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PREFACE

As in the first volume of this series, no apology is offered for the translation which, it is to be hoped, may be slightly better than that offered in the first volume, or, if that hope is vain, at least no worse.


Of the essays included in this volume all but the last two had been sent to the printer, and the last two were ready for printing, when the new Teubner edition of Vol. I. of the Moralia appeared (Plutarch Moralia, Vol. I. recensuerunt et emendaverunt W. R. Paton† et I. Wegehaupt†. Praefationem scr. M. Poholenz. Leipzig, 1925). Consequently the text of the last two essays has been diligently compared with that of the new edition before they were sent to the printer, and in the rest only such changes have been made as seemed imperative. It is but fair to say that the changes made consist almost wholly of additional notations in regard to the readings of the mss. The text as originally constituted, whether for better or for worse, has hardly been changed at all.
It may not be amiss to say a word about the new edition, which was prepared with the advice and consent of v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, who is spoken of in the preface as "huius editionis patronus." The book is a great disappointment. True it gives detailed information in regard to the readings of the mss., and some additional information regarding the mss. and their relations, and it provides also a more generous list of references both to Plutarch and to other authors, although some important references seem to be missing. But the text itself, as finally constituted, is inferior to that of Bernardakis or of Wyttenbach. The editors seem too much inclined to subjective emendation, to rewriting Plutarch so as to make him say what they think he ought to have said—a fashion more in vogue in the last century. It is becoming clear that most of the minor errors in the text of Plutarch will yield in time to the orderly processes of textual criticism.

In the really difficult passages one will usually look in vain for help from this edition, for one will find in the text, as a rule, only a transcript of the reading of one or more manuscripts, or else occasionally an emendation which only too loudly condemns itself, and too often no note of suggestions made by others. The editors seem not to have read Hatzidakis' review of Bernardakis' edition (Ἀθηνᾶ, vol. xiii.), and many of the minor mistakes found in Bernardakis' edition are reprinted in this. Again, in several cases, emendations are not correctly attributed to their

1 It is amusing to find that one of these little errors, to which v. Wilamowitz Moellendorff, "huius editionis patronus," called especial attention in Hermes, vol xxv., appears here unchanged.
authors, and this leads one to question whether the readings of the mss. are always recorded correctly. Yet, on the whole, the book is a distinct contribution to the study of Plutarch and it is a matter for regret that its publication was so long delayed, and a matter for still keener regret is the untimely death of the two editors, W. R. Paton and J. Wegehaupt.

F. C. B.

Trinity College,
Hartford, Conn.
November 1926.
null
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER of the Books of the Moralía as they appear since the edition of Stephanus (1572), and their division into volumes in this edition.

I. De liberis educandis (Περὶ παιδῶν ἀγωγῆς)  
Quomodo adolescens poetas audire debeat  
(Πῶς δεῖ τὸν νέον ποιημάτων ἀκούειν)  
De recta ratione audiendi (Περὶ τοῦ ἀκούειν)  
Quomodo adulator ab amico internoscatur  
(Πῶς ἂν τις διακρίνει τὸν κόλακα τοῦ φίλου)  
Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus  
(Πῶς ἂν τις αἰσθητὸ ἑαυτοῦ προκόπτοντος ἐπὶ ἀρετῇ)  

II. De capienda ex inimicis utilitate (Πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ’ ἐχθρῶν ὀψελοῖτο)  
De amicorum multitidine ((Περὶ πολυφιλίας)  
De fortuna (Περὶ τύχης)  
De virtute et vitio (Περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας)  
Consolatio ad Apollonium (Παραμυθητικὸς πρὸς Ἀπολλώνιον)  
De tuenda sanitate praecepta (Ὑγεινὰ παραγγελματα)  
Coniugalia praecepta (Γαμκὰ παραγγελματα)  
Septem sapientium convivium (Τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν ι συμπόσιον)  
De superstitione (Περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας)  

III. Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata (Ἀποφθέγματα βασιλέων καὶ στρατηγῶν)  
Apophthegmata Laconica (Ἀποφθέγματα Λακωνικὰ)  
Instituta Laconica (Τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιτηδεύματα)
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| 263d | Quaestiones Romanae (Aitia Pwymaiou)                                |
| 291d | Quaestiones Graecae (Aitia Ellinikou)                               |
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| 316b | De fortuna Romanorum (Peri ths Pwymaiouw tychs)                     |
| 326d | De Alexanpl magni fortuna aut virtute, lib-
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|      | logwv b')                                                           |
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|      | (Poterou Athnaioi kata polemon h kata sofian 
|      | enodojeterou)                                                       |
| 351c | V. De Iside et Osiride (Peri Isidos kai Osiridos)                    |
| 384c | De E apud Delphos (Peri tov El tov en Delphoiv)                      |
| 394d | De Pythiae oraculis (Peri tov mh xran emumetra 
|      | vwn thv Puthian)                                                    |
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De vitando aere alieno (*Peri tov }jhe }jweis dakive- xosbaj*) 827d

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X. De Herodoti malignitate (*Peri tis }Hroidotov kakoptheias*) 853a

De placitis philosophorum, libri v (*Peri taw }arevkojntwv tois filosofojv, vbljia e") 874d

Quaestiones naturales (*Aittia vksikav*) 911c

XII. De facie quae in orbe lunae appareat (*Peri tov }emfaiynemuvn prosopou tv }kiklw tis sele-

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THE TRADITIONAL ORDER
THE TRADITIONAL ORDER

Aquane an ignis sit utilior (Περὶ τοῦ πότερον ὦδωρ ἡ πύρ χρησμώτερον)

Terrestriane an aquatilia animalia sint callidiora (Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα τὰ χερσαία ἡ τὰ ἐνυδρα)

Bruta animalia ratione uti, sive Gryllus (Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγω χρήσθαι)

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De Stoicorum repugnantiis (Περὶ Στoικῶν ἕναντιωμάτων)

Compendium argumenti Stoicos absurdiora poetis dicere (Σύνοψις τοῦ ὅτι παραδοξότερα ὁι Στoικοὶ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγουσι)

De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos (Περὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἐννοιῶν πρὸς τοὺς Στoικοὺς)

XIV. Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum (鹖τι οὐδ’ ἡδέως ξῆν ἐστὶ κατ’ Ἐπικουροῦν)

Adversus Colotem (Πρὸς Κωλώττην)

An recte dictum sit latenter esse vivendum El kalwv eîrthai to λάθε βιώσας)

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(DE CAPIENDA EX INIMICIS UTILITATE)
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PERSONS INJURED:

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INTRODUCTION

The essay on turning even one's enemies to some profitable use was an extempore address which was afterwards reduced to writing. It still retains, however, some of the marks of its extempore character in an occasional asyndeton or anacoluthon, in a few repetitions, and in such little slips as reversing the positions of Domitius and Scaurus (91а). But minor matters of this sort cannot obscure the excellence of the essay as a whole, which contains much good advice, many wholesome truths, and much common sense. To cite but one example, the statement (91б) that many things which are necessary in time of war, but bad under other conditions, acquire the sanction of custom and law, and cannot be easily abolished, even though the people are being injured by them, will appeal to everybody except the confirmed militarist. The essay was written some time after the essay entitled Advice to Statesmen, which in turn must be placed shortly after the death of Domitian (A.D. 96).

This is one of the "moral" essays of Plutarch which so impressed Christians that they were translated into Syriac in the sixth or seventh centuries. The translation of this essay is rather an adaptation, many details being omitted as unessential, but even so it gives light on the Greek text in a few places. The Syriac translation is published in Studia Sinaitica, No. IV (London 1894)
1. ὦ ὁμό μὲν ὅτι τὸν πραότατον, ὦ Ἐκείνης Ὀηλχερ, ἐν ὑμὸν ἀλλοίᾳ τοῖς κοινοῖς ὑφέλιμος ὃν ἀλυπότατον ἴδια τοῖς ἐν-τυχχάνοντι παρέχεις σεαυτόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ χώραν μὲν ἀθηρὸν ὧσπερ ἱστοροῦσι τὴν Κρήτην εὐρείν ἐστι, πολιτεία δὲ μὴτε φθόνον ἐννοχυίᾳ μῆτε ξῆλον ἡ φιλονεκίαν, ἐξήθρας γονιμωτάτα πάθη, μέχρι νῦν οὐ γέγονεν (ἀλλ’ εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ταῖς ἐξήθραις αὐτὶ φιλιαί συμπλέκουσιν ὡμᾶς: ὦ καὶ Χίλων ὁ σοφὸς νοήσας τὸν εἰπόντα μηδένα ἔχειν ἐξήθρον ἠρώτησεν εἰ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχει), δοκεῖ μοι τὰ τ’ ἄλλα περὶ ἐξήθρῶν τῷ πολιτικῷ διεσκέφθαι προσήκει καὶ τοῦ Ἐκεῖνοντος ἀκηκοέναι μὴ παρέργωσι εἰπόντος ὅτι τοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντός ἐστι καὶ Ἰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξήθρῶν ὑφε-λείσθαι.’ ἀπερ οὖν εἰς τοῦτο πρώτην εἰπεῖν μοι παρέστη, συναγαγών ὁμοῦ τι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀπέσταλκα σοι, φεισάμενος ὡς ἐνὴν μάλιστα τῶν

1 Ποὐλχερ Χυλάντερ; ποὺλχερ (or ποὐλχερ) ἄτερ. Perhaps ἄτερ came from the explanatory note of some copyist (Δατ. ἐρ).

a Presumably Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, who was procurator in Achaia towards the close of Plutarch’s life. He also held various other offices. Cf. Corpus Inscr. Graec. i. 1186.

b This tradition in regard to Crete is found in several ancient writers. Cf. for example Pliny, Nat. Hist. viii. 83.
HOW TO PROFIT BY ONE'S ENEMIES

1. I observe, my dear Cornelius Pulcher, that you have chosen the mildest form of official administration, in which you are as helpful as possible to the public interests while at the same time you show yourself to be very amiable in private to those who have audience with you. Now it may be possible to find a country, in which, as it is recorded of Crete, there are no wild animals, but a government which has not had to bear with envy or jealous rivalry or contention—emotions most productive of enmity—has not hitherto existed. For our very friendships, if nothing else, involve us in enmities. This is what the wise Chilon had in mind, when he asked the man who boasted that he had no enemy whether he had no friend either. Therefore it seems to me to be the duty of a statesman not only to have thoroughly investigated the subject of enemies in general, but also in his reading of Xenophon to have given more than passing attention to the remark that it is a trait of the man of sense "to derive profit even from his enemies." Some thoughts, therefore, on this subject, which I recently had occasion to express, I have put together in practically the same words, and now send them to you, with the omission, so far

\* The same remark is quoted by Plutarch in *Moralia* 96 A. Cf. also Aulus Gellius, i. 3. In *Economicus* 1. 15.
(86) εν τοῖς Πολιτικοῖς Παραγγέλμασι γεγραμμένων, Ε δέπει κάκεινο τὸ βιβλίον ὅρω σε πρόχειρον ἔχοντα πολλάκις.

2. Ὁ ἔξηρκει τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἀγρίων ζώων μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν πρὸς τὰ θηρία τέλος ἢν ἀγώνων ἔκεινοι· οἱ δ’ ύστερον ἡδη χρησθαι μαθόντες αὐτοῖς καὶ ωφελούνται σαρξὶ τρεφόμενοι καὶ θρύιν ἀμφιεννύμενοι καὶ χολαῖς καὶ πυτείας ἱατρευόμενοι καὶ δέρμασιν ὑπλέ-ζοντες έαυτούς, ὥστ’ ἄξιον εἶναι δεδείναι μὴ τῶν θηρίων ἐπιλιπόντων τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ θηριώδης ὁ βίος αὐτοῦ γένηται καὶ ἄπορος καὶ ἄνήμερος. ἐπεὶ τούτων τοίς μὲν ἀλλοις ἰκανόν ἐστὶ τὸ μὴ πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν κακῶς, τοὺς δὲ νόν ἔχοντοσ ὁ Ἐνοφῶν καὶ ωφελεῖσθαι φησιν ἀπὸ τῶν διαφερο-μένων, ἀπιστεῖν μὲν οὐ χρή, ζητεῖν δὲ μέθοδον καὶ τέχνην δι’ ἢς τοῦτο περιέσται τὸ καλὸν οἷς χωρίς ἐχθροῦ ζῆν ἀδύνατον ἔστιν.

Οὐ δύναται γὰρ ἐξημερώσαι δένδρον ὁ γεωργὸς οὔτε πάν τιθασεῦσαι θηρίων ὁ κυνηγός· ἐξήτησαν οὖν καθ’ ἐτέρας χρέιας οἷς μὲν ἐκ τῶν ἀκάρτων ὁ δ’ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγρίων ὁφελεῖσθαι. τῆς θαλάττης τὸ ϊδωρ ἀποτόν ἐστὶ καὶ πονηρόν, ἀλλ’ ἱχθὺς τρέφει καὶ πόμπημον ἐστὶ πάντη καὶ πορευόμενον ὁχῆμα τοῖς κομίζομενοι· τοὺς ἀπὸ σατύρου τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτον ὠφθη, βουλομένου φιλῆσαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν, ὁ Προμηθεύς

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* This work has been preserved; it is to be found in the *Moralia*, 798 A-825 F.
as possible, of matter contained in my *Advice to Statesmen,* a since I observe that you often have that book close at hand.

2. Primitive men were quite content if they could escape being injured by strange and fierce animals, and this was the aim and end of their struggles against the wild beasts; but their successors, by learning, as they did, how to make use of them, now profit by them through using their flesh for food, their hair for clothing, their gall and colostrum as medicine, and their skins as armour, so that there is good reason to fear that, if the supply of wild beasts should fail man, his life would become bestial, helpless, and uncivilized. b Since, then, it is enough for most people if they can avoid suffering ill-treatment at the hands of their enemies, and since Xenophon c asserts that men of sense will even derive profit from those who are at variance with them, we must not refuse him credence, but rather try to discover the system and the art through which this admirable advantage is to be gained by those who find it impossible to live without an enemy.

The farmer cannot domesticate every tree, nor can the huntsman tame every beast; and so they have sought to derive profit from these in ways to meet their other needs: the farmer from the trees that bear no fruit and the huntsman from the wild animals. The water of the sea is unfit to drink and tastes vile; yet fish thrive in it, and it is a medium for the dispatch and conveyance of travellers everywhere. The Satyr, at his first sight of fire, wished to kiss and embrace it, but Prometheus said,

b *Cf. Moralia, 964 a.*

Oeconomicus, 1. 15; *cf. also Cyropaedia, i. 6. 11.*
τράγος γένειον ἀρα πενθῆσεις σὺ γε·
καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὸν ἄφαμενον, ἀλλὰ φῶς παρέχει καὶ
θερμότητα καὶ τέχνης ἀπάσης ὄργανον ἐστὶ τοῖς
χρήσαις μαθοῦσι. οὐκ οὖν ἀδεικνύον, εἰ
βλαβερὸς ὡν τάλλα καὶ δυσμεταχειριστὸς, ἀμωσ-
γέτως ἄφην ἐνδίδωσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ χρῆσιν οἰκεῖαν
καὶ ὁφέλιμός ἐστί. καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀφιλα
πολλὰ καὶ ἀπεχθῆ καὶ ἀντίπαλα τοῖς ἐντυγχά-
νουσιν ἀλλ’ ὅρας οὐκ ἔσωσι οὐκ οὐκαίσος εἰς
ἀπραγμοσύνην ἐχρήσαντο, καὶ πόνοι πολλοῖς προσ-
πεσόντες ἔρρωσαν καὶ ἥσκησαν. ἔσοντο δέ καὶ
πατρίδος στέρησαν καὶ σωμάτων ἀποβολήν ἐφ-
όδιον σχολῆς ἐπουχάντο καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ὡς
Διογένης καὶ Κράτης. Ζηνών δὲ, τῆς ναυκληρίας
αὐτῶς συντριβείσης, πυθόμενος εἶπεν, “ἤ γ’, ὦ
τῦχη, ποιεῖς, εἰς τὸν τρίβωνα συνελαύνουσα ἡμᾶς.”

Β καὶ σκορπίους, ἔστι δ’ α καὶ λίθους καὶ ὀστράκους
τρέφεται (μεταβάλλουσι δὲ δι’ εὐτονίαν καὶ θερμό-
τητα πνεύματος), οἱ δὲ σιγχοὶ καὶ νοσώδεις ἄρτον
καὶ οἴνον4 προσφερόμενοι ναυτιῶσιν, οὗτος οἱ μὲν
ἀνόητοι καὶ τὰς φιλίας διαφθείρουσιν, οἱ δὲ
φρόνιμοι καὶ τοῖς ἔχθραις ἐμμελῶς χρήσαι
dύνανται.

1 καὶ γὰρ added by Bernardakis.
2 ρωμαλεώτατα Hercher: ρωμαλέα (ρωμαλεώτερα Suidas s.v.
        σικχός).
3 τοὺς στομάχους Suidas: τοὺς στομάχους.
4 οἶνον] ὑδῷ Suidas.

* From Prometheus the Fire-bearer of Aeschylus. Cf.
* Cf. Diogenes Laertius, vi. 20 ff.
HOW TO PROFIT BY ONE'S ENEMIES, 86-87

You, goat, will mourn your vanished beard, for fire burns him who touches it, yet it furnishes light and heat, and is an instrument of every craft for those who have learned to use it. So look at your enemy, and see whether, in spite of his being in most respects harmful and difficult to manage, he does not in some way or other afford you means of getting hold of him and of using him as you can use no one else, and so can be of profit to you. Many of the circumstances of life are unkindly and hateful and repellant to those who have to meet them; yet you observe that some have employed their attacks of bodily illness for quiet resting, and trials which have fallen to the lot of many have but strengthened and trained them. Some, too, have made banishment and loss of property a means of leisure and philosophic study, as did Diogenes and Crates. And Zeno, on learning that the ship which bore his venture had been wrecked, exclaimed, "A real kindness, O Fortune, that thou, too, dost join in driving us to the philosopher's cloak!" For just as those animals which have the strongest and soundest stomachs can eat and digest snakes and scorpions, and there are some even that derive nourishment from stones and shells (for they transmute such things by reason of the vigour and heat of their spirit), while fastidious and sickly persons are nauseated if they partake of bread and wine, so fools spoil even their friendships, while wise men are able to make a fitting use even of their enmities.

* Ibid. vi. 85.

* The remark of Zeno is again referred to by Plutarch in *Moralia*, 467 d and 603 d; cf. also Diogenes Laertius, vii. 5, and Seneca, *De animi tranquillitate*, chap. xiii.
3. Πρώτον μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ μοι τὴς ἑξῆς ἔχθρας τὸ βλαβερῶτατον ὡφελιμῶτατον ἀν γενέσθαι τοῖς προσέχουσιν. τί δὲ τούτ’ ἐστίν; ἐφεδρεύει σοι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐγρηγορῶς ὁ ἑχθρὸς ἀεὶ καὶ λαβὴν ἥγητον πανταχόθεν περιοδεύει τὸν βίον, οὐ διὰ δροῦς μόνον ὃρᾶν ὡς ὁ Δυνατός οὐδὲ διὰ λίθων Καὶ ὑπεράκων, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ φίλου καὶ οἰκέτου καὶ διὰ συνήθους παντὸς ὃς ἀνυστόν ἐστὶ φωρῶν τὰ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ βουλεύόμενα διορύττοι καὶ διερευνώμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ φίλοι καὶ νοσοῦτες ἡμᾶς πολλάκις καὶ ἀποθνῄσκοντες λανθάνουσιν ἀμελοῦντας καὶ ὀλγωροῦντας, τῶν ὃ ἔχθρων μονονουχὶ καὶ τοὺς ὀνείρους πολυπραγμονομενονόςοι δὲ καὶ δανεισμοὶ καὶ διαφοράι πρὸς γυναῖκας αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνους μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν ἑχθρὸν λανθάνουσιν. μάλιστα δὲ τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν ἔχεται καὶ ταύτας ἐξιχνεύει. καὶ καθάπερ οἱ γυῖτες ἐπὶ τὰς ὅσμᾶς D τῶν διεφθοράτων σωμάτων φέρονται, τῶν δὲ καθαρῶν καὶ ὑγιανόντων αἰσθησιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν, οὕτω τὰ νοσοῦτα τοῦ βίου καὶ φαῖλα καὶ πεπονθότα κινεῖ τὸν ἑχθρόν, καὶ πρὸς ταύτ’ οἱ μισοῦτες ἀττουσι καὶ τούτων ἀπτοῦται καὶ σπαράττουσι. τούτῳ οὖν ὡφέλιμον ἐστί; πάνυ μὲν οὖν, εὐλαβούμενον ζῆν καὶ προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μὴτε πράττειν μηδὲν ὀλγωρώς καὶ ἀπερισκέπτως μὴτε λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἀεὶ διαφυλάττειν ὡσπερ ἐν ἀκρίβει διαίτη τὸν βίον ἀνεπίληπτον’ ἢ γὰρ οὕτω συνετέλλουσα τα Ἐπάθθη καὶ συνέχουσα τὸν λογισμὸν εὐλάβεια μελέτην ἐμποιεῖ καὶ προσάρευν τοῦ ζῆν ἐπιεικῶς καὶ

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*Lynceus was gifted with superhuman powers of vision; cf. for example *Moralia*, 1083 d; *Pindar, Nemean Odes*, χ. 60; *Horace, Epistles*, i. 1. 28, and *Pausanias*, iv. 2.*
3. In the first place, then, it seems to me that the most harmful element in enmity may be made most profitable to those who give heed. What is this? Your enemy, wide awake, is constantly lying in wait to take advantage of your actions, and seeking to gain some hold on you, keeping up a constant patrol about your life; and not only does his sight, like the sight of Lynceus, penetrate the oak-tree and stones and tiles, but your enemy, through every friend and servant and acquaintance as well, so far as possible, plays the detective on your actions and digs his way into your plans and searches them through and through. Oftentimes we do not learn, until too late, of the illness or the death of our friends, so careless are we and neglectful; but our curiosity about our enemies all but prompts us to pry into their dreams; sickness, debts, and conjugal disagreements are more likely to be unknown to the very persons affected than to their enemy. Especially does he try to get hold of their failings and ferret them out. And just as vultures are drawn to the smell of decomposed bodies, but have no power to discover those that are clean and healthy, so the infirmities, meannesses, and untoward experiences of life rouse the energies of the enemy, and it is such things as these that the malevolent pounce upon and seize and tear to pieces. Is this then profitable? Assuredly it is, to have to live circumspectly, to give heed to one’s self, and not to do or say anything carelessly or inconsiderately, but always to keep one’s life unassailable as though under an exact regimen. For the circumspection which thus represses the emotions and keeps the reasoning power within bounds gives practice and purpose in living a life that
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

άνεγκλήτως. καθάπερ γάρ αἱ πολέμωι ἀστυγει-
tουκοίς καὶ στρατείαις ἐνδελεχεῖσι σωφρονιζόμεναι
πόλεις εὐνομίαν καὶ πολιτείαν ὑγιαίνουσαν ἡγάπη-
sαν, οὕτως οἱ δὲ ἔχθρας τινὰς ἀναγκασθέντες
ἐπινήσει τῷ βίῳ καὶ φυλάττεσθαι τὸ βάθυμεν καὶ
καταφρονεῖν καὶ μετ’ εὐχρηστίας ἐκαστὰ πράττειν
λανθάνουσιν εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας
ἀγόμενοι καὶ κατακοσμοῦμενοι τὸν τρόπον, ἂν καὶ
μικρὸν ὁ λόγος συνεπιλαμβάνηται. τὸ γάρ

F ἢ κεν γηθήσαι Πρίαμος Πριάμιοι τε παίδες

oíc ἐστιν αἰεὶ πρόχειρον, ἐπιστρέφει καὶ διατρέπει
καὶ ἀφίστησι τῶν τοιούτων ἐφ’ οὐς οἱ ἔχθροι καὶ-
ρουσι καὶ καταγελῶσι. καὶ μὴν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Διὸ-
νυσον τεχνήτας ὀρῶμεν ἐκλευμένους καὶ ἀπροθυ-
μους καὶ οὐκ ἀκριβῶς πολλάκις ἀγωνιζομένους ἐν
τοῖς θεάτροις ἐφ’ ἑαυτῶν. ὅταν δ’ ἀμιλλα καὶ ἀγω
γένηται πρὸς ἔτέρους, οὐ μόνον αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ
tὰ ὀργανὰ μᾶλλον συνεπιστρέφουσι, χορδολογοῦντες
καὶ ἀκριβέστερον ἀρμοζόμενοι καὶ καταυλοῦντες.
ὅστις οὖν οἶδεν ἀνταγωνιστῇ βίου καὶ δόξῃς τὸν
88 ἔχθρον ὄντα, προσέχει μᾶλλον αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ πράγ-
ματα περισκοπεῖ καὶ διαρμόζεται τὸν βίου. ἐπεὶ
καὶ τοῦτο τῆς κακίας ἰδίον ἐστι, τὸ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς
αἰσχύνεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς φίλους ἐφ’ οἰς ἔξαμαρ-
τάνομεν. ὥθεν ὁ Νασικᾶς, οἰομένων τυνῶν καὶ
λεγόντων ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ γεγονέναι τα Ψωμαῖν πράγ-
ματα Καρχηδονίων μὲν ἀνηρμενέων Ἀχαιῶν δὲ

a Homer, II. i. 255. The words are addressed by Nestor to the Greek leaders, Agamemnon and Achilles, who have quarrelled.
b Actors and musicians.
is fair and free from reproach. For just as states which are chastened by border warfare and continual campaigning become well content with good order and a sound government, so persons who have been compelled on account of enmities to practise soberness of living, to guard against indolence and contemptuousness, and to let some good purpose prompt each act, are insensibly led by force of habit to make no mistakes, and are made orderly in their behaviour, even if reason co-operate but slightly. For when men keep always ready in mind the thought that

Priam and Priam's sons would in truth have cause for rejoicing; it causes them to face about and turn aside and abandon such things as give their enemies occasion for rejoicing and derision. Furthermore, we observe that the Dionysiac artists often play their parts in the theatres in a listless, dispirited, and inaccurate way when they are by themselves; but when there is rivalry and competition with another company, then they apply not only themselves but their instruments more attentively, picking their strings and tuning them and playing their flutes in more exact harmony. So the man who knows that his enemy is his competitor in life and repute is more heedful of himself, and more circumspect about his actions, and brings his life into a more thorough harmony. For it is a peculiar mark of vice, that we feel more ashamed of our faults before our enemies than before our friends. This is the ground of Nasica's remark, when some expressed their belief that the power of the Romans was now secure, inasmuch as the Carthaginians had been annihilated and
(88) δεδουλωμένων, "νῦν μὲν οὖν," εἶπεν, "ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχομεν, μῆθ' οὖς φοβηθῶμεν μῆθ' οὖς αἰσχυνθῶμεν έαυτοίς ἀπολελούστες."

Β 4. "Ετε τοίνυν πρόσλαβε τὴν Διογένους ἀποφασιν, φιλόσοφοι σφόδρα καὶ πολιτικὴν οὖσαν. "πὼς ἀμμυνοίμα τὸν ἐχθρὸν;" "ἀυτὸς καλὸς κάγαθὸς γενόμενος." ἦπτος ἐχθρῶν ὀρῶντες εὐδοκιμοῦντας ἁνιώτατα καὶ κύνας ἐπαινούμενουσ. ἀν χωρίων ἐκπεπονημένον ὦδωσιν, ἀν εὐθαλοῦντα κηπον, ἐπιστένουσι. τί οὖν οἰει, σεαυτὸν ἐπίδεικνύμενος ἀνδρα δίκαιον ἀρτίφρονα χρηστόν, ἐν λόγοις εὐδόκιμον, ἐν πράξει καθαρόν, ἐν διαίτῃ κόσμιον,

βαθείαν αὐλακα διὰ φρενὸς καρποῦμενον, ἐξ[2] ἤσ τὰ κεδνα βλαστάνει βουλεύματα;

"νικώμενοι," φησι Πύθαρος,

"ἀνδρες ἀγρυξία δέδενται,"

C οὐχ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲ πάντεσ, ἀλλ' ὅσοι νικωμένοι αὐτοὺς ὀρῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐπιμελείᾳ χρηστότητι μεγαλοφροσύνῃ φιλανθρωπίᾳς εὐργεσίᾳς· ταῦτ' "ἀποστρέφει τὴν γλώτταν," ὃς ὁ Δημοσθένης φησίν, "ἐμφράττει τὸ στόμα, ἄγχει, σωπῶν ποιεῖ.

οὗ τοι διάφερε τῶν κακῶν. ἐξεστὶ γάρ.

eι thέλεις ἀνιάν τὸν μισοῦντα, μη λοιδόρει κίναι συν μηδὲ μαλακὸν μηδ' ἀκόλαστον μηδὲ βωμολόχον

1 καὶ added by Bernardakis. 2 ἐξ'] ἀφ' Aeschylus.

a Quoted again in Moralia, 21 e.
b Aeschylus, Seven against Thebes, 593; quoted also in Moralia, 32 d, 186 b, and Life of Aristides, chap. iii. (p. 320 b).
the Achaeans reduced to subjection. “Nay,” he said, “now is our position really dangerous, since we have left for ourselves none to make us either afraid or ashamed.”

4. Moreover, as a supplement to this take the declaration of Diogenes, which is thoroughly philosophic and statesmanlike: “How shall I defend myself against my enemy?” “By proving yourself good and honourable.” Men are much distressed when they see their enemies’ horses winning renown or their dogs gaining approval. At the sight of a well-tilled field or a flourishing garden they groan. What, think you, would be their state of mind if you were to show yourself to be an honest, sensible man and a useful citizen, of high repute in speech, clean in actions, orderly in living,

Reaping the deep-sown furrow of your mind
From which all goodly counsels spring?

Pindar says,

The vanquished are bound
In the fetters of silence profound,
not absolutely or universally, however, but only those who realize that they are outdone by their enemies in diligence, goodness, magnanimity, kindly deeds, and good works. These are the things which, as Demosthenes puts it, “retard the tongue, stop the mouth, constrict the throat, and leave one with nothing to say.”

Be thou unlike the base; this thou canst do.

If you wish to distress the man who hates you, do not revile him as lewd, effeminate, licentious, vulgar,

* Pindar, Frag. 229 (ed. Christ).
* Demosthenes, Or. xix. (De falsa legatione) 208 (p. 406).
* Euripides, Orestes, 251.
(88) μηδ' ἀνελεύθερον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀνήρ ὤσθι καὶ σωφρόνει καὶ ἀλήθευε καὶ χρῷον θυσίως καὶ δικαιώσ τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσιν. ἀν δὲ λοιδορῆσαι προαχῆς, ἀπαγε πορρωτάτω σεαυτόν ὃν λοιδορεῖς ἐκεῖνον. ἐνδύου τῇ ψυχῇ, περισκόπει τὰ σαθρά, μή τίς σοι ποθεν ὑποθέγγηται κακία τὸ τοῦ τραγῳδοῦ

ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἐλκεσιν βρώνω.

ἀν ἀπαίδευτον εἰπης, ἐπίτευε τὸ φιλομαθὲς ἐν σεαυτῷ καὶ φιλόπονον. ἀν δειλόν, ἐγειρε μᾶλλον τὸ θαρραλέον καὶ ἀνθρώπος. κἂν ἁσελή καὶ ἀκόλαστον, ἔξαλευε τῆς ψυχῆς εἰ τι λανθάνον ἐστὶ φιλοδονίας ἱχνος. οὐδὲν γάρ αἰσχιν ἐστὶ βλασφημίας παλινδρομοῦσης οὐδὲ λυπηρότερον, ἀλλ' ἔοικε καὶ τοῦ φωτὸς τὸ ἀνακλῆμεν μᾶλλον ἐνοχλεῖν τὰς ἀσθενεῖς ὁράσεις καὶ τῶν ψόγων οἱ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναφερόμενοι τοὺς ψέγοντας ὑπὸ τῆς Ε ἀληθείας. ὡς γάρ ὅ κακίας τὰ νέφη, καὶ ὁ φαύλος βίος ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἐλκεῖ τὰς λοιδορίας.

5. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Πλάτων ὅσκις ἀσχημονοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις παραγένοιτο, πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰώθει λέγειν "μὴ που ἄρ' ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος;" ὁ δὲ λοιδορήσας

1 For τὰ σαθρά the Syriac version appears to have read τὰ σά ἐργα, “examine your actions.”

2 εἰπης Boissonade, confirmed by the Syriac version: εἰπη σε.

3 που ἄρ' Hercher, to conform to the other quotations of this saying by Plutarch: πη ἄρ', or ποι ἄρ'.

a From an unknown play of Euripides; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, No. 1086; Plutarch quotes the line also in Moralia, 71 f, 481 α, and 1110 τε.

b Proverbial; cf. Aristotle, Problem. 26. 1; Theophrastus, De ventis, p. 410; Pliny, Nat. Hist. ii. 48; 16
or illiberal, but be a man yourself, show self-control, be truthful, and treat with kindness and justice those who have to deal with you. And if you are led into reviling, remove yourself as far as possible from the things for which you revile him. Enter within the portals of your own soul, look about to see if there be any rottenness there, lest some vice lurking somewhere within whisper to you the words of the tragedian:

Wouldst thou heal others, full of sores thyself?*

If you call your enemy uneducated, strive to intensify in yourself the love of learning and industry; if you call him a coward, rouse even more your self-reliance and manliness; if you call him unchaste and licentious, obliterate from your soul whatever trace of devotion to pleasure may be lurking there unperceived. For there is nothing more disgraceful or painful than evil-speaking that recoils upon its author. So reflected light appears to be the more troublesome in cases of weak eyesight, and the same is true of censures that by the truth are brought back upon the very persons who are responsible for them. For as surely the north-east wind brings the clouds, so surely does a bad life bring revilings upon itself.

5. As often as Plato found himself in the company of persons whose conduct was unseemly, he was wont to say to himself, "Is it possible that I am like them?" But if the man who reviles another's


* This remark of Plato is cited also in the *Moralia*, 40 D, 129 D, and 463 E.
τὸν ἐτέρου βίον ἃν εὐθὺς ἐπισκοπή τὸν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μεθαρμόττῃ πρὸς τούναντίον ἀπευθύνων καὶ ἀποστρέφων, ἐξεὶ τι χρῆσιμον ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῖς, ἄλλως ἀχρήστου καὶ κενοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καὶ ὄντος.

Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ γελάσαν, ἂν τις ὁ υἱὸς βαλακρός ἦ

Γ κυρτός ἐτέρους εἰς ταῦτα λοιπόν καὶ σκώπτῃ γελοίον δὲ ὅλως ἐστὶ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ σκώπτειν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιλοιμαχῆναι δυνάμενον, ὡς Δέων ὁ Βυζάντιος ὑπὸ κυρτοῦ λοιμαχῆεις εἰς τὴν τῶν ὀμμάτων ἀσθενειάν, "ἀνθρώπουν," ἔφη, "πάθος ὀνείδεις, ἐπὶ τοῦ νότου φέρων τὴν νέμεσον." οὐκοῦν μηδὲ μοιχὸν λοιμαχῆσῃς, αὐτὸς ὃν παιδομανῆς, μηδὲ ἀσωτὸν, αὐτὸς ὃν ἀνελεύθερος.

ἀνδροκτόνου γυναῖκος ὀμογενῆς ἔφυμ

πρὸς τὸν Ἄδραστον ὁ Ἁλκμέων. τι οὖν ἐκεῖνος; οὐκ ἀλλότριον ἄλλο ῥεῖν αὐτῷ προφέρων ὀνείδος

89 οὖ δ' αὐτόχειρ γε μητρὸς ἦ σ' ἐγείνατο.

πρὸς τὸν Κράσσουν ὁ Δομίτιος, "οὐ σὺ μυραίνης ἐν ζωγραφεῖς σοι τρεφομενῆς εἰτ' ἀποθαυνούσης ἐκλαυσας;" καὶ ὁ ἐτερος "οὐ σὺ τρεῖς γυναῖκας ἐκκομίσας οὐκ ἐδάκρυσας;" οὐκ εὐφυὴ δεῖ τὸν λοιμαρησόμενον εἶναι καὶ μεγαλόφωνον καὶ ἵγαμον, ἄλλα ἀλοιμαρητον καὶ ἀνέγκλητου: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἔοικε προστάτευεν ὁ θεὸς ὃς τῷ μέλλοντι φέγειν.

a Cf. 633 c, for a slightly different version of the story.
b From the Alcmæon of Euripides; cf. Nauck, T.G.F., Adespota, No. 358. Quoted also in Moralía, 35 d.
c Crassus's pet eel was famous. Plutarch speaks of it twice elsewhere: Moralía, 811 a and 976 a. Of other writers, Aelian, De natura animal. viii. 4, contains the most interesting account of it.

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life will at once carefully inspect his own, and re-adjust it by directing and turning it aside into the opposite course, he will have gained something useful from this reviling, which, otherwise, not only gives the impression of being useless and inane, but is so in fact.

Now most people laugh if a man who is bald or hump-backed reviles and jeers at others for being in such case; for it is altogether ridiculous to indulge in reviling and jeering at anything that affords to another the opportunity for a caustic retort. For example, Leo a of Byzantium, being reviled by a humpback for the weakness of his eyes, said, “You reproach me with that which can happen to any man, while you bear on your back the mark of God’s wrath!” Do not therefore ever revile an adulterer when you yourself are given to unnatural lust, nor a profligate when you yourself are stingy.

Own kin are you of her who slew her spouse b are the words of Alcmeon to Adrastus. What then does Adrastus say? He reproaches the speaker with a shameful deed which is not another’s but all his own:

But you yourself slew her who gave you birth.b

Domitius remarked to Crassus, “Did you not weep at the death of a lamprey c which was being kept for you in a fish-pond?” And the other replied, “Did you not bury three wives and not shed a tear?” The man who is going to indulge in reviling need not be smart and loud-voiced and aggressive, but he must be irreproachable, and unimpeachable. For upon nobody does the divine power seem so to enjoin
(89) ἐτερον τὸ "γνώθι σαυτόν," ἵνα μὴ λέγοντες ἀθέλουσιν ἀκούσωσιν ἡ μὴ θέλουσι. "φιλεῖ" γὰρ ὁ τοιοῦτος κατὰ τὸν Σοφοκλέα

B  γλώσσαν ἐκχέας μάτην ἀκών ἀκούειν οὔς ἐκὼν εἴπη λόγους.

6. Τοιτὶ μὲν οὖν ἔνεστι τῷ λοιδορέων τὸν ἐχθρὸν ὠφέλμοι καὶ κρήσιμον· οὐκ ἔλαττον δ’ ἐτέρω, ἡ λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ κακῶς ἀκούειν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. δὴν ὅρθως ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν ὅτι τοὺς μέλλουσι σώζεσθαι φίλων δεὶ γνησίων ἡ διαπύρων ἐχθρῶν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ νουθετοῦντες τοὺς ἀμαρτάνουσιν οἱ δὲ λοιδοροῦντες ἀποτρέπουσι. ἐπεῖ δ’ ἡ φιλία τὰ νῦν ἰδιχνόφωνος γέγονεν ἐν τῷ παρρησιάζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ κολακεύων αὐτῆς λάλον ἐστὶν, τὸ δὲ νουθετοῦν ἀναυδόν, ἀκουστέον ἐστὶν παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὡς γὰρ ὁ Τήλεφος οὐκεῖον μὴ τυγχάνων ἵστρον τῷ πολεμικῷ δόρατι τὸ ἐλκος ὑπὲρθηκεν, οὕτω τοὺς ἀποροῦντας εὐνοίας νουθετοῦσις ὑπομένειν ἀνάγκη μισοῦντος ἐχθροῦ λόγον, ἀν ἐλέγχῃ καὶ κολάζῃ τὴν κακίαν, σκοποῦντας τὸ ἔργον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ κακῶς λέγοντος. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ τὸν Θεσσαλὸν Προμηθέα κτείναι διανοηθείς ἔπαισε τῷ ξίφει τὸ φύμα καὶ διεἴλευν οὕτως

1 ἐτέρως F.C.B. : ἐτερα or ἐτερον.
2 τῷ] τὸ most ms.

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b Diogenes is given as the author of this saying twice elsewhere in the Moralia, 74 c and 82 a. One ms. gives Diogenes here.
c Among the many references to this story, it is perhaps sufficient to cite Moralia, 46 f; Propertius, ii. 1. 63; Ovid, Tristia, v. 1. 15.
the precept, "Know thyself," as upon him who purposes to censure another, so that such persons may not, by saying what they want to say, have to hear what they do not want to hear. For a person of this type, as Sophocles a puts it,

By babbling thoughtless talk is wont to hear Against his will the words he willing speaks.

6. There may be, then, so much that is profitable and useful in reviling one's enemy; but no less profit lies in the alternative of being reviled oneself and ill spoken of by one's enemies. Hence Antisthenes b was quite right in saying that, as a matter of self-preservation, men have need of true friends or else of ardent enemies; for the first by admonition, and the second by reviling, turn them from error. But since friendship's voice has nowadays become thin and weak when it comes to frank speaking, while its flattery is voluble and its admonition mute, we have to depend upon our enemies to hear the truth. For as Telephus, c unable to find a suitable physician, subjected his wound to his enemy's spear, so those who are cut off from benevolent admonition must submit with patience to the remarks of a malevolent enemy if he exposes and reprehends their vice, and they must give consideration to the facts only, and not to what is in the mind of the detractor. Another parallel is the case of the man who, with intent to kill the Thessalian Prometheus, d smote with his sword a tumour which Prometheus had, and opened it so that the man's life

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a Apparently a sort of nickname of Jason of Pherae: at any rate this story is told of Jason by Cicero, De natura deorum, iii. 28 (70); Pliny, Nat. Hist. vili. 51; and Valerius Maximus, i. 8, ext. 6. Cf. Xenophon, Hellenica, ii. 3. 36.
(89) ὅστε σωθῆναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ φύματος ῥαγέντος, οὕτω πολλάκις ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἡ ἔχ. 

D θρας προσπεσοῦσα λοιανία κακὸν ψυχῆς ἢ ἀγνοοῦ- 

μενον ἢ ἀμελοῦμενον ἔθεράπευσεν. ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ 

λοιανρηθέντες οὐ σκοποῦσιν εἰ πρόσεστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ 

λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ τί προσεστὶν ἔτερον τῷ λοια- 

ρούντι, καὶ καθάπερ οἱ παλαιότες τὴν κόνων οὐχ 

ἐαυτῶν ἀποιῶσι τὰς λοιανίας, ἀλλὰ συμπάττουσιν 

ἀλλήλους εἰτὰ φύρονται καὶ ἀναχροννυνται συμ-

πεσόντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. δεὶ δ' ἀκούσαντα κακῶς ὑπ' 

ἐχθροῦ τὸ μὲν προσον ἁφαίρειν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἡ 

κηλίδα προσοῦσαν ἰματίω καὶ δειχθεῖσαν· ἂν δὲ τὸς 

λέγη τὰ μὴ προσόντα, ὃμως ξητεῖν τὴν 1 αἰτίαν ἀφ' 

Ε ἢς ἡ βλασφημία γέγονε, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ δε-

διέναι μὴ τι λανθάνωμεν ἢ σύνεγγυς ἢ ὀμοίων τῷ 

λεγομένῳ παραμαρτάνοντες. οἷον Λακύδην 2 τὸν 

Ἀργείων βασιλέα κόμης τινὸς διάθεσις καὶ βά-

δισμα τρυφερότερον εἰς μαλακίαν διέβαλε, καὶ 

Πομπήιον τὸ ἐνι κνᾶσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν δακτύλῳ 

πορρωτάτῳ θηλύτητος καὶ ἀκολασίας ὄντα. Κράσ-

σος δὲ τῶν ἔρων μιᾷ παρθένων αἰτίαν ἔχε 

πλησιάζειν, χωρίον τι καλὸν ὑνήσασθαι παρ' αὐτῆς 

βουλόμενος τι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις ἐνυγχάνων 

1 τὴν added by Hercher. 

2 Λακύδην] Λακύδην was suggested by Wyttenbach (fol-

lowed by Wilamowitz), comparing Pausanias, ii. 19. 2. 

iff. Mention of this habit of Pompey's is found also in the 

Moralia, 800 δ, in the Life of Pompey, chap. xlviii. 

(p. 645 a), and in the Life of Caesar, chap. iv. (p. 709 b). 

b The story is told more fully in the Life of Crassus, chap. 

i. (p. 543 b).
was saved, and he obtained relief from his tumour through its bursting; so oftentimes reviling launched upon a man by the prompting of anger or enmity cures some evil in his soul which either was not recognized or was disregarded by him. But most persons on being reviled do not stop to think whether the reproach is applicable to themselves, but they try to think what other form of reproach is applicable to the reviler, and, just as wrestlers do not wipe the dust from off their own bodies, so these persons do not wipe off the revilings from themselves, but they besmear one another, and in consequence get besmirched and begrimed by each other as they grapple together. But it is more imperative that the man who is ill spoken of by an enemy should rid himself of the attribute in question, than that he should get rid of a stain on his clothes to which his attention has been called; and if anybody mentions things which are not really attributes of ours, we should nevertheless seek to learn the cause which has given rise to such slanderous assertions, and we must exercise vigilance, for fear that we unwittingly commit some error either approximating or resembling the one mentioned. For example, an unwarranted suspicion of unmanliness was aroused against Lacydes, king of the Argives, by a certain arrangement of his hair and a mincing gait, and Pompey a suffered in the same way on account of his habit of scratching his head with one finger, although he was very far removed from effeminacy and licentiousness. Crassus b incurred the charge of being too intimate with one of the Vestal virgins, when he only wanted to buy from her a piece of good land, and for this reason had many private
ιδία καὶ θεραπεύων. Ποστουμίαν δὲ τὸ γελάν
Γ̊ προχειρότερον καὶ λαλιὰ χρῆσθαι θρασυτέρα πρὸς
άνδρας διέβαλεν, ὅστε κριθῆναι φθορᾶς. εὐφράθη
μὲν οὖν καθαρὰ τῆς αὐτίας, ἀπολύσας δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ
ἀρχιερεὺς Σπόριος Μινούκιος υπέμνησε μὴ χρῆσθαι
λόγους ἀσεμνότεροίς τοῦ βίου. Θεμιστοκλῆι δὲ
Παυσανίας μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντι προσετρύματο τὴν
ὑποψίαν τῆς προδοσίας διὰ τὸ χρῆσθαι φίλῳ καὶ
γράφειν συνεχῶς καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς αὐτὸν.
7. "Οταν οὖν λεκθῇ τι μὴ ἀληθὲς, οὖν ὅτι ψευ-
δός ἐστι δεὶ καταφρονεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν, ἀλλὰ σκοπεῖν
τί τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων ἢ σπου-
90 δαζομένων ἢ συνόντων ὁμοίότητα τῇ διαβολῇ
παρέσχηκε, καὶ τοῦτο διενδευθὲν καὶ φεύγειν.
εἰ γὰρ ἑτεροὶ πράγμασιν ἀβουλήτοις περιπεσόντες
διδάσκονται τὸ χρήσιμον, ὥστερ ἡ Μερόπη φησὶ
αι τύχαι δέ με
μισθὸν λαβοῦσαι τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ φιλτάτα
σοφήν ἐθηκαν,
τί κωλύει διδάσκαλον ἀμισθὸν λαβόντα τὸν ἑχθρὸν
ωφεληθῆναι καὶ μαθεῖν τι τῶν λαθανόντων; πολλὰ
γὰρ ὁ ἑχθρὸς αἱσθάνεται τοῦ φίλου μᾶλλον ("τυ-
φλοῦται" γὰρ "τὸ φιλιὸν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον," ὡς
ὁ Πλάτων φησὶ), τῷ δὲ μισεῖν μετὰ τοῦ πολυ-
Β πραγμονεῖν καὶ τὸ λαλεῖν ἐνεστὶν. ὁ Ἰέρων ὑπὸ

* A Vestal virgin; cf. Livy, iv. 44.
* Thucydides, i. 135; cf. also Plutarch, Life of Themi-
stocles, chap. xxiii. (p. 123 c).
* From the Cresphontes of Euripides; Nauck, Trag. 
* Plato, Laws, p. 731 ε. The quotation is repeated a few 
pages farther on (92 ε), and also in the Moralia, 48 ε and 
1000 α.
24
interviews with her and paid her much attention. Again, Postumia's ready laughter and overbold talk in men's company put her under unjust suspicion, so that she was tried for unchastity. She was found innocent of the charge, but in dismissing her the Pontifex Maximus, Spurius Minucius, reminded her that the language she used should have no less dignity than her life. And again Pausanias inflicted on Themistocles, who was doing nothing wrong, the suspicion of treason by treating him as a friend, and by writing and sending messages to him continually.

7. Whenever, then, anything untrue has been said, you must not despise and disregard it just because it is false, but rather consider what word or act of yours, which of your pursuits or associations, has given colour to the calumny, and then be studiously careful to avoid it. For if others by becoming involved in undesired situations thereby learn a useful lesson—just as Merope says that

Inconstant Fortune took from me,
To pay her fee, the dearest that I had,
But she for that hath made me wise—

what is to hinder a man from taking his enemy as his teacher without fee, and profiting thereby, and thus learning, to some extent, the things of which he was unaware? For there are many things which an enemy is quicker to perceive than a friend (for Love is blind regarding the loved one, as Plato says), and inherent in hatred, along with curiosity, is the inability to hold one's tongue. Hiero was reviled by

* The story is repeated in the *Moralia*, 175 b, and elsewhere by other writers. One author tells it of Gelon.
(90) τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὴν δυσωδίαν ἐλοιδορήθη τοῦ στόματος. ἐλθὼν οὖν οὐκαδε πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα "τί λέγεις;" εἶπεν, "οὐδὲ οὐ μοι τοῦτ' ἐφρασάς." ἢ δ' οὖσα σώφρων καὶ ἄκακος "ψιθην," εἶπεν, "ὅτι τοιοῦτο πάντες ζύσουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες." οὗτω καὶ τὰ αἰσθητικαὶ καὶ τὰ σωματικαὶ καὶ τὰ καταφανῆ πᾶσι παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μαθεῖν πρότερον ἐστιν ἣ τῶν φίλων καὶ συνήθων.

8. "Ανεν δὲ τούτου τὴν περὶ τὴν̃ γλάτταν ἐγκράτειαν, οὐ μικρὸν ἄρετής μέρος οὖσαν, ὑπῆκοον C ἂν τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ πειθήνον ἔχειν οὐκ ἐνεστὶν, ἂν μὴ τις ἀσκήσει καὶ μελέτῃ καὶ φιλοπονία τὰ κάκιστα τῶν παθῶν, οἰόν ἔστιν ἡ ὁργή, κατεργάσηται. ἡ γὰρ "ἀκουσίως ἐκπίπτουσα φωνή" καὶ τὸ ἐπὸς φύγει ἐρκὸς ὀδόντων,

καὶ τὸ

ἐναι ἐξίπτωσθαι τῶν ῥημάτων αὐτόματα
tοῖς ἀνασκήτοις μάλιστα θυμοῦ ὀλίσθᾶνουσι καὶ διαρρέουσιν ἐπιγιγνεῖται δι' ἀσθένειαν θυμοῦ, δι' ἀκρατῆ γνώμην, διὰ διάταυ τρασείαν. 2 λόγον δὲ κοινοτάτου πράγματος βαρυτάτη ζημία κατὰ τὸν θείον Πλάτωνα καὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἐπεται καὶ παρ' D ἀνθρώπων. ἡ δὲ σιγή πανταχοῦ μὲν ἀνυπεύθυνον (οὐ μόνον ἄδιψον, ὡς φησὶν Ἰπποκράτης), ἐν

1 περὶ τὴν Stobaeus, Flor. xxiii. 9: περὶ.
2 διὰ διάταυ τρασείαν F.C.B.: διάταυ τρασεία.

A picturesque expression several times used by Homer;
one of his enemies for his offensive breath; so when he went home he said to his wife, "What do you mean? Even you never told me of this." But she being virtuous and innocent said, "I supposed that all men smelt so." Thus it is that things which are perceptible, material, and evident to all the world, may sooner be learned from our enemies than from our friends and close associates.

8. But, quite apart from this, control over the tongue, which is no small part of virtue, is something which it is impossible to keep always in subjection and obedience to the reasoning faculties, unless a man by training, practice, and industry has mastered the worst of his emotions, such as anger, for example. For the "voice that slips out unintended," and the Word that has 'scaped the lips' prison,

and

Some of the sayings that flit forth of themselves, are all incident to temperaments that are quite untrained, and are unsteady and fluctuating, so to speak, owing to weakness of will, headstrong opinions, and a reckless way of living. Just for a word, the lightest thing in the world, is ordained, according to the divine Plato, heaviest punishment, coming from both gods and men. But silence cannot under any circumstances be called to an accounting (it is more than a preventive of thirst, as Hippocrates says of it), and in the midst of reviling it is

\[ e.g. \ II. \ iv. \ 330; \ xiv. \ 83; \ Od. \ i. \ 64; \ xxiii. \ 70. \] The source of the other two quotations is unknown.

\[ b \] Plato, \ Laws, pp. 717 c and 935 a. Plutarch quotes it again in \ Moralia, 456 b and 505 c.

\[ c \] Cf. \ Moralia, 515 a.\]
(90) δὲ λοιδορίαις¹ σεμνὸν καὶ Σωκρατικὸν, μᾶλλον δ’ Ἡράκλειον, εἴ γε κάκεινος
οὐδ᾿ ὀσσὸν μνίας στυγερῶν ἐμπάζετο μύθων.
οὔτε μὴν τοῦτο σεμνότερον καὶ κάλλιον ἐστὶ, τοῦ³ λοιδοροῦντος ἐχθρῶν τὴν ἑσυχίαν ἀγεν
λισσάδα πέτραν
φιλοκέρτομον ὡς παρανηχομένους,
ἀλλὰ μείζων ἡ ἀσκησις. ἂν ἐχθρὸν ἑθισθη λοι-
dοροῦντα φέρειν σιωπῆ, πάνυ ῥαδίως οὕσεις γυναι-
cός ὅρμην⁴ κακῶς λεγοῦσης, καὶ φίλον φωνᾶς καὶ
ἀδέλφου πικροτάτας ἀκούων ὑπομενεῖς ἀθορίβως.
pατρὶ δὲ καὶ μητρὶ τυπτόμενος καὶ βαλλόμενος
Επαρέξεις ἄθυμον καὶ ἁμήντων σεαυτόν. ὃ μὲν
γὰρ Σωκράτης ἐφερε τὴν Ξανθίππην βουλευθῆ καὶ
χαλεπὴν οὖσαν, ὡς εὔκόλως συνεσομένος ἐτέροις, ἂν
ἐκείνην ὑπομένειν ἑθισθῇ. πολὺ δὲ βέλτιον ἐχθρῶν
καὶ ἀλλοτρίων ἐγγυμνασάμενον βδελυρίας καὶ ὁρ-
γαίς καὶ σκώμμασι καὶ λοιδορίας ἑτίσαι τὸν θυμὸν
ἡσυχίαν ἀγεν ὡθο ἀσχάλλεων ἐν τῷ λοιδορείσθαι.

9. Πραοτητα μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀνεξικακίαν οὔτως
ἐστιν ἐνεπιδείκασθαί ταῖς ἐχθραῖς, ἀπλότητα δὲ καὶ
μεγαλοφροσύνη καὶ χρηστότητα μᾶλλον ἥ ταῖς
F φιλίαις. φίλον μὲν γὰρ οὖχ οὔτω τὸ εὖ ποιεῖν
καλὸν, ὡς αἰχρὸν τὸ μὴ ποιεῖν δεόμενον ἐχθρῶν

¹ λοιδορίας Stob. Flor. xix. 7: λοιδορία.
² οὔτε Madvig: οὔτε.
³ τὸν Reiske: τὸ: both confirmed by the Syriac version.
⁴ ὅρμην Wytenbach.
⁵ ἡ Amyot (confirmed by the Syriac version): ἐν.

ο Source unknown; the story in Pausanias, v. 14, is not
to the point.

b The source of the quotation is not known.
HOW TO PROFIT BY ONE'S ENEMIES, 90

dignified and Socratic, or rather Heraclean, if it be true that Heracles

Not so much as to a fly gave heed to words of hatred.\(^a\)

Indeed, there is nothing more dignified and noble than to maintain a calm demeanour when an enemy reviles one,

\[\text{Passing by a man's scoffs} \]
\[\text{Just as swimmers swim past a precipitous rock},^b\]

but far more important is the practice. If you once acquire the habit of bearing an enemy's abuse in silence, you will very easily bear up under a wife's attack when she rails at you, and without discomposure will patiently hear the most bitter utterances of a friend or a brother; and when you meet with blows or missiles at the hands of a father or mother, you will show no sign of passion or wrath. For instance, Socrates bore with Xanthippe,\(^c\) who was irascible and acrimonious, for he thought that he should have no difficulty in getting along with other people if he accustomed himself to bear patiently with her; but it is much better to secure this training from the scurrilous, angry, scoffing, and abusive attacks of enemies and outsiders, and thus accustom the temper to be unruffled and not even impatient in the midst of reviling.

9. In this manner, then, it is possible for us to display the qualities of gentleness and forbearance in connexion with our enmities, and also straightforwardness, magnanimity, and goodness better than in our friendships. For it is not so honourable to do a good turn to a friend as it is disgraceful not to do it when he is in need; but even to forgo taking

\(^a\) Xenophon, Symposium, 2. 10.
δὲ καὶ τὸ τιμωρίαν παραλυπεῖν ἐν καιρῷ πάρασχόν-
tos ἐπιευκὲς ἐστὶ. τὸν δὲ καὶ πταίσαντι συμπαθή-
santa καὶ δεηθέντι συλλαβόμενον καὶ παιοῦν ἔχ-
θροῦ καὶ οἰκεῖοις πράγμασιν ἐν χρείᾳ γενομένων
σπουδὴν των καὶ προθυμίαν ἐνδειξάμενον ὡστὶς
όυκ ἄγαπᾷ τῆς εὐμενείας οὐδὲ ἐπαινεῖ τὴν χρηστο-
tητα, ἐκείνους.

ἐξ ἀδάμαντος

ἡ σιδάρου κεχάλκευται μέλαιναν καρδιάν.

Τῷ Καίσαρι κελεύσαντι τὰς Πομπηίου τιμὰς
ἀνασταθήναι καταβεβλημένας, ὁ Κικέρων "τοὺς
Πομπηίου," φησίν, "ἀνδράντας ἀνέστησας, τοὺς
δὲ σοὺς ἐπηξας." Ὅθεν οὖν ἐπαίνου φειστεόν
οὐδὲ τιμῆς περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἔχθροῦ δικαίως εὐδοκιμή-
sαντος. ἐπαίνον τε γὰρ φέρει μείζονα τοῖς ἐπ-
αινοῦσι, καὶ πίστιν ἔχει πάλιν ἐγκάλων, ὡς οὖ τὸν
ἀνδρα μισῶν ἄλλα τὴν πρᾶξιν ἀποδοκιμᾶζων· τὸ
Β δὲ κάλλιστον καὶ χρησιμότατον, ἀπωτάτῳ καθ-
ίσταται τοῖς φθονεῖν καὶ φίλοις εὐπνεοῦς καὶ
κατορθοῦν ὁικεῖοις ὁ τοὺς ἔχθροὺς ἐθυμεῖς
ἐπαίνειν καὶ μὴ δάκνεσθαι μηδὲ βασκαίνειν εὖ
πραττόντων. καίτοι τίς ἄσκησις ἐτέρα μείζονα
phialeian ἐνεργάζεται ταῖς ὑσυχαῖς ἡ διάθεσιν κρείτ-
tona τῆς ἀφαιρούσης τὸ δύσζηλον ἡμῶν καὶ φιλό-
φθονον; ὥσπερ γὰρ ε ἐν πολέμω πολλὰ τῶν ἁναγ-
καίων ἄλλως δὲ φαύλων ἔθους λαβόντα καὶ νόμον

1 πράγμασιν] χρημάτων Hartman.

a Part of a longer fragment of Pindar; cf. Pindar, Frag.
123 (ed. Christ); quoted again by Plutarch, Moralia, 558 A.
b Plutarch repeats this story in Moralia, 205 D; Life of
Caesar, chap. lxx. (p. 734 e), and Life of Cicero, chap. xl.
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vengeance on an enemy when he offers a good opportunity is a handsome thing to do. But in case a man shows compassion for an enemy in affliction, and gives a helping hand to him when he has come to be in need, and displays some concern and zeal in behalf of his children and his household affairs when they come to want, I say that whosoever does not feel affection for such a man because of his kindliness, or does not commend his goodness,

Hath a black heart
Forged from adamant or else from steel.

When Caesar gave orders that the statues in honour of Pompey, which had been thrown down, should be restored, Cicero said to him, "You have restored Pompey's statues, but you have made your own secure." Wherefore there must be no scanting of commendation or due honour in the case of an enemy who has justly gained a fair repute. For such an attitude wins greater commendation for those who bestow it, and inspires confidence, when later a man makes a complaint that he does so, not because he hates the person, but because he disapproves of the action. But best of all, and most advantageous, is the fact that a man is farthest removed from envying the good fortune of his friends or the success of his relatives, if he has acquired the habit of commending his enemies, and feeling no pang and cherishing no grudge when they prosper. And yet what other process of training produces greater benefit to our souls or a better disposition, than does that which takes from us all our jealousy and our proneness to envy? Just as many of the things which are necessary in war, but bad under other conditions, when they once acquire the sanction of custom and law;
(91) δύναμιν οὐκ ἐστὶ φαύλως ἀπώσασθαι καὶ βλαπτο-
μένους, οὕτως ἢ ἑξῆρα συνεισάγουσα τῷ μίσει
φθόνον, ζηλοτυπίαν ἐπιχαίρεκακίαν μηνισκακίαν
ἐναπολεῖπε. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ πανουργία καὶ

c ἀπάτη καὶ ἐπιβουλή, δοκοῦσα μὴ φαύλον εἶναι μηδ'
ἀδικον πρὸς ἑξῆρον, ἄν ἐγγένηται, παραμένει δυσ-

απάλλακτος· εἰτα χρῶνται πρὸς τοὺς φίλους αὐτοῦ
ὑπὸ συνηθείας, ἂν μὴ φυλάξωνται πρὸς τοὺς ἑξ-

θρούς. εἴπερ οὖν ὅρθως ὁ Πυθαγόρας, ἐν ἀλόγους
ξώνως ἑθίζων ωμότητος ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ πλεονεξίας,

ὅρνεων τε θηρευτας παρρητεῖν καὶ βόλους ὁνού-

μενος ἱχθύων ἐκέλευεν ἀφιέναι, καὶ παντὸς ἦμερον
ξώνοι φόνοι ἀπηγόρευε, πολὺ δὴπον σεμνότερον

d ἐστὶν ἐν διαφοραῖς πρὸς ἄνθρώπους καὶ φιλονει-

κίαις, γενναῖον ἑξῆρον ὄντα καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀψευδῆ,

τὰ μοχθηρὰ καὶ ἄγεννη καὶ πανούργα πάθη κολά-

ζειν καὶ ταπεινὰ ποιεῖν, ὡπος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς

φίλους συμβολαίοις παντόπασιν ἀτρεμῇ καὶ ἀπ-

ἐχηταὶ τοῦ κακουργεῖν. Σκαῦρος ἑξῆρος ἂν Δομι-

τίου καὶ κατήγορος. οἰκέτης οὖν τοῦ Δομιτίου

πρὸ τῆς δίκης ἢκε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ὃς ἔχων τι μηνύσαι

τῶν λαυθανόντων ἐκεῖνον, ὁ δὲ οὐκ εἶπει, ἀλλὰ 


a Cf. Moralia, 729 ε.

b For the facts see Cicero, Oration for King Deiotarus, 11 (31).

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cannot easily be abolished by the people even though the people are being injured by them, so enmity introduces envy along with hatred, and leaves as a residue jealousy, joy over others' misfortunes, and vindictiveness. Moreover, knavery, deceit, and intrigue, which seem not bad or unjust when employed against an enemy, if once they find a lodgement, acquire a permanent tenure, and are hard to eject. The next thing is that men of themselves employ these against their friends through force of habit, unless they are on their guard against using them against their enemies. If then Pythagoras was right when, in trying to accustom men to refrain from cruelty and rapacity in connexion with dumb animals, he used to intercede with fowlers, and buy up catches of fish and direct that they be released, and forbid the killing of any domesticated animal, it is surely a grander achievement by far, in disagreements and contentions with human beings, for a man to be a noble, honest, and ingenuous enemy, and to repress and put down his base, ignoble, and knavish propensities, so that in his dealings with his friends he may be always steadfast and may keep himself from wrongdoing. Scaurus was an enemy of Domitius and his accuser before the law. Now a servant of Domitius came to Scaurus before the trial, claiming to have information on some matters that had escaped Scaurus's knowledge, but Scaurus would not let him speak, and caused the man to be arrested and taken back to his master. When Cato was prosecuting Murena for corrupt political practices and was getting together his evidence, there followed him, in accordance with the usage of the
παρηκολούθουν οἱ τὰ πραττόμενα παραφυλάττοντες. 
Εἰ πολλάκις οὖν αὐτὸν ἥρώτων εἰ τι μέλλει σήμερον 
συνάγειν ἡ πραγματεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν κατηγορίαν: 
εἰ δὲ μὴ φαίη, πιστεύοντες ἀπῆσαν. ταῦτα μὲν 
οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς δόξης ἔχει τεκμήριον μέγιστον: 
ἀλλὰ μείζον καὶ κάλλιστον, ὅτι τῷ δικαίῳ χρήσθαι 
καὶ πρὸς ἑξήδους ἐθισθέντες οὐδέποτε μὴ πρὸς- 
ἐνεχθῶμεν ἀδίκως καὶ πανούργως τοῖς συνήθεσι 
καὶ φίλοις.

10. Ἐπεὶ δὲ 

πάσαις τοῖς κορυδαλλίσι χρῆ λόφον ἐγγενέσθαι 
κατὰ τὸν Σιμωνίδην, καὶ πάσα φύσις ἄνθρώπον 
φέρει φιλονεικίαν καὶ ξηλοτυπίαν καὶ φθόνον.

κενεοφρόνων ἄνθρωπον ἐταίρον,

ὡς φησι Πίνδαρος, οὐ μετρίως ἂν τις ὁφελοῦτο 
τῶν παθῶν τούτων ποιούμενοι εἰς τοὺς ἑξήδους 
ἀποκαθάρσεις καὶ ἀποστρέφων ὄσπερ ὅχετος 
πορρωτάτων τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ οἰκείων. καὶ τοῦτο, 
ὡς έοικε, συνιδὼν πολυτικὸς ἄνὴρ ὄνομα Δήμος Ῥ
ἐν Χίῳ τῆς κρατουσῆς μερίδος ἐν στάσει γενό-
μενος, παρήνει τοῖς ἐταίροις μῆ πάντας ἐξελάσαι 
τοὺς ἀντιστασιάσαντας, ἀλλ' ὑπολυπέσθαι τινάς, 

92 "ὅπως," ἐφη, "μὴ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἀρξώμεθα

1 πάσαις Bergk: πάσαις.

2 ὄνομα Δήμος, which has but slight ms. authority, is con-
firmed by the Syriac version: 'Ὀνομάδημος in most ms. Δήμος 
was used as a proper name, but there is no evidence for 
'Ὀνομάδημος except here and Moralia 813 А.

a Explained more fully in the Life of Cato Minor, chap.
xxi. (p. 769 b), where the story is repeated.

b Repeated by Plutarch in Moralia, 809 b, and in the Life
time, men who watched what was being done. Very often they would ask him if he was intending that day to gather evidence or to do any work on the case, and if he said "No," they believed him and went away. In these facts may be found the greatest proof of Cato's repute; but it is a greater thing, and indeed the noblest, that, if we acquire the habit of practising honesty in dealing even with our enemies, we shall never deal dishonestly and knavishly with our intimate associates and friends.

10. But since

On every lark a crest must grow, as Simonides puts it, and since all human nature bears its crop of contention, jealousy, and envy, Boon comrade of rattle-brained men, as Pindar says, a man would profit in no moderate degree by venting these emotions upon his enemies, and turning the course of such discharges, so to speak, as far away as possible from his associates and relatives. This fact, as it seems, a statesman, Demus by name, apprehended: when he found himself on the winning side in a civic strife in Chios, he advised his party associates not to banish all their opponents, but to leave some of them behind, "in order," he said, "that we may not begin to quarrel.

of Timoleon, chap. xxxvii. (253 e), with much the same application. 'Cf.' Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 418; Simonides. No. 68; Diehl, Anthologia Lyrica, ii. p. 62; Edmonds, Lyra Graeca (in L.C.L.), ii. p. 278, all differing in their reading of this one line.

Cf. Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 4. 6.

Cf. Moralia, 813 a, where the story is repeated almost word for word.
(92) διαφέρεσθαι, τῶν ἐχθρῶν παντάπασιν ἀπαλλαγέντες." οὐκοίν καὶ ἡμῶν καταναλισκόμενα ταῦτα τὰ πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἤττον ἐνοχλήσει τοῖς φίλοις. οὐ γὰρ "κεραμεὶ" δεῖ "κεραμεά φθονεῖν" οὐδ' "ἀοίδων ἀοίδῳ" καθ' Ἡσίοδον, οὐδὲ γείτονα ξηλοῦν οὖδ' ἄνεψιον οὖθ' ἄδελφον "εἰς ἄφενος σπεύδοντα" καὶ τυγχάνοντα χρήστων πραγμάτων. ἀλλ' εἰ μηδεὶς τρόπος ἐστὶν ἀλλος ἀπαλλαγῆς

Β ἐρίδων καὶ φθόνων καὶ φιλονεικῶν, ἔθιζε σεαυτὸν δάκνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν εὐγενεροῦντων, καὶ παρόξυνε καὶ χάραττε τὸ φιλόνεικον ἐν ἐκείνους θηγόμενον. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ χαρίεντες γεωργοὶ τὰ ρόδα καὶ τὰ ἱα βελτίων ποιεῖν νομίζουσι σκόροδα καὶ κρόμμω παραφυτεύσει (ἀποκρίνεται γὰρ εἰς ἐκείνα πάν ὄσον ἔνεστι τῇ τροφῇ δριμῷ καὶ δυσώδει), οὕτω καὶ ὁ ἐχθρὸς ἀναλαμβάνων καὶ περιστῶν τὸ κακόνθες καὶ βάσκανον, εὐμενέστερον παρέξει σὲ τοὺς φίλους εὐ πράττοντοι καὶ ἀλυπότερον. διὸ καὶ τὰς ἄμιλλας πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἐστὶ ποιητέον ύπὲρ δόξης ἢ ἀρχῆς ἢ πορισμῶν δικαίων, μὴ δακνομένους μόνον, ἀν τί πλέον ἡμῶν ἐχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ

C πάντα παραφυλάττοντας εὖ δὲν πλέον ἐχοῦσιν, καὶ πειρωμένους ὑπερβαλέσθαι ταῖς ἐπιμελείαις καὶ φιλοποιίας καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν καὶ προσέχειν ἐαυτοῖς, ὡς Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἐὰν αὐτὸν καθεύδειν τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶν Μιλτιάδου νίκην. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐντυχίᾳ διαφέρειν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμενος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἢ συννηγορίαις ἢ πολιτείαις ἢ παρὰ

1 περιστῶν Bases and F.C.B.: περιέπων.

a The references are to the Works and Days. 25-26 and 27.

b Cf. Plutarch, Life of Themistocles, chap. iii. (p. 113 b), and Moralia, 84 b and 800 b.
with our friends, through being completely rid of our enemies." So also in our own case, if our emotions of this sort are expended upon our enemies, they will cause less annoyance to our friends. For "a potter" must not "envy potter," nor "a minstrel a minstrel," as Hesiod \(^a\) puts it, nor must there be any feeling of rivalry against a neighbour or relative or brother who is "winning his way towards riches" and meeting with prosperity. But if there is no other way of getting rid of strifes, envies, and contentions, accustom yourself to feel the sting of resentment when your enemies enjoy health and happiness, and whet your contentiousness to a sharp jagged edge on these. For just as skilled gardeners believe that they improve their roses and violets by planting beside them garlic and onions (since whatever pungency and malodorousness there is in what the plants feed on is all drawn off into the vegetables), thus also your enemy, by taking up and diverting to himself your malice and jealousy, will render you more kindly and less disagreeable to your friends in their prosperity. For this reason it is with our enemies that we must also engage in rivalry for repute or office or honest money-getting, not only feeling the sting of resentment if they get the advantage of us, but also watching carefully every means by which they get the advantage, and trying to surpass them in painstaking, diligence, self-control, and self-criticism: after the manner of Themistocles, who said that Miltiades' victory at Marathon would not let him sleep.\(^b\) For he who thinks that it is by mere good luck that his enemy surpasses him in public offices, in pleading cases, in state administration, or in his standing with friends
(92) φίλοις καὶ ἡγεμόσιν, ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν τι καὶ 
ζηλοῦν εἰς τὸ βασικάνεαι παντάπασι καὶ ἀθυμεῖν 
καταδυόμενοι, ἀργῷ τῷ φθόνῳ καὶ ἀπράκτῳ 
σύνεστιν. οὐ δὲ μὴν τυφλούμενοι περὶ τὸ μισούμενον 
ἀλλὰ καὶ βίου καὶ ἡθους καὶ λόγων, καὶ ἔργων 
γυνώμενος θεατής δίκαιος τὰ πλείστα κατοφεταί 
D τῶν ζηλούμενων εἰς ἐπιμελείας καὶ προνοιας καὶ 
πράξεων χρηστῶν περιγυνώμενα τοῖς κεκτημένοις, 
καὶ πρὸς τάτα συντεινῶν ἐπασκήσει τὸ φιλότιμον 
αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλόκαλον, τὸ δὲ χασμῶδες ἐκκόψει καὶ 
ράθυμον.

11. Εἰ δὲ τινὰς οἱ ἑχθροὶ κολακεύωντες η παν-
ουργοῦντες η δεκαζοῦντες η μισθαρνοῦντες ἀισχράς 
καὶ ἀνελευθέρους δοκοῦσιν καρποῦσθαι δυνάμεις ἐν 
αὐλαῖς η πολιτείαις, οὐκ ἐνοχλήσασιν ημᾶς ἀλλὰ 
μᾶλλον εὐφραυνοῦσι, τὴν αὐτῶν ἔλευθερίαν καὶ τὸ 
καθαρὸν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀνύβριστον ἀντιτιθέντας.
Ε “ἀπασ” γὰρ “ό ύπερ' γῆς καὶ ύπὸ γῆς χρυσὸς 
ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος” κατὰ Πλάτωνα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ 
Σόλωνος ἔχειν ἀεί δεῖ πρόχειρον 
ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὗ διαμειμφόμεθα 
τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον 
οὐδὲ γε βοᾶς δεδειπνισμένων θεάτρων οὐδὲ τιμᾶς 
καὶ προεδρίας παρ’ εὐνούχωις καὶ παλλακαῖς καὶ 
σατραπείας βασιλέων ηλιότον γὰρ οὐδέν οὐδὲ 
Γ καλὸν εἰς ἀισχρῶν φυόμενον. ἀλλ’ ἐπεὶ τυφλοῦται

1 ύπερ] ἐπ’ Plato.
2 σατραπείας F.C.B., and so apparently Shilleto in his 
translation: σατραπείας.

a Cf. the note on 90 a supra.
b Plato, Laws, p. 728 a; quoted also by Plutarch, Moralia, 
1124 ε.

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and leading men, and who from activity and emulation sinks down into a state of utter jealousy and discouragement, has abiding with him an envy that is inert and ineffectual. If, however, a man is not blind in regard to the object of his hatred, but makes himself an honest observer of the other’s life, character, words, and deeds, he will discover that most of the successes which excite the envy of others come to those who have won them as the result of painstaking, forethought, and fair conduct, and so, bending all his energies in this direction, he will put into practice his own ambitions and high aspirations, and will eradicate his listlessness and indolence.

11. But even if our enemies by flattery, knavery, bribery, or hireling service appear to reap their reward in the form of dishonourable and sordid influence at court or in the government, they will not be a source of annoyance but rather of joy to us when we compare our own freedom, the simplicity of our life, and its immunity from scurrilous attack. For “all the gold on earth and beneath the earth is not worth so much as virtue,” as Plato says, and we must always keep ready in mind the sentiment of Solon:

But we will not take in exchange
All of their wealth for our virtue,
nor yet the acclamations of spectators who have dined at our expense, nor honours such as front seats among eunuchs and concubines, and royal governorships; for nothing enviable or noble ever springs from dishonour. But since “love is blind regarding

* Quoted more fully in *Moralia*, 78 c, and as here, 472 e.
(92) τὸ φιλοῦν περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον, ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν οἱ ἔχθροι παρέχουσιν αἰσθήσιν ἀσχημονοῦντες, δεὶ μήτε τὸ χαῖρον ἐφ’ οἷς ἀμαρτάνουσιν ἄργον εἶναι μήτε τὸ λυπούμενον ἐφ’ οἷς κατορθοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐπιλογίζεσθαι δι’ ἀμφοτέρων ὅπως τὰ μὲν φυλαττόμενοι βελτίων ώμεν αὐτῶν, τὰ δὲ μιμούμενοι μὴ χείρονες.
the loved one,” as Plato⁴ says, and it is rather our enemies who by their unseemly conduct afford us an opportunity to view our own, neither our joy at their failures nor our sorrow at their successes ought to go without being employed to some purpose, but we should take into account both their failures and successes in studying how by guarding against the former we may be better than they, and by imitating the latter no worse.

⁴ A reminiscence from Plato; see the note on 90 A supra.
ON HAVING MANY FRIENDS
(De Amicorum Multitudine)
Plutarch's essay on friendship may possibly have been offered on some occasion as a lecture, but there is nothing to prove or disprove this assumption. From what we know of Plutarch's relations to his friends we can well believe that he was singularly happy in his friendships, and hence well fitted to speak on the subject. He was familiar, too, with the literature dealing with friendship, and the result is an essay well worth reading. Cicero's essay on friendship (De amicitia) may profitably be compared with Plutarch's.

Two or three emendations of a more radical nature have been adopted in the text, in the effort to make it intelligible: for example, in 96.4 the translation probably gives the right sense of the passage, as Wytenbach seemed to see, but whether the emendation is right is more doubtful. Even more doubtful is Paton's προσευτείνειν, based on an even more dubious emendation of ἐντείνασθαι in the quotation from Euripides; for Plutarch would not be apt to refer to an aorist middle by a present active form. In these matters Plutarch was more careful than Paton.
1. Μένωνα τον Θετταλόν οίόμενον ἐν λόγοις ἰκανῶς γεγυμνάσθαι καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐμπεδοκλέους λεγόμενον

σοφιῆς¹ ἐπ’ ἀκροῖς θαμίζειν

ἡρώτησεν ὁ Σωκράτης τὴν ἀρετήν ἐστιν· ἀποκρινα-
μένου δ’ ἱταμῶς ἐκεῖνον καὶ προχείρως ὅτι καὶ παι-
δός ἐστιν ἀρετή καὶ πρεσβύτου καὶ ἀνδρός καὶ
γυναικὸς καὶ ἄρχοντος καὶ ἰδιωτοῦ καὶ δεσπότου καὶ
θεράποντος, “εὖ γ’,” εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης,
“ὅτι μίαν ἀρετὴν αἰτηθεὶς σομῆς ἀρετῶν κεκα-
νηκας,” οὐ κακός τεκμαιρόμενος ὅτι μηδεμίαν
εἰδὼς ἁρετὴν ὁ ἄνθρωπος² πολλὰς ὄνομαζεν. ἀρ’
οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμῖν ἢν τις ἐπιχλεύσειεν ὅτι μηδέπω
C μίαν φιλίαν κεκτημένου βεβαιῶς φοβούμεθα μὴ
λάθωμεν εἰς πολυφιλίαν ἐμπεσόντες; σχεδὸν γὰρ
οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν ἄνθρωπον κολοβοῦ καὶ τυφλοῦ,
φοβομένου μὴ Βριάρεως ὁ ἐκατόγχειρ καὶ "Ἀργος
ὁ πανόπτης γένηται. καίτοι τὸν γε παρὰ τῷ

¹ σοφιῆς in Sextus Empiricus: σοφιᾶς.
² ὁ ἄνθρωπος] ἄνθρωπος Hercher: ἄνθρωπος.
ON HAVING MANY FRIENDS

1. Meno, the Thessalian, who felt that he had had a good training in debating, and, to quote Empedocles' familiar expression, was

Haunting the lofty heights of wisdom,

was asked by Socrates what virtue is; and when he replied impulsively and promptly that there is a virtue appropriate to a child and to an old man, to a grown man and to a woman, to a public official and to a private citizen, to a master and to a servant, Socrates exclaimed, "A fine answer! for when asked for one virtue you have stirred up a whole swarm of virtues," inferring, not badly, that it was because the man knew not a single virtue that he was naming so many. And might not we also be subject to ridicule because we, who are not yet in secure possession of one friendship, are afraid that we may unwittingly become involved in a multitude of friendships? We hardly differ at all from a man who, being maimed or blind, is afraid that he may become a Briareus of the hundred hands or an Argus all-seeing. And yet we commend above measure

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a Plato, Meno, 71 ε.
b From a longer fragment; cf. Diels, Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 225.
c Cf. Moralia, 441 b.
(93) Μενάνδρω νεανίσκον ύπερφυώς ἐπαινοῦμεν εἰπόντα θαυμαστὸν ὅσον νομίζειν ἀγαθὸν ἐκαστον, ἂν ἔχῃ φίλου σκιάν.

2. 'Εναντίον1 δὲ μετὰ πολλῶν ἄλλων οὖχ ἦκιστα γ' εἰς φιλίας κτήσων ἡμῖν2 ὅ τις πολυφιλίας ὀρεξίς, ὥσπερ ἄκολαστων γυναικῶν, τῷ πολλάκις καὶ πολλοῖς συμπλέκεσθαι τῶν πρώτων κρατεῖν μὴ δυναμένοις ἀμελουμένων καὶ ἀπορρεόντων μᾶλλον δ' ὥσπερ ὁ τῆς Ὑψιτύλης τρόφιμος εἰς τὸν λεμῶνα καθίσας ἔδρεπεν ἑτερον ἕφ' ἑτέρῳ αἰρόμενος ἀγρευμὶ ἀνθέων ἡδομένα ψυχὰ τὸ νήπιον ἅπληστον3 ἔχων, οὕτως ἐκαστὸν ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ φιλόκαινον καὶ ἁψίκορον δ' πρόσφατος αἰεὶ καὶ ἀνθέων ἑπάγεται, καὶ μετατίθησι πολλὰς ὄμοι καὶ ἀτελεῖς ἀρχὰς πράττοντας φιλίας καὶ συνηθείας, ἐρωτὶ τοῦ διωκομένου παρερχομένου τὸν καταλαμβανόμενον.

Ε Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὥσπερ ἅφ' ἑστίας ἀρξάμενοι τῆς τοῦ βίου φήμης ἢν ύπὲρ φίλων βεβαιῶν ἀπολέοντες ἡμῖν, τῶν μακρόν καὶ παλαιῶν αἰῶνα μάρτυρα ἄμα τοῦ λόγου καὶ σύμβουλον λάβωμεν, ἐν Ὄ κατὰ ξεῦγος φιλίας λέγονται Θησεύς καὶ Πειρίθους, Ἀχιλλέας καὶ Πάτροκλος, Ὀρέστης καὶ

1 ἑναντίον Wytenbach: αἰτίον.
2 ἡμῖν added by F.C.B.
3 ἅπληστον Μοραλία, 661 f.: ἄχρηστον.

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a The Epiclerus. Kock, Com. Attic. Frag. iii., Menander, No. 554. See also Plutarch, Moralia, 479 c, where four lines of the play are quoted, and Allinson, Menander (in the L.C.L.), p. 493.

b Cf. Lucian, Toxaris, 37.
the youth in Menander's play a who says that any
man counts it a marvellous good thing
If he but have the shadow of a friend.

2. One thing which stands out among many others, as particularly antagonistic to our acquisition of friendship, is the craving for numerous friends, which is like that of licentious women, b for because of our frequent intimacies with many different persons we cannot keep our hold on our earlier associates, who are neglected and drift away. A better comparison, perhaps, is the nursling of Hypsipyle, who seated himself in the meadow, and

One after another caught up
Handfuls of flowers with joyful heart;
But with childhood's yearning unsated. c

So it is with all of us: because anything new attracts us but soon palls on us, it is always the recent and freshly blooming friend that allures us and makes us change our minds, even while we are busy with many beginnings of friendship and intimacy at the same time, which go but little further, since, in our longing for the person we pursue, we pass over the one already within our grasp.

In the first place, then, let us begin at the hearthstone, as the saying is, with the story of men's lives which history d has left us regarding steadfast friends, and let us take as witness and counsellor in our discussion the long and distant ages in which are mentioned, as paired in the bond of friendship, Theseus and Peirithoüs, Achilles and Patroclus,

bd Plutarch is considering Greek history only.
Πυλάδης, Φιντίας καὶ Δάμων, Ἐπαμεινώνδας καὶ Πελοπίδας. σύννομον γὰρ ἡ φιλία ζώον οὐκ ἀγελαῖον. ἔστιν οὐδὲ κολοῦδες, καὶ τὸ ἄλλον αὐτὸν ἤγεισθαι τὸν φίλον καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἐταῖρον ὡς ἑτέρων, οὔδέν ἔστιν ἡ μέτρω φιλίας τῇ δυνάδι χρωμένων. οὔτε γὰρ δούλους οὔτε φίλους ἐστὶ κτήσασθαι πολλοὺς ἀπ’ ὀλίγου νομίσματος.

ὁ τί ὁδὸν νόμισμα φιλίας; εὖνοια καὶ χάρις μετ’ ἀρετῆς, ὁδὸν ἔχει σπανιώτερον ἡ φύσις. οẞεν τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν καὶ φιλεῖσθαι πρὸς πολλοὺς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ ὥσπερ οἱ ποταμοὶ πολλὰς σχῖσεις καὶ κατατομὰς λαμβάνοντες ἀσθενεῖς καὶ λεπτοὶ βέβουσι, οὕτω τὸ φιλεῖν ἐν ψυχῇ σφόδρον πεφυκὸς εἰς πολλοὺς μεμιξόμενον ἐξαμαρτοῦται. διὸ καὶ τῶν ξώνων τὸ φιλότεκνον τοῖς μονοτόκιοι ἵππουρότερον ἐμφύτευται, καὶ ὁμηρὸς ἁγαπητὸν υίὸν οὐνομάζει “μοῦνον τηλύγετον,” τουτέστι τὸν τοῖς μήτ’ ἔχονων ἑτέρων γονεῖσι μήθ’ ἐξουσι γεγενημένον.

3. Τὸν δὲ φίλον ἠμεῖς “μοῦνον” μὲν οὐκ ἀξιοομένην εἶναι, μετ’ ἄλλων δὲ “τηλύγετος” τις καὶ ὁμιγονὸς ἔστω, τὸν θρυλουμένον ἐκεῖνον χρόνῳ τῶν ἄλων συγκατεδηδοκῶς μέδιμνον, οὐχ ὥσπερ νῦν πολλοὶ φίλοι λεγόμενοι συμπιόντες ἀπαξ ἡ συνοφαρισάςας ἡ συγκυβεύοντες ἡ συγκαταλύοντες, ἐκ πανδοκείου καὶ παλαιστρας καὶ ἀγορᾶς φιλίαν συλλέγουσιν.

1 μήτ’ Schellens: μὴ.
Orestes and Pylades, Phintias and Damon, Epameinondas and Pelopidas. For friendship is a creature that seeks a companion; it is not like cattle and crows that flock and herd together, and to look upon one's friend as another self and to call him "brother" as though to suggest "th'other," is nothing but a way of using duality as a measure of friendship. It is impossible to acquire either many slaves or many friends with little coin. What then is the coin of friendship? It is goodwill and graciousness combined with virtue, than which nature has nothing more rare. It follows, then, that a strong mutual friendship with many persons is impossible, but, just as rivers whose waters are divided among many branches and channels flow weak and thin, so affection, naturally strong in a soul, if portioned out among many persons becomes utterly enfeebled. This is the reason why, in the case of animals, love for their young is more strongly implanted by nature in those that give birth to but one at a time; and Homer's name for a beloved son is "the only one, child of our eld," that is to say, born to parents who neither have nor can ever have another child.

3. We do not maintain that our friend should be "the only one," but along with others let there be some "child of our eld" and "late-begotten," as it were, who has consumed with us in the course of time the proverbial bushel of salt, not as is the fashion nowadays, by which many get the name of friend by drinking a single glass together, or by playing ball or gambling together, or by spending a night under the same roof, and so pick up a friendship from inn, gymnasium, or market-place.
(94) Ἐν δὲ ταῖς τῶν πλουσίων καὶ ἠγεμονικῶν
Βοϊκίας πολύν ὄχλον καὶ θόρυβον ἀσπαζομένων καὶ δεξιομένων καὶ δορυφοροῦντων ὅραντες εὑ-
δαίμονίζουσι τοὺς πολυφίλους. καίτοι πλείονάς γε
μνίς ἐν τοῖς ὀπτανίοις αὐτῶν ὅρασιν. ἀλλ' οὐθ'
αὐταί τῆς λιχνείας οὔτ' ἐκεῖνοι τῆς χρείας ἐπι-
λυπούντος παραμένουσιν. ἐτεί δ' ἡ ἀληθινὴ φίλια
τρία ζητεῖ μάλιστα, τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς καλὸν, καὶ τὴν
συνήθειαν ὡς ήδυ, καὶ τὴν χρείαν ὡς ἀναγκαῖον
(δεί γὰρ ἀποδέξασθαι κρίναντα καὶ χαίρει συνόντα
καὶ χρῆθαι δεόμενον, ἀ πάντα πρὸς τὴν πολυ-
φιλίαν ὑπεναντιώτατα, καὶ μάλιστα πως τὸ κυρώ-
τατον ἢ κρίσις), σκεπτέον δὴ πρῶτον εἰ δυνατὸν

C ἔστιν ἐν βραχεὶ χρόνῳ δοκιμάσαι χορευτᾶς συγ-
χορευσμένους, ἔρετας διομορφήσοντας, οἰκέτας
χρημάτων ἐπιτρόπους ἢ τέκνων παιδαγωγοὺς
ἐσομένους, μήτε γε φίλους πολλοὺς εἰς ἀγῶνα
πάσης τύχης συναποδοσομένους, ὅν ἔκαστος αὐτός
θ' αὐτὸν

πράσσων εἰς τίθησιν εἰς μέσον,
τοῦ δυστυχοῦς τε λαγχάνων οὐκ ἄχθεται.

οὔτε ναῦς γὰρ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτος ἐλκεται χειμῶνας εἰς
θάλατταν, οὔτε χωρίοις βριγχοὺς καὶ λυμέσι προ-
βάλλουσιν ἔρκη καὶ χώματα τηλικοῦτος προσ-

D δεχόμενοι κινδύνους καὶ τοσοῦτος, ὅσων ἐπαγ-
γέλλεται φιλία καταφυγῆ καὶ βοήθειαν, ὁρθῶς

1 Probably the first line had αὐτὸν τε as the beginning, as
Xylander saw, but Plutarch was apt to fit his quotations to
his own words.
2 πράσσων, the regular form in tragedy: πράττων.

a Author unknown; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.,
Adespota, No. 366.
52
In the houses of rich men and rulers, the people see a noisy throng of visitors offering their greetings and shaking hands and playing the part of armed retainers, and they think that those who have so many friends must be happy. Yet they can see a far greater number of flies in those persons' kitchens. But the flies do not stay on after the good food is gone, nor the retainers after their patron's usefulness is gone. But true friendship seeks after three things above all else: virtue as a good thing, intimacy as a pleasant thing, and usefulness as a necessary thing, for a man ought to use judgement before accepting a friend, and to enjoy being with him and to use him when in need of him, and all these things stand in the way of one's having many friends; but most in the way is the first (which is the most important)—the approval through judgement. Therefore we must, in the first place, consider whether it is possible in a brief period of time to test dancers who are to dance together, or rowers who are to pull together, or servants who are to be guardians of property or attendants of children, let alone the testing of a multitude of friends who are to strip for a general contest with every kind of fortune, each one of whom

Puts his successes with the common store,
And shares in bad luck, too, without distress.  

For no ship is launched upon the sea to meet so many storms, nor do men, when they erect protecting walls for strongholds, and dams and moles for harbours, anticipate perils so numerous and so great as those from which friendship, rightly and surely tried,
(94) καὶ βεβαιῶς ἔξετασθείσα· τῶν δ' ἀνεξετάστως παραρρεύτων ὥσπερ νομισμάτων ἀδοκίμων ἐλεγχομένων

οἱ μὲν ἐστερημένοι
χαῖρονσιν, οἱ δ' ἔχοντες εὐχονται φυγεῖν.

ἔστι δὲ τούτῳ χαλεπὸν καὶ οὐ γάρδιον τὸ φυγεῖν ἢ ἀποθέσθαι δυσαρεστομένην φιλίαν. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οἰτίνον βλαβερὸν καὶ δυσχεραίμονον οὔτε κατ-έχειν οίνον τε μὴ λυποῦν καὶ διαφθείρον οὔτ' ἐκ-βάλλειν οίνον εἰσήλθεν ἀλλ' εἴδεχθε καὶ συμ-πεφυμένοι καὶ ἀλλόκοτον, οὔτω φίλος πονηρὸς ἢ σύνεστι λυπῶν καὶ λυμαινόμενος, ἡ βία μετ'

Ε ἔχθρας καὶ δυσμενείας ὥσπερ χολῇ τις ἔξέπεσε.

4. Διὸ δεῖ μὴ ῥαδίως προοδέχεσθαι μηδὲ κολ-λάσθαι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι μηδὲ φιλεῖν τοὺς διώ-κοντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἄξιοὺς φιλίας διώκειν. οὐ γὰρ αἱρετέον πάντως τὸ ῥαδίως ἀλυσκόμενον. καὶ γὰρ ἀπαράνην καὶ βάτον ἐπιλαμβανομένην ὑπερβάντες καὶ διωσάμενοι βαδίζομεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἑλαίαν καὶ τὴν ἁμπελον. οὔτως ἀεὶ μὴ τὸν εὐχέρως περιπλεκό-μενον ποιεῖσθαι συνήθη καλὸν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄξιοις σπουδῆς καὶ ὕφελίμοις αὐτοὺς περιπλέκεσθαι

F δοκιμάζοντας.

5. "Ὦσπερ οὖν ὁ Ζεύς αἰτιωμένων αὐτὸν τινῶν ὅτι ἱωγραφεῖ βραδέως, "ὁμολογῶ," εἶπεν, "ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ γράφειν, καὶ γὰρ εἰς πολύν," οὔτω φιλίαν δεῖ καὶ συνήθειαν σφάζειν παρα-

1 λυμαινόμενος Hercher: λυστομένος.
2 ἀεὶ δεῖ Wytenbach.
3 καλὸν: καὶ φίλον Wytenbach.

* From some play of Sophocles; it is cited again by 54
promises a refuge and protection. But when some thrust their friendship upon us without being tried, and are found to be like bad coins when put to the test,

Those who are bereft rejoice,
And those who have them pray for some escape.

But here is the difficulty—that it is not easy to escape or to put aside an unsatisfactory friendship; but as harmful and disquieting food can neither be retained without causing pain and injury, nor ejected in the form in which it was taken in, but only as a disgusting and repulsive mess, so an unprincipled friend either causes pain and intense discomfort by his continued association, or else with accompanying enmity and hostility is forcibly ejected like bile.

4. We ought therefore not to accept readily chance acquaintances, or attach ourselves to them, nor ought we to make friends of those who seek after us, but rather we should seek after those who are worthy of friendship. For one should by no means take what can be easily taken. In fact we step over or thrust aside bramble and brier, which seize hold upon us, and make our way onward to the olive and the vine. Thus it is always an excellent thing not to make an intimate acquaintance of the man who is ready with his embraces, but rather, of our own motion, to embrace those of whom we approve as worthy of our attention and useful to us.

5. Just as Zeuxis, when some persons charged him with painting slowly, retorted by saying, "Yes, it takes me a long time, for it is to last long," so it is necessary to preserve friendship and intimacy by

Cf. Moralia, 709 e.  
Cf. Plutarch, Life of Pericles, chap. xiii. (p. 159 d).
λαβόντας ἐν πολλῷ κρῖθεῖσαν. ἢρ ὁν κρίναι μὲν οὐκ ἔστι πολλοὺς φίλους ράδιον, συνεῖναι δὲ πολλοῖς ὁμοὶ ράδιον, ἡ καὶ τοῦτο ἀδύνατον; καὶ μὴν ἀπόλαυσις ἔστιν ἡ συνήθεια τῆς φιλίας, καὶ τὸ ἥδιστον ἐν τῷ συνεῖναι καὶ συνδιημερεύειν.

οὐ μὲν γὰρ ζωῷ γε φίλων ἀπανευθὲν ἑταῖρων βουλᾶς ἐξόμενοι βουλευόμεν.

95 καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως ὁ Μενέλαος
οὔδε κεν ἄλλο ἀμμεὶ διέκρινεν φιλέοντε τε τερπομένω τε, πρίν γ᾽ ὦτε δὴ θανάτου μέλαι νέφοι ἄμφεκάλυπε.

tούναντιον οὖν ἔοικεν ἡ καλουμένη πολυφιλία ποιεῖν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ συνάγει καὶ συνιστήσει καὶ συνέχει καταπυκνοῦσα ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ φιλοφροσύναις

ὁς δ᾽ ὦτ᾽ ὅπος γάλα λευκόν ἐγόμφωσεν καὶ ἔδησε

Β κατ᾽ Ἐμπεδοκλέα (τοιαύτην γὰρ ἡ φιλία βούλεται ποιεῖν ἐνότητα καὶ σύμπτωσιν), ἡ δὲ πολυφιλία διίστησε καὶ ἀποσπᾷ καὶ ἀποστρέφει, τῷ μετακαλεῖν καὶ μεταφέρειν ἄλλοτε πρὸς ἄλλον οὐκ ἔωσα κρασιν ὤυδὲ κόλλησιν εὐνοίας ἐν τῇ συνήθεια περιχυθεῖσι καὶ παγεῖσθι γενέσθαι. τοῦτο δ᾽ εὐθὺς

1 ἄλλο | ἀμμεὶ ἡμέας | ἄλλο Homeric mss.

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a Homer, Ι. xxiii. 77; the words are spoken by the ghost of Patroclus to Achilles.
b Homer, Od. iv. 178; Plutarch quotes the first two lines in Moralía, 54 f.
c Probably adapted by Empedocles from Homer, Ι. v. 902; cf. Diels, Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 239.
adoption them only after spending a long time in passing judgement upon them. Is it, then, true that while it is not easy to pass judgement on a large number of friends, yet it is easy to associate with a large number at the same time, or is this also impossible? Now it is a fact that the enjoyment of friendship lies in its intimacy, and the pleasantest part of it is found in association and daily companionship:

Never in life again shall we take counsel together
Sitting apart from our comrades.

And in regard to Odysseus, Menelaus says:

Else there were nothing
Which could have parted us twain in the midst of our love and enjoyment;
No, not till Death's dark cloud had wrapped its shadow around us.

Now what is commonly called having a multitude of friends apparently produces the opposite result. For friendship draws persons together and unites them and keeps them united in a close fellowship by means of continual association and mutual acts of kindness—

Just as the fig-juice fastens the white milk firmly and binds it, as Empedocles puts it (for such is the unity and consolidation that true friendship desires to effect); but, on the other hand, having a multitude of friends causes disunion, separation, and divergence, since, by calling one hither and thither, and transferring one's attention now to this person, now to that, it does not permit any blending or close attachment of goodwill to take place in the intimacy which moulds itself about friendship and takes enduring
(95) ὑποβάλλει καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς ὑπουργίας ἀνωμαλίαν καὶ δυσωπίαν τὰ γὰρ εὐχρήστα τῆς φιλίας δύσ-χρηστα γίγνεται διὰ τὴν πολυφιλίαν.

"ἄλλον τρόπον" γὰρ "ἄλλων ἔγειρει φροντὶς ἀνθρώπων."

οὔτε γὰρ αἱ φύσεις ἡμῶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα ταῖς ὀρμαῖς ῥέσουσιν, οὔτε τούχαις ὀμοτρόποις ἀεὶ σύνεσμεν. οὐ C τε τῶν πράξεων καιρὸς καθάπερ τὰ πνεύματα τοὺς μὲν φέρουσι τοῖς δ' ἀντιπότουσι.

6. Καίτοι καὶ πάντες ἃμα τῶν αὐτῶν οἱ φίλοι δέωνται, χαλεπὸν ἔξαρκεσαι πάσι βουλευομένοις ἡ πολιτευομένοις ἡ φιλοτυμομένοις ἡ ὑποδεχομένοις. ἂν δ' ἐνι καιρῷ διαφόροις πράγμασι καὶ πάθεσι προστυγχάνοντες ὁμοὶ παρακαλῶσιν ὁ μὲν πλέων συναποδημεῖν, ὁ δὲ κρίνομενος συνδικέιν, ὁ δὲ κρίνον συνδικάζειν, ὁ δὲ πιπράσκων ἡ ἀγοράζων συνδικοκεῖν, ὁ δὲ γαμῶν συνθυεῖν, ὁ δὲ θάπτων συμπενθεῖν,

πόλις δ' ὁμοὶ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμη, ὁμοὶ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων

D ἡ πολυφιλία. πᾶσι μὲν ἀμήχανον παρεῖναι, μηδενί δ' ἀτοπον, εἰνὶ δ' ὑπουργοῦντα προσκρούειν πολ-λοῖς ἀνιαρόν.

οὔθεις γὰρ ἄγαπῶν αὐτὸς ἀμελεῖθ ἤδεως.

1 ἄλλων Crusius: ἄλλον.

 b The language here seems to be an amplification of Aristotle, Ethica Nicom. ix. 10.
 c Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 4; cited by Plutarch also in Moralia, 169 d, 445 d, and 623 c.

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form. This at once suggests also the inequality there must be and embarrassment about rendering services, since the very useful elements in friendship are rendered practically useless by having many friends. For

In divers men solicitude excites conduct diverse. For neither do our natures tend in the same direction as our impulses, nor do we, day in and day out, meet with the same sort of fortune; and the occasions which prompt our various actions, like the winds, help some friends on their way, and are adverse to others.

6. But if all our friends want the same things at the same time, it is hard to satisfy all, in either their counsels, their public life, their ambitions, or their dispensing of hospitality. And if at one and the same time they chance to be occupied in diverse activities and experiences, and call upon us at the same instant, one to join him on a voyage to foreign parts, another to help him in defending a suit, another to sit with him as judge, another to help him in managing his buying and selling, another to help him to celebrate his wedding, another to mourn with him at a funeral,

The city is with burning incense filled;
Full too of joyous hymns and doleful groans is the possession of a host of friends. It is impossible to be with them all, and unnatural to be with none, and yet to do a service to one alone, and thus to offend many, is a source of vexation;

For fond affection does not brook neglect.

\[^a\] A line from Menander, cited also in Moralia, 491 c; cf. Kock, Com. Attic. Frag. iii. p. 213.

\[^b\]
(95) Καίτοι τὰς ἀμελείας καὶ ραθυμίας τῶν φίλων πραότερον φέρουσι, καὶ τὰς τουαύτας ἀπολογίας ἀμηνίτως δέχονται παρ’ αὐτῶν “ἐξελαθόμην” “ἡγνόσα.” ὁ δὲ λέγων “οὐ παρέστην σοι δίκην ἔχοντι, παριστάμην γὰρ ἐτέρῳ φίλῳ,” καὶ “πυρέττοντά σ’ οὐκ εἶδον, τῷ δεινῷ γὰρ φίλους ἐστινῦτι συνησχολούμην” αἰτίαν τῆς ἀμελείας τῆς ἐτέρων

Ε ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενον οὐ λύει τὴν μέμνην, ἀλλὰ προσεπιβάλλει ξηλοτυπίαν. ἀλλ’ οἱ πολλοὶ τὰς πολυφιλίας ἀ δύνανται παρέχειν μόνον ὡς ἐοικε σκοποῦσιν, ἀ δ’ ἀνταπαυτοῦσι παρορόσι, καὶ οὐ μνημονεύουσιν ὅτι δεὶ τὸν πολλοῖς εἰς ἀ δεῖται χρώμενον πολλοῖς δεομένοι ἀνθυπουργεῖν. ὡσπερ οὖν ὁ Βριάρεως ἐκατόν χερῶν εἰς πεντήκοντα φορῶν γαστέρας οὐδὲν ἡμῶν πλέον εἰχε τῶν ἀπὸ δυεῖν χερῶν μίαν κολιάν διουκούντων, οὕτως ἐν τῷ φίλοις χρήσθαι πολλοῖς¹ καὶ τὸ λειτουργεῖν πολλοῖς ἑνεστὶ καὶ τὸ συναγωνίαν καὶ τὸ συνασχολεῖσθαι καὶ συγκάμνεν. οὐ γὰρ Εὐριπίδη πειστέον λέγοντι

χρήν γὰρ μετρίαν εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλίαν² θυντοὺς ἀνακίρνασθαι καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἁκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς, εὐλυτα δ’ εἶναι θέλητρα³ φρενῶν, ἀπὸ τ’ ὕσασθαι καὶ ἤνυτεῖνα, καθάπερ πόδα νεώς ἐνδιδόντι καὶ προσάγοντι ταῖς χρείαις τῆς φιλίας. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μέν, ὁ Εὐριπίδη,

¹ ἐν τῷ φίλοις χρήσθαι πολλοῖς is perhaps more likely than Halm’s ἐν τῷ πολλοῖς φίλοις χρήσθαι: ἐν τοῖς φίλοις χρήσιμον.
² μετρίαν . . . φιλίαν: μετρίας . . . φιλίας Euripides, Hippiolytus, 253.
³ θέλητρα, ibid. 256: στέργηθρα.
Yet people are more tolerant of acts of negligence and remissness on the part of their friends, and they accept from them without anger such excuses as "I forgot," "I didn’t know." But the man who says, "I did not appear with you when your case was in court, for I was appearing with another friend," and "I did not come and see you when you had fever, for I was busy helping so-and-so to entertain some friends," thus alleging, as the reason for his inattention, his attention to others, does not absolve himself from blame, but only aggravates the trouble by arousing jealousy. But most people, apparently, look at the possession of a host of friends merely from the point of view of what such friendships are able to bestow, and overlook what these demand in return, forgetting that he who accepts the services of many for his needs must in turn render like service to many in their need. Therefore, just as Briareus in purveying for fifty bellies with an hundred hands had no advantage over us who manage one stomach with what two hands provide, so in making use of many friends is involved also serving many, and sharing in their anxieties, preoccupations, and troubles. For no credence is to be given to Euripides when he says:

In the friendship which mortals with each other form
Moderation should rule, and it never should reach
To the soul’s inmost marrow; and easy to loose
Should the spells ever be that are laid on the mind
So to thrust them aside or to draw them close,
thus easing off one’s friendship or hauling it close according to exigencies, like the sheet of a ship’s sail. But let us, my dear Euripides, turn the applica-

* Hippolytus, 253.
μεταθώμεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔχθρας, καὶ κελεύωμεν "μετρίας" ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ "μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυκέλὸν ψυχῆς, εὔλυτα δὲ εἶναι" μίση καὶ ὀργὰς.

καὶ μεμψιμορίας καὶ ὑπονοίας. ἔκεινο δὲ μάλλον ἢμῖν παράνει τὸ Πυθαγορικὸν "μὴ πολλοῖς ἐμβάλλειν δεξιάν," τούτεστι μὴ πολλοὺς ποιεῖσθαι φίλους μηδὲ πολύκοινον μηδὲ πάνδημον ἀσπάζεται φιλίαν, καὶ πρὸς ἐν ᾗν τις ἢ μετὰ πολλῶν παθῶν εἰσιώθων.  

ἡ ἡμέρα πάντων ὕπολεγεται καὶ συμποιεῖται καὶ συγκυανύεται πάνω δύσοιτον τοῖς ἐλευθέροις καὶ γενναίοις ἑστίν.

Τὸ δὲ τοῦ οἰσφοῦ Χίλωνος ἄληθές, ὅσ πρὸς τὸν εἰσότα μηδένα ἔχειν ἔχθρόν "ἔοικας," ἐφη, "οὐ μηδὲ φίλον ἔχειν." αἱ γὰρ ἔχθραι ταῖς φιλίαις εὐθὺς ἐπακολουθοῦσι καὶ συμπλέκονται.

Β' ἐπείπερ (7) οὐκ ἐστὶ φίλον μὴ συναδίκεισθαι μηδὲ συναδεξεῖν μηδὲ συναπεκλάνεσθαι: οἱ γὰρ ἔχθροι τὸν φίλον εὐθὺς υφορῶνται τε καὶ μειοῦν ντε φιλοί πολλάκις φθονοῦσι τε καὶ ξηλοτυποῦν καὶ περισσῶσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ τῷ Τιμησίᾳ περὶ τῆς ἀποικίας δοθεὶς χρησιμὸς προηγούρευσε

σμῆνα μελισσάων τάχα τοι καὶ σφήκες ἐσονται,  

οὕτως οἱ φίλων ξητοῦντες ἐσμον ἔλαθον ἔχθρῶν σφηκαῖς περισσοῦντες.

Καὶ οὐκ ὕσον ἄγει σταθμὸν ἔχθροῦ μνησιμακία

1 καὶ πρὸς ἐν' ἀν τις ἢ... εἰσιώθως Φ.Σ.Β. (cf. Aristotle, Magna Moralia, ii. 16): καὶ πρὸς ἐναντίον (or ἐναντίαν) ἢ (or ἢ)... εἰσιώθωσα (or εἰσιώθως).

2 μὴ Hartman: μὲν.

3 σμῆνε... ἐσονται Reiske.

a Cf. Moralia, vol. i. 12 ε and the note.
tion of this advice to our enmities, and advise the use of "moderation" in our disagreements, "not reaching the soul's inmost marrow," and that hatred, anger, complainings, and suspicions be "easy to loose," and commend rather to us the Pythagorean maxim, "not to clasp hands with many"; that is, not to make many friends nor to welcome a common and indiscriminate friendship, or even a friendship with one person, if the coming of any friendship into one's life brings with it many afflictions, wherein refusal to share the other's anxieties, burdens, toils, and dangers is altogether intolerable for free-born and generous persons.

There is truth in the remark of the wise Chilon, who, in answer to the man who boasted of having no enemy, said, "The chances are that you have no friend either." For enmities follow close upon friendships, and are interwoven with them, inasmuch as (7) it is impossible for a friend not to share his friend's wrongs or disrepute or disfavour; for a man's enemies at once look with suspicion and hatred upon his friend, and oftentimes his other friends are envious and jealous, and try to get him away. As the oracle given to Timesias about his colony prophesied:

Soon shall your swarms of honey-bees turn out to be hornets, so, in like manner, men who seek for a swarm of friends unwittingly run afool of hornets' nests of enemies.

Besides, the resentment of an enemy and the gratitude of a friend do not weigh equally in the

\[ \text{Cf. Moralia, 86 c, and Aulus Gellius, i. 3.} \]

\[ \text{Cf. the story told of Timesias by Plutarch, Moralia, 812a.} \]
(96) καὶ φίλου χάρις. ὥρα δὲ τοὺς Φιλώτου καὶ 
C Παρμενίωνος φίλους καὶ οἰκείους ἀ διεθήκεν 
'Αλέξανδρος, ἀ τοὺς Δίωνος Διονύσιος τοὺς 
Πλαύτου Νέρων καὶ τοὺς Σημανοῦ Τιβέριος στρε-
βλοῦντες καὶ ἀποκτινώντες. ὡς γὰρ τὸν Κρέοντα 
tῆς θυγατρὸς οὐδὲν ὁ χρυσὸς οὐδὲν ὁ πέπλος ὥφελει, 
tὸ δὲ πῦρ ἀναφθὲν αἰφνιδίως προσδραμόντα καὶ 
περιπτέξαντα κατέκαυσε καὶ συναπώλεσεν, οὕτως 
ἐνιοῦ τῶν φίλων οὐδὲν ἀπολαύσαντες εὐτυχοῦντων 
συναπόλλυνται δυστυχῶσι. καὶ τοῦτο μάλιστα 
πάσχονσιν οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ χαρίεντες, ὡς Θη-
σεύς τῷ Πειρίθῳ κολαζομένως καὶ δεδεμένως
αἴδοις ἀχαλκεύτουσιν ἐξευκταί πέδαις;

D έν δὲ τῷ λοιμῷ φησιν ὁ Θουκυδίδης τοὺς ἀρετῆς 
μάλιστα μεταποιομένους συναπόλλυσθαι τοῖς φί-
λοις νοσοῦσιν· ἥφειδον γὰρ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἱόντες 
παρὰ τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους.

8. "Ὅθεν οὔτω τῆς ἀρετῆς ἁφείδειν οὐ προσήκον 
ἀλλοτ' ἀλλοις συνδέοντας αὐτὴν καὶ συμπλέκοντας,
ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἁξίους τὴν αὐτὴν κοινωνίαν φυλάττει,
τούτεστι τοῖς ὁμοίως φιλεῖν καὶ κοινωνεῖν δυναμε-
νοις. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο πάντων μέγιστον ἔστων 
ἐναντίωμα πρὸς τὴν πολυφιλίαν, ὅτι τῇ φιλίᾳ

1 φιλόσοφοι] φιλόφιλοι Michael, φιλόστοργοι Sauppe; but 
cf. 112 D infra for some justification of the ms. reading.
2 αἴδοις . . . πέδαις is the reading in the other three 
places in which Plutarch quotes this line (mss. here have 
πέδαις . . . πόδας), but it is not impossible that Plutarch 
may have adapted the line to suit his context, which 
seems to require ἀχαλκεῦτοι συνεξευκταί of Stephanus.
3 αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς several mss.

a Rubellius Plautus; cf. Tacitus, Annals, xiv. 57 ff., and 
Dio Cassius, lxii. 14.

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balance. See what treatment Alexander meted out to the friends and family of Philotas and Parmenio, Dionysius those of Dion, Nero those of Plautus, and Tiberius those of Sejanus, torturing and killing them. For as the golden crown and the robe of Creon’s daughter did not help Creon, but, as he suddenly ran to her and clasped her in his arms, the fire, fastening upon him, burned him up and destroyed him as well as his daughter, so some persons without deriving any benefit from their friends’ good fortunes, perish with them in their misfortunes. This is the experience especially of men of culture and refinement, as Theseus, for example, shared with Peirithoüs his punishment and imprisonment,

Yoked fast in duty’s bonds not forged by man,

and Thucydides asserts that in the pestilence those who had the highest claim to virtue perished with their friends who were ill; for they did not spare themselves in going, as they did, to visit those who had claims on their friendship.

8. For these reasons it is not a fit thing to be thus unsparing of our virtue, uniting and intertwining it now with one and now with another, but rather only with those who are qualified to keep up the same participation, that is to say, those who are able, in a like manner, to love and participate. For herein plainly is the greatest obstacle of all to having a multitude of friends, in that friendship comes into

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\(^a\) Cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, v. 7 ff., and Dio Cassius, lviii. 11-12.
\(^b\) Euripides, *Medea*, 1136 ff.

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65
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

γένεσις δι' ομοιότητος ἐστιν. ὅπου γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα1 τὰς μίξεις πρὸς τὰ ἀνόμοια ποιεῖται μετὰ 
Εβιας ἀναγκαζόμενα καὶ ὀκλαζεὶ καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ 
φεύγοντα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς καὶ 
οἰκείους ὁμοπαθεῖ κεραυνύμενα καὶ προσίεται 
τὴν κοινωνίαν λείως καὶ μετ' εὐμενείας, πῶς οἶνον 
τὴν ῥήτωσι διαφόροις ἐγγενέσθαι καὶ πάθεσιν 
ἀνομοίοις καὶ βίοις έτέρας προαρέσεις ἐξοσούν; 
η μὲν γὰρ περὶ ψαλμοὺς καὶ φόρμησις ἁρμονία 
δι' ἀντιφώνων ἔχει τὸ σύμφωνον, ὅξυτης καὶ 
βαρύτησιν ἀμωσγέπως ὁμοιότητος ἐγγιγνομένης. 
τῆς δὲ φιλικῆς συμφωνίας ταύτης καὶ ἁρμονίας 
οὐδὲν ἀνόμουν Ὀὐδ' ἀνωμάλου Ὀὐδ' ἁνίσον εἶναι 
δεὶ μέρος, ἀλλ' εὖ ἀπάντων ὁμοίως ἐχόντων 
Ι' ὁμολογεῖν2 καὶ ὁμοβουλεῖν3 καὶ ὁμοδοξεῖν2 καὶ 
συνομοπαθεῖν,3 ὥσπερ μᾶς ψυχῆς ἐν πλείοσιν 
διηρθημένης σώμασι.

9. Τίς οὖν ἐστιν οὕτως ἐπίπονος καὶ μετάβολος 
καὶ παντοδιπός ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε πολλοῖς ἕαυτὸν 
ἐξομοιοῦν καὶ προσαρμόττειν καὶ μὴ καταγαῖν 
τοῦ Θεόγνιδος παραινόντος 

πολύποδος νόου4 ἔχει πολυχρόου,3 δός ποτὲ πέτρῃ, 
τῇ πέρ ὄμιλήσῃ,3 τοῖς ἱδεῖν ἐφάνη; 

καίτοι τοῦ πολύποδος αἱ μεταβολαὶ βάθος οὐκ 
ἐχουσι, ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτὴν γίγνονται τὴν ἐπι-

φάνειαν, στυφότητι καὶ μανότητι τὰς ἀπορροίας τῶν 
97 πλησιαζόντων ἀναλαμβάνουσαν. αἱ δὲ φιλίαι τὰ 

1 ἄψυχα] ἄλογα Wytenbach.
2 Hartman would read all these as indicatives, ὁμολογεῖ, 
3 etc.
4 πολύπου ὄργην . . . πολυπλόκου . . . τῇ προσομιλήσῃ, in 
the mss. of Theognis and also Athenaeus, p. 317 a. The 
being through likeness. Indeed, if even the brute beasts are made to mate with others unlike themselves only by forcible compulsion, and crouch aside, and show resentment as they try to escape from each other, while with animals of their own race and kind they consort with mutual satisfaction, and welcome the participation with a ready goodwill, how then is it possible for friendship to be engendered in differing characters, unlike feelings, and lives which hold to other principles? It is true that the harmony produced on harp and lyre gets its consonance through tones of dissonant pitch, a likeness being somehow engendered between the higher and the lower notes; but in our friendship’s consonance and harmony there must be no element unlike, uneven, or unequal, but all must be alike to engender agreement in words, counsels, opinions, and feelings, and it must be as if one soul were apportioned among two or more bodies.

9. What man is there, then, so indefatigable, so changeable, so universally adaptable, that he can assimilate and accommodate himself to many persons, without deriding the advice of Theognis when he says:

Copy this trait of the cuttle-fish, which changes its colour
So as to seem to the eye like to the rock where it clings?

However, the changes in the cuttle-fish have no depth, but are wholly on the surface, which, owing to its closeness or looseness of texture, takes up the emanations from objects which come near to it;

*a Verses 215-6, cited by Plutarch also in Moralia, 916 c and 978 ε.*

majority of mss. of Plutarch have πολυφρόνος instead of πολυχρόνον.
(97) ήθη ζητοῦσι συνεξομοιοῦν καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τὰς διαθέσεις. Πρωτέως τινὸς οὐκ εὐτυχοῦσ οὐδὲ πάνυ χρηστοῦ τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γοητείας ἐαυτὸν εἰς ἔτερον εἴδος ἔξ ἐτέρου μεταλλάττοντος ἐν ταὐτῷ πολλάκις, φιλολόγοις συναναγγειλμένοι καὶ παλαισταῖς συγκοινομένου καὶ φιλοθέρους συγκυνηγητοῦντος καὶ φιλοπότας συμμεθυσκομένου καὶ πολιτικοῖς συναρχαιρεσιάζοντος, ὅταν ἤθους ἔστιν οὐκ ἔχοντος. ὅσ δὲ τὴν ἀσχημάτιστον οἱ φυσικοὶ καὶ Β ἀχρώματον οὐσίαν καὶ θλην λέγουσιν ὑποκειμένην καὶ τρεπομένην ὑφ' αὐτῆς νῦν μὲν φλέγεσθαι νῦν δ' ἐξυγραίνεσθαι, τοτε δ' ἐξαεροῦσθαι πήγνυσθαι δ' αὖθις, οὕτως ἢρα τῇ πολυφιλίᾳ ψυχήν ὑποκείσθαι δεήσει πολυπαθῆ καὶ πολύτροπον καὶ ὑγρὰν καὶ ῥαδίαν μεταβάλλειν. ἀλλ' ἡ φιλία στάσιμον τι ζητεῖ καὶ βέβαιον ἦθος καὶ ἀμετάπτωτον ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ καὶ συνήθειας διὸ καὶ σπάνιον καὶ δυσεὑρετὸν ἔστι φίλος βέβαιος.

1 Hartman would omit ἀλλ'.

68
ON HAVING MANY FRIENDS, 97

whereas friendships seek to effect a thorough-going likeness in characters, feelings, language, pursuits, and dispositions. Such varied adaptation were the task of a Proteus,\(^a\) not fortunate and not at all scrupulous, who by magic can change himself often on the very instant from one character to another, reading books with the scholarly, rolling in the dust with wrestlers, following the hunt with sportsmen, getting drunk with topers, and taking part in the canvass of politicians, possessing no firmly founded character of his own. And as the natural philosophers say of the formless and colourless substance and material which is the underlying basis of everything and of itself turns into everything, that it is now in a state of combustion, now liquefied, at another time aeriform, and then again solid, so the possession of a multitude of friends will necessarily have, as its underlying basis, a soul that is very impressionable, versatile, pliant, and readily changeable. But friendship seeks for a fixed and steadfast character which does not shift about, but continues in one place and in one intimacy. For this reason a steadfast friend is something rare and hard to find.

INTRODUCTION

In default of any information regarding Plutarch’s short essay on Chance, we can only guess that it may have been delivered as a lecture, although Hartman denies such a possibility. The arguing of such subjects has always had a certain attraction for mankind until comparatively recent times, but the development of a more exact knowledge regarding psychology has in later years checked such discussions. Yet a knowledge of psychology will not detract from the interest and enjoyment of anyone who will read this essay.
1. Τύχη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματ', οὐκ εὖβουλία.
πότερον οὐδὲ δικαιοσύνη τὰ θνητῶν πράγματα οὐδ' ἴσότης οὐδὲ σωφροσύνη οὐδὲ κοσμιότης, ἀλλ' ἐκ τύχης μὲν καὶ διὰ τύχην Ἀριστείδης ἐνεκαρτέρησε
D τῇ πενίᾳ, πολλῶν χρημάτων κύριος γενέσθαι δυνάμενος, καὶ Σκιπίων Καρχηδόνα ἔλθὼν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐλαβεν οὔτ' εἴδε τῶν λαφύρων, ἐκ τύχης δὲ καὶ διὰ τύχην Φιλοκράτης λαβῶν χρυσίου παρὰ Φιλίππου "πόρνας καὶ ἱχθύς ἣγόραξε," καὶ Δασθένης καὶ Εὐθυκράτης ἀπώλεσαν Ὀλυνθον, "τῇ γαστρὶ μετροῦντες καὶ τοῖς αἰσχύστοις τὴν εὐδαμονίαν"; ἀπὸ τύχης δ' ὦ μὲν Φιλίππου Ἀλέξανδρος αὐτὸς τε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπείχετο γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας ἐκόλαξεν, ὁ δὲ Πριάμον δαίμονι κακῷ καὶ τύχη χρησάμενος συνεκομίατο τῇ τοῦ ἕξου γυναικὶ, καὶ λαβῶν Ἐ αὐτὴν ἐνέπλησε πολέμου καὶ κακῶν τὰς δύο ἡπείρους; εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα γίγνεται διὰ τύχην, τί κωλύει

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Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, v. 9 (25). 
b Cf. Plutarch's Life of Aristides, chap. xxv. (p. 334 b). 
c Cf. Plutarch's Moralia, 200 b. 
d Demosthenes, Or. xix. (De falsa legatione), 229 (p. 412).
CHANCE

1. Man's ways are chance and not sagacity. *

Is it true also that man's ways are not justice either, or equality, or self-control, or decorum, but was it the result of chance and because of chance that Aristeides b persevered in his poverty when he could have made himself master of great wealth, and that Scipio, c having captured Carthage, neither took nor saw any of the spoil? Was it the result of chance and because of chance that Philocrates, d having received money from Philip, "proceeded to spend it on trulls and trout," and was it due to chance that Lasthenes and Euthycrates lost Olynthus, "measuring happiness by their bellies and the most shameless deeds"? e Was it the result of chance that Alexander, f the son of Philip, forbore to touch the captive women himself and punished those who offered them insult, and, on the other hand, was it because the Alexander who was the son of Priam yielded to the dictates of an evil genius or of chance that he lay with the wife of his host, and by her abduction filled two of our three continents with war and woes? For if these things happen because

The money was the price of treason according to Demosthenes.

* Demosthenes, Or. xviii. (De corona), 296 (p. 324). These men also Demosthenes puts in his list of traitors.

f Cf. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. xxi. (p. 676 b ff.).
καὶ τὰς γαλὰς καὶ τοὺς τράγους καὶ τοὺς πιθήκους συνέχεσθαι φάναι διὰ τῦχην ταῖς λιχνείαις καὶ ταῖς ἄκρασίαις καὶ ταῖς βωμολοχίαις;

2. Εἰ δὲ ἔστι σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία, πῶς λόγον ἔχει μὴ εἶναι φρόνησιν, εἰ δὲ φρόνησιν, πῶς οὐ καὶ εὐβουλίαν; ἡ γὰρ σωφροσύνη φρόνησις τίς ἐστιν ὡς φασί, καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη τῆς φρονήσεως δεῖται παρούσης μᾶλλον δὲ τὴν εὐβουλίαν γέ τοι καὶ φρόνησιν ἐν μὲν ἡδονάς ἀγαθοῖς παρεχομένην ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καλοῦμεν, εἰ δὲ κυνύνοις καὶ πόνοις καρτέριαι καὶ ἀνδραγαθίαι, εἰ δὲ κοινωνήμασι καὶ πολιτείαις εὐνομίαι καὶ δικαιοσύνην. οὖθεν εἰ τὰ τῆς εὐβουλίας Ε ἔργα τῆς τύχης δικαιούμεν εἶναι, ἐστώ τύχης καὶ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης καὶ τὰ τῆς σωφροσύνης, καὶ νὴ Δία τὸ κλέπτειν τύχης ἐστώ καὶ τὸ βαλλαντιοτομεῖν καὶ τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν, καὶ μεθέμενοι τῶν οἰκείων λογισμῶν εἰς τὴν τύχην ἑαυτούς ἀφώμεν ὠστερ ὑπὸ πνεύματος πολλοῦ κοινοτόν ἢ συρρέον ἑλανυμένους καὶ διαφερομένους. εὐβουλίας τοῖνυν μὴ οὕσης οὐδὲ βουλὴν εἰκὸς εἶναι περὶ πραγμάτων οὐδὲ σκέψιν οὐδὲ ἐκτὸς τοῦ συμφέροντος, ἀλλ' ἐλήφθησεν εἰπὼν ὁ Σοφοκλῆς ὅτι

πάν τὸ ζητοῦμενον ἀλωτὸν, ἐκφεύγει δὲ τὰμελοῦμενον
καὶ πάλιν αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα διαιρέων

τα μὲν διδακτὰ μανθάνω, τα δ' εὑρέτα ζητῶ, τα δ' εὐκτὰ παρὰ θεῶν ἡτησάμην.

1 καὶ Wyttenbach following Xylander and Amyot: ἦ.

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a Cf. Moralia, 441 a and 1034 c.

b Oedipus Tyrannus, 110.
of chance, what is to hinder our saying that cats, goats, and apes because of chance are given over to greediness, lustfulness, and mischievous tricks?

2. If self-control, justice, and bravery exist, how is it possible to reason that intelligence does not exist; and if intelligence exists, must not sagacity exist also? For self-control is a kind of intelligence, they say, and justice requires the presence of intelligence. Or rather, that particular sagacity and intelligence which render men virtuous in the midst of pleasures we call continence and self-control, in perils and labours we call it perseverance and fortitude, in private dealings and in public life we call it equity and justice. Wherefore, if we impute the works of sagacity to chance, let the works of justice and of self-control be also ascribed to chance, and, by Heaven, let thieving, stealing purses, and licentious living all be ascribed to chance, and let us abandon all our reasoning processes and resign ourselves to chance, to be driven and carried, as dust or rubbish by a violent wind, hither and thither. If, then, sagacity does not exist, it is a fair inference that there can be no sagacious planning about what is to be done, and no consideration or searching for what is to the best advantage, but Sophocles indulged in idle talk when he said:

Whatever is pursued
May be achieved; neglected it escapes;
and so too in another place where he tries to distinguish different classes of actions:

What can be taught I learn; what can be found I seek; but God I ask to answer prayer.

*From an unknown play of Sophocles; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Sophocles, No. 759.
(98) τί γάρ εὑρετόν ἢ τί μαθητῶν ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις, εἰ πάντα περαινεῖται κατὰ τύχην; ποίον δὲ οὐκ ἀναφέρειται βουλευτήριον πόλεως ἢ ποίον οὐ καταλύεται συνέδριον βασιλέως, εἰ ὑπὸ τῇ τύχῃ πάντες ἕστιν, ἢν τυφλὴν λοιδοροῦμεν, ὡς τυφλοὶ περιπίπτοντες
Β αὐτῇ; τί δ’ οὖ μέλλομεν, οταν ὁσπερ ὀμματα τῆν εὐβουλίαν ἐκκόψαντες αὐτῶν τοῦ βίου τυφλὴν χειραγωγὸν λαμβάνωμεν;

3. Καίτοι φέρε λέγειν τινα ἡμῶν ὡς τύχη τὰ τῶν βλεπόντων πράγματα, οὐκ ὑψις οὐδ’ "ὁμματα φωσφόρα," φησι Πλάτων, καὶ τύχη τὰ τῶν ἀκουόντων, οὐ δύναμιν ἀντιληπτικὴ πληγῆς ἀέρος δι’ ὅταν καὶ ἐγκεφάλου προσφερομένης καλὸν ἢν, ὡς ἐσικεῖν, εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὴν αἰσθησιν. ἀλλὰ μήν τὴν ὑψιν καὶ ἀκοήν καὶ γεῦσιν καὶ ὀσφρησι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος τάς τε δυνάμειςαὐτῶν ὑπηρεσίαν εὐβουλίας καὶ φρονήσεως ἡ

C φύσις ἤνεγκεν ἡμῖν, καὶ

"νοῦς ὅρη καὶ νοῦς ἀκούει, τάλλα" δὲ "κωφὰ καὶ τυφλά.”

καὶ ὁσπερ ἡλίου μή ὄντος ἕνεκα τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων εὐφρόνην ἄν ἱγομεν, ὡς φησιν Ἰῆρα-κλειτος, οὕτως ἔνεκα τῶν αἰσθήσεων, εἰ μὴ νοῦν μηδὲ λόγον ὁ ἀνθρωπος ἐσχεν, οὐδὲν ἄν διεφερε τῷ βίῳ τῶν θηρίων. νῦν δ’ οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης οὐδ’

1 τάς τε δυνάμεις Wytenbach and one ms. correction: δυνάμεως.

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b In the Timaeus, p. 45 b.
c Cf. Plato, Timaeus, p. 67 b.
d From Epicharmus; cited by Plutarch also in Moralia,
For what is there which can be found out or learned by mankind if the issue of all things is determined by chance? And what deliberative assembly of a State can there be which is not abolished, or advisory council of a king which is not dissolved, if all things are under the dominion of chance, which we reproach for being blind because we, like blind men, stumble against it? How can we help doing so when we pluck out sagacity, as it were our own eyes, and take as our guide in life a blind leader?

3. Yet, suppose someone among us should say that the act of seeing is chance and not vision nor the use of "light-bringing orbs," as Plato calls the eyes, and that the act of hearing is chance and not a faculty apperceptive of a vibration in the air which is carried onward through ear and brain. If such were the case, it were well for us, as it appears, to beware of trusting our senses! But, as a matter of fact, Nature has conferred upon us sight, hearing, taste, smell, and our other members and their faculties to be ministers of sagacity and intelligence, and

Mind has sight and mind has hearing; all the rest is deaf and blind.

Precisely as would be our case if the sun did not exist, and we, for all the other stars, should be passing our life in a continual night, as Heracleitus affirms, so man, for all his senses, had he not mind and reason, would not differ at all in his life from the brutes.

(98) αὐτομάτως περίεσμεν αὐτῶν καὶ κρατοῦμεν, ἄλλ' ὁ Προμηθεύς, τοντέστων ὁ λογισμός, αἰτιος
 ἵππων ὅνων τ' ὀχεία καὶ ταύρων γονᾶς
dους ἀντίδουλα1 καὶ τόνων ἐκδέκτορα

D κατ' Αἰσχύλον. ἐπεὶ τύχῃ γε καὶ φύσει γενέσεως
ἀμείνοι τὰ πλείστα τῶν ἀλόγων κέχρηται. τὰ μὲν
gὰρ ὅπλωσται κέρασι καὶ ὀδὸσι καὶ κέντροις,

"αὐτὰρ ἐξίνους,2" φησίν 'Εμπεδοκλῆς,
"ἀξιόμετας χαῖται νῷτοι ἐπιπεφρίκασιν,"
tὰ δ' ὑποδέδεται καὶ ἡμφίεσται φολίσι καὶ λάθναις
καὶ χηλαῖς καὶ ὄπλαισ ἀποκρότους. μόνος δ' ὁ ἀν-
θρωπος κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνα "γυμνὸς καὶ ἄναπλος
cαι ἀνυπόδετος3 καὶ ἀστρώτος" ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως
ἀπολέλειται.

ἀλλ' ἐν διδοῦσα πάντα μαλθάσσει τάδε,

Ε τὸν λογισμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν.

ἡ βραχὺ μὲν σθένος ἄνερος. ἄλλα
ποικίλα πραπίδων
dεινὰ μὲν φύλα4 πόντον
χθονίων τ' ἀερίων τε
dάμναται βουλεύματα.

κοιφότατον ἵπποι καὶ ὁκύτατον, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ
θέουσιν μάχιμον κύων καὶ θυμοειδές, ἄλλ' ἄν-

1 ἀντίδουλα from Moralia, 964 f: ἀντίδωρα.
2 ἐξίνουs Stephanus and possibly one ms. : ἐξίνος.
3 ἄναπλος καὶ ἀνυπόδετος] ἄσπλος καὶ ἀνυπόδητος Plato ms., which also have the words in different order.
4 φύλα added from Moralia, 959 ν; not in ms.

a From the Prometheus Unbound of Aeschylus; Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Aeschylus, No. 194. The lines are again quoted by Plutarch, Moralia, 964 f.
But as it is, we excel them and have power over them, not from chance or accidentally, but the cause thereof is Prometheus, or, in other words, the power to think and reason,

Which gives the foal of horse and ass, and get
            Of bull, to serve us and assume our tasks,
as Aeschylus⁹ puts it. Certainly, in so far as chance and nature's endowment at birth are concerned, the great majority of brute animals are better off than man. For some are armed with horns, or teeth, or stings, and Empedocles says,

But as for hedgehogs
Growing upon their backs sharp darts of spines stand bristling,⁸
and still others are shod and clad with scales or hair, with claws or horny hoofs. Man alone, as Plato⁶ says, "naked, unarmed, with feet unshod, and with no bed to lie in," has been abandoned by Nature.

Yet by one gift all this she mitigates, the gift of reasoning, diligence, and forethought.

Slight, of a truth, is the strength of man; and yet
By his mind's resourcefulness
Doth he subjugate the monsters
Of the deep, and the purposes
Of the denizens of earth and air.⁷

Horses are the lightest and swiftest of foot, yet they run for man. The dog is pugnacious and

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⁹ Protagoras, 321 c.
⁷ From the *Aeolus* of Euripides; Nauck, *Trag. Graec. Frag.*, Euripides, No. 27.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

θρωπον φυλάττει· ἥδυτατον ἰχθὺς καὶ πολύσαρκον
δὲ, ἀνθρώπω1 δὲ τροφὴ καὶ ὀψιν ἔστι. τὶ μείζον
ἐλέφαντος ἢ φοβερώτερον ἰδεῖν; ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτο
παύγνιον γέγονεν ἀνθρώπου καὶ θέαμα παν-ηγυρικόν,
ὄρχησες τε μανθάνει καὶ χορείας καὶ
προσκυνήσεις, ὡς ἀκρήστως τῶν τουτών παρ-
F εισαγομένων, ἀλλ' ὑνα μανθάνωμεν ποῦ τὸν ἀν-
θρωπον ἢ φρόνησις αὔρει καὶ τίνων ὑπεράνω ποιεῖ,
καὶ πῶς2 κρατεῖ πάντων καὶ περίεστιν.

οὐ γὰρ πυγμάχου εἰμὲν ἀμύμονες οὐδὲ παλαισταί,
οὐδὲ3 ποσὶ κρατινὸς θέομεν,

ἀλλ’ ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἀτυχέστεροι τῶν θηρίων
ἐσμέν: ἐμπειρία δὲ καὶ μνήμη καὶ σοφία καὶ τέχνη
καὶ 'Ἀναξαγόρας σφῶν' τ' αὐτῶν χρώμεθα καὶ
βλέπομεν καὶ ἀμέλγομεν καὶ φέρομεν καὶ ἄγομεν
συλλαμβάνοντες: ὡστ' ἐνταῦθα μηδὲν τῆς τύχης
ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς εὐβουλίας εἶναι καὶ τῆς προνοίας.

99 4. 'Αλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰ τεκτόνων δήπου 'πράγ-
ματα θνητῶν' ἐστι, καὶ τὰ χαλκοτύπων καὶ
οἰκοδόμων καὶ ἀνδριαντοποιῶν, ἐν οἷς οὐδὲν
αὐτομάτως οὐδ' ὡς ἔτυχε κατορθοῦμεν ὁρῶμεν.
ὅτι γὰρ τούτοις5 βραχεῖα τις παρεμπίπτει τύχη,

1 ἀνθρώπος Hercher: ἀνθρώπως.
2 πῶς] πλεῖω most mss., perhaps corrupted from τι ἀεί.
3 ἀλλὰ Homeric mss.
4 σφων] ἐργῳ Sauppe: ἐρῷ Bernardakis; but as most mss.
read τι for τ', a dative in -οντι (or -ωντι) would be in better
keeping: σαφέτ' S. A. Naber.
5 τούτοις] most mss. have σοφῶ, following Epicurus as
quoted by Diogenes Laertius, x. 144.

* Plutarch has several good stories about elephants in
Moralia, 968 ff.
CHANCE, 98-99

spirited, yet it watches over man. Fish is most savoury, and the pig very fat, yet for man they are nourishing and appetizing food. What is bigger than an elephant or more terrible to behold? But even this creature has been made the plaything of man, and a spectacle at public gatherings, and it learns to posture and dance and kneel. Such presentations are not without their use; indeed, they serve a purpose in that we may learn to what heights man's intelligence raises him, above what it places him, and how he is master of all things, and in every way superior.

No, we are not invincible either in boxing or wrestling, Nor are we swift in the race.

Indeed, in all these matters we are not so fortunate as the animals; yet we make use of experience, memory, wisdom, and skill, as Anaxagoras says, which are ours, and ours only, and we take their honey, and milk them, and carry and lead them at will, taking entire control over them. In all this, therefore, there is no element of chance at all, but solely and wholly sagacity and forethought.

4. Moreover, under the head of "man's ways" would fall, no doubt, the activities of carpenters, copper-smiths, builders, and statuaries, wherein we see nothing brought to a successful conclusion accidentally or as it chances. That chance may sometimes contribute slightly to their success, but

b Adapted from Homer, Od. viii. 246.

c Cf. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 409.

d Cf. the first line of chap. i. supra.

e From Epicurus; cf. the quotation in Diogenes Laertius, x. 144.
(99) τὰ δὲ πλεῖότα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων αἱ τέχναι συντελοῦσι δι' αὐτῶν, καὶ οὕτως ὑποδεδήλωκες

βατ' εἰς ὅδον δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρώναξ λεώς, οἱ τὴν Δίος γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην ὀτανὸις λίκνουσι προστρέψεθε.

Β τὴν γὰρ Ἐργάνην καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν αἱ τέχναι πάρεδρον οὐ τὴν Τύχην ἐχοῦσι. ἕνα1 μέντοι φασὶν ἀπὸ τὸν ἐγγραφοῦντα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις κατορθοῦν εἶδεσι καὶ χρώμασιν, τὸν δὲ ᾠροῦν τὴν περὶ τὸ χαλικὸ κοπτομένην χαυνῶτητα καὶ τὸ συνεκπίπτον ἀμβαντ ἐν κατορθοῦν γράφειν τοῖς πόλλακις καὶ ἐξαλείφεις, τέλος δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς προσβαλεῖν τῷ πίνακι τὸν στόγγον ὁσπερ εἰχε τῶν φαρμάκων ἀνάπλεων, τὸν δὲ προστεσόντα ὑπομαςτῶς ἐναπομάξει καὶ ποιήσαι τὸ δέον. τοῦτ' ἑντεχνὸν τύχῃς μόνον ἱστορεῖται. κανόσι καὶ σταθμαίς καὶ μέτροις καὶ ἀριθμοῖς πανταχόν χρῶνται, ἔναι μηδαμοῦ

C τὸ εἰκὴ καὶ ὅσ ἐστικε τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγγέννηται. καὶ μὴν αἱ τέχναι μικρὰ τινες εἶναι λέγονται φρονήσεις, μᾶλλον δ' ἀπόρροια φρονήσεως καὶ ἀποτρίμματα ἐνδιεσπαρμένα τοῖς χρείασι περὶ τὸν βλον, ὁσπερ αἰνίττεται τὸ πῦρ ὑπὸ τὸν Προμηθέως μερισθὲν ἀλλο ἀλλή διασπαρῆει. καὶ γὰρ τῆς φρονήσεως μόρια καὶ στάσιμα μικρὰ θραυσματικόμενης καὶ κατακερματιζομένης εἰς τάξεις2 κεχώρηκε.

1 ἑνα] Νεάλκη Madvig.
2 τάξεις] τὰς πράξεις Nikitin and Larsen.

* Perhaps from Sophocles; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Sophocles, No. 760. Ἐργάνη is an epithet applied to Athena as patron of the arts.
that the arts through themselves bring to perfection the most and greatest of their works, is plainly suggested by this poet:

Into the highway come, all craftsmen folk,
Who worship Labour, stern-eyed child of Zeus,
With sacred baskets placed about.

For the arts have Labour, that is Athena, and not Chance as their coadjutor. Of just one artist, however, it is related that in painting a horse he had succeeded in nearly every respect in the drawing and colours, but the frothy appearance of the foam from champing the bit, and the rush of the foam-flecked breath, he had tried again and again to paint, but without success, and each time had wiped it out, until finally, in a rage, he threw his sponge just as it was, full of pigments, at the canvas, and this, as it struck, transferred its contents in some amazing manner to the canvas, and effected the desired result. This is the only recorded instance of a technical achievement due to chance. Rulers, weights, measures, and numbers are everywhere in use, so that the random and haphazard may find no place in any production. Indeed, the arts are said to be minor forms of intelligence, or rather offshoots of intelligence, and detached fragments of it interspersed amid life's common necessities, as it is said in the allegory regarding fire, that it was divided into portions by Prometheus and scattered some here and some there. For thus, when intelligence is finely broken and divided, small portions and fragments of it have gone to their several stations.

*Nealces, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxv. 36 (104). Dio Chrysostom (Or. lxiii. 4) says it was Apelles, and Valerius Maximus (viii. 11. 7) says "a famous painter."*
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

(99) 5. Οὐ μὲν τέχναι τῆς τύχης οὐ δεόντα πρὸς τὸ οίκειον τέλος, ἢ δὲ πασῶν μεγίστη καὶ τελειοτάτη τέχνη καὶ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης εὐφημίας καὶ δικαιώσεως οὐδὲν ἐστιν. ἀλλ' ἐν ἐπιτάσει μὲν χορδῶν καὶ ἀνέσει εὐθυλία τίς ἐστιν ἡ μονοκήν καλοῦσι, καὶ περὶ ἀρτοῦν ὦμον ἡ μαγειρικὴν ὀνομάζομεν, καὶ περὶ

D πλύσιν ἰματίων ἡ γναφικὴν τοὺς δὲ παίδας καὶ ὑποδείσαι καὶ περιβάλλεσαι διδάσκομεν καὶ τῇ δεξίᾳ λαμβάνειν τοῦ ὀψιν τῇ ὀριστέρᾳ κρατεῖν τὸν ἅρτον, ὡς οὐδὲ τούτων γιγαντιώμενων ἀπὸ τύχης ἀλλ' ἐπιστάσεως καὶ προσοχῆς δεομένων· τα δὲ μέγιστα καὶ κυριώτατα πρὸς εὐθυμονιῶν οὐ παρακαλεῖ τῇ φρόνησι, οὐδὲ μετέχει τοῦ κατὰ λόγον καὶ πρόνοιαν; ἀλλ' γῆν μὲν οὐδὲς ὑδατι δεύσας ἀφήκεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ αὐτομάτης πλίνθων ἐσομένων, οὐδ' ἔρια καὶ σκύτη κτησάμενος κάθηται τῇ τύχῃ προσευχόμενος ἰμάτιον αὐτῷ καὶ ὑποδήματα γενέσθαι χρυσίον δὲ πολὺ συμφορᾶς

E καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθραπόδων καὶ πολυθύρων αὐλάς περιβαλόμενος καὶ κλίνας προσθέμενος πολυτελεῖς καὶ τραπέζας οἰτεί ταῦτα φρονήσεως αὐτῷ μὴ παραγενομένης εὐθυμονιῶν ἐσεθαί καὶ βίον ἀλυπον καὶ μακάριον καὶ ἀμετάβλητον;

'Ἡρῴτα τις Ἡφικράτην τὸν στρατηγὸν, ὁσπερ ἐξέλεγχων, τίς ἐστιν; "οὔτε γὰρ ὀπλίτης οὔτε τοξότης οὔτε πελταστής." κάκεινος "ὁ τούτοις,"

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* Cf. Moralia, 5 A and 440 A.
* Cf. Moralia, 100 C, infra.
* This story also in Moralia, 187 B and 440 B.
5. It is therefore amazing how, if the arts have no need of chance to accomplish their own ends, the greatest and most perfect art of all, the consummation of the high repute and esteem to which man can attain, can count for nothing! But in the tightening and loosening of strings there is involved a certain sagacity, which men call music, and also in the preparation of food, to which we give the name of cookery, and in the cleaning of clothes, which we call fulling; and we teach our children to put on their shoes and clothes, and to take their meat with the right hand and hold their bread in the left, on the assumption that even these things do not come by chance, but require oversight and attention. But can it be that those things which are most important and most essential for happiness do not call for intelligence, nor have any part in the processes of reason and forethought? But nobody wets clay with water and leaves it, assuming that by chance and accidentally there will be bricks, nor after providing himself with wool and leather does he sit down with a prayer to Chance that they turn into a cloak and shoes for him; and when a man has amassed much gold and silver and a multitude of slaves, and has surrounded himself with spacious suites of rooms, and, in addition, has furnished them with costly couches and tables, does he imagine that these things, without the presence of intelligence in himself, will be happiness and a blissful life, free from grief and secure from change?

Somebody asked Iphicrates the general, as though undertaking to expose him, who he was, since he was "neither a man-at-arms, nor archer, nor targeteer"; and he answered, "I am the man who
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έφη, "πάσιν ἐπιτάττων καὶ χρώμενος." (6.) οὐ
Γ χρυσίον ἡ φρόνησις ἐστιν οὐδ' ἀργύριον οὐδὲ δόξα
οὐδὲ πλοῦτος οὐδ' ὑγίεια οὐδ' ἰσχύς οὐδὲ κάλλος.
τί οὖν ἔστι; τὸ πάσι τούτους καλῶς χρήσθαι
dυνάμενον καὶ δι' ὅ τούτων ἐκαστὸν ἥδυ γίγνεται
καὶ ἐνδοξόν καὶ ὕφελμον· ἀνευ δὲ τούτου δύσχρηστα
καὶ ἄκαρπα καὶ βλαβερά, καὶ βαρύνει καὶ κατ-
αισχύνει τὸν κεκτημένον. ἦ ποτα καλῶς Ὁ Ἡσιόδου
Προμηθεύς τῷ Ὑπμηθεῖ παρακελεύεται

μὴ ποτε δῶρα
dὲξασθαι πάρ Ἰηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀλλ' ἀποπέμπειν,

100 τὰ τυχηρὰ λέγων καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς, ὡς εἰ παρακελεύετο
μὴ συρίζειν ἀμοινὸν ὄντα μηδ' ἀναγιγνώσκειν
ἀγράμματον μηδ' ἵππευς ἀνυππον, οὐτω παρα-
κελεύμενος αὐτῷ μὴ ἀρχεῖν ἀνόητον ὄντα μηδὲ
πλούτειν ἀνελεύθερον μηδὲ γαμεῖν κρατουμένον
ὑπὸ γυναικὸς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον "τὸ εὗ πράττειν
παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀφορμή τοῦ κακῶς φρονεῖν τοῖς
ἀνοίτοις γίγνεται," ὡς Δημοσθένης εἶπεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ
evτυχεῖν παρὰ τὴν ἄξιαν ἀφορμή τοῦ κακῶς
πράττειν τοῖς μὴ φρονοῦσιν.

1 συρίζειν] συρίζειν Hercher.
commands and makes use of all these.” (6.) Intelligence is not gold or silver or repute or wealth or health or strength or beauty. What then is it? It is the something which is able to make good use of all these, and something through whose agency each of these is made pleasant, noteworthy, and profitable. Without it they are unserviceable, fruitless, and harmful, and they burden and disgrace their possessor. It is surely excellent advice that Hesiod’s Prometheus gives to Epimetheus:

Never to welcome
Any gifts from Zeus of Olympus, but always return them, meaning the gifts of chance and external advantages; as if he were advising him not to play the flute if ignorant of music, nor to read if illiterate, nor to ride if unused to horses, thus advising him not to hold public office if a fool, nor to be rich if miserly, nor to marry if ruled by a woman. For not only is it true, as Demosthenes has said, that “undeserved success becomes a source of misconception for fools,” but undeserved good fortune also becomes a source of misery for the unthinking.

* In the Works and Days, 86.
* Olynthiac I. 23.
VIRTUE AND VICE
(DE VIRTUTE ET VITIO)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's essay on Virtue and Vice is an excellent sermon which has not been overlooked by Christian preachers.
ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΙΑΣ

1. Τὰ ἰμάτια δοκεῖ θερμαίνειν τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐκ αὐτὰ δὴ που θερμαίνοντα καὶ προσβάλλοντα τὴν θερμότητα (καθ’ έαυτό γὰρ ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν ψυχρὸν ἔστω, ἢ καὶ πολλάκις καυματιζόμενοι καὶ πυρετοὶ τοντες εἴς ἑτέρων ἑτέρα μεταλαμβάνουσι), ἀλλ’ ἢν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀναδίδωσιν εἴς ἑαυτὸθερμότητα, ταὐτὴν ἡ ἐσθῆς τῷ σώματι προσπεσοῦσα συνέχει καὶ περιστέλλει, καὶ καθειργυμένην εἰς τὸ σῶμα οὐκ ἔδιπλών σκεδάζουσιν. ταὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτό τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑπάρχον ἐξαπατᾷ τοὺς πολλοὺς, ὡς, ἃν οἰκίας μεγάλας περιβάλλοντα καὶ πλῆθος ἀνδραπόδων καὶ χρημάτων συναγάγωσιν, ἢδεως βιωσομένους. τὸ δ’ ἢδεως ζῆν καὶ ἑλαρώς οὐκ ἔξωθεν ἔστω, ἀλλὰ τούτων ὁ ἄνθρωπος τοὺς περὶ αὐτὸν πράγμασιν ἡδονήν καὶ χάριν ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῆς τοῦ ἔθους προστίθησιν.

D αἰθομένου δὲ πυρὸς γεραρώτερος οἶκος ἰδέσθαι, καὶ πλοῦτος ἡδίων καὶ δόξα λαμπρότερα καὶ δύναμις, ἀν τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐχθρῆ γῆθος· ὅποι καὶ πενίαν καὶ φυγὴν καὶ γῆρας ἔλαφρῶς καὶ προσηνῶς πρὸς εὐκολίαν καὶ πραότητα τρόπον φέρουσιν.

\[\text{a} \quad \text{Cf. Moralia, 99 ε, supra.}
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\[\text{b} \quad \text{A dictum of Zeno's; cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 477 a, and Von Arnim, Stoicorum veterum fragmenta, i. p. 50.}\]
VIRTUE AND VICE

1. Clothes are supposed to make a man warm, not of course by warming him themselves in the sense of adding their warmth to him, because each garment by itself is cold, and for this reason very often persons who feel hot and feverish keep changing from one set of clothes to another; but the warmth which a man gives off from his own person the clothing, closely applied to the body, confines and enwraps, and does not allow it, when thus imprisoned in the body, to be dissipated again. Now the same condition existing in human affairs deceives most people, who think that, if they surround themselves with vast houses, and get together a mass of slaves and money, they shall live pleasantly. But a pleasant and happy life comes not from external things, but, on the contrary, man draws on his own character as a source from which to add the element of pleasure and joy to the things which surround him.

Bright with a blazing fire a house looks far more cheerful; and wealth is pleasanter, and repute and power more resplendent, if with them goes the gladness which springs from the heart; and so too men bear poverty, exile, and old age lightly and gently in proportion to the serenity and mildness of their character.

* A verse attributed to Homer; cf. The Contest of Homer and Hesiod, 274. Again quoted Moralia, 762 d.
2. Ὅσ γὰρ ἀρώματα τρίβωνας εὐώδεις καὶ ράκια ποιεῖ, τοῦ δ' Ἀγχίσου τὸ σῶμα ἰχώρα πονηρὸν ἐξεδίδουν

νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσων φάρος,

οὗτῳ μετ' ἀρετῆς καὶ δίαιτα πᾶσα καὶ βίος ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπιτερπῆς, ἥ δὲ κακία καὶ τὰ λαμπρὰ

Εφαινόμενα καὶ πολυτελὴ καὶ σεμνὰ μυγμένη λυπηρὰ καὶ ναυτιώδη καὶ δυσπρόσδεκτα παρέχει τοῖς κεκτημένοις.

οὗτος μακάριος ἐν ἄγορᾷ νομίζεται·

ἐπάν δ' ἀνοίξῃ τὰς θύρας, τρισάθλιος,

γυνὴ κρατεῖ πάντων, ἐπιτάττει, μάχετ' ἀεί·

κατόι γυναῖκος οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν τις ἀπαλλαγεῖν

πονηρᾶς ἄνηρ ὦν, μὴ ἀνδράποδου' πρὸς δὲ τὴν

ἐαυτοῦ κακίαν οὐκ ἐστὶ γραφάμενον ἀπόλευσιν ἣδη

πραγμάτων ἁφείσθαι καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι γενόμενον

καθ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ συνοικοῦσα τοῖς ὀπλάγχουσι

καὶ προςπεφυκών νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἠμέραν

εὔει ἄτερ δαλόϊ καὶ ὡμῷ γῆραϊ δῶκεν.¹

F ὑπὲρεία συνέκδημος ὡδα δι' ἀλαζονεῖαν καὶ πολυτελῆς σύνδειπνος ὑπὸ λυχνείας καὶ σύγκοιτος ὀδυνήρα, φροντίσκι καὶ μερίμναις καὶ ξηλοτυπίαις ἐκκόπτουσα τοῦ ὑπνον καὶ διαφθείρουσα. καὶ γὰρ

δ' καθεύδουσι τοῦ σώματος ὑπνος ἦστι καὶ ἀνάπαυσις, τῆς δὲ ψυχῆς πτοίαι καὶ ὀνειροὶ καὶ

ταραχὰι διὰ δεισιδαιμόνιαν.

¹ δαλόο most mss.

² καὶ ἐν ὑμῷ ... δῆκεν Plut. Moral. 537 ι. For the various ms. readings cf. Rzach's Hesiod ad loc.

VIRTUE AND VICE, 100

2. As perfumes make coarse and ragged garments fragrant, but the body of Anchises gave off a noisome exudation,

Damping the linen robe adown his back,*

so every occupation and manner of life, if attended by virtue, is untroubled and delightful, while, on the other hand, any admixture of vice renders those things which to others seem splendid, precious, and imposing, only troublesome, sickening, and unwelcome to their possessors.

This man is happy deemed 'mid public throng,
But when he opes his door he's thrice a wretch;
His wife controls, commands, and always fights.†

Yet it is not difficult for any man to get rid of a bad wife if he be a real man and not a slave; but against his own vice it is not possible to draw up a writing of divorcement and forthwith to be rid of troubles and to be at peace, having arranged to be by himself. No, his vice, a settled tenant of his very vitals always, both at night and by day,

Burns, but without e'er a brand, and consigns to an eld all untimely.‡

For in travelling vice is a troublesome companion because of arrogance, at dinner an expensive companion owing to gluttony, and a distressing bedfellow, since by anxieties, cares and jealousies it drives out and destroys sleep. For what slumber there may be is sleep and repose for the body only, but for the soul terrors, dreams, and agitations, because of superstition.

† Hesiod, Works and Days, 705.
οταν δὲ νυστάζοντά μ’ ἡ λύπη λάβῃ, ἀπόλλυμ᾽ ύπο τῶν ἐνυπνίων

φησὶ τις· οὕτω δὲ καὶ φθόνος καὶ φόβος καὶ θυμὸς καὶ ἀκολασία διατίθησι. μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν μὲν γὰρ ἔξω βλέπουσα καὶ συσχηματιζομένη πρὸς 101 έτέρους ἡ κακία δυσωπεῖται καὶ παρακαλύπτει τὰ πάθη, καὶ οὐ παντάπασι ταῖς ὁρμαῖς ἐκδίδωσιν ἐαυτὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἀντιπείνει καὶ μάχεται πολλάκις· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπνοῖς ἀποφυγοῦσα δόξας καὶ νόμους καὶ πορρωτάτω γενομένη τοῦ δεδείαν τε καὶ αἰδείσθαι, πάσαν ἐπιθυμίαν κινεῖ καὶ ἐπανεγείρει τὸ κακόθης καὶ ἀκόλοστον. "μητρὶ τε γὰρ ἐπι- χειρεῖ μίγνυσθαι," ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, καὶ βρώσεις ἀθέσμους προσφέρεται καὶ πράξεως οὐδεμᾶς ἀπέχεται, ἀπολαύονσα τὸν παρανομεῖν ὡς ἀνυστόν ἐστιν εἰδώλως καὶ φάσμασιν εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἡδονήν οὐδὲ τελείωσιν τοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντος τελευτώ·

Βις, ἀλλὰ κινεῖν μόνον καὶ διαγραμμαίνει τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ νοσήματα δυναμένοις.

3. Ποῦ τοίνυν τὸ ἡδύ τῆς κακίας ἐστίν, εἰ μηδαμοῦ τὸ ἁμέρμιμον καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον μὴδ᾽ αὐτάρκεια μηδ᾽ ἀταραξία μηδ᾽ ἱσυχία; ταῖς μὲν γὰρ τῆς σαρκὸς ἡδοναῖς ἡ τοῦ σώματος εὐκρασία καὶ υγίεια χώραν καὶ γένεσιν δίδωσιν· τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ οὐκ ἐστιν ἐγγενέσθαι γῆθος οὐδὲ χαρὰν βέβαιον, ἂν μὴ τὸ εὐθυμον καὶ ἀφοβον καὶ θαρραλέον ὢστερ ἔδραν ἡ γαλήνην ἀκλυστὸν ὑποβάληται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπομειδιάσῃ τίς ἐλπὶς ἡ τέρψις, αὐτὴ ταχὺ φρον-
When grief o'ertakes me as I close my eyes,  
I'm murdered by my dreams.  

says one man. In such a state do envy, fear, temper,  
and licentiousness put a man. For by day vice,  
looking outside of itself and conforming its attitude  
to others, is abashed and veils its emotions, and does  
ot give itself up completely to its impulses, but oftentimes resists them and struggles against them; but  
in the hours of slumber, when it has escaped from  
opinion and law, and got away as far as possible from  
feeling fear or shame, it sets every desire stirring,  
and awakens its depravity and licentiousness. It  
"attempts incest," as Plato says, partakes of for-  
bidden meats, abstains from nothing which it wishes  
to do, but revels in lawlessness so far as it can, with  
images and visions which end in no pleasure or  
accomplishment of desire, but have only the power  
to stir to fierce activity the emotional and morbid  
propensities.  

3. Where, then, is the pleasure in vice, if in no  
part of it is to be found freedom from care and grief,  
or contentment or tranquillity or calm? For a well-  
balanced and healthy condition of the body gives  
room for engendering the pleasures of the flesh; but  
in the soul lasting joy and gladness cannot possibly be  
engendered, unless it provide itself first with cheer-  
fulness, fearlessness, and courageousness as a basis  
to rest upon, or as a calm tranquillity that no billows  
disturb; otherwise, even though some hope or delecta-  
tion lure us with a smile, anxiety suddenly breaks  

* From some poet of the new comedy; cf. Kock, Com.  
Att. Frag. iii. p. 444, Adespota, No. 185.  
* Republic, p. 571 d.  
* Cf. Moralia, 83 a, supra.
(101) τίδος ἐκραγείσης ὦσπερ ἐν εὐδίᾳ σπιλάδος συνεχύθη καὶ συνεταράχθη.

C 4. Ἀθροίζε χρυσίον, σύναγε ἁργύριον, οἰκο- δόμει περιπάτους, ἔμπλησον ἀνδραπόδων τὴν οἰκίαν καὶ χρεωστῶν τὴν πόλιν ἀν μὴ τὰ πάθη τῆς ψυχῆς καταστορέσης καὶ τὴν ἀπληστίαν παύσης καὶ φόβων καὶ φροντίδων ἀπαλλάξης σαυτόν, οἶνον διηθεῖς πυρέττοντι καὶ χολικῷ μέλι προσφέρεις καὶ σιτία καὶ ὀψα κοιλικοὶς ἐτοιμάζεις καὶ δυσεντερικοῖς, μὴ στέγουσι μηδὲ βρωμυμένοις ἀλλὰ προσδιαφθειρομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν. οὐχ ὅρας τους νοσσοῦντας ὅτι τῶν βρωμάτων τὰ καθαρώτατα καὶ πολυτελέστατα δυσχεραίνουσι καὶ διαπτύουσιν

D καὶ παρατούνται προσφερόντων καὶ βιαζομένων, εἰτα, τῆς κράσεως μεταβαλούσης καὶ πνεύματος χρηστοῦ καὶ γλυκέος αἰματος ἐγγενομένου καὶ θερμότητος οἰκείας, ἀναστάντες ἁρτον λιτὸν ἐπὶ τυρῳ καὶ καρδάμῳ χαίρουσι καὶ ἀσμενίζουσιν ἔσθιοντες; τοιαύτῃ δὲ λόγῳ ἐμποιεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ διάθεσιν. αὐτάρκης ἔση, ἃν μάθης τὸ τὸ καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ἐστὶν τρυφήσεις ἐν πενίᾳ καὶ βασιλεύσεις καὶ τὸν ἀπράγμονα βίων καὶ ἰδιώτην οὐδὲν ἦττον ἁγαπῆσες ἡ τὸν ἐπὶ στρατηγίας καὶ ἰγκεμονίας· οὐ βιωθῆ φιλοσοφήσας ἀδηδός, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ ξῆν ἢδέως μαθήσῃ καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων ἐυφρανεῖ σε

Ε πλούτος πολλοὺς εὐεργετοῦσι καὶ πενίᾳ πολλὰ μὴ μεριμνῶντα καὶ δόξα τιμώμενον καὶ ἄδοξία μὴ φθονούμενον.

1 ἔσθιοντες Iannotius: ἔσθιοντες.

a Cf. Moralia, 466 D.
forth, like a hidden rock appearing in fair weather, and the soul is overwhelmed and confounded.

4. Heap up gold, amass silver, build stately promenades, fill your house with slaves and the city with your debtors; unless you lay level the emotions of your soul, put a stop to your insatiate desires, and quit yourself of fears and anxieties, you are but decanting wine for a man in a fever, offering honey to a bilious man, and preparing tid-bits and dainties for sufferers from colic or dysentery, who cannot retain them or be strengthened by them, but are only brought nearer to death thereby. Does not your observation of sick persons teach you that they dislike and reject and decline the finest and costliest viands which their attendants offer and try to force upon them; and then later, when their whole condition has changed, and good breathing, wholesome blood, and normal temperature have returned to their bodies, they get up and have joy and satisfaction in eating plain bread with cheese and cress? a

It is such a condition that reason creates in the soul. You will be contented with your lot if you learn what the honourable and good is. You will be luxurious in poverty, and live like a king, and you will find no less satisfaction in the care-free life of a private citizen than in the life connected with high military or civic office. If you become a philosopher, you will live not unpleasantly, but you will learn to subsist pleasantly anywhere and with any resources. Wealth will give you gladness for the good you will do to many, poverty for your freedom from many cares, repute for the honours you will enjoy, and obscurity for the certainty that you shall not be envied.
A LETTER OF CONDOLENCE TO APOLLONIUS
(CONSOLATIO AD APOLLONIUM)
A LETTER TO CONULATE
IN INTENTIONAL
FUNCTION OF ART 
INTRODUCTION

The Letter of Condolence to Apollonius, into which quotations from earlier authors have been emptied from the sack rather than scattered by hand, has in comparatively recent years fallen under suspicion as being perhaps not the work of Plutarch. The suspicion rests mainly on two grounds, the unusual length of the quotations, and certain incongruities of style. The latter may here be briefly dismissed with the remark that for every departure from accepted Plutarchean style a striking instance of conformity to his style may be cited, so that no very positive results are to be obtained in this way. The case is much the same with the quotations. Many of them are unusually long, although not longer than we find in other authors. Some of them, for example Euripides, Suppliants 1110 and 1112 (Plut. 110 c), show an accuracy of ms. tradition so far superior that the reading given by Plutarch is commonly adopted by editors of Euripides in preference to the traditional reading of the mss. of Euripides. On the other hand, the quotation from Plato, Gorgias 523 a (Plut. 120 e), shows many minor variations from our text of Plato; some of these are interesting in themselves, but none of them really disturbs the meaning of the passage.

We learn from the letter almost nothing about
Apollonius and his departed son, and hardly more about Plutarch. It lacks the intimate touch of a similar letter which was written by Plutarch to his wife (Moralia, 608 a). Indeed we cannot be wholly sure that the boy was called Apollonius after his father, for one stroke of the pen to change the accusative to a vocative (121 E) would cause his name to disappear entirely.

The title of the letter is not found in Lamprias’ list of Plutarch’s works, nevertheless we have reference to it at a comparatively early date.

Some striking similarities between the letter and Cicero’s Tusculan Disputations are doubtless to be explained by derivation from a common source, and this source was doubtless in large part the works of the Academic philosopher Crantor.

In the absence of actual knowledge it is convenient to assume an hypothesis (as in the realm of science one speaks of “atoms” or “ions” or of the electric “current”). If we assume that this is the original rough draft of the letter which was to be sent to Apollonius, nearly everything can be made to square with the hypothesis. In selecting some of the quotations Plutarch had put down enough of the context, so that later the lines he might finally choose to insert could be smoothly interwoven with the text, and the text itself was no doubt to be subjected to further polish.

However, we may be profoundly grateful for the collection of extracts included in the letter, and, if the hypothesis be right, we may also be grateful for this glimpse of Plutarch’s methods of composition.

We must bear in mind that this particular form of literary composition had developed a style of its
own, the earliest example perhaps being the Axiochus (of Plato?), and we have records of many more now lost. Among the Romans also this form of composition was popular, and several examples may be found in the works of Seneca.
ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΕΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ

1. Καὶ πάλαι σοι συνήληγος καὶ συνηχθέσθην, Ἄπολλώνιε, ἀκούσας περὶ τῆς τοῦ προσφιλεστάτου πάσην ἡμῶν υἱόν σου προώρου μεταλλαγῆς τοῦ βίου, νεανίσκου κοσμίου πάνω καὶ σώφρονος καὶ διαφερόντως τά τε πρὸς θεοὺς καὶ τὰ πρὸς γονεῖς καὶ φίλους σοια καὶ δίκαια διαφυλάξαντος. τότε μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ τὸν τῆς τελευτής καιρὸν ἐντυγχάνειν σοι καὶ παρακάλειν ἀνθρωπίνως φέρειν τὸ συμβεβηκός ἀνοίκειον ἦν, παρειμένω1 τὸ τε σῶμα καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς υπὸ τῆς παραλόγου συμφορᾶς, καὶ συμπαθεῖν δ’ ἦν ἀναγκαῖον· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἱερῶν πρὸς τὰς ἀθήρας τῶν ρευμάτων ἐπιφορὰς εἴθες προσφέρουσι τὰς διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων βοηθείας, ἀλλ’ ἐώς τὸ βαρὺν τῆς φλεγμονῆς δίχα τῆς τῶν ἐξωθεν περιχρίστων ἐπιθέσεως αὐτὸ δι’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν πέψιν.

2. Ἐπειδὴ οὖν καὶ χρόνος ὁ πάντα πεπαίνειν B εἰναῦσιν ἐγγέγονε τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ ἢ περὶ σὲ διάθεσις ἀπαντεῖν ἐοικε τῆν παρὰ τῶν φιλῶν βοήθειαν, καλῶς ἔχειν ὕπέλαβον τῶν παραμυθητικῶν

1 παρειμένω Wilamowitz: παρειμένον.
A LETTER OF CONDOLENCE TO APOLLONIUS

1. Even before this time, Apollonius, I felt for you in your sorrow and trouble, when I heard of the untimely passing from life of your son, who was very dear to us all—a youth who was altogether decorous and modest, and unusually observant of the demands of religion and justice both toward the gods and toward his parents and friends. In those days, close upon the time of his death, to visit you and urge you to bear your present lot as a mortal man should would have been unsuitable, when you were prostrated in both body and soul by the unexpected calamity; and, besides, I could not help sharing in your feeling. For even the best of physicians do not at once apply the remedy of medicines against acute attacks of suppurating humours, but allow the painfulness of the inflammation, without the application of external medicaments, to attain some assuagement of itself.\(^a\)

2. Now since time, which is wont to assuage all things, has intervened since the calamity, and your present condition seems to demand the aid of your friends, I have conceived it to be proper to communicate to you some words that can give comfort, for

\(^a\) Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, 29 (63), and Pliny, Letters, v. 16.
(102) σοι μεταδοὺνα λόγων πρὸς ἀνεσιν τῆς λύπης καὶ παῖλαν τῶν πενθικῶν καὶ ματαίων ὁδυρμών.

"ψυχῆς"1 γὰρ "νοσούσης εἰσὶν ἰατροὶ λόγοι, ὅταν τις ἐν καιρῷ γε μαλθάσῃ κέαρ."

κατὰ γὰρ τὸν σοφὸν Εὐριπίδην

ἀλλο δὲ γ"2 ἐπ' ἀλλη φάρμακον κεῖται νόσῳ

λυπουμένως μὲν μόθος εὕμενῆς φίλων,

ἄγαν δὲ μωραίνοντι νουθετήματα.

C πολλῶν γὰρ ὄντων ψυχικῶν παθῶν, ἡ λύπη τὸ
χαλεπώτατον πέφυκεν εἶναι πάντων:

"διὰ λύπην γὰρ," φασί, "καὶ μανίαν γίγνεσθαι3

πολλοίσι4 καὶ νοσήματ' οὐκ ἱάσμα,

αὐτοὺς τ' ἀνηρήκασι διὰ λύπην τινές."

3. Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἄλγειν καὶ δάκνεσθαι τελευτή-

σαντός νῦι ὕσικὴν ἔχει τὴν ἄρχην τῆς λύπης,

καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ἥμιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔγνωνε συμφέρομαι τοῖς

ὑμνοῦσι τὴν ἁγίριν καὶ σκληρὰν ἀπάθειαν, ἐξω καὶ

tοῖς δυνατοῖ καὶ τοῖς συμφερόντος οὖσι: ἀφ-

αιρήσεται γὰρ ἥμων αὐτῆ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φιλεσθαί

καὶ φιλείν εὐνοιαν, ἢν παντὸς μᾶλλον διασφάζειν

ἀναγκαῖον. τὸ δὲ πέρα τοῦ μέτρου παρεκφέρεσθαι

καὶ συναύξειν τὰ πένθη παρὰ φύσιν εἰναι φημὶ καὶ

ὕπο τῆς ἐν ἥμων φαύλης γίγνεσθαι δόξης. διὸ καὶ

tούτο μὲν ἐστέον ὡς βλαβερὸν καὶ φαύλον

καὶ σπουδαῖος ἀνδράσιν ἠκιστα πρέπον, τὴν δὲ

1 ψυχῆς| ὑφῆς Aeschylus mss., but ψυχῆς was an ancient

variant as attested ἐ.γ. by Cicero, Tusc. Disput. iii. 31.

2 ἀλλο δὲ γ'] ἀλλ' all mss. but one.

3 Apparently adapted to fit the construction; the original.

καὶ μανία γίγνεται πολλοίσι, is found in Stobaeus, Flor. xcix. 1.

4 πολλοίσι Stobaeus: πολλοίσ.
the mitigation of grief and the termination of mournful and vain lamentations. For

Words are physicians for an ailing mind,
When at the fitting time one soothes the heart.a

Since, according to the wise Euripides,b

For divers ills are remedies diverse:
The kindly speech of friends for one in grief,
And admonitions when one plays the fool.

Indeed, though there are many emotions that affect the soul, yet grief, from its nature, is the most cruel of all. They say:

To many there doth come because of grief
Insanity and ills incurable,
And some for grief have ended their own life.c

3. The pain and pang felt at the death of a son has in itself good cause to awaken grief, which is only natural, and over it we have no control. For I, for my part, cannot concur with those who extol that harsh and callous indifference, which is both impossible and unprofitable.d For this will rob us of the kindly feeling which comes from mutual affection and which above all else we must conserve. But to be carried beyond all bounds and to help in exaggerating our griefs I say is contrary to nature, and results from our depraved ideas. Therefore this also must be dismissed as injurious and depraved and most unbecoming to right-minded men, but a moderate indulgence

a Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound, 379.
b Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, No. 962. The last two lines are cited supra 69 d.
c From Philemon; cf. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. ii. p. 512, Philemon, No. 106, where additional lines are given.
d Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, iii. 6 (12).
(102) μετριωπάθειαν ούκ ἀποδοκιμαστέον. "μὴ γὰρ νοσοῦμεν" φησὶν ὁ ἀκαδημαϊκὸς Κράντωρ, "νοσή-
σαςι δὲ παρεῖ ὑπὸ σοθήσις, εἰτ’ οὖν τεμνοτό τι
τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰτ’ ἀποσπῶτο.” τὸ γὰρ ἀνώδυνον
τοῦτ’ οὐκ ἀνευ μεγάλων ἕγγυσται μισθῶν τῷ
ἀνθρώπῳ τεθηριώθαι γὰρ εἴκοσ’ ἐκεῖ μὲν σῶμα
Ε τοιούτων ἐναιθα δὲ ψυχῆν.

4. Οὕτ’ οὖν ἄπαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῶν τοιούτων συμ-
φορῶν ὁ λόγος ἀξιοὶ γίγνεσθαι τοὺς εὐ φρονοῦντας
οὕτε δυσπαθεῖς· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀτεγκτον καὶ θηριῶδες,
τὸ δ’ ἐκκλεξμένον καὶ γυναικοπρεπεῖς. εὐλογίστος
δ’ ὁ τῶν οἰκείων ὅρον ἔχων καὶ δυνάμενος φέρειν
dεξιῶς τὰ τε προσηνή καὶ τὰ λυπηρὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ
βίῳ συμβαινόντων, καὶ προειληφός ὅτι καθάπερ
ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ κλήρος ἐστὶ τῶν ἄρχων καὶ δεῖ
λαχόντα μὲν ἄρχειν ἀπολαχόντα δὲ φέρειν ἀν-
επαχθώς τὴν τύχην, οὕτω καὶ τῇ διανομῇ τῶν
πραγμάτων ἀνεγκλήτως καὶ πειθηνίως ἐπεσθαί.
τούτο γὰρ οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι ποιεῖν οὐδὲ τὰς εὐ-
Γ πραγίας ἃν ἐμφρόνως φέρειν δύναιντο καὶ μετρίως.
Τῶν μὲν γὰρ καλῶς λεγομένων ἐστὶν ἐν ὑπο-
θήκης μέρει καὶ τούτο,

μηδ’ εὐτύχημα μηδὲν ὅδ’ ἔστω μέγα,
δ’ ο’ ἐξεπαρεί μείζον ἥ χρεών φρονεῖν,
μηδ’ ἂν τι συμβη δυσχερέσ, δουλοῦ πάλιν,
ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἅμ’ ἡμίν, τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν
σώζων βεβαιώς, ὥστε χρυσὸς ἐν πυρὶ.

πεπαιδευμένων δ’ ἔστι καὶ σωφρόνων ἀνδρῶν πρὸς

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*a Cf. Mullach, Frag. Philos. Graec. iii. p. 146; Cicero,
Tusculan Disputations, iii. 6 (12).
in grief is not to be disapproved. "Pray that we be not ill," says Crantor of the Academy, "but if we be ill, pray that sensation be left us, whether one of our members be cut off or torn out." For this insensibility to pain is attained by man only at a great price; for in the former case, we may suppose, it is the body which has been brutalized into such insensibility, but in the latter case the soul.

4. Reason therefore requires that men of understanding should be neither indifferent in such calamities nor extravagantly affected; for the one course is unfeeling and brutal, the other lax and effeminate. Sensible is he who keeps within appropriate bounds and is able to bear judiciously both the agreeable and the grievous in his lot, and who has made up his mind beforehand to conform uncomplainingly and obediently to the dispensation of things; just as in a democracy there is an allotment of offices, and he who draws the lot holds office, while he who fails to do so must bear his fortune without taking offence. For those who cannot do this would be unable sensibly and soberly to abide good fortune either.

Among the felicitous utterances the following piece of advice is to the point:

Let no success be so unusual
That it excite in you too great a pride,
Nor abject be in turn, if ill betide;
But ever be the same; preserve unchanged
Your nature, like to gold when tried by fire.

It is the mark of educated and disciplined men to

Such Stoicism was required by the stricter Stoic school, but the philosophers of the Academy would have none of it.

103 τε τάς δοκούσας εὐτυχίας τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἀτυχίας φυλάξαι γενναίως τὸ πρέπον. τῆς γὰρ εὐλογιστίας ἔργον ἐστὶν ἢ φυλάξασθαι τὸ κακὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ἢ διορθώσασθαι γενόμενον ἢ συ- στείλαι πρὸς τὸ βραχύτατον ἢ παρασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ἅρρενα καὶ γενναίαν. καὶ γὰρ περὶ τάγαθον ἢ φρόνησις πραγματεύεται τετραχῶς, ἢ κτωμένη τάγαθα ἢ φυλάττουσα ἢ αὔξουσα ἢ χρω- μένη δεξίως. οὕτω τῆς φρονήσεως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρετῶν εἰσὶ κανόνες, οἷς πρὸς ἀμφότερα χρηστεύον.

B "οὐκ ἔστω" γὰρ "ὁστις πάντ' ἀνήρ εὐδαίμονει" καὶ νή Δία

τὸ τοῦ χρεῶν οὐκ ἔστι μὴ χρεῶν ποιεῖν.

5. "Ὡσπερ γὰρ ἐν φυτοῖς ποτὲ μὲν πολυκαρπίων γίγνονται ποτὲ δὲ ἀκαρπίαι, καὶ ἐν ζῷοις ποτὲ μὲν πολυγονίων ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ἀγονίαι, καὶ ἐν βαλάτῃ εὐδίαι τε καὶ χειμῶνες, οὕτω καὶ ἐν βίω πολλαὶ καὶ ποικιλαὶ περιστάσεις γιγνόμεναι πρὸς τὰς ἐναντίας περιάγοντι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τύχας. εἰς ἄς δια- βλέψας ἃν τις οὐκ ἀπεικότως εἴτοι,

οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ο' ἐφύτευσ' ἁγαθοῖς,

'Αγάμεμνον, 'Αττρεύς.

dεὶ δὲ σε χαίρειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι.

θητὸς γὰρ ἐφυ. καὶ μὴ σὺ θέλης,

τὰ θεῶν οὕτω βουλόμεν' ἐσται

καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου ρηθέν

1 βουλόμεν' Euripides mss.: βουλομένων.

* From the Steneboea of Euripides, ibid. No. 661.

keep the same habit of mind toward seeming prosperity, and nobly to maintain a becoming attitude toward adversity. For it is the task of rational prudence, either to be on guard against evil as it approaches, or, if it have already happened, to rectify it or to minimize it or to provide oneself with a virile and noble patience to endure it. For wisdom deals also with the good, in a fourfold way—either acquiring a store of goods, or conserving them, or adding to them, or using them judiciously. These are the laws of wisdom and of the other virtues, and they must be followed for better fortune or for worse. For

No man exists who’s blest in everything,

and truly

What thou must do cannot be made “must not.”

5. For as there are in plants at one time seasons of frugality and at another time seasons of unfruitfulness, and in animals at one time fecundity and at another time barrenness, and on the sea both fair weather and storm, so also in life many diverse circumstances occur which bring about a reversal of human fortunes. As one contemplates these reversals he might say not inappropriately:

Not for good and no ill came thy life from thy sire,
Agamemnon, but joy
Thou shalt find interwoven with grief;
For a mortal thou art. Though against thy desire
Yet the plans of the gods will so have it.

and the words of Menander:

\[\text{Euripides, Iphigenia at Aulis, 29; cf. Moralia, 33 e.}\]
(103) εἰ γὰρ ἐγένον σὺ, τρόφῳ, τῶν πάντων μόνος, ὁτ' ἐτυκτεν η μήτηρ σ', ἐφ' ὃ τὲ διατελεῖν πράττων' ἄ βουλει καὶ διευνχῶν ἀεί, καὶ τοῦτο τῶν θεῶν τις ἁμολόγησέ σοι, ὥρθως ἀγανακτεῖς. ἦστι γὰρ σ" ἔφευσμένος, ἀτοπόν τε πεποίηκ', εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῖς νόμοις ἐφ' οἴστερ ἥμεις ἔστασας τὸν ἀέρα
tὸν κοινὸν, ἵνα σοι καὶ τραγικώτερον λαλῶ, οἴστεόν ἅμεινον ταῦτα καὶ λογιστέον.
tὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον τῶν λόγων, ἀνθρωπος εἰ, οὐ μεταβολήν θάττον πρὸς ύψος καὶ πάλιν ταπεινότητα ξύον οὐδὲν λαμβάνει. καὶ μάλα δικαίως. ἀσθενέστατον γὰρ ὅν 
φύσει μεγίστους οἰκονομεῖτα πράγμασιν, ὅταν πέση δὲ, πλεῖστα συντρίβει καλά. 
οὐ δ' ο郤θ' υπερβάλλοντα, τρόφιμ', ἀπόλεσας

E ἀγαθά, τὰ νυν' τ' ἐστὶ μέτρια σοι κακά. 
ὡστ' ἀνὰ μέσον που καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄν φέρε. 

ἀλλ' ὅμως τοιούτων ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐνιοι 
διὰ τὴν ἀφροσύνην οὕτως εἰσὶν ἅβελτεροι καὶ 
κεναυχεῖς, ὥστε μικρὸν ἑπαρθέντες ἡ διὰ χρημάτων 
περιουσίαν ἀφθονον ἡ διὰ μέγεθος ἄρχης ἡ διὰ 
τινας προσδρίας πολιτικᾶς ἡ διὰ τιμᾶς καὶ δόξας

F ἐπαπελεῖν τοῖς ὑπτοσι καὶ ἐξυβρίζεων, οὐκ ἐνθυμοῦ-

tοῦ τῆς τύχης ἀστατον καὶ ἁβεβαιον, οὐδ' ὅτι 
ῥαδίως τὰ υψηλὰ γίγνεται ταπεινά καὶ τὰ χθαμαλὰ 
πάλιν ύψοτα ταῖς ὀξυρρόπους μεθυτάμενα τῆς 
tύχης μεταβολάις. ζητεῖν οὖν ἐν ἁβεβαιοὺς βε-

βαίον τι λογιζομένων ἐστὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ὀρθῶς: 

1 τε Schaefer: γε. 
2 πράττων (the regular form) Kock: πράσσων.
If you alone, young master, at your birth
Had gained the right to do whate’er you would
Throughout your life, and ever be in luck,
And if some god agreed to this with you,
Then you have right to feel aggrieved. He has
Deceived and strangely treated you. But if
Upon the selfsame terms as we, you drew
The primal breath of universal life
(To speak you somewhat in the tragic style),
You must endure this better, and use sense.
To sum up all I say, you are a man,
Than which no thing that lives can swifter be
Exalted high and straight brought low again.
And rightly so; for though of puny frame,
He yet doth handle many vast affairs,
And, falling, ruins great prosperity.
But you, young master, have not forfeited
Surpassing good, and these your present ills
But moderate are; so bear without excess
What Fortune may hereafter bring to you.

But, in spite of this condition of affairs, some persons,
through their foolishness, are so silly and conceited,
that, when only a little exalted, either because of
abundance of money, or importance of office, or
petty political preferments, or because of position
and repute, they threaten and insult those in lower
station, not bearing in mind the uncertainty and in-
constancy of fortune, nor yet the fact that the lofty
is easily brought low and the humble in turn is
exalted, transposed by the swift-moving changes of
fortune. Therefore to try to find any constancy in
what is inconstant is a trait of people who do not
rightly reason about the circumstances of life. For

3 σ’ added by Grotius.
4 τὰ πινει Bentley : τὰ πυν. 5 τ’ Hercher: δ’.
6 δ’ added by Bernardakis. Perhaps τὸ λιπαρῶς (Nauck)
or τὸ πυν λιπαρῶς (Grotius) would be better.
“τροχοῦ” γὰρ “περιστείχοντος ἄλλοθ’ ὕτερα ἰψις ὑπερθε γίγνετ’ ἄλλοθ’ ὕτερα.”

6. Κράτιστον δή πρὸς ἀλυπίαν φάρμακον ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ διὰ τούτου παρασκευὴ πρὸς πάσας τοῦ βίου τὰς μεταβολάς. χρὴ γὰρ οὐ μόνον ἑαυτὸν εἰδέναι θυντὸν ὄντα τὴν φύσω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι θυντῷ σύγκληρος ἐστὶ βίω καὶ πράγμασι βαδίως μεθισταμένοις πρὸς τούτοις. ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ὄντως θυντὰ μὲν καὶ ἐφήμερα1 τὰ σώματα, θυνταὶ δὲ τύχαι1 καὶ πάθη καὶ πάνθ’ ἀπλῶς τὰ κατὰ τὸν βίον, ἀπερ ὅπι ἐστὶ φυγεῖν βροτὸν οὐδ’ ὑπαλύει τὸ παράπαν ἀλλά

Ταρτάρου πυθμὴν πιέζει σ’ ἀφανοὺς σφυρηλάτοις ἀνάγκαις2 ὡς φησι Πίνδαρος. θεν ὅρθως ὁ Φαληρεύς Δημή- τριος εἰπόντος Εὐρυπίδου ὁ δ’ ὄλβος οὐ βέβαιος ἀλλ’ ἐφήμερος καὶ ὅτι μικρ’ ἀττα τὰ2 σφάλλοντα, καὶ μι’ ἡμέρα τὰ μὲν καθεῖλεν ὑψόθεν τὰ δ’ ἦρ’ ἀνω

Β τὰ μὲν ἀλλὰ καλῶς ἐφή λέγειν αὐτὸν βέλτιον δ’ ἔχειν ἄν,4 εἰ μη μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλὰ στιγμὴν εἴπε χρόνου.

1 Kronenberg would read καφήμερα ... δ’ αἰ τύχαι τε, making iambic verses of θυντὰ ... πάθη.
2 ἀνάγκαις] δεσμοῖς ἀνάγκας Bergk.
3 μικρ’ ἀττα τὰ Bernardakis: μικρότατα (ὡς μικρά τὰ Stobaeus, Flor. cv. 1).
4 ἔχειν ἄν] ἄν ἔχειν Wyttenbach, ἔχον ἦν Hercher: εἴχεν ὃν (or ἄν).

118
A LETTER TO APOLLONIUS, 103–104

The wheel goes round, and of the rim now one
And now another part is at the top.\(^a\)

6. Reason is the best remedy for the cure of grief, reason and the preparedness through reason for all the changes of life. For one ought to realize, not merely that he himself is mortal by nature, but also that he is allotted to a life that is mortal and to conditions which readily reverse themselves. For men’s bodies are indeed mortal, lasting but a day, and mortal is all that they experience and suffer, and, in a word, everything in life; and all this

May not be escaped nor avoided by mortals\(^b\)

at all, but

The depths of unseen Tartarus hold you fast by hard-forged necessities,

as Pindar\(^c\) says. Whence Demetrius of Phalerum was quite right when, in reference to a saying of Euripides\(^d\):

Wealth is inconstant, lasting but a day,

and also:

Small things may cause an overthrow; one day
Puts down the mighty and exalts the low;\(^*\)

he said that it was almost all admirably put, but it would have been better if he had said not “one day,” but “one second of time.”

\(^a\) Author unknown; cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. iii. p. 740.
\(^b\) Homer, ll. xii. 326.
\(^c\) Pindar, Frag. 207 (ed. Christ).
\(^d\) Phoenissae, 558.
\(^*\) See note \(^a\) on next page.
κύκλος γὰρ αὐτὸς καρπίμως τε γῆς φυτοῖς
gένει βροτῶν τε.¹ τοῖς μὲν αὐξεταί βίοις,
tῶν δὲ φθίνει τε κάκθερίζεται πάλιν.

ο̂ δὲ Πάνδαρος ἐν ἄλλοις

τί δὲ τις; τί δ' οὖ τις; σκιάς ὁναρ ἀνθρώπος

ἐμφαντικῶς σφόδρα καὶ φιλοτέχνως ὑπερβολὴ
χρησάμενος τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον ἐδήλωσε. τί
γὰρ σκιάς ἀσθενέστερον; τὸ δὲ ταύτης ὁναρ οὐδ'

C ἀν ἐκφράσαι τις ἐτερος² δυνηθεὶς σαφῶς. τούτωι
δ' ἐπόμενοι καὶ ὁ Κράντωρ παραμυθούμενοι ἐπὶ
tῇ τῶν τέκνων τελευτῇ τὸν Ἰπποκλέα φησι·

"ταύτα γὰρ πᾶσα αὐτὴ ἡ ἄρχαια φιλοσοφία λέγει
tε καὶ παρακελεύεται. ὡν εἰ δὴ τι ἄλλο μὴ ἀπο-

dεχόμεθα, τὸ γε πολλαχῇ εἶναι ἐργώδη καὶ δύσκολον
tὸν βίον ἄγαν ἄλθεσι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φύσει
tοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον, ὑπὸ γ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοῦτ'

ἀφίκται διαφθορᾶς. ἡ τ' ἅδηλος αὐτὴ τύχῃ πόρ-


² ἐτερος] ἐτέρως Meziriacus.
A LETTER TO APOLLONIUS, 104

Alike the cycle of earth's fruitful plants
And mortal men. For some life grows apace,
While others perish and are gathered home.*

And elsewhere Pindar*b says:

Somebody? Nobody? Which is which?
A dream of a shadow is man.

Very vividly and skilfully did he use this extravagance of expression in making clear the life of mankind. For what is feebler than a shadow? And a dream of it!—that is something which defies any clear description. In similar strain Crantor,* endeavouring to comfort Hippocles upon the death of his children, says: "All our ancient philosophy states this and urges it upon us; and though there be therein other things which we do not accept, yet at any rate the statement that life is oftentimes toilsome and hard is only too true. For even if it is not so by nature, yet through our own selves it has reached this state of corruption. From a distant time, yes from the beginning, this uncertain fortune has attended us and to no good end, and even at our birth there is conjoined with us a portion of evil in everything. For the very seed of our life, since it is mortal, participates in this causation, and from this there steal upon us defectiveness of soul, diseases of body, loss of friends by death, and the common portion of mortals."

For what reason have we turned our thoughts in this direction? It is that we may know that misfortune is nothing novel for man, but that we all have of Euripides; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, Nos. 420 and 415, where additional lines are given.

*b Pyth. viii. 135.
(104) ταύτο πεπόνθαμεν. "ἀσκοπος γὰρ ἡ τύχη," φησίν ὁ Θεόφραστος, "καὶ δεινὴ παρελεύθαι τὰ προ-  
πεπονημένα καὶ μεταρρύθαι τὴν δοκοῦσαν εὐθυμερίαν,  
οὐδένα καὶ ροκέν ἔχουσα τακτόν." ταύτα δὲ καὶ ἄλλα  
τοιαῦτα καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐκάστῳ λογίσασθαι βάδιον,  
καὶ ἄλλων ἀκούσαι παλαιῶν καὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν.  
δὲν πρῶτος μὲν ἔστιν ὁ θεῖος Ὀμηρός, εἰπών,  
οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαία τρέφει ἀνθρώποις.  
οὐ μὲν γὰρ ποτὲ φησὶν κακὸν πείσεσθαι ὀπίσω,  
ὀφρ' ἁρετὴν παρέχοσθαι θεοὶ καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη-  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ καὶ λυγρὰ θεοὶ μάκαρες τελέουσι,  
Ε καὶ τὰ φέρει ἀεκαζόμενος τετλητός θυμῷ  
καὶ  
τοῖς γὰρ νόσος ἔστιν ἐπιχειροῖν ἀνθρῶπων,  
οὶον ἐπ' ἡμαρ ἄγησι πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
καὶ ἐν ἄλλους  
Τυδείδῃ μεγάθυμε, τῇ γενεήν ἐρείνεις;  
οὐθ' περ φύλλων γενεή, τοῖθ' δὲ καὶ ἄνδρῶν.  
φύλλα τὰ μὲν τ' ἀνεμοὶ μι. δις χέει, ἄλλα δὲ  
θ' ὑλή  
τηλεβώσασα φῦε, ἔαρος δ' ἐπιγίγνεται ὤρη.  
ὡς ἄνδρῶν γενεὴ ἢ μὲν φῦε, οὗτ' ἢ δ' ἀπολήγει."

Γ ταυτῇ δ' ὅτι καλῶς ἐχρήσατο τῇ εἰκὸν τοῦ ἀνθρω-  
πείου βίου δήλον εξ ὑπὸ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ φησὶν οὕτω,  

1 τελέουσι] τελέσωσι Homer, σ 133.  
2 ὤ η] ὦρη many Homeric mss.  
3 φ εἰ.] the original reading was undoubtedly ὕβεθ', i.e.  
φύει(αί).

* Frag. 73 (ed. Wimmer).
* Od. xviii. 130.  
* Od. xviii. 136.
had the same experience of it. For Theophrastus\(^a\) says: "Fortune is heedless, and she has a wonderful power to take away the fruits of our labours and to overturn our seeming tranquillity, and for doing this she has no fixed season." These matters, and others like them, it is easy for each man to reason out for himself, and to learn them from wise men of old besides; of whom the first is the divine Homer, who said\(^b\):

Nothing more wretched than man doth the earth support on its bosom,
Never, he says to himself, shall he suffer from evil hereafter,
Never, so long as the gods give him strength and his knees are still nimble;
Then when the blessed gods bring upon him grievous affliction,
Still he endures his misfortune, reluctant but steadfast in spirit.

And:

Such is the mood of the men who here on the earth are abiding,
E'en as the day which the father of men and of gods brings upon them.\(^c\)

And in another place:

Great-hearted son of Tydeus, why do you ask of my fathers? As is the race of the leaves, such too is that of all mortals. Some of the leaves doth the wind scatter earthward, and others the forest Budding puts forth in profusion, and springtime is coming upon us. Thus is man's race: one enters on life, and another's life ceases.\(^d\)

That he has admirably made use of this image of human life is clear from what he says in another place, in these words:

\(^a\) Il. vi. 145.

\(^b\) Il. vi.
broτων ἕνεκα πτολεμίζεων
δειλῶν, οἷς φύλλουσιν θυκότες, ἀλλοτε μὲν τε ἔκλειψε τελεθονιν ἀροῦρης καρπὸν ἔδοντες,
ἀλλοτε δὲ φθινόθουσιν ἀκήρου, οὐδὲ τις ἄλκη.

Συμμωνίδης δ' ὁ τῶν μελῶν ποιητής, Παυσανίου
tοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Δακεδαιμονίων μεγαλαυχουμέ-
νου συνεχῶς ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐτοῦ πράξεωι καὶ κελεύοντος
ἀπαγγελαὶ τι αὐτῶ σοφῶν μετὰ χλευασμοῦ, συνεῖς
αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν συνεβούλευε μεμνήσθαι ὅτι
ἀνθρωπὸς ἔστι.

Φίλιππος δ' ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέως τριῶν
αὐτῶ, προσαγγελθέντων εὔτυχιμάτων ὑφ' ἑνα
καίρον, πρῶτῃ μὲν ὅτι τεθρήπτων νεικηκηκεν Ὀλυμ-
πια, δευτέρου δ' ὅτι Παρμενίων ὁ στρατηγὸς μάχη
Β Δαρδανείς ἐνίκησε, τρίτοι δ' ὅτι ἂρρεν αὐτῶ
παιδίων ἐκύψεν Ὀλυμπιάς, ἀνατείνας εἰς τὸν οὐ-
ρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας ὡ δαίμων, εἶπε, "μέτριον τι
τούτοις ἀντίθες ἐλάττωμα," εἰδῶς ὅτι τοῖς μεγάλοις
εὐτυχήμασι φθονειν πέφυκεν ἢ τύχη.

Θηραμένης δ' ὁ γενόμενος Ἀθήνησι τῶν τριά-
κοντα τυράννων, συμπεσούσας τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ᾧ
μετὰ πλειώνων ἔδειπνει, μόνος σωθεὶς καὶ πρὸς
πάντων εὐδαιμονιζόμενος, ἀναφωνήσας μεγάλῃ τῇ
φωνῇ, "ὡ τύχη," εἶπεν, "εἰς τίνα με καίρον ἄρα
φυλάττεις;" μετ' οὗ πολὼν δὲ χρόνον κατα-
streblωθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν συντυχόννων ἐτελεύτησεν.

1 πτολεμίζεων] πτολεμίζω (πτολεμίζω) of Homer, Φ 463, is
adapted to fit the construction.
2 οὐδὲ τις ἄλκη] ἀλλὰ τάχιστα κτλ. Homer.
3 ἐκύψεν] τέποκεν ἡ in one ms., perhaps rightly.

a II. xxi. 463. b Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, ix. 21.
c Cf. Moralía 177 c and Plutarch’s Life of Alexander,
chap. iii. (p. 666 a).

124
To fight for the sake of mortals
Wretched, who like to the leaves, at the one time all ardent
Come to their fitting perfection, and eat of the fruit of their
acres;
Then again helpless they perish, nor is there aught that can
help them.

Pausanias, king of the Lacedaemonians, who persistently boasted of his own exploits, mockingly urged the lyric poet Simonides to rehearse for him some wise saying, whereupon the poet, being fully cognizant of his conceit, advised him to remember that he was only human.

Philip, the king of the Macedonians, happened to have three pieces of good news reported to him all at once: the first, that he was victor at the Olympic games in the race of the four-horse chariots; the second, that Parmenio, his general, had vanquished the Dardanians in battle, and the third, that Olympias had borne him a male child; whereupon, stretching out his hands toward the heavens, he said: “O God, offset all this by some moderate misfortune!” For he well knew that in cases of great prosperity fortune is wont to be jealous.

While Theramenes, who afterwards became one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens, was dining with several others, the house, in which they were, collapsed, and he was the only one to escape death; but as he was being congratulated by everybody, he raised his voice and exclaimed in a loud tone, “O Fortune, for what occasion are you reserving me?” And not long afterward he came to his end by torture at the hands of his fellow tyrants.

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a He was condemned to drink hemlock, according to the usual tradition; cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, ii. 3. 54-56, and Aelian, *Varia Historia*, ix. 21.
7. Ἐνθεύτως δὲ φαίνεται περὶ τὴν παραμυθίαν ὃς ποιήσεις εὐδοκιμεῖν, ποιήσας τὸν Ἀχιλλέα λέγοντα πρὸς τὸν Πρίαμον ἥκοντα ἐπὶ λύτρα τοῦ Εκτορος ταυτὴν.

ἀλλ' ἀγε δὴ κατ' ἀρ' ἐξευ ἐπὶ θρόνου, ἀλγεά δ' ἐμπῆς ἐν θυμῷ κατακείσθαι ἐᾶσομεν ἀχνύμενοι περ' οὗ γάρ τις ἔριξις πέλεται κρυπεροί γόοιο.

ὡς γάρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλούσι βροτοῖς, ξώειν ἀνυμένοις· αὐτοὶ δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσί.

δοιοι γάρ τε πίθοι κατακεῖσατο ἐν Διὸς οὕδει δύρων οίη δίδωοι, κακῶν, ἔτερος δὲ ἐάνων.

ὡ μὲν κ' ἀμμεῖξας δύη Ζεὺς τερπικέραννος,

Ἀλλοτε μὲν τε κακῷ ο' γε κύρεται ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ.

ὡ δὲ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δῶη, λωβητόν ἔθηκε καὶ ἐ κακῇ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χόνα διὰν ἐλαύνει, φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῦς τετμένος οὔτε βροτοῖς.

ὁ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ, καὶ τῶν Μούσῶν ἀναγορεύων ἑαυτον μαθήτην Ἡσίοδος,

καὶ οὕτως ἐν πῖθω καθείρξεις τα κακά, τῆν Παν-

δύταν ἀνοιξαν ἀποφαίνει σκεδάσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ πᾶσαν γῆν καὶ θάλατταν, λέγων ώδε:

ἀλλὰ γυνὴ χείρεσσι πίθου μέγα πῶμ' ἀφελοῦσα ἐσκέδασ' ἀνθρώπωι δὲ μήσατο κῆδεα λυγρά.

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a Homer, Ι. xxiv. 522; cf. also Moralia, 20 p and 22 b.

b Such is the meaning of the passage as here quoted from Homer; but in two other places (De audientis poetis, 24 b, and De exilio, 600 d) Plutarch follows Plato (Republic, p. 379 d), who wrote κύρων ἐμπλεομ, ο μὲν ἐσθλών αὐτάρ ὁ δειλών, thus making one urn of evil and one of good. Metrical considerations make it more than probable that the line

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7. The Poet\(^a\) is regarded as extraordinarily successful in bestowing consolation, where he represents Achilles as speaking to Priam, who has come to ransom Hector, as follows:

Come then and rest on a seat; let us suffer our sorrows to slumber
Quietly now in our bosoms, in spite of our woeful afflictions;
Nothing is ever accomplished by yielding to chill lamentation.
Thus, then, the gods have spun the fate of unhappy mortals,
Ever to live in distress, but themselves are free from all trouble.
Fixed on Zeus' floor two massive urns stand for ever,
Filled with gifts of all ills that he gives, and another\(^b\) of blessings;
He on whom Zeus, god of thunder, bestows their contents commingled
Sometimes meets with the good, and again he meets only with evil.
Him upon whom he bestows what is baneful he makes wholly wretched;
Ravenous hunger drives him o'er the earth's goodly bosom,
Hither and thither he goes, unhonoured of gods or of mortals.

Hesiod, who, although he proclaimed himself the disciple of the Muses, is nevertheless second to Homer in reputation as well as in time, also confines the evils in a great urn and represents Pandora as opening it and scattering the host of them over the whole land and sea. His words\(^c\) are as follows:

Then with her hands did the woman, uplifting the urn's massive cover,
Let them go as they would; and on men she brought woeful afflictions.

found in Plato was not taken from Homer, but it is only fair to say that these considerations could have had no weight with Plutarch.

\(^a\) Works and Days, 94; cf. also Moralia, 115\(^a\) and 127\(^d\).
μούνη δ' αυτόθι ἔλπις ἐν ἀρρηκτοῖσι δόμοισιν ἐνδον ἔμενε πίθου ὑπὸ χείλεσιν, οὐδὲ θύρας ἐξεπτη. πρόσθεν γὰρ ἐπέλλαβεν πώμα πῖθου. ἀλλὰ δὲ μυρία λυγρὰ κατ’ ἀνθρώπους ἀλάληται. πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαία κακῶν, πλείη δὲ θάλασσα. νοῦσοι δ’ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ’ ἡμέρῃ αἱ δ’ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι, κακά θυντοῖς φέρουσι σιγῆ, ἐπεὶ φωνῆν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς.

8. Ἀπερτημένως δὲ τούτοις ὁ κωμικὸς ἐπὶ τῶν δυσπαθοῦντων ἐπὶ ταῖς τοιούταις συμφοραῖς ταῦτα λέγει:

εἰ τὰ δάκρυα’ ἡμῖν τῶν κακῶν ἢν φάρμακον, ἀεὶ’ θ’ ὁ κλαύσας τοῦ ποιεῖν ἑπαύετο, ἡλιατόμεσθ’ ἂν δάκρυα, δόντες χρυσόν. νῦν δ’ οὐ προσέχει τὰ πράγματ’ οὐδ’ ἀποβλέπει εἰς ταύτα, δέσποτ’, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὅδον, εάν τε κλάψα αὖ τε μή, πορεύεται. τί οὖν πλέον ποιούμεν; οὐδὲν’ ἡ λύπη δ’ ἔχει ὁσπερ τὰ δένδρα’ ταύτα’ καρπὸν τὰ δάκρυα.

ὃ δὲ παραμυθοῦμενος τὴν Δανάην δυσπαθοῦσαν Δίκτυς φησι’:

δοκεῖς τὸν “Αἰδην σῶν τὶ φροντίζεις γόνων καὶ παιδ’ ἀνήσειν τὸν σῶν, εἰ θέλους στένειν; παῦσαι βλέπουσα δ’ εἰς τὰ τῶν πέλας κακὰ ράων γένοι’ ἂν, εἰ λογίζεσθαι θέλους ὅσοι τε δεσμοῖς ἐκμεμορίζηται’ βροτῶν,

1 ἐπέμβαλε most mss. of Hesiod.
2 dei Stobaeus, Flor. cviii. 1: atei.
3 τὶ δὴ ποιεῖς πλέον … τὸ δένδρον … τὸ δάκρυον Stobaeus cviii. 1 and cxxii. 12.
4 ταύτα F.C.B. : τοῦτο.
5 ἐκμεμορίζηται] ἐμμεμορίζηται Bentley.
Hope alone where it was, with its place of abode yet undamaged,
Under the rim of the urn still tarried; nor into the open
Winged its way forth; for before it escaped she had put on the cover.
More are the woes unnumbered among men now freely ranging.
Full is the land now of evils, and full of them too is the ocean:
Illnesses come upon men in the daytime, and others at night-time;
Hither and thither they go, of themselves bringing evils to mortals;
Silent they go, since the wisdom of Zeus has deprived them of voices.

8. Closely allied with this are the following words of the comic poet a spoken with reference to those whose grief over such calamities is excessive:

If only tears were remedy for ills,
And he who weeps obtained surcease of woe,
Then we should purchase tears by giving gold.
But as it is, events that come to pass,
My master, do not mind nor heed these things,
But, whether you shed tears or not, pursue
The even tenor of their way. What then
Do we accomplish by our weeping? Naught.
But as the trees have fruit, grief has these tears.

And Dictys, who is trying to console Danaë in her excessive grief, says:

Think you that Hades minds your moans at all,
And will send back your child if you will groan?
Desist. By viewing close your neighbour's ills
You might be more composed,—if you reflect
How many mortals have to toil in bonds,

(106) ὅσοι τε γηράσκουσιν ὑρφανοὶ τέκνων, τοὺς τ' ἐκ μέγιστον ὁλβίας τυραννίδος
Β τὸ μηδὲν ὄντας. ταῦτα σε σκοπεῖν χρεών.
κελεύει γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν ἵππα καὶ μείζων
δυστυχοῦντων, ὡς ἐσομένην ἐλαφροτέραν.
9. Ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἂν τις ἐλκύσει καὶ τὴν τοῦ
Σωκράτους φωνῆν, τὴν οἰομένην, εἰ συνεισενέγκαι-
μεν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τὰς ἀτυχίας, ὡστε διελέσθαι τὸ
ἔσον ἐκαστον, ἀσμένως ἂν τοὺς πλείους τὰς αὐτῶν
λαβόντας ἀπελθεῖν.
'Εχρήσατο δὲ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἀγωγῇ καὶ Ἄντιμαχος
ὁ ποιητής. ἀποθανοῦσις γὰρ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῶν
Λύδης, πρὸς Ἰνον φιλοστόργως εἰς, παραμύθιον τῆς
λύτης αὐτῶ έποίησε τὴν ἔλεγξαι τὴν καλομένην
C Λύδην, ἐξαρμαθησάμενος τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς,
τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις κακοῖς ἐλάττω τὴν ἕαυτον ποιών
λύτην. ὡστε καταφανὲς εἶναι ὅτι ὁ παραμυθοῦ-
μενος τὸν λευτησμένον καὶ δεικνύων κοινῶν καὶ
πολλῶν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς καὶ τῶν καὶ ἑτέρωσ συμ-
βεβηκότων ἐλαττον² τὴν δόξαν τοῦ λευτησμένον
μεθιστησε καὶ τοιαύτῃ τινά ποιεί πίστων αὐτῶ, ὅτι
ἐλαττον ἕ ἠλίκον ὃτε τὸ συμβεβηκός ἐστιν.
10. Ὁ δ' Ἀλσχύλος καλῶς ἐοικεν ἐπιπλήττειν
τοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν θάνατον εἶναι κακῶν, λέγων ὁδε:
ὡς ὁ δικαίως θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοῖ,
ὅσπερ μέγιστον ρώμα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν.
τούτον γὰρ ἀπεμμῆνατο καὶ ὁ ἐπίων

¹ μέγιστον Elmsley: μεγίστης.
² ἐλαττον Reiske and one ms.: ἐλάττονα.

How many reft of children face old age,
And others still who from a prosperous reign
Sink down to nothing. This you ought to heed. a

For he bids her to think of the lot of those who are equally unfortunate or even more unfortunate than herself, with the idea that her grief will be lightened.

9. In this connexion might be adduced the utterance of Socrates b which suggests that if we were all to bring our misfortunes into a common store, so that each person should receive an equal share in the distribution, the majority would be glad to take up their own and depart.

The poet Antimachus, also, employed a similar method. For after the death of his wife, Lyde, whom he loved very dearly, he composed, as a consolation for his grief, the elegy called Lyde, in which he enumerated the misfortunes of the heroes, and thus made his own grief less by means of others' ills. So it is clear that he who tries to console a person in grief, and demonstrates that the calamity is one which is common to many, and less than the calamities which have befallen others, changes the opinion of the one in grief and gives him a similar conviction—that his calamity is really less than he supposed it to be.

10 Aeschylus c seems admirably to rebuke those who think that death is an evil. He says:

Men are not right in hating Death, which is
The greatest succour from our many ills.

In imitation of Aeschylus some one else has said:


D  ὁ θάνατε, παιὰν ἱατρὸς μύλοις.
(106) "λυμήν" γὰρ ὄντως "Ἄιδας ἀνίαν."

μέγα γάρ ἐστι τὸ μετὰ πείσματος τεθαρρηκότος εἰπεῖν

τὸς δ' ἐστὶ δοῦλος τοῦ θανείν ἀφροντίς ἂν;
καὶ

"Ἄιδην δ' ἔχων βοηθὸν οὐ τρέμω σκιάς.

τὸ γάρ τὸ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ δυσανιῶν καὶ ἐν τῷ
tεθνάναι; τὰ γάρ τοῦ θανάτου μήποτε καὶ λίαν
ἡμῶν ὄντα συνήθη καὶ συμφυὴ πάλιν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως
dυσαλγῆ δοκεῖ εἶναι. τὸ γάρ θαυμαστὸν εἰ τὸ τμη-
tὸν τέμπτας, εἰ τὸ τηκτὸν τέκτηκται, εἰ τὸ καυστὸν

Ε ἐκέκαυται, εἰ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἐφθαρτας; πότε γάρ ἐν
ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστων ὁ θάνατος; καὶ, ἢ φησιν
"Ἡράκλειτος, "ταυτó' γ' ἐνι ζών καὶ τεθνηκός
καὶ τὸ ἔγρηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεύδον καὶ νέον καὶ γη-
ραιόν· τάδε γάρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστιν, κάκεινα
πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα."

Ως γάρ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ

πηλοῦ δύναται τοῖς πλάττων ζώα συγχεῖν καὶ πάλιν

πλάττειν καὶ συγχεῖν καὶ τοῦθ' ἐν παρ' ἐν ποιεῖν

ἀδιαλείπτως, οὕτω καὶ ἢ φύσις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑλῆς


1 ἀνίαν Meziriacus: ἀν' αἰαν.
2 ταυτῷ Bernays.
3 συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς Suppe.

* Somewhat similar to a line from the Philoctetes of Aeschylus; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Aeschylus, No. 255.

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O Death, healing physician, come.

For it is indeed true that

A harbour from all distress is Hades.

For it is a magnificent thing to be able to say with undaunted conviction:

What man who recks not death can be a slave?

and

With Hades' help shadows I do not fear.

For what is there cruel or so very distressing in being dead? It may be that the phenomenon of death, from being too familiar and natural to us, seems somehow, under changed circumstances, to be painful, though I know not why. For what wonder if the separable be separated, if the soluble be dissolved, if the combustible be consumed, and the corruptible be corrupted? For at what time is death not existent in our very selves? As Heracleitus says: "Living and dead are potentially the same thing, and so too waking and sleeping, and young and old; for the latter revert to the former, and the former in turn to the latter." For as one is able from the same clay to model figures of living things and to obliterate them, and again to model and obliterate, and alternately to repeat these operations without ceasing, so Nature, using the same material, a long time ago raised up our forefathers, and then in close succession to them created our fathers, and then ourselves, and


εἰτ' ἄλλους ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀνακυκλήσει. καὶ ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ποταμὸς οὕτως ἐνδελεχῶς ρέων οὐποτε στήσεται, καὶ πάλιν ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας αὐτῶ ὁ τῆς φθορᾶς εἰτ' Ἀχέρων εἰτε Κωκυτὸς καλούμενος ὕπο τῶν ποιητῶν. ἡ πράτη οὖν αὐτία ἡ δείξασα ἡμῖν τὸ τοῦ ἤλιου φῶς, ἡ αὐτή καὶ τὸν ξοφερὸν Ἀιδήν ἄγει. καὶ μήποτε τοῦδε εἰκὼν ἢ ὁ περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀήρ, ἐν παρ' ἐν ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα ποιῶν, ἐπαγωγοὺς ἡμὴς τε καὶ θανάτου καὶ ὑπνοῦ καὶ ἕγχρηξΚσεως; διὸ καὶ μοιρίδιον χρέος εἶναι λέγε- 

tαι τὸ ζῆν, ως ἀποδοθησόμενον ὁ ἐδανείσαντο

107 ἡμῶν οἱ προπάτορες. ὁ δὴ καὶ εὐκόλως κατα-

βλητέον καὶ ἀστενάκτως, οταν ὁ δανείσας ἀπαιτή-

εὐγνωμονέστατοι γὰρ ἂν οὕτω φανεῖμην.

11. Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀρῶσαν τὸ τ' ἀτακ-

τόν καὶ βραχυχρόνιον τοῦ βίου ἄδηλον ποιῆσαι τὴν τοῦ θανάτου προθεσμίαν. τοῦτο γὰρ ἢν ἁμεινόν εἱ γὰρ προήδειμον, κἂν προεξετήκοντο 

τινες ταῖς λύπαις καὶ πρὶν ἀποδανείων ἐτεθνήκεσαν. ὅρα δὲ καὶ τοῦ βίου τὸ ὀδυνηρὸν καὶ τὸ πολλαῖς 

φροντίσων ἐπηντλημένον, ὡς εἰ βουλοίμεθα κατ-

αριθμεῖσαι, λίαν ἂν αὐτοῦ καταγνωῆμεν, ἐπαλη-

θεύσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὴν παρ' ἐνίος κρατοῦσαν δόξαν 

ὡς ἅρα κρεῖττόν ἐστὶ τὸ τεθναίναι τοῦ ζῆν. ὁ 

γοῦν Σιμώνιδης,

Β "ἀνθρώπων," φησίν, "ὁλίγον μὲν κάρτος, ἀπρα-

κτοι δὲ μεληδόνες,

αἰῶνι δὲ παύρω πόνος ἀμφὶ πόνῳ.

1 ἐπαγωγοὺς Emperius: ἐπαγωγάς.

later will create others and still others in a never-ending cycle; and the stream of generation, thus flowing onward perpetually, will never stop, and so likewise its counterpart, flowing in the opposite direction—which is the stream of destruction, whether it be designated by the poets as Acheron or as Cocytus. The same agency which at the first showed us the light of the sun brings also the darkness of Hades. May not the air surrounding us serve to symbolize this, causing as it does day and night alternately, which bring us life and death, and sleep and waking? Wherefore it is said that life is a debt to destiny, the idea being that the loan which our forefathers contracted is to be repaid by us. This debt we ought to discharge cheerfully and without bemoaning whenever the lender asks for payment; for in this way we should show ourselves to be most honourable men.

11. I imagine also that it was because Nature saw the indefiniteness and the brevity of life that she caused the time allowed us before death to be kept from us. And it is better so; for if we knew this beforehand, some persons would be utterly wasted by griefs before their time, and would be dead long before they died. Observe too the painfulness of life, and the exhaustion caused by many cares; if we should wish to enumerate all these, we should too readily condemn life, and we should confirm the opinion which now prevails in the minds of some that it is better to be dead than to live. Simonides at any rate says:

Petty indeed is men's strength;
All their strivings are vain;
Toil upon toil in a life of no length.
Πίνδαρος δὲ:
ἐν παρ’ ἐσθλὸν σύνδυο πτήματα δαίονται βροτοῖς ἀθάνατοι. τὰ μὲν ὃν οὐ δύνανται νήπιοι κόσμῳ ψέρειν.
Σοφοκλῆς δὲ:
οὐ δ’ ἄνδρα θυνῶν εἰ κατέβθυτο στένεις, εἰδὼς τὸ μέλλον οὐδὲν εἰ κέρδος φέρει;
Εὐριπίδης δὲ:
τὰ θυτὰ πράγματ’ οἰθάδα γ’ ἢν ἐχεῖ φύσιν;
Ο δ’ ὁ πόθεν γὰρ; ἀλλ’ ἀκούε μου. βροτοῖς ἀπασὶ καθανεῖν ἀφεῖλεται, κοῦκ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν ὅστις ἔξεπισταταὶ τὴν αὐρίον μέλλουσαν εἰ βιώσεται.
τὸ τῆς τύχης γὰρ ἀφανὲς οἱ προβήσεται.
τοιούτων δὴ τοῦ βίου τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄντος οἷον οὗτοί φασίν, πῶς οὐκ εὐδαιμονίζειν μᾶλλον προσήκει τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ λατρείας ἡ κατουκτῆρειν τε καὶ θρηνεῖν, ὅπερ οἱ πολλοὶ δρῶσι δι’ ἀμαθίαν;
D 12. 'Ο δὲ Σωκράτης παραπλήσιον ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν θάνατον ἥτοι τῷ βαθύτατῳ ὑπνῷ ἡ ἀποδημία μακρᾷ καὶ πολυχρόνῳ ἡ τρίτον φθορᾶ τινι καὶ ἀφανίσμῳ τοῦ τε σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ οὐδὲν δὲ τούτων κακὸν εἶναι. καὶ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐπεπορεύετο, καὶ πρῶτον τῷ πρῶτῳ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ

1 δαίονται Pindar mss.: δαίνωνται.
2 οἰσθάδα γ’ Cod. Pal.: οἶδας in all other mss.
Death hovers over them all,  
Death which is foreordained.  
Equal the share by the brave is attained  
In death with the base.

And Pindar⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠⁠³Ø
(107) ὑπνος τὸς ἔστιν ὁ θάνατος καὶ περὶ τοὺς καθευδοντας μηδὲν ἐστὶν κακόν, δὴ λοιπὸν ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας εἴη ἂν τι κακόν. ἀλλὰ μὴν γ’ ὦτι ἡδιστός ἐστιν ὁ βαθύτατος τι δεῖ καὶ λέγειν; αὐτὸ γὰρ τὸ πράγμα φανερὸν ἐστὶ πάσιν ἀνθρώποις, μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρος ἐπ᾿ αὐτοῦ λέγων.

νήγρετος ἡδιστος, θανάτω ἀγχίστα ἐσκώς.

Ε ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα λέγει:

ἐνθ’ ὑπνῷ ξύμβλητο, κασιγνήτω Θανάτωι καὶ:

"Ὑπνῷ καὶ Θανάτῳ διδυμάσσων,

ὅσι τὴν ὁμοιότητα αὐτῶν δηλῶν τὰ γὰρ δίδυμα τὴν ὁμοιότητα μάλιστα παρεμβαίνει. πάλιν τὲ ποῦ φησί τὸν θάνατον εἶναι "χάλκεον ὑπνόν," τὴν ἀναπνοὴν ἡμῶν αἰνητόμενος. οὐκ ἠμούσως δ᾿ ἐδοξεὶ ἀποφήμαται οὐδ᾿ ὦτι ὡς "τὸν ὑπνὸν τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ θανάτου μυστήρια": προμαθεῖς γὰρ ὄντως ἐστὶ τοῦ θανάτου ὁ ὑπνός. πάνω δὲ σοφῶς καὶ ὁ κυνικὸς Διογένης κατενεχθεὶς εἰς ὑπνόν καὶ Φ μέλλων ἐκλείπειν τὸν βίον, διεγείραντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ἰατροῦ καὶ πυθομένου μή τι περὶ αὐτὸν εἰς χαλεπῶν, "οὐδέν," ἐφη: "ο γὰρ ἀδελφὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν προλαμβάνει."

13. Εἰ γε μὴν ἀποδημία προσέοικεν ὁ θάνατος,  

1 προλαμβάνει Doehner: προλαμβάνει ὁ ὑπνός τὸν θάνατον.

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a Od. xiii. 80.  
b Il. xiv. 231.  
c Il. xvi. 672, 682.  
d Il. xi. 241.  
death is a sleep, and there is nothing evil in the state of those who sleep, it is evident that there is likewise nothing evil in the state of those who are dead. Nay, what need is there even to state that the deepest sleep is indeed the sweetest? For the fact is of itself patent to all men, and Homer a bears witness by saying regarding it:

Slumber the deepest and sweetest, and nearest to death in its semblance.

In another place b also he says:

Here she chanced to encounter the brother of Death, which is Slumber,

and

Slumber and Death, the twin brothers, c thereby indicating their similarity in appearance, for twins show most similarity. And again somewhere d he says that death is a "brazen sleep," in allusion to our insensibility in it. And not inelegantly did the man e seem to put the case who called "sleep the Lesser Mysteries of death"; for sleep is really a preparatory rite for death. Very wise was the remark of the cynic Diogenes, who, when he had sunk into slumber and was about to depart this life, was roused by his physician, who inquired if anything distressed him. "Nothing," he said, "for the one brother merely forestalls the other." f

13. If death indeed resembles a journey, even so (celebrated at Agraee, near Athens, in March) was required before one could be admitted to the great Eleusinian festival in September.

f Cf. a similar remark attributed to Gorgias of Leontini in Aelian, Varia Historia, ii. 35.
οὖδ' οὖτως ἐστὶ κακὸν. μὴ ποτε δὲ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀγαθὸν. τὸ γάρ ἀδούλωτον τῇ1 σαρκὶ καὶ τοῖς ταύτης πάθεσι διάγειν, ὡφ' ὑπ' οὖν καταστώμενος ὁ νοῦς τῆς θυτῆς ἀναπίπλαται φλυαρίας, εὐδαιμον τι
108 καὶ μακάριον. "μυρίας μὲν γάρ ἦμιν," φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, "ἀσχολίας παρέχει τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν τροφήν. ἐτί δ' εάν τινες νόσοι προςπέσωσιν, ἐμποδίζουσιν ἦμιν τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θήραν, ἑρώτων δὲ καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ φόβων καὶ εἰδώλων παντοδαπῶν καὶ φλυαρίας ἐμπίπλησιν ἦμᾶς, ὡστε τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῷ ὄντι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ φρονήσαι ἦμιν ἐγγίνεται οὐδέποτε οὐδέν. καὶ γὰρ πολέμους καὶ στάσεις καὶ μάχας οὐδὲν ἄλλο παρέχει ἡ τὸ σῶμα καὶ αἱ2 τούτου ἐπιθυμίαι. διὰ γὰρ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων κτήσιν πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι

Β γύγνονται: τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀναγκαζόμεθα κτᾶσθαι διὰ τὸ σῶμα, δουλεύοντες τῇ τούτου θεραπεία: καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀσχολίαν ἄγομεν φιλοσοφίας πέρι διὰ ταύτα πάντα. τὸ δ' ἐσχατον πάντων, ὅτι εάν τις ἦμιν καὶ σχολὴ γένηται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τραπώμεθα πρὸς τὸ σκοπεῖν τι, ἐν ταῖς ζητήσεις πανταχοῦ παραπίπτων θάρυσθον παρέχει καὶ ταραχὴν καὶ ἐκπλήττει, ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καθορᾶν τάληθες. ἀλλὰ τῷ ὄντι ἦμιν δέδειξαι ὅτι εἴ μελλομέν ποτε καθαρῶς τι ἑσεσθαι, ἀπαλλακτέον αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ θεατέον αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα: καὶ τότε, ὅσ' ἐσικεῖν, ἦμιν ἔσται οὐ ἐπιθυμοῦμεν καὶ οὐ φαμεν ἐρᾶν (ἐστὶ δὲ φρόνησις), ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσωμεν, ὡς ὁ λόγος σημαίνει, ζωσὶ

1 τὸ γὰρ ἀδούλωτον τῇ Duebner: τούτῳ γὰρ δεδοιλωται.
2 αἰ Plato mss.: αἰ ἄπο. There are other minor variations from the mss. of Plato, but none which affects the meaning of the quotation.

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it is not an evil. On the contrary, it may even be a good. For to pass one's time unenslaved by the flesh and its emotions, by which the mind is distracted and tainted with human folly, would be a blessed piece of good fortune. "For the body," says Plato, "in countless ways leaves us no leisure because of its necessary care and feeding. Moreover, if any diseases invade it, they hinder our pursuit of reality, and it fills us with lusts and desires and fears and all manner of fancies and folly, so that, as the saying goes, because of it we really have no opportunity to think seriously of anything. It is a fact that wars and strifes and battles are brought about by nothing else except the body and its desires; for all wars are waged for the acquisition of property, and property we are forced to acquire because of the body, since we are slaves in its service; and the result is that, because of these things, we have no leisure for study. And the worst of all is, that even if we do gain some leisure from the demands of the body, and turn to the consideration of some subject, yet at every point in our investigation the body forces itself in, and causes tumult and confusion, and disconcerts us, so that on account of it we are unable to discern the truth. Nay, the fact has been thoroughly demonstrated to us that, if we are ever going to have any pure knowledge, we must divest ourselves of the body, and with the soul itself observe the realities. And, as it appears, we shall possess what we desire and what we profess to long for—and that is wisdom—only, as our reasoning shows, after we are dead, but not

* Phaedo, p. 66 b.
(108) δ’ οὗ. εἰ γάρ μη οἶδὼν τε μετὰ τοῦ σῶματος μηδὲν καθαρῶς γνώναι, δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ οὐδαμοῦ ἔστι κτήσασθαι τὸ εἰδέναι ἢ τελευτήσασι. τότε γὰρ αὐτῇ καθ’ αὐτῆν ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ χωρίς τοῦ σῶματος, πρότερον δ’ οὗ. καὶ ἐν ὅ ἂν ξώμεν, οὕτως, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐγγυτάτω ἐσόμεθα τοῦ εἰδέναι, ἐὰν ὅτι μάλιστα μηδὲν ὀμιλῶμεν τῷ σῶματι μηδὲ κοινωνώ-μεν, ὅτι μὴ πάσα ἀνάγκη, μηδὲ ἀναπιμπλώμεθα τῆς τούτων φύσεως, ἀλλὰ καθαρεύωμεν ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ, Δ ἦς ἂν ὁ θεός αὐτὸς ἀπολύσῃ ἡμᾶς. καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἀπαλλαττόμενοι τῆς τοῦ σῶματος ἀφροσύνης, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μετὰ τοιούτων ἐσόμεθα, δι’ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πάν τὸ εἰλικρινὲς ὁρῶντες· τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀληθῆς. μὴ καθαρῶ γὰρ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὗ θεμιτόν ἦ.

"Ὄστ’ εἰ καὶ προσέοικε μετάγειν εἰς ἔτερον τότιν ὁ θάνατος, οὐκ ἔστι κακῶν· μὴποτε γὰρ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀναφαίνηται, καθάπερ ἀπέδειξεν ὁ Πλάτων. διὸ καὶ πάνυ δαμούναις ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς Ετόσι δικαστας τοιαῦτ’ ἐφη· "τὸ γὰρ δεδείναι, ὃ ἄνδρες, τὸν θάνατον οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔστιν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ ὄντα· δοκεῖν γὰρ εἰδέναι ἐστιν ᾧ οὐκ οἴδεν. οἴδε μὲν γὰρ οὐδείς τὸν θάνατον οὐδ’ εἰ τυγχάνει τῷ ἄνθρώπῳ μέγιστον πάντων ἢ τῶν ἀγαθῶν, δεδίασι δ’ ὡς εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι μέγιστον τῶν κακῶν ἔστιν." οὐκ ἀπάδευν δ’ ἔοικε τούτων οὐδ’ ὃ εἰπών·
while we are alive. For if it is impossible in company with the body to have any pure knowledge, then one of two things is true: either it is not possible to attain knowledge anywhere, or else only after death. For then the soul will be quite by itself, separate from the body, but before that time never. And so, while we live, we shall, as it appears, be nearest to knowledge if, as far as possible, we have no association or communion with the body, except such as absolute necessity requires, and if we do not taint ourselves with its nature, but keep ourselves pure of it until such time as God himself shall release us. And thus, being rid of the irrationality of the body, we shall, in all likelihood, be in the company of others in like state, and we shall behold with our own eyes the pure and absolute, which is the truth; since for the impure to touch the pure may well be against the divine ordinance."

So, even if it be likely that death transports us into another place, it is not an evil; for it may possibly prove to be a good, as Plato has shown. Wherefore very wonderful were the words which Socrates \(^{a}\) uttered before his judges, to this effect: "To be afraid of death, Sirs, is nothing else than to seem to be wise when one is not; for it is to seem to know what one does not know. For in regard to death nobody knows even whether it happens to be for mankind the greatest of all good things, yet they fear it as if they knew well that it is the greatest of evils." From this view it seems that the poet does not dissent who says:

\[^{a}\text{Plato, \textit{Apology}, p. 29 a.}\]
μηδεὶς φοβείσθω θάνατον ἀπόλυσαι πόνων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ κακῶν τῶν μεγίστων.

14. Δέγεται δὲ τούτους μαρτυρεῖν καὶ τὸ θεῖον.
πολλοὺς γὰρ παρειλήφαμεν δι’ εὑσεβείαν παρὰ θεῶν
tαύτης τυχόντας τῆς δωρεᾶς. ὃν τοὺς μέν ἄλλους
φειδόμενος τῆς συμμετρίας τοῦ συγγράμματος
παραλεύσω· μνησθήσομαι δὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐμφανε-
στάτων καὶ πᾶσι διὰ στόματος.

Γ’ Πρῶτα δὴ σοι τὰ περὶ Κλέοβιν καὶ Βίτωνα τοὺς
’Αργείωνε νεανίσκους δηγήσομαι. φασὶ γὰρ τῆς
μητρὸς αὐτῶν ἱερείας οὕσης τῆς Ἠρας ἐπειδὴ τῆς
eἰς τὸν νεὼν ἀναβάσεως ἦκεν ὁ καιρὸς, τῶν
ἐλκόντων τὴν ἀπήνην ὁρέων ὑποτηρησάντων καὶ
tῆς ὤρας ἐπειγούσης, τούτους ὑποδύνατο ὑπὸ τὴν
ἀπήνην ἄγαγειν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὴν μητέρα, τὴν
ὑπερηθείσαν τῇ τῶν νεῶν εὕσεβεία κατεύξασθαι τὸ
κράτιστον αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ δοθήναι τῶν ἐν
ἀνθρώποις, τοὺς δὲ κατακομμηθέντας μηκέτ’ ἀνα-
στήναι, τῆς θεοῦ τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς τῆς εὐσεβείας
ἀμοιβὴν δωρησαμένης.

109 Καὶ περὶ Ἀγαμήδους δὲ καὶ Τροφωνίου φησὶ
Πύνδαρος τὸν νεὼν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς οἰκοδομήσαντας
αἰτεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος μισθὸν, τὸν δ’ αὐτοῖς
ἐπαγγείλασθαι εἰς ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν ἀποδώσειν, ἐν
tοσοῦτῳ δ’ εὐωχεῖσθαι παρακελεύσασθαι τοὺς δὲ
ποιήσαντας τὸ προσταχθὲν τῇ ἐβδόμῃ νυκτὶ κατα-
κομμηθέντας τελευτῆσαι.

Δέγεται δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ Πύνδαρῳ ἐπισκῆπται

———

a Author unknown; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag.,
Adespota, No. 371.
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Let none fear death, which is release from toils,—ay, and from the greatest of evils as well.

14. It is said that the Deity also bears witness to this. For tradition tells us that many for their righteousness have gained this gift from the gods. Most of these I shall pass over, having regard to due proportion in my composition; but I shall mention the most conspicuous, whose story is on the lips of all men.

First I shall relate for you the tale of Cleobis and Biton, the Argive youths. They say that their mother was priestess of Hera, and when the time had come for her to go up to the temple, and the mules that always drew her wagon were late in arriving, and the hour was pressing, these young men put themselves to the wagon and drew their mother to the temple; and she, overjoyed at the devotion of her sons, prayed that the best boon that man can receive be given them by the goddess. They then lay down to sleep and never arose again, the goddess granting them death as a reward for their devotion.

Of Agamedes and Trophonius, Pindar says that after building the temple at Delphi they asked Apollo for a reward, and he promised them to make payment on the seventh day, bidding them in the meantime to eat, drink, and be merry. They did what was commanded, and on the evening of the seventh day lay down to sleep and their life came to an end.

It is said that Pindar himself enjoined upon the


*Cf. Frag. 2 of Pindar (ed. Christ).*
ToXs Trapa
BoiojtcSv TreiK^Qelaiv els Beov
TTvdeadai "ri apiorov ianv dvdpcoTTOLS
oltto-
Kpivaadat, ttjv Trpofiavriv on ouS'
avTOs dyvoel, et ye Ta ypa(f>evTa repl Tpocjxuviov koi 'AyafXT^hovs cKeivov eOTLv el Be /cat TreipadrjvaL ^ovXerai, fxer ov TToXv eaeadai avro) TrpoSrjXov. /cat ovtcirvdo-fievov rov Ulvhapov • avXXoylll,€GdaL rd Trpos rov davarov, SieXOovros 8' oXlyov xpovov TeXevrrjaai. Ta Se TTepl rov ^IraXov Eivdvvoov TOtavrd 0acrt yeveadai. eXvai fiev yap avrov 'HAuCTtou irarpos rov Trpivaiov, tcDv et/cet irpcLrov /cat dperfj /cat TrXovrcp /cat So^rj, reXevrrjaai S' e^aTrlvqs alria TLvl dhriXco.rov ovv ^YiXvoLov elaeXdelv onep tacos Kov aXXov elarrjXde, fjL'qTTor* etrat (ftapfxaKots dTTToXco-
Acis"
rovTov yap etvat, fiouvov avrco en* ovcria ttoXXtj .
-x^prip-aatv. diropovvra 8' oro) rpoirco ^daavov
Xd^oi rovrojv, d(f)LK€adai eVt rt ^jsv^op^avrelov, TTpodvadfxevov S' cos vofxos eyKOLfxdadat /cat tSeti'.

Τά δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἰταλῶν Εὐθύνων τοιαύτα φασὶ

The story comes from Crantor's Consolatio, according to Cicero.
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deputies of the Boeotians who were sent to consult the god that they should inquire, “What is the best thing for mankind?” and the prophetic priestess made answer, that he himself could not be ignorant of it if the story which had been written about Trophonius and Agamedes were his; but if he desired to learn it by experience, it should be made manifest to him within a short time. As a result of this inquiry Pindar inferred that he should expect death, and after a short time his end came.

They say that the following incident happened to the Italian Euthynoüs. He was the son of Elysius, of Terina, a man foremost among the people there in virtue, wealth, and repute, and Euthynoüs came to his end suddenly from some unknown cause. Now it occurred to Elysius, as it might have occurred to anybody else, that his son had perhaps died of poisoning; for he was his only heir to a large property and estate. Being in perplexity as to how he might put his suspicions to the test, he visited a place where the spirits of the dead are conjured up, and having offered the preliminary sacrifice prescribed by custom, he lay down to sleep in the place, and had this vision. It seemed that his own father came to him, and that on seeing his father he related to him what had happened touching his son, and begged and besought his help to discover the man who was responsible for his son’s death. And his father said, “It is for this that I am come. Take from this person here what he brings for you, and from this you will learn about everything over which you are now grieving.” The person whom he indicated was a young man who followed him, resembling his son Euthynoüs and close to him in years and stature.
(109) ὅστις εὗη. καὶ τὸν φάναι "δαίμων τοῦ νυεός σου," καὶ οὕτω δὴ ὄρεξαι οἱ γραμματεῖδιοι. ἀνειλή-
σαντά οὖν αὐτὸ ἰδεῖν ἐγγεγραμμένα τρία ταῦτα:

ἡ ποὺ¹ νηπίεσιν ἀλύουσιν² φρένες ἄνδρῶν.
Ἐνθύνοος κεῖται μοιρίδω θανάτω.
οὔκ ἢν γὰρ³ ξέων καλὸν αὐτῷ οὔδὲ⁴ γονεῦσι.

Τοιαῦτα δὴ σοι καὶ τὰ τῶν διηγημάτων τῶν
παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἀναγεγραμμένων.

Ε 15. Εἰ γε μὴν ὁ θάνατος τελεία τίς ἐστὶ φθορά
καὶ διάλυσις τοῦ τε σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς (τὸ
τρίτον γὰρ ἢν τοῦτο τῆς Σωκρατικῆς εἰκασίας),
οὐδ’ οὕτω κακὸν ἐστὶν: ἀναισθησία γὰρ τις κατ’
αὐτὸν γίγνεται καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγῆ λύτης καὶ
φροντίδος. ὡσπερ γὰρ οὔτ’ ἀγαθὸν ἡμῶν ἐπεστὶν
οὕτως οὐδὲ κακὸν περὶ γὰρ τὸ ὅν καὶ τὸ ύφ-
εστηκὸς καθάπερ τὸ ἀγαθὸν πέφυκε γίγνεσθαι, τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ κακὸν περὶ δὲ τὸ μὴ ὅν ἄλλ’
ἡμένων ἐκ τῶν ὄντων οὐδέτερον τούτων ὑπάρχει.
εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν τάξιν οἱ τελευτήσαντες καθ-

Ϝ ἱστανται τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως. ὡσπερ οὖν οὕδεν
ἡν ἡμῶν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως οὔτ’ ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακὸν,
οὕτως οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν τελευτήν. καὶ καθάπερ τὰ
πρὸ ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἢν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ μεθ’
ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἐσται πρὸς ἡμᾶς:

¹ ἦν τοῦ Iunius: ἱδρον.
² νηπίεσιν ἀλύουσιν Hercher from Cicero: νῆπτε ἡλύσιε. Perhaps ἦν τοῦ νηπίαι, 'Πλήν' ἡλύθων φρένες ἄνδρῶν, partly
suggested by Wyttenbach, would better account for the
present ms. reading (Wilamowitz, Ἡλύσιε ἡ ωντων).
³ οὔκ ἢν γὰρ] οὐ γὰρ ἢν Hercher.
⁴ οὔδὲ Turnebus: οὔτε.

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So Elysius asked who he was; and he said, "I am the ghost of your son," and with these words he handed him a paper. This Elysius opened and saw written there these three lines:

Verily somehow the minds of men in ignorance wander;
Dead now Euthynoüs lies; destiny so has decreed.
Not for himself was it good that he live, nor yet for his parents.\(^a\)

Such, you observe, is the purport of the tales recorded in ancient writers.

15. If, however, death is really a complete destruction and dissolution of both body and soul (for this was the third of Socrates' conjectures), even so it is not an evil. For, according to him, there ensues a sort of insensibility and a liberation from all pain and anxiety. For just as no good can attach to us in such a state, so also can no evil; for just as the good, from its nature, can exist only in the case of that which is and has substantiality, so it is also with the evil. But in the case of that which is not, but has been removed from the sphere of being, neither of them can have any real existence. Now those who have died return to the same state in which they were before birth; therefore, as nothing was either good or evil for us before birth, even so will it be with us after death. And just as all events before our lifetime were nothing to us, even so will all events subsequent to our lifetime be nothing to us. For in reality

\(^a\) Mullach, Frag. Philos. Graec. iii. p. 148; cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 48 (115).
"άλγος" γάρ ὅντος "οὐδὲν ἀπτεταὶ νεκροῦ."
"τὸ" γάρ "μὴ γενέσθαι τῷ θανεῖν ἵσον λέγω."

ἡ γὰρ αὐτὴ κατάστασις ἐστὶ τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως
ἡ μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν. ἂλλ' οἶει σὺ διαφορὰν εἶναι
μὴ γενέσθαι η γενόμενον ἀπογενέσθαι; εἰ μὴ καὶ
τῆς οἰκίας καὶ τῆς ἐσθήτος ἡμῶν μετὰ τὴν φθορὰν
ὑπολαμβάνεις τινὰ διαφορὰν εἶναι πρὸς τὸν ὅν

105 οὐδέπω κατεσκευάσθη χρόνον. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτων
οὐδὲν ἐστὶ, δὴ λοι ὡς οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῦ θανάτου πρὸς
τὴν πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως κατάστασιν ἐστὶ διαφορά.
χάρισεν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσυλάου. "τοῦτο," φησί,
"τὸ λεγόμενον κακὸν ὁ θάνατός μόνον τῶν ἀλλων
τῶν νεομομιμέων κακῶν παρὸν μὲν οὐδένα πῶστ' ἐλύσατο,
ἀπὸν δὲ καὶ προσδοκώμενον λυπεῖ·

τῷ γὰρ ὅντι πολλοῖς διὰ τὴν οὐδένειαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς
tὸν θάνατον διαβολὴν ἀποδιηθήκουσιν, ἵνα μὴ
ἀποθάνωσι. καλῶς οὖν ὁ Ἑπίχαρμος
"συνεκρίθη" φησί "καὶ διεκρίθη καὶ ἀπῆλθεν
ὀθέν ἦνθε;" 2"

B πάλιν

γὰ μὲν εἰς γὰν, πνεύμ' ἄνω. 3 τί τῶνδε χαλεπόν;
οὐδέν. 4

ὁ Κρεσφόντης δὲ ποὺ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Εὐριπίδη περὶ
τοῦ Ἡρακλέους λέγων
"εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἰκεῖ," φησί, "νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονὸς
ἐν τοῖς οὐκέτι οὖσιν, οὐδέν ἄν οἰκεῖν." 5

1 μὴ γενέσθαι Wytenbach: η μὴ γενέσθαι.
2 ἀπῆλθεν ... ἦνθε Scaliger: ἀπῆλθεν ... ἦλθε.
3 πνεύμ' ἄνω Mullach: πνεύμα δ' ἄνω.
4 οὐδέν Hartman: οὐδὲ ἦν.

a From the Philoctetes of Aeschylus; cf. Nauck, Trag.
Graec. Frag., Aeschylus, No. 255.

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No suffering affects the dead, since
Not to be born I count the same as death.

For the condition after the end of life is the same as that before birth. But do you imagine that there is a difference between not being born at all, and being born and then passing away? Surely not, unless you assume also that there is a difference in a house or a garment of ours after its destruction, as compared with the time when it had not yet been fashioned. But if there is no difference in these cases, it is evident that there is no difference in the case of death, either, as compared with the condition before birth. Arcesilaus puts the matter neatly: "This that we call an evil, death, is the only one of the supposed evils which, when present, has never caused anybody any pain, but causes pain when it is not present but merely expected." As a matter of fact, many people, because of their utter fatuity and their false opinion regarding death, die in their effort to keep from dying. Excellently does Epicarmus put it:

To be and not to be hath been his fate;

once more

Gone is he whence he came, earth back to earth,
The soul on high. What here is evil? Naught.

Cresphontes in some play of Euripides, speaking of Heracles, says:

For if he dwells beneath the depths of earth
'Mid lifeless shades, his vigour would be naught.

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*A Letter to Apollonius*, 109-110

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No. 151
(110) τοῦτο μεταποιήσας εἴποις ἂν:

εἰ μὲν γὰρ οἶκεὶ νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονὸς ἐν τοῖς οὐκέτ', οὕσων, οὐδὲν ἂν πάθοι.

γενναίον δὲ καὶ τὸ Λακωνικόν

νῦν ἂμες,¹ πρόσθι ἄλλοι ἐθάλεον,² αὐτίκα δ' ἄλλοι,

ὅν ἂμες¹ γενεὰν οὐκέτ' ἐποψόμεθα

καὶ πάλιν.

C οὖ θάνον² οὐ τὸ ζῆν θέμενοι καλὸν οὐδὲ τὸ

θυσίσκειν,

ἀλλὰ τὸ ταύτα καλῶς ἀμφότερ' ἐκτελέσαι.

πάνυ δὲ καλῶς καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης ἐπὶ τῶν τὰς

μακρὰς νοσηλείας ὑπομενόντων φησί.

μισῶ δ᾿ ὅσοι χρήζουσιν ἐκτείνειν βίον,

βρωτοῖς καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ μαγεύμασίν³ παρεκτρέποντες ὀχετόν ὡστε μὴ θανεῖν.

οὐς χρῆν, ἐπειδὰν μηδὲν ἀφελῶσι γην,⁴

θανόντας ἔρρειν κακποδῶν εἶναι νέοις.

D ἦ δὲ Μερόπη λόγους ἀνδρώδεις προφερομένη

κινεῖ τὰ θεάτρα, λέγουσα τοιαῦτα:

τεθνασί παιδες οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνη βροτῶν,

οὐδ᾿ ἀνδρὸς ἐστερήμεθ', ἀλλὰ μυρίαι
tὸν αὐτὸν ἔξηντλησαν ὡς ἐγὼ βίον.

τούτως γὰρ οἶκεῖως ἂν τις ταύτα συνάψειες·

¹ ἂμες Cobet: ἂμες.
² ἐθάλεον L. Dindorf: ἐθάλεον.
³ οἵ θάνον Wytenbach: οἱ θάνον.
⁴ The reading of the mss. here (supported by Marc. Antoninus, vii. 51) is preferred by nearly all editors of 152
This you might rewrite and say,
   For if he dwells beneath the depths of earth
      'Mid lifeless shades, his dolour would be naught.

Noble also is the Spartan song\(^a\):
   Here now are we; before us others thrrove, and others
      still straightway,
   But we shall never live to see their day;

and again:
   Those who have died and who counted no honour the
      living or dying,
   Only to consummate both nobly were honour for them.\(^b\)

Excellently does Euripides\(^c\) say of those who
   patiently endure long illnesses:
      I hate the men who would prolong their lives
         By foods and drinks and charms of magic art,
      Perverting nature's course to keep off death;
      They ought, when they no longer serve the land,
         To quit this life, and clear the way for youth.

And Merope\(^d\) stirs the theatres by expressing manly
   sentiments when she speaks the following words:
      Not mine the only children who have died,
         Nor I the only woman robbed of spouse;
      Others as well as I have drunk life's dregs.

With this the following might be appropriately
   combined:

\(^a\) Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 662.
\(^b\) Ibid. iii. p. 516; cf. Plutarch, Life of Pelopidas, chap. i.
      (p. 278 A).
\(^c\) Suppliants, 1109.
\(^d\) Referred to the Ctesphontes of Euripides; cf. Nauck,

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Euripides to that of the Euripidean mss. νότουσι καὶ στρώμαισι
   καὶ μαντεύμαις.
\(^{\ast}\) ωφέλωσι γην] ωφέλουν πόλιν Euripidean mss.
(110) πού γάρ τά σεμνά κείνα, πού δὲ Λυδίας\(^1\) μέγας δυνάστης Κροίσσος ἢ Εὔρης βαρύν\(^2\) ζεύγας θαλάσσης αὐχέν’ Ἑλλησποντίας;

Ε ἀπάντες “Αἰδην\(^3\) ἤλθον καὶ Λήθης\(^4\) δόμους, τῶν χρημάτων ἀμα τοῖς σώμασι διαφθαρέντων.

16. Νὴ Δι’ ἀλλὰ τοὺς πολλοὺς κινεῖ πρὸς τὰ πένθη καὶ τοὺς θρήνους ὃ ἀώρος θάνατος. ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως οὕτως ἐστὶν εὐπαραμύθητος, ἦστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων ποιητῶν συνεωρᾶσθαι καὶ τετυχκέναι παραμυθίας. θέασαι γὰρ οἷα περὶ τούτου φησὶ τῶν κωμικῶν τὶς πρὸς τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀώρω λυποῦμενον θανάτῳ.

εἰτ’ εἰ μὲν ἡδησθεἵ τοῦτο τὸν βίον, ὅν οὐκ ἐβίωσε, ζῶν δημητρίχιον ἄν, ὅ θάνατος οὐκ εὐκαιρος· εἰ δ’ ἤνεγκεν αὐτὸς ὁ βίος τι τῶν ἀνηκέστων, ἰσώς ὁ θάνατος\(^5\) αὐτός σοῦ γέγονεν εὐνοοῦστερος.

F ἀδήλου οὖν οὖτος πότερον συμφερόντως ἀνεπαύσατο τὸν βίον ἑκλιπὼν καὶ μειξόνων ἀπολυθεῖς κακῶν ἢ οὔ, χρῆ μὴ φέρειν οὕτω βαρέως ὡς ἀπολωσκότας πάνθ’ ὅσων ὁμήρημεν τεύξεσθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ. οὐ φαύλως γὰρ ἂν δόξειεν ὁ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ Ἄμφιάραιος παραμυθεῖσθαι τὴν Ἀρχεμόρου μητέρα δυσχεραίνουσαν ὅτι νήπιος ἦν ὁ παῖς καὶ ἀγαν ἀώρος ἐτελεύτησε. φησὶ γὰρ οὖτως·

ἐφι μὲν οὔδεις ὅστις οὐ πονεὶ βροτῶν.

θάπτει τε τέκνα χάτερ’ αὐτόν κτάται νέα,

\(^1\) Λυδίας: Λυδής.
\(^2\) βαρύν] βαθύν Wytenbach.
\(^3\) Ἔλθαν.
\(^4\) Λάθας. The mixture of dialects in this quotation in the mss. seems inexplicable.
Where now are all those things magnificent—
Great Croesus, lord of Lydia? Xerxes, too,
Who yoked the sullen neck of Hellespont?
Gone all to Hades and Oblivion’s house,
and their wealth perished with their bodies.

16. “True,” it may be said, “but an untimely
death moves most people to mourning and lamenta-
tion.” Yet, even for this, words of consolation are
so readily found that they have been perceived by
even uninspired poets, and comfort has been had
from them. Observe what one of the comic poets
says on this subject to a man who is grieving for an
untimely death:

Then if you knew that, had he lived this life,
Which he did not live, Fate had favoured him,
His death was not well timed; but if again
This life had brought some ill incurable,
Then Death perhaps were kindlier than you.

Since, then, it is uncertain whether or not it was
profitable for him that he rested from his labours,
forsaking this life and released from greater ills,
we ought not to bear it so grievously as though we
had lost all that we thought we should gain from
him. Not ill considered, evidently, is the comfort
which Amphiaraus in the poem offers to the mother
of Archemorus, who is greatly affected because her
son came to his end in his infancy long before his
time. For he says:

There is no man that does not suffer ill;
Man buries children, and begets yet more,
αὐτὸς τε θνήσκει· καὶ τάδ' ἀχθονται βροτοὶ
eis γῆν φέροντες γῆν. ἀναγκαῖος δ' ἔχει
βιόν θερίζειν ὡστε κάρπιμον στάχνων,
καὶ τὸν μὲν εἶναι τὸν δὲ μή. τί ταῦτα δὲ
stένειν, ἀπερ δεὶ κατὰ φύσιν διεκπεραῖν;
δεινὸν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἀναγκαίων βροτοῖς.

17. Καθόλου γὰρ χρῆ διανοεῖσθαι πάντα τνώ
καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλον διεξίοντα μετὰ
σπουδῆς ὡς οὐχ ὁ μακρότατος βιὸς ἄριστος ἄλλ' ὁ
σπουδαιότατος. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πλείστα κιθαρῳδήσας
B η ῥητορεύσας η κυβερνήσας ἄλλ' ὁ καλῶς ἐπαι
νεῖται. τὸ γὰρ καλὸν οὐκ ἐν μὴκε χρόνου θετέον,
ἄλλ' ἐν ἀρέτη καὶ τῇ καιρῷ συμμετρίᾳ· τοῦτο γὰρ
εὔδαιμον καὶ θεοφίλες εἶναι νεόμοισται. διὰ τοῦτο
γοῦν τοὺς ὑπεροχωτάτους τῶν ἥρων καὶ φύντας
ἀπὸ θεῶν πρὸ γήρως ἐκλιπόντας τὸν βιὸν οἱ
ποιηταὶ παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ κάκεινον

δὲν περὶ κηρὶ φίλει Ζεὺς τ' αἰγίσχος καὶ Ἀπόλλων
παντοῖν πιλότητ', οὔδ' ἵκετο γῆρας οὐδόν.

τὴν γὰρ εὐκαρίαν μᾶλλον, οὐ τὴν εὐγερίαν παν-
ταχοῦ θεωροῦμεν πρωτεύουσαν. καὶ γὰρ φυτῶν
ἀριστα τὰ πλείστα αρπῶν ἐν βραχεῖ φορᾶς
ποιοῦμενα, καὶ ζώων ιφ ὁ, ἐν οὐ πολλῷ χρόνῳ
πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν βιὸν ὑφελίων ἔχομεν. τὸ τε
πολὺ δῆποισθεν ἡ μικρὸν ο.δὲν διαφέρειν δοκεῖ

1 γῆν. ἀναγκαῖος δ' Grotius from Stobaeus, cviii. 11, and
Cicero, Tusc. Disp. iii. 25 (59). There are several other
variations in the text which do not affect the meaning of the

a From the Hypsipyle of Euripides; cf. Nauck, Trag.
Graec. Frag., Euripides, No. 757.
b Homer, Od. xv. 245.
And dies himself. Men are distressed at this,
Committing earth to earth. But Fate decrees
That life be garnered like the ripened grain,
That one shall live and one shall pass from life.
What need to grieve at this, which Nature says
Must be the constant cycle of all life?
In what must be there's naught that man need dread.

17. In general everyone ought to hold the conviction, if he seriously reviews the facts both by himself and in the company of another, that not the longest life is the best, but the most efficient. For it is not the man who has played the lyre the most, or made the most speeches, or piloted the most ships, who is commended, but he who has done these things excellently. Excellence is not to be ascribed to length of time, but to worth and timely fitness. For these have come to be regarded as tokens of good fortune and of divine favour. It is for this reason, at any rate, that the poets have traditionally represented those of the heroes who were pre-eminent and sprung from the gods as quitting this life before old age, like him

Who to the heart of great Zeus and Apollo was held to be dearest,
Loved with exceeding great love; but of eld he reached not the threshold.

For we everywhere observe that it is a happy use of opportunity, rather than a happy old age, that wins the highest place. For of trees and plants the best are those that in a brief time produce the most crops of fruit, and the best of animals are those from which in no long time we have the greatest service toward our livelihood. The terms "long" and "short" obviously appear to lose their difference if we fix

*Cf. Marcus Antoninus, 24. 1, and Seneca, Epist. 93. 2.*
(111) πρὸς τὸν ἀπειρόν ἀφορῶσιν αἰώνα. τὰ γὰρ χίλια καὶ τὰ μύρια κατὰ Συμμωνίδην ἐτη στιγμῆ τῆς ἐστιν ἀόριστος, μᾶλλον δὲ μόριον τι βραχύτατον στιγμῆς. ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ζωῶν ἑκεῖνων, ἀπερ ἱστοροῦσι περὶ τὸν Πόντον γιγνόμενα τήν ζωὴν ἑχειν ἡμερησίαν, ἐωθεν μὲν γεννώμενα, μέσης δὲ ἡμέρας ἀκμάζοντα, δεῖλης δὲ γηρώντα καὶ τελειόντα τὸ ζήν, οὐχὶ κακεῖνων ἢν ἂν τὸ καθ’ ἡμὰς πάθος τοῦτο, εἰπέρ ψυχή τις ἄνθρωπιν καὶ λογισμὸς ἑκάστοις ἐνήν, D καὶ ταῦτα δηποῦ γ’ ἂν συνέπιπτεν, ὥστε τὰ πρὸ μέσης τῆς ἡμέρας ἑκλείποντα θρήνους παρέχειν καὶ δάκρυα, τὰ δὲ δημερεύσαντα πάντως ἂν εὐδαιμονίζεσθαι; μέτρον γὰρ τοῦ βίου τὸ καλὸν, οὐ τὸ τοῦ χρόνου μῆκος.

18. Ματαιών γὰρ καὶ πολλῆς εὐθείας ἡγη-τέον εἶναι τὰς τουαυτὰς ἐκφωνήσεις "ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔδει νέον ὁντα ἀναρπηγῆναι." τίς γὰρ ἂν εἴποι ως ἔδει; πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐφ’ ὃν ἂν τὶς εἴποι ως "οὐκ ἔδει πραχθῆναι" πεπρακταί καὶ πράτ-

Ε τεται καὶ πραχθῆσεται πολλάκις. οὐ γὰρ νομο-
θετήσοντες πάρεσμεν εἰς τὸν βίον, ἄλλα πεισό-
μενοι τοὺς διατεταγμένους ὑπὸ τῶν τὰ ὀλα πρωτα-
νεύσων θεῶν καὶ τοῖς τῆς εἴμαρμενης καὶ
προνοίας θεσμοῖς.

19. Τί δ’; οἱ πενθοῦντες τοὺς οὕτως ἀποδανόν-
τας ἑαυτῶν ἔνεκα πενθοῦσιν ἡ τῶν κατοιχομένων;
εἰ μὲν οὖν ἑαυτῶν, ὅτι τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἱδο-
νής ἡ χρείας ἡ γνησίως, εἴστε ὑποτελής, φιλαυτος
ἡ τῆς λύπης πρόφασις· οὐ γὰρ ἑκεῖνους ποθοῦντες

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* Aristoté, Hist. animal. v. 19. 3 f. (copied by Pliny, Natural History, xi. 36 (43)). Cf. Aelian, De nat. animal. v. 43; Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 39 (94).
our gaze on eternity. For a thousand or ten thousand years, according to Simonides, are but a vague second of time, or rather the smallest fraction of a second. Take the case of those creatures which they relate exist on the shores of the Black Sea, and have an existence of only one day, being born in the morning, reaching the prime of life at mid-day, and toward evening growing old and ending their existence; would there not be in those creatures this same feeling which prevails with us, if each of them had within him a human soul and power to reason, and would not the same relative conditions obviously obtain there, so that those who departed this life before mid-day would cause lamentation and tears, while those who lived through the day would be accounted altogether happy? The measure of life is its excellence, not its length in years.

18. We must regard as vain and foolish such exclamations as these: “But he ought not to have been snatched away while young!” For who may say what ought to be? Many other things, of which one may say “they ought not to have been done,” have been done, and are done, and will be done over and over again. For we have come into this world, not to make laws for its governance, but to obey the commandments of the gods who preside over the universe, and the decrees of Fate or Providence.

19. But do those who mourn for the untimely dead, mourn on their own account or on account of the departed? If on their own account, because they have been cut off from some gratification or profit or comfort in old age, which they might have expected from the dead, then is their excuse for grieving wholly
112 πενθοῦσαν τὸν υἱὸν τοιοῦτον χρήσασθαι λόγω, φάμενοι ὅτι καθ' ὅν χρόνον ὁ Ζεὺς ἔνεμε τοῖς δαίμοσι τὰς τιμὰς, οὐκ ἔτυχε παρὸν τῷ Πένθος, ἦδη δὲ νενεμημένων ἦλθεν ύστερον. τὸν οὖν Δία, ὃς ἦξιον καὶ αὐτῷ τιμὴν δοθήναι, ἀποροῦντα διὰ τὸ ἦδη κατηναλώσαθαι πάσας τοῖς ἄλλοις, ταὐτὴν αὐτῷ δοῦναι τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι γιγνομένην, οἶον δάκρυα καὶ λύπας. ὃσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἄλλους δαίμονας, ὡς γὰρ τιμῶνται, τοῦτοις ἀγαπᾶν, τὸν Β αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ Πένθος. “ἐὰν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ ἀτιμάσης, δὲς γύναι, οὐ προσελεύσεται σοι. ἐὰν δὲ τιμᾶται ὑπὸ σοῦ ἐπιμελῶς ταῖς δοθέσαις αὐτῷ τιμαῖς, λύπαις καὶ θρῆνοις, ἀγαπῆσαι σοι καὶ ἀεὶ τί σοι παρέσται τοιοῦτον ἐφ' ὃ τιμηθήσεται συνεχῶς ὑπὸ σοῦ.” θαυμασίως δὴ φαίνεται τῷ λόγῳ πείσας οὗτος παρελεύσθαι τῆς ἀνθρώπου τὸ πένθος καὶ τοὺς θρήνους.

*a Cf. Moralia 609 f, where the idea is attributed to Aesop.*
selfish; for it will be plain that they mourn, not
for them, but for their services. But if they mourn
on account of the dead, then if they will fix their
attention on the fact that the dead are in no evil
state, they will rid themselves of grief by following
that wise and ancient admonition to magnify the
good and to minimize and lessen the evil. If, then,
mourning is a good, we ought to enlarge and magnify
it in every way. But if, as the truth is, we admit it
to be an evil, we ought to minimize and reduce it,
and as far as possible to efface it.

That this is easy is plainly to be seen from the
following sort of consolation. They say that one of
the ancient philosophers visited Arsinoë, the queen;
who was mourning for her son, and made use of this
story,\(^a\) saying that at the time Zeus was distributing
to the deities their honours, Mourning did not
happen to be present, but arrived after the distribu-
tion had been made. But when she said it was only
right that some honour be given to her also, Zeus,
being perplexed, since all the honours had been used
up, finally gave her that honour which is paid in the
case of those who have died—tears and griefs. Just
as the other deities, therefore, are fond of those by
whom they are honoured, so also is Mourning.

"Therefore, Madame, if you treat her with dis-
respect, she will not come near you; but if she is
strictly honoured by you with the honours which
were conceded to her, namely griefs and lamenta-
tions, she will love you and affectionately will be
ever with you, provided only she be constantly
honoured by you." Admirably, it appears, he
succeeded, by this story, in convincing the woman
and in alleviating her mourning and lamentations.
(112) 20. Τὸ δ’ ὁλον εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς τὸν πενθοῦντα "πότερα παύσῃ ποτὲ δυσφορῶν ἡ ἀεὶ δειν οἴησῃ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ παρ’ ὁλον τὸν βίον; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀεὶ μενεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ δυσπαθείᾳ ταύτῃ, τελείαν ἀθλιότητα εὐφυχῆς ἀγέννειαν καὶ μαλακίαν. εἰ δὲ μεταβήσῃ ποτὲ, τί οὐκ ἤδη μετατίθεσαι καὶ σεαυτὸν ἀνέλκεις ἐκ τῆς ἀτυχίας; οἷς γὰρ λόγοι τοῦ χρόνου προϊόντος χρησάμενος ἀπολυθήσῃ, τούτοις νῦν προσ-σχῶν ἀπαλλάγῃ τῆς κακουχίας. καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματικῶν παθημάτων ἡ ταχύτητα τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς ὀδὸς ἀμείων. δ’ οὖν μέλλεις τῷ χρόνῳ χαρίζεσθαι, τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ χάρισαι καὶ τῇ παιδείᾳ, καὶ σε-αυτὸν ἐκλυσαι τῶν κακῶν.

21. "’Αλλ’ οὐ γὰρ ἥλπιζον,” φησί, “ταῦτα δ’ πείσεσθαι, οὔδὲ προσεδόκων." ἀλλ’ ἐχρὴν σε προσδοκᾶν καὶ προκατακεκρικέναι τῶν ἀνθρω-πείων τὴν ἄθηλότητα καὶ οὐδένειαν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν νῦν ἀπαράσκευος ὦσπερ ὑπὸ πολεμίων ἐξαίφνης ἐπελθόντων ἐλήφθης. καλῶς γὰρ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Εὐριπίδῃ Θρησεῦς παρεσκευάσθαι φαίνεται πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα: ἐκεῖνος γὰρ φησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα1 παρὰ σοφοῦ τυνὸς μαθῶν εἰς φροντίδας νοῦν συμφοράς τ’2 ἐβαλλόμην, φυγάς τ’ ἐμαυτῷ προστιθέεις πάτρας ἐμῆς θανάτους τ’ ἀώρους καὶ κακῶν ἀλλὰς ὀδούς,

1 ταῦτα added from Cicero.

* In an unknown play; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., 162
20. In general one might say to the man who mourns, "Shall you at some time cease to take this to heart, or shall you feel that you must grieve always every day of your life? For if you purpose to remain always in this extreme state of affliction, you will bring complete wretchedness and the most bitter misery upon yourself by the ignobleness and cowardice of your soul. But if you intend some time to change your attitude, why do you not change it at once and extricate yourself from this misfortune? Give attention now to those arguments by the use of which, as time goes on, your release shall be accomplished, and relieve yourself now of your sad condition. For in the case of bodily afflictions the quickest way of relief is the better. Therefore concede now to reason and education what you surely will later concede to time, and release yourself from your troubles."

21. "But I cannot," he says, "for I never expected or looked for this experience." But you ought to have looked for it, and to have previously pronounced judgement on human affairs for their uncertainty and fatuity, and then you would not now have been taken off your guard as by enemies suddenly come upon you. Admirably does Theseus in Euripides appear to have prepared himself for such crises, for he says:

But I have learned this from a certain sage,
And on these cares and troubles set my mind,
And on myself laid exile from my land
And early deaths and other forms of ills,

Euripides, No. 964 d; cf. the translation by Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, iii. 14 (29).
ΠΛΥΤΑΡΧΗΣ ΜΟΡΑΛΙΑ

... τι πάσχοιμι τών ἐδόξαζον φρενί, μή μοι νεώρησι προσπεσῶν μᾶλλον δάκοι.

οἱ δὲ ἀγεννέστεροι καὶ ἀνασκήτως διακείμενοι οὔδὲ ἀναστροφὴν ἔνιστε λαμβάνουσι πρὸς τὸ βουλευ-σασθαί τι τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ συμφερόντων, ἀλλ' ἐκτρέπονται πρὸς τὰς ἐσχάτας ταλαιπωρίας, τὸ μηδὲν αἴτιον σῶμα τιμωρούμενοι καὶ τὰ μὴ νοσοῦν-τα κατὰ τὸν Ἀχαίον συναλγεῖν ἀναγκάζοντες.

22. Διὸ καὶ πάνυ καλῶς ὁ Πλάτων ἔουσε παρα-κειμένη ἐν “ταῖς” τουαύταις “συμφοράς ἰσουχίαν ἔχειν, ὡς οὔτε δήλου ὄντος τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἄγαθοῦ, οὔτ' εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οὔδὲν προβαίνου τῷ χαλεπῶς φέροντι ἐμποδών γὰρ γίγνεσθαι τὸ λυπεῖσθαι τῷ βουλευέσθαι περὶ τοῦ γεγονότος καὶ ὑστερὲν ἐν πτώσει κύμων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τά ἐαυτοῦ πράγματα, ὡς ὁ λόγος αἱρεῖ βέλτιστον ὃν ἔχειν. οὕ δειν οὖν προσπαίσαντας καθάπερ πάθοις ἐχομένους τοῦ πληγείτος βοῶν, ἀλλ' ἐθίζευν τὴν ψυχὴν ὅτι τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι περὶ τὸ ἱάσθαι τε καὶ ἐπανορθῶν τὸ πεσὸν τε καὶ νοσῆσαι, ιατρικῇ θρηνῳδίᾳ ἀφανίζοντας.”

Τὸν τῶν Λυκίων νομοθέτην φασὶ προστάξαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, ἐπὰν πενθῶς, γυναικεῖαι ἀμφι-εσαμένους ἐσθήτα πενθεῖν, ἐμφαινεί βουληθέντα ὡς γυναικῶδες τὸ πάθος καὶ οὕς ἀρμόττον ἀνδράσι κοσμίων καὶ παιδείας ἐλευθερίου μεταπεποιημέ-νους. θῆλυ γὰρ ὄντως καὶ ἀσθενές καὶ ἀγεννές τό
That if I suffer aught my fancy saw,
It should not, coming newly, hurt the more.

But the more ignoble and untutored sometimes cannot even recall themselves to the consideration of anything seemly and profitable, but go out of their way to find extremes of wretchedness, even to punishing their innocent body and to forcing the unafflicted, as Achaeus says, to join in their grief.

22. Wherefore very excellently Plato appears to advise us "in" such "misfortunes to maintain a calm demeanour, since neither the evil nor the good in them is at all plain, and since no advance is made by the man who takes things much to heart. For grief stands in the way of sane counsel—about an event and prevents one from arranging his affairs with relation to what has befallen, as a player does at a throw of the dice, in whatever way reason may convince him would be best. We ought not, therefore, when we have fallen to act like children and hold on to the injured place and scream, but we should accustom our soul speedily to concern itself with curing the injury and raising up the fallen, and we should put away lamentation by remedial art."

They say that the lawgiver of the Lycians ordered his citizens, whenever they mourned, to clothe themselves first in women's garments and then to mourn, wishing to make it clear that mourning is womanish and unbecoming to decorous men who lay claim to the education of the free-born. Yes, mourning is verily feminine, and weak, and ignoble, since

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*b* Adapted from the *Republic*, p. 604 b.
*c* Cf. Valerius Maximus, ii. 6. 13.
(113) πενθείν· γυναίκες γάρ ἀνδρῶν εἰσι φιλοπενθέστεραι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι τῶν Ἕλληνων καὶ οἱ χείρους ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἁμεινόνων, καὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐχ οἱ γενναῖοτατοί, Κελτοὶ καὶ Γαλάται καὶ πάντες οἱ φρονήματος ἀνδρειστέρου πεφυκότες ἐμπλευ, μᾶλλον δ’, εἰπέρ ἄρα, Ἀιγύπτιοι τε καὶ Σύροι καὶ Λυδοὶ καὶ πάντες ὅσοι τούτων παρα-
Β πλήσοι. τούτων γὰρ τούς μὲν εἰς βόθρους τινὰς καταδύντας ἱστοροῦσιν ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας μένειν, μηδὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ὅραν βουλομένους, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ τετελευτηκώς ἀπεστέρηται τούτον. Ἡγον γούν ὁ τραγικὸς ποιητής, οὐκ ἀνήκοος ὄν τῆς τοῦτων εὐθείας,1 πεποίηκε τινὰ λέγουσαν·
ἐξήλθον ὑμῶν ἰκεῖς ἡβῶντων2 τροφὸς παῖδων, βόθρους λυποῦσα πενθητηρίους.
τινὲς δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ μέρη τοῦ σώματος ἀποτέμνουσι, βίνας καὶ ὠτα, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο σῶμα κατακιζουστες, δοκοῦντες τι χαρίζεσθαι τοῖς τετελευτηκοῖς ἀπαρτώμενοι τῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις μετριοπαθείας.

C 23. Ἀλλὰ νῦν Δία τινὲς ὑποτυγχάνοντες οὐκ ἐπὶ παντὶ θανάτῳ τὰ πένθη δεῖν ὅτι θεία γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀώροις, διὰ τὸ μηδενὸς τετυχηκέναι τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ νενομισμένων ἀγαθῶν, οἶνον γάμου παιδείας τελεύτητος πολιτείας ἀρχῶν (ταῦτα γὰρ εἶναι τὰ λυποῦντα μάλιστα τούς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀώροις ἀτυχοῦντας, διὰ τὸ ἀφηρῆσθαι πρὸ τοῦ δέοντος τῆς ἐλπίδος), ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι δ’ ἀώρος θάνατος ὡς πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν οὐδὲν διαφερεῖ.

1 εὐθείας] συνθείας Hartman.
2 The reading ύμῶν . . . ἡβῶντων is found only in one ms. (B); the rest give nothing intelligible.
women are more given to it than men, and barbarians more than Greeks, and inferior men more than better men; and of the barbarians themselves, not the most noble, Celts and Galatians, and all who by nature are filled with a more manly spirit, but rather, if such there are, the Egyptians and Syrians and Lydians and all those who are like them. For it is recorded that some of these go down into pits and remain there for several days, not desiring even to behold the light of the sun since the deceased also is bereft of it. At any rate the tragic poet Ion, who was not without knowledge of the foolishness of these peoples, has represented a woman as saying:

The nurse of lusty children I have come,
To supplicate you, from the mourning pits.

And some of the barbarians even cut off parts of their bodies, their noses and ears, and mutilate other portions of their bodies also, thinking to gratify the dead by abandoning that moderation of feeling which Nature enjoins in such cases.

23. But I dare say that, in answer to this, some may assert their belief that there need not be mourning for every death, but only for untimely deaths, because of the failure of the dead to gain what are commonly held to be the advantages of life, such as marriage, education, manhood, citizenship, or public office (for these are the considerations, they say, which most cause grief to those who suffer misfortune through untimely deaths, since they are robbed of their hope out of due time); but they do not realize that the untimely death shows no disparity if it be considered with reference to the

(113) καθάπερ γὰρ τῆς εἰς καινὴν¹ πατρίδα πορείας προκειμένης πᾶσιν ἁναγκαίᾳς καὶ ἀπαρατήτου οἷς μὲν προπορεύονται οἱ δὲ ἑπακολούθουσι, πάντες δὲ ἐπὶ ταῦταν ἔρχονται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῶν εἰς τὸ χρεῖν ὄξειντον οὐδὲν πλέον ἔχοντες τυγχα- 


1 καινὴν F.C.B.: καινήν.  
2 οὐδ’ οὗτος F.C.B.: οὗτος or αὐτὸς.  

* A saying of Callimachus; cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 93 (39); Plutarch, Moralia, 211 Α.  

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common lot of man. For just as when it has been decided to migrate to a new fatherland, and the journey is compulsory for all, and none by entreaty can escape it, some go on ahead and others follow after, but all come to the same place; in the same manner, of all who are journeying toward Destiny those who come more tardily have no advantage over those who arrive earlier. If it be true that untimely death is an evil, the most untimely would be that of infants and children, and still more that of the newly born. But such deaths we bear easily and cheerfully, but the deaths of those who have already lived some time with distress and mourning because of our fanciful notion, born of vain hopes, since we have come to feel quite assured of the continued tarrying with us of persons who have lived so long. But if the years of man's life were but twenty, we should feel that he who passed away at fifteen had not died untimely, but that he had already attained an adequate measure of age, while the man who had completed the prescribed period of twenty years, or who had come close to the count of twenty years, we should assuredly deem happy as having lived through a most blessed and perfect life. But if the length of life were two hundred years, we should certainly feel that he who came to his end at one hundred was cut off untimely, and we should betake ourselves to wailing and lamentation.

24. It is evident, therefore, that even the death which we call untimely readily admits of consolation, both for these reasons and for those previously given. For in fact Troilus shed fewer tears than did Priam;
προετελεύσεσαι ἣν ἄκμαζοντος αὐτῷ τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης, ἄν ἔθρησε οἶα
γοῦν πρὸς τὸν ἔαυτοῦ διελέξθη, ὦν "Εκτορα, 
pαραμών ἀναχωρεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς τὸν 'Αχιλλέα
μάχης, ἐν οἷς φήσιν.

ἀλλ' εἰσέρχει τεῖχος, ἐμὸν τέκος, ὅφρα σαώσης
Τρώας καὶ Τρῶας, μηδὲ μέγα κύδος ὀρέξῃς
Πηλείδη, αὐτὸς δὲ φίλης αἰῶνος ἀμερθῆς
πρὸς δ' ἐμὲ τὸν δύστην ἐτὶ φρονεῖντ' ἐλέγον, 
δύσμορον, ὃν ῥα πατὴρ Κρονίδης ἐπὶ γῆραος οὐδῷ
αἰσθ ἐν ἀργαλέῃ φθίσει, κακὰ πόλλ' ἐπιδόντα,

νιὰς τ' ὀλλυμένους, ἐλκηθείσας τε θύγατρας,
καὶ θαλάμους κεραίζομένους, καὶ νῆπια τέκνα
βαλλόμενα ποτὶ γαϊῇ, ἐν αἰίῃ δηοτῇ,
ἐλκομένας τε νυσσὸς ὀλοῖς ὑπὸ χερσίν 'Αχαίων.3
αὐτὸν δ' ἄν πύματόν με κύνες πρώτης θύρης
ωμησται ἐρύσωσιν,4 ἐπεὶ κὲ τὶς οξεὶ χαλκῷ

τύμας ἢ βαλὼν βεθέων ἐκ θυμοῦ ἐλήται.
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πολίον τε κάρη πολίον τε γένειν
αἰδῶ τ' αἰσχύνωσι κύνες κταμένου γέρωντος,

τοῦτο δὴ οὐκτιστὸν πέλεται δειλοῖς βροτοῖσιν.

ἡ ῥ' ὁ γέρων. πολιάς δ' ἀρ' ἀνὰ τρίχας ἐλκετο
χερσί,

τῖλλων ὡς κεφαλῆς, οὐδ' "Εκτορι θυμόν ἐπειθεν.

"Οντων οὖν σοι παμπόλλων παραδειγμάτων περὶ

2 Τρώας Homer, X 56: τρῳάδας.
3 ἐλκομένας . . . 'Αχαίων] this verse is omitted in most mss. of Plutarch.
4 ἐρύσωσιν (or ἐρύσωσιν)] ἐρύσωσιν Homer and one ms.

* Homer, II. xxii. 56.
and if Priam had died earlier, while his kingdom and his great prosperity were at their height, he would not have used such sad words as he did in his conversation with his own son Hector, when he advised him to withdraw from the battle with Achilles; he says:

Come then within the walled city, my son, so to save from destruction
All of the men and the women of Troy, nor afford a great triumph
Unto the offspring of Peleus, and forfeit the years of your lifetime.
Also for me have compassion, ill-starred, while yet I have feeling;
Hapless I am; on the threshold of eld will the Father, descended from Cronus,
Make me to perish in pitiful doom, after visions of evils,
Sons being slain and our daughters as well being dragged to be captives,
Chambers of treasure all wantonly plundered and poor little children
Dashed to the earth in the terrible strife by the merciless foeman,
Wives of my sons being dragged by the ravishing hands of Achaeans.
Me, last of all, at the very front doors shall the dogs tear to pieces,
Ravening, eager for blood, when a foeman wielding his weapon,
Keen-edged of bronze, by a stroke or a throw, takes the life from my body.
Yet when the dogs bring defilement on hair and on beard that is hoary,
And on the body as well of an old man slain by the foeman,
This is the saddest of sights ever seen by us unhappy mortals.”
Thus did the old man speak, and his hoary locks plucked by the handful,
Tearing his hair from his head, but he moved not the spirit of Hector.

Since you have, then, so very many examples
(114) toû tôn ἐννοήθητι τὸν θάνατον οὐκ ὅλγους ἀπαλλάττειν μεγάλων καὶ χαλεπῶν κακῶν, ὅν, εἰ C ἐπεβίωσαν, πάντως ἂν ἐπειράθησαν. ἀ φειδόμενος τῆς τοῦ λόγου συμμετρίας παρέλυτον, ἀρκεσθεὶς τοῖς εἰρήμενοις πρὸς τὸ μὴ δεῖν πέρα τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ μετρίου πρὸς ἀπρακτα πένθη καὶ θρήνους ἄγεννεῖς ἐκτρέπεσθαι.

25. Τὸ γὰρ μὴ δι’ αὐτὸν κακῶς πράττειν δὲ μὲν Κράντωρ φησίν οὐ μικρὸν εἶναι κούφισμα πρὸς τὰς τύχας, ἐγὼ δ’ ἂν εἴποιμι φάρμακαν ἀλυπίας εἶναι μέγιστον. τὸ δὲ φιλεῖν τοῦ μεταλλάξαντα καὶ στέργειν οὐκ ἐν τῷ λυπεῖν ἐαυτοῦ ἑστιν, ἂλλ’ ἐν τῶ τὸν ἀγαπώμενον ὁφελεῖν. ὁφελεία δ’ ἐστὶ τοῖς

D ἀφηρημένοις ἡ διὰ τῆς ἁγαθῆς μνήμης τιμή. οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἁγαθός ἀξίος θρήνων ἄλλ’ ὑμνων καὶ παιάνων, οὐδὲ πένθους ἄλλα μνήμης εὐκλεούς, οὐδὲ δακρύων ἐπωδούνων ἄλλα θυσίων ἀπαρχῶν, εἰ γ’ ὁ μετηλλαχῶς θείοτερόν τινα βίον μετείληφεν, ἀπαλλαγεῖς τῆς τοῦ σώματος λατρείας καὶ τῶν ἀτρύτων τουτών φροντίδων τε καὶ συμφορῶν, ἃς ἀνάγκη τοὺς εἰληχότας τὸν θνητὸν βίον ὑπομένειν, ἐως ἂν ἐκπλήσσοι τὸν ἐπικλωσθέντα τῆς ζωῆς βίον, δὲν ἔδωκεν ἡμῖν ἡ φύσις οὐκ εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἄλλα καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἀπένεμε τὸν μερισθέντα κατὰ τοὺς τῆς εἰμαιρμένης νόμους.

Ε 26. Διὸ τοὺς εὗ φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀποθνησκούσιν οὐ χρὴ πέρα τοῦ φυσικοῦ καὶ μετρίου τῆς περὶ τὴν ψυχῆν λύπης εἰς ἀπρακτα καὶ βαρβαρικά

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1 παιάνων Lennep: ἐπαίνων.


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regarding the matter, bear in mind the fact that
depth relieves not a few persons from great and
grievous ills which, if they had lived on, they would
surely have experienced. But, out of regard for
the due proportions of my argument, I omit these,
contenting myself with what has been said touching
the wrongfulness of being carried away beyond
natural and moderate bounds to futile mourning
and ignoble lamentation.

25. Crantor a says that not being to blame for one's
unhappy state is no small alleviation for misfortunes;
but I should say that it surpasses all others as a
remedy for the cure of grief. But affection and love
for the departed does not consist in distressing our-
selves, but in benefiting the beloved one; and a
benefit for those who have been taken away is the
honour paid to them through keeping their memory
green. For no good man, after he is dead, is deserv-
ing of lamentations, but of hymns and songs of joy;
not of mourning, but of an honourable memory; not
of sorrowing tears, but of offerings of sacrifice,—if the
departed one is now a partaker in some life more
divine, relieved of servitude to the body, and of these
everlasting cares and misfortunes which those who
have received a mortal life as their portion are con-
strained to undergo until such time as they shall
complete their allotted earthly existence, which
Nature has not given to us for eternity; but she has
distributed to us severally the apportioned amount
in accordance with the laws of fate.

26. Wherefore, over those who die men of good
sense ought not to be carried away by sorrow
beyond the natural and moderate limit of grief,
which so affects the soul, into useless and barbarian
πένθη παρεκτρέπεσθαι καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὲρ πολλοῖς ἦδη
συνέβη περιμένειν, ὡστε πρὶν ἀπώσασθαι τὰ πένθη
cακουχουμένους τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ ἐν τοῖς
πενθίμοις τῆς κακοδαίμονος ταφῆς μεταλαβεῖν,
ἀμα τῶν τε ἀναρῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἄλογοτῆς
κακῶν συγκηδευμένων αὐτοῖς, ὡστ᾽ ἐπιφθέγξα-
σθαι τὸ Ὄμηρικον

μυρομένοις δὲ τούσι μέλας ἐπὶ ἔσπερος ἦλθε.

Διὸ καὶ πολλάκις αὐτοῖς προσδιαλέγεσθαι χρῆ,
Γ "τι δὲ; παυσόμεθα ποτε λυποῦμενοι ἢ ἀκατα-
παύστω συμφορᾶ συνεσόμεθα μέχρι πάντος τοῦ
βίου;" τὸ γὰρ δὴ ἀτελεύτητον νομίζειν τὸ πένθος
ἀνοίας ἐστὶν ἐσχάτης, καίτοι γ᾽ ὁρώντας ὡς καὶ
οἱ βαρυλυπότατοι καὶ πολυπενθέστατοι πραότατοι
γίγνονται πολλάκις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ ἐν ὅις
ἐδυσχέραινον σφόδρα μνήμασιν ἀνοιμώζοντες καὶ
στερνοτυποῦμενοι λαμπρὰς εὐωχίας συνίστανται
μετὰ μουσουργῶν καὶ τῆς ἀλλής διαχύσεως.

μεμνύτος οὖν ἔστι τὸ ὠφτως ὑπολαμβάνειν παρά-

115 μονὸν ἔξειν τὸ πένθος. ἄλλ᾽ εἰ λογίζοιηθ᾽ ὅτι
παύσεται τινος γενομένου, προσαναλογίσαντ᾽ ἂν
χρόνου δηλαδὴ τι ποιήσαντος· τὸ μὲν γὰρ γεγενη-
μένου οὐδὲ θεῷ δυνατὸν ἐστὶ ποιῆσαι ἀγένητον.
οὔκοψι τὸ νῦν παρ᾽ ἐλπίδα συμβεβηκὸς καὶ παρὰ
τὴν ἡμετέραν δόξαν ἔδειξε τὸ εἰσθός περὶ πολλοὺς

*νομίζειν] νομίζειν τι in many mss.

* Combined from II. xxiii. 109, and Od. i. 423 (= Od. xviii.
   306).

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mourning, and they ought not to wait for that outcome which has already been the lot of many in the past, the result of which is that they terminate their own lives in misery before they have put off their mourning, and gain nothing but a forlorn burial in their garments of sorrow, as their woes and the ills born of their unreasonableness follow them to the grave, so that one might utter over them the verse of Homer:

While they were weeping and wailing black darkness descended upon them.

We should therefore often hold converse with ourselves after this fashion and say: "What? Shall we some day cease grieving, or shall we consort with unceasing misery to the very end of our life?" For to regard our mourning as unending is the mark of the most extreme foolishness, especially when we observe how those who have been in the deepest grief and greatest mourning often become most cheerful under the influence of time, and at the very tombs where they gave violent expression to their grief by wailing and beating their breasts, they arrange most elaborate banquets with musicians and all the other forms of diversion. It is accordingly the mark of a madman thus to assume that he shall keep his mourning permanently. If, however, men should reason that mourning will come to an end after some particular event, they might go on and reason that it will come to an end when time, forsooth, has produced some effect; for not even God can undo what has been done. So, then, that which in the present instance has come to pass contrary to our expectation and contrary to our opinion has only demonstrated what is wont, through
(115) γίγνεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων. τι οὖν; ἀρά γ' ἦμεις τούτῳ διὰ τοῦ λόγου μαθεῖν οὐ δυνάμεθα οὐδ' ἐπιλογίσασθαι οτι

πλείη μὲν γὰτα κακῶν πλείη δὲ θάλασσα
καὶ τὰ·

tουάδε θητοίσι κακὰ κακῶν
ἀμφὶ τε κῆρες εἰλεύνται, κενεὶ δ' εἰσδυσις

B

27. Πολλοὺς γὰρ καὶ σοφοῖς ἀνδράσιν, ὡς φησι Κράντωρ, οὐ νῦν ἀλλὰ πάλαι κέκλαυσται τάνθρῳ-
pινα, τιμωρίαν ἤγουμένους εἶναι τὸν βίον καὶ ἀρχὴν
tὸ γενέσθαι ἄνθρωποι συμφορὰν τὴν μεγίστην. τοῦτο δὲ φησιν 'Αριστοτέλης καὶ τὸν Σειληνὸν συλ-
lηθέντα τῷ Μίδᾳ ἀποφήγασθαι, βέλτιον δ' αὐτάς
tὰς τοῦ φιλοσοφοῦ λέξεις παραθέσθαι. φησι δὴ ἐν
tῷ Εὐδήμῳ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἡ Περὶ ψυχῆς ταυτὶ.
"διόπερ, ὥς κράτιστε πάντων καὶ μακαριστότατε,
πρὸς τῷ μακαρίους καὶ εὐδαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς τετε-

C λευτηκότας νομίζειν καὶ τὸ ψεῦσασθαί τι κατ' αὑ-
tῶν καὶ τὸ βλασφημεῖν οὐχ ὅσιων ὡς κατὰ βελτιο-

νων ἤγουμεθα καὶ κρειττόνων ἡδὴ γεγονότων. καὶ
tαυθ' οὕτως ἀρχαία καὶ παλαιὰ1 παρ' ἦμιν, ὡστε
tὸ παράπαν οὕδεις οἴδεν οὕτε τοῦ χρόνου τὴν
ἀρχὴν οὕτε τὸν θέντα πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀπειρὸν
aἰώνα διατελεῖ2 νεομισμέναι. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις

1 παλαιὰ Sauppe: παλαιά διατελεῖ νεομισμέναι.
2 διατελεῖ Sauppe: τυγχάνουσι διὰ τέλους οὕτω. The chance
is remote that such emendations can be right, but they do not
affect the sense.

a Hesiod, Works and Days, 101; cf. 105 e supra.
the very course of events, to happen in the case of many men. What then? Are we unable, through reason, to learn this fact and draw the conclusion, that

Full is the earth now of evils, and full of them too is the ocean, a

and also this:

Such woes of woes for mortal men,  
And round about the Fates throng close;  
There is no vacant pathway for the air? b

27. Not merely now, but long ago, as Crantor c says, the lot of man has been bewailed by many wise men, who have felt that life is a punishment and that for man to be born at all is the greatest calamity. Aristotle d says that Silenus when he was captured declared this to Midas. It is better to quote the very words of the philosopher. He says, in the work which is entitled Eudemus, or Of the Soul, the following: "Wherefore, O best and blessedest of all, in addition to believing that those who have ended this life are blessed and happy, we also think that to say anything false or slanderous against them is impious, from our feeling that it is directed against those who have already become our betters and superiors. And this is such an old and ancient belief with us that no one knows at all either the beginning of the time or the name of the person who first promulgated it, but it continues to be a fixed belief for all time."e


d Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 48 (114), and Aristotle, Frag. No. 44 Rose.

e Cf. Sophocles, Antigone, 466.
(115) τὸ διὰ στόματος ὅν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὡς ἐκ
πολλῶν ἐτῶν περιφέρεται θρυλούμενον. τί
τοῦτο; εφη. κακεῖνος ὑπολαβὼν ὡς ἄρα μὴ
gενέσθαι μὲν, εφη, ἀριστον πάντων, τὸ δὲ D
τεθνάναι τοῦ ζῆν ἐστὶ κρείττον. καὶ πολλοὶς οὐτω
παρὰ τοῦ δαμιονίου μεμαρτύρηται. τούτῳ μὲν
ἐκεῖνῳ τῷ Μίδα λέγουσι δῆπον μετὰ τὴν θῆραν ὡς
ἔλαβε τὸν Σειληνὸν διερωτώντας καὶ πυθανομένῳ
tί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ βελτίστον θυσίας καὶ τί τὸ
pάντων αἰρέτωτατον, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐδὲν
ἐθέλειν εἰπεῖν ἄλλα σιωπάν ἄρρητως. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
ποτε μόνις πᾶσαν μηχανὴν μηχανώμενον προσ
ηγάγειτο φθέγξασθαί τι πρὸς αὐτῶν, οὕτως ἀναγκα-
ζόμενον εἰπεῖν, δαίμονος ἑπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τύχης 
χαλε-
πής ἐφήμερον σπέρμα, τὶ με βιάζεσθε λέγειν ἃ 
ὑμῖν
Ε ἄρειον μὴ γνώναι; μετὰ ἀγνοίας γὰρ τῶν οἰκεῖων
κακῶν ἀλυπότατος ὁ βίος. ἀνθρώπους δὲ πάμπαν
οὐκ ἐστὶ γενέσθαι τὸ πάντων ἀριστον οὐδὲ μετα-
σχεῖν τῆς τοῦ βελτίστου φύσεως (ἀριστον γὰρ πᾶσι
καὶ πᾶσαις τὸ μὴ γενέσθαι)· τὸ μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο
καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνυστῶν, δεῦτερον δὲ,
tὸ γενομένους ἀποθανεῖν ὡς τάξιστα. δὴ λοιπὸν
ὡς οὐσίας κρείττονος τῆς ἐν τῷ τεθνάναι διαγωγῆς
ἡ τῆς ἐν τῷ ζῆν, οὕτως ἀπεφήνατο." μυρία δ' ἐπὶ
μυρίοις ἄν τις ἔχοι τοιαύτα παρατίθεσθαι πρὸς
ταῦτο κεφάλαιον· ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον μακρηγορεῖν.

1  τὸ added by Kronenberg.  
2  ὅν Halm: ἐν.
3  γενέσθαι Bernardakis: γίνεσθαι.
4  βελτίστον Meziriacus: βέλτιον.
5  ἀνθρώπω ἀνυστῶν Reiske (a harmless emendation): ἄλλων ἀνυστῶν.
And in addition to this you observe how the saying, which is on the lips of all men, has been passed from mouth to mouth for many years.' 'What is this?' said he. And the other, again taking up the discourse, said: 'That not to be born is the best of all, and that to be dead is better than to live. And the proof that this is so has been given to many men by the deity. So, for example, they say that Silenus, after the hunt in which Midas of yore had captured him, when Midas questioned and inquired of him what is the best thing for mankind and what is the most preferable of all things, was at first unwilling to tell, but maintained a stubborn silence. But when at last, by employing every device, Midas induced him to say something to him, Silenus, forced to speak, said: "Ephemeral offspring of a travelling genius and of harsh fortune, why do you force me to speak what it were better for you men not to know?" For a life spent in ignorance of one's own woes is most free from grief. But for men it is utterly impossible that they should obtain the best thing of all, or even have any share in its nature (for the best thing for all men and women is not to be born); however, the next best thing to this, and the first of those to which man can attain, but nevertheless only the second best, is, after being born, to die as quickly as possible.' "It is evident, therefore, that he made this declaration with the conviction that the existence after death is better than that in life.'" One might cite thousands and thousands of examples under this same head, but there is no need to be prolix.

* Cf. Theognis, 425; Bacchylides, v. 160; Sophocles, Oed. Col. 1225; Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 48 (115).
F 28. Οὐ χρῆ οὖν τοὺς ἀποδηνήσκοντας νέους θρηνεῖν ὅτι τῶν ἐν τῷ μακρῷ βίῳ νομιζόμενων ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστέρηνται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄδηλον, ὡς πολλάκις εἶπομεν, εἰτ' ἀγαθῶν ἀπεστερημένοι τυγχάνουσιν εἴτε κακῶν· πολλῷ γὰρ πλείονα τὰ κακά. καὶ τὰ μὲν μόνας καὶ διὰ πολλῶν φροντίδων κτώμεθα, τὰ δὲ κακὰ πάνυ ῥαδίως· στρογγύλα γὰρ εἶναι φασίν ταῦτα καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλα φερόμενα κατὰ πολλάς αὐτίας, τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ διεχῇ τε καὶ δυσκόλως συνερχόμενα πρὸς αὐτοῖς τοῦ βίου τοῖς τέρμασιν.

116 ἐπιλελησμένους οὖν ἐσκαμεν ὅτι οὐ μόνον, ὡς φησιν Ἐὔρυπίδης,

"τὰ χρῆματα" οὐκ "ἰδια κέκτηνται βροτοί," ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων οὐδὲν. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων λέγειν χρῆ;

τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελοῦμεθα.

ὅταν δὲ χρῆζοσ', αὐτ' ἀφαιροῦμεν πάλιν.

οὐ δεῖ οὖν δυσφορεῖν, εἰδ' ἐξηρησαν ἡμῖν πρὸς ὀλγον, ταῦτ' ἀπαιτῶσιν οὔδ' γὰρ οἱ τραπεζίται, καθάπερ εἰσάγαγομεν λέγειν πολλάκις, ἀπαιτοῦμενοι τὰ θέματα δυσχερὰνοιν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁποδόσει, ἐάνπερ εὐγνωμονώσι. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς οὖν εὐμαρῶς ἁπο-

Β διδόντας εἰκότως ἂν τις εἴποι "ἐπελάθου ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐλαβες ἐπὶ τῷ ἁποδοιναί;" τοῦτο δή τοῖς θυτοῖς ἀπασι συμβεβηκέν. ἔχομεν γὰρ τὸ ζῆν ὡσπερ παρακαταθεμένοις θεοῖς ἐξ ἀνάγκης, καὶ τούτῳ χρόνος οὖδεῖς ἐστὶν ὁμοιόμενος τῆς ἁποδόσεως,

1 ἀνάγκης ᾧ ἀνάγκης ἁποδόσοντες Wytenbach.

* Adapted from the Phoenissae, 555.
* Ibid. 556.
* Cf. Cebes, Tabula, xxxi., and Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, i. 39 (93).

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We ought not, therefore, to lament those who die young on the ground that they have been deprived of those things which in a long life are accounted good; for this is uncertain, as we have often said—whether the things of which they have been deprived are good or evil; for the evils are much the more numerous. And whereas we acquire the good things only with difficulty and at the expense of many anxieties, the evils we acquire very easily. For they say that the latter are compact and conjoined, and are brought together by many influences, while the good things are disjoined, and hardly manage to unite towards the very end of life. We therefore resemble men who have forgotten, not merely, as Euripides says, that

Mortals are not the owners of their wealth, but also that they do not own a single one of human possessions. Wherefore we must say in regard to all things that

We keep and care for that which is the gods',
And when they will they take it back again.

We ought not, therefore, to bear it with bad grace if the gods make demand upon us for what they have loaned us for a short time. For even the bankers, as we are in the habit of saying frequently, when demand is made upon them for the return of deposits, do not chafe at the repayment, if they be honourable men. To those who do not make repayment with good grace one might fairly say, "Have you forgotten that you accepted this on condition that you should return it?" Quite parallel is the lot of all mortals. For we hold our life, as it were, on deposit from the gods, who have compelled us to accept the account, and there is no fixed time for
(116) ὥσπερ οὐδὲ τοῖς τραπεζίταις τῆς τῶν θεμάτων, ἀλλ' ἄδηλον πόθ' ὁ δοὺς απαιτήσει. ὁ οὖν ἡ αὐτὸς μέλλων ἀποθηνόμεν ἡ τέκνων ἀποθανόντων ὑπεραγανακτῶν πῶς σὺ καταφανῶς ἐπιλείπησαι ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ τὰ τέκνα θυντὰ ἐγέννησεν; οὐ γάρ ἐστι φρένας ἐχοντος ἀνθρώπου ἁγνοεῖν ὅτι ὁ ἀνθρωπὸς ζών ἐστὶ θυντὸν, οὐδ' ὅτι γέγονεν εἰς τὸ ἀποθανεῖν. εἰ γενὸς ἡ Νιόβη κατὰ τοὺς μύθους πρόχειρον εἰχε τὴν ὑπόληψιν ταύτην ὅτι καὶ ἡ

θαλέσθωτι βίω

βλάστασι τε τέκνων βρυθομένα γλυκερὸν φάος ὀρῶσα

teleutήσει, οὐκ ἂν οὖτως ἐδυσχέραυν ὅσ καὶ τὸ ζῆν ἐθέλειν ἐκλίπειν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς συμφορᾶς, καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπικαλείσθαι ἀνάρπαστον αὐτὴν γενέσθαι πρὸς ἀπώλειαν τὴν χαλέπωτάτην.

Δυ' ἐστὶ τῶν Δελφικῶν γραμμάτων τὰ μάλιστ' ἀναγκάζοτα τὸς τὸν βίον, τὸ ἣν καὶ τὸ "γνώθι σαυτὸν" καὶ τὸ "μηδὲν ἄγαν". ἐκ τούτων γάρ ἡμίτον καὶ τάλα πάντα. ταύτα γάρ ἐστιν ἀλλήλους συνωδά καὶ σύμφωνα, καὶ διὰ θατέρου θάτερου ἐοικε δηλοῦσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν. ἐν τοι τῷ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτόν περιέχεται τὸ μηδὲν ἄγαν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτόν. διὸ καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου φησίν ὁ "Ἰων οὖτως·

τὸ "γνώθι σαυτὸν" τούτ' ἐπος μὲν οὐ μέγα, ἐργον δ' ὅσον Ζεὺς μόνος ἐπιστάται θεών,

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*b* Cf. Plato, Protagoras, p. 343 b, and Charmides, p. 165 a;
its return, just as with the bankers and their deposits, but it is uncertain when the depositor will demand payment. If a man, therefore, is exceedingly indignant, either when he himself is about to die, or when his children have died, must he not manifestly have forgotten that he is but human and the father of children who are mortal? For it is not characteristic of a man of sense to be unaware of the fact that man is a mortal creature, and that he is born to die. At any rate, if Niobe of the fable had had this conception ready at hand, that even the woman who,

Laden with the happy burden
Of sweet life and growing children,
Looks upon the pleasant sunlight,

must die, she would not have been so resentful as to wish to abandon life on account of the magnitude of her misfortune, and to implore the gods that she herself might be hurried to the most awful perdition.

There are two of the inscriptions at Delphi which are most indispensable to living. These are: “Know thyself” and “Avoid extremes,” for on these two commandments hang all the rest. These two are in harmony and agreement with each other, and the one seems to be made as clear as possible through the other. For in self-knowledge is included the avoidance of extremes, and in the latter is included self-knowledge. Therefore Ion speaks of the former as follows:

Not much to say is “Know thyself”; to do
This, Zeus alone of gods doth understand.

Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 12, 14; Pausanias, x. 24, 1; Plutarch, *Moria*, 167 B, 385 D, and 511 B, and *De vita et poesi Homeri*, 151.

(116) δὲ δὲ Πάνδαρος·

“σοφοὶ δὲ,” φησί, “καὶ τὸ ‘μηδὲν ἄγαν’ ἔπος αἴνεσαν περισσῶς.”

29. Ταῦτ’ οὖν ἐν διανοίᾳ τις ἔχων ὡς πυθό-Ε χρήστα παραγγέλματα πρὸς πάντα τὰ τοῦ βίου πράγματα βασίως ἐφαρμόζειν δυνῆσται καὶ φέρειν αὐτὰ δεξίως, εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἄφορῶν καὶ εἰς τὸ μὴ πέρα τοῦ προσήκοντος ἐν τοῖς προσ-πίπτουσιν ἡ διαίρεσθαι πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν ἡ ταπεινοῦσθαι καὶ καταπίπτειν πρὸς οἰκτοὺς καὶ ὅλο-φυμοὺς διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἁσθενείαν καὶ τὸν ἐμφυόμενον ἡμῖν τοῦ θανάτου φόβου παρὰ τὴν ἀγνοιαν τῶν εἰσθέντων ἐν τῷ βίῳ συμβαίνειν κατὰ τὴν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἡ πεπρωμένης μοίραν. καλῶς δὲ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι παρεκελεύσαντο λέγοντες·

όσα δὲ δαμονύησι τούχας βροτοὶ ἄλγε’ ἔχουσιν, ἥν ἄν μοῖραν ἔχησ, ταῦτην ἔχε μηδ’ ἀγανάκτει,

καὶ ὁ τραγικὸς Αἰσχύλος·

ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐστὶν ἐνδύκων τε καὶ σοφῶν κάν τοῖς δεινοῖς μὴ τεθυμώσθαι θεοῖς,

καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης·

όστις δ’ ἀνάγκη συγκεχώρηκεν βροτῶν σοφῶς παρ’ ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ θεῖ’ ἐπίσταται,

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις·

1 καὶ τοῖς δεινοῖς Stobaeus, Flor. cviii. 43: ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς οὐ ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς.

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a Frag. 216 (Christ).

b Carmina Aurea, 17.

c Attributed to Euripides by Stobaeus, Florilegium, cviii. 43; cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, No. 1078. 184
And, of the other, Pindar says:

The wise have lauded with exceeding praise the words “Avoid extremes.”

29. If, then, one keeps these in mind as god-given injunctions, he will be able easily to adapt them to all the circumstances of life, and to bear with such circumstances intelligently, by being heedful of his own nature, and heedful, in whatever may befall him, not to go beyond the limit of propriety, either in being elated to boastfulness or in being humbled and cast down to wailings and lamentations, through weakness of the spirit and the fear of death which is implanted in us as a result of our ignorance of what is wont to happen in life in accordance with the decree of necessity or destiny. Excellent is the advice which the Pythagoreans gave, saying:

Whatsoe’er woes by the gods’ dispensation all mortals must suffer,

What be the fate you must bear, you should bear it and not be indignant.

And the tragic poet Aeschylus says:

It is the mark of just and knowing men
In woes to feel no anger at the gods;

and Euripides:

Of mortals he who yields to fate we think
Is wise and knows the ways of Providence;

and in another place he says:

From an unknown play; cf. Nauck, ibid., Euripides, No. 965.

From the Melanippe; cf. Nauck, ibid., Euripides, No. 505.
tà προσπεσόντα δ' ὅστις εἰδ' φέρει βροτῶν,

άριστος εἶναι σωφρονεῖν τε μοι δοκεῖ.

30. Οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πάντα καταμέμφονται καὶ πάντα τὰ παρὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας αὐτοῖς συμβεβηκότα ἕξ ἐπηρείας τὑχης καὶ δαιμόνων γενέσθαι νομίζουσι. διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ὁδύρονται, στένοντες καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀτυχίαν αἰτιώμενοι. πρὸς οὖς ὑποτυχῶν ἀν τις εἶποι:

θεὸς δὲ σοι πήμ' οὐδὲν ἄλλ' αὐτὸς' σὺ σοὶ, καὶ ἡ διὰ τὴν ἀπαίδευσιν ἄνοια καὶ παραφροσύνη. διὰ ταύτην γοῦν τὴν διηρπατημένην καὶ ψευδὴ δόξαν πάντα καταμέμφονται θάνατον. εὰν μὲν Βγὰρ ἐν ἀποδημίᾳ τις ὁν ἀποθάνη, στένουσιν ἐπιλέγοντες·

δύσμορος, οὐδ' ἄρα τῷ γε' πατήρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ ὅσσε καθαιρήσουσιν:

εὰν δ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας πατρίδος παρόντων τῶν γονέων, ὁδύρονται ὡς ἐξαρπασθέντος ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τὴν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὀδύνην αὐτοῖς ἅφευτος. εὰν δ' ἅφωνος μηδὲν προσεπτῶν περὶ μηδενός, κλαίοντες λέγουσιν·

οὔδε τί μοι εἶπας πυκνῶν ἐπος, οὐ τε κεν αἰεὶ C μεμήκην.

εὰν προσομιλήσας τι, τοῦτ' αἰεὶ πρόχειρον ἔχουσιν ὥσπερ ύπέκκαυμα τῆς λύπης. εὰν ταχέως, ὁδύρονται λέγοντες "ἀνηρπάσθη." εὰν μακρῶς, μέμι

1 γενέσθαι Hercher: γίνεσθαι.
3 δύσμορος, οὐδ' ἄρα τῷ γε] ἃ δεῖλ', οὐ μὲν σοι γε the mss. of Homer.

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A LETTER TO APOLLONIUS, 116-117

Of mortals he who bears his lot aright
To me seems noblest and of soundest sense.

30. Most people grumble about everything, and have a feeling that everything which happens to them contrary to their expectations is brought about through the spite of Fortune and the divine powers. Therefore they wail at everything, and groan, and curse their luck. To them one might say in retort:

God is no bane to you; 'tis you yourself, you and your foolish and distorted notions due to your lack of education. It is because of this fallacious and deluded notion that men cry out against any sort of death. If a man die while on a journey, they groan over him and say:

Wretched his fate; not for him shall his father or much revered mother
Close his dear eyelids in death.

But if he die in his own land with his parents at his bedside, they deplore his being snatched from their arms and leaving them the memory of the painful sight. If he die in silence without uttering a word about anything, they say amid their tears:

No, not a word did you say to me, which for the weight of its meaning
Ever might dwell in my mind.

But if he talked a little at the time of his death, they keep his words always before their mind as a sort of kindling for their grief. If he die suddenly, they deplore his death, saying, "He was snatched away";

* Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 379.
* Homer, I. xi. 452.
* Homer, I. xxiv. 744.
(117) φονταί ὅτι καταβθινήσας καὶ τιμωρηθεὶς ἀπέθανεν. πᾶσα πρόφασις ἵκανὴ πρὸς τὸ τὰς λύτας καὶ τοὺς θρήνους συνεγείρειν. ταῦτα δ’ ἐκήνθησαν οἱ ποιηταί, καὶ μάλιστα τούτων ὁ πρώτος "Ομηρος λέγων.

ὡς δὲ πατὴρ οὗ παιδὸς ὄδυρεται ὅστεα καϊν, νυμφίον, ὅς τε θανών δειλοῦν ἄκαχησε τοκῆς. ἀρρητον2 δὲ τοκεύσῃ γόνον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκε,

D καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτω δήλων εἰ δικαίως ὄδυρεται, ἀλλ’ ὁρὰ τὸ ἔξης:

μοῦνος τηλύγετος πολλοῖσιν ἐπὶ κτεάτεσθι.

(31) τὸς γὰρ οὗδεν, εἰ ὁ θεὸς πατρικὸς2 κηδόμενος τοῦ ἄνθρωπείου γένους καὶ προορόμενος τὰ μέλλοντα συμβήσεσθαι προεξάγει τινὰς ἐκ τοῦ ζήν ἀόρους; ὅθεν οὗδὲν φευκτῶν νομιστέον αὐτοὺς πάσχειν

(δεινὸν γὰρ οὗδεν4 τῶν ἀναγκαῖων βροτοῖς οὕτε τῶν κατὰ προηγούμενον λόγον συμβαίνοντων

Ε οὕτε τῶν κατ’ ἔπακολούθησιν), καὶ ὅτι οἱ πλείστοι θάνατοι πρὸ ἄλλων δυσχερῶν μειζόνων γίγνονται, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οὗδὲ γενέσθαι συνέφερε, τοῖς δ’ ἀμα τῷ γενέσθαι ἀποθανεῖν, τοῖς δὲ προελθοῦσιν ἐπὶ μικροῦ, τοῖς δ’ ἀκμάζοισι. πρὸς πάντας δὴ τούτους τοὺς θανάτους ἐλαφρῶς ἔκτενον, εἰδότας

2 ἀρρητον "exsecrabilis" is an ancient variant reading, which is kept by several editors of Homer. See Papyr. Hib. p. 73.
3 πατρικῶς] πατρικῶς προεστῶς (for προειδῶς of several mss.) Paton.
4 δεινὸν γὰρ οὗδεν Clemens, Strom. iv. p. 587, and supra, 111a (Nauck, p. 596): οὗδὲν γὰρ δεινὸν.

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but if he lingered long, they complain that he wasted away and suffered before he died. Any pretext is sufficient to arouse grief and lamentations. This movement the poets initiated, and especially the first of them, Homer, who says:

E'en as a father laments as the pyre of his dead son he kindles,
Wedded not long; by his death he brought woe to his unhappy parents.
Not to be told is the mourning and grief that he caused for his parents.

And yet so far it is not evident that the father is justified in bewailing thus. But note this next line:

Only and darlingest son, who is heir to his many possessions.

(31) For who knows but that God, having a fatherly care for the human race, and foreseeing future events, early removes some persons from life untimely? Wherefore we must believe that they undergo nothing that should be avoided. (For

In what must be, there's naught that men need dread, nor in any of those events which come to pass in accordance with the postulates or the logical deductions of reason), both because the great majority of deaths forestall other and greater troubles and because it were better for some not to be born even, for others to die at the very moment of birth, for others after they have gone on in life a little way, and for still others while they are in their full vigour. Toward all such deaths we should maintain a cheerful frame of mind, since we know that we cannot escape

a II. xxiii. 222, and xvii. 37.
b II. ix. 482.
* From the Hypsipyle of Euripides, quoted supra, 110 p.
οτι την μοιραν ουκ ἔστιν ἐκφυγεῖν (πεπαιδευμένων
δ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων προσειληφέναι1 οτι βραχὺ
χρόνῳ προειλήφασιν ἡμᾶς οι δοκοῦντες ἄωροι
tοῦ ζῆν ἐστερήσαν' καὶ γὰρ δ' μακρότατος βίος
όλγος ἐστι καὶ στυγματὸς πρὸς τον ἀπειρον αἰῶνα)
καὶ οτι πολλοί τῶν ἐπὶ πλέον πενθησάντων μετ'
οὐ πολὺ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν κατοδυρθεῖσιν ἐπηκο-
λούθησαν, οὐδὲν ἐκ τοῦ πένθους ὀφελος περι-
pουησάμενοι, μάτην δ' ἑαυτοὺς καταικισάμενοι
tαῖς κακουχίαις.

Βραχυτάτου δὲ τοῦ τῆς ἐπιδημίας ὄντος ἐν τῷ
βίῳ χρόνῳ, οὐκ ἐν ταῖς αὐχμηραῖς λύπαις οὐδ'
éν τῷ κακοδαιμονεστάτῳ πένθει διαφθείρειν ἑαυ-
tοὺς δεὶ ταῖς ὁδύναις καὶ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος
αικίαις παρατεινομένους, ἀλλὰ μεταβάλλειν ἐπὶ
tὸ κρεῖττον καὶ ἀνθρωπικότερον, πειραμένους
καὶ σπουδάζοντας ἐντυγχάνειν ἀνδραίς μὴ τοῖς
συλλυπουμένοις καὶ διεγείρουσι τὰ πένθη διὰ

κολακείαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀφαιρουμένοις τὰς λύπας
diὰ τῆς γενναίας καὶ σεμνῆς παρηγορίας, ἐπακούον-
tας καὶ ἔχοντας ἐν νῦ τὸ 'Ομηρικὸν τοῦτ' ἔπος,
ὅπερ ὁ Ἐκτωρ πρὸς τὴν Ἀνδρομάχην ἀντι-
pαρηγορῶν αὐτήν ἐπεν ὀδί:

dαμονίη, μὴ μοὶ τὶ λίην ἀκαχίζει θυμῷ·
oὐ γὰρ τὶς μ' ὑπὲρ αἰσαν ἀνὴρ "Αἴδι προϊάσει,
μοῖραν δ' οὗ τινὰ φημὶ πεφυγμένον ἐμμεναι
ἀνδρῶν,
oὐ κακόν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν, ἐπὶν τὰ πρῶτα γένηται.

ταύτην δὲ τὴν μοὶραν ἐν ἀλλοις ὁ ποιητὴς φης:

γεινομένω ἐπένησε λίνω, ὡτε μιν τέκε μήτηρ.

1 προσειληφέναι F.C.B.: προειληφέναι.
destiny. It is the mark of educated men to take it for granted that those who seem to have been deprived of life untimely have but forestalled us for a brief time; for the longest life is short and momentary in comparison with eternity. And we know, too, that many who have protracted their period of mourning have, after no long time, followed their lamented friends, without having gained any advantage from their mourning, but only useless torment by their misery.

Since the time of sojourn in life is very brief, we ought not, in unkempt grief and utterly wretched mourning, to ruin our lives by racking ourselves with mental anguish and bodily torments, but to turn to the better and more human course, by striving earnestly to converse with men who will not, for flattery, grieve with us and arouse our sorrows, but will endeavour to dispel our griefs through noble and dignified consolation. We should hearken to Homer and keep in mind those lines of his which Hector spoke to Andromache, endeavouring, in his turn, to comfort her:

Dearest, you seem much excited; be not overtroubled in spirit;
No man beyond what is fated shall send me in death unto Hades.
For not a man among mortals, I say, has escaped what is destined,
Neither the base nor the noble, when once he has entered life's pathway.

Of this destiny the poet elsewhere says:

When from his mother he came, in the thread of his life Fate entwined it.

\( ^a \) Il. vi. 486.  \( ^b \) Homer, Il. xx. 128.
PLUTARCH’S MORALIA

(118) 32. Ταύτα πρὸ διανοίας λαβόντες τῆς ἀπράκτου καὶ κενῆς ἀπαλλαγησόμεθα βαρυπενθείας, ὅλιγον δὴ παντάπασι τοῦ μεταξὺ χρόνου τῆς ζωῆς ὄντος. φειστέον οὖν, ὅπως εὐθυμόν τε καὶ ἀπαρενόχλητον τοῦτον ταῖς πενθικαῖς λύπαις διαγάγωμεν, τὰ τοῦ πένθους παράστημα μεθέμενοι καὶ τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐπιμελείας φροντίσαντες καὶ τῆς τῶν συμβιούντων ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. καλὸν δὲ καὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν λόγων, οἷς κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἔχρησάμεθα ποτε πρὸς συγγενεῖς ἢ φίλους ἐν ταῖς παραπλησίοις γενο- 

C μένους συμφοραῖς, παραμυθούμενοι καὶ πείθοντες τὰ κοινὰ τοῦ βίου συμπτώματα κοινῶς φέρεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἀνθρωπίνως, καὶ μὴ τοῖς μὲν ἀλλοίς ἐπαρκεῖν πρὸς ἀλυπίαν δύνασθαι, ἐαυτοῖς δὲ μηδέν ὀφέλος εἶναι τὴν τούτων ὑπόμνησιν, δι' ὅν δεῖ τὸ ἀλγοῦν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀποθεραπεύειν "παιωνίοις λόγου φαρμάκοις," ὡς πάντων μᾶλλον ἢ ἀλυπίας ἀναβολὴν δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι. καίτοι γε τὸν ἐν ὁτωσοῦν "ἀμβολιεργὸν ἄτας," φησί, "παλαίειν," τὸ κυκλούμενον τοῦτο παρὰ πᾶσιν 

D ἔπος· πολὺ δ' οἷμαι μᾶλλον τὸν ὑπερτιθέμενον τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀχθεῶνα πάθη καὶ δυσάντητα πρὸς τὸν ἐπιτόντα χρόνον. 

33. Ἀποβλέπειν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν γενομένους θανάτους καὶ πράως ὑποστάντας, Ἀναξαγόραν τὸν Κλαξομένων καὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν Ἀθηναίον καὶ Δίωνα τὸν Συρακοσίον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα

1 θανάτους καὶ Wyttenbach: θανάτους.

*Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, iii. 29-30 (71-74).*
32. Keeping these things before our mind, we shall rid ourselves of the useless and vain extremes of mourning, since the time remaining of our life is altogether short. We must therefore be chary of it, so that we may live it in cheerfulness of spirit and without the disturbance of mournful griefs, by giving up the outward signs of sorrow and by be-thinking ourselves of the care of our bodies and the welfare of those who live with us. It is a good thing also to call to mind the arguments which most likely we have sometimes employed with relatives or friends who found themselves in similar calamities, when we tried to comfort them and to persuade them to bear the usual happenings of life in the usual way and a man's lot like a man; and it is a good thing, too, not to put ourselves in the position of being able to help others to find relief from grief, but ourselves to have no profit in recalling the means through which we must cure the soul's distress—"by healing remedies of reason"—since we should postpone anything else rather than the putting aside of grief. And yet one poet says that the man who in any matter "puts off till to-morrow" is "wrestling with destruction"—a proverb which is repeated among all men. Much more, I think, is this true of the man who puts over to a future time the experiences which his soul finds so troublesome and so hard to face.

33. It is a good thing, too, to contemplate those men who nobly and high-mindedly and calmly have been resigned to the deaths which have befallen their sons—Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Demosthenes of Athens, Dion of Syracuse, King Antigonus, and very

\[b \text{ Cf. Aeschylus, } Agamemnon, \text{ 848.} \]
\[c \text{ Hesiod, } Works and Days, \text{ 414.} \]
(118) 'Αντίγονον, καὶ συχνοὺς ἄλλους τῶν τε παλαιῶν καὶ τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς.

Τούτων γὰρ 'Αναξαγόραν παρειλήφαμεν, ὡς φασί, φυσιολογοῦντα καὶ διαλεγόμενον τοῖς γνωρί-μοις, ἀκούσαντα παρὰ τινος τῶν ἀναγκειλάντων αὐτῷ τὴν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν τελευτήν, μικρὸν ἐπισχόντα.

Περικλέα δὲ τὸν Ὄλυμπιον προσαγορευθέντα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑπερ-βεβλημένην δύναμιν, πυθόμενον ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς μετηλλαχεῖν τὸν βίον, Πάραλόν τε καὶ Ξάνθιππον, ὡς φησὶ Πρωταγόρασ, εἰπὼν οὕτως: "τῶν γὰρ υἱῶν νεκρῶν ἐόντων καὶ καλῶν, ἐν ὑκτῷ δὲ τῇς πάσης ἡμέρης ἀποθανόντων νηπικών ἀνέτλη: εὐδής γὰρ εἴχετο, εξ ἡς πολλὸν ὑγιεῖ κατὰ πάσαν ἡμέρην εἰς εὑποτήνυ καὶ ἀνωδυνίην καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πολλοίς δοξαν; οὔπω γὰρ τίς μην θρέων τὰ ἐσωτερὶ πενθεῖ ἐρ-ρωμένοις φέροντα, μεγαλόφρονα τε καὶ ἀνδρήν ἐδόκεε εἰναι καὶ ἐσωτερὶ κρέσσω, κάρτα εἰδὼς τὴν ἐσωτερί ἐν τοιοίδε πρῆγμασι ἀμηχανίην τοῦτον γὰρ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν προσαγγελίαν ἀμφοτέρων τῶν υἱῶν οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐστεφανωμένον κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος καὶ λευχεμονοῦντα δημηγορεῖν.

1 a very early correction: eipōn.
2 The following corrections by Bernardakis (B), Hatzidakis (Ha) and Hercher (H) are merely restorations of the regular Ionic forms: νεκρῶν Η: νεκρῶν.
3 ἐόντων Β: ὄντων.
4 τῇς Η: ταῖς.
5 τοῖς Η: τοῖς.
6 θρέων Η: ὑγιεῖ.
7 ἐσωτερὶ Β: εαυτοῦ.
8 ἀνδρήν ἐδόκεε Η: ἀνδρείον ἐδόκει.
9 κρέσσω Β: κρείσσω.
10 τοιοίδε πρῆγμασι Η: τοιοῦδε πράγμασι.
many others among men both of earlier times and of our own day.

Of these, Anaxagoras, according to the traditional story, was talking about natural philosophy in conversation with his friends, when he heard from one of the messengers, who were sent to bring him the news, of the end which had befallen his son. He stopped for a moment and then said to those present, “I knew that I had begotten a son who was mortal.”

Pericles, who was called “the Olympian” because of his surpassing power of reasoning and of understanding, learned that both his sons, Paralus and Xanthippus, had passed from life. Protagoras describes his conduct in these words: “His sons were comely youths, but though they died within seven days of each other, he bore their deaths without repining. For he continued to hold to that serenity from which day by day he added greatly to his credit of being blest by Fortune and untroubled by sorrow, and to his high repute with the people at large. For each and every man, as he beheld Pericles bearing his sorrows so stoutly, felt that he was high-minded and manful and his own superior, being only too well aware of what would be his own helplessness under such circumstances. For Pericles, immediately after the tidings about his two sons, none the less placed the garland upon his head, according to the time-honoured custom at Athens, and, clad in garb of white, harangued the people,

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a Cf. Aelian, Varia Historia, iii. 2; Galen, v. p. 418 (ed. Kuhn); Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, iii. 14 (30) and 24 (58); Valerius Maximus, v. 10, ext. 3.

b Cf. Plutarch, Life of Pericles, chap. xxxvi. (p. 172 c); Aelian, Varia Historia, ix. 6; Valerius Maximus, v. 10, ext. 1.
'βουλάς τ' ἐξάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰς' πρὸς τέ τον πόλεμον ἐπιπαρορμώντα τοὺς 'Αθηναίους.'

Σενοφώντα δὲ τὸν Σωκρατικὸν θύοντα ποτε, παρὰ τῶν ἄγγελῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ πολέμου πυθομένου ὅτι ὁ ὑδὸς αὐτοῦ Γρύλλος ἀγωνίζομενος 119 ἐτελεύτησε, περιελόμενον τὸν στέφανον ἐξετάζειν τίνα τρόπον ἐτελεύτησε. τῶν δὲ ἀπαγγειλόντων ὅτι γενναίος ἀριστεύων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατακτείνας, μικρὸν παντελῶς διασωπήσαντα1 χρόνον καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ πάθος παρακατασχόντα, ἐπιθέμενον πάλιν τὸν στέφανον ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄγγελους εἰπεῖν ὅτι "θεοὺς ηυξάμην οὐκ ἀθάνατον οὐδὲ πολυχρόνον γενέσθαι μοι τὸν υἱόν (τὸ γάρ τοιοῦτον ἀδηλὸν εἰ2 συμφέρει), ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ φιλόπατριν, ὅ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν."

Β Δίωνα δὲ τὸν Συρακόσιον συνεδρεύοντα μετὰ τῶν φίλων, κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν θορύβου γενομένου καὶ μεγάλης κραυγῆς, πυθόμενον τὴν αὐτίκος καὶ τὸ συμβεβηκός ἀκούσαντα ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ καταπεσὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους ἐτελεύτησεν, οὐδὲν ἐκπλαγέντα τὸ μὲν σωμάτιον κελεύσαι τοῦ μεταλλάξαντος ταῖς γυναιξὶ παραδοῦναι πρὸς τὴν νόμιμον ταφήν, αὐτὸν δὲ περὶ ὃν διεσκέπτετο μὴ παραλιπεῖν.

Τούτων ζηλῶσαι λέγεται καὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν ῥήτορα, τὴν μόνην καὶ ἀγαπητὴν ἀπολέσαντα θυγατέρα, περὶ ἃς φησὶν Λισχύνης, κατηγορεῖν

1 διασωπήσαντα Bernardakis: διαστήσαντα.
2 εἰ Hercher: δη.
‘taking lead in good counsel,’ and inspiriting the Athenians to war.”

Xenophon, the follower of Socrates, was once offering sacrifice when he learned from the messengers who had come from the field of battle that his son Gryllus had met his death while fighting. He took the garland from his head and questioned them as to how he had died. When the messengers reported that he died nobly, displaying the greatest valour and after slaying many of the enemy, Xenophon was completely silent for a few moments while mastering his emotion by the power of reason, and then, replacing the garland, he completed the sacrifice, remarking to the messengers, “I prayed to the gods, not that my son should be immortal or even long of life (for it is not clear whether it be of advantage so), but that he should be brave and patriotic; and so it has come to pass.”

Dion of Syracuse was sitting in consultation with his friends, when there arose in the house a commotion and a great screaming, and upon inquiring the cause and hearing what had happened—that his son had fallen from the roof and been killed—he was not at all disconcerted, but commanded the corpse to be given over to the women for the usual preparation for burial, and he himself did not leave off the discussion in which he was engaged.

His example, they say, Demosthenes the orator emulated when he lost his only and much-loved daughter, of whom Aeschines, thinking to reproach

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Or. iii. *(Against Ctesiphon)* 77 (p. 64).
(119) αυτοῦ δόξας, ταυτὶ: “ἐβδόμην δ’ ἠµέραν τῆς Σθυγατρός αὐτῷ τετελευτηκυίας, πρὶν πενθῆσαι καὶ τὰ νοµιζόµενα ποιῆσαι, στεφανωσάµενος καὶ λευκὴν ἔσθητα ἀναλαβὼν ἐβουθύτει καὶ παρενόµει, τῆν μόνην δ’ δείλαυος καὶ πρῶτην αυτὸν πατέρα προσειποδόσαν ἀπολέσας.” οὕτως µὲν οὖν ῥήτορικώς προθέµενος αυτοῦ κατηγορήσας ταῦτα διεξήλθεν, ἀγνοῦν ὅτι διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πενθεῖν παρωσάµενον καὶ τὸ φιλόπατρι πρὸ τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων συµµαθείας ἐπιδείξαµεν.

'Αντίγονον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πυθόµενον τὴν 'Αλκυνώνος τοῦ νιὸυ τελευτήν ἐν παρατάξει γενοµένην µεγαλοφρόνως τε πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγελλαντας αὐτῷ τὴν συµφορὰν ἀπίδειν καὶ µικρὸν ἐπισχόντα καὶ κατηφιάσαντα προσειπεῖν "ὅ D 'Αλκυνωθ', ὁµίτερον µετήλλαξας τὸν βίον, οὕτως ἀφειδὼς ἐξορµῶν πρὸς τοὺς πολεµίους καὶ οὔτε τῆς σαυτοῦ σωτηρίας οὔτε τῶν ἐµῶν παρανεύσεων φροντίζων."

Τούτους δὴ τοὺς ἄνδρας θαυµάζοµεν µὲν τῆς µεγαλοφροσύνης πάντες καὶ ἀγανταῖ, µουεῖσθαι δ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων οὐ δύνανται διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπαίδευσις ἀσθένειαν τῆς ψυχῆς. πλὴν πολλῶν οὖντων παραδειγµάτων τῶν διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ἡµῖν παραδιδοµένων τῆς τε Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ῥωµαίικῆς τῶν γενναίως καὶ καλῶς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀναγκαίων τελευταῖς διαγενοµένων ἀποχρήσει τὰ εἰρηµένα πρὸς τὴν ἀπόθεσιν τοῦ πάντων ἀναροτάτου

1 παρενόµει Aeschines, Adv. Ctesiph. 77 (p. 64): παρηγοροµεῖ.
2 σαυτοῦ F.C.B.: σεαυτοῦ or ἐαυτοῦ.
3 πάντων Reiske: παντὸς.
Demosthenes, speaks as follows: "On the seventh day after his daughter's death, before he had mourned for her or performed the customary rites, putting on a garland and resuming his white apparel, he offered a sacrifice in public and violated all custom, when he had lost, poor wretch, his only daughter, who was the first child to address him as father." So then Aeschines, purposing, after the manner of the political speaker, to reproach him, rehearsed these facts, being quite unaware that thereby he was really commending Demosthenes, who put aside his grief, and displayed his patriotism in preference to his feelings for his kindred.

Antigonus, the king, on learning of the death of his son Alcyoneus, which had occurred in the line of battle, gazed proudly upon the messengers who had brought news of the calamity, and, after waiting for a moment, said, bowing his head, "Not so very early, Alcyoneus, have you departed this life, since you always rushed so recklessly against the enemy without a thought either of your own safety or of my counsels."

The whole world wonders at these men and admires them for their nobility of mind, but others have not the ability to imitate them in practice because of that weakness of spirit which results from lack of education. But although there are so many examples, which have been handed down to us through both Greek and Roman history, of men who have behaved nobly and honourably at the deaths of their relatives, yet what has been said will suffice to induce you to put aside mourning, which is the most distressing of all things, and also the fruit-

*Antigonus Gonatas; cf. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, iii. 5.*
Επένθουσ καὶ τῆς ἐν τούτῳ πρὸς οὐδὲν χρήσιμον (119) ματαιοποιίας.

34. Ὅτι γὰρ οἱ ταῖς ἁρεταῖς διενεγκόντες ὡς θεοφιλεῖς νέοι μετέστησαν πρὸς τὸ χρεῶν καὶ πάλαι μὲν διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ὑπέμνησα λόγων, καὶ νῦν δὲ πειράσομαι διὰ βραχυτάτων ἐπιδραμεῖν, προσμαρτυρήσας τῷ καλῶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου ῥήθεντι τούτῳ.

ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

アルバム ὑποτυχῶν ἄν φαίης, Ἀπολλώνιες φίλτατε, οφόδρο ἢ ἐπιτεταγμένος ὁ νεανίσκος Ἀπόλλωνι

Μοίραις, καὶ σὲ ἐδει ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τελείου γενομένου κηδευθῆναι μεταλλάξαντα τῶν βίων· τοῦτο γὰρ εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν. τὴν ἡμετέραν δηλοντὶ καὶ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἄλλ’ οὐ κατὰ τὴν τῶν ὅλων πρόνοιαν καὶ τὴν κοσμικὴν διάταξιν. ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ μακαρισθέντι οὐκ ἢν κατὰ φύσιν περαιτέρῳ τοῦ ἀπονεμηθέντος αὐτῷ χρόνου πρὸς τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον περιμένειν, ἄλλ’ εὐτάκτως τοῦτον ἐκπλήσαντι πρὸς τὴν εἰμαρμένην ἐπανάγειν πορείαν, καλούσῃς αὐτῆς, φησίν, ἤδη πρὸς ἐαυτὴν. “=all ἀώρος ἐτελευτησεν.” οὐκοῦν εὐποτύμοτερος διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κακῶν ἀπείρατος ἔστιν. ὁ

1 ἐπιτεταγμένοις Bernardakis: ἐπιγεγευμένοις... Ἀπολλώνιος ἐυμορφιας Paton: ἐπιτετευμένος (or ἐπιτετευμένοι)... ἀπελλώνιος ἐν μοίραισ most ms.

2 ἀώρος Duebner and one ms.: ἀώρος.

* 111 in supra.

* From the Double Deceiver; cf. Kock, Com. Att. Frag. iii. p. 36, Menander, No. 125, and Allinson’s Menander (L.C.L.), p. 345. The sentiment is found many times in other writers; cf. Plautus, Bacch. iv. 7. 18 “quem di diligunt adolescens moritur.”

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less pain, which serves no useful purpose, involved in mourning.

34. The fact that those who excel in virtues pass on to their fate while young, as though beloved of the gods, I have already called to your attention in an earlier part of my letter, and I shall endeavour at this time to touch upon it very briefly, merely adding my testimony to that which has been so well said by Menander:

Whom the gods love dies young.

But perhaps, my dearest Apollonius, you would say in retort that your young son had been placed under the special care of Apollo and the Fates, and that it should have been you who, on departing this life, received the last offices from him, after he had come to full manhood; for this, you say, is in accordance with nature. Yes, in accordance with your nature, no doubt, and mine, and that of mankind in general, but not in accordance with the Providence which presides over all or with the universal dispensation. But for that boy, now among the blessed, it was not in accordance with nature that he should tarry beyond the time allotted to him for life on this earth, but that, after fulfilling this term with due obedience, he should set forth to meet his fate, which was already (to use his own words) summoning him to himself. "But he died untimely." Yes, but for this very reason his lot is happier, and he is spared many evils; for Euripides says:

<i>i.e. his dying words, "Fate summons me";</i> cf. the dying words of Alcestis, "Charon summons me," Euripides, <i>Alcestis</i>, 254, and Plato, <i>Phaedo</i>, 115 a.

<i>In an unknown play;</i> cf. Nauck, <i>Trag. Graec. Frag.</i>, Euripides, No. 966.
"βίος γάρ," φησὶν Εὐριπίδης, "'όνομ' ἔχει μόνον1 πόνος γεγώς."

οὗτος δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ευανθετάτης ἡλικίας προσεπεφοίτησεν ὀλόκληρος ἥθεος, ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος πάσι τοῖς συνήθεσιν αὐτῷ, φιλοπάτωρ γενόμενος καὶ φιλομήτωρ καὶ φιλοίκειος καὶ φιλόφιλος,3 τὸ δὲ σύμπαν εἶπεν φιλανθρωποῖς, αἰδούμενοι μὲν τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν φίλων ὀσπερ πατέρας, στέργων δὲ τοὺς ὀμήλικας καὶ συνήθεις, τυμητικὸς δὲ τῶν καθηγησαμένων, ξένους δὲ καὶ ἀστοῖς Β πραότατος, πάσι δὲ μείλιχος καὶ φίλος διὰ τε τὴν ἐξ ὅψεως χάριν καὶ τὴν εὐπροσήγορον φιλανθρωπίαν.

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τῆς τε σής εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τὴν πρέπουσαν εὐφημίαν ἔχων πρὸς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον προσεποίησε τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου, καθάπερ ἐκ τοῦ4 συμποσίου, πρὶν εἰς τινα παροιμίαν ἔκπεσειν τὴν τῷ μακρῷ γῆρα παρεποιμένην. εἰ δ' ὁ τῶν παλαιῶν ποιητῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων λόγος ἔστιν ἀληθῆς ὀσπερ εἰκὸς ἔχειν, οὔτω καὶ τοῖς εὐσεβεῖς τῶν μεταλλαξάντων ἐστὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ προεδρία καθάπερ λέγεται, καὶ χῶρος τις ἀποτεταγ- 

C μένος ἐν ὧ διατρίβοισιν αἱ τοῦτων ψυχαί, καλὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν σε δεὶ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίτου υἱός σου, ὅτι τούτως συγκαταριθμηθεῖς συνέσται.

35. Λέγεται δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ μελικοῦ Πινδάρου ταυτὶ περὶ τῶν εὐσεβῶν ἐν "Αἰδοῦ·

toῖς λάμπει μὲν μένος ἀελίου τὰν ἐνθάδε νύκτα κάτω,

1 μόνον added by Sauppe. 2 γεγὼς Nauck: ἐγὼ σ'. 3 φιλόφιλος Michael: φιλόσοφος.

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Life bears the name of life, being but toil.

But he, in the most blooming period of his years, has departed early, a perfect youth, envied and admired by all who knew him. He was fond of his father and mother and his relatives and friends, or, to put it in a word, he loved his fellow men; he respected the elderly among his friends as fathers, he was affectionate towards his companions and familiar friends, he honoured his teachers, and was most kind toward strangers and citizens, gentle with all and beloved of all, both because of his charm of appearance and because of his affable kindliness.

Ah well, but he, bearing with him the fair and fitting fame of your righteousness and his own conjoined, has departed early to eternity from out this mortal life, as from an evening party, before falling into any such grossness of conduct as is wont to be the concomitant of a long old age. And if the account of the ancient poets and philosophers is true, as it most likely is, and so there is for those of the departed who have been righteous a certain honour and preferment, as is said, and a place set apart in which their souls pass their existence, then you ought to be of good hope for your dear departed son that he will be reckoned among their number and will be with them.

35. These are the words of the melic poet Pindar regarding the righteous in the other world:

For them doth the strength of the sun shine below,
While night all the earth doth overgrow.

*Frag. 129 (ed. Christ); cf. also the two lines quoted in *Moralia*, 17 c, and the amplification of these lines which Plutarch gives in *Moralia*, 1130 c.*

*ēk τοῦ Bernardakis: ēk τοῦ.
(120) φοινικορόδοις τ' ἐν λειμώνεσσι προάστιοιν αὐτῶν· καὶ λιβάνω σκιαρον καὶ χρυσοκάρπους βεβριθός· καὶ τοι μὲν ὑποίς γυμνασίωσ τε, τοι δὲ πεσσοῖς, τοι δὲ φορμίγγεσι τέρπονται, παρὰ δὲ σφισιν εὐανθῆς ἀπάς τέθαλεν ὄλβος, ὃδιμα δ' ἐρατὼν κατὰ χῶρον κιδναταί ἀιεὶ θύα μιγνυντων πυρὶ τηλεφανεί παντοία θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς.

D καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν ἐν ἀλλω θρήνῳ περὶ ψυχῆς λέγων φησιν:

ὄλβια δ' ἀπαντας αἰῶνα λυσίπουν τελευτάν. καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἐπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεί, ζωὸν δ' ἔτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἴδωλον· τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ μόνοι.

ἐκ θεῶν. εὐδεί δὲ πρασούντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ εὐδόντεσσον ἐν πολλοῖς ὀνείροις δείκνυσι τερπνῶν ἐφέρποισαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν.

36. 'Ο δὲ θεοῖς Πλάτων πολλὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας αὐτῆς εἰρηκεν, οὐκ Ἐλύγα δ' ἐν τῇ Πολυτείᾳ καὶ τῷ Μενώνι καὶ τῷ Γοργίᾳ καὶ σποράδην ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις διαλόγοις. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἐν τῷ Περὶ ψυχῆς διαλόγῳ ῥηθέντα κατ' ἰδίαιν ὑπομνηματισάμενος σοι παρέξομαι, ὡς ἐβουλήθης· τάδε δὲ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν καίρια καί

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1 τ' added from Moralia, 1130 c.
2 προάστιον G. Hermann: προάστειον.
3 χρυσοῖς καρποῖς Boeckh.
4 βεβριθός Reiske: βεβριθεί.
5 τε Hermann.
6 θύα Hermann: θύματα.
7 ζωὸν δ' ἔτι Life of Romulus, c. xxviii.: ζωὸν δὲ.
8 ἐστὶ μόνον ibid.: μόνον ἐστί.
9 ἐφέρποισαν Boeckh: ἐφέρπουσαν.
In meadows of roses their suburbs lie,
Roses all tinged with a crimson dye.
They are shaded by trees that incense bear,
And trees with golden fruit so fair.
Some with horses and sports of might,
Others in music and draughts delight.
Happiness there grows ever apace,
Perfumes are wafted o'er the loved place,
As the incense they strew where the gods' altars are
And the fire that consumes it is seen from afar.

And a little farther on, in another lament for the dead, speaking of the soul, he says a:

In happy fate they all b
Were freed by death from labour's thrall.
Man's body follows at the beck of death
O'ermastering. Alive is left
The image of the stature that he gained,
Since this alone is from the gods obtained.
It sleeps while limbs move to and fro,
But, while we sleep, in dreams doth show
The choice we cannot disregard
Between the pleasant and the hard.

36. The divine Plato has said a good deal in his treatise On the Soul about its immortality, and not a little also in the Republic and Meno and Gorgias, and here and there in his other dialogues. What is said in the dialogue On the Soul I will copy, with comments, and send you separately, as you desired. But for the present occasion these words, which were spoken

a Frag. 131 (ed. Christ); cf. also Plutarch, Life of Romulus, xxviii. (p. 35 d).
b The line is incomplete, lacking a finite verb.

10 For the numerous conjectural emendations of this and the preceding quotation cf. Schroeder's revision of vol. i. of Bergk's Poet. Lyr. Graec. p. 442.
11 πεπτ Reiske: πεπτ τε.
χρήσμα, τὰ λεχθέντα πρὸς Καλλικλέαν, τὸν Ἀθηναίον, ἑταίρον δὲ καὶ μαθητὴν Γοργίου τοῦ ῶτορος. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ παρὰ τῷ Πλάτωνι Σωκράτης: "Ἄκουε δὴ," φασὶ, "μᾶλα καλῶς λόγου, ὅν σὺ μὲν ἥγησιν, ὥς ἐγὼ οἶμαι, μῦθον, ἐγὼ δὲ λόγον. ὥς ἀληθῆ γὰρ οὖν τοι τὰ λέξω ἃ μέλλω λέγειν. ὅσπερ γὰρ ὁ Ομήρος λέγει, διενείμαντο τὴν ἀρχήν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ ὁ Ποσειδῶν καὶ ὁ Πλούτων, ἐπειδὴ

F παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς παρελαβόν· ἦν οὖν νόμος ὅς

21 ἐ̂ς τὸ τῆς δίκης τε καὶ τίσεως δεσμωτήριον, ὁ δὴ Τάρταρον καλοῦσι, οἶναι. τοῦτων δ᾽ οἱ δικασταὶ ἐπὶ Κρόνου καὶ ἐτί νεωστὶ τοῦ Διὸς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος ζώντες ἦσαν ζώντων, ἀκείνη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ δικάζοντες ἡ μέλλουσιν τελεύταν. ἐπειτα αἱ δίκαι πως οὐ καλῶς ἐκρίνοντο. ὁ τ᾽ οὖν Πλούτων καὶ οἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ οἱ ἐκ μακάρων νήσων ἱόντες ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Δία ὅτι φοιτῶν σφισζον ἀνθρώποι ἐκατέρωσε ἀνάξιοι. εἶπεν οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς, 'ἄλλ᾽ ἐγώ,' ἐφ᾽, 'παῦσ᾽ τοῦτο γιγνόμενον. νῦν μὲν γὰρ

B κακῶς αἱ δίκαι δικάζονται. ἀμπεχόμενοι γὰρ,' ἐφ᾽, 'οί κρινόμενοι κρίνονται. ζώντες γὰρ κρίνονται. πολλοὶ οὖν ἵσως,' ἡ δ᾽ ὅσ, 'πονηρὰς ψυχὰς

1 Καλλικλέα added by Xylander from 121 ν infra.
2 In the quotation from Plato (Gorg. p. 523 c) the text has been corrected to accord with the text of Plato, but it is quite likely that some of these readings stood in Plutarch's copy of Plato, and are not errors of the mss. of Plutarch.
3 φασὶ Plato: φησὶ.
to Callicles the Athenian, the friend and disciple of Gorgias the orator, are timely and profitable. They say that Socrates, according to Plato's account, says: "Listen to a very beautiful story, which you, I imagine, will regard as a myth, but which I regard as a story; for what I am going to say I shall relate as true. As Homer tells the tale, Zeus, Poseidon, and Pluto divided the kingdom when they received it from their father. Now this was the custom regarding men even in the time of Cronus, and it has persisted among the gods to this day—that the man who has passed through life justly and in holiness shall, at his death, depart to the Islands of the Blest and dwell in all happiness beyond the reach of evil, while he who has lived an unjust and godless life shall go to the prison-house of justice and punishment, which they call Tartarus. The judges of these men, in the time of Cronus and in the early days of Zeus's dominion, were living, and judged the living, giving judgement on the day when the men were about to die. As time went on, for some reason the cases were not decided well. Accordingly Pluto and the supervisors in the Islands of the Blest went to Zeus and said to him that there kept coming to them at both places inadmissible persons. 'Very well,' said Zeus, 'then I shall put a stop to this proceeding. The judgements are now rendered poorly; for,' said he, 'those who are judged are judged with a covering on them, since they are judged while alive, and so,' he continued, 'a good

\[\text{Gorgias, p. } 523 \alpha. \] \[\text{Iliad, xv. } 187.\]
(121) ἐχοντες ἡμιφιεσμένου εἰσὶ σώματά τε καλά καὶ
gένη καὶ πλούτους, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἡ κρίσις ἣ, ἔρ-
χονται αὐτοὶς πολλοί μαρτυρήσουντες ὡς δικαίως
βεβιώκασιν. οἱ δὲν δικασταὶ ὑπὸ τοιών ἐκπλήττονται,
καὶ ἀμα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμφιέσμουμει δικάζουσι, πρὸ
tῆς ψυχῆς τῆς ἑαυτῶν ὀφθαλμοῦς
tε καὶ ὅτα καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα προκεκαλυμμένοι.
tαῦτα δὴ αὐτοὶς πάντες ἐπιπροσθέν ⁴ γίγνεται, καὶ
tὰ αὐτῶν ἀμφιέσματα καὶ τὰ τῶν κριμομένων.

C πρῶτον μὲν οὖν παυστέον ἐστὶ προειδότας αὐτοὺς
tὸν θάνατον· νῦν ³ γὰρ προῆμα. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ
dὴ εἰρήται τῷ Προμηθεί, ὅπως ἄν παῦσῃ αὐτὸ. ἐπειτα
gυμνοὺς κρίτεον ἀπάντων τοιών τεθνεῶ-
tας γὰρ δὲν κρίνεσθαι. καὶ τὸν κρίνῃ δὲι γυμνὸν
εἶναι, τεθνεώτα, αὐτῇ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς
theouroντα ἐξαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἐκάστου, ἔρημον
ἀπάντων τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ καταλιπόντα ἐπὶ τῆς
gῆς πάντα ἐκεῖνων τὸν κόσμον, ἰνα δικαία ἡ κρίσις
η. ἐγὼ οὖν ταῦτ' ἐγνωσκῶς πρότερος ἡ ὅμεις
ἐπουράμην δικαστάς ὑπείς ἐμαυτοῦ, δύο μὲν ἐκ
tῆς Ἀσίας, Μίνω τε καὶ Ὁδάμανθον, ἕνα δ' ἐκ
tῆς Ἑυρώτης, Ἀιακόν. οὗτοι οὖν ἐπειδὰν τελευ-
tήσωσι, δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λείμμω, ἐν τῇ τριόδῳ
ἐς τῆς φέρετον τῷ ὁδώ, ἡ μὲν εἰς μακάρων νήσους,
_health la ἐς Τάρταρον. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
'Παθαμανθούς κρίνει, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς Ἑυρώτης
Ἀιακός. Μίνω δὲ προσβεία δῶσω ἐπιδιακρίνειν
ἐὰν ἀπορητοῦ τι τῶν ἐτέρω, ἐν' ὦς δικαιοτάτη ἡ

1 ἐκπλήττοται καὶ Plato: ἐκπλήττοται.
2 ἐπιπροσθέν Plato: ἐπιπρόσθες.
3 νῦν Plato: νῦν μὲν.
4 αὐτό] αὐτῶν Plato.
5 συγγενῶν καὶ Plato: συγγενῶν.
6 δικαία ἡ κρίσις Plato: ἡ κρίσις δικαία.

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many perhaps who have base souls are clad with beautiful bodies and ancestry and riches, and, when the judgement takes place, many come to testify for them that they have lived righteously. So not only are the judges disconcerted by these things, but at the same time they themselves sit in judgement with a covering on them, having before their own souls, like a veil, their eyes and ears and their whole body. All these things come between, both their own covering and that of those who are being judged. In the first place, then, all their foreknowledge of death must be ended; for now they have foreknowledge of it. So Prometheus has been told to put an end to this. Secondly, they must be judged divested of all these things; for they must be judged after they have died. The judge also must be naked, and dead, that he may view with his very soul the very soul of every man instantly after he has died, and isolated from all his kin, having left behind on earth all earthly adornments, so that his judgement may be just. I, therefore, realizing this situation sooner than you, have made my own sons judges, two from Asia—Minos and Rhadamanthys—and one from Europe—Aeacus. These, then, as soon as they have died, shall sit in judgement in the meadow at the parting of the ways whence the two roads lead, the one to the Islands of the Blest and the other to Tartarus. The people of Asia shall Rhadamanthys judge, while Aeacus shall judge the people of Europe; and to Minos I shall give the prerogative of pronouncing final judgement in case the other

7 πρότερος Plato: πρότερον. 8 τῷ Plato: τὰ. 9 ἀπορρήτων τὶ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Plato: ἀπὸ ἀρρήτων τὶ ἢ τῷ ἑτέρῳ. 10 ἢ Plato.
κρίσις ἢ περὶ τῆς πορείας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ταῦτ’ ἐστιν, ὃ Καλλίκλεις, ἃ ἐγὼ ἄκηκοις πιστεύω ἀληθῆ εἶναι: καὶ ἐκ τούτων τῶν λόγων τοιόνδε: τὶ λογίζομαι συμβαίνειν, ὅτι ὁ θάνατος τυγχάνει ὧν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἦ δυοῖν προγμάτων διά-

Ε λυσις, τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπ’ ἄλληλουν.”

37 Ταῦτά σοι συναγαγών, Ἀπολλώνιε φίλτατε, καὶ συνθεῖς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ἀπειργασάμην τὸν παραμυθητικόν σοι λόγον, ἀναγκαиότατον ὄντα σοι πρὸς τε τὴν τῆς παρούσης λύτης ἀπαλλαγὴν καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἀναροτάτου πένθους παύλαν. περιέχει δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεοφιλεστάτου νῦν σου Ἀπολλώνιον πρέπουσαν τιμήν, ποθενοτάτην οὕσαν τοῖς ἀφιερωθείσης, τὴν διὰ τῆς ἀγαθῆς μνήμης καὶ τῆς ἀδιαλείπτου πρὸς τὸν ἄει χρόνον εὐφημίας. καλῶς οὖν πονήσεις καὶ τῷ λόγῳ πεισθεῖς καὶ τῷ μακαρίτη σου νῦ

χαρισάμενος καὶ μεταβαλὼν ἐκ τῆς ἀνωφελοὺς περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν κακώσεως καὶ καταθηρᾶς ἐπὶ τὴν συνθές σοι καὶ κατὰ φύσιν διαγωγὴν ἐλθεῖν. ὡς γὰρ οὕδε συμβιών ἡμῖν ἠδέως ἑώρα κατηφείς ὅντας οὕτε σὲ οὕτε τὴν μητέρα, οὕτως οὕδε νῦν μετὰ θεῶν ὧν καὶ τούτως συνεστιώμενος εὐαρεστήσειν ἃν τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἡμῶν διαγωγῇ. ἀνδρὸς οὖν ἁγαθοῦ καὶ γενναῖου καὶ

122 φιλοτέκνου φρόνημα ἀναλαβῶν σεαυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν μητέρα τοῦ νεανίσκον καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους ἐκλυσεῖ τῆς τοιαύτης κακοδαμονίας, εἰς γαληνότερον μετελθῶν βίου σχῆμα καὶ προσ-

πειλεστάτου τῷ τε νῦν σου καὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν τοῖς κηδομένοις σου κατὰ τὸ προσήκουν.

1 τοιώνδε Plato: τοιών (sic).
2 ὅτι not in Plato.
two be in any doubt, in order that the decision in regard to the route which men must take shall be as just as possible.' This, Callicles, is what I have heard, and believe to be true; and from these words I draw the following inference—that death is, as it seems to me, nothing else than the severing of two things, soul and body, from each other."

37. Having collected and put together these extracts, my dearest Apollonius, with great diligence, I have completed this letter of condolence to you, which is most needful to enable you to put aside your present grief and to put an end to mourning, which is the most distressing of all things. In it is included also for your son, Apollonius, a youth so very dear to the gods, a fitting tribute, which is much coveted by the sanctified—a tribute due to his honourable memory and to his fair fame, which will endure for time eternal. You will do well, therefore, to be persuaded by reason, and, as a favour to your dear departed son, to turn from your unprofitable distress and desolation, which affect both body and soul, and to go back to your accustomed and natural course of life. Forasmuch as your son, while he was living among us, was sorry to see either you or his mother downcast, even so, now that he is with the gods and is feasting with them, he would not be well satisfied with your present course of life. Resume, therefore, the spirit of a brave-hearted and high-minded man who loves his offspring, and set free from all this wretchedness both yourself, the mother of the youth, and your relatives and friends, as you may do by pursuing a more tranquil form of life, which will be most gratifying both to your son and to all of us who are concerned for you, as we rightly should be.
ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL
(DE TUENDA SANITATE PRAECEPTA)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch had more than a casual interest in medicine, for, besides this essay on keeping well, his other works abound in references to the behaviour of the sick and their treatment, and the medical practices of his day. Long before the time of Plutarch the art of medicine, always empirical, had been put on a solid foundation, and the acute observations of Hippocrates and his school had been set down in writing; and this body of Hippocratic medical writings, along with others, was in circulation, and had undoubtedly been read by Plutarch.

That medicine has made very great advances since Plutarch's time is, of course, self-evident; "aseptic," "antiseptic," and "sterilize" are now household words, and the germ theory of disease has, in recent times, shed light on much which before was dark. But Plutarch is not dealing with the technical side of medicine; he is only giving some common-sense advice on rational living, and much that he has to say in regard to rest, exercise, and diet is in accord with the best medical practice of the present day. In fact, it is doubtful if any physician would take exception to anything that Plutarch advises (his advice is meant for men whose work is done with their heads rather than their hands), and one might name men in public life to-day, well on in years, who have followed many of his suggestions, unwittingly, no doubt, but to their own advantage.
ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL

The essay seems, at the first glance, to be put in the form of a dialogue, but it is about as much of a dialogue as Quiller-Couch's *Foe-Farrell*. The dialogue form is merely a literary subterfuge to present an essay in a slightly more attractive form, and the third person of the dialogue, only occasionally recalled to the reader by the parsimonious interjection of "he said," may be presumed to be Plutarch, the author. The two speakers in the brief dialogue at the beginning of the essay are Moschion, a physician, whom Plutarch introduces also into the *Symposiaces* (*Moralia*, 658 A), and Zeuxippus, a friend of Plutarch's, who is introduced also as a speaking character in two other essays of Plutarch's (*Moralia*, 748 ε and 1086 ο), besides being mentioned several times in other essays.

That the essay was written some time after A.D. 81 is clear from the reference to the death of the Roman Emperor Titus (123 d).

The title of the essay is included in Lamprias' list of Plutarch's works, and Stobaeus, in his *Florilegium*, has several quotations from it, sometimes with a slightly different reading, but none of these readings changes the meaning of the passage at all, and rarely is one to be preferred to the reading found in the mss. of Plutarch (see Vol. I. Introd. p. xxi).

Indeed, the text of this essay has suffered more at the hands of modern editors than from the ancient copyists, for a glance at the foot-notes in Bernardakis's edition will show that the gratuitous and unnecessary changes introduced into the text by modern editors outnumber their corrections of the minor errors in spelling, and the like, made by the ancient copyists.

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ΥΓΙΕΙΝΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

1. μοσχιών. Σὺ δὴ Γλαύκων χήσε, ὦ Ζευς, τὸν ἰατρὸν ἀπετρύψω τοὺς συμφιλοσοφεῖν ὑμῖν βουλό-μενον.

ζετζιππος. Οὔτ' ἀπετρυφάμην, ὦ φίλε, μό-
σχίων, οὔτ' ἐβούλετο συμφιλοσοφεῖν ἕκεῖνος, ἀλλ' ἐφυγον καὶ ἐφοβήθην λαβῆν φιλομαχοῦντι παρα-
σχεῖν. εὖ μὲν γὰρ ἰατρικῇ καθ' Ὀμηρον ὁ ἄνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄλλων,

οὔκ εὐμενῆς δὲ πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τι τραχὺ καὶ δύσκολον ἔχων ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. καὶ νῦν ἐναντίος ὡφ' ἡμᾶς ἔχώρει, βοῶν ἐτί πρόσωθεν οὐ μικρὸν οὐδ' ἐπιεικὲς ἔργον ἡμῖν σύγχυσιν ὁρῶν τετολμῆσθαι διαλεχθεῖσι περὶ διαίτης ύγιείνης. "ἐχρίς" γὰρ ἐφ' ἄλλα τὰ φιλοσόφων καὶ ἰατρῶν ἄσπερ τυνῶν "Μυσῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν ὀρίσματα," καὶ τινα τῶν οὐ μετὰ σπουδῆς, οὐ μην ἀχρήστως, Δ εἰρημένων παρ' ἡμῶν διὰ στόματος ἔχων ἐσπά-

ραττεν.

μοσχιών. Ἄλλα καὶ τούτων ἔγγυς καὶ τῶν

ἀπετρύψω ἀπετρυφάμην Cobet and L. Dindorf: ἀπετρέψω ἀπετρέψαμην.

a Homer, Il. xi. 514.

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ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL

1. Moschion. So, Zeuxippus, yesterday you drove away Glaucus, the physician, when he wished to join in your philosophical discussions.

Zeuxippus. No, my dear Moschion, I did not drive him away, nor did he wish to join in philosophical discussion, but I avoided him and feared giving an opening to a man fond of contention. In medicine the man is, as Homer puts it,

Worth many others together,

but he is not kindly disposed towards philosophy, and there is always a certain harshness and ill-nature inherent in his remarks. And just then he was coming at us full tilt, crying out, even before he came near us, that it was no small or suitable task, amounting in fact to a confusion of all bounds, which had been boldly assumed by us in discussing a healthful manner of living. For he asserted that the subjects of philosophy and medicine are as "far remote" from each other as "are the boundaries of" any "Mysians and Phrygians"; and thereupon, as he had at the tip of his tongue some statements of ours, which, though not very carefully formulated, are certainly not without utility, he proceeded to tear them to pieces.

Moschion. Well, in this and in other matters,
(122) ἄλλων, ὡς Ζεύξιππε, πρόθυμος ἀκροατής ἦδέως ἂν γενοίμην.

ζευξιππος. Φιλόσοφος γὰρ εἰ τὴν φύσιν, ὡς Μοσχίων, καὶ τῷ μὴ φιλιατροῦντι χαλεψάνεις φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖς εἰ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν οἴεται προσήκειν γεωμετρίας καὶ διαλεκτικῆς καὶ μονοσικῆς ὁρᾶσθαι μεταποιούμενον ἡ ζητεῖν καὶ μανθάνειν βουλόμενον

· ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακὸν τ’ ἀγαθόν τε τετυκται

τῷ σώματι. καὶ τοῦ πλείους ἃν ἐδοὺς ἐκεῖ θεατάς, ὅπον θεωρικόν τι νέμεται τοῖς συνισθούσι, ὥσπερ Ἐ Ἀθήνης· τῶν ἐλευθερίων δὲ τεχνῶν ιατρικῆ τὸ μὲν γλαφυρὸν καὶ περιττὸν καὶ ἐπιτερπῶς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐνδεεστερον ἔχει, θεωρικόν δὲ μέγα τοῖς φιλομαθοῦσι τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν υγίειαν ἐπιδίδωσιν. ὡστ’ οὐ παράβασιν ὅρων ἐπικαλεῖν δεῖ τοὺς περὶ υγιείων διαλεγομένως φιλοσόφοις, ἀλλ’ εἰ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀνελόντες οἴονται δεῖν τοὺς ὅρους ὥσπερ ἐν μιᾷ χώρᾳ κοινῶς ἐμφιλοκαλεῖν, ἀμα τὸ ἢδυ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον διώκοντες.

μοσχιών. Ἀλλὰ Γλαύκον μὲν ἐῶμεν, ὡς Ζεύξιππε, ὅποι σεμνότητος αὐτοτελῆ βουλόμενον εἶναι καὶ ἀπροσδή φιλοσοφίας, οὐ δὲ τοὺς λόγους Ἐ ἡμῖν δίελθε πάντας· εἰ δὲ βούλει, πρώτους ἐκεῖνους 218
Zeuxippus, I should be very glad to be your attentive listener.

Zeuxippus. That is because you, Moschion, have a natural gift for philosophy, and you feel incensed at the philosopher who does not take an interest in medicine, and you are indignant that such a man should imagine it more becoming for him, in the eyes of mankind, to profess some knowledge of geometry, logical discussion, and music, than to desire to seek out and know

All that of evil and good may have chanced to betide in the dwelling which is his own body. And yet you will see a larger number of spectators in the theatres where money to pay for admission is distributed to those who gather together, as at Athens; and of the liberal arts medicine is inferior to none in elegance, distinction, and the satisfaction which it yields, and it gives to its students admission to something of very great importance—the preservation of their life and health. Consequently, the charge of trespass ought not to lie against philosophers if they discuss matters of health, but rather should they be blamed if they do not consider it their duty to abolish all boundary-lines altogether, and to make a single field, as it were, of all honourable studies, and therein to cultivate them in common, thus aiming in their discussion at both the pleasant and the essential.

Moschion. Well, Zeuxippus, let us say no more about Glaucus, who is so self-important that he wants to be a law unto himself, needing no help from philosophy; but do you tell us in detail the whole discussion; or, if you prefer, just those statements

* Homer, Od. iv. 392.
2. Ἐφη τοῖς μὴ ἐκάθεν τοὺς λέγοντας οὐκ ἔχει καὶ μὴ περιοριζόμενος οὐ 123 μικρὸν εἰτρός ὑγείαν, καὶ τοῦ ναντίον τῶν ἄκρων περὶ τυπικοῦ ἐπὶ τὰ μέσα συνελαύνουσα τῷ θερμῷ ὡσπερ τυνα ὑγιαίνῃ ἡ μελέτην ἐμποιεὶ προτευότατος ἑλκειν ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ διανέμει τὴν θλήνυ ὑγιεόν. ἂν μὲν οὖν ἑνεργοῦντες τι ταῖς χερι καὶ ἥρομενοι τυγχάνωμεν, αὐτὴν τὴν κίνησιν ἐπάγει ἐνταῦθα καὶ συνέχει τὸ θερμὸν. ἔργων δε τοῖς τούτος σχολὴν ἁγοντας ἰκίστα δεῖν προσδέχεσθαι τοῖς ἄκροις τῷ ψυχρόν.

3. Ἐν μὲν οὖν τούτῳ τῶν γελοσθέντων ἢν· δεύτερον δὲ οἶμαι τὸ περὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἅς προσ-βφέρετε τοῖς κάμνουσιν. ἀπτεθαί γὰρ αὐτῶν διὰ χρόνου παρήκει καὶ γεύονται, συνεδίττοντας αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ ὑγιαίνει καὶ μὴ τρέμοντας ὡσπερ τὰ παιδάρια μηδὲ μισοῦντας ἐκείνην τὴν δίαιταν, ἀλλὰ ποιουμένουσα ἀτρέμα χειροπήθη ταῖς ὁρέξεσιν καὶ σύντροφον, ὅπως ἐν τῷ νοσεῖν μή δυσχεραί-νωμεν ὡς φάρμακα τὰ συτὰ μηδ' ἀσχάλλωμεν ἀπλοῦν τι καὶ ἄνοιξεν καὶ ἄκινον λαμβάνοντες. ὅθεν οὖν ἀλοῦτος ποτὲ φευκτέων ἐπιτροφῆν οὐδ' ὑδρω πιεῖν οἶνον παρόντος οὐδ' ἑρμὸν ἐν θέρει, χίόνως παρακειμένης, τὰς μὲν

1 oūn added by Meziriacus.

* Plutarch himself presumably.
* Cf. Moralia, 635 c.
* Cf. Moralia, 661 b.
ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL, 122-123

which you first referred to as not altogether carefully formulated, which you say Glaucus seized upon.

2. ZEUXIPPUS. Well, our companion\(^a\) asserted that he had heard somebody say that keeping the hands always warm, and never allowing them to get cold, is in no small measure conducive to health, and, conversely, the chilling of the extremities, by concentrating the warmth in the interior of the body, creates, as it were, a habit or a predisposition towards feverishness; and for a man to divert the substances in his body toward the surface, and to conduct and distribute them, along with the warmth, to all parts of his body, is healthful.\(^b\) If therefore we happen to be doing something with our hands and using them, the motion itself brings the warmth to these parts, and keeps it there; but when not engaged in such activities we must by no means allow the cold to find lodgement in our extremities.

3. This, then, was one of the things ridiculed. The second, I think, concerned the food which you people serve to the sick. For he urged that we should partake of it and taste it from time to time, and get ourselves used to it in time of health, and not abhor and detest such a regimen, like little children, but gradually make it familiar and congenial to our appetites, so that in sickness we may not be disaffected over our fare as if it were so much medicine, and may not show impatience at receiving something simple, unappetising, and savourless.\(^c\) For this reason, too, omitting the bath now and then before going to a meal is not a thing to be avoided, nor drinking only water when wine is at hand, nor drinking anything lukewarm in the summer-time when there is snow on the table; and while dismissing
(123) ἐπιδεικτικάς καὶ σοφιστικάς χαίρειν ἐώντας ἁπο-
C σχέσεις τῶν τοιούτων καὶ μεγαλαυχίας ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποσχέσεων, αὐτοὺς δὲ καθ’ ἕαυτος σιωπῇ τὴν τε ὄρεξιν ἀμα τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑπῆκοον ἐθίζοντας εἶναι μετ’ εὔκολίας, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφαιροῦντας πόρρωθεν ἔτι τὴν περὶ ταῦτα μικρολογίαν ἐν ταῖς νόσοις καὶ τὸ ἐπιθρημείν, ἀνοδυρομένης ὡς ἔξ ἴδονων μεγάλων καὶ ἀγαπητῶν εἰς ἀγενή καὶ 
ταπευην ἀπελήλαται διάιταν.

Εὐ γὰρ εἰρημένον τὸ " ἐλοῦ βίον τὸν ἄρστον, ἥδυν δ’ αὐτὸν ἡ συνήθεια ποιήσε,” καὶ κατὰ μέρος ὡς ἔκαστα πειρωμένως χρήσιμον ἐστι, μάλιστα δὲ τῶν περὶ τὸ σῶμα διαιτημάτων, ἐν τοῖς ψυγεινοτάτοις ἔπαγοντα τὴν συνήθειαν, ἐυμενὴ καὶ γνάρμα τῇ φύσει καὶ οἰκεία παρασκευάζειν,

D μεμνημένον τὰ πᾶσχονιν ἐννοι καὶ ποιοῦσιν ἐν 
tαῖς ἀρρωστίαις, χαλεπαίνοντες καὶ δυσαν-
χετούντες ὑδατος θερμοῦ προσφερομένου καὶ 
ροφήματος ἡ ἄρτον, μιαρὰ μὲν ταῦτα καὶ ἀγαθὴ 
μαροὺς δὲ καὶ χαλεποὺς τοὺς ἀναγκάζοντας ἀποκαλοῦντες. πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ λουτρόν ἀπώλεσεν, 
οὐδὲν ἐν ἄρχη μέγα κακῶν ἔχοντας ἀλλ’ ἦ τὸ μὴ 
δύνασθαι μηδ’ ὑπομένειν γευσασθαι τροφῆς ἀλού-
τους· ὅν καὶ Τῖτος ἦν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ὡς φασὶ 
οἱ νοσηλεύσαντες.

4. "Ετι τοῖνυν ἐλέξθη τοιοῦτον, ὡς ἀεὶ μὲν 
ψυχεῖντερα σώματι τὰ εὐτελέστερα, μάλιστα δὲ 
Ε φυλακτέον πλήρων καὶ μέθας καὶ ἠπυπαθεῖας

a A precept of Pythagoras according to Plutarch, Moralia, 466 F, and other writers who quote it; cf. also Moralia, 602 β.
b Cf. Plato, Laws, p. 797 e.
c There are varying accounts regarding the manner of Titus’s death, poisoning or drowning being also alleged.
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once for all time the ostentatious and studied abstinence from such things and the bragging over it, we should silently, by our own selves, habituate the appetite to be obedient to expediency with all serenity, and long beforehand we must rid our soul of its squamishness in times of sickness about such trifles, and its lamentation thereat, as it deplores how it has been driven away from great and fond pleasures to an ignoble and humiliating way of living.

Well has it been said, "Choose the life that is best, and constant habit will make it pleasant," and, in particular, it is profitable for a man, experimenting with each several department of life and especially with those which have to do with the practices which affect the body, to inculcate a fixed habit during periods of soundest health, so thus to make these things agreeable, familiar, and congenial to his nature, bearing in mind how some men feel and act in times of sickness, being angry and fretful when hot water and gruel, or plain bread, is served to them, calling these things abominable and unpleasant, and abominable and hard-hearted also those who would force such things upon them. A bath has proved to be the death of many men who at the outset had not much the matter with them, save only that they could not and would not bear to taste food unless they had first had their bath; of whom Titus the Emperor was one, as those who attended him in his illness affirm.

4. Something, moreover, was said to this effect, that, while the less expensive things are always more healthful for the body, we ought especially to guard against excess in eating and drinking, and against
5. "And do not neglect to observe this proverb, that you may guard against your friends being false and put your trust in your enemies."

1 taïta καὶ Reiske: taïta.

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*a* The proverb may be found in Plato’s *Laws*, p. 666 a, and often repeated in other writers.

all self-indulgence when we have immediately on
hand some festival or a visit from friends, or when
we are expecting an entertainment of some king or
high official with its unavoidable social engagements;
and thus we should, as it were, in fair weather make
our body trim and buoyant against the oncoming
wind and wave. It is indeed a hard task, in the midst
of company and good cheer, to keep to moderation
and one’s habits and at the same time to avoid the
extreme disagreeableness which makes one appear
offensive and tiresome to the whole company. There-
fore, to avoid adding fire to fire (as the proverb has
it), and gorging to gorging, and strong drink to
strong drink, we ought with all seriousness to imitate
the polite joke of Philip. It was in this wise: A
man had invited Philip to dinner in the country,
assuming that he had but a few with him, but when
later the host saw Philip bringing a great company,
no great preparations having been made, he was much
perturbed. Philip, becoming aware of the situation,
sent word privately to each of his friends to “leave
room for cake.” They, following the advice; and
looking for more to come, ate sparingly of what was
before them, and so the dinner was ample for all.
In this manner, then, we ought to prepare ourselves
in anticipation of our imperative round of social en-
gagements by keeping room in the body for elaborate
dishes and pastry, and, I dare to say it, for indulgence
in strong drink also, by bringing to these things an
appetite fresh and willing.

5. If, however, such imperative occasions suddenly
confront us when we are overloaded and in no con-
dition for taking part—if, for instance, we receive an
invitation from a high official, or guests appear, so
(124) αἷδος βαδίζειν εἰς ταῦτο τοῖς ἵκανῶς ἔχουσι καὶ
Β συμπίνειν, εὖτείθα μάλιστα δεὶ παρατετάχθαι πρὸς
"τὴν μέγα σινομένην ἄνδρας αἰδῶ" καὶ δυσοπιᾶν,
tὰ τοῦ τραγικοῦ Κρέοντος λέγοντος

κρέισον δὲ μοι νῦν πρὸς σ’ ἀπέχθεσθαι, ξένε,
ἡ μαλθακισθένθ’ ὡστερον μέγα στένειν.

tὸ γὰρ ἀγροικίας φοβηθέντα δόξαν εἰς πλευρῖτων Ἡ
φρενίτων ἐμβάλλειν ἐαυτόν ἀγροῖκον τινὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ καὶ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντος οὐδὲ λόγον ἀνευ
cύλικος καὶ κνίσης ἄνθρωπος ἐπιστάμενον ὁμιλεῖν.
Ἡ τε γὰρ παραίτησις ἃν τὸ ἐπιδέξον καὶ τὸ ἀστείον ἔχη, οὐχ ἤτον ἐσται κεχαρισμένη τῆς συμπερι-

C φορᾶς: ἃν τἐ τὶς παρέχων ἐστίσαιν ὡστερ θυσίαν
ἀγενοτὸν αὐτὸς ἀπέχηται, παρὰ τε τῇ κύλικι καὶ
tῇ τραπέζῃ μετὰ προθυμίας καὶ φιλοφροσύνης ἀμα
tὶ παίζων καὶ λέγων εἰς ἑαυτὸν, ἡδίων φανεῖται
tοῦ συμμεθυσκομένου καὶ συνοψφοβαγοῦντος. ἐμνή-
σθη δὲ τῶν μὲν παλαιῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ πότον
πολὺν αὐσχυνθέντος ἀντειπεῖν Μηδίω παρακαλοῦντι,
καὶ καταβαλόντος ἁθῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν ἡμᾶς
Ἄρταν ἀφ’ οὐ διεθάρη, τῶν δὲ καθ’ ἡμᾶς
Ῥῆγλοι τοῦ παγκρατιστοῦ. καλοῦντος γὰρ ἐπὶ
tὸ λοιπὸν ἀμ’ ἡμέρα Τίτου Καίσαρος ἠκε καὶ

1 καταβαλόντος Bernardakis: καταβάλλω, τι.
2 αὐτῶν Hercher: αὐτῶν.

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a The reference may be to Homer, Il. xxiv. 45 (cf. Hesiod, Works and Days, 318).
b Euripides, Medea, 290, quoted also in Moralia, 530 c.
c Cf. Moralia, 612 ff.
d Presumably Plutarch again.
that we are constrained by a false sense of shame to join company with men who are in fit condition and to drink with them—then especially, in order to combat "shame which works mischief for men" (or rather I would call it shamefacedness), we should summon to our defence the words which Creon speaks in the tragedy:

'Twere better, friend, to gain your hatred now
Than be soft-hearted and lament anon.

For to be so afraid of being thought ill-bred as to plunge oneself into a pleurisy or brain-fever is proof that one is in very truth ill-bred, possessed of neither sense nor the reason which knows how to consort with men without the wine-glass and the savour of food. For a request to be excused, if characterized by cleverness and wit, is no less agreeable than joining in the round of gaiety; and if a man provides a banquet in the same spirit in which he provides a burnt-offering which it is forbidden to taste, and personally abstains when the wine-cup and the table are before him, at the same time volunteering cheerfully some playful allusion to himself, he will create a pleasanter impression than the man who gets drunk and gormandizes for company. Of the men of earlier times he mentioned Alexander, who, after a prolonged debauch, was ashamed to say no to the challenges of Medius, and abandoned himself to a fresh round of hard drinking, which cost him his life; and of the men of our time he mentioned Regulus the prize-fighter. For when Titus Caesar called him to the bath at daybreak,

* Cf. Plutarch's Life of Alexander, chap. lxxv. (p. 706 c); Diodorus, xvii. 117; Athenaeus, 434 c; Arrian, Anabasis, vii. 25. 1; Quintus Curtius, x. 4; Justin, xii. 13.
D συνελούσατο, καὶ πιὸν ἄπαξ, ὡς φασιν, ἀποπληξίας (124) καταλαβούσης εὐθὺς ἀπέθανε.

Ταῦτ’ ἦμιν ὁ Γλαῦκος ἐν γέλωτι προὔφερεν ὡς παιδαγωγικά τῶν δ’ ἄλλων οὗ πάνυ πρόθυμος ἦν ἀκούειν, οὗτ’ ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνω διηγεῖσθαι. οὐ δ’ ἐπισκόπει τῶν λεχθέντων ἑκαστον.

6. Πρώτος μὲν ὁ Σωκράτης παρακελευόμενος φυλάττεσθαι τῶν βρωμάτων ὡς μὴ πεινώντας ἐσθιεν ἀναπεθεί, καὶ τῶν πωμάτων ὡς πίνειν μὴ δυσώντας, οὐχ ἀπλῶς τὸ χρῆσθαι τούτοις ἀπ-

Ε ἡγορευεν, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι δεσμένους ἐδίδασκε καὶ τὸ ἣδυ κατατάττοντας αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἀναγκαῖον, ὡσπερ οἵ τὰ θεωρικὰ ποιοῦντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεις στρατιωτικά. τὸ γὰρ ἢδυ τῇ φύσει μέχρι ὅν ἦ μέρος τοῦ τρέφοντος οἰκεῖν ἐστι, καὶ δεὶ πεινώντας ἑτὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπολάυειν ἢ τῶν ἠδέων, ἱδία δὲ μὴ κυνεῖν ἑτέρας ὀρέξεις τῶν κοινῶν ἀπηλλαγμένοις.

ὡσπερ γὰρ αὐτ’ ἔτ’ Σωκράτει γυμνάσιον ἦν ὅπις ἀγδέσῃ ἢ ἐρχθῆσοι, οὕτως ὅτινι τὸ πέμμα καὶ τὸ τράγημα δἐκτόν ἐστι καὶ σύτιον, ἥττον βλάπτεται τὸ δ’ ἀπέχουτα τῇ φύσει τὸ μέτρον καὶ πεπληρωμένον ἐπιδράττεσθαι τῶν τουτούτων φυλακτέον ἐν

Ε τοῖς μάλιστα. φυλακτέον δὲ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα φιλοδοξίας καὶ γαστριμαργίας οὐδὲν ἥττον ἀπειροκαλίαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ πολλάκις

1 αὐ τῷ Wytenbach: αὐτῷ.

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"Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 3. 6; cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 513 c, 521 e, and 661 f.

b Perhaps a reference to Demosthenes, ἱκ. 4, which says that in time of war all surplus funds are to be devoted to the army.

c Xenophon, Symposium, ii. 17-20; again referred to infra, 130 e, and Moralia 711 e.

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he came and bathed with him, took but one drink, they say, and died immediately from a stroke of apoplexy.

These are the teachings which Glaucus in derision quoted aggressively to us as pedantic. The rest he was not eager to hear, nor we to tell him. But I beg that you will examine each of the several statements.

6. First there is Socrates, who, in urging us to be on our guard against such things to eat as persuade us to eat when we are not hungry, and such things to drink as persuade us to drink when we are not thirsty, did not absolutely forbid the use of these things; but he was instructing us to use them only if we needed them, and to make the pleasure in them serve our necessity, just as our statesmen do who turn to military uses their funds for amusements. For that which is pleasant, in so far as it is a nutritive element, is congenial to our nature, and it is by remaining still hungry that we ought to get enjoyment from the necessary or the pleasant foods; but we should not stir up in ourselves a second and separate set of appetites after we have appeased the usual ones. And here is another consideration. Just as Socrates found dancing a not unpleasant exercise, so the man for whom pastry and sweets serve as a meal and as food suffers less injury. But when a man has satisfied the moderate demands of his nature, and has had his fill, he ought to exercise the very greatest vigilance against helping himself to such things. And in such matters, while we should be on guard against love of pleasure and gluttony, yet we should be no less on guard against vulgarity and love of notoriety. For these latter often help to persuade people to eat
The quotation does not appear in Plato, but Plutarch is
something when they are not hungry, and to drink when they are not thirsty, by suggesting utterly sordid and cheap conceits—that it is absurd not to take advantage of the presence of some rare and expensive thing, as, for example, sow's udder, Italian mushrooms, Samian cake, or snow in Egypt. For things of this sort do indeed often induce people to use what is renowned and rare, since they are led on by empty repute as by an attractive savour, and compel their body to do its share, although it feels no need, so that they may have a tale to tell to others, and may be envied for their enjoyment of things so hard to obtain and so uncommon. Quite similar is their behaviour toward notorious women. There are times when they repose in quiet with their own wives who are both lovely and loving, but when they have paid money to a Phryne or a Lais, although their body is in sorry state and is inclined to shirk its task, they rouse it forthwith to action, and call in licentiousness to minister to pleasure, all because of empty repute. In fact, Phryne herself, in her advancing years, said that she got a better price for her remnants because of her repute.

7. It is a great marvel if we get off unscathed, when we concede to the body only as much of pleasures as Nature in her need finds a place for, but still more so when we battle with it vigorously to thwart its appetites, and keep putting them off, and finally consent to some negotiation with such as will not be denied, or, as Plato says, "yield when the body bites and strains." But when the case is reversed, probably summing up from memory an account of a contest with the passions such as may be found, for example, in the Phaedrus, pp. 254 ff.
(125) ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπὶ τὸ σώμα κατιούσας ἐπιθυμίας καὶ καταβιαζομένας τοῖς ἐκείνης ὑπηρετεῖν καὶ ὑποδροτάτης βλάβας καὶ μεγίστας ἐφ' ἣδονᾶς ἀσθενέσι καὶ ἀμαυρᾶς ἐναπολιπεῖν. ἦκιστα δὲ ψυχῆς ἐπιθυμία σῶμα πρὸς ἥδονᾶς κινητέον· ἢ γὰρ ἀρχὴ παρὰ φύσιν γίγνεται. καὶ καθάπερ αἱ τῶν μασχαλῶν ψηλαφήσεις οὐκ ἰδιοὺς οὐδὲ πρᾶν οὐδ᾽ ἱερῶν γέλωτα τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχουσιν ἀλλ᾽ ἐνικότα σπασμῷ καὶ χαλεπόν, οὔτω πάλιν ὅσα τὸ σῶμα νυττόμενον ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἰδονᾶς ἴσχει καὶ ταραττόμενον, ἐκστατικά καὶ ταρακτικά αὕτη καὶ ἄλλοτρια τῆς φύσεως εἰσιν. ὅταν οὖν

τι τῶν σπανίων ἀπολαυσμάτων ἡ ἐνδόξων παραγένηται, φιλοτιμητέον ταῖς ἀποσχέσεις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς ἀπολαύσεις, μεμνημένος ὅτι καθάπερ ὁ Σιμωνίδης ἐλεγε μηδέποτ' αὐτῷ μεταμελῆσαι σιγήσαντι, φθεγξαμένῳ δὲ πολλάκις, οὔτως ἢ ἦν οὔτ᾽ ὤφοι παρωσαμένους μετεμέλησεν οὐθ᾽ ὕδωρ ἀντὶ Φαλερίνου πιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον οὐ μόνον οὐ προσβιαστέον ἐστὶ τῆν φύσιν, ἀλλὰ κἂν δεομένη προσφέρηται τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἐπὶ τὰ λιτὰ καὶ συνήθη πολλάκις ἀποτρεπτέον ἔθους ἐνεκα καὶ μελέτης τὴν ὀρεξίν.

εἴπερ γὰρ ἄδικεῖν χρῆ,

Εφησιν ὁ Θηβαῖος οὐκ ὅρθως λέγων,

τυραννίδος πέρι
κάλλιστον ἄδικεῖν.

* Repeated in more or less similar form, *Moralia*, 10.5 and 514.5.
and the desires descend from the mind to the body and force it to be subservient to the mind's emotions, and to join in their excitements, there is no way to prevent their leaving as a residue the most violent and serious injuries as the aftermath of feeble and evanescent pleasures. Least of all ought the body to be stirred to pleasures by the mind's desire, since such an origin is unnatural. Just as tickling the arm-pits so affects the mind as to produce laughter which is not natural, or even mild or happy, but convulsive and harsh, so whatsoever pleasures the body achieves through being prodded and disturbed by the mind are deranging and disturbing and foreign to Nature. Whenever, then, someone of those rare and notorious means of enjoyment is afforded us, we ought to take more pride in abstinence than in enjoyment, remembering that just as Simonides a used to say that he had never been sorry for having kept silent, but many a time for having spoken, so we have never been sorry either for having put a dainty to one side, or for having drunk water instead of Falernian wine, but the opposite; not only ought Nature not to be forced, but if anything of this sort is offered her even when she has need of it, the appetite ought to be often diverted from it towards the plain and familiar food for the sake of habituation and training.

If one must needs do wrong, are the words of the Theban, b who is not correct in saying, far best it were

To do it for a kingdom's sake.

* Eteocles in the Phoenissae of Euripides, i. 524; quoted by Plutarch also in Moralia, 18 d.
ήμεις δὲ βέλτιον ὡς, εἰπέρ φιλοδοξεῖν πρὸς τὰ τοι-αῦτα, ἐγκρατεῖα ἕκαλκιστὸν ὑπὲρ ὑγιείας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ μικρολογία καὶ γλυσχρότης ἑνίον ἀναγκάζει πιέζοντας οἴκοι τὰς ἔπιθυμίας καὶ κατυχναίνοντας ἐμπιπλασθαί παρ' ἐτέρους τῶν πολυτελῶν καὶ ἀπολαύων, καθάπερ ἐκ πολεμίας ἀφειδῶς ἐπισιτιζο-μένους· εἰτα κακῶς διατεθέντες ἀπίστους, εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν ἐφόδιον τῆς ἀπληστίας τὴν ἀπεψίαν ἔχον- 
F 

μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ' αὐξων

αἰεὶ ἔστασιν ἁμὲν βάλης·

αὐτὸς δὲ τις έαυτῷ παρακελευέσθω "μὴ πρὸ φακῆς λοπάδ' αὐξων αἰεὶ" μηδὲ πάντως ὑπερβαίνων τὴν καρδαμίδα καὶ τὴν ἐλαίαν ἐπὶ τὸ θρίων καὶ τὸν ἵχθυν εἰς στάσιν ἐκ πλησιμονῆς τὸ σῶμα καὶ ταραχὰς ἐμβάλλει καὶ διαρροίας. τὰ γάρ εὐτελῆ κρατεῖ τὴν ὀρέξιν ἐπὶ τῶν φυσικῶν μέτρων,

126 ὅφοποιῶν δὲ τέχναι καὶ δημιουργῶν καὶ
tὰ πανόργα ταῦτ' ὀφάρια χυτοπρόμματα
cατὰ τὸν κωμικὸν αἰεί τοὺς ὄρους τῆς ἠδονῆς μετα- 
τίθησιν εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν καὶ παραλάττει τὸ συμ- 
φέρον. οὐκ οἶδα δ' ὅτινα τρόπον, ἡμῶν τὰς γυναι- 
κας ὅσα φίλτρα μηχανῶνται καὶ γοητείας ἐπὶ τοὺς 
ἀνδρας βδελυγμένων καὶ δυσχεραίνοντων, μυσθω-

1 ἐγκρατεῖα Wythtenbach: ἐγκράτεια.

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ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL, 125–126

But we can improve on this by saying that if we must needs seek repute in such matters as food and drink, "far best it were" by continence for the sake of health. Nevertheless stinginess and greediness constrain some persons, who repress and reduce their desires in their own homes, to stuff themselves and enjoy themselves with expensive things at others' houses as though they were engaged in ruthless foraging in an enemy's country; then they go away much indisposed, and for the next day they have an attack of indigestion to pay for their insatiable appetite. So Crates, thinking that luxury and extravagance were as much to blame as anything for the growth of civil discords and the rule of despots in states, humorously advised:

Do not, by always making our fare more ample than lentils,
Throw us all into discord.

And let everybody exhort himself "not to make his fare always more ample than lentils," and by all means not to proceed beyond cress and olives to croquettes and fish, and by overeating throw "his body into discord," that is to say, into derangements and diarrhoeas. For the inexpensive things keep the appetite to its natural limits of moderation, but the arts of the chefs and their trained helpers, and, in the words of the comic poet, b

These knavish dainties and these complex foods, are constantly advancing and enlarging the bounds of enjoyment, and altering our ideas of what is good for us. I do not know how it is that, while we loathe and detest women who contrive philters and magic to use upon their husbands, we entrust
(126) τοῖς τε καὶ δούλοις προϊμεθα τὰ σιτία καὶ τὰ ὀφα μονονοῦ μαγγανεύειν καὶ φαρμάττειν. εἰ τούν καὶ πικρότερον φανείται τὸ τοῦ Ἀρκεσιλάου πρὸς τοὺς μοιχικοὺς καὶ ἀκολάστον εἰρημένον, "μηδὲν διαφέρειν ὁπισθὲν τινα ἢ ἐμπροσθὲν εἶναι κίναιδον;"

Β οὖκ ἀνάρμοστον ἐστὶ τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις. τι γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς διαφέρει σατύρα προσάγοντα κυνεῖν καὶ παροξύνειν τὸ ἀκολαστὸν ἐπὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς, ἢ τὴν γεύσιν ὀσμαῖς καὶ καρυκείαις ἐρεθίζειν ὡσπερ τὰ ψωρίωντα κνησμῶν ἢ ἐδέσθαι καὶ γαργαλισμῶν;

8. Αἵλλοτε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς λεκτέουν ἴσως, τὸ καλὸν καὶ σεμινὸν ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῦ τῆς ἔγκρατείας οἶον ἐστὶ δεικνύοντας. δὲ νῦν λόγος ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἐστίν. οὔτε γὰρ πράξεις οὔτ’ ἐλπίδας οὔτ’ ἀποδημίας οὔτε διαγωγὰς οἴ νόσου τοσαύτας ὅσας ἡδονὰς ἦμῶν ἀφαιροῦντα καὶ

C διαφθείρουσιν. οἶδεν ἦκιστα λυσιτελεὶ καταφρονεῖν τής ὑγιείας τοῖς μάλιστα τῆν ἡδονὴν διώκουσιν καὶ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρρωστῖαι πολλοῖς 1 παρέχουσι καὶ στρατηγεῖν νὴ Δία καὶ βασιλεύσειν, ἡδονῆι δὲ σωματικῶς καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ἐναι μὲν οὐδ’ ὄλως γένεσιν ἐν νόσῳ λαμβάνουσιν, αἱ δὲ λαμβάνουσιν βραχὺ τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ οὗ καθαρὸν ἄλλα συμπεφυρ- μένον πολλῷ τῷ ἄλλοτρῷ καὶ μεμωλωπυσμένον ὡσπερ ἐκ ξάλης καὶ χειμῶνος ἀναφέρουσιν. οὐ γὰρ

ἐν πλησιμοναῖς Κύπρις,
ἀλλὰ μάλλον ἐν εὐδία σαρκὸς καὶ γαλήνη καὶ

1 πολλοῖς Meziriacus: πολλοῖς.

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a Repeated by Plutarch, Moralia, 705 e, in a slightly different form. Cf. Aulus Gellius, iii. 5.

b The sentiment is probably taken from Euripides; cf. 236
our food and provisions to hirelings and slaves to be all but bewitched and drugged. If the saying of Arcesilaus addressed to the adulterous and licentious appears too bitter, to the effect that 'it makes no difference whether a man practises lewdness in the front parlour or in the back hall,' yet it is not without its application to our subject. For in very truth, what difference does it make whether a man employ aphrodisiacs to stir and excite licentiousness for the purposes of pleasure, or whether he stimulate his taste by odours and sauces to require, like the itch, continual scratchings and ticklings?

8. At some other time, then, it may be that we shall have to speak against pleasures, and show what an intrinsic beauty and dignity belongs to continence; but the present discourse is on the side of many pleasures and great. For diseases do not take from us and spoil for us so many of our enterprises or hopes or travels or pastimes as they do of our pleasures. Hence contempt for health is least profitable for those who make pleasure their chief aim. For infirmities allow many persons to be philosophers, or actually even generals or kings, but the pleasures and enjoyments of the body in some cases do not come to life at all in time of disease, and those that come to life yield but a brief part of what they properly should, and even that is not pure, but contaminated with much that is foreign, and marked, as it were, by the beatings of surge and storm. For it is not true that

In well-gorged bodies Love resides, but rather in serenity and calmness of the flesh does

(126) Κύπρος εἰς ἥδονῃ τελευτᾶ καὶ βρῶσις καὶ πόσις. 

D ἡ δ' ὑγίεια ταῖς ἥδοναις ὠσπερ ἡ γαλήνη ταῖς ἀλκυόσιν ἀσφαλῆ καὶ καλῆς γένεσιν καὶ λοχείαν ἐνδίδωσι. κομψὸς γὰρ έξοικεν ὁ Πρόδικος εἶπεν ὅτι τῶν ἥδονατων ἁριστῶν ἔστι τὸ πῦρ. ἀληθέστερον τ' ἣν τὶς εἶποι τὴν ὑγίειαν ἥδονα θειότατον εἶναι καὶ προσηνέστατον· ἐφθα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὅτα καὶ πεπτὰ βρώματα νοσούσιν ἡ κραπαλώσιν ἡ ναυτιώσιν οὐδεμιᾶν ἥδονη οὐδὲ χάριν ἀποδίδωσι, καθαρὰ δὲ καὶ ἀκραφνῆς ὀρέξεις ἕγινοντι σώματι πᾶν ἰδὺ ποιεῖ καὶ “ἀρπαλέον,“ ὡς “Ομηρος ἔφη, καὶ πρόσφορον.

9. 'Επεὶ δ' ὠσπερ ὁ Δημάδης πολεμικοὺς ἑκαύρως τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας ἐλευθεροτοιχεῖν εἰρήνην ἀνεύ μελάνων ἔμπατῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμείς οὐδέποτε μεμημέθα λυτῆς διαίτης καὶ σώφρονος ἀνεύ κλύσεων καὶ καταπλασμάτων· ἔν τε τούτοις γενόμενοι πιέζομεν σφόνδρα τὰς ἀμαρτίας, ἐναπερειδόμενοι τῇ μνήμῃ καὶ, καθάπερ οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν μὲν ἀέρας νῦν δὲ χώρας ἐπιμερφόμενοι νοσώδεις ἀποδημίας δεδεῖνα λέγουσι, ἐξαιρουμένοι τῆς αἰτίας τὴν ἀκρασίαν καὶ φιληδονίαν ἀλλ' ὠσπερ ὁ Λυσίμαχος ἐν Γέταις συσχεθεῖς δύνη καὶ παραδοὺς ἐαυτὸν μετὰ τὸ στρατεύματος Φ αἰχμάλωτον εἶτα πιὼν ὑδωρ ψυχρόν, "ὁ θεὸς" εἶπεν, "ὡς βραχείας ἥδονης ἕνεκα μεγάλην

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1 ἀληθέστερον Stobaeus, εἰ. 3: ἀληθέστατον, probably from the following superlatives.
2 δ' Meziriacus: γὰρ.
5 δεδεῖναι F.C.B.: τέ τινας.

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a Cf. Aristotle, Historia animalium, v. 8; Plutarch, Moralia, 982 r.

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love find its end in pleasure, as also do eating and drinking; and health affords to pleasures, as calm weather to the halcyons, a safe and lovely nesting and hatching of their young. Prodicus seems to have put the matter very neatly in saying that fire is the best of sauces; but one might more truly speak of health as being the most divine and agreeable sauce. For boiled, baked, or fried foods afford no proper pleasure or even gratification to those who are suffering from disease, debauch, or nausea, while a clean and unspoiled appetite makes everything, to a sound body, pleasant and “eagerly craved,” as Homer has said,—that is, agreeable.

9. As Demades used to say that the Athenians, who were for making war in season and out of season, never voted for peace save when wearing black, so we never give a thought to a plain and restrained way of living except when using enemas and poultices. But when we find ourselves in this plight we try hard to stifle the thought of our wrongdoings, setting ourselves against their remembrance, and, as is the way of most people who object to this or that air or this or that locality as insalubrious when they say that they dread travelling, we exclude our intemperance and self-indulgence from the cause of our illness. Nay, we should recall how Lysimachus among the Getae was constrained by thirst to surrender himself and the army with him as prisoners of war, and afterwards as he drank cold water exclaimed, “My God, for what a brief pleasure have I thrown

b Attributed to Evenus in Moralia, 50 a, 697 d, and 1010 c.

c Od. viii. 164. Cf. also 101 c supra.

d 292 B.C.; cf. also Moralia, 183 e and 555 d. Lysimachus was one of the successors of Alexander the Great.
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

eudaimonian apebaloymi,"

10. Ouk anvoi d' oti kai dia kópous purétou-

1 diephtheiramén Reiske: diephtheirmen.

2 de Wyttenbach: te.

3 tharpein] tharpeintas máxexbai Stobaeus, Florilegium, ci. 7.

4 beltiovas ágein] beltiovas Stobaeus, Florilegium, ci. 8.

That this story had acquired almost a fixed phraseology in the source from which Plutarch took it may be seen 240

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away great prosperity!"
And in the same way we ought in our attacks of illness to remember that for a cold drink, an ill-timed bath, or a social party, we have spoiled many of our pleasures and have ruined many an honourable enterprise and delightful recreation. For the sting caused by such reflections keeps the memory raw, so that, like a scar that remains when the body is in health, it makes us more circumspect about our way of living. For the healthy body will not, to any immoderate extent, breed desires that are vehement, intractable, unwonted, and hard to dispossess; nay, we can boldly and confidently oppose the appetites which would fain go beyond all bounds and assault our enjoyments, knowing that their whining and whimpering is a trivial and childish manifestation, and that later, when the table is removed, they will cease repining and make no complaint nor feel themselves aggrieved, but, on the contrary, untainted and cheerful rather than dulled and nauseated by over-indulgence, await the morrow. The remark which Timotheus a made, the day after he had dined with Plato at the Academy on the simple fare of the scholar, is in point here: "Those who dine with Plato," he said, "get on pleasantly the next day also." And it is reported that Alexander said b when he discharged the chefs of Ada that he had better ones always to take with him—his night marches for breakfast, and for dinner his frugal breakfast.

10. I am not unaware that men contract fevers by comparing this passage and Plutarch, Moralia, 686 A, Aelian, Varia Historia, ii. 18, Athenaeus, p. 419 d, and Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, v. 35 (100).

(127) σὺν ἀνθρωποι καὶ δι’ ἑγκαύσεις καὶ διὰ περιψύξεις. ἀλλ’ ὦστερ αἱ τῶν ἀνθέων σομαί καθ’ ἑαυτὰς ἀσθενεῖς εἰσι, μιχθείσα δὲ τῷ ἑλαίῳ ρώμην ἱσχύσου καὶ τόνων, οὕτω ταῖς ἐξώθην αἰτίαις καὶ C ἀρχαῖς οἷον ὀφείλαν καὶ σῶμα παρέχει τὸ πλῆθος ὑποκείμενον. ἂνευ δὲ τούτοι,¹ τούτων χαλεπὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ’ ἔξαμαυροῦνται καὶ διαχέονται ραδίως, αἰματος λεπτοῦ καὶ πνεύματος καθαροῦ δεχομένου τὴν κίνησιν· ἐν δὲ πλῆθει καὶ περιπτώματι οἰον ἵλυς ἀναταρρατομένη μιαρὰ ποιεῖ πάντα καὶ δυσχερῆ καὶ δυσαπάλλακτα. διὸ δεὶ μὴ καθάπερ οἱ ἀγαστοὶ² ναύκληροι πολλὰ δι’ ἀπληστιῶν ἐμβαλόμενοι, τούντεθεν ἡδῆ διατελοῦσι ἀντλοῦντες καὶ ὑπεξερώντες τὴν θάλατταν, οὕτως ἐμπλήσαντας τὸ σῶμα καὶ βαρύναντας ὑποκαθαίρειν D αὖθις καὶ ὑποκλύζειν, ἀλλὰ διατηρεῖν εὐσταλές, ὅπως, κἂν πιεσθῇ ποτε, φελλοῦ δίκην ὑπὸ κουφότητος ἀναφέρηται.

11. Μάλιστα δὲ προφυλακτέον ἐν ταῖς προπαθείαις καὶ προαισθήσεσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀπασάι κατὰ τὸν Ἡσίοδον ἑπιφοιτῶσιν αἱ νόσοι

σιγῆ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεὺς,
ἀλλ’ αἱ πλεῖσται καθάπερ προαγγέλους καὶ προδρόμους καὶ κήρυκας ἐχοῦσιν ἀπειθίας καὶ δυσκινησίας. “βαρύτητες καὶ κόποι,” φησίν Ἰπποκράτης, “ἀυτόματοι νοῦσον φράζουσι,” διὰ πλῆθος

¹ toútov added by Capps.
² ἀγαστοὶ F.C.B.: ἄγαθοι. The bit of irony escaped the copyist.
³ ὑπεξερώντες Kronenberg (cf. Moralia, 52b): ὑπεξαίροντες.

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because of fatigue and extremes of heat and cold; but just as the scents of flowers are weak by themselves, whereas, when they are mixed with oil, they acquire strength and intensity, so a great mass of food to start with provides substance and body, as it were, for the causes and sources of disease that come from the outside. Without such material none of these things would cause any trouble, but they would readily fade away and be dissipated, if clear blood and an unpolluted spirit are at hand to meet the disturbance; but in a mass of superfluous food a sort of turbulent sediment, as it were, is stirred up, which makes everything foul and hard to manage and hard to get rid of. Therefore we must not act like those much admired (!) ship-masters who for greed take on a big cargo, and thenceforth are continually engaged in baling out the sea-water. So we must not stuff and overload our body, and afterwards employ purgatives and injections, but rather keep it all the time trim, so that, if ever it suffer depression, it shall, owing to its buoyancy, bob up again like a cork.

11. We ought to take special precautions in the case of premonitory symptoms and sensations. For what Hesiod has said Ε of the illnesses that go hither and thither assailing mankind is not true of all, that

Silent they go, since the wisdom of Zeus has deprived them of voices, but most of them have as their harbingers, fore-runners, and heralds, attacks of indigestion and lassitude. "Feelings of heaviness or of fatigue," says Hippocrates, when due to no external cause,

\[\text{Works and Days, 104, quoted more fully supra, 105 E.} \]
\[\text{Aphorisms, ii. 5 (ed. Chartier, 38, 43, Kühn, iii. p. 712).}\]
υἱς ἐνικεν ἐντὸς διάτασιν καὶ σφήνωσιν τοῦ περὶ
Ε ἡ νεῦρα πνεύματος ἐχοντος. ἀλλ’ ὃμως αὐτοῦ
μονονουχὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀντιτεύνοντος καὶ κατα-
σπώντος ἐπὶ τὸ κλωνίδιον καὶ τὴν ἰσχιῶν οἱ μὲν
ὕπο λαμαργίας καὶ φιληδονίας ἐμβάλλουσι εἰαν-
τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ βαλανεία καὶ σπεύδουσιν ἐπὶ τὰς
προπόσεις, ὥσπερ εἰς πολυορκίαν ἐπισυντιχομένοι
καὶ διεδότες μὴ φθάσῃ καταλαβῶν αὐτοῦς ὁ
πυρετὸς ἀνάριστος, οἱ δὲ κομψότεροι ταύτῃ μὲν
οὐχ ἀλίσκονται, πάνω δὲ ἀβελτέρως αἰσχυνόμενοι
κραυγάλην ἡ ἀπεβίαν ὁμολογεῖν καὶ διημερεῖνιν
ἐν ἰματίοις, ἐτέρων εἰς τὸ γυμνᾶσιν βαδιζόντων
καὶ παρακαλοῦντων, ἀναστάντες συναποδύονται
F καὶ ταῦτα πράττοντι τοῖς ὑγιαίνοισι. τοὺς δὲ
πλείους ἀκρασία καὶ μαλακίαζ συνήγορον ἔχουσα
παρομίαν ἐπὶς ἀναπείθει καὶ προάγεται βαδίζειν
ἀναστάντας ἰταμώδος ἐπὶ τὴν συνῆθειαν, ὡς οὐκ
ἤ τὸν οἶνον κραυγάλη δὲ τὴν κραυγάλην ἐξελῶντας
καὶ διαφορήσοντας. τὸ μὲν οὖν ταύτῃ τὴν
ἐλπίδα τῆς τοῦ Κάτωνος εὐλάβειαν ἀντιτακτέον
ήν φήσων ἑκεῖνος ὁ ἀνήρ “τὰ μὲν μεγάλα μικρὰ
ποιεῖν τὰ δὲ μικρὰ παντελῶς ἀναρεῖν,” καὶ ὅτι
κρείττον ἐνδειαν ὑπομείναι διὰ κενῆς καὶ ἰσχίῶν
ἡ διακυβεύσαι πρὸς λουτρὸν ὑσαμένους καὶ

2 Kock, Comic. Att. Frag. iii. p. 494, extracts an iambic trimeter from the words of this proverb.
3 εξελῶντας καὶ διαφορήσοντας Wyttenbach, and one ms. correction: εξελῶντας καὶ διαφορήσοντας.

“Similia similibus curentur.” The proverb has not been handed down in this form, but Plutarch may have in mind the proverb found in Pollux, ix. 120 (see Kock, Com. 244
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indicate disease,” since, presumably, the spirit about the nerves is subjected to tension and pressure owing to fullness within the body. Nevertheless, some men, although their body itself all but resists and would fain drag them to their beds and their rest, are led by gluttony and self-indulgence to rush off to the baths and eagerly to join in the drinking-bouts, as if they were laying in provisions for a siege and were fearful lest the fever seize them before they have had luncheon. Others, less gross than these, are not indeed caught in this folly, but very stupidly, just because they are ashamed to admit having a headache or indigestion, and to keep their clothes on all day, when a crowd on their way to the gymnasium invite them to come along, they get up and go, strip with the others, and go through the same exercises as do those who are in sound health. But as for the majority, Hope, backed by a proverb which well accords with incontinence and weakness of purpose, persuades and induces them to get up and go recklessly to their accustomed haunts, thinking to expel and dispel wine with wine, and headache with headache. Against this hope should be set Cato’s caution which that grand old man phrased in this way: “Make the great small, and abolish the small altogether”; also the thought that it is better to submit patiently to fasting and resting with nothing to show for it, rather than to take any chances by rushing pell-mell to a bath or a dinner. For if there

Att. Frag. iii. p. 500, and his notes, especially the reference to Athenaeus, 44 a): “Nail with nail and peg with peg” (a man drives out). Slightly different versions may be found in Leutsch and Schneidewin, Paroemiographi Graeci, ii. pp. 116 and 171.

a Cf. Moralia, 825 d.
(128) δεῖπνον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τι, βλάψει τὸ μὴ φυλαξάσθαι μηδε ἐπισχεῖν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν, οὐ βλάψει τὸ συσταλῆναι τῷ σῶματι καὶ γενέσθαι καθαρώτερον. ὅ δὲ παιδαριώδης ἐκεῖνος καὶ τοῖς φίλοις δεδώς καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις φανερὸς γενέσθαι διακείμενος ἐκ πλησιμονῆς ἢ κρασάλης ἢγδώς, αἰσχυνόμενος ἀπεφίαν ὁμολογήσαι τήμερον, αὐριον ὁμολογήσει κατάρροιαν ἢ πυρετὸν ἢ στρόφον.

αἰσχυνόμενος αἶσχιστα πενίαιν ἄν φέροις,

Β πολὺ δ’ αἰσχιον ἀπεφίαν καὶ βαρύτητα καὶ πλησιμονῆν σῶματος εἰς βαλανεῖον ἐλκομένον καθάπερ εἰς θάλατταν σαθροῦ πλοίου καὶ μὴ στέγοντος. ἦσπερ γὰρ ἀμέλει πλέοντες ἐνοιχεμώνως ὄντος αἰδοῦνται διατρίβειν ἐπ’ ἀκτῆς, εἰτ’ ἀναχθέντες αἴσχιστα διάκεινται βοῶντες καὶ ναυτιώντες, οὕτως ἐν ὑποψίᾳ καὶ προπαθείᾳ σῶματος ἀγεννὲς ἥγούμενοι μᾶν ἡμέραν ἐν ἱλάσῃ διάγειν καὶ μὴ παραθέσθαι τράπεζαν, αἴσχιστα πολλὰ ἡμέρας κεῖνται καθαρόμενοι καὶ καταπλαττόμενοι καὶ θωπεύοντες ἵπτροὺς καὶ θεραπεύοντες, οἴνον αἴτοῦντες ἢ ψυχρὸν ύδωρ, ἅτοπα

C καὶ ἀγεννὴ πολλὰ ποιεῖν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι διὰ τὸν πόνον καὶ τὸν φόβον ὑπομένοντες.

Καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς μὴ κρατοῦντας ἑαυτῶν ἀλλ’ ἐγκλίνοντας ἢ φερομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καλῶς ἔχει διδάσκειν καὶ ἀναμμηνήσκειν ὅτι πλεῖστον ἐκ τοῦ σῶματος αἱ ἡδοναὶ λαμβάνοντοι.

(12) καὶ καθάπερ οἱ Λάκωνες ὄξος καὶ ἄλας

1 ἄν added by Porson.
is anything the matter with us, failure to take proper precaution and to put a check on ourselves will do us harm; and if nothing is the matter, it will do no harm for the body to be subjected to some restrictions and cleared of some of its encumbrances. But that childish person who is afraid to let his friends and servants discover that he is in a state of discomfort from excessive eating or drinking, will, if he is ashamed to admit having indigestion to-day, tomorrow admit having diarrhoea or fever or gripes.

The shame of want makes want a shame to bear, but much more is it a shame to bear indigestion, overloading, and overfullness in a body which is dragged to the bath like a rotten and leaky boat into the sea. For just exactly as some persons, when they are voyaging and a storm is raging, are ashamed to tarry on shore, and so they put out to sea, and then are in most shameful case, shrieking and sea-sick, so those who regard it as ignoble, amidst suspicious premonitory symptoms of their body, to spend one day in bed, and not to take their meals at table, keep to their bed most shamefully for many days, under purging and poulticing, servile and attentive to physicians, asking for wine or cold water, and suffering themselves to do and to utter many extravagant and ignoble things because of their distress and fear.

Moreover, it is well that those who because of pleasures fail in self-control, and give way to their desires or are carried away by them, should be instructed and reminded that pleasures derive most of their satisfaction from the body; (12) and as the Spartans give to the cook vinegar and salt only,

διδόντες τῷ μαγείρῳ τὰ λοιπὰ κελεύοντον ἐν τῷ
ιερεῖῳ ξητείν, οὕτως ἐν τῷ σῶματι τοῦ προσφερο-
μένου τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἄνδυσμάτων ἔστιν, ἀντερ
ὑγιαίνοντι καὶ καθαρῷ προσφέρειται. γλυκῷ μὲν
γὰρ ἡ πολυτέλες ἔξω καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸ τῶν τοιούτων
ἐκαστὸν ἔστιν, ἢδυ δὲ πέφυκεν ἐν τῷ ἢδομένῳ
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ἢδομένου γίγνεσθαι κατὰ φύσιν

D ἔχοντος· ἐν δὲ δυσαρέστοις καὶ κραυγαλώσι καὶ
φαύλως διακειμένοις πάντα τὴν αὐτῶν χάριν καὶ
ὄραν ἀπόλλυσι. διὸ δεῖ μὴ σκοπεῖν τὸν ἱχθύν
εἰ πρόσφατος, μηδὲ τὸν ἄρτον εἰ καθαρός, μηδὲ
tὸ βαλανεῖον εἰ θερμόν, μηδὲ τὴν ἐταίραν εἰ
εὔμορφος, ἀλλ’ αὐτῶν εἰ μὴ ναυτιώδης μηδὲ
θολερός μηδ’ ἔωλος μηδὲ τεταραγμένος. εἰ δὲ
μὴ, καθάπερ εἰς οἰκίαν πενθοῦσαν ἐμβαλόντες
ἐπίκουμι μεθύοντες οὐ φιλοφροσύνην παρέσχον
οὐδ’ ἢδονὴν ἀλλὰ κλαυθμοὺς καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς

Ε ἐποίησαν, οὕτω καὶ ἀφροδίσια καὶ ὄψι καὶ
βαλανεία καὶ οἶνος ἐν σῶματι κακῶς καὶ παρὰ
φύσιν ἔχοντι μιγνύμενα τοῖς μὴ καθεστώσι καὶ
dιεφθορόσι φλέγμα καὶ χολήν κινεῖ καὶ ταράττει
καὶ προσεξίστησιν, ἢδυ δ’ οὐδὲν ἄξιολόγος οὐδ’
ἀπολαυστικόν οὐδὲν οἶνον προσεδοκησαμεν ἀπο-
δίδωσιν.

13. Ἡ μεν οὖν ἀκριβῆς σφόδρα καὶ δ’ ὄνυχος
λεγομένη δίαιτα τὸ τε σῶμα κομίδη ψοφοδέες παρ-
έχεται καὶ σφαλερόν, αὐτῆς τε τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ γαύρον
κολούει πάντα πράγματα καὶ πᾶσαν οὐχ ἦττον

1 κλαυθμοὺς καὶ ὀδυρμοὺς Stobaeus, Florilegium, ci. 9: κλαυθμοὺς.
2 τε Stobaeus, Florilegium, ci. 10: δε.
bidding him seek whatever else he needs in the slaughtered animal itself, so in the body are the best of sauces for whatever is served, if so be that it is served to a body which is healthy and clean. For everything of this sort is “sweet” or “costly” irrespectively of the user and by itself, but Nature decrees that it becomes “pleasant” only in and in connexion with the person that is pleased and is in harmony with Nature; but in those who are captious or suffering from a debauch, or are in a bad way, all things lose their intrinsic agreeableness and freshness. Therefore there is no need to look to see whether the fish be fresh, the bread white, the bath warm, or the girl shapely, but a man should look to himself to see whether he be not nauseated, feculent, stale, or in any way upset. Otherwise, just as drunken revellers who force their way into a house of mourning provide no cheerfulness or pleasure, but only cause weeping and wailing, so in a body that is in a bad condition and out of harmony with Nature, the pleasures of love, elaborate food, baths and wine, when combined with such elements in the body as are unsettled and tainted, set up phlegm and bile and bring on an upset, besides being unduly exciting, while they yield no pleasure to speak of, nor any enjoyment like what we expected.

13. The very exact mode of living, “exact to a hair’s breadth,” to use the popular expression, puts the body in a timorous and precarious state, and abridges the self-respect of the soul itself, so that it comes to look askance at every activity, and to no less

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a A humorous turn is given to this custom in the anecdote related by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 995 b.
b See the note on 86 a in Vol. I.
14. "Ατοπον γάρ ἐστὶ κοράκων μὲν λαρυγγισμοῖς καὶ κλωσμοῖς ἀλεκτορίδων καὶ "συῤῥ ἐπὶ φορτῷ μαργαρινοῦσας," ὡς ἐφη Δημόκριτος, ἐπιμελῶς προσέχειν, σημεῖα ποιομένους πνευμάτων καὶ ὁμβρῶν, τὰ δὲ τοῦ σώματος κινήματο καὶ σάλους καὶ προπαθείας μὴ προλαμβάνειν μηδὲ προφυλάττειν, μὴ ἐχεῖν σημεῖα χειμώνος ἐν ἐαυτῷ γεννησο-μένου καὶ μέλλοντος. οἷς ὅπερ τροφὴν μόνον οὔδε γυμνάσια δὲ φυλάττειν τὸ σῶμα μὴ παρὰ τὸ Β ἑισθῆσι ἀπτεταὶ τοιῶν ὀκνηρῶς καὶ ἀπροθύμως ἢ πάλιν δυσώδες ἔστι καὶ πεναλέον ὡς οὐ πέφυκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπνῶν τὸ μὴ συνεχές μηδὲ λείον

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1 γενόμενον Stobaeus, ibid.: γενόμενον.
2 bορέα Bergk: βορρά.
a degree at spending any time or participating at all in pleasures or labours, and goes at no undertaking with readiness and confidence. A man ought to handle his body like the sail of a ship, and neither lower and reduce it much when no cloud is in sight; nor be slack and careless in managing it when he comes to suspect something is wrong, but he should rather ease the body off and lighten its load, as has already been said, and not wait for indigestions and diarrhoeas, nor heightened temperatures nor fits of drowsiness. And yet some people wait until a fever is already at their doors and then, being as excited as if a message or a summons to court had come, just manage to restrict themselves; whereas they ought, while these things are still afar off, to be cautious

Before the storm, as though along the strand

The North wind blew."

14. For it is absurd to give careful heed to the croaking of ravens, the clucking of hens, and "swine in their wild excitement over bedding," b as Democritus c put it, making signs of winds and rains out of these, and at the same time not to forestall nor take precaution against the stirrings, the ups and downs, and the premonitory symptoms in the body, and not to hold these to be signs of a storm that is going to take place in one's self, and is just about to break. Wherefore not merely in the matter of food and exercise do we need to keep watch of our body, to see whether, contrary to its habits, it takes to these reluctantly and without zest, or at another time is thirsty and hungry in an unnatural way, but also, in the matter of sleep, to beware of lack of

* Diels, Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker, ii. p. 88.
(129) ἀλλ' ἀνωμαλίας ἔχον καὶ διασπασμοὺς εὐλαβεῖσθαι, καὶ τῶν ἐνυπνίων τὴν ἀτοπίαν, ἀντερ ὅσι μὴ νόμιμοι μηδὲ συνήθεις αἱ φαντασίαι, πλήθος ἡ πάχος ύγρῶν ἢ πνεύματος1 ταραχὴν ἐντὸς καταγοροῦσαν. ἦδη δὲ καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς κινήματα τὸ σώμα μηνύει πρὸς νόσον ἐπισφαλῶς ἐχειν. ἀλογοι γὰρ ἱσχοὺσιν ἀθυμία καὶ φόβοι πολλάκις ἀπ'.

Οὐδενὸς φανερός, τὰς ἐλπίδας ἀφινε κατασβενύονσαι γίγνονται δὲ καὶ ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἐπίχολοι καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ μικρόλυποι, καὶ δακρυρροοῦσι καὶ ἀδημονοῦσιν ὅταν ἄτυχοι πονηροὶ καὶ ἀναθυμιάσεις πικραὶ συνιστάμεναι "ταῖς τῆς ψυχῆς," ὡς φησιν ὁ Πλάτων, ἀνακραθῶσι "περίοδοις." διὸ δεῖ σκοπεῖν οἷς ἂν ταῦτα συμπίπτην καὶ μνημονεύειν, ἂν μὴδὲ ἡ πνευματικῶς, ὦτι σωματικῶς ἐστὶν αἰτίων ὑποστολῆς τινος ἡ κατακράσεως δεόμενον.

15. Χρῆσιμον δὲ πάνω καὶ τὸ τοὺς φίλους ἐπι-

D σκεπτόμενον ἀσθενοῦτας ἐκπυνθάνεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας, μὴ σοφιστικῶς μηδὲ περιέργως ἐνστάσεις καὶ παρεπιδεικνύμενον ἱατρικῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ γραμμάτων ἐμπειρίαν, ἀλλὰ ταύτι τὰ φαύλα καὶ κοινὰ μὴ παρέργως ἀκούοντα, πλήθος ἡλίωσιν2 κόπον ἀγρυπνίαν, μάλιστα δὲ δίαιταν ἡ χρώμενος ἐπύρεξεν. εἰδ' οὕσπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις ἀμαρτή-

μασίν εἰώθει λέγειν ἄπιων "μὴ ποὺ ἀρα καὶ ἐγὼ τοιοῦτος;" οὔτω τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς πλησίον εὗ τίθεσθαι, καὶ φυλάττεσθαι καὶ μνημονεύειν ὅπως

1 πνεύματος Stobaeus, Florilegium, ci. 11: πνευμάτων.

2 ἡλίωσιν Erasmus: ἢ λείωσιν.

* Timaeus, p. 47 d.

* Cf. Moralia, 40 d, 88 e, and 463 e.

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continuity and of evenness, marked by irregularities and sharp interruptions, and to beware also of the abnormal in dreams, which, if so be that our visions are improper or unwonted, argues an over-abundance or concretion of humours, or a disturbance of spirit within us. And also the emotions of the soul have often given warning that the body is perilously near disease. For instance, irrational discouragements and fears take possession of people oftentimes from no apparent cause, and suddenly extinguish their hopes; in temper they become irascible, sharp, and pained at trifles, and they are tearful and dismayed whenever bad vapours and bitter exhalations encounter and unite with the "rotations of the soul," as Plato\(^a\) has it. Therefore those to whom such things happen have need to consider and to remember that, if the cause is not one which concerns the spirit, it is one which concerns the body, and that it needs reducing or toning down.

15. It is very profitable when visiting sick friends to inquire of them the causes of their illness, not by talking pedantically and officiously about stoppages, irruptions, and trite generalities, and incidentally displaying some acquaintance with medical terminology and literature, but by listening in no perfunctory way to these homely and common details of over-eating, exposure to the sun, fatigue, sleeplessness, and especially the manner of living which the man was following when he fell sick of the fever. Then, like Plato, who, on his way home, was accustomed to say on the subject of others' faults, "Am not I too possibly like them?"\(^b\) a man ought to correct in himself the faults he observes in his neighbours, and be watchful and mindful not to become involved in
Ε ού περιπεσεῖται τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὖδ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν κλάσην καταπεσὼν υμνήσει ποθῶν τὴν πολυτύμπητον υγίειαν, ἀλλ' ἐτέρου πάσχοντος ἔνσημανείται πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ώς ἄξιον πολλοῦ τὸ υγιαίνει καὶ δεῖ τοῦτο διατηρεῖν αὐτῷ προσέχοντα καὶ φειδόμενον. οὐ χείρον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρεπισκοπεῖν δίαιταν· ἂν γὰρ ἐν πόσει καὶ προσφοραῖς ἦ τισὶ πόνοις καὶ ἀταξίαις ἑτέραις τυγχάνωμεν γεγονότες, τὸ δὲ σῶμα μηδεμίαν υποψίαν παρέχῃ μηδὲ προαιρήσεως, ὃμως αὐτοὺς δεῖ φιλάττεσθαι καὶ προκαταλαμβάνειν ἐκ μὲν ἀφροδισίων καὶ κόπων ὄντας ἀναπαύσει καὶ ἥσυχα, μετὰ δὲ οὕνων καὶ συμπερι-

F φορὰν ὑδροποσία, μάλιστα δὲ τροφάς κεχαριμένους ἐμβρυθέοι καὶ κρεώδεσιν ἢ πουκίλαις ὀλγοντεῖν καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολείπειν περιττώματος πλήθος ἐν τῷ σώματι. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰ ταύτα δι' αὐτὰ πολλῶν αὐτίας νόσων ἐστὶ, καὶ προστίθησι ταῖς ἄλλαις αὐτίας ὅλην καὶ δύναμιν. οἶ δὲ ἄριστα λέλεκται "τροφῆς ἀκορέαν καὶ πόνων ἀοκνίθαν καὶ σπέρματος οὐσίας συντήρησιν υγιεινότατα εἶναι." καὶ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὰς συνοικίας ἀκρασία τῷ μάλιστα τὴν δύναμιν ἐκλύειν ὅφ' ἢς ἢ τροφή διαπονεῖται, πλέον περίττῳμα ποιεῖ καὶ πλῆθος.

16. Ἀδήσις οὖν ἀναλαβόντες ἐξ ἄρχὴς περὶ ἐκάστου, πρῶτον δὲ περὶ γυμνασίων φιλολόγως ἀρμοζόντων λέγωμεν ὅτι ὅσπερ ὁ φίλος μηδὲν γράφειν παραθαλαττίοις περὶ ὀλκάδων ἐδίδαξε τὴν χρείαν,


*Cf. Moralia, 732 e.*

*b* Probably based on Hippocrates: *cf. Hippocrates, Epidemics, vi. 4. 20 (ed. Chartier, 9, 500, Kühn, iii. p. 605).*

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the same difficulties, and be himself compelled to
take to his bed, and there give voice to his yearnings
for precious health, but rather, when another is
undergoing this experience, he will impress upon
himself how valuable a thing is health, and that he
ought to try to preserve this by giving heed to him-
sel, and by being frugal. It is not a bad thing, either,
to take a look at our own way of living; for if we have
been engaged in a bout of drinking and eating, or in
some hardships and other irregularities, and the body
presents no suspicious or premonitory symptoms,
nevertheless we ought to be watchful of ourselves
and forestall any trouble by means of rest and quiet
when fresh from the pleasures of love, or when
fatigued; also by drinking water after the free use
of wine and after social gaiety, and especially, after
indulging in a heavy diet of meat or multifarious
foods, to eat lightly, and leave no mass of superfluous
residue in the body. For these very things are of
themselves the causes of many diseases, and they
add material and potency to the other causes. Wherefore it has been very well said, "Eating not
unto satiety, labouring not unto weariness, and
observance of chastity, are the most healthful
things." For incontinence, by undermining especially the powers by which the food is assimilated,
causes further superfluity and overcrowding.

16. Let us now take up each topic anew once
more; and in the first place, on the subject of exer-
cises suitable for scholars, we beg to remark that one
might follow the example of the man who, by saying
that he had nothing to write for people dwelling by
the sea on the subject of ships, showed clearly that
they were in use; and so in the same way one
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(130) οὖτω καὶ φιλολόγους φαίη τις ἀν μὴ γράφειν περὶ γυμνασίων. ἧ γὰρ καθ' ἡμέραν τοῦ λόγου χρεία διὰ φωνῆς περαινομένη βαμμαστὸν οἶνον ἔστι γυμνά-
σιον οὐ μόνον πρὸς ύγειαν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἰσχύν,
Β οὐ παλαιστικὴν οὐδὲ σαρκόσαμαν καὶ πυκνοῦσαν τὰ ἔκτος ὠστερ οἶκοδομήματος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ζωτικω-
tatóις καὶ κυριωτάτοις μέρεσι βύμην ἐνδιάθετον καὶ τόνον ἀληθῶν ἐμποιοῦσαν. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἰσχύν
ἐνδίδωσι τὸ πνεῦμα, δηλοῦσιν οὶ ἀλείπται, τοὺς ἀθητὰς κελέυοντες ἀντερείδειν ταῖς τρόφευσι καὶ
παρεγκόπτειν 2 τεινοντας 3 οἱ τὰ πλαττόμενα μέρη καὶ
ψηλαφώμενα τοῦ σώματος. ἡ δὲ ψωφή, τοῦ
πνεύματος οὔσα κίνησις, οὐκ ἐπιτολαίως ἀλλ' ἔνδορ ἐν πνεudies περὶ τὰ σπάγχνα δραμυκένει, τὸ
θερμὸν αὔξει καὶ λεπτύνει τὸ αἷμα, καὶ πάσαν μὲν
C ἐκκαθαίρει φλέβα, πᾶσαν δ' ἀρτηρίαν ἀνοίγει,
σύστασιν δὲ καὶ πῆξιν ύγρότητος οὐκ ἐὰν περιττω-
ματικῆς ὠστερ ὑποστάθημεν ἐγγενέσθαι τοῖς τὴν
τροφὴν παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ κατεργαζομένους ἁγ-
γείους. διὸ δεὶ μάλιστα ποιεῖν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦτω τῷ
γυμνασίῳ συνήθεις καὶ συντρόφους ἐνδελεχῶς λε-
γοντας, ἄν δ' ἤ τις ὑπουρία τοῦ σώματος ἐνδεήστε-
ρον ἢ κοπωδέστερον ἔχοντος, ἀναγιγνώσκοντας ἢ ἀναφωνοῦντας. ὀπερ γὰρ αἰώρα πρὸς γυμνάσιον
ἐστι, τοῦτο πρὸς διάλεξιν ἀνάγνωσις, ὠστερ ἐπ'
ὑχήματος ἀλλοτρίου λόγου κινοῦσα μαλακός καὶ
dιαφοροῦσα πράως τὴν φωνήν. ἡ δὲ διάλεξις
ἀγάνα καὶ σφοδρότητα προστίθησιν, ἣμα τῆς
D ψυχῆς τῷ σώματι συνεπετιθεμένης. κραυγᾶς μὲν-
tοι περιπαθεῖς καὶ σπαραγμώδεις εὐλαβητέον· αἱ

might say that he was not writing for scholars on the subject of exercise. For it is wonderful what an exercise is the daily use of the voice in speaking aloud, conducing, not only to health, but also to strength—not the strength of the wrestler which lays on flesh and makes the exterior solid like the walls of a building, but a strength which engenders an all-pervasive vigour and a real energy in the most vital and dominant parts. That breathing gives strength the athletic trainers make clear in telling the athletes to brace themselves against the rubbing and stop their breath meantime, and keep tense the portions of the body that are being kneaded and massaged. Now the voice is a movement of the breath, and if it be given vigour, not in the throat, but, as it were, at its source in the lungs, it increases the warmth, tones down the blood, clears out every vein, opens every artery, and does not permit of any concretion or solidifying of superfluous fluid like a sediment to take place in the containing organs which take over and digest the food. For this reason we ought especially to make ourselves habituated and used to this exercise by continual speaking, or, if there be any suspicion that our body is not quite up to the mark or is somewhat fatigued, then by reading aloud or declaiming. For reading stands in the same relation to discussion as riding in a carriage to active exercise, and as though upon the vehicle of another’s words it moves softly, and carries the voice gently this way and that. But discussion adds contention and vehemence, as the mind joins in the encounter along with the body. We must, however, be cautious about passionate and convulsive vociferations. For

3 τελοντας Meziriacus: τηρουντας.
(130) γὰρ ἀνώμαλοι προσβολαὶ καὶ διατάσεις τοῦ πνεύματος ἐρήμημα καὶ σπάσματα ποιοῦσιν.

'Αναγνόντας δ' ἢ διαλεξθέντα λιπαρὰ καὶ ἄλεεινή τρίφει χρηστέον πρὸ τοῦ περιπάτου καὶ μαλάζει τῆς σαρκός, ὥς ἀνυστόν εἶστι, τῶν σπλάγχνων ποιούμενον ἀφὴν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα πράως διομαλύνοντα καὶ διαχέοντα μέχρι τῶν ἀκρῶν. μέτρου δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους τῆς τρίφεως ἐστὶ τὸ προσφιλὲς τῇ Ε ἦσθησε καὶ ἄλυπον. ὅ γὰρ οὗτο καταστήσας τὴν ἐν βάθει παραχὴν καὶ διάτασιν τοῦ πνεύματος, ἀλύπω τε χρήτατι τῷ περιπτώματι, κἂν ἀκαίρια τις ἡ χρεία κωλύσῃ τὸν περίπατον, οὐδὲν ἔστι πράγμα: τὸ γὰρ οἰκεῖον ἡ φύσις ἀπείληθεν. οὖν οὔτε πλοῦν ποιητέον οὔτε καταγωγὴν ἐν πανδοκεία συγῆς πρόφασιν, οὐδ' ἂν πάντες καταγελώσων. ὅπως γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τὸ φαγεῖν, οὔδὲ τὸ γυμνάζεσθαι δήποθεν αἰσχρόν· ἄλλ' αἰσχρὸν τὸ δεδοικέαν καὶ δυσωπεῖσθαι ναῦτας καὶ ὀρεωκόμους καὶ πανδοκεῖς καταγελώντας οὐ τοῦ σφαιρίζοντος Φ καὶ σκιαμαχοῦντος ἀλλὰ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἢν ἁμα διδάσκῃ τι καὶ ζητῇ καὶ μανθάνῃ καὶ ἀναμμύρισκητα γυμναζόμενος. ο' μὲν γὰρ Σωκράτης ἔλεγεν ὅτι τῷ κινοῦντι δ' ὀρχήσεως αὐτῶν ἐπτάκλινοι οίκοι ίκανοὶ ἐστὶν ἐγγυμνάζεσθαι, τῷ δὲ δὴ ὕδης ἡ λόγου γυμναζόμενων γυμνάσιον ἀποχρῶν καὶ ἐστῶτι καὶ κατακειμένω πᾶσ τόπος παρέχει. μόνον ἐκεῖνο φυλακτέον, ὅπως µήτε πλησμονὴν µήτε λαγνείαν

1 προσβολαὶ Salmasius: προσβολαὶ.
2 ἀνυστόν Stephanus: ἀνυστόν.
3 γυμναζόμενῳ γυμνάσιον ἀποχρῶν Wytenbach: γυμνάσιον ἀπόχρη γυμναζόμενῳ.

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spasmodic expulsion and straining of the breath produces ruptures and sprains.

After reading or discussion, before going to walk, one should make use of rubbing with oil in a warm room to render the flesh supple, extending the massage so far as practicable to the inward parts, and gently equalizing the vital spirit and diffusing it into the extremities. Let the limits of the amount of this rubbing be what is agreeable to the senses and not discomforting. For the man who thus composes the inward disquiet and tension in his vital spirit manages the superfluous in his body without discomfort, and if unfavourable weather or some engagement prevent his going to walk, it does not matter, for Nature has received her proper due. Wherefore neither travelling nor stopping at an inn ought to be made an excuse for silence, nor even if everybody there deride one. For where it is not disgraceful to eat it is certainly not disgraceful to take exercise; nay, it is more disgraceful to feel timid and embarrassed before sailors, muleteers, and innkeepers, who do not deride the man who plays ball and goes through the movements of sparring alone, but the man who speaks, even though in his exercises he instruct, question, learn, and use his memory. Socrates said * that for a man’s movements in dancing a room that would accommodate seven persons at dinner was large enough to take exercise in, but for a man who takes his exercise through singing or speaking every place affords him adequate room for this exercise both when standing up and when lying down. But we must observe this one caution—not to strain our voices too hard.

* Xenophon, Symposium, 2. 18.
μήτε κόπον ἑαυτῶις συνειδότες ἐντεινώμεθα τῇ
131 φωνῇ τραχύτερον, ὃ πάσχοιοι πολλοὶ τῶν μητόρων
καὶ τῶν σοφιστῶν, οἴ μὲν ὑπὸ δόξης καὶ φιλοτι-
μίας, οἴ δὲ διὰ μισθοῦς ἡ πολιτικὰς ἀμίλλας ἔξαγό-
μενοι παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον ἀγωνίζομαι. Νύγρος δὲ
ὁ ἡμέτερος ἐν Γαλατίᾳ σοφιστεύων ἀκανθὰν ἐτύγ-
χανεν ἵχθυος καταπεπωκὼς. ἔτερον δ’ ἐπιφανέντος
ἐξώθην σοφιστόν καὶ μελετῶντος, ὄρρωδῶν ὑφ-
ειμένον δόξαν παρασχεῖν, ἔτι τῆς ἀκάνθης ἐνυχο-
μένης ἐμελέτησε· μεγάλης δὲ φλεγμονῆς καὶ
σκληρᾶς γενομένης, τὸν πόνον οὗ φέρων ἀνεδέξατο
Β’ τομὴν ἐξώθην βαθείαν. ἢ μὲν οὖν ἀκανθὰ διὰ τοῦ
τραύματος ἐξηρέθη, τὸ δὲ τραύμα χαλεπὸν γενό-
μενον καὶ θευματικὸν ἀνέιλεν αὐτόν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν ἂν τὸν υστερὸν εὐκαίρως ὑπομνήσειε.

17. Λουτρῷ δὲ χρήσθαι γυμνασαμένους ψυχρῷ
μὲν ἐπιδεικτικῶν καὶ νεανικῶν μᾶλλον ἡ ὑγιεινόν
ἔστιν. ἦν γὰρ δοκεῖ ποιεῖν δυσπάθειαν πρὸς τὰ
ἐξω καὶ σκληρότητα τοῦ σώματος, αὐτῇ μείζον
ἀπεργάζεται περὶ τὰ ἐντὸς κακῶν, ἐνισταμένη τοῖς
πόροις καὶ τὰ ὑγρὰ συνάγουσα καὶ πηγνύουσα τὰς
ἀναθυμάσεις ἀεὶ χαλάσθαι καὶ διαφορεῖσθαι βου-
λομένας. ἔτι δ’ ἀνάγκη τοὺς ψυχρολουτοῦντας εἰς

C ἐκείνην αὕτης μεταβαίνειν ἵνα φεύγομεν ἀκριβῆ καὶ
τεταγμένην ἀποτόμως δίαιταν, ἀεὶ προσέχοντας
αὐτὸς μὴ παραβαίνειν ταύτην, ὡς εὐθὺς ἐξ-
ελεγχομένου πικρῶς παντὸς ἀμαρτήματος. ἦ δὲ
θερμολουσία δίδωσι πολλὴν1 συγγνώμην. οὐ γὰρ
τοσοῦτον εὐτονίαν ὑφαίρει καὶ ρώμης, ὡσον ὡφελεῖ

1 πολλὴν Reiske: πολλῷ.

a Perhaps infra, 135 π.
when we are conscious of a fullness, venery, or fatigue. This is the experience of many of the public speakers and sophists, some of whom are led on by repute and ambition, others on account of emoluments or political rivalries, to competition in excess of what is best for them. Our Niger, when he was giving public lectures in Galatia, happened to swallow a fish bone. But, as another sophist from abroad had made his appearance and was lecturing, Niger, dreading to give the impression that he had yielded to his rival, still lectured although the bone was sticking in his throat; unable to bear the distress from the great and stubborn inflammation that arose, he submitted to a deep incision from the outside, and through the opening the bone was removed; but the place grew sore and purulent and caused his death. But comment on these matters may well be postponed to a later occasion.a

17. To take a cold bath after exercising is ostentatious and juvenile rather than healthful. For the power of resistance to external influences and the hardiness which it seems to create in the body really produces a more evil effect on the inward parts by stopping up the pores, causing the fluids to collect together, and condensing the exudations which are always wanting to be released and dispersed. Besides, those who insist upon taking cold baths have to make a further change into that exact and strictly ordered way of living which we are trying to avoid, and they have to be always taking heed not to transgress this, since every shortcoming is at once bitterly brought to book. On the other hand, warm baths have much to offer by way of excuse. For they do not detract so much from vigour and strength as
(131) πρὸς υψίειαν, ἐνδόσιμα τῇ πέσει καὶ μαλακὰ παρέχουσα, τοῖς δὲ τὴν πέσιν διαφεύγουσιν, ἂν γε δὴ μὴ παντάπασιν ὦμὰ καὶ μετέωρα μείνῃ, διαχύσεις ἀλύπους παρασκευάζουσα καὶ κόπους ἐκλείνουσα

D λανθάνοντας. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ὅταν ἡ φύσις παρέχῃ μετρίως διακειμένου καὶ ἰκανῶς τοῦ σώματος αἴσθησιν, ἐστέον τὸ βαλανεῖον. ἄλειμμα δὲ τὸ πρὸς πυρὶ βέλτιον, ἂν ἀλέας δέθηται τὸ σῶμα, ταμιεύεται γὰρ αὐτῷ τῆς θερμότητος. ὃ δ' ἦλιος οὔτε μᾶλλον οὐθ' ἦττον ἀλλ' ὃς κέκραται πρὸς τὸν ἁέρα κεχρῆσθαι δίδωσι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἰκανὰ περὶ γυμνασίων.

18. Ἐπὶ δὲ τροφὴν παραγενομένους, ἂν μὲν ἡ τι τῶν πρόσθεν ὅφελος λόγων οἰς τὰς ὀρέξεις κηλοῦμεν καὶ καταπράνουμεν, ἄλλο τι χρή παραμείνῃ τῶν ἐφεξῆς· ἄν δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ δεσμῶν λείψῃ περὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν ἀτρόποτοι αὐτῶν οἴς τὰς ἑκατοντάρχους, τὰς χαριτοβίως καὶ τὰς ἐκείνα τὰ ἐφθασαν, προσφέρεσθαι πεφυλαγμένως ἄπτόμενον (ἳργον γὰρ ἅ δὲ παρατείνοιτο), τοῖς δὲ λεπτοῖς ἐμφύεσθαι καὶ κούφους, οία τὰ πολλὰ τῶν λαχάνων καὶ τὰ πτηματώδη καὶ τῶν ἱχθύων οἱ μὴ πίνουσι. ἔστι γὰρ ἐτὸς τοιαῦτα προσφερόμενον καὶ χαρίζομαι ταῖς ὀρέξεσι καὶ τὸ σῶμα μὴ πιέζομεν. μάλιστα δὲ

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* The same remark is found in *Moralia*, 198 d, 996 d, and *Life of M. Cato*, chap. viii. (p. 340 Λ).

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they help towards health by rendering the food yielding and soft for the digestion, and by providing for the painless dispersion of whatever escapes digestion, at least if it do not remain altogether crude and high up, and soothing any latent feelings of fatigue. However, when Nature affords us a sense of a moderate and comfortable condition in our body, the bath had better be left alone. A gentle rubbing with oil beside a fire is better, if the body require warming, for it can take for itself the requisite amount of such warmth; but the sun permits the use of its warmth at neither higher nor lower temperature than is determined by the temperature of the air. So much will suffice in regard to exercise.

18. Coming now to the subject of food, if there be anything helpful in my earlier suggestions as to how we may beguile and pacify our appetites, we must give some further advice regarding what comes next; but if it be difficult to manage a belly that has been set free, as it were from bondage, and to wrangle with it when it has no ears to hear, as Cato a used to say, we must contrive by means of the character of our food to make the quantity less burdensome; and of the solid and very nourishing foods, things, for example, like meat and cheese, dried figs and boiled eggs, one may partake if he helps himself cautiously (for it is hard work to decline all the time), but should stick to the thin and light things, such as most of the garden stuff, birds, and such fish as have not much fat. For it is possible by partaking of these things both to gratify the appetites and not oppress the body. Especially to be feared are indigestions
τὰς ἀπὸ κρεῶν φοβητέον ἀπεδίασ· καὶ γὰρ εὐθὺς σφόδρα καὶ βαρύνουσι, καὶ λεύφανον εἰσαίθις πονηρόν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν παραμένει· καὶ κράτιστον μὲν ἐθίσαι τὸ σῶμα μηδεμιᾶς προσδείσθαι σαρκο-
φαγίας· πολλὰ γὰρ οὐ μόνον πρὸς διατροφὴν ἄφθονα ἄλλα καὶ πρὸς εὐπάθειαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀναδίδωσιν ἡ γῆ, τοὺς μὲν αὐτόθεν ἀπραγμόνως χρήσθαι παρέχουσα, τὰ δὲ μυγνύμενα παντοδαπῶς
καὶ σκευαζόμενα συνηδύνειν. ἔπει δὲ τὸ ἔθος τρόπον τυχαί φύσις τοῦ παρὰ φύσιν γέγονεν, οὐ
dεὶ χρήσθαι κρεοφαγία πρὸς ἀποπλήρωσιν ὁρέξεως,
ὡσπερ λύκους ἡ λέοντας, ἄλλ’ οἶνον ὑπέρειμα καὶ ἀναξίωμα τῆς τροφῆς ἐμβαλλομένους ἔτεροις
σιτίοις χρήσθαι καὶ ὑψωτικκά καὶ τῷ σώματι
μάλλον ἐστὶ κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἢττον
ἀμβλύνει τὸ λογικόν, ὡσπερ ἐκ λυτῆς καὶ ἐλαφράς
ὕλης ἀναπτύμενον
19. Τῶν δ’ ὑγρῶν γάλακτι μὲν οὐχ ὃς ποτῶ
χρηστέον, ἄλλ’ ὡς σιτίω δύναμιν ἐμβριθῆ καὶ
πολύτροφον ἔχοντι. πρὸς δὲ τὸν οἶνον ἀπερ
Εὐριπίδης πρὸς τὴν 'Αφροδίτην διαλεκτέον

εὖς μοι, μέτριος¹ δὲ πως
εὖς, μηδ’ ἀπολείποις.

καὶ γὰρ ποτῶν ὦφελιμῶτατον ἐστὶ καὶ φαρμάκων
ηδιστον καὶ ὑψων ἀσυκχότατον, ἀν τύχῃ τῆς πρὸς
tὸν καιρὸν εὐκρασίας μᾶλλον ἡ τῆς πρὸς τὸ ὑδρω.
ὑδωρ δ’ οὐ μόνον τὸ μυγνύμενον πρὸς οἶνον, ἄλλα

¹ μέτριος Heath: μέτριον.

* It is worth while to compare Plutarch's essays on eating meat, *Moralia*, 993 a–999 b.

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arising from meats; for they are depressing at the outset, and a pernicious residue from them remains behind. It is best to accustom the body not to require meat in addition to other food. For the earth yields in abundance many things not only for nourishment but also for comfort and enjoyment, some of which it grants to our use just as they are with no trouble on our part, while others we may make savoury by all sorts of combination and preparation. But since custom has become a sort of unnatural second nature, our use of meat should not be for the satisfaction of appetite, as is the case with wolves or lions; but while we may put it in as a sort of prop and support of our diet, we should use other foods and relishes which for the body are more in accord with nature and less dulling to the reasoning faculty, which, as it were, is kindled from plain and light substances.

19. Of the liquids milk ought not to be used as a beverage but as a food possessing solid and nourishing power. With regard to wine we ought to talk as does Euripides with regard to Love:

Mayest thou be mine, but moderate be,
I pray, yet ne'er abandon me.

For wine is the most beneficial of beverages, the pleasantest of medicines, and the least cloying of appetizing things, provided that there is a happy combination of it with the occasion as well as with water. Water, not only the water that is mixed with

* From an unknown play: cf. Nauck, Trag. Graec. Frag., Euripides, No. 967. The sentiment is a favourite one with Euripides; cf., for example, Iphigeneia at Aulis, 543-557; Medea, 627-634; Helena, 1105.
(132) καὶ τὸ καθ’ έαυτὸ τοῦ κεκραμένου μεταξ’ πινόμενον ἀβλαβέστερον ποιεῖ τὸ κεκραμένον. ἐθιστέον οὖν παρὰ τὴν καθ’ ἡμέραν δίαιταν ὕδατος προσ-φέρεσθαι καὶ δύο καὶ τρία ποτήρια, τῆν τε δύναμιν
C τοῦ οἶνον ποιοῦντα μαλακωτέραν καὶ τοῦ σώματος συνήθη τὴν ὑδροποσίαν, ὅπως, ὅταν ἐν χρεία γένηται, μὴ ἤνοπαθῆ μηδ’ ἀπαναίνηται. συμ-βαίνει γὰρ ἐνίους φέρεσθαι μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν οἶνον ὅταν μάλιστα χρείαν ὑδροποσίας ἔχωσι. καὶ γὰρ ἡλιωθέντες καὶ βιγώσαντες πάλιν καὶ σφοδρότερον εἰπόντες καὶ συντονώτερον φροντί-σαντες καὶ ὅλως μετὰ τοὺς κόπους καὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας οὖντα ποτέον εἶναι τὸν οἶνον, ὥσ καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀπαιτούσης εὐπάθειαν τινα τῷ σώματι
D καὶ μεταβολὴν ἐκ τῶν πόνων. ἡ δὲ φύσις εὐ-πάθειαν μέν, εἰ τις εὐπάθειαν καλεῖ τὴν ἡδυπάθειαν, οὐκ ἀπαιτεῖ, μεταβολὴν δ’ ἀπαιτεῖ τὴν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἡδονῆς καὶ πόνου καθιστάσαν. διὸ καὶ τροφῆς ύφαιρετέον ἐν τούτοις, καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἡ παντελῶς ἀφαιρετέον ἡ προσουστέον πολλῇ κατα-κεραννύμενον διὰ μέσου καὶ κατακλυζόμενον ὑδρο-ποσία. πλήκτης γὰρ ὁπὶ καὶ ὄξους ἐπιτείνη τὰς τοῦ σώματος ταραχὰς, καὶ τραχύτερα ποιεῖ καὶ παροξύνει τὰ πεπληγμένα,1 παρηγορίας δεόμενα καὶ λειώτητος, ὡς2 μάλιστα τὸ ὕδωρ ἐνδίδωσι. καὶ γὰρ ὁπὶ οὐ διψῶντες, ἀλλὰς δὲ θερμὸν ὕδωρ
Ε πίνωμεν μετὰ τοὺς κόπους καὶ τὰς διατάσεις καὶ τὰ καῦματα, χαλάσματος καὶ μαλακότητος αἰ-σθανόμεθα περὶ τὰ έντος. ἦπιος γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ὕδατος ύγρότης καὶ ἄσφυκτος, ἡ δὲ τοῦ οἴνου φορὰν ἔχει

1 πεφλεγμένα (?).
2 ὡς Reiske: oias Wyttenbach: ois.
the wine, but that which is drunk by itself in the interim between the draughts of the mixture, makes the mixture more innocent. One ought to accustom oneself, therefore, in the course of the daily routine to partake of two or three glasses of water, thus both making the potency of the wine milder, and making the drinking of water habitual with the body, so that, whenever it comes to be in need of water, it may not feel strange towards the drink, and refuse it. For the fact is that some people feel most impelled towards wine when the drink which they most need is water. For after being exposed to the sun, and again when chilled, and after speaking more earnestly and thinking more intently than usual, and, in general, after exertions and strivings, they think they ought to drink wine, feeling that Nature requires for the body some comfort and change after labours. But Nature does not require comfort, if comfort is only a name for self-indulgence, but she does require a change, a change which puts the body in a state midway between pleasure and pain. Therefore in such circumstances there should not only be some reduction in food, but wine should be either altogether eliminated or else partaken of between times very diluted and practically engulfed by the drinking of water. For wine, being truculent and keen, intensifies the disturbances of the body, and exacerbates and irritates the contused parts, which are in need of the comfort and alleviation that water best supplies. For if, in spite of the fact that we are not thirsty, we drink hot water after undergoing exertion, strain, or heat, we are sensible of a relaxing and soothing effect within us; for the aqueous fluid is mild and does not quicken the pulse,
πολλήν καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ εὐμενὴ τοῖς προσφάτοις πάθεσιν οὐδὲ φιλάνθρωπον. καὶ γὰρ ἂς λέγουσι
ἐννοι τῷ σώματι τὴν ἁσιτίαν δριμύτητας ἐγγεννάν
καὶ πυκρότητας εἰ τις δέδει τῇ καθάπερ οἱ παίδες
dεινὸν ἥγειται πρὸ τοῦ πυρέττευν μὴ παρατίθεσθαι
trápèzēn ἐν ὑποψίᾳ γεγονός, εὐάρμοστον ἡ
ὑδροποσία μεθόριον. καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῷ Διονύσῳ
πολλάκις νηφάλια θύμεν, ἐθνίζομενοι καλῶς μὴ
F ξητεῖν αἰε τὸν ἄκρατον. ὦ δὲ Μίνως καὶ τὸν
αὐλὸν ἀφεῖλε τῆς θυσίας καὶ τὸν στέφανον ὑπὸ
λύτης. καίτοι λυπομένην ψυχὴν ίσομεν οὐθ’ ὑπὸ
στεφάνων οὐθ’ ὑπ’ αὐλῶν παθοῦσαν σώμα δ’
oὐδέν οὕτως ἱσχυρόν ἔστιν, ὄ τεταραγμένω καὶ
φλεγμαίνοντι προσπεσοῦν οὖν οὐκ ἡδίκησε.
20. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν Λυδοὺς ἐν τῷ λιμῷ λέγουσι
διαγαγεῖν ἥμεραν παρ’ ἡμέραν τρεφομένους, εἰτά
παίζοντας καὶ κυβεύοντας. φιλόλογον δ’ ἀνδρά
καὶ φιλόμουσον ἐν καὶρῷ δειμένω βραδυτέρου
133 δείπνου διάγραμμα παρακείμενον ἢ τί βιβλίδιον
ἡ λύριον οὗ προέκυψε τῇ γαστρὶ λεγαλούμενον,
ἀλλ’ ἀποστρέφων συνεχῶς καὶ μεταφέρων ἐπὶ ταῦτα
τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης ὥσπερ Ἀρτυίας
tὰς ὀρέξεις διασωθήσει ταῖς Μούσαις. οὐ γὰρ ὃ
μὲν Σκύθης, ὅταν πίη, πολλάκις ἐφάπτεται τοῦ
tόξου καὶ παραψάλλει τὴν νευράν, ἐκλυόμενον
ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν θυμόν, Ἔλλην
δ’ ἀσώρο δοξήσεται τοὺς καταγελώντας αὐτοῦ,
γράμματι καὶ βιβλίοις ἀγνώμονα καὶ δυσπαραίτητον
1 δειμένω Meziriacus: δεδειμένων.

* Cf. Apollodorus, Bibliotheca, iii. 15. 7.
* Herodotus, i. 94.
* Cf. Plutarch, Life of Demetrius, chap. xix. (p. 897 c).

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whereas that of wine has great impetuosity and a potency that is not kindly or humanely disposed toward recent affections. As for the acerbities and bitterness which some say fasting engenders in the body, if anybody fears them, or if, childlike, he thinks it a dreadful thing not to have a meal served before the fever which he suspects is coming, the drinking of water is a very fitting middle course. In fact we frequently make to Dionysus himself offerings which include no wine, thus habituating ourselves quite properly not to be always looking for strong drink. Minos, too, because of grief, abolished the flute and garland from the sacrifice. Yet we know that a grieving soul is not affected either by garlands or by flute. But no one's body is so strong that wine, thrust upon it when it is disturbed and feverish, does it no harm.

20. The Lydians, they say, in a time of famine, alternately spent one day in regaling themselves with food, and the next in jollity and games of chance. But in the case of a scholarly and cultivated man, on an occasion which requires a later dinner than usual, a mathematical problem on hand, or some pamphlet or musical instrument, will not permit him to be harried by his belly; on the contrary, he will steadily turn away and transfer his thoughts from the table to these other things, and scare away his appetites, like Harpies, by means of the Muses. Does not the Scythian, while he is drinking, oftentimes put his hand to his bow, and twang the string, thus summoning back his senses which are being unstrung by the liquor; and shall a Greek man be afraid of those who deride him when by letters and books he endeavours quietly to ease and relax an unfeeling
(133) ἐπιθυμίαν ἀνίέντος ἀτρέμα καὶ χαλῶντος; τῶν
Β μὲν γὰρ παρὰ τῷ Μενάνδρῳ νεανίσκων ὑπὸ τοῦ
πορνοβοσκοῦ παρὰ πότον ἐπιβουλευομένων καλὰς
καὶ πολυτελεῖς εἰσάγοντος ἐταῖρας ἐκαστός, ὥς
φησι,
κύψας καθ’1 αὐτὸν τῶν τραγημάτων ἐφλα,
φυλαττόμενος καὶ φοβούμενος ἐμβλέπειν: οἱ δὲ
φιλόλογοι πολλὰς καὶ καλὰς καὶ ἱδεῖας ἀπόψεις
καὶ ἀποστροφὰς ἔχουσιν, ἀντερ ἄλλως μὴ δύνωνται
to κυνικὸν καὶ θηριῶδες τῶν ὀρέξεων κατέχειν
παρακειμένης τραπέζης. ἀλειπτῶν δὲ φωνᾶς καὶ
παιδοτριβῶν λόγους ἐκάστοτε λεγόντων ὡς τὸ
παρὰ δεῖπνον φιλολογεῖν τὴν τροφήν διαφθείρει
καὶ βαρύνει τὴν κεφαλὴν τότε φοβητέον, ὅταν
C τὸν Ἰοδὸν ἀναλύειν ἡ διαλέγεσθαι περὶ τοῦ
Κυρεύοντος ἐν δεῖπνῳ μέλλωμεν. τὸν μὲν γὰρ
ἐγκέφαλον τοῦ φούσικος, γλυκὺν ὄντα, σφόδρα
κεφαλαλγή2 λέγουσι εἶναι διαλεκτικῷ δὲ “τρω-
γάλων” ἐπὶ δεῖπνῳ “γλυκῷ” μὲν ούδαμῶς
κεφαλαλγὲς δὲ καὶ κοπώδες ἰσχυρῶς ἔστιν.
ἄν δ’ ἡμᾶς μὴ ἀλλο τι ζητεῖν ἡ φιλοσοφεῖν
ἡ ἀναγνώσκειν παρὰ δείπνων ἐωσὶ τῶν ἐν
τῷ καλῷ καὶ ὦφελίμῳ τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν ὑφ’ ἡδονῆς
καὶ γλυκὸ μόριον ἐχόντων, κελεύσομεν αὐτούς
D μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν, ἀλλ’ ἀπιόντας ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ ταῦτα
καὶ ταῖς παλαιόστρασ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ἀθληταῖς,
1 καθ’ Wytenbach from Moralia, 706 b: ἐσ.
2 κεφαλαλγῆ] κεφαλαλγὸν mss.

a From an unknown play; cf. Kock, Com. Att. Frag.
iii. p 183, No. 607. Cf. also Plutarch, Moralia, 706 b.
b These are both thought to be logical fallacies of the type
of Achilles and the tortoise, or the “Liar.” Cf. also Moralia,
1070 c.
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ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL,

and inexorable desire? When the young men described by Menander were, as they were drinking, insidiously beset by the pimp, who introduced some handsome and high-priced concubines, each one of them (as he says),

Bent down his head and munched his own dessert, being on his guard and afraid to look at them. But scholars have many fair and pleasant outlooks and diversions, if so be they can in no other way keep under control the canine and bestial element in their appetites when at table. The utterances of athletic trainers and the talk of teachers of gymnastics, who assert on every occasion that scholarly conversation at dinner spoils the food and makes the head heavy, are to be feared only when we propose to solve the Indian problem or to discuss determinants during dinner. The leaf-bud at the top of the date-palm is sweet, but they say that it brings on a violent headache; and an exercise in logic is by no means a "sweet morsel" to top off a dinner, but, on the contrary, it is quite likely to bring on a headache, and is extremely fatiguing as well. But if they will not allow us to start any other inquiry or scholarly discussion, or to read while at dinner any of those things which, besides being beautiful and useful, contain also the element of pleasurable allurement and sweetness, we shall bid them not to bother us, but to take themselves off, and in the training grounds and buildings to engage in such talk with the athletes, whom they have torn from their books,

* Cf. Xenophon, Anabasis, ii. 3. 15.

* From Pindar, Frag. 124 (ed. Christ).

Cf. Moralia, 612 r, where this topic is treated more fully.
(133) οὐς τῶν βιβλίων ἐξελόντες καὶ διημερέυειν ἐν σκώμμασι καὶ βωμολογίαις ἐθιζοντες, ως ὁ κομψὸς Ἀρίστων ἔλεγε, τοῖς ἐν γυμνασίῳ κίοσιν ὀμοίως λυπαροὺς πεποιήκασι καὶ λυθέντας. αὐτοῖ δὲ πειθόμενοι τοῖς ἱατροῖς παρανοοῦσιν ἄει τοῦ δείπνου καὶ τοῦ ὑπνοῦ λαμβάνειν μεθόριον καὶ μὴ συμφορήσαντας εἰς τὸ σῶμα τὰ σιτία καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα καταθλύσαντας εὐθὺς ὑμὴ καὶ ἱεούσῃ τῇ τροφῇ βαρύνειν τὴν πέψιν ἄλλα ἀναπνοήν καὶ χάλασμα παρέχειν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ σῶματα κυνεῖν Ε ὕματα δείπνων ἄξιον τῆς οὐδὲ παγκρατίως τοῦτο πουοῦσιν ἄλλα βληχροῖς περπάτους καὶ χορεῖας ἐμμελέσιν, οὕτως ἡμεῖς οἰκοσίμεθα δεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς διαφέρειν μετὰ τὸ δείπνων μὴτε πράγμασι μὴτε φροντίσι μὴτε σοφιστικῶς ἀγώσι πρὸς ἀμιλλαν ἐπιδεικτικὴν ἡ κινητικὴν περαινομένους. ἄλλα πολλὰ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν φυσικῶν προβλημάτων ἐλαφρὰ καὶ πιθανά, πολλαὶ δὲ διηγήσεις ἡθικὰ καὶ σκέψεις ἔχουσαι καὶ τούτο τῇ τὸ "μενοεικής," ὡς "Ομηρος ἐφη, καὶ μὴ ἀντίτυπον. τὰς δ' ἐν ἰστορικαῖς καὶ ποιητικαῖς ξητίσεις διατριβᾶς ὦν ἄγδωσ ἐννοι δευτέρας τραπέζας ἄνδρας φιλολόγους καὶ φιλομούσοις προσέπουν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ διηγήσεις ἄλλων καὶ 

Ἐ μυθολογίαν, καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐλοῦ τι καὶ λύρας ἀκούσαι καὶ εἰπέν ἐλαφρότερον ἡ λύρας αὐτῆς

1 καὶ Capps: ἐδ. 2 εὐθὺς Xylander: μὴ εὐθὺς.
3 παρέχειν Benseler: ἐχεῖν.
4 ἄλλα βληχροῖς L. Dindorf.: ἄλλα ἄβληχροῖς.
5 κινητικὴν Wyttenbach: φιλονεικητικὴν Duebner: πικητικὴν
6 Bernardakis: the ms. reading could not be learned from

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and by accustoming them to spend the whole day in jesting and scurrility, have, as the clever Ariston said, made them as glossy and blockish as the pillars in a gymnasion. But as for ourselves, we shall follow the advice of the physicians who recommend always to let some time intervene between dinner and sleep, and not, after jumbling our victuals into our body and oppressing our spirit, to hinder our digestion at once with the food that is still unassimilated and fermenting, but rather to provide for it some respite and relaxation; just as those who think it is the right thing to keep their bodies moving after dinner do not do this by means of foot-races and strenuous boxing and wrestling, but by gentle walking and decorous dancing, so we shall hold that we ought not to distract our minds after dinner either with business or cares or pseudo-learned disputations, which have as their goal an ostentatious or stirring rivalry. But many of the problems of natural science are light and enticing, and there are many stories which contain ethical considerations and the "soul's satisfaction," as Homer has phrased this, and nothing repellent. The spending of time over questions of history and poetry some persons, not unpleasingly, have called a second repast for men of scholarship and culture. There are also inoffensive stories and fables, and it is less onerous to exchange opinions about a flute and a lyre than to listen to the sound of the lyre and the

*Cf. Moralia, 672 ε.*

the earlier editors, but according to the Teubner edition of 1925 the mss. are divided between κινητική and νικητική.

6 ἡθηκάς Duebner: ἡθη καὶ.

7 καὶ τοῦτο Bernardakis: τοῦτο.

8 τὰς δὲ ἐν Xylander and Meziriacus: ταῖς δὲ.
φθεγγομένης ἀκούειν καὶ αὐλοῦ. μέτρον δὲ τοῦ κατροῦ τὸ τῆς τροφῆς καθοσμαίνης ἀτρέμα καὶ συμπνεούσης τὴν πέψιν ἐγκρατῇ γενέσθαι καὶ ύπερδέξιον.

21. Ἐπεὶ δ’ Ἀριστοτέλης οἷς τῶν δεδειπνηκότων τὸν μὲν περίπατον ἀναρριτίζειν τὸ θερμοῖν, τὸν δ’ ὑπνοῦν, ἀν εὐθὺς καθεύδωσι, κακαπνίγειν, ἔτεροι δὲ τὴν μὲν ἰσυχίαν οἴονται τὰς πέψεις βελτίωνας ποιεῖν, τὴν δὲ κίνησιν παράττειν τὸς ἀναδόσεις, καὶ τούτῳ τούς μὲν περιπατεῖν εὐθὺς ἀπὸ δειπνου τοὺς δ’ ἀτρεμεῖν πέπεικεν, ἀμφοτέρων ἀν οἰκείως ἐφάππεσθαι δόξειεν δ’ τὸ μὲν σῶμα συνθάλπων καὶ συνέχων μετὰ τὸ δειπνοῦν, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν μὴ καταφερόμενος μηδ’ ἄργῳν εὐθὺς ἀλλ’ ὅσπερ εὑρήται διαφορῶν ἔλαφρῶς τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ λεπτύνων τῷ λαλεῖν τι καὶ ἀκούειν τῶν προσηνόν καὶ μὴ δακνόντων μηδὲ βαρυνόντων.

22. Ἐμέτους δὲ καὶ κοιλίας καθάρσεις ὑπὸ φαρμάκων, μιαρὰ “παραμύθια πλησμονῆς,” ἀνευ 

Β μεγάλης ἀνάγκης οὐ κωντέουν, ὅσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ κενώσεως ἐνεκα πληροῦτες τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν πληρώσεως κενοῦντες παρὰ φύσιν, ταῖς πλησιμοναῖς οὐχ ἤτον ἢ ταῖς ἐνδείας ἀνισομενοῖ, μᾶλλον δ’ ὅλως τὴν μὲν πλήρωσιν ὡς κάλυσιν ἀπολαύσεως βαρυνόμενοι, τὴν δ’ ἐνδειαν ὡς χώραν ἀεὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς παρασκευάζοντες. τὸ γὰρ βλαβερὸν ἐν τούτοις προδιπτόν ἔστι, ταραχὰς τε γὰρ ἀμφότερα τῷ σώματι παρέχεται καὶ

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a Frag. 224 (233 in Rose’s edition).
b Supra, 130 a-e.
c Plato, Critias, p. 115 b.
flute itself. The length of time for this is such as the digestion needs to assert itself and gain the upper hand over the food as it is gradually absorbed and begins to agree with us.

21. Aristotle holds* that walking about on the part of those who have just dined revives the bodily warmth, while sleep, if they go to sleep at once, smothers it; but others hold that quiet improves the digestive faculties, while movement disturbs the processes of assimilation; and this has persuaded some to walk about immediately after dinner, and others to remain quiet. In view of the two opinions a man might appear properly to attain both results who after dinner keeps his body warm and quiet, and does not let his mind sink at once into sleep and idleness, but, as has been previously suggested, lightly diverts and enlives his spirits by talking himself and listening to another on one of the numerous topics which are agreeable and not acrimonious or depressing.

22. The use of emetics and cathartics, abominable "comforts for an overloaded stomach," ought never, except under the stress of great necessity, to be inaugurated, as is the way of most people, who fill up their bodies for the sake of emptying them, and then empty them for the sake of filling them up again, thus transgressing against nature, and are vexed no less at their fullness than at their emptiness—or, better, they are utterly depressed over their fullness, as being a hindrance to enjoyment, but set about bringing on emptiness with the idea of making room always for pleasures. The harmfulness in all this is manifest; for both procedures give rise to disorders and convulsive movements in the
(134) σπαραγμούς. ἵδιον δὲ τῷ μὲν ἐμέτω κακὸν πρόσεστι τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν αὐξεῖν τε καὶ τρέφειν γίγνονται γὰρ αἱ πείναι καθάπερ τὰ κοπτόμενα. Κρείθρα τραχεῖαι καὶ χαραδρώδεις, καὶ βία τὴν τροφὴν ἐλκούσιν ἀεὶ λυπώσας, οὐκ ὄρεξειν ἐοικύλαι σιτίων δεομέναι ἀλλὰ φλεγμοναῖς φάρμακων καὶ καταπλασμάτων. οἴδεν ἦδονα μὲν ὄρεξαι καὶ ἀτελεῖς καὶ πολύν ἔχουσαι σφυγμον καὶ οἴστρον ἐν ταῖς ἀπολαύσεσι λαμβάνουσιν αὐτούς, διατάσεις δὲ καὶ πληγαὶ πόρων καὶ πνευμάτων ἐναπολήψεις διαδέχονται, μὴ περιμένουσι τὰς κατὰ φύσιν ἔξαγωγὰς, ἀλλὰ ἐπιπολάζουσι τοὺς σώμασιν ὥσπερ ὑπεράντλοις σκάφεσιν, φορτίων ἐκβολῆς οὐ περιττωμάτων δεομένους. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὴν κάτω κοιλίαν ἐκταράζεις διὰ φαρμακείας φθείρουσαι καὶ τήκουσαι τὰ ὑποκείμενα πλείονα ποιοῦσι περίττωσιν ἢ ἐξ- 

D ἄγουσιν. ὥσπερ οὖν, εἰ τις Ἑλλήνων ὁχλον ἐν πόλει βαρυνόμενος σύνοικον, Ἀράβων ἐμπλήσει καὶ Σκυθῶν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιλύσων, οὕτως ἐνοι ὑπὸ παντὸς διαμαρτάνουσιν ἐπ᾽ ἐκβολῆς περιττωμάτων συνήθων καὶ συντρόφων ἐμβάλλοντες ἐξωθεὶς εἰς τὸ σῶμα κόκκους τινὰς Κνιδίους καὶ σκαμμωνίαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἀλλὰς ἀσυγκράτους καὶ ἀγρίας καὶ καθαρμοῦ δεομένας μᾶλλον ἢ καθήρα τὴν φύσιν δυναμένας. ἀριστον μὲν οὖν τὸ μετρία διαύτη καὶ σώφρον τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖν περὶ τε πληρώσεις καὶ κενώσεις αὐτοτελές ἀεὶ καὶ σύμ- μετρον.

Εἰ δ’ ἀνάγκη ποτὲ καταλάβωι, τοὺς μὲν ἐμέτους

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1 λυπώσας Bernardakis: λυπώσαν or λυπούντας.
2 ἀσυγκράτους Meziriacus: ἀσυγκριτοὺς.
body. What is peculiarly bad in the use of an emetic is that it increases and fosters an insatiate greediness. For the feelings of hunger become rough and turbulent, like rivers that are interrupted in their course, and they gulp the food down violently, always ravening and resembling not appetites that need victuals, but inflammations that need medicines and poultices. For this reason the pleasures that lay hold upon such persons are swift in their action and imperfect, and attended by much palpitation and agitation while being experienced, and these are succeeded by distensions and sharp pains in the passages, and retention of gases, which cannot wait for the natural movements, but stay in the upper part of the body as in water-logged ships which require the jettisoning of their cargo, not merely of their surplus. The violent disturbances lower down in the bowels resulting from medication, by decomposing and liquefying the existing contents, increase rather than relieve the over-crowding. Just imagine that anybody, feeling much troubled at the crowd of Greeks living in his city, should fill up the city with Arab and Scythian immigrants! Yet it is just this radical mistake that some people make in connexion with the expulsion of the surplus of habitual and familiar foods, when they introduce into the body from the outside Cnidian berries, scammony, or other incongruous and drastic agents, which have more need of being purged away than power of purging our nature. It is best, therefore, by moderate and temperate living to make the body constantly self-sufficient and well adjusted as regards filling the stomach and emptying it.

If ever absolute necessity befall us, vomiting
ποιητέον ἀνέυ φαρμακείας καὶ περιεργάς, μηδὲν
Ε ἐκταράττοντας ἀλλ' ὅσον ἀπειθὼν διαφυγεῖν αὐτόθεν ἀφιέντας ἀπραγμόνως τῷ πλεονάζοντι τὴν ἀπέρασιν. ὡς γὰρ τὰ θόντα ῥύμμασι καὶ χαλαστραῖος πλυνόμενα μᾶλλον ἐκτρίβεται¹ τῶν ύδατοκλύστων, οὕτως οἱ μετὰ φαρμάκων ἐμετοι λυμαίνονται τῷ σώματι καὶ διαφθείρουσιν. ύψισταμένες δὲ κοιλίας οὐδὲν φάρμακον οἰα τῶν σιτίων ἐνα μαλακὰς ἐνδιδόντα προσθιμίας καὶ διαλύοντα πράσω, ὅπως τὰ πεῖρα πᾶσι συνήθισι καὶ ἅρχήσως

F ἀλυπος. ἂν δὲ τούτων ἀπειθῇ, πλείονας ἡμέρας ύδροποσίαν ἢ ἀσιτίαν ἢ κλυστήρα προσδεκτέον μάλλον ἢ ταρακτικάς καὶ φθαρτικᾶς φαρμακείας, ἐφ' ἃς οἱ πολλοὶ φέρονται προχείρως, καθάπερ ἀκόλαστοι γυναίκες, ἕκβολοις χρώμεναι καὶ φθορίους ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάλιν πληροῦσθαι καὶ ἰδυπαθεῖν.

23. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐατέον· οἱ δ' ἀγαν αὖ πάλιν ἀκριβεῖς καὶ τεταγμένας τινὰς ἐκ περιόδου 135 κριτικῆς² ἐμβάλλοντες ἀσιτίας οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὴν φύσιν μὴ δεομένην διδάσκοντο δεὶσθαι συστολῆς καὶ ποιεῖν ἀναγκάιαν τὴν οὐκ ἀναγκαίαν υφαίρεσιν ἐν καιρῷ ξητούμενον ἔθος ἀπαιτοῦντι. βέλτιον γὰρ ἐλευθέρους τοῖς τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι κολασμοῖς εἰς τὸ σῶμα, μηδεμίας δὲ προαισθήσεως οὕσης μὴ ὑποψίας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δίαταν, ὥσπερ ἔρηται, πρὸς τὸ συντυγχάνον αὐτὶ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς ύπῆκουν ἔχειν, μὴ καταδεδουλωμένην μηδ' ἐνδεδεμένην ἐνι σχήματι βίου πρὸς τινάς καιροὺς ἢ ἀριθμοὺς ἢ

¹ ἐκτρίβεται, Bernardakis: ἐντρίβεται, or ἐκπλύνεται, “lose their colours.”

² κριτικῆς suggested by Wytenbach: κριτικάς.

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¹ Supra, 128 e.
should be induced without medication and a great ado, and without causing any disturbance beyond merely avoiding indigestion by at once allowing the excess to be peacefully ejected. Just as linen cleansed with lye and washing powders wears out faster than that washed in plenty of water, so vomitings with drugs maltreat and ruin the body. If the bowels are getting sluggish, there is no medicine like some sorts of food that afford a mild stimulus to the inclinations and gently dissolve the cause of trouble. Experience with these is familiar to all, and their use is not attended by discomfort. But if it will not yield to these, the drinking of water for several days, or fasting, or an enema, should be tried next rather than disturbing and pernicious dosing to which most people hurriedly resort, after the manner of licentious women who employ drugs and instruments to produce abortion for the sake of the enjoyment of conceiving again.

23. But we need say no more about this class of persons. However, to speak once again of those too exact persons who interject set periods of fasting according to a fixed schedule, they are wrong in teaching their nature to feel a need of restraint when not in need of it, and in making necessary the unnecessary retrenchment at a time which makes demand for what is customarily required. It is better to apply such discipline to the body with a certain freedom, and, if there be no premonitory or suspicious symptoms, to keep, as has been already suggested, our general mode of life responsive to changes so as to meet whatever may befall it, and not to let it be enslaved or bound to one formula of life, which has trained itself to be guided by certain
Β περιόδους ἀγεσθαι μεμελετηκότος. οὗ γὰρ ἁσφαλές
(135) οὐδὲ ράδιον οὐδὲ πολιτικὸν οὐδ' ἀνθρωπικὸν ἀλλ' ὀστρέου τινὸς ζωῆ προσεοικὸς ἢ στελέχους τὸ ἀμετάστατον τούτο καὶ κατηγακασμένον ἐν τροφαίς καὶ ἀποχαῖς καὶ κινήσει καὶ ἱσυχίας εἰς ἐπίσκοπον τινα βίον καὶ σχολαστὴν καὶ μονότροπον τινα καὶ ἄφιλον καὶ ἀδοξον ἀπωτάτῳ πολιτείας καθίσασιν ἐαυτοὺς καὶ συστείλασιν. οὐ '' κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν,''' ἐφη, ``γυνώμην.''' (24) οὐ γὰρ ἀργίας ὤνον ἡ ὑγίεια καὶ ἀπραξίας, ἀ γε δὴ μέγιστα κακῶν ταῖς νόσοις πρόσεσθε, καὶ οὐδὲν διαφέρει

C τοῦ τὰ ομματα τῷ μὴ διαβλέπειν καὶ τὴν φωνὴν
tῶ ἐνθα γέγογον φυλάττοντος ὁ τὴν ὑγίειαν ἀχρηστία καὶ ἱσυχία σῴζειν οἰόμενος. πρὸς οὗδὲν γὰρ ἐαυτῷ χρήσατι αὐν τις ὑγιαίνοντι κρείττον ἢ πρὸς πολλὰς καὶ ἐφιλανθρώπους πράξεις. ἥκιστα δὴ τὴν ἁργίαν ὑγιεινὸν ὑποληπτέον, εἰ τὸ τῆς ὑγίειας τέλος ἀπόλλυσι, καὶ οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ τὸ μᾶλλον ὑγιαίνειν τους ἱσυχίαν ἀγοντας. οὔτε γὰρ Ἐνοκράτης μᾶλλον διηύάνει Φωκίωνος οὔτε Δημήτριον Θεόφραστος, Ἐπίκουρον τε καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἐπίκουρον οὗδέν ὄνησε πρὸς τὴν ὑμνουμένην σαρκὸς εὐστάθειαν ἡ πάσης φιλοτιμίαν ἐχούσης

D πράξεως ἀπόδρασις. άλλα καὶ ἑτέρας ἐπι-

μελείαις διασωστεόν ἐστι τῶ σώματι τὴν κατὰ φύσιν ἔξιν, ως παντὸς βίου καὶ νόσου δεχομένου καὶ ὑγίειαν.

Οὐ μὴν άλλα καὶ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἐφή παραίνετέον
einai toúnantion oú Plátow παρήνει tois néois.

1 κρείττον ἢ Meziriacus: κρείττονι.
2 καὶ F.C.B.: καὶ οὖ φιλανθρώπους or καὶ ἀφιλανθρώπους,
due probably to the corruption κρείττονι.

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seasons, or numbers, or schedules. For it is not safe, nor easy, nor befitting a citizen or a man, but like the life of an oyster or the trunk of a tree—this immutability and forced compliance in the matter of food and abstinence, movement and rest; it is fitting only for men who have reduced and restricted themselves to a retired, idle, solitary, friendless, and inglorious life, far removed from the duties of citizenship. "No," said he, "it fits not with my opinion." a

(24) For health is not to be purchased by idleness and inactivity, which are the greatest evils attendant on sickness, and the man who thinks to conserve his health by uselessness and ease does not differ from him who guards his eyes by not seeing, and his voice by not speaking. For a man in good health could not devote himself to any better object than to numerous humane activities. Least of all is it to be assumed that laziness is healthful, if it destroys what health aims at; and it is not true either that inactive people are more healthy. For Xenocrates did not keep in better health than Phocion, nor Theophrastus than Demetrius, and the running away from every activity that smacked of ambition did not help Epicurus and his followers at all to attain their much-talked-of condition of perfect bodily health. But we ought, by attention to other details, to preserve the natural constitution of our bodies, recognizing that every life has room for both disease and health.

However, our friend said that to men in public life should be given advice opposite to that which Plato b

a A paraphrase of Homer, II. ix. 108.

b Not extant in Plato's writings, but a faint suggestion of the idea may be found in *Laws*, p. 643 b.
(135) ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ λέγειν ἐκ τῆς διατριβῆς ἀπαλλατ-
tόμενος εἰώθη, "ἄγε, ὅπως εἰς καλὸν τι κατα-
θήσεις τὴν σχολήν, ὁ παῖδες". ἦρεις δ' ἄν τοῖς
πολιτευμόνοις παρανέσαιμεν εἰς τὰ καλὰ χρησθαι
τοῖς πόνοις καὶ ἀναγκαία, μὴ μικρῶν ἕνεκα μηδὲ
Ε ἡμῶν τὸ σῶμα παρατείνοντας, ὦςτεροι οἱ πολλοὶ
cακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχόσιν, ἀποκυνάοντες
ἐαυτοὺς ἀγρυτνίας καὶ πλάναις καὶ περιδρομαίς
eἰς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν οὐδ' ἀστείον, ἀλλ' ἐπηρεάζοντες
ἐτέρους ἡ φθονοῦντες ἡ φιλονεικοῦντες ἡ δόξας
ἀκάρπους καὶ κενάς διώκοντες. πρὸς τούτους γὰρ
οἱμαι μάλιστα τὸν Δημόκριτον εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰ τὸ
σῶμα δικάσαιτο τῇ ψυχῇ κακόσεως, οὐκ ἂν
αὐτὴν ἀποφυγεῖν. ἦσως μὲν γὰρ τι καὶ Θεόφραστος
ἀληθὲς εἶπεν, εἰπὼν ἐν μεταφορᾷ πολὺ τῷ σώματι
tελεῖν ἐνοίκιον τὴν ψυχῆν. πλείονα μέντοι τὸ
σῶμα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολαύει κακὰ μὴ κατὰ λόγον
αὐτῆς χρωμένης μηδ' ὃς προσήκει θεραπευόμενον·
ὅταν γὰρ ἐν πάθεσιν ἰδίοις γένηται καὶ ἀγώσι καὶ
F στουδαῖς, ἀφειδεῖ τοῦ σώματος. ὃ μὲν οὖν Ἰάσων
οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι παθών, "τὰ μικρὰ δεῖν ἄδικεῖν,"
ἐλεγεν, "ἐνεκεν τοῦ τὰ μεγάλα δικαιοπραγεῖν."
ἦρεις δ' ἄν εὐλόγως τῷ πολιτικῷ παρανέσαιμεν
τὰ μικρὰ φαθυμεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀναπαύειν

a Mullach, Frag. Philos. Graec. i, p. 342; cf. also Diels,
Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, ii, p. 91.

b This and the preceding quotation are given in greatly
amplified form in Fragment i. 2 of De anima (vol. vii. p. 2
of Bernardakis's edition of the Moralia).

c Despot of Pherae; cf. the note supra on 89 c. Cf. also
for the sentiment Plutarch, Moralia, 817 F, and Aristotle,
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used to give to the young men. For the philosopher, as he took his leave after the exercise, was in the habit of saying, "Be sure, my boys, that you store up the lesson of this hour of leisure for some good end." But we would advise those who take part in the government to employ their active labours for good and necessary ends, and not subject their bodies to stress on account of small and paltry matters, as is the way of most people, who make themselves miserable over incidental things, and wear themselves out with loss of sleep, going to this place and that place, and running about, all for no useful or decent purpose, but only from a spirit of insolence, envy, or rivalry against others, or in the pursuit of unprofitable and empty repute. It was in special reference to such people, as I think, that Democritus said, that, if the body were to enter suit against the soul for cruel and abusive treatment, the soul would not be acquitted. Perhaps, too, there is some truth in what Theophrastus said, in his metaphorical statement, that the soul pays a high rental to the body. At any rate, the body reaps the fruit of more evils from the soul than the soul from the body, inasmuch as the soul uses the body unreasonably, and the body does not get the care that it deserves. For whenever the soul is occupied with its own emotions, strivings, and concerns, it is prodigal of the body. I do not know what possessed Jason to say: "We must do wrong in small ways for the sake of doing right in large ways." But we, with good reason, would advise the man in public life to be indifferent to small things, and to take his ease and give himself

Rhetoric, i. 12; also The Epistle to the Romans, iii. 8 and vi. 1.
αὐτὸν ἐν ἐκείνωι, εἰ βούλεται πρὸς τὰς καλὰς πράξεις καὶ μεγάλας μὴ διάπονον ἔχειν τὸ σώμα
136 μηδ' ἀμβλύ' μηδ' ἀπαγορεύθην ἂλλο ὥσπερ ἐν νεωλίᾳ τῇ σχολῇ τεθεραπευμένον, ὡπως ἄθις ἐπὶ
tὰς χρείας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγούσης

ἀθῆλος ἱππω πῶλος ὡς ἀμα τρέχῃ.

25. Διὸ τῶν πραγμάτων διδόντων ἀναληπτέον ἑαυτοὺς μὴ ὑπνοοῦντας τῷ σώματι μὴν ἀρίστουν μήτε ἡμετάφυσις τοῦ méσου
1 ἦδυπαθείας καὶ κακοπαθείας, μηδὲ φυλάττοντας ὅρον οἰχον οἱ πολλοὶ φυλάττοντες ἑπιτρίβουσι τὸ σῶμα ταῖς
μεταβολαῖς, ὥσπερ τὸν βαπτόμενον σίδηρον, ὅταν ἑνταθῆ καὶ πιεσθῇ σφόδρα τοῖς πόνοις, ἄθις ἐν
Β ήδοναίς τηκόμενον ἀμέτρωσ καὶ λειβόμενον, εἶτα πάλιν εἰς ἄφροδισίων καὶ οἴνου διάλυτον καὶ
μαλακόν εἰς ἄγοραν ἡ αὐλήν ἡ τυν πραγματείαν διαπύρου καὶ συντόνου δεομένην σπουδῆς ἐλαυνό-
μενον. Ἡράκλειτος μὲν γὰρ ὑδρωπιάσας ἐκεί
λευσεν "ἀυχμὸν εἰς ἐπομβρίας" ποιήσαι τὸν
ιατρόν· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτάνουσιν,
ὅταν ἐν κόποις καὶ πόνοις καὶ ἐνδείας γένωνται,
μάλιστα ταῖς ήδοναῖς ἐξυγραίνειν καὶ ἀνατήκειν
tὰ σώματα παραδιδόντες, ἄθις δὲ μετὰ τὰς ήδοναὶς
οἶνον ἐπιστρέφουτες καὶ κατατείνουτες. ἢ γὰρ

2 μηδὲ F.C.B. : μὴτε.
3 φυλάττοντας Wyttchenbach : φυλάττοντες or φυλαττοῦσις.
4 οἴχον] ὅρ Salmasius.
5 λειβόμενον Wyttchenbach : θλιβόμενον.

* Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii. p. 738, Simonides of Amorgus, No. 5 ; repeated in Moralía, 84 d, 446 e, 790 f, and in a
fragment quoted by Stobaeus, Florilegium, cxv. 18.
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plenty of rest while attending to them, if, when he comes to honourable and important activities, he wishes to have his body not worn by drudging, nor dull, nor on the point of giving out, but refreshed by quiet, like a ship in the dock; so that when the soul again points the way to needful activities, it

May run like weanling colt beside its dam.

25. Therefore, when circumstances afford us opportunity, we should give ourselves a chance to recuperate, and to this end we should not grudge to our body either sleep or luncheon or ease, which is the mean between indulgence and discomfort, nor observe the sort of limit that most people observe whereby they wear out their body, like steel that is being tempered, by the changes to which they subject it; whenever the body has been strained and oppressed by much hard work, it is once more softened and relaxed immoderately in pleasures, and again, as the next step, while it is still flaccid and relaxed from venery and wine, it is coerced into going to the Forum or to Court or into some business requiring fervent and intense application. Heracleitus, suffering from dropsy, bade his physician to “bring on a drought to follow the wet spell”; but most people are completely in error, inasmuch as, when they are in the midst of exertions, labours, and deprivations, they are most inclined to surrender their bodies to pleasures to be made languid and relaxed, and then, after their pleasures, bending them, as it were, into place, and stretching them tight again.

* An adumbration of the Aristotelian doctrine that virtue is a mean.

Cf. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, i. pp. 67-68.
(136) φύσις οὐ ζητεῖ τοιαύτην ἀνταπόδοσιν τοῦ σώματος.

Γάλλα τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἀκόλαστον καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ἐκ τῶν ἐπιπόνων ὥσπερ οἱ ναῦται πρὸς ἥδονας καὶ ἀπολαύσεις ὑβρεί φερόμενον καὶ μετὰ τᾶς ἥδονᾶς πάλιν ἐπ’ ἐργασίας καὶ πορισμοῦς ὁδούμενον οὐκ ἐά λαβεῖν τὴν φύσιν ἢς μάλιστα δεῖται καταστάσεως καὶ γαλήνης, ἀλλ’ ἐξίστησι καὶ ταράττει διά τὴν ἀνωμαλίαν. οἱ δὲ νοῦν ἐχοντες ἢκιστα μὲν ἥδονας πονοῦντι τῷ σώματι προσφέρουσιν. οὐ γὰρ δέονται τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ μέμηνυνται τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς τῷ

Δ καὶ λε τῆς πράξεως τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες, καὶ τῷ χαίροντι τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ σπουδάζοντι τὰς ἄλλας ἐξαμαυροῦντες ἐπιθυμίας. ὅπερ γὰρ φασιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἐπαμεινώνδαν μετὰ παιδίας, ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ περὶ τὰ Λευκτρικὰ νόσω τελευτήσαντος, "ὅ Ἡράκλεις, πῶς ἐσχόλασεν ἄνὴρ ἀποθανεῖν ἐν τοσούτους πράγμασι;" τοῦτ’ ἀληθῶς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ἐπ’ ἀνδρὸς ἡ πολιτικὴν πράξιν ἡ φιλόσοφον φροντίδα διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντος, "τῆς δὲ σχολῆ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τούτῳ νῦν ἀπεπτεῖν ἡ μεθύειν ἡ λαγνεύειν;" γενόμενοι δὲ πάλιν ἀπὸ τῶν πράξεων ἐν ἱσυχίᾳ κατατίθενται τὸ σῶμα καὶ διαναπαύονται, τῶν τε

Ε πόνων τοὺς ἀχρήστους καὶ μᾶλλον ἐτὶ τῶν ἥδονῶν τὰς οὐκ ἀναγκαίας ὡς τῇ φύσει πολεμίας φυλαττό-μενοι καὶ φεύγοντες.

26. Ἡκουσά. Τυβερίων ποτὲ Καῖσαρα εἰπεῖν ὡς ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα γεγονός ἔτη καὶ προτείνων ἴατρῷ χείρα καταγέλαστος ἐστίν. ἐμοὶ δὲ τοῦτο

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1 τὰς ἄλλας... ἐπιθυμίας Xylander: ταῖς ἄλλαις... ἐπιθυμίαις.
2 Ἡκουσά Wyttenbach: Ἡκουσά τοῖνν.

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* Cf. Moralia, 794 B; Tacitus, Annals, vi. 46.
For Nature does not require any such form of compensation in the case of the body. But, on the other hand, in the soul the licentious and unmannerly element, immediately after undergoing hardships, is carried away, as sailors are, by wantonness to pleasures and enjoyments, and, after the pleasures, it is again coerced to tasks and business; and the result is that it does not allow Nature to attain the composure and calm which she needs most, but deranges and disturbs her because of this irregularity. But people who have sense are least given to proffering pleasures to the body when it is busied with labours. For they have absolutely no need, nor even recollection, of such things, inasmuch as they are keeping their thoughts intent on the good to be accomplished by their activity; and by the joy or earnestness in their souls they completely dwarf their other desires. There is a jocose remark attributed to Epameinondas in regard to a good man who fell ill and died about the time of the battle of Leuctra: "Great Heavens! How did he find time to die when there was so much going on?" This may be repeated with truth in the case of a man who has in hand some public activity or philosophic meditation: "What time has this man now for indigestion or drunkenness or carnal desires?" But when such men find themselves again at leisure following upon their activities, they compose and rest their bodies, guarding against and avoiding useless toils, and more especially unnecessary pleasures, on the ground that they are inimical to Nature.

26. I have heard that Tiberius Caesar once said that a man over sixty who holds out his hand to a physician is ridiculous. To me that seems a pretty
μὲν εἰρήσθαι δοκεῖ σοβαρώτερον, ἐκεῖνο δ' ἀληθὲς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἐκαστὸν αὐτοῦ μὴτε σφυγμάν ἰδιότητος εἶναι ἀπειρον (πολλαὶ γὰρ αἱ καθ' ἐκαστὸν διαφοραῖ) μὴτε κρᾶσων ἄγνοεσθι ἢν ἔχει τὸ σῶμα θερμότητας καὶ ἦπρότητας, μὴθ' οἷς όφελεσθαι χρώμενον ἢ βλάπτεσθαι πέφυκεν. αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἀναίσθητος ἐστιν καὶ τυφλὸς ἐνοικεῖ τῷ σῶματι. 

Γ καὶ κωφὸς ὁ ταῦτα μανθάνων παρ' ἐτέρον καὶ πυνθανόμενος τοῦ ἱατροῦ πότερον μᾶλλον θέρους ἢ χειμῶνος ὑγιαίνει, καὶ πότερον τὰ ψυχρὰ βᾶον ἢ τὰ ἥπη προσδέχεται, καὶ πότερον φύσει πυκνὸν ἔχει τὸν σφυγμὸν ἢ μανῶν· καὶ γὰρ όφελιμον εἰδέναι τὰ τούτα καὶ τὰ πάντα, ἀνεῖ γε δὴ πειρωμένους καὶ συνόντας. 

Βρωμάτων δὲ καὶ πωμάτων τὰ χρήσιμα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἡδέα γιγνώσκειν προσήκει, καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμπειρόν εἶναι τῶν εὐστομάχων ἢ τῶν εὐστόμων, καὶ 137 τῶν τῆς πείμαν μὴ ταραττόντων ἢ τῶν τῆς γεύσεως σφόδρα γαργαλιζόντων. τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἱατροῦ πυνθανόμενος τί δύσπεπτον ἢ εὐπεπτον αὐτῷ καὶ τί δυσκοίλιον ἢ εὐκοίλιον οὐχ ἤπτον αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ πυνθανόμεναι τί γλυκὸ καὶ τί πικρὸν καὶ αὐστηρόν. τῶν τῆς πείμαν μὴ ταραττόντων ἢ τῶν τῆς γεύσεως σφόδρα γαργαλιζόντων. τὸ γὰρ παρ' ἱατροῦ πυνθανόμενος τί δύσπεπτον ἢ εὐπεπτον αὐτῷ καὶ τί δυσκοίλιον ἢ εὐκοίλιον οὐχ ἤπτον αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἢ τὸ πυνθανόμεναι τί γλυκὸ καὶ τί πικρὸν καὶ αὐστηρόν. 

Β αὐτοῦ δὲ φαύλως ὁμοί καὶ κακῶς ἀρτύντες ὀσημέραι πολλὰ παρέχουσι πράγματα τοῖς ἱατροῖς.

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*Cf. Moralia, 735 f.*
strong statement, but this does seem to be true, that each person ought neither to be unacquainted with the peculiarities of his own pulse (for there are many individual diversities), nor ignorant of any idiosyncrasy which his body has in regard to temperature and dryness, and what things in actual practice have proved to be beneficial or detrimental to it. For the man has no perception regarding himself, and is but a blind and deaf tenant in his own body, who gets his knowledge of these matters from another, and must inquire of his physician whether his health is better in summer or winter, whether he can more easily tolerate liquid or solid foods, and whether his pulse is naturally fast or slow. For it is useful and easy for us to know things of this sort, since we have daily experience and association with them.

In regard to food and drink it is expedient to note what kinds are wholesome rather than what are pleasant, and to be better acquainted with those that are good in the stomach rather than in the mouth, and those that do not disturb the digestion rather than those that greatly tickle the palate. For to inquire of a physician what is hard or easy for oneself to digest, and what is constipating or laxative, is no less disgraceful than to inquire what is sweet and what is bitter and what is sour. But nowadays people correct the chefs, being expert at detecting what dish has in it more sweetening or salt or sourness than is proper; but they do not themselves know what, when taken into their own bodies, will be light and painless and beneficial. Therefore, a mistake is not often made in seasoning a soup at their houses, but by their vile and pernicious seasoning of themselves every day they provide a plentiful business
(137) ζωμὸν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀριστὸν ἥγουνται τὸν γλυκύ-
tatou, ἀλλὰ καὶ πικρὰ καὶ δριμέα συμμιγνύοντον εἰς δὲ τὸ σῶμα πολλὰς καὶ κατακόρους ἐμβάλ-
loussan ἥδονάς, τὰ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες τὰ δὲ οὐ μημο-
νεύοντες ὅτι τοῖς ὑγείοισι καὶ ὕφελίμωις ἡ φύσις ἥ-
dονήν ἄλυπον καὶ ἀμεταμέλητον προστίθησον. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα δεὶ μημονεύειν, τὰ σύμφυλα καὶ πρόσφορα τῷ σώματι, καὶ τούναντιον ἐν ταῖς καθ' ὧραν μεταβολαῖς καὶ ταῖς ἁλλαὶς περιστάσεσιν εἰδότας οἰκείως προσαρμόττειν ἐκάστη τὴν δίαιταν.

C 27. "Ὅσα μὲν γὰρ μικρολογίας καὶ ἀνελευθερίας προσκρούματα λαμβάνουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ περὶ τε συγκομιδὰς καρπῶν καὶ τηρήσεις ἐπιτόνους, ἀγρυ-
πνίαις καὶ περιδρομαῖς ἐξελέγχοντες τὰ σαθρὰ καὶ ὑπούλα τοῦ σώματος, οὐκ ἀξίων ἐστὶ δεδιέναι μὴ πάθωσιν ἄνδρας φιλόλογοι καὶ πολιτικοὶ, πρὸς οὓς ἐνέστηκεν ἥμιν ὁ λόγος· ἀλλ' ἔτεραν τινὰ φυλακτέον ἐστὶ τούτους δριμυτέραν ἐν γράμμασι καὶ μαθήμασι μικρολογίαν, ὃς ἢ ἄφειδειν καὶ ἀμελεῖν τοῦ σώμα-
tos ἀναγκάζονται, πολλάκις ἀπαγορεύοντος οὐκ

D ἐνδιδόντες ἀλλὰ προσβιαζόμενοι θυτῶν ἀθανάτω 
καὶ γηγενές Ὁλυμπιῶν συναμμιλλᾶθαι καὶ συν-
εξανύτειν. εἴδ' ὦς ὁ βοῦς πρὸς τὴν ὦμόδουλον ἔλεγε 
κάμηλον, ἐπικουφίσαι τοῦ φορτίου μὴ βουλομένην, 
"ἀλλὰ κἂν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα μετὰ μικρὸν οἴσεις," 

1 ἐκάστη F.C.B.: ἐκάστη.
ADVICE ABOUT KEEPING WELL, 137

for the physicians. Now such persons do not regard the sweetest soup as the best, but they mix in also bitter and pungent flavourings; on the other hand, they inject into the body numerous cloying pleasures, partly from ignorance, and partly because they do not remember that to whatever is healthful and beneficial nature adds a pleasure which causes neither pain nor repentance. But we must keep in mind both those things that are congenial and suitable to the body, and, conversely, as changes attendant on the season occur and different circumstances arise, we should, in full knowledge of the facts, suitably adjust our mode of living to each.

27. Now as to various difficulties, due to observance of petty detail and to lack of freedom, which most men encounter—men who are engaged in the toilsome business of harvesting and caring for their crops and by sleepless nights and running hither and thither bring to light the latent infirmities of their bodies—there is no good reason to fear that such will be experienced by scholars and men in public life, with reference to whom our discussion has taken its present form; but these must guard against another and more subtle kind of pettiness that inheres in letters and learning, an influence which compels them to be unsparing and careless of their body, so that they oftentimes, when the body is ready to succumb, will not surrender, but will force the mortal to be partner with the immortal, and the earth-born with the celestial, in rivalry and achievement. Then later, to quote the words of the ox to his fellow-servant the camel, who was unwilling to lighten his burden: "Well, before long you will be carrying me as well as all this load" (as actually
(137) δ καὶ συνέβη τελευτήσαντος αυτοῦ, οὕτω συμβαίνει τῇ ψυχῇ μικρὰ χαλάσαι καὶ παρεῖναι μὴ βουλομένη πονοῦντε καὶ δεομένῳ, μετ' ὀλίγων πυρετοῦ τινος ἢ σκοτώματος ἐμπεσόντος ἀφείσα τὰ βιβλία καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἀναγκάζεται Ε συννοσεῖν ἐκεῖνω καὶ συγκάμυνειν. ὅρθως οὖν δ' Πλάτων παράγησε μήτε σῶμα κινεῖν ἄνευ ψυχῆς μήτε ψυχῆν ἄνευ σώματος, ἀλλ' οἷον τῶν ξυνωρίδος ἰσορροπίαν διαφυλάττειν, δι' μάλιστα τῇ ψυχῇ συνεργεῖ τὸ σῶμα καὶ συγκάμυνει, πλείστην ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῷ καὶ θεραπείαν ἀποδιδόντας καὶ τὴν καλὴν καὶ ἐράσμον ὑγιείαν ὑγιείαν τὸν δίδωσιν ἀγαθῶν κάλλιστον ἠγομένους διδόναι τὸ πρὸς κτῆσιν ἀρετῆς καὶ χρῆσιν ἐν τῇ λόγῳς καὶ πράξεις ἀκώλυτον αὐτῶν.

1 ὑγιείαν Reiske: ὑγιείαν ἀποδιδόντας.
resulted when the ox fell dead).a And this is just what happens to the mind: if it is unwilling to relax a little and give up to the body in distress and need, a little later a fever or a vertigo attacks it, and it is compelled to give up its books and discussions and studies, and share with the body its sickness and weariness. Plato b was right, therefore, in advising that there should be no movement of the body without the mind or of the mind without the body, but that we should preserve, as it were, the even balance of a well-matched team; when the body shares most in the work and weariness of the mind we should repay it by giving it the most care and attention, and we should feel that of the good gifts which fair and lovely Health bestows the fairest is the unhampered opportunity to get and to use virtue both in words and in deeds.

* Cf. Aesop’s Fables, No. 125.  
* Timaeus, p. 88 b.
ADVICE TO BRIDE AND GROOM  
(CONIUGALIA PRAECEPTA)
INTRODUCTION

The modern bride will undoubtedly turn up her nose and shake her independent head in disapproval of Plutarch’s suggestions about subordinating herself to her husband, and nobody will attempt to deny that the status of women has changed materially since Plutarch’s time; but, apart from this, she will find in Plutarch’s short essay many suggestions regarding whole-souled co-operation and cheerful intellectual companionship with her husband, which *mutatis mutandis* hold as good to-day as they did when they were written, nearly two thousand years ago. Nor is the husband neglected; he can find much sound advice regarding his attitude towards his wife and the respect and consideration that is always due to her.

Plutarch was no mere theorist in these matters. He himself was happily married, and anyone who doubts this should read his letter to his wife (*Moralia*, 608 a).

The essay is included in the catalogue of Lamprias (see Vol. I. Introd. p. xviii) and is not infrequently quoted or referred to by later writers, Stobaeus, for example, in his *Florilegium*, especially lxxiv., and Hieronymus (St. Jerome), *Adversus Iovinianum*, i. *ad fin.* It is well worth while, in this connexion, to read Jeremy Taylor’s sermon, *The Marriage Ring*, to see how a famous preacher served up many of the ideas of a heathen philosopher to a Christian congregation.
ΓΑΜΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΑ

ΠΛΟΤΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΠΟΛΛΙΑΝΩΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΤΡΥΔΙΚΗΙ ΕΥ ΠΡΑΤΤΕΙΝ

Β. Μετά τὸν πατριων θεσμόν, ὁπον ὑμῖν ἡ τῆς Δήμη-
tρος ἱέρεια συνειργημένοι ἐφήρμοσεν, οἴμαι καὶ
tὸν λόγον ὁμοῦ συνεφαπτόμενον ὑμᾶς καὶ συν-
νεναιοῦντα χρήσιμον ἃν τι ποιήσαι καὶ τῷ νόμῳ
προσωπικόν.

Ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μονοικοῖς ἕνα τῶν αὐθετικῶν
νόμων ἵπποθορον ἐκάλουν, μέλος τὴν ἰπποὺς
ὀρμήδ έπεγερτικὸν ὡς ἔοικεν ἐνδίδον τε1 περὶ
tὰς οἰχείας. φιλοσοφία δὲ πολλῶν λόγων καὶ καλῶν

C ἐνότων, οὐδενὸς ἦττον ἄξιος σπουδῆς ὁ γαμηλίος
ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὃ κατάδουσα τοὺς ἐπὶ βίου κοινωνίας
συννότας εἰς ταῦτα πράον τε παρέχει καὶ χειρο-
ήθεις ἄλληλοι. ὡν οὖν ἀκηκόατε πολλάκις ἐν φιλο-
σοφίᾳ παρατρέφομενοι κεφάλαια συντάξας ἐν τοιο
ὄμοιοτη ἀραχείαις, ὡς εὐμημόνευτα μᾶλλον ἐξή,
κοινὸν ἀμφοτέροις πέμπω δῶρον, εὐχόμενος τῇ


a Cf. O. Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religions-
geschichte, p. 1176. A few references are given regarding
marriage rites and customs which are here touched upon,
but anyone interested in these matters will consult some
book like Westermarck, The History of Human Marriage
(5th ed. 1922).
b Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 704 r.
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ADVICE TO BRIDE AND GROOM

From Plutarch to Pollianus and Eurydice, health and prosperity.

Following close upon the time-honoured rites which the priestess of Demeter applied to you when you were retiring together to the bridal chamber, a discourse which equally touches both of you and swells the nuptial song will, I think, have a useful effect which will also accord with convention.

In music they used to call one of the conventional themes for the flute the “Horse Rampant,” a strain which, as it seems, aroused an ardent desire in horses and imparted it to them at the time of mating. Of the many admirable themes contained in philosophy, that which deals with marriage deserves no less serious attention than any other, for by means of it philosophy weaves a spell over those who are entering together into a lifelong partnership, and renders them gentle and amiable toward each other. I have therefore drawn up a compendium of what you, who have been brought up in the atmosphere of philosophy, have often heard, putting it in the form of brief comparisons that it may be more easily remembered, and I am sending it as a gift for you both to possess in common; and at the same time I pray that the
(138) Ἄφροδίτη τὰς Μούσας παρείναι καὶ συνεργεῖν, ώς μήτε λύραν τινὰ μήτε κυθάραν μᾶλλον αὕτας ἢ τὴν περὶ γάμον καὶ οἶκον ἐμιλέειαν ἡρμοσμένην παρέχειν διὰ λόγου καὶ ἀρμονίας καὶ ἰλισσοφίας προσηκον. καὶ γάρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἄφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἐρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ώς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον Δήδωνς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, τὴν τε Πειθῶ καὶ τὰς Χάριτας, ἵνα πείδοντες διαπράττονται παρ’ ἄλληλων ἄβουλονται, μὴ μαχόμενοι μηδὲ φιλονεικοῦντες.

1. Ὁ Σῶλος ἐκέλευε τὴν νύμφην τῶν νυμφίων συγκατακλίνεσθαι μήλου κυδωνίου κατατραγοῦσαν, αὐτιτόμενος ώς ἐσικεὶν ὅτι δεὶ τὴν ἀπὸ στόματος καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι πρῶτον καὶ ἰδεῖαν.

2. Ἔν Βοιωτία τὴν νύμφην κατακαλύψαντες ἀσφαραγωνίας ἑκείνη τε γὰρ ἡδίστον ἐκ τραχυτάτης ἀκάνθης καρπὸν ἀναδίδοσιν, ἢ τε νύμφη τῷ μὴ φυγόντι μηδὲ δυσχεράντα τὴν πρώτην χαλεπότητα καὶ ἀηδίαν αὐτὴς ἦμερον καὶ Εὐλυκείαν παρέξει συμβίωσιν. οἱ δὲ τὰς πρῶτας τῶν παρθένων διαφορὰς μὴ υπομείναντες οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσιν τῶν διὰ τὸν ὄμφακα τὴν σταφυλὴν ἐτέρους προϊσμένων. πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν νεογάμων δυσχεράνασι διὰ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν νυμφίων ὄμοιον

1 ἀσφαραγωνίων ταινίας?
2 μηδὲ Sauppe: μήτε.

* Hermes as the patron of arts and sciences, including 300
Muses may lend their presence and co-operation to Aphrodite, and may feel that it is no more fitting for them to provide a lyre or lute well attuned than it is to provide that the harmony which concerns marriage and the household shall be well attuned through reason, concord, and philosophy. Indeed, the ancients gave Hermes a a place at the side of Aphrodite, in the conviction that the pleasure in marriage stands especially in need of reason; and they also assigned a place there to Persuasion and the Graces, so that married people should succeed in attaining their mutual desires by persuasion and not by fighting and quarrelling.

1. Solon b directed that the bride should nibble a quince before getting into bed, intimating, presumably, that the delight from lips and speech should be harmonious and pleasant at the outset.

2. In Boeotia, after veiling the bride, they put on her head a chaplet of asparagus; for this plant yields the finest flavoured fruit from the roughest thorns, and so the bride will provide for him who does not run away or feel annoyed at her first display of peevishness and unpleasantness a docile and sweet life together. Those who do not patiently put up with the early girlish disagreements are on a par with those who on account of the sourness of green grapes abandon the ripe clusters to others. Again, many of the newly married women because of their first experiences get annoyed at their husbands, and find speaking and writing; cf., for example, the familiar instance in Acts xiv. 12.

b Plutarch mentions this again in Moralia, 279 f, and in his Life of Solon, chap. xx. (p. 89 c).
έπαθον πάθος τοῖς τῇν μὲν πλήγην τῆς μελίττης ὑπομείνασι, τὸ δὲ κηρίων προεμένοις.

3. Ἐν ἀρχῇ μάλιστα δεὶ τὰς διαφορὰς καὶ τὰς προσκρούσεις φυλάττεσθαι τοὺς γεγαμηκότας, ὁρῶντας ὅτι καὶ τὰ συναρμοσθέντα τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἀρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ῥαδίως διασπάται προ-
F φάσεως, χρόνῳ δὲ τῶν ἀρμῶν σύμπτηξιν λαβόντων μόλις ὑπὸ πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου διαλύεται.

4. Ὑσπερ τὸ πῦρ ἑξάπτεται μὲν εὐχέρως ἐν ἀχύροις καὶ θρυαλλίδι καὶ θρεξὶ λαγώαις, σβέννυ-
ται δὲ τάχιον ἂν μὴ τινὸς ἐτέρου δυναμένου στέγειν ἀμα καὶ τρέφειν ἐπιλάβηται, ὅτως τὸν ἀπὸ σώματος καὶ ὥρας οίκῳ ἔρωτα τῶν νεογάμων ἀναφλεγό-
μενον δεὶ μὴ διαρκὴ μηδὲ βέβαιων νομίζειν, ἂν μὴ ἐνετὸ τὸ ἦθος ᾠδρυθεὶς καὶ τοῦ φρονοῦντος ἀψάμενος ἐμψυχον λάβῃ διάθεσιν.

139 5. Ἡ διὰ τῶν φαρμάκων θῆρα ταχὺ μὲν αἱρεῖ καὶ λαμβάνει ῥαδίως τὸν ιχθύν, ἀβρωτὸν δὲ ποιεῖ καὶ φαύλον; οὕτως αἱ φίλτρα τινὰ καὶ γοητείας ἐπιτεχνώμεναι τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ χειρούμεναι δι' ἡδονῆς αὐτοὺς ἐμπλήκτοις καὶ ἀνοίγτοις καὶ διεφθαρ-
μένοις συμβιώσαν. οὔδὲ γὰρ τὴν Κίρκην ωνησαν οἱ καταφαρμακευθέντες, οὔδ' ἐχρήσατο πρὸς οὐδέν αὐτοὺς υψί καὶ ὅνοις γενομένοις, τὸν δ' Ὑδοσέα νοῦν ἔχοντα καὶ συνόντα φρονίμως ὑπερηγάπησεν.

6. Αἱ βουλόμεναι μᾶλλον ἀνοίτων κρατεῖν ἀν-
δρῶν ἡ φρονίμων ἀκούειν ἐοίκασι τοῖς εὐ ὅδο

1 Cf. Moralia, 454 ε.
themselves in like predicament with those who patiently submit to the bees' stings, but abandon the honeycomb.

3. In the beginning, especially, married people ought to be on their guard against disagreements and clashes, for they see that such household vessels as are made of sections joined together are at the outset easily pulled apart by any fortuitous cause, but after a time, when their joints have become set, they can hardly be separated by fire and steel.

4. Just as fire catches readily in chaff, fibre, and hares' fur, but goes out rather quickly, unless it gets hold of some other thing that can retain it and feed it, so the keen love between newly married people that blazes up fiercely as the result of physical attractiveness must not be regarded as enduring or constant, unless, by being centred about character and by gaining a hold upon the rational faculties, it attains a state of vitality.

5. Fishing with poison is a quick way to catch fish and an easy method of taking them, but it makes the fish inedible and bad. In the same way women who artfully employ love-potions and magic spells upon their husbands, and gain the mastery over them through pleasure, find themselves consorts of dull-witted, degenerate fools. The men bewitched by Circe were of no service to her, nor did she make the least use of them after they had been changed into swine and asses, while for Odysseus, who had sense and showed discretion in her company, she had an exceeding great love.

6. Women who prefer to have power over fools rather than to hearken to sensible men, are like persons who prefer to guide the blind on the road
(139) βουλομένοις μάλλον ὑδηγεῖν τυφλοὺς ἢ τοῖς γυνώ-
σκοισιν ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ βλέποντι.

Β 7. Τὴν Πασιφάην ἀπίστωτοι βοῶς ἐρασθήναι
βασιλεῖ συνούσαι, ἐνιάς ὁρῶσαι τοὺς μὲν ἀυστηροὺς
καὶ σώφρονας βαρυνομένας, τοῖς δ’ ἐξ ἀκρασίας
καὶ φιλήδονίας κεκραμένους ὃσπερ κυσίν ἢ τράγοις
ἡδιον συνούσαι.

8. Οἱ τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἐφάλλεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι δι’
ἀσθένειαν ἢ μαλακιᾷ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ὄκλαζεν
καὶ ὑποπίπτειν διδάσκουσι. οὕτως ἦνοι τῶν λα-
βόντων εὐγενεῖς ἢ πλουσίας γυναίκας οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς
ποιοῦσι βελτίως ἅλλ’ ἐκείνας περικολούθουσι, ὡς
μάλλον ἀρξοντες ταπεινῶν γενομένων. δεὶ δ’ ὃσπερ
ἵππου τὸ μέγεθος φυλάττοντα καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς
γυναίκος χρῆσθαι τῷ χαλιῷ.

C 9. Τὴν σελήνην, ὅταν ἀποστῆ τοῦ ἥλιου, περι-
φάνη καὶ λαμπράν ὅρῳμεν, ἀφανίζεται δὲ καὶ κρύ-
πτεται πλησίον γενομένη. τὴν δὲ σώφρονα γυναίκα
δεὶ τούναντιόν ὁρᾶσθαι μᾶλιστα μετὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος
οὐσαν, οἰκουρεῖν δὲ καὶ κρύπτεσθαι μὴ παρόντος.

10. Οὐκ ὅρθως Ἡρόδοτος εἶπεν ὅτι ἡ γυνὴ ἅμα
τῶν χιτώνι ἐκδύεται καὶ τὴν αἰδῶ τούναντιον γὰρ
ἡ σώφρων ἀντενδύεται τὴν αἰδῶ, καὶ τοῦ μάλι-
στα τιφεῖν τῷ μάλιστα αἰδεῖσθαι συμβόλῳ χρῶνται
πρὸς ἄλληλους.

11. Ὅσπερ ἄν φθόνγοι δύο σύμφωνοι ληφθῶσι,

D τοῦ βαρυτέρου γίγνεται τὸ μέλος, οὕτω πάσα
πράξις ἐν οἰκίᾳ σωφρονοῦσῃ πράττεται μὲν ὑπ’

* Herodotus, i. 8. Cf. Plutarch, Moralia, 37 c, and
Hieronymus, Adversus Iovinianum, chap. xlviii. (vol. ii.

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rather than to follow persons possessed of knowledge and sight.

7. Women will not believe that Pasiphaë, the consort of a king, fell in love with a bull, in spite of the fact that they see some of their sex who feel bored by uncompromising and virtuous men, and take more pleasure in consorting with those who, like dogs and he-goats, are a combination of licentiousness and sensuality.

8. Men who through weakness or effeminacy are unable to vault upon their horses teach the horses to kneel of themselves and crouch down. In like manner, some who have won wives of noble birth or wealth, instead of making themselves better, try to humble their wives, with the idea that they shall have more authority over their wives if these are reduced to a state of humility. But, as one pays heed to the size of his horse in using the rein, so in using the rein on his wife he ought to pay heed to her position.

9. Whenever the moon is at a distance from the sun we see her conspicuous and brilliant, but she disappears and hides herself when she comes near him. Contrariwise a virtuous woman ought to be most visible in her husband's company, and to stay in the house and hide herself when he is away.

10. Herodotus was not right in saying that a woman lays aside her modesty along with her undergarment. On the contrary, a virtuous woman puts on modesty in its stead, and husband and wife bring into their mutual relations the greatest modesty as a token of the greatest love.

11. Whenever two notes are sounded in accord the tune is carried by the bass; and in like manner every activity in a virtuous household is carried on
(139) ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοούντων, ἐπιφαίνει δὲ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡγεμονίαν καὶ προσέρειν.

12. 'Ὁ ἢλιος τὸν βορεάν ἐνίκησεν. ὁ γὰρ ἄνθρωπος τοῦ μὲν ἀνέμου βιαζομένου τὸ ἵματιον ἄφελεθαί καὶ λαμπρὸν καταπνέουντος μᾶλλον ἔσφυγε καὶ συνείχε τὴν περιβολήν· τοῦ δ' ἢλίου μετὰ τὸ πνεῦμα θερμοῦ γενομένου θαλπόμενος εἶτα καμιατζόμενος καὶ τὸν χιτώνα τῷ ἵματιῳ προσαπεδύσατο. τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν αἴ πλείσται γυναίκες· ἀφαἱρουμένοις ἔτοις ἀνδράσι βίᾳ τὴν τρυφήν καὶ τὴν πολυτέλειαν διαμάχονται καὶ χαλεπαίνουσι· ἂν δὲ πείθωνται μετὰ λόγου, πράσω ἀποτίθενται καὶ μετράζουσιν...

13. 'Ὁ Κάτων ἔξεβαλε τῆς βουλῆς τὸν φιλήσαντα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γυναῖκα τῆς θυγατρὸς παρούσης. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἔσως σφοδρότερον· εἰ δ' αἰσχρὸν ἑστιν, ὃς πέρ ἑστίν, ἐτέρων παρόντων ἀσπάζεσθαι καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ περιβάλλειν ἄλληλους, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχιον ἑτέρων παρόντων λοιδορεῖσθαι καὶ διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς ἄλληλους, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐντεύξεις καὶ φιλοφροσύνας ἀπορρήτους πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα δεικνύσαι, νοθεσία δὲ καὶ μέμψει καὶ παρρησία χρῆσθαι φανερὰ καὶ ἀναπεταμένην;

14. Ὡσπερ ἐσόπτρου κατεσκευασμένου χρυσῷ καὶ λιθοῖς ὀφέλος οὔδέν ἑστιν, εἰ μὴ δείκνυς τὴν μορφὴν σομοὶ, οὕτως οὔδὲ πλουσίας γαμετῆς ὄνησις, εἰ μὴ παρέχει τὸν βίον ὀμοιόν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σύμφωνον τῷ ἱθὸς. [εἰ χαίροντος μὲν εἰκόνα σκυθρωτῆν ἀποδίδωσι τὸ ἐσόπτρον, ἀχθομένου δὲ

1 καὶ τὰς Xylander: τὰς.

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* Nos. 306 and 307 of the Fables which pass under the name of Aesop. Cf. also Athenaeus, 604 f.

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by both parties in agreement, but discloses the husband's leadership and preferences.

12. The Sun won a victory over the North Wind. For the wind tried by force to rob a man of his cloak, and blew briskly against him, but the man only drew his garment closer, and held it more tightly together. But when the heat of the sun succeeded the wind, the man began to get warm, and later very hot, and ended by stripping off his shirt as well as his cloak. This is the way most women act. When their husbands try forcibly to remove their luxury and extravagance they keep up a continual fight and are very cross; but if they are convinced with the help of reason, they peaceably put aside these things and practise moderation.

13. Cato expelled from the Senate a man who kissed his own wife in the presence of his daughter. This perhaps was a little severe. But if it is a disgrace (as it is) for man and wife to caress and kiss and embrace in the presence of others, is it not more of a disgrace to air their recriminations and disagreements before others, and, granting that his intimacies and pleasures with his wife should be carried on in secret, to indulge in admonition, fault-finding, and plain speaking in the open and without reserve?

14. Just as a mirror, although embellished with gold and precious stones, is good for nothing unless it shows a true likeness, so there is no advantage in a rich wife unless she makes her life true to her husband's and her character in accord with his. If the mirror gives back a gloomy image of a glad man,

b The story is told with more humorous details by Plutarch in his *Life of Cato Major*, chap. xvii. (p. 346 c).
καὶ σκυθρωπάζονται ἵλαραν καὶ σεσηρνών, ἡμαρτη-
μένον ἐστὶ καὶ φαύλον. οὐκοῦν καὶ γυνὴ φαύλος
καὶ ἀκαίρος ἢ παίζειν μὲν ἄρμημένου καὶ φιλο-
φρονεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐσκυθρωπακυία, σπουδά-
ζοντος δὲ παίζουσα καὶ γελώσα· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγδίας,
140 τὸ δ’ ὀλγωρίας. δεὶ δὲ, ὡσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι
λέγουσι τὰς γραμμὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιφανείας οὐ
cινεῖσθαι καθ’ ἐαυτὰς ἀλλὰ συγκινεῖσθαι τοῖς
σώμασι, οὔτω τὴν γυναίκα μηδὲν ἕδιον πάθος
ἐχειν, ἀλλὰ κοινωνεῖν τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ
παιδιᾶς καὶ συννοίας καὶ γέλωτος.

15. Οἱ τὰς γυναίκας μὴ ἤδεως βλέποντες ἔσθι-
οῦσας μετ’ αὐτῶν διδάσκοντον ἐμπιπλασθαί μόνας
genoménas. οὔτως οἱ μὴ συνόντες ἱλαρός ταῖς γυ-
ναιξὶ μηδὲ παιδιᾶς κοινωνοῦντες αὐταῖς καὶ γέλωτος
?idίας ἧδονάς χωρὶς αὐτῶν ζητεῖν διδάσκοντον.

Β 16. Τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεύσων αἱ γυνήιαι
γυναίκες παρακάθηνται δειπνοῦσι καὶ συνεστίων-
tαι· βουλόμενοι δὲ παίζειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι ταύτας
μὲν ἀποπέμπουσιν, τὰς δὲ μοῦσουργοὺς καὶ παλ-
λακίδας καλοῦσιν, ὀρθῶς τούτο γ’ αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες,
ὅτι τοῦ1 συνακολουθοῦντες καὶ παρουνεῖν οὐ μετα-
didóσι ταῖς γαμεταῖς· ἂν οὖν ἰδιωτῆς ἀνήρ,
ἀκρατής δὲ περὶ τὰς ἧδονάς καὶ ἀνάγγειος, ἐξ-
αμάρτῃ τι πρὸς ἔταιραν ἡ θεραπαινώδα, δεῖ τὴν
γαμετῆν μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν μηδὲ χαλεπαίνειν, λογιζο-
méνην ότι παρουνίας καὶ ἀκολούθιας καὶ ὀβρεως
αἰσθάνειν αὐτῆς ἑτέρα μεταδίδωσιν.

1 τοῦ Hatzidakis, Hartman, and Kronenberg, all in-
dependently apparently (!), now confirmed by two mss.
according to the Teubner edition of 1925: τδ.
or a cheerful and grinning image of a troubled and gloomy man, it is a failure and worthless. So too a wife is worthless and lacking in sense of fitness who puts on a gloomy face when her husband is bent on being sportive and gay, and again, when he is serious, is sportive and mirthful. The one smacks of disagreeableness, the other of indifference. Just as lines and surfaces, in mathematical parlance, have no motion of their own but only in conjunction with the bodies to which they belong, so the wife ought to have no feeling of her own, but she should join with her husband in seriousness and sportiveness and in soberness and laughter.

15. Men who do not like to see their wives eat in their company are thus teaching them to stuff themselves when alone. So those who are not cheerful in the company of their wives, nor join with them in sportiveness and laughter, are thus teaching them to seek their own pleasures apart from their husbands.

16. The lawful wives of the Persian kings sit beside them at dinner, and eat with them. But when the kings wish to be merry and get drunk, they send their wives away, and send for their music-girls and concubines. In so far they are right in what they do, because they do not concede any share in their licentiousness and debauchery to their wedded wives. If therefore a man in private life, who is incontinent and dissolute in regard to his pleasures, commit some peccadillo with a paramour or a maid-servant, his wedded wife ought not to be indignant or angry, but she should reason that it is respect for her which leads him to share his debauchery, licentiousness, and wantonness with another woman.

\* Cf. Moralia, 63 b. \* Cf. Moralia, 613 A.
C 17. Οἱ φιλόμουσαι τῶν βασιλέων πολλοὺς μουσικοὺς ποιούσιν, οἱ φιλόλογοι λογίουσι, οἱ φιλαθληταὶ γυμναστικοὺς. οὕτως ἀνὴρ φιλοσώματος καλωσίτριαν γυναῖκα ποιεῖ, φιλήδονος ἐταιρικῆς καὶ ἀκόλαστον, φιλάγαθος καὶ φιλόκαλος σώφρονα καὶ κοσμίαν.

18. Λάκαινα παιδίσκη, πυνθανομένου τινὸς εἰ ἦδη τὰνδρὶ προσελήλυθεν, "οὐκ ἔγωγον", εἶπεν, "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ ἐκεῖνος." οὕτος δ' ἦτος, οἷμαι, τῆς οἰκοδοσποίης, μήτε φεύγει μήτε δυσχεραίνει τὰ τοιαῦτα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρχομένου μήτ' αὐτὴν κατ' ἄρχεσθαι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐταιρικὸν καὶ ἱπαμόν, τὸ δ' ὑπερήφανον καὶ ἀφιλόστοργον.

19. ' ldios oú deĩ filous kttása thn gynayka, kounois de chrhsoi tois toû an droû. oû de theeû filoi prîtoû kai megistoi. diû kai theus ouû ò anhe noriçez sêbeszai th gawseth kai gynawskewn mônous proszekei, periérgra de thrskeías kai exeûs deisidamaunías apokekleiðszai thn aûlezon. oudevi gár theûn iera klep tômena kai la nthánonta drûzai kecharismênous upo gynakos.

20. 'O Plâтовn fwsin euðaîmôna kai makarían eînai pólûn, eû ἦ "τὸ ἐμὸν καὶ τὸ ὅ ω ἐμὸν" Eîkîasta fhegeugomênwn âkouûsai diá to kounois âs eîn málistà chrhsoi toís âxios spoudhês toûs politeías. [pôlû de mállûn ek gámov deî toûn

1 tândrî Platt: ândrî.
2 kai to Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxxiv. 43: kai.

a Cf. Moralia, 242 b.
b Republic, p. 462 c. Cf. also Plutarch, Moralia, 484 b and 767 d.
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17. Kings fond of the arts make many persons incline to be artists, those fond of letters make many want to be scholars, and those fond of sport make many take up athletics. In like manner a man fond of his personal appearance makes a wife all paint and powder; one fond of pleasure makes her meretricious and licentious, while a husband who loves what is good and honourable makes a wife discreet and well-behaved.

18. A young Spartan woman, in answer to an inquiry as to whether she had already made advances to her husband, said, "No, but he has made them to me." This behaviour, I take it, is characteristic of the true mistress of the household, on the one hand not to avoid or to feel annoyed at such actions on the part of her husband if he begins them, and on the other not to take the initiative herself; for the one course is meretricious and froward, the other disdainful and unamiable.

19. A wife ought not to make friends of her own, but to enjoy her husband’s friends in common with him. The gods are the first and most important friends. Wherefore it is becoming for a wife to worship and to know only the gods that her husband believes in, and to shut the front door tight upon all queer rituals and outlandish superstitions. For with no god do stealthy and secret rites performed by a woman find any favour.

20. Plato asserts that the state is prosperous and happy in which the people hear "mine" and "not mine" most rarely uttered, the reason being that the citizens, so far as in them lies, treat all things of real importance as common property. Much more should such expressions be eliminated from the
τοιαύτην φωνήν ἀνηρήσθαι. πλὴν ὡσπερ οἱ ἱατροὶ λέγουσι τὰς τῶν εὐωνύμων πληγὰς τὴν αἰσθησιν ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς ἀναφέρειν, οὕτω τὴν γυναῖκα τοῖς τοῦ ἀνδρός συμπαθεῖν καλὸν1 καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τοῖς τῆς γυναικὸς, ἵνα ὡσπερ οἱ δεσμοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐπ- ἀλλαξὶν ἱσχὺν δι᾽ ἀλλήλων λαμβάνουσιν, οὕτως ἐκατέρος τὴν εὐνοιαν ἀντίστροφον ἀποδιδόντος ἡ κοινωνία σώζηται δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν. καὶ γὰρ ἡ φύσις Φ μέγνυσι διὰ τῶν σωμάτων ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἐκ ἐκατέρων μέρους λαβοῦσα καὶ συγχέασα κοινὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἀποδώ τὸ γεννώμενον, ὡστε μηδέτερον διορίσαι μηδὲ διακρίναι τὸ ἰδιον ἢ τὸ ἀλλότριον. αὕτη τοῖνυν καὶ χρημάτων κοινωνία προσήκει μάλιστα τοῖς γαμοῦσιν, εἰς μίαν οὐσίαν πάντα κατα- χειμένοις καὶ ἀναμείξασι μὴ τὸ μέρος ἰδιον καὶ τὸ μέρος ἀλλότριον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ἰδιον ἤγεισθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀλλότριον. ὡστε τὸ κράμα καίτοι ὠδατος μετέχον πλείονος οἶνον καλοῦμεν, οὕτω τὴν οὐσίαν δεῖ καὶ τὸν ὀίκον τοῦ ἀνδρός λέγεσθαι, κἂν ἡ γυνὴ πλείονα συμβάλληται.

21. Φιλόπλουτος ἢ Ἐλένη, φιλήδονος ὁ Πάρις- φρόνιμος ὁ Ὄδυσσεύς, σώφρων ἡ Πηνελόπη. διὰ τούτο μακάριος γάμος ὁ τούτων καὶ ζηλωτός, ὁ 141 δ’ ἐκείνων Ὡἰλάδα κακῶν Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρβάρους ἐποίησεν.

22. ὁ Ῥωμαίος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων νοθετούμενος ὅτι σώφρονα γυναῖκα καὶ πλουσίαν καὶ ὁραίαν ἀπ-

1 καλὸν Wytenbach: μᾶλλον.

a Cf. Plutarch's Life of Aemilius Paulus, chap. v. (p. 312)
married state; save that, as physicians tell us that
blows on the left side of the body record the sensa-
tion on the right side, so, in the same way, it is a
lovely thing for the wife to sympathize with her
husband's concerns and the husband with the wife's,
so that, as ropes, by being intertwined, get strength
from each other, thus, by the due contribution of
goodwill in corresponding measure by each member,
the copartnership may be preserved through the
joint action of both. For Nature unites us through
the commingling of our bodies, in order that, by
taking and blending together a portion derived from
each member of a pair, the offspring which she
produces may be common to both, so that neither
can define or distinguish his own or the other's part
therein. Such a copartnership in property as well
is especially befitting married people, who should
pour all their resources into a common fund, and
combine them, and each should not regard one part
as his own and another part as the other's, but all
as his own and nothing as the other's. As we call
a mixture "wine," although the larger of the com-
ponent parts is water, so the property and the estate
ought to be said to belong to the husband even
though the wife contribute the larger share.
21. Helen was fond of wealth and Paris of pleasure;
Odysseus was sensible and Penelope virtuous.
Therefore the marriage of the latter pair was happy
and enviable, while that of the former created an
"Iliad of woes" for Greeks and barbarians.
22. The Roman, a on being admonished by his
friends because he had put away a virtuous, wealthy,
(141) επέμψατο, τὸν κάλτιον¹ αὐτοίς προτείνας “καὶ γὰρ οὕτος,” ἐφη, “καλὸς ἰδεῖν καὶ καυνός, ἀλλ’ οὐδεὶς οἶδεν ὅπου με θλίβει.” δει τοῦτων μὴ προικῇ μηδὲ γένει μηδὲ κάλλει τὴν γυναῖκα πιστεύειν, ἀλλ’ ἐν ὅις ἀπτεται μάλιστα τοῦ ἀνδρός, ὁμιλία τε καὶ ἤθει καὶ συμπεριφορά, ταῦτα μὴ σκληρὰ μηδ’ ἀνιῶντα
Β καθ’ ἤμεραν ἄλλ’ εὐάρμοστα καὶ ἄλυτα καὶ προσ-φυλή παρέχειν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ ἱατροὶ τοὺς ἐξ αἰτίῶν ἀδήλων καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν συλλεγομένων γεννω-μένους πυρετοὺς μᾶλλον δεδοίκασιν ἢ τοὺς ἐμφανεῖς καὶ μεγάλας προφάσεις ἔχοντας, οὕτω τὰ λαν-θάνοντα τοὺς πολλοὺς μικρὰ καὶ συνεχῆ καὶ καθ-ημερινὰ προσκρούματα γυναικὸς καὶ ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον διόστησι καὶ λυμαίνεται τὴν συμβίωσιν.


24. Πάλιν ἢ Ὁλυμπίας, αὐλικὸν τινος νεανίσκον γῆμαντός εὐπρεπῆ γυναῖκα κακῶς ἄκούουσαν,

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¹ κάλτιον in Life of Aemilius Paulus, p. 257 b: κάλτιον, καλλίγιον Stobaeus, lxxiv. 45.

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* Much the same story is told of the wife of Hystaspes by
and lovely wife, reached out his shoe and said, "Yes, this is beautiful to look at, and new, but nobody knows where it pinches me." A wife, then, ought not to rely on her dowry or birth or beauty, but on things in which she gains the greatest hold on her husband, namely conversation, character, and comradeship, which she must render not perverse or vexatious day by day, but accommodating, inoffensive, and agreeable. For, as physicians have more fear of fevers that originate from obscure causes and gradual accretion than of those which may be accounted for by manifest and weighty reasons, so it is the petty, continual, daily clashes between man and wife, unnoticed by the great majority, that disrupt and mar married life.

23. King Philip was enamoured of a Thessalian woman who was accused of using magic charms upon him. Olympias accordingly made haste to get the woman into her power. But when the latter had come into the queen's presence and was seen to be beautiful in appearance, and her conversation with the queen was not lacking in good-breeding or cleverness, Olympias exclaimed, "Away with these slanders! You have your magic charms in yourself." And so a wedded and lawful wife becomes an irresistible thing if she makes everything, dowry, birth, magic charms, and even the magic girdle itself, to be inherent in herself, and by character and virtue succeeds in winning her husband's love.

24. On another occasion, when a young man of the court had married a beautiful woman of bad reputa-


* Homer, *I. xiv. 214.*

* Pantica of Cyprus, according to Phylarchus, as quoted by Athenaeus, 609 c.*
Attributed to Bias by Stobaeus, Florilegium, iii. 79 §, and by Demetrius Phalereus, Sayings of the Seven Wise Men. Other authors (e.g. Diogenes Laertius, ii. 33) assign it to Socrates.

Dionysius according to Plutarch, Moralia, 190 ε, 229 Δ, and Life of Lysander, chap. ii. (p. 439 ν). The same story is told of Archidamus in Moralia 218 ε.

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tion, Olympias said, "That fellow has no brains; else he would not have married on sight." Marriages ought not to be made by trusting the eyes only, or the fingers either, as is the case with some who take a wife after counting up how much she brings with her, but without deciding what kind of a helpmate she will be.

25. Socrates a used to urge the ill-favoured among the mirror-gazing youth to make good their defect by virtue, and the handsome not to disgrace their face and figure by vice. So too it is an admirable thing for the mistress of the household, whenever she holds her mirror in her hands, to talk with herself—for the ill-favoured woman to say to herself, "What if I am not virtuous?" and the beautiful one, "What if I am virtuous as well?" For if the ill-favoured woman is loved for her character, that is something of which she can be very proud, far more than if she were loved for her beauty.

26. The Sicilian despot b sent clothing and jewellery of the costly kind to the daughters of Lysander; but Lysander would not accept them, saying, "These adornments will disgrace my daughters far more than they will adorn them." But Sophocles, c before Lysander, had said this:

Adornment! No, you wretch! Naught that adorns Twould seem to be—your crazy mind's desire.

For, as Crates used to say, "adornment is that which adorns," and that adorns or decorates a woman which makes her more decorous. It is not gold or precious stones or scarlet that makes her such, but

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Pagdos ou'te kókkos, all' õsa semvóntitos ev-
ta'ías aidoús õmfason perytítthous.

27. Oi tή γαμηλία thúntes "Hra tîn xolîn ou
G sungkathagízoun tois állois ierôis, all' õxelîntes
õrmìan parà tòv bwmôn, aýnptomênu tov noimo-
thêto to õiędêpote déin xolîn mîd' õrghîn gamw
páreînai. [deî gâr einai tîs oikôdestopoûnîs õșstpar
ôinou to aústêrôn õfêlimon kai õdû, mî píkron
ôșster álôsîs mîdê fárrmakôdê].

28. 'O Plátôn tòv Xeínokrátei barntérw tò
ôdôs õnti tâlla de kalw kâgabw pârekeleúneto
ôwein tâis Xàrsw. oímâi dê kai tî õswfroun
mâlîsta déin prîs tòn ândra xarîtwn, ūn', õs õlègê

142 Mêtroîdôwros, "òdêwos sunoukî kai mî õrghiômêné
òtî swfroîvî."

deî gâr mîste tîn eûtelî kath-
arîôntos âmeleîn mîste tîn fýlîandron filôfreovnîs
potei gâr h xalepôtîs âghî tîn eûtaêian tîs
ynvaikôs, õșstpar h õyparia tîn afêleian.

29. 'H fôboûmêné geîlásaî prôs tòn ândra kai
pâîçai' tî, mî fânî õhraieîa kai akôlastos, oûsîn
ðiafêreî tîs õna mî õdôkî muřîzeîaî tîn kefalîn
mîd' âleîfomênîs, kai õna mî fukôûsai to prôs-
înovn mîdê upptomênîs. õrôwmen de kai pouihîs kai
rîîtoras, õsôi feûgnousî to pêrî tîn leîîn õchîkon
B kai anêleûtheron kai kâkokûlon, tôîs prâgmâsi kai

1 pâîçai Wytenbach: prâîçai.

a Cf. O. Gruppe, Griecheîsche Mytihologie und Relig'ions-
geschichte, p. 1134; also Plutarch, Frag. 2 of De Daedalîs

b The same advice in Moralîa 769 b, in Plutarch's Life of
C. Marius, chap. ii. (p. 407 a), and a slightly different
inference in Moralîa, 753 c.
whatever invests her with that something which betokens dignity, good behaviour, and modesty.

27. Those who offer sacrifice to Hera, the Protectress of Wedlock, do not consecrate the bitter gall with the other parts of the offering, but remove it and cast it beside the altar—an intimation on the part of him who established this custom that bitterness and anger ought never to find a place in married life. For the acerbity of the mistress, like that of wine, ought to be salutary and pleasant, not bitter like that of aloes, nor suggestive of a dose of medicine.

28. Plato advised Xenocrates, who was somewhat churlish in character but otherwise a good and honourable man, to sacrifice to the Graces. It is my opinion that the virtuous woman has especial need of graces in her relations with her husband, in order that, as Metrodorus used to put it, "she may live pleasantly with him and not be cross all the time because she is virtuous." The thrifty woman must not neglect cleanliness, nor the loving wife cheerfulness; for asperity makes a wife's correct behaviour disagreeable, just as untidiness has a similar effect upon plain living.

29. The woman who is afraid to laugh and jest a bit with her husband, lest possibly she appear bold and wanton, is no different from one who will not use oil on her head lest she be thought to use perfume, or from one who will not even wash her face lest she be thought to use rouge. But we observe both poets and public speakers, such as try to avoid vulgarity, narrowness, and affectation in their diction, employing all artistry to move and stir the

* Cf. *Moralia*, 753 c.
(142) ταῖς οἰκονομίαις καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσιν ἅγειν καὶ κινεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν φιλοτεχνοῦντας. διὸ δεῖ καὶ τὴν ὁ ὀικοδέσποιναν ὅτι πᾶν τὸ περιττὸν καὶ ἑταιρικὸν καὶ πανηγυρικόν, εὖ ποιοῦσα, φεύγει καὶ παραιτεῖται, μᾶλλον φιλοτεχνεῖν ἐν ταῖς ἡθικαῖς καὶ βιωτικαῖς χάρισι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα, τῷ καλῷ μεθ' ἡδονῆς συνεθίζουσαν αὐτόν. ἂν δ' ἄρα φύσει τις αὐστηρά καὶ ἀκρατος γένηται καὶ ἀνήδυντος, εὐγνωμονεῖν δεῖ τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ καθάπερ ὁ Φωκίων, τοῦ 'Αντιπάτρου πράξειν αὐτῷ προστάττοντος οὐ C καλὴν οὐδὲ πρέπουσαν, εἰτεν "οὐ δύνασαι μοι καὶ φίλω χρῆσθαι καὶ κόλακι," οὕτω λογίζεσθαι περὶ τῆς σώφρονος καὶ αὐστηρᾶς γυναικὸς "οὐ δύναμαι τῇ αὐτῇ καὶ ὡς γαμετῇ καὶ ὡς ἔταιρα συνείναι."

30. Ταῖς Αἰγυπτίαις υποδήμασι χρῆσθαι πάτριον οὐκ ἦν, ὅπως ἐν οἰκιᾷ δημερεύσω. τῶν δὲ πλείστων γυναικῶν ἂν υποδήματα διάχρυσα περιέλθησαν καὶ ψελλιὰ καὶ περισκελίδας καὶ πορφύραν καὶ μαργαρίτας, ἐνδον μένουσιν.

31. Ἡ Θεανώ παρέφησε τὴν χεῖρα περιβαλλομένη τὸ ἰμάτιον. εἰπόντως δὲ τίνος 2 "καλὸς ὁ πῆχυς," "ἀλλ᾽ οὐ δημόσιος," ἔφη. δεῖ δὲ μὴ μόνον Ὂ τον πῆχυν ἄλλα μηδὲ τὸν λόγον δημόσιον εἶναι τῆς σώφρονος, καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ὡς ἀπογύμνωσιν

1 οὐκ οὖσαν δὲ πρέπουσαν Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxxiv. 49.
2 εἰπόντως δὲ τίνος Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxxiv. 49: τίνος δ' εἰπόντως.

a Cf. Moralia, 64 c, 188 f, 533 d; Plutarch's Life of Phocion, chap. xxx. (p. 755 b); Life of Agis, chap. ii. (p. 795 e).

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hearer by means of their subject matter, their handling of it, and their portrayal of characters. So too the mistress of the household, just because she avoids and deprecates everything extravagant, meretricious, and ostentatious (and she does well to do so), ought all the more, in the graces of her character and daily life, to employ all artistry upon her husband, habituating him to what is honourable and at the same time pleasant. However, if a woman is naturally uncompromising, arbitrary, and unpleasant, the husband must be considerate, and do as Phocion did when Antipater prescribed for him a dishonourable and unbecoming course of action. Phocion said, "You cannot use me as a friend and flatterer both," and so the husband must reason about his virtuous and uncompromising wife, "I cannot have the society of the same woman both as wife and as paramour."

30. The women of Egypt, by inherited custom, were not allowed to wear shoes, so that they should stay at home all day; and most women, if you take from them gold-embroidered shoes, bracelets, anklets, purple, and pearls, stay indoors.

31. Theano, in putting her cloak about her exposed her arm. Somebody exclaimed, "A lovely arm." "But not for the public," said she. Not only the arm of the virtuous woman, but her speech as well, ought to be not for the public, and she ought to be modest and guarded about saying anything

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This is quite contrary to the classical Greek tradition (Herodotus, ii. 35; Sophocles, Oedipus Coloneus 339), which errs just as badly in the other direction.

* Wife of Pythagoras the philosopher. The story is told a little more fully by Clement of Alexandria, Stromata, iv. p. 522 c.
(142) αἰδεῖσθαι καὶ φυλάττεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἑκτὸς· ἐνορᾶται γὰρ αὐτῇ καὶ πάθος καὶ ἡθος καὶ διάθεσις λαλούσης.

32. Τὴν Ἡλείων ὅ Φειδίας Ἀφροδίτην ἐποίησε χελώνην πατοῦσαν, οἰκουρίας σώμβολον ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ σιωπῆς. δεῖ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα λαλεῖν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἄνδρος, μὴ δυσχεραίνουσαν εἰ διʼ ἄλλοτριάς γλώττης ὥσπερ αὐλητής φθέγγεται σεμνότερον. ¹

33. Οἱ πλούσιοι καὶ οἱ βασιλεῖς τιμῶντες τοὺς φιλόσοφους αὐτοὺς τε κοσμοῦσι κὰκείνους, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι τοὺς πλούσιους θεραπεύοντες οὐκ ἐκεῖ-Ενοὺς ποιοῦσιν ἐνδόξους ἄλλα αὐτοὺς ἀδοξότερους. τοῦτο συμβαίνει καὶ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας. ὑποτά-τουσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐαυτὰς τοῖς ἄνδρασι ἐπαινοῦνται, κρατεῖν δὲ βουλόμεναι μᾶλλον τῶν κρατουμένων ἀσχημονοῦσι. [κρατεῖν δὲ δεὶ τὸν ἄνδρα τῆς γυναικὸς οὐχ ὃς δεσπότην κτήματος ἄλλα ὡς ψυχὴν σώματος] συμπαθοῦντα καὶ συμπεφυκότα τῇ εὐνοίᾳ. ² ὥσπερ οὖν σώματος ἐστὶ κήδεσθαι μὴ δουλεύοντα ταῖς ἡδοναῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, οὗτῳ γυναικὸς ἀρχεὼν εὐφραῖνοντα καὶ χαριζο-μενον.

34. Τῶν σωμάτων οἱ φιλόσοφοι τὰ μὲν ἐκ διεστῶτων λέγονσι εἶναι καθάπερ στόλον καὶ Γ στρατόπεδον, τὰ δ’ ἐκ συναπτομένων ὡς οἰκίαν καὶ ναῦν, τὰ δ’ ἡνωμένα καὶ συμφύς καθάπερ

¹ σεμνότερον] omitted by Stobaeus, ibid., perhaps rightly.
² Many mss. omit δεὶ and add δίκαιων ἐστὶν after εὐνοίᾳ.

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ᵃ Pausanias, vi. 25. 1; ὑφ. also Plutarch, Moralia, 381 ε. Roscher, Lexikon d. gr. u. rom. Mythologie, i. p. 412, 322
in the hearing of outsiders, since it is an exposure of herself; for in her talk can be seen her feelings, character, and disposition.

32. Pheidias made the Aphrodite of the Eleans with one foot on a tortoise, to typify for womankind keeping at home and keeping silence. For a woman ought to do her talking either to her husband or through her husband, and she should not feel aggrieved if, like the flute-player, she makes a more impressive sound through a tongue not her own.

33. Rich men and princes by conferring honours on philosophers adorn both themselves and the philosophers; but, on the other hand, philosophers by paying court to the rich do not enhance the repute of the rich but lower their own. So is it with women also; if they subordinate themselves to their husbands, they are commended, but if they want to have control, they cut a sorrier figure than the subjects of their control. And control ought to be exercised by the man over the woman, not as the owner has control of a piece of property, but, as the soul controls the body, by entering into her feelings and being knit to her through goodwill. As, therefore, it is possible to exercise care over the body without being a slave to its pleasures and desires, so it is possible to govern a wife, and at the same time to delight and gratify her.

34. Philosophers say of bodies that some are composed of separate elements, as a fleet or an army, others of elements joined together, as a house or a ship, and still others form together an intimate union, mentions two ancient bronzes, one Greek and one Etruscan, in which Aphrodite is represented with one foot on a tortoise. Undoubtedly the Stoic philosophers are meant; cf. Moralia, 426 a.
The meaning of this passage is made quite clear by No. 4 of the *fragmenta incerta* of the *Moralia*, in vol. viii. of Bernardakis’s edition, p. 151, and Musonius, pp. 67-68 of O. Hense’s edition = Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, lxix. 23.

*Cf.* *Moralia*, 265 e.

as is the case with every living creature. In about the same way, the marriage of a couple in love with each other is an intimate union; that of those who marry for dowry or children is of persons joined together; and that of those who merely sleep in the same bed is of separate persons who may be regarded as cohabiting, but not really living together. As the mixing of liquids, according to what men of science say, extends throughout their entire content, so also in the case of married people there ought to be a mutual amalgamation of their bodies, property, friends, and relations. In fact, the purpose of the Roman law-giver who prohibited the giving and receiving of presents between man and wife was, not to prevent their sharing in anything, but that they should feel that they shared all things in common.

35. In Leptis, a city of Africa, it is an inherited custom for the bride, on the day after her marriage, to send to the mother of the bridegroom and ask for a pot. The latter does not give it, and also declares that she has none, her purpose being that the bride may from the outset realize the stepmother’s attitude in her mother-in-law, and, in the event of some harsher incident later on, may not feel indignant or resentful. A wife ought to take cognizance of this hostility, and try to cure the cause of it, which is the mother’s jealousy of the bride as the object of her son’s affection. The one way to cure this trouble is to create an affection for herself personally on the part of her husband, and at the same time not to divert or lessen his affection for his mother.

to Terence, Hee yra, ii. 1. 4: “All mothers-in-law hate their daughters-in-law.”
(143) 36. Τοὺς νιόους δοκοῦσι μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶν ἀι μητέρες ὡς δυναμένους αὐταῖς βοηθεῖν, οἱ δὲ πατέρες τὰς θυγατέρας ὡς δεομένας αὐτῶν βοηθοῦντων. ἦσως δὲ καὶ τιμῆ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλους ὁ ἐτερος τὸ μᾶλλον οἰκεῖον τῷ ἐτέρῳ βούλεται μᾶλλον ἀσπαζόμενος καὶ ἀγαπῶν φανερὸς εἶναι. καὶ τούτῳ μὲν ἦσως διάφορον ἔστιν, ἐκείνῳ δ' ἀστεῖον, ἂν ἡ γυνὴ μᾶλλον ἀποκλίνασα τῇ τιμῇ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ ἄνδρος ἡ τοὺς ἑαυτής θλέπηται, καὶ τι λυπηται, πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἀνα-φέροσα, τοὺς δ' ἑαυτῆς λανθάνουσα. ποτει γὰρ τὸ πιστεύειν δοκεῖν πιστεύεσθαι, καὶ τὸ φιλεῖν φιλεῖσθαι.

37. Τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κύρον ὁ Ἑλλησί παρῄγγειλαν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τοὺς πολέμιους, ἂν μὲν βοῶντες ἐπίωσιν, δέχεσθαι μετὰ σιωπῆς, ἂν δ' ἐκεῖνοι σιωπῶσιν, αὐτοὺς μετὰ βοής ἀντεξελαύνειν. αἱ δὲ νοῦν ἔχουσαι γυναῖκες ἐν ταῖς ὀργαῖς τῶν ἰδρῶν κεκραγότων μὲν ἡσυχάζουσιν, σιωπῶντας δὲ προσλαλοῦσαι καὶ παραμυθοῦμενα καταπραύνουσιν.

38. Ὅρθως ὁ Εὐριπίδης αἰτιᾶται τοὺς τῇ λύρᾳ χρωμένους παρ' ὄνων· ἔδει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς ὀργὰς καὶ τὰ πένθη μᾶλλον τὴν μουσικὴν παρακαλεῖν ἢ προσελκύειν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ὀντάς. νομίζειτε οὖν ὑμεῖς ἀμαρτάνειν τοὺς ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα

1 δ' ἑαυτῆς Bernardakis: δὲ ἑαυτῆς.
2 ἀντεξελαύνειν] μέγα βοήσαντας ἐξελαύνειν Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxxiv. 51.
3 προσελκύειν F.C.B.: προσεκλύειν.
36. Mothers appear to have a greater love for their sons because of a feeling that their sons are able to help them, and fathers for their daughters because of a feeling that the daughters have need of their help. Perhaps, also, because of the honour accorded by man and wife to each other, the one wishes openly to show that he feels greater esteem and affection for the attributes which are more characteristic of the other. And herein there may perhaps be a divergence, but, on the other hand, it is a nice thing if the wife, in the deference she shows, is observed to incline rather toward her husband's parents than her own, and, if she is distressed over anything, to refer it to them without the knowledge of her own parents. For seeming confidence begets confidence, and love, love.

37. The generals issued orders to the Greeks in Cyrus's army, that if the enemy advanced shouting they should receive them with silence, but, on the other hand, if the enemy kept silent, they should charge against them with a shout. Women who have sense keep quiet while their husbands in their fits of anger vociferate, but when their husbands are silent they talk to them and mollify them by words of comfort.

38. Euripides is right in censuring those who employ the lyre as an accompaniment to wine. For music ought rather to be invoked on occasions of anger and grief rather than to be made an added attraction for those who are engaged in their pleasures. So you two must regard those persons

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* Possibly a confused reminiscence of Xenophon, *Anabasis*, i. 7. 4, and i. 8. 11.

*b Medea, 190. Cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 710 e.
39. 'Αεί μὲν δεῖ καὶ πανταχόν φεύγειν τὸ προσκρούειν τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναῖκα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ τὸν ἄνδρα, μᾶλλον δὲ φυλάττεσθαι τότε ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ συναπαύεσθαι καὶ συγκαθεύδειν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀδίωνος καὶ δυσφοροῦσα πρὸς τοὺς κατακλίνοντας αὐτὴν ἔλεγε, "πῶς δὲ ἄν ἡ κλίνη ταῦτα θεραπεύεσθειν οἷς ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης περίπετον;" ἃς δὲ ἡ κλίνη γεννᾷ διαφορὰς καὶ λοιδορίας καὶ ὀργάς, οὐ βαδίον ἐστὶν ἐν ἀλλὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ διαλυθῆναι.

40. Ἡ Ἐρμιώνη δοκεῖ τι λέγειν ἀληθὲς λέγουσα κακῶν γυναϊκῶν εἰσὸδοι μ' ἀπώλεσαν.

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a Adapted from Homer, II. xiv. 205, 209.
in error who for the sake of pleasure occupy the same bed, but when they get into some angry disagree-ment repose apart; they ought, instead, at that time especially to invoke Aphrodite, who is the best physician for such disorders. Such no doubt is the teaching of the poet a when he represents Hera as saying,

I will settle their uncomposed quarrels,  
Sending them back to their bed to a union of loving enjoyment.

39. At all times and in all places a wife ought to try to avoid any clash with her husband, and a husband with his wife, but they ought to be especially on their guard against doing this in the privacy of their bedchamber. The woman in travail and pain kept saying to those who were trying to make her go to bed, "How can the bed cure this ailment which I contracted in bed?" But the disagreements, recriminations, and angry passions which the bed generates are not easily settled in another place and at another time.

40. Hermione seems to speak the truth when she says,

Bad women's visits brought about my fall.

This, however, does not come about so simply, but only when marital disagreements and jealousies open not only a wife's doors but also her hearing to such women. So, at such a time especially, a woman who has sense ought to stop her ears, and be on her guard against whispered insinuations, so that fire may not be added to fire, c and she ought to have

* Cf. the note on 123 f supra.
γένηται, καὶ πρόχειρον ἔχειν τὸ τοῦ Φιλίππου. ἔλεγεται γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων παροξυνόμενος ἐπὶ τούς "Ελληνας ὡς εὗ πάσχοντας καὶ κακῶς αὐτὸν λέγοντας εἰπεῖν "τί οὖν, ἂν καὶ κακῶς ποιώμεν αὐτοὺς;" ὅταν οὖν αἱ διαβάλλουσα λέγωσιν ὅτι "λυπεῖ σε φιλοῦσαν ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ 144 σωφρονοῦσαν," "τί οὖν, ἂν καὶ μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἀρξώμαι καὶ ἄδικεῖν;"

41. Ὁ τὸν δραπέτην ἴδων διὰ χρόνου καὶ διώκοντας, ὡς κατέφυγε φθάσας εἰς μυλώνα, "ποῦ δ' ἂν," ἔφη, "σὲ μάλλον εὐρείν ἐβουλήθην ἡ ἐνταύθα;" γυνὴ τούν τε διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν ἀπόλειψεν γράφουσα καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσα λεγέτω πρὸς ἑαυτὴν "ποῦ δ' ἂν ἡ ζηλούσα με μάλλον ἥσθειν θεασάμενη καὶ τί ποιοῦσαν ἡ λυπουμένη καὶ στασιάζουσαν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν θάλαμον προϊμένην;"

42. Ἀθηναίοι τρεῖς ἀρότοις ἱεροὺς ἄγονοι, Β' πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ 'Ραρίᾳ, τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. [τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἀρότος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει] καλῶς τὴν Ἀφρο-

1 αἱ ommitted by Stobaeus, lxxiv. 52.
2 αὐτῶν] αὐτὴν Wilamowitz, perhaps rightly.
4 ἱερώτατός] ἱερώτερός Madvig.

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a Cf. Moralia, 179 ά and 457 ε. A similar remark of Pausanias is quoted in Moralia, 230 ν.
b A remark of the same tenor is attributed to Phocion by Plutarch, Moralia, 188 ά, and Life of Phocion, chap. x. (p. 746 ε).
ready in mind the saying of Philip.\textsuperscript{a} For it is told
that when he was being incited by his friends against
the Greeks on the ground that they were being well
treated, but were speaking ill of him, he said, "What
would happen, then, if we were to treat them ill?"
So when these back-biters say, "Your husband
treats grievously his loving and virtuous wife." "Yes,
what would happen, then, if I were to begin to hate
him and wrong him?"

41. A man whose slave had run away, on catching
sight of the fugitive some time later, ran after him;
but when the slave got ahead of him by taking refuge
in a treadmill, the master said, "Where else could
I have wished to find you rather than here?"\textsuperscript{b}
So then let the woman who, on account of jealousy,
is entering a writ of divorce, and is in a high dudgeon,
say to herself, "Where else would my rival like
better to see me, what would she rather have me do,
than feel aggrieved with my husband and quarrel
with him and abandon my very home and chamber?"

42. The Athenians observe three sacred plough-
ings: the first at Scirum\textsuperscript{c} in commemoration of the
most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria,\textsuperscript{c} and
the third near the base of the Acropolis, the so-called
Buzygius\textsuperscript{c} (the ox-yoking). But most sacred of all
such sowings is the marital sowing and ploughing for
the procreation of children. It is a beautiful epithet

\textsuperscript{a} Scirum was near Athens on the road to Eleusis; the
Rarian plain was near Eleusis; the most convenient
references regarding these sacred ploughings are Roscher,
\textit{Lexikon der griech. und rom. Mythologie, s.v. Buzyges}, and
Harrison and Verrall, \textit{Mythology and Monuments of Ancient
(144) δίτην ὁ Σοφοκλῆς "εὐκαρπὸν Κυθέρειαν" προσηγόρευσε. διὸ δεῖ μάλιστα τούτω χρῆσαί μετ᾽ εὐλαβείας τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, τῶν ἀνέρων καὶ παρανόμων πρὸς ἐτέρους ἁγνεύοντας ὁμιλῶν, καὶ μὴ σπείροντας ἐξ ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς φύεσθαι θέλουσιν ἀλλὰ κἂν γενήται καρπὸς αἰσχύνονται καὶ ἀποκρύπτουσι.

43. Γοργίου τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀναγνόντος ἐν Ὁλυμπίᾳ λόγον περὶ ὁμονοίας τοῖς "Ελλησὶν ὁ Μελάνθιος, 1 ὁ "οὕτως ἡμῖν," ἐφη, "συμβουλεύει περὶ ὁμονοίας, ὃς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γυναίκα καὶ τὴν θεράπαιναν ἰδίᾳ τρεῖς ὄντας ὁμονοεῖν οὐ πέπευκεν." ἦν γὰρ ὃς ἐοικὲ τις ἐρως τοῦ Γοργίου καὶ ξηλοτυπία τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸς τὸ θεραπανίδιον. εὕ τοῖν ἡμοσμένον τὸν ὄικον εἶναι δεὶ τῷ μέλλοντί ἄρμόζεσθαι πόλιν καὶ ἄγοραν καὶ φίλους. μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐοικὲ τὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ τὰ πρὸς γυναικάς ἄμαρτήματα λανθάνων τοὺς πολλοὺς.

44. Εἰ καθάπερ τὸν αὐλουρον ὅσμὴ μύρων ἐκταράττεσθαι καὶ μαίνεσθαι λέγουσιν, οὕτω τὰς γυναικὰς ἀγριαίνει καὶ παραφρονεῖν ὑπὸ μύρων συνέβαινε, δεινὸν ἦν μὴ ἀπέχεσθαι μύρον τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἡδονὴν αὐτῶν βραχεῖαν οὕτω κακουμένας περιορᾶν. ἐπεὶ τοὺν ταῦτα πάσχουσιν οὐ μυριξομένων τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἄλλα συγγενομένων ἐτέραις, ἀδικὸν ἐστὶν ἡδονῆς ἕνεκα μικρᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον2 λυπεῖν καὶ συνταράττειν τὰς γυναικάς καὶ μὴ, καθάπερ ταῖς μελίτταις (ὅτι3 δοκοῦσι

1 Μελάνθιος Hieronymus, Amyot, and Xylander: μέλανθος.
2 τοσοῦτο Reiske: τοσοῦτω.
3 ὅτι] at Hercher.

which Sophocles applied to Aphrodite when he called her "bountiful-bearing Cytherea." Thereupon man and wife ought especially to indulge in this with circumspection, keeping themselves pure from all unholy and unlawful intercourse with others, and not sowing seed from which they are unwilling to have any offspring, and from which if any issue does result, they are ashamed of it, and try to conceal it.

43. When the orator Gorgias read to the Greeks at Olympia a speech about concord, Melanthius said, "This fellow is giving us advice about concord, and yet in his own household he has not prevailed upon himself, his wife, and maidservant, three persons only, to live in concord." For there was, apparently, some love on Gorgias's part and jealousy on the wife's part towards the girl. A man therefore ought to have his household well harmonized who is going to harmonize State, Forum, and friends. For it is much more likely that the sins of women rather than sins against women will go unnoticed by most people.

44. They say that the cat is excited to frenzy by the odour of perfumes. Now if it happened that women were similarly made furious and frantic by perfumes, it would be a dreadful thing for their husbands not to abstain from perfume, but for the sake of their own brief pleasure to permit their wives to suffer in this way. Now inasmuch as women are affected in this way, not by their husbands' using perfume, but by their having connexion with other women, it is unfair to pain and disturb them so much for the sake of a trivial pleasure, and not to follow with wives the practice observed in approaching bees

\[ \text{Cf. Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, ii.}^1 \text{ pp. 248-9 (Gorgias, b 7-8a).} \]
(144) δυσχεραινειν και μαχεσθαι τοις μετα γυναικων γενομενοις), ἄγνους καὶ καθαρεύοντας ἐτέρων συνοισίας προσιέναι ταῖς γυναιξιν.

45. Οἱ προσιόντες ἐλέφασιν ἐσθήτα λαμπράν
Ε οὐ λαμβάνουσιν, ούδε φωνικίδας οἱ ταύροις· διαγραίνεται γάρ ὑπὸ τῶν χρωμάτων τούτων μάλιστα τὰ ξωά· τάς δὲ τίγρεις φασὶ περιτυμ- πανιζομένας ἐκμαίνεσθαι παντάπαισι καὶ διαστᾶν ἐαυτᾶς. ἐπεὶ τοῖνυν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν οἱ μὲν ἐσθήτας κοκκίνας καὶ πορφυρᾶς ὄργνες δυσ- ανασχετοῦσιν, οὐ δὲ κυμβάλοις καὶ τυμπάνοις ἀχθοναι, τί δεινὸν ἀπέχεσθαι τούτων τὰς γυναίκας καὶ μὴ ταράττειν μηδὲ παροξύνειν τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἀλλὰ συνείναι μετ' εὐσταθείας καὶ πραότητος;

46. Γυνὴ τις πρὸς τὸν Φιλίππον ἄκουσαν ἐφ- ελκόμενον αὐτήν, "ἀφες μ'," εἶπε· "πᾶσα γυνὴ τοῦ Γ λύχνου ἀρβέντος ἡ αὐτή ἔστι." τοῦτο πρὸς τοὺς μοιχικοὺς—καὶ ἀκολάστους εἰρηταί καλῶς, τῇ δὲ γαμετῆν δεὶ μάλιστα τοῦ φωτός ἀρθέντος εἶναι μὴ τὴν αὐτήν ταῖς τυχοῦσαις γυναιξιν, ἀλλὰ φαίνεσθαι τοῦ σώματος μὴ βλεπομένου τὸ σῶφρον αὐτῆς καὶ ἵδιον τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τεταγμένον καὶ φιλόστοργον.

47. Ο Πλάτων τοῖς προσβύταις μᾶλλον παρήνει "αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς νεοὺς," ἵνα κάκεινοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰδημόνως ἐξωσιν· "ὅπως γὰρ "ἀναι- σχυντούσι γέροντες," ουδεμίαν αἰδῶ τοῖς νεοῖς

a A wide-spread ancient superstition; the classical references may be found in Magerstedt, Die Bienenzucht des Altertums, Sondershausen, 1851.
b Cf. Moralia, 330 b.
c Cf. Moralia, 167 c.
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(because these insects are thought to be irritable and bellicose towards men who have been with women) — to be pure and clean from all connexion with others when they approach their wives.

45. Those who have to go near elephants do not put on bright clothes, nor do those who go near bulls put on red; for the animals are made especially furious by these colours; and tigers, they say, when surrounded by the noise of beaten drums go completely mad and tear themselves to pieces. Since, then, this is also the case with men, that some cannot well endure the sight of scarlet and purple clothes, while others are annoyed by cymbals and drums, what terrible hardship is it for women to refrain from such things, and not disquiet or irritate their husbands, but live with them in constant gentleness?

46. A woman once said to Philip, who was trying to force her to come to him against her will, "Let me go. All women are the same when the lights are out." This is well said as an answer to adulterous and licentious men, but the wedded wife ought especially when the light is out not to be the same as ordinary women, but, when her body is invisible, her virtue, her exclusive devotion to her husband, her constancy, and her affection, ought to be most in evidence.

47. Plato used to advise the elderly men more especially to have the sense of shame before the young, so that the young may be respectful toward them; for where the old men are without sense of shame, he felt, no respect or deference is engendered

An indication that the wife was interested in some foreign religion like the worship of Cybele.

- *Laws*, p. 729 c. Also cited or referred to by Plutarch, *Moralia*, 14 b, 71 b, and 272 c.
οὐδ’ ἐνέλαβειαν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. τούτου δεῖ μεμνημένον τὸν ἄνδρα μηδένα μᾶλλον αἰδεύσαι τῆς γυναικὸς, ὡς τὸν βάλαμον αὐτῆς διδασκάλειον εὐταξίας ἢ ἀκολασίας γενησόμενον. ὃ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡδονῶν αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπολαύων ἐκεῖνην δὲ ἀποτρέπων οὐδὲν διαφέρει τοῦ κελεύοντος διαμάχεσθαι τὴν γυναίκα πρὸς τοὺς πολέμιους, οἷς αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκε.

48. Περὶ δὲ φιλοκοσμίας σὺ μὲν, ὦ Εὐρυδίκη, τὰ πρὸς Ἀριστολλαν ὑπὸ Τιμοξένας γεγραμμένα ἀναγνώσα πειρῶ διαμνημονεύειν. οὐ δὲ, ὦ Πολυιανέ, μὴ νόμιζε περιεργάζας ἀφέξεσθαι τὴν γυναίκα καὶ πολυτελείας, ἀν ὅρα σὲ μὴ καταφρονοῦντα

Β τούτων ἐν ἔτεροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ χαίροντα χρυσώσεσιν ἐκπομάτων καὶ γραφαῖς οἰκηματίων καὶ χλίδωσιν ἡμιόνων καὶ ἱππῶν περιδεραῖοις. οὐ γάρ ἔστω ἐξελάσαι τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ἀνδρωνίτιδι τῆς πολυτελείας ἀναστρεφομένην.

Καὶ οὐ μὲν ὦραν ἔχων ἤδη φιλοσοφεῖν τοῖς μετ’ ἀποδείξεως καὶ κατασκευῆς λεγομένοις ἐπικόσμει τὸ ἃθος, ἐντυγχάνως καὶ πλησίαξας τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ πανταχόθεν τὸ χρήσιμον συνάγων ὡσπερ αἱ μελλται καὶ φέρων αὐτὸς ἐν σεαυτῷ[μεταδίδου καὶ προσδιάλεγου,] φίλους αὐτῆς ποιῶν καὶ συνήθεις τῶν λόγων τοὺς ἀρίστους.

C "πατῆρ" μὲν γάρ "ἔσοι" αὐτῆ "καὶ πότινα μήτηρ ἥδε κασίγνητος".

1 χλιδώσει Stephanus: χλιδώσεσιν.

a Plutarch’s wife presumably; who Aristylla was we do not know.
b Adapted from Homer, Π. vi. 429.

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in the young. The husband ought to bear this in mind, and show no greater respect for anybody than for his wife, seeing that their chamber is bound to be for her a school of orderly behaviour or of wantonness. The man who enjoys the very pleasures from which he tries to dissuade his wife is in no wise different from him who bids her fight to the death against the enemies to whom he has himself surrendered.

48. In regard to love of finery, I beg, Eurydice, that you will read and try to remember what was written to Aristylla by Timoxena; and as for you, Pollianus, you must not think that your wife will refrain from immoderate display and extravagance if she sees that you do not despise these things in others, but, on the contrary, find delight in gilded drinking-cups, pictured walls, trappings for mules, and showy neckbands for horses. For it is impossible to expel extravagance from the wife's part of the house when it has free range amid the men's rooms.

Besides, Pollianus, you already possess sufficient maturity to study philosophy, and I beg that you will beautify your character with the aid of discourses which are attended by logical demonstration and mature deliberation, seeking the company and instruction of teachers who will help you. And for your wife you must collect from every source what is useful, as do the bees, and carrying it within your own self impart it to her, and then discuss it with her, and make the best of these doctrines her favourite and familiar themes. For to her

Thou art a father and precious-loved mother,
Yea, and a brother as well.
(145) οὐ̂χ ἦττον δὲ σεμνὸν ἀκούσαι γαμετῆς λεγούσης "ἀνερ.

ατὰρ σύ μοι ἔσσι
καθηγητῆς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ θειοτάτων." τὰ δὲ τιμιωτὰ μαθήματα πρῶτον ἀφώτητον τῶν ἀτόπων τὰς γυναῖκας· αἰσχυνθήσεται γὰρ ὀρχείσθαι γυνὴ γεωμετρεῖν μανθάνουσα, καὶ φαρμάκων ἐπώδας οὐ προσδέξεται τοῖς Πλάτωνοις ἐπαρδομένη λόγοις καὶ τοῖς Ξενοφώντος. Ἀν δὲ τις ἑπαγγέλληται καθαιρεῖν τὴν σελήνην, γελάσεται τὴν ἄμαθαν καὶ τήν ἀβελτερίαν τῶν ταῦτα πειθομένων γυναῖκῶν, ἀστρολογίας μὴ ἀνηκόως ἔχουσα καὶ περὶ Ἀγλαονίκης ἀκηκούσα τῆς 'Ἡγήτωρος τοῦ Θεταλοῦ θυγατρὸς

D ὅτι τῶν ἐκλεπτικῶν ἐμπεύροις οὐσα πανσέληνων καὶ προειδούσα τῶν χρόνων, έν θυμβαίνει τὴν σελήνην ὑπὸ γῆς σκιας ἀλήσκεσθαι, παρεκρούετο καὶ συνέπεσε τὰς γυναῖκας ὡς αὐτὴ καθαυρώσα τὴν σελήνην.

Παιδίον μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμία ποτὲ γυνὴ λέγεται ποιήσαι δίχα κοινωνίας ἀνδρός, τὰ δ' ἄμορφα κυκλιματα καὶ σαρκοειδῆ καὶ σύστασιν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκ διαφθορᾶς λαμβάνοντα μῦλας καλοῦσιν. τούτῳ δὴ φυλακτέων ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίγνεσθαι τῶν γυναίκων. ἢν γὰρ λόγων χρήσιν στέρματα μὴ δέχωνται Ἐμιθεὶ κοινωνῶσι παιδείας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν, αὕται

1 Ἀγλαονίκης Reiske: ἀγαλικης.
2 γῆς Kronenberg: τῆς.
3 ποιήσαι] κυήσαι Wytenbach.

a Adapted from Homer, II. vi. 429.

b Cf. Moralia, 416 f. The belief that Thessalian women had the power to draw down the moon was wide-spread.
No less ennobling is it for a man to hear his wife say, "My dear husband,

Nay, but thou art to me a guide, philosopher, and teacher in all that is most lovely and divine." Studies of this sort, in the first place, divert women from all untoward conduct; for a woman studying geometry will be ashamed to be a dancer, and she will not swallow any beliefs in magic charms while she is under the charm of Plato's or Xenophon's words. And if anybody professes power to pull down the moon from the sky, she will laugh at the ignorance and stupidity of women who believe these things, inasmuch as she herself is not unschooled in astronomy, and has read in the books about Aglaonice, the daughter of Hegetor of Thessaly, and how she, through being thoroughly acquainted with the periods of the full moon when it is subject to eclipse, and, knowing beforehand the time when the moon was due to be overtaken by the earth's shadow, imposed upon the women, and made them all believe that she was drawing down the moon.

It is said that no woman ever produced a child without the co-operation of a man, yet there are misshapen, fleshlike, uterine growths originating in some infection, which develop of themselves and acquire firmness and solidity, and are commonly called "moles." Great care must be taken that this sort of thing does not take place in women's minds. For if they do not receive the seed of good doctrines and share with their husbands in intellectual advance-

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\[\text{Cf. Aristotle, De generatione animalium, iv. 7.}\]
καθ’ αὐτὰς ἅτοπα πολλὰ καὶ φαύλα βουλεύματα καὶ πάθη κυνοῦσι.

Σῦ δ’ ὡς Εὐρυδίκη μάλιστα πειρῶ τοῖς τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἁγαθῶν ἀποφθέγμασιν ὁμιλεῖν καὶ διὰ στόματος ἀεὶ τὰς φωνὰς ἔχειν ἐκεῖνας ὡν καὶ παρθένοις οὕτα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀνελάμβανες, ὡς εὐφραίνης μὲν τὸν ἄνδρα, θαυμάζῃ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων γυναικῶν, οὕτω κοσμομυμένη περιπτῶς καὶ σεμνῶς ἀπὸ μηδενὸς. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ τῆς τῆς πλουσίας μαργαρίτας καὶ τὰ τῆς τῆς ξένης σημικά λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔστων οὐδὲ περιβέσθαι μὴ πολλοῦ πριμμένην, τὰ δὲ Θεανόδο κόσμη καὶ Κλεοβουλίνης καὶ Γορ-Γοῦς τῆς Λεωνίδου γυναικὸς καὶ Τιμοκλέας τῆς Θεαγένους ἀδελφῆς καὶ Κλαυδίας τῆς παλαιᾶς καὶ Κορηλίας τῆς Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὅσι εὔγενοτο θαυ-μασταί καὶ περιβόητοι, τάυτα δ’ ἔξεστι περι-κειμένην προῖκα καὶ κοσμομυμένην αὐτοῖς ἐνδόξῳς ἀμα βιοῦν καὶ μακαρίως.

Εἰ γὰρ ἡ Σαπφώ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι καλλι-146 γραφίαν ἐφρόνει τηλικοῦτον ὡστε γράψαι πρὸς τινα πλουσίαν,

καθάνουσα¹ δὲ κείσεαι, οὖδὲ τις μναμοσύνα σέθεν ἔστει: οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις² ῥόδων τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας,

¹ καθάνουσα Moralia, 646 ε: καθανοῦσα.
² πεδέχεις ibid.: παῖδ’ ἔχεις.

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a Wife of Pythagoras; cf. 142 c, supra.
b Also called Eumetis, daughter of Cleobulus; cf. 148 c-e, 150 ε, and 154 λ-ε, infra.
ADVICE TO BRIDE AND GROOM, 145–146

ment, they, left to themselves, conceive many un-
toward ideas and low designs and emotions.

And as for you, Eurydice, I beg that you will try
to be conversant with the sayings of the wise and
good, and always have at your tongue’s end those
sentiments which you used to cull in your girlhood’s
days when you were with us, so that you may give
joy to your husband, and may be admired by other
women, adorned, as you will be, without price, with
rare and precious jewels. For you cannot acquire
and put upon you this rich woman’s pearls or that
foreign woman’s silks without buying them at a high
price, but the ornaments of Theano, a Cleobulina, b
Gorgo, c the wife of Leonidas, Timocleia, d the sister
of Theagenes, Claudia e of old, Cornelia, f daughter
of Scipio, and of all other women who have been
admired and renowned, you may wear about you
without price, and, adorning yourself with these,
you may live a life of distinction and happiness.

If Sappho thought that her beautiful compositions
in verse justified her in writing g to a certain rich
woman,

Dead in the tomb shalt thou lie,
Nor shall there be thought of thee there,
For in the roses of Pierian fields
Thou hast no share,

c Daughter of Cleomenes, king of Sparta; cf. Herodotus,
vii. 239.
d Plutarch tells of Timocleia’s intrepid behaviour after the
battle of Chaeroneia in Moralia, 239 c, and Life of Alexander,
chap. xii. (p. 671 A).
e Claudia vindicated her virtue when the goddess Cybele
was brought to Rome; Livy, xxix. 14.
f Better known as the mother of the Gracchi, who said of
her sons, “These are my jewels.”
g Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. iii. p. 111, Sappho. No. 68; J. M.
Edmonds, Lyra Graeca, in the L.C.L. i. p. 69.
(146) πῶς οὖχὶ σοι μᾶλλον ἔξεσται μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ’ ἑαυτῇ καὶ λαμπρόν, ἀν μὴ τῶν ῥόδων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν μετέχης, ὅν αἱ Μούσαι φέρουσι καὶ χαρίζονται τοῖς παιδείαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν θαυμάζουσιν;
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why shall it not be even more allowable for you to entertain high and splendid thoughts of yourself, if you have a share not only in the roses but also in the fruits which the Muses bring and graciously bestow upon those who admire education and philosophy?
THE DINNER OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN
(SEPTEM SAPIENTIUM CONVIVIUM)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch's account of the dinner of the seven wise men is a literary tour de force. Both Plato and Xenophon had composed similar accounts of such gatherings in their own time, and Plutarch himself has recorded in detail in his *Symposiacs* (or Table-Talks) much of the conversation which was heard at such gatherings in his day. This is comparatively an easy task, but in the account of the dinner of the seven wise men Plutarch, who lived several centuries after Plato and Xenophon, deliberately set himself to compose an account of a meeting of people who lived a couple of centuries before Plato and Xenophon—at the dawn, almost, of authentic Greek history. There was a tradition, recorded by Plato in the *Protagoras* (p. 343 a) and by other writers, that the seven wise men had met at Delphi in connexion with the dedication of the two famous inscriptions on the temple of Apollo there, and there was an added tradition that they had later been entertained by Periander at Corinth. Besides this, many sayings of the wise men were traditionally current. With this material at hand, Plutarch composed his imaginative account of the dinner, adding other characters such as Neiloxenus and Aesop, and giving it a more intimate touch by introducing the feminine element in the persons of Melissa and.
THE DINNER OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN

Eumetis; and at the end, for good measure, he added an elaboration of the familiar story of Arion's rescue by dolphins, already well known from the account of Herodotus (i. 24) and of other writers; and this is capped by a few more dolphins.

The title (Συμπόσιον τῶν ἐπτὰ σοφῶν) stands as No. 110 in the catalogue of Lamprias, and the essay is occasionally quoted or referred to by later Greek writers.

Plutarch names, as the seven wise men, Thales, Bias, Pittacus, Solon, Chilon, Cleobulus, and Anacharsis. Plato (Protagoras, 343 A) puts Myson in place of Anacharsis, and in other lists Periander is found in his stead. Pherecydes, Epimenides, and Peisistratus are the other candidates for a place in the list.
146) ΤΩΝ ΕΠΤΑ ΣΟΦΩΝ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ

1. Ἡ που προϊόν ὁ χρόνος, ὁ Νικαρχία, πολὺ σκότος ἔπαξε τοὺς πράγμασι καὶ πᾶσαν ἄσάφειαν, εἰ νῦν ἐπὶ προσφάτοις οὕτω καὶ νεαρὸς λόγοι ψευ·

[C: ὃς ἦμεῖς ἀκηκόατε, τῶν ἐπτά γέγονε τὸ συμπόσιον, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων ἡ διὰ τοσούτων (ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, συνήθης μὲν ὁν Περιάνδρῳ διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ξένος δὲ Θάλεως· παρ’ ἐμοὶ γὰρ κατέλυσεν ὁ ἀνήρ Περιάνδρου κελέυσαντος), οὔτε τοὺς λόγους ὅρθως ἀπεμνημόνευσεν ὅστις ἦν ὑμῖν ὁ διηγούμενος. ἦν δ’ ὃς ἐοικέν οὐδεὶς τῶν παραγεγονότων. ἀλλ’ ἔπει σχολή τε πάρεστι πολλὴ καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐκ ἀξιόπιστον ἐγγυήσασθαι τὴν ἀναβολὴν τοῦ λόγου, προθυμουμένους ὑμῖν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς ἀπαντα διηγήσομαι.

D 2. Παρασκευάκει μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ὁ Περιάνδρος, ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ περὶ τὸ Δέχαιον ἑστιατορίῳ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν, ἢς ἦν καὶ ἡ θυσία. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς μητρὸς

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[a] He was apparently a seer versed in ritual purification; see infra, 149 d.

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THE DINNER OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN

1. It seems fairly certain, Nicarchus, that the lapse of time will bring about much obscurity and complete uncertainty regarding actual events, if at the present time, in the case of events so fresh and recent, false accounts that have been concocted obtain credence. For, in the first place, the dinner was not a dinner of the Seven alone, as you and your friends have been told, but of more than twice that number, including myself; for I was on intimate terms with Periander by virtue of my profession, and I was also the host of Thales, for he stayed at my house by command of Periander. In the second place, your informant, whoever he was, did not report the conversation correctly; apparently he was not one of those at the dinner. However, since there is nothing that demands my attention just now, and old age is too untrustworthy to warrant postponing the narration, I will begin at the beginning, and tell you, without any omissions, the story which you all seem eager to hear.

2. Periander had arranged for the entertainment, not in the city but in the dining-hall in the vicinity of Lechaeum, close by the shrine of Aphrodite, in whose honour the sacrifice was offered that day. For Periander, ever since his mother's love-affair which
(146) αυτοῦ προεμένης τὸν βίον ἐκουσίως οὐ τεθυκὼς τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ, τότε πρῶτον ἐκ τινῶν ἐνυπνίων τῆς Μελίσσης ὠρμήσε τιμᾶν καὶ θεραπεύειν τὴν θεόν. 
Τῶν δὲ κεκλημένων ἐκάστῳ συνωρίς ἴκανῶς κεκοσμημένη προσήχθη καὶ γὰρ ὁρὰ θέρους ἦν, καὶ τὴν ὄδον ἀπασαν ὕπο πλῆθους ἀμαξῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄχρι θαλάττης κονιορτός καὶ θόρυβος κατείχεν. ὁ μέντοι Θαλῆς τὸ ζεῦγος ἐπὶ ταῖς Ἐθύραις ἱδῶν καὶ μειδιάσας ἀφῆκεν. ἐβαδίζομεν οὖν ἐκτραπόμενοι διὰ τῶν χωρίων, καθ’ ἄνωτέραν, καὶ μεθ’ ἡμῶν τρίτος ὁ Ναυκρατίτης Νειλόξενος, ἀνήρ ἐπιεικῆς καὶ τοῖς περὶ Σόλωνα καὶ Θαλῆν γεγονός εἰς Αἰγύπτων συνήθης. ἔτυγχαν δὲ πρὸς Βίαντα πάλιν ἀπεσταλμένοι· ὅν δὲ χάριν οὐδ’ αὐτὸς ἦδει, πλὴν ὑπενέχει πρόβλημα δεύτερον αὐτῷ κομιζεῖν ἐν βιβλίῳ καταστημασμένον· εἶρητο γάρ, εἰ Βίας ἀπαγορεύσειεν, ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς σοφωτάτοις Ἑλλήνων τὸ βιβλίον. 
"'Ερμαῖον" ὁ Νειλόξενος ἐφη "μοι γέγονεν Φ ἐνταῦθα λαβεῖν ἀπαντᾶς ὑμᾶς, καὶ κομιζῶ τὸ βιβλίον ὡς ὀρᾶς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον." ἀμα δ’ ἡμῖν ἐπεδείκνυε.
Καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς γελάσας "εἰ τι κακὸν," ἔπειν, "ἀλλις εἰς Πριηνὴν· διαλύσει γὰρ ὁ Βίας, ὡς διέλυσεν αὐτὸς τὸ πρῶτον."
"Τὸ δ’ ἦν," ἔφην ἐγώ, "τὸ πρῶτον;"
"Ἰερείον," ἔπειν, "ἐπανεμεῖν αὐτῷ, κελεύσας τὸ

1 Θαλῆν Hercher: θάλητα.

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a Cf. Parthenius, Love-affairs, § 17.
b The home of Bias.
had led to her self-destruction, had offered no sacrifice to Aphrodite, but now, for the first time, owing to certain dreams of Melissa's, he had set about honouring and conciliating the goddess.

For each of the invited guests a carriage and pair, fashionably caparisoned, was brought to the door; for it was summer-time, and the whole length of the street even to the water's edge was one mass of dust and confusion by reason of the great crowd of vehicles and people. Thales, however, when he saw the equipage at the door, smiled and dismissed it. And so we set out on foot, leaving the road and going through the fields in a leisurely fashion, and with us two was Neiloxenus of Naucratis, an able man, who had been on terms of intimacy with Solon and Thales and their group in Egypt. He, as it happened, had been sent a second time on a mission to Bias, the reason for which he did not know, save only that he suspected that he was bringing for Bias a second problem sealed up in a packet. His instructions were, that if Bias should give up trying to solve it, he should show the packet to the wisest among the Greeks.

"It is a piece of good fortune for me," said Neiloxenus, "to have found you all together here, and, as you see, I am bringing the packet with me to the dinner"; and at the same time he showed it to us.

Thales began to laugh, and said, "If it is anything bad, go to Priene again! For Bias will have a solution for this, just as he had his own solution of the first problem."

"What," said I, "was the first problem?"

"The king," said he, "sent to Bias an animal for
πονηρότατον ἐξελόντα καὶ χρηστότατον ἀποπέμψα| κρέας. ὦ δ' ἥμετερος εἰς καὶ καλῶς τὴν γλώτταν ἐξελὼν ἐπεμψεν. οθεν εὐδοκιμῶν δὴλος ἑστὶ καὶ θαυμαξόμενον.”

147 “Οὐ διὰ ταῦτ’” ἔφη “μόνων” ὁ Νευλόξενος, ἀλλ’ οὐ φεύγει τοῦ φίλος εἶναι καὶ λέγεσθαι βασιλέων καθάπερ ύμεῖς, ἐπεὶ σοῦ γε καὶ τάλλαθα βαυμάζει, καὶ τῆς πυραμίδος τὴν μέτρησιν ὑπερφυῶς ἠγάπησεν, ὅτι πάσης ἀνευ πραγματείας καὶ μηδενὸς ὅργανον δειθής ἀλλὰ τὴν βακτηρίαν στήσας ἐπὶ τῶν πέρατον τῆς σκιᾶς ἦν ἡ πυραμίς ἐποίει, γενομένων τῇ ἐπαφῇ τῆς ἀκτίνος δυνεῖν τριγώνων, ἐδειξας δι' ἡ σκιὰ πρὸς τὴν σκιὰν λόγον εἰχε τὴν πυραμίδα πρὸς τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐχουσαν. ἀλλ’, ὅπερ ἔφην, διεβλήθης μισοβασιλεὺς εἶναι, Β καὶ τιnes υβριστικαὶ σου περὶ τυράννων ἀποφάσεις ἀνεφέροντο πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐρωτήθησαι ὑπὸ Μολιζηγόρου τοῦ "Ἰωνος τι παραδοξώτατον εἶς ἐωρακός, ἀποκρίνατο 'τύραννον γέροντα,' καὶ πάλιν ἐν ταῖς πότοις, περὶ τῶν θηρίων λόγου γενομένου, φαίνεις κάκιστον εἶναι τῶν μὲν ἅγριων θηρίων τῶν τυράννων, τῶν δ' ἡμέρων τῶν κόλακα ταύτα γάρ, εἰ καὶ πάνω προσποιοῦνται διαφέρειν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν τυράννων, οὐκ εὐμενῶς ἁκούουσιν.”

"Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μέν," εἶπεν ὁ Θαλῆς, "Πιττακοῦ ἐστιν, εἰρημένον ἐν παιδιᾷ ποτὲ πρὸς Μυρσίλον."

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\(a\) The same story is told in Moralia, 38 b; in 506 c, and in Plutarch's Comment. on Hesiod, 71 (Works and Days, 719), the same story is told of Pittacus.

\(b\) Cf. Pliny, Natural History, xxxvi. 17 (82).

\(c\) Specifically ascribed to Thales by Plutarch, Moralia, 578 d; cf. also infra, 152 a.

\(d\) Ascribed to Bias by Plutarch, Moralia, 61 c.
sacrifice, with instructions to take out and send back to him the worst and best portion of the meat. And our friend's neat and clever solution was, to take out the tongue and send it to him, with the result that he is now manifestly in high repute and esteem."

"Not for this alone," said Neiloxenus, "but he does not try to avoid, as the rest of you do, being a friend of kings and being called such. In your case, for instance, the king finds much to admire in you, and in particular he was immensely pleased with your method of measuring the pyramid, because, without making any ado or asking for any instrument, you simply set your walking-stick upright at the edge of the shadow which the pyramid cast, and, two triangles being formed by the intercepting of the sun's rays, you demonstrated that the height of the pyramid bore the same relation to the length of the stick as the one shadow to the other. But, as I said, you have been unjustly accused of having an animosity against kings, and certain offensive pronouncements of yours regarding despots have been reported to him. For example, he was told that, when you were asked by Molpagorlas the Ionian what was the most paradoxical thing you had ever seen, you replied, 'A despot that lived to be old.' And again he was told that on a certain convivial occasion there was a discussion about animals, and you maintained that of the wild animals the worst was the despot, and of the tame the flatterer. Now kings, although they would make out that they are altogether different from despots, do not take kindly to such remarks."

"But the fact is," said Thales, "that Pittacaus is responsible for that statement, which was once made in jest with reference to Myrsilus. But, as for myself,
C ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάσαμι ἀν,” ἐφη, “οὐ τύραννον ἄλλα
(147) κυβερνήτην γέροντα θεσάμενος. πρὸς δὲ τὴν
μετάθεσιν τὸ τοῦ νεανίσκου πέτονθα τοῦ βαλόντος
μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν κύνα πατάξαντος δὲ τὴν μητριῶν καὶ
eἰπόντος "οὖν" οὗτον κακῶς," διὸ καὶ Σόλωνα
σοφώτατον ἡγησάμην οὐ δεξάμενον τυραννεῖν.
καὶ Πιττακὸς οὗτος εἰ μοναρχία μὴ προσήλθεν,
οὐκ ἂν εἶπεν ὡς 'χαλεπὸν ἔσθλον ἐμμεναὶ'.
Περίανδρος δ’ ἔουσαι ὠσπέρ ἐν νοσήματι πατρῶν
τῇ τυραννίδι κατείλημένοις οὐ φαύλως ἐξάνα-
φέρειν, χρύμενοι ὄμιλιας ὑγιειναις ἄχρι γε νῦν
καὶ συνουσίας ἀνδρῶν νόον ἐχόντων ἐπαγόμενος,
D ἄς δὲ Θρασύβουλος αὐτῷ κολούσεις τῶν ἄκρων
οὐμός πολίτης ύψηγεῖται μὴ προσιέμενος. γεωρ-
γοῦ γὰρ ἄρας καὶ ἐνώνιδας ἀντὶ πυρῶν καὶ κρυθῶν
συγκομίζειν ἐβέλοντος οὔτεν διαφέρει τύραννος
ἀνδραπόδων μάλλον ἄρχεως ἡ ἀνδρῶν βουλόμενος.ἐν
γὰρ ἀντὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀγαθῶν αἱ δυναστεῖαι
τὴν τιμήν ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν δόξαν, ἀντὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὡς
κρείττονες ἄρχωσι καὶ μεγάλων μείζονες εἶναι
dοκοιον. τὴν δ’ ἀσφάλειαν ἀγαπῶντας άνευ τοῦ
καλοῦ προβάτων ἔδει πολλῶν καὶ ἵππων καὶ βοῶν
ἄρχεως, μὴ ἀνδρῶπων. ἄλλα γὰρ ἐις οὖνδὲν προσ-
Ε ἣκοντας ἐμβεβληκεν ἡμᾶς," ἐφη, "ὁ ἔξεστος ὀὕτοι
I should be amazed to see,” he continued, “not a despot but a pilot that lived to be old. However, so far as concerns transferring this from the one to the other, my feeling is exactly that of the young man who threw a stone at his dog, but hit his stepmother, whereupon he exclaimed, ‘Not so bad after all!’ a This is the reason why I regarded Solon as very wise in refusing to accept the position of despot. b And as for your friend Pittacus, if he had never addressed himself to the task of ruling single-handed, he would not have said that ‘it is hard to be good.’ c But Periander, apparently, in spite of his being afflicted with despotism as with an inherited disease, is making fair progress towards recovery d by keeping wholesome company—at least up to the present time—and by bringing about conferences with men of sense, and by refusing to entertain the suggestions offered by my fellow-citizen Thrasybulus about lopping off the topmost. e Indeed, a despot who desires to rule slaves rather than men is not unlike a farmer who is willing to gather in a harvest of darnel and rest-harrow rather than of wheat and barley. For the exercise of dominion possesses one advantage to set against its many disadvantages, and this is the honour and glory of it, if rulers rule over good men by being better than they, and are thought to surpass their subjects in greatness. But rulers that are content with safety without honour ought to rule over a lot of sheep, horses, and cattle, and not over men. But enough of this,” he continued, “for our visitor here has precipitated us into a conversation that is quite inappropriate, since tradition, for example, makes Tarquinius Superbus give this advice to his son (Livy, i. 54).
λόγους, ἀμελήσας¹ λέγειν τε καὶ ξητεύν ἅ ἄρμόττει ἐπὶ δείπνον βαδίζουσιν. ἢ γάρ οὐκ οἶει, καθάπερ ἐστιάσοντος ἔστι τις παρασκευή, καὶ δειπνήσοντος εἶναι; Συμβαίνει μὲν γάρ ὡς ἐικε πρὸ ἐναὐτοῦ τὰς κλήσεις ποιοῦνται τῶν γυναικῶν, ὡπως ἐκ- γένουτο κατὰ σχολὴν παρασκευασμέναι ἐσθήτη καὶ χρυσῷ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον. ἐγὼ δὲ πλείονος οἴμαι χρόνου δεῖσθαι τὴν ἀληθὶνὴν τοῦ δειπνήσον- τος ὅρθως παρασκευήν, ὡσὶ καλεπώτερον ἔστιν ἢθει τὸν πρέποντα κόσμουν ἢ σῶματι τὸν περίττον Φ ἐξευρεῖν καὶ ἄχρηστον. οὐ γάρ ὡς ἀγγειόν ἢκει κομίξων εαυτὸν ἐμπλησαί πρὸς τὸ δείπνον ὁ νοῦν ἔχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ σπουδάσαι τι καὶ παῖξαι καὶ ἀκούσαι καὶ εἶπεῖν ὡς² ὁ καιρὸς παρακαλεῖ τοὺς συνόντας, εἰ μέλλουσι μετ' ἀλλήλων ἠδέως ἔσεθαι. καὶ γάρ καὶ ὁφον ποιηρὸν ἔστι παρώσασθαι, κἂν οἴνος ἢ φαῦλος, ἐπὶ τὰς νύμφας καταφυγεῖν· σύνδεσινος δὲ κεφαλαλγῆς καὶ βαρὺς καὶ ἀνάγγυς παντὸς μὲν οἴνου καὶ ὁφον πάσης δὲ μουσουργὸν χάριν ἀπόλλυσι καὶ λυμαίνεται, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπεμέσαι 148 τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγθίαν ἐτοιμὸν ἔστων, ἀλλ' ἐνίοτος εἰς ἀπαντα τὸν βίον ἐμμενεὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσάρεστον, ὥσπερ ἐωλοκρασία τις ὑβρεῖς ἢ ὀργῆς ἐν οἴνῳ γενομένης. ὃθεν ἀρίστη Χήλων, καλούμενος ἐχθές, οὐ πρότερον ὁμολόγησεν ἢ

¹ ἀμελήσας] ἀμελήσαντας some mss.
² ὡς Meziriacus: ὡν Wytenbach: δ.

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ᵃ Cf. Athenaeus, 521 c.
ᵇ A similar thought is found in Moralia, 660 b.
he has not been careful to bring up topics and questions suitable for persons on their way to dinner. Do you not honestly believe that, as some preparation is necessary on the part of the man who is to be host, there should also be some preparation on the part of him who is to be a guest at dinner? People in Sybaris, as it appears, have their invitations to women presented a year in advance so as to afford them plenty of time to provide themselves with clothes and jewellery to wear when they come to dinner; but I am of the opinion that the genuine preparation on the part of the man who is to be the right kind of guest at dinner requires even a longer time, inasmuch as it is more difficult to discover the fitting adornment for character than the superfluous and useless adornment for the body. In fact, the man of sense who comes to dinner does not betake himself there just to fill himself up as though he were a sort of pot, but to take some part, be it serious or humorous, and to listen and to talk regarding this or that topic as the occasion suggests it to the company, if their association together is to be pleasant. Now an unsavoury dish can be declined, and, if the wine be poor, one may find refuge with the water-sprites; but a guest at dinner who gives the others a headache, and is churlish and uncivil, ruins and spoils the enjoyment of any wines and viands or of any girl's music; nor is there any ready means by which one can spew out this sort of unsavouriness, but with some persons their mutual dislike lasts for their entire lifetime—stale dregs, as it were, of some insult or fit of temper which was called into being over wine. Wherefore Chilon showed most excellent judgement when he received his invitation yesterday,
πυθέονται τῶν κεκλημένων ἕκαστον. ἔφη γὰρ ὦτι σύμπλουν ἀγνώμονα δεῖ φέρειν καὶ σύσκηνον ὅπειρον ἀνάγκη καὶ στρατεύεσθαι· τὸ δὲ συμπόταις ἐαυτὸν ὡς ἐτυχεὶ καταμιγνύειν οὐ νόμι ἔχοντος ἄνδρός ἐστιν. ὁ δ’ Ἀιγύπτιος σκελετός, ὃν ἐπιεικῶς εἰσοφέροντες εἰς τὰ συμπόσια προτίθενται καὶ παρα-
κυψίοι μεμνημθαί τάχα δὴ τοιούτους ἐσομένους, καὶ περ ἄχαρις καὶ ἀχρος ἐπίκωμος ἥκων, ὅμως ἔχει τινὰ καύρον, καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ πίνειν καὶ Ἰδυπαθεῖν ἄλλα πρὸς φιλίαν καὶ ἄγαπησαν ἀλλήλων προτῆρεται, καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν βίον μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ βραχὺν ὄντα πράγμασι κακοῖς μακρὸν ποιεῖν.”

3. Ἔν τοιούτω ς λόγοις γενόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀφικόμεθα πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν, καὶ λουσαθαί μὲν ὁ Ἡσιόδος οὐκ ἦθελεσιν, ἀληθιμένοι γὰρ ἦμεν· ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς τε δρόμους ἐθεάτο καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας καὶ τὸ ἀλός το παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἢκανὼς διακεκο-

σμήνον, ὑπὸ οὐδενὸς ἐκπληστόμενος τῶν τοιοῦ-

C των, ἀλλ’ ὅπως μὴ καταφρονεῖν δοκοῖ ποιοῦ ὑπερορᾶν τοῦ Περιανδροῦ τῆς φιλοτημίας. τῶν δ’ ἀλλων τὸν ἀλευρίμενον ἢ λουσάμενον οἱ θεράποντες εἰσῆγουν εἰς τὸν ἄνδρόνα διὰ τῆς στοὰς.

τοῦ δ’ Ἀνάχαρις ἐν τῇ στοᾷ καθῆστο, καὶ παιδίσκη προειστήκει τὴν κόμην ταῖς χεραί διακρι-

νοσα. ταύτην ὁ Ἡσιόδος ἐλευθεριώτατα ποιεῖν αὐτῷ προσδραμόσαν ἐφίλησε καὶ γελάσας “οὕτως,”

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a Plutarch expands this thought in Moralia, 708 d.

1 ὁ added by Hercher.
in not agreeing to come until he had learned the name of every person invited. For he said that men must put up with an inconsiderate companion on shipboard or under the same tent, if necessity compels them to travel or to serve in the army, but that to trust to luck regarding the people one is to be associated with at table is not the mark of a man of sense.\(^\text{a}\) Now the skeleton which in Egypt they are wont, with fair reason, to bring in and expose at their parties, urging the guests to remember that what it is now, they soon shall be, although it is an ungracious and unseasonable companion to be introduced at a merry-making, yet has a certain timeliness, even if it does not incline the guests to drinking and enjoyment, but rather to a mutual friendliness and affection, and if it urges upon them that life, which is short in point of time, should not be made long by evil conduct."

3. Engaging in such discourse as this along the way, we arrived at the house. Thales did not care to bathe, for we had already had a rub-down. So he visited and inspected the race-tracks, the training-quarters of the athletes, and the beautifully kept park along the shore; not that he was ever greatly impressed by anything of the sort, but so that he should not seem to show disdain or contempt for Periander's ambitious designs. As for the other guests, each one, after enjoying a rub-down or a bath, was conducted by the servants to the dining-room through the open colonnade.

Anacharsis was seated in the colonnade, and in front of him stood a girl who was parting his hair with her hands. This girl ran to Thales in a most open-hearted way, whereupon he kissed her
(148) ἔφη, "ποίει καλὸν τὸν ξένον, ὅπως ἥμερώτατος ὃν μὴ φοβερὸς ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἡμῖν μὴν ἀγριος.

'Εμοῦ δ' ἐρωμένου περὶ τῆς παιδὸς ἦτις ἔιη,

D "τὴν σοφὴν," ἔφη, "καὶ περιβόητον ἄγνοεῖς Ἐўμητων; οὕτω γὰρ ταύτην ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸς, οὗ δὲ πολλοὶ πατρόθεν ὦνομάζουσι Κλεοβουλῶν.

Καὶ δ' Νειλὸξενος ἐίπεν "ἡ ποὺ τὴν περὶ τὰ αἰνύματα δεινότητα καὶ σοφίαν," ἔφη, "τῆς κόρης ἐπαινεῖς καὶ γὰρ εἰς Λ᾽γυπτον ἐνα τῶν προβαλλομένων ὑπ’ αὐτῆς διϊκταί.

"Οὐκ ἔγγον᾽," ἐίπεν ὁ Θαλῆς. "τοῦτοις γὰρ ὦσπερ ἀστραγάλους, ὅταν τύχῃ, παίζουσα χρήται καὶ διαβάλλεται πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυχόντας. ἀλλὰ καὶ φρόνημα θαυμαστὸν καὶ νοῦς ἔνεστιν πολιτικὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπον ἡθος, καὶ τὸν πατέρα τοῖς πολίταις Επραότερον ἀρχοντα παρέχει καὶ δημοτικώτερον." "Εἰεν," ὁ Νειλὸξενος ἔφη, "καὶ φαίνεται βλέποντι πρὸς τὴν λιτότητα καὶ ἀφέλειαν αὐτῆς. Ἀνάχαρις δὲ πόθεν οὕτω τημελεί φιλοστόργος;" "Ὅτι," ἔφη, "σώφρων ἀνήρ ἔστι καὶ πολυμαθὴς, καὶ τὴν δίαιταν αὐτῆ καὶ τὸν καθαρμὸν, ὃ χρωνται Σκύθαι περὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας, ἀφθόνως καὶ προθύμως παραδέδωκε, καὶ νῦν οἶμαι περι- ἐπεν αὐτὴν τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ φιλοφρονεῖσθαι, μανθα- νοῦσαν τι καὶ προσδιαλεγομένην."

"ハウス δὲ πλησίον οὗσιν ἡμῖν τοῦ ἀνδρῶν ἀπήν-

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and said laughingly, "Go on and make our visitor beautiful, so that we may not find him terrifying and savage in his looks, when he is, in reality, most civilized."

When I inquired about the girl and asked who she was, he replied, "Have you not heard of the wise and far-famed Eumetis? Really, though, that is only her father’s name for her, and most people call her Cleobulina after her father."

"I am sure," said Neiloxenus, "that when you speak so highly of the maiden you must have reference to the cleverness and skill that she shows in her riddles; for it is a fact that some of her conundrums have even found their way to Egypt."

"No indeed," said Thales, "for these she uses like dice as a means of occasional amusement, and risks an encounter with all comers. But she is also possessed of wonderful sense, a statesman’s mind, and an amiable character, and she has influence with her father so that his government of the citizens has become milder and more popular."

"Yes," said Neiloxenus, "that must be apparent to anybody who observes her simplicity and lack of affectation. But what is the reason for her loving attentions to Anacharsis?"

"Because," replied Thales, "he is a man of sound sense and great learning, and he has generously and readily imparted to her the system of diet and purging which the Scythians employ in treating their sick. And I venture to think that at this very moment, while she is bestowing this affectionate attention on the man, she is gaining some knowledge through further conversation with him."

We were already near the dining-room when
τησεν Ἀλεξίδημος ὁ Μιλήσιος (ἡν δὲ Θρασυβούλου τοῦ τυράννου νόθος) καὶ ἐξῆγε τεταραγμένος καὶ σὺν ὄργῃ τιν πρὸς αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἦμῖν γε σαφὲς διαλεγόμενος. ὡς δὲ τὸν Θαλῆν εἶδε, μικρὸν ἀνανεγκών καὶ καταστάς "οὐαν ὑβρίν," εἶπεν, "εἰς ἡμᾶς Περίανδρος ὑβρικεν, ἐκπλέσαι μὲν οὐκ ἔσασα ώρμημένον ἀλλὰ προσμεῖναι δεηθεὶς τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐλθόντι δὲ νέμων κλισίαν ἄτμον, Ἀιολέας δὲ καὶ νησιώτας (καὶ τίνας γὰρ οὕχι;) Ἐρασυβούλου προτυμῶν: Ἐρασυβούλον γὰρ ἐν ἔμοι τὸν πέμψαντα προτοπηλακίσας βουλόμενος καὶ καταβαλεῖν ὡς δὴ περιορῶν δῆλος ἔστων.

149 "Εἶτ," ἐφη, "οὐ δέδιας μὴ καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τοὺς ἀστέρας υψώματα καὶ ταπεινώματα λαμβάνοντας ἐν τοῖς τόποις οὐς διεξίασι γίγνεσθαι βελτίων ἢ χειρός ἐαυτῶν λέγουσιν, οὕτως ἡ περὶ σὲ διὰ τὸν τόπον ἀμαύρων ἢ ταπείνως γέννηται; καὶ τοῦ Λάκωνος ἐστὶ θαυμότερος, ὅσ ἐν χορῷ τινι κατασταθεῖς εἰς τὴν ἐσχάτην χώραν ὕπο τοῦ ἀρχοντος 'εὐ γ', εἶπεν, 'ἐξεύρεσ, ὡς καὶ αὐτὰ ἐντυμος γένηται.' οὐ καταλαβόντας," ἐφη, "τόπον μετὰ τίνας κατακεύμεθα δεὶ ζητεῖν, μᾶλλον δ' ὅπως εὐάρμοστοι τοῖς συγκατακεύμενοι ὁμεν, ἀρχὴν καὶ λαβῆν φιλίας εὐθὺς ἐν αὕτοις ζητοῦντες, 2 μᾶλλον δ' ἔχοντες τὸ μὴ δυσκολαινὲν ἀλλ' ἐπαυεῖν ὅτι τοιοῦτοι συγκατεκλίθημεν; ὡς ἐν τῷ τόπῳ

1 αὐτὰ Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and F.C.B. independently: αὐτά.
2 ζητοῦντες Reiske: ἦλθοντες or ἦλθοντες.

A remark to like effect is assigned to Agesilaus in Moralia, 208 d, and to Damonidas in Moralia, 219 e. The idea is also credited to Aristippus by Diogenes Laertius, ii. 73.

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Alexidemus of Miletus met us. He was a son of the despot Thrasybulus, but born out of wedlock. He was coming out in a state of great agitation, angrily talking to himself, but saying nothing that was intelligible to us. When he saw Thales he recovered himself a little, stopped, and exclaimed, "What an insult! To think that Periander should behave so toward us! Why, he simply would not hear of my going away when I was bent on going, but begged me to stay over for the dinner; and then when I came he assigned to me an ignominious place, setting Aeolians, and men from the islands, and what not, above Thrasybulus. For it is plain that in my person he wishes to offer insult to Thrasybulus, who delegated me to come, and to put him low down to show that he purposely ignores him."

"So then," said Thales, "as the Egyptians say of the stars, when they gain or lose altitude in their courses, that they are growing better or worse than they were before, do you fear that the obscurcation and degradation affecting you because of your place at table will be brought about in a similar way? And you will be contemptible when compared with the Spartan who in a chorus was put by the director in the very last place, whereupon he exclaimed, 'Good! You have found out how this may be made a place of honour.' When we have taken our places," continued Thales, "we ought not to try to discover who has been placed above us, but rather how we may be thoroughly agreeable to those placed with us, by trying at once to discover in them something that may serve to initiate and keep up friendship, and, better yet, by harbouring no discontent but an open satisfaction in being placed next to such persons as
κλισίας δυσχεραίων δυσχεράτει τῷ συγκλίτη μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κεκληκτῷ, καὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους ἀπεχθάνεται.


Καὶ ὁ Θαλής πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὴν ἀποτίαν τοῦ ἀνθρώ- που θαυμάζοντας, "ἐμπληκτος," ἐφη, "καὶ ἀλλό- κοτος φύσει, ἐπεὶ καὶ μειράκιον ὃν ἔτι, μῦρον σπουδαίον Ὥρασβούλῳ κομισθέντος, εἰς ψυκτήρα C κατεράσας μέγαν καὶ προσεγχέας ἀκρατον ἐξ- ἐπιεν, ἐχθραν ἀντὶ φιλίας Ὅρασβούλῳ διαπεπραγ- μένονς.

Εκ τούτου περιέλθων ὑπηρέτης "κελεύει σε Περίανδρος," ἐφη, "καὶ Θαλήν παραλαβόντα τούτον ἐπισκέψασθαι τὸ κεκομισμένον ἁρτίως αὐτῷ πότερον ἄλλως γέγονεν ἢ τι σημεῖον ἔστι καὶ τέρας· αὐτῶς μὲν γὰρ έοικε τεταράχθαι σφόδρα, μάσμα καὶ κηλίδα τῆς θυσίας Ἰγγουμένοις." ἀμα D ἀπῆλγεν ἡμᾶς εἰς τι οὐκήμα τῶν περὶ τῶν κηπών.

ἐντάθθα νεανίσκος ὡς ἐφαίνετο νομεντικός, οὐτω γενειών ἄλλως τε τὸ εἶδος οὐκ ἀγεννῆς, ἀναπτύξας των διαφέραν ἐδειξεν ἡμῖν βρέφος ὡς ἐφή γεγονὸς εἶ ἢπου, τὰ μὲν ἀνω μέχρι του τραχήλου καὶ τῶν D χειρῶν ἀνθρωπόμορφων, τὰ λοιπὰ δὲ ἔχον ἢπου, τῇ δὲ φωνῆ καθάπερ τὰ νεογνά παιδάρια κλαυθ- μυριζόμενοι. ὁ μὲν οὖν Νειλόξενος, "Ἀλεξίκακε"
these. For, in every case, a man that objects to his place at table is objecting to his neighbour rather than to his host, and he makes himself hateful to both."

"All this," said Alexidemus, "is merely talk that means nothing. As a matter of fact, I observe that all you wise men too make it your aim in life to have honour shown you"; and with that he passed by us and departed.

Thales, in answer to our look of astonishment at the man's extraordinary conduct, said, "A crazy fellow, and uncouth by nature; as an instance, when he was still a boy, some especially fine perfume was brought to Thrasybulus, and this the younger emptied into a big wine-cooler, and on top of it poured strong wine, and drank it off, thus creating enmity instead of friendship for Thrasybulus."

Just then a servant made his way to us and said, "Periander bids you, and Thales too, to take your friend here with you and inspect something which has just now been brought to him, to determine whether its birth is of no import whatever, or whether it is a sign and portent; at any rate, he himself seemed to be greatly agitated, feeling that it was a pollution and blot upon his solemn festival." With these words he conducted us to one of the rooms off the garden. Here a youth, a herdsman apparently, beardless as yet, and not bad-looking withal, unfolded a piece of leather, and showed us a newly-born creature which he asserted was the offspring of a mare. Its upper parts as far as the neck and arms were of human form, and the sound of its crying was just like that of newly-born infants, but the rest of its body was that of a horse. Neilo Xenus merely exclaimed, "God save us," and turned his face away;
(149) εἰπών, ἀπεστράφη τὴν ὄψιν, ὁ δὲ Θαλής προσέβλεπε τῷ νεανίσκῳ πολὺν χρόνον, εἶτα μειδίασε (εἰώθει δὲ ἢ παῖζεν πρὸς ἐμὲ περὶ τῆς τέχνης) "ἡ που τὸν καθαρμόν, ὁ Διόκλεις," ἔφη, "κινεῖν διανοή καὶ παρέχειν πράγματα τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις, ὡς τινος δεινοῦ καὶ μεγάλου συμβάντος"

"Τί δ'," εἶπον, "οὐ μέλλω; στάσεως γάρ, ὁ Θαλής, καὶ διαφορᾶ τὸ σημείον ἐστι, καὶ δέδικεν μή μέχρι γάμου καὶ γενεάς ἐξίκηται, πρὶν ἡ τὸ πρῶτον ἐξιλάσασθαι μήνυμα, τῆς θεοῦ δεύτερον ὡς ὅρας προφανούσης."

Ε Πρὸς τούτο μηδὲν ἀποκρινάμενος ὁ Θαλής ἄλλα γελῶν ἀπηλλάττετο. καὶ τοῦ Περίανδρου πρὸς τὰς θυρας ἀπαντήσαντος ἡμῖν καὶ διαπεμβολον περὶ ὧν εἴδομεν, ἀφεῖς ὁ Θαλής με καὶ λαβόμενος τῆς ἐκείνου χειρὸς ἔφη, "ἀ μὲν Διοκλής κελεύει δράσεις καθ' ἥσυχον ἐγώ δὲ σοι παρανώ νέοις οὔτω μὴ χρῆσαι νομεσθιν ὑπ'ων, ἦ διδόναι γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς."

"Εδοξέ μὲν οὖν μοι τῶν λόγων ἀκούσασι ὁ Περίανδρος ἑσθήναι σφόδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἐξεγέλασε καὶ τὸν Θαλήν περιβαλὼν κατησπάσατο. κακεῖνος "οἶμαι δ'," εἶπεν, "ὁ Διόκλεις, καὶ πέρας ἐσχὲ 1 τὸ Σημείον ὃ ὅπως γὰρ ἥλικον κακὸν γέγονεν ἡμῖν, Ἀλεξίδημον συνδευπνεῖν μὴ θελήσαντος."

4. Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰσήλθομεν, ἦδῃ μείζον ὁ Θαλής φθεγξαμένος "ποῦ δ'" εἶπεν "ὁ ἀνήρ κατακλωμένος ἐδυσχέρανεν;" ἀποδειχθείσης δὲ τῆς χώρας περιελθὼν ἐκεῖ κατέκλυνεν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς "ἀλλὰ

1 ἐσχέ F.C.B.: ἐχεῖν Reiske and Hatzidakis: εἶχε or ἐχεί.

* Cf. Phaedrus, Fabulae, iii. 3.
but Thales fixed his gaze upon the youth for a long time, and then, with a smile (for he was in the habit of joking with me about my profession), said, "No doubt, Diocles, you are minded to set in operation your ritual of atonement, and to trouble the gods who deliver us from evil, since you must feel that something terrible and momentous has befallen?"

"Why not?" said I, "since this thing is a sign of strife and discord, Thales, and I fear that it may go so far as to affect even marriage and offspring, because, even before we have made full atonement for the first fault that moved the goddess to wrath, she plainly shows us, as you see, that there is a second."

To this Thales made no answer, but withdrew, laughing all the while. Periander met us at the door, and inquired about what we had seen; whereupon Thales left me and took his hand, saying, "Whatever Diocles bids you do you will carry out at your own convenience, but my recommendation to you is that you should not employ such young men as keepers of horses, or else that you should provide wives for them."

It seemed to me that Periander, on hearing his words, was mightily pleased, for he burst out laughing and embraced Thales most affectionately. "I think, Diocles," said Thales, "that the sign has already had its fulfilment, for you see what a bad thing has happened to us in that Alexidemus would not dine with us!"

4. When we had entered the dining-room, Thales, in a louder voice than usual, said, "Where is the place at table to which the man objected?" And when its position was pointed out to him he made his way to it, and placed himself and us there, at the same
καν ἐπριάμην" εἰπὼν "Ἄρδαλω κοινωνεῖν μᾶς τραπέζης." ἦν δὲ Τρούζηνος ὁ Ἄρδαλος, αὐλωδὸς 150 καὶ ἱερεύς τῶν Ἀρδαλείων Μουσῶν, ἀς ὁ παλαιὸς Ἄρδαλος ἱδρύσατο ὁ Τρούζηνος.

"Ο δὲ Αἰσωπός (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ὑπὸ Κροίου νεωστὶ πρὸς τε Περίανδρον ἀμα καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεον εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπεσταλμένος, καὶ παρῆν ἐπὶ δίφρου τινὸς χαμαιζήλου παρὰ τὸν Σόλωνα καθήμενος ἀνω κατακείμενον) "ἡμίονος δ'," ἔφη, "Δυνὸς ἐν ποταμῷ τῆς ὀψεως ἐαυτοῦ κατιδών εἰκόνα καὶ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος ὠρμησε θεῖν ὡσπερ ἔπος ἀναχαιτίσας. εἰτὰ μέντοι συμφρονήσας ὡς ὄνυν νῦν ἐη, κατέπαυσε Β ταχὺ τὸν ὁρόμοι καὶ ἀφῆκε τὸ φρύαγμα καὶ τὸν θυμόν."

"Ο δὲ Χίλων λακωνίσας τῇ φωνῇ, "καὶ τύνη," ἔφη, "βραδύς καὶ τρέχεις τὸν ἡμίονον."

"Εκ τούτου παρηλθε μὲν ἡ Μέλισσα καὶ κατεκλίθη παρὰ τὸν Περίανδρον, ὁ δ' Ἑὔμητος ἐκάθισε παρὰ τὸ δείπνων. καὶ ὁ Θαλῆς ἔμε προσαγορεύσας ἐπάνω τοῦ Βιάντος κατακείμενον "τί οὐκ ἐφρασσάς," εἶπεν, "ὁ Διόκλεις, Βιάντι τὸν Ναυκρατίτην ξένον ἠκούτα μετὰ προβλημάτων βασιλικῶν αὖθις ἐπ' αὐτόν, ὅπως νήφων καὶ προσέχων ἐαυτῷ τὸν λόγον δέχηται;"

Καὶ ὁ Βίας "ἄλλη οὕτως μὲν," ἔφη, "πάλαι C δεδίττεται ταῦτα παρακελεύμενος, ἐγὼ δέ τὸν Διόνυσον οἴδα τά τ' άλλα δεινόν ὄντα καὶ Λύσιον ἀπὸ σοφίας προσαγορεύμενον, ὡστ' οὐ δέδια τοῦ

1 ἀπὸ Hercher: ὑπὸ.

a Cf. Pausanias, ii. 31. 3.
time remarking, "Why, I would have given money to share the same table with Ardalus." This Ardalus was from Troezene, a flute-player and a priest of the Ardalian Muses, whose worship his forefather, Ardalus of Troezene, had established.

Aesop too, as it happened, having been sent by Croesus only a short time before on a mission both to Periander and to the god at Delphi, was present at the dinner, seated on a low chair next to Solon, who occupied the place just above. Aesop said: "A Lydian mule caught sight of his own image reflected in a river, and, suddenly struck with admiration at the beauty and great size of his body, tossed his mane and started to run like a horse, but then, recalling that his sire was an ass, he soon stopped his running, and gave up his pride and animation."

Whereupon Chilon, dropping into Laconian dialect, remarked, "It's slow ye are, and ye're running on like the mule."

Just then Melissa came in and took her place on the couch next to Periander, but Eumetis sat during the dinner. Then Thales, addressing himself to me (my place was just above that of Bias), said, "Diocles, why do you not tell Bias at once that our guest from Naucratis has again come to him with a king's problems, so that he may hear them stated while he is sober and circumspect?"

"Hear that!" said Bias; "this man has been trying for a long time to terrify me with such adjurations; but I know that Dionysus, besides being clever in other ways, is called the 'solver' by virtue of wisdom, so I have no fears that if I become

\* Cf. No. 140 in the collection of fables that passes under the name of Aesop.
(150) theoûn ìstôs xenômenos ìn òdharsoèsteroûn àgwni-

Toiaûta mén èkeînoi pròs ìllhloûs ìma deí-
pnoûntes èpâçouv. èmî ë to ðeîpnon euðtelèsteroûn
órwnti tû oukhîous ènnœîn èpîîe pròs èmavòn
wûs sofîûn kàgavôn ìndraîôn ùpodoçhê kai klêîsîs
oudeìmîn prôstîthèi dâpânhê ìllà aûstèlîa muî-
lôn, àfairoûsa periergîas òçewn kai múra exêkà
câ pémmata kai polultêlôn òûwn diâchûseis, oûs
D kæth ímêran xrówmenos èpîeikèôs ð Ïerîándhros èv
travnîdî kai plûûntî kai prâgmashî, tôte pròs
tous ìndras èkallwîçëto lîtôtthi kai swfroçùnh
dâpânhë. òû gâr mónon tûwn ìllwûn ìllà kai tôs
gnâwkos ìfêlêw kai àpoekrûpß tûn oukhê
kósmôn èpedeîkny nûn euðteleîa kai metrôîtî
kekòsmîmênn.

5. 'Èpeî ð' èpîrthësan aî trâpezai kai stefâwûn
parà tûs Melîshê sî diadothèvûn ímëis mèn èstpeîsâ-
mev ð' aûlîtrîs èpîfheççâmênh mikrâ tâis spou-
daîs èk méssou metêsthê, prôsagorôûsas tôû
'Anâhârash ð' 'Arðalos íròtîshên eî parà Skûbaîs
aûlîtrîdês eîsîn.

È 'O ð' èk tôû prôstuxóntos " oûd' àmpeleî"
eîpe.

Toû ð' 'Arðalou pàlw eîpôntos " ìllà ðeî û ò
Skûbâîs eîsî', " pànu mèn òûn," èfê, " òglôôshës
àndraçînh sînîntes, ouç ìssper ð' oî 'Èllhènes
oîmênoû Skûbàwn diâleçêsthaî bêlîôn òçewn tôû
ðeîs ðstèwûn kai ëûlwûn èdîon àkroàsthaî nómìçou-
sîn.'

'O ð' Àâôwpsos, " eî ò", èîpev, " eîdeîh, ò

a Dionysus was the god of wine.
filled with his spirit. I shall compete with less courage.”

In such repartee as this did those men indulge while dining; but to me, as I was noticing that the dinner was plainer than usual, there came the thought that the entertainment and invitation of wise and good men involves no expense, but rather curtails expense, since it does away with over-elaborate viands and imported perfumes and sweetmeats and the serving of costly wines, all of which were in fairly free use every day with Periander in his royal position and wealth and circumstance. But on this occasion he tried to make an impression on the men by simplicity and restraint in expenditure. Nor was this limited to these other matters, but he also made his wife put aside and out of sight her usual elaborate attire, and present herself inexpensively and modestly attired.

5. After the tables had been cleared away, and garlands distributed by Melissa, and we had poured libations, and the flute-girl, after playing a brief accompaniment for our libations, had withdrawn, then Ardalus, addressing Anacharsis, inquired if there were flute-girls among the Scythians.

He answered on the spur of the moment, “No, nor grape-vines either.”

When Ardalus again said, “But the Scythians must have gods,” he replied, “Certainly, they have gods who understand the language of men; they are not like the Greeks, who, although they think they converse better than the Scythians, yet believe that the gods have more pleasure in listening to the sounds produced by bits of bone and wood.”

Thereupon Aesop said, “I would have you know,
κνήμη νεκρός ὄνος με 4 κερασφόρῳ οὗς ἐκρουσεν; ὥστε θαυμάζειν τὸν ὄνον εἰ παχύτατος καὶ ἀμονσώτατος ὁν τάλλα λεπτότατον καὶ μουσικώτατον ὡστέον παρέχεται.

Καὶ ὁ Νευλόξενος “ἀμέλει ταῦτ’,” ἔφη, “καὶ ἡμῖν τοὺς Ναυκρατίτας ἐγκαλοῦσι Βουσιρίται. χρώμεθα γὰρ Ἥδη τοῖς ὀνείοις εἰς τὸν αὐλόν. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ καὶ σάλπιγγος ἀκούειν ἀδέμυτον, ὡς ὅνως φθεγγομένης ὤμοιον. ὁνον δ’ ὑπ’ Αἰγυπτίων ὑστε δῆποι διὰ Τυφώνα προπηλακιζόμενον.”

6. Γενομένης δὲ σωπῆς 6 Περίανδρος ὅρων βουλόμενον μὲν ὀκνοῦντα δ’ ἁρξασθαὶ τοῦ λόγου τὸν Νευλόξενον, “ἐγὼ τοῖς,” εἶπεν, “οἱ ἄνδρες ἐπαινῶ καὶ πόλεις καὶ ἅρχοντας, ὅσοι ξένους πρῶτον εἶτα πολίταις χρηματίζουσιν καὶ νῦν δοκεῖ μοι τοὺς μὲν ἡμιτέρους λόγους οἶον ἐπιχωρίους καὶ συνήθεις βραχὺν χρόνον ἐπισχεῖν, πρόσοδον δ’ ὑστερ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ δοῦναι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκεῖνοι καὶ βασιλικοῖς, οὓς ὁ βέλτιστος

1 Κλεοβουλίνη Wytenbach: κλεόβουλον ἦ.  
2 ἡμίξατο Wytenbach: ἡξάτο ορ ἡξάτο.  
3 νεκρός ὄνος με Bernardakis: νεκρογόνοσαμε.  
4 ἐκρουσεν Hermann: ἐκτικρουσε.
my friend, that the modern flute-makers have given up the use of bones from fawns, and use bones from asses, asserting that the latter have a better sound. This fact underlies the riddle which Cleobulina made in regard to the Phrygian flute:

Full on my ear with a horn-bearing shin did a dead donkey smite me.

So we may well be astonished that the ass, which otherwise is most gross and unmelodious, yet provides us with a bone which is most fine and melodious."

"That, without question," said Neiloxygenus, "is the reason for the complaint which the people of Busiris make against us of Naucratis; for we are already using asses' bones for our flutes. But for them even to hear a trumpet is a sin, because they think it sounds like the bray of an ass; and you know, of course, that an ass is treated with contumely by the Egyptians on account of Typhon."

6. There was a pause in the conversation, and Periander, noticing that Neiloxygenus wanted to begin his remarks, but was hesitating, said, "I am inclined to commend both states and rulers that take up the business of strangers first and of their own citizens afterwards; and now it seems to me that we should for a few minutes put a check on our own words, which are, as it were, in their own land where they are well known, and grant audience, as in a legislative sitting, to the royal communication from Egypt, which our excellent friend Neiloxygenus has

*Cf., for example, O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, pp. 102 and 409. Cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 362 Ρ, where the present statements are slightly expanded.*
(151) ἦκει κομίζων Νειλόξενος Βίαντι, Βίας δὲ βούλεται κοινῇ σκέψασθαι μεθ' ἡμῶν.

Καὶ ὁ Βίας, "ποῦ γὰρ ἦ μετὰ τίνων," ἐφη, "προδυμότερον ἂν τις ἀποκινδυνεύσειεν, εἰ δὲ, πρὸς τοιαύτας ἀποκρίσεις, ἄλλως τε τοῦ βασιλέως Β κελεύσαντος ἀρξάσθαι μὲν ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, περιελθεῖν δ’ εἰς ἀπάντας ὑμᾶς τὸν λόγον;"

Οὕτω δὴ παρεδίδου μὲν αὐτῷ τὸ γραμματεῖον ὁ Νειλόξενος, ὁ δ’ αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε λύσαντα παντάπασιν ἐς μέσον ἀναγνώσασθαι. διάνοιαν δὲ τοιαύτην εἶχε τὰ γεγραμμένα.

"Βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων Ἀμασις λέγει Βίαντι σοφωτάτῳ Ἐλλήνων.

"Βασιλεὺς Αἰθιόπων ἔχει πρὸς ἐμὲ σοφίας ἀμιλλάν. ἦττωμενός δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπὶ πάσι συντεθεικέν ἄτοπον ἐπίταγμα καὶ δεινόν, ἐκπιεῖν μὲ κελεύσων τὴν θάλατταν. ἐστὶ δὲ λύσαντι μὲν ἑχειν κόμιας τε πολλὰς καὶ πόλεις τῶν ἑκείνου, Μὴ λύσαντι δ’ ἀστεων τῶν περὶ Ἐλεφαντίνην ἀποστῇναι. σκεψάμενος οὖν εὐθὺς ἀπόπεμπε Νειλόξενον. ὁ δὲ δεῖ φίλοις σοῖς ἢ πολίταις γενέσθαι παρ’ ἡμῶν οὐ τὰμα κωλύσει."

Τοῦτων ἀναγνωσθέντων οὐ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπισχῶν ὁ Βίας, ἄλλα μικρὰ μὲν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενοι μικρὰ δὲ τῷ Κλεοβούλῳ προσομιλήσας ἐγγὺς κατακειμένῳ "τί λέγεις," ἐιπεν, "ὡς Ναυκρατίτα; βασιλεὺς ἀνθρώπων τοσοῦτων Ἀμασις, κεκτημένος δὲ χώραν ἀρίστην τοσαύτην ἐθελήσει ἐπὶ κόμιας ἄδοξοις καὶ λυπραῖς ἐκπιεῖν θάλατταν;"

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come to bring to Bias, and which Bias wishes to consider with all of us together."

"Indeed," said Bias, "in what place or company would a man more readily take the risk, if he must, of answering such questions, especially since the king has given instructions to begin with me, and after that the matter is to come round to all the rest of you?"

As he said this Neiloxenus offered him the packet, but Bias bade him by all means to open it and read it aloud. The contents of the letter were to this effect:

"Amasis, king of the Egyptians, to Bias, wisest of the Greeks.

"The king of the Ethiopians is engaged in a contest in wisdom against me. Repeatedly vanquished in all else, he has crowned his efforts by framing an extraordinary and awful demand, bidding me to drink up the ocean. My reward, if I find a solution, is to have many villages and cities of his, and if I do not, I am to withdraw from the towns lying about Elephantine. I beg therefore that you will consider the question, and send back Neiloxenus without delay. And whatever is right for your friends or citizens to receive from us shall meet with no let or hindrance on my part."

After this had been read Bias did not wait long, but, after a few minutes of abstraction and a few words with Cleobulus, whose place was near his, he said, "What is this, my friend from Naucratis? Do you mean to say that Amasis, who is king of so many people and possessed of such an excellent great country, will be willing, for the consideration of some insignificant and miserable villages, to drink up the ocean?"

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(151) Καὶ ὁ Νειλόξενος γελάσας "ὡς θελήσαντος," εἶπεν, "ὡς Βία, σκόπει τὸ δυνατὸν."

"Φραξέτω τούς," ἐφη, "τῷ Λιθίσιπ τοὺς ἐμβάλλοντας εἰς τα πελάγη ποταμοὺς ἐπισχεῖν, ἐώς αὐτὸς ἐκπήνει τὴν υἱὸν θάλασσαν. περὶ ταῦτης γὰρ τὸ ἐπίταγμα γέγονεν, οὐ τῆς ὑστερον ἑσομένης."

'Ὡς δὲ ταῦτ' εἶπεν ὁ Βίας, ὁ μὲν Νειλόξενος υφ' ἤδονῆς ὁρμησε περιβαλεῖν τὸν Βίαντα καὶ φιλήσας τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπαυσάντων καὶ ἀποδεξαμένων γελάσας ὁ Χίλων, "ὡς Ναυκρατίτα," ἐφη, "ἐνε, πρὶν ἄπολεθαι τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκποθείαν ἀπάγγελε πλεύσας Ἀμάσιδι, μὴ ξητεῖν ὅπως ἁλην ἀναλώσει τοσαυτὴν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ὅπως πότιμον καὶ γλυκεῖαν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τὴν Ε βασιλείαν παρέξει; περὶ ταῦτα γὰρ δευνώτατος Βίας καὶ διδάσκαλος τούτων ἁριστως, ὁ μαθὼν Ἀμάσις οὐδέν ἔτι τοῦ χρυσοῦ δείσεται ποδανυπτήροι ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύσοντι πάντες αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγαπήσειν χρηστὸν ὄντα, καὶ μυριάκις ἤ νυν ἀναφανῇ δυσγενέστερος.""

"Καὶ μὴν," ἐφη ὁ Περίανδρος, "ἀξίον γε τοιαύτας ἀπαρχὰς τῷ βασιλεὶ συνεισενεγκεῖν ἀπαντας 'ἀνδράκας,' ὡσπερ ἐφησεν ὁμηρος· ἐκείνω τε γὰρ ἄν γένοτο πλείονος ἀξία τῆς ἐμπορίας ἢ παρενθήκη, καὶ ἥμιν ἀντὶ πάντων ὁφέλιμος."

7. Εἰπόντος οὖν τοῦ Χίλωνος ὡς Σόλων κατ-

1 περιβαλεῖν Hercher: περιβάλλειν.
2 δυσγενέστερος Reiske: δυσγενέστατος or δυσμενέστερος.

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a The story of Amasis’s low birth and his rise to power is told by Herodotus, ii. 172. b Odyssey, xiii. 14.
Neiloxenus answered with a laugh, "Assume that he is willing, and consider what is possible for him to do."

"Well, then," said Bias, "let him tell the Ethiopian to stop the rivers which are now emptying into the ocean depths, while he himself is engaged in drinking up the ocean that now is; for this is the ocean with which the demand is concerned, and not the one which is to be."

As soon as Bias had said these words, Neiloxenus, for very joy, hastened to embrace and kiss him. The rest of the company also commended the answer, and expressed their satisfaction with it, and then Chilon said with a laugh, "My friend, before the ocean disappears entirely in consequence of being drunk up, I beg that you sail back to your home in Naucratis and take word to Amasis not to be trying to find out how to make way with so much bitter brine, but rather how to render his government potable and sweet to his subjects; for in these matters Bias is most adept and a most competent instructor, and if Amasis will only learn them from him, he will have no further need of his golden foot-tub to impress the Egyptians, but they will all show regard and affection for him if he is good, even though he be shown to be in his birth ten thousand times more lowly than at present."

"Yes, indeed," said Periander, "it surely is right and proper that we all contribute an offering of this sort to the king, 'each man in his turn,' as Homer has said. For to him these extra items would be more valuable than the burden of his mission, and as profitable for ourselves as anything could be."

7. Chilon thereupon said that it was only right that
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F ἀρχεσθαι τοῦ λόγου δίκαιος ἦστιν, οὐ μόνον ὤτι πάντων προῆκε καὶ ἦλικιαν καὶ τυγχάνει κατακείμενος πρῶτος, ἀλλ’ ὦτι τὴν μεγίστην καὶ τελειοτάτην ἄρχην ἀρχεῖ νόμους Ἀθηναίοις θέμενος, ὦ οὖν Νειλόξενος ἴσως ἰπρὸς ἐμεν· "πολλά γ'," εἶπεν, "ὦ Διόκλεις, πιστεύεται σενδώς, καὶ χαίρονσι οἱ πολλοὶ λόγους ἀνεπιτυδείους περὶ σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν τε πλάττοντες καὶ δεχόμενοι παρ᾽ ἐτέρων ἐτούμως, σὰ καὶ πρὸς ἦμᾶς εἰς Αὐγυπτον ἀπηγγέλῃ περὶ Χίλωνος, ὥς ἄρα διαλύσαιτο τὴν πρὸς Σόλωνα φιλίαν καὶ 152 ξενίαν, ὦτι τοὺς νόμους ὦ Σόλων ἠφη μετακινητούς εἶναι."

Καὶ ἐγὼ "γελοίος," ἐφην, "ὦ λόγος· οὐτω γὰρ ἰδὲ τοῖς πρῶτοι ἀποποιεῖσθαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον αὐτοῖς νόμους ὀλην μετακινησάντα τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν."

Μικρὸν οὖν ἐπισχὼν ὦ Σόλων "ἐμοι μέν," ἐφη, "δοκεὶ μάλιστ' ἐὰν ἐνδοξὸς γενέσθαι καὶ βασιλεύς καὶ τύραννος, εἰ δημοκρατίαν ἐκ μοναρχίας κατασκευάσει τοῖς πολῖταις."

Δεύτερος δ' ὦ Βίας εἶπεν, "εἰ πρῶτος4 χρῶτο τοῖς νόμοις τῆς πατρίδος."

Ἐπὶ τούτῳ δ' ὦ Θαλής ἐφησεν, εὐδαιμονίαν ἀρχοντος νομίζεων, εἰ τελευτήσῃς γηράσας κατὰ φύσιν.

1 ἐτούμως Wyttenbach: ἓτοιμόι.
2 μὴ μετακινητοῦς Wyttenbach.
3 δεὶ ἐδεὶ Duebner.
4 πρῶτος τρῶτος τρῶτος Stobaeus, Florilegium, xlviii. 47: hence ἀτρῶτοις Meineke.

The earlier Athenian laws, which Solon changed, as Lycurgus changed the laws of Sparta. Those who would 378
Solon should take the lead in speaking on this subject, not merely because he was most advanced in years and was occupying the place of honour, but because he held the greatest and most perfect position as a ruler by getting the Athenians to accept his laws. Thereupon Neiloxenus quietly remarked to me, "It is certain, Diocles, that a good many things come to be believed quite contrary to fact, and most people take delight in fabricating out of their own minds unwarranted tales about wise men, and in readily accepting such tales from others. Such, for instance, was the report, which was brought to us in Egypt, in regard to Chilon, to the effect that he had broken off his friendship and his hospitable relations with Solon because Solon asserted that laws are subject to revision."a

"The story is ridiculous," said I; "for in such case Chilon ought first to renounce Lycurgus and all his laws, for Lycurgus revised completely the Spartan constitution."

Solon then, after a moment's delay, said, "In my opinion either a king, or a despot, would best gain repute if out of a monarchy he should organize a democracy for his people."

Next Bias said, "If he should be the very first to conform to his country's laws."

Following him Thales said that he accounted it happiness for a ruler to reach old age and die a natural death.

emend the passage would make it refer to Solon's own laws, but it should be remembered that Solon only desired that the Athenians should try out his laws for a certain length of time, and it is inconceivable that Solon with his great practical wisdom should not realize that his own laws might later need revision.
(152) Τέταρτος Ἀνάξαρσις, "εἰ μόνον εἰη φρόνιμος."
Πέμπτος δ’ ὁ Κλεόβουλος, "εἰ μηδενὶ πιστεῦοι τῶν συνόντων."

Β "Εκτὸς δ’ ὁ Πιττακός, "εἰ τοὺς υπηκόους ὁ ἄρχων παρασκευάσει φοβεῖσθαι μὴ αὐτὸν ἀλλ’ ύπερ αὐτοῦ."

Μετὰ τούτον ὁ Χίλων ἔφη τὸν ἄρχοντα χρῆναι μηδὲν φρονεῖν θνητόν, ἀλλὰ πάντ’ ἄθανατα."

Ῥηθέντων δὲ τούτων ἧξιούμεν ἡμεῖς καὶ αὐτὸν εἶπεῖν τι τῶν Περίανδρον. δ’ οὐ μάλα φαιδρὸς ἀλλὰ συστήσας τὸ πρόσωπον "ἐγὼ τούνων," ἔφη, "προσαποφαίνομαι τὰς εἰρήμενας γνώμας ἀπάσας σχεδὸν ἀφιστάναι τοῦ ἄρχειν τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντα."

Καὶ ὁ Αἰσώπος οἶνον ἐλεγκτικῶς "ἐδει τοῖνυν," ἔφη, "τοῦτο καθ’ ἐαυτοὺς περαίνειν καὶ μή, οὐ γενοῦσας φάσκοντας εἶναι καὶ φίλους, κατηγόρους γίνεσθαι τῶν ἄρχοντων."

"Ἀφάμενος οὖν αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς ὁ Ἐκλων καὶ διαμειδάσας εἰπεν, "οὐκ ἂν δοκεῖ σοι μετριώτερον ἄρχοντα ποιεῖν καὶ τύραννον ἐπιεικέστερον ὁ πεῖθων ὡς ἁμείνου εἰη τὸ μὴ ἄρχειν ἣ τὸ ἄρχειν;"

"Τίς δ’ ἄν," ἔφη, "σοι τοῦτο πεισθεὶν μᾶλλον ἣ τῷ θεῷ φράσαντι κατὰ τὸν πρὸς σὲ χρήσμων,

2 δ’ ὁ Bernardakis: δὲ.
3 ὅστατος δ’ ὁ Χελλων εἶπε κάλλιστον εἶναι βασιλέα τὸν μὴ μόνον τοῦ φοβερῶν εἶναι φροντίζοντα Stobaeus, Florilegium, xlviii. 47. This version and the omission of the article with many of 380
Fourth, Anacharsis said, "If only he have sound sense."

Fifth, Cleobulus, "If he trust none of his associates."

Sixth, Pittacus, "If the ruler should manage to make his subjects fear, not him, but for him." a

Chilon followed by saying that a ruler's thoughts should never be the thoughts of a mortal, but of an immortal always.

When these sentiments had been expressed, we insisted that Periander himself should also say something. And he, not very cheerful, but with a hard set face, said, "Well, I may add my view, that the opinions expressed, taken as a whole, practically divorce any man possessed of sense from being a ruler."

Whereupon Aesop, as though taking us to task, said, "You ought, then, to have carried out this discussion by yourselves, and not, while professing to be counsellors and friends, to have made yourselves complainants against rulers."

Solon then, laying his hand on Aesop's head and smiling the while, said, "Don't you think that anyone could make a ruler more moderate and a despot more reasonable if he could persuade them that it is better not to rule than to rule?"

"Who," he replied, "would believe you in this matter in preference to the god who said, according to the oracle referring to you,

* Plutarch cites a concrete case in his Life of Aratus, chap. xxv. (p. 1039 A).

the proper names suggests that editors may have relied too much on Stobaeus in altering this passage.

a ἄφιεσται | ἄφεσται most ms.
(152) εὐδαίμον πτολείθρον ἐνός κήρυκος ἀκοῦον";

Καὶ ὁ Σόλων "ἀλλὰ μήν," ἔφη, "καὶ νῦν ἐνὸς Δ’Αθηναίου κήρυκος ἀκροῶνται καὶ ἄρχοντος τοῦ νόμου, δημοκρατίαν ἔχοντες. οὐ δὲ δεινὸς εἰ κοράκων ἐπαίειν καὶ κολοών, τῆς δ’ ἱσοῦ φωνῆς οὐκ ἄκριβῶς ἐξακούεις, ἀλλὰ πόλιν μὲν οἷς κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἀριστα πράττειν τὴν ἐνὸς ἀκούονσαν, συμποσίον δ’ ἀρετὴν νομίζεις τὸ πάντας δια-λέγεσθαι καὶ περὶ πάντων."

"Σὺ γὰρ," ἔφη ὁ Αἴσωπος, "οὕτω γέγραφας ὁ τι ὀμοιον ἤν, οἰκέτας μὴ μεθύειν, ὡς ἐγραφας Ἀθήνησι οἰκέτας μὴ ἔραν μηδὲ ἐγραλουφεῖν."

Γελάσαντος οὖν τοῦ Σόλωνος Κλεόδωρος ὁ ιατρός "ἀλλ’ ὀμοιον," ἔφη, "τὸ ἐγραλουφεῖν τῷ λαλεῖν ἐν οὐνὶ βρεχόμενον ἦδιστον γὰρ ἔστι." Ε Ὁ Χίλων ὑπολαβὼν ἔφη "διὰ τούτῳ τοι μᾶλλον ἀφεκτέον αὐτοῦ."

Πάλιν δ’ ὁ Αἴσωπος, "καὶ μήν," ἔφη, "Θαλής ἔδοξεν εἰπεῖν ὦτὶ τάχιστα γιράσαι." 8. Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Περιάνδρος, "ἐχομεν," εἶπεν, "Αἴσωπε, τὴν δίκην προσηκοντῶς ἄτε, πρὶν ἦ τοὺς Ἀμάσιδος οὗς προειλομεθα πάντας εἰσαγαγεῖν λόγους, εἰς ἐτέρους ἐμπεσόντες. ὀρα δὴ, Νειλόξενε,

1 ἀκοῦον Χύλανδερ: ἀκοῦειν.
3 δ τι ὀμοιον ἤν Φ.Κ.Β.: δ τι ὀμοιον.
4 γιράσαι Φ.Κ.Β.: γιράσει.
5 ἄτε Φ.Κ.Β.: ἄτε.
6 οὐς in one ms. only.

*a Aesop, now received as an equal among people of the highest standing, had been a slave in his earlier years, and does not hesitate to joke about the fact.
Blessed the city that hears the command of one herald only?"

"Yet it is a fact," said Solon, "that even now the Athenians hearken to one herald and ruler only, and that one, the law, under their democratic constitution. You are clever in understanding ravens and jackdaws, but you have no true ear for the voice of equality, but think that, according to the god, the city which hearkens to one man fares the best, whereas in a social gathering you regard it as a virtue to have everybody talk and on every sort of subject."

"Yes," said Aesop, "that is because you have not yet written a law that slaves shall not get drunk, which would be a similar law to fit this case, as at Athens you wrote a law that slaves shall not have any love-affair and shall not rub down like athletes."\(^\text{b}\)

Solon laughed at this and Cleodorus the physician said, "Nevertheless rubbing down dry is similar to talking when soaked with wine in that it is most agreeable."

And Chilon, interrupting, said, "The more reason then for refraining from it."

"I could swear," said Aesop, speaking again, "that Thales appeared to bid a man to grow old as fast as possible."\(^\text{c}\)

8. Periander at this burst out laughing, and said, "We are fittingly punished, Aesop, for becoming involved in other subjects before introducing all of those from Amasis, to which we gave precedence. I beg, Neiloxenus, that you will look at the rest of

\(^\text{b}\) A reason for the prohibition is given in Plutarch's *Life of Solon*, chap. 1 (p. 79 a).

\(^\text{c}\) So as to obtain happiness; Aesop twists Thales' remark made a few moments before (*supra*, 152 a).
τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ χρῶ παροῦσιν ἐν ταύτῳ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν.”

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν," ὁ Νειλόξενος ἐφή, "τὴν μὲν τοῦ Αἰθιόπου ἐπίταξιν οὐδὲν ἀν τις ἀλλο πλὴρ 'ἀχνυμένην σκυτάλην' προσέποι κατ' Ἀρχί-

F ἱοχόν, ὁ δὲ σὸς ξένος Ἀμασις ἡμερώτερος ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις προβλήμασι καὶ μονοκάτερος γέγονεν: ἐκέλευσε γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν τὸ προσβύτατον καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ τὸ σοφότατον καὶ τὸ κοινότατον, καὶ ναὶ μᾶ Δία πρὸς τούτοις τὸ ὄφελμωτατον, καὶ τὸ βλαβερωτατον καὶ τὸ ἱσχυρότατον καὶ τὸ ὄστρον εἰπεῖν."

"Ἀρ' οὖν ἀπεκρίνατο καὶ διελύει τοῦτον ἔκαστον;

"Οὕτως," ὁ Νειλόξενος ἐφή: "κρίνετε δ’ ὑμεῖς ἀκούσαντες. περὶ πολλοῦ γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς 153 ποιεῖται μήτε συκοφαντῶν ἀλώνια τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, εἰ τὲ τι σφάλλεται κατὰ ταῦτας δ’ ἀποκρινάμενος, τοῦτο μὴ διαφυγεῖν ἀνεξέλεγκτον. ἀναγινώσκοι δ’ ὑμῖν ὁσπερ ἀπεκρίνατο:

‘Τί προσβύτατον;’ 'χρόνος.'
‘Τί μέγιστον;’ 'κόσμος.'
‘Τί σοφότατον;’ 'ἀλήθεια.'
‘Τί κάλλιστον;’ 'φῶς.'
‘Τί κοινότατον;’ 'θάνατος.'
‘Τί ὄφελμωτατον;’ 'θεός.'
‘Τί βλαβερωτατον;’ 'δαίμων.'

1 ταύτῳ Reiske: τούτῳ.
2 τὸ added by Hercher. 3 ὅ added by Wyttenbach.

the letter and take advantage of the fact that the men are all here together."

"Well, in truth," said Neiloxenus, "the demand of the Ethiopian can hardly be called anything but a 'depressing cryptic dispatch,' to borrow a phrase from Archilochus, but your friend Amasis is more civilized and cultivated in proposing such questions; for he bade the king name the oldest thing, the most beautiful, the greatest, the wisest, the most common, and besides these, as I can attest, to name also the most helpful thing and the most harmful, and the strongest and the easiest."

"Did the Ethiopian king give an answer and a solution for each of these questions?"

"Yes, in his way," said Neiloxenus, "but you must judge for yourselves when you hear his answers. For my king holds it to be a very important matter not to be caught impugning the answers falsely; and likewise, if the respondent is making any slip in these, he would not have this pass unquestioned. I will read the answers of the Ethiopian as he gave them:

(a) 'What is the oldest thing?' 'Time.'
(b) 'What is the greatest?' 'The universe.'
(c) 'What is the wisest?' 'Truth.'
(d) 'What is the most beautiful?' 'Light.'
(e) 'What is most common?' 'Death.'
(f) 'What is most helpful?' 'God.'
(g) 'What is most harmful?' 'An evil spirit.'

89. The reference is to a well-known form of cipher message in use among the Spartans. A narrow leather thong was wrapped around a cylinder, and on the surface thus formed the message was written. When the thong was received it was applied to a duplicate cylinder kept by the recipient, and so the message was read.
9. Τούτων πάλιν ἀναγνωσθέντων, ὁ Νικαρχε, γενομένης σωτῆς Θαλῆς ἡρώτησε τὸν Νειλόξενον εἰ προσήκατο τὰς λύσεις ὁ Ἀμασίς. ἐκεῖνον δὲ εἰπόντος ὅτι τὰς μὲν ἀπεδέξατο ταῖς δὲ ἐδυσκόλαινε, Β "καὶ μὴν οὐδέν," εἶπεν ὁ Θαλῆς, "ἀνεπιληπτόν ἐστιν, ἄλλ' ἔχει πάντα διαμαρτίας μεγάλας καὶ ἄγνοιας. οἶον εὐθὺς ὁ χρόνος πῶς ἀν εἴη πρεσβύτατον, εἰ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ γεγονὸς τὸ δ' ἐνεστὼς ἐστὶ τὸ δὲ μέλλον; ὁ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμᾶς ἐσόμενος χρόνος καὶ πραγμάτων τῶν νῦν καὶ ἀνθρώπων νεώτερος ἂν φανεῖ. τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀλῆθειαν ἢγετόθαι σοφίαν οὐδέν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ διαφέρειν τοῦ τὸ φῶς ὀφθαλμὸν ἀποφαίνειν. εἰ δὲ τὸ φῶς καλὸν, ὡσπερ ἐστίν, ἐνόμιζε, πῶς τὸν ἥλιον αὐτὸν παρεῖδε; τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἡ μὲν περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαμόνων ἀπόκρυσις θράσος ἔχει καὶ κίνδυνον,
C ἀλογίαν δὲ καὶ πολλῆν ἡ περὶ τῆς τύχης. οὐ γὰρ ἂν μετέπιπτε βαθὺς οὕτως, ἠχυρότατον οὖσα τῶν ὄντων καὶ ρωμαλεῶτατον. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ὁ θάνατος κοινότατον ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας. ἄλλ' ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν εὐθὺνεν τὰς τῶν ἐτέρων ἀποφάσεις, ἰδίας ταῖς ἐκείνου παραβάλωμεν. ἔμαντον δὲ παρέχω πρῶτον, εἰ βούλεται Νειλόξενος, ἐρωτᾶν καθ' ἐκαστον. ὃς οὖν ἐγε-

1 καλὸν ὡσπερ ἐστίν Reiske: ὡσπερ καλὸν ἐστίν.

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(b) 'What is strongest?' 'Fortune."
(i) 'What is easiest?' 'Pleasure.'"

9. After this second reading, there was silence for a time, and then Thales asked Neiloxenus if Amasis had approved the answers. When Neiloxenus replied that Amasis had accepted some, but was much dissatisfied with others, Thales said, "As a matter of fact there is not a thing in them that cannot be impugned, but they all contain gross errors and evidences of ignorance. For instance, in the very first one, how can time be the oldest thing if a part of it is past, a part present, and a part future? For the time which is to come would clearly be younger than events and persons that now are. And to hold that truth is wisdom seems to me no different from declaring that light is the eye. If he thought the light beautiful, as it really is, how did he come to overlook the sun itself? Among the others the answer about gods and evil spirits evinces boldness and daring, but the one about Fortune contains much bad logic; for Fortune would not be so fickle about abiding with one if it were the mightiest and strongest thing in existence. Nor is death, in fact, the most common thing; for it does not affect the living. But, to avoid giving the impression of merely passing judgement upon the statements of others, let us compare answers of our own with his. And I offer myself as the first, if Neiloxenus so desires, to be questioned on each topic; and taking the questions

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a Plutarch, *Moralia*, 1081 c-1082 d, argues at some length about the Stoic conception of time.

b Probably an adaptation of one of Epicurus's "leading principles," "ο θανατός οὐδὲν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, "death is nothing to us," who are alive. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, x. 139, and Plutarch, *Moralia*, 37 a.
(153) vovTO tòte, kàgòv nòv òdgeljòsmai táv érwtjísiv kai táv ápokrìseiv:


'Tì prèsbúttatov; 'theòs,' e'fì Thalèìs. "'agév-


νητòv vàp èstì.'

'Tì mègístov; 'tòpòs: tâllà mèv vàr ò D kòsmos, tòv dè kòsmov óttòs periêchei.'

'Tì kàllìstov; 'kòsmos: páv vàr tò kàta tâziv tòuytòu méros èstì.'

'Tì sòfòttatov; 'chròvòs: tà mèv vàr èurì-


kev óttòs yódì, tà ò èurìseiv.'

'Tì kòvòttatov; 'èlptìs: kai vàr oís állo


mìdèn, àutì párestì.'

'Tì wûfeliwòttatov; 'àrètì: kai vàr tâllà tòw chròtòhav kalòs wûfèlìma poivei.'

'Tì blavéwòttatov; 'kakía: kai vàr tà


pîeòstaí blâpette pàragenoméven.'

'Tì ìcxoròttatov; 'ánagkì: mónòv vàr à-


nìkìtov.'

'Tì ràvstov; 'tò kàta vàsìv, èpetì pròs


ìdovàs ge polellàkis àpagorevòuson.'"

Ε 10. 'Apodèkaxhìn òv dè pántow tòv vàlèìs, ó


Kleódwvros èlèpe, "toiaùt' érwtàv kai àpokrìnèstov ai


basileùsow, ò Nealòjìv, prostòkòv èstìv dè prò-


pìnòv tòv thàlattan 'Amàsdì vèrbìv ò òv tòpò-


'Pîttakòv bakhìllogìas, àv pròs 'Alvàttùn ékrh-


ìsato pròstàttontà tì kai gráfounta Leobìous


1 Pîeòstaí xhòstà, Stobaeus, ii. 21.


2 toiaùta] tosàuà most MSS.

a Either Thales or a copyist has transposed (c) and (d).

b Most of these sentiments are attributed to Thales in works of other authors, as well as in other places in the Moralia.
in the order given, I will repeat them, together with my answers:

(a) ‘What is the oldest thing?’ ‘God,’ said Thales, ‘for God is something that has no beginning.’

(b) ‘What is greatest?’ ‘Space; for while the universe contains within it all else, this contains the universe.’

(c) ‘What is most beautiful?’ ‘The Universe; for everything that is ordered as it should be is a part of it.’

(d) ‘What is wisest?’ ‘Time; for it has discovered some things already, and shall discover all the rest.’

(e) ‘What is most common?’ ‘Hope; for those who have nothing else have that ever with them.’

(f) ‘What is most helpful?’ ‘Virtue; for it makes everything else helpful by putting it to a good use.’

(g) ‘What is most harmful?’ ‘Vice; for it harms the greatest number of things by its presence.’

(h) ‘What is strongest?’ ‘Necessity; for that alone is insuperable.’

(i) ‘What is easiest?’ ‘To follow Nature’s course; because people often weary of pleasures.’

10. When all had expressed their satisfaction with Thales, Cleodorus said, ‘Asking and answering such questions is all right for kings. But the barbarian who would have Amasis drink up the ocean to do him honour needed the terse retort which Pittacus used to Alyattes, when the latter wrote and sent an overbearing command to the Lesbians. The only answer

It may suffice here to refer, for example, to Diogenes Laertius, i. 35. The two numbered (f) and (g) are rather suggestive of the Stoic school of philosophy.
υπερήφανον, ἀποκρινάμενος οὐδὲν ἀλλ’ ἡ μόνον κελεύσας κρόμμια καὶ θερμόν ἄρτον ἔσθειν.’

Τοπολαβῶν οὖν ὁ Περιάνδρος “ἀλλὰ μὴν,” ἔφη, “καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς Ἐλλησιν ἔθος ἦν, ὁ Κλεόδωρε, Τουαυτάς ἀλλήλοις ἀπορίας προβάλλειν. ἀκούομεν γάρ ὅτι καὶ πρὸς τάς Ἀμφιδάμαντος ταφὰς εἰς Χαλκίδα τῶν τότε σοφῶν οἵ δοκιμώτατοι ποιηταὶ συνήλθον. ἦν δ’ ὁ Ἀμφιδάμας ἀνήρ πολεμικὸς, καὶ πολλά πράγματα παρασχὼν Ἐρετριεύσων ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ληλάντου1 μάχαις ἔπεσεν. ἔπει δὲ τὰ παρεσκευασμένα τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἔπη χαλεπὴν καὶ δύσκολον ἐποίει τὴν κρίσιν διὰ τὸ ἑφάμιλλον, ἡ τε δόξα τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν, Ὁμήρου καὶ Ἡσιόδου, πολλὴν ἀπορίαν μετ’ αἴδους τοῖς κρίνονυ παρεῖχεν, ἐτράπνοντο πρὸς τουαυτὰς ἔρωτῆσεις, καὶ προέβαλ’ ὁ μὲν, ὃς φησὶ.2 Λέσχης,

Μοῦσα μοι ἔννεπε κεῖνα, τὰ μήτ’ ἐγένοντο πάροιθε μήτ’ ἔσται μετόπισθεν,

ἀπεκρίνατο δ’ Ἡσιόδος ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἄμφι Δίως τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἱπποῖ άρματα συντρίψωσιν ἐπειρομένου περὶ νίκης.

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεται μάλιστα θαυμασθεῖς τοῦ τριπόδος τυχεῖν.’

“Τί δὲ ταῦθ;” ὁ Κλεόδωρος εἶπε, “διαφέρει Β τῶν Ἐνμήτιδος αἰγυμάτων; ἦ ταῦτα μὲν ἰσως

1 Ληλάντου Wytenbach: λαλάντου or λαλάντου.
2 φησὶ] φασι in some mss.

ἀ “Ἰσον τῷ κλαίειν was the old explanation; that is, “weep,” or “go hang.”

Some mss. make Lesches propound the question, and other tradition makes Hesiod the questioner, to whom Homer replies. Cf. note c below.
he made was to tell Alyattes to eat onions and hot bread."

Periander now entered into the conversation, and said, "Nevertheless it is a fact, Cleodorus, that the ancient Greeks also had a habit of propounding such perplexing questions to one another. For we have the story that the most famous poets among the wise men of that time gathered at Chalcis to attend the funeral of Amphidamas. Now Amphidamas was a warrior who had given much trouble to the Eretrians, and had fallen in one of the battles for the possession of the Lelantine plain. But since the verses composed by the poets made the decision a difficult and troublesome matter because they were so evenly matched, and since the repute of the contestants, Homer and Hesiod, caused the judges much perplexity as well as embarrassment, the poets resorted to questionings of this sort, and Homer, as Lesches asserts,\(^5\) propounded this:

Tell me, O Muse, of events which never have happened aforetime,
Nor in the future shall ever betide,
and Hesiod answered quite off-hand:

When round Zeus in his tomb rush the steeds with galloping hoof-beats,
Crashing car against car, as they eagerly run for a trophy.
And for this it is said that he gained the greatest admiration and won the tripod."

"But what difference is there," said Cleodorus, "between things like this and Eumetis's riddles?\(^6\)

\(^{5}\) It is of interest to compare the long and variant account given in the *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, a work of the second century A.D. which is usually included at the end of editions of Hesiod, also in the 5th vol. of the edition of Homer in the *Oxford Classical Texts.*
(154) οὐκ ἀπρεπὲς ἐστι παῖζονσαν καὶ διαπλέκονσαν ὡσπερ ἐτεραί ζωνία καὶ κεκρυφάλους προβάλλειν ταῖς γυναιξίν, ἀνδρας δὲ νοῦν ἔχοντας ἐν τινι σπουδῇ τίθεσθαι γελοῖον."

'Η μὲν οὖν Εὐμητίς ἤδεως ἄν εἴπουσα τι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς ἐφαίνετο, κατέσχεν ἐαυτὴν ὑπ' αἰδοῦς, καὶ ἀνεπλήσθη τὸ πρόσωπον ἐρυθήματος. ὃ δ' Ἀἰσωπος οἶον ἀμυνόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς "οὐ γελοιοτερον οὖν," εἶπε, "τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ταῦτα διαλύειν, οἶον ἔστω δ' μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἡμῖν τοῦ δεῖπνου προβάλειν,

ἀνδρ' εἶδον πυρὶ χαλκὸν ἐπὶ ἀνέρι κολλήσαντα; τὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἔχοις ἄν εἴπειν;"

C "'Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μαθεῖν δέομαι," ἔφη ὁ Κλεόδωρος. "Καὶ μὴν οὐδεὶς," ἔφη, "σοῦ τοῦτο μᾶλλον οἶδεν οὐδὲ ποιεῖ βέλτιον; εἰ δ' ἀρνῇ, μάρτυρας ἔχω σικύας."

'Ο μὲν οὖν Κλεόδωρος ἐγέλασε: καὶ γὰρ ἐχρήτω μάλιστα ταῖς σικύαις τῶν καθ' αὐτὸν ἰατρῶν, καὶ δόξαν οὐχ ἦκιστα τὸ βοῆθημα τοῦτο δι' ἐκείνῳ ἐσχήκε.

11. Μνησίφιλος δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἑταῖρος ὡν καὶ ζηλωτὴς Σόλωνος, "ἐγὼ τοι," εἶπεν, "ὁ Περί-ἀνδρε, τὸν λόγον ἀξιῶ καθάπερ τὸν οἶνον μὴ πλου-δ τίνδην μηδ' ἀριστότινδην ἀλλ' ἐξ ὕσου πάσιν ὡσπερ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ νέμεσθαι καὶ κοινὸν εἶναι· τῶν δ' ε

1 ἔφη σοὶ Μεζιριακοῖς: ἔφησε.
2 Most mss. have σικύωνας and σικυωνίας.

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* Mnesiphenus, according to Plutarch, Life of Themistocles, chap. ii. (p. 112 ν), handed down the political wisdom of 392
Perhaps it is not unbecoming for her to amuse herself and to weave these as other girls weave girdles and hair-nets, and to propound them to women, but the idea that men of sense should take them at all seriously is ridiculous."

Eumetis, to judge by her appearance, would have liked to give him an answer, but restrained herself with all modesty, and her face was covered with blushes. But Aesop, as though he would take her part, said, "Is it not then even more ridiculous not to be able to solve these? Take, for instance, the one which she propounded to us a few minutes before dinner:

Sooth I have seen a man with fire fasten bronze on another."

Could you tell me what this is?"

"No," said Cleodorus, "and I don't want to be told, either."

"Yet it is a fact," said Aesop, "that nobody knows this more perfectly than you, or does it better, either; and if you deny this, I have cupping-glasses to testify to it."

At this Cleodorus laughed; for of all the physicians of his time he was most given to the use of cupping-glasses, and it was largely owing to him that this form of treatment has come to have such repute.

11. Mnesiphilus the Athenian, a warm friend and admirer of Solon's, said, "I think it is no more than fair, Periander, that the conversation, like the wine, should not be apportioned on the basis of wealth or rank, but equally to all, as in a democracy, and that Solon to Themistocles. At any rate Herodotus, viii. 57, represents Mnesiphilus as advising Themistocles against withdrawing the Greek fleet from Salamis. Cf. also Plutarch, Moralia, 869 d-e.
(154) ἄρτι περὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ βασιλείας εἰρημένων οὐδὲν ἠμῖν τοῖς δημοτικοῖς μέτεστιν. οἶδεν οἴσωθα δεῖν πάλιν ἐκαστὸν ὠμῶν περὶ πολιτείας ἴσονόμου γνώμην τινὰ συμβαλέσθαι, ἀρξαμένους αὕτης ἀπὸ Σόλωνος.'

'Εδόκει δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν. καὶ πρῶτος ὁ Σόλων "ἀλλ' ἀκήκοας μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὁ Μνησίφιλε, μετὰ πάντων Ἀθηναίων ἢν ἔχω γνώμην περὶ πολιτείας: εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ νῦν ἄκουες, δοκεῖ μοι πόλις ἀριστα πράττειν καὶ μάλιστα σῶζειν δημοκρατίαν.

Ε ἐν ἢ τὸν ἀδικήσαντα τοῦ ἀδικηθέντος οὐδὲν ἦττον οἰ μὴ ἀδικηθέντες προβάλλονται καὶ κολάζουσι.

Δεύτερος δ' ὁ Βίας ἔφησεν κρατίστην εἶναι δημοκρατίαν ἐν ἢ πάντες ὡς τύραννον φοβοῦνται τὸν νόμον.

'Επὶ τούτω Θαλῆς τὴν μῆτε πλούσιοις ἄγαν μῆτε πένητας ἔχουσαν πολίτας.

Μετὰ δὲ τούτων ὁ Ἀνάχαρος ἐν ἢ τῶν ἀλλων ἱσων νομιζομένων ἀρετῆ τὸ βέλτιον ὀρίζεται, καὶ κακία τὸ χείρον.

Πέμπτος δ' ὁ Κλεόβουλος ἔφη μάλιστα σωφρονεῖν δῆμον ὅπου τὸν φόγον μᾶλλον οἱ πολιτευόμενοι δεδοίκασαν ἢ τὸν νόμον.

"Εκτὸς δ' ὁ Πιττάκος, ὅπου τοῖς πονηροῖς οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀρχεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οὐκ ἔξεστι μὴ ἀρχεῖν.

Γ' Μεταστραφεῖς δ' ὁ Χίλων ἀπεφήνατο τὴν

1 ἔφη Stobaeus, Florilegium, xliii. 131.
2 Ἀνάχαρος Ἱεροσ καὶ Περίανδρος Stobaeus, xliii. 131.
3 κακία (κακία Pflugk) δὲ Stobaeus, xliii. 131.
4 δ' ὁ Bernardakis: δὲ.
5 μεταστραφεῖς Hartman and F.C.B. independently: μετατραφεῖς, omitted by Stobaeus, l.c.

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it should be general. Now in what has just been said dealing with dominion and kingdom, we who live under a popular government have no part. Therefore I think that at this time each of you ought to contribute an opinion on the subject of republican government, beginning again with Solon.”

It was accordingly agreed to do this, and Solon began by saying, “But you, Mnesiphilus, as well as all the rest of the Athenians, have heard the opinion which I hold regarding government. However, if you wish to hear it again now, I think that a State succeeds best, and most effectively perpetuates democracy, in which persons uninjured by a crime, no less than the injured person, prosecute the criminal and get him punished.”

Second was Bias, who said that the most excellent democracy was that in which the people stood in as much fear of the law as of a despot.

Following him Thales said that it was the one having citizens neither too rich nor too poor.

After him Anacharsis said that it was the one in which, all else being held in equal esteem, what is better is determined by virtue and what is worse by vice.

Fifth, Cleobulus said that a people was most righteous whose public men dreaded censure more than they dreaded the law.

Sixth, Pittacus said that it was where bad men are not allowed to hold office, and good men are not allowed to refuse it.

Chilon, turning to the other side, declared that the

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*a Chilon, a rather strict Spartan (cf. 152 supra), is impatient of opinions which suggest that the attitude of the people is more important than the law.
μάλιστα νόμων ἥκιστα δὲ ῥητόρων ἀκούουσαν πολιτεῖαν ἀρίστην εἶναι.

Τελευταῖος δὲ πάλιν ὁ Περίανδρος ἑπικρίνων ἔφη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ πάντας ἐπαινεῖν δημοκρατίαν τὴν ὄμοιοτάτην ἀριστοκρατίαν.

12. Τέλος δὲ καὶ τούτου τοῦ λόγου λαβόντος ἡξίουν ἐγὼ καὶ περὶ οἶκου ἢ χρηστέου εἰπεῖν τοὺς ἄνδρας ἡμῖν: "βασιλείας μὲν γὰρ καὶ πόλεις ὀλίγου κυβερνῶσιν, ἐστὶς δὲ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν καὶ οἶκου μέτεστιν."

Γελάσας οὖν ὁ Αἰσώπος, "οὐκ, εἰγε τῶν πάνωτων," ἔφη, "καὶ Ἀνάχαρσιν ἀριθμεῖς τούτῳ γὰρ οἶκος οὐκ ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σεμνύνεται τῷ ἄοικος εἶναι, ἵπποθαί δ' ἁμάξῃ, καθάπερ τὸν ἦλιον ἐν ἄρματι λέγουσι περιπολεῖν, ἄλλος τ' ἄλλην ἐπι- νεμόμενον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χώραν."

Καὶ ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις, "διὰ τούτο τοῦ," εἶπεν, "ἡ μόνος ἡ μάλιστα τῶν θεῶν ἐλεύθερός ἐστι καὶ αὐτόνομος, καὶ κρατεῖ πάντων, κρατεῖται δ' ὑπ' οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ βασιλεύει καὶ ἰσχυρεῖ. πλὴν σὲ γε τὸ ἄρμα λέληθεν αὐτοῦ, ὥς ὑπερθέεσ κάλλει καὶ Β μεγέθει θαυμάσιον ἔστιν, οὐ γὰρ ἄν παῖζων ἐπὶ γέλωτι παρέβαλε ἑκεῖνο τοῖς ἢμετέροις. οἶκον δὲ μοι δοκεῖς, ὁ Αἰσώπε, ταῦτα τὰ πῆλινα καὶ ξύλινα καὶ κεραμεὰ στεγάσματα νομίζειν, ὡσπερ εἰ κο- χλίαν ἣγοι τὸ κέλυφος, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ ζῷον. εἰκότως οὖν σοι γέλωτα παρέσχεν ὁ Σόλων, ὅτι τοῦ Κροίου τὴν οἰκίαν κεκοσμημένην πολυτελώς θεα-
best government is that which gives greatest heed to laws and least heed to those who talk about them.

Finally, Periander once more concluded the discussion with the decisive remark, that they all seemed to him to approve a democracy which was most like an aristocracy.

12. When this discussion had come to an end, I said that it seemed to me to be only fair that these men should tell us how a house should be managed. "For," said I, "but few persons are in control of kingdoms and states, whereas we all have to do with a hearth and home."

Aesop laughed and said, "Not all, if you include also Anacharsis in our number; for not only has he no home, but he takes an immense pride in being homeless and in using a wagon, after the manner in which they say the sun makes his rounds in a chariot, occupying now one place and now another in the heavens."

"And that, I would have you know," said Anacharsis, "is precisely the reason why he solely or pre-eminently of all the gods is free and independent, and rules over all and is ruled by none, but is king, and holds the reins. Only you seem to have no conception of his chariot, how surpassing it is in beauty, and wondrous in size; else you would not, even in jest, have humorously compared it to ours. It seems to me, Aesop, that your idea of a home is limited to these protective coverings made of mortar, wood, and tiles, just as if you were to regard a snail's shell, and not the creature itself, as a snail. Quite naturally, then, Solon gave you occasion to laugh, because, when he had looked over Croesus's house with its costly furnishings, he did not instantly
(155) σάμενος οὐκ εὐθὺς ἀπεφήνατο τὸν κεκτημένον εὐδαίμονον οἰκεῖν καὶ μακάριως, ἀτε δὴ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἀγαθῶν ἢ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῷ βουλομένος γενέσθαι θεατῆς. οὐ δὲ ἔοικας οὐδὲ τῆς σεαυτοῦ μνημονεύειν ἀλώπεκος. ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ εἰς ἀγώνα ποικιλίας καταστᾶσα πρὸς τήν πᾶρδαλίν ηὔσιον τὰ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς καταμαθεῖν τὸν δικαστήν, θεοκλεύτερα γὰρ ἐκείθεν φανεῖσθαι. οὐ δὲ τὰ τεκτόνων καὶ λιθοξών ἔργα περινοστεῖς, οἰκον ἡγούμενος, οὐ τὰ ἐντὸς ἐκάστου καὶ οἰκεία, παίδας καὶ γάμου καὶ φίλους καὶ θεράποντας, οἷς κἂν ἐν μυρμηκίᾳ τις ἡ νεοτιᾷ νοῦν ἔχουσι καὶ σωφρονοῦσι κοινωνίᾳ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, χρηστὸν οἰκον οἰκεῖ καὶ μακάριον. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν,” ἔφη, “ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς Ἀἰσισθόν ἀποκρίνομαι καὶ Διοκλεῖ συμβάλλομαι τῶν δ’ ἄλλων ἐκάστος ἀποφαίνεσθαι δικαίως ἐστὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην.”

Τοῦτον οὖν ἄριστον ὁ Σόλων εἶπεν αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἰκον, ὁποὺ τὰ χρῆματα μὴτε κτωμένοις ἀδικία

D μὴτε φυλάττουσιν ἀπιστία μὴτε δαπανῶσι μετανοια πρὸσετεῖν.

‘Ο δὲ Βίας ἐν ὦ τοιούτῳ ἔστων ὁ δεσπότης δι’ αὐτὸν οἶος ἔξω διὰ τὸν νόμον.

‘Ο δὲ Θαλῆς ἐν ὦ πλείστην ἀγειν τῷ δεσπότῃ σχολῆν ἐξεστεῖν.

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1 τοῦτον . . . οἶκον Stobaeus, Florilegium, lxxxv. 14, and one ms.: οὕτως ὁ Σόλων ἄριστον αὐτῷ δοκεῖν οἰκον εἶπεν most ms.
2 χρῆματα] κτῆματα Stobaeus, ibid., and one ms.

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* Herodotus, i. 30. Plutarch, Life of Solon, chap. xxviii. (p. 94 c), represents Aesop as being present on this occasion.

* No. 159 in the collection of fables that passes under the name of Aesop; repeated also by Plutarch, Moralia, 500 c. 398
declare that the owner led a happy and blessed existence therein, for the good reason that he wished to have a look at the good within Croesus rather than at his good surroundings. But you, apparently, do not remember your own fox. For the fox, having entered into a contest with the leopard to determine which was the more ingeniously coloured, insisted it was but fair that the judge should note carefully what was within her, for there she said she should show herself more ingenious. But you go about, inspecting the works of carpenters and stonemasons, and regarding them as a home, and not the inward and personal possessions of each man, his children, his partner in marriage, his friends, and servants; and though it be in an ant-hill or a bird’s nest, yet if these are possessed of sense and discretion, and the head of the family shares with them all his worldly goods, he dwells in a goodly and a happy home. This then,” said he, “is my answer to Aesop’s insinuation, and my contribution to Diocles. And now it is but right that each of the others should disclose his own opinion.”

Thereupon Solon said that the best home seemed to him to be where no injustice is attached to the acquisition of property, no distrust to keeping it, and no repentance to spending it.

Bias said, “It is the home in which the head of the household, because of his own self, maintains the same character that he maintains outside of it because of the law.”

Thales said, “The home in which it is possible for the head of the household to have the greatest leisure.”
'Ο δὲ Κλεόβουλος εἶ πλεῖονας ἔχοι τῶν φοβουμένων αὐτὸν τοὺς φιλούντας ὁ δεσπότης.

'Ο δὲ Πιττακὸς εἶπεν ὡς ἄριστος οἶκος ἐστιν ὁ τῶν περιττῶν μηδενὸς δεόμενος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων μηδενὸς ἐνδεόμενος.

'Ο δὲ Χίλων ἐφη δεῖν μάλιστα βασιλευομένη πόλει προσευκέαν τὸν οἶκον. εἶτα προσεπείπεν ὅτι καὶ Λυκοῦργος πρὸς τὸν κελεύοντα δήμο-Ε κρατίαν ἐν τῇ πόλει καταστήσαι, "πρῶτος," ἐφη, "ποίησον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου δημοκρατίαν."

13. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οὕτος ἔσχεν ὁ λόγος τέλος, ἢ μὲν Εὐμητις ἔξηλθε μετὰ τῆς Μελίσσης, τοῦ δὲ Περιάνδρου τῷ Χίλωνι προπόντος εὔμεγέθη κύλικα, τῷ δὲ Βίαντι τοῦ Χίλωνος, "Ἀρδαλὸς ἐπι-αναστάς καὶ προσαγορεύσας τὸν Αἴσωπον, "οὐ δ' οὐκ ἂν," ἐφη, "διαπέμψαι δεύρο τὸ ποτήριον πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅρων τούτων ὁσπερ τῇ Βαθυκλέους κύλικα διαπεμπομένους ἀλλήλοις, ἔτερῳ δὲ μὴ μεταδιδόντας;"

Καὶ ὁ Αἴσωπος, "ἀλλ' οὔδὲ τοῦτ'," ἐφη, "τὸ ποτήριον δημοτικὸν ἐστὶ. Σόλων γὰρ ἐκπαλαὶ παράκειται μόνῳ."

Τὸν οὖν Μνησίφιλον προσαγορεύσας ὁ Πιττακὸς ἠρώτησε τί οὐ πίνει Σόλων ἀλλὰ καταμαρτυρεῖ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐν οἷς γέγραφεν,

1 μηδενὸς δεόμενος Stobaeus, ibid., not in mss.
3) ἔστι F.C.B. : εἶναι (probably due to ἐφη).
Cleobulus said, "If the head of the household have more who love him than fear him."

Pittacus said that the best home is that which needs nothing superfluous, and lacks nothing necessary.

Chilon said that the home ought to be most like to a State ruled by a king; and then he added that Lycurgus said to the man who urged him to establish a democracy in the State, "Do you first create a democracy in your own house."  

13. When this discussion had come to its end, Eumetis withdrew, accompanied by Melissa. Then Periander drank to Chilon in a big beaker, and Chilon did the same to Bias, whereupon Ardalus arose, and addressing himself to Aesop, said, "Won't you send the cup over here to us, seeing that these people are sending it to and fro to one another as though it were the beaker of Bathycles, and are not giving anybody else a chance at it?"

And Aesop said, "But this cup is not democratic either, since it has been resting all the time by Solon only."

Thereupon Pittacus, addressing Mnesiphilus, asked why Solon did not drink, but by his testimony was discrediting the verses in which he had written  

"Repeated in Moralia, 189 ε, 228 δ, and Life of Lycurgus, chap. xix. (p. 52 a)."

Bathycles in his will left his beaker to the most helpful of the wise men. It was given to Thales, and he passed it on to another of the wise men, who in turn gave it to another until finally it came back to Thales again, and he dedicated it to Apollo. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, i. 28, and Plutarch, Life of Solon, chap. iv. (p. 80 ε).

Plutarch quotes these lines also in Moralia, 751 ε, and Life of Solon, chap. xxxi. (p. 96 ε); cf. Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr. ii. p. 430, Solon, No. 26.
ἐργα δὲ Κυπρογενοὺς νῦν μοι φίλα καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Μουσέων, ἀ τίθη σ’ ἀνδράσιν εὐφροσύνας.

'Υποθάσας δ’ Ἄναχάριος “σὲ γάρ, ὦ Πιττακέ, καὶ τὸν σὸν ἐκείνον τὸν χαλέπτον φοβεῖται νόμον, ἐν ὧν γέγραφα 'Εάν τις οὕτωις μεθύσων ἀμάρτης, διπλασιάν ἂ τῷ νήφοντι τὴν ξημίαν εἶναι.

Καὶ ὁ Πιττακός, “οὐ δὲ γ’,” εἶπεν, “οὕτως ἐξύβρισας εἰς τὸν νόμον, ὡστε πέρυσι παρ’ Ἀλκαίου’ ἀδελφῷ μεθυσθείς κ’ άθλον αἰτείν καὶ στέφανον.”

156 “Τι δ’ οὐκ ἔμελλον,” ἔφη ὁ Ἄναχάριος, “τῷ πλείστον πιόντι προκειμένων άθλων πρῶτος μεθυσθείς ἁπατεῖν τὸ νικητήριον; ἦ διδάξατε μ’ ὑμεῖς, τί τέλος ἐστὶ τοῦ πολὺν πιέων ἄκρατον ἡ τὸ μεθυσθήμα.”

Τοῦ δὲ Πιττακοῦ γελάσαντος ὁ Αἰσωπός λόγον εἶπε τοιοῦτον. “λύκος ἵδων ποιμένας ἐσθίοντας ἐν σκηνῆ πρόβατον ἐγγὺς προσελθὼν ἔλεξεν ἄν ἢ ν’, ἔφη, ‘θόρυβος ὑμῖν, εἰ ἐγὼ τοῦτ’ ἐποίον.’”

Καὶ ὁ Χήλων “ὄρθως,” ἔφη, “Αἰσωπός ἠμύνατο, μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἑπιστομοσθείς ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, εἶτα νῦν ὅρων ἐτέρους τὸν Μνησιφίλου λόγον ὑφηρτακότας. Μνησιφίλος γὰρ ἦτθη τὴν ὑπὲρ Σόλωνος ἀπόκρισιν.”

Β “Καὶ λέγω,” ὁ Μνησιφίλος εἶπεν, “εἰδῶς ὅτι

1 παρ’ Ἀλκαίου E. Capps; παρὰ Δισκυώδη Δελφῷ Madvig; παρὰ Λάβιν τῷ Δελφῷ the last guess of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: the mss. have παρὰ Λιβυν’ or παρὰ Λιβυν τ’ or παρὰ Λιβυν τῷ or γὰρ καὶ νυνι om. ἀδελφῷ. Athenaeus, 437 f., unluckily does not help.

2 πρῶτος μεθυσθείς is strongly suggested by Athenaeus, 437 f.

3 λέγω Wytenbach: λέγων.
Give me the tasks of the Cyprus-born goddess and
Lord Dionysus,
Yea, and the Muses besides; tasks which bring cheer
among men.

Before the other could reply Anacharsis hastened
to say, "He is afraid of you, Pittacus, and that harsh
law of yours in which you have decreed, 'If any man
commit any offence when drunk, his penalty shall be
double that prescribed for the sober.'" a

And Pittacus said, "But you at any rate showed
such insolent disregard for the law, that last year, at
the house of Alcaeus's brother, you were the first
to get drunk and you demanded as a prize a wreath
of victory." b

"And why not?" said Anacharsis. "Prizes were
offered for the man who drank the most, and I was
the first to get drunk; why should I not have de-
manded the reward of my victory? Else do you
instruct me as to what is the aim in drinking much
strong wine other than to get drunk."

When Pittacus laughed at this, Aesop told the
following story: "A wolf seeing some shepherds in
a shelter eating a sheep, came near to them and said,
'What an uproar you would make if I were doing
that!'

"Aesop," said Chilon, "has very properly de-
fended himself, for a few moments ago c he had his
mouth stopped by us, and now, later, he sees that
others have taken the words out of Mnesophilus's
mouth; for it was Mnesophilus who was asked for a
rejoinder in defence of Solon."

"And I speak," said Mnesophilus, "with full

a Pittacus's law is often referred to; for example, Aristotle,
Politics, ii. 12, 13; Nicomachean Ethics, iii. 5, 8.
b Cf. Athenaeus, 437 f.
c Supra, 150 b.
156) Σόλωνι δοκεί πάσης τέχνης καὶ δυνάμεως ἄνθρωπινης τε καὶ θείας ἔργον εἶναι τὸ γυγνόμενον μᾶλλον ἡ δὲ οὖ γίγνεται, καὶ τὸ τέλος ἡ τὰ πρὸς τὸ τέλος. ὑφάντης τε γὰρ ἂν οἶμαι χλαμύδα ποιήσατο¹ μᾶλλον ἔργον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰμάτιον ἡ κανόνων διάθεσιν καὶ ἀνάρτησιν² ἀγνώσω, χαλκεύς τε κόλλησιν σιδήρου καὶ στόμωσεν πελέκεως μᾶλλον ἡ τι τῶν ἑνεκὰ τούτου γυγνομένων ἀναγκαίων, οἷον ἄνθρακες ἐκζωτύρησιν ἡ λατύτης παρασκευῆς. ἦτι δὲ μᾶλλον ἁρχιτέκτων μέμψαι ἄν ἡμᾶς ἔργον αὐτοῦ μὴ ναὸν³ μὴδ’ οἰκίαν ἀπο-C φαίνοντας, ἀλλὰ τρυπήσαι ξύλα καὶ φυρᾶσαι πηλόν· αἱ δὲ Μοῦσαι καὶ παντάπασιν, εἰ νομίζοιμεν αὐτῶν ἔργον εἶναι κιθάραν καὶ αὐλοὺς, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ παιδεύειν τὰ θητῆ καὶ παρηγορεῖν τὰ πάθη τῶν χρωμένων μέλεσι καὶ ἄρμονίαις. οὔκοιν οὐδὲ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔργον ἔστι συνουσία καὶ μεῖζις, οὔδὲ τοῦ Διονύσου μέθη καὶ οἶνος, ἀλλ’ ἡ ἐμ-ποιοὐσι διὰ τούτων φιλοφροσύνην καὶ πόθον καὶ ὀμιλίαν ἡμῖν καὶ συνήθειαν πρὸς ἄλληλους· ταῦτα γὰρ ἔργα θεία καλεῖ Σόλων, καὶ ταῦτα φθεῖν ἄγαπάν καὶ διώκειν μάλιστα πρεσβύτης γενομένοις. ἦστι δὲ τῆς μὲν πρὸς γυναῖκας ἄνδρῶν ὀμοφροσύνης D καὶ φιλίας δημιουργὸς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, τοῖς σώμασιν ὕφ’ ἡδονῆς ἄμα συμμιγνύουσα καὶ συντήκουσα τὰς ψυχὰς· τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς καὶ μὴ πάνυ συνήθεις μηδ’ ἄγαν γνωρίμοις ὁ Διόνυσος ἄσπερ ἐν πυρὶ τῶν οἰνων μαλάττων τὰ θῆθα καὶ ἀννυγραίων ἄρ-

¹ Ποιήσατο Wytenbach: ποιήσαι.
² Ἀνάρτησιν Bernardakis: ἀνέγερσιν.
³ ναὸν Hatzidakis: ναὸν.

knowledge that it is Solon's opinion that the task of every art and faculty, both human and divine, is the thing that is produced rather than the means employed in its production, and the end itself rather than the means that contribute to that end. For a weaver, I imagine, would hold that his task was a cloak or a mantle rather than the arrangement of shuttle-rods or the hanging of loom weights; and so a smith would regard the welding of iron or the tempering of an axe rather than any one of the things that have to be done for this purpose, such as blowing up the fire or getting ready a flux. Even more would an architect find fault with us, if we should declare that his task is not a temple or a house, but to bore timbers and mix mortar. And the Muses would most assuredly feel aggrieved, if we should regard as their task a lyre or flutes, and not the development of the characters and the soothing of the emotions of those who make use of songs and melodies. And so again the task of Aphrodite is not carnal intercourse, nor is that of Dionysus strong drink and wine, but rather the friendly feeling, the longing, the association, and the intimacy, one with another, which they create in us through these agencies. These are what Solon calls 'tasks divine,' and these he says he loves and pursues above all else, now that he has become an old man. And Aphrodite is the artisan who creates concord and friendship between men and women, for through their bodies, under the influence of pleasure, she at the same time unites and welds together their souls. And in the case of the majority of people, who are not altogether intimate or too well known to one another, Dionysus softens and relaxes their characters with wine, as in
(156) χήν τινα συγκράσεως πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλίας ἔδιδασιν. ὅταν δὲ τοιούτοι συνέλθωσι ἀνδρεῖς, οἴονσ ὁ Περίανδρος ὑμᾶς παρακέκληκεν, οὐδὲν ἔργον ἐστὶν οἴμας κύλικος οὐδ’ οἰνοχόης, ἀλλ’ αἱ Μοῦσαι καθάπερ κρατήρα νηφάλιον ἐν μέσῳ προθέμεναι τὸν λόγον, ὃ πλείστον ἡδονής ἀμα καὶ παιδίᾶς καὶ σπουδῆς ἐνεστιν, ἐγείροντι τοῦτο καὶ κατάρδουσι καὶ διαχέουσι τὴν φιλοφροσύνην.

Ε ἐδώκει τὰ πολλά τὴν ὑμῶν ἀναγκαία ἀτρέμα κεῖσθαι ἵνα 'κρητήρος' ὑπερθέν, ὅπερ ἀπηγόρευσαν Ἡσίοδος ἐν τοῖς πίνειν μάλλον ἡ διαλέγεσθαι δυναμένοις. ἐπεὶ τάς γε προπόσεις αὐτὰς, ἐφη, 'πυνθάνομαι λείπειν τοὺς παλαιοῖς, ἐν 'δαιτρόν,' ὡς 'Ομηρος ἐφη, καὶ μετρητὸν ἐκάστου πίνοντος, εἴθ' ἀντιπλήρωσε καὶ μερίδος μεταδίδοντος τῷ πλησίον.'

Εἶπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Μηνοσφίλου Χερσίας ὁ Φειδίας (ἀφεῖτο γὰρ ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας καὶ διήλλακτο τῷ Περίανδρῳ νεωτίς, Χίλωνος δεηθέντος) "ἀρ’ ὑμῖν," ἐφη, "καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ο Ζεὺς, ἀντιπλὴρ τοῖς ἀριστέους ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, μετρητὸν ἔνεχε τὸ ποτόν, ὅτε προεπινόν ἀλλήλους ἐστιώμενοι παρ’ αὐτὸ;"

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόδωρος, "σὺ δ’, ὃ Χερσία," εἶπεν, "εἰ τὴν ἀμβροσίαν τῷ Διο πελειάδες τινὲς κομίζονσιν, ὡς ὑμεῖς λέγετε, τὰς Πλαγκτῶς ὑπερ-

1 κρητήρος Hesiod: κρατήρος.
2 After δυναμένοις some mss. have a quotation from Homer, Il. iv. 261-3, ending with ἐστηκεν (263).
3 γε Reiske: τε.
4 λείπειν F.C.B.: λέγειν.
5 ἐν F.C.B., δαιτρῶν Meziriacus, suggested perhaps by Amyot’s version: ἐνδεικνυ.
6 ὅτε Meziriacus: δει.
a fire, and so provides some means for beginning a union and friendship with one another. However, when such men as you, whom Periander has invited here, come together, I think there is nothing for the wine-cup or ladle to accomplish, but the Muses set discourse in the midst before all, a non-intoxicating bowl as it were, containing a maximum of pleasure in jest and seriousness combined; and with this they awaken and foster and dispense friendliness, allowing the 'ladle,' for the most part, to lie untouched 'atop of the bowl'—a thing which Hesiod would prohibit in a company of men better able to drink than to converse. As a matter of fact," he continued, "as nearly as I can make out, among the men of olden time the practice of drinking healths was not in vogue, since each man drank one 'goblet,' as Homer has said, that is a measured quantity, and later, like Ajax, shared a portion with his neighbour."

When Mnesiphilus had said this, Chersias the poet (having been already absolved from the charge against him, and recently reconciled with Periander at Chilon's solicitation) said, "Is it to be inferred, then, that Zeus used to pour out the drink for the gods also in measured quantity, as Agamemnon did for his nobles, when the gods, dining with Zeus, drank to one another?"

And Cleodorus said, "But, Chersias, if certain doves bring to Zeus his ambrosia, as you poets say, and with this to Ajax, when, in fact, Homer records this of Odysseus (Od. viii. 475); Ajax, of course, was the great eater, as witness II. vii. 321, where Agamemnon favours Ajax with the sirloin and tenderloin entire. Cf. also Athenaeus, 14a.

* From Orchomenos in Boeotia; he is known only from this essay and Pausanias, ix. 38, 9-10, where two lines of his (?) are quoted.

* Homer, Od. xii. 62.
πετόμεναι χαλεπῶς καὶ μόλις, οὐ νομίζεις καὶ τὸ νέκταρ αὐτῷ δυσπόριστον εἶναι καὶ ὀπάνων,
157 ὡστε φείδεσθαι καὶ παρέχειν ἕκαστῳ τεταμεν-μένον;”

φράσειν ἦμιν τὸ ἀπολειπόμενον; ἀπολείπεται δʼ οἶμαι κτήσεώς τι λαβεῖν μέτρον αὐτάρκους
καὶ ἰκανῆς ἐσομένης.”

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόβουλος, “ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν σοφοῖς,” ἔφη, “μέτρον ὁ νόμος δέδωκε, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς
φαύλους ἔρω λόγον τῆς ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς ὅπως πρὸς
tὸν ἀδελφὸν εἶπεν. ἔφη γὰρ τὴν Σελήνην δεῖσθαι
tῆς ἑαυτῆς μητρὸς ὅπως αὐτῇ χιτώνιον ύφήνης
Β σύμμετρον; τὴν δʼ εἶπεὶν 'καὶ πῶς σύμμετρον
ὑφήνως; νῦν μὲν γὰρ ὅρω σε πανσέληνον, αὕτης
dὲ μηνοειδῆ, τοτὲ δʼ ἀμφίκυρτον.' οὕτω δὴ, ὃ
φίλε Χερσία, καὶ πρὸς ἄνθρωπον ἁνόητων καὶ
φαύλου οὐδέν ἐστι μέτρον οὐσίας. ἄλλοτε γὰρ
ἄλλος ἐστὶ ταῖς χρείαις διὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς
τύχας, ὃσπερ ὁ Αἰσώτων κύων, ὃν οὔτοι φησιν
ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι συστρεφόμενον καὶ συσπειρώμενον
dιὰ τὸ ρύγῳν οἰκίαν ποιεῖν διανοεῖσθαι, θέρους
δʼ αὐτὸ πάλιν ἐκτεταμένον καθεύδοντα φαίνεσθαι
μέγαν ἑαυτῷ καὶ μήτ’ ἀναγκαίον ἤγεισθαι μήτε
μικρὸν ἔργον οἰκίαν περιβαλέσθαι τοσαύτην. ἣ
γὰρ οὐχ ὅρᾶς,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Χερσία, καὶ τοὺς
C μιαροὺς1 νῦν μὲν εἰς μικρὰ κομιδὴ συστέλλοντας

1 μιαροὺς F.C.B.: μικροὺς.
great difficulty hardly manage to fly over the 'clashing rocks,' do you not believe that his nectar is hard for him to get and scarce, so that he is sparing of it, and doles it out charily to each god?"

14. "Possibly," said Chersias, "but since talk of household management has come up again, who among you will tell us about what was omitted? The topic omitted was, I think, the acquisition of some measure of property which shall be sufficient in itself and adequate."

"But," said Cleobulus, "for the wise the law has given the measure, but with reference to those of the baser sort I will tell a story of my daughter's which she told her brother. She said that the moon wanted her mother to weave for her a garment to fit her measure; and the mother said, 'How can I weave it to fit your measure? For now I see you full and round, and at another time crescent-shaped, and at still another but little more than half your full size.' And in the same way you see, my dear Chersias, there is no measure of possessions that can be applied to a foolish and worthless man. Sometimes he is one man and sometimes another in his needs, which vary according to his desires and fortunes; he is like Aesop's dog, who, as our friend here says, in the winter-time curled up as closely as possible because he was so cold, and was minded to build himself a house, but when summer returned again, and he had stretched himself out to sleep, he appeared to himself so big that he thought it was neither a necessary nor a small task to construct a house large enough to contain him. Have you not often noticed also, Chersias," he continued, "those detestable people who at one time restrict themselves to utterly small
(157) ἐαυτοὺς ὡς στρογγύλως καὶ Λακωνικῶς βιωσο-μένους, νῦν δὲ, εἰ μὴ τὰ πάντων ἔχοντων ἰδιωτῶν ἁμα καὶ βασιλέων, ὑπ’ εἰνδείας ἀπολείσθαι νομί-ζοντας;

'Ως οὖν ὁ Χεραιας ἀπεσωπησεν, ὑπολαβὼν ὁ Κλεόδωρος, "ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς," εἶπεν, "ὑμᾶς ὅρωμεν ἀνίσους μέτρους τὰς κτήσεις νενεμημένας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχοντας."

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόβουλος, "ὁ γὰρ τοῦ νόμος," εἶπεν, "ὅ βέλτιστε ἀνδρῶν, ὡς υφάντης ἐκάστῳ τὸ πρέπον ἥμων καὶ τὸ μέτριον καὶ τὸ ἀρμόττον D ἀποδίδωσαι. καὶ σὺ καθάπερ τὸν νόμον τὸ λόγῳ τρέφων καὶ διαιτῶν καὶ φαρμακεύων τοὺς καμ-νοντας οὐκ ἴσον ἐκάστῳ, τὸ δὲ προσήκον ἀπο-νέμεις ἀπασιν."  

Ὑπολαβὼν δ’ ὁ "Αρδαλος, "ἄρ’ οὖν," ἐφη, "καὶ τὸν ἐταίρον ὑμῶν Σόλωνος δὲ ἔχειν Ἐπι-μενίδην νόμος τις ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἄλλων σωτάν κελεύει, τῆς δ’ ἅλιμον δυνάμεως ἤν αὐτὸς συντίθησι μικρὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα λαμβάνοντα διημερεύειν ἀνάριστον καὶ ἀδειπνον;"

'Ἐπιστήσαντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ συμπόσιον ὁ μὲν Θαλῆς ἐπισκόπτων εὐ φρονεῖν ἐφη τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην ὅτι μὴ βούλεται πράγματα ἔχειν ἅλων τὰ σωτά καὶ πέττων ἑαυτῷ, καθάπερ ἙΠιτακός. "ἔγω γάρ," εἶπε, "τῆς ἑξῆς ἦκουν ἄδουσθι πρὸς τὴν μύλην, ἐν Ἐρέσσῳ γενόμενος, ἄλει, μύλα, ἄλει;

καὶ γὰρ Πιττακὸς ἄλει μεγάλας Μυτιλάνας βασιλεύων."

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* A recipe (probably forged) for making this compound
limits as though they purposed to live the simple Spartan life, and at another time they think that, unless they have everything possessed by all private persons and kings as well, they shall die of want?"

As Chersias lapsed into silence, Cleodorus took up the conversation and said, "But we see that the possessions which even you wise men have are distributed by unequal measure, if you be compared one with another."

And Cleobulus said, "Yes, for the law, my good sir, like a weaver, assigns to each one of us so much as is fitting, reasonable, and suitable. And you, using reason as your law in prescribing diet, regimen, and drugs for the sick, do not apportion an equal amount to each one, but the proper amount in all cases."

Ardalus then joined in and said, "Well, then, is there some law which commands that comrade of all of you, Solon's foreign friend, Epimenides, to abstain from all other kinds of food, and by taking into his mouth a bit of the potent 'no-hunger,' which he himself compounds, to go all day without luncheon and dinner?"

This remark arrested the attention of the whole company, and Thales said jestingly that Epimenides showed good sense in not wishing to have the trouble of grinding his grain and cooking for himself like Pittacus. "For," said he, "when I was at Eresus, I heard the woman at whose house I stayed singing at the mill:

Grind, mill, grind;  
Yes, for Pittacus used to grind  
King of great Mytilene."  

may be found in Tzetzes' scholium on Hesiod, Works and Days, 41.  

\[b\] Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec. iii. p. 673.
"Ο δὲ Σόλων ἔφη θαυμάζειν τὸν Ἀρδαλον εἰ
tὸν νόμον οὐκ ἀνέγνωκε τῆς διαίτης τοῦ ἀνδρὸς
ἐν τοῖς ἑπετί τοὺς Ἡσιόδου γεγραμμένον' ἐκεῖνος
γὰρ ἦστιν ὁ πρῶτος Ἑπιμενίδη σπέρματα τῆς
τροφῆς ταύτης παρασχών καὶ ζητεῖν διδάξας

�行文ν ἐν μαλάχῃ τε καὶ ἀσφοδέλῳ μέγ' ὀνειαρ.

"Ο ὅτι γὰρ," ὁ Περίανδρος εἶπε, "τὸν Ἡσιόδου
ἐννοῆσαι τι τοιοῦτον; οὐκ ἐπανέτηθη ὄντα μεταΞ
ἀεί, καὶ πρὸς τὰ λιτότατα τῶν ὑψών ὡς ἡλίστα
παρακαλεῖν ἡμᾶς; ἀγαθὴ μὲν γὰρ ἡ μαλάχη
βρωθήναι, γλυκὸς δ' ὁ ἀνθέρικος· τὰ δ' ἅλμα
ταῦτα καὶ ἠδοφα φάρμακα μᾶλλον ἡ σιτία πυνθάνο-
μαι καὶ μέλι καὶ τυρών τινα βαρβαρικὸν δέχεσθαι
καὶ σπέρματα πάμπολλα τῶν οὐκ εὐπορίστων.

πῶς οὖν ἐώμεν' Ἡσιόδῳ τὸ

πηδάλιον μὲν ὑπὲρ καπνοῦ

κείμενον

ἔργα βοῶν δ' ἀπόλοιτο καὶ ἡμίονων ταλαεργῶν,
eἰ τοσαῦτας δεῖησε παρασκευῆς; θαυμάζω δὲ

158 σου τὸν ἔτεν, ὁ Σόλων, εἰ Δηλίως ἔναγχος
ποιησάμενος τὸν μέγαν καθαρμὸν οὔχ ἐστόρησε

παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ ἵππον κομιδόμενα τῆς πρώτης

ὑπομνήματα τροφῆς καὶ δείγματα μετ' ἄλλων

1 ἐώμεν F.C.B. of many possible emendations; Pohlenz

suggests οὐ κενῶν' and <καὶ τό> after κείμενον: οὔκ ἐν.

2 μὲν Ἔσιοδ: not in mss.

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a Hesiod, Works and Days, 41.

b Hesiod, Works and Days, 45, 46; quoted also in

Moralia, 527 b. Cf. also Hesiod, Works and Days, 629.

412
Solon said that he was surprised at Ardalus if he had not read the regulations governing the manner of living of the man in question, which are given in writing in Hesiod’s verses. For Hesiod is the one who first sowed in the mind of Epimenides the seeds of this form of nourishment, inasmuch as it was he who taught that one should seek to find

How in mallow and asphodel lies an immense advantage.°

“Do you really think,” said Periander, “that Hesiod ever had any such idea in mind? Do you not rather think that, since he was always sounding the praises of frugality, he was also summoning us to the simplest of dishes as being the most pleasant? For the mallow is good eating, and the stalk of the asphodel is luscious; but these no-hunger and no-thirst drugs (for they are drugs rather than foods), I understand, include in their composition a sweet gum and a cheese found among barbarian peoples, and a great many seeds of a sort hard to procure. How, then, can we concede to Hesiod his

Rudder on high in the smoke

suspended, and

All the labours of oxen and stout-toiling mules be abolished, if there is to be need of all this preparation? I am surprised at your friend from abroad, Solon, if, when he was recently carrying out his great purification for the people of Delos, he did not note the memorials and examples of the earliest forms of food being brought into the temple there, including, among other

° Does Plutarch connect Epimenides with the purification of Delos by Peisistratus (Herodotus, i. 67; Thucydides iii. 107)?
(158) ευτελῶν καὶ αὐτοφυῶν μαλάχην καὶ ἄνθερικον, ὅν εἰκός ἐστι καὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον προξενεῖν ἧμιν τὴν λιτότητα καὶ τὴν ἀφέλειαν."

"Ου ταῦτ'," ἕφη, "μόνον," ὁ Ἀνάχαρας, "ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς υγίειαν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τῶν λαχάνων ἐκάτερον ἐπαινεῖται."

Καὶ ὁ Κλεόδωρος "ὀρθῶς," ἕφη, "λέγεις. Ιατρικὸς γὰρ Ἡσίοδος, ὥς ἃ δῆλος ἐστιν οὐκ Β ἀμελῶς οὐδ' ἀπείρας περὶ διαίτης καὶ κράσεως οἶνου καὶ ἄρετής ὦδατος καὶ λουτροῦ καὶ γυναικῶν διαλεγόμενος καὶ συνυπότης καὶ βρεφῶν καθίσεως. ἀλλ' Ἡσίοδον μὲν ἔμοι δοκεῖ δι-καίοτερον Αἴσωπος αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνει μαθητὴν ἢ Ἐπιμενίδης τούτῳ γὰρ ἄρχην τῆς καλῆς ταύτης καὶ ποικίλης καὶ πολυγλώσσου σοφίας ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἁγδόνα λόγος τοῦ ἱέρακος παρέσχηκεν. ἔγω δ' ἂν ἢδέως ἀκούσαμι Σόλωνος εἰκός γὰρ αὐτὸν πεπύθαι, πολὺν χρόνον Ἀθηνησὶ Ἐπιμενίδη ὑγγενόμενον, ὃ τι δὴ παθῶν ἢ σοφιζόμενος ἐπὶ τοιαύτην ἥλθε διάστατον."

15. Καὶ ὁ Σόλων ἔφη "τί δὲ τούτ', ἑκείνον C ἐρωτῶν ἔδει; δῆλον γὰρ ἢν ὅτι τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ κρατιστοῦ δεύτερον ἐστὶ τὸ δεῖσθαι τροφῆς βραχυτάτης. ἢ τὸ μεγίστον οὐ δοκεῖ τὸ μηδ' ὅλως τροφῆς δεῖσθαι;"

"Οὐδαμῶς," ὁ Κλεόδωρος, "ἔμουγ'," ἔπευ, "εἰ δὲ τὸ φανόμενον εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα παρα-

1 ὥσ ἃν Reiske: ὃς some mss.
inexpensive and self-propagated foods, mallow and asphodel, whose plainness and simplicity it is most likely that Hesiod recommends to us."

"Not merely that," said Anacharsis, "but both are commended as herbs that contribute to health also in greatest measure."

"You are quite right," said Cleodorus; "for it is clear that Hesiod has knowledge of medicine, since there is no lack of attention or experience shown in what he has to say about the daily course of life, mixing wine, the great value of water, bathing, women, the proper time for intercourse, and the way in which infants should sit. But it seems to me that Aesop with better right than Epimenides can declare himself the pupil of Hesiod. For the words of the hawk to the nightingale first suggested to Aesop the idea of this beautiful and ingenious wisdom uttered by many different tongues. But I should be glad to listen to Solon; for it is likely that he, having been associated with Epimenides for a long time at Athens, has learned what experience of his or what sophistical argument induced him to resort to such a course of living."

15. Solon said, "What need was there to ask him this? For it is plain that the next best thing to the greatest and highest of all good is to require the minimum amount of food; or is it not the general opinion that the greatest good is to require no food at all?"

"Not mine by any means," said Cleodorus, "if I must tell what lies in my mind, especially as a table

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*Cf. Plutarch's Life of Solon, chap. xii. (p. 84 c).*

*Cf. Xenophon, Memorabilia, i. 6. 10.*
(158) κείμενης τραπέζης, ἣν ἀναρκοῦν αἱρομένης τροφής φιλίων θεῶν βωμόν οὔσαν καὶ ξενίων. ὥς δὲ Θαλῆς λέγει τῆς γῆς ἀναρκείους σύγχυσιν τὸν ὅλων έξειν κόσμον, οὕτως οἶκου διάλυσις 1 ἐστιν. συναναφείται γάρ αὐτή πῦρ ἑστιόυχον ἐστίν κρατήρες ὑποδοχαὶ ξενισμοὶ, φιλανθρωπίτατα καὶ πρῶτα κοινωνήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μάλλον δὲ D σύμπασις ὁ βίος, εἰ γε 2 διαγωγή τῆς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου πράξεων ἐχουσα διεξοδον, ὥν ἡ τῆς τροφῆς χρεία καὶ παρασκευὴ τάς πλείοτας παρακαλεῖ. δεινὸν μὲν οὖν, ὥ ἐταίρε, καὶ τὸ γεωργίας αὐτής 3. δι- ολλυμένη γάρ αὕθις ἀπολείπει γῆν ἢμῖν ἁμορφὸν καὶ ἀκάθαρτον, ἔλης ἀκάρπου καὶ βενμάτων πλημ- μελῶς φερομένων ὑπ’ ἀργίας ἀνάπλεων. συναπόλ- λυσι δὲ καὶ τέχνας πάσας καὶ ἐργασίας, ὥν ἔξαρχός ἐστὶ καὶ παρέχει βάσιν πάσιν καὶ ὑλήν, καὶ τὸ Ε μηδὲν εἴσι, ταύτης ἐκποδῶν γενομένης. κατα- λυοῦσι δὲ καὶ τιμαὶ θεῶν, Ἑλίῳ μὲν 5 μικράν, ἐτί δ’ ἐλάττων Σελήνη χάριν αὐγῆς μόνον καὶ ἀλέας ἀνθρώπων ἐχόντων. ὀμβρώ δὲ Διὸ καὶ προηροσία Δήμητρι καὶ φυταλμῷ Ποσειδῶν ποῦ βωμός ἐστιν, ποῦ δὲ θυσία; πῶς δὲ χριστῆς ὁ Διόνυσος, εἰ δεησόμεθα μηδένος ὃν δίδωσι; τί δὲ θύσιμεν ἡ σπείρωμεν; τίνος δ’ ἀπαρξόμεθα; πάντα γάρ

1 Reiske would insert ἡ τροφῆς ἀναλείψις after διάλυσις.
2 el γε Χυλανδερ: εἰ τε.
3 αὐτής Π. Πεταβίου, Τίκκερ, Ηαρτμάν, καὶ Φ.Β., all independently!: αὐτή.
4 δὲ added by Meziriacus.
5 μὲν idem: δὲ.


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stands here now, which they do away with when food is done away with, and it is an altar of the gods of friendship and hospitality. And as Thales says that, if the earth be done away with, confusion will possess the universe, so this is the dissolution of the household. For when the table is done away with, there go with it all these other things: the altar fire on the hearth, the hearth itself, wine-bowls, all entertainment and hospitality,—the most humane and the first acts of communion between man and man; rather is all real living abolished, if so be that living is a spending of time by man which involves carrying on a series of activities, most of which are called for by the need of food and its procurement. And a dreadful situation ensues, my friend, regarding agriculture itself. For let agriculture be destroyed, and it leaves us our earth again unsightly and unclean, filled with unfruitful forests and with streams sweeping on unchecked, all owing to man's inaction. And with the destruction of agriculture goes also the destruction of all arts and crafts which she initiates, and for which she supplies the basis and the material; and these all come to naught if she vanishes from the earth. Abolished too are the honours paid to the gods, since men will have but little gratitude to the Sun, and still less to the Moon, for merely light and warmth. Where will there be an altar or where a sacrifice offered to Zeus who sends the rain, or to Demeter who initiates the ploughing, or to Poseidon who watches over the tender crops? How shall Dionysus be the giver of delights, if we shall require none of the gifts which he gives? What shall we offer as a sacrifice or libation, and what shall we dedicate as first-fruits? All this means the over-
ταύτα τῶν μεγίστων ἀνατροπῆς καὶ σύγχυσιν ἔχει πραγμάτων. ἤδονής δὲ πάσης μὲν περιέχεσθαι καὶ πάντως ἀλόγιστον ἔστι, πάσαν δὲ φεύγειν καὶ πάντως ἀναίσθητον. τὴν μὲν οὖν ψυχήν ἔτερας 

Καὶ ἂν εὐσεβήσης ἐννοεῖν, τῷ δὲ σώματι λαβεῖν ἤδονήν τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τρέφεσθαι δικαιοτέραν όυκ ἔστιν εὐρεῖν, ὅπερ οὐδένα λέληθεν ἀνθρώπων. ταύτην γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ θέμενοι κοινωνούσιν ἀλλήλους δείπνων καὶ τραπέζης, ἀφροδίσιών δὲ νύκτα καὶ πολὺ προβάλλονται σκότος, ἡγούμενοι ταύτης τὸ κοινωνεῖν ἀναίσθητον εἶναι καὶ θηριώδες, ὥς τὸ μή κοινωνεῖν ἑκείνης." 

Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ἐγώ τοῦ Κλεοδώρου διαλυόντος, "ἐκείνοι δ’ οὐ λέγεις," εἶπον, "ὅτι καὶ τὸν ὑπνον ἄμα τῇ τροφῇ συνεκβάλλομεν. ὑπνον δὲ μὴ ὄντος οὖν" ὀνειρός ἔστιν, ἀλλ’ οἶχεται τὸ προσβύτατον ἡμῶν μαντεῖον. ἔσται δὲ μονοειδῆς ὁ βίος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ μάτην τὸ σῶμα περικείεσται τῇ ψυχῇ. τὰ πλείοντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ κυριώτατα τῶν μερῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τροφὴν ὀργανὰ παρεσκεύασται, γλώττα καὶ ὠδοντες καὶ στόμαχος καὶ ἡπαρ. ἀργοὺν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔστιν οὐδὲ πρὸς ἀλλήν συντεταγμένον χρείαν. ὥσθ’ ὁ μὴ δεόμενος τροφῆς οὐδὲ σώματος δείται. τούτῳ δ’ ἦν αὖ τὸν αὐτοῦ μὴ δείσαις: ἡν σώματι γὰρ ἡμῶν ἔκαστος. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν," ἐφην ἐγώ, “ταύτας τῇ γαστρὶ συμβόλας εἰσφέρομεν. εἰ δὲ Σόλων ἥ τις ἀλλος τι κατηγορεῖ, ἀκουσόμεθα.”

1 ταύτην Turnebus and Vulcobius: ἦν. 

2 δὲ νύκτα Xylander: δεκτὰ. 

3 ἦν αὖ τὸ F.C.B.: ἦν αὖτο or αὐτὸν ἦν. 

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* Cf. Moralia, 654 d and 1089 a.
turning and confusion of our highest concerns. To cling to every form of pleasure is utterly irrational, but to avoid every form of pleasure is utterly insensate. Let it be granted that there exist some other superior pleasures for the soul to enjoy, yet it is not possible to discover a way for the body to attain a pleasure more justifiable than that which comes from eating and drinking, and this is a fact which no man can have failed to observe; for this pleasure men put forward openly before all, and share together banquets and table, whereas their carnal delights they veil behind the screen of night and deep darkness, feeling that to share this pleasure openly is shameless and bestial, as it is also not to share the other."

I took up the conversation as Cleodorus left off, and said, "But there is another point you do not mention, that we banish sleep along with food; and with no sleep there can be no dream, and our most ancient and respected form of divination is gone for ever. Life will have a monotonous sameness, and we might say that the encasement of the soul in the body will lack all purpose and effect. The most, and the most important, of the bodily organs, tongue, teeth, stomach, and liver, are provided as instruments of nutrition, no one of them is inactive, nor is it framed for any other form of usefulness. So he who has no need of food has no need of a body either; and that again would mean having no need of himself! For it is with a body that each one of us exists. This then," said I, "makes up the contributions which we offer to the belly; and if Solon or anybody else desires to impeach them in any way, we will listen."
B 16. "Πάντα μὲν οὖν," ἐφή ὁ Σόλων, "μὴ καὶ (159) τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων ἀκριτάτεροι φανώμεν, οἱ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνατέμνοντες ἐδειξαν τῷ ἥλιῳ, εἰτ᾽ αὖ τὰ μὲν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν κατέβαλον, τοῦ δ᾽ ἄλλου σώματος ὡς ἡδη καθαροῦ γεγονότος ἐπιμέλονταν. τῷ γὰρ ὑπ᾽ τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ μίασμα τῆς σαρκός ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ τάρταρος ὡς ἐν "Αἴδου, δεινῶν τινῶν πενήματος καὶ πνεύματος ὁμοῦ καὶ πυρὸς συμπεριφερόμενο καὶ νεκρῶν περὶ πλεωσ. ζῶν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπ᾽ οὐδένος τρέφεται ζῶντος, ἀλλὰ θανατοῦντες τὰ ἔμψυχα, καὶ τὰ φυόμενα, τὰ τρέφεσθαι καὶ αὐξεῖσθαι μετέχοντα τοῦ ζην, ἀπολλύντες ἄνιν

C κούμεν. ἀπόλλυται γὰρ εἰς οὐ πέφυκε τὸ μεταβάλλον εἰς ἄλλο, καὶ πάσαν φθείρεται φθοράν, ὅπως ἂν θατέρου τροφὴ γένοιτο. τὸ δ᾽ ἀπέχεσθαι σαρκῶν ἐδωδῆς, ὥσπερ Ὁρφέα τὸν παλαιὸν ἱστοροῦσι, σόφισμα μᾶλλον ἢ φυγὴ τῶν περὶ τὴν τροφῆν ἄδυκημάτων ἐστὶ. φυγὴ δὲ μία καὶ καθαρμὸς εἰς δικαιοσύνην τέλειος ² αὐτάρκη καὶ ἀπροσδέᾳ γενέσθαι. ὥ δ᾽ ἄνευ κακώσεως ἔτέρου τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀμίχανον ὁ θεός πεποίηκε, τούτῳ τῷ φύσιν ἀρχῇ ἀδικίας προστεθεικεν. ἄρ᾽ οὖν οὐκ ἄξιον, ὦ φίλε, συνεκτεινέ ἄδικα κολλάν καὶ στόμαχον καὶ ἡπαρ, ὁ καλὸν μὲν οὐδένος αἴσθησιν

D ἡμῖν οὖν ὑπεξίν εὐδίδωσι, σκευίωσι δὲ μαγειρικοῖς,

¹ αὖ τὰ F.C.B.: αὐτὰ.
² οὐδεὶς added by Reiske, perhaps unnecessarily.
³ τέλειος Reiske: τέλειοι.

* This somewhat exaggerated description of the digestive tract is probably influenced by Homer, Od. x. 513 and ix. 157, and Il. i. 52 and viii. 13.

* Cf. Lucretius, De rerum natura, iii. 701 ff.
16. "Certainly," said Solon, "let us not show ourselves to be less discriminating than the Egyptians, who cut open the dead body and expose it to the sun, and then cast certain parts of it into the river, and perform their offices on the rest of the body, feeling that this part has now at last been made clean. For this, in truth, it is which constitutes the pollution of our flesh and its bowels of Hell, as it were, teeming with frightful streams and wind, intermingled with burning fire and corpses. ¹ For no living man feeds upon another living creature; nay, we put to death the animate creatures and destroy these things that grow in the ground, which also are partakers in life, in that they absorb food, and increase in size; and herein we do wrong. For anything that is changed from what it was by nature into something else is destroyed, and it undergoes utter corruption that it may become the food of another.² But to refrain entirely from eating meat, as they record of Orpheus ³ of old, is rather a quibble than a way of avoiding wrong in regard to food. The one way of avoidance and of keeping oneself pure, from the point of view of righteousness, is to become sufficient unto oneself and to need nothing from any other source. But in the case of man or beast for whom God has made his own secure existence impossible without his doing injury to another, it may be said that in the nature which God has inflicted upon him lies the source of wrong. Would it not, then, be right and fair, my friend, in order to cut out injustice, to cut out also bowels and stomach and liver, which afford us no perception or craving for anything noble, but are

¹ Orpheus is said to have abstained from animal food (Euripides, Hippolytus, 992; Plato, Laws, p. 782 c).
(159) oïa kopídes kai lébëtes, tā dē µυλωθρικοῖς kai
kamínous kai φυραµούχοις kai µακτηρίοις έοικεν;
ἀτεχνώς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν ἴδοι τις ἀν ὀσπερ ἐν µυ-
λώνι τῷ σώματι τὴν ψυχήν ἐγκεκαλυµµένην 2 ἀδί
περὶ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς 3 χρείαν κυκλοοσαν, ὀσπερ
ἀµέλει καὶ ήµεῖς ἀρτὶ µὲν οὕθ' ἐωρώµεν ἀλλήλους
οὕτ' ἥκοµοµεν, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς ἐγκεκυφῶς ἐδούλευε
τῇ περὶ τὴν τροφήν χρεία. νυνὶ δ' ἐπαρθεισῶν τῶν
τραπεζῶν ἐλεύθεροι γεγονότες ὡς ὀρᾶς, ἐστεφανω-
µένοι περὶ λόγους διατριβοµένων καὶ ἀλλήλους σύν.
Ε ἐσμὲν καὶ σχολὴν ἁγοµέν, εἰς τὸ µὴ δεῖσθαι τροφῆς
ἐληλυθότες. ἄρ' οὖν, ἀνπερ ἢ νῦν οὐκα περὶ ἡµᾶς
ἔξις ἀπαυστὸς διαµένη παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, οὐκ
ἀεὶ σχολὴν ἔξοµεν ἀλλήλους συνείναι, µὴ δεδιότες
πενιάν µηδ' εἰδότες πλοῦτον; ὁ γὰρ τῶν περιττῶν
ζηλὸς εὐθὺς ἀκολουθεῖ καὶ συνοικίζεται τῇ χρεία
τῶν ἀναγκαίων.

"Ἀλλ' οἴεται δεῖν τροφῆν εἶναι Κλεόδωρος, ὅπως
τράπεζαι καὶ κρατῆρες ὤσι καὶ Δήµητρι 4 καὶ
Κόρη θυσίαι. 5 ἔτερος δὲ τὶς ἄξιοντω µάχας εἶναι
καὶ πόλεµον, ὅν καὶ τείχη καὶ νεωσούκος καὶ
Γ ὀπλοθήκας ἔχοµεν καὶ θύµων ἑκατοµφόνια, καθ-
ἀπερ φασὶ νόµον εἶναι Μεσσηνίος. ἀλλ' δὲ πρὸς

1 φυραµούχοις F.C.B.: φρεσκούχοις.
2 ἐγκεκαλυµµένην ἐγκεκληµµένη (better -κλεισ-) Tucker, but
 cf. 159 A.
3 τροφῆς Amyot: ψυχῆς.
4 ὦσι καὶ Δήµητρι Hercher: ὡσιν αἰ δήµητρι.
5 θυσια Larsen: θύονται (θύεται) ἄτι, ὡρ θύον ἄτι.

a The explanation may be found in Pausanias, iv. 19; 422
like cooking utensils, such as choppers and kettles, and, in another respect, like a baker's outfit, ovens and dough-containers and kneading-bowls? Indeed, in the case of most people, one can see that their soul is absolutely confined in the darkness of the body as in a mill, making its endless rounds in its concern over its need of food; just as we ourselves, only a few minutes ago, as a matter of course, neither saw nor listened to one another, but each one was bending down, enslaved to his need of food. But now that the tables have been removed, we have, as you see, been made free, and, with garlands on, we are spending our time in conversation and in the enjoyment of one another's society, and we have the leisure to do this now that we have come to require no more food for a time. Assuming, then, that the state in which we find ourselves at the present moment will persist without interruption throughout our whole life, shall we not always have leisure to enjoy one another's society, having no fear of poverty and no knowledge of what wealth is? For craving for the superfluous follows close upon the use of necessities, and soon becomes a settled habit.

"But Cleodorus imagines that there ought to be food, so that there may be tables and wine-bowls and sacrifices to Demeter and the Daughter. Then let the next man argue that it is but right and proper that there be battles and war, so that we may have fortifications and dockyards and arsenals, and may offer sacrifice to celebrate the slaying of an hundred foemen, as they say is the custom among the Messenians. Still another man, I imagine, may enter-

ef. also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 660 r, and *Life of Romulus*, chap. xxv. (p. 33 d).
πάντες οἱ τρεφόμενοι διαίταν, οὐχ ὡς ἤδυ τι καὶ κεχαρισμένου ἄλλ᾿ ὡς ἀναγκαῖον τοῦτο τῇ φύσει πράττοντες. ἐπεὶ λύτας γε3 πλείονας ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς τῶν ἡδονῶν γυνομένας καταρυθμίσας, μάλλον δ᾿ ἢ μὲν ἡδωνή καὶ τῶν ἔχει βραazure ὑν ἔν τῷ σώματι καὶ χρόνων οὐ πολὺν ἢ δὲ περὶ τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῆς ἀσχολία καὶ δυσχέρεια τί δει λέγειν ὅσων αἰσχρῶν καὶ ὁδυνηρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐμπίπτειν; οἴμαι γὰρ εἰς τοσαῦτα βλέπωντα τὸν Ὥμηρον ἀποδείξει κεχρήσθαι περὶ θεῶν τοῦ μὴ ἀποθνήσκειν τῷ μὴ τρέφεσθαι

οὐ γὰρ σύτων ἔδουσ᾿, οὐ πίνουσ᾿ αἴθοπα οἶνον.
τούνεκ’ ἀναίμονες εἰσὶ καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται,

Β ὅσ μὴ μόνον τοῦ ζήν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀποθνήσκειν τὴν τροφὴν ἐφόδιον οὐσαν. ἐκ ταύτης γὰρ αἱ νόσοι, συντρεφόμεναι4 τοῖς σώμασιν οὐκ ἐλαττον ἐνίδειος κακῶν ἔχουσι τὴν πλήρωσιν; πολλάκις δὲ καὶ μεῖζον ἐστίν ἕργον τοῦ πορίσαι τροφὴν καὶ συν-

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1. ἀπόθεσις Wytenbach: ἀπόθεσις.
2. διαίταν] καὶ διαίταν Duebner.
3. γε Wytenbach: τε.
4. συντρεφόμεναι] συντρέφονται Larsen, but it would be better to supply (if necessary) some verb like γίγνονται after νόσοι.

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a. P. v. 341.
b. Cf. Moralia, 731 D, where the same idea is put in different words.

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tain a violent hatred against health; for it will be a terrible thing if nobody is ill, and there is no longer any use for a soft bed or couch, and we shall not offer sacrifice to Asclepius or the averting deities, and the profession of medicine together with its numerous instruments and remedies shall be consigned to inglorious desuetude and contempt. Yet, what difference is there between this sort of reasoning and the other? The fact is that food is taken as a remedy for hunger, and all who use food in a prescribed way are said to be giving themselves treatment, not with the thought they are doing something pleasant and grateful, but that this is necessary to comply with Nature's imperative demand. Indeed, it is possible to enumerate more pains than pleasures derived from food; or rather may it be said that the pleasure affects but a very limited area in the body, and lasts for no long time; but as for the ugly and painful experiences crowded upon us by the bother and discomfort which wait upon digestion, what need to tell their number? I think that Homer had their very number in view when, in the case of the gods, he finds an argument to prove that they do not die in the fact that they do not live by food:

Since they eat no bread and drink no wine brightly sparkling,
Therefore their bodies are bloodless, and they are called the Immortals.

He intimates by this that food is not only an element conducive to life, but that it is also conducive to death. For it is from this source that diseases come, thriving on the very same food as men's bodies, which find no less ill in fulness than in fasting. For oftentimes it is harder work to use up and again to
(160) ἀγαγεῖν τὸ καταναλώσαι καὶ διαφορῆςαὶ πάλιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα παραγενομένην. ἀλλ' ὦσπερ ἄν δια-
ποροῖεν αἰ Δανάδες τίνα βίον βιώσονται καὶ τί πράξουσιν ἀπαλαγείσαι τῆς περὶ τὸν πίθον 
λατρείας καὶ πληρώσεως, οὕτω διαποροῦμεν ἡμεῖς, 
C εἰ γένοιτο παύσασθαι φοροῦντας εἰς τὴν σάρκα 
τὴν ἀτρυπον ἐκ γῆς ἁμα καὶ θαλάττης τοσαῦτα, τί 
πράξομεν ἀπερίᾳ τῶν καλῶν τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀναγ-
καίοις στέργοντες βίον. ὦσπερ οὖν οἱ δουλευ-
σαντες, ὅταν ἐλευθερωθῶσιν, ὁ πᾶλαι τοῖς δεσπό-
tαις ἐπραττον ὑπηρετοῦντες, ταῦτα πράττουσιν 
αὐτοῖς καὶ δι' αὐτούς, οὕτως ἡ ψυχὴ νῦν μὲν 
τρέφει τὸ σῶμα πολλοῖς πόνοις καὶ ἀσχολίαις, εἰ 
δ' ἀπαλαγείη τῆς λατρείας, αὐτὴν δὴποτεν 
ἐλευθέραν γενομένην θρέφει καὶ βιώσεται, εἰς 
αὐτὴν ὀρῶσα καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν, οὐδενὸς περι-
στῶντος οὐδ' ἀπάγοντος.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ῥηθέντα περὶ τροφῆς, ὡς Νίκαρχε, 
ταῦτ' ἦν.

17. "Ετι δὲ τοῦ Σόλωνος λέγοντος εἰςήλθε 
Γόργος ὁ Περιάνδρος ἀδελφός· ἐτύγχανε γὰρ εἰς 
D Ταῖναρον ἀπεσταλμένος ἐκ τυχών χρησμῶν, τῷ 
Ποσειδώνι θυσίαν καὶ θεωρίαν ἀπάγων. ἀσπασ-
μένων δ' αὐτῶν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦ Περιάνδρου προσαγα-
γομένου καὶ φιλήσαντος καθίσας παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπὶ 
tῆς κλήσης ἀπῆγγελεν ἀττα δὴ πρὸς μόνον ἐκεῖνον, 
ὁ δ' ἱκραῖο, πολλὰ πάσχοντι πρὸς τὸν λόγον 
ὅμοιος ὡν. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάθομεν τὰ δ' ἀγανακ-
tῶν ἑφαίνετο, πολλάκις δ' ἀπιστῶν, εἰταθαυμάζων.

1 ἀν Larsen: el.

a Cf. Porphyry, De abstinentia, iii. 27.
Dinner of the Seven Wise Men, 160

distribute food, after it has been taken into the body, than it was to procure it and get it together in the first place. But just as the Danaids would be at a loss to know what kind of life and occupation they should follow if they should be relieved of their drudgery in trying to fill the great jar, so we are at a loss to know, if perchance we should have the opportunity to cease from heaping into this relentless flesh of ours all the multitudinous products of land and sea, what we shall do, since, owing to lack of acquaintance with noble things, we now content ourselves with the life conditioned on necessities. Just as men who have been slaves, when they are set free, do for themselves on their own account those very things which they used to do in service to their masters, so the soul now supports the body with much toil and trouble, but if it be relieved of its drudgery, it will quite naturally maintain itself in its new freedom and live with an eye to itself and the truth, since there will be nothing to distract or divert it.

This then, Nicarchus, is what was said on the subject of food.

17. While Solon was still speaking, Gorgus, Periander's brother, came in; for it happened that, in consequence of certain oracles, he had been sent to Taenarum, in charge of a sacred mission to offer due sacrifice to Poseidon. After we had greeted him, and Periander had embraced and kissed him, Gorgus sat down beside his brother on the couch, and gave him a report intended apparently for him alone, and he, as he listened, seemed much affected at the story; for he appeared in some ways troubled, in some ways indignant, and oftentimes incredulous,
(160) τέλος δὲ γελάσας πρὸς ἡμᾶς "βούλομαι μεν," ἔφη, "πρὸς τὸ παρόν φράσαι τὸ προσηγγελμένον. Εἰ δὲ γένοι δ' ἀκούσας Θαλέω ποτ' εἰπόντος ὅτι δὲι τὰ μὲν εἰκότα λέγειν, τὰ δ' ἀμήχανα σωπᾶν.

'Ὑπολαβὼν οὖν ὁ Βίας "ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτ';" ἔφη, "Θαλέω τὸ σοφὸν ἔστιν, ὅτι δὲι τοῖς μὲν ἐχθροῖς καὶ περὶ τῶν πιστῶν ἀπιστεῖν, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ τὰ ἀπίστα πιστεύειν, ἐχθροὺς μὲν, ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι, τοὺς πονηροὺς καὶ ἀνοητοὺς, φίλους δὲ τοὺς χρήστοις καὶ φρονίμους αὐτοῦ καλοῦντος. οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "λεκτέον εἰς ἀπαντας, ὁ Γόργης, μάλλον δ' ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τοὺς νέους τούτους διθυράμβους ὑπερφθεγγόμενον διὸ ἦκεις λόγον ἡμῖν κομίζων."

18. Ἐφ' τοίνυν Γόργος ὅτι, τῆς θυσίας ἔφ' ἡμέρας τρείς συντελεσθεὶσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ Γ τελευταίᾳ πανυχίδος οὔσης καὶ χορείας τινὸς καὶ παιδίας παρὰ τὸν αἰγιαλόν, ἡ μὲν σελήνη κατέλαμπεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, οὐκ ὀντος δὲ πνεύματος ἀλλὰ νυνεμίας καὶ γαλήνης, πόρρωθεν ἀφεωράτο φρίκη κατιοῦσα παρὰ τὴν ἄκραν, ἄφρον τινα καὶ ψόφον ἄγουσα τῷ ροθῷ περὶ αὐτήν πολύν, ὥστε πάντας ἔπὶ τὸν τόπον οἱ προσώκελλε ἐκαταδραμεῖν θαυμάζαντας. πρὶν δ' εἰκάσαι τὸ προσφερόμενον ὑπὸ τάχος, δελφῖνες ὄφθησαν, οἱ μὲν ἀθρόοι πέριξ κυκλοῦντες, οἱ δ' ὑφηγούμενοι τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ λειτατον, ἀλλοι δ' ἐξόπισθεν, οἶον περιέποντες.
and then again amazed. Finally with a laugh he said to us, "In the circumstances I should like to tell the news which I have just heard, but I hesitate, since I heard Thales say once that what is probable one should tell, but what is impossible one should shroud in silence."

Thereupon Bias, interrupting, said, "But Thales is responsible also for this sage remark, that one should not believe enemies even about things believable, and should believe friends even about things unbelievable; the name 'enemies' he assigned, I think, to the wicked and foolish, and 'friends' to the good and sensible. And so, Gorgus," he continued, "it should be told to all, or rather, to compete with those newly invented dithyrambs; there should be heard the stronger notes of the story which your arrival has brought to us."

18. Gorgus then told us that his offering of the sacrifice had taken three days, and on the last day there was a dance and merry-making, lasting the whole night long, down by the shore. The moon was shining bright upon the sea; there was no wind, but a perfect calm and stillness, when, afar off, was seen a ripple coming towards land close by the promontory, attended by some foam and much noise from its rapid movement, so that they all ran down in amazement to the place where it was coming to shore. Before they could guess what was bearing down upon them so rapidly, dolphins were seen, some forming a dense encircling line, others leading the way to the smoothest part of the shore, and still others behind, forming, as it were, a rear-guard. In their midst,

* Probably a covert reference to Arion as the inventor of the dithyramb (Herodotus, i. 23).
161 ἐν μέσῳ δ' ἀνέίχεν ὑπὲρ τὴς θαλάττης ὄγκος ἀ- σαφῆς καὶ ἄσημος ὄχουμένου σώματος, μέχρι οὗ συναγαγόντες εἰς ταῦτο καὶ συνεποκελλαντες ἐξ- ἐθηκαν ἐπὶ γῆν ἀνθρωπον ἐμπυνυν καὶ κινούμενον, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀναφερόμενοι μᾶλ- λον ἢ πρὸτερον εξῆλλοντο, παίζοντες ύφ' ἡδονῆς τινος ὡς έουκε καὶ σκιρτῶντες. "ἡμῶν δ̣" ο̣ Γόργος ἐφη, "πολλοὶ μὲν διαταραχθέντες ἐφυγον ἀπὸ τῆς θαλάττης, ὀλγοὶ δὲ μετ' ἐμοῖ δαρῆσαντες προσελθείν εγνώρισαν Ἄριων τὸν κιθαριδόν, Β αὐτὸν τοῦνομα φθεγγόμενον ἐαυτοῦ, καὶ τῇ στολῇ καταφανῇ γενόμενον. τὸν γὰρ ἐναγώνιον ἐπήγαγαν ἀμπεχόμενος κόσμον, ὦ κιθαριδῶν ἐχρήσατο.

"Κομίσαντες οὖν ἐπὶ σκηνῆν αὐτῶν, ὡς οὐδὲν εἶχε κακὸν ἀλλ' ἦ διὰ τάχος καὶ ῥοῖζον ἐφαίνετο τῆς φορᾶς ἐκλειμένος καὶ κεκμηκώς, ἥκουσαν μὲν ἄριστον ἀπασι πλὴν ἡμῶν τῶν θεασάμενον τὸ τέλος. ἔλεγε γὰρ Ἄριων ὡς πάλαι μὲν ἐγνωκός ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἀπαίρεων, Περιάνδρου δὲ γράφαντο αὐτῷ προθυμότερος γενόμενος ὅλκάδος Κορυθιάς παραθανείης εὐθὺς ἐπιβὰς ἀναχθείη, μετρίῳ δὲ πνεύματi χρωμένων ἡμέας τρεῖς ἀυθαιρετοι τοὺς C ναύτας ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀνελείν αὐτῶν, εἴτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κυβερνήτου πῦθοι τρόφης μηνύσαντος ὡς τῇ νυκτὶ τούτῳ δράν αὐτοὺς εἴη δεδογμένον. ἔρημος οὖν ὄν ψυχεῖας καὶ ἀπορῶν ὀρμή των χρήσατο δαιμονίω τὸ μὲν σῶμα κοσμῆσαι καὶ
uplifted above the sea, was a mass like a man’s body being borne along, but indistinct and ill-defined, until the dolphins drew near together, and with one accord came close to the shore, and deposited on land a human being, in whom was still the breath of life and power to move; then they themselves put forth again towards the promontory leaping even higher than before, and sporting and frolicking apparently for joy. “Many of us,” continued Gorgus, “were panic-stricken, and fled from the sea-shore, but a few, including myself, grew bold enough to draw near, and they recognized Arion the harper, who pronounced his own name himself, and was easily recognizable by his dress; for he happened to be clad in the ceremonial robes which he had worn when he played and sang. “We accordingly conducted him to a tent, since there was really nothing the matter with him, save that he seemed somewhat unstrung and wearied by the swiftness and rush of his ride, and we heard from him a story, incredible to all men except to us who with our own eyes had seen its conclusion. Arion said that some time ago he had resolved to leave Italy, and the receipt of a letter from Periander had only stimulated his desire the more, and when a Corinthian merchant-vessel appeared there, he had at once embarked and sailed away from that land. For three days they were favoured by a moderate breeze, and there came over Arion the feeling that the sailors were plotting to make away with him, and later he learned from the pilot, who secretly gave him the information, that they were resolved to do the deed that night. Helpless and at his wits’ end, he put into execution an impulse, divinely inspired, to adorn
καταστάσις παρὰ τὸν τοῖχον ἐν πρώμη καὶ τινὰ θεῶν πελαγίων ἀνάκλησιν προανακρουσάμενος ἢδοι τὸν νόμον. καὶ ὅσον οὕτω μεσοῦντος αὐτοῦ κατα-
δύοτο μὲν ὁ ἦλιος εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀναφαίνοιτο ἡ Πελοπόννησος. οὐκέτ᾽ οὖν τῶν ναυτῶν τὴν νῦκτα περιμενόντων ἄλλα χωροῦντων ἐπὶ τὸν φόνον, ἰδὼν ἕισθη γεγυμνωμένα καὶ παρακαλυπτό-
μενον ἦδο τὸν κυβερνήτην, ἀναδραμὼν Ῥίμειεν ἐαυτὸν ὡς δυνατὸν ἤν μᾶλστα πόρρω τῆς ὀλκάδος. πρὶν δ᾽ ὅλον καταδύναι τὸ σῶμα δελφίνων ὑποδρα-
μόντων ἀναφέροιτο, μεστὸς ἢν ἀπορίας καὶ ἀγνοίας καὶ παραχή τὸ πρῶτον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ῥαστώνυ τῆς ὀχήσεως ἦν, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐώρα ἄθροισμένους

Επεί δὲ αὐτῶν εὐμενῶς καὶ διαδεχομένους ὡς ἀνα-
καίον ἐν μέρει λευτούργημα καὶ προσήκον πᾶσιν, ἡ δ᾽ ὅλκας ἀπολειφθεῖσα πόρρω τοῦ τάχους αἰ-
σθησιν παρέχει, μήτε τοσοῦτον ἔφη δέοις πρὸς
θάνατον αὐτῷ μήτ᾽ ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ ἤν ὅσον φιλο-
τιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν, ὡς θεοφιλῆς ἀνὴρ φανείς καὶ λάβοι περὶ θεῶν δόξαν βέβαιον. ἀμα δὲ καθορῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀστέρων περὶπλευρι
καὶ τὴν σελήνην ἀνίσχουσαν εὐφεγγὴ καὶ καθαράν,

1 ἐπάσαι F.C.B. (cf. e.g. Moralia, 347 e): εξάσαι.
his person, and to take for his shroud, while he was still living, the elaborate attire which he wore at competitions, and to sing a final song to life as he ended it, and not to prove himself in this respect less generous than the swans. Accordingly he made himself ready, and, first saying that he was possessed by a desire to sing through one of his songs—the ode to Pythian Apollo—as a supplication for the safety of himself and the ship and all on board, he took his stand beside the bulwark at the stern, and, after a prelude invoking the gods of the sea, he began the ode. He had not even half finished it as the sun was sinking into the sea and the Peloponnesus becoming visible. The sailors therefore waited no longer for the night-time, but advanced to the murderous deed; whereupon Arion, seeing knives bared and the pilot already covering up his face, ran back and threw himself as far away from the ship as possible. But before his body was entirely submerged, dolphins swam beneath him, and he was borne upward, full of doubt and uncertainty and confusion at first. But when he began to feel at ease in being carried in this manner, and saw many dolphins gathering around him in a friendly way, and relieving one another as though such service in alternation were obligatory and incumbent upon all, and the sight of the ship left far behind gave a means to measure their speed, there came into his thoughts, as he said, not so much a feeling of fear in the face of death, or a desire to live, as a proud longing to be saved that he might be shown to be a man loved by the gods, and that he might gain a sure opinion regarding them. At the same time, observing that the sky was dotted with stars, and the moon was rising bright and clear,
Γ ἐστώσης δὲ πάντη τῆς θαλάττης ἀκύμονος ὦστερ τρίβον ἀνασχιζόμενον τῷ δρόμῳ, διανοεῖσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ὡς οὐκ ἔστων εἰς ὅ τῆς Δίκης ὅφθαλμός, ἀλλὰ πάσι τούτοις ἐπισκοπεῖ κύκλῳ ὅ θεὸς τὰ πραττό-

meνα περὶ γῆν τε καὶ θαλατταν. τούτως δὲ δὴ τοῖς λογισμοῖς ἔφη τὸ κάμυνον αὐτῷ καὶ βαρυνό-

-μενον ἢδη τοῦ σώματός ἀναφέρεσθαι, καὶ τέλος ἐπεὶ τῆς ἀκρας ἀπαντώσης ἀποτόμου καὶ ύψηλῆς εὐ πως φυλαξάμενοι καὶ κάμψαντες ἐν χρῶ παρενή-

χοντον' τῆς γῆς ὦστερ εἰς λιμένα σκάφως ἀσφαλῶς

162 κατάγοντες, παντάπασιν αὐθέσθαι θεοῦ κυβερνήσει 

gεγονέναι τῇ κομιδῇ.

"Ταῦθ'," ὁ Γόργος ἔφη, "τοῦ Ἀρίωνος εἰπόν-

tος, ἡρόμην αὐτὸν ὅποι τὴν ναῦν οἴεται κατασχή-

-σεω. ὁ δὲ πάντως μὲν εἰς Κόρινθον, πολὺ μεντῷ 

καθοστερεῖν αὐτὸν γὰρ ἐσπέρας ἐκπεσόντα πεντα-

κοσίων οὐ μεῦν οἴεσθαι σταδίων δρόμον κομιθῆ-

ναι, καὶ γαλήνην εὐθὺς κατασχεῖν." οὐ μὴν ἄλλῳ 

ἐαυτὸν ὁ Γόργος ἔφη πυθόμενον τοῦ τε ναυκλήρου 

τοῦνομα καὶ τοῦ κυβερνήτου καὶ τῆς νεῶς τὸ παρά-

σημον ἐκπέμψαι πλοῖα καὶ στρατιώτας ἐπὶ τὰς κα-

Β τάρσεις παραφυλάξοντας· τόν δ' Ἀρίωνα μετ' αὐτοῦ 

κομίζεν ἀποκεκρυμμένοιν, ὅπως μή προαιωθομένοι 

τὴν σωτηρίαν διαφύγονεν· ὅστως οὖν ἐοικέναι θεία 

τύχη τὸ πράγμα· παρεῖναι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀμα δεύρο 

καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι τῆς νεῶς κεκρατημένης ὑπὸ τῶν 

στρατιωτῶν συνελθθῆναι τοὺς ἐμπόρους καὶ ναῦτας.

1 παρενήχαντο Wytenbach: γὰρ ἐνήχαντο, or ἐνήχαντο παρὰ in one ms.

2 ἀσφαλῶς Reiske: ἀσφαλῆς. 3 ὅποι Hatzidakis: ὅποι.

α Possibly a reference to a line of an unknown tragedian

found in Moralia, 1124 ρ.

434
while the sea everywhere was without a wave as if a path were being opened for their course, he bethought himself that the eye of Justice is not a single eye only, but through all these eyes of hers God watches in every direction the deeds that are done here and there both on land and on the sea. By these reflections, he said, the weariness and heaviness which he was already beginning to feel in his body were relieved, and when at the last, as the jutting promontory, rugged and lofty, appeared in their path, they rounded it with great caution, and skirted close to the land as if they were bringing a boat safely into harbour, then he fully realized that his rescue had been guided by God's hand.

"When Arion had told all this," continued Gorgus, "I asked him where he thought the ship would make harbour; and he replied that it would surely come to Corinth, but its arrival would be much later; for he thought that after he had thrown himself overboard in the evening, he had been carried a distance of not less than fifty or more miles, and a calm had fallen immediately." Gorgus went on to say that he had ascertained the name of the captain and of the pilot, and the ship's emblem, and had sent out boats and soldiers to the landing-places to keep strict watch; moreover, he had brought Arion with him, carefully concealed, so that the guilty ones might not gain any premature information of his rescue from death, and make good their escape; and in fact the whole affair seemed like an event divinely directed, for his men were here just as he arrived, and he learned that the ship had been seized, and the traders and sailors arrested.
19. 'Ο μὲν οὖν Περίανδρος ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς ἐξαισθάντα τὸν Γόργον εἰς φυλακὴν ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς ἁγράς οὗ μηδεῖς αὐτοὶς πρόσεισι μηδὲ φράσει τὸν Ἀρίωνα σεσωμένον.

"Ὁ δὲ Ἀίσωπος " ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς," ἔφη, "τοὺς ἐμοὺς χλευάζετε κολοιους καὶ κόρακας εἰ διαλέγονται δελφίνες δὲ τοιαῦτα νεανιέντοι;"

Κάγω πρὸς αὐτὸν, "ἄλλο τι λέγωμεν," ἔφην. Καὶ ἦσαν τοῦτοι δὲ τῶν λόγων πιστευομένων καὶ γραφομένων παρ' ἡμῖν πλέον ἡ χίλι' ἐτη διαγέγονεν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν Ἰνοῦς καὶ Ἀθάμαντος χρόνων.

"Ο δὲ Σώλων ὑπολαβὼν " ἄλλα ταύτα μὲν, ὁ Διόκλεις, ἐγγύς θεῶν ἔστω καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ἀνθρώπινων δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου πάθος ἀκῆκοις γὰρ ἤσως τὸν λόγον."

"Ὅνε ἐγών," εἶπον.1

"Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄξιον πυθέσθαι. Μιλησίου γὰρ, ως ἔοικεν, ἀνδρός, Ὑ ξενίας ἐκοινώνει ὦ Ἡσιόδος καὶ διαίτης, ἐν Λοκρῶις, τῇ τοῦ ἔενου θυγατρὶ κρύφα συγγενομένου καὶ φωραθέντος ὑποψίαν ἔσχεν ὡς γνοὺς ἀπ' ἄρχής καὶ συνεπικρύψας τὸ ἄδικημα, μηδενὸς ὡς αὐτίως, ὃργὴς δὲ καιρῷ καὶ διαβολῆς περιπεσὼν ἄδικως. ἀπέκτειναν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ τῆς παιδικῆς ἀδελφοί περὶ τὸ Λοκρικὸν Νέμειον ἐνεδρεύσαντες, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκόλουθον, Ὑ Τρώιλος ἦν ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων εἰς τὴν ἐπιτεθη λαρνάκειον Reiske: εἴπεν.

1 a Ino also threw herself into the sea when the crazed Athamas was about to kill her, and was metamorphosed into the sea-goddess Leucothea.

b The story is referred to as early as Thucydides (iii. 96), and seems to have received some embellishments later. Of the many references to the story (which may be found in 436
19. Accordingly Periander bade Gorgus to withdraw at once, and have these men put into prison where nobody should have access to them or tell them that Arion had been rescued.

"Well! well!" said Aesop, "you all make fun of my jackdaws and crows if they talk with one another, and yet dolphins indulge in such pranks as this!"

"Let's change the subject, Aesop," said I to him; "more than a thousand years have elapsed since this dolphin story has been believed and committed to writing in Greek lands, even from the days of Ino and Athamas."

Solon here entered the conversation: "Well, Diocles, let it be granted that these things are near to the gods and far beyond us; but what happened to Hesiod is human and within our ken. Very likely you have heard the story."

"No, I have not," said I.

"Well, it is really worth hearing, and so here it is. A man from Miletus, it seems, with whom Hesiod shared lodging and entertainment in Locris, had secret relations with the daughter of the man who entertained them; and when he was detected, Hesiod fell under suspicion of having known about the misconduct from the outset, and of having helped to conceal it, although he was in no wise guilty, but only the innocent victim of a fit of anger and prejudice. For the girl's brothers killed him, lying in wait for him in the vicinity of the temple of Nemean Zeus in Locris, and with him they killed his servant whose name was Troilus. The dead bodies were

Wyttgenbach's note on the passage) perhaps the most interesting is in the Contest of Homer and Hesiod, lines 215-254 of Allen's edition (in the Oxford Classical Texts, 1912), which also assigns names to the persons concerned in it.
(162) θάλατταν ὡσθέντων τὸ μὲν τοῦ Τρωίλου, εἰς τὸν Δάφνον ποταμὸν ἔξω φορούμενον, ἑπεσχέθη περικλύστω χοιράδι μικρὸν ύπὲρ τὴν θάλατταν ἀνεχούσῃ· καὶ μέχρι νῦν Τρωίλος ἡ χοιράς καλεῖται.

Ε τοῦ δ’ Ἡσιόδου τὸν νεκρὸν εὔθὺς ἀπὸ γῆς ύπολαβοῦσα δελφίνων ἀγέλη πρὸς τὸ 'Ῥίον κατὰ τὴν Μολύκρειαν ἐκόμιζε. ἔτυγχανε δὲ Λοκροὶς ἡ τῶν 'Ῥίων καθεστῶσα θυσία καὶ πανήγυρις, ἡν ἄγουσιν ἐτὶ νῦν ἐπιφανῶς περὶ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνων. ὡς δ’ ὀφθη προσφερόμενον τὸ σῶμα, θαυμάσαντες ὡς εἰκὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν κατέδραμον, καὶ γνωρίσαντες ἐτὶ πρόσφατον τὸν νεκρὸν ἀπαντά δεύτερα τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸν φόνον ἐποιοῦντο διὰ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ Ἡσιόδου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ταχέως ἔπραξαν, εὐρύτερες τοὺς φονεῖς· αὐτοὺς τε γαρ κατεπόντισαν ζῶντας καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκαψαν. ἔτάφη δ’ δ’ Ἡσίόδος πρὸς τῷ Νεμείῳ τὸν δὲ τάφον οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ξένων οὐκ ἴσασιν, ἀλλ’ ἀποκεκρυπταὶ λεγομενοὶ ὑπ’

F Ὀρχομενίων, ὃς φασὶ, βουλομένων κατὰ χρησιμὸν ἀνελέσθαι τὰ λείψανα καὶ θάψαι παρ’ αὐτοῖς. εἰπερ οὖν οὕτως ἔχουσιν οἰκεῖως καὶ φιλανθρώπως πρὸς τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἐτὶ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστὶ τοῖς ζῶσι βοηθεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα κηληθέντας αὐλοῦς ἢ τιοι μέλεσι. τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη πάντες οἴμεν, ὅτι μουσικῆ τὰ ζῶα ταῦτα χαίρει καὶ διώκει, καὶ παρανήχεται τοὺς ἐλαυνομένους πρὸς ὧδην καὶ αὐλὸν ἐν εὐδίᾳ πορείαις τερπόμενα. χαίρει δὲ

1 κατὰ τὴν Μολύκρειαν Palmer: καὶ τὴν μολύκρειαν.

Cf. Moralia, 984 d.

These were common beliefs in ancient times as is attested by many writers. It may suffice here to refer only to Plutarch, Moralia, 704 f and 984a–985 c.
DINNER OF THE SEVEN WISE MEN, 162

shoved out into the sea, and the body of Troilus, borne out into the current of the river Daphnus, was caught on a wave-washed rock projecting a little above the sea-level; and even to this day the rock is called Troilus. The body of Hesiod, as soon as it left the land, was taken up by a company of dolphins, who conveyed it to Rhium hard by Molycreia. It happened that the Locrians’ periodic Rhian sacrifice and festal gathering was being held then, which even nowadays they celebrate in a noteworthy manner at that place. When the body was seen being carried towards them, they were naturally filled with astonishment, and ran down to the shore; recognizing the corpse, which was still fresh, they held all else to be of secondary importance in comparison with investigating the murder, on account of the repute of Hesiod. This they quickly accomplished, discovered the murderers, sank them alive in the sea, and razed their house to the ground. Hesiod was buried near the temple of Nemean Zeus; most foreigners do not know about his grave, but it has been kept concealed, because, as they say, it was sought for by the people of Orchomenos, who wished, in accordance with an oracle, to recover the remains and bury them in their own land. If, therefore, dolphins show such a tender and humane interest in the dead, it is even more likely that they should give aid to the living, and especially if they are charmed by the sound of flutes or some songs or other. For we are all well aware of the fact, that these creatures delight in music and follow after it, and swim along beside men who are rowing to the accompaniment of song and flute in a calm, and they enjoy travelling in this way. They take delight
163 καὶ νήσεσι παίδων καὶ κολύμβοις ἀμιλλάται. διὸ καὶ νόμος ἀδείας ἄγραφός ἐστιν αὐτῶς· θηρᾷ γὰρ οὔδεις οὐδὲ λυμαίνεται, πλὴν ὅταν ἐν δικτύοις γενόμενοι κακουργῶσι περὶ τὴν ἄγραν, πληγαῖς κολάζονται καθάπερ παίδες ἀμαρτάνοντες. μέμνημαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Λεσβίων ἀνδρῶν ἀκούσας σωτηρίαν τινὰ κόρης ὑπὸ δελφίνος ἐκ θαλάττης γενέσθαι· ἅλλα ἐγὼ μὲν ὦκ ἄκριβῶς τάλλα, ὁ δὲ Πιττακὸς ἐπεὶ γιγνώσκει, δίκαιός ἐστι περὶ τούτων διελθεῖν."

20. "Ἐφ' τοίνυν ὁ Πιττακὸς ἐνδοξὸν εἶναι καὶ μνημονεύμονον ὑπὸ πολλῶν τὸν λόγον. χρήσμοι γὰρ γενομένου τοῖς οἰκίζουσι Λέσβον, οταν ἔρματι ἡ πλέοντες προστύχωσιν ὁ καλεῖται Μεσόγειον, τὸ τ' ἐνταῦθα Ποσειδώνι μὲν ταῦρον 'Αμφιτρίτη δὲ καὶ Νηρηίου ζώσαν καθεῖναι' παρθένον· οὐθών οὖν ἄρχηγετῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ βασιλέων, ὁγδόον δὲ τοῦ 'Εχελάου πυθοχρήστον τῆς ἀποικίας ἡγεμόνος, οὕτως μὲν ἠθέος ἢν ἑτί, τῶν δ' ἐπτὰ κληρομένων, ὅσοις ἄγαμοι παίδες ἦσαν, καταλαμβάνει θυγατέρα Σμυρνέως ὁ κλῆρος. ἦν ἐσθήτι καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσαντες ὃς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὸν τόπον, ἐμελλον εὐξάμενοι καθήσειν. ἐτυχεὶ δὲ τις ἔρων αὐτῆς τῶν συμπλεόντων, οὐκ ἄγενης ὡς ἔοικε νεανίας "%Eμαλων. οὕτως

1 ἅλλα ἐγὼ μὲν ... ὁ δὲ Bernardakis seems to be the best correction suggested as yet. λέγω μὲν οὐκ ἄκριβῶς ἅλλ' ὁ Πιττακὸς can also be defended: λεγόμενον ἄκριβῶς ἅλλ' ὁ.

2 ἐπεὶ γιγνώσκει Wyttenbach: ἐπείγυνωσκεί.

3 καθεῖναι Hercher: καθιέναι.
also in children's swimming, and vie with them in diving.\(^a\) For this reason they profit also by an unwritten law of immunity; for nobody hunts them or injures them except when they get into the fishermen's nets, and do havoc with the catch, and then they are punished with a whipping like naughty children. I remember also hearing from some men of Lesbos that the rescue of a certain maiden from the sea was effected by a dolphin, but, as I am not sure of the various details, it is only right that Pittacus, who does know them, should relate the tale."

20. Pittacus thereupon said that it was a famous story,\(^b\) and one mentioned by many, to this effect. An oracle had been given to those who were setting out to found a colony in Lesbos that when their voyage should bring them to a reef which is called "Midland," then they should cast into the sea at that place a bull as an offering to Poseidon, and to Amphitrite and the Nymphs of the sea a living virgin. The commanders were seven in number, all kings, and the eighth was Echelaüs, designated by the oracle at Delphi to head the colony, although he was young and still unmarried. The seven, or as many as had unmarried daughters, cast lots, and the lot fell upon the daughter of Smintheus. Her they adorned with fine raiment and golden ornaments as they arrived opposite the spot, and purposed, as soon as they had offered prayer, to cast her into the sea. It happened that one of the company on board, a young man of no mean origin as it seems, was in love with her. His name, according to a tradition still preserved, was

\(^a\) See preceding note on page 438.
\(^b\) The story is briefly mentioned by Plutarch. *Moralia*, 984 E, and is given in full with some variations by Athenaeus, 466 c, who quotes as his authority Anticleides an Athenian.
(163) ἀμήχανον τινα τοῦ βοηθείν τῇ παρθένῳ προθυμίαν ἐν τῷ τότε πάθει λαβὼν παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐφῄσε καὶ περιπλακεῖς ὁμοῦ συγκαθήκεν ἕαυτόν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν φήμη τις οὐκ ἔχουσα τὸ βέβαιον, ἄλλως δὲ πείθουσα πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διηνέχθη περὶ σωτηρίας αὐτῶν καὶ κομιδῆς. ὑστέρω δὲ χρόνῳ τὸν Ἐναλόν φασὶν ἐν Λέσβῳ φανῆναι καὶ λέγειν ὡς ὑπὸ δελφίνων φορητοί διὰ θαλάττης ἐκπέσοιεν ἀβλαβεῖς ἐς τὴν ἥπειρον, ἕτερον ἀλλὰ θειότερα τούτων ἐκπλήττοτα καὶ κηλοῦντα τοὺς πολλοὺς δυνηείσθαι,

D πάντων δὲ πίστιν ἔργῳ παρασχεῖν. κύματος γὰρ ἡλιβάτου περὶ τὴν νήσον αἱρομένου καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεδιότων, ἀπαντήσας μόνον τῇ θαλάττῃ, καὶ ἐπεσθαί πολύποδας αὐτῶ πρὸς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ποσειδώνος· ὅτι τοῦ μεγίστου λίθον κομίζοντος λαβεῖν τὸν Ἐναλόν καὶ ἀναθέναι, καὶ τοῦτον Ἐναλόν καλοῦμεν. "Καθὸλον δ'," εἶπεν, "εἰ τις εἰδείη διαφορὰν ἀδυνάτου καὶ ἀσυνήθους καὶ παραλόγου καὶ παραδόξου, μάλιστ' ἄν, ὡς Χίλων, καὶ μὴπέ πιστεύων ὡς ἔτυχε μήτε ἀπιστῶν, τὸ ὑμῖν ἄγαν' ὡς σὺ προσέταξας διαφυλάττοι." 21. Μετὰ δὲ τούτον ὁ Ἀνάχαρσις εἶπεν ὅτι τοῦ Θαλέω καλῶς ὑπολαμβάνοντος ἐν πᾶσιν εἶναι Εἶτοις κυριωτάτοις μέρεσι τοῦ κόσμου καὶ μεγίστους ψυχὴν, οὐκ ἀξίων ἑστὶ θαυμάζειν εἰ τὰ κάλλιστα

2 ἕτε Ηercher.: ἕστι.
4 εἰδείη Pflugk.: εἰδεν ἂ.
5 καὶ μήπε] μήπε Wytenbach.
6 διαφυλάττοι Wytenbach: διαφυλάττων.
Enalus. He, conceiving a despairing desire to help the maiden in her present misfortune, at the critical moment hurriedly clasped her in his arms, and threw himself with her into the sea. Straightway a rumour spread, having no sure foundation, but nevertheless carrying conviction to many in the community, regarding their safety and rescue. Later, as they say, Enalus appeared in Lesbos, and told how they had been borne by dolphins through the sea, and put ashore unharmed on the mainland. Other things he related more miraculous even than this, which astonished and fascinated the crowd, and he gave good grounds for believing them all by a deed which he did: for when a towering wave precipitated itself on the shores of the island, and the people were in a state of terror, he, all by himself, went to meet the sea, and cuttlefish followed him to the shrine of Poseidon, the biggest of which brought a stone with him, and this stone Enalus took and dedicated there, and this we call Enalus. "And in general," he continued, "if a man realizes a difference between the impossible and the unfamiliar, and between false reasoning and false opinion, such a man, Chilon, who would neither believe nor disbelieve at haphazard, would be most observant of the precept, 'Avoid extremes,' as you have enjoined."

21. Following him Anacharsis said that as Thales had set forth the excellent hypothesis that soul exists in all the most dominant and most important parts of the universe, there is no proper ground for wonder that the most excellent things are brought

* Athenaeus (466 c) says a golden cup was brought out of the sea by Enalus.

The story is found in Herodotus, v. 92.
to pass by the will of God. "For the body," he continued, "is the soul's instrument, and the soul is God's instrument; and just as the body has many movements of its own, but the most, and most excellent, from the soul, so the soul performs some actions by its own instinct, but in others it yields itself to God's use for Him to direct it and turn it in whatsoever course He may desire, since it is the most adaptable of all instruments. For it is a dreadful mistake to assume that, on the one hand, fire is God's instrument, and wind and water also, and clouds and rain, by means of which He preserves and fosters many a thing, and ruins and destroys many another, but that, on the other hand, He never as yet makes any use whatever of living creatures to accomplish any one of His purposes. Nay, it is far more likely that the living, being dependent on God's power, serve Him and are responsive to His movements even more than bows are responsive to the Scythians or lyres and flutes to the Greeks."

Thereupon the poet Chersias cited, among the cases of persons who had been saved when their plight seemed hopeless, the case of Cypselus, the father of Periander, who, when he was a new-born babe, smiled at the men who had been sent to make away with him, and they turned away. And when again they changed their minds, they sought for him and found him not, for he had been put away in a chest by his mother. It was because of this that Cypselus constructed the building at Delphi, firmly believing that the god had at that time stopped his crying so that he might escape the notice of those who were searching for him.

And Pittacus, addressing Periander, said, "Chersias
“εὖ γ’,” ἐφη, “Περίανδρε, Χερσίας ἐποίησε μηνθεῖς τοῦ οἰκοῦ πολλάκις γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι σε τῶν βατράχων τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκείνων, τί βούλονται περὶ τὸν πυθέμενα τοῦ φοίνικος ἐν- τετορευμένου τοσοῦτοι, καὶ τίνα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἀναβέντα λόγον ἔχουσι.”

Τοῦ δὲ Περίανδρου τὸν Χερσίαν ἐρωτάν κελεύ- σαντος, εἶδέναι γὰρ ἐκείνον καὶ παρεῖναι τῷ

Β Κυψέλῳ καθιεροῦντι τὸν οἰκον, ὁ Χερσίας μειδίασας “ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἂν;” ἐφη, “φράσασίμι πρότερον ἡ πυθέ- σθαι παρὰ τούτων ὅ τι βούλεται τὸ ἡμὴν ἄγαν’ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ γνώθι σαυτόν,’ καὶ τοῦτο ἰδί τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν ἁγάμους πολλοὺς δὲ ἀπίστους ἐνίος δὲ καὶ ἁφώνους πεποιηκός ‘ἔγγυα πάρα δ’ ἄτα.’”

“Τί δ’,” εἶπεν ὁ Πυττάκος, “ἐμὸν δὲ ταύτα φραζόντων; πάλαι γὰρ Λισώπου λόγον εἰς ἐκα- στὸν ὃς έοικε τούτων συντεθεικότος ἐπαινεῖς.”

Καὶ ὁ Λίσωπος, “ὅταν γε παίζῃ πρὸς ἔμε Χερσίας;” εἶπε: “σπουδάζων δὲ τούτων ὁμηρον εὐρετήν ἀποδείκνυς καὶ φησι τὸν μὲν ἕκτωρ

C γυγνώσκειν ἐαυτόν τοῖς γὰρ ἄλλοις ἐπιτιθέμενος

Αἰάντος ἀλέεινε μάχην Τελαμωνιάδαο.

τὸν δ' Ὀδυσσεά τοῦ μηδὲν ἄγαν ἐπαινέτην τῷ

Διομήδει παρακελεύεσθαι

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a The frogs and the palm-tree are mentioned also in Moralia, 399 f.

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certainly did well to mention the building, for I have often desired, Periander, to ask you the reason for those frogs, and what is their significance, carved as they are in such numbers about the base of the palm-tree, and what relation they have to the god or to the dedicator.”

Periander bade him ask Chersias, for Chersias, he said, knew and was present when Cypselus consecrated the building; but Chersias said with a smile, “No, I will not tell until I learn from our friends here what significance they give to the precepts, ‘Avoid extremes’ and ‘Know thyself,’ and, in particular, that one which has kept many from marrying, and many from trusting, and some even from speaking, and this is it: ‘Give a pledge, and mischief attends.’”

“What need of us to tell you that?” said Pittacus; “since for this long time you have been praising the stories which Aesop has composed touching each of them, as it seems.”

And Aesop said, “Only when Chersias is poking fun at me; but when he is serious he points to Homer as their inventor, and says that Hector ‘knew himself’ because he attacked all the others, but

Only with Ajax, Telamon’s son, he avoided a conflict.

And Odysseus, he says, gives praise to ‘Avoid extremes’ when he enjoins

For information about these famous precepts reference may be made to Plato, Protagoras, p. 343 B, and Charmides, p. 165 A; Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 12. 14: Pausanias, x. 24. 1; Plutarch, Moralia, 116 C, 335 D, and 511 B, and De vita et poesi Homeri, 151.

Homer, Il. xi. 542 (Moralia, 24 c).
(164) Τυθείδη, μήτ' ἄρ' με μάλ' αἰνεε μήτε τι νείκειν.

τὴν δ' ἐγγύην οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι λοιδορεῖν αὐτὸν ὡς πρᾶγμα δείλαιον καὶ μάταιον οἴονται λέγοντα δείλαι τοι δειλῶν γε καὶ ἐγγύαι ἐγγυάσθαι,

Χερσίας δ' οὕτω θείου τὴν "Ατην ὑπὸ τοῦ Δίος ῥιφῆναι τῇ ἐγγύῃ παραγιγνομένην ἣν ἐγγυησά- 

D μενὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐσφάλη περὶ τῆς τοῦ Χρηστέως γενέσεως."

Ὑπολαβών δ' ὁ Σόλων "οὐκοῦν," ἔφη, "καὶ τῷ σοφωτάτῳ πιστευτέον Ομήρῳ

νῦν δ' ἡδῆ τελέθειν ἁγαθόν καὶ νυκτὶ πιθέσθαι. 

σπείραν τοὺς Μοῦσας καὶ Ποσειδώνι καὶ Ἁμφιτρίτη διαλύωμεν εἰ δοκεῖ τῷ συμπόσιον." 

Τοῦτ' ἔσχεν, ὁ Νίκαρχε, πέρας ἡ τότε συνοικία.

1 πιστευτεόν] πιστέου Hatzidakis.
Son of Tydeus, praise me not too much nor chide me.\textsuperscript{a}

And as for the pledge, other people think that Homer vilifies it as a worthless and futile thing when he says,

\begin{quote}
Worthless are pledges of worthless folk to accept at their pledging;\textsuperscript{b}
\end{quote}

but Chersias here asserts that Mischief was hurled from heaven by Zeus because she was present at the pledge which Zeus gave when he was befooled in regard to the birth of Heracles."\textsuperscript{c}

Solon here put in his word: "Well, then, we should have faith in the very great wisdom of Homer who also says,\textsuperscript{d}

\begin{quote}
Night-time advances apace: 'tis well to pay heed to the night-time.
\end{quote}

So, if it please the company, let us offer a libation to the Muses and Poseidon and Amphitrite, and be going."

And thus, Nicarchus, the party came to an end.

\begin{footnotes}
\item Homer, \textit{Il.} x. 249 (\textit{Moralia}, 57 e)
\item Homer, \textit{Od.} viii. 351.
\item Homer, \textit{Il.} xix. 91-131.
\item \textit{Ibid.} vii. 282 and 293.
\end{footnotes}
In 1983 several new developments occurred

1. The discovery of a new species of bacteria, called X. novae-angliae, was made.

2. A major breakthrough in cancer research was achieved, leading to the development of a new chemotherapy drug.

3. The first successful human organ transplant was performed.

4. The first commercial satellite internet service was launched, revolutionizing global communication.

5. A significant breakthrough in climate change research was made, leading to better understanding and more effective mitigation strategies.

These developments were followed by a period of rapid progress in various fields, including technology, medicine, and environmental science.
SUPERSTITION
(DE SUPERSTITIONE)
INTRODUCTION

Plutarch’s essay on Superstition is, in the main, an attempt to prove that superstition is worse than atheism. Its somewhat impassioned tone savours more of the emotional sermon than of the carefully reasoned discourse, and suggests that it was originally prepared for public presentation.

Wyttenbach was disturbed because in the catalogue of Lamprias, in which this essay is No. 155, the title is given as Περὶ δευσευδαιμονίας πρὸς Ἑπίκουρον, and he thought that this title might refer to some other treatise of Plutarch. The explanation is so simple that the only surprising thing is that it should have escaped a man of Wyttenbach’s acumen. On the first page of the essay are the words, “the universe . . . atoms and void . . . assumption is false.” Then, as now, librarians and reviewers looked at the first page, and reached their conclusions; so it was only natural that the compiler of the catalogue should conclude that the rest of the book was equally hostile to Epicurus. On the other hand, this affords interesting evidence that the compiler of the catalogue of Lamprias probably had a copy of Plutarch’s works before him when he drew up his list.

The ms. tradition of this essay is better than of many others, and one ms. (D) has preserved many
excellent readings. Only one passage, a quotation (170 b), presents serious difficulty, and of this Professor Goodwin remarked: "As to the original Greek, hardly a word can be made out with certainty."

Mention should be made of a separate edition and a parallel English translation of this essay in a book entitled "Περὶ δευσιδαιμονιάς. Plutarchus and Theophrastus on Superstition with various appendices and a life of Plutarchus. Printed A.D. 1828. (Privately) printed by Julian Hibbert . . . Kentish Town." The translation is very literal, but is sometimes an improvement on that of William Baxter in the translation of Plutarch by "Several Hands" (London, 1684–94). Intimate and amusing is the preface of the author, who, in his notes, admits that he has never read Plato, but ends his preface with these words: "I terminate this my Preface by consigning all 'Greek Scholars' to the special care of Beelzebub."

A spirited defence of this essay (if any defence is needed) may be found in John Oakesmith's The Religion of Plutarch (London, 1902), chap. ix. pp. 179 ff.

* In spite of the fact that Pohlenz in his preface to Vol. I. (Leipzig, 1925) of the Moralia (p. xiv) uses these words: "Codicem Paris D e recensione libidinosissima ortum"! Paton, who edited this essay, accepts the readings of D a good part of the time, and his edition would have been more intelligible had he accepted them more often.
ΠΕΡΙ ΔΕΙΣΙΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΑΣ

1. Τῆς περὶ θεῶν ἀμαθίας καὶ ἄγνοιας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δίχα βυείσης τὸ μὲν ὀσπερ ἐν χυρίοις σκληροῖς τοῖς ἀντιτύποις ἦθει τῆν ἀθεότητα, τὸ δ’ ὀσπερ ἐν ὑγροῖς τοῖς ἀπαλοῖς τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν πεποίηκεν. ἀπασα μὲν οὖν κρίσις ἰσευδῆς, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἥ περὶ ταῦτα, μοχθηρὸν· ἢ δὲ καὶ πάθος πρόσεστι, μοχθηρότατον. πάν γὰρ πάθος έξουκε ἀπάτη. φλεγμαίνουσα εἶναι· καὶ καθάπερ αἱ μετὰ τραύματος ἑκβολαὶ τῶν ἄρθρων, οὕτως αἱ μετὰ πάθους διαστροφαὶ τῆς ψυχῆς χαλεπώτεραι.

'Ατόμοις τις οἶται καὶ κενὸν ἀρχᾶς εἶναι τῶν ὀλων· ἰσευδῆς ἡ ύπόληψις, ἀλλ’ ἔλκος οὐ ποιεῖ οὔθε σφυγμὸν οὔθ’ ὀδύνην ταράττουσαν.

Ὑπολαμβάνει τις τὸν πλοῦτον ἀγαθόν εἶναι 165 μέγιστον τούτο τὸ ἰσευδὸς ἰὸν ἔχει, νέμεται τῇ ψυχῇ, ἐξίστησιν, οὐκ ἐὰν καθεύδεις, οἴστρων ἐμπίπτησιν, ὃθεὶ κατὰ πετρῶν, ἀγχεῖ τῇ παρ-ρησίᾳ ἀφαιρεῖται.

Πάλιν οἴονται τινὲς εἶναι σῶμα τῆν ἁρετήν καὶ τὴν κακίαν· αἰσχρὸν ἵσως τὸ ἁγνόμα, θρήνων

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b Aimed at the theories of Epicurus, and possibly of Democritus.

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SUPERSTITION

1. Ignorance and blindness in regard to the gods divides itself at the very beginning into two streams, of which the one produces in hardened characters, as it were in stubborn soils, atheism, and the other in tender characters, as in moist soils, produces superstition. Every false judgement, and especially concerning these matters, is a mischievous thing; but where emotion also enters, it is most mischievous. For every emotion is likely to be a delusion that rankles; and just as dislocations of the joints accompanied by lacerations are hardest to deal with, so also is it with derangements of the soul accompanied by emotion.

A man thinks that in the beginning the universe was created out of atoms and void. His assumption is false, but it causes no sore, no throbbing, no agitating pain.

A man assumes that wealth is the greatest good. This falsehood contains venom, it feeds upon his soul, distracts him, does not allow him to sleep, fills him with stinging desires, pushes him over precipices, chokes him, and takes from him his freedom of speech.

Again, some people think that virtue and vice are corporeal. This piece of ignorance is disgraceful,

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(165) δὲ καὶ ὁδυρμῶν οὐκ ἄξιον· ἀλλ' αἰτινές εἰσὶν τοιαύται κρίσεις καὶ ὑπολήψεις

ὁ τλῆμον ἀρετή, λόγος ἂρ' ἰσθ'. ἐγὼ δὲ σε ὃς ἔργον ἡσκον

ἀφεῖς τὴν πλουτοποιοῦν ἄδικιαν καὶ τὴν γόνυμον ἀπάσης ἢδονής ἀκολασίαν, ταῦτας ἄξιόν ἐστιν

Βοικτήρειν ὅμοι καὶ δυσχεραίνειν, ὅτι πολλὰ νοσήματα καὶ πάθη καθάπερ εὐλᾶς καὶ σκώληκας ἐντικτούοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς παροῦσαι.

2. Οὐκοῦν καὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος, ἡ μὲν ἁθετής κρίσις οὐσα φαύλη τοῦ μηδὲν εἶναι μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτον εἰς ἀπάθειαν τινα δοκεῖ τῇ ἁπιστίᾳ τοῦ θείου περιφέρειν, καὶ τέλος ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τοῦ μη νομίζειν. τέλειον τῇ δεσιδαιμονίᾳ δὲ μηνύει καὶ τούνομα δόξαν ἐμπαθὴ καὶ δέους ποιητικῆς ὑπόληψιν οὖσαν ἐκταπεινοῦντος καὶ συντρίβοντος τῶν ἀνθρωπον, οἰόμενον μὲν εἶναι θεοὺς, εἶναι δὲ λυπηροὺς καὶ βλαβεροὺς. ἔοικε

C γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἁθεὸς ἀκίνητος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον, ὁ δὲ δεσιδαιμῶν κυνούμενος ως οὐ προσήκει δια-στρέφεσθαι. ἡ γὰρ ἁγνοια τῶ μὲν ἁπιστίαν τοῦ ὑφελοῦντος ἐμπεποίηκε, τῷ δὲ καὶ δόξαν ὅτι βλάπτει προστεθείκεν. ὅθεν ἡ μὲν ἁθεότης λόγος ἐστὶ διευθεσμένοις, ἡ δὲ δεσιδαιμονίᾳ πάθος ἐκ λόγου ψευδοῦς ἐγγεγενημένοιν.

3. Αἰσχρὰ μὲν δὴ πάντα τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς νοσήματα καὶ πάθη, τὸ δὲ γαῦρον. ἐνίοις ὁμοίω ὁμοὶ καὶ ψηλὸν


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perhaps, but it is not worthy of wailings or lamentations. But consider judgements and assumptions that are like this:

Poor virtue! A mere name thou art, I find,
But I did practise thee as real!

and thereby I gave up wrongdoing which is productive of wealth, and licentiousness which begets every sort of pleasure. These it is right and proper that we pity, and at the same time loathe, because their presence engenders many distempers and emotions, like maggots and grubs, in men’s souls.

2. To come now to our subject: atheism, which is a sorry judgement that there is nothing blessed or incorruptible, seems, by disbelief in the Divinity, to lead finally to a kind of utter indifference, and the end which it achieves in not believing in the existence of gods is not to fear them. But, on the other hand, superstition, as the very name (dread of deities) indicates, is an emotional idea and an assumption productive of a fear which utterly humbles and crushes a man, for he thinks that there are gods, but that they are the cause of pain and injury. In fact, the atheist, apparently, is unmoved regarding the Divinity, whereas the superstitious man is moved as he ought not to be, and his mind is thus perverted. For in the one man ignorance engenders disbelief in the One who can help him, and on the other it bestows the added idea that He causes injury. Whence it follows that atheism is falsified reason, and superstition is an emotion engendered from false reason.

3. Clear it is that all distempers and emotions of the soul are disgraceful, but in some of them are to
The derivations of "terror" from "tie," and "awe" from "awake," are not more fanciful than those in which Plutarch indulges.
be found pride, loftiness, and exaltation, owing to their uplifting power; and no one of them, we might say, is destitute of an impulse to activity. But this general complaint may be made against every one of the emotions, that by their urgings to be up and doing they press hard upon the reasoning power and strain it. But fear alone, lacking no less in boldness than in power to reason, keeps its irrationality impotent, helpless, and hopeless. It is on this ground that the power of fear to tie down the soul, and at the same time to keep it awake, has come to be named both terror and awe.⁴

Of all kinds of fear the most impotent and helpless is superstitious fear. No fear of the sea has he who does not sail upon it, nor of war he who does not serve in the army, nor of highwaymen he who stays at home, nor of a blackmailer he who is poor, nor of envy he who holds no office, nor of earthquake he who is in Gaul,⁵ nor of the lightning-stroke he who is in Ethiopia; but he who fears the gods fears all things, earth and sea, air and sky, darkness and light, sound and silence, and a dream. Slaves in their sleep forget their masters, sleep makes light the chains of prisoners, and the inflammations surrounding wounds, the savage gnawing of ulcers in the flesh, and tormenting pains are removed from those who are fallen asleep:

Dear soothing balm of sleep to help my ill,
How sweet thy coming in mine hour of need.⁶

Superstition does not give one a right to say this;

⁵ Euripides, Orestes, 211-12.
οὐ σπένδεται πρὸς τὸν ὕπνον, οὐδὲ τῇ ψυχῇ ποτε γοῦν δίδωσιν ἀναπνεῦσαι καὶ ἀναθαρρῆσαι τάς πυ-

F κρᾶς καὶ βάρειας περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξας ἀπωσαμένης), ἀλλ' οὔτε ἐν ἀσεβῶν χώρῳ τῷ ὕπνῳ τῶν δευ-

dαιμόνων εἶδωλα φρυκώδη καὶ τεράστια φάσματα καὶ ποινᾶς τινὰς ἐγείρονσα καὶ στροβοῦσα τὴν ἄθλιαν ψυχήν ἐκδιώκει τοῖς ὀνείροις ἐκ τῶν ὕπνων, μαστιξομένην καὶ κολαξομένην αὐτὴν ὑφ' αὐτῆς ὡς ὑφ' ἐτέρου, καὶ δεινὰ προστάγματα καὶ ἀλ-
lόκοτα λαμβάνουσαν. εἰτ' ἐξαισιούντες οὐ κατ-
eφρονήσαν οὐδὲ κατεγέλασαν, οὐδ' ἤσθοντο ὅτι τῶν ταραξάντων οὐδὲν ἦν ἀληθινὸν, ἀλλὰ σκιὰν

166 φεύγοντες ἀπὸ τῆς οὐδὲν κακοῦ ἔχοσος ὑπάρ

ἐξαπατῶσον ἑαυτοὺς καὶ δαπανώσοι καὶ ταράττου-

σιν, εἰς ἄγυρτας καὶ γόητας ἐμπεσόντες λέγοντας

ἀλλ' εἰτ' ἐνυπνον φάντασμα φοβη',

χθονίας θ' Ἐκάτης κὼμον ἐδέξω,

τὴν περιμάκτριαν κάλει γραῖν καὶ βάπτισον σεαν-
tὸν εἰς θάλατταν καὶ καθίσας ἐν τῇ γῇ διημέρευσον.

ὁ βάρβαρος ἐξευρόντες "Ελληνες κακὰ
tῇ δευσιδαιμονίᾳ, πηλώσεις καταβορβορώσεις βα-
pτισμοῦς, ὑψεῖς ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰσχρὰς προ-
kαθίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυνήσεις. δικαίω τῷ

στόματι τους κιθαρώδους ἐκελευὸν ᾧδειν οἱ τῆν

Β νόμομον μουσικὴν σύζεων δοκοῦντες· ἥμεις δὲ τοῖς

1 βαπτισμοῦς Bentley: σαββατισμοῦς.

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b Euripides, The Trojan Women, 764.
for superstition alone makes no truce with sleep, and never gives the soul a chance to recover its breath and courage by putting aside its bitter and despondent notions regarding God; but, as it were in the place of torment of the impious, so in the sleep of the superstitious their malady calls up fearful images, and horrible apparitions and divers forms of punishment, and, by keeping the unhappy soul on the rack, chases it away from sleep by its dreams, lashed and punished by its own self as if by another, and forced to comply with dreadful and extraordinary behests. When, later, such persons arise from their beds, they do not contemn nor ridicule these things, nor realize that not one of the things that agitated them was really true, but, trying to escape the shadow of a delusion that has nothing bad at the bottom, during their waking hours they delude and waste and agitate themselves, putting themselves into the hands of conjurors and impostors who say to them:

If a vision in sleep is the cause of your fear
And the troop of dire Hecate felt to be near," then call in the old crone who performs magic purifications, dip yourself in the ocean, and sit down on the ground and spend the whole day there.

Greeks from barbarians finding evil ways!

because of superstition, such as smearing with mud, wallowing in filth, immersions, casting oneself down with face to the ground, disgraceful besieging of the gods, and uncouth prostrations. "To sing with the mouth aright” was the injunction given to the harp-players by those who thought to preserve the good old forms of music; and we hold it to be
(166) θεοῖς ἄξιοιμεν ὀρθω τῷ στόματι καὶ δικαίω προσ-
εύχεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ὁπλάγχων μὲν
γλώτταν εἰ καθαρὰ καὶ ὀρθῇ σκοπεῖν, τὴν δ’ ἐςαὐ-
τῶν διαστρέφοντας καὶ μολύνοντας ἀτόπους ὄνομασι
καὶ ρήμασι βαρβαρικοῖς κατασχύνειν καὶ παρα-
νοµεῖν τῷ θείῳ καὶ πάτριον ἄξιωμα τῆς εὐσεβείας.
' Αλλ’ ὁ γε κωµικὸς οὐκ ἂνδῶς εἰρηκὲ πο
πρὸς τοὺς καταχρυσοῦντας τὰ κλινίδια καὶ κατ-
αγυροῦντας

ο τι μόνον ἡµῖν προῖκ’ ἐδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ
ὑπνον, τί τούτῳ πολυτελές σαυτῷ ποιεῖς;

C ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν δευσιδαίµονα εἰπεῖν, 'ὁ τι τὸν
ὑπνόν οἱ θεοὶ λήθῃν κακῶν ἐδουαν ἡµῖν καὶ ἀνα-
παυσιν, τί τούτῳ κολαστήριον σαυτῷ ποιεῖς ἐπί-
µονον καὶ ὄδυνηρόν, τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς εἰς ἄλλον
ὑπνόν ἀποδράναι μὴ δυναµένης;’ ὁ Ηράκλειτος
φησι τοῖς ἐγρηγοροῖσιν ἕνα καὶ κοινὸν κόσµον εἶναι,
tῶν δὲ κοιµωµένων ἑκαστὸν εἰς ἴδιον ἀναστρέ-
φθαι. τῷ δὲ δευσιδαίµονι κοινὸς οὑδεὶς ἐστι
κόσµος· ὁὔτε γὰρ ἐγρηγορῶς τῷ φρονοῦτι χρῆται
οὔτε κοιµώμενος ἀπαλλάττεται τοῦ ταράττοντος,
ἀλλ’ ἄνειρωττε μὲν ὁ λογισµὸς, ἐγρηγορεί δ’ ὁ
φόβος ἀεὶ, φυγῇ δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ µεταστάσις.

4. Ἡν φοβερὸς ἐν Σάµῳ Πολυκράτης τύραννος,
ην ἐν Κορίνθῳ Περιάνδρος, ἀλλ’ οὐδεὶς ἐφοβεῖτο

D τοὺτος µεταστάσας εἰς πόλιν ἐλευθέραν καὶ ἰηµο-
κρατοµένην. ὁ δὲ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄρχην ὡς τυ-

1 το] εἰς τὸ Hercher.
2 ἡµῖν ... θεοὶ Meineke: ἐδωκαν ἡµῖν οἱ θεοὶ προῖκα.
3 ὑπνον F.C.B.: τὸν ὑπνόν.
4 σαυτῷ Meineke: σαυτῷ.
5 ὑπνόν] τόπον Hercher.
meet to pray to the gods with the mouth straight and aright, and not to inspect the tongue laid upon the sacrificial offering to see that it be clean and straight, and, at the same time, by distorting and sullying one's own tongue with strange names and barbarous phrases, to disgrace and transgress the god-given ancestral dignity of our religion.

Nor is there lack of humour in what the comic poet a has somewhere said with reference to those who cover their bedsteads with gold and silver:

The one free gift the gods bestow on us,
Our sleep, why make its cost to you so much?

But to the superstitious man it is possible to say, "The gift of sleep which the gods bestow on us as a time of forgetfulness and respite from our ills; why do you make this an everlastingly painful torture-chamber for yourself, since your unhappy soul cannot run away to some other sleep?" Heracleitus b says that people awake enjoy one world in common, but of those who are fallen asleep each roams about in a world of his own. But the superstitious man enjoys no world in common with the rest of mankind; for neither when awake does he use his intelligence, nor when fallen asleep is he freed from his agitation, but his reasoning power is sunk in dreams, his fear is ever wakeful, and there is no way of escape or removal.

4. A despot much feared in Samos was Polycrates, as was Periander in Corinth, but nobody feared these men after he had removed to a free State governed by its own people. But as for the man who fears

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b Diels, Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 95.
(166) Ῥαννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρώπην καὶ ἀπαράίτητον
πόθεν μεταστήν ὑπὸ φύγης, ποιᾶν γῆν ἄθεον εὐρῆ, ποιᾶν
θάλατταν; εἰς τῇ καταδίκῃ τοῦ κόσμου μέρος καὶ
ἀποκρύψας σεαυτόν, ὡς ταλαίπωρε, πιστεύεις ὅτι
τὸν θεόν ἀποπέφευγας; ἐστὶ καὶ δούλους νόμος ἐλευθερίαν ἀπογυνοῦ τοὶ αὐτοῦσαι καὶ δε-
σπότην μεταβάλλειν ἐπιεικέστερον. ἢ δὲ δεισιδαι-
μονία θεῶν ἀλλαγὴν οὐ δίδωσι, οὔτε ἐστιν εὑρεῖν
ὅν εἰς φοβήσεται θεῶν ὁ φοβούμενος τοὺς πατρόφους
καὶ γενεθλίους, ὁ φρίττων τοὺς σωτήρας καὶ τοὺς
Εμελίχιος τρέμων καὶ δεδουκῶς, παρ’ ὅν αὐτοῦ-
μεθα πλοῦτον εὐπορίαν εἰρήνην ὁμόνοιαν ὀρθώσιν
λόγων καὶ ἔργων τῶν ἀριστῶν.
Εἰδ’ οὔτοι τὸ δουλεύειν ἀτύχημα ἠγούνται καὶ
λέγουσιν

δεινὴ τις ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ συμφορὰ
δούλους γενέσθαι δεσπότας τε δυσχερεῖς¹
λαβεῖν.

πόσω δὲ δεινότερον οἴσθε πάσχειν αὐ τοὺς²
ἀνεκφεύκτους ἀναποδράστους ἀναποστάτους³; ἐστὶ
doύλων φεῦξιμος βωμός, ἐστὶ καὶ λησταῖς ἀβέ-
βηλα πολλά τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ πολεμίους οἱ φεύγον-
tes, ἃν ἀγάλματος λάβωνται ἣ ναοῦ, θαρροῦσιν.
δὲ δεισιδαιμόνια ταῦτα μάλιστα φρίττει καὶ φο-
βεῖται καὶ δεδουκεῖν, ἐν οἷς οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸ
δεινότατα τὰς ἑλπίδας ἔχουσιν. μὴ ἀπὸστα τὸν

¹ δυσχερείς Valckenaer: δυστυχείς.
² αὖ τοὺς F.C.B.: αὐτοὺς, omitted in many mss.
³ Bernardakis would add λαμβάνοντας after ἀναποστάτους.


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the rule of the gods as a sullen and inexorable despotism, where can he remove himself, where can he flee, what country can he find without gods, or what sea? Into what part of the universe shall you steal away and hide yourself, poor wretch, and believe that you have escaped God? There is a law even for slaves who have given up all hope of freedom, that they may demand a sale, and thus exchange their present master for one more mild. But superstition grants no such exchange; and to find a god whom he shall not fear is impossible for him who fears the gods of his fathers and his kin, who shudders at his saviours, and trembles with terror at those gentle gods from whom we ask wealth, welfare, peace, concord, and success in our best efforts in speech and action.

Then again these same persons hold slavery to be a misfortune, and say,

For man or woman 'tis disaster dire
Sudden to be enslaved, and masters harsh
To get."

But how much more dire, think you, is the lot of those for whom there is no escape, no running away, no chance to revolt? For a slave there is an altar to which he can flee, and there are many of our shrines where even robbers may find sanctuary, and men who are fleeing from the enemy, if once they lay hold upon a statue of a god, or a temple, take courage again. These are the very things that most inspire a shuddering fear and dread in the superstitious man, and yet it is in them that those who are in fear of the most dreadful fate place their hopes. Do not drag the superstitious man
δεισιδαιμόνα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐνταῦθα κολάζεται καὶ τμιωρεῖται.

Τί δεὶ μακρὰ λέγειν; "πέρας ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου πάσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁ θάνατος;" τῆς δὲ δεισιδαιμονίας οὖν οὕτως, ἀλλὰ ὑπερβάλλει τοὺς ὄρους ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ζῆν, μακρότερον τοῦ βίου ποιοῦσα τὸν φόβον καὶ συνάπτουσα τῷ θανάτῳ κακῶν ἑπίνοιαν θανάτων, καὶ ὅτε παύεται πραγμάτων, ἀρχεσθαι δοκοῦσα μὴ παυμένων. "Αἶδου τινές ἄνοιγονται πύλαι βαθείας, καὶ ποταμοὶ πυρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ Στυγὸς ἀπορρώγεις ἀνακεράννυται, καὶ σκότος ἐμπιπλαται πολυφαντάστων εἰδώλων τινῶν χαλεπτὰς μὲν ὀψεις οὐκτρας δὲ φωνᾶς ἐπιφθορῶν, δικασταὶ δὲ καὶ κολασταὶ καὶ χάσματα καὶ μυχοὶ μυρίων κακῶν γέμοντες. οὕτως ἡ κακοδαίμων δεισιδαιμονία τῇ περιττῇ πρὸς ἀπαν τὸ δοκοῦν δεινῶν εὐλαβεία λανθάνει ἑαυτὴν ὑποβάλλουσα παντοίοις δευοῖς."  

5. Τούτων οὐδὲν τῇ ἀθεότητι πρόσεστιν, ἀλλὰ μὲν ἄγνοια χαλεπὴ καὶ τὸ παροῦν καὶ τυφλωτί B τεν περὶ τηλικαύτα συμφορά μεγάλη ψυχῆς, ὁσπερ ὀμμάτων πολλῶν τὸ φανότατον καὶ κυριώτατον ἀπεσβεσμένης τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ νόησιν. ταυτὴ δὲ τὸ ἐμπαθὲς, ὁσπερ εὐρηταὶ, καὶ ἐλκώδες καὶ ταρακτικὸν καὶ καταδεδουλωμένον εὐθὺς πρόσεστι τῇ δόξῃ. μονούκην φησιν ὁ Πλάτων εἰμιμελείας καὶ εὐρυθμίας

1 ὁ θάνατος] θάνατος in the better mss. of Demosthenes, xviii. 97.
3 τῇ περιττῇ κτλ.] This is the reading of D: other mss. have καὶ θεῷ τὸ (or τῷ) μὴ παθεῖν ἐκπεπέρυγεν ἀφιλάκτω προσδόκατον αὐτῇ τεποίκη. 466
away from his shrines, for it is in them that he suffers punishment and retribution.

What need to speak at length? "In death is the end of life for all men,"¹ but not the end of superstition; for superstition transcends the limits of life into the far beyond, making fear to endure longer than life, and connecting with death the thought of undying evils, and holding fast to the opinion, at the moment of ceasing from trouble, that now is the beginning of those that never cease. The abysmal gates of the nether world swing open, rivers of fire and offshoots of the Styx are mingled together, darkness is crowded with spectres of many fantastic shapes which beset their victim with grim visages and piteous voices, and, besides these, judges and torturers and yawning gulfs and deep recesses teeming with unnumbered woes. Thus unhappy superstition, by its excess of caution in trying to avoid everything suggestive of dread, unwittingly subjects itself to every sort of dread.

5. Nothing of this kind attaches to atheism, but its ignorance is distressing, and to see amiss or not to see at all in matters of such importance is a great misfortune for the soul; for it is as if the soul had suffered the extinction of the brightest and most dominant of its many eyes, the conception of God. But superstition is attended by emotion, as has already been said,² and by sore distress and disturbance and mental enslavement from the very beginning. Plato ³ says that music, the creator of

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¹ From Demosthenes, Or. xviii. (On the Crown), 97; quoted again in Moralia, 333 c.
² Supra, 165 b.
³ Adapted freely from the Timaeus, p. 47 d.
(167) δημιουργὸν ἀνθρώπως ὑπὸ θεῶν οὐ τρυφῆς ἓνεκα καὶ κυνῆσεως ὄτων δοθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὅστε τῶν τῆς ψυχῆς περιόδων καὶ ἁρμονῶν τὸ ταραχώδες καὶ πεπλανημένον ἐν σώματι, μοῦσης τε καὶ χάριτος ἐνδείᾳ πολλαχῇ δι' ἀκολογίαν καὶ πλημμέλειαν ἐξιν-
ο βρίζον, αὕτως εἰς τάξιν ἀνελέπτουσαν οἰκεῖως καὶ 
περιάγουσαν καθιστάναι.1

"όσα δὲ μὴ πεφιληκε Ζεύς," φησὶ Πόνδαρος, 
"ἀτύχοντα βοῶν 
Pierίδων ἀιόντα." 
καὶ γὰρ διαγριαίνεται καὶ ἀγανακτεῖ, καὶ τὰς 
tύγρεις δὲ φασὶ περιτυμπανοζομένας ἐκμαίνεσθαι 
cαὶ ταράττεσθαι καὶ τέλος αὕτως διαστᾶν. ἔλατ-
tον οὖν κακὸν οἷς διὰ κωφότητα καὶ πήρωσιν 
ἀκοῆς ἀπάθεια πρὸς μουσικήν καὶ ἀναισθησία 
συμβεβηκεν. ὁ Τειρεσίας ἐχρήτο δυστυχίᾳ μὴ 
βλέπων τὰ τέκνα μηδὲ τοὺς συνήθεις, ὁ δὲ Ἄθαμας 
μείζονι καὶ ἡ Ἀγαύη, βλέποντες ὡς λέοντας καὶ 
D ἔλαφους: καὶ τῷ Ἡρακλεί δήπον μανέντι τοὺς 
νιόντις ἐλυσίτελει μήτ' ἰδέιν μήτ' αἰσθέσθαι παρ-
όντας ἡ χρήσθαι τοῖς φιλτάτοις ὡς πολεμίως.

6. Τὶ οὖν; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀθέων πρὸς 
tοὺς δευσοδικοὺς πάθος ἐχεῖν τοιαύτην διαφοράν; 
οἱ μὲν2 οὐχ ὅρωσι τοὺς θεοὺς τὸ παράπαν, οἱ δὲ 
κακοὺς ὑπάρχειν νομίζουσιν οἱ μὲν παρορώσιν, οἱ 
δὲ δοξάζουσιν φοβερὸν τὸ εὐμενὲς καὶ τυραννικὸν

1 καθιστάναι Hercher: καθιστάν or παρεῖναι.
2 μὲν Wyttenbach: μὲν οὖν.

* Pythian Odes, i. 13 (25); quoted also in Moralia, 746 b and 1095 e.
* Cf. Moralia, 144 d.
* All these were victims of a god-sent madness.

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harmony and order, was given to mankind by the
gods not for the sake of pampering them or tickling
their ears, but so that whatever in a man's body
is disturbing and errant, affecting the cycles and
concorde of his soul, and in many instances, for lack
of culture and refinement, waxing wanton because
of licentiousness and error, music should, in its own
way, disengage and bring round and restore to its
proper place again.

Whatsoever things there be
Which by Zeus are not held dear,
says Pindar,⁴

In affrighted panic flee
When the Muses' voice they hear.

In fact they become provoked and angry; and tigers,
they say, surrounded by the sound of beaten drums
go utterly mad, and get so excited that they end by
tearing themselves to pieces.⁵ There is less harm,
therefore, for those who, as the result of deafness or
impairment of hearing, have a feeling of indifference
and insensitivity toward music. Teiresias laboured
under a misfortune in not being able to see his
children or his intimate friends, but greater was the
misfortune of Athamas ⁶ and Agave, ⁶ who saw them
as lions and deer; and for Heracles ⁶ in his madness
it would undoubtedly have been better neither to see
his sons, nor to realize that they were present, than
to treat his nearest and dearest as enemies.

6. What then? Does it not seem to you that the
feeling of the atheists compared with the superstitious
presents just such a difference? The former do
not see the gods at all, the latter think that they
do exist and are evil. The former disregard them,
the latter conceive their kindliness to be frightful,
(167) τὸ πατρικὸν καὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ κηδεμονικὸν καὶ τὸ ἀμήντιον ἄγριον εἶναι καὶ θηρώδες. εἶτα χαλκοτύπους μὲν πείθονται καὶ λιθογράφους καὶ κηροπλάστας ἀνθρωπόμορφα τῶν θεῶν τὰ εἴδη ποιοῦσιν.2

Ε καὶ τοιαῦτα πλάττονται καὶ κατασκευάζοντι καὶ προσκυνοῦν: φιλοσόφους δὲ καὶ πολιτικῶν ἀνδρῶν καταφρονοῦσιν, ἀποδεκνύτων τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ σεμνότητα μετὰ χρηστότητος καὶ μεγαλοφροσύνης καὶ εὐμενείας καὶ κηδεμονίας. περίεστιν οὖν τοῖς μὲν ἀναισθησίᾳ καὶ ἀπιστίᾳ τῶν ωφελοῦντων, τοῖς δὲ ταραχῇ καὶ φόβοι πρὸς τὰ ωφελοῦντα. καὶ ὅλως ἢ μὲν ἀθεότης ἀπάθεια πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἐστὶ μὴ νοοῦσα τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἢ δὲ δεισιδαιμονία πολυπάθεια κακὸν τὸ ἀγαθόν ὑπονοοῦσα. φοβοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ καταφεύγουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς, κολακεύοντι καὶ λοιδοροῦσιν, εὐχοῦντα καὶ καταμεμφούνται. τοῖς ἁνθρώπων τὸ μὴ πάντα διεντυχεῖν. κείνοι γὰρ τρ' ἀνασσοὶ καὶ ἀγήραι πόνων τρ' ἀπειροὶ, βαρυβόν πορθμὸν πεφευγότες. Αχέροντος, ο Πίνδαρος θεοὺς φησι, τὰ δ' ἀνθρώπων πάθη καὶ πράγματα μέμικται συντυχίαις ἄλλοτ' ἄλλως ἰσούσαις.

7. Φέρε δὴ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλητοῖς σκόπει τὸν ἄθεον καὶ καταμάνθανε τὴν διάθεσιν, ἂν ἦ τάλα μέτριος, χρωμένου σιωπῆ τοῖς παροῦσι καὶ

1 ἀμήντιον Meziriacus, Reiske, and Wyttenbach: ἀμικτον or ἀμίμητον. Cf. Moralia, 413 d.
2 τὰ εἴδη ποιοῦσιν] τὰ σώματα εἶναι in most mss.
3 γὰρ τ' Moralia, 1075 A: γὰρ.

"Or, as given in most mss., "that the bodies of the gods are like the bodies of men."
their fatherly solicitude to be despotic, their loving care to be injurious, their slowness to anger to be savage and brutal. Then again such persons give credence to workers in metal stone, or wax, who make their images of gods in the likeness of human beings, and they have such images fashioned, and dress them up, and worship them. But they hold in contempt philosophers and statesmen, who try to prove that the majesty of God is associated with goodness, magnanimity, kindliness, and solicitude. So the atheists have more than enough of indifference and distrust of the Beings who can help them, whereas the superstitious experience equal agitation and fear towards the things that can help them. Or, in fine, atheism is an indifferent feeling towards the Deity, which has no notion of the good, and superstition is a multitude of differing feelings with an underlying notion that the good is evil. For the superstitious fear the gods, and flee to the gods for help; they flatter them and assail them with abuse, pray to them and blame them. It is the common lot of mankind not to enjoy continual good fortune in all things.

Age and illness not their lot,
Toil and labour they know not,
'Scaped is Acheron's loud strait,
says Pindar of the gods, but human experiences and actions are linked with chance circumstances which move now in one course and now in another.

7. Come now, observe the atheist in circumstances not desired by him, and take note of his attitude. If he be moderate in general, you will note that he takes

\footnote{Frag. 143 (ed. Christ). Cited by Plutarch again in \textit{Moralia}, 763 c and 1075 a.}
πορίζοντος αὐτῶ βοηθείας καὶ παρηγορίας, ἀν δὲ
dυσφορῇ καὶ περιπαθῇ, πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ
168 τὸ αὐτόματον ἀπερειδομένου τοὺς οἴδαμοις καὶ
βοῶντος ὡς οὐδὲν κατὰ δίκην οὐδ᾽ ἐκ προνοίας
ἀλλὰ πάντα συγκεχυμένως καὶ ἀκρίτως φέρεται
καὶ ταράττεται1 τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τοῦ δὲ
dεσιδαιμόνοις οὐχ οὕτως ὁ τρόπος, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ
μικρότατον αὐτῷ κακόν τι συμπεπτωκός ἔστιν,
ἀλλὰ κάθηται πάθη χαλεπὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ
dυσαπάλλακτα τῇ λύπῃ προσοικοδομῶν, καὶ προσ-
εμφορῶν αὐτῷ δείματα καὶ φόβους καὶ ὑποψίας
καὶ ταραχάς, παντὶ θρήνῳ καὶ παντὶ στεναγμῷ
καθαπτόμενος· οὔτε γὰρ ἀνθρωπον οὔτε τύχην
οὔτε καιρὸν οὐθ᾽ ἦσαν ἀλλὰ πάντων τὸν θεὸν
Βαιτιάται, κάκειθεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἤκειν καὶ φέρεσθαι
ῥέμα δαμόνιον ἄτης φησί, καὶ ὡς οὐ δυστυχῆς
ὡν ἀλλὰ θεομοιῆς τις ἀνθρωπος ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν
κολάζεσθαι καὶ δίκην διδόναι καὶ πάντα πάσχειν
προσηκόντως δι᾽ αὐτὸν οἴεται.

Νοσῶν θ᾽ ὁ ἄθεος ἐκλογίζεται καὶ ἀναμμή-
σκεται πλησιονᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ οἰνώσεις καὶ ἄταξίας
περὶ διαίται ἡ κόσοις ὑπερβάλλοντας ἡ μεταβολᾶς
ἀέρων ἀήθεις καὶ τόπων, ἐπείτα προσκρούσας
ἐν πολιτείαις καὶ περιπεσῶν ἀδοξίας πρὸς ὀχλον

1 ταράττεται Wyttenbach: πράττεται or σπαθάται, which
seems dubious: διασπάται?

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his present fortune without a word, and tries to procure for himself means of help and comfort; but if he be given to impatience or violent emotion, you will note that he directs all his complaints against Fortune and Chance, and exclaims that nothing comes about according to right or as the result of providence, but that the course of all human affairs is confusion and disorder, and that they are all being turned topsy-turvy. This, however, is not the way of the superstitious man; but if even the slightest ill befall him, he sits down and proceeds to construct, on the basis of his trouble, a fabric of harsh, momentous, and practically unavoidable experiences which he must undergo, and he also loads himself with fears and frights, suspicions and trepidations, and all this he bitterly assails with every sort of lamentation and moaning. For he puts the responsibility for his lot upon no man nor upon Fortune nor upon occasion nor upon himself, but lays the responsibility for everything upon God, and says that from that source a heaven-sent stream of mischief has come upon him with full force; and he imagines that it is not because he is unlucky, but because he is hateful to the gods, that he is being punished by the gods, and that the penalty he pays and all that he is undergoing are deserved because of his own conduct.

The atheist, when he is ill, takes into account and calls to mind the times when he has eaten too much or drunk too much wine, also irregularities in his daily life, or instances of over-fatigue or unaccustomed changes of air or locality; and again when he has given offence in administering office, and has encountered disrepute with the masses or calumny with
(168) ἡ διαβολαίς πρὸς ἡγεμόνα τὴν αὐτίαν ἐξ αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν περὶ αὑτὸν σκοπεῖ
πὴ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον ὅυκ ἐτελέσθῃ;

τῷ δὲ δεισιδαίμονι καὶ σῶματος ἀρρωστία πάσαι
c καὶ χρημάτων ἀποβολὴ καὶ τέκνων θάνατοι καὶ
περὶ πολιτικὰς πράξεις δυσημερία καὶ ἀποτεύχεις
πληγαὶ θεοῦ καὶ προσβολαὶ δαιμονὸς λέγονται.
όθεν οὐδὲ τολμᾶ βοηθεῖν οὐδὲ διαλύει τὸ συμ-
βεβηκὸς οὐδὲ θεραπεύει οὐδ' ἀντιτάττεσθαι, μὴ
dόξῃ θεομαχεῖν καὶ ἀντιτείνεις κολαζόμενος, ἀλλ'
ωθεῖται μὲν ἔξω νοσοῦντος ὦ ἱατρός, ἀποκλείεται
dὲ πενθοῦντος ὀ νουθετῶν καὶ παραμυθούμενος
φιλόσοφος. "Ἔα με," φησίν, "ἀνθρωπε, διδόναι
dίκην, τὸν ἄσεβη, τὸν ἐπάρατον, τὸν θεοῖς καὶ
dαιμονὶ μεµισηµένον."

D Ἔστων ἀνθρώπου μὴ πεπεισµένου θεοὺς εἶναι
λυπουµένου δ' ἀλλώς καὶ περιπαθοῦντος ἀποµαξεῖ
δάκρυν, ἀποκείμαι κόµην, ἀφελέσθαι τὸ ἰµάτιον
τὸν δὲ δεισιδαίµονα πῶς ἄν προσεῖποις ἢ πῆ
βοηθήσεις; ἔξω κάθηται σακκίον ἔξων καὶ περι-
εξωσµένοις βάκεσι ρυπαροῖς, πολλάκις δὲ γυμνὸς
ἐν πηλῷ κυλιδούµενος ἐξαγορεύει τινὰς ἀµαρτίας
ἀὑτοῦ καὶ πληµµελείας, ως τόδε φαγόντος ἢ
πίνοντος ἢ βαδίσαντος ὅδον ἥν οὐκ εἶα τὸ δαιµόνιον.
ἂν δ' ἀριστα πράττῃ καὶ συνὴ πράως δεισιδαι-

1 πῆ] ποῦ most mss.
2 πράως Abernetty and F.C.B.: πράφ.

a Pythagoras, Carmina aurea, 42; quoted again in
Moria, 515 f.
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a ruler, he looks to find the reason in himself and his own surroundings:

Where did I err, and what have I done? What duty of mine was neglected? a

But in the estimation of the superstitious man, every indisposition of his body, loss of property, deaths of children, or mishaps and failures in public life are classed as "afflictions of God" or "attacks of an evil spirit." b For this reason he has no heart to relieve the situation or undo its effects, or to find some remedy for it or to take a strong stand against it, lest he seem to fight against God and to rebel at his punishment; but when he is ill the physician is ejected from the house, and when he is in grief the door is shut on the philosopher who would advise and comfort him. "Oh, sir," he says, "leave me to pay my penalty, impious wretch that I am, accursed, and hateful to the gods and all the heavenly host." c

It is possible in the case of a man unconvinced of the existence of gods, when he is in grief and great distress in other ways, to wipe away a tear, cut his hair, and take off his cloak; but what words can you address to the superstitious man, or in what way shall you help him? He sits outside his house with sackcloth on and filthy rags about him; and oftentimes he rolls naked in the mire as he confesses divers sins and errors of his—eating this or drinking that, or walking in a path forbidden by his conscience. But if he is very fortunate, and but mildly yoked with

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a Cf. Cicero, Tusculan Disputations, iii. 29 (72).
b Perhaps the language was suggested by the words in Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 1340.
(168) monia, periheioymenon 1 oikoi káthtai kai peri-
matoménes, aí dé ygráes “katháper patályw,”
E phsówn ó Bión, “ó ti án túxwosin autw periáptousi
férousaí kai periartwsoi.”

8. Tón Tíríbázovn3 fasin úpó tów Pérswon
sullambanómenon opásasthai te tów ákivákhwv,
èirwstovn ónta, kai diâmácheostaí martuvroméneov
de kai boówntovn dti sullambánouson autwv basilewos
kelevsantos, autíka tó xífos katabahalein kai tó
kérpe sívhdása parasschew. Ír’ ówv úch omioiv èstí
tó geynómenov; oí mév álloi diámáchontai sumpforaí
kai diwshwntai tá pragmatà, fuygás èanwteis mu-
chwnómevoi kai paratropais tów áboulytwvn. Ír
F dé deisidaiwmov ouvénov akouása, autós prós autón
eitwv “taúta páschexi, ó kákódáimov, ék pronoías
kai theou kelevvntos” érrhve pásaín elptídh, pror-
ékato èautówn, èfugve, diekroússato tów bhoùvntas.

Polla tów metrwv kakwv olébría pouiwsin
ai deisidaimoniá. Mídas ó palaiós, òs éoiken,
ék twnwv ènuptvow áthymov kai tarastómevos
ótwv kakwv èschex tìn yvykh, òvsth1 ékouáiwos
àpoubanein aýma táuropo pívov. Ír dé tów Mes-
spongivov basilewv 'Aristósthdmos èn tów prós Laka-
daimonivov4 polémwv, kwnwv lýkoi xorwmoénov
ómia kai peri tính estían autwv tính patrévnav

1 periheioymenos Hercher: periheioymenos.
2 kai added by Reiske.
3 Tíríbázovn Hercher: tpiríbázov or teiríbázovn.
4 Lakedaimonivos Xylander: messeptivos.

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a Plutarch, in his Life of Artaxerxes, chap. xxix. (p. 1026 c),
represents Tiribazus as fighting to the end, but this may have
been on another occasion.

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superstition, he sits in his house, subjecting himself to fumigation, and smearing himself with mud, and the old crones, as Bion says, "bring whatever chance directs and hang and fasten it on him as on a peg."

8. Tiribazus, they say, when an attempt was made by the Persians to arrest him, drew his sword, being a man of great strength, and fought desperately. But when the men protested and cried out that they were arresting him by the King's command, he instantly threw down his sword and held out his hands to be bound. Is not what actually happens just like this? The rest of men fight desperately against misfortunes, and force their way through difficulties, contriving for themselves means to escape and avert things undesired; but the superstitious man, without a word from anybody, says all to himself, "This you have to undergo, poor soul, by the dispensation of Providence and by God's command," and casts away all hope, gives himself up, runs away, and repulses those who would help him.

Many ills of no great moment are made to result fatally by men's superstition. Midas of old, dispirited and disturbed, as it appears, as the result of some dreams, reached such a state of mind that he committed suicide by drinking bull's blood. And Aristodemus, king of the Messenians in the war against the Spartans, when dogs howled like wolves, and quitch-grass began to grow around his ancestral

\[ \text{b} \] Plutarch, in trying to be a physician of the soul to cure superstition, has here unwittingly turned homoeopath. Cf. B. Perrin's note on chap. xxxi. (p. 128 a) of the Life of Themistocles in Plutarch's Themistocles and Aristides (New York, 1901), page 256. To the references there given should be added Nicander, Alexipharmacæ, 312.
ἀγρώστεως ἀναβλαστανούσης καὶ τῶν μάντεων
tὰ σημεῖα φοβουμένων, ἐξαθυμήσας καὶ κατα-
169 σβεσθεὶς ταῖς ἐλπίσιν αὐτὸς ἐαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν. ἦν
δ’ ἵνας καὶ Νικία τῷ Ἀθηναίων στρατηγῷ
κράτιστον οὕτως ἀπαλαγήναι τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας
ὡς Μίδας ἡ Ἀριστόδημος ἡ φοβηθέντι τὴν σκιάν
ἐκλυπούσης τῆς σελήνης καθῆσθαι περιτείχιζό-
μενον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰθ’ ὁμοὶ τέτταροι
μυριάσιν ἀνθρώπων φονευθέντων τε καὶ ζωντων
ἀλόντων ὑποχείριον γενέσθαι καὶ δυσκλέως ἀπο-
θανεῖν. οὐ γὰρ γης ἀντίφραξι εἰς μέσω γενομένης
φοβερῶν, οὐδὲ δεινὸν ἐν καιρῷ περιόδων¹ σκιᾶς
πρὸς σελήνην ἀπάντησις, ἀλλὰ δεινὸν τὸ τῆς
B δεισιδαιμονίας σκότος ἐμπεσον τοῦ² ἀνθρώπου συγ-
χέαι καὶ τυφλῶσαι λογισμὸν ἐν πράγμασι μάλιστα
λογισμοῦ δεομένου.

Γλαύχ', ὃρα, βαθύς³ γὰρ ἦδη κύμασιν ταράσσεται
πόντος, ἀμφὶ δ’ ἀκρα⁴ Γυρέων ὀρθῶν ἱσταται
νέφος,
οῆμα χειμώνος.

τοῦτ’ ἵδων κυβερνήτης εὐχεταὶ μὲν ὑπεκφυγεῖν
καὶ θεοὺς ἐπικαλεῖται σωτηρᾶς, εὐχόμενος δὲ τὸν
οἶκα προσάγει, τὴν κεραῖαν ὑφίσθιν,

¹ περιόδων Xylander: ποδῶν; cf. 171 § infra.
² ἐμπεσον τοῦ Bywater and F.C.B.: ἐμπεσόντος.
³ Γλαύκ’ ὃρα βαθύς Canter, but the reading is established
by other quotations of the passage: γλαυκεοράβδοις.
⁴ ἀκρα J. Pierson: ἀκρα.

* Other portents which disheartened Aristodemus are
related by Pausanias, iv. 13.

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hearth, and the seers were alarmed by these signs, lost heart and hope by his forebodings, and slew himself by his own hand. It would perhaps have been the best thing in the world for Nicias, general of the Athenians, to have got rid of his superstition in the same way as Midas and Aristodemus, rather than to be affrighted at the shadow on the moon in eclipse and sit inactive while the enemy’s wall was being built around him, and later to fall into their hands together with forty thousand men, who were either slain or captured alive, and himself meet an inglorious end. For the obstruction of light caused by the earth’s coming between sun and moon is nothing frightful, nor is the meeting of a shadow with the moon at the proper time in its revolutions anything frightful, but frightful is the darkness of superstition falling upon man, and confounding and blinding his power to reason in circumstances that most loudly demand the power to reason.

Glaucus, see, the mighty ocean
Even now with billows roars,
Round about the Gyrian summits
Sheer in air a dark cloud soars,
Sign of storm . . . ;

when the pilot sees this, he prays that he may escape the storm, and calls upon the Saviours, but while he is praying he throws the helm over, lowers the yard, and

\[b\] The details regarding Nicias are to be found in Thucydides, vii. 85-87, and in Plutarch’s Life of Nicias, chap. xxiii. (p. 538 d) ff.


\[d\] Castor and Pollux.
(169) φεύγει μέγα λαίφος ύποστολίσας ἑρεβώδεος ἐκ θαλάσσης.

ο Ῥήσοδος κελεύει πρὸ ἀρότου καὶ ἱππορού τὸν γεωργὸν

εὐχεσθαί τ'] Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερι θ' ἀγνη'

C τῆς ἐξέτης ἐχόμενον, "Ομηρὸς δὲ τὸν Αιαντά
φησι τῷ Ἐκτορι μέλλοντα μονομαχεῖν εὐχεσθαι
κελεύειν τοὺς Ἐλλήνας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς,
εἰτ' εὐχομένων ἐκεῖνοι ὁπλίζονται. καὶ ο Ἀγα-
μέμνων διὰ τοὺς μαχομένους προσέταξεν
εὐ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάσθω, εὗ δ' ἄσπίδα θέσθω,
τότε παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς αἰτεῖ

dόσ με κατὰ προμὲς βαλέειν Πριάμοιο μέλαθρον.
ἀρετὴς γὰρ ἐλπὶς ὁ θεὸς ἔστιν, οὐ δειλίας πρόφασις.
ἀλλ' Ιουδαῖοι σαββάτων θντῶν ἐν ἀγνάμπτως καθ-
εξόμενοι, τὸν πολέμιον κλίμακας προστιθέντων
καὶ τὰ τείχη καταλαμβανόντων, οὐκ ἀνέστησαν
ἀλλ' ἐμεναν ὁσπερ ἐν σαγήνῃ μιᾷ τῇ δεισδαιμονίᾳ
συνδεδεμένοι.

D 9. Τοιαύτη μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις καὶ περι-
οστάτικοῖς λεγομένους πράγμασι καὶ καιροῖς ἡ
dεισδαιμονία, βελτίων δ' οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς
Ηδίσου τῆς ἀθεότητος. ἦδιστα δὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις

1 τ'] δ' ἐν κάποιοι με. καὶ ἐν Ἡςίοδοι.
2 ἀγνάμπτως ἐν κάποιοι με. διαφημίζοντας ἐν Ἡςίοδοι.

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b Works and Days, 465-8.

c Homer, II. vii. 193 ff.

d Ibid. ii. 382.

e Adapted from Homer, II. ii. 413-414.
SUPERSTITION, 169

Furling the big main sail,
Hastens to make his escape
Out from the murky sea.

Hesiod advises ‡ that the farmer before ploughing and sowing should

Pray to Zeus of the world below and to holy Demeter
with his hand on the plough-handle; and Homer
says ‡ that Ajax, as he was about to engage in single combat with Hector, bade the Greeks pray to the gods for him, and then, while they were praying, donned his armour; and when Agamemnon enjoined on the fighting men,

See that each spear is well sharpened, and each man’s shield in good order,
at the same time he asked in prayer from Zeus,

Grant that I raze to the level of earth the palace of Priam; for God is brave hope, not cowardly excuse. But the Jews,† because it was the Sabbath day, sat in their places immovable, while the enemy were planting ladders against the walls and capturing the defences, and they did not get up, but remained there, fast bound in the toils of superstition as in one great net.

9. Such are the characteristics of superstition in undesired and critical (as they are called) circumstances and occasions, but it is not one bit better than atheism even under pleasurable conditions. The pleasantest things that men enjoy are festal

‡ Perhaps the reference is to the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C. (cf. Dio Cassius, xxxvii. 16), or possibly to its capture by Antony in 38 B.C. (cf. Dio Cassius, xlix. 22). Cf. also Josephus, Antiquitates Jud. xii. 6. 2, and 1 Maccabees, ii. 32 ff.
(169) ἐφορταὶ καὶ εἰλαπίναὶ πρὸς ἕρωτας καὶ μυήσεις καὶ ἀργίασμοι καὶ κατευχὰι θεῶν καὶ προσκυνήσεις. εὐταθὰ τοῖνυν σκόπει τὸν ἄθεον γελῶντα μὲν μανικὸν καὶ σαρδάνιον¹ γέλωτα τοῖς ποιομένοις καὶ ποὺ παραφθεγγόμενον ἡρέμα² πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις ὅτι τετυφωνται καὶ δαιμονώσιν οἱ θεοὶς ταῦτα δράσθαι νομίζοντες, ἀλλο δ' οὖδὲν ἔχοντα κακὸν. ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων βούλεται μὲν οὗ δύναται δὲ χαίρειν οὗδ' ἑδεσθαι.

τόλις δ' ὁμοῦ μὲν θυμιαμάτων γέμει,

Ε ὁμοῦ δὲ παιάνων τε καὶ στεναγμάτων.

ἡ ψυχὴ τοῦ δεισιδαίμονος· ἐστεφανωμένος ὕχρι, θύει καὶ φοβεῖται, εὑχεται φωνῇ παλλομένη καὶ χερσίν ἐπιθυμεῖ τρεμοῦσας, καὶ ὅλως ἀποδείκνυσι τὸν Πυθαγόρου λόγον φλύαρον εἰπόντος ὅτι βέλτιστοι γιγνόμεθα πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς βαδίζοντες· τότε γὰρ ἀθλιῶτα καὶ κάκιστα πράττουσιν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες, ὥσπερ ἁρκτῶν φυλεῖς ἥ χειαίς δρακόντων ἥ μυχοῖς κητῶν τοῖς τῶν θεῶν μεγάροις ἦ ἀνακτόροις προσίστουσι.

10. Ὡθεὶς ἐμοίγε καὶ θαυμαζέων ἔπεισι τοὺς τὴν Γ ἀθεότητα φάσκοντας ἀσέβειαν εἶναι, μὴ φάσκοντας δὲ τὴν δεισιδαίμοναν. κατοι γ' Ἄναξαγόρας δίκην ἐφυγεν ἀσέβειας ἐπὶ τῶν λίθων² εἰπεῖν τὸν ἥλιον, Κυμμερίους δ' οὔδεις εἶπεν ἀσέβεις ὅτι τὸν ἥλιον οὖδ' εἶναι τὸ παράπαν νομίζοις. τί σὺ

¹ σαρδάνιον] σαρδάνιον or σαρδάνιον.
² ἡρέμα] ἀτρέμα in some mss.
³ λίθων] μύθον, the traditional word, by correction in one ms. Plutarch probably drew from the well-known passage in Plato's Apology, p. 26 d.

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days and banquets at the temples, initiations and mystic rites, and prayer and adoration of the gods. Note that the atheist on these occasions gives way to insane and sardonic laughter at such ceremonies, and remarks aside to his cronies that people must cherish a vain and silly conceit to think that these rites are performed in honour of the gods; but with him no harm is done save this. On the other hand the superstitious man, much as he desires it, is not able to rejoice or be glad:

The city is with burning incense filled:
   Full too of joyous hymns and doleful groans

is the soul of the superstitious man. When the garland is on his head he turns pale, he offers sacrifice and feels afraid, he prays with quavering voice, with trembling hands he sprinkles incense, and, in a word, proves how foolish are the words of Pythagoras, who said that we reach our best when we draw near to the gods. For that is the time when the superstitious fare most miserably and wretchedly, for they approach the halls or temples of the gods as they would approach bears' dens or snakes' holes or the haunts of monsters of the deep.

10. Hence it occurs to me to wonder at those who say that atheism is impiety, and do not say the same of superstition. Yet Anaxagoras was brought to trial for impiety on the ground that he had said the sun is a stone; but nobody has called the Cimmerians impious because they do not believe even in the existence of the sun at all. What say you? The

a Sophocles, Oedipus Tyrannus, 4; quoted also in Moralia, 95 c, 445 d, and 623 c.

b Cf. Moralia, 413 b.

c Cf. Homer, Od. xi. 13-19.
λέγεις; ὁ μὴ νομίζων θεοῦ εἶναι ἀνόσιος ἔστιν; ὁ δὲ τοιούτους νομίζων οἶους οἱ δεισιδαιμόνες, οὐ μακρῷ δόξαις ἀνοσιωτέρας σύνεστιν; ἐγὼ γοῦν ἂν ἔθελομι μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν περὶ ἐμοῦ μήτε γεγονόναι τὸ παράπαν μήτ᾽ εἶναι

170 Πλούταρχος ἦ λέγειν ὅτι Πλούταρχὸς ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ἀβέβαιος εὐμετάβολος, εὐχερὴς πρὸς ὅργην, ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσι τιμωρητικὸς, μικρόλυπος. ἂν καλῶν ἐπὶ δείπνον ἐτέρους παραλίπησι ἐκεῖνον, ἂν ἀσχολίας σοι γενομένης ἐπὶ θύρας μὴ ἔλθης ἢ μὴ προσεῖπης, διεδεται σου τὸ σῶμα προσφὺς ἢ συλλαβῶν ἀποτυμπανεῖ τὸ παιδίον, ἢ θηρίων ἔχων τοὺς καρποὺς ἔφησε καὶ λυμανεῖται τὴν ὀπώραν.

Τοῦ Τιμοθέου τῆς Ἀρτέμιν ᾱδοντος ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ λέγοντος

θυαίδα¹ φοιβάδα μανάδα λυσάδα

Κινησίας ὁ μελοποιὸς ἐκ τῶν θεατῶν ἀναστάς, Β ὁ τοιαύτη σοι, ἔπει, ἃν ὑγάτηρ γένοιτο. καὶ μὴν ὁμοία τούτοις καὶ χείρῳ περὶ Ἀρτέμιδος οἱ δεισιδαιμόνες ὑπολαμβάνουσιν,

αἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγχόνας ἄξασα,
αἴτε καὶ λεχὼν κναίσασα,
αἴτε κακὸν νεκρῶ παροῦσα,
ἀμπεφυρμένα ἐσῆλθες,
αἴτε καὶ ἑκ τριόδων

¹ θυάδα Bergk: θυάδα.
man who does not believe in the existence of the gods is unholy? And is not he who believes in such gods as the superstitious believe in a partner to opinions far more unholy? Why, for my part, I should prefer that men should say about me that I have never been born at all, and there is no Plutarch, rather than that they should say "Plutarch is an inconstant fickle person, quick-tempered, vindictive over little accidents, pained at trifles. If you invite others to dinner and leave him out, or if you haven't the time and don't go to call on him, or fail to speak to him when you see him, he will set his teeth into your body and bite it through, or he will get hold of your little child and beat him to death, or he will turn the beast that he owns into your crops and spoil your harvest"a

When Timotheus, in a song at Athens, spoke of Artemis as

Ecstatic Bacchic frantic fanatic,b

Cinesias, the song-writer, standing up in his place among the audience, exclaimed, "May you have a daughter like that!" It is a fact that the superstitious make assumptions like that, and even worse than that, about Artemis:

If hasting in fear from a hanging corpse,
If near to a woman in childbirth pain,
If come from a house where the dead are mourned,
Polluted you entered the holy shrine,
Or if from the triple cross-roads come

a Probably a covert reference to Artemis who sent the Calydonian boar to ravage the fields; Homer, Iliad ix. 533 ff.
καθαρμάτεσσαν ἐπισπωμένα
tῷ παλαμναῖοι συμπλεξθέντα. 1

Οὕδεν δὲ τούτων ἐπιεικέστερα φρονοῦσι περὶ Ἁπόλλωνος περὶ Ἡρας περὶ Ἀφροδίτης πάντας γὰρ τούτους τρέμουσι καὶ δεδοίκασι. καίτοι τι τοιοῦτον ἢ Νιόθη περὶ τῆς Λητοῦς ἐβλασφήμησεν, οίον ἢ δεισιδαιμονία πέπεικε περὶ τῆς θεοῦ τοῦς C ἄφρονας, ὡς ἀρὰ λοιποθείσα κατετόξευσε τῆς ἄθλιας γυναικὸς

ἐξ μὲν θυγατέρας, ἐξ δ' οἰείας ἱβώντας;

οὕτως ἀπληστος ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν ἢν καὶ ἀν- ἱλαστος. εἰ γὰρ ἀληθῶς ἡ θέου χολὴν εἰχε καὶ μισοπόνηρος ἢν καὶ ἠλγει κακῶς ἀκούουσα καὶ μη κατεγέλα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀμάθιας καὶ ἀγνοίας ἀλλ' ἡγανάκτει, τούτους ἐδει τοξεύσαι τοὺς τοσαύ- την ὁμότητα καὶ πικρίαν καταψευδομένους αὐτῆς καὶ τοιαύτα λέγοντας καὶ γράφοντας. τῆς γοῦν Ἐκάβης προβαλλόμεθα τὴν πικρίαν ως βάρβαρον καὶ θηριώδη λεγούσης

D τοῦ ἐγώ μέσον ἵππαρ ἔχομι

ἐσθέμεναι προσφύσα,

τῇν δὲ Συριαν θεὸν οἱ δεισιδαίμονες νομίζομεν, ἃν

1 The mss. with only the slightest variations read as follows: αἶ τε καὶ ἀπ' ἀγχόνας ἀλίσας αἰ τε καλεχόνα καλάσατε αἰ τε κανέκεκρος μαλώσα τὸν πεφυμένα ἔσηθες αἰ τε καὶ ἐκ τριπόδων, κτλ. It was long ago recognized that we here have to do with a writer who in Doric dialect touches upon certain things which were taboo in the worship of Artemis, essentially the same as are referred to by Euripides in Iphig. Taur. 380-1. There is a temptation to suggest other possible restorations, for example νεκροῦς κλαίουσα, λέχος μαῖ' ὁδός, νεκρὸν καλάσας, but those interested will find other
SUPERSTITION, 170

Drawn to the place by cleansing rites
For the part you bear to the guilty one. a

And they think no more reasonably than this about Apollo and about Hera and about Aphrodite. For they tremble at all of these and dread them. And yet what did Niobe say regarding Leto that was so irreverent as is the belief which superstition has fixed in the minds of the unthinking regarding the goddess, that, because she was derided, she required that the unhappy woman's

Daughters six that she bore and six sons in the prime of young manhood b be shot dead? So insatiable was she in doing harm to others, and so implacable! For if it were really true that the goddess cherishes anger, and hates wickedness, and is hurt at being ill spoken of, and does not laugh at man's ignorance and blindness, but feels indignation thereat, she ought to require the death of those who falsely impute to her such savagery and bitterness, and tell and write such stories. At any rate, we bring forward the bitterness of Hecuba as something barbaric and savage when she says,

I wish I might eat up his liver,
Biting it 'tween my teeth. c

And yet of the Syrian goddess d the superstitious

b Adapted from Homer, II. xxiv. 604.
c Homer, II. xxiv. 212.
d Cf., for example, Athenaeus, 346 d, or Kock, Com. Attic. Frag. iii. p. 167, Menander, No. 544.

attempts at restoration in the books mentioned in note a above.
(170) μανίδας¹ τις ἡ ἀφύας φάγη, τὸ ἀντικυήμα διεσθεῖεν, ἐλκεσὶ τὸ σῶμα πιμπράναι, συντήκειν τὸ ἄπαρ.

11. 'Αρ' σών τὸ μὲν λέγειν τὰ φαιλα περὶ τῶν θεῶν ἀνόσιον, τὸ δὲ δοξάζειν οὐκ ἀνόσιον; ἡ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἀτοπον ἡ δόξα ποιεῖ τὸν βλασφημοῦντος; καὶ γὰρ ἥμεις τὴν βλασφημίαν ὅτι δυσμενεῖας σημεῖον ἔστι προβαλλόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς ἡμᾶς λέγοντας ἐχθροὺς νομίζομεν ὡς καὶ κακῶς φρονοῦντας. ὥρας δ' οὰ περὶ τῶν θεῶν οἱ Ἔ δεισιδαίμονες φρονοῦσιν, ἐμπλήκτους ἀπίστους εὐμεταβόλους τιμωρητικοὺς ὡμοὺς μικρολύτους ὑπολαμβάνοντες, εξ ὧν ἀνάγκη καὶ μισεῖν τόν δεισιδαίμονα καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοὺς. πῶς γὰρ οὐ μέλλει, τὰ μέγιστα τῶν κακῶν αὐτῶ δι' ἐκεῖνους οἴόμενοι γεγονέναι καὶ πάλιν γενήσεθαι; μισῶν δὲ θεοὺς καὶ φοβοῦμενος ἐχθρός ἔστι. κἂν δεδοίκη,² προσκυνεῖ γε καὶ θύει καὶ κάθηται πρὸς ἔροις, καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν ἔστι· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς τυράννους ἀσπάζονται περιέπουσι χρυσοὺς ἀνιστάσιν, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσι σιγή "κάρα σεἰόντες." Ἀλέξανδρον Ἑρμόλαος ἐθεράπευε, Παυσανίας ἐδορυφόρει Φίλος ἰππὸν, Χαυρέας Γάιον, ἀλλ' ἐκαστὸς τούτων ἐλεγεν παρακολουθῶν

ἡ σ' ἄν τισαίμην, εἰ μοι δύναμις γε παρεῖη.

¹ μανίδας] μανίδα most mss.: μανίδα Paton.
² κἂν δεδοίκη F.C.B.: κἂν (καὶ some mss.) δέδει καὶ οἴ καλτοί.

a Sophocles, Antigone, 291.
с It is said that Pausanias later helped to kill Philip. Cf. Aristotle, Politics, v. 10; Diodorus Siculus, xv. 94-95; Aelian, Varia Historia, iii. 45; Valerius Maximus, i. 8, ext. 9.

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believe that if anybody eats sprats or anchovies, she will gnaw through the bones of his shins, inflame his body with sores, and dissolve his liver.

11. Is it, then, an unholy thing to speak meanly of the gods, but not unholy to have a mean opinion of them? Or does the opinion of him who speaks malignly make his utterance improper? It is a fact that we hold up malign speaking as a sign of animosity, and those who speak ill of us we regard as enemies, since we feel that they must also think ill of us. You see what kind of thoughts the superstitious have about the gods; they assume that the gods are rash, faithless, fickle, vengeful, cruel, and easily offended; and, as a result, the superstitious man is bound to hate and fear the gods. Why not, since he thinks that the worst of his ills are due to them, and will be due to them in the future? As he hates and fears the gods, he is an enemy to them. And yet, though he dreads them, he worships them and sacrifices to them and besieges their shrines; and this is nothing surprising; for it is equally true that men give welcome to despots, and pay court to them, and erect golden statues in their honour, but in their hearts they hate them and "shake the head." a Hermolaüs b attended upon Alexander, Pausanias c served as bodyguard for Philip, and Chaerea d for Gaius Caligula, yet each one of these must have said as he followed along:

Verily I would have vengeance if only my strength were sufficient. e

a Cassius Chaerea fomented the conspiracy which resulted in the death of Caligula; cf. Tacitus, Annals, i. 32; Suetonius, Caligula, 56-58.

b Homer, Il. xxii. 20.
Οὐκ οὖτε τιθεοῦς εἶναι ὁ ἅθεος, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαιμών
οὐ βούλεται, πιστεύει δ’ ἀκων· φοβεῖται γὰρ ἀ-
pisteuν. καίτοι γ’ ὦσπερ ὁ Τάνταλος ὑπεκδύναι
tὸν λίθον ἐπαισχομένου οὕτω καὶ οὕτως τὸν φόβον
ὡς οὖν ἦττον ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πιεζόμενος ἀγαπήσειν
ἀν, καὶ μακαρίσει τὴν τοῦ ἄθεου διάθεσιν ὡς ἐλευ-
θέρουν. νυνὶ δὲ τῷ μὲν ἅθεω δεισιδαμονίας οὐδὲν
μέτεστιν, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαιμών τῇ προαιρέσει ἄθεος
ὥν ἀσθενέστερός ἔστιν ἦ ὥστε δοξάζειν περὶ θεῶν
ὁ βούλεται.

171 12. Καὶ μὴν ὁ ἅθεος δεισιδαμονίας οὐδαμὴ συν-
aίτιος, ἢ δὲ δεισιδαμονία τῇ ἄθεότητι καὶ γενέσθαι
παρέσχειν ἄρχην καὶ γενομένη δίδωσιν ἀπολογίαν,
οὐκ ἄληθῆ μὲν οὐδὲ καλήν, προφάσεως δὲ τινος
οὐκ ἄμυδρον οὕσαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐν ὑπάρχῃ τι μεμπτὸν
οὐδ’ ἐν ἀστροὺς οὐδ’ ἐν ὤραις ἢ περί ὁπλίας σελήνης
を超えσθεν ἢλίου περὶ γῆς, "ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς
dημιουργοῖς," ἢ τροφαῖς ζωῶν ἢ καρπῶν γενόσει
πλημμελεῖς καὶ ἀτακτὸν ἐνίδοντες οὕτως ἄθεότητα
τοῦ παντὸς κατέγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ τῆς δεισιδαμονίας
ἐργα καὶ πάθη καταγέλαστα, καὶ ῶμιατα καὶ κυνὴ-

Β ματα καὶ γοητείαι καὶ μαγείαι καὶ περιδρομαὶ καὶ
τυπανισμοὶ καὶ ἀκάθαρτοι μὲν καθαρμοὶ ῶπαραι
δ’ ἀγνέοι, βάρβαροὶ δὲ καὶ παράνομοι πρὸς ἑρῴς
κολασμοὶ καὶ προπηλακισμοὶ, ταῦτα δίδωσιν ἐνίοις
λέγειν ὡς μὴ εἶναι θεοῦς ἀμενον ἢ εἶναι, τοιαῦτα

a Adapted from Plato, Timaeus, p, 40 c. Plutarch quotes the phrase more accurately in Moralia, 937 e, 938 e, and 1006 e.

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The atheist thinks there are no gods; the superstitious man wishes there were none, but believes in them against his will; for he is afraid not to believe. And yet, as Tantalus would be glad indeed to get out from under the rock suspended above his head, so the superstitious man would be glad to escape his fear by which he feels oppressed no less than Tantalus by his rock, and he would call the condition of the atheist happy because it is a state of freedom. But, as things are, the atheist has neither part nor lot in superstition, whereas the superstitious man by preference would be an atheist, but is too weak to hold the opinion about the gods which he wishes to hold.

12. Moreover, the atheist has no part in causing superstition, but superstition provides the seed from which atheism springs, and when atheism has taken root, superstition supplies it with a defense, not a true one or a fair one, but one not destitute of some speciousness. For it is not because these people saw in the heavens anything to find fault with, or anything not harmonious or well-ordered in the stars or seasons, or in the revolutions of the moon or in the movements of the sun around the earth, "artisans of day and night," or in the feeding and growth of living creatures, or in the sowing and harvesting of crops, as the result of which they decided against the idea of a God in the universe; but the ridiculous actions and emotions of superstition, its words and gestures, magic charms and spells, rushing about and beating of drums, impure purifications and dirty sanctifications, barbarous and outlandish penances and mortifications at the shrines—all these give occasion to some to say that it were better there should be no gods at all than gods who accept with
(171) μὲν δεχομένους τοιούτους δὲ χαίροντας, οὗτω δ’ ύβριστάς, οὗτω δὲ μικρολόγους καὶ μικρολύπους.

13. Οὐκ ἄμεινον οὖν ἦν Γαλάταις ἐκείνοις καὶ Σκύθαις τὸ παράπαν μὴν ἐννοιαν ἔχειν θεών μήτε φαντασίαν μήθ᾽ ἱστορίαν ἢ θεοὺς ἐναὶ νομίζειν χαίροντας ἀνθρώπων σφαττομένων αἴματι καὶ τελεωτάτην θυσίαν καὶ ἱερογρίγιαν ταύτην νομίζοντας; τί δὲ; Καρχηδονίους οὖν ἐλυσσεὶ Κριτίαν λαβοῦν ἡ Διαγόραν νομοθέτην ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς μήτε τινὰ δαμόνων μήτε θεῶν νομίζειν ἢ τοιαῦτα θύειν οία τῷ Κράωνῳ ἔθνοι; οὐχ ὁσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φησι τοῖς τὰ ξάφα θυώντων καθαπτόμενος

μορφήν δ’ ἀλλὰξαντα πατὴρ φίλον νεόν ἀείρας
σφάζει ἐπευχόμενος μέγα νήπιος,

ἄλλ’ εἰδότες καὶ γυνώσκοντες αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτῶν τέκνα καθιέρευον, οἱ δ’ ἄτεκνοι παρὰ τῶν πενήτων ὤνομένου παιδία κατέσφαζον καθάπερ ἄρνας ἢ

δεισοσούσ, παρεστήκει δ’ ἡ μήτηρ ἄτεγκτος καὶ ἀστένακτος. εἰ δὲ στενάξατεν ἡ δακρύσειν, ἔδει τῆς τυχῆς στέρεσθαι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον οὐδὲν ἦττον ἐθύετο· κρῶτον τε κατεπιμπλατο πάντα πρὸ τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐπαυλούντων καὶ τυμπανίζων ἔνεκα τοῦ μὴ γενέσθαι τὴν βοήν τῶν θρήνων ἐξάκουστον.

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a Cf. Caesar, Gallic War, vi. 16 and Strabo, iv. 4. 5.
b Cf. Herodotus, iv. 70-72.
c Both Critias and Diagoras were famous atheists of antiquity. Cf. Sextus Empiricus, Adversus Mathematicos, ix. 54; Plutarch, Moralia, 880 d, 1075 a.
d Plutarch says (Moralia, 175 a and 522 a) that the practice was stopped by Gelon, tyrant of Syracuse, after his victory over the Carthaginians in 480 b.c. But cf. Diodorus, xx. 14, which suggests that the practice was later revived. 492
pleasure such forms of worship, and are so overbearing, so petty, and so easily offended.

13. Would it not then have been better for those Gauls¹ and Scythians² to have had absolutely no conception, no vision, no tradition, regarding the gods, than to believe in the existence of gods who take delight in the blood of human sacrifice and hold this to be the most perfect offering and holy rite? Again, would it not have been far better for the Carthaginians to have taken Critias or Diagoras³ to draw up their law-code at the very beginning, and so not to believe in any divine power or god, rather than to offer such sacrifices as they used to offer to Cronos?⁴ These were not in the manner that Empedocles describes⁵ in his attack on those who sacrifice living creatures:

Changed in form is the son beloved of his father so pious, Who on the altar lays him and slays him. What folly!

No, but with full knowledge and understanding they themselves offered up their own children, and those who had no children would buy little ones from poor people and cut their throats as if they were so many lambs or young birds; meanwhile the mother stood by without a tear or moan; but should she utter a single moan or let fall a single tear, she had to forfeit the money,⁶ and her child was sacrificed nevertheless; and the whole area before the statue was filled with a loud noise of flutes and drums so that the cries of wailing should not reach the ears of the people. Yet,


¹ Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, i. p. 275.
² Since the bad omen of her conduct would nullify the good effect of the sacrifice.
et cives

Tcyavres

"QPX^

rjfxcbv
tovs
devs
ekxovreg,

Trolais
olv
t^Sovto
dvcriais
rj
rtW?

aAAa?

lepovpyias
atTrjTOvv;

"Ayuricrrpis
s'
rj
"B^ip^ov

yvvTj
scosK
Karcopv^ev
dvOpconovs

avTTJs
Tip
"Aisrj,
or
YlXdcov
p^jal
(f)tXdvd
pconov

ovra
/cat
a<f)6v
/cat
rrXovcnov,
TretdoX
/cat
Xoyw

Karexovra
rd
i/jvxds,
"Aiq-qv
(hvofidaOat.
Sej'-
(fidvTjS
8'
O
(fVCriKOS
TOVS
AiyVTTTLOVS
KOTTTOjJieVOVS
iviopTOLS/dprjvovvTas
opwv
inrefMvrjaev
ot/ceto)?.

"ovTOL,"
<j>riaiv,
"et
pukv
devol
eia,
p.rj
dprjveLTe
avTovs'
el
S'
dvOpcoTTOi,
p.rj
OveTe
aurots'."

14. 'All' ou<ten ou<tw polupl<anes kai polupath<es
v<sqma kai me<ngmenon e<nantiai do<xa kai ma<ko-
m<nais mal<lon w<5 to t<os deisidai<monias. feukte<ov
ou< aut<ou asfal<as te kai symer<i>ontos, ou<
<sqper oi l<qstw n< the<rioi e<<fod<on n< p<ri ap<i>-F
sekpestws kai al<ogis<tw perifeugontes empi<ptou-
swn eis anodi<as baradhra kai krrmwnous e<chousas.
ou<tw gar enoi feugontes t<in deisidai<monian
empi<ptou<sw eis athe<oteta traxeiai kai ant<itupon,
uperp<dh<antas en me<sw keim<enun t<in eus<beiai.

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a Herodotus, vii. 114; but compare iii. 35.
b The reference is probably to Plato, Cratylus, pp. 403 A–404 B, where are repeated the popular etymologies of Pluto from πλοῦτος (wealth), and Hades from πάντα τὰ καλὰ εἰδέναι (all-knowing of good).
c The saying is quoted also in Moralia, 379 b and 763 c, and referred to in 228 e, cf. also Aristotle, Rhetoric, ii. 23, 27.
if Typhons or Giants were ruling over us after they had expelled the gods, with what sort of sacrifices would they be pleased, or what other holy rites would they require? Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, caused twelve human beings to be buried alive as an offering in her behalf to propitiate Hades, of whom Plato says that it is because he is humane and wise and rich, and controls the souls of the dead by persuasion and reason, that he has come to be called by this name. Xenophanes, the natural philosopher, seeing the Egyptians beating their breasts and wailing at their festivals, gave them a very proper suggestion: “If these beings are gods,” said he, “do not bewail them; and if they are men, do not offer sacrifices to them.”

14. But there is no infirmity comprehending such a multitude of errors and emotions, and involving opinions so contradictory, or rather antagonistic, as that of superstition. We must try, therefore, to escape it in some way which is both safe and expedient, and not be like people who incautiously and blindly run hither and thither to escape from an attack of robbers or wild beasts, or from a fire, and rush into trackless places that contain pitfalls and precipices. For thus it is that some persons, in trying to escape superstition, rush into a rough and hardened atheism, thus overleaping true religion which lies between.

\[d\] An application of the Aristotelian doctrine that virtue is the mean between two extremes (vices).
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ACHAEUS, 165: Greek tragic poet, of Eretria in Euboea, born about 434 B.C.
Acheron, 135: a river of the other world.
Achilles, 49, 127, 171: one of the most prominent Greek leaders in the Trojan war.
Ada, 241: queen of Caria.
Adrastus, 19: son of Talaius, king of Argos, and brother of Eriphyle, who betrayed her husband Amphiaraus for the sake of the necklace of Harmodia.
Aeacus, 209: son of Zeus and Aegina; after his death he became one of the judges in the other world.
Aemilius Paulus, L., 313: surnamed Macedonicus from his victory over the Macedonians under Perseus at Pydna, 168 B.C., was a famous Roman general of patriotic family. He lived 229 (?)-160 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Aeschines, 197, 199: Attic orator, opponent of Demosthenes, 339-314 B.C.
Aeschylus quoted, 9, 15, 31, 111, 131, 151, 185: Athenian tragic poet, 525-456 B.C.
Aesop, 160, 293, 369, 371, 381, 383, 393, 397, 399, 401, 403, 409, 415, 417, 447: at one time a slave, was a writer of fables. circa 570 B.C. The fables now current as Aesop's can hardly be in anything like their original form.
Agamedes, 145, 147: brother of Trophonius, who with Trophonius built a Temple of Apollo at Delphi; afterwards honoured at Lebadeia.
Agave, 469: daughter of Cadmus, and mother of Pentheus, whom she slew while she was in a Bacchic frenzy.
Aglaonice, 339: learned daughter of Hegetor of Thessaly.
Ajax, 407, 451: son of Telamon, from the island of Salamis, one of the Greek heroes of Troy. Sophocles' Ajax portrays his last day.
Alcaceus, 408: an emendation by Capps of an almost hopeless passage. Perhaps παρα τε Κροίων may be defended by Diogenes Laertius, i. 99.
Alcmeon, 19: son of Amphiaraus and Eriphyle; the father enjoined his sons to kill their mother as soon as they should be grown up.
Alcyoneus, 199: son of Antigonus Gonatus.
Alexander the Great, 65, 75, 227, 241, 489: son of Philip, and king of Macedon, 356-323 B.C.
Alexander (see Paris), son of Priam, 75.
Alexandemus, 363, 365: son of Thrasylus tyrant of Miletus.
Alyattes, 389, 391: king of Lydia, 617 (?)-600 B.C.
Amestris 425: wife of Xerxes, king of Persia.
497
Amphiaraus, 155: an Argive, son of Oecles and Hypermmestra; a prophet and heros at Argos. Took part in the Calydonian boar hunt, the Argonautic expedition, and the expedition of the Seven against Thebes, where he met his death. Worshipped as a hero after death; oracular shrine at Oropus.

Amphidamas, 391: legendary king and hero of Chalcis in Euboea.

Amphilite, 441, 449: goddess, wife of Poseidon.

Anacharsis, 347, 359, 361, 371, 381, 395, 397, 403, 415, 443: a Scythian of high rank and intelligence, who travelled widely in pursuit of knowledge, visiting Athens in the time of Solon; circa 594 B.C.

Anaxagoras, 193, 195, 483: Greek philosopher from Clazomenae in Asia Minor, friend of Pericles at Athens, banished from Athens he retired to Lampsacus; circa 500–428 B.C.

Anaxagoras quoted, 83.

Anchises, 97: a Trojan beloved of Aphrodite, by whom he became the father of Aeneas.

Andromache, 191: wife of Hector.

Antigonus Gonatas, 193, 194: the son of Demetrius Poliorcetes; born circa 319 B.C.; king of Macedonia 283–239 B.C.

Antimachus, 151: of Colophon in Asia Minor, epic and elegiac poet, 5th century B.C. Besides Lyke he wrote a long epic poem Thebaic.

Antipater, 321: trusted Macedonian officer, appointed regent by Alexander during his Asiatic expedition, 334 B.C., and continued as regent after Alexander's death until 320 B.C. Was General against the Greeks during the Laman war.


Apollo, 433, 487: the Greek god, brother of Artemis.

Apollonius, to whom Plutarch's letter is addressed, 109, 211.

Apollonius, son of Apollonius (?), see 106.

Arcesilais, 151, 237: Greek philosopher 4th and 3rd century B.C.; succeeded Crates as head of the Academy.

Archemorus (or Ophelles), 155: son of Lycurgus, king of Nemet; left alone by his nurse, Hypsipyle, he was killed by a serpent, at the time of the expedition of the Seven against Thebes.

Archilochus quoted, 385, 479: from the Island of Paros; wrote elegiac poetry as well as the lambic, of which he was reputed to be the inventor; circa 650 B.C.

Ardalus, 369, 371, 401, 411, 413: an hereditary priest and flute-player from Troezen.

Argus, 47: of the hundred eyes; appointed by Hera to guard Io, after Io had been changed into a heifer.

Arion, 481, 483, 485, 487: a famous harp player from the island of Lesbos, reputed inventor of dithyrambic poetry; he lived in the latter part of the 7th century B.C.

Aristides, 75: a high-minded Athenian, often called "the Just" fought at Marathon and Salamis; died 468 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Aristodemus, 477, 479: king of the Messenians, 5th century B.C.

Aristotle, 177, 275: the philosopher, 384–322 B.C.

Aristylla, 337 and note.

Arthank, 161: sister and wife of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

Artemis, 485: the Greek goddess, sister of Apollo.

Asclepius (Lat. Aesculapius), 425: the legendary founder of the art of medicine; later reputed to be the son of Apollo.

Athamas, 437, 469: son of Aeolus, and king of Orchomenos in Boeotia. In a fit of insanity he slew his own son, Leachus.

Athena Ergane, 85.

Athens, Athenians, 331, 379, 383; fond of fighting, 259.
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Athletic trainers, 271, 273.

Bathing, 221, 223, 261.
Bathycles, beaker of, 401, and note.
Bias, 347, 351, 369, 375, 377, 379, 395, 399, 401, 429: of Priene in Asia Minor, circa 550 B.C., one of the Seven Wise Men.
Bion quoted, 477: called Borys-thenites, circa 250 B.C., a Scythian philosopher from Olbia on the north of the Black Sea, noted for his pungent sayings. He tried out the different systems of philosophy, and finally attached himself to the Peripatetics.
Biton, 145: an Argive, brother of Cleobis.
Boeotia, wedding custom in, 301.
Briareus, 47, 61: also called Aegaon (Hom. H. i. 403); son of Uranus (or Poseidon?) and Gaea; a monster with fifty heads and an hundred arms.
Bull's blood, suicide by drinking, 477.
Busiris, 373: a town in Egypt.
Buzygus, 321: a ceremonial ploughing observed at Athens.

Caesar, C. Iulius, 31: famous Roman general, statesman, and writer, 100-44 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Calliades, 207-211: an Athenian, one of the characters in Plato's Gorgias.
Carthage, 75: celebrated city on the northern coast of Africa, settled by the Phoenicians.
Carthaginians, 493.
Castor (and Pollux), 479: the Dioscuri, protectors especially of sailors.
Cathartics, use of, 275, 277, 279.
Cato, M. Porcius, 245, 263, 307: the Elder, commonly called the Censor, 234(?)-149 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Cato, M. Porcius, 33, 35: commonly called Cato Uticensis, or Cato Minor, 95-46 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.
Celts, 167: a people of Western Europe.
Chaerea, Cassius, 439: a Roman, leader of the conspiracy against the emperor Caligula.
Chaeremon quoted, 75: Greek tragic poet, early part of 4th century B.C.
Chalcis, 391: a town in Euboea.
Chilon, 5, 63, 347, 357, 369, 377, 379, 381, 383, 395, 401, 403, 407, 443: of Lacedaemon, one of the Seven Wise Men, circa 500 B.C.
Chios, 35: large island off the west coast of Asia Minor.
Cimmerians, 483: in Homer a mythical people who lived in utter darkness. Later an actual people living north of the Black Sea.
Cinesias, 485: Attic dithyrambic poet, 5th century B.C., often ridiculed by contemporary poets.
Circe, 303: the sorceress of the Odyssey, who changed men into animals.
Clandia, Quinta, 341: a Roman matron, 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.
Cleobis, 145: an Argive, brother of Biton.
Cleobulina (really named Eumetis), 341, 373: daughter of Cleobulus of Rhodes; famed for her riddles.
Cleobulus, 347, 375, 381, 393, 401, 409, 411: of Lindus in Rhodes; one of the Seven Wise Men, early part of the 6th century B.C.
Cocytus, 135: a river of the other world.
Cornelia, 341: a Roman matron, mother of the Gracchi; 2nd century B.C.
Cranor, 106; quoted, 113, 121, 173:
Academic philosopher from Soli in Cilicia, pupil of Xenocrates and Polemo: early part of 3rd century B.C.; wrote Περὶ πένθους and comments on Plato.

Crassus, M. Licinius, 19, 23: a very wealthy Roman; lived 115-53 B.C.; triumvir with Pompey and Julius Caesar 60 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.


Creon, 55: king of Corinth who gave his daughter to Jason, and suffered death with his daughter at the hands of Medea, Jason's former wife. (Euripides, Medea.)

Cretan and island south of Greece, home of early Aegean civilization.

Critias, 493: one of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens 404 B.C.; fell at the battle of Munychia that year; an unprincipled and godless man.

Croesus, 369, 397: king of Lydia in Asia Minor, 560-546 B.C., famous for his wealth; conquered by Cyrus the Great.

Cronus, 207: (Lat. Saturn) god, son of Uranus and the father of Zeus, Poseidon, Hera, and others.

Cronos (= El, or Moloch), 493 and note.

Cypselus, 445, 447: son of Aeëtion and father of Periander.

Cyrus the younger, 327: the second of the sons of Daricus Nothos, king of Persia; attempted to wrest the kingdom from his brother Artaxerxes, and fell at the battle of Cunaxa, 401 B.C.

Cythera, 383; a name of Aphrodite.

Damon, 51: offered himself as surety to be put to death if his friend Phintias (condemned for plotting against Dionysius the elder) did not come back to suffer punishment.

Danaë, 129: daughter of Acrisius and mother of Perseus, the Argive hero; cast into the sea with Perseus in a chest by Acrisius.

Danuidae, 427: the fifty daughters of Danaus, king of Argos, who, for the murder of their husbands were condemned in the other world to fill with water a great vase which had a hole in the bottom.

Daphnis, 439: a river of Locris, emptying near the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth.

Death not an evil, 131 ff.

Delos, 413: an island in the Aegean sea, one of the Cyclades.

Delphi, 441, 445, 447; a town in Phocis, the seat of the celebrated oracle of Apollo.

Delphi, the two inscriptions at, 183, 447.

Demades, 239: a brilliant Athenian orator, opponent of Demosthenes; put to death by Antipater, 318 B.C.

Demeter, 299, 417, 423, 481: the Greek goddess of agriculture, worshipped especially at Athens and Eleusis.


Democritus, 251, 283: of Abdera in Thrace; widely travelled; suggested the atomic theory; "the laughing philosopher." Circa 460-360 B.C.

Demonsthenes, 193, 197, 199; the famous Attic orator, 385-322 B.C.

Demonsthenes quoted, 15, 89, 467.

Demus (v.l. Onomademos) of Chios, 35.

Determinants, as a subject for discussion, 271.

Diagoras, 403: of Melos, 5th cent. B.C., known as "the atheist."

Dictys, 129: of Seriphos; rescued Danaë and Perseus when they were afloat in the chest.

Diocles, 348, 367, 379, 399, 437: a
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cal character in the Dinner of the Seven Wise Men.

Diogenes, 9 : of Sinope 420 (?)-323 B.C., the famous Cynic philoso-
pher, to whom are ascribed numerous pungent and witty say-
ings.

Diogenes quoted, 15, 189.

Dion, 65, 193, 197 : of Syracuse in Sicily, brother-in-law of the
colony head of the elder Dionysius. Plutarch wrote his life.

Dionysiac artists, 13: actors and musicians.

Dionysius the elder, 317 : born 430 B.C., rose to be tyrant of Syra-
cus, 405-367 B.C.

Dionysius the younger, 65 : son of Dionysius the elder, succeeded
his father as ruler, but was finally driven out by Timoleon,
343 B.C.

Dionysus, 269, 369, 405, 417 ; the Greek god of wine, and patron
of the drama.

Dolphins, stories about, 429-443.

Domitius, 3, 8, 10 : Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, last part of 2nd
cent. and first part of 1st cent. B.C. Consul 96 B.C. Censor 92
B.C., with L. Licinius Crassus.

Drinks, kinds and use of, 265, 267, 269, 289.

Echelatus, 441: head of the expedi-
tion to found a colony at Lesbos.

Egypt, 351, 361, 379.

Egyptians, 167, 321, 363, 373, 375,
495.

Elephantine, 375: an important
city of upper Egypt.

Elysium, 147, 149: of Terina in
Italy; father of Euthynoiis.

Emetics, use of, 275, 277.

Empedocles quoted, 47, 57, 81,
493: physical philosopher of
Acragas (Agrigentum) in Sicily,
middle of 5th cent. B.C. said to
have thrown himself into the
 crater of Mt. Etna.

Erebus, 483: a local hero of Lesbos.

Epaminondas, 61, 287: of Thebes
inj Boeotia, circa 420-362 B.C.,
famous general and statesman,
founder of the Theban League.

Ephemeris (insects), 159.

Epicharmus quoted, 79: comic poet
from the island of Cos, but lived
most of his life in Sicily under
the patronage of Hiero.

Epicurus, 231, 452: the celebrated
Greek philosopher, 341-270 B.C.,
founder of the Epicurean school;
greatly admired by the Roman
poet, Lucretius.

Epicurus, quoted, 83.

Epimenides, 347, 411, 413, 415:
priest, and prophet from Crete,
circa 600 B.C.; rated by some as
one of the Seven Wise Men;
purified Athens after the murder
of Cylon.

Eresus, 411: a town on the west
coast of the island of Lesbos.

Eretrians, contest for the Lelant-
tine Plain, 391.

Ethiopia, no thunder-storms in, 459.

Ethiopian king, the, 375, 385.

Eumetis, 361, 369, 391, 393, 401.
See Cleobulina.

Euripides quoted, 15, 17, 49, 61, 81,
111, 115, 119, 121, 129, 131,
133, 137, 151, 157, 163, 181,
185, 189, 201, 227, 233, 237 (?), 265,
327, 329, 459, 461, 486: Athenian
tragic poet, circa 485-406 B.C.

Eurydice, 299, 337, 341: a young
friend of Plutarch's.

Enthuctates, 75: of Olynthus,
accused by Demosthenes of hav-
ing betrayed his country to
Philip of Macedon.

Euthynoiis, 147: son of Elysium.

Exact mode of living, 249, 279.

Exercise, 257, 259, 273, 275.

Food, kinds and use of, 229, 233,
235, 239, 249, 255, 263, 265, 289,
411-427.

Galatians, 167: an ancient people
living inland in Asia Minor are
probably meant, but the Gauls
may be included also.

Gaul, no earthquakes in, 459.
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Gauls, 493: an ancient people inhabiting northern Italy, France, Belgium, and some parts of the adjacent territory.

Getae, 289: a people of Thrace (called Daci by the Romans) living near the river Danube.

Glauceus, 217, 219, 221, 229: a physician.

Gorgias, 207, 338: of Leontini in Sicily; famous as an author and rhetorician, born about 480 B.C., and said to have lived over one hundred years.

Gorgo, 341: a Spartan woman.


Graces, the, 801.

Greeks, contrasted with barbarians, 167, 371, 445.

Greeks, customs of in early times, 391, 413.

Gryllus, 197: son of Xenophon the historian.

Hades, 183, 185, 495.


Hecuba, 487: wife of Priam.

Helen, 313: wife of Menelaus; her abduction by Paris was the alleged cause of the Trojan war.


Heracleitus quoted, 79, 133, 285, 463: physical philosopher of Ephesus in Asia Minor, circa 560–500 B.C., often called "the Obscure."

Heracles, 29, 449, 469: the famous strong man of the Greeks.

Hermes, 301: the Greek god.

Hermione, 329: daughter of Menelaus and Helen; married to Neoptolemus, and later to Orestes.

Hermolatus, 489: a Macedonian, attendant of Alexander the Great.

Herodotus quoted, 305: Greek historian of the 5th cent. B.C.

Hesiod, 391, 407, 413, 415, 437, 439:

of Ascar in Boeotia, epic poet of the 8th or 9th century B.C.

Hesiod quoted, 37, 59, 97, 127, 177, 198, 243, 451.

Hiero, 25: powerful tyrant of Syracuse and Gela in Sicily, 478–467 B.C.

Hieronymus (St. Jerome), 279.

Hippocrates, 121, received a letter of condolence from Crantor, but otherwise unknown.

Hippocrates, 27, 214, 243, 255: of Cos, perhaps the most famous physician of antiquity; 5th and 4th centuries B.C.


Homer, the Odyssey quoted, 27, 51, 57, 83, 123, 189, 157, 175, 219, 239, 273, 449.

Hypsipyle, 49: daughter of Thoas, king of Lemnos, and herself later queen of Lemnos; captured by pirates, and sold into slavery to Lycurgus, king of Nemea, she became nurse of his child Anachemoros.

Indian Problem, 271.

Iino, 437: daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, and wife of Athanas.

Ion of Chios quoted, 167, 135: tragic poet, contemporary of Aeschylus at Athens.

Iphicrates, 87: famous Athenian general, 5th and 4th cents. B.C.

Of lowly birth, he rose to high command by his courage and genius.

Islands of the Blest, 207.

Jason of Phœrae ("Prometheus"), 21, 383: ruler ("Tagus") of Thessaly early in 4th cent. B.C.

Jews, 481.

Justice, the eye of, 435.

"Know thyself," 21, 447.
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LACTDES (c.f. Lacedes), 23: king of Argos.
Lais, 231: a celebrated Greek courtesan, contemporary and rival of Phryne.
LXathenes, 75: of Olymthus, accused by Demosthenes of having betrayed his country to Philip of Macedon.
Lechaemum, 349: one of the harbours of Corinth.
Leo, of Byzantium, 19: writer of rhetoric and history, contemporary of Philip of Macedon.
Leonidas, 341: leader of the Spartans at Thermopylae.
Leptis Magna, 325: a city on the north coast of Africa.
Lesbians, 339.
Lesbos, 441, 443: a large island off the north-west coast of Asia Minor.
Lesches, 391: reputed author of the Little Iliad.
Leto, 457: mother of Apollo and Artemis; honoured especially at Delos.
Life a loan from the gods, 181.
Locris, 437: a country north of the Gulf of Corinth.
Lycian (or Locrian?) law-giver, 165.
Lycurgus, 379: reputed founder of the Spartan constitution. Plutarch wrote his life.
Lyde, 131: wife of Antimachus of Colophon.
Lydians, 167, 269.
Lyneus, 11: son of Aphaerus and brother of Ida; he took part in the Argonautic expedition, and was gifted with extraordinary powers of vision.
Lysander, 317: Spartan general and naval commander, brought to a close the Peloponnesian war by winning the battle of Aegospotami, 404 B.C.; fell in the battle of Halainrus, 395 B.C.
Lysimachus, 239: a Macedonian, one of the Generals of Alexander the Great, at whose death he became king of Thrace. In 291 B.C. he tried to subdue the Getae, but was compelled to surrender. He fell in battle against Selencus, 251 B.C.

MARATHON, 37: a plain on the east coast of Attica, scene of the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C.
Medius, 237: companion and satellite of Alexander the Great.
Melanthius, 383: probably the Attic tragic poet, 5th cent. B.C., noted for his pithy and witty remarks.
Menander quoted, 49, 59, 79, 97 (?), 115, 201, 247, 271: comic poet of the New Comedy, 342-291 B.C.
Memelus, 57: brother of Agamenon and husband of Helen.
Meno, 47: of Thessaly, one of the generals in the army of the younger Cyrus, 401 B.C.; put to death by Tissaphernes. He is made the principal character in Plato's Meno.
Merope, 26, 253: daughter of Cypselus, and wife of Cresphontes; afterwards wife of Polyphontes.
Messenians, a custom among, 423; war with Sparta, 477.
Metrodorus, 319: probably the Metrodorus from Lampsacus, who was a pupil and friend of Epicurns. He died 277 B.C.
Midas, 177, 179, 477, 479: son of Gordius, and king of Phrygia circa 700 B.C.; by some identified with the legendary Midas to whom are attached the apocryphal stories of the "golden touch" and the "ass's ears."
Miletus, 437: an important city of Asia Minor near the mouth of the river Meander.
Milk not a beverage, 265.
Miltiades, 37: one of the ten generals in command of the Athenians at Marathon. He held the supreme command on the day of the battle.
Minos, 269, 269: son of Zeus and Europa; legendary king of Crete; after his death one of the judges in the other world.
Minucius, Spurius, 25: pontifex maximus at Rome, 418 B.C.
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Mnesimachus, 139: comic poet of the Middle Comedy.
Mnesiphanes, 393, 395, 401, 403, 407: an Athenian, friend of Solon's.
Molpaporas, 353: presumably a demagogue of Chios (in Bithynia?) who misled himself to the supreme power.
Molycreia, 439: a town at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth.
Mosechion, 215: a friend of Plutarch's.
Mourning, 161 ff.
Mourning (personified), 161.
Murena, L. Lucinius, 33: 1st cent. B.C. Served under Lucullus in the 3rd Mithridatic war. Consul 63 B.C. Prosecuted for bribery by Serv. Sulpicius, who was supported by Cato Minor. Murena was defended by Cicero (Pro Murena) and was acquitted.
Muses, the, 301, 343, 405, 407, 449.
Myrsilus, 553: tyrant of Mitylene, 7th cent. B.C.
Myson, 347: one of the Seven Wise Men according to Plato.
Mysteries, the, 139.

Naukratis, 351, 369, 373, 375, 377: a Greek colony situated in the Delta of the Nile.
Nero, 65: emperor of Rome, A.D. 54-68.
Nicarchus, 349, 427, 449: a character in the Dinner of the Seven Wise Men.
Nicias, 479: a celebrated Athenian general during the Peloponnesian war; a good man in spite of a certain timidity and superstition. Plutarch wrote his life.
Niger, 251: a friend of Plutarch's.
Niobe, 483, 487: daughter of Tantalus and wife of Amphion, king of Thebes; she boasted of the number of her children, compared with those of Leto.

Odysseus, 303, 313, 447: a most important character in the Homeric poems.
Olympias, 125, 315, 317: wife of Philip of Macedon and mother of Alexander the Great.
Olynthus, 75: a flourishing town in the Chalcidian peninsula at the head of the Gulf of Torone, captured by the Spartans in 379 B.C., and by Philip in 347 B.C.
Onomademus. See Demus.
Orchomenus, 439: a town in Boeotia near Lake Copais.
Orestes, 51: son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra; he slew his mother to avenge the death of his father.
Orpheus, 421: legendary early bard; reputed to have enchanted all animate and inanimate things by the music of his lyre; he is said to have abstained from eating meat.

Pandora, 127: ("all-gifted") the first woman, made by the gods and given to Epimetheus as wife. Her curiosity got the better of her discretion.
Pantica, 315: a woman from Cyprus.
Paralus, 195: son of Pericles.
Paris, 75, 313: son of Priam the king of Troy, and abductor of Helen. Also called Alexander.
Parmenio, 65, 125: trusted general of Philip and Alexander; accused of plotting against the life of Alexander, he was assassinated by command. He lived 400-330 B.C.
Pasiphaë, 305: daughter of the Sun (Helios), wife of Minos, early king of Crete.
Patroclus, 49: son of Menoetius, and friend and close companion of Achilles.
Pausanias, 25, 125: regent of Sparta.
from 479 B.C. Commanded the Greeks at the battle of Plataea; died 468 B.C.

Pausanias, 489: a Macedonian of good family, attendant of Philip.

Pepirihois, 49, 65: king of the Lapithae in Thessaly; intimate friend of Theseus, who helped him in his unsuccessful attempt to carry off Persephone from the other world.

Pelsistratus, 347: benignant "tyrant" of Athens, off and on, from 560 to 523 B.C.; rated by some as one of the Seven Wise Men.


Penelope, 313: faithful wife of Odysseus.

Periander, 347, 349, 359, 363, 365, 367, 369, 371, 373, 381, 383, 391, 393, 395, 401, 407, 413, 427, 431, 437, 445, 447, 463; son of Cypselus; ruler of Corinth 627-585 B.C. He was sometimes rated as one of the Seven Wise Men.

Pericles, 195: the famous Athenian general and statesman; died 429 B.C. Plutarch wrote his life.

Persephone ("The Daughter"), 423: daughter of Demeter, with whom she is often associated in worship.

Persian kings, a custom of, 309.

Perrausion, 301.

Pherecydes, 347: of Syros; 6th cent. B.C.; rated by some as one of the Seven Wise Men.

Philemon, quoted, 111, 129: an Athenian comic poet of the New Comedy; born about 380 B.C.

Philip, 75, 125, 225, 315, 331, 335: of Macedon, 382-336 B.C., conqueror of Greece, father of Alexander the Great.

Phileocrates, 75: Athenian orator, 4th century B.C., one of the ten ambassadors sent to treat with Philip of Macedon, thought to have been bribed; at any rate, he went into voluntary exile before his trial.

Philotas, 65: son of Parmenio, one of Alexander's most brilliant commanders, accused of plotting against the life of Alexander, he was put to death just before his father in 330 B.C.

Phintias, 51: friend of Damon, q.v.

Phocion, 231, 521: upright Athenian general and statesman, 402-317 B.C. He was put to death on a charge of treason. Plutarch wrote his life.

Phryne, 231: a famous courtesan of Thebes in Boeotia, 4th century B.C.

Pindar, 145, 147: famous Greek lyric poet, 522-442 B.C.

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Pittacus, 347, 353, 355, 381, 389, 395, 401, 403, 411, 441, 445, 447: of Mitylene in Lesbos, one of the Seven Wise Men, a statesman, military leader, and poet.

Plato, 205, 241, 339: the celebrated philosopher, 427-346 B.C., friend and follower of Socrates, and founder of the Academic school of philosophy.


Plautus Rubellius, 65: great-grandson of the Roman emperor Tiberius; he was put to death by order of Nero, who feared that he might aspire to the throne.

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Poseidon, 207, 417, 427, 441, 443, 449: Greek god of the sea.

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Priene, 351: a Greek city on the coast of Asia Minor; birthplace of Bias.

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Rhadamantys, 209: son of Zeus and Europa, and brother of Minos. After his death he became one of the judges in the other world.

Rhium, 439: promontory at the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth.

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Sappho, 341: of Lesbos, the famous poetess, often called the tenth Muse.

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Simonides of Ceos quoted, 35, 125, 135, 137, 233: distinguished lyric and epigrammatic poet, 556-467 B.C.

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