XENOPHON (c. 430 to c. 354 BC) was a wealthy Athenian and friend of Socrates. He left Athens in 401 and joined an expedition including ten thousand Greeks led by the Persian governor Cyrus against the Persian king. After the defeat of Cyrus, it fell to Xenophon to lead the Greeks from the gates of Babylon back to the coast through inhospitable lands. Later he wrote the famous vivid account of this ‘March Up-Country’ (*Anabasis*); but meanwhile he entered service under the Spartans against the Persian king, married happily, and joined the staff of the Spartan king, Agesilaus. But Athens was at war with Sparta in 394 and so exiled Xenophon. The Spartans gave him an estate near Elis where he lived for years writing and hunting and educating his sons. Reconciled to Sparta, Athens restored Xenophon to honour but he preferred to retire to Corinth.

Xenophon’s *Anabasis* is a true story of remarkable adventures. *Hellenica*, a history of Greek affairs from 411 to 362, begins as a continuation of Thucydides’ account. There are four works on Socrates (collected in Volume IV of the Loeb Xenophon edition). In *Memorabilia* Xenophon adds to Plato’s picture of Socrates from a different viewpoint. The *Apology* is an interesting complement to Plato’s account of Socrates’ defense at his trial. Xenophon’s *Symposium* portrays a

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INTRODUCTION

Note on the Titles: (a) The Memorabilia.

The title by which this work is familiarly known to us, dates only from 1569, when Johann Lenklau prefixed it to the Latin version that accompanied his great edition of Xenophon's works. Before that time scholars had commonly used the Greek title *Apomnemoneumata, i.e. Memoirs*, or the awkward description *De factis et dictis Socratis memoratu dignis*. The correct Latin equivalent of the Greek name is *Commentarii*, which, in fact, occurs in the description of the book given by Aulus Gellius (XIV. iii.), viz. *libri quos dictorum et factorum Socratis commentarios composituit (Xenophon)*.

The Greek title itself is not altogether satisfactory; for in reality the *Memorabilia* consists of four separate parts, which were certainly not all composed at the same time, and to the first of these parts the title does not apply.

(b) The Oeconomicus.

"In many respects," writes Cicero in a well-known passage of the *de Senectute*, "Xenophon's works are very useful. How eloquently he praises agriculture in his book entitled *Oeconomicus*, which deals with the care of one's property." Philodemus and Galen refer to the book as the *Oeconomica*. The ancients certainly did not suppose that the title meant the *Economist* or *Householder*, but understood it to denote
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exactly what Cicero’s words suggest—a Discourse on Estate Management. The same holds good mutatis mutandis of the titles Hipparchicus and Cynegeticus.

I

The first part of the Memorabilia, which is confined to the first two chapters of the First Book, is a Defence of Socrates, who had been tried and condemned to death on a charge of “impiety,” in the spring of 399 B.C. At the time of the trial Xenophon was absent in Asia. No speech delivered by any one of the three prosecutors—Anytus, Meletus, and Lycon—had been published, and Xenophon in consequence is only able to give the gist, not the exact form, of the indictment (I. i. 1), which had been drawn by Meletus. His reply to this indictment extends to the eighth section of the second chapter.

At this point a surprise is in store for the reader. For in the next sentence (I. ii. 9) Xenophon suddenly refers to “the prosecutor” in the singular, and proceeds to combat a series of accusations that he had brought. This “prosecutor” had charged against Socrates: (1) that he encouraged his companions to despise the laws (ii. 9); (2) that Critias and Alcibiades, who had done great evil to the state, were his associates (ii. 12); (3) that he taught young men to despise their fathers and their other relations, and to be false to their friends (ii. 49); (4) that he encouraged unscrupulous conduct and an anti-democratic spirit by the use he made of the poets (ii. 56).

Xenophon at first sight appears to be replying here

1 The absurd division into books and chapters is, of course, not due to Xenophon himself.

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to a speech actually delivered for the prosecution. But, as we have just seen, this cannot be the case. To whom, then, and to what is he replying? The correct solution of this problem was first given by Cobet, and it has been supported by a series of indisputable proofs by several subsequent scholars. The man Socrates had died in 399 B.C., and had left nothing written. But his ardent and gifted disciples—especially Antisthenes, a fanatical admirer, and a little later Plato—very soon began to publish works about Socrates, especially dialogues in which Socrates appeared as the chief interlocutor. One of these earlier Socratic works is, of course, the Apology of Plato. And so it came about that a literary Socrates grew into being—a figure that retained much, doubtless, of the historical man, but was not identical with him, and might be variously represented by the different authors, and even by the same author in different works.

This cult of Socrates actually provoked opposition. For shortly after the year 393 B.C. a well-known "sophist" named Polycrates published an attack on his memory, throwing his attack into the form of an imaginary speech delivered by one of the three prosecutors, Anytus, at the trial. In after ages a belief not unnaturally grew up that Anytus had actually employed this man, Polycrates, to write his speech for the prosecution. In reality the "Accusation of Socrates" written by Polycrates was nothing more than a literary exercise, based no doubt on reminiscences of the trial, but strongly coloured by the writer's own views. Xenophon was now living in exile at Scillus near Olympia; and there he must have read the work of Polycrates. He resolved to compose a reply, traversing the accusation
step by step. The "prosecutor" then, is Polycrates, or rather Polycrates masquerading as Anytus.

Xenophon's *Defence* of Socrates, therefore (occupying Book I. i. and ii.), has a double purpose. It is intended, first, to be an answer to the actual indictment, so far as Xenophon was aware of its terms; and, secondly, to refute the attack of Polycrates on the memory of the martyred Socrates. As for the substance of the *Defence*, we note that although Plato's *Apology* was certainly written already, Xenophon has not drawn upon it. In fact, throughout these two chapters there are no trustworthy indications that he has laid any of Plato's published work under contribution. At I. ii. 20, indeed, Xenophon quotes in support of his arguments two passages from the poets that are in the *Meno* and the *Protagoras* of Plato, but it would be absurd to suppose that he went to Plato for two commonplace passages that would be familiar to every educated Athenian. In one passage (I. ii. 10) Xenophon expresses an opinion that is known to have been maintained by Antisthenes; in another (I. ii. 19) he combats that Cynic's doctrine of the permanence of Virtue. In neither place is he professing to report the views of Socrates; and even if it is safe to conclude from these two instances that he had consulted the works of Antisthenes, there is, so far as can be ascertained, no trace in the *Defence* that he borrowed such knowledge as he shows of Socrates from Antisthenes. The most likely inference from these negative facts is that

1 In after ages another rejoinder was written to Polycrates by Libanius (fourth century A.D.), from whose *Defence* a good deal more can be learned about the lost *Accusation* of Polycrates.
he incorporated only such knowledge of Socrates as he had gained himself by intercourse with the Master. This knowledge, to be sure, is superficial, and does not point to a close intimacy. On the other hand, since Xenophon is concerned only to rebut the specific charges brought by the prosecutors and by Polycrates, we are scarcely entitled to assume that he has told us all that he really knew about Socrates in these two chapters.

II

The Socratic literature rapidly grew in bulk. Antisthenes, who developed the Cynic system out of the teaching of Socrates, was probably the first to write "Socratic" dialogues. Plato, a much younger man, soon entered the field in sharp opposition to the Cynic. And others tried their hand. It seems that somewhere about the year 385 B.C., Xenophon, who had perhaps now read what Plato had so far published, and had certainly pondered on the works of Antisthenes and assimilated much of his doctrine, decided to compose a series of memoirs and dialogues as illustrations of his "Defence of Socrates." These illustrations cover the remainder of the First (I. iii. onwards) and the whole of the Second Book of the Memorabilia. "I propose to show," he says (I. iii. 1), "how Socrates helped his companions both by his deeds and his words: and, in order to do so, I shall relate all that I remember about them."

Though he makes no reference here to his earlier work, he follows its arrangement closely. He first gives details to prove that Socrates accepted the gods of the state (I. iii. 1–4). Then he insists on the moral tendency of the conduct and teachings of Socrates
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(5–15); and here he recalls an outspoken conversation between the Master and himself about love. It is the only conversation in the collection in which Xenophon himself takes part. Having proceeded thus far, he suddenly modifies his plan; and writes a new and controversial introduction to a complete series of dialogues, dealing again with the two topics already handled—the piety and the morality of Socrates—before proceeding to illustrate his third topic. He says no more about the actions of Socrates; and the reason presumably is, that he was conscious that he could not add anything new to what he had already said in the Defence, little as that was. At any rate, it is noteworthy that, having undertaken to tell all that he remembers about the helpful deeds of Socrates, he has after all told us so very little, but has in the main confined himself to the conversations.

It will be convenient to have a list of the ensuing topics side by side with the corresponding passages of the Defence:

4. I. vi. 15–II. 1., On Obedience to the Laws and Service to the State: I. ii. 9–48.
5. II. ii., On The Duty of Children to Parents: I. ii. 49–50.
6. II. iii., On The Relations between Brothers: I. ii. 51.
8. II. viii.–x., On Socrates as Philanthropist: I. ii. 56–61.
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Xenophon’s statement that he himself “heard” these conversations is a mere literary device. Some of them may quite possibly be based on actual recollection. But others are almost certainly pure invention. Who could suppose, for instance, that Socrates lectured his son on his duty to his mother (II. ii.), or urged Chaerecrates to make up a quarrel with his brother (II. iii.), while a third person, Xenophon, stood by silent, storing up all that good advice in a capacious memory? The supposition of Mr. Dakyns that such conversations were repeated to Xenophon by Lamprocles, Chaerecrates and others is very unlikely, unless we could imagine that Xenophon went about Athens gathering reports of Socrates’ conversations before he left for Asia, and when as yet he had no notion that he would ever come to write Socratic memoirs. The opening conversation of the collection, that on Piety (I. iv.), probably owes much to the study of Antisthenes. The chapters on the education of the Ruler (II. i.) and on the proper relations between parents and children, brothers, relatives and friends, contain much that we associate with Xenophon himself rather than with Socrates; and it is difficult to imagine Socrates declaring to Aristippus a long passage from a work of Prodicus which was often part of its author’s own programmes (II. i. 21).

Does Xenophon owe anything to Plato in this part of the Memorabilia? The question hardly admits of a confident answer. The passage about the “Kingly Art” and “Happiness” in II. i. 17 bears a close resemblance to a sentence in the Euthydemus of Plato (p. 291 b). But we know that the “Kingly Art” was a commonplace with Antisthenes, as may be seen from some words put
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into his mouth in Xenophon's *Banquet* (iv. 6). Again, the opening words of I. vi. 14 strongly suggest a passage in Plato's *Lysis* (p. 211 d). But a similar sentiment is attributed to Socrates by Epictetus (III. v. 14) and reappears in Dio Chrysostom (III. 128), and as both these authors borrow largely from Cynic sources, the common source of all four passages may possibly be Antisthenes again, though it certainly looks as if Xenophon here had borrowed from Plato, so close is the correspondence.

However that may be, we have here a series of imaginary conversations to which Xenophon's study of the Socratic literature has contributed not a little. But no doubt many of his reflections are really based on his recollection of Socrates himself. There is no proof in them, however, that Xenophon had really been one of his intimate companions, and indeed he nowhere makes any such claim. These remarks apply equally to the Collections which make up the Third and the Fourth Books.

III

The Third Book of the *Memorabilia*, which consists of miscellaneous dialogues loosely strung together, and an appendix of aphorisms, clearly forms yet another separate work. The first seven chapters are linked together by a common subject—the civil and military service of the state. But at the eighth chapter the writer passes abruptly to the relation of a dialectical encounter between Socrates and Aristippus the Cyrenaic, on the identity of the Beautiful and the Useful, and appends to it a discourse of Socrates on the same theme. Next we come on a series of definitions.
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Then follow other conversations on detached topics. The aphorisms that fill the last two chapters are concerned with very small things: and they are quite in the Cynic manner. The talk between Socrates and the younger Pericles (c. v.) may really have occurred in the year 411 B.C.; but the ambitions of Thebes are alluded to in a manner that suggests the period of the Theban Supremacy, the years following the battle of Leuctra (fought in 371 B.C.), as the time of composition, and there is a suspiciously Xenophontine ring in the allusions of Pericles to the excellence of the Spartan institutions (v. 15–16).

The fact is, the whole of the subjects dealt with in the first seven chapters of this Third Book are just those in which Xenophon, the old campaigner and worshipper of efficiency, took a special interest. Ten passages in the conversations on the duties and qualifications of commanders are repeated from the Cyropaedia; and here and there the author of the Anabasis and the Hipparchicus reveals himself pretty clearly.

Nevertheless, the spirit of these dialogues, with their insistence on Knowledge as the only sure basis of efficiency, is genuinely Socratic. Nor does the rest of the Third Book, from c. viii. onwards, contain anything inconsistent with the Socrates of Plato’s early dialogues. Thus the cross-examination of the artists in the tenth chapter is entirely in keeping with the Platonic Socrates, whose habit it is to appose all sorts and conditions of men respecting their special work. The amusing interview with Theodoté, the courtesan, is surprising in its context. The intention of it, apparently, is to show Socrates in a lighter vein, in the mood that we associate with the persiflage of a Banquet. The
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definitions in the ninth chapter are not alien to Socrates; but it may be that Xenophon drew them from the works of Antisthenes, whose opinions are known to have coincided with those expressed in them.

We may fairly accept as historical the explicit declaration in the Defence (I. ii. 4) that Socrates attached importance to physical culture. In the Dialogues of Plato, so far as I recollect, he does not display much real interest in the physical exercises of the wrestling-ground and the gymnasium; at any rate his chief interest is clearly in other matters when he enters those places. But in the Republic Plato on his part fully recognizes the value of "gymnastic" in education, and indeed builds up in his own way a complete theory of the subject. The germs of this theory may very well have come from Socrates himself. If that is true, then just as Plato develops the opinions of Socrates in his way, so Xenophon in the twelfth chapter of this book colours the same opinions with notions of his own, drawn from his experience in Asia, his admiration of Spartan institutions, and very likely, from his study of Antisthenes.

Lastly, what are we to say of the dispute with Aristippus about the Good and the Beautiful (c. viii.)? The truth of the account that Xenophon gives of Socrates' views on this matter must clearly be rejected if we suppose that Plato derived from Socrates himself the theory of eternal, unchanging Ideas or Forms of Goodness and Beauty; for, according to the Socrates of Xenophon nothing is good, beautiful or useful in itself, but only in relation to something. But it is, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful whether Socrates is responsible for
the "Theory of Forms or Ideas," which makes no appearance in the early Dialogues of Plato. The doctrine of the Xenophontine Socrates is that all things Good and Beautiful must contribute to the advantage or enjoyment of man: nothing is Good but what is Useful for the particular purpose for which it is intended. The very same doctrine is propounded by Socrates in the Greater Hippias (rightly or wrongly attributed to Plato), but on examination is rejected by him as untenable. But Plato in the Gorgias makes Socrates declare that a thing is Beautiful because it is pleasant or useful or both; and the doctrine is unchallenged. Lastly, there is a passage of similar import in the First Alcibiades. If the Greater Hippias was really written by Plato, it must be later in date than the Gorgias, but earlier than the Third Book of the Memorabilia; and Xenophon, assuming that he had read it, has tacitly implied that the views of Socrates are not correctly represented there. Whence did he derive his knowledge? If not from the Gorgias, it is very significant that his exposition agrees with what Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates in that Dialogue.

IV

We pass now to the Fourth Book. In the noble and impassioned peroration with which this book concludes, the virtues of Socrates are summed up. Socrates was pious, just, self-controlled and wise: he was masterly in exposition and definition, in refuting error and exhorting to goodness. This concluding sentence is clearly a summary of the contents of this Fourth Book in the form in which it has come down to us; and it is
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in itself a sufficient refutation of the widely held opinion that large portions of the Fourth Book are spurious. The peroration applies only to this last book; at any rate it contains no reference to many of the topics that have been dealt with in the preceding portions of the collection, whereas it entirely covers the topics of the last. The natural inference is that the Fourth Book is yet another independent work.

This inference gains strong support from the actual contents of the book. The subject throughout is Education. Many topics already treated recur without any indication given that they have already been discussed. The style too differs to some extent from that of the preceding parts, in that it is somewhat fuller and more elaborate. The matter is arranged in an orderly fashion, in striking contrast with the desultory miscellany that makes up the latter part of the preceding book. Most of the conversations (c. ii., iii., v., vi.) are carried on with Euthydemus, a handsome, bookish and self-confident young man, eager to distinguish himself "in speech and action." The first of these conversations with the youth shows how Socrates convinced young men like Euthydemus that their essential need was to get real education. Next we are introduced to something like a complete system of Socratic education. The first object of Socrates was to make his followers "prudent," i.e. to train the character. Training in power to "speak and act" came after training of character, and it turns out presently that Socrates put speech and action in the inverse order of importance; and, moreover, held that sound action could come only from one who was master of himself. Competence in "speech" depended on power to reason and to define correctly.

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We have seen that Euthydemus hoped to excel in “speech and action.” Socrates brings him to see that the right way to attain the goal of his ambition is first to learn Prudence, then to realize what is the only sure foundation of right action, and lastly to study the laws of sound reasoning.

We should certainly have expected that throughout the book Socrates would have been represented as addressing himself to Euthydemus, and to none other. But this is, in fact, not the case. The fourth chapter contains an argument on Justice. If we regard the subject with which it deals, it is quite in place where it stands; but it is strange to find the series of hortatory discourses interrupted by an argument addressed to Hippias, the “sophist,” on the identity of Law and Justice. Moreover, in the opening sentence of the seventh chapter Xenophon apparently disregards this argument with Hippias; and yet it is clear from the wording of the peroration, which is in exact correspondence with the topics of the discourses, that he had, when he wrote it, dealt with the topic of Justice.

All the conditions will be satisfied if we suppose that when he had written the fourth chapter down to the point where he was to relate what Socrates said about Justice by means of a dialogue (iv. 5), he incorporated this argument between Socrates and Hippias, which he had composed at some previous time, instead of writing a new dialogue in conformity with the others.

The talk with Hippias is in itself remarkable. For it represents Socrates as identifying Law and Justice. We have read in the Defence of Socrates (I. ii. 9) that Polycrates charged him with “despising the established laws,” and we find that Xenophon
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there really makes no reply to that charge. Socrates, of course, insisted on obedience to the laws and held that "it was just to do what the laws ordain"; but that is a very different thing from saying that he thought the laws to be the embodiment of Justice. This latter opinion runs counter to the whole trend of the Gorgias of Plato, and is indeed not wholly consistent with what Socrates says in other parts of the Memorabilia. Plato's work may well have seemed to Xenophon to lend countenance to the very charge that he had failed to rebut in his own earlier work; and because Plato had written so, he may have felt it incumbent on him to come forward with an answer. He found a convenient place for its insertion here. It is really unconvincing as an exposition of Socrates' views on Justice, and the concluding sentence of the chapter does not square with it.

The fifth chapter brings us to that "efficiency in speech and action" coveted by such men as Euthydemus, and it turns out that Socrates put "action" before "speech." The secret and essential condition of efficiency in action was Prudence or Self-control. The curious passage appended to this conversation, in which "sound reasoning," by a fanciful derivation, is declared to mean "sorting things out, and choosing what is right and rejecting what is wrong in speech and action," looks like a genuine, but rather crude, reminiscence of something actually said by Socrates, who was fond of such word-play.

As for "efficiency in speech," that is arrived at by

1 Compare IV. vi. 5-6, where the question, "Is what the laws order necessarily just?" is entirely shirked.
2 As a matter of convenience I have consistently rendered σωφροσύνη "prudence" in the translation.
mastering the art of Reasoning; and the art of Reasoning depends on correct definition of terms. Accordingly, in the sixth chapter we have a series of definitions. Some of these overlap the definitions contained in the ninth chapter of the Third Book; but, as the Fourth Book is independent of the Third, the omission of all reference to the earlier passage need not cause surprise. There is much in this sixth chapter that certainly reflects the opinions of the historical Socrates; but, as usual, the manner in which they are reflected is unmistakably Xenophontine. It is strange that there is nothing about Pleasure and its relation to the Good and Beautiful, seeing that this problem is handled by Plato already in the *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*, which dialogues belong to his earlier or “Socratic” stage, and of which Xenophon certainly takes account in his Fourth Book. One cannot but suspect that, in thus ignoring the problem of Pleasure, Xenophon was influenced by the works of Antisthenes. The speculations on Pleasure attributed to Socrates by Plato were, no doubt, much too subtle for Xenophon, and they were, outwardly at least, inconsistent. It was wiser for a plain man to pass them by.

The superficial account of Socratic induction and assumption, or “hypothesis,” with which the sixth chapter concludes (§§ 13–15) has raised a sharp dispute as to the sources of Xenophon’s information. Is all this derived from Socrates himself, or is it gleaned from the *Phaedo* and, possibly, other dialogues of Plato? The question admits of no certain answer. But if we assume that the information really comes from certain dialogues of Plato, then it is surely strange that Xenophon selected just this one point,
“hypothesis,” from them, and ignored other theories—for instance, Knowledge as Recollection and the doctrine of Forms—that Plato in those same dialogues attributes, truly or falsely, to Socrates.

In the seventh chapter we come to mathematics and astronomy, and the views of Socrates thereon. We are told that he recommended the study of them for practical purposes only—just so far as they were “useful.” What Xenophon says is not inconsistent with the earlier Socrates of Plato, and can be brought into harmony with the Clouds of Aristophanes and, even with Plato’s Phaedo. It is, on the other hand, wholly inconsistent with the system of education that Socrates is made to recommend for the “Guardians” in the Republic of Plato. The very uncomplimentary reference to Anaxagoras (IV. vii. 6) is thought by some to be based on a famous passage of the Phaedo, in which Socrates expresses disappointment with the Anaxagorean theory of the classification of Matter by Mind. But it is difficult to think that Xenophon could have justified to himself the taunt he attributes to Socrates by the regretful complaint of the Platonic Socrates, or even that he was capable of building this insult on so slender a substructure.

In the sentence that immediately follows this passage about the sciences, Xenophon refers to the importance that Socrates attached to divination (§ 10). Then he argues that the belief in “the divine voice”—the belief that gave rise to the charge of introducing strange gods—was no delusion, and finally launches out into a noble description of the attitude of Socrates towards his trial and condemnation. The total effect of this epilogue is not greatly marred by one serious blemish it exhibits—the series of futile
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questions, so characteristic of our author at his worst, in the third section of the last chapter.

Although this Fourth Book was written a generation after the death of Socrates, the tone of the peroration is still controversial. The object of Xenophon throughout the book is to prove that the system of education inculcated by Socrates was the best possible; that Socrates was himself the embodiment of that system, and was therefore the pattern of a good and happy man. Clearly there were many still who maintained that the infamous Critias had been trained by Socrates, and that this fact was enough to condemn the system. Nor can it escape notice that the depreciation of the higher mathematics and other sciences in the seventh chapter, and the sharp limitation of scientific studies by Socrates in the training of himself that is implied in the peroration, are argumentative. Evidently, even after so long a time, controversy about Socrates had not been silenced, and there was still something to be done for his memory by an ardent believer.

V

The chronological relationship of the Oeconomicus to Xenophon’s other Socratic writings cannot be

1 Similar questions, in which the obvious is put in the form of a conundrum, are often attributed to Socrates by Xenophon. They are, of course, invariably the product of Xenophon’s own mind.

2 Aeschines, against Timarchus, § 173.

3 The passage in the peroration referring to chapter seven is, “So wise that he was unerring in his judgment of the better and the worse and needed no counsellor, but relied on himself for his knowledge of them.”
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established with confidence. Certain linguistic indications point to a date earlier than the Memorabilia; but the tone of the work, calm and detached from controversy, strongly suggests that it was at least put into its final shape after the so-called Fourth Book of that work was written. The thoughts and reflections, whether put into the mouth of Socrates or Ischomachus, are so entirely Xenophon's own that we may wonder why he did not frankly produce a treatise on the management of an estate instead of a Socratic dialogue. And it is evident that he found the dialogue form which he selected inconvenient. Socrates by this time was clearly a literary figure, and almost any amount of freedom might be taken with his name. But at least some measure of verisimilitude must be kept up; and to represent Socrates, the wandering philosopher, as a landowner, an authority on household craft, land development and agriculture, devoted to his home, would carry the author too far away from the truth. An ingenious compromise suggested itself. What was impossible in the mouth of Socrates might be put into the mouth of another, and reported by Socrates. But this other person must be a man of standing and of mature years, and therefore could not be Xenophon himself, who had no established position during the life of Socrates. Hence Ischomachus. According to Plutarch this worthy but self-complacent gentleman is a historic personage; but little credence attaches to the kind of story that he tells. Anyhow, Ischomachus, as he appears in this book, is quite clearly Xenophon—Xenophon home from the wars, living happily and prosperously on his own estate at Scillus.

The beginning and end of the Oeconomicus are as
abrupt as the end of Borrow's *Lavengro* and the beginning of *The Romany Rye*. Even the name of Socrates is not given in the first few sentences: he is referred to as if he had been already mentioned; and there is no epilogue. But of course this does not show, as Galen supposed, that we have here a continuation of the *Memorabilia*, intended to follow on the Fourth Book. The second portion of the *Memorabilia* ends (II. x.) and the third portion opens (III. i.) and ends (III. xiv.) with similar abruptness. We may group the *Oeconomicus* with these miscellaneous dialogues, doubtless not all composed at the same time, that make up the Third Book of the *Memorabilia*. The plan of the work is curious, for the first six chapters form a lengthy pre-amble to the reported conversation with Ischomachus. The work must of course not be judged as though it were a complete treatise on Estate Management, indoor and outdoor. That is precisely what Xenophon has not chosen to write. The practical value, therefore, of the teaching is not anything like so great as that of the treatise *On Horsemanship*. But so far as it goes, the teaching is sound—for it is not certain that Xenophon believed that straw added to the manurial value, as well as to the bulk, of our old friends from farmyard and stable.¹

The abiding interest of the book, however, lies less in the edification it offers and in its literary merit (which is not great), than in the light that it sheds on Xenophon's intimate life, his tastes and pursuits. Readers will differ in their opinion of that paragon "Ischomachus." None will object to his having his boots and his pots and

¹ See xviii. 2, where εἰς κόπρον ἐμβληθὲν means "thrown on the manure heap," not "applied (to the land) as manure."
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pans neatly set out in rows; but some will mock with the wits at his notion that there was any particular beauty in the spectacle afforded by these homely articles so carefully bestowed. However that may be, one cannot but sympathize with that long-suffering little saint, his wife, the most arresting figure in Xenophon's gallery of women. We glance at Theodoté in the Memorabilia and Syennesis in the Anabasis, and we linger for a time over Panthea in the Cyropaedia; but we return again and again to this unnamed heroine of the household.

This unnamed heroine! But Ischomachus is Xenophon, and the little lady is wife of Ischomachus—that is she is Xenophon's wife, Philesia. "My dear, where is it?" asked her methodical husband; and Philesia, not knowing the answer, could only hang her head and blush. So she had to listen to a long homily on the beauty of order in the house, with illustrations drawn from the army and the navy. It is pleasant to know, that henceforward, at least in one home at Scillus, regimental order reigned among the household paraphernalia, from the boots to the works of art.

And this regimental order in his house is the mirror of Xenophon's mind; for his mind is a series of labelled pigeon-holes, each hole filled with a commonplace thought remorselessly analysed. These elementary thoughts he produces again and again, for his reader's edification.

The Oeconomicus was reviewed and criticized by the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus, an elder contemporary of Cicero, in his treatise On Vices and their Opposite Virtues, but only a small part of what he had to say has survived, recovered from the ashes of Herculaneum. Further it was translated into

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Latin by Cicero\(^1\) in the days of his youth: it was familiar to the Roman writers on agriculture, including Virgil, was admired and imitated by the Italians of the Renaissance, and in our own times has found a doughty champion in Ruskin. Xenophon writes with an infectious enthusiasm, and with that easy charm of manner and diction of which he is a great master. But as with his thoughts, so with his words: he too often irritates the reader by incessant repetition of the same pattern of sentence, of the same formula, and even of the same word. How prone Xenophon is to repetition may be judged from the many references added in the translation of both *Memorabilia* and *Oeconomicus* to other works; and of course these references are not exhaustive. His mind moves in a narrow circle of ideas. But he is master of an extensive and multifarious vocabulary; so that it is strange that he constantly uses the same word over and over again in the compass of a few lines. A translator is often compelled to have recourse to synonyms.

\(^1\) There is some ground for the conjecture that in the time of Philodemus and Cicero an edition of the *Oeconomicus* divided into four books existed.
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

I. Of the Greek text the following papyrus fragments have been discovered:—

1. *Mem.* I. iii. 15, IV. i. 3, third or fourth century A.D. (Grenfell and Hunt, II., the original in the British Museum).

The best manuscripts are the following:—

1. *Memorabilia*:
   A. (*Parisinus*, 1302), thirteenth century, containing only Books I. and II.
   B. (*Parisinus*, 1740), fourteenth century.

   These represent two different classes. Between them, but nearer to B, stand:
   C. (*Parisinus*, 1642).
   D. (*Parisinus*, 1643), fifteenth century.
   M. (*Marcianus*, 511), thirteenth century.

2. *Oeconomicus*:
   E. (*Laurentianus*, lxxx. 13), thirteenth century.
   M. (*Lipsiensis*, 9), fourteenth century, wanting c. xii. 9 to xix. 16.
   F. (*Laurentianus*, lxxxv. 9), thirteenth century.
   V. (*Marcianus*, 511), thirteenth century.
   H. (*Reginensis*, 96), twelfth or thirteenth century.

II. Principal Editions:—

(a) *Complete Works of Xenophon.*

**JUNTA**: Florence, 1516. *Editio Princeps.*

**ALDUS**: Venice, 1525.

**STEPHANUS, H.**: Geneva, 1561 and 1581.

**LENKLAVU, J.**: Frankfurt, 1594; 2nd ed. with notes of Aemilius Portius, 1596.
MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

ZEUNE, J. C.: Leipzig, 1778-
SCHNEIDER, J. G.: Leipzig, 1790-
WEISKE, B.: Leipzig, 1798-
SCHAEFER, G. H.: Leipzig, 1811-
DINDORF, L.: Leipzig, 1824-
SCHNEIDER and DINDORF: Oxford, 1810-
SAUPPE, G.: Leipzig, 1865-
MARCHANT, E. C.: Oxford, 1900-

(b) Separate Editions with Commentaries.

(i) Of the Memorabilia:
BREITENBACH, L.: Berlin, 1854.
KÜHNER, R.: Gotha, 1858.

(ii) Of the Oeconomicus:
BREITENBACH, L.: Berlin, 1841.

(c) The best German critical edition of the Memorabilia next is Gilbert's (Berlin, 1888-); of the Oeconomicus, Thalheim's (Berlin, 1910).

Very important work on the MSS. was done by Karl Schenkl, and has been continued by his son. A recent work of great value is A. W. Persson's Zur Textgeschichte Xenophons.

The above list is, of course, very far from being complete, and does not even include reference to some scholars of the first rank, such as Cobet and J. J. Hartman, who have dealt with the text.

The present edition follows the text of G. Sauppe, except where stated in the footnotes.

Recent work includes the following:

Memorabilia.

Oeconomicus.
   Text and French translation (Budé), P. Chantraine.

Banquet and Socrates' Defence.

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ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ
ΑΠΟΜΝΗΜΟΝΕΥΜΑΤΑ

Α

1. Πολλάκις ἑθαύμασα, τίσι ποτὲ λόγοις Ἀθηναίους ἔπεισαν οἱ γραψάμενοι Σωκράτην, ὡς ἄξιος εἰη ἰθανάτου τῇ πόλει. ἦ μὲν γὰρ γραφῇ κατ' αὐτοῦ τοιάδε τις ἦν. Ἀδικεὶ Σωκράτης οὗς μὲν ἢ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς οὐ νομίζων, ἔτερα δὲ καὶνὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρων. Ἀδικεὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείρων.

2. Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὡς οὐκ ἐνοχίζεν οὖς ἢ πόλις νομίζει θεοὺς, πολὺ χαῖρόμενο τεκμηρίῳ; θύου τε γὰρ φανερὸς ἢν πολλάκις μὲν οἴκοι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ 1 ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῆς πόλεως βωμῶν καὶ μαντικὴ χρόμενοι οὐκ ἀφαίης ἦν· διετεθρύλητο γὰρ, ὡς φαίη Σωκράτης τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔαντῳ σημαίνειν. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ μᾶλιστά μοι δοκούσιν αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι καὶνὰ δαιμόνια εἰσφέρειν. ὅ δ’ οὐδὲν καὶνότερον εἰσέφερε τῶν ἄλλων, όσοι μαντικὴν νομίζοντες οἰωνοῖς τε χρῶνται καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις καὶ θυσίαις. οὔτοι τε γὰρ ὑπολαμβάνοντι τοὺς ὁρνίθας εὑδὲ τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας εἰδέναι τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς μαντευομένοις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ

1 καὶ Α: Szauppe omits.
I. I have often wondered by what arguments those who drew up the indictment against Socrates could persuade the Athenians that his life was forfeit to the state. The indictment against him was to this effect: *Socrates is guilty of rejecting the gods acknowledged by the state and of bringing in strange deities: he is also guilty of corrupting the youth.*

First then, that he rejected the gods acknowledged by the state—what evidence did they produce of that? He offered sacrifices constantly, and made no secret of it, now in his home, now at the altars of the state temples, and he made use of divination with as little secrecy. Indeed it had become notorious that Socrates claimed to be guided by 'the deity' 1: it was out of this claim, I think, that the charge of bringing in strange deities arose. He was no more bringing in anything strange than are other believers in divination, who rely on augury, oracles, coincidences and sacrifices. For these men's belief is not that the birds or the folk met by accident know what profits the inquirer, but that they are the instruments by which the gods make

1 That immanent 'divine something,' as Cicero terms it, which Socrates claimed as his peculiar possession.
4 σημαίνειν, κάκεινος δὲ οὕτως ἐνόμιζεν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν πλειστοὶ φασίν ὑπὸ τε τῶν ὀρνίθων καὶ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων ἀποτρέπεσθαι τε καὶ προτρέπεσθαι. Σωκράτης δ' ὁσπέρ ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὕτως ἔλεγεν τὸ δαιμόνιον γὰρ ἐφή σημαίνειν. καὶ πολλοῖς τῶν συνόντων προηγόρευε τὰ μὲν ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν, ὡς τοῦ δαιμονίου προσημαίνοντος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν πεθομένοις αὐτῷ συνέφερε, τοῖς δὲ μὴ
5 πεθομένοις μετέμελε. καίτοι τίς οὐκ ἂν ὁμολογήσειν αὐτῶν βούλεσθαι μήτ' ἥλιθιον μήτ' ἀλαζόνα φαίνεσθαι τοῖς συνοίσι; ἐδόκει δ' ἂν ἀμφότερα ταύτα, εἰ προσαγορεύων ὡς ὑπὸ θεοῦ φαινόμενα φενδόμενος ἐφαίνετο. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι οὖκ ἂν προέλεγεν, εἰ μὴ ἐπίστευεν ἠληθεύσειν. ταύτα δὲ τίς ἂν ἄλλω πιστεύσειν ἢ θεῷ; πιστεύων δὲ θεοῖς πῶς οὐκ ἐστὶ θεοὶ ἐνόμιζεν;
6 ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐποίησε καὶ τάδε πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους. τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖα συνεβούλευε καὶ πράττειν, ὡς νομίζοντες ἄριστα ἂν πραχθήσαι περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδήλων ὅπως ἀποβήσοιτο μαντευσομένους
7 ἐπεμπεν, 'ει ποιητέα' καὶ τοὺς μέλλοντας οἶκους τε καὶ πόλεις καλῶς οἰκίσειν μαντικῆς ἐφή προσδείσθαι τεκτοικὸν μὲν γὰρ ἡ χαλκευτικὸν ἡ γεωργικὸν ἡ ἀνθρώπων ἄρχικὸν ἡ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἐξεταστικὸν ἡ λογιστικὸν ἡ οἰκονομικὸν ἡ στρατηγικὸν γενέσθαι, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα καὶ ἀνθρώποις γενώμη αἱρετὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι
8 τὰ δὲ μέγιστα τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἐφή τοὺς θεοὺς ἑαυτοῖς καταλείπεσθαι, ὥν οὐδὲν δῆλον εἰναὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. οὕτε γὰρ τοῦ καλῶς ἀγρὸν φυτευσαμένῳ δῆλον, ὡστὶς καρπώσεται, οὕτε
this known; and that was Socrates' belief too. Only, whereas most men say that the birds or the folk they meet dissuade or encourage them, Socrates said what he meant: for he said that the deity gave him a sign. Many of his companions were counselled by him to do this or not to do that in accordance with the warnings of the deity: and those who followed his advice prospered, and those who rejected it had cause for regret. And yet who would not admit that he wished to appear neither a knave nor a fool to his companions? but he would have been thought both, had he proved to be mistaken when he alleged that his counsel was in accordance with divine revelation. Obviously, then, he would not have given the counsel if he had not been confident that what he said would come true. And who could have inspired him with that confidence but a god? And since he had confidence in the gods, how can he have disbelieved in the existence of the gods? Another way he had of dealing with intimate friends was this: if there was no room for doubt, he advised them to act as they thought best; but if the consequences could not be foreseen, he sent them to the oracle to inquire whether the thing ought to be done. Those who intended to control a house or a city, he said, needed the help of divination. For the craft of carpenter, smith, farmer or ruler, and the theory of such crafts, and arithmetic and economics and generalship might be learned and mastered by the application of human powers; but the deepest secrets of these matters the gods reserved to themselves; they were dark to men. You may plant a field well; but you know not who shall gather the fruits: you may build a
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tο δ καλάς οἰκίαν οἰκοδομησαμένω δῆλον, ὡστε ἐνοικῆσει, οὔτε τῷ στρατηγικῷ δῆλον, εἰ συμφέρει στρατηγεῖν, οὔτε τῷ πολιτικῷ δῆλον, εἰ συμφέρει τῷς πόλεως προστατεῖν, οὔτε τῷ καλήν γῆμαντί, ἵνα εὐφραίνηται, δῆλον, εἰ διὰ ταύτην ἀνιάσεται, οὔτε τῷ δυνατοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει κηδεστὰς λαβόντι δῆλον, εἰ διὰ τούτους στερήσεται τῇς πόλεως.

9 τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων οἰομένους εἶναι δαιμόνιον, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης γνώμης δαιμονὰν ἔφη· δαιμονὰν δὲ καὶ τοὺς μαντευομένους ἄ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μανθοῦσι διακρίνειν, οἴον εἰ τὶς ἐπερωτῶν, πότερον ἐπιστάμενον ἦνοιχεῖν ἐπὶ ξένης λαβεῖν κρεῖττον ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον ἥ πότερον ἐπιστάμενον κυβερνᾶν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν κρεῖττον λαβεῖν ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμενον ἢ ἂ ἐξεστὶν ἀριθμήσαντας ἡ μετρήσαντας ἡ στήσαντας εἰδέναι, τοὺς τὰ τοιαύτα παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθανομένους ἄθέμιτα ποιεῖν ἧγεῖτο. ἔφη δὲ δεῖν ἄ μὲν μαθόντας ποιεῖν ἔδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μανθάνειν, ἢ δὲ μὴ δῆλα τοὺς ἀνθρώποις ἔστιν πειρᾶσθαι διὰ μαντικῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ οἰς ἄν ὅσιν ἔλεος σημαίνειν.

10 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐκείνος γε ἂεὶ μὲν ἦν ἐν τῷ φανερῷ πρωί τε γὰρ εἰς τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰ γυμνᾶσια ἤει καὶ πληθοῦσις ἁγορᾶς ἐκεῖ φανερὸς ἦν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἂεὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἦν ὅπου πλείστοις μέλλοι συνέσεσθαι· καὶ ἔλεγε μὲν ὡς τὸ πολὺ, τοῖς δὲ βου-

1 Cyropædia, i. vi. 6.
house well; but you know not who shall dwell in it: able to command, you cannot know whether it is profitable to command: versed in statecraft, you know not whether it is profitable to guide the state: though, for your delight, you marry a pretty woman, you cannot tell whether she will bring you sorrow: though you form a party among men mighty in the state, you know not whether they will cause you to be driven from the state. If any 9 man thinks that these matters are wholly within the grasp of the human mind and nothing in them is beyond our reason, that man, he said, is irrational. But it is no less irrational to seek the guidance of heaven in matters which men are permitted by the gods to decide for themselves by study: to ask, for instance, Is it better to get an experienced coachman to drive my carriage or a man without experience?¹ Is it better to get an experienced seaman to steer my ship or a man without experience? So too with what we may know by reckoning, measurement or weighing. To put such questions to the gods seemed to his mind profane. In short, what the gods have granted us to do by help of learning, we must learn; what is hidden from mortals we should try to find out from the gods by divination: for to him that is in their grace the gods grant a sign.

Moreover, Socrates lived ever in the open; for 10 early in the morning he went to the public promenades and training-grounds; in the forenoon he was seen in the market; and the rest of the day he passed just where most people were to be met: he was generally talking, and anyone might listen. Yet none ever knew him to offend against piety
11 λομένοις ἔξην ἀκούειν. οὐδείς δεὶ πῶς ποτε Σωκράτους οὐδέν ἀσεβεῖς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν οὔτε λέγοντος ἦκουσεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῆς τῶν πάντων φύσεως ἦπερ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ πλείστοι διελέγετο σκοπῶν, ὅπως οἱ καλούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν σοφιστῶν κόσμος ἐφι καὶ τίσιν ἀνώγκαις ἐκαστα γίγνεται τῶν οὐρανίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς φροντίζοντας

tὰ τοιαύτα μωραίνοντας ἀπεδείκνυε. καὶ πρῶτον
μὲν αὐτῶν ἐσκόπει πότερά ποτε νομίσαντες ἱκανῶς ἢδη τὰνθρώπινα εἶδεν ἐρχονται ἐπὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν
tοιούτων φροντίζειν ἢ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπεια παρέντες,
tὰ δαιμόνια δὲ σκοποῦντες ἠγούνται τὰ προσθέ-
kουτα πράττειν. ἐθαύμαζε δ' εἰ μὴ φανερὸν
αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐ δυνατόν ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπους
eὑρεῖν. ἐπεὶ καὶ τοὺς μέγιστον φρονοῦντας ἐπὶ τῷ
περὶ τούτων λέγειν οὐ ταῦτα δοξάζειν ἀλλήλοις,
ἀλλὰ τοῖς μανιμομένοις ὁμοίως διακείσθαι πρὸς

13 ἀλλήλους. τῶν τε γὰρ μανιμομένων τοὺς μὲν οὐδὲ
tά δεινὰ δεδίεναι, τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὰ μὴ φοβερὰ
φοβεῖσθαι καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ὅχλῳ δοκεῖν
ἀισχρὸν εἶναι λέγειν ἢ ποιεῖν ὅτι οὐ, τοῖς δὲ οὐδ'
ἐξιτητέον εἰς ἀνθρώπους εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ τοῖς
μὲν οὐθ' ἱερὸν οὔτε βωμὸν οὔτ' ἄλλο τῶν θείων
οὐδὲν τιμῶν, τοὺς δὲ καὶ λίθους καὶ ξύλα τὰ
tυχόντα καὶ θηρία σέβεσθαι τῶν τε περὶ τῆς
tῶν πάντων φύσεως μεριμνῶντων τοὺς μὲν δοκεῖν
ἐν μόνον τὸ ὅν εἶναι, τοῖς δ' ἀπειρὰ τὸ πλήθος
cαὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀεὶ πάντα κινεῖσθαι, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲν ἄν
ποτε κινηθῆναι καὶ τοῖς μὲν πάντα γίγνεσθαι τε
cαὶ ἀπόλλυσθαι, τοῖς δὲ οὔτ' ἄν γενέσθαι ποτὲ

14 οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι.1 ἐσκόπει δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν
καὶ τάδε, ἀρ' ὃσπερ οἱ τὰνθρώπεια μανιμάνοντες

15 οὐδὲν οὔτε ἀπολέσθαι.
and religion in deed or word. He did not even discuss that topic so favoured by other talkers, “the Nature of the Universe”: and avoided speculation on the so-called “Cosmos” of the Professors, how it works, and on the laws that govern the phenomena of the heavens: indeed he would argue that to trouble one’s mind with such problems is sheer folly. In the first place, he would inquire, did these thinkers suppose that their knowledge of human affairs was so complete that they must seek these new fields for the exercise of their brains; or that it was their duty to neglect human affairs and consider only things divine? Moreover, he marvelled at their blindness in not seeing that man cannot solve these riddles; since even the most conceited talkers on these problems did not agree in their theories, but behaved to one another like madmen. As some madmen have no fear of danger and others are afraid where there is nothing to be afraid of, as some will do or say anything in a crowd with no sense of shame, while others shrink even from going abroad among men, some respect neither temple nor altar nor any other sacred thing, others worship stocks and stones and beasts, so is it, he held, with those who worry with “Universal Nature.” Some hold that What is is one, others that it is infinite in number: some that all things are in perpetual motion, others that nothing can ever be moved at any time: some that all life is birth and decay, others that nothing can ever be born or ever die. Nor were those the only questions he asked about such theorists. Students of human nature, he

1 ἀπολέσθαι Stobaeus: ἀπολείσθαι Sauppe.
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ηγούνται τούθ᾽ ὡς τ᾽ ἂν μᾶθωσίν ἑαυτοῖς τε καὶ
tῶν ἄλλων ὅτω ἂν βούλωνται ποιῆσειν, οὐτω καὶ
io τὰ θεία ξητοῦντες νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶδὰν γνώσιν,
αἰσ ἀνάγκας ἐκαστα γίγνεται, ποιῆσειν, ὅταν
βούλωνται, καὶ ἀνέμους καὶ ὕδατα καὶ ὦρας καὶ
ὄτον ἂν ἄλλου δεώνται τῶν τοιούτων, ἥ τοιοῦτο
μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐλπίζουσιν, ἀρκεῖ δ᾽ ἀυτοῖς γνώσι
μόνον, ἥ τῶν τοιούτων ἐκαστα γίγνεται.

16 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν ταύτα πραγματευομένων
tοιαύτα ἐλεγεν᾽ αὐτὸς δὲ περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπο-
νῶν ἄει διελέγετο σκοπῶν, τὶ εὑσθές, τὶ ἀσθές,
tὶ καλῶν, τὶ αἰσχρῶν, τὶ δίκαιων, τὶ ἅδικων, τὶ
σωφροσύνη, τὶ μανία, τὶ ἀνδρεία, τὶ δεσία, τὶ
πόλις, τὶ πολιτικός, τὶ ἀρχη ἀνθρώπων, τὶ
ἀρχικός ἀνθρώπων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων, ἃ τοὺς
μὲν εἰδότας ἤγείτο καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ
ἀγνοοῦντας ἀνδραποθώδεις ἄν δικαίως κεκληθαὶ.

17 Ὄσα μὲν οὖν μὴ φανερὸς ἦν ὅπως ἐγίγνοσθεν,
oύδεν θαυμαστόν ὑπὲρ τούτων περὶ αὐτοῦ παρα-
γώναι τοὺς δικαστάς; ὅσα δὲ πάντες ἔδεασα, οὐ
θαυμαστόν εἰ μὴ τούτων ἐνεθυμήθησαν; βουλεύσας
γὰρ ποτὲ καὶ τῶν βουλευτικῶν ὀρκοὺς ὀμόσας, ἐν ὃ
ἡν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσεως, ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ
dήμῳ γενόμενος, ἐπιθυμήσαντος τοῦ δήμου παρὰ
τοὺς νόμους ἐννέα στρατηγοὺς μὴ ψήφω τοὺς
ἀμφὶ Ἐράσυλλον καὶ Ἐρασινίδην ἀποκτεῖναι
πάντας, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσαι, ὀργιζομένου
μὲν αὐτῷ τοῦ δήμου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ δυνατῶν
ἀπειλοῦντων ἀλλὰ περὶ πλείονος ἐποιήσατο

10
said, think that they will apply their knowledge in due course for the good of themselves and any others they choose. Do those who pry into heavenly phenomena imagine that, once they have discovered the laws by which these are produced, they will create at their will winds, waters, seasons and such things to their need? Or have they no such expectation, and are they satisfied with knowing the causes of these various phenomena?

Such, then, was his criticism of those who meddle with these matters. His own conversation was ever of human things. The problems he discussed were, What is godly, what is ungodly; what is beautiful, what is ugly; what is just, what is unjust; what is prudence, what is madness; what is courage, what is cowardice; what is a state, what is a statesman; what is government, and what is a governor;—these and others like them, of which the knowledge made a "gentleman," in his estimation, while ignorance should involve the reproach of "slavishness."

So, in pronouncing on opinions of his that were unknown to them it is not surprising that the jury erred: but is it not astonishing that they should have ignored matters of common knowledge? For instance, when he was on the Council and had taken the counsellor's oath by which he bound himself to give counsel in accordance with the laws, it fell to his lot to preside in the Assembly when the people wanted to condemn Thrasyllus and Erasinides and their colleagues to death by a single vote. That was illegal, and he refused the motion in spite of popular rancour and the threats of many powerful persons. It was more to him that he should keep his oath than that he should humour
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evørkeîn ἡ χαρίσασθαι τῷ δήμῳ παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον
19 καὶ φυλάξασθαι τοὺς ἀπειλοῦντας. καὶ γὰρ
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι θεοὺς ἐνόμιζεν ἄνθρώπων οὐκ ὅν
τρόπον οἱ πολλοὶ νομίζουσιν· οὔτοι μὲν γὰρ
οἴονται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν εἰδέναι, τὰ δ' οὐκ
εἰδέναι· Σωκράτης δὲ πάντα μὲν ἥγειτο θεοὺς
εἰδέναι, τά τε λεγόμενα καὶ πραττόμενα καὶ τὰ
σιγῆ βουλευόμενα, πανταχοῦ δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ
σημαίνειν τοῖς ἄνθρωποις περὶ τῶν ἄνθρωπεῖνων
πάντων.

20 Θαυμάζω οὖν, ὅπως ποτὲ ἐπείσθησαν Ἀθηναίοι
Σωκράτην περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς μὴ σωφρονεῖν, τὸν
ἀσεβές μὲν οὐδὲν ποτὲ περὶ θεοὺς οὔτ' εἰπόντα
οὔτε πράξαντα, τοιαύτα δὲ καὶ λέγοντα καὶ
πράττοντα [περὶ θεῶν], οἵ τις δὲν καὶ λέγων καὶ
πράττων εἴη τε καὶ νομίζοιτο εὐσεβέστατος.

II. Θαυμαστὸν δὲ φαίνεται μοι καὶ τὸ πεισθῆ-
ναι τινας, ὡς Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διεφθειρεν, ὃς
πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους πρῶτον μὲν ἀφροδισίων καὶ
γαστρὸς πάντων ἄνθρωπον ἐγκρατέστατος ἦν,
εἰτα πρὸς χειμῶνα καὶ θέρους καὶ πάντας πόνους
καρτερικώτατος, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τὸ μετρίων δείσθαι
πεπαιδευμένος οὕτως, ὅστε πάνυ μικρὰ κεκτημένος
2 πάνυ ῥαδίως ἔχειν ἀρκοῦντα. πῶς οὖν αὐτὸς ὃν
τοιοῦτος ἀλλος ἄν ἢ ἀσεβεῖς ἢ παρανόμους ἢ
λίχνους ἢ ἀφροδισίων ἀκρατεῖς ἢ πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν
μαλακοὺς ἐποίησεν; ἄλλη ἐπαυσε μὲν τοῦτων
πολλοὺς, ἀρέτης ποιήσας ἐπιθύμειν καὶ ἐλπίδας
παρασχὼν, ἄν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιμελῶνται, καλοὺς
3 κάγαθος ἐσεσθαι. καίτοι γε οὐδεπώποτε
ὑπέσχετο διδάσκαλος εἶναι τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τῷ
φανερῷ εἶναι τοιοῦτος ὃν ἑλπίζειν ἐποίει τοὺς
12
the people in an unjust demand and shield himself from threats. For, like most men, indeed, he believed that the gods are heedful of mankind, but with an important difference; for whereas they do not believe in the omniscience of the gods, Socrates thought that they know all things, our words and deeds and secret purposes; that they are present everywhere, and grant signs to men of all that concerns man.¹

I wonder, then, how the Athenians can have been persuaded that Socrates was a freethinker, when he never said or did anything contrary to sound religion, and his utterances about the gods and his behaviour towards them were the words and actions of a man who is truly religious and deserves to be thought so.

II. No less wonderful is it to me that some believed the charge brought against Socrates of corrupting the youth. In the first place, apart from what I have said, in control of his own passions and appetites he was the strictest of men; further, in endurance of cold and heat and every kind of toil he was most resolute; and besides, his needs were so schooled to moderation that having very little he was yet very content. Such was his own character: how then can he have led others into impiety, crime, gluttony, lust, or sloth? On the contrary, he cured these vices in many, by putting into them a desire for goodness, and by giving them confidence that self-discipline would make them gentlemen. To be sure he never professed to teach this; but, by letting his own light shine, he led his disciples to hope that

¹ iv. iii, 2; Cyropaedia, i. vi. 46.
συνδιατρίβοντας ἐαυτῷ μιμομένους ἐκεῖνον τοιοῦτος γενήσεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τοῦ σῶματος αὐτὸς τε οὐκ ἦμελε τοὺς τ᾽ ἀμελοῦντας οὐκ ἐπήμει. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπερεσθίοντα ἐπερτοπεῖν ἄπεδοκίμαζε, τὸ δὲ ὅσα γ᾽ ἤδεως ἡ ψυχὴ δέχεται, ταῦτα ἰκανῶς ἐκπονεῖν ἐδοκίμαζε. ταύτῃ γὰρ τὴν ἔχειν ὑγιείνην τε ἰκανῶς εἶναι καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιμέλειαν οὐκ ἐμποδίζειν ἐφ᾽. ἀλλ᾽ οὐ μὴν θρυπτικὸς γε οὔδε ἀλαζονικὸς ἦν οὔτε ἀμπεχόνη οὔθ᾽ ὑποδέει οὔτε τῇ ἀλλῇ διαίτῃ. οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐρασιχρημάτους γε τοὺς συνόντας ἐποίει. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλως ἐπιθυμιῶν ἔπαυε, τοὺς δὲ ἐαυτοῦ ἐπιθυμοῦντας οὐκ ἐπράττετο.

6 χρήματα. τοῦτον δ᾽ ἀπεχόμενος ἐνόμιζεν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς δὲ λαμβάνοντας τῆς ὀμιλίας μισθὸν ἄνδραποδιστάς ἐαυτῶν ἀπεκάλει διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον αὐτοῖς εἶναι διαλέγεσθαι παρ᾽ ὑμᾶς λάβοιεν τὸν μισθὸν. ἐθαύμαζε δ᾽ εἰ τις ἄρετὴν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἀργύριον πράπτοιτο καὶ μὴ νομίζοι τὸ μέγιστον κέρδος ἐξειν φίλον ἀγαθον κτησάμενος, ἀλλὰ φοβοῖτο, μὴ γενόμενοι καλὸς κάγαθος τῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἐνεργετήσαυτι μὴ τὴν ὑμῶν καθιστὴν χάριν ἔξοι. Σωκράτης δὲ ἐπηγγέλλατο μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε τοιοῦτον οὔδεν, ἐπίστευε δὲ τῶν συνόντων ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἀποδεξαμένους ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἰς τὸν πάντα βίον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλήλων φίλοις ἀγαθοὺς ἐσεσθαι. πῶς ἄν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρ διαφθείροι τοὺς νέους; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστιν.

8 μεγίστην χάριν ἔξοι. Σωκράτης δὲ ἐπηγγέλλατο μὲν οὐδὲν πώποτε τοιοῦτον οὔδεν, ἐπίστευε δὲ τῶν συνόντων ἑαυτῷ τοὺς ἀποδεξαμένους ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἐδοκίμαζεν εἰς τὸν πάντα βίον ἑαυτῷ τε καὶ ἀλλήλων φίλοις ἀγαθοὺς ἐσεσθαι. πῶς ἄν οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνήρ διαφθείροι τοὺς νέους; εἰ μὴ ἄρα ἡ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιμέλεια διαφθορά ἐστιν.

9 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ Δία, ὁ κατήγορος ἐφ᾽, ὑπερορἀν ἐποίει τῶν καθεστώτων νόμων τοὺς συνόντας λέγων, ὡς μῶρον εἰς τοὺς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχοντας ἀπὸ
they through imitation of him would attain to such excellence. Furthermore, he himself never neglected the body, and reproved such neglect in others. Thus over-eating followed by over-exertion he disapproved. But he approved of taking as much hard exercise as is agreeable to the soul; for the habit not only insured good health, but did not hamper the care of the soul. On the other hand, he disliked foppery and pretentiousness in the fashion of clothes or shoes or in behaviour. Nor, again, did he encourage love of money in his companions. For while he checked their other desires, he would not make money himself out of their desire for his companionship. He held that this self-denying ordinance insured his liberty. Those who charged a fee for their society he denounced for selling themselves into bondage; since they were bound to converse with all from whom they took the fee. He marvelled that anyone should make money by the profession of virtue, and should not reflect that his highest reward would be the gain of a good friend; as though he who became a true gentleman could fail to feel deep gratitude for a benefit so great. Socrates indeed never promised any such boon to anyone; but he was confident that those of his companions who adopted his principles of conduct would throughout life be good friends to him and to one another. How, then, should such a man "corrupt the youth"? Unless, perchance, it be corruption to foster virtue.

But, said his accuser, he taught his companions to despise the established laws by insisting on the folly of appointing public officials by lot, when none

1 *Cyropaedia*, i. vi. 17.
κυάμου καθιστάναι, κυβερνήτη δὲ μηδένα ἐθέλειν 
χρῆσθαι κυαμεντῷ μηδὲ τεκτοῦμαι μηδ’ αὐλητή μηδ’
ἐπ’ ἀλλα τοιαῦτα, ἂ πολλῷ ἐλάττονας βλάβας 
ἀμαρτανόμενα ποιεῖ τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμαρτα-
νομένων τοὺς δὲ τοιούτους λόγους ἐπάρειν ἐφ’
tοὺς νέους καταφρονεῖν τῆς καθεστώσης πολιτείας
καὶ ποιεῖν βιαίους. ἐγὼ δ’ οἶμαι τοὺς φρόνησιν 
ἀσκοῦντας καὶ νομίζοντας ἰκανοὺς ἐσεσθαί τὰ 
συμφέροντα διδάσκειν τοὺς πολῖτας ἥκιστα 
γίγνεσθαι βιαίους, εἶδότας, ὅτι τῇ μὲν βίᾳ
πρόσεισιν ἔχθραι καὶ κίνδυνοι, διὰ δὲ τοῦ πείθειν 
ἀκινδύνως τε καὶ μετὰ φιλίας ταῦτα γίγνεται.
οἱ μὲν γὰρ βιασθέντες ὡς ἀφαίρεθέντες μισοῦσιν,
οὶ δὲ πεισθέντες ὡς κεχαρισμένοι φιλοῦσιν.
οὐκοι τῶν φρόνησιν ἀσκοῦντων τὸ βιάζεσθαι,
ἀλλὰ τῶν ἰσχίων ἀνεχμόνης ἔχοντων [τὰ τοιαῦτα
πράττειν] ἐστίν. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ συμμάχων ὁ μὲν
βιάζεσθαι τολμῶν δέοιτ’ ἄν οὐκ ὀλίγων, ἀν 
τοῦ πείθειν δυνάμενος οὐδενός; καὶ γὰρ μόνος ἤγοιτ’
ἄν δύνασθαι πείθειν. καὶ φονεύειν δὲ τοῖς τοιού-
tοις ἥκιστα συμβαίνει: τὸς γὰρ ἀποκτείναι τῶν 
βούλον ἡ ζωντι πειθομένω ἐχρῆσθαι;
12 Ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ ἃ γα τούτῳ γε ὁ κατήγορος, Σωκράτει ὡμιλητὰ
γενομένῳ Κρίτιας τε καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης πλείστα
κακὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐποιησάτην. Κρίτιας μὲν γὰρ
τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ πάντων κλεπτιστάτος τε 
καὶ βιαιότατος καὶ φονικώτατος ἑγένετο, Ἀλκι-
βιάδης δὲ αὖ τῶν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ πάντων ἀκρα-
tέστατός τε καὶ ὑβριστότατος καὶ βιαιότατος.
13 ἐγὼ δ’, εἰ μὲν τι κακὸν ἐκείνῳ τὴν πόλιν
ἐποιησάτην, οὐκ ἀπολογίσομαι τὴν δὲ πρὸς
would choose a pilot or builder or flautist by lot, nor any other craftsman for work in which mistakes are far less disastrous than mistakes in statecraft. Such sayings, he argued, led the young to despise the established constitution and made them violent. But I hold\(^1\) that they who cultivate wisdom and think they will be able to guide the people in prudent policy never lapse into violence: they know that enmities and dangers are inseparable from violence, but persuasion produces the same results safely and amicably. For violence, by making its victims sensible of loss, rouses their hatred: but persuasion, by seeming to confer a favour, wins goodwill. It is not, then, cultivation of wisdom that leads to violent methods, but the possession of power without prudence. Besides, many supporters are necessary to him who ventures to use force: but he who can persuade needs no confederate, having confidence in his own unaided power of persuasion. And such a man has no occasion to shed blood; for who would rather take a man's life than have a live and willing follower?

But his accuser argued thus. Among the\(^{12}\) associates of Socrates were Critias and Alcibiades; and none wrought so many evils to the state. For Critias in the days of the oligarchy bore the palm for greed and violence: Alcibiades, for his part, exceeded all in licentiousness and insolence under the democracy. Now I have no intention of excusing\(^{13}\) the wrong these two men wrought the state; but I

\(^{1}\) Cyropaedia, i. iv. 21.

\(^{1}\) ἵσεσθαι MSS.: ἐλναι Sauppe.
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Σωκράτην συνουσίαν αυτοῖν ὡς ἐγένητο διηγή-σομαι. ἐγενέσθην μὲν γὰρ δὴ τῷ ἀνδρε τούτῳ φύσει φιλοτιμοτάτω πάντων Ἀθηναίων βουλομένῳ τε πάντα δὲ ἦνοι τῶν πράττεσθαι καὶ πάντων ὀνομαστοτάτω γενέσθαι. ἦδεσαν δὲ Σωκράτην ἀπ’ ἐλαχίστων μὲν χρημάτων αὐταρκέστατα ζώντα, τῶν ἴδιον δὲ πασῶν ἐγκρατέστατον ὄντα, τοῖς δὲ διαλεγομένοις αὐτῷ πάσι χρώμενον ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ὅπως βούλοιτο. ταῦτα δὲ ὀρῶντε καὶ ὅπως ὀνῶν προείρησθον, πότερον τις αὐτῷ φῇ τοῦ βίου τοῦ Σωκράτους ἐπιθυμήσαντε καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης, ἢν ἐκείνος εἴχεν, ὁρέξασθαι τῆς ὦμιλίας αὐτοῦ ἢ νομίσαντε, εἰ ὀμιλησαίτην ἐκείνῳ, γενέσθαι ἄν ἱκανοτάτῳ λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι, θεοῦ διδόντος αὐτοῖς ἢ ζῆν ὅλον τοῦ βίου ὡσπερ ζώντα Σωκράτην ἐδώρων ἢ τεθνάναι, ἐλέσθαι ἄν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον τεθνάναι. δῆλω δὲ ἐγενέσθην ἐξ ὦν ἐπραξάτην· ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα κρείπτονε τῶν συγγιγνομένων ἡγησάσθην εἰναί, εὐθὺς ἀποπηδήσαντε Σωκράτους ἐπραττέτην τὰ πολιτικὰ, ἣνπερ ἐνεκα Σωκράτους ὤρεχθήτην.

"Ἰσως οὖν εἴποι τις ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα, ὅτι ἐχρῆν τὸν Σωκράτην μὴ πρότερον τὰ πολιτικὰ διδάσκειν τοὺς συνόντας ἢ σωφρονεῖν. ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἀντιλέγω· πάντας δὲ τοὺς διδάσκοντας ὀρῶ αὐτοὺς δεικνύντας τε τοῖς μανθάνουσιν, ἢπερ αὐτοὶ ποιοῦσιν ἀ διδάσκοντι, καὶ τῷ λόγῳ προσ-βιβάζοντας. οἶδα δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην δεικνύντα τοῖς συνούσιν ἑαυτοῦ καλὸν κἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ διαλεγό-μενον κάλλιστα περὶ ἄρετῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων. οἶδα δὲ κάκεινω σωφρονοῦντε, ἐστε Σωκράτει συνήστην, οὐ φοβομένω, μὴ ζημιοῖντο
will explain how they came to be with Socrates. Ambition was the very life-blood of both: no Athenian was ever like them. They were eager to get control of everything and to outstrip every rival in notoriety. They knew that Socrates was living on very little, and yet was wholly independent; that he was strictly moderate in all his pleasures; and that in argument he could do what he liked with any disputant. Sharing this knowledge and the principles I have indicated, is it to be supposed that these two men wanted to adopt the simple life of Socrates, and with this object in view sought his society? Did they not rather think that by associating with him they would attain the utmost proficiency in speech and action? For my part I believe that, had heaven granted them the choice between the life they saw Socrates leading and death, they would have chosen rather to die. Their conduct betrayed their purpose; for as soon as they thought themselves superior to their fellow-disciples they sprang away from Socrates and took to politics; it was for political ends that they had wanted Socrates.

But it may be answered: Socrates should have taught his companions prudence before politics. I do not deny it; but I find that all teachers show their disciples how they themselves practise what they teach, and lead them on by argument. And I know that it was so with Socrates: he showed his companions that he was a gentleman himself, and talked most excellently of goodness and of all things that concern man. I know further that even those two were prudent so long as they were with Socrates,
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ἡ παίοιντο ὑπὸ Ὀσκράτους, ἀλλ' οἰομένω τότε κράτιστον εἶναι τούτῳ πράττειν.

19 "Ἰσως οὖν εἴποιεν ἵνα πολλοὶ τῶν φασκόντων φιλοσοφεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ ὁ δίκαιος ἄδικος γένοιτο οὐδὲ ὁ σώφρων ὑβριστὴς οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὃς μάθησις ἐστιν ὁ μαθῶν ἀνεπιστήμων ἂν ποτὲ γένοιτο. ἔγω δὲ περὶ τούτων οὖχ οὗτο γυνώσκως ὃρω γὰρ ὁσπερ τὰ τοῦ σώματος ἔργα τοὺς μὴ τὰ σώματα ἄσκοιντας οὐ δυναμένους ποιεῖν, οὔτω καὶ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τοὺς μὴ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄσκοιντας οὐ δυναμένους' οὔτε γὰρ ἀ δεῖ πράττειν οὔτε ὃν δεῖ ἀπέχεσθαι δύνανται. διὸ καὶ τῶν οὐεῖς οἱ πατέρες, κἂν ὃσι σῶφρονες, ὁμοὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιηρῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰργουσίν, ὡς τὴν μὲν τῶν χρήστων ὁμιλίαν ἁσκησιν οὐσαν τὴς ἁρετῆς, τὴν δὲ τῶν ποιηρῶν κατάλυσιν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ὃ τε λέγων,

'Εσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἐσθλὰ διδάξαι τὴν κακοίσι
συμμίσγης, ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον'

καὶ ὁ λέγων,

Αὐτὰρ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τοτὲ μὲν κακός, ἀλλοτε δ' ἐσθλὸς.

20 Κἂγὼ δὲ μαρτυρῶ τούτως' ὃρω γὰρ ὁσπερ τῶν ἐν μέτρῳ πεποιημένων ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ μελετῶντας ἐπιλαμβανομένους, οὗτω καὶ τῶν διδάσκαλικῶν λόγων τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι λήθην ἐγγυγνομένην. ὅταν δὲ τῶν νουθετικῶν λόγων ἐπιλάθηται ταῖς, ἐπιλέκησαι καὶ ὃν ἡ ψυχὴ πάσχουσα τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπεθύμει τούτων δ' ἐπιλαθόμενον οὐδέν
not from fear of fine or blow, but because at that time they really believed in prudent conduct.

But many self-styled lovers of wisdom may reply: 19 A just man can never become unjust; a prudent man can never become wanton; in fact no one having learned any kind of knowledge can become ignorant of it. I do not hold with this view.\(^1\) I notice that as those who do not train the body cannot perform the functions proper to the body, so those who do not train the soul cannot perform the functions of the soul: for they cannot do what they ought to do nor avoid what they ought not to do. For this cause fathers try to keep their sons, even if they are prudent lads, out of bad company: for the society of honest men is a training in virtue, but the society of the bad is virtue’s undoing. As one of the poets says:

"From the good shalt thou learn good things; but if thou minglest with the bad thou shalt lose even what thou hast of wisdom."\(^2\)

And another says:

"Ah, but a good man is at one time noble, at another base."\(^3\)

My testimony agrees with theirs; for I see that, just as poetry is forgotten unless it is often repeated, so instruction, when no longer heeded, fades from the mind. To forget good counsel is to forget the experiences that prompted the soul to desire prudence: and when those are forgotten, it is not

\(^1\) Cyropaedia, vii. v. 75. Against Antisthenes.
\(^2\) Theognis.
\(^3\) Author unknown.
θαυμαστὸν καὶ τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐπιλαβέσθαι.

22 ὡρῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς εἰς φιλοσοφίαν προαχθέντας καὶ τοὺς εἰς ἔρωτας ἐκκυλισθέντας ἦττον δυναμένους τῶν τε δεόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ τῶν μὴ δεόντων ἀπέχεσθαι. πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμενοι φείδεσθαι, πρὶν έραν, ἐρασθέντες οὐκέτι δύνανται· καὶ τὰ χρήματα καταναλώσαντες ὄν πρόσθεν ἀπείχοντο κερδῶν, αἰσχρὰ νομίζοντες εἶναι, τούτων οὐκ ἀπέχονται. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἐνδέχεται σωφρονισταντα πρόσθεν αὐθισ μὴ σωφρονεῖν καὶ δίκαια δυνηθέντα πράττειν αὐθις ἀδυνατεῖν; πάντα μὲν οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ γαθὰ ἀσκητὰ εἰναι, οὐχ ἤκιστα δὲ σωφροσύνη. ἐν γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶ σώματι συμπεφυτευμέναι τῇ ψυχῇ αἰ ἤδοναι πείθουσιν αὐτήν μὴ σωφρονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ταχύστην ἔανταίς τε καὶ τῶ σώματι χαρίζεσθαι.

23 Καὶ Κριτίας δὴ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης ἐως μὲν Ἀσκράτεις συνήστην, ἑυνάσθην ἐκείνῳ χρωμένῳ συμμάχῳ τῶν μὴ καλῶν ἑπταυμίων κρατεῖν· ἐκείνου δὲ ἀπαλλαγέντες Κριτίας μὲν φυγὼν εἰς Θεσσαλίαν ἐκεῖ συνήν ἀνθρώπως ἀνομία μᾶλλον ἢ δικαιοσύνη χρωμένοις, Ἀλκιβιάδης δ' αὖ διὰ μὲν κάλλος ύπὸ πολλῶν καὶ σεμνῶν γυναικῶν θηρόμενος, διὰ δὲ δύναμιν τὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις ύπὸ πολλῶν καὶ δυνατῶν [κολακεύειν] ἀνθρώπων διαθρυπτόμενος, ύπὸ δὲ τοῦ δήμου τιμώμενος καὶ ῥαδίως πρωτεύουν, ὡσπερ οἱ τῶν γυμνικῶν ἀγώνων ἀθληταὶ ῥαδίως πρωτεύοντες ἀμελοῦσι τῆς ἀσκήσεως, οὕτω κακείνος ἠμέλησεν αὐτοῦ. τοιούτων δὲ συμβάντων αὐτῶν καὶ ὅγκωμένῳ μὲν ἐπὶ γένει, ἑπηρμένῳ δ' ἐπὶ πλούτῳ, πεφυσημένῳ δ' ἐπὶ δυνάμει, διατεθρυμ·
surprising that prudence itself is forgotten. I see also that men who take to drink or get involved in love intrigues lose the power of caring about right conduct and avoiding evil. For many who are careful with their money no sooner fall in love than they begin to waste it: and when they have spent it all, they no longer shrink from making more by methods which they formerly avoided because they thought them disgraceful. How then can it be impossible for one who was prudent to lose his prudence, for one who was capable of just action to become incapable? To me indeed it seems that whatever is honourable, whatever is good in conduct is the result of training, and that this is especially true of prudence. For in the same body along with the soul are planted the pleasures which call to her: "Abandon prudence, and make haste to gratify us and the body."

And indeed it was thus with Critias and Alcibiades. So long as they were with Socrates, they found in him an ally who gave them strength to conquer their evil passions. But when they parted from him, Critias fled to Thessaly, and got among men who put lawlessness before justice; while Alcibiades, on account of his beauty, was hunted by many great ladies, and because of his influence at Athens and among her allies he was spoilt by many powerful men: and as athletes who gain an easy victory in the games are apt to neglect their training, so the honour in which he was held, the cheap triumph he won with the people, led him to neglect himself. Such was their fortune: and when to pride of birth, confidence in wealth, vainglory and much
μένω δὲ ύπο πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ πάσι τούτοις [διεφθαρμένω] καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἀπὸ Σωκράτους γεγονότει τί θαυμαστόν εἰ ὑπερηφάνω
26 ἐγενέσθην; εἴτε εἰ μέν τι ἐπλημμελησάτην, τούτοις Σωκράτην ὁ κατήγορος αἰτιᾶται; ὅτι δὲ νέω ὄντε αὐτῷ, ἡνίκα καὶ ἀγνωμονεστάτω καὶ ἀκρατε-στάτω εἰκὸς εἶναι, Σωκράτης παρέσχε σώφρον, οὐδενὸς ἐπαίνου δοκεῖ τῷ κατηγορῷ ἄξιος εἶναι;
27 οὐ μὴν τὰ γε ἀλλα ὡς κρίνεται. τίς μὲν γὰρ αὐλητῆς, τίς δὲ κιθαριστῆς, τίς δὲ ἀλλος διδάσκαλος ἰκανοὺς ποιήσας τοὺς μαθητὰς, ἐὰν πρὸς ἄλλους ἐλθόντες χείρους φαινόσι, αὐτίαν ἔχει τούτου; τίς δὲ πατήρ, ἐὰν ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ συνδιατρίβων τῷ σωφρόνῃ, ὡστερον δὲ ἄλλῳ τῷ συγγενόμενοι πονηρὸς γένηται, τὸν πρόσθεν αἰτιᾶται, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅσῳ ἄν παρὰ τῷ ύστερῷ χείρων φαίνηται, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ἐπαινεῖ τὸν πρότερον; ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ συνόντες τοῖς νιέσι, τῶν παῖδων πλημμελοῦντων, ὡκ αἰτίαν
28 ἔχουσιν, ἐὰν αὑτοὶ σωφρονῶσιν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ Σωκράτην δίκαιον ἢν κρίνειν· εἰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐποίει τι φαύλον, εἰκότως ἂν ἐδόκει πονηρὸς εἶναι· εἰ δ' αὐτός σωφρονῶν διετέλει, πῶς ἂν δικαίως τῆς ὥκ ἐνοῦσης αὐτῷ κακίας αἰτίαν ἔχοι;
29 Ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὑτός πονηρὸν ποιῶν ἐκείνους φαύλα πράττοντας ὁρῶν ἐπήνει, δικαίως ἂν ἐπιτιμῶτο. Κριτίαν μὲν τοῖνυν αἰσθανόμενοι ἔρωτα Εὐθυδήμου καὶ πειρόντα χρήσθαι καθάπερ οἱ πρὸς τὰ φροδίσια τῶν σωμάτων ἀπολαύσεις, ἀπέτρεπε φάσκων ἀνελεύθερον τε εἶναι καὶ οὐ πρέπον ἄνδρι καλῷ κἀκαθόφ τῶν ἔρωμενον, ὁ βουλεῖται πολλοῦ ἄξιος φαίνεσθαι, προσαίτειν
yielding to temptation were added corruption and long separation from Socrates, what wonder if they grew overbearing? For their wrongdoing, then, 26 is Socrates to be called to account by his accuser? And does he deserve no word of praise for having controlled them in the days of their youth, when they would naturally be most reckless and licentious? Other cases, at least, are not so judged. For what 27 teacher of flute, lyre, or anything else, after making his pupils proficient, is held to blame if they leave him for another master, and then turn out incompetent? What father, whose son bears a good character so long as he is with one master, but goes wrong after he has attached himself to another, throws the blame on the earlier teacher? Is it not true that the worse the boy turns out with the second, the higher is his father's praise of the first? Nay, fathers themselves, living with their sons, are not held responsible for their boys' wrongdoing if they are themselves prudent men. This is the test 28 which should have been applied to Socrates too. If there was anything base in his own life, he might fairly have been thought vicious. But, if his own conduct was always prudent, how can he be fairly held to blame for the evil that was not in him?

Nevertheless, although he was himself free from 29 vice, if he saw and approved of base conduct in them, he would be open to censure. Well, when he found that Critias loved Euthydemus 1 and wanted to lead him astray, he tried to restrain him by saying that it was mean and unbecoming in a gentleman to sue like a beggar to the object of his affection, whose

1 iv. ii. 1.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

όσπερ τοὺς πτωχοὺς ἵκετευόντα καὶ δεόμενον

30 προσδούναι, καὶ ταύτα μηδενὸς ἀγαθοῦ. τοῦ δὲ
Κριτίου τοῖς τοιούτοις οὖχ ὑπακούοντος οὐδὲ
ἀποτρεπομένου, λέγεται τὸν Σωκράτην ἄλλων τε
πολλῶν παρόντων καὶ τοῦ Ἑὐθυδήμου ἐπείν, ὅτι
ὑικὸν αὐτῷ δοκοῖ πάσχειν ὁ Κριτίας ἐπιθυμῶν
Ἑὐθυδήμῳ προσκυνήσθαι ὃσπερ τὰ ὕδια τοῖς
λίθοις. ἐξ ὧν δὴ καὶ ἐμίσει τὸν Σωκράτην ὁ
Κριτίας, ὡστε καὶ ὅτε τῶν τριάκοντα ὑνομοθέτης
μετὰ Χαρικλέους ἐγένετο, ἀπεμνημόνευσεν αὐτῷ
καὶ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ἔγραψε λόγουν τέχνην μὴ
didάσκειν, ἐπηρεάζων ἔκειν καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅτι
ἐπιλάβωτο, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ὑπὸ
tῶν πολλῶν ἐπιτιμώμενον ἐπιφέρων αὐτῷ καὶ
diaβάλλων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔγωγε
οὔτ' αὐτὸς τούτο πῶποτε Σωκράτους ἱκουσα
οὔτ' ἄλλου του φάσκοντος ἀκηκοέναι ἰσθώμην.

31 ἐδήλωσε δὲ· ἐπεὶ γὰρ οἱ τριάκοντα πολλοὺς μὲν
tῶν πολιτῶν καὶ οὐ τοὺς χειρίστους ἀπέκτεινον,
pολλοὺς δὲ προετρέποντο ἄδικεῖν, εἰπέ πον ὁ
Σωκράτης, ὅτι ὑπαμαστόν οἱ δοκοῖ εἶναι, εἰ τις
γενόμενος βοῶν ἀγέλης νομεύς καὶ τὰς βοῶς
ἐλάττους τε καὶ χείρους ποιῶν μὴ ὀμολογοῖν
κακὸς βουκόλος εἶναι, ἐτι δὲ ὑπαμαστότερον, εἰ
tις προστάτης γενόμενος πόλεως καὶ ποιῶν τοὺς
πολίτας ἐλάττους τε καὶ χείρους μὴ αἰσχύνεται
μηδ' οὔτέ αὐτὸς ἐνακούει κακὸς εἶναι προστάτης τῆς
πόλεως.

32 ἀπαγγέλθεντος δὲ αὐτοῖς τούτου, καλέσαντε ὁ
τε Κριτίας καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς τὸν Σωκράτην τὸν τε

33 26
good opinion he coveted, stooping to ask a favour that it was wrong to grant. As Critias paid no heed whatever to this protest, Socrates, it is said, exclaimed in the presence of Euthydemus and many others, "Critias seems to have the feelings of a pig: he can no more keep away from Euthydemus than pigs can help rubbing themselves against stones." Now Critias bore a grudge against Socrates for this; and when he was one of the Thirty and was drafting laws with Charicles, he bore it in mind. He inserted a clause which made it illegal "to teach the art of words." It was a calculated insult to Socrates, whom he saw no means of attacking, except by imputing to him the practice constantly attributed to philosophers,¹ and so making him unpopular. For I myself never heard Socrates indulge in the practice, nor knew of anyone who professed to have heard him do so. The truth came out. When the Thirty were putting to death many citizens of the highest respectability and were encouraging many in crime, Socrates had remarked: "It seems strange enough to me that a herdsman who lets his cattle decrease and go to the bad should not admit that he is a poor cowherd; but stranger still that a statesman when he causes the citizens to decrease and go to the bad, should feel no shame nor think himself a poor statesman." This remark was reported to Critias and Charicles, who sent for Socrates, showed

¹ *i.e.* the practice of "making the worse appear the better argument." In Plato, *Apol. 19b*, Socrates makes Aristophanes (Clouds) author of this charge against him. Aristotle in the *Rhetoric* (B 24, 11) associates the practice with the name of Protagoras: *cp. Diog. Laert. ix. 51.*

² *Cyropaedia*, VIII. ii. 14.
νόμον ἐδεικνύτην αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἀπειπέτην μὴ διαλέγεσθαι.

'Ο δὲ Σωκράτης ἐπήρετο αὐτῷ, εἰ ἐξείη πυνθα-νεσθαι, εἰ τι ἄγνοοίτο τῶν προαγορευομένων.

Τῶ δ’ ἐφάτην.

34 Ἐγὼ τοῖνυν, ἐφη, παρεσκεύασμαι μὲν πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις· ὅπως δὲ μὴ δι’ ἄγνοιαν λάθω τι παρανομήσασ, τούτῳ βούλομαι σαφῶς μαθεῖν παρ’ ὑμῶν, πότερον τὴν τῶν λόγων τέχνην σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς λεγομένοις εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ σὺν τοῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς ἀπέχεσθαι κελεύστε αὐτῆς. εἰ μὲν γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ὀρθῶς, δήλου ὅτι ἀφεκτέον ἂν εἰ τοῦ ὀρθῶς λέγειν εἰ δὲ σὺν τοῖς μὴ ὀρθῶς, δήλου ὅτι πειρατέον ὀρθῶς λέγειν.

35 Καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς ὄργησθεὶς αὐτῶ, Ἐπειδὴ, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἄγνοεις, τάδε σοι εὐμαθέστερα οὐντα προαγορεύουμεν, τοῖς νέοις ὀλος μὴ διαλέγεσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, "Ἰνα τοῖνυν, ἐφη, μὴ ἀμφίβολον Ἰ, ως ἄλλο τι ποιώ  ἢ τὰ προηγορευμένα, ὀρίσσαστε μοι, μέχρι πόσων ἐτῶν δεῖ νομίζειν νέους εἶναι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.

Καὶ ὁ Χαρικλῆς, "Οσουπερ, εἶπε, χρόνου βουλεύειν υπὲκ ἐξεστιν, ὡς οὐπως φρονίμοις ὑσιν· μηδὲ σὺ διαλέγουν νεωτέροις τριάκοντα ἑτῶν.

36 Μὴδ’ εάν τι ἀνωμαί, ἐφη, ἂν πωλῆ νεωτέρος τριάκοντα ἑτῶν, ἑρμοί, ὀπόσον πωλεῖ; 

Ναὶ τὰ γε τοιαῦτα, ἐφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς· ἀλλὰ τοι σύγε, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἐωθᾶς εἰδώς πῶς ἔχει τὰ πλεῖστα ἑρωτᾶν. ταύτα οὐν μὴ ἐρωτά.

Μὴδ’ ἀποκρίνομαι οὕν, ἐφη, ἂν τῖς μὲ ἐρωτᾶ νέος, ἐὰν εἰδῶ, οἶον ποῦ οἰκεῖ Χαρικλῆς ἡ ποῦ ἐστὶ Κρίτιας;
him the law and forbade him to hold conversation with the young.

"May I question you," asked Socrates, "in case I do not understand any point in your orders?"

"You may," said they.

"Well now," said he, "I am ready to obey the laws. But lest I unwittingly transgress through ignorance, I want clear directions from you. Do you think that the art of words from which you bid me abstain is associated with sound or unsound reasoning? For if with sound, then clearly I must abstain from sound reasoning: but if with unsound, clearly I must try to reason soundly."

"Since you are ignorant, Socrates," said Charicles in an angry tone, "we put our order into language easier to understand. You may not hold any converse whatever with the young."

"Well then," said Socrates, "that there may be no question raised about my obedience, please fix the age limit below which a man is to be accounted young."

"So long," replied Charicles, "as he is not permitted to sit in the Council, because as yet he lacks wisdom. You shall not converse with anyone who is under thirty."

"Suppose I want to buy something, am I not even then to ask the price if the seller is under thirty?"

"Oh yes," answered Charicles, "you may in such cases. But the fact is, Socrates, you are in the habit of asking questions to which you know the answer: so that is what you are not to do."

"Am I to give no answer, then, if a young man asks me something that I know—for instance, 'Where does Charicles live?' or 'Where is Critias?'"
XENOPHON

Ναί τά γε τοιαύτα, ἐφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς.

37 Ὅ δὲ Κριτίας, Ἀλλὰ τῶν τοῦ σὲ ἀπέχεσθαι ἐφη, δεήσει, ὥ Σωκρατεῖς, τῶν σκυτέων καὶ τῶν τεκτόνων καὶ τῶν χαλκέων· καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι αὐτοῖς ἢδη κατατετρίφθαι διαθρυλουμένους ὑπὸ σοῦ.

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων τούτων τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων;

Ναί μὰ Δ', ἐφη ὁ Χαρικλῆς, καὶ τῶν βουκόλων γε· εἰ δὲ μή, φυλάττου, ὅπως μή καὶ σὺ ἑλάττους τὰς βούς ποιήσῃς.

"Ενθα καὶ δήλων ἐγένετο, ὦτι ἀπαγγελθέντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ περὶ τῶν βοῶν λόγου ὁργίζοντο τῷ Σωκράτει.

Οἷα μὲν οὖν ἡ συνουσία ἐγεγόνει Κριτία πρὸς Σωκράτην καὶ ὡς εἰχὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰρηταί. 39 φαίην δ' ἂν ἔγγῃμεν μηδὲνι μηδεμίαν εἶναι παίδευσιν παρὰ τοῦ μὴ ἀρέσκοντος. Κριτίας δὲ καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐκ ἀρέσκοντος αὐτοῖς Σωκράτους ὑμιλησάτην ὅν χρόνου ὠμιλεῖτην αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὤρμηκότε προεστάνει τῆς πόλεως. ἔτι γὰρ Σωκράτει συνόντες οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶ μάλλον ἐπεχείρουν διαλέγεσθαι ὥτι τοῖς μάλιστα πράττουσιν τὰ πολιτικὰ. λέγεται γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδην, πρὶν εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν εἶναι, Περίκλει, ἐπιτρόπῳ μὲν ὄντι ἑαυτοῦ, προστάτη δὲ τῆς πόλεως, τοιάδε διαλεχθῆναι περὶ νόμων.

40 Εἰπὲ μοι, φάναι, ὁ Περίκλεις, ἔχοις ἂν με διδάξαι, τί ἐστι νόμος;

Πάντως δὴν, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα.

Δίδαξον δὴ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, φάναι τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην· ὡς ἐγὼ ἀκούὼν τινῶν ἐπαίνουμένων, ὦτι
"Oh yes," answered Charicles, "you may, in such cases."

"But you see, Socrates," explained Critias, "you will have to avoid your favourite topic,—the cobblers, builders and metal workers; for it is already worn to rags by you in my opinion."

"Then must I keep off the subjects of which these supply illustrations, Justice, Holiness, and so forth?"

"Indeed yes," said Charicles, "and cowherds too: else you may find the cattle decrease."

Thus the truth was out: the remark about the cattle had been repeated to them: and it was this that made them angry with him.

So much, then, for the connexion of Critias with Socrates and their relation to each other. I venture to lay it down that learners get nothing from a teacher with whom they are out of sympathy. Now, all the time that Critias and Alcibiades associated with Socrates they were out of sympathy with him, but from the very first their ambition was political advancement. For while they were still with him, they tried to converse, whenever possible, with prominent politicians. Indeed, there is a story told of Alcibiades, that, when he was less than twenty years old, he had a talk about laws with Pericles, his guardian, the first citizen in the State.

"Tell me, Pericles," he said, "can you teach me what a law is?"

"Certainly," he replied.

"Then pray teach me. For whenever I hear men praised for keeping the laws, it occurs to me

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1 Cyropaedia, vi. ii. 37.
νόμιμοι ἄνδρες εἰσίν, οἴμαι μὴ ἂν δικαίως τούτων τυχεῖν τοῦ ἐπάινου τόν μὴ εἰδότα, τί ἐστι νόμος.

42 Ἀλλ' οὐδέν τι χαλεποῦ πράγματος ἐπιθυμεῖς, ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, φάναι τόν Περικλέα, βουλόμενος γυνώναι, τί ἐστι νόμος· πάντες γὰρ οὕτω νόμοι εἰσίν, οὕς τὸ πλήθος συνελθὼν καὶ δοκιμᾶσαν ἔγραψε, φράζον ἄ τε δεὶ ποιεῖν καὶ ἄ μὴ.

Πότερον δὲ τάγαθὰ νομίσαν δεῖν ποιεῖν ἢ τὰ κακὰ;

Τάγαθὰ νὴ Δία, φάναι, ὡς μειράκιοι, τὰ δὲ κακὰ οὐ.

43 Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ τὸ πλῆθος, ἄλλ' ὀστερὸν ὅποιν ὁμογενεῖς ἐστίν, ὁλοίγοι συνελθόντες γράψωσιν ὁ τὶ χρὴ ποιεῖν, ταῦτα τί ἐστι;

Πάντα, φάναι, ὅσα ἂν τὸ κρατοῦν τῆς πόλεως βουλευσάμενον ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν γράψῃ, νόμος καλεῖται·

Καὶ ἂν τύραννος οὐν κρατῶν τῆς πόλεως γράψῃ τοὺς πολῖτας ἃ χρὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα νόμος ἐστί;

Καὶ ὅσα τύραννος ἄρχων, φάναι, γράφει, καὶ ταῦτα νόμος καλεῖται.

44 Βία δὲ, φάναι, καὶ ἀνομία τί ἐστιν, ὁ Περίκλεις; ἀρ' ὅτι ὅταν ὁ κρείττων τὸν ἦττο μὴ πείσας, ἄλλα βιασάμενος ἀναγκάζῃ ποιεῖν ὁ τὶ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ;

Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα.

Καὶ ὅσα ἀρὰ τύραννος μὴ πείσας τοὺς πολίτας ἀναγκάζει ποιεῖν γράφων, ἀνομία ἐστί;

Δοκεῖ μοι, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα· ἀνατίθεμαι γὰρ τὸ ὅσα τύραννος μὴ πείσας γράφει νόμον εἶναι.
that no one can really deserve that praise who does not know what a law is.”

“Well, Alcibiades, there is no great difficulty about what you desire. You wish to know what a law is. Laws are all the rules approved and enacted by the majority in assembly, whereby they declare what ought and what ought not to be done.”

“Do they suppose it is right to do good or evil?”

“Good, of course, young man,—not evil.”

“But if, as happens under an oligarchy, not the majority, but a minority meet and enact rules of conduct, what are these?”

“Whatsoever the sovereign power in the State, after deliberation, enacts and directs to be done is known as a law.”

“If, then, a despot, being the sovereign power, enacts what the citizens are to do, are his orders also a law?”

“Yes, whatever a despot as ruler enacts is also known as a law.”

“But force, the negation of law, what is that, Pericles? Is it not the action of the stronger when he constrains the weaker to do whatever he chooses, not by persuasion, but by force?”

“That is my opinion.”

“Then whatever a despot by enactment constrains the citizens to do without persuasion, is the negation of law?”

“I think so: and I withdraw my answer that whatever a despot enacts without persuasion is a law.”
"Οσα δέ οί ολέγοι τοὺς πολλούς μή πείσαντες, ἀλλὰ κρατοῦντες γράφουσι, πότερον βίαν φῶμεν ἢ μὴ φῶμεν εἶναι;

Πάντα μοι δοκεῖ, φάναι τῶν Περικλέα, ὡσα τις μὴ πείσας ἀναγκάζει τινὰ ποιεῖν, εἴτε γράφων εἴτε μή, βία μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος εἶναι.

Καὶ ὡσα ἁρὰ τὸ πᾶν πλήθος κρατοῦν τῶν τὰ χρῆματα ἐξοντων γράφει μὴ πείσαν, βία μᾶλλον ἢ νόμος ἂν εἴη;

Μάλα τοι, φάναι τὸν Περικλέα, ὡ 'Αλκιβιάδη, καί ἡμεῖς τηλικοῦτοι ὄντες δεινοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἢμεν τοιαῦτα γάρ καὶ ἐμελετῶμεν καὶ ἐσοφιζόμεθα, οἶαπερ καὶ σὺ νῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖς μελετᾶν.

Τὸν δὲ 'Αλκιβιάδην φάναι' ἔθει σοι, ὡ Περίκλεις, τότε συνεγενόμην, ὅτε δεινότατος σαυτοῦ ταύτα ἡσθα. ἔπει τοίνυν τάχιστα τῶν πολιτευομένων ὑπέλαβον κρείττονες εἶναι, Σωκράτης μὲν οὐκέτι προσήκεσαν ὡφε γὰρ αὐτοὶς ἀλλὰς ἡρεσκεν εἰ τε προσέλθοντες, ὕπερ ὧν ἡμάρτανον ἐλεγχόμενοι ἡχθόντο τὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἐπραττον, ὑπερ ἐνεκεν καὶ Σωκράτης προσήκθωσι.

'Αλλὰ Κρίτων τε Σωκράτους ἢν ὄμιλητής καὶ Χαιρέφων καὶ Χαιρεκράτης καὶ 'Ερμογένης καὶ Σιμμίας καὶ Κέβης καὶ Φαίδωνδας καὶ ἄλλοι, οἱ ἐκείνῳ συνήσαν οὐχ ἤνα δημηγοροὶ ἤ δικαίωνοι γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἦνα καλοὶ τε κάγαθοι γενόμενοι καὶ οἶκῳ καὶ οἰκέταις καὶ οἰκείους καὶ φίλους καὶ πόλει καὶ πολίταις δύναντο καλῶς χρῆσθαι. καὶ τούτων οὐδεὶς οὔτε νεώτερος οὔτε πρεσβύτερος ὃν οὔτ' ἐποίησε κακόν οὐδὲν οὔτ' αἰτίαν ἔσχεν.
"And when the minority passes enactments, not by persuading the majority, but through using its power, are we to call that force or not?"

"Everything, I think, that men constrain others to do 'without persuasion,' whether by enactment or not, is not law, but force."

"It follows then, that whatever the assembled majority, through using its power over the owners of property, enacts without persuasion is not law, but force?"

"Alcibiades," said Pericles, "at your age, I may tell you, we, too, were very clever at this sort of thing. For the puzzles we thought about and exercised our wits on were just such as you seem to think about now."

"Ah, Pericles," cried Alcibiades, "if only I had known you intimately when you were at your cleverest in these things!"

So soon, then, as they presumed themselves to be the superiors of the politicians, they no longer came near Socrates. For apart from their general want of sympathy with him, they resented being cross-examined about their errors when they came. Politics had brought them to Socrates, and for politics they left him. But Criton was a true associate of Socrates, as were Chaerophon, Chaerecrates, Hermogenes, Simmias, Cebes, Phaedondas, and others who consorted with him not that they might shine in the courts or the assembly, but that they might become gentlemen, and be able to do their duty by house and household, and relatives and friends, and city and citizens. Of these not one, in his youth or old age, did evil or incurred censure.
49 Ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γ’, ἐφη ὁ κατήγορος, τοὺς πατέρας προπηλακίζειν ἐδίδασκε, πείθων μὲν τοὺς συνόντας ἑαυτῷ σοφωτέρους ποιεῖν τῶν πατέρων, φάσκων δὲ κατὰ νόμον ἐξεῖναι παρα-νοίας ἐλὸντι καὶ τὸν πατέρα δῆσαι, τεκμηρίω τούτῳ χρώμενος, ὡς τὸν ἀμαθέστερον ὑπὸ τοῦ σοφωτέρου νόμιμον εἰς δεδέσθαι. Σωκράτης δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμαθίας ἐνεκα δεσμεύοντα δικαίως ἃν καὶ αὐτὸν ὶτετο δεδέσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισταμένων ᾧ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταται· καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐνεκα πολλάκις ἐσκόπειν, τί διαφέρει μανίας ἀμαθίαν καὶ τοὺς μὲν μανικεῖς ὶτετο συμφερόντων ἃν δεδέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένους τὰ δέοντα δικαίως ἃν μανθάνειν παρὰ τῶν ἐπισταμένων.

50 Ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε, ἐφη ὁ κατήγορος, οὐ μόνον τοὺς πατέρας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγγενεῖς ἐποίει ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ εἶναι παρὰ τοῖς ἑαυτῷ συνούσι· λέγων, ὡς οὔτε τοὺς κάμποτας οὔτε τοὺς δικαζο-μένους οἱ συγγενεῖς ὦφελοὺσιν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἱ ἱατροί, τοὺς δὲ οἱ συνδικεῖν ἐπισταμένου. ἐφη δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτῶν λέγειν, ὡς οὔδεν ὤφελος εἶναι, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὦφελεῖν δυνήσονται· μόνος δὲ φάσκειν αὐτῶν ἄξιοις εἶναι τιμῆς τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐρμηνεύσαι δυναμένους· ἀναπείθοντα οὐν τοὺς νέους αὐτῶν, ὡς αὐτὸς εἰη σοφώτατος τε καὶ ἄλλους ἱκανώτατος ποιήσαι σοφοὺς, οὔτω διατιθέναι τοὺς ἑαυτῷ συνόντας, ὡς τε μηδαμοῦ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἄλλους εἶναι πρὸς αὐτῶν. ἐγὼ δ’ αὐτὸν οἴδα μὲν καὶ περὶ πατέρων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συγγενέων καὶ περὶ φίλων ταῦτα λέγουται καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἑτ’ ὅτι τῆς ψυχῆς 36
“But,” said his accuser, “Socrates taught sons to treat their fathers with contempt: he persuaded them that he made his companions wiser than their fathers: he said that the law allowed a son to put his father in prison if he convinced a jury that he was insane; and this was a proof that it was lawful for the wiser to keep the more ignorant in gaol.” In reality Socrates held that, if you clap fetters on a man for his ignorance, you deserve to be kept in gaol yourself by those whose knowledge is greater than your own: and such reasoning led him frequently to consider the difference between Madness and Ignorance. That madmen should be kept in prison was expedient, he thought, both for themselves and for their friends: but those who are ignorant of what they ought to know deserve to learn from those who know it.

“But,” said his accuser, “Socrates caused his companions to dishonour not only their fathers, but their other relations as well, by saying that invalids and litigants get benefit not from their relations, but from their doctor or their counsel. Of friends too he said that their goodwill was worthless, unless they could combine with it some power to help one: only those deserved honour who knew what was the right thing to do, and could explain it. Thus by leading the young to think that he excelled in wisdom and in ability to make others wise, he had such an effect on his companions that no one counted for anything in their estimation in comparison with him.” Now I know that he did use this language about fathers, relations and friends. And, what is more, he would say that so soon as
εξελθούσης, ἐν ἡ μόνη γίγνεται φρόνησις, τὸ σῶμα
tοῦ οἰκειοτάτου ἀνθρώπου τὴν ταχίστην ἐξενέγ- 54
καντες ἄφαντουσιν. ἔλεγε δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ζῶν ἐκαστος
ἐαυτοῦ, ὁ πάντων μάλιστα φιλεῖ, τοῦ σώματος
ὁτι ἄν ἄχρειον ἢ καὶ ἀνωφελές, αὐτὸς τε ἀφαίρει
καὶ ἀλλω παρέχει. αὐτοὶ τε γε αὐτῶν ὄνυχας τε
καὶ τρίχας καὶ τύλους ἀφαιροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ἰατροῖς
παρέχουσι μετὰ πόνων τε καὶ ἄλγηδόνων καὶ
ἀποτέμνειν καὶ ἀποκαίει καὶ τούτῳ χάριν οἴονται
dεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ μισθὸν τίνειν· καὶ τὸ σίαλον ἐκ
tοῦ στόματος ἀποπτύουσιν ὡς δύνανται πορρω-
tάτω, διότι ὄφελεῖ δὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἐνόν, βλάπτει
dὲ πολὺ μᾶλλον. ταῦτ' οὖν ἔλεγεν οὐ τὸν μὲν
πατέρα ζώντα κατορύπτειν διδάσκων, ἐαυτοῦ δὲ
κατατέμνειν, ἀλλ' ἐπιδεικνύων, ὅτι τὸ ἀφρον
ἄτιμον ἔστι, παρεκάλει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ὡς
φρονιμώτατον εἶναι καὶ ὄφελιμότατον, ὅπως, εάν
τε ὑπὸ πατρὸς εἀν τε ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ εἀν τε ὑπ'
ἀλλον τινὸς βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, μὴ τῷ οἰκεῖος
εἶναι πιστεύων ἀμελή, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶται ὃ φ' ὃν ἄν
βούληται τιμᾶσθαι, τούτῳ ὄφελιμος εἶναι.
56 Ἐφη δ' αὐτὸν ὁ κατήγορος καὶ τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων
ποιητῶν ἐκλεγόμενου τὰ ποιητότατα καὶ τούτοις
μαρτυρίοις χρόμενον διδάσκειν τοὺς συνώντας
κακούργους τε εἶναι καὶ τυραννικούς, Ἡσίόδου
μὲν τὸ

Ἐργον δ' οὐδὲν ὤνειδος, ἀεργὴ δὲ τ' ὤνειδος·
tοῦτο δὴ λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς κελεύει μη-
δενὸς ἐργον μήτ' ἀδίκου μήτ' αἰσχροῦ ἀπέχεσθαι,
57 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει. Ὁπράτης
d' ἐπεὶ διομολογήσατο τὸ μὲν ἐργάτην εἶναι
38
MEMORABILIA, I. II. 53–57

the soul, the only seat of intelligence, is gone out of a man, even though he be our nearest and dearest, we carry out his body and hide it in the tomb. Moreover, a man’s dearest friend is himself: yet, even in his lifetime he removes or lets another remove from his body whatever is useless and unprofitable. He removes his own nails, hair, corns: he lets the surgeon cut and cauterize him, and, aches and pains notwithstanding, feels bound to thank and fee him for it. He spits out the saliva from his mouth as far away as he can, because to retain it doesn’t help him, but harms him rather.

Now in saying all this, he was not giving a lesson on “the duty of burying one’s father alive, or making mincemeat of one’s body”: he meant to show that unreason is unworth, and was urging the necessity of cultivating sound sense and usefulness, in order that he who would fain be valued by father or by brother or by anyone else may not rely on the bond of familiarity and neglect him, but may try to be useful to all those by whom he would be valued.

Again, his accuser alleged that he selected from the most famous poets the most immoral passages, and used them as evidence in teaching his companions to be tyrants and malefactors: for example, Hesiod’s line:

“No work is a disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace.”

He was charged with explaining this line as an injunction to refrain from no work, dishonest or disgraceful, but to do anything for gain. Now, though Socrates would fully agree that it is a

1 Works and Days, 309.
XENOPHON

οφελιμόν τε ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ ἀγαθόν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἀργὸν βλαβερόν τε καὶ κακόν, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐργάζεσθαι ἀγαθόν, τὸ δὲ ἀργεῖν κακόν, τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθὸν τι ποιοῦντας ἐργάζεσθαι τε ἐφή καὶ ἐργάτας εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κυβεῦοντας ἢ τι ἄλλο ποιηρὸν καὶ ἐπιζήμιον ποιοῦντας ἀργοὺς ἀπεκάλει. ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὀρθῶς ἂν ἔχοι τὸ

"Εργον δ' οὐδὲν ὀνείδος, ἀργηὴ δὲ τ' ὀνείδος.

58 τὸ δὲ Ὄμηρον ἐφη ὁ κατηγορος πολλάκις αὐτὸν λέγειν, ὅτι Ὅδυσσεὺς

"Οντινα μὲν βασιλῆα καὶ ἔξωκον ἄνδρα κιχείν, τὸν δ' ἀγανοῖς ἐπέεσσιν ἐρητύσασκε παραστάς· δαιμόνι, οὗ σε ἐουκε κακόν ὂς δειδίσσεσθαι, ἄλλ' αὐτὸς τε κάθησο καὶ ἄλλους ἔδρυε λαοὺς. ὅν δ' αὖ δήμου τ' ἄνδρα ἱδοι βοῶντα τ' ἐφεύροι, τὸν σκῆπτρῳ ἐλάσασκεν ὁμοκλήσασκέ τε μῦθῳ· δαιμόνι', ἀτρέμας ἥσοι καὶ ἄλλων μῦθον ἄκουε, οἴ σὲο φέρτεροι εἰσι· σὺ δ' ἀπτόλεμοι καὶ ἀναλκίς,

οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμοις οὔτ' ἐνι βουλῇ.

ταῦτα δὴ αὐτὸν ἔξηγεσθαι, ὡς ὁ ποιητὴς ἐπαινοῖ τούς δημότας καὶ πένητας. Σωκράτης δ' οὖ ταῦτ' ἐλεγε, καὶ γὰρ ἐαυτὸν οὔτω γ' ἀν φέτο δεῖν παίεσθαι, ἄλλ' ἐφη δεῖν τοὺς μήτε λόγῳ μήτ' ἐργῷ ὕφελίμους οὖντας καὶ μήτε στρατεύματι μήτε πόλει μήτε αὐτῶ τῷ δήμῳ, εἴ τι δέοι, βοηθεῖν ἰκανοὺς, ἄλλως τ' ἐαν πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ ἑρασεῖς ὅσι, πάντα τρόπον κωλύεσθαι, κἂν πάνυ πλού-

60 σιοι τυγχάνωσιν οὖντες. ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε
benefit and a blessing to a man to be a worker, and
a disadvantage and an evil to be an idler—that
work, in fact, is a blessing, idleness an evil—"work-
ing," "being a worker," meant to him doing good
work; but gambling and any occupation that is
immoral and leads to loss he called idling. When
thus interpreted there is nothing amiss with the
line:

"No work is a disgrace, but idleness is a disgrace."

Again, his accuser said that he often quoted the 58
passage from Homer, showing how Odysseus:

"Whenever he found one that was a captain and
a man of mark, stood by his side, and restrained
him with gentle words: 'Good sir, it is not seemly
to affright thee like a coward, but do thou sit
thyself and make all thy folk sit down. . . .'. But
whatever man of the people he saw and found him
shouting, him he drove with his sceptre and chid
him with loud words: 'Good sir, sit still and
hearken to the words of others that are thy betters:
but thou art no warrior and a weakling, never
reckoned whether in battle or in council.'" 1

This passage, it was said, he explained to mean
that the poet approved of chastising common and
poor folk. But Socrates never said that: indeed, 59
on that view he would have thought himself worthy
of chastisement. But what he did say was that those
who render no service either by word or deed, who
cannot help army or city or the people itself in time
of need, ought to be stopped, even if they have
riches in abundance, above all if they are insolent as
well as inefficient. But Socrates, at least, was just 60

1 Iliad, ii. 188; Leaf's translation.
XENOPHON

tάναντία τούτων φανερὸς ἦν καὶ δημοτικὸς καὶ
φιλάνθρωπος ὁν. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ πολλοὺς ἐπιθυμητὰς καὶ ἀστοὺς καὶ ἔναν λαβὼν οὐδένα
πώποτε μισθὸν τῆς συνουσίας ἐπρᾶξατο, ἀλλὰ
πᾶσιν ἀφθόνως ἐπῆρκει τῶν ἔαυτον· ὥν τινες
μικρὰ μέρη παρ’ ἐκείνου προϊκα λαβόμενες πολλοὺς
τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπώλουν καὶ οὕκ ἦσαν ὀσπερ ἐκείνος
dημοτικόί. τοῖς γὰρ μὴ ἔχουσι χρῆματα διδόναι
οὐκ ἦθελον διαλέγεσθαι. ἀλλὰ Σωκράτης γε καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνδρώπους κόσμουν τῇ πόλει
παρεῖχε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἢ Δίχας, τῇ Δακε-
dαιμονίῳ, ὅσ ὄνομαστὸς ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ γέγονε. Δίχας
μὲν γὰρ ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις τοὺς ἐπιδη-
μοῦντας ἐν Δακεδαίμονι ξένους ἐδείπνησε, Σω-
κράτης δὲ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου τὰ ἔαυτο
δαπανῶν τὰ μέγιστα πάντας τοὺς Βουλομένους
ὡφέλει· βελτίως γὰρ ποιῶν τοὺς συγγενομένους
ἀπέστειμεν.

61 Ἑμοὶ μὲν δὴ Σωκράτης τοιοῦτος ὁν. ἐδόκει
τιμῆς ἄξιος εἶναι τῇ πόλει μᾶλλον ἢ θανάτου.
καὶ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δὲ σκοπῶν ἢν τις τούθ’
eυροί. κατὰ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους, ἐὰν τις φανερὸς
γένηται κλέπτων ἢ λωποδυτῶν ἢ βαλαντιστομῶν
ἢ τοιχωρυχῶν ἢ ἀνδραποδιζόμενος ἢ ἱεροσυλῶν,
tούτως θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ζημία· ὅν ἐκεῖνος πάντων
ἀνθρώπων πλείστων ἀπείχεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῇ
πόλει γε οὔτε πολέμου κακῶς συμβάντος οὔτε
στάσεως οὔτε προδοσίας οὔτε ἄλλου κακοῦ
οὐδενὸς πώποτε αἰτίος ἐγένετο· οὔδὲ μὴν ἱδία γε
οὐδένα πώποτε ἀνθρώπων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν ἀπε-
στέρησεν οὔτε κακοῖς περιέβαλεν, ἀλλ’ οὐδ’

42
the opposite of all that: he showed himself to be one of the people and a friend of mankind. For although he had many eager disciples among citizens and strangers, yet he never exacted a fee for his society from one of them, but of his abundance he gave without stint to all. Some indeed, after getting from him a few trifles for nothing, became vendors of them at a great price to others, and showed none of his sympathy with the people, refusing to talk with those who had no money to give them.\(^1\) But Socrates did far more to win respect for the State in the world at large than Lichas, whose services to Sparta have made his name immortal. For Lichas used to entertain the strangers staying at Sparta during the Feast of the Dancing Boys;\(^2\) but Socrates spent his life in lavishing his gifts and rendering the greatest services to all who cared to receive them. For he always made his associates better men before he parted with them.

Such was the character of Socrates. To me he seemed to deserve honour rather than death at the hands of the State. And a consideration of his case in its legal aspect will confirm my opinion. Under the laws, death is the penalty inflicted on persons proved to be thieves, highwaymen, cutpurses, kidnappers, robbers of temples; and from such criminals no man was so widely separated as he. Moreover, to the State he was never the cause of disaster in war, or strife or treason or any evil whatever. Again, in private life no man by him was ever

\(^1\) Aristippus especially is meant.

\(^2\) According to Eusebius this festival, which was held in the summer, was instituted in honour of the Spartans who fell fighting against the Argives for the possession of Thyrea.
64 αἰτίαν τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδενός πώποτ' ἔσχε. πῶς οὖν ἄν ἐνοχὸς εἴη τῇ γραφῇ; ὃς ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ μὴ νομίζειν θεούς, ὡς ἐν τῇ γραφῇ ἐγεγραπτο, φανερὸς ἦν θεραπεύων τοὺς θεοὺς μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νέους, ὃ ὁ γραφάμενος αὐτὸν ἤτιατο, φανερὸς ἦν τῶν συνόντων τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχοντας τοὺν μὲν παῦν, τῆς δὲ καλλιστῆς καὶ μεγαλο- πρεπεστάτης ἀρετῆς, ἢ πόλεως τε καὶ οἰκοῦ εὐ οἰκοῦσι, προτρέπων ἐπιθυμεῖν ταῦτα δὲ πρᾶττων πῶς οὐ μεγάλης ἄξιος ἦν τιμῆς τῇ πόλει;  

111. Ὡς δὲ δὴ καὶ ὁφελεῖν ἐδόκει μοι τοὺς συνόν- τας τὰ μὲν ἔργῳ δεικνύων ἐαυτοῦ οἷος ἦν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διαλεγόμενος, τούτων δὴ γράψω ὁπόσα ἐν διαμνή- μονεύσω.

Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς φανερὸς ἦν καὶ ποιῶν καὶ λέγων ἢπερ ἡ Πυθία ἀποκρίνεται τοῖς ἐρωτῶσι, πῶς δὲι ποιεῖν ἢ περὶ θυσίας ἢ περὶ προγόνων θεραπείας ἢ περὶ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων ἢ τε γὰρ Πυθία νόμῳ πόλεως ἀναιρεῖ ποιοῦντας εὐσεβῶς ἀν ποιεῖν Σωκράτης τε σύνκατα τοῖς ἀλλοις παρίηγει, τοὺς δὲ ἀλλὰς πῶς ποιοῦντας περίεργους καὶ ματαιώς 2 εὐομίζειν εἶναι. καὶ εὐχετο δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀπλῶς τάγαθα διδόναι, ὡς τοὺς θεοὺς κάλλιστα εἰδότας, ὅποια ἀγαθὰ ἐστὶ τοὺς δ' εὐχομένους χρυσίων ἢ ἀργύριων ἢ τυραννίδα ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων οὖνδεν διάφορον εὐομίζειν εὐχεσθαι ἢ εὐ κυβεῖν ἢ μάχην ἢ ἄλλο τι εὐχοιτο τῶν φανερῶς 3 ἀδήλων ὡπὸς ἀποβήσοιτο. θυσίας δὲ θύων
deprived of good or involved in ill. None of these 64 crimes was ever so much as imputed to him. How then could he be guilty of the charges? For so far was he from "rejecting the gods," as charged in the indictment, that no man was more conspicuous for his devotion to the service of the gods: so far from "corrupting the youth," as his accuser actually charged against him, that if any among his companions had evil desires, he openly tried to reform them and exhorted them to desire the fairest and noblest virtue, by which men prosper in public life and in their homes. By this conduct did he not deserve high honour from the State?

III. In order to support my opinion that he benefited his companions, alike by actions that revealed his own character and by his conversation, I will set down what I recollect of these.

First, then, for his attitude towards religion; his deeds and words were clearly in harmony with the answer given by the Priestess at Delphi to such questions as "What is my duty about sacrifice?" or about "cult of ancestors." For the answer of the Priestess is, "Follow the custom of the State: that is the way to act piously." And so Socrates acted himself and counselled others to act. To take any other course he considered presumption and folly.

And again, when he prayed he asked simply for 2 good gifts,1 "for the gods know best what things are good." To pray for gold or silver or sovereignty or any other such thing, was just like praying for a gamble or a fight or anything of which the result is obviously uncertain.

Though his sacrifices were humble, according to 3

1 Cyropaedia, i. vi. 5.
μικράς ἀπὸ μικρῶν οὖν ἴγειτο μειούσθαι τῶν ἀπὸ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πολλά καὶ μεγάλα θυόντων. οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς ἐφὶ καλῶς ἐχειν, εἰ ταῖς μεγάλαις θυσίαις μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς μικραῖς ἔχαιρον πολλάκις γὰρ ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν εἶναι κεχαρισμέναι. οὔτ' ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄξιον εἶναι ξῆν, εἰ τὰ παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν μᾶλλον ἢ κεχαρισμέναι τοῖς θεοῖς ἢ τὰ παρὰ τῶν χρηστῶν· ἀλλ' ἐνόμιζε τοὺς θεοὺς ταῖς παρὰ τῶν ἔνσε- 

βεστάτων τιμαῖς μάλιστα χαίρειν. ἐπαινέτης δ' ἦν καὶ τοῦ ἔπους τούτου.

Καδδύναμιν δ' ἔρδειν ἵερ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

καὶ πρὸς φίλους δὲ καὶ ξένους καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην διαίταν καλὴν ἐφὶ παραίνεσιν εἶναι τὴν Καδδύ-

ναμιν ἐρίδειν. εἰ δὲ τι δοξείεν αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι παρὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἦττον ἂν ἑπείσθη παρὰ τὰ σημαινόμενα ποιῆσαι ἢ εἰ τις αὐτοῦ ἑπείθεν ὅδοι λαβεῖν ἴγμανα τυφλὸν καὶ μὴ εἰδότα τὴν ὁδὸν ἀντὶ βλέποντος καὶ εἰδότας· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ μωρίαν κατηγόρει, οὕτως παρὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν σημαινόμενα ποιοῦσι τι φυλαττόμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἄδοξίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ πάντα τὰνθρώπων ὑπερεώρα πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν συμβουλίαν.

5 Διαίτη δὲ τὴν τε ψυχὴν ἐπαίδευσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἦ χρώμενος ἂν τις, εἰ μὴ τι δαιμόνιον ἐγὼ, 

θαρραλέως καὶ ἀσφαλῶς διάγω καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσεις τοσαύτης δαπάνης. οὕτω γὰρ εὔτελης

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1 Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 336.
MEMORABILIA, I. iii. 3-5

his means, he thought himself not a whit inferior to those who made frequent and magnificent sacrifices out of great possessions. The gods (he said) could not well delight more in great offerings than in small—for in that case must the gifts of the wicked often have found more favour in their sight than the gifts of the upright—and man would not find life worth having, if the gifts of the wicked were received with more favour by the gods than the gifts of the upright. No, the greater the piety of the giver, the greater (he thought) was the delight of the gods in the gift. He would quote with approval the line:

"According to thy power render sacrifice to the immortal gods,"

and he would add that in our treatment of friends and strangers, and in all our behaviour, it is a noble principle to render according to our power. If ever any warning seemed to be given him from heaven, he would more easily have been persuaded to choose a blind guide who did not know the road in preference to one who could see and knew the way, than to disregard the admonition. All men, in fact, who flouted the warnings of the gods in their anxiety to avoid the censure of men, he denounced for their foolishness. He himself despised all human opinions in comparison with counsel given by the gods.

He schooled his body and soul by following a system which, in all human calculation, would give him a life of confidence and security, and would make it easy to meet his expenses. For he was so
ην, ὡστ’ οὐκ οἶδ’ εἰ τις σύτως ἄν ὁλίγα ἐργάζοιτο, ὥστε μὴ λαμβάνειν τὰ Σωκράτει ἀρκοῦντα. σῖτῳ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτῳ ἐχρήτο, ὡσον ἥδεως ἤσθιε· καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο σύτῳ παρεσκευασμένος ἦς, ὡστε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν τοῦ σίτου ὅφιον αὐτῷ εἶναι: ποτὸν δὲ πᾶν ἦδον ἦν αὐτῷ διὰ τὸ μὴ πίνειν, εἰ μὴ διψῆ. 6 εἰ δὲ ποτε κληθεῖς ἐθελήσειεν ἐπὶ δεύτερον ἐλθεῖν, ὁ τοῖς πλείστοις ἐργῳδοστατὸν ἔστιν, ὡστε φυλάξασθαι τὸ ύπέρ τὸν κόρον ἐμπίπλασθαι, τοῦτο ῥαδίως πάνω ἐφυλάττετο. τοῖς δὲ μὴ δυναμένοις τοῦτο ποιεῖν συνεβούλευες φυλάττεσθαι τὰ πείθοντα μὴ πεινῶντας ἐσθίειν μηδὲ διψῶντας πίνειν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ λυμαίνομενα γαστέρας καὶ 7 κεφαλᾶς καὶ ψυχὰς ταῦτ’ ἐφ’ εἶναι. οἶσθαι δ’ ἐφ’ ἐπισκώπτων καὶ τὴν Κιρκῆν ὑσ ποιεῖν τοιούτους πολλοῖς δειπνίζουσαν· τὸν δὲ Ὅδυσσέα Ἐρμοῦ τε ὑποθημοσύνη καὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκρατη ὁντα καὶ ἀποσχόμενον τὸ ύπέρ τὸν κόρον τῶν τοιούτων 8 ἀπτεσθαι διὰ ταῦτα οὐ γενέσθαι ὑν. τοιαῦτα μὲν περὶ τοῦτων ἐπαιξεῖν ἁμα σπουδάζων.

Ἀφροδισίων δὲ παρῆκε τῶν καλῶν ἵσχυρῶς ἀπέχεσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐφ’ ῥάδιον εἶναι τῶν τοιούτων ἀπτόμενον σωφρονεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ Κρίτοβουλον ποτε τὸν Κρίτωνος πυθόμενος ὅτι ἐφίλησε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδου υἱὸν καλὸν ὁντα, παρόντος τοῦ 9 Κρίτοβουλον ἱρετο Ξενοφῶντα. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφ’ ὡς Ξενοφόν, οὐ ς Κρίτοβουλον ἐνόμιζε εἶναι τῶν σωφρονικῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν θρασεών καὶ τῶν προνοητικῶν μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἀνοητῶν τε καὶ ρυσοκινδύνων;

Πᾶν μὲν οὖν, ἐφ’ ὡς Ξενοφόν.

Νῦν τούνυν νόμιζε αὐτὸν θερμομυροτατὸν εἶναι 48
frugal that it is hardly possible to imagine a man doing so little work as not to earn enough to satisfy the needs of Socrates. He ate just sufficient food to make eating a pleasure, and he was so ready for his food that he found appetite the best sauce: and any kind of drink he found pleasant, because he drank only when he was thirsty. Whenever he accepted an invitation to dinner, he resisted without difficulty the common temptation to exceed the limit of satiety; and he advised those who could not do likewise to avoid appetizers that encouraged them to eat and drink what they did not want: for such trash was the ruin of stomach and brain and soul. “I believe,” he said in jest, “it was by providing a feast of such things that Circe made swine; and it was partly by the prompting of Hermes, partly through his own self-restraint and avoidance of excessive indulgence in such things, that Odysseus was not turned into a pig.” This was how he would talk on the subject, half joking, half in earnest.

Of sensual passion he would say: “Avoid it resolutely: it is not easy to control yourself once you meddle with that sort of thing.” Thus, on hearing that Critobulus had kissed Alcibiades’ pretty boy, he put this question to Xenophon before Critobulus: “Tell me, Xenophon, did you not suppose Critobulus to be a sober person, and by no means rash; prudent, and not thoughtless or adventurous?”

“Certainly,” said Xenophon.

“Then you are to look on him henceforth as

1 Cyropaedia, i. v. 12.
2 In Odyssey, x. 281 f.
καὶ λεωργότατον ὄντος κἂν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστήσει κἂν εἰς πῦρ ἄλοιπον.

10 Καὶ τί δή, ἐφη ὁ Ἐυνοφῶν, ἱδὼν ποιοῦντα τοιαύτα κατέγνωκας αὐτοῦ;

Οὗ γὰρ ὄντος, ἐφη, ἑτόλμησε τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδον ὑδὲν φιλῆσαι, ὡντα εὐπροσωπῶτατον καὶ ὥραιοτατον;

'Αλλ' εἰ μέντοι, ἐφη ὁ Ἐυνοφῶν, τοιοῦτον ἐστὶ τὸ ριψοκίνδυνον ἐργον, κἂν ἔγὼ δοκῶ μοι τὸν κίνδυνον τούτον ὑπομεῖναι.

11 Ὡν τλῆμον, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τί ἂν οἴει παθεῖν καλὸν φιλῆσας; ἃρ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτίκα μάλα δούλος μὲν εἶναι ἀντ' ἐλευθέρου, πολλὰ δὲ δαπανᾶν εἰς βλαβέρας ἱδονᾶς, πολλὴν δὲ ἄσχολίαν ἐχειν τοῦ ἐπιμεληθῆναι τίνος καλοῦ κάγαθου, σπουδάζειν δ' ἀναγκασθῆναι ἐφ' οἷς οὖδ' ἂν μανισμένοις σπουδάσειεν;

12 Ὡν Ἡράκλεις, ἐφη ὁ Ἐυνοφῶν, ὡς δεινὸν τινὰ λέγεις δύναμιν τοῦ φιλήματος εἶναι.

Καὶ τοῦτο, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, θαυμάζεις; οὐκ οἴσθα, ἐφη, τὰ φαλάγγια οὖδ' ἡμιωβολιαία τὸ μέγεθος ὅντα προσαψάμενα μόνον τῷ στόματι ταῖς τὲ ὁδύναις ἐπιτρίβει τοὺς ἄνθρώπους καὶ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἐξήστησι;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Ἐυνοφῶν' ἐνίσχυς γὰρ τι τὰ φαλάγγια κατὰ τὸ δῆμον.

13 Ὡν μωρὲ, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς οὐκ οἰεῖ φιλοῦντας ἐνιέναι τι, ὅτι σὺ οὐχ ὀρᾶς; οὐκ οἰσθ', ὅτι τούτῳ τὸ θηρίον, ὁ καλοῦσι καλὸν καὶ ὥραιον, τοσοῦτῳ δεινότερον ἐστὶ τῶν φαλαγγών, ὅσῳ ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἄψιμενα, τοῦτο δὲ οὖδ' ἀπτόμενον, ἐὰν δὲ τις αὐτὸ θεάται, ἐνίσχυς τι καὶ πάνυ.
utterly hot-headed and reckless: the man would do a somersault into a ring of knives; he would jump into fire."

"What on earth has he done to make you think so badly of him?" asked Xenophon.

"What has the man done? He dared to kiss Alcibiades' son, and the boy is very good-looking and attractive."

"Oh, if that is the sort of adventure you mean, I think I might make that venture myself."

"Poor fellow! What do you think will happen to you through kissing a pretty face? Won't you lose your liberty in a trice and become a slave, begin spending large sums on harmful pleasures, have no time to give to anything fit for a gentleman, be forced to concern yourself with things that no madman even would care about?"

"Heracles! what alarming power in a kiss!" cried Xenophon.

"What? Does that surprise you?" continued Socrates. "Don't you know that the scorpion, though smaller than a farthing, if it but fasten on the tongue, inflicts excruciating and maddening pain?"

"Yes, to be sure; for the scorpion injects something by its bite."

"And do you think, you foolish fellow, that the fair inject nothing when they kiss, just because you don't see it? Don't you know that this creature called 'fair and young' is more dangerous than the scorpion, seeing that it need not even come in contact, like the insect, but at any distance can
XENOPHON

πρόσωθεν τοιούτων, ὡστε μαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν; [ὑσός
de καὶ οἱ Ἐρωτες τὸξόται διὰ τὸ ὁὔτο καλοῦνται,
ὅτι καὶ πρόσωθεν οἱ καλοὶ τιτρώσκουσιν.] ἀλλὰ
συμβουλεύω σοι, ὃ Ἐνοφών, ὅποταν ἵδης τινὰ
καλόν, φεύγειν προτροπάδην, σοὶ δ', ὃ Κριτό-
βουλε, συμβουλεύω ἀπενιατίσαι, μόλις γὰρ ἄν
ἶσος ἐν τοιούτῳ χρόνῳ [τὸ δήγμα] ὑγῆς γένοιο.

14 Οὔτω δὴ καὶ ἀφροδισίαξειν τοὺς μὴ ἀσφαλῶς
ἔχοντας πρὸς ἀφροδίσια φέτοι χρήναι πρὸς
tοιαύτα, οἷα μὴ πάνυ μὲν δεομένου τοῦ σώματος
οὐκ ἄν προσδέξατο ἡ ψυχή, δεομένου δὲ οὐκ ἄν
πράγματα παρέχοι. αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταύτα φανερὸς
ἡν οὔτω παρεσκευασμένος, ὡστε ῥάδον ἀπέχεσθαι
τῶν καλλιστῶν καὶ ὁραιοτάτων η ὁ άλλοι τῶν

15 αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀφορτάτων. περὶ μὲν δὴ βρώσεως
καὶ πόσεως καὶ ἀφροδισίων οὔτω κατεσκευασμένος
ἡν, καὶ φέτοι οὔδεν ἄν ὅταν ἄρκοντος ἠδὲσθαι
tῶν πολλά ἐπὶ τούτοις πραγματευομένων, λυ-
πεῖσθαι δὲ πολὺ ἑλαττον.1

IV. Εἰ δὲ τινὲς Σωκράτην νομίζουσιν, ὡς ἔνιοι
γράφοντι τε καὶ λέγοντι περὶ αὐτοῦ τεκμαίρομενοι,
προτρέψασθαι μὲν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ’ ἀρετὴν κράτι-
στον γεγονέναι, προσαγαγεῖν δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν οὐχ
ἰκανόν, σκεψάμενοι μή μόνον ἃ ἐκεῖνοι κολα-
στηριόν ἔνεκα τοὺς πάντ’ οἴομένους εἰδέναι ἐρωτῶν
ήλεγχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ λέγουν συνημέρευ τοῖς συν-
διατρίβουσι, δοκιμαζόντων, εἰ ἰκανὸς ἢ βελτίως

1 § 15 Sauppe and others bracket as a spurious addition.

1 Sophists.
inject a maddening poison into anyone who only looks at it?

"Maybe, too, the loves are called archers for this reason, that the fair can wound even at a distance.

"Nay, I advise you, Xenophon, as soon as you see a pretty face to take to your heels and fly: and you, Critobulus, I advise to spend a year abroad. It will certainly take you at least as long as that to recover from the bite."

Thus in the matter of carnal appetite, he held that those whose passions were not under complete control should limit themselves to such indulgence as the soul would reject unless the need of the body were pressing, and such as would do no harm when the need was there. As for his own conduct in this matter, it was evident that he had trained himself to avoid the fairest and most attractive more easily than others avoid the ugliest and most repulsive. Concerning eating and drinking then and carnal indulgence such were his views, and he thought that a due portion of pleasure would be no more lacking to him than to those who give themselves much to these, and that much less trouble would fall to his lot.

IV. If any hold the opinion expressed in some written and spoken criticisms of Socrates that are based on inference, and think, that though he was consummate in exhorting men to virtue, he was an incompetent guide to it, let them consider not only the searching cross-examination with which he chastised those who thought themselves omniscient, but his daily talks with his familiar friends, and then judge whether he was capable of improving his companions.
2 ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας. λέξω δὲ πρῶτον ἀ ποτε αὐτοῦ ἴκουσα περὶ τοῦ δαίμονιον διαλεγομένου πρὸς Ἀριστόδημον τὸν μικρὸν ἐπικαλούμενον. καταμαθῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐτε θύοντα τοῖς θεοῖς οὔτε <εὐχομένων δήλων οντα οὔτε> 1 μαντικῆς χρώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ποιοῦντων ταῦτα καταγελώντα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἕφη, ὡ 'Αριστόδημε, ἐστιν οὐστινας ἀνθρώπους τεθαύμακας ἐπὶ σοφία;

Ἐγνωγε, ἕφη.

3 Καὶ ὦς, Δέξον ἡμῖν, ἕφη, τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν.

Ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦν ἐπῶν ποιήσει Ὀμηρον ἐγωγε μάλιστα τεθαύμακα, ἐπὶ δὲ διθυράμβῳ Μελανυππίδην, ἐπὶ δὲ τραγῳδία Σοφοκλέα, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀνδριαντοποιία Πολύκλειτον, ἐπὶ δὲ ζωγραφία Ζεὺξιν.

4 Πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ ἀπεργαζόμενοι εἰδωλα ἀφρονά τε καὶ ἀκίνητα ἀξιοθαυμαστότεροι εἰναι ἢ οἱ ξόνα ἐμφρονά τε καὶ ἐνεργά;

Πολὺ νὴ Δία οἱ ξόνα, εἴπερ γε μὴ τύχη τινί, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ γνώμης ταῦτα γίγνεται.

Τῶν δὲ ἀτεκμάρτως ἐχόντων ὅτου ἔνεκα ἐστι καὶ τῶν φανερῶς ἐπ' ὕφελεία ὄντων πότερα τύχης καὶ πότερα γνώμης ἔργα κρίνεις;

Πρέπει μὲν τὰ ἐπ' ὕφελεία γεγυμένα γνώμης εἰναι ἔργα.

5 Ὁυκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι ὧ οῖ ἀρχῆς ποιῶν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ὕφελεία προσθεῖναι αὐτοῖς δί' ὄν αἰσθάνονται έκαστα, ὡφθαλμοὶ μὲν ὁσθ' ὀρᾶν τὰ ὀρατά, ὡτα δὲ ὠστ' ἀκούειν τὰ ἀκούστα; ὅσμον γε μὴν, εἰ μὴ ᾲνεσ προσετέθησαν, τὶ ἄν ἡμῖν ὅφελος ἦν; τίς δ' ἄν αἰσθησις ἦν γλυκέων καὶ δριμέων καὶ πάντων τῶν διὰ στόματος ἥδεσν, εἰ μὴ γλώττα τούτων
MEMORABILIA, I. iv. 1–5

I will first state what I once heard him say about the godhead in conversation with Aristodemus the dwarf, as he was called. On learning that he was not known to sacrifice or pray or use divination, and actually made a mock of those who did so, he said: "Tell me, Aristodemus, do you admire any human beings for wisdom?"

"I do," he answered.

"Tell us their names."

"In epic poetry Homer comes first, in my opinion; in dithyramb, Melanippides; in tragedy, Sophocles; in sculpture, Polycleitus; in painting, Zeuxis."

"Which, think you, deserve the greater admiration, the creators of phantoms without sense and motion, or the creators of living, intelligent, and active beings?"

"Oh, of living beings, by far, provided only they are created by design and not mere chance."

"Suppose that it is impossible to guess the purpose of one creature's existence, and obvious that another's serves a useful end, which, in your judgment, is the work of chance, and which of design?"

"Presumably the creature that serves some useful end is the work of design."

"Do you not think then that he who created man from the beginning had some useful end in view when he endowed him with his several senses, giving eyes to see visible objects, ears to hear sounds? Would odours again be of any use to us had we not been endowed with nostrils? What perception should we have of sweet and bitter and all things pleasant to the palate had we no tongue in our mouth?

1 These words are wanting in the MSS. but are supplied from the papyrus fragment.
6 γνώμων ἐνειργάσθη; πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὖ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ τὸ δε τροφοδοτεῖς ἐργοῦς ἐοικέναι, τὸ ἐπεὶ ἀσθενῆς μὲν ἑστὶν ἢ ὤφις, βλεφάροις αὐτὴν θυρῶσι, ὃς ὅταν μὲν αὐτῇ χρήσθαι τι δεή, ἀναπετάνυται, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὑπ' ὕπνῳ συγκλείεται; ὃς δὲ ἀν μηδὲ ἀνεμοὶ ὑπάττωσιν, ἦμον βλεφαρίδας ἐμφύσαις ὄφρυς τε ἀπογεισώσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμμάτων, ὃς μηδὲ ὃ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἱδρῶς κακουργή τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀκοὴν δέχεσθαι μὲν πάσας φωνᾶς, ἐμπιπλασθαί δὲ μήποτε καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρόσθεν ὀδύντας πᾶσι ξύσοις οἴους τέμνεις εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ γομφίους οἴους παρὰ τούτων δεξαμένους λειάνειν καὶ στόμα μὲν, δὲ οὐ οἴν ἐπιθυμεῖ τὰ ξύρα εἰσπέμπεται, πλησίον ὄφθαλμων καὶ ρινῶν καταθείναι ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ ἀποχωροῦντα δυσχερή, ἀποστρέψας τοὺς τοῦτων ὀχετοὺς καὶ ἀπενεγκείν ἢ δυνατῶν προσωτάτω ἀπὸ τῶν αἰσθήσεων. ταῦτα οὖτω προνοητικῶς πεπραγμένα ἀπορεῖσ πότερα τύχης ἡ γνώμης ἔργα ἐστὶν;

7 Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δ', ἐφθ., ἄλλῳ οὖτω γε σκοπονυμένῳ πάνυ έοικε ταῦτα σοφοῦ τίνος δημιουργοῦ καὶ φυλοξέων τεχνηματι.
Τὸ δὲ ἐμφύσαι μὲν ἐρωτα τῆς τεκνοποιίας, ἐμφύσαι δὲ ταῖς γειναμέναις ἐρωτα τοῦ ἐκτρέφειν, τοὺς δὲ τραφεῖς μέγιστον μὲν πόθον τοῦ ζῆν, μέγιστον δὲ φόβου τοῦ θανάτου;
"Αμέλει καὶ ταῦτα ἐοικε μηχανήμασι τίνος ξῶα εἶναι βουλευσαμένου.

8 Σὺ δὲ σαυτὸν φρονιμών τι δοκεῖς ἔχειν;
"Ερώτα γ' οὖν καὶ ἀποκρινοῦμαι.
"Αλλοθι δὲ οὐδαμοῦ οὔδὲν οἴει φρονιμών εἶναι; καὶ ταῦτ' εἰδὼς, ὅτι γῆς τε μικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ
to discriminate between them? Besides these, are there not other contrivances that look like the results of forethought? Thus the eyeballs, being weak, are set behind eyelids, that open like doors when we want to see, and close when we sleep: on the lids grow lashes through which the very winds filter harmlessly: above the eyes is a coping of brows that lets no drop of sweat from the head hurt them. The ears catch all sounds, but are never choked with them. Again, the incisors of all creatures are adapted for cutting, the molars for receiving food from them and grinding it. And again, the mouth, through which the food they want goes in, is set near the eyes and nostrils; but since what goes out is unpleasant, the ducts through which it passes are turned away and removed as far as possible from the organs of sense. With such signs of forethought in these arrangements, can you doubt whether they are the works of chance or design?"

"No, of course not. When I regard them in this light they do look very like the handiwork of a wise and loving creator."

"What of the natural desire to beget children, the mother's desire to rear her babe, the child's strong will to live and strong fear of death?"

"Undoubtedly these, too, look like the contrivances of one who deliberately willed the existence of living creatures."

"Do you think you have any wisdom yourself?"

"Oh! Ask me a question and judge from my answer."

"And do you suppose that wisdom is nowhere else to be found, although you know that you have a mere speck of all the earth in your body and a mere
σώματι πολλής ούσης ἕχεις καὶ ύγροῦ βραχὺ πολλοῦ ὄντος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δήποτε μεγάλων ὄντων ἑκάστου μικρὸν μέρος λαβόντι τὸ σῶμα συνήρμοσταί σοι: νοῦν δὲ μόνον ἁρα οὐδαμοῦ ὄντα σε εὐτυχῶς πως δοκεῖς συναρπάσαι καὶ τάδε τὰ ὑπερμεγέθη καὶ πλῆθος ἀπειρά δι᾽ ἀφροσύνην τινὰ ὄντως οἴει εὐτάκτως ἑχειν;

9 Μὰ Δί, οὐ γὰρ ὡρῶ τοὺς κυρίους, ὡσπερ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων τοὺς δημιουργοὺς.
Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν σαντοῦ σύγη ψυχῆν ὄρας, ἧ τοῦ σώματος κυρία ἔστιν: ὡστε κατὰ γε τοῦτο ἐξεστὶ σοι λέγειν, ὅτι οὐδὲν γνώμη, ἀλλὰ τὐχῇ πάντα πράττεις.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἀριστόδημος, Οὐτοὶ, ἔφη, ἐγὼ, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὑπερορῶ τὸ δαίμονιν, άλλ' ἱκεῖνο μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγοῦμαι ἦ ὅς τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας προσδεῖσθαι.
Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὅσῳ μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἄξιοὶ σε θεραπεύειν, τοσοῦτο μάλλον τιμητέον αὐτό.

11 Ἔν ἵσθι, ἔφη, ὅτι εἰ νομίζομι θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων τι φροντίζειν, οὐκ ἂν ἀμελοῖν αὐτῶν.
"Επειτ' οὐκ οἶε φροντίζειν; οἱ πρῶτοι μὲν μόνον τῶν ζῴων ἀνθρώπων ὀρθῶν ἀνέστησαν· ἦ δὲ ὀρθότης καὶ προσορᾶν πλέον ποιεῖ δύνασθαι καὶ τὰ ὑπερθεν μᾶλλον θεάσθαι καὶ ἦττον κακοπαθεῖν· ἐπείτα τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐρπετοῖς πόδας ἔδωκαν, οἱ τὸ πορεύεσθαι μόνον παρέχουσιν, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ καὶ χειρὰς προσέθεσαν, αἱ τὰ πλείστα, οίς εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἑκεῖνων ἔσμέν, ἐξεργάζονται.

12 καὶ μὴν γλῶτταν γε πάντων τῶν ζῴων ἐχόντων μόνην τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐποίησαν οίαν ἄλλοτε
drop of all the water, and that of all the other mighty elements you received, I suppose, just a scrap towards the fashioning of your body? But as for mind, which alone, it seems, is without mass, do you think that you snapped it up by a lucky accident, and that the orderly ranks of all these huge masses, infinite in number, are due, forsooth, to a sort of absurdity?"

"Yes; for I don't see the master hand, whereas I see the makers of things in this world."

"Neither do you see your own soul, which has the mastery of the body; so that, as far as that goes, you may say that you do nothing by design, but everything by chance."

Here Aristodemus exclaimed: "Really, Socrates, I don't despise the godhead. But I think it is too great to need my service."

"Then the greater the power that deigns to serve you, the more honour it demands of you."

"I assure you, that if I believed that the gods pay any heed to man, I would not neglect them."

"Then do you think them unheeding? In the first place, man is the only living creature that they have caused to stand upright; and the upright position gives him a wider range of vision in front and a better view of things above, and exposes him less to injury. Secondly, to grovelling creatures they have given feet that afford only the power of moving, whereas they have endowed man with hands, which are the instruments to which we chiefly owe our greater happiness. Again, though all creatures have a tongue, the tongue of man alone has been formed by them to be capable of contact with different parts

1 Cyropaedia, viii. vii. 17.
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ἀλλαχῇ ψαύουσαν τοῦ στόματος ἀρθροῖν τε τὴν φωνήν καὶ σημαίνειν πάντα ἀλλήλοις, ἃ βουλό-
μεθα. τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἡδονὰς τοῖς
μὲν ἀλλοῖς ζώοις δοῦναι περιγράψαντας τοῦ
ἔτους χρόνου, ἢμῖν δὲ συνεχῶς μέχρι γῆρως ταῦτα
παρέχειν; ¹

13 Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ἥρκεσε τῷ θεῷ τοῦ σώματος
ἐπιμεληθήμαι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ μέγιστον ἐστὶ, καὶ τὴν
ψυχὴν κρατίστην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐνέφυσε. τίνος
γὰρ ἀλλού ζῶον ψυχὴ πρῶτα μὲν θεῶν τῶν τὰ
μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα συνταξάντων ἔσθηται ὃτι
eἰσὶ; τί δὲ φύλον ἀλλο ἢ ἀνθρωποὶ θεοὺς θερα-
πεύσας; ποία δὲ ψυχῆ τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἴκανω-
tέρα προφυλάττεσθαι ἢ λιμὸν ἢ δίψος ἢ ψύχη ἢ
θάλπη ἢ νόσοις ἐπικουρῆσαι ἢ βόμην ἁσκῆσαι
ἢ πρὸς μάθησιν ἐκπονῆσαι, ἢ ὁσα ἃν ἀκούσῃ ἢ

14 ὅτι ἡ μάθη ἴκανωτέρα ἐστὶ διαμεμνήσθαι; οὐ
gὰρ πάνυ σοι κατάδηλον, ὅτι παρὰ τᾶλλα ξῶα
ὡς περὶ θεοὶ ἀνθρωποὶ βιοτεύουσι, φύσει καὶ τῷ
σώματι καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ κρατιστεύοντες; οὔτε γὰρ
βοῦς ἄν ἐχὼν σῶμα, ἀνθρώπου δὲ γνώμην ἐδύνατ
ἀν πράττειν ἡ ἐβούλετο, οὐθ' ὡσα χεῖρας ἔχει,
ἀφρονα δ' ἐστὶ, πλέον οὐδὲν ἔχει. σὺ δ' ἀμφο-
tέρων τῶν πλείστων ἀξίων τετυχικῶς οὐκ οἴει
σοῦ θεοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; ἀλλ' ὅταν τί ποιήσωσι,
νομεῖσαι αὐτοὺς σοι φοντίζειν;

15 "Οταν πέμπωσιν, ὡς περὶ φής πέμπειν
αὐτούς, συμβούλους ὅτι χρῆ ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν.
"Οταν δὲ 'Αθηναίοις, ἐφη, πυνθανομένοις τι διὰ
μαντικῆς φράζωσιν, οὐ καὶ σοι δοκεῖς φράζειν

¹ § 12 τὸ δὲ . . . παρέχειν is bracketed as spurious by
Sauppe.

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of the mouth, so as to enable us to articulate the voice and express all our wants to one another. Once more, for all other creatures they have prescribed a fixed season of sexual indulgence; in our case the only time limit they have set is old age.

"Nor was the deity content to care for man's body. What is of yet higher moment, he has implanted in him the noblest type of soul. For in the first place what other creature's soul has apprehended the existence of gods who set in order the universe, greatest and fairest of things? And what race of living things other than man worships gods? And what soul is more apt than man's to make provision against hunger and thirst, cold and heat, to relieve sickness and promote health, to acquire knowledge by toil, and to remember accurately all that is heard, seen, or learned? For is it not obvious to you that, in comparison with the other animals, men live like gods, by nature peerless both in body and in soul? For with a man's reason and the body of an ox we could not carry out our wishes, and the possession of hands without reason is of little worth. Do you, then, having received the two most precious gifts, yet think that the gods take no care of you? What are they to do, to make you believe that they are heedful of you?"

"I will believe when they send counsellors, as you declare they do, saying, 'Do this, avoid that.'"

"But when the Athenians inquire of them by divination and they reply, do you not suppose that
αὐτοὺς; οὖδ' ὅταν τοῖς "Ελλησὶ τέρατα πέμποντες προσήμανωσιν, οὖδ' ὅταν πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ μόνον σὲ ἐξαιροῦντες ἐν ἀμελεία κατατίθενται;

16 οἷεὶ δ' ἂν τοὺς θεοὺς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δόξαν ἐμφύσαι, ως ἰκανοὶ εἰσιν εὗ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ δυνατοὶ ἦσαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐξαπατώμενους τὸν πάντα χρόνον οὐδέποτ' ἄν αἰσθένθαι; ὥστε ὅρας, ότι τὰ πολυχρονιώτατα καὶ σοφώτατα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, πόλεις καὶ ἕθη, θεοσεβεστάτα ἔστι καὶ αἱ φρονιμώταται ἥλικαι

17 θεῶν ἐπιμελέσταται; γлагάθε, ἐφη, κατάμαθε, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σὸς νοῦς ἐνών τὸ σοῦ σῶμα ὅπως βούλεται μεταχειρίζεται. οἷεὶ οὐν χρὴ καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ παντὶ φρονήσιν τὰ πάντα ὅπως ἂν αὐτὴ ἤδυ ἢ, οὕτω τίθεσθαι, καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν μὲν ὁμα δύνασθαι ἐπὶ πολλὰ στάδια ἐξικνεῖσθαι, τὸν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ὀφθαλμὸν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἀμα πάντα ὅραν, μηδὲ τὴν σὺν μὲν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ δύνασθαι φροντίζειν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ φρόνησιν μὴ ἰκανὴν εἶναι ἀμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἢν μὲντοι ὥσπερ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύουν γιγαντικές τοὺς ἀντιθεραπεύειν ἐθέλοντας καὶ χαρίζομενοι τοὺς ἀντιχαριζομένους καὶ συμβουλεύομενοι καταμανθάνεις τοὺς φρονίμους, οὕτω καὶ τῶν θεῶν πείρας λαμβάνῃς θεραπεύων, εἰ τί σοι θελήσουσι περὶ τῶν ἀδήλων ἀνθρώπων συμβουλεύειν, γνῶσῃ τὸ θείον ὅτι τοσοῦτον καὶ τοιοῦτον ἐστὶν, ὥσθ' ἄμα πάντα ὅραν καὶ πάντα ἀκούειν καὶ πανταχοῦ παρεῖναι καὶ ἀμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

18 Ἔμοι μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων οὐ μόνον τοὺς συνόντας ἐδόκει ποιεῖν, ὅποτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

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to you, too, the answer is given? Or when they send portents for warning to the Greeks, or to all the world? Are you their one exception, the only one consigned to neglect? Or do you suppose that the gods would have put into man a belief in their ability to help and harm, if they had not that power; and that man throughout the ages would never have detected the fraud? Do you not see that the wisest and most enduring of human institutions, cities and nations, are most god-fearing, and that the most thoughtful period of life is the most religious? Be well assured, my good friend, that the mind within you directs your body according to its will; and equally you must think that Thought indwelling in the Universal disposes all things according to its pleasure. For think not that your eye can travel over many furlongs and yet god’s eye cannot see the the whole world at once; that your soul can ponder on things in Egypt and in Sicily, and god’s thought is not sufficient to pay heed to the whole world at once. Nay, but just as by serving men you find out who is willing to serve you in return, by being kind who will be kind to you in return, and by taking counsel, discover the masters of thought, so try the gods by serving them, and see whether they will vouchsafe to counsel you in matters hidden from man. Then you will know that such is the greatness and such the nature of the deity that he sees all things and hears all things alike, and is present in all places and heedful of all things.”

To me at least it seemed that by these sayings he kept his companions from impiety, injustice, and

1 *Cyropaedia*, viii. vii. 22.
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όρθωτο, ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν ἀνοσίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποτε ἐν ἔρημία εἶπεν, ἐπείπερ ἡγήσαντο μηδέν ἂν ποτε ὅν πράττοιεν θεοὺς διαλαθεῖν.

V. Εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐγκράτεια καλὸν τε κἀγαθὸν ἄνδρι κτήμα ἔστιν, ἐπισκεψόμεθα, εἰ τι προβεβαζέ λέγων εἰς ταύτην τοιάδε:

3 Ο ἄνδρες, εἰ πολέμου ἡμῖν γενομένου βουλοῖσθαι ἔλεσθαι ἄνδρα, ὥστε μόνισθ' ἂν αὗτοι μὲν σωζόμεθα, τους δὲ πολεμίους χειροίσθαι, ἀρ' ὀντιν' ἀισθανοῖσθαι ἡττῶ τοῦ γαστρὸς ἡ οἶνον ἡ ἀφροδισίαις ἡ ύπνον, τούτων ἂν αἰροίσθαι; καὶ πῶς ἂν οἰχθεῖμεν τοῦ τοιοῦτον ἡ ἡμᾶς σώσειν ἢ 2 τοὺς πολεμίους κρατήσειν; εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου γενόμενοι βουλοῖσθαι τῷ ἐπιτρέψαι ἡ παιδας ἄρρενας παιδεῦσαι ἡ θυγατέρας παρθένους διαφυλάξαι ἡ χρήσιμα διασώσαι, ἀρ' ἀξιώπιστον εἰς ταύτην ἡγησόμεθα τὸν ἀκρατῆ; δούλω δ' ἀκρατεῖ ἐπιτρέψαι μεν ἡ βοσκήματα ἡ ταμεία ἡ ἔργων ἐπιστασίαν; διάκονον δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστήν

3 τοιοῦτον ἑθελήσαιμεν ἂν προῖκα λαβεῖν; ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ γε μηδὲ δούλων ἀκρατῆ δεξαίμεθ' ἂν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῶν γε φυλάξασθαι τοιοῦτον γενέσθαι; καὶ γὰρ οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ πλεονέκται τῶν ἄλλων ἀθανάτων χρήματα ἑαυτοῦς δοκοῦσι πλούτιζειν, οὐτως ὁ ἀκρατὴς τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις βλαβερός, ἑαυτῷ δ' ὄφελος, ἀλλὰ κακοῦργος μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, ἑαυτῷ δὲ πολὺ κακουργότερος, εἰ γε κακουργότατον ἐστὶ μη μόνον τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ φθείρειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν

4 ψυχήν. ἐν συνομίσει δὲ τίς ὃν ἡσθεῖ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ, ὕπειρῃ τῷ ὑψώ τε καὶ τῷ οἴνῳ

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baseness, and that not only when they were seen by men, but even in solitude; since they ever felt that no deed of theirs could at any time escape the gods.

V. But if Self-control too is a fair and noble possession, let us now consider whether he led men up to that virtue by discourse like the following:

"My friends, if we were at war and wanted to choose a leader most capable of helping us to save ourselves and conquer the enemy, should we choose one whom we knew to be the slave of the belly, or of wine, or lust, or sleep? How could we expect that such an one would either save us or defeat the enemy? Or if at the end of our life we should wish to appoint a guardian to educate our boys or protect our girls or to take care of our goods, should we think a loose liver a trustworthy man to choose? Should we entrust live stock or storehouses or the management of works to a vicious slave? Should we be willing to take as a gift a page or an errand-boy with such a character? Surely then, if we should refuse a vicious slave, the master must look to it that he does not grow vicious himself? For whereas the covetous, by robbing other men of their goods, seem to enrich themselves, a vicious man reaps no advantage from the harm he does to others. If he is a worker of mischief to others, he brings much greater mischief on himself, if indeed the greatest mischief of all is to ruin not one's home merely, but the body and the soul. In social intercourse what pleasure could you find in such a man, knowing that

1 Sauppe adds ἦ πὸνου with the MSS. and Stobaeus, but it can hardly be right.
Χαίροντα μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τὰς πόρνας ἀγαπῶντα μᾶλλον ἡ τούς ἐταίρους; ἀρά γε οὐ χρῆ πάντα ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀρετής εἶναι κρητιδὰ ταύτην πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ.

5 κατασκευάσασθαι; τίς γὰρ ἀνευ ταύτης ἡ μάθοι τι ἀν ἀγαθὸν ἢ μελετήσειεν ἀξιολόγως; ἢ τίς οὐκ ἀν ταῖς ἠδοναῖς δουλεύων αἰσχρῶς διατεθεῖ καὶ τὸ σώμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν; ἐμοι μὲν δοκεῖ νη τὴν Ἡραν ἐλευθέρω μὲν ἄνδρι εὐκτὸν εἶναι μὴ τυχεῖν δούλου τοιοῦτου, δουλεύοντα δὲ ταῖς τοιαύταις ἠδοναῖς ἱκετεύειν τοὺς θεοὺς δεσποτῶν ἁγαθῶν τυχεῖν οὐτως γὰρ ἂν μόνως ὁ τοιοῦτος σωθεῖν.

6 Τοιαύτα δὲ λέγων ἔτι ἐγκρατέστερον τοῖς ἔργοις ἡ τοῖς λόγοις ἐαυτὸν ἐπεδεικνυεν οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἠδονῶν ἐκρατεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν χρημάτων, νομίζων τὸν παρὰ τοῦ τυχόντος χρήματα λαμβάνοντα δεσπότην ἐαυτοῦ καθιστάναι καὶ δουλεύειν δουλείαν οὐδεμιᾶς ἦττον αἰσχρῶν.

VI. Ἀξιον δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀ πρὸς Ἀντιφώντα τὸν σοφιστὴν διελέξθη μὴ παραλιπέιν. ὁ γὰρ Ἀντιφῶν ποτε βουλόμενος τοὺς συνουσιαστὰς αὐτοῦ παρελέσθαι προσελθὼν τῷ Ἀσκράτει παρόντων αὐτῶν ἐλεξε τάδε:

2 ὩΞώκρατες, ἐγὼ μὲν θυμνὸν τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας εὐδαιμονεστέρους χρήναι γίγνεσθαι σὺ δὲ μοι δοκεῖς τῶν αὐτοῦ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ἀπολελαυκέναι. ξῆς γοῦν οὗτως, ὡς οὖν ἂν εἰς δοῦλος ὑπὸ δεσπότη διαιτώμενος μείνεις; σίτα τε σιτή καὶ ποτὰ πίνεις τὰ φαυλότατα καὶ ἰμάτιον ἠμφίεσαι οὐ μόνον φαύλου, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρους τε καὶ χειμώνος,

3 ἀνυπόδητός τε καὶ ἀχίτων διατελεῖς. καὶ μὴν
he prefers your sauces and your wines to your friends, and likes the women\(^1\) better than the company? Should not every man hold self-control to be the foundation of all virtue, and first lay this foundation firmly in his soul? For who without this can learn any good or practise it worthily? Or what man that is the slave of his pleasures is not in an evil plight body and soul alike? From my heart I declare that every free man should pray not to have such a man among his slaves; and every man who is a slave to such pleasures should entreat the gods to give him good masters: thus, and only thus, may he find salvation.”

Such were his words; but his own self-control\(^6\) was shown yet more clearly by his deeds than by his words. For he kept in subjection not only the pleasures of the body, but those too that money brings, in the belief that he who takes money from any casual giver puts himself under a master and endures the basest form of slavery.

VI. It is due to him that a conversation he had with Antiphon the Sophist should not go unrecorded. Antiphon came to Socrates with the intention of drawing his companions away from him, and spoke thus in their presence.

“Socrates, I supposed that philosophy must add\(^2\) to one’s store of happiness. But the fruits you have reaped from philosophy are apparently very different. For example, you are living a life that would drive even a slave to desert his master. Your meat and drink are of the poorest: the cloak you wear is not only a poor thing, but is never changed summer or winter; and you never wear shoes or tunic. Besides\(^3\)

\(^1\) Employed to entertain the guests at the banquet.
χρήματά γε οὐ λαμβάνεις, ἀ καὶ κτωμένους ευφραίνει καὶ κεκτημένους ἐλευθεριώτερόν τε καὶ ἡδίον ποιεῖ χίν. εἰ οὖν ὦσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων οἱ διδάσκαλοι τοὺς μαθητάς μιμητάς ἐαυτῶν ἀποδεικνύοντο, οὐτώ καὶ σὺ τοὺς συνόντας διαθήσεις, νόμιζε κακοδαιμονίας διδάσκαλος εἶναι.

4 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης πρὸς ταῦτα ἐπεί. Δοκεῖς μοι, ὁ Ἀντιφών, ὑπειληφέναι με οὔτως ἀνικάρδως χίν, ὥστε πέπεισμαι σὲ μάλλων ἀποθανεῖν ἃν ἔλεος ἐι δὲ χίν ὦσπερ ἔγω. ἦθι οὖν ἐπισκεψόμεθα, τί τι

5 χαλεπτοῦν ἡσθησαι τοῦμοῦ βίου. πότερον ὅτι τοῖς μὲν λαμβάνουσιν ἀργύριον ἀναγκαῖον ἐστιν ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοῦτο, ἐφ’ ὃ ἂν μισθόν λαμβάνοντο, ἐμοὶ δὲ μὴ λαμβάνοντι οὐκ ἀνάγκη διαλέγεσθαι ὧν ἂν μὴ βούλωμαι; ἢ τὴν διατάν μου φαιλίζεις ὡς ἦπτων μὲν ἴγεινα ἐσθίοντος ἐμοῦ ἢ σοῦ, ἦπτων δὲ ἴσχυν παρέχοντα; ἢ ὡς χαλεπώτερα πορίσασθαι τὰ ἐμὰ διαίτημα τῶν σῶν διὰ τὸ σπανιώτερά τε καὶ πολυτελέστερα εἶναι; ἢ ὡς ἡδίω σοι ἃ σὺ παρασκευάζῃ οὖντα ἢ ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐγώ; οὐκ οἶσθ’, ὅτι ὁ μὲν ἡδίστα ἐσθίων ἡκίστα ὦσφον δεῖται, ὃ δὲ ἡδίστα πῖνων ἡκίστα

6 τοῦ μὴ παρόντος ἐπιθυμεῖ ποτοῦ; τὰ γε μὴν ἴμαται οἶσθ’, ὅτι οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι ψύχοι καὶ θάλπους ἐνεκα μεταβάλλονται καὶ υποδήματα υποδοῦνται, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὰ λυποῦντα τοὺς πόδας κωλύωνται πορεύεσθαι; ἢδη οὖν ποτε ἡσθον ἐμὲ ἢ διὰ ψύχος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐνδον μένοντα ἢ διὰ θάλπους μαχόμενον τῷ περὶ σκιᾶς ἢ διὰ τὸ ἄλγειν τοὺς πόδας οὐ βαδίζοντα ὅποι ἄν βούλω-μαι; οὐκ οἶσθ’, ὅτι οἱ φύσει ἀσθενεύστατοι τῷ

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you refuse to take money, the mere getting of which is a joy, while its possession makes one more independent and happier. Now the professors of other subjects try to make their pupils copy their teachers: if you too intend to make your companions do that, you must consider yourself a professor of unhappiness."

To this Socrates replied:

"Antiphon, you seem to have a notion that my life is so miserable, that I feel sure you would choose death in preference to a life like mine. Come then, let us consider together what hardship you have noticed in my life. Is it that those who take money are bound to carry out the work for which they get a fee, while I, because I refuse to take it, am not obliged to talk with anyone against my will? Or do you think my food poor because it is less wholesome than yours or less nourishing? or because my viands are harder to get than yours, being scarcer and more expensive? or because your diet is more enjoyable than mine? Do you not know that the greater the enjoyment of eating the less the need of sauce; the greater the enjoyment of drinking, the less the desire for drinks that are not available? As for cloaks, they are changed, as you know, on account of cold or heat. And shoes are worn as a protection to the feet against pain and inconvenience in walking. Now did you ever know me to stay indoors more than others on account of the cold, or to fight with any man for the shade because of the heat, or to be prevented from walking anywhere by sore feet? Do you not know that by training, a puny
σώματι μελετήσαντες τῶν ἱσχυροτάτων ἀμελησάντων κρείττους τε γίγνονται πρὸς ἀν μελετῶσι καὶ ράον αὐτά φέρουσιν; ἐμὲ δὲ ἄρα οὐκ οἱεὶ τῷ σώματι ἢὲ τὰ συντυχαόντα μελετῶντα καρτε-8ρεῖν πάντα ράον φέρειν σοῦ μη μελετῶντος; τοῦ δὲ μὴ δουλεύειν γαστρὶ μηδ' ὕπνω καὶ λαγνείᾳ οἱεὶ τί ἀλλο αἰτιώτερον εἶναι ἢ τὸ ἑτέρα ἐχεῖν τούτῳ ἡδίω, ἢ οὐ μόνον ἐν χρείᾳ ὄντα εὐφραίνει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλπίδας παρέχοντα ὡφελήσειν ἢεὶ; καὶ μὴν τούτῳ γε οἰσθα, ὅτι οὶ μὲν οἷόμενοι μηδὲν εὐ πράττειν οὐκ εὐφραίνονται, οἱ δὲ ἤγοιμενοι καλῶς προχωρεῖν ἐαυτοῖς ἢ γεωργίαι ἢ ναυκληρίαι ἢ ἀλλ' ὅτι ἂν τυγχάνωσι εὐραξόμενοι ὡς εὐ 9πράττοντες εὐφραίνονται. οἱεὶ οὖν ἀπὸ πάντων τούτων τοσαῦτην ἡδονὴν εἶναι ὠσθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτὸν τε ἡγείσθαι βελτίω γέγνεσθαι καὶ φίλους ἀμείνους κτᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ τοῖνυν διατέλω τάῦτα νομίζων.1

1 Εὰν δὲ δὴ φίλους ἢ πόλιν ὡφελεῖν δὲν, ποτέρω ἢ πλείων σχολῆς τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τῷ ὡς ἐγὼ νῦν ἢ τῷ ὡς σὺ μακαρίζεις διαιτωμένω; στρα-τεύοιτο δὲ πότερος ἂν ῥαον, ὁ μὴ δυνάμενος ἀνευ πολυτελοῦς διαίτης ζῆν ἢ ὡ τὸ παρὸν ἄρκοις; ἐκπολιορκηθεῖν δὲ πότερος ἂν θάπτων, ὁ τῶν χαλεπωτῶν εὐρεῖν δεόμενος ἢ ὁ τῶς ράστοις ἐντυχαόνειν ἄρκοντως χρώμενος;

10 Ἐοικας, ὡ Ἀντιφῶν, τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οἰομένῳ τρυφῆν καὶ πολυτέλειαν εἶναι. ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τὸ μὲν μηδενὸς δεῖσθαι θείον εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὃς ελαχίστων

1 § 9 ἐγὼ ... νομίζων is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.
weakling comes to be better at any form of exercise he practise, and gets more staying power, than the muscular prodigy who neglects to train? Seeing then that I am always training my body to answer any and every call on its powers, do you not think that I can stand every strain better than you can without training? For avoiding slavery to the belly or to sleep and incontinence, is there, think you, any more effective specific than the possession of other and greater pleasures, which are delightful not only to enjoy, but also because they arouse hopes of lasting benefit? And again, you surely know that while he who supposes that nothing goes well with him is unhappy, he who believes that he is successful in farming or a shipping concern or any other business he is engaged in is happy in the thought of his prosperity. Do you think then that out of all this thinking there comes anything so pleasant as the thought: 'I am growing in goodness and I am making better friends?' And that, I may say, is my constant thought.

"Further, if help is wanted by friends or city, which of the two has more leisure to supply their needs, he who lives as I am living or he whose life you call happy? Which will find soldiering the easier task, he who cannot exist without expensive food or he who is content with what he can get? Which when besieged will surrender first, he who wants what is very hard to come by or he who can make shift with whatever is at hand?

"You seem, Antiphon, to imagine that happiness consists in luxury and extravagance. But my belief is that to have no wants is divine;¹ to have as few as

¹ Cyropaedia, viii. iii. 40.
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ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ θείου, καὶ τὸ μὲν θείου κράτιστον, 
τὸ δὲ ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ θείου ἐγγυτάτω τοῦ κρατίστου.

11 Πάλιν δὲ ποτε ὁ 'Αντιφῶν διαλεγόμενος τῷ 
Σωκράτει εἶπεν·

'Ο Σώκρατος, ἐγὼ τοι σε δίκαιον μὲν νομίζω, 
σοφὸν δὲ οὖδ’ ὀπωστιοῦν’ δοκεῖς δὲ μοι καὶ αὐτὸς 
τούτῳ γιγνώσκειν οὐδένα γὰρ τῆς συνουσίας 
ἀργυρίου πράττῃ. καὶ τοῦ γε ἵματιον ἡ τὴν 
οἰκίαν ἢ ἄλλο τι ἄν κέκτησαι νομίζων ἀργυρίον 
ἀξίον εἶναι οὐδὲν ἂν μὴ ὅτι προῖκα δοίης, ἀλλ’

12 οὖδ’ ἐλάττων τῆς ἄξιας λαβὼν. δῆλον δὴ, ὅτι εἴ 
καὶ τὴν συνουσίαν φῶν τινὸς ἄξιαν εἶναι, καὶ 
ταύτης ἂν οὐκ ἐλάττων τῆς ἄξιας ἀργυρίον 
ἐπράττου. δίκαιος μὲν οὖν ἂν εἴης, ὅτι οὐκ 
ἐξαπατᾶς ἐπὶ πλεονεξία, σοφὸς δὲ οὐκ ἂν, μηδενός 
γε ἄξια ἐπιστάμενος.

13 Ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης πρὸς τάντα εἶπεν· Ὁ Ἀντιφῶν, 
παρ’ ἡμῖν νομίζεται τὴν ὄραν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν 
ὁμοίως μὲν καλὸν, ὁμοίως δὲ αὐσχρόν διατίθεσθαι 
εἶναι. τὴν τε γὰρ ὄραν ἐὰν μὲν τις ἀργυρίων 
πωλῆ ἂν βουλομένῳ, πόρυν αὐτὸν ἀποκαλοῦσιν, 
ἐὰν δὲ τὸ ὅτι ἂν γυνὴ καλὸν τε κάγαθον ἐραστὴ 
ὅντα, τούτων φίλου ἐαυτῷ ποιῆται, σώφρωνα 
νομίζωμεν· καὶ τὴν σοφίαν ὅσαιτος τοὺς μὲν 
ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας σοφιστάς 
ὡσπερ πόρυνος 1 ἀποκαλοῦσιν, ὡστέ ἄν ἄν γυνὴ 
εὐφυά ὅτα διδάσκαν ὅτι ἂν ἔχῃ ἀγαθὸν φίλον 
pοιῆται, τούτων νομίζομεν ἂ τῷ καλῷ κάγαθῳ 
πολύτη προσήκει, τάντα ποιεῖν. ἐγὼ δ’ οὖν καὶ 
αὐτὸς, ὁ Ἀντιφῶν, ὡσπερ ἄλλος τις ἃ ὑπ’ 
ἀγαθῷ ἢ κυνὶ ἢ ὀρνιθὶ ἦδεται, οὕτω καὶ ἔτι

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possible comes next to the divine; and as that which is divine is supreme, so that which approaches nearest to its nature is nearest to the supreme.”

In another conversation with Socrates Antiphon 11 said:

“Socrates, I for my part believe you to be a just, but by no means a wise man. And I think you realise it yourself. Anyhow, you decline to take money for your society. Yet if you believed your cloak or house or anything you possess to be worth money, you would not part with it for nothing or even for less than its value. Clearly, then, if you set any value on your society, you would insist on getting the proper price for that too. It may well be that you are a just man because you do not cheat people through avarice; but wise you cannot be, since your knowledge is not worth anything.”

To this Socrates replied:

“Antiphon, it is common opinion among us in regard to beauty and wisdom that there is an honourable and a shameful way of bestowing them. For to offer one’s beauty for money to all comers is called prostitution; but we think it virtuous to become friendly with a lover who is known to be a man of honour. So is it with wisdom. Those who offer it to all comers for money are known as sophists, prostitutes of wisdom, but we think that he who makes a friend of one whom he knows to be gifted by nature, and teaches him all the good he can, fulfils the duty of a citizen and a gentleman. That is my own view, Antiphon. Others have a fancy for a good horse or dog or bird: my fancy, stronger even

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1 ὡσπέρ πάρνους is bracketed by Sauppe after Ruhnken.
μᾶλλον ἦδομαι φίλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ εάν τι ἔχω ἀγαθόν, διδάσκω καὶ ἄλλοις συνίστημι, παρ’ ὅν ἄν ἡγώμαι ὀφελήσεσθαί τι αὐτοὺς εἰς ἀρετήν. καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς τῶν πάλαι σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐ γεγένοι κατέλιπον ἐν βιβλίοις γράψαντες, ἀνελίπτων κοινῇ σὺν τοῖς φίλοις διέρχομαι, καὶ ἄν τι ὀρῶμεν ἀγαθόν, ἐκλεγόμεθα καὶ μέγα νομίζομεν κέρδος, ἐὰν ἀλλήλοις ὀφελήματι γνωρίσθην. ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ἀκούντι ἐδόκει αὐτός τε μακάριος εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἐπὶ καλοκαγάθιδαν ἄγειν.

15 Καὶ πάλιν ποτὲ τοῦ Ἀντιφῶντος ἐρομένου αὐτὸν, πῶς ἄλλους μὲν ἧγοιτο πολιτικοὺς ποιεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ πράττοι τὰ πολιτικά, εἶπερ ἐπίστατο. Ποτέρως δ’ ἄν, ἔφη, δ’ Ἀντιφῶν, μᾶλλον τὰ πολιτικὰ πράττομι, εἰ μόνος αὐτὰ πράττομι ἢ εἰ ἐπιμελοῦμην τοῦ ὡς πλείστους ἰκανοὺς εἶναι πράττειν αὐτά;

VII. Ἐπισκεψομέθα δὲ, εἰ καὶ ἀλαξονείας ἀποτρέπων τοὺς συνόντας ἀρετής ἐπιμελεῖσθαι προέτρεπεν: οἱ γὰρ ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐκ ἔμη καλλίων ὅδος ἐπὶ εὐδοξίαν ἢ δ’ ἢς ἂν τὶς ἀγαθὸς τοῦτο γένοιτο, δ’ καὶ δοκεῖν βουλοῖτο.

2 "Ὅτι δ’ ἀληθῆ ἔλεγεν, δὴ ἐδίδασκεν. Ἐννυμώμεθα γὰρ, ἔφη, εἰ τις μὴ ὄν ἀγαθὸς ἀὐλητὴς δοκεῖν βουλοῖτο, τί ἂν αὐτῷ ποιητέου εἰη. ἄρ’ οὖ τὰ ἔξω τῆς τέχνης μιμητῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς αὐλητᾶς; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὃτι ἐκεῖνοι σκευήν τε καλῆν κέκτηται καὶ ἀκολούθους πολλοὺς περιάγοντα, καὶ τοῦτῳ ταῦτα ποιητέου ἐπειτα ὃτι ἐκεῖνος πολλοί ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ τοῦτῳ πολλοὺς ἐπανεῖς παρασκευαστέον. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔργον γε 74
than theirs, is for good friends. And I teach them all the good I can, and recommend them to others from whom I think they will get some moral benefit. And the treasures that the wise men of old have left us in their writings I open and explore with my friends. If we come on any good thing, we extract it, and we set much store on being useful to one another."

For my part, when I heard these words fall from his lips, I judged him to be a happy man himself and to be putting his hearers in the way of being gentlemen.

On yet another occasion Antiphon asked him: "How can you suppose that you make politicians of others, when you yourself avoid politics even if you understand them?"

"How now, Antiphon?" he retorted, "should I play a more important part in politics by engaging in them alone or by taking pains to turn out as many competent politicians as possible?"

VII. Let us next consider whether by discouraging imposture he encouraged his companions to cultivate virtue.¹ For he always said that the best road to glory is the way that makes a man as good as he wishes to be thought. And this was how he demonstrated the truth of this saying:

"Suppose a bad flute-player wants to be thought a good one, let us note what he must do. Must he not imitate good players in the accessories of the art? First, as they wear fine clothes and travel with many attendants, he must do the same. Further, seeing that they win the applause of crowds, he must provide himself with a large claque. But, of

¹ Cyropaedia, i. vi. 22.
οὐδαμοῦ ληπτέον ἡ εὐθὺς ἐλεγχθῆσεται γελοῖος ὦν καὶ οὐ μόνον αὐλητής κακός, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπος ἀλαζών. καὶ τοι πολλὰ μὲν δαπανῶν, μηδὲν δ’ ὠφελοῦμενος, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις κακοδοξῶν πῶς οὐκ ἐπιπόνως τε καὶ ἀλυσιτελῶς καὶ κατα-
3 γελάστως βιώσεται; ὡς δ’ αὐτῶς εἰ τίς βούλοιτο στρατηγὸς ἄγαθος μη ὄν φαίνεσθαι ἢ κυβερνήτης, ἔννοομεν, τί ἂν αὐτῷ συμβαίνοι. ἀρ’ οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὲν ἐπιθυμῶν τοῦ δοκεῖν ἰκανὸς εἶναι ταῦτα πράττειν μη δύνατο πείθειν, τούτ’ εἰη λυπηρῶν, εἰ δὲ πείσειν, έτι ἀθλιώτερον; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι κυβερνῶν κατασταθεῖς ὁ μη ἐπιστάμενος ἢ στρατηγεῖν ἀπολέσειν ἂν οὖς ἥκιστα βούλοιτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἀἰσχρῶς ἂν καὶ κακῶς ἀπαλλάξειν.
4 Ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ πλούσιον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ τὸ ἱσχυρὸν μη ὄντα δοκεῖν ἀλυσιτελῆς ἀπέφαινε· προστάττεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐφὶ μείζω ἢ κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ μὴ δυναμένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν δοκοῦντας ἰκανοὺς εἶναι συγγρῶμης οὐκ ἂν τυγχάνειν. 
5 ἀπατεῶνα δ’ ἐκάλει οὐ μικρὸν μὲν, εἰ τις ἀργυρίον ἢ σκεῦος παρά του πειθοὶ λαβῶν ἀποστεροῖν, πολὺ δὲ μέγιστον ὅστις μηδενὸς ἄξιος ὄν ἔξηπατής· κοι πείθων, ὡς ἰκανὸς εἰη τῆς πόλεως ἡγεῖσθαι.
'Εμοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας τοιαῦτα διαλεγόμενοι.
course, he must never accept an engagement, or he will promptly expose himself to ridicule as an incompetent player and an impostor to boot. And so, what with incurring heavy expense and gaining nothing, and bringing disgrace on himself as well, he will make his life burdensome, unprofitable and ridiculous. So too if a man who is not a general or a pilot wanted to be thought a good one, let us imagine what would happen to him. If his efforts to seem proficient in these duties failed to carry conviction, would not his failure be galling to him? If they succeeded, would not his success be still more disastrous? for it is certain that if a man who knew nothing about piloting a ship or commanding an army were appointed to such work, he would lose those whom he least wanted to lose and would bring ruin and disgrace on himself."

By similar reasoning he would show how unprofitable is a reputation for wealth or courage or strength when it is undeserved. "Tasks beyond their powers," he would say, "are laid on the incompetent, and no mercy is shown to them when they disappoint the expectation formed of their capability. The man who persuades you to lend him money or goods and then keeps them is without doubt a rogue; but much the greatest rogue of all is the man who has gull'd his city into the belief that he is fit to direct it."

For my part I thought that such talks did discourage imposture among his companions.
BOOK II
I. Ἐδόκει δὲ μοι καὶ τοιαύτα λέγων προτρέπειν τοὺς συνόντας ἀσκεῖν ἐγκράτειαν [πρὸς ἐπιθυμίαν] βρωτοῦ καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ λαγνείας καὶ ὑπνοῦ καὶ ῥίγους καὶ θάλπους καὶ πόνου. γνοὺς δὲ τινὰ τῶν συνόντων ἀκολαστοτέρως ἔχοντα πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα, Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρίστιππε, εἰ δέοι σε παιδεύειν παραλαβόντα δύο τῶν νέων, τὸν μὲν ὅπως ἰκανὸς ἔσται ἄρχειν, τὸν δ' ὅπως μηδ' ἀντίποιησται ἄρχῆς, πῶς ἀν ἐκάτερον παιδεύοις; βούλει σκοπῶμεν ἀρξάμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς τροφῆς ὁσπέρ ἀπὸ τῶν στοιχείων;

Καὶ ὁ Ἀρίστιππος ἐφη. Δοκεῖ γοῦν μοι ἡ τροφή ἄρχη εἶναι: οὐδὲ γὰρ ξύη γ' ἂν τις, εἰ μὴ τρέφοιτο.

2 Ὄνκοιν τὸ μὲν βούλεσθαι σίτου ἀπτεσθαι, ὅταν ὥρα ἦκη, ἀμφοτέρους εἰκὸς παραγίγνεσθαι;
Εἰκὸς γὰρ, ἐφη.
Τὸ οὖν προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ κατεπείγον μᾶλλον πράττειν ἢ τῇ γαστρᾷ χαρίζεσθαι πότερον ἂν αὐτῶν ἐθίζοιμεν;
Τὸν εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν, ἐφη, νὴ Δία παιδευόμενον, ὅπως μὴ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπρακτα γίγνηται παρὰ τὴν ἐκείνου ἄρχην.
Οὔκοιν, ἐφη, καὶ ὅταν πιεῖν βούλωμαι, τὸ δύνασθαι διψώντα ἀνέχεσθαι τῷ αὐτῷ προσθετέον;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

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BOOK II

I. In other conversations I thought that he exhorted his companions to practise self-control in the matter of eating and drinking, and sexual indulgence, and sleeping, and endurance of cold and heat and toil. Aware that one of his companions was rather intemperate in such matters, he said: "Tell me, Aristippus, if you were required to take charge of two youths and educate them so that the one would be fit to rule and the other would never think of putting himself forward, how would you educate them? Shall we consider it, beginning with the elementary question of food?"

"Oh yes," replied Aristippus, "food does seem to come first; for one can't live without food."

"Well, now, will not a desire for food naturally arise in both at certain times?"

"Yes, naturally."

"Now which of the two should we train in the habit of transacting urgent business before he satisfies his hunger?"

"The one who is being trained to rule, undoubtedly; else State business might be neglected during his tenure."

"And must not the same one be given power to resist thirst when both want to drink?"

"Certainly."
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3 Τὸ δὲ ὑπὸν έγκρατή εἶναι, ὥστε δύνασθαι καὶ ὅψε κοιμηθῆναι καὶ πρῳ ἀναστήναι καὶ ἀγρυ-πνῆσαι, εἰ τι δέοι, ποτέρω ἀν προσθείμεν;
Καὶ τοῦτο, ἐφη, τῷ αὐτῷ.
Τί δὲ, ἐφη, το ἀφροδισίων έγκρατή εἶναι, ὥστε μὴ διὰ ταῦτα κολύεσθαι πράττειν, εἰ τι δέοι;
Καὶ τοῦτο, ἐφη, τῷ αὐτῷ.
Τί δὲ, τὸ μὴ φεύγειν τοὺς πόνους, ἀλλ’ ἔθελοντ’ ὑπομένειν, ποτέρω ἀν προσθείμεν;
Καὶ τοῦτο, ἐφη, τῷ ἀρχείν παιδευομένῳ.
Τί δὲ, τὸ μαθεῖν εἰ τι ἐπιτήδειόν ἔστι μάθημα πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν τῶν ἀντιπάλων ποτέρῳ ἄν προσθείμεν μᾶλλον πρέποι;
Πολὺ νὴ Δ’, ἐφη, τῷ ἀρχείν παιδευομένῳ καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀλλῶν οὐδὲν ὀφελὸς ἂνευ τῶν τοιοῦτων μαθημάτων.

4 Οὐκοῦν ὁ οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ὤπτον ἄν δοκεῖ σοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἥ τὰ λοιπὰ ζῶα ἀλίσκε-σθαι; τοῦτω γὰρ ἤπτου τὰ μὲν γαστρὶ δελεαζό-μενα, καὶ μάλα ἔνια δυσωποῦμενα, ὡμος τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τοῦ φαγείν ἀγόμενα πρὸς τὸ δέλεαρ ἀλίσκεται, τὰ δὲ ποτῶ ἐνεδρέυται.
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλα ὑπὸ λαγνείας, οἶνον οἱ τε ὀρτυγες καὶ οἱ πέρδικες, πρὸς τὴν τῆς θηλείας φωνὴν τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐλπίδι τῶν ἀφροδισίων φερόμενοι καὶ ἔξιστάμενοι τοῦ τά δεινὰ ἀναλογί-ζεσθαι τοῖς θηράτροις ἐμπίπτουσι;

5 Συνέφη καὶ ταῦτα.
Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι αἰσχρὸν εἶναι ἀνθρώπῳ ταῦτα πάσχειν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις τῶν θηρίων; ὡσπερ οἱ μοιχοὶ εἰσέρχονται εἰς τὰς εἰρκτὰς εἰδότες, ὅτι
"And to which shall we give the power of limiting his sleep so that he can go late to bed and get up early, and do without sleep if need be?"

"To the same again."

"And the power to control his passions, so that he may not be hindered in doing necessary work?"

"To the same again."

"And to which shall we give the habit of not shirking a task, but undertaking it willingly?"

"That too will go to the one who is being trained to rule."

"And to which would the knowledge needful for overcoming enemies be more appropriately given?"

"Without doubt to the one who is being trained to rule; for the other lessons would be useless without such knowledge."

"Don't you think that with this education he will be less likely to be caught by his enemy than other creatures? Some of them, you know, are so greedy, that in spite of extreme timidity in some cases, they are drawn irresistibly to the bait to get food, and are caught; and others are snared by drink."

"Yes, certainly."

"Others again—quails and partridges, for instance—are so amorous, that when they hear the cry of the female, they are carried away by desire and anticipation, throw caution to the winds and blunder into the nets. Is it not so?"

He agreed again.

"Now, don't you think it disgraceful that a man should be in the same plight as the silliest of wild creatures? Thus an adulterer enters the women's
κίνδυνους τῶν μοιχεύοντι ἄ τε ὁ νόμος ἀπειλεῖ παθεῖν καὶ ἐνεδρευθῆναι καὶ ληφθέντα ὑβρισθῆναι καὶ τηλικούτων μὲν ἐπικειμένων τῶν μοιχεύοντι κακῶν τε καὶ αἰσχρῶν, ὄντων δὲ πολλῶν τῶν ἀπολυσόντων τῆς τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίας ἐν ἀδεία, ὁμοιος εἰς τὰ ἐπικίνδυνα φέρεσθαι, ἀρ' οὖν ἥδη τούτῳ παντάπασι κακοδαμομονώντος ἔστων;

"Εμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἐφη.

6 Τὸ δὲ εἶναι μὲν τὰς ἄναγκαιοτάτας πλείστας πράξεις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, οἷον τὰς τε πολεμικὰς καὶ τὰς γεωργικὰς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐ τὰς ἑλαχίστας, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς ἀγμανάστως ἔχειν πρὸς τε ψύχῃ καὶ θάλψῃ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι πολλῇ ἀμέλειᾳ εἶναι;

Συνέφη καὶ τούτῳ.

Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι τὸν μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ἀσκεῖν δεὶν καὶ ταῦτα εὐπετῶς φέρειν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

7 Οὐκοῦν εἴ τοὺς ἐγκρατεῖς τοῦτων ἀπάντων εἰς τοὺς ἁρχικοὺς τάττομεν, τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ταῦτα ποιεῖν εἰς τοὺς μηδ' ἀντιποιησομένους τοῦ ἄρχειν τάξομεν;

Συνέφη καὶ τούτῳ.

Τῇ οὖν; ἔπειδῆ καὶ τούτων ἐκατέρου τοῦ φύλου τῆς τάξεως οἷσθα, ἥδη ποτ' ἐπεσκέψω, εἰς ποτέραν τῶν τάξεων τούτων σαυτοῦ δικαίως ἀν τάττοις;

8 Ἔργῳ', ἐφη ὁ Ἀρίστιππος, καὶ οὖνδαμός γε τάττω ἐμαυτόν εἰς την τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων τάξιν. καὶ γὰρ πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ ἄφρονος ἀνθρώπον εἶναι τὸ μεγάλου ἔργου οὗτος τοῦ ἐαυτῷ τὰ δέοντα παρασκευάζειν μὴ ἄρκειν τούτῳ, ἀλλὰ προσαναθέσθαι τὸ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ὧν δέονται 84
quarters, knowing that by committing adultery he is in danger of incurring the penalties threatened by the law, and that he may be trapped, caught and ill-treated. When such misery and disgrace hang over the adulterer's head, and there are many remedies to relieve him of his carnal desire without risk, is it not sheer lunacy to plunge headlong into danger?"

"Yes, I think it is."

"And considering that the great majority of essential occupations, warfare, agriculture and very many others, are carried on in the open air, don't you think it gross negligence that so many men are untrained to withstand cold and heat?"

He agreed again.

"Don't you think then, that one who is going to rule must adapt himself to bear them lightly?"

"Certainly."

"If then we classify those who control themselves in all these matters as 'fit to rule,' shall we not classify those who cannot behave so as men with no claim to be rulers?"

He agreed again.

"Well now, as you know the category to which each of these species belongs, have you ever considered in which category you ought to put yourself?"

"I have; and I do not for a moment put myself in the category of those who want to be rulers. For considering how hard a matter it is to provide for one's own needs, I think it absurd not to be content to do that, but to shoulder the burden of supplying the wants of the community as well. That

1 *Cyropaedia*, i. vi. 7; vii. ii. 26 f.
πορίζειν καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν πολλὰ ὃν βούλεται ἐλλείπειν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως προεστῶτα, ἕαν μὴ πάντα, ὅσα ἡ πόλις βούλεται, καταπράττῃ, τούτου δίκην ὑπέχειν, τούτο πῶς οὐ πολλὴν ἀφροσύνη ἐστὶ; καὶ γὰρ ἄξιούσιν αἱ πόλεις τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ὡσπερ ἐγὼ τοῖς οἰκέταις χρῆσθαι. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ἄξιῶ τοὺς θεράποντας ἐμοὶ μὲν ἀφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια παρασκευάζειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μηδενὸς τούτων ἀπτέσθαι, αἱ τε πόλεις οὗται χρῆναι τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἑαυταῖς μὲν ὡς πλεῖστα ἁγαθὰ πορίζειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ πάντων τούτων ἀπέχεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τοὺς μὲν βουλομένους πολλὰ πράγματα ἔχειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἄλλοις παρέχειν οὕτως ἄν παιδεύσας εἰς τοὺς ἀρχικοὺς καταστήσαμε· ἐμαυτὸν γε μέντοι τάττω εἰς τοὺς βουλομένους ἡ μάστα τε καὶ ἡδύστα βιοτεύειν.

10 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐφη· Βούλει οὖν καὶ τούτῳ σκεψόμεθα, πότεροι ἢδιον ζῶσιν, οἱ ἀρχοντες ἢ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι· Πάνιν μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν τῶν ἐθνῶν ὃν ἡμεῖς ἤσμεν ἐν μὲν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Πέρσαι μὲν ἀρχούσιν, ἀρχονταί δὲ Σύροι καὶ Φρύγες καὶ Λυδοὶ· ἐν δὲ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ Σκύθαι μὲν ἀρχούσι, Μαιῶται δὲ ἀρχονταί· ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύη Καρχηδόνιοι μὲν ἀρχούσι, Δίβυις δὲ ἀρχονταί. τούτων οὖν ποτέρους ἢδιον οἷς ξῆν; ἡ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸς εἰ, πότεροι σοι δοκοῦσιν ἢδιον, οἱ κρατοῦντες ἢ οἱ κρατούμενοι, ξῆν;

11 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ἐφι ο Ἄριστιππος, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν δουλείαν αὐ ἐμαυτὸν τάττω, ἀλλ' εἶναι τίς μοι δοκεῖ μέση τούτων ὅδος, ἢν πειρῶμαι βαδίζειν, οὔτε δὴ ἀρχής οὔτε διὰ δουλείας, ἀλλὰ δι' 86
anyone should sacrifice a large part of his own wishes and make himself accountable as head of the state for the least failure to carry out all the wishes of the community is surely the height of folly. For states claim to treat their rulers just as I claim to treat my servants. I expect my men to provide me with necessaries in abundance, but not to touch any of them; and states hold it to be the business of the ruler to supply them with all manner of good things, and to abstain from all of them himself. And so, should anyone want to bring plenty of trouble on himself and others, I would educate him as you propose and number him with 'those fitted to be rulers': but myself I classify with those who wish for a life of the greatest ease and pleasure that can be had."

Here Socrates asked: "Shall we then consider whether the rulers or the ruled live the pleasanter life?"

"Certainly," replied Aristippus.

"To take first the nations known to us. In Asia the rulers are the Persians; the Syrians, Lydians and Phrygians are the ruled. In Europe the Scythians rule, and the Maeotians are ruled. In Africa the Carthaginians rule, and the Libyans are ruled. Which of the two classes, think you, enjoys the pleasanter life? Or take the Greeks, of whom you yourself are one; do you think that the controlling or the controlled communities enjoy the pleasanter life?"

"Nay," replied Aristippus, "for my part I am no candidate for slavery; but there is, as I hold, a middle path in which I am fain to walk. That way leads neither through rule nor slavery, but
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ελευθερίας, ἥπερ μάλιστα πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἁγεί.

12 Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ οὕτε δι' ἀρχῆς οὕτε διὰ δουλείας ἡ ὁδὸς αὕτη φέρει, οὕτως μηδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπων, ἱσως ἄν τι λέγοις: εἰ μέντοι ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὃν μὴτε ἀρχεῖν ἀξιόσεις μῆτε ἀρχεσθαι μηδὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἐκών θεραπεύσεις, οἴμαι σε ὅραν, ὡς ἐπίστανται οἱ κρείττονες τοὺς ἠττονας καὶ κοινὴ καὶ ἱδία κλαίοντας καθίσαντες

dούλους χρήσθαι. ἡ λαυθάνουσί σε οἱ ἄλλωι σπειράντων καὶ φυτευσάντων τὸν τε σίτων τέμνοντες καὶ δενδροκοποῦντες καὶ πάντα τρόπου πολιορκοῦντες τοὺς ἠττονας καὶ μὴ θέλοντας θεραπεύειν, ἐως ἄν πείσωσιν ἐλέσθαι δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τοῦ πολεμεῖν τοῖς κρείττοσι; καὶ ἱδία αὖ ὁὶ ἀνδρεῖοι καὶ δυνατοὶ τοὺς ἀνάνδρους καὶ ἀδυνάτους ὁὐκ οίσθα ὅτι καταδουλωσάμενοι καρποῦνται;

'Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ἐφη, ἢνα μὴ πάσχω ταῦτα, οὐδ' εἰς πολιτείαν ἐμαυτὸν κατακλεῖω, ἀλλὰ ξένος πανταχοῦ εἴμι.

14 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐφη: Τοῦτο μέντοι ἡδὴ λέγεις δεινὸν πάλαισμα. τοὺς γὰρ ξένους, ἐξ οὐ τι Σίνις καὶ ὁ Σκεῖρων καὶ ὁ Προκρούστης ἀπέθανον, οὐδεὶς ἑτὶ ἅδικεί: ἀλλὰ νῦν οἱ μὲν πολιτευόμενοι ἐν ταῖς πατρίσι καὶ νόμοις τίθενται, ἦν μὴ ἅδικωνται, καὶ φίλους πρὸς τοῖς ἀναγκαῖοις καλομένοις ἄλλους κτῶνται βοήθειας καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔρυματα περιβάλλονται καὶ ὡπλα κτῶνται, οἷς ἀμυνοῦνται τοὺς ἅδικοῦντας, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ἄλλους ἐξωθεὶς συμμάχους κατασκευάζονται καὶ οἱ μὲν πάντα ταῦτα κεκτημένοι
through liberty, which is the royal road to happiness.'

"Ah," said Socrates, "if only that path can avoid the world as well as rule and slavery, there may be something in what you say. But, since you are in the world, if you intend neither to rule nor to be ruled, and do not choose to truckle to the rulers—I think you must see that the stronger have a way of making the weaker rue their lot both in public and in private life, and treating them like slaves. You cannot be unaware that where some have sown and planted, others cut their corn and fell their trees, and in all manner of ways harass the weaker if they refuse to bow down, until they are persuaded to accept slavery as an escape from war with the stronger. So, too, in private life do not brave and mighty men enslave and plunder the cowardly and feeble folk?"

"Yes, but my plan for avoiding such treatment is this. I do not shut myself up in the four corners of a community, but am a stranger in every land."

"A very cunning trick, that!" cried Socrates, "for ever since the death of Sinis and Sceiron and Procrustes no one injures strangers! And yet nowadays those who take a hand in the affairs of their homeland pass laws to protect themselves from injury, get friends to help them over and above those whom nature has given them, encompass their cities with fortresses, get themselves weapons to ward off the workers of mischief; and besides all this seek to make allies in other lands; and in spite of all these precautions, they are still wronged.

1 Highwaymen slain by Theseus, Plutarch, Thes. c. 8 f.
15 ὅμως ἀδικοῦνται· σὺ δὲ οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἔχων, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοῖς, ἐνθα πλείστοι ἀδικοῦνται, πολλὸν χρόνον διατρίβων, εἰς ὑποίαν δὲ ἄν πόλιν ἀφίκῃ, τῶν πολιτῶν πάντων ἦπτων ὁ τε καὶ τοιοῦτος οὐς μάλιστα ἐπιτίθενται οἱ βουλόμενοι ἀδικεῖν, ὅμως διὰ τὸ ξένου εἶναι οὐκ ἄν οὐεὶ ἀδικηθήναι; ἢ διότι οἱ πόλεις οἱ κηρύττουσιν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ προσιόντες καὶ ἀπίοντες, θαρρεῖς; ἢ διότι καὶ δούλος ἄν οὐεὶ τοιοῦτος εἶναι οἷος μηδὲν δεσπότη λυστελεῖν; τίς γὰρ ἄν ἐθέλοι ἀνθρωπὸν ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχειν ποιεῖν μὲν μηδὲν ἐθέλοντα, τῇ δὲ πολυτελε-στάτῃ διαίτῃ χαίροντα;

16 Σκεψώμεθα δὲ καὶ τούτῳ, πῶς οἱ δεσπόται τοῖς τοιούτοις οἰκέταις χρῶνται. ἀρὰ οὐ τὴν μὲν λαγιείαν αὐτῶν τῷ λίμῷ σωφρονίζουσιν; κλέπτειν δὲ κωλύσουσιν ἀποκλείοντες ὅθεν ἄν τι λαβεῖν ἦ; τὸ δὲ δραπετεύειν δεσμοῖς ἀπείργουσιν; τὴν ἀργίαν δὲ πληγαῖς ἐξαιρεθήκουσιν; ἢ σὺ πῶς ποιεῖς, ὅταν τῶν οἰκετῶν τίνα τοιούτον οὐντα καταμανθάνης;

17 Κολάζω, ἕφη, πᾶσι κακοῖς, ἔως ἄν δουλεύειν ἀναγκάσω. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὃ Σώκρατες, οἱ εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν τέχνην παϊδευόμενοι, ἦν δοκεῖς μοι σὺ νομίζεις ἐνδαμονεῖσθαι εἰναι, τί διαφέροσι τῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης κακοπαθοῦντων, εἰ γε πενησόμης καὶ δίψησομι καὶ ἤρωσόμης καὶ ἀγρυπνήσομι καὶ τάλλα πάντα μοχθήσουσιν ἐκόντες; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἴδ᾽ ὅτι διαφέρει τὸ αὐτὸ δέρμα ἐκόντα ἢ ἀκοντα μαστιγοῦσθαι ἢ δλως τὸ αὐτὸ σῶμα πᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐκόντα ἢ ἀκοντα πολιορκεῖσθαι· ἀλλο γε ἢ ἀφροσύνη πρόσεστι τῷ θέλοντι τὰ λυπηρὰ ύπομένειν;
MEMORABILIA, II. 1. 14–17

But you, with none of these advantages, spend much time on the open road, where so many come to harm; and into whatever city you enter, you rank below all its citizens, and are one of those specially marked down for attack by intending wrongdoers; and yet, because you are a stranger, do you expect to escape injury? What gives you confidence? Is it that the cities by proclamation guarantee your safety in your coming and going? Or is it the thought that no master would find you worth having among his slaves? For who would care to have a man in his house who wants to do no work and has a weakness for high living?

"But now let us see how masters treat such servants. Do they not starve them to keep them from immorality, lock up the stores to stop their stealing, clap fetters on them so that they can’t run away, and beat the laziness out of them with whips? What do you do yourself to cure such faults among your servants?"

"I make their lives a burden to them until I reduce them to submission. But how about those who are trained in the art of kingship, Socrates, which you appear to identify with happiness? How are they better off than those whose sufferings are compulsory, if they must bear hunger, thirst, cold, sleeplessness, and endure all these tortures willingly? For if the same back gets the flogging whether its owner kicks or consents, or, in short, if the same body, consenting or objecting, is besieged by all these torments, I see no difference, apart from the folly of voluntary suffering."
18 Τις δέ, ὃ Ἀριστιππε, ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη, οὐ δοκεῖ
σοι τῶν τοιούτων διαφέρειν τὰ ἐκούσια τῶν
ἀκουσίων, ἢ ο μὲν ἐκών πεινῶν φάγοι ἂν ὅποτε
βούλοιτο καὶ ὁ ἐκών διψῶν πίω καὶ τάλλα
ὡσαντως, τῷ δὲ ἐξ ἀνάγκης ταῦτα πάσχοντι ὡκ
ἐξεστιν ὁπόταν βούληται παύεσθαι; ἔπειτα ὁ
μὲν ἐκουσίως ταλαιπωρῶν ἐπ' ἀγαθὴ ἐλπίδι
πονῶν εὐφραίνεται, οίνῳ οὐ τὰ θηρία θηρῶντες
19 ἐλπίδι τοῦ λήψεσθαι ἢδέως μοχθοῦσι. καὶ τὰ μὲν
τοιαῦτα ἄθλα τῶν πόνων μικροῦ τινος ἀξίω ἔστιν
tοὺς δὲ πονοῦντας, ἢνα φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτῆσουσιν
ἡ ὦπως ἔχθρους χειρώσουσιν ἢ ἢνα δύνατοι γενό-
μενοι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ τῶν
ἐαυτῶν οἴκους καλῶς οἰκῶσι καὶ τοὺς φίλους εὐ
ποώσι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετῶσι, πῶς οὐκ
οἴσεσθαι χρὴ τούτους καὶ πονεῖν ἢδέως εἰς τὰ
τοιαῦτα καὶ ξῆν εὐφραίνομένους, ἀγαμένους μὲν
ἐαυτούς, ἐπαινομένους δὲ καὶ ξηλομένους ὑπὸ
20 τῶν ἄλλων; ἔτι δὲ αἱ μὲν ῥάδιονυργίαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ
παραχρῆμα ὕδωναι οὕτε σῶματι εὐεξίαν ἱκανάι
eἰσιν ἐνεργάζεσθαι, ὡς φασίν οἱ γυμνασταῖ, οὐτὲ
ψυχῆ ἐπιστήσῃν ἄξιόλογον συνεμίαν ἐμποιοῦσιν,
αἱ δὲ διὰ καρτερίας ἐπιμέλειαι τῶν καλῶν τε
καγάθων ἔργων ἐξικνεῖσθαι ποιοῦσιν, ὡς φασίν
οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἀνδρεῖς. λέγει δὲ ποῦ καὶ Ἡσιόδος:
Τὴν μὲν γὰρ κακότητα καὶ ἱλαδὸν ἐστὶν
ἐλέσθαι
ῥημιῶς: λείη μὲν ὄδος, μάλα δὲ ἐγγύθι ναίει.
τῆς δ' ὁρετῆς ἱδρώταποθεῖ προσπάροιθεν ἐθηκαν
ἀθάνατοι· μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὅρθιος οἶμοι ἐς αὐτὴν
καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἴκηαι,
ῥημιὴ δὴ ἔπειτα πέλει, χαλεπὴ περ ἔοισα.
MEMORABILIA, II. 1. 18-20

"What, Aristippus," exclaimed Socrates, "don't you think that there is just this difference between these voluntary and involuntary sufferings, that if you bear hunger or thirst willingly, you can eat, drink, or what not, when you choose, whereas compulsory suffering is not to be ended at will? Besides, he who endures willingly enjoys his work because he is comforted by hope; hunters, for instance, toil gladly in hope of game. Rewards like these are indeed of little worth after all the toil; but what of those who toil to win good friends, or to subdue enemies, or to make themselves capable in body and soul of managing their own homes well, of helping their friends and serving their country? Surely these toil gladly for such prizes and live a joyous life, well content with themselves, praised and envied by everyone else? Moreover, indolence and present enjoyment can never bring the body into good condition, as trainers say, neither do they put into the soul knowledge of any value, but strenuous effort leads up to good and noble deeds, as good men say. And so says Hesiod somewhere: 1

'Wickedness can be had in abundance easily: smooth is the road and very nigh she dwells. But in front of virtue the gods immortal have put sweat: long and steep is the path to her and rough at first; but when you reach the top, then at length the road is easy, hard though it was.'

1 Works and Days, 285.
μαρτυρεὶ δὲ καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν τῷ δὲ.

Τῶν πόνων πωλοῦσιν ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ γάθ᾽ οἱ θεοὶ.

καὶ ἐν ἄλλῳ δὲ τὸπφοίησιν.

'Ὡς πονηρέ, μή τὰ μαλακὰ μῶσο, μή τὰ σκλήρ᾽ ἔχης.¹

21 Καὶ Πρόδικος δὲ ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῷ συνγράμματι τῷ περὶ Ἡρακλέους, ὅπερ δὴ καὶ πλείστοις ἐπιδείκνυται, ὡσαύτως περὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποφαίνεται, ὡδὲ πως λέγων, ὡσα ἐγὼ μέμηναι.

Φησὶ γὰρ Ἡρακλέα, ἔπει ἕκ παῖδων εἰς ἣβην ὀρμάτο, ἐν ἢ οἱ νέοι ἦδη αὐτοκράτορες γιγανόμενοι δηλοῦσιν, εἶτε τὴν δὴ ἀρετῆς ὁδὸν τρέψονται ἐπὶ τὸν βίον εἶτε τὴν διὰ κακίας, ἢξελθόντα εἰς ἰσχίαν καθῆσθαι ἀποροῦντα, ποτέραν τῶν ὁδῶν τράπηται:

22 καὶ φανηναι αὐτῷ δύο γυναῖκας προσείναι μεγάλας, τὴν μὲν ἔτεραν εὐπρεπὴ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἔλευθεριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι, τὰ δὲ ὀμματα αἴδοι, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνη, ἐσθήτη δὲ λευκῆ, τὴν δὲ ἔτεραν τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα, κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα, ὡστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθρότέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαινεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα, ὡστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὀμματα ἤχειν ἀναπεπταμένα, ἐσθήτα δὲ, ἐξ ἢς ἄν μάλιστα ὃρα διαλάμποι, κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμά ἐαυτῆς, ἔπισκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτῆς θεᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιάν ἀποβλέπειν. 'Ὡς δὲ ἐγένοντο πλησιάτερον τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, τὴν μὲν πρόςθεν ῥηθεῖσαν

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"And we have the testimony of Epicharmus too in the line:

'The gods demand of us toil as the price of all good things.'

"And elsewhere he says:

'Knave, yearn not for the soft things, lest thou earn the hard.'

"Aye, and Prodicus the wise expresses himself to the like effect concerning Virtue in the essay 'On Heracles' that he recites to throngs of listeners. This, so far as I remember, is how he puts it:

"When Heracles was passing from boyhood to youth's estate, wherein the young, now becoming their own masters, show whether they will approach life by the path of virtue or the path of vice, he went out into a quiet place, and sat pondering which road to take. And there appeared two women of great stature making towards him. The one was fair to see and of high bearing; and her limbs were adorned with purity, her eyes with modesty; sober was her figure, and her robe was white. The other was plump and soft, with high feeding. Her face was made up to heighten its natural white and pink, her figure to exaggerate her height. Open-eyed was she; and dressed so as to disclose all her charms. Now she eyed herself; anon looked whether any noticed her; and often stole a glance at her own shadow.

"When they drew nigh to Heracles, the first

1 καὶ ἐν ἀλλὰ ... ἔχεις is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.
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ίέναι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, τὴν δ’ ἐτέραν φθάσαι
βουλομένην προσδραμεῖν τῷ Ἡρακλεί καὶ εἰπεῖν’
Ορῶ σε, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ἀποροῦντα, ποιαν ὁδὸν
ἐπὶ τὸν βίου τράπη. ἔαιν οὖν ἐμὲ φίλην ποιησά-
μενος, ἐπὶ 1 τὴν ἡδίστην τε καὶ ῥάστην ὁδὸν ἀξω
σε καὶ τῶν μὲν τερπνῶν ὀυδένος ἀγευστὸς ἔση,
tῶν δὲ χαλεπῶν ἀπειρος διαβιώσῃ. πρῶτον μὲν
γὰρ οὐ πολέμων ὀυδὲ πραγμάτων φροντιέις, ἀλλὰ
σκοπούμενος δίεσῃ, 2 τί ἂν κεχαρισμένον ἢ σιτίον
ἡ ποτὸν εὔροις ἢ τί ἂν ἰδὼν ἢ τί ἄκουσας τερ-
φθείης ἢ τίνων ἂν ὁσφραινόμενος ἢ ἀπτόμενος
ἡσθείης, τίς δὲ παιδικοῖς ὁμιλῶν μάλιστ’ ἂν,
eὐφρανθείης, καὶ πῶς ἂν μαλακῶτατα καθεύδουν
καὶ πῶς ἂν ἀπονώτατα τούτων πάντων τυγχά-
νοις. ἔαιν δὲ ποτε γενηταί τις ὑποψία σπάνεως
ἀφ’ ὄν ἐσται ταῦτα, οὐ φόβος, μῆ σε ἀγάνω ἐπὶ
tὸ πονοῦντα καὶ ταλαιπωροῦντα τῷ σώματι καὶ
tῇ ψυχῇ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι, ἀλλ’ οἰς ἂν οἱ ἄλλοι
ἐργάζωνται, τούτοις σὺ χρῆσῃ, οὐδενὸς ἀπεχώ-
μενος οἴεν ἂν δυνατὸν ἢ τί κερδᾶναι. πανταχό-
θεν γὰρ ὠφελείσθαι τοῖς ἐμοὶ συνούσιν ἔξουσιαν
ἐγὼ παρέχω.

26 Καὶ ὥ Ἡρακλῆς ἄκουσας ταῦτα, ὾Ω γυναὶ, ἐφη,
ὄνομα δέ σοι τί ἔστιν; ἢ δέ, Οἱ μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλοι,
ἐφη, καλοῦσί με Εὐδαίμονίαν, οἱ δὲ μισοῦντές με
ὑποκοριζόμενοι ὕνομάξουσι Κακίαν.

27 Καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἢ ἐτέρα γυνὴ προσελθοῦσα εἶπε:
Καὶ ἐγὼ ἥκω πρὸς σέ, ὦ Ἡράκλεις, εἰδώλει τοὺς
γεννησάντας σε καὶ τὴν φύσιν τὴν σὴν ἐν τῇ
παιδεία καταμαθοῦσα. ἦξ ὄν ἐλπίζω, εἰ τὴν πρὸς
ἐμὲ ὁδὸν τράποιο, σφόδρ’ ἂν σε τῶν καλῶν καὶ
σεμνῶν ἐργάτην ἄγαθον γενέσθαι καὶ ἐμὲ ἔτι
pursued the even tenor of her way: but the other, all eager to outdo her, ran to meet him, crying: 'Heracles, I see that you are in doubt which path to take towards life. Make me your friend; follow me, and I will lead you along the pleasantest and easiest road. You shall taste all the sweets of life; and hardship you shall never know. First, of wars and worries you shall not think, but shall ever be considering what choice food or drink you can find, what sight or sound will delight you, what touch or perfume; what tender love can give you most joy, what bed the softest slumbers; and how to come by all these pleasures with least trouble. And should there arise misgiving that lack of means may stint your enjoyments, never fear that I may lead you into winning them by toil and anguish of body and soul. Nay; you shall have the fruits of others' toil, and refrain from nothing that can bring you gain. For to my companions I give authority to pluck advantage where they will.'

"Now when Heracles heard this, he asked, 'Lady, pray what is your name?'

"'My friends call me Happiness,' she said, 'but among those that hate me I am nicknamed Vice.'

"Meantime the other had drawn near, and she said: 'I, too, am come to you, Heracles: I know your parents and I have taken note of your character during the time of your education. Therefore I hope that, if you take the road that leads to me, you will turn out a right good doer of high and noble

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1 Sauppe reads ἐπὶ τὴν ἡδίστην with the MSS.; ἐπὶ was removed by Hirschig.
2 ἔση is wrong, but cannot be corrected with certainty.
XENOPHON

πολὺ ἐντιμοτέραν καὶ ἐπ’ ἀγαθοὶς διαπρεπεστέραν φανῆναι. οὐκ ἐξαπατήσω δὲ σε προσομίοις ἰδονής, ἀλλ’ ἦπερ όι θεοί διέθεσαν τὰ ὀντα διηγη- σομαι μετ’ ἀληθείας. τῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἀγαθόν καὶ καλὸν οὐδὲν ἀνευ πόνου καὶ ἐπιμελείας θεοὶ διδόσαι ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ’ εἰτε τοὺς θεοὺς ἰλεως εἶναι σοι βούλει, θεραπευτέον τοὺς θεοὺς, εἰτε ὑπὸ φίλων ἐθέλεις ἀγαπᾶσθαι, τοὺς φίλους ἐνεργητήτεον, εἰτε ὑπὸ τίνος πόλεως ἐπιθυμεῖς τιμᾶ- σθαι, τὴν πόλιν ὥφελτεόν, εἰτε ὑπὸ τής Ἕλλα- δος πάσης ἄξιοίς ἐπ’ ἀρετήθη θαυμάζεσθαι, τὴν Ἕλλαδα πειρατέον εὐ ποιεῖν, εἰτε γῆν βούλει σοι καρποὺς ἀφθόνους φέοειν, τὴν γῆν θεραπευτέον, εἰτε ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων οἷει δεῖν πλουτίζεσθαι, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμελητέον, εἰτε διὰ πολέμου ὄρμας αὐξᾶθαι καὶ βοῦλει δύνασθαι τοὺς τε φίλους ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς χειροῦθαι, τὰς πολεμικὰς τέχνας αὐτάς τε παρὰ τῶν ἐπιστα- μένων μαθητέον καὶ ὅπως αὐταῖς δεὶ χρῆσθαι ἀσκητέον: εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ σώματι βοῦλει δυνατός εἶναι, τῇ γνώμῃ ὑπηρετεῖν ἔθιστεον τὸ σῶμα καὶ γυμναστέον σὺν πόνοις καὶ ἱδρώτη.
MEMORABILIA, II. 1. 27–30

deads, and I shall be yet more highly honoured and
more illustrious for the blessings I bestow. But I
will not deceive you by a pleasant prelude: I will
rather tell you truly the things that are, as the gods
have ordained them. For of all things good and fair, 28
the gods give nothing to man without toil and effort.
If you want the favour of the gods, you must worship
the gods: if you desire the love of friends, you must
do good to your friends: if you covet honour from a
city, you must aid that city: if you are fain to win
the admiration of all Hellas for virtue, you must
strive to do good to Hellas: if you want land to
yield you fruits in abundance, you must cultivate
that land: if you are resolved to get wealth from
flocks, you must care for those flocks: if you essay
to grow great through war and want power to
liberate your friends and subdue your foes, you must
learn the arts of war from those who know them
and must practise their right use: and if you want
your body to be strong, you must accustom your
body to be the servant of your mind, and train it
with toil and sweat.'

"And Vice, as Prodicus tells, answered and said: 29
'Heracles, mark you how hard and long is that road
to joy, of which this woman tells? but I will lead
you by a short and easy road to happiness.'

"And Virtue said: 'What good thing is thine, 30
poor wretch, or what pleasant thing dost thou know,
if thou wilt do nought to win them? Thou dost
not even tarry for the desire of pleasant things, but
fillest thyself with all things before thou desirest
them, eating before thou art hungry, drinking before
μὲν ἥδεως φάγης, ὄψοποιούς μηχανωμένη, ὅπερ δὲ ἥδεως πίθης, οἵνοις τε πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζῃ καὶ τοῦ θέρους χίόνα περιθέουσα ζητείς, ὅπερ δὲ καθυπνώσης ἥδεως, οὐ μόνον τὰς στροφὰς μαλακᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλίναις παρασκευάζῃ. οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὸ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν ὃ, τι ποιῆς ὑπνοῦ ἔπιθυμεῖς. τὰ δ’ ἀφροδίσια πρὸ τοῦ δεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζεις, πάντα μηχανωμένη καὶ γυναιξὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσι χρωμενή. οὕτω γὰρ παίδευες τοὺς σεαυτῆς φίλους, τῆς μὲν νυκτὸς ὑβρίζουσα, τῆς δ’ ἡμέρας τὸ χρησμώτατον κατακομβίζουσα. ἀθάνατος δὲ οὐδα μὲν ἀπέρρησαι, ὅπερ δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἀγαθῶν ἀτιμάζῃ τοῦ δὲ πάντων ἡδίστου ἀκούσματος, ἐπαινοῦ ἐαυτῆς, ἀνήκοος εἰ καὶ τοῦ πάντων ἡδίστου θεάματος ἀθέατος: οὔτε γὰρ πῶς πετρεῖν σεαυτῆς ἔργον καλὸν τεθέασαι. τίς δ’ ἂν σοι λεγοῦσῃ τι πιστεύσει; τίς δ’ ἂν δειμένη τινὸς ἐπαρκέσει; ἡ τίς ἂν εὐ φρονοῦ τοῦ σοῦ θείας τολμήσειν εἴναι; οὗ νέοι μὲν ὄντες τοῖς σώμασιν ἀδύνατοι εἰσί, πρεσβύτεροι τε γενόμενοι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνόητοι, ἀπόνως μὲν λιπαροὶ διὰ νεότητος τρεφόμενοι, ἐπιπόνως δὲ αὐχμηροὶ διὰ γῆρως περῶντες, τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις αἰσχυνόμενοι, τοῖς δὲ πραττόμενοις βαρυνόμενοι, τὰ μὲν ἡδέα ἐν τῇ νεότητι διαδραμόντες, τὰ δὲ χαλεπὰ εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀποθέμενοι. ἐγὼ δὲ σύνειμι μὲν θεοῖς, σύνειμι δὲ ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔργον δὲ καλὸν οὔτε θείον οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον χωρίς ἐμοῦ γίγνεται. τιμῶμαι δὲ μάλιστα πάντων καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ παρ’ ἀνθρώποις οίς προσήκει, ἀγαπήτη μὲν συνεργὸς τεχνίταις, πιστὴ δὲ φύλαξ ἕκων δεσπόταις.
MEMORABILIA, II. i. 30–32

thou art thirsty, getting thee cooks, to give zest to eating, buying thee costly wines and running to and fro in search of snow in summer, to give zest to drinking; to soothe thy slumbers it is not enough for thee to buy soft coverlets, but thou must have frames for thy beds. For not toil, but the tedium of having nothing to do, makes thee long for sleep. Thou dost rouse lust by many a trick, when there is no need, using men as women: thus thou trainest thy friends, waxing wanton by night, consuming in sleep the best hours of day. Immortal art thou, yet the outcast of the gods, the scorn of good men. Praise, sweetest of all things to hear, thou hearest not: the sweetest of all sights thou beholdest not, for never yet hast thou beheld a good work wrought by thyself. Who will believe what thou dost say? who will grant what thou dost ask? Or what sane man will dare join thy throng? While thy votaries are young their bodies are weak, when they wax old, their souls are without sense; idle and sleek they thrive in youth, withered and weary they journey through old age, and their past deeds bring them shame, their present deeds distress. Pleasure they ran through in their youth: hardship they laid up for their old age. But I company with gods and good men, and no fair deed of god or man is done without my aid. I am first in honour among the gods and among men that are akin to me: to craftsmen a beloved fellow-worker, to masters a faithful

1 Sauppe read kal tās klίnas kal with the MSS.
εὔμενης δὲ παραστάτις οἰκέταις, ἀγαθὴ δὲ συλ-
λήπτρια τῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόνων, βεβαία δὲ τῶν ἐν
πολέμῳ σύμμαχος ἔργων, ἀρίστη δὲ φιλίας κοι-
νωνός. ἔστι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἐμοῖς φίλοις ἥδεια μὲν
καὶ ἀπράγμων σιτῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀπόλαυσις. ἀνέ-
χονται γάρ, ἔως ἂν ἐπιθυμήσωσιν αὐτῶν. ὑπνὸς
δ’ αὐτοῖς πάρεστιν ἥδιον ᾧ τοῖς ἀμόχοις καὶ
οὕτε ἀπολείποντες αὐτὸν ἀχθοῦται οὕτε διὰ τοῦ-
τον μεθίασι τὰ δέοντα πράττειν. καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι
τοῖς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἐπαίνως χαίρονσιν, οἱ δὲ
γεραιτέροι ταῖς τῶν νέων τιμαῖς ἀγάλλονται καὶ
ἡδέως μὲν τῶν παλαιῶν πράξεων μέμνηται, εὖ
δὲ τὰς παρούσας ἥδουται πράττοντες, δι’ ἐμὲ
φίλοι μὲν θεοῖς οὕτε, ἀγαπητοῖ δὲ φίλοις, τίμιοι
dὲ πατρίσιν. ὅταν δὴ ἔλθῃ τὸ πεπρωμένον τέλος,
oὐ μετὰ λήθης ἄτιμοι κεῖνται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ μνήμης
τὸν ἄει χρόνον ἐμνούμενοι θάλλουσι. τοιαύτα
σοι, ὡ παῖ τοκέων ἀγαθῶν Ἦρακλεις, ἔξεστι δια-
pονησαμένῳ τὴν μακαριστοτάτην εὐδαιμονίαν
κεκτήσθαι.

Οὗτοι πως διώκεις Πρόδικος τὴν ὑπ’ Ἀρετῆς
Ἦρακλέους παιδευσάιν, ἐκόσμησε μέντοι τὰς
γνώμας ἐτὶ μεγαλειστέρους ῥήμασιν ἡ ἐγὼ νῦν.
σοι δ’ οὖν ἄξιον, ὁ Ἀρίστιππε, τούτων ἐνθυμου-
μένων πειρᾶσθαι τι καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν μέλλοντα
χρόνον τοῦ βίου φροντίζειν.

Π. Αἰσθάνειν ὅμοιος δὲ ποτὲ Λαμπροκλέα, τὸν πρεσ-
βυτατὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ, πρὸς τὴν μυτέρα χαλεπαί-
νοντα, Εἰπὲ μοι, ἐφη, ὡ παῖ, οἴσθα τινας ἄνθρω-
pους ἀχαρίστους καλουμένους;

Καὶ μάλα, ἐφη ὁ νεανίσκος.
MEMORABILIA, II. i. 32–II. i

guardian of the house, to servants a kindly protector: good helpmate in the toils of peace, staunch ally in the deeds of war, best partner in friendship. To my friends meat and drink bring sweet and simple enjoyment: for they wait till they crave them. And a sweeter sleep falls on them than on idle folk: they are not vexed at awaking from it, nor for its sake do they neglect to do their duties. The young rejoice to win the praise of the old; the elders are glad to be honoured by the young; with joy they recall their deeds past, and their present well-doing is joy to them, for through me they are dear to the gods, lovely to friends, precious to their native land. And when comes the appointed end, they lie not forgotten and dishonoured, but live on, sung and remembered for all time. O Heracles, thou son of goodly parents, if thou wilt labour earnestly on this wise, thou mayest have for thine own the most blessed happiness.'

"Such, in outline, is Prodicus' story of the training of Heracles by Virtue; only he has clothed the thoughts in even finer phrases than I have done now. But anyhow, Aristippus, it were well that you should think on these things and try to show some regard for the life that lies before you."

II. On noticing that his eldest son, Lamprocles, was out of humour with his mother, he said: "Tell me, my boy, do you know that some men are called ungrateful?"

"Indeed I do," replied the young man.
Καταμεμάθηκας οὖν, τοὺς τί ποιοῦντας τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο ἀποκαλοῦσιν;
"Εγὼν, ἔφη, τοὺς γὰρ εὗ παθόντας, ὅταν δυνάμενοι χάριν ἀποδοῦναι μὴ ἀποδόσιν, ἀχαρίστους καλοῦσιν.
Οὐκόιν δοκοῦσί σοι ἐν τοῖς ἄδικοις καταλογίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀχαρίστους;
"Ἐμοίγε, ἔφη.
2 Ἡδη δὲ ποτ' ἐσκέψω, εἰ ἀρα ὡσπερ τὸ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι τοὺς μὲν φίλους ἄδικον εἶναι δοκεῖ, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους δίκαιον, καὶ τὸ ἀχαριστεῖν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς φίλους ἄδικον ἔστι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους δίκαιον;
Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη· καὶ δοκεῖ μοι, ὦφ' οὖ ἂν τις εὗ παθὼν εἴτε φίλου εἴτε πολεμίου μὴ πειράται χάριν ἀποδίδοναι, ἄδικος εἶναι.
3 Οὐκόιν εἰ γ' οὕτως ἔχει τούτο, εἰλικρινῆς τις ἂν εἰη ἄδικία ἡ ἀχαριστία; συνωμολογεῖ.
Οὐκόιν ὁσοὶ ἂν τις μείζω ἀγαθὰ παθὼν μὴ ἀποδιδῷ χάριν, τοσοῦτῳ ἄδικωτερος ἂν εἴη; συνέφη καὶ τούτο.
Τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, ὅπο τίνων εὑρομεν ἂν μείζω εὐεργετημένους ἢ παίδας ὑπὸ γονέων; οὐς οἱ γονεῖς ἐκ μὲν οὐκ ὄντων ἔποιήσαν εἶναι, τοσαῦτα δὲ καλὰ ἱδεῖν καὶ τοσοῦτων ἀγαθῶν μετασχεῖν, ὅσα οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. ἢ δὴ καὶ οὕτως ἡμῖν δοκεῖ παντὸς ἄξια εἶναι, ὡστε πάντες τὸ καταλιπεῖν αὐτὰ πάντων μάλιστα φεύγομεν· καὶ αἱ πόλεις ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἄδικήμασι ζημίαν θάνατον πεποιήκασιν, ὡς οὖκ ἂν μείζονος κακοῦ 4 φόβῳ τὴν ἄδικιαν παύσαντες. καὶ μὴν οὐ τῶν γε ἄνθρωποι ἐνεκα παιδοποιεῖσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώποις.
"Do you realise how they come to have this bad name?"

"I do; the word is used of those who do not show the gratitude that it is in their power to show for benefits received."

"You take it, then, that the ungrateful are reckoned among the unjust?"

"Yes."

"Now, seeing that enslavement is considered a just or an unjust act according as the victims are friends or enemies, have you ever considered whether the case of ingratitude is analogous, ingratitude being unjust towards friends, but just towards enemies?"

"Indeed I have; and I think that it is always unjust not to show gratitude for a favour from whomsoever it is received, be he friend or enemy."

"If that is so, must not ingratitude be injustice pure and simple?"

He assented.

"Therefore the greater the benefits received the greater the injustice of not showing gratitude?"

He agreed again.

"Now what deeper obligation can we find than that of children to their parents? To their parents children owe their being and their portion of all fair sights and all blessings that the gods bestow on men —gifts so highly prized by us that all will sacrifice anything rather than lose them; and the reason why governments have made death the penalty for the greatest crimes is that the fear of it is the strongest deterrent against crime. Of course you don't suppose that lust provokes men to beget
ποὺς ὑπολαμβάνεις, ἐπεὶ τούτου γε τῶν ἀπολυ-
σόντων μεσταὶ μὲν αἱ ὀδοὶ, μεστὰ δὲ τὰ ὁικήματα.
φανερὸν δ’ ἐσμὲν καὶ σκοποῦμενοι, ἢξ ὀπόιων ἄν
γυναικῶν βέλτιστα ἦμῖν τέκνα γένουτο, ἀλὸς συνελ-
5 θόντες τεκνοποιούμεθα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γε ἄνὴρ τῇ
τε συντεκνοποιήσουσαν ἕαυτῷ τρέφει καὶ τοῖς
μέλλουσιν ἐσεσθαι παισὶ προπαρασκευάζει πάντα,
ὅσα ἂν σύνηται συνοίσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν βίον, καὶ
ταῦτα ὡς ἃν δύνηται πλείστα· ἢ δὲ γυνὴ ὑποδε-
ξαμένη τῇ φέρει τὸ φορτίον τοῦτο βαρυνωμένη τῇ
καὶ κινδυνεύουσα περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ μεταδιούσα
τῆς τροφῆς, ἢ καὶ αὐτῇ τρέφεται, καὶ σὺν πολλῷ
πόνῳ διενεγκούσα καὶ τεκοῦσα τρέφει τε καὶ ἐπί-
μελεῖται, οὔτε προπεποιθοῦσα οὐδὲν ἄγαθον οὐτὲ
γυνώσκον τὸ βρέφος, υφ’ ὦτου εὖ πάσχει οὐδὲ
σημαίνειν δυνάμενον, ὦτον δεῖται, ἀλλ’ αὐτῇ
στοχαζομένη τὰ τε συμφέροντα καὶ τὰ κεχαρι-
σμένα πειρᾶται ἐκπληροῦν καὶ τρέφει πολὺν
χρόνον καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ὑπομένουσα πο-
νεῖν, οὔκ εἰδυῖα, τίνα τούτων χάρων ἀπολύψεται.
6 καὶ οὔκ ἄρκει θρέψαι μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὰ
δόξωσιν ἰκανοὶ εἰναι οἱ παῖδες μανθάνειν τι, ἃ
μὲν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἔχωσιν οἱ γονεῖς ἀγαθὰ πρὸς
τὸν βίον διδάσκουσιν, ἢ δ’ ἂν οἴωνται ἄλλον
ἰκανότερον εἶναι διδάξαι, πέμπουσι πρὸς τοῦτον
δαπανῶντες καὶ ἐπιμελοῦνται πάντα ποιοῦντες,
ὅπως οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῖς γένωται ὃς δυνατὸν
βέλτιστοι.
7 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ νεανίσκος εἰπεν· Ἀλλὰ τοι εἶ καὶ
πάντα ταῦτα πεποίηκε καὶ ἄλλα τοῦτων πολλα-
πλάσια, οὔδεις ἂν δύνατο αὐτῆς ἀνασχέσθαι τῇ
χαλεπότητα.
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MEMORABILIA, II. ii. 4-7

children, when the streets and the stews are full of means to satisfy that? We obviously select for wives the women who will bear us the best children, and then marry them to raise a family. The man supports the woman who is to share with him the duty of parentage and provides for the expected children whatever he thinks will contribute to their benefit in life, and accumulates as much of it as he can. The woman conceives and bears her burden in travail, risking her life, and giving of her own food; and, with much labour, having endured to the end and brought forth her child, she rears and cares for it, although she has not received any good thing, and the babe neither recognises its benefactress nor can make its wants known to her: still she guesses what is good for it and what it likes, and seeks to supply these things, and rears it for a long season, enduring toil day and night, nothing knowing what return she will get.

"Nor are the parents content just to supply food, but so soon as their children seem capable of learning they teach them what they can for their good, and if they think that another is more competent to teach them anything, they send them to him at a cost, and strive their utmost that the children may turn out as well as possible."

To this the young man replied: "Nay, but even if she has done all this and far more than this, no one could put up with her vile temper."
Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πότερα δὲ, ἐφη, οἴει θηρίου ἀγριότητα δυσφορωτέραν εἶναι ἢ μητρός;
'Εγὼ μὲν οἶμαι, ἐφη, μητρὸς τῆς γε τοιαύτης.
'Ηδη πώποτε οὖν ἢ δακοῦσα κακόν τί σοι ἐδω-κεν ἢ λακτίσασα, οία ὑπὸ θηρίων ἤδη πολλοὶ ἐπαθοῦν;
8 Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί', ἐφη, λέγει ἄ οὐκ ἄν τις ἐπὶ τῷ βίῳ παντὶ βοῦλοιτο ἀκοῦσαι.
Σὺ δὲ πόσα, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οἴει ταύτη [δυσάνεκτα] καὶ τῇ φωνῇ καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἐκ παιδίου δυσκολαίνων καὶ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς πράγματα παρασχεῖν, πόσα δὲ λυπῆσαι κάμνων;
'Αλλ' οὐδεπῶποτε αὐτὴν, ἐφη, οὔτ' εἰπα οὔτ' ἐποίησα οὐδέν, ἐφ' ὃ θυσίνθη.
9 Τι δὲ; οἴει, ἐφη, χαλεπώτερον εἶναι σοι ἀκοῦειν ὥν αὐτὴ λέγει ἃ τοῖς ὑποκριταῖς, ὅταν ἐν ταῖς τραγῳδίαις ἀλλήλους τὰ ἐσχατα λέγοσιν;
'Αλλ', οἴμαι, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ οἴονται τῶν λεγόντων οὔτε τὸν ἐλέγχοντα ἐλέγχειν, ἵνα ξημιώση, οὔτε τὸν ἀπειλοῦντα ἀπειλεῖν, ἵνα κακὸν τι ποιήσῃ, ῥαδίως φέρουσι.
Σὺ δ' εὖ εἰδῶς, ὅτι ἀ λέγει σοι ἡ μήτηρ, οὐ μόνον οὐδέν κακὸν νοσῆσα λέγει, ἀλλὰ καὶ βουλομένη σοι ἀγαθὰ εἶναι ὡσα οὔδεν ἄλλῳ, χαλεπαίνεις; ἡ νομίζεις κακόνου τὴν μητέρα σοι εἶναι;
Οὐ δῆτα, ἐφη, τούτῳ γε οὐκ οἴμαι.
10 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, σὺ ταύτῃ, εὖνουν τέ σοι οὖσαν καὶ ἐπιμελομένην ὡς μάλιστα δύναται κάμνοντος, ὅπως ὑγιανεΐς τε καὶ ὅπως τῶν ἐπιτηδείων μηδένος ἐνδείξῃ ἐσῃ, καὶ πρὸς τοῦ-τοις πολλὰ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχομένην ἀγαθὰ υπὲρ σοῦ
“Which, think you,” asked Socrates, “is the harder to bear, a wild beast’s brutality or a mother’s?”

“I should say a mother’s, when she is like mine.”

“Well now, many people get bitten or kicked by wild beasts; has she ever done you an injury of that sort?”

“Oh no, but she says things one wouldn’t listen to for anything in the world.”

“Well, how much trouble do you think you have given her by your peevish words and froward acts day and night since you were a little child; and how much pain when you were ill?”

“But I have never yet said or done anything to cause her shame.”

“Now do you really think it harder for you to listen to what she says than for actors when they abuse one another in a tragedy?”

“But an actor, I suppose, doesn’t think that a question put to him will lead to punishment, or that a threat means any harm: and so he makes light of it.”

“And why should you be annoyed? You know well that there is no malice in what your mother says to you; on the contrary, she wishes you to be blessed above all other beings—unless, indeed, you suppose that your mother is maliciously set against you?”

“Oh no, I don’t think that.”

Then Socrates exclaimed: “So this mother of yours is kindly disposed towards you; she nurses you devotedly in sickness and sees that you want for nothing; more than that, she prays the gods to
καὶ εὐχὰς ἀποδιδοῦσαν, χαλεπὴν εἶναι φῆς; ἐγὼ μὲν οίμαι, εἴ τοιαύτην μὴ δύνασαι φέρειν μητέρα,
11 τάγαθά σε οὐ δύνασθαι φέρειν. εἴπε δὲ μοι, ἐφη, πότερον ἄλλον τινὰ οἴει δεῖν θεραπεύειν; ἥ παρε-
σκεύασαι μηδενὶ ἀνθρώπων πειράσθαι ἄρεσκειν μηδὲ πείθεσθαι μήτε στρατηγῷ μήτε ἄλλῳ ἀρχοντὶ;
Ναὶ μὰ Δί’ ἔγωγε, ἐφη.
12 ὅποιον, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τῷ γείτονι θεῖει οὐ ἄρεσκειν, ἵνα σοι καὶ πῦρ ἐναύῃ, ὅταν τούτον
dέῃ, καὶ ἄγαθον τέ σοι γένοντας συλλήπτωρ καὶ, ἀν τι σφαλλόμενος τύχης, εὐνοϊκῶς ἐγγύθεν
βοηθῇ σοι;
"Εγώγε, ἐφη.
Τί δέ; συνοδοῖον ὅ ἁμιπλουν ἢ εἰ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἐντυγχάνοις, οὐδὲν ἀν σοι διαφέροι φίλου ἢ ἐχθρόν
gενέσθαι ἢ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦτον εὐνοίας οἴει δεῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι;
"Εγώγε, ἐφη.
13 Ἐίτα τούτων μὲν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι παρεσκεύασαι, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τὴν πάντων μάλιστα σε φιλοῦσαν
οὐκ οἴει δεῖν θεραπεύειν; οὐκ οἶσθι, ὅτι καὶ ἡ
πόλις ἀλλῆς μὲν ἄχαριστὰς οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπιμελεῖ-
tαι οὐδὲ δικάζει, ἀλλὰ περιορὰ τοὺς εὐ πεπον-
θότας χάριν οὐκ ἀποδιδόντας, ἐὰν δὲ τις γονέας
μὴ θεραπεύῃ, τοῦτω δίκην τε ἐπιτίθησι καὶ
ἀποδοκιμάζουσα οὐκ ἐὰν ἀρχεῖν τοῦτον, ὡς οὔτε
ἀν τὰ ἱερὰ εὐσεβῶς θυόμενα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως
tοῦτον θύοντος αὐτὲ ἄλλο καλὸς καὶ δικαιώς
οὐδὲν ἀν τοῦτον πράξαντος; καὶ όνο Δία ἐὰν τῶν
tῶν γονέων τελευτησάντων τοὺς τάφους μὴ κοσμή,
καὶ τούτο ἔξετάζει ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἀρχόντων
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bless you abundantly and pays vows on your behalf; and yet you say she is a trial! It seems to me that, if you can't endure a mother like her, you can't endure a good thing. Now tell me, is there any other being whom you feel bound to regard? Or are you set on trying to please nobody, and obeying neither general nor other ruler?"

"Of course not!"

"Do you want to please your neighbour, for instance, so that he may kindle a fire for you at your need, may support you in prosperity, and in case of accident or failure may be ready to hold out a helping hand?"

"Yes, I do."

"When you find yourself with a travelling companion on land or at sea, or happen to meet anyone, is it a matter of indifference to you whether he prove a friend or an enemy? Or do you think his goodwill worth cultivating?"

"Yes, I do."

"And yet, when you are resolved to cultivate these, you don't think courtesy is due to your mother, who loves you more than all? Don't you know that even the state ignores all other forms of ingratitude and pronounces no judgment on them, caring nothing if the recipient of a favour neglects to thank his benefactor, but inflicts penalties on the man who is discourteous to his parents and rejects him as unworthy of office, holding that it would be a sin for him to offer sacrifices on behalf of the state and that he is unlikely to do anything else honourably and rightly? Aye, and if one fail to honour his parents' graves, the state inquires into that too, when

"Cyropaedia, i. ii. 7."
XENOPHON

14 δοκιμασίαις. σὺ οὖν, ὦ παῖ, ἐὰν σωφρονῆς, τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς παραιτήσῃ συγγνώμονάς σοι εἶναι, εἰ τι παρημέληκας τῆς μητρός, μή σε καὶ οὕτω νομίσαις ἄχαριστον εἶναι οὐκ ἔθελής σοι εὕοιεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους φυλάξῃ, μή σε αἰσθόμενοι τῶν γονέων ἀμελοῦντα πάντες ἀτιμᾶσσοι, εἶτα ἐν ἔρημίᾳ φίλων ἀναφαυνῆς. εἰ γὰρ σε ὑπολύβοιεν πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς ἄχαριστον εἶναι, οὔδείς ἂν νομίσεις εὗ σε ποιήσας χάριν ἀποληψεσθαι.

III. Χαίρεξαίτα ἰ ἰ ποτε καὶ Χαίρεκράτην, ἀδελφῷ μὲν ὄντε ἀλληλοι, ἑαυτῷ δὲ γνωρίμω, αἰσθόμενος διαφερομένω, ἠδών τὸν Χαίρεκράτην, Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Χαίρεκρατες, οὐ δῆποι καὶ σὺ εἰ τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων, οἱ χρησιμότερον νομίζουσι χρῆματα ἡ ἀδελφοὺς; καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἀφρόνων όντων, τοῦ δὲ φρονίμου, καὶ τῶν μὲν βοηθείας δεομένων, τοῦ δὲ βοηθεῖν δυναμένου, καὶ πρὸς τούτων τῶν μὲν πλείονων ὑπαρχόντων, τοῦ δὲ ἐνόσ. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ τις τοὺς μὲν ἀδελφοὺς ἰχμίαιν ἠγείτα, ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κέκτηται, τοὺς δὲ πολίτας οὐχ ἠγείται ἰχμίαν, ὅτι οὐ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν δύνανται λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι κρείττον σὺν πολλοῖς οἰκούντα ἀσφαλῶς τάρκοϋντα ἔχειν ἢ μόνου διατόμενον τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπικινδύνως πάντα κέκτησθαι, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦσι. καὶ οἰκέτας μὲν οἱ δυνάμενοι ὁμοῦνται, ἵνα συνεργοῖς ἔχωσι, καὶ φίλους κτῶνται ὡς βοηθῶν δεομένοι, τῶν δ' ἀδελφῶν ἀμελούσιν, ὃσπερ ἐκ πολιτῶν μὲν γνωμοκόους φίλους,
it examines the candidates for office. Therefore, my boy, if you are prudent, you will pray the gods to pardon your neglect of your mother, lest they in turn refuse to be kind to you, thinking you an ingrate; and you will beware of men, lest all cast you out, perceiving that you care nothing for your parents, and in the end you are found to be without a friend. For, should men suppose you to be ungrateful to your parents, none would think you would be grateful for any kindness he might show you."

III. On another occasion he found that two brothers, Chaerophon and Chaerecrates, whom he knew well, were quarrelling. On seeing the latter, he cried, "Surely, Chaerecrates, you are not one of those who hold that there is more value in goods and chattels than in a brother, when they are senseless but he is sensible; they are helpless but he is helpful; when, moreover, you have many goods, but only one brother. It is strange too that a man should think he loses by his brothers because he cannot have their possessions as well as his own, and yet should not think that he loses by his fellow-citizens because their possessions are not his; and whereas in this case men can reflect that it is better to belong to a community, secure in the possession of a sufficiency, than to dwell in solitude with a precarious hold on all the property of their fellow-citizens, they fail to see that the same principle applies to brothers. Again, those who have the means buy servants to relieve them of work, and make friends because they feel the need of help; but they care nothing for their brothers, as though friendship can exist between fellow-citizens, but not
4 ἐξ ἀδελφῶν δὲ οὗ γυνομένους. καὶ μὴν πρὸς φιλίαιν μέγα μὲν ὑπάρχει τὸ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν φύναι, μέγα δὲ τὸ ὁμοῦ τραφῆναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις πόθος τις ἐγχύνεται τῶν συντρόφων πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀνθρωποὶ τιμῶσι τε μᾶλλον τός συναδελφοὺς οὕτως τῶν ἀναδελφῶν καὶ ἤττον τούτοις ἐπιτίθενται.

5 Καὶ ὁ Χαιρεκράτης ἐπεξήγαγεν Ἀλλ' εἰ μέν, ὁ Σώκρατες, μὴ μέγα εἰὴ τὸ διάφορον, ἵσως ἂν δέοι φέρειν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ μὴ μικρὸν ἕνεκα φεύγειν ἀγαθὸν γάρ, ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ λέγεις, ἀδελφὸς ὄν οἶον δεῖ· ὅποτε μέντοι παντὸς ἐνδείκτω καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντιώτατον εἰῆ, τί ἂν τις ἐπιχειροῦ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις.

6 Καὶ ὁ Σώκρατης ἐφη Πότερα δέ, ὁ Χαίρεκρατες, οὐδενί ἀρέσαι δύναται Χαιρεκράτην, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ σοί, ἢ ἔστιν οίς καὶ πάνω ἀρέσκει; 

Διὰ τούτου γάρ τοι, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἀξίόν ἔστιν ἐμοὶ μισεῖν αὐτὸν, ὅτι ἄλλοι μὲν ἀρέσκειν δύναται, ἐμοὶ δὲ ὅποιον ἂν παρῇ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ ζημία μᾶλλον ἢ ὀφελεία ἔστιν.

7 Ἀρ' οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὥσπερ ἰππος τῷ ἀνεπιστῆμον μὲν, ἐγχειροῦτι δὲ χρήσθαι ζημία ἔστιν, οὕτω καὶ ἀδελφός, ὅταν τις αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος ἐγχειρῇ χρῆσθαι, ζημία ἔστι; 

8 Πῶς δ' ἂν ἐγώ, ἐφη ὁ Χαιρεκράτης, ἀνεπιστήμων εἴην ἀδελφῷ χρῆσθαι, ἐπιστάμενος γε καὶ εὗ λέγειν τὸν εὗ λέγοντα καὶ εὗ ποιεῖν τὸν εὗ ποιοῦντα; τὸν μέντοι καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἐργῷ πειρώμενον ἐμὲ ἀνιᾶν οὖκ ἂν δυναίμην οὐτ' εὗ λέγειν οὔτ' εὗ ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πειράζομαι.
between brothers! Yet common parentage and common upbringing are strong ties of affection,\(^1\) for even brute beasts reared together feel a natural yearning for one another. Besides, our fellow-men respect those of us who have brothers more than those who have none, and are less ready to quarrel with them.'’

"If only the difference between us were a slight one, Socrates," replied Chaerecrates, "it might perhaps be my duty to put up with my brother and not allow trifles to separate us. For a brother who behaves like a brother is, as you say, a blessing; but if his conduct is nothing like that, and is, in fact, just the opposite of what it should be, what is the use of attempting impossibilities?"

"Does everyone find Chaerophon as disagreeable as you do, Chaerecrates, or do some people think him very pleasant?"

"Ah, Socrates," replied he, "this is precisely my reason for hating him: he is pleasant enough to other people, but whenever he is near me, he invariably says and does more to hurt than to help me."

"Well now," said Socrates, "if you try to manage a horse without knowing the right way, he hurts you. Is it so with a brother? Does he hurt if you try to deal with him when you don’t know the way?"

"What," exclaimed Chaerecrates, "don’t I know how to deal with a brother, when I know how to requite a kind word and a generous deed? But I can’t speak or act kindly to one who tries to annoy me by his words and actions—and what’s more, I won’t try."

\(^1\) Cyropaedia, ii. i. 28.
9 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη: Θαυμαστά γε λέγεις, ὦ Χαιρέκρατε, εἰ κύνα μὲν, εἰ σοι ἂν ἐπὶ προβάτωις ἐπιτήδειος ὤν καὶ τοὺς μὲν ποιμένας ἠσπάζετο, σοι δὲ προσιόντι ἐχαλέπαινεν, ἀμελήσας ἀν τοῦ ὀργίζεσθαι ἐπειρῶ εὗ ποιήσας πραύνειν αὐτὸν, τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν φής μὲν μέγα ἀν ἀγάθον εἶναι ὁντα πρὸς σὲ οἴον δεῖ, ἐπίστασθαι δὲ ὀμολογῶν καὶ εὗ ποιεῖν καὶ εὗ λέγειν οὐκ ἐπιχειρεῖς μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως σοι ὡς βέλτιστος ἦ.

10 Καὶ ὁ Χαιρέκρατης, Δέδωκα, ἔφη, ὦ Σωκράτες, μὴ σοὶ ἐχὼ ἐγὼ τοσαύτην σοφίαν, ὥστε Χαιρέκρατης ποιῆσαι πρὸς ἐμὲ οἴον δεῖ.

Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲν γε ποικίλον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲ καίνον δεὶ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, μηχανᾶσθαι, οἷς δὲ καὶ σὺ ἐπίστασαι αὐτὸς οἴομαι ἀν αὐτὸν ἠλόντα περὶ πολλοῦ ποιεῖσθαι σε.

11 Οὐκ ἂν φθάνοις, ἔφη, λέγων, εἰ τι ᾣθησαί με φίλτρον ἐπιστάμενον, ὦ ἐγὼ εἶδὼς λέληθα ἐμαυτόν.

Δέγε δὴ μοι, ἔφη, εἰ τινα τῶν γυνωρίμων βοῦλοιο κατεργάσασθαι, ὅποτε θύοι, καλεῖν σε ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, τί ἂν ποιοῖς;

Δήλον ὦτι κατάρχοιμι ἂν τοῦ αὐτῶς, ὅτε θύωιμι, καλεῖν ἐκεῖνον.

12 Εἰ δὲ βοῦλοιο τῶν φίλων τινα προτρέψασθαι, ὅποτε ἀποδημοῖς, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν σῶν, τί ἂν ποιοῖς;

Δήλον ὦτι πρότερος ἂν ἐγχειροῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖνου, ὅποτε ἀποδημοῖ.

13 Εἰ δὲ βοῦλοιο ξένον ποιῆσαι ὑποδέχεσθαι σεαυτόν, ὅποτε ἐλθοῖς εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου, τί ἂν ποιοῖς;

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"Chaerecrates, you astonish me! Had you a sheep dog that was friendly to the shepherds, but growled when you came near him, it would never occur to you to get angry, but you would try to tame him by kindness. You say that, if your brother treated you like a brother, he would be a great blessing, and you confess that you know how to speak and act kindly: yet you don’t set yourself to contriving that he shall be the greatest possible blessing to you."

"I fear, Socrates, that I lack the wisdom to make Chaerophon treat me as he should."

"And yet," said Socrates, "there is no need, so far as I see, of any subtle or strange contriving on your part: I think you know the way to win him and to get his good opinion."

"If you have observed that I know some spell without being conscious of my knowledge, pray tell me at once."

"Then tell me, now; if you wanted to get an invitation to dine with an acquaintance when he offers sacrifice, what would you do?"

"Of course I should begin by inviting him myself when I offered sacrifice."

"And suppose you wanted to encourage one of your friends to look after your affairs during your absence from home, what would you do?"

"Of course I should first undertake to look after his affairs in his absence."

"And suppose you wanted a stranger to entertain you when you visited his city, what would you do?"
Δήλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτον πρότερος ὑποδεχοίμην ἂν, ὅποτε ἔλθοι Ἀθήναιε καὶ εἴ γε βουλοίμην αὐτὸν προθυμεῖσθαι διαπράττειν μοι ἑφ᾽ ἃ ἦκομι, δήλον ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο δέοι ἂν πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνω ποιεῖν.

14 Πάντ᾽ ἀρα σύγε τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώπωσ φίλτρα ἐπιστάμενος πάλαι ἀπεκρύπτου· ἢ ὄκνεις, ἑφη, ἀρξαί, μὴ αἰσχρὸς φαίνῃς, εἰάν πρότερος τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὑροίς; καὶ μὴν πλείστουν γε δοκεῖ ἀνήρ ἐπαίνου ἄξιος εἶναι, ὡς ἄν φθάνῃ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους κακῶς ποιῶν, τοὺς δὲ φίλους ἐυεργετῶν. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἔδοκει μοι Χαιρεφῶν ἤγεμονικότερος εἶναι σοῦ πρὸς τὴν φιλίαν ταύτην, ἐκείνων ἄν ἐπειρώμην πείθειν πρότερον ἐγχειρεῖν τῷ σὲ φίλον ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ μοι σὺ δοκεῖς ἤγοφυμενος μᾶλλον ἄν ἐξεργάζεσθαι τοῦτο.

15 Καὶ ο Χαιρεκράτης εἶπεν· Ἡ Ἀτοπα λέγεις, ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ οὐδαμῶς πρὸς σοῦ, ὡς γε κελεύεις ἐμὲ νεώτερον ὁντα καθηγεῖσθαι· καίτοι τοῦτον γε παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τάναντια νομίζεται, τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἤγεισθαι παντὸς καὶ ἔργον καὶ λόγου.

16 Πῶς; ἑφη ο Σωκράτης· οὐ γὰρ καὶ ὀδοὺ παραχωρήσαι τὸν νεώτερον πρεσβύτερῳ συντυχάνοντι πανταχοῦ νομίζεται καὶ καθήμενοι υπαναστήναι καὶ κοίτῃ μαλακῷ τιμῆσαι καὶ λόγων ύπείξαι; ὥγαθε, μὴ ὄκνει, ἑφη, ἄλλῃ ἐγχείρει τὸν ἄνδρα καταπράψειν καὶ πάνυ ταχὺ σοι ύπακούσεται· οὐχ ὄρας, ἡς φιλότιμος ἐστί καὶ ἐλευθέριος; τὰ μὲν γὰρ πονηρὰ ἀνθρώπια οὐκ ἄν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἐλοίς ἢ ἐδοιής τι, τοὺς δὲ καλοὺς καγαθοὺς ἀνθρώπους προσφιλῶς χρώμενος μάλιστ' ἄν κατεργάσαιο.
“Obviously I should first entertain him when he came to Athens. Yes, and if I wanted him to show himself eager in forwarding the business on which I had come, it is obvious that I should first have to do the same by him.”

“It seems that you have long concealed a knowledge of all spells that were ever discovered. Or is it that you hesitate to make a beginning, for fear of disgracing yourself by first showing kindness to your brother? Yet it is generally thought worthy of the highest praise to anticipate the malevolence of an enemy and the benevolence of a friend. So if I thought Chaerophon more capable than you of showing the way to this friendship, I would try to persuade him to take the first step towards an understanding with you. But as things are, I think the enterprise more likely to succeed under your direction.”

“Strange sentiments, these, Socrates! It’s quite unlike you to urge me, the junior, to lead the way! And surely all hold the contrary opinion, that the senior, I mean, should always act and speak first?”

“How so?” said Socrates. “Is it not the general opinion that a young man should make way for an older when they meet, offer his seat to him, give him a comfortable bed, let him have the first word? My good friend, don’t hesitate, but take up the task of pacifying your man, and in no time he will respond to your overtures. Don’t you see how keen and frank he is? Low fellows, it is true, yield most readily to gifts, but kindness is the weapon most likely to prevail with a gentleman.”

1 Cyropaedia, viii. vii, 10.
17 Καὶ ὁ Χαίρεκράτης εἶπεν: 'Ἐὰν οὖν ἐμοῦ ταῦτα ποιοῦντος ἐκεῖνος μηδὲν βελτίων γίγνηται;
Τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἢ κινδυνεύσεις ἐπιδείξαι σὺ μὲν χρήστος τε καὶ φιλάδελφος εἶναι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ φαύλος τε καὶ οὐκ ἄξιος εὐεργεσίας;
ἀλλὰ οὐδὲν οἴμαι τούτων ἐσεσθαι: νομίζω γὰρ αὐτὸν, ἐπειδὰν αἰσθητὰι σε προκαλούμενον ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸν ἀγώνα τούτου, πάνυ φιλονεικήσειν, ὅπως περιγένηται σου καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ εὐ ποιῶν.
18 νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὕτως, ἐφη, διάκεισθον, ὡσπερ εἰ τῷ χείρε, ἃς ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τῷ συλλαμβάνειν ἀλλήλαις ἐποίησεν, ἀφεμένω τούτου τράποιντο πρῶς τὸ διακωλύειν ἀλλήλων ἢ εἰ τῷ πόδε θεία μοίρα πεποιημένῳ πρὸς τὸ συνεργεῖν ἀλλήλων ἀμελήσαντε τούτου ἐμποδίζοιεν ἀλλήλων. οὐκ ἂν τολλὴ ἀμαθία εἴη καὶ κακοδαιμονία τοῖς ἑπὶ ὕφελεία πεποιημένοις ἐπὶ βλάβῃ χρήσθαι; καὶ μην ἀδελφών γε, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ μείζονι ὕφελείᾳ ἀλλήλουν ἢ χείρε τε καὶ πόδε καὶ ὀφθαλμῷ καὶ τᾶλλα, ὡσα ἀδελφὰ ἐφυσεν ἀνθρώποις. χεῖρες μὲν γὰρ, εἰ δέοι αὐτᾶς τὰ πλέον ὀργιάς διέχοντα ἁμα ποιήσασιν, οὐκ ἂν δύναντο· πόδες δὲ οὐδ' ἂν ἐπὶ τὰ ὀργιάν διέχοντα ἐλθοίεν ἁμα· ὀφθαλμὸι δὲ οἱ καὶ δοκοῦντες ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐξικνείσθαι οὐδ' ἂν τῶν ἐτὶ ἐγνυτέρω ὅντων τὰ ἐμπροσθεν ἁμα καὶ τὰ ὀπίσθεν ἰδεῖν δύναντο· ἀδελφῷ δὲ φίλῳ ὄντε καὶ πολὺ διεστῶτε πράττετον ἁμα καὶ ἐπὶ ὕφελείᾳ ἀλλήλων.
19 IV. Ἡκουσα δὲ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ φίλων διαλεγομένου, ἐξ ὧν ἐμοιγε ἑδόκει μάλιστ' ἂν τὸς ὕφελείσθαι πρὸς φίλων κτήσιν τε καὶ χρείαιν.
"And what," asked Chaerecrates, "if all my efforts lead to no improvement?"

"Well, in that case, I presume you will have shown that you are honest and brotherly, he that he is base and unworthy of kindness. But I am confident that no such result will follow; for I think that, as soon as he is aware of your challenge to this contest, he will be all eagerness to outdo your kind words and actions. What if a pair of hands refused the office of mutual help for which God made them, and tried to thwart each other; or if a pair of feet neglected the duty of working together, for which they were fashioned, and took to hampering each other? That is how you two are behaving at present. Would it not be utterly senseless and disastrous to use for hindrance instruments that were made for help? And, moreover, a pair of brothers, in my judgment, were made by God to render better service one to the other than a pair of hands and feet and eyes and all the instruments that he meant to be used as fellows. For the hands cannot deal simultaneously with things that are more than six feet or so apart: the feet cannot reach in a single stride things that are even six feet apart: and the eyes, though they seem to have a longer range, cannot at the same moment see things still nearer than that, if some are in front and some behind. But two brothers, when they are friends, act simultaneously for mutual benefit, however far parted one from the other."

IV. Again, I once heard him give a discourse on friendship that was likely, as I thought, to help greatly in the acquisition and use of friends.

1 Cyropaedia, viii. vii. 13.
Τούτο μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολλῶν ἔφη ἀκούειν, ώς πάντων κτημάτων κράτιστον εἶναι φίλας σαφῆς καὶ ἀγαθὸς· ἐπιμελομένους δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον
2 ὁρὰν ἔφη τούς πολλοὺς ἢ φίλων κτήσεως. καὶ γὰρ οἰκίας καὶ ἄγρους καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ βοσκηματα καὶ σκεύη κτωμένους τε ἐπιμελῶς ὁρῶν ἔφη καὶ τὰ ὄντα σώζειν πειρωμένους, φίλον δὲ, ὁ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι φασιν, ὁρὰν ἔφη τοὺς πολλοὺς οὖτε ὅπως κτήσονταί φροντίζοντας οὖτε
3 ὅπως οἱ ὄντες έαυτοῖς σώζωνται. ἀλλὰ καὶ κα-
μνύοντων φίλων τε καὶ οἰκετῶν ὁρῶν τινας ἔφη
τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις καὶ ιατροὺς εἰσάγοντας καὶ
tάλλα τὰ πρὸς ὑγίειαν ἐπιμελῶς παρασκευά-
ζοντας, τῶν δὲ φίλων ὀλυγροῦντας, ἀποθανόντων
tε ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς οἰκέταις ἁχθομένους
tε καὶ ἐξομίαν ἠγουμένους, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς φίλους
οὐδὲν οἰομένους ἐλαττοῦσθαι, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
cτημάτων οὐδὲν ἐώντας ἀθεράπευτον οὐδ’ ἀνεπί-
sκεπτον, τῶν δὲ φίλων ἐπιμελείας δεομένων
4 ἀμελοῦντας. ἐπὶ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις ὁρὰν ἔφη τοὺς
πολλοὺς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων κτημάτων καὶ πάνω
πολλῶν αὐτοῖς ὄντων τὸ πλῆθος εἰδότας, τῶν δὲ
φίλων ὀλύγων ὄντων οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος ἄγνο-
οῦντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πυθανομένοις τούτῳ
καταλέγειν ἐγχειρήσαντας οὕς εἴν τοῖς φίλοις
ἔθεσαν, πάλιν τούτοις ἀνατίθεσαν τοσοῦ-
5 τον αὐτοὺς τῶν φίλων φροντίζειν. καίτοι πρὸς
ποίον κτῆμα τῶν ἄλλων παραβαλλόμενοι
φίλος ἀγαθὸς οὐκ ἂν πολλῷ κρείττων φανείη; ποίος γὰρ ὢππος ἢ ποίον ξένος οὕτως χρήσιμον
ὡσπερ ὁ χρηστὸς φίλος; ποίον δὲ ἀνδράποδον
οὕτως εὐνοῦν καὶ παραμόνιμον; ἢ ποίον ἄλλο

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For he said that he often heard it stated that of all possessions the most precious is a good and sincere friend. "And yet," he said, "there is no transaction most men are so careless about as the acquisition of friends. For I find that they are careful about getting houses and lands and slaves and cattle and furniture, and anxious to keep what they have; but though they tell one that a friend is the greatest blessing, I find that most men take no thought how to get new friends or how to keep their old ones. Indeed, if one of their friends and one of their servants fall ill at the same time, I find that some call in the doctor to attend the servant and are careful to provide everything that may contribute to his recovery, whereas they take no heed of the friend. In the event of both dying, they are vexed at losing the servant, but don't feel that the death of the friend matters in the least. And though none of their other possessions is uncared for and unconsidered, they are deaf to their friends' need of attention. And besides all this, I find that most men know the number of their other possessions, however great it may be, yet cannot tell the number of their friends, few as they are; and, if they are asked and try to make a list, they will insert names and presently remove them. So much for the thought they give to their friends! Yet surely there is no other possession that can compare with a good friend. For what horse, what yoke of oxen is so good a servant as the good friend? What slave so loyal and constant? or what possession so
κτήμα οὕτω πώγχρηστον; ο θαρ ἀγαθὸς φίλος ἕαυτὸν τάττει πρὸς πᾶν τὸ ἐλλείπον τῷ φίλῳ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἱδίων κατασκευῆς καὶ τῶν κοινῶν πράξεων, καὶ ἀν τέ τινα εὐ ποιῆσαι δέῃ, συν-επισκύνει, ἂν τέ τις φόβος ταράττῃ, συμβοηθεὶ τὰ μὲν συναναλίσκον, τὰ δὲ συμπράττον καὶ τὰ μὲν συμπείθον, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενος καὶ εὖ μὲν πράττοντας πλείστα εὐφραῖνοι, σφαλλομένοις

7 δὲ πλείστα ἐπανορθῶν. ἢ δὲ αἱ τε χεῖρες ἐκάστῳ ὑπηρετοῦσι καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ προορῶσι καὶ τὰ ὅτα προακούσουσι καὶ οἱ πόδες διανύτουσι, τοῦ-των φίλος εὐεργετῶν ὄνδενος λείπεται: πολλάκις δὲ ἢ πρὸ αὐτοῦ τις ἡ οὐκ ἕξειργάσατο ἡ οὐκ εἶδεν ἢ οὐκ ἦκουσεν ἢ οὗ διήμυσε, ταῦτα ὁ φίλος πρὸ τοῦ φίλου ἐξήρκεσεν. ἀλλ’ ὅμως ἔνιοι δενδρα μὲν πειρώνtau θεραπεύειν τοῦ καρποῦ ἑνεκεν, τοῦ δὲ παμφοροτάτου κτήματος, ὁ καλεῖται φίλος, ἀργῶς καὶ ἀνειμένως οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐπιμέλουται.

V. Ἡκουσα δὲ ποτε καὶ ἄλλον αὐτοῦ λόγον, ὄς ἔδοκει μοι προτρέπειν τὸν ἀκούοντα ἐξετάζειν ἕαυτὸν, ὅποσον τοῖς φίλοις ἄξιος εἴη. ἰδοὺ γάρ τινα τῶν συνύντων ἀμέλουτα φίλου πενία πιε-ξομένου ἦρετο 'Ἀντισθένη ἔναντίον τοῦ ἀμέ-

2 λούντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, 'Αρ', ἔφη, ὁ 'Ἀντίσθενες, εἰσὶ τινες ἄξιαίς φίλων, ὡσπερ οἰκετῶν; τῶν γὰρ οἰκετῶν ο μὲν ποὺ δυνοῖ μναῖν ἄξιος ἔστιν, ὃ δὲ οὐδ' ἡμμυναίον, ὃ δὲ πέντε μυῶν, ὃ δὲ καὶ δέκα. Νικίας δὲ ὁ Νικηφόρου λέγεται ἐπιστάτην εἰς τάργυρεια πρίασθαι ταλάντον. σκοποῦμαι δὴ τοῦτο, ἔφη, εἰ ἄρα ὡσπερ τῶν οἰκετῶν, οὔτω καὶ τῶν φίλων εἰσὶν ἄξιαι.

3 Ναὶ μᾶ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ 'Ἀντισθένης· ἐγὼ γοῦν
The good friend is on the watch to supply whatever his friend wants for building up his private fortune and forwarding his public career. If generosity is called for, he does his part: if fear harasses, he comes to the rescue, shares expenses, helps to persuade, bears down opposition: he is foremost in delighting him when he is prosperous and raising him up when he falls. Of all that a man can do with his hands, see for himself with his eyes, hear for himself with his ears or accomplish with his feet, in nothing is a friend backward in helping. Nevertheless, while some strive to cultivate a tree for its fruit, most bestow but an idle and listless care on their most fruitful possession, the name of which is 'friend.'

V. Again, I once heard him exhort a listener—for so I interpreted his words—to examine himself and to ask how much he was worth to his friends. For he had noticed that one of his companions was neglecting a poverty-stricken friend; so he put a question to Antisthenes in the presence of several others, including the careless friend. "Antisthenes," he said, "have friends like servants their own values? For one servant, I suppose, may be worth two minas, another less than half a mina, another five minas, another no less than ten. Nicias, son of Niceratus, is said to have given a whole talent for a manager of his silver-mine. So I am led to inquire whether friends too may not differ in value."

"Oh yes," replied Antisthenes, "there are men 3

1 Some £8.  
2 Some £240.
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Βουλοίμην ἂν τὸν μὲν τινα φίλον μοι εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ δύο μνᾶς, τὸν δ' οὐδ' ἂν ἡμιμναίου προτιμαίμην, τὸν δὲ καὶ πρὸ δέκα μνῶν ἐλοίμην ἄν, τὸν δὲ πρὸ πάντων χρημάτων καὶ πόνων πριαίμην ἄν φίλον μοι εἶναι.

4 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφι ο Σωκράτης, εἰ γε ταῦτα τοιαύτα ἐστι, καλῶς ἂν ἔχοι ἐξετάζειν τινά ἑαυτόν, πόσου ἀρα τυγχάνει τοῖς φίλοις ἄξιος ὃν, καὶ περάθαι ὡς πλείστου ἄξιος εἶναι, ἱνα ἦττον αὐτῶν οἱ φίλοι προδιδόσιν. ἐγὼ γὰρ τοι, ἐφη, πολλάκις ἄκοι ό τοῦ μέν, ὅτι πρόοδωκεν αὐτὸν φίλος ἄνηρ, τοῦ δ', ὅτι μνᾶν ἄνθ' ἑαυτοῦ μᾶλλον εἴλετο ἄνηρ, ὃν φεῦτο φίλον εἶναι. τὰ τοιαύτα πάντα σκοπῶ, μὴ ὡσπέρ ὅταν τις οἰκέτην πονηρὸν πωλή καὶ ἀποδίδοται 1 τοῦ εὐρόντος, οὔτω καὶ τὸν πονηρὸν φίλον, ὅταν ἔξη τὸ πλέον τῆς ἄξιας λαβεῖν, ἐπαγωγῶν ἡ ἀποδίδοσθαι. τοὺς δὲ χρηστοὺς οὔτε οἰκέτας πάνυ τι πωλουμένους ὁρῶ οὔτε φίλους προδιδομένους.

VI. Ἐδόκει δέ μοι καὶ εἰς τὸ δοκιμάζειν φίλους ὁποίους ἄξιον κτάσθαι φρενοῦ τοιάδε λέγων' Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὦ Κριτὸβουλε, εἰ δεοίμεθα φίλου ἀγαθοῦ, πῶς ἂν ἐπιχειροῖμεν σκοπεῖν; ἀρα πρῶτον μὲν ξητητέον, ὅστις ἄρχει γαστρός τε καὶ φιλοποσίας καὶ λαγνείας καὶ ύπινον καὶ ἀργίας; ὁ γὰρ ὑπὸ τούτων κρατούμενος οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δύνατ' ἄν οὔτε φίλῳ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.

Μᾶ Δ' οὐ δῆτα, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν τοῦ μὲν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀρχομένου ἀφεκτέον δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

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whose friendship I, at any rate, would rather have than two minas: others I should value at less than half a mina: others I would prefer to ten minas: others I would sacrifice any sum and take any trouble to have among my friends."

"Then if that is so," said Socrates, "were it not well that one should ask himself how much he is really worth to his friends, and try to make himself as precious as possible, in order that his friends may not be tempted to betray him? For my part, I often hear complaints of this sort: ‘A friend betrayed me,’ ‘one whom I regarded as my friend gave me up for the sake of a mina.’ I think over such matters and reflect that, when a man sells a bad slave he takes anything he can get for him; and perhaps it is tempting to sell a bad friend when there is a chance of getting more than he is worth. Good servants, I find, are not offered for sale, nor are good friends betrayed."

VI. In the following conversation I thought he gave instruction for testing the qualities that make a man’s friendship worth winning.

"Tell me, Critobulus," he said, "if we wanted a good friend, how should we start on the quest? Should we seek first for one who is no slave to eating and drinking, lust, sleep, idleness? For the thrall of these masters cannot do his duty by himself or his friend."

"No, of course not."

"Then you think we should avoid one who is subject to them?"

"I do, certainly."

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1 ἀποδίδωται with M: ἀποδιδόται Sauppe.
XENOPHON

2 Τί γάρ; ἕφη, ὡστις δαπανηρὸς δὲν μὴ αὐτάρχης ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ἂεὶ τῶν πλησίον δεῖται καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν μὴ δύναται ἀποδιδόναι, μὴ λαμβάνων δὲ τὸν μὴ διδόντα μεσεῖ, οὐ δοκεῖ σοι καὶ οὕτος χαλεπῶς φίλος εἶναι;
Πάνυ γ', ἕφη.
Οὐκοῦν ἀφεκτέον καὶ τούτου;
'Αφεκτέον μέντοι, ἕφη.

3 Τί γάρ; ὡστις χρηματίζεσθαι μὲν δύναται, πολλῶν δὲ χρημάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσσύμβολος ἔστι καὶ λαμβάνων μὲν ἡδεῖται, ἀποδιδόναι δὲ μὴ βούλεται;
'Εμοί μὲν δοκεῖ, ἕφη, οὐτὸς ἔτι πονηρότερος ἐκεῖνον εἶναι.

4 Τί δ'; ὡστις διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι μηδὲ πρὸς ἐν ἄλλο σχολήν ποιεῖται ἡ ὀπόθεν αὐτὸς κέρδανεί;
'Αφεκτέον καὶ τούτου, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ: ἀνωφελὴς γὰρ ἂν εἰη τῷ χρωμένῳ.
Τί δὲ; ὡστις στασιώδης τέ ἐστι καὶ θέλων πολλοὺς τοῖς φίλοις ἐχθροὺς παρέχειν;
Φευκτέον νὴ Δία καὶ τούτου.
Εἰ δὲ τις τούτων μὲν τῶν κακῶν μηδὲν ἔχω, εὐ δὲ πάσχων ἀνέχεται, μηδὲν φροντίζων τοῦ ἀντευργετεῖν;
'Ἀνωφελῆς δὲν εἰη καὶ οὕτος. ἀλλὰ ποίον, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐπιχειρήσομεν φίλον ποιεῖσθαι;

5 Οἴμαι μὲν, ὡστις τάναντια τούτων ἔγκρατῆς μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἡδονῶν, εὖοικὸς δὲ καὶ εὐσύμβολος ὃν τυγχάνει καὶ φιλόνικος πρὸς

1 εὖοικὸς B (first hand): εὖονες Sauppe with A: εὐορκὸς C.

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"Now what about the spendthrift who is never satisfied, who is always appealing to his neighbours for help, if he receives something, makes no return, if he receives nothing, resents it? Don't you think he too is a troublesome friend?"

"Certainly."

"Then we must avoid him too?"

"We must indeed."

"Again, what about the skilful man of business who is eager to make money, and consequently drives a hard bargain, who likes to receive but is disinclined to repay?"

"So far as I see, he is even worse than the last."

"And what of the man who is such a keen man of business that he has no leisure for anything but the selfish pursuit of gain?"

"We must avoid him too, I think. There is no profit in knowing him."

"And what of the quarrelsome person who is willing to provide his friends with plenty of enemies?"

"We must shun him too, of course."

"Suppose that a man is free from all these faults, but stoops to receive kindness with no thought of returning it?"

"There is no profit in him either. But what are the qualities for which we shall try to win a man's friendship, Socrates?"

"The opposite of these, I suppose. We shall look for one who controls his indulgence in the pleasures of the body, who is truly hospitable and fair in his
τὸ μὴ ἔλλειπεσθαί εὖ ποιῶν τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας αὐτὸν, ὡστε λυσιτελεῖν τοῖς χρώμενοις.

6 Πῶς οὖν ἂν ταύτα δοκιμᾶσαιμεν, ὡ Σώκρατες, πρὸ τοῦ χρήσθαι;
Τοὺς μὲν ἀνδριαντοποιούς, ἔφη, δοκιμάζομεν οὐ τοὺς λόγους αὐτὸν τεκμαιρόμενοι, ἀλλ' ὅν ἂν ὀρῶμεν τοὺς πρόσθεν ἀνδριαντας καλῶς εἰργασμένοι, τούτῳ πιστεύομεν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὖ ποιήσειν.

7 Καὶ ἄνδρα δὴ λέγεις, ἔφη, ὃς ἂν τοὺς φίλους τοὺς πρόσθεν εὐ ποιῶν φαίνηται, δῆλον εἰναι καὶ τοὺς ύστερον εὐεργετήσοντα;
Καὶ γὰρ ἰπποῦς, ἔφη, ὃν ἂν ὀρῶ τοὺς πρόσθεν καλῶς χρώμενον, τούτον κἂν ἄλλοις οἶμαι καλῶς χρήσθαι.

8 Εἰπεν, ἔφη· ὃς δ' ἂν ἡμῖν ἄξιος φιλίας δοκῇ εἶναι, πώς χρῆ φίλου τούτου ποιεῖσθαι;
Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, τὰ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπισκεπτέον, εἰ συμβουλεύοσιν αὐτὸν φίλου ποιεῖσθαι.
Τὶ οὖν; ἔφη, ὃν ἂν ἡμῖν τε δοκῇ καὶ οἱ θεοὶ μὴ ἐναντιῶνται, ἔχεις εἰπεῖν ὅπως οὕτως θηρατεύος;

9 Μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ κατὰ πόδας ὀψερ ὁ λαγὼς οὐδ' ἀπατή ὀψερ αἱ ὄρνιθες οὐδὲ βία ὀψερ οἱ ἔχθροι.1 ἄκοντα γὰρ φίλου ἑλείν ἐργώδες. χαλεπον δὲ καὶ δῆσαντα κατέχειν ὀψερ δούλων ἔχθροι γὰρ μᾶλλον ἡ φίλοι γίγνονται οἱ τοιαῦτα πάσχοντες.

10 Φίλοι δὲ πῶς; ἔφη.
Εἶναι μὲν τινὰς φασιν ἐπιφάνας, ἃς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπάδοντες οἵς ἂν βούλωνται φίλους αὐτοὺς

1 ἔχθροι MSS. : καπροι Ernesti, Sauppe.
dealings and eager to do as much for his benefactors as he receives from them, so that he is worth knowing."

"Then how can we test these qualities, Socrates, before intimacy begins?"

"What test do we apply to a sculptor? We don’t judge by what he says, but we look at his statues, and if we see that the works he has already produced are beautiful, we feel confident that his future works will be as good."

"You mean that anyone whose good works wrought upon his old friends are manifest will clearly prove a benefactor to new friends also?"

"Yes; for when I find that an owner of horses has been in the habit of treating his beasts well I think that he will treat others equally well."

"Granted! but when we have found a man who seems worthy of our friendship, how are we to set about making him our friend?"

"First we should seek guidance from the gods, whether they counsel us to make a friend of him."

"And next? Supposing that we have chosen and the gods approve him, can you say how is he to be hunted?"

"Surely not like a hare by swift pursuit, nor like birds by cunning, nor like enemies by force. It is no light task to capture a friend against his will, and hard to keep him a prisoner like a slave. Hatred, rather than friendship, comes of that treatment."

"But how does friendship come?"

"There are spells, they say, wherewith those who know charm whom they will and make friends of

1 Or κάπροι, "boars."
ποιοῦνται, εἶναι δὲ καὶ φίλτρα, οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἄν βούλωνται χρώμενοι φιλοῦνται ὑπ’ αὐτῶν.

11 Πόθεν οὖν, ἐφη, ταῦτα μάθοιμεν ἂν;
"Α μὲν αἱ Σειρήνες ἐπῆδον τῷ Ὀδυσσεί, ἥκουσας Ὀμήρου, ὃν ἐστιν ἄρχη τοιάδε τις·

Δεῦρ’ ἄγε δή, πολύαιν Ὀδυσσεύ, μέγα κύδος Ἀχαιῶν.

Σταύτην οὖν, ἐφη, τὴν ἐπωδήν, ω Σῶκρατες, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις αἱ Σειρήνες ἐπάδουσαι κατεῖχον, ὡστε μὴ ἀπίεναι ἃπ’ αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐπασθέντας;

12 Ὄνκ ἄλλα τοῖς ἐπ’ ἀρετῆ φιλοτιμομένους οὕτως ἐπῆδον.

Σχεδὸν τι λέγεις τοιαῦτα χρήμαι ἐκάστῳ ἐπάδειν, οἷς μὴ νομίζει ἀκούων τὸν ἐπαινοῦντα καταγελῶντα λέγειν.

Οὕτω μὲν γὰρ ἐχθίων τ’ ἄν εἴῃ καὶ ἀπελαύνοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀφ’ ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ τὸν εἰδότα, ὦτι μικρός τε καὶ ἀσχρός καὶ ἀσθενής ἐστιν, ἐπαινοῖ λέγων, ὦτι καλὸς τε καὶ μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς ἐστιν.
"Ἀλλὰς δὲ τινὰς οἴσθα ἐπωδᾶς;

13 Ὄνκ ἄλλ’ ἥκουσα μὲν, ὦτι Περικλῆς πολλὰς ἐπιστατο, ὃς ἐπάδους τῇ πόλει ἐποίει αὐτὴν φιλεῖν αὐτῶν.

Θεμιστοκλῆς δὲ πῶς ἐποίησε τὴν πόλιν φιλεῖν αὐτῶν;

Μᾶ Δ’ ὅνκ ἐπάδουν, ἄλλα περιάψας τι ἄγαθὸν αὐτῆ.

14 Δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν, ω Σῶκρατες, ὡς εἰ μέλλομεν

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them, and drugs which those who know give to whom they choose and win their love."

"How then can we learn them?"

"You have heard from Homer the spell that the Sirens put on Odysseus. It begins like this:

'Hither, come hither, renowned Odysseus, great glory of the Achaeans.'

"Then did the Sirens chant in this strain for other folk too, Socrates, so as to keep those who were under the spell from leaving them?"

"No, only for those that yearned for the fame that virtue gives."

"You mean, I take it, that the spell must be fitted to the listener, so that he may not take the praise for mockery."

"Yes; for to praise one for his beauty, his stature and his strength who is conscious that he is short, ugly and puny, is the way to repel him and make him dislike you more."

"Do you know any other spells?"

"No, but I have heard that Pericles knew many and put them on the city, and so made her love him."

"And how did Themistocles make the city love him?"

"Not by spells: no, no; but by hanging some good amulet about her." 

"I think you mean, Socrates, that if we are to

1 Odyssey, xii. 184.
2 i.e. not by his words, but by protecting Athens with ships and fortifications.
άγαθόν τινα κτήσεσθαι φίλον, αὐτοὺς ἦμαῖς ἀγαθοὺς δεῖ γενέσθαι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν.1

Σὺ δ’ φῶς, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οἶνον τ’ εἶναι καὶ πονηρὸν ὄντα χρηστοὺς φίλους κτήσασθαι;

15 Ἕωρων γάρ, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ῥήτορας τε φαύλους ἀγαθοῖς δημηγόροις φίλους ὄντας καὶ στρατηγεῖν οὐχ ἰκανοὺς πάνυ στρατηγικοῖς ἀνδράσις ἑταῖροις.

16 Ὅρ’ οὖν, ἐφη, καὶ, περὶ οὖ διαλεγόμεθα, οἰςθά τινας, οὗ ἀνωφελεῖς ὄντες ὦφελίμους δύνανται φίλους ποιεῖσθαι;

Μὰ Δε’ οὐ δὴτ’, ἐφη· ἀλλ’ εἰ ἀδύνατον ἔστι πονηρὸν ὄντα καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς φίλους κτήσασθαι, ἐκεῖνο ἦδη μέλει μοι, εἰ ἑστιν αὐτὸν καλὸν κἀγαθὸν γενόμενον ἐξ ἐτοίμου τοῖς καλοῖς κἀγαθοῖς φίλον εἶναι.

17 Ὁ ταράττει σε, ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὃτι πολλάκις ἀνδρας καὶ τὰ καλὰ πράττοντας καὶ τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἀπεχωμένους ὀρᾶς ἀντὶ τοῦ φίλους εἶναι στασιάζοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ χαλεπώτερον χρωμένους τῶν μηδενὸς ἄξιων ἀνθρώπων.

18 Καὶ οὐ μόνον γ’, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἱ ἰδιώται τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις αἱ τῶν τε καλῶν μάλιστα ἐπιμελόμεναι καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ ἥκιστα προσιέμεναι πολλάκις πολεμικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς ἀλλήλας. ἃ λογιζόμενος πάνυ ἀθύμως ἐχώ πρὸς τὴν τῶν φίλων κτήσιν: οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς πονηροὺς ἀλλήλοις δυναμένους εἶναι, πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἢ ἀχάριστοι ἢ ἀμελεῖς ἢ πλεονέκται ἢ ἀπιστοὶ ἢ ἀκρατεῖς ἀνθρώποι δύναντο φίλοι γενέσθαι; οἱ μὲν οὖν πονηροὶ πάντως ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐχθροὶ μᾶλλον ἢ φίλοι πεφυκέναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν,
win a good man’s friendship, we ourselves must be good in word and deed alike?”

“But you imagined that a bad man could win the friendship of honest men?”

“I did,” answered Critobulus, “for I saw that poor orators have good speakers among their friends, and some who are incapable of commanding an army are intimate with great generals.”

“Coming then to the point under discussion, do you know cases of useless persons making useful friends?”

“Assuredly not; but if it is impossible that the bad should gain the friendship of gentlemen, then I am anxious to know whether it is quite easy for a gentleman as a matter of course to be the friend of gentlemen?”

“Your trouble is, Critobulus, that you often find men who do good and shun evil not on friendly terms, but apt to quarrel and treat one another more harshly than worthless fellows.”

“Yes,” said Critobulus, “and such conduct is not confined to individuals, but even the cities that care most for the right and have least liking for the wrong are often at enmity. These thoughts make me despair about the acquisition of friends. For I see on the one hand that rogues cannot be friends with one another—for how could the ungrateful, the careless, the selfish, the faithless, the incontinent, form friendships? I feel sure, then, that rogues are by their nature enemies rather than friends. But

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1 λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.
ὁσπερ σὺ λέγεις, οὐδ ἂν τοῖς χρηστοῖς οἱ πονηροὶ ποτε συναρμόσειαν εἰς φιλίαν. πῶς γὰρ οἱ τὰ πονηρὰ ποιοῦντες τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα μισοῦσι φίλοι γένοιτ' ἂν; εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ οἱ ἀρετὴν ἀσκοῦντες στασιάζουσι τε περὶ τοῦ πρωτεῦειν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ φθονοῦντες ἑαυτοῖς μισοῦσιν ἀλλήλους, τίνες ἐτι φίλοι ἐσονται καὶ ἐν τίσιν ἀνθρώποις εὔνοια καὶ πίστις ἐσταί;

21 Ἄλλ', ἐχει μὲν, ἐφη ο Σωκράτης, ποικίλως πως ταύτα, ὁ Κρίτοβουλε. φύσει γὰρ ἔχουσιν οἱ ἀνθρωποὶ τὰ μὲν φιλικά· δεόνται τε γὰρ ἀλλήλων καὶ ἠλεοῦσι καὶ συνεργοῦντες ὠφελοῦσι καὶ τούτῳ συνεύτες χάριν ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλους· τὰ δὲ πολεμικά· τὰ τε γὰρ αὐτὰ καλὰ καὶ ἡδέα νομίζοντες ύπερ τούτων μάχονται καὶ διχογνωμονοῦντες ἐναντίονται. πολεμικοὶ δὲ καὶ ἔρις καὶ ὀργὴ καὶ δυσμενὲς μὲν ὁ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἔρως, μισθὸν δὲ ὁ φθόνος. ἅλλ' ὀμοὶ διὰ τούτων πάντων ἡ φιλία διαδυναμεὶς συνάπτει τοὺς καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς. διὰ γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αἱροῦνται μὲν ἀνευ πόνου τὰ μέτρα κεκτηθήσαι μᾶλλον ἡ διὰ πολέμου πάντων κυριεύειν καὶ δύναναι πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες ἀλύπως σίτου καὶ ποτοῦ κοινωνεῖν καὶ τοῖς τῶν ὀραίων ἀφροδισίωις ἰδόμενοι καρτερεῖν, ὅτε μὴ λυπεῖν οὐς μὴ προσήκει· δύναναι δὲ καὶ χρημάτων οὐ μόνων τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν ἀπεχόμενοι νομίμως κοινωνεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαρκεῖν ἀλλήλοις· δύναναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐρίν οὐ μόνων ἀλύπως, ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφερόντως ἀλλήλοις διατίθεσθαι καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν κωλύειν εἰς τὸ μεταμελησόμενον προϊέναι. τὸν δὲ φθόνον παντάπασιν ἀφαιροῦσι τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἑαυτῶν
then, as you point out, neither can rogues ever join in friendship with honest men, for how can wrongdoers become friendly with those who hate their conduct? And if we must add that the votaries of virtue strive with one another for headship in cities, and envy and hate one another, who then will be friends and where shall loyalty and faithfulness be found?"

"Ah, Critobulus, but there is a strange complication in these matters. Some elements in man's nature make for friendship: men need one another, feel pity, work together for their common good, and, conscious of the facts, are grateful to one another. But there are hostile elements in men. For, holding the same things to be honourable and pleasant, they fight for them, fall out and take sides. Strife and anger lead to hostility, covetousness to enmity, jealousy to hatred. Nevertheless through all these barriers friendship slips, and unites the gentle natures. For thanks to their virtue these prize the untroubled security of moderate possessions above sovereignty won by war; despite hunger and thirst, they can share their food and drink without a pang; and although they delight in the charms of beauty they can resist the lure and avoid offending those whom they should respect; they can not only share wealth lawfully and keep from covetousness, but also supply one another's wants; they can compose strife not only without pain, but with advantage to one another, and prevent anger from pursuing its way towards remorse: but jealousy they take away utterly, regarding their own good things as belong-
αγαθά τοῖς φίλοις οἶκεία παρέχοντες, τὰ δὲ τῶν

24 φίλων ἑαυτῶν νομίζοντες. πῶς οὖν οὐκ εἰκός
toὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς καὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν τιμῶν

μὴ μόνον ἄβλαβεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡφελίμους ἀλ-
lήλοις κοινωνοὺς εἶναι; οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθυμοῦντες
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τιμᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν, ἢν
εξουσίαν ἔχωσι χρήματα τε κλέπτειν καὶ ἄν-
θρώπους βιάζεσθαι καὶ ἠδυπαθεῖν, ἀδικοὶ τε καὶ
πονηροὶ ἄν εἶη καὶ ἠδύνατοι ἀλλῷ συναρμόσαι.

25 εἰ δὲ τις ἐν τοῖς τιμᾶσθαι βουλόμενος, ὅπως
αὐτὸς τε μὴ ἄδικήται καὶ τοῖς φίλοις τὰ δίκαια
βοηθεῖν δύνηται, καὶ ἄρξας ἀγαθὸν τι ποιεῖν τὴν
πατρίδα πειράται, διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτος ἀλλῷ τοιούτῳ
οὐκ ἄν δύνατο συναρμόσαι; πότερον τοὺς φίλους
ὠφελεῖν μετὰ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθων ἢττον δυ-
νήσται ἢ τὴν πόλιν εὐεργετεῖν ἀδυνατώτερος

26 ἐσται καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς ἐχῶν συνεργοὺς; ἀλλὰ
καὶ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγώσι δῆλον ἐστιν, ὅτι εἰ
ἐξην τοῖς κρατίστοις συνθεμένους ἐπὶ τοὺς χείρους
ἰέναι, πῶς τὰ ἀν τοὺς ἀγώνας οὗτοι εὔκων καὶ
πάντα τὰ ἀθλα οὗτοι ἐλάμβανον. ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκεῖ
μὲν οὐκ ἔωσι τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολιτικοῖς,
ἐν οἷς οἱ καλοὶ κάγαθοι κρατιστεύουσιν, οὔδείς
κωλύει μεθ’ οὐ ἂν τὸς βούλητα τὴν πόλιν
εὐεργετεῖν, πῶς οὐ λυσιτελεῖ τοὺς βελτίστους
φίλους κτησάμενον πολιτεύσθαι, τούτους κοι-
νωνοῖς καὶ συνεργοῖς τῶν πράξεων μᾶλλον ἢ

27 ἀνταγωνισταῖς χρόμενον; ἀλλὰ μὴν κάκεινο
δῆλον, ὅτι καὶ πολέμη τίς τινι, συμμάχων δε-
ήσεται καὶ τούτων πλείων, ἢν καλοὶς κάγαθοῖς
ἀντιτάττηται. καὶ μὴ οἱ συμμαχεῖν ἐθέλοντες
ἐν ποιητέοι, ἢν θέλωσι προθυμεῖσθαι. πολὺ δὲ
ing to their friends, and thinking their friend's good things to be their own. Surely, then, it is likely that true gentlemen will share public honours too not only without harm to one another, but to their common benefit? For those who desire to win honour and to bear rule in their cities that they may have power to embezzle, to treat others with violence, to live in luxury, are bound to be unjust, unscrupulous, incapable of unity. But if a man seeks to be honoured in a state that he may not be the victim of injustice himself and may help his friends in a just cause, and when he takes office may try to do some good to his country, why should he be incapable of union with one like himself? Will his connexion with other gentlemen render him less capable of serving his friends? Will he be less able to benefit his city with the help of other gentlemen? Even in the public games it is clear that, if the strongest competitors were allowed to join forces against the weaker, they would win all the events, they would carry off all the prizes. True, that is not permitted in the games; but in politics, where the gentlemen are the strongest, nobody prevents anyone from forming any combination he may choose for the benefit of the state; surely, then, in public life it is a gain to make friends with the best, and to see in them partners and fellow-workers in a common cause, and not rivals. But, again, it is equally clear that anyone who goes to war will need allies, and more of them if he is to fight an army of gentlemen. Moreover, those who are willing to fight at your side must be well treated that they may be willing to exert themselves; and it is a far sounder plan to
κρείττον τοὺς βελτίστους ἐλάττονας εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοὺς χείρονας πλείονας ὡντας: οἳ γὰρ πονηροὶ πολὺ πλειόνων ἐυεργεσιῶν ἢ οἱ χρηστοὶ δέονται.

28 ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν, ἔφη, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, πειρῶ ἀγαθὸς γίγνεσθαι καὶ τοιοῦτος γενόμενος θηρᾶν ἐπιχείρει τοὺς καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς. ἦσος δ' ἂν τι σοι κἀγὼ συλλαβεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν καλῶν τε κἀγαθῶν θήραν έχοιμι διὰ τὸ ἐρωτικὸς εἶναι. δεινῶς γὰρ ὅπνευν ἐν ἐπιθυμήσεω ἀνθρώπων ὦλος ὃρμημαι ἐπὶ τὸ φιλῶν τε αὐτοὺς ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ποθῶν ἀντιποθεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπιθυμῶν συνεῖναι καὶ ἀντεπιθυμεῖσθαι τῆς συνουσίας. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ σοι τούτων δεήσου, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσεις φιλίαιν πρὸς τινας ποιεῖσθαι. μή οὖν ἀποκρύπτου με ὅλος ἂν θολοί φίλος γενέσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ ἀρέσαι τῷ ἀρέσκοντι μοι οὐκ ἀπείρως ὀἴμαι ἑχειν πρὸς θήραν ἀνθρώπων.

29 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· Καὶ μήν, ὁ Σώκρατες, τούτων ἐγὼ τῶν μαθημάτων πάλαι ἐπιθυμῶ ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ ἐξαρκέσει μοι ἡ αὐτὴ ἐπιστήμη ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοὺς τὰ σώματα.

30 Καὶ ὁ Σώκρατης ἔφη· 'Ἀλλ', ὁ Κριτόβουλε, οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ἐπιστήμῃ τὸ τὰς χείρας προσφέροντα ποιεῖν υπομένειν τοὺς καλοὺς. πέπεισμαι δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκύλλης διὰ τοῦτο φεύγειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ὅτι τὰς χείρας αὐτοῖς προσέφερε· τὰς δὲ γε Σειρῆνας, ὅτι τὰς χείρας οὐδενὶ προσέφερον, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι πόρρῳθεν ἐπηδοῦν, πάντας φασίν υπομένειν καὶ ἀκούοντας αὐτῶν κηλεῖσθαι.

31 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· 'Ὡς οὗ προσούσοντος

32 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἔφη· 'Ὡς οὗ προσούσοντος
show kindness to the best, who are fewer in number, than to the worst, who are the greater company; for the bad want many more kindnesses than the good. Courage, Critobulus; try to be good, and when you have achieved that, set about catching your gentleman. Maybe, I myself, as an adept in love, can lend you a hand in the pursuit of gentlemen. For when I want to catch anyone it's surprising how I strain every nerve to have my love returned, my longing reciprocated by him, in my eagerness that he shall want me as much as I want him. I see that you too will feel this need when you want to form a friendship. So do not hide from me the names of those whom you wish to make your friends; for I am careful to please him who pleases me, and so, I think, I am not without experience in the pursuit of men."

"Well, Socrates," said Critobulus in reply, "these are the lessons I have long wished to learn, especially if the same skill will serve to win a good soul and a fair face."

"Ah no, Critobulus," said Socrates, "it belongs not to my skill to lay hands on the fair and force them to submit. I am convinced that the reason why men fled from Scylla was that she laid hands on them; but the Sirens laid hands on no man; from far away they sang to all, and therefore, we are told, all submitted, and hearing were enchanted." 1

"I am not going to put a hand on anyone," said 32

1 Odyssey xii. 39 f., adapted.
τὰς χείρας, εἴ τι ἔχεις ἄγαθόν εἰς φίλων κτήσιν, δίδασκε. Οὐδὲ τὸ στόμα οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πρὸς τὸ στόμα προσοίσεις;

Θάρρει, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ στόμα προσοίσοντος οὔδειν, εάν μὴ καλὸς ἦ.

Εὐθὺς, ἐφη, σύγε, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, τοῦναντίον τοῦ συμφέροντος εἴρηκας. οἱ μὲν γὰρ καλοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὖν ὑπομένουσιν, οἱ δὲ αἰσχροὶ καὶ ἴδεως προσείνεται, νομίζοντες διὰ τὴν ψυχὴν καλοὶ καλεῖσθαι.

33 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἐφη· Ὡς τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς φίλησοντός μου, τοὺς δὲ ἄγαθοις καταφιλήσοντος, θαρρῶν δίδασκε τῶν φίλων τὰ θηρατικά.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐφη· "Ὅταν οὖν, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, φίλος τινι βούλῃ γενέσθαι, εάσεις με κατειπεῖν σου πρὸς αὐτόν, ὧτι ἄγασαί τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖς φίλος αὐτοῦ εἴναι;

Κατηγόρει, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὔδενα γὰρ οίδα μισοῦντα τοὺς ἐπαινοῦντας.

34 Ἐὰν δὲ σου προσκατηγορήσω, ἐφη, ὧτι διὰ τὸ ἄγασθαι αὐτοῦ καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχεις πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀρα μὴ διαβάλλεσθαι δίξεις ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ;

Ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ μοι, ἐφη, ἐγγύνεται εὕνοια πρὸς οὕς ἄν υπολάβω εὐνοικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἐμέ.

35 Τικτὰ μὲν δή, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἔξεσται μοι λέγειν περὶ σοῦ πρὸς οὕς ἂν βούλῃ φίλοις ποιήσασθαι· ἐὰν δὲ μοι ἐτι ἐξουσίαν δῶς λέγειν περὶ σοῦ, ὧτι ἐπιμελῆς τε τῶν φίλων εἰ καὶ οὐδενι oυτω χαίρεις ὡς φίλοις ἄγαθοις καὶ ἐπὶ τε τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις τῶν φίλων ἄγαλλης οὖχ ἦττον ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς σαυτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄγαθοῖς τῶν φίλων χαίρεις οὔδεν ἦττον ἦττον ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς σαυτοῖς,
Critobulus, "so teach me any good plan you know for making friends."

"Then won't you put lip to lip either?"

"Courage!" answered Critobulus, "I won't touch a lip with mine either—unless the owner is fair!"

"That's an unfortunate beginning for you, Critobulus! The fair won't submit to such conduct; but the ugly like it, supposing that they are called fair for the beauty of their souls."

"A kiss for the fair," exclaimed Critobulus, "and a thousand kisses for the good! That shall be my motto, so take courage, and teach me the art of catching friends."

"Well then, Critobulus," said Socrates, "when you want to make a new friend, will you let me warn him that you admire him and want his friendship?"

"Warn him by all means: no one hates those who praise him, so far as I know."

"Suppose I go on to warn him that your admiration makes you well disposed towards him, you won't think I am slandering you, will you?"

"Nay; when I guess that anyone feels well disposed towards me, a like goodwill towards him is begotten in me."

"Then you will permit me to say this about you to those whose friendship you desire. Now if you will give me permission to tell them besides that you are devoted to your friends and nothing gives you so much pleasure as good friends; that you take as much pride in your friends' fair achievements as in your own, and as much pleasure in your friends'"

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1 *i.e.* beautiful in character (soul).
XENOPHON

ὅπως τε ταῦτα γύγνηται τοὺς φίλοις οὐκ ἀποκάμνεις μηχανώμενος, καὶ ὅτι ἐγνωκας ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι νικάν τοὺς μὲν φίλους εὗ ποιούτα, τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς κακῶς, πάνυ ἄν οἴμαι σοι ἐπιτίθειον εἶναι με σύνθηρον τῶν ἁγαθῶν φίλων.

36 Τί οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἐμοὶ τοῦτο λέγεις, ὡσπερ οὐκ ἔπι σοι ὅν ὅ,τι ἄν βούλῃ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγειν;

Μὰ Δι' οὖχ, ὡς ποτε ἐγὼ Ἀσπασίας ἰκουσα· ἔφη γὰρ τὰς ἁγαθὰς προμυνηστρίδας μετὰ μὲν ἀληθείας τἀγαθὰ διαγγελλούσας δεινὰς εἶναι συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδείαν, ψευδομένας δ' οὐκ ἔθελεν ἐπανεῖν· τοὺς γὰρ ἐξαπατηθέντας ἀμα μισεῖν ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τὴν προμυνησαμένην. ἃ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ πεισθεὶς ὀρθῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι οὐκ ἐξείναι μοι περὶ σοῦ λέγειν ἐπανούντι οὐδὲν ὅ,τι ἄν μὴ ἀληθεύω.

37 Σὺ μὲν ἄρα, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, τοιοῦτός μοι φίλος εἰ, ὁ Σώκρατες, οἷος, ἄν μὲν τι αὐτὸς ἐχὼ ἐπιτίθειον εἰς τὸ φίλους κτῖσασθαι, συλλαμβάνειν μόι· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἄν ἔθελοις πλάσας τι εἰπεὶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἐμῇ ὁφελείᾳ.

Πότερα δ' ἄν, ἔφη ὁ Σώκρατις, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, δοκῶ σοι μᾶλλον ὁφελεῖν σε τὰ ψευδὴ ἐπαινῶν ἥ πείθων πειράσθαι σε ἁγαθὸν ἄνδρα γενέσθαι;

38 εἰ δὲ μὴ φανερὸν οὕτω σοι, ἐκ τῶν δὲ σκέψας· εἰ γὰρ σε βουλόμενος φίλον ποιῆσαι ναυκλήρῳ ψευδόμενος ἐπαινοῖν, φάσκων ἁγαθὸν εἶναι κυβερνήτην, ὁ δὲ μοι πεισθεὶς ἐπιτρέψειε σοι τὴν ναῦν μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ κυβερνᾶν, ἔχεις τινὰ ἐλπίδα μὴ ἄν σαυτὸν τε καὶ τὴν ναῦν ἀπολέσαι; ἡ εἰ σοι πείσαιμι κοινῇ τὴν πόλιν ψευδόμενος

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good as in your own, and never weary of contriving it for your friend's; and you have made up your mind that a man's virtue consists in outdoing his friends in kindness and his enemies in mischief; then I think you will find me a useful companion in the quest of good friends."

"Now why do you say this to me? as if you were not free to say what you choose about me."

"Not so indeed: I can quote Aspasia against you. She once told me that good matchmakers are successful in making marriages only when the good reports they carry to and fro are true; false reports she would not recommend, for the victims of deception hate one another and the matchmaker too. I am convinced that this is sound, and so I think it is not open to me to say anything in your praise that I can't say truthfully."

"It appears, Socrates, that you are the sort of friend to help me if I am in any way qualified to make friends: but if not, you won't make up a story to help me."

"How do you think I shall help you best, Critobulus, by false praise, or by urging you to try to be a good man? If you don't yet see clearly, take the following cases as illustrations. Suppose that I wanted to get a shipmaster to make you his friend, and as a recommendation told him that you are a good skipper, which is untrue; and suppose that he believed me and put you in charge of his ship in spite of your not knowing how to steer it: have you any reason to hope that you would not lose the ship and your life as well? Or suppose that I falsely represented to the Assembly that you
XENOPHON

ώς ἄν στρατηγικῷ τε καὶ δικαστικῷ καὶ πολιτικῷ ἐαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι, τί ἂν οἴει σεαυτὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕπο σοῦ παθεῖν; ἢ εἰ τινὰς ἰδία τῶν πολιτῶν πείσαμι ψευδόμενος ὡς ὀντὶ οἰκονομικῷ τε καὶ ἐπιμελεῖ τὰ ἐαυτῶν ἐπιτρέψαι, ἀρ’ οὖν ἄν πείραν δίδοις ἁμα τε βλαβερὸς εἰς καὶ κατα-

γέλαστος φαίνοι; ἀλλὰ συντομωτάτη τε καὶ ἀσφαλεστάτη καὶ καλλίστη ὁδός, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, ὃ, τι ἄν βούλῃ δοκεῖν ἁγαθὸς είναι, τούτῳ καὶ γενέσθαι ἁγαθὸν πειρᾶσθαι. ὡσai ὃ ἐν ἀνθρώ-

ποις ἀρεταί λέγονται, σκοποῦμενος εὐρήσεις πάσας μαθῆσει τε καὶ μελέτη αὐξανομένας. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, οὕτως οἴμαι δεῖν ἥμας θηρᾶν. 1 eί δὲ σύ πως ἄλλως γιγνώσκεις, δίδασκε.

Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Ἀλλ’ οἰχυνοίμην ἄν, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἀντιλέγων τούτως: οὔτε γὰρ καλά οὔτε ἁληθῆ λέγοιμ’ ἄν.

VII. Καὶ μὴν τὰς ἀπορίας γε τῶν φίλων τὰς μὲν δι’ ἁγνοιαν ἐπειράτο γνώμη ἀκείσθαι, τὰς δὲ δι’ ἐνδειαν διδάσκων κατὰ δύναμιν ἄλληλοις ἐπαρκεῖν. ἐρῶ δὲ καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀ σύνοιδα αὐτῷ.

'Αρίσταρχον γάρ ποτε ὁρῶν σκυθρωπῶς ἐχοῦντα, Ἑσικας, ἐφη, ὁ Ἀρίσταρχε, Βαρέως φέρειν τι. χρὴ δὲ τοῦ βάρους τοῖς φίλοις μεταδίδοναι: ἵσως γὰρ ἂν τί σε καὶ ἥμεις κονφίσασιμον.

2 Καὶ ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἐφη, ὁ

1 θηρᾶν is a conjecture in one MS. to fill a gap, and is not right.

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are a born general, jurist and statesman in one, and so persuaded the state to commit her fortunes to you, what do you suppose would happen to the state and to yourself under your guidance? Or again, suppose that I falsely described you to certain citizens in private as a thrifty, careful person, and persuaded them to place their affairs in your hands, wouldn’t you do them harm and look ridiculous when you came to the test? Nay, Critobulus, if you want to be thought good at anything, you must try to be so; that is the quickest, the surest, the best way.\(^1\) You will find on reflection that every kind of virtue named among men is increased by study and practice. Such is the view I take of our duty, Critobulus. If you have anything to say against it, tell me.”

“Why, Socrates,” said Critobulus, “I should be ashamed to contradict you, for I should be saying what is neither honourable nor true.”

VII. To pass to another subject. The distresses of his friends that arose from ignorance he tried to cure by advice, those that were due to want by telling them how to help one another according to their power. On this subject too I will state what I know about him.

One day, noticing that Aristarchus looked glum, he said: “Aristarchus, you seem to have a burden on your mind. You should let your friends share it; possibly we may do something to ease you.”

“Ah yes, Socrates,” replied Aristarchus, “I am 2

\(^1\) Cyropaedia, i. vi. 22.
Σώκρατες, ἐν πολλῇ γε εἰμι ἀπορία. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐστασάσεσιν ἡ πόλις, πολλῶν φυγόντων εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, συνελημύθασιν ὡς ἐμὲ καταλελειμμέναι ἠδελφαί τε καὶ ἀδελφιδαί καὶ ἀνεψιαι τοσαῦται, ὡστ' εἶναι ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τέτταρας καὶ δέκα τοὺς ἐλευθέρους. λαμβάνομεν δὲ οὕτε ἐκ τῆς γῆς οὐδέν· οἱ γὰρ ἐναντίοι κρατοῦσιν αὐτής· οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκιῶν· ὀλυγανθρωπία γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀστεί γέγονε. τὰ ἔπιπλα δὲ οὐδεὶς ὄνειται οὐδὲ δανείσασθαι οὐδαμόθεν ἔστιν ἀργύριον, ἀλλ' πρὸτερον ἀν τίς μοι δοκεῖ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ ξητῶν εὐρείν ἢ δανειζόμενοι λαβεῖν. χαλεπῶν μὲν οὖν ἔστιν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τοὺς οἰκείους περιορᾶν ἀπολλυμένους, ἀδύνατον δὲ τοσοῦτοι τρέφειν ἐν τοιούτοις πράγμασιν.

3 Ἀκούσας οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Σώκρατης, Τί ποτὲ ἔστιν, ἔφη, ὧτι Κεράμων μὲν πολλοῦς τρέφων οὐ μόνον ἔαυτῷ τε καὶ τούτοις τάπιττῆδεια δύναται παρέχειν, ἀλλ' καὶ περιποιεῖται τοσαῦτα, ὡστὲ καὶ πλούτειν, σ᾽ ἔντι πολλοῦς τρέφων δέδοικας, μὴ δι᾽ ἐνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀπαντες ἀπόλησθε; ὁτι νή Δί, ἔφη, ὁ μὲν δούλους τρέφει, ἐγώ δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

4 Καὶ πρότερον, ἔφη, τοὺς παρὰ σοὶ ἐλευθέρους οἵει βελτίους εἶναι ἢ τοὺς παρὰ Κεράμωνι δούλους;
'Εγὼ μὲν οἷμαι, ἔφη, τοὺς παρ' ἐμοί ἐλευθέρους. Οὔκοιν, ἔφη, αἰσχρὸν τὸν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πονηροτέρων εὐπορεῖν, σὲ δὲ πολλῷ βελτίους ἔχουτα ἐν ἀπορίᾳ εἶναι;
Νὴ Δί, ἔφη· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεχνίτας τρέφει, ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθερίως πεπαιδευμένους.
in great distress. Since the revolution there has been an exodus to the Piraeus, and a crowd of my women-folk, being left behind, are come to me,—sisters, nieces and cousins,—so that we are fourteen in the house without counting the slaves. We get nothing from our land, because our enemies have seized it, and nothing from our house property, now there are so few residents in the city. Portable property finds no buyers, and it’s quite impossible to borrow money anywhere: I really think a search in the street would have better result than an application for a loan. It’s hard, Socrates, to let one’s people die, but impossible to keep so many in times like these.”

When Socrates heard this, he asked: “How is it that with so many mouths to feed Ceramon not only contrives to provide for the needs of himself and his family, but actually saves enough to make him a rich man, whereas you, with so many mouths to feed, fear you will all be starved to death?”

“The explanation, of course, is this: my dependants are gentlefolk, his are slaves.”

“And which do you think are the better, his slaves or your gentlefolk?”

“My gentlefolk, I think.”

“Then is it not disgraceful that you with your gentlefolk should be in distress, while he is kept in affluence by his meaner household?”

“Of course his dependants are artisans, while mine have had a liberal education.”
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

5 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἐφη, τεχνώτατε ἐσιν οἱ χρήσιμῶν τι ποιεῖν ἐπιστάμενοι;
Μάλιστα γ', ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν χρήσιμά γ' ἀλφίτα;
Σφόδρα γε.
Τί δ' ἄρτοι;
Οὐδὲν ἦπτον.
Τί γὰρ; ἐφη, ἰματιά τε ἀνδρεία καὶ γυναικεῖα καὶ χιτωνίσκοι καὶ χλαμύδες καὶ ἐξωμίδες;
Σφόδρα γ', ἐφη, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα χρήσιμα.
Ἐπειτα, ἐφη, οι παρὰ σοι τούτων οὐδὲν ἐπιστανται ποιεῖν;
Πάντα μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἐγώμαι.

6 Εἰτ' οὐκ οἰσθ', ὅτι ἂφ' ἐνὸς μὲν τούτων, ἀλφιτοποιίας, Ναυσικύδης οὐ μόνον ἐαυτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας τρέφει, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ υἱς πολλὰς καὶ βοῦς, καὶ περιποιεῖται τοσάντα, ὡςτε καὶ τῇ πόλει πολλάκις λειτουργεῖν, ἀπὸ δὲ άρτοποιίας Κύρηβος τὴν τε οἰκίαν πάσαν διατρέφει καὶ ζη δαψίλῶς, Δημέας δ' ὁ Κολλυτεύς ἀπὸ χλαμυδουργίας, Μέιων δ' ἀπὸ χλανιδοποιίας, Μεγαρέων δ' οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀπὸ ἐξωμιδοποιίας διατρέφονται;
Νὴ Δ', ἐφη: οὕτωι μὲν γὰρ ωνούμενοι βαρβάρους ἀνθρώπους ἔχουσιν, ὡστ' ἀναγκαζως ἐργάζεσθαι ἃ καλῶς ἔχει: ἐγὼ δ' ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ συγγενεῖς.

7 Ἐπειτ', ἐφη, ὅτι ἐλευθεροί τ' εἰσὶ καὶ συγγενεῖς σοι, οἱει χρήναι αὐτούς μηδὲν ἄλλο ποιεῖν ἢ ἐσθίειν καὶ καθεύδειν; πότερον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθέρων τού ὦτω ζωντας ἄμεινον διάγοντας ὀρᾶς καὶ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονίζεις ἢ τοὺς

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“What is an artisan? one who knows how to produce something useful?”
“Certainly.”
“Are groats useful?”
“Yes, very.”
“And bread?”
“No less so.”
“What about men’s and women’s cloaks, shirts, capes, smocks?”
“Yes, all these things too are very useful.”
“Then don’t the members of your household know how to make any of these?”
“I believe they can make all of them.”
“Don’t you know, then, that by manufacturing one of these commodities, namely groats, Nausicydes keeps not only himself and his family, but large herds of swine and cattle as well, and has so much to spare that he often undertakes costly public duties; that Cyrebus feeds his whole family well and lives in luxury by baking bread, Demeas of Collytus by making capes, Menon by making cloaks; and most of the Megarians make a good living out of smocks?”
“Yes, of course; for they buy foreign slaves and can force them to make what is convenient, but my household is made up of gentlefolk and relations.”
“And so, just because they are gentlefolk and related to you, you think they should do nothing but eat and sleep? Do you find that other gentlefolk who live this sort of life are better off and
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

ά ἑπίστανται χρήσιμα πρός τον βίον τούτων ἐπιμελομένους; ἢ τήν μὲν ἄργιαν καὶ τήν ἀμέλειαν αἰσθάνη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις πρός τε τὸ μαθεῖν ἂ προσήκει ἑπίστασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ μνημονεύειν ἂ ἄν μάθωσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν τε καὶ ἰσχύειν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ πρὸς τὸ κτῆσασθαι τε καὶ σώξειν τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὸν βίον ὀφέλημα ὑντα, τήν δὲ ἐργασίαν καὶ τήν ἐπιμέλειαν οὐδὲν χρήσιμα; ἐμάθου ἂ φῆς αὐτᾶς ἑπίστασθαι πότερον ὡς οὔτε χρήσιμα ὑντα πρὸς τὸν βίον οὔτε ποιήσουσι αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἢ τούναστίν ὡς καὶ ἐπιμελησόμεναι τούτων καὶ ὡφεληθησόμεναι ἀπ’ αὐτῶν; ποτέρως γὰρ ἄν μᾶλλον ἀνθρωποί σωφρονοῖεν, ἀργοῦντες ἢ τῶν χρησίμων ἐπιμελομένοι; ποτέρως δ’ ἂν δικαίοτεροι ἔιεν, εἰ ἐργαζόμενο ἥ ἐι ἀργοῦντες

βουλεύοιντο περὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων; ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν μὲν, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, οὔτε σὺ ἐκείνας φιλεῖς οὔτ’ ἐκεῖναι σὲ, σὺ μὲν ἡγούμενος αὐτὰς ἑπιζημίοις εἰναι σεαυτῷ, ἐκεῖναι δὲ σὲ ὀρὼσαι ἀχθομένου ἐφ’ ἑαυταῖς. ἐκ δὲ τούτων κύδυνοι μείζω τε ἀπέχθειαν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὴν προγεγονούιαν χάριν μειοῦσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ προστατήσης, ὅπως ἐνεργὸ.BOLD

τοῦτον κύδυνοι μείζω τε ἀπέχθειαν γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὴν προγεγονούιαν χάριν μειοῦσθαι. ἐὰν δὲ προστατήσῃς, ὅπως ἐνεργὸ

καὶ οἰκείοτερον ἀλλήλοις ἔξετε. εἰ μὲν τοῦτων αἰσχρῶν τι ἔμελλον ἐργάσεσθαι, θάνατον ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ προαιρετέου ὑν’ νῦν δὲ ἂ μὲν δοκεὶ κάλλιστα καὶ πρεπωδέστατα γυναιξὶν εἰναι ἑπίστανται, ὡς ἔοικε. πάντες δὲ ἂ ἑπίστανται βάστα τε καὶ 152
happier than those who are usefully employed in work that they understand? Or is it your experience that idleness and carelessness help men to learn what they ought to know and remember what they learn, to make themselves healthy and strong, and to get and keep things that are of practical use, but industry and carefulness are useless things? When these women learned the work that you say they understand, did they regard it as of no practical use, and had they no intention of taking it up, or did they mean to occupy themselves in it and obtain some benefit from it? Which makes men more prudent, idleness or useful employment? Which makes men more just, work or idle discussions about supplies? Besides, at present, I fancy, you don't love these ladies and they don't love you: you think they are a tax on you, and they see that you feel them to be a burden. And the danger in this state of things is that dislike may grow and their former gratitude fade away; but if you exert your authority and make them work, you will love them, when you find that they are profitable to you, and they will be fond of you, when they feel that you are pleased with them. Both you and they will like to recall past kindnesses and will strengthen the feeling of gratitude that these engender; thus you will be better friends and feel more at home. To be sure, if they were going to do something disgraceful, death would be a better fate. But in point of fact the work they understand is, as it appears, the work considered the most honourable and the most suitable for a woman; and the work that is understood is always done with the greatest
τάχιστα καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ ἦδιστα ἐργάζονται. μὴ οὖν ὁκνεῖ, ἐφη, ταῦτα εἰσηγεῖσθαι αὐταῖς, ἂ σοὶ τε λυσιτελήσει κακείναις, καὶ, ὡς εἰκός, ἦδέως ὑπακούσονται.

11 Ἀλλὰ νῦ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐφη ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος, οὕτως μοι δοκεῖς καλῶς λέγειν, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὥστε πρόσθεν μὲν οὐ προσεῖμην δανείσασθαι εἰδῶς, ὅτι ἀναλώσας ὅ ἄν λάβως οὐχ ἔξω ἀποδοῦναι, νῦν δὲ μοι δοκῶ εἰς ἔργων ἀφορμὴν ὑπομενεῖν αὐτὸ ποιῆσαι.

12 Ἐκ τούτων δὲ ἐπορίσθη μὲν ἀφορμή, ἐωνήθη δὲ ἔρια, καὶ ἐργαζόμεναι μὲν ἠρίστων, ἐργασάμεναι δὲ ἐδείπνουν, ἰλαραί δὲ ἀντὶ σκυθρωπῶν ἠσαν καὶ ἀντὶ υφορωμένων εὐαυτοὺς ἠδέως ἀλλήλους ἑώρων, καὶ αἱ μὲν ὡς κηδεμόνα ἐφίλουν, ὅ δὲ ὡς ωφελίμους ἡγάπα. τέλος δὲ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν Σωκράτην χαίρων διηγεῖτο ταῦτα τε καὶ ὅτι αἰτιῶνται αὐτὸν μόνον τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀργῶν ἐσθίειν.

13 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐφη: Εἴτ' οὐ λέγεις αὐταῖς τὸν τού κυνὸς λόγον; φασί γάρ, ὃτε φωνήμετα ἡν τὰ ξύλα, τὴν οὖν πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην εἰπεῖν. Θαυμαστὸν ποιεῖς, ὅς ἦμιν μὲν ταῖς καὶ ἔρια σοι καὶ ἄρνας καὶ τυρῶν παρεχούσαις οὐδὲν δίδως ὁ, τι ἂν μὴ ἐκ τῆς γῆς λάβωμεν, τῷ δὲ κυνί, ὅς οὐδέν τοιούτων σοι παρέχει, μεταδίδως οὕτε αὐτὸς ἔχεις σίτου. τὸν κύνα οὖν ἀκούσαντα εἰπεῖν. Ναί μὰ Δί: ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι ὁ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτὰς σώζων, ὡστε μῆτε ὑπ’ ἀνθρώπων κλέπτεσθαι μῆτε ὑπὸ λύκων ἄρπαξέσθαι, ἐπεὶ ὑμεῖς γε, εἰ μὴ ἐγὼ προφυλάττομι ὑμᾶς, οὐδ’ ἂν νέμεσθαι δύναισθε φοβοῦμεναι, μὴ ἀπόλησθε.
ease, speed, pride and pleasure. So do not hesitate to offer them work that will yield a return both to you and to them, and probably they will welcome your proposal."

"Well, well," said Aristarchus, "your advice seems so good, Socrates, that I think I shall now bring myself to borrow capital to make a start. Hitherto I have had no inclination to do so, knowing that when I had spent the loan I should not have the wherewithal to repay it."

The consequence was that capital was provided and wool purchased. The women worked during dinner and only stopped at the supper hour. There were happy instead of gloomy faces: suspicious glances were exchanged for pleasant smiles. They loved him as a guardian and he liked them because they were useful. Finally Aristarchus came to Socrates and told him this with delight. "One objection they have to me," he added: "I am the only member of the household who eats the bread of idleness."

"Then why not tell them the story of the dog?" asked Socrates. "It is said that when beasts could talk, a sheep said to her master: 'It is strange that you give us sheep nothing but what we get from the land, though we supply you with wool and lambs and cheese, and yet you share your own food with your dog, who supplies you with none of these things.' The dog heard this, and said: 'Of course he does. Do not I keep you from being stolen by thieves, and carried off by wolves? Why, but for my protection you couldn't even feed for fear of
οὐτω δή λέγεται καὶ τὰ πρόβατα συγχωρήσαι τὸν κύνα προτιμᾶσθαι. καὶ σὺ ὁνν ἐκεῖνας λέγε, ὅτι ἀντὶ κυνὸς εἶ φύλαξ καὶ ἐπιμελητὴς καὶ διὰ σὲ οὐδ’ ὑφ’ εὖνας ἀδικούμεναι ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ ἴδεως ἐργαζόμεναι ζώσιν.

VIII. Ἀλλον δὲ ποτε ἀρχαῖον ἐταίρον διὰ χρόνου ἰδών, Πόθεν, ἐφη, Εὐθηρε, φαίνῃ;
Τπὸ μὲν τῇν κατάλυσιν τοῦ πολέμου, ἐφη, ὣς Σώκρατες, ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας, νυνὶ μέντοι αὐτόθεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀφηρέθην μὲν τὰ ἐν τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ κτήματα, ἐν δὲ τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὁ πατήρ μοι οὐδὲν κατέλιπεν, ἀναγκάζομαι νῦν ἐπιδημήσας τῷ σώματι ἐργαζόμενος τὰ ἐπιτηδεία πορίζεσθαι. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι τοῦτο κρείττον εἶναι ἢ δεῖσθαί τινος ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντα, ἐφ’ ὀτρὰν δανειζόμην.

2 Καὶ πόσοιν ἄν χρόνων οἶει σοι, ἐφη, τὸ σῶμα ἰκανὸν εἶναι μισθοῦ τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ἐργαζόμεναι;
Μὰ τὸν Δι’, ἐφη, οὐ πολὺν χρόνον.
Καὶ μήν, ἐφη, ὅταν γε πρεσβύτερος γένη, δήλον ὅτι δαπάνης μὲν δεήσῃ, μισθὸν δὲ οὐδεὶς σοι ἐθελήσει τῶν τοῦ σώματος ἐργῶν διδόναι.

3 Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, κρείττον ἑστὶν αὐτόθεν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπιτιθέσθαι, ἢ καὶ πρεσβύτερῳ γενομένῳ ἐπαρκέσθαι, καὶ προσελθῶντα τῷ τῶν πλείωνα χρήματα κεκτημένων, τῷ δεσμόνῳ τοῦ συνεπιμελησμένου, ἐργῶν τε ἐπιστατούντα καὶ συγκομίζοντα τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ συμφυλάττοντα τῆς οὐσίαν ὧφελοῦντα ἀντωφελείσθαι.

4 Χαλεπῶς ἂν, ἐφη, ἐγώ, ὡς Σώκρατες, δουλεῖαν ὑπομείναιμι.
being killed.’ And so, they say, the sheep admitted the dog’s claim to preference. Do you then tell these women that you are their watch-dog and keeper, and it is due to you that they live and work in safety and comfort, with none to harm them.”

VIII. Again, on meeting an old comrade after long absence he said: “Where do you come from, Eutherus?”

“I came home when the war ended, Socrates, and am now living here,” he replied. “Since we have lost our foreign property, and my father left me nothing in Attica, I am forced to settle down here now and work for my living with my hands. I think it’s better than begging, especially as I have no security to offer for a loan.”

“And how long will you have the strength, do you think, to earn your living by your work?”

“Oh, not long, of course.”

“But remember, when you get old you will have to spend money, and nobody will be willing to pay you for your labour.”

“True.”

“Then it would be better to take up some kind of work at once that will assure you a competence when you get old, and to go to somebody who is better off and wants an assistant, and get a return for your services by acting as his bailiff, helping to get in his crops and looking after his property.”

“I shouldn’t like to make myself a slave, Socrates.”
Καὶ μὴν οὗ γε ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστατεύοντες καὶ τῶν δημοσίων ἐπιμελόμενοι οὐ δουλοπρεπεῖστεροι ἕνεκα τούτων, ἀλλά ἐλευθεριώτεροι νομίζονται.

5 Ὁλως, ἔφη, ὦ Σωκράτες, τὸ ὑπαίτιον εἶναι τινι οὐ πάνω προσεῖμαι. Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, Ἐὐθῆρε, οὐ πάνω γε ῥαδίον ἔστιν εὐρεῖων ἔργον, ἔφη οὐκ ἂν τις αἰτίαν ἔχοι. χαλεπὸν γὰρ οὕτω τί ποιήσαι, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν, χαλεπὸν δὲ καὶ ἀναμαρτήτως τι ποιῆσαντα μὴ ἀγνώμονι κρίτῃ περιτυχεῖν ἐτεί καὶ οἷς νῦν ἐργάζεσθαι φής θαυμάζω.

6 εἰ ῥαδίον ἔστιν ἀνέγκλητον διαγίνεσθαι. χρὴ οὖν πειράσθαι τοὺς φιλαίτιους φεύγειν καὶ τοὺς εὐγνώμονας διώκειν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ὁσα μὲν δύνασαι ποιεῖν ὑπομένειν, ὁσα δὲ μὴ δύνασαι φυλλάττεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ ἀν πράττει, τούτων ὡς κάλλιστα καὶ προθυμότατα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. οὕτω γὰρ ἥκιστ' ἂν μὲν σε οἵματι ἐν αἰτίᾳ εἶναι, μάλιστα δὲ τῇ ἀπορίᾳ βοήθειαν εὐρεῖν, ράστα δὲ καὶ ἀκίνδυνότατα ξῆν καὶ εἰς τὸ γῆρας διαρκέσστατα.

IX. Οἶδα δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ Κρίτωνος ἀκούσαντα, ως χαλεπὸν ὁ βίος Ἀθηνᾶς εἰη ἀνδρὶ βουλομένω τὰ ἐαυτοῦ πράττειν. Νῦν γὰρ, ἔφη, ἐμὲ τινὲς εἰς δίκας ἀγούσιν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀδικοῦνται ὑπ' ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὅτι νομίζοσιν ἡδίον ἂν μὲ ἀργύριον τελέσαι ἢ πράγματα ἕχειν.

2 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἐιπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Κρίτων, κῦνας δὲ τρέφεις, ἵνα σοι τοὺς λύκους ἀπὸ τῶν προβάτων ἀπερύκωσι; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη· μᾶλλον γὰρ μοι λυσιτελεῖ τρέφειν ἢ μη.
Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θρέψας καὶ ἀνδρα, ὡστὶς ἐθέλοι 158
"But surely those who control their cities and take charge of public affairs are thought more respectable, not more slavish on that account."

"Briefly, Socrates, I have no inclination to expose myself to any man's censure."

"But, you see, Eutherus, it is by no means easy to find a post in which one is not liable to censure. Whatever one does, it is difficult to avoid mistakes, and it is difficult to escape unfair criticism even if one makes no mistakes. I wonder if you find it easy to avoid complaints entirely even from your present employers. You should try, therefore, to have no truck with grumblers and to attach yourself to considerate masters; to undertake such duties as you can perform and beware of any that are too much for you, and, whatever you do, to give of your best and put your heart into the business. In this way, I think, you are most likely to escape censure, find relief from your difficulties, live in ease and security, and obtain an ample competence for old age."

IX. I remember that he once heard Criton say that life at Athens was difficult for a man who wanted to mind his own business. "At this moment," Criton added, "actions are pending against me not because I have done the plaintiffs an injury, but because they think that I would sooner pay than have trouble."

"Tell me, Criton," said Socrates, "do you keep dogs to fend the wolves from your sheep?"

"Certainly," replied Criton, "because it pays me better to keep them."

"Then why not keep a man who may be able
XENOPHON

tε καὶ δύναιτό σου ἀπερύκειν τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ἄδικείν σε;

'Ἰδέως γ' ἄν, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ φοβοῖμην, ὅτις μὴ ἐπ' αὐτὸν με τράποιτο.

3 Τί δὲ; ἐφη, οὖν ὀρᾶς, ὅτι πολλῷ ἦδιόν ἐστι χαριζόμενον οἷς σοί ἀνδρὶ ἢ ἀπεχόμενον ἀφε-

λείσθαι; εὖ ἵσθι, ὅτι εἰσίν εὐθάδε τῶν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν οἱ πάνω ἂν φιλοτιμηθείεν φίλω σοι

χρήσθαι.

4 Καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀνευρίσκουσιν Ἀρχέδημον, πάνω μὲν ἰκανὸν εἶπεῖν τε καὶ πρᾶξαι, πένητα
dὲ οὐ γὰρ ἦν οἶος ἀπὸ παντὸς κερδαίνειν, ἄλλα
φιλόχρηστος τε καὶ ἐφὴ ρᾶστον εἰναι ἀπὸ τῶν
συκοφαντῶν λαμβάνειν. τούτῳ οὖν ὁ Κρίτων,
ὅποτε συγκομίζοι ἡ σιτον ἡ ἔλαιον ἡ οἶνον ἡ
ἐρία ἡ τι ἀλλο τῶν ἐν ἀγρῷ γιγνομένων χρησίμων
πρὸ τὸν βίον, ἀφελῶν ἔδίδου καὶ ὀπότε θύοι,

5 ἐκάλει καὶ τὰ τοιαύτα πάντα ἐπεμελέστην. νομίσας
dὲ ὁ Ἀρχέδημος ἀποστροφήν οἱ τὸν Κρίτωνος
οἶκον μάλα περείπτεν αὐτῶν. καὶ εὐθὺς τῶν
συκοφαντοῦντων τὸν Κρίτωνα ἀνευρίσκει πολλὰ
μὲν ἀδικήματα, πολλοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς, καὶ αὐτῶν
τινα προσεκαλεσάιτο1 εἰς δίκην δημοσίαν, εὖ
ἡ αὐτῶν ἐδει κριθῆναι, δὲι δεῖ παθεῖν ἢ ἀπο-
tίσαι. ὁ δὲ συνειδῶς αὐτῷ πολλὰ καὶ ποιηρὰ
πάντ' ἐποίει, ὥστε ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ Ἀρχέδημοι.
ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέδημος οὐκ ἀπηλλάττετο, ἐὼς τὸν τε

6 Κρίτωνα ἀφῇ καὶ αὐτῷ χρήματα ἔδωκεν. ἔπει
dὲ τούτῳ τε καὶ ἄλλα τοιαύτα ὁ Ἀρχέδημος διε-
πράξατο, ἢδη τότε, ὡσπερ ὅταν νομεὺς ἀγαθὸν
κύνα ἔχῃ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι νομεὺς βούλονται πλησίον
αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀγέλας ἱστάναι, ὡς τοῦ κυνὸς ἀπο-

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and willing to fend off the attempts to injure you?

"I would gladly do so were I not afraid that he might turn on me."

"What? don't you see that it is much pleasanter to profit by humouring a man like you than by quarrelling with him? I assure you there are men in this city who would take pride in your friendship."

Thereupon they sought out Archedemus, an excellent speaker and man of affairs, but poor. For he was not one of those who make money unscrupulously, but an honest man, and he would say that it was easy to take forfeit from false accusers. So whenever Criton was storing corn, oil, wine, wool or other farm produce, he would make a present of a portion to Archedemus, and when he sacrificed, he invited him, and in fact lost no similar opportunity of showing courtesy. Archedemus came to regard Criton's house as a haven of refuge and constantly paid his respects to him. He soon found out that Criton's false accusers had much to answer for and many enemies. He brought one of them to trial on a charge involving damages or imprisonment. The defendant, conscious that he was guilty on many counts, did all he could to get quit of Archedemus. But Archedemus refused to let him off until he withdrew the action against Criton and compensated him. Archedemus carried through several other enterprises of a similar kind; and now many of Criton's friends begged him to make Archedemus their protector, just as when a shepherd

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1 προσεκαλεῖτο, Sauppe with A.
λαῦσων, οὔτω δὴ καὶ Κρίτωνος πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων ἐδέοντο καὶ σφίσι παρέχειν φύλακα τὸν
8 Ἀρχέδημον. ὁ δὲ Ἀρχέδημος τῷ Κρίτωνι ἤδεως ἔχαριζε, καὶ οὐχ ὅτι μόνος ὁ Κρίτων ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ. εἰ δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων, οῖς ἀπῆχθετο, ὁνειδίζοι, ὡς ὑπὸ Κρίτωνος ὧφελούμενος κολακεύοι αὐτὸν, Πότερον οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀρχέδημος, οἰσχρὸν ἐστὶν ἐνεργετοῦμενον ὑπὸ χρηστῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀντενεργετοῦντα τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους φίλους ποιεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς διαφέρεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς μὲν κάλους κἀγαθοὺς ἀδικεῖν πειράμενον ἐχθροὶς ποιεῖσθαι, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς συνεργοῦντα πειρᾶσθαι φίλους ποιεῖσθαι καὶ χρησθαι τούτοις αὐτ' ἐκεῖνων;
'Εκ δὲ τούτου εἰς τε τῶν Κρίτωνος φίλων Ἀρχέδημος ἦν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλῶν Κρίτωνος φίλων ἐτιμᾶτο.
Χ. Οίδα δὲ καὶ Διοδώρῳ αὐτὸν ἐταίρῳ ὑντι τοιάδε διαλεξθέντα.
Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Διόδωρε, ἃν τίς σοι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἀπόδρα, ἐπιμελῆ, ὡς ἀνασώσῃ;
2 Καὶ ἄλλους γε νῦ 'Δι', ἔφη, παρακαλῶ σῶστα τοῦτον ἀνακηρύττων.
Τί γὰρ; ἔφη, εἰάν τίς σοι κάμην τῶν οἰκετῶν, τοῦτον ἐπιμελῆ καὶ παρακαλεῖς ἵπτρούς, ὡς μὴ ἀποθάνῃ;
Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη.
Εἰ δὲ τίς σοι τῶν γνωρίμων, ἔφη, πολὺ τῶν οἰκετῶν χρησιμότερος ὁν κινδυνεύοι δὴ ἐνδειαν ἀπολέσθαι, οὐκ οιεὶ σοι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπιμεληθήναι,
has a good dog the other shepherds want to pen their flocks near his, in order to get the use of his dog. Archedemus was glad to humour Criton, and so there was peace not only for Criton but for his friends as well. If anyone whom he had offended reproached Archedemus with flattering Criton because he found him useful, he would answer: "Which, then, is disgraceful: to have honest men for your friends, by accepting and returning their favours, and to fall out with rogues; or to treat gentlemen as enemies by trying to injure them, and to make friends of rogues by siding with them, and to prefer their intimacy?"  

Henceforward Archedemus was respected by Criton's friends and was himself numbered among them.

X. Again I recall the following conversation between him and his companion Diodorus.

"Tell me, Diodorus," he said, "if one of your servants runs away, do you take steps to bring him back safe?"

"Yes, of course," he replied, "and I invite others to help, by offering a reward for the recovery of the man."

"And further, if one of your servants is ill, do you take care of him and call in doctors to prevent him dying?"

"Indeed I do."

"Well, suppose that one of your acquaintance, who is much more useful than your servants, is near being ruined by want, don't you think it worth your

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1 The Archedemus surpasses even the Socrates of Xenophon in the art of dressing up the obvious in the guise of a conundrum.
3 ὃπως διασωθή; καὶ μὴν οἰσθά γε, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγνώμων ἔστιν Ἐρμογένης. Αἰσχύνοιτο δ᾿ ἂν, εἴ ὥφελούμενος ὑπὸ σοῦ μὴ ἀντωφελοῖ σε. καίτοι τὸ ὑπηρέτην ἐκόντα τε καὶ εύνουν καὶ παραμόνιον καὶ τὸ κελευόμενον ἰκανὸν ὄντα ποιεῖν ἔχειν καὶ μὴ μόνον τὸ κελευόμενον ἰκανὸν ὄντα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ δυνάμενον καὶ ἀφ᾿ έαυτοῦ χρήσιμον εἶναι καὶ προποεῖν καὶ προβουλεύεσθαι

4 πολλῶν οἰκετῶν οῖμαι ἀντάξιον εἶναι. οἱ μέντοι ἀγαθοὶ οἰκονόμοι, ὅταν τὸ πολλοῦ ἄξιον μικρὸν ἔξῆ πρίασθαι, τότε φασὶ δεῖν ὑνεῖσθαι. νῦν δὲ διὰ τὰ πράγματα εὐωνυτάτους ἐστὶ φίλους ἀγαθοὺς κτήσασθαι.

5 Καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος, Ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε, ἔφη, λέγεις, ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ κέλευσον ἐλθεῖν ὡς ἐμὲ τὸν Ἐρμογένην.
Μὰ Δι᾿, ἔφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε νομίζω γὰρ οὐτε σοὶ κάλλιον εἶναι τὸ. καλέσαι ἐκείνον τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐκείνον οὐτ᾿ ἐκείνῳ μεἰζον ἀγαθον τὸ πραχθῆναι ταῦτα ἢ σοί.

6 Οὗτος δὴ ὁ Διόδωρος ψχετο πρὸς τὸν Ἐρμογένην, καὶ οὐ πολὺ τελέσας εκτήσατο φίλου, ὅς ἔργον εἰχε σκοπεῖν ὁ τι ἂν ἢ λέγων ἢ πράττων ωφελοῦ τε καὶ εὐφραίνοι Διόδωρον.
while to take steps to save him? Now you know that Hermogenes is a conscientious man and would be ashamed to take a favour from you without making a return. Yet surely it is worth many servants to have a willing, loyal, staunch subordinate, capable of doing what he is told, and not only so, but able to make himself useful unbidden, to think clearly and give advice. Good householders, you know, say that the right time to buy is when a valuable article can be bought at a low price; and in these times the circumstances afford an opportunity of acquiring good friends very cheap."

"Thank you, Socrates," said Diodorus, "pray bid Hermogenes call on me."

"No, indeed I won't," said he; "for in my opinion it is at least as good for you to go to him yourself as to invite him to come to you, and you have quite as much to gain as he by doing so."

The consequence was that Diodorus set off to visit Hermogenes; and in return for a small sum he acquired a friend who made a point of thinking how he could help and please him either by word or deed.
BOOK III
Γ

1. Ὅτι δὲ τοὺς ὅρεγομένους τῶν καλῶν ἐπιμελεῖς ὃν ὀρέγοιντο ποιῶν ὃφελεί, νῦν τούτο διηγήσομαι. ἀκούσας γάρ ποτε Διονυσόδωρον εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἤκειν ἐπαγγελλόμενον στρατηγεῖν διδάξειν, ἔλεξε πρὸς τινα τῶν συνόντων, δυν ἡσθάνετο βουλόμενον τῆς τιμῆς ταύτης ἐν τῇ πόλει 2 τυχεῖν. Αἰσχρῶν μέντοι, ὃ νεανία, τὸν βουλόμενον ἐν τῇ πόλει στρατηγεῖν, ἔξον τούτῳ μαθεῖν, ἀμελήσαι αὐτοῦ· καὶ δικαίως ἂν οὕτως ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ζημιοῖτο πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ τις ἀνδριᾶντας 3 ἔργολαβοί μὴ μεμαθηκῶς ἀνδριαντοποιεῖν. ὡλὴ γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις ἐπιτρεπομένης τῷ στρατηγῷ, μεγάλα τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ κατορθοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ κακὰ διαμαρτάνοντος εἰκὸς γίγνεσθαι. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἂν δικαίως ὁ τοῦ μὲν μαυθανείν τοῦτο ἀμελῶν, τοῦ δὲ αἱρεθήναι ἐπιμελόμενος ζημιοῖτο;

Τοιαύτα μὲν δὴ λέγων ἐπείσεν αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα 4 μαυθανεῖν. ἔπει δὲ μεμαθηκὸς ἢκε, προσέπαιξεν αὐτῷ λέγων. Οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν, ὃ ἄνδρες, ὡσπερ Ὁμήρος τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονα γεραρὸν ἔφη εἰναι, καὶ ὁδε στρατηγεῖν μαθῶν γεραρωτέρος φαίνεσθαι; καὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ ὁ κιθαρίζειν μαθῶν καὶ ἔαν μὴ κιθαρίζῃ, κιθαριστὴς ἐστι καὶ ὁ μαθῶν ἴασθαι κἂν μὴ ἰατρεύῃ, ὅμως ἰατρός ἐστιν, οὔτω καὶ ὁδε ἀπὸ τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου διατελεῖ στρατηγὸς ὃν, κἂν μηδεῖς αὐτὸν ἔληται. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενος 168
BOOK III

I. I will now explain how he helped those who were eager to win distinction by making them qualify themselves for the honours they coveted.

He once heard that Dionysodorus had arrived at Athens, and gave out that he was going to teach generalship. Being aware that one of his companions wished to obtain the office of general from the state, he addressed him thus: "Young man, surely it would be disgraceful for one who wishes to be a general in the state to neglect the opportunity of learning the duties, and he would deserve to be punished by the state much more than one who carved statues without having learned to be a sculptor. For in the dangerous times of war the whole state is in the general's hands, and great good may come from his success and great evil from his failure. Therefore anyone who exerts himself to gain the votes, but neglects to learn the business, deserves punishment."

This speech persuaded the man to go and learn. When he had learnt his lesson and returned, Socrates chaffed him. "Don't you think, sirs," he said, "that our friend looks more 'majestic,' as Homer called Agamemnon, now that he has learnt generalship? For just as he who has learnt to play the harp is a harper even when he doesn't play, and he who has studied medicine is a doctor even though he doesn't practise, so our friend will be a general for ever, even if no one votes for him. But your
οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε ἱατρός ἐστιν, οὔτε ἐὰν ὑπὸ 5 πάντων ἀνθρώπων αἱρεθῇ. ἀτάρ, ἐφη, ἢνα καὶ ἐὰν ἦμων τις ἢ ταξιαρχὴ ἢ λοχαγὴ σοι, ἐπιστημονέστεροι τῶν πολεμικῶν ὄμεν, λέξον ἦμῶν, πόθεν ἥρξατο σε διδάσκειν τὴν στρατηγίαν.

Καὶ ὅσι, Ἡκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ, ἐφη, εἰς ὅπερ καὶ ἐτελεύτα· τὰ γὰρ τακτικὰ ἐμὲ γε καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐδίδαξεν.

6 Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἐφη ὁ Σώκρατης, τοῦτὸ γε πολλοστὸν μέρος ἐστὶ στρατηγίας. καὶ γὰρ παρασκευαστικὸν τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶναι χρῆ καὶ ποριστικὸν τῶν ἐπιτη- 7 δείων τοῖς στρατιώταισι καὶ μηχανικὸν καὶ ἐργαστι- κὸν καὶ ἐπιμελῆ καὶ καρτερικὸν καὶ ἀγχίουν καὶ 8 φιλόφρονα τε καὶ ὦμον καὶ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ 9 ἐπὶβουλον καὶ φυλακτικὸν τε καὶ κλέπτην καὶ 10 προετικὸν καὶ ἀρπαγα καὶ φιλόδωρου καὶ 11 πλεονέκτην καὶ ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἐπιθετικὸν, καὶ ἄλλα 12 πολλὰ καὶ φύσει καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ δεῖ τὸν εὐ 13 στρατηγήσουσαν εἴχειν. καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ τακτικὸν 14 εἶναι· πολὺ γὰρ διαφέρει στράτευμα τεταγμένον 15 ἀτάκτου, ὡσπερ λίθοι τε καὶ πλίνθοι καὶ ξύλα 16 καὶ κέραμος ἀτάκτως μὲν ἐρριμένα οὐδὲν 17 χρῆσιμα ἐστίν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταχθῇ κατώ μὲν καὶ 18 ἐπιπολῆς τὰ μήτε σημόμενα μήτε τηκόμενα, οὐ 19 τε λίθοι καὶ ὁ κέραμος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αὐτὰ τε πλίνθοι 20 καὶ τὰ ξύλα, ὡσπερ ἐν οἰκοδομίᾳ συντίθενται, 21 τότε γίγνεται πολλοῦ ἄξιον κτῆμα οἰκία.

Ἀλλὰ πάνυ, ἐφη ὁ νεανίσκος, ὅμοιον, ὁ 22 Σώκρατες, εἰρηκας. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς 23 ἀρίστους πρῶτους δεῖ τάττειν καὶ τελευταῖους, ἐν

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ignoramus is neither general nor doctor, even if he gets every vote. But," he continued, "in order that any one of us who may happen to command a regiment or platoon under you may have a better knowledge of warfare, tell us the first lesson he gave you in generalship."

"The first was like the last," he replied; "he taught me tactics—nothing else."

"But then that is only a small part of generalship. For a general must also be capable of furnishing military equipment and providing supplies for the men; he must be resourceful, active, careful, hardy and quick-witted; he must be both gentle and brutal, at once straightforward and designing, capable of both caution and surprise, lavish and rapacious, generous and mean, skilful in defence and attack; and there are many other qualifications, some natural, some acquired, that are necessary to one who would succeed as a general. It is well to understand tactics too; for there is a wide difference between right and wrong disposition of the troops, just as stones, bricks, timber and tiles flung together anyhow are useless, whereas when the materials that neither rot nor decay, that is, the stones and tiles, are placed at the bottom and the top, and the bricks and timber are put together in the middle, as in building, the result is something of great value, a house, in fact."

"Your analogy is perfect, Socrates," said the youth; "for in war one must put the best men in the van and the rear, and the worst in the centre,

1 Cyropaedia, i. vi. 14. 2 Ibid., vi. iii. 25. 3 Ibid., vii. v. 4.
μέσῳ δὲ τοὺς χειρίστους, ἵνα υπὸ μὲν τῶν ἀγωνταί, υπὸ δὲ τῶν ὀθωνταί.

9 Εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν, ἐφη, καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν σε τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἐδίδαξεν εἰ δὲ μὴ, τί σοι ὀφελος ὃν ἐμαθες; ούδὲ γὰρ εἰ σε ἀργύριον ἐκέλευσε πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τελευταίον τὸ κάλλιστον τάττειν, εἰ μέσῳ δὲ τὸ χειρίστον, μὴ διδάξας δια-

γιγνώσκειν τὸ τε καλὸν καὶ τὸ κίβδηλον, οὐδὲν ἂν σοι ὀφελος ἦν.

'Αλλὰ μὰ Δι', ἐφη, οὐκ ἐδίδαξεν· ὅστε αὐτοὺς ἄν ἡμᾶς δέοι τοὺς τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς κρίνειν.

10 Τί οὖν οὐ σκοπούμεν, ἐφη, πῶς ἄν αὐτῶν μὴ διαμαρτάνοιμεν;

Βούλομαι, ἐφη ὁ νεανίσκος.

Οὔκον, ἐφη, εἰ μὲν ἀργύριον δέοι ἀρπάξειν, τοὺς φιλαργυρωτάτους πρῶτους καθιστάντες ὀρθῶς ἄν τάττοιμεν;

'Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Τί δὲ τοὺς κινδυνεύεις μέλλοντας; ᾧρα τοὺς φιλοτιμοτάτους προτακτέον;

Οὔτοι γοῦν εἰσιν, ἐφη, οἱ ἑνεκα ἑπαίνου κινδυ-


νεύειν ἑθέλοντες. οὐ τοῖνυν οὔτοι γε ἀδήλου, ἀλλ' ἑπιφανεῖς πανταχόν οὕτε εὐεύρετοι ἄν έλευ.

11 'Ἀτάρ, ἐφη, πότερά σε τάττειν μόνον ἐδίδαξεν ἥ καὶ ὀπη καὶ ὅπως χρηστέον ἐκάστῳ τῶν ταγμάτων;

Οὔ πάνυ, ἐφη.

Καὶ μὴν πολλά γ' ἐστί, πρὸς ἄ οὔτε τάττειν οὔτε ἀγείν ὡσαύτως προσήκει.

'Αλλὰ μὰ Δι', ἐφη, οὐ διεσαφήνιζε ταῦτα.
that they may be led by the van and driven forward by the rearguard.”

“Well and good, provided that he taught you also to distinguish the good and the bad men. If not, what have you gained by your lessons? No more than you would have gained if he had ordered you to put the best money at the head and tail, and the worst in the middle, without telling you how to distinguish good from base coin.”

“I assure you he didn’t; so we should have to judge for ourselves which are the good men and which are the bad.”

“Then we had better consider how we may avoid mistaking them.”

“I want to do so,” said the youth.

“Well now,” said Socrates, “if we had to lay hands on a sum of money, would not the right arrangement be to put the most covetous men in the front?”

“I think so.”

“And what should we do with those who are going to face danger? Should our first line consist of the most ambitious?”

“Oh yes: they are the men who will face danger for the sake of glory. About these, now, there is no mystery: they are conspicuous everywhere, and so it is easy to find them.”

“But,” said Socrates, “did he teach you only the disposition of an army, or did he include where and how to use each formation?”

“Not at all.”

“And yet there are many situations that call for a modification of tactics and strategy.”

“I assure you he didn’t explain that.”
Νὴ Δί', ἔφη, πάλιν τοῖνυν ἐλθὼν ἐπανερώτα· ἤν γὰρ ἐπίστηται καὶ μὴ ἀναίδης ἦ, αἰσχυνεῖται ἀργύριον εἰληφὼς ἐνδεὰ σὲ ἀποπέμψασθαι.

Π. Ἐντυχὼν δὲ ποτε στρατηγεῖν ἧρημένῳ τῷ, Τοῦ ἔνεκεν, ἔφη, ὁμηρὸν οἷεὶ τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα προσαγορεύσαι ποιμένα λαῶν; ἀρά γε ο(LED) ὅσπερ τὸν ποιμένα δεῖ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως σῶαι τε ἔσονται αἱ οἰεῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξουσι, καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα τρέφονται, τοῦτο ἔσται, οὕτω καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅπως σῶοι τε οἱ στρατιώται ἔσονται καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐξουσι, καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα στρατεύονται, τοῦτο ἔσται; στρατεύονται δὲ, ἵνα κρατοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἡ τί δήποτε οὕτως ἐπήμεσε τὸν Ἀγα-

μέμνονα εἰπὼν.

Ἀμφότερον, βασιλεὺς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατέρος τ' αἰχμητής;

ἀρά γε ο(LED) αἰχμητής τε κρατέρὸς ἄν εἰη, οὐκ εἳ μόνος αὐτὸς εὐ ἀγωνίζοιτο πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀλλ' εἳ καὶ παντὶ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τοῦτον αἰτίος εἳη, καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀγαθὸς, οὐκ εἳ μόνον τοῦ ἔαντοι βίου καλὼς προεστήκοι, ἀλλ' εἳ καὶ ὅν

3 βασιλεύοι, τοῦτοις εὐδαιμονίας αἰτίος εἳη; καὶ γὰρ βασιλεύς αἴρεῖται οὐχ ἵνα ἔαντοι καλὼς ἐπιμεληται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὐ πράττωσι καὶ στρατεύονται δὲ πάντες, ἵνα ο βίος αὐτοῖς ὡς βέλτιστος ἦ, καὶ στρατηγοῦς αἰροῦνται τοῦτον ἔνεκα, ἵνα πρὸς τοῦτο αὐτοῖς

4 ἤγεμόνες ὅσι. δεὶ οὖν τὸν στρατηγοῦντα τοῦτο παρασκευάζειν τοῖς ἐλομένοις αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν· 174
“Then pray go back and ask him. If he knows and has a conscience, he will be ashamed to send you home ill-taught, after taking your money.”

II. One day when he met a man who had been chosen general, he asked him, 1 “For what reason, think you, is Agamemnon dubbed ‘Shepherd of the people’ by Homer? 2 Is it because a shepherd must see that his sheep are safe and are fed, and that the object for which they are kept is attained, and a general must see that his men are safe and are fed, and that the object for which they fight is attained, or, in other words, that victory over the enemy may add to their happiness? Or what reason 2 can Homer have for praising Agamemnon as ‘both a good king and a doughty warrior too’? 3 Is it that he would be ‘a doughty warrior too’ not if he alone were a good fighter, but if he made all his men like himself; and ‘a good king’ not if he merely ordered his own life aright, but if he made his subjects happy as well? Because a king is chosen, not to take 3 good care of himself, but for the good of those who have chosen him; 4 and all men fight in order that they may get the best life possible, and choose generals to guide them to it. Therefore it is the 4 duty of a commander to contrive this for those who have chosen him for general. For anything more

1 Cyropaedia, viii. xi. 14.  
2 Iliad, ii. 243.  
3 Ibid., iii. 179.  
4 Cyropaedia, i. vi. 8.
καὶ γὰρ οὔτε κάλλιον τοῦτον ἀλλὸ ῥάδιον εὑρεῖν οὔτε αἰσχίον τοῦ ἐναντίον.

Καὶ οὕτως ἐπισκοπῶν, τίς εἰη ἁγαθοῦ ἁγεμόνος ἀρετή, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα περιήρει, κατέλειπε δὲ τὸ εὐδαιμονικόν ποιεῖν ὅν ἄν ἦγεται.

Τ. Καὶ ἵππαρχεῖν δὲ τίνι ἤρημεν ὁ ὅδα ποτε αὐτόν τοιῶδε διαλεξέτεντα·

'Εχοις ἂν, ἐφη, ὁ νεανία, εἴπειν ἡμῖν, ὅτου ἐνεκα ἐπεθύμησας ἰππαρχεῖν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ πρῶτος τῶν ἵππεων ἐλαιών, καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἱπποτοξόται τοῦτον γε ἁξιοῦνται προελαύνοντι γοῦν καὶ τῶν ἰππαρχῶν.

'Αληθῆ λέγεις, ἐφη.

'Αλλὰ μὴν οὔτε τοῦ γνωσθῆναι γε· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μαυνόμενοι γε ὑπὸ πάντων γιγνώσκονται.

'Αληθές, ἐφη, καὶ τοῦτο λέγεις.

2 Ἀλλ' ἀρα ὅτι τὸ ἱππικὸν οἴει ἂν τῇ πόλει βέλτιον ποιήσας παραδοῦναι, καὶ εἶ τις χρεία γίγνοιτο ἵππεων, τοῦτων ἡγούμενος ἁγαθοῦ τινος αἴτιος γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει.

Καὶ μάλα, ἐφη.

Καὶ ἔστι γε νὴ Δή, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καλὸν, ἵνα δύνη ταῦτα ποιήσαι. ἦ δὲ ἁρχὴ ποια, ἐφ' ἦν ἡρησι, ἵππων τε καὶ ἀμβατῶν ἔστιν.

'Εστι γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη.

3 Ἡθι δὴ λέξων ἡμῖν τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὅπως διανοῆτο τοὺς ἱππους βελτίους ποιήσαι;

Καὶ ὡς, Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἐφη, οὐκ ἐμὸν οἴμαι τὸ ἐργον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἴδια ἐκαστὸν δεῖν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἵππου ἐπὶ μελεῖσθαι.

4 Ἐαν οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, παρέχωντα σοι τοὺς ἱππους οἱ μὲν οὕτως κακοποδας ἢ κακο-
honourable than that is not easy to find, or anything more disgraceful than its opposite.”

By these reflections on what constitutes a good leader he stripped away all other virtues, and left just the power to make his followers happy.

III. Again, when someone had been chosen a leader of cavalry, I remember that Socrates conversed with him in the following manner:

“Young man,” he said, “can you tell us why you hankered after a cavalry command? I presume it was not to be first of the cavalry in the charge; for that privilege belongs to the mounted archers; at any rate they ride ahead of their commanders even.”

“True.”

“Nor was it to get yourself known either. Even madmen are known to everyone.”

“True again.”

“But perhaps you think you can hand over the cavalry in better condition to the state when you retire, and can do something for the good of the state as a cavalry leader, in case there is any occasion to employ that arm?”

“Yes, certainly,” said he.

“Yes,” said Socrates, “and no doubt it is a fine thing if you can do that. The command, I presume, for which you have been chosen, is the command of horses and riders.”

“Indeed it is.”

“Come then, tell us first how you propose to improve the horses.”

“Oh, but I don’t think that is my business. Every man must look after his own horse.”

“Then if some of your men appear on parade with their horses ailing or suffering from bad feet or sore
σκελεῖς ἢ ἀσθενεῖς, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀτρόφους, ὡστε μὴ δύνασθαι ἀκολουθεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀναγώγους, ὡστε μὴ μένειν ὅποιν ἄν σὺ τάξης, οἱ δὲ οὕτως λακτιστάς, ὡστε μηδὲ τἀξαι δυνατὸν εἶναι, τί σοι τού ἰππικὸν ὀφέλος ἔσται; ἡ πῶς δυνήσῃ τοιούτων ἥγουμενος ἅγαθόν τι ποιήσαι τὴν πόλιν;

Καὶ ὃς, Ἀλλὰ καλῶς τε λέγεις, ἔφη, καὶ πειράσομαι τῶν ἰππῶν εἰς τὸ δυνατὸν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

5 Τί δὲ; τοὺς ἰππέας οὐκ ἐπιχειρήσεις, ἔφη, βελτίωνας ποιήσαι;

"Εγώγ’, ἔφη.

Οὔκοιν πρῶτον μὲν ἀναβατικωτέρους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἰπποὺς ποιήσεις αὐτοὺς;

Δὲ ἤγεν, ἔφη’ καὶ γὰρ εἰ τις αὐτῶν καταπέσοι, μᾶλλον ἄν οὕτω σώζοιτο.

6 Τί γάρ; ἓν πον κινδυνεύειν δέῃ, πότερον ἐπάγειν τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμμον κελεύσεις, ἐνθαπέρ εἰσώθατε ἰππεύειν, ἢ πειράσῃ τᾶς μελέτας ἐν τοιοῦτοις ποιεῖσθαι χωρίοις, εἰν οὐοισπερ οἱ πόλεμοι γίγνονται;

Βέλτιον γοῦν, ἔφη.

7 Τί γάρ; τοῦ βάλλειν ὡς πλείστοις ἀπὸ τῶν ἰππῶν ἐπιμέλειαν τίνα ποιήσει;

Βέλτιον γοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο.

Θήγειν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἰππέων καὶ ἐξοργίζειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀπερ ἀλκιμωτέρους ποιεῖ, διανενόησαι;

Εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε πειράσομαι, ἔφη.

8 Ὅπως δὲ σοι πείθονται οἱ ἰππεῖς, πεφρόντικάς τι; ἀνευ γὰρ δὴ τούτον οὔτε ἰππεῖν οὔτε ἰππέων ἅγαθόν καὶ ἀλκίμων οὐδὲν ὀφελος.
legs, others with underfed animals that can't go the pace, others with restive brutes that won't keep in line, others with such bad kickers that it is impossible to line them up at all, what will you be able to make of your cavalry? how will you be able to do the state any good with a command like that?"

"I am much obliged to you," he replied, "and I will try to look after the horses carefully."

"Won't you also try to improve the men?" said Socrates.

"I will."

"Then will you first train them to mount better?"

"Oh yes, I must, so that if anyone is thrown he may have a better chance of saving himself."

"Further, when there is some danger before you, will you order them to draw the enemy into the sandy ground where your manoeuvres are held, or will you try to carry out your training in the kind of country that the enemy occupy?"

"Oh yes, that is the better way."

"And again, will you pay much attention to bringing down as many of the enemy as possible without dismounting?"

"Oh yes, that too is the better way."

"Have you thought of fostering a keen spirit among the men and hatred of the enemy, so as to make them more gallant in action?"

"Well, at any rate, I will try to do so now."

"And have you considered how to make the men obey you? Because without that horses and men, however good and gallant, are of no use."
'Αληθὴ λέγεις, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ πῶς ἂν τις μάλιστα, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἐπὶ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς προτρέψατο;
9 Ἔκεινο μὲν δῆπον ὀίσθα, ὅτι ἐν παντὶ πράγματι οἱ ἀνθρώποι τοῦτοι μάλιστα ἐθέλουσιν πείθεσθαι, οὕς ἂν ἡγῶνται βελτίστους εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ἐν νόσῳ ὃν ἂν ἡγῶνται ἰατρικόντατον εἶναι, τούτῳ μάλιστα πείθονται, καὶ ἐν πλῆ ὃν ἂν κυβερνητικόντατον, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ ὃν ἂν γεωργικόντατον.
Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.
Οὕκοιν εἰκός, ἔφη, καὶ ἐν ἱππικῇ ὃς ἂν μάλιστα εἰδῶς φαίνεται ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν, τούτῳ μάλιστα ἐθέλειν τοὺς ἄλλους πείθεσθαι.
10 Ἐὰν όν, ἔφη, ἐγώ, ὡς Σώκρατες, βελτιστοῖς ὃν αὐτῶν δῆλος ὃς, ἀρκέσει μοι τοῦτο εἰς τὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐμοί;
'Εὰν γε πρὸς τοῦτο, ἔφη, διδάξῃς αὐτοὺς, ὡς τὸ πείθεσθαι σοι κάλλιον τε καὶ σωτηριώτερον αὐτοῖς ἔσται.
Πῶς ὅν, ἔφη, τοῦτο διδάξω;
Πολὺ νὴ Δι', ἔφη, ῥῶν ἢ ἐι σοι δέοι διδάσκειν, ὡς τὰ κακὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀμείνω καὶ λυσι-τελέστερὰ ἔστι.
11 Δέγεις, ἔφη, σὺ τὸν ἵππαρχον πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖν καὶ τοῦ λέγειν δύνασθαί;
Σὺ δ' ὦν, ἔφη, χρῆναι σιωπὴ ἵππαρχεῖν; ἢ οὐκ ἐντεθύμησαι, ὅτι ὅσα τε νόμῳ μεμαθήκαμεν κάλλιστα ὅντα, δι' ὃν γε ξῆν ἐπιστάμεθα, ταῦτα πάντα διὰ λόγου ἐμάθομεν καὶ εἰ τι ἄλλο καλὸν μανθάνει τις μάθημα, διὰ λόγου μανθάνει καὶ οἱ ἀριστα διδάσκοντες μάλιστα λόγῳ χρῶνται καὶ οἱ τὰ σπουδαίότατα μάλιστα ἐπιστάμενοι κάλ-
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“True, but what is the best way of encouraging them to obey, Socrates?”

“Well, I suppose you know that under all conditions human beings are most willing to obey those whom they believe to be the best. Thus in sickness they most readily obey the doctor, on board ship the pilot, on a farm the farmer, whom they think to be most skilled in his business.”

“Yes, certainly.”

“Then it is likely that in horsemanship too, one who clearly knows best what ought to be done will most easily gain the obedience of the others.”

“If then, Socrates, I am plainly the best horseman among them, will that suffice to gain their obedience?”

“Yes, if you also show them that it will be safer and more honourable for them to obey you.”

“How, then, shall I show that?”

“Well, it’s far easier than if you had to show them that bad is better than good and more profitable.”

“Do you mean that in addition to his other duties a cavalry leader must take care to be a good speaker?”

“Did you suppose that a commander of cavalry should be mum? Did you never reflect that all the best we learned according to custom—the learning, I mean, that teaches us how to live—we learned by means of words, and that every other good lesson to be learned is learned by means of words; that the best teachers rely most on the spoken word and those with the deepest knowledge of the greatest

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1 Cyropaedia, iii. i. 20.

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12 λιστα διαλέγωνται; ἡ τόδε οὐκ ἐντεθύμησαι, ὡς ὦταν γε χορὸς εἰς ἐκ τῆς τῆς πόλεως γίγνηται, ὥσπερ ὁ εἰς Δήλου πεμπόμενος, οὔδεις ἄλλοθεν οὐδαμόθεν τούτῳ ἑφάμιλλος γίγνεται οὔδε εὐανδρία ἐν ἀλλή πόλει ὁμοία τῇ ἐνθάδε συνάγεται;

'Αληθὴ λέγεις, ἐφη.

13 Ἀλλὰ μὴν οὔτε εὐφωνία τοσοῦτον διαφέρουσιν Ἀθηναίοι τῶν ἄλλων οὔτε σωμάτων μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμη ὅσον φιλοτιμία, ἦπερ μάλιστα παροξύνει πρὸς τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἔντιμα.

'Αληθές, ἐφη, καὶ τοῦτο.

14 Οὐκοῦν οἶει, ἐφη, καὶ τοῦ ἵππικοῦ τοῦ ἐνθάδε εἱ τις ἐπιμεληθεῖ, πολὺ ἀν καὶ τοῦτῳ διενεγκέιν τῶν ἄλλων ὅπλων τε καὶ ἰππῶν παρασκευῇ καὶ εὐταξίᾳ καὶ τῷ έτοίμως κινδυνεύειν πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους, εἰ νομίσειαν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἐπαινοῦν καὶ τιμῆς τεύξεσθαι;

Εἰκὸς γε, ἐφη.

15 Μὴ τοίνυν οἴκει, ἐφη, ἀλλὰ πειρὸ τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ἐπὶ ταῦτα προτρέπειν, ἀφ' ὅν αὕτως τε ὁφελήσῃ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πολίται διὰ σέ.

'Αλλὰ νὴ Δία πειράσομαι, ἐφη.

IV. Ἡδὼν δὲ ποτε Νικομαχίδην ἐξ ἀρχαιρεσίων ἀπίόντα ἤρετο· Τίνες, ὡς Νικομαχίδη, στρατηγοῦ ἦρηνται;

Καὶ ὡς, Οὐ γὰρ, ἐφη, ὡς Σῶκρατες, τοιοῦτοι εἰσὶν Ἀθηναίοι, ὥστε ἐμὲ μὲν οὐχ εἶλοντο, ὡς ἐκ καταλόγου στρατευόμενος κατατέτριμμαί καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ τραύματα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοσαῦτα ἔχω· ἀμα δὲ τὰς οὐλὰς τῶν τραυμάτων ἀπογυμνοῦμεν ἐπεδείκνυεν· Ἀντισθένην δὲ, ἐφη, εἶλοντο, τὸν οὔτε ὀπλίτην πω 182
subjects are the best talkers? Did you never reflect that, whenever one chorus is selected from the citizens of this state—for instance, the chorus that is sent to Delos—no choir from any other place can compare with it, and no state can collect so goodly a company?"

"True."

"And yet the reason is that Athenians excel all others not so much in singing or in stature or in strength, as in love of honour, which is the strongest incentive to deeds of honour and renown."

"True again."

"Then don’t you think that if one took the same pains with our cavalry, they too would greatly excel others in arms and horses and discipline and readiness to face the enemy, if they thought that they would win glory and honour by it?"

"I expect so."

"Don’t hesitate then, but try to encourage this keenness among the men: both you and your fellow-citizens will benefit by the results of your efforts."

"Most certainly I will try."

IV. Once on seeing Nicomachides returning from the elections, he asked, "Who have been chosen generals, Nicomachides?"

"Isn’t it like the Athenians?" replied he; "they haven’t chosen me after all the hard work I have done, since I was called up, in the command of company or regiment, though I have been so often wounded in action" (and here he uncovered and showed his scars); "yet they have chosen Antisthenes, who has never served in a marching regiment
στρατευσάμενον ἐν τε τοῖς ἱππεύοις οὐδὲν περὶβλεπτον ποιήσαντα ἐπιστάμενον τε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ χρήματα συλλέγειν;

2 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τούτῳ μὲν ἄγαθον, εἴ γε τοῖς στρατιώταισι ἰκανὸς ἦσται τὰ ἐπιτήδεια πορίζειν;

Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐμποροὶ, ἐφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, χρήματα συλλέγειν ἰκανοί εἰσιν ἀλλ' οὐχ ἐνεκα τούτου καὶ στρατηγεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν.

3 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐφη 'Ἀλλὰ καὶ φιλόνικος Ἀντισθένης ἦστιν, ὁ στρατηγῷ προσεῖναι ἐπιτήδειον ἦστιν' οὖν ὅρας, ὅτι καὶ ὁσάκις κεχορήγηκε, πάσι τοῖς χοροῖς νεϊκήκε;

Μὰ Δι', ἐφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, ἄλλ' οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ἦστι χοροῦ τε καὶ στρατεύματος προεστάναι.

4 Καὶ μὴν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδὲ φίδης γε ὁ Ἀντισθένης οὐδὲ χορῶν διδασκαλίας ἐμπειρός ἣν ὁμοίς ἐγένετο ἰκανὸς εὑρεῖν τοὺς κρατίστους ταῦτα.

Καὶ ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Νικομαχίδης, ἄλλους μὲν εὐρήσει τοὺς τάξοντας ἀν' ἑαυτοῦ, ἄλλους δὲ τοὺς μαχουμένους.

5 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐὰν γε καὶ ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς τοὺς κρατίστους, ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς χορικοῖς, ἐξευρίσκῃ τε καὶ προαιρήται, εἰκότως ἄν καὶ τούτου νικηφόροι εἰς καὶ δαπανάν δ' αὐτῶν εἰκὸς μᾶλλον ἄν ἐθέλειν εἰς τὴν σὺν ὅλη τῇ πόλει τῶν πολεμικῶν νίκην ἢ εἰς τὴν σὺν τῇ φυλῇ τῶν χορικῶν.

6 Δέγεις σύ, ἐφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, ὡς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἦστι χορηγεῖν τε καλῶς καὶ στρατηγεῖν;

Δέγω ἐγώ γ', ἐφη, ὡς ὅτου ἄν τις προστατεύῃ,
nor distinguished himself in the cavalry and understands nothing but money-making."

"Isn't that a recommendation," said Socrates, "supposing he proves capable of supplying the men's needs?"

"Why," retorted Nicomachides, "merchants too are capable of making money, but that doesn't make them fit to command an army."

"But," cried Socrates, "Antisthenes also is eager for victory, and that is a good point in a general. Whenever he has been choragus, you know, his choir has always won."

"No doubt," said Nicomachides, "but there is no analogy between the handling of a choir and of an army."

"But, you see," said Socrates, "though Antisthenes knows nothing about music or choir training, he showed himself capable of finding the best experts in these."

"In the army too, then," said Nicomachides, "he will find others to command for him, and others to do the fighting."

"And therefore," said Socrates, "if he finds out and prefers the best men in warfare as in choir training it is likely that he will be victorious in that too; and probably he will be more ready to spend on winning a battle with the whole state than on winning a choral competition with his tribe."

"Do you mean to say, Socrates, that the man who succeeds with a chorus will also succeed with an army?"

"I mean that, whatever a man controls, if he

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1 *Cyropaedia*, i. vi. 18.
ἐὰν γιγνώσκῃ τε ὡν δεὶ καὶ ταῦτα πορίζεσθαι δύνηται, ἀγαθὸς ἂν εἰῇ προστάτης, εἰτε χοροῦ εἴτε οἶκου εἴτε πόλεως εἴτε στρατεύματος προ-
statēvou.

7 Καὶ ὁ Νικομαχίδης. Μᾶ Δί’, ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἂν ποτε φήμην ἐγὼ σοι ἄκούσαι, ὡς ὁ ἀγαθὸς οἶκονόμοι ἀγαθοὶ στρατηγοὶ ἂν εἴεν.

"Ἰθι δή, ἔφη, ἐξετάσωμεν τὰ ἔργα ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν, ἵνα εἰδῶμεν, πότερον τὰ αὐτά ἐστιν ἢ διαφέρει τι.

Πάνυ γε, ἔφη.

8 Οὐκούν, ἔφη, τό μὲν τοὺς ἀρχομένους κατηκόους τε καὶ εὐπειθεῖς ἐαυτοῖς παρακενάζειν ἀμφωτέρων ἐστιν ἔργον;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Τι δὲ; τὸ προστάττειν ἐκαστα τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις πράττειν;

Καὶ τοῦτ’, ἔφη.

Καὶ μὴν τὸ τοὺς κακούς κολάζειν καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τιμᾶν ἀμφωτέρως οἶμαι προσήκειν.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

9 Τὸ δὲ τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐμενεῖς ποιεῖσθαι πώς οὐ καλὸν ἀμφωτέρους;

Καὶ τοῦτ’, ἔφη.

Συμμάχους δὲ καὶ βοηθοὺς προσάγεσθαι δοκεῖ σοι συμφέρειν ἀμφωτέρως ἢ ο网首页;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

"Ἀλλὰ φυλακτικοὺς τῶν ὑπων οὐκ ἀμφωτέρους εἶναι προσήκει;

Σφόδρα γ’, ἔφη.

Οὐκοὺν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖς καὶ φιλοπόνους ἀμφω-
tέρους εἶναι προσήκει περὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἔργα;
knows what he wants and can get it he will be a good controller, whether he control a chorus, an estate, a city or an army."

"Really, Socrates," cried Nicomachides, "I should never have thought to hear you say that a good business man would make a good general."

"Come then, let us review the duties of each that we may know whether they are the same or different."

"By all means."

"Is it not the duty of both to make their subordinates willing and obedient?"

"Decidedly."

"And to put the right man in the right place?" ¹

"That is so."

"I suppose, moreover, that both should punish the bad and reward the good."

"Yes, certainly."

"Of course both will do well to win the goodwill of those under them?"

"That is so."

"Do you think that it is to the interest of both to attract allies and helpers?"

"Yes, certainly."

"And should not both be able to keep what they have got?"

"They should indeed."

"And should not both be strenuous and industrious in their own work?" ²

¹ Cyropædia, i. vi. 20. ² Ibid., 8.
10 Ταύτα μέν, ἐφη, πάντα ὁμοίως ἀμφοτέρων ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐκέτι ἀμφοτέρων.
'Αλλ' ἔχθροί γέ τοι ἀμφοτέροις γίγνονται;
Καὶ μάλα, ἐφη, τούτο γε.
Οὐκ οὖν τὸ περιγενέσθαι τούτων ἀμφοτέρως συμφέρει;

11 Πάνω γ', ἐφη· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο παρίσης, ἀν δέν μάχεσθαι, τί ὀφελήσει ἡ οἰκονομικὴ;
'Ἐνταῦθα δήποτε καὶ πλεῖστον, ἐφη· ὁ γὰρ ἀγαθὸς οἰκονόμος, ἐδώς ὅτι οὐδὲν οὗτοι λυσιτελές
tε καὶ κερδαλέους ἔστιν ὡς τὸ μαχόμενον τοὺς
pολεμίους νικάν οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀλυσιτελές τε καὶ
ζημιῶδες ὡς τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι, προθύμως μὲν τὰ πρὸς
tὸ νικάν συμφέροντα ζητήσει καὶ παρασκευάσεται,
ἐπιμελῶς δὲ τὸ πρὸς τὸ ἡττᾶσθαι φέροντα
σκέψεται καὶ φυλάξεται, ἐνεργῶς δ', ἂν τὴν
παρασκευὴν ὅρα νικητικὴν οὕσαν, μαχεῖται, οὐχ
ήκιστα δὲ τούτων, ἐὰν ἀπαράσκευος ἦν, φυλάξεται

12 συνάπτειν μάχην. μὴ καταφρόνει, ἐφη, ὡ
Νικομαχίδη, τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἀνδρῶν· ἡ γὰρ
tῶν ἱδίων ἔπιμελεία πλήθει μόνον διαφέρει τῆς
tῶν κοινῶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παραπλῆσια ἔχει, τὸ
<δὲ>1 μέγιστον, ὅτι οὔτε ἄνευ ἄνθρωπων οὐδετέρα
γίγνεται οὔτε δι' ἄλλων μὲν ἄνθρωπων τὰ ἱδία
πράττεται, δι' ἄλλων δὲ τὰ κοινά· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις
τισὶν ἄνθρωποι οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελομένοι
χρόνων ἢ οὕσπερ οἱ τὰ ἱδία οἰκονομοῦντες· οἷς
οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι χρήσθαι καὶ τὰ ἱδία καὶ τὰ κοινά
καλῶς πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι
ἀμφοτέρωθι πλημμελοῦσι.

V. Περίκλει δὲ ποτε τῷ τοῦ πάνω Περίκλεα
νῦν διαλεγόμενος, Ἐγώ τοι, ἐφη, ὡ Περίκλεις,
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“All these are common to both; but fighting is not.”

“But surely both are bound to find enemies?”

“Oh yes, they are.”

“Then is it not important for both to get the better of them?”

“Undoubtedly; but you don’t say how business capacity will help when it comes to fighting.”

“That is just where it will be most helpful. For the good business man, through his knowledge that nothing profits or pays like a victory in the field, and nothing is so utterly unprofitable and entails such heavy loss as a defeat, will be eager to seek and furnish all aids to victory, careful to consider and avoid what leads to defeat, prompt to engage the enemy if he sees he is strong enough to win, and, above all, will avoid an engagement when he is not ready. Don’t look down on business men, Nicomachides. For the management of private concerns differs only in point of number from that of public affairs. In other respects they are much alike, and particularly in this, that neither can be carried on without men, and the men employed in private and public transactions are the same. For those who take charge of public affairs employ just the same men when they attend to their own; and those who understand how to employ them are successful directors of public and private concerns, and those who do not, fail in both.”

V. Once when talking with the son of the great Pericles, he said: “For my part, Pericles, I feel

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1 δέ added by Castalio: Sauppe omits.
ἐλπίδα ἔχω σοῦ στρατηγήσαντος ἀμείνω τε καὶ ἐνδοξότεραν τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰ πολεμικὰ ἔσεσθαι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσειν.

Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Βουλοίμην ἀν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἃ λέγεις· ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα γένοιτ' ἀν, οὐ δύναμαι γνώναι.

Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σώκρατης, διάλογον' ὁμοιοί περὶ αὐτῶν ἐπισκοπῶμεν, ὅπου ἦδη τὸ δυνατὸν ἔστι;

Βουλομαι, ἔφη.

2 Οὐκοῦν οἶσθα, ἔφη, ὅτι πλήθει μὲν οὐδὲν μείους εἰσὶν Ἀθηναίοι Βοιωτῶν;

Οἶδα γάρ, ἔφη.

Σώματα δὲ ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ πότερον ἐκ Βοιωτῶν οἴει πλείω ἢν ἐκλεχθήναι ἢ ἢ Ἄθηναίων;

Οὐδὲ ταύτῃ μοι δοκοῦσί λείπεσθαι.

Εὐμενεστέρους δὲ ποτέρους ἑαυτοῖς εἶναι νομίζεισι;

'Ἀθηναίους ἔγωγε· Βοιωτῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πλεονεκτούμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων δυσμενῶς αὐτοῖς ἐχοῦσιν, 'Ἀθήνησι δὲ οὐδὲν ὀρῷ τοιοῦτον.

3 Ἀλλὰ μὴν φιλοτιμότατοι γε καὶ μεγαλοφρονέστατοι πάντων εἰσίν· ἀπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα παροξύνει κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ εὐδοξίας τε καὶ πατρίδος.

Οὐδὲ ἐν τούτοις Ἀθηναίοι μεμπτοί.

Καὶ μὴν προγόνων γε καλὰ ἔργα οὐκ ἐστὶν οἷς μείζω καὶ πλεῖω ὑπάρχει ἢ Ἀθηναίοις· ὁ πολλοὶ ἐπαιρόμενοι προτρέπονται τε ἀρετὴς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ἄλκιμοι γίγνεσθαι.

4 Ταῦτα μὲν ἄληθῆ λέγεις πάντα, ὁ Σώκρατες.
hopeful that, now you have become general, our city will be more efficient and more famous in the art of war, and will defeat our enemies."

"I could wish," answered Pericles, "that it might be as you say, Socrates; but how these changes are to come about I cannot see."

"Should you like to discuss them with me, then," said Socrates, "and consider how they can be brought about?"

"I should."

"Do you know then, that in point of numbers the Athenians are not inferior to the Boeotians?"

"Yes, I know."

"Do you think that the larger number of fine, well-developed men could be selected from among the Boeotians or the Athenians?"

"In that matter too they seem to be at no disadvantage."

"Which do you think are the more united?"

"The Athenians, I should say, for many of the Boeotians resent the selfish behaviour of the Thebans. At Athens I see nothing of that sort."

"And again, the Athenians are more ambitious and more high-minded than other peoples; and these qualities are among the strongest incentives to heroism and patriotic self-sacrifice."

"Yes, in these respects too the Athenians need not fear criticism."

"And besides, none have inherited a past more crowded with great deeds; and many are heartened by such a heritage and encouraged to care for virtue and prove their gallantry."

"All you have said is true, Socrates. But, you
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΘΟΝ

αλλ' ὀρᾶς, ὅτι ἂφ' οὗ ἢ τε σὺν Τολμίδη τῶν χιλίων ἐν Δεβαδεία συμφορὰ ἐγένετο καὶ ἡ μεθ' Ἰπποκράτους ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ, ἐκ τούτων τεταπείνωται μὲν ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δόξα πρὸς τοὺς Βοιωτούς, ἐπήρται δὲ τὸ τῶν Θηβαίων φρόνημα πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ὡστε Βοιωτοὶ μὲν οἱ πρόσθεν οὐδ' ἐν τῇ ἐαυτῶν τολμῶντες Ἀθηναίοις ἀνεύ Δακε-δαίμονίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων ἀντιτάττεσθαι νῦν ἀπειλοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, Ἀθηναίοι δὲ οἱ πρότερον ἱ πορθοῦντες τὴν Βοιοτίαν φοβοῦνται, μὴ Βοιωτοὶ δησόσωσι τὴν Ἀττικήν.

5 Καλὸν ὁ Σωκράτης, Ἀλλ' αἰσθάνομαι μὲν, ἐφη, ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχοντα· δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἄνδρι ἀγαθῷ ἄρχοντι νῦν εὐαρεστότερως διακεῖσθαι ἡ πόλις. τὸ μὲν γὰρ θάρρος ἀμέλειαν τε καὶ ραθυμίαν καὶ ἀπείθειαν ἐμβάλλει, ὁ δὲ φόβος προσεκτικωτέρους τε καὶ ἐυπειθεστέρους καὶ εὐτακτοτέρους ποιεῖ.

6 τεκμήραιο δ' ἄν τούτο καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσιν ὅταν μὲν γὰρ δήποτε μηδὲν φοβῶνται, μεστοὶ εἰσὶν ἀταξίας, ἐστ' ἄν δὲ ἡ χειμώνα ἡ πολεμίους δείσωσιν, οὐ μόνον τὰ κελευόμενα πάντα ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σιγώσι καραδοκοῦντες τὰ προσταχθησόμενα, ὅσπερ χορευταί.

7 Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἐφη ὁ Περικλῆς, εἰ γε νῦν μάλιστα πείθουτο, ὥρα ἄν εἰῇ λέγειν, πῶς ἀν αὐτοὺς προτρηψαίμεθα πάλιν ἀνερασθήσαι τῆς ἀρχαίας ἅρτης τε καὶ εὐκλείας καὶ εὐδαιμονίας.

8 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ μὲν ἐβουλόμεθα χρημάτων αὐτοὺς ὅτι οἱ ἄλλοι εἴχον ἀντιποιεῖσθαι,

1 Sauppe adds with the MSS., οὗτος Βοιωτοὶ μόνοι ἐγένοντο which was removed by Cobet.
see, since the disasters sustained by Tolmides and the Thousand at Lebadea ¹ and by Hippocrates at Delium,² the relations of the Athenians and Boeotians are changed: the glory of the Athenians is brought low, the pride of the Thebans is exalted; and now the Boeotians, who formerly would not venture, even in their own country, to face the Athenians without help from Sparta and the rest of the Peloponnese, threaten to invade Attica by themselves, and the Athenians, who formerly overran Boeotia, fear that the Boeotians may plunder Attica."

"Ah, I am aware of that," answered Socrates; ⁵ "but the disposition of our city is now more to a good ruler's liking. For confidence breeds carelessness, slackness, disobedience: fear makes men more attentive, more obedient, more amenable to discipline. The behaviour of sailors is a case in point. So long as they have nothing to fear, they are, I believe, an unruly lot, but when they expect a storm or an attack, they not only carry out all orders, but watch in silence for the word of command like choristers."

"Well," exclaimed Pericles, "if they are now in the mood for obedience, it seems time to say how we can revive in them a longing for the old virtue and fame and happiness."

"If then," said Socrates, "we wanted them to claim money that others held, the best way of egging

¹ At the battle of Coronea (or Lebadea) in 446 B.C., the Boeotians defeated and destroyed the Athenian army and gained independence (Thucydides, i. 113).
² The Athenians were heavily defeated by the Boeotians at Delium in 424 B.C. (Ibid., iv. 96 f.).
ἀποδεικνύντες αὐτοῖς ταῦτα πατρὶκα τε ὠντα καὶ προσήκοντα μάλιστ' ἀν οὕτως αὐτοὺς ἐξορμώμεν ἀντέχεσθαί τούτων· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ μετ' ἀρέτης πρωτεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι βουλόμεθα, τοῦτο ἀν δεικτέον ἐκ παλαιοῦ μάλιστα προσήκον αὐτοῖς καὶ ὡς τούτον ἐπιμελόμενοι πάντων ἀν εἶεν κράτιστοι.

9 Ἡώς οὖν ἂν τούτο διδάσκομεν;

Οἶμαι μὲν, εἰ τοὺς γε παλαιοτάτους ὁν ἀκούομεν προγόνους αὐτῶν ἀναμιμνήσκοιμεν αὐτοὺς ἀκηκοότας ἀρίστους γεγονέναι.

10 Ἀρα λέγεις τὴν τῶν θεῶν κρίσιν, ἢν οἱ περὶ Κέκροπα δι' ἀρέτην ἔκριναν;

Δέγω γὰρ, καὶ τὴν Ἐρέχθεως γε τρόφην καὶ γένεσιν καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνου γενομένον πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐχομένης ἡπείρου πάσης καὶ τὸν ἑφ' Ἡρακλείδων πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θησέως πολεμηθέντας, ἐν οἷς πᾶσιν ἐκείνοι δῆλοι γεγόνασι τῶν καθ' ἐαυτοὺς ἀνθρώπων ἀριστεύσαντες· εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἃ ύστερον οἱ ἐκείνων μὲν ἀπόγονοι, οὐ πολὺ δὲ πρὸ ἡμῶν γεγονότες ἐπράξαν, τὰ μὲν αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς κυριεύοντας τῆς τε Ἀσίας πάσης καὶ τῆς Ἕνωτος μέχρι Μακεδονίας καὶ πλείστην τῶν προγεγονότων δύναμιν καὶ ἀφορμὴν κεκτημένους καὶ μέγιστα ἔργα κατειργασμένους, τὰ δὲ καὶ μετὰ Πελοποννήσιων ἀριστεύνουτες καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν· οἱ δὴ καὶ λέγονται πολὺ διενεκέειν τῶν καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀνθρώπων.

1 i.e. between Poseidon and Athena for the possession of Attica.

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them on to seize it would be to show them that it was their fathers' money and belongs to them. As we want them to strive for pre-eminence in virtue, we must show that this belonged to them in old days, and that by striving for it they will surpass all other men."

"How then can we teach this?"

"I think by reminding them that their earliest ancestors of whom we have any account were, as they themselves have been told, the most valiant."

"Do you refer to the judgment of the gods,\(^1\) which Cecrops delivered in his court because of his virtue?"

"Yes, and the care and birth of Erectheus,\(^2\) and the war waged in his day with all the adjacent country, and the war between the sons of Heracles\(^3\) and the Peloponnesians, and all the wars waged in the days of Theseus,\(^4\) in all of which it is manifest that they were champions among the men of their time. You may add the victories of their descendants,\(^5\) who lived not long before our own day: some they gained unaided in their struggle with the lords of all Asia and of Europe as far as Macedonia, the owners of more power and wealth than the world had ever seen, who had wrought deeds that none had equalled; in others they were fellow-champions with the Peloponnesians both on land and sea. These men, like their fathers, are reported to have been far superior to all other men of their time."

\(^1\) Iliad, II. 547. \(\text{Ἐρεχθῆς μεγαλῆτορος οὖ ποτ' Ἀθήνη θρέψει Δίος θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος Ἀρουρα.}\)

\(^2\) The Athenians claimed that it was through their assistance that the sons of Heracles gained the victory (Herodotus, ix. 27).

\(^3\) Against the Amazons and Thracians.

\(^4\) In the great Persian wars.
Λέγονται γάρ, ἐφη.

12 Τοιγαροῦν πολλῶν μὲν μεταναστάσεων ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι γεγονούσιν διέμειναν ἐν τῇ έαυτῶν, πολλοὶ δὲ ύπὲρ δικαίων ἀντιλέγοντες ἐπέτρεπον ἐκεῖνοις, πολλοὶ δὲ ύπὸ κρειττόνων ύβριζόμενοι κατέφευγον πρὸς ἐκεῖνους.

13 Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Καὶ θαυμάζω γ', ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἡ πόλις ὅπως ποτ' ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον ἐκλίνειν.

Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἐφη, οἴμαι, ὁ Σωκράτης, ὦσπερ καὶ ἀθληταὶ τινες διὰ τὸ πολὺ ύπερενεγκεῖν καὶ κρατιστεύσας καταρραθυμήσατες ύστερίζουσι τῶν ἀντιπάλων, οὕτω καὶ Ἀθηναίους πολὺ διενεγκόντας ἀμελήσαι εαυτῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο χείρων γεγονέναι.

14 Νῦν οὖν, ἐφη, τί ἄν ποιοῦντες ἀναλάβοιεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀρετήν;

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης. Οὐδὲν ἀπόκρυφον δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἐξευρόντες τὰ τῶν προγόνων ἐπιτηθεῦματα μηδὲν χείρον ἐκεῖνων ἐπιτηθεῦσιεν, οὐδὲν ἄν χείρον ἐκεῖνων γενέσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοὺς γε νῦν πρωτεύοντας μιμούμενοι καὶ τοῦτοις τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιτηθέοντες, ὁμόιως μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶμενοι οὐδὲν ἄν χείροις ἐκείνων εἶν, εἰ δ' ἐπιμελέστερον, καὶ Ἑλτίους.

15 Δέγεις, ἐφη, πόρρω που εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν καλοκάγαθιαν. πότε γάρ οὕτως Ἀθηναίοι ὦσπερ Δακεδαιμόνιοι ἄν πρεσβυτέρους αἰδέοσται, οἴ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἀρχοῦται καταφρονεῖν τῶν γεραιτέρων, ἡ σωμασκήνουσιν οὕτως, οἴ φε ὧν μόνον αὐτοὶ εὐεξίας ἀμελοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελο-μένων καταγελώσι; πότε δὲ οὕτω πείσονται τοῖς 196
“Yes, that is the report of them.”

“Therefore, though there have been many migrations in Greece, these continued to dwell in their own land: many referred to them their rival claims, many found a refuge with them from the brutality of the oppressor.”

“Yes, Socrates,” cried Pericles, “and I wonder how our city can have become so degenerate.”

“My own view,” replied Socrates, “is that the Athenians, as a consequence of their great superiority, grew careless of themselves, and have thus become degenerate, much as athletes who are in a class by themselves and win the championship easily are apt to grow slack and drop below their rivals.

“How, then, can they now recover their old virtue?”

“There is no mystery about it, as I think. If they find out the customs of their ancestors and practise them as well as they did, they will come to be as good as they were; or failing that, they need but to imitate those who now have the pre-eminence and to practise their customs, and if they are equally careful in observing them, they will be as good as they, and, if more careful, even better.”

“That means that it is a long march for our city to perfection. For when will Athenians show the Lacedaemonian reverence for age, seeing that they despise all their elders, beginning with their own fathers? When will they adopt the Lacedaemonian system of training, seeing that they not only neglect to make themselves fit, but mock at those who take the trouble to do so? When will they
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άρχονσιν, οἵ καὶ ἀγάλλονται ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἣ πότε οὕτως ὀμονοήσουσιν, οἳ γε ἀντὶ μὲν τοῦ συνεργεῖν ἑαυτοῖς τὰ συμφέροντα ἐπηρεάζουσιν ἀλλήλοις καὶ φθονοῦσιν ἑαυτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἐν τε ταῖς ἱδιαῖς συνόδοις καὶ ταῖς κοιναῖς διαφέρονται καὶ πλείστας δίκας ἀλλήλοις δικά-
ξονται καὶ προαιροῦνται μᾶλλον οὕτω κερδαίνειν ἢ ἀλλήλων ἢ συνωφελοῦντες αὐτούς, τοῖς δὲ κοινοῖς ὡσπερ ἀλλοτρίοις χρώμενοι περὶ τούτων αὐ μάχονται καὶ ταῖς εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα δυνάμεις μάλιστα χαίρονσιν; ἐξ ὧν πολλὴ μὲν ἀτηρία καὶ κακία τῇ πόλει ἐμφύεται, πολλὴ δὲ ἔχθρα καὶ μίσος ἀλλήλων τοῖς πολίταις ἐγγύηνται, δι’ ἂν ἐγωγε μάλα φοβοῦμαι ἡμῖν, μὴ τι μεῖζον ἢ ὅστε φέρειν ἄνωθεν κακὸν τῆς πόλεις συμβῆ.

17 Μηδαμῶς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ Περίκλεις, οὕτως ἤγοι ἀητείςτω πονηρίᾳ νοσεῖν Ἀθηναίους. οὐχ ὅρας, ὡς εὐτακτοὶ μὲν εἰσίν ἐν τοῖς ναυτικοῖς, εὐτάκτως δ’ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἁγώσι πείθονται τοῖς ἐπιστάταις, οὐδένων δὲ καταδέστερον ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι τοῖς διδασκάλοις;

18 Τοῦτο γὰρ τοι, ἔφη, καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἔστι, τὸ τοὺς μὲν τοιούτους πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἐφεστῶσι, τοὺς δὲ ὀπλῖτας καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, οἱ δοκοῦσι καλο-
κάγαθα προκεκρίσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀπειθεστά-
τους εἶναι πάντων.

19 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη: Ἡ δὲ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ
βουλῇ, ὁ Περίκλεις, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν δεδοκιμασμένων
καθίσταται;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.

Ὅσθα οὕν τινας, ἔφη, κάλλιον ἢ νομιμώτερον

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reach that standard of obedience to their rulers, seeing that they make contempt of rulers a point of honour? Or when will they attain that harmony, seeing that, instead of working together for the general good,¹ they are more envious and bitter against one another than against the rest of the world, are the most quarrelsome of men in public and private assemblies, most often go to law with one another, and would rather make profit of one another so than by mutual service, and while regarding public affairs as alien to themselves, yet fight over them too, and find their chief enjoyment in having the means to carry on such strife? So it comes about that mischief and evil grow apace in the city, enmity and mutual hatred spring up among the people, so that I am always dreading that some evil past bearing may befall the city.”

“No, no, Pericles, don’t think the wickedness of the Athenians so utterly past remedy. Don’t you see what good discipline they maintain in their fleets, how well they obey the umpires in athletic contests, how they take orders from the choir-trainers as readily as any?”

“Ah yes, and strange indeed it is that such men submit themselves to their masters, and yet the infantry and cavalry, who are supposed to be the pick of the citizens for good character, are the most insubordinate.”

Then Socrates asked, “But what of the Court of the Areopagus, Pericles? Are not its members persons who have won approval?”

“Certainly.”

“Then do you know of any who decide the cases

¹ Cyropaedia, viii. i. 2.
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η σεμνότερον ἡ δικαιότερον τὰς τε δίκας δικάζοντας καὶ τάλλα πάντα πράττοντας;
Οὐ μέμφομαι, ἐφη, τούτοις.
Οὐ τούνυ, ἐφη, δεὶ ἀθυμεῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐντάκτων ὄντων Ἀθηναίων.

21 Καὶ μὴν ἐν γε τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς, ἐφη, ἔνθα μάλιστα δεὶ σωφρονεῖν τε καὶ ἐντακτεῖν καὶ πειθαρχεῖν, οὐδενὶ τούτων προσέχουσιν.
Ἡσώς γάρ, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν τούτοις οἱ ἤκιστα ἐπιστάμενοι ἄρχουσιν αὐτῶν. οὐχ ὅρας, ὅτι κιθαριστῶν μὲν καὶ χορευτῶν καὶ ὀρχηστῶν οὐδὲ εἰς ἐπιχειρεῖ ἄρχειν μὴ ἐπιστάμενοι οὐδὲ παλαιστῶν οὐδὲ παγκρατιστῶν; ἀλλὰ πάντες οἱ τούτων ἄρχουτες ἔχουσι δεῖξαι, ὅποθεν ἔμαθον ταῦτα, ἐφ' ὧς ἐφεστάσει· τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν οἱ πλείστοι

22 αὐτοσχεδιάζουσιν. οὐ μέντοι σὲ γε τοιοῦτον ἐγὼ νομίζω εἰναι, ἀλλ' οἴμαι σὲ οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, ὅποτε στρατηγεῖν ἢ ὅποτε παλαίειν ἢ ἡρώ μανθάνειν; καὶ πολλὰ μὲν οἴμαι σε τῶν πατριών στρατηγημάτων παρειληφότα διασώζειν, πολλὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν συνηχέαται, ὅποθεν οἶνον τε ἦν

23 μαθεῖν τι ὕφελιμον εἰς στρατηγίαν. οἴμαι δὲ σε πολλὰ μεριμνᾶν, ὅπως μὴ λάθησε σεαυτὸν ἀγνωστῷ τι τῶν εἰς στρατηγίαν ὕφελιμον, καὶ εἰάν τι τοιοῦτον αἴσθησι σεαυτὸν μὴ εἰδότα, ξητεῖν τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ταῦτα, οὐτε δῷρων οὔτε χαρίτων φειδύμενον, ὅπως μάθησι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀ ὑπὲρ ἐπιστάσαι καὶ συνεργοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἔχης.

24 Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Οὐ λαυθάνεις με, ὁ Σωκράτες, ἐφη, ὅτι οὐδ' οἰόμενός με τούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ταῦτα λέγεις, ἀλλ' ἐγχειρῶν με διδάσκειν, ὅτι τὸν μέλλοντα στρατηγεῖν τούτων ἀπάντων 200
that come before them and perform all their other functions more honourably, more in accordance with law, with more dignity and justice?"

"I am not finding fault with the Areopagus."

"Then you must not despair of Athenian discipline."

"But, you see, in the army, where good conduct, discipline, submission are most necessary, our people pay no attention to these things."

"This may be due to the incompetence of the officers. You must have noticed that no one attempts to exercise authority over our harpists, choristers and dancers, if he is incompetent, nor over wrestlers or wrestlers who also box? All who have authority over them can tell where they learned their business; but most of our generals are improvisors. However, I don't suppose you are one of this sort. I suppose you can say when you began to learn strategy as well as when you began wrestling. Many of the principles, I think, you have inherited from your father, and many others you have gathered from every source from which you could learn anything useful to a general. I think, too, that you take much trouble that you may not unconsciously lack any knowledge useful to a general; and if you find that you don't know anything, you seek out those who have the knowledge, grudging neither gifts nor thanks, that you may learn what you don't know from them and may have the help of good coaching."

"I can see, Socrates, that in saying this you don't really think I study these things, but you are trying to show me that one who is going to command an
ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ. ὅμολογῷ μέντοι καγὼ σοι ταῦτα.

25 Τούτο δ', ἐφη, ὁ Περίκλεις, κατανενόηκας, ὅτι κρόκειται τῇς χώρας ἡμῶν ὁρῆ μεγάλα, καθήκοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, δι' ὃν εἰς τὴν χώραν εἴσοδοι στεναὶ τε καὶ προσάντεις εἰσώ, καὶ ὅτι μέση διέξωσται ὄρεσιν ἐρύμνοις;

Καὶ μᾶλα, ἐφη.

26 Τι δὲ; ἐκεῖνο ἀκήκοας, ὅτι Μυσοὶ καὶ Πισίδαι ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ κατέχοντες ἐρυμνὰ πάνω χωρίᾳ καὶ κούφῳ ὁπλισμένοι δύνανται πολλὰ μὲν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν καταθέοντες κακοποιεῖν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ξῆν ἑλεύθεροι;

27 Καὶ τούτο γ', ἐφη, ἀκούω.

'Αθηναῖοι δ' οὐκ ἄν ὄει, ἐφη, μέχρι τῆς ἐλαφρᾶς ἡλικίας ὀπλισμένους κοῦφοτέρους ὀπλοῖς καὶ τὰ προκείμενα τῆς χώρας ὁρὴ κατέχοντας βλαβεροὺς μὲν τοῖς πολεμίωις εἶναι, μεγάλην δὲ προβολὴν τοῖς πολίταις τῆς χώρας κατεσκευάσθαι;

Καὶ ὁ Περικλῆς, Πάντ' οἶμαι, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, καὶ ταύτα χρήσιμα εἶναι.

28 Εἰ τοῖνυν, ἐφη ὁ Σώκρατῆς, ἀρέσκει σοι ταῦτα, ἐπιχείρει αὐτοῖς, ὁ ἀριστε' ὅ, τι μὲν γὰρ ἄν τούτων καταπράξῃς, καὶ σοι καλὸν ἔσται καὶ τῇ πόλει ἀγαθῶν· εάν δὲ τι αὐτῶν ἀδυνατῆς, οὕτε τὴν πόλιν βλάψεις οὕτε σαυτὸν καταισχυνέις.

VI. Γλαύκωνα δὲ τὸν Ἀρίστωνος, ὅτι ἐπεχείρει δημηγορεῖν, ἐπιθυμῶν προστατεῦειν τῆς πολιτείας οὐδέπω εὐκοσιν ἐτή γεγονὼς, τῶν ἀλλῶν οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων οὐδεὶς ἐδύνατο παῦσαι ἐλκόμενοι τε ἀπὸ τοῦ βῆματος καὶ καταγέλαστον
army must study all of them; and of course I admit that you are right."

"Have you observed, Pericles, that our frontier is protected by great mountains extending to Boeotia, through which there are steep and narrow passes leading into our land, and that the interior is cut across by rugged mountains?"

"Certainly."

"Further, have you heard that the Mysians and Pisidians, occupying very rugged country in the Great King's territory and lightly armed, contrive to overrun and damage the King's territory and to preserve their own freedom?" ¹

"Yes, I have heard so."

"And don't you think that active young Athenians, more lightly armed and occupying the mountains that protect our country, would prove a thorn in the side of the enemy and a strong bulwark of defence to our people?"

"Socrates," replied Pericles, "I think all these suggestions too have a practical value."

"Then, since you like them, adopt them, my good fellow. Any part of them that you carry out will bring honour to you and good to the state; and should you fail in part, you will neither harm the state nor disgrace yourself."

VI. Ariston's son, Glaucon, was attempting to become an orator and striving for headship in the state, though he was less than twenty years old; and none of his friends or relations could check him, though he would get himself dragged from the platform and make himself a laughing-stock. Only

¹ Anabasis, II. v. 13.
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οντα. Σωκράτης δὲ εύνους ὅν αὐτῷ διά τε Χαρ-μίδην τὸν Γλαύκωνος καὶ διὰ Πλάτωνα μόνος ἐπαυσεν.

2 Ἐντυχῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς τὸ ἔθελη-σαι ἀκούειν τοιάδε λέξας κατέσχεν. Ὡ Γλαύκων, ἔφη, προστατεύειν ἤμιν διανενόησαι τῆς πόλεως; Ἐγώγ', ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτες.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη, καλὸν γὰρ, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις. δῆλον γὰρ, ὅτι ἐὰν τοῦτο δια-πράξῃ, δυνατὸς μὲν ἐσῃ αὐτὸς τυγχάνειν ὅτου ἄν ἐπιθυμῆς, ἰκανὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ὡφελεῖν, ἔπαρεῖς δὲ τὸν πατρὸν ὦλκον, αὐξήσεις δὲ τὴν πατρίδα, ὄνομαστὸς δ' ἐσῃ πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐπειτα ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι, ἵσως δὲ ὀσπέρ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις: ὅπου δ' ἄν ἦς, πανταχοῦ περι-βλεπτος ἐσῃ.

3 Ταῦτ' οὖν ἀκούων ὁ Γλαύκων ἐμεγαλύνετο καὶ ἤδεως παρέμενε.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τοῦτο μὲν, ὁ Γλαύκων, δῆλον, ὅτι εἴπερ τιμᾶσθαι βούλει, ὡφελητέα σοι ἡ πόλις ἔστι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Πρὸς θεῶν, ἔφη, μὴ τοῖνυν ἀποκρύψῃ, ἀλλ' εἴπον ἤμιν, ἐκ τίνος ἀρξῇ τὴν πόλιν ἐνεργετεῖν.

4 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Γλαύκων διεσιωπήσεν, ὡς ἄν τότε σκοπῶν, ὀπόθεν ἄρχοιτο, 'Ἄρ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης,
Socrates, who took an interest in him for the sake of Plato and Glaucon’s son Charmides, managed to check him.

For once on meeting him, he stopped him and contrived to engage his attention by saying: “Glaucon, have you made up your mind to be our chief man in the state?”

“I have, Socrates.”

“Well, upon my word there’s no more honourable ambition in the world; for obviously, if you gain your object, you will be able to get whatever you want, and you will have the means of helping your friends: you will lift up your father’s house and exalt your fatherland; and you will make a name for yourself first at home, later on in Greece, and possibly, like Themistocles, in foreign lands as well; wherever you go, you will be a man of mark.”

When Glaucon heard this, he felt proud and gladly lingered.

Next Socrates asked, “Well, Glaucon, as you want to win honour, is it not obvious that you must benefit your city?”

“Most certainly.”

“Pray don’t be reticent, then; but tell us how you propose to begin your services to the state.”

As Glaucon remained dumb, apparently considering for the first time how to begin, Socrates said:

1 *i.e.* the elder Glaucon.

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+--------------------------+
| Glaucon                  |
|                         |
|   +-----------------+
|   | Glaucon         |
|   +-----------------+
|   | Charmides       |
|   +-----------------+
|   | Plato           |
|   +-----------------+
|   | Ariston         |
|   +-----------------+
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ωσπερ φίλου οίκου εἰ αὐξήσαι βούλοιο, πλουσιώτερον αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ἂν ποιεῖν, οὔτω καὶ τὴν πόλιν πειράσῃ πλουσιωτέραν ποιῆσαι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

5 Οὐκοῦν πλουσιωτέρα γ' ἂν εἴη προσόδων αὐτῇ πλειόνων γενομένων;

Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη.

Δέξον δὴ, ἔφη, ἐκ τίνων νῦν αἱ πρόσοδοι τῇ πόλει καὶ πόσαι τινὲς εἰσί; δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι ἐσκεψαί, ἵνα εἰ μέν τινες αὐτῶν ἐνδεῶς ἔχουσιν, ἐκπληρώσῃς, εἰ δὲ παραλέιπονται, προσπορίσῃς.

'Αλλὰ μὰ Δι', ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, ταῦτά γε οὐκ ἐπέσκεμαι.

6 'Αλλ' εἰ τούτο, ἔφη, παρέληπτες, τὰς γε δαπάνας τῆς πόλεως ἥμιν εἴπε: δῆλον γάρ, ὅτι καὶ τούτων τὰς περιττὰς ἀφαιρεῖν διανοεῖ.

'Αλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δι', ἔφη, οὐδὲ πρὸς ταῦτα πω ἐσχόλασα.

Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸ μὲν πλουσιωτέραν τὴν πόλιν ποιεῖν ἀναβαλούμεθα: πῶς γὰρ οἶον τε μὴ εἰδότα γε τὰ ἀναλώματα καὶ τὰς προσόδους ἐπιμεληθῆναι τούτων;

7 'Αλλ', ὡς Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Γλαύκων, δυνατὸν ἐστι καὶ ἀπὸ πολεμίων τὴν πόλιν πλουτίζειν.

Νὴ Δία σφόδρα γ', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰάν τις αὐτῶν κρειττῶν ἢ ἤπτων δὲ ὑν καὶ τὰ ὄντα προσαποβάλοι ἂν.

'Αληθὴ λέγεις, ἔφη.

8 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, τὸν γε βουλευσόμενον, πρὸς οὕστινας δεῖ πολεμεῖν, τὴν τε τῆς πόλεως δύναμιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων εἰδέναι δεῖ, ἵνα εὰν μὲν ἡ τῆς πόλεως κρειττῶν ἢ, συμβουλεύῃ ἐπιχειρεῖν 206
If you wanted to add to a friend's fortune, you would set about making him richer. Will you try, then, to make your city richer?"

"Certainly."

"Would she not be richer if she had a larger revenue?"

"Oh yes, presumably."

"Now tell me, from what sources are the city's revenues at present derived and what is their total? No doubt you have gone into this matter, in order to raise the amount of any that are deficient and supply any that are lacking."

"Certainly not," exclaimed Glaucon, "I haven't gone into that."

"Well, if you have left that out, tell us the expenditure of the city. No doubt you intend to cut down any items that are excessive."

"The fact is, I haven't had time yet for that either."

"Oh, then we will postpone the business of making the city richer; for how is it possible to look after income and expenditure without knowing what they are?"

"Well, Socrates, one can make our enemies contribute to the city's wealth."

"Yes, of course, provided he is stronger than they; but if he be weaker, he may lose what she has got instead."

"True."

"Therefore, in order to advise her whom to fight, it is necessary to know the strength of the city and of the enemy, so that, if the city be stronger, one
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tώ πολέμω, ἐὰν δὲ ἡ τῶν ἐναντίων, εὐλαβεῖσθαι πείθη.
Ὁρθῶς λέγεις, ἡφη.

9 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἡφη, λέξον ἦμιν τῆς πόλεως τῆς τε πεξικήν καὶ τῆς ναυτικῆς δύναμιν, εἶτα τῆς τῶν ἐναντίων.
Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δ', ἡφη, οὐκ ἄν ἔχοιμί σοι οὖτω γε ἀπὸ στόματος εἴπειν.
Ἀλλ' εἰ γέγραπται σοι, ἔνεγκε, ἡφη. πάνυ γάρ ἣδεως ἄν τοῦτο ἀκούσαιμι.
Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δ', ἡφη, οὔδε γέγραπταί μοί πω.

10 Οὐκοῦν, ἡφη, καὶ περὶ πολέμου συμβουλεύειν τῆς γε πρώτην ἐπισέχησομεν; ἦσως γάρ καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῶν ἄρτι ἀρχόμενος τῆς προστατείας οὖπω ἐξήτακας. ἀλλὰ τοι περὶ γε φυλακῆς τῆς χώρας οἶδ' ὅτι σοι ἤδη μεμέληκε καὶ οἶσθα, ὅποσι τε φυλακαὶ ἐπίκαιροι εἰσι καὶ ὅποσι καὶ ὅποσι τε φρουροί ἰκανοί εἰσι καὶ ὅποσι μὴ εἰσι' καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐπικάιρους φυλακὰς συμβουλεύσεις μείξονας ποιεῖν, τὰς δὲ περιττὰς ἀφαίρεῖν.

11 Νὴ Δ', ἡφη ο Γλαύκων, ἀπάσας μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε ἐνεκα γε τοῦ οὖτως αὐτὰς φυλάττεσθαι, ὡστε κλέπτεσθαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς χώρας.
Ἐὰν δὲ τις ἀφέλη γ', ἡφη, τὰς φυλακὰς, οὐκ οἴει καὶ ἀρπάξειν ἐξουσίαν ἐσεθαι τῷ βουλομένῳ; ἀτὰρ, ἡφη, πότερον ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς ἐξήτακας τοῦτο ἡ πῶς οἶσθα, ὅτι κακῶς φυλάττονται;
Εἰκάζω, ἡφη.
Οὐκοῦν, ἡφη, καὶ περὶ τούτων, ὅταν μηκέτι εἰκάζωμεν, ἀλλ' ἢδη εἰδώμεν, τότε συμβουλεύσομεν;

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may recommend her to go to war, but if weaker than the enemy, may persuade her to beware.'"
  "You are right."
  "First, then, tell us the naval and military strength of our city, and then that of her enemies."
  "No, of course I can't tell you out of my head."
  "Well, if you have made notes, fetch them, for I should greatly like to hear this."
  "But, I tell you, I haven't yet made any notes either."
  "Then we will postpone offering advice about war too for the present. You are new to power, and perhaps have not had time to investigate such big problems. But the defence of the country, now, I feel sure you have thought about that, and know how many of the garrisons are well placed and how many are not, and how many of the guards are efficient and how many are not; and you will propose to strengthen the well-placed garrisons and to do away with those that are superfluous."
  "No, no; I shall propose to do away with them all, for the only effect of maintaining them is that our crops are stolen."
  "But if you do away with the garrisons, don't you think that anyone will be at liberty to rob us openly? However, have you been on a tour of inspection, or how do you know that they are badly maintained?"
  "By guess-work."
  "Then shall we wait to offer advice on this question too until we really know, instead of merely guessing?"
'Ισως, ἐφη ὁ Γλαῦκων, βέλτιον.

12 Εἰς γε μήν, ἐφη, τάργυρεια οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἄφιξαι, ὅστ' ἔχειν εἴπειν, διότι νῦν ἐλάττω ἢ πρόσθεν προσέρχεται αὐτόθεν.

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν ἐλήλυθα, ἐφη.

Καὶ γὰρ νὴ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, λέγεται βαρὺ τὸ χωρίον εἶναι, ὡστε ὅταν περὶ τούτου δὲν συμβουλεύειν, αὐτῇ σοι ἢ πρόφασις ἀρκέσει.

Σκώπτομαι, ἐφη ὁ Γλαῦκων.

13 Ἀλλ' ἐκείνου γε τοι, ἐφη, οἶδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἣμέληκας, ἀλλ' ἔσκεψαί, πόσον χρόνον ἰκανός ἐστιν ὁ ἐκ τῆς χώρας μηχανεμονος σῖτος διατρέφειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ πόσον εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν προσδείται, ἵνα μὴ τούτῳ γε λάθη σε ποτε ἡ πόλις ἐνδείξεις γενομένη, ἀλλ' εἴδος ἔχῃς ύπὲρ τῶν ἀναγκαῖων συμβουλεύων τῇ πόλει βοήθειν τε καὶ σόζειν αὐτὴν.

Δέγεις, ἐφη ὁ Γλαῦκων, παμμέγεθες πρᾶγμα, εἰ γε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖσθε.

14 Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν ἑαυτὸν ποτε οἰκόν καλῶς τις οἰκήσειεν, εἰ μὴ πάντα μὲν εἴσεται ὅν προσδεῖται, πάντων δὲ ἐπιμελόμενος ἐκπληρώσει. ἀλλ' ἐπεί η μὲν πόλις ἐκ πλείόνων ἢ μυρίων οἰκιών συνεστηκε, χαλεπὸν δ' ἐστὶν ἀμα τοσούτων οἰκῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πῶς ἄν χ' ἐνα τὸν τοῦ θείου πρῶτον ἐπειράθης αὐξῆσαι; δεῖται δὲ. καὶ μὲν τούτον δύνη, καὶ πλείοσιν ἐπιχειρήσεις; ἐνα δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος ωφελησαι πῶς ἂν πολλοὺς γε δυνηθεῖς; ὡσπερ εἰ τις ἐν τάλαυτον μὴ δύναιτο φέρειν, πῶς οὐ φανερόν, ὅτι πλείων γε φέρειν οὐδ' ἐπιχειρητέον αὐτῷ;

15 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼγ', ἐφη ὁ Γλαῦκων, ὑφελοῖν ἂν τὸν τοῦ θείου οἰκόν, εἰ μοι ἔθελοι πείθεσθαι.
"Perhaps it would be better."

"Now for the silver mines. I am sure you have not visited them, and so cannot tell why the amount derived from them has fallen."

"No, indeed, I have not been there."

"To be sure: the district is considered unhealthy, and so when you have to offer advice on the problem, this excuse will serve."

"You're chaffing me."

"Ah, but there's one problem I feel sure you haven't overlooked: no doubt you have reckoned how long the corn grown in the country will maintain the population, and how much is needed annually, so that you may not be caught napping, should the city at any time be short, and may come to the rescue and relieve the city by giving expert advice about food."

"What an overwhelming task, if one has got to include such things as that in one's duties!"

"But, you know, no one will ever manage even his own household successfully unless he knows all its needs and sees that they are all supplied. Seeing that our city contains more than ten thousand houses, and it is difficult to look after so many families at once, you must have tried to make a start by doing something for one, I mean your uncle's? It needs it; and if you succeed with that one, you can set to work on a larger number. But if you can't do anything for one, how are you going to succeed with many? If a man can't carry one talent, it's absurd for him to try to carry more than one, isn't it?"

"Well, I could do something for uncle's house- hold if only he would listen to me."
Εἶτα, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸν θείον οὖ δυνάμενον πείθειν Ἀθηναίον πάντας μετὰ τοῦ θείου νομίζεις δυνήσεσθαι ποιήσαι πείθεσθαι σοι; φυλάττου, ἐφη, ὁ Γλαύκων, ὅπως μὴ τοῦ εὐδοξείν ἐπιθυμῶν εἰς τούναντιον ἔλθῃς. ἢ οὖχ ὥρας, ὡς σφαλερὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἄ μη ὀίδε τις, ταῦτα ἢ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν; ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων, ὅσους ὁδὸν ἔπαινος, οἱ οἷοι φαίνονται καὶ λέγοντες ἃ μὴ ἴσασι καὶ πράττοντες, πότερά σοι δοκοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπαινὸν μᾶλλον ἢ ψόγον τυγχάνειν καὶ πότερον θαυμάζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονεῖσθαι: ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ καὶ τῶν εἰδότων ὁ τι τε λέγοντι καὶ ὁ τι ποιοῦσι, καὶ, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, εὐρήσεις ἐν πᾶσιν ἔργοις τοὺς μὲν εὐδοκιμοῦντάς τε καὶ θαυμαζομένους εἰκ τῶν μάλιστα ἐπισταμένων ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ κακοδοξοῦντας τε καὶ καταφρονομένους ἐκ τῶν ἀμαθεστάτων. εἰ οὖν ἐπιθυμεῖς εὐδοκιμεῖν τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ἐν τῇ πόλει, πειρῶ κατεργάσασθαι ὡς μάλιστα τὸ εἰδέναι ἃ βούλει πράττειν· εὰν γὰρ τούτω διενεχέως τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιχειρής τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττειν, οὐκ ἀν θαυμάσαιμι, εἰ πάνυ ῥαδίως τύχος ὧν ἐπιθυμεὶς.

VII. Χαρμίδην δὲ τὸν Γλαύκωνος ὅρων ἀξιόλογον μὲν ἄνδρα ὄντα καὶ πολλῷ δυνατότερον τῶν τά πολιτικά τότε πραττόντων, ὁκνοῦντα δὲ προσιέναι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Χαρμίδη, εἰ τις ἱκανὸς ὧν τοὺς στεφανίτας ἀγώνας νικᾶν καὶ διὰ τούτο αὐτὸς τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐν τῇ Ἐλλάδι εὐδοκιμωτέραν ποιεῖν μὴ θέλοι ἀγωνίζεσθαι, ποίον τινα τοῦτον νομίζοις ἀν τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι;
"What? You can't persuade your uncle, and yet you suppose you will be able to persuade all the Athenians, including your uncle, to listen to you? Pray take care, Glaucon, that your daring ambition doesn't lead to a fall! Don't you see how risky it is to say or do what you don't understand? Think of others whom you know to be the sort of men who say and do what they obviously don't understand. Do you think they get praise or blame by it? And think of those who understand what they say and what they do. You will find, I take it, that the men who are famous and admired always come from those who have the widest knowledge, and the infamous and despised from the most ignorant. Therefore, if you want to win fame and admiration in public life, try to get a thorough knowledge of what you propose to do. If you enter on a public career with this advantage over others, I should not be surprised if you gained the object of your ambition quite easily."

VII. Seeing that Glaucon's son, Charmides, was a respectable man and far more capable than the politicians of the day, and nevertheless shrank from speaking in the assembly and taking a part in politics, he said: "Tell me, Charmides, what would you think of a man who was capable of gaining a victory in the great games and consequently of winning honour for himself and adding to his country's fame in the Greek world, and yet refused to compete?"
Δήλον ὅτι, ἔφη, μαλακόν τε καὶ δειλόν.

2 Εἰ δὲ τις, ἔφη, δυνατὸς ὃν τῶν τῆς πόλεως πραγμάτων ἐπιμελόμενος τὴν τε πόλιν αὐξεῖν καὶ ἀυτὸς διὰ τούτο τιμᾶσθαι ὁκνοῖς δὴ τοῦτο πράττειν, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως δειλὸς νομίζοιτο;

"Ἰσως, ἔφη· ἀτὰρ πρὸς τί με ταῦτ' ἐρωτᾶς;

"Οτι, ἔφη, οἶμαι σὲ δυνατὸν ὅντα ὁκνεῖν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα δὲν ἀνάγκη σοι μετέχειν πολίτη γε ὄντι.

3 Τὴν δὲ ἐμὴν δύναμιν, ἔφη ὁ Χαρμίδης, ἐν πολλῷ ἐργῳ καταμαθῶν ταῦτα μου καταγιγνώσκεις;

Εἰ ποτὲ συνουσίαις, ἔφη, αἰς σύνει τοὺς τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράττουσι καὶ γὰρ ὅταν τι ἀνακοινώνταί σοι, ὅρω σὲ καλῶς συμβουλεύοντα καὶ ὅταν τι ἀμαρτάνωσιν, ὀρθῶς ἐπιτιμῶντα.

4 Οὐ ταύτων ἐστίν, ἔφη, ὡ Σώκρατες, ἰδία τε διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, ὅ γε ἀριθμεῖν δυνάμενος οὐδὲν ἢττον ἐν τῷ πλῆθεί ἡ μόνος ἀριθμεῖ καὶ οἵ κατὰ μόνας ἄριστα καθαρίζοντες οὕτωι καὶ ἐν τῷ πλῆθει κρατιστεύουσιν.

5 Αἰδῶ δὲ καὶ φόβον, ἔφη, οὐχ ὅρας ἐμφυτά τε ἄνθρωποις ὅντα καὶ πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς ὄχλοις ἢ ἐν ταῖς ἱδίαις ὁμίλαις παριστάμενα;

Καὶ σὲ γε διδάξων, ἔφη, ὁρμημαί, ὅτι οὔτε τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους αἰδούμενος οὔτε τοὺς ἰσχυροτάτους φοβούμενος ἐν τοῖς ἀφρονεστάτοις τε καὶ ἀσθενεστάτοις αἰσχύνει λέγειν. πότερον γὰρ τοὺς κναφεῖς αὐτῶν ἢ τοὺς σκυτεῖς ἢ τοὺς τεκτονας ἢ τοὺς χαλκεῖς ἢ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἢ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἢ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἄγορᾳ μεταβαλλόμενοι καὶ φροντίζοντας ὡ τι ἐλάττονος πριάμενοι 214
"I should think him a poltroon and a coward, of course."

"Then if a man were to shrink from state business though capable of discharging it with advantage to the state and honour to himself, wouldn't it be reasonable to think him a coward?"

"Perhaps; but why ask me that?"

"Because I fancy that you shrink from work that is within your powers, work in which it is your duty as a citizen to take a hand."

"What makes you think so? In what sort of work have you discovered my powers?"

"In your intercourse with public men. Whenever they take counsel with you, I find that you give excellent advice, and whenever they make a mistake, your criticism is sound."

"A private conversation is a very different thing from a crowded debate, Socrates."

"But, you know, a man who is good at figures counts as well in a crowd as in solitude; and those who play the harp best in private excel no less in a crowd."

"But surely you see that bashfulness and timidity come natural to a man, and affect him far more powerfully in the presence of a multitude than in private society?"

"Yes, and I mean to give you a lesson. The wisest do not make you bashful, and the strongest do not make you timid; yet you are ashamed to address an audience of mere dunces and weaklings. Who are they that make you ashamed? The fullers or the cobblers or the builders or the smiths or the farmers or the merchants, or the traffickers in the market-place who think of nothing but buying cheap
πλείονος ἀποδόνται αἰσχύνει; ἡ γὰρ τοῦτον
7 ἀπάντων ἡ ἐκκλησία συνίσταται. τί δὲ οἷει δια-

φέρειν δέ συ ποιεῖς ἢ τῶν ἀσκητῶν ὄντα κρείττω

τοὺς ἱδιώτας φοβεῖσθαι; σὺ γὰρ τοῖς πρωτεύου-

σιν ἐν τῇ πόλει, δὲν ένὶοι καταφρονοῦσί σου,

ραδίως διαλεγόμενος καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων τοὺ

τῇ πόλει διαλέγεσθαι πολὺ περιῶν ἐν τοῖς μηδε-

πώποτε φροντίσασι τῶν πολιτικῶν μηδὲ σοῦ

καταπεφρονηκόσιν ὅκνεῖς λέγειν δεδιῶς, μὴ κατα-

γελασθῆς.

8 Τί δ’; ἔφη, οὐ δοκοῦσί σοι πολλάκις οἱ ἐν τῇ

ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ἱσθῶς λεγόντων καταγελᾶν;

Καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐτεροί, ἔφη· διὸ καὶ θαυμάζω σου,

εἰ ἐκείνους, ὅταν τοῦτο ποιῶσιν, ραδίως χειρού-

μενος τούτοις μηδένα τρόπον οἷεὶ δυσθεσθαι

9 προσενέκχθηναι. ὤγαθε, μὴ ἀγνοεῖ σεαυτὸν μηδὲ

ἀμάρτανε ἃ οἱ πλείστοι ἀμαρτάνουσιν· οἱ γὰρ

πολλοὶ ὡρμηκότες ἐπὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν τὰ τῶν ἀλλῶν

πράγματα οὐ τρέπονται ἐπὶ τὸ ἐαυτοῦς ἔξετάζειν.

μὴ οὖν ἀπορραθύμει τούτου, ἀλλὰ διατείνο

μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ σαυτῷ προσέχειν· καὶ μὴ ἀμέλει

τῶν τῆς πόλεως, εἰ τὶ δυνατὸν ἔστι διὰ σὲ βέλτιον

ἔχειν. τοῦτον γὰρ καλῶς ἐχόντων οὐ μόνον οἱ

ἀλλοὶ πολίται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ σοὶ φίλοι καὶ αὐτὸς

σὺ οὐκ ἐλάχιστα ὕφελήσῃ.

VIII. Ἀριστιπποῦ δὲ ἐπιχειροῦντος ἐλέγχειν

τῶν Σωκράτην, ὡσπερ αὐτὸς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου τὸ πρό-

τερον ἠλέγχετο, βουλόμενος τοὺς συνόντας ὅφε-

λείν τὸν Σωκράτης ἀπεκρίνατο οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ

φυλαττόμενοι, μὴ τῇ ὁ λόγος ἑπαλλαχθῆ, ἀλλ’

ὡς ἄν πεπεισμένοι μᾶλιστα πράττειν τὰ δέοντα.

2 'Ο μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἦρετο, εἰ τι εἰδέιη ἀγαθόν,
and selling dear? For these are the people who make up the Assembly. You behave like a man who can beat trained athletes and is afraid of amateurs! You are at your ease when you talk with the first men in the state, some of whom despise you, and you are a far better talker than the ordinary run of politicians; and yet you are shy of addressing men who never gave a thought to public affairs and haven’t learnt to despise you—all because you fear ridicule!"

"Well, don’t you think the Assembly often laughs at sound argument?"

"Yes, and so do the others; and that’s why I am surprised that you, who find it easy to manage them when they do it, think you will be quite unable to deal with the Assembly. My good man, don’t be ignorant of yourself: don’t fall into the common error. For so many are in such a hurry to pry into other people’s business that they never turn aside to examine themselves. Don’t refuse to face this duty then: strive more earnestly to pay heed to yourself; and don’t neglect public affairs, if you have the power to improve them. If they go well, not only the people, but your friends and you yourself at least as much as they will profit."

VIII. When Aristippus attempted to cross-examine Socrates in the same fashion as he had been cross-examined by him in their previous encounter, Socrates, wishing to benefit his companions, answered like a man who is resolved to do what is right, and not like a debater guarding against any distortion of the argument.

Aristippus asked if he knew of anything good, in
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ινα ει τι ειποι των τοιουτων, οιου η συτιον η ποτον
η χρηματα η υγειαν η ρωμην η τολμαν, δεικνυοι
dη τουτο κακων ενιστε ουν. ο δε ειδως, οτι εαν τι
ενοχλη ημας, δεομεθα του παυσουτος, απεκρινατο
3 ηπερ και ποιειν κρατιστον. 'Αρα γε, εφη, ερωτας
με, ει τι οιδα πυρετοι αγαθον;
Ουκ έγωγ', εφη.
'Αλλ' οφθαλμιας;
Ουδε τουτο.
'Αλλα λημοι;
Ουδε λημοι.
'Αλλα μην, εφη, ει γ' ερωτας με, ει τι αγαθον
οιδα ο μηδενος αγαθον εστιν, ουτ' οιδα, εφη, ουτε
dεομαι.
4 Παλιν δε του 'Αριστιππου ερωτουτοι αυτον,
eι τι ειδεια καλον, Και πολλα, εφη.
'Αρ' ουν, εφη, παντα ομοια αλληλους;
'Ως οιον τε μεν ουν, εφη, ανομοιοτατα ένια.
Πως ουν, εφη, το τω καλω ανομοιον καλον αν
eιτη;
'Οτι νη Δι', εφη, εστι μεν τω καλω προς δρομον
ανθρωπω αλλος ανομοιος καλος προς παλιν, εστι
dε αστις καλη προς το προβαλλεσθαι ως ένι
ανομοιοτατη τω ακοντιω καλω προς το σφοδρα
te και ταχυ φερεσθαι.
5 Ουδεν διαφεροντως, εφη, αποκρινη μοι η οτε
σε ηρωτησα, ει τι αγαθον ειδεις.
Συ δ' οιει, εφη, αλλο μεν αγαθον, αλλο δε
καλον ειναι; ουκ οιοθ', οτι προς ταυτα παντα
καλα τε καγαθα εστι; πρωτον μεν γαρ η αρετη
ου προς αλλα μεν αγαθον, προς αλλα δε καλον
εστιν' επειτα οι ανθρωποι το αυτο τε και προς
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order that if Socrates mentioned some good thing, such as food, drink, money, health, strength, or daring, he might show that it is sometimes bad. But he, knowing that when anything troubles us we need what will put an end to the trouble, gave the best answer: "Are you asking me," he said, "whether I know of anything good for a fever?"

"No, not that."
"For ophthalmia?"
"No, nor that."
"For hunger?"
"No, not for hunger either."
"Well, but if you are asking me whether I know of anything good in relation to nothing, I neither know nor want to know."

Again Aristippus asked him whether he knew of anything beautiful: "Yes, many things," he replied. "All like one another?"
"On the contrary, some are as unlike as they can be."
"How then can that which is unlike the beautiful be beautiful?"
"The reason, of course, is that a beautiful wrestler is unlike a beautiful runner, a shield beautiful for defence is utterly unlike a javelin beautiful for swift and powerful hurling."
"That is the same answer as you gave to my question whether you knew of anything good."
"You think, do you, that good is one thing and beautiful another? Don't you know that all things are both beautiful and good in relation to the same things? In the first place, Virtue is not a good thing in relation to some things and a beautiful thing in relation to others. Men, again, are called
XENOPHON

tὰ αὐτὰ καλοὶ τε κἀγαθοὶ λέγονταί πρὸς τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καλὰ τε κἀγαθὰ φαίνεται, πρὸς ταῦτὰ δὲ καὶ τὰλλα πάντα, οἷς ἀνθρώποι χρώνται, καλὰ τε κἀγαθὰ νομίζεται, πρὸς ἀπερ ἀν εὐχρηστὰ ἦ.

6 Ἄρ' οὖν, ἐφη, καὶ κόφινος κοπροφόρος καλὸν ἐστὶ;
Νὴ Δ', ἐφη, καὶ χρυσὴ γε ἀστίς αἰσχρόν, ἐὰν πρὸς τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα ὁ μὲν καλὸς πεποιημένος ἦ, ἢ δὲ κακὸς.
Δέγεισ σὺ, ἐφη, καλὰ τε καὶ αἰσχρὰ τὰ αὐτὰ εἶναι;
7 Καὶ νὴ Δ', ἐγωγ', ἐφη, ἀγαθὰ τε καὶ κακὰ: πολλάκις γὰρ τὸ τε λιμὸν ἀγαθὸν πυρετοῦ κακὸν ἐστὶ καὶ τὸ πυρετοῦ ἁγαθόν λιμὸν κακὸν ἐστὶ: πολλάκις δὲ τὸ μὲν πρὸς δρόμον καλὸν πρὸς πάλην αἰσχρόν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς πάλην καλὸν πρὸς δρόμον αἰσχρόν: πάντα γὰρ ἁγαθὰ μὲν καὶ καλὰ ἐστὶ πρὸς ἃ ἀν εὖ ἐχῃ, κακά δὲ καὶ αἰσχρὰ πρὸς ἃ ἀν κακῶς.
8 Καὶ οἰκίας δὲ λέγων τὰς αὐτὰς καλὰς τε εἶναι καὶ χρησίμους παίδευειν ἐμοῖ' ἐδόκει, οἷας χρῆ οἰκοδομεῖσθαι.
:"Επεσκόπει δὲ ὅδε: Ἄρα γε τὸν μέλλοντα οἰκίαν οἷαν χρῆ ἔχειν τοῦτο δεῖ μηχανᾶσθαι, ὅπως ἡδίστῃ τε ἑνδιαιτᾶσθαι καὶ χρησιμωτάτῃ ἐσται;
9 Τοῦτον δὲ ὀμολογουμένου, Οὐκοῦν ἦδι μὲν θέρους ψυχεινήν ἔχειν, ἦδι δὲ χειμῶνος ἀλε-εινήν;
:"Επειδὴ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο συμφαίειν, Οὐκοῦν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλεποῦσαις οἰκίαις τοῦ μὲν
'beautiful and good' in the same respect and in relation to the same things: it is in relation to the same things that men's bodies look beautiful and good and that all other things men use are thought beautiful and good, namely, in relation to those things for which they are useful."

"Is a dung basket beautiful then?"

"Of course, and a golden shield is ugly, if the one is well made for its special work and the other badly."

"Do you mean that the same things are both beautiful and ugly?"

"Of course—and both good and bad. For what is good for hunger is often bad for fever, and what is good for fever bad for hunger; what is beautiful for running is often ugly for wrestling, and what is beautiful for wrestling ugly for running. For all things are good and beautiful in relation to those purposes for which they are well adapted, bad and ugly in relation to those for which they are ill adapted."

Again his dictum about houses, that the same house is both beautiful and useful, was a lesson in the art of building houses as they ought to be. He approached the problem thus:

"When one means to have the right sort of house, must he contrive to make it as pleasant to live in and as useful as can be?"

And this being admitted, "Is it pleasant," he asked, "to have it cool in summer and warm in winter?"

And when they agreed with this also, "Now in houses with a south aspect, the sun's rays penetrate
χειμῶνος ὁ ἤλιος εἰς τὰς παστάδας ὑπολάμπει, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ὑπὲρ ἤμων αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στεγῶν πορευόμενος σκίαν παρέχει. οὐκοῦν εὖ γε καλῶς ἔχει ταῦτα οὕτω γίγνεσθαι, οἰκοδομεῖν δεῖ ὕψη-λότερα μὲν τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἵνα ὁ χειμερινὸς ἤλιος μὴ ἀποκλειόνται, χθαμαλότερα δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἀρκτον, ἵνα οἱ ψυχροὶ μὴ ἐμπίπτωσιν ἄνεμοι· ὥς δὲ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, ὅτι πᾶσας ὄρας αὐτὸς τε ἀν ὡδιστα καταφεύγου καὶ τὰ ὄντα ἀσφαλε- στάτα τίθοιτο, αὐτὴ ἂν εἰκότως ἤδιστη τε καὶ καλλίστη ἄκησις εἰς. γραφαί δὲ καὶ ποικίλαι πλείονας εὐφροσύνας ἀποστεροῦσιν ἡ παρέχουσι.

Ναοῖς γε μὴν καὶ βωμοῖς χώραν ἔφη εἶναι πρεπωδεστάτην, ἦτις ἐμφανεστάτη οὐσα ἀστι- βεστάτη εἰς. ἠδὺ μὲν γὰρ ἰδόντας προσεύξασθαι, ἠδὺ δὲ ἄγνως ἄχοντας προσιέναι.

IX. Πάλιν δὲ ἐρωτώμενος, ἡ ἀνδρεία πότερον εἰς διδακτὸν ἢ φυσικὸν. Οἶμαι μὲν, ἔφη, ὁσπερ σῶμα σῶματος ἵσχυρότερον πρὸς τοὺς πόνους φύεται, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴν ψυχῆς ἐρρωμενεστέραν πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ φύει γίγνεσθαι. ὁρὼ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς νόμοις τε καὶ έθεις τρεφομένους πολὺ δια-

2 φεροῦται ἀλλήλων τόλμη. νομίζω μὲντοι πᾶσαν φύσιν μαθήσει καὶ μελέτῃ πρὸς ἀνδρείαν αὐξηθαι. δὴλον μὲν γὰρ, ὅτι Σκύθαι καὶ Θρῆκες οὐκ ἂν τολμήσειν ἀσπίδας καὶ δόρατα λαβόντες Λακε- δαιμονίους διαμάχησθαι· φανερὸν δὲ, ὅτι Λακε- δαιμόνιοι οὔτ’ ἂν Θραξὶ πέλταις καὶ ἀκοντίοις οὔτε Σκύθαις τόξοις ἐθέλοιεν ἃν διαγωνιζῃσθαι.

3 ὁρὼ δ’ ἐγώ χαι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀλλίων πάντων ὄμοιώς καὶ φύσει διαφέροντάς ἀλλήλων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐπιμελεῖα πολὺ ἐπιδιόντας. ἐκ δὲ τοῦτων 222
into the porticoes in winter, but in summer the path of the sun is right over our heads and above the roof, so that there is shade. If, then, this is the best arrangement, we should build the south side loftier to get the winter sun and the north side lower to keep out the cold winds. To put it shortly, the house in which the owner can find a pleasant retreat at all seasons and can store his belongings safely is presumably at once the pleasantest and the most beautiful. As for paintings and decorations, they rob one of more delights than they give."

For temples and altars the most suitable position, he said, was a conspicuous site remote from traffic; for it is pleasant to breathe a prayer at the sight of them, and pleasant to approach them filled with holy thoughts.

IX. When asked again whether Courage could be taught or came by nature, he replied: "I think that just as one man's body is naturally stronger than another's for labour, so one man's soul is naturally braver than another's in danger. For I notice that men brought up under the same laws and customs differ widely in daring. Nevertheless, I think that every man's nature acquires more courage by learning and practice. Of course Scythians and Thracians would not dare to take bronze shield and spear and fight Lacedaemonians; and of course Lacedaemonians would not be willing to face Thracians with leather shields and javelins, nor Scythians with bows for weapons. And similarly in all other points, I find that human beings naturally differ one from another and greatly improve by application. Hence


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dηλόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πάντας χρή καὶ τοὺς εὐφυεστέρους καὶ τοὺς ἀμβλυτέρους τὴν φύσιν ἐν ὑσ ἀν ἄξιολογοι βούλωνται γενέσθαι, ταῦτα καὶ μανθάνειν καὶ μελετᾶν.

4  Σοφίαν δὲ καὶ σωφροσύνην οὐ διώριζεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὸν μὲν καλὰ τε κἀγαθὰ γιγνώσκοντα χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν τὰ αἰσχρὰ εἰδότα εὐλαβεῖσθαι σοφὸν τε καὶ σώφρονα ἑκρινε. προσερωτόμενος δὲ, εἰ τοὺς ἑπισταμένους μὲν ἃ δὲῖ πράττειν, ποιοῦντας δὲ τάναυτια σοφοὺς τε καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι νομίζοι, Οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον, ἡφι, ἢ ἀσοφοὺς τε καὶ ἀκρατεῖς· πάντας γὰρ οἷμαι προαιρουμένους ἐκ τῶν εὐδεχομένων ἃ οἴονται συμφορῶτα αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ταῦτα πράττειν.

νομίζω οὖν τοὺς μὴ ὀρθῶς πράττοντας οὔτε

5 σοφοὺς οὔτε σώφρονας εἶναι. ἡφι δὲ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πᾶσαν ἄρετὴν σοφίαν εἶναι. τὰ τε γὰρ δίκαια καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἄρετῆ πράττεται, καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ εἶναι· καὶ οὔτὲ ἄν τοὺς ταῦτα εἰδότας ἀλλο ἀντὶ τούτων οὐδὲν προελέσθαι οὔτε τοὺς μὴ ἑπισταμένους δύνασθαι πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ἀμαρτάνειν. οὔτω καὶ τὰ καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ τοὺς μὲν σοφοὺς πράττειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ σοφοὺς οὐ δύνασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐὰν ἐγχειρῶσιν, ἀμαρτάνειν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τάλλα καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ πᾶντα ἄρετῆ πράττεται, δῆλον εἶναι, ὅτι καὶ δικαιοσύνη

6 καὶ ἡ ἄλλη πᾶσα ἄρετὴ σοφία ἐστι. μανίαν γε μὴν ἐναντίον μὲν ἡφι εἶναι σοφία, οὐ μέντοι γε τὴν ἀνεπίστημοσύνην μανίαν ἐνόμιζε. τὸ δὲ ἀγνοεῖν ἑαυτὸν καὶ ἃ μὴ οἶδε δοξάζειν τε καὶ
it is clear that all men, whatever their natural gifts, the talented and the dullards alike, must learn and practise what they want to excel in."

Between Wisdom and Prudence he drew no distinction; but if a man knows and practises what is beautiful and good, knows and avoids what is base,¹ that man he judged to be both wise and prudent. When asked further whether he thought that those who know what they ought to do and yet do the opposite are at once wise and vicious, he answered: "No; not so much that, as both unwise and vicious. For I think that all men have a choice between various courses, and choose and follow the one which they think conduces most to their advantage. Therefore I hold that those who follow the wrong course are neither wise nor prudent."

He said that Justice and every other form of Virtue is Wisdom. "For just actions and all forms of virtuous activity are beautiful and good. He who knows the beautiful and good will never choose anything else, he who is ignorant of them cannot do them, and even if he tries, will fail. Hence the wise do what is beautiful and good, the unwise cannot and fail if they try. Therefore since just actions and all other forms of beautiful and good activity are virtuous actions, it is clear that Justice and every other form of Virtue is Wisdom."

Madness, again, according to him, was the opposite of Wisdom. Nevertheless he did not identify Ignorance with Madness; but not to know yourself, and

¹ The Greek text is corrupt, but the sense is clear.

¹ The MSS. vary between τὸ and τὸν here and in the words following. Sauppe prints τὸ twice after Heindorf.
οἶεσθαὶ γιγνώσκειν ἐγγυτάτω μανίας ἐλογίζετο εἶναι. τοὺς μέντοι πολλοὺς ἐφή ἀ μὲν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἀγνοοῦσι, τοὺς διημαρτηκότας τούτων ὦ φάσκειν μαίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ διημαρτηκότας οὐ οἱ πολλοὶ γιγνώσκουσι μαίνομένους καλεῖν. ἐὰν τε γὰρ τις μέγας οὕτως οὕτα τινα πέπτεν τὰς πύλας τοῦ τείχους διεξιών, ἐὰν τε οὕτως ἰσχυρός, ὡστ' ἐπιχειρεῖν οἰκίας αἴρεσθαι ἢ ἄλλω τῷ ἐπιτίθεσθαι τῶν πάσι δήλων ὦτι ἄδυνατα ἐστὶ, τούτων μαίνεσθαι φάσκειν τούς δὲ μικρῶν διαμαρτάνοντες οὐ δοκεῖν τοῖς πολλοῖς μαίνεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἔπιθυμιὰν ἔρωτα καλοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ τὴν μεγάλην παράνοιαν μανίαν αὐτοὺς καλεῖν.

8  Φθόνον δὲ σκοπῶν ὡ τι εἶ ἡ λύσιν μὲν τινα ἐξεύρισκεν αὐτὸν οὕτα, οὕτε μέντοι τὴν ἐπὶ φίλων ἀτυχίας οὕτε τὴν ἐπὶ ἑχθρῶν εὐτυχίας γιγνομένην, ἀλλὰ μόνοις ἐφή φθονεῖν τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν φίλων εὐπραξίαις ἀνωμένους. θαυμαζόντων δὲ τισιν, εἴ τις φιλῶν τινα ἐπὶ τῇ εὐπραξίᾳ αὐτοῦ λυποῖτο, ὑπεμίμνησκεν, ὦτι πολλοὶ οὕτω πρὸς τινας ἐχοῦσιν, ὥστε κακῶς μὲν πράπτοντας μὴ δύνασθαι περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ βοηθεῖν ἀτυχοῦσιν, εὐπραξίαν ὑποεἴσαι τοῦτο μέντοι φρονίμῳ μὲν ἀνδρὶ ὤν ἀν συμβῆναι, τοὺς ἑλιθίον δὲ αἰὲ πάσχειν αὐτό.

9  Σχολὴν δὲ σκοπῶν τί εἶ ἡ ποιοῦντας μὲν τι τοὺς πλείστους εὑρίσκειν ἐφη' καὶ γὰρ τοὺς πεπεῦνοντας καὶ τοὺς γελωτοποιοῦντας ποιεῖν τι, πάντας δὲ τούτους ἐφη σχολάζειν. ἐξεῖναι γὰρ

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1 The last sentence cannot imply that Socrates thought self-ignorance “a slight error,” but must be merely a further
to assume and think that you know what you do not, he put next to Madness. "Most men, however," he declared, "do not call those mad who err in matters that lie outside the knowledge of ordinary people: madness is the name they give to errors in matters of common knowledge. For instance, if a man imagines himself to be so tall as to stoop when he goes through the gateways in the Wall, or so strong as to try to lift houses or to perform any other feat that everybody knows to be impossible, they say he's mad. They don't think a slight error implies madness, but just as they call strong desire love, so they name a great delusion madness." ¹

Considering the nature of Envy, he found it to be a kind of pain, not, however, at a friend's misfortune, nor at an enemy's good fortune, but the envious are those only who are annoyed at their friends' successes. Some expressed surprise that anyone who loves another should be pained at his success, but he reminded them that many stand in this relation towards others, that they cannot disregard them in time of trouble, but aid them in their misfortune, and yet they are pained to see them prospering. This, however, could not happen to a man of sense, but it is always the case with fools.

Considering the nature of Leisure, he said his conclusion was that almost all men do something. Even draught-players and jesters do something, but all these are at leisure, for they might go and

elucidation of popular nomenclature. But it comes very awkwardly here.

¹ Or, if with Stobaeus we omit ἐξείναι γὰρ αὐτοῖς, "have leisure to go."
αυτοῖς ἦναι πράξωντας τὰ βελτίων τούτων. ἀπὸ μέντοι τῶν βελτιώνων ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρω ἦναι οὐδένα σχολαίειν. εἰ δέ τις οἱ, τούτων ἁσχολίας αὐτὸς οὕσης κακῶς ἐφη τοῦτο πράττειν.

10 Βασιλείς δὲ καὶ ἄρχοντας οὐ τοὺς τὰ σκήπτρα ἔχοντας ἐφη εἶναι οὐδὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν τυχόντων αἱρεθέντας οὐδὲ τοὺς κλήρῳ λαχόντας οὐδὲ τοὺς βιασαμένους οὐδὲ τοὺς ἔξαπατήσαντας, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἄρχειν. ὅπως γὰρ τὶς ὁμολογήσεις τοῦ μὲν ἄρχοντος εἶναι τὸ προστάτευε τὶς χρῆ ποιεῖν, τοῦ δὲ ἄρχομένου τὸ πείθεσθαι, ἐπε- δείκνυεν ἐν τῇ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιστάμενον ἄρχοντα, τοῦ δὲ ναύκληρον καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους τοὺς ἐν τῇ νη πάντας πειθομένους τῷ ἐπισταμένῳ, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ τοὺς κεκτημένους ἄγορους καὶ ἐν νόσῳ τοὺς νοσοῦντας καὶ ἐν σωμασκία τοὺς σωμα- σκοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἅλλους πάντας, οἷς ὑπάρχει τι ἐπιμελείας δέομενον, ἀν μὲν αὐτοὶ ἡγοῦνται ἐπιστασθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τοῖς ἐπιστα- μένοις οὐ μόνον παροῦσι πειθομένους ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόντας μεταπεμπομένους, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοις πειθο- μενι τὰ δέοντα πράττοσιν ἐν δὲ ταλασία καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπεδείκνυεν ἄρχουσας τῶν αὐρῆν διὰ τὸ τὰς μὲν εἰδέναι, ὅπως χρῆ ταλασιουργείν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰδέναι.

11 Εἰ δὲ τὸ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγοι, ὅτι τῶν τυράννων ἔξεστι μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς ὅρθως λέγοντι, Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἐφη, ἔξειν μὴ πείθεσθαι, ἔπικειμένης γε ξημίας, ἐὰν τις τῷ εὗ λέγοντι μὴ πείθηται; ἐν δὲ γὰρ ἂν τις πράγματι μὴ πείθηται τῷ εὗ λέγοντι, ἀμαρτήσεται δὴπο, ἀμαρτάνως δὲ ξημωθήσεται.

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do something better. But nobody has leisure to go from a better to a worse occupation. If anyone does so, he acts wrongly, having no leisure.¹

Kings and rulers, he said, are not those who hold the sceptre, nor those who are chosen by the multitude, nor those on whom the lot falls, nor those who owe their power to force or deception; but those who know how to rule.² For once it was granted that it is the business of the ruler to give orders and of the ruled to obey, he went on to show that on a ship the one who knows, rules, and the owner and all the others on board obey the one who knows: in farming the landowners, in illness the patients, in training those who are in training, in fact everybody concerned with anything that needs care, look after it themselves if they think they know how, but, if not, they obey those who know, and not only when such are present, but they even send for them when absent, that they may obey them and do the right thing. In spinning wool, again, he would point out, the women govern the men because they know how to do it and men do not.

If anyone objected that a despot may refuse to obey a good counsellor, "How can he refuse," he would ask, "when a penalty waits on disregard of good counsel? All disregard of good counsel is bound surely to result in error, and his error will not go unpunished."

¹ Or, omitting κακός ἐφη with Stobaeus, "he does it in spite of want of leisure."
² Cyropaedia, i. i. 3.
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13 Εἰ δὲ φαίη τις τὸ τυράννω εξείναι καὶ ἀποκτείναι τὸν εὖ φρονοῦντα, Τὸν δὲ ἀποκτείναντα, ἐφη, τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν συμμάχων οὐει ἀξίμιον γίγνεσθαι ἢ ὅς ἔτυχε ξημοῦσθαι; πότερα γὰρ ἀν μᾶλλον οὐει σῶξεσθαι τὸν τοῦτο ποιοῦντα ἢ οὗτῳ καὶ τάχιστ' ἀν ἀπολέσθαι;

14 Ἕρμηνευν δὲ τίνος αὐτὸν, τί δοκοῖ αὐτῷ κράτιστον ἀνδρὶ ἐπιτήδευμα εἰναι, ἀπεκρίνατο Ἐὐπραξία. Ἕρμηνευν δὲ πάλιν, εἰ καὶ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐπιτήδευμα νομίζει εἰναι, Πάν μὲν οὖν τοῦναντίον ἐγγόρ', ἐφη, τὺχην καὶ πράξειν ἡγούμαι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ μὴ ἡτούντα ἐπιτυχεῖν των τῶν δεόντων εὐτυχίαν οἴμαι εἶναι, τὸ δὲ μαθόντα τε καὶ μελετῆσαντά τι εὖ ποιεῖν εὐπραξίαν νομίζω, καὶ οὐ τοῦτο ἐπιτηδεύοντες δοκοῦμει μοι εὖ πράττειν. καὶ ἄριστον δὲ καὶ θεοφιλεστάτους ἐφή εἰναι εὖ μὲν γεωργία τοὺς τὰ γεωργικὰ εὖ πράττοντας, εὖ δ' ἰατρεία τοὺς τὰ ἰατρικὰ, εὖ δὲ πολιτεία τοὺς τὰ πολιτικὰ· τὸν δὲ μηδὲν εὖ πράττοντα οὔτε χρήσιμον οὔδεν ἐφὴ εἰναι οὔτε θεοφιλῇ.

X. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ εἰ ποτε τῶν τὰς τέχνας ἐχόντων καὶ ἑργασίας ἐνεκα χρωμένων αὐταῖς διαλέγοντο τινι, καὶ τούτοις ὕφελμος ἦν.

Εἰσελθὼν μὲν γὰρ ποτε πρὸς Παρράσιον τὸν Ἐογράφον καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, Ἀρα, ἐφη, ὦ Παρράσιε, γραφικὴ ἐστίν εἰκασία τῶν ὁρωμένων; τὰ γοῦν κοίλα καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ τὰ σκοτεινὰ καὶ τὰ φωτεινὰ καὶ τὰ σκληρὰ καὶ τὰ μαλακὰ καὶ τὰ τραχέα καὶ τὰ λεία καὶ τὰ νέα καὶ τὰ παλαιὰ σώματα διὰ τῶν χρωμάτων ἀπεικάζοντες ἐκμυμεῖσθε.

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MEMORABILIA, III. ix. 13–x. 1

If anyone said that a despot can kill a loyal subject, "Do you think," he retorted, "that he who kills the best of his allies suffers no loss, or that his loss is trifling? Do you think that this conduct brings him safety, or rather swift destruction?"

When someone asked him what seemed to him the best pursuit for a man, he answered: "Doing well." Questioned further, whether he thought good luck a pursuit, he said: "On the contrary, I think luck and doing are opposite poles. To hit on something right by luck without search I call good luck, to do something well after study and practice I call doing well; and those who pursue this seem to me to do well. And the best men and dearest to the gods," he added, "are those who do their work well; if it is farming, as good farmers; if medicine, as good doctors; if politics, as good politicians. He who does nothing well is neither useful in any way nor dear to the gods."

X. Then again, whenever he talked with artists who followed their art as a business, he was as useful to them as to others.

Thus, on entering the house of Parrhasius the painter one day, he asked in the course of a conversation with him: "Is painting a representation of things seen, Parrhasius? Anyhow, you painters with your colours represent and reproduce figures high and low, in light and in shadow, hard and soft, rough and smooth, young and old."
2 Καὶ μὴν τὰ γε καλὰ εἰδὴ ἀφομοιοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ οὔ ράδιον ἐνὶ ἀνθρώπῳ περιτυχεῖν ἄμεμπτα πάντα ἔχουτι, ἐκ πολλῶν συνάγοντες τὰ ἐξ ἐκάστου κάλλιστα οὔτως ὅλα τὰ σώματα καλὰ ποιεῖτε φαίνεσθαι.

3 Ποιοῦμεν γάρ, ἐφη, οὕτω.
Τί γάρ; ἐφη, τὸ πιθανότατον καὶ ἦδιστον καὶ φιλικώτατον καὶ ποθενότατον καὶ ἐρασμώτατον ἀπομμείσθη τῷ ψυχῆς ἥθος; ἢ οὔδε μιμητὸν ἐστὶ τούτο;
Πῶς γάρ ἂν, ἐφη, μιμητὸν εἰη, ὡ Σώκρατες, ὃ μήτε συμμετρίαν μήτε χρώμα μήτε ὅν σὺ εἰπας ἀρτί μηδὲν ἔχει μηδὲ ὅλως ὀρατόν ἐστὶν;

4 Ἄρ’ οὖν, ἐφη, γίγνεται ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ τε φιλοφρόνως καὶ τὸ ἐχθρῶς βλέπειν πρὸς τινας;
Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν τούτο γε μιμητὸν ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασί; 
Καὶ μάλα, ἐφη.
Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῶν φιλῶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς ὀμοίως σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν τὰ πρόσωπα οὗ τε φροντίζοντες καὶ οἱ μή 1;
Μᾶ Δ’ οὗ δήτα, ἐφη· ἐπὶ μὲν γάρ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς φαινομεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς σκυθρωτοι γίγνονται.
Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, καὶ ταῦτα δυνατὸν ἀπεικάζειν; 
Καὶ μάλα, ἐφη.

5 Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὸ μεγαλοπρεπὲς τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ τὸ ταπεινόν τε καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ τὸ σωφρονικὸν τε καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ τὸ ὑβριστικόν τε καὶ ἀπειρόκαλον καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσώπου καὶ διὰ τῶν σχημάτων καὶ ἐστώτων καὶ κινουμένων ἀνθρώπων διαφαίνει.
"True."

"And further, when you copy types of beauty, it is so difficult to find a perfect model that you combine the most beautiful details of several, and thus contrive to make the whole figure look beautiful."

"Yes, we do!"

"Well now, do you also reproduce the character of the soul, the character that is in the highest degree captivating, delightful, friendly, fascinating, lovable? Or is it impossible to imitate that?"

"Oh no, Socrates; for how could one imitate that which has neither shape nor colour nor any of the qualities you mentioned just now, and is not even visible?"

"Do human beings commonly express the feelings of sympathy and aversion by their looks?"

"I think so."

"Then cannot thus much be imitated in the eyes?"

"Undoubtedly."

"Do you think that the joys and sorrows of their friends produce the same expression on men's faces, whether they really care or not?"

"Oh no, of course not: they look radiant at their joys, downcast at their sorrows."

"Then is it possible to represent these looks too?"

"Undoubtedly."

"Moreover, nobility and dignity, self-abasement and servility, prudence and understanding, insolence and vulgarity, are reflected in the face and in the attitudes of the body whether still or in motion."

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1 οὐ τέ... μὴ perhaps spurious, as Hartman holds.
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'Αληθὴ λέγεις, ἔφη.
Οὐκοῦν καὶ τάυτα μιμητά;
Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.
Πότερον οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις ἢδιον ὅραν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δι' ὅν τὰ καλὰ τε καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ ἀγαπητὰ ἦθη φαίνεται ἡ δὲ ὅν τὰ ἀισχρὰ τε καὶ πονηρὰ καὶ μισητὰ;
Πολὺ νη Ἔι', ἔφη, διαφέρει, ὦ Σώκρατες.

6 Πρὸς δὲ Κλείτωνα τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιόν εἰσελθὼν ποτε καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, "Ωτι μὲν, ἔφη, ὦ Κλείτων, καλοὶ οὖς ¹ ποιεῖς δρομεῖς τε καὶ παλαιστὰς καὶ πύκτας καὶ παγκρατιαστάς, ὅρω τε καὶ οἶδα: ὃ δὲ μάλιστα ψυχαγωγεῖ διὰ τῆς ὅψεως τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὸ ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι, πῶς τούτῳ ἐνεργάζῃ τοῖς ἀνδριάσιν;

7 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορῶν ὁ Κλείτων οὐ ταχὺ ἀπεκρίνατο, "Ἄρ', ἔφη, τοῖς τῶν ζωτῶν εἰδεσίν ἀπεικάζων τὸ ἔργον ζωτικωτέρους ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι τοὺς ἀνδριάσιν ταῖς;
Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.
Οὐκοῦν τὰ τε ὑπὸ τῶν σχημάτων καταστῶμενα καὶ τάνασσόμενα ἐν τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τὰ συμπίε-ξόμενα καὶ τὰ διελκομένα καὶ τὰ ἐντεινόμενα καὶ τὰ ἀνείμενα ἀπεικάζων ὁμοίωτερὰ τε τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς καὶ πιθανώτερα ποιεῖς φαίνεσθαι;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

8 Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν ποιοῦντων τὶ σωμά-των ἀπομιμεῖσθαι οὐ ποιεῖ τινα τέρψιν τοῖς θεωμένοις;

¹ καλοῖ οὕς Dindorf: ἀλλοίους Sauppe with MSS. and Stobaeus.

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"True."
"Then these, too, can be imitated, can they not?"
"Undoubtedly."

"Now which do you think the more pleasing sight, one whose features and bearing reflect a beautiful and good and lovable character, or one who is the embodiment of what is ugly and depraved and hateful?"

"No doubt there is a great difference, Socrates."

On another occasion he visited Cleiton the sculptor, and while conversing with him said: "Cleiton, that your statues of runners, wrestlers, boxers and fighters are beautiful I see and know. But how do you produce in them that illusion of life which is their most alluring charm to the beholder?"

As Cleiton was puzzled and did not reply at once, "Is it," he added, "by faithfully representing the form of living beings that you make your statues look as if they lived?"

"Undoubtedly."

"Then is it not by accurately representing the different parts of the body as they are affected by the pose—the flesh wrinkled or tense, the limbs compressed or outstretched, the muscles taut or loose—that you make them look more like real members and more convincing?"

"Yes, certainly."

"Does not the exact imitation of the feelings that affect bodies in action also produce a sense of satisfaction in the spectator?"
Εἰκὸς γοῦν, ἔφη.
Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν μαχομένων ἀπειλητικὰ τὰ ὄμματα ἀπεικαστέον, τῶν δὲ νενικηκότων εὐφραινομένων ἢ ὤψις μμητέα;
Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη.
Δεῖ ἀρα, ἔφη, τὸν ἀνδριαντοποιῶν τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τῷ εἴδει προσεικάζειν.
8 Ἑρωδίτης ἦν Ἡρακλίτης ὁ Περσικός, ἐπιδείξας αὐτῷ τῷ Σωκράτει θώρακας εὖ εἰργασμένους, Ἡ ἂν ἔφη Ἡρακλίτης, ἦν Ἱλίου Πατρίδος, ᾗ Πιστία, τὸ εὐρημα τὸ τὰ μὲν δεόμενα σκέπης τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σκεπάζει τὸν θώρακα, ταῖς δὲ χερσὶ μὴ κωλύειν χρήσθαι, ἠτὰρ, ἔφη, λέξον μοι, ὡς Πιστία, διὰ τί οὔτε ἱσχυρότερος οὔτε πολυτελεστέρος τῶν ἄλλων ποιῶν τοὺς θώρακας πλείονος ποιεῖς;
"Οτι, ἔφη, ὡς Σωκράτες, εὐρυθμοτέρους ποιῶ.
Τὸν δὲ ῥυθμόν, ἔφη, πότερα μέτρῳ ἡ σταθμὸς ἀποδεικνύων πλείονος τιμᾶ; οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἴσους γε πάντας οὔδε ὁμοίους οἰμαί σε ποιεῖν, εἰ γε ἀρμόττοντας ποιεῖς.
'Αλλὰ νη Δί', ἔφη, ποιῶν οὔδεν γὰρ ὁφέλος ἔστι θώρακος ἄνευ τοῦτον.
9 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, σώματά γε ἀνθρώπων τὰ μὲν εὐρυθμά ἔστι, τὰ δὲ ἱσχὺμα;
Πάντως μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.
Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, τῷ ἱσχὺμῳ σώματι ἀρμόττοντα τὸν θώρακα εὐρυθμον ποιεῖς;
"Ωσπερ καὶ ἀρμόττοντα, ἔφη· ὁ ἀρμόττων γὰρ ἔστιν εὐρυθμος.
12 Δοσκεῖς μοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὸ εὐρυθμόν οὐ
"Oh yes, presumably."

"Then must not the threatening look in the eyes of fighters be accurately represented, and the triumphant expression on the face of conquerors be imitated?"

"Most certainly."

"It follows, then, that the sculptor must represent in his figures the activities of the soul."

On visiting Pistias the armourer, who showed him some well-made breastplates, Socrates exclaimed:

"Upon my word, Pistias, it's a beautiful invention, for the breastplate covers the parts that need protection without impeding the use of the hands. But tell me, Pistias," he added, "why do you charge more for your breastplates than any other maker, though they are no stronger and cost no more to make?"

"Because the proportions of mine are better, Socrates."

"And how do you show their proportions when you ask a higher price—by weight or measure? For I presume you don't make them all of the same weight or the same size, that is, if you make them to fit."

"Fit? Why, of course! a breastplate is of no use without that!"

"Then are not some human bodies well, others ill proportioned?"

"Certainly."

"Then if a breastplate is to fit an ill-proportioned body, how do you make it well-proportioned?"

"By making it fit; for if it is a good fit it is well-proportioned."

"Apparently you mean well-proportioned not
καθ’ έαυτό λέγειν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χρώμενον· ὅσπερ ἄν εἰ φαίης ἀσπίδα, ὃ ἂν ἀρμόττῃ, τούτῳ εὐρυθυμὸν εἶναι, καὶ χλαμύδα καὶ τᾶλα ὁματίως

13 έοικεν έχειν τῷ σῷ λόγῳ. ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τι οὗ μικρὸν ἄγαθον τῷ ἀρμόττειν πρόσεστι.

Δίδαξον, ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ τι έχεις.

* Ἡττον, ἔφη, τῷ βάρει πιέζουσιν οἱ ἀρμόττουτες τῶν ἀναρμόστων τῶν αὐτῶν σταθμὸν έχοντες. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάρμοστοι ή ὅλοι ἐκ τῶν ὁμών κρεμά- μενοι ή καὶ ἄλλο τι τοῦ σώματος σφόδρα πιέζουτε δύσφοροι καὶ χαλεποὶ γίγνονται· οἱ δὲ ἀρμόττουτες, διειλημμένοι τὸ βάρος τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν κλειδῶν καὶ ἐπωμίδων, τὸ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμῶν, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ στήθους, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ νότου, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς γαστρός, ὅλίγου δεῖν οὐ φορῆματι, ἀλλὰ προσθήματι εὑρίκασιν.

14 Εἰρηκας, ἔφη, αὐτό, δι’ ὁπερ ἔγωγε τὰ ἐμὰ ἔργα πλείστου ἄξια νομίζω εἶναι· ἐνοι μέντοι τοὺς ποικίλους καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχρύσους θώρακας μᾶλλον ὄνωνται.

* Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, εἰ γε διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἀρμότ- τουτας ὄνωνται, κακὸν ἢμοιγε δοκοῦσι ποικίλον

15 τε καὶ ἐπιχρύσουν ὄνεισθαι. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, τοῦ σώματος μὴ μένουτος, ἀλλὰ τοτὲ μὲν κυρτουμένου, τοτὲ δὲ ὀρθουμένου, πῶς ἂν ἀκριβεῖς θώρακες ἀρμόττουειν;

Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη.

Δέγεις, ἔφη, ἀρμόττειν οὐ τοὺς ἀκριβεῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὴ λυποῦντας ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ.

Αὐτός, ἔφη, τοῦτο λέγεις, ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ πάνυ ὀρθῶς ἀποδέχῃ.

XII. Γυναικὸς δὲ ποτε οὐσῆς ἐν τῇ πόλει καλῆς, 238
absolutely, but in relation to the wearer, as you might call a shield well-proportioned for the man whom it fits, or a military cape—and this seems to apply to everything according to you. And perhaps there is another important advantage in a good fit."

"Tell it me, if you know, Socrates."

"The good fit is less heavy to wear than the misfit, though both are of the same weight. For the misfit, hanging entirely from the shoulders, or pressing on some other part of the body, proves uncomfortable and irksome; but the good fit, with its weight distributed over the collar-bone and shoulder-blades, the shoulders, chest, back and belly, may almost be called an accessory rather than an encumbrance."

"The advantage you speak of is the very one which I think makes my work worth a big price. Some, however, prefer to buy the ornamented and the gold-plated breastplates."

"Still, if the consequence is that they buy misfits, it seems to me they buy ornamented and gold-plated trash. However, as the body is not rigid, but now bent, now straight, how can tight breastplates fit?"

"They can't."

"You mean that the good fits are not the tight ones, but those that don't chafe the wearer?"

"That is your own meaning, Socrates, and you have hit the right nail on the head."

XI. At one time there was in Athens a beautiful
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' ὄνομα ἴν Θεοδότη, καί οίας συνεῖναι τῷ πείθοντι, μησθέντος αὐτῆς τῶν παρόντων τινὸς καὶ εἰπόντος, ὅτι κρείττον εἶν λόγου τὸ κάλλος τῆς γυναικὸς, καὶ ξωγράφους φύσαντος εἰσιέναι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπεικασομένους, οἷς ἐκείνην ἐπιδεικνύειν εαυτῆς ὡσα καλῶς. ἔχοι, Ἱτέον ἀν εἶη θεασομένους, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἀκούσασι γε τὸ λόγου κρείττον ἔστι καταμαθεῖν.

2 Καὶ ὁ διηγησάμενος, Οὐκ ἄν φθάνοιτ', ἐφη, ἀκολουθοῦντες. οὐτω μὲν δὴ πορευθέντες πρὸς τὴν Θεοδότην καὶ καταλαβόντες ξωγράφῳ τινὶ παρεστηκιναί ἐθέασαντο.

Παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ ξωγράφου, Ὡν ἄνδρες, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πότερον ἢμᾶς δεὶ μᾶλλον Θεοδότης χάριν ἐχειν, ὅτι ἢμῖν τὸ κάλλος εαυτῆς ἐπέδειξεν, ἡ ταύτην ἢμῖν, ὅτι ἐθεασάμεθα; ἃρ' εἰ μὲν ταύτη ὡφελιμωτέρα ἐστίν ἡ ἐπίδειξις, ταύτην ἢμῖν χάριν εκτέου, εἰ δὲ ἢμῖν ἦ θέα, ἢμᾶς ταύτῃ.

3 Εἰπόντος δὲ τινὸς, ὅτι δίκαια λέγοι, Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, αὐτὴ μὲν ἢδη τε τὸν παρ' ἢμῶν ἐπαινῶν κερδαίνει καὶ ἔπειδὰν εἰς πλείους διαγγέλωμεν, πλείω ὡφελήσεται· ἦμεις δὲ ἢδη τε ὧν ἐθεασάμεθα ἐπίθυμούμεν ἄφασθαι καὶ ἀπιμεν ὑποκινζόμενοι καὶ ἅπελθόντες ποθῆσομεν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκὸς ἢμᾶς μὲν θεραπεύειν, ταύτην δὲ θεραπεύεσθαι. καὶ ἡ Θεοδότη, Νη Δί', ἐφη, εἰ τοῖνυ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐχει, ἐμὲ ἄν δέοι ὑμῖν τῆς θέας χάριν ἐχειν.

4 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Σωκράτης ὁρῶν αὐτῆν τε πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην καὶ μητέρα παροῦσαν αὐτή ἐν ἐσθήτι καὶ θεραπεία οὐ τῇ τυχοῦση καὶ
woman named Theodoté, who was ready to keep company with anyone who pleased her. One of the bystanders mentioned her name, declaring that words failed him to describe the lady's beauty, and adding that artists visited her to paint her portrait, and she showed them as much as decency allowed. "We had better go and see her," cried Socrates; "of course what beggars description can't very well be learned by hearsay."

"Come with me at once," returned his informant. So off they went to Theodoté's house, where they found her posing before a painter, and looked on.

When the painter had finished, Socrates said: "My friends, ought we to be more grateful to Theodoté for showing us her beauty, or she to us for looking at it? Does the obligation rest with her, if she profits more by showing it, but with us, if we profit more by looking?"

When someone answered that this was a fair way of putting it, "Well now," he went on, "she already has our praise to her credit, and when we spread the news, she will profit yet more; whereas we already long to touch what we have seen, and we shall go away excited and shall miss her when we are gone. The natural consequence is that we become her adorers, she the adored."

"Then, if that is so," exclaimed Theodoté, "of course I ought to be grateful to you for looking."

At this point Socrates noticed that she was sumptuously dressed, and that her mother at her side was wearing fine clothes and jewellery; and she had
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θεραπαίναις πολλὰς καὶ εὔειδεῖς καὶ οὖδὲ ταύτας ἡμελημένως ἐξούσας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τῇν οἰκίᾳν ἀφθόνως κατεσκευασμένην. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὡς Θεοδότη, ἔστι σοι ἄγρος;
Οὐκ ἔμοιγ’, ἐφη. Αὔλλ’ ἄρα οἰκία προσόδους·ἐχουσά; Οὐδὲ οἰκία, ἐφη. Αὔλλα μὴ χειροτέκχναι τινές; Οὐδὲ χειροτέκχναι, ἐφη.
Πόθεν οὖν, ἐφη, τάπιτηδεία ἔχεις; Ἐαν τίς, ἐφη, φίλος μοι γενόμενος εὖ ποιεῖν ἑθέλη, οὖτὸς μοι βίος ἐστί.
5 Νὴ τὴν Ἶπραν, ἐφη, ὡς Θεοδότη, καλὸν γε τὸ κτῆμα καὶ πολλῷ κρείττον ἢ οἶνων τε καὶ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν φίλων ἀγέλην κεκτήσατι. Ὁτάρ, ἐφη, πότερον τῇ τύχῃ ἐπιτρέπεις, ἐάν τίς σοι φίλος ὠσπερ μνία προσπτηται, ἢ καὶ αὐτὴ τι μηχανᾶ; 
6 Πῶς δ’ ἂν, ἐφη, ἐγὼ τούτον μηχανῆν εὐρομί; Πολὺ νὴ Δῖ, ἐφη, προσηκόντως μᾶλλον ἢ αἱ φάλαγγες· ὀίσθα γάρ, ὡς ἐκεῖναι θηρώσι τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον· ἀράχνια γάρ δήπον λεπτὰ ύφηνά- μεναι ὡ τι ἂν ἐνταῦθα ἐμπέσῃ, τούτῳ τροφῇ χρῶνται.
7 Καὶ ἐμοὶ οὖν, ἐφη, συμβουλεύεις ύφήνασθαί τι θήρατρον; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὖτως γε ἀτέχνως οἴεσθαι χρὴ τὸ πλέιστον ἄξιον ἀγρευμα φίλων θηράσεων. οὐχ ὅρας, ὅτι καὶ τὸ μικρὸν ἄξιον τοὺς λαγῶς θηρῶντες 
8 πολλὰ τεχνάζουσιν; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ τῆς νυκτὸς νέμονται, κύνας νυκτερευτικὰς πορισάμενοι ταύ- ταίς αὐτοὺς θηρῶσιν· ὅτι δὲ μεθ’ ἡμέραν ἀποδι- δράσκουσιν, ἄλλας κτῶνται κύνας, αἵτινες ὢ ἂν 242
many pretty maids, who also were well cared for, and her house was lavishly furnished.

"Tell me, Theodoté," he said, "have you a farm?"

"Not I," she answered.

"Or a house, perhaps, that brings in money?"

"No, nor a house."

"Some craftsmen, possibly?"

"No, none."

"Then where do you get your supplies from?"

"I live on the generosity of any friend I pick up."

"A fine property, upon my word, Theodoté, and much better than abundance of sheep and goats and oxen. But," he went on, "do you trust to luck, waiting for friends to settle on you like flies, or have you some contrivance of your own?"

"How could I invent a contrivance for that?"

"Much more conveniently, I assure you, than the spiders. For you know how they hunt for a living: they weave a thin web, I believe, and feed on anything that gets into it."

"And do you advise me, then, to weave a trap of some sort?"

"Of course not. Don't suppose you are going to hunt friends, the noblest game in the world, by such crude methods. Don't you notice that many tricks are employed even for hunting such a poor thing as the hare? 1 Since hares feed by night, hounds specially adapted for night work are provided to hunt them; and since they run away at daybreak, another pack of hounds is obtained for tracking

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1 Cyropaedia, i. vi. 40.
ἐκ τῆς νομῆς εἰς τὴν εὐνὴν ἀπέλθωσι, τῇ ὁσμῇ αἰσθανόμεναι εὐρίσκουσιν αὐτούς· ὅτι δὲ πο-
δώκεις εἰσίν, ὡστε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τρέχοντες ἀποφεύγειν, ἀλλὰς αὐτὸς ταχείας παρασκευά-
ζονται, ἵνα κατὰ πόδας ἀλίσκωνται· ὅτι δὲ καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῶν τινες ἀποφεύγουσι, δίκτυα ἴστασιν
eἰς τὰς ἀτραποὺς, ἥ φεύγουσιν, ἵνα εἰς ταῦτα ἐμπίπτοντες συμποδίζονται.

9 Τίνι οὖν, ἔφη, τοιούτῳ φίλους ἂν ἔγω θηρῷς; Ἐαν νη Δί', ἔφη, ἀντὶ κυνὸς κτήσῃ ὅστις σοι
ἰχνεύων μὲν τοὺς φιλοκάλους καὶ πλουσίους εὐρήτει, εὐρὸν δὲ μηχανήσεται, ὅπως ἐμβάλῃ
aὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ σὰ δίκτυα.

10 Καὶ ποία, ἔφη, ἐγώ δίκτυα ἔχω; Ἔν μὲν δήπον, ἔφη, καὶ μάλα εὗ περιπληκό-
μενον, τὸ σῶμα· ἐν δὲ τοῦτῳ ψυχήν, ἥ κατα-
μανθάνεις καὶ ὃς ἂν ἐμβλέπουσα χαρίζω καὶ
ο ἡ ἢ λέγουσα εὐφραίνοις καὶ ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μὲν
ἐπιμελόμενον ἁσμένως ὑποδέχεσθαι, τὸν δ' ἐντρυ-
φῶντα ἀποκλείειν καὶ ἀρρωστῆσαι τό 
φίλου

φροντιστικός ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ καλὸν τῷ πρά-
ξαντῷ σφόδρα συνησθῆναι καὶ τῷ σφόδρα σοῦ
φροντίζοντι ὥλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ κεχαρίσθαι. 

φιλεῖν

γε μὴν εὗ οἷον ὅτι ἐπίστασαι οὐ μόνον μαλακῶς,
ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐνοϊκῶς· καὶ ὅτι ἀρεστοῖ σοὶ εἰσιν οἱ
φίλοι, οἷον ὅτι οὐ λόγῳ ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀναπείθεις.

Μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη ἡ Θεοδότη, ἐγὼ τοῦτων οὐδὲν

μηχανῶμαι.

11 Καὶ μὴν, ἔφη, πολὺ διαφέρει τὸ κατὰ φύσιν τε
καὶ ὅρθως ἀνθρώπω προσφέρεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ

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them by the scent along the run from the feeding ground to the form; and since they are so nimble that once they are off they actually escape in the open, yet a third pack of speedy hounds is formed to catch them by hot pursuit; and as some escape even so, nets are set up in the tracks where they escape, that they may be driven into them and stopped dead."

"Then can I adapt this plan to the pursuit of friends?"

"Of course you can, if for the hound you substitute an agent who will track and find rich men with an eye for beauty, and will then contrive to chase them into your nets."

"Nets! What nets have I got?"

"One, surely, that clips close enough—your body! And inside it you have a soul that teaches you what glance will please, what words delight, and tells you that your business is to give a warm welcome to an eager suitor, but to slam the door upon a coxcomb; yes, and when a friend has fallen sick, to show your anxiety by visiting him; and when he has had a stroke of good fortune, to congratulate him eagerly; and if he is eager in his suit, to put yourself at his service heart and soul. As for loving, you know how to do that, I am sure, both tenderly and truly; and that your friends give you satisfaction, you convince them, I know, not by words but by deeds."

"Upon my word," said Theodoté, "I don't contrive one of these things."

"Nevertheless," he continued, "it is very important that your behaviour to a man should be both natural and correct. For assuredly you can neither
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βία μὲν οὔτ’ ἂν ἔλοις οὔτε κατάσχοις φίλου, εὐεργεσία δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴ τὸ θηρίον τοῦτο ἀλώσιμον τε καὶ παραμόνιμον ἔστιν.

'Ἀληθῆ λέγεις, ἔφη.

12 Δεῖ τοῖς, ἔφη, πρώτον μὲν τοὺς φροντίζοντάς σον τοιαύτα ἀξίουν, οὐκοικίσθων αὐτοῖς μικρότατα μελήσει· ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτὴν ἀμείβεσθαι χαριζομένην τὸν αὐτοῦ τρόπον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα φίλοι γίγνοιτο καὶ πλείστους χρόνους φιλοῖεν καὶ μέγιστα εὐεργετοῖεν. χαρίζοι δ’ ἂν μάλιστα, εἰ δεομένοις δωροῖο τὰ παρὰ σεαυτῆς. ορᾶς γὰρ, ὅτι καὶ τῶν βρωμάτων τὰ ἠδιστα, ἐὰν μὲν τις προσφέρῃ πρὶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀνδὴν φαίνεται, κεκορεσμένοις δὲ καὶ βδελυγμίαν παρέχει· ἐὰν δὲ τὰς προσφέρη λιμῶν ἐμποιήσας, κἀν φαυλότερα ἦ, πάντως ἡδέα φαίνεται.

13 Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφη, ἐγὼ λιμῶν ἐμποιεῖν τῷ τῶν παρ’ ἐμοὶ δυναίμην;

Εἴ νη Δι’, ἔφη, πρώτον μὲν τοῖς κεκορεσμένοις μήτε προσφέροις μήτε ὑπομιμήσκοις, ἔως ἂν τῆς πλησιμονῆς παυσάμενοι πάλιν δέωνται, ἔπειτα τοὺς δεομένους ὑπομιμήσκοις ὃς κοσμιωτάτη τε ὀμίλια καὶ τῷ μὴ φαίνεσθαι βουλομένη χαρίζεσθαι καὶ διαφεύγουσα, ἔως ἂν ὡς μάλιστα δεηθῶσι· τηνικάυτα γὰρ πολὺ διαφέρει τα αὐτὰ δῶρα ἢ πρὶν ἐπιθυμήσαι διδόναι.

15 Καὶ ἡ Θεοδότη, Τι. οὖν οὐ σύ μοι, ἔφη, ὥς Σώκρατες, ἐγένους συνθηρατής τῶν φίλων;

'Εάν γε νὴ Δι’, ἔφη, πείθης με σύ.

Πῶς οὖν ἂν, ἔφη, πείσαιμί σε;
catch a friend nor keep him by violence;\(^1\) it is kindness and sweetness that catch the creature and hold him fast."

"True," she said.

"First, then, you must ask such favours of your 12 suitors as they will grant without a moment’s hesitation; and next you must repay their favours in the same coin; for in this way they will prove most sincerely your friends, most constant in their affection and most generous. And they will appreciate your 13 favours most highly if you wait till they ask for them. The sweetest meats, you see, if served before they are wanted, seem sour, and to those who have had enough they are positively nauseating; but even poor fare is very welcome when offered to a hungry man."

"And how can I make them hunger for my 14 fare?"

"Why, in the first place, you must not offer it to them when they have had enough, nor prompt them until they have thrown off the surfeit and are beginning to want more; then, when they feel the want, you must prompt them by behaving as a model of propriety, by a show of reluctance to yield, and by holding back until they are as keen as can be; for then the same gifts are much more to the recipient than when they are offered before they are desired."

"Then, Socrates," exclaimed Theodoté, "why 15 don’t you become my partner in the pursuit of friends?"

"By all means—if you persuade me."

"And how am I to persuade you?"

\(^1\) Cyropaedia, \textit{viii. vii.} 13.
Ζητήσεις, ἐφη, τούτο αὐτῷ καὶ μηχανήσῃ, εάν τί μου δέη.
Εἴσθι τοῖνυν, ἐφη, θαμινά.

16 Καὶ ὁ Σώκρατης ἐπισκώπτων τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπραγμοσύνην, Ἀλλ’, ὡς Θεοδότη, ἐφη, οὐ πάνυ μοι ῥάδιόν ἐστὶ σχολάσαι· καὶ γὰρ ἰδια πράγματα πολλὰ καὶ δημόσια παρέχει μοι ἀσχολίαν· εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ φίλαι μου, αἱ οὕτε ἡμέρας οὕτε νυκτὸς ἀφ’ αὐτῶν ἐάσουσί με ἀπιέναι φίλτρα τε μανθάνουσαι παρ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ χάδες.

17 Ἐπιστάσαι γάρ, ἐφη, καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς Σώκρατες· Ἀλλὰ διὰ τί οἴει, ἐφη, Ἀπολλόδωρον τε τῶνδε καὶ Ἀντισθένην οὐδέποτε μοι ἀπολείπεσθαι; διὰ τί δὲ καὶ Κέβητα καὶ Σιμμίαν Θήβηθεν παραγιγνεσθαι; εὖ ίσθι, ὅτι ταῦτα οὐκ ἄνευ πολλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπωδῶν καὶ ἵνγγων ἐστὶ.

18 Χρήσον τοῖνυν μοι, ἐφη, τὴν ἵναγα, ἵνα ἐπὶ σοὶ πρῶτον ἐλκω αὐτῆν.
Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἐλκεσθαι πρὸς σὲ βουλομαι, ἀλλὰ σὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ πορεύεσθαι.
Ἀλλὰ πορεύσομαι, ἐφη· μόνον ὑποδέχομαι.
Ἀλλ’ ὑποδέξομαι σε, ἐφη, ἐὰν μὴ τις φιλωτέρα σου ἐνδον ἦ.

Χ. Επιγένην δὲ τῶν συνόντων τινά, νέον τε ὁντα καὶ τὸ σῶμα κακῶς ἔχοντα, ἰδών, Ὡς ἰδιωτικῶς, ἐφη, τὸ σῶμα ἔχεις, ὡς Ἐπίγενες.
Καὶ ὅς, Ἰδιώτης γάρ, ἐφη, εἰμί, ὡς Σώκρατες.
Οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον, ἐφη, τῶν ἐν Ὀλυμπία μελλόντων ἀγωνίζεσθαι: ἢ δοκεῖ σοι μικρὸς εἶναι ὁ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἄγων, ὥν

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“That you will find out and contrive for yourself, if you want my help.”

“Come and see me often, then.”

“Ah!” said Socrates, making fun of his own leisurely habits, “it’s not so easy for me to find time. For I have much business to occupy me, private and public; and I have the dear girls, who won’t leave me day or night; they are studying potions with me and spells.”

“Indeed! do you understand these things too, Socrates?”

“Why, what is the reason that master Apollodorus and Antisthenes never leave me, do you suppose? And why do Cebes and Simmias come to me from Thebes? I assure you these things don’t happen without the help of many potions and spells and magic wheels.”

“Do lend me your wheel, that I may turn it first to draw you.”

“But of course I don’t want to be drawn to you: I want you to come to me.”

“Oh, I’ll come: only mind you welcome me.”

“Oh, you shall be welcome—unless there’s a dearer girl with me!”

XII. On noticing that Epigenes, one of his companions, was in poor condition, for a young man, he said: “You look as if you need exercise, Epigenes.”

“Well,” he replied, “I’m not an athlete, Socrates.”

“Just as much as the competitors entered for Olympia,” he retorted. “Or do you count the life and death struggle with their enemies, upon which,  

1 ἰδιωτὴς is one who is ignorant of any profession or occupation: ἰδιωτικὸς ἰχεῖν here means to be ignorant of athletic training.
2 Ἀθηναίοι θήσουσιν, ὅταν τύχωσι; καὶ μὴν οὐκ ὀλίγοι μὲν διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καχεξίαν ἀποθυνήσκονσι τε ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς κινδύνοις καὶ αἰσχρῶς σώζονται. πολλοὶ δὲ δὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ξώντες τε ἀλίσκονται καὶ ἀλὸντες ήτοι δουλεύουσι τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, ἐὰν οὖτω τύχωσι, τὴν χαλεπωτάτην δουλείαν, ἣ εἰς τὰς ἀνάγκας τὰς ἀλγεινοτάτας ἐμπεσόντες καὶ ἐκτίσαντες ἐνίστε πλεῖον τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν λοιπὸν βίον ἐνδεείς τῶν ἀναγκαίων ὄντες καὶ κακοπαθοῦντες διαξῶσι πολλοὶ δὲ δόξαν αἰσχρὰν κτῶνται διὰ τὴν τοῦ

3 σώματος ἄδυναμίαν δοκοῦντες ἀποδειλιάν. ἡ καταφρονεῖς τῶν ἐπιτιμῶν τῆς καχεξίας τούτων καὶ βαδίως ἄν οὐεὶ φέρειν τὰ τοιαύτα; καὶ μὴν οὐμαί γε πολλῶ ρᾶσα καὶ ἡδίω τούτων εἶναι ἄ δει ὑπομέενων τὸν ἐπιμελέμενον τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἐυεξίας. ἡ υγιεινότερον τε καὶ εἰς τὰλλα χρησιμώτερον νομίζεις εἶναι τὴν καχεξίαν τῆς ἐυεξίας; ἡ τῶν διὰ τὴν ἐυεξίαν γηγομένων

4 καταφρονεῖς; καὶ μὴν πάντα γε τἀναντία συμβαίνει τοῖς εὖ τὰ σώματα ἐξοσιν ἡ τοῖς κακῶς. καὶ γὰρ υγιαίνουσιν οἱ τὰ σώματα εὖ ἑχοντες καὶ ἱσχύουσι καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἁγώνων σώζονται τε εὔσχημόνως καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πάντα διαφεύγουσι, πολλοὶ δὲ φίλοις τε βοηθοῦσί καὶ τὴν πατρίδα εὐεργετοῦσι καὶ διὰ ταύτα χάριτος τε ἄξιωνται καὶ δόξαν μεγάλην κτῶνται καὶ τιμῶν καλλιστοντυγχάνουσι καὶ διὰ ταύτα 1 τῶν τε λοιπὸν βίον ἡδίου καὶ κάλλιον διαξῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἐαυτῶν παισὶ καλλίους ἀφορμᾶς εἰς τὸν βίον καταλείπουσιν.

5 Οὕτω χρῆ ὅτι ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἀσκεῖ δημοσία τὰ
it may be, the Athenians will enter, but a small thing? Why, many, thanks to their bad condition, lose their life in the perils of war or save it disgracefully: many, just for this same cause, are taken prisoners, and then either pass the rest of their days, perhaps, in slavery of the hardest kind, or, after meeting with cruel sufferings and paying, sometimes, more than they have, live on, destitute and in misery. Many, again, by their bodily weakness earn infamy, being thought cowards. Or do you despise these, the rewards of bad condition, and think that you can easily endure such things? And yet I suppose that what has to be borne by anyone who takes care to keep his body in good condition is far lighter and far pleasanter than these things. Or is it that you think bad condition healthier and generally more serviceable than good, or do you despise the effects of good condition? And yet the results of physical fitness are the direct opposite of those that follow from unfitness. The fit are healthy and strong; and many, as a consequence, save themselves decorously on the battle-field and escape all the dangers of war; many help friends and do good to their country and for this cause earn gratitude; get great glory and gain very high honours, and for this cause live henceforth a pleasanter and better life, and leave to their children better means of winning a livelihood.

"I tell you, because military training is not

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1 The Latin version of Bessario (Rome, 1521) omits διὰ ταύτα, which is bracketed by Sauppe as spurious.
πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἵδια ἄμελειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲν ἦττον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. εὖ γὰρ ἦσθι, ὅτι οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδεὶς ἀγὼν οὐδὲ ἐν πρᾶξιν οὐδεὶς μείον ἔξεις διὰ τὸ βέλτιον τὸ σῶμα παρεσκευάσθαι; πρὸς πάντα γὰρ, ἵσα πράττοντων ἀνθρώπων, χρήσιμον τὸ σῶμα ἐστιν· ἐν πάσαις δὲ ταῖς τοῦ σώματος χρείας πολὺ διαφέρει ὡς βέλτιστα τὸ σῶμα ἐχειν· ἔτει καὶ ἐν ὃ δοκεῖς ἐλαχίστην σώματος χρείαν εἶναι, ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι, τίς οὐκ οἶδειν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τούτῳ πολλοῖς μεγάλα σφάλλονται διὰ τὸ μὴ ύγιαίνειν τὸ σῶμα; καὶ λήθη δὲ καὶ ἄθυμία καὶ δυσκολία καὶ μανία πολλάκις πολλοῖς διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος καχεῖαν εἰς τὴν διάνοιαν ἐμπίπτοντων οὕτως, ὡστε καὶ τὰς ἐπιστήμας ἐκβάλλειν. τοῖς δὲ τὰ σώματα εὐ ἔχουσι πολλῇ ἀσφάλειᾳ καὶ οὐδεὶς κίνδυνος διὰ γε τὴν τοῦ σώματος καχεῖαν τοιούτου τι παθεῖν, εἰκὸς δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς τὰ ἐναντία τῶν διὰ τὴν καχεῖαν γιγαντιαίων τὴν εὐεξίαν χρήσιμον εἶναι. καὶ τοῖς τῶν γε τοῖς εἰρήμενοις ἐναντίων ἕνεκα τι ὕπον ἀν τις νοῦν ἔχων ὑπομείνειν; 

8 Ἀισχρὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ διὰ τὴν ἄμελειαν γηρᾶναι, πρὶν ἰδεῖν ἑαυτῶν ποίος ἂν κάλλιστος καὶ κράτιστος τῷ σώματι γένοιτο. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἐστιν ἰδεῖν ἄμελοῦντα· οὐ γὰρ ἔθελεν αὐτόματα γίγνεσθαι.

XIII. ὘ργιζομένου δὲ ποτὲ τινος, ὅτι προσειπῶν τινα χαίρειν οὐκ ἀντιπροσερήθη, Γελοῖον, ἔφη, τὸ εἶ μὲν τὸ σῶμα κάκιον ἔχουσι ἀπήντυνσάς 252
publicly recognised by the state, you must not make that an excuse for being a whit less careful in attending to it yourself. For you may rest assured that there is no kind of struggle, apart from war, and no undertaking in which you will be worse off by keeping your body in better fettle. For in everything that men do the body is useful; and in all uses of the body it is of great importance to be in as high a state of physical efficiency as possible. Why, even in the process of thinking, in which the use of the body seems to be reduced to a minimum, it is matter of common knowledge that grave mistakes may often be traced to bad health. And because the body is in a bad condition, loss of memory, depression, discontent, insanity often assail the mind so violently as to drive whatever knowledge it contains clean out of it. But a sound and healthy body is a strong protection to a man, and at least there is no danger then of such a calamity happening to him through physical weakness: on the contrary, it is likely that his sound condition will serve to produce effects the opposite of those that arise from bad condition. And surely a man of sense would submit to anything to obtain the effects that are the opposite of those mentioned in my list.

"Besides, it is a disgrace to grow old through sheer carelessness before seeing what manner of man you may become by developing your bodily strength and beauty to their highest limit. But you cannot see that, if you are careless; for it will not come of its own accord."

XIII. On a man who was angry because his greeting was not returned: "Ridiculous!" he exclaimed; "you would not have been angry if you


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tω, μὴ ἄν ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ τὴν ψυχήν ἀγροικοτέρως διακειμένως περιέτυχες, τούτῳ σε λυπεῖν.

2 Ἀλλου δὲ λέγοντος, ὅτι ἀνθώς ἔσθιοι, Ἀκουμενός, ἔφη, τούτου φάρμακον ἀγαθὸν διδάσκει. ἐρωμένου δὲ, Ποῖον; Παύσασθαι ἔσθιοντα, ἔφη καὶ ᾧδιόν τε καὶ εὐτελέστερου καὶ ψυχειότερον διάξειν παυσάμενον.

3 Ἀλλου δ' αὖ λέγοντος, ὅτι θερμὸν εἰη παρ' ἑαυτῷ τὸ ὑδὼρ, ὃ πίνοι, Ὅταν ἀρ', ἔφη, βούλῃ θερμῶν λούσασθαι, ἐτοιμὸν ἐσται σοι.

'Ἀλλὰ ψυχρόν, ἔφη, ἐστὶν ὡστε λούσασθαι.

'Αρ' οὖν, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ οἰκέται σου ἄχθονται πίνοντές τε αὐτῷ καὶ λούμενοι αὐτῷ ;

Μᾶ τὸν Δ', ἔφη; ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις τεθαυμακα, ὡς ἡδέως αὐτῷ πρὸς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα χρῶνται.

Πότερον δὲ, ἔφη, τὸ παρὰ σοὶ ὑδὼρ θερμότερον πιέιν ἐστὶν ἢ τὸ ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ ;

Τὸ ἐν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ἔφη.

Πότερον δὲ λούσασθαι ψυχρότερον, τὸ παρὰ σοὶ ἢ τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου ;

Τὸ ἐν Ἀμφιαράου, ἔφη.

'Ἐνθυμοῦ οὖν, ἔφη, ὅτι κινδυνεύεις δυσαρεστότερος εἶναι τῶν τε οἰκετῶν καὶ τῶν ἄρρωστούντων.

4 Κολάσαντος δὲ τινὸς ἵσχυρῶς ἀκόλουθον, ἤρετο, τί χαλεπαίνοι τῷ θεράπουτ. Ὅτι, ἔφη, ὡς ψυχήσιμος τε ὃν βλακότατός ἐστι καὶ φιλαργυρώτατος ὃν ἀργότατος.
had met a man in worse health; and yet you are annoyed because you have come across someone with ruder manners!"

On another who declared that he found no pleasure in eating: "Acumenus," he said, "has a good prescription for that ailment." And when asked "What?" he answered, "Stop eating; and you will then find life pleasanter, cheaper, and healthier."

On yet another who complained that the drinking water at home was warm: "Consequently," he said, "when you want warm water to wash in, you will have it at hand."

"But it's too cold for washing," objected the other.

"Then do your servants complain when they use it both for drinking and washing?"

"Oh no: indeed I have often felt surprised that they are content with it for both these purposes."

"Which is the warmer to drink, the water in your house or Epidaurus water?" 1

"Epidaurus water."

"And which is the colder to wash in, yours or Oropus water?" 2

"Oropus water."

"Then reflect that you are apparently harder to please than servants and invalids."

When someone punished his footman severely, he asked why he was angry with his man.

"Because he's a glutton and he's a fool," said the other: "he's rapacious and he's lazy."

1 The hot spring in the precincts of Asclepius' temple at Epidaurus.
2 The spring by the temple of Amphiaraus at Oropus in Boeotia.
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"Ἡδη ποτὲ οὖν ἐπεσκέψω, πότερος πλείόνων πληγῶν δεῖται, σὺ ἢ ὁ θεράπων;

5 Φοβουμένου δὲ τινὸς τήν εἰς Ὄλυμπίαν ὁδὸν, 
Τή, ἐφη, φοβηθή τὴν πορείαν; οὖ καὶ οἶκοι σχεδὸν ὄλην τὴν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖς; καὶ ἐκεῖσε πορευό-
μενος περιπατητήσας ἀριστήσεις, περιπατήτησας 

dειτυνήσεις καὶ ἀναπαύση. οὖκ οἶσθα, ὅτι 

εἰ ἐκτείναις τοὺς περιπάτους, οὖς ἐν πέντε ἦ ἐξ 

ἡμέραις περιπατεῖς, ῥαδίως ἄν Ἀθήνηθεν εἰς 

'Ολυμπίαν ἀφίκοιο; χαριέστερον δὲ καὶ προ-

εξορμάν ἡμέρα μιὰ μᾶλλον ἡ ύστερίζειν. τὸ μὲν 


γὰρ ἀναγκάζεσθαι περατέτορ τοῦ μετρίου μηκόνειν 

τὰς ὁδοὺς χαλεπόν, τὸ δὲ μιὰ ἡμέρα πλείονας 


πορευθῆναι πολλὴν ραστώνης παρέχει. κρεῖτ-

τον οὖν ἐν τῷ ὀρμῇ σπεύδως ἢ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ.

6 Ἀλλοῦ δὲ λέγοντος, ὃς παρετάθη μακρὰν ὁδὸν 


πορευθεῖς, ἦρετο αὐτὸν, εἰ καὶ φορτίον ἔφερε. 

Μᾶ Δί οὖκ ἔγωγ', ἐφη, ἀλλὰ τὸ ῤμάτιον. 

Μόνος δ' ἐπορεύου, ἐφη, ἢ καὶ ἀκόλουθὸς σοι 


ἡκολούθει;

'Ἡκολούθει, ἐφη. 

Πότερον κενός, ἐφη, ἢ φέρων τι; 

Φέρων νὴ Δί', ἐφη, τά τε στρώματα καὶ τάλλα 


σκεύη. 

Καὶ πῶς, ἐφη, ἀπήλλαξεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ; 

'Εμοι μὲν δοκεῖν, ἐφη, βέλτιον ἐμοῦ. 

Τὴ οὖν; ἐφη, εἰ τὸ ἐκεῖνον φορτίον ἐδει σε 


φέρειν, πῶς ἂν οὐεὶ διατεθῆναι; 

Κακῶς νὴ Δί', ἐφη: μᾶλλον δὲ οὖδ' ἄν ἡδυνήθην 


κομίσαι. 

Τὸ οὖν τοσοῦτῳ ἦττον τοῦ παιδὸς δύνασθαι 


πονεῖν πῶς ἣσκημένου δοκεῖ σοι ἀνδρὸς εἶναι; 

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“Have you ever considered, then, which deserves the more stripes, the master or the man?”

When someone was afraid of the journey to Olympia, he said:

“Why do you fear the distance? When you are at home, don’t you spend most of the day in walking about? on your way there you will take a walk before lunch, and another before dinner, and then take a rest. Don’t you know that if you put together the walks you take in five or six days, you can easily cover the distance from Athens to Olympia? It is more comfortable, too, to start a day early rather than a day late, since to be forced to make the stages of the journey unduly long is unpleasant; but to take a day extra on the way makes easy going. So it is better to hurry over the start than on the road.”

When another said that he was worn out after a long journey, he asked him whether he had carried a load.

“Oh no,” said the man; “only my cloak.”

“Were you alone, or had you a footman with you?”

“I had.”

“Empty-handed or carrying anything?”

“He carried the rugs and the rest of the baggage, of course.”

“And how has he come out of the journey?”

“Better than I, so far as I can tell.”

“Well then, if you had been forced to carry his load, how would you have felt, do you suppose?”

“Bad, of course; or rather, I couldn’t have done it.”

“Indeed! do you think a trained man ought to be so much less capable of work than his slave?”
ΧΙΧ. Ὅπως δὲ τῶν συνιόντων ἐπὶ δείταιν οἶ
mὲν μικρὸν ὄψον, οἶ δὲ πολὺ φέροιεν, ἐκέλευεν ὁ
Σωκράτης τὸν παίδα τὸ μικρὸν ἢ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
tιθέναι ἡ διανέμειν ἐκάστῳ τὸ μέρος. οἶ οὖν τὸ
πολὺ φέροιντο ἀλλὰ πλέον εἶχον τῶν μικρῶν
φερομένων, ἐπαύοντο πολλοὶ ὄψωνοῦντες.

2 Καταμαθὼν δὲ ποτὲ τῶν συνιόντων τινὰ
tοῦ μὲν σίτου πεπαυμένοι, τὸ δὲ ὀψον αὐτὸ καθ’
αὐτὸ ἐσθίοντα, λόγου ὅντος περὶ ὄνομάτων, ἐφ’
οὐ ἐγγὺς ἐκαστὸν εἶν, Ἐσποιμεν ἄν, ἔφη, ὁ ἄνδρες,
eἰπεῖν, ἐπὶ ποίῳ ποτὲ ἐργῷ ἄνθρωπος ὀψοφάγος
καλεῖται; ἐσθίονσι μὲν γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἐπὶ τῷ
σίτῳ ὄψον, όταν παρῆ ἀλλ’ οὐκ οἴμαι πω ἐπὶ
tοῦτῳ γε ὀψοφάγου καλοῦνται.

Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη τις τῶν παρόντων.

3 Τί γὰρ; ἔφη, ἐάν τις ἄνευ τοῦ σίτου τὸ ὄψον
αὐτὸ ἐσθίη μὴ ἄσκήσεως, ἀλλ’ ἵδους ἐνεκα, πό-
tερον ὀψοφάγος εἶναι δοκεῖ ἡ οὐ;
Σχολὴ γ’ ἄν, ἔφη, ἄλλος τις ὀψοφάγος εἶν.
Καὶ τις ἄλλος τῶν παρόντων, Ὁ δὲ μικρῷ
σίτῳ, ἔφη, πολὺ ὀψον ἐπεσθύων;
Ἑμοὶ μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ οὕτως δοκεῖ
δικαίως ἂν ὀψοφάγος καλεῖσθαι καὶ όταν γε οἱ
ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τοῖς θεοῖς ἐυχώνται πολυκαρπίαν,
eἰκότως ἂν οὕτως πολυψήφιαν εὐχοίτο.

4 Ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰπόντος, νομίσας ὁ

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1 ὄψον, literally a tit-bit eaten with bread; Lat. *pulmentum.*

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XIV. Whenever some of the members of a dining-club brought more meat than others, Socrates would tell the waiter either to put the small contribution into the common stock or to portion it out equally among the diners. So the high batteners felt obliged not only to take their share of the pool, but to pool their own supplies in return; and so they put their own supplies also into the common stock. And since they thus got no more than those who brought little with them, they gave up spending much on meat.

He observed on one occasion that one of the company at dinner had ceased to take bread, and ate the meat by itself. Now the talk was of names and the actions to which they are properly applied. “Can we say, my friends,” said Socrates, “what is the nature of the action for which a man is called greedy? For all, I presume, eat meat with their bread when they get the chance: but I don’t think there is so far any reason for calling them greedy?”

“No, certainly not,” said one of the company.

“Well, suppose he eats the meat alone, without the bread, not because he’s in training, but to tickle his palate, does he seem a greedy fellow or not?”

“If not, it’s hard to say who does,” was the reply.

Here another of the company queried, “And he who eats a scrap of bread with a large helping of meat?”

“He too seems to me to deserve the epithet,” said Socrates. “Aye, and when others pray for a good wheat harvest, he, presumably, would pray for a good meat supply.”

The young man, guessing that these remarks of
νεανίσκος εἰς αὐτὸν εἰρήσθαι τὰ λεχθέντα τὸ μὲν ὄψον οὐκ ἐπαύσατο ἐσθίων, ἀρτὸν δὲ προσέλαβε. καὶ οὐκ ἐμεταλλαγμένος Παρατηρεῖτ', ἐφη, τούτον οἱ πλησίον, ὁπότερα τῷ σίτῳ ὄψῳ ἢ τῷ ὄψῳ σίτῳ χρήστεται.

5 Ἀλλον δὲ ποτε τῶν συνδείπνων ἰδὼν ἐπὶ τῷ ἐνὶ ψωμῷ πλειόνων ὄψων γευόμενον, Ἀρα γένοιτ' ἢν, ἐφη, πολυτελεστέρα ὄψοποία ἢ μᾶλλον τὰ ὄψα λυμαινομένη ἢ ἢν ὑποποιεῖται ὁ ἀμα πολλὰ ἐσθίων καὶ ἢν παντοδαπὰ ἰδύσματα εἰς τὸ στόμα λαμβάνων; πλείω μὲν γε τῶν ὑποποιῶν συμμιγνύων πολυτελεστέρα ποιεῖ: ἀ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι μὴ συμμιγνύονται ὡς οὕς ἀρμόττοντα, ὧν συμμιγνύον, εἰπερ ἐκεῖνοι ὅρθως ποιοῦσιν, ἀμαρτάνει τε καὶ

6 καταλύει τὴν τέχνην αὐτῶν. καίτοι πῶς οὐ γελοίον ἐστὶ παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν ὑποποίους τοὺς ἀριστα ἑπισταμένους, αὐτὸν δὲ μηδ' ἀντιποιούμενον τῆς τέχνης ταύτης τὰ ὕπ' ἐκείνων ποιούμενα μετατιθέναι; καὶ ἀλλο δέ τι προσ- γίγνεται τῷ ἀμα πολλὰ ἐσθίεν ἑθισθέντι· μὴ παρόντων γὰρ πολλῶν μειονεκτεῖν ἃν τι δοκοῖ ποθῶν τὸ σύνηθες· ὧν δὲ συνεδρισθεῖς τῶν ἐνα ψωμοῦ ἐνὶ ψωμὶ προπέμπειν, ὅτε μὴ παρείπ πολλά, δύναιτ' ἄν ἄλφως τῷ ἐνὶ χρήσθαι.

7 Ἐλεγε δὲ καὶ ὡς τὸ εὐωχείσθαι ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναῖων γλώττῃ ἐσθίειν καλοῖτο· τὸ δὲ εὐ προσκείσθαι ἐφ' ἐπὶ τῷ ταύτα ἐσθίειν, ἢ μήτε τῇ ψυχῇ μήτε τῷ σῶμα λυποῖς μηδὲ δυσεύρετα εἰή· ὡστ' καὶ τὸ εὐωχείσθαι τοῖς κοσμίως διατιμώμενοις ἀνετίθει.
Socrates applied to him, did not stop eating his meat, but took some bread with it. When Socrates observed this, he cried: "Watch the fellow, you who are near him, and see whether he treats the bread as his meat or the meat as his bread."

On another occasion he noticed one of the company at dinner tasting several dishes with each bite of bread. "Can you imagine," he asked, "a meal more extravagant and more ruinous to the victuals than his who eats many things together, and crams all sorts of sauces into his mouth at once? At any rate by mixing more ingredients than the cooks, he adds to the cost, and since he mixes ingredients that they regard as unsuitable in a mixture, if they are right, then he is wrong and is ruining their art. Yet it is surely ridiculous for a master to obtain highly skilled cooks, and then, though he claims no knowledge of the art, to alter their confections? There's another drawback, too, attaching to the habit of eating many things together. For if many dishes are not provided, one seems to go short because one misses the usual variety: whereas he who is accustomed to take one kind of meat along with one bit of bread can make the best of one dish when more are not forthcoming."

He used to say too that the term "good feeding" in Attic was a synonym for "eating." The "good" in the compound implied the eating of food that could harm neither body nor soul and was not hard to come by. Thus he attributed even good feeding to sober livers.
BOOK IV
Δ.

1. Οὐτω δὲ Σωκράτης ἢν ἐν παντὶ πράγματι καὶ πάντα τρόπον ὡφέλιμος, ὡστε σκοπουμένῳ τῷ καὶ μετρίῳς αἰσθανομένῳ φανερὸν εἶναι, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὡφελιμότερον ἢν τοῦ Σωκράτει συνεῖναι καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνου διατρίβειν ὁποιοῦν καὶ ἐν ὁτίουν πράγματι ἐπει καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου μεμνήσθαι μὴ παρόντος οὐ μικρὰ ὡφέλει τοὺς εἰσθότας τε αὐτῷ συνεῖναι καὶ ἀποδεχομένους ἐκείνου. καὶ γὰρ παῖζων οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ σπουδάζων ἐλυσιτέλει τοῖς συνδιατρίβουσι.

2 Πολλάκις γὰρ ἔφη μὲν ἂν τινος ἐρᾶν, φανερὸς δ’ ἢν οὐ τῶν τὰ σώματα πρὸς ωραν, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὰς ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετήν εὗ πεφυκότων ἐφιέμενος. ἐτεκμαίρετο δὲ τὰς ἀγαθὰς φύσεις ἐκ τοῦ ταχύ τε μανθάνειν οἷς προσέχοιεν καὶ μυθισμένειν ἡ μάθοιεν καὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν τῶν μαθημάτων πάντων, δι’ ὅν ἔστιν οἰκὸν ὁ ταλώς οἰκεῖν καὶ πόλιν καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ τοῖς ἀνθρωπίνοις πράγμασιν εὗ χρήσθαι τοῖς γὰρ τοιούτων ἡγεῖτο παιδευθέντας οὐκ ἂν μόνῳ αὐτούς τε εὐδαίμονας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἐαυτῶν οἰκούς καλῶς οἰκεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους καὶ πόλεις

3 δύνασθαι εὐδαίμονας ποιεῖν. οὐ τῶν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον ἐπὶ πάντας ἦι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν οἰομένους φύσει ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι, μαθῆσεως δὲ καταφρονοῦντας ἐδίδασκεν, ὅτι αἱ ἀρισταὶ δοκοῦσα εἶναι φύσεις

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1 οἰκὸν Hirschig: oik Ion Sauppe with MSS. and Stobaeus.
BOOK IV

I. Socrates was so useful in all circumstances and in all ways, that any observer gifted with ordinary perception can see that nothing was more useful than the companionship of Socrates, and time spent with him in any place and in any circumstances. The very recollection of him in absence brought no small good to his constant companions and followers; for even in his light moods they gained no less from his society than when he was serious.

Thus he would often say he was "in love"; but clearly his heart was set not on those who were fair to outward view, but on those whose souls excelled in goodness. These excellent beings he recognised by their quickness to learn whatever subject they studied, ability to remember what they learned, and desire for every kind of knowledge on which depend good management of a household and estate and tactful dealing with men and the affairs of men. For education would make such beings not only happy in themselves, and successful in the management of their households, but capable of conferring happiness on their fellow-men and on states alike. His method of approach varied. To those who thought themselves possessed of natural endowments and despised learning, he explained that the greater
μάλιστα παιδείας δέονται, ἑπιδεικνύων τῶν τε ἱππῶν τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους θυμοειδές τε καὶ σφοδροὺς ὄντας, εἰ μὲν ἐκ νέων δαμασθεῖεν, εὐχρηστοτάτους καὶ ἀρίστους γιγνομένους, εἰ δὲ ἀδάμαστοι γένοιτο, δυσκαθεκτότατοι καὶ φαυλοτάτους, καὶ τῶν κυνών τῶν εὐφυεστάτων, φιλοπόνων τε οὐσῶν καὶ ἐπιθετικῶν τοῖς θηρίοις, τάς μὲν καλῶς ἀλθείσας ἀρίστας γίνεσθαι πρὸς τάς θήρας καὶ χρησιμωτάτας, ἀναγώγους δὲ γιγνομένας ματαῖοι τε καὶ μανιώδεις καὶ δυσπειδεστάτας. ὅμως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς εὐφυεστάτους, ἑρρωμενεστάτους τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὄντας καὶ ἐξεργαστικώτατος ὃν ἄν έγχειρῶσι, παιδευθέντας μὲν καὶ μαθόντας ἅ δέι πράττειν ἀρίστους τε καὶ ἀφελιμωτάτους γίγνεσθαι πλείστα γὰρ καὶ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ ἐργάζεσθαι ἀπαιδεύτους δὲ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γενομένους κακίστους τε καὶ βλαβερωτάτους γίγνεσθαι κρίνειν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπισταμένοις ἅ δέι πράττειν πολλάκις πονηρός ἐπιχειρεῖν πράγμασι, μεγαλείους δὲ καὶ σφοδροὺς ὄντας δυσκαθέκτους τε καὶ δυσαποτρέπτους εἶναι διὸ πλείστα καὶ μέγιστα κακά ἐργάζεσθαι.

5 Τούς δ' ἐπὶ πλοῦτω μέγα φρονοῦντας καὶ νομίζοντας οὔδεν προσδείσθαι παιδείας, ἐξαρκέσεις δὲ σφίσι τού πλούτου οἰόμενος πρὸς τὸ διαπράττεσθαι τε ὅ τι ἄν βούλωνται καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐφρέων λέγων, ὅτι μῶρος μὲν εἶ ἐὰν τις οἴεται μὴ μαθῶν τά τε ὁφέλημα καὶ τά βλαβερά τῶν πραγμάτων διαγινώσκεσθαι, μῶρος δ' εἴ τις μὴ διαγινώσκων μὲν ταῦτα, διὰ δὲ τὸν πλοῦτον ὃ τι ἄν βούληται πορίζομενος.
the natural gifts, the greater is the need of education; pointing out that thoroughbreds by their spirit and mettle develop into serviceable and splendid creatures, if they are broken in as colts, but if unbroken, prove intractable and sorry jades; and high-bred puppies, keen workers and good tacklers of game, make first-rate hounds and useful dogs, if well trained, but, if untrained, turn out stupid, crazy, disobedient brutes. It is the same with human beings. The most highly gifted, the youths of ardent soul, capable of doing whatever they attempt, if educated and taught their duty grow into excellent and useful men; for manifold and great are their good deeds. But untrained and untaught, these same become utterly evil and mischievous; for without knowledge to discern their duty, they often put their hand to vile deeds, and through the very grandeur and vehemence of their nature, they are uncontrollable and intractable: therefore manifold and great are their evil deeds.¹

Those who prided themselves on riches and thought they had no need of education, supposing that their wealth would suffice them for gaining the objects of their wishes and winning honour among men, he admonished thus. "Only a fool," he said, "can think it possible to distinguish between things useful and things harmful without learning: only a fool can think that without distinguishing these he will get all he wants by means of his wealth and be

¹ Is Alcibiades in his mind?
XENOPHON

ὅτα ὑπήρκεσθαι τὰ συμφέροντα πράττειν, ἡλίθιος δὲ ἐὰν τὶς μὴ δυνάμενος τὰ συμφέροντα πράττειν εὖ τε πράττειν ὁμοιαὶ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὸν βίον αὐτῶ ἢ καλῶς ἢ ἱκανῶς παρεσκευάσθαι, ἡλίθιος δὲ καὶ ἐὰν οἴτε διὰ τὸν πλοῦτον μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος δόξειν τι ἁγάθος εἶναι ἢ μηδὲν ἁγάθος εἶναι δοκῶν εὐδοκιμήσειν.

II. Τοῖς δὲ νομίζοντι παιδείας τε τῆς ἀρίστης τετυχηκέναι καὶ μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐπὶ σοφία ὡς προσέφερτο, νῦν διηγήσομαι. καταμαθὼν γὰρ Ἐὐθύδημον τὸν καλὸν γράμματα πολλὰ συνειλεφ-μένου ποιητῶν καὶ σοφιστῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμω-τάτων καὶ ἐκ τοῦτον ἥδη τὸ νομίζοντα διαφέρειν τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ἔχοντα παντων διοίσειν τῷ δύνασθαι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν πρώτον μὲν, ἀισθανόμενος αὐτὸν διὰ νεότητα οὕτω εἰς τὴν ἁγορᾶν εἰσίοντα, εἰ δὲ τι βουλόιτο διαπράξασθαι, καθίζοντα εἰς ἡμιστολοιον τι τῶν ἐγγύς τῆς ἁγορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἢε τῶν μεθ’ εαυτοῦ τινας ἔχων.

2. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πιθανομένου τινὸς, πότερον Θεμιστοκλῆς διὰ συννοσίαν τινὸς τῶν σοφῶν ἢ φύσει τοσοῦτον διήνεγκε τῶν πολιτῶν, ὡστε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀποβλέπειν τὴν πόλιν, ὅποτε σπουδαῖον ἀνδρὸς δεηθείς, ὁ Σωκράτης Βουλόμενος κυνεῖν τὸν Ἐὐθύδημον εὔθεως ἐφ’ εἶναι τὸ οἴεσθαι τὰς μὲν ὀλίγον ἀξίας τέχνης μὴ γίγνεσθαι σπουδαίους ἀνευ διδασκάλων ἱκανῶν, τὸ δὲ προεστάναι πόλεως, πάντων ἔργων μέγιστον ὑν, ἀπὸ ταυτο-μάτων παραγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

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MEMORABILIA, IV. 1. 5–II. 2

able to do what is expedient: only a simpleton can think that without the power to do what is expedient he is doing well and has made good or sufficient provision for his life: only a simpleton can think that by his wealth alone without knowledge he will be reputed good at something, or will enjoy a good reputation without being reputed good at anything in particular.

II. I will now show his method of dealing with those who thought they had received the best education, and prided themselves on wisdom. He was informed that Euthydemus, the handsome, had formed a large collection of the works of celebrated poets and professors, and therefore supposed himself to be a prodigy of wisdom for his age, and was confident of surpassing all competitors in power of speech and action. At present, Socrates observed, he did not enter the Market-place owing to his youth, but when he wanted to get anything done, he would be found sitting in a saddler’s shop near the Market. So, to make an opening, Socrates went to this shop with some of his companions.

At the first visit, one of them asked: "Was it by constant intercourse with some wise man or by natural ability that Themistocles stood out among his fellow-citizens as the man to whom the people naturally looked when they felt the want of a great leader?"

In order to set Euthydemus thinking, Socrates said: "If in the minor arts great achievement is impossible without competent masters, surely it is absurd to imagine that the art of statesmanship, the greatest of all accomplishments, comes to a man of its own accord."
3 Πάλιν δὲ ποτε παρόντος τοῦ Ἐυθυδήμου, ὅρων αὐτὸν ἀποχωροῦντα ἐκ τῆς συνεδρίας καὶ φυλαττόμενον, μὴ δόξῃ τὸν Ἡσιοδότην θανμᾶζειν ἐπὶ σοφία, "Οτι μέν, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, Ἐυθύδημος οὐτοσὶ ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γενόμενος, τῆς πόλεως λόγον περὶ τινος προτιθείσης, οὐκ ἀφέξεται τοῦ συμβουλεύειν, εὐδηλῶν ἐστιν ἐξ ὧν ἐπιτηδεύει· δοκεῖ δὲ μοι καλὸν προοίμιον τῶν δημηγορῶν παρασκευάσασθαι φυλαττόμενος, μὴ δόξῃ μανθάνειν τι παρὰ τοῦν, δήλου γὰρ ὅτι λέγειν ἀρχόμενος ὡδὲ προοιμιάσεται·

4 Παρ’ οὗν ἐνεος μὲν πωποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὔδὲν ἐμαθον οὐδ’ ἀκούν οἰνας εἶναι λέγειν τε καὶ πράττειν ἰκανοὺς ἔξητησα τούτοις ἐντυχεῖσιν οὐδ’ ἐπεμελήθην τοὺς διδάσκαλον τὴν μοι γενέσθαι τῶν ἐπιστάμενων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάναντι· διατετέλεκα γὰρ φεύγων οὐ μόνον τὸ μανθάνειν τι παρὰ τινος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δόξαι. ὦμως δὲ ὁ τι ἃν ἀπὸ ταυτομάτου ἐπὶ μοι, συμβουλεύσω ὑμῖν.

5 Ἀρμόσειε δὰ ἃν οὔτω προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἰατρικὸν ἔργον λαβεῖν ἐπιτηδείον γ’ ἃν αὐτῶς εἰῆ τοῦ λόγου ἀρχεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν·

Παρ’ οὖν ἐνεος μὲν πωποτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἰατρικὴν τέχνην ἐμαθον οὐδ’ ἔξητησα διδασκαλον ἐμαυτῷ γενέσθαι τῶν ἰατρῶν οὐδένα· διατετέλεκα γὰρ φυλαττόμενος οὐ μόνον τὸ μαθεῖν τι παρὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ δόξαι μεμαθηκέναι τὴν τέχνην ταύτην. ὦμως δὲ μοι τὸ ἰατρικὸν ἔργον δότε· πειράσομαι γὰρ ἐν ὑμῖν ἀποκινδυνεύων μανθάνειν.

Πάντες οὖν οἱ παρόντες ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ τῷ προοιμίῳ.

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Some time afterwards, meeting Euthydemus again, he saw that he was reluctant to join the circle and anxious not to betray any admiration for the wisdom of Socrates: “Well, gentlemen,” said he, “when our friend Euthydemus has attained his full powers, and some question of policy is before the Assembly, he won’t be backward in offering advice: that is obvious from his behaviour. I fancy he has prepared a noble exordium to his addresses, with due care not to give the impression that he is indebted to anyone for his knowledge. No doubt he will begin his speech with this introduction:

"Men of Athens, I have never yet learnt anything from anyone, nor when I have been told of any man’s ability in speech and in action, have I sought to meet him, nor have I been at pains to find a teacher among the men who know. On the contrary, I have constantly avoided learning anything of anyone, and even the appearance of it. Nevertheless I shall recommend to your consideration anything that comes into my head."

"This exordium might be adapted so as to suit candidates for the office of public physician. They might begin their speeches in this strain:

"Men of Athens, I have never yet studied medicine, nor sought to find a teacher among our physicians; for I have constantly avoided learning anything from the physicians, and even the appearance of having studied their art. Nevertheless I ask you to appoint me to the office of a physician, and I will endeavour to learn by experimenting on you."

The exordium set all the company laughing.
6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸς ἦν ὁ Εὐθυδήμος ἡδή μὲν οίς ὁ Σωκράτης λέγοι προσέχων, ἐτὶ δὲ φυλαττόμενος αὐτὸς τι φθέγγεσθαι καὶ νομίζων τῇ σωφροσύνῃ δόξαν περιβάλλεσθαι, τότε ὁ Σω-
κράτης βουλόμενος αὐτὸν παύσαι τούτου, Θαυ-
μαστὸν γὰρ, ἐφη, τί ποτε οἱ βουλόμενοι κιθαρίζειν ἢ αὐλεῖν ἢ ἱππεύειν ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων ἰκανόι γενέσθαι πειρώνται ὡς συνεχέστατα ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἄν βούλωνται δυνατοὶ γενέσθαι καὶ·οὐ καθ' ἕαυτοὺς, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τοῖς ἀρίστοις δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, πάντα ποιοῦντες καὶ ὑπομενοῦντες ἕνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνευ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ποιεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ἄλλως ἀξιόλογοι γενόμενοι, τῶν δὲ βουλομένων δυνατῶν γενέσθαι λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ πολιτικά νομίζουσί τινες ἄνευ παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐπιμελείας αὐτόματοι ἔξαιρης δυνατοὶ ταῦτα ποιεῖν ἔσεσθαι.

7 καί τοι γε τοσούτω ταῦτα ἐκείνων δυσκατεργα-
στότερα φαίνεται, ὅσφιπερ πλείονων περὶ ταῦτα πραγματευομένων ἐλάττουσι οἱ κατεργαζόμενοι γίγνονται. δῆλον οὖν ὅτι καὶ ἐπιμελείας δέονται πλείονος καὶ ἵσχυρότερος οἱ τούτων ἐφιέμενοι ἢ οἱ ἐκείνων.

8 Καὶ ἀρχὰς μὲν οὖν ἀκούοντος Εὐθυδήμου τοιούτους λόγους ἔλεγε Σωκράτης· ὡς δὲ ἢσθετο ἀυτὸν ἐτοιμότερον ὑπομένοντα, ὅτε διαλέγοιτο, καὶ προθυμότερον ἀκούοντα, μόνος ἠλθεν εἰς τὸ ἡνισποιεῖν· παρακαθεξομένου δ' αὐτῷ τοῦ Εὐ-
θυδήμου, Εἰπὲ μοι, ἐφη, ὃ Εὐθυδήμε, τῷ ὀντι, ὅσπερ ἐγώ ἀκούω, πολλὰ γράμματα συνήχας τῶν λεγομένων σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν γεγονέναι;

Καὶ ὁ Εὐθυδήμος, Νὴ τὸν Δί', ἐφη, ὃ Σώκρατες· καὶ ἔτι γε συνάγω, ἕως ἃν κτῆσωμαι ὡς ἃν δύ-
νωμαι πλείστα.

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MEMORABILIA, IV. 11. 6–8

Now when it became evident that Socrates had gained the attention of Euthydemus, but that Euthydemus still avoided breaking silence himself, and thought that he assumed an air of prudence by remaining dumb, Socrates wanted to put an end to that affectation. "How strange it is," he said, "that those who want to play the harp or the flute, or to ride or to get skill in any similar accomplishment, work hard at the art they mean to master, and not by themselves but under the tuition of the most eminent professors, doing and bearing anything in their anxiety to do nothing without their teachers' guidance, just because that is the only way to become proficient: and yet, among those who want to shine as speakers in the Assembly and as statesmen, there are some who think that they will be able to do so on a sudden, by instinct, without training or study. Yet surely these arts are much the harder to learn; for many more are interested in them and far fewer succeed. Clearly then these arts demand a longer and more intense application than the others."

For a time, then, Socrates continued to talk in this strain, while Euthydemus listened. But on finding him more tolerant of his conversation and more attentive, Socrates went alone to the saddler's; and when Euthydemus had taken a seat beside him, he said: "Tell me, Euthydemus, am I rightly informed that you have a large collection of books written by the wise men of the past, as they are called?"

"By Zeus, yes, Socrates," answered he, "and I am still adding to it, to make it as complete as possible."
9 Ἡ τὴν Ἡραν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀγαμαί γέ σου, διότι οὐκ ἄργυρίον καὶ χρυσίον προείλου ὥσαυροις κεκτήσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ σοφίας: δήλον γάρ ὅτι νομίζεις ἄργυριον καὶ χρυσίον οὐδὲν βελτίων ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰς δὲ τῶν σοφῶν ἄνδρῶν γνώμας ἀρετὴ πλουτίζειν τοὺς κεκτήμένους.

Καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος ἔχαρεν ἀκούων ταῦτα, νομίζων δοκεῖν τῷ Σωκράτει ὅρθῶς μετίεναι τὴν σοφίαν. ὁ δὲ καταμαθῶν αὐτὸν ἥσθέντα τῷ ἐπαινῷ τούτῳ, Τί δὲ δὴ βουλόμενος ἀγαθὸς γενέσθαι, ἐφη, ὁ Ἐυθύδημε, συλλέγεις τὰ γράμματα;

'Επεὶ δὲ διεσιώπησεν ὁ Εὐθύδημος σκοπῶν, ὁ τι ἀποκρίνατο, πάλιν ὁ Σωκράτης. Ἀρα μὴ ἰατρός; ἐφη: πολλὰ γάρ καὶ ἰατρῶν ἐστὶ συγγράμματα.

Καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Μὰ Δί', ἐφη, οὐκ ἐγώγη.

'Αλλὰ μὴ ἀρχιτέκτων βούλει γενέσθαι; γνωμονικοῦ γάρ ἄνδρος καὶ τοῦτο δεί.

Οὗκοιν ἐγώγ', ἐφη.

'Αλλὰ μὴ γεωμέτρης ἐπιθυμεῖς, ἐφη, γενέσθαι ἀγαθός, ὥσπερ ὁ Θεόδωρος;

Οὐδὲ γεωμέτρης, ἐφη.

'Αλλὰ μὴ ἀστρολόγος, ἐφη, βούλει γενέσθαι;

'Ως δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἤρνειτο, 'Αλλὰ μὴ ῥαψωδός; ἐφη καὶ γάρ τὰ Ὅμηρον σὲ φασίν ἐπὶ πάντα κεκτήσθαι.

Μὰ Δί' οὐκ ἐγώγ', ἐφη: τοὺς γάρ τοι ῥαψωδοὺς οἶδα τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ ἀκριβοῦντας, αὐτοὺς δὲ πάνω ἡλιθίους ὄντας.
“By Hera,” retorted Socrates, “I do admire you for valuing the treasures of wisdom above gold and silver. For you are evidently of opinion that, while gold and silver cannot make men better, the thoughts of the wise enrich their possessors with virtue.”

Now Euthydemus was glad to hear this, for he guessed that in the opinion of Socrates he was on the road to wisdom. But Socrates, aware that he was pleased with his approbation, went on to say: “Tell me, Euthydemus, what kind of goodness do you want to get by collecting these books?”

And as Euthydemus was silent, considering what answer to give, “Possibly you want to be a doctor?” he guessed: “Medical treatises alone make a large collection.”

“Oh no, not at all.”

“But perhaps you wish to be an architect? One needs a well-stored mind for that too.”

“No, indeed I don’t.”

“Well, perhaps you want to be a good mathematician, like Theodorus?”

“No, not that either.”

“Well, perhaps you want to be an astronomer?” And as he again said no, “Perhaps a rhapsodist, then? They tell me you have a complete copy of Homer.”

“Oh no, not at all; for your rhapsodists, I know, are consummate as reciters, but they are very silly fellows themselves.”

1 νη την Ἠρα, a favourite oath of Socrates, is not rendered literally elsewhere; but here it seems to be intended to cap νη τον Δία.

2 Theodorus of Cyrene, who is one of the characters in the Theaetetus of Plato.
11 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη: Οὗ δήποτε, ὃ Εὐθύδημε, ταύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔφιεσαι, δι᾿ ἂν ἄνθρωποι πολιτικοὶ γίνονται καὶ οἰκονομικοὶ καὶ ἄρχειν ἰκανοί καὶ ὑφέλιμοι τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἄνθρώποις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς;

Καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Σφόδρα γ’, ἔφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, ταύτης τῆς ἀρετῆς δέομαι.

Νῦν Δι’, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τῆς καλλίστης ἀρετῆς καὶ μεγίστης ἔφιεσαι τέχνης: ἐστὶ γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῆ καὶ καλεῖται βασιλική. ἀτάρ, ἔφη, κατανενόηκας, εἰ οἶς τὲ ἐστὶ μὴ ὄντα δίκαιον ἀγαθὸν τὰῦτα γενέσθαι;

Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, καὶ οὐχ οἶς τὲ γε ἄνευ δικαιοσύνης ἀγαθὸν πολιτην γενέσθαι.

12 Τί οὖν; ἔφη, σὺ δὴ τοῦτο κατείργασαι;

Οἶμαι γ’, ἔφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, οὐδενὸς ἀν ἤπτον φανῆσαι δίκαιος.

'Ἁρ' οὖν, ἔφη, τῶν δικαίων ἔστιν ἔργα ὡςπερ τῶν τεκτόνων;

'Εστι μέντοι, ἔφη.

'Ἁρ' οὖν, ἔφη, ὡςπερ οἱ τεκτόνες ἔχουσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔργα ἐπιδείξας, οὕτως οἱ δίκαιοι τὰ αὐτῶν ἔχουν ἀν διεξηγήσασθαι;

Μὴ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, οὐ δύνωμαι ἐγὼ τὰ τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔργα ἐξηγήσασθαι; καὶ νῦν Δι’ ἐγωγε τὰ τῆς ἀδικίας· ἐπεὶ οὐκ ὅλγα ἔστι καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν τοιαῦτα ὀρᾶν τε καὶ ἄκοιμεν.

13 Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, γράψωμεν ἐνταῦθι μὲν δέλτα, ἐνταῦθι δὲ ἀλφα; εἰτὰ ὃ τι μὲν ἂν δοκῇ ἡμῖν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἔργον εἶναι, πρὸς τὸ δέλτα θῶμεν, ὃ τι δ’ ἂν τῆς ἀδικίας, πρὸς τὸ ἀλφα; 276
Then Socrates exclaimed: "Surely, Euthydemus, you don’t covet the kind of excellence that makes good statesmen and managers, competent rulers and benefactors of themselves and mankind in general?"

"Yes, I do, Socrates," answered Euthydemus, "that kind of excellence I greatly desire."

"Why," cried Socrates, "it is the noblest kind of excellence, the greatest of arts that you covet, for it belongs to kings and is dubbed 'kingly.' However," he added, "have you reflected whether it be possible to excel in these matters without being a just man?"

"Yes, certainly; and it is, in fact, impossible to be a good citizen without justice."

"Then tell me, have you got that?"

"Yes, Socrates, I think I can show myself to be as just as any man."

"And have just men, like carpenters, their works?"

"Yes, they have."

"And as carpenters can point out their works, should just men be able to rehearse theirs?"

"Do you suppose," retorted Euthydemus, "that I am unable to rehearse the works of justice? Of course I can,—and the works of injustice too, since there are many opportunities of seeing and hearing of them every day."

"I propose, then, that we write J in this column and I in that, and then proceed to place under these letters, J and I, what we take to be the works of justice and injustice respectively."
Εἰ τί σοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, προσδεῖν τούτων, ποίει ταῦτα.

14 Καί ὁ Σωκράτης γράψας ὠσπερ εἶπεν, Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ἔστιν ἐν ἀνθρώπως τὸ φεύγεσθαι;

"Εστὶ μέντοι, ἔφη.
Ποτέρωσε οὖν, ἔφη, θῶμεν τοῦτο;
Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι πρὸς τὴν ἄδικίαν.
Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ τὸ ἐξαπατᾶν ἐστὶ;
Καί μάλα, ἔφη.
Τοῦτο οὖν ποτέρωσε θῶμεν;
Καί τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν ἄδικίαν.
Τί δὲ τὸ κακουργεῖν;
Καί τοῦτο, ἔφη.
Τὸ δὲ ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι;
Καί τοῦτο.
Πρὸς δὲ τὴ δικαιοσύνη οὐδὲν ἥμιν τούτων κεῖσται, ὥς Εὐθύδημε;
Δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη, ἔφη.

15 Τί δ̱; ἐὰν τις στρατηγὸς αἱρεθεὶς ἀδικῶν τε καὶ ἐχθρὰν πόλιν ἐξανδραποδίσηται, φήσομεν τοῦτον ἄδικεῖν;
Οὐ δῆτα, ἔφη.
Δίκαια δὲ ποιεῖν οὐ φήσομεν;
Καί μάλα.
Τί δ̱; ἐὰν ἐξαπατᾶ πολεμῶν αὐτοῖς;
Δίκαιον, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο.
"Εὰν δὲ κλέπτη τε καὶ ἁρπάξῃ τὰ τούτων, οὐ δίκαια ποιήσει;
Καί μάλα, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ ἐγώ σε τὸ πρῶτον ὑπελάμβανον πρὸς τοὺς φίλους μόνον ταῦτα ἐρωτᾶν.
“Do so, if you think it helps at all.”

Having written down the letters as he proposed, Socrates went on: “Lying occurs among men, does it not?”

“Yes, it does.”

“Under which heading, then, are we to put that?”

“Under the heading of injustice, clearly.”

“Deceit, too, is found, is it not?”

“Certainly.”

“Under which heading will that go?”

“Under injustice again, of course.”

“What about doing mischief?”

“That too.”

“Selling into slavery?”

“That too.”

“Then we shall assign none of these things to justice, Euthydemus?”

“No, it would be monstrous to do so.”

“Now suppose a man who has been elected general enslaves an unjust and hostile city, shall we say that he acts unjustly?”

“Oh no!”

“We shall say that his actions are just, shall we not?”

“Certainly.”

“And what if he deceives the enemy when at war?”

“That too is just.”

“And if he steals and plunders their goods, will not his actions be just?”

“Certainly; but at first I assumed that your questions had reference only to friends.”

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1 *Cyropaedia*, I. vi. 31, vi. i. 55.
Οὕκον, ἔφη, ὅσα πρὸς τῇ ἀδικίᾳ ἔθηκαμεν, ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ θετέον ἂν εἰη; Ἐσικεν, ἔφη.

16 Βούλεις οὖν, ἔφη, ταῦτα οὕτω θέντες διορισώμεθα πάλιν πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους δίκαιον εἶναι τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς φίλους ἄδικον, ἀλλὰ δεῖν πρὸς γε τούτους ὡς ἀπλοῦστατον εἶναι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος.

17 Τί οὖν; ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εάν τις στρατηγὸς ὅρων ἄθυμως ἔχου τὸ στράτευμα ψευσάμενος φήσῃ συμμάχους προσιέναι καὶ τῷ ψεύδει τούτῳ παύσῃ τῆς ἀθυμίας τοὺς στρατιώτας, ποτέρωθι τὴν ἀπάτην ταύτην θήσομεν;

Δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

Ἔαν δὲ τις νῦν ἐαυτοῦ δεόμενον φαρμακείας καὶ μὴ προσιέμενον φάρμακον ἔξαπατήσας ὡς συνίον τὸ φάρμακον δὲ καὶ τῷ ψεύδει χρησάμενος οὕτως ὑγία ποιήσῃ, ταύτην αὐ τὴν ἀπάτην ποί θετέον;

Δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, καὶ ταύτην εἰς τὸ αὐτό.

Τί δ'; εάν τις, ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ οὕτως φίλου, δείσας, μὴ διαχρήσηται ἐαυτόν, κλέψῃ ἢ ἀρπάσῃ ἢ ἔριφος ἢ ἀλλο τι τοιοῦτον, τούτο αὐτὸ ποτέρωσε θετέον;

Καὶ τούτῳ νῦ Δί', ἔφη, πρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

18 Δέγεις, ἔφη, σὺ οὕτῳ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἄπαντα δεῖν ἀπλοῦσθαι;

Μᾶ Δί' οὖ δῆτα, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ μετατίθεμαι τὰ εἰρημένα, εἴπερ ἔξεστι.

Δεὶ γε τοι, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἔξειναι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ μὴ ὀρθῶς τιθέναι. τῶν δὲ δὴ τοὺς φίλους ἔξαπατώντων ἐπὶ βλάβη, ἵνα μὴ γε τοῦ—

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"Then everything that we assigned to injustice should be assigned to justice also?"

"Apparently."

"Then I propose to revise our classification, and it is unjust to do such things to enemies, but it is unjust to do them to friends, towards whom one's conduct should be scrupulously honest."

"By all means."

"Now suppose that a general, seeing that his army is downhearted, tells a lie and says that reinforcements are approaching, and by means of this lie checks discouragement among the men, under which heading shall we put this deception?"

"Under justice, I think."

"Suppose, again, that a man's son refuses to take a dose of medicine when he needs it, and the father induces him to take it by pretending that it is food, and cures him by means of this lie, where shall we put this deception?"

"That too goes on the same side, I think."

"And again, suppose one has a friend suffering from depression, and, for fear that he may make away with himself, one takes away his sword or something of the sort, under which heading shall we put that now?"

"That too goes under justice, of course."

"You mean, do you, that even with friends straightforward dealing is not invariably right?"

"It isn't, indeed! I retract what I said before, if you will let me."

"Why, I'm bound to let you; it's far better than getting our lists wrong. But now, consider deception practised on friends to their detriment: we mustn't overlook that either. Which is the
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to paralipomev áskeptov, póteros adikóteros éstiv, ó ekwv h' ó ákwn;

'All', ó Swókrates, óukéti mév égoyge tissteúw ois ápokrínomai' kai gár tá prósthev pánta wvn állovs éxein dokei moj h' ós égw tòtè w'mn' ómws de eirísth moj, adikóteron éinai tôn ekónta yevdómenon toû ákoutos.

20 Æokei dé soi máthsiçis kai épisthêmi toû dikaiou éinai ásperer tôn graammatwv;

'Emouge.

Póteron dé graammatikôteron kríneis, òs ãn ékwn mh' òrthwz yráphh kai anakugwoskhi h' òs ãn ákwn;

'Oos ãn ékwn, égoyge: dýnaito gár ãn, óptote boúloito, kai òrthwz au'tà poiein.

Oûkoûn ó mév ékwn mh' òrthwz yráphwv graam-
maticos ãn eîh, ó de úkwn ágrámmatos;

Pòs gár ou';

Tá dikaiia dé póteron ó ekwv yevdómenos kai
èxapatwv oîdein h' ó ákwn;

Dîlou òti ó ékwn.

Oûkoûn graammatikôteron mév tôn épisthamevon
yramaata tôn mh' épisthamevov phês éinai;
Naî.

Dikaioteron dé tôn épisthamevon tâ dikaiia toû
 mh' épisthamevov;

Fainomai: dokw dé moi kai tauta oûk oîd' ópws
légein.

21 Tî dé dh', òs ãn boûlómenos tâlhth légein
mhêpote tâ au'tâ peri tôn au'tôn léghh, óll',
oðón te frrázov tìn au'thn tòtè mev pròs éw, tòtè
more unjust deception in that case, the intentional or unintentional?"
   "Nay, Socrates, I have lost all confidence in my answers; for all the opinions that I expressed before seem now to have taken an entirely different form. Still I venture to say that the intentional deception is more unjust than the unintentional."
   "Do you think there is a doctrine and science of the just, as there is of letters?"
   "Yes."
   "Which, in your judgment, is the more literate, the man who intentionally blunders in writing and reading, or the man who blunders unintentionally?"
   "The one who blunders intentionally, I presume; for he can always be accurate when he chooses."
   "May we not say, then, that the intentional blunderer is literate and the unintentional is illiterate?"
   "Indeed we must."
   "And which knows what is just, the intentional liar and deceiver, or the unintentional?"
   "The intentional, clearly."
   "You say, then, as I understand, that he who knows letters is more literate than he who is ignorant of them?"
   "Yes"
   "And he who knows what is just is more just than he who does not know?"
   "Apparently; but here again I don't feel sure of my own meaning."
   "Now come, what do you think of the man who wants to tell the truth, but never sticks to what he says; when he shows you the way, tells you first
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dè πρός ἑσπέραν φράζῃ καὶ λογισμὸν ἀποφαινόμενος τὸν αὐτὸν τοτὲ μὲν πλείω, τοτὲ δὲ ἑλάττω ἀποφαίνεται, τί σοι δοκεῖ ὁ τοιοῦτος;
Δήλος νῦν Δι' εἴναι οἳ ὢτεο εἰδέναι οὐκ οἶδεν.

22 Οἶσθα δὲ τινάς ἀνδραποδώδεις καλουμένους;
 Ἐγωγε.
Πότερον διὰ σοφίαν ἢ δι' ἀμαθίαν;
Δήλον οἳ ὢτεο ἀμαθίαν.
'Αρ' οὖν διὰ τὴν τοῦ χαλκεύειν ἀμαθίαν τοῦ ὄνοματος τοῦτον τυγχάνουσιν;
Οὐ δῆτα.
'Αλλ' ἁρα διὰ τὴν τοῦ τεκταίνεσθαι;
Οὔδε διὰ ταύτην.
'Αλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σκυτεύειν;
Οὔδε δι' ἐν τούτων, ἐφη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούναντίον' οἱ γὰρ πλείστοι τῶν γε τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπισταμένων ἀνδραποδώδεις εἰσίν.
'Αρ' οὖν τῶν τὰ καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια μὴ εἰδότων τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτ' ἐστίν;
Εἴμουγε δοκεῖ, ἐφη.

23 Οὐκοῦν δεῖ παντὶ τρόπῳ διατειναμένους φεύγειν, ὅπως μὴ ἀνδράποδα ὁμεν.
'Αλλὰ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἐφη, ὧ Σώκρατες, πάνυ ὑμην φιλοσοφεῖν φιλοσοφίαν, δὴ ἢς ἂν μάλιστα ἐνόμιζον παϊδευθῆναι τὰ προσήκοντα ἀνδρὶ καλοκαγαθίας ὁρεγομένῳ νῦν δὲ πῶς οἴει μὲ ἀθύμως ἔχειν ὀρόντα ἐμαυτὸν διὰ μὲν τὰ προπεποννημένα οὔδε τὸ ἑρωτώμενον ἀποκρίνεσθαι δυνάμενον ὑπὲρ οὗ μάλιστα χρὴ εἰδέναι, ἄλλης δὲ ὁδὸν οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντα, ἢν ἂν πορευόμενοι βελτίων γενοῦμην;
that the road runs east, then that it runs west; and when he casts up figures, makes the total now larger, now smaller?"

"Why, I think he shows that he doesn’t know what he thought he knew."

"Are you aware that some people are called slavish?"

"Yes."

"To what do they owe the name, to knowledge or to ignorance?"

"To ignorance, obviously."

"To ignorance of the smiths’ trade, shall we say?"

"Certainly not."

"Ignorance of carpentry perhaps?"

"No, not to that either."

"Of cobbling?"

"No, to none of these: on the contrary, those who are skilled in such trades are for the most part slavish."

"Then is this name given to those who are ignorant of the beautiful and good and just?"

"That is my opinion."

"Then we must strain every nerve to escape being slaves."

"Upon my word, Socrates, I did feel confident that I was a student of a philosophy that would provide me with the best education in all things needful to one who would be a gentleman. But you can imagine my dismay when I realise that in spite of all my pains I am even incapable of answering a question about things that one is bound to know, and yet find no other way that will lead to my improvement."
24 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Εἰπὲ μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Εὐθύδημε, εἰς Δελφοὺς δὲ ἦδη πῶποτε ἀφίκου; 
Καὶ δὴς γε νῦ Δῷ, ἔφη. 
Κατέμαθες οὖν πρὸς τῷ ναῷ ποι γεγραμμένον 
tὸ Γυνῶθι σαυτὸν; 
"Εγώγε. 
Πότερον οὖν οὐδὲν σοι τοῦ γράμματος ἐμέλησεν 
ἡ προσέχεις τε καὶ ἐπεχείρησας σαυτὸν ἐπι-
σκοπεῖν, ὡστὶς εἰῆς; 
Μὰ Δ῍ οὐ δήτα, ἔφη. καὶ γὰρ δὴ πάνυ τοῦτο 
γε φῶςν εἰδέναι; σχολῆ γὰρ ἂν ἀλλο τι ἦδειν, εἰ 
γε μηδὲ ἐμαυτὸν ἐγνώσκον.
25 Πότερα δὲ σοι δοκεῖ γιγνώσκειν ἑαυτὸν ὡστὶς 
τούνομα τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον οἶδεν ἡ ὡστὶς, ὡσπερ 
οἱ τοὺς ἵππους ἀνούμενοι οὐ πρότερον οἶονται 
γιγνώσκειν ὅν ἂν βούλωνται γινωναι, πρὶν ἂν 
ἐπισκέψωμαι, πότερον εὐπειθῆς ἔστιν ἡ δυσπει-
θῆς καὶ πότερον ἵσχυρός ἐστιν ἡ ἀσθενῆς καὶ 
πότερον ταχὺς ἡ βραδὺς καὶ τὰλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν 
τοῦ ἵππου χρείαν ἐπιτήδεια τε καὶ ἀνεπιτήδεια 
ὅπως ἔχει, οὕτως ὁ ἑαυτὸν ἐπισκεψάμενος, ὁποῖος 
ἔστι πρὸς τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην χρείαν, ἐγώκε τὴν 
ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν; 
Οὐτως ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ 
δύnamιν ἀγνοεῖν ἑαυτὸν.
26 Ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐ φανερῶν, ἔφη, ὅτι διὰ μὲν τὸ 
eἰδέναι ἑαυτοῦ πλεῖστα ἀγαθὰ πάσχουσιν ἀν-
θρωποὶ, διὰ δὲ τὸ ἐψεύσθαι ἑαυτῶν πλεῖστα 
κακά; οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰδότες ἑαυτοῦ τὰ τε ἐπιτήδεια 
ἑαυτοῖς ἰσασι καὶ διαγιγνώσκοντι αὶ τε δύνανται 
καὶ ἃ μὴ καὶ ἃ μὲν ἐπίστανται πράττοντες πορί-
ζονται τε ὁν δέονται καὶ εὖ πράττουσιν, ὃν δὲ 286
Hereupon Socrates exclaimed: "Tell me, Euthydemus, have you ever been to Delphi?"
"Yes, certainly; twice."
"Then did you notice somewhere on the temple the inscription 'Know thyself'?"
"I did."
"And did you pay no heed to the inscription, or did you attend to it and try to consider who you were?"
"Indeed I did not; because I felt sure that I knew that already; for I could hardly know anything else if I did not even know myself."
"And what do you suppose a man must know to know himself, his own name merely? Or must he consider what sort of a creature he is for human use and get to know his own powers; just as those who buy horses don't think that they know the beast they want to know until they have considered whether he is docile or stubborn, strong or weak, fast or slow, and generally how he stands in all that makes a useful or a useless horse?"
"That leads me to think that he who does not know his own powers is ignorant of himself."
"Is it not clear too that through self-knowledge men come to much good, and through self-deception to much harm? For those who know themselves, know what things are expedient for themselves and discern their own powers and limitations. And by doing what they understand, they get what they want and prosper: by refraining from attempting
μη ἐπίστανται ἀπεχόμενοι ἀναμάρτητοι γίγνονται καὶ διαφεύγουσι τὸ κακῶς πράττειν διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀνθρώπους δυνάμενοι δοκιμάζειν καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀλλῶν χρείας τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ

27 πορίζονται καὶ τὰ κακὰ φυλάττονται. οἱ δὲ μὴ εἰδότες, ἀλλὰ διεισευσμένοι τῆς ἐαυτῶν δυνάμεως πρὸς τε τοὺς ἀλλούς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τάλλα ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα ὁμοίως διάκεινται καὶ οὔτε ὁν δέονται ἵσασιν οὔτε ὁ τι πράττονσιν οὔτε οἷς χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ πάντων τούτων διαμαρτάνοντες τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀποτυγχάνοντι καὶ τοῖς κακοῖς

28 περιπίπτουσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰδότες ὁ τι ποιοῦσιν ἔπιτυγχάνοντες ὁν πράττονσιν εὐδοκοῖ τε καὶ τίμιοι γίγνονται καὶ οἱ τε ὁμοίω τούτοις ἢδεις χρῶνται οἱ τε ἀποτυγχάνοντες τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦσι τούτους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι καὶ προϊστασθαι γε 1 αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτοις ἔχουσι καὶ διὰ πάντα ταῦτα πάντων μάλιστα τούτως ἀγαπῶσιν. οἱ δὲ μὴ εἰδότες ὁ τι ποιοῦσι, κακῶς δὲ αἰροῦμενοι καὶ οίς ἀν ἐπιχειρήσωσιν ἀποτυγχάνοντες οὐ μόνον ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ξημιοῦνται τε καὶ κολάζονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀδοξοῦσι διὰ ταῦτα καὶ καταγέλαστοι γίγνονται καὶ καταφρονούμενοι καὶ ἀτιμαζόμενοι ξύσιν.

30 Ὁρᾶς δὲ καὶ τῶν πόλεων ὅτι ὅσι τὰν ἀγνοήσασι τὴν ἐαυτῶν δύναμιν κρείττοσι πολεμήσωσιν, αἰ μὲν ἀνάστατοι γίγνονται, αἰ δ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρων δοῦλαι.

Καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Ὑσ τὰν μοι δοκοῦν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιητέων εἶναι τὸ ἐαυτῶν γυγνώσκειν, οὔτως ὑσθι ὅποθεν δὲ χρῆ 288
what they do not understand, they make no mistakes and avoid failure. And consequently through their power of testing other men too, and through their intercourse with others, they get what is good and shun what is bad. Those who do not know and are deceived in their estimate of their own powers, are in the like condition with regard to other men and other human affairs. They know neither what they want, nor what they do, nor those with whom they have intercourse; but mistaken in all these respects, they miss the good and stumble into the bad. Furthermore, those who know what they do win fame and honour by attaining their ends. Their equals are glad to have dealings with them; and those who miss their objects look to them for counsel, look to them for protection, rest on them their hopes of better things, and for all these reasons love them above all other men. But those who know not what they do, choose amiss, fail in what they attempt and, besides incurring direct loss and punishment thereby, they earn contempt through their failures, make themselves ridiculous and live in dishonour and humiliation.

"And the same is true of communities. You find that whenever a state, in ignorance of its own power, goes to war with a stronger people, it is exterminated or loses its liberty."

"Socrates," answered Euthydemus, "you may rest assured that I fully appreciate the importance of knowing oneself. But where should the process

1 ἔ Stephanus: τέ Sauppe with the MSS. and Stobaeus.
31 Ὁνκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ κακά ὅποιά ἐστι, πάντως που γιγνώσκεις.

'Ἰθι δὴ, ἔφη, καὶ ἔμοι ἑξήγησαι αὐτά.

'Αλλ' οὐ χαλεπόν, ἔφη· πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι νομίζω, τὸ δὲ νοσεῖν κακὸν, ἐπειτα καὶ τὰ αἴτια ἐκατέρου αὐτῶν καὶ ποτὰ καὶ βρωτὰ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ ὑγιαίνειν φέροντα ἀγαθά, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὸ νοσεῖν κακά.

32 Ὁνκοῦν, ἔφη, καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν, ὅταν μὲν ἀγαθοῦ τινος αἴτια γίγνηται, ἀγαθὰ ἃν εἰη, ὅταν δὲ κακοῦ, κακά.

Πότε δ' ἂν, ἔφη, τὸ μὲν ὑγιαίνειν κακοῦ αἴτιον γένοιτο, τὸ δὲ νοσεῖν ἀγαθοῦ;

'Ὅταν νὰ Δι', ἔφη, στρατείας τε αἰσχρᾶς καὶ ναυτιλίας βλαβερᾶς καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν τοιούτων οἱ μὲν διὰ ῥώμην μετασχόντες ἀπόλωνται, οἱ δὲ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπολειφθέντες σωθῶσιν.

'Ἀληθὴ λέγεις· ἄλλ' ὀρᾶς, ἔφη, ὅτι καὶ τῶν ὠφελίμων οἱ μὲν διὰ ῥώμην μετέχουσιν, οἱ δὲ δι' ἀσθένειαν ἀπολείπονται.

Ταῦτα οὖν, ἔφη, ποτὲ μὲν ὠφελοῦντα, ποτὲ δὲ βλάπτοντα μᾶλλον ἀγαθὰ ἥ κακά ἐστιν;

Οὐδὲν μὰ Δία φαίνεται κατὰ γε τοῦτον τὸν λόγον.

33 'Αλλ' ἡ γε τοις σοφίας, ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀναμφίβολης ἀγαθῶν ἐστίν· ποῦν γὰρ ἃν τις πράγμα ὁ βέλτιον πράττοι σοφὸς ὃν ἡ ἀμαθής;
of self-examination begin? I look to you for a statement, please."

"Well," said Socrates, "I may assume, I take it, that you know what things are good and what are evil?"

"Of course, for if I don't know so much as that, I must be worse than a slave."

"Come then, state them for my benefit."

"Well, that's a simple matter. First health in itself is, I suppose, a good, sickness an evil. Next the various causes of these two conditions—meat, drink, habits—are good or evil according as they promote health or sickness."

"Then health and sickness too must be good when their effect is good, and evil when it is evil."

"But when can health possibly be the cause of evil, or sickness of good?"

"Why, in many cases; for instance, a disastrous campaign or a fatal voyage: the able-bodied who go are lost, the weaklings who stay behind are saved."

"True; but you see, in the successful adventures too the able-bodied take part, the weaklings are left behind."

"Then since these bodily conditions sometimes lead to profit, and sometimes to loss, are they any more good than evil?"

"No, certainly not; at least so it appears from the argument. But wisdom now, Socrates,—that at any rate is indisputably a good thing; for what is there that a wise man would not do better than a fool?"
Τί δαί; τὸν Δαίδαλον, ἐφη, οὐκ ἀκήκοας ὡτι ληφθεῖς ὑπὸ Μίνω διὰ τὴν σοφίαν ἣναγκάζετο ἐκεῖνῳ δουλεύειν καὶ τῆς τε πατρίδος ἁμα καὶ τῆς ἑλευθερίας ἐστερήθη καὶ ἐπιχειρῶν ἀποδιδόσκειν μετὰ τοῦ ὑιοῦ τὸν τε παῖδα ἀπόλλεσε καὶ αὐτός οὐκ ἦδυνήθη σωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπενεχθεὶς εἰς τοὺς βαρβάρους πάλιν ἐκεῖ ἐδούλευε;

Δέγεται νή Δί', ἐφη, ταῦτα.
Τὰ δὲ Παλαμήδους οὐκ ἀκήκοας πάθη; τοῦτον γὰρ δὴ πάντες ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς διὰ σοφίαν φθονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἐνυθύδημος ἀπόλλυται.

Δέγεται καὶ ταῦτα, ἐφη.
"Αλλοις δὲ πόσους οἴει διὰ σοφίαν ἀνασπάστους πρὸς Βασιλέα γεγονέναι καὶ ἐκεῖ δουλεύειν;

Κυνδυνεύει, ἐφη, ὡ Σῶκρατες, ἀναμφιλογώτατον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν.

Εἶ γε μὴ τις αὐτό, ἐφη, ὡ Εὐθύδημε, εἴς ἀμφιλόγων ἀγαθῶν συντιθείη.

Τί δ' ἄν, ἐφη, τῶν εὐδαιμονικῶν ἀμφιλογον εἶνα;

Οὐδέν, ἐφη, εἰ γε μὴ προσθήσομεν αὐτῷ κάλλος ἢ ἵσχὺν ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ δόξαν ἢ καὶ τί ἄλλο τῶν τοιούτων.

'Αλλὰ νὴ Δία προσθήσομεν, ἐφη: πῶς γὰρ ἄν τις ἄνευ τοιούτων εὐδαιμονοῖ;  

35 Νὴ Δί', ἐφη, προσθήσομεν ἄρα, εἴ δὲν πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ συμβαίνει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις: πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπί τοῖς ἁραίοις παρακεκινηκότων διαφθείρονται, πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τῆς ἱσχύς μείζον πρὸς ἐπιχειροῦσιν μικροῖς κακοῖς περιπτοῦσι, πολλοὶ δὲ διὰ τῶν πλούτων διαθρυπτόμενοι τε καὶ ἐπιβουλευόμενοι 292
Indeed! have you not heard how Daedalus was seized by Minos because of his wisdom, and was forced to be his slave, and was robbed of his country and his liberty, and essaying to escape with his son, lost the boy and could not save himself, but was carried off to the barbarians and again lived as a slave there?"

"That is the story, of course."

"And have you not heard the story of Palamedes? Surely, for all the poets sing of him, how that he was envied for his wisdom and done to death by Odysseus."

"Another well-known tale!"

"And how many others, do you suppose, have been kidnapped on account of their wisdom, and haled off to the great King's court, and live in slavery there?"

"Happiness seems to be unquestionably a good, 34 Socrates."

"It would be so, Euthydemus, were it not made up of goods that are questionable."

"But what element in happiness can be called in question?"

"None, provided we don't include in it beauty or strength or wealth or glory or anything of the sort."

"But of course we shall do that. For how can anyone be happy without them?"

"Then of course we shall include the sources of much trouble to mankind. For many are ruined by admirers whose heads are turned at the sight of a pretty face; many are led by their strength to attempt tasks too heavy for them, and meet with serious evils: many by their wealth are corrupted,
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ Ν

_asserted

ἀπόλλυται, πολλοί δὲ διὰ δόξαν καὶ πολιτικὴν δύναμιν μεγάλα κακὰ πεπόνθασιν.

36 Ἄλλα μὴν, ἔφη, εἰ γε μηδὲ τὸ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἐπαινῶν ὄρθως λέγω, ὀμολογῶ μηδὲ ὁ τι πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχεσθαι χρὴ εἰδέναι.

Ἄλλα ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἵσως διὰ τὸ σφόδρα πιστεύειν εἰδέναι οὐδὲ ἔσκεψαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ πόλεως δημοκρατουμένης παρασκευάζῃ προεστάναι, δῆλον ὅτι δημοκρατίαν γε οἰσθα τί ἔστι.

Πάντως δῆποι, ἔφη.

37 Δοκεῖ οὖν σοι δυνατὸν εἶναι δημοκρατίαν εἰδέναι μή εἰδότα δῆμον;

Μὰ Δί, οὐκ ἔμοιγεν.

Καὶ δῆμον ἄρ’ οἰσθα τί ἔστιν;

Οἶμαι ἔγωγε.

Καὶ τί νομίζεις δῆμον εἶναι;

Τοὺς πένητας τῶν πολιτῶν ἔγωγε.

Καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἄρα οἰσθα;

Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;

Ἀρ’ οὖν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους οἰσθα;

Οὐδέν γε ἦττον ἢ καὶ τοὺς πένητας.

Ποίους δὲ πένητας καὶ ποίους πλουσίους καλεῖς;

Τοὺς μὲν, οἶμαι, μὴ ἰκανὰ ἔχουσας εἰς ἄ δεὶ τελεῖν πένητας, τοὺς δὲ πλεῖω τῶν ἰκανῶν πλουσίους.

38 Καταμεμάθηκας οὖν, ὅτι ἐνίοις μὲν πάνυ ὀλίγα ἐχοσιν οὐ μόνον ἁρκεῖ ταῦτα, ἄλλα καὶ περιποιούνται ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, ἐνίοις δὲ πάνυ πολλὰ οὐχ ἰκανά ἔστι;

Καὶ νὴ Δἴ, ἔφη ὁ Εὐθυόδημος, ὀρθῶς γὰρ με
and fall victims to conspiracies; many through glory and political power have suffered great evils."

"Well now, if I am at fault in praising even 36 happiness, I confess I know not what one should ask for in one's prayers."

"But perhaps you never even thought about these things, because you felt so confident that you knew them. However, as the state you are preparing yourself to direct is governed by the people, no doubt you know what popular government is?"

"I think so, certainly."

"Then do you suppose it possible to know popular 37 government without knowing the people?"

"Indeed I don't."

"And do you know, then, what the people consists of?"

"I think so."

"Of what do you suppose it to consist?"

"The poorer classes, I presume."

"You know the poor, then?"

"Of course I do."

"And you know the rich too?"

"Yes, just as well as the poor."

"What kind of men do you call poor and rich respectively?"

"The poor, I imagine, are those who have not enough to pay for what they want; the rich those who have more than enough."

"Have you observed, then, that some who have 38 very little not only find it enough, but even manage to save out of it, whereas others cannot live within their means, however large?"

"Yes, certainly—thanks for reminding me—"
ἀναμμηνήσκεις, οίδα¹ καὶ τυράννους τινάς, οί δὲ ἐνδειαν ὦσπερ οἱ ἀπορώτατοι ἀναγκάζονται ἀδικεῖν.

39 Οὕκον, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ γε ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, τοὺς μὲν τυράννους εἰς τὸν δῆμον θήσομεν, τοὺς δὲ ὅληγα κεκτημένους, ἐὰν οἰκονομικοὶ ὄσιν, εἰς τοὺς πλουσίους.

Καὶ ὁ Ἕυθύδημος ἐφη. Ἀναγκάζει με καὶ ταῦτα ὁμολογεῖν δήλου ὅτι ἡ ἐμὴ φαυλότης: καὶ φροντίζω, μὴ κράτιστον ἡ μοι σιγάν κιν- δυνεύω γὰρ ἀπλῶς οὕτεν εἰδέναι. καὶ πάνω ἀθύμως ἔχων ἀπῆλθε καὶ καταφρονήσας ἑαυτόν καὶ νομίσας τῷ ὁντὶ αὐνάραδον εἶναι.

40 Πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν τῶν οὕτω διατεθέντων ὑπὸ Σωκράτους οὐκέτι αὐτῶ προσήσαν, οὐς καὶ βλακοτέρους ἐνόμιζεν: ὁ δὲ Ἕυθύδημος ὑπέλαβεν οὐκ ἀν ἄλλος ἄνηρ ἄξιολογος γενέσθαι, εἰ μὴ ὅτι μάλιστα Σωκράτει συνεῖ: καὶ οὐκ ἀπελεύπετο ἐτὶ αὐτὸν, εἰ μὴ τὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶη. ἐνιά δὲ καὶ ἐμμεῖτο δὲν ἐκείνος ἐπετήδευν. ὁ δὲ ὡς ἐγὼ αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἦκιστα μὲν διετάρατεν, ἀπλοῦστατα δὲ καὶ σαφέστατα ἐξηγεῖτο ἃ τε ἐνόμιζεν εἰδέναι δεῖν καὶ ἐπιτηδεύειν κράτιστα εἶναι.

III. Τὸ μὲν οὖν λεκτικοὺς καὶ πρακτικοὺς καὶ μηχανικοὺς γέγνεσθαι τοὺς συνόντας οὐκ ἐσπευδέν, ἀλλὰ πρότερον τούτων ὥστε χρὴνα σωφροσύνην αὐτοῖς ἐγγενέσθαι. τοὺς γὰρ ἄνευ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ταῦτα δυναμένους ἀδικωτέρους τε καὶ δυνατο- τέρους κακουργεῖν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν δὴ περὶ θεοῦ ἐπειρᾶτο σωφρονας ποιεῖν τοὺς συνόντας. ἄλλοι μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς

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know, in fact, of some despots even who are driven to crime by poverty, just like paupers.”

“Therefore, if that is so, we will include despots 39 in the people, and men of small means, if they are thrifty, in the rich.”

“I am forced to agree once more,” cried Euthydemus, “evidently by my stupidity. I am inclined to think I had better hold my tongue, or I shall know nothing at all presently.” And so he went away very dejected, disgusted with himself and convinced that he was indeed a slave.

Now many of those who were brought to this pass 40 by Socrates, never went near him again and were regarded by him as mere blockheads. But Euthydemus guessed that he would never be of much account unless he spent as much time as possible with Socrates. Henceforward, unless obliged to absent himself, he never left him, and even began to adopt some of his practices. Socrates, for his part, seeing how it was with him, avoided worrying him, and began to expound very plainly and clearly the knowledge that he thought most needful and the practices that he held to be most excellent.

III. Skill in speaking and efficiency in affairs, therefore, and ingenuity, were not the qualities that he was eager to foster in his companions. He held that they needed first to acquire prudence. For he believed that those faculties, unless accompanied by prudence, increased in their possessors injustice and power for mischief.

In the first place, then, he tried to make his companions prudent towards the gods. Accordingly he

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1 oĩδα Stobaeus: oĩδα γὰρ Sauppe with MSS.
άλλος οὕτως ὀμιλοῦντι παραγεγομενοι διηγοῦντο· ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτε πρὸς Εὐθύδημον τοιάδε διελέγετο, παρεγενόμην.

3 Ἐπεὶ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Εὐθύδημε, ἦδη ποτὲ σοι ἐπήλθεν εὐθυμηθήναι, ὡς ἐπιμελῶς οἱ θεοὶ ὁμοὶ οἱ ἀνθρώποι δέονται κατεσκευάσαν; Καὶ ὅσι, Μὰ τὸν Δ', ἐφη, οὐκ ἐμοιγε. Ἀλλ' οἰσθά γ', ἐφη, ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν φωτὸς δεόμεθα, ὃ ἡμῖν οἱ θεοὶ παρέχουσι; Ἡ Δ', ἐφη, ὃ γ' εἰ μὴ εὑρομεν, ὠμοιοὶ τοῖς τυφλοῖς ἄν ἤμεν ἑνεκά γε τῶν ἠμετέρων ὀφθαλμῶν.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἀναπαύσεως γε δεομένοις ἡμῖν νύκτα παρέχουσι κάλλιστον ἀναπαυτήριον.

Πάνυ γ', ἐφη, καὶ τοῦτο χάριτος ἄξιον.

4 Οὔκοιν καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ μὲν ἠλιός φωτεῖνος ὄν τὰς τε ὀρας τῆς ἡμέρας ἡμῖν καὶ τὰλλα πάντα σαφηνίζει, ἡ δὲ νυξ διὰ τὸ σκοτεινὴ εἶναι ἀσαφεστέρα ἐστὶν, ἀστρα ἐν τῇ νυκτί ἀνέφημαν, ἢ ἡμῖν τὰς ὀρας τῆς νυκτὸς ἐμφανίζει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πολλὰ ὃν δεόμεθα πράττομεν;

"Εστι ταύτα, ἐφη.

Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἢ γε σελήνη οὐ μόνον τῆς νυκτός, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ μονὸς τὰ μέρη φανερά ἡμῖν ποιεῖ.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

5 Τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ τροφῆς δεόμεθα, ταύτην ἡμῖν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδίδοναι καὶ ὀρας ἀρμοστούσας πρὸς τοῦτο παρέχειν, αἱ ἡμῖν οὐ μόνον ὃν δεόμεθα πολλὰ καὶ παντοία παρασκευάζουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οῖς εὐφραίνομεθα;

Πάνυ, ἐφη, καὶ ταύτα φιλάνθρωπα.

Τὸ δὲ καὶ ὑδωρ ἡμῖν παρέχειν οὕτω πολλοῦ

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discoursed on this topic at various times, as those who were present used to relate. The following conversation between him and Euthydemus I heard myself.

"Tell me, Euthydemus," he began, "has it ever occurred to you to reflect on the care the gods have taken to furnish man with what he needs?"

"No, indeed it has not," replied Euthydemus.

"Well, no doubt you know that our first and foremost need is light, which is supplied to us by the gods?"

"Of course; since without light our eyes would be as useless as if we were blind."

"And again, we need rest; and therefore the gods grant us the welcome respite of night."

"Yes, for that too we owe them thanks."

"And since the night by reason of her darkness is dim, whereas the sun by his brightness illuminates the hours of the day and all things else, have they not made stars to shine in the night, that mark the watches of night for us, and do we not thereby satisfy many of our needs?"

"That is so."

"Moreover, the moon reveals to us not only the divisions of the night, but of the month too."

"Certainly."

"Now, seeing that we need food, think how they make the earth to yield it, and provide to that end appropriate seasons which furnish in abundance the diverse things that minister not only to our wants but to our enjoyment."

"Truly these things too show loving-kindness."

"Think again of their precious gift of water, that
άξιον, ὡστε συμφύειν τε καὶ συναύξειν τῇ γῇ καὶ ταῖς ὠραῖς πάντα τὰ χρήσιμα ἡμῖν, συντρέφειν δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς, καὶ μηνύμενον πᾶσι τοῖς τρέφουσιν ἡμᾶς εὐκατεργαστοτερά τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτέρα καὶ ἕδω ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ ἑπείδη πλείστου δεόμεθα τοῦτον, ἀφθονέστατον αὐτὸ παρέχειν ἡμῖν;

Καὶ τοῦτο, ἐφι, προνοητικόν.

7 Τὸ δὲ καὶ τὸ πῦρ πορίσαι ἡμῖν ἑπίκουρον μὲν ψύχους, ἑπίκουρον δὲ σκότους, συνεργὸν δὲ πρὸς πάσαν τέχνην καὶ πάντα, ὥσα ὠφελείας ἑνεκα ἀνθρώποι κατασκευάζονται; ὡς γὰρ συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν ἁξίολογον ἀνευ πυρὸς ἀνθρωποι τῶν πρὸς τὸν βίου χρησίμων κατασκευάζονται.

Τερβάλλει, ἐφι, καὶ τούτο φιλανθρωπία.

8 Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἦλιου, ἑπειδὰν ἐν χειμῶνι τράπηται, προσιέναι τὰ μὲν ἀδρύνοντα, τὰ δὲ ξηραίοντα, ὅν καιρὸς διελήλυθε; καὶ ταῦτα διαπραξάμενον μηκέτι ἐγγυτέρω προσιέναι, ἀλλ' ἀποτρέπεσθαι φυλαττόμενον, μη τὶ ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος θερμαίων θέλησι, καὶ ὅταν αὐ τὰλιν ἀπιῶν γένηται, ἐνθα καὶ ἡμῖν δῆλον ἔστω ὅτι εἰ προσωτέρω ἀπεισί, ἀποπαγησόμεθα ὑπὸ τοῦ ψύχους, πάλιν αὐ τρέπεσθαι καὶ προσχωρεῖν καὶ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ υπάραιν ἀναστρέφεσθαι, ἐνθα μάλιστ' ἄν ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῖν;

Νὴ τὸν Δ', ἐφι, καὶ ταῦτα παντάπασιν ἐοικεν ἀνθρώπων ἑνεκα γιγνομένοις.

9 Τὸ δ', ἑπειδῆ καὶ τοῦτο φανερὸν, ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ὑπενέγκοιμεν οὔτε τὸ καῦμα οὔτε τὸ ψῦχος, εἰ ἐξαπάτησθη γύγνοιτο, οὔτω μὲν κατὰ μικρὸν προσιέναι τὸν ἦλιον, οὔτω δὲ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπιέναι, ὡστε 300
aids the earth and the seasons to give birth and increase to all things useful to us and itself helps to nourish our bodies, and mingling with all that sustains us, makes it more digestible, more wholesome, and more palatable: and how, because we need so much of it, they supply it without stint."

"That too shows design at work."

"Think again of the blessing of fire, our defence against cold and against darkness, our helpmate in every art and all that man contrives for his service. In fact, to put it shortly, nothing of any account that is useful to the life of man is contrived without the aid of fire."

"This too is a signal token of loving-kindness."

"Think again how the sun, when past the winter solstice, approaches, ripening some things and withering others, whose time is over; and having accomplished this, approaches no nearer, but turns away, careful not to harm us by excess of heat; and when once again in his retreat he reaches the point where it is clear to ourselves, that if he goes further away, we shall be frozen with the cold, back he turns once more and draws near and revolves in that region of the heavens where he can best serve us."

"Yes, verily, these things do seem to be done for the sake of mankind."

"And again, since it is evident that we could not endure the heat or the cold if it came suddenly, the sun's approach and retreat are so gradual that

\[1 \text{ Cyropaedia, vi. ii. 29.}\]
λανθάνειν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἑκάτερα τὰ ἱσχυρότατα καθισταμένους;

'Εγὼ μὲν, ἐφή ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ἦδη τοῦτο σκοπῶ, εἰ ἀρα τι ἐστὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἔργον ἢ ἀνθρώπους θεραπεύειν· ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον ἐμποδίζει με, ὡτι καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα τοῦτων μετέχει.

10 Οὐ γάρ καὶ τούτ', ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, φανερὸν, ὅτι καὶ ταύτα ἀνθρώπων ἑνηκα γίγνεται τε καὶ ἀνατρέφεται; τι γάρ ἄλλο ξύλον αἰγῶν τε καὶ οἰών καὶ βοῶν καὶ ἰππῶν καὶ ὀνών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξύων τοσαῦτα ἀγαθὰ ἀπολαύει ὅσα ἀνθρώποι; ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ δοκεῖ πλεῖω ἢ τῶν φυτῶν τρέφονται γοῦν καὶ χρηματιζοῦνται οὐδὲν ἢπτον ἀπὸ τούτων ἢ ἀπ' ἑκάεινων· πολὺ δὲ γένος ἀνθρώπων τοῖς μὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένως εἰς τροφὴν οὐ χρήται, ἀπὸ δὲ βοσκημάτων γάλακτι καὶ τυρῷ καὶ κρέασι τρεφόμενοι ξύσι· πάντες δὲ τιθασεύοντες καὶ δαμάζουστε τὰ χρήσιμα τῶν ξύων εἰς τε πόλεμον καὶ εἰς ἄλλα πολλὰ συνεργοῖς χρώνται.

'Ομογνωμονὼ σοι καὶ τούτ', ἐφη· ὅρῳ γάρ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ πολὺ ἱσχυρότερα ἡμῶν σύτως ὑποχείρια νιγνόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὡστε χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὁ τι ἄν βούλωται.

11 Τὸ δ', ἐπειδὴ πολλὰ μὲν καλὰ καὶ ὀφέλιμα, διαφέροντα δὲ ἀλλήλων ἐστὶ προσθείναι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰσθήσεις ἄρμοττούσας πρὸς ἐκαστα, δι' ὧν ἀπολαύομεν πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν· τὸ δὲ καὶ λογισμὸν ἡμῶν ἐμφύσει, ὡς περὶ ὧν αἰσθανόμεθα λογιζόμενοι τε καὶ μνημονεύοντες καταμενόνωμεν, ὅτι ἐκαστὰ συμφέρει, καὶ πολλὰ μηχανώμεθα, δι' ὧν τῶν τε ἀγαθῶν ἀπολαύομεν καὶ τὰ κακὰ ἀλεξόμεθα· τὸ δὲ καὶ ἐρμηνεύαι δούναι, δι'
we arrive at the one or the other extreme imperceptibly."

"For myself," exclaimed Euthydemus, "I begin to doubt whether after all the gods are occupied in any other work than the service of man. The one difficulty I feel is that the lower animals also enjoy these blessings."

"Yes," replied Socrates, "and is it not evident that they too receive life and food for the sake of man? For what creature reaps so many benefits as man from goats and sheep and horses and oxen and asses and the other animals? He owes more to them, in my opinion, than to the fruits of the earth. At the least they are not less valuable to him for food and commerce; in fact a large portion of mankind does not use the products of the earth for food, but lives on the milk and cheese and flesh they get from live stock. Moreover, all men tame and domesticate the useful kinds of animals, and make them their fellow-workers in war and many other undertakings."

"There too I agree with you, seeing that animals far stronger than man become so entirely subject to him that he puts them to any use he chooses."

"Think again of the multitude of things beautiful and useful and their infinite variety, and how the gods have endowed man with senses adapted for the perception of every kind, so that there is nothing good that we cannot enjoy; and again, how they have implanted in us the faculty of reasoning, whereby we are able to reason about the objects of our perceptions and to commit them to memory, and so come to know what advantage every kind can yield, and devise many means of enjoying the good and driving away the bad; and think of the power
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

διε πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν μεταδίδομεν τε ἀλλήλοις
dιδάσκοντες καὶ κοινωνοῦμεν καὶ νόμους τιθέμεθα
καὶ πολιτεύόμεθα;

Παντάπασιν ἐοίκασιν, ὁ Ὁσκράτης, οἱ θεοὶ
pολλὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.

Τὸ δὲ καὶ εἰ ἀδυνατοῦμεν τὰ συμφέροντα προ-
νοεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων, ἡμῖν αὐτοὺς
συνεργεῖν διὰ μαντικῆς τοῖς πυθαγορεύοις φρά-
ζοντας τὰ ἀποβησόμενα καὶ διδάσκοντας, ἦ ἢ
ἀριστα γίγνοιτο;

Σοι δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Ὁσκράτης, ἐοίκασιν ἔτι φιλικώ-
τερον ἢ τοῖς ἀλλοις χρήσθαι, εἰ γε μηδὲ ἐπερω-
τόμενοι ὑπὸ σοῦ προσημαίνοισι σοι ἃ τε χρὴ
ποιεῖν καὶ ἃ μὴ.

13 "Ὅτι δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ σὺ γυνώσῃ, ἂν μὴ
ἀναμένης, ἐως ἂν τὰς μορφὰς τῶν θεῶν ἱδης, ἄλλα
ἐξαρκῆ σοι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὄρωντι σέβεσθαι καὶ
tιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐννοεῖ δὲ, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοὶ
οὕτως ὑποδεικνύοισιν οἱ τε γὰρ ἀλλοι ἡμῖν
τάγαθα διδόντες οὐδὲν τούτων εἰς τούμφανες
ἵντες, διδάσκει καὶ ὁ τὸν ὅλον κόσμον συντάττωσι
τε καὶ συνεχῶσι, ἐν δὲ πάντα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ
ἐστι, καὶ ἀεὶ μὲν χρωμένοις ἀτριβῆ τε καὶ υγιὰ
καὶ ἀγήρατα παρέχουσι, θάττου δὲ νοήματος
ὑπηρετοῦντα ἀναμαρτήτως, οὕτος τὰ μέγιστα μὲν
πράττων ὀρᾶται, τάδε δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατος ἡμῖν
ἐστιν. ἐννοεῖ δ’, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πάσι φανερὸς δοκῶν
εἶναι ἢλιος οὐκ ἐπιτρέπει τοὺς ἀνθρώποις ἐαυτῶν
ἀκριβῶς ὀρᾶν, ἄλλα ἕαν τις αὐτῶν ἀναιδῶς ἑγ-
χειρῆ θεᾶσθαι, τὴν ὑψιν ἀφαιρεῖται. καὶ τοὺς
ὑπηρέτας δὲ τῶν θεῶν εὐρήσεις ἀφανεῖς ὄντας·
κεραυνὸς τε γὰρ ὅτι μὲν ἀνώθεν ἀφίεται δῆλον
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of expression, which enables us to impart to one another all good things by teaching and to take our share of them, to enact laws and to administer states."

"Truly, Socrates, it does appear that the gods devote much care to man."

"Yet again, in so far as we are powerless of ourselves to foresee what is expedient for the future, the gods lend us their aid, revealing the issues by divination to inquirers, and teaching them how to obtain the best results."

"With you, Socrates, they seem to deal even more friendly than with other men, if it is true that, even unasked, they warn you by signs what to do and what not to do."

"Yes, and you will realise the truth of what I say if, instead of waiting for the gods to appear to you in bodily presence, you are content to praise and worship them because you see their works. Mark that the gods themselves give the reason for doing so; for when they bestow on us their good gifts, not one of them ever appears before us gift in hand; and especially he who co-ordinates and holds together the universe, wherein all things are fair and good, and presents them ever unimpaired and sound and ageless for our use, and quicker than thought to serve us unerringly, is manifest in his supreme works, and yet is unseen by us in the ordering of them. Mark that even the sun, who seems to reveal himself to all, permits not man to behold him closely, but if any attempts to gaze recklessly upon him, blinds their eyes. And the gods' ministers too you will find to be invisible. That the thunderbolt is hurled from

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1 Cyropaedia, i. vi. 46.
2 Ibid., viii. vii. 22.
καὶ ὁτι οἷς ἄν ἐντύχη πάντων κρατεῖ· ὀρᾶται δ' οὔτ' ἐπιὼν οὔτε κατασκήψας οὔτε ἀπιὼν· καὶ ἀνεμοί αὐτοὶ μὲν οὐχ ὀρῶνται, ἀ δὲ ποιοῦσι φανερὰ ήμῖν ἐστι καὶ προσιόντων αὐτῶν αἰσθανόμεθα. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἄνθρωπον γε ψυχή, ἢ εὖπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῶν ἄνθρωπίνων τοῦ θείου μετέχει, ὅτι μὲν βασιλεῦει ἐν ἡμῖν φανερόν, ὀρᾶται δὲ οὐδ' αὐτή.

'Α χρῆ κατανοοῦντα μὴ καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἀοράτων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν γιγνομένων τήν δύναμιν αὐτῶν καταμανθάνοντα τιμᾶν τὸ δαιμόνιον.

15 Ἐγὼ μὲν, ὦ Σωκρατε, ἑφη ὁ Εὐθύδημος, ὅτι μὲν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ἀμελήσω τοῦ δαιμονίου, σαφῶς οἶδα· ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἄθυμῳ, ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ἐνεργεσίαις οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ποτὲ ἄνθρωπον ἄξιας χάρισιν ἀμείβεσθαι.

16 Ἀλλὰ μὴ τοῦτο ἀθύμει, ἑφη, ὦ Εὐθύδημε· ὅρας γάρ, ὅτι ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεὸς, ὅταν τις αὐτὸν ἐπερωτᾶ, πῶς ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς χαρίζοιτο, ἀποκρίνεται Νόμω πόλεως, νόμωσι δὲ δῆπον πανταχοῦ ἐστὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ἱεροῖς θεοὺς ἀρέσκεσθαι.

Πῶς οὖν ἂν τις κάλλιον καὶ εὐσεβέστερον τιμῶν θεοὺς ἢ ὅσ αὐτοὶ κελεύονσιν, οὔτω ποιῶν; ἀλλ' χρῆ τῆς μὲν δυνάμεως μηδὲν υφίσθαι· ὅταν γὰρ τις τοῦτο ποιή, φανερὸς δήπον ἐστὶ τότε οὐ τιμῶν θεοὺς. χρῆ οὖν μηδὲν ἐλλείποντα κατὰ δύναμιν τιμᾶν τοὺς θεοὺς θαρρεῖν τε καὶ ἐλπίζειν τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθὰ· οὐ γὰρ παρ' ἄλλων γ' ἂν τις μείζων ἐλπίζων σοφρονοῖς ἤ παρὰ τῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὕφελεῖν δυναμένων οὔδ' ἂν ἄλλως μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ

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heaven, and that he overwhelms all on whom he falls, is evident, but he is seen neither coming nor striking nor going. And the winds are themselves invisible, yet their deeds are manifest to us, and we perceive their approach. Moreover, the soul of man, which more than all else that is human partakes of the divine, reigns manifestly within us, and yet is itself unseen.

"For these reasons it behoves us not to despise the things that are unseen, but, realising their power in their manifestations, to honour the godhead."

"Socrates," replied Euthydemus, "that I will in 15 no wise be heedless of the godhead I know of a surety. But my heart fails me when I think that no man can ever render due thanks to the gods for their benefits."

"Nay, be not down-hearted, Euthydemus; for you 16 know that to the inquiry, 'How am I to please the gods?' the Delphic god replies, 'Follow the custom of the state'; and everywhere, I suppose, it is the custom that men propitiate the gods with sacrifices according to their power. How then can a man honour the gods more excellently and more devoutly than by doing as they themselves ordain? Only he 17 must fall no whit short of his power. For when he does that, it is surely plain that he is not then honouring the gods. Therefore it is by coming no whit short of his power in honouring the gods that he is to look with confidence for the greatest blessings.¹ For there are none from whom a man of prudence would hope for greater things than those who can confer the greatest benefits, nor can he show his prudence more clearly than by pleasing them.

¹ Cyropaedia, i. vi. 4.
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toútois ārēskoi. ārēskoi dē πῶς ἄν μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ ὡς μᾶλιστα πείθοιτο αὐτοῖς;

8 Ῥοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ λέγων τε καὶ αὐτὸς ποιῶν εὐσεβεστέρους τε καὶ σωφρονεστέρους τοὺς συνόν-
tας παρεσκεύαξεν.

IV. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ δικαίου γε οὐκ ἀπεκρύπτετο ἢν εἴχε γινώσκη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἀπεδείκνυτο, ἵδια τε πᾶσι νομίμως τε καὶ ὕφελι-

µως χρώμενος καὶ κοινῆ ἀρχοῦσι τε ἀ οἱ νόµοι 

προστάττοιεν πεθόµενος καὶ κατὰ πόλιν καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατεύασι εὑτῶς, ὡστε διάδηλος εἶναι παρά

2 τοὺς ἄλλους εὐτακτῶν, καὶ ὅτε ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπιστάτης γενόµενος οὐκ ἔπέτρεψε τῷ δήµῳ παρά 

tοὺς νόµους ἡσθίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ σὺν τοῖς νόµοις 

ἡμαντίωθη τοιαύτη ὀρµή τοῦ δήµου, ἢν οὐκ ἂν

3 οἶμαι ἄλλον οὐδένα ἀνθρωπον ὑπομεῖναι: καὶ ὅτε 

οἱ τριάκοντα προσέταττον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοὺς νόµους 

τι, οὐκ ἔπειθετο· τοῖς τε γὰρ νέοις ἀπαγορευόν-
tων αὐτῶν μὴ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ προσταξάντων 

ἐκεῖνῳ τε καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀγαγεῖν 

τινα ἐπὶ θανάτῳ, μόνος οὐκ ἔπεισθη διὰ τὸ παρά

4 τοὺς νόµους αὐτῷ προστάττεσθαι: καὶ ὅτε τὴν 

ὑπὸ Μελήτου γραφὴν ἐφευγε, τῶν ἄλλων εἰσόθ-
tων ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις πρὸς χάριν τε τοῖς 

dικασταῖς διαλέγεσθαι καὶ κολακεύειν καὶ δεῖσθαι 

παρὰ τοὺς νόµους καὶ διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτα πολλῶν 

πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ἀφιεµένων, ἐκεῖνοι 

οὐδὲν ἦθελησε τῶν εἰσόδων ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ 

παρὰ τοὺς νόµους ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ ραδίως ἂν ἄφε-

θείς ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν, εἰ καὶ μετρίως τι τούτων 

ἐποίησε, προείλετο μᾶλλον τοὺς νόµους ἑµµένων 

ἀποθανεῖν ἢ παρανοµῶν ζῆν.

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And how can he please them better than by obeying them strictly?"

Thus by precept and by example alike he strove to increase in his companions Piety and Prudence.

IV. Again, concerning Justice he did not hide his opinion, but proclaimed it by his actions. All his private conduct was lawful and helpful: to public authority he rendered such scrupulous obedience in all that the laws required, both in civil life and in military service, that he was a pattern of good discipline to all. When chairman in the Assemblies he would not permit the people to record an illegal vote, but, upholding the laws, resisted a popular impulse that might even have overborne any but himself. And when the Thirty laid a command on him that was illegal, he refused to obey. Thus he disregarded their repeated injunction not to talk with young men; and when they commanded him and certain other citizens to arrest a man on a capital charge, he alone refused, because the command laid on him was illegal.¹ Again, when he was tried on the charge brought by Meletus, whereas it is the custom of defendants to curry favour with the jury and to indulge in flattery and illegal appeals, and many by such means have been known to gain a verdict of acquittal, he rejected utterly the familiar chicanery of the courts; and though he might easily have gained a favourable verdict by even a moderate indulgence in such stratagems, he chose to die through his loyalty to the laws rather than to live through violating them.

¹ Alluding to the famous case of Leon.
5 Καὶ ἐλέγει δὲ οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους μὲν πολ-
lάκις, οίδα δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς Ἡπτίαν τὸν
'Ἡλείον περὶ τοῦ δικαίου τούτου διαλεξθέντα.
dιὰ χρόνου γὰρ ἀφικόμενος ὁ Ἡπτίας Ἀθήναζε
παρεγένετο τῷ Ὁσκράτει λέγοντι πρὸς τινάς, ὡς
θαυμαστὸν ἐν τὸ εἰ μὲν τις βούλοιτο σκυτέα
διδάξασθαι τινὰ ἢ τέκτονα ἢ χαλκέα ἢ ἱππέα, μὴ
ἀπορεῖν, ὅποι ἂν πέμψας τούτον τύχοι· [φασὶ δὲ
tines, καὶ Ἡππον καὶ βοῦν τῷ βουλομένῳ δικαίους
ποιήσασθαι πάντα μεστὰ εἶναι τῶν διδαξόντων·]
ἐὰν δὲ τις βούλησαι ἢ αὐτὸς μαθεῖν τὸ δίκαιον ἢ
νῦν ἢ οἰκέτην διδάξασθαι, μὴ εἰδέναι ὅποι ἂν
ἔλθὼν τύχοι τούτου.

6 Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἡπτίας ἀκούσας τοῦτο ὥσπερ ἐπι-
σκόπτων αὐτοῦ, Ἐτι γὰρ σὺ, ἐφη, ὁ Ὁσκράτης,
ἐκεῖνα τὰ αὕτα λέγεις, ἂ ἐγὼ πάλαι ποτέ σου
ήκουσα·
Καὶ ὁ Ὁσκράτης, Ὀ δὲ γε τούτου δεινότερον,
ἐφη, ὁ Ἡππία, οὐ μόνον ἂεὶ τὰ αὕτα λέγω, ἀλλὰ
καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν σὺ δ' ἰσως διὰ τὸ πολυ-
μαθῆς εἰναι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν οὐδέποτε τὰ αὕτα
λέγεις.

Ἀμέλει, ἐφη, πειρῶμαι καὶνόν τι λέγειν ἂεὶ.

7 Πότερον, ἐφη, καὶ περὶ ὅν ἐπίστασαι, οἶνον
περὶ γραμμάτων εάν τις ἐρηταί σε, πόσα καὶ πόια
Σωκράτους ἐστίν, ἄλλα μὲν πρότερον, ἄλλα δὲ νῦν
πειρᾶ λέγειν; ἡ περὶ ἀριθμῶν τοῖς ἐρωτῶσιν, εἰ
τὰ δ' ὅπερ δέκα ἐστίν, οὐ τὰ αὕτα νῦν ἂ καὶ
πρότερον ἀποκρίνῃ;

Περὶ μὲν τούτων, ἐφη, ὁ Ὁσκράτης, ὥσπερ
σὺ καὶ ἐγὼ ἂεὶ τὰ αὕτα λέγω· περὶ μὲντοι τοῦ
Such views frequently found expression in his 5 conversations with different persons; I recollect the substance of one that he had with Hippias of Elis concerning Justice. Hippias, who had not been in Athens for a considerable time, found Socrates talking: he was saying that if you want to have a man taught cobbling or building or smithing or riding, you know where to send him to learn the craft: some indeed declare that if you want to train up a horse or an ox in the way he should go, teachers abound. And yet, strangely enough, if you want to learn Justice yourself, or to have your son or servant taught it, you know not where to go for a teacher.

When Hippias heard this, "How now?" he cried in a tone of raillery, "still the same old sentiments, Socrates, that I heard from you so long ago?"

"Yes, Hippias," he replied, "always the same, and—what is more astonishing—on the same topics too! You are so learned that I daresay you never say the same thing on the same subjects."

"I certainly try to say something fresh every time."

"Do you mean, about what you know? For example, in answer to the question, 'How many letters are there in "Socrates" and how do you spell it?' do you try to say something different now from what you said before? Or take figures: suppose you are asked if twice five are ten, don't you give the same answer now as you gave before?"

"About letters and figures, Socrates, I always say the same thing, just like you. As for Justice, I feel

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1 Ch. IV. § 1-5, ἔλλους μὲν τοῦτοτις, are bracketed by Sauppe, and many others as spurious; but see the analysis in the Introduction.
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δικαίου πάνω οίμαι νῦν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν, πρὸς ἃ ὀὔτε σὺ ὀὔτε ἂν ἄλλος οὐδεὶς δύναιτ' ἀντειπεῖν.

8 Ἡ τῆς Ἡραμ, ἔφη, μέγα λέγεις ἀγαθόν εὐρηκέναι, εἰ παύσονται μὲν οἱ δικασταὶ δίχα ψηφίζομενοι, παύσονται δὲ οἱ πολίται περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀντιλέγοντες τε καὶ ἀντιδικοῦντες καὶ στασιάζοντες, παύσονται δὲ οἱ πόλεις διαφερόμεναι περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ πολεμοῦσαι. καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ὀδ' ὄπως ἂν ἀπολειψθείην σου πρὸ τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τηλικοῦτον ἀγαθὸν εὐρηκότος.

9 Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δ', ἔφη, οὐκ ἀκούσῃ, πρὶν γ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἀποφήνη, ὃ τι νομίζεις τὸ δίκαιον εἶναι. ἄρκει γὰρ, ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων καταγελᾶς ἐρωτῶν μὲν καὶ ἐλέγχων πάντας, αὐτὸς δ' οὐδεὶς θέλων ὑπέχειν λόγον οὐδὲ γνώμην ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ ὀδενώς.

10 Τί δέ; Ὁ Ἰππία, ἔφη, οὐκ ἤσθησαι, ὅτι ἔγω ἃ δοκεῖ μοι δίκαια εἶναι οὐδὲν παύμαι ἀποδεικνυμενός:

Καὶ ποῖος δή σοι, ἔφη, οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἔστιν;

Εἰ δέ μὴ λόγως, ἔφη, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ ἀποδεικνυμαι ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀξιοτεκμαρτότερον τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἔργον εἶναι;

Πολὺ γε νὴ Δ', ἔφη, δίκαια μὲν γὰρ λέγοντες πολλοὶ ἄδικα ποιοῦσι, δίκαια δὲ πρᾶττων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἄδικος εἴη.

11 Ἡ ἀσθησαι οὖν πῶποτε μοι ἢ ψευδομαρτυροῦντος ἢ συκοφαντοῦντος ἢ φίλους ἢ πόλιν εἰς στάσιν ἐμβάλλοντος ἢ ἄλλο τι ἄδικον πράττουντος;

Οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη.

Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἄδικων ἀπέχεσθαι οὐ δίκαιον ἡγη;
confident that I can now say that which neither you nor anyone else can contradict."

"Upon my word, you mean to say that you have made a great discovery, if jurymen are to cease from voting different ways, citizens from disputing and litigation, and wrangling about the justice of their claims, cities from quarrelling about their rights and making war; and for my part, I don't see how to tear myself away from you till I have heard about your great discovery."

"But I vow you shall not hear unless you first declare your own opinion about the nature of Justice; for it's enough that you mock at others, questioning and examining everybody, and never willing to render an account yourself or to state an opinion about anything."

"Indeed, Hippias! Haven't you noticed that I never cease to declare my notions of what is just?"

"And how can you call that an account?"

"I declare them by my deeds, anyhow, if not by my words. Don't you think that deeds are better evidence than words?"

"Yes, much better, of course; for many say what is just and do what is unjust; but no one who does what is just can be unjust."

"Then have you ever found me dealing in perjury or calumny, or stirring up strife between friends or fellow-citizens, or doing any other unjust act?"

"I have not."

"To abstain from what is unjust is just, don't you think?"
Δήλος εἰς ἐφι, ὡς Σωκράτες, καὶ νῦν διαφεύγειν ἐγχειρῶν τὸ ἀποδείκνυσθαι γνώμην, ὥτι νομίζεις τὸ δίκαιον: οὐ γὰρ ἀ πράττουσιν οἱ δίκαιοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ πράττουσι, ταῦτα λέγεις.

12 Ἀλλ' ὡμὴν ἔγωγ', ἐφι ὡς Σωκράτης, τὸ μὴ θέλειν ἀδικεῖν ἱκανὸν δίκαιοσύνης ἐπίδειγμα εἶναι. εἰ δὲ σοι μὴ δοκεῖ, σκέψαι, ἕαν τὸδε σοι μᾶλλον ἀρεσκῇ φημὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τὸ νόμιμον δίκαιον εἶναι.

'Αρα τὸ αὐτὸ λέγεις, ὡς Σωκράτες, νόμιμον τε καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι;

13 Ἐγώγη, ἐφι.

Οὐ γὰρ αἰσθάνομαι σου, ὅποιον νόμιμον ἡ ποιον δίκαιον λέγεις.

Νόμους δὲ πόλεως, ἐφι, γιγνώσκεις;

'Εγώγη, ἐφι.

Καὶ τίνας τούτους νομίζεις;

'Α οἱ πολίται, ἐφὶ, συνθέμενοι ἃ τε δεὶ ποιεῖν καὶ ὅν ἀπέχεσθαι ἐγράψαντο.

Οὐκοῦν, ἐφὶ, νόμιμος μὲν ἄν εἰη ὁ κατὰ ταῦτα πολιτευόμενος, ἀνομος δὲ τὰ ταῦτα παραβαίνων;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφι.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ δίκαια μὲν ἄν πράττοι ὁ τούτως πειθόμενος, ἀδικα ὁ τούτως ἀπειθῶν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν τὰ δίκαια πράττων δίκαιος, ὁ δὲ τὰ ἀδικα ἀδικος;

Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

Ὁ μὲν ἄρα νόμιμος δίκαιος ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ ἀνομος ἀδικος.

14 Καὶ ὁ Ἰππίας, Νόμους δ', ἐφι, ὡς Σωκράτες,
“Even now, Socrates, you are clearly endeavouring to avoid stating what you think Justice to be. You are saying not what the just do, but what they don’t do.”

“Well, I thought that unwillingness to do injustice was sufficient proof of Justice. But, if you don’t think so, see whether you like this better: I say that what is lawful is just.”

“Do you mean, Socrates, that lawful and just are the same thing?”

“I do.”

“Because I don’t see what you mean by lawful or what you mean by just.”

“Does the expression ‘laws of a state’ convey a meaning to you?”

“It does.”

“And what do you think they are?”

“Covenants made by the citizens whereby they have enacted what ought to be done and what ought to be avoided.”

“Then would not that citizen who acts in accordance with these act lawfully, and he who transgresses them act unlawfully?”

“Yes, certainly.”

“And would not he who obeys them do what is just, and he who disobeys them do what is unjust?”

“Certainly.”

“Then would not he who does what is just be just, and he who does what is unjust be unjust?”

“Of course.”

“Consequently he who acts lawfully is just, and he who acts unlawfully is unjust.”

“Laws,” said Hippias, “can hardly be thought of
πῶς ἂν τις ἥγησαιτο σπουδαῖον πρᾶγμα εἶναι ἢ
tὸ πείθεσθαι αὐτοῖς, οὕς γε πολλάκις αὐτοῖ
θέμενοι ἀποδοκιμάσαντες μετατίθενται;
Καὶ γὰρ πόλεμον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, πολλάκις
ἀράμεναι αἱ πόλεις πάλιν εἰρήνην ποιοῦνται.
Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη.
Διάφορον οὖν τι οὐεὶ ποιεῖν, ἔφη, τοὺς τοῖς
νόμοις πειθομένους φαυλίζων, ὅτι καταλυθεῖν ἃν
οἱ νόμοι, ἢ εἰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις εὐτακτοῦντας
ψέγοις, ὅτι γένοιτ' ἂν εἰρήνη; ἢ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς
πολέμοις ταῖς πατρίσι προθύμως βοηθοῦντας
μέμφη;
Μᾶ Δι' οὐκ ἐγωγ', ἔφη.
Δυκοῦργον δὲ τὸν Λακεδαμιόνον, ἔφη ὁ Σωκρά-
tῆς, καταμεμάθηκας ὅτι οὐδὲν ἃν διάφορον τῶν
アルバム πόλεων τὴν Σπάρτην ἐποίησεν, εἰ μὴ τὸ
πείθεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μάλιστα ἐνειργάσατο αὐτῇ;
τῶν δὲ ἄρχοντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι
οἰτίνες ἃν τοῖς πολίταις αἰτιώτατοι δος τοῦ τοῖς
νόμοις πείθεσθαι, οὕτωι ἄριστοι εἰσι καὶ πόλις,
ἐν ἦ μάλιστα οἱ πολίται τοῖς νόμοις πείθονται, ἐν
εἰρήνῃ τε ἄριστα διάγει καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ ἀνυπόστα-
tός ἐστιν; ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁμόνοια γε μέγιστόν τε
ἀγαθὸν δοκεῖ ταῖς πόλεσιν εἶναι καὶ πλειστάκις
ἐν αὐταῖς αὐτῇ τε γεροντία καὶ οἱ ἄριστοι ἄνδρες
παρακελεύονται τοῖς πολίταις ὁμονοεῖν, καὶ παν-
tαχοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι νόμος κεῖται τοὺς πολίτας
ὁμονύμου ὁμονοηθεῖν, καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοῦσιν τὸν
ὁρκον τούτον. ὃμια δ' ἐγὼ ταύτα γέγραψεν οὐχ
ὅπως τοὺς αὐτοὺς χροοῦς κρίνωσιν οἱ πολίται οὐδ' ὅπως
τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὐλητᾶς ἐπαινῶσιν οὐδ' ὅπως
τοὺς αὐτοὺς ποιητὰς αἰρῶνται οὐδ' ἣν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
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much account, Socrates, or observance of them, seeing that the very men who passed them often reject and amend them."

"Yes," said Socrates, "and after going to war, cities often make peace again."

"To be sure."

"Then is there any difference, do you think, between belittling those who obey the laws on the ground that the laws may be annulled, and blaming those who behave well in the wars on the ground that peace may be made? Or do you really censure those who are eager to help their fatherland in the wars?"

"No, of course not."

"Lycurgus the Lacedaemonian now—have you realised that he would not have made Sparta to differ from other cities in any respect, had he not established obedience to the laws most securely in her? Among rulers in cities, are you not aware that those who do most to make the citizens obey the laws are the best, and that the city in which the citizens are most obedient to the laws has the best time in peace and is irresistible in war? And again, agreement is deemed the greatest blessing for cities: their senates and their best men constantly exhort the citizens to agree, and everywhere in Greece there is a law that the citizens shall promise under oath to agree, and everywhere they take this oath. The object of this, in my opinion, is not that the citizens may vote for the same choirs, not that they may praise the same flute-players, not that they may select the same poets, not that they may like the same things, but that
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ηδωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῖς νόμοις πείθωνται. τούτοις γαρ τῶν πολιτῶν ἐμμενόντων, αἱ πόλεις ἵσχυρο-
tatai τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεσταταὶ γίγνονται. ἀνευ δὲ
ὁμονοίας οὐτ᾽ ἄν πόλις εὑροποιεῖ οὐτ᾽ οἶκος
καλῶς οἰκήθειν. ἢδίᾳ δὲ πῶς μὲν ἄν τις ἦττον
ὑπὸ πόλεως ζημιοῖτο, πῶς δ' ἄν μᾶλλον τιμῶτο
ἡ εἶ τοῖς νόμοις πείθουτο; πῶς δ' ἄν ἦττον ἐν
tοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἡττῶτο ἡ πῶς ἄν μᾶλλον νικών;
tίνι δ' ἄν τις μᾶλλον πιστεύσει παρακαταθήσθαι
ἡ χρήματα ἡ νίους ἡ θυγατέρας; τίνα δ' ἄν ἡ
πόλις ὅλη ἢξιοπιστότερον ἡγησαίτο τοῦ νομίου;
παρὰ τίνος δ' ἄν μᾶλλον τῶν δικαίων τύχοιεν ἡ
γονεὶς ἡ οἰκεῖοι ἡ οἰκεῖα ἡ φίλοι ἡ πολίται ἡ
ξένοι; τίνι δ' ἄν μᾶλλον πολέμιοι πιστεύσειαν
ἡ ἀνοχᾶς ἡ σπουδᾶς ἡ συνθήκας περὶ εἰρήνης;
tίνι δ' ἄν μᾶλλον ἡ τῶ νομίῳ σύμμαχοι ἔθελοιεν
γίγνεσθαι; τῷ δ' ἄν μᾶλλον οἱ σύμμαχοι πιστεύ-
σειαν ἡ ἡγεμονίαν ἡ φρουραρχίαν ἡ πόλεις; τίνα
δ' ἄν τις εὐεργετήσας ὑπολάβοι χάριν κομιεῖσθαι
μᾶλλον ἡ τὸν νόμιμον; τῇ τίνα μᾶλλον ἄν τις
eὐεργετήσειεν ἢ παρ' οὐ χάριν ἀπολύψεσθαι
νομίζει; τῷ δ' ἄν τις βούλοιτο μᾶλλον φίλος εἶναι
ἡ τῷ τοιοῦτῳ ἡ τῷ ἦττον ἐχθρός; τῷ δ' ἄν τις
ἡττον πολεμήσειεν ἡ ὁ μάλιστα μὲν φίλος εἶναι
βούλοιτο, ἡκίστα δ' ἐχθρός καὶ ὁ πλείστοι μὲν
φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι βούλοιντο εἶναι, ἐλάχιστοι
d' ἐχθροὶ καὶ πολέμιοι;

Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὑ Ἰππία, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀποδείκνυμαι
νόμιμον τε καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι. σὺ δ' εἰ τάναντία
γιγνώσκεις, δίδασκε.

Καὶ ὁ Ἰππίας, Ἀλλὰ μὰ τὸν Δῖ, ἔφη, ὡς Ὁκρατεῖ,
οὖ μοι δοκῶ τάναντία γιγνώσκειν ὁς
eἰρήνας περὶ τοῦ δικαίου.

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they may obey the laws. For those cities whose citizens abide by them prove strongest and enjoy most happiness; but without agreement no city can be made a good city, no house can be made a prosperous house. And how is the individual citizen less likely 17 to incur penalties from the state, and more certain to gain honour than by obeying the laws? How less likely to be defeated in the courts or more certain to win? Whom would anyone rather trust as guardian of his money or sons or daughters? Whom would the whole city think more trustworthy than the man of lawful conduct? From whom would parents or kinsfolk or servants or friends or fellow-citizens or strangers more surely get their just rights? Whom would enemies rather trust in the matter of a truce or treaty or terms of peace? Whom would men rather choose for an ally? And to whom would allies rather entrust leadership or command of a garrison, or cities? Whom would anyone more confidently expect to show gratitude for benefits received? Or whom would one rather benefit than him from whom he thinks he will receive due gratitude? Whose friendship would anyone desire, or whose enmity would he avoid more earnestly? Whom would anyone less willingly make war on than him whose friendship he covets and whose enmity he is fain to avoid, who attracts the most friends and allies, and the fewest opponents and enemies?

“So, Hippias, I declare lawful and just to be the 18 same thing. If you are of the contrary opinion, tell me.”

“Upon my word, Socrates,” answered Hippias, “I don’t think my opinion is contrary to what you have said about Justice.”

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'Αγράφους δὲ τινας οἴσθα, ἔφη, ὦ Ἰππία, νόμους
Τοὺς γὰ' ἐν πάσῃ, ἔφη, χώρα κατὰ ταύτα νομίζο-
Δένους.
'Εχως ἄν οὖν εἴπειν, ἔφη, ὅτι οἱ ἄνθρωποι
Αὐτοὺς ἔθεντο;
Καὶ πῶς ἄν, ἔφη, οί γε οὔτε συνελθεῖν ἄπαντες
Ἄν δυνηθεῖεν οὔτε ὁμόφωνοι εἴσι;
Τίνας οὖν, ἔφη, νομίζεις τεθεικέναι τοὺς νόμους
Τούτους;
'Εγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, θεοὺς οἴμα τοὺς νόμους τούτους
Τοῖς ἄνθρωποις θείαι· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ πᾶσιν
Ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται θεοὺς σέβειν.
20 Ὥνκοῦν καὶ γονέας τιμᾶν πανταχοῦ νομίζεται;
Καὶ τούτο, ἔφη.
Ὡνκοῦν καὶ μήτε γονέας παισὶ μίγνυσθαι μήτε
Παιδάς γονεύσιν;
Ὡνκέτι μοι δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὗτος θεοῦ
Νόμος εἶναι.
Τί δή; ἔφη.
'Ὅτι, ἔφη, αἰσθάνομαι τινας παραβαινοντας
Αὐτον.
21 Καὶ γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά, ἔφη, παρανομοῦσιν·
Ἀλλὰ δίκην γέ τοι διδάσκων οἱ παραβαίνοντες
Τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κειμένους νόμους, ἢν οὔδενι
Τρόπῳ δυνατῶν ἄνθρωπων διαφυγεῖν, ὡσπερ τοὺς
Ὑπ' ἄνθρωπων κειμένους νόμους ἐνοι παραβαί-
Νοντες διαφεύγουσι τὸ δίκην διδόναι, οἱ μὲν λαν-
Θάνοντες, οἱ δὲ βιαζόμενοι.
22 Καὶ ποίαν, ἔφη, δίκην, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὔ δύναται
Διαφεύγειν γονεῖς τε παισὶ καὶ παιδες γονεύσι
Μυγυμένοι.
MEMORABILIA, IV. iv. 19-22

"Do you know what is meant by 'unwritten laws,' 19 Hippias?"
"Yes, those that are uniformly observed in every country."
"Could you say that men made them?"
"Nay, how could that be, seeing that they cannot all meet together and do not speak the same language?"
"Then by whom have these laws been made, do you suppose?"
"I think that the gods made these laws for men. For among all men the first law is to fear the gods."
"Is not the duty of honouring parents another 20 universal law?"
"Yes, that is another."
"And that parents shall not have sexual intercourse with their children nor children with their parents?" 1
"No, I don't think that is a law of God."
"Why so?"
"Because I notice that some transgress it."
"Yes, and they do many other things contrary to 21 the laws. But surely the transgressors of the laws ordained by the gods pay a penalty that a man can in no wise escape, as some, when they transgress the laws ordained by man, escape punishment, either by concealment or by violence."
"And pray what sort of penalty is it, Socrates, 22 that may not be avoided by parents and children who have intercourse with one another?"

1 Cyropædia, v. i. 10.
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Τὴν μεγίστην νὴ Δή, ἔφη: τί γὰρ ἂν μείζον πάθοιεν ἀνθρωποὶ τεκνοποιούμενοι τοῦ κακῶς τεκνοποιεῖσθαι;

23 Πῶς ἔδω, ἔφη, κακῶς οὕτω τεκνοποιοῦνται, οὔς γε οὐδὲν κωλύει ἀγαθοὺς αὐτοὺς οὕτως εξ ἀγαθῶν παιδοποιεῖσθαι;

"Ὅτι νὴ Δή, ἔφη, οὐ μόνον ἀγαθοὺς δεὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἀλλήλων παιδοποιούμενοι εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμαζόντας τοῖς σώμασιν. Ἡ δοκεῖ σοι ὁμοια τὰ σπέρματα εἶναι τὰ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων τοῖς τῶν μήπω ἀκμαζόντων ἢ τῶν παρηκμακότων;

Ἀλλὰ μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη, οὐκ εἰκὸς ὁμοια εἶναι. Πότερα οὖν, ἔφη, βελτίω;

Δῆλον ὅτι, ἔφη, τὰ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων.

Τὰ τῶν μὴ ἀκμαζόντων ἁρὰ οὐ σπουδαία; Οὐκ εἰκὸς μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν οὕτως γε οὐ δεῖ παιδοποιεῖσθαι; Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη.

Οὐκοῦν οἱ γε οὕτω παιδοποιούμενοι ὡς οὐ δεῖ παιδοποιοῦνται;

"Εμοις ἔδωκε, ἔφη.

Τίνες οὖν ἄλλοι, ἔφη, κακῶς ἂν παιδοποιοῦντο, εἶ γε ηὐ οὕτωι;

"Ομογνώμων σοι, ἔφη, καὶ τοῦτο.

24 Τί δὲ; τοὺς εὖ ποιοῦντας ἀντενεργετεῖν οὐ πανταχοῦ νόμιμῳ ἔστι;

Νόμιμον, ἔφη: παραβαίνεται δὲ καὶ τοῦτο.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ οἱ τοῦτο παραβαίνοντες δίκην δίδοσιν φίλων μὲν ἀγαθῶν ἔρημοι γνώμενοι, τοὺς δὲ μισοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς ἀναγκαζόμενοι διώκειν ἢ οὔχ οἱ μὲν εὖ ποιοῦντες τοὺς χρωμένους ἑαυτοῖς.
"The greatest, of course. For what greater penalty can men incur when they beget children than begetting them badly?"

"How do they beget children badly then, if, as 23 may well happen, the fathers are good men and the mothers good women?"

"Surely because it is not enough that the two parents should be good. They must also be in full bodily vigour: unless you suppose that those who are in full vigour are no more efficient as parents than those who have not yet reached that condition or have passed it."

"Of course that is unlikely."

"Which are the better then?"

"Those who are in full vigour, clearly."

"Consequently those who are not in full vigour are not competent to become parents?"

"It is improbable, of course."

"In that case then, they ought not to have children?"

"Certainly not."

"Therefore those who produce children in such circumstances produce them wrongly."

"I think so."

"Who then will be bad fathers and mothers, if not they?"

"I agree with you there too."

"Again, is not the duty of requiting benefits universally recognised by law?"

"Yes, but this law too is broken."

"Then does not a man pay forfeit for the breach of that law too, in the gradual loss of good friends and the necessity of hunting those who hate him? Or is it not true that, whereas those who benefit an
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άγαθοι φίλοι εἰσίν, οί δὲ μὴ ἀντευργετοῦντες τοὺς τοιούτους διὰ μὲν τὴν ἀχαριστίαν μισοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, διὰ δὲ τὸ μάλιστα λυσιτέλειν τοῖς τοιούτοις χρῆσθαι τούτους μάλιστα διώκουσιν;

Νὴ τὸν Δῆ', ὁ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, θεῖος ταῦτα πάντα ἔοικε· τὸ γὰρ τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς τοῖς παραβαίνουσι τὰς τιμωρίας ἔχειν βελτίωνος ἢ κατ' ἀνθρώπων νομοθέτου δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι.

25 Πότερον οὖν, ὧν Ἰππία, τοὺς θεοὺς ἦγη τὰ δίκαια νομοθετεῖν ἡ ἄλλα τῶν δικαίων;

Ὅπερ ἄλλα μὰ Δῆ', ἔφη· σχολῇ γὰρ ἀν ἄλλους γέ τις τὰ δίκαια νομοθέτησειν εἰ μὴ θεός.

Καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄρα, ὧν Ἰππία, τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον τε καὶ νόμιμον εἶναι ἀρέσκει.

Τοιαῦτα λέγων τε καὶ πράττων δικαιοτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς πλησιάζοντας.

V. Ἡ Ὀξ de καὶ πρακτικωτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς συνόντας ἑαυτῷ, νῦν αὐ τοῦτο λέξω. νομίζων γὰρ ἐγκράτειαν ὑπάρχειν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι τῷ μέλλοντι καλὸν τὶ πράξειν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸς φανερὸς ἦν τοῖς συνούσις ἡσυχίας αὐτὸν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπειτα διαλεγόμενον προετέρω πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς συνόντας πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν. ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀρετὴν χρησίμων αὐτὸς τε διετέλει μεμνημένος καὶ τοὺς συνόντας πάντας ὑπομιμήσκων οἶδα δὲ ποτε αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς Εὐθύδημον περὶ ἐγκρατείας τοιάδε διαλεχθέντα:

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὃ Εὐθύδημα, ἄρα καλὸν καὶ μεγαλεῖον νομίζεις εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ πόλει κτῆμα ἔλευθερίαν;

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acquaintance are good friends to him, he is hated by
them for his ingratitude, if he makes no return,
and then, because it is most profitable to enjoy the
acquaintance of such men, he hunts them most
assiduously?"

"Assuredly, Socrates, all this does suggest the work
of the gods. For laws that involve in themselves
punishment meet for those who break them, must,
I think, be framed by a better legislator than man."

"Then, Hippias, do you think that the gods 25
ordain what is just or what is otherwise?"

"Not what is otherwise—of course not; for if a
god ordains not that which is just, surely no other
legislator can do so."

"Consequently, Hippias, the gods too accept the
identification of just and lawful."

By such words and actions he encouraged Justice
in those who resorted to his company.

V. He did also try to make his companions
efficient in affairs, as I will now show. For holding
that it is good for anyone who means to do honourable
work to have self-control, he made it clear to
his companions, in the first place, that he had been
assiduous in self-discipline; more over, in his con-
versation he exhorted his companions to cultivate
self-control above all things. Thus he bore in mind
continually the aids to virtue, and put all his
companions in mind of them. I recall in particular
the substance of a conversation that he once had
with Euthydemus on self-control.

"Tell me, Euthydemus," he said, "do you think
that freedom is a noble and splendid possession both
for individuals and for communities?"

1 Cyropaedia, VIII. i. 32.
'Ως οἶον τέ γε μάλιστα, ἑφη.

3 Ὅστις οὖν ἄρχεται ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ τοῦ σῶματος ἡδονῶν καὶ διὰ ταύτας μὴ δύναται πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα, νομίζεις τούτον ἐλευθέρον εἶναι;

'Ἡκιστα, ἑφη.

'Ισως γὰρ ἐλευθέριον φαίνεται σοι τὸ πράττειν τὰ βέλτιστα, εἴτε τὸ ἐχεῖν τοὺς κωλύσοντας τὰ τοιαύτα ποιεῖν ἀνελευθέρον νομίζεις;

Παντάπασι γ', ἑφη.

4 Παντάπασιν ἄρα σοι δοκούσιν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς ἀνελευθέροι εἶναι;

Νὴ τὸν Δί' εἰκότως.

Πότερα δὲ σοι δοκούσιν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς κωλύσθαι μόνον τὰ κάλλιστα πράττειν ἢ καὶ ἀναγκάζεσθαι τὰ αἰσχρά ποιεῖν;

Οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔμοιγ', ἑφη, δοκοῦσι ταύτα ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἢ ἐκεῖνα κωλύσθαι.

5 Ποιόν τὸν οὖς δεσπότας ἡγῇ τοὺς τὰ μὲν ἄριστα κωλύσθαι, τὰ δὲ κάκιστα ἀναγκάζοντας;

'Ως δυνατὸν νὴ Δί', ἑφη, κακίστους.

Δουλείαν δὲ ποίαν κακίστην νομίζεις εἶναι;

'Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἑφη, τὴν παρὰ τοῖς κακίστοις δεσπόταις.

Τὴν κακίστην ἄρα δουλείαν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς δουλεύονσιν;

'Εμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἑφη.

6 Σοφίαν δὲ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἀπεργοῦσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ ἀκρασία εἰς τούν- αντίον αὐτοῦς ἐμβάλλειν; ἢ οὐ δοκεῖ σοι προσέ- χειν τε τοῖς ὠφελοῦσι καὶ καταμανθάνειν αὐτὰ κωλύειν ἀφέλκουσα ἐπὶ τὰ ήδέα καὶ πολλάκις αἰσθανομένους τῶν ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ τῶν κακῶν.
“Yes, I think it is, in the highest degree.”
“Then do you think that the man is free who is ruled by bodily pleasures and is unable to do what is best because of them?”
“By no means.”
“Possibly, in fact, to do what is best appears to you to be freedom, and so you think that to have masters who will prevent such activity is bondage?”
“I am sure of it.”
“You feel sure then that the incontinent are bond slaves?”
“Of course, naturally.”
“And do you think that the incontinent are merely prevented from doing what is most honourable, or are also forced to do what is most dishonourable?”
“I think that they are forced to do that just as much as they are prevented from doing the other.”
“What sort of masters are they, in your opinion, who prevent the best and enforce the worst?”
“The worst possible, of course.”
“And what sort of slavery do you believe to be the worst?”
“Slavery to the worst masters, I think.”
“The worst slavery, therefore, is the slavery endured by the incontinent?”
“I think so.”
“As for Wisdom, the greatest blessing, does not incontinence exclude it and drive men to the opposite? Or don’t you think that incontinence prevents them from attending to useful things and understanding them, by drawing them away to things pleasant, and often so stuns their perception
ἐκπλήξασα ποιεῖν τὸ χείρον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίωνος αἴρεῖσθαι;

7 Δίγυνται τοῦτ, ἔφη.
Σωφροσύνης δὲ, ὁ Εὐθύδημε, τίνι ἄν φαίημεν ἦττον ἢ τῷ ἀκρατεί προσήκειν; αὐτὰ γὰρ δήπον τὰ ἑναντία σωφροσύνης καὶ ἀκρασίας ἐργα ἐστίν.
'Ομολογῶ καὶ τούτο, ἔφη.
Τοῦ δ’ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὅπν προσήκει οἷεὶ τι κωλυτικῶτερον εἶναι ἀκρασίας;
Οὐκων ἔγγοι', ἔφη.
Τοῦ δὲ ἀντὶ τῶν ὄφελοντων τὰ βλάπτοντα προαιρεῖσθαι ποιοῦντος καὶ τοῦτων μὲν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἐκείνων δὲ ἀμελεῖν· πείθοντος καὶ τοῖς σωφρονοῦσι τὰ ἑναντία ποιεῖν ἀναγκαζόντος οἷεὶ τι ἀνθρώπω κάκιον εἶναι;
Οὐδέν, ἔφη.

8 Οὐκουν τὴν ἐγκράτειαν τῶν ἑναντίων ἢ τὴν ἀκρασίαν εἰκὸς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἰτίαν εἶναι;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.
Οὐκουν καὶ τῶν ἑναντίων τὸ αἰτίον εἰκὸς ἀριστον εἶναι;
Εἰκὸς γὰρ, ἔφη.
'Εσικεν ἀρ’, ἔφη, ὁ Εὐθύδημε, ἀριστον ἀνθρώπω ἐγκράτεια εἶναι;
Εἰκότως γὰρ, ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτες.

9 'Εσκεινυ δὲ, ὁ Εὐθύδημε, ἥδη πώποτε ἐνεθυμήθης;
Ποίων; ἔφη.
'Οτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ἥδεα, ἔφη ἀπερ μόνα δοκεῖ ἡ ἀκρασία τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄγειν, αὐτὴ μὲν οὐ δύναται ἄγειν, ἢ δ’ ἐγκράτεια πάντων μᾶλιστα ἥδεσθαι ποιεῖ.
MEMORABILIA, IV. v. 6-9

of good and evil that they choose the worse instead of the better?"
"That does happen."
"With Prudence, Euthydemus, who, shall we say, has less to do than the incontinent? For I presume that the actions prompted by prudence and incontinence are exact opposites?"
"I agree with that too."
"To caring for what is right is there any stronger hindrance, do you think, than incontinence?"
"Indeed I do not."
"And do you think there can be aught worse for a man than that which causes him to choose the harmful rather than the useful, and persuades him to care for the one and to be careless of the other, and forces him to do the opposite of what prudence dictates?"
"Nothing."
"And is it not likely that self-control causes actions the opposite of those that are due to incontinence?"
"Certainly."
"Then is not the cause of the opposite actions presumably a very great blessing?"
"Yes, presumably."
"Consequently we may presume, Euthydemus, that self-control is a very great blessing to a man?"
"We may presume so, Socrates."
"Has it ever occurred to you, Euthydemus—?"
"What?"
"That though pleasure is the one and only goal to which incontinence is thought to lead men, she herself cannot bring them to it, whereas nothing produces pleasure so surely as self-control?"
Πῶς; ἔφη.

"Ωσπέρ ἡ μὲν ἀκρασία οὐκ ἔδωσα καρτερεῖν οὔτε λιμον οὔτε δίψαιν οὔτε ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμίαν οὔτε ἀγρυπνίαν, δι' ὅν μόνων ἔστιν ἡδέως μὲν φαγεῖν τε καὶ πιεῖν καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι, ἡδέως δ' ἀναπαύσασθαι τε καὶ κοιμηθῆναι, καὶ περιμενάντας καὶ ἀνασχομένους, ἔως ἂν ταῦτα ὡς ἔν ἡδίστα γένηται, κωλύει τοῖς ἀναγκαιότατοις τε καὶ συνεχεστάτοις ἀξιολόγως ἡδεσθαι: ἡ δ' ἐγκρατεια μόνη ποιούσα καρτερεῖν τὰ εἰρημένα μόνη καὶ ἡδεσθαι ποιεῖ αξίως μνήμης ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις.

Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

10 Ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦ μαθεῖν τι καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῦ ἑπιμεληθῆναι τῶν τοιούτων τινός, δι' ὅν ἄν τις καὶ τὸ ἐαυτοῦ σῶμα καλὸς διοικήσει καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ οἶκον καλῶς οἰκονομήσει καὶ φίλος καὶ πόλει ὠφέλιμος γένοιτο καὶ ἔχθροις κρατήσειν, ἀφ' ὅν οὐ μόνον ὠφέλεια, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡδοναὶ μέγισται γίγνονται, οἱ μὲν ἐγκρατεῖς ἀπολαύσωσι πράττοντες αὐτά, οἱ δ' ἀκρατεῖς οὐδενὸς μετέχουσι. τῷ γὰρ ἂν ἢττον φησαίμεν τῶν τοιούτων προσήκειν ἤ ὡ ἡκιστα ἐξεστὶ ταῦτα πράττειν, κατεχομένῳ ἐπὶ τῷ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰς ἐγγυτάτω ἡδονάς;

11 Καὶ ὁ Εὐθύδημος, Δοκεῖς μοι, ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτης, λέγειν, ὡς ἀνδρὶ ἢττοι τῶν διὰ τοῦ σῶματος ἡδονῶν πάμπαν οὐδεμίας ἀρετῆς προσήκει.

Τί γὰρ διαφέρει, ἔφη, ὁ Εὐθύδημε, ἀνθρωπός ἀκρατῆς θηρίου τοῦ ἀμαθεστάτου; ὅστις γὰρ τὰ μὲν κράτιστα μὴ σκοπεῖ, τὰ ἡδίστα δ' ἐκ παντὸς
“How so?”

“Incontinence will not let them endure hunger or thirst or desire or lack of sleep, which are the sole causes of pleasure in eating and drinking and sexual indulgence, and in resting and sleeping, after a time of waiting and resistance until the moment comes when these will give the greatest possible satisfaction; and thus she prevents them from experiencing any pleasure worthy to be mentioned in the most elementary and recurrent forms of enjoyment. But self-control alone causes them to endure the sufferings I have named, and therefore she alone causes them to experience any pleasure worth mentioning in such enjoyments.”

“What you say is entirely true.”

“Moreover, the delights of learning something good and excellent, and of studying some of the means whereby a man knows how to regulate his body well and manage his household successfully, to be useful to his friends and city and to defeat his enemies—knowledge that yields not only very great benefits but very great pleasures—these are the delights of the self-controlled; but the incontinent have no part in them. For who, should we say, has less concern with these than he who has no power of cultivating them because all his serious purposes are centred in the pleasures that lie nearest?”

“Socrates,” said Euthydemus, “I think you mean that he who is at the mercy of the bodily pleasures has no concern whatever with virtue in any form.”

“Yes, Euthydemus; for how can an incontinent man be any better than the dullest beast? How can he who fails to consider the things that matter most, and strives by every means to do the things
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tró̂poû ξητεί ποιείν, τί ἀν διαφέροι τῶν ἀφρονε- στάτων βοσκημάτων; ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐγκρατείσι μόνοις ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν τὰ κράτιστα τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ λόγω καὶ ἔργῳ διαλέγοντας κατὰ γένη τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ προαιρεῖσθαι, τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἄπεχεσθαι.

12 Καὶ οὖτως ἔφη ἀρίστους τε καὶ εὐδαιμονεστά- τους ἀνδρας γίγνεσθαι καὶ διαλέγεσθαι δυνατώτα- τους. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τὸ διαλέγεσθαι όνομασθήναι ἐκ τοῦ συνόντας κοινῆ βουλεύεσθαι διαλέγοντας κατὰ γένη τὰ πράγματα. δὲ οὖν πειράσθαι ὅτι μάλιστα πρὸς τοῦτο ἑαυτὸν ἐτοιμὸν παρασκευά- ξειν καὶ τοῦτον μάλιστα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἕκ τοῦτον γὰρ γίγνεσθαι ἀνδρας ἀρίστους τε καὶ ἡγεμονικω- τάτους καὶ διαλεκτικωτάτους.

VI. Ὡς δὲ καὶ διαλεκτικωτέρους ἐποίει τοὺς συνόντας, πειράσομαι καὶ τοῦτο λέγειν. Σωκρά- της γὰρ τοὺς μὲν εἰδότας, τί ἐκαστὸν εἷ ἑ τῶν ὄντων, ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄν εἴη γεγεῖσθαι δύνασθαι τοὺς δὲ μὴ εἰδότας οὐδὲν ἔφη θαυμασ- τόν εἶναι αὐτοὺς τε σφάλλεσθαι καὶ ἄλλους σφάλλειν ὃν ἔνεκα σκοπῶν σὺν τοῖς συνούσι, τί ἐκαστὸν εἷ ἑ τῶν ὄντων, οὐδέποτε ἔληγε.

Πάντα μὲν οὖν ἤ διωρίζετο πολὺ ἔργον ἄν εἶ ἐνεξελθεῖν ἐν ὁσοὶ δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐπισκέψεως δηλώσειν οἴμαι, τοσαύτα λέξω.

2 Πρῶτον δὲ περὶ εὐσέβειας ὡδὲ πῶς ἐσκόπεῖ.
Εἰπὲ μοι, ἔφη, ὡ Εὐθύδημε, ποιῶν τι νομίζεις εὐσέβειαν εἶναι;
Καὶ ὃς, Κάλλιστον νη Δὗ, ἔφη.
Ἐχεις οὖν εἶπεῖν, ὅποιος τις ὁ εὐσέβης ἐστίν;
Εἰ μοι μὲν δοκεῖ, ἔφη, ὡ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῶν.
that are most pleasant, be better than the stupidest of creatures? No, only the self-controlled have power to consider the things that matter most, and, sorting them out after their kind, by word and deed alike to prefer the good and reject the evil.”

And thus, he said, men become supremely good and happy and skilled in discussion. The very word “discussion,” according to him, owes its name to the practice of meeting together for common deliberation, sorting, discussing things after their kind: and therefore one should be ready and prepared for this and be zealous for it; for it makes for excellence, leadership and skill in discussion.

VI. I will try also to show how he encouraged his companions to become skilled in discussion. Socrates held that those who know what any given thing is can also expound it to others; on the other hand, those who do not know are misled themselves and mislead others. For this reason he never gave up considering with his companions what any given thing is.

To go through all his definitions would be an arduous task. I will say only enough to indicate his method of analysis.

His analysis of Piety—to take that first—was more or less as follows:

Tell me, Euthydemus, what sort of thing is Piety, in your opinion?”

“A very excellent thing, to be sure,” he replied.

“Can you say what sort of man is pious?”

“He who worships the gods, I think.”

1 The etymological point, διαλέγω, “classify,” implying διαλέγομαι, “discuss,” is lost in the English.
"Εξεστι δὲ ὅν ἃν τις βούληται τρόπον τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν;
Οὐκ ἄλλα νόμοι εἰσί, καθ' οὖς δεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν.
3 Ὅμων ὁ τοὺς νόμους τοῦτους εἴδως εἰδεῖ ᾃν, ὡς δεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν;
Οἴμαι ἐγώγ', ἐφη.
'Αρ' οὖν ὁ εἴδως, ὃς δεῖ τοὺς θεοὺς τιμᾶν, οὐκ ἄλλως οἴεται δεῖν τὸ τούτο ποιεῖν ἢ ὡς οἴδεν;
Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἐφη.
"Ἀλλως δὲ τις θεοὺς τιμᾶ ἢ ὡς οἴεται δεῖν;
4 Ὅμων Ὅμων, ἐφη.
"Ο ἄρα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νόμιμα εἰδῶς νομίμως ἃν τοὺς θεοὺς τιμῆν;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.
Οὐκοὺν ὅ γε νομίμως τιμῶν ὡς δεῖ τιμᾶ;
Πῶς γὰρ οὖν;
"Ο δὲ γε ὡς δεῖ τιμῶν εὐσεβῆς ἐστὶ;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.
"Ο ἄρα τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς νόμιμα εἰδῶς ὁρθῶς ἃν ἡμῖν εὐσεβῆς ὁρισμένος εἰη;
'Εμοὶ γοῦν, ἐφη, δοκεῖ.
5 Ἀνθρώποις δὲ ἄρα ἔξεστιν ὅν ἃν τις τρόπον βούληται χρῆσθαι;
Οὐκ ἄλλα καὶ περὶ τούτους ἐστὶ 1 νόμιμα. 2
Οὐκοὖν οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα χρώμενοι ἄλληλοις ὡς δεῖ χρῶμεται;
Πῶς γὰρ οὖν;

1 ἐστι Hirschig: ὁ εἴδως & Sauppe with MSS. and Stobaeus.
2 After νόμιμα Sauppe has καθ' & δεῖ πρὸς ἄλληλους χρῆσθαι, νόμιμος ἃν εἶθ with MSS. Stobaeus omits the last three words, and Gilbert regards all after νόμιμα as spurious.

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"May a man worship the gods according to his own will and pleasure?"

"No, there are laws to be observed in worshipping the gods!"

"Then will not he who knows these laws know how he must worship the gods?"

"I think so."

"Then does he who knows how he must worship the gods think that he must do so according to his knowledge, and not otherwise?"

"He does indeed."

"And does everyone worship the gods as he thinks he ought, and not otherwise?"

"I think so."

"Then will he who knows what is lawful about the gods worship the gods lawfully?"

"Certainly."

"Then does not he who worships lawfully worship as he ought?"

"Of course."

"Yes, but he who worships as he ought is pious?"

"Certainly."

"Shall we therefore rightly define the pious man as one who knows what is lawful concerning the gods?"

"I at any rate think so."

"In dealing with men, again, may one do as one chooses?"

"No, in the case of men too there are laws of conduct."

"Then do not those who observe them in their dealings with one another behave as they ought?"

"Of course."
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Οὐκοῦν οἶ γε ὡς δεῖ χρόμενοι καλῶς χρῶνται; Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν οἶ γε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καλῶς χρόμενοι καλῶς πράττουσι τάνθρωπεια πράγματα;
Εἰκός γ’, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν οἰ τοῖς νόμοις πειθόμενοι δίκαια οὕτωι ποιοῦσι;
Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

6 Δίκαια δὲ, ἐφη, οἷσθα ὅποια καλεῖται;
"Α οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν, ἐφη.
Οἱ ἄρα ποιοῦντες ἃ οἱ νόμοι κελεύονσι δίκαια τε ποιοῦσι καὶ ἃ δεῖ;
Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;
Οὐκοῦν οἶ γε τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες δίκαιοι εἰσίν;
Οἰμαι ἔγωγ’, ἐφη.
Οἰεὶ οὖν τινὰς πειθέσθαι τοῖς νόμοις μὴ εἰδότας ἃ οἱ νόμοι κελεύουσιν;
Οὐκ ἔγωγ’, ἐφη.
Εἰδότας δὲ ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν οἶεὶ τινὰς οὔεσθαι δεῖν μὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖν;
Οὐκ οἰμαι, ἐφη.
Οἰσθα δὲ τινὰς ἄλλα ποιοῦντας ἢ ἃ οὖνται δεῖν;
Οὐκ ἔγωγ’, ἐφη.
Οἱ ἄρα τὰ περὶ ἀνθρώπους νόμιμα εἰδότες οὕτωι τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦσι;
Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.
Οὐκοῦν οἶ γε τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦντες δίκαιοι εἰσί;
Τίνες γὰρ ἄλλοι; ἐφη.
Ὁρθῶς ἂν ποτε ἄρα ὀρίζοιμεθα ὀρίζομενοι δικαίους εἰναι τοὺς εἰδότας τὰ περὶ ἀνθρώπους νόμιμα;

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“And do not they who behave as they ought behave well?”
“Certainly.”
“And do not they who behave well towards men act well in human affairs?”
“Presumably.”
“And do not those who obey the laws do what is just?”
“Certainly.”
“Do you know what sort of things are called just?”
“The things that the laws command.”
“Consequently those who do what the laws command do both what is just and what they must do?”
“Of course.”
“And are not they who do what is just, just men?”
“I think so.”
“Do you think then, that any obey the laws without knowing what the laws command?”
“I do not.”
“And knowing what they must do, do you suppose that any think they must not do it?”
“I don’t think so.”
“Do you know of any who do, not what they think they must do, but something else?”
“I do not.”
“Consequently those who know what is lawful concerning men do what is just?”
“Certainly.”
“But are not they who do what is just, just men?”
“Exactly.”
“At last, then, we may rightly define just men as those who know best what is just concerning men.”
Εμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἐφη.

7 Σοφίαν δὲ τὶ ἂν φήσαιμεν εἶναι; εἰπέ μοι, πότερα σοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ σοφοὶ ἃ ἐπίστανται, ταῦτα σοφοὶ εἶναι ἢ εἰσὶν τινες ἢ μὴ ἐπίστανται σοφοὶ;

"Α ἐπίστανται δὴλον ὅτι, ἐφη. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τις ἂν γε μὴ ἐπίστατο, ταῦτα σοφὸς εἶνη;

"Ἀρ' οὖν οἱ σοφοὶ ἐπιστήμησις σοφοὶ εἶσι;

Τίνι γὰρ ἂν, ἐφη, ἄλλω τις εἰ ἄλλῳ σοφὸς εἶ γε μὴ ἐπιστήμης;

"Ἀλλο δὲ τι σοφίαν οἶει εἶναι ἢ ὡστὸ σοφοὶ εἰσιν;

Οὐκ ἔγγος.

"Επιστήμη ἃρα σοφία ἐστίν;

"Εμοιγε δοκεῖ.

"Ἀρ' οὖν δοκεῖ σοι ἀνθρώπῳ δυναῖν εἶναι τὰ ὅντα πάντα ἐπιστασθαί;

Οὔδὲ μὰ Δί' ἐμοιγε πολλοστὸν μέρος αὐτῶν.

Πάντα μὲν ἁρα σοφῶν οὐχ οἶον τε ἀνθρώποι εἰναι;

Μὰ Δί' οὖ δῆτα, ἐφη.

"Ο ἃρα ἐπίσταται ἐκαστος, τοῦτο καὶ σοφὸς ἐστίν;

"Γεμοιγε δοκεῖ.

8 "Αρ' οὖν, ὡς Εὐθύδημε, καὶ τὰ γαθὸν οὕτω ζητητέου ἐστί;

Πῶς; ἐφη.

Δοκεῖ σοι τὸ αὐτὸ πᾶσιν ὡφέλιμον εἶναι;

Οὐκ ἐμοιγε.

Τί δὲ; τὸ ἄλλῳ ὡφέλιμον οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ἐνίστε ἄλλῳ βλαβερόν εἶναι;

Καὶ μάλα, ἐφη.

"Ἀλλο δ' ἂν τι φαίης ἄγαθὸν εἶναι ἢ τὸ ὡφέλιμον;

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"I think so."

"And what of Wisdom? How shall we describe it? Tell me, does it seem to you that the wise are wise about what they know, or are some wise about what they do not know?"

"About what they know, obviously; for how can a man be wise about the things he doesn't know?"

"The wise, then, are wise by knowledge?"

"How else can a man be wise if not by knowledge?"

"Do you think that wisdom is anything but that by which men are wise?"

"No."

"It follows that Wisdom is Knowledge?"

"I think so."

"Then do you think it possible for a man to know all things?"

"Of course not—nor even a fraction of them."

"So an all-wise man is an impossibility?"

"Of course, of course."

"Consequently everyone is wise just in so far as he knows?"

"I think so."

"Now to seek the Good, Euthydemus: is this the way?"

"What do you mean?"

"Does it seem to you that the same thing is useful to everyone?"

"No."

"In fact, what is useful to one may sometimes be hurtful to another, don't you think?"

"Assuredly."

"Should you call anything good except what is useful?"
Ouí ἐγωγ’, ἔφη.
Τὸ ἄρα ὁφέλιμον ἁγαθόν ἐστὶν ὅτῳ ἄν ὁφέλιμον ἦ; Δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη.
9 Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἔχοιμεν ἀν πῶς ἄλλως εἰπεῖν ἢ ἀνομάξεις καλὸν ἢ σῶμα ἢ σκεῦς ἢ ἄλλ’ ὅτιον, ὅ οἰσθα πρὸς πάντα καλὸν ὡν;
Μὰ Δί’ οὐκ ἐγωγ’, ἔφη.
Ἄρ’ οὖν πρὸς ὅ ἄν ἐκαστὸν χρήσιμον ἦ, πρὸς τούτο ἐκάστῳ καλῶς ἔχει χρῆσθαι;
Πάνω μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Καλὸν δὲ πρὸς ἄλλο τι ἐστὶν ἐκαστὸν ἢ πρὸς ὁ ἐκάστῳ καλῶς ἔχει χρῆσθαι;
Οὐδὲ πρὸς ἐν ἄλλο, ἔφη. Τὸ χρήσιμον ἄρα καλὸν ἐστὶ πρὸς ὅ ἄν ἦ χρήσιμον;
"Εμουγε δοκεῖ, ἔφη.
10 Αὐνδρείαν δὲ, ὁ Ἑυθύδημε, ἄρα τῶν καλῶν νομίζεις εἶναι;
Κάλλιστον μὲν οὖν ἐγωγ’, ἔφη. Χρήσιμον ἄρα οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἐλάχιστα νομίζεις τὴν ἀνδρείαν;
Νὴ Δ’’, ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ μέγιστα μὲν οὖν.
"Ἄρ’ οὖν δοκεῖ σοι πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ τε καὶ ἐπικύρων χρήσιμον εἶναι τὸ ἀγνοεῖν αὐτά;
"Ἡκιστά γ’, ἔφη.
Οἳ ἄρα μὴ φοβοῦμενοι τὰ τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι, τὶ ἐστὶν, οὐκ ἀνδρεῖοι εἰσι;
Νὴ Δ’’, ἔφη: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄν οὕτω γε τῶν τε μανομένων καὶ τῶν δειλῶν ἀνδρεῖοι εἰέν.
"No."

"Consequently what is useful is good for him to whom it is useful?"

"I think so."

"Consider the Beautiful: can we define it in any other way? Or is it possible to name a beautiful body, for instance, or vessel, or anything else that you know to be beautiful for all purposes?"

"Of course not."

"Then does the beauty in using anything consist in using it for just that purpose for which that particular thing is useful?"

"Certainly."

"And is a thing beautiful for any other purpose than that for which it is beautiful to use that particular thing?"

"For no other purpose whatever."

"The useful, then, is beautiful for any purpose for which it is useful?"

"I think so."

"Next comes Courage, Euthydemus. Do you think it a beautiful thing?"

"I prefer to say very beautiful."

"So you think Courage useful for no mean purposes?"

"Of course—or rather, for the greatest."

"Then do you think that in the pressure of terrors and dangers it is useful to be ignorant of them?"

"By no means."

"So those who feel no fear of such things because they are ignorant of them are not courageous?"

"Of course not, for in that case many madmen and cowards would be courageous."
Τί δὲ οἳ καὶ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δεδοικότες; 
"Ετι γε νη Δία, ἔφη, ἢττουν. 
'Αρ' οὖν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἐπικινδυναὶ ὄντας ἀνδρείους ἤγη εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δειλοὺς; 
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

11 Ἀγαθοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα νομίζεις ἄλλους τινὰς ἢ τοὺς δυναμένους αὐτοῖς καλῶς χρῆσθαι; 
Οὐκ ἄλλα τούτους, ἔφη. 
Κακοὺς δὲ ἄρα τοὺς οἶνους τούτους κακῶς χρῆσθαι; 
Τίνας γὰρ ἄλλους; ἔφη. 
'Αρ' οὖν ἐκαστοι χρῶνται ὡς οὖνται δειν; 
Πῶς γὰρ ἄλλως; ἔφη. 
'Αρ' οὖν οἱ μὴ δυνάμενοι καλῶς χρῆσθαι ἵσασιν, ὡς δὲ χρῆσθαι; 
Οὐ δήπου γε, ἔφη. 
Οἱ ἄρα εἰδότες, ὡς δὲ χρῆσθαι, οὐτοὶ καὶ δύνανται; 
Μόνοι γ', ἔφη. 
Τί δὲ οἳ μὴ διημαρτηκότες, ἄρα κακῶς χρῶνται τοῖς τοιούτοις; 
Οὐκ οἶμαι, ἔφη. 
Οἱ ἄρα κακῶς χρώµενοι διημαρτήκασιν; 
Εἰκός γ', ἔφη. 
Οἱ μὲν ἄρα ἐπιστάµενοι τοῖς δεινοῖς τε καὶ ἐπικινδύνοις καλῶς χρῆσθαι ἀνδρεῖοι εἰσίν, οἱ δὲ διαμαρτάνουσε τοῦτον δειλοί; 
"Ἐμοιγε δοκοῦσιν, ἔφη.

12 Βασιλείαν δὲ καὶ τυραννίδα ἄρχας μὲν ἀμφοτέρας ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, διαφέρειν δὲ ἄλληλων ἐνόμιζε.
"What of those who are afraid when there is no ground for fear?"
"Still less, of course."
"Then do you think that those who are good in the presence of terrors and dangers are courageous, and those who are bad are cowards?"
"Certainly."
"And do you think that any are good in the presence of such things, except those who can deal with them well?"
"None but these."
"And bad, except such as deal badly with them?"
"These and none others."
"Then do both classes behave as they think they must?"
"How can they behave otherwise?"
"Then do those who cannot behave well know how they must behave?"
"Surely not."
"So those who know how they must behave are just those who can?"
"Yes, only they."
"Well now, do those who are not utterly mistaken deal badly with such things?"
"I think not."
"So those who behave badly are utterly mistaken?"
"Presumably."
"It follows that those who know how to deal well with terrors and dangers are courageous, and those who utterly mistake the way are cowards?"
"That is my opinion."

Kingship and despotism, in his judgment, were both forms of government, but he held that they
τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐκόντων τε τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ κατὰ νόμους τῶν πόλεων ἄρχην βασιλείαν ἦγείτο, τὴν δὲ ἀκόντων τε καὶ μὴ κατὰ νόμους, ἀλλ’ ὅπως ὁ ἄρχων βούλοιτο, τυραννίδα. καὶ ὅπου μὲν ἐκ τῶν τὰ νόμιμα ἐπιτελοῦντων αἱ ἄρχαι καθίσταν- ται, ταῦτην μὲν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀριστοκρατίαν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, ὅπου δ’ ἐκ τιμημάτων, πλουτοκρα- τίαν, ὅπου δ’ ἐκ πάντων, δημοκρατίαν.

13 Εἰ δὲ τις αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ ἀντιλέγοι μηδὲν ἐχών σαφὲς λέγειν, ἀλλ’ ἀνευ ἀποδείξεως ἦτοι σοφώ- τερον φάσκων εἶναι δὲν αὐτὸς λέγοι ἣ πολιτικώ- τερον ἣ ἀνδρείοτερον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων, ἐπὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἐπανήγγειν ἃν πάντα τῶν λόγων ὤδε πως:

14 Φῆς σὺ ἀμείνω πολίτην εἶναι ὃν σὺ ἐπαίνεις ἡ ὅν ἐγὼ;

Φημὶ γὰρ οὖν.

Τί οὖν οὐκ ἐκεῖνο πρῶτον ἐπεσκεψάμεθα, τί ἐστιν ἐργον ἀγαθοῦ πολίτου;

Ποιῶμεν τοῦτο.

Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν χρημάτων διοικήσει κρατοῖ ἃν ὁ χρήμασιν εὑπορωτέραν τὴν πόλιν ποιών;

Πάντα μὲν οὖν, ἐφη.

Ἐν δὲ γε πολέμῳ ὁ καθυπερτέραν τῶν ἀντι- πάλων;

Πῶς γὰρ οὖ;

Ἐν δὲ πρεσβεῖά ἄρ’ ὃς ἄν φίλους ἀντὶ πολε- μίων παρασκευάζῃ;

Εἰκός γε.

Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐν δημηγορίᾳ ὁ στάσεις τε παύων καὶ ὀμόνοιαν ἐμποίον;

Ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ.
differed. For government of men with their consent and in accordance with the laws of the state was kingship; while government of unwilling subjects and not controlled by laws, but imposed by the will of the ruler, was despotism. And where the officials are chosen among those who fulfil the requirements of the laws, the constitution is an aristocracy: where rateable property is the qualification for office, you have a plutocracy: where all are eligible, a democracy.

Whenever anyone argued with him on any point without being able to make himself clear, asserting but not proving, that so and so was wiser or an abler politician or braver or what not, he would lead the whole discussion back to the definition required, much in this way:

"Do you say that your man is a better citizen than mine?"
"I do indeed."
"Then why didn't we first consider what is the function of a good citizen?"
"Let us do so."
"In financial administration, then, is not the better man he who makes the city wealthier?"
"Certainly."
"And in war he who makes her stronger than her rivals?"
"Of course."
"And on an embassy he who turns enemies into friends?"
"Presumably."
"And in debate he who puts down strife and produces harmony?"
"I think so."
Οὕτω δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπαναγομένων καὶ τοὺς ἀντιλέγουσιν αὐτοῖς φανερὸν ἐγίγνετο τάλιθες. 15 ὅπότε δὲ αὐτὸς τῇ τῷ λόγῳ διεξίοι, διὰ τῶν μᾶλλον ὀμολογουμένων ἐπορεύετο, νομίζων ταὐτὴν ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι λόγου. τουγαροῦν πολὺ μᾶλλον ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα, ὅτε λέγοι, τοὺς ἀκούοντας ὀμολογοῦντας παρέῖχε. ἕφη δὲ καὶ Ὁμηρον τῷ Ὁδυσσεῖ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ ἀσφαλῇ ρήτορα εἶναι, ὡς ἴκανὸν αὐτὸν ὅντα διὰ τῶν δοκούντων τοῖς ἀνθρώπως ἀγεῖν τοὺς λόγους.

VII. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀπλῶς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ γνώμην ἀπεφαίνετο Σωκράτης πρὸς τοὺς, ὀμιλοῦντας αὐτῷ, δοκεῖ μοι δῆλον ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων εἶναι: ὅτι δὲ καὶ τοῦ 1 αὐτάρκεις ἐν ταῖς προσηκούσαις πράξεις αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἐπεμελεῖτο, νῦν τούτῳ λέξω. πάντων μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐγὼ οἶδα μᾶλλον ἐμελεῖν αὐτῷ εἰδέναι, ὅτου τις ἐπιστήμων εἰ ἡ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὃν δὲ προσικεῖ ἀνδρὶ καλῷ κἀγαθῷ εἰδέναι, ὃ τι μὲν αὐτὸς εἰδεῖ, πάντων προθυμοτατα ἐδίδασκεν ὅτου δὲ αὐτὸς ἀπειρότερος εἰ ὧς, πρὸς τοὺς ἐπισταμένους ἦγεν αὐτοὺς. 2 ἐδίδασκε δὲ καὶ μέχρι ὅτου δέοι ἐμπειρὸν εἶναι ἐκαστὸν πράγματος τῶν ὀρθῶς πεπαιδευμένων.

Αὐτίκα γεωμετρίαν μέχρι μὲν τοῦτον ἐφὶ δέοι μανθάνειν, ἐως ἴκανός τις γένοιτο, εἰ ποτὲ δεῖσει, γήν μέτρῳ ὀρθῶς ἢ παραλαβεῖν ἢ παραδοῦναι ἢ διανεῖμαι ἢ ἐργον ἀποδείξασθαι. οὗτον δὲ τούτῳ ράδιον εἶναι μαθεῖν, ὡς τὸν προσέχοντα τὸν νῦν τῇ μετρήσει ἀμα τὴν τε γῆν ὁπόση ἐστὶν 3 εἰδέναι καὶ ὃς μετρεῖται ἐπιστάμενον ἀπιέναι. τὸ

1 τοῦ B: Sauppe omits.
By this process of leading back the argument even his adversary came to see the truth clearly. Whenever he himself argued out a question, he advanced by steps that gained general assent, holding this to be the only sure method. Accordingly, whenever he argued, he gained a greater measure of assent from his hearers than any man I have known. He said that Homer gave Odysseus the credit of being "a safe speaker" because he had a way of leading the discussion from one acknowledged truth to another.

VII. I think that I have said enough to show that Socrates stated his own opinion plainly to those who consorted with him: I will now show that he also took pains to make them independent in doing the work that they were fitted for. For I never knew a man who was so careful to discover what each of his companions knew. Whatever it befits a gentleman to know he taught most zealously, so far as his own knowledge extended; if he was not entirely familiar with a subject, he took them to those who knew. He also taught them how far a well-educated man should make himself familiar with any given subject.

For instance, he said that the study of geometry should be pursued until the student was competent to measure a parcel of land accurately in case he wanted to take over, convey or divide it, or to compute the yield; and this knowledge was so easy to acquire, that anyone who gave his mind to mensuration knew the size of the piece and carried away a knowledge of the principles of land measurement. He was

1 Odyssey, viii. 171.
XENOPHON

dε μέχρι τῶν δυσσυνέτων διαγραμμάτων γεω-
μετρίαν μανθάνειν ἀπεδοκίμαζεν. ὁ τι μὲν γὰρ
ὡφελοῦσα ταῦτα, οὐκ ἐφη ὁρὰν· καίτοι οὐκ ἄπειρος
γε αὐτῶν ἦν. ἐφη δὲ ταῦτα ἰκανὰ εἶναι ἀνθρώποιν
βίον κατατρίβειν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν τε καὶ ὡφε-
λίμων μαθημάτων ἀποκολύειν.

4 Ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἐμπείρους γίγνε-
σθαι, καὶ ταῦτας μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε
ὡραν καὶ μηνὸς καὶ ἑνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γιγνω-
σκειν ἐνεκα τοῦ 1 πορείας τε καὶ πλοῦ καὶ φυλα-
κῆς καὶ ὁσα ἄλλα ἡ νυκτὸς ἡ μηνὸς ἡ ἑνιαυτοῦ
πράττεται, πρὸς ταῦτ' ἔχειν τεκμηρίως χρήσθαι
τὰς ωρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγιγνώσκοντας. καὶ
tαῦτα δὲ ῥάδια εἶναι μαθεῖν παρὰ τε νυκτοθηρῶν
καὶ κυβερνητῶν καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν, οἷς ἐπιμελέσι

5 ταῦτα εἶδέναι. τὸ δὲ μέχρι τούτου ἀστρονομίαν
μανθάνειν, μέχρι τοῦ καὶ τὰ μῆ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ περι-
φορᾷ ὄντα καὶ τοὺς πλάνητας τε καὶ ἀσταθμη-
τους ἀστέρας γνῶναι καὶ τὰς ἀποστάσεις αὐτῶν
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τὰς περίοδους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας
αὐτῶν ζητοῦντας κατατρίβεσθαι, ἱσχυρῶς ἀπέ-
τρεπεν. ὡφελειαν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεμίαν οὐδ' ἐν
τούτω τοσ' ἐφη ὁρὰν· καίτοι οὐδὲ τούτων γε ἀνήκοος
ἡν· ἐφη δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἰκανὰ εἶναι κατατρίβειν
ἀνθρώπον βίον καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ὡφελίμων ἀπο-
κολύειν.

6 "Ολως δὲ τῶν οὐρανίων, ἦ ἐκαστὰ ὁ θεὸς μηχα-
nάται, φροντιστὴν γίγνεσθαι ἀπέτρεπεν· οὐτε
γὰρ εὐρετὰ ἀνθρώποις αὐτὰ ἐνόμιζεν εἰναι οὔτε
χαρίζεσθαι θεοῦς ἂν ἡγεῖτο τῶν ζητοῦντα ἀ ἐκείνου
σαφηνίσαι οὐκ ἐβουλήθησαν. κινδυνεύσαι δ' ἂν

1 τοῦ Β: Sauppe omits.

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against carrying the study of geometry so far as to include the more complicated figures, on the ground that he could not see the use of them. Not that he was himself unfamiliar with them, but he said that they were enough to occupy a lifetime, to the complete exclusion of many other useful studies.

Similarly he recommended them to make themselves familiar with astronomy, but only so far as to be able to find the time of night, month and year, in order to use reliable evidence when planning a journey by land or sea, or setting the watch, and in all other affairs that are done in the night or month or year, by distinguishing the times and seasons aforesaid. This knowledge, again, was easily to be had from night hunters and pilots and others who made it their business to know such things. But he strongly deprecated studying astronomy so far as to include the knowledge of bodies revolving in different courses, and of planets and comets, and wearing oneself out with the calculation of their distance from the earth, their periods of revolution and the causes of these. Of such researches, again he said that he could not see what useful purpose they served. He had indeed attended lectures on these subjects too; but these again, he said, were enough to occupy a lifetime to the complete exclusion of many useful studies.

In general, with regard to the phenomena of the heavens, he deprecated curiosity to learn how the deity contrives them: he held that their secrets could not be discovered by man, and believed that any attempt to search out what the gods had not chosen to reveal must be displeasing to them. He
ståtα μεριμνώντα
οὐδὲν ἦττον ἦ' Ἀναξαγόρας παρεφρώνησεν ὁ μέγιστον φρονήσας ἐπὶ τῷ τάς τῶν θεῶν μηχανᾶς
ἐξηγείσθαι.

7 Ἐκεῖνος γὰρ λέγων μὲν τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι πῦρ τε καὶ ἦλιον ἤγνωε, ὅτι τὸ μὲν πῦρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι
ῥαδίως καθορῶσιν, εἰς δὲ τὸν ἦλιον οὐ δύνανται
ἀντιβλέπειν καὶ ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ἦλιου καταλαμπτο-
μενοι τὰ χρώματα μελάντερα ἔχουσιν, ὧποὶ δὲ τοῦ
πυρὸς οὐ ἤγνωε δὲ καὶ ὅτι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς
φυσικῶν ἀνεν μὲν ἦλιον αὐτῆς οὐδὲν δύναται
καλῶς αὔξεσθαι, ὧποὶ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς θερμαίνομενα
πάντα ἀπόλλυται· φάσκων δὲ τὸν ἦλιον λίθον
dιάπυρον εἶναι καὶ τοῦτο ἤγνωε, ὅτι λίθος μὲν
ἐν πυρὶ δὲν οὔτε λάμπει οὔτε πολὺν χρόνον
ἀντέχει, ὃ δὲ ἦλιος τὸν πάντα χρόνον πάντων
λαμπρότατος οὖν διαμένει.

8 Ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ λογισμοὺς μαυθάνειν· καὶ τοῦ-
tων δὲ ὀμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐκέλευε φυλάττεσθαι
τὴν μάταιον πραγματείαν, μέχρι δὲ τοῦ ὕφελίμου
πάντα καὶ αὐτὸς συνεσκόπει καὶ συνδιεξῄει τοῖς
συνούσι.

9 Προέτρεπε δὲ σφόδρα καὶ ύγιείας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι
τοὺς συνόντας παρὰ τε τῶν εἰδότων μαυθάνοντας
ὀπόσα ἐνδέχοιτο καὶ ἐαυτῷ ἐκαστὸν προσέχοντα
διὰ πάντος τοῦ βίου, τὶ βρῶμα ἢ τὶ πῶμα ἢ ποῖος
πόνος συμφέροι αὐτῷ καὶ πῶς τούτοις χρώμενος
ὑγιεινότατ' ἀν διάγοι. τοῦ γὰρ οὕτω προσέχον-
tος ἐαυτῷ ἔργον ἑφη εἶναι εὐρεῖν ἱατρῶν τὰ πρὸς
ὑγίειαν συμφέροντα αὐτῷ μᾶλλον διαγγελώ-
σκοντα.

10 Εἰ δὲ τις μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην
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MEMORABILIA, IV. vii. 6-10

said that he who meddles with these matters runs the risk of losing his sanity as completely as Anaxagoras, who took an insane pride in his explanation of the divine machinery.

For that sage, in declaring the sun to be fire, 7 ignored the facts than men can look at fire without inconvenience, but cannot gaze steadily at the sun; that their skin is blackened by the sun’s rays, but not by fire. Further, he ignored the fact that sunlight is essential to the health of all vegetation, whereas if anything is heated by fire it withers. Again, when he pronounced the sun to be a red-hot stone, he ignored the fact that a stone in fire neither glows nor can resist it long, whereas the sun shines with unequalled brilliance for ever.

He also recommended the study of arithmetic. 8 But in this case as in the others he recommended avoidance of vain application; and invariably, whether theories or ascertained facts formed the subject of his conversation, he limited it to what was useful.

He also strongly urged his companions to take 9 care of their health. “You should find out all you can,” he said, “from those who know. Everyone should watch himself throughout his life, and notice what sort of meat and drink and what form of exercise suit his constitution, and how he should regulate them in order to enjoy good health. For by such attention to yourselves you can discover better than any doctor what suits your constitution.”

When anyone was in need of help that human 10
XENOPHON

σοφίαν ὡφελεῖσθαι βούλοιτο, συνεβούλευε μαντικῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. τὸν γὰρ εἰδότα, δι’ ὅν οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σημαίνουσι, οὐδέποτ’ ἐρήμων ἔφη γίγνεσθαι συμβουλὴς θεῶν.

VIII. Εἰ δὲ τις, ὅτι φάσκοντος αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμονίου ἑαυτῷ προσημαίνειν ἠ τε δεόι καὶ ἡ μη δεόι ποιεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν κατεγνώσθη θάνατος, οἴεται αὐτῶν ἐλέγχεσθαι περὶ τοῦ δαιμονίου ψευδόμενον, ἐννοησάτω πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι οὕτως ἥδη τότε πόρρῳ τῆς ἡλικίας ἦν, ὡστε εἰ καὶ μὴ τότε, οὐκ ἂν πολλῷ ὑστερον τελευτήσαι τὸν βίον ἐίτα ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀχθεινότατον τοῦ βίου καὶ ἐν ὑ πάντες τὴν διάνοιαν μειοῦνται ἀπέλιπεν, αὕτη δὲ τούτου τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ῥώμην ἐπιδειξάμενον εὐκλειαν προσεκτῆσαι τὴν τε δίκην πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἀληθέστατα καὶ ἐλευθερίωτατα καὶ δικαίωτα εἰπὼν καὶ τὴν κατάγνωσιν τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ πραότατα καὶ ἀνδρωδέστατα ἐνεγκών. ὁμολογεῖται γὰρ οὐδένα ποιῶν μνημονευόμενων ἀνθρώπων κάλλιον θάνατον ἐνεγκεῖν. ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν κρίσιν τριάκοντα ἡμέρας βιώναι διὰ τὸ Δῆλλα μὲν ἐκείνου τοῦ μηνὸς ἦναι, τοῦ δὲ νόμον μηδένα ἕαν δημοσία ἀποθνησκεῖν, ἦς ἄν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δῆλου ἐπανέλθη, καὶ τὸν χρόνον τούτον ἀπασὶ τοῖς συνήθεσι φανερὸς ἐγένετο οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον διαβιοῦσιν τὸν ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον· καὶ τοῖς τῶν ἐμπροσθεν γε πάντων ἀνθρώπων μάλιστα ἐθαυμάζετο ἐπὶ τῷ 3 εὐθύμως τε καὶ εὐκόλως ξῆν. καὶ πῶς ἄν τις κάλλιον ἢ οὕτως ἀποθάνοι; ἢ ποίος ἄν εἰηθάνατος καλλίων ἢ δυ κάλλιστα τις ἀποθάνοι; 352
wisdom was unable to give he advised him to resort to divination; for he who knew the means whereby the gods give guidance to men concerning their affairs never lacked divine counsel.

VIII. As for his claim that he was forewarned by "the deity" what he ought to do and what not to do, some may think that it must have been a delusion because he was condemned to death. But they should remember two facts. First, he had already reached such an age, that had he not died then, death must have come to him soon after. Secondly, he escaped the most irksome stage of life and the inevitable diminution of mental powers, and instead won glory by the moral strength revealed in the wonderful honesty and frankness and probity of his defence, and in the equanimity and manliness with which he bore the sentence of death.

In fact it is admitted that there is no record of a death more nobly borne. For he was forced to live for thirty days after the verdict was given, because it was the month of the Délia,¹ and the law did not allow any public execution to take place until the sacred embassy had returned from Delos. During this interval, as all his intimate acquaintances could see, he continued to live exactly as before; and, in truth, before that time he had been admired above all men for his cheerfulness and serenity. How, then, could man die more nobly? Or what death could be nobler than the death most nobly faced?

¹ See Plato, Phaedo, p. 58 b. The festival was held in the month Thargelion, our May.
ποῖος δ' ἂν γένοιτο θάνατος εὐδαιμονέστερος τοῦ καλλίστου; ἡ ποίος θεοφιλέστερος τοῦ εὐδαιμονε-στάτου; ¹

4 Δέξω δὲ καὶ ἣ 'Ερμογένους τοῦ Ἰππονίκου ἥκουσα περὶ αὐτοῦ. ἔφη γάρ, ἦδη Μελήτου γεγραμμένου αὐτὸν τὴν γραφήν, αὐτὸς ἀκούων αὐτοῦ πάντα μᾶλλον ἦ περὶ τῆς δίκης διαλεγομένου λέγειν αὐτῷ, ὡς χρή σκοπεῖν, ὦ τι ἁπελογίσεται. τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρώτων εἴπειν. Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι τοῦτο μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἤρετο, ὅπως, εἴπειν αὐτὸν, ὦτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιῶν διαγεγένηται ἡ διασκόπων μὲν τὰ τε δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἄδικα, πράττων δὲ τὰ δίκαια καὶ τῶν ἄδικων ἀπεχόμενος, ἦνπερ νομίζῃ καλλίστην μελέτην ἁπελογίας εἶναι. αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν εἴπειν· Οὐχ ὅρας, ὡς Σώκρατες, ὥστε οἱ Ἀθήνησι δικασταὶ πολλοὶς μὲν ἦδη μηδὲν ἄδικούντας λόγω παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναι, πολλοὶς δὲ ἄδικούντας ἀπέλυσαν; Αὐλλὰ νῦ τὸν Δία, φάναι αὐτόν, ὡς Ἐρμόγενες, ἦδη μοι ἐπιχειροῦντος φροντίζαι τὴς πρὸς τοὺς δικαστὰς ἁπελογίας ἡμαντιόθη τὸ δαιμόνιον. καὶ αὐτὸς εἴπειν. Θαυμαστὰ λέγεις.

6 τὸν δὲ, Θαυμάζεις, φάναι, εἰ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐμὲ τελευτῶν τὸν βίον ἦδη; οὐκ ὑσθῇ, ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου ἐγὼ οὐδενὶ ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην ἄν οὔτε βέλτιον οὐθ' ἤδιον ἐμοὶ βεβιωκέναι; ἄριστα μὲν γὰρ οἴμαι ζῆν τοὺς ἄριστα ἐπιμελομένους τοῦ ὡς βελτίστους γίγνεσθαι, ἦδιστα δὲ τοὺς μάλιστα αἰσθανομένους, ὦτι βελτίστους γίγνονται. ἃ ἐγὼ μέχρι τοῦτο τοῦ χρόνου ἡσθανόμην ἐμαυτῷ συμβαίνοντα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις ἐντυγχάνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους 354
What death more blessed than the noblest? Or what dearer to the gods than the most blessed?

I will repeat what Hermogenes, son of Hipponicus, told me about him. "When Meletus had actually formulated his indictment," he said, "Socrates talked freely in my presence, but made no reference to the case. I told him that he ought to be thinking about his defence. His first remark was, 'Don't you think that I have been preparing for it all my life?' And when I asked him how, he said that he had been constantly occupied in the consideration of right and wrong, and in doing what was right and avoiding what was wrong, which he regarded as the best preparation for a defence. Then I said, 'Don't you see, Socrates, that the juries in our courts are apt to be misled by argument, so that they often put the innocent to death, and acquit the guilty?' 'Ah, yes, Hermogenes,' he answered, 'but when I did try to think out my defence to the jury, the deity at once resisted.' 'Strange words,' said I; and he, 'Do you think it strange, if it seems better to God that I should die now? Don't you see that to this day I never would acknowledge that any man had lived a better or a pleasanter life than I? For they live best, I think, who strive best to become as good as possible: and the pleasantest life is theirs who are conscious that they are growing in goodness. And to this day that has been my experience; and mixing with others and closely comparing myself

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1 § 3 is regarded as spurious by Sauppe.
άνθρώπους 1 παραθεωρῶν ἐμαυτὸν οὔτω διατετέλεκα περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ γηγυώσκων· καὶ οὗ μόνον ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ φίλοι οὔτως ἔχουτες περὶ ἐμοῦ διατελοῦσιν, οὐ διὰ τὸ φιλεῖν ἐμὲ, καὶ γὰρ οἱ τοὺς ἁλλοὺς φιλοῦντες οὔτως ἢν εἰχον πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν φίλους, ἀλλὰ διόπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἢν οἴονται ἐμοὶ συνόντες βέλτιστοι γίγνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ βιώσομαι πλέω χρόνον, ἱσώς ἀναγκαῖον ἐσται τὰ τοῦ γήρως ἐπιτελεῖσθαι καὶ ὅραν τε καὶ ἀκούειν ἦττον καὶ διανοεῖσθαι χείρων καὶ δυσμαθέστερον ἀποβαίνειν καὶ ἐπιληψομένεστερον καὶ ὑπὸ κρότερον ἐπίτιῶν ἦν, τούτων χείρω γίγνεσθαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ταύτα γε μὴ αἰσθανόμενῳ μὲν ἀβίωτος ἢν εἰν ὁ βίος, αἰσθανόμενον δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη χείρον τε καὶ ἀποθέστερον ἢν;

8 'Ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ γε ἀδίκως ἀποθανοῦμαι, τοῖς μὲν ἀδίκως ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνασιν αἰσχρὸν ἢν εἰη τοῦτο· εἰ γὰρ τὸ ἀδικεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἐστι, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν καὶ τὸ ἀδίκως ὁτί διὰ ποιεῖν; 2 ἐμοὶ δὲ τί αἰσχρὸν τὸ ἐτέρους μὴ δύνασθαι περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ δίκαια μῆτε γράφω μήτε ποιῆσαι; ὀρῶ δὲ ἐγώγη καὶ τὴν δόξαν τῶν προγεγονότων ἀνθρώπων ἐν τοῖς ἐπιγυνομένοις οὐχ ὁμοῖοι καταλειπομένην τῶν τὲ ἀδικησάντων καὶ τῶν ἀδικηθέντων. οὐδα δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἐγώ ἐπιμελείας τεῦξομαι ὑπ’ ἀνθρώ- πων, καὶ ἐὰν νῦν ἀποθάνω, οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐμὲ ἀποκτείνασιν. οἶδα γὰρ ἀεὶ μαρτυρήσεσθαι μοι, ὅτι ἐγώ ἡδίκησα μὲν οὐδένα πῶσποτε ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲ χείρω ἐποίησα, βελτίους δὲ ποιεῖν ἐπειρώμην ἀεὶ τοὺς ἐμοὶ συνόντας.

9 Τοιαῦτα μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμογένην τε διελέξθη καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁλλοὺς. τῶν δὲ Σωκράτην γιγνωσκόν·

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with them, I have held without ceasing to this opinion of myself. And not I only, but my friends cease not to feel thus towards me; not because of their love for me (for why does not love make others feel thus towards their friends?), but because they think that they too would rise highest in goodness by being with me. But if I am to live on, haply I may be forced to pay the old man’s forfeit—to become sand-blind and deaf and dull of wit, slower to learn, quicker to forget, outstripped now by those who were behind me. Nay, but even were I unconscious of the change, life would be a burden to me; and if I knew, misery and bitterness would surely be my lot.

"But now, if I am to die unjustly, they who unjustly kill me will bear the shame of it. For if to do injustice is shameful, whatever is unjustly done must surely bring shame. But to me what shame is it that others fail to decide and act justly concerning me? I see that posterity judges differently of the dead according as they did or suffered injustice. I know that men will remember me too, and, if I die now, not as they will remember those who took my life. For I know that they will ever testify of me that I wronged no man at any time, nor corrupted any man, but strove ever to make my companions better."

This was the tenor of his conversation with Hermogenes and with the others. All who knew

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1 άνθρώπος B: Sauppe omits.
2 ei γὰρ . . . ποιεῖν is regarded as spurious by Sauppe.
των οίον ἦν οἱ ἁρετῆς ἐφιέμενοι πάντες ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν
diατελοῦσι πάντων μάλιστα ποθοῦντες ἐκεῖνον,
ὡς ὀφελιμώτατον ὅντα πρὸς ἁρετῆς ἐπιμέλειαν.
ἐμοὶ μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτος ὄν, οἶον ἐγὼ διήγημαι,
eὐσεβῆς μὲν οὕτως, ὡστε μηδὲν ἀνευ τῆς τῶν
θεῶν γνώμης ποιεῖν, δίκαιος δέ, ὡστε βλάπτειν
μὲν μηδὲ μικρὸν μηδένα, ὀφελεῖν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα
tοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῷ, ἐγκρατῆς δὲ, ὡστε μηδέ-
pote προαιρεῖσθαι τὸ ἕδιον ἀντὶ τοῦ βελτίωνος,
φρόνιμος δὲ, ὡστε μὴ διαμαρτάνειν κρίνων τὰ
βελτίω καὶ τὰ χεῖρω μηδὲ ἄλλου προσδείσθαι,
ἀλλ' αὐτάρκης εἶναι πρὸς τὴν τούτων γνώσιν,
ἰκανὸς δὲ καὶ λόγῳ εἰπεῖν τε καὶ διορίσασθαι
tὰ τοιαῦτα, ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους δοκιμάσαι τε
cαὶ ἀμαρτάνοντας ἐλέγξαι καὶ προτρέψασθαι
ἐπ' ἁρετῆ καὶ καλοκαγαθίαν, ἐδόκει τοιοῦτος
eἶναι, οἷος ἄν εἰ ἄριστος τε ἀνὴρ καὶ εὐδαιμο-
nέστατος. εἰ δέ τῷ μὴ ἁρέσκει ταῦτα, παρα-
βάλλων τὸ ἄλλων ἥθος πρὸς ταῦτα οὕτω
κρινέτω.
what manner of man Socrates was and who seek after virtue continue to this day to miss him beyond all others, as the chief of helpers in the quest of virtue. For myself, I have described him as he was: so religious that he did nothing without counsel from the gods; so just that he did no injury, however small, to any man, but conferred the greatest benefits on all who dealt with him; so self-controlled that he never chose the pleasanter rather than the better course; so wise that he was unerring in his judgment of the better and the worse, and needed no counsellor, but relied on himself for his knowledge of them; masterly in expounding and defining such things; no less masterly in putting others to the test, and convincing them of error and exhorting them to follow virtue and gentleness. To me then he seemed to be all that a truly good and happy man must be. But if there is any doubter, let him set the character of other men beside these things; then let him judge.
THE OECONOMICUS
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΟΣ

I. Ἡκουσα δὲ ποτε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ ὁικονομίας τοιάδε διαλεγομένου. Εἰπέ μοι, ἐφη, ὁ Κριτό-βουλε, ἄρα γε ἡ ὁικονομία ἐπιστήμης τινὸς ὁμομά ἔστιν, ὦσπερ ἡ ἰατρική καὶ καλκευτική καὶ τεκτονική;

"Εμοιγε δοκεῖ, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.

2 Ἡ καὶ ὦσπερ τοῦτων τῶν τεχνῶν ἔχοιμεν ἄν εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔργου ἐκάστης, οὕτω καὶ τῆς ὁικονομίας δυνάμεθα εἰπεῖν ὅ τι ἔργου αὐτῆς ἔστι;

Δοκεῖ γοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὁικονόμοι ἀγαθοῦ εἴναι εὐ ὀίκεῖν τὸν ἐαυτοῦ ὁικονόμοι.

3 Ἡ καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου δὲ ὁικον, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἐπιτρέποι τις αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἂν δύνατο, εἰ βοῦλοιτο, εὖ ὀίκεῖν, ὦσπερ καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ; ὁ μὲν γὰρ τεκτονικὴν ἐπιστάμενος ὁμοίως ἂν καὶ ἄλλῳ δύνατο ἐργάζεσθαι ὄστις καὶ ἐαυτῷ, καὶ ὁ ὁικονομικὸς γὰρ ἂν ὁσαύτως.

"Εμοιγε δοκεῖ, ὃ Σωκράτης.

4 Ἐστιν ἄρα, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, τὴν τέχνην ταύτην ἐπιστάμενῳ, καὶ εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς τὺχοι χρήματα ἔχων, τὸν ἄλλον ὁικον ὁικονομῶντα ὦσπερ καὶ ὁικοδομῶντα μισθοφορεῖν;

Νὴ Δία καὶ πολὺν γε μισθὸν, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, φέροιτ' ἂν, εἰ δύνατο ὁικον παραλαβὼν τελεῖν τε ὁσα δεῖ καὶ περιουσίαν ποιῶν αὐξεῖν τὸν ὁικον.

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I. I once heard him discuss the subject of estate management in the following manner.

"Tell me, Critobulus, is estate management the name of a branch of knowledge, like medicine, smithing and carpentry?"

"I think so," replied Critobulus.

"And can we say what the function of estate management is, just as we can say what is the function of each of these arts?"

"Well, I suppose that the business of a good estate manager is to manage his own estate well."

"Yes, and in case he were put in charge of another man's estate, could he not, if he chose, manage it as well as he manages his own? Anyone who understands carpentry can do for another exactly the same work as he does for himself; and so, I presume, can a good estate manager."

"I think so, Socrates."

"Is it possible, then, for one who understands this art, even if he has no property of his own, to earn money by managing another man's estate, just as he might do by building him a house?"

"Yes, of course; and he would get a good salary if, after taking over an estate, he continued to pay all outgoings, and to increase the estate by showing a balance."
5 Οίκος δὲ δὴ τί δοκεῖ ἡμῖν εἶναι; ἀρα ὅπερ οἰκία ἤ καὶ ὡσα τις ἐξὼ τῆς οἰκίας κέκτηται, πάντα τοῦ οἴκου ταῦτα ἔστιν;

'Εμοί γοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, δοκεῖ καὶ εἰ μὴ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ πόλει εἶν τῷ κεκτημένῳ, πάντα τοῦ οἴκου εἶναι, ὡσα τις κέκτηται.

6 Οὔκοιν καὶ ἔχθροις κέκτηται τινες;

Νὴ Δία καὶ πολλοὺς γε ἐνιοι.

'Ἡ καὶ κτήματα αὐτῶν φῆσομεν εἶναι τοὺς ἔχθροὺς;

Γελοῖον μεντὰν εἳ, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, εἰ ὁ τοὺς ἔχθροις αὐξὼν προσέτι καὶ μισθὸν τοῦτον φέροι.

7 "Ὅτι τοι ἡμῖν ἐδόκει οἴκος ἄνδρὸς εἶναι ὅπερ κτῆσις.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὅ τι γε τις ἀγαθῶν κέκτηται· οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐκ εἰ τι κακὸν, τοῦτο κτήμα ἐγὼ καλῶ.

Σὺ δ' ἔοικας τὰ ἐκάστω ὑφέλιμα κτήματα καλεῖν.

Πάνω μὲν οὖν, ἔφη· τὰ δὲ γε βλάπτοντα ζημίαν ἔγγευσε νομίζω μᾶλλον ἡ χρήματα.

8 Κἂν ἄρα γε τις ἵππου πριάμους μὴ ἐπίστηται αὐτῷ χρήσθαι, ἀλλὰ καταπίπτων ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κακὰ λαμβάνῃ, οὐ χρήματα αὐτῷ ἔστιν ὁ ἴππος;

Οὐκ', εἴπερ τὰ χρήματὰ γ' ἐστὶν ἁγαθῶν.

Οὔδ' ἄρα γε ἡ γῆ ἄνθρωπω ἐστὶ χρήματα, ὡστὶς ὡς ἀπὸς ἐργάζεται αὐτῆς, ὡςτε ζημιοῦσθαι ἐργαζόμενοι;

Οὔδε ἡ γη μέντοι χρήματα ἔστιν, εἴπερ ἀντὶ τοῦ τρέφειν πευκῆν παρασκευάζει.

9 Οὔκοιν καὶ τὰ πρόβατα ὡσαύτως, εἰ τὶς διὰ
But what do we mean now by an estate? Is it the same thing as a house, or is all property that one possesses outside the house also part of the estate?"

"Well, I think that even if the property is situated in different cities, everything a man possesses is part of his estate."

"Do not some men possess enemies?"

"Of course; some in fact possess many."

"Shall we include their enemies in their possessions?"

"It would be ridiculous, surely, if one actually received a salary for increasing the number of a man’s enemies!"

"Because, you know, we supposed a man’s estate to be the same as his property."

"To be sure—meaning thereby the good things that he possesses. No, of course I don’t call any bad thing that he may possess property."

"You seem to use the word property of whatever is profitable to its owner."

"Certainly; but what is harmful I regard as loss rather than wealth."

"Yes, and consequently if a man buys a horse and doesn’t know how to manage it, and so keeps on getting thrown and injuring himself by trying to ride it, the horse is not wealth to him, I presume?"

"No, if we assume that wealth is a good thing."

"It follows that land is not wealth either to a man who works it in such a way that his work results in loss."

"To be sure: even land is not wealth if it makes us starve instead of supporting us."

"And the same will hold good of sheep, will it not?"
τὸ μὴ ἐπίστασθαι προβάτως χρήσθαι ξημοῖοτο, 
οὔδὲ τὰ πρόβατα χρῆματα τούτῳ εἴη ἂν;
Οὐκοιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ.
Σὺ ἄρα, ὡς ἐοικε, τὰ μὲν ὅφελοῦντα χρῆματα 
ήγη, τὰ δὲ βλάπτοντα οὐ χρῆματα.
Οὕτως.
10 Ταύτα ἄρα ὄντα τῷ μὲν ἐπισταμένῳ χρήσθαι 
αὐτῶν ἐκάστους χρήματά ἐστι, τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπιστα-
μένῳ οὐ χρήματα· ὅσπερ γε αὐλοὶ τῷ μὲν 
ἐπισταμένῳ ἀξίως λόγου αὐλεῖν χρήματα εἰσὶ, 
τῷ δὲ μὴ ἐπισταμένῳ οὖδὲν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀχρηστοὶ 
λίθοι.
Εἰ μὴ ἀποδίδοιτό γε αὐτοὺς. 1
11 Τούτῳ αὖ φαίνεται ἡμῖν, ἀποδιδομένοις μὲν οἱ 
αὐλοὶ χρήματα, μὴ ἀποδιδομένοις δὲ, ἄλλα 
κεκτημένοις οὐ, τοῖς μὴ ἐπισταμένοις αὐτοῖς 
χρῆσθαι.
Καὶ ὀμολογουμένως γε, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὁ λόγος 
ἡμῖν χωρεῖ, ἐπείπερ εἰρητὶ τὰ ὅφελοῦντα χρή-
ματα εἶναι. μὴ πωλοῦμενοι μὲν γὰρ οὐ χρήματα 
eἰσίν οἱ αὐλοὶ. οὖδὲν γὰρ χρήσιμοί εἰσι· πωλοῦ-
μενοι δὲ χρήματα.
12 Πρὸς ταύτα δ’ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπεν. "Ἡν ἐπίστη-
tαί γε πωλεῖν. εἰ δὲ πωλοῖν αὖ πρὸς τούτο, 
ὁ μὴ ἐπίστατο χρῆσθαι, οὔδὲ πωλοῦμενοι εἰσὶ 
χρήματα κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον.
Λέγειν ἐοικας, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὅτι οὖδὲ τὸ ἀργύ-
ριόν ἐστὶ χρήματα, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίστατο χρῆσθαι 
αὐτῷ.
13 Καὶ σὺ δὲ μοι δοκεῖς οὔτω συνομολογεῖν, ἠφ’
 ὁν τις ὅφελεῖσθαι δύναται χρήματα εἶναι. εἰ 
γοῦν τις χρῶτο τῷ ἀργυρῷ, ὡστε πριάμενος οἶον 
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if a man loses through ignorance of sheep farming, his sheep too will not be wealth to him?"

"I think not."

"It seems, then, that your view is this: what is profitable is wealth, what is harmful is not wealth."

"Quite so."

"That is to say, the same things are wealth and not wealth, according as one understands or does not understand how to use them. A flute, for example, is wealth to one who is competent to play it, but to an incompetent person it is no better than useless stones."

"True—unless he sells it."

"We now see that to persons who don't understand its use, a flute is wealth if they sell it, but not wealth if they keep it instead of selling."

"Yes, Socrates, and our argument runs consistently, since we have said that what is profitable is wealth. For a flute, if not put up for sale, is not wealth, because it is useless: if put up for sale it becomes wealth."

"Yes," commented Socrates, "provided he knows how to sell; but again, in case he sells it for something he doesn't know how to use, even then the sale doesn't convert it into wealth, according to you."

"You imply, Socrates, that even money isn't wealth to one who doesn't know how to use it."

"And you, I think, agree with me to this extent, that wealth is that from which a man can derive profit. At any rate, if a man uses his money to buy a

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1 10-11. The distribution between the speakers as correctly arranged by Thalheim. Previously this sentence was assigned to Socrates, and the first sentence of §11 to Critobulus.
έταίραν διὰ ταύτην κάκιον μὲν τὸ σῶμα ἔχοι, κάκιον δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, κάκιον δὲ τὸν οίκον, πώς ἂν ἔτι τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτῷ ὄφελμον εἴη; 
Οὔδαμῶς, εἰ μὴ πέρ γε καὶ τὸν υοσκύμαν καλούμενον χρήματα εἶναι φήσομεν, ὅφ' οὐ οἱ φαγόντες αὐτὸν παραπλήγες γίγνονται.
14 Τὸ μὲν δὴ ἀργύριον, εἰ μὴ τις ἐπίστατο αὐτῷ χρήσθαι, οὕτω πόρρω ἀπωθείσθω, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὡς τε μηδὲ χρήματα εἶναι. οὐ δὲ φίλοι, ἢν τις ἐπίστηται αὐτοῖς χρήσθαι ὡςτε ὄφελείσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν, τι φήσομεν αὐτοῖς εἶναι; 
Χρήματα νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ πολὺ γε μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς βοῦς, ἢν ὄφελιμοτεροὶ γε ὃσι τῶν βοῶν.
15 Καὶ οἱ ἔχθροι γε ἅρα κατὰ γε τὸν σὸν λόγον χρήματα εἰσὶ τῷ δυναμένῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ὄφελείσθαι.
'Εμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ.
Οἰκονόμου ἅρα ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἐπίστασθαι χρήσθαι ὡςτε ὄφελείσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν.
'Ισχυρότατά γε.
Καὶ γὰρ δὴ ὁρᾶς, ἔφη, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ὡςοι μὲν δὴ οἰκοὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἦξημένοι εἰσίν ἀπὸ πολέμου, ὡςοι δὲ τυράννων.
16 'Αλλὰ γὰρ τὰ μὲν καλῶς ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, ὥς Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· ἔκεινο δ' ἡμῖν τι φαίνεται, ὡς τὰν ὄρομέν τινας ἐπιστήμῃς μὲν ἔχοντας καὶ ἀφορμάς, ἀφ' ὧν δύνανται ἐργαζόμενοι αὔξειν τῶν οἰκους, αἰσθανώμεθα δὲ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα μὴ θέλοντας ποιεῖν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὄρομέν ἄνωφελεῖς οὕσας αὐτοῖς τὰς ἐπιστήμας; ἄλλο 368
mistress who makes him worse off in body and soul and estate, how can his money be profitable to him then?”

“By no means, unless we are ready to maintain that the weed called nightshade, which drives you mad if you eat it, is wealth.”

“Then money is to be kept at a distance, Critobulus, if one doesn’t know how to use it, and not to be included in wealth. But how about friends? If one knows how to make use of them so as to profit by them, what are they to be called?”

“Well, that is my opinion.”

“Consequently it is the business of a good estate manager to know how to deal with enemies so as to derive profit from them too.”

“Yes, and it follows from what you say that enemies too are wealth to anyone who can derive profit from them.”

“Well, that is my opinion.”

“In fact, Critobulus, you cannot fail to notice that many private persons have been indebted to war for the increase of their estates, and many princes too.”

“Yes, so far so good, Socrates. But sometimes we come across persons possessed of knowledge and means whereby they can increase their estates if they work, and we find that they are unwilling to do so; and consequently we see that their knowledge profits them nothing. What are we to make of that? In these
XENOPHON

τι ἡ τούτοις αὖ ὦτε αἱ ἐπιστήμαι χρήματά εἰςιν ὦτε τὰ κτήματα;

17 Περὶ δούλων μοι, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπιχειρεῖς, ὃς Κριτόβουλος, διαλέγεσθαι;
   Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἐφη, οὐκ ἔγωγε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ εὐπατριδῶν εἴναι γε δοκοῦντων εἶναι, οὖς ἔγω ὁρῶ τοὺς μὲν καὶ πολεμικᾶς, τοὺς δὲ καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἐπιστήμαις ἔχοντας, ταύτας δὲ οὐκ εθέλοντας ἐργάζεσθαι, ὡς μὲν ἔγω οἶμαι, δὴ αὐτὸ τούτο ὦτι δεσπότας οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

18 Καὶ πῶς ἀν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, δεσπότας οὐκ ἔχοιεν, εἰ εὐχόμενοι εὐδαιμονεῖν καὶ ποιεῖν βουλῶμενοι ἀφ' ὄν ἔχοιεν ἀγαθὰ ἐπειτα κωλύονται ποιεῖν ταύτα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων;
   Καὶ τίνες δὴ οὔτοι εἰσιν, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, οἳ ἀφανεῖς ὦτες ἀρχοῦσιν αὐτῶν;

19 Ἑλλὰ μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἀφανεῖς εἰσιν, Ἑλλὰ καὶ πάνυ φανεροί. καὶ ὅτι πονηροτατοῖς γέ εἰσιν οὕδε σὲ λανθάνονσιν, εἰσπερ πονηρίῶν γε νομίζεις ἀργίαν τ' εῖναι καὶ μαλακίαν

20 ψυχής καὶ ἀμέλειαν. καὶ Ἑλλαὶ δ' εἰσίν ἀπατηλαὶ τίνες δεσποιναὶ προσποιοῦμεναι ἠδοναὶ εἶναι, κυβεῖαι τε καὶ ἀνωφελεῖς ἀνθρώπων ὁμιλίαι, αἱ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἐξαπατηθεῖσι καταφανεῖς γίγνονται ὅτι λῦται ἄρα ἡθοὶ ἠθοῖν περιτεπεμμέναι, αἱ διακωλύουσιν αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ὑφελίμων ἔργων κρατοῦσαι.

21 Ἑλλὰ καὶ Ἑλλαὶ, ἐφη, ὃς Σώκρατες, ἐργάζεσθαι μὲν οὐ κωλύονται ὑπὸ τούτων, Ἑλλὰ καὶ πάνυ σφαδρὸς πρὸς τὸ ἐργάζεσθαι ἔχουσι καὶ μηχανᾶσθαι προσόδους, ὃμως δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἶκους κατατρίβουσι καὶ ἀμηχανίαις συνέχουσαι.

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OECONOMICUS, I. 16-21

cases, surely, neither their knowledge nor their property is wealth?"

"Are you trying to raise a discussion about slaves, Critobulus?"

"Oh no, not at all: I am referring to persons of whom some, at any rate, are considered men of the highest lineage. I observe that there are persons skilled in the arts of war or peace, as the case may be, who are unwilling to practise them, and the reason, I think, is just this, that they have no master over them."

"What, no master over them, when, in spite of their prayers for prosperity and their desire to do what will bring them good, they are thwarted in their intentions by the powers that rule them?"

"And who, pray, may these unseen rulers be?"

"No, not unseen, but open and undisguised, surely! And very vicious rulers they are too, as you yourself must see, if at least you regard idleness and moral cowardice and negligence as vice. Aye, and then there is a set of deceitful mistresses that pretend to be pleasures—such as gambling and consorting with bad companions: even the victims of their deception find as time goes on that these, after all, are really pains concealed beneath a thin veneer of pleasures, and that they are hindering them from all profitable work by their influence over them."

"But there are other men, Socrates, whose energy is not hindered by these influences, in fact they have an eager desire to work and to make an income: nevertheless they exhaust their estates and are beset with difficulties."
22 Δούλου γὰρ εἶσι καὶ οὕτωι, ἡφι ο ᾽Οσκράτης, καὶ πάντα γε χαλέπων δεσποτῶν, οἱ μὲν λιχνειῶν, οἱ δὲ λαγνειῶν, οἱ δὲ οἰνοφλυγιῶν, οἱ δὲ φιλοτεμίων τινῶν μόρων καὶ δαπανηρῶν, ἢ οὕτω χαλεπῶς ἀρχει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅν ἀν ἐπικρατήσωσιν, ὡς θ’ ἔως μὲν ἢν ὀρῶσιν ἡβοῦνται αὐτοὺς καὶ δυναμένους ἐργάζεσθαι, ἀναγκάζοντι ἄφεν ἢ ἀν αὐτοὶ ἐργάσωνται καὶ τελείων εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιθυμίας, ἐπειδὰν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀδυνάτους αἴσθωνται ὄντας ἐργάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ γῆρας, ἀπολείποντι τούτους κακῶς γηράσκειν, ἀλλοι δ’ αὐτοῖς πειρώντας δούλωτις χρήσαται. ἀλλὰ δεῖ, ὡ Κριτὸβουλε, πρὸς ταύτα οὐχ ἦττον διαμάχεσθαι περὶ τὴς ἐλευθερίας ἢ πρὸς τοὺς σὺν ὅπλοις πειρωμένους καταδομολοῦσθαι. πολέμιοι γοῦν ἤδη ὅταν καλοὶ κάγαθοί ὄντες καταδουλώσωντας τινας, πολλοὺς δὴ βελτίως ἡμάγκασαν εἶναι σωφρονίσαντες καὶ ῥαόν βιοτεύειν τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἐποίησαν· αἱ δὲ τοιαύτας δέσποιναι αἰκίζομεναι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τοὺς οὐκοὺς οὐποτε λήγουσιν, ἐστ’ ἢ ἄρχωσιν αὐτῶν.

II. Ὁ οὖν Κριτὸβουλος ἐκ τούτων ὅδε πὼς εἶπεν. Ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν τοιούτων ἀρκοῦντως πάντως μοι δοκῶ τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀκηκοέναι· αὐτὸς δ’ ἐμαυτὸν ἐξετάζων δοκῶ μοι εὐρίσκειν ἐπιεικῶς τῶν τοιούτων ἐγκρατῆ ὅντα, ὡς’ εἰ μοι συμβουλεύοισι, ὃ τι ἂν ποιῶν αὐξομεν τῶν οἰκον, οὐκ ἂν μοι δοκῶ ὑπὸ γε τούτων ὅν σὺ δεσποινῶν καλεῖς κωλύσθαι· ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν συμβούλευε ὃ τι ἔχεις ἀγαθὸν· ἡ κατέγνωκας ἡμῶν, ὃ Σῶκρατες, ἰκανῶς πλοῦτειν καὶ οὕδεν δοκοῦμεν σοι προσδείσθαι χρημάτων;
"Yes, they too are slaves, and hard indeed are their masters: some are in bondage to gluttony, some to lechery, some to drink, and some to foolish and costly ambitions. And so hard is the rule of these passions over every man who falls into their clutches, that so long as they see that he is strong and capable of work, they force him to pay over all the profits of his toil, and to spend it on their own desires; but no sooner do they find that he is too old to work, than they leave him to an old age of misery, and try to fasten the yoke on other shoulders. Ah, Critobulus, we must fight for our freedom against these tyrants as persistently as if they were armed men trying to enslave us. Indeed, open enemies may be gentlemen, and when they enslave us, may, by chastening, purge us of our faults and cause us to live better lives in future. But such mistresses as these never cease to plague men in body and soul and estate all the time that they have dominion over them."

II. The word was now with Critobulus, who continued thus:

"Well, I think you have told me quite enough about such passions as these, and when I examine myself I find, I think, that I have them fairly well under control; and therefore, if you will advise me what I should do to increase my estate, I don't think those mistresses, as you call them, are likely to hinder me. So do not hesitate to give me any good advice you can: unless, indeed, you have made up your mind that we are rich enough already, Socrates, and think we have no need of more money?"

1 Weiske's δεσποινών, mistresses, and Hirschig's αι... ἀρχοντις for ἀρχεῖ are highly probable.
2 Οὔκονν ἔγωγε, ἔφη ο Σωκράτης, εἰ καὶ περὶ ἐμοῦ λέγεις, οὐδέν μοι δοκῶ προσδείσθαι χρη-μάτων, άλλ' ἴκανός πλούτειν σὺ μέντοι, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, πάνυ μοι δοκεῖς πένεσθαι, καὶ ναὶ μᾶ Δί' ἐστιν ὅτε καὶ πάνυ οἴκτείρω σε ἕγω.

3 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος γελάσας εἶπε, Καὶ πόσον ἄν πρὸς τῶν θεῶν οἶει, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, εὑρεῖν τὰ σὰ κτήματα πωλούμενα, πόσον δὲ τὰ ἐμὰ;

'Εγὼ μὲν οἴμαι, ἔφη ο Σωκράτης, εἰ ἄγαθον ὅνητοι ἐπιτύχωμι, εὑρεῖν ἂν μοι σὺν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ τὰ ὄντα πάντα πάνω ῥαδίως πέντε μυᾶς· τὰ μέντοι σὰ ἀκριβῶς οἴδα ὅτι πλέον ἂν εῦροι ἢ ἐκατονταπλασίων τοῦτον.

4 Κάτα οὔτως ἐγνώκος σὺ μὲν οὐχ ἥγη προσ-δείσθαι χρημάτων, ἔμε δὲ οἴκτείρεις ἐπὶ τῇ πενίᾳ;

Τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐμὰ, ἔφη, ἴκανὰ ἐστὶν ἐμοὶ παρέχειν τὰ ἐμοὶ ἄρκοῦντα· εἰς δὲ τὸ σὸν σχῆμα, ὃ σὺ περιβέβλησαι, καὶ τὴν σὴν δόξαν οὐδ' εἰ τρὶς ὀσα νῦν κέκτησαι προσγένοιτό σοι, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν ἴκανὰ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι σοι.

5 Πῶς δὴ τούτ'; ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος.

[‘Απεφήμινατο ο Σωκράτης;’]"Οτι πρῶτον μὲν ὁρῶ σοι ἀνάγκην οὔς θύειν πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα ἢ οὔτε θεοῦς οὔτε ἀνθρώπους οἴμαι σὲ ἂν ἀνασχέσθαι· ἐπείτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι καὶ τούτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς· ἐπείτα δὲ πολίτας ἐπιτυγίζειν καὶ εὖ ποιεῖν ἢ ἔρημον συμμάχων εἰναι.

6 ἐτι δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν αἰσθάνομαι τὰ μὲν ἴδη σοι προστάττουσαν μεγάλα τελείων, ἵπποτροφίας τε καὶ χορηγίας καὶ γυμνασιαρχίας καὶ προστατείας,

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1 A little more than £20.
2 It is unlikely that προστατείας is used here for προστασίας,
“Oh, if you mean to include me, I certainly think I have no need of more money and am rich enough. But you seem to me to be quite poor, Critobulus, and at times, I assure you, I feel quite sorry for you.”

“And how much, pray,” asked Critobulus, laughing, “would your property fetch at a sale, do you suppose, Socrates, and how much would mine?”

“Well, if I found a good buyer, I think the whole of my goods and chattels, including the house, might readily sell for five minae. Yours, I feel sure, would fetch more than a hundred times that sum.”

“And in spite of that estimate, you really think you have no need of money and pity me for my poverty?”

“Yes, because my property is sufficient to satisfy my wants, but I don’t think you would have enough to keep up the style you are living in and to support your reputation, even if your fortune were three times what it is.”

“How can that be?” exclaimed Critobulus.

“Because, in the first place,” explained Socrates, “I notice that you are bound to offer many large sacrifices; else, I fancy, you would get into trouble with gods and men alike. Secondly, it is your duty to entertain many strangers, on a generous scale too. Thirdly, you have to give dinners and play the benefactor to the citizens, or you lose your following. Moreover, I observe that already the state is exacting heavy contributions from you; you must needs keep horses, pay for choruses and gymnastic competitions, and accept presidencies; and if war the charge of resident aliens, since there is no proof that this duty involved expense to the patron.

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ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

ην δὲ δὴ πόλεμος γένηται, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ τριμερχίας [μυσθούς] καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοσαῦτας σοι προστε-ξοῦσιν, ὅσας σὺ ὧν ῥάδιως ὑποίσεις. ὅπον δ' ἄν ἐνδεῶς δόξης τι τούτων ποιεῖν, οἶδ' ὅτι σε τιμω-ρήσονται Ἀθηναίοι οὐδὲν ἦττον ἢ ἔτι τὰ αὐτῶν
7 λάβοιεν κλέπτοντα. πρὸς δὲ τούτως ὅρῳ σε οἰόμενον πλούτειν καὶ ἀμελῶς μὲν ἐχοντα πρὸς τὸ μηχανάσθαι χρήματα, παιδικοῖς δὲ πράγμασι προσέχοντα τὸν νοῦν, ὠσπερ ἔξον σοι. ὃν ἐνεκα οὐκέτιρῳ σε, μή τι ἀνήκεστον κακὸν πάθης καὶ
8 εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν καταστῆς. καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν, εἰ τι καὶ προσδειθείην, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σὺ γιγνώσκεις, ὡς εἰσὶν οἱ καὶ ἐπαρκέσειαν ἂν, ὥστε πάνιν μικρὰ πορίσαντες κατακλύσειαν ἂν ἀφθονία τὴν ἐμὴν δίαιταν· οἱ δὲ σοὶ φίλοι πολὺ ἀρκοῦντα σοῦ μᾶλλον ἐχοντες τῇ ἐαυτῶν κατασκευῇ ἢ σὺ τῇ σῇ ὁμοῖας ὡς παρὰ σοῦ ὕφελησόμενοι ἀποβλέπουσιν.

9 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπεν. Ἕγὼ τούτοις, ὦ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἔχω ἀντιλέγειν ἀλλ' ὥρα σοι προστατεύειν ἐμοῦ, ὅπως μὴ τῷ ὄντι οἰκτρῶς γένωμαι.

Ἀκούσας οὖν ὁ Σώκράτης εἶπε. Καὶ οὐθαυ-μαστὸν δοκεῖς, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, τούτῳ σαυτῷ ποιεῖν, ὃτι ὀλίγῳ μὲν πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐγὼ ἔφην πλούτειν, ἐγέλασας ἐπ' ἐμοὶ ὡς οὐδὲ εἰδότι, ὃ τι εὖ πλοῦτος, καὶ πρότερον οὐκ ἐπαύσω πρὶν ἔξη-λεγξάς με καὶ ὁμολογεῖν ἐποίησας μηδὲ ἐκατοστῶν μέρος τῶν σὰν κεκτήσαι, νῦν δὲ κελεύεις προστα-τεύειν μὲ σοι καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅπως ἂν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀληθῶς πένης γένοιο
10 ὃ ὅδ' γὰρ σε, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐν τῷ πλουτηρῶν ἔργον ἐπιστάμενον περιουσίαν ποιεῖν. τὸν ὅνν 376
breaks out, I know they will require you to maintain a ship and pay taxes that will nearly crush you. Whenever you seem to fall short of what is expected of you, the Athenians will certainly punish you as though they had caught you robbing them. Besides all this, I notice that you imagine yourself to be a rich man; you are indifferent to money, and yet go courting minions, as though the cost were nothing to you. And that is why I pity you, and fear that you may come to grief and find yourself reduced to penury. Now, if I ran short of money, no doubt you know as well as I do that I should not lack helpers who would need to contribute very little to fill my cup to overflowing. But your friends, though far better supplied with means to support their establishment than you, yet look to receive help from you."

"I cannot dispute this, Socrates," said Critobulus, "but it is time for you to take me in hand, and see that I don't become a real object of pity."

At this Socrates exclaimed, "What, don't you think it strange, Critobulus, that a little while ago, when I said I was rich, you laughed at me, as though I did not even know the meaning of riches, and would not cease until you had proved me wrong and made me own that my possessions were less than one-hundredth part of yours, and yet now you bid me take you in hand and see that you don't become in literal truth a poor man?"

"Well, Socrates, I see that you understand one process by which wealth is created—how to create a
άπ' ὅλγων περιποιοῦντα ἑπιτίξω ἀπὸ πολλῶν γ ἀν πάνω ράδιως πολλῆν περιουσίαν ποιήσαι.

11 Οὐκον μέμνησαι ἄρτιος ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, ὅτε οὐδ' ἄναγρύζειν μοι ἑξουσίαν ἐποίησας λέγων, ὅτι τῷ μῇ ἐπισταμένῳ ἵπποις χρήσθαι οὐκ εἴη χρήματα οἱ ἵπποι οὐδὲ ἡ γῆ οὐδὲ τὰ πρόβατα οὐδὲ ἄργυριον οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδέν, ὅτῳ τῷ μῇ ἐπίστατο χρήσθαι; εἰςι μὲν οὖν αἱ πρόσοδοι ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων· ἐμὲ δὲ πώς τινὶ τούτων οἰεὶ ἄν ἐπιστηθήναι χρήσθαι, ὥ τῇν ἄρχην οὐδέν πῶποτ' ἐγένετο τούτων;

12 'Ἀλλ' ἐδόκει ἡμῖν, καὶ εἰ μὴ χρήματά τις τῶν ἔχων, ὦμοις εἶναι τις ἐπιστήμην οἰκονομίας. τῷ οὖν κωλύει καὶ σὲ ἐπίστασθαι;

"Οπερ νὴ Δία καὶ αὕλεῖν ἄν κωλύσειν ἁνθρώπον ἐπίστασθαι, εἰ μὴν αὐτὸς πῶποτε κτήσατο αὐλοῦς μὴτε ἄλλος αὐτῷ παράσχει ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ μανθάνειν· οὔτε αὐτὸς πῶποτε μοι παρέσχε τὰ ἐμνυτῶν διοικεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ σὺ νυνὶ ἑθέλεις παρέχειν. οἱ δὲ δήποτε τὸ πρῶτον μανθάνοντες κιθαρίζειν καὶ τὰς λύρας λυμαίνοντας· καὶ ἐγὼ δὴ εἰ ἐπιτιχειρίσαμι ἐν τῷ σῷ οἴκῳ μανθάνειν οἰκονομεῖν, ὦσος ἄν καταλυμηναίμην ἀν σου τῶν οἴκων.

13 Αὐτόι μανθάνειν· οὔτω δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐχει περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς ὄργανα χρήματα ἐκεκτήμην, ὥστε μανθάνειν, οὔτε ἄλλος πῶποτε μοι παρέσχε τὰ ἐμνυτῶν διοικεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ σὺ νυνὶ ἑθέλεις παρέχειν. οἱ δὲ δήποτε τὸ πρῶτον μανθάνοντες κιθαρίζειν καὶ τὰς λύρας λυμαίνοντας· καὶ ἐγὼ δὴ εἰ ἐπιτιχειρίσαμι ἐν τῷ σῷ οἴκῳ μανθάνειν οἰκονομεῖν, ὦσος ἄν καταλυμηναίμην ἀν σου τῶν οἴκων.

14 Πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπε· Προθύμως γε, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἄποφευγειν μοι πειρὰ μηδὲν με συνωφελῆσαι εἰς τὸ ῥάον ὑποφέρειν τὰ ἐμοὶ ἀναγκαῖα πράγματα. Οὐ μὰ Δί, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, οὐκ ἐγὼ γας, ἀλλ' ὁ σα ἐχω καὶ πάννν προθύμως εξηγήσομαι σοι. σοιμαι ὃ ἂν καὶ εἰ ἐπὶ πῦρ
OECONOMICUS, II. 10-15

balance. So a man who saves on a small income can, I suppose, very easily show a large surplus with a large one."

"Then don't you remember saying just now in our conversation, when you wouldn't give me leave to utter a syllable, that if a man doesn't know how to manage horses, his horses are not wealth to him, nor his land, sheep, money or anything else, if he doesn't know how to manage them? Now these are the sources from which income is derived: and how do you suppose that I can possibly know how to manage any of these things, seeing that I never yet possessed any one of them?"

"Still we held that, even if a man happens to have no wealth, there is such a thing as a science of household management. Then what reason is there why you should not know it?"

"Exactly the same reason, of course, that a man would have for not knowing how to play on the flute if he had never possessed one himself and had never borrowed one to learn on. That is just my case with regard to estate management; for never having possessed wealth myself, I have not had an opportunity of learning on an instrument of my own, and nobody has ever let me handle his, until you made your offer. Beginners, I fancy, are apt to spoil the lyres they learn on; and if I attempted to learn to manage estates by practising on yours, possibly I might spoil it entirely for you."

"Ah, Socrates!" rejoined Critobulus, "I see you are eager to avoid giving me any help towards lightening the weight of my troublesome duties."

"Not at all, not at all," said Socrates, "I am all eagerness to tell you all I know. Suppose that you
έλθόντος σοι καὶ μὴ ὄντος παρ' ἐμοί, εἰ ἀλλοσε ἡγησάμην ὅποθεν σοι εἰς ἵπποι λαβεῖν, οὐκ ἂν ἐμέμφου μοι, καὶ εἰ ὑδρ παρ' ἐμοὶ αἱτοῦντί σοι αὐτὸς μὴ ἔχων ἀλλοσε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτο ἡγαγον, οἴδ' ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν τοῦτό μοι ἐμέμφου, καὶ εἰ βουλομένου μουσικήν μαθεῖν σοι παρ' ἐμοὶ δείξαιμί σοι πολὺ δεινοτέρους ἐμοῦ περὶ μουσικῆν καὶ σοι χάριν ἂν εἰδότας, εἰ ἐθέλοις παρ' αὐτῶν μαυθάνειν, τί ἂν ἔτι μοι ταύτα ποιοῦντι μέμφοι;

Οὐδὲν ἂν δικαίως γε, ὁ Σώκρατες.

16 Ἕγῳ τοῖνυν σοι δεῖξω, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, ὅσα νῦν λιπαρεῖς παρ' ἐμοῦ μαυθάνειν, πολὺ ἀλλοὺς ἐμοῦ δεινοτέρους περὶ ταύτα. ὀμολογῶ δὲ μεμεληκέναι μοι, οὕτως ἐκαστα ἐπιστήμονέστατοί εἰσι τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει. καταμαθὼν γὰρ ποτε ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐργών τοὺς μὲν πάνυ ἀπόρους ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ πάνυ πλουσίους ἀπεθαύμασα καὶ ἐδοξέ μοι ἄξιον εἶναι ἐπισκέψεως, ὅ τι εἴη τοῦτο. καὶ εὗρον ἐπισκοπῶν πάνυ οἰκεῖως ταύτα γεγονόμενα. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἰκῆ ταύτα πράττοντας ξημιομένους ἑώρων, τοὺς δὲ γνώμη συντεταμένη ἐπιμελουμένους καὶ θάττων καὶ ῥάον καὶ κερδαλεώτερον κατέγων πράττοντας. παρ' ὅν ἂν καὶ σὲ οἶμαι, εἰ βούλοιο, μαθόντα, εἴ σοι ὁ θεὸς μὴ ἐναντιοῖτο, πάνυ ἂν δεινὸν χρηματιστὴν γενέσθαι.

17 III. Ἀκούσας ταύτα ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπε, Νῦν τοι, ἑφη, ἕγω σὲ οὐκέτι ἀφήσω, ὡ Σώκρατες, πρὶν ἂν μοι ἄ υπέσχησαι ἐναντίον τῶν φίλων τοιῶν ἄποδείξῃς.
had come to me for fire, and I, having none by me, had taken you to some place where you could get it; you would not, I think, have found fault with me: or, if you had asked for water, and I, having none myself, had brought you to some other place for it, I feel sure that you would not have found fault with me for that either: or, suppose you wanted to learn music with me and I directed you to persons far more skilled in music than I am, who would be grateful to you for taking lessons with them, what fault could you find with me for doing so?"

"None, if I were fair, Socrates."

"Well then, Critobulus, I will direct you to others far more skilled than I in the things you now seek to learn from me. I confess that I have made a point of finding out who are the greatest masters of various sciences to be found in Athens. For observing once that the same pursuits lead in one case to great poverty and in another to great riches, I was filled with amazement, and thought it worth while to consider what this could mean. And on consideration I found that these things happen quite naturally. For I saw that those who follow these pursuits carelessly suffer loss, and I discovered that those who devote themselves earnestly to them accomplish them more quickly, more easily and with more profit. I think that if you would elect to learn from these, you too with God’s favour would turn out a clever man of business."

III. "Socrates," exclaimed Critobulus on hearing this, "I don’t intend to let you go now, until you have proved to my satisfaction what you have promised in the presence of our friends here to prove."
Τί οὖν, ἡφι ὁ Σωκράτης, ὢν Κριτόβουλε, ἢν σοι ἀποδεικνύω πρῶτον μὲν οἰκίας τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου ἄχρηστους οἰκοδομοῦντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ πολὺ ἐλάττονος πάντα ἐχούσας ὃσα δεῖ, ἢ δόξω ἐν τί σοι τούτῳ τῶν οἰκονομικῶν ἔργων ἐπιδεικνύναι;

Καὶ πάντων γ', ἡφι ὁ Κριτόβουλος.

2 Τί δ' ἢν τὸ τούτου ἀκόλουθον μετὰ τούτῳ σοι ἐπιδεικνύωσι, τοὺς μὲν πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ παντοῖα κεκτημένους ἐπιτλα καὶ τοῦτοις, ὅταν δεώνται, μὴ ἔχουσας χρήσθαι μηδὲ εἴδότας, εἰ σώι ἐστίν αὐτοῖς, καὶ διὰ ταύτα πολλὰ μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀνωμένους, πολλὰ δ' ἀνιώντας τοὺς ὁικέτας· τοὺς δὲ οὐδὲν πλέον, άλλα καὶ μείονα τούτων κεκτημένους ἔχουσας εὐθὺς ἑτοιμα ὅτων ἂν δεώνται χρήσθαι;

3 Ἀλλὰ τί οὖν τούτων ἐστίν, ὃ Σώκρατες, αὐτίον ἢ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ὅποι ἔτυχεν ἕκαστον καταβέβληται, τοῖς δὲ ἐν χώρᾳ ἕκαστα τεταγμένα κεῖται;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἡφι ὁ Σωκράτης· καὶ οὖν ἐν χώρᾳ γε, ἐν ἦ ἔτυχεν, ἀλλὰ ἐνθα προσήκει, ἕκαστα διατέτακται.

Λέγειν τί μοι δοκείς, ἡφι, καὶ τούτῳ, ὁ Κριτόβουλος, τῶν οἰκονομικῶν.

4 Τί οὖν, ἢν σοι, ἡφι, καὶ οἰκέτας αὐτὶ ἐπιδεικνύω ἐνθα μὲν πάντας ὡς εἰπεῖν δεδεμένους καὶ τούτους θαμίνα ἀποδιδράσκοντας, ἐνθα δὲ λελυμένους καὶ ἑθέλουν τα τε ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ παραμένειν, οὐ καὶ τούτῳ σοι δόξω ἀξιοθέατον τῆς οἰκονομίας ἔργων ἐπιδεικνύναι;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἡφι ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καὶ σφόδρα γε.
“Well then,” said Socrates, “what if I prove to your satisfaction, Critobulus, to begin with, that some men spend large sums in building houses that are useless, while others build houses perfect in all respects for much less? Will you think that I am putting before you one of the operations that constitute estate management?”

“Yes, certainly.”

“And what if I show you next the companion to this—that some possess many costly belongings and cannot use them at need, and do not even know whether they are safe and sound, and so are continually worried themselves and worrying their servants, whereas others, though they possess not more, but even less, have whatever they want ready for use?”

“What is the reason of this, then, Socrates? Is it not simply this, that the former stow their things away anywhere and the latter have everything neatly arranged in some place?”

“Yes, of course, arranged carefully in the proper place, not just anywhere.”

“Your point, I take it, is that this too is an element in estate management.”

“Then what if I show you besides that in some households nearly all the servants are in fetters and yet continually try to run away, whereas in others they are under no restraint and are willing to work and to stay at their posts? Won’t you think that here too I am pointing out to you a notable effect of estate management?”

“Yes, of course; very much so.”

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5 Ἡν δὲ καὶ παραπλησίους γεωργίας γεωργούντας τοὺς μὲν ἀπολωλέναι φάσκοντας ὑπὸ γεωργίας καὶ ἀποροῦντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀφθόνως καὶ καλῶς πάντα ἔχοντας, ὅσων δέονται, ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος. ἵσως γὰρ ἀναλίσκουσι τὸν εἰς ὃ δὲ Μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἃ βλάβην φέρει αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ ὦκῳ.

6 Εἰςὶ μὲν τινὲς ἵσως, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ τοιούτοι. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ὦ τούτων λέγω, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰς τάναγκαια ἔχουσι δαπανᾶν, γεωργεῖν φάσκοντες.

Καὶ τὸ ἂν εἰς τοῦτον αἴτιον, ὡ Σώκρατες;

'Εγὼ σε ἄξω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦτον, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης: σὺ δὲ θεώμενος δήπου καταμαθήσῃ.

Νή Δί', ἐφη, ἦν δύνωμαι γε.

7 Οὐκοῦν χρῆθε θεώμενον σαντοῦ ἀποπειρᾶσθαι εἰ γνώσῃ. νῦν δ' ἐγὼ σε σύνοιδα ἐπὶ μὲν κωμωδῶν θέαν καὶ πάνυ πρωὶ ἀνιστάμενον καὶ πάνυ μακρὰν ὀδὸν βαδίζουτα καὶ ἐμὲ ἀναπείθοντα προθύμως συνθεασθαί: ἐπὶ δὲ τοιοῦτον οὐδέν με πώποτε ἔργον παρεκάλεσας.

Οὐκοῦν γελοῖός σοι φαίνομαι εἶναι, ὡ Σώκρατες.

8 Σαντῷ δὲ πολὺ νὴ Δί', ἐφη, γελοιότερός ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀφ' ἰπτικῆς σοι ἐπιδεικνύον τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἀπορίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐληλυθότοις, τοὺς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἰπτικῆν καὶ πάνω εὐπόρους οὕτως καὶ ἄμα ἀγαλλομένους ἐπὶ τῷ κέρδει;

Οὐκοῦν τούτως μὲν καὶ ἐγὼ ὦρῷ καὶ οἴδα ἐκατέρους καὶ οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον τῶν κερδαίνοντων γίγνομαι.

9 Θεᾶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἦπερ τοὺς τραγῳδοῦσ τε καὶ κωμῳδοῦσ, οὐχ ὁπως ποιητής οἴομαι γένη, ἀλλ' 384
"And that when men farm the same kind of land, some are poverty-stricken and declare that they are ruined by farming, and others do well with the farm and have all they want in abundance?"

"Yes, of course; for maybe some spend money not on necessary purposes only but on what brings harm to the owner and the estate."

"Perhaps there are such people. But I am referring rather to those who haven’t the money to meet even the necessary expenses, though professing to be farmers."

"Now what can be the reason of that, Socrates?"

"I will take you to these too; and when you watch them, you will find out, I fancy."

"Of course; that is, if I can."

"Then you must watch, and try by experiment whether you are capable of understanding. At present I observe that when a comedy is to be seen, you get up very early and walk a very long way and press me eagerly to go to the play with you. But you have never yet invited me to see a drama of real life like this."

"You think me ridiculous, don’t you, Socrates?"

"You think yourself far more so, I am sure. And suppose I show you that some have been brought to penury by keeping horses, while others prosper by doing so, and moreover glory in their gain?"

"Well, I too see and know instances of both; I am not one of the gainers for all that."

"The fact is you watch them just as you watch the actors in tragedy or comedy, not, I suppose, to
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δόπως ἦσθης ἴδὼν τι ἣ ἀκούσας· καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἵσως οὕτως ὀρθῶς ἔχει, οὐ γὰρ ποιητὴς βουλεῖ γενέσθαι, ἵππικη δ᾽ ἀναγκαζόμενος χρήσθαι οὐ μόρος οἰεὶ εἶναι, εἰ μὴ σκοπεῖς, ὅπως μὴ ἰδιώτης ἐσῃ τούτου τοῦ ἔργου, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἱππῶν ἅγαθῶν εἰς τῇ ἕρησιν καὶ κερδαλέων εἰς πόλησιν οὖντων;

10 Πωλοδαμνεῖν με κελεύεις, ὥ Σῶκρατες;
Οὐ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐδὲν τι μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ γεωργοὺς ἐκ παιδίων ὠνομενον κατασκευάζειν, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι τινὲς μοι δοκοῦσιν ἥλικιαι καὶ ἱππῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, αἱ εὐθύς τε χρήσιμαι εἰς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἐπιδιδόσαιν. ἔχω δ᾽ ἐπιδεῖξαι καὶ γυναῖξι ταῖς γαμεταῖς τοὺς μὲν οὕτω χρωμένους, ὡστε συνεργοὺς ἔχειν αὐτὰς εἰς τὸ συναύξειν τοὺς οἰκους, τοὺς δὲ ἥ ὡς πλείονα λυμαίνονται.

11 Καὶ τούτου πότερα χρῆ, ὥ Σῶκρατες, τὸν ἄνδρα αἰτιάσθαι ἢ τὴν γυναῖκα;
Πρόβατον μὲν, ἐφη δ᾽ Σωκράτης, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἢν κακώς ἔχη, τὸν νομεά αἰτιώμεθα, καὶ ἱππὸς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἢν κακορρήγη, τὸν ἱππέα κακίζομεν· τῆς δὲ γυναικός, εἰ μὲν διδασκομένη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄνδρος τὰ γαθά κακοποιεῖ, ἵσως δικαίως ἀν ἡ γυνὴ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχον· εἰ δὲ μὴ διδάσκων τὰ καλὰ κάγαθα ἀνεπιστημονικῶς τούτων χρᾷτο, ἄρ᾽ οὐ

12 δικαίως ἀν ὁ ἄνηρ τὴν αἰτίαν ἔχοι; πάντως δ᾽, ἐφη, δ᾽ Κριτόβουλε, φίλοι γὰρ ἐσμέν οἱ παρόντες, ἀπαλλάθευσον τρο both MSS. 3 proς ἡμᾶς. ἐστιν ὅτω ἄλλῳ τῶν σπουδαίων πλείω ἐπιτρέπεις ἢ τῇ γυναικί;

1 ἱππῶν Graux: ὄντων Sauppe with the MSS.
2 ὡς πλείονα Stephanus: οἱ πλείστοι Sauppe with most MSS.
3 ἀπαλλάθευσον Stephanus: ἀπαλλαθέουσα Sauppe with the MSS.

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become a playwright, but for the pleasure of seeing and hearing something. And perhaps there is no harm in that, because you don’t want to write plays; but seeing that you are forced to meddle with horses, don’t you think that common-sense requires you to see that you are not ignorant of the business, the more so as the self-same horses are both good to use and profitable to sell?"

"Would you have me break in colts, Socrates?"

"Of course not, no more than I would have you buy children to train as agricultural labourers; but horses and human beings alike, I think, on reaching a certain age forthwith become useful and go on improving. I can also show you that husbands differ widely in their treatment of their wives, and some succeed in winning their co-operation and thereby increase their estates, while others bring utter ruin on their houses by their behaviour to them."

"And ought one to blame the husband or the wife for that, Socrates?"

"When a sheep is ailing," said Socrates, "we generally blame the shepherd, and when a horse is vicious, we generally find fault with his rider. In the case of a wife, if she receives instruction in the right way from her husband and yet does badly, perhaps she should bear the blame; but if the husband does not instruct his wife in the right way of doing things, and so finds her ignorant, should he not bear the blame himself? Anyhow, Critobulus, you should tell us the truth, for we are all friends here. Is there anyone to whom you commit more affairs of importance than you commit to your wife?"

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Οὔδενί, ἔφη.
‘Εστι δὲ ὅτω ἐλάττονα διαλέγῃ ἢ τῇ γυναικί; Ἐι δὲ μὴ, οὐ πολλοῖς γε, ἔφη.
13 Ἑγγμας δὲ αὐτὴν πάντα νέαν μάλιστα καὶ ὡς ἴδυνατο ἐλάχιστα ἐωρακυίαν καὶ ἀκηκούιαν; Μάλιστα.
Οὔκοιν πολὺ θαυμαστότερον, εἶ τι δὲν δεῖ λέγειν ἢ πράττειν ἐπίστατο ἢ εἶ ἐξαμαρτάνοι.
14 Οἷς δὲ σὺ λέγεις ἀγαθὰς εἶναι γυναικας, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἢ αὐτοὶ ταύτας ἐπαιδεύσαν;
Οὐδὲν οἶνον τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖσθαι. συντίςω δὲ σοι ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀσπασίαν, ἢ ἐπιστημονέστερον
15 ἐμοῦ σοι ταύτα πάντα ἐπιδείξει. νομίζω δὲ γυναικα κοινωνόν ἀγαθὴν οἶκον οὖσαν πάνυ ἀντίρροσπον εἶναι τῷ ἀνδρὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν. ἔρ-
χεται μὲν γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν διὰ τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς πράξεων τὰ κτήματα ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, δαπανᾶται δὲ διὰ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ταμιευμάτων τὰ πλεῖστα· καὶ εὔ μὲν τούτων γιγνομένων αὐξονται οἱ οἶκοι, κακῶς δὲ τούτων πραττομένων οἱ οἶκοι μειοῦνται.
16 οἴμαι δὲ σοι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιστημῶν τοὺς ἄξιως λόγου ἐκάστην ἐργαζόμενους ἔχειν αὖ ἐπι-
δείξαι σοι, εἴτε προσδείσθαι νομίζεις.
ÍV. Ἀλλὰ πάσας μὲν τὶ σε δεῖ ἐπιδεικνύναι, ὡς Σώκρατες; ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος· οὔτε γὰρ κτή-
σασθαί πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν ἐργάτας ράδιον οἶον δεῖ οὔτε ἐμπειρόν γενέσθαι αὐτῶν οὖν τε, ἀλλὰ ἰδοκοῦσι κάλλιστα τῶν ἐπιστημῶν καὶ ἐμοὶ πρέποι ἢν μάλιστα ἐπιμελομένῳ, ταύτας μοι καὶ αὐτὰς ἐπιδείκνυε καὶ τοὺς πράττοντας αὐτὰς καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ τι δύνασαι συνωφέλει εἰς ταύτα διδάσκων.
"There is not."
"Is there anyone with whom you talk less?"
"There are few or none, I confess."
"And you married her when she was a mere 13 child and had seen and heard almost nothing?"
"Certainly."
"Then it would be far more surprising if she understood what she should say or do than if she made mistakes."
"But what of the husbands who, as you say, have 14 good wives, Socrates? Did they train them themselves?"
"There's nothing like investigation. I will introduce Aspasia to you, and she will explain the whole matter to you with more knowledge than I possess. I think that the wife who is a good 15 partner in the household contributes just as much as her husband to its good; because the incomings for the most part are the result of the husband's exertions, but the outgoings are controlled mostly by the wife's dispensation. If both do their part well, the estate is increased; if they act incompetently, it is diminished. If you think you want 16 to know about other branches of knowledge, I fancy I can show you people who acquit themselves creditably in any one of them."

IV. "Surely, Socrates, there is no need to go through the whole list. For it is not easy to get workmen who are skilled in all the arts, nor is it possible to become an expert in them. Pray select the branches of knowledge that seem the noblest and would be most suitable for me to cultivate: show me these, and those who practise them; and give me from your own knowledge any help you can towards learning them."
2 Ἀλλὰ καλῶς, ἐφη, λέγεις, ὥς Κριτόβουλε. καὶ γὰρ αἱ γε βαναυσικαὶ καλοῦμεναι καὶ ἐπίρρητοι τέ εἰσι καὶ εἰκότως μέντοι πάνυ ἄδοξοῦνται πρὸς τῶν πόλεων. καταλυμαίνονται γὰρ τὰ σώματα τῶν τε ἐργαζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων ἀνυγ-κάζουσι καθῆσθαι καὶ σκιατραφεῖσθαι, ἐναι δὲ καὶ πρὸς πῦρ ἠμερεύειν. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων θηλυκομένων καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ πολὺ ἀρρωστότεραι

3 γίγνονται. καὶ ἁσχολίας δὲ μάλιστα ἔχουσι καὶ φίλων καὶ πόλεως συνεπιμελεῖσθαι αἱ βαναυσικαὶ καλοῦμεναι. ὡστε οἱ τοιούτοι δοκοῦσι κακοὶ καὶ φίλοις χρήσθαι καὶ ταῖς πατρίσιν ἀλεξιπτήρες εἶναι. καὶ ἐν ἑνίασι μὲν τῶν πόλεων, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν ταῖς εὐπολέμοις δοκοῦσαι εἶναι οὐδὲ ἐξεστι τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ βαναυσικᾶς τέχνας ἐργά-ξεσθαι.

4 Ἡμῖν δὲ δὴ ποίαις συμβουλεύεις, ὡ Σώκρατες, χρῆσθαι; Ἀρα, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μὴ αἰσχυνθῶμεν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέα μιμήσασθαι; ἐκείνων γὰρ φασιν ἐν τοῖς καλλίστοις τε καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἤγομ-μενον εἶναι ἐπιμελήμασι γεωργίᾳ τε καὶ τὴν πολεμικὴν τέχνην τούτων ἀμφοτέρων ἱσχυρῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

5 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἔπει, Καὶ τούτῳ, ἐφη, πιστεύεις, ὡ Σώκρατες, βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν γεωργίας τι συνεπιμελεῖσθαι; Ὡδέ ἄν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπισκοποῦστες, ὡ Κριτόβουλε, ἵσως ἄν καταμάθοιμεν, εἰ τι συν-επιμελεῖται. τῶν μὲν γὰρ πολεμικῶν ἔργων ἰμολυγοῦμεν αὐτῶν ἱσχυρῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὅτι εἷς ὁπόσωσπερ ἐθνῶν δασμοὺς λαμβάνει, τέταχε τὸ
“Very good, Critobulus; for, to be sure, the 2 illiberal arts, as they are called, are spoken against, and are, naturally enough, held in utter disdain in our states. For they spoil the bodies of the workmen and the foremen, forcing them to sit still and live indoors, and in some cases to spend the day at the fire. The softening of the body involves a serious weakening of the mind. Moreover, these 3 so-called illiberal arts leave no spare time for attention to one’s friends and city, so that those who follow them are reputed bad at dealing with friends and bad defenders of their country. In fact, in some of the states, and especially in those reputed warlike, it is not even lawful for any of the citizens to work at illiberal arts.”

“But what arts, pray, do you advise us to follow, Socrates?”

“Need we be ashamed of imitating the king of the Persians? For they say that he pays close attention to husbandry and the art of war, holding that these are two of the noblest and most necessary pursuits.”

“And do you really believe, Socrates,” exclaimed Critobulus on hearing this, “that the king of the Persians includes husbandry among his occupations?”

“Perhaps, Critobulus, the following considerations will enable us to discover whether he does so. We allow that he pays close attention to warfare, because he has given a standing order to every governor of the nations from which he receives tribute, to supply

1 Or, less probably, “bad for friends to deal with.”
天地相合，万物生焉。且夫天地之气，合和之长，物之化生，皆以天地为本。今以天地为本，而求万物之道，未之见也。故曰：‘天地之气，合和之长，物之化生，皆以天地为本。’

6 Αρχισον τη χώρα, χώρις δε τούτων φύλακας εν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσι τρέφει· καὶ τὴν μὲν τροφὴν τοῖς φρουροῖς δίδωσιν ὁ ἄρχων, ὥς τούτῳ προστέτακται, βασιλεὺς δὲ κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτοῖς ἔξετασιν ποιεῖται τῶν μισθοφόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἷς ὁμότιμαι προστέτακται, καὶ πάντας ἀμα συνάγων πλὴν τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀκροπόλεσιν ἐνθα δὴ ὁ σύλλογος καλείται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ οἰκησιν αὐτὸς ἔφορα, τοὺς δὲ πρόσω ἀποικοῦντας πιστοὺς

7 πέμπει ἐπισκοπεῖν· καὶ οἰ μὲν ἄν φαίνωνται τῶν φρουράρχων καὶ τῶν χειλιάρχων καὶ τῶν σατραπῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ τεταγμένου ἑκτέλεων ἐχουτε καὶ τούτους δοκίμοις ἰπποίς τε καὶ ὁπλοῖς κατεσκευασμένους παρέχωσι, τούτους μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ταῖς τιμαῖς αὐξαί καὶ ἄρρητοις μεγάλοις καταπλουτίζει, οὕς δ᾽ ἄν εὕρῃ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἡ καταμελοῦντας τῶν φρουρῶν ἡ κατακερδαίοντας, τούτους χαλεπῶς κολάζει καὶ παῦσιν τῆς ἄρχης ἄλλους ἐπιμελητάς καθίστησι. τῶν μὲν δὴ πολεμικῶν ἐργῶν ταῦτα ποιῶν δοκεῖ Ἦμιν ἀναμφιλόγως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.

8 Ἐτι δὲ ὀπόσην μὲν τῆς χώρας διηλαύνων ἐφορα ἀυτὸς καὶ δοκιμάζει, ὀπόσην δὲ μὴ αὐτὸς ἐφορα, πέμπων πιστοὺς ἐπισκοπεῖται. καὶ οὐ χωρὸν ἄν αἰσθάνηται τῶν ἄρχοντων συνοικουμένην τε τῆν χώραν παρεχωμένους καὶ ἐνεργοὺς οὕτως τῆν γῆν καὶ πλήρη δένδρων τε ὃν ἐκάστη φέρει καὶ καρπῶν, τούτους μὲν χώραν τε ἄλλην προστίθησι
maintenance for a specified number of horsemen and archers and slingers and light infantry, that they may be strong enough to control his subjects and to protect the country in the event of an invasion; and, apart from these, he maintains garrisons in the 6 citadels. Maintenance for these is supplied by the governor charged with this duty, and the king annually reviews the mercenaries and all the other troops ordered to be under arms, assembling all but the men in the citadels at the place of muster, as it is called: he personally inspects the men who are near his residence, and sends trusted agents to review those who live far away. The officers, whether commanders of garrisons or of regiments or viceroys, who turn out with a full complement of men and parade them equipped with horses and arms in good condition, he promotes in the scale of honour and enriches with large grants of money; but those officers whom he finds to be neglecting the garrisons or making profit out of them he punishes severely, and appoints others to take their office. These actions, then, seem to us to leave no room for question that he pays attention to warfare.

As for the country, he personally examines so much of it as he sees in the course of his progress through it; and he receives reports from his trusted agents on the territories that he does not see for himself. To those governors who are able to show him that their country is densely populated and that the land is in cultivation and well stocked with the trees of the district and with the crops, he assigns more territory and gives presents, and
καὶ δύο τοὺς κοσμεῖ καὶ ἐδραῖς ἐντίμων γεραίρει, οἷς δ’ ἄν ὅρα ἄργον τε τὴν χώραν οὕσαν καὶ ὀλιγάνθρωπον ἢ διὰ χαλεπότητα ἢ δ’ ύβριν ἢ δ’ ἀμέλειαν, τούτους δὲ κολάζων καὶ παῦσιν τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχουτας ἄλλους καθίστησι. ταῦτα ποιὼν δοκεῖ ἵττουν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὡς ἡ γῆ ἑνεργός ἐσταὶ ὑπὸ τῶν κατοικούντων ἢ ὅπως εὗ φυλάξεται ὑπὸ τῶν φρουροῦντων, καὶ εἰσὶ δ’ αὐτῷ οἱ ἀρχουτες διατεταγμένοι ἐφ’ ἐκάτερον οὕχ οἱ αὐτοὶ, ἀλλ’ οἱ μὲν ἀρχουσι τῶν κατοικούντων τε καὶ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ δασμοὺς ἐκ τούτων ἐκλέγουσιν, οἱ δ’ ἀρχουσι τῶν ὁπλίσμενων τε καὶ τῶν φρουρῶν. καὶ μὲν ὁ φρούραρχος μὴ ἴκανῶς τῇ χώρᾳ ἀρήγη, ὁ τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀρχων καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐπιμελούμενος κατηγορεῖ τοῦ φρουράρχου, ὅτι οὗ δύνανται ἔργαξεσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀφυλαξίαν, ἢν δὲ παρέχοντος τοῦ φρουράρχου εἰρήνην τοῖς ἐργοῖς ὁ ἀρχων ὀλιγάνθρωπον τε παρέχηται καὶ ἄργον τὴν χώραν, τούτου αὐτοῦ κατηγορεῖ ὁ φρούραρχος.

καὶ γὰρ σχεδὸν τι οἱ κακῶς τὴν χώραν ἐργαζόμενοι οὐτε τοὺς φρουροὺς τρέφουσιν οὐτε τοὺς δασμοὺς δύνανται ἀποδίδοναι. ὅπου δ’ ἄν σατράπης καθιστήται, οὗτος ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐπιμελεῖται.

Ἐκ τούτων ὁ Κριτόβουλος εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα ποιεῖ βασιλεύς, ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ ήττον τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν.

Ἐτι δὲ πρὸς τούτοις, ἐφ’ ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐν ὁπόσας τε χώραις ἐνοικεῖ καὶ εἰς ὁπόσας ἐπιστρέφεται, ἐπιμελεῖται τούτων, ὡς κηποί
rewards them with seats of honour. Those whose territory he finds uncultivated and thinly populated either through harsh administration or through contempt or through carelessness, he punishes, and appoints others to take their office. By such action, does he seem to provide less for the cultivation of the land by the inhabitants than for its protection by the garrisons? Moreover, each of these duties is entrusted to a separate class of officers; one class governs the residents and the labourers, and collects tribute from them, the other commands the men under arms and the garrisons. If the commander of a garrison affords insufficient protection to the country, the civil governor and controller of agriculture denounces the commander, setting out that the inhabitants are unable to work the farms for want of protection. If, on the other hand, the commander brings peace to the farms, and the governor nevertheless causes the land to be sparsely populated and idle, the commander in turn denounces the governor. For, roughly speaking, where cultivation is inefficient, the garrisons are not maintained and the tribute cannot be paid. Wherever a viceroy is appointed, he attends to both these matters."

At this point Critobulus said: "Well, Socrates, if the Great King does this, it seems to me that he pays as much attention to husbandry as to warfare."

"Yet further," continued Socrates, "in all the districts he resides in and visits he takes care that

1 Cyropædia, viii. i. 39.

1 τε κα τῶν added by Graux: Sauppe omits.
XENOPHON

te ἐσονται οἱ παράδεισοι καλούμενοι πάντων καλῶν τε κἀγαθῶν μεστοῖ, ὡσα ἡ γῆ φύειν θέλει, καὶ ἐν τούτοις αὐτὸς τὰ πλείστα διατρίβει, ὅταν μὴ ἡ ὠρα τοῦ ἔτους ἐξείργη.

14 Ἡ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἀνώγη τοῖςν, ὡς Σώκρατες, ἐνθά γε διατρίβει αὐτὸς, καὶ ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα κατασκευασμένοι ἐσονται οἱ παρά
dεισοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δἐνδρεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασὶ καλοῖς, ὡσα ἡ γῆ φύει.

15 Ψασὶ δὲ τινας, ἔφη ὁ Σώκρατης, ὡς Κριτόβουλε, καὶ ὅταν δῶρα διδῶ ὁ βασιλεὺς, πρῶτον μὲν εἰςκαλεῖν τοὺς πολέμῳ ἁγαθοὺς γεγονότας, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὅφελος πολλὰ ἄροιν, εἰ μὴ εἰςν οἱ ἀρή
ξοντες· δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς κατασκευαζόντας τὰς χώρας ἀριστα καὶ ἐνεργοὺς ποιοῦντας λέγοντα,
ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν οἱ ἀλκιμοὶ δύναιντο ξῆν, εἰ μὴ εἰς

16 οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Κύρος ποτε, ὅστερ εὐδοκιμώτατος δὴ βασιλεὺς γεγένηται,
eἰπεὶν τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰ δῶρα κεκλημένοις, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀν δικαίως τὰ ἀμφοτέρων δῶρα λαμβάνοι-
catatasken activités το γὰρ ἀριστος εἰναι ἔφη χώραν καὶ ἀρήγειν τοῖς κατασκευασμένοις.

17 Κύρος μὲν τοῖνυν, ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὡς Σώκρατες, καὶ ἐπηγαλλετο οὐδὲν ἦττον, εἰ ταῦτα ἐλεγεν, ἐπὶ τῷ χώρας ἐνεργοὺς ποιεῖν καὶ κατα-
skeuazειν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πολεμικῷ εἴη

18 Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, Κύρος γε, εἰ ἐβίωσεν, ἀριστος ἀν δοκεῖ ἄρχων γενέσθαι, καὶ τούτον τεκμήρια ἄλλα τε πολλὰ παρέσχηται καὶ ὅποτε περὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπο-

terέετο μαχούμενος, παρὰ μὲν Κύρον οὐδεὶς λέγεται αὐτομολήσαι πρὸς βασιλέα, παρὰ δὲ βασιλέως 396
there are 'paradises,' as they call them, full of all the good and beautiful things that the soil will produce, and in this he himself spends most of his time, except when the season precludes it."

"Then it is of course necessary, Socrates, to take care that these paradises in which the king spends his time shall contain a fine stock of trees and all other beautiful things that the soil produces."

"And some say, Critobulus, that when the king makes gifts, he first invites those who have distinguished themselves in war, because it is useless to have broad acres under tillage unless there are men to defend them; and next to them, those who stock and cultivate the land best, saying that even stout-hearted warriors cannot live without the aid of workers. There is a story that Cyrus, lately the most illustrious of princes, once said to the company invited to receive his gifts, 'I myself deserve to receive the gifts awarded in both classes; for I am the best at stocking land and the best at protecting the stock.'"

"Well, if Cyrus said that, Socrates, he took as much pride in cultivating and stocking land as in being a warrior."

"Yes, and, upon my word, if Cyrus had only lived, it seems that he would have proved an excellent ruler. One of the many proofs that he has given of this is the fact that, when he was on his way to fight his brother for the throne, it is said that not a man deserted from Cyrus to the king, whereas tens
19 πολλαὶ μυριάδες πρὸς Κύρον. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἔχομαι μέγα τεκμήριον ἄρχοντος ἀρετῆς εἶναι, ὃ ἂν ἐκόντες πείθωνται καὶ ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς παραμένειν ἐθέλωσιν. ἐκεῖνῳ δὲ [καὶ] οἱ φίλοι ζωντι τε συνεμάχοντο καὶ ἀποθανόντι συναπέθανον πᾶντες περὶ τὸν νεκρὸν μαχόμενον πλήν 'Αριαίον. 'Αριαίος δὲ ἐτυχεν ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ κέρατι τεταγμένοι.

20 Ὅποτε τοίνυν ὁ Κύρος λέγεται Ἀυσάνδρῳ, ὅτε ἠλθεν ἄγων αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων δῶρα, ἀλλὰ τε φιλοφρονεῖσθαί, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη ὁ Λύσανδρος ἕνεῳ ποτὲ τινι ἐν Μεγάροις διηγούμενος, καὶ τὸν ἐν Σάρδεσι παράδεισον ἑπιδεικνύιαν αὐτὸν ἔφη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐθαύμαζεν αὐτὸν ὁ Λύσανδρος, ὡς καλὰ μὲν τὰ δεύδρα εἶχ, δὲ ἵσου δὲ [τὰ] πεφυτευμένα, ὅρθοι δὲ οἱ στίχοι τῶν δεύδρων, εὐγόνια δὲ πάντα καλῶς εἶχ, ὅσμα δὲ πολλαὶ καὶ ἢδειαι συμπαρομαρτοῦειν αὐτοῖς περιπατοῦσι, καὶ ταῦτα θαυμάζων εἶπεν 'Αλλ' ἐγὼ τοι, ὁ Κύρε, πάντα μὲν ταῦτα θαυμάζω ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον ἄγαιμαι τοῦ καταμετρήσαντός σοι καὶ διατάξαντός ἐκαστὰ τούτων.

21 ἀκούσαντα δὲ ταῦτα τὸν Κύρον ἠσθῆναι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν. Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὁ Λύσανδρε, ἐγὼ πάντα καὶ διεμέτρησα καὶ διέταξα, ἐστὶ δὲ αὐτῶν, φάναι, ἀ καὶ ἐφύτευσα αὐτὸς. καὶ ὁ Λύσανδρος ἔφη, ἀποβλέψας εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ ἵδὼν τῶν τε ἰματίων τὸ κάλλος ὁν εἰχε καὶ τῆς ὀσμῆς αἰσθόμενος καὶ τῶν στρεπτῶν καὶ τῶν ψελίων [τὸ κάλλος] καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου κόσμου οὐ εἶχεν, εἰπεῖν, Τί λέγεις, φάναι, ὁ Κύρε; ἦ γὰρ σὺ ταῖς σαίς χερσὶ τούτων τι ἐφύτευσας; καὶ τὸν Κύρον ἀποκρίνασθαί,
of thousands deserted from the king to Cyrus. I think you have one clear proof of a ruler's excellence, when men obey him willingly and choose to stand by him in moments of danger. Now his friends all fought at his side and fell at his side to a man, fighting round his body, with the one exception of Ariaeus, whose place in the battle was, in point of fact, on the left wing.

"Further, the story goes that when Lysander came to him bringing the gifts from the allies, this Cyrus showed him various marks of friendliness, as Lysander himself related once to a stranger at Megara, adding besides that Cyrus personally showed him round his paradise at Sardis. Now Lysander admired the beauty of the trees in it, the accuracy of the spacing, the straightness of the rows, the regularity of the angles and the multitude of the sweet scents that clung round them as they walked; and for wonder of these things he cried, 'Cyrus, I really do admire all these lovely things, but I am far more impressed with your agent's skill in measuring and arranging everything so exactly.' Cyrus was delighted to hear this and said: 'Well, Lysander, the whole of the measurement and arrangement is my own work, and I did some of the planting myself.' 'What, Cyrus?' exclaimed Lysander, looking at him, and marking the beauty and perfume of his robes, and the splendour of the necklaces and bangles and other jewels that he was wearing; 'did you really plant part of this with your own hands?' 'Does that

1 Mem iii. iii. 9.
2 Anabasis, i. ix. 31. Ariaeus fled when he saw that Cyrus had fallen.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

Θαυμάζεις τούτο, φάναι, ὦ Δύσανδρε; ὀμνυμίσωι τὸν Μίθρην, ὅτανπερ ὑγιαίνω, μηπώποτε δειπνῆσαι πρὶν ἰδρῶσαι ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν τι ἢ τῶν γεωργικῶν ἔργων μελετῶν ἢ ἅει ἐν γέ τι φιλοτιμούμενος.

25 Καὶ αὐτὸς μέντοι ἐφη ὁ Δύσανδρος ἀκούσας ταῦτα δεξιώσασθαί τε αὐτὸν καὶ εἰπεῖν. Δικαῖος μοι δοκεῖς, ὦ Κύρη, εὐδαιμονῶ εἰναι ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς.

V. Ταῦτα δὲ, ὦ Κριτόβουλε, ἐγὼ διηγοῦμαι, ἐφῆ ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τῆς γεωργίας οὐδ’ οἱ πάνω μακάριοι δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι. ἔοικε γὰρ ἡ ἐπι-μελεία αὐτῆς εἶναι ἁμα τῇ ἤδυπάθεια τις καὶ οἶκον αὐξήσες καὶ σωμάτων ἁσκήσεις εἰς τὸ δύνασθαι

2 ὅσα ἀνδρὶ ἐλευθέρῳ προσήκει. πρὸτον μὲν γὰρ ἄφι ὑδ’ ἡξὸςν οἱ ἀνθρώποι, ταῦτα ἡ γῇ φέρει ἐργα-ξομένοις, καὶ ἄφ’ ὡν τοῖς ἠδυπαθοῦσι προσεπι-

3 φέρει: ἐπείτα δὲ ὅσα κοσμοῦσι βωμοὺς καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ οῖς αὐτοὶ κοσμοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ ἠδίστων ὀσμῶν καὶ θεαμάτων παρέχειν ἐπείτα δὲ ψυχα πολλὰ τὰ μὲν φύει, τὰ δὲ τρέβει καὶ γὰρ ἡ προβατευτικὴ τέχνη συνηπταὶ τῇ γεωργίᾳ, ὡστε ἔχειν καὶ θεοὺς ἐξαρέσκεσθαι

4 θύοντας καὶ αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι. παρέχουσα δ᾿ ἀφθονώτατα ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ἐὰν ταῦτα μετὰ μαλακίας λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ ψύχῃ τε χειμῶνος καὶ θάλπη θέρους ἑθίζει καρτερεῖν. καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτουργοὺς διὰ τῶν χειρῶν γυμνάξουσα ἵσχυν αὐτοῖς προστήθησε, τοὺς δὲ τῇ ἐπιμελείᾳ γεωργοῦντας ἀνδρίζει πρωὶ τε ἐγείρουσα καὶ πορεύεσθαι σφοδρῶς ἄναγ-κάζουσα. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἄει ἐν ὃρᾳ αἱ ἐπικαιριώταται πράξεις εἰσίν. 400
OECONOMICUS, iv. 24-v. 4

surprise you, Lysander? asked Cyrus in reply. 'I swear by the Sun-god that I never yet sat down to dinner when in sound health, without first working hard at some task of war or agriculture, or exerting myself somehow.'

"Lysander himself declared, I should add, that on hearing this, he congratulated him in these words: 'I think you deserve your happiness, Cyrus, for you earn it by your virtues.'"

V. "Now I tell you this," continued Socrates, "because even the wealthiest cannot hold aloof from husbandry. For the pursuit of it is in some sense a luxury as well as a means of increasing one's estate and of training the body in all that a free man should be able to do. For, in the first place, the earth yields to cultivators the food by which men live; she yields besides the luxuries they enjoy. Secondly, she supplies all the things with which they decorate altars and statues and themselves, along with most pleasant sights and scents. Thirdly, she produces or feeds the ingredients of many delicate dishes; for the art of breeding stock is closely linked with husbandry; so that men have victims for propitiating the gods with sacrifice and cattle for their own use. And though she supplies good things in abundance, she suffers them not to be won without toil, but accustoms men to endure winter's cold and summer's heat. She gives increased strength through exercise to the men that labour with their own hands, and hardens the overseers of the work by rousing them early and forcing them to move about briskly. For on a farm no less than in a town the most important operations have their
5 ἔπειτα ἢν τε σὺν ὑπ' ὑπ' ἀρίθμευν τις τῇ πόλει βούληται, τὸν ὑπ' ικανωτάτην ἡ γεωργία συν- 
τρέφειν, ἢν τε πεζῇ, σφοδροὺς τὸ σῶμα παρέχειν θήραις 
τε ἐπιφιλοποιεῖσθαι συνεπαίρει τι ἡ γῆ καὶ κυσίν εὐπέ 
τειαν τροφῆς παρέχουσα καὶ 

6 θηρία συμπαρατρέφουσα. ὦφελοῦμενοι δὲ καὶ 
οἱ ὑποι καὶ αἱ κύνες ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας ἀντωφε-
λοῦσι τὸν χῶρον, ὦ μὲν ὑπὸς προὶ τε κομῆς 
τὸν κηδόμενον εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐξουσίαν 
παρέχων ὡφτα ἀπείναι, αἱ δὲ κύνες τὰ τε θηρία 
ἀπερύκουσαι ἀπὸ λύμης καρπῶν καὶ προβάτων 
καὶ τῇ ἐρήμῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν συμπαρέχουσαι. 

7 παρορμαὶ δὲ τι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀρίθμευν σὺν ὄπλοις τῇ 
χώρᾳ καὶ ἡ γῆ τοὺς γεωργοὺς ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τοὺς 
καρποὺς τρέφουσα τῷ κρατοῦντι λαμβάνειν. 

8 καὶ δραμεῖν δὲ καὶ βαλεῖν καὶ πηδῆσαι τὸς ἰκανω-
tέρους τέχνη γεωργίας παρέχεται; τὰς δὲ τοῖς 
ἐργαζόμενοι πλεῖω τέχνη ἀντιχαρίζεται; τὰς δὲ 
ἳδιον τὸν ἐπιμελόμενον δέχεται, προτείνουσα 
προσιόντι λαβεῖν οὐ τὸ χρήζει; τὰς δὲ ξένους 

9 ἀφθονώτερον δέχεται; χειμάσαι δὲ πυρὶ ἀβθόνῳ 
καὶ θερμοῖς λουτροῖς ποὺ πλεῖων εὐμάρεια ἡ ἐν 
χώρῳ τῷ; ποῦ δὲ ἰδίον θερίζαι ὑδασὶ τε καὶ πνεῦ-
μασὶ καὶ σκιαῖς ἡ κατ' ἀγρόν; τὰς δὲ ἅλλη θεοῖς 
ἀπαρχαῖς πρεπωδεστέρας παρέχει ἡ ἐορτάς πλη-
ρεστέρας ἀποδεικνύει; τὰς δὲ οἰκέταις προσφι-
λεστέρα ἡ γυναίκι ἰδίοις ἡ τέκνοις ποθεινοτέρα 

11 ἡ φίλοις εὐχαριστοτέρα; ἐμοὶ μὲν θαυμαστὸν 
δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἴ τις ἐλεύθερος ἀνθρώπος ἡ κτῆμα 
tοῦτον ἰδίον κέκτηται ἡ ἐπιμέλειαν ἰδίῳ τινὰ 
ταύτης εὐρηκεν ὡφελιμωτέραν εἰς τὸν βίον.
fixed times. Again, if a man wants to serve in the cavalry, farming is his most efficient partner in furnishing keep for his horse; if on foot, it makes his body brisk. And the land helps in some measure to arouse a liking for the toil of hunting, since it affords facilities for keeping hounds and at the same time supplies food for the wild game that preys on the land. And if husbandry benefits horses and hounds, they benefit the farm no less, the horses by carrying the overseer early to the scene of his duties and enabling him to leave it late, the hounds by keeping the wild animals from injuring crops and sheep, and by helping to give safety to solitude. The land also stimulates armed protection of the country on the part of the husbandmen, by nourishing her crops in the open for the strongest to take. And what art produces better runners, throwers and jumpers than husbandry? What art rewards the labourer more generously? What art welcomes her follower more gladly, inviting him to come and take whatever he wants? What art entertains strangers more generously? Where is there greater facility for passing the winter comforted by generous fire and warm baths, than on a farm? Where is it pleasanter to spend the summer enjoying the cool waters and breezes and shade, than in the country? What other art yields more seemly first-fruits for the gods, or gives occasion for more crowded festivals? What art is dearer to servants, or pleasanter to a wife, or more delightful to children, or more agreeable to friends? To me indeed it seems strange, if any free man has come by a possession pleasanter than this, or has found out an occupation pleasanter than this or more useful for winning a livelihood.
12 "Ετι δὲ ἡ γῆ θέλουσα τοὺς δυναμένους καταμαν-θάνειν καὶ δικαιοσύνην διδάσκει· τοὺς γὰρ ἀριστα θεραπεύοντας αὐτὴν πλείστα ἀγαθὰ ἀντιποιεῖ.

13 ἔλαν δ' ἁρι καὶ ύπὸ πλῆθος ποτὲ στρατευμάτων τῶν ἐργῶν στερηθῶσιν οἱ ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ ἀναστρε-φόμενοι καὶ σφοδρῶς καὶ ἀνδρικῶς παιδευόμενοι, οὔτων εὖ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σῶματα, ἦν μὴ θεὸς ἀποκολύη, δύναντας ἀντὶ ποτὲ εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀποκολυούσων λαμβάνειν ἀφ' ὧν θρέφονται. πολλάκις δὲ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἐστὶ σὺν τοῖς ὀπλοῖς τὴν τροφὴν μαστεύειν ἢ σὺν τοῖς γεωργικοῖς ὄργανοις.

14 Συμπαίδευε δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπαρκεῖν ἄλληλοις ἡ γεωργία. ἐπὶ τε γὰρ τοὺς πολεμίους σὺν ἄνθρω-ποῖς δεῖ ἱέναι τῆς τε γῆς σὺν ἄνθρωποίς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐργασία. τὸν οὖν μέλλοντα εὖ γεωργήσειν δεὶ τοὺς ἐργαστηράς καὶ προθύμους παρασκευάζειν καὶ πείθεσθαι θέλοντας· τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ πολεμίους ἀγοντα ταῦτα δεὶ μηχανᾶσθαι δωρούμενον τε τοῖς ποιοῦσιν ἢ δεῖ ποιεῖν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς καὶ κολάζοντα τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας. καὶ παρακελεύεσθαι δὲ πολ-λάκις οὐδὲν ἦττον δεῖ τοῖς ἐργάταις τὸν γεωργὸν ἢ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ ἐλπίδων δὲ ἀγαθῶν οὐδὲν ἦττον οἱ δοῦλοι τῶν ἐλευθέρων δέονται, ἄλλα καὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς μὲν ἐνεώς δεῖ.

15 καλῶς δὲ κάκεινος εἶπεν, ὅσ ἐφὶ τὴν γεωργίαν τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν μητέρα καὶ τροφὸν εἶναι. εὖ μὲν γὰρ φερομένῃς τῆς γεωργίας ἔρρωνται καὶ οἱ ἀλλαὶ τέχναι ἀπασαί, ὅπου δὲ ὃς ἀναγκασθῇ ἡ γῆ χερσεύειν, ἀποσβέννυνται καὶ οἱ ἄλλαι τέχναι σχεδὸν τι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν.

16 Ακούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Κριτόπουλος εἶπεν· 'Ἀλλὰ

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"Yet again, the earth willingly teaches righteousness to those who can learn; for the better she is served, the more good things she gives in return. And if haply those who are occupied in farming, and are receiving a rigorous and manly teaching, are forced at any time to quit their lands by great armies, they, as men well-found in mind and in body, can enter the country of those who hinder them, and take sufficient for their support. Often in time of war it is safer to go armed in search of food than to gather it with farming implements.

"Moreover, husbandry helps to train men for corporate effort. For men are essential to an expedition against an enemy, and the cultivation of the soil demands the aid of men. Therefore nobody can be a good farmer unless he makes his labourers both eager and obedient; and the captain who leads men against an enemy must contrive to secure the same results by rewarding those who act as brave men should act and punishing the disobedient. And it is no less necessary for a farmer to encourage his labourers often, than for a general to encourage his men. And slaves need the stimulus of good hopes no less, nay, even more than free men, to make them steadfast. It has been nobly said that husbandry is the mother and nurse of the other arts. For when husbandry flourishes, all the other arts are in good fettle; but whenever the land is compelled to lie waste, the other arts of landsmen and mariners alike well-nigh perish."

"Well, Socrates," replied Critobulus to this, "I

1 Or θέδος ὁδός, "is a goddess and."

1 θέδος ὁδός Stobaeus, probably rightly.
XENOPHON

ταύτα μὲν ἐμοίγε, ὁ Σῶκρατες, καλῶς δοκεῖς λέγειν· ὅτι δὲ τῆς γεωργίκης τὰ πλεῖστα ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπω ἀδύνατα προνοῆσαι· καὶ γὰρ χάλαζαι καὶ πάχαιναι ἐνίοτε καὶ ἀνύχαι καὶ ὀμβροῖζαι καὶ ἐρυσίβαι καὶ ἄλλα πολλάκις τὰ καλῶς ἐγγυσμένα καὶ πεποιημένα ἀφαίρονται· καὶ πρὸβατα δ' ἐνίοτε κάλλιστα τεθραμμένα νόσος ἐλθοῦσα κάκιστα ἀπώλεσεν.

19 Ἀκούσας δὲ ταύτα ὁ Σωκράτης ἐίπεν· Ἀλλ' ὥμην ἐγώγε σε, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ οὐδὲν ἦττον εἰσὶ κύριοι τῶν ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ ἔργων ἢ τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὅρας οἶμαι πρὸ τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων ἕξαρσκομένους τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ ἐπερωτῶντας θυσίας καὶ οἰώνοις, ὃ τι τε χρή ποιεῖν καὶ ὃ τι μὴ. περὶ δὲ τῶν γεωργικῶν πράξεων ἦττον οἷεὶ δεῖν τοὺς θεοὺς ἰλάσκεσθαι; εὖ γὰρ ἦσθι, ἐφη, ὅτι οἱ σώφρονες καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγρῶν καὶ ξηρῶν καρπῶν καὶ βοῶν καὶ ὑπ'πων καὶ προβάτων καὶ ὑπ'πων πάντων γε δὴ τῶν κτημάτων τοὺς θεοὺς θεραπεύουσιν.

VI. Ἀλλὰ ταύτα μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς λέγειν κελεύων πειρᾶσθαι σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἄρχεσθαι παντὸς έργου, ως τῶν θεών κυρίων ὄντων οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν εὔρημικών ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔργων. ταύτα μὲν οὖν πειρασόμεθα σὺτω ποιεῖν. σὺ δὴ ἦμιν ἐνθεν λέγον περὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας ἀπελιπες, πειρῶ τὰ τούτων ἐχόμενα διεκπεραῖνειν, ως καὶ νῦν μοι δοκῶ ἀκηκως ὅσα ἐπες μᾶλλον τι ἴδη διορᾶν ἢ πρόσθεν, ὃ τι χρή ποιοῦντα βιοτεύειν.

2 Τί οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀρα, εἰ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπανέλθοιμεν ὅσα μὲν ὀμολογοῦντες διεληλύθαμεν, 406
think you are right so far. But in husbandry a man can rely very little on forecast. For hailstorms and frosts sometimes, and droughts and rains and blight ruin schemes well planned and well carried out; and sometimes well-bred stock is miserably destroyed by an outbreak of disease.”

“Well,” said Socrates in reply,1 “I thought you knew, Critobulus, that the operations of husbandry no less than those of war are in the hands of the gods. And you observe, I suppose, that men engaged in war try to propitiate the gods before taking action; and with sacrifices and omens seek to know what they ought to do and what they ought not to do; and for the business of husbandry do you think it less necessary to ask the blessing of the gods? Know of a surety that right-minded men offer prayer for fruits and crops and cattle and horses and sheep, aye and for all that they possess.”

VI. “Well, Socrates, I think you are right when you bid me try to begin every undertaking with the gods’ help, since the gods control the works of peace no less than of war. We will try, then, to do so. But now go back to the point where you broke off in your talk about estate management, and try to expound the subject completely step by step, since after hearing what you have said so far, I seem even now to discern rather more clearly than before what I must do to earn my living.”

“I suggest then,” resumed Socrates, “that we should first recapitulate those points of our discussion on which we have already reached agreement, in

1 Mem. i. iv. 15; iv. iii. 12. Cyrop. i. vi. 46.

1 Reisig saw that something is lost after προοτίσαι.
ἐν', ἢν πως δυνώμεθα, πειραθῶμεν οὕτω καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διεξεῖναι συνομολογούντες;
3 Ἡδὺ γοῦν ἔστιν, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὥσπερ καὶ χρημάτων κοινωνήσαντας ἀναμφιλόγως διελθείν, οὕτω καὶ λόγων κοινωνοῦντας περὶ ὁν ἃν διαλεγόμεθα συνομολογούντας διεξεῖναι.
4 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπιστήμης μὲν τινος ἐδοξεῖν ἡμῖν ὅνομα εἶναι ἡ οἰκονομία, ἢ δὲ ἐπιστήμην αὐτὴ ἐφαίνετο, ἢ οἴκους ὑπάρχειν αὐξεῖν ἀνθρώποι, οίκος ὑμῖν ἑφαίνετο ὥσπερ κτήσις ἡ σύμπασα, κτήσιν δὲ τούτο ἐφάμεν εἶναι, ὃ τι ἐκάστῳ εἰς ὧφέλιμοι εἰς τὸν βίον, ὧφέλιμα δὲ ὁντα εὐρύσκετο πάντα, ὀπόσοις τις ἐπίστατο
5 χρῆσθαι. πάσας μὲν οὖν τὰς ἐπιστήμας οὕτε μαθεῖν οἴον τε ἡμῖν ἐδόκει συναποδοκιμάζειν τε ταῖς πόλεσι τὰς βαναυσικὰς καλουμένας τέχνας, ὧτι καὶ τὰ σῶματα καταλυμαίνεσθαι δοκοῦσι καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς καταγνώσσιν. τεκμήριον δὲ σαφεστατον γενέσθαι ἃν τοῦτο ἐφάμεν, εἰ πολεμίων εἰς τὴν χώραν ὄντων διακαθίσας τις τοὺς γεωργοὺς καὶ τοὺς τεχνίτας χωρὶς ἐκατέρους ἐπερωτώθη, πότερα δοκεῖ ἀρίγειν τῇ χώρᾳ ἡ υφεμένους
6 τῆς γῆς τὰ τείχη διαφυλάττειν. οὖτως γὰρ ἃν τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ γῆν ἔχοντας ωφέλθ' ἃν ψηφίζεσθαι ἀρίγειν, τοὺς δὲ τεχνίτας μὴ μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὅπερ πεπαίδευται καθήσθαι μὴτε πονοῦντας μήτε
7 κινδυνεύοντας. ἐδοκιμάσαμεν δὲ ἀνδρὶ καλῷ τε κάγαθῳ ἐργασίαν εἶναι καὶ ἐπιστήμην κρατίστην γεωργίαν, ἢφ' ἂς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀνθρώπου πορίζονται. αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐργασία μαθεῖν τε πάστη

1 Nothing to this effect occurs in c. iv.

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order that we may try to agree as thoroughly, if possible, when we go through the remaining steps."

"O yes; when several are jointly interested in money, it is pleasant to have no disagreement in going over the accounts; and it is equally pleasant for us, as the interested parties in a discussion, to agree as we go over the several steps."

"Well now, we thought that estate management is the name of a branch of knowledge, and this knowledge appeared to be that by which men can increase estates, and an estate appeared to be identical with the total of one's property, and we said that property is that which is useful for supplying a livelihood, and useful things turned out to be all those things that one knows how to use. Now we thought that it is impossible to learn all the sciences, and we agreed with our states in rejecting the so-called illiberal arts, because they seem to spoil the body and unnerve the mind. We said that the clearest proof of this would be forthcoming, if in the course of a hostile invasion the husbandmen and craftsmen were made to sit apart, and each group were asked whether they voted for defending the country or withdrawing from the open and guarding the fortresses. We thought that in these circumstances the men who have to do with the land would give their vote for defending it, the craftsmen for not fighting, but sitting still, as they have been brought up to do, aloof from toil and danger. We came to the conclusion that for a gentleman the best occupation and the best science is husbandry, from which men obtain what is necessary to them. For this occupation seemed to be the easiest to learn and the pleasantest
εδόκει εἶναι καὶ ήδιστη ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ σώματα
κάλλιστα τε καὶ εὐρωστότατα παρέχεσθαι καὶ
tαῖς ψυχαῖς ἥκιστα ἀσχολίαν παρέχειν φίλων τε
καὶ πόλεως συνεπιμελεύσθαι. συμπαραξύνειν δὲ
τι εδόκει ἡμῖν καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀλκίμοις εἶναι ἡ γεωργία
ἐξω τῶν ἐρμυμάτων τὰ ἐπιτηδεία φύονζα τε καὶ
τρέφουσα τους ἐργαζομένους. διὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ
εὐδοξοτάτη εἶναι πρὸς τῶν πόλεως αὐτὴ ἡ βιοτεία,
ὅτι καὶ πολίτας ἀρίστους καὶ εὐνουστάτους παρέ-
χεσθαι δοκεῖ τῷ κοινῷ.

11 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Ὄτι μὲν, ὃ Σωκράτες, ἐφη,
κάλλιστάν τε καὶ ἀριστόν καὶ ἢδιστόν ἀπὸ γεωρ-
γίας τῶν βίων ποιεῖσθαι, πάνυ μοι δοκῶ πεπείσθαι
ἰκανόν· ὅτι δὲ ἐφήσθα καταμαθέω τὰ αἰτία τῶν
tε οὐτῶν γεωργοῦντων, ὡστε ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας
ἀφθόνως ἔχειν δὴ δέονται καὶ τῶν οὕτως ἔργαζο-
μένων, ὡς μὴ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν γεωργίαν, καὶ
ταῦτ' ἂν μοι δοκῶ ἡδέως ἕκατερα ἀκούειν σου,
ὅπως ἂ μὲν ἀγαθά ἐστι ποιώμεν, ἂ δὲ ἐβλαβερὰ
μὴ ποιώμεν.

12 Τί οὖν, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, ἢν σοι
ἐξ ἀρχῆς διηγήσωμαι, ὡς συνεγενόμην ποτὲ ἄνδρι,
ὁς ἐμοὶ εἴδοκε εἶναι τῷ ὑπὶ τούτων τῶν ἄνδρῶν,
ἐφ' ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ὑπόμα δικαίως ἐστίν, ὁ καλεῖται
καλὸς τε καὶ γαθὸς ἄνηρ;

Πάνυ ἂν, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, βουλοίμην ἂν
οὕτως ἀκούειν, ὡς καὶ ἔγωγε ἐρῶ τούτον τοῦ
13 ὄνομας ἀξίος γειέσθαι. Λέξω τῶν τούτων σοι, ἐφη ὁ
Σωκράτης, ὡς καὶ ἤλθον ἐπὶ τὴν σκέψιν αὐτοῦ.
tους μὲν γὰρ ἄγαθοὺς τέκτονας, ἄγαθοὺς ἕλκες,
ἄγαθοὺς ἐφηράφους, ἄγαθοὺς ἀνδριαντο-
ποιοὺς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ τοιοῦτα πάνυ ὄλγος μοι
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to work at, to give to the body the greatest measure of strength and beauty, and to leave to the mind the greatest amount of spare time for attending to the interests of one’s friends and city. Moreover, since the crops grow and the cattle on a farm graze outside the walls, husbandry seemed to us to help in some measure to make the workers valiant. And so this way of making a living appeared to be held in the highest estimation by our states, because it seems to turn out the best citizens and most loyal to the community."

"I have already heard enough, I think, Socrates, to convince me that it is in the highest degree honourable, good and pleasant to get a living by husbandry. But you told me that you have discovered the reasons why some farmers are so successful that husbandry yields them all they need in abundance, and others are so inefficient that they find farming unprofitable. I should like to hear the reasons in each case, in order that we may do what is good and avoid what is harmful."

"Well then, Critobulus, I propose to give you a complete account of an interview I once had with a man whom I took to be really one of those who are justly styled ‘gentlemen.’"

"I should greatly like to hear it, Socrates, for I long to deserve that title myself."

"Then I will tell you how I came to take note of him. For it took me a very little time to visit our good builders, good smiths, good painters, good sculptors,
Χρόνος ἐγένετο ἰκανὸς περιελθεὶν τε καὶ θεώσασθαι τὰ δεδοκιμασμένα καλὰ ἔργα αὐτοῖς εἶναι.

14 ὅπως δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὸ σεμνὸν ὄνομα τοῦτο τὸ καλὸς τε κἀγαθὸς ἐπισκεψάμην, τί ποτ' ἐργαζόμενοι τούτο 'ѧξιοῖτο καλεῖσθαι, πάνυ μου Ἦ

15 ψυχῇ ἐπεθύμει αὐτῶν τινι συγγενέσθαι. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι προσέκειτο τὸ καλὸς τῷ ἄγαθῳ, οὔτινα ἰδοῖμι καλὸν, τούτῳ προσῆται καὶ ἑπειρώ-

16 μην καταμανθάνειν, εἰποὺ ἰδοῖμι προσηρημένον
tὸ καλὸ τὸ ἄγαθὸν. ἂλλ' οὐκ ἀρα εἰχεν οὕτως, ἄλλα ἐνύουσ ἐδόκουν καταμανθάνειν τῶν καλῶν
tὰς μορφὰς πάνι μοχθηροὺς οὔνας τὰς ψυχὰς.

17 ἐδοξεῖν οὗν μοι ἀφέμενον τῆς καλῆς ᾤσεως ἐπ' αὐτῶν τινα ἐλθεῖν τῶν καλουμένων καλῶν τε κἀγαθῶν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὸν Ἰσχόμαχον ἦκονον πρὸς
pάντων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ

18 ἀστῶν καλὸν τε κἀγαθὸν ἐπονομαζόμενον, ἐδοξεῖ
μοι τούτω πειραθήναι συγγενέσθαι.

VII. Ἰδὼν οὖν ποτε αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Δίου τοῦ ἐλευθερίων στόᾳ καθήμενον, ἐπεὶ μοι ἐδοξεῖ σχολά-

ζεῖν, προσήλθον αὐτῶ καὶ παρακαθίζομεν εἰποὺ

Τί, ὥ Ἰσχόμαχε, οὐ μάλα εἰσθώσ σχολάζειν κάθησαι; ἐπεὶ τά γε πλείστα ἡ πράττοντα τί ὀρῶ σε ἡ οὖ πάνυ σχολάζουτα ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ.

2 Οὐδὲ ἂν γε νῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὥ Σώκρατες, εἴρηται, εἰ μή ξένους τινὰς συνεθέμην ἀναμένειν ἐνθάδε.

"Ὅταν δὲ μὴ πράττης τι τοιοῦτον, πρὸς τῶν
θεῶν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ποὺ διατρίβεις καὶ τί ποιεῖς; ἐγὼ γὰρ τοι πάνυ βοῦλομαι σου πυθέσθαι, τί
pote πράττων καλὸς τε κἀγαθὸς κέκλησαι, ἐπεὶ

οὐκ ἐνδον γε διατρίβεις οὐδὲ τοιαύτη σου ἢ ἔξις
tοῦ σώματος καταφαίνεται. 412
and other people of the kind, and to inspect those of their works that are declared to be beautiful; but I felt a desire to meet one of those who are called by that grand name 'gentleman,' which implies 'beautiful' as well as 'good,' in order to consider what they did to deserve it. And, first, because the epithet 'beautiful' is added to 'good,' I went up to every person I noticed, and tried to discover whether I could anywhere see goodness in combination with beauty. But after all, it was not so: I thought I discovered that some who were beautiful to look at were thoroughly depraved in their minds. So I decided to let good looks alone, and to seek out someone known as 'a gentleman.' Accordingly, since I heard the name applied to Ischomachus by men, women, citizens and strangers alike, I decided to meet him, if I could.

VII. "So, happening one day to see him sitting in the cloister of the temple of Zeus Eleutherius apparently at leisure, I approached, and sitting down at his side, said:

"'Why sitting still, Ischomachus? You are not much in the habit of doing nothing; for generally when I see you in the market-place you are either busy or at least not wholly idle.'

"'True, and you would not have seen me so now, Socrates, had I not made an appointment with some strangers here.'

"'Pray where do you spend your time,' said I, 'and what do you do when you are not engaged in some such occupation? For I want very much to learn how you came to be called a gentleman, since you do not pass your time indoors, and your condition does not suggest that you do so.'"
3 Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος γελάσας ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ ποιῶν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς κέκλησαι καὶ ἱσθείς, ὡς γ’ ἐμοὶ ἔδοξεν, εἶπεν Ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν ὅταν σοι διαλέγωνται περὶ ἐμοῦ τινες, καλουσί με τούτῳ τὸ ὄνομα, οὐκ οίδα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὅταν γέ με εἰς ἀντίδοσιν καλῶν- ται τριμηραχίας ἡ χορηγίας, οὔδεις, ἐφη, ξητεί τὸν καλὸν τε κἀγαθὸν, ἅλλα σαφῶς, ἐφη, ὄνομά- ξουτές με Ἰσχόμαχον πατρόθεν προσκαλοῦνται. ἔγω μὲν τοῖνυν, ἐφη, δ’ Σωκρατεῖς, ὃ μὲ ἐπήρουν, οὐδαμῶς ἐνδον διατρίβω. καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἐφη, τά γε ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μου πάνω καὶ αὐτῇ ἡ γυνὴ ἔστιν ἰκανὴ διοικεῖν.

4 Ἀλλ’ καὶ τούτῳ, ἐφη, ἔγωγε, δ’ Ἰσχόμαχε, πάνω ἄν ἠδεώς σου πυθοίμην, πότερα αὐτὸς σὺ ἐπαίδευσας τὴν γυναίκα, ὥστε εἶναι οἶαν δεῖ, ἢ ἐπισταμένην ἔλαβες παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τῆς μητρὸς διοικεῖν τά προσήκοντα αὐτῇ.

5 Καὶ τί ἄν, ἐφη, δ’ Σωκρατεῖς, ἐπισταμένην αὐτῇν παρέλαβον, ἢ ἔτη μὲν οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονοῦσα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δ’ ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον ἔζη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὠψίτο, ἐλάχιστα δὲ ἀκούσιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ’ ἐροῖς; οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπητὸν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ μόνον ἦλθεν ἐπισταμένη ἔρια παραλαβοῦσα ἰμάτιον ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ ἐωρακεῖα, ὡς ἔργα ταλάσσια θερα- παίναις δίδοται; ἐπεὶ τά γε ἁμφι γαστέρα, ἐφη, πάνω καλῶς, δ’ Σωκρατεῖς, ἦλθε πεπαιδευμένη, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἐμοίγε δοκεῖ παϊδευμα εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικί.

6 Τὰ δ’ ἄλλα, ἐφην εγὼ, δ’ Ἰσχόμαχε, αὐτὸς ἐπαίδευσας τὴν γυναίκα ὥστε ἰκανὴν εἶναι διν προσήκει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; 414
“Smiling at my question, ‘How came you to be called a gentleman?’ and apparently well pleased, Ischomachus answered: ‘Well, Socrates, whether certain persons call me so when they talk to you about me, I know not. Assuredly when they challenge me to an exchange of property in order to escape some public burden, fitting a warship or providing a chorus, nobody looks for the “gentleman,” but the challenge refers to me as plain “Ischomachus,” my father’s son. Well now, Socrates, as you ask the question, I certainly do not pass my time indoors; for, you know, my wife is quite capable of looking after the house by herself.’

“‘Ah, Ischomachus,’ said I, ‘that is just what I want to hear from you. Did you yourself train your wife to be of the right sort, or did she know her household duties when you received her from her parents?’

“‘Why, what knowledge could she have had, Socrates, when I took her for my wife? She was not yet fifteen years old when she came to me, and up to that time she had lived in leading-strings, seeing, hearing and saying as little as possible. If when she came she knew no more than how, when given wool, to turn out a cloak, and had seen only how the spinning is given out to the maids, is not that as much as could be expected? For in control of her appetite, Socrates, she had been excellently trained; and this sort of training is, in my opinion, the most important to man and woman alike.’

“‘But in other respects did you train your wife yourself, Ischomachus, so that she should be competent to perform her duties?’
XENOPHON

Ὅν μὰ Δῆ, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐ πρὶν γε καὶ ἔδυσα καὶ εὐξάμην ἐμὲ τε τυγχάνειν διδάσκοντα καὶ ἐκεῖνην μανθάνονσαν τὰ βέλτιστα ἀμφότεροι ἡμῖν.

8 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἡ γυνὴ σοι συνέθυε καὶ συνηχετο ταύτα ταύτα;

Καὶ μάλα γ', ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, πολλὰ ὑπο-

χομένη μὲν ... 1 πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς γενέσθαι οὐαν
dεῖ, καὶ εὐδηλὸς ἦν ὅτι οὐκ ἀμελήσει τῶι διδασκο-
mένων.

9 Πρὸς θεῶν, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, τί πρῶτον
dιδάσκειν ἦρχου αὐτὴν, διηγοῦ μοι· ὡς ἐγώ ταύτ' ἃν ἠδον σού διηγομένου ἀκούοιμι ἡ εἰ μοι γυμνι-
κὸν ἡ ἵππικον ἄγωνα τὸν κάλλιστον διηγοῖ.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος ἀπεκρίνατο, Τί δὲ; ἐφη, ὃ

Σώκρατες, ἐπεὶ ἦδη μοι χειροθής ἦν καὶ ἐτετι-

θάσευτο ὡστε διαλέγεσθαι, ἡρόμην αὐτὴν, ἐφη, ὧδέ πως:

Εἰπέ μοι, ὃ γύναι, ἃρα ἦδη κατενόησας, τίνος

ποτὲ ένεκα ἐγώ τε σὲ ἐλαβόν καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς

11 ἐδοσάν σε ἐμοί; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀποριά ἦν, μεθ' ὅτου ἄλλου ἐκαθεύδομεν ἃν, οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ σοὶ κατα-

ϕανὲς τοῦτ' ἔστι. Βουλευόμενος δ' ἐγὼ γε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ, τίν' ἂν κοινωνὸν

βέλτιστον οἴκου τε καὶ τέκνων λάβοιμεν, ἐγώ τε σὲ ἐξελεξάμην καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς, ὡς ἐσίκκασιν, ἐκ

12 τῶν δυνατῶν ἐμέ. Τέκνα μὲν ὅτι θεός ποτε

διδῶ ἦμῖν γενέσθαι, τότε Βουλευσόμεθα περὶ

ἀυτῶν, ὅτι μέν ἢμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, συμμάχων καὶ

γηροβοσκῶν ὅτι βέλτιστῶν τυγχάνειν. νῦν δὲ δὴ

13 οἶκος ἦμῖν ὅδε κοινὸς ἐστίν. ἐγώ τε γὰρ ὅσα μοι

416
"'Oh no, Socrates; not until I had first offered sacrifice and prayed that I might really teach, and she learn what was best for us both.'

"'Did not your wife join with you in these same sacrifices and prayers?'

"'Oh yes, earnestly promising before heaven to behave as she ought to do; and it was easy to see that she would not neglect the lessons I taught her.'

"'Pray tell me, Ischomachus, what was the first lesson you taught her, since I would sooner hear this from your lips than an account of the noblest athletic event or horse-race?'

"'Well, Socrates, as soon as I found her docile and sufficiently domesticated to carry on conversation, I questioned her to this effect:

"'Tell me, dear, have you realised for what reason I took you and your parents gave you to me? For it is obvious to you, I am sure, that we should have had no difficulty in finding someone else to share our beds. But I for myself and your parents for you considered who was the best partner of home and children that we could get. My choice fell on you, and your parents, it appears, chose me as the best they could find. Now if God grants us children, we will then think out how we shall best train them. For one of the blessings in which we shall share is the acquisition of the very best of allies and the very best of support in old age; but at present we share in this our home. For I am paying into

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1 Sauppe does not mark a lacuna, but Schenkl saw that something is lost here.
'Απεκρίνατο δὲ μοι, ὁ Σώκρατες, πρὸς ταῦτα ἡ γυνή, Τί δ' ἂν ἐγώ σοι, ἐφη, δυναίμην συμπρᾶξαι; τὰς δὲ ἡ ἐμὴ δύναμις; ἅλλ' ἐν σοὶ πάντα ἐστίν. ἐμὸν δ' ἐφησεν ἡ μήτηρ ἔργον εἶναι σωφρονεῖν.

Ναὶ μὰ Δ', ἐφην ἐγὼ, ὁ γύναι, καὶ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὁ πατήρ. ἀλλὰ σωφρόνων τοί ἑστὶ καὶ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς οὕτως ποιεῖν, ὅπως τὰ τε ὄντα ώς βέλτιστα ἐξει καὶ ἅλλα ὅτι πλείστα ἐκ τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ δικαίου προσγενήσεται.

Καὶ τί δὴ, ἐφη, ὁρᾶς, ἡ γυνῆ, ὃ τὶ ᾳν ἐγώ ποιοῦσα συναίσχοιμι τὸν οἶκον;

Ναὶ μὰ Δ', ἐφην ἐγὼ, τε ὁ θεός ἐφυσάν σε δύνασθαι καὶ ὁ νόμος συνεπαίνει, ταῦτα πειρῶ ώς βέλτιστα ποιεῖν.

Καὶ τί δὴ ταῦτα ἐστίν; ἐφη ἐκείνη. Ὀλμαί μὲν ἐγώγης, ἐφην, οὐ τὰ ἐλαχίστου ἀξια, εὶ μὴ πέρ γε καὶ ἢ ἐν τῷ σμήνει ἤγεμὼν μέλιττα ἐπ' ἐλαχίστου ἀξίων ἐργοῖς ἑφέστηκεν. ἐμοὶ γὰρ τοῖ, ἐφη φάναι, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ, ὁ γύναι, δοκούσι πολὺ διεσκεμμένως μᾶλιστα τὸ ξένους τοῦτο συντεθεικέναι, ὃ καλεῖται θῆλυ καὶ ἄρρεν, ὅπως ὅτι ὥφελιμώτατον ἢ αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν. πρὸστον μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μὴ ἐκλιπείν ξόφων γένη τοῦτο τὸ ξένους κεῖται μετ' ἀλλήλων τεκνοποιοῦμεν, ἐπείτα τὸ γηροβοσκοῦς κεκτήσθαι ἐαυτοῖς ἐκ τοῦτον τοῦ ξένους.
the common stock all that I have, and you have put
in all that you brought with you. And we are not
to reckon up which of us has actually contributed
the greater amount, but we should know of a surety
that the one who proves the better partner makes
the more valuable contribution."

"My wife's answer was as follows, Socrates:
"How can I possibly help you? What power have
I? Nay, all depends on you. My duty, as my
mother told me, is to be discreet."

"Yes, of course, dear," I said, "my father said the same to me. But discretion both in a
man and a woman, means acting in such a manner
that their possessions shall be in the best condition
possible, and that as much as possible shall be
added to them by fair and honourable means."

"And what do you see that I can possibly do to help in the improvement of our property?"
asked my wife.

"Why," said I, "of course you must try to do
as well as possible what the gods made you capable
of doing and the law sanctions."

"And pray, what is that?" said she.

"Things of no small moment, I fancy," re-
plied I, "unless, indeed, the tasks over which the
queen bee in the hive presides are of small moment.
For it seems to me, dear, that the gods with great
discernment have coupled together male and female,
as they are called, chiefly in order that they may
form a perfect partnership in mutual service. For,
in the first place, that the various species of living
creatures may not fail, they are joined in wedlock
for the production of children. Secondly, offspring
to support them in old age is provided by this
τοῖς γούν ἀνθρώπωισ πορίζεται· ἐπείτα δὲ καὶ ἡ
dιώμα τοῖς ἀνθρώπωισ οὐχ ὀσπερ τοῖς κτήνεσιν
ἐστιν ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, ἀλλὰ στεγών δεῖται δηλονοτι.
20 δεὶ μέντοι τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀνθρώπωισ ἔξειν ὅ τι
εἰσφέρωσιν εἰς τὸ στεγνὸν τοῦ ἐργασομένου τὰς
ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ ἐργασίας. καὶ γὰρ νεατὸς καὶ
σπόροσ καὶ φυτεία καὶ νομαὶ ὑπαίθρια ταῦτα
πάντα ἔργα ἐστίν· ἐκ τούτων δὲ τὰ ἐπιτίθεια
21 γίγνεται. δεὶ δ’ αὖ, ἐπειδᾶν ταῦτα εἰσενεχθῇ εἰς
tὸ στεγνὸν, καὶ τοῦ σώσουσος ταῦτα καὶ τοῦ
ἐργασομένου δ’ ἀ τῶν στεγνῶν ἔργα δεόμενα ἔστι.
στεγνῶν δὲ δεῖται καὶ ἢ τῶν νεογνῶν τέκνων
παιδοτροφία, στεγνῶν δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τοῦ καρποῦ
σιτοποιεῖ δέονταί ὑσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἢ τῆς ἔσθη-
tος ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐργασία. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἀμφότερα
tαῦτα καὶ ἐργών καὶ ἐπιμελείας δεῖται τὰ τε ἐνδον
καὶ τὰ ἔξω, καὶ τὴν φύσιν, φάναι, εὐθὺς παρε-
sκεύασεν ὁ θεὸς, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, τὴν μὲν τῆς
γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐνδον ἔργα καὶ ἐπιμελήματα, τὴν
δὲ τοῦ ἄνδρος ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω ἔργα καὶ ἐπιμελήματα.
22 Ρήγη μὲν γὰρ καὶ θάλπη καὶ ὀδοιπορίας καὶ
στρατείας τοῦ ἄνδρος τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν
μᾶλλον δύνασθαι καρτερῶν κατεσκεύασεν· ὡστε
tὰ ἔξω ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ ἔργα· τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ ἦττον
tὸ σῶμα δυνατὸν πρὸς ταῦτα φύσας τὰ ἐνδον
ἔργα αὐτῆ, φάναι ἐφή, προστάξαι μοι δοκεῖ ὁ
θεὸς. εἰδὼς δὲ, ὅτι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ ἐνέφυσε καὶ
προσέταξε τὴν τῶν νεογνῶν τέκνων τροφῆν, καὶ
tοῦ στέργειν τὰ νεογνά βρέφη πλείον αὐτῆ ἐδά-
sατο ἢ τῷ ἄνδρι. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ φυλάττειν τὰ
εἰσενεχθέντα τῇ γυναικὶ προσέταξε, γυνώσκων ὁ
θεὸς, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ φυλάττειν οὐ κάκιον ἔστι φοβε-
union, to human beings, at any rate. Thirdly, human beings live not in the open air, like beasts, but obviously need shelter. Nevertheless, those 20 who mean to win store to fill the covered place, have need of someone to work at the open-air occupations; since ploughing, sowing, planting and grazing are all such open-air employments; and these supply the needful food. Then again, as soon 21 as this is stored in the covered place, then there is need of someone to keep it and to work at the things that must be done under cover. Cover is needed for the nursing of the infants; cover is needed for the making of the corn into bread, and likewise for the manufacture of clothes from the wool. And since both the indoor and the out- 22 door tasks demand labour and attention, God from the first adapted the woman’s nature, I think, to the indoor and man’s to the outdoor tasks and cares.

“For he made the man’s body and mind more 23 capable of enduring cold and heat, and journeys and campaigns; and therefore imposed on him the out- door tasks. To the woman, since he has made her body less capable of such endurance, I take it that God has assigned the indoor tasks. And knowing 24 that he had created in the woman and had imposed on her the nourishment of the infants, he meted out to her a larger portion of affection for new-born babes than to the man. And since he imposed on 25 the woman the protection of the stores also, knowing that for protection a fearful disposition is no dis-
ρὰν εἶναι τῇ ψυχήν, πλεῖον μέρος καὶ τοῦ φόβου ἐδάσατο τῇ γυναικὶ ἢ τῷ ἄνδρι. εἰδὼς δὲ, ὅτι καὶ ἀρήγειν αὐτῇ δεῖσει, εάν τις ἄδικῃ, τοὺς ἐξ ἐργα ἔχοντα, τούτῳ αὖ πλεῖον μέρος τοῦ θράσους ἐδάσατο. ὅτι δ’ ἀμφοτέρους δεῖ καὶ διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, τῷ μνήμῃ καὶ τῇ ἐπιμέλειαν εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρους κατέθηκεν. ὡστε οὐκ ἂν ἔχοις διελεῖν, πότερα τὸ ἔθνος τὸ θῆλυ ἢ τὸ ἄρρεν τούτων πλεονεκτεῖ. καὶ τῷ ἐγκρατεῖς δὲ εἰναι ὅν δεῖ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀμφοτέρους κατέθηκε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, ὁπότερος ἂν ἢ βελτίων, εἰθ’ ὁ ἀνήρ εἰθ’ ἢ γυνή, τούτων καὶ πλείους φέρεσθαι τούτῳ ἀγαθοῦ. διὰ δὲ τὸ τὴν φύσιν μὴ πρὸς πάντα ταύτα ἀμφοτέρων εὖ πεφυκέναι, διὰ τούτῳ καὶ δέονται μᾶλλον ἄλληλων καὶ τὸ ξεῦγος ὠφελιμώτερον ἐαυτῷ γεγένηται, ἃ τὸ ἐτερον ἐλλείπεται τὸ ἐτερον δυνάμενον.

29. Ταῦτα δέ, ἐφη, δεί ἡμᾶς, ὡ γὰρ, εἰδότας ἃ ἐκατέρφω ἡμῶν προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πειρᾶσθαι ὁπώς 1 βέλτιστα τὰ προσῆκοντα ἐκάτερον ἡμῶν διαπράττεσθαι. συνεπαινεὶ δὲ, ἐφη φάναι, καὶ ὁ νόμος αὐτὰ συζευγνύσ ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ κοινωνίας ὡσπερ τῶν τέκνων ὁ θεός ἐποίησεν, οὐτω καὶ ὁ νόμος τοῦ οἴκου κοινωνίας 2 καθίστησι. καὶ καλὰ δὲ εἰναι ὁ νόμος ἀποδείκνυσιν ἃ ὁ θεός ἐφυσεν ἐκάτερον μᾶλλον δύνασθαι. τῇ μὲν γὰρ γυναικὶ κάλλιον ἐνδοῦ μένειν ἣ θυραυλεῖν, τῷ δὲ ἄνδρι αἰσχρὸν ἐνδοῦ μένειν ἢ τῶν ἐξω ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ τις παρ’ ἃ ὁ θεὸς ἐφυσε ποιεῖ, ἵσως τι καὶ ἀτακτῶν τοὺς θεοὺς οὐ λήθει καὶ δίκην δίδω-

1 ὁπώς ὡς Sauppe with the MSS.: Cobet removed ὡς.
advantage, God meted out a larger share of fear to the woman than to the man; and knowing that he who deals with the outdoor tasks will have to be their defender against any wrong-doer, he meted out to him again a larger share of courage. But because both must give and take, he granted to both impartially memory and attention; and so you could not distinguish whether the male or the female sex has the larger share of these. And God also gave to both impartially the power to practise due self-control, and gave authority to whichever is the better—whether it be the man or the woman—to win a larger portion of the good that comes from it. And just because both have not the same aptitudes, they have the more need of each other, and each member of the pair is the more useful to the other, the one being competent where the other is deficient.

""""Now since we know, dear, what duties have been assigned to each of us by God, we must endeavour, each of us, to do the duties allotted to us as well as possible. The law, moreover, approves of them, for it joins together man and woman. And as God has made them partners in their children, so the law appoints them partners in the home. And besides, the law declares those tasks to be honourable for each of them wherein God has made the one to excel the other. Thus, to the woman it is more honourable to stay indoors than to abide in the fields, but to the man it is unseemly rather to stay indoors than to attend to the work outside. If a man acts contrary to the nature God has given him, possibly his defiance is detected by the gods and he

2 Sauppe brackets τοιχωντες as spurious after Hertlein. This is wrong in principle.
σιν ἰμελῶν τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἔαυτοῦ ἡ πράττων τὰ

32 τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργα. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι, ἐφη, καὶ ἡ τῶν
μελίττων ἡγεμῶν τοιαῦτα ἔργα ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
προστεταγμένα διαπονεῖσθαι.

Καὶ ποιὰ δὴ, ἐφη ἐκείνη, ἔργα ἔχουσα ἡ τῶν
μελίττων ἡγεμῶν ἐξομοιοῦται τοῖς ἔργοις οίς ἐμὲ
δεὶ πράττειν;

"Οτι, ἐφην ἔγω, ἐκείνῃ γε ἐν τῷ σμῆνει μένουσα
οὐκ ἐξ ἀργοὺς τὰς μελίττας εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἄσ μὲν δεῖ
ἐξ ἔργας ἐντεταγμένοι εἰπτὸ έργον καὶ ἂν ἂν
ἀυτῶν ἐκάστης εἰσφέρῃ, οἴδε τε καὶ δέχεται καὶ
σῶξει ταῦτα, ἐστι άν δέῃ χρῆσθαι. ἐπειδὰν δὲ
ἡ ὁρὰ τοῦ χρῆσθαι ἡκη, διανέμει τὸ δίκαιον

34 ἐκάστης. καὶ ἐπὶ τούς ἐνδυον δ' ἐξελειπομένους
κερίως ἐφέστηκεν, ὡς καλῶς καὶ ταχέως υφαίνε
ται, καὶ τοῦ γυνομένου τόκου ἐπιμελεῖται ὡς
ἐκτρέφῃς; ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐκτραφῇ καὶ ἀξιοεργοὶ οἱ
νεοτοῖ γένονται, ἀποικίζει αὐτοὺς σὺν τῶν ἐπι
γόνων τινὶ ἡγεμόνι.

35 Ἡ καὶ ἐμὲ οὖν, ἐφη ἡ γυνή, δεήσει ταῦτα

ποιεῖν;

Δεήσει μέντοι σε, ἐφην ἔγω, ἐνδυον τε μένειν καὶ
οίς μὲν ἂν ἐξω τὸ ἔργον ἡ τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτοις
36 συνεκτέμπει ν, οίς δ' ἂν ἐνδυον ἔργον ἐργαστέου,
τούτων σοι ἐπιστατητέου καὶ τὰ τε εἰσφέρομενα
ἀποδεκτέον, καὶ ἂ μὲν ἂν αὐτῶν δέῃ δαπανᾶν, σοι
διανεμητέον, ἂ δ' ἂν περιττεύειν δέῃ, προνοητέον
καὶ φυλακτέον, ὁπως μὴ ἢ εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κειμένῃ
δαπάνη εἰς τὸν μήνα δαπανᾶται. καὶ ὅταν ἔρισ
εἰσενεχθῇ σοι, ἐπιμελητέον, ὁπως οἴς δεὶ ἴματια
γίγνεται. καὶ ο γε ἔρημος σᾶτος ὁπως καλῶς
37 ἐδώδιμος γίγνεται, ἐπιμελητέον. ἐν μέντοι τῶν
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is punished for neglecting his own work, or meddling with his wife's. I think that the queen bee is busy about just such other tasks appointed by God." 1

"'And pray,' said she, 'how do the queen bee's tasks resemble those that I have to do?'

"'How? she stays in the hive,' I answered, "and does not suffer the bees to be idle; but those whose duty it is to work outside she sends forth to their work; and whatever each of them brings in, she knows and receives it, and keeps it till it is wanted. And when the time is come to use it, she portions out the just share to each. She likewise presides over the weaving of the combs in the hive, that they may be well and quickly woven, and cares for the brood of little ones, that it be duly reared up. And when the young bees have been duly reared and are fit for work, she sends them forth to found a colony, with a leader to guide the young adventurers.'

"'Then shall I too have to do these things?' said my wife.

"'Indeed you will,' said I: "your duty will be to remain indoors and send out those servants whose work is outside, and superintend those who are to work indoors, and to receive the incomings, and distribute so much of them as must be spent, and watch over so much as is to be kept in store, and take care that the sum laid by for a year be not spent in a month. And when wool is brought to you, you must see that cloaks are made for those that want them. You must see too that the dry corn is in good condition for making food. One of the duties

1 Cyrop. v. i. 24.
σοί προσηκόντων, ἐφὴν ἐγώ, ἐπιμελημάτων ὡς ἀχαριστότερον δόξει εἶναι, ὅτι ὅσ ἂν κάμνῃ τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέου πάντων, ὅπως θεραπεύῃται.

Νή Δί', ἐφὴ ἡ γυνὴ, ἐπιχαριτώτατον μὲν οὖν, ἢν μέλλωσί γε οί καλῶς θεραπευθέντες χάριν εἴσεσθαι καὶ εὐνούστεροι ἢ πρόσθεν ἔσεσθαι.

38 Καὶ ἐγὼ, ἐφὴ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀγασθεὶς αὐτῆς τῆς ἀπόκρισιν εἴπον· Ἄρα γε, ὦ γυναί, διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς προνοίας καὶ τής ἐν τῷ σμήνι τῆς ἡγεμόνος αἱ μέλται οὐτω διατίθενται πρὸς αὐτὴν, ὅστε ὅταν ἐκείνη ἐκλίπῃ, οὐδεμία οὔτε τῶν μελιτῶν ἀπολειπτέον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐπονται πᾶσαι;

39 Καὶ ἡ γυνὴ μοι ἀπεκρίνατο, Θαυμάζοιμ' ἂν, ἐφὴ, εἰ μὴ πρὸς σὲ μᾶλλον τείνοι τὰ τοῦ ἡγεμόνος ἔργα ἡ πρὸς ἐμὲ. ἢ γὰρ ἐμὴ φυλακὴ τῶν ἐνδο καὶ διανομὴ γελοία τις ἂν οἴμαι φαίνοιτο, εἰ μὴ σύγε ἐπιμελοῖο, ὅπως ἔξωθ'ν τι εἰσφέροιτο.

40 Γελοία δ' αὖ, ἐφὴν ἐγώ, ἢ ἐμὴ εἰσφορὰ φαίνοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μὴ εἰ ὅστις τὰ εἰσενεχθέντα σώζοι. οὐ χρόνες, ἐφὴν ἐγώ, οἱ εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ἀντι-λείν λεγόμενοι ὡς οἰκτείρονται, ὅτι μάτην πονεῖν δοκοῦσι ·

Νή Δί', ἐφὴ ἡ γυνὴ, καὶ γὰρ τλήμονές εἶσιν, εἰ τούτο γε ποιούσιν.

41 Ἄλλαι δὲ τοι, ἐφὴν ἐγώ, ὅποιοι ἐπιμελεῖαι, ὧ γυναῖ, ἴδειαι σοι γίγνονται, ὅποταν ἀνεπιστήμωνα ταλασίας λαβόοσα ἐπιστήμωνα ποιήσῃς καὶ δια-πλαζόν σοι ἄξια γέννηται καὶ ὅποταν ἀνεπιστήμωνα ταμείας καὶ διακοινίας παραλαβόοσα ἐπι-στήμωνα καὶ πιστῆν καὶ διακοινικὴν ποιησαμένη παντὸς ἄξιαν ἔχῃς καὶ ὅποταν τοὺς μὲν σώφρονας.
that fall to you, however, will perhaps seem rather thankless: you will have to see that any servant who is ill is cared for."

""Oh no," cried my wife, "it will be delightful, assuming that those who are well cared for are going to feel grateful and be more loyal than before."

""Why, my dear," cried I, delighted with her answer, "what makes the bees so devoted to their leader in the hive, that when she forsakes it, they all follow her, and not one thinks of staying behind? Is it not the result of some such thoughtful acts on her part?"

""It would surprise me," answered my wife, "if the leader's activities did not concern you more than me. For my care of the goods indoors and my management would look rather ridiculous, I fancy, if you did not see that something is gathered in from outside."

"And my ingathering would look ridiculous," I countered, "if there were not someone to keep what is gathered in. Don't you see how they who 'draw water in a leaky jar,' as the saying goes, are pitied, because they seem to labour in vain?"

""Of course," she said, "for they are indeed in a miserable plight if they do that."

"But I assure you, dear, there are other duties peculiar to you that are pleasant to perform. It is delightful to teach spinning to a maid who had no knowledge of it when you received her, and to double her worth to you: to take in hand a girl who is ignorant of housekeeping and service, and after teaching her and making her trustworthy and serviceable to find her worth any amount: to have the power of rewarding the discreet and useful
42 έαν δέ τις ποιηρός φαίνεται, ἕξιν σοι κολάσαι. τὸ δὲ πάντων ἢδιστον, εἶν δειδών ἡμῶν φανῆς καὶ ἐμὲ σὸν θεράπουτα ποιήσῃ καὶ μὴ δέῃ σε φοβεῖσθαι, μὴ προιούσης τῆς ἡλικίας ἀτιμοτέρα ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ γένη, ἀλλὰ πιστεύῃς, ὅτι πρεσβυτέρα γυνομένη ὅσφαν καὶ ἐμοὶ κοινωνός καὶ πασίν οἶκου φύλαξ ἀμείνον γυνη, τοσούτῳ καὶ τιμωτέρᾳ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ ἐσθη. τὰ γὰρ καλὰ τε κἀγαθά, ἐγὼ ἔφην, οὐ διὰ τὰς ὀραίτητας, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς εἰς τὸν βίου τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπαίξεται.

Τοιαύτα μὲν, ὁ Σώκρατες, δοκῶ μεμνησθαί αὐτῆ τά πρώτα διαλεξθεὶς.

VIII. Ἡ καὶ ἐπέγυως τι, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ἐκ τούτων αὐτὴν κεκινημένην μᾶλλον πρὸς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν; Ναὶ μὰ Δἰ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ δηχθείσαν γε οἴδα αὐτὴν καὶ ἐρυθριάσασαν σφόδρα, ὅτι τῶν εἰσενεχθέντων τι αἰτήσαντος οὐκ εἰχὲ μοι δοῦναι. καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι ἵδον ἀρείπετείσαν αὐτὴν εἶπον, Μηδέν τι, ἔφην, ἀθυμησίς, ὦ γύναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχεις δοῦναι ὃ σε αἰτῶν τυγχάνω. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ πεινὰ αὐτὴν σαφῆς, τὸ δεόμενον τινός μὴ ἔχει χρήσθαι: ἀλυποτέρα δὲ αὐτὴ ἡ ἐνδεία, τὸ ἀχτοῦτα τι μὴ δύνασθαι λαβεῖν ἢ τὴν ἄρχην μηδε ζητεῖν εἰδότα, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστων. ἀλλὰ γάρ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, τούτων οὐ σὺ αἰτία, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τάξις σοι παρέδωκα, ὅτου χρὴ ἐκαστα κείσθαι, ὅπως εἶδης, ὅτου τε δεὶ τιθέναι καὶ ὁπόθεν λαμβάνειν. ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν οὕτως, ὦ γύναι, οὔτ' εὐχρηστον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνθρώπως ὡς τάξις. καὶ γὰρ χορὸς εὖ ἀνθρώπων συγκείμενος ἔστων:

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members of your household, and of punishing anyone who turns out to be a rogue. But the pleasantest experience of all is to prove yourself better than I am, to make me your servant; and, so far from having cause to fear that as you grow older you may be less honoured in the household, to feel confident that with advancing years, the better partner you prove to me and the better housewife to our children, the greater will be the honour paid to you in our home. For it is not through outward comeliness that the sum of things good and beautiful is increased in the world, but by the daily practice of the virtues."

"Such was the tenor of my earliest talks with her, Socrates, so far as I can recall them."

VIII. "And did you find, Ischomachus, that they acted as a stimulus to her diligence? I asked.

"Yes, indeed," answered Ischomachus, "and I recollect that she was vexed and blushed crimson, because she could not give me something from the stores when I asked for it. And seeing that she was annoyed, I said: "Don't worry, dear, because you cannot give me what I am asking for. For not to be able to use a thing when you want it is poverty unquestionably; but failure to get the thing that you seek is less grievous than not to seek it at all because you know that it does not exist. The fact is, you are not to blame for this, but I, because I handed over the things to you without giving directions where they were to be put, so that you might know where to put them and where to find them. My dear, there is nothing so convenient or so good for human beings as order. Thus, a chorus is a combination of human beings; but when the
άλλα όταν μὲν ποιῶσιν ὁ τι ἄν τύχῃ ἔκαστος, 
ταραχὴ τις φαίνεται καὶ θεᾶσθαι ἀτερπές, ὦταν 
δὲ τεταγμένως ποιῶσι καὶ φθέγγονται, ἀμα οἱ 
αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι καὶ 
4 ἀξιάκουστοι. καὶ στρατιά γε, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὡ γύναι, ἀτακτὸς μὲν οὕσα ταραχῳδέστατον καὶ τοῖς μὲν 
πολεμίοις εὐχειρωτάτον, τοῖς δὲ φίλοις ἀγλευν-
κέστατον ὅραν καὶ ἀχρηστότατον, ὅνος ὅμοι,
ὄπλίτης, σκευοφόροις, ψιλός, ἵππεύς, ἀμαξα.
πὼς γὰρ ἄν πορευθείσης, εάν ἔχοντες οὕτως 
ἐπικωλύσωσιν ἀλλήλους, ὁ μὲν βαδίζων τὸν τρέ-
χοντα, ὁ δὲ τρέχων τὸν ἐστηκότα, ἢ δὲ ἀμαξά 
τὸν ἵππεα, ὁ δὲ ὄνος τὴν ἀμαξάν, ὁ δὲ 
σκευοφόρος τὸν
5 ὀπλίτην; εἰ δὲ καὶ μάχεσθαι δέοι, πῶς ἄν οὕτως
ἔχοντες μαχέσαιτο; οἷς γὰρ ἀνάγκη αὐτῶν τοὺς 
ἐπιόντας φεύγειν, οὕτωι ίκανοὶ εἰσὶ φεύγοντες
6 καταπατῆσαι τοὺς ὀπλὰ ἔχοντας. τεταγμένη δὲ 
στρατιὰ κάλλιστον μὲν ἴδειν τοῖς φίλοις, ὄνυχ-
ρέστατον δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις. 
τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν 
φίλος ἢδεως θεάσατο ὀπλίτας πολλοὺς ἐν τάξει 
πορευομένους, τίς δ' ὄνκ ἄν θαναμάσειν ἵππεας 
κατὰ τάξεις ἐλαύνοντας, τίς δὲ οὐκ ἄν πολέμιοι 
φοβηθεί̑ διών διεκρινημένους ὀπλίτας, ἵππεας, 
pελταστάς, τοξύτας, σφενδονητὰς καὶ τοῖς ἄρ-
7 χουσὶ τεταγμένως ἐπομένους; ἀλλά καὶ πορευο-
μένων ἐν τάξει, κἂν πολλαὶ μυριάδες όσιν, ὀμοῖς 
ὠσπερ εἰς ἐκαστός καθ' ἱσχύιαν πάντες πορεύο-
νται' εἰς γὰρ τὸ κενούμενον αἰεὶ οἱ ὄπισθεν ἐπέρ-
8 χονται. καὶ τριήρης δὲ τοι ἡ σεσαγμένη ἀνθρώ-
πων διὰ τι ἄλλο φοβερὸν ἐστὶ πολεμίοις ἡ φίλοις 
ἀξιοθέατον ἢ ὅτι ταχῦ πλεῖ; διὰ τι δὲ ἄλλο 
ἀλυποὶ ἀλλήλοις εἰσίν οἱ ἐμπλέοντες ἢ διότι ἐν 
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members of it do as they choose, it becomes mere confusion, and there is no pleasure in watching it; but when they act and chant in an orderly fashion, then those same men at once seem worth seeing and worth hearing. Again, my dear, an army in disorder is a confused mass, an easy prey to enemies, a disgusting sight to friends and utterly useless,—donkey, trooper, carrier, light-armed, horseman, chariot, huddled together.¹ For how are they to march in such a plight, when they hamper one another, some walking while others run, some running while others halt, chariot colliding with horseman, donkey with chariot, carrier with trooper? If there is fighting to be done, how can they fight in such a state? For the units that must needs run away when attacked are enough to trample underfoot the heavy infantry. But an army in orderly array is a noble sight to friends, and an unwelcome spectacle to the enemy. What friend would not rejoice as he watches a strong body of troopers marching in order, would not admire cavalry riding in squadrons? And what enemy would not fear troopers, horsemen, light-armed, archers, slingers disposed in serried ranks and following their officers in orderly fashion? Nay, even on the march where order is kept, though they number tens of thousands, all move steadily forward as one man; for the line behind is continually filling up the gap. Or, again, why is a man-of-war laden with men terrible to an enemy and a goodly sight to friends, if not for its speed? Why do the men on board not hamper one another?

¹ Cyropædia, vi. iii. 25; Mem. iii. i. 7.
τάξει μὲν κἀθηνται, ἐν τάξει δὲ προνεύουσιν, ἐν τάξει δ’ ἀναπίπτουσιν, ἐν τάξει δ’ ἐμβαίνουσιν καὶ ἐκβαίνουσιν; ἦ δ’ ἄταξία ὄμοιον τι μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι οἶνονπερ εἰ γεωργὸς ὁμοῦ ἐμβάλοι κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς καὶ ὄσπρια, κἄπειτα ὅποτε δέοι ἢ μάξης ἢ ἄρτου ἢ ὄγου, διαλέγειν δέοι αὐτῷ ἀντὶ τοῦ λαβόντα διενεκρινμένοις χρῆσθαι.

Καὶ σὺ οὖν, ὃ γύναι, εἰ τοῦ μὲν ταράχου τούτου μὴ δέοιο, βούλοιο δ’ ἀκριβῶς διοικεῖν τὰ ὄντα εἰδέναι καὶ τῶν ὄντων εὐπόροις λαμβάνουσα ὅτω ἂν δῇ χρῆσθαι καὶ ἐμοὶ, ἐὰν τι αἰτῶ, ἐν χάριτι διδόναι, χώραν τε δοκιμασώμεθα τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐκάστοις ἐξειν καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ θέντες διδάξωμεν τὴν διάκονον λαμβάνειν τε ἐντεῦθεν καὶ κατατιθέναι πάλιν εἰς ταύτην· καὶ οὕτως εἰσομέθα τὰ τε σώα ὄντα καὶ τὰ μὴ ἡ γὰρ χώρα αὕτη τὸ μὴ ὅν ποθῆσει καὶ <τὸ>¹ δεόμενον θεραπεῖας ἐξετάσει ἡ ὄψις καὶ τὸ εἰδέναι, ὅπου ἐκαστὸν ἔστι, ταχὺ ἐγχειρεῖ, ὥστε μὴ ἀπορεῖν χρῆσθαι.

Καλλίστην δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀκριβεστάτην ἐδοξά σκευῶν τάξιν ἰδεῖν, ὥ Σώκρατες, εἰσβᾶς ἐπὶ θέαν εἰς τὸ μέγα πλοῖον τὸ Φοινικικόν. πλέοστα γὰρ σκεύη ἐν σμικροτάτῳ ἀγγείῳ διακεχωρισμένα

ἔθεασάμην. διὰ πολλῶν μὲν γὰρ δήποτο, ἐφι, ἠνδύλων σκευῶν καὶ πλεκτῶν ὀρμίζεται ναῦς καὶ ἠνύγηται, διὰ πολλῶν δὲ τῶν κρεμαστῶν καλομένων πλει, πολλοῖς δὲ μηχανήμασιν ἀνθωπλισταὶ πρὸς τὰ πολέμια πλοία, πολλὰ δὲ ὅπλα τοῖς ἀνδράσι συμπεριλαγεί, πάντα δὲ σκεύη, ὅσοισπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ χρῶνται ἀνθρωποί, τῇ συστιτίᾳ ἐκάστη κομίζει· γέμει δὲ παρὰ πάντα φορτίων, ὁσα

1 τὸ added by Hirschig: Sauppe omits.
Is it not just because they are seated in order, swing forward and backward in order, embark and disembark in order? If I want a type of disorder, I think of a farmer who has stored barley, wheat and pulse in one bin; and then when he wants a bannock or a loaf or a pudding, must pick out the grain instead of finding it separate and ready for use.

"And so, my dear, if you do not want this confusion, and wish to know exactly how to manage our goods, and to find with ease whatever is wanted, and to satisfy me by giving me anything I ask for, let us choose the place that each portion should occupy; and, having put the things in their place, let us instruct the maid to take them from it and put them back again. Thus we shall know what is safe and sound and what is not; for the place itself will miss whatever is not in it, and a glance will reveal anything that wants attention, and the knowledge where each thing is will quickly bring it to hand, so that we can use it without trouble."

"Once I had an opportunity of looking over the great Phoenician merchantman, Socrates, and I thought I had never seen tackle so excellently and accurately arranged. For I never saw so many bits of stuff packed away separately in so small a receptacle. As you know, a ship needs a great quantity of wooden and corded implements when she comes into port or puts to sea, much rigging, as it is called, when she sails, many contrivances to protect her against enemy vessels; she carries a large supply of arms for the men, and contains a set of household utensils for each mess. In addition to all this, she is laden with cargo which the skipper
XENOPHON

13 ναύκληρος κέρδους ἑνεκα ἄγεται. καὶ ὅσα λέγω, ἔφη, ἔγω, πάντα οὐκ ἐν πολλῷ τινι μείζονι χώρα ἔκειτο ἢ ἐν δεκακλῖνῳ στέγῃ συμμέτρῳ. καὶ οὖτω κεῖμενα ἐκαστα κατενόησα, ὥς οὔτε ἀλληλα ἐμποδίζει οὔτε μαστευτὸν δεῖ ται οὔτε ἀσυσκέυαστα ἐστὶν οὔτε δυσλύτως ἔχει, ὡστε διατριβήν παρ-έχειν, ὅταν τῷ ταχύ δεῖ χρῆσθαι. τὸν δὲ τοῦ κυβερνήτου διάκονου, ὃς πρωφεὺς τῆς νεώς καλεῖται, οὖτως εὐρον ἐπιστάμενον ἐκάστην τὴν χώραν, ὡς καὶ ἄπων ἂν εἴποι, ὃπον ἐκαστα κεῖται καὶ ὅποσα ἐστὶν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἡ ὁ γράμματα ἐπιστάμενος εἴποι ἄν Σωκράτους καὶ ὅποσα

14 γράμματα καὶ ὁποὺ ἐκαστον τέτακται. εἴδον δὲ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἔξετύζοντα τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ πάντα, ὅποσος ἄρα δεὶ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ χρῆσθαι. θαυμάσας δὲ, ἔφη, τὴν ἐπίσκεψιν αὐτοῦ ἦρόμην, τὶ πράττοι. ὁ δ’ εἶπεν, Ἑπισκοπῶ, ἔφη, ὡς ἔνεε, εἰ τι συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, πῶς κεῖται, ἔφη, τὰ ἐν τῇ νη, ἢ εἰ τι ἀποστατεῖ ἢ

15 εἰ δυστραπέλως τι σύγκειται. οὐ γάρ, ἔφη, ἐγχωρεῖ, ὅταν χειμάζῃ ὁ θεὸς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οὔτε μαστεύειν ὅτον ἄν δεῖ οὔτε δυστραπέλως ἔχων διδόναι. ἀπειλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς καὶ κολάζει τοὺς βλάκας. εἰάν δὲ μόνον μὴ ἀπολέσῃ τοὺς μὴ ἀμαρτάνοντας, πάνυ ἀγαπήτον· εἰάν δὲ καὶ πάνυ καλῶς υπηρετοῦντας σωζή, πολλῆ χάρις, ἔφη, τοῖς θεοῖς.

16 Ἑγὼ οὖν κατιδῶν ταύτην τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐλέγον τῇ γυναικί, ὅτι πάνυ ἅν ἡμῶν εἶν βλακικόν, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις καὶ

1 πλῶ Cobet.
OECONOMICUS, viii. 12-17

carries for profit. And all the things I mention were contained in a chamber of little more than a hundred square cubits. And I noticed that each kind of thing was so neatly stowed away that there was no confusion, no work for a searcher, nothing out of place, no troublesome untwisting to cause delay when anything was wanted for immediate use. I found that the steersman’s servant, who is called the mate, knows each particular section so exactly, that he can tell even when away where everything is kept and how much there is of it, just as well as a man who knows how to spell can tell how many letters there are in Socrates and in what order they come. Now I saw this man in his spare time inspecting all the stores that are wanted, as a matter of course, in the ship. I was surprised to see him looking over them, and asked what he was doing. “Sir,” he answered, “I am looking to see how the ship’s tackle is stored, in case of accident, or whether anything is missing or mixed up with other stuff. For when God sends a storm at sea, there’s no time to search about for what you want or to serve it out if it’s in a muddle. For God threatens and punishes careless fellows, and you’re lucky if he merely refrains from destroying the innocent; and if he saves you when you do your work well, you have much cause to thank heaven.”

‘Now after seeing the ship’s tackle in such perfect order, I told my wife: “Considering that folk aboard a merchant vessel, even though it be a little

1 ἐκάλως is literally “having space for ten couches”; but it seems that such compounds of κάλυμα (“a couch”) were used to denote a definite measure of size.

2 Or, more probably, “during the voyage.”

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μικροῖς οὖσι χώρας εὐρίσκουσι καὶ σαλεύοντες, ἵσχυρῶς ὁμοῖοι σώζουσι τὴν τάξιν καὶ ὑπερφοβοῦμενοι ὁμοῖοι εὐρίσκουσι τὸ δέον λαμβάνειν, ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ διηρημένων ἐκάστοις θηκῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ μεγάλων καὶ βεβηκυίας τῆς οἰκίας ἐν δαπέδῳ εἰ μὴ εὐρήσομεν καλὴν καὶ εὐεύρετον χώραν ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν, πῶς οὖκ ἄν πολλὴ ἡμῶν ἀσύνεσια εὑρεῖν ἡμῖν; 18 Ὡς μὲν δὴ ὧν ἐγαθόν τετάχθαι σκευῶν κατασκευὴν καὶ ὡς ράδιον χώραν ἐκάστοις αὐτῶν εὑρεῖν ἐν 19 οἰκίᾳ θείναι ὡς ἐκάστοις συμφέρει, ἐϊρήται· ὡς δὲ καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐπειδὰν ὑπόδηματα ἐφεξῆς κέιται, κἂν ὁποῖα ἦ, καλὸν δὲ ἰμάτια κεχωρισμένα ἰδεῖν, κἂν ὁποῖα ἦ, καλὸν δὲ στρώματα, καλὸν δὲ χαλκία, καλὸν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ τραπέζας, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ὁ πάντων καταγελάσειεν ἀν μάλιστα οὐχ ὁ σεμνὸς ἀλλ’ ὁ κομψός, ὅτι καὶ χύτρας φημὶ 20 εὐρυθμοῦν φαίνεσθαι εὐκρινῶς κειμένας· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἤδη ποὺ ἀπὸ τοῦτο ἄπαντα καλλίων φαίνεται κατὰ κόσμων κειμένα· χορὸς γὰρ σκευῶν ἐκαστα φαίνεται, καὶ τὸ μέσον δὲ τοῦτων καλὸν φαίνεται, ἐκποδῶν ἐκαστοῦ κειμένου· ὁσπερ κύκλιος χορὸς ὡς μόνον αὐτὸς καλὸν θέαμα ἐστιν, ἄλλα καὶ τὸ μέσον αὐτῶν καλὸν καὶ καθαρὸν φαίνεται. 21 Εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ ταῦτα λέγω, ἐξεστὶν, ἐφην, ὡ γὰρ, καὶ πείραν λαμβάνειν αὐτῶν οὔτε τι ζημιωθέντας οὔτε τι πολλὰ πονήσατας. ἄλλα μὴν οὔδε τούτο δεὶ ἀθυμῆσαι, ὡ γὰρ, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὡς χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν τὸν μαθησόμενον τε τὰς χώρας 22 καὶ μεμνησόμενον καταχωρίζειν ἐκαστα. ὑσμεν γὰρ δήπου, ὅτι μυριοπλάσια ἡμῶν ἄπαντα ἔχει ἡ 436
one, find room for things and keep order, though tossed violently to and fro, and find what they want to get, though terror-stricken, it would be downright carelessness on our part if we, who have large store-
rooms in our house to keep everything separate and whose house rests on solid ground, fail to find a good and handy place for everything. Would it not be sheer stupidity on our part?

"'" How good it is to keep one's stock of utensils in order, and how easy to find a suitable place in a house to put each set in, I have already said. And what a beautiful sight is afforded by boots of all sorts and conditions ranged in rows! How beautiful it is to see cloaks of all sorts and conditions kept separate, or blankets, or brazen vessels, or table furniture! Yes, no serious man will smile when I claim that there is beauty in the order even of pots and pans set out in neat array, however much it may move the laughter of a wit. There is nothing, in short, that does not gain in beauty when set out in order. For each set looks like a troop of utensils, and the space between the sets is beautiful to see, when each set is kept clear of it, just as a troop of dancers about the altar is a beautiful spectacle in itself, and even the free space looks beautiful and unencumbered.

"'" We can test the truth of what I say, dear, without any inconvenience and with very little trouble. Moreover, my dear, there is no ground for any misgiving that it is hard to find someone who will get to know the various places and remember to put each set in its proper place. For we know, I take it, that the city as a whole has ten thousand times as
πᾶσα πόλις, ἀλλ' ὦμοις ὅποιοι ἄν τῶν οἰκετῶν κελεύσῃς πριάμευόν τί σοι ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐνεγκεῖν, οὐδεὶς ἀπορήσει, ἀλλὰ πᾶς εἰδὼς φανεῖται, ὅτι χρή ἐλθόντα λαβεῖν ἔκαστα. τούτον μέντοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτίων ἔστιν ἢ ὅτι ἐν χώρᾳ ἔκαστον ἑκάστου κεῖται τεταγμένη. ἀνθρωπον δὲ γε ζητῶν, καὶ ταύτα ἐνίοτε ἀντιζητοῦντα, πολλάκις ἂν τις πρότερον πρὶν εὐρεῖν ἀπείποι. καὶ τούτον αὐτοῦ ἄλλο αὐτίων ἔστιν ἢ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τεταγμένον, ὅποι ἔκαστον δεὶ ἀναμένειν.

Περὶ μὲν δὴ τάξεως σκευῶν καὶ χρήσεως τοιαύτα αὐτή διαλεξθεῖς δοκῶ μεμνήσθαι.

IX. Καὶ τί δὴ; ἦ γυνὴ ἐδόκει σοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, πῶς τι ὑπακούειν δων σὺ ἐσπούδαζες διδάσκως;

Τί δὲ, εἰ μὴ ὑπίσχειτο γε ἐπιμελήσεσθαι καὶ φανερὰ ἦν ἡδομένη ἱσχυρός, ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀμηχανίας εὐπορίαν τινὰ εὐρηκνία, καὶ ἐδείτο μου ὡς τάχιστα ἦπερ ἔλεγον διατάξαι.

2 Καὶ πῶς δὴ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, διέταξας αὐτῇ;

Τί δὲ, εἰ μὴ τής οἰκίας τὴν δύναμιν ἐδοξέ μοι πρῶτον ἐπιδείξαι αὐτῇ, οὐ γὰρ ποικιλμασὶ πολλοῖς κεκόσμηται, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἀλλὰ τὰ οἰκήματα ψεκόδομηται πρὸς αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐσκεμμένα, ὅπως ἀγγεία ὡς συμφορώτατα ἦ τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐσεθηκεν, ὡστε αὐτὰ ἔκάλει τὰ πρέποντα εἶναι ἔκαστῳ. ὃ μὲν γὰρ θάλαμος ἐν ὑχυρῷ ὅλῳ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια καὶ στρώματα καὶ σκεῦη παρεκάλει, τὰ δὲ ἑιρά τῶν στεγῶν τῶν σῖτων, τὰ

1 ἔκαστον is due to the papyrus fragment.
2 πολλοῖς is due to the papyrus fragment.
much of everything as we have; and yet you may order any sort of servant to buy something in the market and to bring it home, and he will be at no loss: every one of them is bound to know where he should go to get each article. Now the only reason for this is that everything is kept in a fixed place. But when you are searching for a person, you often fail to find him, though he may be searching for you himself. And for this again the one reason is that no place of meeting has been fixed."

"Such is the gist of the conversation I think I remember having with her about the arrangement of utensils and their use."

IX. "'And what was the result?' I asked; 'did you think, Ischomachus, that your wife paid any heed to the lessons you tried so earnestly to teach her?'

"'Why, she promised to attend to them, and was evidently pleased beyond measure to feel that she had found a solution of her difficulties, and she begged me to lose no time in arranging things as I had suggested.'

"'And how did you arrange things for her, Ischomachus?' I asked.

"'Why, I decided first to show her the possibilities of our house. For it contains few elaborate decorations, Socrates; but the rooms are designed simply with the object of providing as convenient receptacles as possible for the things that are to fill them, and thus each room invited just what was suited to it. Thus the store-room by the security of its position called for the most valuable blankets and utensils, the dry covered rooms for the corn,
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dε ψυχείνα τὸν οἶνον, τὰ δὲ φανὰ ὅσα φάοις
4 δεόμενα ἔργα τε καὶ σκεύη ἔστι. καὶ διανητήρια
dὲ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ἐπεδείκυνον αὐτὴ κεκαλ-
λωπισμένα τοὺς μὲν θέρους ψυχείνα, τοὺς δὲ
χειμώνος ἀλεeινα. καὶ σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐπεδείξα αὐτὴ ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται,
ὡστε εὐδηλον εἶναι, ὅτι χειμώνος μὲν εὐηλίος
5 ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐσκιος. ἐδείξα δὲ καὶ τὴν
γυναικωνίτιν αὐτῆ, θύρα βαλανωτῇ ὄρισμένηι
ἀπὸ τῆς ἄνδρωντίδος, ὅνα μήτε ἐκφέρηται εὐδοθε
ὁ τι μὴ δεὶ μήτε τεκυνοποιῶνται οἱ οἰκέται ἀνεν
τῆς ἥμετέρας γυνώμης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ χρηστοὶ
παιδοποιησάμενοι εὐνούχτεροι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ,
οἱ δὲ πονηροὶ συζυγεῖντες εὐφορύστεροι πρὸς τὸ
κακουργεῖν γίγνονται.
6 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα διήλθομεν, ἐφφι, ωὔτω δὴ ἡ ἡδὴ κατὰ
φυλὰς διεκρίνομεν τὰ ἐπιπλα. ἥρχόμεθα δὲ προ-
tον, ἐφη, ἀθροίζοντες οἰς ἀμφὶ θυσίας χρώμεθα.
μετὰ ταῦτα κόσμων γυναικὸς τὸν εἰς ἐορτὰς
dιηροῦμεν, ἑσθήτα ἄνδρὸς τὴν εἰς ἐορτὰς καὶ πόλε-
μον καὶ στρώματα ἐν γυναικώντιδι, στρώματα ἐν
ἀνδρωντίδι, ὑποδήματα γυναικεία, ὑποδήματα
7 ἄνδρεια. ὅπλων ἀλλῆς φυλῆς, ἀλλῆς ταλασιοῦργικῶν
ὅργανων, ἀλλῆς σιτοποικῶν, ἀλλῆς ψυποικῶν,
ἀλλῆ τῶν ἁμβί λουτρῶν, ἀλλῆ ἁμβί μάκτρας,
ἀλλῆ ἁμβί τραπέζας. καὶ ταῦτα πάντα διεχω-
ρίσαμεν, οἶς τε ἂεὶ δεὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ τὰ θουνατὰ.
8 χώρις δὲ καὶ τὰ κατὰ μῆνα δαπανώμενα
ἀφεῖλομεν, δίχα δὲ καὶ τὰ εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν ἀπὸ-
λεονισμένα κατέθεμεν. οὕτω γὰρ ἦπτον λανθάνει,
ὅπως πρὸς τὸ τέλος ἐκβῆσεται. ἐπει δὲ ἐξωρίσα-
μεν πάντα κατὰ φυλὰς τὰ ἐπιπλα, εἰς τὰς χώρας
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cool for the wine, the well-lit for those works of art and vessels that need light. I showed her decorated living-rooms for the family that are cool in summer and warm in winter. I showed her that the whole house fronts south, so that it was obvious that it is sunny in winter and shady in summer. I showed her the women's quarters too, separated by a bolted door from the men's, so that nothing which ought not to be moved may be taken out, and that the servants may not breed without our leave. For honest servants generally prove more loyal if they have a family; but rogues, if they live in wedlock, become all the more prone to mischief.

"And now that we had completed the list, we forthwith set about separating the furniture tribe by tribe. We began by collecting together the vessels we use in sacrificing. After that we put together the women's holiday finery, and the men's holiday and war garb, blankets in the women's, blankets in the men's quarters, women's shoes, men's shoes. Another tribe consisted of arms, and three others of implements for spinning, for bread-making and for cooking; others, again, of the things required for washing, at the kneading-trough, and for table use. All these we divided into two sets, things in constant use and things reserved for festivities. We also put by themselves the things consumed month by month, and set apart the supplies calculated to last for a year. For this plan makes it easier to tell how they will last to the end of the time. When we had divided all the portable property

1 Mem. III. viii. 9.
9 τὰς προσηκούσας ἐκαστα διηνέγκομεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ὁσοὶ μὲν τῶν σκευῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν χρώνονται οἱ οἰκείαι, οίον σιτοποικοίς, όψοποικοίς, ταλασσοφικοίς, καὶ εἶ τι ἀλλο τοιοῦτον, ταῦτα μὲν αὐτοῖς τοῖς χρωμένοις δείξαντες ὅπου δεῖ τιθέναι παρεδώκαμεν καὶ ἐπετάξαμεν σῶα παρέχειν.  
10 ὁσοὶ δ’ εἰς ἔορτάς ἡ Ἑνοδοχίας χρώμεθα ἡ εἰς τὰς διὰ χρόνου πράξεις, ταῦτα δὲ τῇ ταμίᾳ παρεδώκαμεν καὶ δείξαντες τὰς χώρας αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαριθμήσαντες καὶ γραψάμενοι ἐκαστὰ εἴπομεν αὐτῇ διδόναι τούτων ὅτω δέοι ἐκαστον, καὶ μεμνήσθαι ὃ τι ἄν τω διδῷ, καὶ ἀπολαμβάνουσαν κατατιθέναι πάλιν ὅθεν περ ἄν ἐκαστὰ λαμβάνῃ.  
11 Τὴν δὲ ταμίαν ἐποιησάμεθα ἐπισκεψάμενοι, ἤτις ἡμῖν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἐγκρατεστάτη καὶ γαστρός καὶ οἶνον καὶ ύπνον καὶ ἄνδρῶν συνουσίας, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ ἢ τὸ μυθημονίκον μάλιστα ἐδόκει ἔχειν καὶ τὸ προσεῖν, μή τι κακὸν λάβῃ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀμελοῦσα, καὶ σκοπεῖν, ὅπως χαριζόμενη τι ἡμῖν ύψ’ ἡμῶν ἀντιτιμήσται. εἴδιδασκόμεθα δὲ αὐτὴν καὶ εὐνοικῶς ἔχειν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ὅτ’ εὐφραίνομεθα, τῶν εὐφροσυνῶν μεταδιδόντες καὶ εἰ τι λυπηρὸν εἰ, εἰς ταῦτα παρακαλοῦντες. καὶ τὸ προθυμεῖσθαι δὲ συναύξειν τῶν οἰκῶν ἐπαιδεύομεν αὐτὴν ἐπιγιγνώσκειν αὐτὴν ποιοῦντες καὶ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτῆς μεταδιδόντες. καὶ δικαιοσύνην δ’ αὐτῇ ἐνεποιούμεθα τιμωτέρους τιθέντες τοὺς δικαίους τῶν ἁδίκων καὶ ἐπιδεικνύοντες πλούσιωτερον καὶ ἐλευθερωτέρον βιοτεύοντας τῶν ἁδίκων καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ κατετάττωμεν.  
14 Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτως πᾶσιν εἴπον, ἑφη, ὦ Σώκρατες,
tribe by tribe, we arranged everything in its proper place. After that we showed the servants who have to use them where to keep the utensils they require daily, for baking, cooking, spinning and so forth; handed them over to their care and charged them to see that they were safe and sound. The things that we use only for festivals or entertainments, or on rare occasions, we handed over to the housekeeper, and after showing her their places and counting and making a written list of all the items, we told her to give them out to the right servants, to remember what she gave to each of them, and when receiving them back to put everything in the place from which she took it.

"In appointing the housekeeper, we chose the woman whom on consideration we judged to be the most temperate in eating and wine drinking and sleeping and the most modest with men, the one, too, who seemed to have the best memory, to be most careful not to offend us by neglecting her duties, and to think most how she could earn some reward by obliging us. We also taught her to be loyal to us by making her a partner in all our joys and calling on her to share our troubles. Moreover, we trained her to be eager for the improvement of our estate, by making her familiar with it and by allowing her to share in our success. And further, we put justice into her, by giving more honour to the just than to the unjust, and by showing her that the just live in greater wealth and freedom than the unjust; and we placed her in that position of superiority.

"When all this was done, Socrates, I told my

1 Mem. i. v. 1; Cyropaedia, i. vi. 8.

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έγω τῇ γυναικί, ὅτι πάντων τούτων οὐδὲν ὅφελος, εἰ μὴ αὐτὴ ἐπιμελήσεται, ὅπως διαμένῃ ἐκάστῳ ἡ τάξις. ἐδίδασκον δὲ αὐτήν, ὅτι καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐνομομέναις πόλεσιν οὐκ ἀρκεῖ πολίταις, ἢν νόμους καλοὺς γράψωνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομοφύλακας προσαρούνται, οὕτως ἐπισκοποῦντες τὸν μὲν ποιοῦντα τὰ νόμιμα ἐπαινοῦσιν, ἢν δὲ τις παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ποιηθεῖ, ἵππουσι.

15 νομίσαι οὖν ἐκέλευον, ἔφη, τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ αὐτὴν νομοφύλακα τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ εἶναι καὶ ἐξετάζειν δὲ, ὅταν δὲξῃ αὐτῇ, τὰ σκευή, ὥσπερ ὁ φρούραρχος τὰς φυλακὰς ἐξετάζει, καὶ δοκιμάζει, εἰ καλὸς ἐκαστὸν ἔχει, ὥσπερ ἢ βουλὴ ἱπποὺς καὶ ἰππέας δοκιμάζει, καὶ ἐπαινεῖν δὲ καὶ τιμᾶν ὥσπερ βασιλισσαν τὸν ἄξιον ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης δυνάμεως καὶ λοιποῦ καὶ κολάξειν τῶν τούτων δεόμενον.

16 Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐδίδασκον αὐτήν, ἔφη, ὡς οὖν ἀν ἄχοιωτο δικαίως, εἰ πλεῖον αὐτῇ πράγματα προστάτων ἢ τοῖς οἰκέταις περὶ τὰ κτήματα, ἐπιδεικνύων, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις μέτεστι τῶν δεσποσύνων ἐρήματι τοσοῦτον, ὅσον φέρειν ἢ θεραπεύειν ἢ φυλάττειν, χρήσθαι δὲ οὐδενὶ αὐτῶν ἐξετίν, ὅταν ἢν μὴ δῷ ὁ κύριος: δεσπότον δὲ ἀπαντᾶ ἐστιν ὦ ἄν βουλήτη ἐκάστῳ ἵπποις ἵπποις προσημοῦσαν ἀπέφαινον.

17 ὅτω σὺν καὶ σωφρόνων μεγίστη ὤνησις καὶ φθειρομένων μεγίστη βλάβη, τούτω καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν μάλιστα προσήκουσαν ἀπέφαινον.

18 Τί οὖν; ἔφην ἔγω, ὁ Ἰσχομαχεί, ταῦτα ἀκούσασα ἢ γυνὴ πῶς σοι ὑπῆκουν;

Τί δέ, ἔφη, εἰ μὴ εἰπὲ γέ μοι, ὁ Σωκράτες, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς γιγνώσκοιμι, εἰ οἰόμην χαλεπα ἐπιτάττειν διδάσκων, ὅτι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ τῶν
wife that all these measures were futile, unless she saw to it herself that our arrangement was strictly adhered to in every detail. I explained that in well-ordered cities the citizens are not satisfied with passing good laws: they go further, and choose guardians of the laws, who act as overseers, commending the law-abiding and punishing law-breakers. So I charged my wife to consider herself guardian of the laws to our household. And just as the commander of a garrison inspects his guards, so must she inspect the chattels whenever she thought it well to do so; as the Council scrutinises the cavalry and the horses, so she was to make sure that everything was in good condition: like a queen, she must reward the worthy with praise and honour, so far as in her lay, and not spare rebuke and punishment when they were called for.

"Moreover, I taught her that she should not be vexed that I assigned heavier duties to her than to the servants in respect of our possessions. Servants, I pointed out, carry, tend and guard their master's property, and only in this sense have a share in it; they have no right to use anything except by the owner's leave; but everything belongs to the master, to use it as he will. Therefore, I explained, he who gains most by the preservation of the goods and loses most by their destruction, is the one who is bound to take most care of them.'

"Well, now, Ischomachus,' said I, 'was your wife inclined to pay heed to your words?'

"'Why, Socrates,' he cried, 'she just told me that I was mistaken if I supposed that I was laying a hard task on her in telling her that she must take

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1 ἐκάστῳ Camerarius: ἐκαστᾷSauppe with the MSS.

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omnia. χαλεπώτερον γὰρ ἂν, ἑφι φάναι, εἰ αὕτη ἐπέταττον ἀμελείν τῶν ἕαυτῆς ὥς εἰ ἐπιμελείσθαι δεῖσει τῶν οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν. πεφυκέναι γὰρ δοκεῖ, ἑφῆ, ὦσπερ καὶ τέκνων ῥᾴδων τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῇ σώφρονι τῶν ἕαυτῆς ἢ ἀμελεῖν, οὕτω καὶ τῶν κτημάτων, ὃσα ἵδια ὅντα εὐφραίνει, ἥδιον τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι νομίζειν ἑφη εἶναι τῇ σώφρονι τῶν ἕαυτῆς ἢ ἀμελεῖν.

Χ. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας, ἑφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀποκρίνασθαι τῇ γυναικῇ αὐτῷ ταῦτα, εἶπον, Νὴ τῇ Ἰ. "Ἡραν, ἑφῆ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀνδρικὴν γέ επιδεικνύει τὴν διάνοιαν τῆς γυναικὸς.

Καὶ ἀλλὰ τῶνν, ἑφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, θέλω σοι πάνω μεγαλόφρονα αὐτῆς διηγήσασθαι, ἡ μον ἀπαξ ἀκούσασα ταχὺ ἐπείθετο.

Τὰ ποιά; ἑφην ἐγώ. λέγε: ὡς ἔμοι πολὺ ἤδιον ἕως ἑρετής γυναικὸς καταμανθάνειν ἢ ἐπὶ Ζεῦξιν μοι καλὴν εἰκάσας γραφῇ γυναῖκα ἐπε- δείκνυεν.

2 Ἐντεύθεν δὴ λέγει ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, Ἐγὼ τοῖνυν, ἑφη, ἵδων ποτὲ αὐτῆς, ὁ Σωκράτες, ἐντεὑσιμένην πολλῷ μὲν ψυχῆς, ὅπως λευκότερα ἐτὶ δοκοῖ εἶναι ἢ ἤν, πολλῇ δ’ ἐγχούση, ὅπως ἐρυθροτέρα φαίνοιτο τῆς ἀληθείας, ὑποδήματα δ’ ἐχουσάν ὑψηλά, ὅπως μείζων δοκοῖ εἶναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει,

3 Ἐπέ μοι, ἑφην, ὁ γάρ, ποτέρως ἂν με κρίναις ἀξιοφίλητον μᾶλλον εἶναι χρημάτων κοινωνόν, εἰ σοι αὐτὰ τὰ ὅντα ἀποδεικνύομαι καὶ μὴτε κομπαξοῦμι, ὡς πλείω ἐστὶ μοι τῶν ὃντων, μὴτε ἀποκρυπτοίμην τι τῶν ὃντων μηδὲν, ἢ ἐπειρώμην σε εξαπάταν λέγων τε, ὡς πλείω ἐστὶ μοι τῶν ὃντων, ἐπιδεικνύμε τοι ἀργύριοι κίβδηλοι καὶ 446
care of our things. It would have been harder, she said, had I required her to neglect her own possessions, than to have the duty of attending to her own peculiar blessings. The fact is,' he added, 19 'just as it naturally comes easier to a good woman to care for her own children than to neglect them, so, I imagine, a good woman finds it pleasanter to look after her own possessions than to neglect them.'"

X. "Now when I heard that his wife had given him this answer, I exclaimed; 'Upon my word, Ischomachus, your wife has a truly masculine mind by your showing!'

"'Yes,' said Ischomachus, 'and I am prepared to give you other examples of high-mindedness on her part, when a word from me was enough to secure her instant obedience.'

"'Tell me what they are,' I cried; 'for if Zeuxis showed me a fair woman's portrait painted by his own hand, it would not give me half the pleasure I derive from the contemplation of a living woman's virtues.'

"Thereupon Ischomachus took up his parable. 2 'Well, one day, Socrates, I noticed that her face was made up: she had rubbed in white lead in order to look even whiter than she is, and alkanet juice to heighten the rosy colour of her cheeks; and she was wearing boots with thick soles to increase her height. So I said to her, "Tell me, my 3 dear, how should I appear more worthy of your love as a partner in our goods, by disclosing to you our belongings just as they are, without boasting of imaginary possessions or concealing any part of what we have, or by trying to trick you with an exaggerated account, showing you bad money and
όρμους ύποξύλους καὶ πορφυρίδας ἐξιτήλους 
φαίνη ἄληθινᾶς εἶναι;
4 Καὶ ὑπολαβοῦσα εὐθύς, Εὐφήμει, ἐφη· μὴ 
γένοι σὺ τοιοῦτος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἔγγογε σὲ δυναῖ-
μην, εἰ τοιοῦτος εἶης, ἀσπάσασθαι ἐκ τῆς 
ψυχῆς.
Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη ἐγώ, συνεληλύθαμεν, ὡ γύναι, 
ὡς καὶ τῶν σωμάτων κοινωνήσουτε ἄλληλοις;
Φασί γοῦν, ἐφη, οἱ ἀνθρωποί.
5 Ποτέρωσ ἂν οὖν, ἐφην ἐγώ, τοῦ σώματος αὖ 
δοκοὶ εἶναι ἀξιοφίλητος μᾶλλον κοινωνός, εἰ 
σοι τὸ σῶμα πειρώμην παρέχειν τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ 
ἐπιμελῶμενος ὁπως ὑγαίνον τε καὶ ἐρρωμένον 
ἐσται καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῷ ὄντι εὗχρος σοὶ ἐσομαι,
ἡ εἰ σοι μίλτω ἀλειφόμενος καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς 
ὑπαλειφόμενος ἀνδρεικέλω ἐπιδεικνύοιμι τε ἐμα-
τῶν καὶ συνείην ἐξαπατῶν σε καὶ παρέχων ὅραν 
καὶ ἀπτεσθαι μίλτου ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμαυτοῦ χρωτοῦ;
6 Ἕγω μὲν, ἐφη ἐκείνη, οὔτ' ἂν μίλτου ἀπτοίμῃν 
ἡδιον ἢ σοῦ οὔτ' ἂν ἀνδρεικέλου χρώμα ἡδιον 
όρφην ἢ τὸ σὸν οὔτ' ἂν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς 
ὑπαληλιμμένους ἡδιον ὀρφῆν τοὺς σοὺς ἢ ὑγαί-
νοντας.
7 Καὶ ἔμε τοίνυν νόμιζε, εἰπεῖν ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχύμαχος,
ὁ γὺναι, μήτε ψυμβίον μήτε ἐγχούσης χρώματι 
ἡδεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ σῷ, ἀλλ' ὅσπερ οἱ θεοὶ 
ἐποίησαν ἵπποις μὲν ἵππους, Βουσὶ δὲ Βοὺς 
ἡδιστον, προβάτως δὲ πρόβατα, οὔτω καὶ οἱ 
ἀνθρώποι ἀνθρώπου σῶμα καθαρὸν οὕνται
8 ἡδιστὸν εἶναι· αἱ δ' ἀπάται αὐταὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω 
πως δύναντ' ἂν ἀνεξελέγκτως ἐξαπατᾶν, συνόνται 
δὲ ἂεὶ ἀνάγκη ἀλήσκεσθαι, ἂν ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἔξα-
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gilt necklaces and describing clothes that will fade as real purple?"

"""Hush!" she broke in immediately, "pray don't be like that—I could not love you with all my heart if you were like that!"

"""Then, are we not joined together by another bond of union, dear, to be partners in our bodies?"

"""The world says so, at any rate."

"""How then should I seem more worthy of your love in this partnership of the body—by striving to have my body hale and strong when I present it to you, and so literally to be of a good countenance in your sight, or by smearing my cheeks with red lead and painting myself under the eyes with rouge before I show myself to you and clasp you in my arms, cheating you and offering to your eyes and hands red lead instead of my real flesh?"

"""Oh," she cried, "I would sooner touch you than red lead, would sooner see your own colour than rouge, would sooner see your eyes bright than smeared with grease."

"""Then please assume, my dear, that I do not prefer white paint and dye of alkanet to your real colour; but just as the gods have made horses to delight in horses, cattle in cattle, sheep in sheep, so human beings find the human body undisguised most delightful. Tricks like these may serve to gull outsiders, but people who live together are bound to be found out, if they try to deceive one another.
πατὰν ἀλλήλους. ἦ γὰρ ἐξ εὐνής ἀλάσκονται ἐξαισιστάμενοι πρὸν παρασκευάσασθαι ἢ ὑπὸ ἰδρώτος ἐλέγχονται ἢ ὑπὸ δακρύων βασανίζονται ἢ ὑπὸ λουτροῦ ἀληθώς κατωπτεύθησαν.

9 Τί οὖν πρὸς θεῶν, ἐφην ἐγώ, πρὸς ταῦτα ἀπεκρίνατο;

Τί δὲ, ἐφη, εἰ μὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ τοιοῦτον μὲν οὖν πῶς ἐπραγματεύσατο, καθαρὰν δὲ καὶ πρεπόντως ἔχουσαν ἐπειράτο ἐαυτὴν ἐπιδεικνύει. καὶ ἐμὲ μέντοι ἡρώτα, εἰ τι ἔχοι μιμοβουλεῦσαι, ὡς ἄν τῷ οὖντι καλὴ φαίνοιτο, ἄλλα μὴ μόνον
dοκοίῃ. καὶ ἐγὼ μέντοι, ὦ Σώκρατε, ἐφη, συνε-
βούλευον αὐτῇ μὴ δουλικῶς ἄei καθησθαι, ἄλλα σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πειράσθαι δεσποτικῶς πρὸς μὲν τῶν ἱστῶν προστάσας ἢ τι μὲν βέλτιον ἄλλου ἐπιστατο ἐπιδιδάξαι, ὦ τι δὲ χείρον ἐπιμαθεῖν, ἐπισκέψασθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν 1 σιτοποιῶν, παραστὴναν
dὲ καὶ ἀπομετροῦση τῇ ταμίᾳ, περιέλθειν τ' ἐπισκόπουμένην καὶ εἰ κατὰ χώραν ἔχει ἣν δὲ
ἐκαστα. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐδόκει μοι ἀμα ἐπιμέλεια εἰναι καὶ περίπατος. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ἐφην εἰναι
γυμνάσιον καὶ τό δεῖσαι καὶ μάξαι καὶ ἑμάτια καὶ 
στρώματα ἀνασεῖσαι καὶ συνθεῖναι. ἡγμα-
ξομένην δὲ ἐφην οὕτως ἄν καὶ ἑσθείειν ἤδιον καὶ
ὑγιαίνειν μᾶλλον καὶ εὐχρωστέραν φαίνεσθαι τῇ
12 ἀληθεία. καὶ ὠψις δὲ, ὁπόταν ἀνταγωνίζηται
dιακόνῳ καθαρωτέρα οὐσα πρεπόντως τε μᾶλλον
ἡμφιεσμένη, 2 κινητικῶν γίγνεται, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ὁπόταν τὸ ἐκοῦσαν χαρίζεσθαι προσῆ ἀντὶ τοῦ
13 ἀναγκαζομένην ύπηρετεὶν. αἱ δ' ἦς ἀκαθήμεναι
σεμνῶς πρὸς τὰς κεκοσμημένας καὶ ἐξαπατώσας
κρίνεσθαι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτᾶς. καὶ νῦν, ἐφη, ὦ
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For they are found out while they are dressing in the morning; they perspire and are lost; a tear convicts them; the bath reveals them as they are!"

"And, pray, what did she say to that?" I asked.

"Nothing," he said, "only she gave up such practices from that day forward, and tried to let me see her undisguised and as she should be. Still, she did ask whether I could advise her on one point: how she might make herself really beautiful, instead of merely seeming to be so. And this was my advice, Socrates: "Don't sit about for ever like a slave, but try, God helping you, to behave as a mistress: stand before the loom and be ready to instruct those who know less than you, and to learn from those who know more: look after the baking-maid: stand by the housekeeper when she is serving out stores: go round and see whether everything is in its place." For I thought that would give her a walk as well as occupation. I also said it was excellent exercise to mix flour and knead dough; and to shake and fold cloaks and bedclothes; such exercise would give her a better appetite, improve her health, and add natural colour to her cheeks. Besides, when a wife's looks outshine a maid's, and she is fresher and more becomingly dressed, they're a ravishing sight, especially when the wife is also willing to oblige, whereas the girl's services are compulsory. But wives who sit about like fine ladies, expose themselves to comparison with painted and fraudulent hussies. And now, Socrates, you

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1 τῆς is omitted by Sauppe with many MSS.
2 This passage is wrongly punctuated by Sauppe.
XENOPHON

Σώκρατες, οὕτως εὖ ἦσθι ἡ γυνὴ μου κατε-σκευασμένη βιοτεύει, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἐδίδασκον αὐτὴν καὶ ὥσπερ νῦν σοι λέγω.

ΧΙ. 'Εντεῦθεν δ' ἐγώ εἶπον. 'Ὡ 'Ἰσχόμαχε, τὰ μὲν δὴ περὶ τῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἔργων ἴκανῶς μοι δοκῶ ἀκηκοέναι τὴν πρώτην καὶ ἀξία γε πάνυ ἐπαίνου ἄμφοτέρων ὑμῶν. τὰ δ' αὖ σὰ ἔργα, ἐφ' ἐγὼ, ἵδη μοι λέγε, ἵνα σὺ τε ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖς διηγησάμενος ἡσθῆς κάγω τὰ τοῦ καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἔργα τελέως διακούσας καὶ καταμαθὼς, ἣν δύνωμαι, πολλὴν σοι χάριν εἰδὼ.

2 Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί', ἐφ' ὁ 'Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ πάνυ ἤδεως σοι, ὃ Σώκρατες, διηγησόμαι ἄ ἐγὼ ποιῶν διατελῶ, ἵνα καὶ μεταρρυθμίσης με, εὰν τί σοι δοκῶ μὴ καλῶς ποιεῖν.

3 Ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν δή, ἐφ' ὑπὸ ἂν δικαίως μεταρ-ρυθμίσαιμι ἄνδρα ἀπειργασμένου καλῶν τε κἀγα-θῶν, καὶ ταῦτα ὃν ἄνηρ ὡς ἄδολεσχεῖν τε δοκῶ καὶ ἀερομετρεῖν καὶ τὸ πάντων δὴ ἀνοητότατον

4 δοκοῦν εἶναι ἐγκλῆμα πένης καλοῦμαι. καὶ πάνυ μενταῦ, ὃ Πίστιμη καὶ ὡς ἐν πολλῇ ἄθυμι τῷ ἐπικλήματι τοῦτῳ, εἰ μὴ πρῶπην ἀπαντήσας τῷ Νικίου τοῦ ἐπηλύτου ἱππῳ εἶδον πολλοὺς ἄκο-λουθοῦντας αὐτῷ θεατάς, πολὺν δὲ λόγον ἐχόντων τινῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἥκουν· καὶ δὴ τὰ ἡρόμην προσ-ελθῶν τοῦ ἱπποκόμου, εἰ πολλὰ εἶν χρήματα τῷ ἱππῳ. ὁ δὲ προσβλέψας με ὡς οὐδὲ νυμαίνοντα τῷ ἐρωτήματι εἶπε· Πῶς δ' ἂν ἱππῳ χρήματα

1 ἄδολεσχεῖν, ἀερομετρεῖν; these are taunts commonly levelled at Socrates; thus, for instance, Aristophanes, Clouds, 225: 452
may be sure, my wife's dress and appearance are in accord with my instructions and with my present description.'"

XI. "At this point I said, 'Ischomachus, I think your account of your wife's occupations is sufficient for the present—and very creditable it is to both of you. But now tell me of your own: thus you will have the satisfaction of stating the reasons why you are so highly respected, and I shall be much beholden to you for a complete account of a gentleman's occupations, and if my understanding serves, for a thorough knowledge of them.'

"'Well then, Soerates,' answered Ischomachus, 'it will be a very great pleasure to me to give you an account of my daily occupations, that you may correct me if you think there is anything amiss in my conduct.'

"'As to that,' said I, 'how could I presume to correct a perfect gentleman, I who am supposed to be a mere chatterer with my head in the air, I who am called—the most senseless of all taunts—a poor beggar? I do assure you, Ischomachus, this last imputation would have driven me to despair, were it not that a day or two ago I came upon the horse of Nicias the foreigner. I saw a crowd walking behind the creature and staring, and heard some of them talking volubly about him. Well, I went up to the groom and asked him if the horse had many possessions. The man looked at me as if I must be mad to ask such a question, and asked me how a"

"What are you at, Socrates?” "I'm walking the air and pondering on the sun"; and 1480: *Socr.*, "Excuse my silly chatter."

2 If the text is right, this person cannot be the well-known Nicias.
XENOPHON

γένοιστο; οὖτω δὴ ἐγὼ ἀνέκυψα ἀκούσας, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀρα θεμιτὸν καὶ πένητι ὑπὼ ἀγαθῷ γενέσθαι, εἰ
tὴν φυγὴν φύσει ἀγαθὴν ἔχοι. ὥς οὖν θεμιτὸν καὶ ἐμοὶ ἀγαθῷ ἀνδρὶ γενέσθαι διηγοῦ τελέως τὰ
σὰ ἔργα, ὅσα τι ἂν δύνωμαι ἀκούσων καταμαθέων
πειρώμαι καὶ ἐγὼ σε ἀπὸ τῆς αὐρίου ἡμέρας ἀρξά-
μενος μιμεῖσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἀγαθὴ ἐστὶν, ἐφην ἐγὼ,
ἡμέρα ὡς ἀρετῆς ἀρχεσθαι.
7 Σὺ μὲν παίξεις, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὁ Σώκρατες,
ἐγὼ δὲ ὅμως σοι διηγήσομαι ἃ ἐγὼ ὅσον δύναμαι
8 πειρώμαι ἐπιτηδεύων διαπεράν τὸν βίον. ἐπεὶ
γὰρ καταμεμαθηκέναι δοκῶ, ὅτι οἱ θεοὶ τοῖς ἀν-
θρώποις ἂνεν μὲν τοῦ γυγυνῶσκεν τε ἀ δεὶ ποιεῖν
καὶ ἐπιμελείσθαι ὅπως ταῦτα περαῖνησαι οὐ θεμι-
tὸν ἐποίησαν εὑ πράττειν, φρονίμοις δ’ οὖσι καὶ
ἐπιμελέσι τοῖς μὲν διδόσαι εὐδαιμονεῖν, τοῖς δ’
οὐ, οὔτω δὴ ἐγὼ ἄρχομαι μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς θερα-
πευών, πειρώμαι δὲ ποιεῖν, ως ἂν θέμις ἢ μοι
εὐχομένω καὶ ὑγείας τυγχάνειν καὶ ῥώμης σώ-
ματος καὶ τιμῆς ἐν πόλει καὶ εὐνοίας ἐν φίλοις
καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καλῆς σωτηρίας καὶ πλούτου
καλῶς αὐξομένου.
9 Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας ταῦτα, Μέλει γὰρ δὴ σοι, ὁ
Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅπως πλούτης καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα
ἐχὼν πολλὰ ἔχης πράγματα τούτων ἐπιμε-
λομένος;
Καὶ πάνω γ’, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, μέλει μοι τού-
tων ὅν ἔρωται: ἢδυ γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ὁ Σώκρατες,
καὶ θεοὺς μεγαλείως τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους, ἢν τινὸς
dεώται, ἐπωφελεῖν καὶ τὴν πόλιν μηδέν κατ’ ἐμὲ
χρήμασιν ἀκόσμητον εἶναι.
10 Καὶ γὰρ καλά, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐστὶν
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horse could own property. At that I recovered, for
his answer showed that it is possible even for a poor
horse to be a good one, if nature has given him a
good spirit. Assume, therefore, that it is possible for
me to be a good man, and give me a complete
account of your occupations, that, so far as my
understanding allows me, I may endeavour to follow
your example from to-morrow morning; for that's
a good day for entering on a course of virtue.'

"You're joking, Socrates," said Ischomachus; nevertheless I will tell you what principles I try
my best to follow consistently in life. For I seem to realise that, while the gods have made it impossible for men to prosper without knowing and attending to the things they ought to do, to some of the wise and careful they grant prosperity, and to some deny it; and therefore I begin by worshipping the gods, and try to conduct myself in such a way that I may have health and strength in answer to my prayers, the respect of my fellow-citizens, the affection of my friends, safety with honour in war, and wealth increased by honest means.'

"What, Ischomachus," I asked on hearing that, do you really want to be rich and to have much, along with much trouble to take care of it?"

"The answer to your questions," said he, "is, Yes, I do indeed. For I would fain honour the gods without counting the cost, Socrates, help friends in need, and look to it that the city lacks no adornment that my means can supply.'

"Truly noble aspirations, Ischomachus," I cried,
ἀ σὺ λέγεις καὶ δυνατοῦ γε ἴσχυρῶς ἀνδρός· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; ὦτε πολλοὶ μὲν εἶσιν ἀνθρωποὶ, οὐ οὐ δύνανται ξῆν ἄνευ τοῦ ἄλλων δεῖσθαι, πολλοὶ δὲ ἀγαπῶσιν, ἢν δύνωνται τὰ ἑαυτοῖς ἄρκοντα πορίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ δὴ δυνάμενοι μὴ μόνον τῶν ἑαυτῶν οἶκον διοικεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περιποιεῖν, ὡστε καὶ τὴν πόλιν κοσμεῖν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἐπικου-φίζειν, πῶς τούτους οὐχὶ βαθεῖς τε καὶ ἐρρω-μένους ἀνδρας χρὴ νομίσαι; ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐπαινεῖν μέν, ἠφιν ἐγώ, τοὺς τοιούτους πολλοὶ δυνάμεθα-σύ δὲ μοι λέξουν, ὡ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἡφ ὄντερ ἴρξι, πῶς ὑγιείας ἐπιμελῆ; πῶς τῆς τοῦ σώματος ρόμης; πῶς θέμις εἰναί σοι καὶ ἐκ πολέμου καλῶς σώζεσθαι; τῆς δὲ χρημασίσεως καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα, ἠφιν ἐγώ, ἀρκέσει ἀκούειν.

12 Ἄλλα ἐστι μέν, ἠφιν ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὡς γε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὣ Σῶκρατες, ἀκόλουθα ταῦτα πάντα ἀλλή-λων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐσθήειν τις τὰ ἱκανὰ ἐχει, ἐκπο-νοοῦντι μέν ὀρθῶς μᾶλλον δοκεῖ μοι ἡ ὑγιεία παραμένειν, ἐκπονοῦντι δὲ μᾶλλον ἡ ρώμη προσ-γίνεσθαι, ἀσκοῦντι δὲ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου κάλλιον σώζεσθαι, ὀρθῶς δὲ ἐπιμελομένως καὶ μὴ κατα-μαλακιζομένως μᾶλλον εἰκὸς τὸν οἶκον αὐξεσθαι.

13 Ἀλλὰ μέχρι μὲν τούτου ἑπομαι, ἠφιν ἐγώ, ὡ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅτι ἐκπονοοῦντι φής καὶ ἐπιμελόμενον καὶ ἀσκοῦντα ἀνθρωπον μᾶλλον τυχίqειν τῶν ἀναθῶν, ὅποιο ὡς πόνω χρῆ πρὸς τὴν εὐεξίαν καὶ ρώμην καὶ ὅπως ἀσκεῖς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅπως ἐπιμελῆ τοῦ περιουσίαν ποιεῖν ὡς καὶ φίλους ἐπωφελεῖν καὶ πόλιν ἐπισχύειν, ταῦτα ἀν ἰδέως, ἠφιν ἐγώ, πυθοίμην.

14 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ἠφιν, ὡ Σῶκρατες, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος;
OECONOMICUS, XI. 10-14

‘and worthy of a man of means, no doubt! Seeing that there are many who cannot live without help from others, and many are content if they can get enough for their own needs, surely those who can maintain their own estate and yet have enough left to adorn the city and relieve their friends may well be thought high and mighty men. However,’ I added, ‘praise of such men is a commonplace among us. Please return to your first statement, Ischomachus, and tell me how you take care of your health and your strength, how you make it possible to come through war with safety and honour. I shall be content to hear about your money-making afterwards.’

‘Well, Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘all these things hang together, so far as I can see. For if a man has plenty to eat, and works off the effects properly, I take it that he both insures his health and adds to his strength. By training himself in the arts of war he is more qualified to save himself honourably, and by due diligence and avoidance of loose habits, he is more likely to increase his estate.’

‘So far, Ischomachus, I follow you,’ I answered. ‘You mean that by working after meals, by diligence and by training, a man is more apt to obtain the good things of life. But now I should like you to give me details. By what kind of work do you endeavour to keep your health and strength? How do you train yourself in the arts of war? What diligence do you use to have a surplus from which to help friends and strengthen the city?’

‘Well now, Socrates,’ replied Ischomachus, ‘I

1 Cyropædia i. ii, 10.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

ανιστασθαι μεν εξ ευνής εἰθίσμαι, ἣνικ’ ἂν ἐτε ἐνδον καταλαμβάνομι, εἰ τινα δεόμενος ἵδειν τυγχάνομι. κἂν μὲν τι κατὰ πόλιν δὲν πράττειν, ταῦτα πραγματευόμενος περιπάτω τούτω χρώμαι.

15 ἢν δὲ μηδέν ἀναγκαίον ἢ κατὰ πόλιν, τὸν μὲν ἵππον ὁ παῖς προάγει εἰς ἄγρον, ἐγὼ δὲ περιπάτω χρώμαι τῇ εἰς ἄγρον ὃδε ἰσως ἀμείνου, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄναστῳ περιπατοῦν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἐλθὼν εἰς ἄγρον, ἢν τε μοι φυτεύοντες τυγχάνον ἢν τε νεοποιοῦντες ἢν τε σπείροντες ἢν τε καρπὸν προσκομίζοντες, ταῦτα ἔπισκεψάμενος ὅπως ἐκαστα γυγιεται μεταρρυθμίζω, ἐὰν ἔχω τι βέλτιον τοῦ παρόντος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἀναβᾶς ἐτὶ τὸν ἵππον ἰππασάμην ἰππασίαν ὡς ἂν ἐγὼ δύνωμαι ὑμοιοτάτην ταῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀναγκαίας ἰππασίαις, οἷτε πλαιγίον οὐτὲ κατάντους οὗτε τάφρου οὗτε ὃχετον ἀπεχόμενος, ὡς μέντοι δυνατῶν ταῦτα ποιοῦντα ἐπιμελέομαι μὴ ἀποχωλεύοντα τὸν ἵππον. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα γενηται, ὁ παῖς ἐξαλίσθας τὸν ἵππον οὐκαδε ἀπάγει, ἀμα φέρων ἀπὸ χῶρον ἢν τι δεώμεθα εἰς ἀστυ. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν βίδην τὰ δὲ ἀποδραμῶν οὐκαδέ ἀπεστλεγμόμαν, είτα δὲ ἀριστῶ, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὅσα μῆτε κενος μήτε ἄγαν πληρης διημερεῦεν.

18 Ἡ τὴν Ἡραν, ἐφην ἐγὼ, ὁ Ἰσχυραχη, ἀρεσκόντως γε μοι ταῦτα ποιεῖς. τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ συνεσκευασμένως χρῆσθαι τοῖς τε πρὸς τὴν ύγείαν καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὴν ρώμην παρασκευασμένοι καὶ τοῖς εἰς τὸν πολέμον ἀσκήσασι καὶ ταῖς τοῦ πλούτου ἐπιμελείαις, ταῦτα πάντα ἀγαστὰ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι. καὶ γὰρ ὅτι ὅρθως ἐκάστου τούτων ἐπιμελή, ἴκανα τεκμήρια παρέχῃ ὑγιαίνοντά τε 458
rise from my bed at an hour when, if I want to call on anyone, I am sure to find him still at home. If I have any business to do in town, I make it an opportunity for getting a walk. If there is nothing pressing to be done in town, my servant leads my horse to the farm, and I make my walk by going to it on foot, with more benefit, perhaps, Socrates, than if I took a turn in the arcade. When I reach the farm, I may find planting, clearing, sowing or harvesting in progress. I superintend all the details of the work, and make any improvements in method that I can suggest. After this, I usually mount my horse and go through exercises, imitating as closely as I can the exercises needed in warfare. I avoid neither slope nor steep incline, ditch nor water-course, but I use all possible care not to lame my horse when he takes them. After I have finished, the servant gives the horse a roll and leads him home, bringing with him from the farm anything we happen to want in the city. I divide the return home between walking and running. Arrived, I clean myself with a strigil, and then I have luncheon, Socrates, eating just enough to get through the day neither empty-bellied nor too full.

"'Upon my word, Ischomachus,' cried I, 'I am delighted with your activities. For you have a pack of appliances for securing health and strength, of exercises for war and specifics for getting rich, and you use them all at the same time! That does seem to me admirable! And in fact you afford convincing proofs that your method in pursuing each of these objects is sound. For we see you generally in
γὰρ καὶ ἐρρωμένου ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς σε ὀρῶμεν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱππικωτάτοις τε καὶ πλοῦσιωτάτοις λεγόμενον σε ἐπιστάμεθα.

21 Ταῦτα τούντων ἐγὼ ποιῶν, ἔφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, ὑπὸ πολλῶν πάνυ συκοφάντωμαι, σὺ δ’ ἵσως ὅσον μὲ ἐρεῖν, ὡς ὑπὸ πολλῶν καλὸς κἀγαθὸς κέκλημαι.

22 Ἐπὶ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι, ἔφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, αὐτὰ ταῦτα διατελείν μελετῶν, ἀπολογεῖσθαι μὲν, ὅτι οὐδένα ἄδικῶ, εὖ δὲ ποιῶ πολλοὺς ὅσον ἄν δύνωμαι; κατηγορεῖν δὲ οὐ δοκῶ σοι μελετᾶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀδικοῦντας μὲν καὶ ἴδια πολλοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν καταμανθάνων τινὰς, εὖ δὲ ποιοῦντας οὐδένα;

23 Ἐπὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐρμηνευέσθαι τοιαύτα μελετᾶς, τοῦτο μοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἔτι, ὁ Ἰσχομάχης, δήλωσον.

Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν, ὁ Σῶκρατες, παύομαι, ἔφη, λέγειν μελετῶν. ἦ γὰρ κατηγοροῦντός τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν ἡ ἀπολογομενέου ἀκούσας ἐλέγχειν πειρῶμαι ἡ μέμφομαι τινὰ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἡ ἐπαινῶ ἡ διαλλάττω τινὰς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, πειρῶμενος διδάσκειν, ως συμφέρει αὐτοῖς φίλους εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ πολεμίους. ἐπιτιμῶμεν τινὶ στρατηγῷ συμπαρούντες ἡ ἀπολογομενεθα ὑπέρ του, εἰ τις ἀδίκως αἰτίαν ἔχει, ἡ κατηγοροῦμεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, εἰ τις ἀδίκως τιμᾶται. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ βουλευόμενοι ἃ μὲν ἄν ἐπιθυμῶμεν πράττειν,
the enjoyment of health and strength, thanks to the
gods, and we know that you are considered one of
our best horsemen and wealthiest citizens.'
"'And what comes of these activites, Socrates? 21
Not, as you perhaps expected to hear, that I am
generally dubbed a gentleman, but that I am
persistently slandered.'
"'Ah,' said I, 'but I was meaning to ask you, 22
Ischomachus, whether you include in your system
ability to conduct a prosecution and defence, in
case you have to appear in the courts?'
"'Why, Socrates,' he answered, 'do you not see 1
that this is just what I am constantly practising—
showing my traducers that I wrong no man and do
all the good I can to many? And do you not think
that I practise myself in accusing, by taking careful
note of certain persons who are doing wrong to
many individuals and to the state, and are doing no
good to anyone?'
"'But tell me one thing more, Ischomachus,' I 23
said; 'do you also practise the art of expounding
these matters?'
"'Why, Socrates,' he replied, 'I assiduously
practise the art of speaking. For I get one of the
servants to act as prosecutor or defendant, and try
to confute him; or I praise or blame someone
before his friends; or I act as peace-maker between
some of my acquaintances by trying to show them
that it is to their interest to be friends rather than
enemies. I assist at a court-martial and censure a 24
soldier, or take turns in defending a man who is
unjustly blamed, or in accusing one who is unjustly
honoured. We often sit in counsel and speak in

1 Mem. iv. viii. 4.
ταύτα ἐπαίνομεν, ἀ δ’ ἂν μὴ βουλώμεθα πράττειν, ταύτα μεμφόμεθα. ἦδη δ’, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, καὶ διειλημμένως πολλάκις ἐκρίθην ὁ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

Τπὸ τοῦ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε; ἐμὲ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο ἐλάνθανεν.

Τπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς, ἔφη.
Καὶ πῶς δὴ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ἀγωνίζῃ; ὃ ἦν, όπερ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, τοῦ ἤττω λόγον, ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐ μᾶ τοῦ Δι’ οὐ δύναμαι κρείττων ποιεῖν.
Καὶ ἐγὼ εἶπον Ἰσως γάρ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, τὸ ψεύδος οὐ δύνασαι ἀληθές ποιεῖν.

XII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, μὴ σε κατακωλύω, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἀπίειαι ἦδη βουλόμενον.
Μᾶ Δι’, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες. ἔπει οὐκ ἂν ἀπελθοῦμι, πρὶν παντάπασιν ἢ ἀγορὰ λυθῇ.

2 Ἡ Δι’, ἔφην ἐγὼ, φυλάττῃ γὰρ ἵσχυρῶς, μὴ ἀποβάλῃς τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τὸ ἄνηρ καλὸς κἀκαθός κεκλήσθαι. ὥσ τίς πολλῶν σου ἵσως ὀντῶν ἐπιμελείας δεομένων, ἐπεὶ συνέθεσαν τοῖς ξένοις, ἀναμένεις αὐτούς, ῥα μὴ ψεύσῃ.

Ἀλλὰ τοι, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδ’ ἠκείνα μοι ἀμελεῖται, ἢ σὺ λέγεις· ἔχω γὰρ ἐπιτρόπους ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς.

3 Πότερα δὲ, ἐγὼ ἔφην ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὅταν δεθῆς ἐπιτρόπου, καταμαθών, ἢν ποῦ ἢ ἐπιτροπευτικὸς ἀνήρ, τοῦτον πειρᾶ ὁμείσθαι, ὡσπερ ὅταν τέκτονος δεθῆς, καταμαθῶν εὐ οἶδ’ ὃτι ἢν ποῦ ἢδης τεκτονικὸν, τοῦτον πειρᾶ κτάσθαι, ἢ αὐτὸς παιδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους;

4 Αὐτὸς νὴ Δι’, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, πειρῶμαι παϊδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους;
support of the course we want to adopt and against the course we want to avoid. I have often been singled out before now, Socrates, and condemned to suffer punishment or pay damages.'

"'By whom, Ischomachus?' I asked; 'I am in the dark about that!'

"'By my wife,' was his answer.

"'And, pray, how do you plead?' said I.

"'Pretty well, when it is to my interest to speak the truth. But when lying is called for, Socrates, I can't make the worse cause appear the better—oh no, not at all.'

"'Perhaps, Ischomachus,' I commented, 'you can't make the falsehood into the truth!'

XII. "'But perhaps I am keeping you, Ischomachus,' I continued, 'and you want to get away now?'

"'Oh no, Socrates,' he answered; 'I should not think of going before the market empties.'

"'To be sure,' I continued; 'you take the utmost care not to forfeit your right to be called a gentleman! For I daresay there are many things claiming your attention now; but, as you have made an appointment with those strangers, you are determined not to break it.'

"'But I assure you, Socrates, I am not neglecting the matters you refer to, either; for I keep bailiffs on my farms.'

"'And when you want a bailiff, Ischomachus, do you look out for a man qualified for such a post, and then try to buy him—when you want a builder, I feel sure you inquire for a qualified man and try to get him—or do you train your bailiffs yourself?'

"'Of course I try to train them myself, Socrates. 4
Δεύειν. καὶ γὰρ ὤστις μέλλει ἄρκεσειν, ὅταν ἐγὼ ἀπὸ, ἀντὶ ἐμοῦ ἐπιμελοῦμενος, τί αὐτὸν καὶ δεῖ ἄλλο ἐπίστασθαι ἢ ἀπερ ἐγὼ; εἰπέρ γὰρ ἰκανὸς εἰμὶ τῶν ἔργων προστατεύειν, κἂν ἄλλον δῆπον δυνάμην διδάξαι ἀπερ αὐτὸς ἐπίσταμαι.

6 Ὅντοι εὐνοιαν πρῶτον, ἐφη ἐγὼ, δεήσει αὐτὸν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς, εἰ μέλλει ἄρκεσειν ἀντὶ σοῦ παρῶν. ἀνευ γὰρ εὐνοίας τί ὀφελος καὶ ὅποιας τινὸς οὐν ἐπιτρόπου ἐπιστήμης γίγνεται;

Οὐδὲν μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τοι τὸ εὐνοεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐγὼ πρῶτον πειρώμαί παίδευειν.

6 Καὶ πῶς, ἐγὼ ἐφην, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν εὐνοιαν ἔχειν σοὶ καὶ τοῖς σοῖς διδάσκεις ὁντινὰ ἃν βούλῃ;

Εὐεργετῶν νὴ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὅταν τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ οἱ θεοὶ ἀφθονίαν διδῶσιν ἡμῖν.

7 Τούτο οὖν λέγεις, ἐφη ἐγὼ, ὁτι οἱ ἀπολαύοντες τῶν σῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐνοὶ σοι γίγνονται καὶ ἀγαθὸν τί σε βούλονται πράττειν;

Τούτο γὰρ ὄργανον, ὑ Ἔκκρατες, εὐνοίας ἀριστον ὅρω ὅν.

8 Ἡν δὲ δὴ εὐνοὺς σοι γέννηται, ἐφην, ὁ Ἵσχό-

μαχε, ἡ τούτου ἐνεκα ἰκανὸς ἐσται ἐπιτροπεύειν; ὁνχ ὀραὶ, ὃτι καὶ εαυτοῖς εὐνοὶ πάντες ὄντες ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀνθρωποι, πολλοὶ αὐτῶν εἰσὶν οἱ οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὁπως αὐτοῖς ἐσται τάντα ἃ βούλονται εἶναι σφισὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ;

9 Ἀλλὰ ναι μὰ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, τοιού-

τοὺς ὅταν ἐπιτρόπους βούλωμαι καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διδάσκω.

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For the man has to be capable of taking charge in my absence; so why need he know anything but what I know myself? For if I am fit to manage the farm, I presume I can teach another man what I know myself.

"'Then the first requirement will be that he should be loyal to you and yours, if he is to represent you in your absence. For if a steward is not loyal, what is the good of any knowledge he may possess?'

"'None, of course; but I may tell you, loyalty to me and to mine is the first lesson I try to teach.'

"'And how, in heaven's name, do you teach your man to be loyal to you and yours?'

"'By rewarding him, of course, whenever the gods bestow some good thing on us in abundance.'

"'You mean, then, that those who enjoy a share of your good things are loyal to you and want you to prosper?'

"'Yes, Socrates, I find that is the best instrument for producing loyalty.'

"'But, now, if he is loyal to you, Ischomachus, will that be enough to make him a competent bailiff? Don't you see that though all men, practically, wish themselves well, yet there are many who won't take the trouble to get for themselves the good things they want to have?'

"'Well, when I want to make bailiffs of such men, of course I teach them also to be careful.'
10 Πῶς, ἐφην ἐγώ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν; τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἐγὼ παντάπασιν οὐ διδακτὸν ὄμην εἶναι, τὸ ἐπιμελῆ ποιῆσαι.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐστιν, ἐφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, ἐφεξῆς γε οὕτως οἶον τε πάντας διδάξαι ἐπιμελεῖς εἶναι.

11 Ποίος μὲν δὴ, ἐγὼ ἐφην, οἶον τε; πάντως μοι σαφῶς τούτους διασήμηνον.

Πρῶτον μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, τοὺς οἶνου ἀκρατεῖς οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ποιῆσαι τὸ γὰρ μεθύειν λήθην ἐμποιεῖ πάντων τῶν πράττεσθαι δεομένων.

12 Οἱ οὖν τούτου ἀκρατεῖς μόνοι, ἐγὼ ἐφην, ἅδυνατοί εἰσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινες;

Ναὶ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ οὐ γε τοῦ ὑπνοῦ οὔτε γὰρ ἂν αὐτὸς δύνατο διαθέσθων τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν οὔτε ἄλλους παρέχεσθαι.

13 Τί οὖν; ἐγὼ ἐφην, οὕτως ἂν μόνοι ἅδυνατοι ἥμιν ἑσοῦντα ταῦταν τὴν ἐπιμελείαν διδαχθήναι ἢ καὶ ἄλλοι τινες πρὸς τούτους;

Ἐμοιγέ τοι δοκοῦσιν, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ οἱ τῶν ἀφροδισίων δυσέρωτες ἅδυνατοι εἰναι διδαχθήναι ἄλλοι τινος μᾶλλον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ τοῦτοι οὔτε γὰρ ἐλπίδα οὔτ’ ἐπιμελείαν ἥδιονα βάδιον εὑρεῖν τῆς τῶν παιδικῶν ἐπιμελείας, οὐδὲ μὴν ὅταν παρῇ τὸ πρακτέον, τιμωρίαν χαλεπώτεραν εὐπετέως ἐστι τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρωμένων κωλύσθαι. ὑφίστημαι οὖν καὶ οὕς ἂν τοιούτους γνῶν ὅταν μηδ’ ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐπιμελητὰς τούτων τινας καθιστώναι.

14 Τί δὲ, ἐφην ἐγὼ, οὕτως αὐτοὶ ἔρωτικος ἐχουσι τοῦ κερδοῦντο, ἢ καὶ οὕτως ἅδυνατοί εἰσίν εἰς ἐπιμελείαν τῶν κατ’ ἄγρον ἐργον παιδεύσθαι;

Οὐ μὰ Δί’, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδαμῶς γε, ἄλλα 466
OECONOMICUS, xii. 10-15

"'Pray how do you do that? I was under the impression that carefulness is a virtue that can't possibly be taught.'

"'True, Socrates, it isn't possible to teach everyone you come across to be careful.'

"'Very well; what sort of men can be taught? Point these out to me, at all events.'

"'In the first place, Socrates, you can't make careful men of hard drinkers; for drink makes them forget everything they ought to do.'

"'Then are drunkards the only men who will never become careful, or are there others?'

"'Of course there are--sluggards must be included; for you can't do your own business when you are asleep, nor make others do theirs.'

"'Well then, will these make up the total of persons incapable of learning this lesson, or are there yet others besides?'

"'I should add that in my opinion a man who falls desperately in love is incapable of giving more attention to anything than he gives to the object of his passion. For it isn't easy to find hope or occupation more delightful than devotion to the darling! Aye, and when the thing to be done presses, no harder punishment can easily be thought of than the prevention of intercourse with the beloved! Therefore I shrink from attempting to make a manager of that sort of man too.'

"'And what about the men who have a passion for lucre? Are they also incapable of being trained to take charge of the work of a farm?'

"'Not at all; of course not. In fact, they very
καὶ πάνυ εὐάγωγον εἰςιν εἰς τὴν τούτων ἐπιμέλειαν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο δεῖ ἢ δεῖξαι μονὸν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι κερδαλέον ἐστὶν ἡ ἐπιμέλεια.

16 Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους, ἐφην ἐγὼ, εἰ ἐγκρατεῖς τε εἰςιν ὑν σὺ κελεύεις καὶ πρὸς τὸ φιλοκερδεῖς εἶναι μετρίως ἐχουσίν, πῶς εὐκδιδάσκεις ὅν σὺ βούλει ἐπιμελεῖς γίνεσθαι;

'Ἀπλῶς, ἐφη, πάνυ, ὦ Σώκρατες. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐπιμελουμένοις ἵδω, καὶ ἐπαίνω καὶ τιμᾶν πειρώμαί αὐτοὺς, ὅταν δὲ ἀμελοῦντας, λέγειν τε πειρώμαι καὶ ποιεῖν ὅποια δίξεται αὐτοὺς.

17 Ἡθι, ἐγὼ ἐφη, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε, καὶ τόδε μοι παρατραπόμενος τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῶν παιδευμένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν δῆλωσον περὶ τοῦ παιδεύεσθαι, εἰ οἶόν τε ἐςτὶν ἀμελὴ αὐτὸν ὅντα ἄλλους ποιεῖν ἐπιμελεῖς.

18 Οὐ μὰ Δῖ', ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐδὲν γε μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμουσον ὅντα αὐτὸν ἄλλους μουσικοὺς ποιεῖν. χαλεπῶν γὰρ τοῦ διδασκαλίου πονηρῶς τι ύποδεικνύοντος κἀλῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν μαθεῖν καὶ ἀμελεῖν γε ύποδεικνύοντος τοῦ δεσπότου χαλεπῶν ἐπιμελὴθεὶν θεράποντα γειέσθαι. ὡς δὲ συντόμως εἴπειν, πονηροῦ μὲν δεσπότου οἰκέτας οὐ δοκῶ χρήστος καταμεμαθηκέναι. χρήστοις μέντοι πονηροὺς ἤδη εἶδον, οὐ μέντοι αὐξήμους γε. τὸν δὲ ἐπιμελητικοὺς βουλόμενον ποιήσασθαι τινας καὶ ἐφορατικοὶ δεί εἶναι τῶν ἐργῶν καὶ ἐξεταστικὸν καὶ χάριν θέλοντα τῶν καλῶς τελουμένων ἀποδιδόναι τῷ αὐτῶ καὶ δίκην μὴ ὁκνοῦντα τὴν ἄξιαν ἐπιθεὶναι τῷ ἀμελοῦντι. καλῶς δὲ μοι δοκεῖ ἔχειν, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ ἢ τοῦ βαρβάρου λεγομένη ἀπόκρισις, ὅτε βασίλευς ἢππον ἐπιτυχῶν 468
easily qualify for the work. It is merely necessary to point out to them that diligence is profitable.'

"'And assuming that the others are free from the faults that you condemn and are covetous of gain in a moderate degree, how do you teach them to be careful in the affairs you want them to superintend?'

"'By a very simple plan, Socrates. Whenever I notice that they are careful, I commend them and try to show them honour; but when they appear careless, I try to say and do the sort of things that will sting them.'

"'Turn now, Ischomachus, from the subject of the men in training for the occupation, and tell me about the system: is it possible for anyone to make others careful if he is careless himself?'

"'Of course not: an unmusical person could as soon teach music. For it is hard to learn to do a thing well when the teacher prompts you badly; and when a master prompts a servant to be careless, it is difficult for the man to become a good servant. To put it shortly, I don't think I have discovered a bad master with good servants: I have, however, come across a good master with bad servants—but they suffered for it! If you want to make men fit to take charge, you must supervise their work and examine it, and be ready to reward work well carried through, and not shrink from punishing carelessness as it deserves. I like the answer that is attributed to the Persian. The king, you know, had happened
ἀγαθοῦ παχύναι αυτὸν ὡς τάχιστα βουλόμενος ἢρετο τῶν δεινῶν τινα ἀμφ' ἱπποὺς δοκοῦντων εἶναι, τί τάχιστα παχύνει ἱπποῦ τὸν ὦ εἴπειν λέγεται, ὅτι δεσπότον ὄφθαλμός. οὕτω δ', ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, καὶ τάλλα μοι δοκεῖ δεσπότον ὄφθαλμός τὰ καλὰ τε κάγαθα μάλιστα ἐργάζεσθαι.

XIII. "Ὅταν δὲ παραστήσῃς τινί, ἔφην ἐγώ, τούτο καὶ πάνιν ἱσχυρῶς, ὅτι δει ἐπιμελεῖσθαι διὸ ἄν σὺ βούλῃ, ἢ ἰκανὸς ἢδη ἔσται ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐπιτροπεύειν ὣτε καὶ ἄλλο προσμαθεῖτον αὐτῷ ἔσται, εἰ μέλλει ἐπίτροποι ἰκανὸς ἐσεσθαι;

2 Ναι μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Ἡσσόμαχος, ἔτι μέντοι λουτὸν αὐτῷ ἔστι γιδόναι, ὁ τι τε ποιήσειν καὶ ὑπότε καὶ ὑπὸς, εἴ δὲ μή, τι μᾶλλον ἐπιτρόπου ἄνευ τούτων ὀφελοῦ ἢ ἰατροῦ, ὅς ἐπιμελοῦτο μὲν κάμνοντὸς τινος προὶ τε ἰὼν καὶ ὑφε, ὃ τι δὲ συμφέρον τῷ κάμνοντι ποιεῖν εἴη, τούτο μή εἰδείῃ;

3 Ἔαν δὲ δή καὶ τὰ ἔργα μάθη ὡς ἔστιν ἐργαστέα, ἔτι τινὸς, ἔφην ἐγώ, προσδεῖσθαι ἡ ἀποτελεσμένος ἢδη οὕτος σου ἔσται ἐπίτροπος;

"Ἀρχεῖν γε, ἔφη, οἴμαι δεῖν αὐτὸν μαθεῖν τῶν ἐργαζομένων.

4 Ἡ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ σὺ ἄρχειν ἰκανοὺς εἶναι παιδεύεις τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους;

Πειρῶμαι γε δή, ἔφη ὁ Ἡσσόμαχος.

Καὶ πῶς δή, ἔφην ἐγώ, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὸ ἄρχικον εἶναι ἀνθρώπων παιδεύεις;

Φαύλως, ἔφη, πάνιν, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὡςτε ὅσως ἄν καὶ καταγελάσαις ἀκοῦν.

5 Οὐ μὲν δή ἂξιόν γ', ἔφην ἐγώ, τὸ πράγμα κατα-
on a good horse, and wanted to fatten him as speedily as possible. So he asked one who was reputed clever with horses what is the quickest way of fattening a horse. "The master's eye," replied the man. I think we may apply the answer generally, Socrates, and say that the master's eye in the main does the good and worthy work."

XIII. "'When you have impressed on a man,' I resumed, 'the necessity of careful attention to the duties you assign to him, will he then be competent to act as bailiff, or must he learn something besides, if he is to be efficient?'

"'Of course,' answered Ischomachus, 'he has still to understand what he has to do, and when and how to do it. Otherwise how could a bailiff be of more use than a doctor who takes care to visit a patient early and late, but has no notion of the right way to treat his illness?'

"'Well, but suppose he has learned how farm-work is to be done, will he want something more yet, or will your man now be a perfect bailiff?'

"'I think he must learn to rule the labourers.'

"'And do you train your bailiffs to be competent to rule too?'

"'Yes, I try, anyhow.'

"'And pray tell me how you train them to be rulers of men.'

"'By a childishly easy method, Socrates. I dare-say you'll laugh if I tell you.'

"'Oh, but it is certainly not a laughing matter,
6 Οὖκοιν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ξώα ἐκ δυοῖν τούτων τὸ πείθεσθαι μανθάνουσιν, ἐκ τε τοῦ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι κολάζεσθαι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὅταν προθύμως ὑπηρετῶσιν εὐ πάσχειν. οὔ τε γοῦν πόλοι μανθάνουσιν ὑπακούειν τοῖς πωλοδάμναις τῷ ὅταν μὲν πείθουσιν τῶν ἢδεων τι αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι, ὅταν δὲ ἀπειθώσι πράγματα ἐχειν, ἐστ' ἂν ὑπηρετήσωσι κατὰ γνώμην τῷ 8 πωλοδαμνὴ καὶ τὰ κυνίδια δὲ πολὺ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ ὑποδεέστερα ὅντα ὄμως καὶ περιτρέχειν καὶ κυβιστάν καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ μανθάνει τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τρόπῳ. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ πείθηται, λαμβάνει τί ὅν δεῖταί, ὅταν δὲ ἀμελῆ, κολάζεται. ἀνθρώπους δ' ἐστι πιθανωτέρους ποιεῖν καὶ λόγῳ ἐπίδεικνύοντα, ὡς συμφέρει αὐτοῖς πείθεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ δούλοις καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα θηριώδης παιδεία εἶναι πάνω ἔστιν ἐπαγωγὸς πρὸς τὸ πείθεσθαι διδάσκειν τῇ γὰρ γαστρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις προσχαριζόμενος ἀν πολλὰ ἀνύτοις παρ' αὐτῶν. αἰ δὲ φιλότιμοι τῶν φύσεων καὶ τῷ ἑπάινῳ παραξύνονται. πεινώσι γὰρ τοῦ ἑπαίνου οὐχ ἢ τοῖς τῶν φύσεων ἢ ἄλλοι τῶν σίτων τε καὶ ποτῶν.

9 ταῦτα [τε] οὖν, ὅσαπερ αὐτὸς ποιῶν οἶμαι πιθανωτέρους ἀνθρώπους χρήσθαι, διδάσκων οὖς ἄν ἐπιτοποποιεῖν βούλωμαι καταστήσαι καὶ τάδε συλ-

10 ταῦτα [τε] οὖν, ὅσαπερ αὐτὸς ποιῶν οἶμαι πιθανωτέρους ἀνθρώπους χρήσθαι, διδάσκων οὖς ἄν ἐπιτοποποιεῖν βούλωμαι καταστήσαι καὶ τάδε συλ-

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Ischomachus. For anyone who can make men fit to rule others can also teach them to be masters of others; and if he can make them fit to be masters, he can make them fit to be kings. So anyone who can do that seems to me to deserve high praise rather than laughter.'

"'Well now, Socrates, other creatures learn obedience in two ways—by being punished when they try to disobey, and by being rewarded when they are eager to serve you. Colts, for example, learn to obey the horsebreaker by getting something they like when they are obedient, and suffering inconvenience when they are disobedient, until they carry out the horsebreaker's intentions. Puppies, again, are much inferior to men in intelligence and power of expression; and yet they learn to run in circles and turn somersaults and do many other tricks in the same way; for when they obey they get something that they want, and when they are careless, they are punished. And men can be made more obedient by word of mouth merely, by being shown that it is good for them to obey. But in dealing with slaves the training thought suitable for wild animals is also a very effective way of teaching obedience; for you will do much with them by filling their bellies with the food they hanker after. Those of an ambitious disposition are also spurred on by praise, some natures being hungry for praise as others for meat and drink. Now these are precisely the things that I do myself with a view to making men more obedient; but they are not the only lessons I give to those whom I want to appoint my bailiffs. I have other ways of helping them on.
λαμβάνω αὐτοῖς. ἰμάτια τε γάρ, ἀ δεῖ παρέχειν ἐμὲ τοῖς ἐργαστήριοι, καὶ ύποδήματα οὐχ ὀμοια πάντα ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν χεῖρω, τὰ δὲ βελτίω, ἵνα ἦ τὸν κρείττω τοῖς βελτίωσι τιμᾶν, τῷ δὲ χείρονι τὰ ὢττω διδόναι. πάνυ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἀθυμία ἐγγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὅταν ὅρωσι τὰ μὲν ἔργα δι' αὐτῶν καταπραττόμενα, τῶν δὲ ὀμοιῶν τυγχάνοντας ἐαυτοῖς τοὺς μῆτε πονεῖν μῆτε κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλουτας,

11 ὅταν δὲ, αὐτός τε οὐν οὐδ' ὅπως τι οὐν τῶν ἴσων ἄξιῶ τοὺς ἰμείνους τοῖς κακίσοι τυγχάνειν τοὺς τ' ἐπιτρόπους ὅταν μὲν εἰδῶ διαδεδωκότας τοὺς πλείστου ἄξιοι τάς κράτιστα, ἑπαίνω, ήν δὲ ἰδὼ ἡ κολακεύμασι τίνα προτιμώμενον ἦ καὶ ἀλλ' τινι ἀνωφελεῖ χάριτι, οὐκ ἰμελῶ, ἀλλ' ἐπιπλήτω καὶ πειρώμαι διδάσκειν, ὁ Σώκρατες, οτι οὐδ' αὐτῷ σύμφορα ταῦτα ποιεῖ.

XIV. "Ὅταν δὲ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἐφην ἐγὼ, καὶ ἄρχειν ᾗ ἴκανος σοι γένηται, ὥστε πειθομένους παρέχεσθαι, ἤ ἀποτελεσμένον τοῦτον ἡγῇ ἐπίτροπον ἢ ἐτι τινός προσδεῖται ὁ ταῦτα ἐξών ἃ σὺ εἰρήκας;

2 Ναὶ μάλὰ Δι', ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, τοῦ γε ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν δεσποσύνων καὶ μή κλέπτειν. εἰ γὰρ ὁ τοὺς καρπὸς μεταχειριζόμενος τολμῶ ἄφανίζεσίν, ὥστε μὴ λείπειν λυπητελοῦντας τοῖς ἔργοις, τῇ ἂν ὁφελος εἰη τὸ διὰ τῆς τοῦτον ἐπίμελείας γεωργεῖν;

3 Ὅταν ταύτην οὖν, ἐφην ἐγὼ, τὴν δικαιοσύνην σὺ ύποδύῃ διδάσκειν;

Καὶ πάνυ, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, οὐ μὲν τοι γε πάντας εξ ἐτοίμου εὐρίσκω ὑπακούοντας τῆς δι-
For the clothes that I must provide for my workpeople and the shoes are not all alike. Some are better than others, some worse, in order that I may reward the better servant with the superior articles, and give the inferior things to the less deserving. For I think it is very disheartening to good servants, Socrates, when they see that they do all the work, and others who are not willing to work hard and run risks when need be, get the same as they. For my part, then, I don’t choose to put the deserving on a level with the worthless, and when I know that my bailiffs have distributed the best things to the most deserving, I commend them; and if I see that flattery or any other futile service wins special favour, I don’t overlook it, but reprove the bailiff, and try to show him, Socrates, that such favouritism is not even in his own interest.”

XIV. “‘Now, Ischomachus,’ said I, ‘when you find your man so competent to rule that he can make them obedient, do you think him a perfect bailiff, or does he want anything else, even with the qualifications you have mentioned?’

“‘Of course, Socrates,’ returned Ischomachus, ‘he must be honest and not touch his master’s property. For if the man who handles the crops dares to make away with them, and doesn’t leave enough to give a profit on the undertaking, what good can come of farming under his management?’

“‘Then do you take it on yourself to teach this kind of justice too?’

“‘Certainly: I don’t find, however, that all readily
4 δασκαλίας ταύτης. καίτοι τά μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῶν Δράκοντος νόμων, τά δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν Σώλωνος πειρῶμαι, ἐφη, λαμβάνων ἐμβιβάζειν εἰς τὴν δικαιοσύνην τοὺς οἰκέτας. δοκούσι γὰρ μοι, ἐφη, καὶ οὕτωι οἱ ἄνδρες θείναι πολλοὺς τῶν νόμων ἐπὶ
5 δικαιοσύνης τῆς τοιαύτης διδασκαλίας. γέγραπται γὰρ ξημιοῦσθαι ἐπὶ τοῖς κλέμμασι καὶ δεδησθαὶ, ἣν τις ἄλῳ ποιών, καὶ θανατοῦσθαι τοὺς ἐγχειροῦντας. δήλων οὖν, ἐφη, ὅτι ἐγραφοῦν αὕτα βουλόμενοι ἀλυσιτελή ποιῆσαι τοῖς ἄδικοις τὴν
6 αἰσχροκέρδειαν. ἐγὼ οὖν, ἐφη, καὶ τούτων [προσφέρων] ἔνια καὶ ἄλλα τῶν βασιλικῶν νόμων προσφέρομενοι πειρῶμαι δικαίους περὶ τὰ διαχειριζόμενα ἀπεργάζεσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ νόμοι ξημίας μόνον εἰσὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτάνουσιν, οἱ δὲ βασιλικοὶ νόμοι οὐ μόνον ξημιοῦσι τοὺς ἀδικουτάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὕφελοῦσι τοὺς δικαίους· ὡστε ὀρῶντες πλουσιωτέρους γιγνομένους τοὺς δικαίους τῶν ἀδίκων πολλοὶ καὶ φιλοκερδεῖς οἴντες εὖ μάλα
7 ἐπιμένουσι τῷ μὴ ἄδικεῖν. οὕς δὲ ἃν αἰσθάνομαι, ἐφη, ὅμως καὶ εὖ πάσχοντας ἐτί ἄδικεῖν πειρωμένους, τούτους ὡς ἀνηκέστους πλεονέκτας οἴντας
8 ἡδὴ καὶ τῆς χρήσεως ἀποπαύων. οὕς δὲ ἃν αὐτοκαταμάθω μὴ τῷ πλέον ἐχειν μόνον διὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην ἐπαιρομένους δικαίους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἐπανεἰσθαί ἐπιθυμοῦντας ὑπὲρ ἡμοῖ, τούτοις ὡσπερ ἐλευθέρους ἡδὴ χρῶμαι οὐ μόνον πλουτίζων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τιμῶν ὡς καλοὺς τε κἀγαθοὺς.
9 τοῦτο γὰρ μοι δοκεῖ, ἐφη, ὡς Σωκράτες, διαφέρειν ἀνὴρ φιλότιμος ἄνδρος φιλοκερδοῦς, τῷ ἐθέλειν ἐπαίνου καὶ τιμῆς ἐνεκα καὶ ποιεῖν ὅπον δεῖ καὶ κινδυνεύειν καὶ αἰσχρῶν κερδῶν ἀπέχεσθαι.

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pay heed to this lesson. Nevertheless I guide the servants into the path of justice with the aid of maxims drawn from the laws of Draco and Solon. For it seems to me that these famous men enacted many of their laws with an eye on this particular kind of justice. For it is written: "thieves shall be fined for their thefts," and "anyone guilty of attempt shall be imprisoned if taken in the act, and put to death." The object of these enactments was clearly to make covetousness unprofitable to the offender. By applying some of these clauses and other enactments found in the Persian king's code, I try to make my servants upright in the matters that pass through their hands. For while those laws only penalise the wrongdoer, the king's code not only punishes the guilty, but also benefits the upright. Thus, seeing that the honest grow richer than the dishonest, many, despite their love of lucre, are careful to remain free from dishonesty. And if I find any attempting to persist in dishonesty, although they are well treated, I regard them as incorrigibly greedy, and have nothing more to do with them. On the other hand, if I discover that a man is inclined to be honest not only because he gains by his honesty, but also from a desire to win my approbation, I treat him like a free man by making him rich; and not only so, but I honour him as a gentleman. For I think, Socrates, that the difference between ambition and greed consists in this, that for the sake of praise and honour the ambitious are willing to work properly, to take risks and refrain from dishonest gain.'"

1 This is neither a clear nor an exact statement of the law attributed to Solon in Demosth. Timocrates, § 113; and some suspect a corruption in the text. 2 Mem. III. iv. 8.
Χ.Ε.ΝΟΠΟΝ

'Αλλα μερατο επεισάι' εις ευτυχίας την
το βοϊλεθαι σοι ειναι τηναθη, ευτυχίας δε το
αυτο τουτο τον εтоι τεκναθς, ευτυχίας δε τον

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OECONOMICUS, xv. 1-4

XV. "'Well, well, I won't go on to ask whether anything more is wanting to your man, after you have implanted in him a desire for your prosperity and have made him also careful to see that you achieve it, and have obtained for him, besides, the knowledge needful to ensure that every piece of work done shall add to the profits, and, further, have made him capable of ruling, and when, besides all this, he takes as much delight in producing heavy crops for you in due season as you would take if you did the work yourself. For it seems to me that a man like that would make a very valuable bailiff. Nevertheless, Ischomachus, don't leave a gap in that part of the subject to which we have given the most cursory attention.'

"'Which is it?' asked Ischomachus.

"'You said, you know, that the greatest lesson to learn is how things ought to be done; and added that, if a man is ignorant what to do and how to do it, no good can come of his management.'

"Then he said, 'Socrates, are you insisting now that I should teach the whole art and mystery of agriculture?'

"'Yes,' said I; 'for maybe it is just this that makes rich men of those who understand it, and condemns the ignorant to a life of penury, for all their toil.'

"'Well, Socrates, you shall now hear how kindly a thing is this art. Helpful, pleasant, honourable, dear to gods and men in the highest degree, it is also in the highest degree easy to learn. Noble qualities surely! As you know, we call those crea-

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1 τὸ added by Heindorf: Sauppe omits with the MSS.
καλούμεν καὶ τῶν ξών ὁπόσα καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα καὶ ὕψιστα ὄντα πραέα ἐστί πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώποις.

6 Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐγώ, ἔφη, ὡς Ἰσχόμαχε, ἰκανῶς δοκῶ καταμεμαθηκέναι ἢ εἰπας, καθὰ δεὶ διδάσκειν τὸν ἐπίτροπον καὶ γὰρ ἢ ἐφησθα εὑνουν σοι ποιεῖν αὐτὸν μαθεῖν δοκῶ καὶ ἢ

7 ἐπιμελῆ καὶ ἀρχικὸν καὶ δίκαιον. ὃ δὲ εἴπας ὡς δεὶ μαθεῖν τὸν μέλλοντα ὄρθῶς γεωργίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ ὃ δεὶ ποιεῖν καὶ ὡς δεὶ καὶ ὅποτε ἐκαστα, ταῦτα μοι δοκούμεν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἀργότερὸν ὅπως ἐπιδεδραμηκέναι τῷ λόγῳ. ὥσπερ εἰ εἴποις, ὃτι δεὶ γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι τὸν μέλλοντα δυνησθαι τὰ υπαγορευόμενα γράφειν καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἀναγιγνώσκειν. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐγὼ ἄκουσας, ὃτι μὲν δεὶ γράμματα ἐπίστασθαι ἣν ἦκῃ ὃν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰδὼς οὐδέν τι οἴμαι μᾶλλον

8 ἀν ἐπισταίμην γράμματα. οὕτω δὲ καὶ νῦν ὃτι μὲν δεὶ ἐπίστασθαι γεωργίαν τὸν μέλλοντα ὄρθῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι αὐτῆς ῥαδίως πέπεισμαι, τούτῳ μέντοι εἰδὼς οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ἐπίσταμαι ὅπως δεὶ γεωργεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ εἰ μοι αὐτίκα μάλα δόξει γεωργεῖν, ὃμοιος ἄν μοι δοκῶ εἶναι τῷ περιόντι ἰατρῷ καὶ ἐπισκοποῦντι τοὺς κάμνοντας, εἴδοτι δὲ οὐδέν ὅ τι συμφέρει τοῖς κάμνονσιν. ὥν, οὐν μὴ τοιοῦτος ὥ, ἔφην ἐγώ, διδασκέ με αὐτὰ τὰ

9 ἔργα τῆς γεωργίας. Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐχ ὥσπερ γε τὰς ἀλλὰς τέχνας κατατριβήμαι δεὶ μανθάνοντας πρὶν ἄξια τῆς τροφῆς ἐργάζεσθαι τὸν διδασκόμενον, οὐχ οὕτω καὶ ἢ γεωργία δύσκολος ἐστὶ μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἰδὼν ἄν ἐργαζόμενος, τὰ δὲ ἄκουσας, εὐθὺς ἄν ἐπίσταιο, 480
tures noble that are beautiful, great and helpful, and yet gentle towards men.'

"'Ah, but I think, Ischomachus, that I quite understand your account of these matters—I mean how to teach a bailiff; for I think I follow your statement that you make him loyal to you, and careful and capable of ruling and honest. But you said that one who is to be successful in the management of a farm must learn what to do and how and when to do it. That is the subject that we have treated, it seems to me, in a rather cursory fashion, as if you said that anyone who is to be capable of writing from dictation and reading what is written must know the alphabet. For had I been told that, I should have been told, to be sure, that I must know the alphabet, but I don't think that piece of information would help me to know it. So too now; I am easily convinced that a man who is to manage a farm successfully must understand farming, but that knowledge doesn't help me to understand how to farm. Were I to decide this very moment to be a farmer, I think I should be like that doctor who goes round visiting the sick, but has no knowledge of the right way to treat them. Therefore, that I may not be like him, you must teach me the actual operations of farming.'

"'Why, Socrates, farming is not troublesome to learn, like other arts, which the pupil must study till he is worn out before he can earn his keep by his work. Some things you can understand by watching men at work, others by just being told,
ώστε καὶ ἄλλοι, εἰ βοῦλοι, διδάσκειν. οὖσαν δ’, ἕφη, πάνω καὶ λεληθέναι τολλὰ σεαυτῶν
11 ἐπιστάμενον αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ δὴ οἴ μὲν ἄλλοι τεχνῖται ἀποκρύπτονται πῶς τὰ ἐπικαιριώτατα ἢς ἐκαστὸς ἔχει τέχνης, τῶν δὲ γεωργῶν ὁ κάλλιστα μὲν φυτεύων μάλιστ’ ἀν ἦδοιτο, εἰ τις αὐτῶν θεῶτο, ὁ κάλλιστα δὲ σπέιρων ὁσαύτως· ὁ τι δὲ ἔροι τῶν καλῶς πεποιημένων, οὔδεν ὁ τι
12 ἂν σε ἀποκρύψαιτο ὅπως ἐποίησεν. οὔτω καὶ τὰ ἡθη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, γενναίοτάτους τοὺς αὐτῆς συνόντας ἢ γεωργία ἐδεικνύει παρέχεσθαι.
13 Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν προοίμιον, ἔφην ἐγὼ, καλὸν καὶ οὐχ ὅλον ἀκούσαντα ἀποτρέπεσθαι τοῦ ἐρωτήματος· σὺ δὲ ὅτι εὔπετες ἐστὶ μαθεῖν, διὰ τοῦτο πολὺ μοι μᾶλλον διεξιθί αὐτὴν. οὐ γὰρ σοὶ αἰσχρόν τὰ ράδια διδάσκειν ἐστὶν, ἀλλ’ ἐμοὶ πολὺ αἰσχίνοι μὴ ἐπίστασθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ χρήσιμα ὑπάρχοντα τυγχάνει.

XVI. Πρώτον μὲν τοῦν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, τοῦτο ἐπιδείξαι βοῦλομαι σοι, ὡς οὐ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν ὃ λέγουσι ποικιλώτατον τῆς γεωργίας εἶναι οἱ λόγοι μὲν ἀκριβεστάτα αὐτὴν διεξίστατε, ἥκιστα
dὲ ἐργαζόμενοι. φασὶ γὰρ τῶν μέλλοντα ὀρθῶς γεωργήσειν τὴν φύσιν χρήναι πρῶτον τῆς γῆς εἰδέναι.

Ὀρθῶς γε, ἔφην ἐγὼ, ταῦτα λέγοντες. ὁ γὰρ μὴ εἰδῶς, ὁ τι δύναται ἡ γῆ φέρειν, οὐδ’ ὁ τι σπέιρειν οὐκομι όὐδ’ ὁ τι φυτεύειν δει εἰδείη ἄν.
3 Ὅνικοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχώμαχος, καὶ ἄλλοτρίας γῆς τοῦτο ἐστὶ γνώναι, ὁ τι τε δύναται φέρειν καὶ ὁ τι μὴ δύναται, ὀρθῶν τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰ δένδρα. ἐπειδὰν μέντοι γνῶ τις, οὐκέτι συμφέρει 482
well enough to teach another if you wish. And I believe that you know a good deal about it yourself, without being aware of the fact. The truth is that, whereas other artists conceal more or less the most important points in their own art, the farmer who plants best is most pleased when he is being watched, so is he who sows best. Question him about any piece of work well done: and he will tell you exactly how he did it. So farming, Socrates, more than any other calling, seems to produce a generous disposition in its followers.'

"'An excellent preamble,' I cried, 'and not of a sort to damp the hearer's curiosity. Come, describe it to me, all the more because it is so simple to learn. For it is no disgrace to you to teach elementary lessons, but far more a disgrace to me not to understand them, especially if they are really useful.'"

XVI. "'First then, Socrates, I want to show you that what is called the most complicated problem in agriculture by the authors who write most accurately on the theory of the subject, but are not practical farmers, is really a simple matter. For they tell us that to be a successful farmer one must first know the nature of the soil.'

"'Yes, and they are right,' I remarked; 'for if you don't know what the soil is capable of growing, you can't know, I suppose, what to plant or what to sow.'

"'Well then,' said Ischomachus, 'you can tell by looking at the crops and trees on another man's land what the soil can and what it cannot grow. But when you have found out, it is useless to fight
θεομαχεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὅτου δέοιτο αὐτὸς, τοῦτο σπείρων καὶ φυτεύων μᾶλλον ἂν ἔχοι τὰ ἐπιτηδεία
4 ἢ ὁ τι ἡ γῆ ἢδοιτο φύονδα καὶ τρέφοντα. ἤν δὲ ἄρα δι’ ἀργίαν τῶν ἐχόντων αὐτῆς μὴ ἐχῆ τὴν ἕαυτῆς δύναμιν ἐπίδεικνύναι, ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ γείτονοι τόπου πολλάκις ἀληθέστερα περὶ αὐτῆς γυώναι ἡ παρὰ γείτονος ἀνθρώπου πυθέσθαι.
5 καὶ χερσεύουσα δὲ ὁμως ἐπίδεικνυσι τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν. ἦ γὰρ τὰ ἄγρια καλὰ φύονδα δύναται θεραπευομένη καὶ τὰ ἢμερα καλὰ ἐκφέρειν. φύσιν μὲν δὴ γῆς οὕτως καὶ οἱ μὴ πάνυ ἐμπειροὶ γεωργίας ὁμος δύνανται διαγιγνώσκειν.

6 Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἰκανῶς ἢδη μοι δοκῶ ἀποτεθαρρηκέναι, ὡς οὐ δεῖ φοβοῦμενοι, μὴ οὐ γνώ τῆς γῆς φύσιν, ἀπέχεσθαι
7 γεωργίας. καὶ γὰρ δὴ, ἔφην, ἀνεμνήσθην τὸ τῶν ἀλλεων, ὅτι θαλαττουργοὶ οὗτοι καὶ οὕτε καταστήσαντες ἐπὶ θέαν οὐδ’ ἤσυχοι βαδίζουσι, ἄλλα παρατρέχουσες ἁμα τούς ἄγρουσ, οταν ὀρώσι τοὺς καρποὺς ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὁμοῖς οὐκ ὀκνούσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τῆς γῆς, ὅποια τε ἀγαθὴ ἐστὶ καὶ ὅποια κακή, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν ψέγουσι, τὴν δ’ ἐπαινοῦσι. καὶ πάνω τοῖς ἐμπειρῶς γεωργίας ὁρῶ αὐτοὺς τὰ πλείστα κατὰ ταύτα ἀποφαίνομένους περὶ τῆς ἀγαθῆς γῆς.

8 Πόθεν οὖν θοῦτοι, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἀρξωμαί σε τῆς γεωργίας ύπομιμησκεῖν; οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι ἐπιστημένος σοι πάνω πολλὰ φράσω ὡς δεῖ γεωργεῖν.
9 Ἐκεῖνο μοι δοκῶ, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, πρῶτον ἂν ἢδεως μανθάνειν, φιλοσόφου γὰρ μάλιστα ἐστὶν ἀνδρός, ὅπως ἂν ἐγώ, εἰ βουλοίμην, 484
against the gods. For you are not likely to get a better yield from the land by sowing and planting what you want instead of the crops and trees that the land prefers. If it happens that the land does not declare its own capabilities because the owners are lazy, you can often gather more correct information from a neighbouring plot than from a neighbouring proprietor. Yes, and even if the land lies waste, it reveals its nature. For if the wild stuff growing on the land is of fine quality, then by good farming the soil is capable of yielding cultivated crops of fine quality. So the nature of the soil can be ascertained even by the novice who has no experience of farming.'

"'Well, I think I am now confident, Ischomachus, that I need not avoid farming from fear of not knowing the nature of the soil. The fact is, I am reminded that fishermen, though their business is in the sea, and they neither stop the boat to take a look nor slow down, nevertheless, when they see the crops as they scud past the farms, do not hesitate to express an opinion about the land, which is the good and which is the bad sort, now condemning, now praising it. And, what is more, I notice that in their opinion about the good land they generally agree exactly with experienced farmers.'

"'Then, Socrates, let me refresh your memory on the subject of agriculture; but where do you wish me to begin? For I am aware that I shall tell you very much that you know already about the right method of farming.'

"'First, Ischomachus, I think I should be glad to learn, for this is the philosopher's way, how I am
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γῆν ἑργαζόμενος πλείστας κριθὰς καὶ πλείστους πυρῶς λαμβάνομι.

10 Οὐκοῦν τούτο μὲν οἴσθα, ὅτι τῷ σπόρῳ νεῶν
dei ὑπεργάζεσθαι;

11 Οἶδα γάρ, ἐφην ἐγώ.
Εἰ οὖν ἀρχοίμεθα, ἐφη, ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν
χειμῶνος;
Ἄλλα πῆλος ἄν εἰη, ἐγὼ ἐφην.
Ἄλλα τοῦ θέρους σοι δοκεῖ;
Σκληρά, ἐφην ἐγώ, ἡ γῆ ἐσται κινεῖν τῷ
ζεύγει.

12 Κινδυνεύει ἑαρος, ἐφη, εἶναι τοῦτο τοῦ ἐργου
ἀρκτέων.
Εἰκὸς γάρ, ἐφην ἐγώ, ἐστὶ μάλιστα χεῖσθαι
τὴν γῆν τηνικαύτα κινουμένην.
Καὶ τὴν πόον γε ἀναστρεφομένην, ἐφη, ὡς
Σώκρατες, τηνικαύτα κόπρου μὲν τῇ γῆ ἦδη
παρέχειν, καρπὸν δ' οὐπω καταβαλεῖν ὡστε

13 φύεσθαι. οἶμαι γὰρ ἃ καὶ τοῦτο σ' ἔτι γιγνώ-
σκειν, ὅτι εἰ μέλλει ἀγαθή ἡ νεὸς ἐσεσθαι, ὡς
τε δει καθαρὰν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ ὀπτὴν ὅτι μάλιστα
πρὸς τὸν ἔλιον.
Πάνω γε, ἐφην ἐγώ, καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι
χρήματι ἔχειν.

14 Ταῦτ' οὖν, ἐφη, σὺ ἄλλως πως νομίζεις μᾶλλον
ἂν γίγνεσθαι ἢ εἰ ἐν τῷ θέρει ὅτι πλειστάκις
μεταβάλοι τις τὴν γῆν;
Οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ἐφην, ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι οὐδαμώς ἂν
μᾶλλον ἢ μὲν ὑλὴ ἐπιπολάξοι καὶ αὐαίνοιτο ὕπο
τοῦ καύματος, ἢ δὲ γῆ ὀπτῶτο ὕπο τοῦ ἔλιον ἢ
εἰ τις αὐτὴν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ θέρει καὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ κινοῦν τῷ ζεύγει.

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to cultivate the land if I want to get the heaviest
crops of wheat and barley out of it.'
"'Well, you know, I take it, that fallow must 10
be prepared for sowing?'
"'Yes, I know.'
"'Suppose, then, we start ploughing in winter?'
"'Why, the land will be a bog!'
"'How about starting in summer?'
"'The land will be hard to plough up.'
"'It seems that spring is the season for beginning 12
this work.'
"'Yes, the land is likely to be more friable if it
is broken up then.'
"'Yes, and the grass turned up is long enough at
that season to serve as manure, but, not having
shed seed, it will not grow. You know also, I 13
presume, that fallow land can't be satisfactory un-
less it is clear of weeds and thoroughly baked in
the sun?'
"'Yes, certainly; that is essential, I think.'
"'Do you think that there is any better way of 14
securing that than by turning the land over as often
as possible in summer?'
"'Nay, I know for certain that if you want
the weeds to lie on the surface and wither in the
heat, and the land to be baked by the sun, the
surest way is to plough it up at midday in mid-
summer.'
15 Εἰ δὲ ἀνθρώπους σκάπτουντες τὴν νεόν ποιοῖν, ἔφη, οὐκ εὐθυλοῦν, ὅτι καὶ τούτους δίχα δεῖ ποιεῖν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν ύλήν;

Καὶ τὴν μὲν γε ύλήν, ἔφην ἐγώ, καταβάλλειν, ὡς αὐαίνηται, ἐπιτολῆς, τὴν δὲ γῆν στρέφειν, ὡς ἡ ὁμή αὐτῆς ὀπτάται.

XVII. Περὶ μὲν τῆς νεόν ὅρᾶς, ἔφη, ὁ Σῶ-κρατες, ὃς ἀμφυτέροις ἤμων ταύτα δοκεῖ.

Δοκεῖ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ.

Περὶ γε μέντοι τοῦ σπόρου ἄλλο τι, ἔφη, ὁ Σῶκρατες, γιγνώσκεις ἢ τὴν ὃραν σπείρειν, ἢς πάντες μὲν οἱ πρόσθεν ἀνθρώποι πείραν λαβόντες, πάντες δὲ οἱ νῦν λαμβάνοντες ἐγνώκασι κρατίστην εἶναι; ἔπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ μεσοπορινὸς χρόνος ἔλθῃ, πάντες ποὺ οἱ ἀνθρώποι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀποβλέπουσιν, ὡς ὁ τούτων ψήφη αὐτοὺς σπείρειν.

'Εγνώκασι δὴ γ', ἔφην ἐγώ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχης, καὶ τὸ μὴ ἐν ἔχρα σπείρειν ἐκόντες εἶναι πάντες ἀνθρώποι, δῆλον ὅτι πολλαῖς ζημίαις παλαίσαντες οἱ πρῶς κελευσθήμα αὐτῶν σπείραντες.

3 Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα μέν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ὁμογω-μονούμεν πάντες αἱ ἀνθρώποι.

'Α γὰρ ὁ θεὸς διδάσκει, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὕτω γίγνεται ὁμονοεῖν· οἶνον ἄμα πᾶσι δοκεῖ βέλτιον εἶναι ἐν τῷ χειρών παχέα ἰμαῖα φορεῖν, ἤ ἀνυώνυμα, καὶ πῦρ καὶ ἐκαί ἄμα πᾶσι δοκεῖ, ἤν ξύλα ἐχὼμαι.

4 Ἀλλ' ἐν τῶδε, ἔφη 'ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, πολλοὶ ἦδη διαφέρονται, ὁ Σῶκρατες, περὶ τοῦ σπόρου, πότερον ὁ πρώτος κράτιστος ἢ ὁ μέσος ἢ ὁ ὄψιμωτατος.
“‘And if men prepare the fallow by digging, is it not obvious that they too must separate the weeds from the soil?’

“‘Yes, and they must throw the weeds on the surface to wither, and turn up the ground so that the lower spit may be baked.’”

XVII. “‘You see, then, Socrates, that we agree about the fallow.’

“‘It does seem so, to be sure.’

“‘And now as to the time for sowing, Socrates. Is it not your opinion that the time to sow is that which has been invariably found to be the best by past experience, and is universally approved by present practice? For as soon as autumn ends, all 2 men, I suppose, look anxiously to God, to see when he will send rain on the earth and make them free to sow.’

“‘Yes, Ischomachus, all men have made up their minds, of course, not to sow in dry ground if they can help it, those who sowed without waiting to be bidden by God having had to wrestle with many losses.’

“‘So far, then,’ said Ischomachus, ‘all the world is of one mind.’

“‘Yes,’ said I, ‘where God is our teacher we all come to think alike. For example, all agree that it is better to wear warm clothes in winter, if they can, and all agree on the desirability of having a fire, if they have wood.’

“‘But,’ said Ischomachus, ‘when we come to the question whether sowing is best done early or very late or at the mid-season, we find much difference of opinion, Socrates.’

1 Literally, the ‘‘crude land.”
'Αλλ' ὁ θεός, ἑφην ἑγώ, οὐ τεταγμένως τὸ ἔτος ἄγει, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῷ πρωΐῳ κάλλιστα, τὸ δὲ τῷ μέσῳ, τὸ δὲ τῷ ὄψιμωτάτῳ.

5 Σὺ οὖν, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, πότερον ἥγη κρείττον εἶναι ἐν τούτων τῶν σπόρων χρησθαι ἐκλεξᾶμενον, εάν τε πολὺ εάν τε ὀλύγον σπέρμα σπείρῃ της, ἢ ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ πρωιμωτάτου μέχρι τοῦ ὄψιμωτάτου σπείρειν;

6 Καὶ ἔγω εἶπον: 'Εμοὶ μὲν, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, δοκεῖ κράτιστον εἶναι παντὸς μετέχειν τοῦ σπόρου. πολὺ γὰρ νομίζω κρείττον εἶναι ἂεὶ ἁρκοῦντα σῶτον λαμβάνειν ἢ ποτὲ μὲν πάνυ πολῦν, ποτὲ δὲ μηδ' ἰκανόν.

Καὶ τοῦτο τοίνυν σύγε, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὁμογνωμονεῖς ἐμοὶ ὁ μανθάνων τῷ διδάσκοντι, καὶ ταύτα πρόσθεν ἐμοῦ τὴν γνώμην ἀποφαίνομενος.

7 Τί γὰρ, ἑφην ἑγώ, ἐν τῷ ρίπτειν τὸ σπέρμα ποικίλη τέχνη ἐνεστί;

Πάντως, ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἐπισκεψόμεθα καὶ τοῦτο. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς δεῖ ρίπτεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα, καὶ σὺ ποι ὀἴσθα, ἔφη.

Καὶ γὰρ ἐώρακα, ἑφην ἑγώ. 'Ρίπτειν δὲ γε, ἔφη, οἱ μὲν ὀμαλῶς δύνανται, οἱ δ' οὐ.

Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο μὲν, ἑφην ἑγώ, ἢ ἢ μελέτης δεῖται, ὡσπερ τοῖς κιθαρισταῖσ ἢ χείρ, ὡσπερ δύνηται ὑπηρετεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ.

8 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφη: ἢν δὲ γε ἢ, ἐφη, ἢ γῆ ἢ μὲν λεπτοτέρα, ἢ δὲ παχυτέρα;

Τι τοῦτο, ἐγὼ ἑφην, λέγεις; ἀρά γε τὴν μὲν λεπτοτέραν ὀπερ ἀσθενεστέραν, τὴν δὲ παχυτέραν ὀπερ ἴσχυροτέραν; 490
"'And God,' said I, 'does not regulate the year by fixed laws; but in one year it may be advantageous to sow early, in another very late, in another at mid-season.'

"'Then do you think, Socrates, that it is better to select one of these times for sowing, whether you sow much or little, or to begin at the earliest moment and continue sowing to the latest?'

"'For my part, Ischomachus, I think it is best to sow for succession throughout the season. For in my opinion it is much better to get enough food at all times than too much at one time and not enough at another.'

"'Here again, then, Socrates, pupil and teacher are of one opinion; and, moreover, you, the pupil, are first in stating this opinion.'

"'Well now, is casting the seed a complicated problem?'

"'By all means let us take that also into consideration, Socrates. I presume that you know as well as I that the seed must be cast by the hand?'

"'Yes, I have seen it.'

"'Ah,' he said, 'but some men can cast evenly, and some cannot.'

"'Then sowers no less than lyre-players need practice, that the hand may be the servant of the will.'

"'Certainly. But suppose that some of the land is rather light and some rather heavy?'

"'What do you mean by that?' I interrupted. 'By "light" do you mean "weak," and by "heavy," "strong"?'
Τοῦτ', ἐφη, λέγω, καὶ ἐρωτῶ γέ σε, πότερον ἵσον ἄν ἐκατέρα τῇ γῇ σπέρμα διδοῖς ἢ ποτέρα ἄν πλείον.

9 Τῷ μὲν οἶνῳ, ἐφη, ἔγωγε νομίζω τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ πλείον ἐπιχείν ύδωρ καὶ ἀνθρώπῳ τῷ ἰσχυροτέρῳ πλείον βάρος, ἐὰν δέ τι φέρειν, ἐπιτιθέναι, κἂν δέ τρέφεσθαι τινας, τοῖς δυνατωτέροις τρέφειν ἄν τοὺς πλείους προστάξαιμι. εἰ δὲ ἡ ἀσθενὴς γῇ ἰσχυροτέρα, ἐφην ἐγώ, γίγνεται, ἣν τις πλείονα καρπὸν αὐτῇ ἐμβάλῃ, ὡσπερ τὰ ὑποζύγια, τότε σὺ μὲ δίδασκε.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος γελάσας εἶπεν, Ἀλλὰ παῖςεις μὲν σύγε, ἐφη, ὃ Σώκρατες. εὖ γε μέντοι, ἐφη, ἵσθι, ἢ μὲν ἐμβαλὼν τὸ σπέρμα τῇ γῇ ἔπειτα ἐν ψε πολλήν ἔχει τροφὴν ἡ γῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ χλόης γενομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος καταστρέψῃς αὐτὸ πάλιν, τότε γίγνεται σῖτος τῇ γῇ, καὶ ὡσπερ ὑπὸ κόπρου ἵσχὺς αὐτῇ ἐγγίγνεται· ἢ μέντοι ἐκτρέφειν ἐὰς τὴν γῇν διὰ τέλους τὸ σπέρμα εἰς καρπὸν, χαλεπὸν τῇ ἀσθενεί γῇ ἐς τέλος πολὺν καρπὸν ἐκφέρειν. καὶ σὺ δὲ ἀσθενεὶ χαλεπὸν πολλοὺς ἀδροὺς χοίρους ἐκτρέφειν.

11 Δέγεις σύ, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, τῇ ἀσθενεστέρᾳ γῇ μείον δεῖν τὸ σπέρμα ἐμβαλεῖν;

Ναι μὰ Δία, ἐφη, ὃ Σώκρατες, καὶ σὺ γε συνομολογεῖς λέγων, ὃτι νομίζεις τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις πᾶσι μεῖον προστάττειν πράγματα.

12 Τοὺς δὲ δὴ σκαλέας, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὃ Ἰσχόμαχε, τίνος ἐνεκα ἐμβάλλετε τῷ σίτῳ;

Οἰσθα δὴ ποιου, ἐφη, ὃτι ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολλα ὕδατα γίγνεται.

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"'Yes, I do; and I ask you whether you would give the same quantity of seed to both kinds, or to which you would give more?'

"'Well, my principle is this: the stronger the wine, the more water I add; the stronger the bearer, the heavier the burden I put on his back; and if it is necessary to feed others, I should require the richest men to feed the greatest number. But tell me whether weak land, like draught animals, becomes stronger when you put more corn into it.'

"'Ah, you're joking, Socrates,' he said, laughing, 'but allow me to tell you that, if after putting in the seed you plough it in again as soon as the blade appears when the land is obtaining plenty of nourishment from the sky, it makes food for the soil, and strengthens it like manure. If, on the other hand, you let the seed go on growing on the land until it is boiled, it's hard for weak land to yield much grain in the end. It's hard, you know, for a weak sow to rear a big litter of fine pigs.'

"'Do you mean, Ischomachus, that the weaker the soil the less seed should be put into it?'

"'Yes, of course, Socrates; and you agree when you say that your invariable custom is to make the burden light that is to be borne by the weak.'

"'But the hoers, now, Ischomachus, why do you put them on the corn?'

"'I presume you know that in winter there is a heavy rainfall?'
Τή γαρ οὐκ ἐφην ἐγώ.
Οὐκοῦν θῶμεν τοῦ σίτου καὶ κατακρυφθήναι τινα ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἰλός ἐπικυθείσης καὶ ψυλωθήναι τινας ρίζας ὑπὸ ἰέματος. καὶ ὡς ἰε πολλάκις ὑπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων δῆπον συνεξορμᾶ τῷ σίτῳ καὶ παρέχει πνεμον αὐτῷ.

13 Πάντα, ἐφην ἐγώ, εἰκὸς ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι. Οὐκοῦν δοκεῖ σοι, ἐφη, ἐνταῦθα ἦδη ἐπικουρίας τινὸς δεῖσθαι ὁ σῖτος;
Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφην ἐγώ.
Τῷ οὖν κατιλυθέντι τί ἀν ποιοῦντες δοκοῦσίν ἄν σοι ἐπικουρήσαι;
'Ἐπικουφίσαντες, ἐφην ἐγώ, τὴν γῆν.
Τῇ δὲ, ἐφη, τῷ ἐψιλομένῳ τὰς ρίζας;
'Ἀντιπροσαμηνεύοντι τὴν γῆν ἂν, ἐφην ἐγώ.

14 Τῇ γὰρ, ἐφη, ἡν ὑλὴ πυγῆ συνεξορμῶσα τῷ σίτῳ καὶ διαρπάζουσα τοῦ σίτου τὴν τροφὴν, ὡσπερ οἱ κηφήνες διαρπάζουσιν ἄχρηστοι ὄντες τῶν μελιττῶν ἃ ἀν ἐκεῖναι ἐργασάμεναι τροφὴν καταθῶνται;
'Εκκόπτειν ἂν νὴ Δία δέοι τὴν ὑλήν, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὡσπερ τοὺς κηφήνας ἐκ τῶν σμηνῶν ἄφαιρεῖν.

15 Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, εἰκότως σοι δοκοῦμεν ἐμβαλεῖν τοὺς σκαλέας;
Πάνυ γε. ἀτὰρ ἐνθυμοῦμαι, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὥς Ἰσχόμαχε, οἶον ἐστὶ τὸ εὗ τὰς εἰκόνας ἐπάγεσθαι. πάνυ γὰρ σὺ με ἐξώργισας πρὸς τὴν ὑλὴν τοὺς κηφήνας εἰπὼν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτε περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ὑλῆς ἐλεγες.

ΧVIII. Ἀτὰρ οὖν, ἐφην ἐγώ, ἐκ τοῦτον ἄρα θερίζειν εἰκός. δίδασκε οὖν εὗ τὶ ἐχεις με καὶ εἰς τοῦτο.

494
“Of course.’
“Let us assume, then, that part of the corn is waterlogged and covered with mud, and some of the roots are exposed by flooding. And it often happens, you know, that in consequence of rain weeds spring up among the corn and choke it.’
“‘All these things are likely to happen.’
“‘Then don’t you think that in such circumstances the corn needs prompt succour?’
“‘Certainly.’
“‘What should be done, do you think, to succour the part that is under the mud?’
“‘The soil should be lifted.’
“‘And the part that has its roots exposed?’
“‘It should be earthed up.’
“‘What if weeds are springing up, choking the corn and robbing it of its food, much as useless drones rob bees of the food they have laid in store by their industry?’
“‘The weeds must be cut, of course, just as the drones must be removed from the hive.’
“‘Don’t you think, then, that we have good reason for putting on men to hoe?’
“‘No doubt; but I am reflecting, Ischomachus, on the advantage of bringing in an apt simile. For you roused my wrath against the weeds by mentioning the drones, much more than when you spoke of mere weeds.’”

XVIII. “‘However,’ I continued, ‘after this comes reaping, I fancy. So give me any information you can with regard to that too.’
XENOPHON

"Ну μὴ γε φανῆς, ἐφη, καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ταῦτα ἔμοι ἐπιστάμενος. ὅτι μὲν οὖν τέμνειν τὸν σῖτον δεῖ, οἴσθα.
Τί δ’ οὖ μέλλω; ἐφην ἐγώ.
Πότερα οὖν τέμνεις, ἐφη, στὰς ένθα πνεῖ ἄνεμος ἢ ἀντίος;
Οὐκ ἀντίος, ἐφην, ἔγωγε. χαλεπὸν γὰρ οἴμαι καὶ τοῖς ὀμμασι καὶ ταῖς χερσι γίγνεται ἀντίον ἄχυρων καὶ ἀθέρων θερίζειν.

2 Καὶ ἀκροτομοῖς δ’ ἀν, ἐφη, ἢ παρὰ γῆν τέμνοις;
"Ην μὲν βραχὺς ἢ ὁ κάλαμος τοῦ σίτου, ἐγώγ’, ἐφην, κατωθεν ἀν τέμνοιμι, ἵνα ἱκανὰ τὰ ἄχυρα μᾶλλον γίγνηται: ἐὰν δὲ ὑψηλὸς ἢ, νομίζω ὀρθῶς ἂν ποιεῖν μεσοτομῶν, ἵνα μῆτε οἱ ἀλοχώτες μοχθῶσι περιττὸν πόνον μῆτε οἱ λικμῶτες ἄν οὐδὲν προσδέονται. τὸ δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ λειφθὲν ἡγοῦ-μαι καὶ κατακαυθὼν συνῳφελεῖν ἄν τὴν γῆν καὶ εἰς κόπρου ἐμβληθέν τὴν κόπρου συμπληθυνεῖν.

3 Ὅρας, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὡς ἀλήσκη ἐπ’ αὐτο-φῶρῳ καὶ περὶ θερισμοῦ εἰδὼς ἀπέρ ἐγώ; Κινδυνεύω, ἐφην ἐγώ, καὶ βούλομαι γε σκέψα-σθαι, εἰ καὶ ἀλοῖν ἐπιστάμαι.
Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, τοῦτο μὲν οἴσθα, ὅτι ὑποξύγῳ ἀλούσι τὸν σῖτον.

4 Τί δ’ οὐκ, ἐφην ἐγώ, οἶδα; καὶ ὑποξύγια γε καλούμενα πάντα ὀμίως, βοῦς, ἡμιόνους, ὑπποὺς.
Οὐκοῦν, ἐφη, ταύτα μὲν ἡγῇ τοσοῦτο μόνον εἰδέναι, πατεῖν τὸν σῖτον ἐλαυνόμενα;
Τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὑποξύγια εἶδεῖν;

5 "Οπως δὲ τὸ δεόμενου κούσσοι καὶ ὀμαλεῖται ὁ ἀλοητός, τίνι τοῦτο, ὁ Σώκρατες; ἐφη.

496
"'Yes—unless I find that you know just what I do about that subject too. You know, then, that the corn must be cut.'

"'I know that, naturally.'

"'Are you for standing with your back to the wind when you cut corn, or facing it?'

"'Not facing it, no! I think it is irritating both to the eyes and to the hands to reap with cornstalks and spikes blowing in your face.'

"'And would you cut near the top or close to the ground?'

"'If the stalk is short, I should cut low down, so that the straw may be more useful; but if it is long, I think it would be right to cut in the middle, in order that the threshers and winnowers may not spend needless trouble on what they don’t want. I imagine that the stubble may be burnt with advantage to the land, or thrown on the manure heap to increase its bulk.'

"'Do you notice, Socrates, that you stand convicted of knowing just what I know about reaping too?'

"'Yes, it seems so; and I want to know besides whether I understand threshing as well.'

"'Then you know this much, that draught animals are used in threshing?'

"'Yes, of course I do; and that the term draught animals includes oxen, mules and horses.'

"'Then do you not think that all the beasts know is how to trample on the corn as they are driven?'

"'Why, what more should draught animals know?'

"'And who sees that they tread out the right corn, and that the threshing is level, Socrates?'}
Δήλον ὅτι, ἐφην ἑγώ, τοῖς ἐπαλώσταις.
στρέφοντες γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ὑπο-
βιάλλοντες τὰ ἀτριπτὰ ἀεὶ δῆλον ὅτι μάλιστα
ὁμαλίζοιεν ἂν τὸν δίνον καὶ τάχιστα ἀνύτοιεν.
Ταύτα μὲν τοίνυν, ἐφη, οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ λείπη
γιγνώσκων.

6 Ὅνκοῦν, ἐφην ἑγώ, ὡς Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐκ τούτου δὴ
cαθαροῦμεν τὸν σῖτον λικμῶντες.
Καὶ λέξον γε μοι, ὡς Ζώκρατες, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχό-
μαχος, ἢ οἰσθα, ὅτι ἢν ἐκ τοῦ προσηνέμου μέρους
τῆς ἀλῶν ἀρχη, δι’ ὄλης τῆς ἀλῶ οἴστε ἡς τὰ
ἄχυρα;

Ἀνάγκη γὰρ, ἐφην ἑγώ.

7 Ὅνκοῦν εἶκος καὶ ἐπιτίππειν, ἐφη, αὐτὰ ἐπὶ
tὸν σῖτον.
Πολὺ γάρ ἐστιν, ἐφην ἑγώ, τὸ ὑπερενεχθῆναι
τὰ ἄχυρα ὑπὲρ τὸν σῖτον εἰς τὸ κενὸν τῆς ἀλῶ.
Ἡν δὲ τις, ἐφη, λικμᾶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηνέμου
ἀρχόμενος;

Δῆλον, ἐφην ἑγώ, ὅτι εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἄχυροδόκη
ἔσται τὰ ἄχυρα.

8 Ἡπειδὰν δὲ καθάρη, ἐφη, τὸν σῖτον μέχρι τοῦ
ἡμίσεως τῆς ἀλῶ, πότερον εὐθὺς οὕτω κεχυμένου
tοῦ σῖτου λικμήσεις τὰ ἄχυρα τὰ λοιπὰ ἢ
συνώσας τὸν καθαρὸν πρὸς τὸν πόλον ὡς εἰς
στενῶτατον;

Συνώσας νῦ Ἕλι, ἐφην ἑγώ, τὸν καθαρὸν σῖτον,
ἰν ὑπερφέρῃται μοι τὰ ἄχυρα εἰς τὸ κενὸν τῆς
ἀλῶ καὶ μὴ δίς ταύτα ἄχυρα δέν λικμᾶν.

9 Σὺ μὲν δὴ ἀρνα ἐφη, ὡς Ζώκρατες, σῖτὸν γε ὡς
ἀν τάχιστα καθαρὸς γένοιτο κἂν ἄλλον δύναι
διδάσκειν.

498
"'The threshers, clearly. By continually turning the untrodden corn and throwing it under the animal's feet they will, of course, keep it level on the floor and take least time over the work.'

"'So far, then, your knowledge is quite as good as mine.'

"'Will not our next task be to clean the corn by winnowing, Ischomachus?'

"'Yes, Socrates; and tell me, do you know that if you start on the windward side of the floor, you will find the husks carried right across the floor?'

"'It must be so.'

"'Is it not likely, then, that some will fall on the grain?'

"'Yes, it is a long way for the husks to be blown, right over the grain to the empty part of the floor.'

"'But what if you start winnowing against the wind?'

"'Clearly the chaff will at once fall in the right place.'

"'And as soon as you have cleaned the corn over one half of the floor, will you at once go on throwing up the rest of the chaff while the corn lies about just as it is, or will you first sweep the clean corn towards the edge, so as to occupy the smallest space?'

"'Of course I shall first sweep the clean corn up, so that my chaff may be carried across into the empty space, and I may not have to throw up the same chaff twice.'

"'Well, Socrates, it seems you are capable of teaching the quickest way of cleaning corn.'

1 The meaning of πόλος here is really unknown, I believe.
XENOPHON

Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐλελήθη ἐμαυτῶν ἐπιστάμενος. καὶ πᾶλαι ἐννοῶ ἀρα, εἰ λέληθα καὶ χρυσοχοεῖν καὶ αὖλεῖν καὶ ξωγραφεῖν ἐπιστάμενος. ἔδίδαξε γὰρ οὔτε ταῦτα με οὐδεὶς οὔτε γεωργεῖν ὁρῶ δ' ὅσπερ γεωργοῦντας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας ἐργαζομένους ἀνθρώπους.

10 Οὐκοιν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἔλεγον ἐγώ σοι πᾶλαι, ὅτι καὶ ταύτῃ εἰ ἐπιγναστάτη ἢ γεωργικῇ τέχνῃ, ὅτι καὶ ῥᾶστῃ ἐστὶ μαθεῖν;

"Αγε δή, ἔφην ἐγώ, οἶδα, ὦ Ἰσχόμαχε· τὰ μὲν δὴ ἀμφὶ σπόρον ἐπιστάμενος ἀρα ἐλελήθηειν ἐμαυτῶν ἐπιστάμενος.

XIX. "Ἐστιν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τῆς γεωργικῆς τέχνης καὶ ἢ τῶν δενδρῶν φυτεία;

"Ἐστι γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος.

Πῶς ἄν οὖν, ἔφην ἐγώ, τὰ μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν σπόρον ἐπισταίμην, τὰ δ' ἀμφὶ τὴν φυτείαν οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι;

2 Οὐ γὰρ σὺ, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἐπίστασαι;

Πῶς; ἐγὼ ἔφην, ὅστις μήτ' ἐν ὁποῖα τῇ γῇ δεῖ φυτεύειν οἶδα μήτε ὀπόσον βάθος ὄρυττειν ἑὶ μήτε ὀπόσον πλάτος μήτε ὀπόσον μῆκος τὸ φυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν μήτε ὀπόσον ἂν ἐν τῇ γῇ κείμενον τὸ φυτὸν μάλιστ' ἄν βλαστάνοι.

3 "Ἰθι δή, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, μάνθανε ὦ τι μὴ ἐπίστασαι. Βοθύνουσ μὲν γὰρ οἶους ὄρυττουσι τοῖς φυτοῖς, οἵδ' ὦτι ἐώρακας, ἔφη.

Καὶ πολλάκις ἐγώγ', ἔφην.

"Ἡδὴ τινὰ οὖν αὐτῶν εἶδες βαθύτερον τριπόδου;

1 ὄρυττειν τό φυτόν Sauppe with the MSS.: but either ὄρυττειν τῷ φυτῷ should be read or τῷ φυτῷ should go.

500
"I really wasn't aware that I understood these things; and so I have been thinking for some time whether my knowledge extends to smelting gold, playing the flute, and painting pictures. For I have never been taught these things any more than I have been taught farming; but I have watched men working at these arts, just as I have watched them farming.'

"And didn't I tell you just now that farming is the noblest art for this among other reasons, because it is the easiest to learn?"  

"Enough, Ischomachus; I know. I understood about sowing, it seems, but I wasn't aware that I understood."

XIX. "'However, is the planting of fruit trees another branch of agriculture?' I continued.

"'It is, indeed,' answered Ischomachus.

"'Then how can I understand all about sowing, and yet know nothing of planting?'

"'What, don't you understand it?' 2

"'How can I, when I don't know what kind of soil to plant in, nor how deep a hole to dig, nor how broad, nor how much of the plant should be buried, nor how it must be set in the ground to grow best?'

"'Come then, learn whatever you don't know. 3 I am sure you have seen the sort of trenches they dig for plants.'

"'Yes, often enough.'

"'Did you ever see one more than three feet deep?'
XENOPHON

Οὐδὲ μὰ Δ’ ἔγωγ’, ἐφην, πενθημιποδίου.
Τι δὲ τὸ πλάτος ἤδη τινὰ τριπόδου πλέον εἶδες;
Οὐδὲ μὰ Δ’, ἐφην ἔγω, διπόδου.

4 Ἡθὶ δὴ, ἐφη, καὶ τόδε ἀπόκριναι μοι, ἤδη τινὰ εἶδες τὸ βάθος ἐλάττωνα ποδιαίου;
Οὐδὲ μὰ Δ’, ἐφην, ἔγωγε τριημιποδίου. καὶ γὰρ ἐξορύύττοιτο ἀν σκαπτόμενα, ἐφην ἔγω, τὰ φυτά, εἰ λίαν γε ὀῦτως ἐπιπολής πεφυτευμένα εἶν.

5 Οὐκοῦν τούτο μὲν, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἰκανῶς οὖσθα, ὥστε οὐτε βαθύτερον πενθημιποδίου ὀρύττουσιν οὐτε βραχύτερον τριημιποδίου.

Ανάγκη γὰρ, ἐφην ἔγω, τούτο ὀρᾶσθαι οὖτω γε καταφανές ὁν.

6 Τι δὲ, ἐφη, ἔηροτέραν καὶ ὑγροτέραν γῆν γυγινώσκεις ὦρων;

Ξηρὰ μὲν γοῦν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐφην ἔγω, εἰναι ἡ περὶ τῶν Λυκαβηττῶν καὶ ἡ ταύτῃ ὁμοία, ὑγρὰ δὲ ἡ ἐν τῷ Φαληρικῷ ἐλεί καὶ ἡ ταύτῃ ὁμοία.

7 Πότερα οὖν, ἐφη, ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ ἀν βαθὺν ὀρύττοις βόθρου τῷ φυτῷ ἐν τῇ ὑγρᾷ;

Ἐν τῇ ξηρᾷ νῦν Δ’, ἐφην ἔγω· ἐπεὶ ἐν γε τῇ ὑγρᾷ ὀρύττοι βαθὺν ὕδωρ ἀν εὐρίσκοις καὶ οὐκ ἀν δύναιο ἐτί ἐν ὑδατι φυτεύειν.

Καλῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ἐφη, λέγειν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὰν ὀρωρυγμένοι δῶσιν οἱ βόθροι, ὀπηνίκα δεὶ τιθέναι ἐκάτερα τὰ φυτά, ἤδη εἶδες;
Μάλιστα, ἐφην ἔγω.

502
OECONOMICUS, xix. 3-7

"'No, of course not—nor more than two and a half.'

"'Well, did you ever see one more than three feet broad?'

"'Of course not, nor more than two feet.'

"'Come then, answer this question too. Did you ever see one less than a foot deep?'

"'Never less than a foot and a half, of course. For the plants would come out of the ground when it is stirred about them if they were put in so much too shallow.'

"'Then you know this well enough, Socrates, that the trenches are never more than two and a half feet deep, nor less than a foot and a half.'

"'A thing so obvious as that can't escape one's eyes.'

"'Again, can you distinguish between dry and wet ground by using your eyes?'

"'Oh, I should think that the land round Lycabettus and any like it is an example of dry ground, and the low-lying land at Phalerum and any like it of wet.'

"'In which then would you dig the hole deep for your plant, in the dry or the wet ground?'

"'In the dry, of course; because if you dug deep in the wet, you would come on water, and water would stop your planting.'

"'I think you are quite right. Now suppose the holes are dug; have you ever noticed how the plants for each kind of soil should be put in?'

"'Oh, yes.'

1 There must be something wrong with the text here. The MSS. give ἰπντίκα, "just when," but that has nothing to do with the matter in hand. Is something lost?
8 Σὺ οὖν βουλόμενος ὡς τάχιστα φύναι αὐτὰ πότερον ὑποβαλὼν ἀν τῆς γῆς τῆς εἰργασμένης ὁμεί τὸν βλαστὸν τοῦ κλήματος θάττον χωρεῖν διὰ τῆς μαλακῆς ἢ διὰ τῆς ἁργοῦ εἰς τὸ σκληρὸν; Δῆλον, ἐφην ἐγώ, ὅτι διὰ τῆς εἰργασμένης θάττον ἢ διὰ τῆς ἁργοῦ βλαστάνου.

9 Οὐκοῦν ὑποβλητέα ἂν εἰη τῷ φυτῷ γῆ. Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει; ἐφην ἐγώ. Πότερα δὲ ὅλον τὸ κλῆμα ὅρθον τιθεὶς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν βλέπον ἡγή μᾶλλον ἢν βίζοῦσθαι αὐτὸ ἢ καὶ πλάγιον τι ὑπὸ τῇ ὑποβεβλημένῃ γῆ θείης ἢν, ὡστε κεῖσθαι ὡσπερ γάμμα ὑπτίον; Οὔτω νη Διᾷ πλείονες γὰρ ἂν οἱ ὁφθαλμοὶ κατὰ γῆς εἰην' ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὁφθαλμῶν καὶ ἄνω ὀρῶ βλαστάνοντα τὰ φυτὰ. καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τῆς γῆς οὖν ὁφθαλμοὺς ἠγοῦμαι τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. πολλῶν δὲ φυομένων βλαστῶν κατὰ τῆς γῆς ταχῦ ἢν καὶ ἱσχυὸν τὸ φυτὸν ἠγοῦμαι βλαστάνειν.

10 Κατὰ ταύτα τούτων, ἐφη, καὶ περὶ τούτων γυγνώσκων ἐμοὶ τυγχάνεις. ἐπαρίσσαιο δ' ἂν μόνον, ἐφη, τῆν γῆν ἢ καὶ σάξαις ἂν εὐ μάλα περὶ τὸ φυτὸν;

Σάττομερ' ἂν, ἐφην, νη Δι' ἐγώ. εἰ μὲν γὰρ μὴ σεσαγμένον εἰη, ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὑδατὸς εὐ οἶδ' ὅτι πηλὸς ἂν γίγνοιτο ἡ ἁσακτος γῆ, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ξηρά μέχρι βυθοῦ, ὥστε τὰ φυτὰ κίνδυνος ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦ ὑδατος σῆπεσθαι μὲν δ' ὑγρότητα, αὐαίνεσθαι δὲ διὰ ξηρότητα, θερμαίνομενον τῶν ρύζων.

11 Καὶ περὶ ἅμπελων ἄρα οὐγε, ἐφη, φυτείας, ὡ Σῶκρατες, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐμοὶ πάντα γυγνώσκων τυγχάνεις.

594
"'Then assuming that you want them to grow as quickly as possible, do you think that if you put some prepared soil under them the cuttings will strike sooner through soft earth into the hard stuff, or through unbroken ground?'

"'Clearly, they will form roots more quickly in prepared soil than in unbroken ground.'

"'Then soil must be placed below the plant?'

"'No doubt it must.'

"'And if you set the whole cutting upright, pointing to the sky, do you think it would take root better, or would you lay part of it slanting under the soil that has been put below, so that it lies like a gamma upside down?'

"'Of course I would; for then there would be more buds underground; and I notice that plants shoot from the buds above ground, so I suppose that the buds under the ground do just the same; and with many shoots forming underground, the plant will make strong and rapid growth, I suppose.'

"'Then it turns out that on these points too your opinion agrees with mine. But would you merely heap up the earth, or make it firm round the plant?'

"'I should make it firm, of course; for if it were not firm, I feel sure that the rain would make mud of the loose earth, and the sun would dry it up from top to bottom; so the plants would run the risk of damping off through too much water, or withering from too much heat at the roots.'

"'About vine planting then, Socrates, your views are again exactly the same as mine.'

1 The mention of the vine comes in so abruptly that one again suspects the loss of something in the text.
'Ἡ καὶ συκῆν, ἔφην ἐγώ, οὕτως δεὶ φυτεύειν;
Οἶμαι δ', ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ τὰλλα ἀκρόδρυα πάντα. τῶν γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῆς ἀμπέλου
φυτεῖα καλῶς ἐχόντων τί ἂν ἀποδοκιμάσαις εἰς
tὰς ἄλλας φυτείας;

13 Ἐλαίαν δὲ πῶς, ἔφην ἐγώ, φυτεύσομεν, ὡ
Ἱσχόμαχε;
Ἄποσειρὰ μου καὶ τούτο, ἔφη, μάλιστα πάντων
ἐπιστάμενος. ὅρας μὲν γὰρ δή, ὅτι βαθύτερος
ὅρυττεται τῇ ἐλαίᾳ βόθρος· καὶ γὰρ παρὰ τὰς
όδους μάλιστα ὅρυττεται. ὅρας δ', ὅτι πρέμνα
πᾶσι τοῖς φυτευτηρίοις πρόσεστιν. ὅρας δ', ἔφη,
tῶν φυτῶν πηλῶν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς πάσαις ἐπι-
κείμενοι καὶ πάντων τῶν φυτῶν ἐστεγασμένοι
tὸ ἄνω.

14 Ὅρω, ἔφην ἐγώ, ταύτα πάντα.
Καὶ ὅρων δή, ἔφη, τί αὐτῶν οὐ γυγνώσκεις; ἡ
tὸ ὅστρακον ἀγνοεῖς, ἔφη, ὡ Σῶκρατες, πῶς ἂν
ἐπὶ τοῦ πηλοῦ ἄνω καταθείης;
Μὰ τὸν Δ', ἔφην ἐγώ, οὐδὲν ὄν εἴπας, ὡ
Ἱσχόμαχε, ἂγνοώ, ἄλλα πάλιν ἐνισθό, τὶ ποτε,
ὅτε πάλαι ἦραν με συλλιβδὴν εἰ ἐπίσταμαι
φυτεύεων, οὐκ ἔφην. οὐ γὰρ ἐδοκόντον ἔχειν ἂν
eἰπεῖν οὐδέν, ἡ δεὶ φυτεύειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ με καθ' ἐν
ἐκαστὸν ἐπεχείρησας ἐρωτᾶν, ἀποκρινομαί σοι,
ὡς σὺ φής, ἀπερ σὺ γυγνώσκεις ὁ δεινὸς λεγόμενος

15 γεωργὸς. ἄρα, ἔφην, ὡ Ἰσχόμαχε, ἡ ἐρώτησις
didaskalía ἐστίν; ἄρτι γὰρ δή, ἔφην ἐγώ, κατα-
μανθάνω, ἡ με ἐπηρώτησας ἐκαστα. ἄγων γὰρ μὲ
δι' ὄν ἐγώ ἐπίσταμαι, ὡμοία τούτοις ἐπιδεικνύσ ἂ

506
"'Does this method of planting apply to the fig too?' I asked.

"'Yes, and to all other fruit trees, I think; for in planting other trees why discard anything that gives good results with the vine?'

"'But the olive—how shall we plant that, Ischomachus?'

"'You know quite well, and are only trying to draw me out again. For I am sure you see that a deeper hole is dug for the olive (it is constantly being done on the roadside); you see also that all the growing shoots have stumps adhering to them; and you see that all the heads of the plants are coated with clay, and the part of the plant that is above ground is wrapped up.'

"'Yes, I see all this.'

"'You do! Then what is there in it that you don't understand? Is it that you don't know how to put the crocks on the top of the clay, Socrates?'

"'Of course there is nothing in what you have said that I don't know, Ischomachus. But I am again set thinking what can have made me answer 'No' to the question you put to me a while ago, when you asked me briefly, Did I understand planting? For I thought I should have nothing to say about the right method of planting. But now that you have undertaken to question me in particular, my answers, you tell me, agree exactly with the views of a farmer so famous for his skill as yourself! Can it be that questioning is a kind of teaching, Ischomachus? The fact is, I have just discovered the plan of your series of questions! You lead me by paths of knowledge familiar to me, point out things
ούκ ἐνόμιζον ἑπιστασθαι ἀναπείθεις οἷμαι, ὡς καὶ ταύτα ἐπίσταμαι.

16 Ὅρθον, ἔφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, καὶ περὶ ἀργυρίου ἑρωτῶν ἄν σε, πότερον καλὸν ἢ οὕ, δυναίμην ἄν σε πείσαι, ὡς ἑπίστασαι διαδοκιμάζειν τὰ καλὰ καὶ τὰ κίβδηλα ἀργύρια; καὶ περὶ αὐλητῶν ὡς δυναίμην ἀναπείσαι, ὡς ἑπίστασαι αὐλείν, καὶ περὶ ξωγράφων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων;

Ἰσως ἄν, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐπειδή καὶ γεωργεῖν ἀνέπεισάς με ὡς ἑπιστῆμον εἶμι, καίπερ εἰδότα, ὦτι οὐδεὶς πώποτε εἰδίδαξε με ταύτῃ την τέχνην.

17 Οὐκ ἔστι ταύτ', ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες· ἀλλ' ἐγὼ καὶ πάλαι σοι ἔλεγον, ὅτι ἡ γεωργία οὕτω φιλάνθρωπός ἐστι καὶ πραεία τέχνη, ὡστε καὶ ὀρώντας καὶ ἀκούοντας ἑπιστήμονας εὐθὺς εὐαυτῆς ποιεῖν. πολλὰ δ', ἔφη, καὶ αὐτὴ διδάσκει, ὡς ἄν κάλλιστά τις αὐτὴ χρώτο. αὐτίκα ἀμπελος ἀναβαίνουσα μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ δένδρα, ὅταν ἐχή τι πλησίον δείδρον, διδάσκει ἵσταμαι αὐτῇ· περιπετεανυόννυσα δέ τὰ σύναρα, ὅταν ἔτι αὐτῇ ἀπαλοὶ οἱ βότρυες δος, διδάσκει σκίαξειν τὰ ἤλιοςμενα ταύτην τὴν ὕραν· ὅταν δὲ καιρὸς ἢ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡ ἑγυκαίνεσθαι τὰς σταφυλάς, φυλλορροοῦσα διδάσκει ἑαυτήν ψιλοῦν καὶ πεπαίνειν τὴν ὁπώραν, διὰ πολυφορίαν δὲ τοὺς μὲν πέπονας δεικνύουσα βότρυος, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι ὠμοτέρους φέρουσα διδάσκει τρυγαν ἑαυτήν, ὡσπερ τὰ σύκα συκάξουσι, τὸ ὦργων ἀεί.

XX. Ἐνταύθα δὴ ἐγὼ ἐίποιν. Πώς οὖν, ἦ Ἰσχόμαχε, εἰ ὁυτὼς γε καὶ ῥάδια ἐστι μαθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως ἵσασιν ἃ 508.
like what I know, and bring me to think that I really know things that I thought I had no knowledge of.'

"'Now suppose I questioned you about money,' 16 said Ischomachus, 'whether it is good or bad, could I persuade you that you know how to distinguish good from false by test? And by putting questions about flute-players could I convince you that you understand flute-playing; and by means of questions about painters and other artists—'

"'You might, since you have convinced me that I understand agriculture, though I know that I have never been taught this art.'

"'No, it isn't so, Socrates. I told you a while 17 ago that agriculture is such a humane, gentle art that you have but to see her and listen to her, and she at once makes you understand her. She herself 18 gives you many lessons in the best way of treating her. For instance, the vine climbs the nearest tree, and so teaches you that she wants support. And when her clusters are yet tender, she spreads her leaves about them, and teaches you to shade the exposed parts from the sun's rays during that period. But when it is now time for her grapes to be sweetened by the sun, she sheds her leaves, teaching you to strip her and ripen her fruit. And thanks to her teeming fertility, she shows some mellow clusters while she carries others yet sour, so saying to you: Pluck my grapes as men pluck figs,—choose the luscious ones as they come.'"

XX. "And now I asked, 'How is it then, Ischomachus, if the operations of husbandry are so easy to learn and all alike know what must needs
δεὶ ποιεῖν, οὐχὶ καὶ πάντες πράπτουσιν ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀφθονώς τε ξοσί καὶ περιττὰ ἐχουσιν, οἱ δ' οὔδε τὰ ἀναγκαία δύνανται πορι-ζεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσοφείλουσιν;

2 ἔγοδ δὴ σοὶ γε λέξω, ὦ Σώκρατε, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχομαχός. οὐ γὰρ ἢ ἐπιστήμη συν' ἢ ἀνεπιστη-μοσύνη τῶν γεωργῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ποιοῦσα τοὺς μὲν εὔπορεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπόρους εἶναι οὔδ' ἂν ἀκούσαις, ἐφη, λόγου οὕτω διαθέοντος, ὅτι διεφθαρται ὁ οἶκος, δίοτι οὐχ ὀμαλῶς ὁ σπορευς ἐσπειρευν οὐδ' ὅτι οὐκ ἄρθρως τοὺς ὅρχους ἐφύτευσεν οὐδ' ὅτι ἀγνοήσας τις τὴν 1 φέρουσαν ἀμπέλους ἐν ἀφόρῳ ἐφύτευσεν οὐδ' ὅτι ἡγοῦσέ τις, ὅτι ἁγαθὸν ἔστι τῷ σπόρῳ νεὸν προεργάζεσθαι, οὔδ' ὅτι ἡγοῦσέ τις, ὅσ ἁγαθὸν ἔστι τῇ γῇ κόπρων μιγνύναι, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐστὶν ἀκούσαι, ἀνὴρ οὐ λαμβάνει σῖτον ἐκ τοῦ ἄγρου, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται, ὡς αὐτῷ σπείρηται ἡ ὡς κόπρος γίγνηται. οὐδ' οἷον ἔχει ἀνὴρ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπιμελεῖται, ὡς φυτεύσῃ ἀμπέλους οὐδὲ αἱ οὐδαὶ ὅπως φέρωσιν αὐτῷ. οὔδὲ ἐλαιον οὔδε σύκα ἔχει ἀνὴρ, οὐ γὰρ ἐπι-

5 μελεῖται οὔδε ποιεῖ, ὅπως ταῦτα ἔχῃ. τοιαῦτ', ἐφη, ἐστὶν, ὦ Σώκρατε, ἢ διαφέρουστε ἀλλήλων οἱ γεωργοὶ διαφέροντως καὶ πράπτουσιον πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ δοκοῦντες σοφὸν τι εὐρηκέναι εἰς τὰ ἔργα. καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐστίν ἐν οἷς τῶν στρατη-

6 γικῶν ἐργῶν οὐ γνώμη διαφέρουστε ἀλλήλων οἱ μὲν βελτίονες οἱ δὲ χεῖρονες εἰσὶν, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς ἐπιμελεία. ἢ γὰρ καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ γνωστοκουσι πάντες καὶ τῶν ἵδιωτῶν οἱ πλείστοι, ταῦτα οἱ

1 τὴν γῆν φέρουσαν Sauppe with the MSS.: γῆ καὶ removed by Jacob.

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be done, that all have not the same fortune? How is it that some farmers live in abundance and have more than they want, while others cannot get the bare necessities of life, and even run into debt?’

"'Oh, I will tell you, Socrates. It is not knowledge nor want of knowledge on the part of farmers that causes one to thrive while another is needy. You won't hear a story like this running about: The estate has gone to ruin because the sower sowed unevenly, or because he didn't plant the rows straight, or because someone, not knowing the right soil for vines, planted them in barren ground, or because someone didn't know that it is well to prepare the fallow for sowing, or because someone didn't know that it is well to manure the land. No, you are much more likely to hear it said: The man gets no corn from his field because he takes no trouble to see that it is sown or manured. Or, The man has got no wine, for he takes no trouble to plant vines or to make his old stock bear. Or, The man has neither olives nor figs, because he doesn't take the trouble; he does nothing to get them. It is not the farmers reputed to have made some clever discovery in agriculture who differ in fortune from others: it is things of this sort that make all the difference, Socrates. This is true of generals also: there are some branches of strategy in which one is better or worse than another, not because he differs in intelligence, but in point of carefulness, undoubtedly. For the things that all generals know, and most privates, are done by some
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7 μὲν ποιοῦσι τῶν ἀρχόντων οἱ δ’ οὐ. οἷον καὶ τόδε γιγνώσκουσιν ἰαπάντες, ὅτι διὰ πολεμίας πορευομένους βέλτιων ἐστὶ τεταγμένους πορεύεσθαι οὖτως, ὡς ἂν ἀριστα μάχοιτο, εἰ δέοι. τούτῳ τοῖνυν γιγνώσκοντες οἱ μὲν ποιοῦσιν οὖτως,
8 οἱ δ’ οὐ ποιοῦσι. φυλακάς ἰαπάντες ἵσασιν ὅτι βέλτιων ἐστὶ καθιστάναι καὶ ἡμερινάς καὶ νυκτερινὰς πρὸ τοῦ στρατοπέδου. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται ως ἐχὴ οὖτως, οἱ δ’ οὐκ ἐπιμελοῦνται. ὅταν τε αὐ διὰ στενοπόρων ἱσσι, πάνω χαλεπὸν εὐρείν ὦστις οὐ γιγνώσκει, ὅτι προκαταλαμβάνειν τὰ ἐπίκαιρα κρεῖττον ἡ μῆ. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτῳ οἱ μὲν ἐπιμελοῦνται οὖτω
9 ποιεῖν, οἱ δ’ οὐ. ἀλλὰ καὶ κόπτον λέγουσι μὲν πάντες ὅτι ἀριστὸν εἰς γεωργίαν ἐστὶ καὶ ὅρῳσι δὲ αὐτομάτην γιγνομένην. ὠμος δὲ καὶ ἀκριβοῦντες ὡς γίγνεται, καὶ ῥάδιον ὅν πολλὴν ποιεῖν, οἱ μὲν καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιμελοῦνται ὅπως ἀθροίζηται, οἱ δὲ
10 παραμελοῦσι. καίτοι ύδωρ μὲν ὁ ἀνω θεὸς παρέχει, τὰ δὲ κοῖλα πάντα τέλματα γίγνεται, ἡ γῇ δὲ ύλὴν παντοίαν παρέχει. καθαίρειν δὲ δεὶ τὴν γῆν τὸν μέλλοντα σπείρειν ἃ δ’ ἐκποδών ἀναρέσται, ταῦτα εἰ τις ἐμβάλλοι εἰς τὸ ύδωρ, οὐ χρόνος ἤδη αὐτὸς ἄν ποιοὶς ὑπὶ ἡ γῇ ἢδεται. ποία μὲν γὰρ ύλῆ, ποία δὲ γῇ ἐν ύδατι στασίμῳ ὦν κόπτοις γίγνεται;
11 σποράς ἐτε δὲ θεραπείας δεῖται ἡ γῇ, ὑγροτέρα τε οὗτα πρὸς τὸν σπόρον ἡ ἀλμωδεστέρα πρὸς φυτεῖαν, καὶ ταῦτα γιγνώσκουσι μὲν πάντες καὶ ὡς τὸ ύδωρ ἐξαγεῖται τάφροις καὶ ὡς ἡ ἁλμη κολάζεται μιγνυμένη πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνάλμοις καὶ ὑγροὶς τε καὶ ἡμοῖς. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπι-512
commanders and left undone by others. For example, they all know that when marching through an enemy's country, the right way is to march in the formation in which they will fight best, if need be. Well, knowing this, some observe the rule, others break it. All know that it is right to post sentries by day and night before the camp; but this too is a duty that some attend to, while others neglect it. Again, where will you find the man who does not know that, in marching through a defile, it is better to occupy the points of vantage first? Yet this measure of precaution too is duly taken by some and neglected by others. So, too, every one will say that in agriculture there is nothing so good as manure, and their eyes tell them that nature produces it. All know exactly how it is produced, and it is easy to get any amount of it; and yet, while some take care to have it collected, others care nothing about it. Yet the rain is sent from heaven, and all the hollows become pools of water, and the earth yields herbage of every kind which must be cleared off the ground by the sower before sowing; and the rubbish he removes has but to be thrown into water, and time of itself will make what the soil likes. For every kind of vegetation, every kind of soil in stagnant water turns into manure.

"And again, all the ways of treating the soil when it is too wet for sowing or too salt for planting are familiar to all men—how the land is drained by ditches, how the salt is corrected by being mixed with saltless substances, liquid or dry. Yet these
13 μελούνται οἱ μὲν οἱ δ᾽ οὐ. εἰ δὲ τις παντάπασιν ἄγνως εἶν, τι δύναται φέρειν ἡ γῆ, καὶ μήτε ίδεῖν ἔχοι καρπὸν μηδὲ φυτὸν αὐτῆς μήτε ὁτὸν ἀκούσαι τὴν ἄλληθειαν περὶ αὐτῆς ἔχοι, οὐ πολὺ μὲν ῥάνον γῆς πείραν λαμβάνειν παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ἢ ἱππον, πολὺ δὲ ῥάνον ἡ ἀνθρώπον; οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ο τι ἐπὶ ἀπάτη δείκνυσιν, ἀλλὰ ἄπλῶς ἂ τε δύναται καὶ ᾗ μὴ σαφηνίζει τε καὶ ἄληθευε. δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ἡ γῆ καὶ τοὺς κακούς τε κἀγαθοὺς τῷ εὐγνώστα καὶ εὐμαθῆ πάντα παρέχειν ἀριστα ἐξετάζειν. οὐ γὰρ ὠσπερ τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας τοῖς μὴ ἐργαζο-μένοις ἐστὶ προφασίσασθαι οτὶ οὐκ ἐπιστανται-γῆν δὲ πάντες ἰσασιν ὅτι εὐ πᾶσχουσα εὐ ποιεῖ· ἀλλὰ ἡ γεωργία ἐστὶ σαφῆς ψυχῆς κατήγορος κακῆς. ώς μὲν γὰρ ἀν δύναυτο ἀνθρωπὸς ζῆν ἀνευ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οὐδείς τούτο αὐτὸς αὐτὸν πείθει. ο δὲ μήτε ἄλλην τέχνην χρηματοποιοῦ ἐπιστάμενος μήτε γεωργεῖν ἐθέλων φανερὸν ὅτι κλέπτων ἡ ἀρπάζων ἡ προσαιτῶν διανοεῖται βιοτεύειν ἡ παντάπασιν ἀλογιστὸς ἐστι.

14 Μέγα δὲ ἐφῇ διαφέρειν εἰς τὸ λυσιτελεῖν γεωργίαν καὶ μὴ λυσιτελεῖν, ὅταν ὄντων ἐργαστή-ρων καὶ πλεοῦνος ὁ μὲν ἔχη τινὰ ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς τὴν ὄραν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ ἑργῷ οἱ ἐργάται ὄσιν, ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐπιμεληται τούτου. ῥαδίως γὰρ ἄνηρ εἰς παρὰ τους δέκα διαφέρει τῷ ἐν ὀρᾳ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἀλλὸς γε ἄνηρ διαφέρει τῷ πρὸ τῆς ὕρας ἀπείναι. τὸ δὲ δὴ εὖν ῥαδιουργεῖν δ᾽ ὅλης τῆς ἥμερας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ῥαδίως τὸ ἡμιου διαφέρει τοῦ ἑργοῦ παντὸς. ὠσπερ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις παρὰ στάδια διακόσια ἐστὶν ὅτε τοῖς ἑκατὸν στάδιοις διήνεγκαν ἀλλήλων ἀνθρωποι

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matters, again, do not always receive attention. Suppose a man to be wholly ignorant as to what the land can produce, and to be unable to see crop or tree on it, or to hear from anyone the truth about it, yet is it not far easier for any man to prove a parcel of land than to test a horse or to test a human being? For the land never plays tricks, but reveals frankly and truthfully what she can and what she cannot do. I think that just because she conceals nothing from our knowledge and understanding, the land is the surest tester of good and bad men. For the slothful cannot plead ignorance, as in other arts: land, as all men know, responds to good treatment. Husbandry is the clear accuser of the recreant soul. For no one persuades himself that man could live without bread; therefore if a man will not dig and knows no other profit-earning trade, he is clearly minded to live by stealing or robbery or begging—or he is an utter fool.

“Farming,” he added, “may result in profit or in loss; it makes a great difference to the result, even when many labourers are employed, whether the farmer takes care that the men are working during the working hours or is careless about it. For one man in ten by working all the time may easily make a difference, and another by knocking off before the time; and, of course, if the men are allowed to be slack all the day long, the decrease in the work done may easily amount to one half of the whole. Just as two travellers on the road, both young and in good health, will differ so much in pace that one will cover two hundred furlongs to the other’s hun-
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tò tάχει, ἀμφότεροι καὶ νέοι οἴντες καὶ υγιαίνοντες, όταν ὁ μὲν πράττη ἐφ’ ὥπερ ὀρμηταί βαδίζων, ὁ δὲ ῥαστωνεύῃ τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ παρὰ κρήναις καὶ ὑπὸ σκιάς ἀναπαυόμενος τε καὶ θεώμενος καὶ αὖρας θηρεύων μάλακάς. οὔτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐργοῖς πολὺ διαφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ ἀνύτειν οἱ πράττοντες ἐφ’ ὥπερ τεταγμένοι οἰσὶ καὶ οἱ μὴ πράττοντες, ἀλλ’ εὑρίσκοντες προφάσεις τοῦ μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἐὼμενοι ῥαδιουργεῖν, τὸ δὲ δὴ καλῶς ἐργάζεσθαι ή κακῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, τούτῳ δὴ τοσοῦτον διαφέρει ὅσον ἡ ὅλως ἐργάζεσθαι ἡ ὅλως ἀργὸν εἶναι. όταν σκαπτόντων, ἵνα ᾠλὴς καθαραὶ αἱ ἄμπελοι γένωνται, οὔτω σκάπτωσιν, ὡστε πλεῖο καὶ καλλίω τὴν ὑλὴν γίγνεσθαι, πῶς οὔτως οὐκ ἀργὸν ἀν φήσαις εἶναι;

19 Ἡ τὰ οὖν συντρίβοντα τοὺς οἴκους πολὺ μᾶλλον ταύτα ἐστίν ἡ αἱ λίαν ἀνεπιστημοσύναι. τὸ γὰρ τὰς μὲν δαπάνας χωρεῖν ἐντελεῖς ἐκ τῶν οἴκων, τὰ δὲ ἐργα μὴ τελείσθαι λυσιτελοῦντως πρὸς τὴν δαπάνην, ταύτα οὐκέτι δεῖ θαυμάζειν εάν ἀντὶ τῆς περιούσιας ἐνδειαν παρέχειν. τοῖς γε μέντοι ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δυναμένοις καὶ συντεταμένως γεωρ-γοῦσιν ἀνυτικωτάτην χρημάτισιν ἀπὸ γεωργίας καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπετήδευσε καὶ ἔμε ἐδίδαξεν ὁ πατήρ. οὐδέποτε γὰρ εἰά χῶρον ἐξειργασμένον ὠψεῖσθαι, ἀλλ’ ὡστὶς ἡ δὴ ἄμελειαν ἡ δ’ ἀδυναμίαν τῶν κεκτημένων καὶ ἀργὸς καὶ ἀφύτευτος εἰ, τοῦτον ἡ ὑνεῖσθαι παρέχει. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐξειργασμένους ἐφ’ ἐκ τὸν πολλὸν ἀργυρίον γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐπίδοσιν οὐκ ἔχειν τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἔχοντας ἐπίδοσιν οὐδὲ ἡδονὰς ὀμοίας ἐνόμιζε παρέχειν, ἀλλ’ πᾶν κτήμα καὶ θρέμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἰὸν τοῦτο καὶ

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dred, because the one does what he set out to do, by going ahead, while the other is all for ease, now resting by a fountain or in the shade, now gazing at the view, now wooing the soft breeze; so in farm work there is a vast difference in effectiveness between the men who do the job they are put on to do and those who, instead of doing it, invent excuses for not working and are allowed to be slack. In fact, between good work and dishonest slothfulness there is as wide a difference as between actual work and actual idleness. Suppose the vines are being hoed to clear the ground of weeds: if the hoeing is so badly done that the weeds grow ranker and more abundant, how can you call that anything but idleness?"

"These, then, are the evils that crush estates far more than sheer lack of knowledge. For the outgoing expenses of the estate are not a penny less; but the work done is insufficient to show a profit on the expenditure; after that there's no need to wonder if the expected surplus is converted into a loss. On the other hand, to a careful man, who works strenuously at agriculture, no business gives quicker returns than farming. My father taught me that and proved it by his own practice. For he never allowed me to buy a piece of land that was well farmed; but pressed me to buy any that was uncultivated and unplanted owing to the owner's neglect or incapacity. "Well farmed land," he would say, "costs a large sum and can't be improved;" and he held that where there is no room for improvement there is not much pleasure to be got from the land: landed estate and livestock must be continually coming on to give the fullest measure of
εὐφραίνειν μάλιστα ὤετο. οὐδὲν οὖν ἔχει πλείονα ἐπίδοσιν ἢ χῶρος ἢ ἀργὸν πάμφορος γιγνόμενος.

24 εὖ γὰρ ἵσθι, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, ὅτι τῆς ἀρχαίας τιμῆς πολλοὺς πολλαπλασίον χώρους αξίους ἠμεῖς ἠδὲ ἐποιήσαμεν. καὶ τοῦτο, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἐφη, οὕτω μὲν πολλοὶ ἄξιον τὸ ἐνθύμημα, οὕτω δὲ ῥάδιον καὶ μαθεῖν, ὡστε νυνὶ ἄκουσας σὺ τούτο ἐμοὶ ὁμοίως ἐπιστάμενος ἄπει. καὶ ἄλλον διδάξεις.

25 ἐὰν Βούλη. καὶ ὁ ἐμὸς δὲ πατήρ οὔτε ἐμαθὲ παρ’ ἄλλου τοῦτο οὔτε μεριμνῶν εὗρεν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν φιλογεωργίαν καὶ φιλοποιίαν ἐπιθυμήσαι ἐφη τοιούτου χώρου, ὅπως ἔχοι ὁ τι ποιοῖ ἄμα καὶ ὁφελοῦμενος ἦδοιτο. ἦν γάρ τοι, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, φύσει, ὡς ἐμὸ δοκεῖ, φιλογεωργότατον Ἀθηναίων ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ.

Καὶ ἐγὼ μὲντοι ἄκουσας τοῦτο ἣρόμην αὐτῶν. Πότερα δὲ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, ὁπόσους ἐξειργάσατο χώρους ὁ πατήρ πάντας ἐκέκτητο ἢ καὶ ἀπεδίδοτο, εἰ πολὺ ἀργύριον εὐρύσκοι;

Καὶ ἀπεδίδοτο νη Δί’, ἐφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος. ἀλλὰ ἄλλον τοι εὕθυς ἀντεωνεῖτο, ἀργὸν δὲ, διὰ τὴν φιλεργίαν.

27 Δέγεις, ἐφην ἐγὼ, ὁ Ἰσχόμαχε, τῷ ὄντι φύσει τὸν πατέρα φιλογεωργοὺς εἶναι οὐδὲν ἤττου ἢ οἱ ἐμποροὶ φιλόσιτοι εἰσι. καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐμποροὶ διὰ τὸ σφόδρα φιλεῖν τὸν σῶτον ὅποιο ἂν ἄκουσωσι πλείστου εἶναι, ἐκεῖσε πλέουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτῶν καὶ Αἰγαίων καὶ Εὐξεινῶν καὶ Σικελίκων πόντου

28 περώντες ἐπείτα δὲ λαβόντες ὁπόσον δύνανται πλείστου ἁγουσίων αὐτῶν διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ ταῦτα εἰς τὸ πλοῖον εὑρέμενοι, ἐν ῥπερ αὐτοῖ πλέουσι. καὶ ὅταν δεηθῶσιν ἀργυρίου, οὐκ εἰκήν.
satisfaction. Now nothing improves more than a farm that is being transformed from a wilderness into fruitful fields. I assure you, Socrates, that we have often added a hundredfold to the value of a farm. There is so much money in this idea, Socrates, and it is so easy to learn, that no sooner have you heard of it from me than you know as much as I do, and can go home and teach it to someone else, if you like. Moreover, my father did not get his knowledge of it at secondhand, nor did he discover it by much thought; but he would say that, thanks to his love of husbandry and hard work, he had coveted a farm of this sort in order that he might have something to do, and combine profit with pleasure. For I assure you, Socrates, no Athenian, I believe, had such a strong natural love of agriculture as my father.'

"Now on hearing this I asked, 'Did your father keep all the farms that he cultivated, Ischomachus, or did he sell when he could get a good price?'

"'He sold, of course,' answered Ischomachus, 'but, you see, owing to his industrious habits, he would promptly buy another that was out of cultivation.'

"'You mean, Ischomachus, that your father really loved agriculture as intensely as merchants love corn. So deep is their love of corn that on receiving reports that it is abundant anywhere, merchants will voyage in quest of it: they will cross the Aegean, the Euxine, the Sicilian sea; and when they have got as much as possible, they carry it over the sea, and they actually stow it in the very ship in which they sail themselves. And when they want money,
αὐτὸν ὁποὶ ἄν τύχωσιν ἀπέβαλον, ἀλλ’ ὁποὺ ἄν ἀκούσωσι τιμᾶσθαι τε μάλιστα τὸν σῖτον καὶ περὶ πλείστου αὐτὸν ποιῶνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι, τούτοις αὐτὸν ἄγοντες παραδιδόσαι. καὶ ὁ σὸς δὲ πατὴρ οὕτω πως ἔσικε φιλογέωργος εἶναι.

29 Πρὸς ταῦτα δὲ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, Σὺ μὲν παῖζεις, ἕφη, ὡς Ὁκρατεῖς· ἔγω δὲ καὶ φιλοικοδόμους νομίζω οὐδὲν ἥττων οὕτως ἄν ἀποδιδῶνται ἐξοικοδομοῦντες τὰς οἰκίας, εἰτ’ ἄλλας οἰκοδομῶσι.

Ἡ Δία, ἔγω δὲ γέ σοι, ἕφην, ὡς Ἰσχόμαχε, ἐπομόσας λέγω ἢ μὴν πιστεύειν σοι φύσει [νομίζειν] φίλειν ταῦτα πάντας, ἀφ’ ὃν ἄν ὁφελεῖσθαι νομίζωσιν.

XXI. Ἀτὰρ ἔννοο ὅ, ἕφην, ὡς Ἰσχόμαχε, ὡς εὖ τῇ ὑποθέσει ὅλον τὸν λόγον βοηθοῦντα παρέσχεσαι. ὑπέθου γὰρ τὴν γεωργικὴν τέχνην πασῶν εἶναι εὐμαθεστάτην, καὶ νῦν ἐγὼ ἐκ πάντων ὧν εἰρήκας τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχειν παντάπασιν ὑπὸ σοῦ ἀναπέτεισμαι.

2 Νὴ Δί’, ἕφη ὁ Ἰσχόμαχος, ἀλλὰ τόδε τοι, ὡς Ὁκρατεῖς, τὸ πάσας κοινὸν ταῖς πράξεσί καὶ γεωργικὴ καὶ πολιτικὴ καὶ οἰκονομικὴ καὶ πολεμικὴ τὸ ἀρχικὸν εἶναι, τούτο δὴ συνομολογῶ σοι ἔγω πολὺ διαφέρειν γνώμη τοὺς ἐτέρους τῶν ἐτέρων· οἶλον καὶ εὖ τριήρει, ἕφη, ὧταν πελαγίζοις καὶ δέῃ περὰν ἡμερινοὺς πλούς ἑλαύνοντας, οἱ μὲν τῶν κελευστῶν δύνανται τοιαύτα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὡστε ἄκονταν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὸ ἐθελοντᾶς πονεῖν, οἱ δὲ οὕτως ἀγνώμονες εἶσιν, ὡστε πλεῖον ἐν διπλασίῳ χρόνῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἄνυτουσι πλούν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἰδρούντες καὶ ἐπαίνοντες ἀλλήλους, ὃ τε κελεύων καὶ οἱ 520
they don't throw the corn away anywhere at haphazard, but they carry it to the place where they hear that corn is most valued and the people prize it most highly, and deliver it to them there. Yes, your father's love of agriculture seems to be something like that.'

"You're joking, Socrates," rejoined Ischomachus; 'but I hold that a man has a no less genuine love of building who sells his houses as soon as they are finished and proceeds to build others.'

"Of course; and I declare, Ischomachus, on my oath that I believe you, that all men naturally love whatever they think will bring them profit.'"

XXI. "But I am pondering over the skill with which you have presented the whole argument in support of your proposition, Ischomachus. For you stated that husbandry is the easiest of all arts to learn, and after hearing all that you have said, I am quite convinced that this is so.'

"Of course it is,' cried Ischomachus; 'but I grant you, Socrates, that in respect of aptitude for command, which is common to all forms of business alike—agriculture, politics, estate-management, warfare—in that respect the intelligence shown by different classes of men varies greatly. For example, on a man-of-war, when the ship is on the high seas and the rowers must toil all day to reach port, some boatswains can say and do the right thing to sharpen the men's spirits and make them work with a will, while others are so unintelligent that it takes them more than twice the time to finish the same voyage. Here they land bathed in sweat, with mutual congratulations, boatswain and seamen. There they
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝ

πειθόμενοι, ἐκβαίνουσιν, οἷς δὲ ἀνιδρωτῆ ἦκουσι
4 μισούντες τὸν ἐπιστάτην καὶ μισούμενοι. καὶ
tῶν στρατηγῶν ταύτη διαφέρουσιν, ἕφη, οἱ
ἔτεροι τῶν ἔτερων οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὔτε πονεῖν
ἐθέλοντες οὔτε κινδυνεύειν παρέχουσιν, πείθεσθαι
tε νῦν ἄξιοντας οὐδ᾽ ἐθέλοντας ὅσον ἂν μὴ
ἀνάγκη ἢ, ἀλλὰ καὶ μεγαλυκομένους ἐπὶ τῷ
ἐναντιοῦσθαι τῷ άρχοντι οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὕτω οὐδ᾽
αἰσχύνεσθαι ἐπισταμένους παρέχουσιν, ἢ τί τῶν
5 αἰσχρὸν συμβαίνῃ. οἱ δὲ αὐθείοι καὶ ἀγαθοὶ
cαὶ ἐπιστήμονες ἄρχοντες τούς αὐτούς τούτους,
pολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλους παραλαμβάνοντες,
αἰσχυνομένους τε ἐχοῦσιν αἰσχρόν τι ποιεῖν καὶ
πείθεσθαι οἰομένους βέλτιον εἶναι καὶ ἀγαλλο-
μένους τῷ πείθεσθαι ἕνα ἔκαστον καὶ σύμπαντας,
6 πονεῖν ὅταν δεήσῃ, οὐκ ἀθύμως πονοῦντας. ἀλλὰ
ὡςπερ ἱδιώταις ἔστιν οἷς έγγίγνεται φιλοσοφία
tις, οὕτω καὶ ὅλω τῷ στρατεύματι ὑπὸ τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἀρχόντων εγγίγνεται καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν
καὶ τὸ φιλοτιμεῖσθαι ὁθῆναι καλὸν τι ποιοῦντας
7 ὑπὸ τοῦ άρχοντος. πρὸς οὕτω δὲ ἂν ἀρχοντα
dιατεθῶσιν οὕτως οἱ ἐπόμενοι, οὕτω δὴ ἐρρωμένοι
γε ἄρχοντες γίγνονται, οὐ μᾶ Δί οὖχ οἳ ἂν
αὐτῶν ἄριστα τὸ σῶμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔχωσι
καὶ ἀκοντίζοσι καὶ τοξεύσωσι ἄριστα καὶ ἵππουν
ἄριστον ἐχοντες ὡς ἰππικόντα τῇ πελταστι-
kώτα τα προκινδυνεύωσιν, ἀλλὰ οἳ ἂν δύνανται
ἐμποίησαι τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀκολουθητέοι εἶναι
8 καὶ διὰ πυρὸς καὶ διὰ παντὸς κινδύνου. τούτους
δὴ δικαίως ἂν τις καλοὶ μεγαλυκομένοις, οἳ ἂν
ταύτα γιγνώσκουσι πολλοὶ ἔπονται, καὶ μεγάλη
χειρὶ εἰκότως οὕτως λέγοιτο πορεύεσθαι, οὐ ἂν τῇ
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arrive with a dry skin; they hate their master and he hates them. Generals, too, differ from one another in this respect. For some make their men unwilling to work and to take risks, disinclined and unwilling to obey, except under compulsion, and actually proud of defying their commander: aye, and they cause them to have no sense of dishonour when something disgraceful occurs. Contrast the genius, the brave and scientific leader: let him take over the command of these same troops, or of others if you like. What effect has he on them? They are ashamed to do a disgraceful act, think it better to obey, and take a pride in obedience, working cheerfully, every man and all together, when it is necessary to work. Just as a love of work may spring up in the mind of a private soldier here and there, so a whole army under the influence of a good leader is inspired with love of work and ambition to distinguish itself under the commander’s eye. Let this be the feeling of the rank and file for their commander; and I tell you, he is the strong leader, he, and not the sturdiest soldier, not the best with bow and javelin, not the man who rides the best horse and is foremost in facing danger, not the ideal of knight or targeteer, but he who can make his soldiers feel that they are bound to follow him through fire and in any adventure. Him you may justly call high-minded who has many followers of like mind; and with reason may he be said to march “with a strong arm” whose

1 ἔθελοπονία Sauppe, after Stephanus.
γνώμη πολλαὶ χεῖρες ὑπηρετεῖν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ μέγας τῷ ὦντι ὦντος ἀνήρ, ὡς ἂν μεγάλα δύνηται γνώμη διαπράξασθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ρώμη.

9 Ὁὔτω δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίως ἔργοις, ἂν τε ἐπίτροπος ἢ ἡ ἐφεστηκὼς ἂν τε καὶ ἐπιστάτης, ὡς ἂν δύνηται προθύμους καὶ ἐντεταμένους παρέχεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἔργον καὶ συνεχεῖς, οὕτω δὴ οἱ ἀνώτοτές εἰσιν ἐπὶ τάγαθα καὶ πολλήν τὴν περιουσίαν ποιοῦντες. τοῦ δὲ δεσπότου ἐπιφανέντος, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔργον, ὡστὶς δύναται καὶ μέγιστα βλάψαι τὸν κακὸν τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ μέγιστα τιμῆσαι τὸν πρόθυμον, εἰ μηδὲν ἐπίδηδον ποιῆσον εἰς ἐργάται, ἐγὼ μὲν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἂν ἀγαίμην, ἀλλ' ὅπι ἂν ἰδόντες κινηθῶσι καὶ μένος ἐκάστῳ ἐμπέσῃ τῶν ἐργατῶν καὶ φιλονεικία πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ φιλοτιμία κρατίστη οὕσα ἐκάστῳ, τοῦτον ἔγω φαίνω ἂν ἐστετυ τι ἱδοὺς βασίλικοῖς καὶ ἐστὶ τοῦτο μέγιστον, ὡς ἔμοι δοκεῖ, ἐν παντὶ ἔργῳ, ὅπου τι δι' ἀνθρώπων πράττεται, καὶ ἐν γεωργίᾳ δὲ. οὐ μέντοι μὰ Δία τοῦτο γε ἐτὶ ἐγώ λέγω ἰδόντα μαθεῖν εἶναι οὐδ' ἀπαξ ἄκουσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ παιδείας δεῖν φημὶ τῷ ταῦτα μέλλοντι δυσησθαι καὶ φύσεως ἀγαθῆς ὑπάρξαι καὶ τὸ μέγιστον δὴ θείον γενέσθαι. οὐ γὰρ πάνω μοι δοκεῖ ὅλον τοῦτό τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι, ἀλλὰ θείον, τὸ ἐθελοῦντων ἄρχειν σαφῶς δὲ δίδοται τοῖς ἀληθινῶς σωφροσύνη τετελεσμένοις. τὸ δὲ ἀκόπτων τυραννεῖν διδόσιν, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὡς ἂν ἠγοῦται ἀξίους εἶναι βιοτεύειν ὕστερον ὁ Τάνταλος ἐν Ἁιδοῦ λέγεται τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον διατρίβειν φοβούμενος, μὴ δὲς ἀποθάνῃ.
will many an arm is ready to serve; and truly great is he who can do great deeds by his will rather than his strength.

"‘So too in private industries, the man in authority —bailiff or manager—who can make the workers keen, industrious and persevering—he is the man who gives a lift to the business and swells the surplus. But, Socrates, if the appearance of the master in the field, of the man who has the fullest power to punish the bad and reward the strenuous workmen, makes no striking impression on the men at work, I for one cannot envy him. But if at sight of him they bestir themselves, and a spirit of determination and rivalry and eagerness to excel falls on every workman, then I should say: this man has a touch of the kingly nature in him. And this, in my judgment, is the greatest thing in every operation that makes any demand on the labour of men, and therefore in agriculture. Mind you, I do not go so far as to say that this can be learnt at sight or at a single hearing. On the contrary, to acquire these powers a man needs education; he must be possessed of great natural gifts; above all, he must be a genius. For I reckon this gift is not altogether human, but divine—this power to win willing obedience: it is manifestly a gift of the gods to the true votaries of prudence. Despotic rule over unwilling subjects they give, I fancy, to those whom they judge worthy to live the life of Tantalus, of whom it is said that in hell he spends eternity, dreading a second death.’"
THE BANQUET
NOTE

The basis of the text both of the Symposium and of the Apologia is that of Sauppe published by B. Tauchnitz. Variations from this are indicated in the footnotes (for which I am indebted in several places to the apparatus criticus of the Oxford text edited by Marchant), except that I have made a few unnoted changes in accents and punctuation and have adopted without comment the better attested spellings ἀποθνῄσκω, ἀποτείσαι, ἐβούλετο, ἥν- in augmented forms, νεώς, οἰκτίρω, σφεῖω, -ττ (-σσ-), φῆς, Φλειάσιος. In the Symposium ii. 3 I am inclined to think that the reading should be ἐστιωμεθα. On the difficult phrase πρὸς τὸ ὁπισθεν (Symp. iv, 23) I should like to mention Dakyns’ suggestion (based on Pollux ii, 10) of περὶ τὴν ὑπήνην.
INTRODUCTION

The adventuresome days of Xenophon's earlier life were over, and though in exile from Athens, he was living peacefully, it would seem, in the western part of the Peloponnese somewhere about the year 380 B.C., at the time when he wrote the Symposium or Banquet purporting to give an account of an evening in Athens about forty years before.

Although Xenophon begins by stating that he himself attended this banquet, we are led by the fact that he nowhere appears in the ensuing discussion and by the fact of his writing so long after the supposed event to suspect that we must not consider his work as an historical document (though possibly based on an actual occurrence), but rather as an attempt to sketch the revered master, Socrates, in one of his times of social relaxation and enjoyment, and, it may have been, to present a corrective to the loftier but less realistic picture of Socrates at dinner with Agathon as drawn for us by Plato in his Symposium. In spite of the possibly fictitious nature of the conversation, however, the personages in the dialogue, with perhaps two exceptions, are all historical. Socrates, the great man who aroused such keen admiration and deep affection in Xenophon, Plato, and a large group of other men of diverse tastes and characters, is the central figure,
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around whom appear various lesser contemporaries: Callias, the giver of the feast, represented by Plato as a dilettante who patronized the sophists, and by the comic poets Aristophanes and Eupolis as a dissipated and spendthrift scion of a very wealthy family that had been prominent at Athens in war, sports, religion, and politics for nearly two centuries; Autolycus, the object of Callias’s admiration, son of the politician Lycon (who appeared twenty-two years later as one of the prosecutors of Socrates), a youth of great beauty and of some athletic prowess, one of the prize-winners at the Panathenaic games in this year (421 B.C.) and the next year subject of a comedy by Eupolis called the Autolycus, finally executed by the Thirty Tyrants; Antisthenes, follower of Gorgias the sophist and of Socrates, afterward founder of the Cynic school of philosophy; Niceratus, son of the wealthy general Nicias (who perished in the ill-advised Syracusan expedition about seven years after the events of this evening), represented here as newly married to an Athenian girl who, we are told elsewhere, would not survive her husband when he was killed by the Thirty Tyrants; Critobulus, son of Socrates’ faithful friend Crito; Hermogenes, probably the brother of Callias, mentioned by Plato as having failed to receive his share of the ancestral wealth; Charmides, uncle of Plato and a favourite of Socrates; and two persons otherwise unknown to us, Philip the buffoon and the Syracusan.

Not only are the personages all, or nearly all, historical, but the setting and the action are circumstantial and realistic. The time was the summer of 421 B.C., just after the greater Panathenaic games,—an ancient festival to Athena held every year,
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but every fourth year with special munificence, comprising contests for various kinds of athletes and musicians, and culminating in the brilliant and stately procession of men and maidens, sacrificial victims, charioteers, and cavalrymen that had been immortalized only a few years before this time by Pheidias and his craftsmen in the magnificent Ionic frieze of the Parthenon. Socrates and his friends are invited by Callias in holiday spirit, on the spur of the moment, to attend a banquet which he is about to give to Autolycus and his father. Everything is informal,—the various rambling remarks and bandied pleasurites, the unceremonious interruption by Philip the jester, the entertainment offered by the Syracusan and his trained troupe, and then the more systematic presentation by each man of his special contribution to the common weal, followed by the pantomime. It is hardly worth while to compare this real and vital scene with the jejune Banquets of later men, mere stalking-horses for the philosophical disquisitions of an Epicurus, the miscellaneous of a Plutarch or an Athenaeus, or the antiquarian pilferings of a Macrobius; one rather turns to a work nearer in time and in essence, the Symposium of Plato, written apparently about 385 b.c., doubtless only a few years before the work of Xenophon. As might well have been expected, we do not reach in Xenophon the same exalted level of inspiration and poetical feeling that we do in Plato’s representation of the banqueters’ discussion of Love, but we feel rather the atmosphere of actual, ordinary disputation among men not keyed up to any high pitch of fervour; we do not have so well-developed or so formal or so long-sustained philosophical debate,
but we enjoy a feeling of reality in the evening's event, of seeing more vividly than in Plato just how an Athenian banquet was conducted. And so, if we desire to supplement and correct the realism of the comedians and see the ordinary Athenians in their times of relaxation, we can hardly do better than view them in these pages of Xenophon. There is an Attic grace and restraint, also, in Xenophon that has made his works charming to ancient and to modern alike.
ΣΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΣΥΜΠΟΣΙΟΝ

I. 'Αλλ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα οὐ μόνον τὰ μετὰ σπουδῆς πραττόμενα ἄξιομνημόνευτα εἶναι ἁλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς παι-διαῖς. οίς δὲ παραγενόμενοι ταύτα γιγνώσκω δηλώσαι βούλομαι.

2 Ἡν μὲν γὰρ Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων ἱππο-δρομία, Καλλίας δὲ ὁ Ἰππονίκου ἐρῶν ἑτύγχανεν Ἀὐτολύκου παιδὸς ὄντος, καὶ νευκηκότα αὐτὸν παγκράτιον ἤκεν ἄγων ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν. ὥς δὲ ἡ ἱπποδρομία ἐληξεν, ἐχὼν τὸν τε Ἀὐτόλυκου καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀπῆκε εἰς τὴν ἐν Πειραιεὶ οἰκίαν.

3 συνείπετο δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Νικήρατος. ἰδὼν δὲ ὁμοῦ ὄντας Σωκράτην τε καὶ Κριτόβουλον καὶ Ἑρμο-γένην καὶ Ἀντισθένην καὶ Χαρμίδην, τοῖς μὲν ἀμφό Ἀὐτόλυκον ἤγείσθαι τινα ἐταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ

4 προσῆλθε τοῖς ἀμφὶ Σωκράτην, καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰς καλὸν γε υἱῶν συντετύχηκα· ἐστιαν γὰρ μέλλω Ἀὐτόλυκον καὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. οἶμαι οὖν πολὺ ἄν τὴν κατασκευὴν μοι λαμπροτέραν φανῆ- ναι εἰ ἀνδράσιν ἐκκεκαθαρμένοις τὰς ψυχὰς ὥσπερ υἱῶν ὁ ἀνδρῶν κεκοσμημένος εἰς μᾶλλον ἢ εἰ στρατηγοῖς καὶ ἱππάρχοις καὶ σπουδαρχίαις.
XENOPHON’S BANQUET

I. To my mind it is worth while to relate not only the serious acts of great and good men but also what they do in their lighter moods. I should like to narrate an experience of mine that gives me this conviction.

It was on the occasion of the horse-races at the greater Panathenaic games; Callias, Hipponicus’ son, was enamoured, as it happened, of the boy Autolycus, and in honour of his victory in the pancratium had brought him to see the spectacle. When the racing was over, Callias proceeded on his way to his house in the Peiracu with Autolycus and the boy’s father; Niceratus also was in his company. But on catching sight of a group comprising Socrates, Critobulus, Hermogenes, Antisthenes, and Charmides, Callias bade one of his servants escort Autolycus and the others, and himself going over to Socrates and his companions, said, “This is an opportune meeting, for I am about to give a dinner in honour of Autolycus and his father; and I think that my entertainment would present a great deal more brilliance if my dining-room were graced with the presence of men like you, whose hearts have undergone philosophy’s purification, than it would with generals and cavalry commanders and office-seekers.”

1 The pancratium was a severe athletic contest involving a combination of boxing and wrestling, and requiring on the part of the contestants unusual physique and condition. There were separate events open to men and to boys.
5 Καὶ ὁ ᾿Οσκράτης εἶπεν: Ἀεὶ σὺ ἐπισκόπτεσ ἡμᾶς καταφρονῶν ὅτι σὺ μὲν Πρωταγόρα τε πολὺ ἀργύριον δέδωκας ἐπὶ σοφία καὶ Γοργία καὶ Προδίκῳ καὶ ἅλλοις πολλοῖς, ἡμᾶς δ’ ὅρας αὐτουργοὺς τινας τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁντας.

6 Καὶ ὁ Κάλλιας, Καὶ πρόσθεν μὲν γε, ἕφη, ἀπεκρυπτόμην ὑμᾶς ἔχων πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγειν, νῦν δὲ, ἔαν παρ’ ἐμοὶ ἒτε, ἐπιδείξω ὑμῖν ἐμαντὸν πάνυ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἁξίων ὁντα.

7 Οἱ οὖν ἄμφι τὸν ᾿Οσκράτην πρῶτον μὲν ὦσπερ εἰκὸς ἢν ἐπαινοῦτες τὴν κλῆσιν οὐχ ὑπισχυόντο συνδειπνήσειν ὡς δὲ πάνυ ἀχθόμενος φανερὸς ἦν εἰ μὴ ἐψοιντό, συνηκολούθησαν. ἔπειτα δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν γυμνασάμενοι καὶ χρισάμενοι, οἱ δὲ καὶ λουσάμενοι παρῆλθον. Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο, οἱ δ’ ἅλλοι ὦσπερ εἰκὸς κατεκλίθησαν.

Εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐννοῆσας τις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἡγήσατ’ ἄν φύσει βασιλικὸν τι τὸ κάλλος εἶναι, ἅλλως τε καὶ ἦν μετ’ αἴδοις καὶ σωφροσύνης καθάπερ Αὐτόλυκος τότε κεκτήταί τις αὐτό. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ὦσπερ ὅταν φέγγοις τι ἐν νυκτὶ φαίνη, πάντων προσάγεται τὰ ὄμματα, οὕτω καὶ τότε τοῦ Αὐτόλυκου τὸ κάλλος πάντων εἰλκε τὰς ὦψεις πρὸς αὐτὸν. ἔπειτα τῶν ὀρόμων οὐδεὶς οὐκ ἔπασχε τι τὴν ψυχὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου· οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίγνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντο

1 ἐννοῆσας τις Αριστείδης; ἐννοῆσας MSS.
"You are always quizzing us," replied Socrates; "for you have yourself paid a good deal of money for wisdom to Protagoras, Gorgias, Prodicus, and many others, while you see that we are what you might call amateurs in philosophy; and so you feel supercilious toward us."

"Yes," said Callias, "so far, I admit, I have been keeping you ignorant of my ability at profound and lengthy discourse; but now, if you will favour me with your company, I will prove to you that I am a person of some consequence."

Now at first Socrates and his companions thanked him for the invitation, as might be expected, but would not promise to attend the banquet; when it became clear, however, that he was taking their refusal very much to heart, they went with him. And so his guests arrived, some having first taken their exercise and their rub-down, others with the addition of a bath. Autolycus took a seat by his father's side; the others, of course, reclined.  

A person who took note of the course of events would have come at once to the conclusion that beauty is in its essence something regal, especially when, as in the present case of Autolycus, its possessor joins with it modesty and sobriety. For in the first place, just as the sudden glow of a light at night draws all eyes to itself, so now the beauty of Autolycus compelled every one to look at him. And again, there was not one of the onlookers who did not feel his soul strangely stirred by the boy; some of them grew quieter than before, others even

1 Attic reliefs depicting banquet scenes show that it was customary for the men to recline at table, but for the women and children, if present, to sit.
10 πως. πάντες μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐκ θεῶν τοῦ κατεχόμενοι ἀξιοθέατοι δοκοῦσιν εἶναι· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἔξ ἀλλων πρὸς τὸ γοργότεροι τε ὄρασθαι καὶ φοβερότερον φθέγγεσθαι καὶ σφοδρότεροι εἶναι φέρονται, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ σώφρονος "Ερωτος ἐνθεοὶ τὰ τε ὅμματα φιλοφρονεστέρως ἔχουσι καὶ τὴν φωνὴν πραστε- 

11 ραν ποιοῦνται καὶ τὰ σχῆματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθερώ- 

τατον ἄγουσιν. ἄ δὴ καὶ Καλλίας τότε διὰ τὸν Ἀρωτα πράττων ἀξιοθέατος ἦν τοῖς τετελεσμένοις 
τούτῳ τῷ θεῷ.
11 'Εκεῖνοι μὲν οὖν σιωπῇ ἐδείπνουν, ὡσπερ τούτῳ 
ἐπιτεταγμένων αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ κρείττονός τινος. Φί- 
λιππος δ' ὁ γελωτοποιὸς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἴπε 
τῷ ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγείλαι ὃστις τε εἰῇ καὶ διότι 
κατάγεσθαι βούλοιτος συνεσκευασμένος τε παρει- 

12 ναι ἐφ' πάντα τᾶπιτηδεία—ὡστε δειπνεῖν τὰλ- 

λότρια, καὶ τὸν παίδα δὲ ἐφ' πάνν πιέζεσθαι διὰ 

tε τὸ φέρειν—μηδὲν καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνάριστον εἶναι.
12 ὁ οὖν Καλλίας ἀκούσας ταῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ 

μέντοι, ὃ ἄνδρες, αἰσχρὸν στέγης γε φθονῆσαι· 

εἰσίτω οὖν. καὶ ἄμα ἄπεβλεψεν εἰς τὸν Λυτό- 

λυκον, δὴλον ὅτι ἐπισκοπῶν τί ἐκείνῳ δόξει τὸ 
13 σκόμμα ἐἶναι. ὃ δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τῷ ἄνδρῶν ἐνθα τὸ 

δείπνουν ἥν εἶπεν· "Οτι μὲν γελωτοποιὸς εἰμὶ ἱστε 

πάντες· ἣκω δὲ προθύμως νομίσας γελοιότερον 

εἶναι τὸ ἀκλήτου ἡ τὸ κεκλημένον ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ 

dείπνουν. Κατακλίνοι τοῖςν, ἐφ' ὁ Καλλίας· 

καὶ γὰρ οἱ παρόντες σπουδῆς μὲν, ὡς ὅρας, μεστοὶ, 

γέλωτος δὲ ὦσως ἐνδεέστεροι.
assumed some kind of a pose. Now it is true that all who are under the influence of any of the gods seem well worth gazing at; but whereas those who are possessed of the other gods have a tendency to be sterner of countenance, more terrifying of voice, and more vehement, those who are inspired by chaste Love have a more tender look, subdue their voices to more gentle tones, and assume a supremely noble bearing. Such was the demeanour of Callias at this time under the influence of Love; and therefore he was an object well worth the gaze of those initiated into the worship of this god.

The company, then, were feasting in silence, as though some one in authority had commanded them to do so, when Philip the buffoon knocked at the door and told the porter to announce who he was and that he desired to be admitted; he added that with regard to food he had come all prepared, in all varieties—to dine on some other person’s,—and that his servant was in great distress with the load he carried of—nothing, and with having an empty stomach. Hearing this, Callias said, “Well, gentlemen, we cannot decently begrudge him at the least the shelter of our roof; so let him come in.” With the words he cast a glance at Autolycus, obviously trying to make out what he had thought of the pleasantry. But Philip, standing at the threshold of the men’s hall where the banquet was served, announced: “You all know that I am a jester; and so I have come here with a will, thinking it more of a joke to come to your dinner uninvited than to come by invitation.” “Well, then,” said Callias, “take a place; for the guests, though well fed, as you observe, on seriousness, are perhaps rather ill supplied with laughter.”
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14 Δειπνοῦντων δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Φίλιππος γελοιόν τι εὐθὺς ἐπεχείρει λέγειν, ἵνα δὴ ἐπιτελοῖ ὄντερ ἐνεκα ἑκαλεῖτο ἐκάστοτε ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα. ὡς δ' οὖκ ἐκώνησε γέλωτα, τότε μὲν ἀχθεσθεὶς φανερὸς ἐγένετο. ἀυθίς δ' ὀλίγον ὄστερον ἄλλο τι γελοιοῦν ἐβοῦλετο λέγειν. ὡς δὲ οὐδε τότε ἐγέλασαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ παυσάμενοι τοῦ δείπνου

15 συγκαλυψάμενος κατέκειτο. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας, Τί τοῦτ', ἐφη, ὁ Φίλιππε; ἀλλ' ἢ ὀδύνη σε εἴληφε; καὶ ὁς ἀναστέναξας εἴπε, Ναι μὰ Δί', ἐφη, ὁ Καλλία, μεγάλη γε' ἐπεί γὰρ γέλως εξ ἀνθρώ-πων ἀπόλωλεν, ἔρρει τὰ ἐμὰ πράγματα. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο ἐνεκα ἑκαλούμην ἐπὶ τὰ δεῖπνα ἵνα εὐφραίνουντο οἱ συνόντες δι' ἐμὲ γελώντες νῦν δὲ τίνος ἐνεκα καὶ καλεῖ μὲ τις; οὔτε γὰρ ἐγώγε σπουδάσαι ἂν δυναῖμην μᾶλλον ὢπερ ἀθάνατος γενέσθαι, οὔτε μὴν ὡς ἀντικλησάμενος καλεῖ μὲ τις, ἐπεὶ πάντες ἰσασίν ὡτὶ ἀρχὴν οὖδὲ νομίζε-ται εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν οἰκίαν δεῖπνον εἰσφέρεσθαι. καὶ ἁμα λέγων ταῦτα ἀπεμύθτετο τε καὶ τῇ φωνῇ

16 σαφῶς κλαίειν ἐφάϊνετο. πάντες μὲν οὖν παρ-ἐμυθοῦντο τε αὐτῶν ὡς αὐθίς γελασόμενοι καὶ δειπνεῖν ἐκέλευον, Κριτόβουλος δὲ καὶ ἔξεκάγχα-σευ ἐπὶ τῷ οἰκτισμῷ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δ' ὡς ἂσθετο τοῦ γέλωτος, ἀνεκαλύψατο τε καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ παρακε-λευσάμενος θαρρεῖν, ὃτι ἐσονται συμβολαί, πάλιν ἐδείπνει.

II. Ὡς δ' ἀφηρέθησαν αἱ τράπεζαι καὶ ἔσπει-

1 Philip puns on the ambiguous συμβολαί, which means either hostile encounters or a banquet to which the viands
No sooner were they engaged in their dinner than Philip attempted a witticism, with a view to rendering the service that secured him all his dinner engagements; but on finding that he did not excite any laughter, he showed himself, for the time, considerably vexed. A little later, however, he must try another jest; but when they would not laugh at him this time either, he stopped while the dinner was in full swing, covered his head with his cloak, and lay down on his couch. "What does this mean, Philip?" Callias inquired. "Are you seized with a pain?" Philip replied with a groan, "Yes, Callias, by Heaven, with a severe one; for since laughter has perished from the world, my business is ruined. For in times past, the reason why I got invitations to dinner was that I might stir up laughter among the guests and make them merry; but now, what will induce any one to invite me? For I could no more turn serious than I could become immortal; and certainly no one will invite me in the hope of a return invitation, as every one knows that there is not a vestige of tradition of bringing dinner into my house." As he said this, he wiped his nose, and to judge by the sound, he was evidently weeping. All tried to comfort him with the promise that they would laugh next time, and urged him to eat; and Critobulus actually burst out into a guffaw at his lugubrious moaning. The moment Philip heard the laughter he uncovered his head, and exhorting his spirit to be of good courage, in view of approaching engagements, he fell to eating again.

II. When the tables had been removed and the are contributed by the guests. His exhortation to his spirit is quite Odyssean.
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σάν τε καὶ επαινισαν, ἔρχεται αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ κῶμον Συρακόσιος τις1 ἀνθρωπός, ἔχων τε αὐλητρίδα ἀγαθήν καὶ ὤρχηστρίδα τῶν τὰ θαῦματα δυναμένων ποιεῖν, καὶ παῖδα πάνυ γε ὄφαιον καὶ πάνυ καλῶς κιθαρίζοντα καὶ ὄρχούμενον. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐπιδεικνύεις ὡς ἐν θαῦματι ἄργυριον ἑλάμβανεν.

2 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ αὐλητρίς μὲν ηὐλησεν, ὦ δὲ παῖς ἐκιθάρισε, καὶ ἔδοκον μάλα ἄμφοτεροι ἰκανῶς εὐφραίνειν, εἰπεν ὁ Σωκράτης: Νὴ Δι', ὦ Καλλία, τελέως ἡμᾶς ἐστιάς. οὐ γὰρ μόνον δεῖπνον ἄμεμπτον παρέθηκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάματα καὶ

3 ἀκροάματα ἦδιστα παρέχεις. καὶ ὃς ἔφη, Τί οὖν εἰ καὶ μύρον τις ἡμῖν ἐνέγκου, ἵνα καὶ εὐωδία ἐστιώμεθα; Μηδαμώς, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης. ἀσπέρ γὰρ τοι ἔσθης ἀλλή μὲν γυναῖκι, ἀλλή δὲ ἄνδρι καλῆ, οὕτω καὶ ἁμη ἀλλή μὲν ἄνδρι, ἀλλή δὲ γυναίκι πρέπει. καὶ γὰρ ἄνδρος μὲν δὴπον ἐνεκα ἀνήρ οὐδεὶς μῦρῳ χρίεται. αἱ μέντοι γυναῖκες, ἀλλωστε καὶ ἦν νῦμφαι τύχωσιν οὕσαι, ὀσπέρ ἡ Νικηράτου τοῦδε καὶ ἡ Κριτοβοῦλον, μύρον μὲν τί καὶ προσδέονται; αὐταὶ γὰρ τούτον ὄξουσιν ἐλαίου δὲ τοῦ ἐν γυμνασίοις ὁσμή καὶ παροῦσα ἡδίων ἡ μύρον γυναῖξι καὶ ἀπούσα ποθεινότερα.

4 καὶ γὰρ δὴ μῦρῳ μὲν ὁ ἀλευψάμενος καὶ δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος εὔθυς ἄπας ὀμοῦν ὤξεν: αἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ἐλευθερίων μόχθων ὁσμαί ἐπιτηδευμάτων τε

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1 Sauppe follows one MS. in placing τις after ἔρχεται.

1 For the bride of Niceratus, see Introduction, p. 377.
2 Perfumes were used at marriage by both bride and groom.
guests had poured a libation and sung a hymn, there entered a man from Syracuse, to give them an evening's merriment. He had with him a fine flute-girl, a dancing-girl—one of those skilled in acrobatic tricks,—and a very handsome boy, who was expert at playing the either and at dancing; the Syracusan made money by exhibiting their performances as a spectacle. They now played for the assemblage, the flute-girl on the flute, the boy on the either; and it was agreed that both furnished capital amusement. Thereupon Socrates remarked: "On my word, Callias, you are giving us a perfect dinner; for not only have you set before us a feast that is above criticism, but you are also offering us very delightful sights and sounds." "Suppose we go further," said Callias, "and have some one bring us some perfume, so that we may dine in the midst of pleasant odours, also." "No, indeed!" replied Socrates. "For just as one kind of dress looks well on a woman and another kind on a man, so the odours appropriate to men and to women are diverse. No man, surely, ever uses perfume for a man's sake. And as for the women, particularly if they chance to be young brides, like the wives of Niceratus 1 here and Critobulus, how can they want any additional perfume? For that is what they are redolent of, themselves. 2 The odour of the olive oil, on the other hand, that is used in the gymnasmium is more delightful when you have it on your flesh than perfume is to women, and when you lack it, the want of it is more keenly felt. Indeed, so far as perfume is concerned, when once a man has anointed himself with it, the scent forthwith is all one whether he be slave or free; but the odours that result from
πρῶτον χρηστῶν¹ καὶ χρόνου πολλοῦ δέονται, εἰ μέλλουσιν ἥδειαί τε καὶ ἐλευθέριον ἑσεσθαί.

Καὶ ὁ Δύκων εἶπεν· Οὐκοῦν νέοις μὲν ἄν εἰη ταῦτα· ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς μηκέτι γυμναζομένους τίνος ὀξεῖν δείησεί;

Καλοκάγαθίας νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης.
Καὶ πόθεν ἂν τις τοῦτο τὸ χρῖμα λάβοι;
Οὐ μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐ παρὰ τῶν μυρπωλῶν.
'Αλλὰ πόθεν δὴ;
'Ὁ μὲν Θέογνις ἑφη,

'Εσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἀπ' ἑσθλὰ διδάξεια· ἦν δὲ κακοίσι
συμμίσγης, ἀπολείς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον.

5  Καὶ ὁ Δύκων εἶπεν, 'Ακούεις ταῦτα, ὦ νιέ;
Ναὶ μὰ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ χρῆται γε.
ἐπεὶ γοῦν νικηφόρος ἐβούλετο τοῦ παγκρατίου
gενέσθαι, σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος . . . σὺν σοὶ
σκεψάμενος² αὐ, ὃς ἄν δοκῇ αὐτῷ ἴκανότατος
eῖναι εἰς τὸ ταῦτα ἐπιτηδεύσαι, τοὺς συνέσται.

6  'Ενταῦθα δὴ πολλοὶ ἐφθέγξαντο· καὶ ὁ μὲν τις
αὐτῶν εἶπε, Ποῦ οὖν εὐρίσχει τοῦτον διδάσκαλον;
ὁ δὲ τις ὡς οὐδὲ διδακτὸν τοῦτο εἶη, ἐτερος δὲ
tις ὡς εἶπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο καὶ τοῦτο μαθητῶν.³ ὁ
dὲ Σωκράτης ἑφη· Τοῦτο μὲν ἐπειδὴ ἀμφιλογὸν

¹ πρῶτον χρηστῶν Athenaeus; πρῶτον MSS.
² The MSS. read σὺν σοὶ σκεψάμενος only once. There is obviously something else lost from the text, for the approximate sense of which see the translation.
³ μαθητῶν Stephanus; μαθητέον MSS.
the exertions of freemen demand primarily noble pursuits engaged in for many years if they are to be sweet and suggestive of freedom."

"That may do for young fellows," observed Lycon; "but what of us who no longer exercise in the gymnasia? What should be our distinguishing scent?"

"Nobility of soul, surely!" replied Socrates.

"And where may a person get this ointment?"

"Certainly not from the perfumers," said Socrates.

"But where, then?"

"Theognis has said: ¹

'Good men teach good; society with bad
Will but corrupt the good mind that you had.'"

"Do you hear that, my son?" asked Lycon.

"Yes, indeed he does," said Socrates; "and he puts it into practice, too. At any rate, when he desired to become a prize-winner in the pancratium, [he availed himself of your help to discover the champions in that sport and associated with them; and so, if he desires to learn the ways of virtue,]² he will again with your help seek out the man who seems to him most proficient in this way of life and will associate with him."

Thereupon there was a chorus of voices. "Where will he find an instructor in this subject?" said one. Another maintained that it could not be taught at all. A third asserted that this could be learned if anything could. "Since this is a debatable matter," suggested Socrates, "let us reserve it for another

¹ Theognis 35 f. (with μαθήσεαι for δίδαξεις).
² The words in brackets are meant to represent approximately the sense of words that have been lost in the manuscripts.
8 Ἐκ τούτου δὴ ηὔλει μὲν αὐτῇ ἢ ἐτέρα, παρεστη-κὼς δὲ τις τῇ ὀρχηστρίδᾳ ἀνεδίδου τοὺς τροχοὺς μέχρι δώδεκα. ἢ δὲ λαμβάνουσα ἀμα τῷ ὀρχεῖτο καὶ ἀνερρίπτει δονουμένους συντεκμαιρομένη ὅσον ἐδεῖ ῥιπτεῖν ύψος ὡς ἐν ρυθμῷ δέχεσθαι αὐτοῖς.

9 Καὶ ὁ Ἐξακράτης εἶπεν: Ἕν πολλοῖς μὲν, ὃ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἄλλοις δῆλον καὶ ἐν οἷς δὴ ἡ παῖς ποιεῖ ὅτι ἡ γυναικεία φύσις οὐδὲν χείρων τῆς τοῦ ἄνδρος οὕσα τυγχάνει, γυνώμης δὲ καὶ ἴσχυος δείται. ὡστε εἰ τις ὑμῶν γυναῖκα ἔχει, θαρρῶν διδασκέτω ὦ τι βούλοιτ' ἀν αὐτῇ ἐπισταμένη χρῆσθαι.

10 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Πῶς οὖν, ἐφη, ὁ Ἐξακράτης, οὔτω γυνώσκων ὥσ καὶ σὺ παιδεύεις Ἐαυθίπτην, ἄλλα χρή γυναικὶ τῶν οὕσων, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων, χαλεπωτάτη; Ὅτι, ἐφη, ὅρω καὶ τοὺς ἱππικοὺς βούλομένους γενέσθαι οὐ τοὺς εὐπειθεστάτους ἄλλα τοὺς θυ-μοειδεῖς ἱπποὺς κτωμένους. νομίζουσι γὰρ, ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους δύνωνται κατέχειν, ῥαδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἱπποῖς χρήσεσθαι. κἂγὼ δὴ βούλομένους ἄνθρωποις χρῆσθαι καὶ ὁμιλεῖν ταύτην κέκτημαι, εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι εἰ ταύτην ὑποίσω, ῥαδίως τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ἀπασίν ἄνθρωποις συνέσομαι.

Καὶ οὕτως μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὐκ ἀπὸ ¹ τοῦ σκοποῦ ἐδοξεῖν εἰρήσθαι.

¹ ἀπὸ Sauppe.
time; for the present let us finish what we have on hand. For I see that the dancing girl here is standing ready, and that some one is bringing her some hoops."

At that, the other girl began to accompany the dancer on the flute, and a boy at her elbow handed her up the hoops until he had given her twelve. She took these and as she danced kept throwing them whirling into the air, observing the proper height to throw them so as to catch them in a regular rhythm.

As Socrates looked on he remarked: "This girl's feat, gentlemen, is only one of many proofs that woman's nature is really not a whit inferior to man's, except in its lack of judgment and physical strength. So if any one of you has a wife, let him confidently set about teaching her whatever he would like to have her know."

"If that is your view, Socrates," asked Antisthenes, "how does it come that you don't practise what you preach by yourself educating Xanthippe, but live with a wife who is the hardest to get along with of all the women there are—yes, or all that ever were, I suspect, or ever will be?"

"Because," he replied, "I observe that men who wish to become expert horsemen do not get the most docile horses but rather those that are high-mettled, believing that if they can manage this kind, they will easily handle any other. My course is similar. Mankind at large is what I wish to deal and associate with; and so I have got her, well assured that if I can endure her, I shall have no difficulty in my relations with all the rest of human kind."

These words, in the judgment of the guests, did not go wide of the mark.
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11 Μετὰ δὲ τούτο κύκλος εἰσήνεξα η διρίμεστος κτισμάτα τε καὶ ἑξεκυβιστά ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ὥστε οἱ μὲν θεώμενοι ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ τι πάθη, ἢ δὲ θαρροῦν τε καὶ ἄσφαλῶς ταῦτα διεπράττετο.

12 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης καλέσας τὸν Ἀντισθένην εἶπεν: Ὡς τούτο τὸς γε θεωμένος τάδε ἀντιλέξειν ἐτι οἴομαι ὡς οὐχί καὶ ἢ ἀνδρεία διδακτόν, ὅποτε αὐτὴ καῖπερ γυνὴ ὑσά σα οὕτω τολμηρῶς εἰς τὰ ξέφη ἦταν.

13 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπεν: Ἄρτον ὡς καὶ τῶδε τῷ Συρακοσίῳ κράτιστον ἐπιδέξαντι τῇ πόλει τὴν ὁρχηστρίαν εἶπεῖν, ἐὰν διδῶσιν αὐτῷ Ἀθηναίοι, χρήματα, ποίήσειν πάντας Ἀθηναίοις τολμᾶν ὀμόσε ταῖς λόγχαις ἴναι;

14 Καὶ ὁ Φίλιππος, Ὡ Αἴτη, ἔφη, καὶ μὴν ἔγκλω σὴ ἡδίνοις ἀν θεώμην Πείσανδρον τὸν δημηγόρον μανθάνοντα κυβιστᾶν εἰς τὰς μαχαῖρας, ὅσ νῦν διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι λόγχας ἀντιβλέπειν οὔδὲ συστρατεύσθαι ἑθέλει.

15 Ἐκ τούτου ὁ παῖς ὀρχηστάτο, καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης εἶπει, Ἐιδέτ, ἔφη, ὡς καλὸς ὁ παῖς ὃν ὀμῶς σὺν τοῖς σκίμασιν ἐτὶ καλλίων ϕαίνεται ἡ ὅταν ἦσυχαν ἐχή; Ἐπαινοῦντι ἐοικας τὸν ὁρχηστοδιδάσκαλον.

16 Ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί’, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ γὰρ ἄλλο
But now there was brought in a hoop set all around with upright swords; over these the dancer turned somersaults into the hoop and out again, to the dismay of the onlookers, who thought that she might suffer some mishap. She, however, went through this performance fearlessly and safely.

Then Socrates, drawing Antisthenes' attention, said: “Witnesses of this feat, surely, will never again deny, I feel sure, that courage, like other things, admits of being taught, when this girl, in spite of her sex, leaps so boldly in among the swords!”

“Well, then,” asked Antisthenes, “had this Syracusan not better exhibit his dancer to the city and announce that if the Athenians will pay him for it he will give all the men of Athens the courage to face the spear?”

“Well said!” interjected Philip. “I certainly should like to see Peisander the politician learning to turn somersaults among the knives; for, as it is now, his inability to look spears in the face makes him shrink even from joining the army.”

At this point the boy performed a dance, eliciting from Socrates the remark, “Did you notice that, handsome as the boy is, he appears even handsomer in the poses of the dance than when he is at rest?”

“It looks to me,” said Charmides, “as if you were puffing the dancing-master.”

“Assuredly,” replied Socrates; “and I remarked

1 Peisander, a demagogue of some power in the unsettled times of the Peloponnesian War, had a number of weak points, especially his military record, which were exposed by the comic poets Eupolis, Hermippus, Plato, and Aristophanes. Cf. Aristophanes Birds, 1553 ff.
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ti prossevenonasa, onti oudeiv argyon tov sōmatos en tē orxhisei hy, all' ama kai tráxhlos kai skell' kai cheires egumnavontos, oster per xhr' orxhisei tōn mέllonta euforonteron to swma exein. kai enw mēn, eph, pānu an ἤδεως, o Συρακόσιε, máthouμi tā σχήμata para σου.

Kai oś, Ti ouv̂ chrīsei autōis; eph.
'Orxhīsoumai un' Δia.

17 'Entaūtha dē eglēsasān āpantēs. kai o' Σωκρά-
tis māla ēstpooudakōtī tō proswpō, Gelatē, eph, ept' emoi; pōteron ēpt tōutō ei boūlomai γυμνα-
ζόmenos μάllon υγιαίνειn h ei ἤδιon ἐσθειεi kai
kathedēi n h ei toiootōn γυμνασίωn episthēmō, nī
ōster oī doλiχοδρόμoī tā skelē nēn paχy-
νontai, tōus dē ōmous lepτūnontai, mēd' oster
oi pūktai tōus mēn ōmous paχyνontai, tā dē
skelē lepτūnontai, allla pauti diapouwō tō
sōmati pān iσorrhopon poiei' n' epi' ekēi'v
gelatē onti on' dehīsei mea syngumnavsthn ἕπτειν,
oud' on' xhlo presebūtēn ontā apodvēsthai, all'
arkēsei moi oïkos epstáklinos, oster kai vn̂
tōde tō paiḍi ἥρκese tōde to oikyma enidrōswai,
kaı chœmwnos meo' on stēgy γυμνασμοai, onan dē

18 anγan kaûma h, en skia; h tōde gelatē, ei mei̇zw
τοῦ kairou tēn γαστῆρα ἔχων metriwstērav boūlo-
μai poïhsei autīn; h oik ἵστε oti enagχos
wthēn Xarmīdhs ou̇tōsī kαtēlabē me ἄρχου-
menon;

Nai ma tōn Δi', eph o Xarmīdhs· kai tō mev ge


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something else, too,—that no part of his body was idle during the dance, but neck, legs, and hands were all active together. And that is the way a person must dance who intends to increase the suppleness of his body. And for myself," he continued, addressing the Syracusan, "I should be delighted to learn the figures from you."

"What use will you make of them?" the other asked.

"I will dance, forsooth."

This raised a general laugh; but Socrates, with a perfectly grave expression on his face, said: "You are laughing at me, are you? Is it because I want to exercise to better my health? Or because I want to take more pleasure in my food and my sleep? Or is it because I am eager for such exercises as these, not like the long-distance runners, who develop their legs at the expense of their shoulders, nor like the prize-fighters, who develop their shoulders but become thin-legged, but rather with a view to giving my body a symmetrical development by exercising it in every part? Or are you laughing because I shall not need to hunt up a partner to exercise with, or to strip, old as I am, in a crowd, but shall find a moderate-sized room\(^1\) large enough for me (just as but now this room was large enough for the lad here to get up a sweat in), and because in winter I shall exercise under cover, and when it is very hot, in the shade? Or is this what provokes your laughter, that I have an unduly large paunch and wish to reduce it? Don't you know that just the other day Charmides here caught me dancing early in the morning?"

"Indeed I did," said Charmides; "and at first I
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πρῶτον ἐξεπλάγην καὶ ἔδεισα μὴ μαίνοιο. ἐπεὶ δὲ σου ἥκουσα ὡμοία ὡς νῦν λέγεις, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔλθον οὐκαδε ὁρχοῦμην μὲν οὐ, οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τούτ ἐμαθον, ἐχειρονόμοιον δὲ ταῦτα γὰρ ἡπιστάμην.

20 Νη Δι', ἐφή ὁ Φιλιππος, καὶ γὰρ οὖν οὖν τὰ σκέλη τοῖς ὁμοίοις φαίνῃ ἰσοφόρα ἐχειν ὡστε δοκεῖ σὲ ἐμοὶ, καὶ εἰ τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις ἀφισταῖς ἀφίσσεται τὰ κάτω πρὸς τὰ ἀνω, ἀξίμιος ἂν γενέσθαι.

Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας εἶπεν. 'Ο Σώκρατεσ, ἐμὲ μὲν παρακάλει, ὅταν μέλλησι μανθάνειν ὀρχεῖσθαι, ἴνα σοι ἀντιστοιχῶ τε καὶ συμμαθάνων.

21 Ἀγε δὴ, ἐφή ὁ Φιλιππος, καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐλησάτω, ἴνα καὶ ἐγὼ ὀρχήσωμαι.

'Επειδὴ δ' ἀνέστη, διήλθε μυρούμενος τὴν τε τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ τὴν τῆς παιδὸς ὀρχησίν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἐπήνεσαν ὡς ὁ παῖς σὺν τοῖς σχήμασιν ἔτι καλλίων ἐφαίνετο, ἀνταπέδειξεν ὁ τι κινοὶ τοῦ σώματος ἀπαν τῆς φύσεως γελοιότερον ὅτι δ' ἡ παῖς εἰς τούπισθεν καμπτομένη τροχοὺς ἐμείη- το, ἐκεῖνος ταῦτα εἰς τὸ ἐμπροσθεν ἐπικύπτων μυμεῖσθαι ἐπειράτο. τέλος δ' ὅτι τὸν παιδ έπήνουν ὡς ἐν τῇ ὀρχήσει ἀπαν τὸ σῶμα γυμνά- ζοι, κελεύσας τὴν αὐλητρίδα θάττονα ῥυθμὸν ἐπώγειν ἰει ἀμα πάντα καὶ σκέλη καὶ χείρας καὶ κεφαλήν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπειρήκει, κατακλινόμενος

1 ἀφισταῖς Mehler; ἀφιστάφης MSS.
2 The MSS. add τροχοὺς, which Bornemann deleted.

1 Since the Athenians were dependent largely on imported grain, they developed an elaborate system of regulations, administered by several sets of officials, to protect the consumers.
was dumbfounded and feared that you were going stark mad; but when I heard you say much the same thing as you did just now, I myself went home, and although I did not dance, for I had never learned how, I practised shadow-boxing, for I knew how to do that."

"Undoubtedly," said Philip; "at any rate, your legs appear so nearly equal in weight to your shoulders that I imagine if you were to go to the market commissioners and put your lower parts in the scale against your upper parts, as if they were loaves of bread, they would let you off without a fine."

"When you are ready to begin your lessons, Socrates," said Callias, "pray invite me, so that I may be opposite you in the figures and may learn with you."

"Come," said Philip, "let me have some flute music, so that I may dance too."

So he got up and mimicked in detail the dancing of both the boy and the girl. To begin with, since the company had applauded the way the boy's natural beauty was increased by the grace of the dancing postures, Philip made a burlesque out of the performance by rendering every part of his body that was in motion more grotesque than it naturally was; and whereas the girl had bent backward until she resembled a hoop, he tried to do the same by bending forward. Finally, since they had given the boy applause for putting every part of his body into play in the dance, he told the flute girl to hit up the time faster, and danced away, flinging out legs, hands, and head all at the same time; and when he from speculation and extortion. One set of officials controlled the weight and the price of bread.
eîpe. Τεκμήριον, ὁ ἄνδρες, ὅτι καλὸς γυμνάζει καὶ τὰ ἐμὰ ὀρχήματα. ἐγὼ γοῦν διψῶ καὶ ὁ παῖς ἐγχειτῷ μοι τὴν μεγάλην φιάλην.

Νὴ Δί', ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ ἦμῖν γε, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἥμεις διψῶμεν ἐπὶ σοὶ γελώντες.

24 'Ο δ' αὐ Σωκράτης εἶπεν' Ἀλλὰ πίνειν μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες, καὶ ἐμὸι πάνυ δοκεῖ; τῷ γὰρ ὅτι ὁ οἴνος ἄρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας ὡσπερ ὁ μανδρα-γόρας τοὺς ἀνδρόπους κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φιλοφροσύνας ὡσπερ ἐλαιον φλόγα ἐγείρει. δοκεῖ μέντοι μοι καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄνδρῶν σώματα1 τὰτὰ πάσχειν ἄπερ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων.2 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνα, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς αὐτὰ ἀγαν ἀθρόως ποτίζῃ, οὐ δύναται ὀρθοῦσθαι οὐδὲ ταῖς αὐραίς διαπνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δ' ὅσῳ ἡδεῖ τοσοῦτο πίνῃ, καὶ μάλα ὅρθα τε αὔξεται καὶ θάλλοντα ἄφικνεῖται εἰς τὴν καρπογονίαν. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἥμεις ἦν μὲν ἄθροόν τὸ ποτὸν ἐγχεώμεθα, ταχὺ ἦμῖν καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ γυνῶαι σφαλοῦνται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἀναπνεῖν, μὴ ὅτι λέγειν τι δυνησόμεθα. ἦν δὲ ἦμῖν οἱ παῖδες μικραῖς κύλιξι πυκνὰ ἑπιψακάζωσιν, ἵνα καὶ ἐγὼ ἐν Γοργιέως ῥήμασιν εἶπο, οὕτως οὐ βιάζομενοι ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου μεθύειν ἀλλ' ἀναπειθόμενοι πρὸς τὸ παγνωδέστερον ἀφεξόμεθα.

1 σώματα Athenaeus; συμπύσια MSS. and Stobaeus.
2 τὰ τῶν ἐν γῇ φυομένων MSS.; Sauppe adopted the suggestion τὰ ἐν γῇ φυομένα.

1 Apparently a reminiscence of Aristophanes' Knights, 96, 114.

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was quite exhausted, he exclaimed as he laid himself down: "Here is proof, gentlemen, that my style of dancing, also, gives excellent exercise; it has certainly given me a thirst; so let the servant fill me up the big goblet."

"Certainly," replied Callias; "and the same for us, for we are thirsty with laughing at you."

Here Socrates again interposed. "Well, gentlemen," said he, "so far as drinking is concerned, you have my hearty approval; for wine does of a truth 'moisten the soul' and lull our griefs to sleep just as the mandragora does with men, at the same time awakening kindly feelings as oil quickens a flame. However, I suspect that men's bodies fare the same as those of plants that grow in the ground. When God gives the plants water in floods to drink, they cannot stand up straight or let the breezes blow through them; but when they drink only as much as they enjoy, they grow up very straight and tall and come to full and abundant fruitage. So it is with us. If we pour ourselves immense draughts, it will be no long time before both our bodies and our minds reel, and we shall not be able even to draw breath, much less to speak sensibly; but if the servants frequently 'besprinkle' us—if I too may use a Gorgian expression—with small cups, we shall thus not be driven on by the wine to a state of intoxication, but instead shall be brought by its gentle persuasion to a more sportive mood."

Gorgias was a famous contemporary orator and teacher of rhetoric, whose speeches, though dazzling to inexperienced audiences, were over-formal and ornate. Some of his metaphors drew the criticism of Aristotle as being far-fetched. Cf. Ihet. III, iiii, 4 (1406b 4 ff.).
27 Ἐδόκει μὲν δὴ ταύτα πᾶσιν προσέθηκε δὲ ὁ Φίλεππος ζει χρῆ τοὺς οἰνοχόους μμείσθαι τοὺς ἀγαθούς ἀρματηλάτας, θᾶττον περιελαύνοντας τὰς κύλικας. οἱ μὲν δὴ οἰνοχόοι οὖτος ἐποίουν.

III. Ἐκ δὲ τούτου συνηρμοσμένη τῇ λύρᾳ πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν ἐκιθάρισεν ὁ παῖς καὶ ἤσεν. ἐνθα δὴ ἐπῆνεσαν μὲν ἀπαντεῖ: ὃ δὲ Χαρμίδης καὶ ἐπεν 'Ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ, ὁ ἀνδρες, ὡσπερ Σωκράτης ἤφη τὸν οἶνον, οὖτω καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ κράσις τῶν τε παίδων τῆς ὁρας καὶ τῶν φθόγγων τὰς μὲν λύπας κοιμίζειν, τὴν δ' Ἀφροδίτην ἐγείρειν.

2 Ἐκ τούτου δὲ πάλιν εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ, ὁ ἀνδρες, ἰκανοί τέρπειν ἡμᾶς φαίνονται· ἡμεῖς δὲ τούτων οἴδ᾽ ὅτι πολὺ βελτίωνες οἰόμεθα εἶναι· οὐκ αἰσχρὸν οὖν εἰ μηδ᾽ ἐπιχειρήσομεν συνόντες ὥφελείν τι ἡ εὐφραίνειν ἀλλήλους;

Ἐντεύθεν εἶπον πολλοί, Σὺ τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἐξηγοῦ ποιών λόγων ἀπτόμενοι μάλιστ᾽ ἀν ταῦτα ποιοῖμεν.

3 Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, ἢδιστ᾽ ἀν ἀπολώβοιμι παρὰ Καλλίου τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν. ἔφη γὰρ δῆπον, εἰ συνδειπνοίμεν, ἐπιδείξειν τὴν αὐτοῦ σοφίαν.

Καὶ ἐπιδείξω γε, ἔφη, ἐὰν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀπαντεῖς ἐὰς μέσον φέρητε ὁ τι ἐκαστὸς ἐπίστασθε ἄγαθῶν.

'Ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς σοι, ἔφη, ἀντιλέγει τὸ μὴ οὐ λέξειν ὁ τι ἐκαστὸς ἥγειται πλείστου ἄξιον ἐπίστασθαι.

4 Ἐγὼ μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, λέγω ὑμῖν ἐφ' ὃ μέγι-
This resolution received a unanimous vote, with an amendment added by Philip to the effect that the wine-pourers should emulate skilful charioteers by driving the cups around with ever increasing speed. This the wine-pourers proceeded to do.

III. After this the boy, attuning his lyre to the flute, played and sang, and won the applause of all; and brought from Charmides the remark, "It seems to me, gentlemen, that, as Socrates said of the wine, so this blending of the young people's beauty and of the notes of the music lulls one's griefs to sleep and awakens the goddess of Love."

Then Socrates resumed the conversation. "These people, gentlemen," said he, "show their competence to give us pleasure; and yet we, I am sure, think ourselves considerably superior to them. Will it not be to our shame, therefore, if we do not make even an attempt, while here together, to be of some service or to give some pleasure one to another?"

At that many spoke up: "You lead the way, then, and tell us what to begin talking about to realize most fully what you have in mind."

"For my part," he answered, "I should like to have Callias redeem his promise; for he said, you remember, that if we would take dinner with him, he would give us an exhibition of his profundity."

"Yes," rejoined Callias; "and I will do so, if the rest of you will also lay before us any serviceable knowledge that you severally possess."

"Well," answered Socrates, "no one objects to telling what he considers the most valuable knowledge in his possession."

"Very well, then," said Callias, "I will now tell
στον φρονώ. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ οἶμαι ἰκανὸς εἶναι βελτίως ποιεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε, Πότερον τέχνην τινὰ βαναυσικὴν ἢ καλοκάγαθίαν διδάσκων;

Εἰ καλοκάγαθία ἐστὶν ἡ δικαιοσύνη.

Νή Δι', ἐφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, ἢ ἡ ἀναμφιλογω-

tάτη· ἐπεὶ τοι ἀνδρεία μὲν καὶ σοφίᾳ ἐστὶν ὅτε βλαβερὰ καὶ φίλος καὶ πόλει δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἢ δὲ δικαιοσύνη οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν συμμίγνυται τῇ ἀδικίᾳ.

5 Ἐπειδὰν τούτων καὶ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος εἶπη ὁ τι ὠφέλιμον ἔχει, τότε κἀγὼ οὐ φθονήσω εἰπεῖν τὴν τέχνην δι' ἢς τοῦτο ἀπεργάζομαι. ἄλλα σὺ αὖ, ἐφη, λέγε, ὃ Νικήρατε, ἐπὶ ποιὰ ἐπιστήμη μέγα φρονεῖς.

Καὶ δὲ εἶπεν· Ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιμελούμενος ὁ πως ἀνήρ ἦγαθος γενοίμην, ἡνώγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὁμήρου ἐπὶ μαθείν· καὶ υἱὸν δυναίμην ἄν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσσειαν ὑπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν.

6 Ἐκεῖνο δ', ἐφη ὁ Ἀντισθένης, λέληθέ σε ὅτι καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ πάντες ἐπίστανται ταῦτα τὰ ἐπὶ;

Καὶ πῶς ἂν, ἐφη, λέληθοι ἀκροφιμενῶν γε αὐτῶν ὄλγου ἂν ἐκάστην ἤμέραν;

Οἰσθά τι σὺν ἔθνος, ἐφη, ἡλιθιώτερον ῥαψῳδῶν;

1 ὑμῶν Castalio; ἡμῶν MSS.

1 The word δικαιοσύνη, translated here by righteousness, is sometimes well represented by justice or honesty. It is the virtue discussed by Plato in the Republic and by Aristotle in the fifth book of his Ethics.
you what I take greatest pride in. It is that I believe I have the power to make men better.”

“How?” asked Antisthenes. “By teaching them some manual trade, or by teaching nobility of character?”

“The latter, if righteousness is the same thing as nobility.”

“Certainly it is,” replied Antisthenes, “and the least debatable kind, too; for though courage and wisdom appear at times to work injury both to one’s friends and to the state, righteousness and unrighteousness never overlap at a single point.”

“Well, then, when every one of you has named the benefit he can confer, I will not begrudge describing the art that gives me the success that I speak of. And so, Niceratus,” he suggested, “it is your turn; tell us what kind of knowledge you take pride in.”

“My father was anxious to see me develop into a good man,” said Niceratus, “and as a means to this end he compelled me to memorize all of Homer; and so even now I can repeat the whole Iliad and the Odyssey by heart.”

“But have you failed to observe,” questioned Antisthenes, “that the rhapsodes, too, all know these poems?”

“How could I,” he replied, “when I listen to their recitations nearly every day?”

“Well, do you know any tribe of men,” went on the other, “more stupid than the rhapsodes?”

These professional reciters of epic poetry are represented as being criticized by Socrates, in much the same way as here, in Xenophon’s Memorabilia, iv. ii. 10 and in Plato’s Ion.
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Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἐφη ὁ Νικήρατος, οὐκον ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ.

Δῆλον γὰρ, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅτι τὰς ὑπονοίας οὐκ ἐπίστανται. σὺ δὲ Στησιμβρῶτῳ τε καὶ Ἀναξιμάνδρῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς πολὺ δέδωκας ἁργύριον, ὥστε οὐδὲν σε τῶν πολλῶν ἄξιων λέ-νθε. τί γὰρ σῦ, ἐφη, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγιστον φρονεῖς;

Ἐπὶ κάλλει, ἐφη.

'Ἡ σὺν καὶ σῦ, ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἔξεις λέγειν ὅτι τῷ σῶ κάλλει ἴκανός εἰ βελτίους ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν;

Γι' δὲ μη, δῆλον γε ὅτι φαύλος φανοῦμαι.

8. Τί γὰρ σῦ, εἶπεν, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὁ Αντίσθενες;

Ἐπὶ πλοῦτῳ, ἐφη.

'Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ὅρμογένης ἀνήρετο εἰ πολὺ εἰ ἁντι ἁργύριον. ὃ δὲ ἀπώμοσε μηδὲ ὀβολόν.

'Αλλὰ γην πολλὴν κέκτησαι;

'Ἰσως ἀν, ἐφη, Ἄυτολύκῳ τοῦτῳ ἴκανῇ γένοιτο ἐγκονίσασθαι.

9. 'Ακουστέου ἄν εἰη καὶ σοῦ. τί γὰρ σῦ, ἐφη, ὁ Χαρμίδη, ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς;

'Εγὼ αὖ, ἐφη, ἐπὶ πενία μέγα φρονῶ.

Νη ΔΙ', ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἐπὶ εὐχαρίστῳ γε πρῶματι. τοῦτο γὰρ δὴ ἡχιστα μὲν ἐπίφθουν, ἡχιστα δὲ περιμάχητον, καὶ ἀφύλακτον δὲν σω-ζεται καὶ ἀμελούμενον ἵσχυρότερον γίγνεται.

1. Critobulus seems to imply that beauty is his only resource.

2. The reference is to the handful or so of dry sand that an athlete put on after oiling his skin.
"No, indeed," answered Niceratus; "not I, I am sure."

"No," said Socrates; "and the reason is clear: they do not know the inner meaning of the poems. But you have paid a good deal of money to Stesibrotus, Anaximander, and many other Homeric critics, so that nothing of their valuable teaching can have escaped your knowledge. But what about you, Critobulus?" he continued. "What do you take greatest pride in?"

"In beauty," he replied.

"What?" exclaimed Socrates. "Are you too going to be able to maintain that you can make us better, and by means of your beauty?"

"Why, otherwise, it is clear enough that I shall cut but an indifferent figure." 1

"And you, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "what do you take pride in?"

"In wealth," he replied.

Hermogenes asked him whether he had a large amount of money; he swore that he did not have even a penny.

"You own a great deal of land, then?"

"Well, perhaps it might prove big enough," said he, "for Autolycus here to sand himself in." 2

"It looks as if we should have to hear from you, too. And how about you, Charmides?" he continued. "What do you take pride in?"

"My pride," said he, "on the contrary, is in my poverty."

"A charming thing, upon my word!" exclaimed Socrates. "It seldom causes envy or is a bone of contention; and it is kept safe without the necessity of a guard, and grows sturdier by neglect!"
10 Σὺ δὲ δή, ἐφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἔπι τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς, ὦ Σωκρατές;
Καὶ ὃς μάλα σεμνῶς ἀνασπάσας τὸ πρόσωπον, ἔπι μαστροπεία, ἐπέν.
'Επεὶ δὲ ἐγέλασαν ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, 'Τμεῖς μὲν γελᾶτε, ἐφη, ἐγὼ δὲ οἶδ' ὦτι καὶ πάνυ ἄν πολλὰ χρήματα λαμβάνομι, εἰ βουλοίμην χρῆσθαι τῇ τέχνῃ.
11 Σὺ γε μὴν δῆλον, ἐφη ὁ Λύκων πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον, ὦτι ἔπι τῷ γελοτοποιεῖν μέγα φρονεῖς.
Δικαίωτερὸν γ', ἐφη, οἶομαι, ἡ Καλλιππίδης ὁ ὑποκριτής, ὃς υπερσημαίνεται ὦτι δύναται πολ- λοὺς καλοῦσας καθίζειν.
12 Οὐκοῦν καὶ σὺ, ἐφη ὁ 'Αντισθένης, λέξεις, ὦ Λύκων, ἔπι τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς;
Καὶ ὃς ἐφη, Οὐ γὰρ ἄπαντες ἰστε, ἐφη, ὦτι ἔπι τούτῳ τῷ νίηει;
Οὔτος γε μὴν, ἐφη τις, δῆλον ὦτι ἔπι τῷ νικηφόροις εἶναι.
Καὶ ὁ Αὐτόλυκος ἀνερυθριώσας εἴπε, Μὰ Δῖ ὦν ἐγώγε.
13 'Επεὶ δὲ ἄπαντες ἤσθεντες ὦτι ἥκουσαν αὐτοῦ φωνῆσαντος προσέβλεψαν, ἥρετο τις αὐτῶν, Ἀλλ' ἔπι τῷ μὴν, ὦ Αὐτόλυκε; ὦ δ' ἐπεν, Ἐπὶ τῷ πατρί, καὶ ἀμα ἐνεκλίθη αὐτῷ.
Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἰδὼν, Ἀρ' οἶσθα, ἐφη, ὦ Λύκων, ὦτι πλούσιωτατος εἰ ἀνθρώπων;
Μὰ Δῖ, ἐφη, τοῦτῳ μὲντοι ἐγὼ οὐκ οἶδα.
Ἀλλὰ λανθάνει σε ὦτι οὐκ ἄν δέξαι τὰ βασιλέως χρήματα ἀντὶ τοῦ νιῶθ;

1 ὦτι, added by Stephanus.

1 Callippides was regarded at this time and afterward as perhaps the most illustrious tragic actor of his time.
"But what of you, Socrates?" said Callias. "What are you proud of?"

Socrates drew up his face into a very solemn expression, and answered, "The trade of procurer."

After the rest had had a laugh at him, "Very well," said he, "you may laugh, but I know that I could make a lot of money if I cared to follow the trade."

"As for you," said Lycon, addressing Philip, "it is obvious that your pride is in your jesting."

"And my pride is better founded, I think," replied Philip, "than that of Callippides, the actor, who is consumed with vanity because he can fill the seats with audiences that weep."

"Will you also not tell us, Lycon," said Antisthenes, "what it is that you take pride in?"

"Don't you all know," he answered, "that it is in my son here?"

"And as for him," said one, "it is plain that he is proud at having taken a prize."

At this Autolycus blushed and said, "No, indeed, not that."

All looked at him, delighted to hear him speak, and one asked, "What is it, then, Autolycus, that you are proud of?" and he answered, "My father," and with the words nestled close against him.

When Callias saw this, "Do you realize, Lycon," said he, "that you are the richest man in the world?"

"No, indeed," the other replied, "I certainly do not know that."

"Why, are you blind to the fact that you would not part with your son for the wealth of the Great King?"
XENOPHON

'Επ' αὐτοφώρῳ εἰλημμαί, ἑφη, πλουσιώτατος, ὡς ἐοικεν, ἀνθρώπων ὄν.

14 Σὺ δὲ, ἑφη ὁ Νικήρατος, ὦ Ερμόγενες, ἐπὶ τίνι μάλιστα ἀγάλλη;

Καὶ ὁς, Ἐπὶ φίλων, ἑφη, ἀρετὴ καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ὅτι τοιούτῳ ὄντες ἐμοῦ ἐπιμέλονται.

'Ενταῦθα τοίνυν πάντες προσέβλεψαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πολλοὶ ἁμα ἦροτοι εἰ καὶ σφίσι δηλώσει αὐτούς, ὁ δὲ εἶπεν ὅτι οὐ φθονήσει.

IV. Ἐκ τούτου ἔλεξεν ὁ Σωκράτης, Οὐκοῦν λοιπὸν ἂν εἰη ἡμῖν ἃ ἔκαστος ὑπέσχετο ἀποδεικνύαί μός πολλοὺ ἄξιω ἐστών.

'Ακούστι ἂν, ἑφη ὁ Καλλίας, ἐμοὶ πρῶτον. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ὃ ύμῶν ἀκούω ἀπορούντων τί τὸ δίκαιον, ἐν τούτῳ δικαιοτέρους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ποιῶ.

Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πῶς, ὡ λύστε; ἑφη.

Διδοὺς νὴ Δί' ἀργύριον.

2 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἐπαναστὰς μάλα ἑλεγκτικῶς αὐτὸν ἐπήρητο. Οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωποί, ὁ Καλλία, πότερον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἢ ἐν τῷ βαλλαντίῳ τὸ δίκαιον σοι δοκοῦσιν ἔχειν;

Ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἑφη.

Κατείπα σὺ εἰς τὸ βαλλαντίον διδοὺς ἀργύριον τὰς ψυχὰς δικαιοτέρας ποιεῖς;

Μάλιστα.

Πῶς;

Ὅτι διὰ τὸ εἰδέναι ὡς ἐστὶν ὅτιν προϊμενον τὰ ἐπιτηδεία ἐξουσι όὐκ ἔθελον κακουργοῦντες κινδυνεῦνειν.

3 'Ἡ καὶ σοι, ἑφη, ἀποδιδόασιν ὁ τί ἄν λάβωσι;
"I am caught," was the answer, "red-handed; it does look as if I were the richest man in the world."
"What about you, Hermogenes?" said Niceratus.
"What do you delight in most?"
"In the goodness and the power of my friends," he answered, "and in the fact that with all their excellence they have regard for me."

Thereupon all eyes were turned toward him, and many speaking at once asked him whether he would not discover these friends to them; and he answered that he would not be at all loath to do so.

IV. At this point Socrates said: "I suspect that it remains now for each one of us to prove that what he engaged himself to champion is of real worth."
"You may hear me first," said Callias. "While I listen to your philosophical discussions of what righteousness is, I am all the time actually rendering men more righteous."
"How so, my good friend?" asked Socrates.
"Why, by giving them money."

Then Antisthenes got up and in a very argumentative fashion interrogated him. "Where do you think men harbour their righteousness, Callias, in their souls or in their purses?"
"In their souls," he replied.
"So you make their souls more righteous by putting money into their purses?"
"I surely do."
"How?"
"Because they know that they have the wherewithal to buy the necessities of life, and so they are reluctant to expose themselves to the hazards of crime."
"And do they repay you," he asked, "the money that they get from you?"
Μά τοῦ Δί', ἐφη, οὐ μὲν δή.
Τί δὲ, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἄργυρίου χάριτας;
Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἐφη, οὐδὲ τοῦτο, ἀλλ' ἐνιού καὶ ἐχθιόνως ἔχουσιν ἢ πρὶν λαβεῖν.
Θαυμαστά γ', ἐφη ὁ 'Αντισθένης ἀμα εἰσβλέπων ὡς ἐλέγχων αὐτόν, εἰ πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους δύνασαι δικαίους ποιεῖν αὐτούς, πρὸς δὲ σαυτὸν οὖ.

4. Καὶ τί τούτ', ἐφη ὁ Καλλίας, θαυμαστὸν; οὐ καὶ τέκτονας τε καὶ οἰκοδόμους πολλοὺς ὅρας οἱ ἄλλοι μὲν πολλοὶ ποιοῦσιν οἰκίας, ἐαυτοὶς δὲ οὐ δύναται ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐν μισθωταῖς οἰκοῦσι; καὶ ἀνάσχοι μέντοι, ὃ σοφιστά, ἐλεγχόμενος.

5. Ἡ Δί', ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀνεχέσθω μέντοι· ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μάντεις λέγονται δήποπ ἄλλοις μὲν προ-αγορεύειν τὸ μέλλον, ἐαυτοῖς δὲ μὴ προοράν τὸ ἐπιόν.

Ὀὐτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἐληξεν.

6. Ἐκ τούτου δὲ ὁ Νικήρατος, Ἀκούοιτ' ἄν, ἐφη, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἄ ἐσεσθε βελτίωνες ἂν ἐμοὶ συνήτε. ἦστε γὰρ δῆπον ὅτι ὁ Ὀμήρος ὁ σοφότατος πεποίηκε σχεδὸν περὶ πάντων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων. ὡστες ἂν οὖν ὑμῶν βούληται ἡ οἰκονομικὸς ἡ δημηγορικὸς ἡ στρατηγικὸς γενέσθαι ἡ ὁμοίοις 'Ἄχιλλεῖ ἡ Αἴαντι ἡ Νέστορι ἡ Ὀδυσσεί, ἐμὲ θεραπεύετο. ἐγὼ γὰρ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπίσταμαι.

Ἱ καὶ βασιλεύειν, ἐφη ὁ 'Αντισθένης, ἐπίστα-σαι, ὅτι οἶσθα ἐπανέσαυτα αὐτὸν τὸν 'Αγαμέμνονα ὡς βασιλεύς τε εἰπ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής;
"Heavens, no!" he replied.
"Well, do they substitute thanks for money payment?"
"No, indeed, nor that either," he said. "On the contrary, some of them have an even greater dislike of me than before they got the money."
"It is remarkable," said Antisthenes, looking fixedly at him as though he had him in a corner, "that you can make them righteous toward others but not toward yourself."
"What is there remarkable about that?" asked Callias. "Do you not see plenty of carpenters, also, and architects that build houses for many another person but cannot do it for themselves, but live in rented houses? Come now, my captious friend, take your medicine and own that you are beaten."
"By all means," said Socrates, "let him do so. For even the soothsayers have the reputation, you know, of prophesying the future for others but of not being able to foresee their own fate."

Here the discussion of this point ended.

Then Niceratus remarked: "You may now hear me tell wherein you will be improved by associating with me. You know, doubtless, that the sage Homer has written about practically everything pertaining to man. Any one of you, therefore, who wishes to acquire the art of the householder, the political leader, or the general, or to become like Achilles or Ajax or Nestor or Odysseus, should seek my favour, for I understand all these things."
"Ha!" said Antisthenes; "do you understand how to play the king, too, knowing, as you do, that Homer praised Agamemnon for being 'both goodly king and spearman strong'?"
ΧΕΝΟΦΟΝΗ

Καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δί’, ἔφη, ἐγώ γε ὅτι ἀρματηλατοῦν- 
τα δεὶ ἐγγὺς μὲν τῆς στῆλης κάμψαι,

αὐτὸν δὲ κλινθήναι ἐυξέστοι ἐπὶ διήρου 
ἡ γὰρ ἀριστερὰ τῶν, ἀτὰρ τὸν δεξιὸν ἵππον 
kέναι ὁμοκλῆσαντ’ εἰξαὶ τε οἱ ἦμια χερσὶ.

7 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε ἀλλο οἶδα, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτίκα 
μᾶλ’ ἔξεστι πειρᾶσθαι. εἴπε γὰρ ποὺ Ὁμήρος, 
Ἔπὶ δὲ κρόμμων ποτὸ ὅψων. ἐὰν οὖν ἐνέγκῃ τις 
κρόμμων, αὐτίκα μᾶλα τοῦτο γε ὦφελημένοι 
ἔσεσθε’ ἢδιον γὰρ πίεσθε.

8 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν Ὡμ. ἄνδρες, ὁ Νικήρα- 
τος κρόμμῶν ὅζων ἐπιθυμεῖ οἶκαδε ἐλθεῖν, ἐν 
ἢ γυνῇ αὐτοῦ πιστεύῃ μηδὲ διανοηθήναι μηδένα ἄν 
φιλῆσαι αὐτόν.

Νὴ Δί’, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἀλλ’ ἄλλην ποὺ δόξαν 
γελοίαν κίνδυνος ἢμῖν προσλαβεῖν. ὅψων μὲν γὰρ 
δὴ ὄντως ἐοίκεν εἶναι, ὡς κρόμμων γε οὐ μόνον 
σῖτον ἄλλα καὶ ποτὸν ἢδύνει. εἰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ 
µετὰ δεύτερον τρωξύµεθα, ὅπως µὴ φύσει τις ἡµᾶς 
πρὸς Καλλίαν ἐλθόντας ἠδύπαθεῖν.

9 Μηδαμώς, ἔφη, ὁ Σωκράτης. εἰς µὲν γὰρ µά- 
χην ὀρµωµένης καλῶς ἔχει κρόµµων ὑποτρώγειν, 
ὡσπερ ἑνὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρύνας σκόροδα σιτίσαντες 
συµβάλλουσιν ἥµεις δὲ ἵσως βουλευόµεθα ὅπως 
φιλήσοµεν τινα µᾶλλον ἢ µαχούµεθα.

1 µηδὲ Mehler; µη MSS.

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1 Cf. Iliad, xxiii. 323, 334. 2 Iliad, xxiii. 335–337. 3 Iliad, xi. 630.
BANQUET, iv. 6-9

"Yes, indeed!" said he; "and I know also that in driving a chariot one must run close to the goal-post at the turn and

'Himself lean lightly to the left within
The polished car, the right-hand trace-horse goad,
Urge him with shouts, and let him have the reins.'

And beside this I know something else, which you may test immediately. For Homer says somewhere: 'An onion, too, a relish for the drink.' Now if some one will bring an onion, you will receive this benefit, at any rate, without delay; for you will get more pleasure out of your drinking."

"Gentlemen," said Charmides, "Niceratus is intent on going home smelling of onions to make his wife believe that no one would even have conceived the thought of kissing him."

"Undoubtedly," said Socrates. "But we run the risk of getting a different sort of reputation, one that will bring us ridicule. For though the onion seems to be in the truest sense a relish, since it adds to our enjoyment not only of food, but also of drink, yet if we eat it not only with our dinner but after it as well, take care that some one does not say of us that on our visit to Callias we were merely indulging our appetites."

"Heaven forbid, Socrates!" was the reply. "I grant that when a man is setting out for battle, it is well for him to nibble an onion, just as some people give their game-cocks a feed of garlic before pitting them together in the ring; as for us, however, our plans perhaps look more to getting a kiss from some one than to fighting."
XENOPHON

Kai oûtoς mèn dê o λógos oûtò pws épauσatɔ.

10 'O dè Kριτόβουλος, Ουκοῦν αὐ éγω λέξω, ἐφη, ἐξ ὦν ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μέγα φρονῶ ;

Δέγε, ἑφασαν.

Εἰ μὲν τοῖνυν μὴ καλός εἰμι, ὡς οἴομαι, ὑμεῖς ἂν δικαίως ἀπάτης δίκην ὑπέχοιτε· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὀρκίζοντος ιεί ὀμνύοντες καλὸν μὲ φατε εἶναι. κάγω μέντοι πιστεῦω. καλοῦς γὰρ καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ὑμᾶς ἀνδρας νομιζώ. εἰ δ' εἴμι τῇ ὦντι καλὸς καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ πρὸς ἐμὲ πᾶσχετε οἰάπερ ἐγώ πρὸς τὸν ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα καλὸν εἶναι, ὀμνυμι πάντας θεοὺς μὴ ἐλέσθαι ἂν τὴν βασιλείας ἀρχῆν ἀντὶ τοῦ καλὸς εἶναι. ἕνιν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν ἢδιον μὲν θεῶμαι ἡ τάλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώ- ποις καλὰ· τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μᾶλλον δεξαίμην ἂν εἶναι ἢ Κλεινίου 1 ἐνὸς ὦντος· ἀχθομαὶ δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὑπνὸ ὁτι ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὀρῶ, ἢμέρα δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα ὅτι μοι Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσιν. ἀξίον γε μὴν ἡμῖν τοῖς καλοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τοίοδε μέγα φρονεῖν, ὅτι τὸν μὲν ἵσυχαν πονοῦντα δεὶ κτάσθαι τάγαθα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρειον κινδυνεύοντα, τὸν δὲ γε σοφὸν λέγοντα· ὁ δὲ καλὸς καὶ ἰσυχιὰν ἔχων πάντ' ἂν διαπράξαι- το. ἐγὼ γοῦν καίπερ εἰδὼς ὅτι χρῆματα ἢδον κτῆμα ἢδιον μὲν ἂν Κλεινία τὰ ὄντα διδοῖν ἢ ἐτέρα παρ' ἄλλον λαμβάνοιμι, ἢδιον δ' ἂν δου- λεύομι ἢ ἐλεύθερος εἰην, εἰ μου Κλεινίας ἀρχειν

1 Κλεινίου Diogenes Laërtius; ἐκείνον or κείνου or ἐκείνου kal MSS.

1 A young cousin of the brilliant and dissipated Alcibiades.
That was about the way the discussion of this point ended.

Then Critobulus said: "Shall I take my turn now and tell you my grounds for taking pride in my handsomeness?"

"Do," they said.

"Well, then, if I am not handsome, as I think I am, you could fairly be sued for misrepresentation; for though no one asks you for an oath, you are always swearing that I am handsome. And indeed I believe you; for I consider you to be honourable men. But, on the other hand, if I really am handsome and you have the same feelings toward me that I have toward the one who is handsome in my eyes, I swear by all the gods that I would not take the kingdom of Persia in exchange for the possession of beauty. For as it is, I would rather gaze at Cleinias than at all the other beautiful objects in the world. I would rather be blind to all things else than to Cleinias alone. I chafe at both night and sleep because then I do not see him; I feel the deepest gratitude to day and the sun because they reveal Cleinias to me. We handsome people have a right to be proud of this fact, too, that whereas the strong man must get the good things of his desire by toil, and the brave man by adventure, and the wise man by his eloquence, the handsome person can attain all his ends without doing anything. So far as I, at least, am concerned, although I realize that money is a delightful possession, I should take more delight in giving what I have to Cleinias than in adding to my possessions from another person's; and I should take more delight in being a slave than in being a free man, if Cleinias would deign to be my
έθελοι. καὶ γὰρ πονοῦν ἀν ῥάνον ἐκεῖνῳ ἡ ἀναπαυοῖμην, καὶ κινδυνεύομι' ἀν ἐκεῖνου ἥδιον ἡ ἀκίνδυνος ζῷῃν. ὡστε εἰ σύ, ὦ Καλλία, μέγα φρονεῖς ὡτι δικαιοτέρους δύνασαι ποιεῖν, ἐγὼ πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν δικαιότερος σοῦ εἰμι ἄγειν ἀνθρώπους. διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐμπνεεῖ τι ἡμᾶς τοὺς καλοὺς τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς ἐλευθερωτέρους μὲν αὐτοὺς ποιοῦμεν εἰς χρήματα, φιλοπονωτέρους δὲ καὶ φιλοκαλωτέρους ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις, καὶ μὴν αἰδημονεστέρους τε καὶ ἐγκρατεστέρους, οἳ γε καὶ ὃν δέονται μάλιστα ταῦτ' αἰσχύνονται. μαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μὴ τοὺς καλοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἴρομενοι. ἐγὼ γοῦν μετὰ Κλεινίου κἂν διὰ πυρὸς ιοίνην οἶδα δ' ὅτι καὶ ύμεῖς μετ' ἐμοῦ. ὡστε μηκεῖτι ἀπόρει, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ τι τοῦμόν κάλλος ἀνθρώπους ὠφελήσει. ἀλλ' οὔδ' ἐμέντοι ταῦτη γε ἀτυμαστέον τὸ κάλλος ὡς ταχὺ παρακμάζον, ἐπεὶ ὅσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλός, οὔτω καὶ μειράκιον καὶ ἀνήρ καὶ πρεσβύτης. τεκμήριον δὲ θαλλοφόρους γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾶ τοὺς καλοὺς γέροντας ἐκλέγονται, ὡς συμπαρομαρτοῦντος πάση ἥλικία τοῦ κάλλους. εἰ δὲ ἢδυ τὸ παρ' ἐκόντων διαπράττεσθαι ὡν τις δέοιτο, εὖ οἴδ', ὅτι καὶ νυνί θάττον ἄν ἐγὼ καὶ σιωπῶν πείσαιμι τὸν παῖδα τὸνδε καὶ τὴν παῖδα φιλήσαι με ἡ σὺ, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ σοφὰ λέγοις.

Τί τούτο; ἐφη ὁ Σωκράτης. ὡς γὰρ καὶ ἐμοῦ καλλίων ὃν ταῦτα κομπάζεις.
master. For I should find it easier to toil for him than to rest, and it would be more delightful to risk my life for his sake than to live in safety. And so, Callias, if you are proud of your ability to make people more righteous, I have a better 'right' than you to claim that I can influence men toward every sort of virtue. For since we handsome men exert a certain inspiration upon the amorous, we make them more generous in money matters, more strenuous and heroic amid dangers, yes, and more modest and self-controlled also; for they feel abashed about the very things that they want most. Madness is in those people, too, who do not elect the handsome men as generals; I certainly would go through fire with Cleinias, and I know that you would, also, with me. Therefore, Socrates, do not puzzle any more over the question whether or not my beauty will be of any benefit to men. But more than that, beauty is not to be contemned on this ground, either, that it soon passes its prime; for just as we recognize beauty in a boy, so we do in a youth, a full-grown man, or an old man. Witness the fact that in selecting garland-bearers for Athena they choose beautiful old men, thus intimating that beauty attends every period of life. Furthermore, if it is pleasurable to attain one's desires with the good will of the giver, I know very well that at this very moment, without uttering a word, I could persuade this boy or this girl to give me a kiss sooner than you could, Socrates, no matter how long and profoundly you might argue."

"How now?" exclaimed Socrates. "You boast as though you actually thought yourself a handsomer man than me."
XENOPHON

Νὴ Δ', ἔφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ἥ πάντων Σει- ληνῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς σατυρικοῖς αἰσχιστοῖς ἄν εἰην. 'Ο δὲ Σωκράτης καὶ ἐτύγχανε προσεμφερῆς τούτως ὄν.

20 Ἀγε νυν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ὅπως μεμνήσει διακριθήναι περὶ τοῦ κάλλους, ἔπειδαν οἱ προκείμενοι λόγοι περιέλθωσι. κρινάτω δ' ἡμᾶς μη Ἀλέξαν- δρος ὁ Πριάμου, ὀλ' αὐτοὶ οὖτοι οὕσπερ σὺ οὐεὶ ἐπιθυμεῖν σε φιλήσαι.

21 Κλεινία δ', ἔφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐκ ἀν ἐπι- τρέψαις;

Καὶ ὃς εἶπεν, Ὑγ γὰρ παῦσῃ σὺ Κλεινίου μεμνημένος;

'Ην δὲ μὴ ὄνομάζω, ἦττον τί με οἴει μεμνήσθαι αὐτοῦ; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι οὔτω σαφές ἐχὼ εἴδωλον αὑτοῦ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς εἰ πλαστικὸς ἢ ζωγραφικὸς ἢ, οὐδὲν ἃν ἦττον ἐκ τοῦ εἴδωλου ἢ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄρων ὀμοιον αὐτῷ ἀπειργασάμην;

22 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑπέλαβε, Τί δῆτα οὕτως ὄμοιον εἴδωλον ἐχὼν πράγματα μοι παρέχεις ἄγεις τέ μ' αὐτοῦ ὁποῦ ὤσεί;

"Ὅτι, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἡ μὲν αὐτοῦ ὄψις εὐφραίνειν δύναται, ἢ δὲ τοῦ εἴδωλου τέρψιν μὲν οὐ παρέχει, πόθον δὲ ἐμποιεῖ.

1 Sauppe brackets this sentence as an interpolation.
2 τέ μ'; τε MSS.

1 This is regarded by some as a comment interpolated in the text, though doubtless true enough. Plato (Symp. 215 A, B, E; 216 C, D; 221 D, E; cf. 222 D) represents Alcibiades as likening Socrates to the Sileni and particularly to the Satyr Marsyas. Vase paintings and statues give an idea of the Greek conception of their coarse features. They regularly
“Of course,” was Critobulus’s reply; “otherwise I should be the ugliest of all the Satyrs ever on the stage.”

Now Socrates, as fortune would have it, really resembled these creatures.¹

“Come, come,” said Socrates; “see that you remember to enter a beauty contest with me when the discussion now under way has gone the rounds. And let our judges be not Alexander, Priam’s son,² but these very persons whom you consider eager to give you a kiss.”

“Would you not entrust the arbitrament to Cleinias, Socrates?”

“Aren’t you ever going to get your mind off Cleinias?” was the rejoinder.

“If I refrain from mentioning his name, do you suppose that I shall have him any the less in mind? Do you not know that I have so clear an image of him in my heart that had I ability as a sculptor or a painter I could produce a likeness of him from this image that would be quite as close as if he were sitting for me in person?”

“Why do you annoy me, then,” was Socrates’ retort, “and keep taking me about to places where you can see him in person, if you possess so faithful an image of him?”

“Because, Socrates, the sight of him in person has the power to delight one, whereas the sight of the image does not give pleasure, but implants a craving for him.”

formed the chorus in the Satyr-plays that were given in connection with tragedies.

¹ Usually called Paris; the judge of beauty when Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite appealed for a decision.
23 Καὶ ὁ Ἐρμογένης εἶπεν Ἰούλλος, ὁ Σώκρατες, οὐδὲ πρὸς σοῦ ποιῶ τὸ περιμένων Κριτόβουλον οὖτως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔρωτος ἐκπλαγέντα. 

Δοκεῖς γὰρ, ἐφθέγγος εἰς σύνεσιν οὕτω διατεθήναι αὐτὸν;

Ἀλλὰ πότε μήν;

Οὐχ ὅρας ὅτι τούτῳ μὲν παρὰ τὰ ὡτὰ ἄρτι ἱστολός καθέρπει, Κλειψά, δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὅπισθεν ἦδη ἀναβαίνει; οὕτως οὖν σύμφωντοι εἰς ταύτα διδα-

24 σκαλεία ἐκεῖνω τότε ἱσχυρῶς προσεκαθηθεί. ἄ δὴ αὐσθήμενος ὁ πατὴρ παρέδωκε μοι αὐτόν, εἰ τι δυναίμην ἄφελήσαι. καὶ μέντοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἦδη ἐχεί. πρόσθεν μὲν γὰρ ὡσπερ οἳ τὰς Γοργονᾶς θεώμενοι λιθίνους ἐβλεπε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδάμοι ἀπῆκεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ· νῦν δὲ δὴ εἰδον αὐτόν καὶ σκαρδά-

25 μύξαντα. καὶ τοῖς θεοῦς, ὅ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ μοι γ', ἐφη, ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς εἰρήσθαι, οὕτως καὶ πεφιληκέναι τὸν Κλειψάνων· οὗ ἔρωτος οὐδέν ἔστι δεινότερον ὑπέκκαυμα. καὶ γὰρ ἀπληστοῦ καὶ

26 ἐλπίδας τινὰς γλυκείας παρέχει. οὖν ἐνεκά ἀφεκτέον ἐγώ φημι εἶναι φιλημάτων ὦσαιν τῷ σωφρονεῖν δυσισσομένῳ.

27 Καὶ ὁ Χαρμίδης εἶπεν Ἰούλλος τί δή ποτε, ὁ Σώκρατες, ἦμας μὲν οὖτω τοὺς φίλους μορμολύτι.

1 λιθίνους οὖδαμοι MSS. (one omitting οὖδαμοι); λιθίνου (after the Aldine ed.) Sauppe; οὖδαμοι L. Dindorf.

2 The MSS. add here the following sentence (probably an interpolation): ἢσος δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ μόνον πάντων ἔργων τὸ τοῖς στόμασι [so Wytenbach for σάμασι of the MSS.] συμπάυειν ομώνυμον εἶναι τῷ ταῖς φυχαῖς φιλεῖσθαι ἐντιμοτέρον ἔστιν. "Possibly the fact also that of all our acts that of touching one another with the lips is the only one which goes by a name equivocal with that expressing heartfelt affection causes
BANQUET, iv. 23-27

"For my part, Socrates," said Hermogenes, "I do not regard it as at all like you to countenance such a mad passion of love in Critobulus."

"What? Do you suppose," asked Socrates, "that this condition has arisen since he began associating with me?"

"If not, when did it?"

"Do you not notice that the soft down is just beginning to grow down in front of his ears, while that of Cleinias is already creeping up the nape of his neck? Well, then, this hot flame of his was kindled in the days when they used to go to school together. It was the discovery of this that caused his father to put him into my hands, in the hope that I might do him some good. And without question he is already much improved. For awhile ago he was like those who look at the Gorgons—he would gaze at Cleinias with a fixed and stony stare and would never leave his presence; but now I have seen him actually close his eyes in a wink. But to tell you the truth, gentlemen," he continued, "by Heaven! it does look to me—to speak confidentially—as if he had also kissed Cleinias; and there is nothing more terribly potent than this at kindling the fires of passion. For it is insatiable and holds out seductive hopes. For this reason I maintain that one who intends to possess the power of self-control must refrain from kissing those in the bloom of beauty."

"But why in the world, Socrates," Charmides now asked, "do you flourish your bogeys so to frighten it to be held in more esteem than would otherwise be the case." The equivocation lies in the common Greek use of φιλέιν = either to love or to kiss.

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τῇ ἀπὸ τῶν καλῶν, αὐτὸν δὲ σὲ, ἐφη, ἐγὼ εἶδον ναὶ μᾶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, ὅτε παρὰ τῷ γραμματιστῇ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ ἁμφοτεροὶ ἐμαστεύετε τι, τὴν κεφαλὴν πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ καὶ τὸν ὄμοιον γυμνὸν πρὸς γυμνὸν τῷ Κριτόβουλον ὄμω ἔχοντα;

28 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Φευ, ἐφη, ταῦτ' ἄρα, ἐφη, ἐγὼ ὀσπερ ὑπὸ θηρίῳ τινός δεδηγμένος τὸν τέ ὄμοιον πλείον ἡ πέντε ἡμέρας ὁδαξον καὶ ἐν τῇ καρδία ὀσπερ κυήσμα 1 τι ἐδόκουν ἔχειν. ἀλλὰ νῦν τού σου, ἐφη, ὁ Κριτόβουλε, ἐναντίον τοσούτων μαρτύρων προαγορεύω μή ἀπτεσθαί μου πρὶν ἀν τὸ γένειον τῇ κεφαλῇ ὄμοιοις κομήσης.

Καὶ οὖτοι μὲν δὴ οὔτως ἀναμίξ ἐσκωψάν τε καὶ ἑσπούδασαν.

29 Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Σὺν μέρος, ἐφη, λέγει, ὁ Χαρ-μίδης, δι' ὁ τι ἐπὶ πενία μέγα φρονεῖς.

Οὐκοῦν τόδε μὲν, ἐφη, ὡμολογεῖται, κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν ἡ φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι μᾶλλον ἡ δουλεύειν καὶ θεραπεύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ θεραπεύειν καὶ πιστεύεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς πατρίδος μᾶλλον ἡ ἀπιστεύοι. ἐγὼ τοίνυν εν τῇ τῇ πόλει ὅτε μὲν πλούσιος ἦν πρῶτον μὲν ἐφοβούμην μή τίς μου τὴν οἰκίαν διορύξας καὶ τὰ χρήματα λάβοι καὶ αὐτόν τί με κακὸν ἐργάσατο ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἐθεράπευον, εἰδὼς ὅτι παθεῖν μᾶλλον κακῶς ἵκανος εἶπν ἡ ποιήσαι ἐκεί-νους. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ προσετάττετο μὲν ἀεὶ τί μοι δαπανάν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως, ἀποδημήσαι δὲ 31 οὐδαμοί 2 ἔξην. νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ τῶν ὑπερορίων

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1 Sauppe adopts Schneider’s emendation κυήσαμα.
2 οὐδαμοί L. Dindorf; οὐδαμοῦ MSS.

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us, your friends, away from the beauties, when, by Apollo! I have seen you yourself," he continued, "when the two of you were hunting down something in the same book-roll at the school, sitting head to head, with your nude shoulder pressing against Critobulus's nude shoulder?"

"Dear me!" exclaimed Socrates. "So that is what affected me like the bite of a wild animal! And for over five days my shoulder smarted and I felt as if I had something like a sting in my heart. But now, Critobulus," said he, "in the presence of all these witnesses I warn you not to lay a finger on me until you get as much hair on your chin as you have on your head."

Such was the mingled raillery and seriousness that these indulged in.

But Callias now remarked, "It is your turn, Charmides, to tell us why poverty makes you feel proud."

"Very well," said he. "So much, at least, everyone admits, that assurance is preferable to fear, freedom to slavery, being the recipient of attention to being the giver of it, the confidence of one's country to its distrust. Now, as for my situation in our commonwealth, when I was rich, I was, to begin with, in dread of some one's digging through the wall of my house and not only getting my money but also doing me a mischief personally; in the next place, I knuckled down to the blackmailers, knowing well enough that my abilities lay more in the direction of suffering injury than of inflicting it on them. Then, too, I was for ever being ordered by the government to undergo some expenditure or other, and I never had the opportunity for foreign travel.
στέρομαί καὶ τὰ ἐγγεία οὐ καρποῦμαι καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας πέπραται, ἡδέως μὲν καθεύδω ἐκτεταμένος, πιστὸς δὲ τῇ πόλει γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι δὲ ἀπειλοῦμαι, ἄλλ' ἦδη ἀπειλῶ ἄλλοις, ὡς ἔλευθερω τε ἐξεστὶ μοι καὶ ἀποδημεῖν καὶ ἐπιδημεῖν· ὑπανίστανται δὲ μοι ἦδη καὶ θάκων καὶ οὐδῶν ἐξίστανται οἱ πλοῦσιοι. καὶ εἰμὶ νῦν μὲν τυράννῳ ἐοικός, τότε δὲ σαφῶς δούλος ἦν· καὶ τότε μὲν ἐγὼ φόρον ἀπέφερον τῷ δήμῳ, νῦν δὲ ἡ πόλις τέλος φέρουσα τρέφει με. ἀλλὰ καὶ Σωκράτει, ὅτε μὲν πλοῦσιος ἦ, ἐλοιδόρουν με ὧτι συνήν, νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ πένης γεγένημαι, οὐκέτι οὐδὲν μέλει οὐδεν. καὶ μὴν ὅτε μὲν γε πολλὰ εἶχον, ἀεὶ τι ἀπεβαλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἢ ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης· νῦν δὲ ἀποβάλλω μὲν οὐδέν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχω, ἀεὶ δὲ τι λύψεσθαι ἐλπίζω.

33 Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας, καὶ εὐχὴ μηδέποτε πλουτεῖν, καὶ εάν τι ὁναρ ἁγαθόν ἢδης, τοῖς ἀποτροπαίοις θύεις; Μὰ Δία τούτῳ μέντοι, ἔφη, ἐγὼ οὐ ποιῶ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλα φιλοκινδύνως ὑπομένω, ἢν ποθέν τι ἐλπίζω λύψεσθαι.

34 Ἀλλ' ἀγε δή, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὖ λέγε ἢμῖν, ὁ Ἀντίσθενες, πῶς οὕτω βραχέα ἔχων μέγα φρονεῖς ἐπὶ πλούτῳ.
"Οτι νομίζω, ὃ ἀνδρεῖς, τοὺς ἀνθρώπους οὐκ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τῶν πλούτων καὶ τήν πενίαν ἔχειν ἀλλ' ἐν

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1 Charmides is apparently drawing the picture of the independent voter or member of a jury.
2 The poor relief.

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Now, however, since I am stripped of my property over the border and get no income from the property in Attica, and my household effects have been sold, I stretch out and enjoy a sound sleep, I have gained the confidence of the state, I am no longer subjected to threats but do the threatening now myself; and I have the free man's privilege of going abroad or staying here at home as I please. People now actually rise from their seats in deference to me, and rich men obsequiously give me the right of way on the street. Now I am like a despot; then I was clearly a slave. Then I paid a revenue to the body politic; now I live on the tribute that the state pays to me. Moreover, people used to vilify me, when I was wealthy, for consorting with Socrates; but now that I have got poor, no one bothers his head about it any longer. Again, when my property was large, either the government or fate was continually making me throw some of it to the winds; but now, far from throwing anything away (for I possess nothing), I am always in expectation of acquiring something."

"Your prayers, also," said Callias, "are doubtless to the effect that you may never be rich; and if you ever have a fine dream you sacrifice, do you not, to the deities who avert disasters?"

"Oh, no!" was the reply; "I don't go so far as that; I hazard the danger with great heroism if I have any expectation of getting something from some one."

"Come, now, Antisthenes," said Socrates, "take your turn and tell us how it is that with such slender means you base your pride on wealth."

"Because, sirs, I conceive that people's wealth and poverty are to be found not in their real estate but
XENOPHON

35 ταῖς ψυχαῖς. όρω γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν ἰδιώτας, οἵ πάνυ πολλὰ ἔχοντες χρήματα οὕτω πένευσθαι ἤγοϋνται ὡστε πάντα μὲν πόνου, πάντα δὲ κίνδυνον ὑποδύονται ἐφ’ ὧ πλείονα κτίσονται, οἴδα δὲ καὶ ἀδελφοὺς, οἳ τὰ ἱσα λαχόντες ὁ μὲν αὐτῶν τάρκουντα ἔχει καὶ περιττεύοντα τῆς δαπάνης, ὁ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς ἐνδείται: αἰσθάνομαι δὲ καὶ τυράννους τινάς, οἳ οὕτω πεινῶσι χρημάτων ὡστε ποιοῦσι πολὺ δεινότερα τῶν ἀπορωτάτων’ δι’ ἐνδειαν γὰρ δήπον οἳ μὲν κλέπτουσι, οἳ δὲ τοιχωρυχοῦσι, οἳ δὲ ἀνδραποδίζονται τύραννοι δ’ εἰσὶ τινες οἳ ὀλοὺς μὲν οἴκους ἀναιροῦσιν, ἀθρόους δ’ ἀποκτείνουσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ὀλας πόλεις χρημάτων ἐνεκα ἐξανδραποδίζονται. τούτους μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε καὶ πάνυ οὐκτίρω τῆς ἄγαν χαλεπῆς νόσου. οὕμοια γὰρ μοι δοκοῦσι πάσχειν ὡσπερ εἰ τις πολλὰ ἐχὼν καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθίων μηδέποτε ἐμπίπλαιτο. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω μὲν πολλὰ ἐχὼ ώς μόλις αὐτὰ καὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸς εὔρισκω· οὕμως δὲ περίεστι μοι καὶ ἐσθίοντι ἄχρι τοῦ μὴ πεινὴν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ πίνοντι μέχρι τοῦ μὴ διψῆν καὶ ἀμφιένυνυσθαι ὡστε ἐξω μὲν μηδὲν μᾶλλον Καλ- λίου τοῦτον τοῦ πλουσιωτάτου μιγών· ἐπειδὰν γε μὴν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ γένωμαι, πάνυ μὲν ἀλευροὶ χιτῶνες οἱ τοῖχοί μοι δοκοῦσι εἶναι, πάνω δὲ παχεῖα ἐφεστρίδες οἱ ὅροφοι, στρωμνὴν γε μὴν οὕτως ἂρκοῦσαν ἔχω ὡστ’ ἔργον με γ’ ἔστι καὶ ἀνεγείραι. ἦν δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀφροδισιάσαι τὸ σῶμα μου δεηθή, οὕτω μοι τὸ παρὸν ἀρκεῖ ὡστε αἰς ἀν

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in their hearts. For I see many persons, not in office, who though possessors of large resources, yet look upon themselves as so poor that they bend their backs to any toil, any risk, if only they may increase their holdings; and again I know of brothers, with equal shares in their inheritance, where one of them has plenty, and more than enough to meet expenses, while the other is in utter want. Again, I am told of certain despots, also, who have such a greedy appetite for riches that they commit much more dreadful crimes than they who are afflicted with the direst poverty. For it is of course their want that makes some people steal, others commit burglary, others follow the slave trade; but there are some despots who destroy whole families, kill men wholesale, oftentimes enslave even entire cities, for the sake of money. As for such men, I pity them deeply for their malignant disease; for in my eyes their malady resembles that of a person who possessed abundance but though continually eating could never be satisfied. For my own part, my possessions are so great that I can hardly find them myself; yet I have enough so that I can eat until I reach a point where I no longer feel hungry and drink until I do not feel thirsty and have enough clothing so that when out of doors I do not feel the cold any more than my superlatively wealthy friend Callias here, and when I get into the house I look on my walls as exceedingly warm tunics and the roofs as exceptionally thick mantles; and the bedding that I own is so satisfactory that it is actually a hard task to get me awake in the morning. If I ever feel a natural desire for converse with women, I am so well satisfied with whatever chance puts in my way that those to whom
προσέλθω ὑπερασπάζονταί με διὰ τὸ μηδένα ἀλ-
λον αὐταῖς ἔθελεν προσιέναι. καὶ πάντα τοίνυν
tαῦτα οὕτως ἦδέα μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὡς μᾶλλον μὲν
ηδεσθαι ποιῶν ἐκαστα αὐτῶν οὐκ ἂν εὐξαίμην,
ήττον δὲ οὕτω μοι δοκεῖ ἔνια αὐτῶν ἦδῶ εἶναι
tοῦ συμφέροντος. πλείστου δ' ἄξιον κτῆμα ἐν τῷ
ἐμῷ πλοῦτῳ λογίζομαι εἶναι ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ μού τις
καὶ τὰ νῦν οὐτα παρέλυοτο, οὐδὲν οὕτως ὅρῳ
φαύλου ἔργον ὅποιον οὐκ ἄρκοῦσαν ἂν τροφῆν
ἔμοι παρέχοι. καὶ γὰρ ὅταν ἡδυπαθῆσαι βου-
ληθώ, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὰ τίμια ὄνομα, πολυ-
tελή γὰρ γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ψυχῆς ταμιεύομαι.
καὶ πολὺ πλεῖον διαφέρει πρὸς ἡδονήν, ὅταν ἀνα-
μείνας τὸ δεηθήναι προσφέρωμαι ἢ ὅταν τινὶ τῶν
τιμίων χρώμαι, ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν τὸδε τῷ Θασίῳ
οἵνε ἐντυχὼν οὐ διψῶν πίνω αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν
καὶ πολὺ δικαιότερον γε εἰκός εἶναι τοὺς εὐτέ-
λειαν μᾶλλον ἡ πολυχρηματίαν σκοποῦντας. οἷς
γὰρ μάλιστα τὰ παρόντα ἁρκεῖ ἥκιστα τῶν ἀλλο-
τρίων ὀρέγονται. ἄξιον δ' ἐννοῆσαι ὡς καὶ
ἐλευθερίους ὁ τοιοῦτος πλοῦτος παρέχεται. Σω-
κράτης τε γὰρ οὕτος, παρ' οὐ ἐγὼ τοῦτον
ἐκτησάμην, οὐτ' ἀριθμῷ οὕτε σταθμῷ ἐπήρκει
μοι, ἀλλ' ὅποσον ἐδυνάμην φerefshai, τοσοῦτον
μοι παρεδίδου· ἐγὼ τε νῦν οὐδενὶ φθονω, ἀλλὰ
πάσι τοῖς φίλοις καὶ ἐπιδεικνύω τὴν ἁθονίαν καὶ
μεταδίδωμι τῷ βουλομένῳ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ ψυχῇ
I make my addresses are more than glad to welcome me because they have no one else who wants to consort with them. In a word, all these items appeal to me as being so conducive to enjoyment that I could not pray for greater pleasure in performing any one of them, but could pray rather for less—so much more pleasurable do I regard some of them than is good for one. But the most valuable parcel of my wealth I reckon to be this, that even though some one were to rob me of what I now possess, I see no occupation so humble that it would not give me adequate fare. For whenever I feel an inclination to indulge my appetite, I do not buy fancy articles at the market (for they come high), but I draw on the store-house of my soul. And it goes a long way farther toward producing enjoyment when I take food only after awaiting the craving for it than when I partake of one of these fancy dishes, like this fine Thasian wine that fortune has put in my way and I am drinking without the promptings of thirst. Yes, and it is natural that those whose eyes are set on frugality should be more honest than those whose eyes are fixed on money-making. For those who are most contented with what they have are least likely to covet what belongs to others. And it is worth noting that wealth of this kind makes people generous, also. My friend Socrates here and I are examples. For Socrates, from whom I acquired this wealth of mine, did not come to my relief with limitation of number and weight, but made over to me all that I could carry. And as for me, I am now niggardly to no one, but both make an open display of my abundance to all my friends and share my spiritual wealth with any one of them that desires it.
πλοῦτον. καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ ἀβρότατὸν γε κτήμα
tὴν σχολὴν ἀεὶ ὀράτε μοι παροῦσαν, ὥστε καὶ
θεάσθαι τὰ ἀξιοθέατα καὶ ἄκουεν τὰ ἀξιώκουστα
cαὶ ὁ πλείστον ἐγὼ τιμῶμαι. Ἐσκράτει σχολάζων
συνδιημερεύειν. καὶ οὕτως δὲ οὗ τοὺς πλείστον
ἀριθμοῦντας χρυσόν θαυμάζει, ἀλλ' οἳ ἀν αὐτῷ
ἀρέσκωσι τούτοις συνὼν διαστελεῖ.

Οὔτος μὲν οὖν οὕτως εἶπεν. ὁ δὲ Καλλίας, Νη
tὴν Ἡραν, ἐφή, τὰ τὲ ἄλλα ξηλῶ σε τοῦ πλοῦτου
cαὶ ὅτι οὔτε ἡ πόλις σοι ἐπιτάττουσα ὡς δούλῳ
χρήσαι οὔτε οἱ ἀνθρώποι, ἵνα μὴ δανείσης,
ὀργίζονται.

'Αλλὰ μὰ Δί, ἐφη ὁ Νικήρατος, μὴ ξηλοῦ ἐγὼ
γὰρ ἥξω πιγρ' αὐτοῦ δανεισόμενος τὸ μηδενὸς
προσδείσθαι, οὕτω πεπαιδευμένος ὑπὸ Ὁμήρου
ἀριθμεῖν

ἐπτ' ἀπὸρος τρίποδας, δέκα δὲ χρυσόο τά-
λαντα,
αιθωνας δὲ λέβητας ἐεῖκοσι, δώδεκα δ' ὑπ'πους,

σταθμῷ καὶ ἄριθμῳ, ὡς πλείστον πλούτου ἐπιθυ-
μῶν οὐ παύομαι: ἐξ ὧν ὦσι καὶ φιλοχρηματώ-
τομος τῷ δοκῶ εἶναι.

Ἐνθα δὴ ἀνεγέλασαν ἄπαντες, νομίζοντες τὰ
ὅντα εἰρήκεναι αὐτοῦ.

Ἐκ τούτου εἰπέ τις: Σὺν ἐργον, ὁ Ἐρμόγενες,
λέγειν τε τοὺς φίλους οὕτως εἰσὶ καὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι
ὡς μέγα τε δύνανται καὶ σοῦ ἐπιμέλουνται, ἵνα
dοκῆς δικαίως ἐτ' αὐτοῖς μέγα φρονεῖν.

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1 II. ix, 122 f., 264 f.
But—most exquisite possession of all!—you observe that I always have leisure, with the result that I can go and see whatever is worth seeing, and hear whatever is worth hearing and—what I prize highest—pass the whole day, untroubled by business, in Socrates’ company. Like me, he does not bestow his admiration on those who count the most gold, but spends his time with those who are congenial to him."

Such was the thesis maintained by Antisthenes. "So help me Hera," commented Callias, "among the numerous reasons I find for congratulating you on your wealth, one is that the government does not lay its commands on you and treat you as a slave, another is that people do not feel resentful at your not making them a loan."

"Do not be congratulating him," said Niceratus; "because I am about to go and get him to make me a loan—of his contentment with his lot, schooled as I am by Homer to count

‘Sev’n pots unfired, ten talents’ weight of gold,
A score of gleaming cauldrons, chargers twelve,’
weighing and calculating until I am never done with yearning for vast riches; as a result, some people perhaps regard me as just a bit fond of lucre."

A burst of laughter from the whole company greeted this admission; for they considered that he had told nothing more than the truth.

"Hermogenes, it devolves on you," some one now remarked, "to mention who your friends are and to demonstrate their great power and their solicitude for you, so that your pride in them may appear justified."
47 Οὐκοῦν ὃς μὲν καὶ Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγούνται πάντα εἰδέναι τα τε ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα εὐδήλουν. πᾶσαι γοῦν αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὰ ἔθνη διὰ μαντικῆς ἐπερωτῶσι τοὺς θεοὺς τὶ τε χρῆ καὶ τὶ οὐ χρῆ ποιεῖν. καὶ μὴν ὅτι νομίζομεν γε δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς καὶ εὗ καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τούτο σαφές. πάντες γοῦν αἰτοῦνται τοὺς θεοὺς τὰ μὲν φαύλα ἀποτρέπειν, τἀγαθὰ δὲ διδόναι. οὔτοι τούνων οἱ πάντα μὲν εἰδότες πάντα δὲ δυνάμενοι θεοὶ οὔτω μοι φίλοι εἰσίν ὡστε διὰ τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μοι οὖποτε λήθω αὐτοὺς οὔτε νυκτὸς οὐθ' ἡμέρας οὐθ' ὅποι ἀν ὁμωμαί οὐθ' ὁ τι ἀν μέλλω πράττειν. διὰ δὲ τὸ προειδέναι καὶ δ' τι ἔξ' ἐκάστοι ἀποβῆσεται σημαίνουσι μοι πέμπτοντες ἀγγέλους φίμας καὶ ἐνύπνια καὶ οἴνους ἀ τε δεῖ καὶ ἀ οὐ χρῆ ποιεῖν, οῖς ἐγὼ ὅταν μὲν πείθωμαι, οὐδέποτε μοι μεταμέλειν ἢδη δὲ ποτε καὶ ἀπιστήσας ἐκολάσθην.

48 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐίπεν Ἄλλα τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἀπιστοῦν. ἐκεῖνο μὲντοι ἔγωγε γῆδεως ἀν πυθοῖμην, πῶς αὐτοὺς θεραπεύουν οὔτω φίλους ἔχεις.

Ναὶ μᾶ τὸν Δί, ἐφή ὁ Ἕρμογένης, καὶ μάλα εὐτελῶς. ἐπαινῶ τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν δαπάνων, ὅν τε διδόσαιν ἄει αὐτὸ παρέχομαι, εὐφημῶ τε ὅσα ἀν δύνωμαι καὶ ἐφ' οἷς ἂν αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας ποιήσωμαι έκὼν οὐδὲν ψεύδομαι.

Νὴ Δί, ἐφή ὁ Σωκράτης, εἰ ἁρὰ τοιοῦτος ὃν φίλους αὐτοὺς ἔχεις, καὶ οἱ θεοὶ, ὡς ἔοικε, καλοκάγαθα ἴδονται.

Οὔτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος οὔτως ἐσπουδαιολογήθην.

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"Very well; in the first place, it is clear as day that both Greeks and barbarians believe that the gods know everything both present and to come; at any rate, all cities and all races ask the gods, by the diviner's art, for advice as to what to do and what to avoid. Second, it is likewise manifest that we consider them able to work us good or ill; at all events, every one prays the gods to avert evil and grant blessings. Well, these gods, omniscient and omnipotent, feel so friendly toward me that their watchfulness over me never lets me out of their ken night or day, no matter where I am going or what business I have in view. They know the results also that will follow any act; and so they send me as messengers omens of sounds, dreams, and birds, and thus indicate what I ought to do and what I ought not to do. And when I do their bidding, I never regret it; on the other hand, I have before now disregarded them and have been punished for it."

"None of these statements," said Socrates, "is incredible. But what I should like very much to know is how you serve them to keep them so friendly."

"A very economical service it is, I declare!" responded Hermogenes. "I sound their praises,—which costs nothing; I always restore them part of what they give me; I avoid profanity of speech as far as I can; and I never wittingly lie in matters wherein I have invoked them to be my witnesses."

"Truly," said Socrates, "if it is conduct like this that gives you their friendship, then the gods also, it would seem, take delight in nobility of soul!"

Such was the serious turn given to the discussion of this topic.
50 Ἐπειδή δὲ εἰς τὸν Φίλιππον ἥκον, ἡρώτων αὐτὸν τί ὅρων ἐν τῇ γελωτοποιίᾳ μέγα ἐπὶ αὐτὴν φρονοῖ. Οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον, ἂφη, ὅποτε γε πάντες εἴδοτες ὅτι γελωτοποιώς εἰμὶ, ὅταν μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἔχωσι, παρακαλοῦσί με ἐπὶ ταῦτα προθύμως, ὅταν δὲ τι κακὸν λάβωσι, φεύγουσιν ἄμεταστρεπτί, φοβούμενοι μὴ καὶ ἀκόντες γελάσωσι;

51 Καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος εἶπε· Ἡ Δία, σὺ τοῖνυν δικαίως μέγα φρονεῖς. ἔμοι γὰρ αὐ τῶν ψιλῶν οἱ μὲν εὐ πράπτοντες ἐκποδῶν ἀπέρχονται, οὐ δ᾽ ἂν κακὸν τὶ λάβωσι, γενεαλογοῦσι τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ οὐδέποτὲ μοι ἀπολείπονται.

52 Ἐγεῖν· σὺ δὲ δὴ, ἂφη ὁ Χαρµίδης, ὁ Συρακόσιε, ἐπὶ τῷ μέγα φρονεῖς; ἡ δὴ λοιν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ παιδί; Μᾶ τὸν Δί', ἂφη, οὐ μὲν δὴ· ἅλλα καὶ δέδοικα περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱσχυρῶς. αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ τινὰς ἐπιβουλεύοντας διαφθείραι αὐτὸν.

53 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἀκούσας, Ἡράκλεις, ἂφη, τὶ τοσοῦτον νομίζοντες ἰδικήσθαι ὕπο τοῦ σοῦ παιδὸς ὡστε ἀποκτείναι αὐτὸν βούλεσθαι; Ἄλλῳ οὕτως, ἂφη, ἀποκτείναι βούλονται, ἅλλα πείσαι αὐτὸν συγκαθεύδειν αὐτοῖς. Σὺ δ', ὡς ἔσικας, εἰ τοῦτο γένοιτο, νομίζεις ἂν διαφθαρῆναι αὐτόν;

Ναὶ μᾶ Δί', ἂφη, παντάπασι γε.

54 Οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἄρ', ἂφη, συγκαθεύδεις αὐτῷ; Ἡ Δί' ὅλας γε καὶ πάσας τὰς νύκτας.
When they got around to Philip, they asked him what he saw in the jester's profession to feel proud of it.

"Have I not a right to be proud," said he, "when all know that I am a jester, and so whenever they have a bit of good fortune, give me hearty invitations to come and join them, but when they suffer some reverse, run from me with never a glance behind, in dread that they may be forced to laugh in spite of themselves?"

"Your pride is abundantly justified," said Niceratus. "In my case, on the contrary, those friends who enjoy success keep out of my way, but those that run into some mishap reckon up their kinship to me on the family tree, and I can't get rid of them."

"No doubt," said Charmides; and then, turning to the Syracusan, "What is it that you are proud of? The boy, I suppose?"

"Quite the contrary," was the reply; "I am instead in extreme apprehension about him. For I understand that there are certain persons plotting his undoing."

On receiving this information, "Good Heavens!" exclaimed Socrates; "what wrong do they imagine your lad has done them that is grave enough to make them wish to kill him?"

Syr. "It is not killing him that they desire; oh, no! but to persuade him to sleep with them."

Soc. "Your belief, then, if I mistake not, is that if this happened, he would be undone?"

Syr. "Aye, utterly!"

Soc. "Do you not then sleep in his bed yourself?"

Syr. "Most certainly, all night and every night."
Νὴ τὴν "Ἡραν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, εὐτ··χημά γέ σου μέγα τὸ τῶν χρῶτα τοιοῦτον φύναι ἔχοντα ὥστε μόνον μὴ διαφθείρειν τοὺς συγκαθεύδοντας. ὥστε σοὶ γε εἰ μὴ ἔπι ἄλλω ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ χρωτὶ ἀξίον μέγα φρονεῖν.

55 Ἅλλα μὰ Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῦτῳ μέγα φρονῶ. Ἅλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴν; Ἐπὶ νὴ Δία τοῖς ἀφροσίν. οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ νευρόσπαστα θεώμενοι τρέφουσι με.

Ταὐτα γὰρ, ἔφη ὁ Φίλιππος, καὶ πρὸν ἐγὼ σου ἡκουν εὐχομένου πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὁποὺ ἄν ἂν διδόναι καρποῦ μὲν ἀφθονίαν, φρενῶν δὲ ἀφορίαν.

56 Εἴειν, ἔφη ὁ Καλλίας· σὺ δὲ δῆ, ὡς Σωκρατεῖς, τί ἐχεις εἰπεῖν ὡς ἄξιόν σοι ἐστὶ μέγα φρονεῖν ἐφ' ἦ εἰπας οὕτως ἀδόξῳ οὕσῃ τέχνῃ; 

Καὶ ὁς εἰπεν· Ὀμολογησώμεθα πρῶτον πολὴ ἐστίν ἔργα τοῦ μαστροποῦ· καὶ ὅσα ἄν ἔρωτῳ μὴ οκνεῖτε ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ἵνα εἴδωμεν ὅσα ἄν συνομολογῶμεν. καὶ ὡμῖν οὕτω δοκεῖ; ἔφη.

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφασαν. ὃς δ' ἄπαξ εἰπὼν Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, τούτῳ πάντες ἐκ τοῦ λοιποῦ ἀπεκρίναντο.

57 Οὐκοῦν ἄγαθοῦ μὲν, ἔφη, ύμῖν δοκεῖ μαστροποῦ ἔργων εἶναι ἂν ἂν ἂν ἂν μαστροπεύῃ ἀρέσκοντα τοῦτον ἀποδεικνύναι ὅις ἄν συνῇ; 

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφασαν.

Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τί ἐστίν εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν ἐκ τοῦ πρέπουσαν ἔχειν σχέσιν καὶ τριχῶν καὶ ἐσθήτος; 

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἐφασαν.

58 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τόδε ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπῳ
Soc. "Marry, you are in great luck to be formed of such flesh that you are unique in not corrupting those that sleep with you. And so you have a right to be proud of your flesh if of nothing else."

Syr. "And yet that is not the basis of my pride."

Soc. "What is, then?"

Syr. "Fools, in faith. They give me a livelihood by coming to view my marionettes."

"Ah!" ejaculated Philip; "that explains the prayer I heard you uttering the other day, that wherever you were the gods would grant you an abundant harvest of grain but a crop-failure of wits!"

"Good!" said Callias. "And now, Socrates, what can you advance in support of your pride in that disreputable profession that you mentioned?"

"Let us first," said he, "come to an understanding on the functions that belong to the procurer. Do not hesitate to answer all the questions I ask you, so that we may know our points of agreement. Is that your pleasure?" he asked.

"Certainly," was their reply; and when they had once started with "certainly," that was the regular answer they all made to his questions thereafter.

Soc. "Well, then, you consider it the function of a good procurer to render the man or the woman whom he is serving attractive to his or her associates?"

All. "Certainly."

Soc. "Now, one thing that contributes to rendering a person attractive is a comely arrangement of hair and clothing, is it not?"

All. "Certainly."

"This, also, we know, do we not, that it is in a
τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὀμμασί καὶ φιλικῶς καὶ ἐχθρῶς πρὸς τινας βλέπειν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ; τῇ αὐτῇ φωνῇ ἔστι καὶ αἰδημόνως καὶ θρασέως φθέγγεσθαι;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

Τί δέ; λόγοι οὖκ εἰσὶ μὲν τινες ἀπεχθανόμενοι, εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ πρὸς φιλίαν ἀγουσί οὖν.

59 Ὅνκοιν τούτων ὁ ἀγαθὸς μαστροπός τὰ συμφέροντα εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκειν διδάσκοι ἂν;

Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

'Αμείωνων δ' ἂν εὖ, ἐφή, ὁ ἐνὶ δυνάμενος ἀρεστοὺς ποιεῖν ἡ ὀστὶς καὶ πολλοῖς;

'Ενταῦθα μὲντοι ἐσχίσθησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἶπον Δήλον ὅτι ὀστὶς πλείστοις, οἱ δὲ Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

60 'Ὁ δ' εἶπόν ότι καὶ τούτῳ ὁμολογεῖται ἐφή. Εἰ δέ τις καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλει ἀρέσκοντας δύνατο ἀποδεικνύναι, οὖχ οὕτος παντελῶς ἂν ἡδὴ ἀγαθὸς μαστροπὸς εὖ;

Σαφῶς γε νὴ Δία, πάντες εἴπον.

Οὐκοίν εἰ τις τοιοῦτος δύνατο ἐξεργάζεσθαι ἂν προστατοῖ, δικαίως ἂν μέγα φρονοὶ ἐπὶ τῇ τέχνῃ καὶ δικαίως ἂν πολυν μισθὸν λαμβάνοι;

61 'Επεὶ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντες συνωμολόγουν, Τοιοῦτος μέντοι, ἐφή, μοι δοκεῖ Ἀντισθένης εἶναι οὕτος.

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man's power to use the one pair of eyes to express both friendship and hostility?"

"Certainly."

"And again, it is possible to speak both modestly and boldly with the same voice?"

"Certainly."

"Moreover, are there not words that create ill feeling and others that conduce to friendliness?"

"Certainly."

"Now the good procurer would teach only the words that tend to make one attractive, would he not?"

"Certainly."

"Which one would be the better?" he continued, "the one who could make people attractive to a single person or the one who could make them attractive to many?"

This question brought a division; some said, "Clearly the one who could make them attractive to a great many"; the others merely repeated, "Certainly."

Remarking that they were all of one mind on this point as on the others, he went on: "If a person could render people attractive to the entire community, would he not satisfy the requirements of the ideal procurer?"

"Indubitably," they all said.

"And so, if one could produce men of this type out of his clients, he would be entitled to feel proud of his profession and to receive a high remuneration, would he not?"

All agreeing on this point, too, he added, "Antisthenes here seems to me to be a man of just that sort."
Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης, Ἐμοί, ἔφη, παραδίδως, ὁ Ὀκρατεῖς, τὴν τέχνην;
Ναι μὰ Δῆ, ἔφη. ὀρῶ γὰρ σε καὶ τὴν ἀκόλουθον ταύτης πάνω ἑξειργασμένον.
Τίνα ταύτην;
Τὴν προαγωγεῖαν, ἔφη.

Καὶ ὅσ μᾶλα ἀρθέσθεις ἐπηρετοῖ. Καὶ τί μοι σύνοισθα, ὁ Ὀκρατεῖς, τοιοῦτον εἰργασμένον;
Οἶδα μὲν, ἔφη, σε Καλλίαν τούτοι προαγωγεύσαντα τῷ σοφῷ Προδίκῳ, ὅτε ἐώρας τούτον μὲν φιλοσοφίας ἐρώτα, ἐκείνου δὲ χρημάτων δεόμενον. οἶδα δὲ γένος ἐπ̈την τῷ Ἡλείῳ, παρ' οὐ οὕτως καὶ τῷ μυθικόν ἐμαθεῖν. ἀφ' οὐ δὴ καὶ ἐρωτικότερος γεγένηται διὰ τὸ ὁ τι ἄν καλὸν ἴδῃ μη-δέποτε ἐπιλαυθάνεσθαι. ἐγαγχος δὲ δῆπον καὶ πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶν τὸν Ἡρακλεώτην ξένον ἐπεί με ἐποίησας ἐπιθυμεῖν αὐτοῖ, συνεστησάς μοι αὐτῶν. καὶ χάριν μὲντοι σοι ἔχω, πάνω γὰρ καλὸς κάγαθος δοκεῖ μοι εἶναι. Λύσχύλων δὲ τὸν Φλειάστον πρὸς ἐμὲ ἐπαινῶ καὶ ἐμὲ πρὸς ἐκείνου οὐχ οὕτω διέθηκας ὡστε διὰ τούς σοὺς λόγους ἐρώτες ἐκνοδρομούμεν ἀλλήλους ξητοῦντες; ταῦτα οὖν ὦρῶν δυνάμενον σε ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν νομίζω προαγωγὸν εῖναι. ο γὰρ οἶδος τε ὧν γιγνώσκειν τοὺς ὀφελίμους αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτος δυνάμενος ποιεῖν ἐπιθυμεῖν ἀλλήλων, οὕτως ἄν μοι δοκεῖ καὶ πόλεις δύνασθαι φίλας ποιεῖν καὶ γάμους ἐπιτηδείους

1 Zeuxippus, the painter. Cf. Plato, Protag. 318 B, C.
2 Nothing further seems to be known of this man.

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Antisthenes asked, "Are you resigning your profession to me, Socrates?"

"Assuredly," was the answer. "For I see that you have brought to a high state of perfection the complementary trade."

"What is that?"

"The profession of go-between," he said.

Antisthenes was much incensed and asked, "What knowledge can you possibly have of my being guilty of such a thing as that?"

"I know several instances," he replied. "I know that you acted the part between Callias here and the scholar Prodicus, when you saw that Callias was in love with philosophy and that Prodicus wanted money. I know also that you did the same for Hippias, the Elean, from whom Callias got his memory system; and as a result, Callias has become more amorous than ever, because he finds it impossible to forget any beauty he sees. And just recently, you remember, you introduced the stranger from Heraclea\(^1\) to me, after arousing my keen interest in him by your commendations. For this I am indeed grateful to you; for I look upon him as endowed with a truly noble nature. And did you not laud Aeschylus the Phleiasian\(^2\) to me and me to him until you brought us to such a pass that in mutual yearning, excited by your words, we went coursing like hounds to find each other? It is the witnessing of your talent at achieving such a result that makes me judge you an excellent go-between. For the man who can recognize those who are fitted to be mutually helpful and can make them desire one another's acquaintance, that man, in my opinion, could also create friendship between cities and arrange

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1. Heraclea
2. Phleiasian
XENOPHON

συνάγειν, καὶ πολλοῦ ἄν ἄξιος εἶναι καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος κεκτήσθαι. 
σὺ δὲ ὡς κακῶς ἀκούσας ὅτι ἀγαθόν σε ἐφῆ προαγωγὸν εἶναι, ὁργίσθης.

'Αλλὰ μὰ Δι', ἐφῆ, οὐ νῦν. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦτα δύνωμαι, σεσαγμένος δὴ παντάπασι πλούτου τήν
ψυχήν ἐσομαι.

Καὶ αὐτῇ μὲν δὴ ἡ περίοδος τῶν λόγων ἀπετελέσθη.

V. Ὁ δὲ Καλλίας ἐφη: Σὺ δὲ δὴ, ὦ Κριτό- 

βουλῆς, εἰς τὸν περὶ τοῦ κάλλους ἀγώνα πρὸς 
Σωκράτην οὐκ ἀνθίσθασαι;

Νὴ Δι', ἐφὴ ο Σωκράτης, ἰσως γὰρ εὐδοκι-

μόντα τὸν μαστροποῦ παρὰ τοῖς κριταῖς ὀρᾶ.

2 'Αλλ' ἀμως, ἐφη ο Κριτόβουλος, οὐκ ἀναδύ-

μαι· ἀλλὰ δίδασκε, εἰ τὶ ἔχεις σοφὸν, ὡς καλλίων 
εἰ ἐμοῦ. μόνον, ἐφη, τὸν λαμπτήρα ἐγγὺς τις 
προσενεγκάτω.

Εἰς ἀνάκρισιν τοίνυν σε, ἐφη, πρῶτον τῆς δίκης 
καλούμαι· ἀλλ' ἀποκρίνου.

Σὺ δὲ γε ἐρώτα.

3 Πότερον οὖν ἐν ἁνθρώπῳ μόνον νομίζεις τὸ 

καλὸν εἶναι ἢ καὶ ἐν ἀλλῳ τινὶ;

'Εγὼ μὲν ναὶ μὰ Δι', ἐφη, καὶ ἐν ὑπ’ωρ καὶ βολ 
καὶ ἐν ἀφύχοισ πολλοῖς. οἶδα γοῦν οὖσαν καὶ 
ἀσπίδα καλῆν καὶ ξίφος καὶ δόρων.

4 Καὶ πῶς, ἐφη, οἶον τε ταῦτα μηδὲν ὁμοία ὄντα 

ἀλληλοὺς πάντα καλὰ εἶναι;

1 καὶ ἰδιώταις φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος Finekh; καὶ φίλοις καὶ 

συμμάχοισ MSS.; Sauppe brackets καὶ συμμάχοισ.

2 ἐγγὺς tis Mehler: ἐγγὺς MSS.

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suitable marriages, and would be a very valuable acquisition as friend or ally for both states and individuals. But you got indignant, as if you had received an affront, when I said that you were a good go-between."

"But, indeed, that is all over now," he replied; "for with this power mine I shall find my soul chock-full of riches."

And so this round of discourse was brought to a close.

V. Callias now said, "Critobulus, are you going to refuse to enter the lists in the beauty contest with Socrates?"

"Undoubtedly!" said Socrates; "for probably he notices that the procurer stands high in the favour of the judges."

"But yet in spite of that," retorted Critobulus, "I do not shun the contest. So make your plea, if you can produce any profound reason, and prove that you are more handsome than I. Only," he added, "let some one bring the light close to him."

"The first step, then, in my suit," said Socrates, "is to summon you to the preliminary hearing; be so kind as to answer my questions."

"And you proceed to put them."

"Do you hold, then, that beauty is to be found only in man, or is it also in other objects?"

Crit. "In faith, my opinion is that beauty is to be found quite as well in a horse or an ox or in any number of inanimate things. I know, at any rate, that a shield may be beautiful, or a sword, or a spear."

Soc. "How can it be that all these things are beautiful when they are entirely dissimilar?"
"Hv n' Δ', ἐφη, πρὸς τὰ ἔργα ὅν ἕνεκα ἐκαστα κτώμεθα εὐ εἰργασμένα ἦ ἦ εὖ πεφυκότα πρὸς ἄν δὲ ὑπήθεμα, καὶ ταῦτ', ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, καλά.

5 Οἶσθα οὖν, ἐφη, ὄφθαλμῳν τίνος ἕνεκα δεόμεθα; Δὴ λοῦ, ἐφη, ὁτι τοῦ ὀρᾶν.
Οὔτω μὲν τοίνυν ἦδη οἱ ἐμοὶ ὄφθαλμοι καλ-
λίονες ἄν τῶν σῶν εὐὴσαν.
Πῶς δή;
Οτι οἱ μὲν σοὶ τὸ κἀτ' εὐθὺ μόνον ὀρῶσιν, οἱ
dὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιτόλαιοι
einai.

Δέγεις σὺ, ἐφη, καρκίνον εὐοφθαλμότατον einai
τῶν ἔφων;
Πάντως δήπου, ἐφη· ἐπεὶ καὶ πρὸς ἵσχυν τοὺς
ὄφθαλμους ἀριστα πεφυκότας ἐχει.

6 Ἐϊεν, ἐφη, τῶν δὲ μινὸν ποτέρα καλλίων, ἡ σή
ἡ ἡ ἐμῇ;
'Εγὼ μὲν, ἐφη, οἴμαι τὴν ἐμὴν, εἴπερ γε τοῦ
ὀσφραίνεσθαι ἕνεκη ἐποίησαν ἡμῖν ρίνας οἱ θεοὶ.
οἱ μὲν γάρ σοι μυκτῆρες εἰς γῆν ὀρῶσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ
ἀναπέπτανται, ὡστε τὰς πάντοθεν όσμὰς προσ-
δέχεσθαι.
Τὸ δὲ δὴ σιμὸν τῆς μινὸς πῶς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ
κάλλιον;

"Οτι, ἐφη, οὐκ ἀντιφράττει, ἀλλ' ἐὰν εὐθὺς τὰς
οψεις ὀρᾶν ἄ ἄν ψυλλωματε η δὲ ὑψηλὴ ρίς
ωσπερ ἐπηρεάζουσα διατετείχικε τὰ ὄμματα.

1 Critobulus, of course, gets into trouble by his poor definition of beauty. In the Greek the ensuing discussion is made plausible by the fact that throughout both disputants use only one word, καλός, which means not only beautiful or handsome but also glorious, noble, excellent, fine; and though
"Why, they are beautiful and fine," answered Critobulus, "if they are well made for the respective functions for which we obtain them, or if they are naturally well constituted to serve our needs."

Soc. "Do you know the reason why we need eyes?"

Crit. "Obviously to see with."

"In that case, it would appear without further ado that my eyes are finer ones than yours."

"How so?"

"Because, while yours see only straight ahead, mine, by bulging out as they do, see also to the sides."

Crit. "Do you mean to say that a crab is better equipped visually than any other creature?"

Soc. "Absolutely; for its eyes are also better set to insure strength."

Crit. "Well, let that pass; but whose nose is finer, yours or mine?"

Soc. "Mine, I consider, granting that Providence made us noses to smell with. For your nostrils look down toward the ground, but mine are wide open and turned outward so that I can catch scents from all about."

"But how do you make a snub nose handsomer than a straight one?"

Soc. "For the reason that it does not put a barricade between the eyes but allows them unobstructed vision of whatever they desire to see; whereas a high nose, as if in despite, has walled the eyes off one from the other."

starting with the first meaning it soon shifts to the last. The translator is compelled to use different terms for this in the two parts of the argument.
ΧΕΝΟΦΩΝ

7 Τοῦ γε μην στόματος, ἐφη ὁ Κριτόβουλος, ὕψιμαι. εἰ γὰρ τοῦ ἄποδάκνειν ἐνεκα πεποίηται, πολὺ ἄν σὺ μεῖζον ἢ ἐγὼ ἄποδάκοις. διὰ δὲ τὸ παχέα ἐξειν τὰ χείλη οὐκ οἴει καὶ μαλακώτερόν σου ἐχειν τὸ φίλημα;

'Εσοικα, ἐφη, ἐγὼ κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον καὶ τῶν ὄνων αὐτῶν τὸ στόμα ἐχειν. ἐκεῖνο δὲ οὐδέν τεκμήριον λογίζῃ ὡς ἐγὼ σοῦ καλλίων εἰμί, ὃτι καὶ Ναίδες θεαὶ οὗσαί τοὺς Σειληνοὺς ἐμοὶ ὀμοιότεροὺς τίκτουσιν ἢ σοὶ;

8 Καὶ ὁ Κριτόβουλος, Οὐκέτι, ἐφη, ἔχω πρὸς σὲ ἀντιλέγειν, ἀλλὰ διαφερόντων, ἐφη, τὰς ψῆφους, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα εἰδῶ ὁ τι με χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἄποτεῖσαι. μόνον, ἐφη, κρυφὴ φερόντων. δέδοικα γὰρ τὸν σὸν καὶ Ἀντισθένους πλοῦτον μὴ με κατα- 

dυναστεύσῃ.

9 Ἡ μὲν δὲ παῖς καὶ ὁ παῖς κρύφα ἄνεφερον. ὁ 

dὲ Σωκράτης ὑν τούτῳ διέπραττε τὸν τε λύχνον 

ἀντιπροσενεγκείν τῷ Κριτόβουλῳ, ὡς μὴ ἐξ- 

απατηθεῖσαι οἱ κριταί, καὶ τῷ νικήσαντι μὴ 

ταινίας ἀλλὰ φιλήματα ἀναδίδομα παρὰ τῶν 

κριτῶν γενέσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξέπεσον αἱ ψῆφοι καὶ 

ἐγένοστο πᾶσαι σὺν Κριτόβουλῳ, Παπαῖ, ἐφη ὁ 

Σωκράτης, οὐχ ὀμοίων ἔοικε τὸ σὸν ἀργύριον, ὁ 

Κριτόβουλε, τῷ Καλλίου εἶναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τούτου 

dικαιοτέρους ποιεῖ, τὸ δὲ σὸν ὄσπερ τὸ πλείστον 

dιαφθείρειν ἰκανόν ἐστὶ καὶ δικαστὰς καὶ 

κριτάς.

VI. Ἕκ δὲ τούτου οἱ μὲν τὰ νικητήρια φιλή-

ματα ἀπολαμβάνειν τὸν Κριτόβουλον ἐκέλευον,
"As for the mouth," said Critobulus, "I concede that point. For if it is created for the purpose of biting off food, you could bite off a far bigger mouthful than I could. And don't you think that your kiss is also the more tender because you have thick lips?"

Soc. "According to your argument, it would seem that I have a mouth more ugly even than an ass's. But do you not reckon it a proof of my superior beauty that the River Nymphs, goddesses as they are, bear as their offspring the Seileni, who resemble me more closely than they do you?"

"I cannot argue any longer with you," answered Critobulus; "let them distribute the ballots, so that I may know without suspense what fine or punishment I must undergo. Only," he continued, "let the balloting be secret, for I am afraid that the 'wealth' you and Antisthenes possess will overmaster me."

So the maiden and the lad turned in the ballots secretly. While this was going on, Socrates saw to it that the light should be brought in front of Critobulus, so that the judges might not be misled, and stipulated that the prize given by the judges to crown the victor should be kisses and not ribbons. When the ballots were turned out of the urn and proved to be a unanimous verdict in favour of Critobulus, "Faugh!" exclaimed Socrates; "your money, Critobulus, does not appear to resemble Callias's. For his makes people more honest, while yours is about the most potent to corrupt men, whether members of a jury or judges of a contest."

VI. At this some of the company urged Critobulus to take his kisses, the meed of victory; others advised him to get the consent of the young
οί δὲ τὸν κύριον πείθειν, οί δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἐσκωπτοῦν. οὐ δὲ Ἕρμογένης κάνταύθα ἐσιώπα. καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὄνομάς αὐτοῦ, Ἐχοις ἄν, ἐφη, ὁ Ἕρμογενεσ, εἰπεῖν ἦμιν τί ἐστὶ παροιμία;

Καὶ ὃς ἀπεκρίνατο. Εἰ μὲν ὁ τι ἐστὶν ἐρωτᾶς, οὐκ οἶδα: τὸ μέντοι μοι δοκοῦν εἰποῦμ' ἄν.

'Αλλ' ὃ δοκεῖ, τοῦτ', ἐφη.

2 Ἐπὶ τοίνυν παρ' οἷνον λυπεῖν τοὺς συνόντας, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ κρίνω παροιμίαν.

Οἷσθ' οὖν, ἐφη, ὡτι καὶ σὺ νῦν ἡμᾶς λυπεῖς σιωπῶν;

'Ἡ καὶ ὅταν λέγῃ'; ἐφη.

Οὔκ, ἀλλ' ὅταν διαλίπωμεν.

'Ἡ οὖν λέληθε σε ὅτι μεταξὺ τοῦ ἡμᾶς λέγειν οὖν' ἄν τρίχα, μὴ ὅτι λόγου ἄν τις παρεἴρειε;

3 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, ᾽Ω Καλλία, ἔχοις ἄν τι, ἐφη, ἄνδρι ἐλεγχομένῳ βοηθῆσαι;

'Ἐγώ', ἐφη. ὅταν γὰρ ὁ αὐλὸς φθέγγηται, παντάπασι σιωπῶμεν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἕρμογένης, Ἡ οὖν βούλεσθε, ἐφη, ὡσπερ Νικόστρατος ὁ ύποκριτής τετράμετρα πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν κατέλεγεν, οὔτω καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν αὐλὸν ἦμιν διαλέγωμαι;

4 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης, Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ἐφη, Ἕρμογενεσ, οὔτω ποιεῖ. οἶμαι γὰρ, ὡσπερ ἡ φώθη ἡδίων πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν, οὔτω καὶ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἡδίων νεσθαι ἀν τι ὑπὸ τῶν φθόγγων, ἀλλως τε καὶ εἰ μορφάζοις ὡσπερ ἡ αὐλητρίς καὶ σὺ πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα.
people's legal guardian; and others indulged in other badinage. But even then Hermogenes kept silent. And Socrates, calling him by name, inquired, "Hermogenes, could you define 'convivial unpleasantness' for us?"

"If you ask me what it actually is," he answered, "I do not know; but I am willing to tell you what I think it is."

Soc. "Very well, tell us that."

Herm. "My definition of 'convivial unpleasantness' is the annoying of one's companions at their drink."

Soc. "Well, do you realize that at the present moment you conform to the definition by annoying us with your taciturnity?"

Herm. "What! while you are talking?"

"No, but in the intervals."

"Why, don't you see that a person could not insert even a hair in the interstices of your talk, much less a word?"

"Callias," said Socrates, appealing to him, "could you come to the rescue of a man hard put to it for an answer?"

"Yes, indeed," said he: "we are absolutely quiet every time the flute is played."

Hermogenes retorted, "Is it your wish that I should converse with you to the accompaniment of a flute, the way the actor Nicostratus used to recite tetrameter verses?"

"In Heaven's name, do so, Hermogenes," urged Socrates. "For I believe that precisely as a song is more agreeable when accompanied on the flute, so your discourse would be embellished somewhat by the music, especially if you were to gesticulate and pose, like the flute-girl, to point your words."
XENOPHON

5 Καὶ ὁ Καλλίας ἔφη· "Ὅταν οὖν ὁ 'Αντισθένης ὁδ' ἐλέγχῃ τινὰ ἐν τῷ συμποσίῳ, τί ἔσται τὸ αὐλήμα; 
Καὶ ὁ 'Αντισθένης εἶπε, Τῶ μὲν ἐλεγχομένῳ οἴμαι ἃν, ἔφη, πρέπειν συριγμὸν.

6 Τοιούτων δὲ λόγων ὄντων ὡς ἔσται ὁ Συρακόσιος τῶν μὲν αὐτοῦ ἐπιδειγμάτων ἀμελοῦντας, ἀλλήλους δὲ ἡδομένους, φθονῶν τῶ Σωκράτει εἶπεν· Αρα σὺ, ὦ Σωκράτης, ὁ φροντιστής ἐπικαλούμενος;
Οὐκοιν κάλλιον, ἔφη, ἢ εἰ ἀφρόντιστος ἕκαλούμην;
Εἰ μὴ γε ἐδόκεις τῶν μετεώρων φροντιστῆς εἶναι.

7 Οἷσθα οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, μετεωρότερὸν τι τῶν θεῶν;
'Αλλ' οὐ μὰ Δί, ἔφη, οὗ τούτων σε λέγουσιν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀνωφελεστάτων.
Οὐκοιν καὶ οὕτως ἃν, ἔφη, θεῶν ἐπιμελοῦμην. ἀνωθεν μὲν γε ὑπότε ὥφελοῦσιν, ἀνωθεν δὲ φῶς παρέχουσιν. εἰ δὲ ψυχρὰ λέγω, σὺ αἰτίος, ἔφη, πράγματα μοι παρέχων.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν, ἔφη, ἕα: ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι πόσους

1 ἀφρόντιστος Capps; ἀφρόντιστος MSS.

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1 The Syracusan uses the word applied by the Greeks first to astronomical and then to philosophical (especially ontological) inquiry, a word of reproach for radical thinkers that was used against Socrates in Aristophanes’ burlesque, the 606
"What is the tune to be," asked Callias, "when Antisthenes here gets some one at the banquet cornered in an argument?"

"For the discomfited disputant," said Antisthenes, "I think the appropriate music would be a hissing."

The Syracusan, seeing that with such conversation going on the banqueters were paying no attention to his show, but were enjoying one another's company, said spitefully to Socrates, "Socrates, are you the one nick-named the 'Thinker'?"

"Well, isn't that preferable," he rejoined, "to being called the 'Thoughtless'?"

"Yes, if it were not that you are supposed to be a thinker on celestial subjects."¹

"Do you know," asked Socrates, "anything more celestial than the gods?"

Sy. "No; but that is not what people say you are concerned with, but rather with the most unbenevolent things."

Soc. "Even granting the expression, it would still be the gods that are my concern; for (1) they cause rain under the heavens and so are beneficial,² and (2) they produce light, also under the heavens, and are thus again beneficial. If the pun is strained," he added, "you have only yourself to blame for it, for annoying me."

Sy. "Well, let that pass. But tell me the Clouds, and later played a more serious part in Socrates' trial.

¹ This translation is an attempt to reproduce Socrates' bad logic and worse pun whereby he takes the Syracusan's expression ἄνωφελεστάτων ("most useless," "most unbenevolent") and not only splits it in two, but changes the negative prefix into the adverb ἄνωθεν ("from above").
ψύλλης πόδας ἐμοῦ ἀπέχεις. ταῦτα γὰρ σὲ φασὶ γεωμετρεῖν.

Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης εἶπε: Σὺ μὲν τοῖς δεινῶς εἶ, ὡς Φίλιππε, εἰκάζειν· οὐ δοκεῖ σοί ὁ ἄνηρ οὗτος λοιδορείσθαι βουλομένως ἐοίκέναι;

Ναι μὰ τὸν Δί, ἔφη, καὶ ἄλλοις γε πολλοῖς.

9 Ἀλλ' ὁμως, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, σὺ αὐτὸν μὴ εἰκαζε, ἵνα μὴ καὶ σὺ λοιδορομένως ἐοίκης.

Ἀλλ' εἰπερ γε τοῖς πᾶσι καλοῖς καὶ τοῖς βελτίστοις εἰκάζω αὐτῶν, ἐπαινοῦντι μᾶλλον ἢ λοιδορομένῳ δικαίῳ ἄν εἰκάζοι μὲ τίς.

Καὶ νῦν σύγη λοιδορομένῳ ἐοίκας, εἰ πάντ' αὐτὸν βελτίω φής εἶναι.

10 Ἀλλὰ βούλει πονηροτέροις εἰκάζω αὐτῶν;

Μηδὲ πονηροτέροις.

Ἀλλὰ μηδενί;

Μηδενὶ μηδὲν τοῦτον εἰκαζε.

Ἀλλ' οὐ μὲν τοῖς γε σιωπῶν οἶδα ὅπως ἄξια τοῦ δείπνου ἐργάσομαι.

Καὶ ραδίως γ', ἀν ἄ μη δεῖ λέγειν, ἔφη, σιωπᾶς.

Αὐτῇ μὲν δῆ ἡ παροινία οὕτω κατεσβέσθη.

VII. Ἑκ τοῦτον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ἐκέλευον

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1 In a famous passage in the Clouds (144 ff., cf. also 830 f.), published two years before this banquet was supposed to have been held, Aristophanes had represented Socrates and Chaerephon as measuring a flea's jump in terms of its own feet.

2 i.e. (if the text is sound), by saying that he resembles the virtuous, thus assuming that he is not actually one of them.
distance between us in flea’s feet; for people say that your geometry includes such measurements as that."¹

At this Antisthenes said to Philip: “You are clever at hitting off a person’s likeness; wouldn’t you say that our friend here resembles one with a penchant for abuse?”

“Yes, indeed,” came the answer; “and I see a resemblance in him to many another kind of person, too.”

“Nevertheless,” interposed Socrates, “do not draw the comparison, lest you take on a similar likeness to one stooping to abuse.”

“But suppose I am likening him to all the upright, the very élite; then I should deserve to be compared to a eulogist, rather than to a detractor.”

“Ah, you resemble the latter right now, for you are asserting that every one is better than he.”²

“Would you have me compare him to those who excel him in villainy?”

“No, not those, either.”

“What, to no one?”

“No; don’t compare him to any one in any particular.”

“But if I hold my peace, I do not understand how I am going to render services suitable to such a fine dinner.”

“That is easily effected,” said Socrates, “if you will be reticent on matters that should not be talked about.”

Thus was quenched this bit of convivial unpleasantness.

VII. Then some among the rest of the banqueters kept urging Philip to go on with his com-
eikάζειν, οἱ δὲ ἐκώλυνον. θορύβου δὲ ὁντος ὁ Σω-
κράτης αὐ τάλιν εἶπεν. "Αρα ἐπειδὴ πάντες
ἐπιθυμοῦμεν λέγειν, νῦν ἂν μάλιστα καὶ ἂμα
ἀσαίμεν; καὶ εὖθυς τούτ' εἴπων ἤρχεν ὄδης.
2 ἔπει δὴ ἥσαν, εἰσεφέρετο τῇ ὑρχηστρίδι τροχὸς
tῶν κεραμικῶν, ἐφ' οὐ ἐμελλέθαυματουργή-
σειν.
'Ενθα δὴ εἶπεν ὁ Σωκράτης: 'Ω Συρακόσιε,
κινδυνεύω εὖ, ὡσπερ σὺ λέγεις, τῷ ὁντὶ φροντι-
στής εἶναι· νῦν γοῦν ἕκατον ὅπως ἂν ὁ μὲν παῖς
οδε ὁ σὸς καὶ ἡ παῖς ἢδος ὡς βάστα διάγοιεν, ἥμεις
δ' ἂν μάλιστ' ἂν εὐφραίνοιμεθα θεώμενοι αὐτοῦς:
3 ὅπερ εὐ οὐδὲ ὅτι καὶ σὺ θοῦλει. δοκεὶ οὖν μοι τὸ
μὲν εἰς μαχαίρας κυβιστάν κινδύνον ἐπιδειγμα
εἶναι, οἱ συμποσίω οὐδὲν προσήκει. καὶ μὴν τὸ
γε ἐπὶ τοῦ τροχοῦ ἁμα περιδινομένου γράφειν
tε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν θαύμα μὲν ἴσως τί ἐστιν,
ηδονὴν δὲ οὐδὲ ταύτα δύναμαι γινώναι τίν' ἂν
παράσχοι. οὐδὲ μὴν τὸ γε διαστρέφοντας τὰ
σώματα καὶ τροχοὺς μιμομένως ἰδιον ἢ ἰσοχέαν
4 ἔχοντας τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ὠραίους θεώρειν. καὶ
γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ πάνω τι σπάνιον τὸ γε θαυμασίος
ἐνυχθεῖν, εἶ τις τούτου δεῖται, ἀλλ' ἐξεστιν αὐτῖκα
μᾶλα τὰ παρόντα θαυμαζεῖν, τί ποτε ὁ μὲν λύχνους
dιὰ τὸ λαμπρὰν φλόγα ἐχειν φῶς παρέχει, τὸ δὲ
χαλκεῖον λαμπρὸν ὅν φῶς μὲν οὐ ποιεῖ, ἐν αὐτῷ
dὲ ἀλλα ἐμφανύμενα παρέχεται· καὶ πῶς τὸ μὲν
ἐλαῖον υγρὸν ὅν αὐξεῖ τὴν φλόγα, τὸ δὲ ὑδωρ, ὅτι
5 υγρὸν ἐστὶ, κατασβέννυσι τὸ πῦρ. ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ
tαύτα μὲν οὐκ εἰς ταύτων τῷ οὖν ἐπισπευδεῖν· εἰ

1 γοῦν L. Dindorf; οὖν MSS.
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parisons, while others opposed. As the clamour rose to some height, Socrates once more interposed, saying: “Since we all want to talk, would this not be a fine time to join in singing?” And with the words he began a song. When they had finished, a potter’s wheel was brought in for the dancing-girl on which she intended performing some feats of jugglery.

This prompted Socrates to observe to the Syracusan: “Sir, it is quite probable that, to use your words, I am indeed a ‘thinker’; at any rate, I am now considering how it might be possible for this lad of yours and this maid to exert as little effort as may be, and at the same time give us the greatest possible amount of pleasure in watching them,—this being your purpose, also, I am sure. Now, turning somersaults in among knives seems to me to be a dangerous exhibition, which is utterly out of place at a banquet. Also, to write or read aloud on a whirling potter’s wheel may perhaps be something of a feat; yet I cannot conceive what pleasure even this can afford. Nor is it any more diverting to watch the young and beautiful going through bodily contortions and imitating hoops than to contemplate them in repose. For it is of course no rare event to meet with marvels, if that is what one’s mind is set on. He may marvel at what he finds immediately at hand,—for instance, why the lamp gives light owing to its having a bright flame, while a bronze mirror, likewise bright, does not produce light but instead reflects other things that appear in it; or how it comes about that olive oil, though wet, makes the flame higher, while water, because it is wet, puts the fire out. However, these questions also fail to promote the same object that wine does;
δὲ ὀρχοίντο πρὸς τὸν αὐλὸν σχῆματα ἐν οἷς Χάριτες τε καὶ Ἡμαῖ καὶ Νύμφαι γράφονται, πολὺ ἄν οἷμαι αὐτοὺς τε ῥάον διάγειν καὶ τὸ συμπόσιον πολὺ ἐπιχαριτώτερον εἶναι.

'Ο νῦν Συρακόσιος, Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἐφη, ὁ Ἐρατίτης, καὶ δέ τε λέγεις καὶ ἐγὼ εἰσάξω θεάματα ἐφ' οἷς ὑμεῖς εὐφρανεῖσθε.

VIII. 'Ο μὲν δὴ Συρακόσιος ἔξελθὼν συνέκροτετο, ὁ δὲ Σωκράτης πάλιν αὐτοῦ λόγον κατήρχεν. Ἀρ', ἐφη, ὁ ἄνδρες, εἰκὸς ἡμᾶς παρόντος δαίμονος μεγάλου καὶ τῷ μὲν χρόνῳ ἱστήλικον τοῖς ἀειγεγένει θεοῖς, τῇ δὲ μορφῇ νεωτάτου, καὶ μεγέθει μὲν πάντα ἐπέχοντος, ὕψη ὁ ἀνθρώπος ἑρμηνεύον, ἀλλὰς τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ πάντες ἐσμέν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ 2 τοῦ θιασῶτα; ἐγὼ τε γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω χρόνον εἰπεῖν ἐν οὗ οὐκ ἔρων τινος διατελῶ, Χαμίδην δὲ τοῦτε οἴδα πολλοὺς μὲν ἐραστὰς κτησάμενον, ἐστὶ δὲ ὅν καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμήσαντα: Κριτόβουλος γε μὴν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐρωμενος ὃν ἡδὴ ἀλλων ἐπιθυμεῖ. 3 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ Νικήρατος, ὃς ἐγὼ ἄκοιν, ἐρῶν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀντερᾶται. Ἐρμογένει γε μὴν τίς ἡμῶν οὐκ οἴδειν ὡς, ὁ τι ποτ' ἐστιν ἡ καλοκαγαθία, τῷ ταύτῃ ἐρωτὶ κατατήκεται; οὐχ ὁράτε ὡς σπουδαίαι μὲν αὐτοῦ αἱ ὀφρύες, ἀτρεμεῖς δὲ τὸ ὁμμα, μέτριοι δὲ οἱ λόγοι, πραεία δὲ ἡ φωνή, ἰλαροῦ δὲ τὸ ἱδος; τοῖς δὲ σεμνοτάτοις θεοῖς φίλοις χρωμενος οὐδὲν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

1 ἑρμηνεύον Blomfield; ἑσυμεύον MSS.
2 μὴν ἔτι Bornemann; ἔτι μὴν MSS. (one omitting the words); μὴν Sauppe.
3 ἡδὴ καὶ Sauppe (with one MS.).

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but if the young people were to have a flute accompaniment and dance figures depicting the Graces, the Horae, and the Nymphs, I believe that they would be far less wearied themselves and that the charms of the banquet would be greatly enhanced."

"Upon my word, Socrates," replied the Syracusan, "you are quite right; and I will bring in a spectacle that will delight you."

VIII. So the Syracusan withdrew amid applause. Socrates now opened up another new topic for discussion. "Gentlemen," said he, "it is to be expected of us, is it not, when in the presence of a mighty deity that is coëval with the eternal gods, yet youngest of them all in appearance, in magnitude encompassing the universe, but enthroned in the heart of man,—I mean Love,—that we should not be unmindful of him, particularly in view of the fact that we are all of his following? For I cannot name a time when I was not in love with some one, and I know that Charmides here has gained many lovers and has in some instances felt the passion himself; and Critobulus, though even yet the object of love, is already beginning to feel this passion for others. Nay, Niceratus too, so I am told, is in love with his wife and finds his love reciprocated. And as for Hermogenes, who of us does not know that he is pining away with love for nobility of character, whatever that may be? Do you not observe how serious his brows are, how calm his gaze, how modest his words, how gentle his voice, how genial his demeanour? That though he enjoys the friendship of the most august gods, yet he does not disdain us

1 Or, the Seasons. Or it may be used here in the Homeric sense of the maidens who kept the cloud gate of Heaven.
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ὑπερορᾶ; σὺ δὲ μόνος, ὦ Ἀντίσθενε, οὐδενὸς ἔρας;

4 Ναὶ μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, εἶπεν ἐκεῖνος, καὶ σφόδρα γε σοῦ.

   Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπισκόπας ὡς δὴ θυρπτόμενος εἶπε: Μὴ νῦν μοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι ὀχλον πάρεχε· ὡς γὰρ ὀρᾶς, ἀλλὰ πράττω.

5 Καὶ ὁ Ἀντισθένης ἐλέειν· 'Ὡς σαφῶς μέντοι σύ, μαστροπῇ σαυτοῦ, ἀεὶ τοιαύτα ποιεῖς· τοτὲ μὲν τὸ δαίμονιον προφασιζόμενος οὐ διαλέγη μοι, τοτὲ δ' ἀλλον τοῦ ἐφιέμενοι.

6 Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ἔφη: Πρὸς τῶν θεῶν, ὦ Ἀντίσθενε, μόνον μὴ συγκόψῃς με· τὴν δ' ἀλλὴν χαλεπότητα ἐγὼ σοὺ καὶ φέρω καὶ οὗσω φιλικῶς. ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ἔφη, τὸν μὲν σον ἔρωτα κρυπτῶμεν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐστίν οὐ ψυχῆς ἀλλ' εὐμορφίας τῆς ἔμης. ὃτι γε μὴν σὺ, ὦ Καλλία, ἔρας Αὐτολύκου πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις οἶδε, πολλοὺς δ' οἴμαι καὶ τῶν ξένων. τοῦτο δ' αὐτικὸν τὸ πατέρων τε ὀνομαστῶν ἀμφιτέρους ύμᾶς εἰναι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς.

7 ἀεὶ μὲν οὖν ἐγώ γε ἡγάμην τὴν σὴν φύσιν, νῦν δὲ καὶ πολὺ μάλλον, ἐπεὶ ὥρῳ σε ἐρῶντα οὐχ ἁβρότητι χλιδαινομένου οὐδὲ μαλακία θρυπτομένου, ἀλλὰ πάσιν ἐπιδεικνυμένον ῥώμην τε καὶ καρτερίαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ σωφροσύνην. τὸ δ' τοιοῦτων ἐπιθυμεῖν τεκμηρίον ἔστι καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἐραστοῦ φύσεως. εἰ μὲν οὖν μία ἐστὶν Ἀφροδίτῃ ἡ διτταῖ, Οὐρανία τε καὶ Πάνθημος, οὐκ οἶδα· καὶ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὁ αὐτὸς δοκῶν εἶναι πολλὰς ἐπιστήματος ἔχει·

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1 See footnote on page 494 of the Defence.

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mortals? Are you the only person, Antisthenes, in love with no one?"

"No, by Heaven!" replied he; "I am madly in love—with you."

And Socrates, banteringly, pretending to be coquettish, said: "Don't pester me just now; I am engaged in other business, as you see."

"How transparent you are, sir procurer of your own charms," Antisthenes rejoined, "in always doing something like this; at one time you refuse me audience on the pretext of your divine sign, at another time because you have some other purpose in mind."

"In Heaven's name, Antisthenes," implored Socrates, "only refrain from beating me; any other manifestation of your bad temper I am wont to endure, and shall continue to do so, in a friendly spirit. But," he went on, "let us keep your love a secret, because it is founded not on my spirit but on my physical beauty. But as for you, Callias, all the city knows that you are in love with Autolycus, and so, I think, do a great many men from abroad. The reason for this is the fact that you are both sons of distinguished fathers and are yourselves in the public eye. Now, I have always felt an admiration for your character, but at the present time I feel a much keener one, for I see that you are in love with a person who is not marked by dainty elegance nor wanton effeminacy, but shows to the world physical strength and stamina, virile courage and sobriety. Setting one's heart on such traits gives an insight into the lover's character. Now, whether there is one Aphrodite or two, Heavenly and Vulgar, I do not know; for even Zeus, though considered one and the same, yet has
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οτι γε μέντοι χωρίς ἑκατέρα βωμοὶ τέ εἰσι καὶ νεὼ
καὶ θυσίαι τῇ μὲν Πανδήμῳ ράδιονυργότεραι, τῇ δὲ
10 Οὐρανία ἀγνότεραι, οἴδα. εἰκάσασι δ' ἂν καὶ
tοὺς ἐρωτας τὴν μὲν Πάνδημον τῶν σωμάτων
ἐπιπέμπειν, τὴν δ' Οὐρανίαν τῆς ψυχῆς τε καὶ
tῆς φιλίας καὶ τῶν καλῶν ἔργων. ύψ' οὖ δὴ καὶ
σὺ, ὦ Καλλία, κατέχεσθαί μοι δοκεῖς ἐρωτος.
11 τεκμαίρομαι δὲ τῇ τοῦ ἐρωμένου καλοκώγαθία καὶ
οτι σε ὁρῶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντα
eἰς τὰς πρὸς τούτου συνουσίας. οὐδὲν γὰρ τοῦ-
tων ἐστὶν ἀπόκρυφον πατρὸς τῷ καλῷ τε κἀγαθῷ
ἐραστῇ.
12 Καὶ ο ΄Ερμογένης εἶπε, Νὴ τὴν ΄Ηραν, ἐφη, ὦ ἴσω
Σώκρατες, ἀλλὰ τέ σου πολλὰ ἀγαμαι καὶ ὁτι
νῦν ἀμα χαριζόμενος Καλλία καὶ παίδευες αὐτοῦ
ὁλοτερ χρη εἶναι.
13 Νη Δι', ἐφη, ὡς δὲ καὶ ἐτι μᾶλλον εὐφραίνη-
tαι, βούλομαι αὐτῷ μαρτυρῆσαι ὡς καὶ πολὺ
kρείττων ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ὡ τοῦ σώματος
ἐρως. ὃτι μὲν γὰρ δὴ ἀνευ φιλίας συνουσία οὐδε-
μία ἀξίολογος πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα. φιλείν γε μὴν
tῶν μὲν τὸ ὃθος ἀγαμένων ἀνάγκη ἤθεια καὶ θε-
lουσία καλεῖται τῶν δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπιθυ-
μοῦντων πολλοὶ μὲν τοὺς τρόπους μέμφουται
14 καὶ μισοῦσι τῶν ἐρωμένων ᾧ δὲ καὶ ἀμφότερα
στέρξωσι, τὸ μὲν τῆς ὀρας ἀνθὸς ταχὺ δήπου
παρακμάζει, ἀπολείποντος δὲ τούτου ἀνάγκη καὶ
tῆς φιλίας συναπομαραίνεσθαι, ἡ δὲ ψυχῆ
ὠσοντερ ἀν χρόνου ἤτε ἐπὶ τὸ φρονιμώτερον καὶ
15 ἄξιεραστοτέρα γῆγυνεται. καὶ μὴν ἐν μὲν τῇ τῆς
many by-names. I do know, however, that in the case of Aphrodite there are separate altars and temples for the two, and also rituals, those of the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite excelling in looseness, those of the 'Heavenly' in chastity. One might conjecture, also, that different types of love come from the different sources, carnal love from the 'Vulgar' Aphrodite, and from the 'Heavenly' spiritual love, love of friendship and of noble conduct. That is the sort of love, Callias, that seems to have you in its grip. I infer this from the noble nature of the one you love and because I see that you include his father in your meetings with him. For the virtuous lover does not make any of these matters a secret from the father of his beloved."

"Marry," quoth Hermogenes, "you arouse my admiration in numerous ways, Socrates, but now more than ever, because in the very act of flattering Callias you are in fact educating him to conform to the ideal."

"True," he replied; "and to add to his pleasure, I wish to bear testimony to him that spiritual love is far superior to carnal. For we all know that there is no converse worth the mention that does not comprise affection. Now affection on the part of those who feel admiration for character is commonly termed a pleasant and willing constraint; whereas many of those who have a merely physical concupiscence reprehend and detest the ways of those they love. But suppose they are satisfied on both scores; yet the bloom of youth soon passes its prime, and as this disappears, affection also inevitably fades away as fast; but the soul becomes more and more lovable the longer it progresses toward wisdom. Besides, in
μορφής χρήσει ἐνεστὶ τις καὶ κόρος, ὡστε ἄπερ καὶ πρὸς τὰ σιτία διὰ πλησμονὴν, ταύτα ἀνάγκη καὶ πρὸς τὰ παιδικὰ πάσχειν; ἢ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς φιλία διὰ τὸ ἁγνὴ εἶναι καὶ ἄκορεστοτέρα ἐστὶν, οὐ μέντοι, ὡς γ' ἀν τις οἰνθεῖη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀνεπαφροδιτοτέρα, ἀλλὰ σαφῶς καὶ ἀποτελεῖται ἢ εὐχή ἐν ἥ αιτούμεθα τὴν θεον ἐπαφρόδιτα καὶ ἐπικαὶ ἔργα διδόναι. ὡς μὲν γὰρ ἀγαταὶ τε καὶ φιλεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον θάλλουσα μορφῇ τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἦθει αἰδήμοιυ τε καὶ γενναίως ψυχῇ εὐθύς ἐν τοῖς ἡλιξῖν ἡγεμονικῆ τε ἀμα καὶ φιλόφρων οὐσά ὑπὲρ ἐπιδεῖται λόγον: ὅτι δὲ εἰκὸς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν παιδικῶν τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐραστὶν ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτῳ διδάξω. πρὸτων μὲν γὰρ τὸς μισεῖν δύναιτ' ἂν ὑφ' ὅ πνεον καλός τε κάγαθος νομιζόμενος, ἐπειτὰ δὲ ὀρφή αὐτὸν τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλὰ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ἐαυτοῦ ἴδεα σπουδάζοντα, πρὸς δὲ τούτως πιστεύοι μήτ' ἂν παρὰ τι ποιήσῃ μήτ' ἂν καμὼν ἀμορφότερος γένηται, μειωθῆναι ἂν τὴν φιλίαν;

οἷς γε μὴν κοινὸν τὸ φιλεῖσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκῃ τούτους ἴδεος μὲν προσορᾶν ἀλλήλους, εὔνοικῶς δὲ διαλέγεσθαι, πιστεύειν δὲ καὶ πιστεύεσθαι, καὶ προνοεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλων, συνήδεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ ταῖς καλαῖς πράξεις, συνάχθεσθαι δὲ ἢ τι σφάλμα προσπίπτῃ, τότε δ' εὐφραίνομενος διατελεῖν ὅταν ψυχαίνοντες συνώσωσιν, ἢν δὲ κάμη ὀποτεροσοῦν, πολὺ συνεχεστέραν τὴν συνοισίαν ἔχειν, καὶ 618
the enjoyment of physical beauty there is a point of surfeit, so that one cannot help feeling toward his favourite the same effect that he gets toward food by gratification of the appetite. But affection for the soul, being pure, is also less liable to satiety, though it does not follow, as one might suppose, that it is also less rich in the graces of Aphrodite; on the contrary, our prayer that the goddess will bestow her grace on our words and deeds is manifestly answered. Now, no further argument is necessary to show that a soul verdant with the beauty of freeborn men and with a disposition that is reverent and noble, a soul that from the very first displays its leadership among its own fellows and is kindly withal, feels an admiration and an affection for the object of its love; but I will go on to prove the reasonableness of the position that such a lover will have his affection returned. First, who could feel dislike for one by whom he knew himself to be regarded as the pattern of nobleness, and, in the next place, saw that he made his favourite's honour of more account than his own pleasure, and beside this felt assured that this affection would not be lessened under any circumstances, no matter whether he suffered some reverse or lost his comeliness through the ravages of illness? Moreover, must not those who enjoy a mutual affection unavoidably take pleasure in looking into each other's faces, converse in amity, and trust and be trusted, and not only take thought each for the other but also take a common joy in prosperity and feel a common distress if some ill fortune befall, and live in happiness when their society is attended by sound health, but be much more constantly together if one or the other become ill, and be even more solicitous, each for the other,
ἀπόντων ἐτὶ γὰρ μᾶλλον ἢ παρόντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; οὐ ταῦτα πάντα ἐπαφρόδιτα; διὰ γέ τοι τὰ τοιαύτα ἔργα ἀμα ἐρωτεῖ τῆς φιλίας καὶ χρώμενοι αὐτῇ εἰς γῆρας διατελοῦσι. τὸν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ σώματος κρεμάμενον διὰ τί ἄντιφιλήσειεν ἂν ὁ παῖς; πότερον ὅτι ἐαυτῷ μὲν νέμει ὅν ἐπιθυμεῖ, τῷ δὲ παιδὶ τὰ ἐπονειδιστότατα; ἢ διότι ᾧ σπεύδει πράττειν παρὰ τῶν παιδικῶν, εἰργεῖ μάλιστα τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπὸ τούτων; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ βιαζέται, ἀλλὰ πείθει, διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον μυσθεός. ὁ μὲν γὰρ βιαζόμενος ἐαυτὸν πονηρὸν ἀποδεικνύει, ὁ δὲ πείθων τὴν τοῦ ἀναπειθόμενον

ψυχὴν διαφθείρει. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ χρημάτων γε ἀπεμπολῶν τὴν ὄραν τί μᾶλλον στέρξει τὸν πριάμενον ἢ ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ πωλῶν καὶ ἀποδιδόμενος; οὐ μὴν ὅτι γε ὃραιος ἀώρω, οὐδὲ ὅτι γε καλὸς οὐκέτι καλῶ καὶ ἐρωτεῖ οὐκ ἐρῶν ὁμιλεῖ φιλήσει αὐτὸν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ παῖς τῷ ἁνδρὶ ὅσπερ γυνῇ κοινωνεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις εὐφροσύνῳ, ἀλλὰ νήφων μεθύοντα ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης θεάται.

ἐξ ὁν οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν εἰ καὶ τὸ ὑπεροπάν ἐγγίγνεται αὐτῷ τοῦ ἔραστοι. καὶ σκοπῶν δὲ ἀν τις εὗροι ἐκ μὲν τῶν διὰ τοὺς τρόπους φιλουμένων οὐδὲν χαλεπῶς γεγενημένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀναιδοῦς όμιλίας πολλὰ ἢδη καὶ ἀνόσια πεπραγμένα. ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀνελεύθερος ἢ συνουσία τῷ τὸ σῶμα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαπῶντι, νῦν τούτο δηλών.

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when absent than when present? Are not all these things marked by Aphrodite's grace? It is by conducting themselves thus that men continue mutually to love friendship and enjoy it clear down to old age. But what is there to induce a favourite to make a return of affection to a lover who bases his feeling solely on the flesh? Would it be the consideration that the lover allots to himself the joys he desires but gives the favourite only what excites the deepest contempt? Or that he conceals, as best he can, from the favourite's relatives the ends that he is bent on attaining? As for his using entreaty rather than coercion, that is all the stronger reason for detestation. For any one who applies force merely discovers his rascality, but he who uses persuasion corrupts the soul of the one upon whom he prevails. Once more, how will he who traffics in his beauty feel greater affection toward the buyer than he who puts his produce up for sale and disposes of it in the open market? For assuredly he will not be moved to affection because he is a youthful companion to one who is not youthful, or because he is handsome when the other is no longer so, or because he is untouched by passion when the other is in its sway. For a youth does not share in the pleasure of the intercourse as a woman does, but looks on, sober, at another in love's intoxication. Consequently, it need not excite any surprise if contempt for the lover is engendered in him. If one looked into the matter, also, he would descry no ill effect when people are loved for their personality, but that many shocking results have come from companionship lost to shame. I will now go on to show also that the union is servile when one's regard is for the body
σω. ὁ μὲν γὰρ παιδεύων λέγειν τε ἀ δεὶ καὶ πράττειν δικαίως ἀν ὥσπερ Χείρων καὶ Φοίνιξ ὑπ' Ἀχιλλεώς τιμῶτο, ὁ δὲ τοῦ σώματος ὁρεγό-
μενος εἰκότως ἀν ὥσπερ πτωχὸς περιέποιτο. ἀεὶ 
γὰρ τοι προσαίτοι καὶ προσδεόμενος ή φιλήματος 
ἡ ἄλλοι τυνὸς ψηλαφήματος παρακολουθεί. εἶ 
δὲ λαμβρότερον λέγω, μὴ θαυμάζετε: ὁ τε γὰρ 
οίνος συνεπαίρει καὶ ὁ ἀεὶ σύνοικος ἐμοὶ ἐρως κεν-
τρίζει εἰς τὸν ἀντίπαλον ἔρωτα αὐτῷ παρρησιά-
ζεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἄδει δοκεῖ μοι ὁ μὲν τῷ εἶδει τὸν 
νοῦν προσέχων μεμισθημένῳ χῶρον ἐοίκεναι. οὐ 
γὰρ ὅπως πλεῖόνοις ἄξιος γενήται ἐπιμελεῖται, 
ἀλλ' ὅπως αὐτὸς ὅτι πλείονα ὤραϊα καρπώσεται. 
ὁ δὲ τῆς φιλίας ἐφείμενος μᾶλλον ἐοίκε τῷ τὸν 
οίκειον ἁγρόν κεκτημένῳ. πάντοθεν γοῦν φέρων 
ὁ τι ἀν δύνηται πλεῖόνος ἄξιον ποιεῖ τὸν ἐρώμενον. 
καὶ μὴν καὶ τῶν παιδικῶν ὡς μὲν ἂν εἰδή ὅτι ὁ 
τοῦ εἰδοὺς ἐπαρκῶν ἁρξεῖ τοῦ ἕραστοῦ, εἶκός 
αὐτῶν τάλλα ῥαδιουργεῖν' δα δ' ἂν γηγνώσκῃ ὅτι 
ἄν μὴ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἢ, οὐ καθέξει τὴν φιλίαν, 
τούτων προσήκει μᾶλλον ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι.
μέγιστον δ' ἂγαθὸν τῷ ὁρεγομένῳ ἐκ παιδικῶν 
φίλον ἄγαθὸν ποιῆσασθαι ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτῶν 
ἀσκεῖν ἀρετῆς. οὐ γὰρ οἶνον τε πονηρὰ αὐτῶν 
pοιοῦντα ἄγαθον τοῦ συνόντα ἀποδεῖξαι, οὐδὲ γε 
ἀναισχυντίαν καὶ ἀκρασίαν παρεχόμενον ἐγκρατῆ 
καὶ αἰδοῦμενον τὸν ἐρώμενον ποιῆσαι. ἐπιθυμῶ 
δε ὁ Καλλία, καὶ μυθολογήσαί ὡς οὐ 
μόνον ἄνθρωποι ἄλλα καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἦρωες τὴν 

1 Cheiron, the just Centaur, and Phoenix, an exile who was received into the household of Peleus; both were tutors to the young Achilles.

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rather than when it is for the soul. For he who inculcates right speech and conduct would merit the honour given by Achilles to Cheiron and Phoenix; but the man who lusts only after the flesh would with good reason be treated like a mendicant; for he is always dogging the footsteps of his favourite, begging and beseeching the favour of one more kiss or some other caress. Do not be surprised at my plain speaking; the wine helps to incite me, and the kind of love that ever dwells with me spurs me on to say what I think about its opposite. For, to my way of thinking, the man whose attention is attracted only by his beloved’s appearance is like one who has rented a farm; his aim is not to increase its value but to gain from it as much of a harvest as he can for himself. On the other hand, the man whose goal is friendship is more like one possessing a farm of his own; at any rate he utilizes all sources to enhance his loved one’s worth. Furthermore, the favourite who realizes that he who lavishes physical charms will be the lover’s sovereign will in all likelihood be loose in his general conduct; but the one who feels that he cannot keep his lover faithful without nobility of character will more probably give heed to virtue. But the greatest blessing that befalls the man who yearns to render his favourite a good friend is the necessity of himself making virtue his habitual practice. For one cannot produce goodness in his companion while his own conduct is evil, nor can he himself exhibit shamelessness and incontinence and at the same time render his beloved self-controlled and reverent. My heart is set on showing you, Callias, on the basis of olden tales, also, that not only humankind but also gods and
ψυχῆς φιλίαν περὶ πλείονος ἥ τὴν τοῦ σώματος
χρῆσιν ποιοῦνται. Ζεὺς τε γὰρ ὅσων μὲν θυντῶν
οὐσῶν μορφῆς ἡράσθη, συγγενόμενος εἰς αὐτὰς
θυνταῖς εἶναι: ὅσων δὲ ψυχαῖς ἀγασθεῖν, ἀθανα-
τοὺς τούτους ἐποίειν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλῆς μὲν καὶ Διῶς-
κορὸ εἰσὶ, λέγονται δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι. καὶ ἐγὼ δὲ
φημι καὶ Γανυμήδην οὗ σώματος ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς
ἐνεκά ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς Ὁλυμποῦ ἀνενεχθῆναι. μαρτυ-
ρεῖ δὲ καὶ τούνομα αὐτοῦ. ἐστὶ μὲν γὰρ δῆπον
καὶ Ὅμηρῳ,
γάνυται δὲ τ’ ἥκουσι.
τούτω δὲ φράζει ὦτι ἢδεται δὲ τ’ ἥκουσι. ἐστὶ δὲ
καὶ ἄλλοθι ποι,
πυκνὰ φρεσὶ μῆδεα εἰδῶς.
τούτω δ’ αὕ λέγει σοφὰ φρεσὶ βουλεύματα εἰδῶς.
ἐξ οὖν συναμφοτέρων τούτων οὐχ ἠδυσώματος
οἰνομασθεῖς ο Γανυμήδης ἀλλ’ ἠδυγνώμων ἐν θεῶς
τετίμηται. ἀλλὰ μήν, ὦ Νικήρατε, καὶ Ἀχιλλεῦς
‘Ομήρῳ πεποίηται οὖχ ὃς παιδικῶς Πατρόκλῳ
ἀλλ’ ὥς ἐτείρῳ ἀποθανόντι ἐκπρεπέστατα τιμω-
ρῆσαι. καὶ Ὀρέστης δὲ καὶ Πυλάδης καὶ Ἰησοῦς
καὶ Πειρίθους καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν ἠμιθέων
οἱ ἀριστοὶ ὑμνοῦνται οὐ διὰ τὸ συγκαθεύδειν ἀλλὰ

1 Castor and Pollux.
2 Nothing like the first expression, except the bare occurrence of γάνυται ("he joys"), is to be found anywhere in the extant Homeric poems. The second phrase, also, is not in these poems, although several different expressions much resembling it are to be seen in the Iliad, vii. 278, xvii. 325, xviii. 363, xxiv. 88, 282, 674 and the Odyssey, ii. 38, xi. 445, 624.
demi-gods set higher value on the friendship of the spirit than on the enjoyment of the body. For in all cases where Zeus became enamoured of mortal women for their beauty, though he united with them he suffered them to remain mortal; but all those persons whom he delighted in for their souls' sake he made immortal. Among the latter are Heracles and the Sons of Zeus;¹ and tradition includes others also. And I aver that even in the case of Ganymede, it was not his person but his spiritual character that influenced Zeus to carry him up to Olympus. This is confirmed by his very name. Homer, you remember, has the words,

'He joys to hear';²

that is to say, 'he rejoices to hear;' and in another place,

'harbouring shrewd devices in his heart.'

This, again, means 'harbouring wise counsels in his heart.' So the name given Gany-medé, compounded of the two foregoing elements, signifies not physically but mentally attractive;³ hence his honour among the gods. Or again, Niceratus, Homer pictures us Achilles looking upon Patroclus not as the object of his passion but as a comrade, and in this spirit signally avenging his death. So we have songs telling also how Orestes, Pylades, Theseus, Peirithous, and many other illustrious demi-gods wrought glorious deeds of valour side by side, not because

¹ Socrates takes the name Ganymede to be a compound of the two archaic words *ganytai* ('he joys,' "exults") and *medea* ('devices,' "thoughts").
διὰ τὸ ἀγασθαί ἀλλήλους τὰ μέγιστα καὶ καλ-
λιστα κοινὴ διαπεπράξθαι. τί δὲ; τὰ νῦν καλὰ
ἔργα οὐ πάντ' ἂν εὐροὶ τις ἐνεκα ἐπαίνου ὑπὸ τῶν
καὶ πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθελόντων πραττόμενα
μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθιζομένων ἱδονῆς ἀντ' εὐ-
κλείας αἱρεῖσθαι; καίτοι Παυσανίας γε ὁ Ἀγάθω-
νος τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἕραστης ἀπολογούμενος ὑπὲρ τῶν
άκρασία ἐγκαλινδουμένων εἰρήκεν ὡς καὶ στρά-
τευμα ἀλκιμότατον ἂν γένοιτο ἐκ παιδικῶν τε
καὶ ἕραστῶν. τούτους γὰρ ἂν ἐφι οἰεσθαὶ
μάλιστα αἰδεῖσθαι ἀλλήλους ἀπολείπειν, θαυμα-
στὰ λέγων, εἰ γε οἱ ψόγου τε ἀφροντιστεῖν καὶ
ἀνασχυντεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐθιζόμενοι οὕτωι
33 μάλιστα αἰσχυνοῦνται αἰσχρὸν τι ποιεῖν. καὶ
μαρτύρια δὲ ἐπῆγετο ὡς ταῦτα ἐγνωκότες εἰὲν καὶ
Θηβαίοι καὶ Ἡλεῖοι συγκαθεύδοντας γοῦν αὐτοῖς
ὁμοῖος παρατάττεσθαι ἐφ' ὑπὲρ παιδικά εἰς τὸν
ἀγώνα, οὐδὲν τοῦτο σημεῖον λέγων ὁμοίον. ἐκεῖ-
νοις μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα νόμμα, ἡμῖν δ' ἐποιεῖσθα. δοκοῦσι δ' ἐμοιγε ὦ μὲν παραταττόμενοι ἀπιστοῦ-
σιν ἐοικέναι μὴ χωρίς γενόμενοι οἱ ἐρώμενοι οὐκ
34 ἀποτελῶσι τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. Δακε-
δαιμόνιοι δὲ οἱ νομίζοντες, ἔαν καὶ ὀρεχή τις
σώματος, μυθενέοι ἂν ἐτι καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ τοῦτον
tυχεῖν, οὕτωσι τελέως τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἀγαθοὺς
ἀπεργάζονται ὡς καὶ μετὰ ξένων καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ
35 ἀποτελῶσι τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. Δακε-
δαιμόνιοι δὲ οἱ νομίζοντες, ἔαν καὶ ὀρεχή τις
σώματος, μυθενέοι ἂν ἐτι καλοῦ κἀγαθοῦ τοῦτον
tυχεῖν, οὕτωσι τελέως τοὺς ἐρωμένους ἀγαθοὺς
ἀπεργάζονται ὡς καὶ μετὰ ξένων καὶ μὴ ἐν τῇ
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they shared a common bed but because of mutual admiration and respect. Moreover, take the splendid feats of the present day; would not a person discover that they are all done for glory's sake by persons willing to endure hardship and jeopardy, rather than by those who are drifting into the habit of preferring pleasure to a good name? Yet Pausanias, the lover of the poet Agathon, has said in his defence of those who wallow in lasciviousness that the most valiant army, even, would be one recruited of lovers and their favourites! For these, he said, would in his opinion be most likely to be prevented by shame from deserting one another,—a strange assertion, indeed, that persons acquiring an habitual indifference to censure and to abandoned conduct toward one another will be most likely to be deterred by shame from any infamous act. But he went further and adduced as evidence in support of his position both the Thebans and the Eleans, alleging that this was their policy; he stated, in fine, that though sharing common beds they nevertheless assigned to their favourites places alongside themselves in the battle-line. But this is a false analogy; for such practices, though normal among them, with us are banned by the severest reprobation. My own view is that those who assign these posts in battle suggest thereby that they are suspicious that the objects of their love, if left by themselves, will not perform the duties of brave men. In contrast to this, the Lacedaemonians, who hold that if a person so much as feels a carnal concupiscence he will never come to any good end, cause the objects of their love to be so consummately brave that even when arrayed with foreigners and even when not stationed in the same
αὐτῇ  

ταχθῶσι τῷ ἔραστῇ, ὡμὸν ἀδοῦνται τοὺς παρόντας ἀπολεῖτειν. θεᾶν γὰρ ὦ τῆν

36 Ἀναίδειαν ἀλλὰ τῇν Αἰδῶ νομίζουσι. δοκούμεν δὲ ἂν μοι πάντες ὡμὸλογοι γενέσθαι περὶ ὧν λέγω, εἰ ὡδε ἐπισκοποίμεν, τῷ ποτέρως παιδὶ φιλήθεντι μᾶλλον ἂν τις πιστεύσειν ἢ χρήματα ἢ τέκνα ἢ χάριτας παρακατατίθεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οἴμαι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν τῷ εἶδε τού ἐρωμένου χρώμενον μᾶλλον ἂν ταῦτα πάντα τῷ τῆν ψυχήν ἔρασμῷ πιστεύσαι. σοὶ γε μήν, ὦ Καλλία, δοκεῖ μοι ἂξιον εἶναι καὶ θεόν χάριν εἰδέναι ὦτι σοι Αὐτολύκου ἐρωτα ἐνεβαλον. ὡς μὲν γὰρ φιλότιμος ἐστιν εὐδηλον, ὦς τοῦ κηρυχθῆναι ἐνεκα μικῶν παγκράτιον πολλοὺς μὲν πόνους, πολλὰ δὲ ἀλγὴ ἀνέχεται. εἰ δὲ οὖντο μὴ μόνον ἐαυτὸν καὶ τὸν πατέρα κοσμῆσειν, ἀλλ’ ἰκανὸς γενήσεσθαι δι’ ἀνδραγαθίαν καὶ φίλους εὐ ποιεῖν καὶ τὴν πατρίδα αὐξεῖν τρόπαια τῶν πολεμίων ἰστάμενοι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα περὶ βλεπτός τε καὶ ὀνομαστὸς ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐν Ἐλλησὶ καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις, πῶς οὐκ οἴει αὐτὸν, ὅτι τοῦτο εἰς ταῦτα συνεργὸν εἶναι κράτιστον, τοῦτον ταῖς μεγίσταις ἂν τιμαῖς περιέπειν; εἰ οὖν βούλει τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν, σκεπτέον μὲν σοι ποιὰ ἐπιστάμενον Θεμιστοκλῆς ἰκανὸς ἐγένετο τῇν Ἐλλάδα ἐλευθεροῦν, σκεπτέον δὲ ποιὰ ποτε εἰδὼς Περικλῆς κράτιστος ἐδόκει τῇ πατρίδι σύμβουλος εἶναι, ἀθρητέον δὲ καὶ πῶς ποτε Σόλων φιλοσοφίας νόμους κράτιστους τῇ

1 αὐτῇ; αὐτῇ πόλει MSS.; Sauppe brackets πόλει.
line with their lovers they just as surely feel ashamed to desert their comrades. For the goddess they worship is not Impudence but Modesty. We could all come to one mind, I think, on the point I am trying to make, if we were to consider the question in this way: of two lads, the objects of the different types of love, which one would a person prefer to trust with his money, or his children, or to lay under the obligation of a favour? My own belief is that even the person whose love is founded on the loved one's physical beauty would in all these cases rather put his trust in him whose loveliness is of the spirit. In your case, Callias, I deem it meet that you should thank Heaven for inspiring you with love for Autolycus. For his ardour for glory is manifest, inasmuch as he undergoes many toils and many bodily discomforts to ensure his being proclaimed victor in the pancratium. Now if he were to believe that he is going not merely to shed lustre on himself and his father but also to acquire through his manly virtue the ability to serve his friends and to exalt his country by setting up trophies of victory over its enemies, and for these reasons draw the admiring glances of all and be famous among both Greeks and barbarians, do you not suppose that he would esteem and honour highly any one whom he looked upon as the best partner in furthering these designs? If, then, you would be in his good graces, you must try to find out what sort of knowledge it was that made Themistocles able to give Greece liberty; you must try to find out what kind of knowledge it was that gave Pericles the name of being his country's wisest counsellor; you must reflect, further, how it was that Solon by deep meditation established in his city laws
XENOPHON

πόλει κατέθηκεν, ἐρευνητέον δὲ καὶ ποία Δακεδαι-
μόνιοι ἀσκοῦντες κράτιστοι δοκοῦσιν ἡγεμόνες
εἶναι πρόξενος δ' εἰ καὶ κατάγονται δέ η ἀριστο-
κράτιστοι αὐτῶν. ὡς μὲν οὖν σοι ἡ πόλις
tαχὺ ἀν ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτήν, εἰ βούλει, εὐ ῥή. τὰ
μέγιστα γάρ σοι ὑπάρχειν εὐπατρίδης εἰ, τῶν τῶν
ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως, ἰερεὺς θεῶν ὦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν βάρβα-
ρων σὺν Ἰάκχῳ ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἕορτῆ
ἰεροπρεπεστατος δοκεῖς εἶναι τῶν προγεγενημέ-
νων, καὶ σῶμα ἄξιοπρεπεστατον μὲν ἰδεῖν τῆς
πόλεως ἐχεις, ἱκανὸν δὲ μόχθους ὑποφέρειν. εἰ
d' ὑμῖν δοκό σπουδαιολογήσαι μᾶλλον ἡ παρὰ
πότων πρέπει, μηδὲ τοῦτο θαυμάζετε. ἀγαθῶν
γάρ φύσει καὶ τῆς ἀρέτης φιλοτίμως ἐφιεμένων
ἀεὶ ποτε τῇ πόλει συνεραστῆς ὧν διατελῶ.

Οἱ μὲν δὴ ἄλλοι περὶ τῶν ἰηθέντων διελέγοντο,

1 τῶν ἀπ' Ἐρεχθέως, ἰερεὺς θεῶν; ἰερεὺς θεῶν τῶν ἀπ'
'Ἐρεχθέως MSS. The MS. reading should mean: “You are
of aristocratic birth, a priest serving the gods who succeeded
Erechtheus (or, gods of Erechtheus’ line), who under the
leadership of Iacchus” etc. This involves two difficulties: (1)
in the numerous Attic references to this brilliant period, we
find no hint of any part taken in the Persian Wars by any
descendants or “successors” of Erechtheus; and (2) there
is no evidence that Callias was a priest to any such descend-
ants or “successors.” The suggested transposition of the
text avoids these difficulties and provides for two well-
authenticated facts: (1) the tradition mentioned by Herodo-
tus and Plutarch that the Eleusinian deities encouraged the
Greeks just before the battle of Salamis by a portentous
vision; and (2) Callias’s priesthood in the Eleusinian worship.

1 In the absence of regular consular representation, any
Greek city-state could secure commercial and political agents in
other cities only by getting influential citizens there to consent
to use their good offices, as occasion might arise, in its behalf
or in behalf of its citizens when abroad. Such a local native
representative of another state was called a proxenus.

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of surpassing worth; you must search and find out what kind of practices it is that gives the Lacedaemonians the reputation of being pre-eminent military commanders; for you are their proxenus,1 and their foremost citizens are always being entertained at your house. You may regard it as certain, therefore, that our city would be quick to entrust itself to your hands, if you so desire. For you possess the highest qualifications for such a trust: you are of aristocratic birth, of Erechtheus’ line,2 a priest serving the gods who under the leadership of Iacchus took the field against the barbarian; 3 and in our day you outshine your predecessors in the splendour of your priestly office in the festival; 4 and you possess a person more goodly to the eye than any other in the city and one at the same time able to withstand effort and hardship. If what I say appears to you gentlemen to be too grave and earnest for a drinking party, I beg you again not to be surprised. For during practically all my life I have been at one with the commonwealth in loving men who to a nature already good add a zealous desire for virtue.”

The rest of the company now engaged in a dis-

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1 Callias’s family belonged to the priestly clan of the Ceryces, who traced their lineage back to Ceryx, son of Hermes and Aglaurus. The latter, however, was not a descendant of Erechtheus, but one of his nurses.

2 Herodotus (VIII, 65) and Plutarch (Life of Themistocles, XV) report the tradition that while the Greek fleet was at anchor near Salamis just before the critical sea-fight, great elation was caused at sight of a big cloud of dust (or, in the later version, a brilliant light) off toward Eleusis, and a wonderful sound as of the Eleusinian festival with its cries to Iacchus, followed by a cloud that drifted directly toward the fleet.

3 In addition to being one of the priestly Ceryces, Callias was an hereditary torch-bearer in the Eleusinian festival.
ὁ δ’ Αὐτόλυκος κατεθεᾶτο τὸν Καλλίαν. καὶ ὁ Καλλίας δὲ παρορῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐπεν. Οὐκοῦν σὺ με, ὦ Σώκρατες, μαστροπεύσεις πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, ὅπως πράττω τὰ πολιτικὰ καὶ ἂεὶ ἄρεστος ὦ αὐτῇ;

43 Ναι μὰ Δί, ἐφη, ἦν ὀρόσι γε σε μὴ τῷ δοκεῖν ἄλλα τῷ ὅντι ἄρετής ἐπιμελοῦμενον. ἢ μὲν γὰρ ψευδῆς δόξα ταχὺ ἐλέγχεται ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας· ἢ δ’ ἀληθῆς ἀνδραγαθία, ἦν μὴ θέσα βλάπτη, ἂεὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι λαμπροτέραν τὴν εὐκλειαν συμπαρέχεται.

IX. Οὔτος μὲν δὴ ὁ λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἐλήξεν. Αὐτόλυκος δὲ, ἡδὶ γὰρ ὁρὰ ἦν αὐτῷ, ἔξαυστατο εἰς περίπατον· καὶ ὁ Δύκων ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ συνεξιῶν ἐπιστραφεῖς εἶπε· Νὴ τὴν Ὀραν, ὦ Σώκρατες, καλὸς γε κάγαθὸς δοκεῖς μοι ἄνθρωπος εἶναι.

2 Ἐκ δὲ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν θρόνος τις ἐνδόν κατεθῆθη, ἐπείτα δὲ ὁ Συρακόσιος εἰσελθόν ἐπεν· Ὡ ἄνδρες, Ἀριάδνη εἰσείσων εἰς τὸν εαυτῆς τε καὶ Διονύσου θάλαμον· metā δὲ τοῦθ’ ἦξει Διόνυσος ὑποπτεπωκὼς παρὰ θεοῖς καὶ εἰσεισὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν, ἐπείτα παιξοῦσί ταῖ πρὸς ἄλληλους.

3 Ἐκ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν ἡ Ἀριάδνη ὡς νῦμφη κεκοσμημένη παρῆλθε καὶ ἐκαθέξετο ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου. οὕτω δὲ φαινομένου τοῦ Διονύσου ἦλεῖτο ὁ βακχεῖος ῥυθμός. ἐνθα δὴ ἡγασθηκαν τὸν ὀρχιστοδιάσκαλον. εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἀριάδνη ἠκούσε.
discussion of the views propounded by Socrates; but Autolycus kept his eyes fixed on Callias. And Callias, addressing Socrates, but looking beyond him and returning the gaze of Autolycus, said: "So you intend acting the procurer, do you, Socrates, to bring me to the attention of the commonwealth, so that I may enter politics, and the state may always look upon me with favour?"

"Assuredly," was the reply, "that is, if people see that you set your heart on virtue, not in pretence, but in reality. For false reputation is soon exposed when tried by experience, whereas true manly virtue,—barring the interposition of Providence,—confers ever more and more brilliant glory when put to the test of actual deeds."

IX. Their conversation ended here. Autolycus got up to go out for a walk (it being now his usual time); and his father Lycon, as he was departing to accompany him, turned back and said: "So help me Hera, Socrates, you seem to me to have a truly noble character."

After he had withdrawn, a chair of state, first of all, was set down in the room, and then the Syracusan came in with the announcement: "Gentlemen, Ariadne will now enter the chamber set apart for her and Dionysus; after that, Dionysus, a little flushed with wine drunk at a banquet of the gods, will come to join her; and then they will disport themselves together."

Then, to start proceedings, in came Ariadne, apparelled as a bride, and took her seat in the chair. Dionysus being still invisible, there was heard the Bacchic music played on a flute. Then it was that the assemblage was filled with admiration of the dancing master. For as soon as Ariadne heard the
σασα τοιούτων τι ἐποίησεν ώς πᾶς ἂν ἐγνω ὅτι ἄσμενη ἥκουσε· καὶ ὑπήντησε μὲν οὐ οὐδὲ ἀνέστη,
4 δὴ καὶ ἦν μόλις ἥμεροῦσα· ἔπει γε μὴν κατείδεν αὐτὴν ὁ Διόνυσος, ἐπιχορεύσας ὡσπερ ἀν εἰ τις
φιλικώτατα ἐκαθέζετο ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων καὶ περιλαβῶν ἐφίλησεν αὐτήν. ἡ δ' αἴδουμένη μὲν ἐφέκει, ὡμως ὃς
dὲ φιλικῶς ἀντιπεριελάμβανεν. οἱ δὲ συμπόται ὀρὼντες ἀμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἀμα δὲ
5 ἐβόων Αὔθις. ὡς δὲ ὁ Διόνυσος ἀνιστάμενος συνανέστησε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν 'Αριάδνην, ἐκ τοῦ
tου δὴ φιλούντων τε καὶ ἀσπαξομένων ἄλληλους σχήματα παρὴν θεάσασθαι. οἱ δ' ὀρὼντες ὀντως
καλὸν μὲν τὸν Διόνυσον, ὥραίαν δὲ τὴν 'Αριάδνην,
6 φιλούντας, πάντες ἀνεπτερωμένοι ἔθεωντο. καὶ
gὰρ ἤκουσεν τοῦ Διονύσου μὲν ἐπερωτῶντος αὐτήν
eἰ φιλεῖ αὐτὸν, τής δὲ οὕτως ἐπομνυοῦσας ὡστε
μὴ μόνον τὸν Διόνυσον ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς παρόντας
ἀπαντας συνομόσαι ἂν ἡ μὴν τὸν παίδα καὶ τὴν
παίδα ὑπ’ ἄλληλων φιλεῖσθαι. ἐφόκεσαν γὰρ οὐ
dedidagmenvos τα σχήματα ἄλλ’ ἐφειμένοις πράτ-
7 τεων ἀ πάλαι ἐπεθύμουν. τέλος δὲ οἰ συμπόται
ίδόντες περιβεβληκότας τε ἄλληλους καὶ ὡς εἰς
eυνὴν ἀπίοντας, οἱ μὲν ἄγαμοι γαμεῖν ἐπόμνυσαν,
ob οι δὲ γεγαμικότες ἀναβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑποὺς
ἀπήλαυνον πρὸς τὰς ἑαυτῶν γυναῖκας, ὡπως τοῦ
tων τύχοιεν. Ἐνκράτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ
ὑπομείναντες πρὸς Δύκωνα καὶ τὸν ὕδων σὺν
Καλλία περιπατήσουτες ἀπῆλθον.
Αὕτη τοῦ τότε συμποσίου κατάλυσις ἐγένετο.
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stray, her action was such that every one might have perceived her joy at the sound; and although she did not go to meet Dionysus, nor even rise, yet it was clear that she kept her composure with difficulty. But when Dionysus caught sight of her, he came dancing toward her and in a most loving manner sat himself on her lap, and putting his arms about her gave her a kiss. Her demeanour was all modesty, and yet she returned his embrace with affection. As the banqueters beheld it, they kept clapping and crying “encore!” Then when Dionysus arose and gave his hand to Ariadne to rise also, there was presented the impersonation of lovers kissing and caressing each other. The onlookers viewed a Dionysus truly handsome, an Ariadne truly fair, not presenting a burlesque but offering genuine kisses with their lips; and they were all raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm as they looked on. For they overheard Dionysus asking her if she loved him, and heard her vowing that she did, so earnestly that not only Dionysus but all the bystanders as well would have taken their oaths in confirmation that the youth and the maid surely felt a mutual affection. For theirs was the appearance not of actors who had been taught their poses but of persons now permitted to satisfy their long-cherished desires. At last, the banqueters, seeing them in each other’s embrace and obviously leaving for the bridal couch, those who were unwedded swore that they would take to themselves wives, and those who were already married mounted horse and rode off to their wives that they might enjoy them. As for Socrates and the others who had lingered behind, they went out with Callias to join Lycon and his son in their walk.

So broke up the banquet held that evening.
SOCRATES’
DEFENCE TO THE JURY
INTRODUCTION

In the year 399 B.C., Socrates, then about seventy years old, was brought to trial by Anytus, Meletus, and Lycon on an indictment charging him with subversion of religion and morals. The fullest account of Socrates at this crisis is to be found in Plato's *Euthyphro, Apology of Socrates, Crito*, and *Phaedo*. Apparently other admirers also of the great man had described the trial and the last days of his life, but Xenophon, who at that time was with the conglomerate army of Cyrus the Younger on its memorable trip into the heart of Persia, seems to have felt that these various accounts left out one essential point, which he proceeds to develop in the *Apology or Defence*.

The first sentence of this composition suggests an intimate connection with something preceding;¹ but this connection is now broken, and whether the *Defence*, as Mahaffy thought, is the original conclusion to Xenophon's *Memoirs of Socrates*, where, in the last chapter, we find practically the same material in smaller compass, or was meant to be part of some other writing, we have no means to determine. Almost equally indeterminate is the date. It is clear that when the *Defence* was written, both Socrates and Anytus (whose death occurred we

¹ Compare also the beginning of the *Oeconomicus*. 639
INTRODUCTION

know not when) had been gone several years, and that several accounts of the trial had already appeared. But there is nothing to show how late the work was written, nor whether it preceded or followed the *Apology* of Plato.

Hermogenes, the authority on whom Xenophon relied, the indigent brother of the rich Callias, appears, both from Xenophon’s *Defence* and *Symposium* and from Plato, to have been an intimate in the Socratic circle. Although he is not mentioned in the doubtless incomplete list given in Plato’s *Apology* (33 D–34 A) of friends and disciples present at the trial, he is named (in Plato’s *Phaedo* 59B) as one of those who were with Socrates at the time of his execution, and so may be presumed to have been cognizant of what happened in those tragic days.

Xenophon’s design in writing the present account was not to give a full report of the trial or even of Socrates’ address to the jury, but to show that because Socrates believed it time for him to die he had a common-sense basis for his sublime attitude before the court; but while Plato, the only eyewitness whose work is extant, represents Socrates as telling the jury that he can face death calmly because of his confidence in a life hereafter,—a doctrine greatly elaborated in the *Phaedo*,—Xenophon does not even mention this faith either in this partial report of the trial or in his *Memoirs of Socrates*, but says that in conversation with Hermogenes before the trial as well as with other friends after it Socrates founded his contentment on the prospect of avoiding the disabilities of old age. Dread of such ills had doubtless filled many a Greek’s heart; at
any rate the theme comes out a number of times in poetry, from the haunting elegy of Mimnermus on. And it seems quite likely that in conversation Socrates had mentioned this commonplace comfort as one reason for his willingness to die;¹ but whether Plato did not hear it, or thought it not worth recording beside more spiritual thoughts, at any rate he nowhere reports it,² and it is certain that in the publicity of the court-room Socrates dwelt rather on his hope of immortality and of communion with the great men of the past. The reader who wishes to get a true picture of this great man at the climax of his life should therefore not fail to supplement Xenophon’s professedly incomplete account by the fuller one of Plato.

¹ Perhaps with the feeling that here at least was an argument that would appeal to his friends.
² The nearest approach to such a sentiment is found in the closing words of Socrates’ defence as reported by Plato (Apology, 41D): “... but this is clear to me, that it were better for me now to die and once and for all be rid of troubles.”
ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ

1. Σωκράτους δέ ἢξιόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι μεμνή-ςθαι καὶ ὡς ἐπειδὴ ἐκλήθη εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐβουλεύ-σατο περὶ τε τῆς ἀπολογίας καὶ τῆς τελευτής τοῦ βίου. ἡγεράφασι μὲν οὖν περὶ τοῦτον καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ πάντες ἔτυχον τῆς μεγαληγορίας αὐτοῦ. ὃ καὶ δῆλον ὅτι τῷ ὄντι οὕτως ἔρρίθη ὑπὸ Σωκρά-τους. ἀλλ' ὅτι ἦδη ἐαυτῷ ἡγεῖτο αἰρετώτερον εἶναι τοῦ βίου θάνατον, τοῦτο οὐ διεσαφήνισαν· ὡστε ἀφρονεστέρα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται εἶναι ἡ μεγαλη-

2. γορία. Ἐρμογένης μέντοι ὁ Ἰππονίκου ἐταῖρος τε ἦν αὐτῷ καὶ ἐξήγγειλε περὶ αὐτοῦ τοιαῦτα ὡστε πρέπουσαν φιλινεσθαι τὴν μεγαληγορίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἔφη ὅριαν αὐτοῦ περὶ πάντων μᾶλλον διαλεγόμενον ἢ περὶ τῆς δίκης εἰπεῖν. Οὐκ ἔχρην μέντοι σκοπεῖν, ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ ὁ τι ἀπολογίσθη; τὸν δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶ-τον ἄποκρίνασθαι, Οὐ γὰρ δοκῶ σοι ἀπολογεῖσθαι μελετῶν διαβεβιωκέναι; ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς ἔρεσθαι, Πῶς; Ὁτι οὐδὲν ἄδικων διαγεγέννημαι ποιῶν ἡνπερ νομίζω μελέτην εἶναι καλλιότητι ἀπολο-

3. γίας. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸς πάλιν λέγειν, Οὐχ ορᾶς τὰ 'Ἀθηναίων δικαστηρία ὡς πολλάκις μὲν οὖν ὁδὲν

1 Sauppe omits ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΤΣ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΑΣ.
2 αὐτὸς Schenk1; αὐτὸν MSS.
3 αὐτὸς Schenk1; αὐτὸν MSS.

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DEFENCE TO THE JURY

It seems to me fitting to hand down to memory, furthermore, how Socrates, on being indicted, deliberated on his defence and on his end. It is true that others have written about this, and that all of them have reproduced the loftiness of his words,—a fact which proves that his utterance really was of the character intimated;—but they have not shown clearly that he had now come to the conclusion that for him death was more to be desired than life; and hence his lofty utterance appears rather ill-considered. Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, however, was a companion of his and has given us reports of such a nature as to show that the sublimity of his speech was appropriate to the resolve he had made. For he stated that on seeing Socrates discussing any and every subject rather than the trial, he had said: "Socrates, ought you not to be giving some thought to what defence you are going to make?" That Socrates had at first replied, "Why, do I not seem to you to have spent my whole life in preparing to defend myself?" Then when he asked, "How so?" he had said, "Because all my life I have been guiltless of wrong-doing; and that I consider the finest preparation for a defence." Then when Hermogenes again asked, "Do you not observe that the Athenian courts
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άδικούντας λόγω παραχθέντες ἀπέκτειναν, πολ-λάκις δὲ ἀδικούντας ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ὑικτίσαντες ἢ ἐπιχαρίτως εἰπόντας ἀπέλυσαν; Ἀλλὰ ναὶ μὰ Δία, φάναι αὐτὸν, καὶ δις ἦδη ἐπιχειρήσαντός μου σκοπεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀπολογίας ἐναντιοῦται μοι τὸ δαιμόνιον. ὡς δὲ αὐτὸς ¹ εἰπεῖν, Θαυμαστὰ λέ-γεις, τὸν δ' αὐ ἀποκρίνασθαι, Ἡ θαυμαστὸν νομί-ζεις εἰ καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ ἐμὲ βέλτιον εἶναι ἦδη τελευτάν; οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦδε οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων ὑφείμην ἄν βέλτιον ἐμοῦ βεβιωκέναι; ὅπερ γὰρ ἦδιστον ἔστιν, ἦδειν ὁσίως μοι καὶ δι-καίως ἀπαντά τὸν βίον βεβιωμένου. ἦτε ἵσχυ-ρῶς ἀγάμενος ἐμαυτὸν ταύτα εὐρίσκω καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὶ συγγιγνομένους γιγνώσκοντας περὶ ἐμοῦ.

6 νῦν δὲ εἰ ἑτὶ προβῆσται ἡ ἡλικία, οἶδ' ὅτι ἀνάγκη ἔσται τὰ τοῦ γῆρος ἀποτελείσθαι καὶ ὀρᾶν τε χείρον καὶ ἀκούειν ἤττον καὶ δυσμαθέ-στερον εἶναι καὶ ὃν ἐμαθὼν ἐπιληψιμονέστερον. ἦν δὲ αἰσθάνωμαι χείρων γιγνόμενος καὶ κατα-μέμφωμαι ἐμαυτόν, πῶς ἄν, εἰπεῖν, ἐγὼ ἑτὶ ἄν ἡδέως βιοτεύομι; ὅσως δὲ τοι, φάναι αὐτὸν, καὶ ὁ θεός δὲ εὑμένειαν προξενεῖ μοι οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐν καιρῷ τῆς ἡλικίας καταλύσαι τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἦ βάστα. ἦν γὰρ νῦν κατακρηθῇ μου,² δήλον ὅτι ἐξέσται μοι τῇ τελευτῇ χρήσθαι ἦ ῥάστη μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν τούτων ἐπιμεληθέντων κέκρι-ται, ἀπραγμονεστάτη δὲ τοῖς φίλοις, πλείστον δὲ πόθον ἐμποιοῦσα τοῦ τελευτῶντος. ὅταν γὰρ

¹ αὐτὸς Schenkl; αὐτὸν MSS.
² Sauppe reads (by a misprint ?) μοι.
have often been carried away by an eloquent speech
and have condemned innocent men to death, and
often on the other hand the guilty have been ac-
quitted either because their plea aroused compassion
or because their speech was witty?" "Yes, indeed!"
he had answered; "and I have tried twice already
to meditate on my defence, but my divine sign inter-
poses." And when Hermogenes observed, "That is
a surprising statement," he had replied, "Do you
think it surprising that even God holds it better for
me to die now? Do you not know that I would
refuse to concede that any man has lived a better
life than I have up to now? For I have realized
that my whole life has been spent in righteousness
toward God and man,—a fact that affords the greatest
satisfaction; and so I have felt a deep self-respect
and have discovered that my associates hold corre-
sponding sentiments toward me. But now, if my
years are prolonged, I know that the frailties of old
age will inevitably be realized,—that my vision must
be less perfect and my hearing less keen, that I
shall be slower to learn and more forgetful of what
I have learned. If I perceive my decay and take to
complaining, how," he had continued, "could I any
longer take pleasure in life? Perhaps," he added,
"God in his kindness is taking my part and securing
me the opportunity of ending my life not only in
season but also in the way that is easiest. For if I
am condemned now, it will clearly be my privilege to
suffer a death that is adjudged by those who have
superintended this matter to be not only the easiest
but also the least irksome to one's friends and one
that implants in them the deepest feeling of loss
for the dead. For when a person leaves behind in
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άσχημων μὲν μηδὲν μηδὲ δυσχερὸς ἐν ταῖς γνώμαις
tῶν παρόντων καταλίπτηται, ὅγιες δὲ τὸ σῶμα ἔχων
καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν δυναμένην φιλοφρονεῖσθαι ἀπο-
μαραίνηται, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τούτων ποθεινὸν
8 εἶναι; ὥρθος δὲ οἱ θεοὶ τότε μοι ἡναντιοῦντο,
φάναι αὐτὸν, τῇ τοῦ λόγου ἐπισκέψει οὗτέ ἐδόκει
ήμιν ἡ στιτεύτα εἶναι ἕκ παντὸς τρόπου τὰ ἀποφευ-
κτικά. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο διεπραξάμην, δῆλον ὅτι
ητοιμασάμην ἂν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἡγή λῆξαι τοῦ βίου ἡ
νόσοις ἀλγυρόμενος τελευτήσαι ἢ γήρα, εἰς ὁ
πάντα τὰ χαλεπὰ συρρέει καὶ μᾶλα ἔρημα τῶν
9 εὐφροσύνων. μὰ Δ', εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡς Ἐρμόγενες,
ἐγὼ ταῦτα οὐδὲ προθυμίσομαι, ἀλλ' ὅσων νομίζω
tετυχηκέναι καλῶν καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἄνθρώπων καὶ ἢν ἐγὼ δοξάν ἔχω περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ,
tαύτην ἀναφαίνων εἰ βαρυνῶ τοὺς δικαστάς,
αἰρήσομαι τελευτάν μᾶλλον ἡ ἀνελευθέρως τὸ ξῆν
ἐτὶ προσαυτῶν κερδάναι τὸν πολὺ χείρω βίον ἀντὶ
θανάτου.

10 Οὕτως δὲ γρόντα αὐτὸν ἐφή, ἐπειδὴ κατηγό-
ρησαν αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀντιδικοὶ ὡς ὅσ μὲν ἡ πόλις νομί-
ζει θεοῦς οὐ νομίζοι, έτερα δὲ καίνα δαίμονια
eἰσφέροι καὶ τοὺς νέους διαφθείροι, παρελθόντα
11 εἰπεῖν' ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦτο μὲν πρῶτον
θαυμάζω Μέλητον ὅ τῶ ποτὲ γνῶς λέγει ὃς ἐγὼ
οὕς ἡ πόλις νομίζει θεοῦς οὐ νομίζω· ἐπεὶ θύοντά
γε μὲ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν δημοσίων
βωμῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ παρατυχισμοντες ἑώρων
12 καὶ αὐτὸς Μέλητος, εἰ ἐβούλετο. καὶνά γε μὴν
dai mónιa πός ἀν ἐγὼ εἰσφέρομι λέγων ὁτι θεοῦ

1 Sauppe adopts Weiske's emendation ἡμῖν.
the hearts of his companions no remembrance to cause a blush or a pang, but dissolution comes while he still possesses a sound body and a spirit capable of showing kindliness, how could such a one fail to be sorely missed? It was with good reason," Socrates had continued, "that the gods opposed my studying up my speech at the time when we held that by fair means or foul we must find some plea that would effect my acquittal. For if I had achieved this end, it is clear that instead of now passing out of life, I should merely have provided for dying in the throes of illness or vexed by old age, the sink into which all distresses flow, unrelieved by any joy. As Heaven is my witness, Hermogenes," he had gone on, "I shall never court that fate; but if I am going to offend the jury by declaring all the blessings that I feel gods and men have bestowed on me, as well as my personal opinion of myself, I shall prefer death to begging meanly for longer life and thus gaining a life far less worthy in exchange for death."

Hermogenes stated that with this resolve Socrates came before the jury after his adversaries had charged him with not believing in the gods worshipped by the state and with the introduction of new deities in their stead and with corruption of the young, and replied: "One thing that I marvel at in Meletus, gentlemen, is what may be the basis of his assertion that I do not believe in the gods worshipped by the state; for all who have happened to be near at the time, as well as Meletus himself,—if he so desired,—have seen me sacrificing at the communal festivals and on the public altars. As for introducing 'new divinities,' how could I be guilty of that merely in

\[1\] See note on p. 494.
μοι φωνή φαινεται σημαίνουσα ὅ τι χρή ποιεῖν; καὶ γὰρ οἱ φθόγγοις οἰωνῶν καὶ οἱ φήμαις ἀνθρώπων χρώμενοι φωναῖς δήποτε τεκμαίρονται. βροντὰς δὲ ἀμφιλέξει τις ἢ μὴ φωνεῖν ἢ μὴ μέγιστον οἰωνιστήριον εἶναι; ἢ δὲ Πυθοὶ ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ ἱέρεια οὐ καὶ αὐτῇ φωνῇ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ διαγέλλει; ἀλλὰ μέντοι καὶ τὸ προειδόντα γε τὸν θεὸν τὸ μέλλον καὶ τὸ προσημαίνειν ὧ βούλεται, καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐγώ φημί, οὕτω πάντες καὶ λέγοντες καὶ νομίζοντες. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν οἰωνοῦσι τε καὶ φήμαις καὶ συμβόλοις τε καὶ μάντεις ὀνομάζοντες τοὺς προσημαίνοντας εἶναι, ἐγώ δὲ τοῦτο δαιμόνιον καλῶ, καὶ οἴμαι οὕτως ὀνομάζων καὶ ἀληθεστέρα καὶ σοφότερα λέγειν τῶν τοις ὀρισειν ἀνατιθέντων τὴν τῶν θεῶν δύναμιν. ὥς γε μὴ οὐ ψεύδομαι κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχω τεκμηριωμένον καὶ γὰρ τῶν φίλων πολλοῖς δὴ ἐξαγγείλας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβουλεύματα οὐδεπώποτε ψευσάμενος ἐφάνην.

1 'Επεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες οἱ δικασταὶ ἔθορύβουν, οἱ μὲν ἀπιστοῦντες τοῖς λεγομένοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ φθονοῦντες εἰ καὶ παρὰ θεῶν μεῖζονοι ἡ αὐτοὶ τυγχάνοι, πάλιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην Ἀγε δὴ ἀκούσατε καὶ ἀλλα, ἵνα ἐτι μᾶλλον οἱ βουλόμενοι υμῶν

1 Or "divine sign." Here, as earlier, the mere adjective is used; but in Plato's Theages (128 D ff.) and Apology (31 D) this admonitory something is described as a voice sent by heavenly dispensation, and is called variously "the sign" (Apology 41 D), "the usual sign" (Apology 40 C), "the divine sign" (Rep. 496 C), "the usual divine sign" (Euthyd. 272 E, Phaedrus 242 B, Theages 129 B), "the sign from God" (Apology 40 B), "something God-sent and divine" (Apology 31 D). Plato 648
asserting that a voice of God is made manifest to me indicating my duty? Surely those who take their omens from the cries of birds and the utterances of men form their judgments on 'voices.' Will any one dispute either that thunder utters its 'voice,' or that it is an omen of the greatest moment? Does not the very priestess who sits on the tripod at Delphi divulge the god's will through a 'voice'? But more than that, in regard to God's foreknowledge of the future and his forewarning thereof to whomsoever he will, these are the same terms, I assert, that all men use, and this is their belief. The only difference between them and me is that whereas they call the sources of their forewarning 'birds,' 'utterances,' 'chance meetings,' 'prophets,' I call mine a 'divine' thing;¹ and I think that in using such a term I am speaking with more truth and deeper religious feeling than do those who ascribe the gods' power to birds. Now that I do not lie against God I have the following proof: I have revealed to many of my friends the counsels which God has given me, and in no instance has the event shown that I was mistaken."

Hermogenes further reported that when the jurors raised a clamour at hearing these words, some of them disbelieving his statements, others showing jealousy at his receiving greater favours even from the gods than they, Socrates resumed: "Hark ye; let me tell you something more, so that those of you who feel so inclined may have still greater reports Socrates' description of this as a voice not directing his actions but serving only as a deterrent when he or his friends were contemplating doing something inadvisable.
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ἀπιστῶσι τῷ ἐμὲ τετιμῆσθαι ὑπὸ δαιμόνων. Χαιρεφώντος γὰρ ποτὲ ἑπερωτῶντος ἐν Δελφοῖς περὶ ἐμοῦ πολλῶν παρόντων ἀνείλεν ὁ Ἀπόλλων μηδένα εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἐμοῦ μήτε ἐλευθεριώτερον μήτε δικαιότερον μήτε σωφρονεστέρον.

15 Ὡς δ’ αὖ ταῦτ’ ἄκουσαντες οἱ δικασταὶ έτι μᾶλλον εἰκότως ἐθορύβουν, αὖθις εἶπεῖν τὸν Σωκράτην. Ἀλλὰ μείζω μὲν, ὁ ἄνδρες, εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν χρήσμοις περὶ Δυκούργου τοῦ Δακεδαιμονίως νομοθετήσαντος ἥ περὶ ἐμοῦ. λέγεται γὰρ εἰς τὸν νεῶ εἰσίοντα προσεπείν αὐτόν, Φροντίζω πότερα θεόν σε εὕπω ἢ ἀνθρωπον. ἐμὲ δὲ θεῷ μὲν οὐκ εἴκασεν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πολλῷ προέκρινεν ὑπερφέειν. ὅμως δὲ ύμεῖς μηδὲ ταῦτ’ εἰκή πιστεύσητε τῷ θεῷ, ἀλλὰ καθ’ ἐν ἐκαστὸν ἐπισκοπεῖτε ὃν εἶπεν ὁ θεός. τίνα μὲν γὰρ ἐπιστάσθη ἦττον ἐμοῦ δουλεύοντα ταῖς τοῦ σῶματος ἐπιθυμίαις; τίνα δὲ ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθεριώτερον, διὶ παρ’ οὐδενὸς οὖτε δῶρα οὔτε μισθὸν δέχομαι; δικαίοτερον δὲ τίνα ἄν εἰκότως νομίσαιτε τοῦ οὕτω 1 πρὸς τὰ παρόντα συνηρμοσμένου ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἰμηδενὸς προσδείσθαι; σοφὸν δὲ πῶς οὐκ ἄν τις εἰκότως ἄνδρα φήσειεν εἶναι ὅς ἐξ ὁτουπερ ἐνυιέναι τὰ λεγόμενα ἥρξάμην οὐπώποτε διέλιπον καὶ ξητῶν καὶ μανθάνον τ’ τι ἐδυνάμην ἀγαθὸν; ὡς δὲ οὐ μάτην ἐπόνουν οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν καὶ τάδε τεκμήρια εἶναι, τὸ πολλοὺς μὲν πολίτας τῶν ἀρετῆς ἑφεμένων, πολλοὺς δὲ ἔξων ἐκ πάντων προαιρεῖσθαι εἰμοὶ ξυνείναι; ἐκείνου δὲ τι φήσομεν αἰτιον

1 οὕτω added by Cobet.

1 A very enthusiastic follower of Socrates.

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disbelief in my being honoured of Heaven. Once on a time when Chaerephon made inquiry at the Delphic oracle concerning me, in the presence of many people Apollo answered that no man was more free than I, or more just, or more prudent."

When the jurors, naturally enough, made a still greater tumult on hearing this statement, he said that Socrates again went on: "And yet, gentlemen, the god uttered in oracles greater things of Lycurgus, the Lacedaemonian law-giver, than he did of me. For there is a legend that, as Lycurgus entered the temple, the god thus addressed him: 'I am pondering whether to call you god or man.' Now Apollo did not compare me to a god; he did, however, judge that I far excelled the rest of mankind. However, do not believe the god even in this without due grounds, but examine the god's utterance in detail. First, who is there in your knowledge that is less a slave to his bodily appetites than I am? Who in the world more free,—for I accept neither gifts nor pay from any one? Whom would you with reason regard as more just than the one so reconciled to his present possessions as to want nothing beside that belongs to another? And would not a person with good reason call me a wise man, who from the time when I began to understand spoken words have never left off seeking after and learning every good thing that I could? And that my labour has not been in vain do you not think is attested by this fact, that many of my fellow-citizens who strive for virtue and many from abroad choose to associate with me above all other men? And what shall we say is accountable for
eînavi, toû pântas eîdênavi òti égô ʹhîuist' ân 
êxóimì xrhîmatâ àntididônavi, ômôs polلوuâs épitînu-
meîv émoi tî dôrpeîsâhâ; tô ð' ëmè mêv ìhô òf' 
ëvôs âpaitêsthai eûrygeias, êmoi ðè pollooûs 
ômoloneîn xâritas ðfeîleîv; tô ð' èn tê pôlîorôkîa 
tou mâv âllous ôiktîréîn ëvautous, êmî ðè ìhôdèv 
âporôteron diâgeîv û tê tâ málî斯塔 û pòlîs 
ûdaiîmônei; tô ðè toûs âllous mêv tâs eûpap-
theias ëk tês ìgorôs pôlûtelêîs pòrîseîsâ, êmê 
êâ ðè ðk tês òûxhê ìnev dàpânûs ìdious êkeînôv 
mêxaiasî; êî ãè ìhû ñsa êîrîkâ pêrî emautû 
mêdeis ðvûvit' ân ëxeleîgîzai me òs ûneîdomai, pôs 
oûk àn ìdî dikaîos kai ùpò òtheîn kai ùp' ânðrô-
ptôv eûpânîmîv; àllê ômôs sù me ðhîs, ðô Mêlîte, 
toîûta èpîteîdeîvonta touvs ñeûos diaphêîreîv; 
kaîtôì èpîstâmêba mêv dhîpou tînes ìsiî nevôv diâ-
ðhôrâî; su ðè êîpè êî tîna oìsta ûp' êmû ãegê-
nêmênû û êz eûsebôûs àvòsion û êk ñôfroûs 
vûristhê û êz eûdîaîtou pôlûdàpàvou û êk 
mêtrîopô tôv oînôfîlûgê û êk fîlîpôvou malaîvûn 
û ìllhês pônhâs ìdônîs ëtîpêmênû. 'Àllâ nai 
mâ ði', êfî ðô Mêlîtôs, êkeînous ìîda ouûs su 
pêpêika noî péîthesîs mâllûv û tôis geînavê-
vois. 'Oîmolôgô, ûnàî toûn Sôkhrâtîn, pêrî ãe 
âîdeïas: tôutô gar ʹsasîv êmî ìmemêlêkoûs. pêrî 
êð' ùnîeîas teîs ìsîrrois mâllûv oî ànðrôpôî pêî-
ðûntai û tôis gôneûvî kai ën tâs êkklêsîaîs ãe

1 eûdaiîmônei one MS.; eûdaiîmônei Sauppe with the other MSS.

1 The blockade of Athens by the Spartans in the last year of the Peloponnesian War.
this fact, that although everybody knows that it is quite impossible for me to repay with money, many people are eager to make me some gift? Or for this, that no demands are made on me by a single person for the repayment of benefits, while many confess that they owe me a debt of gratitude? Or for this, that during the siege, while others were commiserating their lot, I got along without feeling the pinch of poverty any worse than when the city's prosperity was at its height? Or for this, that while other men get their delicacies in the markets and pay a high price for them, I devise more pleasurable ones from the resources of my soul, with no expenditure of money? And now, if no one can convict me of misstatement in all that I have said of myself, do I not unquestionably merit praise from both gods and men? But in spite of all, Meletus, do you maintain that I corrupt the young by such practices? And yet surely we know what kinds of corruption affect the young; so you tell us whether you know of any one who under my influence has fallen from piety into impiety, or from sober into wanton conduct, or from moderation in living into extravagance, or from temperate drinking into sottishness, or from strenuousness into effeminacy, or has been overcome of any other base pleasure.” “But, by Heaven!” said Meletus: “there is one set of men I know,—those whom you have persuaded to obey you rather than their parents.” “I admit it,” he reports Socrates as replying, “at least so far as education is concerned; for people know that I have taken an interest in that. But in a question of health, men take the advice of physicians rather than that of their parents; and
πάντες δήπο οί 'Αθηναίοι τοῖς φρονιμώτατα λέγουσι πείθονται μᾶλλον ἡ τοῖς προσήκουσιν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ στρατηγοὺς αἰρεῖσθε καὶ πρὸ πατέρων καὶ πρὸ ἀδελφῶν καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία γε ύμεῖς πρὸ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, οὔς ἂν ἡγησθε περὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν φρονιμωτάτων εἶναι; Οὗτω γὰρ, φάναι τὸν Μέλητον, ὁ Σώκρατες, καὶ συμφέρει καὶ νομίζεται. Οὐκουν, εἰπεῖν τὸν Σώκράτην, θαυμαστὸν καὶ τούτῳ σοὶ δοκεῖ εἶναι, τὸ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀλλαῖς πράξεσι μὴ μόνον ἵσομοιρίας τυχικῶν τοὺς κρατίστους ἀλλὰ καὶ προτειμήσθαι, ἐμὲ δέ, ὅτι περὶ τοῦ μεγίστου ἀγαθοῦ ἀνθρώπου, περὶ παιδείας, βέλτιστος εἶναι ὑπὸ τινῶν προκρίνομαι, τούτου ἕνεκα θανάτου ὑπὸ σοῦ διόκεσθαι;

21 Ἐρρήθη μὲν δὴλον ὅτι τούτων πλείονα ὑπὸ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συναγορευόντων φίλων αὐτῷ. ἄλλ' ἐγὼ οὐ τὰ πάντα εἰπεῖν τὰ ἐκ τῆς δίκης ἐσπούδασα, ἄλλ' ἴρκεσε μοι δηλώσαι ὅτι Σώκρατης τὸ μὲν μὴτε περὶ θεοὺς ἀσεβῆσαι μὴτε περὶ ἀνθρώπων ἄδικος φανήμαι περὶ παντὸς ἐποιεῖτο, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν οὐκ ὀδοτο λιπαρητέον εἶναι, ἄλλα καὶ καίρων ἢδη ἐνόμιζεν ἐαυτῷ τελευτάν. ὅτι δὲ οὕτως ἐγήγαγος καταδηλότερον ἐγήγαγεν ἐπειδὴ ἡ δίκη κατεψιφίσθη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ κελευνόμενος ύποτιμᾶσθαι οὔτε αὐτὸς ύπετιμήσαςτα οὔτε τοὺς φίλους εἰάσευ, ἄλλα καὶ ἐλεγεν ὅτι τὸ ύποτιμᾶσθαι ὁμολογοῦντος εἰὴ ἀδικεῖν. ἔπειτα τῶν ἔταρτῶν ἐκκλεῖσαι βουλομένων αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐφεί-
moreover, in the meetings of the legislative assembly all the people of Athens, without question, follow the advice of those whose words are wisest rather than that of their own relatives. Do you not also elect for your generals, in preference to fathers and brothers,—yes, by Heaven! in preference to your very selves,—those whom you regard as having the greatest wisdom in military affairs?" "Yes," Meletus had said; "for that is both expedient and conventional." "Well, then," Socrates had rejoined, "does it not seem to you an amazing thing that while in other activities those who excel receive honours not merely on a parity with their fellows but even more marked ones, yet I, because I am adjudged by some people supreme in what is man's greatest blessing,—education,—am being prosecuted by you on a capital charge?"

More than this of course was said both by Socrates himself and by the friends who joined in his defence. But I have not made it a point to report the whole trial; rather I am satisfied to make it clear that while Socrates' whole concern was to keep free from any act of impiety toward the gods or any appearance of wrong-doing toward man, he did not think it meet to beseech the jury to let him escape death; instead, he believed that the time had now come for him to die. This conviction of his became more evident than ever after the adverse issue of the trial. For, first of all, when he was bidden to name his penalty, he refused personally and forbade his friends to name one, but said that naming the penalty in itself implied an acknowledgment of guilt. Then, when his companions wished to remove him clandestinely from prison, he would not accom-
πετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπισκῶψαι ἐδόκει, ἐρόμενος εἰ που εἴδειν τι χωρίον ἔξω τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐνθα οὐ προσβατὸν θανάτω.

24 Ὅσ δὲ τέλος εἶχεν ἡ δίκη, εἰπεῖν αὐτοῦ 'Ἀλλ', ὡς ἄνδρας, τοὺς μὲν διδάσκοντας τοὺς μάρτυρας ὡς χρῆ ἐπιορκοῦντας καταψευδομαρτυρεῖν ἐμοὶ καὶ τοὺς πειθομένους τούτους ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ πολλὴν ἐαυτοῖς συνειδέναι ἁσέβειαν καὶ ἁδικίαν ἐμοὶ δὲ τῇ προσήκει νῦν μεῖον φρονεῖν ἢ πρὶν κατακριθῇ-ναι, μηδὲν ἐλεγχθέντι ὡς πεποίηκά τι ὁν ἐγράψαμεν με; οὔτε γὰρ ἔγνωγε ἀντὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας καὶ τῶν σὺν τούτοις θεῶν οὔτε θύων τισὶ καὶ οὐς δαίμοσιν οὔτε ὅμως οὔτε ὄνομάξων ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀναπέφηνα. τοὺς γε μὴν νέους πώς ἂν διαφθεὶ-ρομι καρτερίαν καὶ εὐτέλειαν προσέβιζον; ἐφ' οἷς γε μὴν ἑργοὶς κεῖται θάνατος ἡ ζημία, ἱεροσυ-λία, τοιχωρικία, ἀνδραποδίσει, πόλεως προδοσία, οὐδ' αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀντίδικοι τούτων πράξαί τι κατ' ἐμοὶ φασίν. ὡστε θαυμαστὸν ἐμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι ὅπως ποτὲ ἐφάνη ὑμῖν τοῦ θανάτου ἑργον ἀξιον ἐμοὶ εἰργασμένου. ἀλλ' οὖδὲ μέντοι ὅτι ἀδίκως ἀποθηνήσκω, διὰ τοῦτο μεῖον φρονητέον· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ἀλλὰ τοῖς καταγνωσθέ τοῦτο ἀισχρόν ἐστι. παραμυθεῖται δέ τί με καὶ Παλαμήδος ὁ παρα-πλησίως ἐμοὶ τελευτήσας· ἐτὶ γὰρ καὶ νῦν πολὺ καλλίους ὑμνοὺς παρέχεται Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ ἀδίκους ἀποκτείναντος αὐτοῦ· οἶδ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμοὶ μαρτυρή-
pany them, but seemed actually to banter them, asking them whether they knew of any spot outside of Attica that was inaccessible to death.

When the trial was over, Socrates (according to Hermogenes) remarked: "Well, gentlemen, those who instructed the witnesses that they must bear false witness against me, perjuring themselves to do so, and those who were won over to do this must feel in their hearts a guilty consciousness of great impiety and iniquity; but as for me, why should my spirit be any less exalted now than before my condemnation, since I have not been proved guilty of having done any of the acts mentioned in the indictment? For it has not been shown that I have sacrificed to new deities in the stead of Zeus and Hera and the gods of their company, or that I have invoked in oaths or mentioned other gods. And how could I be corrupting the young by habituating them to fortitude and frugality? Now of all the acts for which the laws have prescribed the death-penalty—temple robbery, burglary, enslavement, treason to the state—not even my adversaries themselves charge me with having committed any of these. And so it seems astonishing to me how you could ever have been convinced that I had committed an act meriting death. But further, my spirit need not be less exalted because I am to be executed unjustly; for the ignominy of that attaches not to me but to those who condemned me. And I get comfort from the case of Palamedes, also, who died in circumstances similar to mine; for even yet he affords us far more noble themes for song than does Odysseus, the man who unjustly put him to death. And I know that time to come as well as
σεται ὑπὸ τε τοῦ ἐπιόντος καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ παρελθο-λυθότος χρόνου ὃτι ἡδίκησα μὲν οὐδένα πώποτε οὐδὲ πονηρότερον ἐποίησα, ἡνεργέτουν δὲ τοὺς ἐμοὶ διαλεγομένους προῖκα διδάσκων ὦ τι ἐδυνάμην ἄγαθών.

27 Ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦτα μάλα ὀμολογομένως δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀπήει καὶ ὀμμασι καὶ σχήματι καὶ βαδίσματι φαιδρός. ὡς δὲ ἦσθετο ἀρα τοὺς παρεπομένους δακρύνοντας, Τι τούτο; εἰπεῖν αὐτόν, ἢ ἄρτι δακρύετε; οὐ γὰρ πάλαι ἵστε ὅτι εξ ὅτου-περ ἐγενόμην κατεψηφισμένος ἢ μου ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ὁ θάνατος; ἀλλὰ μέντοι εἰ μὲν ἄγαθὼν ἐπιρρεόντων προαπόλλυμαι, δήλον ὅτι ἐμοὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς εὐνοὺς λυπητέον· εἰ δὲ χαλεπῶν προσ-δοκομένων καταλύω τὸν βίον, ἐγὼ μὲν οἴμαι ὡς εὐπραγοῦντος ἐμοὶ πᾶσιν ύμῖν εὐθυμητέον εἶναι.

28 Παρὼν δὲ τῆς Ἀπολλόδωρος, ἐπιθυμητῆς μὲν ὅν ἵσχυρῶς αὐτοῦ, ἄλλως δὲ εὐήθεσ, εἰπεῖν ἀρα: Ἀλλὰ τοῦτο ἐγώγε, ὡς Σώκρατες, χαλεπώτατα φέρω ὅτι ὅρῳ σε ἁδίκως ἀποθησκοῦντα. τὸν δὲ λέγεται καταψήσαντα αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπεῖν· Ἔν δὲ, ὁ φίλτατε Ἀπολλόδωρα, μᾶλλον ἄν ἐβούλουν με ὅραν δικαίως ἡ ἁδίκως ἀποθησκοῦντα; καὶ ἀμα ἐπιγελάσαι.

29 Λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀνυτοῦ παριόντα ἴδιων εἰπεῖν· Ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀνήρ ὃδε κυδρός, ὡς μέγα τι1 καὶ καλὸν διαπεπραγμένος εἰ ἀπέκτονε με ὅτι αὐτὸν τῶν μεγίστων ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ὀρῶν ἁξιούμενον οὐκ

1 Sauppe reads ὁ (a misprint?).
time past will attest that I, too, far from ever doing any man a wrong or rendering him more wicked, have rather profited those who conversed with me by teaching them, without reward, every good thing that lay in my power.”

With these words he departed, blithe in glance, in mien, in gait, as comported well indeed with the words he had just uttered. When he noticed that those who accompanied him were in tears, “What is this?” Hermogenes reports him as asking. “Are you just now beginning to weep? Have you not known all along that from the moment of my birth nature had condemned me to death? Verily, if I am being destroyed before my time while blessings are still pouring in upon me, clearly that should bring grief to me and to my well-wishers; but if I am ending my life when only troubles are in view, my own opinion is that you ought all to feel cheered, in the assurance that my state is happy.”

A man named Apollodorus, who was there with him, a very ardent disciple of Socrates, but otherwise simple, exclaimed, “But, Socrates, what I find it hardest to bear is that I see you being put to death unjustly!” The other, stroking Apollodorus’ head, is said to have replied, “My beloved Apollodorus, was it your preference to see me put to death justly?” and smiled as he asked the question.

It is said also that he remarked as he saw Anytus\(^1\) passing by: “There goes a man who is filled with pride at the thought that he has accomplished some great and noble end in putting me to death, because, seeing him honoured by the state with the highest

\(^1\) One of the three plaintiffs in Socrates’ trial.
ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ δὲ διὰ τὸ μεγαλύνειν ἐαυτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ φθόνον ἐπαγόμενος μᾶλλον καταψηφίσασθαι ἐαυτοῦ ἐποίησε τὸν δικαστὰς. ἐμοὶ μὲν οὖν δοκεῖ θεοφιλοῦσα μοῖρας τετυχηκέναι τοῦ μὲν γὰρ βίου τὸ χαλεπώτατον ἀπέλυε, τῶν δὲ θανάτων τοῦ βάστου ἔπυξεν. ἐπεδείξατο δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν ρώμην ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ τοῦ ἔτι ζήν τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτῷ κρείττον εἶναι, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὰλλα τάγαθα προσάντης ἦν, οὐδὲ πρὸς τῶν 660
offices, I said that he ought not to confine his son's education to hides.\(^1\) What a vicious fellow," he continued, "not to know, apparently, that whatever one of us has wrought the more beneficial and noble deeds for all time, he is the real victor. But," he is reported to have added, "Homer has attributed to some of his heroes at the moment of dissolution the power to foresee the future; and so I too wish to utter a prophecy. At one time I had a brief association with the son of Anytus, and I thought him not lacking in firmness of spirit; and so I predict that he will not continue in the servile occupation that his father has provided for him; but through want of a worthy adviser he will fall into some disgraceful propensity and will surely go far in the career of vice." In saying this he was not mistaken; the young man, delighting in wine, never left off drinking night or day, and at last turned out worth nothing to his city, his friends, or himself. So Anytus, even though dead, still enjoys an evil repute for his son's mischievous education and for his own hard-heartedness. And as for Socrates, by exalting himself before the court, he brought ill-will upon himself and made his conviction by the jury all the more certain. Now to me he seems to have met a fate that the gods love; for he escaped the hardest part of life and met the easiest sort of death. And he displayed the stalwart nature of his heart; for having once decided that to die was better for him than to live longer, he did not weaken in the presence of death (just as he had never set his face against any other thing, either, that was for

\(^1\) The tanning trade had been in the family from at least the time of the boy's grandfather.
Θάνατον ἐμαλακίσατο, ἀλλ’ ἰλαρῶς καὶ προσεδέχετο αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπετελέσατο.

34 Ἔγω μὲν δὴ κατανοῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν τε σοφίαν καὶ τὴν γενναιότητα οὔτε μὴ μεμνησθαί δύναμαι αὐτοῦ οὔτε μεμνημένος μὴ οὐκ ἔπαινεῖν. εἰ δὲ τις τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὅφελημωτέρω τινὶ Σωκράτους συνεγένετο, ἐκείνου ἔγω τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἄξιομα-καριστότατον νομίζω.
his good), but was cheerful not only in the expectation of death but in meeting it.

And so, in contemplating the man's wisdom and nobility of character, I find it beyond my power to forget him or, in remembering him, to refrain from praising him. And if among those who make virtue their aim any one has ever been brought into contact with a person more helpful than Socrates, I count that man worthy to be called most blessed.
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dinner party at which Socrates speaks of love; and *Oeconomicus* has him giving advice on household management and married life. *Cyropaedia*, a historical romance on the education of Cyrus (the Elder), reflects Xenophon’s ideas about rulers and government.

We also have his *Hiero*, a dialogue on government; *Agesilaus*, in praise of that king; *Constitution of Lacedaemon* (on the Spartan system); *Ways and Means* (on the finances of Athens); *Manual for a Cavalry Commander*; a good manual of Horsemanship; and a lively *Hunting with Hounds* — mostly hare-hunting. *The Constitution of the Athenians*, though clearly not by Xenophon, is an interesting document on politics at Athens. These eight books are collected in the last of the seven volumes of the Loeb Classical Library edition of Xenophon.

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