦ Westermann: ἱατρὸς στρατηγοῦ (ἱατρὸς Photius).
was intended to encourage an attack upon himself, he ordered that Antiphon be put to death. But others say that he was angry because Antiphon made fun of his tragedies.

There are current sixty orations ascribed to this orator, twenty-five of which Caecilius says are spurious. He is ridiculed as a lover of money by Plato in his *Peisander.* And he is said to have written tragedies both by himself and in collaboration with the tyrant Dionysius. But while he was still busy with poetry he invented a method of curing distress, just as physicians have a treatment for those who are ill; and at Corinth, fitting up a room near the market-place, he wrote on the door that he could cure by words those who were in distress; and by asking questions and finding out the causes of their condition he consoled those in trouble. But thinking this art was unworthy of him he turned to oratory. There are some who ascribe also to Antiphon the book *On Poets* by Glaucus of Rhegium. His most admired orations are the one concerning Herodes, that against Erasistratus about the peacocks, that on the Indictment, which he wrote in his own defence, and that against the general Demosthenes for moving an illegal measure. He wrote also a speech against the general Hippocrates and caused him to be convicted by default.

Caecilius has appended a decree passed in the archonship of Theopompos, the year in which the

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Το Τούτων ὑπογέγραψε τὸ δόγματι ἡ καταδίκη.

Προδοσίαι δὲ δόξων 'Αρχεπτέλεμος Ἰπποδάμου Ἀγρελθένας παρέχειν, Ἀντιφῶν Σοφίλου Ῥαμνωῦσιος παράντοτοι ἐτοιμάζοντο τὸ ἅδησα παραδοθῆναι καὶ τὰ χρήματα διαμόρφων εἶναι καὶ τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἑπτάδικον, καὶ τῶν οἰκίοις κατασκάφος αὐτῶν καὶ ὄρος θείων τοῖς οἰκοπέδοις, ἐπιγράφεται "Τοῦτοτελέμαχος καὶ Ἀντιφῶτος τοῖς προδότοις."

Four Hundred were overthrown, according to which the senate voted the trial of Antiphon:

Voted by the senate on the twenty-first day of the prytany. Demonicus of Alopece was secretary, Philostratus of Pallene was president. Andron moved in regard to the men whom the generals denounce for acting to the detriment of the State of the Athenians while serving as envoys to Lacedaemon and for sailing from the camp in a ship of the enemy and for having passed by land through Deceleia, namely Archelaus, Onomacles, and Antiphon, that they be arrested and brought before the court for trial. And the generals, with those members of the senate whom they shall co-opt to the number of ten, are directed to produce them in court, that they may be present at the trial. And the Thesmothea shall summon them to-morrow, and when the summonses have been returned to the court, they shall propose that the chosen prosecutors and the generals and others, if anyone so desire, shall accuse them of treason; and whosoever the court may convict, he shall be treated in accordance with the law which has been passed relating to traitors.

Under this enactment the judgement is written:

Archelaus, son of Hippodamus, of Aegypt, and Antiphon, son of Sophillus, of Rhamnus, both being present, were found guilty of treason. The sentence passed upon them was that they be handed over to the Eleven for execution, that their belongings be confiscated and ten per cent thereof be given to the Goddess, that their houses be torn down and boundary-stones be set up on their sites with the inscription "Land of Archelaus and Antiphon the two traitors"; and that the two demarchs make a declaration of their

Six of the annually elected archons; their duties were to administer the courts of justice.
(834) αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ἔξεδρεῖ θάψαι Ἀρχεπτόλεμου καὶ Ἀντεφέρατος Ἀθηναίου, μηδὲ ἄστερ Ἀθηναίου κρατοῦσιν καὶ ἄτιμον εἶναι Ἀρχεπτόλεμου καὶ Ἀντεφέρατος καὶ γένος τὸ ἐκ τούτων, καὶ νόδους καὶ γνησίους καὶ ἕαν Β τις ποιήσαται των τῶν ἐξ Ἀρχεπτόλεμου καὶ Ἀντεφέρατος, ἄτιμος ἄστερ ὁ ποιημάτων. τοῦτα δὲ γράφει ἐν στιλῇ χαλκῷ καὶ ἤπερ ἀνάκειται τὰ ὑφαίσχυμα τὰ περὶ Φρενέκου, καὶ τοῦτο θέσθαι.

Β'. ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΗΣ

"Ανδοκίδης Λεωγόρου μὲν ἢν πατρὸς τοῦ Ανδοκίδου τοῦ θεμένου ποτὲ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἰρὴν Ἀθηναίους, τῶν δήμων δὲ Κυδαθῆναις ἡ Θορεύς, γένους εὐπατρίδων, ὡς δ' Ἑλλάνκιος καὶ C ἀπὸ Ἐρμοῦ καθήκει γὰρ εἰς αὐτόν τὸ κηρύκων γένος: διὸ καὶ προσεχείρησιν ποτὲ μετὰ Γλαύκωνος σὺν ναυίῳ εἰκοσι Κερκυραίους βοηθήσων, διαφερομένως πρὸς Κορινθίους. μετὰ δὲ ταύτα αἰτιαθεῖς ἀσεβεῖς ἦσσαν καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς περικόψας καὶ D εἰς τὰς Δήμητρας ἀμαρτῶν μυστήρια," [διὰ τὸ

1 ἀποφήμι τὸν οὐσίαν αὐτόν Westermann: ἀποφήμι τε αὐτῶν ἢς (or εἰς) τοὺς.
2 τις added by Blass. 3 καὶ added by Westermann.
4 ἀνάκειται τὰ Relske: ἢ καὶ τὰ. 5 τοῦτο Relske: τοῦτον.
6 τοῦ Ἀνδοκίδου added by Ruhnken.
7 Taylor: θοφεῖς (Θοφεῖς Bergk).
8 The passage in brackets, διὰ . . . μυστήρια, was seen by Dübner and Westermann to be a gloss on the preceding words ἀμαρτῶν μυστήρια.

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

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property; and that it be forbidden to bary Archeptolemus and Antiphon at Athens or in any place ruled by the Athenians; and that Archeptolemus and Antiphon be attained, and also their descendants legitimate and illegitimate; and that if anyone shall adopt any descendant of Archeptolemus or Antiphon, he who so adopts shall be attained; and that this be inscribed on a bronze tablet, which shall be set up where the decrees relating to Phrynichus are placed.

II. ANDOCIDES

Andocides was the son of Leogoras, son of that Andocides who once made peace between the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians; he was as regards his deme a Cydathenian or a Thorian and was descended from nobles, and even, according to Hellanicus, from Hermes; for the race of heralds traces its origin to him. On this account, too, he was once chosen along with Glaucon to go with twenty ships to aid the Corecyraeans who were embroiled with the Corinthians. And after this he was accused of impiety as being one of those who mutilated the Hermæ and as profaning the mysteries of Demeter (because at an earlier time he was

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\[ b \] Cf. Thucydides, i. 51, who seems to have been the source of this error. The colleague of Glaucon on this expedition was Dracostides, son of Leogoras of Thurnæ, and not Andocides, who at the time, 433 a.c., was too young. See I.G. i. 205 (ed. min.), and Kirchner, *Prosopographia Attica*, 829 and 4551.

\[ c \] The Hermæ, square pillars surmounted by the head of the god Hermes, stood before the doors of Athenian houses. In 415 a.c., just as the great expedition against Sicily was about to sail, these Hermæ were systematically mutilated in the night by unknown persons.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(634) πρώτερον ἀκόλαστον διτα, νόκτωρ καμάσαντα, ἐραδνεται τι τῶν ἁγαλμάτων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἰσ-
αγγελθέντα, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤσουλήθη διὸ ἐξήτωνοι οἱ κατήγοροι δοῦλον ἔκδοσι, διεμελθῆσαι καὶ πρὸς
τήν αἰτίαν τῆς δευτέρας γραφῆς ὑποτείνει γενέσθαι
Κορωβίων εἰσπεμβαίνων Λεοντύνως τε καὶ Λιγε-
ςταλοὺς ἄνδρας, ἴδια μελλόντων βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τῶν
Ἀθηναίων, νόκτωρ τοὺς περὶ τήν ἁγορὰν Ἐρμᾶς
περίκοφαν, ὡς Κράτιππός φησι, προσαμαρτῶν
μυστήρια] κριθεῖ επὶ τούτως ἀπέφυγεν ἐπὶ τῷ
μηνύσων τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σπουδήν δὲ πᾶσαν εἰσ-
Ε ἐνεγκάμενον ἐξεύρε τοὺς περὶ τῇ ἑρα ἀμαρτῶντας,
ἐν οἷς καὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ πατέρα ἐμῆνα. καὶ τοὺς μὲν
ἄλλους πάντας ἐλέγξασι ἐποίησαν ἀπολέσθαι, τὸν δὲ
πατέρα ἠρρύσατο, καὶ τοῖς δεδεμένοις ὑδή, ὑποσχό-
μενοι πολλὰ λυπητελήσειν αὐτοῦ τῇ πόλει. καὶ οὐκ
ἀφεοῦσαν ἐξεύρε γὰρ ὁ Δεωγόρας πολλοὺς δημόσια
χρήματα σφετεριζομένους καὶ ἄλλα τενά ἀδικοῦντας.
καὶ διὰ μὲν ταῦτα ἀφείλθη τῆς αἰτίας.

Οὐκ ἐιδοκιμάν τι ὁ Ἀρδοκίδης ἐπὶ τοὺς πολι-
τευμένους ἐπεθετὸ ναυκληρίᾳ, καὶ τοὺς τε Κυπρίους
βασιλεύσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους δοκίμους ἐπεζευγθή-
ότε καὶ μίαν τῶν πολιτικῶν, Ἀριστείδου θυγατέρα,
ἀνεμαν εὐθαν αὐτῷ, λαθρα τῶν οἰκείων ἐξαγαγὼν

1 ἐξήτων] ἐξήτων Emperius.

2 Here Westermann marks a lacuna, which he supplies
from the Life of Alcibiades, chap. xviii., and the Lexicon of
Photius, s.v. Ἐρμοκοσμία, about as follows τοὺς διάκοπτας
dιὰ τῶν Συρακουσίων ἀποίκων ἄντος. αὐτοὶ αὐτὸ τῶν ἐν Σκελεί
Ἐλλήνων ὡς τῶν Συρακουσίων κατὰ διατεθέντων περὶ
βοηθίας δὲ περαθέντων Λεοντύνως τε καὶ Λιγεςταλοῖς ἄνδρας,
"the Corinthians having sent in] the men who were to do it
on account of the Syracusans, who were colonists of Corinth.
These men, then, since the Greeks in Sicily were being
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dissipated and in a nocturnal revel had broken one of the images of the god, and when he was indicted refused to surrender the slave whom his accusers were looking for, so that he gained a bad name and was suspected and accused in the second suit also, which was brought shortly after the expedition went to Sicily, when the Corinthians sent in men from Leontini and Egesta and, as the Athenians hesitated about aiding them privately, they mutilated the Hermæe about the market-place, as Cratippus says, and profaned the mysteries besides]. At his trial on these charges he was acquitted on condition that he should inform against the wrongdoers. He exerted himself greatly and discovered those who were guilty of the sacrilege, among whom he informed against his own father. And he brought about the conviction and death of all the others, but saved his father, although he had already been put in prison, by promising that he would be of great service to the city. And he kept his promise; for Leogoras caused the conviction of many men who were embezzling public funds and committing other misdeeds. And for these reasons he was acquitted of the charge.

But Andocides, since his reputation in public life was not good, took to merchandising and became a friend of the Cypriote kings and many other men of note, at which time he abducted a girl of Athenian birth, daughter of Aristeides and his own niece, without the knowledge of her family, and sent her as oppressed by the Syracusans, and the Leontines and Egestaeans, had sent men to ask for assistance, [as the Athenians . . . .]

3 εὐσεβήσιμος Reiske from Photius: ἐφευσῆσιμος.
4 óκ added by Emperius.
Plutarch's Moralia

F ἐπεμψε δόρον τῷ Κυπρίων βασιλεί. μελλόν 8 ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰς δικαστήριον εἰσάγεσθαι πάλιν αὐτήν ἐξέκλεισεν ἀπὸ τῆς Κύπρου, καὶ ληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδειξεν διαδρας 8 ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, καθ’ ὃν χρόνον οἱ τετρακόσιοι διεῖπον τὰ πράγματα: δεδειχθεὶς 8 ὑπὸ τοῦτων καὶ διαφυγὼν, αὕτης ὑπὸ κατελύθη ἡ ὀλυγαρχία.1 ... ἐξέστη τῆς πόλεως, τῶν τριάκοντα τῆς ἀρχῆς παραλαβόντων. οἰκήσας 835 δὲ τὸν τῆς φυγῆς χρόνον ἐν "Ηλίδι, κατελθόντων τῶν περὶ Ἡρασίδουλον, καὶ αὐτῶς ἦκεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. πεμφθεῖς δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς Λακε- δαιμονα καὶ δόξας ἀδικεῖν ἐφυγε. δήλοι δὲ περὶ πάντων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις αἱς συγγραφεῖν" οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογουμένου περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων εἰσὶν, οἱ δὲ καθόδους δεομένου. σφυεῖ τις αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ περὶ τῆς 'Ενδείξεως λόγος καὶ 'Ἀπολογία πρὸς Φαίακα καὶ περὶ τῆς Εἰρήνης. καὶ ἠκούσας μὲν κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἀμα Σωκράτη τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἀρχῇ 8 αὐτῷ τῆς γενέσεως ὀλυμπιάς μὲν ἐφοδιασκοστή ὀρθῶν, ἀρχῶν 8 Ἄθηνης Θεογενίδης: ἀστ' εἶναι προσβύτερον αὐτῶν Λυσίαν ἔτεσί που γέκα.2

1 Dübner, followed by Bernardaklis, marks a gap here.
3 δέκα Westermann: δέκα Taylor: ἐκατόν.

* In the summer of 404 B.C. thirty men had been appointed to draw up laws and manage the state temporarily. They seized all power and ruled like tyrants. Thrasybulus seized the hill-fortress of Phylé in December and maintained his position against two attacks by the Thirty. In May 403 Thrasybulus and his followers seized Pelaineus. In
a gift to the King of Cyprus. Then, when he was to be brought to trial for this, he stole her back again from Cyprus and was caught and put in prison by the king; but he ran away and came back to Athens at the time when the Four Hundred were in control of affairs. He was put in prison by them, but escaped, and again, when the oligarchy was overthrown, he... was banished from the city after the Thirty had taken over the government. He spent the period of his exile in Ellis, but when Thrasybulus and his band returned, he also returned to the city. He was sent to Lacedaemon to negotiate a peace, but was suspected of wrongdoing and banished. He gives information about all this in the speeches which he wrote; for some of them he composed in his defence in the matter of the mysteries, and others when he was asking to be allowed to return home. There is also extant his speech On the Indictment, also the Defence against Phaeax and the speech On the Peace. He flourished at the same time as Socrates the philosopher; the date of his birth was the seventy-eighth Olympiad, when Theogenides was archon at Athens, so that he was about ten years older than Lysias. The Hermes called the September the Thirty were overthrown and the democracy re-established.

^ The nature of the accusation cannot be determined. See Blass, Die attische Bereitsamkeit, 2nd ed., pp. 293 ff. The oration On the Peace, delivered between 393 and 390 B.C., deals with the terms proposed by the mission in which Andocides participated.

^ 468–467 B.C. This date, however, is based upon a false reckoning, and from the orator's own statements he could not have been born much before 440. See Blass, ibid. i. p. 263, and Kirchner, Prosop. Att. 828.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(835) τοῦτον δ’ ἐπάνωμός ἦστι καὶ Ἑρμής ὁ Ἀνδοκίδου Β καλουμένος, ἀνάθημα μὲν ὁν ὕψηλης Αληθίδος, ἐπικληθεὶς δ’ Ἀνδοκίδου διὰ τὸ πλησίον παραιθήσαι τῶν Ἀνδοκίδης. καὶ αὐτὸς δ’ ἠχορήγησε κυκλῶν χορῷ τῇ αὐτοῦ φυλῆς ἀγαυωμένη διθυράμβῳ, καὶ ποιήσας ἀνέθηκε τρίποδα ἐφ’ ὕψηλου ἀντικρυ τοῦ πυρίνου Σειληνοῦ. ἔστι δ’ ἀπλοῦς καὶ ἀκατάσκευος εἰς τοὺς λόγους, ἀφέλης τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος.

Γ’. ΛΥΣΙΑΣ

Ο Λυσίας οὖς ἦν Κεφάλου τοῦ Λυσσάνου τοῦ Κεφάλου, Συρακουσίου μὲν γένος μεταναστάντος δ’ εἰς ‘Αθήνας ἐπιεικῆς τε τῆς πόλεως καὶ Περικλέους τοῦ Ξενίσσου πείσαντος αὐτὸν, ψυχὴν ὄμη καὶ ἕνων, πλοῦτο διαφέροντα· ὡς δὲ τινες, ἐκπεσόντα τῶν Συρακουσίων, ἠνίκα ὑπὸ Γέλωνος εὐπαθῶντο. γενόμενος δ’ Ἀθήνας ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους ἀρχοντος τοῦ μετὰ Φρασικῆς κατά τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος τῆς οἰκονομίας ολυμπιάδος, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συν- επαιδεύετο τοῖς ἐπιφανεστάτοις Ἀθηναίοις ἐπεὶ D δὲ τῆς εἰς Σύβαραν ἀποκλητιν θυσίας θυσίας κατατηκευόμεν ἐνετέλλει τῇ πόλις, ὥστε ὅλα τῷ προερχόμεναν αδελφῶν Πολεμάρχῳ (ὁςαν γὰρ αὐτῷ

1 αὐτὸς Westermann: αὐτός.
2 ὕψηλος] ὕψηλος βίδρου Reiske,
3 ἀντικρύ Bernhardilis: ἀντικρύ.
4 διαφέροντα Meursius: διαφέρον.
5 δ’ added by Westermann.
6 ολυμπιάδος Meursius: καὶ δεύτερος ολυμπιάδος.

*a A decree of the tribe Pandionis in which the orator
Hermes of Andocides is named after him. It is a dedication of the tribe Aegaeis and is called Hermes of Andocides because Andocides lived near it. He himself supplied the chorus for his tribe when it was competing in a dithyrambic contest, and he gained the victory, for which he set up a tripod on a high spot opposite the limestone Silenus. He is simple and free from artifice in his orations, plain and employing no figures of speech.

III. LYSIAS

Lysias was the son of Cephalus, grandson of Lysanias, and great-grandson of Cephalus. His father was by birth a Syracusan but moved to Athens because he wished to live in that city and also because Pericles, son of Xanthippus, persuaded him to do so, as he was a personal friend of Pericles and they were connected by ties of hospitality, and he was a man of great wealth. But some say that he moved because he was banished from Syracuse when Gelo was tyrant. Lysias was born at Athens in the archonship of the Phileles who succeeded Phrasicles, in the second year of the eightieth Olympiad, and at first he was a schoolmate of the most prominent Athenians; but when the city sent the colony to Sybaris, which was afterwards renamed Thurii, he went out with his eldest brother Polemarchus (for he had two others, is named among the victorious choregi is extant, I.G. ii. 1138 (ed. min.); it was with a chorus of boys at the Dionysia.

* 459-458 B.C.
* The archon in 460-459 B.C. was Phrasicleides, not Phrasicles.
(335) καὶ ἄλλοι δύο, Ἐθύθημος† καὶ Βράχυλλος‡), τοῦ πατρὸς ἕδη τετελευτηκότος, ὡς κοινωνήσων τοῦ κλήρου, ἔτη γεγονός πεντεκαΐδεκα, επὶ Πραξιτέλους ἄρχοντος, κάκει διέμεινε παϊδευόμενος παρὰ Τεισίρα καὶ Νικίδα τόσον Συρακοσίωςι, κτησάμενος τ' οἰκίαν καὶ κλήρον τυχῶν ἐπολιτεύσατο ἑως Κλεοκρίτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου ἄρχοντος ἔτη ἑξήκοντα τρια. τῷ δ' ἐξῆς Κάλλιδα ὀλυμπιάδι ἐνενικοῦσ' ἡ δευτέρα τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν αυτεῖον Ἀθηναίου καὶ κυριεύουσας γενομένης τῶν τ' ἄλλων αυτοκράτορῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῶν τῆς Ἡλλάδος οἰκονόμων, αἰτιαθείς ἀποκλίζεται ἐξέπεσε μετ' ἄλλων τριακοσίων. παρα- γενόμενος δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ Κάλλιδος τοῦ μετά Κλεόκρίτου ἄρχοντος, ἕδη τῶν τεττρακοσίων κατ-

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† Euthymos: Taylor from Plato, Republic, 328 b: εὔθυμος.
‡ Brachylos: Xylander: βράχυλλος.
§ πεντεκαΐδεκα: δεκαεξακόσιοι Photius.
¶ Νικίδα: Spengel suspects a corruption arising from Τίσιο.
†† κλήρου τυχῶν: Taylor from Photius: κλήρου λοχῶν.
‡‡ Κλεοκρίτου: Taylor: Κλεόκριτου.
§§ ἑξήκοντα: τριάκοσια Taylor.
¶¶ ἐξῆς Κάλλιδα: Xylander puts a gap after ἐξῆς: ἐπὶ Κάλλιδος Μεσιρίνας; ἐξῆς ἐναπό Photius, omitting the words to oikouντων inclusive. Westermann doubts if the name Κάλλιδα is correct. Bernardaki suggests as giving the proper sense τῷ δ' ἐξῆς ἐναπό ἐν' ἄρχοντος Κάλλιδον.
\\
\* The scene of Plato's Republic is laid at the house of Cephalus. The dialogue is not historical, and its imagined date cannot be fixed, but it seems to show that Plato knew Cephalus and his sons, see Blass, Die attische Bersedsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 344.
\** 444–443 B.C.
\*** 418–412 B.C.
Euthydemus and Brachyllus), their father being already dead, to share in the allotment of land. This was in the archonship of Praxiteles, and he was then fifteen years old. He remained there, was instructed by the Syracusans Teisias and Nicias, acquired a house, had a share of the allotment, and was a citizen for thirty-three years, until Cleocritus was archon at Athens. But in the next year, when Callias was archon, in the ninety-second Olympiad, when the misfortunes in Sicily had happened to the Athenians and unrest had arisen among the allies in general and especially those who dwelt in Italy, he was accused of favouring Athens and, with three hundred others, was banished. Arriving at Athens in the archonship of the Callias who succeeded Cleocritus, when the Four Hundred already had possession of the city, he re-

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

* The dates given by our author for events in the life of Lysias are consistent (see also 835 a above, and 836 η below, cf. also Dion. Hal. Isocrates, i.), on the assumption that he went to Thurii when the colony was founded, in 444 B.C. But if that is correct, his activity as a writer of speeches to be delivered in the Athenian courts would not begin until his fifty-seventh year. Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 345, after stating the evidence, comes to the conclusion that Lysias was born at Athens probably about 446 B.C., the only certain date being his age (fifteen years), when he went to Thurii, and his return to Athens in 413–412 B.C. or the year following. It is quite possible that he did not go to Thurii until some years after the foundation of the colony. The latest of his extant speeches may be dated about 390 B.C., so that we may believe that he died not long after that date.

The great expedition which the Athenians had sent out in 415 B.C. expecting to conquer Sicily was utterly annihilated in the autumn of 413 B.C.

411–410 B.C.

* Summer of 411 B.C.
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eχόντων τὴν πόλιν, διέτριβεν αὐτὸθι. τῆς δ' ἐν Ἀγιὸς ποταμῷ ναυμαχίας γενομένης καὶ τῶν τριάκοντα παραλαβόντων τὴν πόλιν, ἐξέπεσεν ἐπὶ τῇ μείνας, ἀφαιρεθεὶς τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸν ἄδελφον Ἡ Πολέμαρχον· αὐτὸς δὲ διαδρᾶς ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἀμφιθύρων οὐσίας, ἐν ἦ ἐφυλάσσετο ὡς ἀπολούμενος, διήγετο ἐν Μεγάροις. ἐπιθεμένων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Φυλῆς τῇ καθοδεῖ, ἔπειτ' ἐχθρισμότατοι ἀπάντων ὁφθῆ, χρῆματα τε παρασκόμων δραχμὰς διυπχίας καὶ ἀσπίδαις διακοσίας πεμφθεῖς τε σὺν Ἐρμᾶνι 
ἐπικαύρους ἐμμοθώσατο τριακοσίους, δύο τ' ἐπεισε 
τάλαντα δοθοւ Θρασυβάδων τὸν Ἡλείον, ξένων αὐτῷ γεγονότα. ἐφ' οἷς γράψαντος αὐτῷ Ἐρασι 
βοίλου πολεμεῖαν μετά τὴν καθοδάν ἐπ' ἀναρχίας τῆς πρὸ Εὐκλείδου, ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐκύρωσε τὴν δωρεάν, ἀπενεγκαμένου δὲ Ἐρχῆνα γραφὴν παρα 

836 νάμων διὰ τὸ ἀπροβαλλετοῦν εἰςακηθῆναι, ἐκεῖν ὁ 
ψήφισμα· καὶ οὕτως ἀπελαθεὶς τῆς πολεμεῖας τόν 
λοιπὸν ὄψιν χρόνῳ ἱσοτελῆς ὄν, καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν 
ἀυτῷ ὁγδοήκοντα τρία ἔτη βιωσώ, ὡς τίνος ἐξ 
καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα, ὡς τίνος ὑπὲρ ὁγδοήκοντα,

1 ἐστὶν] ἔσερα Franke; ἦσε Westermann; Βενάρδακλης 
would omit ἐστὶν.
2 Ἐρμᾶνι] Ἐρασι Westermann. Cf. Life of Alei 
biades, chap. xxv., Thuc. vili. 99.
3 Θρασυβάδων Ptoleus: δρασύβαδον.

* 405 B.C. The Athenian fleet was destroyed by the 
Lacedaemonians, which virtually ended the Peloponnesian 
War.

* 404 B.C.
* See Lysias, xili. (Against Brutosthenes) 15.
mained there. But when the battle of Aegospotami had taken place and the Thirty had taken possession of the city, he was banished after having been there seven years. He was deprived of his property and lost his brother Polemarchus, but he himself escaped from the house in which he was kept to be executed (for it had two doors) and lived at Megara. But when the men at Phyle set about their return to Athens, he was seen to be more helpful than anyone else, since he supplied two thousand drachmas and two hundred shields and, when sent with Hermas, hired three hundred mercenaries and persuaded Thrasydaeus of Elis, who had become his guest-friend, to give two talents. For these services Thrasybulus, after the restoration of the exiles to the city and in the period of anarchy before Eucleides, proposed a grant of citizenship for him, and the popular assembly ratified the grant, but when Archinus had him up for illegality because it had not been previously voted by the senate, the enactment was declared void. And after losing his citizenship in this way, he lived the rest of his life at Athens with all the rights of citizenship except the vote and eligibility to office, and died there at the age of eighty-three years or, as some say, seventy-six or, as others

4 Thrasybulus and his followers, May 308 B.C. After these exiles seized Peiraeus, there was a period of confusion until the democracy was re-established and Eucleides made archon for the year 403-402 B.C.

5 The Athenians termed any period an "anarchy" in which no archon could be elected because of party strife.

7 The Senate or Council of Five Hundred prepared the business for the Popular Assembly, which could not legally vote upon any measure not previously adopted by the Senate.
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(366) Ιδὼν Δημοσθένη μειράκιον ἄντα. γεννηθήμει δ' 

φασιν ἀπὶ Φιλοκλέως ἄρχοντος.

Θέρατα δ' αὐτοῦ λόγων τετρακόσιοι εἰκοσιπέντε-

τούτων γνησίους φασίν οί περὶ Διονύσιων καὶ 

Κασικλίων εἶναι διακοσίους τριάκοντα καὶ τρεῖς, ἐν 

οἷς δὲς μόνον ἤττησθαι λέγεται. ἦστε δ' αὐτοῦ 

καὶ δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ψηφίσματος δ' ἐγράφατο Ἀρχίνως, 

Β τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῦ περιέλαβαν, καὶ κατὰ τῶν 

τριάκοντα ἔτερος. ἐγένετο δ' πιθανότατος καὶ 

βραχύτατος, τῶν ἵδιωτας τῶν πολλῶν λόγους 

ἐκδοσιν. εἰς δ' αὐτῷ καὶ Τέχναι ρητορικαὶ πεποι-

μέναι καὶ Δημηγορία, Ἑπιστολαὶ τε καὶ Ἑγκύρωμα, 

καὶ Ἑπιστέφου καὶ Ἑρωτικό καὶ Ὀσκράτους 

Ἀπολογία ἔστοχασμένη τῶν δικαστῶν. διότι δὲ 

κατὰ τὴν λέξιν εὐκόλος εἶναι, δυσμίσθης ἄρι 

Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεώρας λόγῳ ἐφανεῖ 

αὐτόν φησι γεγονέαν Μετανείρας, ὁμοθύλων τῇ 

Νεώρᾳ. ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐγείρετο Βραχύλλου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ 

θυγατέρα, μιμομοιεῖ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν 

Ο τῶν Φαιδρῶν ὡς δεισυνάτου εἰπεῖν καὶ Ἡσικράτους 

προσβυτέρου. ἔποιησε δ' καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπίγραμμα 

Φιλίκου νὰ Ἡσικράτους μὲν γνώριμος ἑταῖρος δὲ 

1 καὶ τρεῖς Dübner from Photius: τρία ἐν τῷ codex F; lacking in the others. 

2 αὐτός Taylor: αὐτῷ. 

3 ὁ τ τ Τ α y l o r: ὁ τ Τ α y l o r. 

4 περιέλαβαν Taylor: περιέλαβαν. 

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a Cicero, De Oratore, i. 231, and Diogenes Laertius, ii. 20, 40, say that Lysias composed an oration in defence of Socrates, and offered it to him, but Socrates refused it. A speech in defence of Socrates (ὑπὲρ Ὀσκράτους πρὸς Πολυ-

κράτην) is mentioned several times by the scholasticist on Aristides. It was composed probably some years after
say, over eighty; and he lived to see Demosthenes as a youth. They say he was born in the archonship of Philocles.

Four hundred and twenty-five orations attributed to him are current. Of these Dionysius and Caecilius and their school say that two hundred and thirty-three are genuine, and he is said to have lost his ease with only two of them. There is also his speech in support of the enactment against which Archinus brought suit and deprived him of citizenship, and another against the Thirty. He was very persuasive and concise and produced most of his speeches for private clients. There are also Textbooks of Rhetoric prepared by him, and Public Addresses, Letters and Eulogies, Funeral Speeches, Love Speeches, and a Defence of Socrates addressed to the judges. In the matter of his diction he appears to be easy, although in fact he is hard to imitate. Demosthenes in his speech against Neaira says that he was in love with Metaneira, a fellow-slave with Neaira; but later he married the daughter of his brother Brachyllus. Plato also mentions him in the Phaedrus as an able speaker and older than Isocrates. Moreover Philiscus, a pupil of Isocrates and comrade of the death of Socrates, as an epideictic oration in reply to a similar speech against Socrates by the sophist Polycrates. This is doubtless the speech which Cicero and Diogenes wrongly believed to have been composed for use in the actual trial of Socrates. See Blaß, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., i. p. 351.

b Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Αρραίος κριός, v. 1 ὅτι ἀμαχίωςκόμενον μὲν ἐκλειπον νομίζοντα χαλεπῶν ὀδικοκατοιχον ὕλαιν περιφρονόντα, "when read he is considered easy, but is found to be difficult by any who try to imitate him."

c Demosthenes, Or. lxx. 21.

d Plato, Phaedrus, 279 Α.
(836) "Λυσίαν, δι’ οὗ φανερών ὡς προελάβε τοὺς ἔτεσιν, δι’ ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ Πλάτωνος εἰρημένων ἀποδεικνυται ἔχει δ’ οὕτως:

νῦν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης θύγατερ, πολυηγόρος Φρόντις, δείξεις εἰ τι φρονεῖς καὶ τι περισσόν ἔχεις; τὸν γὰρ ἐς ἄλλο σχῆμα μεθαρμοσθέντα καὶ ἄλλοις εἰν κόσμοις βίου σώμα λαβόνθε ἔτερον,

δεὶς ὁ Ἱσικράτωρ κηρικά τεκεῖν τινα Λύσιδα ὑμινην, δύνατα κατὰ φθημένον καὶ ἔρωτον ὁδὸς τό τε ἐμῆς ψυχῆς δείξει φιλότειρον ὀπασί, καὶ τὸν τούτο φθημένον παῖς βροτοὶς ἁρετήν.

συνέγραφε δὲ λόγος καὶ Ἰσικράτωρ, τὸν μὲν πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην, τὸν δὲ προδοσολαί κρίνοντι Τιμόθεου καὶ ἁμφότερος ἔνικα ἀναδεξαμένου δ’ Ἰσικράτους τὰς τοῦ Τιμόθεου πράξεις, ταῖς εὐθύναις ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῆς προδοσίας αἰτίαν ἀπολογήται διὰ τοῦ Λυσίαν λόγου καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπελύθη, δὲ τὸ τῷ Τιμόθεου ἐξημιώθη πλεῖστοις χρήμασιν. ἄνεγω δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ὀλυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει λόγον μέγιστον, διαλλαγέντας τοὺς Ἑλλήνας καταλύσαι Διονύσιοι.

1 νῦν ὁ Ι. Jacobs: ὁ.
2 Ἀριστοτέλης: Ἀριστοτέλης
3 Ἐρίτης Βεντενμάχικ: Ερίτης Βεντενμάχικ
4 Ἀριστοτέλης: Ἀριστοτέλης
5 Λύσιαν καὶ Ἱσικράτωρ: Λύσιαν καὶ Ἱσικράτωρ
6 ἔκτις Μέλερ: ἔκτις
7 Φρόντις: Ἕρωτος Ρείσκε: Ἕρωτος
8 ἠμφότερος Μέλερ: ἠμφότερος
9 Lysis, because the word Lysias is inadmissible in the Greek metre. Wytenbach suggests that the verses were really written in honour of Lysias the Pythagorean.
10 Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 640. Bergk rightly says that this is only part of a longer poem. The fragment does not indicate that Lysias was older than Isocrates, but some
Lysias, composed an elegiac poem to him, from which it is plain that he was earlier in years, which is indicated also by what Plato said. The verses are as follows:

Now, O Calliope’s daughter endowed with great eloquence,
Phrontis,
Show if thy wisdom is aught, if thou hast anything new.
Him who is altered and changed to another form, him who
in other
Orders and manners of life hath a new body assumed,
Thou must bring forth some herald of virtue to celebrate:
Lysis. 
Gone to the dead and the gloom, there an immortal to
dwell;
One who will show unto all the love of my soul for my
comrade,
Show, too, the worth of the dead unto the whole of
mankind.

He also wrote two speeches for Iphicrates, one against Harmodius, the other for use in accusing Timotheüs of treason, with both of which he won his case; but when Iphicrates accepted the responsibility for the actions of Timotheüs, assuming at the rendering of accounts the accusation for treason, he defended himself with the speech by Lysias; and he himself was acquitted, but Timotheüs was very heavily fined. And at the Olympic festival also he read a very great oration urging that the Greeks make peace with one another and overthrow Dionysius.

such statement may have been contained in a later part of the poem.

6 In 355 B.C. Iphicrates and Timotheüs, Athenian generals who had been unsuccessful, were accused by their colleague, Chares, of treason. Although Iphicrates accepted full responsibility, he was acquitted, but Timotheüs was fined one hundred talents, which he could not pay. He left Athens and soon died.

6 Only a fragment (Or. xxxiii.) of this is extant.
Δ'. ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ

'Ισοκράτης Θεοδώρου μὲν ἂν παῖς τοῦ 'Ερχεώς τῶν μετρίων πολετῶν, θεράποντας αὐλοποιοῦς κεκτημένον καὶ εὐπορήσαντος ἀπὸ τοῦτων, ὡς καὶ χορηγήσαι καὶ παιδεύσαι τῶν υἱῶν· ἔσαν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι, Τελέστιππος καὶ Διόμητος· ἓν δὲ καὶ θυγάτριον· ὅτεν εἰς τοὺς αὐλαῖς κεκαμψά·

δὴ ταῦτα ὑπ' Ἀριστοφάνους καὶ Στράττιδος. γενάμενος δὲ κατὰ τὴν ογδοηκοστὴν ἑκατὸν ἀλεξάπεδά τινα, Ἀντιμίκους Μυρμονούσοις ἄρχοντος, νεώτερος μὲν Διονύσιον τυράννως δύο καὶ εἰκοσὶ ἑτεραίς, πρεσβυτέρος δὲ Πλάτωνος ἑπτά, παῖς μὲν ἂν ἐπαιδεύτωσον οὐδὲν ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀκροαμένος Προδίκου τε τοῦ Ἐκλον τοῦ Γοργίου τοῦ Δεοτίνου καὶ Τεισίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου καὶ Θηραμένους τῶν ῥήτωρός· αὐτὸ καὶ συλλαβώνομενον ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα καὶ φυγάντος ἐπὶ τὴν Βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν, ἀπάντων καταπεπληγμένως, μόνος ἀνέστη βοηθήσων καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἔαγγειον κατ' ἀρχάς, ἑπεταὶ ὑπ' αὐτῶν παρηθήκη, εἰπόντος ὀδυνρότερον αὐτῷ συμβῆσοντι, εἰ τῆς τῶν φίλων ἀπολαύσεις τῆς συμφορᾶς· καὶ ἑκείνου τινὰς οὕσας τέχνας αὐτῷ φασί συμπραγματεύοντα·

1 'Ερχεως Reiske from Photius: ἀρχωρᾶς.
2 Λυσιμάχου Μυρμονούσοι Δρακοντάς νεώτερος μὲν Διονύσιοι Bernardakis adapting an emendation by Wolfe: αὐτωμάχου μυρμονούσοι.
3 Κελοῦ Turnebus: κιλου.

* Wealthy Athenians performed in turn special services to the state called "liturgies." The most expensive of these was the choregic, which involved the payment, training, and equipment of a chorus for a lyrical or dramatic performance.
IV. ISOCRATES

Isocrates was the son of Theodorus of Erchia, a citizen of the middle class, an owner of slaves who made flutes, through whom he gained a competence, so that he paid for a public chorus \(^a\) and gave his children an education \(^b\) (for he had other sons, Telesippus and Diomnestus, and also a daughter), and hence he is ridiculed on account of the flutes by Aristophanes and Strattis. Isocrates was born in the eighty-sixth Olympiad, in the archonship of Lysimachus \(^c\) of Myrghanus, being twenty-two years younger than Lysias and seven years older than Plato.\(^d\) In his boyhood he was as well educated as any Athenian, for he attended the lectures of Procles of Ceos, Gorgias of Leontini, Teisias of Syracuse, and the orator Theramenes; and when the last-named was in danger of being arrested by the Thirty and had fled for safety to the altar of Hestia Boulaea,\(^e\) everyone else was terrified, but Isocrates alone arose to speak in his aid; and at first he was silent for a long time, then afterwards he was urged to be silent by Theramenes himself, who said that his misfortune would be more painful if any of his friends should share it. And it is said that certain rhetorical teachings of Theramenes—those which go under the name of Boton—were of use to Isocrates when he was

\(^a\) See Isocrates, On the Exchange of Property (Or. xv.), 161.

\(^b\) 436–425 B.C.

\(^c\) Plato was born in 428–427 B.C. Lysias, according to this statement, in 450–458. But see note on 835 \(d\) above.

\(^e\) The sanctuary of this Goddess of the Senate’s Hearth was in or near the Prytaneum, which was somewhere on the northern slope of the Acropolis.
(837) σθαί ἡμικα ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἐσυκοφαντεῖτο, αἱ εἰσόν ἐπεγεγραμμέναι Βότανος. ἔπει δ' ἡμαρτήθη, τῶν μὲν πολιτικῶν πραγμάτων ἀπέσχετο λογικῶς τ' ὁν καὶ εὐλαβῆς τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰ πατρίδα ἀποφεβηκὼς ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λάκεδαιμονίους πολέμῳ ἀλλοις δὲ μεμελετηκώς φαίνεται, ἐνα δὲ μόνον εἰσόν λόγον, τὸν περὶ τῆς 'Ἀντιδίσεως. διατριβήν
Β δὲ αυστηράμενος, ἐπὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ γράφειν δ' διανοηθεὶς ζητάτωτο, καὶ τὸν τε Πανηγυρικὸν λόγον καὶ τινὰς ἀλλοις τῶν συμβουλευτικῶν, οὓς μὲν αὐτὸς γράφων ἀνεγίνωσκεν οὓς δ' ἔτερους παρεσκεύαζεν, ἤγομενοις οὕτως ἐπὶ τὸ τὰ δέοντα φρονεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας προτρέψεις. δ' διαμαρτάνον δὲ τῇς προαίρεσεσι, τούτων μὲν ἀπέστη σχολῆς δ' ἡγεῖτο, ὡς τινὲς φασί, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Χίου, μαθητὰς ἔχον ἐννέα: ὅτε καὶ ἱδών τοὺς μαθητὰς ἀριθμούμενον εἰπε δακρύσας ὡς "ἐπέγνων ἐμαυτὸν μὴν τούτως πεπραμένον." ὡμοίως δὲ τοῖς βουλομένοις, χώριος πρῶτος τοὺς ἑρμηνευτικὸς λόγους τῶν πολιτικῶν, περὶ οὗς ἐσπούδασε, καὶ ἀρχὰς δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆν Χίου κατέστησε καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ πατρίδι πολιτειαν-ἀργυρίων τε ὄσον οὐδεὶς σοφιστῶν εὐπόρησεν, ὡς καὶ τριήμαχησα. Ἀκροαταί δ' αὐτοῦ ἐγένοντο εἰς ἑκατόν, ἀλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Τιμόθεος ὁ Κόνων, σὺν ᾧ καὶ

1 μεμελετηκώς Wolf: μεμαρτυρηκώς.
2 δ' διανοηθεὶς Wolf from Dionysius: διανοηθεῖς.
3 προτρέψεως Cota: προτρέψεως.
4 τε Franke from Photius: δέ.
falsely accused in the courts. But when he became a man he kept away from political affairs, since he had a weak voice and a timid disposition and had lost his inherited property in the war against the Lacedaemonians. It is evident that he composed speeches for others, but he delivered only one, that on the Exchange of Property. He set up a school and turned to philosophy and to writing out the results of his thinking, and he composed his Festival Oration and some others of an advisory nature, some of which he delivered himself and some of which he prepared for others to deliver, hoping that in this way he might lead the Greeks to think as they ought. But when he failed of his purpose he gave up that sort of thing and became the head of a school, at first, as some say, at Chios, where he had nine pupils. That was the time when, as he saw the tuition fees counted out, he burst into tears and said, "Now I recognize that I have sold myself to these people." He would carry on conversation with all who desired it and was the first to make a distinction between contentious speeches and those of a political character, to which latter he devoted himself. And he also instituted at Chios public offices and the same constitution which existed in his native city. He made more money than any other sophist, so that he was even a trierarch.

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

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a See Isocrates, Philip (Or. v.), 81; Panathenaios (Or. xiii.), 9.

b i.e. the Panegyric, delivered at Olympia.

c The trierarchy was one of the " liturgies " which wealthy citizens were obliged to perform. Being trierarch thus showed wealth.
(837) πολλάς πόλεις ἐπῆλθε, συντεθεὶς τὰς πρὸς Ἀθηναίους ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου περιπομένας ἐπιστολάς· ἦθεν ἐδωρήσας αὐτῷ ταλαντὸν τῶν ἀπὸ Σάμου περιγενομένων. ἐμαθήτευς δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Θεόπομπος ὦ Χῖος, καὶ Ἕφρος ὦ Κημαῖος καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὦ τὰ τραγῳδοῦμενα συγγράφας καὶ Θεοδέκτας ὀ Φασηλῆς ὦ τὰς τραγῳδίας ὦστερον γράψας, οὐ ἔστι τὸ μνήμη ἐπὶ τὴν Κωμέτεν πορευομένους κατὰ Δ τὴν ἔραν ὧδε τὴν ἐπ’ Ἑλευσίνα, τὰ νῦν κατερηγομενόν· ἐνθα καὶ τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῶν ποιητῶν ἀνέστησαν σὺν αὐτῷ, ὅν ὦμηρος ὦ ποιητὴς σφίζεται μόνος· Λεωδάμας ὀ Ἀθηναίος καὶ Λάκριτος ὦ νομοθέτης Ἀθηναίος, ὡς δὲ τινὲς φασὶ καὶ Τπερείδης καὶ Ἰσαῖος. καὶ Δημοσθένης ὀ ἔτι ἔτη ἐκτορεύοντι φασὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς προσελθείς αὐτῷ, καὶ χυλίας μὲν ἂς εἰςεπράττετο οὐκ ἤχειν φάναι παρασχεῖν, διακοσίας δὲ δώσειν, ἐρ' ὄ τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἐκμαθεῖν· τὸν δὲ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἧς Β ὡς τεραχλίζομεν, ὦ Δημοσθένεις, τὴν πραγματείαν ἄσσιντε δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἱγθοῦν ὄλους πωλοῦμεν, ὦ τῶν κακῶν σοι, εἰ βούλω συναθητεῖσθαι, ὅλοκληρον ἄποικους ὑμῖν τῆς τέχνης."

'Εσελεύστα δ' ἐπὶ Χαιρῶνδου ἄρχοντας, ἀπαγγελθέντων τῶν περὶ Χαιρῶνδεαν ἐν τῇ Ἰσποκράτους

1 καὶ] Σεοβᾶν ὦ Γρέκλου καὶ Φωτίου.
3 ἀνέστησαν Westermann: ἀνέστησος.
4 Λεωδάμας Westermann and inscriptions: cf. Kirchner,
Pro spor. Att.; Λεωδάμας Photius: Λεοδάμος.
5 Dührer: Δημοσθένης οὗ Δημοσθένης.
6 μὲν ἄς Corres: μὲν ἄς μάνες.
7 ἐκμαθεῖν Photius: ἐκμάθη.
8 Χαιρῶνδου Meursius: χερωνίδου.
whom he visited many cities; and he composed the letters which Timotheüs sent to the Athenians, on account of which Timotheüs presented him with a talent out of the sum remaining after the relief of Samos.⁶ Pupils of his were also Theopompus b of Chios, Ephorus of Cumae, Asclepiades who compiled the arguments of tragedies, and Theodectas of Phaselis, who afterwards wrote tragedies and whose monument stood as you go to the Bean-market along the Sacred Way which leads to Eleusis; it is now in ruins. There, too, were set up statues of the famous poets along with his; of these only the poet Homer exists now. And Leodamas the Athenian and Laeritus the Athenian law-maker and, as some say, Hypereides and Isaeus were his pupils. And they say that while he was still teaching oratory Demosthenes came to him eager to learn and said that he could not pay the thousand drachmas which he asked as tuition fee, but would give two hundred for one fifth of the instruction; whereupon Isocrates replied: "We do not cut our instruction into bits, Demosthenes, but just as people sell fine fish whole, so, if you wish to be my pupil, I will sell you my course whole."

He died in the archonship of Chaerondas c after hearing in the palaestra of Hippocrates the news of

⁶ 365 B.C.
⁵ The text of Photius reads Xenophon the son of Gryllus and Theopompus.
⁴ 388–337 B.C.
Μαλαστρή πυθόμενος, ἐξάγαγὼν αὐτὸν τοῦ βίου τέταρτον, ἡμέρας διὰ τοῦ σιτίου ἀποσκέψαι, προειπών τρεῖς ἀρχὰς δραμάτων Εὐριπίδου.

Δανάδις ὁ πεντήκοντα θυγατέρων πατήρ.
Πέλοψ ὁ Ταυτάλεως εἰς Πίσαν μολῶν.
Σιδώνιῶν ποτ᾽ ἄστυ Κάδμος ἐκλεισὼν.

Εἰκάτω καὶ ἑνεκῆκον ἐπὶ βιοὺς ἢ ὡς τινες ἑκατόν,
οὐχ ὑπομεῖνας τετράκις ἱδέας τὴν Ἐλλάδα καταδουλομένην πρὸ ἐμαυτοῦ ἢ ὡς τινες πρὸ τεσσάρων ἐτῶν τῆς τελευταίας συγγράμμας τῶν Παναθηναίων. τὸν δὲ Πανηγυρικόν ἔτεον δέκα συμπέθηκεν, οἱ δὲ δεκαπέντε λέγουσιν, ὃν μετειπαρχέναι ἐκ τοῦ Γοργίου τοῦ Λεοντίνου καὶ Λυσίου τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀντιδόσεως δύο καὶ συνεκήκοντα ἐπὶ γεγονός τοὺς δὲ πρὸς Φιλίππον ὀλγῷ πρότερον τοῦ βασιλεύ. ἔγενε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ πάλι 'Αφαρείδες προσβύτη ὃντι.

1 τέταρτον Bernardakis: τέταρτον.
2 εἰς Turenbush: τῶν.
3 ἐκ τῶν Reiske: ἐκ τοῦ.

* This popular story of Isocrates' death is given also by Lucian (7), Macrobius 23, Passanias, 1. 18, 8, and Plutarch, §2 below. It is made famous by Milton in his tenth sonnet:

... as that dishonest victory
At Chaeronea, fatal to liberty,
Killed by report that old man eloquent:

But Isocrates himself, at the end of his third letter, writes to Philip: "But I am grateful to old age for this thing only, that it has continued my life to this point, so that of the things which I meditated in my youth and undertook to write in my Panegyric Oration and in that which I sent to you, I now see some being accomplished through your deeds and hope that others will be accomplished." Apparently he was well pleased with Philip's success. See Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., II. p. 97.

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the battle of Chaeroneia; and he removed himself from life by abstaining from food for four days. Just before the end he declaimed the opening lines of three dramas of Euripides:

    Danaüs of fifty daughters fair the sire,
    Pelops the Tantalid to Pisa came,
    Once Sidon's city Cadmus having left.

He died at the age of ninety-eight or, as some say, one hundred years, for he could not endure the sight of Greece enslaved four times. A year (or, as some say, four years) before his end he wrote the Panathenaic Oration; and the Festival Oration he composed ten (but some say fifteen) years before his death. This, they say, he derived from the speeches of Gorgias of Leontini and Lysias. The speech on the Exchange of Property he wrote at the age of eighty-two years, and those against Philip shortly before his death. When he was an old man he adopted

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<sup>a</sup> From the *Archelaüs*; Nauck, *Trag. Græc. Frag.* p. 427, no. 228.

<sup>b</sup> *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 1.

<sup>c</sup> From the *Phrixus*; Nauck, *Trag. Græc. Frag.* p. 627, no. 819. Blass, *Die attische Beredsamkeit*, 2nd ed., ii. p. 97, thinks these lines enumerate three intrusions of foreigners into Greece. The fourth—not mentioned—would then be that of the Macedonians under Philip.

<sup>d</sup> Under the Athenian empire in the fifth century, by the Spartans after the Peloponnesian War, by the Thebans under Epaminondas, and by the Macedonians. All these Isocrates himself had seen. But see note d above.

<sup>e</sup> In L.C.L. Isocrates, vol. ii. pp. 368 ff.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. pp. 181 ff. If anyone proposed that a certain man be obliged to perform one of the "liturgies" which were required of wealthy Athenians, the man of whom this was required could challenge the proposer to an exchange of properties, which might transfer the obligation.
(833) ἐκ Πλατάνης τῆς Ἰππίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ποιητός, τῶν δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς τρεῖν παιδῶν ὁ νεώτατος. εὐ-πόρησε δ’ ἰκανῶς οὐ μόνον ἄρχαριον εἰσπράττων τῶς γνωρίσμασι, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Νικοκλέους τοῦ Κυπρίων βασιλέως, ὃς ἦν υἱὸς Εὐαγόρου, εἰκοσιτάλαντα λαβὼν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντος λόγου· ἔφ’ οἷς φθονηθεὶς τρίς προεβλήθη τρεισ-αρχεῖν, καὶ δίς μὲν ἀσθένειαν σκηνήματος διὰ τοῦ παιδὸς παρηγήσατο, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὑποστὰς ἀν-ήλωσεν οὐκ ὅλην. πρὸς δὲ τὸν εἰπόντα πατέρα ὃς οὐδὲν ἄλλα ἣν ἀνδράποδον συνέπεμψε τῷ παιδίῳ "ταυγαροῦν ἢ φη "ἀπίθε δύο γὰρ ἀνθ’ ἐνός ξεις Β ἀνδράποδα." ἡγεμόσατο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ Μαυσώλου τεθέντα όπ’ Ἀρτεμίσιας ἄγωνα· τὸ δὲ ἐγκόμιον οὐ σύζεται. ἐπιλήψει δὲ καὶ εἰς Ἐλένην ἐγκόμιον καὶ Ἀρεσπαγνικόν. ἐξελθὼν δὲ τοῦ βίου οἱ μὲν ἐνατάδων φαοὶ σέτων ἀποσχόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τεταρταῖον ἄμα ταῖς ταφασ τῶν ἐν Χαιρωνελα πεσόντων. συνέγραψε δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἀφαρέως λόγους. ἐπιβαφὴ δὲ μετὰ τῆς συγγενείας πλησίων Κυνοσάρ-γους ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου ἐν αἰστητῷ αὐτὸς τε καὶ τοῦ πατήρ αὐτοῦ Θεόδωρος καὶ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ· ταύτης τ’ ἄδελφη τηθος τοῦ ῥήτορος Ἀνακω καὶ ὁ ποιητὸς Ωυίδος Ἀφαρέας καὶ ὁ ἀνεψιος αὐτοῦ Σωκράτης,

1 εὐπόρησε δ’ Cornes with Photius: εὐπάρθησεν.
2 παρά Cornes with Photius: τά παρά.
3 τρεισαρχεῖς Photius; τρεισαρχεῖς Turnebus: τρεράρχα.
4 καὶ δίς Mesarites with Photius: καὶ τὸ δίς.
5 ὑποστὰς Cornes: ἑποστής.
6 ἐπ added by Turnebus.
7 αὐτός Relæke: ὁ υἱός.
ISOCRATES, 838

Aphareus, the youngest of the three sons of Plathane, daughter of the orator Hippias. He acquired ample wealth, for he not only collected money from his pupils, but he also received from Nicoles, king of Cyprus, who was the son of Evagoras, twenty talents for the oration written in his honour. On account of his wealth he was envied and was proposed three times as trierarch. Twice he alleged illness and was exempted by petitions presented by his son, but the third time he undertook the duty and spent no small sum. To a father who said that he gave his son only a slave as companion he said, "Go your ways, then, for you will have two slaves instead of one." He took part also in the competition offered by Artemisia in honour of Maussolus, but his Eulogy is not extant. He wrote also a Eulogy of Helen and a speech called the Areopagitie. He departed this life some say on the ninth day of his abstention from food, others on the fourth day at the time of the funeral of those who fell at Chaeroneia. His son Aphareus also wrote speeches. Isocrates was buried with his family near Cynosarges on the left side of the hill—he himself, his father Theodorus, and his mother; and her sister Anaco, the orator's aunt, and his adopted son Aphareus, and his cousin Socrates, son of Anaco.

 Maussolus ruler of Halicarnassus, died in 353 B.C. His widow, Artemisia, caused eulogies to be written in competition by Greek orators and completed the magnificent tomb which he had, apparently, begun. This magnificent building—the Mausoleum—was designed by Greek architects and decorated by famous Greek sculptors. The remains of the sculpture include portrait statues of Maussolus and Artemisia and are among the most highly prized possessions of the British Museum.

 Cynosarges was a region in Athens in which was a great gymnasium.
(638) μητρὸς Ἰσοκράτους ἀδελφὴς Ἀνακόυς υἱὸς ὁ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁμόνυμος τοῦ πατρὸς Θεόδωρος καὶ οἱ νέωνοι αὐτοῦ, τοῦ ποιηθέντος αὐτῷ παιδὸς Ἀφαρέως, Ἀφαρέως καὶ ὁ τούτου πατὴρ Θεόδωρος ἢ τε γυνὴ Πλαθάνη, μήτηρ δὲ τοῦ ποιητοῦ Ἀφαρέως. 1 ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τράπεζα ἐπέθεαν ἔξω, αἰ νῦν οὐ σχίζονται αὐτῷ δ' Ἰσοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μη- ματος ἐπὶ κιόν τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οὗ σιγήν πηχῶν ἐπτὰ συμβολικῶς, ὅσιον αὐτῷ σῴζεται. ἢν δὲ

καὶ αὐτῷ τράπεζα πλησίου ἠχούσα ποιητᾶς τε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Γαργλαν ἐν σφαίραν ἀστρολογικὴν βλέποντα αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἰσοκράτην παρεστῶτα, ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ εἰκών χαλκῆ ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ προστού ύπὸ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κόνωνος, καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται

Τιμόθεος φίλης τε χάριν ἐξυεισε' τε προτιμών.

Ἰσοκράτους εἰκώ τῆρι' ἀνέθηκε θεαῖς.

Ἀειπαραί ἐργον.

Φέρονται δ' αὐτῷ λόγου ἔξηκοντα, ὅπως εἰς γνήσιον κατὰ μὲν Διονύσου εἰκοσιπέντε κατὰ δὲ Καικύλην εἰκοσιτεύτων, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι κατεχευσμένοι, εἶχε δ' ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς ἐπιδείξειν, ὡς αἱμικομένων Εποτέ πρὸς αὐτὸν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόασιν τοὺς μὲν δύο κατασχεῖν τὸν δὲ τρίτον ἀπολύσαν, φάμενος εἰς τὴν ἐπιστάσαν ἔξω· νῦν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ ἔθεαρν εἶναι ἐν ἀκροαστηρίῳ. 2 εἰώθει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γυναῖκας αὐτοῦ λέγειν, ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν δέκα μικράς διδάσκοι, τῷ δ' αὐτὸν διδάσκαλον τόλμαν καὶ εὐθείαν δῶσειν

1 Ἀνακόυς υἱὸς Τυρνέλλου: ἀνακόυς

2 Ἀφαρέως . . . τοῦ πατρὸς Ἀφαρέως bracketed by Dübner: Bernardaklis marks a lacuna after Ἀφαρέως.
ISOCRATES, 838

Isocrates' mother's sister, and his brother Theodorus who had the same name as his father, and his grandsons, the sons of his adopted son Apharcus, Apharcus and his father Theodorus, and the latter's wife Plathanê, mother of the adopted son Apharcus. And over them there were six tablets which do not now exist. On the monument of Isocrates himself was a column thirty cubits high, on which was a siren seven cubits high as a symbol; but this exists no longer. There was also a tablet near by with poets and his instructors on it, among whom was Gorgias gazing into an astrological sphere and Isocrates standing beside him. There is also a bronze statue of him, dedicated by Timotheüs, son of Conon, at Eleusis in front of the vestibule. It bears this inscription:

Here to the goddesses twain Timotheüs giveth this statue
Tribute to friend and to sage, image of Isocrates.

It is a work of Leochares.

Sixty orations are current under his name, of which twenty-five are genuine according to Dionysius, twenty-eight according to Caecilius, and the rest are spurious. He was averse to public declamation, so much so that once, when three persons came to hear him, he retained two but let the third go, telling him to come the next day, since now the lecture-room had a full audience. And he used to say to his pupils that he himself gave instruction for ten minas, but would give ten thousand to anyone who would teach him self-confidence and a pleasant voice. And when he

1 χίον Bernardakis: κρυόν (χίον Tarnheus).
4 ξύεσκ Dübner: ξυέσκ.
2 ἀκρατηρίῳ Wolf: ἀκρατηρίῳ.
δεκακιστικής. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐρόμενον διὰ τὶ ὅλον ἄναρχος ἄλλοις ποιαί, εἰπεν ὅτι καὶ αἱ ἀκόνια αὐταὶ μὲν τέμενες ὅν διὰναλείπει τὸν δὲ Σοφοκλῆς τριμικτὸν ποιήσειν. εἰς δὲ οἱ καὶ τέχνῃς αὐτῶν λέγουσι συγγεγραφέναι, αἱ δὲ ὑπὸ μεθόδου ἄλλα ἀπελθεῖν χρῆσιμαί. πολλὴν δὲ συνέποτ' εἰςέπραξε μισθὸν. προσέστητε δὲ τὸς γνωρίσιοι εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀπαντῶν ἀναφέρειν αὐτῷ τὰ εἰρημένα. ἐλπιθῆ ὅτι καὶ οὐ μετρίως ἐπὶ τῷ Σωκράτους θανάτῳ καὶ μελανειμονῶν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ προῆλθε. πάλιν δὲ ἐρωμένος τινὸς αὐτῶν τῆς φητορικῆς, εἴπε "τὰ μὲν μικρὰ μεγάλα τὰ δὲ μεγάλα μικρὰ ποιεῖν." ἐστιόμενοις δὲ ποτὲ παρὰ Νικοκρέως τῷ Κύπρου τυράννῳ, προτερπομένων αὐτῶν τῶν παρόντων διαλεγόμενοι, εἶπε "οἷς μὲν ἑγὼ δεινὸς ὁ νῦν καιρὸς, οἷς δὲ ὁ νῦν καίρος ἐγὼ ἑγὼ δεινός." Σοφοκλέα δὲ τὸν τραγικὸν θεσσάμενοι ἐπάνειον ἔρωτικῶς παιδί, εἶπεν "οὐ μόνον δει, 839 Σοφόκλεις, τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν παρ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀφθαλμοὺς." τοῦ δὲ Κυμαίλου Ἐφόρου ἄ- πρακτος τῆς σογιαίς ἐξελθόντος καὶ πάλιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Δημοφίλου περιπέμποντο ἐπὶ δευτέρῳ μισθῷ, παίξον Δέφροφον 2 αὐτὸν ἐκάλει ἐσπούδασε μὲν ἅτοι ἰκανῶς περὶ τοῦ ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς ὑπόθεσιν τῆς χρειάς αὐτὸς ὑπεθήκατο. ἔγενετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφορ- δίσια καταφερῆς, ὡς ὑποπάστῳ παρειλκυσμένη ἐν τῇ καίτη χρῆσθαι, κρόκῳ διάβροχον ἔχοντα τὸ

1 Corines from Photius: τεμένε.  
2 Δέφροφον Αμυγδ.: δέφρον.
was asked how he, not being a good speaker himself, could make others so, he replied that whetstones cannot themselves cut, but make iron fit to do so. Some say that he also wrote textbooks of oratory, others that in his teaching he made use of practice, not of method. He never demanded a fee from a fellow-citizen. When his pupils went to meetings of the assembly, he told them to report to him what was said there. He was greatly grieved by the death of Socrates, and the next day he appeared in black clothing. And again, when someone asked him "What is oratory?" he said, "the art of making small things great and great things small." And once when he was a guest at a banquet in the house of Nicocreon, despot of Cyprus, and some of those present urged him to discourse, he said, "for subjects in which I am competent this is not the time; in the subjects for which this is the time I am not competent." 

When he saw the tragic poet Sophocles amorousely following a boy, he said, "Sophocles, we must not only keep our hands to ourselves, but our eyes as well." And when Ephorus of Cumaia had left his school without learning anything and had been sent back by his father with a second tuition-fee, he called him in fun Diphorus (Twice-bringer); he took, however, great pains with him and even suggested to him the subject of his work. He showed himself also prone to sexual indulgence; he used an additional mattress beside him on his bed and kept his

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* The great work of Ephorus was a history of the world (primarily of Greece) from the return of the Heracleidae to the siege of Perinthus in 340 B.C. From this work Plutarch and others derived much of their information. Ephorus was born early in the fourth century and died about 320 B.C.
(839) προσκεφάλαιον. καὶ νέον μὲν ὄντα μὴ γῆμαι, Β γηράσαντα δ' ἔπαιρα συνεῖναι ἡ ὀνομα ἡν Λαγίσκη, εὖ γὰρ ζωγράφοι κινεῖν ὁ γενόμενον ἐτῶν διόδεκα πρό γάμων ἐτελεύτησεν. ἔσειτα Πλαθάνην τὴν Ἰσπίλου τοῦ βήτρος γυναῖκα ἡ γάγετο τρεῖς παιδὰς ἔχουσαν, ὧν τὸν Ἀφαρέα ὁς προείρηται ἔσπουσα, ὡς καὶ εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ χαλκὴν ἀνέβηκε πρὸς τῷ 'Ολυμπίειῳ ἐπὶ κίονος καὶ ἐπέγραφεν

'Ἰσοκράτους Ἀφαρέας πατρὸς εἰκόνα τήν ἀνέβηκε

Ζητεῖ, θεὸς τε σέβων καὶ γονέων ἀρετήν.

Ὁ λέγεται δὲ καὶ κελητίσας 1 ἔτι παῖς ὄν ἀνάκειται γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦ ἐν τῇ σφαιρίστρα τῶν Ἀρρηφόρων κελητίσων 2 ἐτὶ παῖς ὄν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος τῶν τῶν Μεγακλείδου, πρὸς ὅν τῷ νόσῳ δ' ἐν ἀπατή τῇ βίῳ συνέστησαν αὐτῷ ἀγάπην: πρῶτος μὲν εἰς ἀντίδοσι προκαλεσάμενον αὐτὸν Μεγακλείδου, πρὸς ὅν ὁ θεὸς ἀπήρθησε διὰ νόσου, τὸν δ' νόσον πέμψαν 'Ἀφαρέα ἐνίκησεν· δεύτερος δὲ Λυσιμάχου αὐτοῦ προκαλεσάμενον περὶ τριπαρχίας ἐν ἀντίδοσι ἡττήθης δὲ τῇ τριπαρχίᾳ ὑπέστη. τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ γρατίζει εἰκόνων ἐπὶ Πομπείων. δ' Ἀφαρέας συνεγράφει μὲν λόγους ὧν πολλοὺς δὲ, δικαίως τε καὶ συμβουλευτικοὺς ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ πραγμάτειας περὶ ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα,

1 Ὄλυμπίειον Wytenbach: Ἀλυμπίειῳ ὄς.
2 κελητίσων Turnebus: κελητίσως.
3 κελητίσων Turnebus: κελητίσων.

* Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 309. The column and statue existed in the time of Pausanias (Paus. i. 18. 6). A bust in the Villa Albani in Rome may be a late copy of the head of this statue or, more probably, since Leochares was a famous sculptor, of the statue at Eleusis mentioned above.
pillow wet with saffron. And when he was young he did not marry, but in his old age he kept a mistress named Lagisē, by whom he had a daughter who died unmarried at twelve years of age. Then he married the daughter of the orator Hippias, Plathanē, who had three sons, one of whom, Aphaeus, as has been said above, he adopted. This Aphaeus dedicated a bronze statue of him near the Olympicum on a column with the inscription:

Aphaeus set up this statue his father Isocrates' image.
Sacred to Zeus, to exalt gods and his ancestors' worth.

And it is said that he rode a horse in a race when he was still a boy; for a bronze figure of him as a boy riding a horse is set up on the Acropolis in the ballet-ground of the Arephoroi, as some have said. In all his life but two lawsuits were brought against him: first when Megaleides challenged him to an exchange of property. He did not appear in court in this suit, because he was ill, but sent his son Aphaeus and won his case. The second suit was when Lysimachus challenged him to exchange property in connexion with the trierarchy; and this case he lost and performed the trierarchy. There was also a painted portrait of him in the Pompeium. Aphaeus wrote speeches, both juridical and deliberative, but not many. He also composed about thirty-seven tragedies, but the authorship of two of them is contested.

\[ This seems to have been situated near the north-west wall of the Acropolis, west of the Erechtheum: cf. Judeich, Topographie von Athen, p. 283. Two maidens were chosen each year to carry the peplos at the Panathenale festival and were called Arephoroi. \]

\[ See note on 337 v. \]

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

Διν ἀντιλέγονται δύο. ἄρξαμενος δ' ἀπὸ Λυσι-(339) στράτου διδάσκειν ἄχρι Σωσιγένειος ἐν ἔτεσιν εἰκοσικικῶν διδασκαλίας ἀστικῶς καθῆκεν ἕως καὶ δις ἐνίκης διὰ Διονυσίου, καθεις καὶ δε' ἐτέρων ἐτέρως δύο Δημαϊκάς. τῆς δὲ μητρὸς αὐτῶν Ἰσιώρατου καὶ Θεοδώρου καὶ τῆς ταύτης ἀδελ-

φῆς Ἀνακοῦντος ἐικόνες ἀνέκεμτο ἐν ἀκροπόλει· διὰ

η τῆς μητρὸς παρὰ τὴν Ἰγνειαν χων κεῖται μετεπε-

γεγραμμένη, ἢ δ' Ἀνακοῦντος οὐ σοῦτεθυ. ἐσύ

δὲ δύο ωσποῦ, Ἀλέξανδρον μὲν ἐκ Κοίνου Σωσι-

κλέαδε δ' ἐκ Λυσιοῦ.

Ε’. ἩΣΑΙΟΣ

Ἐ Ἰσαίος Ἡρακλείδης μὲν ἦν τὸ γένος, παραγενο-

μενος δ' εἰς Ἀθηναῖα, καὶ σχολάσας . . . Λυσιᾶ

κατὰ τὴν τῶν δυομάτων ἄρμονίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷς

πράγμασι δεινότητα, ἢοτ' εἰ μὴ τῆς ἐμπειρίας πάνω

τοῦ χαρακτῆρα τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς, ὥσι ἂν διαγυνεῖ.

1 Ἀνακοῦντος Χυλαντέρ: νακοῦς.
2 Κοίνου Κελικὸ: Κοινοῦ.
3 Σωσικλέα Τυρενίους: οὐσικλέα (Λυσικλέα Διήλην)．
4 σχολάσας] Bernardakis, following Westermann and

Dübner, marks a gap to be filled with the name of Isocrates and

other words, e.g. Ἰουκράτης, φαινεται αὐθαυδής Λυσίος

(οτ ζηλοῦσ Λυσίοι).

8 380–368 π.τ.
9 340–341 π.τ.

When a poet (διδάσκαλος) wished to avoid the labour of

presenting a play he could delegate the management to a

hypodidascalous, another poet experienced in such matters.

We have many instances of this practice in the didascalical

notices, notably in the case of Aristophanes.

The City or Greater Dionysia were celebrated in March,

the Rural or Lesser Dionysia in the various demes of Attica

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Beginning in the archonship of Lysistratus he presented in the twenty-eight years to the archonship of Sosigenes six series of dramas at the City Dionysia and won the prize twice, Dionysius as his manager; and, other poets managing, he presented two other series at the Lenaean festival. There were statues of the mother of Isocrates and Theodorus and of her sister Anaco set up on the Acropolis; of these the statue of the mother is now placed, with a changed inscription, near that of Hygieia, but the statue of Anaco is gone. She had two sons, Alexander by Coenus, and Sosicles by Lysias.

V. ISAEUS

Isaeus was a Chalcidian by birth, but came to Athens and went to school [to Isocrates. He resembled] Lysias in his melodious diction and in his skillful arrangement and treatment of the subject matter in his speeches, so that unless a person were thoroughly familiar with the characters of the two men, he could not easily tell to which of the orators in December, and the Lenaean festival in December. At all of these dramas were performed, but new tragedies were not produced at the Rural Dionysia, and for a time the same was true of the Lenaean festival. A series of dramas comprised three tragedies and a satyr drama. The two prizes of Aphaerus are recorded in an inscription, I.G. ii. 2325 b (ed. min.).

* Statues erected to honour one person were not infrequently transferred to another by changing the inscriptions. Dio Chrysostom in his Oration to the Rhodians condemns this practice.

* Cf. Dion. Hal. De Isaeo Judicio, 2 χαρακτήρα καὶ Ασιανοῦ μαρτ το πλείστον σύντονα, "he emulated in the highest degree the character of Lysias."
πολλοὺς τῶν λόγων ῥαδίως ὀποτέρου τῶν ἰητώρων εἰσίν. ἤκμασε δὲ μετὰ τὸν Πελοποννησιακὸν πόλεμον, ὡς ἔστη τεκμήρισθαι ἐκ λόγων αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐμέχρι τῆς Φιλέππου ἀρχῆς παρέτεινε. καθηγήσατο δὲ Δημοσθένους, ἀποστὰς τῆς σχολῆς, ἐπὶ δραχμαῖς μυρίαις· διὸ καὶ μᾶλιστα ἐπιφανῆς ἐγένετο. αὐτός δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτροπικοὺς λόγους συνέτατε τῇ Δημοσθένει, ὡς τινες εἶπον. καταλέλουσε δὲ λόγους ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρας, ὃν εἰς γνήσιον πεινήκοντα, καὶ ἤδης τέχνας· πρῶτος δὲ καὶ σχηματίζειν ἠρέτο καὶ τρέπειν ἐπὶ τὸ πολιτικόν τῷ διάνοιαν· ὁ μᾶλιστα μεμίσθια Δημοσθένης. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτὸν Θεόπομπος ὁ κομικὸς ἐν τῷ Ἐνει.
many of the speeches belong. He was in his prime after the Peloponnesian War, as may be inferred from his speeches, and lived until the reign of Philip. He taught Demosthenes, not at his school, but privately, for ten thousand drachmas, whereby he acquired great distinction. And he himself composed for Demosthenes the speeches against his guardians, as some said. He has left behind him sixty-four speeches, fifty of which are genuine, and some rules of rhetoric of his own. He was also the first to give artistic form to his speech and to turn his attention to the urbane style of the orator; in which Demosthenes has closely imitated him. Theopompus the comic playwright mentions him in the *Theseus*.

VI. AESCHINES

Aeschines was the son of Atrometus, who was exiled in the time of the Thirty and helped to restore the democracy, and of Glaucothea. He belonged to the deme of the Cohocidae and was not of distinguished family or great wealth. When he was young and physically strong he worked hard in the gymnasium; and afterwards, since he had a clear voice, he practised tragedy; and according to Demosthenes he was for a long time under-secretary and regularly played as a third-rate actor with Aristodemus at the

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*Demosthenes, xviii. 261; xix. 246. The festivals in question are those held in the small towns of Attica. Aristodemus was one of the most noted tragic actors of his time. Born at Metapontum, he was granted Athenian citizenship and was one of the envoys (among whom were Aeschines, Demosthenes, and Philocrates) who made the peace of Philocrates with Philip in 346 B.C.*
(840) ἐν τοῖς Διορυσίοις διετέλει, ἀναλαμβάνων ἐπὶ σχολής Β τὰς παλαιὰς τραγῳδίας. καὶ ἐτι παῖς ὁν ἐδίδασκε γράμματα συν τῷ πατρί, καὶ μειράκιων ᾠν ἐστρατεύετο ἐν τοῖς περισύλλοις.  

1 ἀκροατὴς δὲ γενόμενος ὡς μὲν τις λέγοντις Ἰσοκράτους καὶ Πλάτωνος, ὡς δὲ Κακίλους Λεωνάμαντος, καὶ πολιτευόμενος ὡς ἀδικῶς ἐκ τῆς ἀναιτίας μερίδος τοῖς περὶ Δημοσθένην, ἐπρέπεισεν ἄλλας τε προσβελασάς πολλὰς καὶ πρὸς Φιλίππον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐφ᾽ ὑ γενεαλογίᾳ ὑπὸ Δημοσθένους ὡς ἀναγρημένου τοῦ Φωκέαν ἔθνους, ἔτι δ᾽ ὡς πόλεμον ἐξάψας, ἤνικα πυλαγόρας ἦρθη 'Ἀμφικτύσσει πρὸς 'Ἀμφισσέσισ τοὺς τὸν λαμένα ἐργαζόμενους. ἐξ οὗ συνέβη τοῖς Τοῦ 'Ἀμφικτύσσανος Φιλίππων προσφυγεῖν, τὸν δ᾽ ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰαχίου συνεργούμενον εὐπέθοθα τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τὴν Φωκίδα λαβεῖν ἀλλὰ συνεπόντος αὐτῷ Ἐρμοίδου τοῦ Σπαυδάρου Προβαλλοσιου ἐπομαχογόνος, τρίακοντα ψήφους ἀπέφυγεν. εἰσὶ δ᾽ οἳ φανεν ἐπηγράφαι μὲν τοὺς βήτοράς τοὺς λόγους, ἐμ-

1 περισύλλοι Hemsterhuis from Aeschines, False Legation, § 167: πολλοὶ.  

2 κατηγοροῦσα Reiske from Photius: κατηγοροῦσα.  

3 ὡς added by Dübner.  

4 τοὺς... ἐργαζόμενουs Wolf: καὶ (ὡς Εμπεριος) τὸν λαμένα ἐργαζόμενως.  

5 Προβαλλοσιου Προβαλλοσιου Photius; Προβαλλοσιου Wustermann; cf. Demosthenes, lx. (Against Neaira) 48, 123.  

* More accurately in Photius, the dramatic festivals held in the small towns of Attica. For the ancient accounts of Aeschines' career as an actor see O'Connor, Actors and Acting in Ancient Greece, pp. 74 ff. Kelly Rees, The Rule of Three Actors in the Classical Greek Drama, pp. 31 ff., has shown that the term "tritagonist" was invented by Demosthenes as an opprobrious epithet and it is applied in antiquity  

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Dionysiac festivals, repeating the old tragedies in his spare time. And while still a child he helped his father to teach letters, and as a young man he served in the patrol of the frontiers. After studying with Isocrates and Plato, as some say, but with Leodamas according to Caecilius, he was prominent in public life in the party opposed to that of Demosthenes, and was sent on many embassies, among them the one to Philip concerning the peace. For this he was accused by Demosthenes of having destroyed the Phocian nation and moreover of having stirred up war between the Amphissians, who were building the harbour when he was chosen as delegate to the Amphiictyonic Council, and the Amphiictyons; as a result of which the Amphiictyons turned to Philip for protection, and he, assisted by Aeschines, took matters in hand and conquered Phocis. But through the aid of Eubulus, son of Spintharus, of the deme of Probalinthus, who spoke publicly in his behalf, he was acquitted by thirty votes; but some say that though the orators composed their speeches, yet to no other actor than Aeschines; also that it meant, not "actor of third-rate rôles," but "third-rate actor"; cf. Bekker, Anecdota, p. 309. 31 ἀδοκιμότατος τῶν ὑποκρτῶν, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὀξεί καταραθμὸν.

* "Old tragedies" are those which had been performed in Athens before.

* But see below, 340 a, where the more probable statement is made that he had no teacher. Cf. the anonymous Life of Aeschines, 13, Quintilian, ii. 17, 19, and Blass, Die attische Beredsamkeit, 2nd ed., iii. p. 157.

* Aeschines was sent in 347 and 346 B.C. on two embassies to Philip concerning peace. The second is probably the one especially referred to here. In his orations On the Peace (346 B.C.) and On the False Legation (343 B.C.) Demosthenes attacks Aeschines and his colleagues.
(S40) ποιῶν δὲ γενομένων τῶν περὶ Χαιρώνειας, μὴ κέτι τὴν δίκην εἰσελθέναι. Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, Φιλίππου μὲν τετελευτηκότος Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ διαβαίνοντος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐγγράφατο Κτησιφῶντα παρακόμων ἐπὶ ταῖς Δημοσθένους τιμαῖς· οὐ μεταλαβόντως δὲ τὸ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν Ῥώδου, χιλίας δραχμάς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡττήσης οὐ βουληθεὶς. 

καταβάλλαι. οἱ δ’ ἀτμίας αὐτῷ προστιμηθῆναι λέγουσιν οὐ θέλοντες εξελθεῖν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἔλθειν εἰς Ἐφεσον ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου. τού δὲ τετελευτη- 

σαντος, ταραχὴς οὖσης, ἀπάρας εἰς τὴν Ῥώδου ἐν-

ταῦτα σχολὴ καταστησάμενος εἴδιδακεν. ἀνέγνω τοῖς Ῥοδίας τὸν κατὰ Κτησιφῶντος λόγον ἐπιθεικώμενος· θαμμαζόντως δὲ πάντων εἰ ταῦτ’ ἔδωκιν ἡττήθη ὡς έν, ἔφη, “ἔθαμαξετε, Ῥό-

διοι, εἰ πρὸς ταῦτα Δημοσθένους λέγοντος ἠκού-

σατε.” σωλήν τ’ ἐκεῖ προσκατέλυπε, τὸ Ῥοδιακὸν διδασκαλεῖον κλήθην. ἐπειτα πλεύσας εἰς Σάμων καὶ διατρίβων ἐπὶ τῆς νῆσου ὄλγον ὑστερον ἐπε-

λεύσανεν. ἔγενετο δ’ εὐφώνιοι, ὡς δὴλον ἐκ τινὸς ὀνοματεύθεις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Δημοσχάρους λόγου. 

Φέροντας δ’ αὐτοὶ λόγοι τέσσαρες, ὁ τε κατὰ 

Τιμαρχοῦ καὶ ὁ τῆς Παραπρεσβείας καὶ ὁ κατὰ 

Κτησιφῶντος, ὁ καὶ μόνον εἰςί νησίοι. ὁ γὰρ 

ἐπιγραφόμενος Δηλιακὸς οὐκ ἐστίν Ἀλσίνου· ἀπ-

εδείχθη μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κρίσιν τὴν περὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ

1 τήν περὶ Dübner: τοῦ περὶ.

The author’s extreme brevity reduces to two sentences the events of about eight years. The acquittal of Aeschines took place in 343 B.C.

Anyone who brought a suit against another for proposing
the suit never came to trial because the battle of Chaeuronia intervened. At a later time, when Philip was dead and Alexander was crossing over to Asia, he brought a suit against Ctesiphon for illegal conduct in proposing the honours for Demosthenes; and when he did not receive one-fifth of the votes cast, he went into exile at Rhodes, not being willing to pay a fine of a thousand drachmas for his defeat. But some say that he was further punished by disfranchisement and did not leave the city of his own accord, and that he went to Alexander at Ephesus. During the confusion following Alexander's death he sailed to Rhodes, set up a school there, and taught. He read to the Rhodians his oration against Ctesiphon as an exhibition of his powers, and when they all wondered that after delivering that speech he had lost his case, "You would not wonder, Rhodians," he said, "if you had heard Demosthenes speak in reply to it." And he left a school behind him there, called the Rhodian school. Then he sailed to Samos and not long after, while lingering on that island, died. He had an excellent voice, as is clear from what Demosthenes says and from the oration of Democharis.

Four orations are current under his name: that Against Timarchus, that On the False Legation, and that Against Ctesiphon, and these alone are genuine, since the one entitled the Delian Oration is not by Aeschines; for he was, to be sure, appointed associate advocate in the trial relating to the sanctuary a measure forbidden by law was subject to a fine and was debarred from bringing any similar suit if he received less than one-fifth of the votes cast by the dikeasts.

* Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 259, 308.
* In L.C.L. Aeschines, pp. 15 ff.
τοῦ ἐν Δῆλῳ συσταθείς συνήγορος οὐ μὴν εἶπε τὸν λόγον ἐχειροτονήθη γὰρ 'Ὑπερεξίης ἀντ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς θητοῦ Δημοσθένης... έσχε δὲ καὶ ἄδελφοις, ὡς φησὶν αὐτὸς, 'Ἀφόβητον' καὶ Φιλοχάρη... ἀπήγγειλε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν Ταμώνια μίκην πρῶτος 'Ἀθηναίοις, εφ' ὦ καὶ ἑστεφανώθη τὸ δεύτερον.

Οἱ δ᾽ εἶπον μηδὲ μακηνεύσαι τις τὸν Αἰσχίνην, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραμματείας ἀρθήναι ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις τοτε διάγοντα πρῶτον δὲ εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατὰ Φιλίππου, εὐθοκίσθωσιν τε πρεσβευτῆν εχειροτονηθῆναι πρὸς 'Αρκάδας: πρὸς τὸς αὖθις αὐτοὺς ἀναστήθη τὸς μυρίων ἐπὶ Φιλίππου. ἐγγάζοτο δὲ καὶ Τιμαρχοῦ ἐταιρήσεως: ὡς δὲ 841 ἐκλεπτῶν τὸν ἀγώνα αὐτοῦ ἀνήργησαν, ὥς ποῦ φησὶν Δημοσθένης. ἐχειροτονήθη δὲ πρεσβευτὴς ὡς Φιλίππου μετὰ 'Κτησιφώντος καὶ Δημοσθένους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐν ὧ ἀμείων τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἡμέρηθη· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον δέκατον ὅν, κυρώσας ἀρκείς τὴν εἰρήνην, κραθεῖς ἀπέφυγεν, ὡς προ-εἰρηται.

Ζ'. ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ

Λυκούργος πατρὸς μὲν ἦν Λυκόφρονος τοῦ Δυ-β κούργου, ὧν οἱ τρακαντα τύραννοι ἀπέκτειναν, αὐτῶν αὐτῷ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως γενομένου 'Αριστο-

1 Ἀφόβητον Westermann from Aeschines: ἄφεσιν.
2 Φιλοχάρη Wydenbach from Aeschines: δημοχάρη.
3 τὸ δεύτερον placed here by Franke: in ms. is after Ἀθηναίοις: cf. Aeschines, False Legation, § 189.
4 δὲ added by Westermann.
5 μέτα Franke: καρά.
6 δὲ added by Bernardakis.
at Delos, but he did not deliver the speech; for
Hypereides was elected in his place, as Demosthenes
says.\(^a\) He had, as he himself says,\(^b\) two brothers,
Aphobetus and Philochares. He was the first to
bring to the Athenians the news of the victory at
Tamynae, for which he was crowned a second time.

Some have said that Aeschines did not study under
any teachers, but rose from the under-clerkship in the
courts, which he held at that time. And they say
that his first speech before the people was against
Philip, by which he gained such reputation as to be
chosen envoy to the Arcadians; and when he came
to them he raised the ten thousand troops with which
to oppose Philip. He also prosecuted for unchastity
Timarchus, who gave up the defence and hanged
himself, as Demosthenes says somewhere.\(^c\) He was
elected envoy to Philip with Ctesiphon and Demo-
sthene to treat for peace, on which occasion he was
more successful than Demosthenes; and the second
time, when he was one of ten,\(^d\) he confirmed the peace
with oaths, was tried for it, and was acquitted, as has
been said above.

VII. LYCURGUS

Lycurgus was the son of Lycophron and grand-
son of the Lycurgus whom the Thirty Tyrants put to
death, his execution being brought about by Aristo-

\(^a\) Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) p. 271, 134.
\(^b\) Demosthenes, xix. (On the False Legation) 149.
\(^c\) Ibid. 2 and 285.
\(^d\) Aeschines, On the False Legation, 178.
(841) δήμου Βαττῆθεν, δς καὶ ἐλληνοταμίας γενόμενος ἐφυγεν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ τῶν δήμων δὲ Βουτάδης, γένους τῶν Ἐπειθετάδων. ἀκροατής δὲ γενόμενος Πλάτωνος τοῦ φιλοσόφου, τὰ πρῶτα έφθασαντεύσαν εἶτα καὶ Ἰσοκράτους τοῦ ρήτορος γνώριμος γενόμενος ἐπολεπύσαστο ἐπιφανεῖς, καὶ λέγον καὶ πράττων καὶ δὴ πιστευόμενος τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν χρημάτων τομῆς γὰρ ἐγένετο ὥστε τρεῖς πενταετηρίδαις ταλαντῶν μυρίων τετρακισικαλλίων, ἢ ὡς τινὲς μυρίων δικτακισικιλίων ἐξακοσίων πεντήκοντα, καὶ ὃ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτῷ ψηφίζομενος

Ο Στρατοκλῆς ο ρήτωρ, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον αἴρεθεν αὐτὸς, ἐπειτὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπιγραφάμενος τινα, αὐτὸς ἐπολειτά τὴν διοίκησιν διὰ τὸ φθάσαι νόμον εἰσενεγκεῖν, μὴ πλεῖον πέντε ἐτῶν διέπει τῶν χειροτονηθέντα ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια χρήματα, γεὶ τ’ ἐφεστὼς τὸς ἐργαὶ διετέλεσε, καὶ θέους καὶ χειμῶνος. καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευὴν χειροτονηθέντα πολλὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐπηρώθωσε, καὶ τρεῖςες παρασκευάζει τῶν δήμων τετρακισίων, καὶ τὸ D ἐν Λυκείῳ² γυμνάσιον ἐποίησε καὶ εσθήτευε καὶ τὴν παλαιστράν ὠκοδόμησε καὶ τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον ἐποιητῶν ἐπετελεῖσε.³ πιστευόμενος δὲ ἐν παρα-

1 Ἰωκείω Χυλλάνθος: λυκίης.
2 ἐπετελεῖσε the Turin editors from Muralia, 852 c.: ἐτελέσεις.
3 The Hellenotamiai were a board of ten members who collected and administered the tribute paid to Athens by the members of the Delian Confederacy.
4 338–326 B.C. The title of his office is not known. No regular office so extensive as this is mentioned in Aristotle's Constitution of Athens. He may have been in charge of the theoretic fund or the military fund, or both, by virtue of a special commission, which in the next generation became a 396.
demus of Batê, who also, after having been one of the Hellenotamiæ, a was banished under the democracy. Lycurgus was of the deme of the Butadac and the family of the Eteobutadae. He attended the lectures of Plato the philosopher and at first devoted himself to philosophy; then, after being a pupil of the orator Isocrates, he had a notable public career both as a speaker and as a man of action, and he was also entrusted with the management of the finances of the State; for he was made treasurer for three periods of four years in charge of fourteen thousand talents, or, as some say (and among them the man who proposed the vote of honours for him, Stratocles the orator), eighteen thousand, six hundred and fifty. He was elected in his own person the first time, but afterwards he entered the name of one of his friends, though he himself administered the office, because a law had previously been introduced forbidding anyone elected treasurer of the public funds to hold the office more than four years; and he was always intent upon the public business summer and winter. When he was elected to provide munitions of war he restored many edifices in the city, he provided four hundred triremes for the people, he constructed the gymnasium in the Lyceum and planted trees in it, he built the palaestra and finished the Dionysiac theatre when he was the commissioner in charge of that work. He took care of two hundred regular office; see Ferguson, Hellenistic Athens, p. 10, Tarn, Cambridge Ancient History, vi. p. 441. The period meant may be the quinquennium. * See Decree III, below, 8.62. Roughly equivalent to £3,026,000 or $15,130,000, or more at present values.

* Probably while he was in control of the finances. Cf. Dörpfeld and Reisch, Das griechische Theater, pp. 39 f.
(841) καταθήκη παρά τών ἑδιατών διακόσια πεντήκοντα
tάλαντα ἐφύλαξε, πομπεῖα τε χρυσά καὶ ἀργυρὰ τῇ
πόλει κατεσκέπασε καὶ νῖκας χρυσᾶς. πολλὰ δ’
ήμερα παραλαβῶν ἐξετέλεσε καὶ νεωσόκους καὶ
τὴν σκευοθήκην καὶ τῷ σταδίῳ τῷ Παιαθηναίκῳ
tὴν κρηπίδα περίεθηκεν, ἔξεργασάμενος τούτῳ τέ
καὶ τὴν χαράδραν ὀμαλὴν ποιήσας, Δεινίου¹ τινός,
ὅς ἐκέκτητο τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, ἀνέντος τῇ πόλει,
προείπαντος² αὐτῷ³ χαρίσασθαι Δυκούργον.⁴

Ε Ἑσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ἄστεος τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ τῶν
κακούργων τῆς σύλληψιν, οὐς ἐξῆλατεν ἀπαντας,
ὡς καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν ὑπὸς λέγεων Δυκούργον οὐ
mελαν ἀλλὰ θανάτῳ ἤρθον τῶν κάλαμοι κατὰ
tῶν ποιησάν, οὕτω συγγράφεων. ὅθεν ἔξαιρεν ἐν
αὐτῶν ὑπ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ δήμος οὐ
προῆκατο. καθ’ ὑπὸ δὲ χρόνων ἐπολέμει Φιλιππος
πρὸς Αθηναίων τὸν δεύτερον πόλεμον, ἐπρέσβευε
μετὰ Πολυνεύκτου καὶ Δημοσθένους εἰς τῇ Πελο-
πόνηρον καὶ τινας ἔτερας πόλεις. διεστέλεσεν τέ
τον ἀπαντὰ χρόνων εὐδοκιμῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις
καὶ δίκαιος εἶναι νομιζόμενος, ἀμφοτεροί καὶ ἐν
tοῖς δικαιοτηρίοις τὸ φήσαι Δυκούργον ἐδόκει βοήθημα
εἶναι τῷ συναγορευομένῳ.

Ἐπινεγκε δὲ καὶ νόμους, τὸν μὲν περὶ τῶν
κωμιδῶν, ἀγώνα τοὺς Χύτροις ἐπιτελεῖν ἐφαμιλλοῦν
ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ τὸν ἴκτηντα εἰς ἄστιν κατα-

¹ Δεινίου Cornes : Ἰσιδορ.  
² προείπαντος Ερρερίου: πρε ἐπαντάς.  
³ αὐτῷ added by Bernardakis.  
⁴ Δυκούργος Βερνάρδακίσ : Δυκούργος.  
⁵ θανάτῳ] αματ Αμιντ from Life of Solon, chap. xvii.
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and fifty talents entrusted to him on deposit by private persons, he provided for the city objects of gold and silver for use in processions and golden Victories, and many buildings which came into his hands half-finished he completed, among them the ship-sheds and the arsenal. And he put the foundation-walls round the Panathenaic stadium. This he accomplished, and also the levelling of the ravine, because a certain Deinias who owned this plot of land gave it to the city when Lycurgus suggested to him that he make the gift.

He was charged also with guarding the city and arresting malefactors, whom he drove out entirely, so that some of the sophists said that Lycurgus signed warrants against evil-doers with a pen dipped, not in ink, but in death. And therefore, when King Alexander demanded his surrender, the people did not give him up. When Philip was carrying on the second war with the Athenians, Lycurgus went as envoy with Polyeuctus and Demosthenes to the Peloponnesus and to some other States. Throughout his life he was always highly esteemed among the Athenians and considered a just man, so that in the courts of law the word of Lycurgus was regarded as a help to anyone requiring an advocate.

He also introduced laws: the law relating to comic actors, that a competitive performance be held on the festival of Pots* and that the victor’s name

* The third day of the Anthesteria, the thirteenth day of the month Anthesterium.
Λέγεσθαι πρώτον οὐκ ἕξον, ἀναλαμβάνων τῶν ἀγώνων ἐκλειπότα: τὸν δὲ, ἂς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖνα τῶν ποιητῶν, Διονύσου Σοφοκλέους Εὔριπίδου, καὶ τὰς τραγῳδίας αὐτῶν ἐν κοινῷ γραμματέως φιλάττειν καὶ τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέας παρακευματικού τοὺς ὑποκρινομένους οὐκ ἔτεκει γὰρ παρ᾽ αὐτῶς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. καὶ τρίτον, μηδενὶ δὲ ἐξελεύσαμεν Ἀθηναίοις μηδὲ τῶν οἰκονύμων Ἀθηναίων ἐλεύθερον σώμα πράσατε ἐπὶ δαυλείᾳ ἐκ τῶν ἀληθικομένων ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ πρότερον δεσπότου γυναῖκας. ἔτι δὲ, ὡς τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἀγώνα ποιεῖν ἐν Πειραιᾷ, κυκλών χορῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον τριῶν, καὶ διδονόθη μὲν τοῖς νυκτοῖς οὐκ ἔλαττον δεκα μνᾶς, τοῖς δὲ δευτέροις ὀκτώ, ἐξ δὲ τοῖς τρίτοις κρίθησατο. ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ ξεύγους μὴ ἀπειμαν ἡ γυναῖκα Ἐλευσινάδε, ὅπως μὴ ἐλαττώνται αἱ δημοτικαὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων· εἶ δὲ τῆς φωραθεῖς, ἀποτείνειν δραχμᾶς ἐξακοσιάς· τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ μη πειθείς, τῶν συκαφαντῶν φιλαρασάντων, τάλαντον Β' αὐτοὺς ἐδώκει· καθηγοροῦμενος δὲ ἐν υπότροφο ἐν τῷ

1 γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶς Bernardakis: γὰρ αὐτῶς.  
2 καὶ added by Dübner.  
3 ἔτι δ' added by Sauppe.  
4 ἀπειμαν Taylor: ἀπειμα.  
5 αἱ δημοτικαὶ added by Balder from Photius.

* The τραγῳδοί and κομῳδοί alone were eligible to be chosen by lot as protagonists for the tragedies and comedies to be presented at the City Dionysia, the subordinate roles being assigned to plain ὑποκρετα. Prior to the passage of the law of Lycurgus those only were eligible who had previously won a victory at the City Dionysia. The effect of the law of Lycurgus was, therefore, to increase the number of those from whom the archon could choose a κομῳδός for each of the five comedies to be presented. See Rohde, 400.
be inscribed as eligible for the City Dionysia, which had not been permitted before, and thus he revived a contest which had fallen out of use; the law that bronze statues of the poets Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides be erected, that their tragedies be written out and kept in a public depository, and that the clerk of the State read them to the actors who were to perform their plays for comparison of the texts and that it be unlawful to depart from the authorized text in acting; a third law that no Athenian or foreign resident of Athens should be permitted to buy from among captives a person of free birth to be a slave without the consent of his former master; furthermore, that a festival of Poseidon should be held in Peiraeus, consisting of no fewer than three cyclic choruses, that not less than ten minas be given to the victors, eight to those ranked second by the judges, and six to those ranked third; furthermore, that no woman should go to Eleusis in a carriage, lest the women of the people appear inferior to the rich, and if any woman should be caught doing this, she should pay a fine of six thousand drachmas. His own wife disobeyed, the informers caught her in the act, and he gave them a talent; and at a later time, when accused of this in the popular assembly,


* Prisoners of war were usually auctioned off into slavery regardless of their previous condition. If such a captive could prove his free birth through the testimony of the man who owned him when taken captive, he could not under this new law be purchased by any Athenian for slavery, cf. M. H. F. Meier, Comment. de vita Lycurgi, xxxix. ff.

* This refers to the great annual procession to Eleusis in the celebration of the mysteries of Demeter and Persephone.
(642) δήμω, ἡφι " ἀλλ' οὖν ἐγὼ μὲν διδοὺς οὐ λαμβάνων ἑωραμαί; τελώνου δὲ ποτ' ἐπιμαλάντος Σενοκράτης τῷ φιλοσόφῳ τᾶς χειρᾶς καὶ πρὸς τὸ μετοίκιον αὐτὸν ἀπάγωντος, ἀπαντήσας ῥάβδῳ τῇ κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ τελώνου κατήνευκε, καὶ τὸν μὲν Σενοκράτην ἀπέλυσε, τὸν δ' ὡς οἷς τὰ πρόποντα δράσαντα εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον κατέκλεισεν ἐπαινοῦμένου δ' ἐπὶ τῇ πράξει, μεθ' ἡμέρας τινὰς συντιχῶν τῷ Σενοκράτῃ τοῖς παιδι ἑαυτῶν τοῖς Λυκούργῳ, ἡφι " ταχέως γε τῷ πατρὶ ὑμῶν ἀπέδωκα, ὡ παιδες, ο τὴν χάριν ἐπαινεῖται γάρ ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐπὶ τῷ βοηθῆσαι μοι." Ἐθήνευκε δὲ καὶ ψήφισματα Ἐὐκλείδη τινὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ χρώμανος ἱκανοτάτῳ περὶ τὰ ψήφισματα. εὐπορος δ' ὡν ἱμάτιον ἐν καὶ ταύτω ἐφόρει τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους καὶ ὑπεδέδετο ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις. ἐμελέτα δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, οὐκ εὖ πρὸς τὰ αὐτοσχέδια περικτός, κλινόδου δ' αὐτῷ ὑποκειμένου, ἐφ' ὡς μόνον τὴν καίδιον καὶ προσκεφάλαιον, ὅποις ἐγείροντο ράδιος καὶ μελετή. ἐγκαλοῦντος δ' αὐτῷ τινος ὦν μισοῦσις. Ὁ σοφισταῖς δίδωσι περὶ λόγους διατρίβουσιν, ἀλλ' εἰ τις γ' ἐπαγγέλλοιτο, ἡφι, τοὺς νῦν αἱμείνους αὐτῷ ποιήσειν, οὐ χαλίς ἀλλὰ τὰ ἡμέρα τῆς οὔσιας προϊέσθαι. ἦν δὲ καὶ παρρησιαστὴς διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν. Ἀθηναίων γέ τοι ποτὲ οὐκ ἀνεχομένουν

1 ἀπάγωντος Corsses: ἀπαγαγόντως.
2 μι. Ἐθήνευκε Solanus: μόνις. Ἐθήνευκε.
καὶ ταύτων Bernardakis: καὶ ταύτῳ Meixiracius: καθ' αὐτά.
he said, "At any rate I am found to have been the
giver, not the receiver." And once when a tax-
collector laid hands on Xenocrates the philosopher-
and Lycurgus met him as he was leading him away
to enforce payment of his tax as a resident alien, he
brought his walking-stick down on the tax-
collector's head, set Xenocrates free, and shut the
other man up in prison for improper conduct. As he
was generally commended for his act, Xenocrates,
happening to meet Lycurgus's children some days
later, said "I have repaid your father quickly for the
favour he did me, boys; for he is widely commended
for coming to my assistance."

He also proposed decrees, making use of a certain
Olynthian named Euclides, who was an expert in
decrees. And although he was well-to-do, he wore
one and the same cloak winter and summer and put
on sandals only on days when they were necessary.
He studied night and day, since he had no natural
gift for extemporaneous speaking, and he lay on a
cot with only a sheepskin and a pillow on it, so that
he might wake up easily and study. When someone
found fault with him for paying money to sophists
although he made words his profession, he replied
that if anyone would promise to make his sons better,
he would pay him, not thousands only, but half his
property. He was an outspoken speaker on account
of his good birth. Once, indeed, when the Athenians

Crassus, 3, is not there connected with the Eleusis incident; and Aelian, Var. Hist. xiii. 24, expressly states that the
statesman's wife paid a fine after legal condemnation, not a
bribe to the informer.

1 The tax was twelve drachmas.

* Several decrees moved by him are extant, e.g. I.G. ii.3 337, 338.
(842) αὐτοῦ δημηγοροῦντος, ἀνέκραγεν ἐκβαλλόμενος "ὁ Κερκυραῖος μάστεξ, ὡς πολιῶν ταλάντων εἶ ἄξιος." πάλιν δὲ θεὸν ἀναγορευόντων Ἀλέξανδρον "καὶ πολεμῶν ἂν εἴη," εἶπεν, "ὁ θεός, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐξόντας δεῖσαι περιπράσεσθαι;" ἀποθανόντος ἔδει αὐτοῦ, παρέδωκαν τοὺς παῖδας τοῖς ἔνδεκα, Μενεσαίχμον μὲν κατηγορήσαντος γραψαμένου δὲ Ὁρασικλέους. Δημοσθένειος δὲ καθ’ ἂν ἐφευγεγράμμενος ἤπειρον ἐπιστελθεὶσας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὡς κακῶς ἀκοῦσαν ἐπὶ τοῖς Λυκοῦργοι παιδίοις, μετενόησαν καὶ ἀφῆκαν αὐτούς, Δημοκλέους τοῦ Θεοφράστου μαθητὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀπολογησάμενον. ἔταφη δ’ αὐτὸς καὶ τῶν ἐγκόσιαν τινὸς δημοσίας καὶ ἥτοι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ μνήματα ἀντικαθιστήσας τῆς Παιανίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν τῷ Μελανθίῳ τοῦ φιλοσόφου κήπῳ, τράπεζαν πεποιημένα, αὐτοῦ τε τοῦ Λυκοῦργου καὶ τῶν παῖδων αὐτοῦ ἐπιγραμμένα καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ Β’ σφηζόμενα. τὸ μέγιστον, χίλια διακόσια τάλαντα προσόδου τῇ πόλει κατέστησε, πρότερον ἐξήκοντα προσιόντων, μέλλων δὲ τελευτήσειν εἰς τὸ μυτρόν καὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐκελευσθεὶς αὐτὸν κομισθῆναι, βουλόμενος εἰδύνας δοῦνα τῶν πεποιημένων αὐθεντος δὲ κατηγορησάς τολμήσαντος πλὴν Μενεσαίχμου, τὸς διαβολὰς ἀπολυσάμενος εἰς

1 εἰς added by Correa.
2 περιπράσεσθαι Dübner: περιπράσεσθαι.
3 ἐφευγε Correa: ἐφευγε.
4 ἀντικαθιστήσας Herwerden: ἀντικαθιστήσας.

* The Coryccean whip was especially stinging, and the orator’s outbreak means: "I would give a great deal to use a cat-o’-nine-tails on you people."

9 Cf. Demosthenes, Epistle iii., and Aeschines, Epistle xii.

14.

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were showing dissent as he was speaking, he burst out with: "O Corecyran whip, how many talents you are worth?" And when they were proclaiming Alexander a god, "What sort of god," he said, "is he when those who come out of his temple have to sprinkle themselves with holy water?" After his death his sons were handed over to the eleven executioners on the accusation of Menesaechmus, the indictment being written by Thrasycycles; but when Demosthenes, who was at that time in exile, wrote a letter to the Athenians saying that their reputation was suffering because of Lycurgus's sons, they changed their mind and released them, Democles, a pupil of Theophrastus, speaking in their defence. He himself and some of his descendants were buried at public expense; and their monuments are opposite the Paeonian Athena in the garden of the philosopher Melanthius; they are in the form of tables, and those of Lycurgus and his children have inscriptions and are still preserved in our day. His greatest achievement was the raising of the State revenue to twelve hundred talents when it had previously been sixty. When he was at the point of death he gave orders that he be carried to the temple of the Great Mother and into the Bouleuterion, as he wished to give an accounting for his public acts; and when no one had the face to accuse him except Menesaechmus, he freed himself from his false accusations,
τὴν οἰκίαν ἀπεκομίσθη καὶ ἔτελευτησεν, ἔπειτα

νομισθεὶς παρὰ πάντα τὸν τοῦ βίου χρόνον καὶ ἐν

λόγοις ἐπαινεθεὶς· καὶ μηδένα ἀγῶνα ἄλοιπος, καὶ τοι

παλλῶν κατηγορησάτων.

"Εσχε δὲ τρεῖς παῖδας ἐκ Καλλιστοῦ τῆς

"Αβραώνος μὲν θυγατρός, Καλλίου δὲ τοῦ "Αβραώ

νος Βατβθέων ἀδελφής, τοῦ ταμιεύσαντος στρατιωτικῶν

843 ἐπὶ Χαιρώνδου ἀρχοντος· περὶ δὲ τῆς κηδείας

ταύτης λέγει ὁ Δείναρχος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Πιστίου.

catelipse de paides "Abrowa Lukiobryn Liko-

Φρων· οὖν ὁ "Αβρων καὶ ὁ Λικοῦργος ἀπαίδες

μετήλλαξαν· ἀλλ' ὁ γ' "Αβρων καὶ πολιτευμένος

ἐπιφανεῖς μετήλλαξε, Λικόφρων δὲ γῆμας Καλλι-

στομάχην Φιλίππου Αλξωνέως· ἐγένησε δὲ Καλλιστώ.

ταύτην δὲ γῆμας Κλέομπρωτος Δεινοκράτους Ἀχαρ-

νεύς· ἐγένησε Λικόφρων· τούτοις διέσχετο

ταύτης ἀπεστραφός Λικόφρων· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐτελεύτησεν

ἀπαίς· μετά δὲ τὴν Λικόφρωνος τελευτήσει ἐγέρθη
tην Β Καλλιστῶ Σωκράτης καὶ ἐσχεν υἱὸν Σύμμαχον τοῦ

δ' ἐγέρνετο Ἀριστοβόμος, τοῦ δὲ Χαρίμβης τοῦ δὲ

Φιλίππης· ταύτης δὲ καὶ Λυσάνθρου Μηδείως, ὁ

καὶ εξηγήτης εἰς Εὐμολπίδων γενόμενος· τούτω δὲ

καὶ Τιμοθέας τῆς Γλαύκου παῖδες Λασάμεια καὶ

Μηδείως, δὲ τὴν ηρωικὴν Ποσειδώνος Ἐρεχθέως

εἰχε, καὶ Φιλίππη, ἦτοι ἑράστῳ τῆς Αθηνᾶς

ὑπότοις πρῶτης δ' αὐτὴν γῆμας Διοκλῆς ο' Μελιτεός,

ἐγένησε Διοικλέα, τὸν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας

στρατηγήσαντα· γῆμας δ' οὕτως Ἡδίστημος "Αβραώνος

1 τοῦ βίου Corne from Phoebus: βίου.

3 Καλλίου Salmashus: καλλίου.

5 Πιστίου Meursius from Harpocrates: πατριοῦ.

4 Αλξωνέως Xylander: δεξιόνως.

5 Μελιτεός Coraes: Meliteus.
was carried to his house, and died,\(^a\) having been considered a honourable man throughout his whole life, and highly praised for his speeches. He never was convicted, though many brought accusations against him.

He had three children by Callistó, the daughter of Habron and sister of Callias the son of Habron of the deme Batê, the one who was treasurer of military funds in the archonship of Charondas.\(^b\) Deinarchus, in his speech against Pístius, tells about this connexion by marriage. He left three sons, Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, of whom Habron and Lycurgus died without issue. However, Habron at any rate had a distinguished public career before he died; but Lycophron married Callistomachê, daughter of Philippus of Aeaxônê, and had a daughter Callistó. She was married to Cleombrotus of Acharnae, son of Deinocrates, to whom she bore a son Lycophron, who was adopted by his grandfather Lycophron and died without issue. After Lycophron’s death Socrates married Callistó and had a son Symmachus. Symmachus had a son Aristonymus, he a son Charmides, and Charmides a daughter Philippa. Her son by Lysander was Medeius, who became an expounder of rites,\(^c\) being of the family of the Eumolpidae. He and Timothea, daughter of Glaucus, had three children, Laodamia and Medeius, who held the priestship of Poseidon-Erechtheus, and Philippa, who afterwards became priestess of Athena; but before that Diocles of Melîê married her, and their son was the Diocles who was general in command of the heavy-armed force. He married Hedistê, daughter

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\(^a\) His death occurred about 324 B.C.
\(^b\) 338–337 B.C.
\(^c\) At Eleusis in connexion with the Eleusinian Mysteries.
(843) Φιλιππίδης καὶ Νικοστράτην ἐγέννησε· γῆμας δὲ ὑπὸ τὴν Νικοστράτην Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Θεοφράστου ὁ δαδοῦχος ἐγέννησε Θεόφραστον καὶ Διοκλέα· διετάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Ποσειδώνος Ἀρεχθέως.

Φέρονται δὲ τοῦ βήτορος λόγο, δεκαπέντε. ἔστε- 
φανόθη 3' ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου πολλάκις καὶ εἰκόνων ἐτυχείν ἀνάκειται 3' αὐτοῦ χαλκῆ εἰκών ἐν Κερα
μικῷ κατὰ ψήφισμα ἐπ' 'Αναξικράτους ἄρχοντος
ἐφ' οὐ ἔλαβε καὶ σύνειν ἐν πρωτανείῳ αὐτὸς τε ὁ
Λυκόφρος καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκγόνων
κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ψήφισμα· ἀποδανόντος τε Λυκαύργου,
ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν παιδῶν Λυκόφρου ἡμιμυσθήτησε

Δ τῆς δωρεᾶς. εἶπε δὲ καὶ περὶ ἱερῶν πολλάκις,
γραφάμενοι Ἀδτόλυκος τὸν 'Αρεσπαγίτην καὶ
Λυσικλέα τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Δημάδη τὸν Δημέον
καὶ Μενάσαμον ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς, καὶ πάντας
ἐλευ. ἔκρινε δὲ καὶ Δικλίνον, ἐκ τῶν ἀργυρελῶν
μετάλλων τοὺς μεσοκρινεῖς, 4 οἱ ἐβάσταζον τὰ ὑπερ-
κείμενα βάρη, ὑφελόντα καὶ εἰς αὐτῶν πεπλουτηκότα
παρὰ τοὺς νόμους· καὶ θανάτου ὄντως ἐπιτιμίων
ἀλώνια ἐποίησε, καὶ πεντήκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς
οὐσίας αὐτοῦ ἐκάστη τῶν πολιτῶν διένειμε, τῶν

Επάνω τῶν συναχθέντων ταλάντων ἐκατὸν ἐξήκοιντα·
ἡ, ὡς τῖνες, μνάν. ὁ δὲ εὐθύνας Ἀριστογέλτου καὶ

1 τε ὁ Wytenbach: τε καὶ δ.
2 Δημέον Westermann: δημέον.
3 ἀργυρελῶν Baillier: ἀργυρελών.
4 μεσοκρινεῖς Xylander from Pollux, vii. 98: μεσοκρινεῖς.
of Habron, and had two children, Philippides and Nicostrata. Themistocles, the Torch-bearer,\textsuperscript{a} son of Theophrastus, married Nicostrata and had two sons, Theophrastus and Diodes. He also organized the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus.

Fifteen speeches of the orator are current.\textsuperscript{b} He was crowned by the people many times and was honoured with statues. A bronze statue\textsuperscript{c} of him stands in the Cerameicus, set up in accordance with a decree passed in the archonship of Anaxicrates,\textsuperscript{d} in which year Lycurgus and his eldest descendant were granted maintenance in the Prytaneum by the same decree. After Lycurgus died his eldest son, Lycophron, brought a suit for the grant. Lycurgus spoke also many times on religious matters, bringing suit against Autolyces the Areopagite, Lysicles the general, Demades the son of Demeas, Menecmachus, and many others, and he caused them all to be convicted. He also brought Diphilus to trial, who removed from the silver mines the rock props which supported the weight above and made himself rich from them contrary to the law; and though the penalty for this was death, Lycurgus brought about his conviction, and from the confiscated estate distributed fifty drachmas to every citizen, since the total sum collected was one hundred and sixty talents or, as some say, he distributed a mina to each

\textsuperscript{a} The Torch-bearer was an important functionary in the Eleusinian Mysteries. The office was hereditary.

\textsuperscript{b} Of these only the speech against Leocrates has come down to us.

\textsuperscript{c} The inscription on the base of this statue is probably preserved in \textit{I.G. ii.}\textsuperscript{3} 3776. Another statue stood not far from the Prytaneum; cf. Pausanias, i. 8. 2.

\textsuperscript{d} 307–306 B.C. See the Decree below, 851 ff.
κατήγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπωτάτω μὲν ἀπ' Ἕρεχθεώς τοῦ Γής καὶ Ἡφαίστου· τὰ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω ἀπὸ Λυκομήδους καὶ Λυκοῦργου, οὐς ἡ δῆμος ταφαίς ἐπήμενε δημοσίᾳ· καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ καταγωγὴ τοῦ γένους τῶν ἱεραπαμένων τοῦ Ποσειδώνας ἐν πάνακη τελείω, ὅσα ἀνάκειται ἐν Ἕρεχθεώς, γεγραμμένος ὑπ' Ἰσμηνίου τοῦ Χαλκιδέως· καὶ εἰκόνες ξύλων· τοὺς τε Λυκοῦργου καὶ τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ, Ἀβρωνος Ἡ Λυκοῦργος Λυκόφρονος, ὡς εἰργασάντο Τίμαρχος καὶ Κηφισιόδωτος, οἱ Πραξιτέλοις νεῖσι· τὸν δὲ πάνακα ἀνέθηκεν Ἀβρων ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ, λαχῶν ἕκ τοῦ γένους τῆς ἱεροσύνης καὶ παραχώρησας τῷ ἀδελφῷ Λυκόφρονι· καὶ διὰ τούτω πεποίηται ὁ Ἀβρων προσδιοδοὺς αὐτῷ τήν τρίαμαν. πάντων δ' ὅν διεύκησεν ἀναγράφην παιςάμενος ἀνέθηκεν ἐν στήλῃ πρὸ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κατασκευασθείσης παλαιότερας σκοπεῖν τῶν βουλαμένων· αὐτοίς μὲντοι ἐνυπήρθη ἐλέγξαι τῶν ἄνδρα νοσθειμοῦ. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον Ἀντικλέους στεφανόσκει καὶ εἰκόνα ἀναθέατα, ὅτι ἐπηγγελματί κρυσάοσεν τὸν

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1 Δηλώσει Βαλέσιος: δουλάτα.
2 Wytenbach suggests that ὁ δὲ φησι Ἀμποταφίθης be added.
3 Χαρεφόσεις Ταύλ: Σενοφάντο.
4 ἀποκαλάτω μὲν ἀπ' Turin edit. ἀπὸ Boétou καὶ Sauppe; ἀπὸ Boétou καὶ Bernardi μὲν ἀπὸ ταῦτα καὶ.
5 ξύλων Sauppe: ξύλων.
LYCURGUS, 848

citizen. He it was who called Aristogeiton, Leocrates, and Autolycus to account for cowardice. Lycurgus was nicknamed "Ibis."

As ibis for Lycurgus, for Chaerephon a bat.  

His family was derived ultimately from Erechtheus, the son of Gaea and Poseidon, but in the nearest generations from Lyceomedes and Lycurgus, whom the people honoured with funerals at the public expense; and this succession from father to son of those of the family who have been priests of Poseidon exists on a complete tablet which has been set up in the Erechtheum, painted by Ismenias the Chalcidian; and there are wooden statues of Lycurgus and his sons Habron, Lycurgus, and Lycophron, made by Timarchus and Cephisodotus, the sons of Praxiteles. But the tablet was put up by his son Habron, who received the priesthood by inheritance and handed it over to his brother Lycophron; and that is why Habron is represented as handing Lycophron the trident. And Lycurgus had a record made of all his acts as a public official and set it up on a tablet, for all men to see who wished, in front of the palaestra that he had built; no one, however, could convict him of embezzlement. He made the motion to crown Neoptolemus the son of Anticlea and to set up a statue of him because he had promised to gild the...

The drachma was worth, in silver, about 9d. or 18 cents, the mina 100 drachmas, the talent 60 minas. The sums mentioned are therefore roughly equivalent to £1:16s. ($60), £40,960 ($172,800), and £3:12s. ($18), but the fluctuations in the value of modern currencies render such calculations very inexact. See Decree III. below, 851 v-853 r.

Aristophanes, Birds, 1296 and scholium. But it was the grandfather of the orator and statesman to whom Aristophanes referred.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

844 boumol tov 'Apóllonos én ánogon káta tin manteian tov theou. éphilelato dé kai Dioskuré Í Diapheíthous Eudémoei timás épi Ktistiolous árho.nulos.

H'. ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ

Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους καὶ Κλεοβουλὴς τῆς Γύλουςθαυματός, τῶν δὲ δήμων Παιανείσθ, κατα- λειφθές ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἑτῶν ἑπτά μετ' ἀδελφῆς ἐν πενταέτιοι3 τῶν μὲν τῆς ἁρματας χρόνον παρὰ τῇ μετρί διήγε, σχολάζων Ἰοσκράτης ὡς τινὲς ἔφασαν, ὡς δ' οἱ πλείστοι Ἰωάνων Χαλκιδέων, ὅσ τιν Ἰοσ- κράτους μαθητής, διάγωσεν ἐν Ἀθήναις, ὁχλῶν Θουκυδίδην καὶ Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὡς τινὲς ἐπὶ προηγουμένως αὐτῶν4 σχολάζαι. ὡς δ' Ἡγε- σίας ὁ Μάγνης φησιν, ἐδείχθη τοῦ παιδακισμοῦ, ὡς Καλλιστάτου Ἐμπέδου Ἀφιδναίου, ὢτερος δο- κίμασε καὶ ἐπαρχήσαςται καὶ ἀναθέτως τῶν βασιλ. τῶν Ἐρωτᾶ τῶν άγοράς, μελλόντως ὑπ' τῶν δήμων λέγειν, ἀκούσας δ' ἑρατῆς ἐγένετο τῶν O οίκων, καὶ τούτων μὲν ἐπ' ἅλλοις ἡκουσίοι, ἐς τα ἐπεδήμειε. ἐπειδὴ δ' ο μὲν ἔφαγεν εἰς Ἐρώτην ὁ δ' ἑγερόντες ἐξ ἐφήβων, τηνικάθα παρέβαλεν'5

1 Dioskuré Westermann: διστίμον.
2 Γύλους Xylander: γυαλίκας τῆς.
3 πενταέτιοι Bernardakis: πενταετίοι.
4 δ' τινε... autēn Xylander: δ' (or of) τινε... autēn.
5 Εμπέδου Pausanias, vi. 16. 4: ἐρατής.
6 παρέβαλεν Dilhner: παρέβαλεν.

* This altar may have stood in front of the temple of Apollo Patroûs; cf. Juelich, Topographie von Athen2, p. 345, n. 4.

b 334-333 B.C.

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altar of Apollo in the Market-place in accordance with the God's prophecy. He also moved a decree granting honours to Diotimus, son of Diopeithes, of the deme Euonymus, in the archonship of Ctesicles.

VIII. DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes and Cleobulē daughter of Gylon, was of the deme Paeonia. He was left an orphan at the age of seven years by his father, along with his five-year-old sister, and lived during his minority with his mother. Some say that he went to school to Isocrates, but most authorities say that he went to Isaeus of Chalcis, who was a pupil of Isocrates living in Athens. He imitated Thucydides and also the philosopher Plato, whose instruction, some say, he followed with especial zeal. But Hegesias of Magnesia says that he asked his attendant to let him hear Callistratus of Aphidna, son of Empedus, a noted orator who had been a commander of cavalry and had set up the altar to Hermes of-the-Market and was about to address the popular assembly; and Demosthenes, when he had heard him speak, fell in love with oratory. Demosthenes heard him, it is true, for only a short time, as long as Callistratus remained in Athens; but when he had been banished to Thrace and Demosthenes had finished his service as ephbe, he went over to Iso-

6 He was born in 384 B.C.; cf. Orations xxx. 15 and xxi 154.
4 The bronze Hermes Agoraios was ὁ μεγάς τῆς ἄγους (schol. Aristoph. Ec. 207; cf. Paus. i. 15. 1) and παρὰ τῆς παντοδέως (Lucian, Iup. Trag. 23).
5 i.e. at the age of twenty. This service, designed to be a training for citizenship, lasted two years.

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(844) Ἰσοκράτει καὶ Πλάτωνι· εἶτα καὶ Ἰσοκράτει ἀναλαβῶν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τετραετῆ χρόνον αὐτὸν διεπόνεισε, μμασάμενος αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους. ὥς δὲ Κτημαθείδος φήσων ἐν τῷ περὶ Φιλοσοφίας, διὰ Καλλίου τοῦ Συρακουσίου παρίσας τοὺς τοῦ Σίθου τοῦ Ἀμφι- 
πολίτου λόγους, διὰ δὲ Χαρικλέους τοῦ Καρυ- 
στιοῦ τοῦ Ἀλκιδάμαντος, διελαβεῖν αὐτοὺς. 
Τελειωθεὶς δὲ, ἐλάττων παρὰ τῶν ἑπτερῆς 
παραλαβεῖν, ἔκρινεν αὐτοὺς ἑπτερῆς ἐπὶ Τιμο- 
κράτους ἀρχοντος, τρεῖς ὄντας. "Αφροβόν Θημιπ- 
Δημοφῶντα ἡ Δημιάνα· καὶ μάλιστα τοῦτον 
κατηγόρησεν ἀδελφὸν τῆς μητρὸς ὄντος, δέκα 
τάλαντα τίμημα ἐκάστη τῶν δικῶν ἐπιγραφῆς 
καὶ ἐλλευ αὐτοὺς· τῆς δὲ καταδίκης αὐτῶν ἐπράζοντο 
τοὺς μὲν ἀφείς ἀργυρίου τοὺς δὲ καὶ χάριτος. 
'Αριστοφῶντος δ' ἦδη τὴν προστασίαν διὰ γῆς 
καταλαβόντας, καὶ χορηγὸς ἐγένετο. Μειδιὰν δὲ 
τὸν Ἀναγυράσιον πλήξαντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ 
χορηγοῦντα εἰς κρίσιν καταστίχας, λαβὼν τρισ- 
χήλας ἀφῆκεν τῆς δίκης. λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἐπὶ νέον 
ὀντα εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπείναν κάκεις φιλολογεῖν τῷ 
ήμερῳ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐξωράμενον, ἵνα μὴ προέρχοντο·

1 αὐτῶν Xylander: αὐτῶν.
2 τοῦ Lambinus: τοῦ.
3 διελαβεῖν Dillim.: διελαβεῖν.
4 Θημιπᾶν Helske: θημιπᾶν.
5 ἀφείς added by Wolf from Photius.

5 364–363 B.C.
6 This is incorrect. The author seems to have confused Demophon and his father Demeas. Demosthenes accused Aphobus chiefly, and Aphobus was his cousin, not his uncle. Cf. Demosthenes, xxix. (Against Aphobus for False Witness) 50, also 6 and 90; xxviii. (Against Aphobus II.) 15; xxvii. (Against Aphobus I.) 4.
crates and Plato; then he took Isaeus into his house and for four years exerted himself to imitate his speeches. But Ctesibius says in his work On Philosophy that through Callias of Syracuse he obtained the speeches of Zethus of Amphipolis and through Charicles of Carystus those of Alcidas and that he studied them thoroughly.

When he attained his majority, because he received from his guardians less than was right, he brought them to trial for their administration, in the archonship of Timocrates. There were three of them: Aphiobus, Therippides, and Demophon or Demæas, and he accused the last-named especially, since he was his mother's brother. He fixed the penalty in each suit at ten talents, and he obtained conviction of all three defendants; but he exacted no part of the penalty, for he let them off, some for money and some as an act of grace. When Aristophon at last on account of age resigned political leadership, Demosthenes was even made choregos. And when Meldias of the deme of Anagyros struck him as he was performing his duties in the theatre as choregus, he sued him for the act, but on receipt of three thousand drachmas he dropped the suit. They say that when he was still a young man he withdrew into a cave and studied there, shaving half of his head to keep himself from going out; also that he slept on a

* Aristophon, a second-rate but influential politician, was especially active in the decade preceding the chreugia of Demosthenes, but no connexion can be perceived between his retirement and Demosthenes’ chreugia. He lived to be nearly 100 years old (650).

* An indication of Demosthenes’ restored fortune. The choregus was a wealthy man who equipped the chorus for dramas and superintended its training.
Ε καὶ ἐπὶ στενῆς κλίνης κοιμᾶσθαι, ἵνα διὰ ταχέως ἀνέμηται· τὸ τε ρώ μη δυνάμενον λέγειν ἐκπονῆσαι, καὶ τὸν ὄμον ἐν τῷ μελετῶν κυμώντα ἀπρεπῶς καταπαινεῖ, παραρτήσαντα ὑβελέσκον ὡς τινὲς ξιφίδιον ἐκ τῆς ὀροφῆς, ἵνα φοβοῦμαι ὑμηροῦ, προβαίνοντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν τῶν λόγων ἐσοπτρον ἴσημέγεθε, αὐτῷ κατασκευάζοις καὶ πρὸς τούτο ἀφορώντα μελετῶν, ἵνα ἐπανορθώσηται τὰ Ε ἐλλεῖποντα· καὶ κατιόντα ἐπὶ τὸ Φαληρικὸν πρὸς τὰς τῶν κυμάτων ἐμβολὰς τὰς σκέψεις ποιεῖται, ἵνα, εἰ ποτὲ βορβοῦσθαι ὁ δῆμος, μὴ ἐκσταθῇ τοῦ δὲ πνεύματος αὐτῶν ἐφεύοντος. Νεοπτολέμῳ τῷ ὑποκριτῇ μυρίας διανεῖ, ἵνα ὅλας περιόδους ἀπαντῶς λέγῃ.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῷ πολιτεύοντι προσῆλθεν, εἰς δύο διηρημένους τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ τῶν μὲν φίλιππιζόντων τῶν δ’ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑλευθερίας δημηγορούντων, τῆς τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων Φιλίππος τάξεως ἐπελεῖτο· καὶ διὰ πάντως τοῦ χρόνου διετέλεσε συμβουλεύων τοῖς κυβερνεῶντος ὑπὸ Φιλίππως γενόσθαι βασιλεῖς, συμπολιτευόμενος "Ὑπερείδη
d445 Ναυκλείᾳ Πολινεύκτῳ Διοτίμῳ" διὸ καὶ συμμάχους τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐποίησε Θηβαῖοι Εὐδοκεῖς Κερκυραῖος Κυρικλίδος Βοιωτοῦς, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους πρὸς τούτως. ἐκπεποιεῖ φετ’ ἔποι ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἄθυμῶν ἐβάδισεν ὅικεν· συντυχών δ’ αὐτῶ Εὔνομος ὁ Θραῖος πρεσβύτης ἢ ὁν προετρέπατο τὸν Δημοσθένη, μάλιστα δ’ ὑποκριτῆς Ἀνδρά-1

1 δ’ Westermann; δῇ.
2 δ’ added by Lamblinias.
3 δ’ δ’ Westermann; δῇ.

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narrow bed in order to get up quickly, and that since he could not pronounce the sound of R he learned to do so by hard work, and since in declaiming for practice he made an awkward movement with his shoulder, he put an end to the habit by fastening a spit or, as some say, a dagger from the ceiling to make him through fear keep his shoulder motionless. They say, too, that as he progressed in his ability to speak he had a mirror made as large as himself and kept his eyes on it while practising, that he might correct his faults; and that he used to go down to the shore at Phalerum and address his remarks to the roar of the waves, that he might not be disconcerted if the people should ever make a disturbance; and that because he was short of breath he paid Neoptolemus the actor ten thousand drachmas to teach him to speak whole paragraphs without taking breath.

And when he entered upon political life, finding that the public men of the city were divided into two parties, one favouring Philip and the other addressing the populace in defence of liberty, he enrolled himself among those opposed to Philip and always constantly advised the people to support the cause of those peoples which were in danger of being subjected by Philip, in which policy he was associated with Hypereides, Nausicles, Polyeuctus, and Diotimus; and thus he also brought the Thebans, Euboeans, Corcyraeans, Corinthians, Boeotians, and many others into alliance with the Athenians. Once he was hissed out of the assembly and was walking home feeling discouraged; but Eunomus of the deme Thria, who was already an old man, happened to meet him and encouraged him, and more than anyone else the actor
(845) μικος εἰπὼν ὡς οἱ μὲν λόγοι καλῶς ἔχοντι λείποι δῆ
Β αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως, ἀπεμνημόνευσέ τε τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ λελεγμένων καὶ δὴ
πιστεύσαντα τὸν Δημοσθένη παραδοῦναι αὐτοῖς τῷ
Ἀνδρόνικῳ. θευ ἄρομένου αὐτόν τινος τις πρῶτον ἐν βητορικῇ, εἶπεν "ὑπόκρισις"· καὶ τι δεύτερον "ὑπόκρισις"· καὶ τι τρίτον "ὑπόκρισις." προ-
ελθών δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας, νεωτερικῶς
τινα λέγων διεσύρετο, ὡς κομμωθήναι αὐτῶν ὑπ’ Ἀντιφάνους καὶ Τιμοκλέους

μᾶ γῆν μᾶ κρήνας μᾶ ποταμοὺς μᾶ νάματα.

ομόσαις. δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐν τῷ δήμῳ θόρυβον ἔκλησεν. ὃμως δὲ καὶ τὸν "Ἀσκληπιάν, προπαρ-
οξύσας "Ἀσκληπιάν" καὶ παρεδείκνυεν αὐτοῦ ὀρθὸς
λέγοντα· εἶναι γὰρ τὸν θεὸν ἢπιον" καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
C παλλάκεις ἐθορυβήθη. σχολάσας δ’ Εὐβουλίδη τῷ
dialectikῷ Μιλησίῳ ἐπηρεαθόσατο πάντα. γενέ-
μενος δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ "Ολυμπιακῇ πανηγύρει καὶ
ἀκοῦσας Λαμάχου τοῦ Τερενίαοὐ" Φιλίππου καὶ
"Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀγκάμιον ἀναγινώσκοντος Ἡθβάλων δέ
καὶ "Ολυμπίων κατατρέχοντος, παραναστὰς ἄρχαιον
ποιητῶν μαρτυρίας προηγεῖται περὶ τῶν Θηβάλων
καὶ "Ολυμπίως καλῶς πραχθέντων, ὡς παύσασθαι

1 τινος added by Meursius.
2 Tερενίαο[υ] Tερενίαυ Λαμίνινυς; Μυρωνίου Life of Demo-

sthenes, chap. ix.

A tragic actor of the first part of the fourth century B.C.
See O’Connor, Chapters in the History of Actors and Acting
in Ancient Greece, p. 78. Plutarch, Life of Demosthenes,
418
Andronicus, by telling him that his words were excellent but that his delivery was deficient, and then Andronicus declaimed from memory the speech which Demosthenes had delivered in the assembly; whereupon Demosthenes was convinced and put himself in the hands of Andronicus. Therefore when someone asked him what was the first thing in oratory, he replied “Delivery,” and what the second, “Delivery,” and the third, “Delivery.” And when he spoke again in the assemblies he was hissed for some new-fangled expressions, so that Antiphanes and Timocles made fun of him in their comedies.

By earth, by fountains, by rivers, and by floods, for it was by swearing in this way that he had caused an uproar in the assembly. He used also to swear by Asclepius, putting the accent on the third syllable from the end, though it is properly on the final syllable; and he offered a proof that he was right, for he said that the god was “mild” (ἐπίος). For this also he often provoked a clamour from the audience. But by going to school to Eubulides the Milesian philosopher he corrected all his faults. Once when he was at the Olympic festival and heard Lamachus of Tereina reading a eulogy of Philip and Alexander and decrying the Thebans and Olynthians, he stood up and quoted the words of the ancient poets testifying to the glorious deeds of the Thebans and Olyn-

chap. vii. assigns to Satyrus about the same relation to the orator’s training as is here assigned to Andronicus.

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

(845) τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Λάμακον καὶ φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας. Φίλιππος δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀναφέροντας αὐτὸ τὰς κατ’ αὐτοῦ δημηγορίας εἰπεῖν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ἀκολούθως λέγοντας Δημοσθένους ἔχειρο-
τόνησα τὸν άνδρα πρὸς τὸν κατ’ ἐμοῦ πόλεμον." ἐκαλεῖ δὲ τοὺς μὲν αὐτοῦ λόγους ὅμοιοὺς τοῖς στρατιωταῖς διὰ τὴν πολεμικὴν δύναμιν, τοὺς δ’ Ἰσοκράτους τοῖς ἀθληταῖς τέρτων γὰρ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς θεατρικῆς.

'Επὶ τὰ δὲ καὶ τριάκοντα ἕτη γεγονός, λογιζο-
μένους ἀπὸ Δεξίθους εἰς Καλλίμαχον, ἐφ’ ὅπως ἢν πρὸς Ὀλυμπίαν ἦκε προσβεία περὶ τῆς θησείας, ἐπεὶ ἐπείξοντο ὡς Φίλιππος τῷ πολέμῳ, ἔπεισεν ἐκ-
πέμβαι τὴν βοήθειαν τῷ δ’ ἔξης, ἐφ’ ὅπως Ὑπάτων ἐπελέυσε. Φίλιππος Ὀλυμπίαν κατεστρέφατο. ἐγὼ δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Σενοφῶν ὃ Σωκρατικὸς ἢ ἀρχόμενον ἢ ἀκμάζοντα: τῷ μὲν γὰρ τὰ Ἐλληνικά ἐπελεύσατο τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν Μαντινείᾳ μάχην, ἀρχοντα δὲ Χαρίκλειδην ὃ δὲ δ’ πρώτοτοι ἐπί τιμοκράτους εἶλε τοὺς ἐπιστρέφουσαν. φεύγοντος δ’ Ἀλεξίδου μετὰ τὴν καταδίκην, ἕπειρα κατεδώξεν αὐτὸν τῷ δ’ ὀνειβέντος αὐτὸν συλλαμβάνεσθαι καὶ προσπεσόντος ἢ καὶ συγκαλυψαμένου, ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν παρεμφι-
θήσατο καὶ τάλαντον ἕως ἄργυρων. καὶ συν-
εβούλευσε δὲ τῷ δήμῳ ξενικὸν ἐν Θάσῳ τρέφειν,

1 Xylander from Photius: πολεμικήν.
2 ἡδὴ ἡ ἔδρα Σαρπί.
thians, with the result that Lamachus was silenced and fled from the festival. And Philip said to those who reported to him the public speeches of Demosthenes against him, "I myself, if I had heard Demosthenes speak, would have elected the man general to carry on the war against me." And Philip used to say that Demosthenes' speeches were like soldiers because of their warlike power, but those of Isocrates were like athletes, because they afforded pleasure like that of a show.

When he was thirty-seven years old, reckoning from the archonship of Dexitheus, to that of Callimachus, who was in office when an embassy came from the Olynthians asking for help because they were being hard pressed by Philip in the war, he persuaded the Athenians to send the help; but in the following year, in which Plato died, Philip overthrew the Olynthians. Xenophon, the follower of Socrates, knew him either in his youth or in his prime; for Xenophon's Hellenica ended with the battle of Mantinea and the archonship of Charicles, and Demosthenes had already before that time, in the archonship of Timocrates, caused the conviction of his guardians. When Aeschines fled after his condemnation, he followed him on horseback, and Aeschines, thinking he was arresting him, fell at his feet and covered his head, but Demosthenes raised him up, encouraged him, and gave him a talent of silver. And he advised the people to support a force honoured by the city with a golden crown. The case was tried in 320 B.C., when Aeschines delivered his oration Against Clasiaphon and Demosthenes his oration On the Crown. Aeschines received less than one-fifth of the votes of the dicasists, and was therefore condemned to pay a fine of 1000 drachmas and to forfeit the right to bring any similar suit.
καὶ ἐπὶ τοὐτῷ τριτάρχης ἐξεπλευσε. συτώνης δὲ γενόμενος καὶ κατηγορηθεὶς κλοπῆς ἀφελθεὶς. Φιλίππου δ’ Ἐλάτειαν καταλαβομένου καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μαχηταμένους συνεξῆλθεν ὅτε καὶ δοκεῖ τὴν τάξειν λυπεῖν, φεύγοντος δ’ αὐτοῦ βάτον ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς χλαμύδος, τὸν δ’ ἐπιστραφέντα εἶπεν “ξόγρη,” εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἐπίσημον ἐπὶ τῆς ἀστίδος “ἀγαθῇ τίχῃ.” ἐπε μέντοι τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἐπὶ τοῖς πεσοῦσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ προσελθὼν καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐπιμελείης χειροτονηθές ἀπὸ τῆς 846 ὦδεις οὐσίας εἰσήγηκε τὸ ἀναλωθὲν ἀργυρίῳ, μναῖς ἐκατόν· ἐπέδωκε δὲ καὶ θεωροῖς μυρίας· τριήμερως τ’ ἐπιβάς περιεπλευσε τοὺς συμμάχους ἀργυρολογοῦν, ἐφ’ οἷς πολλάκις ἐστεφανώθη, πρότερον μὲν ὑπὸ Δημομελουὸς Ἀριστοτίκου ὁ περείβου ἱμηρὸν στεφάνα, τελευταίον δ’ ὑπὸ Κτησιοβόντος· καὶ γραφέντος τοῦ ψηφίσματος παρανόμων ὑπὸ Διοδότου καὶ Αἰσχίνου, ἀπολογοῦμενος ἐνίκησεν, ὅτε τῷ πέμπτον μέρος τῶν ψήφων τὸν ἐδώκοντα μὴ μεταλαβεῖν.

"Τότερον δ’ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατευομένου καὶ φυγόντος Ἀρπαλοῦ μετὰ χρημάτων

1 δ’ε ᾿Wyntenbach: δὲν.
2 ἀγαθῇ τίχῃ Dübner from Life of Demosthenes, chap. xx.: ἀγαθῇ τίχῃ.
3 Ἀριστοτίκου ᾿Lambinus: ἀρστατελείου.

* In 338 B.C., when Philip destroyed the independence of Greece.
* Apparently a jest in connexion with the story of his cowardice.
* This indicates that he had not disgraced himself.
DEMOSTHENES, 845–846

of mercenaries at Thasos, and sailed out as commander of a trireme on that occasion. After he had been in charge of the food supply he was accused of embezzlement but was acquitted. When Philip had taken Elateia Demosthenes himself went out with those who fought at Chaeroneia, on which occasion it appears that he deserted his post, and that, as he was running away, a bramble-bush caught his cloak, whereupon he turned and said, "Take me alive." And he had as a device on his shield the words "With good fortune." However, he delivered the funeral address for those who fell. And after that, directing his efforts to the improvement of the city and being elected commissioner in charge of the fortifications, he contributed out of his own pocket the funds expended, amounting to one hundred minae; he also presented ten thousand drachmas for sacred envoys, and he made a cruise in a trireme to the allied cities collecting money. For these activities he was crowned many times, on earlier occasions on motions offered by Demomeles, Aristicus, and Hypereides with golden crowns, and the last time on the motion of Ctesiphon; and when the decree granting this honour was attacked as illegal by Diodotus and Aeschines, he was so successful in his defence that the accuser did not receive one-fifth of the votes.

And at a later time, when Alexander was campaigning in Asia and Harpalus came fleeing to Athens

4 On these contributions cf. Aeschines, Ill. (Against Ctesiphon) 17, and Demosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown) 118.

4 Delegations sent to sacred places to attend festivals and the like.

7 Harpalus, treasurer of Alexander, embezzled a large sum and fled first to Tarsus, then, in 334 B.C., to Greece.
846) εἰς Ἀθήνας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκάλυψεν αὐτὸν εἰσ- 
αποδέχθηκαί· ἐπειδή δὲ εἰσέπλευσε, λαβὼν δαρεικῶς 
Βούλευσε μετετάξατο· Βούλευσεν τῇ Ἀθηναίων 
Ἀντιπάτρῳ παραδοθῆναι τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀντεῖπεν, 
ἐγραφέ τ' ἀποθέσας τὰ χρήματα εἰς ἀκρόπολιν 
μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἀριθμόν εἰπόντα· φήσαντο δ' 
Ἀρσάλου ἐπτακόσια συγκατακομμέσαι τάλαντα, τὰ 
ἀνεσχέτα ταῖς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εὐρέθει τριακόσια 
καὶ πεντήκοντα; ἡ δὲ πλείονα ὡς φήσαι Θεόλο- 
χορος· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα φυγόντος Ἀρσάλου ἐκ τοῦ 
δεσμωτηρίου, εὖ δὲ εὐφυλάσσετο μέχρις ἂν ἀφίκηται 
tis παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρων, καὶ ποιευθέντος εἰς τὴν 
Κρήτην ᾗ ὡς ἔνοικο ἐπὶ Ταύραρον τῆς Λακωνικῆς, 
C αἰτίαν ἔχειν ὁ Δημοσθένης διωροδοκίας, ὡς δὲ 
tou tov méte tov árithmou tov ánakaumóthtovn me-
μηνικῶς méte tivn fylasóntovn ámbeleivn, 
eisachthēs δ᾽ eis dikasthērio ὑπὸ Ὕπερείδου Πυθέων 
Μενεσαίχου Ἰμεραίου Πατροκλέους; 4 οἴ ἐπισήμων 
kataghōn ēn aítia tivn ès Ἀρείου págou boylēn, 
kai álous ἐφυγε, pontaplasía ἀποτίσαι μὴ dyná-
mevos (εἰχε δ᾽ αἰτίαν τριάκοντα τάλαντα λαβεῖν), ἢ 
ὡς ἔνοικο σὐν ὑπομείνα ἀν τὴν κρίσιν. μετά δὲ τούτων 
tivn chrónon tivn Ἀθηναίων Πολυφίλου περιβάλλων 
D πρεσβευτῆν πρὸς τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, ὡς, 
ἀποστῆναι αὐτοῖς τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων συμμαχίας, 
καὶ τοῦ Πολυφίλου πείται μὴ δυναμένου, ἐπι-
φανεῖς Δημοσθένης καὶ συνεισών ἐπείσεν. ἐφ᾽ ὡς 
βασιλεσθεὶς μετὰ χρόνον τινά κάθαρον εὑρεῖτο, ψήφι-

1 Photius: ἦς.
2 συγκατακομμέσι ... εὑρέθη supplied from Photius.
3 τριάκοσια καὶ πεντήκοντα Dibner: ἡ πεντήκοντα max.; 
ἐκτὸ καὶ τριάκοσια Photius.
4 ὡς Westermann: καὶ.
with money, at first Demosthenes kept him from being admitted, but after he had entered the harbour, Demosthenes accepted one thousand darics and changed his attitude, and when the Athenians wished to surrender the man to Antipater, he spoke against it and made a motion that Harpalus deposit the money on the Acropolis without even stating the amount to the people; and although Harpalus stated that he had brought with him seven hundred talents, that which was taken up to the Acropolis was found to amount to only three hundred and fifty or a little more, as Philochorus says. And after this, when Harpalus escaped from the prison in which he was being kept until a representative of Alexander should arrive, and had gone to Crete or, as some say, to Taenarum in Laconia, Demosthenes was accused of bribe-taking and of having this reason for not mentioning the amount of the money taken up or the carelessness of the guard. He was brought to trial by Hypereides, Pytheas, Menesaechmus, Himeraeus, and Patrocles, and they obtained his conviction by the Senate of the Areopagus; and after his conviction he went into exile, not being able to pay back five times the amount (he was accused of having accepted thirty talents), or, as some say, he did not wait for the trial. After this time the Athenians sent Polyeuctus as envoy to the commonwealth of the Arcadians in order to detach them from their alliance with the Macedonians, and when Polyeuctus was unable to persuade them, Demosthenes appeared to help him and did persuade them. For this he was admired, and after some time he was permitted to return, a decree in his favour having been passed.

\* Patrocleous Amyot (Vatic.): προσφέρει.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(846) σματος γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους ἀποσταλεῖσθησαί. τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων ψηφισμάτων οἷς ὁφείλε τριάκοντα ταλάντων κοσμῆσαι αὐτὸν τῶν βασιλῶν τοῦ σωτῆρος Διὸς ἐν Πειραιῶι καὶ ἀφεῖσθαι, τούτῳ γράφαμεν τὸ ψήφισμα Δήμωνος Παιανίου, ὡς ἦν ἀνεφικὼς αὐτῷ, πάλιν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἢν πολιτευόμενος.

'Αντιπάτρου δ' εἰς Δάμειαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐνυγκλειοθέντος, τῶν Ἀθηναίων εὐαγγελία θυόντων, πρὸς τινά τῶν ἑταίρων Ἀγησίστρατον ἔβη συ τὴν αὐτὴν γνώμην ἔχειν τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπίστασαι γάρ εἰπεῖν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας στάδιον μὲν πολέμειν καὶ εἰδότας καὶ δυναμένους, δόλιχον δὲ οὐκέτι.' Φάρσαλοι δ' ἐλόντος Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ πολιορκήσεως ἀπελούντος Ἀθηναίως, εἰ μὴ τοὺς βήτορας ἐκδοθέντας, καταλιπών ὁ Δημοσθένης τὴν πόλιν ἑξαγεῖ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Ἀγίων ἐπὶ τὸ Λάκειον καθεδούμενος, φοβηθεὶς δ' εἰς Καλαυρίαν μετέστη. ἐκδιδάσκει δὲ τοὺς βήτορας

F τῶν Ἀθηναίων ψηφισμάτων κάκεινον, καθέξοτο ἱκέτης ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδώνος ἱερῷ ἐλθόντος δ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν Ἀρχίον τοῦ Φυγαδοθήρου ἐπικαλούμενον, διὰ παρέβαλεν Ἀναξιμάντης τῷ βήτορι καὶ πείθουσαν αὐτὸν ἀναστῆναι, ὡς φίλων Ἀντιπάτρῳ γενησόμενον, εἶπεν δὲ διὸ ἐτραγῳδεῖς, ἐπειδὴ μὲ οὔτε μὴν πείσεις συμβουλεύοντα. τοῦ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντα βείζεσθαι, ἐκόλυσαν αὐτὸν οἱ κατὰ

1 γραφέντος καὶ τριήρους Pholtus: γραφέντος τριήρους.
2 οἷς Pholtus: εἰς ὃ.
3 ταλάντων κοσμῆσαι supplied by Bernardakis after Pholtus and Sintenis.
4 ἐν Dübner: ἐν.
5 τῷ Λάκειον Xylander: τῶν ἄκρασιν.

* A stadium was about equal to a furlong and was the usual short-distance run. The dolichos was twenty stadia.
and a trireme dispatched to bring him. When the Athenians passed a decree proposed by his cousin Demon of Paeania that he should use the thirty talents which he owed in adorning the altar of Zeus the Saviour at Peiraeus and should then be absolved, he returned on those conditions to public life.

When Antipater was shut up in Lamia by the Greeks, and the Athenians were making thank-offerings for the good news, he said to his friend Agesistratus that he did not agree with the rest about these matters, "for," he said, "I know that the Greeks have both the knowledge and the strength for a stadium dash in warfare, but cannot hold out for a long-distance run." When Antipater had taken Pharsalus and threatened to besiege the Athenians unless they surrendered the orators, Demosthenes left the city and fled first to Aegina to sit as suppliant in the sanctuary of Aeacus, but was frightened and changed over to Calauria; and when the Athenians voted to surrender the orators including himself, he took his seat as a suppliant there in the temple of Poseidon. And when Archias, nicknamed "Exile-Hunter," who had been a pupil of the orator Anaximenes, came to fetch him and urged him to leave his sanctuary, indicating that Antipater would receive him as a friend, he said, "Your acting in tragedy was not convincing to me, nor will your advice be convincing now"; and when Archias tried to use force, the authorities of the city prevented him, and Demo-

\footnote{This Archias was a tragic actor recorded as victor at the Lenaea circa 330 B.C. in I.G. ii. 2 2325 n. Plutarch, \textit{Life of Demosthenes}, chap. xxviii. names several other prominent Athenians "hunted down" by him, among them Hypereides. Cf. p. 441 below. Another version of Demosthenes' retort to Archias is given \textit{ibid.} 29.}
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τὴν πόλιν καὶ Δημοσθένης ἔφη "οὐ σωτηρίας δεόμενος κατέφυγον εἰς Καλαυρίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐλέγξιν 847 Μακεδόνας καὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν βιασμένους". αἰτήσας τε γραμματέων ἐγγραφεῖν, ὡς μὲν Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγος φησί, τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς εἰκόνος αὐτοῦ ἐλεγεῖν ἐπηγγεραμένον ὑπὸ τῶν 'Αθηναίων ὠστερον

εἰπερ ἵστην ράμην γνώμην. Δημόσθενε, ἔσχες, οὖποτ' αἱ Ἐλληνῶν ὤρξεν "Αρης Μακεδών.

κεῖται δ' ὡς εἰκῶν πλησίον τοῦ περισχούσιμοτος καὶ τοῦ βαμβώ τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν, ὑπὸ Πολυευκτοῦ πεποιημένη. ὡς δ' ἐνιοὶ φασί, τοῦτο εὐρέθη γεγραμένου "Δημοσθένης 'Αντιπάτρῳ χαίρειν." ἀποθανεῖν δ' αὐτῶν Φιλόχορος μὲν φησιν φάρμακον πιόντα, Σάτυρος δ' ὑσυγγραφεῖτο τῶν κάλαμων Β' πεφαρμόχθαι, ὃ γράφειν ἦρξεν τὴν ἐπιστολήν, οὖ γευσάμενον ἀποθανεῖν. Ἐρατοσθένης δ' ἐκ πολλῶν δεδοικότα Μακεδόνας περὶ τοῦ βραχίου κρίκον περικεῖσθαι πεφαρμαγμένον. εἰοί δ' οἱ φασὶ συναχόντα αὐτῶν τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθανεῖν οἱ δ' ἐποίην τοῦ κατὰ τὴν ὀφραγίδα φαρμάκου γευσάμενον. ἐβίω δ' ὡς μὲν οἱ τὰ πλεῖον λέγουσιν ἢτη ἐβδομήκοντα, ὡς δ' οἱ τὰ ἑλάττω, ἑπτά καὶ ἑξήκοντα. ἐπολυτεύσατο δὲ δύο καὶ εἰκόσιν.

1 καὶ τὰ Phulthus: καὶ κατὰ.
2 βιασμένος Dübner: βιασμένουs.
3 ἢ added by Dübner.
4 ἢβίω ... ἐπολυτεύσατο Salmastus from Phulthus: lacking in the mss.

* See Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. ii. p. 331.
* This was a large area in the Market Place which was enclosed at ostracisms, and perhaps at other times, within a
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...thenes said, "I took refuge in Calauria, not to save my life, but to convict the Macedonians of using force even against the sanctuaries of the gods," and asking for writing materials he wrote—so Demetrius of Magnesia says—the distich which was later inscribed by the Athenians upon his statue:

Had you possessed but the strength, Demosthenes, like to your spirit, Never would Macedon's war Greece to submission have brought.\(^a\)

The statue, a work of Polyeuctus, is placed near the Roped-off Enclosure\(^b\) and the altar of the Twelve Gods. But according to some authorities he was found to have written "Demosthenes to Antipater, greeting."\(^c\) Philocorus\(^d\) says that he died by drinking poison, but Satyrus the historian says that the pen with which he began to write the letter was poisoned, and he died by sucking it; and Eratothenes says that for a long time he wore a poisoned bracelet on his arm through fear of the Macedonians. There are those who say that he died by holding his breath, but others assert that it was by sucking poison from his seal ring. He lived, according to those who give the higher number, seventy years, according to those who give the lower, sixty-seven. He was active in politics twenty-two years.

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

\(^a\) These were the words usually employed at the beginning of letters.

(847) Ἡνίκα δὲ Φιλίππος ἐτεθνηκεί, λαμπράν ἐσθήτα προήλθεν ἔχων, καίτοι τῆς θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ νεωσει τετελευτηκώς, ἐφηδομένος τῷ τοῦ Μακεδόνος θανάτῳ, συνήργησε δὲ καὶ Θηβαίοις πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον πολεμοῦσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλλήνας ἐπέρρωσεν ἀεὶ διόπερ Θῆβας κατασκάψαι ἔχετεί παρ’ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτῶν, ἀπειλῶν, εἰ μὴ δοθήσαι. στρατευομένω δὲ αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Πέρρας καὶ αἰτοῦτε ναυτικόν παρ’ Αθηναίοις ἀντεθεῖ, ἀδηλου ἐπιστῶν, εἰ οὐ κατὰ τῶν παρασχόντων χρήσεται.

Κατέλυσι δὲ δύο παῖδας ἕκ μᾶς γυναικὸς τῶν εὐδοκίμων. Ἡλιοδότου τινὸς θυγατρός θυγατέρα δὲ μίαν ἔχειν, ἡ παῖς ἐπὶ οὔσα πρὸ γάμου ἐτελευτησεν ἐγείρει δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὴν, εἰς ἤς καὶ Λάχου. Ἐκκοσωλος ἀδελφιδίους αὐτῷ Δημοσχάρης ἐγένετο, ἀνὴρ καὶ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀγαθὸς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους οὐδενὸς χείρας. ἔστι δ’ αὐτῶν εἰκῶν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ ἐστιν τῷ ἐστὶν ἐν δὲξιός δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου εἰς τῷ ἤματι καὶ ξέφος: αὕτω γὰρ ἀποκαλεῖται λέγεται, ἡνίκα Ἀντίπατρος ἔχετε τούς ρήτορας. χρόνον δ’ ὑστερον Ἀθηναίοι σήμερον τ’ ἐν πρυτανείῳ τοὺς συγγενέσι τῷ Δημοσθένους ἔδωσεν καὶ αὐτῷ τετελευτηκότι τὴν εἰκόνα ἀνέθεσαν ἐν. ἀγορᾷ ἐπὶ Γοργίου ἄρχοντος, αἰτησαμένου αὐτῷ τὰς δωρεὰς.

1 ἔχετε Sintenis: ἔχετε.
2 εὐδοκίμω; Meziriaceus: εὐδοκίμω.
3 δ’ added by Dübner.
4 Λευκονομᾶs Westermann: λευκονόμωs.
5 ἐν added by Westermann.
6 ἔχετε Lamblinus: ἔχετε.

a 336 B.C.
b See Life of Demosthenes, chap. xxii.
When Philip died, Demosthenes came out from his house dressed in a white garment, in spite of the fact that his daughter had lately died, thus showing his joy at the death of the Macedonian. He also assisted the Thebans when they were at war with Alexander, and he always encouraged the rest of the Greeks; for which reason Alexander after razing Thebes demanded him of the Athenians and threatened them if they should refuse to surrender him. And when Alexander was making war on the Persians and called upon the Athenians for a naval force, he spoke against it, saying that it was not clear whether Alexander would not employ the force against those who furnished it.

He left two sons by one wife of noble family, daughter of a certain Heliodorus; and he had one daughter who died unmarried while still a child. He had also a sister to whom and her husband Laches of Leuconoë his nephew Demochares was born, a man both brave in war and inferior to none in political speeches. There is a statue of him in the Prytaneum, the first on the right as you go in towards the hearth, wearing both a cloak and a sword; for he is said to have worn this costume in addressing the people when Antipater was demanding the surrender of the orators. At a later time the Athenians voted maintenance in the Prytaneum to the relatives of Demosthenes and erected to him after his death the statue in the Market-place, in the archonship of Gorgias.

The grants to him were requested by his nephew

* The Prytaneum was the building in which the Prytanes who formed the executive committee of the Senate held their meetings. Maintenance in the Prytaneum was often voted in recognition of service to the state.

* See above, 847 A.

* 280–279 B.C.
τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Δημοκράτους· ὥς καὶ αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁ ἱδέας Λάχης Δημοκράτους Λευκονοεὺς ἱτήσατο δω-
Ερεάς ἐπὶ Πυθαράτου ἄρχοντος, δεκατὼν ὠστερὸν ἔστει, εἰς τὴν τῆς εἰκόνος στάσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καὶ
σίτησιν ἐν πρωτανέξῳ αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνων αἰεὶ τῷ
πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς ἀγώσι.
καὶ ἔστι τὰ ψηφίσματα ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ἀνα-
γεγραμμένα, ἡ δ’ εἰκών τοῦ Δημοκράτους εἰς τὸ
πρωτανέξιον μετεκομίσθη, περὶ ἦς προειρήται.

Φέρονται δ’ αὐτοῦ λόγοι γινόμενοι ἐξήκοντα πέντε,
φασὶ δ’ τινες καὶ ἀπαίτως αὐτὸν βιῶναι, γυναικεῖαις
τ’ ἐσθῆται χρόμενοι καὶ κυμάζοντα ἑκάστοτε, δὴν
Βάταλον ἐπικληθῆται: οἱ δ’ ὑποκοριστικῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ

Φ διάματος τῆς τρόφου λέγοντον αὐτὸν ὀτιοῦ κελει-
dορρήθωσαι. Δισχένης δ’ ὁ κύων θεασάμενος αὐτὸν
ποτ’ ἐν καπηλείῳ αἰσχυνόμενον καὶ ὑποχοροῦσα,
εἶπεν “ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὑποχορεῖς, τροστώς μᾶλλον ἐν
τῷ καπηλείῳ ἔση.” ἔλεγε δ’ αὐτὸν παρατικόπτων
ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις Σκύθην εἶναι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μάχαις
ἀστικῶν. ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ παρ’ Ἐφιάλτου χρύσιον
ἐνὸς τῶν δημαγωγῶν, ὁς προσβεβεβαῖος πρὸς βασιλέα
χρήματα φέρον ἢκε λάθρα, ὅπως διανείμω τοῖς
dημαγωγοῖς τὸν πρὸς Φιλίππου ἐξάψῃ πόλεμον.

848 καὶ ἕδρ’ αὐτὸν διωδοκηθῆσαι παρὰ βασιλέως φασὶ
dιαρκείας τρισχλίους. “Ἀναξίλαος” δ’ τινα Ὄρειτην,
ἐνοῦν αὐτὸν γεγονότα, συλλαβῶν ἐβασάνιζεν ὡς
κατάσκοπον, οὔτε δ’ ἐξειπότα ἐμφρισάτο τοῖς

1 Λευκονοεὺς Westermann: λευκονεὼς.
2 ἔτει added by Xylander.
3 δ’ added by Bernardakia.
4 “Ἀναξίλαος” Ἀνδρέων Demeosthenes, xviii. (On the Crown),
137. Aeschines, iii. (Against Ctesiphon), 223.
DEMOSTHENES, 847–848

Demochares, for whom in turn his son Laches, son of Demochares, of Leuconoë, asked in the archonship of Pytharatus, a the tenth year after, for grants extending to the erection of the statue in the Marketplace, maintenance in the Prytaneum for Demochares and his eldest descendant in perpetuity, and front seats at all competitive spectacles. And the decrees in favour of both are inscribed, but the statue of Demochares mentioned above was transferred to the Prytaneum.

Sixty-five genuine speeches of Demosthenes are current. Some say that he lived a dissolute life, wearing women’s clothes and indulging in revels on every occasion, on which account he was nicknamed Batalus b; but others say that this was a diminutive derived from the name of his nurse and was given to him in reproach. And Diogenes the Cynic, seeing him once in a tavern looking ashamed and trying to withdraw from sight, said, “The more you withdraw, the more you will be in the tavern.” And he jeered at him, saying that in his speeches he was a Scythian, but in battle a city man. He received money from Ephialtes also, one of the politicians, who had been on an embassy to the King of Persia and came secretly bringing funds for distribution among the politicians for the purpose of stirring up the war against Philip; and they say that he received a private bribe of three thousand darics from the King. He arrested a certain Anaxilas of Oreus, who had been a guest-friend of his, subjected him to torture as a spy, and when he confessed nothing proposed a decree

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a 371–270 B.C.
b Cf. Aeschines, i. (Against Timarchus) 131. The nickname is also said to refer to his stammering.
(848) ἕνδεκα παραστήσαται. λέγειν δὲ ποτε κυλύομενος ὑπ᾽ Ἀθηναίων ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βραχύ ἔφη βουλεύσα τὸν αὐτὸν εἰπέν, τῶν δὲ συμπράττων ἔννοιας, εἶπε, "Θέρους ὄμη ἐμοιδάσωτο εὖ ἄστεσας ὅνοι Μέγαράδε" μεσούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ σφοδρῶς φλέγοντος τοῦ ἡλίου, ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν ἐβούλετο ὑποδέθη αὐτῷ τὴν σκιὰν εἶργον δ’ ἄλλοις, ὁ Β μὲν μεμισθωκώνας τὸν ὅτι ὅτι τὴν σκιὰν λέγων, ὁ δὲ μεμισθωμένος τὴν πάσαν ἔχειν ξευσίαν" καὶ ταύτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπῆλε. τῶν δ’ Ἀθηναίων ἐπισχάντων καὶ δειμένων πέρας ἐπιθέναι τὸν λόγον, "εἰδ’ ὑπὲρ μὲν ὅτι σκιᾶς," ἔφη, "βουλεύοντο ἄκουειν, λέγοντος δὲ ὑπὲρ ὑποδέθῃς πραγμάτων ὃ βουλεύοντο." Πεῖλον δὲ ποτε τοῦ ὑποκριτοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπότος, ὃτι δυοῖν ἡμέρας ἀγωνισάμενος τάλαντον λάβοι μισθόν, "ἔνγο δ’, εἶπε, "πέντε τάλαντα, μίαν ἡμέραν συναίσθας." παρασθάρεις δὲ τὴν φωνὴν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ θορυβηθείς τοὺς ὑποκριτὰς ἔφη δεῖν κρίνειν ἐκ τῆς φωνῆς τοὺς δὲ ρήτορας ἐκ τῆς ἡγεμόνες. οὐκ ἔμενον δ’ αὐτὸν "Εἰπκλέους ὃτι ἀεὶ σκέπτοτο, "ἀλοχυνομην γὰρ ἂν," εἶπεν, "εἰ τηλικοῦτοι δήμῳ συμβουλεύων αὐτοσχεδίαζομ.” ἱστοροῦσί δ’ ὃς οὕτω λόγῳν ἔσπευσεν, ἀχρὶ πενήκαντα ἐτῶν ἐγένετο, διακριβῶν οὕτως λόγους. αὐτός δὲ φησιν ύδροποιείς χρήσασθαι. ἔγινο δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ Λυσίας ὁ ρήτωρ καὶ Ἰσοκράτης εἶδε πολυτευμένον ἀχρὶ τῆς ἐν Χαίρωνείᾳ μάχης, καὶ τινὲς τῶν Σωκρατικῶν φιλοσόφων, τοὺς δὲ πλείστους λόγους  

1 ἔν added by Dübner.
2 διακριβῶν Lambinus: διακριβῶν.

"An ass’s shadow" was proverbial for things utterly trivial.
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that he be handed over to the executioners. And once when he was being prevented by the Athenians from speaking in the assembly, he said that he only wished to speak briefly to them, and when they became silent he said, "A young man in the summer time hired an ass to go from the city to Megara. When noon came and the sun was blazing fiercely, both he and the owner of the ass wished to lie down in its shadow. Each tried to prevent the other from so doing, the owner maintaining that he had rented him the ass, not its shadow, and the one who had hired the ass that he had complete rights in him." When he had said this, he began to go away; and when the Athenians stopped him and asked him to tell the rest of the tale, he said, "You are willing to listen when I speak about the shadow of an ass, but when I speak of serious matters, you refuse." Once when Polus the actor told him that he received a talent as pay for acting two days, he replied, "And I five talents for being silent one day." And when his voice failed in the assembly and the people jeered at him, he said "It is actors who should be judged by their voices, but statesmen by their opinions." And when Epicoles rebuked him for always preparing his speeches, he said, "I should be ashamed to speak off-hand to such a great people." They say that he never put out his lamp until he was fifty years old—polishing his speeches. And he says himself that he was a water-drinker. Lysias the orator was acquainted with him, and Isocrates saw him engaged in public affairs until the battle of Chaeroneia, as did some of the Socratic philosophers. He delivered most of his

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b Demosthenes, vi. (Second Philippic) 30; xix. (False Legation) 46.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(848) εἰπεν αὐτοσχεδιάσας, εὖ πρὸς αὐτὸν πεφυκὼς.

D πρῶτος δὲ ἔγραψε στεφανωθῆναι αὐτὸν χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ Ἀριστότενος Νικοφάνος Ἀναγνώσιος,

ὅπως τότε ἔδιψαν.

Θ', ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΗΣ

Ὑπερείδης γλαυκίππου μὲν ἦν πατρὸς τοῦ Διονυσίου, τῶν δὲ δήμων Κολλυτείου. ἔσχε δὲ

υἱὸν ὁμοόμοιον τῷ πατρὶ Γλαυκίππου, ρήτορα καὶ

λόγους συγγράφοντα· οὗ πάλιν Ἀλβώνων ἑγενετο,

ἀκροατὴς δὲ Πλάτωνος γενόμενος τοῦ φιλόσοφου

ἀμα Λυκόργου καὶ Ἰσωράτου τοῦ ρήτορος

Ε ἐπολείτεισατο Ἀθηναῖος, καθ' ὅν χρόνον Ἀλέξανδρος

τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἕπτετο πραγμάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν

στρατηγῶν ἄν ἦτε παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἀντείπιε, καὶ

περὶ τῶν τριήρων, συνεβούλευσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ὅπι

Ταυνάρω ξενικὸν μὴ διαλύσαι, ὁ Χάρης ἤγετο,

εὐνοὺς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν διακείμενος. τὸ δὲ

πρῶτον μισθὸν δικαὶ ἔλεγε. δόξας δὲ κεκοιμηθε-

κόκαι τῶν Περσικῶν χρημάτων ἐφιάλτη τριή-

ραχός τε αἱρεθέσεις, ὅτε Βυζάντιον ἐπολιορκεῖ

Φίλιππος, βοηθὸς Βυζάντιως ἐκπεμφθείς, κατὰ τὸν

ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον ὑπό την χορηγήσας, τῶν ἀλλων

1 αὐτὸ Reiske: αὐτόδως.

2 ΥΠΕΡΕΙΔΗΣ] usually ύπερείδης in ms.

3 τῶν δὲ δήμων Westermann: τῶν δὲ δήμων.

4 Λυκόργου Blum: λυκόργου.

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

5 In the Athenian courts of law the parties to a suit were obliged to speak in person, therefore those who were not sure of their own ability hired others to write their speeches, which they learned by heart and delivered.

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speeches extemporaneously, as he was well endowed for that by nature. The first who moved that he be crowned with a crown of gold was Aristonicus of Anagyrus, son of Nicophanes, but Dionidas prevented it by an affidavit.

IX. HYPEREIDES

Hypereides was the son of Glaucippus and grandson of Dionysius, of the deme of Collytê. He had a son, Glaucippus, named after his grandfather, who was an orator and writer of speeches. He in turn had a son Alphinous. After being a pupil of the philosopher Plato, along with Lycurgus, and of the orator Isocrates, Hypereides entered upon public life at Athens at the time when Alexander was interfering in the affairs of Greece. And he spoke in opposition to him concerning the generals whose surrender he demanded of the Athenians and concerning the triremes. He also advised against disbanding the mercenary force at Taenarum under the command of Chares, since he was well disposed towards that general. At first he pleaded in suits at law in return for a fee. And since he was believed to have shared the Persian funds with Ephialtes, and was elected trierarch when Philip was besieging Byzantium, he was sent out to aid the Byzantines; and in that year he bore the expense of a chorus. The comic poets of the time were very free with such insinuations, e.g. Timoêcles in his Delos (Kock, Com. Att. Frag. ii. p. 432) mentions both Demosthenes and Hypereides. Such offices or "liturgies" were imposed upon wealthy men only, and the fact that he undertook one may have led to the belief that he partook of the Persian funds, or that belief may have led to the imposition of the offices.
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

Ε λευτερύλας πόσης αφειμένων. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ
Δημοσθένει τιμᾶς, καὶ τοῦ ψηφίσματος ὑπὸ Διούνδα
παρανόμων γραφέντος ἀπέφυγεν. φίλος δ" ὡς τοὺς
περὶ Δημοσθένη καὶ Λυσικλέα καὶ Λυκούργου, οὐκ
ἐνέμεινε μέχρι τέλους· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Λυσικλῆς μὲν καὶ
Λυκούργος ἐπεθνήκεσαν, Δημοσθένης δ' ὡς παρ'
Ἀρπάλου διωροδόκησας ἐκρίνετο, προχειρισθεὶς εὖ
ἀπάντων (μόνος γὰρ ἔμεινεν ἀδωροδόκητος) κατ-
ηγόρησεν αὐτὸν, κρυθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀριστογελώνου
οίρων εἰπὼν γράφατε για τοὺς μετοίκους πολίτας ποιήσασθαί τοὺς δὲ δούλους
ἐλευθέρους, ἔρα δὲ καὶ παῖδας καὶ γυναικαίς εἰς τοὺς
Πειραια άποθέσαται, ἀπέφυγεν. αἰτιωμένων δὲ
ποιῶν αὐτὸν ὡς παριδότα πολλοὺς νόμους ἐν τῷ
ψηφίσματι, "ἔπεικάτευ," ἔφη, "μοι τὰ Μακεδόνων
ὀπλα" καὶ "οὐκ ἐγὼ τὸ ψήφισμα εὑραίμα ἢ δ' ἐν
Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχῃ." μετὰ μέντοι τοῦτο νεκρῶν
ἐδωκεν ἀναίρεσιν ὁ Φιλίππος φοβήθεις, πρότερον
οὐ δοὺς τοῖς ἔλθοισι εἰς Λεβαδείας κηρύξας.
ὡστερον δὲ μετὰ τὰ περὶ Κρανώνα συμβάντα
ἐξαιτηθεὶς ὡς "Ἀντιτάρτου καὶ μέλλων ἐκδίδοσθαι
Β ὑπὸ τοῦ γῆμου ἔφυγεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἰς Δανάων
ἄμα τοῖς κατεύθυνσιμοῖς· καὶ συμβαλὼν Δημο-

1 Δημοσθένει Reiske after Photius : Δημοσθένους.
2 καὶ οὐκ Photius : οὐκ.
3 Κρανώνα Blasi : κράωνα.

* The shadow of the shields made him fall to see the laws (taking παριδότα literally).
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when others were released from all contributions to the public service. He also proposed honours for Demosthenes, and when suit was brought by Dionidas on the ground that the decree was contrary to law, he was acquitted. Although he was a friend of Demosthenes, Lysicles, Lycurgus, and their associates, he did not remain so to the end; but when Lysicles and Lycurgus were dead and Demosthenes was being tried for receiving bribes from Harpalus, he was chosen from all the orators (for he alone was unbribed) and brought the accusation against him. And when he was brought to trial by Aristogeiton for illegal conduct in proposing a decree after the battle of Chaeroneia to grant citizenship to the resident aliens, to set the slaves free, and to put the sacred objects, the children, and the women in Peiraeus for safe-keeping, he was acquitted. And when certain persons blamed him for having disregarded many laws in his decree, he said, "The shields of the Macedonians cast a shadow over my eyes," and "It was not I, but the battle of Chaeroneia, that proposed the decree." After this, however, Philip was frightened and granted permission to remove the bodies of the slain, though before that he had refused it to the heralds who came from Lebadeia. Later, however, after the battle of Crannon, when his surrender was demanded by Antipater and the people was on the point of surrendering him, he fled from the city to Aegina along with those against whom decrees had been passed. Here he met Demosthenes and excused

After the death of Alexander the Great the Greeks revolted, but they lacked leadership, and when they were defeated in an engagement at Crannon, Thessaly, in August 322 B.C., the Greek states came to terms separately with Antipater.
849) οὖνει καὶ περὶ τῆς διαφορᾶς ἀπολογησάμενος, ἀπαλλαγέως ἐκείθεν, ὡς Ἰρχόν τοῦ Φυγαδοθήρου ἐπικληθέντος, Ἀθηναίοι μὲν τὸ γένος ὑποκριτοῦ ἔτι τὰ πρῶτα τότε ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντεπάτρου βοηθοῦσι, ἐλθόντες πρὸς βιάν εἰς τῷ ἑρῷ τοῦ Ποσείδώνος ἐχόμενος τοῦ ἀγάλματος καὶ ἅχθει πρὸς Ὀλυμπίαν εἰς Ἐλευθερίαν, ἡ πρὸς βασανίζομενος, διεφαγε τὴν γλώτταν, ὡστε μηδὲν ἐξειπεῖν τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀπορρήτων διανηθηθηκεν καὶ οὕτως
C ἐπελεύσετο, Πυανιάζονος ἐνάτη ιστομένων. Ἐρ-μππος δὲ φησὶν αὐτῶν γλωσσοτομηθήσεται εἰς Μακεδόναν ἠλθόντα καί βρηκαν χρυσόν, Ἀλφίνοιν δὲ ἀνεμοῦν ὅτα αὐτῷ ἢ, ὡς τινες, Γλαυκίππου τοῦ ὑστηρείς τοῦ τεῷς τὼν ἤλιπον λαβόντα ἐξονισάν τοῦ σώματος καθαίρει αὐτὸν καί τὰ ὀστά κομίσαι εἰς Ἀθηνᾶς τοῖς προσήκοισι πάρα τὰ Ἀθηναίων καί Μακεδόνων δόγματα, οὔ μόνον γὰρ κελεύσαι αὐτοὺς φυγεῖν, ἀλλὰ μηδ’ ἐν τῇ οἰκεῖᾳ ταφήναι. οἷς δ’ ἐν Κλεσναίς ἀποδαμώνις αὐτῶν λε-γοντιν, ἀπαχθέντα μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅπου γλωσσο-τομηθήσεται καὶ διαφαμαχήσεται ὅτι προείρηται τρόπου- τοις δ’ οἰκείοις τὰ ὀστά λαβόντας δ’ θάφαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γυναικῶν πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων πυλῶν, ὡς φησιν D Ἡλεώδωρος ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ περὶ Μνημάτων. οὐδ’ δὲ κατερήσεσθαι τὸ μνήμα καὶ ἐστιν ἄθηλον.
Πάντων δὲ κατὰ τὴν δημιουργίαν διενεχεῖται λεγεται, τετακται δὲ ὡς ἑνῶν πρὸ ἐπιστάσεως, διέρευνα ὡς αὐτῶν λόγοι εἶδοσμηκοῦτα ἐπτά, ὥν

1 to added by Blass.
2 του οὐδ Βερνάρδακ: τοῦς or οὐδ.
3 Blass, followed by Bernardaklis, marks a gap here.
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himself for his disagreement with him. After leaving Aegina he was seized forcibly by Archias, nicknamed "The Exile-Hunter" (a Thuriian by birth, at first an actor, but at that time an assistant of Antipater), in the temple of Poseidon while clinging to the statue of the god. He was brought to Antipater at Corinth, and when put to the torture he bit off his tongue that he might not be able to utter any secrets of his native city. And in this way he died, on the ninth day of the month of Pyanepsion. But Hermippus says that he went to Macedonia, where his tongue was cut out and he was thrown out unburied, and that Alpinous, who was his cousin (or, as some say, the son of his son Glauceippus), obtained possession of the body by the aid of a physician named Philopeithes, burned it and brought the bones to Athens to his relatives contrary to the decrees of the Athenians and the Macedonians; for they had ordered, not only that he be exiled, but that he be not even buried in his own country. And others say that he died at Cleonae after being brought there with the rest, where his tongue was cut out and he perished in the manner related above; and that his relatives obtained the bones and buried them with his ancestors before the gates of the Hippades, as Heliodorus says in the third book of his work On Monuments. But now the monument has fallen in ruins and cannot be identified.

He is said to have excelled all in addressing the people; and by some critics he is ranked above Demosthenes. Seventy-seven speeches are current

* See above, p. 427, note b.
* At Hermionē.
* At Athens, probably south-east from the Acropolis.
(349) γνήσιοι εἰσιν πεντήκοντα δύο. ἑγένετο δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἀφροδίσιον καταφέρρης, ὡς ἐκβαλεῖν μὲν τὸν Ῥώον εἰσαγαγεῖν δὲ Μυρῴνῃ τὴν πολυτελεστάτην ἐταίραν, ἐν Πειραιαῖς δὲ ἔχειν Ἀρισταγόραν, ἐν Ἔλευσίνι δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱδίοις κτήμασι Φίλαν τὴν.

Ε Ὑπῆβαιν, ἐκκοσί μὲν ὑποστράφησεν. ἐποιεῖτο τε τὸν περίπατον ἐν τῇ ἱχθυοπώλει δοσμέραιον ὁμολογός δὲ, ὡς ἐκόσι δὴ, καὶ Ἰρώνῃ τῇ ἐταιρᾳ ἀσεβεῖν κρυμμένη συνεστάθη—αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλουμένη μεθοδοὺς δὲ αὐτῆς ἀλλοκοεῖν, παραγαγὼν εἰς μέσον καὶ περικοπῆς τὴν ἐσθήτα ἐπεδείκτη τὰ στέρνα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν δικαιών ἐν τό κάλλος ἀπιδύντων, ἀφεῖθη. συνετίθει δ’ ἰστική κατὰ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἐγκλήματα, ὡς καὶ φωραθῆναι, νοσοῦντος γὰρ τοῦ Ἰππειδοῦν.

Ε ἱκοντα εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν Δημοσθένου ὡς ἐπισκεφτόμενον καταλαμβάνει κατάχοντα τὸ καθ’ αὐτοῦ βιβλίου τούτου δ’ ἀγανακτοῦντος, εἰπε “φίλον μὲν ὄντα οὐδὲν λυπήσει, ἐχθρὸν δὲ γενόμενον καυλῶσει τι κατ’

1 Φίλαν τὴν Κέλλη, from Athenaeus, p. 590 d: φιλία.
2 ἀσκέμνως δὲ (Bücheler) ὡς εἰκός δὴ, καὶ Cappus; ἀσκέμνως δὲ καὶ Bücheler; ἑκαδέκα. καὶ δίκη Blass; ὡς εἰκός δὲ καὶ δίκη. For καὶ δίκη Bernardakia prefers καὶ δίκη.
4 ὁδών Ritschl: ὁδών.

* Only small fragments of these were preserved until, at various times in the nineteenth century, six more or less complete orations were discovered in Egyptian papyrus manuscripts.

* Another comic gibe against a public man supposed to be a gourmand. Athenaeus viii. 341 ff. quotes from the Delos and Icarians of Timocrates gossip of this kind against Hypereides.

* The traditional text is certainly corrupt; cf. critical
under his name, fifty-two of which are genuine. He was also very prone to sexual indulgence, so that he turned his son out of the house and brought in Myrrhina, the most expensive prostitute, kept Aristagora in Peiraeus, and at his own estate in Eleusis kept the Theban girl Phila, whom he had ransomed for twenty minas. He used to walk in the Fish-market every day. And, as it is indeed reasonable to suppose, it was because he had been intimate also with Phryne the courtesan that when she was on trial for impiety he became her advocate; for he makes this plain himself at the beginning of his speech. And when she was likely to be found guilty, he led the woman out into the middle of the court and, tearing off her clothes, displayed her breasts. When the judges saw her beauty, she was acquitted. He quietly compiled accusations against Demosthenes and the fact became known; for once, when he was ill, Demosthenes came to his house to visit him and found him with the document against himself in his hand; and when Demosthenes was angry, Hypereides said, "It will do you no harm while you are my friend, but if you become my enemy, it will prevent your doing anything against

notes. The inference seems to have been drawn from the orator's amatory record that his advocacy of Phryne at her famous trial was due to an intimacy with her. An advocate was never "examined with" the defendant.

4 Explained by Athenaeus xiii. 590 d ἐν τῇ ὑπὲρ Φρύνης λόγῳ Ἐπείδης ἐγκλημάτων ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικείας. Hypereides' speech was translated into Latin by Messala Corvinus (Quintilian x. 5. 2).

* This version is found also in Athenaeus xiii. 590 e, but the comic poet Poseidippus in his Ephesian Lady (ibid. 591 α: Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 330) attributes Phryne's acquittal to her own arts.

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PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

ἐμοῦ πράξας.” ἐσφημίσατο δὲ καὶ τιμᾶς Ἰόλα τῷ δοκοῦτεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὸ φάρμακον δοθῆναι. ἐκοινώνησε δὲ καὶ Ἀμαθένης τῷ Λαμιάκου πολέμου, καὶ ἔπει τοὺς πεσόσων εἶπε τὸν ἐπιτάφιον θαυμασίως. Φιλίππου δὲ πλεῖν ἐπὶ Εὐβοίας παρεσκευασμένω καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐυλαβοῦσι εἴσπουσέν εἰς ἐπιδόσεως καὶ πρώτος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπέδωκε δύο πρεσίρες. 850 συνόταντος δὲ πρὸς Δηλίους ἀμφισβητήματος, ποτέρως δὲ προσόταιμον τοῦ λεοῦ, αἴρεθέντος Λισχίνου συνεργεῖν, ἡ ἕξ 'Αρείου πάγου βουλή 'Ὑπερείθην ἐχειροτονήσει' καὶ ἔστων ὁ λόγος Δηλικάς ἐπιγεγραμμένος. ἐπεράθεντος δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Ροδίους, ἠκούσαν δὲ καὶ παρ’ 'Ἀντιπάτρου πρέσβεις, ἐπανεύρεντων τῶν 'Ἀντιπάτρου ὡς χρηστῶν, ἀπαντήσας αὐτοῖς εἶπεν, "οἶδαμεν ὅτι χρηστός ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς γ’ οὐ δεόμεθα χρηστοῦ δεσπότον." λέγεται δ’ ἄνευ ὑποκρίσεως δημιουργήματι καὶ μόνῃ Β διηγείρονται τα πραξάντα καὶ τοῦτος οὐκ ἐνοχλεύν 

τούς δικαστάς. ἐπέμψατο δὲ καὶ πρὸς 'Ηλείους ἀπολογισμόν μεν ὑπὲρ Καλλίππου τοῦ ἄλλης, ἐχοντος αἰτίαν φθείραι τῶν ἀγώνα, καὶ ἐνίκησε. γραφάμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Φωκίδος δωρεάν, ἢν εἶπε Μεδίας Μείδιου 'Ἀναγιράσσον ἐπὶ Ξενίου ἀρχοντος, Γαμηλιώνως ἐβδομῇ φθίνοντος, ἡττήθη.

1 δικαστή Reiske: δότην.
2 Ἀμαθένη Xylander: δημοσίευση.
3 οἴδαμεν Xylander from Photius: οἶδα μὲν; cf. Stobaeus, Fab. Ill. 13. 51 (xiii. 31 Mein.).

* The belief that Alexander died of poison was apparently unfounded.
* In 323–322 B.C. after Alexander’s death, when the Greeks under Leosthenes besieged the Macedonian Antipater in 444.
me." He also proposed a decree conferring honours upon Iolas, who was supposed to have given Alexander the poison. He took part with Leosthenes in the Lamian War and delivered the funeral oration for the fallen in marvellous fashion. When Philip was preparing to sail against Euboea, and the Athenians were afraid, he assembled forty triremes by private contributions, and in his own name and his son's he gave two triremes, the first contribution made. And when a dispute arose with the Delians as to which people should have control of the sanctuary, although Aeschines was chosen Athenian advocate, the senate of the Areopagus elected Hypereides; and his speech is the one entitled The Delian. He was also an envoy to the Rhodians. And when envoys came from Antipater and praised their sender as a good man, in replying to them he said, "We know that he is good, but we do not want a good master." It is said that in addressing the public he did not employ the actor's art, that he merely related the facts of the case and did not bore the jurors even with these. He was sent also to the Eleans to defend the athlete Callippus against the charge of having used corruption in the contest, and he won his case; but when he brought a suit against the grant of a gift for Phoecion, which Meidias, son of Meidias, of the deme Anagyros, proposed in the archonship of Xenias, on the twenty-fourth day of Gamelion, he was defeated.

Lamia near Thermopylae. A large part of Hypereides' funeral oration is preserved.

* An archon Xenias is unknown. Euxenippus, suggested by Schäfer, was archon in 385-384 B.C., but Hypereides was then dead. Possibly the archon Archias, 316-315 B.C., is intended, in which case the gift for Phoecion may have had some connexion with the battle of Tanysae. 445
Δείναρχος Σωκράτους ἢ Σωστράτου, ὡς μὲν τινὲς ἐγχώριοι, ὡς δὲ τισὶ δοκεῖ Κορινθίως, ἀφικό-
ομενος εἰς 'Αθήνας ἐτι νέος, καθ’ ὅν χρώμων 'Αλέξαν-
δρος ἐπηεί τὴν 'Ασιαν, κατουκῆσας αὐτόθι ἀκροατὴς
μὲν ἐγένετο Θεοφράστου τοῦ διαδεξαμένου τὴν
Ἀριστοτέλεως διατριβήν, ὁμιλῆσα δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ
τῷ Φαληρεῖ: μάλιστα δὲ προσήη τῷ 1 πολιτεύομαι
μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτήν, τῶν μὲν ἀνηρρ-
μένων ρητόρων τῶν δὲ περιεγυγνών. φῖλος δὲ
Κασάνδρῳ γενόμενος, ὡς ἐπὶ πλείων προέκει
χρήσατα τῶν λόγων εἰσπροτόμενος, οὕς τοῖς ἔνθ-
μένοις συνέγραψαν ἀντιτάξατο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπι-
φανεστάτους τῶν ρητόρων, οὐκ εἰς δήμων παριζῶν-
ου γὰρ ὅτι τ’ ἧν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐναντιομένοις λόγως
συγγράφου καὶ ἔτει Ἄρσαλος διέδρα, πλείους
Δ’ λόγους συνέγραψε 2 κατὰ τῶν αὐτίνας λαβάντων
δωροδοκῆσαι, καί τούτους τοῖς κατηγόροις ἐξ-
ἐδωκε. χρώμων δ’ ἄστερον αἰτιαθεῖς εἰς λόγους
παραγίνεσθαι Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Κασάνδρῳ περὶ τὴν
κατάληψιν τῆς Μουνυχίας, ἡνίκα. ὑπ’ Ἀντεγόνῳ
καὶ Δημητρίῳ ἐφρουρῆθη ἐπ’ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρ-
χοντος, ἐξαργυρισμένος τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς οὐσίας
ἐφυγεν εἰς Χαλκίδα. διατρίβας δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς φυγῆς
ὡς πεντεκαϊδεκα ἔτη, καὶ πολλῆν οὕσειν κτησά-
μενος κατῆλθε, πραξάμενοι αὐτῷ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν

1 ἐπὶ Χυλάνδερ: ἐπὶ.
2 δὲ προσῆη τῷ Wytenbach: δὲ τῷ.
3 συνέγραψε Bliss: συνέγραψε.

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* 334–323 B.C.
* The Lyceum, i.e. the Peripatetic School.
DEINARCHUS, 850

X. DEINARCHUS

Deinarchus, son of Socrates or Sostratus, an Athenian according to some, but, as others think, a Corinthian, came to Athens while still young at the time when Alexander was invading Asia, settled there, and became a pupil of Theophrastus, who had succeeded Aristotle as head of his School; but he also attended the lectures of Demetrius of Phalerum. He took part most actively in public affairs after the death of Antipater, since some of the public men had been put to death and the rest were in exile. Since he became a friend of Cassander he prospered exceedingly through the fees he charged for the speeches which he wrote for those who requested his services; and he had as his opponents the most distinguished public men, although he did not speak before the popular assembly (for he was unable to do so); but he merely wrote speeches for their opponents. And when Harpalus absconded he composed many speeches against those who were accused of having accepted bribes from him, and these he furnished to their accusers. But at a later time he was accused of having dealings with Antipater and Cassander in connexion with their occupation of Munichia when it was garrisoned by Antigonus and Demetrius in the archonship of Anaxiocrates, whereupon he turned most of his property into cash and went into exile at Chalcis. And after living in exile about fifteen years and amassing considerable wealth, he returned, his restoration, and at the same time

* 318 B.C.
* If he was a Corinthian by birth, he would be debarred from such speaking.
* 307–306 B.C.
περὶ Θεόφραστον ἢμα τοῖς ἄλλης φυγάσι. καταλύσας δὲ παρὰ Προξένου ἐταίρῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ Ἐχρυσίουν ἀπολέσας, ἦδη γηραῖος ἦν καὶ τὰς ὅρδες ἀσθενεῖς, αὐτὸς βουλομένου τοῦ Προξένου ἀναξιεύων, λαγχαίνει αὐτῷ δίκην καὶ τότε πρῶτον εἶπεν ἐν δικαστήρῳ. αὐξεῖται διὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ λόγος, ἀφεώνει δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ λόγοι γνήσιοι ἐξήκοντα τέσσαρες· τούτων ἦνοι παραλαμβάνονται ὡς 'Αριστογείτονος. ἤλπιζε δὲ ἐγένετο ὁ ὑπερείδου ὡς τως διὰ τὸ παθητικὸν Δημοσθένους καὶ τὸ αφοδρὸν τῶν σχημάτων δὲ αὐτοῦ μμητής ὑπάρχει.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

Α'

Ἐ Δημοσθένης τὸ Δημοσθένους  Πατινεῖ διαρέαν κοινὰ χαλκὴν ἐν ἀγρῷ καὶ σήμερον ἐν πυρακεφαλῷ καὶ προεδρίαν αὐτῷ καὶ έκγονον  διὰ τὸ προσβωτάρῳ, εὐεργετή καὶ συμβούλω ἥγεσιν τολλών καὶ καλῶν τῷ δήμῳ τῆς Λακονίων καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῶν εἶς τὸ κοινὸν καθεμοίτη τήν ἀυτοῦ καὶ ἐπεδότα τάλαντα ὠκὺ καὶ τρεῖς, ὅτε ὁ δῆμος οἰκεθεραυτῶν Ἑοβαίαν, καὶ ἐτέραν, ὧτε εἶς τὴν Ἐλληνεργοῦν Ἰφιάνθωμος ἔστειλεν καὶ ἐτέραν, ὧτε Χάρης καὶ Φωκίων ὀρτανηγοὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν εἰς Βυζάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ αὐτοταμείῳ πολλοῖς τῶν

1 as added by Xylander.
2 Δημοσθένης Basle ed.: Τιμαχάρης.
3 Λευκονούς Westermann: λευκονούς.
4 ἐκγόνων Euphratus: ἐγόνων.
5 δήμῳ τῷ Ladecke: δήμῳ τῶν.

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

that of the other exiles, having been effected by
Theophrastus and his friends. He lodged at the
house of a friend of his named Proxenus and lost his
money, when he was already an old man and his
eyes were weak, and when Proxenus refused to in-
vestigate the matter a he brought a suit against him,
and then for the first time he spoke in a court of law.
His speech is extant, too. b There are sixty-four
speeches of his extant which are regarded as genuine;
of these some are handed down as by Aristogeiton.
He was a zealous follower of Hypereides or, as
some say on account of his emotional and vehem-
ent qualities, of Demosthenes. He certainly is an imitator
of the latter’s figures of speech.

DECREES c

I

Demochares d of Leucnoë, son of Laches, asks for
Demosthenes of Pæanía, son of Demosthenes, the grant of
a bronze statue in the Market-place and maintenance in
the Prytaneum and the privilege of front seats at the public
spectacles for him and for the eldest of his descendants in
perpetuity, because he has shown himself as a public bene-
factor and counsellor, and has brought about many benefits
for the people of the Athenians, not only having relinquished
his property for the common weal but also having contributed
eight talents and a trireme when the people freed Euboea,
and another trireme when Cephisodorus sailed to the Helles-
pont, and another when Charis and Phocion were sent as
generals to Byzantium by the vote of the popular assembly,
and having ransomed many of those who were taken prisoners

b Only quoted fragments of his writings are extant.
c On the following documents, called in the manuscripts
“Decrees,” see the Introduction to these Lines, p. 342 above.
d Apparently the son of the Laches, son of Demochares,
mentioned above, 847 d, that is, the orator’s nephew.
(851) ἀλόντων ἐν Πάνθη καὶ Μεθώνῃ καὶ Ὄλυσθιν ὑπὸ 
Φιλίππου καὶ χαργηγῶν ανδράσιν ἐπιδότη, ὑπὲρ ἑκ- 
λατόντων τῶν Πανδοκιδῶν τοῦ χαργηγῶν ἐπέδωκε, καὶ 
καθότι tατα τὸς πολλάς τῶν ἐλλεπτῶντων καὶ εἰς τὴν 
πειρατείαν ἀνάλυσε χειροτονηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, 
ἐπιδότος αὐτοῦ τρία τάλαντα καὶ ἀς ἐπέδωκε δύο 
τάφρους περὶ τῶν Πειρατῶν ταφρεύσεως καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἐν 
Β Χαριωνεία μάχην ἐπέδωκε τάλαντον, καὶ εἰς τὴν στει- 
νιαν ἐπέδωκες ἐν τῇ στεινια τάλαντον καὶ ὅτι ἐῖ 
συμμαχίαν τῷ δήμῳ προσηγαγότε ζεύσας καὶ ἀγερίττης 
γενόμενος καὶ σύμβουλος, ὅποι ἐν ἔπεσε Θηβαίας 
Εὐβοιᾶς Κορυθίους Μεγαρίδας Ἀχαιῶν Δοκρίους 
Βυδάτους Μεσονήσιους, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐς συνεστήματο τῷ 
δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις, περίου μὲν μυρίων ἐπίπτας ἐς 
χελώνια, καὶ σύνταξιν χρημάτων ἐν ἔπεσε προσβείσας 
διάδοναι τοὺς μὲν συμμάχους εἰς τῶν πόλεων πλεῖω 
πεντακόσιων ταλάντων καὶ ὅτι ἐκάλυπτε Πελοποννησίους 
ἐπὶ Θήβας Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βοηθήσας, χρηματα δοῦσ καὶ 
ὁ αὐτὸς προσβείσας καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν τῷ 
δήμῳ συμβουλίῳ γεγονότα καὶ πεισταται ομοιὸς τῶν καθ' 
αυτῶν πρὸς ἑλευθερίαν καὶ δημοκρατίαν ἄρσειν φεύγοντε 
δὲ ὅλεγαρχιαν, καταλυθέντος τοῦ δήμου, καὶ τελευ- 
ταστάντος αὐτοῦ ἐν Καλαυρίᾳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δήμον 
eπίσχοι, περιβλέποντων στρατιστῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ Ἀρτ- 
πάτρου, διαμειμένοι ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸ πλήθος εὔνοια καὶ 
οἰκείστητι, καὶ οὐτὲ ἐπογερμένῳ γενομένῳ τοῖς ἐξήρωσκ 
οὐτὲ τῇ ἀνάξειν ἐν τῇ κινδυνεὶ πράξαιν τοῦ δήμου.

B'

D "Ἄρχων Πυθάρατος" Λάχης Δημοκράτους Δευκώ- 

νοῦς αἴτει δωρεάν τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸν δήμον τὸν

1 ὅτι Westermann and Ladeke: ὅτε.
by Philip at Pydna, Methone, and Olynthus, and having contributed the expense of a chorus of men because when the members of the tribe of Pandionis failed to furnish this chorus, he contributed the money and, besides, furnished arms to the citizens who lacked them; and when elected Commissioner of the Fortifications by the popular assembly he supplied the money for the work, himself contributing three talents in addition to the cost of two trenches about the Pelasges, which he dug as his contribution. And after the battle of Chaeroneia he contributed a talent, and in the scarcity of food he contributed a talent for the food-supply. And because, through persuasion, benefactions, and the advice by which he moved them, he brought into alliance with the people the Thebans, Euboeans, Corinthians, Megarians, Achaemenes, Locrians, Byzantines, and Messenians and gained troops for the people and its allies, namely ten thousand foot, one thousand horse, and a contribution of money which he as envoy persuaded the allies to give for the war—more than five hundred talents—and because he prevented the Peloponnesians from going to the aid of the Boeotians, giving money and going in person as envoy. And he advised the people to adopt many other excellent measures, and of all his contemporaries he performed the best public actions in the cause of liberty and democracy. And having been exiled by the oligarchy when the democracy had been destroyed, and having died at Calauria on account of his devotion to the democracy, when soldiers were sent against him by Antipater, persisting in his loyalty and devotion to the democracy and neither surrendering to its enemies nor doing anything in his time of danger that was unworthy of the democracy.

Archon Pytharmatias. Laches, son of Democharis, of Leucippoë, asks from the senate and people of the Athenians

* 356, 353, and 348 B.C.
* 271-270 B.C. See above, pp. 431 f., where the same facts are given.

2 St. Westermann: òς.
2 oôte ti Meziriacus: oôte. 4 tòv Ladeke: tòv.
(851) 'Αθηναίων Δημοκράτει Δάκητος Δευκονοεί εἰκόνα χαλάζην ἐν ἁγορᾷ καὶ σέτησιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἑγώνων· αὐτῷ τῷ πρεσβύτατῷ καὶ προσδρικῶν ἐν πάσι τοῖς ἁγίοις, εὐεργετή καὶ συμβουλίων γεγονότα ἄγαθός τι δήμου τῷ. 'Αθηναίων καὶ ἑκεργητικότες τῶν δήμων τάξιν προσβεβεβοῦντε καὶ γράφοντε καὶ πολεεωμένου... ὧν εἰκο-


ομέν τειχῶν, καὶ παρασκεύης ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν καὶ μηχανημάτων, καὶ ὁχυρωσμένω τῆς πάλιν ἐπὶ τοῦ τετραε-

ντοῦς πολέμου, καὶ εἴρήκην καὶ λάυκας καὶ συμμαχία ποιησαμένῳ πρὸς Βουκολήν ἀνθεὶ ἐνεπέτειν ὑπὸ τῶν καταλυτάτων τῶν δήμων· καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἰδίαν ἀρχοντος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, συντελεῖτε τὴν διοίκησιν πρῶτη καὶ φευγαμένω τῶν ὑπορχόντων καὶ προσβεβεβοῦντες πρὸς Δικτύμαχον καὶ λαβόντε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα τάλαντα ἄργυριον καὶ πάλιν ἔτερα ἵκατον καὶ γράφοντε προσβεβεβοῦν πρὸς Πτηλεμαίον ἐας Δισυκάσκον, καὶ ἔνα ἔκπλησιν τεντήκοντα ἑκάτερον τάλαντα ἄργυριον τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πρὸς 'Ἀντελευροποὺ προσβεβεβοῦτε καὶ λαβόντε εἰκές τάλαντα τῶν ἄρχον το 'Ελευσίνα τομασαμένῳ τῷ δήμῳ καὶ ταῦτα πείσαντε ἔλειθα τῶν δήμων καὶ πράξαντε, καὶ φυγόντα μὲν ὑπὲρ δημοκρατίας, μεταγεγορίσα πεδιδομάς ὁλογραφίας αὐτῆς ἄρχην οὐδεμίαν ἤχοτε καταλυτικότος τοῦ δήμου καὶ μικρά 'Αθηναίων τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτήν ἑλικίαν πολεεωμένων μὴ μεμελητικότες τῆς πατρίδος κυρίων ἄρχων πολεεώμεσι ἡ δημοκρατία· καὶ τὰς κράσεις καὶ τους νόμους καὶ τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς οἰκίας πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἐν ὁσφαλείς ποιῆσαι διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ πολέεως καὶ μικρῶν ὑπενθυμῶν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πεπραχότε μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἄργῳ.

1 αὐτῷ added by Westermann.
2 ἐγγόνων Ἐμπερίου ἡγόνων. 3 τῷ Λαδέκεσ τῶν. 4 Westermann indicates a gap here to be filled with such words as δεῖ καλῶς καὶ καθορῶς, καὶ καταγγαλομένως.
for Democares, son of Laches, of Leucoo, a grant of a
bronze statue in the Market-place, and maintenance in the
Prytaneum for him and the eldest of his descendants in
perpetuity, and the privilege of a front seat at all public
spectacles, because he proved himself a benefactor and a good
counsellor to the people of the Athenians and benefited the
people as follows: He was a good ambassador, proposer
of legislation, and statesman [. . . , and he superintended]
the building of the walls and the preparation of armour,
missiles, and engines of war, he fortified the city at the time
of the four years' war a and made peace, truce, and alliance
with the Bocotians, in return for which he was banished by
those who overthrew the democracy. When he was recalled
by the people in the archonship of Diocles, b he first reduced
the expenses of the administration and was sparing of the
public resources; he went as envoy to Lysimachus and
secured for the people thirty talents of silver and again one
hundred more; he proposed the sending of an embassy to
Ptolemy in Egypt, and those who took part in it brought
back for the people fifty talents of silver; he was envoy to
Antipater and secured twenty talents of silver which he
brought to Kleusis for the people. He won the assent of the
people to all these measures and accomplished them: he was
exiled for the sake of the democracy, he took no part in any
oligarchy, he held no office after the democracy had been
overthrown, and he was the only Athenian of those who were
engaged in public life in his time who never plotted to alter
the government of the country by changing it to a form other
than democracy; he made the decisions of the courts, the
laws, the courts, and property, safe for all Athenians by
the policy he pursued, and he never did anything adverse to
the democracy by word or deed.

a 294–290 B.C. The war ended with the surrender of
Athens to Demetrius Poliorcetes.
b 288–287 B.C.

5 ὁ δὲ Westermann: ὁ δὲ.
6 πρεσβευτικὴ Μεξίλακος: πρεσβευτικὴν ἢ πρεσβευτικὴν.
7 'Ελευθέρα Niebuhr: ἥλευθρα.
8 ὁ δὲ Xylander: ὁ δὲ.
Αυκόφρων Αυκόφρων Βουτάθης ἀπεγράφατο αὐτῷ εἶναι σέταρον ἐν πρωτανείᾳ κατὰ τὴν δοθέως δωρεάν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου Αυκόφρων Βουτάθης. ἐπὶ Αμφικράτους 852 ἀρχαίον, ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδας ἦτης πρωτανείας,1 Στρατοκλῆς Βουθόδημου Διομεδείς2 εἶτεν. ἐπειδὴ Αυκόφρων Αυκόφρων Βουτάθης παραλαβὼν παρὰ τῶν δευτερο πρωτανῶν οἰκίαιν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δήμον εἴναι, καὶ οἱ πρόγονοι οἱ Αυκόφρων, Αυκομέδης3 τε καὶ Αυκόφρων, καὶ τῶν ἤτων ἐτιμᾶμεν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τελευτητῶν αὐτοῖς δὲ ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐδικοῖν ὁ δήμος δημοσίως ταφὰς ἐν Κεραμεκῷ καὶ Αυκόφρων αὐτὸς Β πολεμεῖον τέφρας τε πολλὰς καὶ καλοὺς ἔθηκε τῇ παιρίδι, καὶ γενέμενος τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου ταφὰς τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τρεῖς4 πενταπετάσιας καὶ διανεῖμαι ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου μέρης καὶ ὀκτάκοσίλια καὶ ἠνακόσια τάλαντα: πολλὰ δὲ τῶν ἔθνων διὰ πῖστιν λαβόντων καὶ προδοτάσια καὶ εἰς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως καιροὺς καὶ τοῦ δήμου τὰ πάντα ἐξακοσίων5 καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα: δόρας δὲ ἀπώτατα ταύτα δικαίως διαφημίσας πολλὰς ἀπεφανάθη ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως: ἢτι δὲ αἰρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χρῆμα πολλὰ συνήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, καὶ παρασκευάζεις τῇ θεῷ κόσμου, νῖκας τε ὀλοκληρών παραπετὰ τῇ χρυσῇ καὶ ἄργυρῳ6 καὶ κόσμου χρυσοὺν εἰς C δεκατρία καὶ τρισήμερον καὶ τρισήμερον ἐξ αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῆς δόλα μὲν πολλὰ καὶ βεβίων μυρίδια τέρτε ἁμήνευκεν εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, τετρακοσίας δὲ τριήμερες πλοίους κατασκεύασας ταῖς μὲν ἐπισκευάσας τὰς δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς

1 ἦτης πρωτανείᾳ Scholmann: ἐν τῇ πρωτανείᾳ.
2 Διομεδείς Xylander: διομεδείς.
3 Αυκομέδης Pinzger from Moralia, 843 b: διομεδείς.
4 ἐπὶ τρεῖς Meziriæcus from Moralia, 841 b.
5 ἐξακοσίων διακόσια Sauppe from Moralia, 841 b.

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Lycophron, son of Lycurgus, of the deme Butadæ, presented in writing a claim for maintenance in the Prytaneum for himself in accordance with the gift presented by the people to Lycurgus of the deme Butadæ. In the archonship of Anaxerates, in the sixth prytany, that of the tribe Antiochis, Stratneles, son of Euthydemus, of the deme Diomede, made the following motion: Whereas Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of the deme Butadæ, having inherited from early times from his ancestors that loyalty to the democracy which has been peculiar to his family, and the progenitors of Lycurgus, Lycomedes and Lycurgus, were not only honoured by the people during their lives, but also after their death the people granted them for their courage and virtue public burials in the Cereamicus; and whereas Lycurgus himself during his public career made many excellent laws for his country, and when he was treasurer of the public revenues of the city for three periods of four years distributed from the public revenue eighteen thousand nine hundred talents; and having received in trust large funds from private citizens, from which he made loans previously agreed upon in order to meet the exigencies of the city and the people, in all six hundred and fifty talents; and, because he was believed to have administered all these funds justly, was often crowned by the State; and whereas when chosen by the people he brought together large sums of money upon the Acropolis, providing adornment for the Goddess, solid gold Victories, gold and silver vessels for the processions, and ornaments of gold for one hundred basket-carriers, and when chosen to be in charge of the equipment for the war he brought to the Acropolis many pieces of armour and fifty thousand missiles and fitted out four hundred triremes ready to set sail, providing the equipment for some of them and causing some to be built from the beginning:

a 307–306 B.C. Much of the substance of this document is contained in the Life of Lycurgus, see pp. 395 ff. above.

b Maidens of good birth who carried baskets of offerings in the processions.

c ἄργυρα Κόρακες; ἄργυρα.  

7 στ added by Coræs.
(552) ναυπηγησάμενος: πρός τε τούτοις ἡμέρας παραλαβὼν τούς τε νεώτερους καὶ τὴν σκευοθήκην καὶ τὸ θέατρον τὸ Διόνυσιακὸν ἑξειργάσατο, καὶ ἐπετέλεσε τὸ τε στάδιον τὸ Παναθηναϊκὸν καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ κατὰ τὸν Λύκειον κατεσκευάσας, καὶ ἀλλὰς πολλὰς κατασκευαζόμενε ἑκόσμησε τὴν πόλιν. Ἀλέξανδρον τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπαίσων μὲν τῆν Ἡσίαν κατεστραμμένον, κοινὴ δὲ πάση τοῖς Ἔλλησιν ἐπιτάττειν ἄξιοίν τοὺς, ἐξαιτήσαντος ὁ Λυκόφρον ὡς ἐναντία πράττοντα αὐτῷ, οὖν ἐξέδωκεν ὁ δῆμος παρ’ Ἀλέξανδρου φόβον καὶ διδοὺς εὐθύνας πολλάκις τῶν πεπολιτευμένων ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ δημοκρατουμένη τῇ πόλει διετέλεσεν ἀνεξάλεγκτος καὶ ἀδικωδόκητος τὸν ἀπαντά χρόνον ὅπως ἂν εἰδώτω πάντες, διότι τοὺς προαιρομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας δικαίως πολιτεύοντα καὶ ἁκόρως μὲν περὶ πλείστοις ποιεῖται καὶ τελευτήσαι δὲ ἀποδίδωσι χάριτις ἀείμην.

Εἰς τοὺς ἄγαθὴν τοῦ δῆμος ἐπιπέδοντας μὲν Λυκόφρον Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδην ἄρετής ἐνεκα καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ στήσαι αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον χαλκῆν εἰκόνα ἐν ἀγορᾷ, πλήν εἰ ποῦ ἄρομα ἀπαγορεῦει μη ἱστάναι, δοῦναι δὲ σέτησιν ἐν πρυτανείᾳ τῶν ἐγκύων καὶ τῶν Δυντοῦν τὸ πρεσβυτάτῳ εἰς ἀπαντά τὸν χρόνον καὶ ἐὰν κύρια πάντα τὰ ἰχθύσματα αὐτοῦ, ἀναθείναι δὲ τῶν γραμματείας τοῦ δήμου ἐν στηλαις λιθίναις καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκρόπολει πλειστοί τῶν ἀναθημάτων εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῶν στηλῶν δοῦναι τῶν ταμών τοῦ δήμου πεντηκοντα δραχμάς καὶ τῶν εἰς τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλυσκομένων τῷ δήμῳ.
and besides all this he finished the ship-sheds and the arsenal, which were half done when they came into his hands, and completed the Panathenaic stadium and erected the gymnasium at the Lyceum, and adorned the city with many other edifices. And when King Alexander, after overthrowing all Asia, assumed to give orders to all the Greeks in common and demanded that Lycurgus be surrendered because he was acting in opposition to him, the city did not surrender him in spite of fear of Alexander. And although he had many times submitted his accounts while the city was free and had a democratic form of government, he never was convicted of wrongdoing or of taking bribes through all his career. Therefore, that all may know that those who choose to act justly in public life in behalf of democracy and freedom are held in the highest esteem while living and receive after death enduring gratitude: With good Fortune: Be it resolved by the people to commend Lycurgus, son of Lycophon, of the deme Butadae, for his virtue and justice, and to set up a bronze statue of him in the Market-place, only not in any place where the law forbids its erection, and to grant maintenance in the Prytaneum to the eldest descendant of Lycurgus for all time, and that all his decrees be valid, and that the secretary of the people inscribe them on stone tablets and place them on the Acropolis near the dedicatory offerings; and that the treasurer of the people give for inscribing the tablets fifty drachmas from the funds expended by the people for decrees.

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2 ἐξαιτήσαντος Meziriacus, confirmed by the inscription: ἐξαιτήσας.
3 πράττοντα Meziriacus: πράττοντος.
4 αὐτῷ Blum: αὐτοῦ.
5 πλεῖστος Meziriacus: πλεῖστος.
6 ἐγγόνων Turin editors: ἐγγόνων.
7 καὶ ἐλναι κύρια . . . γραμματέα] the words are in the order proposed by Dübner: ἀναβίων δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλναν κύρια πάντα τὰ ψηφίσματα τὸν γραμματέα.
SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON
BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES
AND MENANDER

(COMPARATIONIS ARISTOPHANIS ET MENANDRI COMPENDIUM)
INTRODUCTION

This is at best a summary of one of Plutarch’s lost essays, and it may well be that we have only part of the summary. Bernardakis believes that the beginning is wanting, and even for a summary the end, as we have it, appears somewhat abrupt.

The Old Comedy of the fifth century B.C., whose chief representative is, and always was, Aristophanes, with its brilliant wit, occasionally beautiful poetry, biting invective, unrestrained ribaldry, and unashamed indecency, was followed in the fourth century, after the brief vogue of the Middle Comedy, by the New Comedy, whose chief representative is Menander. The New Comedy abstained from politics, indulged in no personal invective, was indecent only by innuendo, and produced dramas in which the life of the times was reflected somewhat after the manner of modern “society plays.” Plutarch not unnaturally preferred Menander’s polished comedies of character to the boisterous wit and humour of Aristophanes, and he seems to have had no appreciation of the earlier dramatist’s vigour or of his poetic imagination.
1. ** Όσ μὲν κοινῶς καὶ καθόλου εἴπεῖν πολλά προκρίνει τὸν Μενάνδρον, ώς δ' ἐπὶ μέρους καὶ ταῦτα προστίθησιν.

Β „Τὸ φορτικὸν,” φησίν, „ἐν λόγοις καὶ θυμελικὸν καὶ βάναυσον ἦσ ἐστὶν ἀριστοφάνει, Μενάνδρῳ δ' οὐδαμῶς. καὶ γὰρ ὃ μὲν ἀπαίδευτος καὶ ἰδιώτης, οἷς ἐκεῖνος λέγει, ἀλήκτης: ὃ δὲ πεπαιδευμένος δυσχερανεί λέγω δὲ τὰ ἀντίθετα καὶ ὁμοιότατα καὶ παρωνυμίας. τούτοις γὰρ ὃ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος λόγου καὶ ὁλιγάκις χρήσται ἐπιμελείας αὐτὰ ἄξιων, ὃ δὲ καὶ πολλάκις καὶ οὐκ εὐκαίρως καὶ ψυχρῶς ἐπαινεῖται γάρ,” φησίν,

ὅτι τοὺς ταμίας ἐβάπτισεν,
οὐχὶ ταμίας ἄλλα Λαμίας

ὁντας. καὶ.

2 ὃς ἐστὶν] πρόσεστιν Bernardakis.

* "He" seems to mean Plutarch; the compiler of this summary (or the editor who included it among Plutarch's works) regarding Plutarch as the author of the statements which are introduced in this first sentence.

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SUMMARY OF A COMPARISON BETWEEN ARISTOPHANES AND MENANDER

1. . . . In general he a much prefers Menander, and in particular he adds what follows:

"Coarseness," he says, "in words, vulgarity and ribaldry are present in Aristophanes, but not at all in Menander; obviously, for the uneducated, ordinary person is captivated by what the former says, but the educated man will be displeased. I refer to antitheses and similar endings and plays on words. For of these Menander does make use with proper consideration and rarely, believing that they should be treated with care, but Aristophanes employs them frequently, inopportune, and frigidly; for his punning is applauded," he says, "in

because he soused the bankers—

Though they never were that but damn curs, b

and

b This quotation is not found in any collection of the fragments of Aristophanes (Bernardakis). The play on words in the Greek consists in the change of the initial letters of the words tamias ("treasurers") and Lamias, fabulous creatures such as the bugbears with which children are frightened by their nurses.
οὐτὸς ἦτοι κακίας ἢ συκοφαντίας πνεῖ
καὶ
γαστριζε καὶ τοῖς ἐντέροις καὶ τοῖς κόλοις
καὶ
ὑπὸ τοῦ γέλωτος εἰς Γέλαν ἀφίξομαι
καὶ
τι δήτα δράσω σ', κακόδαιμον, ἀμφορεὺς ἐξοστρακισθείς;
καὶ
ἀγρία γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ὥ γυναῖκες, δρα' κακά,
ἀπ' ἐν ἀγρίοισι τοῖς λαχάνοις αὐτὸς τραφεῖς
καὶ
ἀλλ' ἤ τριχόβρωτες τὸν λόφον μου κατέφαγον
καὶ

1 γαστριζε and κόλοις Wyttenbach from Aristophanes: γαστριζε ἦ and κόλοις.
2 τοῦ added by Elmsley.
3 Γέλαν Xylander: τὸ γελάν.
4 δήτα Meineke: δέ.
5 δράσω σ' Meineke; σὲ δράσω Reiske: σοι δράσω.
6 δρα' Wyttenbach and Reiske from Aristophanes: ἄρα.
7 ἀγρίοισι Bernardakis: ἀγρίοις.
8 ἀλλ' ἤ τριχόβρωτες Aristophanes: ἀλλ' ἤ τριχοβόστρυχες.

* Knights, 437. In the Greek “north-east” and “calumny” both have the same endings in -ias, characteristic of the names of winds.
* Knights, 454. The play here consists in the use of gastrize, usually meaning “stuff the belly” with food, as.
This fellow blows an ill north-east or calumny,
and
Give him a belly-punch in his bowels and guts,
and
By laughter driven I soon shall be in Laughter-town,
and
Whatever shall I do to you, you wretched pot,
When gone the way of pots?

Since, women, what he does to us are evils wild,
For one who e'en himself in the wild-greens market grew,
and
But look, the moths have eaten up my plumes entire,
and
"punch in the belly." The language is intentionally coarse
as being characteristic of the Sausage-dealer, Cleon's rival
for political leadership.

Kock, Com. Att. Frag. i. p. 546, no. 618. The play is
on the word gelōs "laughter" and the city of Gela in Sicily.

Kock, ibid. p. 543, no. 593. The speaker seems to be
about to smash a pot in order to get some ostraka or pot-
sherds on which to inscribe the name of the politician for
whose "ostracism" he desires to vote.

Women Celebrating the Thesmophoria, 455. One of the
assembled women is arraigning Euripides for the wrongs he
has done to the sex in his tragedies. The reference in the
second line is to the then current story that the poet's mother
earned her living by selling wild greens and vegetables.

Acharnians, 1110. The speaker is the general
Lamachus, who comes on the scene in his full officer's
regalia. The word for moth in Greek is trichobros "hair-
eater."

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PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(853) φέρε δεύτερο γοργόνωτον ἀσπίδος κύκλον.
kάμοι πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτον¹ δός κύκλον
καὶ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα. ἔνεστι μὲν ὦν ἐν τῇ κατα-
σκευῇ τῶν ὄνομάτων αὐτῷ τὸ τραγικὸν τὸ κωμικὸν
tὸ σοβαρὸν τὸ πεζὸν, ἀσάφεια, κοινότης, ὄγκος καὶ
dιάρμα, σπερμολογία καὶ φυλάρια ναυτιώδης. καὶ

D τοσαῦτας διαφοράς ἔχουσα καὶ ἀνομοιότητας ἢ
λέξεις οὐδὲ τὸ πρέπον ἑκάστῃ καὶ οἰκείων ἀπο-
δίδουσιν· οἷον λέγω χαλεπὶ τῶν ὄγκων ῥήτορι τὴν
dεινότητα γυναίκι τὸ ἀπλοῦν ἱδιώτη τὸ πεζὸν
ἀγοράς τὸ φορτίκον· ἀλλ’ ὦσπερ ἀπὸ κλήρου
ἀπονέμει τοῖς προσώποις τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν ὄνο-
μάτων, καὶ οὐκ ἄν διαγνωσθῇ εἰθ’ υἱὸς ἔστιν εἰτὲ
πατὴρ εἰτ’ ἀγροῖκος εἰτε θεὸς εἰτε γραῦς εἰθ’ ἦρως
ὁ διαλεγόμενος.

2. Ἡ δὲ Μενάνδρου φράσις οὕτω συνεξεσται
καὶ συμπέπνευκε κεκραμένη πρὸς έαυτήν, ὡστε διὰ

Επολλῴων ἀγομένη παθῶν καὶ ήθῶν καὶ προσώποις
ἐφαρμόττουσα παντοδαποῖς μία τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ
τὴν ὀμοιότητα τηρεῖν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ συνῆθοσι
καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν χρείαν ὄνομασιν· εὰν δὲ τῶν ἀρα
tερατειας εἰς τὸ πράγμα καὶ ψόφου δεήσῃ, καθάπερ
αὐλοῦ πάντρητον ἀνασπάσας ταχὺ πάλιν καὶ πιθα-
νῶς ἑπέβαλε καὶ κατέστησε τὴν φωνῆν εἰς τὸ
οἰκείον. πολλῶν δὲ γεγονότων εὐδοκίμων τεχνι-
τῶν, οὕθ’ ὑπόδημα δημιουργὸς οὕτε προσωπεῖον

¹ τυρόνωτον Xylander from Aristophanes: γυρόνωτον.

a The first line is spoken by Lamachus, who has been
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Lam. I say, bring here my shield's round orb all Gorgon-faced.

Dic. I say, hand me a flat-cake's orb all faced with cheese, and many things of the same sort. Moreover, in his diction there are tragic, comic, pompous, and prosaic elements, obscurity, vagueness, dignity, and elevation, loquacity and sickening nonsense. And with all these differences and dissimilarities his use of words does not give to each kind its fitting and appropriate use; I mean, for example, to a king his dignity, to an orator his eloquence, to a woman her artlessness, to an ordinary man his prosaic speech, to a market-lounger his vulgarity; but he assigns to his characters as if by lot such words as happen to turn up, and you could not tell whether the speaker is son or father, a rustic or a god, or an old woman or a hero.

2. "But Menander's diction is so polished and its ingredients mingled into so consistent a whole that, although it is employed in connexion with many emotions and many types of character and adapts itself to persons of every kind, it nevertheless appears as one and preserves its uniformity in common and familiar words in general use; but if the action should anywhere call for strange and deceptive language and for bluster, he opens, as it were, all the stops of his flute, but then quickly and plausibly closes them and brings the sound back to its natural quality. And although there have been many noted artisans, no shoemaker ever made the same shoe, no ordered to lead out his forces for the defence of the frontier in blustery wintry weather. Everything he says is parodied by the pacifist Dicaeopolis, the charcoal-burner, who for his part is preparing for a grand banquet.
σκευοποιοὶς οὖτε τις ἵματιον ἢ μα ταὐτὸν ἄνδρι καὶ
γυναικὶ καὶ μειρακίων καὶ γέροντι καὶ οἰκότροφι
πρέπον ἐποίησεν ἄλλα Μένανδρος οὕτως ἔμηξει τὴν
λέξιν, οὐσε πάση καὶ φύσει καὶ διαθέσει καὶ ἡλικίᾳ
σύμμετρον ἐξενα, καὶ ταῦτα νέος μὲν ἐτὶ τοῦ
πράγματος ἀφάμενος, ἐν ἀκμῇ δὲ τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ
διδάσκειν τελευτῆσας, ὁτε μάλιστα καὶ πλείστην
ἐπίδοσιν, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης φησι, λαμβάνει τὰ περὶ
tὴν λέξιν τοῖς γράφοντων. εἰ οὖν πρὸς τὰ πρῶτα
tῶν Μένανδρου δραμάτων τὰ μέσα καὶ τὰ τελευ-
tατα παραβάλοι τις, ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεται, ὡσα
ἐμελλεν, εἰ ἐπεβίω, καὶ τούτως ἔτερα προσθῆσεν.

3. "Οτι τῶν διδασκόντων οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὸν όχλον
cαι τὸν δήμου γράφοντοι οἱ δὲ τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τὸ δὲ
ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἄρμοντον τοῖς γένεσιν οὐ βάδιον ὅτω
τῶν πάντων ὑπήρξεν εἰπεὶν. Ἀριστοφάνης μὲν οὖν
οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρεστὸς οὔτε τοῖς φρονίμοις ἀν-
εκτός, ἀλλ’ ὁσπερ ἑταῖρας τῆς ποιήσεως παρηκμα-
kυίας, εἶσα μμουμένης γαμετῆν, οὔθ’ οἱ πολλοὶ τὴν
αὐθάδειαν ὑπομένουν ὥσοι τε σεμνοὶ βεδελύττονται
tὸ ἀκόλουθον καὶ κακόθες. δὲ Μένανδρος μετὰ
χαρίτων μάλιστα ἐαυτὸν αὐτάρκη παρέσχηκεν, ἐν
θεάτρῳ ἐν διατριβάισ ἐν συμποσίοις, ἀνάγνωσια
καὶ μάθημα καὶ ἀγώνισμα κοινότατον ὅν ἡ Ἑλλάς
ἐνήνοχε καλῶν παρέχων τὴν ποίησιν, δεικνύσι οὐ τι
dὴ καὶ ὁποίον ἢ ἡρα δεξιότης λόγου, ἐπιών ἀπαν-
tαχὸσε μετὰ πειθός ἀφύκτω καὶ χειρούμενος ἄπα-

1 ἔμηξε Herwerden: ἐδείξε.
2 ὑπομένουσιν Reiske: περιμένουσιν.

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a Menander was born in 342 B.C. and died in 292-291 B.C. at the age of fifty-two. His first play, probably the Heautontimoroumenos, was brought out when he was somewhat
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mask-maker the same mask, and no tailor the same cloak, that would be appropriate at the same time for man and woman and youth and old man and domestic slave; but Menander so blended his diction that it comports with every nature, disposition, and age, and he did this although he entered upon his career while still a young man and died at the height of his powers as playwright and poet, when, as Aristotle says, writers make the greatest progress in the matter of diction. If, therefore, we were to compare Menander’s earliest dramas with those of his middle and final periods, we should perceive from them how many qualities he would, had he lived longer, have added to these.

3. “Some dramatists write for the common people, and others for the few, but it is not easy to say which of them all is capable of adapting his work to both classes. Now Aristophanes is neither pleasing to the many nor endurable to the thoughtful, but his poetry is like a harlot who has passed her prime and then takes up the rôle of a wife, whose presumption the many cannot endure and whose licentiousness and malice the dignified abominate. But Menander, along with his charm, shows himself above all satisfying. He has made his poetry, of all the beautiful works Greece has produced, the most generally accepted subject in theatres, in discussions, and at banquets, for readings, for instruction, and for dramatic competitions. For he shows, indeed, what the essence and nature of skill in the use of language really are, approaching all subjects with a persuasiveness from which there is no escape, and controlling under twenty years of age. See Clark, Class. Phil. i. (1906) pp. 313 ff.
(854) σαν ἀκοήν καὶ διάνοιαν Ἑλληνικῆς φωνῆς. τῶν γὰρ ἄξιων ἀληθῶς εἰς θέατρον ἐλθεῖν ἄνδρα πε- παιδευμένον ἢ Μενάνδρον ἔνεκα; πότε δὲ θέατρα πίσφλαται ἄνδρῶν φιλολόγων, κωμικοῦ 1 προσώπου δεχθέντος; ἐν δὲ συμποσίοις τίνι δικαιότερον ἢ τράπεζα παραχωρεῖ καὶ τόπον ὁ Διώνυσος δίδωσι; φιλοσόφους δὲ καὶ φιλολόγους, 2 ὡσπερ ὅταν οἱ γραφεῖς ἐκπονηθῶσιν τὰς ὀψεις, ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα καὶ ποιώδη χρώματα τρέπουσι, ἀνασπαλα τῶν ἀκράτων 3 καὶ συντόνων ἐκείνων Μενάνδρος εστιν, οἶον εὐανθεῖ λειμῶν καὶ σκιερῷ καὶ πνευμάτων μεστῷ δεχόμενος τὴν διάνοιαν.

4. Ὡς κωμιδίας ὑποκριτᾶς 4 τοῦ χρόνου τούτου πολλοῦ καὶ ἁγάθους τῆς πόλεως ἐνεγκούσης, * * * 5 αἱ Μενάνδρου κωμιδίας ἀφθόνων ἄλων καὶ ἱλαρῶν 6 μετέχουσιν, ὡσπερ ἐξ ἐκείνης γεγονότων τῆς θαλάτ- της, ἐξ ἧς 7 Αφροδίτη γέγονεν. οἱ δ’ Ἀριστοφάνους ἀλες πικροὶ καὶ τραχεῖς ὄντες ἐλκυστικὴν δριμύτητα καὶ δητικὴν ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ οἶδ’ ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ἡ θρυλομένη δεξιότης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, ἐν λόγοις ἡ προσ- ῥόποις ἀμέλει καὶ τὰ μεμιμημένα πρὸς τὸ κέντρον

D μειμηται τὸ γὰρ πανοῦργον οὐ πολιτικῶν ἀλλὰ κακόθεν, καὶ τὸ ἀγροικὸν οὐκ ἀφελές 8 ἀλλ’ ἥλιθιν, καὶ τὸ γελοῖον οὐ παγυνώδες ἀλλὰ καταγελαστὸν,

1 κωμικοὶ Wytenbach: ἢ κωμικοῦ.
2 φιλολόγουs Wytenbach: φιλοπόνων.
3 ἀκράτων Reiske: ἀκροτῶν.
4 ὑποκριτᾶς Špořil: Ποιητᾶς Haupt.
5 A gap here was first suggested by Wytenbach. Something is certainly wanting.
7 ἦς Haupt: ἄν.
8 ἀφελές Bryan: ἀσφαλές.
every sound and meaning which the Greek language affords. For what reason, in fact, is it truly worth while for an educated man to go to the theatre, except to enjoy Menander? And when else are theatres filled with men of learning, if a comic character has been brought upon the stage? And at banquets for whom is it more proper for the festive board to yield its place and for Dionysus to waive his rights? And just as painters, when their eyes are tired, turn to the colours of flowers and grass, so to philosophers and men of learning Menander is a rest from their concentrated and intense studies, inviting the mind, as it were, to a meadow flowery, shady, and full of breezes.

4. “Although the city has supplied at the present time many excellent actors of comedy... Menander’s comedies contain an abundance of salty wit and merriment, which seem like the salt derived from that sea out of which Aphroditē was born. But the witticisms of Aristophanes are bitter and rough and possess a sharpness which wounds and bites. And I do not know wherein his vaunted cleverness resides, whether in his words or his characters. Certainly even whatever he imitates he makes worse; for with him roguishness is not urbane but malicious, rusticity not simple but silly, facetiousness not playful but ridiculous, and love

\(^a\) _i.e._ when comedies are given only those of Menander draw the crowds of men of culture.

\(^b\) That scenes from Menander’s plays may be recited or acted.

\(^c\) _Cf._ Cicero, _De Officiis_ i. 37. 133 “sale vero et facetiis Caesar vicit omnes,” where _facetiis_ corresponds to Emperius’s conjecture _λαρῳ_.

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καὶ τὸ ἐρωτικὸν οὐχ ἠλαρόν ἀλλ’ ἀκόλαστον. οὐδὲν γὰρ ὁ ἄνθρωπος έωσε μετρίῳ τὴν ποίησιν γεγραφέναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν αἰσχρὰ καὶ ἀσελγῆ τοῖς ἀκόλαστοις, τὰ βλάσφημα δὲ καὶ πικρὰ τοῖς βασκάνοις καὶ κακοῆθεσιν.”
not joyous but licentious. For the fellow seems to have written his poetry, not for any decent person, but the indecent and wanton lines for the licentious, the slanderous and bitter passages for the envious and malicious.”
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