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# THE LAWS OF PLATO

THE TEXT EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION,  
NOTES, ETC.

BY

E. B. ENGLAND, LITT.D.

LATE WARDEN OF HULME HALL AND ASSISTANT LECTURER IN CLASSICS  
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# PREFACE

ONLY two commentaries on the whole of Plato's *Laws* have hitherto been published, that of Fr. Ast, Leipzig, Weidmann, 1814; and that of G. Stallbaum, Leipzig, Hennings, 1859 and 1860. Many critical editions of the text, however, have appeared, of which I will only mention those which I have used in writing my notes. These are the editions of Rutger Ressen, Louvain, 1531; H. Stephanus, 1578; I. Bekker, Berlin, 1817; C. E. Ch. Schneider, Paris, Didot, 1877; C. Fr. Hermann, Leipzig, Teubner, 1852; F. W. Wagner, Leipzig, Engelmann, 1854, 1855; J. G. Baiter, J. C. Orelli, A. W. Winckelmann, Zürich, 1839; M. Schanz, Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1879 (the first six books only); J. Burnet, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1906. To all these my debt has been great, but I have derived more help from Professor Burnet's edition, with its critical notes and its revised and repunctuated text, than from any of the texts or commentaries, while he and the Clarendon Press have laid me under a further great obligation by allowing me to use the Oxford edition as the basis of my own revision.

Students of the *Laws* have derived valuable assistance from the many translations which have been made, whether into Latin, or into a modern language. Of such I have constantly consulted those of Marsilio Ficino, Venice, 1491 (twenty-two years before the appearance of the first printed Greek text); C. E. Ch. Schneider, F. W. Wagner, and B. Jowett, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1875.

Every page of my notes reveals indebtedness to scholars who have dealt with the text or interpretation of separate passages. The two works of C. Ritter (*Platos Gesetze*, (1) *Darstellung des Inhalts*, and (2) *Kommentar zum griechischen Texte*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1896) deserve special mention.

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each, from the large number of passages treated, or commentary. *Platon* by Dr. von Wilamowitz did not come into my hands till this book was Vol. II. contains about fifty emendations in the *Laws*. A few of these may be generally and all merit careful consideration.

Professor Burnet, and to my own teacher, Professor Mason, O.M., I am indebted for much readily given passages of special difficulty. The late Professor of King's College, London, was good enough and comment on my notes on the first half

the names I mention with a grateful recognition of assistance, that of the late Mr. F. H. Dale, C.B., and Mrs. James Adam. The former, without whose encouragement my work could hardly have been through and discussed with me my notes on nearly of the first ten books. Mrs. Adam has laid me great obligation by reading through all the proofs she has set me right many times, but she is not for all that remains after her criticisms have been Notes in brackets with the initials F.H.D., B.M. record the chief instances where these were differed from without convincing me.

text square brackets denote the rejection of words or letters; angular brackets that the words or letters have been added conjecturally to it. Clarendon type has been used to denote all alterations which have been made in modern times—at that is, since the invention of printing.

References to any other part of Plato are to the pages of Stephanus's edition, and where the number of added, it is that of Burnet's text.

E. B. E.

NY, April 1921.

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# ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

p. 14 line 14 from bottom. *for* to read in

## NOTES

624 a 4 line 6. *for* Platos read Platons

630 a 5 line 4. *for* πιστότης read πισπότης.

630 c 8 line 3. *for* ὡς read ὡς

634 c 5 line 10. *for* by a magistrate or by an old man read  
by an old man to a magistrate or

635 e 4 line 4. *for* λέγω μὲν read λέγωμεν

637 d 4 line 11. *for* μεθεύειν read μεθύειν

638 b 2 line 6. *for* 456 read 356

639 a 7 line 8. *for* pres. read pres. ind.

639 c 1 line 8. *for* ἐορ. read ἐωρ.

643 c 5 line 4. *for* παιδία read παιδιά

643 c 7 line 1. *for* παιδίων read παιδιῶν

643 c 7 line 2. *for* παιδείων read παιδειῶν

647 a 5 line 3. *for* παιδίαι read παιδιαί

647 e 2 line 3. *for* οἶος read οἶον

p. 279 line 5. *for* η read ἦ

660 d 8 line 2. *for* applied read supplied}

665 c 2-7 line 9. *for* αἰχμηταῖσι read αἰχματάῖσι

666 d 9 line 4. *add*—MSS. τὴν, Ald. ἦν, Schmidt τὴν ἦν.

666 e 2 line 6. *for* βουά read βούα

667 a 1 line 7. *for* διοκοῖ read διοικοῖ

667 b 5-c 3 line 22. *for* ἐγκατατετμημένον read ἐγκατατετμημένου

667 e 3 line 1. *for* ἐπακολουθῆ read ἐπακολουθῆ

668 a 1 line 8. *for* εἴτις read εἴ τις

669 e 6 line 12. *for* 648 e read 648 c

671 a 6 line 7. *for* afer read after

680 e 6 line 5. *for* If . . . proleptically. read But cp. below  
683 a 5 and 7.

- 683 e 5 line 33. *for ἤκιστα read ἤκιστα*
- 684 b 5 line 5. *dele of*
- 687 e 2 line 5. *for befel read befell*
- 688 b 6 line 5. *for πρεσβευτική read πρεσβυτική*
- 688 d 2 line 3. *for διακωλεύσει read διακωλύσει*
- 688 d 2 line 7. *for ὄθεν δὴ read ὄθενδὴ*
- 689 d 5 line 11. *for προσχρημένῳ read προσχρωμένῳ*
- 691 a 1 line 2. *for e 7 read c 7*
- 693 b 2 line 1. *for νύνδη read νυνδὴ*
- 695 b 2 line 1. *for absolue read absolute*
- 698 b 5 line 10. *for practical read poetical*
- 699 d 8 line 1. *for τὶ read τι*
- 708 a 3 line 7. *for μάλιστ· read μάλιστ'*
- 709 c 1 line 16. *for μή read ἢ μή*
- 710 a 1 line 7. *for use read use it*
- 712 e 7 line 4. *for δυσχυριζόμενον read δυσχυριζόμενος*
- 717 a 8 line 9. *insert ) after "predicate"*
- 719 d 6 line 2. *for "timeless" (aor.) read ("timeless" aor.)*
- 730 c 3 line 4. *for εἰδοίη read εἰδείη*
- 730 d 7 line 3. *for ἀναγορευέσθω read ἀναγορευέσθω*
- 731 d 6 line 7. *for proud read fond*
- 732 d 6 line 2. *for ἀνδοα read ἀνδρα*
- 739 c 1 line 9. *for suggsetion read suggestion*
- 739 d 5 line 7. *dele —*
- 739 d 5 line 18 *insert ) after considered*
- 745 a 6 line 6. *for αἰσχροκερδεια read αἰσχροκέρδεια*
- 752 d 6 line 4. *for sterotyped read stereotyped*
- 754 d 8 line 5. *for £20 read £16*
- 756 c 6 line 4. *for e 16 read l. 16*
- 756 e 4f. line 15. *for e 19f. read l. 19f.*
- 758 a 8 line 3. *for a 6 read d 6*
- 760 e 7 line 15. *for inaedifieare read inaedificare*
- 763 c 3 line 13. *for ἀστυνύμων read ἀστυνόμων*
- 766 b 3 line 5 *for it read τῶν*
- 773 e 4 line 4. *for "stands per read stands " per*
- 774 c 3 ff. line 24. *for pecunia read penuria*
- 775 b 3 line 3. *for gen. read acc.*

# INTRODUCTION

THE treasury of pregnant truths which Plato in extreme old age left, under the title of *Laws*, as his last legacy to humanity falls into two distinct parts.

When the three pedestrians of the dialogue had reached the place of noonday rest on their midsummer day's walk from Cnossos to the Cave of Zeus, the Athenian calls upon the others to observe that, while they had been talking about laws half the day, they had not yet made, for their new colony, a single law. If, on this hint, the reader of Plato's treatise will turn to see what proportion it contains of actual legislation, and what of "talk about laws," he will find that the "talk" bears to the "laws" the relation of two to one. Of the 321 of Stephanus's pages occupied by the *Laws* not more than 107 contain definite statutes with their penalties.<sup>1</sup>

To describe this supplement to the actual legislation Plato uses the term *προοίμιον*, pleased, as usual, to find a linguistic analogy in established usage. Besides meaning *custom, convention* or *law*, *νόμος* was used for a musical "piece" or "theme." Every substantial *piece* had its *prelude*: what better name then could be found for the prefaces to the whole treatise on *νόμοι* or to particular laws than *νόμων προοίμια*?

Of one of these two kinds all the supplementary matter consists. Either it is an elucidatory introduction to the

<sup>1</sup> In this latter total are reckoned the necessary directions in Bk. VII. for the nurture of the very young and the education of the adolescent, though the author, while declaring, at 790 b 2, that they are the foundation of all legislation, expressly disclaims for them the name of laws.

subject as a whole, or it is such an introduction to one important law or to a section of the code.

The former, or general, introduction, which is resumed at times in later books, comprises what is at first sight a perplexing variety of subjects. The perplexity becomes less when we find a key to it in the perception that, with Plato, Politics is a branch of the life-long<sup>1</sup> process of Education.

The subject under consideration is Man in Society—*ἄνθρωποι πολιτευόμενοι*.<sup>2</sup> About Man it is clear<sup>3</sup> “that every living creature has a smaller, and inferior, *νοῦς* when it is born than it has when it is full-grown. About Society likewise<sup>4</sup> we conclude that, in its early stages, many possibilities for both good and evil are still unrealized. The education of the former is to be in the hands of nurses and schoolmasters, under the direction of *the most distinguished of all state officials*:<sup>5</sup> that of the latter mainly in those of the lawgiver alone.

The possibilities of development (1) of Human Nature, and (2) of Society, and the agencies by which satisfactory developments may be produced, are therefore the main subjects of the lawgiver's consideration. Roughly speaking, the latter part of Bk. I., Bk. II., the first part of Bk. V. and many individual preludes—including the majority of those in Bk. VII.—cover the ground of (1). The early part of Bk. I., many of the *προοίμια*, Bks. III. and IV. cover that of (2).

Among the preludes to special classes of laws the long theological argument in Bk. X. occupies an outstanding position. Though technically the prelude to laws against impiety, and dangerous superstitions, Cleinias at 887 b 8 speaks of it as fit to rank as “*ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων τῶν νόμων κάλλιστόν τε καὶ ἄριστον προοίμιον*.” This claim indicates the supreme importance attached by the lawgiver to religion as a sanction and preservative of law.

Another prelude which stands out from among the rest is the dissertation in the eighth book (825–841), on the unhealthy and the healthy indulgence of sexual appetite.

<sup>1</sup> 807 d 4.

<sup>4</sup> 678 b 1–3.

<sup>2</sup> 676 b 3.

<sup>5</sup> 765 d 8.

<sup>3</sup> 672 b 8.

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This is not a preface to a law, for no law is made. The community is not ripe for it. The author's dissertation is merely a λόγος . . . νόμος ἐπιχειρῶν γίγνεσθαι<sup>1</sup>—an argument which does its best to impose itself on men's consciences. He speaks "before a corrupt tribunal" as the "single-handed opponent of overwhelming desire, with reason for his only help and support."<sup>2</sup> The only satisfactory law would be one forbidding all indulgence of the kind except that between lawful husband and wife, with a view to child-production<sup>3</sup>—the pair to be faithful to each other for life—as Plato beautifully expresses it,<sup>4</sup> ἐμμένοντες βεβαίως ταῖς πρώταις τῆς φιλίας ὁμολογίαις. The nearest approach to this which he contemplates as possible at the time is the arousing of the sense of shame whenever this high standard should be publicly transgressed.

The most influential of the *agencies* with which the educator and the lawgiver alike can work are *pleasure* and *pain*,<sup>5</sup> *honour* and *dishonour*.<sup>6</sup> We are told<sup>7</sup> that education consists in being brought to like and to dislike the right things, and so to secure that ἡδοναί and λύπαι, τιμαί and ἀτιμιαί are no longer at variance with ἀρετή and τὸ δίκαιον. At 697 b 2 ff., 716 d 4 ff., and in the first eight pages of Bk. V. stress is laid on the importance of *right regard* for various advantages and characteristics, and the hope of attaining to an honourable rank in the community is at many points held out as an inducement to patriotic and virtuous conduct.<sup>8</sup>

In this connexion two remarkable institutions claim special attention: (1) the Διονύσου πρεσβυτῶν χορός, "Old Men's Dionysiac Chorus," of Bk. II. (665 a 8 ff.); and (2) the Nocturnal Council described in Bk. XII. (951 and 961 ff.). Both institutions are to be powerful *conservatives* of that ἀρετή which is the indispensable condition of the εὐδαιμονία of either state or individual. The second of these two institutions is elaborately devised as the best possible σωτηρία πολιτείας καὶ νόμων.<sup>9</sup> The former is the receptacle of the

<sup>1</sup> 835 e 5.

<sup>4</sup> 840 d 8.

<sup>7</sup> 689 a.

<sup>2</sup> 835 c 5.

<sup>5</sup> 636 d 5 ff.

<sup>8</sup> e.g. 697 a 10.

<sup>3</sup> 839 a 1, 840 d, 841 d.

<sup>6</sup> 643 c 8 ff. and 653 a 5 ff.

<sup>9</sup> 960 d 1 ff.

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highest educational wisdom, and constitutes the standard of "Musical" taste for the community—and so acts as a σωτηρία τῆς ὀρθῆς παιδείας,<sup>1</sup> a παιδείας φυλακή.<sup>2</sup> *Enjoyment*, whether spontaneous and individual, or organized and gregarious, may have a good or a bad effect—it may increase or decrease the ἀρετή of both performers and audience. It is a task for the keenest artistic insight, combined with an enlightened and patriotic love of virtue, to guide and to regulate all kinds of artistic representation. The legislator's duty in this matter is explained and enforced in the long dissertation in Bk. II. on the connexion between Art and Morality. The χορὸς Διονύσου does for Art what the Nocturnal Assembly of Bk. XII. is to do for Religion and Philosophy.

In the endeavour to estimate our author's drift we are not left altogether to ourselves. Plato gives us his own view of the significance of his treatise on Laws in two aspects: (1) as to its relation to his *Republic*; (2) as to the appreciation he hoped to secure for it.

(1) On p. 739 he distinctly explains that he renounces, as a practical ideal, the complete communism of the earlier political treatise. The main ideal is, however, to remain in theory, and among "second-best" practicable regulations the legislator must choose those which come nearest to that ideal.<sup>3</sup>

(2) At 811 c 6 ff. Plato naïvely declares that the *Laws* is the sort of book which it would do everybody good to study, and further, that agreement or disagreement with its teaching is to be a test to which *all literature* must submit. The same

<sup>1</sup> 653 a 1.

<sup>2</sup> 654 d 8.

<sup>3</sup> On one point—that of sexual relations—the author of the *Laws* seems to have abandoned his former advocacy of communism. In the passage above referred to in Bk. VIII. where Plato reaches the high-water-mark of monogamous morality, there is no indication of a theoretically superior state of things. Here, too, there is a "first-best," and a "second-best," but the first-best is the cordial recognition, in its regulation by the state and society, of the monogamous ideal; the second-best is the partial acknowledgement of its superiority by a society which is ashamed to disown it, but shrinks from adopting it as imperative and official.

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appreciation of all publications on the subject of Law is expressed at 858 e 5 ff., where Plato claims that such writings ought to be considered as *literature*, and ought to be written in a persuasive and kindly style. Again, at 957 c 4 ff., “the study of Law is of all others the surest to make the learner a better man.”

More than this: Law itself must be an object of an almost instinctive reverence. While to be consistently and continuously law-abiding is to be one of the surest roads to rank and distinction,<sup>1</sup> a still higher civic excellence is that of the man who feels bound, whenever occasion offers, to take upon himself the duty of a modern policeman. “The man who interferes to prevent wrongdoing<sup>2</sup> is worthy of twice the honour of the merely law-abiding citizen.” . . . “The man who helps the magistrate to punish offenders is the perfect citizen, the paragon of virtue.” Often, after ordaining the penalty for an offence, he points to the duty of the bystander to help to bring an offender to justice—ordaining at least the penalty of social disgrace if this duty be not fulfilled. To a modern Englishman this demand seems significant of oppressive interference, by an almost personified state, with individual liberty. Nor is this the only regulation which he might resent on the same ground. Many restrictions are placed on the citizen’s freedom by the legislator of the *Laws*. For instance: (1) the family *κλῆρος* must never be sold or divided,<sup>3</sup> nor (2) must other property be acquired by its owner than land, its stock and equipment, and its produce,<sup>4</sup> and even this kind of property was limited in amount by law.<sup>5</sup> (3) Testators are much restricted in disposing of their property after death.<sup>6</sup> (4) Parents are compelled to send their children to school.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand the liberty of the individual citizen is, in important aspects, recognized by Plato as a state necessity as well. “Do not,” he says, “make your magistrates big and irresponsible: the statesman must cherish *freedom*, as

<sup>1</sup> 729 d 4 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 730 d 2.

<sup>3</sup> 741 b.

<sup>4</sup> 741 e 1, e 7 ff., 846 d.

<sup>5</sup> 744 e.

<sup>6</sup> 922 b ff.

<sup>7</sup> 804 d. His comment on this regulation is “Don’t forget, parents, that your children belong to the state more than they do to you.”



well as *wisdom* and fellow-feeling.”<sup>1</sup> But this freedom cannot, as things are, be complete. A spontaneous, enlightened social instinct ought to bring every man *voluntarily* to undergo these and other necessary state restrictions.<sup>2</sup> He should realize that it is to his own advantage as much as—even more than—to that of the state, if the common good comes first in everybody’s thoughts, and his own private interest second: “τὸ μὲν γὰρ κοινὸν συνδεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἴδιον διασπᾶ τὰς πολιεῖς.”<sup>3</sup> Such, however, is human nature that, though a man may see this, the allurements of pleasure and the dread of pain prove stronger than wisdom. Only a divinely inspired man, if such were to arise,<sup>4</sup> could act aright without the constraining bonds of man-made *τάξις* and *νόμος*. These fetters are no disgrace to Wisdom, but only to the blindness of men. Wisdom’s supreme authority is sacred and universal. Positive, compulsory Law and Order have only a delegated power, and would be unnecessary if men were perfect.<sup>5</sup>

Much thought and discussion, along with much experience of life, may enable men to grasp the idea of a service “which is perfect freedom”—may even open their minds to the vision of a Divine Law—of a wisdom whose sphere altogether transcends their own capabilities of insight. Three or four passages in the *Laws*—which at first sight seem merely pessimistic—are probably meant as helps to a humble attitude towards the supreme *Noûs*. Three times<sup>6</sup> he calls men “God’s puppets.” He even says that their so being is the best thing about them.<sup>7</sup> Great natural and historical catastrophes, he says, impress on him the *littleness* of all that human forethought and endeavour can achieve.<sup>8</sup> Again, “after all, men’s affairs are not much worth being in earnest about, but we cannot help being in earnest all the same—more’s the pity!” To such views, he tells us, he is brought when he contemplates the stupendous nature of the divine excellence.<sup>9</sup> “Bear with me, Megillus! My words of depreciation were due to a sudden revelation of our insignifi-

<sup>1</sup> 693 b 2.

<sup>4</sup> 875 c 3 ff.

<sup>7</sup> 803 c 5.

<sup>2</sup> 875.

<sup>5</sup> 875 c 6 ff.

<sup>8</sup> 709 a.

<sup>3</sup> 875 a 6.

<sup>6</sup> 644 d 7 ff., 803 c 4 ff., 804 b 3.

<sup>9</sup> 804 b.

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*self-love*, and the belief that it is right to be one's own best friend: whereas in fact all kinds of mischief flow from this source. Here, as elsewhere, the lover is blind, and cannot distinguish right from wrong or good from bad: more respect, he thinks, is due to himself, than to the truth." <sup>1</sup>

"A good way to get on good terms with friends and comrades is to think *their* services to you greater than they do themselves, and to hold *your* services to them of less importance than your friends think them." <sup>2</sup>

"There is nothing deadly about complete ignorance of a subject: it is much worse when much has been learnt in a bad way." <sup>3</sup>

"A slave should be safer from wrong than a free man: it is a sham goodness which only avoids wrongdoing when it is difficult." <sup>4</sup>

"It is a disgrace for a mistress to be called in the morning by her maids: *she* ought to call them." <sup>5</sup>

"No man is fit to rule who has not first been under rule himself; moreover, to have served well is a better title to distinction than to have been a good ruler. For among a man's rulers are the Gods, as well as his elders and betters among men." <sup>6</sup>

"Παισὶν δὲ αἰδῶ χρὴ πολλήν, οὐ χρυσὸν καταλιπεῖν.<sup>7</sup> The best way to give this to children—and to yourself at the same time—is, not to admonish them so much as we do, but to let them see that *we* never fail to do what such admonition would direct." <sup>8</sup>

"What you do not see, in your little corner of the mighty universe, is, that things do not happen in it for *your* sake: you, like all that takes place there, are what you are in order that *its* perfection may be complete." <sup>9</sup>

To conclude this rough sketch of the contents of Plato's *Laws*, we may ask what is the abiding impression left by its perusal. Is it not this? Not only has he given us a code of political and social law which has been the foundation of much subsequent legislation, but he leaves us with increased reverence for the rule of right and goodness, and a quickened faith in its ultimate victory over folly, superstition, and vice.

<sup>1</sup> 731 d 6.

<sup>4</sup> 777 d 2.

<sup>7</sup> 729 b 1.

<sup>2</sup> 729 c 8 ff.

<sup>5</sup> 808 a 3.

<sup>8</sup> 729 c 2.

<sup>3</sup> 819 a 3.

<sup>6</sup> 762 e 1 ff.

<sup>9</sup> 903 b 4:

**624 a 1.** Spartan and Cretan institutions, which claim to have been the work of divinely inspired legislators, are based on the assumption that the state is a fighting machine. If it cannot fight, it loses its independence, and the power of enjoying its property.

**626 c 5.** But there are other fights besides (1) those with foreign states. (2) A country may be at variance with itself. (3) A man's "better self" has to contend with his baser inclinations (and for a right termination of the third kind of fight the noblest qualities of all are required).

**626 e 5.** In fights (2) and (3) the victory of the better elements is spoken of as a victory of the whole being.

**627 c 2.** In civil strife the important thing is to reconcile the combatants, not to exterminate, or reduce to impotence, the vanquished side.

**628 c 4.** This opens up a wider view for the *νομοθέτης*. *Of course he aims, in his legislation, at producing the greatest excellence, and therefore he must not organize his state solely with a view to external war, for this develops only an inferior kind of excellence. Instead of thinking of war when there is peace, he ought rather to be thinking of peace when he is conducting war.*

**629 a 4.** Success in civil strife demands higher qualities than success in foreign warfare, inasmuch as, to succeed in the former, a man must win the trust of his fellow citizens. This cannot be done without more virtues than that of bodily courage. He must have all the virtues.

**630 b 8.** Therefore, in framing laws, big or small, the *νομοθέτης* must have in view the production of excellence of all kinds, and, in estimating different kinds of excellence, he must put the mind before the body, and, of the virtues of the mind, he must esteem those most highly which have least to do with the body, and most

with the mind. Herein we have the key to the proper classification of laws.

632 d 8. As all life is a fight, and as, in all fights, the excellence of the fighter depends prominently on his *καρτέρησις* (power of resistance), it may be expected that in other virtues there will be an element like that which is prominent in bodily courage. A legislation which tries only to encourage the power of resistance to bodily pain and danger, is a lame, left-handed kind of legislation. There are all the temptations of *pleasure* to be resisted, and these are ignored by such legislation.

635 e 4. In other words, if the Spartan and Cretan institutions are to stand examination, they must be able to show that they develop *temperance*, which comes next above courage, in order of precedence, of the virtues of the character.

An exclusively military life stimulates excessive pugnacity, and a too exclusive devotion to bodily development has, incidentally, brought unnatural vice in its train. The two questions (1) "what pleasures ought not to be sought?" and (2) "what pains ought not to be avoided?" go to the foundations of the philosophy of Law.

636 e 4. It is urged that, if the discipline of the military state is rigid, it makes for virtue by putting down excess—such excess, for instance, as any degree of intoxication—with a strong hand.

637 b 7. This contention opens up the consideration of the proper way of ensuring virtue. *Ought the ultimate controlling power to be external or internal?* Even where a foreigner would think there was the extremity of licence, there may be safeguards to morality in the *καρτέρησις*—the power of saying no—possessed by the individual.

637 d 3. Take the question of wine-drinking; <sup>1</sup> Is it absolutely wrong that any man should, on any occasion, take enough wine to intoxicate him—as we say, "to get into his head"? <sup>2</sup> Are we not

<sup>1</sup> Here follows an apparent digression, for the length of which the author apologizes beforehand. The ensuing discussion of *μέθη* (1) throws fresh and original light on the nature and process of *education*, the moral effects of pleasure and pain, and the testing and formation of character; and (2) introduces us to a kind of mechanism by which, in dealing with *μουσική*, the *νομοθέτης* can guide this process in the right direction. This second division forms the main subject of Bk. II. Incidentally, the demonstration of the similarity of the suggested process of education in temperance to the process of education in courage, emphasizes the closeness of connexion between the two virtues.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Republic*, p. 403, we are told that the *φύλακες* are never to get into this state.

in danger of associating  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$  in our minds with attendant evils which may conceivably be dissociated from it? It may perhaps be admitted that, in human experience, these evils always *have*, so far, accompanied  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$ .

640 a 4. Every assembly of men who meet with a common purpose must have a leader. The leader of an army must be *brave*: the leader of a drinking-party must be *sober*.

641 a 3. "But even if it *be* well-conducted, what *good* will it do? Can it produce anything to stand side by side with the *victory* which an army aims at winning?" The answer is, not only do the victories it ensures leave no unhappy memories, such as are left by the victories of armies, but—astonishing as it may seem—it is a valuable means of *education*.

643 a 2. Education in general is the training of the young for the activities of life, but, as used by the wise lawgiver, the word means *the formation of a virtuous character*. In this sense  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  is  $\pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\nu$  in good men's eyes.

644 b 6. A wise calculation ( $\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ ), on the part of the state, of the advantage, or disadvantage, to be secured by any course of action—i.e. a balancing of prospective pleasure and pain—results in, or rather embodies itself in, *law*. This law must be such as will come to the aid of a man's better self, when pulled this way and that by the attractions of pleasure, and the fear of pain. Thus *law* becomes a sort of conscience to the state, which dictates external and internal policy, and throws light on the nature of  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\tau\eta\delta\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ —such as drinking-bouts—and on the aims to be pursued by the process of education.

645 d 1. Much wine heightens the sense of pleasure and pain, heightens anger and desire, while it confuses and deadens the intellect and the judgement. You ask: "Who would willingly put himself into a state in which his moral character is, for the time, made worse?" In return I ask: "Does not every one, when he incurs great bodily fatigue, or takes a strong drug, knowingly put his *body*, for a time, into a worse state?"

646 d 8. You ask again: "What *good* can  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta$  do, which will stand comparison with the muscular efficiency produced by hard bodily exercise, and the cure wrought by the drug?" Well: there are two kinds of fear. One, the fear of pain; the other, the fear of disgrace. This last we call *shame*; and while we fight the former, we encourage the latter. At Sparta you fight the former kind by making the young undergo dangers and hardships; i.e. they are artificially put in positions similar to those which, in

real life, will call for the exercise of the virtue of courage. These artificially contrived exercises not only train; they enable the educators to form an opinion of the strength and worth of individual characters. A similar power of endurance is demanded when temptations to pleasure have to be faced. What better occasion can be imagined for practising the young in the right sort of fear or for discerning which of them are temperate, than a symposium presided over and watched by sober seniors? The young are there brought by wine into a state in which they are specially susceptible to temptations. They are thus at once trained to endurance, and their characters can then best be judged by their educators.

If a *φάρμακον* existed which would temporarily stimulate fear in the same way that wine stimulates the tendency to *ὑβρις* and self-indulgence of all kinds, it would be a valuable agent, and would save much trouble in the training in *ἀνδρεία*. Why then should we discard the use of pleasant wine as a training in *σωφροσύνη*?

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK II

652. The right use of wine may do more than test character; it may be a preservative of the effects of Education. What is real Education? Long before the judgement is mature, the *habits* may be formed of *liking* and *disliking* the right things, and it is just in the formation of such habits that real *education* consists. But the feelings of pleasure and pain thus fostered tend to lose their strength in the workaday world. The gods have arranged *holidays* to keep these feelings alive, and have sent us the Muses, Apollo and Dionysus, to teach us how to celebrate these festal days.

What Apollo and the Muses do for us is to add, to the child's innate delight in flinging itself about and making noises, the delight in the *systematizing* of these noises and motions—in other words, they inspire us with the sense of and love of *ῥυθμός* and *ἁρμονία*.

For choice performances are not only for the festivals of adults; they are also for the education of the young.

This is the main way in which that training of the likes and dislikes by habit is secured. It is not only, remember, the *skill* of

the young χορευτήs that must be kept in view by the educator, it is his *taste* as well. There is a *moral* and an immoral χορεία, and the child must be habituated to *like* the *moral* sort.

What is moral μουσική and χορεία? We can only say that μουσική (is a language, and) interprets the mind; and if the mind and intention is good, the μουσική will be good. E.g, anyone can tell from mien and tone whether a man is a coward or not; so it is that songs and dances may be made to reveal *all* the virtues and vices. But μουσική is a language which it needs a trained eye and ear to read. *Everybody's* judgement is not to be taken on the question what is the best μουσική? Here again we come to the importance of good habituation: not only will a taste for bad μουσική, if indulged, make a man himself bad, but nothing but habituation to the good can ensure a genuine pronouncement on the side of what is right and good.<sup>1</sup>

Poets, who compose the materials of χορεία, must be under constraint and guidance. The wise Egyptians have for ever stereotyped their art, and allow no deviation from fixed forms. What has been done once can be done again. Let our legislators look to it then, and make arrangements for the proper supervision of poets and musicians.

657 c. To return to the question of what is the right μουσική. Delight is the spring of motion in the young and active, and the more mature and aged, whose activity is flagging, feel a reflected delight in watching and superintending the performances of the young. The popular notion that the best μουσική is that which gives most pleasure is right *in a sense*. But it is these mature and aged people whose judgement must settle the question of what is pleasantest—i.e. *best*. A child may take more delight in a puppet-show than in a tragedy, so we must correct the bald statement that the best μουσική is that which gives most pleasure, by adding "*to the best judges*," and these, as we maintain, are the old and experienced; it may even happen that there is *one* man who is the best judge of all, and, if so, he should decide. The matter ought never to be settled by the noisy crowd in the theatre, as it is in Italy and Sicily—and with disastrous results to the poets, who are made worse by their audience, instead of making their audience better, as they should.

*Again*, then, we are brought to see that education *draws* the

<sup>1</sup> It would seem to follow from this that the *first* educators must have been inspired by the gods, and the education and training of the young by habit was the means of passing this inspiration on to other generations.



young in the direction that wise experience finds out to be the right one, and that the drawing consists in the right formation of the sentiments of pleasure and pain. To secure this end the lawgiver must call in the aid of the poet—*acting under the lawgiver's direction*.

660 e. The main duty laid on the poet will be that of convincing the young that no physical or worldly advantage, even when coupled with the lowest of the virtues—bravery—are of any good to a man—are even *bad* for him—if he has not the higher virtues as well. I would make it a crime for a poet, or anyone else, to talk as if there were any real *gain* for a man apart from *goodness*, or any *pleasure* in doing *wrong*.

663 a. You tell the young stories full of impossibilities, and they believe them. Use this childish belief: even if I had not *proved* that virtue means happiness, you can see the necessity of *making the child believe it*. The *chanting* which fills the ear and moves the tongue of the child must *enchant* him to believe that heaven has ordained that real pleasure lies in goodness, and is inseparable from it.

664 c. For this same *chanting* let three kinds of chorus be constituted: (1) the Muses' chorus of children; (2) Apollo's chorus of the youthful; and (3) the mature, from thirty onwards to sixty, must serve the *Music* of the state in diverse ways. Some of these—the oldest, no doubt—must tell *myths* to the young, while the younger men perhaps will actually sing; but the main use of the mature will be *to form a standard of taste*, and regulate the Music of the whole state. And this chorus, as being the repository of real wisdom, is the most valuable to the state of all the three.

664 e. Now, inasmuch as to the mature all kinds of activity are no longer promoted by the imperative instinct which will not let the young keep quiet,—and which we saw to be the soil out of which all the Muses' art was developed,—the gift of Dionysus comes in to supply an artificial stimulus to activity and to *suppleness* of mind and body. Hence the chorus of the mature is to be called the *Chorus of Dionysus*.

666. The very "fire" which wine puts into the mature and elderly—and which is beneficent in the way described above—is superfluous, and may even be dangerous, if applied to the already "fiery" young.

666 e. The "old men's chorus," then, must mean something quite different to what it does in Sparta; nor must the education of the young be what it is there—i.e. the *manufacture of soldiers*.

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no less than does the symposium of the young. These rulers would naturally be men over sixty,—to see the rules kept, and to keep the peace.

672 a 4. So far, then, from the “madness” caused by wine being an evil, inflicted by a malignant power, as some say, the “fire” it puts into the blood has the same effect on us, when we are grown up, as the exuberant spirits and activity of childhood have on children. In both cases this liveliness is the soil out of which Music grows.

672 e. You two Dorians would, I know, like nothing better than a full discussion of the *gymnastic* training necessary for the *bodily* half of Music—i.e. *dancing*—which springs from the same soil as the other half; and you would discuss the subject admirably. But first let us finish off the topic of wine-drinking, by pointing out that the adoption of this mechanism by the state for educational purposes involves strict limitation by law of the *production* and *use* of wine. No city that adopts these regulations will need to have many vineyards.

### ANALYSIS OF BOOK III

676. What is the nature of political organization? Since the world began there must have been countless civilizations which have arisen and been wiped out, with all their arts and devices, by natural cataclysms. After each cataclysm only a few scattered, uncivilized men must have been left on the mountain tops, and these would have to begin their civilization and the formation of communities all over again. To learn the nature and ground-work of political organizations the best way will be to follow, in imagination, the steps by which such scattered remains of unsophisticated humanity would coalesce and grow into a political community.

678 c. On overcoming the horror of the plains, caused by the recent catastrophe, these men would be driven, in the course of many generations, by social instinct to congregate; their wits would be sharpened by intercourse, and the arts would gradually revive—and among them the art of acquiring property, the art of lying, and the art of war.

679 e 6. In the course of this sketch we may be able to see

where and how *laws* come into being. The first form of community would be like what Homer described that of the Cyclopes to be, i.e. a *family* in which the father's will was the only law.

**680 d 7.** This *family* would naturally grow, in after generations, into a *clan*, of which the representative of the *father* of the original family would be the *chieftain*; it would have its own rough notions of what to do and what to avoid, and its own character. One clan might be braver, or more orderly, than another.

**681 c 1.** The next step is taken when separate clans—each wedded to its own customs, and each with its own character—coalesce to form a community. There would then have to be some compromise and common understanding as to what, of all the various customs, it would be good for the united community to adopt. *Here we have the beginning of the positive enactment of laws.*

**681 d 7.** Whereas the first community would settle probably on the lower slopes of the hills, the third stage would be reached when—all memory of the dangers of the plain having vanished—men ventured, in course of time, to build a city on an elevation in a plain. In this same age men would begin to traverse the sea, and city would begin to war with city. This brings us to the time of the Trojan war, and the beginning of history.

**682 d 5.** We next come to the foundation of the Dorian Confederacy of Sparta, Argos, and Messene; we return, that is, to an examination of the same Dorian institutions with which Book I. began.

**683 c 8.** How was it that that confederacy, in spite of all the advantages which its founders had, and of the formidable aspect which it presented to foreign powers, was yet a failure?

**686 c 7.** When we talk of the success or failure of a nation, we must not think exclusively of its ability to force its will on other nations, or of its lack of this power. The question is not, "is a state, or a man, strong?" but "is it (or he) wise enough to make a proper use of its strength?" *That* is what tests its *laws* and its lawgivers. The worst *unwisdom* (folly) is that of the state, or man, when *conscience* points one way, and *desire* another. That state of folly means ruin to a community, and to an individual: and there is no mental disability in a man which is such a complete disqualification for any political office as this want of harmony between the desires and the judgement.

**689 e 4.** There are seven *titles to power* over one's fellows: there is

## THE LAWS OF PLATO

- (1) The right of *parents* over children and descendants ;
- (2) The right of those who are *royally born* to govern those who are not ;
- (3) The right of the *older* to rule the younger ;
- (4) The right of *masters* to rule their slaves ;
- (5) The right of the *stronger* to rule the weaker ;
- (6) The right of the *wise* to rule the less wise ;
- (7) The right which is decided by the fall of the *lot*.

With all these claims in the field, conflicts between claimants are inevitable.

**690 d 5.** It is an overweening sense of their own importance, and a desire to get too much out of their position, that generally brings ruin on kings. What saved Sparta, when Argos and Messene sank, was that the kingly power was *halved* by the fortunate birth of twins in the royal house, and was further *restricted* by the recognition, on the part of its legislators, of some of the other claims to power, besides that of *birth*—and the appointment of co-existing authorities.

**692 d 1.** So great was the defection of Argos and Messene, whose monarchs were left with an *unrestricted* power, that, as far as the interests of Hellas went, they largely nullified the good which Sparta was able to do.

**693 a 5.** A wise lawgiver then will recognize many fountains of authority in a state, and will see that only in this way can he secure the three main civic requisites, i.e. *freedom, statesmanship, and unity* (or *public spirit*.)

**693 d 2.** If these three objects are to be secured, the government must be neither an extreme *autocracy*, nor an extreme *democracy*, but must be a judicious mixture of the two.

**694 a 3.** *Persia's* history shows us how all its misfortunes came with the withdrawal of all restrictions from the kingly power.

**698 a 9.** In the days of *Athens's* glory a *respect for law* tempered the desire of every man to do as he liked ; but this desire got the better of law in time—showing itself first in the realm of *Art*, where the untrained and uneducated *many* asserted their right to judge as against the educated and judicious few.

**702 a 2.** “How,” asks the Athenian, “can we test the truth of all these principles at which, in our discussion, we have arrived ?” Cleinias answers that there is a practical way open to them, in which they can embody and perhaps test their political principles ; for he has himself been entrusted—with a few other citizens—with the task of framing *laws for a new colony*.

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK IV

### ANALYSIS OF BOOK IV

**704.** A city should not be a seaport, but should be at least ten miles inland from a harbour, on soil which produces many kinds of crops, but none in such abundance as to leave a surplus for exportation. Foreign trade is demoralizing; so is a navy: it takes the steadfastness out of a land-army to know they can get out of harm's way by taking to their ships; besides, sea-fighting gives no scope for merit, and no chance of winning honour. It was Marathon and Plataea which, respectively, began and completed the discomfiture of the barbarians, and the salvation of Hellas. If it *was* the navy which saved her, it would have been better for her to perish than so to be saved. Wrong living is worse than death.

**707 e.** If the colonists of the new city come, like a swarm of bees, all from the same home, they will pull together the better for it, but then prejudice against any improvement in constitution or legislation will be invincible. It will be better to undertake the difficult task of welding a heterogeneous populace into one. No man who is not equal to a great and difficult task is fit to be a lawgiver or the founder of a city.

**709 a.** For all his cleverness, however, the lawgiver may find *chance* too strong for him. Still, that is no reason for pronouncing *skill* worthless. If skill is helpless against bad luck, good luck is useless without skill.

**709 d.** Given a heaven-sent lawgiver then, what must a city like our colony ask of luck? This: that absolute power and influence over the whole body should be with one virtuous, wide-minded man, who can rule himself as well as the state, and who will take the lawgiver into his confidence and follow his advice. For our purposes it will be best, I say, for the power to be in one man's hands, always supposing that he possesses the above-mentioned virtues and qualifications. The difficulty of endowing a city with a perfect polity will be greater, the more the supreme power is, in the first case, limited, or subdivided. It is true that it is asking a great deal of Chance, to postulate such a conjunction of virtue and liberality of mind in a ruling power of any kind. But it is the only way to get a perfect polity, and it is an easy one.

**712.** If you have faith enough to take *this* from me, you will perhaps listen to me when I tell you what the best polity is, and what are the best laws.

After soliciting divine help let us proceed to consider the form of polity to be chosen.

**713.** The ordinary titles given by political philosophers—those ending in *-cracy*—all denote that one particular part of the community is supreme over the others; this is never the case in a *real* polity.

In the Golden Age Cronos appointed *δαίμονες*—superior beings—to rule over mankind; this analogy will explain what I think the right course at the present day. There is in man a divine part—his *mind*—and this divine element must do as Cronos did, and appoint subordinate ministers for our government. These ministers of mind's ordaining are the ordinances which we call *Laws*. These must be sovereign over the state, and over every member of it. But as we have seen that no real polity exists where one element of the populace is supreme over the others, so no laws have any binding force, which are made in the interest of any separate element in the state. To be binding they must be made in the best interest of the state as a whole; and *obedience to these laws* is the crowning virtue of the statesman and the administrator,—the main title to honour and office.

No state can thrive unless the rulers are the *slaves* of the *Law*.

I would begin by charging the citizens to remember that God's rule is inevitable and all-pervading, and that righteousness and vengeance against unrighteousness are his constant attendants. Therefore wickedness is folly, and though the wicked man may prosper for a time, his prosperity will only make his ruin the more disastrous both to himself and to society.

**716 c.** How then is man to please God?

In all God's works "Measure" is discernible. Like, as the proverb says, clings to like, and man's wisdom is to live by *measure*. To break bounds, to be lawless, is impiety, and even the offerings and the prayers of an impious man are hateful to God. For the pious, however, it is the first of duties to pay worship and honour to all Gods, both the higher and the lower; next after them to the memory of "divine" men, and next to one's *parents*. To our parents and to their care we owe our being: nothing that we can do for them can overpay them, and remember that the time when we can repay is the time of their greatest need—when the payment is most valuable. The greatest care must be taken never, by word or deed, to show disrespect to parents. When they are angry with us, we must

not resent it. When they die, we must pay due honour to their ashes.

**718.** So much for our duties to our superiors. We must go to the *laws* to learn how our life is to be adorned by duties done to our family, to our fellow-citizens, or even to strangers.

Before each class or chapter of laws it will be well to set a *preface*, to explain the principle of the enactments, to recommend their adoption, and generally to bring the subjects of the laws into such a state of mind as will be favourable to their acceptance.

**719.** As it is, the way of evil is easy, and the path of virtue hard : the voice of the law is *precise* and *prosaic* ; all the more need for some adornment of the subject. Such a preface may be compared with the confidential talk which a skilful physician will hold with an enlightened patient, before prescribing his medicine and treatment.

**720.** As a sample, take the bare law as to marriage—which may well be among the first things to be regulated—and add a disquisition on the principles on which it is founded, and the desirability of the objects it seeks to attain.

**722.** Even Megillus, with all his Spartan love of brevity, prefers a law with such a preface to one without. And the Athenian assures him that the excess of benefit is far beyond the excess in length. Further, the Athenian compares such a preamble to the prelude with which a skilful musician brings his audience into accord with his main theme, and hints incidentally that great skill, comparable to that of the musician, will be necessary for its composition ; for the “themes” of different classes of laws differ widely, and all laws, with some trifling exceptions, need to be accompanied by such a preamble.

Fortified with this instrument, we will make a second start. As to religion and religious duties, what has been already said may suffice. Next follow duties affecting (1) our own souls, (2) our bodies, and (3) our property.



# THE LAWS OF PLATO

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK V

**726.** Honour the soul next to Heaven! There are in practice many wrong methods of honouring the soul which must be avoided—such as self-opinionatedness, and self-indulgence.

**728 d 2.** As to our duties to the *Body*, and *Property*, we must remember that a *middle* state is best in both.—Duties there are also to one's *family*, *relatives*, *friends*, *the state*, and *foreigners*.

**730 b 1.** Of desirable personal qualities *Truth* stands highest; next comes *Justice*—and personal efforts to see *right* done and *wrong* punished; honourable too are *Temperance* and *Wisdom*—provided these virtues are of a *social* character, and tend to spread to others and help others. Even *Anger* is necessary, in its place—but *Mercy* too.

**731 d 6.** The most general, ugly, and disastrous blemish in human character is *selfishness*. It clouds the judgement, and is fruitful in folly and error.

**732 d 8.** Such conduct as has been recommended is not only right in itself, and so pleasing to Heaven; it is *best* and *pleasantest* for man.

**733 d 7.** This may be seen from the consideration of various kinds of *lives*—that of the *temperate*, the *intellectual*, the *brave*, or the *healthy* as contrasted with that of the *intemperate*, the *simpleton*, the *coward*, or the *diseased*, respectively. The *balance of happiness* will throughout be found on the side of the former, though the latter may have moments of acuter enjoyment.

**734 e 3.** The political framework of a state consists of (a) the Magistrates, who are of a superior nature to the ordinary citizen; and (b) the Laws, which the magistrates have to administer.

**735 a 7.** Applicants for citizenship in our colony must be tested, and the unsatisfactory applicants rejected—summarily, or on some specious pretext.

**736 c 5.** As it is a new foundation, all citizens can start fair, unhampered by debts, and the overshadowing influence of great estates which mar the peace of an old-established state. But peace will not reign long here unless the *pride of possession* can be mitigated, and the love of gain for itself eradicated.

**737 c 1.** Supposing for the sake of argument that the size of the territory, the nature of the soil, and the size of the neighbouring state will admit, we will imagine a community of

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## THE LAWS OF PLATO

**743 c 5.** The absence of *money*, and *money-making*, and *credit*, will remove many obstacles to peace and good-feeling—there will be *far fewer lawsuits*—and men will have time to spare for the real interests of their (1) *souls* and (2) *bodies*. *Property* must take its place as of only *third-rate* importance. This order must be recognized by the state in all honours it confers; and the lawgiver must test his laws by asking if they recognize this order of precedence.

**744 a 8.** Still, property must count for something in the state. Our new citizens will (unfortunately) not all bring equal properties with them when they come. Those who have much will be able to add to their store—and this will be permitted within certain limits.—And so we will have *Four Classes* in the state, arranged on a property qualification. The state must see to it that there is no *abject poverty*, and that there are *no millionaires*. It must be a *crime* to divide the *κλήρος*, and a *crime* to hold more than *four times* its original amount of land. Any property gained beyond that must go to the state, and the gods. There shall be a *Public Register* of all surplus property—of all; i.e., beyond the original *κλήρος*, which any citizens hold.

**745 b 3.** The city must stand on the middle of its territory, with a central “acropolis sacred to Hestia, Zeus and Athena.” From this shall radiate lines dividing (1) the *city* and (2) the *country* into twelve parts—not necessarily equal in size, but equal in productive power.

**745 e 2.** Each *κλήρος* shall consist of two parts, one near the city, and one at a distance, and there shall be a *dwelling-house* on both.

**745 e 7.** In all this I say again that the lawgiver must have an *ideal*, and, in practice, you must come as near it as you can.

**746 d 3.** Let *mathematics* preside over all tribal and other divisions, as well as over all *measures* and *weights* in daily use, and let them all be arranged so as to fit in with and be readily interchanged with each other:

There is no mental discipline so efficacious as mathematics, if it be kept *liberal*, as a *science*, and not debased for purposes of trade. We do not want our citizens to be Egyptians or Phoenicians. (It may not be their fault, poor fellows: there is something magical in *climate* and *situation*, as all politicians ought to know.)

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK VI

**751.** We have now to choose fit persons as magistrates, and assign to them administrative duties. It is imperative that they should be *capable*. Not only must candidates for office have a good record, but the electorate must be trained in the constitution and its ways.

**752.** In the case of a newly formed state, with new laws, and a heterogeneous population, such education is impossible. In the *first* election of officials, then, the parent state must intervene. To begin with, they must help the colonists to select from among themselves and the parent state a body of 37 νομοφύλακες. This body is to be permanent, and future elections to it, in days when the state has taken shape, must be conducted in the following manner. Voters to be all who bear arms, or have seen service, whether in cavalry or infantry; election—in the most sacred temple—to proceed by three stages; at the first stage 300, at the second 100, at the final 37 are to be elected. For the first election, however, and for all arrangements as to elections and qualifications of all magistrates, a committee of 200—half colonists and half Cnossians—is to have full powers.

**754 d 4.** The body of νομοφύλακες must (1) exercise general supervision over the laws of the state, and (2) must keep the register of each man's property; and (3) if it be proved to them that any man possesses more than a trifle above the legal amount, they are to ordain the confiscation of all but the original κλῆρος. A νομοφύλαξ must be over 50 and under 70. In addition to the three duties named above they will have many others which we shall have occasion to mention in connexion with the laws concerned.

Now as to the other magistrates.

**755 b 6.** The three στρατηγοί are to be elected, by all who are serving, or have served as soldiers, from a preliminary list nominated by the νομοφύλακες, but subject to the criticism of a popular vote. They must then pass the δοκιμασία. The Hipparchs are to be elected in the same manner, only the actual voters (according to **756 b 1**) are to be the cavalry. The Taxiarchs and Phylarchs are to be nominated by their superior officers and elected by the hoplites and cavalry respectively. The officers of the light-armed auxiliaries are to be appointed by the generals. The first elections are to be presided over by the νομοφύλακες; subsequent ones by the πρυτάνεις—of whom more hereafter—and

the presiding magistrates must decide between candidates who on successive occasions have obtained equal votes.

756 b 7. Next as to the βουλή.

Three hundred and sixty βουλευταί are to be elected—90 by each of the four property-classes. All members of the community may vote. On the first four days candidates are *nominated*—an unlimited number—from each of the four classes respectively; on the fifth day 180 of each class are to be selected by all voters from among the nominees, and 90 out of each 180 *selected by lot*. These, when they have passed the δοκιμασία, are to serve as βουλευταί for the year. On the third day of nomination the fourth class are not compelled to nominate, and on the fourth day the third and fourth classes are not compelled to nominate. At all other stages, nomination and voting are compulsory.

757. In this form of election, while the introduction of the *lot* prevents the richer classes from having *absolute* power, the *preponderance* of power given to these classes is for the good of the community. *True equality* consists, not in giving equal power to every man, but in giving power *in proportion to worth*. This can really be done by God alone, but it is our duty to *attempt* it, and not to acquiesce either in the absolute power of one or a few—i.e. in oligarchy or tyranny—or on the other hand in the absolute equality of all—i.e. democracy. We must never lose sight of the difference between the worth of different individuals, though of that true equality—which consists of inequality—we can, in our human communities, only get a *passable imitation*. This is one reason why we must submit to have our judgement “watered” by the *lot*; another reason is that the lot *may* be guided by a higher and wiser power. At the same time the lot must not be our master.

758. That there may always be some officials on the look-out for dangers—whether external or internal—to the state: that there may be representatives of the state ready to deal with foreign states, and to preside over state assemblies, a twelfth part of the βουλή must, in monthly rotation, form a standing committee called πρυτάνεις.

758 e. For *local surveillance* both in country and in town the twelvefold divisions (cp. above, 745 b 6 ff.) will form convenient administrative areas. Besides providing for the charge of religious edifices and the land annexed to them, we must institute three kinds of local magistrates: (1) ἀστυνόμοι for the supervision of the city, (2) ἀγορανόμοι for that of the market-place and trade; (3) ἀγρονόμοι for the defence and policing of the country districts.

As to the religious officials, families already enjoying hereditary priesthods are to be left in possession of them. In their appointment we must observe a similar admixture of choice by lot to that advocated in the case of the *βουλευταί*, and the *δοκιμασία* must be strict. The Delphic Oracle will communicate directions as to worship and religion generally to six (?) official *ἐξηγηταί* elected from groups of the local tribes, and partly selected from among a larger number by the Oracle. Like the priests and priestesses they must be over sixty, but while the former only hold office for a year, the *ἐξηγηταί* are appointed for life. Vacancies caused by death are to be filled in by the tribe from which the deceased *ἐξηγητής* came. Temple treasurers are to be appointed from the highest property-class by an election and *δοκιμασία* like that of the *στρατηγοί*.

**760 a 6.** For the protection of the city we have the generals and other military officers, as well as the *πρυτάνεις*, and we shall deal later with two other classes of city officials, i.e. the *Astynomi* and *Agoranomi*. As to the *country districts*, to each of the twelve equal divisions a tribe will be assigned by lot, and this tribe will have to appoint five *Phrourarchs*, who must each choose twelve active young men, of their tribe, between 25 and 30 years old. Each tribal corps (of five officers and sixty men) shall serve for a month in one tribal area, and the whole body shall rotate twice through the areas, first from left to right, then backwards, that they may learn the country thoroughly in different seasons. This will take two years, after which a fresh corps will be appointed. Their duties will be (1) to watch the frontiers and construct defensive works of all kinds, (2) to keep internal peace and facilitate communication within the country, (3) to guard against floods on the one hand, and drought on the other, (4) to add to the amenities of the landscape, and provide gymnasia and public baths, (5) they are to constitute a tribunal for petty causes. They may "commandeer" slaves and beasts of burden for the public work—studying the convenience of the owners as far as possible in so doing. Any abuse of power or any corruption is to be regarded as a serious and disgraceful offence. They shall live a military life, under strict discipline, and with frugal fare: any desertion or dereliction on the part of the officers shall be punishable by the rank and file, the *νομοφύλακες* being the supreme authority in such cases. This discipline should create devotion to and respect for *loyal service*, which is far more important and valuable to a state and to individuals than *skilful command*.

**763 c 3.** For the City three Astynomi—chosen partly by lot, and partly by universal vote, from among the members of the highest property-class—are each to take four divisions of the city area into his charge. Their duty will resemble the non-military part of the duty of the Agronomi—roads, water-supply, town-planning will be under their charge. By a similar method of election five Agoranomi are to be appointed from the two highest classes—to police the *ἀγορά* and have charge of the temple-buildings and fountains in it, and to enforce the state laws as to trade. Astynomi and Agoranomi are to try petty causes separately, larger ones in conjunction.

**764 c 5.** The next officials to be elected are those who have charge of *Education*—mental and physical. Of these there are two kinds: (1) those who superintend schools and school-work, and (2) those who have charge of the arrangements for public contests. In this latter class the variety of subjects will necessitate a subdivision of provinces into (1) athletic contests and chariot-races; (2) musical and dramatic individual performances, and (3) choric performances. For the third class one superintendent will suffice, who must be at least forty. For contests between single performers also one superintendent official will suffice; he must be at least thirty. The choric and the solo superintendents must be chosen in the following manner: only musical adepts will be eligible, and only such will be compelled to elect—the *νομοφύλακες* being the judges of who are such.—Of the ten who get most votes the lot is to choose one, who must further stand a *δοκιμασία* in which the only point considered is his musical ability. They are to hold office for a year.—For chariot-races and other gymnastic contests the superintendents—three out of a preliminary twenty—are to be elected from the third and second property-classes, and pass the requisite *δοκιμασία*—the three highest classes being compelled to vote.

**765 d 4.** The superintendent of Education proper is by far the most important official in the whole state, for the first stage of the growth of plant, animal, or man has more influence than any other upon its ultimate development; and the higher the organization the greater the possibilities for evil as well as for good. He must be above fifty, and the father of legitimate offspring; he must be a *νομοφύλαξ*, and be selected by the whole body of state officials—not counting the *βουλευταί* or *πρυτάνεις* as such—and the election must be by ballot, in the temple of Apollo, and be succeeded by the *δοκιμασία*.

## ANALYSIS OF BOOK VI

**766 c 2.** Vacancies in any office—or among the guardians of orphans—are to be filled up by the original appointers. In the latter case the vacancy must be filled up within ten days, and the appointers—relatives on both sides—are to be fined a drachma a day each as long as they are in default.

**766 d 3.** As to *Law Courts*—the judges in which are a kind of magistrate—full details cannot be settled till all the laws are made; but we may give here a *sketch* of the principles of their constitution.—We expect wisdom and enlightenment from our judges—not bare decisions only, but reasoned judgements—therefore they must be *few and good*. At the same time certain public offences must be tried by a democratic tribunal, for everyone is wronged by offences against the state; and there must be no kind of court of first instance in which any citizen is disqualified from holding a place—this is a fundamental right of every member of the community. (In some courts at all events the position of the public seems somewhat to resemble that of a modern *jury*.) Private causes should be first tried before an informal assembly of friends and neighbours, with two appeal courts above it.—In private causes, *if both sides agree* to refer the decision of the matter to a particular court, the decision shall be final. Where one man impeaches another, whether the offence be private or public, there are to be two appeals. The final court of appeal for all causes is to be instituted thus: on the last day of the old year all the state officials are to assemble in a temple, and choose on oath one judge from each set of officials; and then to scrutinize the list.—Bouleutae and the magistrates who choose the magistrates must be present when the court delivers judgement; it must be open to the public, and judges are to be liable to impeachment for unjust judgement before the *νομοφύλακες*.

**768 d 7.** So much for the *magistracy*—the framework of government—: now we turn to the Laws, and in these we must not expect finality at the first attempt. With a view to their modification as the result of time and experience, we must endeavour to imbue the Nomophylakes with the true legislator's spirit; they must see clearly that the result of all legislation is *the perfection of the individual*, and the removal, and the discrediting of all that hinders it. Neither individual nor state must be content to survive the abandonment of this ideal.

**771 a 5.** All laws should have their foundation in religion. The number of households indicated above is 5040. There is an adaptability and a consonance with the general order of things



about this number which should make our people regard it : *sacred*. Each twelfth part of this number is to form a community with a patron deity of its own ; and two monthly festivals, one in town, and one in the country are to be celebrated by it. The effect of these will be not only religious, but *social* ; they will bring the people of the community together, and make them known to each other. Above all they will facilitate suitable *marriages* between the families. The diversions, especially for the young, at these festivals will be under the superintendence of the directors of choruses, and the *νομοφύλακες*. It will take at least ten years to make satisfactory arrangements for these festivals when once fixed, they should only be altered by an unanimous vote, and with religious sanction.

**772 d 5.** Every man should be married by thirty-five.

The *sort of marriage* must be that which is *best for the state*, not that which is most to the taste of the individual.—Rich should not aim at marrying with rich ; if they do, wealth will pile itself up at one end of the scale, and poverty increase at the other. Like should not seek like in character either : the marriage of people of opposite temperaments will keep the balance more level in character as well as property. Another important point in the exhortation to be addressed to young men will be that *marriage is a duty to the community*.—A man who is unmarried at thirty-five must pay a yearly tax according to his property-class, and shall be held dishonoured thereby.—Another penal offence will be the giving or receiving a dowry beyond what is necessary for the trousseau suitable for each class.—Relatives on the father's or mother's side shall have power to act as legal representatives of bride or bridegroom, in proportion to their nearness—the father's side to have precedence.—For wedding ceremonies the Exegetae must be consulted.—There must be a sumptuary law to limit the sum expended on the wedding-feast. Above all the bridegroom and bride must be abstemious as to wine on the occasion : then if ever “to begin well” is a sacred duty.—The newly-married pair should migrate to the country-house of the family ; so much separation will improve the family relationship, and the young couple will rear their family, like good citizens, by themselves.

**776 b 5.** Next to marriage comes the subject of Property, and the property that will need the most careful treatment is *household slaves*. Very various are the opinions expressed as to the character and value of slaves, and very difficult it is to give rules for their treatment—mainly because both slaves and masters are

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individual, but *its absence is more mischievous*. The danger is all the greater in this case, because women are morally worse than men to begin with (1). In view of the immense changes which history and observation of other nations show us to have taken place in men's feelings about all manner of things, I do not despair of the possibility of assent to this legislation.

**782 d 10.** The fact is, there are three imperative desires, on the satisfaction of which the existence of the race depends: that for food, that for drink, and that for sexual union—and the good, both of individuals and the state, depends on these desires being satisfied *in the right way*. To put it shortly, the right principle which should guide men in the satisfaction of these desires is that the good of the community should come to count for more than the pleasure of the individual. The means to be taken to bridle these dangerous impulses are also three—fear, habit, and philosophy, and the help must be invoked of the Muses, and the religious festivals.

**783 b 2.** I will leave the subject here, in the hope that the spirit of my remarks may pervade the legislature, and that in the complete code room may be found for such a regulation of private life as I have advocated.

**783 d 8.** All communion heightens the effect of right endeavour, but also increases the mischief of carelessness or slackness. In this marriage-union both the parties should strive above all to give the state the best citizens they can produce. A class of wise women officials should exist in the state to enlighten the newly married in the methods for securing this end, with powers to keep them up to their duty during the first ten years of their married life. Failure of offspring during these ten years should be held to be a ground for divorce. The ultimate tribunal in cases of divorce should be the relatives of both sides, with Nomophylakes as assessors. When right feeling pervades a community, many of these regulations will remain a dead letter, but they should be there for the punishment of offenders.

**785 a 3.** *Birth registers* should be kept by public officials in each *φρατρία*.

**785 b 2.** A woman should marry between 16 and 20, a man between 30 and 35.—No woman magistrate must be under 40; no man magistrate under 30.—The age for military service for a man is between 20 and 60; for a woman—if she has to serve—between 40 and 50.

# ΝΟΜΟΙ

(Α-5)

ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΞΕΝΟΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΙΑΣ ΚΡΗΣ  
ΜΕΓΙΛΛΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ



# BOOK I

## SHORT ANALYSIS

622 a–632 d 7.—Spartan and Cretan State institutions teach us that law should foster virtue—i.e. aim at producing human perfection—but they take too narrow a view of what virtue is—they look to bravery alone, and that is only a part, and that the least valuable part, of virtue.

632 d 8–636 e 4.—How virtue is to be fostered—e.g. temperance. In the case of courage and temperance the processes seem similar.

636 e 4 to end of Book. Μέθη.

637 b 7.—Μέθη bad because unregulated.

641 a 3 to end of Book. The right use of μέθη.

643 a 2.—What education implies.

644 b 6.—Education consists in the regulation of the effects of pleasure and pain.

645 d 1.—The practical application of μέθη in education.

St. II  
p. 624

ΑΘ. Θεὸς ἢ τις ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν, ὦ ξένοι, εἴληφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως; a

ΚΛ. Θεός, ὦ ξένε, θεός, ὡς γε τὸ δικαιότατον εἰπεῖν· παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ζεὺς, παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὅθεν ὅδε ἐστίν, οἶμαι φάναι τούτους Ἀπόλλωνα. ἦ γάρ; 5

ΜΕ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν καθ' Ὅμηρον λέγεις ὡς τοῦ Μίνω φοιτῶντος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκάστοτε συνουσίαν δι' ἐνάτου ἔτους καὶ κατὰ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου φήμας ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑμῖν θέντος τοὺς νόμους; b

ΚΛ. Λέγεται γὰρ οὕτω παρ' ἡμῖν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν γε αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθυν—ἀκούετε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα—δικαιότατον γεγονέναι. τοῦτον οὖν φαῖμεν ἂν ἡμεῖς γε οἱ Κρήτες, ἐκ τοῦ τότε διανέμειν τὰ περὶ τὰς δίκας, ὀρθῶς τοῦτον τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτὸν εἴληφέναι. 5 625

ΑΘ. Καὶ καλόν γε τὸ κλέος ὑεῖ τε Διὸς μάλα πρέτ  
 5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοιούτοις ἤθεσι τέθραφθε νομικοῖς σύ τε  
 ὄδε, προσδοκῶ οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς περί τε πολιτείας τὰ νῦν  
 νόμων τὴν διατριβὴν, λέγοντάς τε καὶ ἀκούοντας ἅμα κ  
 b τὴν πορείαν, ποιήσασθαι. πάντως δ' ἦ γε ἐκ Κνωσοῦ ὁ  
 εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄντρον καὶ ἱερόν, ὡς ἀκούομεν, ἰκανή,  
 ἀνάπαυλαι κατὰ τὴν ὁδόν, ὡς εἰκός, πνίγους ὄντος τὰ  
 ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς δένδρεσιν εἰσι σκιαραί, καὶ ταῖς ἡλικ  
 5 πρέπον ἂν ἡμῶν εἶη τὸ διαναπαύεσθαι πυκνὰ ἐν αὐτῶν  
 λόγοις τε ἀλλήλους παραμυθουμένους τὴν ὁδὸν ἅπασαν οὐ  
 μετὰ ῥαστώνης διαπερᾶναι.

ΚΛ. Καὶ μὴν ἔστιν γε, ὦ ξένε, προϊόντι κυπαρίττων  
 c ἐν τοῖς ἄλσεσιν ὑψη καὶ κάλλη θαυμάσια, καὶ λειμῶνες ε  
 οἷσιν ἀναπαυόμενοι διατρίβοιμεν ἄν.

ΑΘ. Ὅρθως λέγεις.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν· ἰδόντες δὲ μᾶλλον φήσομεν. ἀλλ'  
 5 ἴωμεν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτ' εἶη. καί μοι λέγε· κατὰ τί τὰ συσσίτια  
 τε ὑμῖν· συντέταχεν ὁ νόμος καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὴν τῶν  
 ὄπλων ἕξιν;

ΚΛ. Οἶμαι μὲν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ παντὶ ῥάδιον ὑπολαβεῖν εἶναι  
 10 τά γε ἡμέτερα. τὴν γὰρ τῆς χώρας πάσης Κρήτης φύσιν  
 d ὁρᾶτε ὡς οὐκ ἔστι, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν Θετταλῶν, πεδιάς, διὸ  
 δὴ καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἵπποις ἐκεῖνοι χρῶνται μᾶλλον, δρόμοισιν  
 δὲ ἡμεῖς· ἦδε γὰρ ἀνώμαλος αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν  
 δρόμων ἀσκησιν μᾶλλον σύμμετρος. ἔλαφρά δὴ τὰ ὄπλα  
 5 ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ κεκτηῖσθαι καὶ μὴ βάρους ἔχοντα  
 θεῖν· τῶν δὲ τόξων καὶ τοξευμάτων ἡ κουφότης ἀρμόττειν  
 δοκεῖ. ταῦτ' οὖν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἡμῖν ἅπαντα ἐξήρτυται,  
 e καὶ πάνθ' ὁ νομοθέτης, ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, πρὸς τοῦτο βλέ-  
 πων συνετάττετο· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ συσσίτια κινδυνεύει συναγα-  
 γεῖν, ὁρῶν ὡς πάντες ὁπόταν στρατεύωνται, τόθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
 τοῦ πράγματος ἀναγκάζονται φυλακῆς αὐτῶν ἕνεκά συσσι-  
 5 τεῖν τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον. ἀνοιαν δὴ μοι δοκεῖ καταγνῶναι τῶν  
 πολλῶν ὡς οὐ μανθανόντων ὅτι πόλεμος αἰεὶ πᾶσιν διὰ βίου  
 συνεχῆς ἔστι πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς πόλεις. εἰ δὲ πολέμου γε  
 ὄντος φυλακῆς ἕνεκα δεῖ συσσιτεῖν καὶ τινὰς ἄρχοντας καὶ  
 626 ἀρχομένους διακεκοσμημένους εἶναι· φύλακας αὐτῶν, τοῦτο  
 καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ δραστήον. ἦν γὰρ καλοῦσιν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν

ἀνθρώπων εἰρήνην, τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνον ὄνομα, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ  
 πάσαις πρὸς πάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀεὶ πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον κατὰ  
 φύσιν εἶναι. καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνευρήσεις, οὕτω σκοπῶν, τὸν 5  
 Κρητῶν νομοθέτην ὡς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἅπαντα δημοσίᾳ καὶ  
 ἰδίᾳ τὰ νόμιμα ἡμῖν ἀποβλέπων συνετάξατο, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα  
 οὕτω φυλάττειν παρέδωκε τοὺς νόμους, ὡς τῶν ἄλλων οὐδενὸς b  
 οὐδὲν ὄφελος ὃν οὔτε κτημάτων· οὔτ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἂν  
 μὴ τῷ πολέμῳ ἄρα κρατῆ τις, πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν νικωμένων  
 ἀγαθὰ τῶν νικούντων γίνεσθαι.

ΑΘ. Καλῶς γε, ὦ ξένε, φαίνη μοι γεγυμνάσθαι πρὸς τὸ 5  
 διειδέναι τὰ Κρητῶν νόμιμα. τόδε δέ μοι φράζε ἔτι σαφέ-  
 στερον· ὃν γὰρ ὄρον ἔθου τῆς εὐ πολιτευομένης πόλεως,  
 δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν οὕτω κεκοσμημένην οἰκεῖν δεῖν, ὥστε c  
 πολέμῳ νικᾶν τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις. ἦ γάρ;

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῷδε οὕτω συνδοκεῖν.

ΜΕ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἀποκρίναιτο, ὦ θεῖε, Λακεδαι-  
 μονίων γε ὅστισοῦν; 5

ΑΘ. Πότερ' οὖν δὴ πόλεσι μὲν πρὸς πόλεις ὀρθὸν τοῦτ'  
 ἐστί, κώμη δὲ πρὸς κώμην ἕτερον;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ ταῦτόν;

ΚΛ. Ναί. 10

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; πρὸς οἰκίαν οἰκία τῶν ἐν τῇ κώμῃ, καὶ πρὸς  
 ἄνδρα ἀνδρὶ ἐνὶ πρὸς ἓνα, ταῦτόν ἐτι;

ΚΛ. Ταῦτόν.

ΑΘ. Αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν πότερον ὡς πολεμῶ πρὸς d  
 πολέμιον διανοητέον; ἢ πῶς ἔτι λέγομεν;

ΚΛ. ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε—οὐ γὰρ σε Ἀπτικὸν ἐθέλοιμ' ἂν  
προσαγορεύειν· ἰδοκεῖς γὰρ μοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐπωνυμίας ἄξιός  
 εἶναι μᾶλλον ἐπονομάζεσθαι· τὸν γὰρ λόγον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν 5  
 ὀρθῶς ἀναγαγὼν σαφέστερον ἐποίησας, ὥστε ῥᾶον ἀνευρή-  
 σεις ὅτι νυνδὴ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὀρθῶς ἐρρήθη τὸ πολεμῖους εἶναι  
 πάντας πᾶσιν δημοσίᾳ τε, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστους αὐτοὺς σφίσιν  
 αὐτοῖς.

ΑΘ. Πῶς εἴρηκας, ὦ θαυμάσιε; e

ΚΛ. Κἀνταῦθα, ὦ ξένε, τὸ νικᾶν αὐτὸν αὐτὸν πασῶν  
 νικῶν πρώτη τε καὶ ἀρίστη, τὸ δὲ ἠττᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ  
 πάντων αἰσχιστόν τε ἅμα καὶ κάκιστον. ταῦτα γὰρ ὡς πολέ-  
 μου ἐν ἐκάστοις ἡμῶν ὄντος πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σημαίνει. 5



ΑΘ. Πάλιν τοίνυν τὸν λόγον ἀναστρέψωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἷς ἕκαστος ἡμῶν ὁ μὲν κρείττων αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ ἡττων  
 627 ἐστί, πότερα φῶμεν οἰκίαν τε καὶ κώμην καὶ πόλιν ἔχειν ταῦτόν τοῦτο ἐν αὐταῖς ἢ μὴ φῶμεν;

ΚΛ. Τὸ κρείττω τε ἑαυτῆς εἶναι λέγεις τινά, τὴν δ' ἡττω;

ΑΘ. Ναί.

5 ΚΛ. Καὶ τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἦρου· πάνυ γὰρ ἔστι καὶ σφόδρα τὸ τοιοῦτον, οὐχ ἡκιστα ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. ἐν ὁπόσαις μὲν γὰρ οἱ ἀμείνονες νικῶσιν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τοὺς χείρους, ὀρθῶς ἂν αὕτη κρείττων τε ἑαυτῆς λέγοιθ' ἢ πόλις, ἐπαινοῖτό τε ἂν δικαιοτάτα τῇ τοιαύτῃ νίκῃ· τούναντίον δέ, ὅπου  
 10 τάναντία.

b ΑΘ. Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν εἴ ποτέ ἐστίν που τὸ χεῖρον κρείττον τοῦ ἀμείνονος ἑάσωμεν—μακροτέρου γὰρ λόγου—τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ λεγόμενον μαθάνω νῦν, ὡς ποτε πολῖται, συγγενεῖς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως γεγονότες, ἄδικοι καὶ πολλοὶ συνελθόντες,  
 5 δικαίους ἐλάττους ὄντας βιάσονται δουλούμενοι, καὶ ὅταν μὲν κρατήσωσιν, ἡττων ἢ πόλις αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς αὕτη λέγοιτ' ἂν ἅμα καὶ κακῆ, ὅπου δ' ἂν ἡττῶνται, κρείττων τε καὶ ἀγαθή.

c ΚΛ. Καὶ μάλα ἄτοπον, ὦ ξένε, τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον· ὅμως δὲ ὁμολογεῖν οὕτως ἀναγκαιότατον.

ΑΘ. Ἐχε δὴ. καὶ τόδε πάλιν ἐπισκεψώμεθα· πολλοὶ ἀδελφοί που γένοιντ' ἂν ἐνὸς ἀνδρός τε καὶ μιᾶς υἱεῖς, καὶ  
 5 δὴ καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πλείους μὲν ἀδίκους αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἐλάττους δικαίους.

ΚΛ. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ οὐκ ἂν εἶη γε πρέπον ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν τοῦτο θηρεύειν, ὅτι νικῶντων μὲν τῶν πονηρῶν ἢ τε οἰκία καὶ ἢ  
 10 συγγένεια αὕτη πᾶσα ἡττων αὐτῆς λέγοιτ' ἂν, κρείττων δὲ ἡττωμένων· οὐ γὰρ εὐσχημοσύνης τε καὶ ἀσχημοσύνης ῥημάτων ἔνεκα τὰ νῦν σκοπούμεθα πρὸς τὸν τῶν πολλῶν λόγον, ἀλλ' ὀρθότητός τε καὶ ἀμαρτίας πέρι νόμων, ἣτις ποτ' ἐστὶν φύσει.

5 ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις.

ΜΕ. Καλῶς μὲν οὖν, ὡς γε ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖν, τό γε τοσοῦτον, τὰ νῦν.

ΑΘ. Ἴδωμεν δὴ καὶ τόδε· τούτοις τοῖς ἄρτι λεγομένοις ἀδελφοῖς γένοιτ' ἂν πού τις δικαστής;

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τις ἄριστα πράττειν τότε, τῷ δὲ μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν δεηθέντι  
 σώματι μηδὲ προσέχοι τὸν νοῦν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πρὸς  
 5 πόλεως εὐδαιμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἰδιώτου διανοούμενος οὕτω τις  
 οὕτ' ἂν ποτε πολιτικὸς γένοιτο ὀρθῶς, πρὸς τὰ ἔξωθεν πολε-  
 μικά ἀποβλέπων μόνον καὶ πρῶτον, οὕτ' ἂν νομοθέτης  
 ἀκριβής, εἰ μὴ χάριν εἰρήνης τὰ πολέμου νομοθετοῖ μάλλον  
 e ἢ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔνεκα τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης.

ΚΛ. Φαίνεται μὲν πως ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὦ ξένε, ὀρθῶς  
 εἰρησθαι, θαυμάζω γε μὴν εἰ τὰ τε παρ' ἡμῖν νόμιμα καὶ  
 ἔτι τὰ περὶ Λακεδαίμονα μὴ πᾶσαν τὴν σπουδὴν τούτων  
 5 ἔνεκα πεποιήται.

629 ΑΘ. Τάχ' ἂν ἴσως· δεῖ δὲ οὐδὲν σκληρῶς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς  
 διαμάχεσθαι τὰ νῦν ἀλλ' ἡρέμα ἀνερωτᾶν, ὡς μάλιστα  
 περὶ ταῦτα ἡμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων σπουδαζόντων. καί μοι  
 τῷ λόγῳ συνακολουθήσατε. προστησώμεθα γοῦν Τύρταιον,  
 5 τὸν φύσει μὲν Ἀθηναῖον, τῶνδε δὲ πολίτην γενόμενον, ὃς  
 δὴ μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων περὶ ταῦτα ἐσπούδακεν εἰπὼν ὅτι—

οὕτ' ἂν μνησαίμην οὕτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην

• b οὕτ' εἴ τις πλουσιώτατος ἀνθρώπων εἴη, φησὶν, οὕτ' εἰ  
 πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ κεκτημένος, εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, ὃς μὴ περὶ  
 τὸν πόλεμον ἄριστος γίγνοιτ' αἰεὶ. ταῦτα γὰρ ἀκήκοάς που  
 καὶ σὺ τὰ ποιήματα· ὅδε μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι διακορῆς αὐτῶν ἐστι.

5 ΜΕ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΚΛ. Καὶ μὴν καὶ παρ' ἡμᾶς ἐλήλυθε κομισθέντα ἐκ  
 Λακεδαίμονος.

ΑΘ. Ἴθι νυν ἀνερώμεθα κοινῇ τουτονὶ τὸν ποιητὴν οὕ-  
 τωσί πως· “ὦ Τύρταιε, ποιητὰ θειότατε—δοκεῖς γὰρ δὴ  
 c σοφὸς ἡμῖν εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθός, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ  
 διαφέροντας διαφερόντως ἐγκεκωμίακας—ἤδη οὖν τυγχά-  
 νομεν ἐγὼ τε καὶ ὅδε καὶ Κλεινίας ὁ Κνώσιος οὕτοσί συμ-  
 φερόμενοί σοι περὶ τούτου σφόδρα, ὡς δοκοῦμεν· εἰ δὲ περὶ  
 5 τῶν αὐτῶν λέγομεν ἀνδρῶν ἢ μή, βουλόμεθα σαφῶς εἰδέναί.  
 λέγε οὖν ἡμῖν· ἄρα εἶδη δύο πολέμου καθάπερ ἡμεῖς ἡγῆ  
 καὶ σὺ σαφῶς; ἢ πῶς;” πρὸς ταῦτ' οἶμαι κἂν πολὺ φαυλό-  
 d τερος εἴποι Τυρταίου τις τάληθές, ὅτι δύο, τὸ μὲν ὃ καλοῦ-  
 μεν ἅπαντες στάσιν, ἔς δὴ πάντων πολέμων χαλεπώτατος,  
 ὡς ἔφαμεν ἡμεῖς νυνδὴ· τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πολέμου θήσομεν οἶμαι  
 γένος ἅπαντες ὦ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός τε καὶ ἀλλοφύλους· χρώ-

μεθα διαφερόμενοι, πολὺ πραότερον ἐκείνου.

5

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ, πότερον, καὶ πρὸς ποτέρους ἐπαινῶν τὸν πόλεμον, οὕτως ὑπερεπήνεσας, τοὺς δὲ ἔψεξας τῶν ἀνδρῶν; ἔοικας μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός· εἴρηκας γοῦν ὧδε ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν, ὡς οὐδαμῶς τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνεχόμενος, οἳ μὴ e

καὶ δηίων ὀρέγοντ' ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενοι.

οὐκοῦν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα εἴπομεν ἂν ἡμεῖς ὅτι “ Σὺ μὲν ἐπαινεῖς, ὡς ἔοικας, ὦ Τύρταιε, μάλιστα τοὺς πρὸς τὸν ὀθνεῖόν 5 τε καὶ ἔξωθεν πόλεμον γιγνομένους ἐπιφανεῖς.” φαίη ταῦτ' ἂν που καὶ ὁμολογοῖ;

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἀγαθῶν ὄντων τούτων ἔτι φαμὲν ἀμεί- 630 νους εἶναι καὶ πολὺ τοὺς ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ πολέμῳ γιγνομένους ἀρίστους διαφανῶς· ποιητὴν δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς μάρτυρ' ἔχομεν, Θεόγνιν, πολίτην τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ Μεγαρέων, ὃς φησιν—

πιστὸς ἀνὴρ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου ἀντερύσασθαι 5  
ἄξιος ἐν χαλεπῇ, Κύρνε, διχοστασίῃ.

τοῦτον δὴ φαμὲν ἐν πολέμῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ ἀμείνονα ἐκείνου πάμπολυ γίνεσθαι, σχεδὸν ὅσον ἀμείνων δικαιοσύνη καὶ σωφροσύνη καὶ φρόνησις εἰς ταῦτόν ἐλθοῦσαι μετ' ἀνδρείας, b αὐτῆς μόνης ἀνδρείας. πιστὸς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὑγιὴς ἐν στάσεσιν οὐκ ἂν ποτε γένοιτο ἄνευ συμπάσης ἀρετῆς· διαβάντες δ' εὖ καὶ μαχόμενοι ἐθέλοντες ἀποθνήσκειν ἐν ᾧ πολέμῳ, φράζει Τύρταιος τῶν μισθοφόρων εἰσὶν πάμπολλοι, ὧν 5 οἳ πλεῖστοι γίνονται θρασεῖς καὶ ἄδικοι καὶ ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀφρονέστατοι σχεδὸν ἀπάντων, ἐκτὸς δὴ τινῶν εὖ μάλα ὀλίγων. ποῖ δὴ τελευτᾶ νῦν ἡμῖν οὗτος ὁ λόγος, καὶ τί φανερόν ποτε ποιῆσαι βουλευθεῖς λέγει ταῦτα; δῆλον ὅτι c τόδε, ὡς παντὸς μᾶλλον καὶ ὁ τῆδε παρὰ Διὸς νομοθέτης, πᾶς τε οὐ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, οὐκ ἄλλοσε ἢ πρὸς τὴν μεγίστην ἀρετὴν μάλιστα βλέπων αἰεθῆσει τοὺς νόμους· ἔστι δέ, ὡς φησιν Θεόγνις, αὕτη πιστότης ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς, ἣν 5 τις δικαιοσύνην ἂν τελέαν ὀνομάσειεν. ἦν δ' αὖ Τύρταιος ἐπήνεσεν μάλιστα, καλὴ μὲν καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν κεκοσμημένη

τῷ ποιητῇ, τετάρτη μέντοι ὅμως ἀριθμῷ τε καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ  
d τιμία εἶναι λέγοιτ' ἂν ὀρθότατα.

ΚΛ. ὦ ξένε, τὸν νομοθέτην ἡμῶν ἀποβάλλομεν εἰς  
τοὺς πόρρω νομοθέτας.

ΑΘ. Οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε, ὦ ἄριστε, ἀλλ' ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, ὅταν  
5 οἰώμεθα πάντα τὰ τ' ἐν Λακεδαίμονι καὶ τὰ τῆδε πρὸς  
τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα βλέποντας Λυκοῦργόν τε καὶ Μίνω  
τίθεσθαι τὰ νόμιμα.

ΚΛ. Τὸ δὲ πῶς χρῆν ἡμᾶς λέγειν;

ΑΘ. Ὡσπερ τό τε ἀληθές οἶμαι καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ γε  
e θείου ἀνδρὸς διαλεγομένους λέγειν, οὐχ ὡς πρὸς ἀρετῆς τι μό-  
ριον, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ φαυλότατον, ἐτίθει βλέπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς  
πᾶσαν ἀρετήν, καὶ κατ' εἶδη ζητεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους οὐδ'  
ἄπερ οἱ τῶν νῦν εἶδη προτιθέμενοι ζητοῦσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν  
5 ἕκαστος ἐν χρεῖα γίγνηται, τοῦτο ζητεῖ νῦν παραθέμενος, ὃ  
μὲν τὰ περὶ τῶν κλήρων καὶ ἐπικλήρων, ὃ δὲ τῆς αἰκίας πέρι,  
ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλ' ἄττα μυρία τοιαῦτα· ἡμεῖς δὲ φάμεν εἶναι τὸ  
631 περὶ νόμους ζήτημα τῶν εὖ ζητούντων ὡσπερ νῦν ἡμεῖς  
ἠρξάμεθα. καὶ σοῦ τὴν μὲν ἐπιχείρησιν τῆς ἐξηγήσεως περὶ  
τοὺς νόμους παντάπασιν ἄγαμαι· τὸ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἄρ-  
χεσθαι, λέγοντα ὡς ἐτίθει ταύτης ἕνεκα τοὺς νόμους, ὀρθόν·  
5 ὅτι δὲ πάντα εἰς μόριον ἀρετῆς, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ σμικρότατον,  
ἐπαναφέροντα ἔφησθ' αὐτὸν νομοθετεῖν, οὔτε ὀρθῶς ἔτι μοι  
κατεφάνης λέγων τόν τε ὕστερον νῦν λόγον τοῦτον πάντα  
εἶρηκα διὰ ταῦτα. πῆ δὴ οὖν σε ἔτ' ἂν ἐβουλόμην διελό-  
b μενον λέγειν αὐτός τε ἀκούειν; βούλει σοι φράζω;

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. “ὦ ξένε,” ἐχρῆν εἰπεῖν, “οἱ Κρητῶν νόμοι οὐκ  
εἰσὶν μάτην διαφερόντως ἐν πᾶσιν εὐδόκιμοι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν·  
5 ἔχουσιν γὰρ ὀρθῶς, τοὺς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους εὐδαίμονας ἀπο-  
τελοῦντες. πάντα γὰρ τὰγαθὰ πορίζουσιν. διπλᾶ δὲ ἀγαθὰ  
ἔστιν, τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα· ἠρτηται δ' ἐκ τῶν  
θείων θάτερα, καὶ εἰ μὲν δέχηται τις τὰ μείζονα παρίστα-  
c ται καὶ τὰ ἐλάττονα, εἰ δὲ μή, στέρεται ἀμφοῖν. ἔστι  
δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐλάττονα ὧν ἠγεῖται μὲν ὑγίεια, κάλλος δὲ δεύ-  
τερον, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἰσχύς εἰς τε δρόμον καὶ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας  
πάσας κινήσεις τῷ σώματι, τέταρτον δὲ δὴ πλοῦτος οὐ τυφλὸς  
5 ἀλλ' ὁξὺ βλέπων, ἄνπερ ἄμ' ἔπηται φρονήσει· ὃ δὴ πρῶτον  
αὐτῶν θείων ἠγεμονοῦν ἔστιν ἀγαθῶν, ἢ φρόνησις, δεύ-

τερον δὲ μετὰ νοῦ σώφρων ψυχῆς ἕξις, ἐκ δὲ τούτων μετ' ἀνδρείας κραθέντων τρίτον ἂν εἶη δικαιοσύνη, τέταρτον δὲ ἀνδρεία. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐκείνων ἔμπροσθεν τέτακται φύσει, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ τακτέον οὕτως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἄλλας προστάξεις τοῖς πολίταις εἰς ταῦτα βλεπούσας αὐτοῖς εἶναι διακελευστέον· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπινα εἰς τὰ θεῖα, τὰ δὲ θεῖα εἰς τὸν ἡγεμόνα νοῦν σύμπαντα βλέπειν· περὶ τε γάμους ἀλλήλοις ἐπικοινωνομένους, μετὰ τε ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς τῶν παίδων γεννήσεσιν καὶ τροφαῖς ὅσοι τε ἄρρενες καὶ ὅσαι θήλειαι νέων τε ὄντων καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ πρεσβύτερον ἰόντων μέχρι γήρως τιμῶντα ὀρθῶς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δεῖ καὶ ἀτιμάζοντα, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς τούτων ὀμιλίαις τὰς τε λύπας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας συμπάντων τε ἐρώτων τὰς σπουδὰς ἐπεσκεμμένον καὶ παραπεφυλαχότα, ψέγειν τε ὀρθῶς καὶ ἐπαινεῖν δι' αὐτῶν τῶν νόμων· ἐν ὀργαῖς τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν φόβοις, ὅσαι τε διὰ δυστυχίαν ταραχαὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίνονται καὶ ὅσαι ἐν εὐτυχίαις τῶν τοιούτων ἀποφυγαί, ὅσα τε κατὰ νόσους ἢ κατὰ πολέμους ἢ πενίας ἢ τὰ τούτοις ἐναντία γιγνόμενα προσπίπτει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις παθήματα, ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς τοιούτοις τῆς ἐκάστων διαθέσεως διδασκτέον καὶ ὀριστέον τό τε καλὸν καὶ μῆ. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀνάγκη τὸν νομοθέτην τὰς κτήσεις τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα φυλάττειν ὄντιν' ἂν γίγνηται τρόπον, καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους πᾶσιν τούτοις κοινωνίας καὶ διαλύσεις ἐκοῦσίν τε καὶ ἀκουσιν καθ' ὅποιον ἂν ἕκαστον πράττωσιν τῶν τοιούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπισκοπεῖν, τό τε δίκαιον [καὶ μῆ] ἐν οἷς ἔστιν [τε] καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐλλείπει, καὶ τοῖς μὲν εὐπειθέσιν τῶν νόμων τιμὰς ἀπονέμειν, τοῖς δὲ δυσπειθέσι δίκας τακτὰς ἐπιτιθέσθαι, μέχριπερ ἂν πρὸς τέλος ἀπάσης πολιτείας ἐξελθῶν, ἴδη τῶν τελευτησάντων τίνα δεῖ τρόπον ἐκάστοις γίνεσθαι τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τιμὰς ἄστινας αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμειν δεῖ· κατιδῶν δὲ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς νόμους ἅπασιν τούτοις φύλακας ἐπιστήσει, τοὺς μὲν διὰ φρονήσεως, τοὺς δὲ δι' ἀληθοῦς δόξης ἰόντας, ὅπως πάντα ταῦτα συνδήσας ὁ νοῦς ἐπόμενα σωφροσύνη καὶ δικαιοσύνη ἀποφήνη, ἀλλὰ μὴ πλούτῳ μηδὲ φιλοτιμίᾳ." οὕτως, ὦ ξένοι, ἔγωγε ἠθέλον ἂν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἔτι νῦν βούλομαι διεξελεῖν πῶς ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς λεγομένοις νόμοις τοῖς τε τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, οὗς Μίνως τε καὶ Λυκοῦργος ἐθέτην, ἔνεστίν τε πάντα ταῦτα, καὶ ὅπη τάξιν

5 τινὰ εἰληφότα διάδηλά ἐστιν τῷ περὶ νόμων ἐμπείρῳ τέχνῃ  
εἴτε καὶ τισιν ἔθεσιν, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἡμῖν οὐδαμῶς ἐστι  
καταφανῆ.

ΚΛ. Πῶς οὖν, ὦ ξένε, λέγειν χρὴ τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα;

ΑΘ. Ἐξ ἀρχῆς πάλιν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ χρῆναι διεξελθεῖν,  
e καθάπερ ἠρξάμεθα, τὰ τῆς ἀνδρείας πρῶτον ἐπιτηδεύματα,  
ἔπειτα ἕτερον καὶ αὐθις ἕτερον εἶδος τῆς ἀρετῆς διεξιμεν,  
ἐὰν βούλησθε· ὅπως δ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον διεξέλθωμεν, πειρασώ-  
μεθα αὐτὸ παράδειγμα θέμενοι καὶ τὰλλ' οὕτω διαμυθολο-  
5 γοῦντες παραμύθια ποιήσασθαι τῆς ὁδοῦ, ὕστερον δὲ ἀρετῆς  
πάσης ἃ γε νυνδὴ διήλθομεν ἐκεῖσε βλέποντα ἀποφανοῦμεν,  
ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλη.

633 ΜΕ. Καλῶς λέγεις, καὶ πειρῶ πρῶτον κρίνειν τὸν τοῦ  
Διὸς ἐπαινέτην τόνδε ἡμῖν.

ΑΘ. Πειράσομαι, καὶ σέ τε καὶ ἑμαυτόν· κοινὸς γὰρ ὁ  
λόγος. λέγετε οὖν· τὰ συσσίτια φαμεν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια  
5 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξηυρῆσθαι τῷ νομοθέτῃ;

ΜΕ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον; ἴσως γὰρ ἂν οὕτω χρεῖη  
διαριθμῆσασθαι καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εἴτε μερῶν  
εἴτε ἅπτ' αὐτὰ καλεῖν χρεῶν ἐστι, δηλοῦντα μόνον ἃ λέγει.

b ΜΕ. Τρίτον τοίνυν, ἔγωγ' εἵπομ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων  
ὄστισοῦν, τὴν θήραν ἠῦρε.

ΑΘ. Τέταρτον δέ, ἢ πέμπτον εἰ δυναίμεθα, λέγειν  
πειρώμεθα.

5 ΜΕ. Ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τέταρτον ἔγωγε πειρώμην ἂν  
λέγειν, τὸ περὶ τὰς καρτερήσεις τῶν ἀλγηδόνων πολὺ παρ'  
ἡμῖν γιγνόμενον, ἐν τε ταῖς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ταῖς χερσὶ μάχαις  
καὶ ἐν ἀρπαγαῖς τισιν διὰ πολλῶν πληγῶν ἐκάστοτε γιγνο-  
μέναις. ἔτι δὲ καὶ κρυπτεία τις ὀνομάζεται θαυμαστῶς πολύ-  
c πονος πρὸς τὰς καρτερήσεις, χειμώνων τε ἀνυποδησίαι καὶ  
ἀστρωσίαι καὶ ἄνευ θεραπόντων αὐτοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακονήσεις  
νύκτωρ τε πλανωμένων διὰ πάσης τῆς χώρας καὶ μεθ'  
ἡμέραν. ἔτι δὲ κὰν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδίαις δειναὶ καρτερήσεις  
5 παρ' ἡμῖν γίνονται τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ῥώμῃ διαμάχομένων, καὶ  
πάμπολλα ἕτερα, σχεδὸν ὅσα οὐκ ἂν παύσαιτό τις ἐκάστοτε  
διεξιῶν.

ΑΘ. Εὖ γε, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιε ξένε, λέγεις. τὴν ἀνδρείαν  
δέ, φέρε, τί θῶμεν; πότερον ἀπλῶς οὕτως εἶναι πρὸς φόβους

καὶ λύπας διαμάχην μόνον, ἢ καὶ πρὸς πόθους τε καὶ ἡδονὰς  
καὶ τινὰς δεινὰς θωπείας κολακικάς, αἱ καὶ τῶν σεμνῶν  
οἰομένων εἶναι τοὺς θυμοὺς ποιούσιν κηρίνους;

ΜΕ. Οἶμαι μὲν οὕτω πρὸς ταῦτα σύμπαντα.

ΑΘ. Εἰ γοῦν μεμνήμεθα τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν λόγους, ἦττω  
τινὰ ὄδε καὶ πόλιν ἔλεγεν αὐτὴν αὐτῆς καὶ ἄνδρα. ἦ γάρ, ὦ  
ξένε Κνώσιε;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πάνυ γε.

ΑΘ. Νῦν οὖν πότερα λέγομεν τὸν τῶν λυπῶν ἦττω κακὸν  
ἢ καὶ τὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν;

ΚΛ. Μᾶλλον, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ, τὸν τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ πάντες  
που μᾶλλον λέγομεν τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν κρατούμενον τοῦτον  
τὸν ἐπονειδίστως ἦττονα ἑαυτοῦ πρότερον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν  
λυπῶν.

ΑΘ. Ὁ Διὸς οὖν δὴ καὶ ὁ Πυθικὸς νομοθέτης οὐ δήπου  
χωλὴν τὴν ἀνδρείαν νενομοθετήκατον, πρὸς τὰ ἄριστερὰ μόνον  
δυναμένην ἀντιβαίνειν, πρὸς τὰ δεξιὰ καὶ κομψὰ καὶ θωπευ-  
τικὰ ἀδυνατοῦσαν; ἢ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω;

ΚΛ. Πρὸς ἀμφοτέρω ἔγωγε ἀξιῶ.

ΑΘ. Λέγωμεν τοίνυν πάλιν ἐπιτηδεύματα ποῖα ἔσθ' ὑμῖν  
ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃ γέγοντα τῶν ἡδονῶν καὶ οὐ  
φεύγοντα αὐτάς, καθάπερ τὰς λύπας οὐκ ἔφευγεν, ἀλλ'  
ἄγοντα εἰς μέσας, ἠνάγκαζε καὶ ἔπειθεν τιμαῖς ὥστε κρατεῖν  
αὐτῶν.—ποῦ δὴ τοῦτ' ἔστιν ταῦτόν περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς συν-  
τεταγμένον ἐν τοῖς νόμοις; λεγέσθω τί τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὃ καὶ  
ἀπεργάζεται ὑμῖν ὁμοίως πρὸς τε ἀλγηδόνας καὶ πρὸς  
ἡδονὰς τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀνδρείους, νικῶντάς τε ἃ δεῖ νικᾶν  
καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἦττους πολεμίων τῶν ἐγγύτατα ἑαυτῶν καὶ  
χαλεπωτάτων.

ΜΕ. Οὕτω μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ξένε, καθάπερ πρὸς τὰς ἀλγη-  
δόνας εἶχον νόμους ἀντιτεταγμένους πολλοὺς εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἂν  
ἴσως εὐποροίην κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη καὶ διαφανῆ λέγων περὶ  
τῶν ἡδονῶν κατὰ δὲ σμικρὰ ἴσως εὐποροίην ἄν.

ΚΛ. Οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἐν τοῖς κατὰ Κρήτην  
νόμοις ἔχοιμι ἐμφανὲς ὁμοίως ποιεῖν τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΑΘ. ὦ ἄριστοι ξένων, καὶ οὐδέν γε θαυμαστόν. ἀλλ'  
ἂν ἄρα τις ἡμῶν περὶ τοὺς ἐκάστων οἴκοι νόμους ψέξῃ τι,  
βουλόμενος ἰδεῖν τό τε ἀληθὲς ἅμα καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον, μὴ  
χαλεπῶς ἀλλὰ πράως ἀποδεχώμεθα ἀλλήλων.



ΚΛ. Ὀρθῶς, ὦ ξέने Ἀθηναῖε, εἶρηκας, καὶ πειστ  
 d ΑΘ. Οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ὦ Κλεινία, τηλικοῖσδε ἀνδράσιν πρ  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον.

ΚΛ. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ὀρθῶς ἢ μή τις ἐπιτιμᾶ τῇ τε Λα  
 5 νικῇ καὶ τῇ Κρητικῇ πολιτείᾳ, λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἴη· τ  
 οὖν λεγόμενα πρὸς τῶν πολλῶν ἴσως ἐγὼ μᾶλλον ἔχ  
 ἂν ὑμῶν ἀμφοτέρων λέγειν. ὑμῖν μὲν γάρ, εἴπερ καὶ  
 τρίως κατεσκευάσται τὰ τῶν νόμων, εἰς τῶν καλλίστω  
 εἴη νόμων μὴ ζητεῖν τῶν νέων μηδένα εἶαν ποῖα κε  
 e αὐτῶν ἢ μὴ καλῶς ἔχει, μιᾶ δὲ φωνῇ καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόμα  
 πάντας συμφωνεῖν ὡς πάντα καλῶς κεῖται θέντων θ  
 καὶ εἴαν τις ἄλλως λέγη, μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι τὸ παράπαν ἀ  
 οντας· γέρων δὲ εἴ τίς τι συννοεῖ τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν, ἢ  
 5 ἄρχοντά τε καὶ πρὸς ἡλικιώτην μηδενὸς ἐναντίον  
 ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους.

ΚΛ. Ὀρθότατά γε, ὦ ξέने, λέγεις, καὶ καθάπερ μά  
 635 ἄπὼν τῆς τότε διανοίας τοῦ τιθέντος αὐτά, νῦν ἐπεικῶς  
 δοκεῖς ἐστοχάσθαι καὶ σφόδρα ἀληθῆ λέγειν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν ἐρημία μὲν νέων, αὐτο  
 ἔνεκα γήρως ἀφείμεθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου διαλεγόμενοι·  
 5 αὐτῶν τούτων μόνοι πρὸς μόνους μηδὲν ἂν πλημμελε

ΚΛ. Ἔστι ταῦτα οὕτως· [εἰς ἃ] καὶ μηδὲν γε ἀνῆς  
 τιμῶν τοῖς νόμοις ἡμῶν· οὐ γὰρ τό γε γνῶναί τι τῶν  
 καλῶν ἄτιμον, ἀλλὰ ἴασιν ἐξ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνει γίγνε  
 b τῷ μὴ φθόνῳ τὰ λεγόμενα ἀλλ' εὐνοία δεχομένῳ.

ΑΘ. Καλῶς· οὐ μὴν ἐπιτιμῶν γε ἐρῶ τοῖς νόμοις  
 πρὶν βεβαίως εἰς δύναμιν διασκέψασθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπομ  
 ὑμῖν γὰρ ὁ νομοθέτης μόνοις Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων,  
 5 ἡμεῖς πυνθανόμεθα, τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν καὶ παιδιῶν  
 ταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ μὴ γεύεσθαι, τὸ δὲ τῶν λυπῶν  
 φόβων, ὅπερ ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν, ἡγήσατο εἴ τις ἐκ παῖ  
 c φευξεῖται διὰ τέλους, ὅποταν εἰς ἀναγκαίους ἔλθη πό  
 καὶ φόβους καὶ λύπας, φευξεῖσθαι τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνοις γε  
 μνασμένους καὶ δουλεύσειν αὐτοῖς. ταῦτόν δὲ τοῦτ', οἷ  
 καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἡδονὰς ἔδει διανοεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν νομοθέ  
 5 λέγοντα αὐτὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ὡς ἡμῖν ἐκ νέων εἰ ἄπειροι  
 μεγίστων ἡδονῶν οἱ πολῖται γενήσονται, καὶ ἀμελέτη  
 γιγνόμενοι ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς καρτερεῖν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν αἰσχ

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αὐτοῖς οἱ νόμοι πεπιστευμένοι ἦσαν γεγονέναι, τοῦτον τὸν  
 μῦθον προστεθηκέναι κατὰ τοῦ Διός, ἵνα ἐπόμενοι δὴ τῷ  
 θεῷ καρπῶνται καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἡδονήν. τὸ μὲν οὖν τοῦ  
 5 μύθου χαιρέτω, νόμων δὲ πέρι διασκοπούμενων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὀλίγου πᾶσά ἐστιν ἡ σκέψις περί τε τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ τὰς  
 λύπας ἔν τε πόλεσιν καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις ἡθεσιν· δύο γὰρ αὗται  
 πηγαὶ μεθεῖνται φύσει ρεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀρυτόμενος ὅθεν τε  
 e δεῖ καὶ ὁπότε καὶ ὁπόσον εὐδαιμονεῖ, καὶ πόλις ὁμοίως καὶ  
 ἰδιώτης καὶ ζῶον ἅπαν, ὁ δ' ἀνεπιστημόνως ἅμα καὶ ἐκτὸς  
 τῶν καιρῶν τὰναντία ἂν ἐκείνῳ ζῶῃ.

ME. Λέγεται μὲν ταῦτα, ὦ ξένε, καλῶς πως· οὐ μὴν  
 5 ἀλλ' ἀφασία γ' ἡμᾶς λαμβάνει τί ποτε χρῆ λέγειν πρὸς  
 ταῦτα, ὅμως δ' ἔμοιγε ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ τὸ τὰς ἡδονὰς φεύγειν  
 διακελεύεσθαι τόν γε ἐν Λακεδαίμονι νομοθέτην, περὶ δὲ  
 τῶν ἐν Κνωσῷ νόμων ὅδε, ἂν ἐθέλη, βοηθήσει. τὰ δ' ἐν  
 637 Σπάρτῃ κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων δοκεῖ μοι κεῖσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς  
 ἡδονὰς· οὐ γὰρ μάλιστ' ἀνθρωποι καὶ μεγίσταις προσπί-  
 πτουσιν ἡδοναῖς καὶ ὕβρεσι καὶ ἀνοία πάσῃ, τοῦτ' ἐξέβαλεν  
 ὁ νόμος ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας συμπάσης, καὶ οὐτ' ἂν ἐπ'  
 5 ἀγρῶν ἴδοις, οὐτ' ἐν ἄστεσιν ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει, συμ-  
 πόσια οὐδ' ὁπόσα τούτοις συνεπόμενα πάσας ἡδονὰς κινεῖ  
 κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐδ' ἐστιν ὅστις ἂν ἀπαντῶν κωμάζοντί τινι  
 b μετὰ μέθης οὐκ ἂν τὴν μεγίστην δίκην εὐθύς ἐπιθείη, καὶ οὐδ'  
 ἂν Διονύσια πρόφασιν ἔχοντ' αὐτὸν ρύσαιτο, ὥσπερ ἐν  
 ἀμάξαις εἰδόν ποτε παρ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ  
 παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις πᾶσαν ἐθεασάμην τὴν πόλιν  
 5 περὶ τὰ Διονύσια μεθύουσαν· παρ' ἡμῖν δ' οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲν  
 τοιοῦτον.

AΘ. ὦ Λακεδαίμονιε ξένε, ἐπαινετὰ μὲν πάντ' ἐστὶν τὰ  
 τοιαῦτα, ὅπου τινὲς ἐνεισιν καρτερήσεις, ὅπου δὲ ἀνεῖνται,  
 c βλακικώτερα· ταχὺ γὰρ σου λάβοιτ' ἂν τις τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν  
 ἀμυνόμενος, δεικνὺς τὴν τῶν γυναικῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνεσιν.  
 ἅπασιν δὴ τοῖς τοιούτοις, καὶ ἐν Τάραντι καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν καὶ  
 παρ' ὑμῖν δέ, μία ἀπόκρισις ἀπολύεσθαι δοκεῖ τοῦ μὴ κακῶς  
 5 ἔχειν ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς· πᾶς γὰρ ἀποκρινόμενος ἐρεῖ θαυμάζοντι  
 ξένῳ, τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀήθειαν ὁρῶντι, “ Μὴ θαύμαζε, ὦ ξένε·  
 νόμος ἔσθ' ἡμῖν οὗτος, ἴσως δ' ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων  
 d ἕτερος.” ἡμῖν δ' ἐστὶ νῦν, ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, οὐ περὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἄλλων ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν

αὐτῶν κακίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς. ἔτι γὰρ οὖν εἶπωμεν πλείω  
 περὶ ἀπάσης μέθης· οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν ἔστιν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα  
 οὐδὲ φαύλου διαγνῶναι νομοθέτου. λέγω δ' οὐκ οἴνου περὶ 5  
 πόσεως τὸ παράπαν ἢ μή, μέθης δὲ αὐτῆς πέρι, πότερον  
 ὡσπερ Σκύθαι χρῶνται καὶ Πέρσαι χρηστέον, καὶ ἔτι  
 Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ Κελτοὶ καὶ Ἰβηρες καὶ Θραῖκες, πολεμικὰ  
 σύμπαντα ὄντα ταῦτα γένη, ἢ καθάπερ ὑμεῖς· ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ, e  
 ὅπερ λέγεις, τὸ παράπαν ἀπέχεσθε, Σκύθαι δὲ καὶ Θραῖκες  
 ἀκράτῳ παντάπασι χρώμενοι, γυναικῆς τε καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ κατὰ  
 τῶν ἱματίων καταχεόμενοι, καλὸν καὶ εὐδαιμον ἐπιτήδευμα  
 ἐπιτηδεύειν νενομίκασι. Πέρσαι δὲ σφόδρα μὲν χρῶνται 5  
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τρυφαῖς ἄς ὑμεῖς ἀποβάλλετε, ἐν τάξει δὲ  
 μᾶλλον τούτων.

ΜΕ. ὦ λῶστε, διώκομεν δέ γε ἡμεῖς πάντας τούτους, 638  
 ὅταν ὄπλα εἰς τὰς χεῖρας λάβωμεν.

ΑΘ. ὦ ἄριστε, μὴ λέγε ταῦτα· πολλαὶ γὰρ δὴ φυγαὶ  
 καὶ διώξεις ἀτέκμαρτοι γεγόνασιν τε καὶ ἔσονται, διὸ φα-  
 νερὸν ὄρον τοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ποτε λέγοιμεν, ἀλλὰ ἀμφισβητή- 5  
 σιμον, περὶ καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων καὶ μή, νίκην τε καὶ ἥτταν  
 λέγοντες μάχης· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ αἱ μείζους τὰς ἐλάττους πόλεις  
 νικῶσιν μαχόμεναι, καὶ καταδουλοῦνται Συρακόσιοι μὲν b  
 Λοκρούς, οἳ δὴ δοκοῦσιν εὐνομώτατοι τῶν περὶ ἐκεῖνον τὸν  
 τόπον γεγονέναι, Κείους δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι· μυρία δὲ ἄλλα τοιαῦτ'  
 ἂν εὖροιμεν. ἀλλὰ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκάστου ἐπιτηδεύματος πει-  
 ρώμεθα λέγοντες πείθειν ἡμᾶς αὐτούς, νίκας δὲ καὶ ἥττας 5  
 ἐκτὸς λόγου τὰ νῦν θῶμεν, λέγωμεν δ' ὡς τὸ μὲν τοιόνδ'  
 ἔστιν καλόν, τὸ δὲ τοιόνδε οὐ καλόν. πρῶτον δ' ἀκούσατέ  
 τί μου, περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ὡς δεῖ τό τε χρηστὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ  
 σκοπεῖν.

ΜΕ. Πῶς οὖν δὴ λέγεις; c

ΑΘ. Δοκοῦσί μοι πάντες οἱ λόγῳ τι λαβόντες ἐπιτή-  
 δευμα, καὶ προθέμενοι ψέγειν αὐτὸ ἢ ἐπαινεῖν εὐθύς ῥηθέν,  
 οὐδαμῶς δρᾶν κατὰ τρόπον, ἀλλὰ ταῦτὸν ποιεῖν οἶον εἰ δὴ  
 τις, ἐπαινέσαντός τινος τυροῦς βρῶμα ὡς ἀγαθόν, εὐθύς 5  
 ψέγοι, μὴ διαπυθόμενος αὐτοῦ μήτε τὴν ἐργασίαν μήτε τὴν  
 προσφορὰν, ὄντινα τρόπον καὶ οἴστισι καὶ μεθ' ὧν καὶ ὅπως  
 ἔχοντα καὶ ὅπως προσφέρειν ἔχουσιν. νῦν δὴ ταῦτόν μοι  
 δοκοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ποιεῖν· περὶ μέθης γὰρ ἀκού- d  
 σαντες τοσοῦτον μόνον, εὐθύς οἱ μὲν ψέγειν αὐτό, οἱ δ'

ἐπαινεῖν, καὶ μάλα ἀτόπως. μάρτυσιν γὰρ καὶ ἐπαινέταις  
 χρώμενοι [ἐπαινοῦμεν] ἑκάτεροι, [καὶ] οἱ μὲν, ὅτι πολλοὺς  
 5 παρέχόμεθα, ἀξιούμεν τι λέγειν κύριον, οἱ δέ, ὅτι τοὺς μὴ  
 χρωμένους αὐτῷ ὀρώμεν νικῶντας μαχομένους· ἀμφισβη-  
 τεῖται δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο ἡμῖν· εἰ μὲν δὴ καὶ περὶ ἑκάστων  
 e οὕτω καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων διέξιμεν, οὐκ ἂν ἔμοιγέ κατα-  
 νοῦν εἶη, τρόπον δὲ ἄλλον, ὃν ἐμοὶ φαίνεται δεῖν, ἐθέλω  
 λέγειν περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς μέθης· πειρώμενος ἂν ἄρα  
 δύνωμαι τὴν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων ὀρθὴν μέθοδον  
 5 ἡμῖν δηλοῦν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ μυρία ἐπὶ μυρίοις ἔθνη περὶ αὐτῶν  
 ἀμφισβητοῦντα ὑμῖν πόλεσι δυοῖν τῷ λόγῳ διαμάχοιτ' ἂν.

ME. Καὶ μὴν εἴ τινα ἔχομεν ὀρθὴν σκέψιν τῶν τοιούτων,  
 639 οὐκ ἀποκνητέον ἀκούειν.

AΘ. Σκεψώμεθα δὴ πη τῆδε. φέρε, εἴ τις αἰγῶν τροφήν,  
 καὶ τὸ ζῶον αὐτὸ κτῆμα ὡς ἔστιν καλόν, ἐπαινοῖ, ἄλλος δέ  
 τις ἑωρακῶς αἶγας χωρὶς νεμομένας αἰπόλου ἐν ἐργασίμοις  
 5 χωρίοις δρώσας κακὰ διαψέγοι, καὶ πᾶν θρέμμα ἀναρχὸν ἢ  
 μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων ἰδῶν οὕτω μέμφοιτο, τὸν τοῦ τοιούτου  
 ψόγον ἠγούμεθα ὑγιὲς ἂν ποτε ψέξαι καὶ ὀτιοῦν;

ME. Καὶ πῶς;

AΘ. Χρηστὸς δὲ ἀρχῶν ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ἐν πλοίοις πότερον ἔαν  
 b τὴν ναυτικὴν ἔχη ἐπιστήμην μόνον, ἂν τ' οὖν ναυτιᾷ ἂν τε μή,  
 ἢ πῶς ἂν λέγοιμεν;

ME. Οὐδαμῶς, ἂν γε πρὸς τῇ τέχνῃ ἔχη καὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
 πάθος ὃ λέγεις.

5 AΘ. Τί δ' ἀρχῶν στρατοπέδων; ἂρ' ἔαν τὴν πολεμικὴν  
 ἔχη ἐπιστήμην, ἱκανὸς ἀρχεῖν, κἂν δειλὸς ὢν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς  
 ὑπὸ μέθης τοῦ φόβου ναυτιᾷ;

ME. Καὶ πῶς;

AΘ. Ἄν δὲ αὖ μήτε ἔχη τὴν τέχνην δειλὸς τε ἦ;

10 ME. Παντάπασιν τινα πονηρὸν λέγεις, καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
 ἀνδρῶν ἀρχοντὰ ἀλλὰ τινῶν σφόδρα γυναικῶν.

c AΘ. Τί δ' ἐπαινέτην ἢ ψέκτην κοινωνίας ἠστίνοσοῦν ἢ  
 πέφυκέν τε ἀρχῶν εἶναι μετ' ἐκείνου τε ὠφέλιμός ἐστιν,  
 ὃ δὲ μήτε ἑωρακῶς εἶη ποτ' ὀρθῶς αὐτὴν αὐτῇ κοινῶνοῦσαν  
 μετ' ἀρχόντος, αἰεὶ δὲ ἀναρχὸν ἢ μετὰ κακῶν ἀρχόντων  
 5 συνοῦσαν; οἴομεθα δὴ ποτε τοὺς τοιούτους θεωροὺς τῶν  
 τοιούτων κοινωνιῶν χρηστὸν τι ψέξειν ἢ ἐπαινέσσεσθαι;

ME. Πῶς δ' ἂν, μηδέποτε γε ἰδόντας μηδὲ συγγενομένους

ὀρθῶς γενομένῳ μηδενὶ τῶν τοιούτων κοινωνημάτων; d

AΘ. Ἐχε δὴ τῶν πολλῶν κοινωνιῶν συμπότας καὶ συμπόσια θεῖμεν ἂν μίαν τινὰ συνουσίαν εἶναι;

ΜΕ. Καὶ σφόδρα γε.

AΘ. Ταύτην οὖν μῶν ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην ἤδη τις πώποτε 5  
ἐθεάσατο; καὶ σφῶν μὲν ἀποκρίνασθαι ῥάδιον ὡς οὐδε-  
πώποτε τὸ παράπαν—οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριον ὑμῖν τοῦτο οὐδὲ  
νόμιμον—ἐγὼ δὲ ἐντετύχηκά τε πολλαῖς καὶ πολλαχοῦ, καὶ  
προσέτι πάσας ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν διηρώτηκα, καὶ σχεδὸν ὅλην  
μὲν οὐδεμίαν ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην ἐώρακα οὐδὲ ἀκήκοα, μόρια e  
δ' εἴ που σμικρὰ καὶ ὀλίγα, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ σύμπανθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν  
διημαρτημένα.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ ταῦτα, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις; εἰπέ ἔτι σαφέστερον·  
ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ὅπερ εἶπες, ἀπειρία τῶν τοιούτων, οὐδὲ ἐν- 5  
τυγχάνοντες ἂν ἴσως εὐθύς γε γνοῖμεν τό τε ὀρθὸν καὶ μὴ 640  
γιγνόμενον ἐν αὐτοῖς.

AΘ. Εἰκὸς λέγεις· ἀλλ' ἐμοῦ φράζοντος πειρῶ μανθάνειν.  
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πάσαις τε συνόδοις, καὶ κοινωνίαις πράξεων  
ὠντινωνοῦν, ὡς ὀρθὸν πανταχοῦ ἐκάστοις ἄρχοντα εἶναι, 5  
μανθάνεις;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

AΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἐλέγομεν νυνδὴ μαχομένων ὡς ἀνδρείον δεῖ  
τὸν ἄρχοντ' εἶναι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

AΘ. Ὁ μὴν ἀνδρείος τῶν δειλῶν ὑπὸ φόβων ἤττον  
τεθορύβηται. 10

ΚΛ. Καὶ τοῦτο οὕτως. b

AΘ. Εἰ δ' ἦν τις μηχανὴ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν δεδιότα μηδὲ  
θορυβούμενον ἐπιστῆσαι στρατοπέδῳ στρατηγόν, ἄρ' οὐ τοῦτ'  
ἂν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπράττομεν;

ΚΛ. Σφόδρα μὲν οὖν. 5

AΘ. Νῦν δέ γε οὐ στρατοπέδου περὶ λέγομεν ἄρξοντος  
ἐν ἀνδρῶν ὀμιλίαις ἐχθρῶν ἐχθροῖς μετὰ πολέμου, φίλων δ'  
ἐν εἰρήνῃ πρὸς φίλους κοινωνησόντων φιλοφροσύνης.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς.

AΘ. Ἔστιν δέ γε ἡ τοιαύτη συνουσία, εἴπερ ἔσται μετὰ c  
μέθης, οὐκ ἀθύρβος. ἦ γάρ;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γάρ; ἀλλ' οἶμαι πᾶν τοῦναντίον.

AΘ. Οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ τούτοις ἄρχοντος δεῖ;

5 ΚΛ. Τί μὴν; ὡς οὐδενί γε πράγματι.

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν ἀθύρῳβον; εἰ δυνατόν εἴη, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἄρχοντα ἐκπορίζεσθαι δεῖ;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

10 ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν περί γε συνουσίας, ὡς ἔοικεν, αὐτὸν φρό-  
νιμον εἶναι δεῖ· γίννεται γὰρ φύλαξ τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης  
d φιλίας αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἔτι πλείονος ἐπιμελητῆς ὅπως ἔσται διὰ  
τὴν τότε συνουσίαν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν νήφοντά τε καὶ σοφὸν ἄρχοντα μεθύοντων  
δεῖ καθιστάναι, καὶ μὴ τοῦναντίον; μεθύοντων γὰρ μεθύων  
καὶ νέος ἄρχων μὴ σοφός, εἰ μὴ κακὸν ἀπεργάσαιτό τι μέγα,  
πολλῇ χρωτ' ἂν ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.

ΚΛ. Πάμπόλλῃ μὲν οὖν.

10 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν γιγνομένων ὡς δυνατόν ὀρθότατα  
τούτων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν συνουσιῶν μέμφοιτό τις, ἐπι-  
e καλῶν αὐτῷ τῷ πράγματι, τάχ' ἂν ὀρθῶς ἴσως μέμφοιτο· εἰ  
δὲ ἀμαρτανόμενον ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα ἐπιτήδευμά τις ὄρων  
λοιδορεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν δῆλον ὡς ἀγνοεῖ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ γιγνόμενον  
οὐκ ὀρθῶς, εἴθ' ὅτι πᾶν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ φανεῖται πονηρόν,  
5 δεσπότου τε καὶ ἄρχοντος νήφοντος χωρὶς πραττόμενον. ἢ  
οὐ συννοεῖς τοῦθ', ὅτι μεθύων κυβερνήτης καὶ πᾶς παντὸς  
641 ἄρχων ἀνατρέπει πάντα εἴτε πλοῖα εἴτε ἄρματα εἴτε στρα-  
τόπεδον, εἴθ' ὅτι ποτ' εἴη τὸ κυβερνώμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ;

ΚΛ. Παντάπασιν τοῦτό γε ἀληθὲς εἶρηκας, ὦ ξένε· τοῦπι  
τῷδε δ' ἡμῖν λέγε, τί ποτε, ἂν γίγνηται τοῦτο ὀρθῶς τὸ  
5 περὶ τὰς πόσεις νόμιμον, ἀγαθὸν ἂν δράσειεν ἡμᾶς; οἶον, ὃ  
νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν, εἰ στρατεύμα ὀρθῆς ἡγεμονίας τυγχάνοι,  
νίκη πολέμου τοῖς ἐπομένοις ἂν γίγνοιτο, οὐ σμικρὸν ἀγαθόν,  
b καὶ τᾶλλ' οὕτω· συμποσίου δὲ ὀρθῶς παιδαγωγηθέντος τί  
μέγα ἰδιώταις ἢ τῇ πόλει γίγνοιτ' ἂν;

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; παιδὸς ἐνὸς ἢ καὶ χοροῦ παιδαγωγηθέντος  
κατὰ τρόπον ἐνός, τί μέγα τῇ πόλει φαῖμεν ἂν γίγνεσθαι; ἢ  
5 τοῦτο οὕτως ἐρωτηθέντες εἴπομεν ἂν ὡς ἐνός μὲν βραχὺ τι  
τῇ πόλει γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὄφελος, εἰ δ' ὅλως ἐρωτᾶς παιδείαν τῶν  
παιδευθέντων τί μέγα τὴν πόλιν ὀνήνησιν, οὐ χαλεπὸν εἰπεῖν  
ὅτι παιδευθέντες μὲν εὖ γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, γενό-  
c μενοι δὲ τοιοῦτοι τά τε ἄλλα πράττοιεν καλῶς, ἔτι δὲ κἂν  
νικῶεν τοὺς πολεμίους μαχόμενοι. παιδεία μὲν οὖν φέρει

καὶ νίκη, νίκη δ' ἐνίοτε ἀπαιδευσίαν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὕβριστό-  
 τεροι διὰ πολέμων νίκας γενόμενοι μυρίων ἄλλων κακῶν δι'  
 ὕβριν ἐνεπλήσθησαν, καὶ παιδεία μὲν οὐδεπώποτε γέγονεν 5  
 Καδμεία, νῆκαι δὲ ἀνθρώποις πολλαὶ δὴ τοιαῦται γεγόνασιν  
 τε καὶ ἔσονται.

ΚΛ. Δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, ὦ φίλε, τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις κοινήν  
 διατριβὴν ὡς εἰς παιδείας μεγάλην μοῖραν τείνουσαν λέγειν, d  
 ἂν ὀρθῶς γίγνηται.

ΑΘ. Τί μήν;

ΚΛ. Ἐχοῖς ἂν οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὡς ἔστιν τὸ νῦν  
 εἰρημένον ἀληθές; 5

ΑΘ. Τὸ μὲν ἀληθές, ὦ ξένε, δυσχυρίζεσθαι ταῦτα οὕτως  
 ἔχειν, πολλῶν ἀμφισβητούντων, θεοῦ· εἰ δ' ὅπη ἐμοὶ φαίνεται  
 δεῖ λέγειν, οὐδεὶς φθόνος, ἐπεὶπερ ὠρμήκαμέν γε τοὺς λόγους  
 περὶ νόμων καὶ πολιτείας ποιεῖσθαι τὰ νῦν.

ΚΛ. Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δὴ πειρώμεθα, τὸ σοὶ δοκοῦν περὶ τῶν 10  
 νῦν ἀμφισβητουμένων καταμαθεῖν. e

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ χρὴ ποιεῖν οὕτως, ὑμᾶς τε ἐπὶ τὸ μαθεῖν καὶ  
 ἐμὲ ἐπὶ τὸ δηλῶσαι πειρώμενον ἀμῶς γέ πως, συντεῖναι,  
 τὸν λόγον. πρῶτον δέ μου ἀκούσατε τὸ τοιόνδε. τὴν πόλιν 5  
 ἅπαντες ἡμῶν Ἕλληνας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ὡς φιλόλογός τέ  
 ἐστὶ καὶ πολύλογος, Λακεδαίμονα δὲ καὶ Κρήτην, τὴν μὲν  
 βραχύλογον, τὴν δὲ πολύνοϊαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυλογίαν ἀσκοῦ-  
 σαν· σκοπῶ δὴ μὴ δόξαν ὑμῖν παράσχωμαι περὶ μικροῦ 642  
 πολλὰ λέγειν, μέθης πέρι, μικροῦ πράγματος, παμμήκη  
 λόγον ἀνακαθαιρόμενος. τὸ δὲ ἢ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ διόρθω- ✓  
 σις οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ἄνευ μουσικῆς ὀρθότητός ποτε σαφές οὐδὲ  
 ἱκανὸν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπολαβεῖν, μουσικὴ δὲ ἄνευ παιδείας τῆς 5  
 πάσης οὐκ ἂν αὐ ποτε δύναίτο· ταῦτα δὲ παμπόλλων ἐστὶν  
 λόγων. ὁρᾶτε οὖν τί ποιῶμεν—εἰ ταῦτα μὲν εἶσαίμεν ἐν τῷ  
 παρόντι, μετεκβαῖμεν δ' εἰς ἕτερόν τινα νόμων πέρι λόγον. b.

ΜΕ. ὦ ξένε Ἀθηναῖε, οὐκ οἶσθ' ἴσως ὅτι τυγχάνει  
 ἡμῶν ἢ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως οὔσα ὑμῶν πρόξενος. ἴσως μὲν  
 οὖν καὶ πᾶσιν τοῖς παισίν, ἐπειδὴν ἀκούσωσιν ὅτι τινός  
 εἰσιν πόλεως πρόξενoi, ταύτῃ τις εὐνοία ἐκ νέων εὐθύς 5  
 ἐνδύεται ἕκαστον ἡμῶν τῶν προξένων τῇ πόλει, ὡς δευτέρα  
 οὔση πατρίδι μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ πόλιν· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν  
 ταῦτόν τοῦτο ἐγγέγονεν. ἀκούων γὰρ τῶν παίδων εὐθύς,  
 εἴ τι μέμφοντο ἢ καὶ ἐπαινοῖεν Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίους, c



ὡς “ Ἡ πόλις ὑμῶν, ὦ Μέγιλλε,” ἔφασαν, “ ἡμᾶς οὐ καλῶς ἢ καλῶς ἔρρεξε ” — ταῦτα δὴ ἀκούων, καὶ μαχόμενος πρὸς αὐτὰ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αἰεὶ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν εἰς ψόγον ἄγοντας, 5 πᾶσαν εὐνοίαν ἔσχον, καὶ μοι νῦν ἢ τε φωνὴ προσφιλῆς ὑμῶν, τό τε ὑπὸ πολλῶν λεγόμενον, ὡς ὅσοι Ἀθηναίων εἰσὶν ἀγαθοὶ διαφερόντως εἰσὶν τοιοῦτοι, δοκεῖ ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι· μόνοι γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης αὐτοφυῶς, θεία μοῖρα d ἀληθῶς καὶ οὔτι πλαστῶς εἰσὶν ἀγαθοί. θαρρῶν δὴ ἐμοῦ γε ἔνεκα λέγοις ἂν τοσαῦτα ὅποσα σοι φίλον.

ΚΛ. Καὶ μὴν, ὦ ξένε, καὶ τὸν παρ’ ἐμοῦ λόγον ἀκούσας τε καὶ ἀποδεξάμενος, θαρρῶν ὅποσα βούλει λέγε. τῆδε γὰρ 5 ἴσως ἀκήκοας ὡς Ἐπιμενίδης γέγονεν ἀνὴρ θεῖος, ὃς ἦν ἡμῖν οἰκεῖος, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν δέκα ἔτεσιν πρότερον παρ’ ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖαν, θυσίας τε ἐθύσατό e τινὰς ἃς ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλεν, καὶ δὴ καὶ φοβουμένων τὸν Περσικὸν Ἀθηναίων στόλον, εἶπεν ὅτι δέκα μὲν ἐτῶν οὐχ ἤξουσιν, ὅταν δὲ ἔλθωσιν, ἀπαλλαγῆσονται πράξαντες οὐδὲν ὧν ἠλπίζον, παθόντες τε ἢ δράσαντες πλείω κακά. τότε οὖν ἐξενώθησαν 5 ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, καὶ εὐνοίαν ἐκ τόσου ἔγωγε ὑμῖν καὶ 643 οἱ ἡμέτεροι ἔχουσιν γονῆς.

ΑΘ. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν ὑμέτερα ἀκούειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔτοιμ’ ἂν εἶη· τὰ δ’ ἐμὰ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἔτοιμα, δύνασθαι δὲ οὐ πάνυ 5 ῥάδια, ὅμως δὲ πειρατέον. πρῶτον δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὀρισώμεθα παιδείαν τί ποτ’ ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης φαμὲν ἰτέον εἶναι τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγον ὑφ’ ἡμῶν, μέχρι περ ἂν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀφίκηται.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν δρῶμεν ταῦτα, εἴπερ σοί γε ἠδύ·

b ΑΘ. Λέγοντος τοίνυν ἐμοῦ τί ποτε χρὴ φάναι παιδείαν εἶναι, σκέψασθε ἂν ἀρέσκη τὸ λεχθέν.

ΚΛ. Λέγοις ἂν.

ΑΘ. Λέγω δὴ, καὶ φημι τὸν ὀτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα μέλ- 5 λοντα ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο αὐτὸ ἐκ παίδων εὐθὺς μελετᾶν δεῖν, παίζοντά τε καὶ σπουδάζοντα ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πράγματος ἐκάστοις προσήκουσιν. οἶον τὸν μέλλοντα ἀγαθὸν ἔσεσθαι γεωργὸν ἢ τίνα οἰκοδόμον, τὸν μὲν οἰκοδομοῦντά τι τῶν παιδείων c οἰκοδομημάτων παίζειν χρὴ, τὸν δ’ αὖ γεωργοῦντα, καὶ ὄργανα ἐκατέρω σμικρά, τῶν ἀληθινῶν μιμήματα, παρασκευάζειν τὸν τρέφοντα αὐτῶν ἐκάτερον, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν μαθημάτων ὅσα ἀναγκαῖα προμεμαθηκέναι προμάνθανειν,

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5 ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Δύο δὲ κεκτημένον ἐν αὐτῷ συμβούλω ἐναντίω τε καὶ ἄφρονε, ὧ̄ προσαγορεύομεν ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην;

ΚΛ. Ἔστι ταῦτα.

10 ΑΘ. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀμφοῖν αὐ̄ δόξας μελλόντων, οἷν  
 d κοινὸν μὲν ὄνομα ἐλπίς, ἴδιον δέ, φόβος μὲν ἢ πρὸ λύπης  
 ἐλπίς, θάρρος δὲ ἢ πρὸ τοῦ ἐναντίου· ἐπὶ δὲ πᾶσι τούτοις  
 λογισμὸς ὅτι ποτ' αὐτῶν ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον, ὃς γενόμενος  
 δόγμα πόλεως κοινὸν νόμος ἐπωνόμασται.

ΚΛ. Μόγισ μὲν πως ἐφέπομαι, λέγε μὴν τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα  
 5 ὡς ἐπομένου.

ΜΕ. Καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ μὴν ταῦτὸν τοῦτο πάθος ἐνι.

ΑΘ. Περὶ δὴ τούτων διανοηθῶμεν οὕτωςί. θαῦμα μὲν  
 ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἡγησώμεθα τῶν ζώων θεῖον, εἴτε ὡς παίγνιον  
 ἐκείνων εἴτε ὡς σπουδῇ τινι συνεστηκός· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦτό  
 e γε γινώσκουμεν, τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν, ὅτι ταῦτα τὰ πάθη ἐν ἡμῖν  
 οἷον νεῦρα ἢ σμήρινθοί τινες ἐνοῦσαι σπῶσιν τε ἡμᾶς καὶ  
 ἀλλήλαις ἀνθέλκουσιν ἐναντία οὔσαι ἐπ' ἐναντίας πράξεις,  
 οὗ δὴ διωρισμένη ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία κεῖται. μιᾶ γὰρ φησιν ὁ  
 5 λόγος δεῖν τῶν ἔλξεων συνεπόμενον αἰεὶ καὶ μηδαμῇ ἀπολειπό-  
 μενον ἐκείνης, ἀνθέλκειν τοῖς ἄλλοις νεύροις ἕκαστον, ταύτην  
 645 δ' εἶναι τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσὴν καὶ ἱεράν, τῆς  
 πόλεως κοινὸν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην, ἄλλας δὲ σκληρὰς καὶ  
 σιδηρὰς, τὴν δὲ μαλακὴν ἄτε χρυσὴν οὔσαν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας  
 παντοδαποῖς εἶδεσιν ὁμοίας. δεῖν δὴ τῇ καλλίστῃ ἀγωγῇ  
 5 τῇ τοῦ νόμου αἰεὶ συλλαμβάνειν· ἄτε γὰρ τοῦ λογισμοῦ καλοῦ  
 μὲν ὄντος, πράου δὲ καὶ οὐ βιαίου, δεῖσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ  
 τὴν ἀγωγὴν, ὅπως ἂν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ χρυσοῦν γένος νικᾶ τὰ ἄλλα  
 b γένη. καὶ οὕτω δὴ περὶ θαυμάτων ὡς ὄντων ἡμῶν ὁ μῦθος  
 ἀρετῆς σεσωμένος ἂν εἴη, καὶ τὸ κρείττω ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἥττω  
 εἶναι τρόπον τινὰ φανερόν ἂν γίγνοιτο μᾶλλον ὁ νοεῖ, καὶ  
 ὅτι πόλιν καὶ ἰδιώτην, τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀληθῆ λαβόντα ἐν  
 5 ἑαυτῷ περὶ τῶν ἔλξεων τούτων, τούτῳ ἐπόμενον δεῖ ζῆν,  
 πόλιν δὲ ἢ παρὰ θεῶν τινος ἢ παρὰ τούτου τοῦ γνότος  
 ταῦτα λόγον παραλαβοῦσαν, νόμον θεμένην, αὐτῇ τε ὀμιλεῖν  
 καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν. οὕτω καὶ κακία δὴ καὶ ἀρετὴ  
 c σαφέστερον ἡμῖν διηρθρωμένον ἂν εἴη· ἐναργεστέρου δ'  
 αὐτοῦ γενομένου καὶ παιδεία καὶ τᾶλλα ἐπιτηδεύματα ἴσως  
 ἔσται μᾶλλον καταφανῆ, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις

διατριβῆς, ὃ δοξασθείη μὲν ἂν εἶναι φαύλου πέρι μῆκος πολὺ  
λόγων περιττὸν εἰρημένον, φανείη δὲ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως τοῦ 5  
μῆκους γ' αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπάξιον.

ΚΛ. Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ περαίνωμεν ὅτιπερ ἂν τῆς γε νῦν  
διατριβῆς ἄξιον γίγνηται.

ΑΘ. Λέγε δὴ· προσφέροντες τῷ θαύματι τούτῳ τὴν d  
μέθην, ποῖόν τί ποτε αὐτὸ ἀπεργαζόμεθα;

ΚΛ. Πρὸς τί δὲ σκοπούμενος αὐτὸ ἐπανερωτᾶς;

ΑΘ. Οὐδέν πω πρὸς ὅτι, τοῦτο δὲ ὅλως κοινωνῆσαν  
τούτῳ ποῖόν τι συμπίπτει γίγνεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ σαφέστερον ὃ 5  
βούλομαι πειράσομαι φράζειν. ἐρωτῶ γὰρ τὸ τοιόνδε· ἄρα  
σφοδροτέρας τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας καὶ θυμοὺς καὶ ἔρωτας  
ἢ τῶν οἴνων πόσις ἐπιτείνει;

ΚΛ. Πολύ γε.

ΑΘ. Τί δ' αὖ τὰς αἰσθήσεις καὶ μνήμας καὶ δόξας καὶ e  
φρονήσεις; πότερον ὡσαύτως σφοδροτέρας; ἢ πάμπαν ἀπο-  
λείπει ταῦτα αὐτόν, ἂν κατακορῆς τις τῇ μέθῃ γίγνηται;

ΚΛ. Ναί, πάμπαν ἀπολείπει.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν εἰς ταῦτόν ἀφικνεῖται τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἔξιν 5  
τῇ τότε ὅτε νέος ἦν παῖς;

ΚΛ. Τί μὲν;

ΑΘ. Ἦκιστα δὴ τότε ἂν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ γίγνοιτο ἐγκρατής.

ΚΛ. Ἦκιστα.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν πονηρότατος, φαμέν, ὁ τοιοῦτος;

ΚΛ. Πολύ γε.

ΑΘ. Οὐ μόνον ἄρ', ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ γέρων δις παῖς γίγνοιτ'  
ἂν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μεθυσθείς. 5

ΚΛ. Ἄριστα εἶπες, ὦ ξένε.

ΑΘ. Τούτου δὴ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος ἔσθ' ὅστις λόγος ἐπι-  
χειρήσει πείθειν ἡμᾶς ὡς χρὴ γεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ φεύγειν  
παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν;

ΚΛ. Ἔοικ' εἶναι· σὺ γοῦν φῆς καὶ ἔτοιμος ἦσθα νῦνδὴ 10  
λέγειν.

ΑΘ. Ἀληθῆ μέντοι μνημονεύεις· καὶ νῦν γ' εἴμ' b  
ἔτοιμος, ἐπειδήπερ σφῶ γε ἐθελήσειν προθύμως ἔφατον  
ἀκούειν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀκουσόμεθα; κἂν εἰ μηδενὸς ἄλλου  
χάριν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ τε καὶ ἀτόπου, εἰ δεῖ ἐκόντα 5  
ποτὲ ἄνθρωπον εἰς ἀπασαν φαυλότητα ἑαυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν.

57

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ΑΘ. Ψυχῆς λέγεις· ἢ γάρ;

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; σώματος, ὦ ἑταῖρε, εἰς πονηρίαν, λεπτό-  
γά τε καὶ αἰσχος καὶ ἀδυναμίαν, θαυμάζοιμεν ἂν εἴ-  
τέ τις ἐκὼν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀφικνεῖται;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; τοὺς εἰς τὰ ἰατρεία αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας ἐπὶ  
ομακοποσίᾳ ἀγνοεῖν οἴομεθα ὅτι μετ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον καὶ  
πολλὰς ἡμέρας ἔξουσιν τοιοῦτον τὸ σῶμα, οἷον εἰ διὰ  
λοὺς ἔχειν μέλλοιεν, ζῆν οὐκ ἂν δέξαιντο; ἢ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ  
κινῆσια καὶ πόνους ἰόντας οὐκ ἴσμεν ὡς ἀσθενεῖς εἰς τὸ  
σαχρῆμα γίνονται;

ΚΛ. Πάντα ταῦτα ἴσμεν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ ὅτι τῆς μετὰ ταῦτα ὠφελίας ἔνεκα ἐκόντες  
σεύονται;

ΚΛ. Κάλλιστα.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν χρῆ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων πέρι  
νοεῖσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον;

ΚΛ. Πάνυ γε.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον ἄρα διατριβῆς ὡσαύτως  
νοητέον, εἴπερ ἐνὶ τούτῳ ἐν τούτοις ὀρθῶς διανοηθῆναι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὔ;

ΑΘ. Ἄν ἄρα τινὰ ἡμῖν ὠφελίαν ἔχουσα φαίνεται μηδὲν  
; περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐλάττω, τῇ γε ἀρχῇ τὴν σωμασκίαν νικᾷ  
τὴν μὲν μετ' ἀλγηδόνων εἶναι, τὴν δὲ μή.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς λέγεις, θαυμάζοιμι δ' ἂν εἴ τι δυναίμεθα  
οὔτον ἐν αὐτῷ καταμαθεῖν.

ΑΘ. Τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δὴ νῦν, ὡς ἔοιχ', ἡμῖν ἤδη πειρατέον  
ἴζειν. καί μοι λέγε· δύο φόβων εἶδη σχεδὸν ἐναντία  
ἴαμεθα κατανοῆσαι;

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δή;

ΑΘ. Τὰ τοιάδε· φοβούμεθα μὲν που τὰ κακά, προσ-  
κῶντες γενήσεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Φοβούμεθα δέ γε πολλάκις δόξαν, ἡγούμενοι δοξά-  
σθαι κακοί, πράττοντες ἢ λέγοντές τι τῶν μὴ καλῶν· ὃν  
καὶ καλοῦμεν τὸν φόβον ἡμεῖς γε, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ πάντες,  
χύνην.

ΚΛ. Τί δ' οὔ;

ΑΘ. Τούτους δὴ δύο ἔλεγον φόβους· ὧν ὁ ἕτερος ἐναντίος μὲν ταῖς ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φόβοις, ἐναντίος δ' ἐστὶ ταῖς πλείσταις καὶ μεγίσταις ἡδοναῖς. 5

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ νομοθέτης, καὶ πᾶς οὐ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, τοῦτον τὸν φόβον ἐν τιμῇ μεγίστῃ σέβει, καὶ καλῶν αἰδῶ, τὸ τούτῳ θάρρος ἐναντίον ἀναίδειάν τε προσαγορεύει καὶ μέγιστον κακὸν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πᾶσι νενόμικεν; 10 b

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τά τ' ἄλλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ὁ φόβος ἡμᾶς οὗτος σώζει, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ νίκην καὶ σωτηρίαν ἐν πρὸς ἐν οὐδὲν οὕτως σφόδρα ἡμῖν ἀπεργάζεται; δύο γὰρ 5 οὖν ἐστὸν τὰ τὴν νίκην ἀπεργαζόμενα, θάρρος μὲν πολεμίων, φίλων δὲ φόβος αἰσχύνης πέρι κακῆς.

ΚΛ. Ἔστι ταῦτα.

ΑΘ. Ἄφοβον ἡμῶν ἄρα δεῖ γίνεσθαι καὶ φοβερόν ἕκαστον· ὧν δ' ἐκάτερον ἕνεκα, διηρήμεθα. c

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἄφοβόν γε ἕκαστον βουλευθέντες ποιεῖν φόβων πολλῶν τινῶν, εἰς φόβον ἄγοντες αὐτὸν μετὰ νόμου, τοιοῦτον ἀπεργαζόμεθα. 5

ΚΛ. Φαινόμεθα.

ΑΘ. Τί δ' ὅταν ἐπιχειρῶμέν τινὰ φοβερόν ποιεῖν μετὰ δίκης; ἄρ' οὐκ ἀναισχυντία συμβάλλοντας αὐτὸν καὶ προσγυμνάζοντας νικᾶν δεῖ ποιεῖν διαμαχόμενον αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς; ἢ τῇ μὲν δειλίᾳ τῇ ἐν αὐτῷ προσμαχόμενον καὶ νικῶντα αὐτὴν δεῖ τέλος οὕτω γίνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν, ἀπειρος δὲ δήπου καὶ ἀγύμναστος ὧν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων ὅστισοῦν οὐδ' ἂν ἡμισυς ἑαυτοῦ γένοιτο πρὸς ἀρετὴν, σῶφρων δὲ ἄρα τελέως ἔσται μὴ πολλαῖς ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις προτρεπούσαις ἀναισχυντεῖν καὶ ἀδικεῖν διαμεμαχημένος καὶ νενικηκῶς μετὰ λόγου καὶ ἔργου καὶ τέχνης ἐν τε παιδιαῖς καὶ ἐν σπουδαῖς, ἀλλ' ἀπαθῆς ὧν πάντων τῶν τοιούτων; 10 d 5 ✓

ΚΛ. Οὐκοῦν τὸν γ' εἰκότα λόγον ἂν ἔχοι.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν; φόβου φάρμακον ἔσθ' ὅστις θεὸς ἔδωκεν ἀνθρώποις, ὥστε ὀπόσω πλέον ἂν ἐθέλη τις πίνειν αὐτοῦ, τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον αὐτὸν νομίζειν καθ' ἐκάστην πόσιν δυστυχῆ γίνεσθαι, καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ πάντα, καὶ τελευτῶντα εἰς πᾶν δέος ἵεναι τὸν ἀνδρειότατον 648 e

ἀνθρώπων, ἐκκοιμηθέντα δὲ καὶ τοῦ πώματος ἀπαλλαγέντα  
 πάλιν ἐκάστοτε τὸν αὐτὸν γίνεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Καὶ τί τοιοῦτον φαῖμεν ἄν, ὦ ξένε, ἐν ἀνθρώποις  
 5 γεγονέναι πῶμα;

ΑΘ. Οὐδέν· εἰ δ' οὖν ἐγένετό ποθεν, ἔσθ' ὅτι πρὸς  
 ἀνδρείαν ἦν ἂν νομοθέτη χρήσιμον; οἶον τὸ τοιόνδε περὶ  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλα εἶχομεν ἂν αὐτῷ διαλέγεσθαι· Φέρε, ὦ  
 νομοθέτα, εἴτε Κρησὶν εἴθ' οἰστισινοῦν νομοθετεῖς, πρῶτον  
 b μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἄρ' ἂν δέξαιο βάσανον δυνατὸς εἶναι  
 λαμβάνειν ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ δειλίας;

ΚΛ. Φαίη που πᾶς ἂν δῆλον ὅτι.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; μετ' ἀσφαλείας καὶ ἄνευ κινδύνων μεγάλων  
 5 ἢ μετὰ τῶν ἐναντίων;

ΚΛ. Καὶ τοῦτο <τὸ> μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας συνομο-  
 λογήσει πᾶς.

ΑΘ. Χρῶο δ' ἂν εἰς τοὺς φόβους τούτους ἄγων καὶ  
 ἐλέγχων ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν, ὥστε ἀναγκάζειν ἄφοβον γί-  
 c γνεσθαι, παρακελευόμενος καὶ νουθετῶν καὶ τιμῶν, τὸν δὲ  
 ἀτιμάζων, ὅστις σοι μὴ πείθοιτο εἶναι τοιοῦτος οἶον σὺ  
 τάττοις ἐν πᾶσιν; καὶ γυμνασάμενον μὲν εὖ καὶ ἀνδρείως  
 ἀζήμιον ἀπαλλάττοις ἄν, κακῶς δέ, ζημίαν ἐπιτιθείς; ἢ τὸ  
 5 παράπαν οὐκ ἂν χρῶο, μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐγκαλῶν τῷ πώματι;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἂν χρῶτο, ὦ ξένε;

ΑΘ. Γυμνασία γοῦν, ὦ φίλε, παρὰ τὰ νῦν θαυμαστὴ  
 ῥαστώνης ἂν εἴη καθ' ἓνα καὶ καθ' ὀλίγους καὶ καθ' ὀπόσους  
 d τις ἀεὶ βούλοιτο· καὶ εἴτε τις ἄρα μόνος ἐν ἐρημίᾳ, τὸ τῆς  
 αἰσχύνης ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενος, πρὶν εὖ σχεῖν ἠγούμενος  
 ὄρασθαι μὴ δεῖν, οὕτω πρὸς τοὺς φόβους γυμνάζοιτο, πῶμα  
 μόνον ἀντὶ μυρίων πραγμάτων παρασκευαζόμενος ὀρθῶς ἂν  
 5 τι πράττοι, εἴτε τις ἑαυτῷ πιστεύων φύσει καὶ μελέτῃ καλῶς  
 παρεσκευάσθαι, μηδὲν ὀκνοῖ μετὰ συμποτῶν πλειόνων γυμ-  
 ναζόμενος ἐπιδείκνυσθαι τὴν ἐν τῇ τοῦ πώματος ἀναγκαίᾳ  
 e διαφορᾷ δύναμιν ὑπερθέων καὶ κρατῶν, ὥστε ὑπ' ἀσχη-  
 μοσύνης μηδὲ ἐν σφάλλεσθαι μέγα μηδ' ἀλλοιοῦσθαι δι'  
 ἀρετήν, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἐσχάτην πόσιν ἀπαλλάττοιτο πρὶν  
 ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τὴν πάντων ἦτταν φοβούμενος ἀνθρώπων τοῦ  
 5 πώματος.

ΚΛ. Ναί· σωφρονοῖ γὰρ <ἄν>, ὦ ξένε, καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος  
 οὕτω πράττων.

ΑΘ. Πάλιν δὴ πρὸς τὸν νομοθέτην λέγωμεν τάδε· Εἶεν, 649  
 ὦ νομοθέτα, τοῦ μὲν δὴ φόβου σχεδὸν οὔτε θεὸς ἔδωκεν  
 ἀνθρώποις τοιοῦτον φάρμακον οὔτε αὐτοὶ μεμηχανήμεθα—  
 τοὺς γὰρ γόητας οὐκ ἐν θοίνῃ λέγω—τῆς δὲ ἀφοβίας καὶ  
 τοῦ λίαν θαρρεῖν καὶ ἀκαίρως <καὶ> ἄ μὴ χρὴ πρότερον ἔστιν 5  
 πῶμα, ἢ πῶς λέγομεν;

ΚΛ. Ἔστιν, φήσει που, τὸν οἶνον φράζων.

ΑΘ. Ἡ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἔχει, τοῦτο τῷ νυνδὴ λεγομένῳ;  
 πιόντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ πρῶτον ἴλεων εὐθύς  
 μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, καὶ ὀπόσω ἂν πλεόν αὐτοῦ γεύηται, b  
 τοσοῦτω πλειόνων ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν πληροῦσθαι καὶ δυνά-  
 μεως εἰς δόξαν; καὶ τελευτῶν δὴ πάσης ὁ τοιοῦτος παρρησίας  
 ὡς σοφὸς ὢν μεστοῦται καὶ ἐλευθερίας, πάσης δὲ ἀφοβίας,  
 ὥστε εἰπεῖν τε ἀόκνως ὀτιοῦν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ πράξαι; πᾶς 5  
 ἡμῖν, οἶμαι, ταῦτ' ἂν συγχωροῖ.

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Ἀναμνησθῶμεν δὴ τόδε, ὅτι δὴ ἔφαμεν ἡμῶν ἐν  
 ταῖς ψυχαῖς δεῖν θεραπεύεσθαι, τὸ μὲν ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα  
 θαρρήσομεν, τὸ δὲ τοῦναντίον ὅτι μάλιστα φοβησόμεθα. c

ΚΛ. Ἄ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἔλεγες, ὡς οἰόμεθα.

ΑΘ. Καλῶς μνημονεύετε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὴν τε ἀνδρείαν  
 καὶ τὴν ἀφοβίαν ἐν τοῖς φόβοις δεῖ καταμελετᾶσθαι, σκε-  
 πτέον ἄρα τὸ ἐναντίον ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις θεραπεύεσθαι δέον 5  
 ἂν εἶη.

ΚΛ. Τό γ' οὖν εἰκός.

ΑΘ. Ἄ παθόντες ἄρα πεφύκαμεν διαφερόντως θαρραλέοι  
 τ' εἶναι καὶ θρασεῖς, ἐν τούτοις δέον ἂν, ὡς ἔοικ', εἶη τὸ  
 μελετᾶν ὡς ἦκιστα εἶναι ἀναισχύντους τε καὶ θρασύτητος 10  
 γέμοντας, φοβεροὺς δὲ εἰς τό τι τολμᾶν ἐκάστοτε λέγειν d  
 ἢ πάσχειν ἢ καὶ δρᾶν αἰσχρὸν ὀτιοῦν.

ΚΛ. Ἔοικεν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ταῦτά ἐστι πάντα ἐν οἷς ἐσμὲν τοιοῦτοι,  
 θυμός, ἔρως, ὕβρις, ἀμαθία, φιλοκέρδεια, <ἀ>δειλία, καὶ ἔτι 5  
 τοιάδε, πλοῦτος, κάλλος, ἰσχύς, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα δι' ἡδονῆς  
 αὐ μεθύσκοντα παράφρονας ποιεῖ; τούτων δὲ εὐτελῆ τε καὶ  
 ἀσινεστέραν πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν πείραν, εἶτα  
 εἰς τὸ μελετᾶν, πλὴν τῆς ἐν οἴνῳ βασάνου καὶ παιδιᾶς, τίνα  
 ἔχομεν ἡδονὴν εἰπεῖν ἔμμετρον μᾶλλον, ἂν καὶ ὀπωστιοῦν e  
 μετ' εὐλαβείας γίγνηται; σκοπῶμεν γὰρ δὴ· δυσκόλου ψυχῆς



καὶ ἀγρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἀδικίαι μυρίαὶ γίνονται, πότερον ἰόντα  
 εἰς τὰ συμβόλαια πείραν λαμβάνειν, κινδυνεύοντα περὶ  
 650 αὐτῶν, σφαλερώτερον, ἢ συγγενόμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Διο-  
 νύσου θεωρίας; ἢ πρὸς τὰ φροδίσια ἠττημένης τινὸς ψυχῆς  
 βάσανον λαμβάνειν, ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτοῦ θυγατέρας τε καὶ  
 υἱεὶς καὶ γυναῖκας, οὕτως, ἐν τοῖς φιλτάτοις κινδυνεύσαντα,  
 5 ἠθος ψυχῆς θεάσασθαι; καὶ μυρία δὴ λέγων οὐκ ἂν τίς ποτε  
 ἀνύσειεν ὅσω διαφέρει τὸ μετὰ παιδιᾶς τὴν ἄλλως ἄνευ  
 μισθοῦ ζημιώδους θεωρεῖν. καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸ περὶ  
 b γε τούτων οὐτ' ἂν Κρήτας οὐτ' ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους οὐδένας  
 οἴομεθα ἀμφισβητῆσαι, μὴ οὐ πείραν τε ἀλλήλων ἐπιεικῆ  
 ταύτην εἶναι, τό τε τῆς εὐτελείας καὶ ἀσφαλείας καὶ τάχους  
 διαφέρειν πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας βασάνους.

5 ΚΛ. Ἀληθὲς τοῦτό γε.

ΑΘ. Τοῦτο μὲν ἄρ' ἂν τῶν χρησιμωτάτων ἐν εἴῃ, τὸ  
 γνῶναι τὰς φύσεις τε καὶ ἕξεις τῶν ψυχῶν, τῇ τέχνῃ ἐκείνῃ  
 ἧς ἐστὶν ταῦτα θεραπεύειν· ἐστὶν δέ που, φασί, ὡς οἶμαι,  
 πολιτικῆς. ἦ γάρ;

10 ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

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κακία παραγίγνεται πρῶτον, ταῦτ' εἶναι, φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ ἀληθεῖς δόξας βεβαίους εὐτυχὲς ὄτω καὶ πρὸς τὸ γήρας παρεγένετο· τέλος δ' οὖν ἔστ' ἄνθρωπος ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἐν  
 b τούτοις πάντα κεκτημένος ἀγαθὰ. παιδείαν δὴ λέγω τὴν παραγιγνομένην πρῶτον παισὶν ἀρετὴν· ἡδονὴ δὴ καὶ φιλία καὶ λύπη καὶ μῖσος ἂν ὀρθῶς ἐν ψυχαῖς ἐγγίγνωνται μήπω δυναμένων λόγῳ λαμβάνειν, λαβόντων δὲ τὸν λόγον, συμ-  
 5 φωνήσωσι τῷ λόγῳ ὀρθῶς εἰθίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων [ἐθῶν], αὕτη 'σθ' ἡ συμφωνία σύμπασα μὲν ἀρετὴ, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας τεθραμμένον αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς ὥστε  
 c μισεῖν μὲν ἅ χρὴ μισεῖν εὐθύς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μέχρι τέλους, στέργειν δὲ ἅ χρὴ στέργειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἀποτεμῶν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ παιδείαν προσαγορεύων, κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν ὀρθῶς ἂν προσαγορεύοις.

5 ΚΛ. Καὶ γάρ, ὦ ξένε, ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ πρότερον ὀρθῶς σοι παιδείας πέρι καὶ τὰ νῦν εἰρῆσθαι δοκεῖ.

ΑΘ. Καλῶς τοίνυν. τούτων γὰρ δὴ τῶν ὀρθῶς τεθραμμένων ἡδονῶν καὶ λυπῶν παιδειῶν οὐσῶν χαλᾶται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ διαφθείρεται κατὰ πολλὰ ἐν τῷ βίῳ, θεοὶ  
 d δὲ οἰκτίραντες τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπίπονον πεφυκὸς γένος, ἀναπαύλας τε αὐτοῖς τῶν πόνων ἐτάξαντο τὰς τῶν ἑορτῶν ἀμοιβὰς [τοῖς θεοῖς], καὶ Μούσας Ἀπόλλωνά τε μουσηγέτην καὶ Διόνυσον συνεορταστὰς ἔδοσαν, ἵν' ἐπανορθῶνται, τὰς  
 5 τε τροφὰς γενομένας ἐν ταῖς ἑορταῖς μετὰ θεῶν. ὄραν ἅ χρὴ πρότερον ἀληθῆς ἡμῖν κατὰ φύσιν ὁ λόγος ὑμνεῖται τὰ νῦν, ἢ πῶς. φησὶν δὲ τὸ νέον ἅπαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τοῖς τε σώμασι καὶ ταῖς φωναῖς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐ δύνασθαι,  
 e κινεῖσθαι δὲ αἰεὶ ζητεῖν καὶ φθέγγεσθαι, τὰ μὲν ἀλλόμενα καὶ σκιρτῶντα, οἷον ὀρχούμενα μεθ' ἡδονῆς καὶ προσπαίζοντα, τὰ δὲ φθεγγόμενα πάσας φωνάς. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν τάξεων οὐδὲ  
 5 ἀταξιῶν, οἷς δὴ ῥυθμὸς ὄνομα καὶ ἀρμονία· ἡμῖν δὲ οὐς  
 654 εἶπομεν τοὺς θεοὺς συγχορευτὰς δεδόσθαι, τούτους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς δεδωκότας τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἐναρμόνιον αἴσθησιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς, ἢ δὴ κινεῖν τε ἡμᾶς καὶ χορηγεῖν ἡμῶν τούτους ὠδαῖς τε καὶ ὀρχήσεσιν ἀλλήλοις συνείροντας, χοροὺς τε  
 5 ὠνομακέναι παρὰ <τὸ> τῆς χαρᾶς ἔμφυτον ὄνομα. πρῶτον δὴ τοῦτο ἀποδεξώμεθα; θῶμεν παιδείαν εἶναι πρώτην διὰ Μουσῶν τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἢ πῶς;

ΚΛ. Οὕτως.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν ἀπαιδευτος ἀχόρευτος ἡμῖν ἔσται, τὸν δὲ πεπαιδευμένον ἱκανῶς κεχορευκότα θετέον;

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Χορεία γε μὴν ὄρχησις τε καὶ ᾠδὴ τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν.

ΚΛ. Ἄναγκαῖον.

ΑΘ. Ὁ καλῶς ἄρα πεπαιδευμένος ἄδειν τε καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι δυνατὸς ἂν εἴη καλῶς.

ΚΛ. Ἐοικεν.

ΑΘ. Ἴδωμεν δὴ τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν αὖ λεγόμενον.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ;

ΑΘ. "Καλῶς ἄδει," φαμέν, "καὶ καλῶς ὀρχεῖται". πότερον "εἰ καὶ καλὰ ἄδει καὶ καλὰ ὀρχεῖται" προσθῶμεν ἢ μὴ;

ΚΛ. Προσθῶμεν.

ΑΘ. Τί δ' ἂν τὰ καλὰ τε ἡγούμενος εἶναι καλὰ καὶ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχρὰ οὕτως αὐτοῖς χρήται; βέλτιον ὁ τοιοῦτος πεπαιδευμένος ἡμῖν ἔσται τὴν χορείαν τε καὶ μουσικὴν ἢ ὅς ἂν τῷ μὲν σώματι καὶ τῇ φωνῇ τὸ διανοηθὲν εἶναι καλὸν ἱκανῶς ὑπηρετεῖν δυνηθῇ ἐκάστοτε, χαίρη δὲ μὴ τοῖς καλοῖς μηδὲ μισῇ τὰ μὴ καλὰ, ἢ ἄλλος ὅς ἂν τῇ μὲν φωνῇ καὶ τῷ σώματι μὴ πάνυ δυνατὸς ἢ κατορθοῦν ἢ διανοεῖται, τῇ δὲ ἡδονῇ καὶ λύπῃ κατορθοῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀσπαζόμενος, ὅσα καλὰ, τὰ δὲ δυσχεραίνων, ὅποσα μὴ καλὰ;

ΚΛ. Πολὺ τὸ διαφέρον, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις τῆς παιδείας.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν τὸ καλὸν ᾠδῆς τε καὶ ὀρχήσεως πέρι γιννώσκομεν τρεῖς ὄντες, ἴσμεν καὶ τὸν πεπαιδευμένον τε καὶ ἀπαιδευτον ὀρθῶς· εἰ δὲ ἀγνοοῦμέν γε τοῦτο, οὐδ' εἴ τις παιδείας ἐστὶν φυλακὴ καὶ ὅπου διαγιγνώσκειν ἂν ποτε δυναίμεθα. ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως;

ΚΛ. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτ' ἄρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν αὖ καθάπερ κυσὶν ἰχθυόουσαις διερευνητέον, σχῆμά τε καλὸν καὶ μέλος κατ' ᾠδὴν καὶ ὄρχησιν· εἰ δὲ ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς διαφυγόντα οἰχήσεται, μάταιος ὁ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν περὶ παιδείας ὀρθῆς εἶθ' Ἑλληνικῆς εἴτε βαρβαρικῆς λόγος ἂν εἴη.

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Εἶεν· τί δὲ δὴ τὸ καλὸν χρὴ φάναι σχῆμα ἢ μέλος

10 εἶναι ποτε; φέρε, ἀνδρικῆς ψυχῆς ἐν πόνοις ἐχομένης καὶ  
655 δειλῆς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἴσοις ἄρ' ὅμοια τὰ τε σχήματα  
καὶ τὰ φθέγματα σύμβαίνει γίνεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς, ὅτε γε μηδὲ τὰ χρώματα;

ΑΘ. Καλῶς γε, ὦ ἐταῖρῆ. ἄλλ' ἐν γὰρ μουσικῇ καὶ  
5 σχήματα μὲν καὶ μέλη ἔνεστιν, περὶ ῥυθμὸν καὶ ἀρμονίαν  
οὔσης τῆς μουσικῆς, ὥστε εὐρυθμον μὲν καὶ εὐάρμοστον,  
εὐχρων δὲ μέλος ἢ σχῆμά οὐκ ἔστιν ἀπείκασαντα, ὥσπερ  
οἱ χοροδιδάσκαλοι ἀπεικάζουσιν, ὀρθῶς φθέγγεσθαι· τὸ δὲ  
τοῦ δειλοῦ τε καὶ ἀνδρείου σχῆμα ἢ μέλος ἔστιν τε, καὶ  
b ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύειν ἔχει τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀνδρείων καλά, τὰ  
τῶν δειλῶν δὲ αἰσχρά. καὶ ἵνα δὴ μὴ μακρολογία πολλή  
τις γίγνηται περὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν ἅπαντα, ἀπλῶς ἔστω τὰ μὲν  
ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενα ψυχῆς ἢ σώματος, εἴτε αὐτῆς εἴτε τινὸς  
5 εἰκόνας, σύμπαντα σχήματά τε καὶ μέλη καλά, τὰ δὲ κακίας  
αὐ, τούναντίον ἅπαν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς τε προκάλη καὶ ταῦθ' ἡμῖν οὕτως ἔχειν  
ἀποκεκρίσθω τὰ νῦν.

ΑΘ. Ἐτι δὴ τόδε· πότερον ἅπαντες πάσαις χορείαις  
c ὁμοίως χαίρομεν, ἢ πολλοῦ δεῖ;

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πάντος μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τί ποτ' ἂν οὖν λέγομεν τὸ πεπλανηκὸς ἡμᾶς εἶναι;  
πότερον οὐ ταῦτά ἐστι καλά ἡμῖν πᾶσιν, ἢ τὰ μὲν αὐτά,  
5 ἄλλ' οὐ δοκεῖ ταῦτά εἶναι; οὐ γάρ που ἐρεῖ γέ τις ὥς ποτε  
τὰ τῆς κακίας ἢ ἀρετῆς καλλίονα χορεύματα, οὐδ' ὥς αὐτὸς  
μὲν χαίρει τοῖς τῆς μοχθηρίας σχήμασιν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐναντία  
ταύτης μούση τινί· καίτοι λέγουσιν γε οἱ πλείστοι μου-  
d σικῆς ὀρθότητα εἶναι τὴν ἡδονὴν ταῖς ψυχαῖς πορίζουσαν  
δύναμιν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν οὔτε ἀνεκτὸν οὔτε ὄσιον τὸ  
παράπαν φθέγγεσθαι, τόδε δὲ μάλλον εἰκὸς πλανᾶν ἡμᾶς.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

5 ΑΘ. Ἐπειδὴ μιμήματα τρόπων ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς χορείας,  
ἐν πράξεσιν τε παντοδαπαῖς γιγνόμενα καὶ τύχαις, καὶ ἠθεσι  
καὶ μιμήσεσι διεξιόντων ἐκάστων, οἷς μὲν ἂν πρὸς τρόπου  
τὰ ῥηθέντα ἢ μελωδηθέντα ἢ καὶ ὁπώσοῦν χορευθέντα, ἢ  
e κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ ἔθος ἢ κατ' ἀμφοτέρα, τούτους μὲν καὶ  
τούτοις χαίρειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ προσαγορεύειν  
καλὰ ἀναγκαῖον, οἷς δ' ἂν παρὰ φύσιν ἢ τρόπον ἢ τινα  
συνήθειαν, οὔτε χαίρειν δυνατόν οὔτε ἐπαινεῖν αἰσχρά τε

πρόσαγορεύειν. οἷς δ' ἂν τὰ μὲν τῆς φύσεως ὀρθὰ συμ- 5  
βαίνῃ; τὰ δὲ τῆς συνηθείας ἐναντία, ἢ τὰ μὲν τῆς συνη-  
θείας ὀρθά, τὰ δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἐναντία, οὗτοι δὲ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς  
τοὺς ἐπαίνους ἐναντίους πρόσαγορεύουσιν· ἡδέα γὰρ τούτων 656  
ἕκαστα εἶναί φασι, πονηρὰ δέ; καὶ ἐναντίον ἄλλων οὖς  
οἴονται φρονεῖν αἰσχύνονται μὲν κινεῖσθαι τῷ σώματι τὰ  
τοιαῦτα, αἰσχύνονται δὲ ἄδειν ὡς ἀποφαινόμενοι καλὰ μετὰ  
σπουδῆς, χαίρουσιν δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς. 5

ΚΛ. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν τι βλάβην ἔσθ' ἦντινα φέρει τῷ χαίρόντι  
πονηρίας ἢ σχήμασιν ἢ μέλεσιν, ἢ τιν' ὠφελίαν αὐτῷ τοῖς  
πρὸς τὰναντία τὰς ἡδονὰς ἀποδεχομένοις;

ΚΛ. Εἰκός γε.

ΑΘ. Πότερον εἰκός ἢ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ταῦτόν εἶναι ὅπερ 10  
ὅταν τις πονηροῖς ἠθεσὶν συνῶν κακῶν ἀνθρώπων μὴ μισῇ,  
χαίρῃ δὲ ἀποδεχόμενος, ψέγῃ δὲ ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ μοίρα, ὄνει-  
ρώττων αὐτοῦ τὴν μοχθηρίαν; τότε ὁμοιοῦσθαι δήπου  
ἀνάγκη τὸν χαίροντα ὀποτέροις ἂν χαίρῃ, ἐὰν ἄρα καὶ ἐπαι- 5  
νεῖν αἰσχύνηται· καίτοι τοῦ τοιούτου τί μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ  
κακὸν φαῖμέν ἂν ἡμῖν ἐκ πάσης ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Δοκῶ μὲν οὐδέν.

ΑΘ. Ὅπου δὲ νόμοι καλῶς εἰσι κείμενοι ἢ καὶ εἰς τὸν 15  
ἔπειτα χρόνον ἔσονται <περὶ> τὴν περιτὰς Μούσας παιδείαν  
τε καὶ παιδιάν, οἴομεθα ἐξέσεσθαι τοῖς ποιητικοῖς; ὅτι περ ἂν  
αὐτὸν τὸν ποιητὴν ἐν τῇ ποιήσῃ τέρπη ῥυθμοῦ ἢ μέλους  
ἢ ῥήματος ἐχόμενον, τοῦτο διδάσκοντα καὶ τοὺς τῶν 5  
εὐνόμων παῖδας καὶ νέους ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς, ὅτι ἂν τύχη  
ἀπεργάζεσθαι πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ μοχθηρίαν;

ΚΛ. Οὗτοι δὲ τοῦτό γε λόγον ἔχει· πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

ΑΘ. Νῦν δέ γε αὐτὸ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς 20  
πόλεσιν ἔξεστι δρᾶν, πλὴν κατ' Αἴγυπτον.

ΚΛ. Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ δὴ πῶς τὸ τοιοῦτον φῆς νενομοθε-  
τῆσθαι;

ΑΘ. Θαῦμα καὶ ἀκοῦσαι. πάλαι γὰρ δήποτε, ὡς ἔοικεν, 25  
ἐγνώσθη παρ' αὐτοῖς οὗτος ὁ λόγος ὅν τὰ νῦν λέγομεν ἡμεῖς,  
ὅτι καλὰ μὲν σχήματα, καλὰ δὲ μέλη δεῖ μεταχειρίζεσθαι  
ταῖς συνηθείαις τοὺς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν νέους· ταξάμενοι δὲ  
ταῦτα; ἅττα ἐστὶ καὶ ὅποι' ἅττα ἀπέφηναν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς,  
καὶ παρὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐξῆν οὔτε ζωγράφους, οὔτ' ἄλλοις ὅσοι 30  
e

σχήματα καὶ ὁμοιώματα ἀπεργάζονται, καινοτομεῖν οὐδ' ἐπινοεῖν ἄλλ' ἅττα ἢ τὰ πάτρια, οὐδὲ νῦν ἔξεστιν, οὔτε ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ἐν μουσικῇ συμπάσῃ. σκοπῶν δὲ εὐρήσεις  
 5 αὐτόθι τὰ μυριοστὸν ἔτος γεγραμμένα ἢ τετυπωμένα—οὐχ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν μυριοστὸν ἄλλ' ὄντως—τῶν νῦν δεδημιουργη-  
 657 μένων οὔτε τι καλλίονα οὔτ' αἰσχίω, <κατὰ> τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ τέχνην ἀπειργασμένα.

ΚΛ. Θαυμαστὸν λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Νομοθετικὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ πολιτικὸν ὑπερβαλλόντως.  
 5 ἄλλ' ἕτερα φαῦλ' ἂν εὖροις αὐτόθι· τοῦτο δ' οὖν τὸ περὶ μουσικὴν ἀληθές τε καὶ ἄξιον ἐννοίας, ὅτι δυνατόν ἄρ' ἦν περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νομοθετεῖσθαι <καὶ> βεβαίως καθιεροῦν τὰ μέλη τὰ τὴν ὀρθότητα φύσει παρεχόμενα. τοῦτο δὲ θεοῦ ἢ θείου τινὸς ἀνδρὸς ἂν εἴη, καθάπερ ἐκεῖ φασιν τὰ τὸν πολὺν  
 b τοῦτον σεσωμένα χρόνον μέλη τῆς Ἰσιδος ποιήματα γεγονέναι. ὥσθ', ὅπερ ἔλεγον, εἰ δύναίτο τις ἐλεῖν αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπως οὖν τὴν ὀρθότητα, θαρροῦντα χρὴ εἰς νόμον ἄγειν καὶ τάξιν αὐτά· ὡς ἢ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ζήτησις τοῦ καινῆ  
 5 ζητεῖν ἀεὶ μουσικῇ χρῆσθαι σχεδὸν οὐ μεγάλην τινὰ δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ διαφθεῖραι τὴν καθιερωθεῖσαν χορείαν ἐπικαλοῦσα ἀρχαιότητα. τὴν γοῦν ἐκεῖ οὐδαμῶς ἔοικε δυνατὴ γεγονέναι διαφθεῖραι, πᾶν δὲ τοῦναντίον.

c ΚΛ. Φαίνεται οὕτως ἂν ταῦτα ἔχειν ἐκ τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ τὰ νῦν λεχθέντων.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν θαρροῦντες λέγομεν τὴν τῆ μουσικῆ καὶ τῆ παιδιᾶ μετὰ χορείας χρεῖαν ὀρθὴν εἶναι τοιῶδέ τινι τρόπῳ;  
 5 χαίρομεν ὅταν οἰώμεθα εὖ πράττειν, καὶ ὅποταν χαίρωμεν, οἰόμεθα εὖ πράττειν αὐ; μῶν οὐχ οὕτως;

ΚΛ. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ἐν γε τῷ τοιούτῳ, χαίροντες, ἡσυχίαν οὐ δυνάμεθα ἄγειν.

10 ΚΛ. Ἔστι ταῦτα.

d ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡμῶνοι μὲν νέοι αὐτοὶ χορεύειν ἔτοιμοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν ἐκείνους αὐ θεωροῦντες διάγειν ἡγούμεθα πρεπόντως, χαίροντες τῆ ἐκείνων παιδιᾶ τε καὶ ἑορτάσει, ἐπειδὴ τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἡμᾶς ἐλαφρὸν ἐκλείπει νῦν, ὃ  
 5 ποθοῦντες καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι τίθεμεν οὕτως ἀγῶνας τοῖς δυναμένοις ἡμᾶς ὅτι μάλιστ' εἰς τὴν νεότητα μνήμη ἐπεγείρειν;

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν οἰόμεθα καὶ κομιδῇ μάτην τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον λόγον περὶ τῶν ἑορταζόντων λέγειν τοὺς πολλούς, ὅτι τοῦτον δεῖ σοφώτατον ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ κρίνειν νικᾶν, ὃς ἂν ἡμᾶς εὐφραίνεισθαι καὶ χαίρειν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπεργάζεται; δεῖ γὰρ δὴ, ἐπεὶ περ ἀφείμεθά γε παίζειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις; τὸν πλείστους καὶ μάλιστα χαίρειν ποιῶντα, τοῦτον μάλιστα τιμᾶσθαι τε, καὶ ὅπερ εἶπον νυνδὴ, τὰ νικητήρια φέρειν. ἄρ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται τε τοῦτο καὶ πράττειτ' ἂν, εἰ ταύτη γίγνοιτο;

ΚΛ. Τάχ' ἂν.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλ', ὦ μακάριε, μὴ ταχὺ τὸ τοιοῦτον κρίνωμεν; ἀλλὰ διαιροῦντες αὐτὸ κατὰ μέρη σκοπώμεθα τοιῶδέ τινα τρόπον· τί ἂν, εἴ ποτέ τις οὕτως ἀπλῶς ἀγῶνα θεῖη ὄντινου, μηδὲν ἀφορίσας μήτε γυμνικὸν μήτε μουσικὸν μήθ' ἵππικόν; ἀλλὰ πάντας συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει προείποι, θεῖς νικητήρια, τὸν βουλόμενον ἤκειν ἀγωνιούμενον ἡδονῆς πέρι μόνον, ὃς [δ'] ἂν τέρψη τοὺς θεατὰς μάλιστα, μηδὲν ἐπιτατόμενος ὧτινι τρόπῳ, νικήσῃ δὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ κριθῇ τῶν ἀγωνισαμένων ἡδιστος γενόμενος—τί ποτ' ἂν ἡγούμεθα ἐκ ταύτης τῆς προρρήσεως συμβαίνειν;

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πέρι λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Εἰκός που τὸν μὲν τινα ἐπιδεικνύναι, καθάπερ Ὀμηρος, ῥαψωδίαν, ἄλλον δὲ κιθαρωδίαν, τὸν δὲ τινα τραγωδίαν, τὸν δ' αὖ κωμωδίαν, οὐ θαυμαστὸν δὲ εἴ τις καὶ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνὺς μάλιστ' ἂν νικᾶν ἡγοῖτο· τούτων δὲ τοιούτων καὶ ἑτέρων ἀγωνιστῶν μυρίων ἐλθόντων ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν τίς ἂν νικῶ δικαίως;

ΚΛ. Ἄτοπον ἦρου· τίς γὰρ ἂν ἀποκρίνοιτό σοι τοῦτο ὡς γνοὺς ἂν ποτε πρὶν [ἀκοῦσαί τε] καὶ τῶν ἀθλητῶν ἐκάστων αὐτήκοος αὐτὸς γενέσθαι;

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν δὴ; βούλεσθε ἐγὼ σφῶν τὴν ἄτοπον ἀποκρισιν ταύτην ἀποκρίνωμαι;

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τὰ πάνυ σμικρὰ κρίνοι παιδιά, κρινούσιν τὸν τὰ θαύματα ἐπιδεικνύντα· ἦ γάρ;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Ἐὰν δέ γ' οἱ μείζους παῖδες, τὸν τὰς κωμωδίας· τραγωδίαν δὲ αἴ τε πεπαιδευμένοι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ νέα



μειράκια καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως τὸ πλῆθος πάντων.

5 ΚΛ. Ἴσως δῆτα.

ΑΘ. Ῥαψῳδὸν δέ, καλῶς Ἰλιάδα καὶ Ὀδύσειαν ἢ τι τῶν Ἡσιοδείων διατιθέντα, τάχ' ἂν ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἡδιστα ἀκούσαντες νικᾶν ἂν φαίμεν πάμπολυ. τίς οὖν ὀρθῶς ἂν νενικηκῶς εἴη, τοῦτο μετὰ τοῦτο· ἢ γάρ;

10 ΚΛ. Ναί.

e ΑΘ. Δῆλον ὡς ἔμοιγε καὶ ὑμῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν φάναι τοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἡλικιωτῶν κριθέντας ὀρθῶς ἂν νικᾶν. τὸ γὰρ ἔθος ἡμῖν τῶν νῦν δὴ πάμπολυ δοκεῖ τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀπάσαις καὶ πανταχοῦ βέλτιστον γίνεσθαι.

5 ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Συγχωρῶ δὴ τό γε τοσοῦτον καὶ ἐγὼ τοῖς πολλοῖς, δεῖν τὴν μουσικὴν ἡδονὴν κρίνεσθαι, μὴ μέντοι τῶν γε ἐπιτυχόντων, ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐκείνην εἶναι μουσαν καλλίστην ἣ τις τοὺς βελτίστους καὶ ἰκανῶς πεπαιδευμένους τέρπει, μάλιστα δὲ ἣ τις ἕνα τὸν ἀρετῇ τε καὶ παιδείᾳ διαφέροντα· διὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀρετῆς φαμεν δεῖσθαι τοὺς τούτων κριτὰς, ὅτι τῆς τε ἄλλης μετόχους αὐτοὺς εἶναι δεῖ φρονήσεως καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς ἀνδρείας. οὔτε γὰρ παρὰ θεάτρου δεῖ τὸν γε ἀληθῆ κριτὴν

659 5 κρίνειν μανθάνοντα, καὶ ἐκπληττόμενον ὑπὸ θορύβου τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίας, οὔτ' αὖ γιννώσκοντα δι' ἀνανδρίαν καὶ δειλίαν ἐκ ταύτου στόματος οὐπερ τοὺς θεοὺς

b ἐπεκαλέσατο μέλλων κρίνειν, ἐκ τούτου ψευδόμενον ἀποφαίνεσθαι ῥαθύμως τὴν κρίσιν· οὐ γὰρ μαθητῆς ἀλλὰ διδάσκαλος, ὡς γε τὸ δίκαιον, θεατῶν μᾶλλον ὁ κριτῆς καθίζει, καὶ ἐναντιωσόμενος τοῖς τὴν ἡδονὴν μὴ προσηκόντως μηδὲ ὀρθῶς

5 ἀποδιδούσι θεαταῖς· [ἐξῆν γὰρ δὴ τῷ παλαιῷ τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῷ νόμῳ,] καθάπερ ὁ Σικελικός τε καὶ Ἰταλικὸς νόμος νῦν, τῷ πλήθει τῶν θεατῶν ἐπιτρέπων καὶ τὸν νικῶντα διακρίνων χειροτονίαις, διέφθαρκε μὲν τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτοὺς

c —πρὸς γὰρ τὴν τῶν κριτῶν ἡδονὴν ποιούσιν οὔσαν φαύλην, ὥστε αὐτοὶ αὐτοὺς οἱ θεαταὶ παιδεύουσιν—διέφθαρκεν δ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεάτρου τὰς ἡδονάς· δέον γὰρ αὐτοὺς αἰεὶ βελτίω τῶν αὐτῶν ἡθῶν ἀκούοντας βελτίω τὴν ἡδονὴν ἴσχειν, νῦν αὐτοῖς δρῶσιν πᾶν τοῦναντίον συμβαίνει. τί ποτ' οὖν ἡμῖν

5 τὰ νῦν αὖ διαπερανθέντα τῷ λόγῳ σημαίνειν βούλεται; σκοπεῖσθ' εἰ τόδε.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

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ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

5 ΑΘ. Τίδ' εἰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις γίγνοιθ' οὕτω; πότερον αὐτὰ καλλιόνως οὕτως εἶναι φαῖμεν ἢ καθάπερ νῦν γίγνεται γιγνώμενα;

ΚΛ. Πολύ που τὸ διαφέρον, εἰ καθάπερ παρά τε τοῖσδε καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν, καὶ ἔτι καθάπερ εἶπες σὺ νυνδὴ δεῖν εἶναι,  
10 γίγνοιτο.

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ, συνομολογησώμεθα τὰ νῦν. ἄλλο τι παρ'  
e ὑμῖν ἐν πάσῃ παιδείᾳ καὶ μουσικῇ τὰ λεγόμενά ἐστὶ τάδε; τοὺς ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζετε λέγειν ὡς ὁ μὲν ἀγαθὸς ἀνὴρ σώφρων ὢν καὶ δίκαιος εὐδαίμων ἐστὶ καὶ μακάριος, εἴαν τε μέγας καὶ ἰσχυρὸς εἴαν τε μικρὸς καὶ ἀσθενὴς ἦ, καὶ εἴαν  
5 πλουτῆ καὶ μὴ· εἴαν δὲ ἄρα πλουτῆ μὲν Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα μάλλον, ἢ δὲ ἄδικος, ἄθλιός τ' ἐστὶ καὶ ἀνιαρῶς ζῆ. καὶ “Οὗτ' ἂν μνησαίμην,” φησὶν ὑμῖν ὁ ποιητής, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς λέγει, “οὗτ' ἐν λόγῳ ἄνδρα τιθείμην,” ὃς μὴ πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα καλὰ μετὰ δικαιοσύνης πράττοι καὶ κτῶτο, καὶ δὴ  
661 “καὶ δηῖων” τοιοῦτος ὢν “ὀρέγοιτο ἐγγύθεν ἰστάμενος,” ἄδικος δὲ ὢν μήτε τολμῶ “ὀρῶν φόνον αἱματόεντα” μήτε νικῶ θεῶν “Θρηίκιον Βορέην,” μήτε ἄλλο αὐτῶ μηδὲν τῶν λεγομένων ἀγαθῶν γίγνοιτό ποτε. τὰ γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν  
5 λεγόμεν' ἀγαθὰ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λέγεται. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄριστον μὲν ὑγιαίνειν, δεύτερον δὲ κάλλος, τρίτον δὲ πλοῦτος, μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ λέγεται· καὶ γὰρ ὄξυ ὄραν καὶ ἀκούειν καὶ  
b πάντα ὅσα ἔχεται τῶν αἰσθήσεων εὐαίσθητως ἔχειν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν τυραννοῦντα ὅτι ἂν ἐπιθυμῆ, καὶ τὸ δὴ τέλος ἀπάσης μακαριότητος εἶναι τὸ πάντα ταῦτα κεκτημένον ἀθάνατον εἶναι γενόμενον ὅτι τάχιστα. ὑμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐγώ  
5 που τάδε λέγομεν, ὡς ταῦτά ἐστι σύμπαντα δικαίοις μὲν καὶ ὀσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄριστα κτήματα, ἀδίκους δὲ κάκιστα σύμπαντα, ἀρξάμενα ἀπὸ τῆς ὑγείας· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ ὄραν  
c καὶ τὸ ἀκούειν καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι καὶ τὸ παράπαν ζῆν μέγιστον μὲν κακὸν τὸν σύμπαντα χρόνον ἀθάνατον ὄντα καὶ κεκτημένον πάντα τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ πλὴν δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀπάσης, ἔλαττον δέ, ἂν ὡς ὀλίγιστον ὁ τοιοῦτος  
5 χρόνον ἐπιζῶν ἦ. ταῦτα δὴ λέγειν, οἶμαι, τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ποιητὰς, ἅπερ ἐγώ, πείσετε καὶ ἀναγκάσετε, καὶ ἔτι τούτοις ἐπομένους ῥυθμούς τε καὶ ἀρμονίας ἀποδιδόντας παιδεύειν οὕτω τοὺς νέους ἡμῶν. ἦ γάρ; ὀράτε· ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ λέγω

σαφῶς τὰ μὲν κακὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ τοῖς ἀδίκοις εἶναι, d  
τοῖς δὲ δικαίοις κακὰ, τὰ δ' ἀγαθὰ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς ὄντως  
ἀγαθὰ, τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς κακὰ· ὅπερ οὖν ἠρόμην, ἀρᾶ συμφω-  
νοῦμεν ἐγώ τε καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἢ πῶς;

ΚΛ. Τὰ μὲν ἔμοιγε φαινόμεθά πως, τὰ δ' οὐδαμῶς. 5

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν ὑγίειάν τε κεκτημένον καὶ πλούτον καὶ  
τυραννίδα διὰ τέλους, καὶ ἔτι προστίθημι ὑμῖν ἰσχὺν δια-  
φέρουσαν καὶ ἀνδρείαν μετ' ἀθανασίας καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο αὐτῶ e  
τῶν λεγομένων κακῶν εἶναι γιγνόμενον, ἀδικίαν δὲ καὶ ὕβριν  
ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῶ μόνον, τὸν οὕτω ζῶντα ἴσως ὑμᾶς οὐ πείθω  
μὴ οὐκ ἄρα εὐδαίμονα ἀλλ' ἄθλιον γίγνεσθαι σαφῶς;

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις. 5

ΑΘ. Εἶεν· τί οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεῶν;  
ἀνδρεῖος γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἰσχυρὸς καὶ καλὸς καὶ πλούσιος, καὶ  
ποιῶν ὅτιπερ ἐπιθυμοῖ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα, οὐχ ὑμῖν δοκεῖ, 662  
εἴπερ ἀδικὸς εἶη καὶ ὑβριστής, ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰσchrῶς ἂν ζῆν;  
ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἴσως ἂν συγχωρήσαίτε, τό γε αἰσchrῶς;

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; τὸ καὶ κακῶς; 5

ΚΛ. Οὐκ ἂν ἔτι τοῦθ' ὁμοίως.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; τὸ καὶ ἀηδῶς καὶ μὴ συμφερόντως αὐτῶ;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς ἂν ταῦτά γ' ἔτι συγχωροῖμεν;

ΑΘ. Ὅπως; εἰ θεὸς ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὦ φίλοι, δοίη τις b  
συμφωνίαν, ὡς νῦν γε σχεδὸν ἀπάδομεν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων. ἐμοὶ  
γὰρ δὴ φαίνεται ταῦτα οὕτως ἀναγκαῖα, ὡς οὐδέ, ὦ φίλε  
Κλεινία, Κρήτη νῆσος σαφῶς· καὶ νομοθέτης ὢν ταύτη  
πειρώμην ἂν τοὺς τε ποιητὰς ἀναγκάζειν φθέγγεσθαι καὶ 5  
πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ζημίαν τε ὀλίγου μεγίστην ἐπιτι-  
θείην ἂν, εἴ τις ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ φθέγγξαιτο ὡς εἰσὶν τινες ἀνθρω-  
ποί ποτε πονηροὶ μὲν, ἠδέως δὲ ζῶντες, ἢ λυσιτελοῦντα c  
μὲν ἄλλα ἐστὶ καὶ κερδαλέα, δικαιότερα δὲ ἄλλα, καὶ πόλλ'  
ἄττ' ἂν παρὰ τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τε Κρητῶν καὶ Λακε-  
δαιμονίων, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ δήπου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων;  
διάφορα πείθοιμ' ἂν τοὺς πολίτας μοι φθέγγεσθαι, φέρε 5  
γάρ, ὦ πρὸς Διὸς τε καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὦ ἀριστοὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν,  
εἰ τοὺς νομοθετήσαντας ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς τούτους ἐροίμεθα θεοὺς·  
“Ἄρ' ὁ δικαιότατός ἐστιν βίος ἠδιστος, ἢ δὴ ἔστόν τινα βίω, d  
οἷν ὁ μὲν ἠδιστος ὢν τυγχάνει, δικαιότατος δ' ἕτερος;” εἰ δὴ  
δύο φαῖεν, ἐροίμεθ' ἂν ἴσως αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς

ἐπανερωτῶμεν· “ Ποτέρους δὲ εὐδαιμονεστέρους χρὴ λέγειν,  
 5 τοὺς τὸν δικαιοτάτον ἢ τοὺς τὸν ἡδιστον διαβιούοντας βίον;  
 εἰ μὲν δὴ φαῖεν τοὺς τὸν ἡδιστον, ἄτοπος αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος  
 εἴαν γίγνοιτο. βούλομαι δέ μοι μὴ ἐπὶ θεῶν λέγεσθαι τὸ  
 ε τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ πατέρων καὶ νομοθετῶν μᾶλλον, καὶ μοι  
 τὰ ἔμπροσθεν ἠρωτημένα πατέρα τε καὶ νομοθέτην ἠρωτή-  
 σθω, ὃ δ’ εἰπέτω ὡς ὁ ζῶν τὸν ἡδιστον βίον ἐστὶν μακαριώτα-  
 τος· εἶτα μετὰ ταῦτα ἔγωγ’ εἴαν φαίην· “ ὦ πάτερ, οὐχ ὡς  
 5 εὐδαιμονέστατά με ἐβούλου ζῆν; ἀλλ’ αἰεὶ διακελευόμενος  
 οὐδὲν ἐπαύου ζῆν με ὡς δικαιοτάτα.” ταύτη μὲν οὖν ὁ  
 τιθέμενος εἴτε νομοθέτης εἴτε καὶ πατὴρ ἄτοπος εἴαν οἶμαι καὶ  
 ἄπορος φαίνοιτο τοῦ συμφωνούντως ἑαυτῷ λέγειν· εἰ δ’ αὖ  
 τὸν δικαιοτάτον εὐδαιμονέστατον ἀποφαίνοιτο βίον εἶναι,  
 10 ζητοῖ που πᾶς εἴαν ὁ ἀκούων, οἶμαι, τί ποτ’ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ τῆς  
 663 ἡδονῆς κρεῖττον ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλὸν ὁ νόμος ἐνὸν ἐπαινεῖ.  
 τί γὰρ δὴ δικαίῳ χωριζόμενον ἡδονῆς ἀγαθὸν εἴαν γίγνοιτο;  
 φέρε, κλέος τε καὶ ἐπαινος πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεῶν ἄρ’  
 ἐστὶν ἀγαθὸν μὲν καὶ καλόν, ἀηδὲς δέ, δύσκλεια δὲ τὰναντία;  
 5 ἡκιστα, ὦ φίλε νομοθέτα, φήσομεν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μήτε τινα  
 ἀδικεῖν μήτε ὑπό τινος ἀδικεῖσθαι μὴν ἀηδὲς μὲν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ  
 ἢ καλόν, τὰ δ’ ἕτερα ἡδέα μὲν, αἰσχρὰ δὲ καὶ κακά;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν μὴ χωρίζων λόγος ἡδύ τε καὶ δίκαιον  
 b [καὶ ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ καλόν] πιθανός γ’, εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον, πρὸς  
 τό τινα ἐθέλειν ζῆν τὸν ὄσιον καὶ δίκαιον βίον, ὥστε νομο-  
 θέτη γε αἰσχιστος λόγων καὶ ἐναντιώτατος ὅς εἴαν μὴ φῆ  
 ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ εἴαν ἐκὼν ἐθέλοι πείθεσθαι  
 5 πράττειν τοῦτο ὅτω μὴ τὸ χαίρειν τοῦ λυπεῖσθαι πλέον  
 ἐπέται. σκοτοδινίαν δὲ τὸ πόρρωθεν ὀρώμενον πᾶσιν τε ὡς  
 ἔπος εἰπεῖν καὶ δὴ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ παρέχει, νομοθέτης  
 δ’ οἶμαι δόξαν εἰς τοῦναντίον τούτου καταστήσει, τὸ σκότος  
 c ἀφελών, καὶ πείσει ἁμῶς γέ πως ἔθεσι καὶ ἐπαίνοις καὶ  
 λόγοις ὡς ἐσκιαγραφημένα τὰ δίκαιά ἐστι καὶ ἄδικα, τὰ μὲν  
 ἄδικα, τῷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐναντίως, φαινόμενα ἐκ μὲν ἀδίκου καὶ  
 κακοῦ ἑαυτοῦ θεωρούμενα, ἡδέα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια ἀηδέστατα, ἐκ  
 5 δὲ δικαίου πάντα τὰναντία παντὶ πρὸς ἀμφοτέρα.

ΚΛ. Φαίνεται.

ΑΘ. Τὴν δ’ ἀλήθειαν τῆς κρίσεως ποτέραν κυριωτέραν  
 εἶναι φῶμεν; πότερα τὴν τῆς χείρονος ψυχῆς ἢ τὴν τῆς

βελτίονος;

ΚΛ. Ἀναγκαῖόν που τὴν τῆς ἀμείνονος.

ΑΘ. Ἀναγκαῖον ἄρα τὸν ἄδικον βίον οὐ μόνον αἰσχίῳ καὶ μοχθηρότερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀηδέστερον τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ δικαίου τε εἶναι καὶ ὀσίου βίου.

ΚΛ. Κινδυνεύει κατὰ γε τὸν νῦν λόγον, ὦ φίλοι.

ΑΘ. Νομοθέτης δὲ οὐ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος, εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν οὕτως ἔχον, ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ἤρηχ' ὁ λόγος ἔχειν, εἴπερ τι καὶ ἄλλο ἐτόλμησεν ἂν ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ψεύδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς νέους, ἔστιν ὅτι τούτου ψεῦδος λυσιτελέστερον ἂν ἐψεύσατό ποτε καὶ δυνάμενον μᾶλλον ποιεῖν μὴ βία ἀλλ' ἐκόντας πάντα πάντα τὰ δίκαια;

ΚΛ. Καλὸν μὲν ἢ ἀλήθεια, ὦ ξένε, καὶ μόνιμον· ἔοικε μὴν οὐ ράδιον εἶναι πείθειν.

ΑΘ. Εἶεν· τὸ μέντοι Σιδώνιον μυθολόγημα ράδιον ἐγένετο πείθειν, οὕτως ἀπίθανον ὄν, καὶ ἄλλα μυρία.

ΚΛ. Ποῖα;

ΑΘ. Τὸ σπαρέντων ποτὲ ὀδόντων ὀπλίτας ἐξ αὐτῶν φῦναι. καίτοι μέγα γ' ἐστὶ νομοθέτη παράδειγμα τοῦ πείσειν ὅτι ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ τις πείθειν τὰς τῶν νέων ψυχάς, ὥστε οὐδὲν ἄλλο αὐτὸν δεῖ σκοποῦντα ἀνευρίσκειν ἢ τί πείσας μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσαιτο ἂν πόλιν, τούτου δὲ πέρι πᾶσαν μηχανὴν εὐρίσκειν ὄντινά ποτε τρόπον ἢ τοιαύτη συνοικία πᾶσα περὶ τούτων ἐν καὶ ταῦτόν ὅτι μάλιστα φθέγγοιτ' αἰεὶ διὰ βίου παντὸς ἐν τε ᾠδαῖς καὶ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις. εἰ δ' οὖν ἄλλη πη δοκεῖ ἢ ταύτῃ, πρὸς ταῦτα οὐδεὶς φθόνος ἀμφισβητῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ.

ΚΛ. Ἄλλ' οὐ μοι φαίνεται πρὸς γε ταῦτα δύνασθαι ἡμῶν ἀμφισβητῆσαι ποτ' ἂν οὐδέτερος.

ΑΘ. Τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐμὸν ἂν εἶη λέγειν. φημὶ γὰρ ἅπαντας δεῖν ἐπάδειν τρεῖς ὄντας τοὺς χοροὺς ἔτι νέαις οὔσαις ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ ἀπαλαῖς τῶν παίδων, τά τε ἄλλα καλὰ λέγοντας πάντα ὅσα διεληλύθαμέν τε καὶ ἔτι διέλθοιμεν ἂν, τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐ τοῦτο ἔστω· τὸν αὐτὸν ἡδιστόν τε καὶ ἀριστον ὑπὸ θεῶν βίον λέγεσθαι φάσκοντες, ἀληθέστατα ἐροῦμεν ἅμα, καὶ μᾶλλον πείσομεν οὐς δεῖ πείθειν ἢ ἐὰν ἄλλως πως φθεγγώμεθα λέγοντες.

ΚΛ. Συγχωρητέον ἂ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν ὁ Μουσῶν χορὸς ὁ παιδικὸς

τατ' ἂν εἰσίοι πρῶτος τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἄσόμενος  
τη σπουδῇ καὶ ὅλη τῇ πόλει; δεύτερος δὲ ὁ μέχρι τριά-  
α ἐτῶν, τὸν τε Παιᾶνα ἐπικαλούμενος μάρτυρα τῶν  
μένων ἀληθείας πέρι καὶ τοῖς νέοις ἴλεων μετὰ πειθοῦς  
εἶσθαι ἐπευχόμενος· δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἔτι τρίτους τοὺς ὑπὲρ  
κόντα ἔτη μέχρι τῶν ἐξήκοντα γεγονότας ἄδειν· τοὺς  
τὰ ταῦτα—οὐ γὰρ ἔτι δυνατοὶ φέρειν ὤδᾶς—μυθολόγους  
τῶν αὐτῶν ἡθῶν διὰ θείας φήμης καταλελείφθαι.

Λ. Λέγεις δέ, ὦ ξένε, τίνας τούτους τοὺς χοροὺς τοὺς  
ους; οὐ γὰρ πάνυ συνίεμεν σαφῶς ὅτι ποτὲ βούλει  
εἶν αὐτῶν πέρι.

Θ. Καὶ μὴν εἰσὶν γε οὗτοι σχεδὸν ὧν χάριν οἱ πλείστοι  
ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθησαν λόγων.

Λ. Οὐπω μεμαθήκαμεν; ἀλλ' ἔτι σαφέστερον πειρῶ  
εἶν.

Θ. Εἴπομεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων, ὡς  
σις ἀπάντων τῶν νέων διάπυρος οὔσα ἡσυχίαν οὐχ οἷα  
γειν οὔτε κατὰ τὸ σῶμα οὔτε κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν εἶη,  
γοῖτο δ' αἰεὶ ἀτάκτως καὶ πηδῶ, τάξεως δ' αἴσθησιν  
ων ἀμφοτέρων, τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ζώων οὐδὲν ἐφάπτοιο,  
ἀνθρώπου φύσις ἔχοι μόνη τοῦτο· τῇ δὲ τῆς κινήσεως  
ι ρυθμὸς ὄνομα εἶη, τῇ δὲ αὐτῆς φωνῆς, τοῦ τε ὀξέος  
καὶ βαρέος συγκεραυνυμένων, ἀρμονία ὄνομα προσαγο-  
ιτο, χορεία δὲ τὸ συναμφοτέρον κληθείη. θεοὺς δὲ  
μεν ἐλεοῦντας ἡμᾶς συγχορευτάς τε καὶ χορηγοὺς ἡμῖν  
κέναι τὸν τε Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Μούσας, καὶ δὴ καὶ τρίτον  
μεν, εἰ μεμνήμεθα, Διόνυσον.

Λ. Πῶς δ' οὐ μεμνήμεθα;

Θ. Ὁ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῶν Μουσῶν  
ς εἴρηνται, τὸν δὲ τρίτον καὶ τὸν λοιπὸν χορὸν ἀνάγκη  
Διονύσου λέγεσθαι.

Λ. Πῶς δὴ; λέγε· μάλα γὰρ ἄτοπος γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὡς  
αἰφνης ἀκούσαντι Διονύσου πρεσβυτῶν χορός, εἰ ἄρα  
ἔρ τριάκοντα καὶ πεντήκοντα δὲ γεγονότες ἔτη μέχρι  
οντα αὐτῶ χορεύουσιν.

Θ. Ἀληθέστατα μέντοι λέγεις· λόγου δὴ δεῖ πρὸς  
α οἶμαι, ὅπη τοῦτο εὐλογονοῦτῶ γιγνόμενον ἂν γίγνοιτο.

Λ. Τί μὴν;

Θ. Ἄρ' οὖν ἡμῖν τά γε ἔμπροσθεν ὁμολογεῖται;

ΚΛ. Τοῦ πέρι;

ΑΘ. Τὸ δεῖν πάντ' ἄνδρα καὶ παῖδα, ἐλεύθερον καὶ δούλον, θῆλύν τε καὶ ἄρρενα, καὶ ὅλη τῆ πόλει ὅλην τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν αὐτῇ ἐπάδουσαν μὴ παύεσθαι ποτε ταῦτα ἃ διεληλύθαμεν, ἀμῶς γέ πως αἰεὶ μεταβαλλόμενα καὶ πάντως 5 παρεχόμενα ποικιλίαν, ὥστε ἀπληστίαν εἶναι τινὰ τῶν ὕμνων τοῖς ἄδουσιν καὶ ἡδονήν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δ' οὐχ ὁμολογοῖτ' ἂν δεῖν ταῦτα οὕτω πράττεσθαι;

ΑΘ. Ποῦ δὴ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν τὸ ἄριστον τῆς πόλεως, ἡλικίαις 4 τε καὶ ἅμα φρονήσεσιν πιθανώτατον ὄν τῶν ἐν τῆ πόλει, ἄδον τὰ κάλλιστα μέγιστ' ἂν ἐξεργάζοιτο ἀγαθὰ; ἢ τοῦτο ἀνοήτως οὕτως ἀφήσομεν, ὃ κυριώτατον ἂν εἴη τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτων ὠδῶν; 5

ΚΛ. Ἄλλὰ ἀδύνατον τὸ μεθιέναι, ὥς γε τὰ νῦν λεγόμενα.

ΑΘ. Πῶς οὖν πρέπον ἂν εἴη τοῦτο; ὁρᾶτε εἰ τῆδε.

ΚΛ. Πῆ δὴ;

ΑΘ. Πᾶς που γιγνόμενος πρεσβύτερος ὄκνου πρὸς τὰς ὠδὰς μεστός, καὶ χαίρειτε ἡττον πράττων τοῦτο καὶ ἀνάγκης 4 γιγνομένης αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν μᾶλλον, ὅσω πρεσβύτερος καὶ σωφρονέστερος γίγνεται; τόσω μᾶλλον. ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως;

ΚΛ. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἐν θεάτρῳ γε καὶ παντοίοις ἀνθρώποις ἄδειν 4 ἐστὼς ὀρθὸς ἔτι μᾶλλον αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν· καὶ ταῦτά γ' εἰ καθάπερ οἱ περὶ νίκης χοροὶ ἀγωνιζόμενοι πεφωνασκηκότες ἰσχυροὶ τε καὶ ἄσιτοι ἀναγκάζονται ἄδειν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, παντά- 5 πασίν που ἀηδῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυνηλῶς ἄδοντες ἀπροθύμως ἂν τοῦτ' ἐργάζοιντο;

ΚΛ. Ἀναγκαιότατα μέντοι λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Πῶς οὖν αὐτοὺς παραμυθησόμεθα προθύμους εἶναι πρὸς τὰς ὠδὰς; ἄρ' οὐ νομοθετήσομεν πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς παῖδας μέχρι ἐτῶν ὀκτωκαίδεκα τὸ παράπαν οἴνου μὴ γεύεσθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς οὐ χρὴ πῦρ ἐπὶ πῦρ ὀχετεύειν εἷς τε 5 τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, πρὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐγχειρεῖν πορεύεσθαι, τὴν ἐμμανῆ εὐλαβουμένους ἔξιν τῶν νέων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο οἴνου μὲν δὴ γεύεσθαι τοῦ μετρίου μέχρι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, μέθης δὲ καὶ πολυοινίας τὸ παράπαν τὸν 6 νέον ἀπέχεσθαι· τετταράκοντα δὲ ἐπιβαίνοντα ἐτῶν ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις εὐωχηθέντα καλεῖν τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς καὶ δὴ 7



καὶ Διόνυσον παρακαλεῖν εἰς τὴν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τέλετην  
 5 ἅμα καὶ παιδιάν, ἣν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπῖκουρον τῆς τοῦ γήρως  
 αὐστηρότητος ἐδώρησατο [τὸν οἶνον] φάρμακον, ὥστε  
 ἀνηβᾶν ἡμᾶς, καὶ δυσθυμίας λήθη γίνεσθαι μαλακώτερον ἐκ  
 c σκληροτέρου τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἠθος, καθάπερ κεῖν εἰς πῦρ  
 σίδηρον ἐντεθέντα γιγνόμενον, καὶ οὕτως εὐπλαστότερον  
 εἶναι; πρῶτον μὲν δὴ διατέθεις οὕτως ἕκαστος ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν  
 ἐθέλοι προθυμότερόν γε, ἥττον αἰσχυνόμενος, οὐκ ἔν πολλοῖς  
 5 ἀλλὰ ἐν μετρίοις, καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ἀλλ' ἐν οἰκείοις;  
 ἄδειν τε καὶ ὁ πολλάκις εἰρήκαμὲν ἐπάδειν;

ΚΛ. Καὶ πολὺ γε.

ΑΘ. Εἰς μὲν γε τὸ προάγειν τοίνυν αὐτοὺς μετέχειν  
 ἡμῖν ὡδῆς οὗτος ὁ τρόπος οὐκ ἂν παντάπασιν ἀσχήμων  
 d γίγνοιτο.

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Ποίαν δὲ ἤσουσιν οἱ ἄνδρες φωνήν; ἢ μουσάν [ἢ]  
 δῆλον ὅτι πρέπουσαν αὐτοῖς δεῖ γέ τινα.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τίς ἂν οὖν πρέποι θείοις ἀνδράσιν; ἄρ' ἂν ἡ τῶν  
 χορῶν;

ΚΛ. Ἡμεῖς γοῦν, ὦ ξέने, καὶ οἶδε οὐκ ἄλλην ἂν τινα  
 δυναίμεθα ὡδὴν ἢ ἣν ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐμάθομεν συνήθεις  
 10 ἄδειν γενομένοι.

ΑΘ. Εἰκότως γε· ὄντως γὰρ οὐκ ἐπήβολοι γέγονατε τῆς  
 e καλλίστης ὡδῆς. στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε ἀλλ'  
 οὐκ ἐν ἄστεσι κατωκηκότων, ἀλλ' οἷον ἀθρόους πώλους ἐν  
 ἀγέλη νεμομένους φορβάδας τοὺς νέους κέκτησθε· λαβῶν  
 δ' ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς τὸν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ τῶν συννόμων σπάσας  
 5 σφόδρα ἀγριαίνοντα καὶ ἀγανακτοῦντα, ἵπποκόμον τέ ἐπέ-  
 στησεν ἰδίᾳ καὶ παιδεύει ψήχων τε καὶ ἡμερῶν, καὶ πάντα  
 προσήκοντα ἀποδιδούς τῇ παιδοτροφίᾳ ὅθεν οὐ μόνον ἀγαθὸς  
 667 ἂν στρατιώτης εἴη, πόλιν δὲ καὶ ἄσπῃ δυνάμενός διοικεῖν,  
 ὃν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἶπομεν τῶν Τυρταίου πολεμικῶν εἶναι  
 πολεμικώτερον, τέταρτον ἀρετῆς ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον τὴν  
 ἀνδρείαν κτήμα τιμῶντα ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ, ἰδιώταις τε καὶ  
 5 συμπᾶση πόλει.

ΚΛ. Οὐκ οἶδα ἡμῶν, ὦ ξέने, ὅπῃ πάλιν αὐτοὺς νομοθέτας  
 φαυλίζεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκ, ὦ γάθε, προσέχων τούτῳ τὸν νόον δρῶ τούτο,

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ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πάσαν μίμησιν φαῖμεν ἂν ἐκ τῶν ομένων ἤκιστα ἡδονῇ προσήκειν κρίνεσθαι καὶ δόξει θεῖ—καὶ δὴ καὶ πάσαν ἰσότητα· οὐ γὰρ εἴ τῳ δοκίς χαίρει τῳ, τό γε ἴσον ἴσον οὐδὲ τὸ σύμμετρον ἂν μετρον ὄλως—ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀληθεῖ πάντων μάλιστα, ἤκι ὄτῳ οὖν ἄλλῳ;

ΖΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν μουσικὴν γε πάσάν φαμεν εἰκαστικὴν καὶ μιμητικὴν;

ΖΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Ἡκιστ' ἄρα ὅταν τις μουσικὴν ἡδονῇ φῆ κρίνεσι τον ἀποδεκτέον τὸν λόγον, καὶ ζητητέον ἤκιστα ταύτουδαίαν, εἴ τις ἄρα που καὶ γίγνοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐκείνην υσαν τὴν ὁμοιότητα τῷ τοῦ καλοῦ μιμήματι.

ΖΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τούτοις δὴ τοῖς τὴν καλλίστην ὥδὴν τε ζητομοῦσαν ζητητέον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐχ ἤτις ἡδεῖα ἀλλ' ἢ ἢ· μιμήσεως γὰρ ἦν, ὡς φαμεν, ὀρθότης, εἰ τὸ μιμην τε καὶ οἶον ἦν ἀποτελοῖτο.

ΖΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε πᾶς ἂν ὁμολογοῖ περὶ τῆς μῆς, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν ἐστὶν ποιήματα μίμησις ἀπεικασία· καὶ τοῦτό γε μῶν οὐκ ἂν σύμπαντες ὁμοεν ποιηταί τε καὶ ἀκροαταὶ καὶ ὑποκριταί;

ΖΛ. Καὶ μάλα.

ΑΘ. Δεῖ δὴ καθ' ἕκαστόν γε, ὡς ἔοικε, γιννώσκων ἡμάτων ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶν τὸν μέλλοντα ἐν αὐτῷ μὴ ἀμαρθαι· μὴ γὰρ γιννώσκων τὴν οὐσίαν, τί ποτε βούλε ὅτου ποτ' ἐστὶν εἰκὼν ὄντως, σχολῇ τὴν γε ὀρθότβουλήσεως ἢ καὶ ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοῦ διαγνώσεται.

ΖΛ. Σχολῇ· πῶς δ' οὔ;

ΑΘ. Ὁ δὲ τὸ ὀρθῶς μὴ γιννώσκων ἄρ' ἂν ποτε τόαι τὸ κακῶς δυνατὸς εἶη διαγνώναι; λέγω δὲ οὐ πῶς, ἀλλ' ὥδε σαφέστερον ἴσως ἂν λεχθείη.

ΖΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Εἰσὶν δήπου κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν ἡμῖν ἀπεικασίαι μυρ

ΖΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Τί οὖν εἴ τις καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγνοοῖ τῶν μεμινον ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶν ἕκαστον [τῶν σωμάτων]; ἄρ' ἂν π

τό γε ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν εἰργασμένον γνοίη; λέγω δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε, οἷον τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐκάστων τῶν μερῶν 10 τὰς θέσεις εἰ ἔχει, ὅσοι τέ εἰσιν καὶ ὅποια παρ' ὅποια αὐτῶν e κείμενα τὴν προσήκουσαν τάξιν ἀπέιληφεν—καὶ ἔτι δὴ χρώματα τε καὶ σχήματα—ἢ πάντα ταῦτα τεταραγμένως εἰργασται· μὴν δοκεῖ ταῦτ' ἂν ποτε διαγνῶναί τις τὸ παράπαν ἀγνοῶν ὅτι ποτ' ἐστὶ τὸ μεμιμημένον ζῶον; 5

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Τί δ' εἰ γιννώσκοιμεν ὅτι τὸ γεγραμμένον ἢ τὸ πεπλασμένον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ χρώματα ἅμα καὶ σχήματα ἀπέιληφεν ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης; 669 ἄρα γε ἀναγκαῖον ἤδη τῷ ταῦτα γνόντι καὶ ἐκεῖνο ἐτοιμίως γιννώσκειν, εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε ὅπη ποτὲ ἔλλιπές ἂν εἴη κάλους;

ΚΛ. Πάντες μεντᾶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὦ ξένε, τὰ καλὰ 5 τῶν ζῶων ἐγιννώσκομεν.

ΑΘ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις. ἄρ' οὖν οὐ περὶ ἐκάστην εἰκόνα, καὶ ἐν γραφικῇ καὶ ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ πάντῃ, τὸν μέλλοντα ἔμφρονα κριτὴν ἔσεσθαι δεῖ ταῦτα τρία ἔχειν, ὃ τέ ἐστὶ πρῶτον γιννώσκειν, ἔπειτα ὡς ὀρθῶς, ἔπειθ' ὡς εὖ, τὸ b τρίτον, εἰργασται τῶν εἰκόνων ἠτισοῦν [ρήμασί τε καὶ μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς];

ΚΛ. Ἐοικε γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἀπείπωμεν λέγοντες τὸ περὶ τὴν μου- 5 σικὴν ἢ χαλεπόν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑμνεῖται περὶ αὐτὴν διαφέροντως ἢ τὰς ἄλλας εἰκόνας, εὐλαβείας δὴ δεῖται πλείστης πασῶν εἰκόνων. ἀμαρτῶν τε γὰρ τις μέγιστ' ἂν βλάπτοιτο, ἢθη κακὰ φιλοφρονούμενος, χαλεπώτατόν τε αἰσθέσθαι διὰ c τὸ τοὺς ποιητὰς φαυλοτέρους εἶναι ποιητὰς αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐκεῖναί γε ἕξαμάρτοιέν ποτε τοσοῦτον ὥστε ῥήματα ἀνδρῶν ποιήσασαι τὸ σχῆμα γυναικῶν καὶ μέλος ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ μέλος ἐλευθέρων αὐτῶν καὶ σχήματα 5 συνθεῖσαι ῥυθμοὺς δούλων καὶ ἀνελευθέρων προσαρμόττειν, οὐδ' αὐτῶν ῥυθμοὺς καὶ σχῆμα ἐλευθέρων ὑποθεῖσαι μέλος ἢ λόγον ἐναντίον ἀποδοῦναι τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς, ἔτι δὲ θηρίων φωνὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὀργάνων καὶ πάντας ψόφους εἰς ταῦτόν d οὐκ ἂν ποτε συνθεῖεν, ὡς ἐν τι μιμούμεναι· ποιηταὶ δὲ ἀνθρώπινοι σφόδρα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐμπλέκοντες καὶ συγκυκῶντες ἀλόγως, γέλωτ' ἂν παρασκευάζοιεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσους

5 φησὶν Ὀρφεὺς λαχεῖν ὦραν τῆς τέρψιος. ταῦτά γε γὰρ  
 ὀρώσι πάντα κυκώμενα, καὶ ἔτι διασπῶσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ ῥυθμὸν  
 μὲν καὶ σχήματα μέλους χωρὶς, λόγους ψιλοὺς εἰς μέτρα  
 e τιθέντες, μέλος δ' αὖ καὶ ῥυθμὸν ἄνευ ῥημάτων, ψιλῇ κιθα-  
 ρίσει τε καὶ αὐλήσει προσχρώμενοι, ἐν οἷς δὴ παγχάλεπον  
 ἄνευ λόγου γιγνόμενον ῥυθμὸν τε καὶ ἁρμονίαν γινώσκειν  
 ὅτι τε βούλεται καὶ ὅτω ἔοικε τῶν ἀξιολόγων μιμημάτων.  
 5 ἀλλὰ ὑπολαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον ὅτι τὸ τοιοῦτόν γε πολλῆς ἀγροι-  
 κίας μεστὸν πᾶν, ὅπόσον τάχους τε καὶ ἀπταισίας καὶ φωνῆς  
 θηριώδους σφόδρα φίλον ὥστ' αὐλήσει γε χρῆσθαι καὶ  
 670 κιθαρίσει πλήν ὅσον ὑπὸ ὄρχησίν τε καὶ ὠδῆν, ψιλῶ δ'  
 ἑκατέρω πᾶσά τις ἀμουσία καὶ θαυματουργία γίγνοιτ' ἂν τῆς  
 χρήσεως. ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει ταύτη λόγον· ἡμεῖς δέ γε οὐχ  
 ὅτι μὴ δεῖ ταῖς Μούσαις ἡμῶν προσχρῆσθαι τοὺς ἤδη τρια-  
 5 κοντούτας καὶ τῶν πεντήκοντα πέραν γεγονότας σκοπούμεθα,  
 ἀλλ' ὅτι ποτὲ δεῖ. τόδε μὲν οὖν ἐκ τούτων ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν  
 δοκεῖ μοι σημαίνειν ἤδη, τῆς γε χορικῆς μούσης ὅτι πεπαι-  
 b δεῦσθαι δεῖ βέλτιον τοὺς πεντηκοντούτας ὅσοισπερ ἂν ἄδειν  
 προσήκη. τῶν γὰρ ῥυθμῶν καὶ τῶν ἁρμονιῶν ἀναγκαῖον  
 αὐτοῖς ἐστὶν εὐαισθητῶς ἔχειν καὶ γινώσκειν· ἢ πῶς τις  
 τὴν ὀρθότητα γνώσεται τῶν μελῶν, [ὧ̄ προσῆκεν ἢ μὴ προσ-  
 5 ῆκεν τοῦ δωριστί, καὶ τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ ὃν ὁ ποιητῆς αὐτῶ  
 προσῆψεν,—ὀρθῶς ἢ μή];

ΚΛ. Δῆλον ὡς οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Γελοῖος γὰρ ὁ γε πολὺς ὄχλος ἡγούμενος ἱκανῶς  
 γινώσκειν τό τε εὐάρμοστον καὶ εὐρυθμον καὶ μή, ὅσοι  
 10 προσάδειν αὐλῶ καὶ βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῶ γεγόνασι διηναγκα-  
 c σμένοι, ὅτι δὲ δρώσιν ταῦτα ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτῶν ἕκαστα, οὐ  
 συλλογίζονται. τὸ δέ που προσήκοντα μὲν ἔχον πᾶν μέλος  
 ὀρθῶς ἔχει, μὴ προσήκοντα δὲ ἡμαρτημένως.

ΚΛ. Ἀναγκαιότατα.

5 ΑΘ. Τί οὖν ὁ μηδ' ὅτι ποτ' ἔχει γινώσκων; ἄρα, ὅπερ  
 εἶπομεν, ὡς ὀρθῶς γε αὐτὸ ἔχει, γνώσεταιί ποτε ἐν ὄτω οὖν;

ΚΛ. Καὶ τίς μηχανή;

ΑΘ. Τοῦτ' οὖν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνευρίσκομεν αὖ τὰ νῦν, ὅτι  
 τοῖς ὠδοῖς ἡμῖν, οὓς νῦν παρακαλοῦμεν καὶ ἐκόντας τινὰ  
 d τρόπον ἀναγκάζομεν ἄδειν, μέχρι γε τοσοῦτου πεπαιδεῦσθαι  
 σχεδὸν ἀναγκαῖον, μέχρι τοῦ δυνατὸν εἶναι συνακολουθεῖν  
 ἕκαστον ταῖς τε βάσεσιν τῶν ῥυθμῶν καὶ ταῖς χορδαῖς ταῖς

τῶν μελῶν, ἵνα καθορῶντες τὰς τε ἁρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς, 5  
 ἐκλέγεσθαι τε τὰ προσήκοντα οἰοί τ' ὥσιν ἂ τοῖς τηλικούτοις  
 τε καὶ τοιούτοις ἄδειν πρέπον, καὶ οὕτως ἄδωσιν, καὶ ἄδοντες  
 αὐτοί τε ἠδονὰς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀσινεῖς ἠδωνται καὶ τοῖς  
 νεωτέροις ἠγεμόνες ἠθῶν χρηστῶν ἀσπασμοῦ προσήκοντος e  
 γίνωνται· μέχρι δὲ τοσούτου παιδευθέντες ἀκριβεστέραν ἂν  
 παιδείαν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος φερούσης εἶεν μετακεχειρισμένοι  
 καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτούς. τὸ γὰρ τρίτον οὐδεμία  
 ἀνάγκη ποιητῇ γινώσκειν, εἴτε καλὸν εἴτε μὴ καλὸν τὸ 5  
 μίμημα, τὸ δὲ ἁρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ σχεδὸν ἀνάγκη, τοῖς δὲ  
 πάντα τὰ τρία τῆς ἐκλογῆς ἔνεκα τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ δευτέρου,  
 ἢ μηδέποτε ἰκανὸν ἐπωδὸν γίνεσθαι νέοις πρὸς ἀρετὴν. 'καὶ 671  
 ὅπερ ὁ λόγος ἐν ἀρχαῖς ἐβουλήθη, τὴν τῷ τοῦ Διονύσου  
 χορῷ βοήθειαν ἐπιδειῖξαι καλῶς λεγομένην, εἰς δύναμιν  
 εἴρηκεν· σκοπώμεθα δὴ εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτω γέγονεν. θορυβώδης  
 μὲν που ὁ σύλλογος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης προϊούσης τῆς 5  
 πόσεως ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀεὶ συμβαίνει γινόμενος, ὅπερ ὑπεθέ-  
 μεθα κατ' ἀρχὰς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι γίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν νῦν  
 λεγομένων. b

·ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη.

ΑΘ. Πᾶς δέ γε αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ κουφότερος αἴρεται καὶ  
 γέγηθέν τε καὶ παρρησίας ἐμπύμπλαται καὶ ἀνηκουστίας ἐν  
 τῷ τοιούτῳ τῶν πέλας, ἀρχῶν δ' ἰκανὸς ἀξιοῖ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ 5  
 τῶν ἄλλων γεγονέναι.

·ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἔφαμεν, ὅταν γίγνηται ταῦτα, καθάπερ τινὰ  
 σίδηρον τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν πιπόντων διαπύρους γιγνομένας  
 μαλθακωτέρας γίνεσθαι καὶ νεωτέρας, ὥστε εὐαγῶγους 10  
 συμβαίνειν τῷ δυναμένῳ τε καὶ ἐπισταμένῳ παιδεύειν τε c  
 καὶ πλάττειν, καθάπερ ὅτ' ἦσαν νέαι; τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὸν  
 πλάστην τὸν αὐτὸν ὥσπερ τότε, τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην, οὗ  
 νόμους εἶναι δεῖ. συμποτικούς, δυναμένους τὸν εὐέλπιν καὶ  
 θαρραλέον ἐκεῖνον γινόμενον καὶ ἀναισχυντότερον τοῦ 5  
 δέοντος, καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα τάξιν καὶ τὸ κατὰ μέρος σιγῆς  
 καὶ λόγου καὶ πόσεως καὶ μούσης ὑπομένειν, ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν  
 πάντα τούτοις τὰναντία, καὶ εἰσιόντι τῷ μὴ καλῷ θάρρει  
 τὸν κάλλιστον διαμαχόμενον φόβον εἰσπέμπειν οἰοῦς τ' d  
 εἶναι μετὰ δίκης, ὃν αἰδῶ τε καὶ αἰσχύνην θεῖον φόβον  
 ὠνομάκαμεν;

ΚΛ. Ἔστιν ταῦτα.

5 ΑΘ. Τούτων δέ γε τῶν νόμων εἶναι νομοφύλακας καὶ  
 συνδημιουργοὺς αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἀθорύβους καὶ νήφοντας τῶ  
 μὴ νηφόντων στρατηγούς, ὧν δὴ χωρὶς μέθῃ διαμάχεσθε  
 δεινότερον ἢ πολεμίοις εἶναι μὴ μετὰ ἀρχόντων ἀθорύβωι  
 e καὶ τὸν αὖ μὴ δυνάμενον ἐθέλειν πείθεσθαι τούτοις καὶ τοῖ  
 ἡγεμόσιν τοῖς τοῦ Διονύσου, τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γε  
 γονόσιν, ἴσῃν καὶ μείζω τὴν αἰσχύνῃν φέρειν ἢ τὸν τοῖ  
 τοῦ Ἄρεως ἀπειθοῦντα ἄρχουσιν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως.

5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν εἴ γε εἶη τοιαύτη μὲν μέθῃ, τοιαύτη δὲ  
 παιδιὰ, μῶν οὐκ ὠφεληθέντες ἂν οἱ τοιοῦτοι συμπόται καὶ  
 μᾶλλον φίλοι ἢ πρότερον ἀπαλλάττοντο ἀλλήλων, ἀλλ' οὐ  
 672 ὥσπερ τὰ νῦν ἐχθροί, κατὰ νόμους δὴ πᾶσαν τὴν συνουσία  
 συγγενόμενοι, καὶ ἀκολουθήσαντες ὁπότε ἀφηγοῖντο  
 νήφοντες τοῖς μὴ νήφουσιν;

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως, εἴ γε δὴ εἶη τοιαύτη οἷαν νῦν λέγεις.

5 ΑΘ. Μὴ τοίνυν ἐκεῖνό γ' ἔτι τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου δωρεᾶ  
 ψέγωμεν ἀπλῶς, ὡς ἔστιν κακὴ καὶ εἰς πόλιν οὐκ ἀξί  
 παραδέχεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι πλείω τις ἂν ἐπεξέλθοι λέγων  
 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν ὃ δωρεῖται λέγειν μὲν ὄκνε  
 εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διὰ τὸ κακῶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸ ὑπε  
 b λαβεῖν καὶ γνῶναι λεχθέν.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ;

ΑΘ. Λόγος τις ἅμα καὶ φήμη ὑπορρεῖ πως ὡς ὁ θεὸς  
 οὗτος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρῴας Ἑρας διεφορήθη τῆς ψυχῆς τῆ  
 5 γνώμῃν, διὸ τὰς τε βακχείας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μανικὴν ἐμ  
 βάλλει χορείαν τιμωρούμενος· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπὶ τοῦ  
 αὐτοῦ δεδώρηται. ἐγὼ δὲ τὰ μὲν τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀσφαλὲς ἡγοῖ  
 μένοις εἶναι λέγειν περὶ θεῶν ἀφήμι λέγειν, τὸ δὲ τοσόνδε  
 c οἶδα, ὅτι πᾶν ζῶον, ὅσον αὐτῷ προσήκει νοῦν ἔχειν τελευ  
 θέντι, τοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον οὐδὲν ἔχον ποτὲ φύεται·  
 τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐν ᾧ μήπω κέκτηται τὴν οἰκείαν φρε  
 νῆσιν πᾶν μαίνεται τε καὶ βοᾷ ἀτάκτως, καὶ ὅταν ἀκταινώσ  
 5 ἑαυτὸ τάχιστα, ἀτάκτως αὖ πηδᾷ. ἀναμνησθῶμεν δὲ ὁ  
 μουσικῆς τε καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἔφαμεν ἀρχὰς ταύτας εἶναι.

ΚΛ. Μεμνήμεθα· τί δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅτι τὴν ῥυθμοῦ τε καὶ ἀρμονίας α  
 d σθησιν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἡμῖν ἐνδεδωκένας τὴν ἀρχὴν ταύτη

ἔφαμεν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ καὶ Μούσας καὶ Διόνυσον τούτων αἰτίους γεγονέναι;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸν οἶνόν γε, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ τῶν ἄλλων λόγος, ἵνα μανῶμεν, φησὶν ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων δεδόσθαι· ὁ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενος ὑφ' ἡμῶν φάρμακον ἐπὶ τούναντίον φησὶν αἰδοῦς μὲν ψυχῆς κτήσεως ἔνεκα δεδόσθαι, σώματος δὲ ὑγείας τε καὶ ἰσχύος.

ΚΛ. Κάλλιστα, ὦ ξέε, τὸν λόγον ἀπεμνημόνευκας.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς χορείας ἡμίσεα διαπεπεράνθω· τὰ δ' ἡμίσεα, ὅπως ἂν ἔτι δοκῇ, περανοῦμεν ἢ καὶ ἐάσομεν.

ΚΛ. Ποῖα δὴ λέγεις, καὶ πῶς ἐκάτερα διαιρῶν;

ΑΘ. Ὅλη μὲν που χορεία ὅλη παιδείσις ἦν ἡμῖν, τούτου δ' αὖ τὸ μὲν ρυθμοὶ τε καὶ ἁρμονίαι, τὸ κατὰ τὴν φωνήν.

ΚΛ. Ναί.

ΑΘ. Τὸ δέ γε κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος κίνησιν ρυθμὸν μὲν κοινὸν τῇ τῆς φωνῆς εἶχε κινήσει, σχῆμα δὲ ἴδιον· ἐκεῖ δὲ μέλος ἢ τῆς φωνῆς κίνησις.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν τῆς φωνῆς μέχρι τῆς ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν παιδείας οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινα τρόπον ὠνομάσαμεν μουσικήν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθως μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τὰ δέ γε τοῦ σώματος, ἃ παιζόντων ὄρχησιν εἴπομεν, εἰ μὲν μέχρι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀρετῆς ἢ τοιαύτη κίνησις γίγνηται, τὴν ἐντεχνον ἀγωγὴν ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ γυμναστικὴν προσείπωμεν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα.

ΑΘ. Τὸ δὲ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὃ νυνδὴ σχεδὸν ἡμισυ διεληλυθέναι τῆς χορείας εἴπομεν καὶ διαπεπεράνθαι, καὶ νῦν οὕτως εἰρήσθω· τὸ δ' ἡμισυ λέγωμεν, ἢ πῶς καὶ πῆ ποιητέον;

ΚΛ. ὦ ἄριστε, Κρησὶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις διαλεγόμενος, μουσικῆς πέρι διελθόντων ἡμῶν, ἐλλειπόντων δὲ γυμναστικῆς, τί ποτε οἶε σοι πότερον ἡμῶν ἀποκρινεῖσθαι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐρώτησιν;

ΑΘ. Ἀποκεκρίσθαι ἔγωγ' ἂν σε φαίην σχεδὸν ταῦτ' ἐρόμενον σαφῶς, καὶ μανθάνω ὡς ἐρώτησις οὔσα αὕτη



τὰ νῦν ἀπόκρισις τέ ἐστίν, ὡς εἶπον, καὶ ἔτι πρόσταξις διαπεράνασθαι τὰ περὶ γυμναστικῆς.

ΚΛ. "Αρισθ' ὑπέλαβές τε καὶ οὕτω δὴ ποίει.

5 ΑΘ. Ποιητέον· οὐδὲ γὰρ πάνυ χαλεπὸν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ὑμῖν γε ἀμφοτέροις γνώριμα. πολὺ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ τέχνῃ πλέον ἐμπειρίας ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῃ μετέχετε.

ΚΛ. Σχεδὸν ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν αὖ ταύτης ἀρχὴ μὲν τῆς παιδιᾶς τὸ κατὰ  
d φύσιν πηδᾶν εἰθίσθαι πᾶν ζῶον, τὸ δὲ ἀνθρώπινον, ὡς  
ἔφαμεν, αἴσθησιν λαβὸν τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ ἐγέννησέν τε ὄρχησιν  
καὶ ἔτεκεν, τοῦ δὲ μέλους ὑπομιμνήσκοντος καὶ ἐγείροντος  
τὸν ῥυθμόν, κοινωθέντ' ἀλλήλοις χορείαν καὶ παιδιὰν ἐτε-  
5 κέτην.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Καὶ τὸ μὲν, φαμέν, ἤδη διεληλύθαμεν αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ  
πειρασόμεθα ἐφεξῆς διελθεῖν.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

10 ΑΘ. Ἐπὶ τοίνυν τῇ τῆς μέθης χρεία τὸν κολοφῶνα  
e πρῶτον ἐπιθῶμεν, εἰ καὶ σφῶν συνδοκεῖ.

ΚΛ. Ποῖον δὴ καὶ τίνα λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Εἰ μὲν τις πόλις ὡς οὔσης σπουδῆς τῷ ἐπιτηδεύ-  
ματι τῷ νῦν εἰρημένῳ χρήσεται μετὰ νόμων καὶ τάξεως,  
5 ὡς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἔνεκα μελέτη χρωμένη, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
ἡδονῶν μὴ ἀφέξεται ὡσαύτως καὶ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον,  
τοῦ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν ἔνεκα μηχανωμένη, τοῦτον μὲν τὸν  
τρόπον ἅπασι τούτοις χρηστέον· εἰ δ' ὡς παιδιᾶ τε, καὶ  
ἔξέσται τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ ὅταν βούληται καὶ μεθ' ὧν ἂν  
674 βούληται πίνειν μετ' ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὠντινωνοῦν ἄλλων, οὐκ  
ἂν τιθείμην ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον, ὡς δεῖ ποτε μέθη χρήσθαι  
ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἢ τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀλλ' ἔτι μάλλον τῆς  
Κρητῶν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων χρείας προσθείμην ἂν τῷ τῶν  
5 Καρχηδονίων νόμῳ, μηδέποτε μηδένα ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου γεύ-  
εσθαι τούτου τοῦ πώματος, ἀλλ' ὑδροποσίαις συγγίγνεσθαι  
τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἅπαντα, καὶ κατὰ πόλιν μήτε δούλην  
μήτε δούλον γεύεσθαι μηδέποτε, μηδὲ ἄρχοντας τοῦτον τὸν  
b ἐνιαυτὸν ὃν ἂν ἄρχωσιν, μηδ' αὖ κυβερνήτας μηδὲ δικαστὰς  
ἐνεργοὺς ὄντας οἴνου γεύεσθαι τὸ παράπαν, μηδ' ὅστις βου-  
λευσόμενος εἰς βουλὴν ἀξίαν τινὰ λόγου συνέρχεται, μηδέ  
γε μεθ' ἡμέραν μηδένα τὸ παράπαν εἰ μὴ σωμασκίας ἢ

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# BOOK III

## SHORT ANALYSIS

Book III. is, in general, a study of the origin and development of civic communities, undertaken specially with the view of finding how laws arose, and what is the effect of laws on the organism.

676–682 e.—Prehistoric times : early forms of polity and the origin of law.

683–693 c.—The Dorian Confederacy : reasons for the decline of Argos and Messene and for the rise of Sparta.

693 d–698 a.—Persia as a type of autocracy : the evils of too great power in the governor.

698 b–701 e.—Athens as a type of democracy : the evils of too great freedom in the governed.

### Γ

676 ΑΘ. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴ ταύτη· πολιτείας δὲ ἀρχὴν τίνα ποτὲ φῶμεν γεγονέναι; μῶν οὐκ ἐνθένδε τις ἂν αὐτὴν ῥᾶστά τε καὶ κάλλιστα κατίδοι;

ΚΛ. Πόθεν;

5 ΑΘ. Ὅθενπερ καὶ τὴν τῶν πόλεων ἐπίδοσιν εἰς ἀρετὴν μεταβαίνουσιν ἅμα καὶ κακίαν ἐκάστοτε θεατέον.

ΚΛ. Λέγεις δὲ πόθεν;

b ΑΘ. Οἶμαι μὲν ἀπὸ χρόνου μήκους τε καὶ ἀπειρίας καὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ.

ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

5 ΑΘ. Φέρε, ἀφ' οὗ πόλεις τ' εἰσὶν καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτευόμενοι, δοκεῖς ἂν ποτε κατανοῆσαι χρόνου πλήθος ὅσον γέγονεν;

ΚΛ. Οὐκ οὐκ ῥαδίον γε οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Τὸ δέ γε ὡς ἀπλετόν τι καὶ ἀμήχανον ἂν εἴη;

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν τοῦτό γε.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν οὐ μυρίαί μὲν ἐπὶ μυρίαῖς ἡμῖν γεγόνασι πόλεις ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦ πλήθους 10  
λόγον οὐκ ἐλάττους ἐφθαρμένοι; πεπολιτευμένοι δ' αὖ πάσας 10  
πολιτείας πολλάκις ἑκασταχοῦ; καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἐξ ἐλαττόνων 10  
μείζους, τοτὲ δ' ἐκ μειζόνων ἐλάττους, καὶ χείρους ἐκ 10  
βελτιόνων γεγόνασι καὶ βελτίους ἐκ χειρόνων;

ΚΛ. Ἄναγκαῖον.

ΑΘ. Ταύτης δὴ πέρι λάβωμεν, εἰ δυναίμεθα, τῆς με- 5  
ταβολῆς τὴν αἰτίαν· τάχα γὰρ ἂν ἴσως δείξειεν ἡμῖν τὴν 5  
πρώτην τῶν πολιτειῶν γένεσιν καὶ μετάβασιν.

ΚΛ. Εὖ λέγεις, καὶ προθυμείσθαι δεῖ, σὲ μὲν ὁ διανοῆ 10  
περὶ αὐτῶν ἀποφαινόμενον, ἡμᾶς δὲ συνεπομένους.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν ὑμῖν οἱ παλαιοὶ λόγοι ἀλήθειαν ἔχειν τινὰ 677  
δοκοῦσιν;

ΚΛ. Ποῖοι δὴ;

ΑΘ. Τὸ πολλὰς ἀνθρώπων φθορὰς γεγονέναι κατακλυ- 5  
σμοῖς τε καὶ νόσοις καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς, ἐν οἷς βραχὺ τι 5  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων λείπεσθαι γένος.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν πιθανὸν τὸ τοιοῦτον πᾶν παντί.

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ, νοήσωμεν μίαν τῶν πολλῶν ταύτην τὴν 10  
τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ποτε γενομένην—

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖόν τι περὶ αὐτῆς διανοηθέντες;

ΑΘ. Ὡς οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες τὴν φθορὰν σχεδὸν ὄρειοί 10  
τινες ἂν εἶεν νομῆς, ἐν κορυφαῖς που σμικρὰ ζώπυρα τοῦ 10  
τῶν ἀνθρώπων διασσωμένα γένους.

ΚΛ. Δῆλον.

ΑΘ. Καὶ δὴ τοὺς τοιοῦτους γε ἀνάγκη που τῶν ἄλλων 5  
ἀπείρους εἶναι τεχνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἄστεσι πρὸς ἀλλή- 5  
λους μηχανῶν εἷς τε πλεονεξίας καὶ φιλονικίας καὶ ὅπόσ' 5  
ἄλλα κακουργήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐπινοοῦσιν.

ΚΛ. Εἰκὸς γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Θῶμεν δὴ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις πόλεις καὶ πρὸς 10  
θαλάττη κατοικούσας ἄρδην ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ διαφθείρεσθαι;

ΚΛ. Θῶμεν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὄργανά τε πάντα ἀπόλλυσθαι, καὶ εἴ τι 5  
τέχνης ἦν ἐχόμενον σπουδαίως ἠύρημένον ἢ πολιτικῆς ἢ 5  
καὶ σοφίας τινὸς ἑτέρας, πάντα ἔρρειν ταῦτα ἐν τῷ τότε 5  
χρόνῳ φήσομεν; πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ὦ ἄριστε, εἴ γε ἔμενεν τάδε

οὕτω τὸν πάντα χρόνον ὡς νῦν διακεκόσμηται, καινὸν ἀνηυρίσκετό ποτε καὶ ὀτιοῦν;

d ΚΛ. Τοῦτο ὅτι μὲν μυριάκις μύρια ἔτη διελάνθανεν ἄρα τοὺς τότε, χίλια δὲ ἀφ' οὗ [γέγονεν] ἢ δις τοσαῦτα ἔτη τὰ μὲν Δαιδάλῳ καταφανῆ γέγονεν, τὰ δὲ Ὀρφεῖ, τὰ δὲ Παλαμῆδει, τὰ δὲ περὶ μουσικὴν Μαρσῦα καὶ Ὀλύμπῳ, 5 περὶ λύραν δὲ Ἀμφίονι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἄλλοις πάμπολλα ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, χθὲς καὶ πρῶην γεγονότα.

ΑΘ. Ἄριστ', ὦ Κλεινία, τὸν φίλον ὅτι παρέλιπες, τὸν ἀτεχνῶς χθὲς γενόμενον.

ΚΛ. Μῶν φράζεις Ἐπιμενίδην;

e ΑΘ. Ναί, τοῦτον· πολὺ γὰρ ὑμῖν ὑπερεπήδησε τῷ μηχανήματι τοὺς σύμπαντας, ὦ φίλε, ὃ λόγῳ μὲν Ἡσίοδος ἐμαντεύετο πάλαι, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ ἐκεῖνος ἀπετέλεσεν, ὡς ὑμεῖς φατε.

5 ΚΛ. Φαμὲν γὰρ οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν οὕτω δὴ λέγωμεν ἔχειν τότε, ὅτ' ἐγένετο ἢ φθορά, τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πράγματα, μυρίαν μὲν τινα φοβερὰν ἐρημίαν, γῆς δ' ἀφθόνου πλήθος πάμπολυ, ζώων δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἐρρόντων, βουκόλι' ἄττα, καὶ εἴ τί που 10 αἰγῶν περιλειφθὲν ἐτύγχανεν γένος, σπάνια καὶ ταῦτα 678 νέμουσιν εἶναι ζῆν τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς;

ΚΛ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Πόλεως δὲ καὶ πολιτείας πέρι καὶ νομοθεσίας, ὧν νῦν ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν παρέστηκεν, ἄρ' ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν οἰόμεθα 5 καὶ μνήμην εἶναι τὸ παράπαν;

ΚΛ. Οὐδαμῶς.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν διακειμένων οὕτω τὰ νῦν γέγονεν ἡμῖν σύμπαντα, πόλεις τε καὶ πολιτεῖαι καὶ τέχναι καὶ νόμοι, καὶ πολλὴ μὲν πονηρία, πολλὴ δὲ καὶ ἀρετή;

10 ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις;

b ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οἰόμεθα, ὦ θαυμάσιε, τοὺς τότε, ἀπείρους ὄντας πολλῶν μὲν καλῶν τῶν κατὰ τὰ ἄσθη, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων, τελέους πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἢ πρὸς κακίαν γεγονέναι;

ΚΛ. Καλῶς εἶπες, καὶ μανθάνομεν ὃ λέγεις.

5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν προϊόντος μὲν τοῦ χρόνου, πληθύνοντος δ' ἡμῶν τοῦ γένους, εἰς πάντα τὰ νῦν καθεστηκότα προελήλυθεν πάντα;

ΚΛ. Ὀρθότατα.

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καὶ ἐπίδοσιν τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος· πένητες μὲν δὴ διὰ  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον σφόδρα οὐκ ἦσαν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ πενίας ἀναγκαζό-  
 5 μνοι διάφοροι ἑαυτοῖς ἐγίνοντο· πλούσιοι δ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε  
 ἐγένοντο ἄχρυσοί τε καὶ ἀνάργυροι ὄντες, ὃ τότε ἐν ἐκείνοις  
 παρῆν. ἧ δ' ἂν ποτε συνοικία μήτε πλοῦτος συνοικῆ μήτε  
 πενία, σχεδὸν ἐν ταύτῃ γενναιότατα ἦθη γίγνοιτ' ἂν· οὔτε  
 c γὰρ ὕβρις οὔτ' ἀδικία, ζῆλοί τε αὖ καὶ φθόνοι οὐκ ἐγγί-  
 γνονται. ἀγαθοὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτά τε ἦσαν καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 λεγομένην εὐήθειαν· ἃ γὰρ ἤκουον καλὰ καὶ αἰσχρά, εὐήθεις  
 ὄντες ἠγοῦντο ἀληθέστατα λέγεσθαι καὶ ἐπείθοντο. ψεῦδος  
 5 γὰρ ὑπονοεῖν οὐδεὶς ἠπίστατο διὰ σοφίαν, ὥσπερ τὰ νῦν,  
 ἀλλὰ περὶ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων τὰ λεγόμενα ἀληθῆ νομί-  
 ζοντες ἔζων κατὰ ταῦτα· διόπερ ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι παντάπασιν  
 οἷους αὐτοὺς ἡμεῖς ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν.

d ΚΛ. Ἐμοὶ γοῦν δὴ καὶ τῷδε οὕτως ταῦτα συνδοκεῖ.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν εἵπομεν ὅτι γενεαὶ διαβιοῦσαι πολλαὶ τοῦτον  
 τὸν τρόπον τῶν πρὸ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων καὶ τῶν νῦν  
 ἀτεχνότεροι μὲν καὶ ἀμαθέστεροι πρὸς τε τὰς ἄλλας μέλ-  
 5 λουσιν εἶναι τέχνας καὶ πρὸς τὰς πολεμικάς, ὅσαι τε πεζαὶ  
 καὶ ὅσαι κατὰ θάλατταν γίνονται τὰ νῦν, καὶ ὅσαι δὴ κατὰ  
 πόλιν μόνον αὐτοῦ, δίκαι καὶ στάσεις λεγόμεναι, λόγοις  
 e ἔργοις τε μεμηχανημένοι πάσας μηχανὰς εἰς τὸ κακουργεῖν  
 τε ἀλλήλους καὶ ἀδικεῖν, εὐηθέστεροι δὲ καὶ ἀνδρειότεροι  
 καὶ ἅμα σωφρονέστεροι καὶ σύμπαντα δικαιοτέροι; τὸ δὲ  
 τούτων αἴτιον ἤδη διεληλύθαμεν.

5 ΚΛ. Ὅρθῶς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Λελέχθω δὴ ταῦτα ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπόμενα  
 ἔτι πάντα εἰρήσθω τοῦδ' ἔνεκα, ἵνα νοήσωμεν τοῖς τότε  
 680 νόμων τίς ποτ' ἦν χρεία καὶ τίς ἦν νομοθέτης αὐτοῖς.

ΚΛ. Καὶ καλῶς γε εἶρηκας.

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν ἐκείνοι μὲν οὔτ' ἐδέοντο νομοθετῶν οὔτε  
 πω ἐφίλει κατὰ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους γίνεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον;  
 5 οὐδὲ γὰρ γράμματα ἔστι πω τοῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τῆς  
 περιόδου γεγονόσιν, ἀλλ' ἔθεσι καὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις πατρίοις  
 νόμοις ἐπόμενοι ζῶσιν.

ΚΛ. Εἰκὸς γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Πολιτείας δέ γε ἤδη καὶ τρόπος ἐστίν τις οὗτος.

10 ΚΛ. Τίς;

b ΑΘ. Δοκοῦσί μοι πάντες τὴν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ πολι-

τείαν δυναστείαν καλεῖν, ἢ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλαχοῦ καὶ ἐν  
 Ἑλλησι καὶ κατὰ βαρβάρους ἐστίν· λέγει δ' αὐτήν που καὶ  
 Ὀμηρος γεγονέναι περὶ τὴν τῶν Κυκλώπων οἴκησιν, εἰπὼν—

τοῖσιν δ' οὔτ' ἀγοραὶ βουλευφόροι οὔτε θέμιστες, 5  
 ἀλλ' οἳ γ' ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ναίουσι κάρηνα  
 ἐν σπέσσι γλαφυροῖσι, θεμιστεύει δὲ ἕκαστος  
 παίδων ἠδ' ἀλόχων, οὐδ' ἀλλήλων ἀλέγουσιν. c

ΚΛ. Ἐοικέν γε ὁ ποιητῆς ὑμῖν οὗτος γεγονέναι χαρίεις.  
 καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοῦ διεληλύθαμεν μάλ' ἀστεῖα, οὐ  
 μὴν πολλά γε· οὐ γὰρ σφόδρα χρώμεθα οἱ Κρήτες τοῖς  
 ξενικοῖς ποιήμασιν. 5

ΜΕ. Ἡμεῖς δ' αὖ χρώμεθα μὲν, καὶ ἔοικέν γε κρατεῖν  
 τῶν τοιούτων ποιητῶν, οὐ μέντοι Λακωνικόν γε ἀλλά τινα d  
 μᾶλλον Ἰωνικόν βίον διεξέρχεται ἑκάστοτε. νῦν μὴν εὔ  
 τῷ σῷ λόγῳ ἔοικε μαρτυρεῖν, τὸ ἀρχαῖον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 ἀγριότητα διὰ μυθολογίας ἐπανενεγκῶν.

ΑΘ. Ναί· συμμαρτυρεῖ γάρ, καὶ λάβωμέν γε αὐτὸν μη- 5  
 νυτὴν ὅτι τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι γίνονται ποτε.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς.

ΑΘ. Μῶν οὖν οὐκ ἐκ τούτων τῶν κατὰ μίαν οἴκησιν καὶ  
 κατὰ γένος διεσπαρμένων ὑπὸ ἀπορίας τῆς ἐν ταῖς φθοραῖς,  
 ἐν αἷς τὸ πρεσβύτατον ἄρχει διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς ἐκ e  
 πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς γεγονέναι, οἷς ἐπόμενοι καθάπερ ὄρνιθες  
 ἀγέλην μίαν ποιήσουσι, πατρονομούμενοι καὶ βασιλείαν  
 πασῶν δικαιοτάτην βασιλευόμενοι;

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. 5

ΑΘ. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτά γε εἰς τὸ κοινὸν μείζους ποιοῦντες  
 πόλεις πλείους συνέρχονται, καὶ ἐπὶ γεωργίας τὰς ἐν ταῖς  
 ὑπωρείαις τρέπονται πρώτας, περιβόλους τε αἵμασιώδεις 681  
 τινὰς τειχῶν ἐρύματα τῶν θηρίων ἔνεκα ποιοῦνται, μίαν  
 οἰκίαν αὖ κοινὴν καὶ μεγάλην ἀποτελοῦντες.

ΚΛ. Τὸ γοῦν εἰκὸς ταῦθ' οὕτως γίγνεσθαι.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; τόδε ἄρα οὐκ εἰκός; 5

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Τῶν οἰκήσεων τούτων μειζόνων ἀξανομένων ἐκ  
 τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ πρώτων, ἑκάστην τῶν σμικρῶν παρεῖναι  
 κατὰ γένος ἔχουσαν τὸν τε πρεσβύτατον ἄρχοντα καὶ αὐτῆς



b ἔθῃ ἅττα ἴδια διὰ τὸ χωρὶς ἀλλήλων οἰκεῖν, ἕτερα ἀφ' ἑτέρων ὄντων τῶν γεννητόρων τε καὶ θρεψάντων, ἃ εἰθίσθησαν περὶ θεοῦς τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦς, κοσμιωτέρων μὲν κοσμιώτερα καὶ ἀνδρικῶν ἀνδρικώτερα, καὶ κατὰ τρόπον οὕτως  
5 ἑκάστους τὰς αὐτῶν ἂν αἵρέσεις εἰς τοὺς παῖδας ἀποτυπυμένους καὶ παίδων παῖδας, ὃ λέγομεν, ἦκειν ἔχοντας ἰδίους νόμους εἰς τὴν μείζονα συνοικίαν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

c ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε αὐτῶν νόμους ἀρέσκειν ἑκάστοις ἀναγκαῖόν που, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὑστέρους.

ΚΛ. Οὕτως.

ΑΘ. Ἀρχῇ δὴ νομοθεσίας οἷον ἐμβάντες ἐλάθομεν, ὡς  
5 ἔοικεν.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τὸ γοῦν μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγκαῖον αἰρεῖσθαι τοὺς συνελθόντας τούτους κοινούς τινας ἑαυτῶν, οἳ δὴ τὰ πάντων ἰδόντες νόμιμα, τὰ σφισιν ἀρέσκοντα αὐτῶν μάλιστα εἰς  
10 τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ ἀγαγοῦσι τοὺς δήμους οἷον  
d βασιλεῦσι φανερά δείξαντες ἐλέσθαι τε δόντες, αὐτοὶ μὲν νομοθέται κληθήσονται, τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας καταστήσαντες, ἀριστοκρατίαν τινὰ ἐκ τῶν δυνασθειῶν ποιήσαντες ἢ καὶ  
τινα βασιλείαν, ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκή-  
5 σουσιν.

ΚΛ. Ἐφεξῆς γοῦν ἂν οὕτω τε καὶ ταύτῃ γίγνοιτο.

ΑΘ. Τρίτον τοίνυν εἵπωμεν ἔτι πολιτείας σχῆμα γιγνόμενον, ἐν ᾧ δὴ πάντα εἶδη καὶ παθήματα πολιτειῶν καὶ ἅμα πόλεων συμπίπτει γίνεσθαι.

10 ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ τοῦτο;

e ΑΘ. Ὁ μετὰ τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Ὁμηρος ἐπεσημήνατο, λέγων τὸ τρίτον οὕτω γεγονέναι. “ κτίσσε δὲ Δαρδανίην ” γὰρ πού φησιν, “ ἐπεὶ οὕπω Ἰλιος ἱρῆ

ἐν πεδίῳ πεπόλιστο, πόλις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
5 ἀλλ' ἔθ' ὑπωρείας ᾧκουν πολυπιδάκου Ἰδης.”

682 λέγει γὰρ δὴ ταῦτα τὰ ἔπη καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἃ περὶ τῶν Κυκλώπων εἴρηκεν, κατὰ θεὸν πως εἰρημένα καὶ κατὰ φύσιν· θεῖον γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν ἐνθεαστικὸν ὄν γένος ὑμνωδοῦν, πολλῶν τῶν κατ' ἀλήθειαν γιγνομένων σύν τισιν  
5 Χάρισιν καὶ Μούσαις ἐφάπτεται ἑκάστοτε.

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ΜΕ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Ὅθεν δὴ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐξετραπόμεθα περὶ νόμων δια-  
 λεγόμενοι, περιπεσόντες μουσικῇ τε καὶ ταῖς μέθαις, νῦν  
 10 ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀφίγμεθα ὥσπερ κατὰ θεόν, καὶ ὁ λόγος  
 ἡμῖν οἶον λαβὴν ἀποδίδωσιν· ἦκει γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν εἰς Λακεδαί-  
 683 μονα κατοίκισιν αὐτήν, ἣν ὑμεῖς ὀρθῶς ἔφατε κατοικεῖσθαι  
 —καὶ Κρήτην ὡς ἀδελφοῖς νόμοις. νῦν οὖν δὴ τοσόνδε  
 πλεονεκτοῦμεν τῇ πλάνῃ τοῦ λόγου, διὰ πολιτειῶν τινῶν  
 καὶ κατοικισμῶν διεξελθόντες· ἐθεασάμεθα πρώτην τε καὶ  
 5 δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην πόλιν, ἀλλήλων, ὡς οἰόμεθα, ταῖς  
 κατοικίσεσιν ἐχομένας ἐν χρόνου τινὸς μήκεσιν ἀπλέτοις,  
 νῦν δὲ δὴ τετάρτη τις ἡμῖν αὕτη πόλις, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε,  
 ἔθνος ἦκει κατοικιζόμενόν τέ ποτε καὶ νῦν κατωκισμένον.  
 β ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων εἴ τι καὶ συνεῖναι δυνάμεθα τί τε καλῶς ἢ μὴ  
 κατωκίσθη, καὶ ποῖοι νόμοι σώζουσιν αὐτῶν τὰ σωζόμενα  
 καὶ ποῖοι φθείρουσι τὰ φθειρόμενα, καὶ ἀντὶ ποίων ποῖα  
 μετατεθέντα εὐδαίμονα πόλιν ἀπεργάζοιτ' ἄν, ὦ Μέγιλλέ  
 5 τε καὶ Κλεινία, ταῦτά δὴ πάλιν οἶον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡμῖν λεκτέον,  
 εἰ μὴ τι τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἐγκαλοῦμεν λόγοις.

ΜΕ. Εἰ γοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τις ἡμῖν ὑπόσχοιτο θεὸς ὡς, εἴαν  
 c ἐπιχειρήσωμεν τὸ δεύτερον τῇ τῆς νομοθεσίας σκέψει, τῶν  
 νῦν εἰρημένων λόγων οὐ χείρους οὐδ' ἐλάττους ἀκουσόμεθα,  
 μακρὰν ἂν ἔλθοιμι ἔγωγε, καί μοι βραχεῖ' ἂν δόξειεν ἢ νῦν  
 παροῦσα ἡμέρα γίγνεσθαι. καίτοι σχεδόν γ' ἐστὶν ἢ ἐκ  
 5 θερινῶν εἰς τὰ χειμερινὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τρεπομένου.

ΑΘ. Χρὴ δὴ ταῦτα, ὡς ἔοικεν, σκοπεῖν.

ΜΕ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Γενώμεθα δὴ ταῖς διανοίαις ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ,  
 ὅτε Λακεδαίμων μὲν καὶ Ἄργος καὶ Μεσσήνη καὶ τὰ μετὰ  
 d τούτων ὑποχέτρια τοῖς προγόνοις ὑμῶν, ὦ Μέγилле, ἱκανῶς  
 ἐγεγόνει· τὸ δὲ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς, ὡς γε λέγεται  
 τὸ τοῦ μύθου, τριχῇ τὸ στράτευμα διανείμαντας, τρεῖς πόλεις  
 κατοικίζειν, Ἄργος, Μεσσήνην, Λακεδαίμονα.

5 ΜΕ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Καὶ βασιλεὺς μὲν Ἄργους Τήμενος ἐγίγνετο,  
 Μεσσήνης δὲ Κρεσφόντης, Λακεδαίμονος δὲ Προκλῆς καὶ  
 Εὐρυσθένης.

ΜΕ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

10 ΑΘ. Καὶ πάντες δὴ τούτοις ὤμοσαν οἱ τότε βοηθήσειν,

εάν τις τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶν διαφθείρη.

e

ΜΕ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Βασιλεία δὲ καταλύεται, ὧ πρὸς Διός, ἢ καί τις ἀρχὴ πώποτε κατελύθη, μῶν ὑπὸ τινων ἄλλων ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν; ἢ νυνδὴ μὲν, ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν τούτοις περιτυχόντες τοῖς λόγοις, οὕτω ταῦτ' ἐτίθεμεν, νῦν δ' ἐπιλελήσμεθα;

5

ΜΕ. Καὶ πῶς;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν νῦν δὴ μᾶλλον βεβαιωσόμεθα τὸ τοιοῦτον· περιτυχόντες γὰρ ἔργοις γενομένοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐληλύθαμεν, ὥστε οὐ περὶ κενόν τι ζητήσομεν [τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον], ἀλλὰ περὶ γεγονός τε καὶ ἔχον ἀλήθειαν. γέγονεν δὴ τάδε· βασιλείαι τρεῖς βασιλευόμεναι πόλεσιν τριπταῖς ὤμοσαν ἀλλήλαις ἐκάτεραι, κατὰ νόμους οὓς ἔθεντο τοῦ τε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι κοινούς, οἱ μὲν μὴ βιαιοτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιήσεσθαι προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου καὶ γένους, οἱ δέ, ταῦτα ἐμπεδούντων τῶν ἀρχόντων, μήτε αὐτοὶ τὰς βασιλείας ποτὲ καταλύσειν μήτ' ἐπιτρέψειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἑτέροις, βοηθήσειν δὲ βασιλῆς τε βασιλεῦσιν ἀδικουμένοις καὶ δήμοις, καὶ δήμοι δήμοις καὶ βασιλεῦσιν ἀδικουμένοις. ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτως;

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b.

ΜΕ. Οὕτω μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν τό γε μέγιστον ταῖς καταστάσεσιν τῶν πολιτειῶν ὑπῆρχεν ταῖς ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ πόλεσι νομοθετουμέναις, εἴτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐνομοθέτουν εἴτ' ἄλλοι τινές;

5

ΜΕ. Ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Τὸ βοηθούς γε εἶναι τὰς δύο ἐπὶ τὴν μίαν αἰὲ πόλιν, τὴν τοῖς τεθείσιν νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσαν.

10

ΜΕ. Δήλον.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε οἱ πολλοὶ προστάττουσιν τοῖς νομοθέταις, ὅπως τοιούτους θήσουσιν τοὺς νόμους οὓς ἐκόντες οἱ δήμοι καὶ τὰ πλήθη δέξονται, καθάπερ ἂν εἴ τις γυμνασταῖς ἢ ἰατροῖς προστάττοι μεθ' ἡδονῆς θεραπεύειν τε καὶ ἰᾶσθαι τὰ θεραπευόμενα σώματα.

5

ΜΕ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τὸ δέ γ' ἐστὶν ἀγαπητὸν πολλάκις εἰ καί τις μετὰ λύπης μὴ μεγάλης δύναίτο εὐεκτικά τε καὶ ὑγιῆ σώματα ἀπεργάζεσθαι.

ΜΕ. Τί μήν;

10

ΑΘ. Καὶ τότε γε ἔτι τοῖς τότε ὑπῆρχεν οὐ σμικρὸν εἰς

d

ῥαστώνην τῆς θέσεως τῶν νόμων.

ΜΕ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Οὐκ ἦν τοῖς νομοθέταις ἢ μεγίστη τῶν μέμψεων  
5 ἰσότητα αὐτοῖς τινα κατασκευάζουσιν τῆς οὐσίας, ἢ περ ἐν  
ἄλλῃ νομοθετουμέναις πόλεσι πολλαῖς γίνεται, εἴαν τις  
ζητῆ γῆς τε κτήσιν κινεῖν καὶ χρεῶν διάλυσιν, ὄρων ὡς οὐκ  
ἂν δύναίτο ἄνευ τούτων γενέσθαι ποτὲ τὸ ἴσον ἱκανῶς· ὡς  
ἐπιχειροῦντι δὴ νομοθέτῃ κινεῖν τῶν τοιούτων τι πᾶς ἀπαντᾶ  
e λέγων μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα, καὶ ἐπαράται γῆς τε ἀναδα-  
σμοὺς εἰσηγουμένῳ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπᾶς, ὥστ' εἰς ἀπορίαν  
καθίστασθαι πάντ' ἄνδρα. τοῖς δὲ δὴ Δωριεῦσι καὶ τοῦθ'  
οὕτως ὑπῆρχεν καλῶς καὶ ἀνεμεσήτως, γῆν τε ἀναμφισ-  
5 βητήτως διανέμεσθαι, καὶ χρέα μεγάλα καὶ παλαιὰ οὐκ ἦν.

ΜΕ. Ἄλλῃθῃ.

ΑΘ. Πῆ δ' ἴ ποτε οὖν, ὦ ἄριστοι, κακῶς οὕτως αὐτοῖς  
ἐχώρησεν ἢ κατοικίσις τε καὶ νομοθεσία;

685 ΜΕ. Πῶς δὴ καὶ τί μεμφόμενος αὐτῶν λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὅτι τριῶν γενομένων τῶν οἰκήσεων τὰ δύο αὐτῶν  
μέρη ταχὺ τήν τε πολιτείαν καὶ τοὺς νόμους διέφθειρεν, τὸ  
δὲ ἐν μόνον ἔμεινεν, τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως.

5 ΜΕ. Οὐ πάνυ ῥάδιον ἐρωτᾶς.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ μὴν δεῖ γε ἡμᾶς τοῦτο ἐν τῷ νῦν σκοποῦντας  
καὶ ἐξετάζοντας, περὶ νόμων παίζοντας παιδιὰν πρεσβυτικὴν  
σώφρονα, διελθεῖν τὴν ὁδὸν ἀλύπως, ὡς ἔφαμεν ἡνίκα  
b ἤρχόμεθα πορεύεσθαι.

ΜΕ. Τί μὴν; καὶ ποιητέον γε ὡς λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Τίν' οὖν ἂν σκέψιν καλλίω ποιησαίμεθα περὶ νόμων  
ἢ τούτων οἱ ταύτας διακεκοσμήκασιν; ἢ πόλεων περὶ τίνων  
5 εὐδοκιμωτέρων τε καὶ μειζόνων κατοικίσεων σκοποίμεθ' ἄν;

ΜΕ. Οὐ ῥάδιον ἀντὶ τούτων ἑτέρας λέγειν.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν διανοοῦντό γε οἱ τότε τὴν κατα-  
σκευὴν ταύτην οὐ Πελοποννήσῳ μόνον ἔσεσθαι βοηθὸν  
c ἱκανήν, σχεδὸν δῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν πᾶσιν, εἴ  
τις τῶν βαρβάρων αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῖ, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ τὸ Ἴλιον  
αἰκοῦντες τότε, πιστεύοντες τῇ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων δυνάμει τῇ  
περὶ Νῖνον γενομένη, θρασυνόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἤγειραν  
5 τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν. ἦν γὰρ ἔτι τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης σχῆμα  
τὸ σωζόμενον οὐ σμικρόν· καθάπερ νῦν τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα  
φοβούμεθα ἡμεῖς, καὶ τότε ἐκείνην τὴν συσταθεῖσαν σύν-

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d πρᾶγμα γεγόμενον καὶ θαυμαστὰ ἂν ἐργασάμενον, εἴ τις ἄρα  
 ἠπιστήθη καλῶς αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι κατὰ τινα τρόπον, τὸ δὲ νῦν  
 γε ἡμεῖς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως περὶ τοῦτο αὐτὸ οὔτ' ὀρθῶς διανοοί-  
 5 μεθα οὔτε κατὰ φύσιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντες  
 πάντα, περὶ ὧν ἂν οὕτω διανοηθῶσιν;

ME. Λέγεις δὲ δὴ τί, καὶ περὶ τίνος σοι φῶμεν μάλιστ'  
 εἰρήσθαι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον;

AΘ. Ὁγαθέ, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑμαυτοῦ νυνδὴ κατεγέλασα.  
 ἀποβλέψας γὰρ πρὸς τοῦτον τὸν στόλον οὐ πέρι διαλεγό-  
 10 μεθα, ἔδοξέ μοι πάγκαλός τε εἶναι καὶ θαυμαστὸν <ἂν>  
 e αὐτῷ τότε καλῶς ἐχρήσατο.

ME. Οὐκοῦν εὖ καὶ ἐχόντως νοῦν σύ τε πάντα εἶπες καὶ  
 ἐπηνέσαμεν ἡμεῖς;

AΘ. Ἴσως· ἐννοῶ γε μὴν ὡς πᾶς, ὅς ἂν ἴδῃ τι μέγα  
 5 καὶ δύναμιν ἔχον πολλὴν καὶ ῥώμην, εὐθύς ἔπαθε τοῦτο, ὡς  
 εἴπερ ἐπίσταιτο ὁ κεκτημένος αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι τοιούτῳ τε ὄντι  
 καὶ τηλικούτῳ, θαυμάστ' ἂν καὶ πολλὰ κατεργασάμενος  
 εὐδαιμοιοῖ.

687 ME. Οὐκοῦν ὀρθὸν καὶ τοῦτο; ἢ πῶς λέγεις;

AΘ. Σκόπει δὴ ποῖ βλέπων ὁ τὸν ἔπαινον τοῦτον περὶ  
 ἑκάστου τιθέμενος ὀρθῶς λέγει· πρῶτον δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ  
 νῦν λεγομένου, πῶς, εἰ κατὰ τρόπον ἠπιστήθησαν τάξαι τὸ  
 5 στρατόπεδον οἱ τότε διακοσμοῦντες, τοῦ καιροῦ πως ἂν  
 ἔτυχον; ἄρ' οὐκ εἰ συνέστησάν τε ἀσφαλῶς αὐτὸ διέσωζόν  
 τε εἰς τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον, ὥστε αὐτούς τε ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ  
 ἄλλων ἄρχοντας ὧν βουλευθεῖεν, καὶ ὅλως ἐν ἀνθρώποις πᾶσι  
 b καὶ Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις πράττειν ὅτι ἐπιθυμοῖεν αὐτοί  
 τε καὶ οἱ ἔκγονοι—μῶν οὐ τούτων χάριν ἐπαινοῖεν ἂν;

ME. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

AΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ ὅς ἂν ἰδὼν πλοῦτον μέγαν ἢ τιμὰς  
 5 διαφερούσας γένους, ἢ καὶ ὅτιοῦν τῶν τοιούτων, εἴπη ταῦτα  
 ταῦτα, πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων εἶπεν, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο αὐτῷ γενησό-  
 μενα ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμῇ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλείστα καὶ ὅσα ἀξιώτατα  
 λόγου;

ME. Ἐοικε γοῦν.

c AΘ. Φέρε δὴ, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶ κοινὸν ἐπιθύμημα  
 ἐν τι τὸ νῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου δηλούμενον [ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ  
 λόγος];

ΜΕ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Τὸ κατὰ τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ψυχῆς ἐπίταξιν τὰ γιγνό- 5  
μενα γίνεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ἅπαντα, εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ γε  
ἄνθρώπινα.

ΜΕ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν ἐπεὶπερ βουλόμεθα πάντες τὸ τοιοῦτον 10  
ἀεὶ, παῖδές τε ὄντες καὶ ἄνδρες πρεσβῦται, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ καὶ  
εὐχοίμεθ' ἂν ἀναγκαίως διὰ τέλους;

ΜΕ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τοῖς γε φίλοις που συνευχοίμεθ' ἂν ταῦτα d  
ἅπερ ἐκεῖνοι ἑαυτοῖσιν.

ΜΕ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Φίλος μὲν υἱὸς πατρί, παῖς ὢν ἀνδρί.

ΜΕ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν ὢν γ' ὁ παῖς εὐχεται ἑαυτῷ γίνεσθαι, 5  
πολλὰ ὁ πατήρ ἀπεύξαιτ' ἂν τοῖς θεοῖς μηδαμῶς κατὰ τὰς  
τοῦ υἱοῦ εὐχὰς γίνεσθαι.

ΜΕ. Ὅταν ἀνόητος ὢν καὶ ἔτι νέος εὐχῆται, λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Καὶ ὅταν γε ὁ πατήρ ὢν γέρων ἢ καὶ σφόδρα νεα- 10  
νίας, μηδὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων γιγνώσκων, εὐχῆται e  
μάλα προθύμως ἐν παθήμασιν ἀδελφοῖς ὢν τοῖς γενομένοις  
Θησεῖ πρὸς τὸν δυστυχῶς τελευτήσαντα Ἰππόλυτον, ὁ δὲ  
παῖς γιγνώσκη, τότε, δοκεῖς, παῖς πατρὶ συνεύξεται;

ΜΕ. Μανθάνω ὃ λέγεις. λέγειν γάρ μοι δοκεῖς ὡς οὐ 5  
τοῦτο εὐκτέον οὐδὲ ἐπεικτέον, ἔπεσθαι πάντα τῇ ἑαυτοῦ βου-  
λήσει, τὴν βούλησιν δὲ μηδὲν μᾶλλον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φρονήσει·  
τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἕνα ἡμῶν ἕκαστον καὶ εὐχεσθαι δεῖν  
καὶ σπεύδειν, ὅπως νοῦν ἔξει.

ΑΘ. Ναί, καὶ δὴ καὶ πολιτικόν γε ἄνδρα νομοθέτην ὡς 688  
ἀεὶ δεῖ πρὸς τοῦτο βλέποντα τιθέναι τὰς τάξεις τῶν νόμων  
αὐτός τε ἐμνήσθην, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαναμιμνήσκω—κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰ  
μεμνήμεθα τὰ λεχθέντα—ὅτι τὸ μὲν σφῶν ἦν παρακέλευμα  
ὡς χρεῶν εἶη τὸν ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην πάντα πολέμου χάριν 5  
τὰ νόμιμα τιθέναι, τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ἔλεγον ὅτι τοῦτο μὲν πρὸς  
μίαν ἀρετὴν οὐσῶν τεττάρων κελεύοι τίθεσθαι τοὺς νόμους,  
δέοι δὲ δὴ πρὸς πᾶσαν μὲν βλέπειν, μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς b  
πρώτην τὴν τῆς συμπάσης ἡγεμόνα ἀρετῆς, φρόνησις δ' εἶη  
τοῦτο καὶ νοῦς καὶ δόξα μετ' ἔρωτός τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τούτοις  
ἐπομένης. ἦκει δὴ πάλιν ὁ λόγος εἰς ταῦτόν, καὶ ὁ λέγων



5 ἐγὼ νῦν λέγω πάλιν ἄπερ τότε, εἰ μὲν βούλεσθε, ὡς παίζων,  
 εἰ δ', ὡς σπουδάζων, ὅτι δὴ φημι εὐχῇ χρῆσθαι σφαλερὸν  
 εἶναι νοῦν μὴ κεκτημένον, ἀλλὰ τὰναντία ταῖς βουλήσεσιν  
 c οἱ γίνεσθαι. σπουδάζοντα δ' εἴ με τιθέναι βούλεσθε,  
 τίθετε· πάνυ γὰρ οὖν προσδοκῶ νῦν ὑμᾶς εὐρήσειν, τῷ λόγῳ  
 ἐπομένους ὃν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθε προυθέμεθα, τῆς τῶν βασι-  
 λέων τε φθορᾶς καὶ ὄλου τοῦ διανοήματος οὐ δειλίαν οὔσαν  
 5 τὴν αἰτίαν, οὐδ' ὅτι τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον οὐκ ἠπίσταντο  
 ἄρχοντές τε καὶ οὓς προσῆκεν ἄρχεσθαι, τῇ λοιπῇ δὲ πάσῃ  
 κακία διεφθαρμένα, καὶ μάλιστα τῇ περὶ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν  
 d ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἀμαθία. ταυτ' οὖν ὡς οὕτω γέγονε  
 περὶ τὰ τότε, καὶ νῦν, εἴ που, γίνεται, καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα  
 χρόνον οὐκ ἄλλως συμβήσεται, εἰ βούλησθε, πειράσομαι  
 ἰὼν κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον ἀνευρίσκειν τε καὶ ὑμῖν δηλοῦν  
 5 κατὰ δύναμιν ὡς οὔσιν φίλοις.

ΚΛ. Λόγῳ μὲν τοίνυν σε, ὦ ξένε, ἐπαινεῖν ἐπαχθέστερον,  
 ἔργῳ δὲ σφόδρα ἐπαινεσόμεθα· προθύμως γὰρ τοῖς λεγο-  
 μένοις ἐπακολουθήσομεν, ἐν οἷς ὁ γε ἐλευθέρως ἐπαινῶν  
 καὶ μὴ μάλιστ' ἐστὶν καταφανής.

e ΜΕ. "Αριστ', ὦ Κλεινία, καὶ ποιῶμεν ἃ λέγεις.

ΚΛ. "Ἔσται ταῦτα, εἰ θεὸς ἐθέλη. λέγε μόνον.

ΑΘ. Φαμέν δὴ νυν, καθ' ὁδὸν ἰόντες τὴν λοιπὴν τοῦ  
 λόγου, τὴν μεγίστην ἀμαθίαν τότε ἐκείνην τὴν δύναμιν  
 5 ἀπολέσαι καὶ νῦν ταῦτόν τοῦτο πεφυκέναι ποιεῖν, ὥστε τὸν  
 γε νομοθέτην, εἰ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, πειρατέον ταῖς πόλεσιν  
 φρόνησιν μὲν ὅσῃν δυνατὸν ἐμποιεῖν, τὴν δ' ἄνοιαν ὅτι  
 μάλιστα ἐξαιρεῖν.

ΚΛ. Δῆλον.

689 ΑΘ. Τίς οὖν ἢ μεγίστη δικαίως ἂν λέγοιτο ἀμαθία;  
 σκοπεῖτε εἰ συνδόξει καὶ σφῶν λεγόμενον· ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ τὴν  
 τοιάνδε τίθεμαι.

ΚΛ. Ποίαν;

5 ΑΘ. Τὴν ὅταν τῷ τι δόξαν καλὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι μὴ φιλῇ  
 τοῦτο ἀλλὰ μισῇ, τὸ δὲ πονηρὸν καὶ ἄδικον δοκοῦν εἶναι  
 φιλῇ τε καὶ ἀσπάζηται. ταύτην τὴν διαφωνίαν λύπης τε  
 καὶ ἡδονῆς πρὸς τὴν κατὰ λόγον δόξαν ἀμαθίαν φημι εἶναι  
 τὴν ἐσχάτην, μεγίστην δέ, ὅτι τοῦ πλήθους ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς·  
 b τὸ γὰρ λυπούμενον καὶ ἡδόμενον αὐτῆς ὅπερ δῆμός τε καὶ  
 πλῆθος πόλεώς ἐστιν. ὅταν οὖν ἐπιστήμαις ἢ δόξαις ἢ λόγῳ

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b ΑΘ. Τέταρτον δ' αὖ δούλους μὲν ἄρχεσθαι, δεσπότας δὲ ἄρχειν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Πέμπτον γε οἶμαι τὸ κρείττονα μὲν ἄρχειν, τὸν  
5 ἥττω δὲ ἄρχεσθαι.

ΚΛ. Μάλα γε ἀναγκαῖον ἀρχὴν εἶρηκας.

ΑΘ. Καὶ πλείστην γε ἐν σύμπασιν τοῖς ζώοις οὖσαν καὶ  
κατὰ φύσιν, ὡς ὁ Θηβαῖος ἔφη ποτὲ Πίνδαρος. τὸ δὲ  
μέγιστον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀξίωμα ἔκτον ἂν γίγνοιτο, ἔπεσθαι μὲν  
10 τὸν ἀνεπιστήμονα κελευόν, τὸν δὲ φρονούντα ἡγεῖσθαι τε καὶ  
C ἄρχειν. καίτοι τοῦτό γε, ὦ Πίνδαρε σοφώτατε, σχεδὸν οὐκ ἂν  
παρὰ φύσιν ἔγωγε φαίην γίγνεσθαι, κατὰ φύσιν δέ, τὴν τοῦ  
νόμου ἐκόντων ἀρχὴν ἀλλ' οὐ βίαιον πεφυκυῖαν.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

5 ΑΘ. Θεοφιλῆ δέ γε καὶ εὐτυχῆ τινα λέγοντες ἐβδόμην  
ἀρχὴν, εἰς κληρὸν τινα προάγομεν, καὶ λαχόντα μὲν ἄρχειν,  
δυσκληροῦντα δὲ ἀπιόντα ἄρχεσθαι τὸ δικαιοτάτον εἶναί  
φάμεν.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

d ΑΘ. “Ὅρας δὴ,” φαῖμεν ἂν, “ὦ νομοθέτα,” πρὸς τινα  
παίζοντες τῶν ἐπὶ νόμων θέσιν ἰόντων ῥαδίως, “ὅσα ἐστὶ  
πρὸς ἄρχοντας ἀξιώματα, καὶ ὅτι πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀλληλα  
ἐναντίως; νῦν γὰρ δὴ στάσεων πηγὴν τινα ἀνηυρήκαμεν  
5 ἡμεῖς, ἣν δεῖ σε θεραπεύειν. πρῶτον δὲ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀνάσκεψαι  
πῶς τε καὶ τί παρὰ ταῦτα ἀμαρτόντες οἱ περί τε Ἄργος καὶ  
Μεσσήνην βασιλῆς αὐτοὺς ἅμα καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
e δύναμιν, οὖσαν θαυμαστὴν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ, διέφθειραν. ἄρ'  
οὐκ ἀγνοήσαντες τὸν Ἡσίοδον ὀρθότατα λέγοντα ὡς τὸ  
ἥμισυ τοῦ παντὸς πολλακίς ἐστὶ πλέον; [ὅποταν ἦ τὸ μὲν  
ὅλον λαμβάνειν ζημιῶδες, τὸ δ' ἥμισυ μέτριον, τότε τὸ  
5 μέτριον τοῦ ἀμέτρου πλέον ἡγήσατο, ἄμεινον ὃν χείρονος.]”

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατά γε.

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν οἰόμεθα περὶ βασιλέας τοῦτ' ἐγγιγνό-  
μενον ἐκάστοτε διαφθείρειν πρότερον, ἢ ἐν τοῖσιν δήμοις;

691 ΚΛ. Τὸ μὲν εἰκὸς καὶ τὸ πολὺ, βασιλέων τοῦτ' εἶναι  
νόσημα ὑπερηφάνως ζώντων διὰ τρυφᾶς.

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν δῆλον ὡς πρῶτον τοῦτο οἱ τότε βασιλῆς  
ἔσχον, τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν τῶν τεθέντων νόμων, καὶ ὁ λόγῳ τε  
5 καὶ ὄρκῳ ἐπήνεσαν, οὐ συνεφώνησαν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ ἢ δια-

φωνία, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαμεν, οὔσα ἀμαθία μεγίστη, δοκοῦσα δὲ σοφία, πάντ' ἐκεῖνα διὰ πλημμέλειαν καὶ ἀμουσίαν τὴν πικρὰν διέφθειρεν;

ΚΛ. Ἔοικε γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Εἶεν· τί δὴ τὸν νομοθέτην ἔδει τότε τίθέντα εὐ- b  
λαβηθῆναι τούτου περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῆς γενέσεως; ἄρ' ὦ  
πρὸς θεῶν νῦν μὲν οὐδὲν σοφὸν γνῶναι τοῦτο οὐδ' εἰπεῖν  
χαλεπὸν, εἰ δὲ προῖδεῖν ἦν τότε, σοφώτερος ἂν ἦν ἡμῶν ὁ  
προῖδών;

5

ΜΕ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Εἰς τὸ γεγονὸς παρ' ὑμῖν, ὦ Μέγилле, ἔστιν νῦν  
γε κατιδόντα γνῶναι, καὶ γνόντα εἰπεῖν ῥάδιον, ὃ τότε ἔδει  
γίνεσθαι.

ΜΕ. Σαφέστερον ἔτι λέγε.

10

ΑΘ. Τὸ τοίνυν σαφέστατον ἂν εἶη τὸ τοιόνδε.

ΜΕ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ἐάν τις μείζονα διδῶ τοῖς ἐλάττοσι [δύναμιν] c  
παρεῖς τὸ μέτριον, πλοίοις τε ἰστία καὶ σώμασιν τροφήν  
καὶ ψυχαῖς ἀρχάς, ἀνατρέπεται που πάντα, καὶ ἐξυβρίζοντα  
τὰ μὲν εἰς νόσους θεῖ, τὰ δ' εἰς ἔκγονον ὑβρεως ἀδικίαν.  
τί οὖν δὴ ποτε λέγομεν; ἄρά γε τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς Οὐκ ἔστ', 5  
ὦ φίλοι ἄνδρες, θνητῆς ψυχῆς φύσις ἥτις ποτὲ δυνήσεται  
τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀρχὴν φέρειν νέα καὶ ἀνυπεύ-  
θυνος, ὥστε μὴ τῆς μεγίστης νόσου ἀνοίας πληρωθεῖσα d  
αὐτῆς τὴν διάνοιαν, μῖσος ἔχει πρὸς τῶν ἐγγύτατα φίλων,  
ὃ γενόμενον ταχὺ διέφθειρεν αὐτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν  
ἠφάνισεν αὐτῆς; τοῦτ' οὖν εὐλαβηθῆναι γνόντας τὸ μέτριον  
μεγάλων νομοθετῶν. ὡς οὖν δὴ τότε γενόμενον, νῦν ἔστιν 5  
μετριώτατα τοπάσαι· τὸ δ' ἔοικεν εἶναι—

ΜΕ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Θεὸς εἶναι κηδόμενος ὑμῶν τις, ὃς τὰ μέλλοντα  
προορῶν, δίδυμον ὑμῖν φυτεύσας τὴν τῶν βασιλέων γένεσιν e  
ἐκ μονογενοῦς, εἰς τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον συνέστειλε. καὶ μετὰ  
τοῦτο ἔτι φύσις τις ἀνθρωπίνη μεμειγμένη θείᾳ τινὶ δυνάμει,  
κατιδοῦσα ὑμῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν φλεγμαίνουσαν ἔτι, μείγνυσιν τὴν  
κατὰ γῆρας σῶφρονα δύναμιν τῇ κατὰ γένος αὐθάδει ῥώμῃ, 692  
τὴν τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι γερόντων ἰσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα  
τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ποιήσασα δυνάμει. ὃ δὲ τρίτος σωτὴρ  
ὑμῖν ἔτι σπαργῶσαν καὶ θυμουμένην τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρῶν, οἶον

- 5 ψάλιον ἐνέβαλεν αὐτῇ τὴν τῶν ἐφόρων δύναμιν, ἐγγὺς τ  
κληρωτῆς ἀγαγὼν δυνάμεως· καὶ κατὰ δὴ τοῦτον τὸν λόγ  
ἢ βασιλεία παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἔδει σύμμεικτος γενομένη κ  
μέτρον ἔχουσα, σωθεῖσα αὐτῇ σωτηρίας τοῖς ἄλλοις γέγοι  
b αἰτία. ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ γε Τημένω καὶ Κρεσφόντῃ καὶ τοῖς τό  
νομοθέταις, οἵτινες ἄρα ἦσαν νομοθετοῦντες, οὐδ' ἢ Ἀρ  
στοδῆμου μερὶς ἐσώθη ποτ' ἄν—οὐ γὰρ ἱκανῶς ἦσαν νομο  
θεσίας ἔμπειροι· σχεδὸν γὰρ οὐκ ἄν ποτ' ὤήθησαν ὄρκοι  
5 μετριάσαι ψυχὴν νέαν, λαβοῦσαν ἀρχὴν ἐξ ἧς δυνατὸν  
τυραννίδα γενέσθαι—νῦν δ' ὁ θεὸς ἔδειξεν οἷαν ἔδει κ  
δεῖ δὴ τὴν μενοῦσαν μάλιστα ἀρχὴν γίνεσθαι. τὸ δὲ πε  
c ἡμῶν γιγνώσκεσθαι ταῦτα, ὅπερ εἶπον ἔμπροσθεν, νῦν μ  
γενόμενον οὐδὲν σοφόν—ἐκ γὰρ παραδείγματος ὄραν γεγ  
νότος οὐδὲν χαλεπόν—εἰ δ' ἦν τις προορῶν τότε ταῦτα κ  
δυνάμενος μετριάσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ μίαν ἐκ τριῶν ποιῆσι  
5 τὰ τε νοηθέντα ἄν καλὰ τότε πάντα ἀπέσωσε καὶ οὐκ  
ποτε ὁ Περσικὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς στόλ  
ἄν ὤρμησε, καταφρονήσας ὡς ὄντων ἡμῶν βραχέος ἀξίω.  
ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.
- d ΑΘ. Αἰσchrῶς γοῦν ἡμύναντο αὐτούς, ὦ Κλεινία. τὸ  
αἰσchrὸν λέγω οὐχ ὡς οὐ νικῶντές γε οἱ τότε καὶ κατὰ γ  
καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν καλὰς νενικήκασι μάχας· ἀλλὰ ὁ φη  
αἰσchrὸν τότε εἶναι, τότε λέγω, τὸ πρῶτον μὲν ἐκείνων τ  
5 πόλεων τριῶν οὐσῶν μίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀμῦναι,  
δὲ δύο κακῶς οὕτως εἶναι διεφθαρμένα, ὥστε ἢ μὲν κ  
Λακεδαίμονα διεκώλυεν ἐπαμύνειν αὐτῇ, πολεμοῦσα αὐ  
κατὰ κράτος, ἢ δ' αὐτὴ πρωτεύουσα ἐν τοῖς τότε χρόνοις τι  
e περὶ τὴν διανομὴν, ἢ περὶ τὸ Ἄργος, παρακαλουμένη ἀμ  
νεῖν τὸν βάρβαρον οὐθ' ὑπήκουσεν οὐτ' ἤμυνεν. πολλὰ  
λέγων ἄν τις τὰ τότε γινόμενα περὶ ἐκείνον τὸν πόλεμ  
τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐδαμῶς εὐσχήμονα ἄν κατηγοροῖ· οὐδ'  
5 ἀμύνασθαι τὴν γε Ἑλλάδα λέγων ὀρθῶς ἄν λέγοι, ἀλλ'  
μὴ τό τε Ἀθηναίων καὶ τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κοινῇ διανόη  
693 ἤμυνεν τὴν ἐπιούσαν δουλείαν, σχεδὸν ἄν ἤδη πάντ' ἦν μ  
μειγμένα τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένη ἐν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ βάρβα  
ἐν Ἑλλησι καὶ Ἑλληνικὰ ἐν βαρβάροις, καθάπερ ὦν Πέρσι  
τυραννοῦσι τὰ νῦν διαπεφορημένα καὶ συμπεφορημένα κακ  
5 [ἐσπαρμένα] κατοικεῖται. ταῦτ', ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγιλ  
ἔχομεν ἐπιτιμᾶν τοῖς τε πάλαι πολιτικοῖς λεγομένοις ι

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b γοῖς καὶ προθύμους αὐτοὺς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις παρείχοντο· καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῷ φρόνιμος ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ βουλευεῖν δυνατός, οὐ φθονεροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ὄντος, διδόντος δὲ παρρησίαν καὶ τιμῶντος τοὺς εἰς τι δυναμένους συμβουλεύειν, κοινήν τὴν τοῦ  
5 φρονεῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον παρείχετο δύναμιν, καὶ πάντα δὴ τότε ἐπέδωκεν αὐτοῖς δι' ἐλευθερίαν τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ νοῦ κοινωνίαν.

ΚΛ. Ἐοικέν γέ πως τὰ λεγόμενα οὕτω γεγονέναι.

c ΑΘ. Πῆ δὴ οὖν ποτε ἀπώλετο ἐπὶ Καμβύσου καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ Δαρείου σχεδὸν ἐσώθη; βούλεσθε οἷον μαντεία διανοηθέντες χρώμεθα;

ΚΛ. Φέρει γοῦν ἡμῖν σκέψιν τοῦ ἐφ' ὅπερ ὠρμήκαμεν.

5 ΑΘ. Μαντεύομαι δὴ νῦν περὶ γε Κύρου, τὰ μὲν ἄλλ' αὐτὸν στρατηγὸν τε ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ φιλόπολι, παιδείας δὲ ὀρθῆς οὐχ ἠφθαι τὸ παράπαν, οἰκονομία τε οὐδὲν τὸν νοῦν προσεσχηκέναι.

ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον φῶμεν;

d ΑΘ. Ἐοικεν ἐκ νέου στρατεύεσθαι διὰ βίου, ταῖς γυναιξὶν παραδοὺς τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν. αἱ δὲ ὡς εὐδαίμονας αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν παίδων εὐθὺς καὶ μακαρίους ἤδη γεγονότας καὶ ἐπιδееῖς ὄντας τούτων οὐδενὸς ἔτρεφον· κωλύουσαι δὲ  
5 ὡς οὖσιν ἱκανῶς εὐδαίμοσιν μήτε αὐτοῖς ἐναντιοῦσθαι μηδένα εἰς μηδέν, ἐπαινεῖν τε ἀναγκάζουσαι πάντας τὸ λεγόμενον ἢ πραττόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἔθρεψαν τοιούτους τινάς.

ΚΛ. Καλήν, ὡς ἔοικας, τροφήν εἶρηκας.

e ΑΘ. Γυναικείαν μὲν οὖν βασιλίδων γυναικῶν νεωστὶ γεγονυιῶν πλουσίων, καὶ ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐρημία, διὰ τὸ μὴ σχολάζειν ὑπὸ πολέμων καὶ πολλῶν κινδύνων, τοὺς παῖδας τρεφουσῶν.

5 ΚΛ. Ἐχει γὰρ λόγον.

695 ΑΘ. Ὁ δὲ πατήρ γε αὐτοῖς αὐτῷ ποίμνια μὲν καὶ πρόβατα καὶ ἀγέλας ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν πολλὰς ἐκτᾶτο, αὐτοὺς δὲ οἷς ταῦτα παραδώσειν ἔμελλεν ἠγνόει τὴν πατρίαν οὐ παιδευομένους τέχνην, οὖσαν Περσικὴν—ποιμένων ὄντων Περσῶν, τραχείας χώρας ἐκγόνων—σκληρὰν καὶ ἱκανὴν ποιμένας ἀπεργάζεσθαι μάλα ἰσχυροὺς καὶ δυναμένους θυραυλεῖν  
5 καὶ ἀγρυπνεῖν καὶ εἰ στρατεύεσθαι δέοι στρατεύεσθαι· διεφθαρμένην δὲ παιδείαν ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης εὐδαιμονίας τὴν Μηδικὴν περιεῖδεν ὑπὸ γυναικῶν τε καὶ εὐνούχων παιδευθέντας αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱεῖς, ὅθεν ἐγένοντο οἷους ἦν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς

γενέσθαι, τροφῇ ἀνεπιπλήκτω τραφέντας. παραλαβόντες δ' οὖν οἱ παῖδες τελευτήσαντος Κύρου τρυφῆς μεστοὶ καὶ ἀνεπιπληξίας, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἕτερον ἄτερος ἀπέκτεινε τῷ ἴσῳ ἀγανακτῶν, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αὐτὸς μαινόμενος ὑπὸ μέθης 5 τε καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπόλεσεν ὑπὸ Μήδων τε καὶ τοῦ λεγομένου τότε εὐνούχου, καταφρονήσαντος τῆς Καμβύσου μωρίας.

ΚΛ. Λέγεται δὴ ταῦτά γε, καὶ ἔοικεν σχεδὸν οὕτω πως 6 γεγονέναι.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν καὶ πάλιν εἰς Πέρσας ἐλθεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν διὰ Δαρείου καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ λέγεταιί που.

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Θεωρῶμεν δὴ συνεπόμενοι τῷ λόγῳ. Δαρεῖος γὰρ βασιλέως οὐκ ἦν υἱός, παιδεία τε οὐ διατρυφώση τεθραμμένος, ἐλθὼν δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν ἑβδομος, διείλετο ἑπτὰ μέρη τεμόμενος, ὧν καὶ νῦν ἔτι σμικρὰ ὀνειράτα 10 λέλειπται, καὶ νόμους ἠξίου θέμενος οἰκεῖν ἰσότητά κοινήν τινα εἰσφέρων, καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κύρου δασμόν, ὃν ὑπέσχετο Πέρσαις, εἰς τὸν νόμον ἐνέδει, φιλίαν πορίζων καὶ κοινωνίαν πᾶσιν Πέρσαις, χρήμασι καὶ δωρεαῖς τὸν Περσῶν δῆμον προσαγόμενος· τοιγαροῦν αὐτῷ τὰ στρατεύματα μετ' εὐνοίας προσεκλήσατο χώρας οὐκ ἐλάττους ὧν 5 κατέλιπε Κῦρος. μετὰ δὲ Δαρεῖον ὁ τῆ βασιλικῆ καὶ τρυφώση πάλιν παιδευθεὶς παιδεία Ξέρξης—“ ὦ Δαρεῖε,” εἰπεῖν ἔστιν δικαιοτάτον ἴσως, “ ὃς τὸ Κύρου κακὸν οὐκ ἔμαθες, ἐθρέψω δὲ Ξέρξην ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἡθεσιν ἐν οἷσπερ Κῦρος Καμβύσην ”—ὁ δέ, ἅτε τῶν αὐτῶν παιδειῶν γενόμενος ἕκγονος, παραπλήσια ἀπετέλεσεν τοῖς Καμβύσου παθήμασιν· καὶ σχεδὸν ἕκ γε τοσοῦτου βασιλεὺς ἐν Πέρσαις οὐδεὶς πω μέγας ἐγγέγονεν ἀληθῶς, πλήν γε ὀνόματι. τὸ δ' αἴτιον 5 οὐ τύχης, ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, ἀλλ' ὁ κακὸς βίος ὃν οἱ τῶν διαφερόντως πλουσίων καὶ τυράννων παῖδες τὰ πολλὰ ζῶσιν· οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε γένηται παῖς καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ γέρων ἐκ ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς διαφέρων πρὸς ἀρετὴν. ἂ δὴ, φαμέν, τῷ νομοθέτῃ σκεπτέον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι. δίκαιον μὴν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τοῦτό γε τῇ πόλει ὑμῶν ἀποδιδόναι, 5 ὅτι πενία καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ ἰδιωτεῖα καὶ βασιλεία διαφέρουσαν οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν τιμὴν καὶ τροφήν νέμετε, ἅς μὴ τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὑμῖν θεῖον παρὰ θεοῦ διεμαντεύσατό τινος. οὐ γὰρ δὴ δεῖ 6



κατὰ πόλιν γε εἶναι τὰς τιμὰς ὑπερεχούσας, ὅτι τίς ἐστὶν πλούτῳ διαφέρων, ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὅτι ταχὺς ἢ καλὸς ἢ ἰσχυρὸς ἄνευ τινὸς ἀρετῆς, οὐδ' ἀρετῆς ἢς ἂν σωφροσύνη ἀπῆ.

5 ΜΕ. Πῶς τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ἀνδρεία που μόριον ἀρετῆς ἔν;

ΜΕ. Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;

ΑΘ. Δίκασον τοίνυν αὐτὸς τὸν λόγον ἀκούσας εἴ σοι δέξαι' ἂν σύνοικον ἢ γείτονα εἶναι τινα σφόδρα μὲν ἀνδρεῖον, 10 μὴ σώφρονα δὲ ἄλλ' ἀκόλαστον.

c ΜΕ. Εὐφήμει.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; τεχνικὸν μὲν καὶ περὶ ταῦτα σοφόν, ἄδικον δέ;

ΜΕ. Οὐδαμῶς.

5 ΑΘ. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε δίκαιον οὐ φύεται χωρὶς τοῦ σωφρονεῖν.

ΜΕ. Πῶς γὰρ ἄν;

ΑΘ. Οὐδὲ μὴν ὄν γε σοφὸν ἡμεῖς νυνδὴ προυθέμεθα, τὸν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας κεκτημένον συμφώνους τοῖς ὀρθοῖς 10 λόγοις καὶ ἐπομένας.

ΜΕ. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν.

d ΑΘ. Ἐτι δὴ καὶ τόδε ἐπισκεψώμεθα τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τιμήσεων ἔνεκα, ποῖαί τε ὀρθαὶ καὶ μὴ γίνονται ἐκάστοτε.

ΜΕ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Σωφροσύνη ἄνευ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἐν 5 ψυχῇ τινι μεμονωμένη τίμιον ἢ ἀτιμον γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατὰ δίκην;

ΜΕ. Οὐκ ἔχω ὅπως εἶπω.

ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν εἴρηκός γε μετρίως· εἰπὼν γὰρ δὴ ὦν ἡρόμην ὅποτερονοῦν, παρὰ μέλος ἔμοιγ' ἂν δοκεῖς φθέγγασθαι.

10 ΜΕ. Καλῶς τοίνυν γεγονὸς ἂν εἶη.

e ΑΘ. Εἶεν· τὸ μὲν δὴ πρόσθημα ὦν τιμαί τε καὶ ἀτιμίαι οὐ λόγου, ἀλλὰ τινος μᾶλλον ἀλόγου σιγῆς, ἄξιον ἂν εἶη.

ΜΕ. Σωφροσύνην μοι φαίνῃ λέγειν.

ΑΘ. Ναί. τὸ δέ γε τῶν ἄλλων πλεῖστα ἡμᾶς ὠφελοῦν μετὰ τῆς προσθήκης μάλιστ' ἂν τιμώμενον ὀρθότατα τιμῶτο, 5 καὶ τὸ δεύτερον δευτέρως· καὶ οὕτω δὴ κατὰ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον τὰς ἐφεξῆς τιμὰς λαγχάνον ἕκαστον ὀρθῶς ἂν λαγχάνοι.

697 ΜΕ. Ἐχει ταύτη.

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λεγόμενα τίμια καὶ καλὰ κατὰ πόλιν.

ΜΕ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

5 ΑΘ. Τὰ μὲν δὴ περί γε Περσῶν, ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὰ νῦν διοικεῖται διὰ τὴν σφόδρα δουλείαν τε καὶ δεσποτείαν, τέλος ἔχέτω.

ΜΕ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Τὰ δὲ περὶ [τὴν] τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας τὸ μετὰ  
 10 τοῦτο ὡσαύτως ἡμᾶς διεξελεῖν χρεῶν, ὡς ἡ παντελῆς καὶ  
 b ἀπὸ πασῶν ἀρχῶν ἐλευθερία τῆς μέτρον ἐχούσης ἀρχῆς ὑφ'  
 ἑτέρων οὐ σμικρῶ χείρων· ἡμῖν γὰρ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον,  
 ὅτε ἡ Περσῶν ἐπίθεσις τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἴσως δὲ σχεδὸν ἅπασιν  
 τοῖς τὴν Εὐρώπην οἰκοῦσιν, ἐγίνετο, πολιτεία τε ἦν παλαιὰ  
 5 καὶ ἐκ τιμημάτων ἀρχαί τινες τεττάρων, καὶ δεσπότης ἐνῆν  
 τις αἰδώς, δι' ἣν δουλεύοντες τοῖς τότε νόμοις ζῆν ἠθέλομεν.  
 καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δὴ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στόλου κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ  
 κατὰ θάλατταν γενόμενον, φόβον ἄπορον ἐμβαλόν, δουλείαν  
 c ἔτι μείζονα ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς τοῖς τε ἄρχουσιν καὶ τοῖς νόμοις  
 δουλεῦσαι, καὶ διὰ πάντα ταῦθ' ἡμῖν συνέπεσε πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 αὐτοὺς σφόδρα φιλία. σχεδὸν γὰρ δέκα ἔτεσιν πρὸ τῆς ἐν  
 Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας ἀφίκετο Δᾶτις Περσικὸν στόλον ἄγων,  
 5 πέμψαντος Δαρείου διαρρήδην ἐπὶ τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἐρε-  
 τριάς, ἐξανδραποδισάμενον ἀγαγεῖν, θάνατον αὐτῶ προειπὼν  
 μὴ πράξαντι ταῦτα. καὶ ὁ Δᾶτις τοὺς μὲν Ἐρετριάς ἐν τινι  
 d βραχεῖ χρόνῳ παντάπασιν κατὰ κράτος τε εἶλεν μυριάσι  
 συχναῖς, καὶ τινα λόγον εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἀφῆκεν  
 φοβερόν, ὡς οὐδεὶς Ἐρετριῶν αὐτὸν ἀποπεφευγῶς εἶη·  
 συνάψαντες γὰρ ἄρα τὰς χεῖρας σαγηνεύσαιεν πᾶσαν τὴν  
 5 Ἐρετρικὴν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῦ Δάτιδος. ὁ δὲ λόγος, εἴτ'  
 ἀληθῆς εἶτε καὶ ὄπη ἀφίκετο, τοὺς τε ἄλλους Ἑλληνας καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ Ἀθηναίους ἐξέπληττεν, καὶ πρεσβευομένοις αὐτοῖς  
 e πανταχόσε βοηθεῖν οὐδεὶς ἠθέλεν πλὴν γε Λακεδαιμονίων·  
 οὗτοι δὲ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πρὸς Μεσσήνην ὄντος τότε πολέμου καὶ  
 εἰ δὴ τι διεκώλυεν ἄλλο αὐτούς—οὐ γὰρ ἴσμεν λεγόμενον—  
 ὕστεροι οὖν ἀφίκοντο τῆς ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχης γενομένης  
 5 μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο παρασκευαί τε μεγάλαι λεγόμε-  
 ναι καὶ ἀπειλαὶ ἐφοίτων μυρίαὶ παρὰ βασιλέως. προϊόντος  
 δὲ τοῦ χρόνου, Δαρεῖος μὲν τεθνάναι ἐλέχθη, νέος δὲ καὶ  
 σφοδρὸς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ παρειληφέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ οὐδαμῶς  
 699 ἀφίστασθαι τῆς ὀρμῆς. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πᾶν τοῦτο ᾤοντο ἐπὶ

σφᾶς αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζεσθαι διὰ τὸ Μαραθῶνι γεγόμενον, καὶ ἀκούοντες Ἄθων τε διορυττόμενον καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ζευγνύμενον καὶ τὸ τῶν νεῶν πλήθος, ἠγήσαντο οὔτε κατὰ γῆν σφίσι εἶναι σωτηρίαν οὔτε κατὰ θάλατταν· οὔτε γὰρ 5 βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς οὐδένα—μεμνημένοι ὡς οὐδ' ὅτε τὸ πρότερον ἦλθον καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἐρέτριαν διεπράξαντο, σφίσι γε οὐδεὶς τότε ἐβοήθησεν οὐδ' ἐκινδύνευσεν συμμαχόμενος· ταῦτον δὴ προσεδόκων καὶ τότε γενήσεσθαι τό γε κατὰ γῆν—καὶ b κατὰ θάλατταν δ' αὖ πᾶσαν ἀπορίαν ἐώρων σωτηρίας, νεῶν χιλίων καὶ ἔτι ἡλεόντων ἐπιφερομένων. μίαν δὴ σωτηρίαν συνενόουν, λεπτήν μὲν καὶ ἀπορον, μόνην δ' οὖν, βλέψαντες πρὸς τὸ πρότερον γεγόμενον, ὡς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ τότε ἐφαίνετο 5 γενέσθαι τὸ νικῆσαι μαχομένους· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχούμενοι ταύτης ἠϋρισκον καταφυγὴν αὐτοῖς εἰς αὐτοὺς μόνους εἶναι καὶ τοὺς θεούς. ταῦτ' οὖν αὐτοῖς πάντα φιλίαν ἀλλήλων c ἐνεποίει, ὁ φόβος ὁ τότε παρῶν ὃ τε ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γεγονώς, ὃν δουλεύοντες τοῖς πρόσθεν νόμοις ἐκέκτηντο, ἦν αἰδῶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἶπομεν, ἦ καὶ δουλεύειν ἔφαμεν δεῖν τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀγαθοὺς ἔσεσθαι, 5 ἦς ὁ δειλὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἀφοβος· ὃν εἰ τότε μὴ δέος ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε συνελθὼν ἠμύνατο, οὐδ' ἠμυνην ἱεροῖς τε καὶ τάφοις καὶ πατρίδι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἰκείοις τε ἅμα καὶ φίλοις, ὥσπερ τότε ἐβοήθησεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ σμικρὰ ἂν ἐν τῷ τότε d ἡμῶν ἕκαστος σκεδασθεὶς ἄλλος ἄλλοσε διεσπάρη.

ΜΕ. Καὶ μάλα, ὦ ξένε, ὀρθῶς τε εἶρηκας καὶ σαυτῷ τε καὶ τῇ πατρίδι πρεπόντως.

ΑΘ. Ἔστι ταῦτα, ὦ Μέγιλλε· πρὸς γὰρ σὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ 5 τότε χρόνῳ γεγόμενα, κοινωνὸν τῇ τῶν πατέρων γεγονότα φύσει, δίκαιον λέγειν. ἐπισκόπει μὴν καὶ σὺ καὶ Κλεινίας εἴ τι πρὸς τὴν νομοθεσίαν προσήκοντα λέγομεν· οὐ γὰρ μύθων ἔνεκα διεξέρχομαι, οὐ λέγω δ' ἔνεκα. ὀρᾶτε γάρ· ἐπειδὴ e τινὰ τρόπον ταῦτόν ἡμῖν συμβεβήκει πάθος ὅπερ Πέρσαις, ἐκείνοις μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν δουλείαν ἄγουσιν τὸν δῆμον, ἡμῖν δ' αὖ τοῦναντίον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἐλευθερίαν προτρέπουσι τὰ πλήθη, πῶς δὴ καὶ τί λέγωμεν τοῦντεῦθεν, οἱ προγεγονότες ἡμῖν 5 ἔμπροσθεν λόγοι τρόπον τινὰ καλῶς εἰσιν εἰρημένοι.

ΜΕ. Λέγεις εὖ· πειρῶ δ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ἡμῖν σημῆναι 700 τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον.

ΑΘ. Ἔσται ταῦτα· οὐκ ἦν, ὦ φίλοι, ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν

παλαιῶν νόμων ὁ δῆμιός τινων κύριος, ἀλλὰ τρόπον τινὰ  
5 ἐκὼν ἐδούλευε τοῖς νόμοις.

ΜΕ. Ποίοις δὴ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Τοῖς περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν πρῶτον τὴν τότε, ἵνα ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς διέλθωμεν τὴν τοῦ ἐλευθέρου λίαν ἐπίδοσιν βίου.  
διηρημένη γὰρ δὴ τότε ἦν ἡμῖν ἡ μουσικὴ κατὰ εἶδη τε  
b εἰ αὐτῆς ἄττα καὶ σχήματα, καὶ τι ἦν εἶδος ὠδῆς εὐχαιὶ πρὸς  
θεούς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο· καὶ τούτῳ δὴ τὸ ἐναντίον  
ἦν ὠδῆς ἕτερον εἶδος—θρήνους δέ τις ἂν αὐτοὺς μάλιστα  
ἐκάλεσεν—καὶ παίωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις  
5 οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος. νόμους τε αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα  
ἐκάλουν, ὠδὴν ὡς τινα ἑτέραν· ἐπέλεγον δὲ κιθαρωδικούς.  
τούτων δὴ διατεταγμένων καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν, οὐκ ἐξῆν ἄλλῳ  
c εἰς ἄλλο καταχρῆσθαι μέλους εἶδος· τὸ δὲ κῦρος τούτων,  
γνώναί τε καὶ ἅμα γνόντα δικάσαι, ζημιοῦν τε αὐτὸν μὴ  
πειθόμενον, οὐ σύριγξ ἦν οὐδέ τινας ἄμουσοι βοαὶ πλήθους,  
καθάπερ τὰ νῦν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ κρότοι ἐπαίνους ἀποδιδόντες, ἀλλὰ  
5 τοῖς μὲν γεγονόσι περὶ παιδείωσιν δεδογμένον ἀκούειν ἦν  
αὐτοῖς μετὰ σιγῆς διὰ τέλους, παισὶ δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ  
τῷ πλείστῳ ὄχλῳ ράβδου κοσμούσης ἢ νουθέτησις ἐγίνετο.  
d ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω τεταγμένως ἤθελεν ἄρχεσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ  
πλήθος, καὶ μὴ τολμᾶν κρίνειν διὰ θορύβου· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα,  
προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου, ἄρχοντες μὲν τῆς ἀμούσου παρανομίας  
ποιηταὶ ἐγίνοντο φύσει μὲν ποιητικοί, ἀγνώμονες δὲ περὶ  
5 τὸ δίκαιον τῆς Μούσης καὶ τὸ νόμιμον, βακχεύοντες καὶ  
μᾶλλον τοῦ δέοντος κατεχόμενοι ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, κεραυνύντες δὲ  
θρήνους τε ὕμνοις καὶ παίωνας διθύραμβοις, καὶ αὐλωδίας  
δὴ ταῖς κιθαρωδίαις μιμούμενοι, καὶ πάντα εἰς πάντα συν-  
e ἀγοντες, μουσικῆς ἄκοντες ὑπ' ἀνοίας καταψευδόμενοι ὡς  
ὀρθότητα μὲν οὐκ ἔχοι οὐδ' ἠντινοῦν μουσικῆ, ἡδονῇ δὲ τῇ  
τοῦ χαίροντος, εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις, κρίνοιτο  
ὀρθότατα. τοιαῦτα δὴ ποιοῦντες ποιήματα, λόγους τε ἐπιλέ-  
5 γοντες τοιούτους, τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐνέθεσαν παρανομίαν εἰς τὴν  
μουσικὴν καὶ τόλμαν ὡς ἱκανοῖς οὖσιν κρίνειν· ὅθεν δὴ τὰ  
701 θέατρα ἐξ ἀφώνων φωνήεντ' ἐγένοντο, ὡς ἐπαίοντα ἐν  
μούσαις τό τε καλὸν καὶ μῆ, καὶ ἀντὶ ἀριστοκρατίας ἐν αὐτῇ  
θεατροκρατία τις πονηρὰ γέγονεν. εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ δημοκρατία  
ἐν αὐτῇ τις μόνον ἐγένετο ἐλευθέρων ἀνδρῶν, οὐδὲν ἂν πάνυ  
5 γε δεινὸν ἦν τὸ γεγονός· νῦν δὲ ἤρξε μὲν ἡμῖν ἐκ μουσικῆς

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τε καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ κατοίκισιν, καὶ τοὺς πρώτους δὴ τοὺς  
 5 περιλιπεῖς γενομένους τῆς φθορᾶς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν  
 τούτων γενομένους ἡμῖν λόγους περὶ τε μουσικῆς καὶ μέθης  
 καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔτι πρότερα. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα εἴρηται τοῦ  
 κατιδεῖν ἔνεκα πῶς ποτ' ἂν πόλις ἄριστα οἰκοίη, καὶ ἰδίᾳ  
 b πῶς ἂν τις βέλτιστα τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον διαγάγοι· εἰ δὲ δὴ τι  
 πεποιήκαμεν προὔργου, τίς ποτ' ἂν ἔλεγχος γίγνοιτο ἡμῖν  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς λεχθεῖς, ὦ Μέγιλλέ τε καὶ Κλεινία;

ΚΛ. Ἐγὼ τίνα, ὦ ξένε, μοι δοκῶ κατανοεῖν. ἔοικεν κατὰ  
 5 τύχην τινὰ ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν λόγων τούτων πάντων ὧν διεξήλθομεν  
 γεγονέναι· σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰς χρείαν αὐτῶν ἔγωγ' ἐλήλυθα τὰ  
 νῦν, καὶ κατὰ τίνα αὐτῶν καιρὸν σὺ τε παραγέγονας ἅμα καὶ  
 c Μέγιλλος ὄδε. οὐ γὰρ ἀποκρύψομαι σφῶν τὸ νῦν ἐμοὶ  
 συμβαῖνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς οἰωνόν τινα ποιῶμαι. ἢ γὰρ  
 πλείστη τῆς Κρήτης ἐπιχειρεῖ τίνα ἀποικίαν ποιήσασθαι,  
 καὶ προστάττει τοῖς Κνωσίοις ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοῦ πράγματος,  
 5 ἢ δὲ τῶν Κνωσίων πόλις ἐμοί τε καὶ ἄλλοις ἐννέα· ἅμα δὲ  
 καὶ νόμους τῶν τε αὐτόθι, εἴ τινες ἡμᾶς ἀρέσκουσιν, τίθεσθαι  
 κελεύει, καὶ εἴ τινες ἑτέρωθεν, μηδὲν ὑπολογιζομένους τὸ  
 ξενικὸν αὐτῶν, ἂν βελτίους φαίνωνται. νῦν οὖν ἐμοί τε καὶ  
 d ὑμῖν ταύτην δῶμεν χάριν· ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐκλέξαντες, τῶ  
 λόγῳ συστησώμεθα πόλιν, οἷον ἐξ ἀρχῆς κατοικίζοντες,  
 καὶ ἅμα μὲν ἡμῖν οὐ ζητοῦμεν ἐπίσκεψις γενήσεται, ἅμα  
 δὲ ἐγὼ τάχ' ἂν χρησαίμην εἰς τὴν μέλλουσαν πόλιν ταύτη  
 5 τῇ συστάσει.

ΑΘ. Οὐ πόλεμόν γε ἐπαγγέλλεις, ὦ Κλεινία· ἀλλ' εἰ μή  
 τι Μεγίλλῳ πρόσαντες, τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ γε ἡγοῦ σοι πάντα κατὰ  
 νοῦν ὑπάρχειν εἰς δύναμιν.

ΚΛ. Εὐ λέγεις.

10 ΜΕ. Καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ.

e ΚΛ. Κάλλιστ' εἰρήκατον. ἀτὰρ πειρώμεθα λόγῳ πρῶτον  
 κατοικίζειν τὴν πόλιν.

# BOOK IV

## SHORT ANALYSIS

**704-707 e.**—Foreign trade and a navy are dangers to the honesty and the bravery of a people. Therefore our colony should not be too near the sea, and its soil should produce various but not over-abundant crops.

**707 e-708 e.**—Better face the difficulty of welding into one a heterogeneous mass of colonists than that of overcoming the general prejudice against any improvement in polity or legislation which you will encounter if they all come from one city.

**708 e-709 e.**—Though bad luck may thwart the highest skill, without skill the best of luck cannot be utilized.

**709 e-712 b.**—The best chance for the establishment of a perfect polity is that a “divine” lawgiver should enjoy the complete confidence of a revered and public-spirited despot.

**712 b-716.**—The only true polity is one in which Law is supreme, and in which laws are made in the interest of the whole community.

**716-718 b.**—Our whole duty towards God and all superior powers and existences is here set forth.

**718 b to end of book.**—The need of rational, persuasive, and artistic prefaces to the laws.

### Δ

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ, τίνα δεῖ διανοηθῆναι. ποτε τὴν πόλιν 704  
ἔσεσθαι; λέγω δὲ οὐτι τοῦνομα αὐτῆς ἐρωτῶν ὅτι ποτ' ἔστι  
τὰ νῦν, οὐδὲ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ὅτι δεήσει καλεῖν αὐτήν—  
τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ ὁ κατοικισμὸς αὐτῆς ἢ τις  
τόπος, ἢ ποταμοῦ τινος ἢ κρήνης ἢ θεῶν ἐπωνυμία τῶν ἐν τῷ 5  
τόπῳ προσθείη τὴν αὐτῶν φήμην καινῇ γενομένη τῇ πόλει— b  
τόδε δὲ περὶ αὐτῆς ἔστιν ὁ βουλόμενος μᾶλλον ἐπερωτῶ,  
πότερον ἐπιθαλαττίδιος ἔσται τις ἢ χερσαία.



ΚΛ. Σχεδόν, ὦ ξένε, ἀπέχει θαλάττης γε ἢ πόλις, ἧς περί  
5 τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα ἡμῖν, εἰς τινὰς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίου.

ΑΘ. Τί δέ; λιμένες ἄρ' εἰσὶν κατὰ ταῦτα αὐτῆς, ἢ τὸ  
παράπαν ἀλίμενος;

ΚΛ. Εὐλίμενος μὲν οὖν ταύτη γε ὡς δυνατόν ἐστὶν  
μάλιστα, ὦ ξένε.

ΑΘ. Παπαί, οἷον λέγεις. τί δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν ἢ χώρα;  
πότερα πάμφορος ἢ καὶ τινῶν ἐπιδεής;

ΚΛ. Σχεδόν οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεής.

ΑΘ. Γείτων δὲ αὐτῆς πόλις ἄρ' ἔσται τις πλησίον;

ΚΛ. Οὐ πάνυ, διὸ καὶ κατοικίζεται· παλαιὰ γάρ τις ἐξ-  
5 οἰκησις ἐν τῷ τόπῳ γενομένη τὴν χώραν ταύτην ἔρημον  
ἀπείργασται χρόνον ἀμήχανον ὅσον.

ΑΘ. Τί δὲ πεδίων τε καὶ ὄρων καὶ ὕλης; πῶς μέρος  
ἐκάστων ἡμῖν εἶληχεν;

ΚΛ. Προσέοικε τῇ τῆς ἄλλης Κρήτης φύσει ὅλη.

ΑΘ. Τραχυτέραν αὐτὴν ἢ πεδιεινότεραν ἂν λέγοις.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Οὐ τοίνυν ἀνιάτός γε ἂν εἶη πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν.  
εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιθαλαττία τε ἔμελλεν εἶναι καὶ εὐλίμενος καὶ  
5 μὴ πάμφορος ἀλλ' ἐπιδεής πολλῶν, μεγάλου τινὸς ἔδει  
σωτήρως τε αὐτῇ καὶ νομοθετῶν θείων τινῶν, εἰ μὴ πολλά  
τε ἔμελλεν ἦθθ καὶ ποικίλα καὶ φαῦλα ἔξειν τοιαύτη φύσει  
γενομένη· νῦν δὲ παραμύθιον ἔχει τὸ τῶν ὀγδοήκοντα στα-  
δίων. ἐγγύτερον μέντοι τοῦ δέοντος κεῖται τῆς θαλάττης,  
705 σχεδόν ὅσον εὐλιμενωτέραν αὐτὴν φῆς εἶναι, ὅμως δὲ ἀγα-  
πητὸν καὶ τοῦτο. πρόσσοικος γὰρ θάλαττα χώρα τὸ μὲν  
παρ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἠδύ, μάλα γε μὴν ὄντως ἀλμυρὸν καὶ  
πικρὸν γειτόνημα· ἐμπορίας γὰρ καὶ χρηματισμοῦ διὰ καπη-  
5 λείας ἐμπιμπλάσα αὐτὴν, ἦθθ παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα ταῖς  
ψυχαῖς ἐντίκτουσα, αὐτὴν τε πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν ἄπιστον  
καὶ ἄφιλον ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὡσαύτως.  
παραμύθιον δὲ δὴ πρὸς ταῦτα καὶ τὸ πάμφορος εἶναι κέκτηται,  
b τραχεῖα δὲ οὔσα δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολύφορός [τε εἶη καὶ  
πάμφορος] ἅμα· τοῦτο γὰρ ἔχουσα, πολλὴν ἐξαγωγὴν ἂν  
παρεχομένη, νομίσματος ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ πάλιν ἀντεμ-  
πίμπλαιτ' ἂν, οὐ μείζον κακὸν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πόλει ἀνθ'  
5 ἐνὸς ἐν οὐδὲν ἂν γίγνοιτο εἰς γενναίων καὶ δικαίων ἠθῶν  
κτήσιν, ὡς ἔφαμεν εἰ μεμνήμεθα; ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις.

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γενομένους ἐθισθῆναι, πυκνὰ ἀποπηδῶντας, δρομικῶς εἰς τὰς  
 ναῦς ταχὺ πάλιν ἀποχωρεῖν, καὶ δοκεῖν μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν  
 μὴ τολμῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν μένοντας ἐπιφερομένων. πολε-  
 5 μίων, ἀλλ' εἰκυίας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις καὶ σφόδρα  
 ἐτοίμας ὄπλα τε ἀπολλῦσιν καὶ φεύγουσι δὴ τινὰς οὐκ  
 αἰσχράς, ὡς φασιν, φυγὰς. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ ναυτικῆς ὀπλι-  
 τείας ῥήματα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν, οὐκ ἄξια ἐπαίνων πολλακισ-  
 d μυρίων, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον· ἔθνη γὰρ πονηρὰ οὐδέποτε ἐθίζειν  
 δεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν βέλτιστον μέρος. ἦν δέ που  
 τοῦτό γε καὶ παρ' Ὀμήρου λαβεῖν, ὅτι τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ἦν  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον οὐ καλόν. Ὀδυσσεὺς γὰρ αὐτῷ λοιδορεῖ τὸν  
 5 Ἀγαμέμνονα, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν τότε ὑπὸ τῶν Τρώων κατεχο-  
 μένων τῇ μάχῃ, κελεύοντα τὰς ναῦς εἰς τὴν θάλατταν  
 καθέλκειν, ὃ δὲ χαλεπαίνει τε αὐτῷ καὶ λέγει—

e ὃς κέλεαι πολέμοιο συνεσταότος καὶ αὐτῆς  
 νῆας εὐσέλμους ἅλαδ' ἔλκειν, ὄφρ' ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 Τρωσὶ μὲν εὐκτὰ γένηται ἐελδομένοισί περ ἔμπης,  
 ἡμῖν δ' αἰπὺς ὄλεθρος ἐπιρρέπη· οὐ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ  
 5 σχήσουσιν πολέμου νηῶν ἅλαδ' ἐλκομενάων,  
 ἀλλ' ἀποπαπτανέουσιν, ἐρωήσουσι δὲ χάρμης·  
 707 ἔνθα κε σὴ βουλή δηλήσεται, οἷ' ἀγορεύεις.

ταῦτ' οὖν ἐγίγνωσκε καὶ ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι κακὸν ἐν θαλάττῃ  
 τριήρεις ὀπλίταις παρεστῶσαι μαχομένοις· καὶ λέοντες ἂν  
 ἐλάφους ἐθισθεῖεν φεύγειν τοιούτοις ἔθεσι χρώμενοι. πρὸς  
 5 δὲ τούτοις αἱ διὰ τὰ ναυτικὰ πόλεων δυνάμεις ἅμα σωτηρίας  
 τιμὰς οὐ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἀποδιδόασιν· διὰ  
 κυβερνητικῆς γὰρ καὶ πεντηκονταρχίας καὶ ἐρετικῆς, καὶ  
 b παντοδαπῶν καὶ οὐ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων γιγνομένης,  
 τὰς τιμὰς ἐκάστοις οὐκ ἂν δύναίτο ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδόναι τις.  
 καίτοι πῶς ἂν ἔτι πολιτεία γίγνοιτο ὀρθῆ τούτου στερομένη;

ΚΛ. Σχεδὸν ἀδύνατον. ἀλλὰ μὴν, ὦ ξένε, τὴν γε περὶ  
 5 Σαλαμίνα ναυμαχίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους  
 γενομένην ἡμεῖς γε οἱ Κρήτες τὴν Ἑλλάδα φαμὲν σῶσαι.

ΑΘ. Καὶ γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων  
 c λέγουσι ταῦτα. ἡμεῖς δέ, ὦ φίλε, ἐγώ τε καὶ ὄδε, Μέ-  
 γιλλος, φαμὲν τὴν πεζὴν μάχην τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι γενομένην  
 καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς, τὴν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἑλλησι,

τὴν δὲ τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ τὰς μὲν βελτίους τοὺς Ἑλληνας  
 ποιῆσαι, τὰς δὲ οὐ βελτίους, ἵν' οὕτως λέγωμεν περὶ τῶν 5  
 τότε συσσωσασῶν ἡμᾶς μαχῶν· πρὸς γὰρ τῇ περὶ Σαλαμίνα  
 τὴν περὶ τὸ Ἀρτεμισίον σοι προσθήσω κατὰ θάλατταν μάχην.  
 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἀποβλέποντες νῦν πρὸς πολιτείας ἀρετὴν καὶ d  
 χώρας φύσιν σκοπούμεθα καὶ νόμων τάξιν, οὐ τὸ σῶζεσθαι  
 τε καὶ εἶναι μόνον ἀνθρώποις τιμιώτατον ἡγούμενοι, καθάπερ  
 οἱ πολλοί, τὸ δ' ὡς βελτίστους γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ εἶναι  
 τοσοῦτον χρόνον ὅσον ἂν ὦσιν· εἴρηται δ' ἡμῖν οἶμαι καὶ 5  
 τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν.

ΚΛ. Τί μὴν;

ΑΘ. Τοῦτο τοίνυν σκοπώμεθα μόνον, εἰ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν  
 ὁδὸν ἐρχόμεθα βελτίστην οὔσαν πόλεσι κατοικίσεων πέρι  
 καὶ νομοθεσιῶν. 10

ΚΛ. Καὶ πολὺ γε.

ΑΘ. Λέγε δὴ τοίνυν τὸ τούτοις ἐξῆς· τίς ὁ κατοικιζό- e  
 μενος ὑμῖν λεῶς ἔσται; πότερον ἐξ ἀπάσης Κρήτης ὁ ἐθέ-  
 λων, ὡς ὄχλου τινὸς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκάσταις γεγεννημένου  
 πλείονος ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τροφήν; οὐ γὰρ που τὸν  
 βουλόμενόν γε Ἑλλήνων συνάγετε. καίτοι τινὰς ὑμῖν ἔκ 5  
 τε Ἄργους ὄρω καὶ Αἰγίνης καὶ ἄλλοθεν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰς  
 τὴν χώραν κατωκισμένους. τὸ δὲ δὴ παρὸν ἡμῖν, λέγε, 708  
 πόθεν ἔσεσθαι φῆς στρατόπεδον τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ νῦν;

ΚΛ. Ἐκ τε Κρήτης συμπάσης ἔοικεν γενήσεσθαι, καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων δὲ Ἑλλήνων μάλιστ' ἄν μοι φαίνονται τοὺς  
 ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου προσδέξασθαι συνοίκους. καὶ γὰρ ὁ νῦν 5  
 δὴ λέγεις, ἀληθὲς φράζεις, ὡς ἐξ Ἄργους εἰσὶν, καὶ τό γε  
 μάλιστ' εὐδοκιμοῦν τὰ νῦν ἐνθάδε γένος, τὸ Γορτυνικόν· ἐκ  
 Γόρτυνος γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀπωκηκὸς ταύτης τῆς Πελοποννη-  
 σιακῆς.

ΑΘ. Οὐ τοίνυν εὐκολος ὁμοίως γίγνοιτ' ἂν ὁ κατοικισμὸς b  
 ταῖς πόλεσιν, ὅταν μὴ τὸν τῶν ἐσμῶν γίγνηται τρόπον, ἐν  
 γένος ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἰὸν χώρας οἰκίζηται, φίλον παρὰ φίλων,  
 στενοχωρία τινὶ πολιορκηθὲν γῆς ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις τοιούτοις  
 παθήμασιν ἀναγκασθέν. ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ στάσεσιν βιαζό- 5  
 μενον ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν ἐτέρωσε ἀποξενουῆσθαι πόλεώς τι  
 μόριον· ἤδη δὲ ποτε καὶ συνάπασα πόλις τινῶν ἔφυγεν,  
 ἄρδην κρείττονι κρατηθεῖσα πολέμῳ. ταῦτ' οὖν πάντ' ἐστὶ  
 τῇ μὲν ῥᾶω κατοικίζεσθαι τε καὶ νομοθετεῖσθαι, τῇ δὲ χαλε- c

πώτερα. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔν τι εἶναι γένος ὁμόφωνον καὶ ὁμόνομον  
 ἔχει τινὰ φιλίαν, κοινωνὸν ἱερῶν ὃν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 πάντων, νόμους δ' ἑτέρους καὶ πολιτείας ἄλλας τῶν οἴκοθεν  
 5 οὐκ εὐπετῶς ἀνέχεται, τὸ δ' ἐνίοτε πονηρία νόμων ἐστα-  
 σιακὸς καὶ διὰ συνήθειαν ζητοῦν ἔτι χρῆσθαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
 ἤθεσιν δι' ἃ καὶ πρότερον ἐφθάρη, χαλεπὸν τῷ κατοικί-  
 d ζοντι καὶ νομοθετοῦντι καὶ δυσπειθὲς γίγνεται· τὸ δ' αὖ  
 παντοδαπὸν ἐς ταῦτόν συνερρηκὸς γένος ὑπακοῦσαι μὲν  
 τινων νόμων καινῶν τάχα ἂν ἐθελήσειε μᾶλλον, τὸ δὲ συμ-  
 πνεῦσαι, καὶ καθάπερ ἵππων ζεύγος καθ' ἓνα εἰς ταῦτόν, τὸ  
 5 λεγόμενον, συμφυσῆσαι, χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ παγχάλεπον.  
 ἀλλ' ὄντως ἐστὶν νομοθεσία καὶ πόλεων οἰκισμοὶ πάντων  
 τελεωτάτων πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀνδρῶν.

ΚΛ. Εἰκός· ὅπη δ' αὖ βλέπων τοῦτ' εἴρηκας, φράζ' ἔτι  
 σαφέστερον.

e ΑΘ. Ὁγαθέ, ἔοικα περὶ νομοθετῶν ἐπανιῶν καὶ σκοπῶν  
 ἅμα ἐρεῖν τι καὶ φαῦλον· ἀλλ' ἐὰν πρὸς καιρὸν τινα λέγωμεν,  
 πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲν γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἔτι. καίτοι τί ποτε δυσχεραίνω;  
 σχεδὸν γάρ τοι πάντα οὕτως ἔοικ' ἔχειν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.

5 ΚΛ. Τοῦ δὴ πέρι λέγεις;

709 ΑΘ. Ἐμελλον λέγειν ὡς οὐδεὶς ποτε ἀνθρώπων οὐδὲν  
 νομοθετεῖ, τύχαι δὲ καὶ συμφοραὶ παντοῖαι πίπτουσαι παν-  
 τοίως νομοθετοῦσι τὰ πάντα ἡμῖν. ἢ γὰρ πόλεμός τις  
 βιασάμενος ἀνέτρεψε πολιτείας καὶ μετέβαλε νόμους, ἢ  
 5 πενίας χαλεπῆς ἀπορία· πολλὰ δὲ καὶ νόσοι ἀναγκάζουσι  
 καινοτομεῖν, λοιμῶν τε ἐμπιπτόντων, καὶ χρόνον ἐπὶ πολὺν  
 ἐνιαυτῶν πολλῶν πολλάκις ἀκαιρίας. ταῦτα δὴ πάντα  
 προῖδῶν τις ἄξειεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅπερ ἐγὼ νυνδὴ, τὸ θνητῶν μὲν  
 b μηδένα νομοθετεῖν μηδέν, τύχας δ' εἶναι σχεδὸν ἅπαντα  
 τὰ ἀνθρώπινα πράγματα· τὸ δ' ἐστὶν περὶ τε ναυτιλίαν καὶ  
 κυβερνητικὴν καὶ ἰατρικὴν καὶ στρατηγικὴν πάντα ταῦτ'  
 εἰπόντα δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁμοίως· αὖ καὶ τότε  
 5 ἐστὶν λέγοντα εὖ λέγειν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

c ΑΘ. Ὡς θεὸς μὲν πάντα, καὶ μετὰ θεοῦ τύχη καὶ καιρὸς  
 τὰνθρώπινα διακυβερνῶσι σύμπαντα· ἡμερώτερον μὲν τρίτον  
 συγχωρῆσαι τούτοις δεῖν· ἔπεσθαι τέχνην· καιρῷ γὰρ χει-  
 μῶνος συλλαβέσθαι κυβερνητικὴν ἢ μή, μέγα πλεονέκτημα  
 ἔγωγ' ἂν θείην· ἢ πῶς;

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δυνατόν ἐστι τάχιστα καὶ ἄριστα σχήσειν πολιτείαν ἣν λαβοῦσα εὐδαιμονέστατα διάξει. θάπτων γὰρ ταύτης καὶ ἀμείνων πολιτείας διάθεσις οὔτ' ἔστιν οὔτ' ἂν ποτε γένοιτο.

c ΚΛ. Πῶς δὴ καὶ τίνι λόγῳ τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, λέγων ἂν τις ὀρθῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν πείθοι;

ΑΘ. Ῥαδίον που τοῦτό γε νοεῖν ἐστ', ὦ Κλεινία, κατὰ φύσιν ὡς ἔστι τοῦθ' οὕτω.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς λέγεις; εἰ τύραννος γένοιτο, φῆς, νέος, σῶφρων, εὐμαθής, μνήμων, ἀνδρείος, μεγαλοπρεπής;

ΑΘ. Εὐτυχής, πρόσθες, μὴ κατ' ἄλλο, ἀλλὰ τὸ γενέσθαι τε ἐπ' αὐτοῦ νομοθέτην ἄξιον ἐπαίνου, καὶ τινα τύχην εἰς d ταῦτὸν ἀγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. γενομένου γὰρ τούτου, πάντα σχεδὸν ἀπείργασται τῷ θεῷ, ἅπερ ὅταν βουλευθῆ διαφερόντως εὖ πράξαι τινα πόλιν. δεύτερον δέ, εἴαν ποτέ τινες δύο ἄρχοντες γίνωνται τοιοῦτοι; τρίτον δ' αὖ καὶ κατὰ λόγον ὡσαύτως 5 χαλεπώτερον ὅσω πλείους, ὅσω δ' ἐναντίον, ἐναντίως.

ΚΛ. Ἐκ τυραννίδος ἀρίστην φῆς γενέσθαι πόλιν ἂν, ὡς φαίνη, μετὰ νομοθέτου γε ἄκρου καὶ τυράννου κοσμίου, καὶ ῥᾶστά τε καὶ τάχιστ' ἂν μεταβαλεῖν εἰς τοῦτο ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, e δεύτερον δέ ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας, ἢ πῶς λέγεις; [καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκ δημοκρατίας.]

ΑΘ. Οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τυραννίδος μὲν πρῶτον, δεύτερον δέ ἐκ βασιλικῆς πολιτείας, τρίτον δέ ἐκ τινος δημοκρατίας. 5 τὸ δὲ τέταρτον, ὀλιγαρχία, τὴν τοῦ τοιούτου γένεσιν χαλεπώτατα δύναιτ' ἂν προσδέξασθαι. πλείστοι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ δυνάσται γίνονται. λέγομεν δὴ ταῦτα γίνεσθαι τότε, ὅταν ἀληθῆς μὲν νομοθέτης γένηται φύσει, κοινὴ δὲ αὐτῷ τις συμβῆ ῥώμη πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει μέγιστον δυναμένους· 711 οὗ δ' ἂν τοῦτο ἀριθμῶ μὲν βραχύτατον, ἰσχυρότατον δέ, καθάπερ ἐν τυραννίδι, γένηται, ταύτῃ καὶ τότε τάχος καὶ ῥαστώνη τῆς μεταβολῆς γίνεσθαι φιλεῖ.

ΚΛ. Πῶς; οὐ γὰρ μανθάνομεν.

5 ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν εἴρηταί γ' ἡμῖν οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλ' οἶμαι πολλάκις· ὑμεῖς δὲ τάχα οὐδὲ τεθέασθε τυραννουμένην πόλιν.

ΚΛ. Οὐδέ γε ἐπιθυμητῆς ἔγωγ' εἰμὶ τοῦ θεάματος.

b ΑΘ. Καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γ' ἂν ἴδοις ἐν αὐτῇ τὸ νυνδὴ λεγόμενον.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Οὐδέν δεῖ πόνων οὐδέ τινος παμπόλλου χρόνου τῷ  
 τυράννῳ μεταβαλεῖν βουλευθέντι πόλεως ἤθη, πορεύεσθαι δὲ 5  
 αὐτὸν δεῖ πρῶτον ταύτη, ὅπηπερ ἂν ἐθελήσῃ, εἴαν τε πρὸς  
 ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύματα, προτρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας, εἴαν τε ἐπὶ  
 τοῦναντίον, αὐτὸν πρῶτον πάντα ὑπογράφοντα τῷ πράττειν,  
 τὰ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντα καὶ τιμῶντα, τὰ δ' αὖ πρὸς ψόγον ἄγοντα, C  
 καὶ τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον ἀτιμάζοντα καθ' ἐκάστας τῶν πράξεων.

ΚΛ. Καὶ πῶς οἴομεθα ταχὺ συνακολουθήσειν τοὺς ἄλλους  
 πολίτας τῷ τὴν τοιαύτην πειθῶ καὶ ἅμα βίαν εἰληφότι;

ΑΘ. Μηδεὶς ἡμᾶς πειθέτω, ὦ φίλοι, ἄλλη θάπτον καὶ 5  
 ῥᾶον μεταβάλλειν ἂν ποτε πόλιν τοὺς νόμους ἢ τῇ τῶν  
 δυναστευόντων ἡγεμονία, μηδὲ νῦν γε ἄλλη γίνεσθαι μηδ'  
 αὐθὶς ποτε γενήσεσθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἡμῖν οὐ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν  
 ἀδύνατον οὐδὲ χαλεπῶς ἂν γενόμενον· ἀλλὰ τόδ' ἐστὶ τὸ d  
 χαλεπὸν γενέσθαι, καὶ ὀλίγον δὴ τὸ γεγονὸς ἐν τῷ πολλῷ  
 χρόνῳ, ὅταν δὲ συμβῇ, μυρία καὶ πάντ' ἐν πόλει ἀγαθὰ  
 ἀπεργάζεται, ἐν ἧ ποτ' ἂν ἐγγένηται.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;

ΑΘ. Ὄταν ἔρως θεῖος τῶν σωφρόνων τε καὶ δικαίων ἐπι- 5  
 τηδευμάτων ἐγγένηται μεγάλας τισὶν δυναστείαις, ἢ κατὰ  
 μοναρχίαν δυναστευούσαις ἢ κατὰ πλοῦτων ὑπεροχὰς δια-  
 φερούσαις ἢ γενῶν, ἢ τὴν Νέστορος εἴαν ποτέ τις ἐπανενέγκῃ e  
 φύσιν, ὃν τῇ τοῦ λέγειν ῥώμη φασὶ πάντων διενεγκόντα  
 ἀνθρώπων πλέον ἔτι τῷ σωφρονεῖν διαφέρειν. τοῦτ' οὖν  
 ἐπὶ μὲν Τροίας, ὡς φασι, γέγονεν, ἐφ' ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδαμῶς,  
 εἰ δ' οὖν γέγονεν ἢ καὶ γενήσεται τοιοῦτος ἢ νῦν ἡμῖν ἔστιν 5  
 τις, μακαρίως μὲν αὐτὸς ζῆ, μακάριοι δὲ οἱ συνήκοοι τῶν  
 ἐκ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος στόματος ἰόντων λόγων. ὡσαύτως δὲ  
 καὶ συμπάσης δυνάμεως ὁ αὐτὸς περί λόγος, ὡς ὅταν εἰς  
 ταῦτὸν τῷ φρονεῖν τε καὶ σωφρονεῖν ἢ μεγίστη δύναμις ἐν 712  
 ἀνθρώπῳ συμπέσῃ, τότε πολιτείας τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ νόμων  
 τῶν τοιούτων φύεται γένεσις, ἄλλως δὲ οὐ μή ποτε γένηται.  
 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν καθαπερὶ μῦθός τις λεχθεὶς κεχρησμοδήσθω  
 καὶ ἐπιδεδείχθω τῇ μὲν χαλεπὸν ὃν τὸ πόλιν εὔνομον γί- 5  
 γνεσθαι, τῇ δ', εἴπερ γένοιτο ὃ λέγομεν, πάντων τάχιστόν  
 τε καὶ ῥᾶστον μακρῷ.

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Πειρώμεθα προσαρμόττοντες τῇ πόλει σοι, καθάπερ b  
 παῖδες πρεσβῦται, πλάττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς νόμους.



ΚΛ. Ἴωμεν δὴ καὶ μὴ μέλλωμεν ἔτι.

ΑΘ. Θεὸν δὴ πρὸς τὴν τῆς πόλεως κατασκευὴν ἐπικαλώ-  
5 μεθα· ὁ δὲ ἀκούσειέν τε, καὶ ἀκούσας ἴλεως εὐμενῆς τε ἡμῶν  
ἔλθοι συνδιακοσμήσων τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ τοὺς νόμους.

ΚΛ. Ἐλθοι γὰρ οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ τίνα δὴ ποτε πολιτείαν ἔχομεν ἐν νῶ τῇ  
C πόλει προστάττειν;

ΚΛ. Οἶον δὴ τί λέγεις βουλευθεῖς; φράζ' ἔτι σαφέ-  
στερον. οἶον δημοκρατίαν τινὰ ἢ ὀλιγαρχίαν ἢ ἀριστοκρατίαν  
ἢ βασιλικήν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ τυραννίδα γέ που λέγοις ἄν, ὡς γ'  
5 ἡμεῖς ἂν οἰηθεῖμεν.

ΑΘ. Φέρε δὴ τοίνυν, πότερος ὑμῶν ἀποκρίνασθαι πρό-  
τερος ἂν ἐθέλοι, τὴν οἴκοι πολιτείαν εἰπὼν τίς τούτων ἐστίν;

ΜΕ. Μῶν οὖν τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἐμὲ δικαιότερον εἰπεῖν  
πρότερον;

d ΚΛ. Ἴσως.

ΜΕ. Καὶ μὴν συννοῶν γε, ὦ ξένε, τὴν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι  
πολιτείαν οὐκ ἔχω σοι φράζειν οὕτως ἤντινα προσαγορεύειν  
αὐτὴν δεῖ. καὶ γὰρ τυραννίδι δοκεῖ μοι προσοικέειν—τὸ  
5 γὰρ τῶν ἐφόρων θαυμαστῶς ὡς τυραννικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ γέγονε  
—καὶ τίς ἐνίοτέ μοι φαίνεται πασῶν τῶν πόλεων δημοκρα-  
τουμένη μάλιστ' εἰσέειναι. τὸ δ' αὖ μὴ φάναι ἀριστοκρατίαν  
e αὐτὴν εἶναι παντάπασιν ἄτοπον· καὶ μὲν δὴ βασιλεία γε  
διὰ βίου τ' ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτη πασῶν καὶ πρὸς  
πάντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν λεγομένη. ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω  
νῦν ἐξαίφνης ἀνερωτηθεῖς, ὄντως, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐκ ἔχω  
5 διορισάμενος εἰπεῖν τίς τούτων ἐστὶν τῶν πολιτειῶν.

ΚΛ. Ταῦτόν σοι πάθος, ὦ Μέγилле, καταφαίνομαι πε-  
πονθέειν· πάνυ γὰρ ἀπορῶ τὴν ἐν Κνωσῶ πολιτείαν τούτων  
τινὰ δισχυριζόμενος εἰπεῖν.

ΑΘ. Ὄντως γάρ, ὦ ἄριστοι, πολιτειῶν μετέχετε· ἄς δὲ  
10 ὠνομάκαμεν νῦν, οὐκ εἰσὶν πολιτεῖαι, πόλεων δὲ οἰκῆσεις  
713 δεσποζομένων τε καὶ δουλευουσῶν μέρεσιν ἑαυτῶν τισι, τὸ τοῦ  
δεσπότη δὲ ἐκάστη προσαγορεύεται κράτος. χρῆν δ' εἴπερ  
του τοιοῦτου τὴν πόλιν ἔδει ἐπονομάζεσθαι, τὸ τοῦ ἀληθῶς  
τῶν [τὸν] νοῦν ἐχόντων δεσπότης θεοῦ ὄνομα λέγεσθαι.

5 ΚΛ. Τίς δ' ὁ θεός;

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν μύθῳ σμικρὰ γ' ἔτι προσχρηστέον, εἰ μέλ-  
λομεν ἐμμελῶς πως δηλῶσαι τὸ νῦν ἐρωτώμενον;

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πατήσας ὁ τοιοῦτος τοὺς νόμους, ὁ νυνδὴ ἐλέγομεν, οὐκ ἔστι  
σωτηρίας μηχανή. σκοπεῖν δὴ δεῖ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον ἡμᾶς,  
b ὦ Κλεινία, πότερον αὐτῷ πεισόμεθα ἢ πῶς δράσομεν.

ΚΛ. Ἀνάγκη δήπου πείθεσθαι.

ΑΘ. Ἐννοεῖς οὖν ὅτι νόμων εἶδη τινές φασιν εἶναι το-  
σαῦτα ὅσαπερ πολιτειῶν, πολιτειῶν δὲ ἄρτι διεληλύθαμεν  
5 ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ πολλοί; μὴ δὴ φαύλου πέρι νομίσης εἶναι  
τὴν νῦν ἀμφισβήτησιν, περὶ δὲ τοῦ μεγίστου· τὸ γὰρ δίκαιον  
καὶ ἄδικον οἱ χρῆ βλέπειν, πάλιν ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητούμενον  
ἐλήλυθεν. οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον οὔτε πρὸς ἀρετὴν  
c ὅλην βλέπειν δεῖν φασι τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ἥτις ἂν καθε-  
r στηκυῖα ἢ πολιτεία, ταύτη ἰδεῖν τὸ συμφέρον, ὅπως ἄρξει  
τε αἰεὶ καὶ μὴ καταλυθήσεται, καὶ τὸν φύσει ὄρον τοῦ δικαίου  
λέγεσθαι κάλλισθ' οὕτω.

5 ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Ὅτι τὸ τοῦ κρείττονος συμφέρον ἐστίν.

ΚΛ. Λέγ' ἔτι σαφέστερον.

ΑΘ. Ὡδε. τίθεται δήπου, φασίν, τοὺς νόμους ἐν τῇ  
πόλει ἐκάστοτε τὸ κρατοῦν. ἢ γάρ;

10 ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ λέγεις.

d ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν οἶει, φασίν, ποτὲ δῆμον νικήσαντα, ἢ τινα  
πολιτείαν ἄλλην, ἢ καὶ τύραννον, θήσεσθαι ἐκόντα πρὸς ἄλλο  
τι πρῶτον νόμους ἢ τὸ συμφέρον ἑαυτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ μένειν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν;

5 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅς ἂν ταῦτα τὰ τεθέντα παραβαίνη,  
κολάσει ὁ θέμενος ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, δίκαια εἶναι ταῦτ' ἐπονο-  
μάζων;

ΚΛ. Ἐοικε γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Ταῦτ' ἄρ' αἰεὶ καὶ οὕτω καὶ ταύτη τὸ δίκαιον ἂν ἔχοι.

10 ΚΛ. Φησὶ γοῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος.

ΑΘ. Ἔστι γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἐκείνων τῶν ἀξιωμαίων  
e ἀρχῆς πέρι.

ΚΛ. Ποίων δή;

ΑΘ. Τῶν ἂ τότε ἐπεσκοποῦμεν, τίνας τίνων ἀρχεῖν δεῖ.  
καὶ ἐφάνη δὴ γονέας μὲν ἐκγόνων, νεωτέρων δὲ πρεσβυτέ-  
5 ρους, γενναίους δὲ ἀγεννῶν, καὶ σύχν' ἄττα ἦν ἄλλ', εἰ  
μεμνήμεθα, καὶ ἐμπόδια ἕτερα ἑτέροισι· καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν ἡν  
715 αὐτῶν τοῦτο, καὶ ἔφάμεν που “κατὰ φύσιν” τὸν Πίνδαρον  
“ἀγειν δικαιοῦντα τὸ βιαιότατον,” ὡς φάναι.

ΚΛ. Ναί, ταῦτ' ἦν ἂ τότε ἐλέχθη.

ΑΘ. Σκόπει δὴ ποτέροις τισὶν ἢ πόλις ἡμῖν ἐστὶν παρα-  
δοτέα. γέγονεν γὰρ δὴ μυριάκις ἤδη τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐν τισὶ 5  
πόλεσιν.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

ΑΘ. Ἀρχῶν περιμαχήτων γενομένων, οἱ νικήσαντες τά  
τε πράγματα κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ἐσφετέρισαν σφόδρα,  
ὥστε ἀρχῆς <sup>μηδ'</sup> ὄτιοῦν μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ἡττηθείσιν, μήτε 10  
αὐτοῖς μήτε ἐκγόνοις, παραφυλάττοντες δὲ ἀλλήλους ζῶσιν,  
ὅπως μή ποτέ τις εἰς ἀρχὴν ἀφικόμενος ἐπαναστῆ μεμνη- b  
μένος τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γεγονότων κακῶν. ταύτας δὴπου  
φαιμέν ἡμεῖς νῦν οὐτ' εἶναι πολιτείας, οὐτ' ὀρθοὺς νόμους  
ὅσοι μὴ συμπάσης τῆς πόλεως ἔνεκα τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐτέθησαν·  
οἱ δ' ἔνεκά τινων, στασιώτας ἀλλ' οὐ πολίτας τούτους φα- 5  
μέν, καὶ τὰ τούτων δίκαια ἄ φασιν εἶναι, μάτην εἰρήσθαι.  
λέγεται δὲ τοῦδ' ἔνεκα ταῦθ' ἡμῖν, ὡς ἡμεῖς τῇ σῆ πόλει  
ἀρχὰς οὐθ' ὅτι πλούσιός ἐστὶν τις δώσομεν, οὐθ' ὅτι τῶν  
τοιούτων ἄλλο οὐδὲν κεκτημένος, ἰσχὺν ἢ μέγεθος ἢ τι c  
γένος· ὅς δ' ἂν τοῖς τεθειῖσι νόμοις εὐπειθέστατός τε ἦ καὶ  
νικᾷ ταύτην τὴν νίκην ἐν τῇ πόλει, τούτῳ φαιμέν καὶ τὴν  
τῶν θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν δοτέον εἶναι τὴν μεγίστην τῷ πρώτῳ,  
καὶ δευτέραν τῷ τὰ δεύτερα κρατοῦντι, καὶ κατὰ λόγον οὕτω 5  
τοῖς ἐφεξῆς τὰ μετὰ ταῦθ' ἕκαστα ἀποδοτέον εἶναι. τοὺς  
δ' ἄρχοντας λεγομένους νῦν ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις ἐκάλεσα  
οὐτι καινοτομίας ὀνομάτων ἔνεκα, ἀλλ' ἡγοῦμαι παντὸς d  
μᾶλλον εἶναι παρὰ τοῦτο σωτηρίαν τε πόλει καὶ τούναντίον.  
ἐν ἣ μὲν γὰρ ἂν ἀρχόμενος ἦ καὶ ἄκυρος νόμος, φθορὰν  
ὄρω τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἐτοίμην οὔσαν· ἐν ἣ δὲ ἂν δεσπότης τῶν  
ἀρχόντων, οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες δούλοι τοῦ νόμου, σωτηρίαν καὶ 5  
πάντα ὅσα θεοὶ πόλεσιν ἔδοσαν ἀγαθὰ γιγνόμενα καθορῶ.

ΚΛ. Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ὦ ξένε· καθ' ἡλικίαν γὰρ ὄξυ βλέπεις.

ΑΘ. Νέος μὲν γὰρ ὢν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀμ-  
βλύτατα αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ ὄρα, γέρων δὲ ὄξύτατα. e

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα.

ΑΘ. Τί δὴ τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα; ἄρ' οὐχ ἤκοντας μὲν καὶ  
πάροντας θῶμεν τοὺς ἐποίκους, τὸν δ' ἐξῆς αὐτοῖς δια-  
περαντέον ἂν εἶη λόγον; 5

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΑΘ. “ Ἄνδρες ” τοίνυν φῶμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, “ ὁ μὲν δὴ

716 θεός, ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ περιπορευόμενος· τῷ δὲ αἰεὶ συνέπεται δίκη τῶν ἀπολειπομένων τοῦ θείου νόμου τιμωρός, ἧς ὁ μὲν εὐδαιμονήσειν μέλλων ἐχόμενος συνέπεται ταπεινὸς καὶ κεκοσμημένος, ὁ δέ τις ἐξαρθεὶς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας, ἢ χρήμασιν ἐπαιρόμενος ἢ τιμαῖς, ἢ καὶ σώματος εὐμορφίᾳ ἅμα νεότητι καὶ ἀνοία φλέγεται τὴν ψυχὴν μεθ' ὕβρεως, ὡς οὔτε ἄρχοντος οὔτε τινὸς ἡγεμόνος δεόμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις ἰκανὸς ὢν ἡγεῖσθαι, καταλείπεται ἔρημος θεοῦ, καταλειφθεὶς δὲ καὶ ἔτι ἄλλους τοιούτους προσλαβὼν σκιρτᾷ ταραττων πάντα ἅμα, καὶ πολλοῖς τισιν ἔδοξεν εἶναί τις, μετὰ δὲ χρόνον οὐ πολὺν ὑποσχὼν τιμωρίαν οὐ μεμπτὴν τῇ δίκῃ ἑαυτὸν τε καὶ οἶκον καὶ πόλιν ἄρδην ἀνάστατον ἐποίησεν. πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω διατεταγμένα τί χρὴ δρᾶν ἢ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ τί μὴ τὸν ἔμφρονα;

ΚΛ. Δῆλον δὴ τοῦτό γε· ὡς τῶν συνακολουθησόντων ἐσόμενον τῷ θεῷ δεῖ διανοηθῆναι πάντα ἄνδρα.

c ΑΘ.· “Τίς οὖν δὴ πρᾶξις φίλη καὶ ἀκόλουθος θεῷ; μία, καὶ ἓνα λόγον ἔχουσα ἀρχαῖον, ὅτι τῷ μὲν ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον ὄντι μετρίῳ φίλον ἂν εἴη, τὰ δ' ἄμετρα οὔτε ἀλλήλοις οὔτε τοῖς ἐμμέτραις. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡμῖν πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἂν εἴη μάλιστα, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ πού τις, ὡς φασιν, ἄνθρωπος· τὸν οὖν τῷ τοιούτῳ προσφιλεῖ γενησόμενον, εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἀναγκαῖον γίνεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον ὁ μὲν σώφρων ἡμῶν θεῷ φίλος, ὅμοιος γάρ, ὁ δὲ μὴ σώφρων ἀνόμοιός τε καὶ διάφορος, καὶ <ὁ> ἄδικος, καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' οὕτως κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχει. νοήσωμεν δὴ τούτοις ἐπόμενον εἶναι τὸν τοιόνδε λόγον, ἀπάντων κάλλιστον καὶ ἀληθέστατον οἶμαι λόγων, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θύειν καὶ προσομιλεῖν αἰεὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ἀναθήμασιν καὶ συμπάσῃ θεραπείᾳ θεῶν κάλλιστον καὶ ἄριστον καὶ ἀνυσιμώτατον πρὸς τὸν εὐδαιμονα βίον καὶ δὴ καὶ διαφερόντως πρέπον, τῷ δὲ κακῷ τούτων τὰναντία πέφυκεν. ἀκάθαρτος γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ὁ γε κακός, καθαρὸς δὲ ὁ ἐναντίος, παρὰ δὲ μιανοῦ δῶρα οὔτε ἄνδρ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε θεὸν ἔστιν ποτὲ τό γε ὀρθὸν δέχεσθαι· μάτην οὖν περὶ θεοῦ ὁ πολὺς ἐστὶ πόνος τοῖς ἀνοσίοις, τοῖσιν δὲ ὀσίοις εὐκαιρότατος ἅπασιν. σκοπὸς μὲν οὖν

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b τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον φαιδρυνάμενον κατὰ νόμον κοσμεῖν δεῖ, τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἢ διέξοδος, τὰ μὲν πείθουσα, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὑπέικοντα πειθοῖ τῶν ἠθῶν βία καὶ δίκη κολάζουσα, τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν συμβουληθέντων θεῶν μακαρίαν τε καὶ εὐδαί-  
 5 μονα ἀποτελεῖ· ἃ δὲ χρῆ μὲν αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἶπεῖν νομοθέτην ὅστις ἄπερ ἐγὼ διανοεῖται, ἐν δὲ σχήματι νόμου ἀναρμοστεῖ λεγόμενα, τούτων πέρι δοκεῖ μοι <δεῖν> δεῖγμα  
 c προενεγκόντα αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκείνοις οἷς νομοθετήσει, τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν διεξεληθόντα, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρχεσθαι τῆς θέσεως τῶν νόμων.

<ΚΛ.> Ἔστιν δὲ δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τίνι μάλιστα σχήματι  
 5 κείμενα;

<ΑΘ.> Οὐ πάνυ ράδιον ἐν ἐνὶ περιλαβόντα εἶπεῖν αὐτὰ οἷόν τινα τύπῳ, ἀλλ' οὕτωςί τινα τρόπον λάβωμεν, ἂν τι δυνώμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν βεβαιώσασθαι.

ΚΛ. Λέγε τὸ ποῖον.

10 ΑΘ. Βουλοίμην ἂν αὐτοὺς ὡς εὐπειθεστάτους πρὸς ἀρετὴν εἶναι, καὶ δῆλον ὅτι πειράσεται τοῦτο ὁ νομοθέτης ἐν ἀπάσῃ ποιεῖν τῇ νομοθεσίᾳ.

d ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὗ;

ΑΘ. Τὰ τοίνυν δὴ λεχθέντα ἔδοξέν τί μοι προὔργου δρᾶν εἰς τὸ περὶ ὧν ἂν παραινῇ, μὴ παντάπασιν ὠμῆς ψυχῆς λαβόμενα, ἡμερώτερόν τε ἂν ἀκούειν καὶ εὐμενέστερον· ὥστε  
 5 εἰ καὶ μὴ μέγα τι, σμικρὸν δέ, τὸν ἀκούοντα, ὅπερ φημί, εὐμενέστερον γιγνόμενον εὐμαθέστερον ἀπεργάσεται, πάνυ ἀγαπητόν. οὐ γὰρ πολλή τις εὐπέτεια οὐδὲ ἀφθονία τῶν προθυμουμένων ὡς ἀρίστων ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ὡς τάχιστα  
 e γίγνεσθαι, τὸν δὲ Ἡσίοδον οἱ πολλοὶ σοφὸν ἀποφαίνουσι λέγοντα ὡς ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν κακότητα ὁδὸς λεία καὶ ἀνιδιτὶ παρέχει πορεύεσθαι, μάλα βραχεῖα οὖσα, τῆς δὲ ἀρετῆς, φησίν,

5 ἰδρῶτα θεοὶ προπάροιθεν ἔθηκαν  
 ἀθάνατοι, μακρὸς δὲ καὶ ὄρθιος οἶμος ἐς αὐτήν,  
 719 καὶ τρηχὺς τὸ πρῶτον· ἐπήν δ' εἰς ἄκρον ἵκηαι,  
 ῥηιδίῃ δὴ ἴπειτα φέρειν, χαλεπή περ εἴουσα.

ΚΛ. Καὶ καλῶς γ' εἴκειν λέγοντι.

ΑΘ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. ὁ δὲ προάγων λόγος ὁ γέ μοι

ἀπείργασται, βούλομαι ὑμῖν εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτὸ θεῖναι. 5

ΚΛ. Τίθει δῆ.

ΑΘ. Λέγωμεν δὴ τῷ νομοθέτῃ διαλεγόμενοι τόδε· “ Εἰπέ ἡμῖν, ὦ νομοθέτα· εἴπερ ὅτι χρὴ πράττειν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν b  
εἰδείης, ἄρα οὐ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἂν εἴποις;”

ΚΛ. Ἀναγκαῖον.

ΑΘ. “ Σμικρῷ μὲν δὴ πρόσθεν ἄρα οὐκ ἠκούσαμεν σου λέγοντος ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην οὐ δεῖ τοῖς ποιηταῖς ἐπιτρέπειν 5  
ποιεῖν ὃ ἂν αὐτοῖς ἦ φίλον; οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἰδεῖεν τί ποτ’ ἐναντίον τοῖς νόμοις ἂν λέγοντες βλάπτοιεν τὴν πόλιν.”

ΚΛ. Ἀληθῆ μέντοι λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Ὑπὲρ δ’ ἡ τῶν ποιητῶν εἰ τάδε λέγοιμεν πρὸς αὐτόν, αἶρ’ ἂν τὰ λεχθέντα εἴη μέτρια; 10

ΚΛ. Ποῖα;

ΑΘ. Τάδε· “ Παλαιὸς μῦθος, ὦ νομοθέτα, ὑπὸ τε αὐτῶν c  
ἡμῶν αἰεὶ λεγόμενός ἐστιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν συνδε-  
δογμένος, ὅτι ποιητής, ὅποταν ἐν τῷ τρίποδι τῆς Μούσης  
καθίζηται, τότε οὐκ ἔμφρων ἐστίν, οἷον δὲ κρήνη τις τὸ  
ἐπιὸν ῥεῖν ἐτοίμως ἔᾳ, καὶ τῆς τέχνης οὔσης μιμήσεως 5  
ἀναγκάζεται, ἐναντίως ἀλλήλοις ἀνθρώπους ποιῶν διατιθε-  
μένους, ἐναντία λέγειν αὐτῷ πολλάκις, οἶδεν δὲ οὔτ’ εἰ ταῦτα  
οὔτ’ εἰ θάτερα ἀληθῆ τῶν λεγομένων. τῷ δὲ νομοθέτῃ τοῦτο d  
οὐκ ἔστι ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, δύο περὶ ἑνός, ἀλλὰ ἓνα περὶ  
ἑνός αἰεὶ δεῖ λόγον ἀποφαίνεσθαι. σκέψαι δ’ ἐξ αὐτῶν  
τῶν ὑπὸ σοῦ νυνδῆ λεχθέντων. οὔσης γὰρ ταφῆς τῆς μὲν  
ὑπερβεβλημένης, τῆς δὲ ἐλλειπούσης, τῆς δὲ μετρίας, τὴν 5  
μίαν ἐλόμενος σύ, τὴν μέσην, ταύτην προστάτεις καὶ ἐπή-  
νεσας ἀπλῶς. ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι διαφέρουσα εἴη πλούτῳ  
καὶ θάπτειν αὐτὴν διακελεύοιτο ἐν τῷ ποιήματι, τὸν ὑπερβάλ-  
λοντα ἂν τάφον ἐπαινοῖην, φειδωλὸς δ’ αὖ τις καὶ πένης ἀνὴρ e  
τὸν καταδεᾶ, μέτρον δὲ οὐσίας κεκτημένος καὶ μέτριος αὐτὸς  
ὢν τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἐπαινέσαι. σοὶ δὲ οὐχ οὔτω ῥητέον ὡς νῦν  
εἶπες μέτριον εἰπών, ἀλλὰ τί τὸ μέτριον καὶ ὅπόσον ῥητέον,  
ἢ τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον μήπω σοι διανοοῦ γίνεσθαι νόμον.” 5

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Πότερον οὖν ἡμῖν ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις μηδὲν  
τοιοῦτον προαγορεύῃ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν νόμων, ἀλλ’ εὐθύς ὃ δεῖ  
ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ φράζῃ τε, καὶ ἐπαπειλήσας τὴν ζημίαν, ἐπ’  
ἄλλον τρέπηται νόμον, παραμυθίας δὲ καὶ πειθοῦς τοῖς 720



νομοθετούμενοις μηδὲ ἐν προσδιδῶ; καθάπερ ἰατρὸς δέ τις, ὁ μὲν οὕτως, ὁ δ' ἐκείνως ἡμᾶς εἴωθεν ἐκάστοτε θεραπεύειν—  
 ἀναμιμνησκόμεθα δὲ τὸν τρόπον ἐκάτερον, ἵνα τοῦ νομοθέτου  
 5 δεώμεθα, καθάπερ ἰατροῦ δέοιντο ἂν παῖδες τὸν πραότατον αὐτὸν θεραπεύειν τρόπον ἑαυτούς. οἷον δὴ τί λέγομεν; εἰσὶν πού τινες ἰατροί, φαμέν, καὶ τινες ὑπηρέται τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἰατροὺς δὲ καλοῦμεν δήπου καὶ τούτους.

b ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἐάν τε γε ἐλεύθεροι ὦσιν ἑάν τε δούλοι, κατ' ἐπίταξιν δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν τὴν τέχνην κτῶνται, κατὰ φύσιν δὲ μή, καθάπερ οἱ ἐλεύθεροι αὐτοί τε  
 5 μεμαθήκασιν οὕτω τοὺς τε αὐτῶν διδάσκουσι παῖδας. θείης ἂν ταῦτα δύο γένη τῶν καλουμένων ἰατρῶν;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὔ;

ΑΘ. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ συννοεῖς ὅτι, δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων  
 c ὄντων τῶν καμνόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τοὺς μὲν δούλους σχεδόν τι οἱ δούλοι τὰ πολλὰ ἰατρούουσιν περιτρέχοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰατρείοις περιμένοντες, καὶ οὔτε τινὰ λόγον ἐκάστου πέρῃ νοσήματος ἐκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐδεὶς τῶν τοιούτων  
 5 ἰατρῶν δίδωσιν οὐδ' ἀποδέχεται, προστάξας δ' αὐτῶ τὰ δόξαντα ἐξ ἐμπειρίας, ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδώς, καθάπερ τύραννος αὐθάδης, οἴχεται ἀποπηδήσας πρὸς ἄλλον κάμνοντα οἰκέτην, καὶ ῥαστώνην οὕτω τῷ δεσπότη παρασκευάζει τῶν καμ-  
 d νόντων τῆς ἐπιμελείας· ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων νοσήματα θεραπεύει τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν, τῷ κάμνοντι κοινούμενος αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις, ἅμα μὲν αὐτὸς μανθάνει  
 5 τι παρὰ τῶν νοσοῦντων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ καθ' ὅσον οἷός τε ἐστίν, διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτόν, καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐπέταξεν πρὶν ἂν πη συμπίσῃ, τότε δὲ μετὰ πειθοῦς ἡμερούμενον αἰεὶ  
 e παρασκευάζων τὸν κάμνοντα, εἰς τὴν ὑγίειαν ἄγων ἀποτελεῖν πειράται; πότερον οὕτως ἢ ἐκείνως ἰατρός τε ἰώμενος ἀμείνων καὶ γυμναστῆς γυμνάζων· διχῆ τὴν μίαν ἀποτελῶν δύναμιν, ἢ μοναχῆ καὶ κατὰ τὸ χεῖρον τοῖν δυοῖν καὶ  
 5 ἀγριώτερον ἀπεργαζόμενος;

ΚΛ. Πολύ που διαφέρων, ὦ ξένε, τὸ διπλῆ.

ΑΘ. Βούλει δὴ καὶ θεασώμεθα τὸ διπλοῦν τοῦτο καὶ ἀπλοῦν ἐν ταῖς νομοθεσίαις αὐταῖς γιγνόμενον;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ βούλομαι;

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ΜΕ. Πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Λακωνικοῦ τρόπου, ὦ ξένε, τὸ τὰ  
 5 βραχύτερα αἰεὶ προτιμᾶν· τούτων μὴν τῶν γραμμάτων· εἴ  
 τις κριτὴν ἐμὲ κελεύοι γίγνεσθαι πότερα βουλοίμην ἂν ἐν τῇ  
 πόλει μοι γεγραμμένα τεθῆναι, τὰ μακρότερ' ἂν ἐλοίμην,  
 722 καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ παντὸς νόμου κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ παράδειγμα, εἰ  
 γίγνοιτο ἑκάτερα, ταῦτόν τοῦτ' ἂν αἰροίμην. οὐ μὴν ἀλλά  
 που καὶ Κλεινία τῶδ' ἀρέσκειν δεῖ τὰ νῦν νομοθετούμενα·  
 τούτου γὰρ ἢ πόλις ἢ νῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις [νόμοις] χρῆσθαι  
 5 διανοουμένη.

ΚΛ. Καλῶς γ', ὦ Μέγилле, εἶπες.

ΑΘ. Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ πολλῶν ἢ ὀλίγων γραμμάτων  
 ποιήσασθαι τὸν λόγον λίαν εὔηθες—τὰ γὰρ οἶμαι βέλτιστα,  
 b ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ βραχύτερα οὐδὲ τὰ μήκη τιμητέον—τὰ δ' ἐν τοῖς  
 νυνδῆ νόμοις ῥηθεῖσιν οὐ διπλῶ θάτερα τῶν ἐτέρων διάφορα  
 μόνον εἰς ἀρετὴν τῆς χρείας, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδῆ, τὸ  
 τῶν διττῶν ἰατρῶν γένος ὀρθότατα παρετέθη. πρὸς τοῦτο  
 5 δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔοικε διανοηθῆναι πώποτε τῶν νομοθετῶν, ὡς ἐξὸν  
 δυοῖν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς νομοθεσίας, πειθοῖ καὶ βία, καθ' ὅσον  
 οἶόν τε ἐπὶ τὸν ἄπειρον παιδείας ὄχλον, τῶ ἐτέρῳ χρῶνται  
 c μόνον· οὐ γὰρ πειθοῖ κεραυνύντες τὴν μάχην νομοθετοῦσιν,  
 ἀλλ' ἀκράτῳ μόνον τῇ βία. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ μακάριοι, καὶ τρίτον  
 ἔτι περὶ τοὺς νόμους ὀρῶ γίγνεσθαι δέον, οὐδαμῆ τὰ νῦν  
 γιγνόμενον.

5 ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ λέγεις;]

ΑΘ. Ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν νῦν διειλέγμεθα ἡμεῖς κατὰ θεόν  
 τινα γεγονός. σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐξ ὅσου περὶ τῶν νόμων ἤργμεθα  
 λέγειν, ἐξ ἐωθινοῦ μεσημβρία τε γέγονε καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ παγκάλῃ  
 ἀναπαύλῃ τινὶ γεγόναμεν, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ περὶ νόμων διαλεγό-  
 d μενοι, νόμους δὲ ἄρτι μοι δοκοῦμεν λέγειν ἄρχεσθαι, τὰ δ'  
 ἔμπροσθεν ἦν πάντα ἡμῖν προοίμια νόμων. τί δὲ ταῦτ'  
 εἶρηκα; τόδε εἰπεῖν βουλευθεῖς, ὅτι λόγων πάντων καὶ ὄσων  
 φωνῆ κεκοινώνηκεν προοίμιά τέ ἐστίν καὶ σχεδὸν οἶόν  
 5 τινες ἀνακινήσεις, ἔχουσαί τινα ἔντεχνον ἐπιχείρησιν χρή-  
 σιμον πρὸς τὸ μέλλον περαίνεσθαι. καὶ δὴ που κιθαρωδικῆς  
 ὦδῆς λεγομένων νόμων καὶ πάσης μούσης προοίμια θαυμαστῶς  
 e ἐσπουδασμένα πρόκειται· τῶν δὲ ὄντως νόμων ὄντων, οὓς δὴ  
 πολιτικοὺς εἶναι φάμεν, οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτ' εἶπέ τι προοίμιον  
 οὔτε συνθέτης γενόμενος ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ φῶς, ὡς οὐκ ὄντος  
 φύσει. ἡμῖν δὲ ἢ νῦν διατριβὴ γεγονυῖα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ,

σημαίνει ὡς ὄντος, οἷ τέ γε δὴ διπλοῖ ἔδοξαν νυνδὴ μοι 5  
 λεχθέντες νόμοι οὐκ εἶναι ἀπλῶς οὕτω πως διπλοῖ, ἀλλὰ  
 δύο μὲν τινε, νόμος τε καὶ προοίμιον τοῦ νόμου· ὁ δὴ τυραν-  
 νικὸν ἐπίταγμα ἀπεικασθὲν ἐρρήθη τοῖς ἐπιτάγμασιν τοῖς  
 τῶν ἰατρῶν οὓς εἶπομεν ἀνελευθέρους, τοῦτ' εἶναι νόμος 723  
 ἄκρατος, τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ῥηθέν, πειστικὸν λεχθὲν ὑπὸ  
 τοῦδε, ὄντως μὲν εἶναι πειστικόν, προοιμίου μὴν τοῦ περι-  
 λόγους δύναμιν ἔχειν. ἵνα γὰρ εὐμενῶς, καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν  
 εὐμαθέστερον, τὴν ἐπίταξιν, ὁ δὴ ἐστὶν ὁ νόμος, δέξεται ᾧ τὸν 5  
 νόμον ὁ νομοθέτης λέγει τούτου χάριν εἰρῆσθαί μοι κατεφάνη  
 πᾶς ὁ λόγος οὗτος, ὃν πείθων εἶπεν ὁ λέγων· διὸ δὴ κατὰ  
 γε τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον τοῦτ' αὐτό, προοίμιον, ἀλλ' οὐ λόγος ἂν b  
 ὀρθῶς προσαγορεύοιτο εἶναι τοῦ νόμου. ταῦτ' οὖν εἰπὼν,  
 τί τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἂν μοι βουλευθείην εἰρῆσθαι; τόδε, ὡς  
 τὸν νομοθέτην πρὸ πάντων τε αἰεὶ τῶν νόμων χρεῶν ἐστὶν  
 μὴ ἀμοίρους αὐτοὺς προοιμίῳ ποιεῖν καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον, ἧ 5  
 διοίσουσιν ἑαυτῶν ὅσον νυνδὴ τῷ λεχθέντε διηνεγκάτην.

ΚΛ. Τό γ' ἐμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως νομοθετεῖν διακελεύοιτο  
 ἡμῖν τὸν τούτων ἐπιστήμονα.

ΑΘ. Καλῶς μὲν τοίνυν, ᾧ Κλεινία, δοκεῖς μοι τό γε c  
 τοσοῦτον λέγειν, ὅτι πᾶσιν γε νόμοις ἐστὶν προοίμια καὶ ὅτι  
 πάσης ἀρχόμενον νομοθεσίας χρὴ προτιθέσθαι παντὸς τοῦ  
 λόγου τὸ πεφυκὸς προοίμιον ἑκάστοις—οὐ γὰρ σμικρὸν τὸ  
 μετὰ τοῦτό ἐστὶν ῥηθησόμενον, οὐδ' ὀλίγον διαφέρον ἢ σαφῶς 5  
 ἢ μὴ σαφῶς αὐτὰ μνημονεύεσθαι—τὸ μέντοι μεγάλων πέρι  
 λεγομένων νόμων καὶ σμικρῶν εἰ ὁμοίως προοιμιάζεσθαι  
 προστάττοιμεν, οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς λέγοιμεν. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσματος  
 οὐδὲ λόγου παντὸς δεῖ τὸ τοιοῦτον δρᾶν—καίτοι πέφυκέν d  
 γε εἶναι πᾶσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χρηστότερον ἅπασιν—αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ τε  
 ῥήτορι καὶ τῷ μελωδῷ καὶ νομοθέτῃ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἑκάστοτε  
 ἐπιτρεπτότεον.

ΚΛ. Ἀληθέστατα δοκεῖς μοι λέγειν. ἀλλὰ δὴ μηκέτ', ᾧ 5  
 ξένε, διατριβὴν πλείω τῆς μελλήσεως ποιώμεθα, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν  
 λόγον ἐπανέλθωμεν καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνων ἀρχώμεθα, εἴ σοι φίλον,  
 ὦν οὐχ ὡς προοιμιαζόμενος εἶπες τότε. πάλιν οὖν, οἷόν  
 φασιν οἱ παίζοντες, ἀμεινόνων ἐξ ἀρχῆς δευτέρων ἐπαναπο- e  
 λήσωμεν, ὡς προοίμιον ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν τυχόντα λόγον περαί-  
 νοντες, καθάπερ ἄρτι· λάβωμεν δ' αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν ὁμολογοῦντες  
 προοιμιάζεσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ θεῶν τιμῆς προγόνων τε

5 θεραπείας, καὶ τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα ἱκανά· τὰ δ' ἐξῆς πειρώ-  
μεθα λέγειν, μέχριπερ ἂν σοι πᾶν τὸ προοίμιον ἱκανῶς  
εἰρησθαι δοκῇ. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη τοὺς νόμους αὐτοὺς διέξει  
λέγων.

724 ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν περὶ θεῶν μὲν καὶ τῶν μετὰ θεοὺς καὶ  
γονέων ζώντων τε πέρι καὶ τελευτησάντων τότε ἱκανῶς  
προοιμιασάμεθα, ὡς νῦν λέγομεν· τὸ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενον ἔτι  
τοῦ τοιούτου φαίνη μοι σὺ διακελεύεσθαι τὰ νῦν οἶον πρὸς  
5 τὸ φῶς ἐπανάγειν.

ΚΛ. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ μὴν μετὰ γε τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὡς χρὴ τὰ περὶ  
τὰς αὐτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰς οὐσίας σπουδῆς  
b τε πέρι καὶ ἀνέσεως ἴσχειν, προσῆκόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ κοινό-  
τατον ἀναπεμπαζομένους τὸν τε λέγοντα καὶ τοὺς ἀκούοντας  
παιδείας γίνεσθαι κατὰ δύναμιν ἐπηβόλους· ταῦτ' οὖν ἡμῖν  
αὐτὰ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ὄντως ἐστὶν ῥητέα τε καὶ ἀκουστέα.

5 ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

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5 ἐκάστοτε ἀμαρτημάτων μὴ ἑαυτὸν αἴτιον ἡγήται καὶ τῶν  
 πλείστων κακῶν καὶ μεγίστων, ἀλλὰ ἄλλους, ἑαυτὸν δὲ αἰεὶ  
 ἀναίτιον ἐξαιρῆ, τιμῶν τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν, ὡς δὴ δοκεῖ—ὁ δὲ  
 c πολλοῦ δεῖ δρᾶν τοῦτο· βλάπτει γάρ. οὐδ' ὅποταν ἡδοναῖς  
 παρὰ λόγον τὸν τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ ἔπαινον χαρίζηται—τότε  
 οὐδαμῶς τιμᾶ, ἀτιμάζει δὲ κακῶν καὶ μεταμελείας ἐμπιμπλὰς  
 αὐτήν. οὐδέ γε ὅποταν αὐτὸν τὰναντία τοὺς ἐπαινουμένους  
 5 πόνους καὶ φόβους καὶ ἀλγηδόνας καὶ λύπας μὴ διαπονή  
 καρτερῶν ἀλλὰ ὑπέικη—τότε οὐ τιμᾶ ὑπέικων· ἄτιμον γὰρ  
 αὐτὴν ἀπεργάζεται δρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα. οὐδ' ὅποταν  
 d ἡγήται τὸ ζῆν πάντως ἀγαθὸν εἶναι, τιμᾶ, ἀτιμάζει δ' αὐτήν  
 καὶ τότε· τὰ γὰρ ἐν Ἄιδου πράγματα πάντα κακὰ ἡγουμένης  
 τῆς ψυχῆς· εἶναι, ὑπέικει καὶ οὐκ ἀντιτείνει διδάσκων τε καὶ  
 ἐλέγχων ὡς οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδ' εἰ τὰναντία πέφυκεν μέγιστα  
 5 εἶναι πάντων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς τοὺς ἐκεῖ.  
 οὐδὲ μὴν πρὸ ἀρετῆς ὅποταν αὐτὸν προτιμᾶ τις κάλλος—τοῦτ'  
 ἔστιν οὐχ ἕτερον ἢ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄντως καὶ πάντως ἀτιμία.  
 ψυχῆς γὰρ σῶμα ἐντιμότερον οὗτος ὁ λόγος φησὶν εἶναι  
 e ψευδόμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ γηγενὲς Ὀλυμπίων ἐντιμότερον, ἀλλ'  
 ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς ἄλλως δοξάζων ἀγνοεῖ ὡς θαυμαστοῦ τούτου  
 κτήματος ἀμελεῖ. οὐδέ γε ὅποταν χρήματά τις ἐρᾶ κτᾶσθαι  
 728 μὴ καλῶς, ἢ μὴ δυσχερῶς φέρη κτώμενος, δώροις ἄρα τιμᾶ  
 τότε τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν—παντὸς μὲν οὖν λείπει—τὸ γὰρ  
 αὐτῆς τίμιον ἅμα καὶ καλὸν ἀποδίδοται σμικροῦ χρυσοῦ·  
 πᾶς γὰρ ὅ τ' ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσοῦς ἀρετῆς οὐκ  
 5 ἀντάξιός. ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν συλλήβδην, ὅς ἄπερ ἂν νομοθέτης  
 αἰσχροὶ εἶναι καὶ κακὰ διαριθμούμενος τάττη καὶ τούναντίον  
 ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλά, τῶν μὲν ἀπέχεσθαι μὴ ἐθέλη πάση μηχανῇ,  
 τὰ δὲ ἐπιτηδεύειν σύμπασαν κατὰ δύναμιν, οὐκ οἶδεν ἐν  
 b τούτοις πᾶσιν πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψυχὴν θειότατον ὄν ἀτιμότερα  
 καὶ κακοσχημονέστατα διατιθείς. τὴν γὰρ λεγομένην δίκην  
 τῆς κακουργίας τὴν μεγίστην οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν λογίζεται,  
 ἔστιν δ' ἡ μεγίστη τὸ ὁμοιοῦσθαι τοῖς οὖσιν κακοῖς ἀνδράσιν,  
 5 ὁμοιούμενον δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς φεύγειν ἄνδρας καὶ λόγους  
 καὶ ἀποσχίζεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ προσκολλᾶσθαι διώκοντα κατὰ τὰς  
 συνουσίας· προσπεφυκότα δὲ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν  
 c καὶ πάσχειν ἅ πεφύκασιν ἀλλήλους οἱ τοιοῦτοι ποιεῖν καὶ  
 λέγειν. τοῦτο οὖν δὴ τὸ πάθος δίκη μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν—καλὸν  
 γὰρ τό γε δίκαιον καὶ ἡ δίκη—τιμωρία δέ, ἀδικίας ἀκόλουθος

πάθη, ἧς ὁ τε τυχῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων ἄθλιος, ὁ μὲν οὐκ  
 ἰατρευόμενος, ὁ δέ, ἵνα ἕτεροι πολλοὶ σώζωνται, ἀπολλύμενος. 5  
 τιμὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ ὄλον εἰπεῖν, τοῖς μὲν ἀμείνοσιν  
 ἔπεσθαι, τὰ δὲ χείρονα, γενέσθαι δὲ βελτίω δυνατά, τοῦτ'  
 αὐτὸ ὡς ἄριστα ἀποτελεῖν.

Ψυχῆς οὖν ἀνθρώπῳ κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστιν εὐφύτερον εἰς  
 τὸ φυγεῖν μὲν τὸ κακόν, ἰχνεῦσαι δὲ καὶ ἐλεῖν τὸ πάντων d  
 ἄριστον, καὶ ἐλόντα αὐ κοινῇ συνοικεῖν τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον·  
 διὸ δεύτερον ἐτάχθη τιμῇ, τὸ δὲ τρίτον—πᾶς ἂν τοῦτό γε  
 νοήσειεν—τὴν τοῦ σώματος εἶναι κατὰ φύσιν τιμὴν· τὰς δ'  
 αὐ τιμὰς δεῖ σκοπεῖν, καὶ τούτων τίνες ἀληθεῖς καὶ ὅσαι 5  
 κίβδηλοι, τοῦτο δὲ νομοθέτου. μηνύειν δὴ μοι φαίνεται  
 τάσδε καὶ τοιάσδε τινὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι, τίμιον εἶναι σῶμα οὐ  
 τὸ καλὸν οὐδὲ ἰσχυρὸν οὐδὲ τάχος ἔχον οὐδὲ μέγα, οὐδέ  
 γε τὸ ὑγιεινόν—καίτοι πολλοῖς ἂν τοῦτό γε δοκοῖ—καὶ μὴν e  
 οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων γ' ἐναντία, τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἀπάσης ταύτης  
 τῆς ἕξεως ἐφαπτόμενα σωφρονέστατα ἅμα τε ἀσφαλέστατα  
 εἶναι μακρῶ· τὰ μὲν γὰρ χαύνους τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ θρασείας  
 ποιεῖ, τὰ δὲ ταπεινάς τε καὶ ἀνελευθέρους. ὡς δ' αὕτως 5  
 ἢ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ κτημάτων κτῆσις, καὶ τιμῆσεως κατὰ  
 τὸν αὐτὸν ῥυθμὸν ἔχει· τὰ μὲν ὑπέρογκα γὰρ ἐκάστων  
 τούτων ἔχθρας καὶ στάσεις ἀπεργάζεται ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ 729  
 ἰδία, τὰ δ' ἐλλείποντα δουλείας ὡς τὸ πολὺ. μὴ δὴ τις  
 φιλοχρημονεῖτω παίδων γ' ἕνεκα, ἵνα ὅτι πλουσιωτάτους  
 καταλίπη· οὔτε γὰρ ἐκείνοις οὔτε αὐ τῇ πόλει ἄμεινον. ἢ  
 γὰρ τῶν νέων ἀκολάκευτος οὐσία, τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων μὴ 5  
 ἐνδεής, αὕτη πασῶν μουσικωτάτη τε καὶ ἀρίστη· συμφω-  
 νοῦσα γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ συναρμόττουσα εἰς ἅπαντα ἄλυπον τὸν  
 βίον ἀπεργάζεται. παισὶν δὲ αἰδῶ χρῆ πολλήν, οὐ χρυσὸν b  
 καταλείπειν. οἰόμεθα δὲ ἐπιπλήττοντες τοῖς νέοις ἀναι-  
 σχυντοῦσιν τοῦτο καταλείψειν· τὸ δ' ἔστιν οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ νῦν  
 παρακελεύματος τοῖς νέοις γιγνόμενον, ὃ παρακελεύονται  
 λέγοντες ὡς δεῖ πάντα αἰσχύνεσθαι τὸν νέον. ὁ δὲ ἔμφρων 5  
 νομοθέτης τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ἂν μᾶλλον παρακελεύοιτο  
 αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς νέους, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα εὐλαβεῖσθαι  
 μὴ ποτέ τις αὐτὸν ἴδη τῶν νέων ἢ καὶ ἐπακούσῃ δρῶντα ἢ  
 λέγοντά τι τῶν αἰσchrῶν, ὡς ὅπου ἀναισχυντοῦσι γέροντες, c  
 ἀνάγκη καὶ νέους ἐνταῦθα εἶναι ἀναιδεστάτους· παιδεία γὰρ  
 νέων διαφέρουσά ἐστιν ἅμα καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ τὸ νουθετεῖν, ἀλλ'



ἄπερ ἂν ἄλλον νουθετῶν εἴποι τις, φαίνεσθαι ταῦτα αὐτὸν  
 5 δρῶντα διὰ βίου. συγγένειαν δὲ καὶ ὁμογνίων θεῶν κοινω-  
 νίαν πᾶσαν ταῦτοῦ φύσιν αἵματος ἔχουσιν τιμῶν τις καὶ  
 σεβόμενος, εὖνους ἂν γενεθλίους θεοὺς εἰς παίδων αὐτοῦ  
 σπορὰν ἴσχοι κατὰ λόγον. καὶ μὴν τό γε φίλων καὶ ἐταίρων  
 d πρὸς τὰς ἐν βίῳ ὁμιλίας εὐμενεῖς ἂν τις κτῶτο, μείζους μὲν  
 καὶ σεμνοτέρας τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπηρεσίας εἰς αὐτὸν ἡγούμενος  
 ἢ ἰκεῖνοι, ἐλάττους δ' αὖ τὰς αὐτοῦ διανοούμενος εἰς τοὺς  
 φίλους χάριτας αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐταίρων. εἰς μὴν  
 5 πόλιν καὶ πολίτας μακρῶ ἄριστος ὅστις πρὸ τοῦ Ὀλυμ-  
 πίαςιν καὶ ἀπάντων ἀγῶνων πολεμικῶν τε καὶ εἰρηρικῶν  
 νικᾶν δέξαιτ' ἂν δόξῃ ὑπηρεσίας τῶν οἴκοι νόμων [ὡς  
 e ὑπηρετηκῶς πάντων κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ].  
 πρὸς δ' αὖ τοὺς ξένους διανοητέον ὡς ἀγιώτατα συμβόλαια  
 ὄντα· σχεδὸν γὰρ πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ξένων [καὶ εἰς τοὺς  
 ξένους] ἀμαρτήματα παρὰ τὰ τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς θεὸν ἀνηρτη-  
 5 μένα τιμωρὸν μᾶλλον. ἔρημος γὰρ ὢν ὁ ξένος ἐταίρων τε  
 καὶ συγγενῶν ἐλεεινότερος ἀνθρώποις καὶ θεοῖς· ὁ δυνά-  
 μενος οὖν τιμωρεῖν μᾶλλον βοηθεῖ προθυμότερον, δύναται  
 730 δὲ διαφερόντως ὁ ξένιος ἐκάστων δαίμων καὶ θεὸς τῷ ξενίῳ  
 συνεπόμενοι Δίί. πολλῆς οὖν εὐλαβείας, ᾧ καὶ σμικρὸν  
 προμηθείας ἔνι, μηδὲν ἀμάρτημα περὶ ξένους ἀμαρτόντα ἐν  
 τῷ βίῳ πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτοῦ πορευθῆναι. ξενικῶν δ' αὖ  
 5 καὶ ἐπιχωρίων ἀμαρτημάτων τὸ περὶ τοὺς ἰκέτας μέγιστον  
 γίνεσθαι ἀμάρτημα ἐκάστοις· μεθ' οὗ γὰρ ἰκετεύσας μάρ-  
 τυρος ὁ ἰκέτης θεοῦ ἀπέτυχεν ὁμολογιῶν, φύλαξ διαφέρων  
 οὗτος τοῦ παθόντος γίνεσθαι, ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἀτιμώρητος  
 πάθοι ὁ τυχὼν ὧν ἔπαθε.  
 b Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ γονέας τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ,  
 περὶ πόλιν τε καὶ φίλους καὶ συγγένειαν, ξενικά τε καὶ  
 ἐπιχώρια, διεληλύθαμεν σχεδὸν ὁμιλήματα, τὸ δὲ ποιός τις  
 ὢν αὐτὸς ἂν κάλλιστα διαγάγοι τὸν βίον, ἐπόμενον τούτῳ  
 5 διεξελεῖν· ὅσα μὴ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἔπαινος παιδεύων καὶ ψόγος  
 ἐκάστους εὐηνίους μᾶλλον καὶ εὐμενεῖς τοῖς τεθήσεσθαι  
 μέλλουσιν νόμοις ἀπεργάζεται, ταῦτ' ἐστὶν μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν  
 c ῥητέον. ἀλήθεια δὴ πάντων μὲν ἀγαθῶν θεοῖς ἡγεῖται,  
 πάντων δὲ ἀνθρώποις· ἧς ὁ γενήσεσθαι μέλλων μακάριός  
 τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐθύς μέτοχος εἶη, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστον  
 χρόνον ἀληθῆς ὢν διαβιοῖ. πιστὸς γάρ· ὁ δὲ ἄπιστος ᾧ

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ἔλεεινός μὲν πάντως ὁ γε ἄδικος καὶ ὁ τὰ κακὰ ἔχων, ἔλεειν  
 d δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰάσιμα ἔχοντα ἐγχωρεῖ καὶ ἀνείργοντα τὸν θυμὸν  
 πραῦνειν καὶ μὴ ἀκραχολοῦντα γυναικείως πικραινόμενον  
 διατελεῖν, τῷ δ' ἀκράτως καὶ ἀπαραμυθήτως πλημμελεῖ καὶ  
 κακῶ ἐφίεναί δεῖ τὴν ὀργήν· διὸ δὴ θυμοειδῆ πρέπειν καὶ  
 5 πρᾶόν φαμεν ἐκάστοτε εἶναι δεῖν τὸν ἀγαθόν.

Πάντων δὲ μέγιστον κακῶν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς πολλοῖς ἔμ-  
 φυτον ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐστίν, οὗ πᾶς αὐτῷ συγγνώμην ἔχων  
 e ἀποφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν μηχανᾶται· τοῦτο δ' ἔστιν ὃ λέγουσιν  
 ὡς φίλος αὐτῷ πᾶς ἄνθρωπος φύσει τέ ἐστιν καὶ ὀρθῶς  
 ἔχει τὸ δεῖν εἶναι τοιοῦτον. τὸ δὲ ἀληθεία γε πάντων  
 ἀμαρτημάτων διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν αἴτιον ἐκάστῳ  
 5 γίνεταί ἐκάστοτε. τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ  
 φιλῶν, ὥστε τὰ δίκαια καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ καλὰ κακῶς  
 732 κρίνει, τὸ αὐτοῦ πρὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς αἰεὶ τιμᾶν δεῖν ἡγούμενος·  
 οὔτε γὰρ ἑαυτὸν οὔτε τὰ ἑαυτοῦ χρῆ τὸν γε μέγαν ἄνδρα  
 ἐσόμενον στέργειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ δίκαια, εἴαν τε παρ' αὐτῷ εἴαν τε  
 παρ' ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον πραττόμενα τυγχάνῃ. ἐκ ταύτου δὲ  
 5 ἀμαρτήματος τούτου καὶ τὸ τὴν ἀμαθίαν τὴν παρ' αὐτῷ  
 δοκεῖν σοφίαν εἶναι γέγονε πᾶσιν· ὅθεν οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς ἔπος  
 εἶπεῖν οὐδέν, οἰόμεθα τὰ πάντα εἰδέναί, οὐκ ἐπιτρέποντες δὲ  
 b ἄλλοις ἢ μὴ ἐπιστάμεθα πράττειν, ἀναγκαζόμεθα ἀμαρτάνειν  
 αὐτοὶ πράττοντες. διὸ πάντα ἄνθρωπον χρῆ φεύγειν τὸ  
 σφόδρα φιλεῖν αὐτόν, τὸν δ' ἑαυτοῦ βελτίῳ διώκειν αἰεὶ,  
 μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνῃ ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ πρόσθεν ποιούμενον.

5 Ἄ δὲ σμικρότερα μὲν τούτων καὶ λεγόμενα πολλάκις ἐστίν,  
 χρήσιμα δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἦττον, χρῆ λέγειν ἑαυτὸν ἀναμιμνή-  
 σκοντα. ὥσπερ γὰρ τινος ἀπορρέοντος αἰεὶ δεῖ τοῦναντίον  
 ἐπιρρεῖν· ἀνάμνησις δ' ἐστὶν ἐπιρροὴ φρονήσεως ἀπολει-  
 c πούσης· διὸ δὴ γελώτων τε εἴργεσθαι χρῆ τῶν ἐξαισίων  
 καὶ δακρύων, παραγγέλλειν δὲ παντὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα, καὶ ὅλην  
 περιχάρειαν πᾶσαν ἀποκρυπτόμενον καὶ περιωδυνίαν εὐσχη-  
 μονεῖν πειρᾶσθαι, κατὰ τε εὐπραγίας ἰσταμένου τοῦ δαίμονος  
 5 ἐκάστου, καὶ κατὰ τύχας οἷον πρὸς ὑψηλὰ καὶ ἀνάνθη δαι-  
 μόνων ἀνθισταμένων τισὶν πράξεσιν, ἐλπίζειν δ' αἰεὶ τοῖς  
 γε ἀγαθοῖσι τὸν θεὸν ἃ δωρεῖται πόνων μὲν ἐπιπιπτόντων  
 d ἀντὶ μειζόνων ἐλάττους ποιήσειν τῶν τ' αὖ νῦν παρόντων  
 ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον μεταβολάς, περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ τὰ ἐναντία  
 τούτων αἰεὶ πάντ' αὐτοῖς παραγενήσεσθαι μετ' ἀγαθῆς τύχης.

ταύταις δὴ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν ἕκαστον χρῆ ζῆν καὶ ταῖς ὑπομνή-  
σεσι πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, μηδὲν φειδόμενον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ κατὰ 5  
τε παιδίας καὶ σπουδὰς ἀναμιμνήσκοντα ἕτερόν τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν  
σαφῶς.

Νῦν οὖν δὴ περὶ μὲν ἐπιτηδεύματων, οἷα χρῆ ἐπιτηδεύειν,  
καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἑκάστου, ποιόν τινα χρεῶν εἶναι, λέλεκται e  
σχεδὸν ὅσα θεῖά ἐστι, τὰ δὲ ἀνθρώπινα νῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ  
εἴρηται, δεῖ δέ· ἀνθρώποις γὰρ διαλεγόμεθα ἀλλ' οὐ θεοῖς.  
ἔστιν δὴ φύσει ἀνθρώπειον μάλιστα ἡδοναὶ καὶ λύπαι καὶ  
ἐπιθυμίαι, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγκη τὸ θνητὸν πᾶν ζῶον ἀτεχνῶς οἷον 5  
ἐξηρτηῆσθαι τε καὶ ἐκκρεμάμενον εἶναι σπουδαῖς ταῖς μεγί-  
σταις· δεῖ δὴ τὸν κάλλιστον βίον ἐπαινεῖν, μὴ μόνον ὅτι τῷ  
σχήματι κρατεῖ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς, ἂν τις ἐθέλη 733  
γεύεσθαι καὶ μὴ νέος ὧν φυγὰς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένηται, κρατεῖ  
καὶ τούτῳ ὃ πάντες ζητοῦμεν, τῷ χαίρειν πλείω, ἐλάττω  
δὲ λυπεῖσθαι παρὰ τὸν βίον ἅπαντα. ὡς δὲ ἔσται τοῦτο  
σαφές, ἂν γεύηται τις ὀρθῶς, ἐτοίμως καὶ σφόδρα φανή- 5  
σεται. ἢ δὲ ὀρθότης τίς; τοῦτο ἤδη παρὰ τοῦ λόγου χρῆ  
λαμβάνοντα σκοπεῖν· εἴτε οὕτως ἡμῖν κατὰ φύσιν πέφυκεν  
εἴτε ἄλλως παρὰ φύσιν, βίον χρῆ παρὰ βίον ἡδίω καὶ  
λυπηρότερον ὧδε σκοπεῖν. ἡδονὴν βουλόμεθα ἡμῖν εἶναι,  
· λύπην δὲ οὔθ' αἰρούμεθα οὔτε βουλόμεθα, τὸ δὲ μηδέτερον b  
ἀντὶ μὲν ἡδονῆς οὐ βουλόμεθα, λύπης δὲ ἀλλάττεσθαι  
βουλόμεθα· λύπην δ' ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος ἡδονῆς βουλό-  
μεθα, ἡδονὴν δ' ἐλάττω μετὰ μείζονος λύπης οὐ βουλόμεθα,  
ἴσα δὲ ἀντὶ ἴσων ἑκάτερα τούτων οὐχ ὡς βουλόμεθα ἔχοιμεν 5  
ἂν διασαφεῖν. ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ἐστὶν πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει  
καὶ σφοδρότησιν ἰσότησίν τε, καὶ ὅσα ἐναντία ἐστὶν πᾶσι  
τοῖς τοιούτοις πρὸς βούλησιν, διαφέροντά τε καὶ μηδὲν  
διαφέροντα πρὸς αἴρεσιν ἑκάστων. οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐξ c  
ἀνάγκης διακεκοσμημένων, ἐν ᾧ μὲν βίῳ ἔνεστι πολλὰ ἑκά-  
τερα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ σφοδρά, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ τὰ τῶν ἡδονῶν,  
βουλόμεθα, ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰ ἐναντία, οὐ βουλόμεθα· καὶ αὖ ἐν  
ᾧ ὀλίγα ἑκάτερα καὶ σμικρὰ καὶ ἡρεμαῖα, ὑπερβάλλει δὲ τὰ 5  
λυπηρά, οὐ βουλόμεθα, ἐν ᾧ δὲ τὰναντία, βουλόμεθα. ἐν  
ᾧ δ' αὖ βίῳ ἰσορροπεῖ, καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν δεῖ δια-  
νοεῖσθαι· τὸν ἰσορροπον βίον ὡς τῶν μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα  
τῷ φίλῳ ἡμῖν βουλόμεθα, τῶν δ' αὖ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς οὐ βουλό- d  
μεθα. πάντας δὴ δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι τοὺς βίους ἡμῶν ὡς ἐν

τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένοι πεφύκασιν, καὶ δεῖ διαιρεῖσθαι ποίους φύσει βουλόμεθα· εἰ δέ τι παρὰ ταῦτα ἄρα φαμέν βού-  
 5 λεσθαι, διὰ τινα ἄγνοιαν καὶ ἀπειρίαν τῶν ὄντων βίων αὐτὰ λέγομεν.

Τίνες δὴ καὶ πόσοι εἰσὶ βίοι, ὧν πέρι δεῖ προελόμενον τὸ βούλητόν τε καὶ [ἐκούσιον ἀβούλητόν τε καὶ] ἀκούσιον  
 e ἰδόντα εἰς νόμον ἑαυτῷ ταξάμενον, τὸ φίλον ἅμα καὶ ἡδὺ καὶ ἄριστόν τε καὶ κάλλιστον ἐλόμενον, ζῆν ὡς οἶόν τ' ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων μακαριώτατα; λέγωμεν δὴ σώφρονα βίον ἓνα εἶναι καὶ φρόνιμον ἓνα καὶ ἓνα τὸν ἀνδρείον, καὶ τὸν ὑγιεινὸν  
 5 βίον ἓνα ταξώμεθα· καὶ τούτοις οὖσιν τέτταρσιν ἐναντίους ἄλλους τέτταρας, ἄφρονα, δειλόν, ἀκόλαστον, νοσώδη. σώφρονα μὲν οὖν βίον ὁ γιγνώσκων θήσει πρᾶον ἐπὶ πάντα,  
 734 καὶ ἡρεμαίας μὲν λύπας, ἡρεμαίας δὲ ἡδονάς, μαλακὰς δὲ ἐπιθυμίας καὶ ἔρωτας οὐκ ἐμμανεῖς παρεχόμενον, ἀκόλαστον δέ, ὄξυν ἐπὶ πάντα, καὶ σφοδρὰς μὲν λύπας, σφοδρὰς δὲ ἡδονάς, συντόνους δὲ καὶ οἰστρώδεις ἐπιθυμίας [τε] καὶ  
 5 ἔρωτας ὡς οἶόν τε ἐμμανεστάτους παρεχόμενον, ὑπερβαλλούσας δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ σώφρονι βίῳ τὰς ἡδονὰς τῶν ἀχθηδόνων, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀκολάστῳ τὰς λύπας τῶν ἡδονῶν μεγέθει καὶ πλήθει καὶ πυκνότησιν. ὅθεν ὁ μὲν ἡδίων ἡμῖν τῶν βίων, ὁ δὲ  
 b λυπηρότερος ἐξ ἀνάγκης συμβαίνει κατὰ φύσιν γίγνεσθαι, καὶ τὸν γε βουλόμενον ἡδέως ζῆν οὐκέτι παρῆκει ἐκόντα γε ἀκολάστως ζῆν, ἀλλ' ἡδη δῆλον ὡς, εἰ τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὀρθόν, πᾶς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἄκων ἐστὶν ἀκόλαστος· ἢ γὰρ δι'  
 5 ἀμαθίαν ἢ δι' ἀκράτειαν ἢ δι' ἀμφότερα, τοῦ σωφρονεῖν ἐνδεῆς ὧν ζῆ ὁ πᾶς ἀνθρώπινος ὄχλος. ταῦτα δὲ περὶ νοσώδους τε καὶ ὑγιεινοῦ βίου διανοητέον, ὡς ἔχουσι μὲν ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας, ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ ἡδοῖν μὲν λύπας ἐν ὑγιείᾳ,  
 c λῦπαι δὲ ἡδονὰς ἐν νόσοις. ἡμῖν δὲ ἡ βούλησις τῆς αἰρέσεως τῶν βίων οὐχ ἵνα τὸ λυπηρὸν ὑπερβάλλῃ. ὅπου δ' ὑπερβάλλεται, τοῦτον τὸν βίον ἡδίῳ κεκρίκαμεν. ὁ δὴ σώφρων τοῦ ἀκολάστου καὶ ὁ φρόνιμος τοῦ ἄφρονος, φαῖμεν  
 5 ἄν, καὶ ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας τοῦ τῆς δειλίας ἐλάττονα καὶ σμικρότερα καὶ μανότερα ἔχων ἀμφότερα, τῇ τῶν ἡδονῶν ἐκάτερος ἐκάτερον ὑπερβάλλων, τῇ τῆς λύπης ἐκείνων ὑπερβαλλόντων  
 d αὐτούς, ὁ μὲν ἀνδρείος τὸν δειλόν, ὁ δὲ φρόνιμος τὸν ἄφρονα νικῶσιν, ὥστε ἡδίους εἶναι τοὺς βίους τῶν βίων, σώφρονα καὶ ἀνδρείον καὶ φρόνιμον καὶ ὑγιεινὸν δειλοῦ καὶ ἄφρονος

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πολιτείαν καινήν καὶ νόμους, εἰ καὶ τὸν πραότερον  
καθαρμοῶν καθήρειεν, ἀγαπώντως ἂν καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον  
σειεν. ἔστι δ' ὁ μὲν ἄριστος ἀλγεινός, καθάπερ  
φαρμάκων τοιουτότροπα, ὁ τῇ δίκῃ μετὰ τιμωρίας  
κολάζειν ἄγων, θάνατον ἢ φυγὴν τῇ τιμωρίᾳ  
ἐπιτιθείς· τοὺς γὰρ μέγιστα ἐξημαρτηκότας, ἀνι-  
σταντας, μεγίστην δὲ οὖσαν βλάβην πόλεως, ἀπι-  
εῖωθεν. ὁ δὲ πραότερός ἐστι τῶν καθαρμοῶν ὁ τοιοῦτος  
ὅσοι διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν τοῖς ἡγεμόσι  
τῶν ἐχόντων μὴ ἔχοντες ἐτοίμους αὐτοὺς ἐνδείκνυν  
σκευακότες ἔπεσθαι, τούτοις ὡς νοσήματι πόλεως  
κότι, δι' εὐφημίας ἀπαλλαγὴν, ὄνομα ἀποικίαν τὴν  
εὐμενῶς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξεπέμψατο. παντὶ μὲν οὖν  
τοῦντι τοῦτο ἀμῶς γέ πως κατ' ἀρχὰς δραστήον,  
ἔτι τούτων ἀκοπώτερα τὰ περὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶ συμβεβη-  
οῦτε γὰρ ἀποικίαν οὔτ' ἐκλογὴν τινα καθάρσεως  
χανᾶσθαι πρὸς τὸ παρόν, οἷον δέ τινων συρρέον  
πολλῶν τὰ μὲν πηγῶν τὰ δὲ χειμάρρων εἰς μία  
ἀναγκαῖον προσέχοντας τὸν νοῦν φυλάττειν ὁ  
καθαρώτατον ἔσται τὸ συρρέον ὕδωρ, τὰ μὲν ἔξαν  
τὰ δ' ἀποχετεύοντας καὶ παρατρέποντας. πόνο  
ἔοικεν, καὶ κίνδυνός ἐστιν ἐν πάσῃ κατασκευῇ  
τὰ δ' ἐπεὶ λόγῳ γ' ἐστὶν τὰ νῦν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔργῳ προ-  
πεπεράνθω τε ἡμῖν ἢ συλλογῇ καὶ κατὰ νοῦν ἢ κα-  
αὐτῆς ἔστω συμβεβηκυῖα· τοὺς γὰρ κακοὺς τῶν  
: ρούντων εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν ὡς πολιτευσομένους  
πειθοῖ πάσῃ καὶ ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ διαβασανίσαντες,  
σωμεν ἀφικνεῖσθαι, τοὺς δ' ἀγαθοὺς εἰς δύναμιν  
ἰλεῶ τε προσαγώμεθα.

5 Τόδε δὲ μὴ λανθανέτω γιγνόμενον ἡμᾶς εὐτύχως  
καθάπερ εἶπομεν τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποικίαν  
ὡς γῆς καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπῆς καὶ νομῆς πέρι δὲ  
ἐπικίνδυνον ἔριν ἐξέφυγεν, ἣν νομοθετεῖσθαι ἀνα-  
1 πόλει τῶν ἀρχαίων οὔτε εἴαν οἷόν τε ἀκίνητον οὔτ'  
δυνατὸν ἐστὶ τινὰ τρόπον, εὐχὴ δὲ μόνον ὡς ἔπος  
πεται, καὶ σμικρὰ μετάβασις εὐλαβῆς ἐν πολὺ  
σμικρὸν μεταβιβάζουσιν, ἥδε· τῶν κινούντων αἰεὶ κε-  
5 μὲν αὐτῶν γῆν ἀφθονον ὑπάρχειν, κεκτημένων δὲ  
λέτας αὐτοῖς πολλοὺς ἐθελόντων τε τούτων πη τοῖ

μένοις δι' ἐπιείκειαν κοινωνεῖν, τὰ μὲν ἀφιέντας, τὰ δὲ  
 νεμομένους, ἀμῆ γέ πη τῆς μετριότητος ἐχομένους καὶ  
 πενίαν ἠγουμένους εἶναι μὴ τὸ τὴν οὐσίαν ἐλάττω ποιεῖν  
 ἀλλὰ τὸ τὴν ἀπληστίαν πλείω. σωτηρίας τε γὰρ ἀρχὴ  
 μεγίστη πόλεως αὕτη γίνεταί, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτης οἷον κρηπίδος  
 μονίμου ἐποικοδομεῖν δυνατὸν ὄντινα ἂν ὕστερον ἐποικοδομηῇ  
 τις κόσμον πολιτικὸν προσήκοντα τῇ τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει·  
 ταύτης δὲ σαθρᾶς οὐσῆς [τῆς μεταβάσεως], οὐκ εὐπορος ἢ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα πολιτικὴ πράξις οὐδεμιᾶ γίγνοιτ' ἂν πόλει.  
 ἦν ἡμεῖς μὲν, ὡς φάμεν, ἐκφεύγομεν· ὅμως δὲ εἰρῆσθαί γε  
 ὀρθότερον, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐξεφεύγομεν, ὅπη ποτ' ἂν ἐποιοῦμεθα  
 αὐτῆς τὴν φυγὴν. εἰρήσθω δὴ νυν ὅτι διὰ τοῦ μὴ φιλο-  
 χρηματεῖν μετὰ δίκης, ἄλλη δ' οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτ' εὐρεία οὔτε  
 στενὴ τῆς τοιαύτης μηχανῆς διαφυγῆ· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οἷον  
 ἔρμα πόλεως ἡμῖν κείσθω τὰ νῦν. ἀνεγκλήτους γὰρ δεῖ  
 τὰς οὐσίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατασκευάζεσθαι ἀμῶς γέ πως,  
 ἢ μὴ προῖέναι πρότερον εἰς τοῦμπροσθεν ἐκόντας εἶναι τῆς  
 ἄλλης κατασκευῆς οἷς ἦ παλαιὰ ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
 [καὶ] ὅσοις νοῦ καὶ σμικρὸν μετῆ· οἷς δέ, ὡς ἡμῖν νῦν,  
 θεὸς ἔδωκε καινὴν τε πόλιν οἰκίζειν καὶ μὴ τινὰς ἔχθρας  
 εἶναί πω πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τούτους ἔχθρας αὐτοῖς αἰτίους  
 γενέσθαι διὰ τὴν διανομὴν τῆς γῆς τε καὶ οἰκήσεων οὐκ  
 ἀνθρώπινος ἂν εἴη μετὰ κάκης πάσης ἀμαθία.

Τίς οὖν δὴ τρόπος ἂν εἴη τῆς ὀρθῆς διανομῆς; πρῶτον  
 μὲν τὸν αὐτῶν ὄγκον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δεῖ τάξασθαι, πόσον εἶναι  
 χρεῶν· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τὴν διανομὴν τῶν πολιτῶν, καθ' ὅποσα  
 μέρη πλήθει καὶ ὀπηλίκα διαιρετέον αὐτούς, ἀνομολογητέον·  
 ἐπὶ δὲ ταῦτα τὴν τε γῆν καὶ τὰς οἰκήσεις ὅτι μάλιστα ἴσας  
 ἐπινεμητέον. ὄγκος δὴ πλήθους ἱκανὸς οὐκ ἄλλως ὀρθῶς  
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν λεχθεὶς ἢ πρὸς τὴν γῆν καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν  
 πλησιοχώρων πόλεις· γῆς μὲν ὅποση ποσοὺς σῶφρονας  
 ὄντας ἱκανὴ τρέφειν, πλείονος, δὲ οὐδὲν προσδεῖ, πλήθους  
 δέ, ὅποσοι τοὺς προσχώρους ἀδικοῦντάς τε αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι  
 δυνατοὶ καὶ γείτοσιν ἑαυτῶν ἀδικουμένοις βοηθῆσαι μὴ παντά-  
 πασιν ἀπόρως δύναιντ' ἂν. ταῦτα δέ, ἰδόντες τὴν χώραν καὶ  
 τοὺς γείτονας, ὀριοῦμεθα ἔργῳ καὶ λόγοις· νῦν δὲ σχήματος  
 ἕνεκα καὶ ὑπογραφῆς ἵνα περαίνηται, πρὸς τὴν νομοθεσίαν  
 ὁ λόγος ἴτω.

Πεντάκις μὲν χίλιοι ἔστωσαν καὶ τετταράκοντα, ἀριθμοῦ



ος ἔνεκα προσήκοντος, γεωμόροι τε καὶ ἀμυνοῦντες τῇ γῆ· γῆ δὲ καὶ οἰκήσεις ὡσαύτως τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη διανεμη-  
των, γενόμενα ἀνὴρ καὶ κλῆρος συννομή. δύο μὲν δὴ μέρη  
παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ τὸ πρῶτον νεμηθήτω, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τρία  
αὐτοῦ· πέφυκε γὰρ καὶ τέτταρα καὶ πέντε καὶ μέχρι τῶν  
α ἐφεξῆς. δεῖ δὴ περὶ ἀριθμῶν τό γε τοσοῦτον πάντα  
ρα νομοθετοῦντα νενοηκένας, τίς ἀριθμὸς καὶ ποῖος  
ταις πόλεσιν χρησιμώτατος ἂν εἴη. λέγωμεν δὴ τὸν  
εἰστας καὶ ἐφεξῆς μάλιστα διανομὰς ἐν αὐτῷ κεκτημένον.  
ιὲν δὴ πᾶς εἰς πάντα πάσας τομὰς εἴληχεν· ἑξήκοντα  
ταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίων εἰς τε πόλεμον καὶ ὅσα  
εἰρήνην [πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ κοινωνήματα],  
φορῶν τε πέρι καὶ διανομῶν, οὐ πλείους μιᾶς δεουσῶν  
ἰκοντα δύναιτ' ἂν τέμνεσθαι τομῶν, συνεχεῖς δὲ ἀπὸ μιᾶς  
ρι τῶν δέκα.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ κατὰ σχολὴν δεῖ βεβαίως λαβεῖν,  
ἂν ὁ νόμος προστάτῃ λαμβάνειν· ἔχει γὰρ οὖν οὐκ ἄλλως  
ταύτη· δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰ ῥηθῆναι τῶνδε ἔνεκα κατοικίζοντι  
λιν. οὐτ' ἂν καινὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τις ποιῆ οὐτ' ἂν παλαιὰν  
φθαρμένην ἐπισκευάζηται, περὶ θεῶν γε καὶ ἱερῶν, ἅττα  
ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐκάστοις ἰδρῦσθαι δεῖ καὶ ὠντινων ἐπονομά-  
θαι θεῶν ἢ δαιμόνων, οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρήσει κινεῖν νοῦν ἔχων  
ἐκ Δελφῶν ἢ Δωδώνης ἢ παρ' Ἀμμωνος ἢ τινες ἐπεισαν  
λαιοὶ λόγοι ὅπηδ' ἴνα πείσαντες, φασμάτων γενομένων  
ἐπιπνοίας λεχθείσης θεῶν, πείσαντες δὲ θυσίας τελεταῖς  
μείκτους κατεστήσαντο εἴτε αὐτόθεν ἐπιχωρίου εἴτ' οὖν  
ορητικὰς εἴτε Κυπρίας εἴτε ἄλλοθεν ὀθενοῦν, καθιέρωσαν  
τοῖς τοιούτοις λόγοις φήμας τε καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ βωμοὺς  
ναοὺς, τεμένη τε τούτων ἐκάστοις ἐτεμένισαν· τούτων  
ιοθέτη τὸ σμικρότατον ἀπάντων οὐδὲν κινητέον, τοῖς δὲ  
ρεσιν ἐκάστοις θεὸν ἢ δαίμονα ἢ καὶ τινα ἥρωα ἀποδοτέον,  
δὲ τῇ τῆς γῆς διανομῇ πρώτοις ἐξαίρετα τεμένη τε καὶ  
τα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀποδοτέον, ὅπως ἂν σύλλογοι ἐκάστων  
ν μερῶν κατὰ χρόνους γιγνόμενοι τοὺς προσταχθέντας  
τε τὰς χρεῖας ἐκάστας εὐμάρειαν παρασκευάζωσι, καὶ  
οφρονῶνται τε ἀλλήλους μετὰ θυσιῶν καὶ οἰκειῶνται  
γνωρίζωσι, οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθὸν ἢ γνωρίμους  
τοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι. ὅπου γὰρ μὴ φῶς, ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν  
κλήλων ἐν τοῖς τρόποις ἀλλὰ σκότος, οὐτ' ἂν τιμῆς τῆς

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5 τρίτην δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, εἴαν θεὸς ἐθέλη, διαπερανούμεθα. νῦν  
 δ' οὖν ταύτην τίνα λέγομεν καὶ πῶς γενομένην ἂν τοιαύτην;  
 Νειμάσθων μὲν δὴ πρῶτον γῆν τε καὶ οἰκίας, καὶ μὴ  
 740 κοινῇ γεωργούντων, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τοιοῦτον μείζον ἢ κατὰ τὴν  
 νῦν γένεσιν καὶ τροφήν καὶ παιδείωσιν εἴρηται· νεμέσθων δ'  
 οὖν τοιαῦδε διανοία πως, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν λαχόντα τὴν λῆξιν  
 ταύτην νομίζειν μὲν κοινὴν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης,  
 5 πατρίδος δὲ οὔσης τῆς χώρας θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ μειζόνως  
 ἢ μητέρα παιδᾶς, τῷ καὶ δέσποιναν θεὸν αὐτὴν οὔσαν θνητῶν  
 ὄντων γεγονέναι, ταῦτα δ' ἔχει διανοήματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς  
 b ἐγχωρίους θεοὺς τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονας. ὅπως δ' ἂν ταῦτα εἰς  
 τὸν αἰεὶ χρόνον οὕτως ἔχοντα ὑπάρχη, τάδε προσδιανοητέον,  
 ὅσαι εἰσὶ τὰ νῦν ἡμῖν ἐστίαι διανεμηθεῖσαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν,  
 ταύτας δεῖν αἰεὶ τοσαύτας εἶναι καὶ μήτε τι πλείους γίνεσθαι  
 5 μήτε τί ποτε ἐλάττους. ὦδ' οὖν ἂν τὸ τοιοῦτον βεβαίως  
 γίγνοιτο περὶ πᾶσαν πόλιν· ὁ λαχὼν τὸν κλῆρον κατα-  
 λειπέτω αἰεὶ ταύτης τῆς οἰκίσεως ἓνα μόνον κληρονόμον  
 τῶν ἑαυτοῦ παιδῶν, ὃν ἂν αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἢ φίλον, διάδοχον  
 c καὶ θεραπευτὴν θεῶν καὶ γένους καὶ πόλεως τῶν τε ζώντων  
 καὶ ὄσους ἂν ἤδη τέλος εἰς τὸν τότε χρόνον ἔχη· τοὺς δὲ  
 ἄλλους παιδᾶς, οἷς ἂν πλείους ἐνὸς γίνωνται, θηλείας τε  
 ἐκδόσθαι κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιταχθησόμενον, ἄρρενάς τε, οἷς  
 5 ἂν τῆς γενέσεως ἐλλείπη τῶν πολιτῶν, τούτοις ὑεῖς διανέμειν,  
 κατὰ χάριν μὲν μάλιστα, εἴαν δέ τις ἐλλείπωσιν χάριτες, ἢ  
 πλείους ἐπίγονοι γίνωνται θήλειαι ἢ τινες ἄρρενες ἐκάστων,  
 ἢ καὶ τοῦναντίον ὅταν ἐλάττους ὦσιν, παιδῶν ἀφορίας γενο-  
 d μένης, πάντων τούτων ἀρχὴν ἦν ἂν θώμεθα μεγίστην καὶ  
 τιμιωτάτην, αὕτη σκεψαμένη τί χρὴ χρῆσθαι τοῖς περιγενο-  
 μένοις ἢ τοῖς ἐλλείπουσι, ποριζέτω μηχανὴν ὅτι μάλιστα  
 ὅπως αἱ πεντακισχίλια καὶ τετταράκοντα οἰκίσεις αἰεὶ μόνον  
 5 ἔσονται. μηχαναὶ δ' εἰσὶν πολλαί· καὶ γὰρ ἐπισχέσεις  
 γενέσεως οἷς ἂν εὗρους ἢ γένεσις, καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐπι-  
 μέλειαί καὶ σπουδαὶ πλήθους γεννημάτων εἰσὶν, τιμαῖς τε  
 καὶ ἀτιμίαις καὶ νουθητήσεσι πρεσβυτῶν περὶ νέους [διὰ λόγων  
 e νουθητητικῶν] ἀπαντῶσαι δύνανται ποιεῖν ὃ λέγομεν. καὶ  
 δὴ καὶ τό γε τέλος, ἂν πᾶσα ἀπορία περὶ τὴν ἀνίσωσιν τῶν  
 πεντακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα οἰκῶν γίγνηται, ἐπίχυσις  
 δὲ ὑπερβάλλουσα ἡμῖν πολιτῶν διὰ φιλοφροσύνην τὴν τῶν  
 5 συνοικούντων ἀλλήλοις συμβαίνη καὶ ἀπορῶμεν; τὸ παλαιόν

που ὑπάρχει μηχανήμα, ὃ πολλάκις εἶπομεν, ἐκπομπὴ ἀποικιῶν, φίλη γιγνομένη παρὰ φίλων, ὧν ἂν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι δοκῆ. εἴαν τ' αὖ καὶ τοῦναντίον ἐπέλθῃ ποτὲ κῦμα κατακλυσμὸν φέρον νόσων, ἢ πολέμων φθορά, ἐλάττους δὲ πολὺ τοῦ τεταγμένου ἀριθμοῦ δι' ὀρφανίας γένωνται, ἐκόντας μὲν οὐ δεῖ πολίτας παρεμβάλλειν νόθη παιδεία πεπαιδευμένους, ἀνάγκην δὲ οὐδὲ θεὸς εἶναι λέγεται δυνατὸς βιάζεσθαι. 741

Ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ τὸν νῦν λεγόμενον λόγον ἡμῖν φῶμεν 5  
 παραινεῖν λέγοντα· ὦ πάντων ἀνδρῶν ἄριστοι, τὴν ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα καὶ τὸ ταῦτόν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον τιμῶντες κατὰ φύσιν μὴ ἀνίετε κατὰ τε ἀριθμὸν καὶ πᾶσαν δύναμιν τὴν τῶν καλῶν καγαθῶν πραγμάτων· καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μὲν πρῶτον διὰ βίου παντὸς φυλάξατε τὸν εἰρημένον, εἶτα τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ὕψος τε καὶ μέγεθος, ὃ τὸ πρῶτον ἐνείμασθε μέτριον ὄν, μὴ ἀτιμάσητε τῷ τε ὠνεῖσθαι καὶ τῷ πωλεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ νεῖμας κλῆρος ὧν θεὸς ὑμῖν σύμμαχος οὔτε ὁ νομοθέτης· νῦν γὰρ δὴ πρῶτον τῷ ἀπειθοῦντι νόμος προστάττει, προειπὼν ἐπὶ τούτοις κληροῦσθαι τὸν ἐθέλοντα ἢ μὴ κληροῦσθαι, ὡς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς γῆς ἱερᾶς οὔσης τῶν πάντων θεῶν, εἶτα ἱερέων τε καὶ ἱερειῶν εὐχὰς ποιησομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις θύμασι καὶ δευτέροις καὶ μέχρι τριῶν, τὸν πριάμενον ἢ ἀποδόμενον ὧν ἔλαχεν οἰκοπέδων ἢ γηπέδων τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις πρέποντα 5  
 πάσχειν πάθη· γράψαντες δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς θήσουσι κυπαριττίνας μνήμας εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον καταγεγραμμένας, πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι φυλακτήρια τούτων, ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται, καταστήσουσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἧτις ἂν ὀξύτατον ὄραν 5  
 δοκῆ, ἵνα αἱ παρὰ ταῦτα ἐκάστοτε παραγωγαὶ γιγνόμεναι μὴ λανθάνωσιν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ κολάζωσι τὸν ἀπειθοῦντα ἅμα νόμῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. ὅσον γὰρ δὴ τὸ νῦν ἐπιταπτόμενον ἀγαθὸν ὄν τυγχάνει πάσαις ταῖς πειθομέναις πόλεσι, τὴν ἐπομένην 5  
 κατασκευὴν προσλαβόν, κατὰ τὴν παλαιὰν παροιμίαν οὐδεὶς εἴσεται ποτε κακὸς ὧν, ἀλλ' ἔμπειρός τε καὶ ἐπιεικῆς ἔθεσι γενόμενος· χρηματισμὸς γὰρ οὔτ' ἔνεστιν σφόδρα ἐν τῇ 5  
 τοιαύτῃ κατασκευῇ, συνέπεται τε αὐτῇ μηδὲ δεῖν μηδ' ἐξεῖναι χρηματίζεσθαι τῶν ἀνελευθέρων χρηματισμῶν μηδενὶ μηδένα, καθ' ὅσον ἐπονείδιστος λεγομένη βαναυσία ἦθος ἀποτρέπει ἐλεύθερον, μηδὲ τὸ παράπαν ἀξιοῦν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων 5  
 συλλέγειν χρήματα.

Πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι νόμος ἔπεται πᾶσι τοῖς  
 742 ἐξεῖναι χρυσὸν μηδὲ ἄργυρον κεκτηῖσθαι μηδὲ  
 ἰδιώτῃ, νόμισμα δὲ ἕνεκα ἀλλαγῆς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν  
 δημιουργοῖς τε ἀλλάττεσθαι σχεδὸν ἀναγκαῖον,  
 ὁπόσων χρεῖα τῶν τοιούτων μισθοὺς μισθωτοῖς, ἰδιώ-  
 5 ἐποίκοις, ἀποτίνειν. ὧν ἕνεκά φαμεν τὸ νόμισμα  
 αὐτοῖς μὲν ἔντιμον, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις  
 κοινὸν δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν νόμισμα ἕνεκά τε στρατειῶν  
 δημιῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους, οἷον πρεσβυ-  
 b τινος ἀναγκαίας ἄλλης τῇ πόλει κηρυκείας, ἐκπέ-  
 ἄν δέη, τούτων χάριν ἀνάγκη ἐκάστοτε κεκτηῖσθαι  
 νόμισμα Ἑλληνικόν. ἰδιώτῃ δὲ ἂν ἄρα ποτὲ  
 γίγνηται ἀποδημεῖν, παρέμενος μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντι  
 5 μείτω, νόμισμα δὲ ἂν ποθεν ἔχων ξενικὸν οἴκαδ  
 περιγενόμενον, τῇ πόλει αὐτὸ καταβαλλέτω πρὸς  
 ἀπολαμβάνων τὸ ἐπιχώριον· ἰδιούμενος δὲ ἂν τις  
 δημόσιόν τε γιγνέσθω καὶ ὁ συνειδῶς καὶ μὴ φησὶ  
 καὶ ὀνειδίει μετὰ τοῦ ἀγαγόντος ἔνοχος ἔστω,  
 c πρὸς τούτοις μὴ ἐλάττονι τοῦ ξενικοῦ κομισθέν-  
 σματος. γαμοῦντα δὲ καὶ ἐκδιδόντα μήτ' οὖν δι-  
 δέχεσθαι προῖκα τὸ παράπαν μηδ' ἡντινοῦν, μηδὲ  
 παρακατατίθεσθαι ὅτω μή τις πιστεύει, μηδὲ δα-  
 5 τόκῳ, ὡς ἐξὸν μὴ ἀποδιδόναι τὸ παράπαν τῷ δανει-  
 μήτε τόκον μήτε κεφάλαιον· ταῦτα δ' ὅτι βέλ-  
 πόλει ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐπιτηδεύειν, ὧδε ἂν τις σκο-  
 d ἂν αὐτὰ διακρίνοι, ἐπαναφέρων εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀ-  
 βούλησιν. ἔστιν δὲ τοῦ νοῦν ἔχοντος πολιτικοῦ  
 φαμέν, οὐχ ἡνπερ ἂν οἱ πολλοὶ φαῖεν δεῖν βού-  
 ἀγαθὸν νομοθέτην, ὡς μέγιστην τε εἶναι τὴν πό-  
 5 εἶναι νομοθετοῖ, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα πλουσίαν, κεκτημένην  
 χρύσεια καὶ ἀργύρεια, καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ  
 ἄρχουσαν ὅτι πλείστων· προσθεῖεν δ' ἂν καὶ εἰ-  
 δεῖν βούλεσθαι τὴν πόλιν εἶναι καὶ ὡς εὐδαίμων-  
 e τὸν γε ὀρθῶς νομοθετοῦντα· τούτων δὲ τὰ μὲν  
 ἔστιν γίγνεσθαι, τὰ δ' οὐ δυνατά· τὰ μὲν οὖν δι-  
 λοιτ' ἂν ὁ διακοσμῶν, τὰ δὲ μὴ δυνατὰ οὐτ' ἀ-  
 ματαίας βουλήσεις οὐτ' ἂν ἐπιχειροῖ. σχεδὸν  
 5 εὐδαίμονας ἅμα καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι—  
 οὖν βούλοιτ' ἂν—πλουσίους δ' αὖ σφόδρα κο-

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μεθα πολιτείαν, εἰ μὲν τὰς τιμὰς οὕτω τάττεται, ὀρθῶς  
 νενομοθέτηται· εἰ δέ τις τῶν προσταττομένων αὐτόθι νόμων  
 744 σωφροσύνης ἔμπροσθεν ὑγίειαν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανεῖται ποιῶν  
 τιμίαν, ἢ πλοῦτον ὑγείας καὶ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς  
 ἀναφανεῖται τιθέμενος. τοῦτ' οὖν δὴ πολλάκις ἐπισημαί-  
 νεσθαι χρὴ τὸν νομοθέτην—Τί τε βούλομαι; καὶ Εἴ μοι  
 5 συμβαίνει τοῦτο ἢ καὶ ἀποτυγχάνω τοῦ σκοποῦ;—καὶ οὕτω  
 τάχ' ἂν ἴσως ἐκ τῆς νομοθεσίας αὐτός τε ἐκβαίνοι καὶ τοὺς  
 ἄλλους ἀπαλλάττοι, κατ' ἄλλον δὲ τρόπον οὐδ' ἂν ἓνα ποτέ.

Ὁ δὴ λαχὼν κεκτήσθω, φαμέν, τὸν κληῖρον ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 b οἷς εἰρήκαμεν. ἦν μὲν δὴ καλὸν καὶ τὰλλα ἴσα πάντ'  
 ἔχοντα ἓνα ἕκαστον ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὴν ἀποικίαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐ  
 δυνατόν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν τις πλείω κεκτημένος ἀφίξεται χρή-  
 ματα, ὁ δ' ἐλάττωνα, δεῖ δὴ πολλῶν ἕνεκα, τῶν τε κατὰ  
 5 πόλιν καιρῶν ἰσότητος ἕνεκα, τιμήματα ἄνισα γενέσθαι, ἵνα  
 ἀρχαί τε καὶ εἰσφοραὶ καὶ διανομαὶ τὴν τῆς ἀξίας ἐκάστοις  
 τιμὴν μὴ κατ' ἀρετὴν μόνον τὴν τε προγόνων καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ,  
 c μηδὲ κατὰ σωμάτων ἰσχύος καὶ εὐμορφίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ  
 πλούτου χρήσιν καὶ πενίαν, τὰς τιμὰς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς ὡς  
 ἰσαίτατα τῷ ἀνίσῳ συμμέτρῳ δὲ ἀπολαμβάνοντες μὴ δια-  
 φέρωνται. τούτων χάριν τέτταρα μεγέθει τῆς οὐσίας τιμή-  
 5 ματα ποιεῖσθαι χρεῶν, πρῶτους καὶ δευτέρους καὶ τρίτους  
 καὶ τετάρτους, ἢ τισιν ἄλλοις προσαγορευομένους ὀνόμασιν,  
 ὅταν τε μένωσιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τιμήματι καὶ ὅταν πλου-  
 σιώτεροι ἐκ πενήτων καὶ ἐκ πλουσίων πένητες γιγνόμενοι  
 d μεταβαίνωσιν εἰς τὸ προσῆκον ἕκαστοι ἑαυτοῖσιν τίμημα.

Τόδε δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις αὖ νόμου σχῆμα ἔγωγε ἂν τιθείην ὡς  
 ἐπόμενον. δεῖ γὰρ ἐν πόλει που, φαμέν, τῇ τοῦ μεγίστου  
 νοσήματος οὐ μεθεξούση, ὃ διάστασιν ἢ στάσιν ὀρθότερον  
 5 ἂν εἴη κεκλήσθαι, μήτε πενίαν τὴν χαλεπὴν ἐνεῖναι παρά  
 τισιν τῶν πολιτῶν μήτε αὖ πλοῦτον, ὡς ἀμφοτέρων τικτόν-  
 των ταῦτα ἀμφότερα· νῦν οὖν ὄρον δεῖ τούτων ἑκατέρου  
 τὸν νομοθέτην φράζειν. Ἔστω δὴ πενίας μὲν ὄρος ἢ τοῦ  
 e κληῖρου τιμῆ, ὃν δεῖ μένειν καὶ ὃν ἀρχῶν οὐδεὶς οὐδενί ποτε  
 περιόψεται ἐλάττω γιγνόμενον, τῶν τε ἄλλων κατὰ ταῦτα  
 οὐδεὶς ὅστις φιλότιμος ἐπ' ἀρετῇ. μέτρον δὲ αὐτὸν θέμενος  
 ὁ νομοθέτης διπλάσιον ἑάσει τούτου κτᾶσθαι καὶ τριπλάσιον  
 5 καὶ μέχρι τετραπλασίου· πλείονα δ' ἂν τις κτᾶται τούτων,  
 εὐρῶν ἢ δοθέντων ποθὲν ἢ χρηματισάμενος, ἢ τινι τύχῃ

τοιαύτη κτησάμενος ἄλλη τὰ περιγιγνόμενα τοῦ μέτρου, τῇ 745  
 πόλει ἂν αὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς τὴν πόλιν ἔχουσιν θεοῖς ἀπονέμων  
 εὐδόκιμός τε καὶ ἀζήμιος ἂν εἴη· εἰάν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ τούτῳ  
 τῷ νόμῳ, φανεῖ μὲν ὁ βουλόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμίσεσιν, ὁ δὲ  
 ὀφλῶν ἄλλο τοσοῦτον μέρος ἀποτεῖσει τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως, 5  
 τὰ δ' ἡμίσεα τῶν θεῶν. ἢ δὲ κτήσις χωρὶς τοῦ κλήρου  
 πάντων πᾶσα ἐν τῷ φανερῷ γεγράφθω παρὰ φύλαξιν  
 ἄρχουσιν, οἷς ἂν ὁ νόμος προστάξῃ, ὅπως ἂν αἱ δίκαι περὶ  
 πάντων ὅσα εἰς χρήματα ῥάδιαί τε ὦσι καὶ σφόδρα σαφεῖς. b

Τὸ δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο πρῶτον μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἰδρῦσθαι δεῖ  
 τῆς χώρας ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα πρόσφορα  
 πόλει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἔχοντα τόπον ἐκλεξάμενον, ἃ νοῆσαί  
 τε καὶ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα μέρη δώδεκα 5  
 διελέσθαι, θέμενον Ἐστίας πρῶτον καὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς  
 ἱερόν, ἀκρόπολιν ὀνομάζοντα, κύκλον περιβάλλοντα, ἀφ'  
 οὗ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τέμνειν τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτὴν καὶ πᾶσαν c  
 τὴν χώραν. ἴσα δὲ δεῖ γίνεσθαι τὰ δώδεκα μέρη τῷ τὰ  
 μὲν ἀγαθῆς γῆς εἶναι σμικρά, τὰ δὲ χείρονος μείζω. κλή-  
 ρους δὲ διελεῖν τετταράκοντα καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, τούτων  
 τε αὖ δίχα τεμεῖν ἕκαστον καὶ συγκληρῶσαι δύο τμήματα, 5  
 τοῦ τε ἐγγὺς καὶ τοῦ πόρρω μετέχοντα ἑκάτερον, τὸ πρὸς  
 τῇ πόλει μέρος τῷ πρὸς τοῖς ἐσχάτοις [εἰς κλήρος], καὶ τὸ  
 δευτέρον ἀπὸ πόλεως τῷ ἀπ' ἐσχάτων δευτέρῳ, καὶ τᾶλλα d  
 οὕτως πάντα. μηχανᾶσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς δίχα τμήμασι τὸ  
 νυνδὴ λεγόμενον φαυλότητός τε καὶ ἀρετῆς χώρας, ἐπαν-  
 ισουμένους τῷ πλήθει τε καὶ ὀλιγότητι τῆς διανομῆς.  
 νεῖμαι δὲ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας δώδεκα μέρη, τὴν τῆς ἄλλης 5  
 οὐσίας εἰς ἴσα ὅτι μάλιστα τὰ δώδεκα μέρη συνταξάμενον,  
 ἀπογραφῆς πάντων γενομένης· καὶ δὴ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο  
 δώδεκα θεοῖς δώδεκα κλήρους θέντας, ἐπονομάσαι καὶ καθ-  
 ιερῶσαι τὸ λαχὸν μέρος ἑκάστῳ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ φυλὴν αὐτὴν e  
 ἐπονομάσαι. τέμνειν δ' αὖ καὶ τὰ δώδεκα τῆς πόλεως τμή-  
 ματα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν διέ-  
 νεμον· καὶ δύο νέμεσθαι ἕκαστον οἰκήσεις, τὴν τὴν ἐγγὺς  
 τοῦ μέσου καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐσχάτων. καὶ τὴν μὲν κατοίκισιν 5  
 οὕτω τέλος ἔχειν.

Ἐννοεῖν δὲ ἡμᾶς τὸ τοιόνδε ἐστὶν χρεῶν ἐκ παντὸς τρό-  
 που, ὡς τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα πάντα οὐκ ἂν ποτε εἰς τοιούτους  
 καιροὺς συμπέσοι, ὥστε συμβῆναι κατὰ λόγον οὕτω σύμ-



746 πάντα γεγόμενα, ἄνδρας τε οἷ μὴ δυσχερανοῦσι τὴν τοιαύτην  
 συνοικίαν, ἀλλ' ὑπομενοῦσιν χρήματά τε ἔχοντες τακτὰ  
 μέτρια διὰ βίου παντὸς καὶ παίδων γενέσεις ἄς εἰρήκα  
 ἑκάστοις, καὶ χρυσοῦ στερόμενοι καὶ ἑτέρων ὧν δῆλο  
 5 νομοθέτης προστάξων ἐστὶν ἐκ τούτων τῶν νῦν εἰρημέν  
 ἔτι δὲ χώρας τε καὶ ἄστεος, ὡς εἴρηκεν, μεσότητάς τε  
 ἐν κύκλῳ οἰκήσεις πάντη, σχεδὸν οἷον ὄνειράτα λέγων  
 πλάττων καθάπερ ἐκ κηροῦ τινα πόλιν καὶ πολίτας. ἔ  
 b δὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα οὐ κακῶς τινα τρόπον εἰρημένα, χρὴ δ' ἰ  
 αναλαμβάνειν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα. πάλιν ἄρα ἡμῖν  
 νομοθετῶν φράζει τόδε· “ Ἐν τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις, ὦ φίλ  
 μηδ' αὐτὸν δοκεῖτέ με λεληθέναι τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον  
 5 ἀληθῆ διεξέρχεται τινα τρόπον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστοις τ  
 μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι δικαιοτάτον οἶμαι τόδε εἶναι, τὸν  
 παράδειγμα δεικνύντα, οἷον δεῖ τὸ ἐπιχειρούμενον γίνεσθ  
 μηδὲν ἀπολείπειν τῶν καλλίστων τε καὶ ἀληθεστάτων, ὧ  
 c ἀδύνατόν τι συμβαίνει τούτων γίνεσθαι, τοῦτο μὲν αἰ  
 ἐκκλίνειν καὶ μὴ πράττειν, ὅτι δὲ τούτου τῶν λοιπ  
 ἐγγύτατά ἐστιν καὶ συγγενέστατον ἔφυ τῶν προσηκόντ  
 πράττειν, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ διαμηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως ἂν γίγνηται, τ  
 5 νομοθέτην δ' ἐᾶσαι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τῇ βουλήσει, γενομένη  
 δὲ τούτου, τότε ἤδη κοινῇ μετ' ἐκείνου σκοπεῖν ὅτι τε συ  
 φέρει τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ τί πρόσαντες εἴρηται τῆς νομο  
 θεσίας· τὸ γὰρ ὁμολογούμενον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ δεῖ που πάντα  
 d ἀπεργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν τοῦ φαυλοτάτου δημιουργὸν ἄξι  
 ἐσόμενον λόγου.”

Νῦν δὴ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ προθυμητέον ἰδεῖν μετὰ τῆς δοξίας  
 τῶν δώδεκα μερῶν διανομῆς, τὸ τίνα τρόπον δῆλον δὴ  
 5 δώδεκα μέρη, τῶν ἐντὸς αὐτῶν πλείστας ἔχοντα διανομῆς  
 καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπόμενα καὶ ἐκ τούτων γεννώμενα, μέγ  
 τῶν τετραράκοντά τε καὶ πεντακισχιλίων—ὅθεν φρατρίας καὶ  
 δήμους καὶ κώμας, καὶ πρὸς γε τὰς πολεμικὰς τάξεις  
 e καὶ ἀγωγὰς, καὶ ἔτι νομίσματα καὶ μέτρα ξηρά τε καὶ ὑγ  
 καὶ σταθμά—πάντα ταῦτα ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἀλλήλοις σύ  
 φωνα δεῖ τὸν γε νόμον τάττειν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οἱ  
 ἐκεῖνα φοβητέα, δείσαντα τὴν δόξασαν ἂν γίνεσθαι σφ  
 5 κρολογίαν, ἂν τις προστάτῃ πάντα ὅπόσ' ἂν σκεύη κτῶντι  
 μηδὲν ἄμετρον αὐτῶν εἶναι, καὶ κοινῶ λόγῳ νομίσαν  
 747 πρὸς πάντα εἶναι χρησίμους τὰς τῶν ἀριθμῶν διανομὰς καὶ

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# BOOK VI

## SHORT ANALYSIS

### I. Ἀρχόντων αἵρέσεις καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα.

(1) 752 e 1.—Νομοφύλακες.

(2) 755 b 6.—Στρατηγοί, ἵππαρχοι, ταξίαρχοι, φύλαρχοι.

(3) 756 b 7.—Βουλευταί (757 ἡ ἀληθεστάτη καὶ ἀρίστη ἰσότης; the lot as an auxiliary agent in elections); Πρυτάνεις.

(4) 759.—Ἱερεῖς and other temple officials.

(5) 760 a 6.—Ἀγρονόμοι.

(6) 763 c 3.—Ἀστυνόμοι.

(7) 763 c 4.—Ἀγορανόμοι.

(8) 764 c 5.—Μουσικῆς τε καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἄρχοντες — (a) παιδείας, (b) ἀγωνίας. (The παιδείας ἐπιμελητής far the most important of all state officials.)

(9) 766 d 2.—Δικασταί.

### II. Νομοθεσία.

(768 e 1–771 a 4.—We must make the Νομοφύλακες capable of legislating, for many rectifications and additions to the laws will be needed as time goes on.)

771 a 5.—Distribution of the 5040 households into tribes and other divisions.—Social Festivals.

771 e 1.—Marriage.

773.—The principles which should guide the choice of wife or husband.

774 a.—Marriage a duty to the state.

774 c 3.—Dowries forbidden.

774 e 4.—Legal and religious ceremonies attending marriage.

776 a.—The young couple to remove to the country house.

776 b 5.—Property, especially in slaves—their treatment.

778 b.—Building, public and private.

779 d 7.—The regulation of the first ten years of married life, and the state's interference with private life, especially that of women: advisability and possibility of such interference.

785.—Ages for marriage, military and official service.

5

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ μὴν μετὰ γε πάντα τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα σχεδὸν 751  
 ἂν ἀρχῶν εἶέν σοι καταστάσεις τῇ πόλει.

ΚΛ. Ἔχει γὰρ οὖν οὕτω.

ΑΘ. Δύο εἶδη ταῦτα περὶ πολιτείας κόσμον γιγνόμενα  
 τυγχάνει, πρῶτον μὲν καταστάσεις ἀρχῶν τε καὶ ἀρξόντων, 5  
 ὅσας τε αὐτὰς εἶναι δεῖ καὶ τρόπον ὄντινα καθισταμένας·  
 ἔπειτα οὕτω δὴ τοὺς νόμους ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐκάσταις ἀποδοτέον,  
 οὐστινάς τε αὐ καὶ ὅσους καὶ οἷους προσήκον ἂν ἐκάσταις b  
 εἶη. σμικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχόντες πρὸ τῆς αἵρέσεως, εἴπωμεν  
 προσήκοντά τινα λόγον περὶ αὐτῆς ῥηθῆναι.

ΚΛ. Τίνα δὴ τοῦτον;

ΑΘ. Τόνδε. παντί που δῆλον τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὅτι μεγάλου 5  
 τῆς νομοθεσίας ὄντος ἔργου, τοῦ πόλιν εὖ παρεσκευασμένην  
 ἀρχὰς ἀνεπιτηδείους ἐπιστῆσαι τοῖς εὖ κειμένοις νόμοις, οὐ  
 μόνου οὐδὲν πλέον εὖ τεθέντων, οὐδ' ὅτι γέλως ἂν πάμπολυς  
 συμβαίνοι, σχεδὸν δὲ βλάβαι καὶ λῶβαι πολὺ μέγιστα ταῖς c  
 πόλεσι γίγνοιντ' ἂν ἐξ αὐτῶν.

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Τοῦτο τοίνυν νοήσωμέν σοι περὶ τῆς νῦν, ᾧ φίλε,  
 πολιτείας τε καὶ πόλεως συμβαῖνον. ὄρας γὰρ ὅτι πρῶτον 5  
 μὲν δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν ἀρχῶν δυνάμεις βά-  
 σανον ἱκανὴν αὐτοῦς τε καὶ γένος ἐκάστων ἐκ παίδων μέχρι  
 τῆς αἵρέσεως εἶναι δεδωκότας, ἔπειτα αὐ τοὺς μέλλοντας  
 αἰρήσεσθαι τεθράφθαι [τε] ἐν ἡθεσι νόμων εὖ πεπαιδευμένους  
 πρὸς τὸ δυσχεραίνοντάς τε καὶ ἀποδεχομένους ὀρθῶς κρίνειν d  
 καὶ ἀποκρίνειν δυνατοὺς γίγνεσθαι τοὺς ἀξίους ἐκατέρων·  
 ταῦτα δὲ οἱ νεωστὶ συνεληλυθότες ὄντες τε ἀλλήλων ἀ-  
 γνῶτες, ἔτι δ' ἀπαίδευτοι, πῶς ἂν ποτε δύναιντο ἀμέμπτως  
 τὰς ἀρχὰς αἰρεῖσθαι; 5

ΚΛ. Σχεδὸν οὐκ ἂν ποτε.

ΑΘ. Ἄλλὰ γὰρ ἀγῶνα προφάσεις φασὶν οὐ πάνυ δέχε-  
 σθαι· καὶ δὴ καὶ σοὶ τοῦτο νῦν καὶ ἐμοὶ ποιητέον, ἐπεὶ περ 5  
 σὺ μὲν δὴ τὴν πόλιν ὑπέστης τῷ Κρητῶν ἔθνει προθύμως e  
 κατοικιεῖν δέκατος αὐτός, ὡς φῆς, τὰ νῦν, ἐγὼ δ' αὐ σοὶ  
 συλλήψεσθαι κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν μυθολογίαν. 752  
 οὐκ οὐκ δὴπου λέγων γε ἂν μῦθον ἀκέφαλον ἐκὼν καταλί-

ποιμι· πλανώμενος γὰρ ἂν ἀπάντη τοιοῦτος ὢν ἄμορφος φαίνοιτο.

5 ΚΛ. Ἄριστ' εἴρηκας, ὦ ξένε.

ΑΘ. Οὐ μόνον γε, ἀλλὰ καὶ δράσω κατὰ δύναμιν οὕτω.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ποιῶμεν ἤπερ καὶ λέγομεν.

ΑΘ. Ἔσται ταῦτ', ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλη καὶ γήρως ἐπικρατῶμεν τό γε τοσοῦτον.

b ΚΛ. Ἄλλ' εἰκὸς ἐθέλειν.

ΑΘ. Εἰκὸς γὰρ οὖν. ἐπόμενοι δὲ αὐτῷ λάβωμεν καὶ τόδε.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον;

5 ΑΘ. Ὡς ἀνδρείως καὶ παρακεκινδυνευμένως ἐν τῷ νῦν ἢ πόλις ἡμῖν ἔσται κατωκισμένη.

ΚΛ. Περὶ τί βλέπων καὶ ποῖ μάλιστα αὐτὸ εἴρηκας τὰ νῦν;

ΑΘ. Ὡς εὐκόλως καὶ ἀφόβως ἀπείροις ἀνδράσι νομο-  
10 θετοῦμεν, ὅπως δέξονται ποτε τοὺς νῦν τεθέντας νόμους. δῆλον δὲ τό γε τοσοῦτον, ὦ Κλεινία, παντὶ σχεδὸν καὶ τῷ  
c μὴ πάνυ σοφῷ, τὸ μὴ ῥαδίως γε αὐτοὺς μηδένας προσδέξεσθαι κατ' ἀρχάς, εἰ δὲ μείναιμὲν πως τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἕως οἱ γευσάμενοι παῖδες τῶν νόμων καὶ συντραφέντες  
ἱκανῶς συνήθεις τε αὐτοῖς γεγόμενοι τῶν ἀρχαιρεσιῶν τῇ  
5 πόλει πάση κοινωγήσειαν· γενομένου γε μὴν οὐ λέγομεν, εἴπερ τινὶ τρόπῳ καὶ μηχανῇ γίγνοιτο ὀρθῶς, πολλὴν ἔγωγε ἀσφάλειαν οἶμαι καὶ μετὰ τὸν τότε παρόντα χρόνον ἂν γενέσθαι τοῦ μείναι τὴν παιδαγωγηθεῖσαν οὕτω πόλιν.

d ΚΛ. Ἐχει γοῦν λόγον.

ΑΘ. Ἰδῶμεν τοίνυν πρὸς τοῦτο εἴ πῆ τινα πόρον ἱκανὸν πορίζοιμεν ἂν κατὰ τάδε. φημὶ γάρ, ὦ Κλεινία, Κνωσίους  
χρῆναι τῶν ἄλλων διαφερόντως Κρητῶν μὴ μόνον ἀφοσιώ-  
5 σασθαι περὶ τῆς χώρας ἣν νῦν κατοικίζετε, συντόνως δ' ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὰς πρώτας ἀρχὰς εἰς δύναμιν ὅπως ἂν στῶσιν ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καὶ ἄριστα. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας  
e καὶ βραχύτερον ἔργον, νομοφύλακας δ' ὑμῖν πρώτους αἰρεῖσθαι ἀναγκαιότατον ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ.

ΚΛ. Τίνα οὖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ πόρον καὶ λόγον ἀνευρίσκομεν;

ΑΘ. Τόνδε. φημὶ, ὦ παῖδες Κρητῶν, χρῆναι Κνωσίους,  
5 διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων, κοινῇ μετὰ τῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς τὴν συνοίκησιν ταύτην ἐξ αὐτῶν τε καὶ

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ἔργου, καὶ τό γε καλῶς ἄρξασθαι πάντες ἐγκωμιάζομεν  
 ἐκάστοτε· τὸ δ' ἔστιν τε, ὡς ἐμοὶ φαίνεται, πλεόν ἢ τὸ  
 754 ἡμισυ, καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸ καλῶς γενόμενον ἐγκεκωμιάκεν  
 ἱκανῶς.

ΚΛ. Ὅρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Μὴ τοίνυν γινώσκοντές γε παρῶμεν αὐτὸ ἄρρητον,  
 5 μηδὲν διασαφήσαντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τίνα ἔσται τρόπον. ἐγὼ  
 μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς εὐπορῶ πλήν γε ἐνὸς εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὸ παρὸν  
 ἀναγκαίου καὶ συμφέροντος λόγου.

ΚΛ. Τίνος δῆ;

ΑΘ. Φημὶ ταύτη τῇ πόλει, ἣν οἰκίζειν μέλλομεν, οἶον  
 10 πατέρα καὶ μητέρα οὐκ εἶναι πλήν τὴν κατοικίζουσαν αὐτὴν  
 β πόλιν, οὐκ ἀγνοῶν ὅτι πολλαὶ τῶν κατοικισθειῶν διάφοροι  
 ταῖς κατοικισάσαις πολλάκις ἔνιαι γεγόνασιν τε καὶ ἔσονται.  
 νῦν μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι, καθάπερ παῖς, εἰ καὶ ποτε μέλλει  
 διάφορος εἶναι τοῖς γεννήσασιν, ἐν γε τῇ παρούσῃ παιδίας  
 5 ἀπορία στέργει τε καὶ στέργεται ὑπὸ τῶν γεννησάντων, καὶ  
 φεύγων αἰεὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκεῖους, ἀναγκαίους μόνους εὕρισκε  
 συμμάχους· ἃ δὴ νῦν φημὶ Κνωσίοις διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν  
 c πρὸς τὴν νέαν πόλιν καὶ τῇ νέα πρὸς Κνωσὸν ὑπάρχειν  
 ἐτοίμως γεγονότα. λέγω δῆ, καθάπερ εἶπον νυνδῆ,—δὶς γὰρ  
 τό γε καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτει—Κνωσίους δεῖν ἐπιμελη-  
 θῆναι πάντων τούτων κοινῇ, προσελομένους τῶν εἰς τὴν  
 5 ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένων, τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους τε καὶ ἀρίστους  
 εἰς δύναμιν ἐλομένους, μὴ ἔλαττον ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν· καὶ αὐτῶν  
 Κνωσίων ἔστωσαν ἑκατὸν ἕτεροι. τούτους δὲ ἐλθόντας φημὶ  
 δεῖν εἰς τὴν καινὴν πόλιν συνεπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως αἴ τε ἀρχαὶ  
 d καταστῶσιν κατὰ νόμους, καταστᾶσαι τε δοκιμασθῶσι· γε-  
 νομένων δὲ τούτων, τὴν μὲν Κνωσὸν τοὺς Κνωσίους οἰκεῖν,  
 τὴν δὲ νέαν πόλιν αὐτὴν αὐτὴν πειρᾶσθαι σώζειν τε καὶ  
 εὐτυχεῖν. οἱ δὲ δὴ γενόμενοι τῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα νῦν  
 5 τε καὶ εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα σύμπαντα χρόνον ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἡμῖν ἡρή-  
 σθωσαν· πρῶτον μὲν φύλακες ἔστωσαν τῶν νόμων, ἔπειτα  
 τῶν γραμμάτων ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος ἀπογράψῃ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τὸ  
 πλῆθος τῆς αὐτῶν οὐσίας, πλήν ὁ μὲν μέγιστον τίμημα  
 e ἔχων τεττάρων μνῶν, ὁ δὲ τὸ δεύτερον τριῶν, ὁ δὲ τρίτος  
 δυοῖν μναῖν, μναῖς δὲ ὁ τέταρτος. εἰ δὲ τις ἕτερον φαί-  
 νηταί τι παρὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα κεκτημένος, δημόσιον μὲν  
 ἔστω τὸ τοιοῦτον ἅπαν, πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ δίκην ὑπεχέτω τῷ

βουλομένω μετιέναι μὴ καλὴν μηδ' εὐώνυμον ἀλλ' αἰσχροῦν, 5  
 εἴαν ἀλίσκεται διὰ τὸ κέρδος τῶν νόμων καταφρονῶν. αἰ-  
 σχροκερδείας οὖν αὐτὸν γραψάμενος ὁ βουλευθεὶς ἐπέξίτω  
 τῇ δίκῃ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς νομοφύλαξιν· εἴαν δ' ὁ φεύγων ὄφλη, 755  
 τῶν κοινῶν κτημάτων μὴ μετεχέτω, διανομὴ δὲ ὅταν τῇ  
 πόλει γίγνηται τις, ἄμοιρος ἔστω πλήν γε τοῦ κλήρου,  
 γεγράφθω δὲ ὠφληκῶς, ἕως ἂν ζῆ, ὅπου πᾶς ὁ βουλόμενος  
 αὐτὰ ἀναγνώσεται. μὴ πλέον δὲ εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν νομοφύλαξ  
 ἀρχέτω, φερέσθω δ' εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν μὴ ἕλαττον ἢ πεντή- 5  
 κοντα γεγονῶς ἐτῶν· ἐξηκοντούτης δὲ ἐνεχθεὶς δέκα μόνον  
 ἀρχέτω ἔτη, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὅπως ἂν τις πλέον  
 ὑπερβᾶς [ἐβδομήκοντα] ζῆ. [μηκέτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς ἀρχουσι b  
 τὴν τηλικαύτην ἀρχὴν ὡς ἀρξῶν διανοηθήτω.]

Τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν νομοφυλάκων ταῦτα εἰρήσθω προσ-  
 τάγματα τρία, προϊόντων δὲ εἰς τοῦμπροσθε τῶν νόμων  
 ἕκαστος προστάξει τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ὧντινων αὐτοὺς 5  
 δεῖ πρὸς τοῖς νῦν εἰρημένοις προσεπιμελεῖσθαι· νῦν δ' ἐξῆς  
 ἄλλων ἀρχῶν αἰρέσεως πέρι λέγοιμεν ἂν. δεῖ γὰρ δὴ τὰ  
 μετὰ ταῦτα στρατηγούς αἰρεῖσθαι, καὶ τούτοις εἰς τὸν πό-  
 λεμον οἶόν τινας ὑπηρεσίας ἱππάρχους καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ c  
 τῶν πεζῶν φυλῶν κοσμητὰς τῶν τάξεων, οἷς πρέπον ἂν εἴη  
 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τοῦνομα μάλιστα, οἶον καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ταξιάρχους  
 αὐτοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι. τούτων δὲ στρατηγούς μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 τῆς πόλεως ταύτης οἱ νομοφύλακες προβαλλέσθων, αἰρεί- 5  
 σθων δ' ἐκ τῶν προβληθέντων πάντες οἱ τοῦ πολέμου κοινω-  
 νοὶ γενόμενοί τε ἐν ταῖς ἡλικίαις καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐκάστοτε.  
 εἴαν δὲ τις ἄρα δοκῆ τινι τῶν μὴ προβεβλημένων ἀμείνων  
 εἶναι τῶν προβληθέντων τινός, ἐπονομάσας ἀνθ' ὅτου ὄντινα d  
 προβάλλεται, τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ὀμνὺς ἀντιπροβαλλέσθω τὸν ἕτερον·  
 ὀπότερος δ' ἂν δόξη διαχειροτονούμενος, εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν  
 ἐγκρινέσθω. τρεῖς δέ, οἷς ἂν ἡ πλείστη χειροτονία γίγνη-  
 ται, τούτους εἶναι στρατηγούς τε καὶ ἐπιμελητὰς τῶν κατὰ 5  
 πόλεμον, δοκιμασθέντων καθάπερ οἱ νομοφύλακες· ταξιάρ-  
 χους δὲ αὐτοῖσι προβάλλεσθαι μὲν τοὺς αἰρεθέντας στρα-  
 τηγούς δώδεκα, ἐκάστη φυλῇ ταξιάρχον, τὴν δ' ἀντιπρο- e  
 βολὴν εἶναι, καθάπερ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο τὴν αὐτὴν  
 καὶ περὶ τῶν ταξιαρχῶν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιχειροτονίαν καὶ τὴν  
 κρίσιν. τὸν δὲ σύλλογον τοῦτον ἐν τῷ παρόντι, πρὶν πρυ-  
 τάνεις τε καὶ βουλήν ἡρῆσθαι, τοὺς νομοφύλακας συλλέ- 5



ξαντας εἰς χωρίον ὡς ἱερώτατόν τε καὶ ἰκανώτατον καθίσαι,  
 χωρὶς μὲν τοὺς ὀπλίτας, χωρὶς δὲ τοὺς ἰππέας, τρίτον δ'  
 ἐφεξῆς τούτοις πᾶν ὅσον ἐμπολέμιον· χειροτονοῦντων δὲ  
 στρατηγούς μὲν [καὶ ἰππάρχους] πάντες, ταξιάρχους δὲ οἱ  
 756 τὴν ἀσπίδα τιθέμενοι, φυλάρχους δὲ αὐτοῖς πᾶν τὸ ἰπ-  
 πικὸν αἰρείσθω, ψιλῶν δὲ ἢ τοξοτῶν ἢ τινος ἄλλου τῶν  
 ἐμπολεμίων ἡγεμόνας οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἑαυτοῖς καθιστάντων.  
 ἰππάρχων δὲ κατάστασις ἂν ἡμῖν ἔτι λοιπὴ γίγνοιτο. τού-  
 5 τούς οὖν προβαλλέσθων μὲν οἷπερ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς  
 προυβάλλοντο, τὴν δὲ αἴρεσιν καὶ τὴν ἀντιπροβολὴν τού-  
 των τὴν αὐτὴν γίγνεσθαι καθάπερ ἢ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο,  
 b χειροτονεῖτω δὲ τὸ ἰππικὸν αὐτοὺς ἐναντίον ὀρώντων τῶν  
 πεζῶν, δύο δὲ οἷς ἂν πλείστη χειροτονία γίγνηται, τούτους  
 ἡγεμόνας εἶναι πάντων τῶν ἰππευόντων. τὰς δὲ ἀμφισβη-  
 τήσεις τῶν χειροτονιῶν μέχρι δυοῖν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον εἰάν  
 5 ἀμφισβητῆ τις, διαψηφίζεσθαι τούτους οἷπερ τῆς χειρο-  
 τονίας μέτρον ἑκάστοις ἕκαστον ἦν.

Βουλὴν δὲ εἶναι μὲν τριάκοντα δωδεκάδας—ἐξήκοντα δὲ  
 καὶ τριακόσιοι γίγνοιτο ἂν πρέποντες ταῖς διανομαῖς—μέρη  
 c δὲ διανείμαντας τέτταρα [κατὰ ἐνενήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν] τού-  
 των ἐξ ἑκάστου τῶν τιμημάτων φέρειν ἐνενήκοντα βουλευτάς.  
 πρῶτον μὲν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων ἅπαντας φέρειν ἐξ  
 ἀνάγκης, ἢ ζημιουῆσθαι τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον τῇ δοξάσει ζημία·  
 5 ἐπειδὰν δ' ἐνεχθῶσι, τούτους μὲν κατασημήνασθαι, τῇ δὲ  
 ὑστεραία φέρειν ἐκ τῶν δευτέρων τιμημάτων κατὰ ταῦτα  
 καθάπερ τῇ πρόσθεν, τρίτη δ' ἐκ τῶν τρίτων τιμημάτων  
 φέρειν μὲν τὸν βουλόμενον, ἐπάναγκες δὲ εἶναι τοῖς τῶν  
 d τριῶν τιμημάτων, τὸ δὲ τέταρτόν τε καὶ σμικρότατον ἐλεύ-  
 θερον ἀφείσθαι τῆς ζημίας, ὅς ἂν αὐτῶν μὴ βούληται φέρειν.  
 τετάρτη δὲ φέρειν μὲν ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου καὶ σμικροτάτου  
 τιμήματος ἅπαντας, ἀζήμιον δ' εἶναι τὸν ἐκ τοῦ τετάρτου  
 5 καὶ τρίτου τιμήματος, εἰάν ἐνεγκεῖν μὴ βούληται· τὸν δ' ἐκ  
 τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πρώτου μὴ φέροντα ζημιουῆσθαι, τὸν μὲν  
 e ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου τριπλασίᾳ τῆς πρώτης ζημίας, τὸν δ' ἐκ  
 τοῦ πρώτου τετραπλασίᾳ. πέμπτη δὲ ἡμέρα τὰ κατα-  
 σημανθέντα ὀνόματα ἐξενεγκεῖν μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἰδεῖν  
 πᾶσι τοῖς πολίταις, φέρειν δ' ἐκ τούτων αὐ πάντα ἄνδρα ἢ  
 5 ζημιουῆσθαι τῇ πρώτῃ ζημίᾳ· ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν ἐκλέ-  
 ξαντας ἀφ' ἑκάστων τῶν τιμημάτων, τοὺς ἡμίσεις τούτων

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758 κλῆρον πρὸς τὸ δικαιότατον. οὕτω δὴ χρηστέον ἀναγκαίως μὲν τοῖν ἰσοτήτοιν ἀμφοῖν, ὡς δ' ὅτι μάλιστα ἐπ' ὀλιγίστοις τῇ ἐτέρᾳ, τῇ τῆς τύχης δεομένη.

Ταῦτα οὕτως διὰ ταῦτα, ὦ φίλοι, ἀναγκαῖον τὴν μέλλουσαν σώζεσθαι δρᾶν πόλιν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ναῦς τε ἐν θαλάττῃ  
 5 πλέουσα φυλακῆς ἡμέρας δεῖται καὶ νυκτὸς αἰεὶ, πόλις τε ὡσαύτως ἐν κλύδωνι τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων διαγομένη καὶ παντοδαπαῖσιν ἐπιβουλαῖς οἰκεῖ κινδυνεύουσα ἀλίσκεσθαι, δεῖ δὴ δι' ἡμέρας τε εἰς νύκτα καὶ ἐκ νυκτὸς συνάπτειν πρὸς  
 b ἡμέραν ἄρχοντας ἄρχουσιν, φρουροῦντάς τε φρουροῦσιν διαδεχομένους αἰεὶ καὶ παραδιδόντας μηδέποτε λήγειν. πλῆθος δὲ οὐ δυνατὸν ὀξέως οὐδέποτε οὐδὲν τούτων πράττειν, ἀναγκαῖον δὲ τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν πλεῖστον  
 5 τοῦ χρόνου εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἰδίοισι μένοντας εὐθημονεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις, τὸ δὲ δωδέκατον μέρος αὐτῶν ἐπὶ δώδεκα μῆνας νεύμαντας, ἐν ἑφ' ἐνὶ παρέχειν αὐτοὺς φύλακας ἰόντι τέ τινί ποθεν ἄλλοθεν εἴτε καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς  
 c τῆς πόλεως ἐτοίμως ἐπιτυχεῖν, ἂν τε ἀγγέλλειν βούληται τις εἰάν τ' αὐτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι τι τῶν ὧν προσήκει πόλει πρὸς πόλεις ἄλλας ἀποκρίνεσθαι τε, καὶ ἐρωτήσασαν ἐτέρας, ἀποδέξασθαι  
 5 τὰς ἀποκρίσεις, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλιν ἐκάστοτε νεωτερισμῶν ἔνεκα παντοδαπῶν εἰωθότων αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι, ὅπως  
 d ἂν μάλιστα μὲν μὴ γίνωνται, γενομένων δέ, ὅτι τάχιστα αἰσθομένης τῆς πόλεως ἰαθῆ τὸ γεγόμενον· δι' ἃ συλλογῶν τε αἰεὶ δεῖ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ προκαθήμενον τῆς πόλεως κύριον καὶ διαλύσεων, τῶν τε κατὰ νόμους τῶν τε ἐξαίφνης προσπιπτουσῶν τῇ πόλει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν πάντα τὸ δωδέκατον  
 5 ἂν μέρος τῆς βουλῆς εἴη τὸ διακοσμοῦν, τὰ ἔνδεκα ἀναπαυόμενον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ μέρη· κοινῇ δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχῶν δεῖ τὰς φυλακὰς ταύτας φυλάττειν κατὰ πόλιν τοῦτο τὸ μόνιον τῆς βουλῆς αἰεὶ.

10 e Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ πόλιν οὕτως ἔχοντα μετρίως ἂν εἴη διατεταγμένα· τῆς δὲ ἄλλης χώρας πάσης τίς ἐπιμέλεια καὶ τίς τάξις; ἄρα οὐχ ἡνίκα πᾶσα μὲν ἡ πόλις, σύμπασα δὲ ἡ χώρα κατὰ δώδεκα μέρη διανεμένηται, τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ὁδῶν καὶ οἰκήσεων καὶ οἰκοδομιῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ  
 5 ἀγορᾶς καὶ κρηνῶν, καὶ δὴ καὶ τεμενῶν καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων, ἐπιμελητὰς δεῖ τινὰς ἀποδεδειγμένους εἶναι;

ΚΛ. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ;

ΑΘ. Λέγωμεν δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς νεωκόρους τε καὶ 759  
 ἱερέας καὶ ἱερείας δεῖν γίνεσθαι· ὁδῶν δὲ καὶ οἰκοδομιῶν  
 καὶ κόσμου τοῦ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀνθρώπων τε, ἵνα μὴ ἀδι-  
 κῶσιν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θηρίων, ἐν αὐτῷ τε τῷ τῆς πόλεως  
 περιβόλῳ καὶ προαστείῳ ὅπως ἂν τὰ προσήκοντα πόλεσιν 5  
 γίγνηται, ἐλέσθαι δεῖ τρία μὲν ἀρχόντων εἶδη, περὶ μὲν τὸ  
 νυνδὴ λεχθὲν ἀστυνόμους ἐπονομάζοντα, τὸ δὲ περὶ ἀγορᾶς  
 κόσμον ἀγορανόμους· ἱερῶν δὲ ἱερέας, οἷς μὲν εἰσιν πάτριαι  
 ἱερωσύναι καὶ αἷς, μὴ κινεῖν· εἰ δέ, οἷον τὸ πρῶτον κατοικι- b  
 κιζομένοις εἰκὸς γίνεσθαι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἢ μηδενὶ ἢ τισιν  
 ὀλίγοις, οἷς μὴ καθεστήκοι καταστατέον ἱερέας τε καὶ ἱερείας  
 νεωκόρους γίνεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς. τούτων δὴ πάντων τὰ μὲν  
 αἶρετὰ χρή, τὰ δὲ κληρωτὰ ἐν ταῖς καταστάσεσι γίνεσθαι, 5  
 μειγνύντας πρὸς φιλίαν ἀλλήλοις δῆμον καὶ μὴ δῆμον ἐν  
 ἑκάστη χώρᾳ καὶ πόλει, ὅπως ἂν μάλιστα ὁμονόων εἴη. τὰ  
 μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱερέων, τῷ θεῷ ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὸ κεχαρι-  
 σμένον γίνεσθαι, κληροῦν οὕτω τῇ θείᾳ τύχῃ ἀποδιδόντα, c  
 δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὸν αἰεὶ λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ὀλόκληρον  
 καὶ γνήσιον, ἔπειτα ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐκ καθαρουσῶν οἰκή-  
 σεων, φόνου δὲ ἀγνὸν καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα εἰς  
 τὰ θεία ἀμαρτανομένων αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ μητέρα κατὰ 5  
 ταῦτα βεβιωκότας. ἐκ Δελφῶν δὲ χρή νόμους περὶ τὰ θεία  
 πάντα κομισαμένους καὶ καταστήσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐξηγητάς,  
 τούτοις χρῆσθαι. κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ εἶναι καὶ μὴ μακρότερον d  
 τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἑκάστην, ἔτη δὲ μὴ ἔλαττον ἐξήκοντα ἡμῖν  
 εἴη γεγονὼς ὁ μέλλων καθ' ἱεροῦς νόμους περὶ τὰ θεία ἱκανῶς  
 ἀγιστεύσειν· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἱερείων ἔστω τὰ νόμιμα.  
 τοὺς δὲ ἐξηγητὰς τρεῖς φερέτωσαν μὲν αἱ τέτταρες φυλαὶ 5  
 τέτταρας, ἕκαστον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τρεῖς δέ, οἷς ἂν πλείστη γέ-  
 νηται ψῆφος, δοκιμάσαντας, ἐννέα πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς  
 ἀνελεῖν ἐξ ἑκάστης τριάδος ἓνα· τὴν δὲ δοκιμασίαν αὐτῶν  
 καὶ τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἡλικίαν εἶναι καθάπερ τῶν ἱερέων. οὗτοι e  
 δὲ ἔστων ἐξηγηταὶ διὰ βίου· τὸν δὲ γε λιπόντα προαιρεί-  
 σθωσαν αἱ τέτταρες φυλαὶ ὅθεν ἂν ἐκλίπη. ταμίας τε δὴ  
 τῶν τε ἱερῶν χρημάτων ἑκάστοις τοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ τεμενῶν  
 καὶ καρπῶν τούτων καὶ μισθώσεων κυρίουσιν αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν 5  
 ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων τρεῖς εἰς τὰ μέγιστα ἱερά, δύο 760  
 δ' εἰς τὰ μικρότερα, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐμμελέστατα ἓνα· τὴν δὲ

αἴρεσιν τούτων καὶ τὴν δοκιμασίαν· γίνεσθαι καθάπερ ἡ  
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο. καὶ τὰ μὲν αὖ περὶ τὰ ἱερά ταῦτα  
5 γινέσθω.

Ἐφρούρητον δὲ δὴ μηδὲν εἰς δύναμιν ἔστω. πόλεως μὲν  
οὖν αἱ φρουραὶ περὶ ταύτη γινέσθωσαν, στρατηγῶν ἐπι-  
μελουμένων καὶ ταξιαρχῶν καὶ ἱππάρχων καὶ φυλάρχων καὶ  
b πρυτάνεων, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀστυνόμων καὶ ἀγορανόμων, ὅποταν  
αἰρεθέντες ἡμῖν καταστῶσιν τινες ἰκανῶς· τὴν δὲ ἄλλην  
χώραν φυλάττειν πᾶσαν κατὰ τάδε. δώδεκα μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ  
χώρα πᾶσα εἰς δύναμιν ἴσα μόρια νενέμηται, φυλὴ δὲ μία  
5 τῷ μορίῳ ἐκάστῳ ἐπικληρωθεῖσα [κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν] παρεχέτω  
πέντε οἶον ἀγρονόμους τε καὶ φρουράρχους, τούτοις δ' ἔστω  
καταλέξασθαι τῆς αὐτῶν φυλῆς ἐκάστῳ δώδεκα τῶν πέντε  
c ἐκ τῶν νέων, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη γεγονότας,  
μὴ πλεῖον δὲ ἢ τριάκοντα. τούτοις δὲ διακληρωθήτω τὰ  
μόρια τῆς χώρας κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστα ἐκάστοις, ὅπως ἂν πάσης  
τῆς χώρας ἔμπειροί τε καὶ ἐπιστήμονες γίνωνται πάντες.  
5 δύο δ' ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν γίνεσθαι φρουροῖς  
τε καὶ ἀρχουσιν. ὅπως δ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον λάχωσιν τὰ μέρη,  
[τοὺς τῆς χώρας τόπους,] μεταλλάττοντας αἰεὶ τὸν ἐξῆς τόπον  
d ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς φρουράρχους ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κύκλω·  
τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δεξιὰ γινέσθω τὸ πρὸς ἔω. περιελθόντος δὲ τοῦ  
ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι τῶν φρουρῶν μὴ  
μόνον ἔμπειροί τῆς χώρας γίνωνται κατὰ μίαν ὥραν τοῦ  
5 ἐνιαυτοῦ, πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐκάστης περὶ  
ἕκαστον τὸν τόπον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς πλεῖστοι καταμάθωσιν,  
οἱ τότε ἡγούμενοι πάλιν ἀφηγεῖσθωσαν εἰς τὸν εὐώνυμον  
e αἰεὶ μεταβάλλοντες τόπον, ἕως ἂν τὸ δεύτερον διεξέλθωσιν  
ἔτος· τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἄλλους ἀγρονόμους αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ φρου-  
ράρχους [τοὺς πέντε τῶν δώδεκα ἐπιμελητάς]. ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς  
διατριβαῖς τῷ τόπῳ ἐκάστῳ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν εἶναι τοιάνδε  
5 τινά· πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως εὐερκῆς ἡ χώρα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους  
ὅτι μάλιστα ἔσται, ταφρεύοντάς τε ὅσα ἂν τούτου δέη καὶ  
ἀποσκάπτοντας καὶ ἐνοικοδομήμασιν εἰς δύναμιν εἴργοντας  
τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας ὀτιοῦν τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ κτήματα κα-  
κουργεῖν, χρωμένους δ' ὑποζυγίοις καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις τοῖς ἐν  
761 τῷ τόπῳ ἐκάστῳ πρὸς ταῦτα, δι' ἐκείνων ποιοῦντας, ἐκείνοις  
ἐπιστατοῦντας, τῶν οἰκείων ἔργων αὐτῶν ἀργίας ὅτι μάλιστα  
ἐκλεγομένους. δύσβατα δὲ δὴ πάντα ποιεῖν μὲν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς,

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τῶν μέχρι μνᾶς ἐν τοῖς κωμήταις καὶ γείτοσιν ὑπεχέτωσαν  
 ἑκόντες δίκας, τῶν δὲ μειζόνων ἑκάστοτε ἀδικημάτων ἢ καὶ  
 b τῶν ἐλαττόνων, εἰ μὴ ἴθελωσιν ὑπέχειν, πιστεύοντες τῷ  
 μεθίστασθαι κατὰ μῆνας εἰς ἕτερον αἰεὶ τόπον φεύγοντες  
 ἀποφευξείσθαι, τούτων περὶ λαγχάνειν μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς  
 δίκαις τὸν ἀδικούμενον, εἰ δ' ἔλη, τὴν διπλασίαν πραττέσθω  
 5 τὸν ὑποφεύγοντα καὶ μὴ ἐθελήσαντα ὑποσχεῖν ἑκόντα τιμω-  
 ρίαν. διαιτάσθων δὲ οἱ τε ἄρχοντες οἳ τ' ἀγρονόμοι τὰ  
 δύο ἔτη τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον· πρῶτον μὲν δὴ καθ' ἑκάστους  
 c τοὺς τόπους εἶναι συσσίτια, ἐν οἷς κοινῇ τὴν δίαιταν ποιη-  
 τέον ἅπασιν· ὁ δὲ ἀποσυσσιτήσας κἂν ἡντιναοῦν ἡμέραν, ἢ  
 νύκτα ἀποκοιμηθεῖς, μὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων ταξάντων ἢ πάσης  
 τινὸς ἀνάγκης ἐπιπεσοῦσης, εἰ ἀποφήνωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πέντε,  
 5 καὶ γράψαντες θῶσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ καταλευκώτα τὴν φρουρὰν,  
 ὀνειδίη τε ἔχέτω τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς προδιδούς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ  
 μέρος, κολαζέσθω τε πληγαῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ συντυγχάνοντος καὶ  
 d ἐθέλοντος κολάζειν ἀτιμωρήτως. τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων αὖ εἰ  
 τίς τι δρᾷ τοιοῦτον αὐτός, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μὲν τοῦ τοιούτου  
 πάντας τοὺς ἐξήκοντα χρεῶν, ὁ δὲ αἰσθόμενός τε καὶ πυθό-  
 μενος μὴ ἐπεξιῶν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐνεχέσθω νόμοις καὶ  
 5 πλείονι τῶν νέων ζημιούσθω· περὶ τὰς τῶν νέων ἀρχὰς  
 ἡτιμώσθω πάσας. τούτων δὲ οἱ νομοφύλακες ἐπίσκοποι  
 ἀκριβεῖς ἔστωσαν, ὅπως ἢ μὴ γίγνηται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἢ γιγνό-  
 e μενα τῆς ἀξίας δίκης τυγχάνη. δεῖ δὴ πάντ' ἄνδρα δια-  
 νοεῖσθαι περὶ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ὡς ὁ μὴ δουλεύσας οὐδ'  
 ἂν δεσπότης γένοιτο ἄξιός ἐπαίνου, καὶ καλλωπίζεσθαι χρὴ  
 τῷ καλῶς δουλεῦσαι μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ καλῶς ἄρξαι, πρῶτον  
 5 μὲν τοῖς νόμοις, ὡς ταύτην τοῖς θεοῖς οὔσαν δουλείαν,  
 ἔπειτ' αἰεὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις τε καὶ ἐντίμως βεβιωκόσι  
 τοὺς νέους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν διαίτης δεῖ τῆς  
 ταπεινῆς καὶ ἀπύρου γεγευμένον εἶναι τὰ δύο ἔτη ταῦτα τὸν  
 τῶν ἀγρονόμων γεγονότα. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ δὴ καταλεγῶσιν οἱ  
 10 δώδεκα, συνελθόντες μετὰ τῶν πέντε, βουλευέσθωσαν ὡς  
 763 οἷόν περ οἰκέται οὐχ ἔξουσιν αὐτοῖς ἄλλους οἰκέτας τε καὶ  
 δούλους, οὐδ' ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων γεωργῶν τε καὶ κωμητῶν τοῖς  
 ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια χρήσονται ὑπηρετήματα διακόνοις, ἀλλὰ  
 μόνον ὅσα εἰς τὰ δημόσια, τὰ δ' ἄλλα αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν  
 5 διανοηθήτωσαν ὡς βιωσόμενοι διακονοῦντές τε καὶ διακονού-  
 μενοι [ἑαυτοῖς]—πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν διεξερευ-

νώμενοι θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος σὺν τοῖς ὄπλοις φυλακῆς τε  
καὶ γνωρίσεως ἔνεκα πάντων ἀεὶ τῶν τόπων. κινδυνεύει b  
γὰρ οὐδενὸς ἕλαττον μάθημα εἶναι δι' ἀκριβείας ἐπίστασθαι  
πάντας τὴν αὐτῶν χώραν· οὐ δὴ χάριν κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν  
ἄλλην θήραν οὐχ ἤττον ἐπιτηδεύειν δεῖ τὸν ἠβῶντα ἢ τῆς  
ἄλλης ἡδονῆς ἅμα καὶ ὠφελίας τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γιγνο- 5  
μένης πᾶσιν. τούτους οὖν, αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα,  
εἴτε τις κρυπτοὺς εἴτε ἀγρονόμους εἴθ' ὅτι καλῶν χαίρει,  
τοῦτο προσαγορεύων, προθύμως πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς δύναμιν ἐπιτη- c  
δευέτω, ὅσοι μέλλουσι τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἱκανῶς σῶζειν.

Τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀρχόντων αἰρέσεως ἀγορανόμων πέρι καὶ  
ἀστυνόμων πέρι ἦν ἡμῖν ἐπόμενον. ἔποιντο δ' ἂν ἀγρονό-  
μοις γε ἀστυνόμοι τρεῖς ἐξήκοντα οὖσιν, τριχῆ δώδεκα μέρη 5  
τῆς πόλεως διαλαβόντες, μιμούμενοι ἐκείνους τῶν τε ὁδῶν  
ἐπιμελούμενοι τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας  
λεωφόρων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τεταμένων καὶ τῶν οἰκοδομιῶν,  
ἵνα κατὰ νόμους γίνωνται πᾶσαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων, d  
ὅπόσ' ἂν αὐτοῖς πέμπωσι καὶ παραδιδῶσιν οἱ φρουροῦντες  
τεθεραπευμένα, ὅπως εἰς τὰς κρήνας ἱκανὰ καὶ καθαρὰ πο-  
ρευόμενα κοσμῆ τε ἅμα καὶ ὠφελῆ τὴν πόλιν. δεῖ δὴ καὶ  
τούτους δυνατούς τε εἶναι καὶ σχολάζοντας τῶν κοινῶν ἐπι- 5  
μελεῖσθαι· διὸ προβαλλέσθω μὲν πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἐκ τῶν μεγί-  
στων τιμημάτων ἀστυνόμον ὃν ἂν βούληται, διαχειροτονη-  
θέντων δὲ καὶ ἀφικομένων εἰς ἕξ οἷς ἂν πλεῖσται γίνωνται, e  
τούς τρεῖς ἀποκληρωσάντων οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελές, δοκιμα-  
σθέντες δὲ ἀρχόντων κατὰ τοὺς τεθέντας αὐτοῖς νόμους.

Ἀγορανόμους δ' ἐξῆς τούτοις αἰρεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκ τῶν δευτέ-  
ρων καὶ πρώτων τιμημάτων πέντε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα αὐτῶν γίνεσθαι 5  
τὴν αἵρεσιν καθάπερ ἢ τῶν ἀστυνόμων· [δέκα τῶν ἄλλων  
προχειροτονηθέντων τοὺς πέντε ἀποκληρῶσαι, καὶ δοκιμα-  
σθέντας αὐτοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποφῆναι.] χειροτονεῖτω δὲ πᾶς  
πάντα· ὁ δὲ μὴ θέλων, εἰσαγγελθῆ πρός τοὺς ἄρχοντας, 764  
ζημιούσθω πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς πρός τῷ κακὸς εἶναι δοκεῖν.  
ἴτω δ' εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν κοινὸν σύλλογον ὁ βουλόμενος,  
ἐπάναγκες δ' ἔστω τῷ τῶν δευτέρων καὶ πρώτων τιμημάτων,  
δέκα δραχμαῖς ζημιουμένῳ εἰ μὴ παρῶν ἐξετάζηται τοῖς 5  
συλλόγοις· τρίτω δὲ τιμήματι καὶ τῷ τετάρτῳ μὴ ἐπάναγκες,  
ἀλλὰ ἀζήμιος ἀφείσθω, εἰ μὴ τι παραγγείλωσιν οἱ ἄρχοντες  
πᾶσιν ἐκ τινος ἀνάγκης συνιέναι. τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμους b



τὸν περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν κόσμον διαταχθέντα ὑπὸ νόμων φυλάττειν, καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ κρηνῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν κατ' ἀγορὰν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀδικῆ μηδεὶς, τὸν ἀδικοῦντα δὲ κολάζειν, πληγαῖς  
 5 μὲν καὶ δεσμοῖς δοῦλον καὶ ξένον, εἴαν δ' ἐπιχώριος ὢν τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκοσμῆ, μέχρι μὲν ἑκατὸν δραχμῶν νομί-  
 σματος αὐτοὺς εἶναι κυρίους διαδικάζοντας, μέχρι δὲ διπλα-  
 c σίου τούτου κοινῆ μετὰ ἀστυνόμων ζημιῶν δικάζοντας τῷ ἀδικοῦντι. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἀστυνόμοις ἔστω ζημιώματά τε καὶ κολάσεις ἐν τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἀρχῇ, μέχρι μὲν μνᾶς αὐτοὺς ζημιῶντας, τὴν διπλασίαν δὲ μετὰ ἀγορανόμων.

5 Μουσικῆς δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἄρχοντας καθίστασθαι πρέπον ἂν εἴη, διττοὺς ἑκατέρων, τοὺς μὲν παιδείας αὐτῆς ἕνεκα, τοὺς δὲ ἀγωνιστικῆς. παιδείας μὲν βούλεται λέγειν ὁ νόμος γυμνασίων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐπι-  
 d μελητὰς κόσμου καὶ παιδείσεως ἅμα καὶ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα ἐπιμελείας τῶν φοιτήσεών τε πέρι καὶ οἰκήσεων ἀρρένων καὶ θηλειῶν κορῶν, ἀγωνίας δέ, ἔν τε τοῖς γυμνικοῖς καὶ περὶ τὴν μουσικὴν ἀθλοθέτας ἀθληταῖς, διττοὺς αὖ τούτους. [περὶ  
 5 μουσικὴν μὲν ἑτέρους, περὶ ἀγωνίαν δ' ἄλλους.] ἀγωνιστικῆς μὲν οὖν ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἵππων τοὺς αὐτοὺς, μουσικῆς δὲ ἑτέρους μὲν τοὺς περὶ μονωδίαν τε καὶ μιμητικὴν, οἶον  
 e ῥαψωδῶν καὶ κιθαρῶδων καὶ αὐλητῶν καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων ἀθλοθέτας ἑτέρους πρέπον ἂν εἴη γίνεσθαι, τῶν δὲ περὶ χορωδίαν ἄλλους. πρῶτον δὲ περὶ τὴν τῶν χορῶν παιδιὰν παίδων τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ θηλειῶν κορῶν ἐν ὀρχή-  
 5 σεσι καὶ τῇ τάξει τῇ ἀπάσῃ γιγνομένην μουσικῆ τούτους ἄρχοντας αἰρεῖσθαι που χρεῶν· ἱκανὸς δὲ εἰς ἄρχων αὐτοῖς, μὴ ἔλαττον τετταράκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτων. ἱκανὸς δὲ καὶ περὶ  
 765 μονωδίαν εἰς, μὴ ἔλαττον ἢ τριάκοντα γεγονῶς ἔτων, εὐαγωγέως τε εἶναι καὶ τοῖς ἀμιλλωμένοις τὴν διάκρισιν ἱκανῶς ἀποδιδούς. τὸν δὲ χορῶν ἄρχοντα καὶ διαθετῆρα  
 5 αἰρεῖσθαι χρὴ τοιόνδε τινὰ τρόπον. ὅσοι μὲν φιλοφρόνως ἐσχέκασιν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, εἰς τὸν σύλλογον ἴτωσαν, ἐπιζήμιοι εἴαν μὴ ἴωσιν—τούτου δὲ οἱ νομοφύλακες κριταί—τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις, εἴαν μὴ βούλωνται, μηδὲν ἐπάναγκες ἔστω. καὶ τὴν  
 b προβολὴν δὲ τὸν αἰρούμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐμπείρων ποιητέον, ἔν τε τῇ δοκιμασίᾳ κατηγόρημα ἐν τοῦτ' ἔστω καὶ ἀπηγόρημα, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἄπειρος ὁ λαχών, τῶν δ' ὡς ἔμπειρος· ὅς δ' ἂν εἰς ἐκ προχειροτονηθέντων δέκα λάχῃ δοκιμασθεῖς, τὸν

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c ταῦτα ἄλλον ἐπὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρχὴν αἰρεῖσθαι.

Ἐὰν δέ τις δημοσίαν ἀρχὴν ἄρχων ἀποθάνῃ πρὶν ἐξήκειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν πλείον ἢ τριάκοντα ἐπιδεομένην ἡμερῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἄλλον καθιστάναί οἱς ἦν  
5 τοῦτο προσηκόντως μέλον. καὶ ἐὰν ὀρφανῶν ἐπίτροπος τελευτήσῃ τις, οἱ προσήκοντες καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντες πρὸς πατρός καὶ μητρός μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων ἄλλον καθιστάντων  
d ἐντὸς δέκα ἡμερῶν, ἢ ζημιούσθων ἕκαστος δραχμῇ τῆς ἡμέρας, μέχριπερ ἂν τοῖς παισὶν καταστήσῃ τὸν ἐπίτροπον.

Πᾶσα δὲ δήπου πόλις ἄπολις ἂν γίγνοιτο, ἐν ἣ δικαστήρια μὴ καθεστῶτα εἶη κατὰ τρόπον· ἄφωνος δ' αὖ δικαστῆς ἡμῖν  
5 καὶ μὴ πλείω τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἐν ταῖς ἀνακρίσει φθεγγόμενος, καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς διαίταις, οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἱκανὸς γένοιτο περὶ τὴν τῶν δικαίων κρίσιν· ὧν ἔνεκα οὔτε πολλοὺς ὄντας ῥάδιον εὖ δικάζειν οὔτε ὀλίγους φαύλους. σαφὲς δὲ αἰεὶ τὸ  
e ἀμφισβητούμενον χρεὼν γίνεσθαι παρ' ἑκατέρων, ὃ δὲ χρόνος ἅμα καὶ τὸ βραδὺ τό τε πολλάκις ἀνακρίνει πρὸς τὸ φανερὰν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν σύμφορον. ὧν ἔνεκα πρῶτον μὲν εἰς γείτονας ἰέναι χρὴ τοὺς ἐπικαλοῦντας  
5 ἀλλήλοις καὶ τοὺς φίλους τε καὶ συνειδότας ὅτι μάλιστα  
767 τὰς ἀμφισβητουμένας πράξεις, ἐὰν δ' ἄρα μὴ ἐν τούτοις τις ἱκανὴν κρίσιν λαμβάνῃ, πρὸς ἄλλο δικαστήριον ἴτω· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ἂν τὰ δύο δικαστήρια μὴ δύνηται διαλλάξαι, τέλος ἐπιθέτω τῇ δίκῃ.

5 Τρόπον δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῶν δικαστηρίων αἱ καταστάσεις ἀρχόντων εἰσὶν αἰρέσεις· πάντα μὲν γὰρ ἄρχοντα ἀναγκαῖον καὶ δικαστὴν εἶναί τινων, δικαστῆς δὲ οὐκ ἄρχων καὶ τινὰ τρόπον ἄρχων οὐ πάνυ φαῦλος γίγνεται τὴν τόθ' ἡμέραν ἢ περ ἂν κρίνων τὴν δίκην ἀποτελῇ. θέντες δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
b δικαστὰς ὡς ἄρχοντας, λέγωμεν τίνες ἂν εἶεν πρέποντες καὶ τίνων ἄρα δικασταὶ καὶ πόσοι ἐφ' ἕκαστον. κυριώτατον μὲν τοίνυν ἔστω δικαστήριον ὅπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοῖς ἀποφῆνωσιν ἕκαστοι, κοινῇ τινὰς ἐλόμενοι· δύο δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν  
5 ἔστω κριτήρια, τὸ μὲν ὅταν τις τινὰ ἰδιώτην ἰδιώτης, ἐπαιτιώμενος ἀδικεῖν αὐτόν, ἄγων εἰς δίκην βούληται διακριθῆναι, τὸ δ' ὅποταν τὸ δημόσιον ὑπὸ τινος τῶν πολιτῶν ἡγῆται τις  
c ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ βουληθῇ τῷ κοινῷ βοηθεῖν. λεκτέον δ' ὁποιοῖ τ' εἰσὶν καὶ τίνες οἱ κριταί. πρῶτον δὲ δικαστήριον ἡμῖν γιγνέσθω κοινὸν ἅπασιν τοῖς τὸ τρίτον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν ἰδιώ-

ταις πρὸς ἀλλήλους, γενόμενον τῆδέ πῃ. πάσας δὴ τὰς  
 ἀρχάς, ὅποσαι τε κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ ὅποσαι πλείω χρόνον 5  
 ἄρχουσιν, ἐπειδὴν μέλλη νέος ἐνιαυτὸς μετὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς  
 τῷ ἐπιόντι μηνὶ γίνεσθαι, ταύτης τῆς ἡμέρας τῇ πρόσθεν  
 πάντα χρῆ τοὺς ἄρχοντας συνελθεῖν εἰς ἓν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν  
 θεὸν ὁμόσαντας οἷον ἀπάρξασθαι πάσης ἀρχῆς ἓνα δικαστήν, d  
 ὃς ἂν ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκάστη ἄριστός τε εἶναι δόξη καὶ ἄριστ' ἂν  
 καὶ ὀσιώτατα τὰς δίκας τοῖς πολίταις αὐτῷ τὸν ἐπιόντα ἐνι-  
 αυτὸν φαίνηται διακρίνειν. τούτων δὲ αἰρεθέντων γίνεσθαι  
 μὲν δοκιμασίαν ἐν τοῖς ἐλομένοις αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ ἀποδοκι- 5  
 μασθῆ τις, ἕτερον ἀνθαιρεῖσθαι κατὰ ταῦτά, τοὺς δὲ δοκι-  
 μασθέντας δικάζειν μὲν τοῖς τᾶλλα δικαστήρια φυγοῦσι, τὴν  
 δὲ ψῆφον φανεράν φέρειν· ἐπηκόους δ' εἶναι καὶ θεατὰς  
 τούτων τῶν δικῶν ἐξ ἀνάγκης μὲν βουλευτὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους e  
 ἄρχοντας τοὺς ἐλομένους αὐτούς, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὸν βουλό-  
 μενον. εἰ δέ τις ἐπαιτιᾶται τινα ἐκόντα ἀδίκως κρίναι  
 τὴν δίκην, εἰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἰὼν κατηγορεῖτω· ὁ δὲ  
 ὀφλῶν τὴν τοιαύτην δίκην ὑπεχέτω μὲν τοῦ βλάβους τῷ 5  
 βλαφθέντι τὸ διπλάσιον τίνειν, εἰ δὲ μείζονος ἄξιος εἶναι δόξη  
 ζημίας, προστιμᾶν τοὺς κρίναντας τὴν δίκην ὅτι χρῆ πρὸς  
 τούτῳ παθεῖν αὐτὸν ἢ ἀποτίνειν τῷ κοινῷ καὶ τῷ τὴν δίκην  
 δικασαμένῳ. περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἐγκλημάτων ἀναγκαῖον  
 πρῶτον μὲν τῷ πλήθει μεταδιδόναι τῆς κρίσεως—οἱ γὰρ 768  
 ἀδικούμενοι πάντες εἰσὶν, ὅποταν τις τὴν πόλιν ἀδικῆ, καὶ  
 χαλεπῶς ἂν ἐν δίκῃ φέροιεν ἄμοιροι γιγνόμενοι τῶν τοιούτων  
 διακρίσεων—ἀλλ' ἀρχὴν τε εἶναι χρῆ τῆς τοιαύτης δίκης καὶ  
 τελευτὴν εἰς τὸν δῆμον ἀποδιδομένην, τὴν δὲ βάσανον ἐν 5  
 ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀρχαῖς τρισίν, ἃς ἂν ὁ τε φεύγων καὶ ὁ  
 διώκων συνομολογῆτον· εἰ δὲ μὴ δύνησθον κοινωνῆσαι τῆς  
 ὁμολογίας αὐτοί, τὴν βουλήν ἐπικρίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν  
 ἑκατέρου. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων δικῶν κοινωνεῖν κατὰ b  
 δύναμιν ἅπαντας· ὁ γὰρ ἀκοινωνήτος ὢν ἐξουσίας τοῦ συν-  
 δικάζειν ἠγεῖται τὸ παράπαν τῆς πόλεως οὐ μέτοχος εἶναι.  
 διὰ ταῦτ' οὖν δὴ καὶ κατὰ φυλὰς ἀναγκαῖον δικαστήριά τε  
 γίνεσθαι καὶ κλήρω δικαστὰς ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα ἀδιαφθό- 5  
 ρους ταῖς δεήσεσι δικάζειν, τὸ δὲ τέλος κρίνειν πάντων τῶν  
 τοιούτων ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον, ὃ φάμεν εἶς γε ἀνθρωπίνην  
 δύναμιν ὡς οἷόν τε ἀδιαφθορώτατα παρεσκευάσθαι, τοῖς μὴ  
 δυναμένοις μήτε ἐν τοῖς γείτοσι μήτε ἐν τοῖς φυλετικοῖς. c

δικαστηρίοις ἀπαλλάττεσθαι.

Νῦν δὴ περὶ μὲν δικαστήρια ἡμῖν—ἀ δὴ φαμεν οὐθ' ὡς ἀρχὰς οὐτε ὡς μὴ ῥάδιον εἰπόντα ἀναμφισβητήτως εἰρη-  
 5 κέναι—περὶ μὲν ταῦτα οἷον περιγραφὴ τις ἔξωθεν περιγε-  
 γραμμένη τὰ μὲν εἴρηκεν, τὰ δ' ἀπολείπει σχεδόν· πρὸς  
 γὰρ τέλει νομοθεσίας ἢ δικῶν ἀκριβῆς νόμων θέσις ἅμα καὶ  
 διαίρεσις ὀρθότατα γίγνοιτ' ἂν μακρῶ. ταύταις μὲν οὖν  
 d εἰρήσθω πρὸς τῷ τέλει περιμένειν ἡμᾶς, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰς  
 ἄλλας ἀρχὰς καταστάσεις σχεδὸν τὴν πλείστην εἰλήφασιν  
 νομοθεσίαν· τὸ δὲ ὅλον καὶ ἀκριβὲς περὶ ἐνός τε καὶ πάντων  
 τῶν κατὰ πόλιν καὶ πολιτικὴν πᾶσαν διοίκησιν οὐκ ἔστιν  
 5 γενέσθαι σαφές, πρὶν ἂν ἡ διέξοδος ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ τε δεύτερα  
 καὶ τὰ μέσα καὶ πάντα μέρη τὰ ἑαυτῆς ἀπολαβοῦσα πρὸς  
 τέλος ἀφίκηται. νῦν μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι μέχρι τῆς τῶν  
 e ἀρχόντων αἰρέσεως γενομένης τελευτῇ μὲν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν  
 αὕτη γίγνοιτ' ἂν ἰκανή, νόμων δὲ θέσεως ἀρχὴ καὶ ἀναβολῶν  
 ἅμα καὶ ὄκνων οὐδὲν ἔτι δεομένη.

ΚΛ. Πάντως μοι κατὰ νοῦν, ὦ ξένε, τὰ ἔμπροσθεν εἰρη-  
 5 κώς, τὴν ἀρχὴν νῦν τελευτῇ προσάψας περὶ τῶν τε εἰρημένων  
 καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ῥηθήσεσθαι, ταῦτα ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκείνων  
 εἴρηκας φιλίως.

769 ΑΘ. Καλῶς τοίνυν ἂν ἡμῖν ἢ πρεσβυτῶν ἔμφρων παιδιὰ  
 μέχρι δεῦρ' εἴη τὰ νῦν διαπεπαισμένη.

ΚΛ. Καλὴν τὴν σπουδὴν ἔοικας δηλοῦν τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

ΑΘ. Εἰκός γε· τόδε δ' ἐννοήσωμεν εἰ σοὶ δοκεῖ καθάπερ  
 5 ἐμοί.

ΚΛ. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ καὶ περὶ τίνων;

ΑΘ. Οἶσθ' ὅτι καθάπερ ζωγράφων οὐδὲν πέρας ἔχειν ἢ  
 πραγματεία δοκεῖ περὶ ἐκάστων τῶν ζώων, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ χραί-  
 νειν ἢ ἀποχραίνειν, ἢ ὅτιδῆποτε καλοῦσι τὸ τοιοῦτον οἱ  
 b ζωγράφων παῖδες, οὐκ ἂν ποτε δοκεῖ παύσασθαι κοσμοῦσα,  
 ὥστε ἐπίδοσιν μηκέτ' ἔχειν εἰς τὸ καλλίω τε καὶ φανερώτερα  
 γίνεσθαι τὰ γεγραμμένα.

ΚΛ. Σχεδὸν ἐννοῶ ἀκούων καὶ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἀ λέγεις,  
 5 ἐπεὶ ἐντριβῆς γε οὐδαμῶς γέγονα τῇ τοιαύτῃ τέχνῃ.

ΑΘ. Καὶ οὐδὲν γε ἐβλάβης. χρησώμεθά γε μὲν τῷ νῦν  
 παρατυχόντι περὶ αὐτῆς ἡμῖν λόγῳ τὸ τοιόνδε, ὡς εἴ ποτέ  
 c τις ἐπινοήσειε γράψαι τε ὡς κάλλιστον ζῶον καὶ τοῦτ' αὖ  
 μηδέποτε ἐπὶ φαυλότερον ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ἴσχειν τοῦ ἐπ-

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δὲ δεήσει συμπληροῦν ὑμᾶς τὸ περιηγηθέν.  
 ἰδράσετε τὸ τοιοῦτον, ἀκούειν χρή. Μέν-  
 και ἐγὼ καὶ Κλεινίας εἰρήκαμέν τε αὐτὰ  
 γάκις, ὁμολογοῦμέν τε λέγεσθαι καλῶς·  
 λόμεθα συγγνώμονάς τε ἅμα καὶ μαθητὰς  
 τας πρὸς ταῦτα εἰς ἅπερ ἡμεῖς συνεχω-  
 τὸν νομοφύλακά τε καὶ νομοθέτην δεῖν  
 συγχώρησις ἐν ἔχουσα κεφάλαιον, ὅπως  
 γίγνοιτ' ἄν, τὴν ἀνθρώπῳ προσήκουσαν  
 ἰς ἔχων ἕκ τινος ἐπιτηδεύματος ἢ τινος  
 ἡσεως ἢ ἐπιθυμίας ἢ δόξης ἢ μαθημάτων  
 ἄρρην τις τῶν συνοικούντων οὔσα ἢ φύσις  
 ἢ γερόντων, ὅπως εἰς ταῦτὸν τοῦτο ὁ λέ-  
 ππουδὴ πᾶσα ἔσται διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου,  
 σα ἐμπόδια τούτοις μηδὲν προτιμῶν φανεῖ-  
 ς, τελευτᾶν δὲ καὶ πόλεως, εἰάν ἀνάστατον  
 γίγνεσθαι, πρὶν ἐθέλειν δούλειον ὑπομεί-  
 εσθαι ὑπὸ χειρόνων, ἢ λείπειν φυγῇ τὴν  
 τὰ τοιαῦτα ἄρ' ἔσθ' ὑπομενετέον πάσχοντας  
 πολιτείαν ἢ χείρους ἀνθρώπους πέφυκε  
 μεῖς τε ἔμπροσθεν συνωμολογησάμεθα, καὶ  
 εἰς ταῦτα ἑκάτερα βλέποντες ἐπάνιτε καὶ  
 οὓς ὅσοι μὴ ταῦτα δυνατοί, τοὺς δὲ δυνατοὺς  
 φιλοφρόνως δεχόμενοι ζῆτε ἐν αὐτοῖς· τὰ  
 ματα καὶ πρὸς ἄλλα τείνοντα τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
 ν χρή προσαγορεύειν.

τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἡμῖν νόμων ἦδε τις, ἀφ'  
 τὸν ἀριθμὸν γὰρ δὴ δεῖ πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν  
 τακισχιλίων καὶ τετταράκοντα, ὅσας εἶχέν  
 ς προσφόρους ὃ τε ὅλος ἅμα καὶ ὁ κατὰ  
 ντὸς ἔθεμεν δωδεκατημόριον, ἐν καὶ εἴκοσιν  
 γα φύν. ἔχει δὲ διανομὰς δώδεκα μὲν ὁ πᾶς  
 δεκα δὲ καὶ ὁ τῆς φυλῆς· ἐκάστην δὴ τὴν  
 μι χρεῶν ὡς οὔσαν ἱεράν, θεοῦ δῶρον, ἐπο-  
 καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς περιόδῳ. διὸ καὶ πᾶσαν  
 ὁ σύμφυτον ἱεροῦν αὐτάς, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλων  
 νείμαντό τε καὶ εὐτυχέστερον ἐθείωσαν τὴν  
 δὲ οὖν νῦν φαμεν ὀρθότατα προηρῆσθαι τὸν  
 ἴων καὶ τετταράκοντα ἀριθμόν, ὃς πᾶσας

τὰς διανομὰς ἔχει μέχρι τῶν δώδεκα ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀρξάμενος  
 πλὴν ἑνδεκάδος—αὕτη δ' ἔχει σμικρότατον ἴαμα· ἐπὶ θάτερα  
 γὰρ ὑγιῆς γίγνεται δυοῖν ἐστίαιν ἀπονεμηθείσαιν—ὡς δ' 5  
 ἐστὶν ταῦτα ἀληθῶς ὄντα, κατὰ σχολὴν οὐκ ἂν πολὺς ἐπι-  
 δείξειεν μῦθος. πιστεύσαντες δὴ τὰ νῦν τῇ παρούσῃ φήμῃ  
 καὶ λόγῳ, νείμωμέν τε ταύτην, καὶ ἑκάστη μοῖρα θεὸν ἢ θεῶν d  
 παῖδα ἐπιφημίσαντες, βωμούς τε καὶ τὰ τούτοις προσήκοντα  
 ἀποδόντες, θυσιῶν περὶ συνόδους ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιώμεθα δύο  
 τοῦ μηνός, δώδεκα μὲν τῇ τῆς φυλῆς διανομῇ, δώδεκα δὲ  
 αὐτῷ τῷ τῆς πόλεως διαμερισμῷ, θεῶν μὲν δὴ πρῶτον χάριτος 5  
 ἕνεκα καὶ τῶν περὶ θεοῦ, δεῦτερον δὲ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οἰκειό-  
 τητός τε περὶ καὶ γνωρίσεως ἀλλήλων, ὡς φαῖμεν ἂν, καὶ  
 ὁμιλίας ἕνεκα πάσης. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τὴν τῶν γάμων κοινω- e  
 νίαν καὶ σύμμιξιν ἀναγκαίως ἔχει τὴν ἀγνοίαν ἐξαιρεῖν  
 παρ' ὧν τέ τις ἄγεται καὶ ἅ καὶ οἷς ἐκδίδωσι, περὶ παντός  
 ποιούμενον ὅτι μάλιστα τὸ μὴ σφάλλῃσθαι μηδαμῶς ἐν τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. τῆς οὖν τοιαύτης σπουδῆς ἕνεκα 5  
 χρὴ καὶ τὰς παιδιὰς ποιεῖσθαι χορεύοντάς τε καὶ χορευούσας  
 κόρους καὶ κόρας, καὶ ἅμα δὴ θεωροῦντάς τε καὶ θεωρου- 772  
 μένους μετὰ λόγου τε καὶ ἡλικίας τινὸς ἐχούσης εἰκυίας  
 προφάσεις, γυμνοὺς καὶ γυμνάς μέχρι περ αἰδοῦς σώφρονος  
 ἑκάστων. τούτων δ' ἐπιμελητάς πάντων καὶ κοσμητάς τοὺς  
 τῶν χορῶν ἄρχοντας γίγνεσθαι καὶ νομοθέτας μετὰ τῶν 5  
 νομοφυλάκων, ὅσον ἂν ἡμεῖς ἐκλείπωμεν τάττοντες· ἀνα-  
 γκαῖον δέ, ὅπερ εἵπομεν, περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα ὅσα σμικρὰ  
 καὶ πολλὰ νομοθέτην μὲν ἐκλείπειν, τοὺς δ' ἐμπείρους αἰεὶ b  
 κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν γιγνομένους αὐτῶν, ἀπὸ τῆς χρείας μανθάνον-  
 τας, τάττεσθαι καὶ ἐπανορθουμένους κινεῖν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν,  
 ἕως ἂν ὄρος ἰκανὸς δόξῃ τῶν τοιούτων νομίμων καὶ ἐπιτηδευ-  
 μάτων γεγονέναι. χρόνος μὲν οὖν μέτριος ἅμα καὶ ἰκανὸς 5  
 γίγνοιτ' ἂν τῆς ἐμπειρίας δεκαετηρὶς θυσιῶν τε καὶ χορειῶν,  
 ἐπὶ πάντα καὶ ἕκαστα ταχθεῖς, ζῶντος μὲν τοῦ τάξαντος νομο-  
 θέτου κοινῇ, τέλος δὲ σχόντος, αὐτὰς ἑκάστας τὰς ἀρχὰς c  
 εἰς τοὺς νομοφύλακας εἰσφερούσας τὸ παραλειπόμενον τῆς  
 αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς ἐπανορθοῦσθαι, μέχρι περ ἂν τέλος ἔχειν ἕκαστον  
 δόξῃ τοῦ καλῶς ἐξεργάσθαι, τότε δὲ ἀκίνητα θεμένους, ἤδη  
 χρῆσθαι μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων οὓς ἔταξε κατ' ἀρχὰς ὁ θεὸς 5  
 αὐτοῖς νομοθέτης· ὧν περὶ κινεῖν μὲν ἐκόντας μηδέποτε  
 μηδέν, εἰ δέ τις ἀνάγκη δόξειέ ποτε καταλαβεῖν, πάσας μὲν



d τὰς ἀρχὰς χρῆ συμβούλους πάντα δὲ τὸν δῆμον καὶ πάσας θεῶν μαντείας ἐπελθόντας, εἴαν συμφωνῶσι πάντες, οὕτω κινεῖν, ἄλλως δὲ μηδέποτε μηδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸν κωλύοντα ἀεὶ κατὰ νόμον κρατεῖν.

5 Ὅποθεν τις οὖν καὶ ὀπηνίκα τῶν πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι γεγονότων ἔτη, σκοπῶν καὶ σκοπούμενος ὑπ' ἄλλων, κατὰ νοῦν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρέποντα εἰς παιδῶν κοινωνίαν καὶ γένεσιν e ἐξηυρηκένας πιστεύει, γαμείτω μὲν πᾶς ἐντὸς τῶν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν, τὸ δὲ πρέπον καὶ τὸ ἀρμόττον ὡς χρῆ ζητεῖν, πρῶτον ἐπακουσάτω· δεῖ γάρ, ὡς φησὶν Κλεινίας, ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ νόμου προοίμιον οἰκεῖον ἐκάστῳ προτιθέσθαι.

5 ΚΛ. Κάλλιστα, ὦ ξένε, διεμνημόνευσας, ἔλαβές τε τοῦ λόγου καιρὸν καὶ μάλ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντ' εἶναι σύμμετρον.

ΑΘ. Εὖ λέγεις. ὦ παῖ, τοίνυν φῶμεν ἀγαθῶν πατέρων 773 φύντι, τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς ἔμφροσιν εὐδόξους γάμους χρῆ γαμείν, οἳ σοι παραινοῖεν ἂν μὴ φεύγειν τὸν τῶν πενήτων μηδὲ τὸν τῶν πλουσίων διώκειν διαφερόντως γάμον, ἀλλ' εἴαν τὰλλα ἰσάζη, τὸν ὑποδεέστερον ἀεὶ τιμῶντα εἰς τὴν κοινωνίαν 5 συνιέναι. τῇ τε γὰρ πόλει σύμφορον ἂν εἴη ταύτη ταῖς τε συνιούσαις ἐστίαις· τὸ γὰρ ὀμαλὸν καὶ σύμμετρον ἀκράτου μυρίον διαφέρει πρὸς ἀρετήν. κοσμίων τε πατέρων χρῆ b προθυμεῖσθαι γίνεσθαι κηδεστήν τὸν αὐτῷ συνειδότα ἰταμώτερον ἅμα καὶ θάπτον τοῦ δέοντος πρὸς πάσας τὰς πράξεις φερόμενον· τὸν δ' ἐναντίως πεφυκότα ἐπὶ τὰναντία χρῆ κηδεύματα πορεύεσθαι. καὶ κατὰ παντὸς εἰς ἔστω μῦθος 5 γάμου· τὸν γὰρ τῇ πόλει δεῖ συμφέροντα μνηστεύειν γάμον ἕκαστον, οὐ τὸν ἥδιστον αὐτῷ. φέρεται δὲ πως πᾶς ἀεὶ κατὰ φύσιν πρὸς τὸν ὀμοιότατον αὐτῷ, ὅθεν ἀνώμαλος ἢ c πόλις ὅλη γίγνεται χρήμασιν τε καὶ τρόπων ἠθεσιν· ἐξ ὧν ἂ μὴ βουλόμεθα συμβαίνειν ἡμῖν, καὶ μάλιστα συμβαίνει ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι. ταῦτα δὲ διὰ λόγου μὲν νόμῳ προστάττειν, μὴ γαμείν πλούσιον πλουσίου, μηδὲ πολλὰ 5 δυνάμενον πράττειν ἄλλου τοιούτου, θάπτους δὲ ἠθεσι πρὸς βραδυτέρους καὶ βραδυτέρους πρὸς θάπτους ἀναγκάζειν τῇ τῶν γάμων κοινωνία πορεύεσθαι, πρὸς τῷ γελοῖα εἶναι θυμὸν ἂν ἐγείραι πολλοῖς· οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον ἐννοεῖν ὅτι πόλιν εἶναι d δεῖ δίκην κρατῆρος κεκραμένην, οὐ μαινόμενος μὲν οἶνος ἐγκεχυμένος ζεῖ, κολαζόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἑτέρου θεοῦ καλὴν κοινωνίαν λαβὼν ἀγαθὸν πῶμα καὶ μέτριον ἀπεργά-

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Ἡρας τε καὶ τοῦ Διός, πραττόντων δὲ οἱ ταμίαι τούτοις  
 e τοῖν θεοῖν, καθάπερ ἐρρήθη τῶν μὴ γαμούντων πέρι τοὺς  
 ταμίας ἐκπράττειν ἑκάστοτε τοὺς τῆς Ἡρας ἢ παρ' αὐτῶν  
 ἑκάστους τὴν ζημίαν ἐκτίνειν.

Ἐγγύην δὲ εἶναι κυρίαν πατρὸς μὲν πρῶτον, δευτέραν  
 5 πάππου, τρίτην δὲ ἀδελφῶν ὁμοπατρίων, εἰ δὲ μηδὲ εἰς ἣν  
 τούτων, τὴν πρὸς μητρὸς μετὰ τοῦτο εἶναι κυρίαν ὡσαύτως·  
 εἰ δ' ἄρα τύχη τις ἀήθης συμβαίνη, τοὺς ἐγγύτατα γένους  
 αἰεὶ κυρίους εἶναι μετὰ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων.

Ἄσα δὲ προτέλεια γάμων ἢ τίς ἄλλη περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 775 ἱερουργία μελλόντων ἢ γιγνομένων ἢ γεγονότων προσήκουσά  
 ἐστὶν τελείσθαι, τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς ἐρωτῶντα χρὴ καὶ πειθόμενον  
 ἐκείνοις ἑκάστον ἡγεῖσθαι πάντα ἑαυτῷ μετρίως γίνεσθαι.

Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐστιάσεων, φίλους μὲν χρὴ καὶ φίλας  
 5 μὴ πλείους πέντε ἑκατέρων συγκαλεῖν, συγγενῶν δὲ καὶ  
 οἰκείων ὡσαύτως τοσοῦτους ἄλλους ἑκατέρων· ἀνάλωμα δὲ  
 μὴ γίνεσθαι πλέον ἢ κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν μηδενί, τῷ μὲν εἰς  
 χρήματα μεγίστῳ μνᾶν, τῷ δ' ἡμισυ τοῦ τοσοῦτου, τῷ δ' ἐφ-  
 b εξῆς οὕτω, καθάπερ ὑποβέβηκεν ἑκάστῳ τὸ τίμημα. καὶ τὸν  
 μὲν πειθόμενον τῷ νόμῳ ἐπαινεῖν χρὴ πάντας, τὸν δὲ ἀπει-  
 θοῦντα κολαζόντων οἱ νομοφύλακες ὡς ἀπειρόκαλόν τε ὄντα  
 καὶ ἀπαίδευτον τῶν περὶ τὰς νυμφικὰς Μούσας νόμων. πίνειν  
 5 δὲ εἰς μέθην οὔτε ἄλλοθί που πρέπει, πλὴν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ τὸν  
 οἶνον δόντος θεοῦ ἑορταῖς, οὐδ' ἀσφαλές, οὔτ' οὖν δὴ περὶ  
 γάμους ἐσπουδακότα, ἐν οἷς ἔμφρονα μάλιστα εἶναι πρέπει  
 c νύμφην καὶ νυμφίον μεταβολὴν οὐ σμικρὰν βίου μεταλλάτ-  
 τοντας. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἐξ  
 ἐμφρόνων αἰεὶ γίγνηται· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἄδηλον ὅποια νύξ ἢ  
 φῶς αὐτὸ γεννήσει μετὰ θεοῦ· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δεῖ μὴ τῶν  
 5 σωμάτων διακεχυμένων ὑπὸ μέθης γίνεσθαι τὴν παιδουργίαν,  
 ἀλλ' εὐπαγὲς ἀπλανὲς ἡσυχαιὸν τε ἐν μήτρᾳ συνίστασθαι  
 τὸ φυόμενον. ὁ δὲ διωνωμένος αὐτός τε φέρεται πάντῃ καὶ  
 d φέρει, λυττῶν κατὰ τε σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν· σπεῖρειν οὖν παρά-  
 φορος ἅμα καὶ κακὸς ὁ μεθύων, ὥστ' ἀνώμαλα καὶ ἄπιστα  
 καὶ οὐδὲν εὐθύπορον ἦθος οὐδὲ σῶμα ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων γεννώη  
 ποτ' ἄν. διὸ μᾶλλον μὲν ὅλον τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ βίον χρὴ,  
 5 μάλιστα δὲ ὅποσον ἂν γεννᾷ χρόνον, εὐλαβεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ  
 πράττειν μήτε ὅσα νοσώδη ἐκόντα εἶναι μήτε ὅσα ὑβρεως ἢ  
 ἀδικίας ἐχόμενα—εἰς γὰρ τὰς τῶν γεννωμένων ψυχὰς καὶ

σώματα ἀναγκαῖον ἔξομοργνύμενον ἐκτυποῦσθαι καὶ τίκτειν  
πάντη φαυλότερα—διαφερόντως δὲ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ e  
νύκτα ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα· ἀρχὴ γὰρ καὶ θεὸς ἐν  
ἀνθρώποις ἰδρυμένη σώζει πάντα, τιμῆς ἐὰν τῆς προσηκούσης  
αὐτῇ παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν χρωμένων λαγχάνη.

Νομίσαντα δ' εἶναι χρὴ τὸν γαμοῦντα ταῖν οἰκίαιν ταῖν ἐν 5  
τῷ κλήρῳ τὴν ἑτέραν οἶον νεοττῶν ἐγγέννησιν καὶ τροφήν, 776  
χωρισθέντα ἀπὸ πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τὸν γάμον ἐκεῖ ποιεῖσθαι  
καὶ τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ τὴν τροφήν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων. ἐν  
γὰρ ταῖς φιλίαις ἐὰν μὲν πόθος ἐνῆ τις, κολλᾶ καὶ συνδεῖ  
πάντα ἦθη· κατακορῆς δὲ συνουσία καὶ οὐκ ἴσχουσα τὸν 5  
διὰ χρόνου πόθον ἀπορρεῖν ἀλλήλων ποιεῖ ὑπερβολαῖς  
πλησμονῆς. ὧν δὴ χάριν μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς τῆς  
γυναικὸς οἰκείοις παρέντας χρὴ τὰς αὐτῶν οἰκήσεις, οἶον  
εἰς ἀποικίαν ἀφικομένους, αὐτοὺς ἐπισκοποῦντάς τε ἅμα b  
καὶ ἐπισκοπουμένους οἰκεῖν, γεννῶντάς τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας  
παῖδας, καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ  
ἄλλων, θεραπεύοντας αἰεὶ θεοὺς κατὰ νόμους.

Κτήματα δὲ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ποῖα ἂν τις κεκτημένος ἐμμε- 5  
λεστάτην οὐσίαν κεκτηῖτο; τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ οὔτε νοῆσαι  
χαλεπὸν οὔτε κτήσασθαι, τὰ δὲ δὴ τῶν οἰκετῶν χαλεπὰ  
πάντη. τὸ δ' αἴτιον, οὐκ ὀρθῶς πως καὶ τινα τρόπον ὀρθῶς c  
περὶ αὐτῶν λέγομεν· ἐναντία γὰρ ταῖς χρείαις, καὶ κατὰ τὰς  
χρείας αὐτῶν, ποιούμεθα περὶ δούλων καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα.

ΜΕ. Πῶς δ' αὐτῶν τοῦτο λέγομεν; οὐ γάρ πω μανθάνομεν,  
ὦ ξένε, ὅτι τὰ νῦν φράζεις. 5

ΑΘ. Καὶ μάλα γε, ὦ Μέγιλλε, εἰκότως· σχεδὸν γὰρ  
πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἢ Λακεδαιμονίων εἰλωτεία πλείστην  
ἀπορίαν παράσχοιτ' ἂν καὶ ἔριν τοῖς μὲν ὡς εὐ, τοῖς δ' ὡς  
οὐκ εὐ γεγονυῖα ἐστίν—ἐλάττω δὲ ἢ τε Ἡρακλεωτῶν  
δουλεία τῆς τῶν Μαριανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως ἔριν ἂν ἔχοι, d  
τὸ Θετταλῶν τ' αὐτῶν πενεστικὸν ἔθνος—εἰς ἃ καὶ πάντα τὰ  
τοιαῦτα βλέψαντας ἡμᾶς τί χρὴ ποιεῖν περὶ κτήσεως οἰκετῶν;  
ὃ δὴ παριῶν τῷ λόγῳ ἔτυχον εἰπών, καὶ σύ με εἰκότως τί  
ποτε φράζοιμι ἠρώτησας, τόδε ἐστίν. ἴσμεν ὅτι που πάντες 5  
εἵπομεν ἂν ὡς χρὴ δούλους ὡς εὐμενεστάτους ἐκτῆσθαι καὶ  
ἀρίστους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἤδη δούλοι καὶ ὑέων τισὶν  
κρείττους πρὸς ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν γενόμενοι, σεσώκασιν δεσπότης  
καὶ κτήματα τὰς τε οἰκήσεις αὐτῶν ὅλας. ταῦτα γὰρ ἴσμεν e

που περι δούλων λεγόμενα.

ΜΕ. Τί μήν;

ΑΘ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τοῦναντίον, ὡς ὑγιᾶς οὐδὲν ψυχῆς δούλης,  
5 οὐδὲ πιστεύειν οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν τῷ γένει δεῖ τὸν νοῦν κεκτη-  
μένον; ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος ἡμῖν τῶν ποιητῶν καὶ ἀπεφήνατο,  
ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διὸς ἀγορεύων, ὡς—

777 ἥμισυ γάρ τε νόου, φησὶν, ἀπαμείρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς  
ἀνδρῶν, οὓς ἂν δὴ κατὰ δούλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλῃσι.

ταῦτα δὴ διαλαβόντες ἕκαστοι τοῖς διανοήμασιν οἱ μὲν  
πιστεύουσί τε οὐδὲν γένει οἰκετῶν, κατὰ δὲ θηρίων φύσιν  
5 κέντροις καὶ μάστιξιν οὐ τρίς μόνον ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀπερ-  
γάζονται δούλας τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν· οἱ δ' αὖ τὰναντία  
τούτων δρῶσι πάντα.

ΜΕ. Τί μήν;

b ΚΛ. Τί οὖν δὴ χρὴ ποιεῖν, τούτων, ὦ ξένε, διαφορομένων  
οὕτω, περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῆς χώρας ἡμᾶς, τῆς τε κτήσεως ἅμα  
καὶ κολάσεως τῶν δούλων πέρι;

ΑΘ. Τί δ', ὦ Κλεινία; δῆλον ὡς ἐπειδὴ δύσκολόν ἐστι  
5 τὸ θρέμμα ἄνθρωπος, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀναγκαίαν διόρισιν, τὸ  
δοῦλόν τε ἔργῳ διορίζεσθαι καὶ ἐλεύθερον καὶ δεσπότην,  
οὐδαμῶς εὐχρηστον ἐθέλει εἶναι τε καὶ γίγνεσθαι φαίνεται,  
c χαλεπὸν δὲ τὸ κτῆμα· ἔργῳ γὰρ πολλάκις ἐπιδέδεικται περὶ  
τὰς Μεσσηνίων συχνὰς εἰωθυίας ἀποστάσεις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ  
περὶ γε τὰς τῶν ἐκ μιᾶς φωνῆς πολλοὺς οἰκέτας κτωμένων  
πόλεις, ὅσα κακὰ συμβαίνει, καὶ ἔτι τὰ τῶν λεγομένων περι-  
5 δίνων τῶν περὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν γιγνομένων παντοδαπὰ κλωπῶν  
ἔργα τε καὶ παθήματα. πρὸς ἃ τις ἂν πάντα βλέψας δια-  
πορήσειε τί χρὴ δρᾶν περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων. δύο δὲ  
λείπεσθον μόνω μηχανά, μήτε πατριώτας ἀλλήλων εἶναι τοὺς  
d μέλλοντας ῥᾶον δουλεύσειν, ἀσυμφώνους τε εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι  
μάλιστα, τρέφειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὀρθῶς, μὴ μόνον ἐκείνων ἕνεκα,  
πλέον δὲ αὐτῶν προτιμῶντας· ἢ δὲ τροφή τῶν τοιούτων  
μήτε τινὰ ὑβριν ὑβρίζειν εἰς τοὺς οἰκέτας, ἥττον δέ, εἰ  
5 δυνατόν, ἀδικεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἐξ ἴσου. διάδηλος γὰρ ὁ φύσει καὶ  
μὴ πλαστῶς σέβων τὴν δίκην, μισῶν δὲ ὄντως τὸ ἄδικον, ἐν  
τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν οἷς αὐτῷ ῥάδιον ἀδικεῖν· ὁ περὶ τὰ  
τῶν δούλων οὖν ἦθη καὶ πράξεις γιγνόμενός τις “ἀμίαντος”  
e τοῦ τε ἀνοσίου πέρι καὶ ἀδίκου, “σπεῖρειν εἰς ἀρετῆς ἔκφυσιν”  
ἰκανώτατος ἂν εἴη, ταῦτόν δ' ἔστ' εἰπεῖν τοῦτο ὀρθῶς ἅμα

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τὴν χώραν τοὺς νέους, τὰ μὲν σκάψοντας, τὰ δὲ ταφρεύ-  
 5 σοντας, τὰ δὲ καὶ διὰ τινων οἰκοδομήσεων εἴρξοντας τοὺς  
 πολεμίους, ὡς δὴ τῶν ὄρων τῆς χώρας οὐκ ἐάσοντας ἐπι-  
 βαίνειν, τεῖχος δὲ περιβαλοίμεθα, ὃ πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς ὑγίειαν  
 ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐδαμῶς συμφέρει, πρὸς δέ τινα μαλθακὴν ἔξιν  
 779 ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν ἐνοικούντων εἴωθε ποιεῖν, προκαλούμενον  
 εἰς αὐτὸ καταφεύγοντας μὴ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, μηδὲ  
 τῷ φρουρεῖν αἰεὶ τινὰς ἐν αὐτῇ νύκτωρ καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν,  
 τούτῳ τῆς σωτηρίας τυγχάνειν, τείχεσι δὲ καὶ πύλαις δια-  
 νοεῖσθαι φραχθέντας τε καὶ καθεύδοντας σωτηρίας ὄντως  
 5 ἔξειν μηχανάς, ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ μὴ πονεῖν γεγονότας, ἀγνοοῦντας  
 δ' αὖ τὴν ῥαστώνην ὡς ὄντως ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν πόνων· ἐκ  
 ῥαστώνης δέ γε, οἶμαι, τῆς αἰσχροῦς οἱ πόνοι καὶ ῥαθυμίας  
 πεφύκασιν γίνεσθαι πάλιν. ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τεῖχός γέ τι χρεῶν  
 b ἀνθρώποις εἶναι, τὰς οἰκοδομίας χρὴ τὰς τῶν ἰδίων οἰκίσεων  
 οὕτως ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάλλεσθαι, ὅπως ἂν ἡ πᾶσα ἢ πόλις ἐν  
 τεῖχος, ὁμαλότητί τε καὶ ὁμοιότησιν εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς πασῶν  
 τῶν οἰκίσεων ἐχουσῶν εὐέρκειαν, ἰδεῖν τε οὐκ ἀηδὲς μιᾶς  
 5 οἰκίας σχῆμα ἐχούσης αὐτῆς, εἰς τε τὴν τῆς φυλακῆς  
 ῥαστώνην ὄλω καὶ παντὶ πρὸς σωτηρίαν γίγνοιτ' ἂν διά-  
 φηρος. τούτων δέ, ὡς ἂν μένη τὰ κατ' ἀρχὰς οἰκοδομη-  
 θέντα, μέλει μὲν μάλιστα τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι πρέπον ἂν εἴη,  
 c τοὺς δὲ ἀστυνόμους ἐπιμελεῖσθαι καὶ προσαναγκάζοντας τὸν  
 ὀλιγωροῦντα ζημιοῦντας, καὶ πάντων δὴ τῶν κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ  
 καθαρότητός τ' ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅπως ἰδιώτης μηδεὶς μηδὲν  
 τῶν τῆς πόλεως μήτε οἰκοδομήμασι μήτε οὖν ὀρύγμασιν  
 5 ἐπιλήψεται. καὶ δὴ καὶ ὑδάτων τῶν ἐκ Διὸς εὐροίας τούτους  
 ἐπιμελεῖσθαι χρεῶν, καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς πόλεως ἢ ὀπόσα ἔξω  
 πρέπον ἂν οἰκεῖν εἴη· ταῦτα δὲ πάντα συνιδόντες ταῖς χρεῖαις  
 d οἱ νομοφύλακες ἐπινομοθετούντων, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὀπόσα ἂν  
 ὁ νόμος ἐκλείπη δι' ἀπορίαν. ὅτε δὲ ταῦτά τε καὶ τὰ περὶ  
 ἀγορὰν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ πάντα  
 ὅσα διδασκαλεῖα κατεσκευασμένα περιμένει τοὺς φοιτητὰς  
 5 καὶ θεατὰς θέατρα, πορευόμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς γάμους, τῆς  
 νομοθεσίας ἐξῆς ἐχόμενοι.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Γάμοι μὲν τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἔστωσαν γεγονότες, ὦ  
 Κλεινία· δίαίτα δὲ πρὸ παιδογονίας οὐκ ἐλάττων ἐνιαυσίας  
 e γίγνοιτ' ἂν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ἢν δὴ τίνα τρόπον χρὴ ζῆν νυμφίον

καὶ νύμφην ἐν πόλει διαφερούση τῶν πολλῶν ἐσομένη—τὸ δὴ τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων ἐχόμενον—εἰπεῖν οὐ πάντων εὐκολώτατον, ἀλλὰ ὄντων οὐκ ὀλίγων τῶν ἔμπροσθεν τοιούτων, τοῦτο ἔτι ἐκείνων τῶν πολλῶν δυσχερέστερον ἀποδέχασθαι 5 τῷ πλήθει. τό γε μὴν δοκοῦν ὀρθὸν καὶ ἀληθὲς εἶναι πάντως ῥητέον, ὦ Κλεινία.

ΚΛ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

ΑΘ. Ὅστις δὴ διανοεῖται πόλεσιν ἀποφαίνεσθαι νόμους, 780 πῆ τὰ δημόσια καὶ κοινὰ αὐτοὺς χρή ζῆν πράττοντας, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων ὅσον ἀνάγκη μηδὲ οἴεται δεῖν, ἐξουσίαν δὲ ἐκάστοις εἶναι τὴν ἡμέραν ζῆν ὅπως ἂν ἐθέλη, καὶ μὴ πάντα διὰ τάξεως δεῖν γίνεσθαι, προέμενος δὲ τὰ ἴδια ἀνομοθέτητα, 5 ἡγεῖται τὰ γε κοινὰ καὶ δημόσια ἐθελήσειν αὐτοὺς ζῆν διὰ νόμων, οὐκ ὀρθῶς διανοεῖται. τίος δὴ χάριν ταῦτα εἴρηται; τοῦδε, ὅτι φήσομεν δεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς νυμφίους μηδὲν διαφερόντως μηδὲ ἥττον ἐν συσσιτίοις τὴν δίαιταν ποιεῖσθαι b τοῦ πρὸ τῶν γάμων χρόνου γενομένου. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν δὴ θαυμαστὸν ὄν, ὅτε κατ' ἀρχὰς πρῶτον ἐγένετο ἐν τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν τόποις, πολέμου τινὸς αὐτό, ὡς γ' εἰκός, νομοθετήσαντος ἢ τινος ἐτέρου τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος πράγματος 5 ἐν ὀλιγανθρωπίαις ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀπορίας ἐχομένοις, γευσασμένοις δὲ καὶ ἀναγκασθεῖσι χρήσασθαι τοῖς συσσιτίοις ἔδοξεν μέγα διαφέρειν εἰς σωτηρίαν τὸ νόμιμον, καὶ κατέστη δὴ c τρόπῳ τινὶ τοιούτῳ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα ὑμῖν τὸ τῶν συσσιτίων.

ΚΛ. Ἐοικε γοῦν.

ΑΘ. Ὁ δὴ ἔλεγον, ὅτι θαυμαστὸν ὄν τοῦτό ποτε καὶ φοβερὸν ἐπιτάξαι τισίν, νῦν οὐχ ὁμοίως τῷ προστάττοντι 5 δυσχερὲς ἂν εἴη νομοθετεῖν αὐτό. τὸ δ' ἐξῆς τούτῳ, πεφυκός τε ὀρθῶς ἂν γίνεσθαι γιγνόμενον, νῦν τε οὐδαμῆ γιγνόμενον ὀλίγου [τε] ποιῶν τὸν νομοθέτην, τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, εἰς πῦρ ξαίνειν καὶ μυρία ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀνήνυτα πονοῦντα δρᾶν, οὐ ῥάδιον οὐτ' εἰπεῖν οὐτ' εἰπόντα ἀποτελεῖν. d

ΚΛ. Τί δὴ τοῦτο, ὦ ξένε, ἐπιχειρῶν λέγειν ἔοικας σφόδρα ἀποκνεῖν;

ΑΘ. Ἀκούοιτ' ἂν, ἵνα μὴ πολλὴ διατριβὴ γίγνηται περὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μάτην. πᾶν μὲν γάρ, ὅτιπερ ἂν τάξεως καὶ νόμου 5 μετέχον ἐν πόλει γίγνηται, πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζεται, τῶν δὲ ἀτάκτων ἢ τῶν κακῶς ταχθέντων λύει τὰ πολλὰ τῶν εὐτεταγμένων ἄλλα ἕτερα. οὐδ' δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν περὶ



ὁ λεγόμενον. ὑμῖν γάρ, ὦ Κλεινία καὶ Μέγилле, τὰ μὲν περὶ οὓς ἄνδρας συσσίτια καλῶς ἅμα καί, ὅπερ εἶπον, θαυμαστῶς ἀθέστηκεν ἐκ θείας τινὸς ἀνάγκης, τὸ δὲ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ὑδαμῶς ὀρθῶς ἀνομοθέτητον μεθεῖται καὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἵκται τὸ τῆς συσσιτίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἀλλ' ὁ καὶ ἄλλως γένος ἡμῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαθραιότερον μᾶλλον καὶ ἐπιλοπώτερον ἔφυ, τὸ θῆλυ, διὰ τὸ ἀσθενές, οὐκ ὀρθῶς τοῦτο ἴξαντος τοῦ νομοθέτου δύστακτον ὃν ἀφείθη. διὰ δὲ τούτου μεθειμένου πολλὰ ὑμῖν παρέρρει, πολὺ ἄμεινον ἂν ἔχοντα, εἰ ὁμῶν ἔτυχεν, ἢ τὰ νῦν. οὐ γὰρ ἡμισυ μόνον ἐστίν, ὡς ὄξειεν ἂν, τὸ περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἀκοσμήτως περιορώμενον, σω δὲ ἢ θήλεια ἡμῖν φύσις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν χείρων τῆς ὧν ἀρρένων, τοσοῦτῳ διαφέρει πρὸς τὸ πλεόν ἢ διπλάσιον ἵναι. τοῦτ' οὖν ἐπαναλαβεῖν καὶ ἐπανορθώσασθαι καὶ πάντα συντάξασθαι κοινῇ γυναιξί τε καὶ ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτηδεύματα βέλτιον πρὸς πόλεως εὐδαιμονίαν. νῦν δὲ οὕτως ἦκται τὸ ὧν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὐδαμῶς εἰς τοῦτο εὐτυχῶς, ὥστε οὐδὲ μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν ἄλλοις γ' ἐστὶν τόποις καὶ πόλεσιν οὖν ἔχοντος, ὅπου μηδὲ συσσίτια ὑπάρχει τὸ παράπαν εδογμένα κατὰ πόλιν εἶναι. πόθεν δὴ τίς γε ἔργῳ μὴ καταελάστως ἐπιχειρήσει γυναῖκας προσβιάζεσθαι τὴν σίτων καὶ ποτῶν ἀνάλωσιν φανεράν θεωρεῖσθαι; τούτου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι χαλεπώτερον ἂν ὑπομείνειεν τοῦτο τὸ γένος. ἰθισμένον γὰρ δεδυκὸς καὶ σκοτεινὸν ζῆν, ἀγόμενον δ' εἰς ἰσῶς βία πᾶσαν ἀντίτασιν ἀντιτεῖνον, πολὺ κρατήσεται τοῦ νομοθέτου. τοῦτ' οὖν ἄλλοθι μὲν, ὅπερ εἶπον, οὐδ' ἂν τὸν νόγον ὑπομείνειε τὸν ὀρθὸν ῥηθέντα ἄνευ πάσης βοῆς, ἐνθάδε ἐἴσως ἂν. εἰ δὴ δοκεῖ λόγου γ' ἔνεκα μὴ ἀτυχῆ τὸν περὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς πολιτείας γενέσθαι λόγον, ἐθέλω λέγειν ὡς ἄγαθόν ἐστι καὶ πρέπον, εἰ καὶ σφῶν συνδοκεῖ ἀκούειν, εἰ ἐμὴ, εἶαν.

ΚΛ. Ἄλλ', ὦ ξένε, θαυμαστῶς τό γε ἀκοῦσαι νῶν πάντως τοῦ συνδοκεῖ.

ΑΘ. Ἀκούωμεν δὴ. θαυμάσητε δὲ μηδὲν εἶαν ὑμῖν ἄνω-  
γνόν ποθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν δόξω. σχολῆς γὰρ ἀπολαύομεν καὶ οὐδὲν  
μᾶς ἐστὶ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τὸ μὴ πάντῃ πάντως σκοπεῖν τὰ  
περὶ τοὺς νόμους.

ΚΛ. Ὁρθῶς εἶρηκας.

ΑΘ. Πάλιν τοίνυν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἐπαναχωρήσωμεν

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καὶ τοῦναντίον ἀποβαίνει κακῶς ἀχθεῖσιν· ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐδωδὴ μὲν καὶ πόσις εὐθὺς γενομένοις, ἣν πέρι ἅπασαν πᾶν ζῶον ἔμφυτον ἔρωτα ἔχον, μεστὸν οἴστρου τέ ἐστὶν καὶ ἀνηκουστίας τοῦ λέγοντος ἄλλο τι δεῖν πράττειν πλὴν τὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τὰς περὶ ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἀποπληροῦντα, λύπης τῆς ἀπάσης ἀεὶ δεῖν σφᾶς ἀπαλλάττειν· τρίτη δὲ ἡμῖν καὶ μεγίστη χρεία καὶ ἔρως ὀξύτατος ὕστατος μὲν ὀρμᾶται, διαπυρωτάτους δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μανίαις ἀπεργάζεται πάντως, ὁ περὶ τὴν τοῦ γένους σπορὰν ὕβρει πλείστη καόμενος. ἃ δὴ δεῖ τρία νοσήματα, τρέποντα εἰς τὸ βέλτιστον παρὰ τὸ λεγόμενον ἡδιστον, τρισὶ μὲν τοῖς μεγίστοις πειρᾶσθαι κατέχειν, φόβῳ καὶ νόμῳ καὶ τῷ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ, προσχρωμένους μέντοι Μούσαις τε καὶ ἀγωνίοισι θεοῖς, σβεννύναι τὴν αὔξην τε καὶ ἐπιρροήν.

Παίδων δὲ δὴ γένεσιν μετὰ τοὺς γάμους θῶμεν, καὶ μετὰ γένεσιν τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν· καὶ τάχ' ἂν οὕτω προϊόντων τῶν λόγων ὁ τε νόμος ἡμῖν ἕκαστος περαίνοιτο ὡς τοῦμπροσθεν ἐπὶ συσσίτια ἡνίκα ἀφικόμεθα—τὰς τοιαύτας κοινωνίας εἴτε ἄρα γυναικῶν εἴτε ἀνδρῶν δεῖ μόνων γίγνεσθαι, προσμείξαντες αὐτοῖς ἐγγύθεν ἴσως μᾶλλον κατοψόμεθα—τά τε ἐπίμπροσθεν αὐτῶν, ἔτι νῦν ὄντα ἀνομοθέτητα, τάξαντες αὐτὰ ἐπίμπροσθεν ποιησόμεθα; καὶ ὅπερ ἐρρήθη νυνδὴ, κατοψόμεθά τε αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστερον, μᾶλλον τε τοὺς προσήκοντας αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέποντας νόμους ἂν θείημεν.

ΚΛ. Ὁρθότατα λέγεις.

ΑΘ. Φυλάξωμεν τοίνυν τῇ μνήμῃ τὰ νυνδὴ λεχθέντα· ἴσως γὰρ χρείαν ποτ' αὐτῶν πάντων ἔξομεν.

ΚΛ. Τὰ ποῖα δὴ διακελεύη;

ΑΘ. Ἄ τοῖς τρισὶ διωριζόμεθα ῥήμασι· βρῶσιν μὲν ἐλέγομένον που, καὶ δεύτερον πόσιν, καὶ ἀφροδισίων δέ τινα διαπτόησιν τρίτον.

ΚΛ. Πάντως, ὦ ξένε, μεμνησόμεθά που <ῶν> τὰ νῦν διακελεύη.

ΑΘ. Καλῶς. ἔλθωμεν δ' ἐπὶ τὰ νυμφικά, διδάξοντές τε αὐτοὺς πῶς χρὴ καὶ τίνα τρόπον τοὺς παῖδας ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰ ἄρα μὴ πείθωμεν, ἀπειλήσοντές τισιν νόμοις.

ΚΛ. Πῶς;

ΑΘ. Νύμφην χρὴ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ νυμφίον ὡς ὅτι καλ-

λίστους καὶ ἀρίστους εἰς δύναμιν ἀποδειξομένους παῖδας τῆ  
 πόλει. πάντες δ' ἄνθρωποι κοινωνοὶ πάσης πράξεως, ἥνικα e  
 μὲν ἂν προσέχωσιν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῆ πράξει τὸν νοῦν, πάντα  
 καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἀπεργάζονται, μὴ προσέχοντες δὲ ἢ μὴ  
 ἔχοντες νοῦν, τὰναντία. προσεχέτω δὴ καὶ ὁ νυμφίος τῆ τε  
 νύμφῃ καὶ τῆ παιδοποιίᾳ τὸν νοῦν, κατὰ ταῦτὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ 5  
 νύμφη, τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον διαφερόντως ὃν ἂν μήπω παῖδες  
 αὐτοῖς ὦσιν γεγονότες. ἐπίσκοποι δ' ἔστωσαν τούτων ἄς 784  
 εἰλόμεθα γυναῖκες, πλείους εἴτ' ἐλάττους, τοῖς ἄρχουσιν  
 ὁπόσας ἂν δοκῆ προστάττειν τε καὶ ὁπόταν, πρὸς τὸ τῆς  
 Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν ἐκάστης ἡμέρας συλλεγόμεναι μέχρι τρίτου  
 μέρους ὥρας, οἱ δὴ συλληθεῖσαι διαγγελλόντων ἀλλήλαις 5  
 εἴ τίς τινα ὄρα πρὸς ἄλλ' ἄττα βλέποντα ἄνδρα ἢ καὶ γυναῖκα  
 τῶν παιδοποιουμένων ἢ πρὸς τὰ τεταγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς  
 γάμοις θυσιῶν τε καὶ ἱερῶν γενομένων. ἡ δὲ παιδοποιία b  
 καὶ φυλακὴ τῶν παιδοποιουμένων δεκέτις ἔστω; μὴ πλείω δὲ  
 χρόνον, ὅταν εὖροια ἢ τῆς γενέσεως· ἂν δὲ ἄγονοί τινες  
 εἰς τοῦτον γίγνωνται τὸν χρόνον, μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ  
 ἀρχουσῶν γυναικῶν διαζεύγνυσθαι κοινῇ βουλευομένους· εἰς 5  
 τὰ πρόσφορα ἑκατέροις. ἔαν δ' ἀμφισβήτησις τις γίγνηται  
 περὶ τῶν ἑκατέροις πρεπόντων καὶ προσφόρων, δέκα τῶν  
 νομοφυλάκων ἐλομένους, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἱ δὲ τάξωσι, c  
 τούτοις ἐμμένειν. εἰσιοῦσαι δ' εἰς τὰς οἰκίας τῶν νέων αἰ  
 γυναῖκες, τὰ μὲν νουθετοῦσαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπειλοῦσαι,  
 παυόντων αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ ἀμαθίας· ἔαν δ' ἀδυ-  
 νατῶσι, πρὸς τοὺς νομοφύλακας ἰοῦσαι φραζόντων, οἱ δ' 5  
 εἰργόντων. ἂν δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνοί πως ἀδυνατήσωσι, πρὸς τὸ  
 δημόσιον ἀποφηνάντων, ἀναγράψαντές τε καὶ ὁμόσαντες  
 ἢ μὴν ἀδυνατεῖν τὸν καὶ τὸν βελτίω ποιεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἀναγραφείς d  
 ἄτιμος ἔστω, μὴ ἔλῶν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ τοὺς ἐγγράψαντας,  
 τῶνδε· μήτε γὰρ εἰς γάμους ἴτω μήτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων  
 ἐπιτελειώσεις, ἂν δὲ ἴῃ, πληγαῖς ὁ βουλευθεὶς ἀθῶος αὐτὸν  
 κολαζέτω. τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ γυναικὸς ἔστω νόμιμα· τῶν 5  
 ἐξόδων γὰρ τῶν γυναικείων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ τῶν εἰς τοὺς  
 γάμους καὶ γενέθλια <τῶν> παίδων φοιτήσεων μὴ μετεχέτω,  
 ἔαν ἀκοσμοῦσα ὡσαύτως ἀναγραφῇ καὶ μὴ ἔλη τὴν δίκην. e  
 ὅταν δὲ δὴ παῖδας γεννήσωνται κατὰ νόμους, ἔαν ἀλλοτρία  
 τις περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κοινωνῇ γυναικὶ ἢ γυνὴ ἀνδρί, ἔαν μὲν  
 παιδοποιούμενοις ἔτι, τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπιζήμια αὐτοῖς ἔστω

5 καθάπερ τοῖς ἔτι γεννωμένοις εἴρηται· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ  
 μὲν σωφρονῶν καὶ σωφρονοῦσα εἰς τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔστω πάντα  
 εὐδόκιμος, ὁ δὲ τοῦναντίον ἐναντίως τιμάσθω, μᾶλλον δὲ  
 ἀτιμαζέσθω. καὶ μετρίαζόντων μὲν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν  
 785 πλειόνων ἀνομοθέτητα σιγῇ κείσθω, ἀκοσμοῦντων δὲ  
 νομοθετηθέντα ταύτη πραττέσθω κατὰ τοὺς τότε τεθέντας  
 νόμους. βίου μὲν ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντὸς ἐκάστοις ὁ πρῶτος  
 ἐνιαυτός· ὃν γεγράφθαι χρεὼν ἐν ἱεροῖσι πατρώοις ζωῆς  
 5 ἀρχῇ. κόρω καὶ κόρη παραγεγράφθω δ' ἐν τοίχῳ λελευ-  
 κωμένῳ ἐν πάσῃ φρατρία τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀρχόντων τῶν  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔτεσιν ἀριθμουμένων· τῆς δὲ φρατρίας αἰεὶ τοὺς  
 b ζῶντας μὲν γεγράφθαι πλησίον, τοὺς δ' ὑπεκχωροῦντας  
 τοῦ βίου ἐξαλείφειν. γάμου δὲ ὄρον εἶναι κόρη μὲν  
 ἀπὸ ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν εἰς εἴκοσι, τὸν μακρότατον χρόνον  
 ἀφωρισμένον, κόρω δὲ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα μέχρι τῶν πέντε καὶ  
 5 τριάκοντα· εἰς δὲ ἀρχὰς γυναικὶ μὲν τετταράκοντα, ἀνδρὶ δὲ  
 τριάκοντα ἔτη· πρὸς πόλεμον δὲ ἀνδρὶ μὲν εἴκοσι μέχρι τῶν  
 ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν· γυναικὶ δέ, ἣν ἂν δοκῇ χρεῖαν δεῖν χρῆσθαι  
 πρὸς τὰ πολεμικά, ἐπειδὴν παῖδας γεννήσῃ, τὸ δυνατόν καὶ  
 πρέπον ἐκάσταις προστάττειν μέχρι τῶν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν.

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# NOTES

## BOOK I

The *Dramatis Personae*. Lacedæmon and Crete were famous for their codes. Hence the appropriateness of the nationality of the two inferior members of the committee. The Athenian philosopher who propounds a new code must not be supposed to disregard what had already been done in that line. Besides, Doric institutions, having more of positive enactment, and greater interference with the liberty of the subject, present, to Plato's view, a better starting-point, for a consideration of the whole matter, than would those of his own country. 624 a

**624 a 1.** εἴληφε τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν νόμων διαθέσεως, "has the credit of your legal arrangements." Cp. *Rep.* 599 e σὲ δὲ τίς αἰτιᾶται πόλις νομοθέτην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι;

**a 3.** ὡς γε τὸ δικαιότατον εἰπεῖν, "most decidedly."

**a 4.** παρὰ μὲν ἡμῖν Ζεὺς, . . . Ἀπόλλωνα: this sentence is typical of many in the *Laws*. A gentle anacoluthon is brought in to heighten the effect of variety. Two strands, so to speak, of the thread are intact, the third is broken. We shall often find a more violent rupture. For an excellent characterization of the style of the *Laws* cp. Apelt, "Zu Platos Gesetzen," Beigabe zur *Jahresb. ii. d. Gymn. C.-A. zu Jena*, 1907, pp. 1 ff.

αὐτῶν  
μὴ οὐκ;  
like μη;  
expectations  
ans.

**a 7.** καθ' Ὁμηρον: τ 179. Cp. *Minos* 319 c 5 ff.—For ὡς with an absolute construction after a *verbum declarandi* cp. below 626 e 4, 636 d 1, 644 b 6 and *Rep.* 470 e καὶ διανοεῖσθαι ὡς διαλλαγησομένων καὶ οὐκ ἀεὶ πολεμησόντων. Lobeck, on *Soph. Aj.* 281, traces the genesis of this not uncommon anacoluthon from such a construction as *Laws* 964 a διανοοῦ ὡς ἐρῶν.

**b 2.** φήμη is a solemn word (cp. 664 d 4)—properly used of the utterance of a god.

**b 5.** ἀκούετε: for the tense cp. *Gorg.* 503 c, and γ 193 Ἀτρείδην



δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκούετε νόσφιν ἔόντες, ὡς τ' ἦλθ'. We use the (habitual) present tense of the verbs *read*, *to be told*, *learn*, *notice*, and *find* in the same way.

**625 a 3.** For the superfluous αὐτόν cp. *Gorg.* 482 d 2, *Tim.* 28 a 8. (Riddell, *Digest* § 223.)

**a 5.** ἐν τοιούτοις ἦθεσι νομικοῖς: τοιούτοις does not, of course, qualify νομικοῖς as our *such* in the sense of *so* might, nor is νομικοῖς, as Stallbaum says, epexegetic of τοιούτοις; but the two words ἦθεσι νομικοῖς go closely together, and τοιούτοις, which qualifies them both, gets from its context a complimentary shade of meaning — “among legal institutions (lit. “in law-bred habits”) of so distinguished an origin” (or “character”). Cf. 751 c 9 τεθράφθαι ἐν ἦθεσι νόμων εὖ πεπαιδευμένους.

**a 6.** προσδοκῶ οὐκ ἂν ἀηδῶς . . . ποιήσασθαι, “I fancy you would not find law and government an unpleasant subject of consideration now, supposing we discoursed to each other about it as we walk.” There is no need for the ἡμᾶς which L and O insert after ἀηδῶς. The only suggestion that the Athenian would bear a part in the discussion is made modestly by the word ἀκούοντας. The exceptional advantages enjoyed by the Cretan and the Spartan in the matter of law are urged as a reason why they would enjoy a talk about it: if ἡμᾶς stood as the subject of διατριβὴν ποιήσασθαι, it would be a suggestion that the Athenian too was an authority on the subject. This he does not make.

**b 1.** ποιήσεσθαι MSS., ποιήσασθαι Schanz. — πάντως δ', “there is no doubt that . . .” Cp. *Symp.* 173 b 6.

**b 2.** ὡς ἀκούομεν, “if my information is correct.”

**b 3.** ὡς εἰκός, “we are sure to find.”—πνίγους ὄντος τὰ νῦν, “*ut par est in hoc aestu*” Stallbaum.

**b 6.** οὕτω μετὰ ῥαστώνης: cp. ἀπλῶς οὕτως 633 c 9, οὕτω πίνοντας πρὸς ἡδονήν *Symp.* 176 e.

**c 3.** ὀρθῶς λέγεις, “a good suggestion!”

**c 3–6.** The division between the persons of the dialogue given here is that of the MSS. Schanz and others have made various alterations in it, for the worse, I think.

**c 6.** ταῦτ' εἶη, “be it so.” Cp. *Rep.* 349 c 10 ἔστι ταῦτα.—κατὰ τί; cp. Aesch. *P.V.* 226 ὁ δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾶτ', αἰτίαν καθ' ἣντινα αἰκίζεταιί με, τοῦτο δὲ σαφηνιῶ, *Gorg.* 482 d καὶ ἔγωγε κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἄγαμαι Πῶλον, ὅτι σοι συνεχώρησε τὸ ἀδικεῖν αἰσχίον εἶναι τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι.

**c 7.** τὴν τῶν ὄπλων ἔξιν: not “the practice of carrying arms,” but, as the scholiast says, ἀπλῶς ὄπλισιν, “your accoutrement,”

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excellence of a state's institutions is their suitability for ensuring victory in war over other states." Cp. ὄρον θέμενος 739 d.

c 4. The scholiast says this reply is quite *Laconic* in style. θεῖος is a favourite Spartan epithet of praise; only it should, in strict dialect, be σείος.

c 6—d 2. With this description of life as a *fight* we may compare H. G. Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, p. 218, "Human nature is against human nature. For human nature is in a perpetual conflict; it is the Ishmael of the universe, against everything, and with everything against it; and within, no more and no less than a perpetual battleground of passion, desire, cowardice, indolence and goodwill." It will be observed that Plato insists, as he develops this idea, that the *narrower* the field of conflict, the nobler the characteristics which are required to bring the fight to the right conclusion.

d 1. Ast takes αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτόν as parallel to the two previous datives followed by πρὸς c. acc., i.e. governed by ταῦτὸν ὀρθόν ἐστὶ understood; but it seems better, with Stallbaum, to take αὐτῷ as *dat. agentis* with διανοητέον. We are thus brought to the self-conscious standpoint.

d 2. ALO have ἢ πῶς ἔτι λέγωμεν; all modern editors substitute the λέγωμεν of Eus. and A<sup>2</sup> and Vat. 1029 for λέγωμεν. Herm. joins ἢ πῶς; to the previous sentence, and proceeds τί λέγωμεν;

d 4. τῆς θεοῦ . . . ἐπονομάζεσθαι: for this attraction of what, in a simpler form of expression, would be the object of the dependent infin. into the case governed by the word on which the infin. depends, St. quotes many parallels: e.g. *Gorg.* 513 e ἐπιχειρητέον ἐστὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύειν. Other cases are *Rep.* 416 a ἐπιχειρήσαι τοῖς προβάτοις κακουργεῖν, *Laws* 700 c 1 τὸ δὲ κῦρος τούτων γνῶναί τε καὶ ἅμα γνόντα δικάσαι: the infin. thus becomes epexegetical.

d 8. Ast and Schanz follow the "apographum Vossianum" in inserting καὶ before ἐκάστους, and Stallbaum approves, though he does not (in his 1859 edition) print the καὶ. Burnet does not accept the καὶ but puts a comma after τε. The reading with the καὶ is easier. The speaker simply re-enumerates the three contests mentioned above—between communities, between individuals, and between our two selves, so to speak. I would, however, follow Burnet, because I think that the author here intends to direct special attention to his following subject, i.e. the contest between the worse and the better self, and, to lead up to that, divides all

contests into *two* classes : (1) those fought in public (*δημοσίᾳ*) and (2) those fought in the privacy of a man's own consciousness. It is hard to see how the *καὶ* before *ἐκάστους* could drop out, because, at first sight, it gives such a satisfactory sense. The same reason makes it easy to believe that somebody inserted it.

**e 2.** *κάνταῦθα*, "and in that very war." Cl. has just said that life is a fight. (This is better, I think, than "and just that victory," i.e. "the victory over oneself.")

**e 4.** *ταῦτα* : i.e. this talking about victory and defeat.—For the construction cp. above on 624 a 7.

**e 6.** *ἀναστρέψωμεν*, i.e. "let us go backwards from the individual to the state."

**627 a 9.** *τῇ τοιαύτῃ νίκῃ* : cp. Dinarclus iii. 9 *ὑμεῖς μὲν παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπαινείσθε ταῖς γεγενημέναις ζητήσεσιν*.

**b 1.** The *τὸ* (before *μὲν τοίνυν*) goes with the *εἰ* clause.—The paradoxical nature of the idea of *self-conquest*, where both combatants are *self*—which Plato forbears to notice here (cp. also c 8)—he has pointed out at *Rep.* 430 e f. (cp. also *Gorg.* 489 c). He is more concerned here to hint at a more serious error in popular thought, i.e. that of supposing that the really *superior* could *ever* become in any sense *inferior*.

**b 5.** *δουλούμενοι* : conative.

**c 1.** *ἄτοπον* : the scholiast points out that the apparent absurdity springs from the twofold sense of the word *κρείττον*, which is a name not only for *τὸ βέλτιον* but also for *τὸ ἐπικρατέστερον*.

**c 3.** *ἔχε δὴ* : see on 639 d 2.

**c 8.** *οὐ πρόπον (ἡμῖν)*, "not our business."

**c 9.** *θηρεύειν* : used in the same sense as *διώκειν* at *Rep.* 454 a *κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα διώκειν τοῦ λεχθέντος τὴν ἐναντίωσιν*. Cp. also the use of *ἰχνεύειν* at 654 e and *Parm.* 128 c,—"to hunt after a notion." At *Gorg.* 489 b Plato uses the fuller phrase *ὀνόματα θηρεύειν* (*aucupari verba*), and Boeckh (quite unnecessarily) proposed to read here *ἐν τούτῳ ὀνόματα θηρεύειν*. Badham proposes to take *ὅτι* as the neut. of *ὅστις*, i.e. ("it is not our business to inquire) *wherein* lies the victory or the defeat" (which would be said to put the worse above the better, or *vice versa*). But this is no criticism of the ordinary way of speaking, and deprecation of *verbal* criticism is what the context demands.

**d 1 ff.** "The object of our present examination of ordinary language is not to find what is proper or improper as an expression, but to find what is naturally right or wrong as law." I think

σκοπούμεθα πρὸς should be taken closely together, like σκοπεῖσθαι εἰς in Eur. *Med.* 1166, in the sense of *examine*. Cp. below, 645 d πρὸς τί δὲ σκοπούμενος αὐτὸ ἐπανερωτᾶς; and *Rep.* 589 c πρὸς τε γὰρ ἡδονὴν καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καὶ ὠφέλειαν σκοποῦμένῳ . . .

d 4. φύσει may be translated by putting the adj. "essential" with the nouns "rightness and wrongness."

d 6. ὡς γε ἐμοὶ συνδοκεῖν: *Gorg.* 482 d ὡς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν, *Meno* 81 a ἐμοί γε δοκεῖν, *Euthyd.* 273 a ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν; St. cps. *Ar. Plut.* 736 ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ.

d 8. τόδε: the Athenian's next point is that the dissentients would not, in a civilized community, be left to themselves. There are tribunals which would set bounds to the fighting instinct. Thus he leads his audience round to the consideration that there are other things for laws to do besides getting men into fighting order. See 628 a 6. We must bear it in mind that the investigation of the Cretan and Spartan institutions here begun is not, as some have thought, meant to be the main business of the book, even at starting. From the first the author intended the deficiencies of the two systems to serve as an *introduction* to the *philosophy of law* and a *philosophical code*.

d 11 ff. There are two difficulties in this speech: (1) ἐκόντας in e 3, and (2) τρίτον πρὸς ἀρετήν. (Cp. 739 a f. τὴν ἀρίστην πολιτείαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην . . . εἰπόντες ἀρετῇ πρώτην πολιτείαν καὶ δευτέραν καὶ τρίτην.) The latter expression seems at first sight to mean the third in excellence, but it is evident that both speaker and hearers at once see that the third kind of judge would be far more useful than either of the others. Jowett translates "a third excellent judge," apparently taking πρὸς ἀρετήν as if it were a qualification of δικαστήν. The question may even be asked, could πρὸς ἀρετήν possibly mean *par excellence*? I think it is best to suppose that the speaker, taking it for granted that everyone would see that his second judge was better than his first, uses τρίτος in the sense of *third in an ascending scale*. Three was held by the Greeks to be a lucky number (cp. *Soph. O.C.* 8, *O.T.* 581, *Aesch. Eum.* 759, *Soph. fragm.* 389 with Nauck's note, *Pind. Isth.* vi. 10), and τρίτος had none of the associations of our *third-rate*. Hence τρίτος πρὸς ἀρετήν here means *more excellent than either of the other two*. (Cp. 717 c 2 ff.)

The former difficulty is a greater one. Wherein, if we read ἐκόντας, lies the superiority of the third judge? Ritter says no satisfactory answer can be found to this question, and reads

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lawgiver sometimes looks towards peace, there is a sense in which he may be said to be looking towards a war in which his state may be involved: but it is civil, not foreign war, and it is with a view of *avoiding* it, not of making one side efficient fighters, that he makes his laws. For the distinction between *στάσις* and *πόλεμος* cp. *Rep.* 470 b ff. The phrases *ὁ τὴν πόλιν συναρμόττων* and *τὸν βίον αὐτῆς κοσμεῖν* throw light on Plato's views as to the function of the lawgiver. The former contains the same metaphor as is used by St. Paul at Col. 2. 19 of the Christian community: *τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον αὖξει τὴν αὖξησιν τοῦ θεοῦ*. For the latter cp. Eur. *Cycl.* 339 where the Cyclops, an enemy to law, speaks of lawgivers as *ποικίλλοντες ἀνθρώπων βίον*.

**b 6.** *εἰρήνην στάσεως*: Plato allows himself to use the same gen. with *εἰρήνη* at *Rep.* 329 c *παντάπασι γὰρ τῶν γε τοιούτων ἐν τῷ γήρα πολλὴ εἰρήνη γίγνεται καὶ ἐλευθερία*. In our passage the expression is made less strained by the nearness of *ἀπαλλάττεσθαι* used of the same *στάσις*, and in the latter passage by the addition of *ἐλευθερία* to *εἰρήνη*. (Ast wants to read *ἐκ τῆς στάσεως*, and Stallbaum, reproving Ast, tells us that the gen. goes with *δέξαιτο μάλλον*, and is equal to *ἢ στάσιν*.) It seems strange to us that the definite *ἑτέρων* should precede the indefinite *ποτέρων*; the English form would be: "that, after the victory of one or the other party, the other should be put to death." All through the speech the gen. abs. clauses contain, as Stallbaum says, the *primaria notio*. For *ποτέρων* cp. 673 b 7, 914 d, *Charm.* 171 b, *Phil.* 20 e, *Rep.* 499 c, 509 a, *Theaet.* 145 a, *Soph.* 252 a.

**b 9.** Though long inclined with Schanz to bracket *ἀνάγκην εἶναι*—indeed I suspected the words before I knew that he did—I have now decided to follow Burnet in keeping them. It must be remembered that the infinitive depends on *δέξαιτ' ἄν*. The question resolves itself into: "under which of the two circumstances would you prefer to be *forced to turn your attention* to a foreign foe?" (*ἀνάγκην εἶναι* is therefore the equivalent of "when so compelled.")

**c 6.** *τοῦ ἀρίστου ἔνεκα*: here is slipped in, as if it were a commonplace, the root of Plato's philosophy of law; it is not, in his eyes, so much a means of repressing evil, as a means of *producing good*.

**c 10.** *ἀπευκτὸν δὲ τὸ δεηθῆναι τούτων*: parenthetical, "these are things which we should pray to be spared"; lit. "the needing them is to be deprecated."

**d 1.** *οὐκ ἦν κτλ.*: the past tense contains a reference to their

previous conversation on the subject: "the victory which we were talking about comes under the head of things necessary, not of things that are best:"—a variety of the so-called "philosophic imperfect."

**d 2 ff.** ὅμοιον ὡς εἰ . . . ὡσαύτως δέ: the simile is not drawn out in regular form, but the meaning all through is perfectly clear. It is implied, but not said, that it is a mistake to be so deeply interested in the cure of a malady as to forget that it is better not to have had a malady to cure. We shall meet the same medical metaphor in another connexion below at 646 c.

**d 6.** In πολιτικὸς ὀρθῶς, followed by νομοθέτης ἀκριβής, we see again the characteristic preference for *variety* of expression. The style of the *Laws* is loose, and at times almost dreamy, but the thought is definite and clear.—ἀκριβής is used of a νομοθέτης as at *Rep.* 342 d of an ἴατρος—*perfect (in his art)*.

**d 7.** ἀποβλέπων is epxegetic of διανοούμενος οὕτω.

**e 1.** τῶν πολεμικῶν ἔνεκα τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης: thus the Athenian has brought round the argument to a condemnation of Cleinias's interpretation of the root notion of the Dorian institutions. Cp. below 803 d 3 ff.

**e 3.** θαυμάζω . . . εἰ . . . μή, "I am much mistaken if (they have) not." For the same idiom in a past tense cp. Aristoph. *Pax* 1292 ἦ γὰρ ἐγὼ θαύμαζον ἀκούων εἰ σὺ μὴ εἴης ἀνδρὸς βουλομάχου καὶ κλαυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱός. For θαυμάζω εἰ in the sense of *I am surprised if* cp. *Prot.* 349 c οὐ γὰρ ἂν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ τότε ἀποπειρώμενός μου ταῦτά πως ἔλεγες.

**629 a 1.** τάχ' ἂν ἴσως, "that is quite likely."—Hermann, the Zürich edition, Schanz and Burnet adopt Bekker's emendation of the MS. αὐτοὺς to αὐτοῖς. Stallbaum stands by the MS. reading. "Sed libri omnes mordicus tenent accusativum. Atque is sane defensionem utcunque paratam habet. Pendet enim non ex verbo proximo, sed potius ex remotiore ἀνερωτᾶν." I do not agree with St.'s interpretation, but I think that the MS. reading does admit of a '*defensio*.' I take the connexion of ideas to be this: "You say *fighting* was the one thing the old legislation had in view: I am not surprised you should think so; but *we* on our part (αὐτούς) must not at any point (οὐδέν) be too keen *fighters*;" i.e. "do not let us insist on *our* view, but try by discussion to elicit the *true* view." (To those who still prefer αὐτοῖς I would suggest taking it as *neuter*, the following ἐκείνων being the first reference to the *authors* of the νόμιμα.)

**a 2.** ὡς μάλιστα . . . σπουδαζόντων, "in the name of our



common devotion to the subject"—“not forgetting that *they* cared about it just as much as *we* do.” ταῦτα is “laws and government.”

**a 3.** καί μ. τ. λόγω συνακολουθήσατε, “help me, please, to conduct the argument.”

**a 4.** προστησώμεθα γούν, “I’m sure you won’t mind if I appeal to Tyrtaeus.” προΐστασθαι means “to put in a position of authority over us. Schol. “τούτον οὖν ἐν τῷ λόγῳ παρέλαβεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ξένος, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν πολέμου σύμβουλον γεγονότα.”

**a 6.** ταῦτα here (like the τούτων seven lines higher up) refers to *war*, not to *law*.—μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων: “ἀνθρώπων enim superlativis ita apponitur ut eorum significationem augeat” Ast, who quotes *Theaet.* 148 b ἀριστά γ’ ἀνθρώπων, *Hipp. Mai.* 285 c ἀκριβέστατα ἀνθρώπων, and many other examples from Plato and other authors. Cp. below 637 a 1 κάλλιστ’ ἀνθρώπων.

**b 1.** οὔτ’ . . . οὔτ’ MSS., οὐδ’ . . . οὐδ’ Boeckh (following Tyrtaeus).

**b 2.** εἰπὼν σχεδὸν ἅπαντα, “and he goes pretty well through the list of (worldly) advantages.” Cp. the fragment of Tyrtaeus, Bergk, *A.L.* 12.

**b 4.** ὅδε μὲν γὰρ κτλ., “as to Megillus, *he* has them at his fingers’ ends.”

**b 9.** δοκεῖς γ. δ. σοφὸς ἢ εἶ. κ. ἀγαθός, ὅτι . . . ἐγκεκωμίας: at first sight it looks as if διαφερόντως (i.e. T.’s poetical skill) contained the whole ground for the bestowal of the epithets σοφός and ἀγαθός, but a consideration of the whole argument, and more particularly of the comparison in 630 c and e between the heaven-inspired legislator who aims at producing virtue (and whose code is pervaded by one principle), and the hand-to-mouth human legislator who meets special needs by special (repressive) enactments,—this consideration shows, I think, that the words here mean: “your insight and your right feeling are manifest from the high praises you bestow on high virtue in war”; i.e. it was not merely the excellence of T.’s poetry that makes the speaker call him σοφός and ἀγαθός, but the fact that he praises virtue, even though, as he shows in 630 b, he takes a narrow view of virtue.

**d 2.** χαλεπώτατος, “deadliest”; πραότερον, “milder.”

**d 7 ff.** Badham brackets ἐπαινῶν as being an impediment to the construction, while many emendations have been proposed of πρὸς τοὺς ἐκτός (of which the best seems to me the πρὸς τὸν ἐκτός of Baiter and Badham). I would in the text adopt a less extensive emendation than any of them, suggested to me by F.H.D.,—that of transposing πότερον and ποτέρους. The latter

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lated by Ficinus, are missing in all MSS. They are almost necessary for the sense, and the repetition of the word ἀνδρείας might well divert the transcriber's eye, and cause him to omit the words.—ὕγιής is used as in the passage of Simonides quoted at *Prot.* 346 c ὕγιής ἀνὴρ: "sound" in a moral sense, "honest." (See above on a and below on 639 a 7.) So in *Er.* x. 358 c τὸ γὰρ βέβαιον καὶ πιστὸν καὶ ὑγιές, τοῦτο ἐγὼ φημι εἶναι τὴν ἀληθινὴν φιλοσοφίαν.

**b 3.** διαβάντες: used in the sense of taking a firm stand (lit. straddle) as in the passage of Tyrtaeus from which the above quotation comes (11. 21).

**b 4.** Again Eusebius must be held to have preserved the correct reading ἐν ᾧ πολέμῳ (so Winckelmann conjectured), where the MSS. have ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. Clemens, who reads ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, in quoting the passage, saves the sense by omitting φράζει Τύρταιος.

**b 7.** εὖ μάλα ὀλίγων Eus., μάλα ὀλίγων MSS. A matter of rhythm. As Eus. seems often to have been right in this passage when differing from the MSS., I follow Burnet in choosing the former, especially as the addition of εὖ seems to improve the balance of the phrase.—The mention of mercenaries suggests a further difference between Tyrtaeus's ideal and that of Theognis. The mere fighter does not care which side he is on. Theognis's loyal man fights for what he thinks right.

**b 8.** Now that the λόγος we have followed has shown us a higher and a lower excellence—one four times as good as the other, we may say—can we imagine that any "decent" legislator, let alone a divinely-inspired one, would have only the lower in view in framing his laws? (Cp. above 628 e.)—We shall find Plato's common personification of the λόγος lower down at 644 e in the phrase φησιν ὁ λόγος.

**c 2.** τῆδε: i.e. in Crete.

**c 3.** For ἄλλο MSS. Heindorf conjectured ἄλλοσε, comparing *Theaet.* 202 e ἢ οἶει ἄλλοσέποι βλέποντα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν. In spite of Riddell's defence of ἄλλο (*Digest of Pl. Idioms* § 21) I adopt H.'s correction because I believe that in the idiom in which some part of ποιεῖν has to be understood with ἄλλο, there is always a τι with the ἄλλο, and the negative to it is not οὐκ ἄλλο (ποιεῖν) ἢ, but οὐδὲν ἄλλο (ποιεῖν) ἢ. So in a question at *Xen. Mem.* ii. 3. 17 τί γὰρ ἄλλο, ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἢ κινδυνεύεις ἐπιδείξαι; (cp. also *Euthyd.* 287 e). Perhaps the ε of ἄλλοσε was elided, and that may have facilitated the change to ἄλλο.

**c 6.** δικαιοσύνην τελείαν: for the whole of this passage it

is important to compare Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.* v. p. 1129 b 11 ff. especially (at l. 26) αὕτη μὲν οὖν ἡ δικαιοσύνη ἀρετὴ μὲν ἐστὶ, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον, and l. 29 where he quotes Theognis 147: ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνη συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετῇ [ἐνι] (Bergk ὅστιν). Aristotle's definition of δικαιοσύνη as the ἀρετὴ that shows itself in one's dealings with one's neighbour (πρὸς ἕτερον) explains and coincides with Plato's identification of δικαιοσύνη with πιστότης.

**c 7.** κατὰ καιρόν: as κατὰ τρόπον (below 635 d) means "in the right way," so κατὰ καιρόν means "opportunely." Cp. Pind. *Isth.* ii. 32 χεῖρα . . . τὰν Νικόμαχος κατὰ καιρόν νεῖμ' ἀπάσαις ἀνίαις.

**c 8.** δυνάμει τοῦ τιμία εἶναι: a still more complicated verbal phrase depending on δύναμις is to be found at *Phaedo* 99 c τὴν δὲ τοῦ ὧς οἶόν τε βέλτιστα αὐτὰ τεθῆναι δύναμιν οὕτω κείσθαι. Cp. *Rep.* 433 d ἡ τοῦ ἕκαστον ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν δύναμις. Varieties of verbal construction with δύναμις are (1) simpl. inf. *Phil.* 58 d δύναμις ἐρᾶν τε τοῦ ἀληθοῦς καὶ πάντα ἔνεκα τούτου πράττειν, *Rep.* 364 b δύναμις . . . ἀκείσθαι: (2) inf. with τοῦ: *Phil.* 57 e and *Rep.* 533 a and 532 d, ἡ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δύναμις, *Rep.* 328 c ἐν δυνάμει τοῦ ῥαδίως πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ, *Rep.* 507 c τὴν τοῦ ὄραν τε καὶ ὄρασθαι δύναμιν: (3) ὥστε with inf.: *Rep.* 433 b τὴν δύναμιν πάρεσχεν ὥστε ἐγγένεσθαι: (4) πρὸς τό c. inf.: *Polit.* 272 b παρούσης αὐτοῖς οὕτω πολλῆς σχολῆς καὶ δυνάμεως πρὸς τὸ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίοις διὰ λόγων συγγίγνεσθαι, *Laws* 657 b δύναμιν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ διαφθεῖραι τὴν καθιερωθεῖσαν χορείαν.

**d 3.** τοὺς πόρρω νομοθέτας MSS. Fault has been found with this expression (1) because of the occurrence of two cases of the word νομοθέτης in one sentence, and (2) because πόρρω was thought an inadequate expression: "Nam aperte fateor etiam istud πόρρω sic indefinite positum mihi displicere" (Stallbaum, who, like Ficinus, prints the sentence as a question). Ritter would read νομοθεσίας for νομοθέτας. At *Rep.* 620 c the soul of Thersites is discovered πόρρω ἐν ὑστάτοις. Perhaps here and there πόρρω has the sense of our "low down," "out of the way," "beyond the pale." (Ought νομοθέτας perhaps to be rejected?)—For the use of ἀποβάλλομεν cp. below 637 e, where ἀποβάλλω has even a stronger condemnatory force.

**d 4.** οὐχ ἡμεῖς γε κτλ., "no, we don't: it is ourselves we are depreciating: we are quite at sea in imagining . . ."

**d 8.** τὸ δέ, "but," cp. Heindorf on *Theaet.* 157 b. (C. W. E. Miller

*Am. Phil. Ass. Trans.* vols. xxxix. and xl. denies Heindorf's statement—in vain, I think.) For τὸ δέ in a question cp. 886 b 3, 967 a 6 τὸ δὲ δὴ πῶς ἔχον ἂν εἶη; and see E. S. Thompson's note on *Meno* 97 c.

**d 9.** The substitution of τὸ ἀληθές for ἀληθές is like our putting "it is truth" in a similar sentence for "it is true." Cp. 659 b 3 ὡς γε τὸ δίκαιον.

**e 1.** Badham's guess that θείου ἀνδρός, written with contractions as θεῖᾶρ, was first copied θειαρ and then changed to θείας gives us what, in view of the following ἐτίθει, is, both for grammar and sense, indispensable, i.e. a *person*. θείας cannot stand. There is no substantive, with which it would make sense, that could have been left out. Even if, with the scholiast, we supply πολιτείας (which Stephanus prints), or (better) with Gottleber, νομοθεσίας, and grant that it might have been omitted, ἐτίθει still has to go back to Cleinias's last speech but one for a subject. (Cp. also the ἐτίθει and the αὐτόν in 631 a.) Cousin was looking in the right direction when he suggested supplying κεφαλῆς with θείας. Cp. *Meno* 99 d καὶ οἱ Λάκωνες, ὅταν τινὰ ἐγκωμιάζωσιν ἀγαθὸν ἄνδρα, θεῖος ἀνὴρ, φασίν, οὗτος, and *Arist. N. E.* 1145 a 28 ἐπεὶ δὲ σπάνιον καὶ τὸ θεῖον ἄνδρα εἶναι, καθάπερ οἱ Λάκωνες εἰώθασιν προσαγορεύειν, ὅταν ἀγασθῶσι σφόδρα του (σεῖος ἀνὴρ φασιν), οὕτω καὶ ὁ θηριώδης ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις σπάνιος, below 642 d 5 Ἐπιμενίδης . . . ἀνὴρ θεῖος, and 666 d τίς ἂν οὖν πρέποι θείοις ἀνδράσιν;

**e 3.** καὶ κατ' εἶδη ζητεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς νόμους οὐδ' ἄπερ οἱ τῶν νῦν εἶδη προτιθέμενοι ζητοῦσιν: this difficult passage has been variously interpreted as it stands, and variously emended. The first question to decide is whether the εἶδη are classes of *virtue*, or classes of *laws*. Stallbaum held the former view (as did Ast), and he took αὐτῶν as referring to the ἀρετῶν implied in πᾶσαν ἀρετήν. Though this seems impossible, Steinhart's emendation of αὐτῶν to αὐτῆς provides a good construction for this interpretation. And this interpretation would be satisfactory, if the sentence stopped at νόμους. But what have the modern, narrow-minded, hand-to-mouth legislators, who are referred to in the latter half of the sentence, to do with εἶδη ἀρετῆς? The point made against them is that they do not look to ἀρετή at all. In the latter half of the passage the εἶδη must be kinds or classes of *laws*. Inasmuch as αὐτῶν seems to be contrasted with τῶν νῦν, I do not adopt Ast's alteration of αὐτῶν to αὐτὸν. I would, with Schneider, take οὐδ' as οὐ δὲ (I would even suggest that we ought perhaps to read οὐχ

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educational value of law. In thus saying, it must be admitted that he rather reads his own views into the Cretan's statement that what Minos wanted was to make good soldiers, and Cleinias must have been rather surprised (after the manner of M. Jourdain), to find he had been a philosopher after all. The Athenian next asks if he shall show him how he ought to have gone on after such a promising beginning, and thus skilfully gets into the professor's chair without seeming to claim it for himself. This manœuvre is dramatically perfect.

**631 a 1.** τῶν εὖ ζ. : what is implied here is : "and this is the way Minos and Lycurgus must have sought for laws."

**a 2.** σοῦ : Ast is, I think, wrong in writing σου, and taking it as merely possessive with ἐπιχείρησιν : it is best taken as governed by ἄγαμαι. The two constructions that follow are marked off by μέν and δέ, as if οὐκ ἄγαμαι were to follow in the δέ clause : a parallel to the former may be found at Eur. *Iph. in Aul.* 28 οὐκ ἄγαμαι ταῦτ' ἀνδρὸς ἀριστέως, and possibly at *Prot.* 335 d ἔγωγέ σου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἄγαμαι. That (οὐκ) ἄγαμαι might have stood before a ὅτι clause may be seen by *Hipp. Mai.* 291 e ἄγαμαί σου ὅτι μοι δοκεῖς . . . Instead, however, of going on οὐκ ἄγαμαι he varies the phrase, and goes on as if the μέν had stood at the beginning of the τὸ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀρετῆς ἀρχεσθαι clause. The perfectly regular construction of the complex sentence would have been : καὶ σοῦ τὴν μέν ἐπ. ἄγαμαι . . . ὀρθὸν γάρ· ὅτι δὲ . . . οὐκ ἄγαμαι, οὐ γὰρ ὀρθόν.

**a 8.** διελόμενον means "expound," which goes closely with λέγειν.

**b 4.** μάτην, sine causa : cp. *Alc. I.* 113 c 4 ἐμὲ δὲ αἰτία μάτην, *Laws* 715 b καὶ τὰ τούτων δίκαια, ἃ φασιν εἶναι, μάτην εἰρήσθαι.

**b 8.** πόλις κτᾶται MSS. and Eusebius, κτᾶται Theodoret, παρίστασθαι Stobaeus; παρίσταται Badham conjectured, προσκτᾶται Hug. πόλις is out of place here : (1) the point of view is that of the individual members of the community : τοὺς αὐτοῖς χρωμένους b 5 ; (2) it is moreover unnatural to speak of a state as possessing e.g. ἰσχύς εἰς δρόμον ; (3) if πόλις stood it seems more natural that it should not have a τις agreeing with it (Eusebius, in his quotation of the passage, leaves it out). τις, no doubt, was the only subject of δέχεται, and Stobaeus's παρίστασθαι—he fancied the sentence as reported, or dependent—points the way to Badham's παρίσταται, which is palaeographically not unlikely to have been corrupted to πόλις κτᾶται. (IC was read twice, the second time as K.) I would follow Schanz in adopting it. It may be noted that δέχεται is aptly used of gifts which come from

the gods.—For the sense cp. St. Matthew 6. 33 *ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν.*—For *παρίστασθαι* thus used cp. *Laws* 707 a *κακὸν ἐν θαλάσση τριήρεις ὀπλίταις παρεστῶσαι μαχομένοις.*—At 697 b *ἀγαθὰ* are divided into *three* classes: (1) *τὰ περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγαθὰ*, (2) *τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ*, and (3) *τὰ περὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ χρήματα.* Of these divisions the second and third together correspond to *τὰ ἀνθρώπινα* here.

**c 2.** *τὰ μὲν ἐλάττονα*: the same four “worldly goods” are enumerated in Bk. II. 661 a: at *Gorg.* 451 e *ἰσχύς* is left out, while in the well-known *σκόλιον*, to which Socrates there refers, after health, beauty, and honestly-won wealth, comes (as fitting on a social occasion) *ἡβᾶν μετὰ τῶν φίλων* as a fourth. The addition, in the passage in Bk. II., of *μυρία δὲ ἄλλα ἀγαθὰ λέγεται* shows that we are not to lay stress on any particular three or four.

**c 4.** *κινήσεις τῷ σώματι*: a genitival dative of the instrument, going closely with the verbal noun; so below 633 b *ταῖς χερσὶ μάχαις.*—*οὐ τυφλός*: the proverbial blindness of wealth is here spoken of as a malady incident to its possessor.

**c 6.** *ἡ φρόνησις*: for this repetition cp. below 823 c 4 and Heindorf on *Gorg.* 501 a.—For the sense cp. 688 b 2, 963 a 8.

**c 7.** *μετὰ νοῦν* is the reading of the MSS. and of Stobaeus; Eusebius and Theodoret read *μετὰ νοῦ*, which I follow Schanz and Burnet in adopting. Badham, independently, suggested the latter reading, referring to the passage (710 a) where Plato speaks slightly of *τὴν δημῶδη σωφροσύνην* as contrasted with that which is accompanied by *φρόνησις*, or rather is *φρόνησις* as well. At 696 d also *σωφροσύνη ἀνευ πάσης τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς μεμονωμένη* is spoken of as a very poor thing. The stress laid, all through this passage, and elsewhere in the *Laws*, on the importance of the *conjunction* of the virtues is in favour of Eusebius’s reading. (We might almost say Plato holds that one virtue by itself, or at all events the natural tendency to it, needs to be *corrected* by another—e.g. above at 630 b, and below at 831 e, he talks of the danger that the mere *ἀνδρείος* may become a nuisance. In different passages in the *Laws* we are told that two things are necessary to perfection of character: (1) the natural disposition to a particular virtue must be trained in action (791 c *τὸ νικᾶν δείματα ἐπιτήδευμα ἀνδρείας*, 815 e *γεγυμνασμένος πρὸς ἀνδρείαν*, 816 a *ἀγύμναστος γεγονὼς πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν*); (2) one virtue cannot stand alone; it must be helped by others. Above (630 a ff.) the Athenian speaks of *πιστότης* as involving *συμπᾶσα ἀρετή*, and he says we



might call this *τελέα δικαιοσύνη*—"perfect righteousness." In the present passage he uses *δικαιοσύνη* in the narrower sense. All this shows that our present discussion is *practical*, not speculative. The author wants us to have in mind the perfect character, and the way to produce it, rather than a classification of the virtues, or a scientifically exact nomenclature for a treatise on Moral Philosophy.)

631 d 1—632 b 1. *ταῦτα δὲ πάντα κτλ.*, "nature has set all these above the other four, and the lawgiver must put them in the same rank. In the next place he must proclaim to the citizens that his other commands to them have these blessings in view: that of the blessings themselves the human wait upon the divine, and all the divine upon their leader wisdom. (As to the commands I spoke of) he must (*δεῖ*) so dispense honour and disgrace as to watch over (the whole life of the citizen): he must regulate the marriages they make, and his care must next extend to the production and rearing of both sexes, from youth to age. To do this he must carefully and closely observe them in all their intercourse with each other, and notice what gives pain, what gives pleasure, what excites desire and ardent affection. His laws must themselves be the instruments for rightly administering both blame and praise. Moreover, in anger, in fear, in all the troubles that misfortune brings, in the relief from trouble that comes with prosperity, in all the chances of disease or health, war or peace, poverty or wealth, what the lawgiver has to teach and to define is, in each of these various conditions, what is right, and what is wrong."

I have translated this difficult and somewhat loosely jointed passage in full, to show what I take to be the connexion of thought between its different parts. (d 3) *βλέπουσας εἶναι* is equivalent to *βλέπειν* (cp. 963 a 2 *πρὸς γὰρ ἐν ἔφαιμεν δεῖν αἰεὶ πάνθ' ἡμῖν τὰ τῶν νόμων βλέποντ' εἶναι*), and *προστάξεις* is its subject: the dat. *πολίταις* is governed by *προστάξεις*: *αὐτοῖς* (i.e. the citizens) is best taken with *διακελευστέον*: *τούτων* refers (not to *προστάξεις* but) to *ἀγαθά* (from *τούτων δέ* to *βλέπειν* is a sort of parenthesis). If this explanation be adopted it will be seen that there is no force in Badham's contention that these words mean that the legislator is to charge *someone else* (e.g. the magistrate) to make the detailed enactments of which a summary is given from d 6 onwards, and which *the legislator himself is to make*. To obviate this supposed contradiction he reads *πράξεις* for *προστάξεις*. (He does not say how we are to construe *εἶναι*.) Fr. Doering (*ut supra*) makes this supposed contradiction the basis of his view that the

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translated which are helpful. He says, no doubt, the place for the lawgiver's pronouncement (631 d 2) on the relative value of the spiritual and temporal excellences would be one of those προοίμια or prefaces to branches of enactments, of which the *Laws* contain many, and which Plato compares, at the end of the fourth book, to the prelude of a musician, or the conversation of a wise doctor with an educated patient on the subject of his disease and its treatment. The other note is the comparison of the outline of man's life (d 6 ff.), in which the salient points serve as hints for the classification of laws, to 958 c ἀνδρὶ δὴ, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, γεννηθέντι καὶ ἐκτραφέντι καὶ γεννήσαντι καὶ ἐκτρέψαντι τέκνα, καὶ συμμείξαντι συμβόλαια μετρίως, διδόντι τε δίκας εἴ τινα ἡδικήκει καὶ παρ' ἑτέρου ἐκλαβόντι, σὺν τοῖς νόμοις ἐν μοίρᾳ γηράσαντι τελευτῆ γίγνοιτ' ἂν κατὰ φύσιν.)

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα . . . ἐλλείπει: in this passage both sense and construction have been obscured by the idea that it deals only with the way in which money is made and spent. Ast, for instance, says κοινωνίας and διαλύσεις are governed by φυλάττειν, and, as he naturally wants something to connect φυλάττειν with ἐπισκοπεῖν, he proposes to alter καθ' to καὶ: also, both he and Stallbaum understood κοινωνίας to refer to *business partnerships*. This involves them in further difficulties with πᾶσιν τούτοις, and with ἐκούσιν τε καὶ ἄκουσιν. The former they take to be neuter, and add ἐν before πᾶσιν (though St. does not print it). St. says that ἐν πᾶσιν τούτοις "*refertur ad τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τὰ ἀναλώματα civium.*" Many of the difficulties disappear when it is recognized that the passage deals with two distinct subjects, and falls into two divisions at the word τρόπον. The first subject is the regulation of money-making and money-spending; the second the supervision of *fellowships and associations*, a very different matter. The καί after τρόπον connects φυλάττειν with ἐπισκοπεῖν, the genitival dative πᾶσιν τούτοις is masc. (sc. πολίταις), and ἐκούσιν and ἄκουσιν agree with it: with ὁποῖον I think we must supply τρόπον from the preceding sentence. The word has occurred so recently, and would fall in so naturally with καθ' ὁποῖον that the omission is not extraordinary. It is not necessary to press the words ἐκούσιν and ἄκουσιν to the logical conclusion that they apply equally to both the κοινωνίαι and the διαλύσεις. Though it is conceivable that certain associations might claim adherents who did not wish to belong to them, it is naturally the *breaking up* of an association which may be against the will of some of its members. (So

at Soph. *Ant.* 1159 *τύχη γὰρ ὀρθοῖ καὶ τύχη καταρρέπει τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα τὸν τε δυστυχοῦντ' αἰεί* we have to translate the *τε* by *or*, and not to assume the author to mean that Fortune, when raising a man, makes him *both* fortunate and unfortunate.)

**b 6.** Just as *κτήσεις* and *ἀναλώματα* are the direct objects of *φυλάττειν*, so, in the parallel clause, *ἐπισκοπεῖν* governs *κοινωνίας* and *διαλύσεις*; in both cases, however, the direct objects have explanatory adjuncts—in the first *ὄντιν' ἂν γίγνηται τρόπον*, and in the second *καθ' ὁποῖον ἂν ἕκ. πρ. τ. τ. πρὸς ἀλλήλους*.—*ἕκαστον* is emphatic like the *ἕκ.* in *τῆς ἐκάστων διαθέσεως* above.—I cannot help suspecting that *καὶ μὴ* after *δίκαιον* is the addition of a scribe who thought the expression ought to square with *τό τε καλὸν καὶ μὴ* in **b 1**: also that the same scribe added the *τε* after *ἔστιν*, which then became necessary. If I am right in wishing to reject these three words, *οἷς* is a true relative, to which *τῶν τοιούτων* is the antecedent; if not, *οἷς* must be used as a dependent interrogative. I would translate the whole: “and to keep an eye on the associations formed or broken by any of the citizens—may be willingly, may be on compulsion—(so as to observe) the manner in which all such mutual transactions take place, both the just ones and the unjust” (or, retaining the *καὶ μὴ* and the *τε*, and supposing the subject of the two verbs to be *τὸ δίκαιον*, “and to distinguish the just ones from the unjust”). It is impossible not to wish that Plato had lived to rewrite this whole passage.

For the *κοινωνίαι* of **b 4** cp. *Rep.* 365 d *ἐπὶ γὰρ τὸ λαμβάνειν συνωμοσίας τε καὶ ἑταιρίας συνάξομεν*, *Laws* 856 b *ὅς ἂν . . . ἑταιρίας τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον ποιῆ*, *Theaet.* 173 d *σπουδαὶ δὲ ἑταιριῶν ἐπ' ἀρχάς*, and *Ap.* 36 b *ἀρχῶν καὶ συνωμοσιῶν καὶ στάσεων*. It will be noticed that at 636 b it is stated that the *συσσίτια*, which were *κοινωνίαι* of the young men, led to *στάσεις*. This gives one reason for the state supervision of *κοινωνίαι*.

**b 8.** *τῶν νόμων*: Schanz, following a suggestion of Ast's, brackets these words. Stephanus changed them to *τῷ νόμῳ* (or *τοῖς νόμοις*). It seems far more likely that Plato should have allowed himself a genitive among so many datives, after the analogy of the genitive with *ἀκροᾶσθαι* (in the sense of *obey*, *Gorg.* 488 c), than that a scribe should have introduced it, or altered it from a dative. At p. 715 c *εὐπειθέστατος* has a dat. with it. An instance of the variety of construction which Plato allows himself may be seen at *Hipp. Mai.* 285 d, where, within a few lines, we read *ἃ (ἡδέως σου) ἀκροῶνται*, and *πάσης τῆς*

ἀρχαιολογίας ἤδιστα ἀκροῶνται. For other out-of-the-way uses of the genitive in Plato cp. *Rep.* 380 c σύμψηφός σοί εἰμι, ἔφη, τούτου τοῦ λόγου, *Tim.* 20 a οὐδενὸς ἰδιώτην ὄντα, *Euthyd.* 306 c συγγιγνώσκειν μὲν οὖν αὐτοῖς χρὴ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας (but *Symp.* 218 b συγγνώσεσθε γὰρ τοῖς τε τότε πραχθεῖσι καὶ τοῖς νῦν λεγομένοις).

c 1. πρὸς τέλος ἀπάσης πολιτείας ἐπεξελθών, “when he has come to the end of all his organizations;” ἀπάσης πολιτείας here corresponds to the πάντα πολιτεύματα of 945 d 5.

c 4. This is the first mention of the νομοφύλακες of whom we are to hear so much later.—κατιδὼν δέ: i.e. when the lawgiver has passed all the various classes of citizens in review. At 738 d e Plato speaks of the great importance of the electors’ personal knowledge of those on whom honour or office is to be conferred: μείζον οὐδὲν πόλει ἀγαθόν, ἢ γνωρίμους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς εἶναι· ὅπου γὰρ μὴ φῶς ἀλλήλοις ἐστὶν ἀλλήλων ἐν τοῖς τρόποις ἀλλὰ σκότος, οὐτ’ ἂν τιμῆς τῆς ἀξιᾶς, οὐτ’ ἀρχῶν οὔτε δίκης ποτέ τις ἂν τῆς προσηκούσης ὀρθῶς τυγχάνοι.—ἅπασιν τούτοις: this is neuter, and, like the following πάντα ταῦτα, means the whole of the lawgiver’s enactments and arrangements, which are in charge of the φύλακες.

c 5. διὰ φρονήσεως . . . ἰόντας: “cum verbb. eundi (διά c. gen.) est *versari in aliqua re, persequi, studere*,” Ast, *Lex.* Cp. *Prot.* 323 a ἦν (πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν) δεῖ διὰ δικαιοσύνης πᾶσαν ἰέναι καὶ σωφροσύνης and St. Paul’s διὰ πίστεως γὰρ περιπατοῦμεν 2 Cor. 5. 7. For further particulars about the two classes of Guardians (those of *original*, and those of *imparted* wisdom) of the *Laws* cp. 961 ff. and 964 e ff. For δόξα ἀλ. cp. e.g. *Tim.* 51 d ff.

c 6. ὅπως πάντα ταῦτα . . . φιλοτιμία, “that Wisdom may give unity to the whole system, and make it subservient to Temperance and Justice, instead of to Wealth and Pride.” There is a striking similarity between the leading idea of this passage and that of St. Paul’s words at *Col.* 2. 19 . . . τὴν κεφαλὴν, ἐξ οὗ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἀφῶν καὶ συνδέσμων ἐπιχορηγούμενον καὶ συμβιβαζόμενον αὖξει τὴν αὖξησιν τοῦ θεοῦ.—For ἀποφαίνειν in the sense of *make* cp. *Gorg.* 516 c ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀγριωτέρους γε αὐτοὺς ἀπέφηνεν ἢ οἴους παρέλαβε, *Ar. Eq.* 817 σὺ δ’ Ἀθηναίους ἐζητήσας μικροπολίτας ἀποφῆναι: at p. 753 d below it is used of appointing magistrates, and at 780 a 1 of *making* laws; cp. the use of ἀποδείκνυσθαι at 783 d 9 in the sense of *produce*.—As to the form, which Ast, in deference to Dawes (*Misc. Crit.* 228) changed to ἀποφαίνῃ, possibly Dawes

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(φύσιν) τυχοῦσαν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐπιτηδευμάτων οὐκ ἀγαθὴν τέλεως ἔσεσθαι;—The course recommended is this: first they are to consider the cultivation of all the separate virtues in turn, using the same method of investigation in each case; then they are to show, if they can, that particular laws or codes of law conduce to this object (ἐκεῖσε βλέπειν).

<sup>N<sup>6</sup></sup> e 3. Of ὅπως ἂν with subj. in a temporal sense (“as soon as”) we have possibly another instance at 755 a (if the text there is sound) ὅπως ἂν τις πλέον ὑπερβὰς ἐβδομήκοντα ζῆ. Kühner-Gerth ii. p. 445 says that *wie* is similarly used in old German and in modern Volkssprache instead of *als* (temporal).

e 5. ὕστερον δὲ ἀρετῆς πάσης: i.e. “after we have considered the methods whereby all virtue may be fostered.” For ὕστερον followed by a gen. cp. *Soph.* 257 c περὶ ἅττ’ ἂν κέηται τὰ ἐπιφθεγγόμενα ὕστερον τῆς ἀποφάσεως ὀνόματα.

e 6. Ritter supports Stallbaum’s view that ἃ γε νυνδὴ διήλθομεν (for ἃ the early MSS. have τὰ, Ven.  $\Xi$  first corrected it, early edd. καὶ ἃ) refers exclusively to the outline of the division of law which was given in 631 d ff., and spoken of there as τὰς ἄλλας προστάξεις τοῖς πολίταις,—as to marriage, money-making, etc. The reference is, doubtless, to laws of some kind; but the phrase “the laws we examined just now” might well include a reference to the positive Cretan institutions with which the discussion began, as well as the imaginary ones summarized in 631 d ff. I say *imaginary*, because the Ath. is there saying what the panegyric of Cretan laws *ought* to be. The subsequent course of the argument (634 a ff.) seems to favour the assumption that the Dorian institutions *were* referred to here. It should be remembered that the “*imaginary*” ones were Dorian too. Doering (p. 27), of course, excludes all possibility of there being a reference in ἃ γε νυνδὴ διήλθομεν to 631 d 6 ff. He (following Tiemann, *Kr. Analyse v. Büch. I. und II. der pl. Gesetze*) holds that ἐκεῖσε βλέποντα goes with διήλθομεν—“which we showed (at 631 b–d) to be ἐκεῖσε βλέποντα,” that ἃ διήλθομεν refers to *human* benefits (631 b 7), and that ἀποφανοῦμεν means “we will show them (i.e. the human benefits) to be supplied by the Dorian laws.” This is special pleading, with a vengeance. ἐκεῖσε βλέποντα *must* go with ἀποφανοῦμεν; διήλθομεν does not want a secondary predicate, and ἀποφανοῦμεν does.—This discussion of Dorian institutions (which is not carried through very far) is a *dramatic* introduction to the subject of the *Laws*. Bruns and others err greatly, I think, in taking it to have been the original subject of the whole treatise.

e 7. ἂν θεὸς ἐθέλῃ: this pious aspiration was, as the speaker no doubt knew, not destined to be fulfilled (cp. on 778 b 7).

633 a 3. καὶ σέ τε καὶ ἑμαυτόν: Stallb. takes this to mean "it is not only Cretan institutions that are to be criticized; Spartan and Athenian must come in for their share of criticism as well"; and this explanation fits in well with the following κοινὸς γὰρ ὁ λόγος, i.e. "the discussion is on law in general, not on Cretan law only." Still, it is more likely that the Ath. means "the discussion will test the validity of your views and mine as well as of his"; κοιν. γ. ὁ λόγος will then mean "we are all three open to criticism." The (a 4) λέγετε οὖν is pointedly addressed to both the two, and the subsequent discussion deals in particular with Spartan rather than with Cretan institutions.

a 7. καὶ τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον; "And thirdly, or fourthly?" i.e. "What shall we mention next as ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀνδρείας?"—ἴσως γὰρ ἂν κτλ.: remembering that he had said that the investigation of ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀνδρείας is to serve as a type for that concerning the other branches of virtue, he is anxious to proceed formally.—Definite enumeration (διαριθμήσασθαι) makes for clearness (δηλοῦντα—masc.—in the next line); cp. below 894 a 8 ὡς ἐν εἴδεσιν λαβεῖν μετ' ἀριθμοῦ.

a 8. εἴτε μερῶν εἴτε ἅπτ' αὐτὰ καλεῖν χρεῶν ἐστί: with these words Plato is perhaps waiving aside the ontological question. Stallb. thinks they refer to "litem et controversiam a Sophistis motam" and similar discussions in the *Protagoras*. Ritter is possibly right in thinking that he has in mind somebody's criticism of the term μέρη ἀρετῆς, but *not* the Sophists' contention (that virtues of different kinds can each exist separately from other virtues).—St. quotes several passages in which Plato uses εἴτε . . . εἴτε (or an equivalent) in a similar way: *Crito* 50 a, *Sympos.* 212 c, *Laws* 872 e 1, *Tim.* 28 b; Ritter adds *Laws* 863 b ἐν ἐν αὐτῇ (sc. τῇ ψυχῇ) τῆς φύσεως εἴτε τι πάθος εἴτε τι μέρος ὧν ὁ θυμός.

b 7. ταῖς χερσί is a genitival dative of the instrument; cp. 631 c κινήσεις τῷ σώματι. (Moeris's and Harpocration's "χερσιμαχίας Πλάτων Νόμων ᾱ" is now generally thought to be based on a mistaken reading of this passage, though Pierson—on Moeris 406—proposed, perhaps rightly, to read χερσιμαχίαις for ταῖς χερσὶ μάχαις here.)

b 8. I follow Hermann and Schanz in accepting Ast's γιγνομέναις for the MS. γιγνομένων.—The τισιν after ἀρπαγαῖς is slightly apologetic.



**b 9.** κρυπτεία τις ὀνομάζεται, “there is a service called κρυπτεία.” Below, the passage 763 a 6 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις . . . ἱκανῶς σῶζειν (c 2),—in which occur the words εἴτε τις κρυπτοὺς εἴτε ἀγρονόμους εἴθ’ ὅ τι καλῶν χαίρει,—throws some light upon this institution. The service was so called because those on it had to keep out of sight. They hid during the day, and did their work—usually killing prominent Helots—during the night. Plutarch says (*Lyc.* 28) so cruel an institution could not have been devised by Lycurgus; that it must have been of later origin. No doubt, he says, that is what gave Plato the idea that Spartan institutions were only good for bravery.—θαυμαστῶς πολύπονός πρὸς τὰς καρτερήσεις, “as full as could be of hardening toils.”

**c 1.** χειμώνων, “in wintry weather,” a variety of the common χειμῶνος.—As Ast says, both the privatives (ἀνυπ. and ἀστρω.) go with χειμ. At 942 d it is recommended that soldiers should get accustomed to lie on hard beds and go bare-headed and bare-footed. Cp. Xen. *De rep. Lac.* 2. 3.

**c 4.** The γυμνοπαιδίαι—the games of the naked—was a festival at Sparta at which choruses of men and of boys performed dances. Athenaeus (xiv. pp. 630 f.) mentions a “lyric” dance, called the γυμνοπαιδική, of a stately and elaborate character, resembling the tragic ἐμμέλεια. Ath. also says (xv. p. 678) that at the γυμνοπαιδίαι the leaders of the choruses wore garlands of palm-leaves, which were called Θυρεατικοί· ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν Θυρέα γενομένης νίκης. The festival occurred in the middle of the summer in the month Hecatombaeon; hence τῇ τοῦ πνίγους ῥώμῃ διαμαχομένων. Probably the performance was a long and exacting one.

**c 6.** ἐκάστοτε, “in detail” (Jowett).

**c 8.** τὴν ἀνδρείαν τί θῶμεν; “How are we to define courage?”—lit. “As what are we to set down courage?” The fact that temptations, like privations, are spoken of as *endured* and *combated* (he echoes the διαμαχομένων in διαμάχην) enables the Ath. to slip imperceptibly from the subject of courage to that of temperance, which he thus presents at first as a branch of courage.

**c 9.** ἀπλῶς οὕτως: cp. the Homeric μὰψ οὕτως; so *Pol.* 286 e εὐθὺς οὕτω, *Pol.* 296 a, 303 d, *Phaedr.* 234 c νῦν οὕτως.

**d 2.** καί τινας δεινὰς θωπείας κολακικάς, “with all their powerful wheedling cajoleries.” (Cp. *Romeo and Juliet* II. ii. 140 “a dream too flattering sweet to be substantial.”) The τινας shows that the word θωπείας is used metaphorically, and that Pl. does not mean to add literal *flattery* as a third assailant of

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in ἀντιβαίνειν. In δεξιά we have a simple pun: its figurative meaning of “shrewd” serves to introduce the following adjectives.—Again we have a redundancy of ideas, like that at 633 d 2. (Schanz proposes to omit κομψὰ καὶ, partly because the καὶ was only added by the second hand in A.)

a 7. ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς πόλεσιν: not a local dative, but in loose explanatory apposition to ὑμῖν; cp. 638 e 6.—γεύοντα τῶν ἡδονῶν, “while teaching men how pleasure tastes.”

a 9. ἄγοντα εἰς μέσας, “putting it (pain) in their way.”—μέσας and αὐτῶν evidently refer to λύπας: otherwise we should have ἀναγκάζει and πείθει. τιμαῖς probably goes only with ἐπειθεῖν, though the thought of chivalry’s “Noblesse oblige” might incline us to take it with ἡνάγκαζε as well.—The (dependent) question breaks off abruptly, and the speaker begins a fresh (independent) one at ποῦ δὴ to express the idea with which he started; then the question is repeated in other words. All this is very conversational in style. (St. and Jowett make μέσας and αὐτῶν refer to ἡδονάς, and translate the two verbs as if they were in the present tense.)

b 1. The punctuation here should be αὐτῶν.—(Prof. Burnet agrees).—ποῦ δὴ κτλ., “Where, I say, has this same enactment been made in your laws with reference to pleasure?”

c 1. ἴσως: it is difficult to be sure whether this means *equally* or *perhaps* here—the former, I think. In the next line it is *perhaps*.—κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη καὶ διαφανῆ, “(instances) on a large and striking scale.” κατὰ μέρη means “in detail,” “in the several parts,” as distinguished from καθ’ ὅλον (*Tim.* 55 e κατὰ τε μέρη καὶ καθ’ ὅλον). κατὰ μεγάλα μέρη (a phrase which occurs also at *Philebus* 30 b) means lit. *in large details*; the addition of καὶ διαφανῆ emphasizes the fact that the details, to show the design, must not be insignificant, but conspicuous.—εὐποροίην ἄν, “I should not be at a loss.”

c 4. ὁμοίως: i.e. as obvious as in the case of institutions intended to train men to disregard pain.

c 5. καὶ οὐδέν γε θαυμαστόν κτλ.: the connexion of thought here, down to 635 b 1, is this: “no actual system is perfect; not yours at Sparta and Crete, any more than ours at Athens. So, in our search for perfection, we must none of us feel hurt if deficiencies in his native institutions are exposed. We are too old for anything like pettishness. Well, it is natural that I should know, better than either of you, what fault the world finds, rightly or wrongly, with Dorian institutions. Now one of the best of them

—among many good ones—is that which regards any criticism of the laws, unless made privately by a magistrate or by an old man to a contemporary, as sacrilegious. There are no young men here, so we may proceed.”

**d 5.** λόγος ἂν ἕτερος εἶη: Ast cps. Arist. *Pol.* iii. 3 εἰ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν, ὅταν εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβάλλῃ πολιτείαν ἢ πόλις, λόγος ἕτερος. Stallb. adds Plato, *Ap.* 34 e ἀλλ’ εἰ μὲν θαρραλέως ἐγὼ ἔχω πρὸς θάνατον ἢ μὴ, ἄλλος λόγος, πρὸς δ’ οὖν κτλ. Similarly *Rep.* 462 d καὶ περὶ ἄλλου ὄτου οὖν τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, and *Tim.* 54 b διότι δέ, λόγος πλείων. These and other passages (Stallb. cites Dem. *Phil.* iii. 16 and *De cor.* § 44) support Eusebius’s λόγος against the MS. ὁ λόγος here, and the δ’ οὖν in the passage from the *Apology* gives some confirmation to Bekker’s δ’ οὖν, which Schanz and Burnet rightly adopt instead of the MS. γ’ οὖν.

**d 7.** εἶπερ καί, “if (your laws are good) as in truth they are”; cp. *Soph.* 238 b εἶπερ γε καὶ ἄλλό τι θετέον ὡς ὄν.

**e 1.** With ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος πάντας συμφωνεῖν Stallb. cps. *Rep.* 364 a πάντες γὰρ ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος ὑμνοῦσιν.

**e 4.** With the suggestion of criticism in συννοεῖ (trans.) here cp. our similar use of *to reflect upon, to think twice about.*

**e 6.** With ποιεῖσθαι we may suppose εἶαν to be supplied from d 9.

**635 a 1.** ἀπὼν τῆς τότε διανοίας: I accept without hesitation Burnet’s punctuation of this passage, which connects τῆς διανοίας with ἀπὼν. This word is part of the metaphor in ἐστοχάσθαι: “though far removed from the old legislator’s mind—as far as τότε from νῦν—you have hit it. You must be a μάντις.” There is a confusion between time and space which gives a certain haziness to the metaphor. (Schanz wants to bracket ἀπὼν.) For the gen. διανοίας cp. *Soph. Ant.* 1169 εἰ δ’ ἀπῆ τούτων τὸ χαίρειν. . .

**a 4.** ἀφείμεθ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ νομοθέτου διαλεγόμενοι . . . μηδὲν ἂν πλημμελεῖν, “the lawgiver leaves us free to discuss without offence.” ἂν πλημμελεῖν for the simple πλημμελεῖν is an anacoluthon; perhaps the speaker meant us to feel that διαλεγόμενοι is equivalent to εἰ διαλεγοίμεθα.

**a 6.** “καὶ s.v. A” Burnet. I conjecture that what was originally written here was ἔστι ταῦτα οὕτως· καὶ μηδὲν γε ἀνῆς—that the **CKAI**, owing to the faintness of the I, the bad formation of the **K** and of the **C** was read as **EICA**. It was seen afterwards that a καὶ was wanted before μηδὲν and it was inserted in A above the line. (It is a slight confirmation of this that A has not οὕτως but οὕτω.) Schanz omits the καὶ. It certainly does not seem necessary if, as

Ast and Stallb. say, εἰς ᾧ means *quapropter* in the sense of *wherefore, for which reason*. But can it? The nearest approach I can find to this use is Soph *Trach.* 403 ἐς τί; “*for what purpose?*” but “*with a view to which*” does not suit this passage. (εἰς τοῦτο, at 1 *Timothy* 4. 10, is translated in the A.V. “*therefore,*” but it is altered in the R.V. to “*to this end*”).—As against Schanz it may be urged that γε is much more natural after καὶ than after εἰς ᾧ.—F.H.D., omitting καὶ, proposes to read εἶτα for εἰς ᾧ.

**a 7.** οὐ γὰρ τό γε γνῶναί τι κτλ., “it is no disgrace to a man to be told of something wrong; if he is grateful to his critic, instead of being indignant with him, it may result in his being able to set the wrong right.”

**b 2.** For πω Stallb., Schneider, and Schanz accept πως, the reading of a Vienna MS. But the former stands very well here as an anticipation of πρίν.

**b 3.** βεβαίως: proleptic; so, *Rep.* 537 c, a method of μάθησις is said to be βέβαιος, and *Rep.* 585 e ἡττόν τε ἂν ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως πληροῖτο. In all these cases it is the *result* that is fixed and definite, not the process by which the result is reached. (βέβαιος is a favourite word with Plato.) We must supply ἐρῶ from above with ἀπορῶν: “In what I say I shall not find fault; that can only be done after an exhaustive investigation: instead of that I will tell you the difficulty I feel about your system.”

**c 1.** διὰ τέλους, “on every occasion.”

**c 2.** φευξείσθαι: the paronomasia helps the formal statement of the analogy: it is not only pain and alarm that they will run away from; they will run away from those men who have had the training which they themselves have missed.

**c 6—d 1.** I would substitute a (,) for the (·) generally found after φόβων in d 1, because I take εἰ . . . γενήσονται, καὶ . . . πείσονται to be the protasis, and δουλεύσουσι to be apodosis. A parallelism thus comes out between the two cases: those untrained in fighting fear will (1) flee from the toils and troubles of life, and (2) fall before the better trained; so too those untrained in resisting pleasure will (1) be worsted by pleasure (ταῦτὸν πείσονται τοῖς ἡττ. τῶν φόβων), and (2) will be worsted and overcome by the better trained (δουλεύσουσι κτλ.). The καί before ἀμελέτητοι then connects γενήσονται with πείσονται, that before μηδέν is epexegetic, inasmuch as μηδέν τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι ποιεῖν explains wherein the firmness (καρτερεῖν) is shown. I do not take γιγνώμενοι with ἀμελέτητοι but with ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς (this I think is certain, and would hold even though it were decided

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λογία τε καὶ εἰκόσι περὶ τηλικούτων λεγομένους λόγους.—πεπιστευκέναι ῥαδίως = “to be cocksure.”

e 4. Ast and Stallb. insist on taking τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα as an adverbial phrase like τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου, and ὧν, or rather the antecedent to ὧν, as a partitive gen.; but (1) such a construction as that at *Phil.* 34 c λέγω μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἤδη τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα, where τό is the object of λέγωμεν, is much more common in Plato; (2) it is much more natural that the gen. which is the antecedent of ὧν should have something to depend on; and (3) the singular τό suits the context better, as being a direct reference to σωφροσύνη, whereas the antecedent gen. to ὧν might be either sing. or plur. The only strict parallel to such a partitive gen. as they here suppose, cited by Stallb., is at *Soph.* 232 b ἀλλ’ ἀναλάβωμεν πρῶτον τῶν περὶ τὸν σοφιστὴν εἰρημένων, where Burnet accepts Heindorf’s ἀναλάβωμεν <ἐν>.

e 6. λέγωμεν, “I would suggest that we should talk,” or “we have got to talk.” At 632 e the Ath. had proposed that they should take the ἐπιτηδεύματα of the different virtues one after another, and though, as Ritter, following Susemihl, says, they have really been discussing σωφροσύνη (disguised as a kind of ἀνδρεία) since 633 d, this is the first time the virtue is introduced by name (since the σῶφρων ψυχῆς ἕξις in the enumeration at 631 c). This is a rhetorical artifice. Plato wants to show clearly how the arguments used about ἀνδρεία (and the training in it) apply equally to σωφροσύνη. No doubt also he wishes to bring out the *unity* of virtue. (The—as I take it—superficial inconsistency of calling the virtue by two names has been the ground of many attacks upon the treatise. The difficulty felt is a real one. Possibly the passage from 633 c 8 to 635 e 3 was put in as an afterthought as an alternative way of introducing the discussion about σωφροσύνη. I have only room here to refer to Doering (*ut supra*), pp. 28 ff.)—I have adopted Badham’s μῶν τι for the τὶ (*ecquid?*) of the earliest editions—altered by Stephanus and Ast to τί. Seeing the preceding word ends in μεν, it is very possible that μῶν was omitted in error: anyhow it makes the sense clearer to an English reader. (F.H.D. suggests that Plato wrote λέγω· μῶν τι.) The Ath. here repeats the question already put at 634 b 1.

e 7. I do not follow Badham in rejecting ἢ ταῖς—“En purum putum recensorem qui genitivos illos a διάφορον pendere non intellexit.”—I think Plato adopted the unusual ἢ instead of the gen. because his choice would lie between making πολιτευομένων agree with πολιτειῶν (understood)—and though he often uses πόλις

as subject to *πολιτεύεσθαι*, neither he, nor probably anyone else, ever said *ἡ πολιτεία πολιτεύεται*—and writing such an awkward phrase as *τῶν τῶν εἰκῆ πολιτευομένων*. Bdh., however, apparently, takes *πολιτευομένων* as agreeing with *πολιτειῶν* understood. He should at least have given an instance of the construction.—With *πολιτευομένων* we may supply either *πόλεων* or *ἀνθρώπων*, preferably the latter.—For *ἢ* after *διαφέρειν* cp. *Phaedr.* 228 d *οἷς ἔφη διαφέρειν τὰ τοῦ ἐρώντος ἢ τὰ τοῦ μή*, and *Rep.* 455 c *πάντα ταῦτα τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γένος διαφερόντως ἔχει ἢ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν*. For the omission of the second *ἐν* cp. the similarly omitted *ὑπό* at *Laws* 683 e 4 *μῶν ὑπό τινων ἄλλων ἢ σφῶν αὐτῶν*;—*εἰκῆ*: Sparta and Crete had “divinely planned” constitutions; other constitutions were made at random, not on any fixed principle—like the codes described at 630 e, made by the lawgivers of the day.

**636 a 1.** *ὥσπερ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον νυνδῆ*: i.e. “as (we did find some superiority) in the case of *ἀνδρεία* just now.”

**a 2.** *οὐ ῥάδιον*: supply, not with Stallb. *εἰπεῖν* but, *ἀνευρίσκειν*.

**a 3.** *πρὸς ἀμφοτέρας*: “int. *τὴν ἀνδρείαν* et *τὴν σωφροσύνην*. Male interpretes ad civitates trahunt,” Ast.

**a 4.** *ἔοικεν . . . γίνεσθαι*, “it does seem difficult for such things as institutions to be as clearly beyond dispute in action as in their intention”—in other words, “it is hard to get institutions that are as satisfactory in action as they are in theory.” Ast is doubtless right (*pace* Stallb.) in taking *ἀναμφισβητήτως* as equivalent to the adjective—so *Laws* 968 b *τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος ἡμῖν γιγνόμενος ὀρθῶς γίγνοιτ’ ἂν*, *Rep.* 504 c *μέτρον τῶν τοιούτων ἀπολείπον καὶ ὀτιοῦν τοῦ ὄντος οὐ πάνυ μετρίως γίγνεται*—though I do not think he is right in taking *τὸ περὶ τὰς πολιτείας* as an adverbial phrase—“*circa civitates*.”—Rather it is the subject of *γίνεσθαι*. (This is better, I think, than taking *τό* with *γίνεσθαι*.) With Ast’s construction “a man,” or “a lawgiver” would presumably have to be supplied as the subject of *γίνεσθαι*. His translation of the whole is: “*circa civitates s. leges ita certum esse, h.e. tam certas leges (quae nihil controversiae vel dubitationis habeant) statuere, ut res ipsa, s. eventus respondeat legislatoris consilio*.”

**a 6.** *κινδυνεύει γάρ κτλ.*: the parallel is adequately suggested, but the expression of it is not complete,—not even logical—the *καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν* has no right to be where it is.—This informality may be intentional (i.e. a dramatic representation of a hasty conversational style), or it may be due to hasty writing



(the informal ἐν ᾧ and the τὰ ἡμῶν σώματα coming after the ἐν σώμα point to the latter cause).—Schanz brackets καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν, Ast reads ὁ for ἐν ᾧ.

**a 7.** τι πρὸς ἐν σώμα: a variety for πρὸς ἐν τι σώμα.—ἐπιτήδευμα, “treatment.”—ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἂν φανείη we might translate, “without finding that . . .”

**b 1.** ἐπεὶ, “for instance”; *Prot.* 319 e ἐπεὶ Περικλῆς, “P. for instance.”

**b 3.** χαλεπά, “are a danger.” (Cp. *Polit.* 274 b θηρίων ὅσα χαλεπὰ τὰς φύσεις ἦν).—πρός: lit. “in the direction of”—“are dangerously liable to produce.” The young men of the cities named were “spoiling for a fight,” because they were so highly trained. *Arist. Pol.* v. 7, in speaking of a στάσις at Thurii, sets it to the account of γερόμενοί τινες πολεμικοὶ τῶν νεωτέρων. Cp. Alcidamas, *Odysseus* p. 184, l. 19 οὐδ’ ἐν παλαιστρά οὐδ’ ἐν συμποσίῳ, ἐνθα φιλεῖ ἔριδας πλείστας καὶ λοιδορίας γενέσθαι. Grote chap. lxxv. gives reason for thinking that the revolution at Miletus, described by *Plut. Lys.* 8, was not due to political differences. The Boeotians are well known to have regarded bodily training as a more important part of education than the training of the mind.

**b 4.** καὶ δὴ καὶ introduces the next, and more weighty, charge against the γυμνάσια—a charge often brought by ancient writers.—This whole passage, down to διεφθαρκέναι, presents great difficulties. According to Burnet the original reading of A (and O) was παλαιὸν νόμον, corrected by the writer—(I examined the passage in A and thought it was by a later hand)—to παλαιῶν νόμων: a later hand altered the ω’s back to ο and wrote νόμιμον as a variant for νόμον in the margin. After ἐπιτήδευμα follow the words καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τὰς π. τ. ἀφ. ἡδονὰς. Two minor MSS. omit the καὶ, which seems to me likely to have been introduced by some scribe who took κατὰ φύσιν as going, along with παλαιὸν, to qualify νόμον, and took νόμον as in apposition to τὰς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἡδονὰς. This last view I think a mistake. The ἡδοναί are φύσει as opposed to νόμῳ, and the force of the passage seems weakened if they are spoken of as a νόμος. I have therefore accepted Boeckh’s πάλαι ὄν νόμιμον, and Ast’s τὰς κατὰ φύσιν περὶ τὰ ἀφρ. ἡδονὰς. Most decidedly οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων goes with φύσιν. Stallb. oddly says it is a “hyperbolic” strengthening of the charge against the γυμνάσια, that the mischief they wrought extended to animals, quoting *Laws* 942 d, where ἀναρχία is spoken of as extending to the brutes.

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siderations which go to the foundations of the philosophy of law : (1) What pleasures ought not to be sought? (2) What pains ought not to be avoided?" These weighty words illuminate the whole treatise on laws which follows. Whether the lawgiver is enjoining or prohibiting, giving honour or fixing a penalty, his ἐπιστήμη is shown in his power to answer these two questions. Nature provides the raw material in the form of the emotions of pleasure and pain ; the educator of states and individuals moulds it by the habits which his laws and institutions induce. (See below 727 c 1–5 for an instance of the legislator's application of this principle.)

d 5. ἀνθρώπων is emphatic ; the myth dealt with superhuman beings.

d 7. ἐν τε πόλεσιν καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις ἡθεσιν : Stephanus was the first of modern interpreters to write ἡθεσιν (A L O) for the ἔθεσιν of the inferior MSS. and the received text,—apparently as a conjecture of his own, and Stallb. follows him in interpreting the word to mean "abodes," acc. to its old poetical use. It is certainly so used at 865 e, which Stallb. quotes, but it there stands in the vague sense of "haunts," not in that of houses, which he gives it here. Besides it is not cities, or houses or families, but the institutions and constitution of the πόλις on the one hand, and the habits and character of the ἰδιώτης on the other, that are here in question, and it is best to take "cities and men's characters" here as short for that. One half of the compound notion is mentioned in the first member of the comparison, and the other half in the second.

e 2. ζῶον ἅπαν : very possibly under these words he included not only individual animals, but the universe ; an organism, which, like human communities, had its laws—the ζῶον ἐν ὄρατόν of *Timaeus* 30 d.

e 4—637 b 6. To the height of this philosophical argument Megillus cannot rise, though he expresses polite admiration. He takes refuge in the practical consideration that you don't see the drunkards about Sparta that you see at Athens and elsewhere.

e 6. δοκεῖ μοι used impersonally, followed by acc. c. inf. is rare.—The τό added to ἡδονὰς φεύγειν expresses the fact that the injunction to avoid indulgence had been under consideration before (i.e. at 635 b 6).

e 7. διακελεύεσθαι is a sort of historic present. "(I'm no philosopher) but it is clear to me that the Lacedaemonian lawgiver is right in that injunction of his to shun pleasure."

**e 8.** *βοηθήσει*, “will take the field.” (It is a pity that the dictionaries do not give this as the primary meaning instead of “assist.”)

**637 a 1.** *κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων*: see above on 629 a 6.

**a 2.** For *οὖ* (which depends on *ἡδοναῖς*) Ast suggested *ὑφ' οὖ* and Schanz actually prints *δι' οὖ*; but *οὖ* suits the vagueness of the antecedent better than *δι' οὖ*. *τούτο* is explained a little further down to be *συμπόσια* and (*τὰ*) *τούτοις συνεπόμενα*—the licence and exhilaration attendant on set occasions for drinking.

**a 3.** *ἀνοία*: the schol. on Arist. *Nub.* 418 throws light on the associations of this word: *ἀνοήτων τῶν ἀφροδισίων, τῆς τοιαύτης λαγνείας. τὸ γὰρ ἀνοηταίνειν τὸ διὰ μωραίνειν τὸ ἀφροδισιάζειν ἔλεγον.* Cp. Eur. *Androm.* 674 *γυναῖκα μωραίνουσαν.*

**a 5.** *ὅσων Σπαρτιάταις μέλει*, “with which Spartans are concerned,” i.e. for which they are responsible.

**b 1 f.** *καὶ οὐτ' MSS.; καὶ οὐδ'* Schweighäuser on Athenaeus iv. p. 43, where this passage is quoted, and where for *λύσαιτο* we find *ρύσαιτο*, which I have adopted. Those who read *ρύσαιτο* evidently took *Διονύσια* as its subject, and made *ἔχοντ'* nom. in agreement with it (so Stallb.). Those who read *λύσαιτο* probably took *ὅστις* as its subject, and *ἔχοντ'* as acc. masc. sing. (so Ast in his edition, though apparently in his *Lexicon* he takes *ἔχοντ'* to be nom. neut. pl.). The former view is supported by the only other instance of *πρόφασιν ἔχειν* in Plato (*Rep.* 469 c) where it means *to provide an excuse*.

**b 2.** *ὥσπερ ἐν ἀμάξαις εἶδον*: the object of *εἶδον* in the mind of the speaker would probably be *κωμάζοντάς τινας μετὰ μέθης* (so Ast). For *ἐν ἀμάξαις* Ast quotes schol. on Lucian, *Ad Iou. Tragœd.* § 44 *ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Διονυσίων παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐπὶ ἀμαξῶν καθήμενοι ἔσκωπτον ἀλλήλους καὶ ἐλοιδοροῦντο πολλά. παροιμία οὖν ἐκράτησεν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑβριστικῶς χρωμένων τὸ ἐξ ἀμάξης.*

**b 3.** *καὶ ἐν Τάραντι δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἀποίκοις*: is Plato here slyly putting an argument for the Athenians into Megillus's mouth? The Dorian, like a too strictly brought up child, when released from the rigid Spartan discipline, runs to excess in indulgence.—Juvenal calls Tarentum “*madidum*.”

**b 7.** *ἐπαινετὰ μὲν . . . βλακικωτέρα*, “all indulgence in pleasure is good where there goes with it a power of saying ‘no’; where that power is weakened the man is a fool.”

**c 1.** *γάρ*, “no doubt.”—*σου λάβοιτ' ἄν*: *λαβέσθαι τινὸς* is “to lay hands on a man”—cp. *Gorg.* 486 a *εἴ τις σοῦ λαβόμενος . . .*

εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι—the Latin *prehendere*. Here it is used in the figurative sense of the Latin *reprehendere*.—τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἀμυνόμενος: this Stallb. translates “*nostra instituta defendens*.” This would no doubt be right if, with Schanz, we adopted the Aldine alteration of the MS. ἡμῶν to ἡμῖν. At *Symp.* 219 a τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ means “what I have to say,” i.e. “what comes from me.” At *Soph.* 265 d we have ἄνευ τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν λόγων, and at 251 d ἐν τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν λόγοις with the same slight difference.—It will be seen that in our passage it is much more likely that τῶν is *masc.*, and that ἀμυνόμενος is used (as it often is) absolutely (“in self-defence”) as at *Laws* 731 b, where also it is subordinate to another participle νικῶντα (as δεικνύς is here to it). τις τῶν παρ' ἡμῶν then is “a man from (or ‘on’) our side”—an Athenian.

(b 7–d 5.) The connexion of ideas in this passage is this: “Liberty to indulge is good, but not licence. Foreigners, though, are not good judges in the matter. What they take to be licence is often only a liberty to which they are not accustomed. But let us not waste time in condemning or justifying each other; the only man who is before our tribunal is the lawgiver; and it will help us in our judgement of what is good or bad in *law* if we review carefully the whole question of *the effect of wine and the regulation of indulgence in it*.” We are thus launched on a subject which occupies the rest of Book I., and is not finally dismissed till the end of Book II. In the course of its investigation we are introduced to the relation of νόμος and the νομοθέτης to παιδεία.

c 4. ἀπολύεσθαι, “absolve” (sc. τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα). The μή which follows it is the same μή that we had at 635 a 5 after ἀφείμεθα (cp. *Thuc.* i. 128. 3 ἀπελύθη μή ἀδικεῖν): the addition of the τοῦ (cp. *Xen. Hel.* iv. 8. 5 τούτους αὖ τοιαῦτα λέγων ἔσχε τοῦ μή ἐκπεπληχθαι) and of the ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς make it seem stranger than usual to us.

d 3. ἔτι γὰρ οὖν εἴπωμεν πλείω, “I really should like to say more still.” For γὰρ οὖν used in this way cp. *Phaedr.* 247 c πολμητέον γὰρ οὖν τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν.

d 4. περὶ ἀπάσης μέθης: the explanation that follows (λέγω δ' κτλ.) shows that μέθη is not used here in the sense of *strong drink*, but in that of *ebriety*. We must remember that the Greeks drank nothing stronger than wine, and nearly always drank that mixed with water, and hence that the word μέθη had not the disgusting connotation that its equivalent has among us. The effect of drinking wine—especially that of drinking more wine

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to βλέποντες. Stephanus mentions this reading: it is reported to have been in the margin of Voss's MS., and Ficinus translates "*si ad victoriam belli fugamque respexerimus.*" This unnecessary alteration is sufficiently condemned by the fact that βλέπειν, in the sense of *respicere* (*ad*), is always intransitive in Plato (i.e. followed by a prep.). (At *Tim.* 51 c it is trans. in the sense of *to see with the bodily eyes*, and at *Charm.* 172 c in the sense of *look for, seek*; cp. Heindorf *ad loc.*)

a 7. The ἐπειδή clause goes closely with the previous words.—I have put a colon after μάχης (as Schanz), also a comma after μαχόμεναι, removing the one usually put after καταδουλοῦνται (which is a "historic" present). (? ἐπεὶ δὴ γὰρ.) This arrangement assumes for γὰρ almost the force of "for instance."

b 2. Λοκρούς: for the early history of lawless Locri and its wonderful conversion by Zaleucus cp. e.g. Grote ch. xxii. As to its later εὐνομία cp. Pind. *Ol.* ix. 17, and x. 15, Plato, *Tim.* 20: for its conservatism cp. Dem. *C. Timocr.* 744.—The defeat of the Locrians by a Syracusan force, here referred to, is probably that inflicted on them by Dionysius the younger in 456 B.C., when he had to flee from Syracuse. He had to fight with the Locrians for the possession of the citadel. If this is so we have a *terminus a quo* for the composition of the *Laws* (see below on 711 e 5).—Cean laws and Oean morals were proverbially excellent. Nothing seems to be known of the circumstances of Ceos's subjection to Athens.

b 4. αὐτοῦ ἐκάστου: i.e. taking them in fullest detail, and examining them minutely.

b 7. πρῶτον δ' κτλ.: having dismissed the notion that the most powerful nations must needs have the best laws, the Ath. warns his hearers that no custom or practice ought to be praised or blamed without a careful consideration of the circumstances of the case.

c 2. λόγῳ λαβόντες: I think Stallb. is right, as against Ast, in taking this to mean *discuss* (verbally), rather than *reflect upon* (mentally). The word ῥηθέν and the ἐν τοῖς λόγοις of d 1 make somewhat for this view.

c 3. προθέμενοι: rather more than *propose* here; it is "*who set out to, make up their minds to.*"—εὐθὺς ῥηθέν: cp. *Theaet.* 186 b εὐθὺς γενομένοις.

c 4. For κατὰ τρόπον cp. on 635 d 7.

c 5. I have followed Ast and Schanz in adopting Cornarius's correction of the MS. πυρούς to τυρούς. C: quotes from

Hippocrates καὶ μὴ ἀπλῶς οὕτω δοκέειν ὅτι πονηρὸν βρῶμα τυρός. For those who retain the reading πυρούς, the ἔχοντα in c 8 presents a special difficulty. τυρός might be used in either the sing. or the plur., but the singular πυρόν, which would have to be supplied with ἔχοντα, would not be natural Greek. As an article of food they always spoke of πυροί or κριθαί.

c 6. αὐτοῦ: i.e. τοῦ βρώματος.—ἐργασία is the *operation, effect*. Stallb. cps. Prot. 353 d κατὰ τὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ἡδονῆς τῆς παραχρῆμα ἐργασίαν.

c 7. προσφορά, “*the application*.”—The following relative clauses explain the word προσφοράν—more particularly is the inf. προσφέρειν expegetic of προσφοράν:—I have not followed Schanz in adopting Madvig’s athetesis of this inf. Such an expegetic inf. is just possible in the *Laws*. If an emending copier had inserted anything, he would, I think, have inserted προσφέρειν δεῖ, which is the reading of two inferior MSS. according to Stallb.—The points to be observed about the application of the diet are the manner of the application, the choice of recipients, the concomitant treatment, the state of the food, and the state of the recipients.

d 2. τοσοῦτον μόνον: i.e. only the bare word μέθη.

d 4. A has ἐπαινοῦμεν alone, L and O have χρώμενοι ἐπαινοῦμεν. Boeckh ejected ἐπαινοῦμεν, Schanz, rejecting χρώμενοι, writes ἐπακολουθοῦμεν for ἐπαινοῦμεν. I follow Boeckh, and also bracket καὶ after ἐκ. I can hardly believe that ἐπαινεῖν in these circumstances, in two consecutive lines, could have been used first in the sense of *praise* as opposed to *blame*, and then in the sense of *back an opinion*, whether favourable or unfavourable. I conjecture the original text to have been: μάρτυσιν γὰρ καὶ ἐπαινέταις χρώμενοι ἑκάτεροι, οἱ μὲν, ὅτι κτλ., and that ἐπαινοῦμεν was written in the margin of some copy, by a scribe who thought a verb ought to be supplied: when ἐπ. got into the text, it became necessary to add a καὶ after ἑκάτεροι. In any case the meaning is clear. The philosopher must not be content with the verdict of *numbers*, or with that of *experience*: he must go behind both, like the scientific doctor in the case of diet mentioned above. Both of us, says the Ath., are on the wrong tack: *I*, in appealing to *numbers*, *you*, in appealing to the witness of *results*.

d 5. κύριον: *decisive*—something that will settle the matter.

d 6. αὐτῷ: i.e. οἴνῳ; “*vino abstinentes*” Ficinus.

d 7. τοῦτο: the last-mentioned argument from experience. ἡμῶν is probably the Ath., but it may be the whole company.



According as we decide this point, we shall decide between ὑμῖν and ἡμῖν in e 5.

e 3. περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς μέθης: a bold and emphatic variant for περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς μέθης.—πειρώμενος ἂν ἄρα δύνωμαι: we should begin a fresh sentence here, “And I hope that in so doing I may be able to show” etc.

e 4. ὀρθὴν μέθοδον: i.e. the discussion is to be a lesson in logic.

e 5. ἡμῖν A, ὑμῖν Hug; see above on d 7.—περὶ αὐτῶν: i.e. περὶ ἀπάντων τῶν τοιούτων, about *all* customs and institutions, not about μέθη alone. It is not only on one subject that you will find yourselves (you, Spartans and Cretans) in the minority, and it will be as well for you to know how to answer attacks.

e 6. Some editions read ἡμῖν here, on no MS. authority.

639 a 2. For δὴ L has δέ, and for πῆ τῆδε Ast would read the more usual τῆδέ πῆ, an unwarrantable alteration.

a 5. καί where we should say or.

a 6. τῶν κακῶν MSS.; Eusebius and Theodoret, in quoting this passage, omit the article. Cp. below c 4. τινῶν κακῶν Herm.

a 7. ὑγιᾶς καὶ ὀτιοῦν: an interrogative form of the very common οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς, used much as we use the (conversational) *rotten* and *rot*, sometimes of the morally unsound, sometimes of the *nonsensical*. The neuter is used adverbially here as acc. of the inner object; so χρηστόν τι ψέξειν c 6. ὁ τοιούτου ψόγος οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς ψέγει would be “such a man’s blame sounds ridiculous.”—ἡγώμεθα MSS., ἡγούμεθα Eusebius. Ast notes that the MSS. not infrequently change a pres. to a deliberative subj.; cp. c 5 below.

a 9. The mention of κακοὶ ἄρχοντες leads naturally to the consideration of the χρηστὸς ἄρχων, itself a step towards that of the due ordering of συμπόσια.

b 1. οὖν a mere ghost here, as far as its illative force goes, serves the euphony of the sentence, by obviating the jingling ἂν τε ναυτιᾶ ἂν τε μή.

b 6. καὶ Stephanus, καὶ MSS.

b 7. Schanz agrees with Cobet in thinking that ὡς has dropped out before ὑπὸ μέθης; but, as Ritter says, though this is palaeographically possible, the comparison of 649 d 6 πάνθ’ ὅσα δι’ ἡδονῆς αὐτῷ μεθύσκοντα παράφρονas ποιεῖ shows that the metaphor could be used without such an introduction. Besides, would not Plato in that case have said ὡς ὑπὸ μέθης ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου? Ast cps. *Critias* 121 a μεθύοντες ὑπὸ τρυφῆς.

b 10. To clear our ideas the Ath. introduces us to a “right-

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is οἰώμεθα; cp. above on a 7.—For the δῆ of A and Eus., O has ἄν: A<sup>2</sup> has ἄν, and O<sup>2</sup> δῆ.—In the change from the sing. (ὁ δέ) to the plural in θεωρούς we have the last of the conversational irregularities spoken of above.—For ἐπαινέσθαι Eus. has ἐπαινείσθαι.

c 7. πῶς δ' ἄν (i.e. οἰοίμεθα): this ἄν may have given rise to the ἄν suggested as a variant for δῆ in c 5.

d 2. ἔχε δῆ (cp. 627 c 3): Heindorf on *Gorg.* 460 a says, “mihi vox ἔχειν in hac quoque formula, ut saepe alias, *inhibendi et subsistendi* vi accipienda videtur”—somewhat, i.e., like our familiar “wait a bit.” At *Ion* 535 b ἔχε δῆ μοι τόδε εἶπέ, however, and possibly here, ἔχε δῆ seems to be used just with the force of ἄγε δῆ. A phrase so commonly used in conversation must have lost some of its original significance.

d 6. οὐδεπώποτε: as Stallb. says, ἐθεάσασθε (not ἐθεάσατό τις) must be supplied here.

d 9. διηρώτηκα: this word is always used elsewhere in Plato with a personal object (though at *Phil.* 57 c it is not expressed) in the sense of *to question, put to the question*; here it means “inquire into,” “examine.”—ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν qualifies πάσας; cp. Adam on *Ap.* 17 a and *Rep.* 341 b.—ὅλην μὲν . . . μόρια δ' εἶπουν . . . τὰ πολλὰ δέ, “I have never seen or heard of *one* that was as it should be throughout, and though I may have seen insignificant parts that were proper here and there, still I may say I found the majority of them altogether at fault.” In τὰ πολλὰ and σύμπαντα we have the same change to the neut. as that noticed on 638 e 3.

e 5. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ κτλ.: a polite way of hinting disbelief in the existence of such a thing as a “proper” συμπόσιον.—εὐθύς, “at first sight.”

640 a 4. τὸ μὲν: demonstrative, “*this much* you do know, don't you?”—ἐν . . . κοινωνίαις πράξεων ὄντινωνοῦν, “in any kind of concerted action.”

a 5. ἐκάστοις agrees in sense with the individual members of which the companies spoken of are composed; we should translate “for each set of people.” πανταχοῦ is “*in all cases*,” i.e. in every sort of company.

a 11. τῶν δειλῶν: “frequentissime Graeci a singulari collective vel infinite posito ad pluralem transeunt” Ast, who cps. 853 d μή τις ἐγγίγνηται . . . ὅς . . . οὗτοι . . . γίγνωνται.

b 4. παντὶ τρόπῳ as at *Theaet.* 148 d, “at all costs.”

b 6. νῦν δέ γε . . . φιλοφροσύνης: the connexion between στρατοπέδου and ἄρξοντος is so close that the fact that στρατοπέδου

has come before *περί* makes it easy to interpose *λέγομεν* between *περί* and *ἄρχοντος*. The nearest approach to this arrangement among the parallels cited by Ast is 697 c ἡ Περσῶν περὶ διάσκεψις τῆς πολιτείας; he also cps. 676 c 6, 691 b 2, 834 d 3. It is difficult to know whether *στρατοπέδου* was felt as a gen. dependent on a noun (*ἄρχοντος* being a slight, though significant, modification of *ἄρχοντος*) or as governed by a part. of the verb *ἄρχειν*.—*ἐχθροῖς* is governed by the verbal noun *ὀμιλίας* (cp. 631 d 3).—*ὀμιλίας* is plural, I suppose, because it takes *two* armies to make a battle.—(Against Badham's rewriting of this sentence—*στρατηγοῦ περί λέγομεν ἄρχοντος ἀνδρῶν ὀμιλίας*—there are at least two strong objections: (1) what can have been the motive for changing so simple a construction into a very complex one? (2) whereas, in the version in the text, *ἄρχοντος* goes equally well with *ἐχθρῶν* and with *φίλων*, *στρατηγοῦ* will not go with both. The sentence as we have it seems to me quite in the style of the *Laws*.—Ficinus translates "*non de exercitu nec imperaturo.*" Hence Schanz reads οὐδ' ἄρχοντος.—Burnet says A does read *ἄρχοντος*, not, as Sch. says, *ἄρχοντες*.)

**b 8.** *εἰρήνη* and *φιλοφροσύνη* (peace and goodwill) have already been mentioned together at 628 c 10.

**c 2.** οὐκ ἀθύρβος: i.e. somewhat of a chaos, and therefore needing, more than anything, an *ἄρχων*.

**c 3.** Cleinias's very ready assent, here and in his next four answers, to any suggestion of a fault that may be found with a *συμπόσιον*, shows him still incredulous.

**c 4.** καὶ τούτοις: *this* company, as well as the other company (of soldiers) spoken of above.

**c 6.** ἀθύρβον, "orderly."

**c 9.** περὶ συνουσίας (acc. pl.) φρόνιμος: this corresponds to the σοφός in d 4. The particular wisdom here denoted is largely covered by Dr. Johnson's (grammatically indefensible) word "clubbable." The instinct and tact implied in the English word is at all events indispensable for the office in question.

**c 10.** The position of the *τε* is not logical: grammatically the two main items to be connected are (1) the *guardian* of what is present, and (2) the *producer* of the hoped-for addition; whereas the position of the *τε* forces us to think of the two items as (1) *the present*, and (2) the *future* (augmented) good-fellowship.—There is a further structural irregularity in *πλείονος*, which does not depend on *ἐπιμελητής* (*one who takes care*), alone, as in grammar it

should, but on a sort of compound noun ἐπιμελητῆς ὅπως ἔσται which is equivalent to *one who produces*. (Possibly Plato did not like the sound of φύλαξ τε τῆς, or perhaps he began with the continuation καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης in his mind, and thought, as he went on, that it did not express all that he had to say, and so chose the fuller phrase,—all that remained of the former being the case of πλείονος.)

d 4. νήφοντά τε καὶ σοφόν: though σοφόν is the equivalent of φρόνιμον περὶ συνουσίας in c 9, νήφοντα (in the literal sense) introduces only one, though the most essential, of the conditions on which the character of the ἀθύρβος of c 6 depends. Cp. Aristotle, *Pol.* 2. 12 (1274 b 11) Πλάτωνος δ' . . . (ἴδιος) ὁ περὶ τὴν μέθην νόμος, τὸ τοὺς νήφοντας συμποσιαρχεῖν.

d 6. καί is here *or*.—νέος introduces a new condition, in such a way as to imply that it would, of course, have been taken for granted: “young and inexperienced” is almost the same as “inexperienced” alone. (There is something attractive about Badham's νέων for νέος, but, on the whole, I think that, if νέων and νέος had equal MS. authority, the latter is preferable.—“If, with a drunken or a young inexperienced chief, an assembly of drunkards does not signally come to grief, it will be far more by luck than good guiding.”)

d 9–e 5. In other words, the critic of συμπόσια must be quite sure that what he is blaming is not some accidental accompaniment. He cannot be sure of this until he has seen a συμπόσιον properly conducted under favourable conditions. If *then* he condemns it—and he *may*—we must listen to him (e.g. you mustn't select a *rotten* apple, when you want to condemn *apples* as such—αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα).

e 4. πᾶν, “*any* proceeding” (without sober guidance).

641 a 3. The next question the Cretan puts is: “supposing that we are wrong in blaming συμπόσια, what *good* do they do?”

a 4. τοῦτο τὸ περὶ τὰς πόσεις νόμιμον, “this drinking institution.” I have followed Schanz in reading ὀρθῶς for the MSS. ὀρθόν. Since 639 d 1 we have had ὀρθῶς γενομένῳ, ὀρθῶς γιγνομένην (twice), γιγνομένων ὀρθότατα, and γιγνόμενον ὀρθῶς. It is more likely that a scribe mistook the termination than that Plato should have varied the phrase here.

a 5. The antecedent to ὃ is στρατεύμα, not the statement about it.

a 7. νίκη πολέμου: so above 638 a 7 νίκην μάχης (at 647 d τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ νίκην, at c 4 below πολέμων νίκας).

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from being so indisputably μέγα, as Cl. thinks it, it sometimes undoes some of the advantages to which it is incidental—as indeed is implied in the proverbial qualification Καδμεία, which nobody ever heard applied to παιδεία.—The argument does not seem quite on all fours here, unless we admit an extension of the phrase to cover remoter consequences. What was generally called a Καδμεία νίκη would be less likely to produce ὕβρις in the victor than one which had cost him less.—For Καδμεία Ast quotes from Erasmus's *Adagia*; “undecunq̄ue natum est adagium, Cadmeam victoriam appellabant infelicem etiam ipsis victoribus.”

c 8. δοκεῖς ἡμῖν, “we are to conclude then!”—Cleinias can hardly believe his ears; still less, doubtless, when he hears the Ath.'s confident assent (d 3).—τὴν ἐν τοῖς οἴνοις κοινὴν διατριβήν: lit. “the occupation of drinking in company,” a blunt phrase adopted by the Ath. himself at 645 c 3.

d 1. ὡς εἰς παιδείας μεγάλην μοῖραν τείνουσαν (the construction—after λέγεις—is a variety of that noticed on 624 a 7), “has an important educational tendency.”

d 6. τὸ μὲν ἀληθές: used adverbially, as at Thuc. vi. 33. 2 πρόφασιν μὲν Ἐγεσταίων ξυμμαχία . . . τὸ δὲ ἀληθές Σικελίας ἐπιθυμία.—“To be quite sure that this is so in very truth” (δυσχυρίζεσθαι here, I think, as at *Theaet.* 158 d, *Crat.* 440 c, means “to maintain,” or “insist upon a thing to oneself,” and so “to feel sure of”). Cp. *Tim.* 72 d τὸ μὲν ἀληθές, ὡς εἴρηται, θεοῦ συμφήσαντος τότε ἂν οὕτω μόνως δυσχυριζοίμεθα.

d 7. “As we have embarked on the subject,” he goes on, “you are welcome to my opinion.”

d 10. πειρώμεθα: indicative, I think.

e 2 f. Before Burnet, all interpreters took συντεῖναι as governing τὸν λόγον. He, however, puts a comma after, as well as before, συντεῖναι, i.e. he takes it absolutely, with ἐπί, in the sense of “do your (and my) best to,” and governs τὸν λόγον by δηλῶσαι. This makes the arrangement of the latter part of the sentence seem awkward. But the apparent awkwardness is not foreign to the style of the *Laws*; and it was perhaps intended to give special emphasis to τὸν λόγον. On the other hand it clears up the construction of the earlier part of the sentence. How obscure this was we may see from the fact that, while Ast says we must supply in sense συντεῖναι τὸν νοῦν with ὑμᾶς (getting it out of the συντεῖναι τὸν λόγον), Stallb. explains the “zeugma” by supplying ἀναφέρειν τὸν λόγον πειρωμένους with ὑμᾶς. Plato's usage too is more in favour of *strive*, as a meaning for συντεῖναι, than *direct*.

πειρώμενον agrees with the subj. of δηλώσαι, and, with ἀμῶς γέ πως, means “to the best of my powers.”

e 5. ἡμῶν: the order here is of the same involved kind noticed in the συντεῖναι sentence.—ὑπολαμβάνουσιν is used here, as at *Apol.* 28 e ὡς ἐγὼ ᾤήθην τε καὶ ὑπέλαβον, in the sense of *believe, be under the impression.*

e 7. “I think of as many matters as he; but I give heaven thanks, and make no boast of them” (Jaques, in *As You Like It*).

642 a 1. σκοπῶ δὴ μὴ δόξαν ὑμῖν παράσχωμαι, “I am anxious not to give you the notion.”—In *περὶ σμικροῦ* L has undoubtedly here preserved for us the right reading (and so O<sup>2</sup>): A and O<sup>1</sup> had *περὶ σμικρά.*

a 3. ἀνακαθαιρόμενος, “developing, expounding” (a long argument). In a passage of Porphyrius’s *Life of Plotinus* (quoted by Ritter and Preller, p. 517) the word occurs in this sense: P. says that Plotinus, and two other pupils of the philosopher Ammonius, bound themselves μηδὲν ἐκκαλύπτειν τῶν Ἀμμωνίου δογμάτων, ἃ δὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀκροάσεσιν αὐτοῖς ἀνεκεκάθαρτο “which he had expounded to them in his lectures.” Plato probably uses it consciously as a metaphor—from the extracting the metal from the ore (*Laws* 678 d). Ast takes the word to mean *elaborate* (a long speech), a slightly different view. Stallb. thinks it can mean “to make by way of explanation” (a long speech). (Badham rewrites it ἀνεκὰς αἰρόμενος!)—τὸ δέ, “*at vero*” Stallb., who cps. *Apol.* 23 a; see above on 630 d.—ἡ κατὰ φύσιν . . . ἀπολαβεῖν, “its scientifically correct treatment can never get clear and adequate expression in (philosophical) argument without (the help of) a correct theory of μουσική”; and this last, he says, cannot be discussed without an exposition of what is meant by *education* in general, of which it is a branch.—That διόρθωσις means “*correct treatment*” we are helped to see by the ἐν τοῖς λόγοις that follows.—For οὐκ . . . σαφές for οὐδὲν σαφές cp. *Rep.* 368 a πάνυ γὰρ θεῖον πεπόνθατε, *Crat.* 425 d and *Soph.* 247 e βέλτιον for βέλτιόν τι.—For σαφές ἀπολαβεῖν cp. *Polit.* 277 c ἔοικεν . . . τὴν . . . ἐνάργειαν οὐκ ἀπειληφέναι πω.

a 7. ὁρᾶτε . . . λόγον: the first four words cannot be any sort of apodosis to the εἰ clauses that follow. They mean: “Consider (both of you) what we had better do.” The following construction seems rather slovenly, and it is not surprising that Hermann (followed by Schanz) wants to delete from εἰ to λόγον. The nearest approach to this is such a construction as the first εἰ clause at *Xen. Cyrop.* iii. 3. 49 τί δ’, ἔφη, ὦ Κῦρε, εἰ καὶ σὺ συγκαλέσας,



ἕως ἔτι ἔξεστι, παρακελεύσαιο, εἰ ἄρα τι καὶ σὺ ἀμείνους ποιήσαιο τοὺς στρατιώτας; Here the τί; (“how would it be?”) has to be supplied out of the previous ὁρᾶτε τί ποιῶμεν. Another εἰ clause depending on something not expressed is that at *Laws* 744 a εἴ μοι συμβαίνει τοῦτο ἢ καὶ ἀποτυγχάνω τοῦ σκοποῦ; The conversational anacoluthon is best marked by a —.

**b 3.** πρόξενος apparently used as an adjective here: so ξένος at *Soph. O.T.* 219 (also *c. gen.*) ἀγὼ ξένος μὲν τοῦ λόγου τοῦδ’ ἐξερῶ.

**b 4.** πᾶσιν τοῖς παισίν, . . . ἐνδύεται ἕκαστον ἡμῶν: the peculiarity of the anacoluthon is that there seems to be a tardy attempt to mend it; ἐγγέγονεν, which comes as if after a parenthesis, is a sufficient explanation of the dative παισίν; again quite conversational.

**b 5.** Ast unaccountably takes ταύτη as adverbial (“*propterea*”). Its separation from τῇ πόλει gives it special emphasis. ταύτη τῇ πόλει depends grammatically on εὐνοια rather than on προξένων, though the proximity of προξένων to τῇ πόλει is significant. It shows whose πρόξενοι are being talked of.—Badham rejects ἡμῶν . . . πόλει as a “*miseri magistelli interpretatio*,” and Schanz follows him. The omission certainly seems to improve the sentence.

**b 8.** τῶν παίδων εὐθύς: the gen. depends on ἀκούων; the qualifying εὐθύς has very little definite meaning. We might say: “If I heard the mere children talking, and they, being Lacedaemonians, had some fault to find with, or some praise to bestow upon, the Athenians.”—In the margin of Cod. Voss. was written ἐκ τῶν παίδων εὐθύς: Schanz adopts this, but such a phrase would come too soon after ἐκ νέων εὐθύς, and the loss of the ἐκ, if it was there, is hard to account for. As it is, the preceding ἐκ νέων εὐθύς helps to show that εὐθύς goes with παίδων here.—The plur. ὑμῶν applies to the whole body of πρόξενοι of Athens, of whom Meg. was one—the ἡμῶν τῶν προξένων of b 6.

**c 2.** Acc. to Boeckh κακῶς ῥέζειν τινά is a Laconism. It is certainly not ordinary Attic.

**c 5.** πᾶσαν, “thorough, hearty.”

**c 7.** διαφερόντως τοιοῦτοι: Ritter quotes *Ep.* vii. 336 d φοβεῖσθαι δὲ μηδὲ Ἀθήνας· εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐκεῖ πάντων ἀνθρώπων διαφέροντες πρὸς ἀρετήν.

**c 8.** The two points about the goodness of the good Athenian are: (1) that it is spontaneous (αὐτοφυῶς); it is open to him, as it is *not* open to the Spartan, to be bad in all sorts of ways, if he likes; (2) it is *genuine*, and the mark and warrant of its genuineness is that it is (as we should say) *perfectly natural*—the gift of

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dislocation of what seems the natural order where genitives are concerned is not uncommon in the *Laws*. St. quotes 648 e τὴν πάντων ἦτταν φοβούμενος ἀνθρώπων τοῦ πώματος, 688 b πρὸς πρώτην τὴν τῆς συμπάσης ἡγέμονα ἀρετῆς, 730 a μεθ' οὗ γὰρ ἱκετεύσας μάρτυρος ὁ ἰκέτης θεοῦ <ἀπ>έτυχεν ὁμολογιῶν, 858 c τοῖς μὲν τῶν ἄλλων συγγράμμασιν ποιητῶν, 873 d ἐν τοῖς τῶν δώδεκα ὀρίοισι μερῶν.

e 4. ἐξενώθησαν ὑμῖν, "formed a friendship with you."

e 5. οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν: i.e. our family (at that time), in the person of Epimenides.—ἐκ τούτου, "from that day to this." The ἔγωγε that follows shows that Cleinias speaks of his own family, and not of the Cnossian state (see on d 4). Ast quotes Diog. Laert. i. 111 Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τάλαντον ἐψηφίσαντο δοῦναι αὐτῷ . . . ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀργύριον οὐ προσήκατο, φιλίαν δὲ καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσατο Κνωσσίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων.

643 a 3. τὰ δ' ἐμὰ . . . δύνασθαι . . . οὐ πάνυ ῥάδια, "when it comes to being able to do it, my task is none too easy." The vagueness of τὰ ἐμὰ (probably even more vague than τὸ ἐμόν, for which see Heindorf's note on *Theaet.* 161 e) allows of its being used, by a slight zeugma, in a slightly different sense with ῥάδια. As the subject of ἔτοιμα it was equal to ἐγώ.—For the connexion of the notions of βούλησις and δύναμις cp. *Gorg.* 509 d πότερα δύναμιν ἢ βούλησιν; κτλ.

a 4. πρὸς τὸν λόγον, "for the purposes of the argument." Cp. *Phaedr.* 257 b ἵνα . . . ἀπλῶς πρὸς Ἐρωτα μετὰ φιλοσόφων λόγων τὸν βίον ποιῆται.

a 5. τί ποτ' ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει: cp. *Laws* 892 a ψυχὴν . . . ἡγνοηκέναι κινδυνεύουσι . . . οἷόν τε ὃν τυγχάνει καὶ δύναμιν ἣν ἔχει, and 964 c 2 ἣν δύναμιν ἔχει κακία τε καὶ ἀρετή, *Phaedr.* 237 c περὶ ἔρωτος οἷόν τε ἐστὶ καὶ ἣν ἔχει δύναμιν and 265 d εἰ αὐτοῖν τὴν δύναμιν τέχνη λαβεῖν δύναιτό τις, οὐχ ἄχαρι. As δύνασθαι sometimes means *significare*, so δύναμις often means *significatio*. (Ast in *Lex.* gives eight instances.) In these three passages, as at *Gorg.* 455 d—where Cope translates τὴν τῆς ῥητορικῆς δύναμιν ἅπασαν "the entire force and meaning of rhetoric"—I think the notion in the writer's mind is rather "what the term implies," than "what the thing can do." Ritter in a valuable note (p. 11 f.) says that in these passages it means "what the thing is." Referring to Peipers, *Ontologia Plat.* 250 ff. he says that with Plato εἶναι is nothing but the δύναμις τοῦ ποιεῖν καὶ πάσχειν. If that is so, we have in all these passages a simple tautology. Cp. *Soph.* 247 e 3.

**a 6.** ἰτέον εἶναι τὸν . . . λόγον: “*accusativus, in hac structura Atticis usitatus, Platoni imprimis frequentatur,*” Heindorf on *Phaedr.* 272 e. Among other passages he quotes *Laws* 688 e τὸν γε νομοθέτην . . . πειρατέον ταῖς πόλεσι φρόνησιν . . . ἐμποιεῖν.

**a 7.** τὸν θεόν: i.e. τὸν Διόνυσον, an ennobling periphrasis for οἶνος. Cp. 773 d where οἶνος is spoken of as chastened ὑπὸ νήφοντος ἑτέρου θεοῦ. These words may also contain a reference to the part to be taken in education by the god as the inspirer of the Dionysiac Choir.

**b 3.** λέγοις ἄν: so below 782 d 9, *Parm.* 126 a, *Phaedr.* 227 c.

**b 5.** τοῦτο αὐτό: antecedent to ὅτιοῦν (not, as Stallb., to τὸ ἀγαθὸν εἶναι ὅτιοῦν).—ἐκ παίδων εὐθύς: see above 642 b 5 ἐκ νέων εὐθύς.

**b 6.** ἐκάστοις: neut. (so Ast—not, as St., masc.). We should understand it better if Plato had written ἐν ἐκάστοις τοῖς τοῦ πράγματος προσήκουσιν. Probably he did not like the sound of two consecutive words beginning with πρ, and for some reason preferred not to say τοῖς προσήκουσι τοῦ πράγματος.—The masc. οἱ προσήκοντες is used as a subst. with a possessive gen. depending on it at *Apol.* 34 b; the neut. προσήκοντα is equally substantival here.

**b 8.** ἢ τινα οἰκοδόμον: “*tis est forte (etwa) qua significatione praesertim cum ἢ conjunctum gaudet.* Sic infra 644 a ἢ τινα πρὸς ἰσχύν, 740 c ἢ τινες ἄρρενες, 838 c ἢ τινας Οἰδίποδας, [867 b ἢ τινας ὡς ἀκουσίους], 898 e ἢ τινος ἀέρος, 933 d ἢ τισιν ἐπῶδαῖς, 934 a ἢ τισιν ἐπιθυμίαις” Ast. So *Rep.* 431 a 7 ὅταν δὲ ὑπὸ τροφῆς κακῆς ἢ τινος ὀμιλίας κρατήθῃ, *Laws.* 757 d 3 ἢ καὶ κράτος δήμου τι, 950 d 8.—With regard to this early specialization in the education of the craftsmen, if it had been objected to Plato that this sort of training would make a man into a *tool*, he would probably have answered that he meant his οἰκοδόμοι and γεωργοί to be tools. Possibly too, if it were urged that you cannot tell at the beginning of a child’s education what calling he will be best fitted for, he would have said that it is for the good of the community that crafts should be hereditary. Cp. *Rep.* 415 a ἅτε οὖν συγγενεῖς ὄντες πάντες τὸ μὲν πολὺ ὁμοίους ἂν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς γεννῶτε.

**c 4.** For ἀναγκαῖα followed by an act. infin. St. cps. *Soph.* 242 b, *Gorg.* 449 b εἰςὶ μὲν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔναι τῶν ἀποκρίσεων ἀναγκαῖαι διὰ μακρῶν τοὺς λόγους ποιεῖσθαι.

**c 5.** ἰππεύειν παίζοντα: this suggests to us a rocking horse, or the παιδαγωγός on all fours with a child astride on his back.

It should be remembered, however, that *παίζειν* is a cognate of *παιδεία* as well as of *παιδία*, and that the line between the two was not nearly so sharply drawn with the Greeks as it is with us. Only the two richest classes at Athens had to serve as cavalry. As *ἔφηβοι* they had to learn to ride in earnest, but it was probably not this stage that Plato was thinking of here.

c 6. *ποιούντα*, the reading of the MSS., whether due to the original author or to a copying scribe, must be a slip for *ποιεῖν*, due to the attraction of the neighbouring *παίζοντα*. In the margin of the MS. of Eusebius, who quotes this passage, the correction to *ποιεῖν* is made, and Boeckh and Ast made it separately.

c 7. *παιδίων*, the reading of Eusebius and Aristides, is now generally adopted for the *παιδείων* of the MSS.—*ἐκέῖσε . . . οἱ ἀφικομένους αὐτοὺς δεῖ τέλος ἔχειν*, “towards the pursuits (or employments) in which they themselves (will) have to be engaged when they grow up,” i.e. I take the *ἀφ. τέλ. ἔχειν* to be equal to *ἀφικέσθαι τέλος ἔχοντας*. For *τέλος* in the sense of *maturity* cp. *Phaedr.* 276 b *ἀγαπήν ἂν ἐν ὀγδῶ μηνὶ ὅσα ἔσπειρε τέλος λαβόντα*, and *Laws* 834 c, where *τοῖς τέλος ἔχουσι* is “i.q. *τελείοις, adultis*” (Ast); so at 899 e *πρὸς τέλος . . . ὀρῶν ἐλθόντας*, *Menex.* 249 a *ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἀνδρὸς τέλος ἴωσιν. τέλος ἔχειν* is often used in the *Laws* without *βίου* (once, 801 e, with *βίου*) for “to die.” At *Tim.* 90 d it means *to find its fulfilment*, and this is apparently the sense which Jowett gives it here. He translates “(to direct the children’s inclinations . . .) *to their final aim in life.*” This neglects the emphatic *αὐτοῦς*.—Another possibility is that *τέλος ἔχειν* here means “to reach perfection”—the same as the *τέλειον εἶναι* four lines lower down—“to the point to which they themselves must come if they are to reach perfection.” But the meaning wanted is not that the teacher must set the highest possible ideal before the child, but that he must direct his thoughts, and more particularly his inclinations, to a particular employment.—With this explanation too the emphatic *αὐτοῦς* seems out of place, whereas it goes admirably with the *ἀφικομένους* if that is taken to be the most significant word in the phrase. (F.H.D. suggests that *τέλος ἔχειν* means “to take up their position in the world.”)—The main point in this paragraph, as the next words clearly show, is, not that children should specialize early but, that the first object of education is to make children *like* doing what will be their life-work.

d 1. *τροφήν* is *disciplinam*, a common Platonic use; cp. *Tim.* 44 b *ἂν μὲν οὖν δὴ καὶ συνεπιλαμβάνηται τις ὀρθή*

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μάλα πεπαιδευμένων σφόδρα ἀνθρώπων. Ficinus and Cornarius translate as if they had πεπαιδευμένον ἄνθρωπον, treat σφόδρα as redundant, and supply τέχνην with the gen. ἄλλων τοιούτων. (R. G. Bury would read εἰς <τά> τε, taking καπ. and ναυκλ. to be genitives.) Ast saw that ἄλλων τοιούτων must have a noun to depend on, and conjectured that μάλα was an early mistake for πράγματα; Winckelmann preferred ἐπιτηδεύματα, referring to 918 a 1 where we have καπηλείας ἐπιτηδεύματα. With this and the change to the acc. sing. (πεπαιδευμένον ἄνθρωπον) Schanz is content, and Ritter approves. As a smaller alteration I proposed formerly to read ἄττα for μάλα and to keep the following genitives, taking καπηλείας and ναυκληρίας as acc. plur., and translating πεπ. σφ. ἀνθρ. "in the case of men who have been highly trained." But I now prefer with F.H.D. to see the source of error in σφόδρα. He for this word would read σοφίαν, taking καπηλείας and ναυκληρίας as objective genitives depending on it. It will be noticed that σοφίαν in the same connexion recurs eight lines further down. The gen. ἀνθρώπων is on all fours with the ἡμῶν in the earlier half of the sentence. We might then translate the whole passage from νῦν γάρ: "As it is (cp. νῦν δέ at *Phaedr.* 244 a) we blame or praise the bringing up of individual men, speaking of that one among us as an educated man, another as uneducated (and we say this) sometimes in the case of those who have been highly trained for hucksterage or for seamanship, or for any other such business."

e 3. ταῦτα refers to the business trainings spoken of above.

e 4. There is something attractive in Ritter's suggestion that perhaps for παιδείαν here we ought to read παιδαγωγίαν. He refers to 659 d where we read ὡς ἄρα παιδεία μὲν ἐσθ' ἢ παίδων ὀλκή τε καὶ ἀγωγή πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου λόγον ὀρθὸν εἰρημένον.

e 6. ἐπιστάμενον is not connected with τέλεον by τε, but it is subordinate to and explanatory of τέλεον. For ἄρχειν τε καὶ ἄρχεσθαι St. cps. Solon ap. Stob. *Serm.* xlvi. 22 ἄρχε πρῶτον μαθὼν ἄρχεσθαι, ἄρχεσθαι γὰρ μαθὼν ἄρχειν ἐπιστήσει, and Arist. *Pol.* 1333 a 2 and Cic. *De legg.* iii. 2.

644 a 1. ἀφορισάμενος (the technical term for "isolating" a phenomenon) refers to the μὴ ἀόριστον γένηται in 643 d 6.—For ὡς ἐμοὶ L<sup>1</sup> and O<sup>1</sup> apparently have ἐξ ᾧν (cp. *Prot.* 313 c ἐξ ᾧν σὺ λέγεις, *Phaedo* 61 c ἐξ ᾧν ἐγὼ ἤσθημαι). This looks like a very early variant.

a 3. τινα: cp. above on 643 b 8.—I see no force in Badham's

objection that it is ridiculous to talk of ἰσχύς as if it were a σοφία. To say nothing of the difference between ἄλλος and the English *other* in such sentences, “the training which aims at money, or, say, some particular bodily strength” implies the acquirement of *skill*, and σοφία includes all sorts of skill (cp. *Prot.* 321 d Ἡφαιίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν), and a man may be, in a literal, as well as in a metaphorical sense, a σοφὸς παλαιστής (*Soph. Phil.* 431). For the whole passage cp. *Epist.* 358 c 3 τὸ γὰρ βέβαιον καὶ πιστὸν καὶ ὑγιές, τοῦτο ἐγὼ φημι εἶναι τὴν ἀληθινὴν φιλοσοφίαν, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας τε καὶ εἰς ἄλλα τεινούσας σοφίας τε καὶ δεινότητος κομψότητος οἶμαι προσαγορεύων ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζειν.

**a 4.** ἄνευ νοῦ καὶ δίκης: a negative definition of the aim of education; i.e. it must produce φρόνησις and δικαιοσύνη. The former was partly implied in the ἄρχειν ἐπιστάμενον, and the latter in the ἄρχεσθαι ἐπιστάμενον above. That σωφροσύνη and ἀνδρεία, the other two of the θεία ἀγαθὰ mentioned at 631 c, are not specified here we have no right to complain. The Athenian selects the two most indispensable products of education. That he is speaking generally, and not philosophically classifying, is shown by his resumption of his whole contention, three lines lower down, in the form: “true education has got to make us *good*,” prefaced as it is by a deprecation of criticism of his previous terms—μηδὲν ὀνόματι διαφερώμεθ’ αὐτοῖς (i.e. ἀλλήλοις).

**a 6.** For ὀνόματι διαφέρεσθαι St. cps. *Euthydem.* 285 a καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι διαφέρεσθαι.

**a 8.** σχεδόν: merely a sort of apology for the general term ἀγαθοί; i.e. it does not mean that in *nearly all cases* well educated men are good (so Ast and Jowett), but that the nearest approach to a general term in the case is the word *good*: “what you may call *good*.”

**b 1.** μηδαμοῦ ἀτιμάζειν: this he says in view of the disparagement of the συμπόσια, which he is going to show may be educational implements for training men in σωφροσύνη.—πρῶτον τῶν καλλίστων τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀνδράσιν παραγιγνόμενον, “the greatest blessing man can receive, and the better the man, the greater the blessing.” The παρα- in the verb shows that he is speaking not of what a man has φύσει, but of additions to it.

**b 2.** ἐξέρχεται: the connexion with ἐπανορθοῦσθαι shows that the word is used for “*goes wrong*”—“outsteps bounds”—a rare use. Cp. *Phil.* 13 d 6 καὶ ὁ λόγος ἡμῖν ἐκπεσὼν οἰχήσεται.—The statement that it is every man’s duty to do what he can to help



education into the right lines is noteworthy.—L and O have παντός but A has παντι, and so O<sub>2</sub>.

**b 6.** Cp. above on 624 a 7. The πάλαι refers to 626 e 2 ff.; though the precise statement that the *man* who conquers himself is *good* is not made there, at 627 b 6 f. that statement is made about a city.

**b 9.** ἀναλάβωμεν, “let us consider again”—the object, most likely, being, not τοῦτ’ αὐτό, but the sentence—“what we mean by that same”; so at *Apol.* 19 a ἀναλάβωμεν οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τίς ἡ κατηγορία ἐστίν, and at *Hipp. Mai.* 288 a ἀναλάβω ὃ λέγεις, *Phil.* 33 c μνήμην, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὅτι ποτ’ ἔστιν πρότερον ἀναληπτέον.

**c 1.** μοι: this ethic dative turns what looked like a command into a request. It is almost “if you please.” I don’t think Schanz can be right in altering it to μου. Cp. *Dem.* 18. 178 τούτῳ πάνυ μοι προσέχετε τὸν νοῦν.—ἀποδέξασθε εἰάν πως δυνατὸς γένωμαι: so *Rep.* 525 d οὐδαμῆ ἀποδεχόμενον εἰάν τις . . . διαλέγεται—“allow me to . . . if I can.”—The δι’ εἰκόνας, of course, goes with δηλώσαι.—“Let me, please, try and show you, by the help of a figure, how the case stands.”

**c 4.** ἕκαστον αὐτόν: a variety of the common αὐτὸς ἕκαστος (“*pro se quisque*” Ast), “each separate individual,” or “each separate self.”—ἕνα is of course *predicate*. (St. takes αὐτόν closely with ἕνα.)

**c 9.** μελλόντων: Stephanus was for reading μελλόντων, in which case, I suppose, πρὸς δέ would be adverbial: “*non male*” Ast says, though he keeps μελλόντων, supplying αὐτῶν (i.e. the two συμβούλω, ἡδονή and λύπη) with it. But certainly, if μελλόντων be kept—and I think it should—it is best, with Stallb., to take it as a neuter.—For the adjective used substantively without the article cp: *Laws* 816 d ἀνεὺ γὰρ γελοίων τὰ σπουδαῖα . . . μαθεῖν . . . οὐ δυνατόν.—οῖν, which refers of course to δόξας, was altered in the margin of Eusebius to the un-Attic αῖν (cp. Wecklein, *Curiae Epigraphicae*, p. 14).

**c 10.** A good instance of the neutral use of ἐλπίς.

**d 1.** θάρρος, “confidence,” “a cheerful expectation.” As he has deliberately given the neutral sense to ἐλπίς he has to find another word for it here; besides, θάρρος is more decidedly the opposite of φόβος than ἐλπίς is. Cp. 671 c τὸν εὐελπιν καὶ θαρραλέον. For this use, and for the whole passage, cp. *Tim.* 69 c f. ἄλλο τε εἶδος ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχῆς προσωκοδόμων τὸ θνητόν, δεινὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐν ἑαυτῷ παθήματα ἔχον, πρῶτον μὲν, ἡδονήν, μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ, ἔπειτα λύπας, ἀγαθῶν φυγὰς, ἔτι δ’ αὖ

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ordinary puppets : it is possible that we are not meant for the *amusement* of the heavenly spectators ; they may have been made “for some serious purpose.”—We need not follow up the metaphor by asking, “who pulls the wires and with what motive?” The following words (τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν) confine its application. We answer to the tug of passion or other motives just in the way that the marionettes answer to the pull of the wires. (Cf. *King Lear* iv. i. 38 “As flies to wanton boys, are we to the Gods : They kill us for their sport.”) Cp. *Pol.* 268 a 5 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐπισκεψόμεθα τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν, and below, 672 b 8.

e 1. γιγνώσκομεν : the pres. means we are (not) inquiring (into this—i.e. the motive of the pulling).

e 3. ἀνθέλκουσιν Eusebius, ἀνθέλκουσαι MSS.—“*errore aperto, cujus fons in vicino ἐναντίαι οὔσαι cernitur*” Stallb.

e 4. οὗ δὴ διωρισμένη ἀρετὴ καὶ κακία κείται : lit. “in the very region where vice ‘marches with’ virtue.” We might say, “on the border line between vice and virtue.”—μιᾷ γάρ . . . δεῖν . . . συνεπόμενον . . . ἀνθέλκειν τ. ἄλλ. νεύ. ἕκαστον : still less of the original metaphor is left here—nothing but the wires : we are no longer a *spectacle* : *we can pull our own wires.*—ὁ λόγος : as before, the personified argument—“*Philosophy.*”

645 a 1. τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσοῦν καὶ ἱεράν : Homer’s picture of Zeus at one end of the golden rope, successfully resisting the pull of all the other gods and goddesses at the other, was no doubt present to Plato’s mind here,—as at *Theaet.* 153 c, where he suggests that the golden rope is an allegorical representation of the sun—but I do not think that ἀγωγή is an abstract used for the concrete ; i.e. it does not mean *rope*, but *drawing*. It is χρυσοῦν that is used in the non-natural, i.e. the metaphorical sense :—“the golden and blessed drawing of reason.” (Cp. *Twelfth Night* i. i. 35 “How will she love, when the rich golden shaft Hath killed the flock of all affections else That live in her.”) ἀγωγή will thus have here much the same sense it has at 659 d ἡ παιδῶν ὀλκὴ τε καὶ ἀγωγή—and at 819 a, where it almost equals τροφή or παιδεία. By this time the metaphor has almost disappeared : it survives only in the *suggestion* of Homer’s golden rope.—τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην, “which gets the name, when it affects (not a man, but) the state, of a generally binding law.” (See above on 644 d 2.) The main idea which emerges here is one which has been presented to us before, and which the author means us to have in mind all through ; i.e. that of the educational influence of law. Behind all education too,

whether of the man or of the community, we are shown the force of *reason* which guides it. Cp. Rit. and Prell. 523 d.

**a 2.** ἄλλας δὲ σκληρὰς . . . ὁμοίας: an embarrassing wealth of thought is here hinted at rather than adequately expressed. A revision by the author's hand would doubtless have added clearness. The codex Ricardianus adds καὶ μονοειδῆ after οὕσαν, and Ficinus translates the words. Schanz marks a lacuna after οὕσαν. Even with the added words the antitheses are not all clearly expressed. The παντοδαποῖς εἶδουσιν ὁμοίας has, I would suggest, already in the ordinary text the ideas to which it is the antithesis, though they are not clearly expressed as such. The drawing of virtue is *single* (μιᾱ—in an emphatic position): along with this, and with the epithets χρυσῆ and ἱερά, go naturally those of *immutability* and *harmony*, and these are further suggested by the contrasted dissimilarity of the opposing forces.

**a 5.** The αἰεῖ here reminds us of the διὰ βίου and the παντί in a somewhat similar exhortation to the good citizen at 644 b 3.—In the whole of the present passage down to τὰ ἄλλα γένη the language admits of reference to the struggle between the good and the bad elements either in the *man* or in the *state*.

**a 6.** πράου καὶ οὐ βιαίου: cp. the quotation from *Isaiah* in *St. Matthew* 12. 19 οὐκ ἐρίσει οὐδὲ κραυγᾶσει, οὐδὲ ἀκούσει τις ἐν ταῖς πλατείαις τὴν φωνὴν αὐτοῦ. κάλαμον συντετριμμένον οὐ κατεάξει καὶ λίνον τυφόμενον οὐ σβέσει, ἕως ἂν ἐκβάλῃ εἰς νῆκος τὴν κρίσιν. The only point in the metaphor here preserved is the *gold* as contrasted with the other metals—physically, in bulk, hardness and roughness their inferior, but in worth and (so to speak) moral power, their superior. Cp. the language used at *Rep.* 415 a, and often elsewhere in the *Republic*, of the *golden* element in the state.—δείσθαι ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀγωγὴν: cp. *Rep.* 441 e οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν λογιστικῷ ἄρχειν προσήκει, σοφῷ ὄντι καὶ ἔχοντι τὴν ὑπὲρ ἀπάσης τῆς ψυχῆς προμήθειαν, τῷ δὲ θυμοειδεῖ ὑπηκόω εἶναι καὶ συμμάχῳ τούτου; In the *state*, it is the duty of the good citizen to support the law, and what Plato in the *Republic* calls the *golden* element among the citizens.

**a 7.** The ἐν occurs in no MS. Eusebius has it, and Ficinus has *in nobis* in his translation. The palaeographical argument cuts both ways; the ἂν is as likely to have been the cause of the introduction of an ἐν, as of its loss, and Ficinus's *in nobis* may have been a translation of ἡμῖν. There is a slight gain of definiteness of expression in the ἐν ἡμῖν, and I have doubtfully

left it in the text out of deference to the views of most modern editors.

**b 1.** καὶ οὕτω . . . σεσωμένος ἂν εἴη: a hard passage. Ritter (p. 13) has a useful note on it, more particularly on the uses of μῦθος and λόγος. "Though occasionally interchangeable they are generally distinct; μῦθος persuades, is rhetorical, aims at producing a certain mental atmosphere: λόγος convinces and lays down the law; the προοίμια of the *Laws* are μῦθοι." But I do not find it easy to agree with R. that ὁ μῦθος ἀρετῆς here means "*the recommendation of virtue*":—as we might say in quasi-parliamentary language, "*the speech for virtue.*" I think ἀρετῆς is a subjective gen., and that the whole passage means "If this help is given, and the golden element prevails, virtue's persuasive representation, which likened us to puppets, will not fail of its effect (and after all the cord I speak of is a golden one)." A λόγος is said σώζεσθαι (*Theaet.* 164 a and 167 d) when it is still maintained,—when it has not to be abandoned; a μῦθος σώζεται when it holds its own as a persuasive force. For the form of the phrase cp. *Rep.* 621 b 8 καὶ οὕτως, ὦ Γλαύκων, μῦθος ἐσώθη καὶ οὐκ ἀπόλετο. (Here, though the lit. meaning is "the μῦθος was preserved to us," I think there underlies the literal meaning the suggestion that the μῦθος *gained its point*: this is borne out by the following καὶ ἡμᾶς ἂν σώσειεν, ἂν πειθώμεθα αὐτῷ, which also illustrates the persuasive, instructive character of the μῦθος.) Cp. *Theaet.* 167 d σώζεται . . . ὁ λόγος οὗτος; 164 a, *Rep.* 395 b. St. cps. *Phil.* 14 a (where see Badham's note).—For the order of the ὡς and the θαυμάτων St. cps. *Soph.* 242 c, *Phil.* 18 d, and *Polit.* 260 c.—Ast and Stallb. take ὁ μῦθος ἀρετῆς as "*the story about virtue*"; sooner than agree to this Badham would (very ingeniously) read ἄρ' ἔτι for ἀρετῆς. The difficulty of deciding the meaning of the gen. ἀρετῆς is so great, that Badham's suggestion is very attractive.

**b 2.** This result of the use of an εἰκὼν was that hoped for when it was first promised at 644 c 1: it gives something of an explanation (τρόπον τινὰ) of what was meant by saying that self-mastery is essential to virtue (cp. 633 d and e); it means that the better elements must be victorious over the worse.

**b 3.** καὶ ὅτι πόλιν καὶ ἰδιώτην κτλ.: the next result that follows, if the μῦθος makes its way, is that every man for himself can form a right judgement about the various motives and inducements to action of different kinds, and guide his life by it, and that a state, when it gets its right judgement either directly

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For the proleptic σφοδρότερας with ἐπιτείνει St. cps. *Prot.* 327 c οὗτος ἂν ἐλλόγιμος ἠὲ ξήθη.

**e 5.** There is a conversational looseness about the acc. τὴν ἔξιν (as there is in the use of αὐτόν two lines above, when the τις to which it refers comes after it), and there are several other, more regular moulds in which the sentence might have been cast, but the meaning is quite clear. The acc. with εἰς ταῦτόν ἀφικνεῖσθαι is of the same kind as the acc. with ὅμοιος of the thing in which the likeness is seen: *Soph. Aj.* 1153 ὄργην ὅμοιος, *Il.* v. 778 ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖοι. There is no need, with Schanz, to suspect a corruption of the text.

**646 a 2.** πονηρότατος: at 644 b 7 the admission was referred to that a man who could not rule himself was a *bad* man; so again here.

**a 4.** I.e. by the side of the proverbial (*Ar. Nub.* 1417) childishness of the old man, we may now set the childishness of the man who is overcome by wine. The comparison adds dignity to the state of mind of the latter, but it does not make that state any clearer; the childishness is hardly of the same kind. What is common to the two is that both come in later life.

**b 5.** The εἰ is the usual εἰ after θαυμάζω.

**b 6.** ἄπασαν φανλότητα, "utter degradation," Jowett.

**b 7.** ψυχῆς λέγεις: with ψυχῆς we must supply φανλότητα from the preceding sentence.

**c 1.** ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον: again a conversational looseness of expression. It is possible that we ought to put a (;) after ἀδυναμίαν, and supply δεῖ ἑαυτὸν ἐμβάλλειν from what precedes.

**c 3.** αὐτοὺς βαδίζοντας: the αὐτούς implies that nobody forces them to it (referring to the ἐκόν above); βαδ. that at the time of seeking the doctor's services they are in fair health.—ἐπί with dat., "with a view to"; so *Prot.* 312 b τούτων γὰρ σὺν ἐκάστην (sc. μάθησιν) οὐκ ἐπὶ τέχνῃ ἔμαθες, ὡς δημιουργὸς ἐσόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ, ὡς τὸν ἰδιώτην καὶ τὸν ἐλεύθερον πρέπει.—There is more in this analogy of medical treatment than at first appears. When we come to the Athenian's complete scheme for the regulation of the use of wine (see 674 a, b, c) we see that its use is to be, morally speaking, a *medical* one; no city would need, he says, many vineyards; the scheme would not be good for what in England is called "the trade."

**c 4.** μετ' ὀλίγον ὕστερον: apparently an adaptation of the poetical μεθύστερον; the usual Platonic phrase is ὀλίγον (or ὀλίγω) ὕστερον.

c 7. γυμνάσια καὶ πόνους : a hendiadys, “the labours of the gymnasia.”—ἀσθενεῖς probably refers to the temporary fatigue after great exertion.

d 2. τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων περί : about other practices, that is, *besides those which are concerned with the body*, we should expect people to be able to submit to a temporary loss or inconvenience, if it was the price of greater future gain.

d 5. I think we have here again a conversational laxity of expression, and that the presence of περί with τὸν οἶνον is made to cover the absence of περί or περί with διατριβῆς. If we cancel ὡσαύτως διανοητέον (with Hermann) or διανοητέον (with Schanz) and supply διανοεῖσθαι χρή and περί from the preceding sentence, it will be awkward if we do not make this sentence too a *question*, and that will not suit the εἴπερ clause which follows.

d 6. εἴπερ ἐνι . . . διανοηθῆναι, “if it is possible to reckon this (practice) as really belonging to these (practices)”—i.e. as being one of the practices in which a temporary loss will produce a future gain. (I think that is better than, with Stallb., to take τοῦτο to be “this state of things” and τούτοις to be “*istis quae ad computationem pertinent*,” i.e. ἡ περὶ τὸν οἶνον διατριβή.)—The following sentence incidentally explains more clearly what he means by τοῦτο ἐν τούτοις.

d 8. ἔχονσα φαίνεται : the subject to be supplied is ἡ π. τ. οἶ. διατριβή.

d 9. τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, “than that which accrues to the body” (in the instances, i.e., given at c 3 ff.).—τῇ γε ἀρχῇ : is this a metaphor from the stadium—“at the start”? (cp. 648 e 1). Ast takes τῇ ἀρχῇ to be equivalent to ἀρχήν or τὴν ἀρχήν, *omnino*. Anyhow the point is that, whereas the ὠφελία spoken of just above has to be waited for, *this* advantage is enjoyed at once.

e 2. τοιοῦτον : this does not refer to the word ἀλγηδόνων but to the possession of an advantage μηδὲν τῆς περὶ τὸ σῶμα ἐλάττω.—αὐτῷ refers to διατριβή; cp. on 645 d 4.

e 4. καί μοι λέγε : cp. 645 d 1.—δύο φόβων εἶδη : just as above the Ath. introduced *temperance* under the guise of a kind of *courage*, so here he introduces the sense of *shame* as a kind of *fear*.

e 11. πράττοντες ἢ λέγοντες : subordinate to δοξάζεσθαι—“if we do or say.”

647 a 4. ἐναντίος : here and in the following line not used as at a 10 and 646 e 4. There it means *opposite* in a logical sense; here it means *opponent* in a military sense. We may, I think, translate ἐναντίος ἐστὶ by “is a foe to,” or perhaps “challenges.”



**a 5.** ἀλγηδόσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις φόβοις, “pains, and the other things men fear”; so at 635 b we have λῦπαι and φόβοι, with ἡδοναί and παιδίαι next door to them.

**a 8.** Ast was no doubt right in altering the οὐκ ἂν of the MSS. to οὐ καὶ. (So too Badham: Ast’s other alterations in this paragraph—σέβεται καλῶν or σέβει καὶ καλεῖ . . . τό<δε>—are unnecessary.)—καὶ νομοθέτης καὶ πᾶς οὗ καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος : καὶ . . . καί here is rather “whether . . . or” than “both . . . and,” and the whole is equivalent to: “anybody who is worth anything, whether he be lawgiver or not.”

**a 9 f.** καλῶν is subordinated to προσαγορεύει in order to bring out the linguistic connexion between the honourable αἰδώς and its execrable opposite. (Schanz rejects the words καλῶν αἰδῶ, but cp. 699 c 4 ἦν αἰδῶ πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις εἶπομεν.)—Every φόβος has naturally an opposite θάρρος (see above 644 c 10 f.).—It is interesting to note that, before it was known that A confirmed the reading τούτῳ, Heindorf so corrected the vulgate τούτων. The correct reading also occurred in the margin of O.

**b 1.** μέγιστον κακὸν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ, “a curse, whether to the individual man or to the state.” In saying δημοσίᾳ he is probably thinking, not so much of a state’s action towards other states, as of the character of its laws and institutions. So at *Phaedr.* 277 d δημοσίᾳ is explained as e.g. implying νόμους τιθείς. The adverb would also apply to the action of an individual man in a public capacity, as a δικαστής for instance, or a speaker before a δικαστήριον; cp. *Theaet.* 174 b c καὶ δημοσίᾳ . . . ὅταν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἢ πού ἄλλοθι ἀναγκασθῆ περι τῶν παρὰ πόδας καὶ τῶν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς διαλέγεσθαι. If this latter sense was prominent in this passage, it would mean “a curse to either an ἰδιώτης or a πολιτικός”; probably the words would cover both meanings, and so be untranslatable in English.

**b 4.** ἐν πρὸς ἐν recurs at 738 e, 705 b ἀνθ’ ἐνὸς ἐν, and *Epinomis* 976 e μία γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν πρὸς μίαν: the phrase corresponds to our “man for man” (cp. Kipling’s “Man for man, the Fuzzy licked us ’oller”), and “one thing with another.”

**b 7.** Probably θάρρος would not have had a gen. depending on it of the thing of which fear is not felt, if it had not been for the contrasted words φόβος φίλων.—αἰσχύνης πέρι κακῆς: “addit κακῆς, quia de pudore dictum est antea, qui etiam honestus potest esse” Stallb.—The πέρι with gen. explains what it is in friends we are afraid of—i.e. their pouring shame upon us; cp. 648 b 2 ἀνδρείας τε πέρι καὶ δειλίας of the matter with which the test is concerned.

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in combat). The *προ-* of the *προγυμνάζοντας* proposed by Stephanus would be in place only if followed by “we must make him *able* to conquer”; but what we have is *νικᾶν δεῖ ποιεῖν διαμαχόμενον*—“make him fight successfully against (his temptation to indulgence).”—For *ποιεῖν* with an inf. in the sense of *compel* cp. *Rep.* 407 c *κάμνειν γὰρ οἴεσθαι ποιεῖ ἀεὶ καὶ ὠδίνοντα μήποτε λήγειν περὶ τοῦ σώματος.*

c 9. *αὐτοῦ* MSS.; Ast corrected this to *αὐτοῦ*. Schanz retains the MS. reading.

c 10. Rabe (*ut supra*) says O gives a variant  $\hat{\eta}$ , for  $\eta$ .

c 10—d 7. “Or are we to imagine that though a successful fight against timidity is the necessary preliminary to perfect courage, and though the most gifted nature (*ὄστισοῦν*) will never reach half the excellence of which it is capable if it has not had experience and training in such fights; temperance forsooth can be acquired in perfection by a man who has never gone through a successful struggle against a host of delightful seductions that beckon him towards impudence and crime—a struggle in which he is to be helped by reason, by active exertion, and by skill, whether at play or at work? Surely he is not to lack all such experiences as these?”

c 10. *δειλία*: this word, followed by *ἀνδρείαν*, and the *σώφρων* in d 3 reveal to us that we are really discussing the *ἐπιτηδεύματα* for the production of *ἀνδρεία* and *σωφροσύνη* (cp. 632 e 1 f.).—A had apparently altered *δειλία* to *διαίτη*; but in the margin is γρ. *δειλία*: in O the text has *διαίτη* and the margin the correction *δειλία (ἀπ’ ὀρθώσεως· οὐκ εἶ)*: Steinhart’s suggested *ἀναιδεία* does not fit the passage at all.

d 6. *ἔργου* is difficult; I think it means the active exertion of *his trainers*, but it is conceivable that it means the habit which comes of repeated action on the part of the trained.

d 8. *τόν γ’ εἰκότα λόγον*: for the article, cp. 649 c 7 *τό γ’ οὖν εἰκός*, and 630 d 9 *τό τε ἀληθές καὶ τὸ δίκαιον*, where Ast has collected a number of similar instances of the use of the neuter art. from later books of the *Laws*.

e 1. *φόβου φάρμακον*, “a drug to produce fear.” (See Dindorf on Steph. *Thes.* s.v. *φάρμακον*.) Gomperz, *G. D.* p. 500, suggests *bromine*.—*θεός*: in order to make the fictitious parallel as exact as possible, Plato postulates a divine origin answering to that of wine: the object of the fiction is to bring out clearly the main points in the nature and action of wine; hence the exactness of the parallel. One important fact that comes out clearly is that

there are different stages of μέθη (μᾶλλον . . . καθ' ἐκάστην πόσιν).

e 2. “ἐθέλη LO et in marg. γρ. α<sup>3</sup>: ἔλη A” Burnet.—ὥστε with νομίζειν is a somewhat loose (but still more convenient) variant of the more regular τοιοῦτον . . . οἷος ἂν ποιόη νομίζειν.—Notice also the change from plur. in ἀνθρώποις to sing. in αὐτόν in e 3.

e 4. μέλλοντα could hardly have taken a dat. (αὐτῷ) if it had not been joined with παρόντα.

648 a 2. ἐκκοιμηθέντα: possibly the word is a new creation: it implies a previous state in which many, if not all, of the mental powers were in abeyance. κοιμάω is used in a metaphorical sense at *Rep.* 571 d e τὸ λογιστικὸν μὲν ἐγείρας . . . τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν δὲ μήτε ἐνδεία δούς μήτε πλησμονῇ ὅπως ἂν κοιμήθῃ.

a 6. ἔσθ' ὅτι κτλ.: not “could the lawgiver have made *any use* of it?” but “could the lawgiver have used it *at all* (for producing courage)?” We may notice the parallel form of the two questions:—ἔσθ' ὅστις at 647 e 1 and ἔσθ' ὅτι here.

a 7 f. οἷον . . . διαλέγεσθαι, “for instance, what easier than to have put this question to him?”

a 9. πρῶτον μὲν: this implies that it is not *only* as a test that the drug may be useful—the state to which it reduces a man will serve for his *training* in courage as well. Cp. 649 d 8 πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς τὸ λαμβάνειν πείραν, εἶτα εἰς τὸ μελετᾶν. (This is better than to take τί δέ; in b 4 as if it were equivalent to ἔπειτα δέ.)

b 1. For βάσανον λαμβάνειν cp. *Tim.* 68 d εἰ δέ τις τούτων ἔργω σκοπούμενος βάσανον λαμβάνοι . . .

b 2. For περί cp. above on 647 b 7.

b 6. καὶ τοῦτο: he begins as if he were going to say: “He will say yes to that too”; then he remembers that in this question there were two alternatives, and puts in μετὰ τῆς ἀσφαλείας as explanatory of the τοῦτο, slightly varying the phrase by the insertion of the article (“the safety you speak of”). (Is it possible that a τό has fallen out after the τοῦτο? It would thus be more regular in form as an explanatory addition to the τοῦτο.)

b 8. χρῶο δ' ἂν; (sc. τῷ φαρμάκῳ): these words introduce the second purpose of the drug: in the course of the testing process (εἰς τοὺς φόβους ἄγων καὶ ἐλέγχων ἐ. τ. π.) help would be given towards the formation of a courageous habit of mind.

b 9. ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν, “while the patient's mind was disturbed.”

**c 1.** τὸν δὲ ἀτιμάζων: Stallb. says that if the τὸν μὲν had been put in, it would have come before παρακελευόμενος; I think it would have come before τιμῶν: the παρακελευόμενος, like the τιμῶν, describes the treatment of a hopeful case, the νοουθετῶν and the ἀτιμάζων that of an unhopeful one; the following μὲν and δέ clauses mark the same distinction between the two cases.

**c 3.** γυμνασάμενον: the middle (instead of the passive) to show that the "patient" is supposed to take an active part in his own training.

**c 4.** ζημίαν ἐπιτιθείς: subordinate to ἀπαλλάττοις ἄν. The only reason for calling attention to this is that Stallb. calls ἐπιτιθείς an anacoluthon, and mentions the suggestion to emend it to ἐπιτιθείης, as if it in its clause held the same position as ἀπαλλάττοις ἄν in the previous one.

**c 5.** μηδὲν ἄλλο ἐγκαλῶν τῷ πόματι, "although on further consideration (ἄλλο) you found no fault with the drink."

**c 7.** τὰ νῦν, "our present arrangements."—It is not necessary with Ast to suppose γυμνάσια supplied in thought from the previous γυμνασία of kindred meaning.—θαυμαστῇ ῥαστώνῃς: the gen. is the same as that used with verbs of wondering (or other emotions) to denote the source of the emotion. *Rep.* 426 d τί δ' αὖ τοὺς ἐθέλοντας θεραπεύειν τὰς τοιαύτας πόλεις καὶ προθυμουμένους; οὐκ ἄγασαι τῆς ἀνδρείας τε καὶ εὐχερείας;—καθ' ὅποσους: the practical schoolmaster would object that the numbers in a "drinking" class should be strictly limited.

**d 1 ff.** The main outline of this long and complicated sentence seems to be this: εἴτε τις μόνος γυμνάζοιτο ὀρθῶς ἄν τι πράττοι, εἴτε τις μηδὲν ὀκνοῖ μετὰ συμποτῶν πλειόνων ἐπιδείκνυσθαι κτλ. (ὀρθῶς ἄν τι πράττοι).

**d 1.** τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνῃς ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενος: ἐπίπροσθεν εἶναι (or γίγνεσθαι) means *to intervene*, often with the notion of obstructing the view (see ἐπιπρόσθησις of eclipses): ἐπ. ποιεῖσθαι is *to interpose*, generally with the same added notion; so that it means, as here, *to screen*, lit. "putting his feelings of shame in between himself and other people." Cp. 732 b 4 μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνῃν πρόσθεν ποιούμενον. The following clause (ἡγούμενος is subordinate to ποιούμενος) at once gives the reason of the action, and explains the metaphor of the previous phrase: his shame is not an *actual* obstacle, but it acts like one; it prevents others from seeing what is going on. So Ast. (For other views see Wyttenbach's note on Plutarch, *Cons. ad Ap.* 36. Thompson on *Gorg.* 523 d thinks

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the second subjective; but they are well illustrated by Stallb.'s comparison of *Rep.* 329 b τὰς τῶν οἰκείων προπηλακίσεις τοῦ γήρως.

e 6. I have followed Schanz and Burnet in adopting Stallb.'s insertion of ἄν after γὰρ, though I think it worth considering whether γ' ἄν was not what Plato wrote; the loss of the ἄν is hard to explain, but γ' ἄν might without difficulty have become γάρ: γε very often follows within a few words of ναί.—Another alteration of the text which is worth considering is that made in the Aldine ed., which reads σωφρονεῖ.—καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος: even the man who is confident in his powers of resistance to temptation (would be wise to stop before the last glass).

649 a 2. σχεδόν, as at 644 a 8, modifies the general assertion—not that the speaker doubts the truth of what he says, but he prefers the more modest form of assertion.

a 4. τοὺς γὰρ γόητας οὐκ ἐν θοίνῃ λέγω: i.e. “quacks, who do profess to concoct such potions, are not fit to sit down with philosophers.” For Plato's metaphorical use of the word θοίνῃ cp. (among others) that at *Symp.* 174 c φαῦλος ὢν ἐπὶ σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἵεναι θοίνην ἄκλητος.

a 5. I have ventured to insert a καὶ before ἃ μὴ χρή. (An abbreviation of the same shape as that used for ὡς, when written vertically and accented, was used for καὶ: this may account for the dropping out of καὶ after -ως.) It seems very strange that Plato should confine *excessive* and *inopportune* confidence to things ἃ μὴ χρή θαρρεῖν—things about which confidence ought not to be felt *at all*. If we have the καί we get three distinct classes of improper confidence: (1) excessive, (2) inopportune, and (3) (totally) misplaced. (Schanz puts a comma before ἃ μὴ χρή, as if he took it for ἃ οὐ χρή—“which things ought not to be done.”)—As the word πῶμα goes closely with the gens. ἀφ. and τοῦ λ. θαρρεῖν, no τι (as Heind. suggested) is needed before it.

a 6. ἦ πῶς λέγομεν; so at 639 b 1 ἦ πῶς ἄν λέγοιμεν; where an affirmative answer is evidently expected. O says that πατρ. βιβλ. has λέγωμεν and so Ed. Lov.

a 7. τὸν οἶνον φράζων, “and he will name wine.”

a 8. τοῦτο: (nom.) either neut. for masc., referring to οἶνος (cp. Heind. on *Gorg.* 460 e, where he cites *Gorg.* 463 b and *Laws* 937 d καὶ δὴ καὶ δίκη ἐν ἀνθρώποις πῶς οὐ καλόν, ὃ πάντα ἡμέρωκε τὰ ἀνθρώπινα), or, better, with πῶμα understood. (“Is this just the opposite of the last potion we spoke of?”)

**a 9.** A has *τονθρωπον* corr. by A<sup>2</sup> to *τὸν ἄνθρωπον* (cp. 653 d 1); O<sup>3</sup> mentions a reading *πιόντα ἄνθρωπον*.

**b 1.** With the somewhat otiose addition *ἢ πρότερον* (after *αὐτὸν αὐτοῦ*), and indeed with the whole passage, Stallb. well compares *Prot.* 350 a *οἱ ἐπιστήμονες τῶν μὴ ἐπισταμένων θαρραλεώτεροί εἰσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν, ἐπειδὴν μάθωσιν, ἢ πρὶν μαθεῖν*. His collection of passages on the effect of wine is also interesting.—(*ἢ* was omitted at first in A and added above the line; Schanz discards both it and *πρότερον*.)

**b 2.** With *πληροῦσθαι* we must supply *ποιεῖ*. (H. Steph. would have altered it to *πληροῦται*, so as to bring it into line with *μεστοῦται*.)

**b 3.** *εἰς δόξαν*, “in imagination”; so *Philebus* 57 c *εἰς σαφήνειαν*, *Symp.* 196 c *εἰς γ’ ἀνδρείαν* “Ἐρωτι οὐδ’ Ἀρης ἀνθίσταται, *Tim.* 46 e *εἰς ὠφέλειαν* “in the way of advantage.”

**b 4.** *ὡς σοφὸς ὢν*: cp. *Crat.* 406 c *οἶνος δ’, ὅτι οἶσθαι νοῦν ἔχειν ποιεῖ τῶν πινόντων τοὺς πολλοὺς οὐχ ἔχοντας . . .*, on which passage Heindorf has a note on *δέ* following *τε*, as it does here at b 5 (cp. 628 a 1).

**c 2.** *ἃ τῆς αἰδοῦς ἔλεγες, ὡς οἰόμεθα*, “what you called shame’s part, I suppose?”

**c 3.** *καλῶς μνημονεύετε*: it is simpler to take this (as Ast in *Lex.*) to mean “your memory is correct,” than with Jowett “thank you for reminding me.” To *remind* is generally *ἀναμιμνήσκω*. At 646 b 1 *μνημονεύεις* means little more than *λέγεις*.

**c 4.** *ἐν τοῖς φόβοις*: the test and discipline of courage are real fears and real hardships. The fictitious potion would have produced imaginary fears and hardships. The description of its effects has made admirably clear the way in which it is suggested that wine should be used, and for what purpose.

**c 5.** The *ἄρα* of the MSS. is altered by a very late hand in A to *ἄρα*. This correction is manifestly better than Ast’s introduction of *εἰ* after *ἄρα*.—*τὸ ἐναντίον*: i.e. the right sort of fear (that of disgrace): *ἐν τοῖς ἐναντίοις*: i.e. in a state of over-confidence and exhilaration.

**c 7.** For the *τό* cp. 647 d 8.

**c 8 f.** *ἐν τούτοις . . . ἃ παθόντες . . . πεφύκαμεν . . . εἶναι*, “in such states of mind as would naturally incline us to be . . .”

**d 1 f.** *αἰσχρόν* goes with *τι* as well as with *ὅτιοῦν*, which is added as a sort of after-thought, to make the *τι*, when it got to be used with *δρᾶν*, more general. *τι* was omitted in the old editions



and by the first hand in O, but occurs in A and L, and was added by O<sup>2</sup>.

**d 4.** οὐκοῦν κτλ., “are not all these (that I am going to mention) states (of mind, or condition) in which we are so affected?”

**d 5.** δειλία, as Ast says, is quite out of place in this enumeration. Is it possible that ἀδειλία is what Plato wrote? (Steinhart’s suggestion ἀναιδεία is palaeographically likely, but the word is descriptive of the whole state, not of a separate manifestation of it, as all the other words are.)

**d 7.** εὐτελῆ τε καὶ ἀσινεστέραν (which agree with πείραν) are put in this strange order to emphasize the importance of the point that the training he offers to temperance has none of the μυρία πράγματα and the dangers of the only practical training that courage can have.—τούτων depends on πείραν.

**d 9.** βασάνου καὶ παιδιᾶς: a hendiadys; “sportive test.” Cp. *Polit.* 308 d ἡ πολιτικῆ. . . παιδιᾶ πρώτον βασανιέι.—For the pleonastic πλήν after μάλλον ἔμμετρον cp. *Minos* 318 e 7 οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ’ ὅτι τούτου ἀσεβέστερόν ἐστιν οὐδ’ ὅτι χρῆ μάλλον εὐλαβεῖσθαι πλήν εἰς θεοὺς καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἔξαμυρτάνειν; it is very like the πλήν after ἄλλο at *Tim.* 30 a.

**e 1.** ἔμμετρον μάλλον, “less objectionable.”—ἂν καὶ ὀπωστιοῦν μετ’ εὐλαβείας γίγνηται, “provided a little care attend its application.”

**e 3.** ἰόντα agrees with the imagined subject of λαμβάνειν.—“Do you recommend a man (instead of using the test I offer) to run the risk of making a compact or legal agreement with him?” (If he breaks it you will *know* that he is not a just man, but is not the experiment a dangerous one?)

**650 a 1.** αὐτῶν refers to τὰ συμβόλαια (so Ast.—Bekker prefers to read αὐτῶ. Stallb. understands by αὐτῶν the things themselves about which the agreement was made).—συγγεγνόμενον μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Διονύσου θεωρίας, “by watching him (lit. getting into his company) with the help of a Bacchic festal indulgence?”

**a 2 ff.** ἡ πρὸς κτλ.: a good deal has to be supplied from the previous description of the parallel case, but the meaning is quite clear, if the parallel be kept in mind. I have followed Stallb. and Schanz in adopting Bekker’s correction of the MS. κινδυνεύσαντες to κινδυνεύσαντα, and adopted Burnet’s punctuation, with a comma before and after οὕτως, which *resumes* (cp. 625 b 6).—Ast shrewdly remarks that this second kind of depravity would be readily betrayed under the influence of wine.

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is only found (in Plato) here and at *Er.* 330 b, where it means “catch,” “entangle,” much as it does here.

**b 3.** τί ποτε λέγομεν : so the MSS. ; Madvig conjectured τί ποτ' ἐλέγομεν. The imperfect is more usual in such a clause depending on ἀναμνησθῆναι, but the pres. will stand perfectly well. The ἡμῖν favours the present : the definition given at 643 d 6 ff. is to stand for them still.

**653 a 1.** τούτου γάρ, . . . σωτηρία (see below 654 d 8, where what is here called σωτηρία is called φυλακή), “if I am not mistaken, this institution (of συμπόσια), if properly conducted, is a safe-guard of education”—i.e. is a means of preserving the effect of education. σωτηρία (without the article) ἐστὶ τούτου ἐν . . . does not mean as much as “education depends on” (Jowett). For this use of σωτηρία cp. *Rep.* 425 e εἰάν γε θεὸς αὐτοῖς διδῶ σωτηρίαν τῶν νόμων ὧν ἔμπροσθεν διήλθομεν.—L and O have τοῦτο for τούτου.

**a 4.** μέγα λέγεις, “that is a strong thing to say,” “that is taking high ground.”

**a 5.** λέγω τοίνυν . . ., “this is what I say : a child’s first infantile sensations are those of pleasure and pain ; and these sensations are the sphere in which the soul first acquires goodness or badness. Wisdom and fixed right opinion come to specially favoured men as they are getting old, and certainly a man who gets them, and all the blessings in their train, is a perfect man. The first acquisition of goodness by a child is, I say, a matter of education. Clearly, if pleasure and liking, and pain and dislike, for the right things, are implanted in the soul of one who cannot yet reason about them, and if, when he does arrive at a reasoning age, these sensations concur with his reason to pronounce that his character has been properly formed by his relatives, this harmonious combination, in its entirety, is Virtue, while the part of it which consists of the rightly trained sensations of pain and pleasure, whereby the man hates what he ought to hate, from his childhood up, and likes what he ought to like—it is just that element which, if I am right, is Education, and so for purposes of our discussion I would distinguish and define it.”

**a 7.** φρόνησιν δὲ καὶ κτλ. : lit. “about wisdom—and fixed right opinions—I say that it is lucky for a man if he acquires it as he is getting old.” The accusatives are not exactly absolute : the construction is a conversational extension of such a sentence ἅς τὴν φρόνησιν λέγω ὅτι παραγίγνεται.—The number of παρεγένετο (a gnomic aorist) emphasizes the fact that φρόνησιν is the

prominent word among the preceding accusatives. Cp. Cic. *De fin.* v. 21 “praeclare enim Plato: beatum cui etiam in senectute contigerit ut sapientiam verasque opiniones assequi posset.”—For βέβαιος in this connexion cp. *Tim.* 37 b δόξαι καὶ πίστεις γίνονται βέβαιοι καὶ ἀληθεῖς.

**b 1.** I think, with some hesitation, that it is better to take παιδείαν as the *predicate*. The definition of *what education is* comes at the end of the speech (b 6–c 4).

**b 4.** λόγῳ λαμβάνειν, “to treat (the matter) philosophically,—to reason about it.” λόγῳ λαβεῖν τι is a variety for λόγον λαβεῖν τινος; cp. above 638 c πάντες οἱ λόγῳ τι λαβόντες ἐπιτήδευμα and *Parm.* 135 e περὶ ἐκεῖνα ἃ μάλιστά τις ἂν λόγῳ λάβοι.—δυναμένων depends on ψυχαῖς; λαβόντων is a gen. abs., which perhaps would not have been used thus without its subject, if it had not been for the preceding gen. δυναμένων.—συμφωνήσωσι: the subject to this must be ἡδονὴ καὶ φιλία κτλ. So, I find, Apelt, ut sup. p. 5. He says: “Das ἐπιθυμητικόν, ohne Unterstützung von Seiten des eigenen λόγος, bisher von anderen zum Guten erzogen, wird nunmehr, da der eigene Verstand ausgebildet ist, zu seiner Freude gewahr, wie richtig es erzogen worden ist.” For another way of describing the union between pleasure or appetite and reason or wisdom cp. 688 b καὶ πρὸς πρώτην τὴν τῆς συμπάσης ἡγεμόνα ἀρετῆς, φρόνησις δ’ εἶη τοῦτο καὶ νοῦς καὶ δόξα μετ’ ἔρωτός τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τούτοις ἐπομένης.

**b 6.** I am strongly inclined to agree with F.H.D. who would bracket ἐθῶν, and take προσηκόντων as masc. This gives ὑπό a more natural sense; but it is difficult to see how ἐθῶν came in: perhaps it was a marginal additional to συμφωνία.—σύμπασα: lit. “in its entirety,” i.e. the two elements of correctly formed habit and moral insight *taken together*.

**b 7.** τὸ τεθραμμένον is lit. “the part of it trained rightly.” We should find it more natural in English to say “the *training* (in feeling pleasure or pain) is education”; what Plato says is rather: “the *result* of the training is education,” as above at b 1 and 2, i.e. “a child so trained is a child educated.” (Cp. Steele’s “To have loved her was a liberal education.”)

**c 2.** ἀποτεμῶν τῷ λόγῳ: it is difficult to be sure whether τῷ λόγῳ denotes the instrument by which the distinction is made, or the (quasi) person in whose interest the distinction is made: I think, the latter.

**c 3.** κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν (sc. δόξαν): St. cps. *Phil.* 41 b 4 ἀλλ’, ὦ Πρώταρχε, εἰσὶν κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν, *Rep.* 397 d’ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν, ἔφη, νικᾷ.

This whole paragraph should be carefully compared with *Rep.* 401 b ff., more especially with the following passages: δ 1 καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ παίδων λανθάνη εἰς ὁμοιότητά τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν τῷ καλῷ λόγῳ ἄγουσα, and ε 3 καὶ καταδεχόμενος εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν τρέφοιτ ἂν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ γίγνοιτο καλός τε καὶ ἀγαθός, τὰ δ' αἰσχροὶ ψέγοι τ' ἂν ὀρθῶς καὶ μισοῖ ἔτι νέος ὢν, πρὶν λόγον δυνατὸς εἶναι λαβεῖν, ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ λόγου ἀσπάζοιτ' ἂν αὐτὸν γνωρίζων δι' οἰκειότητα μάλιστα ὁ οὕτω τραφεῖς. Cp. also *Ar. Pol.* 1340 a 15 τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν (εἶναι) περὶ τὸ χαίρειν ὀρθῶς καὶ φιλεῖν καὶ μισεῖν. (Scholars have been in too great a hurry to correct this passage. At least seven alterations of the text have been proposed, of which Schanz adopts Stephanus's βεβαιούην for βεβαίους in a 8, and Eusebius's λόγον for λόγῳ, while he pronounces ὀρθῶς . . . ἐθῶν to be corrupt. I have followed Burnet in leaving the text as the chief MSS. have it, merely writing, with him and Schanz, αὕτη 'σθ' for the MS. αὐτῆς θ', where Eusebius has αὕτη ἔσθ', and suggesting the athetesis of ἐθῶν.)

c 5. τὰ πρότερον: two things were said above about παιδεία at 643 b ff.: (1) "As the twig is bent the tree inclines,"—i.e. "if you let a child *play* at a thing, when he grows up he will *like* that thing," and (2) What he means by education is that of *character and disposition*, not that of special faculties; i.e. he wants to make a good *citizen*, not a good *carpenter*, etc.

c 8. παιδειῶν οὐσῶν: here again he does not say the *training* is education, but the rightly trained or schooled delight and its opposite are education: I think here again we may translate "are matters of education."

c 9. κατὰ πολλὰ: this is the reading of the MSS. The Aldine edition read τὰ πολλὰ, and was followed by all the early editions including that of Ast. Even after the discovery that the MSS. read κατὰ πολλὰ, Stallbaum in his one vol. ed., the Zürich editors, and Schanz prefer to read τὰ πολλὰ, evidently holding that Aldus, by accident or design, had got back to what Plato wrote. It does not seem to have been sufficiently noticed that, though the *syntax* gains greatly by the reading τὰ πολλὰ, the sense is materially altered. Did Plato mean to say that *most* of the effect of education, as he interprets the word, wears off in ordinary life?—or only that a *good deal* wears off? Ast, though he had no reading but τὰ πολλὰ before him, does not take it as the subj. of χαλ. and διαφθ., but translates it *plerumque*. The more moderate statement seems to me more natural here, so I have followed Burnet in printing κατὰ πολλὰ. παιδεία, the word

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repeated statement or argument; cf. *Rep.* 549 d καὶ ἄλλα δὴ ὅσα καὶ οἶα φιλοῦσιν αἱ γυναῖκες περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑμνεῖν.

e 2. οἶον, "you might almost say."—μεθ' ἡδονῆς: see below on 654 a 3.—προσπαίζοντα: though there is no dative with the verb, the προσ- is not "otiose"; it denotes the joining others in playing, "joining in a game." So at *Euthyd.* 283 b ὠηθήτην . . . ἡμᾶς . . . παίζειν . . . καὶ διὰ ταῦτα προσεπαισάτην.

e 4 f. τάξεων: τάξις, order, system the Greeks naturally held to be the foundation of all science.—οἷς shows a sturdy disregard of logic, to say nothing of grammar: it is only the τάξεις, not the ἀταξίας to which οἷς refers: the perception of τάξεις involves the perception of their opposites, and Plato will not omit this fact; at the same time he finds the illogical relative οἷς a convenient sentence-link. As we have seen before, he often prefers the neuter pronoun when talking of things with feminine names.

e 5. ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία: the fact that these and many other Greek scientific terms still live in modern languages is a witness to the creative power of the Greek intellect; but it must not be forgotten (1) that in the course of centuries the words have taken on new associations and connotations, and (2) that when the Greeks were making the sciences, they were also making scientific nomenclature. The words they chose as technical expressions were mostly words in common use, such as *shape, measure, row, form, flow* and the like, and we must not expect them to have acquired at once a strictly limited technical application. In the discussion of μουσική which follows we shall find, e.g., the words ῥυθμός and σχῆμα, μέλος and ἁρμονία, whether used separately, or contrasted one with another, so variously applied that we cannot always translate them in the same way.

The Greeks seem to have been about as sensitive to order and system in *bodily motion* as in *sound*. Our muffled perceptions make it hard for us even to guess what ὄρχησις meant to Plato. It is to some extent the same with the *formal* element in language: we cannot hope to understand the Greeks thoroughly when they criticize the rhythm of poetry or prose. Their sensibilities in such matters were keener than ours.

ῥυθμός, as Plato tells us below (664 e 8), is the name given to systematized movement (τῇ τῆς κινήσεως τάξει). The material of this systematized movement may be bodily movement, speech; or musical sounds. The word is from the same root as ῥέω, though we have no trace of its use in the sense of *a flowing*. It is possible that it gained its special sense of *measure and regular recurrence*

from the sense of the evenness of the motion of fluids, as compared with that of most solids, but, in its special use, it is more probably an echo, so to speak, of the sound of the recurring waves on the sea-shore as heard by the Greeks. Ἀρμονία, as we learn from the same passage below (665 a 1), is the name given to the effect produced by the juxtaposition of musical notes of different pitch. Sometimes "pitch" will translate the word, sometimes even "tune." Sometimes it is used with a reference to the arithmetical relations of the different notes of the scale, while sometimes it means *scale*, or *style of music*.

**654 a 1.** The τούς before θεούς, which H. Stephanus wanted to eject, adds to the demonstrative force of the following τούτους.

**a 2.** τὴν ἔνρυθμόν τε καὶ ἔναρμόνιον αἰσθησιν, "the sense of rhythm and pitch," whereas εὐρυθμον, as suggested by a marginal variant in L (which does not also suggest εὐάρμοστον for ἔναρμόνιον), introduces the further notion of the adaptability or the careful preservation of ῥυθμός.

**a 3.** μεθ' ἡδονῆς: these words (repeated from 653 e 2) are of great importance to the Athenian's theory. The gods whom he called men's συνεορτασταί gave them not only artistic sensibilities, but the power of enjoying them as well. As the author of *Ecce Homo* says (chap. x.) "The highest perfection of pleasure is not among the prizes of exertion, the rewards of industry or ingenuity, but a bounty of nature, a grace of God."—For ἡ δὴ all the MSS. have ἡδη: it was first corrected by Aldus.—ἡ is an instrumental dative and αἰσθησιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς is its antecedent.—χορηγεῖν and συνείροντας go closely together, the participle being the more significant of the two.—ἡμῶν: for the gen. with χορηγεῖν cp. *Theaet.* 179 d 8: the vulgate ἡμῖν has no MS. authority.

**a 4.** ἀλλήλους, the reading of O and the early editions, involves a construction foreign to the habits of the word. It is easy to supply ἡμᾶς, as obj. to συνείροντας, from the preceding ἡμᾶς and ἡμῶν.

**a 5.** A has (over the line) τὸ before παρὰ and space for two letters after παρὰ. Schanz justly conjectured that a scribe had (wrongly) altered παρὰ τὸ into τὸ παρὰ (which is also the reading of O). For the causal meaning of παρά c. acc. cp. the orator Lycurgus 64 ἡγοῦμαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, τοῦναντίον τούτοις, παρὰ τοῦτον εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν σωτηρίαν (cp. also Thuc. i. 141. 7). We may translate here: "because of the name joy which comes natural to them." The vulgate followed O and the corrector of A (though Bekker and the Zürich editors left the τὸ out alto-



gether): τὸ ὄνομα was taken closely with ὠνομακέναι, and παρὰ τῆς χαρᾶς was taken to mean "*ductum a laetitia*" (St.). But παρὰ *c. gen.* in Attic is always used with a *person* (to say nothing of the difficulty then of translating ἔμφυτον).

a 9. Since the first stage of education is due to the institutors of the χορός, ἀπαίδευτος will (at that stage) mean ἀχόρευτος, and the educated pupil will be the one who has been thoroughly drilled in a χορός."

b 3. τὸ σύνολόν ἐστιν, "is a generic name for." So below (665 a) χορεία is said to be a generic name for both (τὸ συναμφοότερον) ῥυθμός and ἀρμονία. In these two passages the τό and the adj. are used adverbially: at *Soph.* 220 b (τοῦ δὲ ἐνύδρου σχεδὸν τὸ σύνολον ἀλιευτική) τὸ σύνολον is the subject.

b 9. "What we mean when we say καλῶς"—i.e., as he goes on to explain, "can singing and dancing be said to be *well* done, if the words or gestures are not themselves *right and good*?"

c 3—d 3. A free translation will show how I take this difficult paragraph.—"Supposing then a man has correct taste in matters of art, and acts up to it" (as far as he can); "shall we hold such a man better educated in χορεία and μουσική if he is number one or number two of those I am going to describe? *Number one* is able on every occasion adequately to express, by bodily movement and voice, what he has considered in his mind to be the right thing, while taking no pleasure in rightness, and not feeling any dislike to wrongness. *Number two*, while quite unable to reach perfection in vocal or bodily expression of what is in his mind (ἧ διανοεῖται), feels, to the full, a delight in what is right and good, and a disgust at all that is wrong and bad."

ὁ τοιοῦτος refers *back*—"such a man as I have just described."—The unusual ἦ (= πότερον), which nearly all modern editors have followed Ast in rejecting, is put in to show that ὁ τοιοῦτος is not antecedent to ὅς ἄν alone, but to κείνος ὅς ἄν as well. The same motive perhaps led to the slightly irregular substitution of ὅς ἄν for ἔάν. Burnet retains the ἦ before ὅς ἄν, but I cannot follow him in putting a (;) after μουσικήν: I think there should be no stop at all there.—The next important difficulty in the paragraph is the phrase ἦ διανοεῖσθαι. There seem to me two objections to this: (1) *Ex hypothesi* (see c 3) both the characters described have a *right judgement* as to what is καλόν or not, and (2) if Plato had wanted to say that the second one had not the power of bodily representation, or that of correct judgement, would he not have said μηδὲ τῷ νῷ διανοεῖσθαι? For not only is ἦ

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it does not convey to us the notion of *mouvement* of the limbs and body as well as that of *shape* and *mien*, which are all conveyed by *σχῆμα* here.

e 5. “Pariter in verbis διαφυγόντα οὐχίσεται imago a venatione sumta est,” Ast.

e 6. εἴθ’ Ἑλληνικῆς εἴτε βαρβαρικῆς: possibly this is only another way of saying “any education at all”; but it seems to convey a hint that Greeks may have something to learn from foreigners. Above, at 637 d and e, Plato had appealed to foreign customs in discussing μέθη, and below, at 656 f., he finds much to learn from Egypt. Cp. Archer-Hind’s note on *Phaedo* 78 a, where he also compares *Rep.* 499 c, and *Symp.* 209 e. Is it possible that the words contain a reference to Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia*? Cp. 694 c, Athenaeus xi. 504 and 505, Aul. Gell. *N.A.* xix. 3.

e 10. ποτε in this question corresponds to the Scotch “again” in a similar position.—ἐχομένης is Stephanus’s manifestly correct emendation of the MS. ἐρχομένης. Cp. *Rep.* 395 e, *Gorg.* 522 a, *Phil.* 45 b, *Theaet.* 191 c.—The Athenian now proceeds to show that the question of the good or bad in art is a *moral* one. He is content—to avoid μακρολογία—to take only one virtue, with its opposite vice, in illustration of his view. He takes courage and cowardice, both of which are particularly manifest in the look and mien.

655 a 3. τὰ χρώματα: this reference to the pallor of the coward seems hardly to call for the amusing protest which follows against a bit of virtuoso’s slang—the transference to music of a term properly belonging to painting. The protest is all the more remarkable because Plato himself, at *Rep.* 601 a and b, twice uses χρώματα in a metaphorical sense, first of highly coloured poetical diction, and next of the brilliance and attractiveness conferred on language by μέτρον, ῥυθμός, and ἄρμονία: this attractiveness he speaks of as τὰ τῆς μουσικῆς χρώματα.—Boeckh, convinced that the mention of χρώματα at a 3 was not enough to account for the criticism of the word εὐχρων at a 7, interpolated, after ἐνεστι in a 5, the words <χρώματα δὲ οὐκ ἐνεστι>, and Schanz follows him.

a 6. We must supply ἔστιν after εὐάρμοστον from the οὐκ ἔστιν that follows.

a 7. μέλος ἢ σχῆμα: we have the same chiasmus here as at 654 e 4. The words ἄρμονία and εὐάρμοστον apply here to the μέλος, and ῥυθμός and εὐρυθμον to the σχῆμα.

b 2. ἵνα δὴ μὴ μακρολογία πολλή τις γίγνηται: at 632 d e the Athenian proposed, “if his audience liked,” to go through the

virtues, beginning with *ἀνδρεία*, for the purpose then before them : *in fact* he only got through *ἀνδρεία* and *σωφροσύνη*. So here, in a different argument, he finds it enough to take one virtue, and to treat it as typical of all the rest, leaving it to his audience to think out the way in which other virtues can be expressed in *σχῆμα* and *μέλος*. It would no doubt have been a congenial task to Plato to do this himself, but, at his age, *he had not time for it*.

**b 3.** These words have been variously punctuated: ἡμῖν, ἅπαντα ἀπλῶς ἔστω· τὰ μὲν . . . ; ἡμῖν, ἅπαντα ἀπλῶς ἔστω τὰ μὲν . . . (Ast). The punctuation in the text—now generally adopted—was suggested by St. in a note (1859 ed.) but not printed in his text.—ἀπλῶς is “once for all.”

**b 4.** εἴτε αὐτῆς, εἴτε τινὸς εἰκόνοσ, “whether they consist in an expression of the virtue itself, or are concerned with an image of it”; i.e. whether the *gesture* or the *exclamation* is the outcome of *actual* virtue of the mind or excellence of the body (as is described at 654 e 10 ff. in the case of courage), or whether (as in the case of an actor) the virtue or excellence only exists in the artist’s *imagination* (as we should say). The gens. αὐτῆς and εἰκόνοσ are in apposition to ἀρετῆς, and governed, like it, by ἐχόμενα. (Ritter’s discussion of the passage is helpful, but it is surely perverse of him to take ψυχῆς and σώματος as dependent on σχήματα καὶ μέλη. αὐτῆς with him (as with St.) refers to ψυχῆς. He takes αὐτὴ ἢ (ἀνδρεία) ψυχὴ as the real (brave) man, and εἰκὼν (τῆς ἀνδρείας ψυχῆς) as an artist’s or poet’s *conception* of him.)

**b 7.** ὀρθῶσ προκαλῆ, “a good proposal!” Cp. *Rep.* 576 e ἀλλ’ ὀρθῶσ, ἔφη, προκαλῆ . . . καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα προκαλούμενοσ ὀρθῶσ ἂν προκαλοίμην.

**b 9.** ἔτι δὴ τόδε : from this point down to d 3 we are concerned with a difficulty ; it is this : It is a general opinion that the function of art is *to please* ; different people are pleased by different artistic representations (*χορεύματα*). We have just laid it down that good art means *virtue* and bad art *vice* : do those who make the mistake of liking best something which is not really best, do so because they like vice ? No one will confess to that, at any rate ; it is almost blasphemous to suppose it. The solution of the difficulty, given in the following paragraph (d 5–656 a 5), is that tastes are not formed without a process of *habituation* : we cannot see the significance of anything so complicated as a *χόρευμα*,—which itself depends for its significant representation on trained habits of imitation—any more than we can *be* good without having gone through the process of forming our character and

tastes by long habit. (That is where education comes in, and where a bad education does harm.) The same question with regard to pleasure in general is propounded at *Rep.* 581 e ff., and answered in much the same way as it is here.

**c 3.** The MSS. had λέγωμεν corrected in A to λέγομεν. The ἄν, which is rather awkward, must go with εἶναι. Hermann and Schanz read λέγοιμεν, but this does not mend matters: ἄν εἶναι is *oratio obliqua* construction for ἄν εἶη in a direct form of question; cp. 658 b 4 τί ποτ' ἄν ἡγούμεθα . . . συμβαίνειν;—τὸ πεπλανηκὸς ἡμᾶς: it is implied that, if we like different things, some of us must make the mistake (πλάνη) of thinking that best which is not best. Either, then, *best* has different meanings for different people according to their nature, or some of us do not see clearly.—As I read the passage, the latter suggestion opens the way for the explanation at d 5 ff.

**c 4.** τὰ μὲν αὐτά: an unusual severance of the ταῦτά by the introduction of the particle μὲν. (Stallbaum would read ταῦτὰ μὲν αὐτά, Schanz ταῦτὰ μέν.)

**c 5.** οὐ γάρ που ἐρεῖ γέ τις: the argument of this sentence depends on the consideration introduced by the following καίτοι λέγουσίν γε; therefore it is wrong to put a full stop after μούση τινί. “Men always say that what they *like* is the right sort of μουσική: you will never find a man confessing that he *likes* the vicious and degraded:—in other words, that the degraded and vicious μουσική is *better* than that which is morally of the opposite kind.” (And yet it is said that a theatrical manager once secured a large audience for a piece by advertising it as “the worst play in London.”)

**d 5 ff.** “Seeing that choric performances are representations of ways and manners, and deal with most varied kinds of actions and situations, and that the individual performers depend for their rendering on a mixture of trained habit and imitative power (ἡθεσι καὶ μιμήσεσι), it is necessary that those (performers) who find word, tune or gesture after their own fashion, whether this is due to their natural disposition or their previous familiarity with them, or to both, should not only like and praise such representations, but also should pronounce them to be right and good; while they cannot possibly like, or approve of, or help calling bad, representations which are repugnant either to their natural disposition, or to the way of thinking with which they are familiar.” The performers here spoken of are not professional actors, but every reader or reciter of a poem with all its accompaniments; cp. 656 a 2.

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reads ὀρθότατ' ἄν λέγοις. Probably, both here, and at *Rep.* 610 a, the correct reading is ὀρθότατα λέγεις.

**a 7.** μῶν οὖν τι: we had μῶν οὖν at 624 a 7 and we find μῶν τι; (“*an forte?*”) at *Prot.* 310 d 4. The ἔσθ' ἦντινα is used like the ἔστιν ὅτι at 663 d.9. In A the μ is “*in rasura*,” and the ῶν οὖν τι is “*extra versum*” (Burnet and Schanz). Schanz cuts out these three words. His ἄν after λέγοις (“*s in rasura*”) fills the gap left by the μ of μῶν.—The Athenian asks, “Do you think then that the man who takes pleasure in gestures or songs of an evil character suffers at all (from so doing)? or that men who find pleasure in the opposite direction (i.e. in good songs) get any advantage from it?” The whole question is in loose conversational style.

**a 8.** πονηρίας: for the gen. used in place of an adj. cp. *Arist. Poet.* 1454 a 28 πονηρίας ἦθους, and below 660 a 2 τὴν δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν (τροφήν).

**a 10.** εἰκός γε . . . τὴν μοχθηρίαν; Cl. “I expect they do.” Ath. “Won’t you go further than that, and say that they *can’t help* being in the same plight as the man who sees bad men’s evil ways not with dislike but with enjoyment, notwithstanding the perfunctory disapproval which a dim notion of his own depravity may make him express?”

**b 1.** With ὅπερ we must supply ἔστιν: it is almost equivalent to ὡςπερ: by a contrary process the English *as* is used as a relative pronoun after *such*.

**b 3.** ὡς ἐν παιδιᾷ μοίρα: not, I think, “playfully” (Jowett), but “perfunctorily,” “not seriously”; παιδιά is constantly contrasted with σπουδή, and in this connexion it gets the notion of “child’s-play,” and “make-believe”; cp. *Laws* 889 d παιδιάς τινας, ἀληθείας οὐ σφόδρα μετεχούσας, ἀλλ’ εἶδωλ’ ἅττα συγγενῆ ἑαυτῶν. So here, the man is said to treat his own evil propensities as if they were *a dream*.

**b 4.** αὐτοῦ A, and so Burnet: αὐτοῦ, (apparently) the reading of the other MSS., seems to me to give the right sense. Ficinus seems to have read αὐτῶν (? masc.). αὐτοῦ (neut.) is, I suppose, to be translated “of such conduct.”—τότε, “on such an occasion” (i.e. in the very moment when he forbears to praise).—For ὁμοιοῦσθαι cp. *Theaet.* 177 a 1 λανθάνουσι τῷ μὲν ὁμοιούμενοι διὰ τὰς ἀδίκους πράξεις.

**b 7.** ἐκ πάσης ἀνάγκης: a reference to the ἀναγκαῖον in b 1. This is a *clear* case of necessity.

**c 2.** I have adopted “ἐκ πάσης ἀνάγκης” Schanz’s introduction

of *περὶ* before *τῆν*. (Stallbaum takes *τῆν . . . παιδείαν τε καὶ παιδιάν* as an absolute acc. with *ἐξέσθαι*; they are much more needed by *καλῶς κείμενοι*.)—*παιδείαν τε καὶ παιδιάν*: this jingle—the *Laws* shows a weakness for verbal jingles, which some may think senile—is a sort of summary and reminder of the previous argument that dance and song are the subject matter of education: “about the Muses’ work, which is at once education and amusement.”

**c 4.** *ῥυθμοῦ ἐχόμενον*: a vague phrase; “anything in the way of *ῥυθμός*.”

**c 5–6.** *ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς* certainly goes with *διδάσκοντα*, not with *ἀπεργάζεσθαι*; therefore Burnet is right in putting a comma after *χοροῖς*.—*ὅτι ἂν τύχη . . . μοχθηρίαν*, “turn them (the children) out just what *he* happens to be in the way of goodness or badness.” *ὁ ποιητής* is, I think, the subject of *τύχη*.—*ἀπεργάζεσθαι ὅτι* is not “produce whatever result,” *τοὺς παῖδας* (supplied in thought) is the object of *ἀπεργάζεσθαι*, and *ὅτι* is the secondary predicate; lit. “render them whatever he happens to be.”—The *καί* before *τοὺς τῶν εὐ. π.* emphasizes these words; the poet is imagined as teaching the *children* what he likes *himself*. (If *ὅτι* is the subject of *τύχη*, the words should be translated, “turn them out whatever chance determines in the way of goodness or badness,”—the “chance” ultimately being the disposition which the poet happens to have.)—Ast also put a comma after *χοροῖς*, but then he put another comma after *τύχη*, taking *ἀπεργάζεσθαι* absolutely, in the sense of *informare*—governing *παῖδας* understood—and taking *ὅτι ἂν τύχη* in apposition to *τοῦτο*.—*τοὺς . . . παῖδας καὶ νέους* is a sort of hendiadys, chosen, probably, instead of *νέους παῖδας*, because, to the author’s ear, it improved the balance of the sentence.

**d 5.** *θαῦμα καὶ ἀκούσαι*, “the report of it will be enough to surprise you.”

**d 6.** *ἐγνώσθη . . . οὗτος ὁ λόγος*, “this principle was settled.”

**d 7.** *μεταχειρίζεσθαι ταῖς συνηθείαις*, “to practise habitually,” lit. “to deal with by their habituations.” In A the letters **ΗΘΕΙ** in *συνηθείαις* are a correction made by A<sup>2</sup>. Schanz reads *συνουσίαις*, which, I think, is very likely what A<sup>1</sup>, but not what Plato, wrote. For (1) *μεταχειρίζεσθαι* (with *μέλη* for object) would not by itself mean *practise* (songs), in the sense of repeat them until they were familiar (which is the one meaning which suits the passage), but with the addition of *ταῖς συνηθείαις* we get that meaning; and (2) *ταῖς συνουσίαις* must have *ἐν* with it if



it is to mean "in their classes," which is simplest here—though it might mean "by means of their classes." It must be admitted that *ταῖς συνηθείαις* is an unusual expression, but that makes it less likely to have been either the mistake of a scribe, or the idea of a corrector. (It is perhaps worth considering whether *μεταχειρίζεσθαι* may not be *passive*, and *σχήματα* and *μέλη* acc., on the analogy of the acc. of *the thing taught* with verbs of teaching.)

**e 2.** *καὶ ὁμοιώματα*: for this the MSS. have *καὶ ὅποῖ' ἄττα*; which words were rejected by Schanz. Apelt, *Jen. Prog.* 1905, preferably suggests that they should be replaced by the reading of the text.—*καινοτομεῖν* applies to a modification of existing forms, *ἐπινοεῖν* to the devising of new ones.

**e 3.** For ἄλλ' ἄττα ἢ A and O wrongly read ἄλλ' ἄττα ἦ.—*οὔτε ἐν τούτοις οὔτε ἐν μουσικῇ συμπάσῃ*: *τούτοις* is neuter and refers to *σχήματα*. Though the patterns in the temples mentioned above were drawn, painted, or sculptured forms, the addition of *ἐν μουσικῇ συμπάσῃ* shows that there were in Egypt stereotyped forms of song and dance as well, and so we are distinctly told at 657 a and 799 a.

**e 5.** *οὐχ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν . . . ἄλλ' ὄντως*: cp. *Rep.* 341 b *ποτέρως λέγεις . . . τὸν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ἢ τὸν ἀκριβεῖ λόγῳ*;—At *Epinomis* 987 a the author speaks of the astronomical science of Egypt (and Syria) as *βεβασανισμένα χρόνῳ μυριετεί τε καὶ ἀπείρῳ*.

**657 a 1.** For the remarkable acc. H. Richards suggests *τῇ αὐτῇ δὲ τέχνῃ*. I think it is not impossible that a *κατὰ* has dropped out before *τὴν*. Cp. Burnet, pref. to vol. v., end of last paragraph but one. Perhaps this idea gets some slight support from the *κατὰ ταῦτά* in 660 b 7.

**a 7.** *περὶ τῶν τοιούτων νομοθετεῖσθαι βεβαίως θαρροῦντα . . . παρεχόμενα*: so MSS.; this can hardly stand. (1) The middle *νομοθετεῖσθαι* is used (of a single legislator—*θαρροῦντα*) in the sense of *νομοθετεῖν*; (2) as *νομοθετεῖσθαι* already has *περὶ τῶν τοιούτων* to complete its sense, and give the subject matter of the legislation, the object *μέλη* is superfluous; (3) *θαρροῦντα* is quite out of place. The "confidence" spoken of at b 3 is supposed to spring from the consideration that the thing had been done before, and *θαρροῦντα* there is quite naturally introduced, but there is no sense in saying that the first person who made such a law did it with confidence, especially when the sentence begins *δυνατὸν ἄρ' ἦν*. Only one of these difficulties is removed by Madvig's rejection of *θαρροῦντα*, which

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*ζήτησις*: an imperfect phrase for “the search for pleasure and the avoidance of its opposite.” Badham suggested that for *ζήτησις* we ought to read *ὑφήγησις*—i.e. “the tendency of our likes and dislikes to make us crave novelty in *μουσική*”—an attractive suggestion. F.H.D. would bracket *ζητεῖν*, taking *ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης* as subjective genitives. If we are to be content with the vulgate, we must doubtless follow Stallbaum in taking *τοῦ ζητεῖν* (the MS. *που* has been universally corrected since Aldus to *τοῦ*) as a gen. of definition, explanatory of *ζήτησις*, after the same pattern as *δουλεία . . . τῆς δουλώσεως* at 776 d and *διατριβὴν . . . τῆς μελλήσεως* at 723 d. Ast on 647 c collects many instances of a similar “perissologia,” to which St. adds, among others, *Euthyd.* 305 d *ἐὰν τούτους εἰς δόξαν καταστήσωσιν μηδενὸς δοκεῖν ἀξίους εἶναι*, where there is no *τοῦ*, and where Badham ejects *δοκεῖν* and Naber *εἰς δόξαν*. Lobeck, *Paralip.* p. 534, cps. Dem. *De Symm.* 178. 6 *τοῦ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν δόξαν ἐκφέρονται*.—We may translate: “For the craving of our likes and dislikes manifested in the search after novelty in *μουσική*. . . .”

**b 6.** (*πρὸς τὸ*) *διαφθεῖραι . . . ἐπικαλοῦσα ἀρχαιότητα*, “to damage . . . by branding it as old-fashioned.” The Aldine ed. was again undoubtedly right in altering the MS. *ἐπικαλοῦσαν* to the nom.—The *ζήτησις* is spoken of as if it were a person actuated by the desire described.

**c 3.** *λέγομεν* A<sup>2</sup> and Vat. 1029 (cp. on d 8), *λέγωμεν* ALO.—For the datives governed by *χρείαν* cp. 670 a where *ψιλῶ ἐκατέρω* is governed by *χρήσεως*. Greek uses the dative in a more varied way than other languages do. The whole sentence may be translated: “Well then, we may say then—may we not?—without fear of contradiction, that the right way to use *μουσική* and the relaxation of choric performances is as follows.”

**c 5.** “We feel delight when we think that things are right with us, and we think that things are right with us when we feel delight.” The latter half of the statement means, as Ritter says (*Analysis* p. 11), “we do well to be glad”—“the gladness does us good.” Herein, he seems to say, is the great *sanction* of all merry-making.

**c 8.** I think Burnet is right in putting a comma after *τοιούτῳ*, making *χαίροντες* an explanation of the three preceding words.

**d 1.** *αὐτοί* points the contrast between young and old: the former express their joy in dance and song; their elders feel the joy (*χαίροντες*), but it is second-hand, they are spectators only (*θεωροῦντες*).

**d 2.** τὸ δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων ἡμῶν κτλ., “as to us elders, we think that the proper way for us to proceed is to look on.” There seems to be a reminiscence in the πρεπόντως of the ὀρθήν in c 4.

**d 3.** παιδεία A, παιδιᾶ O, and so A<sub>2</sub> (Burnet).

**d 4.** ὁ ποθοῦντες καὶ ἀσπαζόμενοι κτλ. (καί emphasizes ἀσπαζόμενοι): i.e., while regretting our own lack of activity, we can take delight in that of others—in fact we encourage it, because it can rouse us (ἐπεγείρειν) from our torpor to an imaginary (μνήμη) youth. It is a delightful fancy that represents the sight of another's joy as awakening the onlooker from the sleep of age, by the help of memory—or, as we should say, by the help of imagination.—The words τίθεμεν ἀγῶνας at once take us in thought to a Greek festival, with its attendant contests in all kinds of artistic and other exercise, and prepare us for the ἑορταζόντων in e 1.

**d 8.** μῶν οὖν κτλ., “we think,—don't we?—that there is something in the generally expressed opinion about festal performances. Most people say that etc.”—It is clear here again (as in c 3) that A<sup>2</sup> and Y were right in reading the indicative.

**e 4.** δεῖ γὰρ δὴ . . . τιμᾶσθαι, “without doubt, as it is recognized that merry-making on such occasions is right, the man who gives pleasure to most people, and who gives the greatest pleasure ought to be most highly honoured.”

**658 a 1.** “Not only are we right in saying so, but we should be right in doing so.”

**a 4.** ταχύ: “nota paronomasiam,” Ast.

**a 5.** διαιροῦντες αὐτὸ κατὰ μέρη: he has here in mind the distinction between the different kinds of ἀγών. The imaginary proclamation of a contest which follows is peculiar in *not* making this discrimination.

**a 6.** οὕτως ἀπλῶς: so at *Rep.* 351 a and *Phil.* 12 c; ἀπλῶς οὕτως (ῥαδίως οὕτως κτλ.) is the common order, “without qualification.”—ὄντινοῦν seems used in the sense of “any you like.”

**a 8.** προείποι: the idea is “resumed” by the noun προρρήσεως in b 4.—For ἦκειν after προείποι St. cps. *Menex.* 240 a εἶπεν ἦκειν.

**b 1.** ὅς [δ'] ἄν κτλ.: Ficinus translates: “praemiaque ei proponit, qui spectatores maxime delectaverit.” From this Winckelmann naturally concludes that Ficinus read ὅς ἄν, and Usener, who (followed by Schanz) reads δ' ἄν (for δὴ ἄν), suggests that possibly θεῖς νικητήρια ought to stand immediately before ὅς. Whether the words are transposed or not, it is perhaps better (with Ficinus) to

take ὅς ἄν as “the prize to be for the man who,” than as merely depending on ἀγωνιούμενον (“to find out” or “to see, who”). The insertion of Δ before Α is a natural copyist’s error; or the δ’ may have been introduced intentionally by a scribe who had not seen to the end of the sentence.—ἐπιταττόμενος I take to be *passive* (Ast in his *Lex.* gives only this passage as an example of its *middle* use). Not only does this agree with the habit of the verb, but a participle agreeing with the subj. of προείποι would very awkwardly disturb the course of the sentence.

b 2. νικήση δέ: the δέ is due to the suggestion in the previous clause that there *might* have been some restriction laid down as to the nature of the contest.

b 3. The καί before κριθῆ is *explanatory*. It seems strange, as Ast says, that νικήση should come before κριθῆ, but the καί implies that the two verbs refer to the same event.—We may translate (προείποι . . . γεγόνεναι): “were by proclamation to offer prizes, and invite all and sundry to compete for them, in a contest of mere pleasure-giving—the prize to go to the man who gives most pleasure to the spectators, without being restricted in the means he employs,—all that is necessary is that he should surpass all rivals in producing just precisely (ὅτι μάλιστα) this very result, and be pronounced to have been the most delightful among the competitors.” The sentence is a rough one, in conversational style. Ast rewrites it elegantly. Stallbaum, while rebuking Ast for his boldness, adopts, in his translation, but not in his text, the boldest of Ast’s alterations—that of νικήση to νικήσειν (“*eum victoriam esse reportaturum siquidem . . .*”).

b 6. τοῦ περί λέγεις; “In what respect do you mean?”

b 9. οὐ θαυμαστόν κτλ., “I shouldn’t wonder if one of them thought that by a *puppet-show* he would have the best chance of the prize.”

c 3. δικαίως: the gist of the question is in this word. The point is not which performers would get most votes, but which performer *ought* to get most votes. So ὀρθῶς at d 8.

c 4. ὡς γνοῦς ἄν, “as if he could decide!”

c 5. Schanz brackets the words ἀκοῦσαί τε, which, he says, have been altered in A from ἀκούσας τε. If the words are genuine (which I doubt), they must mean, not “hear the competitors”—which would be unbearably tautological when followed by αὐτήκοος αὐτὸς γενέσθαι—but, “hear what the verdict is.”

c 10. The Athenian’s answer is a further exemplification of the principle enunciated in the words διαιροῦντες αὐτὸ κατὰ μέρη

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turn out a judge better than that produced by the ordinary experience of life. The reason why this experience tells more with the old than with the young is simply that they have had more of it. At the present time, in default of *quality* of training, they must rely on quantity alone.—The *πρεσβυτάτοις* and *δι' ἐμπειρίαν* of 659 d 3 point in the same direction as the present passage. (H. Stephanus altered *νῦν* to *νεῶν*, which is most unwarrantably translated by Ast: “(*longe melius est*) *quam juvenum*”). For the connexion of *ἔθος* with *παιδεία* cp. *Rep.* 518 e (virtue is implanted) *ἔθεσι καὶ ἀσκήσεσι*, and 522 a *ἔθεσι παιδεύουσα τοὺς φύλακας*.

**e 6.** These words remind us of 655 c 8 *καίτοι λέγουσίν γε κτλ.* We shall have to recur to both these passages at 668 a 9.

**659 a 1.** *τὸν διαφέροντα*: whereas those who were endowed and trained *ἱκανῶς* were spoken of in the plural, as a class, the man with the special endowment and training is spoken of in the singular, as being rarer. There is no need to suppose that the author has here a special functionary in mind.—*διὰ ταῦτα . . . ὅτι*, “the reason why (I say this) is that . . .”

**a 4.** The early vulgate *θατέρου* for *θεάτρου* is a typical misreading: Ficinus translates it “ab alio discere.”

**a 5.** Burnet was the first to put a comma after *μανθάνοντα*. The *καί* before *ἐκπληττόμενον* does not connect this word with *μανθάνοντα*—for this we should want *οὔτε*—but means *both*, though, strictly, either it ought to go before *ὑπὸ θορύβου*, or there ought to be another participle with *τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀπαιδευσίας*, in which case the *ὑπό* would have to be repeated. We may translate, “misled, as much by his own ignorance as by the noise made by the mob.” The first *οὔτε* clause describes the case of the judge without *φρόνησις*, the second (*οὔτ' αὖ γιγνώσκοντα κτλ.*) that of the judge who, “though he has insight” (*γιγνώσκοντα*), gives the lie to his convictions, and his (sacred) profession, through cowardice.—For the *θόρυβος* cp. *Rep.* 492 b.

**a 7.** For the omission of *ἐξ* with *οὔπερ* cp. 770 b 5 *περὶ ἐκάστων ὧν τίθεμεν τοὺς νόμους*. Adam on *Rep.* 373 e calls it “the usual Greek idiom.”

**b 1.** *ψευδόμενον κτλ.*, “be so irresolute as to give a vote which he knows to be false.”

**b 4.** Ficinus took *τοῖς* with *θεαταῖς*; but, even though it is just conceivable that *ἀποδιδούσι* might be used in the sense of “manifest, express by way of response” (to the poet's efforts), clearly here the people whom it is the judge's duty to oppose

(ἐναντιωσόμενος) are the dramatic authors, who are spoken of as *providing* (τοῖς ἀποδιδούσι) the public with amusement. That θεαταῖς has no article is no more surprising than that θεατῶν has none, two lines above.

**b 5.** Unfortunately Eusebius, who quotes this passage, stops at θεαταῖς. What follows in the MSS. cannot be right. Hermann, Schanz, and Burnet adopt Winckelmann's insertion of οὐ before καθάπερ. Ritter will have none of the οὐ; but then he has to translate καθάπερ by "*wie umgekehrt.*" This is only putting in the negative in German, without putting it in in Greek. Even with the Greek negative the sentence is far from smooth; we must make the negative mean, "the old Greek procedure did not admit of acting as the Sicilian and Italian does now, which" (does so and so). Badham would have us mark a considerable lacuna after the word νόμος. I would suggest another way out of the difficulty, which is, to eject the words ἐξῆν γὰρ δὴ τῷ παλαιῷ τε καὶ Ἑλληνικῷ νόμῳ, as being a marginal scholium, which has been wrongly incorporated with the text. The sentence καθάπερ κτλ. follows naturally after τοῖς . . . μὴ . . . ὀρθῶς ἀποδιδούσι: it is a concrete instance of what these words describe. I have therefore ventured to bracket these words and put a colon after θεαταῖς.

**b 7.** ἐπιτρέπων used absolutely—without a direct object—almost in the sense of "give way to"; cp. 802 c 1 ταῖς δὲ ἡδοναῖς καὶ ἐπιθυμίαις μὴ ἐπιτρέποντας.

**c 1 f.** τῶν κριτῶν: it should be remembered that these κριταί are the *mob*: παιδεύουσιν in the next line is ironical, and Burnet is doubtless right in reading αὐτοὺς with A—the *spectators* actually *educate* (l) the poets. (As Schanz reads αὐτοὺς without comment, I conclude he thought the breathing in A was a rough one.)

**c 5.** αὐτοῖς δρῶσι, "through their own action"—as we should put it, "and they have themselves to thank for it." A and O read αὐ τοῖς. Modern editors rightly follow Vat. 1029 in reading αὐτοῖς. Cornarius sees too much in αὐτοῖς δρῶσι when he translates, "*quum ipsi poemata faciant.*" Ficinus has *nunc iis ex theatro contrarium accidit.* This looks as if he read τοῖς δρῶσιν, and took it to mean "owing to the actors." The ordinary contrast between δρᾶν and πάσχειν gives a flavour of antithesis to the sentence; it is almost equal to αὐτοὶ δρῶντες πάσχουσι. (Badham's αὐ οἷς δρῶσι is less pointed.)—πᾶν τοῦναντίον: i.e. they see plays with morals *worse* than their own, and come to take pleasure increasingly in what is wrong and bad, and their taste, instead of being elevated, is corrupted.



c 9. τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον: the most explicit previous statement of this doctrine was that at 653 b. It was almost as clearly laid down in 645 a—τὴν τοῦ λογισμοῦ ἀγωγὴν χρυσὴν καὶ ἱεράν, τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν νόμον ἐπικαλουμένην—and it was no doubt in the author's mind when he wrote 643 e and 656 b. If then education is the process of drawing and leading the youthful mind in the direction in which the Law says it ought to go, we see, incidentally, what sort of claim the subject of Education has to fill a large place in a treatise on Laws. The framer of laws, that is, must consider the *possibilities* of education—must know the *nature* of the process, and the capacities of its subject matter; and further, the most important branch of Law itself will be that which provides for, and regulates the educating process. See note on 671 a 4–672 d.

d 3. ἐπιεικεστάτοις καὶ πρεσβυτάτοις: in these words we have over again the insistence on both (1) φύσις, *natural endowment*, and (2) *experience*, as a necessity for right opinion. The second point is further reinforced by the addition of the words δι' ἐμπειρίαν. The same two influences were referred to in 655 d 8 in the words ἢ κατὰ φύσιν ἢ κατὰ ἔθος.

d 5. ἐθίζηται: we are reminded by this word of the ὀρθῶς εἰθίσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων of 653 b 5.

d 6. τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου πεπεισμένοις (masc.) would apply not merely to the “second class” of φύλακες νόμων spoken of at 632 c, but to all rightly educated adults with whom the young came in contact. It is, however, only ὁ γέρων (d 7) who is referred to as an *authority* on the question of what is right and wrong. Eusebius, in quoting this passage, has τεθειμένοις (neut.) for πεπεισμένοις, a disquieting variant—due perhaps to an imperfect memory.

e 1. The τούτων ἔνεκα resumes the ἵνα of d 4, and introduces the main sentence αὐται (αἰ ᾠδαί) δοκοῦσι (supplied from δοκεῖ in c 9) ἐπωδαὶ γεγονέναι, a sentence which is inordinately long, and almost smothered in relative and other clauses.—ὄντως μὲν ἐπωδαί: Plato never scorns to point his argument by a pun; he seems to think the spirit of the language inspires the λόγος on such an occasion.—For this application of the notion cf. ἐπάδειν at *Phaedo* 114 d.

e 2. νῦν: if this is right, it must mean “under our present system.” Stallbaum thought it might be an error for ἡμῖν.

e 3. συμφωνίαν: cp. above 653 b 6 αὕτη 'σθ' ἡ συμφωνία κτλ.—σπουδήν: this again is partly a quibble. The σπουδή which

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ἐν . . . ἐπαινετοῖς. Though this would get rid of a difficulty, it would rob the comparison of an important feature.)

**a 5.** τὰ τῶν σωφρόνων : cp. above 655 b. Here we have the same definition of what is καλόν in art.

**b 1.** πρὸς Διός, "Bless you!"—νῦν, "at the present time."

**b 2.** ποιεῖν is doubtless here used in the special sense in which it was used in a 7 and 8.

**b 7.** καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά : these words, which Plato often uses before ὡσαύτως, merely round off the phrase, and reinforce τῶν αὐτῶν :—"the same, and of the same nature."

**c 3.** I think Burnet is right in omitting the comma after θαυμάζοιμι (most editors have it). Thus read, the sentence οὐκ ἂν θαυμ. κτλ. will mean, "I expect it was through my not expressing my meaning clearly that—to my cost (ἔπαθον)—I did so"; i.e. "that I created, and suffered from, a false impression" (so Ficinus).

**c 4.** ἀλλ' ἂ βούλομαι κτλ. : i.e. "instead of speaking clearly (and abusing things as they are), I gave you a general sketch of what I *wish* to be, in the matter of μουσική, in such a way, perhaps, as to make you think that *that* (ταῦτα) was what I meant"; then (as a reason why he did not find fault with the actual state of things) "because, though it is sometimes necessary to rail at hopeless and hardened sinners, such railing is not at all a pleasant task"—lit. "things past cure, and far advanced on the wrong road."—The emphatic ἐμέ in c 6 seems to be merely due to the fact that ἂ σὺ λέγεις had come before. The ταῦτα is, by its position, also emphatic.

**d 1 and 3.** ταῦτα and τοιαῦτα are ἂ διανοοῦμαι and ἂ βούλομαι γίνεσθαι περὶ μουσικὴν respectively.

**d 6.** Both οὕτως and καθάπερ νῦν γίνεσθαι go with γιγνόμενα, just as both the καθάπερ clauses in the next three lines go with γίγνοιτο.

**d 8.** πολὺ πού τὸ διαφέρον : cp. above 654 d 4. Here the verb to be applied is ἂν εἶη.

**d 9.** ἔτι, "furthermore."

**d 11.** φέρε δὴ, συνομολογησώμεθα τὰ νῦν, "now then for a settlement of the question."—Cleinias's remarks at b 1 ff. showed that he was thinking of the form and style of μουσική : here the Ath. rather suddenly directs our sole attention to the *subject matter* of the poet's work, τὰ λεγόμενα. He was entitled to do so by the admission by his hearers of the principle enunciated at 655 b, that καλόν in μουσική means ἀρετῆς ἐχόμενον, but no

doubt his hearers were somewhat bewildered, as Cleinias's answer (on 661 d) shows. The Athenian is here pursuing, in a concrete instance, the same inquiry which he makes in general in Bk. I.: i.e. are the Cretan and Spartan institutions, though they may teach us much, as satisfactory as they claim to be?

**e 1.** παιδεία καὶ μουσικῇ is a hendiadys. This identification is also based on a previous admission (654 a 5 ff.).

**e 5.** Κινύρα τε καὶ Μίδα: Tyrtaeus (12. 6) has the Ionic forms of the gen.—πλουτοίη δὲ Μίδεω καὶ Κινύρεω μάλιον.

**e 6.** ἀνιαρῶς ζῆ, "lives a life of misery." ἀνιαρός is the natural opposite of ἡδύς, *Prot.* 351 c, 355 e.

**e 7.** εἶπερ ὀρθῶς λέγει: the Athenian has asserted, with his hearer's assent, the legislator's right to dictate to the poet, and is thus enabled a second time to turn the tables on the Spartan national poet. Whereas Tyrtaeus says: No amount of physical or temporal advantage counts for anything in a man who is not brave, the Ath. here lays it down that even bravery itself is just as worthless, if the possessor is ἀδικος. He even goes further, and says that it, like all other advantages, is a curse and not a blessing to a man if he is not virtuous. (Cp. 630 b 3 ff., and *Gorg.* 511 ff.)

**661 a 2 ff.** The optatives πολμῶ, νικῶ, and γίγνοιτο are, in form, the direct expression of the speaker's wish, but, as ἀδικος δὲ ὢν is directly contrasted with τοιοῦτος ὢν, and the quotations from Tyrtaeus run on, we may suppose them to be, in effect, the *reported* expression of a wish; i.e. "he must say, I would not have him steel his mind to face slaughter," etc. For a similar change from oblique to direct narration cp. *Tim.* 18 c μηχανώμενοι ὅπως μηδεὶς ποτε τὸ γεγενημένον αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ γνώσοιτο, νομιούσι δὲ πάντες πάντας αὐτοὺς ὁμογενεῖς, and *Gorg.* 512 a λογίζεται . . . ὅτι οὐκ, εἰ μὲν τις . . . μὴ ἀπεπνίγη, οὗτος μὲν ἀθλιός ἐστιν.

**b 1.** For ἔχασθαι c. gen. in the sense of "depend on" cp. *Prot.* 319 e 4 ἃ μὲν διδασκάλων εἶχετο, *Meno* 94 b 6 ὅσα τέχνης ἔχεται.

**b 2.** τὸ τέλος, "the crown."

**b 5.** All this is an emphatic restatement of what was said at 631 b 7 ff.

**c 1.** τὸ παράπαν, "in general," because "life" is the most general expression of all physical activity—of which the particular senses just mentioned are kinds.

**c 1 ff.** τὸν . . . ὄντα is the subject to ζῆν.—μέγιστον μὲν κακὸν . . . ἔλαττον δέ: i.e. the possession of immortality would only prolong—and so multiply—the misery infinitely; while a speedy death would shorten, and so lessen it.

**c 5.** ἐπιζώη A (*ι in ras.*), ἐπιζώση Eus. (acc. to Burnet). Ast boldly emends to ἐπιζῆ; Stallb. and the Zurich edd. retain the impossible vulgate ἐπιζώη; Schanz writes ἐπιζῶν ῆ, and Burnet ἐπιζώη (which L. & S.<sup>7</sup> s.v. ἐπιζάω—presumably as a misprint—gives as the vulgate here). I have, with some hesitation, preferred Schanz's emendation to Burnet's. The poetical form seems less likely to have been written by Plato here than the participial periphrasis (cp. e.g. εἶναι γιγνόμενον in e 2); also the *rasura* in A is not so easily accounted for on Burnet's hypothesis. At the same time, the *rasura* apart, ἐπιζώη, written originally with no *ι* in the last syllable, would be naturally written ἐπιζῶη by a careless scribe.

**c 6.** ποιήσετε MSS., πείσετε Eus.

**c 7.** ἀποδιδόντας, "furnish," as at 659 b 5.

**c 8.** I have followed Schanz in putting only a colon after ὁρᾶτε.

**d 1.** καλὰ A, κακὰ O, Eus., Iambl., and a late hand in the margin of A.—This emphatic (σαφῶς) restatement of the main point—and explanation of ταῦτα ἅπερ ἐγώ—is made by the Athenian because it is just of this that he expects it will be hardest to convince his hearers.

**d 3.** ὅπερ οὖν ἠρόμην: these words refer directly to the question ἦ γάρ; in c 8, and indirectly to the συνομολογησώμεθα at the beginning of the paragraph; but they do not compel us to take ταῦτα . . . ἡμῶν as a question, as the first printed editions did—reading the fut.

**d 7.** διὰ τέλους: i.e. all three advantages are to be supposed to be *lasting*.—ὕμιν: ethic dat., "if you like." Iamblichus, in his quotation of the passage, omits it.

**d 7 ff.** καὶ ἔτι προστίθημι κτλ.: I think προστίθημι does not govern the following accusatives, and that εἶναι is not predicative to λεγομένων, but that the accusatives are the subjects to γιγνόμενον εἶναι, which stands for γίγνεσθαι—γιγνόμενον agreeing naturally with the last acc.—μηδὲν ἄλλο: μηδέν (not οὐδέν) because the sentence is, in effect, conditional—perhaps too the fact that it is the subject to an infin. (εἶναι) had something to do with the choice of μηδέν.—To those who prefer to take εἶναι with τῶν λεγομένων I would still urge that it is best to take γιγνόμενον with *all* the accusatives: "I don't mind adding, if you like, that he has pre-eminent strength and courage, with immortality to boot, and moreover none of the so-called evils." Then the construction is changed, and we go back to the acc. ἔχοντα, which is parallel to κεκτημένον

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πατέρων τε πρὸς αὐτῶν παῖδας, *Phaedr.* 231 b τὰς πρὸς τοὺς προσήκοντας διαφοράς). Probably διάφορος (κτλ.) πρὸς τινα corresponds to διάφορός τινι, and διάφορος παρά τινα to διάφορός τινος.

c 7. For νομοθετήσαντας cp. above 624 a 4 and 5.

d 2. εἰ δὴ, "suppose, for the sake of argument," like the εἰ μὲν δὴ at d 6, implying that the Ath. does not think for a moment that Zeus and Apollo *would* give such an answer.

d 3. εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἐπανερωτῶμεν: there is a suspicion of ostentation in these words—it is almost as if the Ath. flourished a piece of logic in the face of his unsophisticated audience. (So Touchstone discourses of "philosophy," and a "figure of rhetoric" to Corin or William.) Anyhow it is not easy to see why the next question is the "correct" sequel to the last.

d 4. The word εὐδαίμων brings in a fresh notion.—It means not simply *happy*—which would be much the same as ἡδύς—but *blessed of heaven*. Cp. *Rep.* 354 a ἀλλὰ μὴν ὃ γε εὖ ζῶν μακάριός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων, where Adam quotes Aristotle's elegy on Plato: ἰδρύσατο βωμὸν ἀνδρός, ὃν οὐδ' αἰνεῖν τοῖσι κακοῖσι θέμις· ὃς μόνος ἢ πρῶτος θνητῶν κατέδειξεν ἐναργῶς οἰκείῳ τε βίῳ καὶ μεθόδοισι λόγων, ὡς ἀγαθός τε καὶ εὐδαίμων ἅμα γίνεται ἀνὴρ. At *Meno* 78 a Socrates adds κακοδαίμων (a word of colloquial abuse—"God-forsaken" as E. S. Thompson says) to ἄθλιος, as if the one notion involved the other. It would therefore be more than ἄτοπον if the Gods made the answer supposed at d 6. As the two Gods are the original lawgivers for Sparta and Crete, the Ath.'s hearers are bound to agree here.

d 6. ἄτοπος αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος ἂν γίγνοιτο, "their reasoning would become absurd."

d 7. βούλομαι δέ μοι μὴ ἐπὶ θεῶν λέγεσθαι τὸ τοιοῦτον, "I should not like to see such a saying put into the mouth of a God"; lit. "to be said *in the case of* a God." For this use of ἐπί c. gen. with λέγειν cp. *Rep.* 475 a ἐπ' ἐμοῦ λέγειν, 524 e ὡσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ δακτύλου ἐλέγομεν, *Gorg.* 453 e εἰ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τεχνῶν λέγομεν ὧνπερ νυνδὴ, *Laws* 793 e ὅπερ ἐπὶ τῶν δούλων ἐλέγομεν, *Charm.* 155 d ἐπὶ καλοῦ λέγων παιδός.

e 2 ff. ἤρωτήσθω, "let (the question) be supposed to have been put to"; and perhaps too ὃ δ' εἰπέτω is, "and let him be supposed to answer."—μακάριος is here used as synonymous with εὐδαίμων. We have the same μοι with ἤρ. that we had with λέγεσθαι, and that is one reason why I think Schanz is wrong in altering ἤρωτήσθω into ἤρωτησθαι: there would then be too great

uniformity between the two clauses. For a similar pair of accusatives, coupled with the *figura etymologica*, cp. *Laws* 705 c μιμήσεις πονηρὰς μιμείσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους; the only difference here is that the verb is passive. (The Cod. Voss.—*in marg.*—put in πρὸς before πατέρα, and Ast actually prints πατήρ τε καὶ νομοθέτης with no MS. authority, and St. approves.)—The pregnant use of the perf. imperat.—not merely “let the question have been put,” but “grant,” or “suppose that the question has been put”—is quite idiomatic; cp. Θ 524 μῦθος δ’ ὅς μὲν νῦν ὑγιῆς, εἰρημένος ἔστω, *Crat.* 401 d καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ ὡς παρὰ μηδὲν εἰδότην εἰρήσθω.

e 5. ἀλλ’, “and yet.”

e 6—663 a 7. ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν κτλ. “well, the lawgiver—or father—who decides this way” (i.e. that the ἡδιστος βίος is μακαριώτατος) “would, I think, appear absurdly at a loss to give a consistent answer. If, on the other hand, he declared the perfectly *just* life to be perfectly blessed, anyone who heard him would, I think, inquire ‘what was the advantage and merit in it, superior to pleasure, which the law found to recommend?’ Why, what advantage *can* the just man find which has *no* pleasure in it? I ask you, is fair fame, and the praise of men and gods, an advantage and an honour which is *unpleasant*, and an ill name the reverse? My good lawgiver, we shall never admit that. Pray, is wronging nobody, and being wronged by nobody, *unpleasant*, though good and right, and is the other behaviour pleasant, though disgraceful and bad?”—ταύτῃ: I think, after much hesitation, that we ought to take this word with τιθέμενος rather than with φαίνοιτο: (1) because τιθέμενος with a qualifying word is more naturally used than if taken absolutely; i.e. “he who decides this way,” rather than “the decider, the authority,” or even “the deciding lawgiver,” and (2) because there seems to be a decided antithesis between ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν (ὁ τ.) and εἰ δ’ αὖ in e 8. (I am not influenced by e.g. *Crat.* 398 c ταύτῃ δ’ οὖν τίθεμαι κτλ. because I think that there, as at *Crat.* 418 d 2, ταίτῃ means “that is why.”)

e 7. ἄτοπος goes, I think, closely with ἄπορος; not “would look foolish and . . . ,” but “would appear strangely at a loss to . . .” Cp. *Er.* 333 c 6 καὶ μάλα ἀτόπῳ καὶ αἰσχρᾷ νίκη, “and that by a remarkably disgraceful victory”—(cp. our “nice and warm”).—The gen. τοῦ συμφ. ἑαυτῷ λέγειν depends on the ἀ-privative in ἄπορος.

663 a 1. ὁ νόμος: this personification of νόμος is peculiar, but



intelligible; ὁ νόμος represents the same point of view as ὁ νομοθέτης. τὸ δίκαιον is what the law enjoys, and consequently the law is held responsible for the effects of just action. Schanz adopts Badham's substitution of νομοθέτης for νόμος here, and I am strongly disposed to follow his example. If νόμος be retained, it must anyhow be regarded as a conscious substitution for νομοθέτης, denoting the same "party" in the argument.

a 2. τί γὰρ δὴ δικαίῳ χωριζόμενον ἡδονῆς ἀγαθόν: the argument is: For the just man to be εὐδαίμων must be an ἀγαθόν; there is no ἀγαθόν the just man can experience, which is χωριζόμενον ἡδονῆς: therefore it must be wrong to think that τὸ δίκαιον and τὸ ἡδύ can be separated, or that the lives spoken of at 662 d 1 are two.

a 6. μήτε ὑπό τινος ἀδικεῖσθαι: to complete the picture, from the point of view of law and lawgiver—i.e. of the community—the recipient of the wrong must be mentioned as well as the wrongdoer; one involves the other.

a 7. ἢ for καί, possibly to show that no special distinction is here intended between ἀγαθόν and καλόν; possibly, only for variety's sake.—τὰ δ' ἕτερα, "the *different* state of things," where we should expect "the *opposite* state of things"; possibly, because τάναντία had just before been used adverbially. The context shows that it *is* the opposite state of things, which he here denotes by the milder expression. (Ast rejected ἡκιστα . . . κακά. A Venetian MS.—Bekker's Ξ—and the four earliest printed editions omitted ἡκιστα . . . ἀδικεῖσθαι. Ficinus translates the whole passage—giving it all, even καί πως, to the Ath.; Cod. Voss. attributed ἡκιστα . . . ἀδικεῖσθαι (acc. to Ast and Stallb.) to Cleinias. (More probably Cod. Voss. gave him down to κακά.)

b 1. καὶ ἀγαθόν τε καὶ καλόν: I cannot help suspecting these words to be spurious. The identification of ἀγαθόν and καλόν is kindred to that of ἡδύ and δίκαιον—is perhaps the identification of the *generals* of which the latter pair are *particulars*—but it is a separate point. It would need different arguments, and it is not used in the rest of the paragraph. The only defence the words seem to admit of is, that the whole of the paragraph appears to have been written in a less careful style than the preceding part of the argument.—εἰ μηδὲν ἕτερον: Ast is, I think, right in supplying πρὸς in sense (before μηδέν) from the following clause; i.e. not "will persuade, if nothing else can," but "will persuade to (this), if to nothing else."

b 2. νομοθέτη κτλ., "in the lawgiver's eyes that reasoning is most wicked and dangerous, which denies that this is the case"—

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(σκιαγράφημα) of right and wrong that they have been looking at, and (2) that, like other pictures, it only produces the illusion intended, if seen from a certain point. Here the illustration would join up with the τὸ πόρρωθεν ὁρώμενον one. The man who has had a training in just action would have been brought *near* to justice, and would therefore discern the faults of the picture which looked all right when he was far off from it.

c 2. Naber's ψόγοις for λόγοις (adopted by Schanz) seems wrong; the following representation of the case (ὡς ἔσκιαγρ. κτλ.) would need λόγοι to explain it.

c 3 ff. I have removed the comma from after φαινόμενα, put commas before and after τῷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐναντίως, and after θεωρούμενα, and would translate ὡς ἔσκιαγρ. . . ἀμφοτέρα, "That the right and wrong he sees is like a rough picture—the wrong, which behaves in the opposite way to the right, appearing, when seen by him when he is in a wrong and bad state, pleasant, and the right most unpleasant; while, when they are seen by him when he is in a state of righteousness, every man sees both sides altogether in the opposite light." If the ἐαυτοῦ of the MSS. is right, we must suppose an imaginary pupil of the lawgiver to be spoken of. In that case παντί in c 5 is irregular, and πάντη recorded (or suggested) by a late hand in the margin of A is preferable; but if Ast (applauded by St., and followed by Schanz) is right in reading αὐτοῦ for ἐαυτοῦ, παντί is quite in order.—Badham proposed καὶ τᾶδिका for καὶ ἄδικα (the omission to repeat the article is hardly noticeable among so many irregularities of expression)—and to eject the words τὰ μὲν ἄδικα τὰ τοῦ δικαίου inserting τὰ μὲν ἄδικα after θεωρούμενα, and rejecting πρὸς in c 5.—F.H.D. would reject τῷ τοῦ δικαίου. Schanz marks a lacuna before ἐναντίως. Stephanus (and C. Ritter) recommend the rejection of the τῷ before τοῦ δικαίου—governing the gen. by ἐναντίως.—For the use of ἐκ in c 3 and 4 St. well cps. *Soph.* 236 b τὸ φαινόμενον μὲν διὰ τὴν οὐκ ἐκ καλοῦ θεῶν εἰκέναι τῷ καλῷ, where the effect is the opposite of that described in the present case.—The μὲν before ἄδικα corresponds in logic to the δέ in τὰ δὲ δίκαια and the μὲν before ἀδίκου to the δέ in ἐκ δὲ δικαίου.—ἡδέα is predicate to φαινόμενα, not to θεωρούμενα. Among the suggested alterations of the passage that of Madvig seems to me the best; he supposes ἐναντίω to have fallen out before ἐναντίως. We thus get a clumsy chain of participles, but greater clearness. I should still, if this were adopted, put a comma after θεωρούμενα.—A somewhat similar

philosophizing is to be seen in Euripides, *Iph. in Aul.* 387  
 πονηροῦ φωτὸς ἡδοναὶ κακαί.

**c 7 f.** The question arises: with what do τήν, ποτέραν and τήν in the next line agree? In grammar it is ἀλήθειαν, but the meaning of this word coalesces with that of its dependent gen. κρίσεως to mean "true judgement," or rather "claim to truth." What the sentence means is, "which claim to be true has the higher authority?"

**d 5–e 2.** As Cleinias's form of assent shows a disposition to go behind the argument, the Ath. reinforces it by considerations of expediency. He is careful, by the extremely hypothetical form of the question, to guard against the idea that he himself for a moment doubts the reality of his previous conclusion. He does not say, "if it were otherwise, what better opportunity for a useful lie could a legislator *have*?" but, "if it *had* been otherwise," and "*have had*." (Voltaire's "il faudrait l'inventer" is in a less hypothetical form.) It is almost as if Plato argued: "Does it not look as if it *must* be true, because it is such a useful thing to be able to say?"—οὐ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ὄφελος: we have already met this phrase at 630 c and 647 a in connexion with the νομοθέτης; cp. also 890 d τὸν γε ἄξιον καὶ σμικροῦ νομοθέτην.

**d 7.** ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτὸ ἤρηχ' ὁ λόγος ἔχειν: cf. *Parm.* 141 d ὡς γε ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, *Phil.* 35 d οὐδαμῆ ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ, *Rep.* 604 c ὅπη ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ βέλτιστ' ἂν ἔχειν. αἰρεῖν seems in this phrase to be used much as we say, in an argument, "there you have me."

**e 1.** Schanz adopts H. Stephanus's insertion of πείθειν before ποιεῖν: this insertion was independently suggested by Badham. At 671 c 4 δυναμένους has just as much need of a supplied inf. The difference is that there the sentence is long, and a ποιεῖν which occurs near the end *sounds* as if it might be the missing inf., though it is not. I am inclined to believe in a *pregnant* use of δύνασθαι in the sense of "to be equal to bringing it about that" (cp. Ast, *Lex.*), akin to its meaning of "to signify," "to be equal to"; πείθειν ποιεῖν would sound very awkward.

**e 2.** πάντας, which is in no MS., has been, by most editors, added to the text from Eusebius's quotation of the passage.

**e 3 ff.** The most various interpretations have been proposed of Cleinias's remark, and the Athenian's answer. The difference arises from the various *subaudienda* imagined before or after Cleinias's remark; e.g. (before it) "it would certainly be better if we could do without a lie" (C. Ritter); (after) "id quod verum esse putamus difficile est (*nobis*) persuadere (*non ita esse*)" Ast.

Both these cannot be right; I think no *subaudienda* are needed. The author is directly calling attention to the plastic nature of the youthful mind, and incidentally suggesting a correct appreciation of *myths* and their position in education. In the previous paragraph the Athenian's language, in referring to the possible use of a lie, is carefully chosen—ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ψεύδεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς νέους—he calls it λυσιτελής, and an efficient prompter of a good disposition. This is because he wants to point out the use of *stories* in forming the mind. Cleinias does not see what he is driving at, and takes refuge in the following safe and somewhat trite remark: "truth" (i.e. philosophical truth) "is a treasure, and an abiding one; but the process of getting it into people's minds is evidently a hard one." In the Athenian's answer I have ventured to read τὸ μέντοι Σιδώνιον for τὸ μὲν τοῦ Σιδωνίου. It is not likely that Plato should have spoken of the story as *told* by a Sidonian (and that is the most natural translation of the gen.), and a comparison of *Rep.* 414 c suggests that τὸ Σιδώνιον μυθολόγημα is only a variety for the proverbial ψεῦδος or ψεῦσμα Φοινικικόν (see Photius s.v. Φοινικικόν). For τὸ μέντοι = τὸ δέ cp. *Phaedrus* 228 d τὴν μέντοι διάνοιαν. What the Athenian says there is: "I grant you; but it is *not* hard to get a cock-and-bull story like the Sidonian one into people's minds." (I think Burnet is wrong in reading the words as a question. A question should have had οὐ ῥάδιον, and if it had been a question, it would naturally have been repeated after Cleinias's ποῖα; )—The Ath. seizes on the word πείθειν as opening up the general subject of the way in which the young mind can and ought to be furnished with ideas and feelings. Of course the Cretan goes off mentally in the direction suggested, and asks ποῖα; He has been in a fog, and he sees a chance of getting into clearer air.

e 6. ἐγένετο may fairly be taken as a gnomic aorist; the addition of καὶ ἄλλα μυρία looks as if no definite accrediting of a particular story was referred to.

e 9. παράδειγμα τοῦ πείσειν, "proof that a man will (be able to) persuade." For παράδειγμα in the sense of "proof" or "confirmation" cp. *Laws* 801 b 9, *Thuc.* i. 2. 6.

664 a 2. αὐτόν is the νομοθέτης, not the imaginary τις.—The substance of this paragraph is as follows: "the minds of the young are plastic. It is of the utmost importance that they should be moulded aright. They *must* be led to think that doing right is pleasanter than doing wrong. The songs they sing and hear, the stories that are told to them, the admonition of their elders, and

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to the arrangement as already known.—Up to 666 d ff. Plato uses language about the class of citizens between thirty and sixty years of age which conceals from his interlocutors the fact that it is only *in a figure* that he describes them as a χορός; from 666 d onwards he unfolds to them that the μουσα to which the mature minds among the citizens are to be devoted is “καλλίων τῆς τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς θεάτροις” (667 a).

b 7. τὸ δὲ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν τοῦτο ἔστω: so the MSS. αὐτῶν seems not to refer to τὰ καλὰ πάντα which are to be the subject matter of the songs. If it does, the following clause is very irregularly expressed. Stallbaum would like to put a comma after λέγεσθαι, and insert the words καὶ τοῦτο before φάσκοντες. The only way in which we can bring the passage into order as it stands is to suppose αὐτῶν to refer to the general arrangements about the choruses: “The main point to be kept before us in our proceedings in this.”—I have ventured to read αὐ̂ for αὐτῶν.

b 8. ὑπὸ θεῶν λέγεσθαι: just as the citizens in general are to be told that the laws of the state were given by a god, or by a divinely inspired man, so, to the young, the truths which only the experienced philosopher can discover are to be presented with the sanction of religion.

c 1. It is, I think, admissible to suppose that ἀληθέστατα refers to the statement that the right and good life is the pleasantest, not to the statement that the gods say so; whereas the μάλλον πείσομεν . . . ἢ εἰάν ἄλλως πως φθεγγώμεθα λέγοντες refers merely to the appeal to the religious sanction.

c 5. εἰσίοι: previous references to ἑορταί at 652 d and 657 d and the words ἐν θεάτρῳ at 665 e 5 make it clear that this word is here used in the technical sense of “coming on” to the stage at a public festal performance.

c 6. ἀπάσῃ σπουδῇ: i.e. it is to be no amateurish performance; the choir must do its very best; as indeed is to be expected, when all the city assembles to hear it. It is the choir of the Muses, who preside over *education*. (The occasion has some of the elements of the modern school speech-day.)—ὁ μέχρι τριάκοντᾶ ἐτῶν: Plato does not here specify a date which is to divide παῖδες from ἀκμάζοντες; probably because, for different purposes, and in different states, the date varied; also, in some states the ἔφηβοι formed an intermediate class.

c 7. Cp. *Critias* 108 c καὶ τὸν Παιῶνά τε καὶ Μούσας ἐπικαλούμενον, though there the divinity is only appealed to for

inspiration, and not, as here, implored to produce conviction as well. The second chorus is evidently that of Apollo.

**c 8.** τοῖς νέοις: either all below the class of the ἀκμάζοντες—those, i.e., still undergoing the process of education—or perhaps οἱ νέοι includes the ἀκμάζοντες as well—as being still impressionable. The words ἴλεων μετὰ πειθοῦς, “graciously pleased to convince,” look more like a prayer for others than for the suppliants themselves.

**d 1.** As I think that the δέ in τοὺς δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα, and not the δέ after δεῖ, marks the chief contrast to the μέν clause in c 4, I have put a colon, and not a full stop (as St. and Burnet) after ἐπευχόμενος—Schanz puts a comma there. The grammatical construction, it is true, indicates a greater break at ἐπευχόμενος, as both ἄδειν and καταλελείφθαι depend on δεῖ, but logically the three choruses on the one hand, and the old men past “singing” on the other, are more opposed than the two first choruses and the rest of the population.

**d 2.** τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα: this can mean nothing but “those who are beyond that age”; but it is an unusual expression, as also is φέρειν, in the next line, which a comparison of 665 d 9—πᾶς που γιγνόμενος πρεσβύτερος ὄκνου πρὸς τὰς ὥδὰς μεστός—would persuade us to translate “to support the toil of,” an unusual extension of the sense of *to endure* (something evil). Is it possible that the word here means *to contribute*? cp. *Polit.* 298 a προστάττοντες ἀναλώματα φέρειν)—or even *to produce*?

**d 3.** μυθολόγους περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἠθῶν, “to tell stories about the same characters”; i.e. about men who display virtuous dispositions.

**d 4.** διὰ θείας φήμης: i.e. of an inspired character, cp. 624 b 2.

**d 8.** That is, we are now going to see what is the second and chief use of μέθη—that referred to beforehand at 653 a as *a means of safe-guarding education*. Its first use—that of enabling the educators to judge character—τὸ κατιδεῖν πῶς ἔχομεν τὰς φύσεις—(τὸ) ψυχῆς βάσανον λαμβάνειν—and to train the young in αἰδώς and αἰσχύνῃ—had been explained already at the end of Bk. I. The forgetfulness of his hearers provides the Ath. with the occasion for a useful repetition.

Inasmuch as the explanations which follow all apply to the participation of mature and elderly men in the chorus of Dionysus, Orelli's τρίττους for τρίτους (in d 6) is inadmissible—besides, there could have been nothing about the first two choruses which would seem strange to his hearers; it was only



about the third that they needed further information. Possibly it was the recent occurrence of the word *τρίτους* in d 1 which made him choose the plural here. We get the sing. again at 665 b 1.

**e 3.** *κατ' ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων*: i.e. at 653 d f. Here *οἱ λόγοι* means the discussion begun *in this book*; and so probably above, at d 9.

**e 7.** *τούτων ἀμφοτέρων*: i.e. of bodily movement, and of voice; this gen. depends on *τάξεως*, and that on *αἴσθησιν*. This acc. should itself have been in the gen., as governed by the nearer verb *ἐφάπτοιτο*, but, to avoid *three* genitives, one on the back of another, it is made to be governed by *ἔχοι*, even though it is duplicated by the following *τοῦτο*:—an instructive instance of Plato's sentence-construction, and treatment of cases. (Burnet has made this construction much clearer by putting a comma after *ἀμφοτέρων*. Stallb. commends, and Schanz adopts Winckelmann's *αἰσθήσει* for *αἴσθησιν* (cp. *Phaedo* 65 d, and *Phil.* 35 a). Badham suggests the same change (comparing *τῷ νῷ ἐφάπτεσθαι τῶν ὄντων*), and places the word after *οὐδὲν*. But a comparison of 653 e 3—*τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα ζῶα οὐκ ἔχειν αἴσθησιν τῶν ἐν ταῖς κινήσεσιν τάξεων οὐδὲ ἀταξιῶν*—makes it very hard to explain *ἔχοι τοῦτο* here as meaning anything but *ἔχοι τάξεως αἴσθησιν*, and if the *ἔχοι* clause was in the writer's mind at the beginning of the sentence, the slight anacoluthon involved in *αἴσθησιν . . . ἐφάπτοιτο* is easily explained—especially when there were so many genitives about.)—For the whole subject of the passage cp. *Phil.* 17 c ff. and above on 653 e 4.

**665 a 2.** A has *ἀρμονίας*, and so a second hand in O; i.e. the writer of A cannot be trusted as perfect in grammar. Cp. Hdt. vi. 53 *οὐκ ἔπεισι ἐπωνυμίῃ Περσέϊ οὐδεμία πατρὸς θνητοῦ, ὥσπερ Ἡρακλείϊ Ἀμφιτρύων*; if ever a Greek would have thought it right to say *ὄνομα Ἀμφιτρύονος*, he would have done it in this sentence, one would think.

**a 8.** It would have been more regular to repeat the *ὁ* before *τῶν Μουσῶν*, but the pl. *εἴρηνται* makes it clear that *two* choruses are spoken of, and so the repetition—which would rather spoil the rhythm—is unnecessary.

**b 2.** *λέγεσθαι*, not “(has) to be spoken of,” but “(must) be called (that of Dionysus).”

**b 3.** *μάλα γὰρ ἄτοπος . . . Διονύσου πρεσβυτῶν χορός*: the licence which Cleinias associates with the name of Dionysus seems to accord ill with old age. In spite of the Spartan institution of

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says, is partly due to the different natures etc. of the different classes of singers—and the ἡδονή by the ποικιλία.—Eusebius, Stallb. says, has *περὶ τοῦ δεῖν* in c 2 for the MS. *τὸ δεῖν*. It was, of course, open to the speaker to continue on the model of his own words *ἄρα . . . ὁμολογεῖται*; or on that of his questioner—*τοῦ πέρι*; But that is no reason why, with Ast, we should read *τοῦ δεῖν*.

**d 1.** *τοῦτο τὸ ἄριστον τῆς πόλεως*: cp. 658 e, where it is claimed that old men are the best judges. (Ritter would read *ταῦθ'* for *τοῦθ'*, a good suggestion.)

**d 3.** *ᾄδον*: the participle is the principal verb in sense; the question is, in effect, “Where would the old men sing—the old men, whose songs (in subject matter) would be the best, and would therefore do most good?”

**d 4.** *ἀνοήτως οὕτως*, “in mere folly”; so *ἀπλῶς οὕτως, ῥαδίως οὕτω, οὕτωςιν ἀτρέμα* (*Gorg.* 503 d).—*κυριώτατον*, “perfect masters of”; it includes, I think, the idea of “the best authority about”; cp. *Er.* 345 b *οἱ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων πάμπολυ Διονυσίου κυριώτεροι ἂν εἶεν κριταί*, *Er.* 311 d *κυριώτερα δὲ τὰ τῶν θείων ἀνδρῶν μαντεύματα ἢ τὰ τῶν μή*.

**e 1.** *χαίρει ἦττον πράττων τοῦτο*: litotes for “does not like doing it,” as is shown by the following “if obliged to do it.”

**e 2.** *ὄσῳ . . . τόσῳ μᾶλλον*: added, with conversational asyndeton, in amplification of the comparatives *ἦττον* and *μᾶλλον*—“and the older and wiser he grows, the more he feels it.”

**e 5.** *παντοίοις ἀνθρώποις ἄδειν ἔστῶς ὀρθός*: cp. Shakespeare’s “(Nature might) stand up and say to all the world.”

**e 6.** *ἔτι μᾶλλον*: he does not like doing it at all; the being obliged makes it worse, the publicity of a theatrical performance is a “still further” aggravation.—*καὶ ταῦτά γ' εἰ* suggests yet another grievance—the *φωνασκός*, with blind pedantry, might put the old man on meagre diet—just the opposite treatment, as the sequel shows, to what the case needs.

**e 8.** *παντάπασιν που*: these words gather up, as it were, the force of the climax; he asks, in effect, “can you imagine a more distressingly humiliating situation? Every spark of *προθυμία* would be stifled by it.”—This comic picture helps to unsettle the notion that the *χορεία* of the mature and elderly is to be a *literal* one.

**666 a 2.** *αὐτούς* possibly refers to all the “singers,” not the third chorus alone.

**a 5.** “*πῦρ ἐπὶ πυρί· παροιμία ἧς μέμνηται καὶ Πλάτων· κακὸν*

ἐπὶ κακῶ,” Photius.—ὄχετεύειν, a metaphor from *irrigation*, is appropriate to the “liquid fire” of “drink”; cp. *As You Like It* II. iii. 48 “For in my youth I never did apply Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood.”

**a 6.** πρὶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πόνους ἐγχειρεῖν πορεύεσθαι, “before they address themselves to the work of life.” Cp. Eur. *Orestes* 1068 ἐπ’ ἔργον δ’, ὡς ὄρα̃ς, πορεύομαι. [F.H.D. prefers “before they *attack* their task.”]

**a 7.** εὐλαβουμένους (by way of varying the construction) agrees with the (imaginary) object of διδάσκοντες and subject of ὄχετεύειν; the Aldine ed. emended it to εὐλαβούμενοι, which would agree with the subject of νομοθετήσομεν.—ἐμμανής, “passionate, violent,” is a less derogatory epithet than μανιώδης “crazy.”

**a 8.** γεύεσθαι, and the following infs. ἀπέχεσθαι, καλεῖν, and παρακαλεῖν, are best taken as dependent on νομοθετήσομεν, not as on χρή (supplied from οὐ χρή).

**b 1.** τὸν νέον: not a precise term; sometimes it is used of mere children; sometimes, as here, used as the opposite of γέρων.—A has τῶν νέων corr. by A<sup>2</sup> to τὸν νέον, which is the reading in Athenaeus x. 55, and Stobaeus, *Flor.* 44. 44.

**b 2.** τετταράκοντα ἐπιβαίνοντα ἔτῶν, “when a man is rising forty,” as we say—i.e. enters the fourth decade. This meaning is sufficiently defined by the previous μέχρι τριάκοντα ἔτῶν.—ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις εὐωχηθέντα κτλ.: the situation suggests an old-fashioned College Common-Room at Oxford or Cambridge.

**b 3.** καλεῖν seems used of the general invocation of the gods before the drinking began, and παρακαλεῖν is a slight variation of the general word to mark a special appeal. (Badham would reject καλεῖν, thus making the position of the τε more regular; but it is difficult to see why anyone should have put it in, if it was not there.)

**b 4.** A has πρεσβυτάτων, O and Athenaeus πρεσβυτῶν, Stob. and Galen πρεσβυτέρων (so Schanz and Burnet).—τελετήν ἄμα καὶ παιδιάν, “(to) what is at once the recreation, and the special religious privilege of the older men.” The word τελετήν is specially appropriate, as it was used of a festival ceremony in particular; at Eur. *I.T.* 959 the word is applied to the feast of the Χόες. Athenaeus ii. 40 d can hardly be right in saying that τὰς ἔτι μείζους καὶ μετὰ τινος μυστικῆς παραδόσεως ἑορτάς were called τελετάς because of the large sums *spent* upon them—“τελεῖν γὰρ τὸ δαπανᾶν”—a feast was itself, as it always has been, a ceremony, involving initiation.

**b 5.** ἐπίκουρον is here an adjective, qualifying φάρμακον; cp. Eur. *I.A.* 1027 χέρ' ἐπίκουρον κακῶν, *Or.* 211 ὦ φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον ἐπίκουρον νόσου.

**b 6.** I have ventured to bracket the words τὸν οἶνον. It was a natural marginal explanation of φάρμακον, and it is very hard to fit it in as well as ἦν and φάρμακον in the text. I would translate τήν . . . φάρμακον "the mystery and delight of the older men, which he has given to mankind as a charm against the austerity of age." (So, too, Peipers, *Qu. Cr. de Pl. Legibus*, p. 95. H. Richards suggests reading ἦς for ἦν.)

**b 7.** I feel sure that Burnet is right in reading λήθη for the MS. λήθην. The only way by which editors have made sense of the passage is to adopt the suggestion, made in the margin of Cod. Voss., to insert τε after μαλακώτερον, but the sentence runs much better in Burnet's form.

**c 1.** καθάπερ εἰς πῦρ σίδηρον ἐντεθέντα γιγνόμενον: so the MSS. I doubt the correctness of the construction τὸ ἦθος γίγνεται καθάπερ σίδηρος εἰς πῦρ ἐντεθείς in the sense "the nature of the soul becomes like iron put into the fire." γίγνεσθαι, like εἶναι, can have an *adverb* as predicate, but I think such a sentence as the above would be hard to find. I suggest that what was written was *καθαπερεὶ εἰς*, or possibly *καθαπερεὶ 'ς*. The sentence would then mean "becoming, so to speak, iron put in the furnace." (Ast, who reads *μαλακώτερόν τε*, says we must supply *μαλακώτερον* in sense with *γιγνόμενον*, "becoming *softer* like iron in the furnace.") [F.H.D. would bracket *γιγνόμενον*.]

**c 2.** καὶ οὕτως εὐπλαστότερον εἶναι: cp. 671 c παιδεύειν τε καὶ πλάττειν . . . τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὸν πλάστην (see note on 671 a 4—672 d 9). Ast's note on this passage is: "Frequens vero est comparatio animi ferocis cum ferro aqua tincto, molliti vero cum ferro igne cocto. Plutarchus de discrim. adul. p. 73 c [chap. xxxvi] ὡσπερ ὁ σίδηρος πυκνοῦται τῇ περιψύξει καὶ δέχεται τὴν στόμωσιν ἀνεθείς πρῶτον ὑπὸ θερμότητος καὶ μαλακὸς γενόμενος."

**c 8.** μετέχειν ἡμῖν ὧδῆς: it may naturally be asked here, "if this third chorus is to sing in private, where is the public benefit?—who are to be 'charmed' by it?" This question is answered implicitly in the sequel, thus: "Their superior insight and training makes them the repository of correct taste. It is to them that the νομοθέτης must go when he wants to find what style of χορεία is to be enjoined by law for the two other choruses; and it is they who must supervise the poets and musicians." In other words, they are not primarily a performing chorus, like the other

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τινος δυναμένου. — ἦν . . . γενόμενοι, “which we were taught when we learnt to sing in chorus.”

e 2. ἐν ἄσπεσι κατωκηκότων: the use of the adj. ἀστείος shows what these words imply.—οἶον . . . κέκτησθε: if φορβάδας is sound—it looks very much like a marginal synonym for ἐν ἀγέλη νεμομένους—it must be the main predicate to κέκτησθε, “you keep your young men in flocks, like so many colts at grass in one big herd.”—ἀγέλη in Crete, and βουά in Sparta, were technical terms for the bands or classes in which the youths were trained.

e 5. ἀγριαίνοντα: as at *Rep.* 493 b, Plato uses this verb in its original sense of “to be ἄγριος, wild,” the opposite of ἀστείος in derivation, as in sense.—ἐπέστησεν: gnomic aor. used side by side with pres.—the education being a lengthy process.—ἵπποκόμον . . . ψήχων: the metaphorical language of this passage, which is even playfully extravagant, indirectly prepares his hearers for his main metaphor as to the ὠδή and μούσα.

e 6. πάντα προσήκοντα ἀποδιδούς τῇ παιδοτροφίᾳ, “paying all due attention to his rearing”; the absence of the art. with προσήκοντα gives additional emphasis to πάντα—“in all points”; I take παιδοτροφία (and not προσήκοντα) to be the antecedent to ὅθεν—“such a rearing as will secure that . . .” For ὅθεν . . . ἂν εἴη cp. *Prot.* 318 e (quoted in the note on the next line) ὅπως . . . ἂν εἴη.

667 a 1. Ast has collected many instances where δέ, instead of ἀλλὰ καί, follows οὐ (or μὴ) μόνον, e.g. 747 e 1, 965 b 9.—πόλιν the political, ἄσπη the civic or rather civil communities. There might be several ἄσπη in a πόλις.—διοικεῖν: not so much as “be a governor of” (Jowett); the word would apply to the part taken in the state by any member of a self-governing community. Cp. *Prot.* 318 e ὅπως ἂν ἄριστα τὴν αὐτοῦ οἰκίαν διοκοῖ, καὶ περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ὅπως τὰ τῆς πόλεως δυνατώτατος ἂν εἴη καὶ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, *Meno* 91 a ταύτης τῆς σοφίας καὶ ἀρετῆς, ἣ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς τε οἰκίας καὶ τὰς πόλεις καλῶς διοικοῦσι, and *Rep.* 600 d ὡς οὔτε οἰκίαν οὔτε πόλιν τὴν αὐτῶν διοικεῖν οἰοί τ’ ἔσονται ἐὰν μὴ σφεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατήσωσιν τῆς παιδείας.

a 2. ὃν δὴ: i.e. the typical unregenerate member of the ἀγέλη described above; “that’s just the sort of yokel that . . .”—κατ’ ἀρχάς )( κατ’ ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων at 664 e, here used manifestly of the beginning of the whole treatise (see below on 671 a 4 ff.).—τῶν Τυρταίου πολεμικῶν πολεμικώτερον κτλ, “a more capable fighter than Tyrtaeus’s warriors, for he everywhere and always accounts

bravery not as the first, but as the fourth of virtue's possessions, whether for state or for individual." Cf. above 630 a 7 ff., where *στάσις* is contrasted with foreign warfare.

**a 4.** Burnet has made the connexion of the different parts of the sentence clearer by putting a comma after the words *ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ*, which go closely with *τιμῶντα*.—The datives *ιδιώταις* and *συμπάσῃ πόλει* go with *τέταρτον ἀλλ' οὐ πρῶτον κτήμα*; the value of this particular one of virtue's possessions is low, both for the state and for the individual. Cp. 661 b 5 *ταῦτά ἐστι σύμπαντα δικαίοις μὲν καὶ ὀσίοις ἀνδράσιν ἄριστα κτήματα*. Cf. also *Phil.* 66 a *ὡς ἡδονὴ κτήμα οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον οὐδ' αὖ δεύτερον*. Ast is wrong in putting in *ὡς*, by way of explanation, before *τέταρτον*; the *ἀγαθὸς στρατιώτης* does not so regard courage.

**a 6.** *οὐκ οἶδα ὅπῃ* or *οὐκ οἶδα ὄντινα τρόπον*—"somehow or other"—are frequently used with the sort of implication that the last speaker is "a little too clever." Cp. *Gorgias* 513 c, *Phil.* 19 a, *Phaedr.* 265 b.—*πάλιν αὖ*: the reference is to 630 d 2.

**a 9.** *εἶπερ*: Heindorf on *Parm.* 150 b has collected many instances of this elliptical use; cp. e.g. 900 e, *Ar. Nub.* 226.—*πορευώμεθα, εἰ βούλεσθε*, "please let us go." Ast cps. *Rep.* 394 d *ἀλλ' ὅπῃ ἂν ὁ λόγος ὡσπερ πνεῦμα φέρῃ, ταύτη ἰτέον*.

**a 10 ff.** *εἰ γὰρ ἔχομεν μουσαν κτλ.*: this is the first unequivocal declaration that the mature citizens of from thirty to sixty are not to form a *χορός* in the literal sense. We have now to find out what is the *μουσα*—what is the *accomplishment* or *spiritual contribution*, proper to the Dionysiac "choir." The keynote of the paragraph is given us in the words *καλλίω* and *καλλίστη*.

**b 2.** *αἰσχύνεσθαι, ζητεῖν δέ*: the feeling of shame which, for these men, bars the way to public musical performances like those of the other choirs, has been fully described, but not their desire for the highest kind of activity. This desire is perhaps implied when they are called *θεῖοι ἄνδρες* (666 d 6), and it is consistent with their being *κυριώτατοι τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτων ᾠδῶν* (665 d 4), and *πρόθυμοι πρὸς τὰς ᾠδὰς* (666 a 2, and c 4); so that *φάμεν* is here simply "we assert," not "we have asserted."

**b 5–c 3.** "Is it not necessarily the case with all things that have any attendant charm, either, in the first place, that the very fact that it is charming is by itself the important point about the thing, or that what matters most is its correctness, or further,



the advantage of it? What I mean is this: take food and drink—any kind of nourishment; a charm attends it which we should call pleasure. But as for what we should call correctness and advantage, just that out of any (ἐκάστοτε) of our victuals which we call wholesome is in itself what is most correct" (i.e. in the case of food advantage and correctness coincide).—Cp. *Gorg.* 474.d, and 506 c d.—The main difficulty in the passage lies in the ἦν δὲ ὀρθότητά τε καὶ ὠφελίαν. If, with Badham, we take these words to be the subject to εἶναι τὸ ὀρθότατον, we get, as he says, a *misere turbata sententia*. But it is clear that the subject of εἶναι τὸ ὀρθότατον is αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅπερ ὑγιεινὸν λέγομεν. Therefore ἦν κτλ., to which the antecedent would, if the sentence went on regularly, be, like χάριν, in the acc., is left *suspended*, and the sentence suddenly takes another path. Cf. *Phaedr.* 233 b εὐτυχοῦντας δέ, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἡδονῆς ἄξια παρ' ἐκείνων ἐπαίνου ἀναγκάζει τυγχάνειν. A nominative similarly suspended occurs at *Rep.* 565 d ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχνου, ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἱερείων ἐνὸς ἐγκατατετμημένον, ἀνάγκη δὴ τούτῳ λύκῳ γενέσθαι. (Bdh. reads τὴν for ἦν and says that for ὀρθότατον we want something like παρεχόμενον; Schanz agrees so far as to obelize ὀρθότατον.)

b 6. The μόνον is important, and is repeated at d 9.

b 8. For the second καί cp. 665 c 3.

c 5. The two examples, drawn (1) from practical *physical* life, and (2) from the life of the *intellect*, are only preliminary to the consideration of the importance of clear notions about the distinct spheres of *pleasure*, *correctness*, and *moral effect* in the domain of (3) *art*. Above (657 e—658 e) we have been told that the common idea that pleasure is *the* criterion in art is only true of the pleasure felt by certain trained and experienced judges. Again, at 663 c, the question was raised as to the *value* of different judgements. The present passage—667 b 5—671 a 4—is a development of the author's views on the subject. It falls into two parts:

(1) 667 b 5—669 b 4 deals with the requisites of a competent judge. We here are told that what the true judge learns from experience and from training is, that there are further considerations besides pleasure which must be taken into account; and indeed that it is doubtful whether a case would ever present itself in which pleasure could be severed from these. If these requirements are not satisfied, the right-minded judge will feel no pleasure; and thus we are able, after all, to accept the doctrine

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the MSS.) by φροντίζου—Müller reads φροντίζει.—μηδ' αὖ γε βλάβην, “and of course, on the other hand, does no harm.”

e 2. τοῖς ἄλλοις refers to the same things as τούτων at e 4, i.e. ὠφελία, ἀλήθεια or ὁμοιότης. (Stallbaum takes τούτων to refer to βλάβην, and to stand for τῶν βλαβερῶν.)

e 3. ἦν δὴ . . . ἐπακολουθῆ: cp. *Philebus* 52 e ff. where Socrates explains that it is not the extent, or even the intensity, of a quality which shows it in its truest and best light, but its *pureness*; there must be no admixture of anything else with it.

e 5 f. Cleinias's remark is merely an echo of the Athenian's μηδ' αὖ γε βλάβην, “You would exclude, of course, any pleasure that had an admixture of pain.” The remark serves to introduce the following statement of the Athenian, that in the case just imagined we should have παιδιά pure and simple—not παιδεία. At 668 b 1 he expresses a doubt whether this pure and simple παιδιά is ever to be found.

e 10 ff. ἀρ' οὖν . . . ὅτω οὖν ἄλλω; “may we not, in consequence of all this, assert, that a representation or imitation ought on no account to be estimated by the pleasure of it, or by somebody's empty opinion? This applies to any instance of equality; the equal is not equal, nor the symmetrical symmetrical, in any case, because somebody thinks it so, or because a thing takes somebody's fancy.—No, it must be estimated by no other thing in the world than by exactness of correspondence.” I have followed Burnet in adopting Stallbaum's punctuation of this paragraph, i.e. in marking καὶ δὴ . . . ὅλωσ as a parenthesis.

668 a 1. Almost every editor has his own way of emending the MS. ἦ μή τις (χαίρει τῷ). I follow St. and Ast in reading ἦ εἴ τις (χαίρει τῷ). There is, as St. says, a “vestige” of this reading in the marginal note reported from Cod. Voss., ἦ εἴ τις τό γε ἴσον ἴσον. I conjecture that the course of the corruption was, that some scribe put in—perhaps inadvertently—ἦ μή after δοκεῖ—that then ἦ εἴ was inadvertently dropped out. (It is just possible that the original reading was ἦ μή, ἦ εἴ τις.)

a 9. ἦκιστ' ἄρα κτλ.: Plato has not taken the trouble to reconcile this statement with that at 658 e 6. Verbally one contradicts the other. Really the second statement sets aside the first by going a step further back in the explanation. At 658 e he allows that the ἡδονή of the perfect judge is a criterion; here he says that, because that ἡδονή turns out to be dependent on *something else*, that *other thing* is the real criterion.—We may

translate, "then, if a man says that the value of *μουσική* depends on the pleasure it gives, this account will not do. You must by no means make a merely pleasure-giving *μουσικήν*—if such there be—your serious object; you must aim at that kind which is a life-like representation of what is right and good"—lit. "which preserves its life-likeness to the representation of the right and good." The last few words are very difficult. I take *τῷ μιμήματι* as a genitival dative; it *would* have been in the gen. but for the fact that *τοῦ καλοῦ* depends on *it*. [F.H.D. appeals to the phrase *ὅτῳ ἔοικε τῶν ἀξιολόγων μιμημάτων* at 669 e 4. "Evidently," he says, "we might say *ὁμοιότητα ἔχει ἀξιολόγῳ μιμήματι*," and he holds that *τῷ τοῦ καλοῦ μιμήματι* means much the same as *ἀξιόλογον μίμημα*, i.e. that no *μίμημα* is "worth considering," in Plato's opinion, which is not a representation of *τὸ καλόν*. My note on the latter passage will show that I think that in neither passage is Plato really talking of the *likeness* of one representation to another *representation*, but of the likeness to a *thing represented*, i.e. of the *correctness* of the representation. Both *ὀρθότης* (b 6) and *τὸ καλόν* are to be considered. Also the *τὴν* before *ὁμ.* seems to me to be in favour of my view.] Ritter boldly says that *μίμημα* both here and at 669 e 4 means *the thing imitated*. But that would only help us here if we had *τῷ καλῷ μ.* instead of *τῷ τοῦ καλοῦ μ.* He allows us the alternative of taking *τῷ τ. κ. μ.* as a "*dativus causae*," "which gets its likeness by," or "from its imitation of *τὸ καλόν*." (? Ought we here and at 669 e 4 to give to *μίμημα* the meaning *pattern* which it seems to bear at *Politicus* 274 a 2 ?)

**b 4.** *τούτοις*: the members of the Dionysiac Choir.

**b 6.** *γάρ*, "you will remember."—*ἦν*, *ὡς φάμεν*, "was, according to us." The *ἦν* sufficiently shows the reference to be to what was said a little time back, so that *φάμεν* is a *historic present*. O reads *ἔφάμεν*, unnecessarily. The reference is to 667 d 5 f.

**b 7.** *ἀποτελεῖν* seems here to be used in the sense of "to reproduce" or "represent"; cp. below 817 b 8.

**b 10.** For *περί c. acc.* in place of a simple gen. cp. below on 685 c 2.

**c 1.** *καὶ τοῦτό γε μῶν οὐκ . . .*; this question does not merely put the previous statement in an interrogative form. The *πᾶς* of the *πᾶς ἂν ὁμολογοῖ* means "*anyone who considers the question*," whereas the subject of *μῶν οὐκ ὁμολογοῖεν* is "*all who are concerned in the production of the ποιήματα*"; for in a sense the audience is helping to create the illusion. Cp. Arist. *Poetics* 1447 a 13.

(Badham says the *καί* before *τοῦτο* is quite out of place, and must be a mistake for *ἐπεί*.)

c 4–8. The difficulty of this passage, and the difficulty of reconciling it with what follows is due, I think, mainly to the want of a perfect analogy between the natures of the two arts of *μουσική* and painting. Here we are dealing with the productions of *μουσική*. The terms *ὅτι ποτ' ἐστίν* and *οὐσία* are not used as “esoteric” terms of *διαλεκτική*, but in the general sense of *nature*: this is made clear by the following *τί ποτε βούλεται* and *ὅτου ποτ' ἐστὶν εἰκὼν ὄντως* (cp. also 669 e 3 f.). They refer to the *representation*, not to the *thing represented*; i.e. the words mean not “what is the essence of the thing which the poet intends to represent?” but “what is the representation really intended to be a representation of?” On the other hand the paragraph d 7–e 5 deals with *τὰ μεμιμημένα [σώματα]*, and there the *ὅτι ποτ' ἐστίν* means the nature of the thing that is copied by the painter—not its “absolute essence” in a dialectic sense, for art represents the outward characteristics (*φαινόμενα*, cp. *Rep.* 596 e) of the individual, not the character of the type. The sphere of *ὀρθότης*, both in *μουσική* and *γραφική*, is the artist's technique. The ordinary spectator has experience enough of the world of feeling, and of the external world to enable him to feel the sensation the artist designs to produce, but he does not know how it is done, and could not correct the mistakes of an unskilful performer. Again, a man may have enough technical knowledge to criticize the artist (or even to produce the work of art), without being able to say whether the moral effect of the *ποίημα* was good or bad. Thus we get the three classes, of (1) *ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος*, (2) the capable art-critic (and the *ποιητής* ?), and (3) the capable *νομοθέτης*, whose respective achievements are here described.—We may translate: “Then it seems that if a man wants to make no mistake about any particular production, he must know what it is. For if he does not know its nature—does not know, that is, what it means to represent, and of what it really is the image, he will hardly discern whether the intention is correctly carried out or not.”—Badham may be right in reading *μιμήσεως* for *βουλήσεως* at c 8. It is difficult to see how *τὴν ὀρθότητα τῆς βουλήσεως* can mean *the correct carrying out, or right realization, of the intention* (cp. 682 a 9), and yet that is the meaning we *must* have here. On the other hand *αὐτοῦ*, which stands for *τοῦ ποιήματος*—the constr. being *τὴν ὀρθ. ἢ καὶ ἀμ. τῆς βουλήσεως*—goes better with it than it would with *τῆς μιμήσεως*.—Badham meets this

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the body.—The reason why ἀριθμούς is plural is that the human body has sets of members, the sets being of different “numbers.”

e 1. The subject of ἔχει is easily assumed, from the previous εἰργασμένον and the following εἰργασται, to be τὸ εἰργασμένον, i.e. *the picture*.

e 2. With χρώματα and σχήματα we can easily supply προσήκοντα from the previous προσήκουσαν.

e 8. τὰ ἑαυτοῦ: i.e. τὰ προσήκοντα.

669 a 2–6. ἀρά γε . . . ἐγιγνώσκομεν, “Does it follow, without more ado (ἤδη), that the man who has been equal to this judgement must be able easily to decide this further point—whether the work of art is beautiful, or, if not, where it may be thought to be deficient in ‘beauty’?” Cl. “Why, in that case, I should say that pretty well all of us” (i.e. all the world) “would (equally) be judges of the beauty” (we should say *the points*) “of animals.” (So Ast.)

There are difficulties about this interpretation, but I think it follows the line of least resistance. For τῷ γνόντι we should have expected τὸν γνόντα—but cp. *Rep.* 353 e ἀνάγκη ἄρα κακῆ ψυχῆ κακῶς ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; also it is rather surprising to find the Cretan so ready to admit the difficulty of deciding whether an animal was beautiful or not. Perhaps he speaks as a farmer, thinking of the *points* of stock. (Jowett translates, “Must we not also know whether the work is beautiful, or in any respect deficient in beauty?” Cl. “If this were not required, stranger, we should all of us be judges of beauty.” Ritter takes Cleinias’s remark to mean that the decision about beauty is one for which any man is competent.) It follows that, if Cleinias is right, “all the world” would be in the position of τῷ ταῦτα γνόντι, i.e. would be competent to pronounce upon the ὀρθότης of the picture of an animal. The analogy, however, from painting (or sculpture) does not serve to explain the *processes* of the appreciation of μουσική—which, we are soon to be told, are difficult to follow—it only makes clear what are the three stages of acquirement to which attention is to be drawn.

a 8. Badham, for καὶ πάντη, would read πάντα—unnecessarily; πάντη generalizes the statement.

a 9. Boeckh proposed to read ὅ, τι for ὅ τε: either is possible; cp. *Prot.* 352 e διδάσκειν ὅ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο τὸ πάθος, *Phaedo* 65 e 1 τῆς οὐσίας, ὃ τυγχάνοι ἕκαστον ὄν, and *Meno* 92 c with E. S. Thompson’s note.

b 1, ὡς εἶ: not, as Jowett, “that it has been well executed”;

the εὔ, as at 668 d 2, refers to the *higher aesthetic* or *moral* judgment on the performance.

**b 2.** ῥήμασί τε καὶ μέλεσι καὶ τοῖς ῥυθμοῖς : these words make the paragraph hopelessly illogical. Even if Badham's objection to πάντη be upheld, the ἤτισοῦν emphasizes the fact that the question considered is a general one, applying equally to *different kinds* of artistic production. With this it is impossible to fit in words specifically describing a production of *one* kind only. It is not till the next paragraph that we return to the special consideration of the branch μουσική. I have therefore ventured to bracket these words.

**b 5.** μὴ τοίνυν ἀπείπωμεν λέγοντες κτλ. : cp. 769 e οὐκ ἄν ποτε λέγων ἀπείποι τὸ τοιοῦτον πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν "Now we must not fail to point out how it is that μουσική is such a difficult subject."

**b 6.** ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὑμνεῖται . . . εἰκόνων, "the fact is that, while it is more discussed than other sorts of images, it needs quite the most careful treatment of any." ἐπειδὴ introduces rather *attendant circumstances* here, than *cause*. The two *reasons why* the subject is difficult are given afterwards (ἁμαρτῶν τε γὰρ κτλ.). For ἐπειδὴ, "at the same time that" or "although," cp. *Rep.* 348 c ἐπειδὴ καί, *Phaedo* 87 a 8, *Apol.* 27 c 10 ; for ἐπεὶ "although" (Ast on 686 b 2 says "ἐπεὶ, *quanquam, alioqui*") cf. *Symp.* 187 a, *Prot.* 353 a, *Apol.* 19 e ("and yet") and below 794 d 7, 875 c 3.—Stallbaum thinks the τὸ which the Aldine ed. put in before περὶ αὐτήν indispensable : I think we do better without it. ὑμνεῖται is impersonal like λελέχθω at *Tim.* 89 d (περὶ μὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ ζῶου . . . ταύτη λελέχθω).—For the omission of the περί before τὰς ἄλλας Ast cps. 685 b and *Soph.* 227 b.

**b 8.** ἁμαρτῶν τε γὰρ . . . Μουσῶν, "not only is a mistake most injurious" (cp. above 656 b 4) "by which you are led to entertain bad dispositions, but it is very hard to discover, because our poets are not exactly as gifted as the Muses themselves."—Stallb. reminds us of the celebrated passage in the *Republic* (401 d) on the far-reaching effects of good and bad Music : κυριωτάτη ἐν μουσικῇ τροφή, ὅτι μάλιστα καταδύεται εἰς τὸ ἐντὸς τῆς ψυχῆς ὃ τε ῥυθμὸς καὶ ἁρμονία, καὶ ἐρρωμενέστατα ἄπτεται αὐτῆς, φέροντα τὴν εὐσχημοσύνην, καὶ ποιεῖ εὐσχήμονα, εἴαν τις ὀρθῶς τραφῇ, εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦναντίον κτλ.—The ironic litotes of the indictment of the poets and musicians of Plato's day strikes the key-note of the bitter invective which follows.

**c 4.** The MSS. have χρῶμα γυναικῶν : I have adopted the



Aldine correction of *χρῶμα* to *σχῆμα*. It is not likely that, after protesting against the “slang” term *εὐχρων μέλος* at 655 a 7, Plato should here use *χρῶμα* in the sense of “complexion” or “style” of music; besides, the corresponding instances which follow show that we want the mention of *σχῆμα* here. (It is hard to see how, from the fact that, at 668 e, we have *χρώματά τε καὶ σχήματα* in the sense of the colours and outlines of a picture, Stallbaum concludes that we ought to read *χρῶμα καὶ σχῆμα* here.)—For the general sense of these terms of *μουσική* cp. above on 653 e 5 and 654 e 4. Here (as at 654 e 4) *σχῆμα* doubtless denotes bodily posture or gesture—possibly the grouping of a chorus.

**c 7.** The *ὑπο-* in *ὑποθεῖσαι* has doubtless the meaning *as an accompaniment*; the preposition is used in this sense, apparently with all three cases.

**c 8.** *ἔτι δὲ κτλ.*: a description of what would now be called “musical fireworks,” or “programme music.” One is reminded of Dr. Johnson’s “I would it were impossible” of the difficult piece of music.

**d 2.** *ὡς. ἔν τι μιμούμεναι*, “when professing to represent some one thing.”

**d 3.** Badham thinks *ἐμπλέκοντες* a mistake for *συμπλέκοντες*.

**d 4.** *γέλωτ’ ἂν . . . τέρψιος*: a rather curious use of *παρασκευάζω*. I do not think it means “call forth laughter from the men,” but “furnish an object of mockery for all the men whom etc.” Cp. *γέλωτα παρείχον Gorg.* 474 a, *γέλωτα δὴ τὸν ἐμὲ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπέδειξεν Theaet.* 166 a. I.e. I think we ought to supply *τούτοις* as the antecedent to *ὄσους*, and to take *τῶν ἀνθρώπων* as a partitive gen. dependent on *ὄσους*. Lobeck’s comment on these words (*Aglaoph.* ii. p. 948) is, “Orphei sententia huiusmodi fuisse videtur: ὄσοι Ἡβῆς μέτρον ἴκοντο, λάχον δέ τε τέρψιος ὄρην, i.e. ‘quicumque ad pubertatis annos et ad eam aetatem adoleverunt, quae Veneri matura habetur.’ Hinc Plato transfert ad iudicii maturitatem, illudque musicae genus, de quo loquitur, omnibus, qui in his rebus aliquem sensum habeant veraeque voluptatis capaces sint, taedio fore dicit.” We may translate “(are greatly given to such jumbles and confusions) as would furnish matter for the scorn of all whose ‘power of delight,’ as Orpheus says, ‘is in its happy prime.’”—(H. Richards would read *ὄσοις* for *ὄσους*.) As Hamlet told the players, “this overdone . . . though it make the unskilful laugh, cannot but make the judicious grieve.”

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that *μίμημα* can be used in the sense of *μιμητόν*; Stallbaum thinks that Plato allowed himself to say *μιμήματα* when he meant *μιμητά*. The most satisfactory account of the passage seems to me a variety of Stallbaum's view, i.e. that Plato allowed himself to put ὄτῳ τῶν ἀξ. μιμ. as a brachylogy for ὄτῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀξιολόγοις μιμήμασι μεμιμημένων ("to which individual among those to be found in worthy representations"). We get a hint of what is in his mind from his specification of the contemptible—i.e. not ἀξιόλογα—attempts to represent e.g. the cries of animals. As against Ast and Ritter, it is the *attempt* to represent, rather than the thing to be represented, that is characterized here; besides, Ritter by no means establishes for *μίμημα* the sense he desiderates. (For another alternative see above on 668 b 2 τῷ τοῦ καλοῦ μιμ.) At 796 b προσήκοντα is used much in the sense of ἀξιόλογα here—ὅσα ἐν τοῖς χοροῖς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ μιμήματα προσήκοντα μιμείσθαι.

e 5. ἀλλὰ ὑπολαβεῖν ἀναγκαῖον, "no: (these men of taste) cannot fail to come to the opinion . . ."—πολλῆς ἀγροικίας μεστόν, "is the height of barbarism."

e 6. πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον ὅποσον τάχους . . . φίλον: I cannot help suspecting that σφόδρα φίλον was originally a commentator's explanation of some out-of-the-way word, such as ὀρεκτικόν, which governed the genitives—φίλον being used in the poetic and late use of *fond of*. Ast boldly gives φίλον that sense in the text. If the text is sound, and if we reject Ast's interpretation, the most likely interpretation of τάχους and the other genitives is that they depend on πᾶν ὅποσον, being of the nature of the gen. in τὸ ἀρμονίας καὶ ῥυθμοῦ 670 e 6, and the common τὸ τῆς τύχης, τὸ τῆς τέχνης; "everything in the way of speed, etc." Less likely is it that the genitives go closely with φίλον to denote the *source* of the liking, cp. θαυμαστὴ ῥαστώνης at 648 e, and the gen. with ἀγαμαι, θαυμάζω, ζηλῶ; or that it is a gen. of *definition*, as in μακάριον τυράννου χρῆμα (*Rep.* 567 e). We may translate, "all that sort of display (is the height of barbarism) which consists in speed, perfect execution, and the power to reproduce the cries of animals, which is (so much) the rage that . . ."

e 7. A further looseness of structure in the sentence is that ὅσπερ goes on as if οὕτως had preceded it, and a subject has to be provided for χρῆσθαι, i.e. the people whose bad taste has just been described.

670 a 1. πλὴν ὅσον ὑπό, "except where it is accompanied by," i.e. "without being accompanied by." πλὴν ὅσον as a sort of compound preposition occurs again at 856 d 3, where it governs a

gen.—*ψιλῶ ἐκατέρω*: this dat. is doubtless governed by *χρήσεως*, and the gen. *χρήσεως* means literally “(ἀμουσία) is involved in the employment (of).” The construction is made to seem more natural by the fact that *χρησθαι* with a dative has come just before. (Cp. 631 d, 640 b, and 657 c.)—The *δ’* after *ψιλῶ*—we expect *γάρ*—and the abrupt change in construction which it involves, are strange. We may translate, “whereas the employment of either (flute or harp) by itself involves a mere tasteless catch-penny virtuosity.”—A comparison of this passage with *Rep.* 531 a, *Laws* 655 a 7 and 812 d e would seem to show that the thought of a certain school of musicians was enough to make Plato go near to lose his temper.

**a 3.** *ταῦτα μὲν ἔχει ταύτη λόγον*, “so much for the philosophy of that.”—What follows is as good as saying, “perhaps we have spent too much time on the *wrong* music”; *γε* is “after all.”—By the mention of the quinquagenarians separately from the younger men of the mature class, Plato seems to hint that the Dionysiac Choir is not homogeneous: the older men may have different duties and different needs from those of the younger.

**a 6–b 2.** *τόδε . . . προσήκη*, “well, from what has gone before we may logically deduce this much: that all the quinquagenarians who are expected to sing must have had a training superior to that of the members of an ordinary chorus.”—As at 829 d 7 *μηδέ τινα τολμᾶν ἄδειν ἀδόκιμον μούσαν*, I think *μούσης* here ought not—as it does in all texts but Ast’s—to begin with a capital letter.—The literal meaning is, “to have been taught something better than the choric music.”

**b 1.** *ὅσοισπερ ἂν ἄδειν προσήκη*: it is not clear whether we are to understand from these words that only a select band from among men between fifty and sixty are actually to sing, or whether by *ἄδειν* we are to understand generally “to take their part in the Music of the State.” What follows seems to point to the latter explanation, though the previous reference to the effect of wine on the old (666 b) favours the former.

**b 4.** *ὧ προσῆκεν . . . ὀρθῶς ἢ μή*: these words seem to be a loosely expressed explanation of what is meant by *γνώναι τὴν ὀρθότητα τῶν μελῶν*, and look suspiciously like a commentator’s work. I cannot accept Stallbaum’s explanation of *ὧ πρ. ἢ μὴ πρ. τοῦ δωριστί*, “*qui curaverit vel etiam non curaverit harmoniam Doricam, h.e. qui harum rerum fere incuriosus et ignarus fuerit.*” The writer meant, “(and be able to say) what tune the Doric scale suited or did not suit.” That settles the question of correctness of

*ἄρμονία*. The following words, which deal with the question of *ῥυθμός*, are still more loosely expressed. *τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ*, like *τοῦ δωριστί*, goes with *προσῆκεν*—*ᾧ προσῆκεν* being supplied in thought; and *ὀρθῶς ἢ μή* is “short” for *πότερον ὀρθῶς προσῆψεν ἢ μή*. (Heindorf, commenting on the omission of *πότερον* before *ταὐτὸν ἢ ἕτερον*—at *Gorg.* 488 d, says: “in Platone exempla ubivis sunt obvia.”—Ritter’s “whether rightly or not” wants *εἴτε ὀρθῶς εἴτε μή*.) I have bracketed these words mainly because of their slovenly style, which is matched by the logic shown in the specification of a single “mode” in a general statement (see also on c 2 below). A comparison of e 1 and 812 c 1 ff. suggests that under the term *ὀρθότης* here Plato includes not only formal, musical correctness, but also the *εὖ* of 669 b 1, i.e. the moral effect of the music as well.

b 10. Badham’s correction of the MS. *αὐτῶν* to *αὐλῶ* seems to me a certain one; *αὐτῶν* is quite out of place. *ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος . . . ὅσοι* is a variety of the ordinary *πάντες ὅσοι*, and both *ὅσοι* and its antecedent refer to the same people, whereas *ὅσοι αὐτῶν* would modify *ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος* by the addition of “such of them, that is, who.” On the other hand *προσάδειν αὐλῶ* accords admirably with *βαίνειν ἐν ῥυθμῶ*.—*γεγόνασι διηναγκασμένοι*, “have been drilled.” Heindorf quotes this passage, along with *Soph. Ajax* 588 and *Phil.* 773, as illustrating *Sophist* 217 c *μὴ τοίνυν . . . ἀπαρνηθεὶς γένῃ* (Lobeck on *Aj.* 588 quotes Pollux 104 *ἴδιον τὸ Πλάτωνος μὴ ἀπαρνηθεὶς γένῃ*).

c 1. *ὅτι . . . συλλογίζονται*, “though they do not realize that they are doing this without knowing a single thing about it.”

c 2. *τὸ δέ που . . . ἡμαρτημένως*, “yet the fact remains that every musical composition is correct if it has the right elements, and faulty if it has the wrong ones.” These words gather up the ideas of the Athenian’s long speech (669 b 5—670 b 6), by way of specification of what is meant by *τὴν ὀρθότητα τῶν μελῶν* (b 4). (They would have been quite superfluous if *ᾧ προσῆκεν . . . ὀρθῶς ἢ μή* had been part of the original argument.) Ritter (p. 77) is surely wrong in holding that *ὀρθῶς ἔχει* and *προσῆκοντα* here, and the *εὖ* in *εὐάρμοστον* and *εὐρυθμον* are used not of *technical* but of *moral* correctness, and that the paragraph introduces the *third* of the considerations defined in 669 a 7—b 2.

c 5. *τί οὖν κτλ.*: these words continue the idea of the *ἔχον* in c 2, “what, further, about the man who does not even know what the piece contains?” i.e. who does not know one *ἄρμονία* from another, or does not know the difference between a noble and

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and may sing them as they should be sung.” καθορῶντες, like κατιδῶν at 632 c 4, and 652 a 2, is used of a survey which results in knowledge.

d 5. τηλ. καὶ τοι. : cp. 686 b ἀρ’ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐπισκοπεῖν τηλικούτον καὶ τοσοῦτον σύστημα ἧτις ποτε τύχη διέφθειρε;—The words refer only to the choosers themselves (not “for men of any particular age and kind”), but it is thereby implied that the choosers will be able to choose for others as well as for themselves.

d 6. οὕτως : i.e. πρεπόντως.

d 7. ἀσινεῖς : this word, followed as it is by ἡθῶν χρηστῶν ἀσπασμοῦ, refers to the danger against which we are cautioned at 656 a 7 and 669 b 8, that bad music may produce bad morals.

e 1. ἡγεμόνες γίγνωνται : it is not clear from this passage whether the influence of the older men on the taste of the younger is that of example, or is by way of precept. A comparison of 666 c inclines us to the latter view ; the τὸ παραχρῆμα too seems to suggest that the actual singing has more effect on the singers themselves, and that the effect on the young is *subsequent*, i.e. that the older men’s theoretical and practical skill enables them to give good teaching to others.—ἀσπασμός occurs again at 919 e, where it is used as the opposite of μῖσος.

e 3. τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος φερούσης : φέρειν with εἰς, ἐπί, or πρὸς is used like the French *porter*, and our “to bear upon” (a subject), for “to be concerned with,” “to apply to” ; cp. *Rep.* 538 c ἀλλὰ πῆ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπτομένους τῶν λόγων αὐτῆ φέρει ἢ εἰκῶν ; (The transitive use of φέρειν ἐπί in this sense is common in Plato ; e.g. *Rep.* 478 b).—ἂν εἶεν μετακεχειρισμένοι, “would have become masters of” ; cp. *Polit.* 268 b 5 τὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ ποιίμνης ἄριστα μεταχειριζόμενος μουσικήν.

e 4. τῆς περὶ τοὺς ποιητὰς αὐτούς : equivalent to τῆς τῶν ποιητῶν αὐτῶν ; it is not necessary to supply φερούσης—or even οὔσης.

(As first written in A, τὸ πλῆθος had no preposition before it : ἐπὶ was afterwards put in above the line. According to Schanz and Burnet, Badham substituted περὶ for this ἐπὶ, and Schanz does so in his text. Badham’s note (*Conn. Epist.* p. 10) is ambiguous ; I think he means to substitute ἐπὶ for the περὶ in e 4.)

These remarks of the Ath. are significant of Plato’s views on poetry, and the poetic inspiration. At *Rep.* 401 b ff. he says supervision must be exercised over poets by the state (ἐπιστατητέον καὶ προσαναγκαστέον), as also over the δημιουργοί, to secure that they should produce only what is right and good (τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ εἰκόνα

ἤθους ἐμποιεῖν τοῖς ποιήμασιν). His views on the poets and μουσικοί of his time would seem to have hardened since writing the passage in the *Republic*, for there he contemplated the possibility that there should be δημιουργοί (and, by implication, ποιηταί—cp. 402 d) δυνάμενοι ἰχνεύειν τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ εὐσχήμονος φύσιν: here he talks as if the ποιηταί at all events are not likely to have that power.

**e 7.** καὶ δευτέρου, “as well as of the thing mentioned in the second place”; i.e. as well as the power to choose the right ῥυθμός and ἄρμονία.

**671 a 1 ff.** We may perhaps translate, “or with all his chanting he will never enchant the young to love virtue.” It is not necessary to suppose that he has the word χορόν in mind when he writes ἱκανὸν ἐπωδόν (after τοῖς δέ two lines above). As Heindorf says on *Gorg.* 478 c, “satis frequens (est) huiusmodi a plurali ad singularem transitus.”—καὶ ὅπερ . . . γέγονεν, “well, when it began, the argument aimed at showing that our advocacy of the Dionysiac Choir was not mistaken, and it has done its best. We must now inquire whether it has succeeded.”—As at 664 e 3 (κατ’ ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων), ἐν ἀρχαῖς here means at the beginning of the account of the Chorus of Dionysus. At a 7, however (ὅπερ ὑπεθέμεθα κατ’ ἀρχὰς ἀν. εἶναι γίγν.), κατ’ ἀρχὰς refers to the beginning of the first μέθη discussion (640 c 1).—It is better, with Stallbaum, to take καλῶς λεγομένην as predicative with ἐπιδείξαι, not as attributive to βοήθειαν (so Ast and Jowett: “bring eloquent aid”). What follows is in no sense a vindication of the eloquence of the λόγος. It is a justification of the support it gave to the Dionysiac Choir.—The dat. χορῶ, governed by βοήθειαν, is of the same kind as those noticed on 670 a 2. (See Appendix to Bk. II.)

**a 5.** ὁ σύλλογος ὁ τοιοῦτος: not specially the assembly spoken of at 666 b 2 (of those over thirty), but any symposium, whatever the age of its members might be.

**a 6.** ἐπὶ μᾶλλον: cp. Hdt. iv. 181 ἐπὶ δὲ μᾶλλον ἰὸν ἐς τὸ θερμόν . . . In this phrase μᾶλλον seems (ungrammatically) to have taken the place of πλέον (cp. *Gorg.* 453 a), which is both adv. and adj. In A there is an erasure mark of three letters after πόσεως; perhaps the scribe wrote ἔτι by mistake, and crossed it out. Eusebius has ἔτι; he also has ἀεὶ for the nonsensical vulgate εἰ ἀφ’ ἑ μᾶλλον. A has εἰ with an erasure mark and a “star” before it.

**b 1.** All recent editors, except Stallb. and the Zürich edd., follow Eusebius here in reading λεγουένων instead of the MS.



γιγνομένων.—Badham says *περί* is not Greek here ; that it ought to be *ἐπί*.

b 3. Cp. 645 d 6 ff.

b 4. Cp. 649 a 4, and for *παρρησία* 649 b 3.

b 5. The question of the claim to be *ἄρχων* did not come up before, but it is pertinent to the present subject.

b 8. *ἔφαμεν* : at 666 b 7 ff.

b 10. *μαλθακωτέρας* : Eusebius has *μαλακωτέρας* here, as the MSS. had at 666 b. It is natural that the expression should slightly vary in the repetition.

c 1. Heindorf, on *Gorg.* 479 c (*ἄρ' οὖν συμβαίνει μέγιστον κακὸν ἀδικία*;) quotes this passage as an instance where *εἶναι* “subaudi potest” with *συμβαίνειν*, this *εἶναι* being expressed at *Parm.* 134 b 1 ; the participle is also admissible with *συμβαίνειν*, and *ὄν* is to be “understood,” as H. says, at *Euthydem.* 281 e.

c 2. *τοῦτον δ' εἶναι κτλ.* : it was not said at 666 b that the lawgiver was to be the *πλάστης*. Indeed the nearest approach to the mention of any *πλάστης* was the statement that the *ψυχῆς ἠθος* of the mature man would grow *εὐπλαστότερον* under the influence of wine. But the process of moulding implies the moulder. The analogy between the symposium of the young, as described at the end of Bk. I., and the Chorus of Dionysus, is to be seen in the fact that the *ἀγαθὸς νομοθέτης*, through the agency of the sexagenarians, is to stand to the third chorus in the same relation as the ruler of the feast stood to the symposium of the young.

c 3. *ὡσπερ τότε*, coming after *ὅτ' ἦσαν νέαι*, evidently means “as in their youth.” (Ast suggested *ὡσπερ* ; the old vulgate was *ὄνπερ*.) In Bk. I. the *νομοθέτης* is appealed to, and referred to as arranging the education of the young—e.g. at 647 a, 648 a, 649 a.—*οὗ νόμους εἶναι δεῖ συμποτικώνς*, “and from him must come laws to regulate symposia.”

c 4. *δυναμένους . . . ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν* : see above on 663 e 1.—*τόν* is predicative with *εὐελπιν* and the other adjectives ; cp. 730 d 6 *ὁ μέγας ἀνὴρ*, and 732 a 2 *τόν γε μέγαν ἄνδρα ἐσόμενον*.

c 6. *καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλοντα . . . ὑπομένειν*, “and will not consent to observe order, or be content with what is his proper share of silence, speech, drink, and song.”—There is a slight zeugma in the use of *ὑπομένειν*.

c 8. *εἰσιόντι* and *εἰσπέμπειν* : apparently terms of the athletic arena ; *διαμαχόμενον* (which governs the dat. *τῷ μὴ κάλῳ θάρρει*) is quite in harmony, “able to bring a champion to hold his own

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the result of *τοιαύτη μέθη*, with *τοιούτοι συμπόται*, but the former are really an explanation of what is meant by *τοιούτοι*. It is because the *συμπόται* are law-abiding and docile that the good results follow. I have therefore ventured to change *δὲ* to *δὴ*, and have put the comma after *συγγερόμενοι* instead of after *ἀκολουθήσαντες*. The clause might then be translated, "the reason being that they had played their part in the meeting throughout in accordance with rules, and had obeyed whenever those who were sober issued commands to those who were not."—Ast's further emendations of *ὅποτε* to *ὅπη ποτε*, and *ἀφηγοῖντο* (for which L and O have *ἀφίκοντο*) to *ὑφηγοῖντο*, as "Platonic," seem to me probable, particularly the latter. Perhaps, however, *ἀφηγοῦμαι* was preferred here, as being the *military* term, to keep up the metaphor of *στρατηγοί* at 671 d 7.—*συνουσίαν συγγίγνεσθαι* is a variety of *συνουσίαν συνεῖναι*, to which *συνόδους συνίεναι* at *Symp.* 197 d 2 is a close parallel.

**a 4.** Cleinias recurs to the doubt which Megillus and he hinted at 639 c and e.—For A's *εἴη* O and A<sup>2</sup> have *ἐπὶ* (the latter *supra versum*); from this mere misreading arose the vulgate *εἴη ἐπὶ τοιαύτη* (or *τῇ τοιαύτῃ*).

**a 5–b 1.** *μὴ τοίνυν . . . λεχθέν*, "we can now see that it was a mistake, in dealing with the gift of Dionysus, to condemn it absolutely as a bad thing, which no state would tolerate. Indeed there is more still that might be said on the subject, but I should hesitate to mention in public the very greatest boon which he confers, because most men, when it is mentioned, misjudge, and misconceive it." *ἐπεὶ* in a 8, whether explained by supposing the ellipse of a preceding "but it is no good," or whether we give it the meaning "though" claimed above for *ἐπειδή* at 669 b 6, has in effect here an *adversative* force, and may be represented by "but." What follows is mainly an instance of the wrong-headedness of the multitude, though it leads up to a defence of the gift of Dionysus.—*ἐκείνο* and *ἔτι* refer to 638 c d and e; *ἀπλῶς* corresponds to the *εὐθὺς ῥηθέν* of 638 c 3 and the *εὐθὺς* of d 2.

**b 3.** By calling the story a *φήμη* he implies that it had in men's minds the sanction of religion.—*ὑπορρεῖ πως*, "is current in some quarters."

**b 4.** *διεφορήθη . . . δεδώρηται*, "was deprived of the use of his wits. That is why he inflicts on us Bacchic possession with all its frenzy and dancing—he wants to take vengeance on somebody; and it is from a desire for vengeance that he has given us wine to produce this madness." Then, with a "heaven help

their profanity!" he explains that this very tendency to frenzied motion which is stimulated in later life by wine is the *naturally implanted human instinct* out of which springs the highest of all arts, *μουσική*.—Where is the "senselessness" and the "silly exaggeration" which Bruns (*Plato's Gesetze*, p. 50) finds here, with Zeller's help?—I do not even see the "Mangel an Klarheit des Ausdrucks" which Ritter feels bound to admit.—Euripides, in the prelude to the *Cyclops*, makes Silenus, addressing Dionysus, speak of the time *ἡνίκ' ἐμμανῆς Ἦρας ὑπο . . . ὄχου*.—Elsewhere Plato speaks of the *ἦθος ψυχῆς* (*Rep.* 400 d), the *ὄψις ψυχῆς* (*Rep.* 519 b), and the *ὄμμα ψυχῆς* (*Rep.* 533 d), though not of the *γνώμη ψυχῆς* (or the *νοῦς ψυχῆς*); Ast cps. the Lucretian *mens animi* (iv. 758).

**b 5.** *τάς τε βακχείας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν μανικὴν χορείαν*: cp. *Symp.* 218 b *πάντες γὰρ κεκοινωνήκατε τῆς φιλοσόφου μανίας τε καὶ βακχείας*. (L, O, and A<sup>2</sup> have *ἐμβάλλειν*; if this were to be adopted, we ought to have *δεδωρησθαι* in the next line.)

**b 6.** *ὅθεν* is best taken as referring to *τιμωρούμενος*, not to the original *διεφορήθη τὴν γνώμην*; Dionysus was supposed to have compassed the maddening of men by wine *out of revenge*—others should be mad, as well as he.

**b 8.** *τὸ δὲ τοσόνδε οἶδα*; cp. 644 e 1 *τόδε δὲ ἴσμεν*, where also he is dismissing fancy in favour of fact. In both cases the fancy and the real picture have some traits in common. Here there is a distant analogy between the state of the infant whose *γνώμη* has not yet developed, and that of the God, who has lost it; in both cases too there is a *possession* which leads to gesticulations and cries.

**c 4.** *πᾶν μαίνεται*, "is quite mad"; *πᾶν* is not, as Stallb. says, a mere repetition of that at c 1 (*πᾶν ζῶον*).—*ὅταν ἀκταινώσῃ ἑαυτὸ τάχιστα*, "as soon as ever he gets on his legs."

**c 6.** *γυμναστικῆς*—not, so far, mentioned by name, in spite of the *ἔφαμεν*—is here used probably in the limited sense of the part of *χορεία* which consists of bodily movement—at all events it refers mainly to the bodily training which this demands.

**d 1.** Cp. 654 a 7 and 665 a 6.—The use of *ἐνδεδωκέναι*, "yield," suggests the view that the instinctive motion is the *soil*, so to speak, in which the sense *grows*, which is to reduce *ἀταξία* to *τάξις*.

**d 2.** The MS. *θεῶν*, which with difficulty could be made to mean "from among gods," is very awkward, and I have followed good Dr. Hagenbutte (Cornarius) in substituting *τούτων* for it. This may be taken to refer in particular to *ῥυθμός* and *ἁρμονία*,

or (better) generally to the course of events, or process, just described. Ritter, reminding us that at 653 c d we were told that the gods had *appointed* the Muses and Apollo and Dionysus to share men's feasts, proposes to read ὑπὸ θεῶν—F.H.D. would read μετὰ θεῶν—but the sentence *wants* τούτων.

**d 5.** καὶ δὴ καὶ . . . ἰσχύος, “so it comes to this, it seems: while the other people's story has it that wine has been given out of spite towards mankind, to make us mad, the account we have now given represents it as a specific given in quite the opposite spirit—as a means whereby our souls may win modesty, and our bodies health and vigour.”—“An excellent summary of our discourse,” says Cleinias.

**e 5 ff.** ὅλη μὲν . . . φωνῆς κίνησις: Ath. “We said above,” (654 a 9) “did we not, that χορεία as a whole was nothing more nor less than παιδεύσις, and further, that one half of χορεία, that which concerns the voice, was a matter of ῥυθμοί and ἀρμονίαι?”

CL “Yes.”

Ath. “And we found that ῥυθμός was not confined to the movement of the voice (up and down) but was shared by the movement of the body, though σχῆμα (gesture and posture) belonged to bodily action alone; while in the other part the movement of the voice is tune.”—In other words, there is a clear analogy between the two halves of the subject, inasmuch as more than one of the same terms have to be applied to both.

**673 a 3 f.** I have unhesitatingly followed Burnet in adopting Ritter's emendation of the MS. πρὸς ἀρετῆς παιδείαν into πρὸς ἀρετὴν παιδείας: in that case τῆς of course belongs to παιδείας. Not only, as Ritter says, do we thereby get a real antithesis to the following μέχρι τῆς τοῦ σώματος ἀρετῆς, but 643 e τὴν πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐκ παίδων παιδείαν furnishes us with a confirmatory parallel.

**a 4.** οὐκ οἶδ' ὄντινα τρόπον is a kind of apologetic qualification of the term applied—as we might say, “for want of a better term”; lit. we used the term “*in a sense*.”

**a 7.** ἃ παιζόντων ὄρχησιν εἶπομεν, “which we termed sportive dancing.”

**a 9.** ἔντεχνον ἀγωγὴν ἐπί: here we have the Greek for “technical education.”—ἐπὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον αὐτοῦ, “towards such a condition of it” (i.e. of the body).

**a 10.** Schanz follows Bekker, Ast, and the Zürich editors in adopting from some inferior MSS. προσείπομεν. Except at 672 c the word γυμναστική has *not* been used in this connexion. The

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encourage other kinds of vice is no reason why μέθη should be banished; the full statement, of which this sort of parenthesis is a hint, would be: "and if any other practices are treated in the same loose way, I should equally vote against them."

a 3. ἔτι μᾶλλον τῆς Κρ. καὶ Λακ. χρείας, "going even beyond the Cretan and Lacedemonian usage."

a 4. With προσθείμην Ast and Stallb. understand τὴν ψῆφον from above, and all interpreters follow them. But I cannot help thinking that we ought to take προσθείμην ἂν τῷ νόμῳ exactly as we must take καὶ προστίθημί γε τῷ νόμῳ at *Rep.* 468 b, i.e. "to the Carthaginian law that on campaign nobody is ever to taste this drink, but (that men) must during all such period be water-drinkers, I would add, not only that at home too no slave, male or female, should ever taste wine but, that even the magistrates, etc." For one thing, I think that just after τιθείμην ἂν ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον, if he had meant to recall the phrase, he would not have used the compound with προσ- but the simple verb; but my main reason for preferring this interpretation is that it suits the context far better than the other.

a 5. Καρχηδονίων: Bruns (p. 51) finds in this a direct contradiction of what was said about Carthaginian drunkenness at 637 d. But surely it is just the drunken nation which would find such a regulation imperative in war time. E.g. the vodka prohibition in Russia in 1914.

b 2. ἐνεργούσας ὄντας, "when on duty."

b 4. εἰ μὴ σωμασκίας ἢ νόσων ἔνεκα: i.e. "unless by trainer's or doctor's orders."

c 1. Eusebius's ἀμπελώνων is an improvement on the ἀμπέλων of the MSS. and Stobaeus.

c 2. οὐδ' ἦτινι: for ὅστις in the sense of ὅστισοῦν (after a negative) cp. *Hipp. Mai.* 282 d τούτων δ' ἑκάτερος πλέον ἀργύριον ἀπὸ σοφίας εἴργασται ἢ ἄλλος δημιουργὸς ἀφ' ἧστινος τέχνης (where there is a virtual negative).—τακτὰ δὲ κτλ.: i.e. among other ordinances for regulating agriculture would be one for confining wine-growing within very modest limits.

## APPENDIX A

671 a 1-4. As I have said above, in a note on the Analysis of Bk. I., I regard the disquisition on μέθη in that book as a general introduction to the subject of education, and the

moral effects of ἡδονή and λύπη. After the *nature* of the educational process has been clearly described at the beginning of Bk. II. (653 a–e), Plato proceeds to deal specially with μουσική, and the relation to it of the gift of Dionysus. Among the young, we had been told, the benefit of the gift might be found in a properly conducted symposium: among the mature and elderly, it is to be found in the Choir of Dionysus. After describing the constitution of the latter, he now, at 671 a, turns to consider its applicability to the work of education, and in so doing he recalls (671 a—672 d 10) the main points of the former disquisition on μέθη as a possible ἐπιτήδευμα ἀρετῆς.

We may well fancy that when Plato wrote 643 a 4–7, the words μέχριπερ ἂν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀφίκηται had for him a double meaning: that, to the Athenian's hearers the word θεός merely stood—and was meant to stand—for οἶνος; but that the author had in mind the subject of the third chorus. Whether this was so or not, the words express so well what I conceive to be the plan of the division of the subject that I will quote them in full. They are: πρῶτον δὴ οὖν πρὸς τὸν λόγον ὀρισώμεθα παιδείαν τί ποτ' ἐστὶν καὶ τίνα δύναμιν ἔχει· διὰ γὰρ ταύτης φαμὲν ἰτέον εἶναι τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ἐν τῷ νῦν λόγον ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μέχριπερ ἂν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀφίκηται. Dr. Ivo Bruns (*Plato's Gesetze vor und nach ihrer Herausgabe durch Philippos von Opus*) holds that the tractate in Bk. I. on the possible use of μέθη as an ἐπιτήδευμα αἰδοῦς (646 a—649 c), and the suggestion of a Chorus of Dionysus, with all the discussion of παιδεία and μουσική preliminary to it, were written at different times, and with totally different views:—that they can never have been intended by their author to form parts of the same treatise—that indeed they contradict each other in several important points. Also that the section of Bk. II. from 671 a 4 σκοπώμεθα to 672 d is a clumsy attempt on the part of an editor to bring the two discussions into harmony; and that all references, in the second book, to the treatment of μέθη in the first (e.g. 666 c καὶ οὕτως . . . μὲν δὴ, 659 c τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον) as well as all passages in Bk. I. which might seem to look forward to, or lead up to the main discussion of Bk. II., were inserted into the text by the same editor—equally clumsily. Bruns's examination of these and other parts of the *Laws* is very searching, and is written with great ability, and is indeed a very helpful guide to the understanding of many parts of the treatise. His arguments are powerful, and both the destructive and the constructive<sup>1</sup> parts

<sup>1</sup> E.g. his view that the bulk of Bk. II. originally formed part of Bk. VII.



of his book, if they are to be satisfactorily confuted, would need answers far too long to be given here. I can only say here that I am not convinced by them, and that I think the general line of the defence against his criticisms is this: i.e. that the train of thought in Plato's dialogues often winds about in such unexpected ways, that different readers arrive at quite different views as to the importance to be assigned to different sections, and as to the way in which each section was intended by its author to serve as a contribution to the main argument. Often indeed it is impossible to secure agreement as to what the main argument was intended to be. On these grounds I do not accept as final Bruns's statements that the author of such and such a passage *evidently meant* to go on in a different way from that in which the treatise proceeds, or that it is *logically impossible* that Plato could have taken subjects in the order in which he seems to have arranged them. Also there seem to me to be analogous points in the two μέθη discussions to which Bruns is blind.

#### APPENDIX B

672 e 1—673 e 2. The subject of χορεία falls into two halves: (1) the training of the (ear and) voice, and (2) the training of the body in rhythmic movement. The first part Plato here calls μουσική, giving the word a more restricted sense than usual; the second he calls γυμναστική, though he does not imply thereby that the sole object of γυμναστική is the training for χορεία. The first half of the subject, he says, has been fully dealt with: of the second, though it has not been left out of sight, the treatment has been incomplete; shall he complete it now? Are we, i.e., to have, side by side with the description of the ἔντεχνος ἀγωγή ἐπὶ μουσικήν, a companion picture of the technical training best adapted for the bodily half?—περανοῦμεν, ἢ καὶ ἐάσομεν; . . . λέγωμεν, ἢ πῶς καὶ πῆ ποιητέον; What old blue gets tired of boating "shop"? There is nothing the two Dorians would like better than a long talk about gymnastic training, but the Athenian—or at all events Plato—does not mean to indulge them. In acceding to their request he tells them they know it all already, and then he begins the subject in such a way as to hint that his treatment of it is to follow the lines of the discussion of the training in μουσική. Then, with a repeated promise to go on hardly out of his mouth (τὸ δὲ πειρασόμεθα ἐφεξῆς

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Cl. "You may."

Ath. "Don't you think myriads on myriads of states have come into being during this time? and, whatever the amount, have not an equal number of states ceased to be? Have they not severally exhausted all kinds of constitution many times over? Have they not sometimes grown from small to big, and sometimes sunk from big to small?—changed too from good to bad, and from bad to good?"

Cl. "It must have been so."

Ath. "Now I want, if I can, to get hold of the thing that caused all this transformation; for I expect that would reveal to us the secret of the birth and change of states."

a 1. Cp. Plut. *Demosth.* ch. 4 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ταύτη, κατὰ Πλάτωνα.—πολιτείας ἀρχήν: for this expression he substitutes at c 8 τὴν πρώτην (τῶν πολιτειῶν) γένεσιν καὶ μετάβασιν: the object of his search is what perhaps in modern phrase we might call "*the secret of political vitality.*"

a 6. μεταβαίνουσιν: many editors have been inclined to think Boeckh right in reading μεταβαινουσῶν.—Badham wrote it so independently. Ast and Schanz adopt the change. Perhaps, though, Plato preferred the rhythm of the slightly irregular expression. After all it is not straining language much to talk of *the advance of a state* being transformed in the direction of perfection, instead of saying that the *advancing state* is so transformed.

a 8. That is, the point of view from which we must examine the question must be one which takes in an immense expanse of time, and all the transformations which occur in it.—μήκους τε καὶ ἀπειρίας: a hendiadys for ἀπείρου μήκους.

b 7. I think the τοῦτό γε in the next line shows that Stallbaum is right in taking τὸ δέ γε κτλ. to mean, "but you can be sure of this much (can't you), that it must be a hopelessly immeasurable time"? He makes τό the article to the ὡς clause. Hermann, Schneider, Schanz, and Burnet rightly make the sentence a question. Ast and Heindorf take ὡς as "*perquam,*" as in ὡς ὡμά at *Crat.* 395 b.—Schanz preserves the ἀπειρον of A as against the ἀπλετον of L, O, and most modern editors.

c 1. For πάσας, "all kinds of," cp. 637 a 3 ἀνοία πάσῃ, 688 c 6 πάσῃ κακία.

c 6. περί: Ast on this passage, and Heindorf on *Phaedr.* 270 c, have collected instances of the "redundant" περί, where the simple gen. might have stood. It is especially frequent with αἰτία. Cp. also 664 a τούτου δὲ πέρι πᾶσαν μὴχανὴν εὐρίσκειν,

and 678 a 3.—εἰ δυναίμεθα: less confident than ἤν δυνώμεθα, almost wistful in tone. The line of thought here followed is this: if we can find what is the cause and nature of the *true development* of a state, i.e. of its *progress towards perfection*, we shall learn what is the first principle or vital force which brought it into being. A practical application of this knowledge is described at 683 b; it will enable us to decide what *laws* are suitable for a state.

c 9. With προθυμείσθαι ἀποφαινόμενον we may usefully compare συντείνειν πειρώμενον δηλῶσαι in a very similar sentence in 641 e; it is a more direct expression than the προθυμείσθαι ἀποφαίνεσθαι which seems more natural to us.

677 a 5. Among many passages from ancient writers which speak of wholesale destruction of life by some physical catastrophe Ast cps. *Polit.* 270 c 11 φθοραὶ τοίνυν ἐξ ἀνάγκης τότε μέγιστα συμβαίνουσι τῶν τε ἄλλων ζώων, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ὀλίγον τι παραλείπεται. There is no need, with Boeckh, to put in τὸ before τῶν ἀνθρώπων in the present passage. Among other slight variations between the two passages, in the *Pol.* he says “the human race survives in a mere fragment”; whereas here he says, “only a very few representatives of mankind survive.” Cp. *Rep.* 363 d παῖδας γὰρ παίδων φασὶ καὶ γένος κατόπισθεν λείπεσθαι τοῦ ὀσίου καὶ εὐόρκου.

a 8. νοήσωμεν: νοέω does not (as in *Er.* viii. 352 c νοήσατε δὲ ἃ λέγω νῦν) mean *turn one's attention to, ponder, think about*, but is “let us suppose.” I have therefore put a (—) after γενομένην; i.e. the speaker meant to add a secondary predicate to ταύτην, perhaps in the form of a ὅτι or ὡς clause. The interruption of Cleinias's question enables him to change the subject of the ὡς clause from αὕτη (ἡ φθορά) to οἱ τότε περιφυγόντες.

b 2. I think we may include ἐν κορυφαῖς in the picture suggested by ζώπυρα, as well as in the statement of fact about the surviving herdsmen; the speaker is thinking, perhaps, of the seemingly tiny flashes from heath or forest fires seen on distant mountains. There is moreover a special appropriateness in the metaphór, since water puts out fire, and water was the destroying medium in the catastrophe.

b 5 ff. “To say nothing of the other resources of civilization, of course such men as these can know nothing of all the tricks devised by dwellers in cities to over-reach or eclipse or otherwise damage each other.” The τῶν before ἐν τοῖς ἄστυσι is masc.—otherwise the πρὸς ἀλλήλους and the ἐπινοοῦσιν would be harsh: μηχανῶν has to do without an article, for, if it had one, τῶν would occur

too often.—It is even possible that the first τῶν is masc.—Wagner suggested that we ought to read ἀστοῖσι for ἄστυσι.—Stallb. and Herm. both inserted the usual τε after the first τῶν, thus adding emphasis to the μηχανῶν; Wagner and Schanz agree.—Cobet alters εἰς to ἐκ; but εἰς, “in the matter of” (cp. 774 b 4, 809 e 7, 860 d 1), suits the context better, and it provides a good construction for the antecedent of ὅποσα. Cobet cps. *Symp.* 188 b, and takes εἰς τε πλ. κ. φιλ. with the words which follow, not with τεχνῶν and μηχανῶν. — οἱ ἐν τοῖς ἄστυσι is equivalent to “civilized beings.”

c 1. θῶμεν; “may we take it?” So 860 c ὡς λέγοντα τίθετε. (Schanz would substitute φῶμεν for θῶμεν here and at c 3, —unnecessarily.)

c 2. ἄρα ἦν A corrected by A<sup>3</sup> to ἄρδην, which is the reading of L, O and Eus.; an instructive mistake on the part of A. Cod. Voss. also read ἄρα ἦν.

c 4–7. “We shall suppose, shall we not, all implements to be destroyed and all serviceable contrivances of statesmen or other experts to disappear entirely at that juncture?” It is hard to say whether τέχνης or σοφίας is to be joined in thought with πολιτικῆς; in either case the meaning is much the same.—In σπουδαίως we have the notion of *professional* or purposeful activity; cp. 656 a 4.

c 7–d 6. Burnet has followed O. Immisch (ut supra, pp. 60 ff.) in attributing πῶς . . . ὅτιοῦν to the Ath. I. says the Armenian translation, Ficinus, and L confirm this division. B. has also placed the τοῦτο, which follows ὅτιοῦν in A (and which, from MS. days downwards, has been either omitted or changed) at the head of Cleinias’s answer. The only change I would make in Burnet’s reading of the passage is that I follow Herm. in rejecting the first γέγονεν. But it is not only the reading and division of this difficult passage that have been disputed. Interpretations have varied at many points; e.g. as to whether ἔτη or τάδε (understood) is the subj. of διελάνθανεν, whether (τοὺς) τότε means *after* or *before* the flood, and whether Δαιδάλω (and the other datives) means (revealed) *by* D. (Ast), or *to* D. Indeed the whole drift of the passage seems to have been differently understood by every interpreter. I would suggest as a translation of πῶς γὰρ . . . γεγονότα: Ath. “If the world was without interruption furnished with all the advantages it now possesses, what room was there for any new invention whatever?” Cl. “It comes to this, that we shall have to suppose (ἄρα) that during myriads of myriads of years, the men

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institutions referred to at 676 a 5 and c 3 and 683 b. He means, as he explains immediately, that virtue and vice, like the details of civilization, take time to develop, and can only develop in their company. How this applies to vice is explained at e 6 ff. He does not give a corresponding explanation of the rise of virtue, because a virtuous development (the ἐπιδοσις εἰς ἀρετήν) is *natural*. The object of the whole treatise is to show how to avoid and obviate the *accidents* which give rise to vice.

**b 3.** O has ἦ καὶ for ἦ.

**b 6.** The ω of ἡμῶν being in an erasure in A, Schanz conjectures ἡμῖν.—εἰς π. κτλ., “the world came to be what the world is,” Jowett.

**b 9.** κατὰ σμικρόν at *Prot.* 338 e, *Soph.* 217 d, *Rep.* 344 a and 401 c means “in little bits”; here it is “little by little,” as at *Rep.* 407 d, *Phaedr.* 262 a, *Theaet.* 180 e, *Theag.* 130 c. At *Soph.* 241 c καὶ κατὰ σμικρόν, like the following καὶ κατὰ βραχύ, means “ever so little.”

**c 1.** πρέπει: cp. *Phaedo* 114 d 5 τοῦτο . . . πρέπειν μοι δοκεῖ. The sense of “to be likely” is not common for πρέπειν.

**c 3.** “*Ἐναυλος eleganter dicitur tam de sermone, quo adhuc aures personant, quam de re qualibet, cujus adhuc recens est memoria,*” Ruhnken, *Tim.*

**c 5.** For ἑαυτοῦς in the sense of ἀλλήλους cp. *Lysis* 215 b, *Parm.* 133 e.

**c 6.** ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον: this has generally, and rightly, been taken as an expansion of such a phrase as τὰ νῦν, on the lines of local expressions like (ἐς) τὰ ἐπὶ θάτερα, τὰ ἐπ’ ἐκείνα, (εἰς) τὸ ἐπ’ ἐκείνα, τὸ ἐπὶ τάδε, εἰς τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ ἐμοῦ (*Lysias* xii. 12). Schanz, however, marks ἐν τοῖς as corrupt, and Badham introduces καιροῖς after χρόνον. (Rather than this I would take τοῖς as masc.)—Steph. altered the MS. πορεία into πορεῖα, and, as there is a gap two letters long in A before the word, Schanz admirably conjectured τὰ πορεῖα. The τὰ goes well with the πάντα in c 8.

**c 7.** The τότε, to which Boeckh took exception, has the effect of making the ὥστε clause (which Boeckh rejected) the most significant part of the complex sentence. It is as if Plato said, “They could not travel to each other as yet, either by land or sea, because all kinds of vehicles had been destroyed.”—σὺν ταῖς τέχναις: i.e. “as well as the arts necessary for their construction.”

**d 1.** μεταλλεῖα for μέταλλα: Lobeck, *Paralipr.* iv. 10, gives

many instances of nouns and adjectives in -ος, -η, -α, or -ον which have alternative forms in -ειος, -εια, or -ειον, and mentions this case in that connexion.—συγκεχυμένα: i.e. “filled up with mud,” like the “nine men’s morris.” —<sup>N.</sup>

**d 2.** ἀνακαθαίρεσθαι: used, not, as some take it, of clearing out the mines, but in its technical sense of *extracting metal from the ore*; cp. on 642 a. There could of course be no possibility of doing this if the mines were not accessible.

**d 3.** δρυοτομίας: abstract for concrete; “timber,” not merely, as L. & S., “firewood.” (Not “they (had) no means of felling timber,” as Jowett, but “they were consequently badly off for timber.”)—A. has που, O πού τι, Vulg. τί που.

**d 7.** A has ἄν with δή as an alternative, and O δή with ἄν as alternative.

**d 8.** τοῦθ' οὕτως γεγονέναι: i.e. that the miners' art revived.

**e 2.** A has λέγονται with δέονται as an alternative, O δέονται with λέγονται as alternative.

**e 6.** The change in the matters spoken about is not so abrupt as at first it seems: there was no στάσις, because ἄσμενοι ἑαυτοὺς ἑώρων δι' ὀλιγότητα; no war (partly) because there was a dearth of weapons. Still, the author wishes to add a further result of the ἐρημία, i.e. that there was enough for all; also to hint what were the chief curses of civilized societies, i.e. *money*, and *lies*—the unnatural appetite for accumulated wealth, and the loss of faith and truth which comes in the train of selfishness.

**679 a 1.** νομῆς: the following ἧ̂ διέζων shows that this is not to be restricted to the literal sense of pasturage, but, as in the case of δρυοτομία at 678 d 3, stands for the resulting product, i.e. flocks and herds; so, at Xen. *Anab.* iii. 5. 2 (νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν), νομαὶ means *pasturing herds*.

**a 7.** οὐδὲ ἔν: this adverbial use of the emphatic form is uncommon.

**b 1.** Perhaps it is better to say that the clause τούτω τὸ τέχνα πορίζειν ταῦτα is the direct object of ἔδωκε, than to take τὸ τέχνα as the direct object, and explain (as Stallb.) πορίζειν to be = ὥστε πορίζειν.

**b 2.** τοιαύτην ἀπορίαν seems to refer definitely to the lack of iron, rather than to general distress, such as that caused by the flood. (Jowett trans. “when reduced to their last extremity.”) —βλάστην καὶ ἐπίδοσιν: βλάστη here perhaps means *sprouting* or *birth*; at *Phaedr.* 251 d it means a nascent germ, or sprout; at



*Prot.* 334 a, all that sprouts above ground from a root; Sophocles uses βλάσται of *birth*, *O.T.* 717, *Trach.* 382, and at *O.C.* 972 of *conception*. In that case the two words would exactly correspond to the γένεσιν καὶ μετάβασιν of 676 c 8.

**b 3.** διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον, “that being so.”

**b 6.** ὁ τότε ἐν ἐκείνοις παρῆν: Ficinus in his trans. omits these words. Wagner concludes that they were absent from some MSS., and that the scribe who restored them put them in the wrong place. He would place them after γίγνοιτ’ ἄν. Ast puts a full stop at ὄντες, and only a comma after παρῆν. Cornarius makes these words mean “. . . (were without the gold) which was then among them.” Some of the difficulty is removed if, with Stallb., we take what precedes to be, like the following one, a *general* statement; not “*they* would not have been rich,” but “*men* were never made rich (who had no gold and silver, and *that* was the men’s condition).” (Ritter takes τότε and ἐκείνοις to refer to the period and the men of the earlier civilization before the flood; but this does not help.)

**b 7.** ἦ δ’ ἄν κτλ., “if a community is to breed the best natures, it must admit neither poverty nor wealth: without them no blatant oppression can gain a footing, or jealous envy.”

**c 1.** Stallb. has collected many examples of the way in which variety is secured by the substitution of τε . . . οὐ for a second or third οὔτε; this is a step towards the not infrequent οὔτε . . . τε.

**c 2 ff.** ἀγαθοὶ μὲν . . . διεληλύθαμεν, “last, but not least, among good influences was their so-called *simplicity*. What they heard called fair or foul, they were so ‘simple’ as to think rightly named, and believe really to be so. No one was ‘clever’ enough to suspect a lie, as do our wiseacres of to-day. What they were told about gods and men, they took for true, and lived by it, and that is how they came to be just the kind of men we have above described.”

**d 2.** εἶπωμεν A (and L and O?); Vat. 1029 reads εἶπομεν; so Ficinus and Cornarius, who trans. *diximus*; so Ast conjectured, and so Schanz reads. The substance of this paragraph is almost entirely recapitulatory, so that the indic. may well be right—in spite of the μέλλουσιν εἶναι “are bound to be.” The only novelty is the mention of *many generations*, but this is implied in the 1000 years of 677 d.

**d 6.** κατὰ πόλιν μόνον αὐτοῦ: if μόνον αὐτοῦ is sound, the αὐτοῦ seems to have been added to the κατὰ πόλιν with the same effect as in ἐνθάδ’ αὐτοῦ and similar, mostly Homeric, expressions; cp. our “within there,” “without there” in Shakespeare. (Ast

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to their wild life"; i.e., Homer, like the Athenian, tells of units of population scattered among the hill-tops, and points to the necessary consequences of such isolation.

d 7. οἴκησιν: here the concrete "household."

d 8. γένος: the "family"; not yet the *clan* into which the household grows.—κατὰ γένος, "in separate families."—ὑπὸ ἀπ. κτλ. gives the reason for διεσπαρμένων. ἀπορία, "dearth," not of men, but of possessions and implements.

e 1. ἐν αἰς: the antecedent to this relative is, of course, not (as Stallb.) φθοραῖς, though it immediately precedes, but πολιτεῖαι. The Ath. does not think it necessary to repeat the words τοιαῦται πολιτεῖαι γίνονται, but they are carried on in sense from his last speech. (Ast, followed by Wagner, Hermann, the Zür. edd., Schanz and Ritter read ἐν οἷς.)—In this paragraph we pass from the single family with the father at the head, to the next generation, when *the eldest brother* takes his father's place and, as it were, acts as the "father" of his younger brothers and their families, as well as of his own.

e 2. πατρὸς καὶ μητρός: I imagine καί to mean *or*, and that Plato is thinking of cases where authority and property descended through the mother. The same interpretation is possible at 690 a 3.

e 3. πατρονομούμενοι: Timaeus, *Lex.*, gives two explanations of this word: (1) οἱ τοῖς γονικοῖς (i.e. handed down from father to son) νόμοις χρώμενοι, and (2) ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἀρχόμενοι. The latter is most likely the right one, at least for this passage (in spite of 680 a 6); only the "father" is the father of the tribe, who inherits his position from the original father of the family.—We may translate the whole paragraph: "And so do there not arise, out of these single households and families, whom the dearth consequent on the cataclysms keeps in isolation, communities in which the eldest rule because they inherit the authority from father or mother, and the people follow them, and are soon to be found forming one flock, like so many birds, ruled by paternal authority, the justest of all titles to royal rank?"—This is the fully developed *patriarchy*.

e 6. "Yes, and next, larger numbers (πλείους subj.) join together to form greater communities such as we may term πόλεις." The word πόλεις seems strangely used of these primitive communities. Naber conjectures ἐπαύλεις. If πόλεις is correct, it must be used proleptically. F.H.D. conj. that πόλεις is a mistake for οἰκήσεις due to the adjacent πλείους.

**e 7.** γεωργίας : as we use the words “planting” or “plantation” for a planted space, so “cultivation” is used here for *cultivated spaces*.

**681 a 2.** τειχῶν ἐρύματα, “as walls of defence.”—οἰκίαν : he uses the word οἰκία, figuratively, for what he has just called a πόλις. At a 7 he calls it an οἴκησις.

**a 8.** παρῆναι . . . ἔχουσαν, “should bring with it.”

**b 1.** οἰκεῖν : the subj. to this verb is really the ἐκάστους, which is not definitely expressed till b 5.—ἕτερα ἀφ’ ἐτέρων ὄντων . . ., “(each) a distinct set, derived from a distinct set of . . .” ἕτερα is governed by an imaginary ἔχοντας, agreeing with the same ἐκάστους understood.

**b 3.** κοσμιωτέρων . . . ἀνδρικώτερα, “the more orderly or spirited the forbears, the more orderly and spirited would be the dispositions of the descendants they had brought up.” I think κοσμιωτέρων and ἀνδρικῶν are under the government of an imaginary ἀπό, repeated from ἀφ’ before ἐτέρων. (Boeckh unnecessarily proposes ἀνδρικωτέρων for ἀνδρικῶν.)

**b 4.** κατὰ τρόπον here seems to mean “duly,” “as was to be expected.”—οὕτως, “in this manner,” i.e. by descent and training. (Or ought we to take οὕτως as “merely,” “just,” with κατὰ τρόπον, as in ἀπλῶς οὕτως? In such an idiomatic phrase it is hard for us to be certain; “just in the same way” would fit in well here.)

**b 5.** ἀποτυπουμένους ἄν, “ready to imprint,” or “likely to imprint.” Not only would each contingent bring its own traditional manners and dispositions, but it would be sure to perpetuate its own preferences in its descendants.—It is surprising what a light is let in upon the sentence by Schneider’s ἄν αἰρέσεις for the MS. ἀναιρέσεις. Burnet adopts it; so do Herm. and Wagner, though they are probably wrong in taking ἄν with ἦκειν; it goes much better with ἀποτυπουμένους. Ast saw part of the truth when he proposed to read αἰρέσεις (so Schanz), instead of ἀναιρέσεις.—Ast also proposed ἀνευρέσεις, and Winckelmann ἀνευρήσεις, Orelli ἀεὶ αἰρέσεις. Stallb. actually retains ἀναιρέσεις and translates it “ea quae suscepint.”

**c 1.** Schanz says that A has αὐτῶν.

**c 2.** With ὑστέρους we must supply ἀρέσκειν. This added clause (τοὺς δὲ . . . ὑστέρους), which Schanz would eject from the text, gives the whole sentence the same effect it would have had if πρῶτους had been put in (predicatively) with νόμους, and the second clause omitted.—This is exactly the informal way in

which thoughts drop out in conversation. It says, in effect, "I don't mean that other people's laws will be positively *displeasing* to them; only that they will like their own *best*." (H. Steph. wanted to insert the *πρώτους*.)

c 4. ἀρχῆ . . . ὡς ἔοικεν: in other words, "is not this, after all, how a definite enactment of laws came about?"—i.e. from the necessity of *choosing*, for the united community, the best out of the laws of the clan-units out of which it was formed. If this is the right interpretation of these words, it follows that the next speech of the Ath. is a development of this idea; and this view is supported by the explanatory γούν added to the adverbial τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα.

c 7. τὸ γούν . . . ἑαυτῶν, "it is clear that, when the separate families had once united to form one community, they" (could not go on with different notions in their minds as to what was permissible and what not, but) "would have to choose certain representatives of their whole body," etc.

c 8. These κοινοί, or public representatives, would have a double task: (1) that of selecting the best from the *laws* of the several tribes, and (2) that of selecting the best from among the rulers of the several clans, to serve for the united state.

c 9. αὐτῶν: i.e. τῶν νομίμων.—εἰς τὸ κοινόν ("for the use of the community") goes with what follows.

c 10. οἶον βασιλεῦσι, "with king-like power." (There is no need, with Hug, to reject these words.)

d 1. φανερά δείξαντες: φανερά is proleptic, "indicate *clearly*"—not, as Schneider and Jowett, "publicly present."—ἔλίσθαι τε δόντες, "propose for their acceptance"—rather than "give them the choice of them," Jowett—implying that it had been settled that whatever the κοινοί chose *would* be accepted.

d 2. τοὺς δέ: i.e. the ἡγέμονες; ἄρχοντας is predicative.

d 3. ἢ καί τινα βασιλείαν, "or perhaps monarchy," Jowett.

d 4. ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μεταβολῇ τῆς πολιτείας οἰκήσουσιν: the subject to the verb is still οἱ, i.e. the κοινοί, and it is apparently used absolutely, "will direct affairs during this change of constitution." Cp. 779 c 6 καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς πόλεως . . . πρέπον ἂν οἰκεῖν εἴη. (Most interpreters take the verb to mean "will live," i.e. they suppose the subject somehow changed to "the whole community." Apart from this change of subject, what a feeble end to the paragraph! "And in this altered state of the government they will live," Jowett.)

d 6. ἐφεξῆς, "step by step"; cp. *Polit.* 281 d ἔν' ἐφεξῆς ἡμῖν ὁ

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“possession” and “excitement,” and this may have made him choose a less familiar form. (ὕμνωδέω also does not occur elsewhere in Plato.) As to the former point I think it is best to suppose that Proclus only quoted the ἐνθραστικόν when he meant to bring in the ὑμνωδοῦν as well—and this gives us a hint how to take ὑμνωδοῦν.—The other three quotations are not verbal, and the point of them lies in the θεῖον. Heindorf and Badham (who also alters ὑμνωδοῦν to ὑμνωδῶν) take the καί as connecting θεῖον and ἐνθραστικόν, and suggest (the former as an alternative to another arrangement) that τὸ ποιητικόν is the “gloss” that should be rejected. But Proclus’s quotations seem to establish *too* (i.e. as well as other classes of θεῖοι ἄνδρες) as the meaning of καί, and moreover ὑμνωδοῦν, which is rather a difficulty any way, becomes more difficult if καί is *and*.

**a 7.** τοῦ νῦν ἐπελθόντος ἡμῖν μύθου, “in the imaginary history which has now occupied our attention.”

**a 8.** τάχα γὰρ . . . βουλήσεως, “it may perhaps give (you) an insight into my meaning.” (Generally interpreted “tell us something about *our object*”; i.e. the discovery of the origin of law.) Cp. 668 c 8.

**b 4.** ἔχοντα: loosely used for “in the neighbourhood of.”

**b 7.** For ἐν with a measure of time, in the sense of *after*, cp. *Phaedo* 107 e ἄλλος δεῦρο πάλιν ἡγεμῶν κομίζει ἐν πολλαῖς χρόνου καὶ μακραῖς περιόδοις.

**b 10.** γοῦν, “what I mean is”; cp. 681 c 7.

**c 1.** For ὑπό *c. acc.* meaning (to put or go) “close up to” (something above) cp. *Rep.* 496 d ὑπὸ τειχίον ἀποστάς, *Lysis* 203 a ὑπ’ αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος. The mountain streams are naturally supposed to be felt as coming down from above.

**c 3.** λόφοις: the change to the plural after the λόφον at b 3 seems merely due to a desire to vary the expression.

**c 4.** Stephanus’s emendation of the MS. τι to τινα is a certain one. The loss of να was doubtless due to the following μα, and the preceding πολλοῖς τισι χρόνοις gives the pattern—a very common one—for the expression.

**c 6.** κατώκουν: probably here, if not in κατοικοῦντας (677 c 2), and κατωκίσθη (682 b 2), the κατα- has the meaning of *down into the plain*.

**d 6.** The τά marks the κακά as historical.

**d 7.** στάσεις: this word introduces us to the stage of *violent* revolution, foreshadowed perhaps in the word παθήματα at 681.d 8, and marking a new age, ἡ

e 1. ἀλλ' ὥστε: used somewhat loosely, like our "instead of that," with a change of subject.

e 2. οἱ, "and these exiles"; for, as at e 4, φυγὰς is used for φυγάδας.—Ritter is possibly right in taking πάλιν with κατηλθον, but if it be taken with ἐκπεσόντες it need not mean "banished a second time," but merely "sent away again"; cp. Hdt. v. 72 where πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε is said of Cleomenes, when, after occupying the Acropolis, he was forced to relinquish it again. (Stallb. takes the φυγὰς to be the exile of the veterans from Troy, and the οἱ to be the νέοι who were driven out *in their turn* (πάλιν); but this interpretation of the second οἱ is very harsh.)

e 4. τὰς τότε φυγὰς: abstract for concrete, i.e. τοὺς τότε φυγάδας, which is actually the reading of O. So at 680 e 7 γεωργίας stands for ἄγρους. Stallb. quotes Thom. Mag. p. 902 φυγή· καὶ οἱ φυγάδες· Θουκυδίδης ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ [viii. 64], καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἔξω ἦν. Cp. also our "flights" of birds.—ταῦτα . . . πάντα . . . τάντεῦθεν, "all the subsequent course of these events"—"the rest of the story" (Jowett).—The ὑμεῖς is emphatic: "you Lacedaemonians" are the people to tell that; i.e. "it is part of Lacedaemonian history."

e 8. Though in grammatical structure κατ' ἀρχὰς goes closely with ἐξετραπόμεθα, in *idea* it belongs to the subordinate participle διαλεγόμενοι (not "we turned aside at the beginning while discussing," but "we turned aside at the beginning of our discussion").—The difference of tense between the two subordinate participles, διαλεγόμενοι and περιπεσόντες, indicates that it is the second participle which goes specially with the main verb—and further defines the action it describes; for the main verb is also an aorist.—περιπεσόντες has very much the same meaning as περιτυχόντες at 683 e 5—used of chance subjects encountered in a discourse or a mental survey.

e 10. ὥσπερ κατὰ θεόν, "providentially" (Jowett).

e 11. λαβὴν ἀποδίδωσιν; acc. to the scholiast on *Rep.* 544 b (τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέχε), λαβή (or λαβαί, cp. *Phaedr.* 236 b) means the *hold* or *grip* which wrestlers get of each other; so that λαβὴν παρέχειν or ἀποδιδόναι is "to allow your antagonist to get hold, to get to grips." The application of the metaphor is plain. The two antagonists are the personified Λόγος and the Athenian—or perhaps the three of them—and they are this time going to discuss seriously and exclusively the *origin and character of Dorian institutions*.

683 a 1. It is perhaps permissible to wonder whether αὐτήν is



not a mistake for  $\alpha\upsilon$ .— $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$  goes with  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ .— $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon$ : e.g. 626 c, 637 a.— $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ : Ast is possibly right in thinking that this is a mistake for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ . A and one or two early edd. did make the mistake of substituting  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\sigma\iota\nu$  for  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\nu$ . Still  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  is possible here, if we suppose it said of the concrete “settlement,” i.e. state of Lacedaemon, which is implied in the words  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\acute{\iota}\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\nu$   $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\Lambda\alpha\kappa\epsilon\delta\alpha\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\nu\alpha$ ; the  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\text{Κρήτην}$  facilitates the supposition.

**a 2.** The relation of the added clause  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\text{Κρ. κτλ.}$  is best expressed by putting a (—) before it. It does not all of it belong to the relative sentence; though  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\alpha\tau\epsilon$   $\acute{\omicron}\rho\theta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  has to be supplied with it, the  $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$   $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\gamma\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$  has nothing to do with the  $\acute{\eta}\nu$ . (Ast and Schneider take  $\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  as equivalent to  $\acute{\omicron}\mu\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , “with the same sort of laws as Crete.”)

**a 4.**  $\delta\iota\epsilon\chi\epsilon\lambda\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  limits the meaning of  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$  ( $\tau\omicron\upsilon\hat{\upsilon}$   $\lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ ) to the part of it concerned with the imaginary history.—The explanatory asyndeton ( $\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\alpha\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$   $\kappa\tau\lambda.$ ) is common in Plato; cp. 684 a 2, *Menex.* 239 d 1.

**a 7.**  $\tau\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\eta$ : the fourth representative polity does not present any marked development or alteration of internal constitution, as compared with the third. The difference is mostly one of size. It is a *nation* of three cities. Also, what is very important for the argument, the polity is a real, not an imaginary one.

**a 8.**  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\zeta\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\acute{\omicron}\nu$   $\tau\acute{\epsilon}$   $\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ : i.e. not only does history show us the formation stage, but we can use our own eyes, so to speak, because the foundation has endured to the present day.—A and the margin of O have  $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}$   $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$  for  $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$ ; perhaps they did not understand  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ . L has  $\nu\hat{\upsilon}\nu$  alone.

**b 1.**  $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$   $\delta\iota\nu$   $\acute{\alpha}\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$ : I think it is better to take these words with  $\tau\acute{\iota}$ —“what out of all these (political) arrangements,” rather than “as the result of all this history, or description.” For one reason, this interpretation provides a natural explanation of  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ .—This involves taking  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta$  in the sense of *established, settled, arranged*—of a part of the civic establishment. Cp. *Tim.* 24 c. (C. Ritter suggests that perhaps Lacedaemon is the subject of  $\kappa\alpha\tau\omega\kappa\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta$ .)—L has  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ , A and O omit  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$ : it adds a useful emphasis to  $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\theta\alpha$ , and is more likely to have been omitted than inserted, so I restore it.

**b 5.** This sentence and the following one gain greatly in point if, with C. Ritter, we read  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$  for the MS.  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha$ —but not with his explanation. He takes  $\tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\nu$  to mean “we must now

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(Bruns pp. 163 ff. holds, naturally, that all in this passage that points back to anything in Bks. I. or II. is a forgery of the editor; consequently whatever he cannot interpret as a reference to a previous part of Bk. III. he rejects.)

**c 2.** οὐ χείρους οὐδ' ἐλάττους, "as good, aye, and as long."

**c 4.** σχεδόν (a favourite form of qualification in the Laws), "if I am not mistaken" (it is Midsummer Day).

**c 8.** γενώμεθα ταῖς διανοίαις: a bold phrase; "let us put ourselves in thought." Stallb. cps. *Menex.* 239 d ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ γενόμενον λόγῳ.

**c 9.** By τὰ μετὰ τούτων he probably means the territories of these three states, including the towns dependent on each.

**d 1.** ἱκανῶς: its position suggests that this word rather qualifies than strengthens ὑποχείρια; i.e. that it means not *thoroughly*, but *virtually*.

**d 2.** ὡς γε λέγεται τὸ τοῦ μύθου: "significat ipse Plato, se in his enarrandis incertos sequi fontes. Quod profecto dignum est animadversione, quandoquidem in iis, quae deinceps exponit, aliquoties discessit ab iis quae ab Herodoto, Xenophonte, aliisque scriptoribus de iis rebus memoriae prodita sunt," Stallb. We cannot help suspecting that Plato is here continuing to some extent the *invention* of history in which he has been recently engaged.

**d 10.** πάντες οἱ τότε: all the inhabitants of those three states—the kings included.—τούτοις and αὐτῶν refer to the kings. The oaths are repeated below in detail, when the position of the δῆμοι is defined.

**e 1–3.** διαφθείρη . . . καταλύεται: in both these remarks the Ath. seems to be contemplating the overthrow of a form of government by a force *within the state*, not, as at 709 a 3, the conquest by another state, and consequent subjection of the inhabitants, or even such interference of one state with the constitution of another as was common at the time of the Peloponnesian War.—For the omission to repeat the preposition ὑπό before σφῶν αὐτῶν cp. 635 e and 685 b.

**e 5.** νυνδὴ μὲν: "here," says Bruns, "is conclusive proof that the part of the treatise which preceded Bk. III. was not,—or, at least, not merely—Bks. I. and II." If we follow Bruns we get into trouble with his "Redaktor." What editor who could *insert* so many forged references, would fail to *expunge* one which evidently stultified his arrangement?—Badham and Cobet are clear that ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν is a wrongly inserted marginal explanation of νυνδὴ. If so, it must have been a very early

insertion, for Photius quotes this passage as it stands (s.vv. νῦν δῆ, though he omits the μέν, and says it is from Bk. IV.; the next quotation he gives—Eur. *Hipp.* 233—has, like our present passage, νυνδὴ μέν followed, after an interval, by νῦν δέ). Besides, both phrases have their own work to do in the sentence. νυνδὴ μέν is contrasted with νῦν δ' in e 6, while ὁλ. ἔμπ. specifies the time of the action of περιτυχόντες: “a little time back, when we happened, the other day, on this subject in our conversation.” It seems to me that it is the least extravagant of all the assumptions necessitated by this passage, to suppose it to refer to a *previous* discussion—either an imaginary discussion, or one recorded in a lost dialogue.<sup>1</sup> There is nothing at the beginning of Bk. I. to suggest that this is the *first* meeting of the three interlocutors. The sentiment is entirely *in harmony* with Plato's views as expressed in the *Laws* and elsewhere as to the perfect self-sufficiency of ἀρετή, whether of men or of political organizations. Besides, it is a well-known Platonic doctrine that “nothing that is can be destroyed, except by its own proper and specific evil” (A. E. Taylor, *Plato*, p. 87). Cp. *Rep.* 609 a 9 τὸ σύμφυτον ἄρα κακὸν ἐκάστου καὶ ἡ πονηρία ἕκαστον ἀπόλλυσιν, ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἀπολεῖ, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο γε αὐτὸ ἔτι διαφθείρειεν. But nowhere in the *Laws* is there (*pace* Ritter) anything to justify the very specific reference in the text—nowhere such a statement as e.g. we find at *Arist. Pol.* 1312 b 38 βασιλεία δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἑξωθεν ἠκιστα φθείρεται, διὸ καὶ πολυχρόνιός ἐστιν· ἐξ αὐτῆς δ' αἱ πλείσται φθοραὶ συμβαίνουσιν. Whereas, however, Aristotle in this passage merely says “revolution comes, as a rule, *from within the state*,” what Plato means, I take it, is that “revolution is the government's or king's *own fault* ;” i.e. I take σφῶν αὐτῶν to refer, not to the *people* of the state concerned but, to its *government*.

e 9. ἔργοις γενομένοις: i.e. the ascertained subsequent history of the three kingdoms, contrasted with which not only the description of the first three polities, but even the traditional and varying accounts of the first Dorian establishment are κενόν τι. (Some interpreters have thought that κενόν τι refers to *pure theory*, apart from facts.)

e 10. λόγον: almost *doctrine, view*.

684 a 1. Badham is doubtless right in excluding from the text the second τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον. It disturbs the construction, and looks like a mere accidental repetition.—ἀλήθειαν, “*reality*.”

<sup>1</sup> F.H.D. thinks the reference is to the disastrous result of τὸ ἠττάσθαι αὐτὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ at 626 e 3.

a 3. *τριπταῖς*: not merely a variety for *τρισί*; each time the oath was taken three kings or three communities were addressed.

a 4. The gen. of the inf. indicates the purpose of the common laws of the three states, and goes closely with *ἔθεντο*: they were the laws, i.e., which regulated the mutual relation of kings and subjects—the *οἱ μὲν* and the *οἱ δέ* respectively of the oath.

a 6. For *ἐμπεδώω* in the sense of *keep* an oath cp. Eur. *I.T.* 790 *τὸν δ' ὄρκον ὃν κατώμοσ' ἐμπεδώσομεν.*

b 2. An ungrammatical corrector of A altered *δῆμοι* to *δῆμον*.

b 5. *τό γε μέγιστον . . . ὑπήρχεν . . . ποῖον; τὸ βοηθοῦς γε εἶναι κτλ.* This use of *τό γε* is the same as in the parallel expression at *Euthyd.* 291 a, where the best MSS. have *τό γε εὖ οἶδα ὅτι οὔτε Εὐθύδημος ἦν κτλ.* There Bernhardt altered *τό* to *τόδε* (as Badham does here). A MS. variant of *τὸ δέ* (not *τὸ δέ γε*) for *τό γε* gave some confirmation to Bernhardt's conjecture, and Burnet adopts it in the text. But he does not even mention Badham's correction of this passage. I think the text ought to stand at both places.—*τό* does not go closely with *μέγιστον* as an attribute: it is an independent demonstrative; cp. 807 a 6 *οὔκουν τό γε δίκαιόν φαμεν*,—"was not *that point* of the greatest importance to the political arrangements?" (Lit. "to the establishments of polities, as by law established, in the three states.")

b 7. *εἴτε κτλ.*: this clause seems added by way of implication that the agreement was not more in the kings' interest than in that of the peoples.

b 9 f. Here we have the principle of our "League of Nations" proposals.

c 1. The following little apology for the use of a certain amount of force was thought so inapposite by Zeller and Stallb. that they reject from *καὶ μὴν* to *τί μὴν*; at c 10, and Schanz follows them. The connexion of ideas from c 1 to e 5 may be thus expressed: although the Dorian body politic could not dispense altogether with the surgeon's knife, it had at all events this advantage, that it was free from the diseases of *millionaires* and of *debt*; it is true that it was necessary to encounter the popular prejudice against the use of force, but its rulers and guides were not hampered by the conservative cry "*μὴ κινεῖν τὰ ἀκίνητα*" (i.e. "vested interests").

c 3. For *καθάπερ ἂν εἶ* cp. below 872 c 4.

c 7. *τὸ δέ γ'*: cp. *Apol.* 23 a 5, *Rep.* 340 d 7 ("whereas, in point of fact," Adam), *Laws* 691 d 6, 731 e 3. "For all that (one must

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323 a πάντα ἄνδρα means "any man" (however unskilled).—καὶ τοῦθ' . . . ὑπῆρχεν, "had this advantage as well" (as that spoken of above at b 5 ff.).

e 4. οὕτως, "as it was."—καλῶς καὶ ἀνεμεσήτως, "whereby they escaped all painful animosities."—The τε and καί mark that the advantage consisted in two facts: (1) there could, from the nature of the case, be no disputes about anybody's share of land, and (2) no one had to be relieved of debt: διανέμεσθαι is pass.—The change in construction is a marked instance of the tendency to vary the form of expression.

e 8. "κατοίκις scr. rec. : κατοίκησις A L O," Burnet.

685 a 1. αὐτῶν probably refers to the αὐτοῖς of the previous question: "what point in their conduct?" Megillus does not like hearing "Dorian institutions" and "failure" connected. (Another alternative is to suppose αὐτῶν to refer to the κατοίκις and νομοθεσία: the answer to the question rather makes for the former interpretation.)

a 2. As Stallb. says, οἴκησις is the right word here. Cp. 681 a 7.

a 6 ff. ἀλλὰ μὲν . . . πορεύεσθαι, "easy or not, we have got to consider and investigate this point now or else relinquish our old men's sober pastime of law-hunting, with which we promised ourselves on starting to sweeten the toil of our journey."—The explanation of the Cretan at the end of this book changes the παιδιά into σπουδή.—ἀλύπως recalls the οὐκ ἀηδῶς of 625 a 6 and the μετὰ ῥαστώνης of b 7.—Ritter cps. *Phaedr.* 276 d where Socrates speaks of *writing a book* as being the preparation of a *pastime* for old age; cp. also *Parm.* 137 b 2, and below 712 b 2.

a 8. σῶφρονα: H. Steph., followed by Ast, inserted a καὶ before this word; Wagner would reject it as a marginal interpretation of πρεσβυτικήν; Schanz reads σωφρόνως. No change is needed. Stallb. aptly cps. 769 a ἡ πρεσβυτῶν ἔμφρων παιδιά; cp. also *Tim.* 59 d μέτριον ἂν ἐν τῷ βίῳ παιδιὰν καὶ φρόνιμον ποιοῖτο, where Plato is speaking of philosophic theorizing.—Burnet has cleared up a good deal of the difficulty of the passage by putting the comma after ἐξετάζοντας instead of after νόμων.—The participles σκοπ. καὶ ἐξ., which both govern τοῦτο, though grammatically subordinate to διελεῖν, really contain the main idea of the sentence. It reads as if, when he began it, he meant it to be merely δεῖ . . . ἡμᾶς τοῦτο σκ. καὶ ἐξ., π. ν. παίζειν παιδ. πρ. σῶφ., but changed it, as the further thought occurred, to παίζοντας διελεῖν κτλ.

b 4. For the omission of περί before τούτων cp. 635 a 7.—With

ταύτας supply πόλεις (rather than οἰκήσεις), and so with ἑτέρας two lines below.—οἱ . . . διακεκοσμήκασιν: the tense of the verb helps the quasi-personification of νόμοι, and is decidedly against taking τούτων as referring to persons; and the word might have been so taken without changing νόμων to νομοθετῶν, as Badham does (and τίν' to τίνων), simply by supposing ἡ τούτων to stand for ἡ περὶ τῶν νόμων τούτων (τῶν ἀνθρώπων).

**b 5.** εὐδοκιμωτέρων and μειζόνων both qualify πόλεων, and περί (so Ast for the MS. πέρι) governs κατοικίσεων (on which πόλεων depends).—For the plur. κατοικίσεων cp. ταῖς καταστάσεσιν τῶν πολιτειῶν at 684 b 5.—Steph. first corrected the MS. κατοικήσεων to κατοικίσεων. Ast and Stallb. take κατ. πολ. closely together, Ast translating the two words by “Staatsverfassungen.” A comparison of *Rep.* 497 b, μηδεμίαν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν νῦν κατάστασιν πόλεως φιλοσόφου φύσεως, might seem to suggest that κατοικίσεων πόλεων here are treated as a single noun, and that the adj. agree with them both, not with πόλεων alone; Adam in his note cps. *Prot.* 319 d and *Pol.* 296 e (ὀρθῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως).

**b 6.** As Ast says, ἀντί here means *in preference to*, as at *Phaedr.* 232 a (with αἰρεῖσθαι); cp. also *Tim.* 26 e 1 ἡ τίν' ἔτ' ἄλλον ἀντὶ τούτου ζητητέον, and *Gorg.* 526 e ὃν ἐγὼ φημι ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν ἐνθάδε ἀγώνων εἶναι.

**b 7–e 4.** At 684 a attention was called to the measures adopted by the Dorian states to secure internal stability; here we are concerned with their defence against a possible attack from without.

**b 7.** There is no δέ corresponding to this μέν, only the resuming δὴ in πρὸς δὴ ταῦτ' in d 2.

**c 2 f.** οἱ περὶ τὸ Ἴλιον οἰκοῦντες, and τῆ . . . δυνάμει τῆ περὶ Νῖνον γενομένη: we saw on 676 c 6 that περί c. gen., when joined to such words as αἰτία, μηχανή, μνήμη—i.e. such words as naturally take a dependent gen.—often stands in the place of a simple gen. Plato moreover often uses περί c. acc. as a substitute for the simple gen. after other kinds of noun. In other words περί c. gen. represents our *objective*, περί c. acc. (generally) a *possessive* gen.: In the two phrases given above we have a transitional stage, in which a *participle* is added to the περί; τῆ περὶ Νῖνον γενομένη is hardly to be distinguished in sense from τῆ τοῦ Νῖνου. Cp. below 690 d 6 οἱ περί τε Ἄργος καὶ Μεσσήνην βασιλεῖς. A similar periphrastic use of κατά may be observed in κατὰ γῆρας and κατὰ γένος at 692 a 1, which stand for *subjective* genitives.

**c 4.** θρασυνόμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἠγειραν τὸν ἐπὶ Τροίαν, “by



their insolent behaviour provoked the (Greek) expedition against Troy."

**c 5.** σχῆμα here used in the sense of *dignity, glory*; a poetical use, which is only general in late prose authors.

**c 6.** τὸ σωζόμενον, "while it lasted," lit. "which still lasted." — καθάπερ νῦν . . . καὶ τότε: "ad illustrandam sententiam superiorem quae afferuntur per comparationem, ea ἀσυνδέτως accedere solere non uno loco ostendimus: v. ad Gorg. 448 e, Rep. 497 b, 577 c, Crat. 433 a, Theaet. 173 d, Phaedon. 61 a, Legg. 628 d, 659 e" [as Stallb. stops the passage], "Pol. 296 e," Stallb.—who compares the "apposition" of the explanatory comparing clause to the apposition of single nouns. It is like the direct answer to a question, which needs no connecting link (cp. e.g. 685 a 2).

**c 7.** ἐκείνην τὴν συσταθείσαν σύνταξιν, "the united Assyrian Empire," Jowett. The selection of an expression, which would apply to the Dorian federation as well, suggests an equality of power on both sides.

**c 8 f.** μέγα . . . ἐγεγόνει, "for the fact that Troy had again been captured was a strong ground of complaint against the Greeks." The story of the first capture is told at *Il.* v. 640 ff. The analogy of ἐγκλήματα πρὸς ἀλλήλους at *Rep.* 464 d, and *Laws* 737 b shows that πρὸς *c. acc.* denotes not the people appealed to (here the Assyrians), but those appealed against. Even ἐγκαλεῖν can have πρὸς *c. acc.* instead of the ordinary dat.; cp. *Demod.* 384 e τοιαῦτα ἐγκαλοῦσιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

**d 1.** τῆς ἀρχῆς . . . μόριον: "hoc unde Plato hauserit, incertum," Stallb.

**d 2.** πρὸς δὲ ταῦτα πάντα, "propter haec omnia," Ast; better "to meet all these perils," "in the face of all this."— "ταῦτ' ἦν Schneider [and Hermann]; ταύτην A L O; ταῦτα vulg." Burnet. If it were not for the πάντα and the ὡς after καλῶς in d 5, it would be simpler (omitting πάντα and ὡς) to adopt the MS. ταύτην. The ὡς may plausibly be ousted, as Steph. suggested, and as Ficinus seems to have read; and though πάντα might conceivably be a mistake for a ταῦτα which had been written in the margin as a variant for ταύτην, such a variant was not likely to be suggested unless the πάντα had been already in the text. As the πάντα is there, and as Ast is no doubt right in denying that it can be construed with ἀνηυρημένη καὶ κατ. as *omni ex parte*, Schneider and Hermann's emendation must be regarded as certain.

**d 4.** The μία and the ἀδελφῶν bring into prominence the

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**e 6.** The order of the words in this sentence is peculiar. (For the τό which goes with οἶσθαι cp. *Rep.* 498 d 6 τὸ μέντοι μὴ πείθεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις τοὺς πολλοὺς θαῦμα οὐδέν.) “Is it not also likely that they should think that the arrangement would be a stable one, and would be likely to last?” (Badham’s alteration of the first καὶ to διὰ does not give the right sense.)

**686 a 1.** αὐτούς: i.e. the οἱ τότε of 685 b 7 (and e 4), the Dorians of the time.—ταῦθ’: the Dorian federation or empire.

**a 3.** A has διακεκοσμηῆσθαι and this is given as a variant in O, though O and L read διακεκοσμημένους. A break in the construction, which goes on as if an “and they reflected” had been interposed before this and the following inf. κεχρημένους εἶναι, is a quite natural method of varying a chain of participles. Those who read διακεκοσμημένους have to do something with the εἶναι in a 4. Badham, followed by Schanz, strikes it out; Apelt, p. 5, would read οἶμαι for it, Madvig ἀεί.—The three things that made it reasonable to expect that the Dorian federation would be firm and lasting were: (1) the memory of common exploits, (2) the kinship of their rulers, and (3) the fact that they were assured, by the oracles that they had consulted, of the blessing of Heaven. And yet, as we learn from the following paragraphs, these glorious prospects soon vanished. Sparta alone maintained the Dorian tradition, and that was weakened by constant conflict with the two other members of the Confederacy.

**b 2.** μέχρι τὰ νῦν: the τὰ is supported by all MSS., and by a marginal note in O stating that it existed “in all copies.” Steph. corrected it to τοῦ, and Schanz followed him.—ἐπεί, “and yet,” “though”; cp. above on 669 b 6, and 875 c 3.

**b 3.** γενομένη γε ἢ τότε διάνοια, “if the plan had been carried out.”—καὶ συμφωνήσασα εἰς ἓν, “and if the confederacy had been unanimous.” There is a slight zeugma here; the *plan* was that of a confederacy, and the *carrying out* of the plan involves the existence of the confederacy, and it is with this that, in sense, συμφωνήσασα agrees.

**b 8.** There is much to be said for Ast’s (and Badham’s) ἄλλοσε for the MS. ἄλλο; “by looking elsewhere” fits in much better with the rest of the sentence than “by looking at anything else,” or “at any other σύστημα”; and the omission of the σε is a likely mistake.—The ἄλλας, and the ἀμελήσειε τούτων are both *redundant*.—Is it not possible that the words ἄλλο<σε> σκοπῶν were not written by Plato, but by a commentator?

**c 1.** σωζούσας: the Ath. (speaking from the general Hellenic

point of view) thinks of what Hellas had *lost* in being disappointed of a powerful champion; the Spartan, on the other hand, thinks more of the *καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα*—the great tradition, that his own state had kept alive; and so he puts this consideration first.

**c 4.** *τοῦτο*: adverbial, “in this case, here.” Cp. 677 d 1, *ταῦτα* at 700 d 1, and *καὶ τοῦτο* at *Apol.* 29 b (where Burnet however follows Eusebius in reading *καίτοι* against the MSS. and Stobaeus).

**c 7 ff.** *ἄρ’ οὖν . . . διανοηθῶσιν*, “my good sir, can it be that we have fallen unawares into a common mistake? Everybody, when he contemplates some event or production that has excited his admiration, thinks ‘what a good thing! it might have produced marvellous results, if people had only known how to take a proper advantage of it!’ Is it not possible that, on this occasion, *we* may form wrong and untrue ideas about this very subject?—just as any men may on any other subject, about which they should think as I have above described?”—Instead of directly continuing this “satisfactory” investigation into the mistakes in the Dorian laws and constitution, the Ath. here interposes a caution—which he dramatically confesses (at d 7 f.) that he needs himself—against being dazzled by mere *power* or *force*—as if it were the great object, with the state or man, *to be strong enough to do as he likes in the world*. It is not enough to be strong enough to defy the Persians; you must be *wise* as well. Even if the Dorians had known how to maintain their empire, it might not have been for their own or their neighbours’ good. This protest is, as he says, quite on the same lines as the deprecation of the cultivation of mere *bravery* in Bk. I.—The construction, as in a 3, is broken in the middle; the *δέ* in d 1 corresponds to the *μέν* after *οἰόμενοι*, but it introduces, not a participle, as we should expect, but a finite verb.

**d 1.** Cobet would reject *καλῶς* and *τινα*, but this impoverishes the clause: *κατὰ τινα τρόπον* implies “in a way which the (imagined) speaker could specify”; the *ἄρα* in c 9 “imagines” the speaker.—*τό* is best taken with *νῦν*, and not adverbially with *δέ*, as Stallb.

**d 3.** *οὔτε κατὰ φύσιν*, “and against the natural course of things,” “contrary to the law of the universe.” Cp. 682 a 2, 642 a 3 *ἢ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῦ διόρθωσις*.

**d 5.** Naturally Megillus takes some time to see what the Ath. is driving at.

**d 7.** For the tense of *κατεγέλασα* cp. *ἐμνήσθην* 688 a 3.

**d 8.** *ἀποβλέψας γὰρ . . . ἔδοξέ μοι*: a typical conversational irregularity; cp. 811 c 7.—*στόλος* here, like *στρατόπεδον* below at 687 a 5, seems used, not merely of the Dorian *army* but, of the Dorian nation, and the terms are chosen because the nation had a military organization; cp. 666 e 1 *στρατοπέδου γὰρ πολιτείαν ἔχετε*.

**d 9.** I strongly suspect that we ought to insert *ἄν* somewhere; probably after *θαυμαστόν*. If we do not, we must supply, in sense, after *Ἑλλησιν*: “or *would* have been.”

**e 2.** Megillus is still quite in the dark. “What,” he says, “wasn’t there sense in all we have been saying?” “Maybe,” answers the Ath.

**e 5.** *ἔπαθε*: a gnomic aorist in a dependent sentence is a rarity.—*ἔπαθε τοῦτο, ὡς*: the brachylogy is less remarkable in English if we translate *ἔπαθε* “feels.” It is, at any rate, far less irregular than the passage in *Phaedo* 75 b—*ἐκέισε ἀνοίσειν, ὅτι προθυμείται κτλ.*—with which Stallb., after Heindorf, compares it.

**e 8.** The word *εὐδαιμονοῖ* (cp. the use of *εὐδαίμων* above at 662 d 4) first gives the key to the ground of the Ath.’s objection. He has called a halt, because they were in danger of thinking that the lost opportunity necessarily meant the loss of national “happiness.” There were other ways of missing that, besides not being strong enough.

**687 a 1.** Still Megillus does not see. “What is the harm of that?” he says.

**a 2 ff.** The question now started is: “what are the limits to the advantages to be derived from mere power and force?”—*ποῖ βλέπων . . . ὀρθῶς λέγει*: i.e. “*by what prospects* is the praise justified?” This question is not directly answered. Indirectly Megillus (at e 5 ff.) is brought to see the answer.

**a 4.** *κατὰ τρόπον*: cp. 635 d 7.

**a 4 f.** *πῶς . . . τοῦ καιροῦ πως ἄν ἔτυχον*; “how, exactly, would they have made the best they could out of the situation.” Winckelmann’s *πῶς ἄν ἔτυχον* goes very well by itself, but not after the preceding *πῶς*; nor does Hermann establish the second *πῶς* by reading the first as an enclitic, and taking it with *λεγομένου*: the subject has not been encountered by chance. (He translates: “*de ipso cujus nescio quomodo nunc mentio incidit.*”) On the other hand the enclitic (*pace* Badham) is very much in place where it stands. It gives just the *general* significance to *τοῦ καιροῦ ἄν ἔτυχον* which shows us that we are not to apply these words merely to the utilizing of the opportunity spoken of

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**b 6.** εἶπεν : another gnomic aorist.—πρὸς τοῦτο βλέπων εἶπεν, “the prospect which makes him say so is . . .”—ὡς . . . γενησόμενα . . . πάντα : a clear instance of an acc. absolute—*attracted* perhaps into the case of τοῦτο.

**c 1.** Ast writes ἔστι.

**c 2.** I quite agree with Stallbaum that the words ὡς αὐτός φησιν ὁ λόγος would be better away; they must be due to a commentator, who put them in, either as an explanation, or as a parallel passage.—ἐν τι = “definite.” I would translate: “all men have in common, as a definite object of desire, that which the argument has just brought out.”

**c 11.** εὐχοίμεθα ἀναγκαίως A, εὐχόμεθα ἀναγκαίως L O, and this was long the vulgate; the restoration of the lost ἄν between the two words of A is due to a marginal note of Cod. Voss., and was first printed by Bekker.

**d 1.** τοῖς γε φίλοις : it is here ingeniously hinted that, though each of us may think it an admirable thing for ourselves to be able to do as we like, we may yet see clearly that it is not always good for our friends to have this power. For instance, fathers would not grant it to their sons, nor, e.g., would a son in Hippolytus’s position grant it to his father. This suggestion completely opens Megillus’s eyes, and he sees the Ath.’s drift; he was beginning to see it at d 9.—ταῦτα : “acute demonstravit Boeckhius ταῦτα non esse in ταῦτὰ commutandum,” Stallb. “Ταῦτὰ flagitat canon Cobetianus,” Schanz; but he reads ταῦτα.

**d 2.** It is curious to note that A reads ἐαυτοῖσιν, but L and O αὐτοῖς, though O mentions the former as a variant.

**d 4.** παῖς ὢν ἀνδρί, “though one is a boy and the other a man.”

**d 9.** For the parenthetical λέγεις, “you mean,” or “you would say,” cp. *Crat.* 421 c 7, and *Philebus* 49 a 9.

**d 10.** It is impossible to give the force of these words in the absence of an English word which, like νεανίας, means both *young* and *hot-headed*. The ἔτι νέος (ὢν) is, by implication, “because he is too young,” so the γέρων ὢν is “because he is too old,” and so Jowett’s “in the dotage of age, or the heat of youth” comes near to the Greek.—ἢ καί, “or perhaps.”

**e 1.** μηδὲν τῶν καλῶν καὶ τῶν δικαίων γιγνώσκων, “quite blind to the right and justice of the case”; and at e 3 ὁ δὲ παῖς γιγνώσκη is, “while the son is *not* blind.”—As is usual with Plato’s illustrations, there is a special appositeness in Theseus’s case, for it was by a *wish* that the fatal result was produced.

**e 2.** I think *παθήμασιν* is used here, as at 681 d 8, and 695 e 3, in the sense of “*circumstances*,” “*plight*,” though the analogy of 812 c 3 *ἐν τοῖς παθήμασιν ὅταν ψυχὴ γίγνηται* tells in favour of the meaning “*emotions*”: *τοῖς γενομένοις Θησεῖ πρὸς . . . Ἰππόλυτον* is more naturally taken as “which befel Th. in relation to Hipp.,” than “which overcame Th. in reference to Hippolytus.”

**e 7.** The utmost apparently that can be got out of the MS. reading *τὴν βούλησιν δὲ μηδὲν μᾶλλον τ. ἐ. φ.* is “without praying that his desire should any the more be in accordance with his own reason.” (Jowett’s “for his wish may be at variance with his reason” cannot be got out of any of the readings.) As, however, A L O all give *πολὺ* as a variant for *μηδὲν*, and as in A there is a gap before *μηδὲν* which may well have held *πολὺ*, we may perhaps (with Schanz and Burnet) substitute *πολὺ* for *μηδὲν*, and thus obtain a more natural meaning. At the same time the question must be faced: how did *μηδὲν* come there if it was not what Plato wrote? Also *τοῦτο δέ* looks like the *main* antithesis to *οὐ τοῦτο* in e 5 f., and perhaps with *μηδὲν μᾶλλον* we might translate, “unless at the same time he prays that his desire should be in accordance with his own reason.”

**e 8.** The following words do more than repeat what has just been said if we read *πολύ*; having said that it is far more desirable that the wish should harmonize with wisdom, he now adds that the *one thing* we ought to pray for—whether for men or for states—is that our wisdom may be great.—*δεῖν σπεύδειν* (as active) corresponds precisely to *ἐπεικτέον ἐστί* (as passive).

**688 a 1.** *ἄνδρα νομοθέτην*: for the simple *νομοθέτην*, like *ἀθλητοῦ ἀνδρός* at *Rep.* 620 b 7. Ast unnecessarily inserted *καὶ* before *νομ.*, and Schanz, equally unnecessarily, rejected the word altogether.—It is best to take the *ὡς* clause not as dependent on a *λέγειν* supplied from the above *λέγειν δοκεῖς* but on the following *ἐμνήσθην*; I would therefore put no comma at *νόμων*, but would insert one after *ἐμνήσθην*, to mark that *καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐπαναμνησκῶ* has the *ὅτι* clause (in a 4) as object: “I not only am reminded myself that a statesmanlike lawgiver ought always etc. . . . but I would further (ἐπ-) remind you,” etc.

**a 2.** *τοῦτο*: i.e. the need for, and the need for encouraging, *νοῦς* or *φρόνησις*.

**a 3.** For the tense of *ἐμνήσθην* cp. *κατεγέλασα* 686 d 7. Neil on *Ar. Eq.* 696 says aorists of instantaneous action are almost confined to the dramatists.—*κατ’ ἀρχὰς . . . λεχθέντα* is



parenthetical, and should be so marked—He uses the 1st pers. because it is a reminder to them all.

**a 4.** τὸ μὲν σφῶν . . . παρακείμεμα: for the gen. taking the place of a possessive pron. cp. 631 a 2 σοῦ τὴν μὲν ἐπιχείρησιν, and 822 d 8 ἡμῶν ἐμπέπτωκεν τοῖς λόγοις.

**a 6.** τὸ δὲ ἐμὸν ἔλεγον: in a note on 643 a 3 Ast classes together cases in which, as there, the neuter possessive pron. has its verb in the 3rd pers. (e.g. 723 b, 778 e, *Rep.* 533 a, *Lach.* 188 c, *Ar. Eccl.* 393) with those in which, as here, and at 860 c, and *Theaet.* 161 e, the verb is in the same person as that of the pronoun. He lays it down that in all these cases the neut. poss. is a periphrasis for the personal pronoun. I suggest that it is better to take the neut. poss. in the latter class of cases as adverbial—“as for me,” “for my part.” (Stallb. says that we ought to supply παρακείμεμα with τὸ ἐμὸν—“while I uttered my injunction.”)—τοῦτο μὲν: possibly adverbial (cp. 686 c 4, 677 d 1, 700 c 8), possibly agreeing with παρακείμεμα understood—which anyhow is the subject to κελεύει.

**b 1 f.** μάλιστα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πρώτην, “but most of all and first of all he should have in mind” etc. Stobaeus, apparently quoting from memory, omits καί and writes καί in the place of the τήν.

**b 2.** συμπάσης ἡγεμόνα ἀρετῆς: cp. 631 c 6, 963 a 8.

**b 3.** δόξα μετ’ ἔρωτός τε καὶ ἐπιθυμίας τούτοις ἐπομένης: these words are best understood through a comparison of the contrasted state of mind described at 689 b 5 ff. ὅπότεν καλοὶ ἐν ψυχῇ λόγοι ἐνόητες μηδὲν ποιῶσιν πλέον. The *right view* must be accompanied by a *passionate desire* to see it acted on and enforced.

**b 4.** The asyndeton is of the *explanatory* kind; cp. on 685 c 6. “The fact is that.”—It is instructive to note that there was a variant ὃ ἔλεγον ἐγώ, mentioned and condemned by O, for ὃ λέγων ἐγώ.—He means that he affirms as strongly as ever the need of νοῦς.

**b 6.** εἰ δ’ is Boeckh’s incontestably right correction of the MS. εἴθ’. For the sense cp. 636 c 1 καὶ εἴτε παίζοντα εἴτε σπουδάζοντα ἐννοεῖν δεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα. In both cases he means that it is with him more than a mere “academic” opinion—such, e.g., as he would uphold in the course of their παιδιὰ πρεσβευτικὴ σῶφρων (685 a 7); he is strongly impressed with the necessity of carrying it out in practice. In other words, the notion is one which would stand the test of practical experience. We may well suppose that the Ath.’s earnestness here suggested to one of his

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to the argument as it proceeds," "if you let the λόγος guide you (in the future)"; cp. d 4.

c 3. If βασιλέων is correct, φθορᾶς must be taken in a general sense, as *downfall*, not in the special sense of *death*. Very likely, though, Boeckh was right in altering βασιλέων to βασιλειῶν; cp. 684 a 2.

c 4. διανοήματος: called at 686 b 3 ἡ τότε διανοία, "the (imperial) idea," or "scheme."

c 5. τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον: cp. on 685 c 2 ff., also below c 7.

c 6. All modern editors adopt a late MS. (Ven. Marc. 184) reading προσῆκεν for the clumsy προσήκειν of the best MSS.—τῆ λοιπῇ δὲ πάσῃ κακίᾳ, "but by their manifold faults of another kind"; for πάσῃ cp. 637 a 3, 676 c 1.

c 7. διεφθαρμένα agrees with τοὺς βασιλεῖς (or τὰς βασιλείας) and τὸ διανόημα understood.

d 2. εἴ που: for the ellipsis of the γίγνεται cp. *Rep.* 497 e 2 οὐ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀλλ' εἶπερ, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι διακωλεύσει, and *Arist. Nub.* 226 f. ἔπειτ' ἀπὸ ταρροῦ τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπερφρονεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, εἶπερ. There is no need, with Bekker; to read εἴ που γίγνεται, γίγνεται. Cp. the similar, but more remarkable, ellipsis of γενομένας at *Phaedr.* 267 d 2 ἀπολύσασθαι διαβολὰς ὅθεν δὴ κράτιστος.

d 5. ὡς οὖσιν φίλοις, "for the friendship I bear you."

d 6. ἐπαχθέστερον, "would be distasteful to you" (and therefore we won't do it).

d 8. ἐν οἷς: quite general; "and that is where," i.e. in *conduct* rather than in words.—I have adopted Ast's ἐλευθέρως for the MS. ἐλεύθερος, not merely because the sentence runs better so, but because it gives us a better sense: "if you compare *words* with *actions*, you will soon see which *praise* is of the highest quality," comes in better here than: "the man of right feeling is never shown in his true character more clearly than by whether, in such circumstances, he praises or does not praise." Nor can we get a better sense by taking καὶ μὴ with ἐλεύθερος.

e 3. Stobaeus, in quoting this passage, has δὲ before δῆ, but the asyndeton is more impressive.

e 5. ταῦτὸν τοῦτο πεφυκέναι ποιεῖν, "must inevitably produce the same effect."—τόν γε νομοθέτην: Ast on 643 a 6, and Heindorf on *Phaedr.* 272 e have collected many instances of this "Attic," and, as Heindorf says, peculiarly "Platonic" acc. with verbals in -τέον.

e 7. ἄνοιαν: another name for ἀμαθία. Boeckh, on the

grounds (1) that Ficinus translates the word here, and at 689 b 3, and 691 d 1, by *ignorantiam*, and (2) that Plato elsewhere couples ἄγνοια with ἀμαθία (*Lysis* 218 a, *Soph.* 229 c, *Theaet.* 176 c, *Prot.* 360 b, *Alc. I.* 118 a), concludes that ἄγνοιαν was what Plato wrote here. But, of the passages quoted, those from the *Sophist* and the *Theaetetus* do not support the view that in his later writings Plato used ἄγνοια and ἀμαθία as synonymous. In these two passages he denotes a special kind of ἄγνοια by the name of ἀμαθία, distinctly adding, in the former passage, that there are other kinds of ἄγνοια which could not be so called. Moreover, one of the arguments by which Ast supports Boeckh's view is that Plato opposes ἄγνοια to νοῦς, and ἀμαθία to φρόνησις. This does not sever ἄγνοια from ἀμαθία here; for, just above, νοῦς and φρόνησις have themselves been used as synonymous (688 b 2). Again, the definition of ἀμαθία given in 689 a corresponds much better with the general meaning of ἄγνοια than with that of ἀμαθία, however likely may be restitution of the latter word in some passages; e.g. (?) *Laws* 819 d 2, *Phil.* 38 a, and 48 c, where Burnet prints it against MS. authority.—For the use of ἄγνοια cp. *Theaet.* 176 e 5 ὑπὸ ἡλιθιότητος τε καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας λανθάνουσι τῷ μὲν ὁμοιούμενοι διὰ τὰς ἀδίκους πράξεις, τῷ δὲ ἀνομοιούμενοι.

**689 a 5.** The τήν goes with the sentence ὅταν . . . ἀσπάζηται, which is felt to be in apposition to ἀμαθίαν and so to be the equivalent of a noun.—δόξαν: this may well have been (Schanz says *was*) the original reading of A; but it was altered in that MS. to δόξη, which is the reading of L and O and Stobaeus. Some late MSS., however, recovered the correct reading. The absolute neut. part. is necessary to the sense of the sentence.

**a 7.** The διαφωνία is not, of course, between pleasure and pain, but between these two sensations, and rational (or philosophical) opinion. It is the opposite of the συμφωνία spoken of at d 5.

**a 9.** μεγίστην δέ, ὅτι τοῦ πλήθους ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, “and it is of very wide extent, because it resides in the main division of the soul.”

**b 1.** ὅπερ δῆμός τε καὶ πλῆθος πόλεως ἐστὶ, “corresponds to the *commons*, or *multitude* in a city.”

**b 2.** ὅταν . . . ἡ ψυχὴ: when, that is, in the soul, viewed as a sort of community, power gets into the hands of the multitude, instead of into those of the men who are fit to rule.

**b 4.** In form the τε after πόλεως connects θείην ἄν with

προσαγορεύω; in reality the second statement is not so much an addition to, as an amplification of, the first.

**b 5.** ταῦτόν: this is used adverbially, in the sense of ὡσαντῶς—“equally in the case of a city and in the case of a single man.” (O omits the καὶ before δὴ, which shows that the writer did not understand ταῦτόν; καὶ is added in the margin of O, and is found in A and Eus. and Stob.—Badham would reject ἡ ψυχὴ in b 3.)

**b 7.** ταῦτας, if singular, would probably have been neuter; cp. above τοῦτο ἄνοιαν προσαγορεύω.

**c 1.** ἀλλ’ οὐ τὰς τῶν δημιουργῶν: i.e. “I should *not* call the ἀμαθία of a hand-worker the worst kind of ἀμαθία.” In other words, it is a far worse evil for an unwise man to have his way as against the rulers of the state, than for a cobbler to mend shoes badly. Cp. what is said below at d 3 about the relative unimportance of the inability to read or swim.

**c 6.** τοῦτο . . . λεγόμενον, “this much then we are clear about, and will constantly affirm.” The perf. part. expresses the making up of the mind once for all; the pres. λεγόμενον the readiness to declare the opinion whenever it should be necessary. (Badham would read λελεγμένον, Schanz brackets καὶ λεγόμενον because Theodoret omits it, and Eusebius puts it after ἐχόμενον.)

**c 7.** A L and O and all other MSS. of Plato have ταῦτα μανθάνουσι. Eusebius, in his quotation of the passage, preserved nearly the right reading—he has ταῦτα ἀμαθαίνουσι—which is found first in a late hand in the margin of A and some other MSS. Stobaeus quotes it as εἰς ταῦτα ἀμανθάνουσι (see below d 9)—εἰς also Boeckh, as a conjecture.—For the acc. of the inner object ταῦτα (“in these respects”) cp. *Soph.* 228 b 3 ἐν ψυχῇ δόξας ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ θυμὸν ἡδοναῖς καὶ λόγον λύπαις καὶ πάντα ἀλλήλοις ταῦτα τῶν φλαύρως ἐχόντων οὐκ ἡσθήμεθα διαφερόμενα; where ταῦτα διαφερόμενα means “thus differing” (πάντα does not go with ταῦτα). Ast cps. 700 d ταῦτ’ οὖν οὕτω τεταγμένως ἤθελεν ἄρχεσθαι τῶν πολιτῶν τὸ πλῆθος.

**c 8.** I think it is better to put a comma after ἐχόμενον, so that ἂν καὶ κτλ. may refer specially to ὡς ἀμαθέσιν ὄνειδιστέον. (So at d 2 ff. the commendation of wisdom goes with the *absence* of intellectual qualification.)

**c 9.** πάνυ λογιστικοί: what we should call “senior wranglers.”

**d 1.** διαπεπονημένοι (ᾧσι) is best taken as middle, governing both πάντα τὰ κομψά and ἅπαντα ὅσα πρὸς τάχος τῆς ψυχῆς πεφυκότα (ἐστί)—“and have perfected themselves in all the accomplishments and dexterities of which the mind is capable.”

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**d 6.** We should not be far wrong in saying that here, as in the passages of the *Republic* cited above, the *συμφωνία* spoken of is what Plato elsewhere calls *σωφροσύνη*. He definitely explains that it consists of a *state of mind*, not in the character of a man's deeds, which might be rightly done from a wrong motive.

**d 8.** ὁ δὲ ἀπολειπόμενος: sc. τῆς σοφίας (not, as Jowett, τοῦ λόγου; he translates "he who is devoid of reason").—περὶ πόλιν: a variety for πόλεως, which admits of being joined to ἀμαθαίνων in sense, as well as to σωτήρ.

**d 9.** πᾶν τοῦναντίον, "far from it!" The contrast between σωτήρ and ἀμαθαίνων is not that of logical opposites, but of incongruities.—εἰς ταῦτα must mean the same as the ταῦτα at c 7; i.e. "in this respect."

**e 2.** λελεγμένα τεθήτω ταύτη: λελεγμένα here corresponds to and sums up the δεδογμένον καὶ λεγόμενον above, as the τεθήτω corresponds to the κείσθω. •

**e 4.** We now pass to a different subject; i.e. the various "titles," as a lawyer would call them, by which rule is exercised. The δὲ (for which A first wrote τε, and afterwards corrected it to δὲ, which is what Stobæus has) marks the thought which serves to pass from one subject to the other: i.e. "men without σοφία must *not* rule, but rulers we must have, all the same."

**690 a 1.** ἀξιώματα . . . τοῦ τε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι: ἀξίωμα is used from the point of view of the ruler. It is his *title*, or *claim* to the position; so that the addition of ἄρχεσθαι constitutes a *zeugma*. The claim is that *he* should rule and others should *be* ruled. Hence we may translate: "titles to rule and obedience," or "claims to rule and to be obeyed." This furnishes a better explanation of the genitives πατρός and μητρός than if we took ἀξίωμα to mean *ratio*, with Ast, who translates "*ratio de patre et matre*." (So Jowett, who translates it "*principle*."—Ficinus seems to have read πατέρα τε καὶ μητέρα, and Badham conjectures πατέρας τε καὶ μητέρας.)

**a 2.** The connecting links need attention. The τε after the first ἔν does not go with the next καί, which means *or*, but with the τε after the second ἔν. The τε in τό τε, again, does not go with the καί next to it (which possibly also means *or*—see above on 680 e 2), but with the καί before ὅλως.

**a 4.** The second of the two statements thus connected by τε and καί is almost a repetition of the first; γονέας puts πατρός καὶ μητρός in a slightly more general form, and ἐκγόνων suggests a second or even a third generation as added to those who are to obey.

**b 6.** Cl. “A most compelling kind of rule, that” (i.e. “superior strength is indeed an unanswerable claim”).

Ath. “Yes, and all over the animal kingdom it is the commonest kind of rule, and Pindar tells us that it is so ordained by Nature.”

**b 8.** Pindar’s words, as quoted at *Gorg.* 484 b (where see Thompson’s note)—and referred to at *Gorg.* 488 b and *Laws* 714 e and 890 a—do not contain the words *κατὰ φύσιν* or *φύσει*, though there, c 1, in expounding them, Plato uses the word *φύσει*, and at 488 b τὸ κατὰ φύσιν. Also, as Boeckh says, Hesychius has Νόμος πάντων ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὴν φύσιν. All these references point to the fact that Pindar spoke of “club-law” as “Nature’s” law—in Wordsworth’s words, “the good old rule”—and make it extremely likely that Boeckh (p. 178) was right in supposing that *κατὰ φύσιν* had dropped out at *Gorg.* 484 b 6 after *φησίν*. (Ast, agreeing with de Geer in thinking that *κατὰ φύσιν* is too prosaic an expression to have occurred in Pindar, conjectures that *φύσει* is what has fallen out.)—Both here and at 890 a, it will be seen that Plato is not content with Pindar’s dictum.—τὸ δὲ . . . πεφυκυῖαν, “but there is a sixth title to rule which is the greatest of all; that which ordains that the ignorant must follow, and the wise must lead and direct. And yet in this case (τοῦτο), O most sapient poet, I would venture to affirm that that which is really (πεφυκυῖαν) the rule of law over willing subjects, where no compulsion is necessary, is not against Nature; it is Nature’s own arrangement.”

**c 1.** τοῦτο is probably adverbial; cp. 677 d 1 and 686 c 4: literally, “in the case of,” or “about *this* title.” The rule of *law* must always be, if the law is rightly made (by the common sense of the community—ἐκόντων), the rule of wisdom (cp. below, 714 a 2 τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ἐπονομάζοντας νόμον), and the excellence of the governed is to acquiesce in it; and excellence in man or community is, of course, what Nature demands.

**c 3.** The words ἀλλ’ οὐ βίαιον mark the contrast with the rule of *force* described above. (Stallb. takes τὴν . . . ἀρχήν as in apposition to φύσιν; explaining that it is *nature’s law*, not *force* that makes the ignorant obey the wise. But it is impossible so to explain away τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἀρχήν. It is possible, with Ast, to take τοῦτο and τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἀρχήν to be in apposition.)—Cp. Hdt. iii. 38 ὀρθῶς μοι δοκείει Πίνδαρος ποιῆσαι νόμον πάντων βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι.

**c 5.** The seventh title to rule, which depends on the decision



of the *lot*, is θεοφιλής, because the lot is believed to be the pronouncement of the divine will. The ruler too, himself, may be supposed to be the favourite of heaven. Cp. *Phil.* 39 e 10 δίκαιος ἀνὴρ εὐσεβῆς καὶ ἀγαθὸς πάντως ἀρ' οὐ θεοφιλῆς ἐστίν;

c 6. εἰς κληρόν τινα προάγομεν: the words are difficult. I think they mean, "we bring (the seventh kind of ruler) before the tribunal of the lot in some form." Cp. 741 b 5 ὁ νείμας κληρὸς ὦν θεός.

c 7. ἀπιόντα ἄρχεσθαι, "to take his place among the governed."—For the article with δικαιοτάτον cp. 624 a 3.

d 1 ff. "From all this," the Ath. proceeds, "we may see that the right to govern is not so simple as a man might think, and that there are so many kinds of claims to be a governor, that there may well arise discord in a state from their conflict. However, our immediate business is to see what was the rock on which the governors of our primitive Dorian community split."

d 2. παίζοντες πρὸς, "addressing our speculations to"; cp. on παίζω and παιδιά above on 685 a 6 f. The idea is that of "joining in the game" with the constitution-mongers.

d 3. πρὸς ἄρχοντας: πρὸς is difficult; apparently it is "which apply to" or "belong to, rulers," a rather curious variety of expression for the (ἀξιώματα) τοῦ τε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι of a 1. (Madvig would read περὶ for πρὸς, and Schanz follows him; but all difficulty does not vanish then.)—ὅτι: an adverbial neuter; "in what respect," i.e. "how inconsistent they all are with each other." And he goes on to say that his light-hearted framer of schemes of government will find these conflicting claims very hard to reconcile.

d 5. θεραπεύειν is probably a medical metaphor: "treat."

d 6. πῶς τε καὶ τί παρὰ ταῦτα ἀμαρτόντες: i.e. which of these rights were outraged, or strained, by the kings of Argos and Messene.—For περί c. acc. in place of a gen. cp. above on 685 c 2 and 688 c 5. We thus get back to the question which was put in 684 e 7, and again at 686 b 6, though here the scope is narrowed.

e 1 ff. We have here an example of the nice applicability of Plato's illustrations. It is precisely the *halving* of the *whole* power that saves the Lacedaemonian dynasty. His readers, too, may well have remembered that βασιλῆας δωροφάγους are mentioned in the immediately preceding lines of Hesiod—*Op. et D.* 38 f. (And yet Zeller could say that the quotation was not an apt one here!)

e 2. ἀγνοήσαντες answers in proper form the question τί

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v. 35. 10 κελεύειν Ἀρισταγόρην ξυρήσαντά μιν τὰς τρίχας κατιδέσθαι ἐς τὴν κεφαλὴν.—ὑμῖν: because he included Megillus's fellow-countrymen; "what was done among you Spartans."—It is better to take ῥάδιον with ἔστιν, than to take the latter word to mean "it is possible," and supply another ἔστί with ῥάδιον.

b 11. τὸ σαφέστατον: the same use of the article as at 690 c 7. So we might say "that is what is certain," instead of "that is certain."

c 1. Nearly all modern editors agree with Stallb. in rejecting δύναμιν, which all MSS. have after ἐλάττοσι; "manifestum illud grammatici interpolamentum, qui μείζονα neutrum pluralis esse nollet," Herm.

c 2. A first wrote παριεῖς, but corrected it to παρεῖς, which is the reading of O and Stobaeus.—παρεῖς τὸ μέτριον, "paying no regard to proportion." Cp. *Phil.* 64 d 9 μέτρου καὶ τῆς συμμετρίας φύσεως. There is the same quasi-moral significance attaching to the word μέτριος (whether used in the sense of "not excessive in either direction," or in that of "suited to," "proportioned to," i. q. σύμμετρος, which again is used occasionally in the first sense of μέτριος) as there is to συμφωνία; cp. *Phil.* 64 e 6 μετριότης γὰρ καὶ συμμετρία κάλλος δήπου καὶ ἀρετὴ πανταχοῦ συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι.

c 3. ἀνατρέπεται πάντα: not "complete ruin results," but "ruin results in every case"; τὰ μὲν is, in effect, "in the case of the overfed body," and τὰ δέ "in the case of the overbalanced ψυχή." (Cp. *Julius Caesar*, II. i. 18, "The abuse of greatness is, when it disjoins Remorse from power.")—With ἐξυβρίζοντα used metaphorically of bodily disorder cp. our "proud" flesh. We might perhaps translate: "breaking out here in rank flesh, and there in rank insolence (with its offspring outrage)."

c 4. With ὕβρεως ἔκγονον ἀδικίαν cp. *Soph. O.T.* 873 ὕβρις φυτεύει τύραννον, which very likely was in the writer's mind.—πίπτει is given in the margin of A as a variant for θεῖ, and may even have once stood in the text. (θεῖ seems to be a metaphor from the race-course, and not merely an application of the idea of swift movement, as is probably the case in the English expressions *run to seed*, *run riot*.)

c 7. καί is *or*; i. e. both *experience* and a sense of *responsibility* are necessary, if disaster is to be avoided.

d 1. ὥστε μὴ . . . φίλων, "without getting its faculties thoroughly infected with the deadly disease of folly, and (thus) alienating its closest friends."—πληρωθεῖσα: in connexion with

νόσον this word probably has something of the meaning of *infect*, which belongs to ἀναπίμπλημι and ἀνάπλεως: cp. *Rep.* 496 d ὁρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους καταπιμπλαμένους ἀνομίας.—As to its case, the infin. with ὥστε, like other infins., has its subject in the nom. where it is identical with the subj. of the verb on which the infin. depends. Cp. *Xen. Hell.* iv. 8. 32 Ἀναξίβιος μέντοι φίλων αὐτῷ γενομένων τῶν ἐφόρων, διεπράξατο ὥστε αὐτὸς ἐκπλεῖσαι ἀρμοστῆς εἰς Ἀβυδον.

**d 2.** αὐτῆς: i.e. τῆς ψυχῆς.—διάνοια is the intelligence, or thinking power of the man; ψυχή being used something in the way in which we say ‘soul’ for ‘man,’ when we say “there was not a *soul* there.” (Badham would read αὐτὴν δι’ ἀνοίαν.)

**d 3.** διέφθειρεν: gnomic aorist.—αὐτήν: i.e. τὴν θνητῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν.

**d 4.** τοῦτο . . . νομοθετῶν, “it would take a great lawgiver so to be inspired with a sense of fitness as to guard against this.” At b 1 τί (with εὐλαβηθῆναι) was the *acc. of the inner object*; here τοῦτο (with εὐλαβηθῆναι) is *acc. of thing guarded against*.

**d 5.** ὡς οὖν . . . τὸ δ’ εἴκειν εἶναι: I have adopted Burnet’s stopping and arrangement of this passage (he puts a comma after γερόμενον, a colon after τοπάσαι, reads τὸ δ’ for τόδ’ and puts a — after εἶναι), and take γερόμενον to be an *absolute* construction, and ὡς . . . γερόμενον as dependent on τοπάσαι, in the same way that at 624 a 7 ὡς τοῦ Μίνω φοιτῶντος depends on λέγεις: “we can at the present day form a reasonable conjecture that this end was then secured” (i.e. that the danger *was* guarded against). “But in point of fact, there seems to have been—” Cl. “What?” Ath. “a special providence watching over you,” etc. For the τὸ δ’ cp. 684 c 7, 731 e 3, *Apol.* 23 a, *Rep.* 340 d 7. (It seems to me that the passage would gain in directness if we read γενομένων: “that there were great lawgivers at that day we have now every reason to conjecture; but no *legislator* could have arranged for the birth of twins.”) (Ast put in τὸ before τότε; all the early printed texts from Ald. to Stallb. (except Bekker) had οἶμαι for the second εἶναι. This necessitated the supplying, in thought, of ἐστί with θεός τις; Schanz substitutes εἶη ἂν for εἶναι.)

**e 1.** ἐκ μονογενοῦς, “instead of a single born king,” as there had been before. This seems better than to take ἐκ as merely “from,” i.e. “born from.”—εἰς τὸ μέτριον μᾶλλον συνέστειλε, “brought them within a more reasonable compass,” i.e. by halving the kingly power.

**e 2.** μεμειγμένη θεία τινὲ δυνάμει: this probably refers to the

direction Lycurgus was supposed to have received from Apollo's oracle at Delphi (cp. 624 a 5).

e 3. μείγνυσιν: cp. Plut. *Lyc.* ch. v. πλειόνων δὲ καινοτομουμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου πρῶτον ἦν καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατάστασις τῶν γερόντων· ἦν φησιν ὁ Πλάτων τῇ τῶν βασιλέων ἀρχῇ φλεγμαινούσῃ μιχθείσαν, καὶ γενομένην ἰσόψηφον εἰς τὰ μέγιστα, σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ σωφροσύνην παρασχεῖν.

692 a 1. For κατὰ γῆρας and κατὰ γένος cp. above on 685 c 2.

a 3. ὁ δὲ τρίτος σωτήρ: Plutarch (*Lyc.* ch. vii.), in quoting a good deal of this passage, attributes the institution of the ephorate to the men of a period a hundred and thirty years later than Lycurgus. At *Epistle* viii. 354 b both the senate of old men, and the ephorate, are attributed to Lycurgus; as also they are by Herodotus (i. 65). Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 9. 1, says Theopompus established the ephorate, and he would seem to be the τρίτος σωτήρ spoken of here by Plato. (For further references see Ast's and Stallb.'s notes.)—The words τρίτος σωτήρ recall the τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτήρι—the third cup in honour of Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (cp. *Phil.* 66 d, and see Heindorf's note on *Charm.* 167 a 9).

a 5. ἐγγὺς . . . δυνάμει: Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 6. 16, speaks of the ephors as ὄντες οἱ τυχόντες, and says that the method of their election was παιδαριώδης λίσαν, so that Plato's words here in describing the ephors as “as good as elected by lot,” are justified (cp. Grote ii. ch. 6).—The five-fold repetition of the word δύναμις in this passage, like the repeated ἔτι in the early part of it, are marks of rapid and unrevised writing. Plato takes very little pains about the statement of historical facts. It is the point they are to illustrate that is important. Hence the polishing of such a passage as this was naturally left till the last—and was never done.

a 7. ἐξ ὧν ἔδει; we might almost say that ἀξιωμαίων may be supplied, in thought, with ὧν: the reference to the lot, and to birth, and to the wisdom of the old men recalls the previous list of ἀξιώματα τοῦ ἀρχεῖν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι.

a 8. μέτρον ἔχουσα, “being duly regulated” or “limited.” Cp. above εἰς τὸ μέτριον συνέσπειλε.—τοῖς ἄλλοις: i.e. the rest of Hellas.

b 1. ἐπὶ γε Τημένῳ καὶ Κρεσφόντῃ, “if it had been in the hands of Temenus and Cresphontes.”

b 2. ἡ Ἀριστοδήμου μερίς: i.e. Lacedaemon.

b 4. σχεδὸν γὰρ κτλ., “else they would hardly have imagined that they sufficiently curbed by (coronation) oaths a youthful

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c 7. Heindorf, on *Soph.* 242 c διηγείσθαι παισὶν ὡς οὔσιν ἡμῖν, collects the following instances of a like arrangement of words: *Laws* 645 b, *Polit.* 260 c, *Phil.* 18 d.

d 4 ff. τὸ πρῶτον μὲν . . . κατὰ κράτος: a puzzling passage. Notwithstanding its curious position, the μὲν with its δέ has nothing to contrast but μίαν and τὸ δύο. ἀμῦναι seems to mean "to take up arms," ἐπαμύνειν, "to arrive on the field of battle." τὸ πρῶτον: i.e. in the Marathonian war.

d 6. δέ, "while," or "and moreover." — διεφθαρμένα: it is noticeable that the same sort of term is applied to the corruption of the *body politic*, as would be applied to moral corruption in a single man. (See above 689 a 7.) The sin of the two recreant cities is want of internal συμφωνία, and this is accurately reproduced, on a larger scale, by the hostility shown by them to Sparta and the whole of Hellas, respectively.

d 7. πολεμοῦσα: as we have seen before, Plato is not writing history; he uses his memory of history, or even, perhaps, his conception of what the course of history might have been, to furnish *illustrations* of his argument. It seems certain that there was *not* war between Sparta and Messene at the time of Mardonius's invasion, though the two states were old antagonists. Possibly the misstatement has here a *dramatic* reason: the Athenian may well be supposed reluctant to recall the real behaviour of Sparta at the time, to the mind of Megillus. Below, at 698 e, it is suggested that there may have been another reason for the Spartan inaction.

e 1. For περί (*bis*) cp. above 685 c 4 and 688 c 5.

e 2. οὐθ' ὑπήκουσεν οὐτ' ἤμυνεν: we have here a suggestion that Sparta did all it could in *responding* (ὑπακούειν) to the summons of Hellas, and promising assistance. Argos did not even do that; it was philo-Persian. (I see no reason for Ritter's proposed insertion of αὐτῇ before ἤμυνεν.)—πολλὰ δὲ κτλ., "besides that (δέ), if a man were to relate the history of that time, he would find many hard things to say about the conduct of Hellas in the Persian war." There are several other ways in which the words of this passage might be taken. Ast, Schneider, and Burnet take περὶ ἐκ. τ. πόλεμον with γενόμενα. But, with this arrangement, τότε and περὶ ἐκ. τ. π. are oppressively tautological. Though strictly, I think, λέγων only governs τὰ τότε γενόμενα, its position suggests that it is to be supplied, in idea, with κατηγοροῖ, in the form of "in the course of his story."

e 4. οὐδ' αὖ κτλ., "in fact, he could not (properly) say that

*Hellas* did defend itself at all. No: if the allied Athenians and Lacedaemonians had not repelled the threatened slavery, the Greek races would by this time" (have lost their individuality, and would have sunk to the grievous plight of the isolated Greek cities within the Persian dominions).

e 6. κοινῆ διανόημα, "unanimity"; almost a compound verbal noun, formed from κοινῆ διανοεῖσθαι. So, in English, we might occasionally make an adverbial phrase qualify a verbal noun, and, e.g., from "all but explode" form "an all but explosion." (Cp. Tennyson's "Sweet Catullus's all-but island" in "Frater ave atque vale.")

693 a 3. καθάπερ . . . κατοικεῖται: the antecedent to ὦν may be γένη, or Ἕλληνες, or even ἄνθρωποι.

a 4. διαπεφορημένα refers to the dispersion of the inhabitants of e.g. Greek states, συμπεφορημένα to their incorporation into communities of βάρβαροι. Cp. Grote, ch. xxxiii. p. 162, "the empire of the Great King was then an aggregate of heterogeneous elements, cemented together by no tie except that of common fear and subjection—no way coherent nor self-supporting, nor pervaded by any common system or spirit of nationality." And later, p. 177, "wholesale translations of inhabitants from one place to another were familiar to the mind of a Persian satrap."—It is very tempting to adopt Cobet's belief that ἐσπαρμένα is a marginal explanation of διαπεφορημένα which has no right to a place in the text. In that case κακῶς κατοικεῖται is "lead a miserable existence." If the word be retained, it will be "lead a miserable sporadic existence," ἐσπαρμένα being joined adverbially to κατοικεῖται, and κακῶς qualifying both words.

a 5. ταῦτ' ἔχομεν ἐπιτιμᾶν, "these faults I will venture to find with . . ."; an answer to Megillus's question at 685 a 1 πῶς δὴ καὶ τί μεμφόμενος αὐτῶν λέγεις;

a 6. λεγομένοις is a slight apology for the use of the term πολιτικοῖς.

a 7. In adding καὶ τοῖς νῦν he probably has in mind the contemporary Persian despotism into which their ἄμεικτος ἀρχή had degenerated.—ἵνα . . . ἄλλο, "and my reason for finding fault is this: I hope, by investigating the causes of the errors, to discover what course, different from that which was taken, ought to have been taken."—Ritter, unlike all other interpreters, takes αὐτῶν to be masc., and τὰς αἰτίας to mean the charges (brought against them)—a suggestion not to be lightly rejected; but (1) it seems better to take ταῦτα (a 5), αὐτῶν (a 7), and ταῦτα



(b 1) all to refer to the same thing—i.e. the legislators' errors; (2) the desired discovery of the right course (*ἀνευρίσκωμεν κτλ.*) is more likely to follow an investigation of *causes* than of *charges*; and (3) the gen. *αὐτῶν* in that sense would be unusual.

**b 2.** τὸ παρόν = *νύνδη*, and is so fixed by the tense of *εἵπομεν*. Cp. *Rep.* 487 c 4 λέγω δ' εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀποβλέψας (of the discussion so far as it had gone).—ἄρα is the equivalent of modern quotation marks, and the οὐ δεῖ . . . νομοθετεῖν is clearly the recapitulation of the results previously arrived at in the discussion, but it is not made clear whether the following three grounds for the said conclusions are stated as self-evident truths, or whether they are statements, in a new form, of points previously brought out in the argument. The latter, I think, is the case; inasmuch as (1) *despotism*, (2) *folly*, and (3) *unpatriotic dislike* (691 d 2) of one's fellow citizens and failure to help one's allies—three faults which he has enlarged on—are respectively inconsistent with the (1) *freedom*, (2) *wisdom* and (3) *fellow-feeling* here desiderated; for (3) cp. 628 a 3 and c 10. The following words seem prompted by a feeling that the reference to his previous views has not been quite explicit enough.

**b 6.** πολλάκις, “perhaps.”

**c 2.** πρὸς τὸ σωφρονεῖν: Badham says the whole argument is spoilt, unless we read πρὸς τὸ ἐλεύθερον here; Schanz would reject the three words (partly because as originally written the text of A omitted the ἦ before πρὸς in c 3, as also did O).—If we retain the MS. text we must assume that ὅταν φῶμεν does not mean “when we say, *as we do now*,” but introduces a general instance of different ways of putting the same thing, and not a repetition of the instance that has just occurred—σωφροσύνη being substituted for ἐλευθερία, because it does not admit of excess. The best illustration of the identification of σωφροσύνη with φρόνησις and true public spirit is the passage in the *Republic* which deals with σωφροσύνη as the virtue of a *state*—430 d–432 a. Plato there likens it to a ἁρμονία (431 e), and further, at 432 a 6, calls it a ὁμόνοια, and a χείρονός τε καὶ ἀμείνονος κατὰ φύσιν συμφωνία, defining it at 431 d 7 as the condition when ἡ αὐτὴ δόξα ἔνεστι τοῖς τε ἄρχουσι καὶ ἀρχομένοις περὶ τοῦ οὕστινας δεῖ ἄρχειν. (The φρόνησις or νοῦς of a *state* is thus distinguished from the σοφία which is the virtue peculiar to the ἄρχοντες, and is described at *Rep.* 428 f.–429 a.)—Bruns (p. 170) regards this explanation as too simple (“*nain*”) and self-evident a piece of botcher's work to need a refutation.

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No concerted action of any kind is possible in the state. Un-tempered, irresponsible autocracy means that, though the state acts as one man, i.e. possesses unity, and though, possibly, its actions may be guided by *φρόνησις*, there is no *φιλία*.—Aristotle at *Pol.* 1266 a 1 speaks as if Plato had wanted to mix the two elements when at their worst, instead of letting them modify each other. Authority in any form—e.g. in that of *αἰδώς*, 698 b 5—is, in a sense, *ἐκ τυραννίδος (μοναρχίας) γεγονός*.

**e 1.** *φιλία μετὰ φρονήσεως*: as at b 4 and c 3 the two go together. *Concerted action* is not enough, unless there is *wisdom* to direct it. (But it is not to be imagined, he would doubtless add, that *φρόνησις* could accompany unadulterated *ἐλευθερία*.) Ritter reminds us that at 628 b c the danger of *στάσις* is mentioned, and the necessity of *εἰρήνη πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἅμα καὶ φιλοφροσύνη*; also that at 640 c 9 a *φρόνιμος ἄρχων* was said to be as necessary for a *συνουσία συμποτῶν* as for an army.—*ὁ δὲ βούλεται ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος προστάττειν*: this does not mean that the *logos* has proved it already. The Ath. foretells that this conclusion is inevitable. As explained at a 7, he investigates failure in the hope that if its causes are discovered, the wanderer may be put in the right path. Thus at e 9 he says, “we must point out the *causes*.”

**e 6.** *μειζόνως ἢ ἔδει μόνον*, “overmuch, and to the exclusion of the other.”—*τὰ μέτρια τούτων*, “the right measure of the two elements.”

**e 8.** *οὕτω πως*, “succeeded more or less in doing the same,” i.e. in achieving a proper combination of the two elements

**694 a 1.** *τὰ αἴτια* (see above on e 1): i.e. the causes of their later degeneracy.

**a 3.** *τὸ μέσον . . . ἦγον*: *ἦγον* is used, as is *ἀγαγόντων* below at 701 e 6 (and perhaps *ἄγοντες* below l. 7), in the sense of *to take a certain course*. I have followed Schanz in adopting Hertlein's *μέσον* for the MS. *μέτριον*, mainly because, though it is natural enough that Plato should describe the Persians and Cyrus as in a state *midway between slavery and freedom*, it is not natural that he should say they had *the right amount of slavery*; he would have found a less obnoxious word than *δουλεία* to describe the opposite of *ἐλευθερία*, when urging the necessity of a certain amount of it.—*μᾶλλον* means “more than at a later time.”

**a 5.** *ἔπειτα δὲ ἄλλων - πολλῶν δεσπόται*: as immediately explained, this circumstance gives a larger scope to the *liberality* of their disposition.

**a 6.** *ἄρχοντες, μεταδιδόντες, ἄγοντες*: inasmuch as *φίλοι ἦσαν*

has *στρατιῶται* for subject, we must regard these nominatives as absolute (cp. Jebb's note on *Soph. Ant.* 260, where he says that *φύλαξ ἐλέγχων φύλακα* is virtually equivalent to a gen. abs.).—In the parallel sentence that follows at b 2 we have the gen. abs. in the corresponding place. No doubt the variety of construction was intentional.—*ἄρχοντες* may mean *the ruling class among the Persians*, or the Persians proper, regarded as the rulers of the subject nations just referred to.

**b 4.** *εἰς τι*: Burnet's note is: "*εἰς τι* L O<sup>2</sup> (σ s.v.); *εἴ τι* O; *τι* A (sed *εἴ* s.v. A<sup>2</sup>)."  
I have adopted Burnet's solution of this interesting puzzle, rather than Schanz's (who prints *τι* with A), mainly because "able to advise *about any matter*" makes so much better sense here than "at all able to advise." *εἰς* may well have been omitted by mistake after *τοῖς*, though it is difficult to see where *εἴ* came from. Perhaps A corrected his *τι* to *εἴ τι* from a comparison of O or its like, and we must then also suppose that O merely omitted the s by mistake. It is curious that in some inferior MSS. the s was transposed to the second word, *εἴ τις*.—*κοινὴν κτλ.*: what wisdom there was in individuals was thus available for the community. Cp. *νοῦ κοινωνίαν* below.—These counsellors furnish an informal counterpart to the Spartan Senate of old men.—*ἔπέδωκεν* is Steph.'s manifestly right correction of the MS. *ἀπέδωκεν*.

**c 2.** *μαντεία χρώμεθα*: a playfully grandiloquent phrase for what we should call "making a shrewd guess."

**c 4.** The MS. *τοῦτο*, if correct, is not the antecedent of *ὅπερ*, but the subj. of *φέρει*; it can hardly be both. It is generally interpreted: "this (explanation) at all events brings our investigation to the goal for which we started." But surely for this we ought to have *τὴν σκέψιν*, and the *τοῦτο* is awkward. Stallb. translates *φέρει ἡμῖν σκέψιν perducit nobis considerationem*; but the rest does not fit in easily. Badham ingeniously suggested *τοῦ* for *τοῦτο*, "it helps us to consider the thing we started to find." Schanz adopts this, and I follow him. For the *τοῦ* before a relative clause cp. *Phaedo* 75 b 1 *ὀρέγεται τοῦ ὃ ἔστιν ἴσον*; so in Homer B 841 *τῶν οἱ Λάρισαν ἐριβόλακα ναιετάασκον*.

**c 5.** *μαντεύομαι*: cp. above on c 2.—Ast is perhaps right in preferring *δή νυν* to *δὴ νῦν*.

**c 6.** Athenaeus, who quotes this passage (xi. 505 a) to show that Plato had a spite against Xenophon, has, besides some minor variants, *φιλόπονον* for *φιλόπολιν*. Stallb. cps. *Apol.* 24 b *Μέλητον τὸν ἀγαθόν τε καὶ φιλόπολιν ὡς φησιν*. For *στρατηγός* certainly *φιλό-*

πονός seems a more suitable epithet ; for all that it may not be what Plato wrote. Athenaeus, in his coarse abuse of the great philosopher, is not likely to have been very careful to quote him exactly.—Plato doubtless had in mind here the author of the *Cyropaedia* and the *Oeconomicus*, and meant this, as Ritter says, as a deliberate protest against the system of education described in the former book.

c 7. ἡφθαι : cp. our conversational use of “tackle” (a subject) ; it denotes a mere *dealing with* the subject, not a *devoted study* of it. Hence Ast’s οὐδὲ for οὐδὲν is out of place, i.e. there could be no heightening of the force of the negative.—It is possible that we ought to read for οὐδὲν τὸν νοῦν, οὐδ’ ἦτινιοῦν ; Ath. has οὐ δὴ τινι οὔν.

d 2. εὐδαίμονας . . . καὶ μακαρίους : the two words occur together at *Rep.* 354 a ; here they mean “fortune’s favourites”—specially gifted and guided by a higher power.

d 3. ἦδη, “from their birth.”

d 4. τούτων (οὐδενὸς ἐπιδεδείσθαι) : this word, which Badham would reject, must refer to the advantages implied in the application of the words εὐδαίμονας and μακαρίους, “rolling in luxury,” as we should say. Cp. 715 b 8, where τῶν τοιούτων refers to *what is implied* in the previous πλούσιός τις.

d 6. ἐπαινεῖν τε ἀναγκάζουσαι κτλ. : a classical example of such conduct in modern literature is furnished by Countess Gruffanuff’s educational methods with the Princess Angelica.—The break in the construction, which leaves the μήτε “in the air,” is in the familiar conversational style.

d 7. τοιούτους τινάς : i.e. “in complete licence.”

e 1. γυναικείαν μὲν οὔν κτλ., “what could you expect of a bringing up by women—women of the royal seraglio—new to their high station, with never a man to advise them ?”

e 6. αὐτοῖς αὖ . . . ἐκτάτο, “was all the time acquiring for them.”—But with the “flocks” he did not secure for them the *shepherd’s* training ; a literary conceit.

695 a 2. Ast rejected the words Περσικήν . . . to ἐκγόνων as a manifestly *alienum additamentum*, and Schanz follows him. The passage certainly reads on admirably if σκληράν follows οὔσαν but there is this special reason, noticed by Stallb., for thinking Περσικήν genuine, that Μηδικήν at a 7 gains special point as a contrast to Περσικήν ; so that I should only agree to Ast’s rejection, if τὴν Μηδικήν were rejected as well. I cannot believe Stallb. is right in rejecting only Περσικήν. The separation of οὔσαν from its predicate σκληράν (in that case) by the circumstantial absolute clause seems

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proofs of Darius's political wisdom ; he shared his own power with others, and made his people *one* in spirit. Like Cyrus, he was *φιλόπολις*.

**c 8.** H. Richards would add *αὐτός* to *ἑβδομος*, but it is hard to see how such a natural addition should have dropped out ; and *ἑβδομος* by itself emphasizes more the fact that D. associated six others with himself in the government.—The same division into seven satrapies is mentioned at *Er.* vii. l.c. Hdt. iii. 89 says D. divided his kingdom into twenty satrapies.

**c 10.** *καὶ νόμους . . . οἰκέιν*, “and set himself to govern by laws of his own making” (whereby he gave his people *égalité*).

**d 2.** *εἰς τὸν νόμον ἐνέδει*, “regulated by fixed decree.” The context (on both sides) shows that D., instead of keeping the tribute paid by the subject races, divided it among his Persian subjects ; another abandonment of arbitrary power.

**d 7.** *ὦ Δαρεῖε . . . Καμβύσην* : Burnet follows Stallb. in marking off this passage as an animated—one might almost say an agitated—parenthesis ; and this is the best way out of the difficulty.—*ὁ δέ* resumes the thread of the interrupted sentence, of which *Ξέρξης* is the subject, very naturally.—Stallb. compares aptly such “tragic” adjurations as that which begins Euripides's *Alcestis*—*ὦ δώματ' Ἀδμήτει' ἐν οἷς κτλ.*, where the relative sentence contains all that is said about the vocative.—We might paraphrase here : “To think that you should have been blind to Cyrus's blunders !”

**d 8.** *ἴσως* is a sort of apology for the strangeness of the adjuration—something like an “I think you will admit.” (Steph. would read an exclamatory *ὡς* for *ὄς* ; Ast would reject *ὄς* ; Herm. brackets the whole passage—but *Ξέρξης* badly wants a verb, especially with *ὁ δέ* following ; Peipers, *Quaest. Crit. de Pl. Legg.* p. 81, accepts Hermann's athetesis and rejects *ὁ δέ* as well ; Badham marks a lacuna after *Ξέρξης*, and Schanz follows him.)

**e 2.** *ὁ δέ . . . παθήμασιν*, “Xerxes, I say, being a product of the same kind of education, duly reproduced Cambyses' career.” (Ast, *Lex.*, gives *ἀπετέλεσεν* the meaning *passus est*.)

**e 4.** *ἔκ γε τοσούτου*, “ever since,” “from that day to this.”

**e 5.** *πλήν γε ὀνόματι* : this, coming after *ἀληθῶς*, is tautological, but apparently Plato could not resist the temptation to play with the word *μέγας*. (It is possible that it is not Plato, who says it, but a commentator, making explicit the hint which already lay in the *ἀληθῶς*.)

**e 6.** For the MS. *τύχης* Steph., Ast, Herm., and Schanz read *τύχη*. But similar genitives occur at Antiphon, *De caede Herodis* § 92 τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀκούσιον ἀμάρτημα, ὦ ἄνδρες, τῆς τύχης ἐστί, τὸ δὲ ἐκούσιον τῆς γνώμης, and at Thuc. i. 142. 9 τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστίν; the gen. is equal to an adjective: "the cause is *no accidental one*." It is explained, 696 a 2 f., that the same effect *always* follows; and we must supply *αἴτιόν ἐστιν* with ὁ κακὸς βίος.—ὡς ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος: cp. above on c 6.

**696 a 1 f.** This *καί* means *and*, but those in a 2 mean *or*. The father must be excessively rich, and also possess unrestricted sway over his fellows. Even then the *τὰ πολλά* allows exceptions; but *if* the bringing up is the *ἀνεπίπληκτος τροφή* above described, excellence is out of the question.

**a 2.** "Boy or man, however long he live," i.e. the effect of the bad education will last a lifetime.

**a 3.** τῇ νομοθέτῃ σκεπτέον, καὶ ἡμῖν δὲ ἐν τῷ νῦν παρόντι: the lawgiver, for practical purposes, we, at present, for theoretical. Such a remark as this prepares the ground for the dramatic fiction of a new Cretan Colony, which serves to mark the transition at the beginning of the fourth book from the purely theoretical to the *practical* part of the treatise.

**a 6 f.** All the *καί*'s in these two lines are *or*; if the conjunction before *τροφὴν* had stood alone, it would probably have been οὐδέ.—*πενία κτλ.*, "whether to rich or poor, subject or prince."

**a 7.** *τροφὴν*: Boeckh, in confuting Cornarius's plausible substitution of *ἀρχήν* for this word, quotes Ar. *Pol.* 1294 b 22 ὁμοίως γὰρ οἱ τῶν πλουσίων τρέφονται τοῖς τῶν πενήτων (of the Lacedaemonians). He also says: "Τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς θεῖον est Lycurgus, φύσις ἀνθρωπίνη, μεμιγμένη θεία τινὶ δυνάμει (p. 691 e)."—As Ritter says, Aristotle has, at *Pol.* 1313 a 25 ff., adopted Plato's view of the reason for the durability of the Spartan constitution, i.e. the division, and other restrictions of personal power.

**b 3.** ἐπεὶ οὐδ' ὅτι ταχύς, "any more, of course, than because he is a fast runner."

**b 4.** With *ἀρετῆς* must be supplied *τιμὰς δεῖ εἶναι ὑπερεχούσας*—"even virtue must not be highly honoured if unaccompanied by *σωφροσύνη*."

**b 8.** τὸν λόγον ἀκούσας: we should say, in a similar case, "when you have heard my reasons," but the Greek still refers to the *logos* as having an external reality and convincing power.

**c 2 and 8.** These two instances may be regarded as cases of the virtue of *φρόνησις*, the former being of an inferior kind to



the latter. In the case of the clever artist ἀρετή is excellence, rather than virtue.

c 5. This argument involves the assumption that where δικαιοσύνη is absent, ἀδικία must be present; the neutral state as to δικ. is put out of consideration. Here σωφροσύνη is shown in what we should call *consideration for others*. The clever man (in any line) might easily take an unfair advantage of his neighbour, but a sense of justice makes him hold his hand.

c 8. οὐδὲ μὴν κτλ. : i.e. οὐδὲ μὴν ὁ σόφος φύεται χῶρις τοῦ σωφρονεῖν.

d 1. ποῖαί . . . ἐκάστοτε does not explain what is meant by τόδε, but it explains the point of view from which αἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τιμήσεις are to be discussed : “There is a further question which arises, when we are considering the principles on which civic honours ought to be bestowed.”—We have been told above that σωφροσύνη is a necessary *adjunct* to all virtue; now we are asked, for the purposes of the lawgiver, to appraise this *adjunct* on its own account.

d 4 ff. Ath. “Suppose σωφροσύνη to exist in a man’s soul by itself, unaccompanied by any virtue besides; would it have any claim to honour or not?”

Meg. “I cannot tell.”

Ath. “A very proper answer; for really, if you said yes to either of my alternatives, I should think it a mistake.”

Meg. “It’s just as well then that I answered as I did.”

Ath. “Quite so: the fact is that what is a (mere) adjunct to the things which deserve civic recognition or disapproval, is not of a nature to detain us; for the purposes of our argument we may neglect it.”

Meg. “The adjunct you mean being σωφροσύνη?”

Ath. “Yes. What is important is that whatever, of the things outside it, does us, with its help, the most service, that thing should be most highly honoured, and what comes next in usefulness next. In this way every quality, all down the list, would get its due meed of honour in its turn.” As King Lear said to his youngest daughter, “Let it be so: thy truth then be thy dower.” But though σωφροσύνη is to get no more praise from the public than Cordelia gave herself, this does not mean that it is worthless. We learnt in Bk. I. that ἐπιτηδεύματα σωφροσύνης are of great importance, and now we see that no virtue can be operative without it. As a personal virtue, it seems to involve a good deal of what we call *self-respect*. Notwithstanding the colourlessness which

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and Cic. *De off.* iii. 6. 28, “quam omnia incommoda subire, vel externa, vel corporis, vel etiam ipsius animi,” where the contrasted evils are given just as at *Gorg.* 477 b—οὐκοῦν χρημάτων καὶ σώματος καὶ ψυχῆς τριῶν ὄντων, τριπτὰς εἴρηκας πονηρίας, πενίαν, νόσον, ἀδικίαν;), is said to have been Pythagorean in origin. The λεγόμενα at b 6 is a hint that some part at least of the definition of the classes is not the speaker’s own.

**b 4.** κείσθαι: as often, the passive of τιθέναι—this time, of τιθέναι in the sense of *reckon as*.

**b 6.** τούτων ἐκτὸς βαίνειν, “to overstep the limits imposed by this scheme”; τούτων here stands vaguely for something in the context, as at 694 d 4.

**b 7.** εἰς τιμὰς . . . χρήματα προάγουσα: it would appear from this that material wealth is at least *not* to be honoured; it is even conceivable that the author meant it to be a disgrace. At 741 e 7 it is laid down that no citizen is to possess any money. At b 2 above ἀτιμίαι are spoken of as well as τιμαί, and the word may mean disgrace, though it may perhaps mean merely the absence of honour. (At 831 a 1 καὶ τοῖς μὲν τιμάς, τοῖς δὲ ἀτιμίας διανέμων ὀρθῶς, it clearly means positive disgrace.) In either case we might translate this passage: “either by promoting wealth to be a recipient of honour, or by raising, through honours, any member of the inferior classes of goods into a class above.” (Jowett takes εἰς τιμὰς προάγουσα to mean *putting first*; he translates, “by giving money the place of honour.”)

**c 1.** οὐθ’ ὅσιον οὔτε πολιτικόν, “as bad in statecraft as it is in morality.”

**c 6.** Schanz recurs to the old accentuation in Περσῶν πέρι, taking πέρι to govern Περσῶν only, and not, as Ast says, τῆς πολιτείας. Περσῶν πέρι would thus = Περσικῆς. But the analogy of 676 c 6 ταύτης δὴ περὶ λάβωμεν, εἰ δυναίμεθα, τῆς μεταβολῆς τὴν αἰτίαν, and 691 b 2 τούτου περὶ τοῦ πάθους τῆς γενέσεως, are in favour of taking the construction here to be ἡ διάσκεψις περὶ τῆς Περσῶν πολιτείας. Cp. above on 685 c 2.

**c 7.** A has ἐπὶ ἐπὶ ἔτι; the scribe himself seems to have thought that the ἐπί had been doubled by mistake, for he put dots under the first, and a line under the second. (At the same time he did not venture to erase either.) Burnet apparently accepts this view, and mentions Schneider’s ἐπὶ ἔτη as a possible emendation of ἐπὶ ἔτι. To this Apelt, p. 6, objects forcibly that the Persian decline was not steady “from year to year”; there were ups and downs. He prefers to regard A’s reading as a defaced form of three words,

and these he suggests were ἔπει εἰπεῖν ἐνί: "to put it shortly" comes in very well after "has led us to make a long disquisition" (c 5). He cps. Hdt. iii. 82 ἐνὶ δὲ ἔπει πάντα συλλαβόντα εἰπεῖν, *Laws* 718 c ἐν ἐνὶ περιλαβόντα εἰπεῖν αὐτὰ οἷόν τινα τρόπον, and 811 a 9 τί δὲ περὶ τούτων ἐνὶ λόγῳ φράζων εἴποισι' ἂν ἰκανόν; Whatever view be taken of this dark passage, ἔτι must be wrong. The state of the Persian constitution is not represented as being *bad to begin with*. The only proposed emendation which would keep it is Ast's ἐπὶ Ξέρξου ἔτι, but that gives a sense unsatisfactory on other grounds. We want here a general summing up of the result of the discussion, not a repetition of a single incident of it. I venture to print Apelt's suggestion in preference to any other:

c 8. τὸ ἐλεύθερον . . . πόλει: that is, they (the Persians) acted in direct violation of the directions given to the lawgiver in 693 b 3 ff. ὅτι πόλιν ἐλευθέραν τε εἶναι δεῖ, καὶ ἔμφρονα καὶ ἑαυτῇ φίλην. Cp. also 695 d 2 ff. (of Cyrus) φιλίαν πορίζων καὶ κοινωσίαν πᾶσιν Πέρσαις.

d 1—698 a 3. As Stallb. says, it is the τε after ὅταν in d 6 which corresponds to οὗθ' in d 2; the first part deals with the conduct of the potentates, the second (ὅταν τε κτλ.) with that of the people.—ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς goes with βουλευέται; the subj. to ἡγῶνται is ἄρχοντες, supplied from ἡ τῶν ἀρχόντων βουλή; φίλια goes in sense with πόλεις as well as with ἔθνη; the τε after ἐχθρῶς is "and in consequence."—For μισοῦντες μισοῦνται cp. *Rep.* 417 b μισοῦντες δὲ δὴ καὶ μισούμενοι, and below 763 a 5 διακονοῦντές τε καὶ διακονούμενοι, and *Soph. Aj.* 1134 with Lobeck's note. (I see no reason to follow Schanz in making a lacuna after ἀρχῆς, and rejecting the forcible μισοῦνται. At most I would put a (—) after ἀρχῆς and another after καταφθ. to mark the looseness of the construction. After μισοῦντες there is an erasure in A of something (? ὅταν), and the last eight letters of μισοῦνται ὅταν extend beyond the line into the margin. This looks as if A at first omitted μισοῦνται—a natural blunder. Hug would excise from πυρὶ to μισοῦντες.)—We may translate: "Patriotism has vanished. On the one hand the mind of the potentates does not think of the good of their subjects and the people, but only of the establishment of their own authority, so that, if they imagine it will do themselves the least good, when occasion occurs, they overturn and burn with fire cities and tribes of friendly people, and, in consequence, hate and are hated with a deadly and pitiless hatred. On the other hand, when they come to want the common people to fight in their defence, they find

there is no sort of union among them, and no zeal to make them risk their persons in battle. Masters of countless millions, they cannot command a single soldier. They hire outsiders, as if they had no subjects of their own, and actually fancy that strangers and hirelings will be their salvation. Besides all this, there is a folly which they cannot avoid, for they proclaim by their actions on each occasion that whatever counts in the state as honourable and precious is as nothing in comparison with gold and silver."

**698 a 9.** The older MSS. all have *περὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀττικῆς αὐτοκρατείας*, and so Burnet prints it. If Plato wrote this he must have intended to put in *ἐλευθερίαν*, but, as he puts in *ἐλευθερία* in another construction, it seems the best thing to omit the *τὴν*. Late MSS. and all edd. but Burnet alter *πολιτείας* to *πολιτείαν*.

**a 10.** Though at a 5 f., *τὰ περὶ γε Περσῶν* seems to be the subject of *τέλος ἐχέτω*, and *ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς διοικεῖται* to be expegetic of *τά*, it seems better here to take *διεξελεῖν* ("to set forth") as governing the following *ὡς* clause directly, and to take *τὰ περὶ Ἀττικῆς πολιτείας* as adverbial—"with respect to the Athenian constitution."

**b 1.** Here we have two prepositional phrases depending on nouns: *ἀπὸ πασῶν ἀρχῶν* on *ἐλευθερία*, and *ὑφ' ἐτέρων* on *ἀρχῆς*. In the latter case, as Stallb. says, a simple gen. would have left it doubtful whether it was subjective or objective; the expression used leaves no doubt that government *by*, not government *of*, is meant. The quasi-compound adjective *μέτρον ἐχούσης* adds to the effect of *complexity* given by the sentence. (Ast ingeniously, but wrongly, proposed to read *ὑμετέρας* for *ὑφ' ἐτέρων*.)

**b 3.** For the dat. governed by the verbal noun *ἐπίθεσις* cp. on 633 c 2.

**b 5.** *ἐκ τιμημάτων . . . τεττάρων*: we must not press this *ἐκ* to mean that officials of any kind might come *from* any of the four classes of Solon's timocracy. Members of the fourth class were members of the electing assembly, but might not be elected themselves to any office, while some high offices were confined to members of the highest class. *ἐκ* then means "on a basis of," and, to those who knew, the mention of *ἀρχαί* in this connexion would convey the notion that in some way certain offices were confined to certain classes; cp. *Rep.* 553 a *ἐκ τιμημάτων ἔχουσα τοὺς ἄρχοντας*.—*καὶ δεσπότης ἐνῆν τις αἰδώς*: a practical expression,

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παρασκευαί; “reports kept reaching us of immense preparations and never-ceasing threats on the part of the great king.”

e 7. νέος (δὲ) καὶ σφοδρὸς ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ, “his son, with all the fire of youth”; the adjs. are predicative.

699 a 5. οὔτε γὰρ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς οὐδένα: this οὔτε corresponds to the καί before κατὰ θάλατταν in b 1. He has just said the Athenians saw no way of avoiding destruction, whether they stayed on land, or took to the sea. Then he enlarges on these two points: (1) if they stood their ground they would get no help, and (2) if they tried to sail away they would be intercepted. There is a break in the construction after οὐδένα: μεμνημένοι goes back to the ἠγήσαντο, to which, in sense, βοηθήσειν is subordinate. Schanz and Burnet mark this by parenthesis marks before μεμνημένοι and after γῆν in b 1.

b 1. τό γε κατὰ γῆν: the γε gives the effect of “so much for their chances by land.” •

b 4. ἄπορον, “desperate”; cp. above 698 b 8.

b 5. ὡς ἐξ ἀπόρων καὶ τότε ἐφαίνετο γενέσθαι τὸ νικῆσαι μαχομένους, “and remembered how desperate the chances of success in the field had looked then”; ἐφαίνετο, in quasi-reported speech, refers to a time previous to that of συνενόουν, and must therefore be rendered in English by a pluperfect.—ἐξ ἀπ. . . . ἐφ. γεν.: lit. “how victory in fight had seemed to emerge from a hopeless state of things”; i.e. ἐξ ἀπόρων is merely a variety of expression for ἄπορον.

b 6. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος ὀχοῦμενοι ταύτης: “ὄρμειν sive ὀχεῖσθαι ἐπὶ ἀγκύρας dicunt Graeci, ut in notissima Demosthenis sententia οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄρμει τοῖς πολλοῖς, ubi subaudiendum ἀγκύρας monet Harpocration. Et cum spes aptissime per ancoram significetur, facillima translatione dicunt, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι, unde in proverbium abiit.” Porson on *Orest.* 68, who cites *Ar. Eq.* 1244 and this passage, and *Plut. Non posse suad.* ch. 26. 6 (*Wytttenb.* p. 505 e) καίτοι νεὼς μὲν ἐκπεσῶν ἐπιβάτης διαλυθείσης <ἐπ’> ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖταιί τινος, ὡς γῆ προσέξων τὸ σῶμα καὶ διανηξόμενος. Neil on *Eq.* 1244 agrees with Casaubon that in the phrase ἐπ’ ἐλπίδος ὀχεῖσθαι the metaphor is of a man on a raft, and he cps. *Phaedo* 85 d ἐπὶ τούτου ὀχοῦμενος ὡσπερ ἐπὶ σχεδίας. Certainly Plutarch did not use the metaphor with the consciousness of its coming from the use of an anchor; a shipwrecked swimmer would not fare any better for being anchored. Still I can hardly believe Porson to have been wrong in such a matter.

**c 2 f.** The noms. ὁ φόβος ὁ παρὼν . . . ὅ τε . . . γεγονός are in explanatory apposition to ταῦτα πάντα. Both kinds of fear helped to unite the populace. F.H.D. suggests that ὄν . . . ἐκέκτηντο is a “gloss,” δουλεύοντες being taken from the foll. δουλεύειν. Badham rejects the words ἐκ τῶν νόμων τῶν. They involve a tautology, but it is difficult to see who could have inserted them. An author does sometimes say the same thing twice over, in slightly different language, if he wants to lay special stress on the idea conveyed. Certainly there is no idea in the *Laws* to which Plato attaches such importance as to this, i.e. that *loyalty to good laws begets a good character*. It was this loyalty, he says, to the laws and institutions of a better time that made the Athenians of that day what they were.

**c 5.** Cp. 647 a 8 f. νομοθέτης . . . τοῦτον τὸν φόβον ἐν τιμῇ μεγίστη σέβει.—Cp. the scriptural use of the word *fear*, e.g. “the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.”

**c 6.** ἧς ὁ δειλὸς ἐλεύθερος καὶ ἄφοβος· ὄν εἰ τότε μὴ δέος ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἂν ποτε συνελθὼν ἠμύνατο, “from which (kind of fear) the timorous man is (by nature) free and immune; and yet, had it not been for his seizure by a fear on that occasion, the timorous man would never have joined the army, and repelled the foe.” For ἄφοβος with a cognate gen. cp. 647 c 3 ἄφοβον . . . φόβων πολλῶν τινῶν.—ὄν: the rel. clause has here, I think, an adversative force.—δέος ἔλαβεν: used with the consciousness that it was an epic phrase (cp. the Hom. δέος εἶλεν), and, moreover, that δέος had a literary connexion with αἰδώς. Cp. O 657 ἴσχε γὰρ αἰδῶς καὶ δέος, the verse from the *Cypria* quoted at *Euthyphro* 12 b 1 ἵνα γὰρ δέος ἔνθα καὶ αἰδῶς, and Soph. *Aj.* 1073–1083, the passage which begins οὐ γὰρ ποτ’ οὔτ’ ἂν ἐν πόλει νόμοι καλῶς φέρουιντ’ ἂν ἔνθα μὴ καθεστήκη δέος, and associates δέος with αἰσχύνη.—The idea of the fight with fear—which here results in the mastering of the first kind of fear by the second—has occurred above at 647 c 10 τῇ μὲν δειλίᾳ τῇ ἐν αὐτῷ προσμαχόμενον καὶ νικῶντα αὐτὴν δεῖ τέλος οὕτω γίγνεσθαι πρὸς ἀνδρείαν.—After a careful consideration of the ten or more emendations proposed in various parts of this passage, I have come to the conclusion that they all present difficulties at least as great as those in the text; and so, I am glad to see, has O. Apelt (p. 6); only he accepts Schanz’s statement that A has ἧ ὁ δειλὸς, and he proposes to read ἧ ὁ δειλὸς ἐλ. καὶ ἄφ. But Burnet, who comes after Schanz, assures us that A, like all the other MSS., reads ἧς. (The chief emendations are: ἧς ὁ δοῦλος Heindorf and Ast, ἧς ὁ δῆμος Herm.,



<τὸ> τότε Heind., δῆμος for δέος Badham, μηδεὶς for μὴ δέος Stallb., ἦ ὁ δῆμος Schanz, ὁ for ὄν Ritter; Schmidt would reject καὶ ἄφοβος and συνελθών.)

**d 2.** ἡμῶν ἕκαστος: if δῆμος had been the true reading at either place above, it would not have been necessary to alter the subject to ἡμῶν ἕκαστος here.

**d 3–e 6.** Meg. “What you say is not only very true, but there is also a special fitness in its being said by you as an Athenian.” Ath. “There *is* a special fitness about my words, Megillus; I mean that it is right to tell that story to *you*, born as you are to an inheritance in your ancestors’ character. Moreover, I want you and Cleinias to consider what my story has to do with law-making” (lit. “if I am saying what has in any degree”—τι—“an appropriateness to νομοθεσία”). “For my disquisition is not made for the story’s sake, but for the reason I mention” (i.e. to help us to understand the right principles of νομοθεσία). “It is interesting: (lit. “just look!”) just as, in a way, our fate was the same as that of the Persians, though *they* reduced the populace to absolute slavery, and *we*, on the other hand, drove our masses towards absolute freedom, so our discourse of a little time back turns out in a way very useful (towards deciding) how and what ought to be said next.”

**d 6.** Ast would read κοινωνὸν δὴ τῶν πατρίων γεγονότα φύσει. He was partly led to this by the fact that πατρώων (for πατέρων) was (apparently) the only MS. reading he knew.

**d 8.** H. Steph. alters τὶ to τὰ, Schanz rejects it; Wagner reads προσῆκον for προσήκοντα—all quite unnecessary changes.

**e 1.** Most interpreters take οὗ λέγω ἔνεκα to mean “with a view to the object of our discussion.” It seems more natural to take (τούτου) ὃ λέγω to mean “what I mentioned just now.”

**e 2.** ταῦτὸν πάθος: i.e. national deterioration and decay.—The plpf. συμβεβήκει—in which Schanz may well be right in introducing the augment—does not imply that the process of deterioration took place at Athens sooner than in Persia; it marks the time of the events as previous to that of the verb εἰρημένοι εἰσί.

**e 3.** For A’s ἄγουσι, L and O have ἀγαγούσι.

**e 5.** The chief difficulty in this passage is in the apparent inadequacy of καλῶς εἰρημένοι as an introduction to the subordinate πῶς λέγωμεν. All through the paragraph the idea of *fitness* and *correspondence* has been prominent: this may incline us to read into καλῶς the notion “*aptly*,” i.e., in this case, “so as to give an indication.” (Ficinus puts in “*demonstrant*.”) This is

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nor the clapping of hands either, to signify applause. No; the educated part of the audience had made it a rule, as far as they were concerned, to listen in silence throughout a performance, and there was the reminder of the official's rod to keep order among the children and funkeys (their attendants) and the mass of the populace."

b 1. εἶδη and σχήματα here seem used in the same sense as εἶδος and τρόποι at *Rep.* 424 c εἶδος γὰρ καινὸν μουσικῆς μεταβάλλειν ἐνλαβητέον ὡς ἐν ὄλῳ κινδυνεύοντα· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ κινουῦνται μουσικῆς τρόποι ἄνευ πολιτικῶν νόμων μεγίστων.

b 2. Of the two readings τούτῳ A and τοῦτο L and O, the former is manifestly the correct one.—On the other hand I think a corrector of O was right in changing the ἄλλο after ἐξῆν into ἄλλῳ at b 7. The original scribe was misled by familiarity with the phrase ἄλλο εἰς ἄλλο "indiscriminately." If A L and O—and ὅλα τὰ ἀντίγραφα, acc. to the scribe of O—are right, we must suppose Plato to have been guilty of a vulgar error. (So also in the case of Aristotle, *De part. anim.* 663 b 31.)

b 3. ἂν ἐκάλεσεν and perhaps μάλιστα imply that the term θρηνοί, as thus applied, did not date from these early times.

b 5. The οἶμαι possibly does not imply doubt in the speaker's mind as to the *subject*, but as to the reason for the name διθύραμβος. The apposition is a strange one, anyhow. (Can γένεσις possibly be used in the sense of "a production"—"a Dionysiac product"?)—νόμους: the so-called Nomes must have been, as Wagner and Apelt say, something like the German *Chorale*, and, from their solemn character were necessarily accompanied by the lyre.—This use of the term *law* in music seems to Plato, in a way, to clinch his argument; cp. below 722 e 1 and 799 e 10 ff., *Plut. De mus.* 1133 b c.—The applicability of words denoting fixed standards or rules to music is evident in many languages. E.g. our *canon* (Gr. κανών) denotes a composition written strictly according to rule. (Grove's *Dict. of Music*, s.v. canon.) It is amusing to read at *Arist. Probl.* 19. 28 (919 b 38) that the νόμοι which were *sung* were so called because, in illiterate ages and peoples, actual laws were sung—like versified Latin gender rules.

b 6. ᾠδὴν ὡς τινα ἑτέραν, "regarding them" (i.e. the Nomes) "as a special kind of song"; merely a variety of the previous ᾠδῆς ἕτερον εἶδος. (Ritter pronounces ὡς, and Apelt ἑτέραν, as inexplicable, and the latter proposes to read ἱερὰν for ἑτέραν.)

b 7. See above on b 2.

**c 1.** τούτων depends on κῦρος; Ast well compares a similar gen. and infin. with κύριος at Dem. *Adv. Aristocr.* 689 (sub fin.) τῷ κυρίῳ τῶν φόρων γενομένῳ τάξαι.—I have thought it well to put a comma after τούτων. For the loosely connected epexegetic infins. cp. below 790 c 3, *Rep.* 416 a 6 (with Adam's note), 443 b 8, *Gorg.* 513 e (with Thompson's note), *Tim.* 33 c 4, *Phaedr.* 242 b.

**c 5.** τοῖς μὲν γεγυόσι περὶ παιδευσιν: a vague phrase for what we should call "the cultured classes"—"those who moved in educated circles."—γεγυόσιν περὶ = the Lat. *versari in*; for a similar phrase cp. *Phil.* 33 c 5 καὶ μὴν τό γε ἕτερον εἶδος τῶν ἡδονῶν ὃ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς ἔφαμεν εἶναι διὰ μνήμης πᾶν ἐστι γεγυός, so *Theag.* 130 b δι' ἀπεχθείας ἐγεγόνει. (Ast and others take the words to mean *the body of teachers and educational officials*—"those engaged in education.")—For παιδευσις in the sense of *culture* cp. *Prot.* 349 a 3 παιδεύσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς διδάσκαλον, *Tim.* 53 c 2 ἐπεὶ μετέχετε τῶν κατὰ παιδευσιν ὁδῶν.

**c 6.** αὐτοῖς: emphatic, "with their own ears." Riddell however, *Digest* § 222, takes it as a mere "pronominal resumption."—παισὶ . . . ὄχλῳ: cp. *Rep.* 397 d 7.

**d 1.** ταῦτ': adverbial, "in these respects"; it goes with ἀρχεσθαι.—οὕτω τεταγμένως, "so strictly." (If any alteration of the text is to be proposed, I should venture to suggest τότ' for ταῦτ'.)

**d 4.** φύσει . . . ἡδονῆς, "ignorant, in spite of all their poetical gifts, of what is right and proper in the Muses' domain, frenzied victims of an unhappy itch for pleasure." This censure applies to both words and tune. Aristoxenus, as quoted by Athenaeus (xiv. 632 b), echoes it thus: καὶ τὰ θέατρα ἐκβεβαρβάρωται καὶ εἰς μεγάλην διαφθορὰν προελήλυθεν ἢ πάνδημος αὐτῆ μουσική. See also the quotation from the same author made by Plut. *De mus.* 1142 b, where Telesias of Thebes is said to have forsaken the old school of Pindar and others for that of Philoxenus and Timotheus, with disastrous effects.

**d 6.** κεραυνύντες κτλ.: cp. Plut. *De mus.* 1133 b οὐ γὰρ ἐξῆν τὸ παλαιὸν οὕτω ποιεῖσθαι τὰς κιθαρῳδίας ὡς νῦν, οὐδὲ μεταφέρειν τὰς ἀρμονίας καὶ τοὺς ῥυθμούς.

**e 1.** μουσικῆς . . . ὀρθότητα, "without intending it, they were guilty of so far slandering their art as to assert, in their folly, that there was no such thing as right or wrong in music: the one proper criterion was the pleasure of the hearer, be he gentle or simple."

**e 3.** εἴτε βελτίων εἴτε χείρων ἂν εἴη τις: the syntax is

peculiar; ἄν εἴη seems to be the reported-speech form of the *iterative* ἄν ἦν:—ὁ κρίνων ἄν ἦν βελτίων τις, “the arbiter would be (on occasion) a man of some consideration”; this, quoted from somebody else’s mouth, might be (ὅτι) or (εἰ) βελτίων τις εἴη ἄν ὁ κρίνων. It is not parallel to the εἶπερ . . . πειθοίμην ἄν at *Prot.* 329 b (which is itself not free from suspicion), for that is in direct speech, and the main verb is a present (Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 506).

**e 4.** It is clear from the context that ποιηταί and ποιήματα are here used of *musical* composers and compositions in the first place, though the same artist “sets” (ἐπιλέγει), to the heterogeneous musical medley, words of an equally extravagant kind (τοιούτους).

**e 5.** παρανομίαν: at the same time that these lawless poets gave the mob (οἱ πολλοί) an unfounded conceit in their own judgement, they discredited the principles on which alone a true judgement could be passed.

**701 a 3.** θεατροκρατία: as we might say, “Tom, Dick, and Harry usurped the critic’s chair.” Cp. *Hamlet* III. ii. 26 “the censure of the which one” (i.e. “the judicious”) “must in your allowance o’erweigh a whole theatre of others.”—“δὴ O et s.v. A<sup>2</sup>: ἄν A,” Burnet.

**a 3–a 7.** “For even though a democracy *had* arisen, if confined to music (ἐν αὐτῇ μόνον), and to properly educated men, it would have done no great harm; but, as it was, it did not stop at music, and the notion that *every* man was an authority on every subject, and was above all rules, this was the notion which got the upper hand among us, and Education had to give way to it.”—For this sense of συνεφέσπετο cp. 690 b 8 f. ἔπεσθαι μὲν τὸν ἀνεπιστήμονα . . . τὸν δὲ φρονοῦντα ἡγεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἄρχειν.

**a 4.** “αὐτῇ L (ut vid.): εἰ αὐτῇ A O,” Burnet.—Again at a 5 A and O have ὑμῖν, a manifest error for ἡμῖν, but no good MS. has the latter, and some omit the pronoun altogether.

**a 7.** ἄφοβοι: without the right kind of fear, that is, of which we heard so much at the end of Bk. I. Pope expresses a good deal of the same idea when he says “For fools rush in where Angels fear to tread.”

**a 8.** τὸ γὰρ κτλ., “for: what is it but shocking impudence, when a man disregards the opinion of his betters out of a self-conceit that is begotten of liberty grown over-bold?”

**b 2.** ἀποτετολμημένης: Ast cps. *Plut. Galba* 1064 (ch. 25)

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**c 7.** *κεκτημένον* and *φερόμενον* agree with the subject to *ἀναλαμβάνειν*, i.e. “oneself,” and the *στόμα* is one’s own mouth which speaks the *λόγος* (Stallb. takes *ἀχ. τὸ στ.* to be “unbridled *in mouth*,” and to refer to the *λόγον*)—with a glance at the previous metaphor—, then directly, the *λόγος* itself is pictured again as a runaway horse. Cp. *Prot.* 338 a *ἐφείναι καὶ χαλάσαι τὰς ἡνίας τοῖς λόγοις*, *Eur. Bacch.* 385 *ἀχαλίνων στομάτων ἀνόμου τ’ ἀφροσύνας τὸ τέλος δυστυχία*, *Aristoph. Ran.* 838 *ἀχάλινον στόμα*; so we talk of “letting one’s tongue run away with one.”

**d 1.** *ἀπό τινος ὄνου πεσεῖν*: probably no more than a picturesque and familiar expression for “get a fall.” Some commentators take the proverb to imply *clumsiness*, others *blindness to one’s own advantages* (cf. *Ar. Nub.* 1274). A L and O have *νοῦ*, O<sup>2</sup> *ὄνου*. The mistake was probably not accidental, but due to a misunderstanding of some grammarian’s note to the effect that often—e.g. in the passage from the *Clouds*—*ἀπ’ ὄνου* was meant to be heard as *ἀπὸ νοῦ*.

**d 2.** *χάριν ἔνεκα*: a clear case of *conflation*. I should follow Vat. 177, Schanz, and others in rejecting *ἔνεκα*. Boeckh p. 197 says: “*Illud autem cognovi, numquam iungi duas praepositiones ἐκ παραλλήλου, nisi quarum alterutra possit absque casu scribi, ita ut adverbii teneat locum.*” (The passages cited by Stallb. in defence of the text admit either of special explanation, or of a likely emendation.)

**d 7.** *ἐλέξαμεν*: 693 b 3. Of the three objects, the first two correspond accurately enough to the *Liberté* and *Fraternité* of the early French Republicans; but the *mind* in Plato’s state is shown chiefly in the renouncement on the part of the multitude of any claim to intellectual *Égalité*. See especially 689 b 2 f., where the absence of the disposition to obey the wise is called *ἄνοια*, 693 c and *Rep.* 431 d ff.

**e 1.** *τούτων ἔνεκα δὴ*, “it is to secure these objects that, etc.”—The acc. pl. *πολιτείας* has, in the place of the *δύο* or *δίττας* which we should expect, *τήν τε δ. καὶ τὴν ἐλ.* in semi-agreement with it. Ficinus translates “*duas gubernationum species*,” and somewhat so, to preserve the order and emphasis, must we translate in English. But this does not prove that Boeckh (p. 197) is right in holding that Plato must have written *δύο εἶδη πολιτείας*. There is no need, indeed, of the passages he quotes (e.g. below 735 a 5) to prove that such words would be correct and natural Greek. But no one has a right to forbid such a construction as that in the text. There is nothing more illogical in it than in, e.g., *τοῦ*

τε ὀξύος ἄμα καὶ βαρέος συγκεραυννύμενων at 665 a 1 ; still closer parallels are θαυμάζοντες ἄλλος ἄλλω ἔλεγον (*Symp.* 220 c 6), and καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πᾶσαι οὕτως τὸ αὐτῆς ἐκάστη ἔργον ἐργάζεται (*Rep.* 346 d 5).

**e 3–8.** λαβόντες κτλ. : ἐκατέρας is gen. sing. ; τῶν μὲν is “in the case of the Persians,” τῶν δέ “in the case of the Athenians.”—λαβόντες is subordinate to κατείδομεν ; “we perceived that, when we found” or “got” (in either the one or the other, etc.) ; τότε resumes the participial clause.—ἐλευθεριάζειν is used, as at *Ar. Pol.* 1314 a 8, of a self-assertive, pushing sense of freedom.—Ritter appositely compares *Er.* viii. 354 e δουλεία γὰρ καὶ ἐλευθερία ὑπερβάλλουσα μὲν ἐκατέρα πάγκακον, ἔμμετρος δὲ οὔσα πανάγαθον, and reminds us how near the two passages come to the Aristotelian doctrine of the *right mean*.

**e 6.** ἀγαγόντων (so L, O and the margin of A) is intrans. ; “when they marched, moved, pushed on”—a military term. A<sup>1</sup> and the margin of O have ἀγαθὸν τῶν, from which Schanz conjectures the original reading to have been ἄγαν ἰόντων. Many other alterations have been proposed of this passage, as may be seen from Schanz’s critical note.

**e 7.** οὔτε τοῖς οὔτε τοῖς : cp. 721 b 3 χρήμασι μὲν τόσοις καὶ τόσοις, τῇ καὶ τῇ δὲ ἀτιμία, *Rep.* 546 c ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, *Xen. Rep. Ath.* 2. 8 τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς, *Theaet.* 167 e ἐν μὲν τῷ . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ. The pure demonstrative use of the article is unusual outside Homer and the tragedians (e.g. *Aesch. Suppl.* 439 ἢ τοῖσιν ἢ τοῖς πόλεμον αἴρεσθαι μέγαν).

**702 a 2.** αὐτῶν : its position, and the γ’ both help to make this word emphatic ; “and that’s the reason why.”

**a 6.** λόγους, zeugma ; we must supply from ἐθεασάμεθα a verb to fit it.

**a 8.** πόλις . . . καὶ ἰδία : in the first two books we were dealing with the latter subject—i.e. the way laws can help to make a good *man*—and in the third book with the former—the right way to ordain the constitution of a *state*. The mention of this subject is a dramatic introduction to Cleinias’s subsequent communication. The following question clinches the matter ; for the Ath. asks if there is any *test* to be applied which would gauge the success of their attempts, and the soundness of their theories.

**b 4.** κατὰ τύχην τινὰ : in the same sense κατὰ θεόν is used at 682 e 10 and at *Euthyd.* 272 e 1 κατὰ θεὸν γάρ τινα ἔτυχον καθήμενος ἐνταῦθα ; so at b 7 κατὰ τινα αὖ καιρόν.

**c 2.** καὶ πρὸς (adv.) : cp. *Laws* 746 d 8 καὶ πρὸς γε τὰς πολε-



μικὰς τάξεις, *Gorg.* 469 b 1 καὶ ἐλεεινὸν γε πρὸς, 513 b 6 καὶ ν. μ. Δ. τῷ Πυριλάμπους γε πρὸς, *Rep.* 328 a 6 καὶ πρὸς γε παννυχίδα ποιήσουσιν, 466 e καὶ πρὸς γε ἄξουσι τῶν παίδων εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ὅσοι ἀδρόι, 559 a 2 καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγαθὸν ἐνοῦσαι δρῶσιν, *Euthyd.* 294 a καὶ σύ γε πρὸς, *Men.* 90 e καὶ ἀμαθία γε πρὸς, *Prot.* 321 d πρὸς δὲ καὶ αἱ Διὸς φυλακαὶ φοβεραὶ ἦσαν, *Soph.* 234 a φημί, καὶ πρὸς γε θαλάττης, *Menex.* 249 e καὶ πρὸς γε ἄλλων (-οις) πολλῶν (-οῖς) χάριν ἔχω. It will be seen that only three of these passages have no γε. In other authors the γε is left out as often as not.

c 8. ἐμοί τε καὶ ὑμῖν: the advantage to the three speculators would be—ultimately perhaps—the opportunity of putting their views to the test of experience (see *Timaeus* 19 c), but, at all events, immediately the opportunity of seeing the general principles, above arrived at, applied to concrete instances, and embodied in actual laws. In either case they would be putting their theories to the test.

d 1. ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων: possibly this refers only to the conversation which had already taken place—possibly to the whole of the conversation on the subject on which they were then engaged. The former explanation suits the context better, but the word ἐκλέξαντες is in favour of the latter.—τῷ λόγῳ, “in imagination.”

d 2. οἶον “imagining ourselves to be.”

d 3. ἐπίσκεψις, *inspection, examination*, as at 849 a, rather than *inquiry*, as at *Rep.* 456 c; “we shall be able to look at what we want”—i.e. a test of their theories.

d 6. οὐ πόλεμόν γε ἐπαγγέλλεις: “idem proverbium habes *Phaedr.* 242 B ubi schol. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγαθὰ ἀγγελλόντων, ἐμνήσθη ταύτης καὶ ἐν τῇ τρίτῳ τῶν Νόμων, dein πρόσαντες est i. q. ἀηδές ut interpretatur Hesych.” (Stallb.)

## BOOK IV

704 a 1. “Well, what are we to understand that your city is going to be?” (“I don’t mean,” he goes on, “what it is called now, or what name is going to be given it, but, is it going to be a coast town, or an inland town?”)

a 4. καὶ ὁ κατοικισμὸς αὐτῆς, “the mere circumstances of its founding;” e.g. who founded it? or how was it done? Plato later speaks of this imaginary city as ἡ Μαγνήτων πόλις 860 e 6,

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εἰ μὴ . . . ἔμελλεν . . . ἔξειν means “otherwise it must have acquired,” lit. “if it was not to acquire.” The latter use is a quasi-auxiliary one (Goodwin, *M. and T.* 428 a); in the former the verb is more alive—has more of its own proper meaning.

d 5. For ἔδει without ἄν cp. Goodwin, *M. and T.* 415 ff.

d 6. πολλά . . . ἤθη καὶ ποικίλα καὶ φαῦλα: lit. “many ways as bad as they are refined”—“many dangerous refinements”; ποικίλος here, like ποικίλλω at Eur. *Cycl.* 339, has the notion of “over-civilized,” “over-complicated,” “over-refined” (not “discordant” as Jowett). Cp. *rep.* 557 c πεποικιλμένη πᾶσιν ἤθεσιν.

d 7. τοιαύτη φύσει γενομένη, “in consequence of its natural position”; we should merely say “in consequence.” The redundancy is quite in Plato’s style. Cp. e.g. *Rep.* 505 b ἢ πάντα τᾶλλα φρονεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν φρονεῖν;

d 8. παραμύθιον ἔχει, “there is comfort in” (Jowett).—Stallb. well cps. Cicero, *De rep.* ii. 3 and 4, where he talks of the *corruptela ac demutatio morum* in maritime cities, and praises Romulus for putting Rome away from the coast.

705 a 1. ὅσον εὐλιμενωτέραν: cp. above b 8. The better the harbour, the more dangerous it was.—ὅμως δὲ κτλ., “however, we will make shift to do with it as it is.” Ast and Wagner wrongly take these words to mean, “so much the better that it is (removed from the sea)” but this entirely neglects the ὅμως δέ. This clause is almost parenthetical—“not that I insist on any alteration”;—the γάρ in the following sentence goes back to the ἐγγύτερον τοῦ δέοντος τῆς θαλάσσης, the danger of proximity to the sea.

a 2. τὸ μὲν παρ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἡδύ: spoken probably not, as the modern reader would be inclined to take it, of the visible charm of the sea, but of the convenience to daily life of a varied and well-stocked market. Cp. *Modern Painters*, pt. iv. ch. xiii. §§ 17 ff.

a 3. ὄντως = “in a deeper sense than the superficial meaning of the words”; i.e. there is something *morally* as well as *physically distasteful* about the sea. The words ἀλμυρὸν τὸ γειτόνημα occur, we are told, in a poem of Alcman.

a 4. διὰ καπηλείας does not go closely with ἐμπιμπλάσα, but is a quasi-adjectival adjunct probably to χρηματισμοῦ alone; cp. *Rep.* 371 d and *Soph.* 223 d, where ἔμποροι are distinguished from κάπηλοι: the former travel with their goods (and probably sell wholesale); the latter ἰδρύμενοι ἐν ἀγορᾷ . . . (σχεδόν τι οἱ ἀσθενέσ-

τατοι τὰ σώματα καὶ ἀχρεῖοί τι ἄλλο ἔργον πράττειν), buy from importers, and sell, retail, to natives.

**a 5.** ἤθη παλίμβολα καὶ ἄπιστα, “shifty and dishonourable ways,” “trickery and cheating.” The word παλίμβολος, which seems to have obtained considerable currency in later Greek, is explained by Ruhnken (*Tim.* p. 148), following Harpocration, as originally applied to something thrown back on one’s hands—particularly a *slave*. Dio Chrys. xxxi. 321.d couples the word with παλίμπρατος. Here Dio seems to use the word in the sense of “good-for-nothing” (cp. our phrase “an old shop-keeper,” and Uncle Remus’s “the same old two-and-sixpence”), but previously on the same page he says a healthy nature has nothing παλίμβολον or δυσχερές about it, where the words evidently mean *shifty* and *spiteful* respectively, as the following words identify the characteristics with ἀπάτη and πονηρία. The meaning *shifty* is vouched for by Timaeus’s interpretations πολυμετάβολός τε καὶ ἐπὶ μιᾷ γνώμῃ μὴ μένων. Both meanings are well attested by Ruhnken’s quotations. πάλιν in composition, like our *back-*, has often a sinister significance (cp. παλιντριβής at *Soph. Phil.* 448, παλίγγλωστος *Pind. N.* i. 88, παλίγκοτος,—*backword, backfriend, backslide, backbite*. Dio in the above passage may well have had Plato’s words in mind: he says, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν καπήλους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς μέτροις κακουργοῦντας, οἷς ὁ βίος ἐστὶν αὐτόθεν, ἀπὸ αἰσχροκερδείας, μισεῖτε καὶ κολάζετε (? ἀπὸ αἰσχροκερδείας spurious).

**a 8.** παραμύθιον . . . πρὸς ταῦτα: probably not “an assuagement of these fears of ours,” but “an abatement of these dangers.” Cp. *Thuc.* v. 103 ἐλπίς δὲ κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὔσα, and Plato, *Critias* 115 b παραμύθια πλησμονῆς. The word is used at 773 e, and elsewhere in the *Laws*, in the sense of “incitement to,” and so Athenaeus 640.e uses it when he misquotes Plato’s παραμύθια πλησμονῆς as παραμύθια ἡδονῆς.—καὶ τὸ πάμφορος εἶναι, “the very fact that (it) produces all kinds of crops.”

**b 1.** Schanz’s faith in A is here justified. Its original reading was undoubtedly δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολύφορος ἅμα, and so Schanz, rightly, as I think. L O, Eus., and Stob. follow a text which reads δῆλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν πολύφορός τε εἶη καὶ πάμφορος ἅμα, and a corrector of A (so Schanz), or (as Burnet) the original writer, has altered the shorter into the longer form—changing πολύφορος to πάμφορος, and adding the missing words in the margin, so as to come before that word. (Stob. has τις for τε.) The ὁμοιοτέλευτον provides a likely explanation of the omission, but the shorter form

gains so much in lucidity as to make it preferable. For the omission of εἴη cp. *Rep.* 371 a 1 ὦν ἂν αὐτοῖς χρεῖα.

**b 4.** κακόν goes with εἰς γεν. καὶ δικ. ἡθῶν κτήσιν, much as ἀνίατος was used with πρὸς ἀρετῆς κτήσιν at 704 d.—ἀνθ' ἐνδὸς ἔν: cp. *Rep.* 331 b, *Phil.* 63 c. This phrase, though often used with superlatives, or expressions equivalent to superlatives, does not in itself mean “prae ceteris” (Ast), or “above all” (L. & S.)—here, for instance, it could not be so translated—but it is like our “taking one thing with another,” “taking it all round.” The similar εἰς πρὸς ἕνα, however, at *Laws* 738 e and *Epin.* 976 e, has acquired (from its constant use in comparison) just this sense of “above all.” Cp. 647 b, 738 e.

**b 6.** ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν λόγοις: at 696 a οὐ γὰρ μή ποτε γένηται παῖς καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ γέρον ἐκ ταύτης τῆς τροφῆς, διαφέρων πρὸς ἀρετήν, where the τροφή referred to is the κακὸς βίος ὃν οἱ τῶν διαφερόντως πλουσίων καὶ τυράννων παῖδες τὰ πολλὰ ζῶσιν.

**c 5.** πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἐντὸς τῶν πλοίων μέρη: there is a slight redundance here. Badh. insists on correcting to πρὸς τὰντὸς, and Schanz follows him. But why might not Plato say “for the parts of the ships’ interiors,” instead of “for the parts inside the ships,” or “for the inside parts of the ships”? Cp. *Prot.* 334 b, where τὰ ἔξωθεν and τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ σώματος are used for the *exterior* and the *interior* of the body, and *Phaedr.* 247 c αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (not “the things beyond the οὐρανός,” but “the *outside* of the οὐρανός”).

**c 6.** There is a Platonic redundance also about the ἐκάστοτε (“always”) following on ἀναγκαῖον (ἐστὶ).

**c 7.** καὶ ταῦτα . . . τῆς φύσεως, “that natural feature of the country also is a good one.”

**c 8.** τί δή; “how so?”

**c 9.** “It is well that a city should find it difficult to follow its enemies’ example to its cost.”—For the double acc. cp. below on 742 e 3.

**d 2.** Schanz says that A reads δὴ τι, and this seems to me to lead up to the Ath’s. answer better than the usually received δὴ τί. It is “Have you anything that has been said, in your mind, when you say that?” To which the Ath. answers, in effect: “Yes; but it is something that was said some time ago.”

**d 3.** What he means by φύλαττέ με is further defined at e 1 ff., i.e. “take care that I do not fall into (1) the error of putting something else before virtue, or (2) that of exalting one kind of virtue at the expense of the rest.”—I. Bruns, p. 170, of course

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legislation," and τῶν προειρημένων at a 4 are "the aforesaid objects," i.e. that the law should promote (1) *virtue*, and (2) *virtue in general*.

a 4. ὄν τυγχάνη: a very vague expression. So we might say "is to be got by it."—τὴν δὲ δὴ . . . γίγνεσθαι, "the dangerous imitation of one's enemies, to which I referred, arises in the following way."

a 7. After the apologetic parenthesis (the ἔλεγον γίγνεσθαι construction is abandoned, and direct narrative is substituted.

a 8. γὰρ δὴ like (the suggested) δὴ γάρ at 638 a 7, "for instance," "in fact."

b 7. ἂν . . . συνήνεγκεν: so put because the Athenians did not *then* become a sea power. The difficulty with Minos and the Minotaur was got over in another way. (Plato mentions the story also at *Phaedo* 58 a b.) The γάρ before ἂν, to which Stallb. takes exception, explains and justifies the application of the adj. κακὴν to μίμησιν in a 5.

c 1. μονίμων is in strong contrast to the following πυκνὰ ἀποπηδῶντας ("making constant starts"), δρομικῶς . . . ἀποχωρεῖν, and μὴ πολμῶντας ἀποθνήσκειν μένοντας. Plutarch twice quotes Plato's μονίμων ὀπλιτῶν: at *Themist.* ch. 4, and at *Philopoemen* ch. 14.

c 2. δρομικῶς ταχύ, "as fast as their legs would carry them."

c 3 f. δοκεῖν is in direct, εἰκνίας αὐτοῖς γίγνεσθαι προφάσεις in loose dependence on the ἐθισθῆναι in c 2.

c 6. Both the δὴ and the τινὰς are scornful.—οὐκ αἰσχρὰς, ὡς φασιν, φυγὰς: perhaps Plato had in mind Archilochus's ἀσπίς ἐκείνη ἐρρέτω· ἐξαὐτίς κτήσομαι οὐ κακίῳ (Bergk, *Anth. Lyr.*, Archil. fr.; cp. also similar confessions in fragments of Alcaeus and Anacreon, and in Hor. *Od.* ii. 7. 10).

c 6–8. What is wanting to make this passage intelligible is (1) the discovery of a poem (such as those referred to in the last note) in which the words οὐκ αἰσχρὰς φυγὰς occurred, and (2) another poem in which the words of the author of the first one were spoken as "worthy of infinite praise" (e.g. ὄξι' ἐπαινεῖσθαι μυριομυριάκις). As it stands it seems remarkable that so much should be made of phrases or expressions applied to the conduct just described. (Does ῥ. mean "words of command"? F.H.D.). If, with Schanz, we reject ῥήματα, our mind is naturally fixed, all through, mainly on the *conduct* and *habits* (ἐθισθῆναι c 2, ἔθη ἐθίζειν d 1) of those who use a navy. On the other hand it is hard to see what could have induced any scribe to put in ῥήματα if it wasn't there, while the elaborate μείωσις of οὐκ ἄξι' . . .

τοῦναντίον is almost equally out of place. Another correction of the passage which is attractive—especially if ῥήματα be retained—is that made by “Coraes ad Plutarch. Vol. i. 208. 20” (Stallb.) of ταῦτα to τοιαῦτα. Stallb. defends ταῦτα by referring to *Phil.* 16 c ταύτην φήμην παρέδοσαν, and—for the absence of the art.—*Phil.* 65 d 7 and *Laws* 702 d.1 (so too 685 e 4). (If the suggestion that we are here dealing with a poetical quotation be accepted, perhaps the poetical λήματα—as F.H.D. suggests—was what Plato wrote.)

**c.8.** Ast is probably right in writing πολλακισμυρίων as one word; cp. *Theat.* 175 a 4.

**d.2.** τὸ τῶν πολιτῶν βέλτιστον μέρος: the assumption, that soldiers are the aristocracy of a state is more explicitly made in the *Republic*.

**d.4.** αὐτῷ: a kind of “ethic” dat. = “in his” (i.e. Homer’s “representation,” “according to Homer”; cp. *Rep.* 389 e οἶα καὶ Ὀμήρῳ Διομήδης λέγει, and *Ar. Poet.* 1456 a 27, and *Pòl.* 1339 b 8.

**d.5.** κατεχομένων, “hard pressed”; cp. *Xen. Cyn.* 9. 20 ῥίπτουσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐὰν κατέχωνται.

**e.1 ff.** Ἐ 96–102. The chief difference between Plato’s quotation and our Homeric text is that he has πολέμου (e 5) in the place of our πόλεμον. If Plato wrote the gen. he must have meant “lay hold on,” “take earnestly to,” fighting. At the same time Thuc. at i. 112 uses ἔσχον τοῦ πολέμου in the sense of “stopped” fighting.—Other variations are ἐυσέλμους for ἐυσσέλμους, ἔλκειν for ἐλκέμεν, ἐελδομένοισι for ἐπικρατέουσι, and οἶ’ ἀγορεύεις for ὄρχαμε λαῶν. In all points, I think, our Homeric text is better than Plato’s.

**707 a 5:** The MSS. read ἅμα σωτηρία τιμὰς. Badham would read σωτηρίας, taking ἅμα adverbially with πρὸς τούτοις, and Schanz and Apelt follow him. Although ἅμα σωτηρία τιμὰς may be possible Greek for “honours conferred in the hour of deliverance,” γιγνομένης in b.1 must go with σωτηρίας expressed or supplied—it cannot, as Stallb. wants, go with ἐρετικῆς—and τιμὰς in the sense of *price* takes a genitive naturally; also the temptatation to a scribe to put a dat. after ἅμα is a strong one. On these grounds I accept Badham’s emendation.—The ἅμα, though perhaps improving the rhythm of the sentence, seems somewhat redundant; but οἶμαι, which Apelt would substitute for it, is out of place in such a decided expression of opinion.—We may translate: “Again, cities which owe their power to their navies do not confer the reward for their deliverance upon the



heroes of the fight. The victory is won by the arts of the pilot, the boatswain and the rower, and by a miscellaneous and disreputable crowd (who exercise these arts), and there can be no proper bestowal of honours upon *individuals*."

**a 6.** τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν πολεμικῶν: τῷ καλλ. is neut., and τῶν πολ. masc.; lit. "the noblest element among the fighters." For the generalizing use of the neut. cp. 731 e τυφλοῦται γὰρ περὶ τὸ φιλούμενον ὁ φιλῶν. (τοῖς καλλίστοις here would have sounded like "the handsomest.")

**b 1.** παντοδαπῶν καὶ οὐ πάνυ σπουδαίων ἀνθρώπων: Heindorf on *Phaedr.* 243 c has collected passages from Greek and Latin authors where "sailors" is used as a term of abuse.—The καί before παντοδαπῶν, which is in all the MSS., was omitted from all printed texts before Stallbaum's, and is again rejected by Schanz. Ast omitted the διά before κυβερνητικῆς and put it in the place of the καί before παντοδαπῶν. This greatly simplifies the construction, but impoverishes the sense.—The extraordinary ἐρετρικῆς of the MSS. was corrected by Ald.

**b 3.** The importance of bestowing public distinction has often been urged already—e.g. at 631 e τιμῶντα ὀρθῶς . . . καὶ ἀτιμάζοντα, and 632 c καὶ τιμὰς ἄστινας αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμειν δεῖ, and more particularly at 697 a b πόλιν . . . τὴν μέλλουσαν σώζεσθαι τε καὶ εὐδαιμονήσκειν εἰς δύναμιν ἀνθρωπίνην δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον τιμὰς τε καὶ ἀτιμίας διανέμειν ὀρθῶς. Cf. Dio Chrys. xxxi. 321 τί γάρ ἐστιν ἱερώτερον τιμῆς ἢ χάριτος; occurring in a passage where a corrupt distribution of public distinctions is denounced as a "debasement of the moral currency."

**c 1.** The Ath. does not say that Artemisium and Salamis had no part in the deliverance of the Greeks from Persian despotism, but that they did not either *begin* or *complete* that deliverance. After all, he adds, mere *preservation* is, from our present point of view, not nearly so important as the effect of one or the other style of fighting upon the *character* of the citizens.

**c 2.** As at 698 e 4, Schanz rejects the ἐν before Μαραθῶνι.

**c 7.** σοι (*dat. ethicus*) indicates that the fresh point is in Cleinias's favour.

**d 1.** ἀποβλέποντες . . . ἡγούμενοι: the participles here, as often, contain the main ideas: "The truth is, our object in these inquiries, whether into the nature of the country or its institutions, is to secure the right sort of constitution, for we don't think, as most men do . . ."—πολιτείας ἀρετήν: not as Stallb. "*civitatis virtutem*"—that point comes in later with

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Ald. altered to the fut. (and so Schanz). Here, however, the aor. is probably correct. It *may* be used, without *ἄν*, of the moment when the colonists, or rather their leaders, “made up their minds to welcome” Peloponnesian comrades; but, more probably, we ought to read *μάλιστ' ἄν μοι* in a 4.

a 6. *ὡς ἐξ Ἀργους εἰσίν*, “that there *are* (some colonists) from Argos (in Crete).”

a 7. With *τὸ Γόρτυνικὸν (γένος)* we must supply in thought “is from those parts.” The Peloponnesian Gortys seems to have been in Arcadia, not in Argos.

a 8. *ταύτης*: cp. *Rep.* 544 c *ἡ Κρητικὴ τε καὶ Λακωνικὴ αὕτη*; and *Gorg.* 472 b *τοῦτο τὸ καλὸν ἀνάθημα*; “the distinguished city of Gortyn.” In classical times, however, the Cretan Gortyn or Gortys was better known than the Arcadian one. It is mentioned at B 646 and γ 294.

b 2 f. *ὅταν μὴ . . . γίγνηται . . . οἰκίζηται*: Stallb. cites a parallel from *Gorg.* 505 e to this “explanatory” asyndeton: *ἵνα μοι τὸ τοῦ Ἐπιχάρμου γένηται, ἃ πρὸ τοῦ δύο ἄνδρες ἔλεγον, εἰς ὧν ἱκανὸς γένωμαι*. In both instances we may think (very likely wrongly) that the sentences would have run better if *γίγνηται* and *γένηται* respectively had been absent.

b 4. For *πολιορκεῖν* in the figurative sense of “hem in,” “bring pressure to bear on” cp. *Xen. Mem.* ii. 1. 13 and 17, and *Alc. II.* 142 a.

b 8. *ἄρδην κρείττονι κρατηθεῖσα πολέμῳ*: *κρείττονι* agrees with *πολέμῳ* (not, as Schneider, Wagner, and Jowett, “conquered by a superior power in war”), but it may be doubted whether Plato meant “(completely overpowered) *in* an unequal contest,” or “*by* an irresistible attack”; I think the latter.—Cp. Milton, *Par. Lost*, vi. 454 “Against unequal arms to fight in pain.”

c 1. *τῇ μὲν*, “in some respects,” *τῇ δέ*, “in other respects.”

c 3. *ἔχει*: the “pregnant” use of *ἔχει* in the sense of *παρέχει*; cp. *Thuc.* ii. 61. 2 *τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἐκάστω*: —*κοινωνὸν ἱερῶν ὄν*: there is an anacoluthon here; *ὄν* must agree with *γένος*, which is acc., but it may be doubted whether if a fem. noun had been in the place of *γένος* we should have had *οὔσαν* here; *ὄν* (and *ἀνέχεται*) proceed as if *γένος* had been the subject of a previous direct statement; *ὄν* is “since it is.”

c 4. For *ἄλλας* with a gen. of comparison cp. *Gorg.* 512 d *ὄρα μὴ ἄλλο τι τὸ γενναῖον καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἢ τοῦ σώζειν τε καὶ σώζεσθαι*.

c 5. The *δ'* is adversative to *εὐπετῶς ἀνέχεται*, “instead of

that the disaffected body, whose withdrawal is sometimes due to bad laws, and which wants to go on living in the same ways which were fatal to it before, because it is used to them, etc." This is better than to take τὸ δ' adverbially. It is wrong to supply γένος with ἐστασιακός, I think.

**d 1-7.** "On the other hand, while a miscellaneous conglomeration of colonists has not, as a body, prejudices which hamper the lawgiver, it takes a long time and great effort to bring about true union in such a case." The δ' in d 1 corresponds to the μέν in c 2. Then follows a consideration on the other side: "after all, we must face the (last mentioned) difficulty, remembering that the work of a lawgiver and founder must *in any case* demand exceptional ability and virtue."

**d 3.** συμπνεύσαι, "coalesce." So *Ar. Pol.* v. 3 στασιωτικὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον, ἕως ἂν συμπνεύσῃ—exactly the same observation as that in the text.

**d 4.** The MSS. have καθ' ἕνα εἰς . . . For καθ' ἕνα Stallb. would read καθ' ἕν, and Herm. (pref. to vol. vi.) καθέντα. I suspect that the correct reading is καθ' ἕνα εἰς, with commas before and after,—“man by man”—a phrase similar in form to ἀνθ' ἑνὸς ἕν at 705 b, and πρὸς ἕνα εἰς at *Demosth. C. Mid.* p. 557. The case of εἰς is a difficulty, at first sight a fatal one; but perhaps the cacophony of καθ' ἕνα ἕνα led the writer to proceed as if the sentence, like the preceding one, had a finite verb. No εἰς is wanted with ταῦτόν συμφυσῆσαι (“to pipe the same tune”).

**d 6.** ὄντως (the reading of the text of A and of the margin of L and O)—“in the nature of the case”—is better than L and O's ὁμως—“after all”—but the latter would give a tolerable sense, which οὕτως, the third MS. variant, would not.

**d 7.** If the MS. τελεώτατον is correct, the meaning is that “law-giving and city-founding is a sovereign specific for manly excellence.” (Cp. *Critias* 106 b φάρμακον . . . τελεώτατον καὶ ἄριστον φαρμάκων, ἐπιστήμην.) This leaves ἀνδρῶν in an adjectival relation to ἀρετήν; but why should “manly” excellence be specified, and what connexion has such a statement with what has gone before? I think Badham was right in reading τελεωτάτων, but I would not, with him, read ἔστιν and take the sentence to be a question.—For the connexion with what has gone before see above on d 1-7. (If it *were* a question I should prefer the MS. τελεώτατον—“is it such a specific as we assume?”)—For πρὸς in the sense of “(to be good) at,” or “in reference to,” cp. *Alc. I.* 120 e τελέους . . . πρὸς ἀρετήν, *Prot.* 318 c

βελτίω πρὸς γραφικὴν, *Phaedr.* 263 d, τεχνικώτερος . . . πρὸς λόγους.

**d 8 ff.** “I don’t doubt it,” says Cleinias, “but I don’t quite see why you say so just now.” Then the Ath. pulls himself up short,—much as he did in Bk. III. at 686 c 7,—as if suddenly struck by a consideration which would modify his previous statement. This dramatic device would not be necessary if his two interlocutors had been men of greater intellectual power than they are represented to be.—F. Doering (p. 17) argues that the whole passage from εἰκός to μακρῶ at 712 a 7 is an interpolation—written at an earlier time while Plato still held the views maintained in the *Republic*. Zeller held that the passage was not Plato’s at all, but a hash-up of the passages in the *Republic* where Plato says his ideal state can only come into being if either philosophers become kings, or kings philosophers. He relies much on the occurrence of the words μνήμων, εὐμαθής and μεγαλοπρεπής in 709 e, as compared with *Rep.* 487 a. But the idea of the passage in the *Laws* is not the same, but one more in keeping with the practical tone of the treatise. He does not suggest, as he did in the *Rep.*—473 b ff. and elsewhere—, that philosophers should be made kings, or kings philosophers, but that a well-endowed and well-disposed despot might be so fortunate as to secure the services of a νομοθέτης ἄξιος ἐπαίνου (710 c 8).

What the Ath. says in this passage is: “After all, are we not in danger of expecting too much of, and of attributing too much to even such θεῖοι ἄνδρες as we have postulated?” Cleinias’s question has made the Ath. pause, and “go back on”—ἐπανιών—the subject of the legislator; and he is suddenly impressed with the view expressed later by Dr. Johnson, as to the “small part” played by “laws” in curing the “ills that human hearts endure.” We may imagine a short interval of silence after Cleinias’s question. Then the Ath. says: “I fancy the result of my reconsideration of the matter of the νομοθέται will be that I shall say something actually (καί) derogatory to them as well (ἄμα). But if my remark is at all apposite, no harm will be done. After all, why should I mind? It is pretty much the same with all things human.”

**e 1.** It was perhaps the contrast between this remark and the high compliment just paid to lawgivers that led to O’s variant of ἐπαινῶν for ἐπανιών.

**e 2.** πρὸς καιρόν τινα, like εἰς τινα . . . καιρον at 926 e 9, “not unseasonably,” “to the point.”—Ritter takes the whole passage quite differently; i.e. “I think I am going to point out a

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τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργούς. It seems better to take τό adverbially, particularly because πάντα ταῦτα seems, from its position, meant to be the obj. of εἰπόντα.—ἔστιν in both sentences stands for ἔξεστιν.

b 7. I take θεὸς (μὲν) πάντα (ἔστι) to be a doctrine opposed to that expressed at b 1, τύχας δ' εἶναι σχεδὸν ἅπαντα. Cp. Aesch. *Frag.* 65 a Dind. Ζεὺς τοι τὰ πάντα. It is usual to take θεός as one of the subjects to διακυβερνῶσι, and to identify τύχη and καιρός as the *second* guiding agency. (Badham alters πάντα to πρῶτος and θεοῦ to θεὸν—naturally enough, if the usual view is correct.) But *Luck* and *Fit Occasion* are two distinct influences.

b 8. ἡμερώτερον: here too I would desert the ordinary interpretation, which supplies ἔστι with ἡμερώτερον, and makes συγχωρῆσαι depend on it—"mitius est concedere;" Stallb. I believe that, by a very mild anacoluthon, the construction (after λέγειν) is varied from ὡς with indic. to an inf. (δεῖν). To describe the admission as ἡμερον is so extraordinary that Badham would read μετριώτερον. But, used as an adj. describing the nature of τέχνη, as contrasted with the two other agencies, it is apt, and recalls the contrast described at *Rep.* 410 d f. between the σκληρότης of the nature whose body only has been developed, and the ἡμερότης of the φιλόσοφος φύσις. τέχνη then represents *man's* share in the work of the universe; *luck* and "*ripeness*" are not in his hands, but *skill* is. I would therefore put a comma or colon after πάντα, remove the comma after καιρός, and substitute a colon for the full stop after σύμπαντα.—"Dans les champs de l'observation le hasard ne favorise que les esprits préparés," Pasteur, *Vie* p. 88.

c 1. καιρῷ χειμῶνος cannot (*pace* the dictionaries and the translators) stand either for "in a time of storm," or "on the occasion of a storm," or (as Stallb.) "at the exigency of a storm" (*quum tempestas exigit atque postulat*), nor even "at the critical moment in a storm." All these usages would demand, in classical Greek, a preposition with καιρῷ. As at p. 752 a 1, συλλαβέσθαι (used absolutely) means "to co-operate," and it naturally takes a dat. of the person helped. Here the third agency (τέχνη) is represented as helping the second (καιρός). We could get on without χειμῶνος ("in a storm"), and ἢ μή (conversationally added to κυβερνητικήν in the sense of "rather than the opposite"—this is perhaps better than to take ἢ μή with συλλαβέσθαι, i.e. "rather than that it should not"), but an Englishman's fancy

is hardly enough authority in such a case. Badham rejects both *χειμῶνος* and ἡ μή and Schanz follows him. That one version of Stobaeus apparently omits μή does not give much support to the latter omission. (L. & S. actually take *κυβ.* as the obj. of *συλλ.*) [F.H.D. would read ἐν καιρῷ and trans. "to intervene in a storm at the right moment."]

**c 5.** I strongly suspect that *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἂν ἔχοι λόγον* is a commentator's amplification which has wrongly found its way into the text. If this was so, Ast's *καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις* and Schanz's *κἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις* are unnecessary.

**c 6.** *ταῦτὸν τοῦτο*: i.e. the *μέγα πλεονέκτημα* just spoken of. In other words, "law-making as much as any task needs *skill*."

**c 7.** The asyndeton is of the usual "explanatory" kind.—*εἰ μέλλοι*: most editors (including Schanz) follow Stobaeus in accepting the easier reading *εἰ μέλλει* here, though A and O and some inferior MSS. have *εἰ μέλλοι*. The opt. should be retained; it carries back the mind to the mention of other favourable circumstances—of position and soil—made at 704 a ff.—"which ought, as we saw above, to be enjoyed by a city, if it is ever to be a prosperous one." At *Rep.* 490 a there is a similar opt. in a ὅτι clause dependent on *ἀπολογησόμεθα*—ὅτι . . . *πεφυκῶς εἶη . . . καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμένοι*, where Adam says the opt. represents the "philosophic imperfect" in direct speech—"was," i.e. "is, as we saw" and where Ast and Madvig change *ἀπολογησόμεθα* into a past tense. Adam also cps. *Charm.* 156 b 8, where Madvig emends a similar opt. by inserting an ἂν.

**c 8.** *ἀληθείας ἐχόμενον*: for *ἀληθῆ*, a form of periphrasis often occurring in the *Laws*; e.g. 677 c 5 *τέχνης ἐχόμενον* for *τεχνικόν*. It probably goes predicatively with *παραπεσεῖν*.

**c 9.** *δεῖν* is used much as at c 1; we may supply in thought, "we must allow" before it, from *δοτέον*.

**d 2.** The MS. reading is apparently *ὀρθῶς τι, παρὸν*, and so the early editions. Correctors of A, L, and O give a variant *παρ'* for *παρόν*. Boeckh first put a comma after *ὀρθῶς*, and wrote *τί* for *τι*, and all recent edd. except Schanz follow him. But the words will not bear Boeckh's translation of *τί παρὸν αὐτῷ διὰ τύχης*—"ea quae modo contigerint fortuna . . ." The utmost we can make of them is to suppose a "double-barrelled" question; e.g. "they would be justified in praying, wouldn't they, for what particular thing would it be, the presence of which would render nothing further necessary except their skill?" *πάνυ μὲν οὖν* answers the first question only, but *κελευόμενοι . . . εἰπεῖν* in



d 5 seems to refer to the second. H. Steph. gets the requisite sense by reading ὀρθῶς τι ὁ παρὸν, and so does Wagner's ὄ, τι for τι; but Schanz's reading does this with less alteration of the text. Heindorf had already objected to the MS. ἐπιδέοι as an impersonal, and Schanz reads ἐπιδέον (leaving ὀρθῶς τι as in the MSS.). We may translate this: "would be justified, wouldn't he, in praying for something put in his hand by chance (and) likely to need nothing but his skill besides." Ritter well reminds us that ὀρθῶς carries us in thought to the *ill-advised* prayers spoken of at 688 b 6.

d 6. τὴν αὐτῶν εὐχὴν εἰπεῖν, "to say what it was they prayed for."

d 8. Stallb. says we may supply ἄν with δράσειεν from the Ath.'s previous sentence. Better than this is to suppose, with Schanz, that δὴ is a scribe's misreading of ἄν, or—better still—that δράσει is what Plato wrote, the final εν being due to the following ἐγ.

d 10. τί is governed of course by δῶμεν, not by ἔχουσαν.

e 1. ἐκ τῶν λοιπῶν: perhaps "with your remaining resources"; cp. 710 a 1 τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων ὄφελος εἶναί τι. For this use of ἐκ cp. *Rep.* 365 d συνωμοσίας . . . συνάξομεν, εἰσὶν τε πειθοῦς διδάσκαλοι . . . ἐξ ὧν τὰ μὲν πείσομεν, τὰ δὲ βιασόμεθα; Ast however says it means "*henceforward*"—as it apparently does at *Ep.* 316 d 8—and he is possibly right.

e 3–6. Ritter's arrangement of this passage, which Burnet has adopted, not only involves less change in the words than any—except Hermann's—but gives the most natural continuation of the dialogue. The MSS. make φέρε . . . ἦ γάρ; a continuous speech of the Athenian's: to this Cl. answers Ναί, and the Ath. goes on again with τόδε. Besides giving the question τί μετὰ τοῦτ' κτλ. to Cl., Ritter, following Schramm, alters ; ἄρα to ἄρα; (ἄρα is the reading of L). (Schanz adopts Stallb.'s alteration of ἦ γάρ to τί γάρ—which he gives to Cl., and with him rejects Ναί. To this Ritter properly objects that τὸ ποῖον; and not τί γάρ; is always used in the *Laws* in such a case. Besides, Stallb.'s τί γάρ; is—as he himself says of Schramm's ingenious τὸν νομοθέτην;—"justo audacius." To Hermann's arrangement, which gives τοῦ νομ. . . ἦ γάρ; to Cl., and begins the Ath.'s answer Ναὶ τόδε; the objection is that Ναί answers one question, and τόδε another.

e 4. Burnet differs from most recent edd. in adopting A<sup>2</sup>'s correction of φράζωμεν to the more suitable φράζομεν. "In saying this we are speaking for the lawgiver, are we not?"

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ἐγκρατῶς: a similar notional anacoluthon may be seen in the addition of τε καὶ ἀτιμίαι at 696.d 11, and of ἢ μή at 709 c 2. In all three cases it is necessary to picture to oneself both opposites in order to understand the nature of one, and the distinction is loosely spoken of as if it was the distinguishing mark of one member of the pair. In much the same way we use the word distinction in the sense of distinguishing mark. (Schanz would reject the τοῖς μὲν and τοῖς δέ clauses as a commentator's explanation, and Badham would change τοῖς μὲν into τοῦ μή and reject the τοῖς δέ clause; but this might be taken to imply that all children and animals were temperate, and this, no doubt, Plato wanted to avoid.)

**b 1.** ἔφαμεν—at 696 e 1.—For μονοῦσθαι with a gen. cp. *Tim.* 46 e μονωθείσαι φρονήσεως.

**b 4.** ταύτην τὴν φύσιν: i.e. τὴν σώφρονα φύσιν (*Polit.* 307 c).

**b 5.** For the plural φύσεσιν Stallb. (as against Zeller, who finds fault with it) cps. *Rep.* 410 e πούτω τὴν φύσει, and 424 a φύσεις ἀγαθὰς ἐμποιεῖ.

**b 6.** Badham supposes that ἄριστα is a misreading of ῥᾶιστα. The latter, besides getting support from the ῥᾶστά τε καὶ τάχιστα at d 8, and from τάχος καὶ ῥαστώνη at 711.a.2, may be thought more significant and expressive; but the ἀμείνων in b 8 seems to me to put ἄριστα beyond a doubt.

**b 8.** διάθεσις, "process of settlement." Verbal derivatives in Greek retain the power of representing the imperfect as well as the perfect and momentary tenses of the verbs from which they are derived.

**c 1 f.** Cl. "How, or by what arguments, could a man ever get people to believe that?"

Ath. "Why, it is easy to see that it is in the nature of things that that should be so."

**c 5.** H. Steph. restored εἰ τύραννος . . . εὐτυχῆς from the Ath., to whom the MSS. give it, to Cleinias, and Ast saw that St. had gone a word too far, and correctly gave εὐτυχῆς back to the Athenian.

**c 7.** The κατὰ which, logically speaking, should be repeated before τὸ γενέσθαι is omitted for rhythm's sake.—For this use of κατὰ Stallb. cps. *Phaedr.* 229.d. οὐ πάνυ εὐτυχοῦς ἀνδρὸς κατ' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δ' . . .

**d 1.** I think Stallb., the Zür. edd. and Schanz are right in adopting Ald.'s emendation of the MS. αὐτῷ to αὐτῶ.—πάντα σχεδὸν κτλ., "what more could God do for a city?"

**d 3.** δεύτερον, "second best"; for "best of all" had been implied in the preceding διαφερόντως.—τινες answers to an English "say."

**d 4.** τρίτον δ' αὖ . . . ἐναντίον: ὡσαύτως seems to go with κατὰ λόγον, and not to stand for the demonstrative ποσοῦτως, which is omitted with χαλεπώτερον, as at *Lysis* 206 a οὐκοῦν ὅσω ἂν μεγαλαυχότεροι ᾖσιν, δυσαλωτότεροι γίνονται; "It would be third best, and so on in proportion—more difficult, the more rulers there were, and *vice versa*."

**d 6.** ἀρίστην . . . πόλιν, "the best kind of state"; an expression more natural in Cleinias's mouth than the more technical πολιτείαν.

**d 7.** μετὰ . . . γε, "with the help, of course, of"; for μετά thus used cp. 720 d 7, 738 d 7, 791 a 7, 862 d 5.

**d 8.** εἰς τοῦτο: i.e. εἰς τὴν ἀρίστην πόλιν.

**e 1.** δεύτερον: not, as above at d 3, "the second best thing," but adverbial—"in the second degree."—I agree with Hermann in thinking that καὶ τὸ τρίτον ἐκ δημοκρατίας is not from Plato's hand. (1) πῶς λέγεις comes more naturally as the end of Cleinias's speech than as a parenthesis; (2) an indication that the words did not stand in the original is to be found in the τικος in e 4, which is a sort of apology for the introduction of a new element into the consideration. (3) οὐδαμῶς is too strong a negative for the circumstances; for according to the text the second of the three polities enumerated is the only one that the Athenian alters.

**e 3.** πρῶτον: adverbial, like δεύτερον above; "in the highest degree;" i.e. "most (easily and quickly)."

**e 4.** βασιλικῆς: it has been explained in Bk. III. that the best form of hereditary kingship is that where, as at Sparta, there were two kings at a time.

**e 5.** For variety's sake the form of the expression is changed, and τὸ τέταρτον, like δεύτερον at d 3, is "the fourth best thing."—Burnet does well to put a comma after ὀλιγαρχία as well as before it.—τοῦ τοιούτου="the best form of state."

**e 6.** πλείστοι . . . δυνάσται: for the leaders of the democracy are not only less numerous, but less secure in their position as δυνάσται, than the members of an oligarchical class.

**e 7.** δὴ is almost "remember."—ταῦτα is the τοῦ τοιούτου of e 5; i.e. ἡ ἀρίστη πολιτεία.

**e 8 f.** φύσει as we should say "providentially." (Wagner takes it closely with ἀληθῆς, but it goes better with γένηται).—κοινή—so Ald. for the MS. κοινή—goes closely with πρὸς in the next

line: "a kind of force which he shares with the holders of supreme power."—The *τις* helps to express that the kind of force is unique, and not to be confounded with mere station and dignity—and is against Badham's rather attractive substitution of *γνώμη* for *ῥώμη*. (*τις* would then be "more or less.")

**711 a 1.** *τοῦτο*: an extreme instance of the boldness with which Plato uses neuter pronouns. It stands for *οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει μάλιστα δυνάμενοι*, "this element."

**a 4.** *πῶς*; does not ask for the grounds of the opinion just expressed. It is: "What do you say? I can't take it in." "And yet I have said it often enough," answers the Athenian. "It is because you don't realize what *τυραννίς* is." "No," says Cl., "and I don't want to either." There is a little impatience in the first part of the Ath's. answer—caused perhaps by the tone of the question at 710 c 1 f.

**b 1.** "Can't you see that the facility I pointed out is involved in the notion of a despotism?"

**b 7.** Burnet, by putting commas after *ἐπιτηδεύματα* and *πολίτας*, shows that it is unnecessary with Stallb. to supply *ἐθελήσῃ* with *προτρέπεσθαι*—the two *ἐάν τε* clauses being amplificatory to *ὅπηπερ*, and divided, to balance the sentence properly, by *προτρέπεσθαι τοὺς πολίτας*.

**b 8.** *ὑπογράφοντα τῷ πράττειν*: "metaphora ab iis repetita qui pueris ductus literarum praescribunt" Stallb., who cps. for the whole passage Claudian's "regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis" (*De qu. cons. Hon.* 299), and Cic. *Legg.* iii. 14.—The ancients had not formulated the idea of the sovereignty of "public opinion."

**c 1.** *ἐπαινοῦντα* and *τιμῶντα* are, in idea, subordinate to *προτρέπεσθαι*, but the syntactical construction is of the loose order common in the long and somewhat straggling sentences of the *Laws*—the intervening *ὑπογράφοντα* being explanatory of *πορεύεσθαι*.

**c 3.** *καὶ πῶς οἴομεθα . . .*; we should say: "But what makes you think that . . .?" A and O originally wrote *οἴώμεθα*, but it is corrected by the first hand to *οἴομεθα*. Schneider reads *καί πως οἴομεθα*, "et putamus fere"; Badham goes still further, and by reading *πῶς <οὐκ> οἴομεθα* makes the sentence into an emphatic assent. So does Apelt (p. 7), who would read *καὶ πρὸς* (adv.). But the reading of the text best fits the course of the conversation. The emphatic word in the question is *ταχύ*. The conservative Dorian cannot easily imagine any change of view as *rapid*. The

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modesty with the latter meaning, he must have said ἐφ' ἡμῶν here. I suspect that what Plato wrote was ἡμῖν, and that the scribe's eye was caught by the ἡμῶν in the preceding line.—R. Hackforth, *The Authorship of the Platonic Epistles*, p. 153, surmises that Plato here has in mind the young Hipparinus, the son of Dion. This conjecture, he says, if correct, would fix the date of the composition of Bk. IV. at 354–3 B.C.

e 8. συμπάσης δυνάμεως . . . περί: i.e. “whatever the form of the government be,” or “in whosoever hand the supreme power may lie.”

e 8 ff. ὅταν . . . συμπέση, “quando aliquo in homine prudentiae et temperantiae conjuncta fuerit potentia summa” (Schneider). The φρονεῖν indicates especially the part which might be played by the ideal lawgiver. (In the very similar passage in *Rep.* 473 d 2 I would suggest that the comma be removed after συμπέση and the difficult τοῦτο be taken adverbially, “in this way”: καὶ τοῦτο εἰς ταῦτόν συμπέση δύνამίς τε πολιτικὴ καὶ φιλοσοφία.)

712 a 3. τῶν τοιούτων: i.e. τῶν ἀρίστων.

a 4. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν . . . μακρῶ: cf. on 736 b 6 below. “Fancy that in this oracular deliverance of mine you have been listening to a *story* when I declare that, whereas in general” (lit. “one way”) “it is hard for a city to get good laws, yet, if only things happened as I say, it would be the simplest thing in the world.”—καί, I think, does not put a fresh point, but is *explanatory* of κεχρησμωδήσθω. I have removed the comma between the two imperatives.—καθαπερεί does not, like καθάπερ, go closely with the adjacent noun or adj., but with the verb, i.e. with the whole sentence; here we may translate it “fancy that . . .”—μῦθος τις: cp. 841 c 6. According to Plato, conviction does not follow only from logical proof; the mind may accept truth “embodied in a tale,” or delivered as an oracle. Stallb. cps. *Phil.* 44 c, *Polit.* 304 c d.

a 8. The connexion of thought is very hard to trace, but I do not think it is absolutely necessary to suppose a lacuna here, or to accept Susemihl's alteration of πῶς; to καλῶς. This remedy, as Susemihl himself felt, renders the πειρώμεθα too abrupt, and he was obliged to put in δὴ after that word. πῶς; does not refer to the three preceding lines, which need no explanation, but to ταῦτα . . . κεχρησμωδήσθω which does. The Ath. has said, in effect: “a truce to exact arguments, and historical parallels; fancy that what I have laid down is a *story*, told by

the mouth of an oracle." "Why?" says Cleinias. Then, with a natural *explanatory* asyndeton, the Ath. answers: "Because I want to bring your city, Cleinias, into the story, and like three grey-bearded children as we are, to make up its imaginary laws."

**b 1.** I take it that we must supply  $\mu\hat{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\nu$  in thought with  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\alpha\rho\mu\acute{o}\tau\tau\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ .— $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omega$ —)(  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omega$ —has also the  $\mu\hat{\upsilon}\theta\omicron\varsigma$  in mind: the laws are not to be real ones;  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$  is also chosen as being a word associated with *fiction*.

**b 2:** The  $\pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$  of L and O and the earlier edd. must have been written by someone who had in mind the passage at 789 e, where the physical *moulding* of the still "soft" infant is recommended. Stallb. was the first to recall the reading of A on Bekker's and Bast's testimony. He rightly explains the "childishness" of the proposal to lie, not, as Hermann held, in the comparison, suggested by  $\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\tau\tau\epsilon\iota\nu$ , to children's wax modelling, but in the make-believe that they are real lawgivers. (Herm.'s ref. to 746 a 8—though throwing light on our passage—does not prove his point.)

**b 5.** Burnet's suggested  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  is certainly an improvement on L and O's  $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\kappa\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ . Cp. Thompson's note on *Gorg.* 487 c 5.

**b 8.** After the solemn invocation, which seems to promise a real start, comes another digression: on the applicability of the ordinary classification of polities. None of the names—Democracy, Oligarchy, Aristocracy, and Monarchy—seems fully to describe any existing polity, and, what is more, it would be a bad thing for it if they did, for they all denote the preponderance of one element in the state, to the detriment of the others. *Nomarchy* or—since all good laws are inspired by Heaven—*Theocracy* would best denote the perfect  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$ . Thus the digression brings us round to the spirit of the Invocation, and the place of *Religion* in the state is defined, and its importance explained.— $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha\nu$ : already, at a 2,  $\pi\omicron\lambda\iota\tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  and  $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota$  have been placed side by side as objects of investigation, and although the whole work is styled  $\text{Νόμοι}$ , as contrasted with the earlier work  $\text{Πολιτεία}$ , the two subjects are felt to be closely connected. In the present work, however, it is naturally the  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\iota$   $\nu\acute{o}\mu\omicron\iota$  that are the main subject.

**c 2.**  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$   $\delta\eta$   $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ ; "In what sense do you mean your question to be taken?"—The repeated  $\omicron\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$  in the next question would in English be: "Do you mean, is it to be . . . ?"

**d 3.**  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma$ , "straight off," "on the spur of the moment"; amplified below at e 3 into  $\omicron\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega$   $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\acute{\iota}\phi\eta\gamma\varsigma$ .

**d 4.**  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\gamma\acute{\alpha}\rho$   $\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\iota$ : the  $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  reminds us that  $\tau\upsilon\rho\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  had



been expressly excluded by Cleinias. Even that element is to be found in the Spartan constitution.

**d 5.** θαυμαστὸν ὡς MSS. As Plato elsewhere says ἀμηχανον ὅσον, θαυμαστὸν ὅσον, but ἀμηχάνως ὡς and θαυμαστῶς ὡς, and the like, Schanz is probably right in reading θαυμαστῶς here. θαυμαστὰ ὡς occurs in Soph. fr. 963 (Dind.), and in a probably spurious line in Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 943; but even supposing this to be natural Greek in Plato's time, it would not legitimize θαυμαστὸν ὡς, for θαυμαστά is used as an adv., θαυμαστόν never.

**d 6.** καί τις . . . φαίνεται . . . δημοκρατουμένη εἰκέναι : seeing that all the MSS. give δημοκρατουμένη, it is very tempting to adopt H. Stephanus's alteration of the MS. καί τις to καίτοι, especially as (1) Heindorf and Cobet disbelieve in εἰκεν (in the sense of *videtur*) with a participle; and (2) φαίνεται εἰκέναι involves in that case what seems to us an awkward redundancy. It must be recognized on the other hand (1) that, if καίτοι had been written, it is almost impossible to explain its alteration to καί τις, whereas (2) the alteration of δημοκρατουμένη to the dat., in the neighbourhood of εἰκέναι, is readily conceivable. As to the objection taken to εἰκε with a nom. participle, though at *Crat.* 419 c (bis) many editors, including Burnet, have followed Heindorf's suggestion and altered κεκλημένη εἰκεν to κεκλημένη εἰκεν, and though, at *Politicus* 277 d, one MS. reads εἰκα . . . κινήσαι for εἰκα . . . κινήσας (so Burnet), at *Crat.* 408 e all MSS. and all editors read εἰκε . . . κατάδηλον γεγόμενον ἄν. The reading in the text was suggested by Winckelmann in his edition of the *Euthydemus* p. 74, and adopted by Stallbaum. Cp. also below 948 b.7 εἰκεν . . . διανοούμενος.—Aristotle, at *Pol.* 1265 b 33, seems to be quoting this passage along with some comments on it.—Immediately afterwards Aristotle refers to the opinion expressed at 693 d as to the desirability of mixing despotism and democracy to form a proper polity; a subject cognate to our present one.

**e 4.** I think Madvig is right in reading ἀνερωτηθείς for the ἄν ἐρ. of the MSS.

**e 6.** Hermann's καὶ γὰρ φαίνομαι for the MS. καταφαίνομαι is attractive, but not necessarily right.

**e 7.** ἀπορῶ is here used as at *Polit.* 262 e for οὐ δύναμαι, and with the same construction. There is no need, with Schanz, to suppose that we ought perhaps to read τίνα . . . εἶπω (or to suppose δεῖ to have fallen out between τίνα and δισχυριζόμενον).

**e 8.** For εἰπεῖν in the sense of *call, pronounce to be*, cp. *Soph.* 225 a 12 τί τις . . . ἄλλο εἶπη πλὴν ἀμφισβητήτικόν;

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and AΘ. The MSS. give οὐκοῦν . . . δρᾶν to the Ath., and πάνυ μὲν οὖν to Cleinias. Herm. transposes the two passages, making οὐκοῦν . . . δρᾶν (not as a question) the beginning of the Ath.'s next speech. But πάνυ μὲν οὖν is not apposite in Cl.'s mouth. He cannot be expected to see at once that a μῦθος will help them. But it is likely that he should be rather puzzled by the suggestion, and ask: "Is that the way we have to proceed?"

a 9. ἔμπροσθε: i.e. in Bk. III. 678 ff.

b 1. The place of τούτων makes it clear to the ear that πόλεων is governed by the comparative προτέρα.

b 3. It would be interesting to learn the origin of L and O's strange variant of ἀριστοκρατεῖται for A's ἀριστα οἰκείται—which L and O have in the margin.—ἧς μίμημα ἔχουσα: cp. Eur. *Hel.* 74 ὅσον μίμημ' ἔχεις Ἑλένης.

b 5. Cl. is reassured by this orthodox allusion to the good old times of Cronos's reign.

b 8. καὶ τὸν ἐξῆς περαίνων ἂν μῦθον, "yes, and if you tell the story right through . . ." ὁ ἐξῆς μῦθος, which, in most connexions, would mean "the next story," here must be taken to mean "the whole story from point to point," not merely some incidents in it. Cp. *Gorg.* 454 c τοῦ ἐξῆς ἔνεκα περαίνεσθαι τὸν λόγον, where ἐξῆς περαίνεσθαι means "to be brought duly to its conclusion," no step being omitted.—The older edd. give this speech to Megillus. H. Steph. so assigned the previous speech (at b 5) as well.

c 5. καθάπερ ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν: i.e. at 691 c 5 ff. οὐκ ἔστ' . . . ἠφάνισεν αὐτῆς;

c 6 ff. ἱκανῆ . . . διοικοῦσα αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα, μὴ οὐχ ὕβ. τε καὶ ἀδ. μεστοῦσθαι: the participle is here felt to be the principal verb. It would be hard to find a case of a bare ἱκανὸς μὴ ποιεῖν in the sense of "able to avoid doing."

c 8. The MSS. have ἐφίστητο: the last syllable of this enormity may here be explained by the assumption that ἐφίστη τότε, as Julian quotes it, was the original reading—just as at d 7 A (acc. to Schanz) has ἐφίστητο τῶν for ἐφ. τὸ τῶν. Hermann first put τότε in the text.

d 3. ποιμνίους is, in effect, still under the government of ἐφίστη for which δρῶμεν is a substitute.—οὐ βούς κτλ.: the asyndeton is of the ordinary *explanatory* kind.

d 5. ταυτόν, like τοῦτο at 686 c 4, ταῦτ' at 700 d 1, ταυτόν at *Phil.* 37 d and *Polit.* 308 e, is adverbial: "in like manner."

d 6. One MS. and some early editions read ταυτόν ἄρα καὶ ὁ

θεὸς δὴ. This mistake perhaps led, by imperfect correction, to the ἄρα καὶ which the best MSS.—but not Julian—place before φιλάνθρωπος. Assuming, with Hermann and Schanz, that Julian's text was correct, I conjecture (1) that someone wrote ὁ θεὸς ἄρα because of ὁ Κρόνος ἄρα at c 5, (2) that someone else transposed ἄρα and δὴ—either inadvertently, or on purpose, and (3) that some hasty corrector of this transposition brought along the καὶ as well as the ἄρα.—Schramm ingeniously suggested that ἄρα καὶ stood for ἔδρα καὶ, but such a superfluity of expression is unlikely.—Stallb. first rejected the καὶ (before φιλ.), but afterwards defended both ἄρα and καὶ.—He was very possibly right in rejecting the following τὸ—for which Herm. substitutes, τότε as at c 8.

d 7. ῥαστώνης: a kind of zeugma; with αὐτοῖς it means “ease,” and with ἡμῖν “comfort” or “relief”—as at 779 a.

e 1. With αἰδῶ . . . παρεχόμενον Stallb. well cps. *Prot.* 322 c, where Plato calls αἰδώς (mercy) and δίκη κόσμοι τε καὶ δεσμοὶ φιλίας συναγωγοί.

e 2. After αἰδῶ Julian has καὶ δὴ ἀφθονίαν; A has καὶ εὐνομίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν. ἐλευθερίαν, a well-vouched variant for εὐνομίαν (L, O and A<sup>2</sup> in margin), looks like a deliberate alteration of Plato's text.—Stallb. thought the alteration due to the mistaken idea that there was a tautology in εὐνομίαν καὶ ἀφθονίαν δίκης.—Inasmuch as Plato afterwards represents *good laws* as taking the place of these divine rulers, it is natural that he should give a hint of this beforehand in mentioning their benignant action in this direction. εὐνομίαν and ἀστασίαστα are the two most important words in this description. They represent severally the two branches of the inquiry which have been kept constantly before us, i.e. νομοθεσία and πολιτεία. The inevitability of στάσις in a false πολιτεία, with the wrong sort of laws, is explained below at 715 a b.

e 3. With λέγει δὴ καὶ νῦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος, ἀληθεία χρώμενος begins the *practical* application of the μῦθος. The moral is: (1) that the only possible ruler of a community is the Deity, and (2) that law, the modern substitute for the δαίμονες of the Golden Age, is also of divine origin.—Julian has ὅσων . . . ἄρχει, and, in e 6, ἀνάψυξις.

714 a 1. τὴν τοῦ νοῦ διανομὴν ἐπονομάζοντας νόμον: whereas, of old, obedience was paid to the Deity in the person of his ministers, the δαίμονες, it is now due to the “immortal,” i.e. the *divine in us*, and that is the *intellect*, represented in the person of

its ministers. These ministers we may call not δαίμονας but νοῦ διανομάς, “the arrangements” or “appointments made by the intellect,” and to which we give the name of laws. For the divinity of νοῦς cp. *Rep.* 501 b with Adam’s note; also *Tim.* 90 a where he calls the νοῦς a δαίμων. I take τοῦ νοῦ to be not an objective gen. denoting the thing distributed but a subjective gen. denoting the maker of the arrangement, which arrangement is the law. Not only is νόμος connected with the idea of νέμειν, but I think Plato’s fancy played with the verbal assonance between δαίμονας and διανομάς. (It will be remembered that at Aesch. *Eum.* 727 the former word got into the text by mistake for the latter.) νοῦς in its highest form—the trained philosophic intellect—is thus enthroned as the supreme authority in politics and law.—Cp. Cic. *De legg.* i. § 17; *penitus ex intima philosophia hauriendam iuris disciplinam*, though Cicero’s philosophy is not the same as Plato’s, when he goes on to say (§ 18) *est ratio summa insita in natura, quae iubet ea quae facienda sunt, prohibetque contraria. Eadem ratio cum est in hominis mente confirmata et confecta, lex est.* When Cicero connects the Gk. νόμος with νέμειν, as being so called “*a suum cuique tribuendo*,” he is very possibly thinking of Plato’s association here of διανομή with νόμος, but he leaves Plato’s τοῦ νοῦ out of sight—Below, at 715 c d, Plato almost in the same breath speaks of magistrates as being ὑπηρεταί τοῖς νόμοις, and of their service as being τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν, and calls special attention to the fact that serving the laws and serving the Gods is the same thing. For the fancied etymological connexion of νοῦς and νόμος cp. below 957 c 6.

a 2. ἄνθρωπος (as contrasted with ἀνὴρ) points the distinction between human and divine leadership.

a 3. ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν: a hendiadys = “coveted delights.”

a 5. στέγουσαν δὲ οὐδέν: cp. *Gorg.* 493 b ff., *Rep.* 586 b.—If ἀπλήστῳ νοσήματι had been the original text, no one could have thought (*pace* Ast) of putting in κακῶ—or, as Heindorf conjectures, κακῶν—between the two words—as if there could be an ἀπληστον νόσημα which was not κακόν!—but if Pl. wrote ἀπλήστῳ κακῶ συνεχομένην, it is quite conceivable that a commentator should remark that by κακῶ he meant νοσήματι, and that, after the two words had become rivals for the place, both should be included in the text. Hence I feel sure that Herm. is right in rejecting the latter word. Stallb. well cps. *Gorg.* 507 e, where the same selfish indulgence is called ἀνήνυτον κακόν. (Ast doubtfully, and Stallb. confidently, take νοσήματι to be “*per appositionem*”

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the place of the preceding βλέπειν, the slightly different “look to” suits this passage better.)—We must repeat δειν with ιδειν, “that they have got to have in view the interest of that form of government, and to secure its permanence and integrity.”—The ὅπως clause is exegetical to συμφέρον, and sounds the more natural because it might itself depend on ιδειν, if necessary. It is repeated in another form below at d 3.

c 3. τὸν φύσει ὄρον τοῦ δικαίου: though at b 6 τὸ δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον may have been meant to include *positively enacted* right and wrong, these words show that the larger question of right and wrong in the abstract, as we should say, is the main subject of the ἀμφισβήτησις. “And they say that these words best define justice as it exists in nature,” i.e. that outside positively enacted law, right and wrong do not exist.

d 3. “Genitivus τῆς ἀρχῆς e voce συμφέρον pendet, ut dativus ἑαυτῷ pro genitivo positus sit” Ast.—τοῦ μένειν, “with a view to its continuance.” Cp. 876 e 3 τοῦ μήποτε βαίνειν ἔξω τῆς δίκης, Gorg. 457 e 5 τοῦ καταφανὲς γενέσθαι.

d 6. ταῦτ’ is taken by Wagner to mean “this course of action,” i.e. the punishment of the law-breaker. But clearly ταῦτ’ is ταῦτα τὰ τεθέντα, and “using the term *rightful* for them” is an amplification of ὡς ἀδικοῦντα, which gives the justification of the punishment.

d 9. It seems equally clear that here too ταῦτ’ means “these enactments.” Ast and Stallb. take it as adverbial: the former translates it by “*propterea, idcirco*,” the latter says it means the same as οὕτω καὶ ταύτη. The sense which they and all other interpreters appear to get out of the sentence is: “that is how it will always be with justice.” But the Ath. could never say that, and it by no means agrees with what precedes and follows. What we want, and what he says, is: “These positive enactments will always claim the merit of rightfulness, and that is how they will do it” (i.e. by penal enforcement).—For οὕτω καὶ ταύτη cp. 681 d 6.—For the art. with δίκαιον cf. 630 d 9, 659 b 3.

d 11. τοῦτο is the superior strength of the maker of these laws. They are made by τὸ κρατοῦν (above c 9) and *superior strength* was one of the ἀξιώματα τοῦ τε ἄρχειν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι of 690 a.—Schulthess’s ἀξιωμαίων is evidently right; the MS. ἀδικημάτων is a careless misreading.

e 3. For τῶν ἄ cp. below 871 e 3 and 866 d 7.

e 6. ἐμπόδια ἕτερα ἑτέροισι: a repetition of 690 d 3 καὶ ὅτι πεφυκότα πρὸς ἀλληλα ἐναντίως. The mention of ἀξιώματα as

possible ἐμπόδια is a subtle way of discrediting the particular ἀξίωμα immediately referred to.

**715 a 1 f.** καὶ ἔφαμέν που . . . ὡς φάναι, “and we said, I think, that Pindar *would have it to be by nature*, (thus) *legalizing extreme violence*, to use his own words.” The assertion made at 690 b 8 was that Pindar said that “club-law” was “according to nature.” From the fuller quotation at *Gorg.* 484 b, we can see that Pindar used the word ἄγει of the action of that “Law which none can gainsay” (νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεύς). Probably it means there “takes” (in the sense of “that those should *take* who have the power”); here Plato uses it in another sense of “takes,” suggestive of *forcible wresting of the truth*. So he applies to Pindar himself his own words δικαιοῶν τὸ βιαιότατον.—ὡς φάναι: cp. the ὡς φαίνεσθαι in a similar position at *Rep.* 359 d 7; Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 755. “As we are told that he said.” (Badham rewrites the passage.)

\* **a 4.** ποτέροις τισίν, “to which side”; i.e. to those who hold that νόμος depends on force, and act on this belief, or to those who believe in τὴν τοῦ νόμου ἐκόντων ἀρχὴν ἀλλ’ οὐ βίαιον πεφυκυῖαν 690 c 3. As the Athenian puts it towards the end of his next speech, the two classes are (1) those who hold that men are above laws; and (2) those who hold that laws are above men.

**a 8 ff.** “Where office is a thing to fight for, the winners get the government so absolutely in their own hands as not to leave a scrap of power with the losers, in this generation or the next; and moreover” (τε . . . δέ, cp. 649 b 5) “both sides watch each other constantly, to make sure that no man shall come to power who will raise a hand against them to avenge former wrongs. What I say is, that is not a polity, and no laws are proper laws which are not made in the interest of the whole community. When laws are made in the interest of part of the populace, I call those people not citizens but schismatics, and I call their claim to have right on their side a lie.”

For the general sense of the passage cp. 875 a 5–8, and the ἐαυτῇ φίλην of 693 b 3.

**a 11.** παραφυλάττοντες: i.e. each party, as its turn comes.

**b 1.** ἀφικόμενος: the participle, as often, contains the main idea in the sentence. The “rising against” the party in power would not be serious unless a position of power had first been obtained.

**b 2.** ταύτας, “such combinations.”

**b 4.** ἐτέθησαν, like ἐσφετέρισαν at a 9, I take to be a gnomic



aor.—For ὅσοι μὴ συμπάσης κτλ. cp. *Rep.* 420 b οὐ μὴν πρὸς τοῦτο βλέποντες τὴν πόλιν οἰκίζομεν, ὅπως ἔν τι ἡμῖν ἔθνος ἔσται διαφερόντως εὐδαιμον, ἀλλ' ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ὅλη ἡ πόλις.

**b 5.** I do not see that anything is gained by the Aldine *στασιωτείας* and *πολιτείας* for the MS. *στασιώτας* and *πολίτας*.—Cp. 832 c 2 τούτων γὰρ δὴ πολιτεία μὲν οὐδεμία, στασιωτεῖαι δὲ πᾶσαι λέγοντ' ἂν ὀρθότατα.—Whether, with Ald., we take τούτους to refer to νόμους, or, with the MSS., to τινων, there is something of a *παρὰ προσδοκίαν* about the sentence. Again, whether τούτων in b 6 be taken to refer to νόμοι or not, at all events φασιν must have a personal subject, and that with any reading will have to be got out of τινων. Besides, I do not think τούτους in b 5 would have been put in at all unless it were to call attention to the change in the object of the verb, and show that the speaker is now talking of the τινων, not of the νόμους.

**b 7.** τῇ σῆ πόλει is a genitival dat.

**c 1.** ἰσχὺν κτλ.: the usual explanatory asyndeton.

**c 2.** τοῖς τεθειῖσι νόμοις: it is significant that in the *Laws* prominence is given to positive enactment when the author is speaking of the principles on which rulers are to be selected. Cp. *Rep.* 412 d ἐκλεκτέον . . . τοιούτους ἄνδρας οἱ ἂν σκοποῦσιν ἡμῖν μάλιστα φαίνονται παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον, ὃ μὲν ἂν τῇ πόλει ἡγήσωνται συμφέρειν, πάσῃ προθυμία ποιεῖν, ὃ δ' ἂν μή, μηδενὶ τρόπῳ πράξαι ἂν ἐθέλειν.

**c 3.** νικᾶ: a reference to the οἱ νικήσαντες at a 8; there is a victory to be won by prospective rulers; to gain this prize they must excel in submissiveness to the laws.

**c 4.** τὴν τῶν θεῶν ὑπηρεσίαν: I agree with Ritter that Schulthess's νόμων (so Ast and Schanz), and Orelli's θεσμῶν (so Wagner and Stallb.) for θεῶν are mistaken. There is an un-Platonic poverty of thought in such a statement as: "The man who obeys the laws best is to be made chief servant of the laws." At 762 e we are told that the highest distinction falls to the man who well serves the laws ὡς ταύτην τοῖς θεοῖς οὔσαν δουλείαν. At 713 e we were told that no city is safe under any other rule than the *divine*. Laws are the modern representatives of the *δαίμονες* of the Golden Age: they derive their authority from the divine element in us; obedience to them is therefore obedience to the Gods. I see nothing to invalidate this explanation in the fact that, immediately below, he says he has called the magistrates ὑπηρέτας τοῖς νόμοις. He has just explained that the two terms "servants of the laws" and "servants of the Gods" are

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it is merely an alternative for *κατὰ δίκην*, Plato would hardly have added *τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ συνέπεται δίκη κτλ. περιπορευόμενος* (cp. *Tim.* 33 d ff.) is probably meant to bring before our minds the revolutions of the heavenly bodies. The apparent irreconcilability of the two truths is meant to have the form of a paradox, a divine mystery. In the Aristotelian treatise *Περὶ κόσμου* 401 b this passage is quoted with *πορευόμενος*, but all other quotations and all MSS. give the compound verb.—For the numerous quotations of this passage see Stallb.'s note.—*περαίνειν* is used absolutely; its opposite is *οὐδὲν περαίνουσιν* *Rep.* 426 a; so *περαίνει δ' οὐδὲν ἢ προθυμία* *Eur. Phoen.* 589.

a 2 ff. *τῷ δὲ ἀεὶ κτλ.*, “and Justice always goes along with Him and punishes those who forsake the divine law; and any man for whom good fortune is in store follows Justice in close attendance, modest and sedate in mien; but any man who is puffed up with pride—whether he be big with the sense of wealth or rank, or foolishly vain of youthful beauty—and kindles in his soul the flame of wanton wickedness, claiming to be above all rule and guidance, and fit to rule others instead,—such a man is abandoned by God; and in this lost state he takes to himself yet other abandoned men, and with mad antics sets himself to work a general havoc. Many men make a hero of him, but before long Justice visits him with a full retribution, and he involves in his own downfall the utter ruin of his house and country.”—*τῷ δὲ . . . τιμωρός*: Stallb. shows by many quotations from ancient commentators that Plato is still following the Orphic line of thought as expressed e.g. in *πάρεδρος γὰρ ὁ νόμος τοῦ Διός*, and *ἡ δίκη ἐστὶν ὀπαδὸς τοῦ Διός*.

a 3. *ἦς . . . ἐχόμενος συνέπεται*: the repetition of the word *συνέπεται* suggests the thought that the company of Justice means the company of God, whereas he who abandons Justice *καταλείπεται ἔρημος θεοῦ* (b 1).

a 4. Because Eusebius has no *καί* before *κεκοσμημένος*, and because in A *καὶ κεκοσμημένος* is written in the margin, Schanz regards *κεκ.* as a gloss on *ταπεινός*, and excludes it.—*ὁ δέ τις*: so all MSS. and some quotations. Theodoret, Cedrenus, and some MSS. of Eusebius have *εἰ δέ τις*. Plutarch, *De Is. et Os.* p. 477 has a modification rather than a quotation of the passage, which begins *εἰ δέ τινες*. Boeckh, Ast, Stallb., Herm. and Schanz adopt *εἰ δέ τις*. It is evident that this suits the passage; *καταλείπεται* in b 1 is the main verb, and the *φλέγεται* clause is a dependent one. The explanation of the MS. reading seems to be that Plato is archaizing here on purpose, and uses *ὁ τις*, the Epic form of

ὅστις (cp. in Agamemnon's solemn appeal to the avengers of perjury at Γ 279 τίνυσθον ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὁμόσση—a passage which may well have been in Plato's mind at the time); so that ὁ δέ τις (as it should be written) stands for ἀλλ' ὅστις (or ὅστις δέ, which Badham would write here).—Plutarch further modifies φλέγεται into φλεγόμενοι, which suits the rest of his passage. (H. Steph. altered φλέγεται to φλεγόμενος.)

**a 5.** I think it is best to take ἡ χρήμασιν . . . ἀνοία as subordinate in sense to ἐξαρθεῖς ὑπὸ μεγαλαυχίας; they are illustrations of the various forms which μεγαλαυχία may take.

**b 2.** The same idea lurks in the metaphorical σκιρτᾶ that is to be found in the modern English slang term “a bounder.”

**b 3.** ἔδοξεν and ἐποίησεν are gnomic aorists.

**b 5.** πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω διατεταγμένα, “in the face then of this dispensation.”

**b 6.** δρᾶν ἢ διανοεῖσθαι: the answer δεῖ διανοηθῆναι ὡς ἐσόμενον . . . would correspond more exactly to the question, as Badham would write it, with the ἢ omitted, but the more inexact correspondence is quite Platonic. (Bdh. would also reject δεῖ διανοηθῆναι in b 9.) Schanz rejects both ἢ and διανοεῖσθαι.

**b 8.** Madvig (followed by Schanz) would remove the emphatic asyndeton by reading ὅτι ὡς. This spoils the sentence; even Heindorf's δεῖν for δεῖ weakens it.

**c 1 ff.** μία κτλ., “there is only one, and it finds its only expression in the old saying that like will love like,—if it is itself within the proper bounds; things that know no bounds love neither each other nor those which do. Some men say ‘man is the measure of all things’; in a far truer sense it is God who really sets the bounds by which all things human (ἡμῶν) are measured and judged.”

**c 1.** The selection of the word ἀκόλουθος suggests the same metaphor as was presented by ἐχόμενος συνέπεται, and by τῶν συνακολουθησόντων. Company in a journey implies unanimity.

**c 3.** The addition of the words ὄντι μετρίῳ shows that the speaker is not so much adapting the old proverb as limiting its scope. It always has been applied freely to the association of the wicked (e.g. *Od.* xvii. 218, and *Arist. N.E.* ix. 3. 3); Plato says the natural liking of each other is *confined to the good*. He uses for good the word μέτριος, which suggests “*within certain limits*,” and this suggestion helps the further deductions of his argument.—Whereas Aristotle (*l.c.*) warns us of the evil results of loving a bad man—i.e. the becoming like him—Plato holds that not even when

you have become like a bad man can you love him. All wickedness is represented as ἀμετρία, "extravagance" or "excess," which must arouse universal dislike. At *Polit.* 284 e, after defining the two criteria of size, i.e. (1) the relative, and (2) the absolute, Plato paraphrases τὸ μέτριον by καὶ τὸ πρέπον, καὶ τὸν καιρόν, καὶ τὸ δεόν, καὶ πάνθ' ὅποσα εἰς τὸ μέσον ἀπωκίσθη τῶν ἐσχάτων.

c 4. πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον: "Tangitur effatum illud Protagorae . . . de quo v. *Cratyl.* 385 e, *Theaet.* 152 a" Stallb.

c 6. τοιούτῳ is equivalent to "the author of limitation," and the following τοιοῦτον to "one who puts a limitation on his own conduct and behaviour."—εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα: so at 771 e ὅτι μάλιστα . . . κατὰ τὸ δύνατον, *Rep.* 458 e, *Polit.* 279 c κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα διὰ βράχειων. A similar redundancy occurs at *Rep.* 427 e εἰς δύναμιν πάντι τρόπῳ, *Phaedr.* 257 a εἰς ἡμετέραν δύναμιν ὅτι καλλίστη, and 273 e πράττειν τὸ πᾶν εἰς δύναμιν.

d 1. ὁ μὲν σώφρων ἡμῶν: σωφροσύνη is the virtue most clearly to be identified with ἐμμετρία.

d 3. καὶ ἄδικος MSS. There is no point in adding ἄδικος to the two preceding predicates, and Burnet has adopted Ritter's insertion of ὁ before it. To make it clearer that καὶ ὁ ἄδικος and καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' stand for the rest of the vices, I have put a comma after διάφορος (which, as above at 679 b, means "hostile"). Schanz rejects καὶ ἄδικος. Faehse reads καὶ ἄθεος, and Stallb. suggested καὶ ἄφιλος for it.

d 5. The addition of ἀληθέστατον signifies that Plato is not so much gloating over the confusion of the wrongdoers, as expressing delight in the grandeur and beauty of the philosophical truth, and the ennobling of religion above the position which it held in popular notions.

d 6. Burnet rightly adopts Schanz's ἀεὶ for the MS. δεῖ, which Stallb. rejects and most edd. turn into δῆ.

e 2. τούτων τᾶναντία πέφυκεν: i.e., not only is a knave's offering an abomination (and his selfish prayer an outrage) but it will be the worse for him that he has offered it. Stallb. has collected, in his note on the following words, many similar passages from ancient authors.

717 a 1. For the τό with ὀρθόν cp. above 714 d 9, and 630 d 9, 659 b and 691 b 11.

a 3. Suidas, in quoting this passage (s.v. μιὰρὰ κεφαλῆ), has εὐκαιρότατος for the MS. ἐγκαιρότατος. Cp. *Phaedo* 78 a (οὐκ ἔστιν εἰς ὅτι ἂν εὐκαιρότερον [v.l. ἀναγκαιότερον] ἀναλίσκοιτε χρήματα); probably in both places a profitable expenditure is being spoken of.

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gen. in the place of the commoner dat. Light is thrown on the subject by Porphyry. *Vit. Pythag.* p. 197 cited by Ast: *καὶ τοῖς μὲν οὐρανίοις θεοῖς περιττὰ θύειν, τοῖς δὲ χθονίοις ἄρτια.*—Ald.'s other change of the MS. *ἀριστεία* to *ἀριστερά* is confirmed by O and has been universally adopted. Further, at b 1 Burnet rejects *τὰ περιττά* as a very natural commentator's explanation of *τὰ τούτων ἄνωθεν*, which was enough for Plutarch. With Plutarch the two kinds of offering are, for the higher gods *τὰ δεξιά καὶ περιττά*, and for the lower—whom he wrongly calls *δαίμονες*, instead of *χθόνιοι θεοί*—*τὰ ἀντίφωνα τούτων*: I should like to see a further advance on these lines in the rejection of *καὶ δεύτερα* (in a 8). This seems to me just as likely to be a commentator's addition. It still remains a puzzle why Plato should have so very markedly (*πρῶτον μὲν*) put the inferior honours of the second class of deities in the forefront of his enumeration. It looks as if he were condemning a tendency to put the *χθόνιοι θεοί* first.

a 7. *τοὺς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντας θεούς*: apparently the patron god of the city, even if not one of the "Olympians," was put into the same class with them as far as ritual went.

a 8. *ἄρτια [καὶ δεύτερα] καὶ ἀριστερά*: Ast says *τιμάς* in a 6 is in apposition to these words, Stallb. that these words are in apposition to *τιμάς*. I incline to Ast's view; *ἄρτια κτλ.* are the emphatic words: "As for the honours which, next to the Olympian and city-patron deities, you pay to the gods of the world below, you will be acting correctly if you give *them* the inferior honours, and the former the superior." (Schneider seems to make a fresh sentence begin with *τὰ δὲ τούτων ἄνωθεν*, and to treat *τὰ περιττά κτλ.* as its predicate. I do not think *δεξιά* in Plutarch and *ἀριστερά* here are used in the sense of "of good" or "evil omen" (Jowett), but literally, like *ἄρτια* and *περιττά*, the symbolism being in both cases implied.

b 2. Here we have another instance of the redundancy observed above at 716 c 7. It seems unnecessary, with Bdh. and Schanz, to reject *ἔμπροσθεν*; he says "just above" instead of "above." Cp. however 683 e 5, 861 a 8.

b 3. *ὀργιάζοιτ'*: the act. *ὀργιάζω* at *Phaedr.* 250 c, *Laws* 910 c (I think), and in Plutarch, *Numa* ch. 8, means (like *τελεῖν*) *perform, celebrate* (*τελετήν, θυσίας, πομπάς, χορείας*); at *Phaedr.* 252 d and *Eur. Bacch.* 415 it is used absolutely, without an object, in the sense given in Suidas s.v. *ὀργεῶνες*· *ὀργιάζειν δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὄργια τελεῖν.* (So too Photius and Gramm., *Bek. Anecd.* i. p. 287.) Thompson on *Phaedr.* 252 d says "*ὀργιάζειν θεῷ* is the

usual construction," but I have not been able to find any instances of it, unless Ast's ὀργιάζοι be adopted here. At b 4 ἰδρύματα ὀργιαζόμενα implies a transitive use in the sense of "serve" (a shrine), or "worship" (a statue). In late Greek (Plutarch and Lucian) there are two transitive uses of the word, (1) "worship" (a god), and (2) "initiate" (a worshipper). Schanz follows Ast in reading ὀργιάζοι, but in the case of a word with such various uses and constructions we have no right to do this, and a middle ὀργιάζεσθαι with a dative of the deity honoured may well take rank among the rest of them.

b 4. ἐπακολουθοί: this is the reading of all the MSS. but one (Bekker's *v*), which has ἐπακολουθεῖν with -οί over it. The earlier edd. including Ast and Stallb. unwarrantably altered this to ἐπακολουθεῖ. Either the author, or a transcriber, thought another ἄν unnecessary after that with the immediately preceding verb; it can hardly be an independent wish.—αὐτοῖς: it is hard to say whether this is masc. or neut.—ἰδρύματα: if αὐτοῖς is masc. this would most naturally mean *statues* (as at 931 e. So Schneider); if neuter, "those observances," ἰδρύματα would mean *shrines*.—"Next after these deities will come the statues of each man's household gods" (i.e. his dead ancestors) "the worship of whom is to conform to the (public) regulations." Cp. 910 c.

b 6. The form of the sentence is changed; instead of γονεῖς ζῶντες τιμώμενοι we have γονέων τιμαὶ ζώντων. It is assumed that parents stand to their offspring in a quasi-divine relationship.—ὡς θέμις MSS. Ficinus in his translation begins this sentence "*quibus fas est*," and I think Hermann argues rightly that οἷς and not ὡς ought to stand here. It is more natural to leave out the ἐστί with θέμις if we have οἷς, than if we have ὡς in the sense of *nam*; in other words θέμις, standing where it does, needs the support of a more emphatic word than ὡς.

b 8. Like the Latin *antiquior*, the comp. and sup. of πρέσβυς are used of *superior obligations*; there seems to be the same kind of punning use of πρέσβυς here that there is in the case of παλαιός at c 5.—νομίζεῖν δέ: δέ without any clause before it to which it is adversative is here "moreover," as in καὶ . . . δέ.—It is easy to supply "he ought" from the preceding θέμις (ἐστί), though the οἷς belongs only to the previous clause. (Ast apparently felt that the οἷς ought to be carried on in thought as well, and therefore preferred ὡς.)—"He should consider, moreover, that all he has in his possession belongs to those who gave



him birth and nurture, and should make his property minister to his parents' service to the utmost of his power, whether of purse or person, or mind, and thereby repay the debt of cares and pains which they have bestowed upon him—an expenditure made of old for his youthful development, which moreover the son repays to the old when age has brought them to need the repayment sorely."

c 2. Both *ἐκείνοις* and *κατὰ δύναμιν πάσαν* go with *ὑπηρεσίαν*, not *παρέχειν*. For the dat. St. cps. 631 d, 633 c, *Crat.* 437 c, *Parm.* 128 c.

c 3. *δεύτερα* and *τρίτα* are governed by *παρέχειν*: the clause explains that *πάντα ἃ κέκτηται καὶ ἔχει* includes all powers of body and mind, as well as external property.

c 4. *δανείσματα* is in apposition to *ἐπιμελείας* and *ὠδίνας*.

c 5. *παλαιὰς . . . παλαιοῖς*: there seems to be an intentional repetition of this word: the debts are of old standing, and the creditors are old when they are repaid. Under these circumstances the unusual and poetical *παλαιός* in the sense of *aged* (so at *Tim.* 22 b, and *Symp.* 182 b) does not seem out of place.—There is a further verbal antithesis in the conjunction *παλαιὰς ἐπὶ νέοις*. *νέοις*, I think, is neut., and refers to the acquired possessions and powers of which mention has just been made: "loans granted of old on the security of what was young." The *man* who has incurred the debt is all through spoken of in the singular. (Ast translates "pueris mutuos datos," Stallb. "pueris tanquam impensas," Wagner "wegen der Kinder erlitten," Schneider "in parvulis elocatas," Jowett "in the days of his infancy.")—The *δέ*, which Ast and Apelt object to, seems to present no greater difficulty than that after *νομίζειν* in b 8, and it has much the same meaning here. (Objecting to this *δέ* and the unusual sense of *παλαιοῖς*, Apelt conjectures *διπλασίως* for *δὲ παλαιοῖς*; but when a man has been told that *his whole possessions* must go in payment, "twice the debt" seems a limitation. A modern actuary would think "twice the loan" a poor return after thirty years.)

c 7. *καὶ ἐσχηκέναι*, "and always to have had"; the addition of the perf. expresses the abiding effect of a transgression, even in word, against filial piety.

d 1. There is a similar conceit to those noticed above in the use of *πρέσβυς*, *νέος*, and *παλαιός*, in the juxtaposition of *κούφω* and *βαρυτάτη*; cp. 935 a *ἐκ λόγων, κούφου πράγματος, ἔργω μίση τε καὶ ἔχθραι βαρύταται γίγνονται*. Plutarch, quoting Plato

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and Ast in omitting τε. after δαπάνης. Stallb. and Schanz agree in the latter point. This makes a weak conclusion. What the MSS. say is: "Above all, never forget them; and don't grudge a penny you fittingly spend in their honour;" the other is: "Above all show that you never forget them by spending a proper sum in their honour."

a 4. Stobaeus omits the ἄν after ἀξίαν.

a 6. Here ends the imaginary exhortation, and the description of the "armoury" of ceremonies by which the favour of all superior beings is to be propitiated. For the right behaviour towards equals and inferiors we are referred to the laws themselves. —The antecedent which has to be supplied to ἄ is an adverbial acc. ταῦτα, qualifying ἡ διέξοδος . . . τὴν πόλιν . . . μακαρίαν . . . ἀποτελεῖ; "as regards those things." (Schneider takes this ταῦτα to be governed by πείθουσα.) ἄ and ὅσα are themselves governed by ἀποτελοῦντα, which is subordinate to φαιδρυνάμενον, which in its turn is subordinate to κοσμεῖν.

a 7. πρὸς θεῶν, which Ast would reject, means, as Stallb. says, *divinitus constituta*; cp. *Od.* ζ 207 πρὸς γὰρ Διός εἰσιν ἅπαντες ξεῖνοί τε πτωχοί τε.

a 8. καὶ ὁμιλίας stands for a more regular καὶ ὅσας ὁμιλίας — "(what) relations with all of these."

b 1. φαιδρυνάμενον . . . κοσμεῖν: i.e. the fulfilment of these various social obligations will give his life orderliness and charm.

b 2. τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν ἡ διέξοδος ἀποτελεῖ is apparently equivalent to οἱ νόμοι αὐτοὶ διεξεληθόντες ἀποτελοῦσι (cp. below 768 d 5). —Ficinus translates "*legum ipsarum tractatio demonstrabit.*" This suggests to Ast that perhaps δείξει καὶ has fallen out after διέξοδος.—As Ritter says, the πείθουσα here does not refer to the prefaces spoken of below. This class of laws requires no preface.

b 7. δοκεῖ μοι . . . ἄρχεσθαι: I agree with Apelt (p. 8) in thinking that it is too much to expect that this can mean "it seems to me *the right thing for him* . . . to begin," and accept his suggestion that δεῖν has fallen out before δείγμα.—τούτων πέρι: this I take to be a variety of expression for a simple gen. . Cp. on 676 c 6.

c 1. τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα εἰς δύναμιν διεξεληθόντα: it will be noticed that the subjects of how to behave to (1) children, (2) relatives, (3) friends, (4) fellow-citizens, and (5) ξένοι are all dealt with in this order below at 729 a–730 a. It seems then that the best explanation of this difficult passage is to suppose it to be a

statement of the author's intention of dealing with these subjects, here (718 a 6 ff.) postponed, later on in the general preface, before coming to the actual legislation about them.

**c 4.** I think we ought to follow Ast. in assigning this question to Cleinias. The Ath. has said that such a discourse must not be ἐν σχήματι νόμου; it is natural then that Cl. should ask "what is the proper form for it?" If with other editors we take it as a "rhetorical" question and put it in the Athenian's mouth, we are met by the difficulty that in all other such questions as are cited by Stallb.—*Symp.* 178 d, below 720 a 6, 722 d, and 723 b—the verb is in the first person.

**c 6 ff.** "It is by no means easy to confine its delivery within the bounds of what you may call a single pattern; but let us look at it somehow in this way, and see if we cannot get a definite notion about it."

**c 9.** τὸ ποῖον refers in grammar to τι in c 7, but the Ath.'s following disquisition is rather an explanation of οὕτωςί τινα τρόπον, which = οὕτωςί πως.

**c 10.** αὐτούς: Wagner says, either we must suppose αὐτούς to refer to τοὺς νόμους, and give εὐπειθεστάτους an *active* sense, or take αὐτούς to be a scribe's mistake for ἀστούς. He is not right, however, in saying that the *people* have not been referred to. At c 1 we had ἐκείνοις οἷς νομοθετήσῃ, and τῶν νόμων only came two lines later. That εὐπειθής should be act. is very unlikely, as it has recently (715 c 2) occurred in a passive sense.—ἀστούς makes good sense, but it would want an article before it.

**c 11.** τοῦτο ποιεῖν, "to produce this result"; i.e. "to incline them," or perhaps "to persuade them towards virtue."

**d 2.** τὰ . . . δὴ λεχθέντα: not, I think, (as the Scholiast) "the speech just delivered"—i.e. that beginning at 715 e 7—but "just what I mentioned"—i.e. at 718 b 5.—ἔδοξεν is a "conversational" aorist, which we should translate by a present.

**d 4.** The first thing to note about this perplexing passage is that the vulgate λαβόμενα, μᾶλλον δ' has no MS. authority. In A we have μᾶλλον\*\*δ', the δ' in an erasure, and in both A and O λαβόμενα is given in the margin, clearly as an alternative to μᾶλλον δ'. Burnet adopts the alternative, and this gives a construction, though a harsh one: εἰς τό goes with ἀκούειν, and there is a threefold change of "person" within the three clauses; the subj. of παραίνη is (I think) ὁ νομοθέτης, λαβόμενα agrees with the antecedent to περὶ ᾧν; the subject to ἀκούειν is the man to whom the νομοθέτης is speaking. O. Apelt (p. 8) takes a similar

course in reading μεταλαμβάντα (“getting hold of”), which he thinks more likely than λαβόμενα to have been corrupted into μάλλον δ’. (This I doubt; λαβόμε. might very well have been so written in early cursive as to be read as μάλλον—μαυομ—and the three letters replaced by \*\*δ’ might well have been ενα.)—We may translate: “It seems to me, then, that just the discourse I spoke of would do something towards making a man listen in a civil and even kindly mood to the subject of the lawgiver’s exhortations,” i.e. the actual enactments, “as they would fall on a mind not altogether unprepared.” (Madvig, followed by Schanz, writes ὡμῆ ψυχῆ, μάλλον δ’, Badham λαβόμενα μάλλον δὲ πραείας, ἡμερώτερόν τε ἅμα ποιεῖν, Stallb. would insert περαίνειν (to go with εἰς τὸ) after παραίνη, Ritter contents himself with altering τὸ in d 3 to τὰ.)—ὥστε κτλ., “in fact it will be a very welcome result, if he brings his audience, by making them, as I say, more kindly, into a more docile frame of mind, however little he may do in that direction.”

d 5. Vermehren is doubtless right in reading φημί for the MS. φησί: the repetition of εὐμενέστερον is marked, and ὅπερ φησί is very otiose.

d 6. Badham’s πάνυ for the MS. πᾶν is right here, I think (the case at 801 b 10 is different).—Cp. 723 a 4 διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν εὐμαθέστερον; in both places it is implied that goodwill towards instruction conduces to receptivity, and should precede it. It is just this inclination which the following words describe as wanting. The reason is that heaven has ordained that the “first step” in the road to virtue shall be a hard one. Hence the special need that the benefits to follow on this step should be clearly set forth.

e 2. Both at *Rep.* 364 c d, where the passage (*Hes. Op. et D.* 287 ff.) is quoted, and here, there are variants from our text of *Hesiod.* For ὀλίγη μὲν ὁδός Plato has at *Rep.* 364 λείη μὲν ὁδός, and here ἡ ὁδὸς λεία, a great improvement, as ὀλίγη only says the same things as the following words—which are here paraphrased by μάλα βραχεῖα οὖσα. So too is ἴκηαι for ἴκηται, of which the subject is not clear. Even the φέρειν (for πέλειν) in v. 292, in the sense of “(easy) to endure,” may be correct. The two last variants are not supported, as λείη is, by the quotation at *Xen. Mem.* ii. 1. 20. It was a favourite passage with Plato; cp *Prot.* 340 d and *Phaedr.* 272 c.

719 a 5. αὐτὸ MSS.; for this Bdh. proposed αῦ (and so Schanz). O. Apelt (p. 9) thinks it more likely that αῦ should have become

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d 6. *προστάττεις* used of the legislator's constant injunction, *ἐπήνεσας* "timeless" (aor.) of his arguments in its support.

d 7. *εἰ μὲν γυνή μοι . . . εἴη*, "if one of my characters was a woman of great wealth."

d 8. *ἐν τῷ ποιήματι*: this goes with *εἴη* almost as directly as with *διακελεύοιτο*. Ficinus takes it only with the following *ἐπαινοίην*, and so does the MS. of Stobaeus. Many wrong-headed alterations of *ποιήματι* have been made, e.g. *γράμματι* Ast, *ἐπιστήματι* Winckelmann, *μνήματι* Stallb., *νοσήματι* Haupt, *προσήκοντι μνήματι* Richards, *(τῷ) οἰκήματι* Apelt — by editors who failed to see that the "poet" is speaking here of what his character *in his poem* would say.

e 1. In *ἐπαινοίην* the poet speaks as if it were *he* who expressed the opinions of his characters—while the following *ἐπαινέσαι*, like *διακελεύοιτο*, fixes the responsibility on the *character* in his poem—conscious all the time that the former view is the correct one.

e 3. *τὸν αὐτόν*: this *may* be correct—i.e. *τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ νομοθέτῃ*, "the same kind of tomb that you, the lawgiver, would enjoin"; but I am much disposed to accept H. Richards's suggestion that we ought to read *τοιοῦτον* here.—The MSS. and that of Stobaeus have *ἐπαινέσοι*; Bekker was most likely right in reading the now discredited form *ἐπαινέσαι* (cp. 773 c 8). Bdh. proposed *ἐπαινοίῃ σοι*, which would help to explain *τὸν αὐτόν*.—*νῦν* is evidently used in the sense of *νυνδῆ*, which Schanz suggests for it.

e 5. I.e. as a *lawgiver* you have no right to use the term *μέτριον* unless you *define* it.

e 7 ff. Having established the fact that the *νομοθέτης* is *able* to recommend the law by argument and persuasion, he now proceeds to explain the best way of doing it. This speech is very conversational in style, but quite clear. Stallb. is right in marking a break, and a fresh start, after *θεραπεύειν*. "I ask then, is our dispenser of laws to put no such preface in the forefront of his ordinances? Must he say straight off what has to be done or not done, name the penalty attached to transgression, and pass on to the next law without adding to his enactments a single bit of conciliation or persuasion? Why, just as doctors for instance are in the habit of treating us, one this way, and one that, when we are ill (*ἐκάστοτε*)—just call the two styles to mind, and then we can appeal to the law-maker—just as children would appeal to the doctor to be as nice to them as possible. Give you an instance? What I mean is, there are doctors and *doctors' men*, who bear the name, you know, of doctors themselves." "They do." "And they

are all so called whether they are free men, or slaves who pick up their skill by listening to their masters' directions and watching their proceedings, learning by rote and not by principle, which is the way the free-born doctors themselves learn, and the way they teach the members of their school. You grant the existence of these two kinds of doctors?" "Certainly."

**e 8.** For προαγορεύη O has -εύει and A<sup>2</sup> -εύοι; in O -ει is corrected to -η and there is a marginal note saying "all copies have the subjunctive"; η φράξη and τρέπεται both A and O have the subj., which A corrects to opt. and O (in φράξη only) to the pres. ind. — Ast, not recognizing that the subjunctives are deliberative, reads opt. and puts in ἄν.

**720 a 1.** τοῖς νομοθετούμενοις: the expression ἡ νομοθετούμενη πόλις at 701 d 8, and still more τοὺς νῦν νομοθετούμενους at 857 c 6 prove that the part. here may be masc., and denote the people for whom the laws are made (so Jowett), but I think Wagner is right in taking it to be neuter, and to mean "enactments," as at 785 a. The latter meaning fits in with the προσ- in προσδιδῶ better than the former.

**b 2.** I believe that all commentators and translators are in error in thinking that Plato admits the possibility of the *empirics* being *free citizens*. From κατ' ἐπίταξιν το δὲ μή applies solely to δοῦλοι; the previous words mean: "Yes, (we call the whole lot "doctors") whether they belong to the free-citizen kind, or the slave kind"—then follows a description of the slave kind. This is also clear from b 4 and b 5, as also below at 857 c d.

**b 5.** οὕτω seems to us pleonastic; it serves to give a unity and emphasis to the part of the sentence containing μεμαθήκασιν and διδάσκουσιν. The course of *learning* and *teaching* systematically (κατὰ φύσιν) in medical schools is opposed to the random picking up by their slave assistants of bits of doctors' skill.—With τοὺς αὐτῶν παῖδας Stallb. cps. οἱ ζωγράφων παῖδες 769 b.1. Cp. *Rep.* 408 b 6 πάνυ κομψούς, ἔφη, λέγεις Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδας, "quite philosophic practitioners you make them out to be!" where there is a slight pun, as Machaon was really Asclepius's son, L. & S. s.v. I. 3 and the biblical phrase "the sons of the prophets."

**c 2.** καί: we should say "or."

**c 3, 4.** Schanz says one ἐκάστου must go. But if the second be omitted the sentence runs awkwardly: if the first was not originally there, who would think of putting it in? ἐκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν bears a very relevant sense. The slaves were not treated as individuals, but in the lump.



c 5. οὐδ' ἀποδέχεται: i.e. he would cut his patient very short if he showed a disposition to explain his case or to ask for an explanation.

c 7. I cannot but think that Plato wrote αὐθάδης here, and that some early scribe wrote -ῶς because he had so recently had three consecutive words ending in -ως. If the MS. text be retained, it might be as well to put a comma after τύραννος, to show that αὐθαδῶς goes with προστάξας. "He writes him a second-hand prescription, with a cock-sure air, issuing his orders like a tyrant whose will is law, and then 'rushes off to the next slave-patient.'" (αὐθαδῶς will hardly bear the meaning "with the absolute air of a tyrant"; Jowett takes αὐθ. with οἶχεται—"rushes off with equal assurance.")

c 8. καὶ ῥαστώνην κτλ., "and by so doing lightens his master's professional labours"—i.e. by relieving him of his slave-patients. (Jowett unaccountably translates: "and so relieves the master of the house of the care of his invalid slaves.")

d 1. ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον leaves it open to us to suppose that a physician now and then treated the case of a slave.

d 3. ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν: terms which suggest a philosophical, systematic investigation; for the latter cp. above b 4.—τῷ κάμνοντι κοινούμενος κτλ., "taking the patient, and his friends as well, into his confidence."

d 5. τῶν νοσοῦντων: a curious change of number.

d 6. ἐπέταξεν: gnomic aor.

d 7. For μετά "by the help of" cp. *Rep.* 560 d ὑπερορίζουσι . . . μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ ἀνωφελῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, and cp. *Theaet.* 180 c 8 and above 710 d 7, 738 d 7, 791 a 7.

e 1. ἀποτελεῖν seems by all interpreters to have been taken absolutely, in the sense of "make (him) whole," or "complete (the cure)." I do not believe this use to have been possible. The analogy of 767 a 9 ἥπερ ἂν κρίνων τὴν δίκην ἀποτελῆ suggests that ἀποτελεῖν could be used with a participle in the sense of "finish doing, succeed in doing"; I would therefore remove the comma which all texts insert before ἀποτελεῖν—"does his best to restore him to complete health"—lit. "to succeed in bringing him to health."

e 2 f. τε . . . : καὶ γυμναστῆς γυμνάζων: the suggestion of another analogy, which the reader is left to work out for himself.

e 3. διχῆ . . . ἀπεργαζόμενος; "(would you prefer that he should) perform his one function in two methods, or confine himself to the worse method of the two, and make his patient hate him?"

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a commentator's explanation of ἔστιν ἡ̂; but the two phrases do not mean the same thing: "There is a sense in which mankind is by nature partaker of immortality," i.e. "Mankind enjoys by its nature a kind of immortality."

c 1. πᾶσαν, "of every kind," a not unusual use of πᾶς; cp. 723 d 1.—The kind spoken of in the *Phaedo* is for the time left out of sight. *One* of the kinds of this desire is, he goes on to say, the wish to know that one's *name* will not be unheard after one's death. A desire for fame is thus seen to be a kind of desire for immortality. A further motive is adduced at 773 e (where the thought of this passage recurs), i.e. the individual's part in the service of heaven does not lapse, if he leaves children to represent him.

c 2. γένος οὖν ἀνθρώπων: Plato speaks of mankind as if the race had a sort of collective consciousness of the possibilities open to it, and as if it had what in an individual we should call an instinctive desire to prolong its existence. There is a sense in which every parent of a living child shares in the race's immortality. Cp. *Symp.* 206 c 6 and e 8, 207 d 1, 208 b 5, Aristotle, *De anima* 415 a 26 ff. γ. a 22 - b 7

c 3. τι συμφυῆς τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου: a marvellous phrase, in which the unusual gen. suggests a specially close relationship between *time* and the *human race*; some such a relationship we may fancy to have been in Plato's mind as that between *space* and the *material world* unfolded in the *Timaeus*.—Cp. also *Tim.* 37 d–38 b, where Time is called "a moving image of eternity that abides in unity."

c 6. γενέσει: an instrumental dat. Reproduction is the means by the help of which the race secures the blessing of immortality. (Schneider's "ortu" is insufficient.)—"So the race of man is time's coeval twin, bound to it in a fellowship which will never be dissolved. The fashion of mankind's lasting is this: it attains to immortality by a reproduction of itself; for, as generation succeeds to generation, the race is one and the same throughout the ages. From this succession it is impious for any man to cut himself off, and that is what that man deliberately does who neglects to surround himself with wife and children."

d 4. A good instance of καὶ . . . δέ, "and besides," "and moreover." A omitted the καί at first writing, L and O have it.

d 5. ἐν τῇ πόλει, "in public."

d 8. αὐτούς: i.e. laws (in general).—οὕτω is explained by the following διὰ τὸ πείθειν κτλ.

e 1. τὸ σμικρότατον, "at the very least," qualifies διπλοῦς. Ast and Stallb., by putting a comma after γίγνεσθαι, obscure the fact that τῷ μήκει also goes with διπλοῦς. (Schanz would reject τῷ μήκει τὸ σμικρότατον, and others would emend it.) The added τοῖς μήκεσιν rounds off the sentence and helps to show how τῷ μήκει is to be taken.

e 5. γράμματα is here used in the sense of *statutes*, written laws; so below 823 a 1, 858 e 4, 922 a 4, *Polit.* 302 e 10.

e 7. μοι seems best taken as an ethic dative.

722 a 1. εἰ γίγνοιτο ἑκάτερα: apparently "if both sorts were in existence," i.e. "were possible." διδοῖτο would seem the natural verb here.

a 2. All the early MSS. wrote ἐροίμην for αἰροίμην.—οὐ μὴν ἀλλά κτλ.: i.e. "after all, what is important is that Cleinias here should approve of the legislation now produced; for it is *his* city that is now contemplating the task of putting such laws into practice."

a 4. τοῖς τοιούτοις νόμοις, "*such laws as we make*," not "such laws as you have described as preferable."—I cannot help thinking that νόμοις ought not to be in the text. It is not "*laws of such a kind*" that the new Colony was *thinking of* profiting by, but merely *laws* of some kind or other. This Megillus would naturally denote by τοιούτοις, i.e. γεγραμμένοις, τεθεμένοις νόμοις, "legislation." Some commentator perhaps put in νόμοις at the side to explain τοιούτοις, and it got into the text by mistake.

a 6. These words, I think, not only convey Cleinias's thanks, but his approval of Megillus's choice of the longer form of law. "You are right, Megillus, and I thank you." Cp. 723 c 1 καλῶς . . . δοκεῖς μοι τό γε τοσοῦτον λέγειν.

a 7. γραμμάτων: not, as Ast, *Lex.*, in the same sense as above at e 5, but simply in that of "written matter." It is "too foolish" to "take account of" the mere length of a law—"length," says the parenthesis, "is in itself neither a vice nor a virtue."

b 1. τὰ δ' κτλ.: this δέ corresponds to the μὲν in a 7. τά here, though not in the previous parenthesis, should, I think, have γράμματα supplied in thought. The written matter of the longer of the two kinds of laws, which was to be "at least twice as long" as the shorter one, is of *more* than twice its practical utility. In fact the case is analogous to that of the two kinds of physician above mentioned. In that case the superiority of the better one was "great" (720 e 6).

b 2. διάφορα εἰς ἀρετὴν τῆς χρείας (cp. 969 c 3 πρὸς ἀρετὴν

σωτηρίας), lit. (*pace* Ritter) “superior in the matter of the excellence of their usefulness.” Cp. *Gorg.* 480 a 1 τίς ἢ μεγάλη χρεία ἐστὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς; (Ritter says it means: “the one class exceeds in excellence by more than twice the usefulness of the other class”—a very roundabout way of saying that one class was more than three times as useful as the other.)

**b 4.** πρὸς τοῦτο δέ, “yet in the face of this,” “yet for all this”; so L and O. πρὸς τούτῳ, the reading of A and the margin of L and O, is out of place; what follows is in no sense *an additional point*.

**b 5.** ἐξόν: the participle contains the main idea of the sentence. It does not seem ever to have occurred to any of the lawgivers that, all the time during which they have been employing nothing but force, *there was another course open to them*; i.e. “as far as the uneducated state of the masses would permit,” they might use *persuasion*. (Wagner must be wrong in taking the καθ’ ὅσον clause with what follows.)

**c 1.** I am inclined to adopt Ast’s emendation of ἀνάγκην for the MS. μάχην; if the initial α were faint, μ might easily be read as μ, and αγκ be read as αχ. The only defence of the MS. reading that seems possible is the assumption that πειθοῖ κεραννύντες μάχην is a poetical quotation. Bdh. and Stallb. suggest ἀρχήν, and this Schanz adopts.

**c 6.** νῦν: I do not feel sure about Schanz’s alteration of the MS. νῦν to νυνδῆ. The following δι- may well have helped a -δῆ to disappear, but νῦν is not out of place. The reference is not to any *recent part* of the discussion about laws, but to the *whole* discussion. In English we should say “to-day,” or “on the present occasion,” not “just now” in such a case. Cp. below e 4 ἢ νῦν διατριβῆ γεγονυῖα.—κατὰ θεόν τινα: Porson (on Eur. *I.A.* 411, *Adversaria* p. 251) pointed out that θεῶν τις and not θεός τις was usual in tragedy, but it is not so in Plato. For the phrase κατὰ θεόν cp. above 682 e 10, where it is also used of a felicitous turn of the conversation.

**c 7.** γεγονός is not (as Jowett) “which comes into my mind,” but “which has been brought out,—emerged.” The three old men have talked through four books before making any laws. This means (e 5) that, before making a law, we must be clear about the principles on which it is to be made. The further analogy of musical νόμοι, which has been before us already, suggests that some *science* (ἐντεχνον d 5) must go to the fitting of the *prelude* to the *piece* proper. The *style* and *tone* of the prelude

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a προίμιον, or taken the trouble to compose and produce one." συνθέτης implies *careful composition*. For ἐξήνεγκεν εἰς τὸ φῶς see below on 781 a 1.

e 4. ἡ νῦν διατριβὴ . . . σημαίνει: see above on c 6 f.

e 5. At e 3 Cod. Voss. has ὄν for ὄντος and so Bdh. conjectured here. The construction of ὡς ὄντος is, as Ast says, 'precisely similar to that noticed on 624 a 7. The adoption of this construction heightens the force of the contradiction of ὡς οὐκ ὄντος φύσει at e 3.—Bdh. would reject γε and Schanz follows him.

e 6. With εἶναι we must supply δοκοῦσι from ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ at e 4.—οὐκ . . . διπλοῖ: i.e. it is not the same thing twice over.

e 7. ὁ δὲ . . . τοῦτ' εἶναι: the asyndeton is of the explanatory kind.

e 8. ἀπεικασθὲν ἐρρήθη: the participle contains the more important verb; "whose pronouncement was likened . . ."

723 a 1. εἶναι still depends on the imaginary δοκοῦσι supplied at e 6.

a 2. ὑπὸ τοῦδε: as Ritter says, this in the *Laws* would naturally mean "by that one of the two Dorians who had not spoken last," i.e. in this case "by Megillus." M. has nowhere called the προίμιον πειστικόν. Perhaps the best way out of the difficulty is to suppose an imperfect recollection on Plato's part of what had been the actual terms of Megillus's declaration (at 721 e 4 ff.) of a preference for the law *plus* the preface. Schanz suspects the words. Ast would take them to mean "on that account," *propterea*.—Ritter mentions the possibility of taking τοῦδε to refer to the speaker himself, as at *Laches* 180 d 7, but follows Schanz in rejecting the words. Apelt, *Eis. Prog.* 1901, suggests ἀπὸ τοῦδε, "henceforward."

a 3. μήν is a strong δέ to the previous μέν.—περὶ λόγους (at which Ritter stumbles) is "rhetorical"; i.e. by the rules of art it is as necessary for a *law* to have a προίμιον as it is for a speech (of any kind) to have one.

a 4 f. ἵνα . . . εὐμενῶς . . . δέξεται: again the function of the προίμιον is insisted on. It is to produce a *receptive* frame of mind in the hearer. This is what it does in rhetoric, in poetry, and in music; and we must recognize that in a law too the προίμιον is not *merely* persuasive. It has an artistic, or stylistic function; it strikes the key-note (as Aristotle says of the rhetorical προίμιον, at *Rhet.* 1414 b 25) of what is to follow. The addition of this "artistic" aid is the τρίτον γίγνεσθαι δέον of 722 c 2.

a 5. ἐπίταξιν, like ἐπίταγμα, is a natural word for a doctor's

prescription, which corresponds to the *law* proper. The neuter  $\acute{o}$  is quite natural here; there is no need for Bdh.'s  $\acute{o}\tilde{u}$ .

**a 6.** *κατεφάνη* and *εἶπεν* are not gnomic aorists, but refer to the model *προοίμιον* given at 721 b ff. It is possible though that *κατεφάνη* is used colloquially of a discovery recently made: "I see that . . ." Cp. 718 d 2 and *ὄρω* at 722 c 3, and c 6.

**b 1.** *λόγος* is here, and below at c 4, used in the sense of "text" or "body" of the law, as opposed to introductory matter.

**b 2.** For the *εἶναι* with *προσαγορεύειν* cp. *Phil.* 13 b 5 and *Prot.* 325 a 2.

**b 3 f.** *ὡς τὸν νομοθέτην . . . διηνεγκάτην*: in interpreting this difficult and awkward sentence we must start from the contrasted *πρὸ πάντων τῶν νόμων* and *καθ' ἕκαστον*. Apparently there is to be a *general* introduction to the body of laws as a whole, and separate preambles, which are to be prefixed to individual laws, "in which way," i.e. "in virtue of which they will surpass their former selves as much as the double law above given surpassed its former self" (i.e. the so-called *simple*, and *double* laws of 721 b ff.). The awkwardness arises from the fact that *μὴ ἀμοίρους αὐτοὺς προοιμίῳ ποιεῖν*, which would suit both cases, comes after the injunction to supply a general preamble to the whole. This difficulty would be removed if *καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον* had immediately followed *χρεὼν ἐστίν*. But on the other hand there seems a fitness in putting *καθ' ἕκαστον* immediately before *ἢ διοίσουσιν ἑαυτῶν*. A revision on the part of the author would doubtless have removed the awkwardness, but *not* as Stallb. suggests, by substituting *προοίμια παρατιθέναι* for *μὴ ἀμ. αὐτ. πρ. ποιεῖν*.

**b 7.** With *τό γ' ἐμόν* for *ἐγώ* cp. *τὰ ὑμέτερα* for *ὑμεῖς* at 643 a 2, and *τὸ ἡμέτερον* for *ἡμεῖς* at 778 e 1.

**c 1.** "So far, Cleinias, I think you are right, when you admit that all laws have preambles belonging to them, and that when beginning any piece of legislation one ought to put at the head of each law the preamble that suits the whole text of the law—for it is no unimportant pronouncement that is to follow, and it will make a great difference whether or not the laws are distinctly retained in the memory—still we should not be right in laying it down that a preface is as necessary for what we call small laws as for great ones. You ought not to make such a rule in the case of all kinds of songs or speeches either—and yet there is a natural preface to them all, but you need not use all the prefaces. No ;



you must leave it to the orator; or the musician, or the lawgiver, to deal with each case as he thinks fit."

c 2. Cleinias may perhaps have been surprised to find his expression of agreement expanded into what follows, but it is nothing but a repetition of some points in the Ath.'s last speech.

c 3. προτιθέναι . . . ἐκάστοις: there is much difficulty here. L. & S., Schneider, and Wagner take π. τ. λόγ. with προτιθέναι, and ἐκάστοις with πεφυκός. ("conveniens natura singulis prooemium," "den für die einzelnen geeigneten Eingang"). This must be wrong. Whenever προτιθέναι means prefix A to B, B is in the dat.; besides, what sense does it make to say that when a man starts to legislate, he must put at the head of the whole body of law "the preamble that suits the separate individuals"? At least we ought to have had προίμια. Clearly προτιθέναι goes with ἐκάστοις, and παντὸς . . . προίμιον means "the proper preamble belonging to the whole text"—λόγος used as at b 1.—παντὸς τοῦ λόγου suggests a long law, and this prepares us for the statement that in the case of slight enactments the preamble may be omitted. (F.H.D. would reject τοῦ.)—Ast and Stallb. are doubtless right in taking ἀρχόμενον as agreeing with τινά understood. (Jowett apparently takes it as neut. agreeing with προίμιον.)

c 5. σαφῶς . . . μνημονεύεσθαι recalls the εὐμαθέστερον of a 5; μνη. (pass.) does not mean "to be recorded" (Ast, *Lex.*) but "to be remembered."

c 6. αὐτά: the plural of what was just spoken of as τὸ ῥηθησόμενον, i.e. the laws.

c 7. λεγομένων: almost "so-called." — ὁμοίως: the context (καίτοι . . . ἅπασιν) shows that this word does not mean "to an equal extent" or "(by preambles) of equal length," but "equally," "invariably."

d 1. τὸ τοιοῦτον δρᾶν: not "to make such a rule," but "to do such a thing" (as to make prologues). The genitives ἄσματος and λόγου suppose some such construction as προίμια ποιεῖν, for which this is a substitute. The anacoluthon is as harsh as that noticed at b 5. H. Steph. held that ἐπὶ had fallen out before ἄσματος, and Ast and Stallb. agreed with him. (Cp. Riddell, *Dig.* § 17.)

d 6. τῆς μελλήσεως is a gen. of *definition*; "let us make no more hesitating delay, but let us retrace our steps and start, if you do not mind, from those things you said above when you were not avowedly prologizing. Let us hope, as they say at

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both their occupations and amusements" is, I think, far too limited.)

b 1. καὶ κοινότατον, "and to their most mutual advantage"; "*communiterque omnium interest*," Stallb. (Stallb. takes λέγοντα of the Ath., and τοὺς ἀκούοντας of his two hearers.)

b 4. ὄντως emphasizes the *necessity* expressed in the following verbal adjectives—"undoubtedly."

## BOOK V

726 1. ἀκούοι πᾶς κτλ. : with the exception of a few lines at the end, the whole of this book is addressed to the same imaginary audience who were instructed above at 716 and 717 on the duties to Gods and parents.

3. [μετὰ θεούς]: below at 727 a 1 and b 4 these words are quite in place as a qualification of δευτέραν, but I cannot believe that the author put them in here. They involve the twofold absurdity of implying that the Gods are (1) possessed by mankind, and (2) godlike. Ritter was the first to call attention to the difficulty. The former absurdity was lessened by Stobaeus, who substituted τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ for τῶν αὐτοῦ. He, apparently, found μετὰ θεούς already inserted.—οἰκειότατον ὄν, "sein eigenstes Eigenthum" (Wagner).—διττὰ πάντ' ἐστὶ πᾶσιν: an elegant variety of παντάπασιν διττὰ ἐστὶ, i.e. "all, in all cases" = "unquestionably." The Louvain edition has διττὰ ἐστὶ παντάπασιν.—It is tempting, with Iamblichus, to omit οὖν and put merely a comma after πᾶσιν.

727 a 1. ὄντας δεσπότας: an echo of δεσπόζοντα above; natural *supremacy* is the title to honour which ennobles both the Gods and our souls.—[Commas after ψυχὴν, ἐπομένους (as well as after δευτέραν) make the sentence clearer. J.B.M.]—τοὺς τούτοις ἐπομένους: cp. 717 b 2 ff.

a 2. δευτέραν goes closely with μετὰ θεούς, as at b 4.—The object to be supplied in thought with τιμῆ is τὴν αὐτοῦ ψυχὴν.—For the idea cp. Tennyson's "*Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control*" (Oenone).

a 3. θεῖον γὰρ ἀγαθόν που τιμῆ, τῶν δὲ κακῶν οὐδὲν τίμιον, "honour, you know, is a priceless benefit; if a thing harms you, it cannot bring you honour." There are, Plato says, many ways, which we are all prone to take, of honouring our own souls, "*as we think*," which do it no honour at all. The only way to honour

our souls is to *make them better*. Instead of which, much of the conduct whereby we think to honour them, does them harm. Apparently Plato nowhere else uses *τίμιος* in an active sense, but I think he makes it clear by the context that it is active here. If we understand him to say that honour cannot be paid to anything bad—especially if we go so far as to accept Stallbaum's emendation *θείων γὰρ ἀγαθῶν*, which accentuates that idea—this clashes with the statement that every honouring of the soul *βελτίω ἐκ χείρονος ἀπεργάζεται*. The modest confession with which Plato begins at a 2, as well as much of the subsequent exhortation, shows that he starts with the assumption that there is much in every *ψυχή* that needs amendment. We are not to wait till this imperfection is removed, to honour the soul. [St. Peter tells us to "honour all men." J.B.M.] Every step we take towards its removal *is* an honour paid to it. Honour then *can* be paid to something that is imperfect, and consequently *bad*. I agree with Ritter in taking *ἀγαθόν* to mean "something *beneficial*," and *κακόν* "something *harmful*," but I do not see that he gains anything by reading *θετέον* for *θείον*. The latter word, besides being a high commendation, adds the implication that since the *Gods* receive honour and glory, it must be a good, and therefore a beneficial thing. Schanz's *ψυχή* for *τιμή* seems to go still further from the context—ignoring, as it does, the contrast between *ἀγαθόν* and *κακόν*. All the above-mentioned objections also apply to Susemihl's suggestion to bracket *ἀγαθόν* as a "gloss" on *θείον*.—For the active use of *τίμιος* cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 853 *οὐπιρρέων γὰρ τιμιώτερος χρόνος ἔσται πολίταις τοῖσδε*, and *τίμιον ἔδραν* in the next line. Plato uses *ἄτιμος* both in the sense of *bringing disgrace* (*Gorg.* 527 d 1) and *suffering disgrace* (*Gorg.* 486 c 2). [F.H.D., J.B.M., and A.M.A. take *τίμιον* as passive, and incline to Stallbaum's *θείων γὰρ ἀγαθῶν*.]

a 5. *λόγοις ἢ δώροις ἢ ὑπείξεσιν*: three headings under which fall the various *κίβδηλοι τιμαί* (728 d 5) enumerated below. It should be noticed that he does not say that *words*, e.g., or *gifts*, or even *shirkings* or *compliances* cannot honour the soul, but only such words, gifts or compliances as fail to do it good.—(1) Self-confidence and self-praise, and (2) self-excuse, fall under the head of *λόγοις*; (3) self-indulgence, and (5) the preferring beauty to goodness, and (7) the preference of wealth to virtue, fall under the head of *δώροις*, while (4) the shrinking from toil, and (5) the shrinking from death fall under that of *ὑπείξεσι*.

a 7. *αὐτίκα*, "for instance." Cp. Ruhnken, *Tim.* s.v.—*παῖς*

εὐθὺς γινόμενος, ["a man is hardly in his teens before . . .," J.B.M.].

b 1. προθυμούμενος ἐπιτρέπει, "eagerly encourages it."

b 2. τὸ δὲ νῦν λεγόμενον ἔστι: a variety of οὗτος ὁ λόγος φησί; below at 746 b 4 τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον is personified, and is subject to the verb διεξέρχεται.

b 7. ἐξαιρῆ Stob., ἐξαίρη MSS. Cp. Heindorf on *Theaet.* 162 e: "vulgatum ἐξαίρω mutavi in ἐξαιρῶ, velut ubique scribendum ubi *eximendi* significatum verbum hoc habet."

c 2. παρὰ λόγον τὸν τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ ἔπαινον, "in the face of the lawgiver's exhortation and eulogium."—[λόγον is the lawgiver's speech recommending the law. J.B.M.] ἐπαινουμένους in c 4 again introduces in another connexion the consideration of the lawgiver's *praise*, which is a kind of τιμή, the great agency for the encouragement of moral conduct. (Schanz would change λόγον to ψόγον, and reject καὶ ἔπαινον.)

c 3. κακῶν: as at b 6, not only *suffering*, but *damage* (to the soul).

c 7. δρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα: i.e. when guilty of that, or any other, shirking of a hard duty. Wagner suggests <οὐ> δρῶν, applying τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα to the duties shirked. [J.B.M. suggests that the οὐ before τιμᾶ really belongs here.]

d 1. πάντως, "under any circumstances," goes with ἀγαθόν.—For the sense cp. *Apol.* 29 a 7, 37 b 7 and 42.

d 3. καὶ οὐκ ἀντιτείνει διδάσκων τε καὶ ἐλέγχων ὡς . . ., "instead of combating, the notion by convincing demonstration that . . ." For the time, νοῦς and ψυχὴ are taking opposite sides. Stobaeus's ἡγούμενος in d 2 spoils the passage.

d 5. τὰ περὶ τοὺς θεούς: for the more usual τὰ τῶν θεῶν; cp. above on 690 d 6. We may translate "the kingdom of the Gods below."

d 7. οὐχ ἕτερον ἢ: a variety of οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ; elsewhere in Plato ἕτερος in the sense of *different* is followed by a gen.

d 8. All the later edd., except Stallb., Schneider, and the Ziir. edd., have a comma after εἶναι; but it seems best, since the next sentence gives a proof of the statement contained in ψευδόμενος, to omit the comma and to take ψευδόμενος φησί closely together—"is wrong in saying" ("for this reckoning, which makes more of the body than of the soul, is a false one").

e 2. Burnet does well to eject the comma which most edd. have after ἀγνοεῖ.—There is much variety among the interpretations given of ὡς: Wagner translates it by a simple *that* (*dass*), Jowett

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of the χρυσίου of O and Stobaeus, and rightly, I think. It is not a question of a small “*piece of money*” (Jowett), or small *sum* of money, but of an *amount of gold*, small in comparison with “all the gold on the earth and in the earth,” of which we hear immediately. So, at the end of the *Phaedrus*, Socrates wishes for a certain χρυσοῦ πλήθος. [Clem. Al. *Strom.* vii. § 78, p. 879 quotes χρυσὸν μὲν πάντα τὸν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν. J.B.M.]

a 5. What was hinted above at c 2, is here expressly set forth: that, for the citizen, the (ideal) lawgiver’s enactment is the ultimate canon of morality.

a 6. διαριθμούμενος τάττη, “sets down in his list.”

a 7. It is better to suppose that ἐθέλη may, under the circumstances, dispense with ἄν—ὅς ἂν ἄπερ ἄν would sound awkward—than to read ἐθέλει with Peipers. Cp. 920 d 3 with Stallb.’s note. Of the passages cited there 873 e 3 πλὴν τῶν ὅσα . . . δράση is almost parallel with this.

a 8. οὐκ οἶδεν . . . διατιθείς, “without knowing it, the man, whoever he be, is bringing hideous disgrace upon the majesty of his soul.”—οὐκ οἶδεν, a repetition of ἀγνοεῖ at e 2, and ὡς δὴ δοκεῖ at b 7 above, is below expanded and explained by οὐδεὶς ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν λογίζεται κτλ.

b 2. λεγομένην, “so-called,” qualifies the word δίκην alone—cp. 695 a 6 ὑπὸ τῆς λεγομένης εὐδαιμονίας, and 747 c 2 τὴν καλουμένην πανουργίαν; so too I believe we ought to explain λεγομένην at *Er.* 335 b 4, connecting λεγομένην οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἡδονήν.—What he means by “so-called” he explains below at c 2 ff. The ordinary translation—“what is said to be the heaviest penalty for wrong-doing”—involves a contradiction of what follows. If it is *generally said to be so*, how is it that “no one takes it into account”?

b 6. κατὰ τὰς συνουσίας goes closely with προσκολλᾶσθαι; lit. “by way of their companionships,” i.e. “in intimate communion.” Schneider wrongly takes it with διώκοντα—“istorum sectans consuetudinem”; and so Wagner, and (in effect) Jowett. An examination of the two contrasted clauses shows that ἀποσχίζεσθαι is balanced by προσκολλᾶσθαι, φεύγειν by διώκοντα, (ἀγαθοὺς) ἄνδρας by τοῖς δέ; we cannot, therefore, help feeling, as we read, that κατὰ τὰς συνουσίας is put in to balance λόγους: it is in *talk* that *communion* mainly consists. (Hence I think Schanz wrong in rejecting καὶ λέγειν in c 1.)

c 2 f. When we call this consequence δίκη, we give it too good a name, for δίκη is the *right* treatment of an offender, with a view

to his reformation—*ιατρικὴ γίγνεται πονηρίας ἢ δίκη* *Gorg.* 478 d—in a passage where the whole theory of what we may call *official* punishment is explained on the same lines as here. Plato feels that the Greek language cannot easily express what he means; the nearest he can get to a *bad* name for punishment is *τιμωρία*. Perhaps he chooses this because it has in it the suggestion of *anger*, which the just judge never feels. At *Gorg.* 525 b and at *Prot.* 324 a *τιμωρία* is used in a neutral sense, but in both passages we are told that there is a right and a wrong kind of *τιμωρία*—in the former we read that if a man is *ὀρθῶς τιμωρούμενος* it has a beneficial effect; in the latter, of the man who punishes out of revenge for the crime, it is said *ὥσπερ θηρίον ἀλογίστως τιμωρεῖται*. On the other hand, at *Theaet.* 177 a 2, the wrong form of *τιμωρία* is spoken of as *δίκη*.

c 3. *ἀδικίας ἀκόλουθος πάθη*, “a painful consequence of wrongdoing” (Jowett).

c 4. *ὁ τε τυχῶν καὶ μὴ τυγχάνων*: for the remarkable conjunction of the aor. and impf. participles in apparently the same sense cp. below 782 e 1 *δι’ ὧν ἀρετὴ τε αὐτοῖς ἀγομένοις ὀρθῶς καὶ τούναντίον ἀποβαίνει κακῶς ἀχθείσιν*.—*ἄθλιος*: at *Rep.* 380 b Plato explains that a man is never *ἄθλιος* as the result of duly ordained *δίκη*: *ὡς δὲ ἄθλιοι μὲν οἱ δίκην δίδόντες, ἦν δὲ ὁ δρῶν ταῦτα θεός, οὐκ ἑατέον λέγειν τὸν ποιήτην*; at *Gorg.* 472 e *ὁ ἀδικῶν τε καὶ ὁ ἀδικὸς πάντως μὲν ἄθλιος, ἀθλιώτερος μέντοι ἔαν μὴ διδῶ δίκην*; *this τιμωρία* however does leave a man *ἄθλιος*, so it cannot be *δίκη*.—*ὁ μὲν οὐκ ἰατρευόμενος, ὁ δέ, ἵνα ἕτεροι πολλοὶ σῶζονται, ἀπολλύμενος*: the worst penalty that can be incurred by the wrong-doer is that he is cut off from the society of the good and incorporated in that of the bad and completely assimilated to them. If he is *not* so cut off and so incorporated, he is still *ἄθλιος*, for the good, among whom he still lives, are likely to get rid of him as an incorrigible villain; this is *ὁ μὴ τυγχάνων* whose fate is likely to be “destruction,” as an example to others (cp. below 854 e 7). On the other hand *ὁ τυχῶν* is *ἄθλιος* because he does not get the only treatment that would cure him, which is *proper punishment*. (This interpretation of a most perplexing passage I owe to the late Prof. J. B. Mayor. F.H.D. also takes *ὁ μὴ τυγχάνων* to be the man who is put to death (*ἀπολλύμενος*), but assumes the words to mean that he is put to death by the law for his crimes; and that the *only* way a man can avoid the above described penalty is by disappearing from the world. Prof. H. Jackson, on the other hand, holds that the



arrangement is chiasmic (and so Ficinus), and that ὁ μὴ τυγχάνων (τιμωρίας) is the man who is said not to be cured “because he does not get the treatment he wants,”—if he does not get the τιμωρία, *a fortiori* he does not get δίκη—and that ἀπολλύμενος only means that such a man goes hopelessly to the bad, and is a lesson to the rest of the world.)

**c 6.** ἡμῖν is a genitival dative, “our glory.” [Dat. of reference, “in our judgement,” J.B.M. and A.M.A.]

**c 7.** τοῦτ’ αὐτὸ ὡς ἄριστα ἀποτελεῖν, “to accomplish this very result” (i.e. τὸ βελτίω γενέσθαι) “as well as we can.” In short, man’s true glory consists in choosing the good, and in doing his best to remedy all remediable evil.

**c 9.** οὐκ εὐφνέστερον εἰς κτλ. : it is the soul’s natural affinity with the Good that gives it the value as a κτήμα claimed for it at 726 2 and 727 e 1. This is implied in the statement just made, that the true glory of the soul is the pursuit of the Good, and the rejection of evil.

**d 3.** δεύτερον : next, that is, to the Good—τὸ πάντων ἄριστον. ἐτάχθη may be gnomic, or may refer to the fact that the order of merit was given on the preceding page ; more likely the latter. The Aldine τιμῆ for the MS. τιμή must be right (unless some words are lost, e.g. <ἡ> τιμή <τοῦδε>).—Burnet is the first among modern editors to print πᾶς . . . νοήσειεν as a parenthesis—like that at e 1 below. (There are difficulties both ways, but perhaps the harshness of taking τοῦτό γε as a restatement of τὸ τρίτον is the greater evil.) [J.B.M. dissents, translating “as for the third, every one would consider that *this* was etc.”]

**d 4.** I think it is best to take εἶναι to depend on νοήσειεν ἄν, repeated in thought ; so that in effect the sentence is equivalent to : “everybody will recognize that the natural (and proper) honour paid to the *body* comes third in importance.”—δ’ αὖ, “here again.”

**d 5.** ὅσαι implies that the κίβδηλοι are more numerous than the ἀληθεῖς τιμαί.

**d 6.** μηνύειν δὴ μοι φαίνεται : this curious phrase seems to mean : “as I imagine, he distinguishes them (as follows).” Explanatory asyndeton ; as also is the case with the sentence beginning τίμιον εἶναι ; but this is so regular after ὅδε and τοιόσδε that it is hardly noticeable.

**e 2.** τὰ δ’ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ . . . μακρῶ, “but that those bodies which possess all these qualities” (lit. “the whole of this condition”) “to an extent half-way between these two extremes [“are in the

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in the *συμφωνοῦσα* and *συναρμόττουσα* which follow; the word means something like “harmonious.”—*ἡμῖν* is an ethic dative.

**a 7.** εἰς ἅπαντα, “generally,” i.e. in the case of men of all stations; to be taken with the two preceding participles. [J.B.M. and A.M.A. take it with ἄλυπον.]

**b 1.** αἰδῶ πολλήν, οὐ χρυσόν: this remark forms a neat transition to what may be regarded as a true member of the series now before us (see on 718 c 1). We are concerned with *objects of honour and respect*; there is a true sense, he goes on (b 6) to tell us, in which *children*, who are always being told to *pay* respect to others, are deserving of respect themselves. (The remarks are not made “per occasionem,” as Stallb. would have us believe.)

**b 3.** τό has a stronger demonstrative force than usual here. Cp. 730 c 4.—ἔστιν γιγνόμενον is a sententious periphrasis for γίγνεται: “We fancy that we are going to secure this legacy to them by scolding them when they show a lack of it. But modesty is not created by the admonition which people nowadays address to the young, when they tell them that it is the duty of one who is young to show respect to everybody.”

**b 5.** πάντα: masc. (So Ritter: Schneider transl. “omnia.”) It is the obj. of αἰσχύνεσθαι, not an attribute of τὸν νέον.

**b 8.** αὐτόν: not the ἔμφρων νομοθέτης, of course, but the elder to whom the lawgiver gives the advice. The change of number in such a case is not uncommon in Plato. Stallb. cps. *Prot.* 324 a.—Cp. *Juv.* xiv. 47, with Mayor’s note.

**c 3.** ἅμα καὶ αὐτῶν, “*simul atque ipsorum*” Schneider.

**c 5.** ὁμογνίων θεῶν κοινωνίαν πᾶσαν κτλ.: Ruhnken, s.v. ὁμόγνιοι θεοί, quotes from Pollux iii. 5 a description of relations as θεῶν ὁμογνίων κοινωνοὶ καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐστίας μετόχοι. The following ταύτου φ. αἰ. ἔχουσαν obliges us to take the abstract noun to stand for the concrete in translation: “all the members who share the worship of the family gods, and who have the same blood in their veins” (lit. “the same natural blood”).

**c 7.** Ruhnken was the first to point out that Stobaeus had in γενεθλίους preserved for us the true reading for the curiously perverse γενέσθαι οὓς of the MSS. and early editions. The corruption is readily explicable palaeographically.

**d 1.** The subtlety of this wise counsel of humility consists in the selection of the man’s own *state of mind*, and not in his *outward expressions*, as the determining cause of his popularity.

If he really thinks his friend's services to him of more worth and importance than what he does for them, his behaviour to them cannot fail to be conciliatory and void of offence.—*εὐμενεῖς*, the MS. reading, has been unnecessarily altered by H. Steph., Ast, Bekker, and the Zürich edd. to *εὐμενές*, which Stobaeus also has. Stallb. refers to 657.d above, and *Phil.* 45 e, and Schramm also to *Rep.* 563 c, passages which show that such a phrase as *τό γε φίλων καὶ ἐταίρων* is regarded as quite equivalent to *τούς γε φίλους καὶ ἐταίρους*.

d 3. ἡ κείνοι: sc. ἡγοῦνται.

d 4. αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων τε καὶ ἐταίρων: as far as grammar goes, this gen. might stand either for ἡ αὐτοὶ οἱ φίλοι διανοοῦνται (so Schneider and Wagner), or, by brachylogy, for ἡ τὰς αὐτῶν τῶν φίλων χάριτας (Jowett); but the sense of the sentence points to the former interpretation. A is to set a higher value on B's services to him than B himself sets on them, and is also to set a lower value on his own services to B than B sets on them. There is no question of a comparison of service with service.

d 5. τοῦ Ὀλυμπίασιν: with τοῦ we must supply ἄγωνος from the following ἀγώνων.—“In preference to the Olympian or other contests” is, by brachylogy, for “in preference to conquering at the Olympian, etc.”

d 7. δόξη: “*Ruhm*” (Wagner) is nearer than *opinione* (Schneider). Plato suggests that *glory* may be gained by pre-eminence in more lines than one.—The ὡς ὑπηρετηκῶς . . . ἐν τῷ βίῳ, which explains δόξη ὑπηρεσίας seems a rather clumsy addition. Can it be due to a commentator who took δόξη to be merely (as Schneider) “in a reputation for”?—It is perhaps not fanciful to see a link between this and the preceding recommendation in the fact that the *value* of a ὑπηρεσία is considered in both.

e 2. ἀγιώτατα ὄντα, “have a special sacredness.”

e 3. τῶν ξένων: if the reading καὶ εἰς τ. ξέν. is sound, although the rest of the passage dealing with ξένοι treats only of offences committed against them, it is better to take ξένων here as a subjective gen. than to make it synonymous with the following εἰς τοὺς ξένους. Schn., Wagn. and Jowett can hardly be right in translating πάντα τὰ τῶν ξένων as “all that concerns strangers.” In that case the τὰ would surely have to be repeated before ἀμαρτήματα to make this clear. Besides, τὰ τῶν ξένων, in this sense, is not “inseparable from heaven's vengeance.” I think it best though to follow F.H.D. who would bracket καὶ εἰς τοὺς ξένους as a marginal gloss on the *objective* gen. ξένων.

e 4. παρά goes closely with the following μάλλον; cp. 747 b 5 παρά τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐπιδιδόντα.

e 7. For μάλλον heightening the force of a comparative cp. below 781 a 3, and *Gorg.* 487 b. Here too it repeats the *sound* of the previous τιμωρὸν μάλλον. [J.B.M. takes μάλλον with δυνάμενος here and with τιμωρόν above at c 5.]

730 a 1. ὁ ξένιος ἐκάστων κτλ. : i.e. whether it were a δαίμων or a θεός who in any particular case had the ξένος under his protection, they were all ministers of Ζεὺς ξένιος.

a 4. πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐ. πορ. : cp. *Rep.* 330 d 4 ff.—ξενικῶν καὶ ἐπ. ἄμ. We have the same bold use of these adjectives below at b 2 in ξενικά τε καὶ ἐπιχώρια ὁμιλήματα.

a 7. ἔτυχεν MSS., but in A there are two marks before the word standing for two missing letters. Badham ingeniously suggested that ἀπέτυχεν was the original reading. (So Schanz.) ἀπέτυχεν ὄμ. would mean, I think, not “failed to secure the fulfilment of a promise of safety,” but simply “failed to secure” such a promise. This directly states the offence which brings down the God’s vengeance, and directly explains the fate of the suppliant. The reading ἔτυχεν ὄμ. leaves it to be *inferred* that the promise was broken, and seems, in so far, inferior, as a direct representation of what happened.

b 1. Possibly in this enumeration of the subjects just dealt with, τὰ περὶ ἑαυτόν refers to the honouring of the *soul*, and τὰ περὶ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ to the proper regard to be had to one’s *body*, and one’s property. Ritter holds that τὰ περὶ ἑαυτόν includes the *body* as well as the *soul*.—It seems better to take the τά at the beginning of b 1—which also goes with περὶ πόλιν τε καὶ φ. κ. συγ. and with ξενικά τε καὶ ἐπιχ.—with ὁμιλήματα, than to make ὄμ. agree only with ξενικά τε καὶ ἐπ. Cp. above 718 a 8, where θεραπεύματα went with πρὸς ἐκγόνους κτλ. as well as with ξενικά. The position of ὁμιλήματα is also in favour of so taking it.

b 3. ποιός τις ὢν αὐτός: as Ritter says, there is a want of clearness in the arrangement of the subject matter here. This passage, down to 732 d 7, might well be described as directions for the *real* honouring of the soul, and would seem to be more in place after the description of the kinds of *false* honouring of the soul given in 727 f. or as an amplification of the τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἔπρασθαι in 728 c 6. The ostensible ground of the division is that the qualities here praised depend not on *law*, but on *public opinion* for their sanction. Also the virtues here to be described are *spontaneous*—not the result of external restriction.

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and b, *Soph.* 228 d 4, ψυχὴν ἄρα ἀνόητον αἰσχρὰν καὶ ἄμετρον θετέον.

c 6. Schanz is, I think, right in adopting Hermann's τε for γε. The same man is not supposed to have both faults, and *both* are declared to be prejudicial.

c 8. πᾶσαν, "complete"; so ὁμοιότητα . . . πᾶσαν at *Phaedr.* 253 c 1, πάσῃ ἀπορίᾳ at *Soph.* 250 d. This comes very near the use noticed on 637 a 3, and elsewhere, for "all kinds of."—κατεσκευάσατο: gnostic.

d 1. σχεδὸν ὁμοίως: i.e. he has estranged his friends, and even his children—if he has any—and it is all one to him whether they are alive or not; he is absolutely alone.

d 2. Next in honour to regard for truth, as a necessary social characteristic, comes *eagerness for public service*—an active, or aggressive form of virtue—first as shown in combating ἀδικία. δικαιοσύνη is eminently a social virtue; but, as we read at e 1 ff., even σωφροσύνη and φρόνησις have their social aspects, inasmuch as they can be communicated to others.

d 4. ἐκείνου: we have a similar gen. after διπλάσιος below at 743 a 6; only here it is by brachylogy for τῆς ἐκείνου τιμῆς.—πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἑτέρων: as we have seen above, this Homeric phrase is a favourite with Plato. Here he means that the righteous man multiplies the value of his own righteousness every time he helps to make another man righteous by checking him in wrongdoing.

d 5. μηνύων: Stallb. quotes (from Stob. xliv. 40), from the so-called προοίμια νόμων of Charondas, a similar injunction.

d 6. συγκολάζων: this active co-operation with the magistrate is the crowning development of *social δικαιοσύνη*.—ὁ μέγας ἀνὴρ: for the article with a predicative adj. cp. *Menex.* 248 a 4 οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ σώφρων καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀνδρείος καὶ φρόνιμος, and *Aeschin. Περὶ παραπρεσβείας* 267 καὶ τὸν καλὸν στρατιώτην ἐμὲ ὠνόμασεν. It has almost the force of putting the adjective into the superlative. Cp. below 732 a 2 τὸν γε μέγαν ἄνδρα ἐσόμενον. Cp. St. Matthew v. 19.

d 7. Schanz and Burnet rightly put a comma after τέλειος (and so Stob. i. 95 ed. Meineke, but not at ix. 55). Other editors either put no comma, or else put one after ἀναγορευέσθω.—The Emperor Julian, in quoting this passage, has ἀρετῆς. This is, no doubt, a possible construction, and the gen. is analogous to that after νικητήρια φέρειν—e.g. at 964 b 4—and Schanz adopts it in his text. At 953 d 5 we have τῶν νικηφόρων τινὸς ἐπ' ἀρετῆς; and

Ast puts in ἐπ' here. But the simple dat. of all the MSS. is also a possible construction, on the analogy of the dat. with νικᾶν—856 c 8 τὴν πλήθει νικῶσαν, *Menex.* 247 a ἂν μὲν νικῶμεν ὑμᾶς ἀρετῇ.

**e 2.** κέκτηται: Schanz, in his preface, expresses his belief that, though good MSS. vary on the point, the reduplicated form was never used by Plato except after a word ending in a vowel (cp. *Lach.* 192 e πλέον ἐκτῆσεται—so Burnet with B and W for T's πλεονεκτῆσεται).

**e 3.** δυνατὰ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοις μεταδιδόναι, “which admit, not only of a man's having them himself, but of his imparting them to others.” An extraordinary “stretch” of the application of δυνατός, due to the Greek preference for the *personal* rather than the *impersonal* construction. Cp. *Rep.* 521 a ἔστι σοι δυνατὴ γενέσθαι πόλις εὖ οἰκουμένη, *Phaedo* 90 c λόγου . . . δυνατοῦ κατανοῆσαι, *Xen. Anab.* iv. 1. 24 αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσασθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίοις πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. There is a similar stretch, and personification in our familiar “easy to read,” “good to eat.” Cp. above on 663 e 1 for a similar “pregnant” use of δύνασθαι. (There is not the slightest ground for emending, with Schanz, to ὅσα . . . τις δύναται . . . αὐτὸς ἔχειν, or with Apelt, *Eis. Prog.* 1910, to change δυνατὰ to δέον αὐτά.)

**e 4 ff.** τὸν μὲν . . . ψέγειν: it is easier to picture to ourselves the three types of men here described in the case of φρόνησις than in that of σωφροσύνη. It is hard to imagine a man who would grudge to others the possession of the latter characteristic, while having it himself.—[J.B.M. suggests that a man who prides himself on his *good manners*, and wishes to keep them for his own set, is a case in point.] All this disquisition on social duty is an explanation of what was meant at 701 d 9 by saying that a community ought to be φίλη ἑαυτῇ.

**e 5.** Ast would read ἐθέλοντα δὲ δρᾶν, δεύτερον; Stallb., keeping the MS. reading, says we ought to supply τιμᾶν after ἑᾶν. It is best to keep ἑᾶν δεύτερον, and to translate “leave him in the second class”; ἄκρος is “first-class,” cp. *Polit.* 292 e ἄκροι πεπτευταί.

**731 a 2.** ἀτιμάζειν: depreciation of the “precious jewel” savours of the ill-nature which makes “the toad ugly and venomous.”

**a 3.** ἀφθόνως: the desire to rise by the detraction of others (a 5) not only takes away all merit from the “informer,” but vitiates all the efforts he may make towards excellence himself.



We may notice that it is implied that such a desire is likely to prompt false accusations (α δ τῷ ἀδίκως ψέγεσθαι).

**a 6.** δεῖν οἰόμενος ὑπερέχειν, “fancying that he is gaining credit.” οἶμαι δεῖν εἶναι, from meaning “I think it must be,” passes to the meaning “I fancy that it is.” Cp. *Rep.* 535 a 9, and *Alc. II.* 144 d 8, 146 b 5, where (ἢ) οἰηθῆναι δεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰδέναί is replaced at 146 b 9 by (ἄ τις οἶδεν ἢ) δοκεῖ εἰδέναί. In other words δεῖν is becoming *redundant*. Cp. below on d 5. [J.B.M. interprets it—“fancying that his only way to win is by running down others,” i.e. that δ. οἶ. ὑ. means “thinking that he has got to.”]

**b 1.** ἀγύμναστον ποιῶν = “crippling.”

**b 2.** [τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος, “as far as he is concerned” J.B.M.]

**b 4.** ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα emphasizes the injunction to mercy, as being the more necessary one.—χαλεπά, “dangerous.”

**b 6.** μαχόμενον and ἀμυνόμενον are subordinate to νικῶντα. Cp. above 638 d 5 τοὺς μὴ χρωμένους αὐτῷ ὀρώμεν νικῶντας μαχομένους, 699 b 6 τὸ νικῆσαι μαχομένους.—τῷ μηδὲν ἀνιέναι = “inflexibly.”

**c 1.** τὰ δ' : sc. ἀδικήματα. This is an adverbial neut. acc. ; “as to the sins of all those who, etc.”—τῶν ὅσοι : of this demonstrative use of the article when followed by a relative Ast gives, besides ten instances from the subsequent books of the *Laws*, others from *Epin.* 974 c, *Phil.* 21 c, *Prot.* 320 d, *Soph.* 241 e, *Rep.* 469 b, 510 a, cf. also *Theaet.* 168 a. Except at *Theaet.* 168 a and *Laws* 761 e and 871 e the relative is always ὅσος or ὀπόσος.—For αὐ τῶν Stob. and A have αὐτῶν (acc. to Burnet)—Schanz says A has αὐτῶν—a curious mistake which the other MSS. seem all to have escaped.—ιατά is acc. with ἀδικοῦσι understood.

**c 2.** ἐκῶν, “deliberately,” or “with his eyes open” ; i.e. he fails to see the intrinsic connexion between misery and wrongdoing. This, in effect, was called at 689 a ἡ ἐσχάτη ἀμαθία. So at 663 b f. the error of thinking that τὸ ἡδύ can ever be separated from τὸ δίκαιον is partly explained and clearly condemned. There, and at *Rep.* 589 d, this doctrine—the *Kern des Socratismus*, as Gomperz calls it (*Gk. Denk.* ii. 53)—is defended on the ground that no man who thoroughly understood where his own interest lay could possibly be persuaded to go in any other direction ; and so it is defended here.

**c 4.** κεκτῆτο : though A<sup>2</sup> added an iota above the line to the η of A's κέκτητο, all the other MSS. and Stob. and all the editions up to Ast have κέκτητο. Ast notices the mistake in his note—probably after reading Elmsley on Eur. *Heracl.* 283.

**c 6.** The omission of the seventeen letters -τον ἐν οὖν τῷ τιμιωτά-

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ψέγεται δικαίως; where Ar. explains that it is the *excess* of self-love that is bad.

e 3. For the redundant δειν see above on d 5. (Ast and Stallb. say that τὸ δειν stands for “the saying that it ought” or “the idea that it ought”; and H. Steph. actually proposes to insert λέγειν after τό.—J.B.M. translates the δειν by the words given above on a 6. (Ought we possibly to read τόδ’ εἶναι for τὸ δειν εἶναι?) —τὸ δέ: possibly “whereas”—the adverbial use; cp. on 630 d 8, and *Apol.* 23 a, where τῷ ὄντι follows τὸ δέ just as ἀληθεία does here; cp. also above 642 a 3. But perhaps it is better to take τό as a demonstrative as J.B.M. suggests.—The words διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν are added pleonastically. There is a conversational confusion between “it is at the bottom of all kinds of faults,” and “all kinds of faults occur because of it.” (This is perhaps better than to suppose these words spurious, though they do look rather like a marginal explanation.)

e 5. This is a neat application of the proverb “Love is blind”; —“no love,” he hints, “is so blind as *self-love*.”

732 a 1. τὸ αὐτοῦ is vaguer than any corresponding English expression; it stands for “what he himself has, or is, or does, or says.”—πρὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς: i.e. he does not ask first what is the real nature of a thing, but whether it is *his* or not. He feels bound to respect anything that is his own, more than “the real thing,” as we might say.

a 2. τὸν μέγαν ἄνδρα: cf. 730 d 6.

a 6. ὅθεν κτλ., “and in consequence of this notion, when we know little or nothing we think we know everything, and, instead of getting others to do things which we can’t do, we incur inevitable disaster by trying to do them ourselves.”

b 3. τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βελτίω διώκειν: a similar precept to that which tells us, at 728 c, τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἔπρασθαι. Cp. *Theaet.* 168 a καὶ σὲ μὲν διώξονται καὶ φιλήσουσιν, αὐτοὺς δὲ μισήσουσιν καὶ φεύξονται ἀφ’ ἑαυτῶν εἰς φιλοσοφίαν. Schanz (followed by Burnet) is doubtless right in adopting the reading ἀεὶ for δει; Stob. i. 95 has ἀεὶ, though at xxiii. 18 he has δει in quoting the same passage.

b 4. μηδεμίαν αἰσχύνην . . . πρόσθεν ποιούμενον: cp. 648 d τὸ τῆς αἰσχύνης ἐπίπροσθεν ποιούμενος. He must not let shame come between him and his purpose. To be ashamed of inferiority is one of the consequences of excessive love of self.—ἐπὶ τῷ τοιούτῳ may mean “(shame) at such a course,” i.e. at the accepting an inferior position, or “at such a fact,” i.e. that he *is* inferior.

b 6. The parallelism between σμικρότερα μὲν τούτων and

χρήσιμα δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἦττον forbids us to follow Stallb. in removing the comma after ἦττον and placing it after δέ.—λέγειν ἑαυτὸν ἀναμιμνήσκοντα, “repeat by way of reminding oneself of them.” (The “Vere de Vere repose” is only to be secured by constant self-reminders.)

**b 7.** τούναντίον = “by a movement in the opposite direction” ; not, as Wagner, “auf der entgegengesetzten Seite.”—The subj. to ἐπιρρεῖν would be αὐτό, supplied from τινος.—Plato here, using language especially suggestive of the ebb and flow of the tide, appeals to the law of Nature expounded at *Phaedo* 72 a b, according to which (γένεσις being always from opposite to opposite) all change “goes in a circle,” now this way, now that. Cp. what he says about action and reaction at 676 b 9–c 4, and at *Rep.* 563 e 8 ; cp. also the ἀνακύκλησις spoken of at *Pol.* 269 e.

**b 7 ff.** This passage should, I think, be stopped with a *full stop* after ἀναμιμνήσκοντα, and *colons* (or possibly *commas*) after ἐπιρρεῖν and ἀπολειπούσης, to mark ἀναμν. . . . ἀπολ. as a *parenthesis*. The ὡςπερ does not go naturally with the gen. abs. The construction is like that at *Rep.* 330 c ὡςπερ γὰρ . . . ἀγαπῶσιν, ταύτη τε δὴ . . . σπουδάζουσιν.—διὸ δὲ γὰρ—*a conversational brachylogy* (so Stallb.) for “and that is why I say (everybody) ought”—“resumes” ὡςπερ γὰρ . . . δεῖ, and δ’ introduces what we may call the second premiss of the argument. He founds the need of his injunction upon the natural law of “action and reaction,” as exemplified in ἀνάμνησις (for which cf. *Phil.* 34 b).

**c 2.** παραγγέλλειν must have an object inf. supplied : “urge everybody else so to do.” Badham’s ὅλην <πόλιν> and Schanz’s πᾶσαν καὶ ὅλην περιχάρειαν alter the construction and make πειρᾶσθαι depend on παραγγέλλειν ; this arrangement, though it gets rid of a slight difficulty—that of the want of an obj. to παραγγέλλειν—does more harm by obliterating the correspondence between γελώτων τε εἶργεσθαι and καὶ ὅλ. περιχ. ἀποκρ. εὐσχ. πειρᾶσθαι, i.e. between the particular and the general repression of emotion.

**c 4 ff.** κατὰ τε . . . πράξεσιν, “whether each man’s destiny is steady and fair” (lit. “established in prosperity”), “or it chance that men’s destinies find themselves face to face with certain undertakings as with a high steep hill.” τε . . . καὶ is *sive* . . . *sive*.—For ἐκάστου cf. *Phaedo* 107 d ὁ ἐκάστου δαίμων, and *Rep.* 620 d ἐκάστῳ ὃν εἴλετο δαίμονα.—κατὰ τύχας is “in the course of Fortune’s changes.”—The contrast is between a steady run of good fortune, and a period of strenuous fighting with obstacles. Most

interpreters take *δαιμόνων* to denote an external opposing force—as if a man's Genius sometimes helped, and sometimes hindered him. It seems better to suppose the Genius to be so closely identified with the man as to *share* his difficulties, as well as his good fortune. At *Tim.* 90 a Plato calls each man's *soul* his *δαίμων*. The language in both cases is poetical and, to a certain extent, metaphorical.—The change to the plur. (*δαιμόνων*), after *ἐκάστου*, is a quite common variety of expression. (*τύχας* may mean *fate* in a sinister sense, but not, by itself, *misfortune*. This is against Zeller's proposal to translate κ. τ. by “auf die Seite des Unglücks,” and omit *οἶον . . . πράξεις* as a “Glossem.” Schanz adopts Zeller's *ἀθέτησις*, avoiding the above-mentioned difficulty by reading, with Badham, *κατ' ἀτυχίας*.—Badham further remodels the passage by excluding *δαιμόνων* and reading *ἀνθιστάμενον*.—It is a hard passage. [J.B.M. inclines to Badh.'s *κατ' ἀτυχίας*.])

c 6 ff. *τοῖς . . . ἀγαθοῖσι . . . ἐλάττους ποιήσιν*, “will alleviate (the toils) *by the blessings*.” (Schneider cannot be right in making *ἀγαθοῖσι* *masc.*, and translating *ἃ δωρεῖται* “*per ea quae largitur*.”)

d 1. I think *τῶν παρόντων* is neut., “their present lot”—so Ficinus *praesentia*; most interpreters supply *πόνων* with *παρόντων*.

d 2. With *μεταβολάς* we must supply *ποιήσιν* from the preceding clause.—*περὶ δὲ τὰ ἀγαθὰ . . . τύχης*, “while as for their good things, they must hope that, by God's good help, entirely the opposite of this (diminution) will always happen to them.”—The change from the singular (*ἀποκρυπτόμενον*) to the plur. (*αὐτοῖς*) was really made when *δαιμόνων* in c 6 was substituted for *δαίμονος*. (*τὰ ἐναντία τούτων* is generally taken to be in apposition to *τὰ ἀγαθὰ*; but this—as Peipers (p. 100) says—is a very weak addition; besides, *τὰ ἐναντία πάντα* makes a much better subject to *παραγενήσθαι* than *πάντα* referring back to *περὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ*.—*πάντα τὰ ἐναντία* is a plural variety of *πάν τούναντίον*.—The first of these objections to the ordinary interpretation would be obviated if, with Peipers, we rejected *τὰ ἀγαθὰ*, or placed it after *παραγενήσθαι*—but not the latter.)

d 4. *ταύταις ταῖς ἐλπίσιν* and *ταῖς ὑπομνήσεσι π. τ. τ.* may be described as “datives of effective accompaniment”; *ταύταις* goes with both.

d 5. *μηδὲν φειδόμενον*, “without any relaxation of effort.”—*κατὰ τε παιδιὰς καὶ σπουδὰς*, “whether in work or play.”

d 6. *ἀναμιμνήσκοντα ἕτερόν τε καὶ ἑαυτὸν σαφῶς* is a repetition of *ἑαυτ. ἀναμν.* at b 6 and *παραγγέλλειν δὲ παντὶ πάντ' ἄνδρα* at

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such a case (οὕτως) it” (i.e. the *life*) “suits our nature, or, in another case (ἄλλως) it does not suit it.” The investigation that follows reaches the converse of the conclusion stated at *Tim.* 81 e: πάν γὰρ τὸ μὲν παρὰ φύσιν ἀλγεινόν, τὸ δ’ ἢ πέφυκε γιγνόμενον ἡδύ. (Ritter’s objections to παρὰ φύσιν seem to me to be invalidated by taking—as above—εἴτε . . . εἴτε as dependent on σκοπεῖν—cp. *Phaedr.* 275 c οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνο μόνον σκοπεῖς, εἴτε οὕτως εἴτε ἄλλως ἔχει—and by taking βίος as the subj. of πέφυκε. He treats οὕτως and ἄλλως as the emphatic words, and κατὰ φύσιν as a colourless amplification of πέφυκε; also, I conclude that he, and former interpreters, either take πέφυκε as impersonal, or make ἡ ὀρθότης its subject.)

**b 1.** τὸ μηδέτερον, “what is neither pleasure nor pain.” (This, acc. to Epicurus, is “the chief good.”)

**b 2 ff.** From ἡδονῆς to the second μείζονος was omitted in the first four printed editions (but again not by Ficinus), but Cornarius, whose translation appeared with the fourth of them (Basil. 2) discovered the omission.

**b 5 f.** ἴσα . . . διασαφεῖν, “we could give no positive reason for desiring a mixture in which both these two ingredients were in equal quantity.” No doubt, however, if it were a question of *choosing* this mixture in place of one where λύπη predominated, there *would* be a reason for so choosing it—just as τὸ μηδέτερον was declared above to be preferable to λύπη. This is in fact stated below at c 6 ff.

**b 6–c 1.** Ast objects that πρὸς βούλησιν and πρὸς αἴρεσιν say the same thing twice over, and holds that the words πρὸς αἴρεσιν ἐκάστων were originally placed either before or after ἐξ ἀνάγκης in the next sentence. Schanz would reject πρὸς βούλησιν. Burnet, by putting a comma after βούλησιν—i.e. taking the words with ἐναντία—provides them with a construction. At b 1 we had a distinction made between αἰρούμεθα and βουλόμεθα, and at 734 c 1 βούλησις and αἴρεσις are both used. Here, indeed, both are needed for the sense, which is, that what incites or repels *desire*, decides the *choice*. We may translate “all these objects of choice are either preferable or not” (lit. “are superior or not in respect to the choice of each several object”), “in virtue of frequency, of amount, of intensity, or again of equality of composition, or in virtue of qualities which are the opposite to such as I have named in their appeal to desire” (i.e. by being few, small, or feeble). Ast is right, I think, in saying that τὰ μηδὲν διαφέροντα are—not objects of dislike, but—what

Aristotle would have called τὰ ἀδιάφορα. Plato means that—while desire may be excited by strong motives or by weak—if the objects of desire and repulsion are *equally mixed* in any life, or in any object of choice, such an object will *not* be chosen.

**c 1–6.** We have not yet come to the consideration of the case where a *neutral* object is placed side by side with a positively repulsive one (for that cf. c 8 ff.). We are now dealing with the *measurable amount* of pleasure or pain; and he goes on to remind us that when a life contains amounts of *both*, we must decide by the *preponderance* of one or the other. And so he leads up to the pronouncement that, though e.g. the vehemence of a pleasurable emotion is in itself desirable, a situation, or a *life*, in which pleasure is feeble, is preferable to one in which the pleasure is intense, if in the latter case the pleasure is overbalanced by concomitant pain, whereas the feeble pleasure is not so overbalanced.

**c 7.** καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν: i.e. just as we did above (at b 1) in considering the case of τὸ μηδέτερον.

**c 8.** It seems clear to me that Ritter is right in reading ὑπερβάλλοντα here. (Ast had suggested τὸν μὲν ὑπερβάλλοντα . . . τὸν δ' αὖ.) Plato says: "The life of equipoise, as surpassing the one class—i.e. those lives where pain predominates—in the possession of what we like, *we desire*; but, as surpassing the other class in what we dislike, *we do not desire it*." E.g. where pain is 5 and pleasure 5, there is, in effect, more pain than where pain is 5 and pleasure 6, and also more pleasure than where pain is 6 and pleasure 5.

(Prof. Burnet, for reasons which he has kindly communicated to me, prefers to retain the MS. ὑπερβαλλόντων. He finds in the ἡμῖν κατὰ φύσιν and παρὰ φύσιν of a 7 f., and specially below in the τὸ φίλον ἅμα καὶ ἡδύ of e 1, a suggested distinction between what is ἡδύ generally, and what is ἡδύ to the individual *by being specially adaptable to his nature*. Thus there may be, he holds, a kind of ὑπερβολή even in the ἰσόρροπος βίος. He construes (c 8 ff.) ὡς τῶν μὲν (sc. τῶν ἡδέων) τῷ φίλῳ ἡμῖν ὑπερβαλλόντων, . . . τῶν δ' αὖ (sc. τῶν λυπηρῶν) τοῖς ἐχθροῖς (ἡμῖν ὑπερβαλλόντων).)

**d 2.** ἐν τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένοι (πεφύκασιν), "are shut up (by nature) to these alternatives"; a repetition, in other words, of οὕτω . . . τούτων ἐξ ἀνάγκης διακεκοσμημένων c 1 f.

**d 3.** Stallb. proposes to reject δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι at c 7. It does seem out of place here. I suspect, though, that we ought not simply to dismiss it, but to substitute for it διαιρεῖσθαι, or possibly δεῖ διαιρεῖσθαι: "we have got to *explain* (on these principles)



which lives nature bids us desire." For this use of *διαίρεισθαι* cp. 647 c 1.

**d 4.** By *ταῦτα* he means the same limits or conditions as by *τούτοις* in d 3 ff. If, that is, we say that we are guided in our desires by any other consideration than that of the preponderance of pleasure, it must be because we know nothing of the world.

**d 7 ff.** I follow all editors but Badham and Schanz in adopting the first-hand correction of A's *ὦνπερ* to *ὦν πέρι*; it is a correction evidently made from A's original, and not out of the scribe's head.—I also accept Burnet's sagacious *ἀθέτησις* of *ἐκούσιον ἀβούλητόν τε καὶ*; it looks exactly as if some presumptuous scribe had doubted the possibility of using *ἀκούσιον* as the opposite of *βούλητον*; besides, it greatly overweights the article *τό*.—The accumulation of participles — *προελλόμενον, ἰδόντα, ταξάμενον, ἐλλόμενον*—makes the sentence clumsy, as *read*. The intonation of the *speaker* is wanted, to put each into its place. The participles *ἰδόντα* and *ταξάμενον* convey the main ideas; i.e. it is they which depend on *δεῖ*. "What lives, and how many lives are there, between which when a man selects, on a review of the desirable and the undesirable, he ought to make this consideration into a law for himself, and so, picking out what not only he likes, and finds pleasant, but also is best and noblest, lives the happiest life he possibly can?"

**e 1.** I am strongly inclined to accept Badham's ingenious *ἰδιόν τινα* for *ἰδόντα*; it relieves us of one participle, and makes an apposite qualification of *νόμον*. (Against his rewriting of the previous words—*ὦνπερ δεῖ προελλόμενον τὸν βούλητόν τε καὶ ἐκούσιον ἀβουλήτων τε καὶ ἀκουσίων*—it is to be urged that all along it is the particular thing *in the life*, not the *life itself* that has been spoken of as the object of desire; here, in particular, we are said to make ourselves a law out of such preferences as will guide us in the choice of a life.)—*τὸ φίλον ἅμα καὶ ἡδύ* I take to be a sort of explanation and resumption of the phrase *τῷ φίλον ἡμῖν* used at d 1.

**e 3.** *ἄνθρωπον* MSS. I feel sure that Plato wrote *ἀνθρώπων* here.—Cp. 637 a 1 *κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων* and 729 e 1 *πάντων κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων*.—The *προελλόμενον* in d 7, to which we naturally supply *τινά*, is not helped by the distant *ἄνθρωπον*.

**e 6.** *σώφρονα μὲν οὖν . . . πάντα*, "anyone who is familiar with the discreet life will set it down as *mild* in every respect."

**734 a 4.** The *τε* after *ἐπιθυμίας* should be rejected, I think.

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**c 5.** ὁ τῆς ἀνδρείας (βίος): this expression, so natural in English of a formal style, whether of poetry or prose, was a poetical one in Greek. Stallb. cps. Eur. *Bacch.* 388 ὁ τῆς ἡσυχίας βίος, *Phaedr.* 276 d εἰς τὸ λήθης γῆρας ἐὰν ἴκηται, where Heindorf's comment is "verba autem haec poetam sapiunt." (Zeller adds this to his list of faulty phrases from the *Laws*.)

**c 6.** μανότερα: cp. above on a 8.—τῇ τῶν ἡδονῶν, "on the score of pleasure." Lobeck, *Paral.* p. 363, is indignant that the *neuter* article or adjective should "adminiculo egere nullo" in expressing an abstract notion, while a *feminine* must always be supposed to have an attendant in the background. It is not necessary to "supply" anything here with τῇ. (ὑπερβολῇ, μερίδι, τάσει have been suggested.)—ἐκάτερος ἐκάτερον: it is absurd of Ast—in his anxiety to support his ἀθέτησις of ὁ . . . ἀκολάστου—to say that these words could only be used of *two* pairs of lives. Strictly they only apply to a single pair—ὁ ἀνδρείος and ὁ δειλός, because the last mentioned; but in sense ἐκάτερος goes with all the subjects of νικῶσι, and ἐκάτερον with all its objects. He might have said ἐκάτεροι ἐκατέρους ὑπερβάλλοντες as far as the meaning of ἐκάτερος goes.—ἀμφοτέρα: i.e. both pleasurable and painful sensations.

**c 7.** ἐκείνων ὑπερβαλλόντων: an adversative clause, subordinate to ἐκάτερος . . . ὑπερβάλλων.

**d 1.** There is a break here, and the place of the subject is resumed by ὁ μὲν ἀνδρείος. (Peipers, p. 97 note, goes further than Cornarius and Ast, for he would reject the whole passage from ὁ δὲ σώφρων to νικῶσι, on the ground (1) that it repeats what was said before, (2) that the construction is a tangled one, and (3) that the meaning of several words is obscure.)

**d 4.** There is a triumphant exuberance about the emphatic summing up of the often argued cause.—I fancy that a final revision would not have left two ὥστε clauses so near each other as those at d 2 and d 7.

**d 5.** κατὰ σῶμα ἢ καὶ κατὰ ψυχὴν, "whether it be in body or in soul"; the implication is that, though it is easier to see in the case of the body, the truth is just as undoubted in the case of the soul. (Schanz follows H. Müller in rejecting the ἢ.)

**d 6.** τοῖς ἄλλοις: i.e. in other respects besides being more enjoyable; the following datives are in explanatory apposition to τοῖς ἄλλοις.

**e 1.** ἀπεργάζεσθαι has τὸν ἔχοντα . . . ζῆν as its object: "secures that its possessor lives, etc." (It is anyhow an awkward construc-

tion; is the ζῆν possibly spurious?)—εὐδαιμονέστερον is adj., not adv.

**e 3-735 a 6.** “So far the preface to our laws, and there it ends. After the ‘prelude’ it is right and proper that a ‘tune’ should follow, and this is really the place for a general outline of civic institutions. Now just as, in the case of a web or woven structure of any description, you cannot make both woof and warp of the same kinds of thread, but the substance of the warp must be of a superior nature to that of the woof—for the former is strong and endowed with a character of firmness, while the latter is softer and is bound to yield—from this comparison we may conclude it to be reasonable that the men who are destined for rule in our cities should in each case be set apart in some such way (as the warp threads are) from those whose temper has been tried by only a slight education. For (you must know that) there are two branches of civic organization, the one being the conferring of office on individuals, the other the providing your officers with (a code of) laws (to administer).”

**e 4 f.** The use of the singular shows that νόμος—and consequently προοίμιον too—are used in the technical musical sense (as at *Rep.* 531 d, *Tim.* 29 d), to which there is a punning reference in the subsequent νόμους. Cp. Jowett, *Introd.* p. 76, though in his, and all other translations or commentaries that I know, the musical sense is ignored here.

**e 6.** ὑπογράφειν: the “outline” of the subject, for which he selects this place in the treatise, is the division of the politician’s domain into two branches, defined at 735 a 5 f.,—(1) the (training and) selection of magistrates, and (2) the provision of laws for them to execute. This division corresponds in spirit to the disposition of the subject matter throughout the *Laws*. Roughly speaking, two thirds of the treatise deal with the “personnel” of the citizens of all ranks—their selection, their training, and their enlightenment by means of προοίμια, and the way they can be influenced generally; the other third consists of statutes. Naturally the character of the magistrates is more important than that of any other citizen.—συνυφήν: this and its fellow accusatives have no verb to govern them; they are “dropped” with the modification of the structure of the sentence.

**735 a 1.** Ast would read ἐν ταῖς στροφαῖς for ἐν τοῖς τρόποις, but such a general word as τρόπος is quite in place, and is useful in the metaphor. Cp. *Hdt.* iv. 28 κεχώρισται δὲ οὗτος ὁ χειμῶν τοὺς τρόπους πᾶσι τοῖσι ἐν ἄλλησι χώρησι γενομένοισι χειμῶσι.

a 2. ὅθεν δὴ : another conversational break in the form of the sentence. After καθάπερ οὖν at e 6 we should expect “ὡσαύτως καὶ vel simile quid” (Ast). He goes on as if the simile had been fully drawn out, instead of hinted at.—τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς . . . ἄρξοντας : this is the reading of L and O—the reading which Ficinus translated—“qui magistratus in civitate gesturi sunt,”—and to which Aristotle refers when he says (*Pol.* ii. 1265 b 18) ἐλλέλειπται δὲ τοῖς νόμοις τούτοις καὶ τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας πῶς ἔσονται διαφέροντες τῶν ἀρχομένων. φησὶ γὰρ δεῖν ὡσπερ ἐξ ἑτέρου τὸ στημόνιον ἐρίου γίνεται τῆς κρόκης, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἔχειν δεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους. A has μεγάλας for τὰς, and so a marginal variant of O. For a long time the reading in printed edd. was τοὺς τὰς μεγάλας . . . ἄρξοντας—though the first four edd. had ἄρξαντας. Schanz adopts A’s μεγάλας for τὰς, and, further, Bücheler’s alteration of σμικρᾶ in a 4 to σμικρὰς (so too Bruns). (Schanz and Burnet say Stob. has τοὺς τὰς ἀρχὰς, but in Meineke’s ed. vol. ii. p. 194 the text is τοὺς τὰς μεγάλας ἀρχὰς.) Apart from authority, the passage becomes comparatively meaningless if we assume that the comparison is between the superior “grit”—to use another metaphor—of *the greater magistrates, as compared with the lesser ones.* The stouter threads are clearly magistrates—of all orders—who execute the laws, and the “yielding,” weaker ones the general populace who have to obey them. It is hard to account for the μεγάλας; possibly it was due to a commentator’s suggestion of μεγάλη for σμικρᾶ, made under the impression that τοὺς . . . παιδεία βασανισθέντας was a further description of the magistrates themselves, and their class.

a 3. τινα τρόπον ταύτῃ : a variety for τοιούτῳ τινὶ τρόπῳ.

a 4. βασανισθέντας : this word suggests, on the one hand, the *teasing* and *twisting* of the thread, and, on the other, the “severity” and “thoroughness” of the educative and testing process.—ἐκάστοτε : almost our “respectively.”—Stobaeus inserts καὶ before κατὰ λόγον.—There is a surprising variety in the interpretation—as well as in the reading—of this whole passage : e.g. Ast finds in it a comparison between warp and the *harsh power* of the *ruler*, and between the woof and the milder action of the *legislator*. Stallb. says the woof typifies the *laws*.

a 5. γὰρ δὴ, “nam profecto,” “for I must tell you.” The clause throws a fresh light on the subject just discovered, revealing the important part played by the election of magistrates in the organization of a state, and providing us, in so doing, with the ὑπογραφή we have been promised above at e 6.—Brun

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**b 6 ff.** *διανοούμενος . . . διακαθαίρηται*, “for he will reflect how vain and endless must be the pains he will have to take with the animals’ bodies or with their souls if he does not purge his herds by discriminating selection, since either natural depravity or evil nurture, not content with ruining its victims, spreads the fatal taint to tempers and bodies, of one beast after another, which were hitherto sound and uncontaminated.”

**b 7.** For *ἀνήνυτος πόνος* cp. *ἀνηνύτω καὶ ἀπλήστῳ κακῷ* 714 a, *ἀνήνυτα πονουῖσιν* *Rep.* 531 a, *ἀνήνυτον κακόν* *Gorg.* 507 e.

**c 3.** *κτημάτων*: as Stallb. says, here, and at *Gorg.* 484 c *βοῦς καὶ τὰλλα κτήματα*, and possibly at *Laws* 902 b 8, *κτήματα* seems to be used for *κτήνη*.

**c 4.** *τῶν ἄλλων ζώων* depends on *τὰ μέν*, not on *σπουδή* (Stobaeus has *ἐλάττω τε σπουδῇ*). In all three sentences *ἐστί* has to be supplied.

**c 6.** The infins. *διερευνᾶσθαι* and *φράζειν* are epexegetical to *σπουδῆς τῆς μεγίστης*, and the *τε*, possibly for rhythm’s sake, has been put earlier than its natural place, which is after *διερευνᾶσθαι*; Stobaeus has *γε* for it.

**c 7.** *τὸ προσῆκον ἐκάστοις*, “the treatment proper to each case.”

**d 1.** *πράξεων*, “dealings with them, measures, treatment generally”—“and the whole of the rest of their treatment.”—*αὐτίκα γάρ*, “to begin with,” “for instance.”

**d 3.** *τύραννος μὲν ὢν καὶ νομοθέτης ὁ αὐτός*: F. Doering (p. 14) is mistaken in saying that 709 e 5—712 a 7 is the only passage in the *Laws* in which Plato admits that a *τύραννος* may be useful to a state. In both cases there is a big *if* in the background. The possibility of the existence of a *κόσμιος τύραννος* (710 d 7) or another Nestor (711 e) is spoken of as contrary to experience (*ἐφ’ ἡμῶν δὲ οὐδαμῶς* 711 e 4), so that Doering exaggerates when he says that it is impossible that 709 e ff., 691 c 6 ff. and 713 c 6 ff. could have been originally written as parts of the same book. There is not much difference between saying that an occurrence is extremely rare, and contrary to experience, and saying that you must act on the assumption that it is impossible.

**d 7.** *ἀγαπώντως*, the reading of A and Stobaeus, is mentioned as a variant in the margin of L and O, which have *ἀγαπητῶς*, which is also given as a variant in the margin of A. Probably the former was early altered to *ἀγαπητῶς*, a word which was used in the sense of “with difficulty”; for this meaning admirably suits this passage. It is found at *Critias* 106 a, *Lys.* 218 c, and possibly at *Lysias, C. Andoc.* p. 107 § 45.—(“You must *be content*

with that"—cp. 684 c 7—is not far from “it is much if you get that.”) ἀγαπώντως does not seem to occur elsewhere; it is in formation like ὁμολογουμένως, which is common in Plato, and it possibly meant here “he would be quite content to do merely that.”

e 1. τιμωρία is not here used in the sinister sense which it bears above at 728 c.—The whole expression seems strangely pleonastic.

e 2. θάνατον . . . ἐπιτιθείς, “exacting the penalty of death or exile”—(lit. “making death or exile the accomplishment of the penalty”).

e 6 ff. ὅσοι . . . ἔπεισθαι, “all citizens who, in the struggle for existence” (lit. “owing to scarcity of food”), “let it be known that they have made themselves ready, in their poverty, to follow their leaders in an attack on the property of the wealthy.”

736 a 1. τούτοις is governed by τιθέμενος: ἀπαλλαγὴν may be in apposition to ἀποικίαν, “while calling these people a colony—a method of banishment which brings no disgrace”—but it is better, as suggested by Burnet’s comma after ἀπαλλαγὴν to see in the word the peculiarly Euripidean *acc. in apposition to the action of the verb* (ἐξεπέμψατο). So Riddell, *Idioms* § 13. Cf. *Gorg.* 507 e ταύτας ἐπιχειροῦντα πληροῦν, ἀνήνυτον κακόν. (The early printed editions read δι’ εὐφημίαν ἀπαλλαγῆς, with no MS. authority. Ast suggests ἀπαλλαγή; but this leaves τούτοις unaccounted for. Wagner would reject ἀπαλλαγὴν; Stallb. suggests ἀντ’ ἀπαλλαγῆς. Apelt (p. 9) would read ὑπαλλαγὲν ὄνομα: ingenious, but the text seems more natural.)

a 3. εὐμενῶς ὅτι μάλιστα, “hurting their feelings as little as possible.”—παντὶ . . . δραστήον, “everybody who undertakes to frame a constitution must start by getting rid of undesirables somehow.” Then he goes on to say that for *their* new settlement they will not be obliged to “plan (to send away) a colony, or select a method of purgation”; all they will have to do is to admit none but such as they approve among the applicants. This is described by the MSS. as ἔτι ἀτοπώτερα than all the καθαρμοί that have been previously described, whether ἀλγεινοί or πρᾶότεροι. It is clear that Ritter’s ἀκοπώτερα, which Burnet accepts, fits this statement exactly, while it is most remarkable that all previous translators or commentators should have been content with the MS. reading. (Jowett neglects the ἔτι and translates “Our present case, however, is peculiar.”)

a 6. οὗτ’ ἐκλογὴν τινα καθάρσεως: all translations apparently take καθάρσεως to be a *gen. of definition*; Schn. “delectum aliquem purgantem,” Wagu. “irgend eine Auswahl für die



Reinigung.”—I would suggest that it is more natural to take it, as at 872 e 10 οὐκ εἶναι κάθαρσιν ἄλλην, to mean *method or process of purgation*, and to translate μηχανᾶσθαι ἐκλογὴν τινα καθ., “contrive a selection of a purgative process.” ἐκλογή is almost always used of selecting *something you want*, and would sound strange as applied to the process of picking (or casting) out the *bad* citizens. “Our task,” he goes on to say, “is to see that none but the good are admitted.”

a 7. Madvig is right, I think, in rejecting ἐκ. If it be retained we must, I suppose, supply ὑδάτων with πολλῶν, or else with συρρέοντων. (Wagner transl. “von vielen Orten her,” Schn. “*ex multis locis*.”)

b 1. τὰ μὲν πηγῶν: we are to understand, I think, that the *spring water* is what we *want* in our reservoir, and the muddy mountain torrent what we wish to avoid; and it seems that ἐξαντλοῦντας in b 3 describes the drawing off of the spring water into the reservoir (λίμνη) and the two following participles—both compounded with ἀπό—the various ways of preventing the mountain torrents from joining the spring water. συρρέοντων will then be *conative*. In the natural course of things they *would* have flowed into the same λίμνη as the πηγαί.

b 4. “Clearly no political machinery can secure us from trouble and risk. True (γε); but as in our present attempt at constitution-making we can arrange our facts to fit our theory, we will suppose the gathering of the citizens complete, and its select character duly secured. To do this last we must refuse admittance to the bad ones among the applicants for citizenship, after we have plied them with all good advice and allowed a sufficient time for a thorough appreciation of their character, while we must do all we can by kind and gracious treatment to win the good ones to our side.”

b 6. τὰ (in τὰ δ') has a demonstrative force, and is the subject of ἐστὶν πραττόμενα, and τὰ νῦν is an adverb of time; lit. “but since these attempts (of ours) are being made now in (the world of) theory and not in (that of stern) fact.” The early editions—even Ast's—have ἀλλ' for τὰ δ', on no MS. authority; they apparently took either τὰ νῦν or τὰ νῦν πραττόμενα as the subject. The MSS. of Plato all have τὰ δ', though there seems to have been some hint of τὰ δ' in O. Those of Stobaeus have τὰ δ', which is clearly right. In A an o is written over the τ. This is difficult to interpret; for though τὸ δ' (adverbial) might begin the sentence as well at least as ἀλλ', it is hard to make anything of τὸ δ'.

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fills the gap. Ficinus filled it boldly by inserting after *τρόπον* (in d 2) “*ita ferme et nobis accidisse videtur.*” (Müller omitted *καθάπερ*, and took *ὅτι* to be the nent. of *ὅστις*. Schanz also prints *ὅ*, *τι*, but keeps *καθάπερ*. Both these readings put too much weight on *γιννόμενον*, and even so do not straighten out the construction.)

c 7. *νομῆς* refers to the distribution of money as well as of land: “dissension about land, about the cancelling of debts, and about the distribution of property.” (Wagner believes that *νομῆς* means *pasture* here; most interpreters take it to apply to *γῆς* only.)

c 8. *ἦν*: although in grammar this probably agrees with *ἔριν*, it is really the *subject* of dispute rather than the dispute itself about which the city is called upon to legislate—either in a conservative, or a liberal spirit. *ἦν* is governed both by *νομοθετεῖσθαι*, and by *ἔαν*, and *κινεῖν*.—*ἀναγκασθείση*: the compelling cause is the discord between the “haves” and the “have-nots.”

d 1. *πόλει τῶν ἀρχαίων*, “any old-established state”; so Ficinus and Schneider. The earlier editors, on no MS. authority, inserted *οὐδέν*, after *ἀκίνητον*, for *τῶν ἀρχαίων* to depend on. Stallb., though abandoning the *οὐδέν*, still takes *τῶν ἀρχαίων* as a partitive gen. with “anything” understood—as at *Rep.* 445 e—governed by *ἔαν* and *κινεῖν*, and he may be right. [A.M.A. suggests that *τῶν ἀρχαίων* may mean “any of the *capital*.”]

d 2 ff. *εὐχὴ δὲ . . . ἦδε*, “little but an impossible aspiration remains, and a slow and cautious change, advancing at long intervals by imperceptible degrees, in the following manner.” *εὐχὴ*, as at 841 c 7, *Rep.* 450 d, and elsewhere, is what we might call a “Utopian ideal”—in German “ein frommer Wunsch” (Stallb.).—The *μεταβιβάξουσιν*, and the *κινούντων* in the next sentence, are the same people.

d 4. *ἦδε*: the MSS., and almost all editors, write *ἦ δὲ*, and begin the next sentence with it. Burnet rightly adopts Bekker’s addition of it, as *ἦδε*, to the previous sentence,—marking it more clearly by altering the comma which Bekker placed after it into a colon, and putting a comma before it.

d 5. The early editions, again on no MS. authority, read *ὑπάρχει*—and so Stallb. and Herm.—as verb to *ἦ δέ. τῶν κινούντων ἀεὶ . . . ὑπάρχειν* means “(all that remains is) that there should be a supply of reformers from time to time (men who, etc.)” *τῶν κινούντων* is a partitive gen., like that after *ἄλλης*. According to Porson, who reads *οἴκοις* for *οἶκος* at Aesch. *Ag.* 961, we have

there ὑπάρχει τῶνδε in the same sense: "there is a store of those things." For the gen. cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 184 συνελέγοντο τῶν λίθων. (Badham suggests altering ὑπάρχειν into ἀπ' ἀρχῆς.)

**d 6.** Stallb. rightly points out that τούτων does not agree with ἐθελόντων, but is a part. gen. depending on τοῖς ἀπορουμένοις. It is the specially distressed among their debtors who excite the pity of the liberal-minded rich.

**e 2.** νεμομένους: the middle voice is peculiar. At 739 e 8 νειμάσθων, and at 740 a 2 νεμέσθων are used of the community dividing up its own property among its own members: here it seems to mean "sharing their property with them." (Badham suggests that we ought to read ἀπονεμομένους: the middle of this compound is used at *Epinomis* 991 b in an active sense.)—The four acc. participles are quite in order, as agreeing with the subject to κοινωνεῖν—which is used absolutely.—Plato's favourite chiasmus again: τὰ μὲν ἀφ. refers to the debts, τὰ δὲ νεμ. to the gift of land; these two subjects were mentioned in the reverse order at d 5.—ἀμῆ γέ πη . . . ἡγουμένους, "they manage to show regard for moderation, and act from a conviction that poverty consists . . ." Cp. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 1266 b 29 μᾶλλον γὰρ δεῖ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ὁμαλίζειν ἢ τὰς οὐσίας, τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἔστι μὴ παιδευομένοις ἰκανῶς ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων.

**e 4.** σωτηρίας ἀρχὴ πόλεως μεγίστη, "the surest source of civic well-being."

**e 5.** αὕτη: i.e. *the true estimate of property*—especially the repression of ἀπληστία—not necessarily μετριότης, though it would come to much the same.

**e 7.** τῇ τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει: i.e. "for conditions so desirable as those above described."

**737 a 1.** The words τῆς μεταβάσεως have given much difficulty. Ficinus boldly translates ταύτης τ. μ. by *hoc fundamento*, and Herm. (*De vestig.* p. 27) concluded that Ficinus had read and Plato written βάσεως, and not μεταβάσεως (Schanz accepts this). Ficinus's translation, however, does not prove either that he read τῆς βάσεως, or that he translated μεταβάσεως by *fundamento*. He may have read simply ταύτης δὲ σαθρᾶς οὔσης, and supplied κρηπίδος in thought from the context. The scribe of A may well have had two readings before him, for before μεταβάσεως there is a gap filled with two dummy letters. I would suggest that Plato wrote the simple ταύτης, and that this was interpreted by one commentator to stand for καταστάσεως (and rightly so); and by another for κρηπίδος, for which he substituted

the to him more familiar word *βάσεως*; this last was, owing to a remembrance of what was said at d 3, corrected to *μεταβάσεως*. It is to be noticed that ἦν in a 2, “the thing which we (in Magnesia) are escaping,” fits in better as referring to *an unsound political condition*, than as to *a rotten political foundation*; ταύτης then would refer to *καταστάσεως*. (Schneider, Stallb., Wagn., and Jowett make the best they can of *μεταβάσεως* in the sense of *change*—“*laborante hoc transitu*,” etc.—the “change” being, acc. to Ritter, that from inequality of possessions to equality.)—οὐκ εὐπορος ἡ πολιτικὴ πρᾶξις γίγνοιτ’ ἂν, “the statesman’s course will be full of difficulty.”

a 2. *μετὰ ταῦτα*: i.e. after an *unsound* condition has been established. — Most editors now adopt Bekker’s *οὐδεμιᾶ* for the MS. *οὐδὲ μία*.

a 3. ἦν κτλ. : see above on e 7 and c 6.—ὅμως δὲ . . . *φυγὴν*, “for all that, it is just as well to have it explained how we *should* have contrived to escape it, if we had *not* been so fortunate.”

a 5. Many recent editors rightly adopt Ast’s *δή νυν* for the MS. *δὴ νῦν*; for *νῦν* is unnatural when introducing a recapitulation. — The MS. reading *διὰ τοῦ μὴ φιλοχρηματεῖν μετὰ δίκης* may quite well stand for “by means of absence of avarice, combined with justice,” and it has this advantage over the (easier) reading *φιλ. μετ’ ἀδικίας*, suggested by Heindorf, and adopted by Schanz, that—as below at 747 b 7, and as implied above at 736 e—*avarice* is thus *by itself* declared to be a danger, whether satisfied justly or not. Heindorf’s reading would confine the blame to unjust gains; and so would have the same effect as the *εἰκῆ* added by later hands to St. Matth. v. 22 *πᾶς ὁ ὀργιζόμενος τῷ ἀδελφῷ αὐτοῦ ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει*; in both cases the commentator seeks to modify the moral censure of what is an ordinary state of mind.—The sentence introduced by *εἰρήσθω δή νυν* is recapitulatory: he restates (1) the vital importance of *μετριότης* in the words *μετὰ δίκης*, and (2) the deadly danger of *ἀπληστία πλούτου* in the words *διὰ τοῦ μὴ φιλοχρηματεῖν*. So too at b 2 he restates the impossibility of going further in the lawgiver’s work until this danger has been removed (see e 5 above).

a 6. ἄλλη . . . *διαφυγὴ*, “and there is no other way of escape, broad or narrow, than such a plan as that.” As *φυγὴν αὐτῆς* has occurred in the previous sentence, there is no need here to specify what the escape is *from*. Badham maintains that Plato must have written *μηχανὴ διαφυγῆς*—and Schanz agrees—but to say, as he does, that a *μηχανή* can be described as “broad” or

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arrangements are to be made by the whole populace, instead of by the three lawgivers now consulting. Boeckh corrected the first error, and Herm. the second. (The *αὐτὸν* of L and O is merely a copyist's error of a very ordinary kind.)—*ὄγκον τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ*, "numerical amount," like *ὄγκος πλήθους* at c 6.

c 5. For *ἐπί c. acc.* describing distribution *among* cp. *Od. π 385 δασσάμενοι κατὰ μοῖραν ἐφ' ἡμέας*, and *Prot. 322 d ἢ ἐπὶ πάντας νείμω*; similarly at *Tim. 23 b ἀριστον (γένος) ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους* means "noblest *among* men." So we speak of spreading a *gift*, or a *charge*, *over* a number of people.

c 6. *ὄγκος δὴ κτλ.*: the two points to be taken into account in fixing the number of heads of families are (1) the size of the territory, and (2) the necessity of having a population large enough to take its place among the surrounding states. The latter consideration fixes the limit *downwards*, the former *upwards*. But instead of saying, as we should expect: "you must not have a larger population than your territory will support," he says, in effect, "you must remember (when you are estimating the capacity of your territory) that only enough need be allowed to each man to satisfy *moderate* desires."

As to this sentence I thoroughly agree with Stephanus in two important points: (1) that *ποσοῦς* is the indeterminate pron. (like *ποτέρων* at 628 b 7), and (2) that the sense demands that *δεῖ* should be supplied mentally from *προσδεῖ*. Those who accent *πόσους*, and make the question a double one,—“how much land will support *how many*?”—imply that the amount and the nature of the territory available is yet to be ascertained; while *πλείονος . . . προσδεῖ* sinks into a mere parenthesis. But the previous sentence implies just the opposite of this: i.e. that our decision as to the number of the people must depend on the size of the land. It is as if a man, after saying, “you must cut your coat according to your cloth,” went on to say, “we must calculate how much cloth will make a decent coat.” (Ficinus read *ποσοῦς*, for he translates “*ut tot moderatis hominibus sufficiat.*” So too Jowett.)—As to the second point, I would (mentally) add *δεῖ* even if reading *γῆ* with A or *γῆ* with Schneider and Burnet and L and O, i.e. I would supply *ταύτης τῆς γῆς (δεῖ)* as an antecedent to *ὀπόση*. I think, however, that the Aldine correction of *γῆ*—or *γῆ* as A—to *γῆς* gives us the true reading. This brings it into line with *πλήθους δέ* at d 2, with which we must supply *δεῖ* also.—Possibly the *ι* in A's *γῆι* is a mistake for *ς*.

Between *πόλεις* and *γῆς μὲν* I can see no gap in the sense such

as Badham discerns—only the ordinary explanatory asyndeton.— (At Aristotle, *Pol.* ii. 1265 a 18 ff., where he seems to be referring to Plato's two considerations as here given, I suspect we ought to read *πρὸς τε τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς <γεινιῶντας> ἀνθρώπους*; for he proceeds to suggest as an addition to what Plato had said, *καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γεινιῶντας τόπους*, i.e. he thinks Plato ought to have considered the *kind of country* the neighbours inhabited, as well as (the numbers and character of) the neighbours themselves.)

**c 7.** *λεχθείς* here and *λέγωμεν* at 738 a 2 have the meaning “choose” (*pace* L. & S. *s.v.* λέγω B).

**d 6.** *ἔργῳ καὶ λόγοις*: i.e. we shall not only make such settlements as to number and size of lot as the circumstances warrant, but we shall *give the reasons* for them.—*νῦν δὲ κτλ.*, “on the present occasion (when we have none of the necessary details) all we can do is to complete the *outline* of the legislator's task.” I do not think he means here (as Wagner), “we will leave this subject in outline and proceed to the task of making laws so as to complete our discourse.” *ἵνα περαίνηται* belongs, I take it, to *σχῆμ.* ἔν. κ. ὑπογραφῆς, and I would take away the comma which separates them in all editions. The subj. of *περ.* is *νομοθεσία*, not *λόγος*.—For the *σχήματος* and the *ὑπογραφῆς* Ast well cps. *Rep.* 548 c f. *ὡς λόγῳ σχῆμα πολιτείας ὑπογράψαντα μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἀπεργάσασθαι*.

**e 1–e 7.** “Let there (be assumed to) be—to choose a convenient number—5040 landholders—men ready to fight for their land. Likewise let the land and dwelling-places be divided so as to make the same number,—man and portion of land making a pair. First then let the whole number be divided by two, and next by three; in fact (*γάρ*) the number admits of divisions by four, and five, and all numbers up to ten without a break.”

**e 3.** *τὰ αὐτὰ μέρη*, like *τέτταρα* and *πέντε* (*μέρη*) at e 6, are acc., while the *δύο μέρη* in e 4 and the *τρία* in e 5 are nom.

**e 4.** *συννομή*, the MS. reading, seems to mean a lot which counts as one single division; here it is “a pair.” Ast's suggested *σύννομα*, the adj., would give the same sense, but would not be quite so explicit; *γενόμενα σύννομα* would be “counting together.”—What follows seems to be merely advice to the lawgiver to familiarize himself with the various groups into which his whole number may be divided.

**e 6.** I would, with Schanz, adopt Stephanus's correction of the MS. *τὸν αὐτὸν* into *τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, so as to retain the same construction for *τρία* as for *δύο*; for if *τὸν αὐτὸν* is right,



ἀριθμόν, and not λόγον, as Ast suggests, must be supplied with it.—(Ritter thinks that the divisions by two and three are laid down as *imperative*, whatever whole number be selected by the lawgiver, and he translates νεμηθήτω “must be obtainable by division”—where he takes the πέφυκε γὰρ κτλ. to apply only to the 5040. He gives as his reason the frequent occurrence in the subsequent civic arrangements of divisions into twelve and groups of twelfths. To this division he thinks that by two *and then* by three—i.e. into six—is intended to lead up.)

738 a 2. λέγωμεν δὴ—so A, O<sup>2</sup>, and Ficinus’s *dicamus*—is “let us choose etc.”; λέγομεν δὴ—so L and O—“we choose etc.”

a 4. ὁ πᾶς (ἀριθμός) here is evidently not the same as τοῦ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ at e 5 above—for that is 5040, and this is contrasted with 5040—but “*the complete number*,” Ficinus’s “*universus numerus*,” perhaps we might say “*the ideal whole number*” [“*number in general*,” F.H.D.], “*the unlimited numerical series*” [“*infinity*” A.M.A.], “*totam numerorum seriem*,” Ast. This is obviously impossible. He will have to content himself with one which admits of “no more than fifty-nine different factorizations” (which, I am told, is the case with 5040. It is also pointed out to me that  $5040 = 1 \times 2 \times 3 \times 4 \times 5 \times 6 \times 7$ ). The οὐ πλείους in a 7 accounts for the adversative δέ in a 4, and is manifestly inconsistent with the absurd correction of the first ὁ in a 4 to οὐ, which is adopted by Boeckh, Ast, Wagner, Hermann and Schanz. (Grynaeus in his “correction” of Ficinus’s version translates as if he read οὐ μὲν δὴ in a 4, and it is curious to read in Serranus’s translation, side by side with Stephanus’s Greek text ὁ μὲν δὴ πᾶς, “*neque enim omnis numerus*.” (Boeckh, p. 54, to support the neg., quotes from the “corrected” Ficinus.)—εἰς πάντα, “for all purposes”; so εἰς πόλεμον καὶ ὅσα κτλ. in the next line. Cornarius unaccountably translates it as masc., “*in quomvis*” (? *numerum*).

a 6. πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ συμβόλαια καὶ κοινωνήματα: these words come in very awkwardly after ὅσα κατ’ εἰρήνην. I suspect they were the marginal comment of someone who was thinking of the necessity of arithmetic *for business purposes*. “Business engagements and dealings” are not spheres in which the multiple divisibility of men’s total number—i.e. varied grouping—is of special importance. But it *is* of great importance in arranging (1) an army and (2) the collection of taxes or the distribution (διανομῶν) of state allowances. (Cobet rejected καὶ κοινωνήματα, thinking κ. a gloss on συμβ.—Cp. *Rep.* 333 a συμβόλαια δὲ λέγεις

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σέθεν, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐκ βροτῶν κεκλήσεται, only there ταῦτα is τεμένη instead of ἱερά, as here.—ἰδρῦσθαι applies to the case of a newly founded city; ἐπονομάζεσθαι to that of a regenerated old one.

c 1. ὅσα ἐκ Δελφῶν κτλ.: it seems best to take ὅσα as governed by ἔπεισεν ὁ θεός to be supplied from the following ἔπεισαν.

c 2. ὅπηδῆ . . . θεῶν, “in whatever way they persuaded people—whether telling of visions of the Gods which had appeared, or of an inspired message delivered from heaven.”

c 3. λεχθείσης: not “qui dicitur” Stallb., *angebliche* (Wagn.), or “reputed” (Jowett), but “reported.” θεῶν belongs to both clauses; either the Gods themselves appeared on the spot where they wished a temple to be built, or they inspired a man with the knowledge of their preference, and he “reported” it. (Herm. unnecessarily rejects πείσαντες in c 2,—and so Schanz.)—With πείσαντες δέ the subject changes from the old-time *stories*, to the old-time *men* (*veteres* Fic.), who told them. So, as Stallb. points out, at 761 b c, the subject changes from νάπαι to ἄνθρωποι, though there the gender of the participles in agreement with the different subjects gives an indication of the change. (I do not see why Stallb. postpones this change of subject to καθιέρωσαν instead of making it begin at once with κατεστήσαντο.)

c 5. καθιέρωσαν δέ: δέ is not adversative, but introduces an amplification of the preceding statement.—“And moreover, by such stories they gave sanctity to oracles, and images, and altars, and shrines, and provided each of these with a piece of consecrated ground.” For φήμη in the sense of *seat of an oracle* cp. Eur. *Hel.* 820 φήμη τις οἴκων ἐν μυχοῖς ἰδρυμένη.

d 3. πρώτοις: i.e. before any portions of land are assigned to human occupants.

d 6. εἰς τε τὰς χρείας ἐκάστας εὐμάρειαν παρασκευάζωσι: as the subject of παρασ. is not the same as that of the next verb, it is better to put a comma after it. These words are generally taken to mean “may provide opportunity for the satisfaction of all kinds of *needs*,” but Ficinus took them to mean “may provide opportunity for the discharge of *all the services they can render* (*et facultatem sui facibus ad quoslibet usus exhibeant*).—Is it possible that the words mean “(not only) provide facilities for the several *religious functions*”? [“No.” F.H.D.]

d 7. φιλοφρονῶνται: again there is a (slight) change of subject, from the *meetings* to the *citizens* engaging in them.—μετὰ θυσιῶν, “thanks to the sacrifices”; for this use of μετὰ see above on 720 d 7. (“Vermögen der Opfer.” Wagn.).—οἰκειῶνται καὶ

γνωρίζωσιν : hendiadys, "become intimately acquainted with one another." Cp. 953 a 7 ἐπιμελείσθαι καὶ τημελεῖν.

**e 1.** οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν . . . ἦ : "Frequens hic Graecis est mos post genitivum comparativo junctum ἦ inferendi" (Heindorf on *Gorg.* 500 c, where he quotes, among this and other passages, *Dem. Phil.* i. p. 43 τί γὰρ ἂν γένοιτο τούτου καινότερον ἢ Μακεδῶν ἀνὴρ καταπολεμῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα ;)

**e 5.** ἐν, πρὸς ἐν τοῦτο, "this among all objects"; litotes for "this above everything." Cp. above 647 b, and 705 b.

**739 a–e.** To understand this very difficult passage it will help us if we go back to 737 a, where we were told that it is "ὀρθότερον"—here, at a 6, it is ὀρθότατον—to consider the possibilities under less favourable circumstances than those actually to be enjoyed by Cleinias's prospective fellow-citizens. The τρίτη πολιτεία (as he here calls it) is a general name for all such inferior arrangements as either the invincible conservatism of a lawgiver, or the unfavourable circumstances of a community may render necessary. The δευτέρα πολιτεία marks the first, and a moderate, deviation, in the same direction, from the perfection of the ideal state. Generally speaking, we shall find that Cleinias's new city will be in a condition to adopt this second best constitution (cp. below 807 b c), but the Athenian will not dogmatize; he will have done his duty when he has laid all the possibilities before Cleinias, and left him to choose between them.

**a–b 1.** "The next move that I am going to make in my process of lawgiving—a move like that of the desperate draught-player who has to abandon his "sacred" line—is of an unusual kind, and may cause surprise at the first hearing. Still, reflection and experience will make it clear that a city is likely (ἂν) to attain to (only) a second-best constitution. Possibly people whose only conception of a lawgiver is that of an arbitrary dictator, will say I ought to have given them something better. No; the right course is to set forth the best constitution, the second-best and the third-best, and leave the choice between them to the authority who is responsible for the community in question."

**a 1.** The φορά—the "move" for which he apologizes—is the abandonment of ideal perfection, and is well typified by the draughtman's abandonment of the "sacred" middle line on the board.

**a 3.** I would put a full stop at ποιήσειεν.

**a 4.** Attention must be paid to the ἂν with οἰκείσθαι : he does not say, "it will appear that a πόλις is being constituted," but "is

in danger of being constituted," "*is likely to be constituted*" (cp. 790 a 5 πρὸς τῷ μὴ ἐθέλειν ἂν πείθεσθαι). All translators and commentators ignore the ἂν, except Stallb. who translates by a fut. infin. He takes the sentence to mean: "apparebit secundo loco conditam civitatem conditum iri ita ut ad id quod est optimum temperetur et conformetur;" in other words, "that the *second-best*" will turn out the *best*; which is too paradoxical.—πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον is best taken as a qualification and explanation of δευτέρως; cp. d 4 ὑπερβολῇ πρὸς ἀρετήν.—(Badham's οὐχ ἑτέρως for δευτέρως simplifies the immediate context at the expense of the general sense of the passage; αὐτήν in the next sentence would then have nothing to stand for but "a *well-constructed state*," and this is not what we want.)

**a 5.** At first sight it seems more natural to take διὰ τὸ μὴ σύνηθες to mean "owing to the unsuitability (of the second constitution) to a lawgiver who is not absolute"; but the μὴ σύνηθες recalls the ἀήθης οὔσα of a 2, and suggests that (as the τις here is the same person as the ἀκούοντα there), it may mean, "owing to the want of familiarity (on the part of τις) with a lawgiver who leaves anything to a people's choice." This second interpretation suits the general idea of the passage better. Ficinus takes it so: "quia consuetus non fuerit cum legumlatore more tyrannico inferendis legibus non utenti."

**b 3.** These are not the headings of separate divisions of the succeeding portion of the work. The author here gives us to expect that, with a view to the practical utility of the work, he will often give alternative enactments on the same subject. Ritter (p. 146) has collected several instances of such alternatives. Cp. especially the alternatives at 740 e f.

**b 4.** I have adopted Burnet's correction of the MS. ἂν εἴποτε to ἀείποτε.

**b 5.** κατὰ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ τρόπον . . . πατρίδος, "to choose in accordance with his own disposition such of his native institutions as are to his taste." In other words, familiarity will sometimes count more than abstract excellence.

**b 8 ff.** What Plato here says is this: "Although the φορὰ ἀφ' ἱεροῦ has been made—although it has been admitted that some of the enactments now to be suggested are incompatible with the ideal constitution described in the *Republic*—for all that, the only proper test of the excellency of any provision or enactment will be this: *how nearly does it approach that ideal?*" The vigorous denunciation of selfishness in all its forms which we have already

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c 8. κοινά, “communem in usum” (Fic.).

d 3. καί is *denique* (Ficinus and Stallb.).—κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα: the usual pleonasm.

d 5. ἄλλον: i.e. “no one will find *any other criterion of superior excellence for laws* (τούτων)” than the knowledge how far they serve the purpose of binding the community together by a common interest. (There is much that is attractive in Ficinus’s way of taking τούτων as dependent on ἄλλον—“any definition of perfect excellence *other than* (all) *this*”—“this” being its doing away with ἴδιον, and putting κοινόν in its place.—But then he has to “go round” the οἷτινες νόμοι clause, which he translates: “ac denique (si) pro viribus sub his legibus vivant quae unam quam maxime civitatem efficiunt”; the “vivant” is not in Plato.—Badham’s ζητοῦντας, which he imagines to have fallen out after ἀπεργάζονται, provides a construction for οἷτινες νόμοι κτλ., but introduces a foreign element into the passage. τούτων then for him, as for Ficinus, will be “all these conditions”—“all this unity.” He would also read ὑπερβολῆς for ὑπερβολῆ; I imagine he made τούτων depend on ἄλλον and ὑπερβολῆς on ὅρον. I see no reason for the latter change, but ζητοῦντας—after -ζονται—should be carefully considered. On the whole, I prefer the MS. text.

d 6. πόλις is left “pendens.” (Badham would reduce this to order by reading εἰ for ἦ, and then ἔστι που, θεοὶ δ’, for εἶτε που θεοὶ.)—For ἦ after εἶτε cp. below 862 d 4 εἶτε ἔργοις ἢ λόγοις.

d 7. [πλείους ἐνός]: apparently, as we should say, “two or more,” “a few,”—for there must be at least two to form a community—but it is a strange phrase.—Possibly οἰκοῦσι means not *inhabit*, but *manage*. If so we must supply “*its citizens*” with διαζῶντες. Anyhow we are meant to infer that *superhuman* conditions may be necessary for the realization of the perfect polity. I think that the πλείους ἐνός,—which also agrees with παῖδες understood—in 740 c 3, has got in here by mistake. It is not unlikely that in some MS. the two passages were the length of a column apart, and so might have stood side by side on a page.

e 1. ἄλλῃ, “alibi” (Fic.).

e 4. ἀθανασίας ἐγγύτατα καὶ ἡ μία δευτέρως: so the MSS.; we may well believe, he has suggested, that only divine natures could support the perfect polity. “The polity which we have now set ourselves to evolve in our conversation is the *nearest approach we can get to the divine conditions*, and is (only) in the second degree the (really) *one* state we spoke of”—“si non primo, certe secundo loco erit *una*” (Fic.). It must be admitted that, in

spite of the apparent reference to the *μίαν* of d 3 above, the utmost significance to be got out of *ἡ μία* is small. (Can it mean "a united state"?) Perhaps Apelt's suggestion (p. 10), to read *τιμία* for it, gives us what Plato wrote. (Heindorf removes the comma before *εἴη* and puts one after *ἄν*, reading *εἴη γε ἄν*, in the sense of "is a possible one." Schanz supposes *ἡ μία* to be a mistaken interpretation of *ἄν*, i.e. *πρώτης*, which he actually prints: "next nearest to the divine and the first polity.")

**e 5.** This must not be taken, I think, to mean that the author proposes to furnish a complete polity and set of laws for the conditions which admit of only the "third-best" polity.—He does not definitely propose that, even for the "second-best" conditions.—The word *διαπεραίνειν* (without some such word as *παντέλως*) does not always mean to complete; e.g. at *Tim.* 89 e *τὸ δ' ἐν παρέργῳ . . . διαπεράναιτ' ἄν* is opposed to *δι' ἀκριβείας . . . διελθεῖν*; at *Gorg.* 451 a *τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἣν ἠρόμην διαπέρανον* only means "favour me with the answer to my question." Cp. also 790 c 3 below. (For *περαίνειν*, "perform," of music, or a dramatic representation, see Adam on *Rep.* 532 a; used of a speech it is "deliver," cf. *Plut. Mor.* 130 a.) What he here contemplates is the *furnishing his hearers, when the opportunity occurs*, with specimens of such legislation as will be wisest in conditions still further removed than the "second-best" from "the ideal." (See above on 739 b 8.)

**e 6.** *ταύτην* is the "second-best" polity.—*τίνα . . . καὶ πῶς γενομένην ἄν τοιαύτην* recalls the introductions to the descriptions in the *Republic* of the oligarchical and other constitutions and characters; *Rep.* 548 d 6 *τίς . . . πῶς τε γινόμενος* and 553 a 3 *ὡς τε γίγνεται, οἷός τε γινόμενος ἔστιν*.

**740 a 1.** *μεῖζον ἢ κατὰ . . . εἴρηται*: not "has been declared to be too great a task for" but "is a proposal which is too big for"—"majus sonat" (Schneider). So at *Soph.* 226 c 3 *διαίρετικά που τὰ λεχθέντα εἴρηται* is not "have been declared to be concerned with division," but "are uttered as terms denoting division."

**a 2.** *γένεσιν καὶ τροφήν καὶ παιδείαν*: i.e. the citizens are not a picked "strain," like the *φύλακες* of the *Republic*, nor has their early nurture or subsequent training fitted them for the "ideal" conditions.

**a 4.** *κοινὴν αὐτὴν τῆς πόλεως συμπάσης*: to this fundamental principle of ancient and modern law Plato adds two considerations designed (1) to endear, and (2) to dignify the possession



of land. (1) He appeals to patriotic sentiment:—"The country of which it is a piece is your native land"; and (2) he reminds his hearers of the fact that the Earth, of which it was also a piece—which, at *Tim.* 40 b c, he calls γῆν δὲ τροφὸν μὲν ἡμετέραν . . . πρώτην καὶ πρεσβυτάτην θεῶν ὅσοι ἐντὸς οὐρανοῦ γεγονάσι—claims allegiance and honour from all mortals. Cp. 877 d 5 ff.

a 5. Neither the αὐτήν nor the δεῖ are necessary to the sense, but their repetition gives clearness and importance to the following clauses. I would therefore neither expel δεῖ with Stallb., nor change it to ἀεί with Schanz.

a 6. τῷ καὶ . . . γεγονέναι: this awkward addition means apparently "all the more (ought we to cherish it) because, being itself a goddess, it is the mistress of such as are mortal."

a 7. ταῦτὰ . . . δαίμονας: though in form this is a command to extend these sentiments of reverence to all the supernatural beings who haunt the country, in effect it serves to bind all such religions up into a mutually supporting whole. (I therefore see no reason with Usener to reject this passage.)

b 3. A<sup>1</sup> wrote ἐστι for ἐστίαι; mistakes like this, and ὑπερβάλλειν (for παρεμβάλλειν) at 741 a 3, shake one's confidence in the scribe of A.

b 5. Schanz adopts the Aldine ᾧ δ' for the MS. ᾧδ', with a comma after πόλιν.

b 7. ἓνα μόνον κληρονόμον: Herm. (*De vestigiis* etc. p. 23) says it is probable that Attic law attempted to restrict the number of families to a fixed number, but did not interfere with the size of the families. Plato sees that, to do the first, it is necessary to do the second as well.

c 1. θεῶν . . . γένους: i.e. his ancestors, called at 717 b 5 πατρώων θεῶν. I take καὶ (γέν.) . . . καὶ (πόλ.) to be "both . . . and," and γένους and πόλεως to depend on θεῶν. Those who take the καί before πόλεως as "and" (Wagn. and Jow.) saddle the heir with a great responsibility; how is he to be the θεραπευτής "of the city and of all the dead and living citizens"? It is not clear how Fic. and Schneider take it.—τῶν τε ζώντων καὶ ὄσους κτλ.: a comparison of 717 b 5 shows that this means all the inheritor's own ancestors, including his parents. Apparently the new κληρονόμος is to enter upon his office during his father's lifetime, and εἰς τὸν τότε χρόνον ("up to that time") would then be the date of his installation. At 775 e 5 ff. we are told that the heir when he marries is to occupy the second family residence, i.e. that away from the city.

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this word was omitted by the first hand in A, Schanz omits it.) —καὶ τοῦναντίον . . . ὃ λέγομεν: I do not think that any alteration of the MS. reading is necessary here; but I agree with Burnet that, of the many suggested emendations, Winckelmann's insertion of αἰ before δύνανται is the best. But why not take τε after τιμαῖς not as *both* but as *and*—connecting εἰσίν and δύνανται?—ἐπιμέλειαὶ καὶ σπουδαί form a hendiadys—“deliberate encouragements.”—ἀπαντῶσαι is a difficulty. It seems to be used in the same sense as at 830 a 5 εἰς αὐτὸν ἄν. ἀπαντῶμεν τὸν ἀγῶνα, i.e. that of “take the field”—here, more particularly, “operate,”—τιμαῖς and the other datives being instrumental. Both ἐπισχέσεις and ἐπιμέλειαὶ, not the latter alone, are the subjects of δύνανται; περὶ νέους is the equivalent of an objective gen. The meaning we may thus get from the MS. reading is: “And on the other hand (there are) deliberate encouragements of larger families, and (both of these), operating [through the voice of warning] by means of honour and disgrace, and the admonition given by the old to the young, are able to secure the object above-mentioned.” The chief awkwardness in this sentence seems to me the repetition of the idea of νουθετήσεσι in διὰ λόγων νουθετητικῶν. Is not the latter a marginal comment? I have inserted a comma after εἰσίν and bracketed διὰ λόγων νουθετητικῶν. (ἀπαντῶσαι is certainly not “respond to”; there is no notion of concord in the Greek ἀπαντᾶν, as there is in the English meet.—Ast turns τιμαῖς κτλ. to noms., Herm. rejects εἰσίν, Badham turns it into τισὶ, Schneider reads δυναταί (for δύνανται), Schramm ἀπαντώσαις, and Schanz ἅπαντας αἰ δύνανται.)

e 2 ff. In case of the failure of all possible methods for keeping the numbers down, we must send out a colony.—πάσα, “complete,” as in the common πάσα ἀνάγκη.

e 6. ὑπάρχει, “is at their command.”

e 7. ὧν: dependent on ἀποικιῶν, “consisting of such people as . . .” The Ald. ed. emended ὧν to οἷ, which Schanz adopts; but this substitutes a less important for a more important consideration.

e 8. ἐάν τ' . . . ἐπέλθῃ ποτὲ κῦμα κατακλυσμὸν φέρον νόσων, “and if ever a flood of disease comes surging upon them.” We have a like metaphorical use of κῦμα (and κατακλύζω) at *Tim.* 43 b, and at *Rep.* 473 c. (Cornarius puts in ἢ before νόσων, and takes κῦμα and κατακλυσμόν literally. Ast, comparing 677 a, approves.)

741 a 3. νόθη παιδεία: stronger than the σμικρᾶ παιδεία of

735 a 4. There, the education referred to was less stringent and complete: here it is “a base imitation” of the education of the higher classes.—ἐκόντας, “if they can possibly help it.”—For παρεμβάλλειν see above on 740 b 3.

a 4. Cp. 818 d 8, *Prot.* 345 d, Simonides, *Fr.* 5.—The string of alternatives here concluded furnishes a striking instance of the feature of the *Laws* mentioned on 739 b 3.

a 5. νῦν = νυνδῆ. — φῶμεν: almost “let us imagine.” — ἡμῖν belongs, as Stallb. says, to τὸν λεγόμενον λόγον. As a rule it is taken with παραινεῖν.—Here the λόγος personified appeals—not, I think, to the three, nor to the three *plus* an imaginary group of colonists, but—to the imaginary assembly of the new colonists, in the same strain as that of the prelude at the beginning of the book. I think the speech is supposed to finish at σαφείς in 745 b 1. Though some new regulations are introduced at 741 e 7, the whole passage consists mainly of arguments and explanations designed to secure compliance with the regulations as to property. At 744 a 8 there is a repetition of what was said at 741 b 7 f., which suggests that the speaker is still the same.

a 6 ff. τὴν ὁμοιότητα . . . πραγμάτων, “never cease to follow Nature in honouring conformity, and equality, and identity, and correspondence, whether in number or in any (other) influence productive of fair and noble things.”—ὁμολογούμενον is *middle*, “that which agrees”; cp. 746 c 8. I agree with Ritter (p. 147) that the genitive is *objective*, and that we are meant to infer that ἀριθμός is a δύναμις τῶν καλῶν καὶ αἰσθητῶν πραγμάτων.

b 4. μέτριον is not merely “mediocre” (Fic.), or “modest” (Jow.); it has the notion of symmetry and suitability. He speaks as if the *amount* were a *statue* of which they are begged “not to spoil the true proportions,” by adding to or detracting from them *by trafficking in it*.

b 5. κληρος: this was the reading of the first hand in A, and O. In both MSS. there is a suggested correction, possibly by the original hand, to κληρον, ν being written over the s. In A the s is in an erasure. This suggests that the writer was at first in doubt as to which was right. Ficinus’s “neque deus ipse distributor” leaves us in doubt as to his reading. He may well have been in doubt himself. I cannot think that if the original reading had been κληρον, anyone would have altered it to the nom.; but the very recent use of the word in the sense of *portion of ground* may well have led to the reverse change. At 690 c 5 Plato speaks of the ruler chosen by lot as θεοφιλή. This

is quite in accordance with the description of the *lot* as a minister of heaven, and so a θεός. Hermann cps. the deification of "Ορκος at Hes. *Theog.* 231. The addition of the ὄν marks the word as in need of an *explanation* or *reminder*. The reminder that the *lot* is *divine* is in place, but not so the reminder that the previously mentioned "distributor" was a God. Evidently κληῆρος is right.—Burnet marks off οὐτε γὰρ . . . νομοθέτης as a parenthesis. This abruptness makes it a little easier to dispense with the somewhat complicated verbal notion "will (help you) if you do"; but it obscures the connexion with what follows. The *law* (b 7) and the *religious considerations* (c 2) definitely refer—in the usual chiasmic order—to the νομοθέτης and the θεός of Burnet's parenthesis; so, too, at d 3 ἅμα νόμῳ καὶ τῷ θεῷ. I would therefore mark the passage off with colons only.

**b 6 ff.** What follows is involved in structure, and consequently obscure. πρῶτον (in b.6) seems to correspond with the πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι at c 8; the second πρῶτον (at c 1) with εἶτα at c 2. To confirm what he has said of the antagonism of the *God*, and the *Law* to the recalcitrant citizen, he adds: (1) (b 6 ff.) that the law enjoins further that—as he took his land knowing beforehand that it was already sacred to the gods, and that it was going to have this sacredness ceremonially confirmed—punishment must follow the infringement of the original arrangement; and (2) (c 8 ff.) that there was to be constituted a special machinery for inflicting this punishment where it was due.

**c 1.** ἢ μὴ κληροῦσθαι: this depends on προειπών. The law had warned this man (who is now unwilling to obey it) that his land must either be taken on these particular terms, or *let alone*. (There is therefore no such "bull" here as Stallb. discerns.)

**c 4.** τὸν πριάμενον . . . πάσχειν does duty *both* as the direct object of προστάττει in b7 and as an expression of the substance of the *prayers* mentioned in c 3; in the latter case it is "will pray that the sentence may be duly executed." (Stallb. takes it as dependent *only* on εὐχὰς ποιησομένων, and translates προστάττει προειπών—regardless of the difference in *tense*—by "ita praescribet ut . . . moneat"; Schneider finds an object for προστάττει by putting in "obedientiam (injungit)."

**c 6.** γράψαντες—anyhow a break in the construction—must agree with the subj. of καταστήσουσιν as well as that of θήσουσι, and therefore I think it describes not the *priests*, but the *legal authorities*; this is confirmed by the νόμῳ in d 3.—[Longinus] Περὶ ὕψους § 4 rebukes Plato for fantastically calling δέλτους

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e 4. βαναυσία : cf. *Ar. Pol.* 1337 b 8 βάναυσον δ' ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, and see Adam's note on *Rep.* 495 e 2.

e 7. πρὸς τούτοις δ' . . . τούτοις, "there is besides yet another law which goes with all these ordinances." (It is unusual to find a phrase repeated so soon in Plato; cp. c 8 where also we have πρὸς τούτοις δ' ἔτι.)

742 a 2. ἰδιώτη : it is explained at b 2 why the *community* needs money. The community's money would doubtless be of gold or silver, whereas the daily uses of *internal* traffic would be served, it is implied, by an inferior currency.

a 2-5. I can find no complete explanation of this very difficult passage. Some light is shed on it by *Rep.* 371 b 3-e 5, where Plato explains why coined money is needed within the state itself. He there says (1) the δημιουργοί want it to facilitate their buying and selling intercourse with each other, and (2) it is needed for the payment of διάκονοι; he does not say (in the *Republic*) whether these are paid by φύλακες or by δημιουργοί. Inasmuch as the former are forbidden to have any private property whatever (416 d), it is probable that the currency was only to be touched by the δημιουργοί and μισθωτοί. So in our passage the ἀλλαγή which necessitates a currency is spoken of as taking place (1) between the δημιουργοί, and (2) between πᾶσιν κτλ. (whoever they are). This last point is made clear by the τε . . . καί, and is, I think, generally ignored. Ast alters ὁπόσων to ὁπόσοις, and translates "(et omnibus) quibus illo opus est ut mercedem . . . solvant"; τῶν τοιούτων, he says, means *money*. Stallbaum says ὅπ. . . τοιούτων stands, by attraction, for πᾶσιν τοιούτοις ὁπόσων χρεία (ἐστίν), and means "(quam facere fere necessarium est opificibus) atque omnibus istiusmodi hominibus quorum opera utimur." Ficinus—like the early editors, who put a full stop at ἰδιώτη—did not, like the modern editions, take νόμισμα to be governed by ἐξεῖναι κεκτῆσθαι understood. His translation though could hardly have been made from our text; it is: "sed quia nummis opus est quotidianæ commutationis gratia, quae inter artifices et huiusmodi ferme est necessarium, cum mercenariis et servis et colonis merces aliqua debeatur, iccirco nummos habere concedimus etc."—Badham cuts out ἀλλάττεσθαι, and τῶν τοιούτων μισθούς; but then he has to take ἦν, i.e. ἀλλαγήν, as the object of ἀποτίνειν, and this does not help us. Schanz, so far, has the last word in saying

“*locus haud dubie corruptus.*” If driven to translate the text I would suggest, for *καὶ πᾶσιν . . . ἀποτίνειν*, “and for all men whose function it is to pay, to hired slaves or aliens, wages for services of such a kind”—the “*services*” being spoken of as the equivalent of the *work* produced by other artificers. In this way the paying wages for services would be represented as a kind of barter. F.H.D. suggests that *τῶν τοιούτων μισθούς* = “wages *in money*”—consisting in *νόμισμα* (as opposed to wages in kind): A.M.A. would reject *τῶν τοιούτων*.

**a 6.** *αὐτοῖς . . . ἀδόκιμον*, “current at home, but worthless abroad.”

**a 7–b 2.** The occasions which take representatives of the state abroad are divided into (1) military, and (2) peaceful missions. The second class may either go as negotiators (*πρέσβεις*) or mere state-messengers (*κήρυκες*). At 950 d 8 a third class of mission is added—*κήρυξιν ἢ πρεσβείαις ἢ καὶ τισι θεωροῖς*.

**b 1.** The first five editions omit all the words between this *τῇ πόλει* and that in the next line. Steph. discovered the omission too late to include the words in his text.

**b 3.** *νόμισμα Ἑλληνικόν*: this addition is grammatically otiose, but welcome in the interests of clearness. Ast rejects it.—*ιδιώτη δέ*: the position of the private traveller is not explicitly defined on all points. (1) We may conclude, I think, from what goes before, that he had to get leave from the authorities, not only to travel, but to employ some of the state fund of Greek currency for the purpose. (2) The next question, which is at first sight obscure, is what is the *νόμισμα ξενικόν* which is (possibly) left in his pocket on his return? Is it some money current only in a foreign state, or is it some of the aforesaid *νόμισμα Ἑλληνικόν*, or is it perhaps some “barbarous” coinage? The answer is, I think, that the term *ξενικόν* would apply to all three cases and is meant here to do so. (3) We may again conclude, I think, that, though we are not told of the transaction, the returned traveller gives back, as a matter of course, all he had not spent of the state money. But if, *over and above this* (*περιγεγόμενον*), he has in his possession some foreign money—either given him by a foreigner, or made by him in trade—he must not keep it in this form, but must change it into the home (i.e. *brass*, or *copper*) currency. This regulation might be partly prompted by a fear that the travelled citizen might have entered into secret compact with some foreign power, for the purposes of which compact the possession of foreign currency would be useful. The words do not warrant Ficinus’s



interpretation that the traveller *first changed his foreign money and then deposited it in the state treasury*. It is to be noticed that the penalty of concealment is (b 8) *confiscation*. This would be no penalty if the money was the state's by rights already.

**b 4.** The first five printed edd.—and some edd. of Stobaeus, apparently—forsake all the Plato MSS. in reading *παραιτησάμενος* for *παρέμενος*. There could hardly be a better instance of the way in which a marginal interpretation makes its way into the text.

**b 6.** *πρὸς λόγον*: apparently in the sense of the more usual *ἀνὰ λόγον*; cf. Dem. *Pro Phorm.* 954. 19 *πρὸς μέρος* and *Gorg.* 464 c *πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον*.

**b 7.** The object of *ἰδιούμενος* is not “anything”—e.g. any part of the sum of state money borrowed—but the sum of *foreign money* in question. This is made clear by the fact that the fine to be paid by the man with the guilty knowledge is to be “not less than the sum of the foreign money brought back.”

**b 8.** *ἀρᾶ καὶ ὀνείδει*, “*exsecratione et infamia*” (Schneider); the former *religious*, the latter *social*.

**c 2.** Perhaps the author here imagines himself to be asked: “How is a man to marry his daughters if he has no property?—or get security for money lent, if his debtor has no money, or, for that matter, how can he lend money at all? The answer is: “The Law will give you no help in either of these latter transactions; and it forbids dowries altogether.”—The usual chiasmus.

**c 3.** The Law wishes to make trade impossible, and therefore will not recognize *credit*. It is suggested at *Rep.* 556 a that that is the best way to prevent the creation of *debt* in a state: *εἴργοντες τὰ αὐτοῦ ὅπη τις βούλεται τρέπειν*. Cp. also Stob. *Flor.* 44. 22 *ἢ ὡσπερ Χαρώνδας καὶ Πλάτων; οὔτοι γὰρ παραχρῆμα κελεύουσι δίδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν, ἐὰν δέ τις πιστώσῃ μὴ εἶναι δίκην, αὐτὸν γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἀδικίας*. Cf. also below 849 e 8 *ὁ δὲ προέμενος ὡς πιστεύων, ἐὰν τε κομίσηται καὶ ἂν μὴ, στεργέτω ὡς οὐκέτι δίκης οὔσης τῶν τοιούτων περὶ συναλλάξεων*, and 915 e 2 ff.—As to usury cf. below 921 d.—As to dowries, at 774 c d Plato gives reasons for this law, and penalties for its infringement. This was apparently the law in Sparta “*teste Aelian. V.H. vi. 6, Hermann, De vestig.*” Stallb.

**c 7.** *ἐπιτηδεύματα*: used in the neutral sense of *habit*, rather than *practice*.

**d 1.** *ἐπαναφέρων κτλ.* explains *ᾧδε*.—*τὴν ἀρχὴν . . . καὶ τὴν βούλησιν*: we may translate the words as a hendiadys, “the

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1181 σ' ἐγὼ καὶ παῖδες δεξόμεθα δέξιν ἦν σε δέξασθαι χρεών, verbs with *acc. of the inner object* are enabled to govern a direct object as well. At *Symp.* 222 a ὑμῖν εἶπον ἃ με ὕβρισεν the *με* is in a similar position. (Ast says *ματ. βουλ.* are “epexegetic” to τὰ μὴ δυνατά, Stallb. that τὰ μὴ δυνατά are “absolute posita”—“quod vero pertinet ad ea quae non possunt fieri”; the objection to this is that ἐπιχειροῖ wants a direct object.)—“He will send no vain wishes in the direction of the impossible, any more than he will try to attain to it.”

e 4 f. σχεδὸν . . . : γίγνεσθαι: i.e. they could hardly be one without being the other as well.

e 7. οὓς γε δὴ πλ. οἱ πολλοὶ καταλέγουσι: Ritter (p. 148) reminds us that it follows from the definition of *poverty* given above at 736 e 2 f. that Plato would call *rich* the man who is *abstemious* and independent of external possessions.

e 8. ἐν ὀλίγοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων: a variety of σφόδρα, or διαφερόντως. Stallb. well cps. the Lat. “homo in paucis doctus.”

e 9. ἃ καὶ κακός τις κεκτηῖτ' ἄν: I think this means “and that is just what a bad man would be likely to acquire.” But all previous interpreters take it to mean “and that is what *even* a bad man might possess.” If they are right, the argument halts. Plato has previously said—not that it is *not necessary* for great riches and great goodness to be united—but that it is *impossible*. The ordinary interpretation would be a good proof of the former, but it is superfluous after the latter. Moreover, as he has just said that a very rich man *cannot* be very good, why should he here state it merely as a *possibility* that the great fortune should be in the hands of a bad man?

743 a 1. The argument then proceeds to deduce from the previous statement (at e 5) that goodness and happiness must always go together, that the very rich cannot be *happy* either.—αὐτοῖς is οἱ πολλοί, who are assumed to hold that great riches are necessary to happiness.

Plato always uses this word in the sense of *differently*. Ast, Herm., Zürr., Stallb., and Schanz read *διαφερόντως*. I think Burnet is right in following the MSS. For variety's sake Plato used the word in an unusual sense, trusting to the following *διαφερόντως*, in a similar position, to define it.

**a 5.** ἢ τε ἐκ δίκαιου καὶ ἀδίκου κτήσις: Stallb. says the τε goes with the καί. He compares *Crito* 43 b 4 ἐν τσσαύτῃ τε ἀγρυπνία καὶ λύπη, and *Phaedo* 86 c αἱ τ' ἐν τοῖς φθόγγοις καὶ [αἱ] ἐν τοῖς τῶν δημιουργῶν ἔργοις. May be; but I am inclined in this instance to think that ἢ τε . . . κτήσις was meant to go entirely with τά τε ἀναλώματα. (So Schneider.)

**a 6.** πλέον ἢ διπλασία: this implies the belief that *more than half* the money made in trade or other intercourse is made by asking too much for one's goods or services.—τά τε . . . ἀναλίσκεσθαι, "the expenditures, which" (in the case of the bad man) "shrink from being made equally when it is right to spend and when it is disgraceful to do so." The negatives go in sense with ἐθέλοντα, which is used with a curious "personification" of the expenditures. Stallb. cps. *Rep.* 370 b 10, where also the subj. of ἐθέλει is inanimate. In both cases ἐθέλειν seems to be used as a *semi-auxiliary*—like our own "will."

**a 8.** τῶν . . . δαπανᾶσθαι, "which are rightful and are ready to be incurred on rightful objects."—The καλῶν καὶ εἰς καλά balances μήτε καλῶς μήτε αἰσχρῶς *in sound*, but not in sense, as it only deals with *one sort* of expenditure.—διπλασίῳ ἐλάττονα: this time it is not πλέον ἢ διπλασίῳ, i.e. the necessary expenditure of both men is assumed to be about equal to what the good man spends on charity and the like; e.g. A spends £100 on necessary objects, and £100 on charity and the like, while B only spends £100 altogether. In the subsequent calculation both expenditure and saving are spoken of as if they were in the relation of 2 to 1 and 1 to 2 respectively.

**b 1 f.** τῶν (masc.) is gen. after πλουσιώτερος. With τῶν ἐκ we must supply something like πραπτόνων, as suggested by the following πράττων; τούτων (neut.) is the *getting* twice as much and the *spending* twice as little.

**b 4.** ὁ δὲ οὐ κακὸς ὅταν ᾗ φειδωλός: the miserliness of the bad man keeps him in a neutral state as far as regards expenditure on disgraceful objects; though it does not make him *good*, it keeps him from being *bad* in a particular direction.—The less well attested reading οὐκ ἀγαθός (for οὐ κακός) comes to the same thing, i.e. "the other (the bad man) is not *good* when he forbears to spend on

bad objects—only *miserly*”; but οὐ κακός goes much better with the next line (ἀγαθὸς δέ κτλ.).—Early edd., e.g. Louv. and Steph., have τὸτὲ; so Ast, who points out that, as at A 63, τὸτὲ δέ is used without the usual τὸτὲ μὲν preceding it. So Stallb. and Burnet. Other recent edd. read τότε, which would mean “when he is miserly.” The words τὸτὲ δέ ποτε mean “though on occasion”; i.e. when it is a question not of *spending*, but of *making* money. Then the bad man’s actions are positively—even superlatively—bad. (A’s πάγκαλος is clearly a mistake.)

**b 5.** ὅπερ εἴρηται τὰ νῦν is equivalent to a geometrical Q.E.D.—For “The Philosopher Leo” or “The Great Leo” mentioned in Burnet’s note to this passage as here ceasing to correct the text see Gibbon ch. liii. (vol. vi. p. 104 Bury’s ed.).

**b 7.** ὅταν καὶ . . . πένης, “provided that he is at the same time of a niggardly nature, though in fact the superlatively bad man is very poor, because he is generally a profligate spender.”—Granting, as everybody seems disposed to do, that πάγκαλος (b 4) in A is a writer’s slip for πάγκακος, the text appears quite sound, and needs none of the alterations great or small proposed by Madvig, Badham, and Schanz. Plato treats the situation thoroughly—turns it inside out. He then turns to consider the way in which men become *very poor*. Here, too, the very bad have the pre-eminence; indeed it is only the vice of niggardliness which keeps a few very bad men at the other end of the scale.

**c 3.** Again “Q.E.D.”

**c 5.** Above at 718 a 6–b 5 we have been told that the details of our code will teach us what behaviour to our fellows τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν, συμβουλευθέντων θεῶν, μακαρίαν τε καὶ εὐδαίμονα ἀποτελεῖ. Again, at 693 b 4 we read πόλιν ἐλευθέραν τε εἶναι δεῖ καὶ ἔμφρονα καὶ ἑαυτῇ φίλην, καὶ τὸν νομοθετοῦντα πρὸς ταῦτα βλέποντα δεῖ νομοθετεῖν. At the same time, ἡ τῶν νόμων ὑπόθεσις ἐνταῦθα ἔβλεπεν does not, I think, refer to any definite statement in an earlier part of the work, but is a completion of the statement begun just above at 742 d 2 ff. There he tells us what the statesmanlike lawgiver would *not* make his object in framing his laws. Hence I would translate: “The object of our laws (which I was explaining) is.” The imperfect is what Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 40, and Adam on *Rep.* 490 a, call the “philosophic imperfect”—“was” being equal to “is, as we saw.”

**d 2.** λέγομεν δὴ: the asyndeton emphasizes the statement.—δεῖν: in Ο εἶναι is written before χρυσόν, but is marked as doubtful. This means that the writer—or corrector—knew of a

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**e 7.** οὕτω : i.e. in accordance with the order of importance just given.

**e 8.** νομοθεῖται, the reading of O<sup>1</sup>, is doubtless a writer's slip for νομοθετεῖται, which is the reading of Stobaeus. The perf. (as A), though less natural after εἰ τάττεται, is more significant: "we have been right in the laws we have made;" i.e. the fact that the right qualities are held in the highest honour is a proof that the legislation has been right.—οἱ αὐτόθι προσταττόμενοι νόμοι are "any laws which may hereafter be made in the colony," i.e. "and the same test will be applicable to all future legislation."

**744 a 3.** ἐπισημαίνεσθαι, "make it clear to himself."

**a 4.** εἰ . . . ἤ : as ἐπισημαίνεσθαι is equivalent to "ask himself the question," this question can be treated as if it were an indirect one. If it were put directly, the two alternatives would be introduced by πότερον . . . ἤ; "The lawgiver, I tell you, must often ask himself these two questions: first, 'What am I aiming at?' and secondly, 'Am I hitting the mark, or missing it?' In this way, and this only, he may possibly so discharge his task as to leave nothing for others to do after him." (Schanz marks a lacuna after σκοποῦ.)

**b 1.** ἦν καλόν : so δικαιοτάτον ἦν at 869 b 6. See Goodwin, *M. and T.* § 416.

**b 3.** χρήματα : though we are not told so, we must assume that this portable property was not allowed to remain in the form of money—for the possession of gold and silver was forbidden (742 a)—but was exchanged for land which was added to the original κληῆρος.—The κληῆρος was doubtless *given* by the state, so that a citizen, who arrived with only enough money to enable him to work it, could take his place among the rest.—The property qualifications for the four classes would probably be estimated not in (acres of) *land*, but in (bushels of) *produce*.

**b 4 ff.** The difficulties in this passage—and they are great—fortunately do not obscure its main point, which is contained in the words δεῖ δὴ . . . τιμήματα ἄνισα γενέσθαι.—"It would have been more convenient," we are told, "if each colonist had brought the same amount of property with him, but they have not." It being so, it is best (for certain reasons) for the state to recognize this inequality, and to make it the basis of a classification of the citizens into four divisions.—The difficulties concern the *reasons* for this proceeding.—Ritter (p. 149 ff.) has a helpful discussion of the passage. I follow him generally—except in what he says at the end about the readings—and more particularly

in taking the ἔνεκα clauses to furnish the *grounds* for the classification, not the *purposes* which it was meant to serve.—δει δὴ . . . ἰσότητος ἔνεκα : πολλῶν . . . τε is on the model of ἄλλως τε . . . καί. He will not go into *all* his reasons, but only mentions one—i.e. the promotion of internal peace by allowing its due weight to wealth. We may translate: “especially as the state allows all a fair chance.”

**b 5 ff.** ἵνα κτλ. : I prefer to regard this final clause as containing a rather gross zeugma, than as either deficient, or redundant. (Steph. would remedy its supposed deficiencies by adding κατά before τὴν in b 6 and γίνωνται (or καθιστῶνται) before τὰς τιμάς, and putting δέ (for τε) after it.—Ritter accepts the κατά, and would reject ἀρχαί . . . διανομαί. Ast—followed by Schanz—would reject from ἀρχαί to τιμήν, and the latter also brackets ἰσότητος ἔνεκα.)—I imagine that, when the speaker begins ἵνα . . . τὴν . . . τιμήν he personifies the occasions of election and tax-fixing, and has in mind some such expression as “may take account of,” “may estimate,” to govern τιμήν—“the price of each man’s value,” and, when all that does follow is ἀπολαμβάνοντες—agreeing with a different subject—and διαφέρωνται, he has a vague notion that enough may be got thence to fill the gap. (Stallb., with a quite different explanation, adds τε to ἰσότητός.) The only change I would make in Burnet’s text is to reject the comma after διανομαί.

**b 6.** διανομαί: in the case of *distributions* I imagine that the lower classes would receive *more*, while of εἰσφοραί they would pay *less*.

**b 7.** μὴ . . . μόνον . . . ἀλλὰ καί: he does not say that birth and personal *distinction* of mind or body are not to weigh with those who appoint, but that *the size of a man’s estate ought to be considered as well*.

**c 1.** All editors agree in reading μηδὲ with O<sup>1</sup> for A’s μήτε.

**c 2.** χρῆσιν and πενίαν are the MS. readings (though O<sup>1</sup> has πενίας). If the simpler κτήσιν (Ast) had stood for the former, it is hard to see how the more out-of-the-way χρῆσιν came to be substituted for it.—With τὰς τιμάς τε we must suppose the subject to change and become “men,” i.e. the men mentioned in ἐκάστοις.—ὡς ἰσαίτατα τῷ ἀνίσῳ συμμέτρῳ δέ: how real equality can be ensured by an award which though *unequal* is *proportional* to some recognized standard, is explained—as Ritter says—below at 757 a b, where we are told, however, that the true standard can only be discerned by the divine intelligence.—I would translate



(ἵνα . . . διαφέρωνται): “that all occasions of election to offices or fixing of taxes or bounties (may estimate) each man’s real worth not *merely* by his own or his ancestors’ virtues, nor yet by their bodily strength or attractiveness, but *also* by his enjoyment of or his lack of *wealth*, and that men may be endowed with dignities and responsibilities on so fair a principle of proportional, though unequal, distribution, that no quarrels may disturb their peace.”

c 4. *μεγέθει*: an instrumental dative with *τιμήματα ποιείσθαι*, which is equivalent to *τιμᾶσθαι*: “arrange by size of property in four classes.” Ficinus translates *μεγέθει τῆς οὐσίας* “magnitudine differentes bonorum.”

c 7. ὅταν τε . . . καὶ ὅταν: with *προσαγορευομένους*; i.e. in any event the *names* (and property qualifications) of the classes will remain the same, whether the individual members change or not.—O’s correction of its *πλουσιώτεροι* to *πλουσιώτατοι*—which is the reading of A—suggests that the latter was not a mere copyist’s mistake on the part of the scribe of A (see below on d 4) but an old variant.

d 2. *τόδε . . . νόμου σχῆμα* = *νόμον σχήματος τοῦδε*.

d 4. The scribe of A seems to have been under some disturbing influence about this time. Not only does he make such a careless mistake as *νομίσματος* here for *νοσήματος* and *δῆ* for *δει* at e 1, but he omitted altogether, at the first writing, a long passage from 745 a 2 (*θεοῖς*) to c 4 (*δὲ*).—ὁ . . . *κεκλήσθαι*, “which may more rightly be said to be disintegration than discord.” Cp. Arist. *Pol.* iv. 1296 a 8 ὅπου γὰρ πολὺ τὸ διὰ μέσον, ἤκιστα στάσεις καὶ διαστάσεις γίνονται τῶν πολιτειῶν. (Some translators—Fic., Serr., Wagn.—take ἤ to be *or*.)

d 6. With *πλούτον* we are meant to supply some “strong” epithet equivalent to *χαλεπήν*.

d 7. *ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρα*: i.e. *στάσιν καὶ διάστασιν*. Here we may call them *class-division* and *class-discord*. (Ritter says that, as these are only two names for the same thing, *ἀμφοτέρα* should be rejected.)—The persistence of the reading *ἀμφοτέρα* for *ἀμφοτέρων* in d 6—so A, O, Stob.—gives weight to Wagner’s suggestion that it is the *second* *ἀμφοτέρα* in A and O which ought to be altered to the gen. So Schanz, but Burnet prefers the authority of L which alters the first.—*ἐκατέρου*: i.e. *πενίας καὶ πλούτου*.

e 1. *ἄρχων οὐδείς . . . τῶν τε ἄλλων οὐδείς κτλ.*, “no magistrate, and no *good citizen*.”

e 5. *καὶ μέχρι τετραπλασίου*: Aristotle, *Pol.* 1265 b 23, says *τὴν πᾶσαν οὐσίαν ἐφίησι γίνεσθαι μέχρι πένταπλασίας*; he

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the Acropolis, as from a centre, are to radiate the dividing lines of the districts. (Ficinus takes ἀφ' οὗ to be "starting from which"; another meaning which might be given to it is "apart from which.")—This central portion is particularly suitable for Hestia; cp. *Phaedrus* 247 a with Thompson's note.

c 1. τὰ δώδεκα: the art. here and in the next line is not merely "the just-mentioned"; it suggests that the number is the rational one. At 771 b Plato justifies the selection of the number twelve—a division, he says, ἐπομένην τοῖς μῆσιν καὶ τῇ τοῦ παντὸς περιόδῳ.—It is clear that the dividing lines are to radiate from the central enclosure because each division is to contain part of the city proper.

c 2. ἴσα: the equality, he explains, is not to be reckoned by size, but by the productivity of the divisions.

c 3. ἀγαθῆς γῆς and χείρονος are genitives of *material*.

c 5. καὶ συγκληρῶσαι . . . ἑκάτερον, "and to join together as a lot two pieces of land partnered each with its near piece or with its far piece," i.e. each piece will have a fellow, the "far" one a "near" fellow, and the "near" one a "far" fellow. So I understand Peipers (*Quaestiones Cr.* p. 96) to take the passage, and though the use of μετέχειν—"hold on to a partner"—is extraordinary, it seems better so to take it than to alter ἑκάτερον to ἑκατέρου (Ast) or ἑκατέρωθεν, either of which would be superfluous, or even to ἑκάστοτε (Schanz), "in the case of each κλήρος," which would be equally superfluous—and, besides, τοῦ τε . . . μετέχοντα would then seem a very complicated expression for τὸ μὲν ἐγγύς, τὸ δὲ πόρρω.

c 7. εἰς κλήρος: again I would follow Peipers (p. 97) in rejecting εἰς κλήρος as an intruder from the margin. The only possible way of explaining it, if it be retained, seems to be to supply συγκληρωθήσεται in thought from the previous συγκληρῶσαι. Ast's ἔστω would not account for the *datives*. On the other hand, if only a comma be placed after ἑκάτερον, and εἰς κλήρος be omitted, the next two clauses fall quite smoothly into their places.

d 2. μηχανᾶσθαι δὲ . . . διανομῆς, "likewise in arranging the separate halves we must regulate the proportion of poor soil to rich, of which we spoke just now, using differences of size to produce equality"—i.e. the poverty and richness of the soil must vary inversely as the size. Not that each half κλήρος must be equal to its fellow half, but that the near halves should be equal, and the far halves too. τὸ φαυλότητός τε καὶ ἀρετῆς χώρας is

“the matter of the poverty etc. of the land,” and, by a natural, though apparently unexampled expansion of this idiom, Plato makes *νυνδὴ λεγόμενον* agree with the *τό*. Ast and Schanz do not believe this expansion possible, and insert *περί*—Ast before *φauλ.* and Schanz after *χώρας*. Stallb. makes the gen. by itself equal to the gen. with *περί*, comparing *Rep.* 576 d 7. But this does not mean the same thing; it is not “what he said above,” but the “matter” itself, which is the object of *μηχανᾶσθαι*.—The expression is like *τὸ τῆς τέχνης* at *Gorg.* 450 c. The article is probably left out here because, if put with one of the three nouns, it must have been put with all. At *Eur. Phoen.* 403, in a similar expression, we have *τὰ φίλων* for *τὰ τῶν φίλων*, and at *Herc. Fur.* 633 *τὰνθρώπων* for *τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*.—*δίχα τμήμασι* is equivalent to a compound. (Ought we possibly to read *διχοτμήμασι*?)

**d 5.** The MS. *νείμασθαι*—Fic. “*dividere*”—would have to usurp the sense of the *act.* here, “we must divide the *men* too into twelve bodies”; if not, how is *συνταξάμενον* to be explained? Schanz holds that there is a lacuna after *μέρη*. I believe that Plato wrote *νεῖμαι*.—As at e 1 above the MSS. vary between *δὴ* and *δεῖ*; this time A is right, and O wrong.—*τήν*: with this I think we are meant to supply *διανομήν*, as suggested by *διανομῆς* and *νεῖμαι* just before. (Ast would supply *κτηῆσιν*, or, in preference, change *τήν* into *τά*.)—*ἄλλης*, “superfluous,” i.e. over and above the *κλήρος*.

**d 6.** *εἰς ἴσα τὰ δώδεκα μέρη*, “(arranging the distribution) so as to make the twelve tribes equal (in wealth).” (No need with Schanz to reject *τά*.)—This division would spread the rich men equally throughout the twelve tribes.

**d 8.** The twelve Gods are to have their *κλήροι* as well as the citizens. This assigning of each territorial division to a patron deity would foster tribal patriotism, and prevent separate coalitions amongst either the *rich* or the *poor* throughout the state.

**e 1.** *λαχόν*: see L. & S. s.v. § V.

**e 4.** *νέμεσθαι ἕκαστον*: there is a change of subject here. “Each citizen is to possess two houses.”

**e 5.** All edd. now adopt Boeckh’s correction of the MS. *κατοίκησιν* to *κατοίκισιν*. Cp. above 683 a 1 and a 6.

**e 7.** *ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου*: Stallb. cps. *Euthyd.* 282 a.

**e 8.** *τὰ νῦν εἰρημένα πάντα κτλ.*, “all the arrangements suggested above are not likely ever to find just the conditions which will ensure that they should all be carried out quite literally.”

e 9. οὕτω (“quite”) goes with κατὰ λόγον—as in the phrase ἀπλῶς οὕτως at 633 c 9.

746 a 1. ἄνδρας τε here, and ἔτι δὲ χώρας . . . μεσότητάς τε καὶ . . . οἰκήσεις at a 6 introduce the two main divisions into which the above-mentioned “arrangements” fall—the accusatives being in each case in apposition to σύμπαντα. (Stallb. takes μεσ. and οἰκ. to be governed by ἔχοντες.)

a 4 f. χρυσοῦ: here regarded as an ornament.—The two clauses which express what the “men” will not submit to have—limited money, and limited families—are balanced by two clauses which express what the men will not submit to be deprived of—i.e. decorative gold, and other luxuries which the legislator will evidently forbid.—προστάξων is rather strangely used for “add to the list of things forbidden.” (Badham proposes to read ἕτερα ἄ, regarding it as the second out of three things which are not likely σύμπαντα συμβῆναι γεγόμενα, i.e. (1) ἄνδρας τε κτλ., (2) καὶ ἕτερα and (3) ἔτι δὲ χώρας κτλ. But things ἃ δῆλος ὁ νομοθέτης προστάξων are not of the nature of things which may be expected not to happen. They are within the power of the legislator, to ordain or not as he sees fit.

a 6. Here we have the usual chiasmus: it is the city which is to be in the middle, in the ideally arranged state, and it is to have dwellings arranged “all over the country” round it. The plural μεσότητας is chosen perhaps to balance the plural οἰκήσεις, and to avoid the two short syllables at the end of μεσότητά τε, and, though strange, it can be explained as “central positions for all states which have a city.” (I think it is possible though that we ought to read μεσότητά τε.—Wagner would read μεσαιτάτας, in agreement with οἰκήσεις; the superlative seems hardly natural.)

a 7. οἶον ὀνείρατα λέγων, ἢ πλάττων καθάπερ ἐκ κηροῦ: Stallb. aptly cps. Rep. 471 c, where Socrates is said to have forgotten to show ὡς δυνατὴ αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία γενέσθαι, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ποτὲ δυνατὴ.—Burnet has rightly gone back to the arrangement of the older interpreters—e.g. Ficinus and Ast—in putting the comma after πάντη instead of before it.

b 1 f. χρὴ δ' . . . τὰ τοιάδε, “he” (the legislator) “must go over his ground again in the following manner.”—It looks as if this and the following sentence were two alternative ways of saying the same thing. Plato can hardly have meant both to stand as they are. (Schneider, Wagner, Stallb., and Schanz prefer the δὲ πάντα λαμβάνειν of A to the ἐπαναλαμβάνειν of L and O. Schneider translates: “sed opus est ut quisque haec secum reputet.” In so

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**d 3—e 3.** I think the key to the explanation of this very difficult passage is to be found in Stallbaum's suggestion that τοῦτ' αὐτό in d 3 is τὸ ὁμολογούμενον αὐτὸ αὐτῷ—or rather “*the need for self-consistency*”; but he did not follow out this idea far enough. He stopped at the word πεντακισχιλίων, whereas the reference to this self-consistency is not made clear until we get to the words ἔμμετρα, and ἀλλήλοις σύμφωνα, at e 2. The main part of the sentence I take to be this: προθυμητέον ἰδεῖν τίνα τρόπον πάντα ταῦτα ἔμμετρα καὶ ἀλλήλοις σύμφωνα δεῖ τὸν νόμον τάττειν. πάντα ταῦτα “resumes” τὰ δώδεκα μέρη καὶ τὰ τούτοις συνεπόμενα (including the μέτρα etc.)—ὅθεν . . . σταθμά being, as Burnet marks it, a parenthesis.—I believe that for the MS. τὴν δόξαν τῆς we ought to read τῆς δοξάσης—μετά would then mean “in conjunction with” instead of “in sequence to.”—δῆλον I take to agree with τρόπον.—αὐτοῦ, if genuine, must be the adverb (as in ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ, κατ' οἴκου αὐτοῦ), but I prefer to accept Stallbaum's suggestion that it is a mistake for αὐ. We may translate: “That very self-consistency we must now do our best to consider in conjunction with the proposed division of the state into twelve parts, inquiring in what conspicuous way the twelve parts, which in their turn admit of being divided in very many ways,—these and their immediate subdivisions, and those which spring from them, until we get down to the 5040 individual citizens—and such divisions will give you your φρατρίαι, your δῆμοι, and your κῶμαι, and besides these, your military divisions, whether for battle or the march, yes, and your money-values and your measures, whether of solids, liquids, or weights—how all these, I say, are so to be fixed by law as to harmonize with and to fit in with each other.”

Hermann proposes a very ingenious emendation of δῆλον δῆ, i.e. διελεῖν δεῖ; and upon this Wagner founds a still more ingenious explanation, which some may prefer to that given above. It is that the original text ran: τὸ τίνα τρόπον διελεῖν δεῖ τὰ δώδεκα μέρη. δῆλον δῆ κατὰ μέρη τῶν ἐντὸς κτλ., and that, owing to the similarity of the two clauses, διελεῖν . . . μέρη was accidentally omitted. (He does not explain how κατὰ then became τὰ δώδεκα.) He then takes πλείστας as a true superlative: “clearly you will split them up into the parts which have the greatest number of divisions”—he accepts Ast's αὐτῶν for αὐτοῦ.—This explanation is more natural (than that given above) *so far*, but it does not accommodate itself so well to what follows.—As to πλείστας διανομάς in d 5, 420 ( $\frac{1}{12}$  of 5040) is divisible by 1, 2, 3, 4,

5, 6, 7, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20, and 21, to say nothing of larger numbers.

**d 7.** φρατρίας καὶ δήμους καὶ κώμας: the first, as in Athens, would be a *personal* division, founded on blood-relationship; the last two are *local* ones. Herm. *De vest.*, in commenting on the adoption of these familiar terms, reminds us that Aristotle, *Poet.* 1448 a 35, says that κώμη is the Spartan word for what the Athenians called δῆμος. On this passage of Ar. Bywater quotes Isocr. 149 a διελόμενοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατὰ κώμας, τὴν δὲ χώραν κατὰ δήμους. This does not seem to have been Plato's idea, for below at 848 c the δώδεκα κῶμαι are evidently *in the country*.

**e 1.** A<sup>2</sup> made a bad suggestion in changing ἀγωγάς to ἀγῶνας. Cp. 819 c 4 εἰς τε τὰς τῶν στρατοπέδων τάξεις καὶ ἀγωγάς. The arrangement of an army *on the march* differs from the battle order.

**e 3.** O<sup>2</sup> makes a natural but quite unnecessary suggestion that for νόμον we ought to read νομοθέτην.

**e 4.** δείσαντα follows the construction noticed above on 643 a 6, and 688 e 5, of the acc. of the agent after a verbal adj. in -τέον.—τὴν δόξασαν ἂν γίγνεσθαι μικρολογίαν, “what might appear to be a peddling minuteness.”

**e 6.** The *standardizing* of the parts of machinery, due largely to Sir Joseph Whitworth, has conferred incalculable benefits on modern mechanical engineering. (We want a world-lawgiver to-day, to ordain a metric system on a duodecimal basis.)—καὶ κοινῷ λόγῳ νομίσαντα: advantage is taken of the fact that δείσαντα has preceded, and the construction is continued; but the connexion with the main verb (φοβητέα ἐστί) is not the same. In translating we must begin afresh, as Ficinus does—“*Et communi ratione censeat, etc.*”—Schanz would slightly mitigate the ἀνακόλουθον by omitting πάντα in e 5.

**747 a 2.** ὅσα ἐν ἑαυτοῖς: i.e. pure arithmetic; ὅσα ἐν μήκεσι καὶ ἐν βάθεσι: plane and solid geometry. Then follow the numerical aspects of the sciences of harmony and kinetics.

**a 5.** πρὸς ταῦτα πάντα βλέψαντα: i.e. in view of this general applicability (πρὸς πάντα χρησίμους a 1) the lawgiver must insist on the importance of this *standardizing* (συντάξεως). The reason is that men's minds will be accustomed to think of each number *as having certain* relations to other numbers.

**b 1 ff.** “For home life, for public life, for all kinds of arts and crafts, the most efficacious branch of education is mathematics. But the great point is that it wakes up the sleepy and stupid nature, and makes it quick, and mindful, and shrewd; the



improvement upon its original self is miraculous." For the usefulness and intellectual effect of mathematics cf. below 819 c 6 καὶ πάντως χρησιμωτέρους αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγρηγορότας μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπεργάζεται. Cp. also *Rep.* 522 c, 525 c, and 526 a 8.

**b 5.** The use of παρά is much the same as above at 693 b 1 τί παρὰ ταῦτα ἔδει πράττειν ἄλλο, and grows out of the meaning *in comparison with* which is often found in παρ' ἄλληλα, e.g. *Rep.* 435 a; cp. above 729 e 4. (Wagner translates: "indem er, vermögen dieser göttlichen Kunst, gegen seine Natur Fortschritte macht.")

**b 6.** ἄλλοις is almost our "further."

**b 7.** τις: our "you."

**b 8.** αὐτά is, of course, mathematical proficiency.

**c 2.** τὴν καλουμένην ἂν τις πανουργίαν ἀντὶ σοφίας ἀπεργασάμενος λάθοι, "you would find, to your surprise, that you had made a regular rogue of him, instead of a philosopher." τὴν καλουμένην = "regular," "professional."

**c 5.** ἄλλων, as at b 6, denotes the rest of the habits and influences (besides mathematics) which mould the dispositions of these unpopular Semites. Cp. *Rep.* 436 a τὸ φιλοχρήματον ὃ περὶ τοὺς τε Φοίνικας εἶναι καὶ τοὺς κατὰ Αἴγυπτον φαίη τις ἂν οὐχ ἦκιστα.

**c 6.** κτημάτων ἀνελευθερίας is put for φιλοχρηματίας—"owing to the debasing effect of the rest of their pursuits, and of their wealth." (The Egyptians got no further in their "geometry" after they had learnt enough to make practical land-surveyors. It was the "free" spirit of the Greek which built mathematical science on this foundation.)

**c 7.** Without ἂν this sentence would mean "whether it was a bad lawgiver who did it"; the ἂν makes it "whether it might have been a bad lawgiver who did it . . ." (Steph. would change the ἂν to αὖ Ast would read ἐξεργάσαιτο for ἐξηργάσατο, Stallb. confines the force of ἂν to γινόμενος, Schanz changes it to δή.)

**d 1.** εἴτε καὶ φύσις ἄλλη τις τοιαύτη, "or even some natural influence of such a tendency apart from these." One such possible influence, as he proceeds to say, is that of locality.

**d 3.** The οὐκ, which Ast would reject, is established by all MSS., and by those of Galen and Stobaeus. Stallb. rightly defends it as the same negative which is put in after ἀπαρνείσθαι, and cites similar negatives at *Prot.* 350 d and *Philebus* 26 d, where they are inserted after ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ὠμολόγησα, and οὐκ

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γινόμενον. Like the τοὺς in all MSS. at d 1, the mistake was due to a careless assimilation to a neighbouring word. L has γινόμενα.

**b 5-c 2.** The main idea of this difficult paragraph is: “the sharper the instrument, the more dangerous it is in inefficient hands.” The main difficulty lies in the infinitive clause τοῦ . . . νόμοις, which depends on οὐδὲν πλεον ἂν συμβαίνοι. The context shows, I think, conclusively that Plato’s general meaning is: “no advantage can spring from a well-equipped city’s well-made laws, if it appoints incapable magistrates to administer them.” The construction is hard to grasp, but I do not think it is improved if with Steph. we change τοῦ to ἐκ τοῦ, or with Schramm (who is followed by Hermann, Wagner, and Schanz), we change τοῦ into τῷ. We may say, I think, that the gen. τοῦ ἐπιστήσαι is “prospectively” or “proleptically” attracted by τεθέντων. Riddell (*Dig.* § 27) calls it “a genitive placed at the beginning of a construction, for the sake of premising mention of it, without any grammatical justification of the gen.”—A minor difficulty arises in connexion with the gen. abs. clause μεγάλου . . . ἔργου. Wagner translates “*inasmuch as*” (*da*),—Jowett, and probably the Latin translators, by “*although . . . lawgiving is a hard task,*” or “*an important matter.*” I think the former is preferable to the latter, but that, though the syntax would allow either, and μέγα ἔργον is often thus used, the hint of the εὖ παρεσκευασμένην and the emphatic position of μεγάλου entitle us to translate: “where the product of lawgiving is an elaborate one”—the τοῦ belonging to ἔργου being left out for rhythm’s sake. For μέγα ἔργον in the sense of “grand achievement” cp. *Symp.* 178 d. I would translate the whole clause: “that, where your code of laws is an elaborate one, what follows if a well-equipped state sets inefficient officers to administer its well-made laws is this: not only does it reap no benefit from their excellence, and become a laughing-stock to the world, but you may be pretty sure (σχεδόν) that states in such a condition would find such laws particularly dangerous and injurious.” (Heindorf’s ‘idea, which Ast adopts, that ἀρχὰς ἐπιτηδείους ἔχειν has fallen out before <ἐκ> τοῦ is sufficiently refuted by Hermann in his critical note. The whole passage is unintelligible if we do not grasp the fact that νομοθεσία and ἀρχῶν κατάστασις are two quite distinct things.—F.H.D. suggests that εὖ τεθέντων is a “gloss.”)

**c 4.** I think τοῦτο refers back, and means “the danger of having incapable magistrates appointed.”

c 6. βάσανον . . . εἶναι δεδωκότας: further references to the (Athenian) δοκιμασία occur at 754 d 1 and 755 d 6.

c 8. The correction of A's αὐτοὺς to αὖ τοὺς was made in some MSS., and in all the printed editions.—The periphrastic εἶναι δεδωκότας, is peculiar.

c 9. Ast suggested that τε is a mistake for δεῖ. Schanz held that τεθράφθαι and τε ought both to be rejected; but, though there is some tautology in τεθράφθαι πεπαιδευμένους, it is awkward to suppose the εἶναι from c 8 to be supplied in thought with πεπαιδευμένους. Hermann and Burnet think it better, with Stallbaum, to bracket only τε. It is hard to believe that anyone deliberately inserted the τε: it must be due to careless writing; either the scribe's eye was caught by the τε in the next line, or he unconsciously repeated the first syllable of τετράφθαι, which came after another -θαι. (Ficinus's "esse educatos" gives some support to Schanz's view.)—ἐν ἡθεσι νόμων: cp. 625 a 5 ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοιούτοις ἡθεσι τέθραφθε νομικοῖς σύ τε καὶ ὄδε. Good laws breed good characters and habits of mind in those who live under them.

d 1. For the MS. τοὺς see above on a 4.—κρίνειν καὶ ἀποκρίνειν: the usual chiasmus. The latter verb is used in the same sense at 961 b 6.

d 3. ταῦτα δέ is adverbial, and seems here to have the meaning "but in this case"; cp. 873 a 3.

d 7 ff. ἀλλὰ γὰρ . . . φαίνοιτο: in other words "what we began in a speculative, imaginative vein, has turned into reality, and we have now gone too far to retreat; your state we must found, under whatever disadvantages. Even the imagination too has claims. I don't like to leave my fancy picture unfinished."—The omission of the φασὶν in the MSS. was probably due to its similarity to the last two syllables of the preceding word; it was recovered from a scholiast's quotation of this passage in his commentary on *Crat.* 421 d.

e 1. μὲν δὴ: "μὲν balances δέ (after ἐγώ), and should not be taken with δὴ in the ordinary sense of the collocation μὲν δὴ." Adam on μὲν δὴ in a similar passage at *Rep.* 556 b.

752 a 1. κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἡμῖν τὰ νῦν μυθολογίαν: cp. above on 712 a 4, b 2, 736 b 6. Most translators take μυθολογία to mean conversation (Ficinus, Schneider, Wagner, and L. & S. s.v.), but it is clear that the Ath. regards his function to be that of providing the ideal to which the actual is to conform as far as may be. His proposal when the conversation began, and as it developed,

was to *draw a picture* of a perfect polity. At first it was all "make-believe" and the make-believe is not all to be given up, even now.

**a 3.** *πλανώμενος . . . φαίνοιτο*, "if it went about the world without a head, it would look hideous." For the metaphor cp. *Gorg.* 505 d, *Phaedr.* 264 c, *Phil.* 66 d, *Tim.* 69 b. The scribe of A did not understand this passage; he put a stop after *πλανώμενος* and left out the *γάρ* which we owe to L and O. They also preserve the reading *καταλίπομι*, which A<sup>2</sup> altered to *καταλείπομι*. After the *ἄν* with *πλανώμενος* and the *ἄν* in the preceding line it is natural that the *ἄν* with *φαίνοιτο* should be omitted. Ast (who conjectures *ἄν ἀπαντᾶ*) adds it, and so Cod. Voss. Heindorf's *ἄπαντι* for *ἀπάντη* is not lightly to be rejected, but *πλανώμενος* seems to want an amplification more than *φαίνοιτο*. Herm. would reject *ἀπάντη*.

**a 6.** *οὐ μόνον γε ἀλλά*: for the ellipse Stallb. cps. *Phil.* 23 b, *Phaedo* 107 b.

**a 8.** The repetition of this reservation (cp. above 739 e 5 and 632 e 7), coupled with a reference to the author's age, is a pathetic indication of his fears that he might not live to complete his task satisfactorily.

**b 2 ff.** *ἐπόμενοι κτλ.*, "with his help we will not forget." "What?" "What a bold stroke our present attempt at state-founding will prove."

**b 7.** *περὶ τί βλέπων . . . αὐτὸ εἶρηκας*; "on what subject are you thinking in saying so?" and the *ὡς* in the answer depends on a supplied *βλέπων*: "(I am thinking) how, etc." *καὶ ποῖ μάλιστα (βλέπων)* is "and *why* do you say so?" Stephanus's *πρός* for *περὶ* amounts to saying the same thing twice, for *πρὸς τί* is here just the same as *ποῖ*; Badham's transposition of *καὶ ποῖ* to the place before *βλέπων* (which Schanz adopts) would make it less clear that *βλέπων* has to be supplied in thought with the following *ὡς*. The two questions are answered chiastically: "I say we are venturesome because our future citizens will find our laws new and strange, and what I am afraid of is that they will reject them."

**b 10.** *ὅπως δέξονταιί ποτε*, "in the hope that they will manage to accept."

**c 1 ff.** As explained above (751 c 8 ff.) no *elector* can choose magistrates properly who is not imbued with the spirit of the *laws* they will have to administer. Manifestly this will not be the case with the new colonists. There must be an interregnum to allow a generation to grow up who have acquired familiarity with the new

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Hermann's *ιστώσιν* for the MS. *στώσιν* in d 7. The subject to *κατοικίζετε* is not "you and Megillus," for there is no reason to regard them apart from the trio, but "you Cretans," or "you Cnossians," and, as Cleinias is a Cnossian (cp. 702 c 4), *you* must be supplied as the subject of *ἐπιμεληθῆναι*. But the subject of *ιστώσιν* must be *they*, i.e. the Cnossians. A still more decisive reason against *ιστώσιν* is that the Ath. does not explain until the following paragraph *who* is to appoint the magistrates. It is only then that we find that the appointment is to be made by the Cnossians alone. Cp. 754 c.

**d 6.** τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς: this acc., which furnishes the main support of Herm.'s conjecture *ιστώσιν*, is intelligible, I think, with *στώσιν*. The construction whereby what should be the subj. of a dependent sentence is put in the acc. is a stereotyped one, something resembling the *acc. c. inf.* Cp. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1148 καί μοι τὸν νῆδον εἰ μεμάθηκε τὸν λόγον ἐκείνον εἴφ', and 1115 τοὺς κριτὰς ἃ κερδανούσιν . . . βουλόμεσθ' ἡμεῖς φράσαι, where Blaydes unnecessarily conjectures τοῖς κριταῖς.—Along with this question we may consider the reading in e 1 where A has *ανμιν*, and L and O ἄν ἡμῖν—and so A<sup>2</sup>—and the vulgate is δ' ἄν ἡμῖν. ἄν has no place here, and Steph. (followed by Ast and Wagner) changed it to αῦ, while Herm. (followed by Schanz and Burnet) discards it, supposing it to have arisen from a mistaken reading of δ'. I would suggest that ἄν μιν is almost as likely to be a mistake for δ' ὑμῖν as for δ' ἡμῖν, and that the former would suit the context better.

**d 7.** τὰς ἄλλας must be supposed to be under the government of an αἰρεῖσθαι.

**e 1.** καί, "merely."—νομοφύλακας: for the functions of the Athenian officers of this title cp. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, vol. v. (ch. xlvi.) p. 226 f. One of their chief duties seems to have been to keep the ordinary magistrates "up to the mark." Ritter compares *Epist.* viii. 356 d where it is proposed to give to thirty-five νομοφύλακες the decision of war or peace, and of sentences of death and exile. Above at 671 d, as R. says, it is not an official title, but a general description of men who enforce particular laws. (The following passage from p. 161 of Lord Acton's *Lectures on the French Revolution* describes a similar constitutional device to that of Plato's νομοφύλακες: "He" (the Abbé Sieyès) "mitigated democracy by another remarkable device. The Americans have made the guardians of the law into watchers on the lawgiver, giving to the judiciary power to preserve the Constitution against

the legislature. Sieyès invented a special body of men for the purpose, calling them the Constitutional Jury, and including not judges, for he suspected those who had administered the ancient law of France, but the *élite* of veteran politicians.”) : Wagner well reminds us, in this connexion, of the use of the term φύλακες in the *Republic* — first introduced there at 374 e. The φύλακες παντελείς of 414 b, and the τέλειοι φύλακες of 428.d correspond to the νομοφύλακες of the *Laws*.

**e 5.** τῶν πολλῶν πόλεων : a reminiscence of ἑκατόμπολις, the Homeric epithet of Κρήτη.

**e 8.** Ficinus confirms Steph.’s ἐποικησόντων for the MS. ἐποικησάντων, for he translates τῶν ἀφικομένων by “qui convenere,” and τῶν ἐπ. by “qui habitabunt.” I think we should follow him.

**753 a 3.** Schanz may be right in thinking τῆ a mistake for τινι, especially as in A the ι of τῆι is in an erasure ; still, τῆ μετ. δυν. might well mean “by means of the power which they are entitled to exercise.”

**a 6.** ἐκοινωνησάτην : for the termination see above on 705 d 5.

**a 7.** μέγα φρονούσιν : in saying that the enterprise was “beneath the dignity” of Athens and Sparta, the Athenian may well have meant to hint that the interference of two such great powers would be dangerous to the independence of the new state, to say nothing of the possible want of harmony between them.

**a 9 f.** καὶ τοῖς . . . λεγόμενα, “and this remark applies equally to the other founders, as do the proposals just made about yourself,” i.e. the nine other Cnossians, mentioned above at 702 c 5, are also to be induced to become citizens of the new state. It is a question whether we ought not to put a comma after ἔχει. Serranus, Schneider and Stallb. are right in taking οἰκισταῖς to mean *conditoribus*. Ficinus and other translators take it to mean simple “colonists.” The mistake of λέγομεν for λεγόμενα seems to have originated with Ald. No MS. has it, and Ficinus translates the true reading.

**b 1.** Both A and O seem to have copied from a text which had μὲν νῦν instead of μὲν οὔν, but both corrected the error early.

**b 2.** εἰρήσθω (cp. 814 d 8) is equivalent to our “so much for . . .” The question *how* the “interregnum” νομοφύλακες are to be elected is re-opened below at d 7. But he considers it important to give details of the *normal* election proceedings first.

**b 6.** ἐν ταῖς σφετέραις αὐτῶν τῆς ἡλικίας δυνάμεσιν, “while their ages permitted,” i.e. the electors are to be all who are serving



(ὄπλα τιθῶνται), and all who *have served* (πολέμου κεκοινωνήκωσιν), as long as their age allowed it. Clearly it would not be intended to deprive the veterans of a vote after their retirement.

**b 7.** Inasmuch as κοινωνούντων is equivalent to δεῖ κοινωνεῖν, ποιεῖσθαι and the following infinitives are felt to be dependent on a preceding δεῖ; with φερέτω at d 4 he returns to the imperative. Cp. below 755 d 5.

**c 2.** βωμόν: Stallb. refers to Plut. *Them.* ch. 17 and *Pericles* ch. 32 for instances of votes being placed on an altar. A corrupt vote would thus be sacrilegious.

**c 4.** κατὰ ταῦτὰ οὕτως: the οὕτως is used as in ἀληθῶς οὕτως.

**c 5.** ὅτιπερ . . . γεγραμμένον: i.e. if any citizen *took objection* to any of the names proposed, he might submit it to publicly delivered magisterial decision. Any names to which such objections were sustained would be ἀποκριθέντα.

**c 7.** μὴ ἔλαττον τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν: I think this does not mean “for a period of not less than thirty days,” as most translators take it—but “within as much as thirty days.” He is to have *full thirty days* during which he may make his objection.—κριθέντα ἐν πρώτοις means the same as the subsequent προκριθέντας at d 3, and the κριθέντα implies either that the names have not been objected to, or that the objection has not been sustained. There is naturally no power of objection at the two later stages of the election.

**d 1.** φέρειν is used as at 756 c 2—φέρειν ἐνενήκοντα βουλευτάς—here in the sense of “*vote for*,” there in that of “*elect by voting*.”

**d 4.** ἐκ τῶν ἑκατόν goes with ὃν ἂν βούληται, not with ὁ βουληθείς (as Zeller).

**d 5.** διὰ τομίων πορευόμενος: this further religious sanction makes the third and definite vote a still more solemn ceremony. Stallb. well cites Dem. *Contra Aristocr.* p. 642 οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα τιν’ ὄρκον τοῦτον ποιήσει ἀλλ’ . . . στας ἐπὶ τῶν τομίων κάπρου καὶ κριοῦ καὶ ταύρου.

**d 6.** The subject of ἀποφηνάντων is οἱ ἄρχοντες which we may supply from the τοὺς ἄρχοντας at c 8 which is the subject of the infinitives δεῖξαι at c 8 and d 3.—Zeller not only makes the “semi-final” hundred *elect* the thirty-seven (from among themselves), but *preside* at the election as well; i.e. he makes them the subject of ἀποφηνάντων. Ficinus goes further and makes the thirty-seven the subject of ἀποφηνάντων; i.e. he makes them return themselves. It is the absence, in a brand-new state, of proper presiding and returning officers which necessitates the arrangements now to be

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e 8. τὸ δ' : best taken, as e.g. at 642 a, adverbially, "whereas."

754 a 1. αὐτό: i.e. τὸ ἄρξασθαι, or τὴν ἀρχήν. The two stages are distinct, as in the previous statement: "not only is any beginning," he says, "more than half the business, but a good beginning is beyond praise." Our "well begun is half done" modifies this in two directions. Cp. below 775 e 2.

a 6. Ast tells us to take εἰπεῖν with εὐπορῶ (and consequently πλήν as a preposition, and πρὸς τὸ παρόν closely with ἀναγκαίου καὶ συμφέροντος), and Ast (*Lex.*) and L. & S. s.v. quote *Phaedr.* 235 a, as if it were εὐπορῶν πολλὰ λέγειν instead of εὐπορῶν τοῦ πολλὰ λέγειν, in support of such a construction. It seems better, with Steph., to take πλήν as a conjunction, and εἰπεῖν as dependent on ἀναγκαίου καὶ συμφέροντος—ένός being governed by εὐπορῶ. (The decision between the two grammatical views is so difficult that it is not surprising that Steph. forbears, as he says, to mark his own view by the punctuation.)

b 1. πολλαὶ . . . ἔνιαι is something like the conversational English "a good few." It is hard to say whether πολλάκις goes closely with ἔνιαι, or generally with the verbs of the sentence. Ficinus's simple *multas* ignores πολλάκις ἔνιαι altogether.—A came to grief both with κατοικισθειῶν and κατοικισάσαις, writing first κατοικισέων, then κατοικισθέντων for the former, and first κατοισάσαις and then κατοικησάσαις for the latter; L and O<sup>2</sup> wrote the former correctly, L and O have κατοικησάσαις for the latter.

b 3. νῦν μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι: the sentence thus begun is never finished; ἃ δὲ . . . γεγονότα at b 7 ff. is a substitute for its conclusion; in other words ἃ δὲ νῦν "resumes" νῦν μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι.

b 4. ἐν γε τῇ παρούσῃ παιδίας ἀπορία, "while the helplessness of childhood lasts." I have followed Burnet in reading παιδίας. Even if the MS. reading παιδείας be retained, it must still mean *childhood* (not, as Jowett, "while he is in want of education"). As to the form of the word cp. Schneider on *Rep.* 537 c 1 and below, 808 e 2 and 864 d 5.

b 6. ἀναγκαίους is the emphatic word, "finds allies solely among his own connexions." Ficinus's "ad suos semper refugiens in his solis praesidium reperit" suggests that possibly οἰκείους was a marginal interpretation of ἀναγκαίους.

b 7. ἄ: i.e. the mutual affection natural between young children and their parents, and the sense of dependence on the latter felt by the former.—Κνωσίους διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν, "erga curatores eius

Gnosios" (Fic.). διὰ τ. ἐπ. does not (as Jowett) give the ground for the assertion; it is rather "thanks to their care."

c 1. ὑπάρχειν ἐτοίμως γεγονότα: for ἐτοίμως where we should have expected the adj. cp. 880 b 1.

c 2. δῆ L and O<sup>2</sup>, and so Burnet; for this Schneider adopts the γε of A and O; all other editors give the δέ of the early printed texts. Ficinus's *igitur* justifies Burnet's choice.

c 4. The construction from προσελομένους to ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν is conversational—almost slipshod.—As this is a repetition of χρῆναι . . . ταύτην at 752 e 4 ff., we are bound to take κοινῆ to mean "in conjunction with the colonists," for there we read κοινῆ μετὰ τῶν ἀφ. εἰς τ. σ. τ. In other words προσελ. τῶν εἰς τ. ἀπ. ἀφικομένων explains κοινῆ, and is a loose equivalent for μετὰ τῶν ἀφ. κτλ. at 752 e 5. (Steph. takes κοινῆ closely with προσελομένους, placing the comma before it, instead of after.)

c 8. The συν- in the verb marks the contrast with the state of things described in d 2 ff. *Before*, and during, the election the 100 Cnossians and the 100 colonists act *together*. As soon as the colony's magistrates are duly appointed, the alliance ceases.

d 4. τῶν ἐ. κ. τ.: for the partitive genitive as the predicate of εἶναι or γίνεσθαι Ast cps. 762 e 9, 948 b 1 (ὁ τοῦ μεγίστου τιμήματος), 950 e 2, 951 c 7.

d 5. ἐπὶ τοῖσδε: a little more than "for the following purposes"; ἐπί has the notion of *presiding over a certain province*, as in the phrase τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας in Dem. *Phil.* iii. 110. 22.

d 7. ὦν, for ἐν οἷς, is not too "strong" an attraction for the conversational style of the present passage.—ἀπο-, "duly."—τοῖς ἄρχουσι too is rather loose for "for the (proper) magistrates to keep"; cp. above 745 a 6 ἡ δὲ κτήσις χωρὶς τοῦ κλήρου . . . ἐν τῷ φανερωῷ γεγράφθω παρὰ φύλαξιν ἄρχουσιν.

d 8. πλὴν κτλ.: the full construction would be ἐν ᾧ ἂν ἀπογράψῃ ὁ μέγιστον τίμημα ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος τῆς αὐτοῦ οὐσίας πλὴν τεττάρων μνῶν. No man of the highest class would be held guilty of a misdemeanour if he had only understated his property by about £20. (Interpreters from Ficinus to Ast were content to hold Plato to have meant that the property of a man of the highest class *was four minae*; and that, as Hermann remarks (*De vest.* note 137), though a man of the highest class is said at 948 b 1 to be liable to a fine of twelve minae for a single offence.) In keeping with the loose style of this whole passage is the careless arrangement of subject matter, involving a repetition (as

Ritter points out) of much that we have had before in Bk. V. at pp. 744 d e, 745 a. (Schanz accepts Badham's suggestion that there is a lacuna after ἀπογράψη.)

e 4. πρὸς τούτῳ δὲ κτλ. : a comparison of 745 a shows us that, besides the confiscation of the offending sum, an equal sum was to be produced by the offender, half of which was to go to the informer, and half to Religion.

e 8. For ἐν of the *tribunal* cp. 784 d 2 ἐν δικαστηρίῳ and *Gorg.* 464 d (εἰ δέοι) ἐν παισὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι.

755 a 1. At the mention of τῶν κοινῶν κτημάτων and διανομή an Athenian citizen would think e.g. of the rents of the state silver mines, and of the διωβελία.

a 2. τοῦ κλήρου is not governed by πλήν, but by the notion "possessed of" to be supplied from ἄμοιρος; after each distribution he is to be left possessed only of his original lot.

a 7 ff. I believe that ἑβδομήκοντα should be rejected, as also the (after a 4) quite unnecessary and very awkwardly expressed μηκέτι . . . διανοηθήτω. With ὑπερβάς we must from a 5 and 6 supply πεντήκοντα. This provides a natural explanation for the apparently tautological πλέον ὑπερβάς; the πλέον is *more than ten years*.—κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον provides an antecedent to ὅπως, or, more strictly speaking, the antecedent to ὅπως is contained in the τοῦτον. We should say "and so, in proportion, according as the νομοφύλαξ has gone further (than that) beyond (the age of fifty)"; e.g. if sixty-two he has only eight years of office before him. (There seems no reason, with Hermann, to think ὅπως a more likely expression here than ὅπως.—Apelt (p. 10) would read ἅπας for ὅπως, putting a comma after it, and none before it. He justly points out that κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον must mean something more definite than "for this reason"; it means "in this proportion"; but I cannot follow him in his alteration and interpretation of the succeeding words. He translates from κατά to διανοηθ. "nach diesem Verhältniss soll jeder (nicht bloss der 60-jährige), wenn (ἂν) er (beim Antritt des Amtes) schon über 60 alt die 70 erreicht, nicht länger daran denken, dies Amt zu verwalten."—F.H.D. also holds that πλέον ὑπερβάς means "having passed (sixty) by more." Stallb. holds that ὅπως is "de tempore accipiendum," and translates "atque secundum hanc rationem, ubi quis hanc aetatem transgressus plus septuaginta annos vivat, ne jam cogitatio etc.")—As Ritter points out (p. 157), it would not happen that *exactly thirty-seven* νομοφύλακες would have to be chosen at every election, as the time of office would in many cases be shorter than

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(called here *κρίσις*). If, as is usually assumed, the generals are only to nominate twelve, the *χειροτονία* would be a farce. (One way out of the difficulty would be to suppose that *each* of the three generals is to produce a list of twelve candidates. But there is no hint of any limitation of the number of candidates in other cases, and the “*one for each tribe*” could only apply to *candidates* on the further assumption that each general must choose one of his from each tribe. F.H.D. proposes to reject *ταξίαρχον*; this would give us “twelve candidates out of each tribe.”)

e 1. *ἐκάστη φυλῆ* is the reading of L and Eus. It is strange that both A and O should have the extraordinary *ἐκάστη φυλακή*, and that the corrector of A should have got no further than putting a “*vitii nota*” in the margin.

e 2. Madvig was possibly right in inserting *ῆ* before *τῶν*, so as to bring the expression into line with that below at 756 a 7. Stallb. thinks both expressions allowable.

e 4. *τὸν δὲ σύλλογον κτλ.*: the assumption that, in ordinary circumstances, no popular assembly could be convened except by the *βουλή* and its representative officials shows us Plato here writing as an Athenian for Athenians. The dramatic standpoint is abandoned. Herm. (*De vest.* p. 39) says that for some points the *Laws* tells us more about Attic arrangements than we can get from any other source.

e 8. *πᾶν ὅσον ἐμπολέμιον* is not, as L. & S., “all who are of military age,” but, as 756 a 3 shows, “all who belong to the forces (in any capacity).”—The *ἐφεξῆς τούτοις* is not local—does not qualify *καθίσαι*, but *ἐμπολέμιον*, and takes the place of the word for “remaining” which we should expect: “all who *after* the cavalry and the hoplites have a claim to belong to the forces.”—*χειροτονούντων κτλ.*: “Unum tantum apud Platonem ab Atheniensium usu recedere videtur, quod taxiarchos a solis peditibus, hipparchos ab equitibus, inspectante tantum reliquo exercitu, creari jubet, quod Athenis ab universo populo factum esse constat” (Herm. *De vest.* p. 40).

e 9. *ἵπάρχους πάντες*: this seems to be in direct contradiction to b 1 in the next page, where we are told that *the cavalry* is to elect the *ἵπարχοι*. Many ways out of the difficulty have been suggested. Stallb., Wagn., and Madvig, whom I follow, reject *καὶ ἵπάρχους* here; Herm. rejects the account, given a few lines below, of the election of the hipparchs; Badham would read *ὑπάρχους*—“vice-generals”—here. Possibly the fact that the hoplites looked on at the election may be thought to justify the *πάντες*.

**756 a 1.** A further difficulty is presented by *τούτοις*. If, like the similarly placed datives *τούτοις* (755 b 8), *αὐτοῖσι* (d 7), *ἑαυτοῖς* (756 a 3), it means “in subordination to,” “as assistants to,” and represents *the superior officers*, there will be nothing to which this *τούτοις* clearly refers—even though we do not remove the *καὶ ἱπάρχους* with Stallb., Wagn., and Madvig. For this reason Madvig (followed by Schanz) proposed to take out the sentence *φυλ. . . αἰρείσθω* and put it after *ἱππεύοντων* (b 3). An argument against this is that at a 4 Plato seems to imply that the *only* election that had still to be arranged was that of the *ἱππαρχοι*, whereas, by this arrangement, the *φύλαρχοι* are left out as well. Of course Hermann’s athetesis of *ἱπάρχων . . . ἱππεύοντων*, if accepted, cuts away the ground for Madvig’s transposition. The difficulty is best met, I think, by Ast’s proposal to read *αὐτοῖς* for *αὐ τούτοις* (If the MS. text be left unaltered, we must suppose that its contradictions and irrelevancies are due to the absence of the author’s final revision.—F.H.D. would reject *αὐ τούτοις*.) —(*τὴν ἀσπίδα*) *τιθέμενοι*: not, as Ast, for *περιτιθέμενοι*, “*sibi induentes*,” but the same technical use which occurs above at 753 b 6, i.e. “serving as hoplites.”

**a 6.** The MSS. and the early printed edd. all had *ἀντιβολὴν* for *ἀντιπροβολὴν*, though the early translators got the meaning right. Ast was the first to correct the error.

**b 5 f.** If, after the second *recount* (i.e. the third count), the decision as to which two candidates had the largest number of votes was challenged, the tellers were to settle the matter by voting among themselves. The Aldine edition was doubtless right in correcting the MS. *τούτοις* (assimilated) to *τούτους*.—*οἷσπερ τῆς χειροτονίας μέτρον ἑκάστοις ἕκαστον ἦν*: a strange expression: “to whom severally in each case had fallen the duty of counting the hands held up.” *μέτρον ἔχειν πρὸς* at 836 a is “to provide a curb for,” “to account for,” “to be competent to deal with,” and so *μέτρον ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τῆς χειροτονίας* might well mean “it is his duty to deal with the votes.” This expression would fit in particularly well where the duty was one of *counting*.—*ἕκαστον ἑκάστοις* might mean that a separate set of tellers were appointed for each count, or merely that separate tellers dealt with separate bodies of voters.—If these tellers were merely required to settle among themselves what the result of the voting had been, they would only be resaying what they had said before. Evidently the *election was put into their hands* by the challenge of the third count. (The general view is that the words denote *the presiding magistrates*.)



**b 8.** γίγνονται ἂν πρέποντες ταῖς διανομαῖς, “will form a convenient number for our subdivisions” (e.g. the πρυτάνεις).

**c 1.** I think Stallb. and all other interpreters (except Ast) are wrong in taking τούτων to depend on τὸν ἀριθμόν, and that it depends on μέρη, while τὸν ἀριθμόν (if genuine) qualifies the numeral as at *Phil.* 17 c 12 ὅποσα ἐστὶ τὸν ἀριθμόν. Ast, quite unnecessarily, substitutes οὕτως for τούτων, appealing for support to Ficinus’s *ita ut*—“et in quattuor partes per nonaginta distribuatur, *ita ut* a censibus singulis consiliarii nonaginta ferantur.”—A change I would suggest is the rejection of the words κατὰ ἐνενηκόντα τὸν ἀριθμόν. In view of the next sentence they are superfluous, and they are awkward. An arithmetically minded commentator may well have added the words in the margin.

**c 3.** μεγίστων here, and σμικρότατον at d 1 and d 3, refer of course, not to the numbers of the classes, but to the amount of the property-qualification. We must translate by “highest” and “lowest.” He seems to use the plural and singular indifferently in the same sense.—ἅπαντας: the same as πάντα ἄνδρα at e 4. Apparently the whole community, not only the soldiers, as in the case of the election of magistrates (753 b 5).—At the first reading it looks as if from each class, on its election-day, ninety senators were chosen. But when we come to the fifth day, and the final election, we find that it is possible, out of the number voted for out of each class, to select 180. The first voting, therefore, must have been a προβολή like the first voting in the case of the νομοφύλακες described at 753 c, where everybody wrote the name of the man he wanted to elect.

**c 4.** τῇ δοξάσῃ ζημία: the same as what, at e 1 and e 5, is called ἡ πρώτη ζημία. (We may guess it to have been three drachmas.)

**c 6.** κατὰ ταῦτά καθάπερ τῇ πρόσθεν: i.e. on this, as on all the days, *the whole community voted*. At *Pol.* 1266 a 14 ff., Aristotle describes the arrangement for the election of the βουλή given in Plato’s *Laws*. At e 16 he gives ἴσους (i.e. βουλευτάς) as representing this κατὰ ταῦτά κ. τ. π. *Either*, then, Aristotle made the same mistake as Muretus, Stallb., and others—i.e. understood the fixed number of ninety senators to have been elected on each day—or Nickes is right in emending ἴσους to ἴσως. (See Susemihl and Hicks ad loc.)

**e 1 f.** We may conclude that, on the third day, when the candidates from the third class were being nominated, a member of the third class who failed to vote was fined *double* the πρώτη ζημία.

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and with the three preceding words is equivalent to our phrases "being placed in the same class," "being judged to deserve equal honour." We may translate: "slaves and masters will never make friends, nor will worthless and worthy to whom equal honour is awarded—for equal treatment results in inequality when it is given to what is unequal—unless given in a due measure—and both those two false relationships are the fruitful sources of civic discord." τοῖς ἀνίσοις is not, as Wagner takes it, an instrumental dative—"durch das Ungleiche"—but a common dative of the recipient.

a 3. εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τοῦ μέτρου: the *really* equal treatment is that which takes cognizance of the inequality of the recipients; so we read above at 744 c 2 that if honour and power are bestowed with discrimination, they are bestowed with *real equality* (ὡς ἰσαίτατα). We use the same metaphor, in almost the same phrase, when we talk of a man's being "*equal to*" or "*unequal to*" his position or his task.—Proper weight should be assigned to the τυγχάνοι; the idea of *due proportion* is contained partly in the verb, which means to "*hit the mark*." (Campbell, on *Politicus* 284 d, says of this passage: "here we seem to find the point of transition from the Platonic to the Aristotelian μεσότης.")

a 4. διὰ . . . ἀμφοτέρα ταῦτα: not, as Jowett, *equality* and *inequality*, but, as Ritter (p. 161 f.), the two varieties of ἀνισότης which are found, one in the σφόδρα δουλεία or δεσποτεία of absolute rule, and the other in the σφόδρα ἐλευθερία of complete democracy. Both these relationships provoke rebellion in different ways. Both are equally unstable political conditions, because incompatible with the φιλία without which we have often been told that no community can cohere. (Cp. 693 b 4, 697 c 9, 699 c 1, 701 d 9, 743 c 6.)

a 5–c 6. παλαιὸς . . . κατὰ λόγον, "There is real philosophy in the true old saying that equality is the mother of friendship, but the ambiguity as to which kind of equality it is which has this effect leads to grievous mistakes. There are two sorts of equality, which go by the same name, but in action produce in many cases virtually opposite results. Any ordinary state or lawgiver can employ the one in bestowing dignities. All that is necessary is to use the lot, and so distribute them by the indiscriminate impartiality of numbers and scale. But the truest and best kind of equality is hidden from the ordinary sight. None but the divine eye can discern it. Man's vision cannot penetrate far enough to help him much; but what he can see of

it is of priceless value to states and to individuals. To the greater it gives more; to the lesser less, adapting its gift in due proportion to the nature of each, and when it comes to honours, it assigns the higher ones to those whose worth is higher, and whenever it deals with those who are deficient in disciplined virtue it gives them their fit share, all in due proportion" (reading *ἐκάστοτε* in c 5).

**a 5.** *ἰσότης φιλότητα ἀπεργάζεται*: this proverb, says Plato, might seem to prove that if men are placed on an equal footing, they must thereby be made friends. In effect, he says, this result would only follow if they are *rightly* so placed. In other words, the real meaning of the proverb is no more than "like will to like."

**b 4.** *μέτρῳ . . . καὶ σταθμῷ καὶ ἀριθμῷ*: what Lord Acton (*Fr. Rev.* 161) calls "by coarse and obvious arithmetic."

**b 6.** In just this spirit Sir Henry Taylor's Philip van Artevelde says: "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." So, too, Coleridge:

"It sounds like stories from the land of spirits,  
If any man obtain that which he merits,  
Or any merit that which he obtains."

(Cp. Aristotle on τὸ διανεμητικὸν δίκαιον in *Eth. Nic.* v. 1131 b 27.)

**b 7.** The scholiast on *Gorg.* 508 a (*ἡ ἰσότης ἡ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ ἐν θεοῖς καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις μέγα δύναται*) says: *τουτέστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη ταύτην δὲ τὴν γεωμετρικὴν ἀναλογίαν Διὸς κρίσιν ἐν Νόμοις ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς δὲ αὐτῆς τῶν πάντων κεκριμένων τε καὶ ὠρισμένων.*—*αἰεὶ* is almost "as a matter of fact."

**b 8.** The subject of *ἐπαρκεῖ* is not *ἰσότης*, nor *Διὸς κρίσις*, but *ἰσότητος κρίσις*, the power of discerning the true equality, whereby each man would be treated proportionally to his merit.—*πᾶν ὅσον ἂν ἐπαρκέσῃ*: lit. "every bit of help it gives."

**c 5.** *ἀρετῆς τε καὶ παιδείας* is a kind of hendiadys—"disciplined virtue"; the great object of all training is *ἀρετή*.—It is quite possible that, in order not to overweight the sentence, Plato did not complete the parallel, but left what was missing to be extracted from the general summary that follows. Steph., however, thought that some words must have fallen out after *παιδείας*, and Ast thinks they were *ἥττους διδοῦσα*. Schanz marks a lacuna after *παιδείας*. Ficinus translates: "minoribus autem virtute et disciplina minores." I suspect that we ought to read *ἐκάστοτε* for *ἐκατέροις* (due to the preceding *ἐκατέρῳ*);

then all is in order. (F.H.D. would keep *ἐκατέροις*, but put a dash after *παιδείας*.)—For *κατὰ λόγον* see above on 755 a 7 *κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον*.

c 6. *ἔστιν γὰρ κτλ.*, “denn es ist doch wohl auch die Staatsklugheit für uns stets das Recht an sich” (Wagner). Plato will not recognize a statecraft that is not founded on just principles.—“Honesty is the best policy” is another variant of the same theme.

d 2. *ταῦτὸν τοῦτο*: i.e. the “just policy” just enunciated as such, and expressed in the next line but one by the words *τὸ δίκαιον*.—*σκοπούμενον πρὸς* is “in the interest of.”

d 3. For the *ἦ . . . τι* cp. above on 643 b 8.

d 4. *τὸ κατὰ φύσιν ἴσον ἀνίσοις ἐκάστοτε δοθέν*, “the sort of equality meted out by Nature’s decree to the unequal”; *ἴσον* here is used in the sense of “fair.”

d 5 ff. *ἀναγκαῖόν γε, μὴν κτλ.*: as Ritter says (p. 163), *ἀναγκαῖον* here has somewhat the meaning “the best we can do”; this use is further discussed in his note on p. 173, where he refers, among other passages, to 628 d 1, and e 6 below.—*πόλιν ἅπασαν*: not, I think, as Jowett, “every city,” but as Wagner, “der gesammte Staat”; the implication is that the *state* need not be so precise in its use of terms as the *individual*. We may translate: “When, however, a community as a whole applies these terms”—those of *natural equality* and *civic justice*—“it must be content sometimes to use them in a modified sense unless it is willing to admit a certain amount of civic discord in its midst—(all) *equity and indulgence are infractions of the perfect and strict rule of justice*”—(the last words in italics are Jowett’s). (F.H.D. and A.M.A. prefer “every state” for *π. ἅπ.*)

d 6. *παρωνυμίωσι*: predicative. The relaxation from the true sense of the word *ἰσότης* is *in the direction* of the spurious *ἰσότης* which holds that all men have an equal right to power and honour. As explained at 756 e 5 ff., such an equal chance is to be given within a strictly limited area.

e 1. *γάρ* is not “for,” but “you know.” Burnet properly indicates the relation of this clause to the preceding one by marking it as a parenthesis. The *reasons* why the lot is to be introduced into the political machinery are threefold: (1) because man’s judgement of character and worth cannot be trusted very far (b 7); (2) because the *temper* of both rulers and ruled will not always stand the strain of the position (e 4); and (3) because, by so doing, we invoke the guidance of Heaven” (e 4 f.). Of these

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rendered in English by beginning the second with “No.”—τὸν πλείστον τοῦ χρόνου: Burnet is the first editor who has ventured to restore the idiomatic τόν of A and O for the vulgate τό.

**b 6.** Though at d 3 he calls this twelfth part of the βουλή τὸ προκαθήμενον τῆς πόλεως, he does not until 760 b 1 use for them the Athenian term πρυτάνεις.

**b 7.** ἐν ἐφ’ ἐνί, “severally” (lit. ἐν μέρος ἐφ’ ἐνὶ μηνί). (Fic. takes it to mean “one (part) after another.”)—The αὐτοὺς which Steph. and Ast print for the MS. αὐτοὺς involves a change of subject for the infin., which is the more awkward because νείμαντας manifestly agrees with the vague “they” or “we” which is the subj. of εἶναι. (If not, they ought to have printed αὐτῶν as well.)

**c 1–5.** ἰόντι τε . . . τὰς ἀποκρίσεις: Plato’s preference for a chiasmic arrangement makes it probable that the ἀγγέλλειν is supposed to be the task of the man ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως, while the πυνθάνεσθαι takes place at the interview with the ἰόντι τινὶ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν.

**c 2.** ἐτοίμως ἐπιτυχεῖν, “so as to meet at short notice,” is expegetic to παρέχειν αὐτοὺς φύλακας. (H. Richards would read ἐτοίμους. It is hard to see how so simple a reading as that could have been altered to the more difficult—and recherché—adverb.)

**d 1.** For μάλιστα μὲν, “if possible,” cp. 830 d 4; literally it is “for choice.”—ὅτι τάχιστα qualifies αἰσθομένης; the early revelation of a seditious plot is of cardinal importance.

**d 2.** Winckelmann’s δι’ αἶ explains the MS. διὰ—which the vulgate διὸ does not—and has been rightly approved by Wagner, and adopted by Schanz and Burnet.—συλλογῶν τε . . . καὶ διαλύσεων: συλλογῶν, as Burnet writes it, is the proper correlative to διαλύσεων; i.e. the opposite of a διάλυσις is not a σύλλογος but a συλλογή. The Greeks kept the two senses of our convocation distinct. Besides, this correction supplies προσπιπτουσῶν with a second fem. noun to agree with it.—These same presiding magistrates—this standing committee of the βουλή—is to have the power of convoking and proroguing all state meetings, regular, or extraordinary.—It is doubtful whether τῆς πόλεως depends on προκαθήμενον, or on συλλογῶν καὶ διαλύσεων—probably on the former, in its technical sense of *preside*, as at Aristot. *Pol.* vi. 1322 b 14 ἢ προκάθηται τοῦ πλήθους.

**e 2.** ἡνίκα is temporal (“now that,” “as soon as ever”), not causal, as Ficinus, Serranus, and Jowett. It may be doubted whether Plato ever uses ἡνίκα in a causal sense; but when used

temporally with a perfect tense, as here, it is nearly causal.—We shall learn at 760 b why the twelvefold division of the country and city (cp. above 745 b 6 ff.) was an important preliminary to the appointment of various magistrates.

**e 4.** οἰκῆσεων is “private houses,” οἰκοδομιῶν “public buildings.” As to the former, doubtless no houses could be built in any situation or style that was not approved of by the city officials. At *Pol.* vi. 1321 b 19 Aristotle speaks of ἡ τῶν περὶ τὸ ἄστυ δημοσίων καὶ ἰδίων (ἐπιμέλεια), ὅπως εὐκοσμία ᾗ.

**759 a 1.** The usual chiasmus; the subject coming last in the previous enumeration is dealt with first.—νεωκόρους τε καὶ ἱερέας καὶ ἱερείας: here the priesthood is supposed to be separate from the office of νεώκορος; below at b 3 f. the offices are joined. Cp. *Arist. Pol.* vi. 1322 b 22 συμβαίνει δὲ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην ἑνιαχοῦ μὲν εἶναι μίαν, οἷον ἐν ταῖς μικραῖς πόλεσιν, ἑνιαχοῦ δὲ πολλὰς καὶ κεχωρισμένας τῆς ἱερωσύνης, οἷον . . . ναοφύλακας. (There is no need to bring the two passages into line by rejecting, with Badham and Schanz, the τε καί in a 1.)

**a 2.** ὁδῶν: this and the following genitives may be said to depend on ἀρχόντων (εἶδη) at a 6, or to be assimilated to the genitives in e 5 above.

**a 3.** κόσμου τοῦ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα: e.g. at Athens the ἀστυνόμοι had the superintendence of the scavengers (Boeckh, *P.E.* p. 204 Eng. Trans.); though the word κόσμος, as at line 8 below, has a much wider signification; in the latter case the officials' duties extended to the regulation of trade.

**a 5.** καὶ προαστείῳ: at Athens ἀστυνόμοι and ἀγορανόμοι were regularly appointed, five for the city, and five for the Piraeus.—τὰ προσήκοντα πόλεσιν, “the stateliness and decorum of a city.”

**a 6.** ἐλέσθαι δεῖ: Stobaeus, whose quotation begins with the word ἐλέσθαι, puts in a δέ before the δεῖ—evidently to round off the quotation. Schanz, however, accepts the δέ as part of the original, and, like Ast (who rejects δεῖ), founds on it the (not unnatural) conclusion that the previous text is deficient. Ast supposes that before ἐλέσθαι has fallen out a reference to the duties of the ἀγορανόμοι; but this, as Stallb. says, is refuted by the fact that τὸ νυνδὴ λεχθέν is declared to belong only to the ἀστυνόμοι. If the text is sound, we must suppose the τρία εἶδη to include the temple officials. In that case we have again a reverse chiasmus. At a 1 ff. the temple officials were named first, and the police last; now the city and market police are dealt with first, and the temple officials last.



**a 7.** ἐπονομάζοντα: the last time we had a participle so describing the action of the agent (νείμαντας 758 b; cp. also 757e 5 ἐπικαλουμένους) it was in the plural—possibly agreeing with an imaginary ἡμᾶς; here, as at b 8 and c 1 below, it is singular—used, apparently, of a single νομοθέτης—or, perhaps, merely τινά or σε is to be supplied.

**a 8 ff.** ἱερῶν δὲ . . . τοῖς θεοῖς, “temple priests or priestesses whose office is hereditary must not be removed; but if, as may well happen with such appointments in the case of newly settled people, either no temple or only a few temples (have priesthoods), to any which are unprovided with them priests and priestesses must be appointed to undertake for the deities the charge of the shrines.” With μηδενί and τισιν ὀλίγοις we must supply ἱερωσύναι εἰσὶν from the previous sentence.—οἷς μὴ καθεστήκοι is literally “to any” (? ἱεροῖς; Stallb. and F.H.D. say θεοῖς) “to which appointment should not have been made.” Its meaning is made clear by the following καταστατέον (ἱερέας). καθέστηκα is virtually the perf. pass. of καθίστημι. It is here used as an impersonal passive like πεπόνηται at *Phaedr.* 232 a 4 or the Thucydidean (ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς) παρεσκεύαστο (i. 46). (Many emendations of the passage have been proposed. H. Steph. would read ὀλιγίστοις for ὀλίγοις οἷς.—I think Ast was the first editor to put a comma after ὀλίγοις.—Ast would read ἱερωσύνη, O. Apelt οἶμαι, Wagner ὅσια τιμὴ for οἷς μὴ, Orelli ὅσια for οἷς, while Schanz rejects οἷς μὴ καθεστήκοι altogether. Stallb. and Wagner take μηδενί and ὀλίγοις τισί to be not temples but *people* (and so F.H.D.), in which case εἰσὶν πάτριαι ἱερωσύναι has to be supplied.)—Hermann was the first to remove the (.) or (·) from after ἱερέας in a 8 and put it after ἀγορανόμους.—πάτριαι is used in the sense of πατρικαί (which Ast would substitute for it).

**b 1.** As above at 754 b 1 and 755 e 1, L alone seems in αἷς to have preserved the true reading. Schanz does not note the fact that A reads ἄς.

**b 4.** The sentence τούτων . . . εἴη comes almost as a parenthesis in the middle of the directions about the priesthood; hence the asyndeton—which Herm. wanted to remove by reading δὲ for δὴ.

**b 6.** μειγνύντας: there is a double laxity in the use of this word: (1) it is plur. whereas the corresponding participles on each side of it—ἐπονομάζοντα, ἐπιτρέποντα, and ἀποδιδόντα—are sing.; and (2) the inf. καταστήσαι, with the subj. of which it is supposed to agree, is not there, but has to be evolved mentally as the equivalent of ἐν ταῖς καταστάσεσι (cp. below 760 e 6).—δῆμον καὶ μὴ

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d 1. *τούτοις*: i.e. *τοῖς νόμοις*.

d 2. *μὴ ἔλαττον ἐξήκοντα*: Hermann, *De vest.* p. 41, says this restriction is the only point on which Plato differs from general Greek usage in the matter of the priesthood.—The following words, especially the *ἱκανῶς*, admit of the supposition that there might be some younger priests not fully qualified.

d 5–e 1. Adopting A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup>'s correction of *τρὶς* for *τρεις* (Ficinus has “*ter*”) in d 5, we may (freely) translate: “Four out of the twelve tribes are on three (separate) occasions to elect (by voting) four men, each from themselves, and after duly examining (and thereby definitely appointing) the three (from each lot of four) who get most votes, must send (the remaining) nine to Delphi (for the oracle) to pronounce for one out of each lot of three” (i.e. the set elected by each group of four tribes). The *ἐξ αὐτῶν* (d 6) leaves us in doubt whether each voter could only vote for men of his own tribe, or for any members of the four tribes of which his own was one; probably the former was the case.—The association of the tribes into three separate, probably territorial, voting-bodies of four tribes each may have been meant to secure that the final six should not all come from the same part of the country. The *δοκιμασία* is to take place in the case of these as well, and all vacancies occasioned either by failure to pass it, or by death, are to be filled—not by Delphi, but by the original voting-bodies—from the same source from which the defaulter came (e 1–3).

d 8. *ἀνελεῖν* = ὥστε ἀνελεῖν, “*oraculo designari*” (Ast); the technical expression for the pronouncement of the oracle. The early printed edd. up to Steph. had *ἀφελεῖν*, but not Stob. or any MS.—If this explanation is right the total number of *ἐξηγηταί* would be six, of whom three only would be chosen by Delphi. (Ritter would retain *τρεις* in d 5 and read *τετράκισ* for *τέτταρας*, or else thinks that these three latter ones form the whole body, and so F.H.D.; but *δοκιμάσαντας* is against this, as also the *οἷς ἂν πλείστη γέν. ψῆφος*.)

e 1. *τοῦ χρόνου τὴν ἡλικίαν*, “the age-limit.”

e 2. *τὸν λιπόντα (προαιρείσθωσαν)*, “(*elect*). the missing man”; we should say “fill the vacancy.” The main point is not in the word for *elect*, therefore it seems unnecessary, with Herm., to make it more significant and apposite by reading *προαιρείσθωσαν*.

e 3. *τε δῆ*, as O<sup>2</sup> would write it—probably on some authority—seems more appropriate here than *δὲ δῆ*.

**e 5.** τούτων : i.e. τῶν τεμενῶν.—Coupled as it is with καρπῶν, μισθώσεων here probably means *rents*—doubtless *grazing* rents.

**760 a 1.** τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων : plur. for sing. as at 763 d 6 and 756 c 3.

**a 3.** καθάπερ ἡ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐγίγνετο : cp. above 755 c f.

**a 7.** For περί c. gen. as a substitute for an objective gen. see above 685 c 2.—For ταύτη followed by an explanatory clause cp. 687 e 8 τοῦτο δὲ . . . εὔχασθαι δεῖν . . . ὅπως νοῦν ἔξει.

**b 1.** πρυτανέων : see above on 758 b 6.

**b 4.** Eusebius has νενεμήσθω for νενέμηται. Plato doubtless wrote the latter. He has twice before mentioned the division of the rural territory into twelve equal parts (745 c 1 and 758 e 3). An author quoting the passage would be likely to bring this verb into line with the imperatives which follow.—φυλῆ δέ : as at Athens, “the tribe, as a whole, did not correspond with any continuous portion of the territory” (Grote, *Hist.* ch. xxxi. p. 60). The assigning of a definite portion of country to a tribe by lot is an *ad hoc* arrangement—for organizing the rural police. Moreover, it will be seen that the arrangement only holds for a month. The twelvefold division of the land for administrative purposes has already been referred to at 745 e 1 ; they were probably wedge-shaped districts arranged round the city as a centre—as is implied by κύκλω at d 1.

**b 5.** κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν : either these words are not Plato’s, or they were written before he had matured the plan explained at d 2–e 3 ; for they are irreconcilable with that on any interpretation. I would therefore bracket them.

**b 6.** οἶον : this rather strange qualification is perhaps due to the fact that the officials have two titles given them.—Hermann’s conjecture that the MS. φυλάρχους is a mistake for φρουράρχους is confirmed by two MSS. of Eusebius.—ἔστω : apparently for ἐξέστω ; “let it be open to them,” by way of meiosis for “they will have to.” Is it possible that we ought to read <ἐν> τούτοις δ’ ἔστω, “let it be their duty.”?—The natural order of the following words would be ἐκάστω τῶν πέντε καταλέξασθαι δώδεκα ἐκ τῶν νέων τῆς αὐτῶν (or αὐτοῦ) φυλῆς. It must have been the unusual order which gave rise to the variants δωδεκάτω and δωδέκατον for δώδεκα τῶν. (F.H.D. would bracket τῶν πέντε.)

**c 2.** διακληρωθήτω : the δια- in the verb not only describes the original *distribution* by lot of the twelve μόρια among the twelve φυλαί, but the subsequent *change of distribution* described

by the words ἑκάστα ἐκάστοις κατὰ μῆνα; but the subsequent changes were decided by a fixed rotation, not by casting lots. In other words the κληρωθήτω, in its strict meaning, only applies to the first distribution, the δια- to all the subsequent distributions as well.

c 5. φρουροῖς τε καὶ ἄρχουσιν: the usual chiasmus.—I think we may conclude that both the sixty φρουροί and the five ἄρχοντες in each tribe were all called ἀγρονόμοι. (Cp. 843 d 4 ff., and on e 4 below.)

c 6 ff. ὅπως . . . κύκλω: I believe that the difficulties of this passage have all arisen from the improper inclusion in the text of the words τοὺς τῆς χώρας τόπους, which were a marginal interpretation of τὰ μέρη, made by a commentator who feared that τὰ μέρη might be taken to mean the twelve tribes. The intruding words were taken to be the object of μεταλλάττοντας, and this involved either the change of the earlier edd. (and Stallb.) of τὸν ἐξῆς τόπον to τῶν ἐξῆς τόπων, or else the insertion (by Schanz) of εἰς. The comma which Burnet puts after τόπους restores τὸν τόπον as the proper obj. of μεταλλάττοντας, and brings the four offending words into their proper place—i.e. of apposition to τὰ μέρη—but, at the same time, reveals them as intruders.—ὅπως ἄν is not *temporal*—“*cum primum*” (Ficinus)—but describes the positions—or order—from which the “changes to the next lot” are to be made; “auf welche Weise” (Wagner), “*quemadmodum*” (Stallb.).

d 1. ἐπὶ δεξιᾶ: i.e. following the sun, or, as we should say, the hands of the clock.—φυλή No. I. would spend the twelfth month in lot No. XII. and then would begin to retrace its steps, beginning with lot XI. The following explanation shows that Plato knew of some “observers” who faced the South, and consequently had the East on their left hand.

d 5. πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ stands for “besides learning the country.”—τῆς ὥρας ἐκάστης (“within the course of each season”) is a temporal gen. going with τὸ γιγνόμενον.

d 7. μεταβάλλειν εἰς τόπον means just the same as the previous μεταλλάττειν τόπον.

e 3. I quite agree with Schanz in rejecting τοὺς . . . ἐπιμελητάς. It is just such an insertion as τοὺς τῆς χώρας τόπους at c 7—a marginal explanation that ἀγρονόμους καὶ φρουράρχους was here used, as at b 6, of the *five head magistrates*, and did not include the subordinate sixty (cp. on c 5 above).—It is impossible to suppose that the outgoing five are each to choose thirteen successors; i.e. that ἐπιμελητάς is the *subject* of αἰρεῖσθαι. Ficinus's transla-

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following δέ; (3) after the final μ of ποιεῖν an μ was likely to fall out. As to its position see Burnet, Pref. to vol. v.

**a 6.** The rain-water is to be diverted from flooding the crops and conducted by artificial channels and dykes into reservoirs.

**b 2.** εἴργοντας is subordinate to ἐπιμελουμένους.—ταφρεύμασιν: not *dykes* in the sense of *embankments*, but *channels* for drawing off the water from the reservoirs in the desired directions.

**b 3.** καταδεχόμεναι καὶ πίνουσαι: the former participle refers to the water which remains above ground in the κοῖλαι νάπαι and which goes off as νάματα or ποταμοί, the latter to the water which the ground absorbs and gives off in springs (κρήναι).

**b 5.** It is perhaps permissible to wonder whether Plato did not write προιεῖσαι, not ποιούσαι here.—καί, “even.”

**b 6.** πηγαία (ὔδατα): this adj. is used to denote the clear water from spring or lake, as opposed to the turbid storm-torrent (cp. above on 736 b).—The language of the whole of this hastily written passage (b 6–d 3) more resembles the latter than the former.

**b 6 f.** τά τε πηγαία ὔδατα κτλ., “and that, enhancing the beauty of the clear water, whether stream or spring, by plantations and stone structures, and collecting the streams in rock-channels, they may ensure abundance, and, by means of artificial runnels, should any sacred grove or consecrated enclosure be near, may add to their charm by discharging their streams at every season of the year into the very interior of the temples of the Gods.”

**b 7.** κοσμοῦντες: there is a change of subject here, from the νάπαι to the rural engineers.

**c 2.** ἀφθονα πάντα seems to have been a common phrase for abundance. Cp. Plut. *Conv. Disp.* iv. 4 (667 c) καὶ συνουσίας ποιοῦνται μετ’ ἀλλήλων ἐν ἀφθόνοις πᾶσι.—καθ’ ἐκάστας τὰς ὥρας: not “to suit the seasons,” “pro singulis anni temporibus” (Schn.), “je nach den einzelnen Jahreszeiten” (Wagn.), but simply “at all seasons” (Jowett)—even the driest.

**c 3.** L again alone has the right reading, ἄλσος. A, and probably O, had δάσος, a mistake easily to be accounted for by the similarity between Α, Δ and Λ.—περὶ ταῦτα: i.e. in the neighbourhood of the ποταμός or κρήνη.

**c 4.** ἀφειμένον MSS.; as ἀνίημι is often used of the consecration of men or animals, Ast, followed by all subsequent editors, except Winckelmann and Burnet, rightly altered this to ἀνειμένον. It is possible that Plato used the more out-of-the-way compound on purpose. On the other hand, the occurrence of ἀφιέντες just

afterwards in its natural sense is in favour of ἀνειμένον, and provides a possible account of the source of the error.—Schanz rightly rejects the difficult ῆ̃ in c 4. Cp. below 958 d 4.—I accept Stallb.'s and Burnet's punctuation whereby αὐτά goes closely with τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἱερά.

c 5. κοσμῶσι: a final revision would scarcely have left this word so soon after κοσμοῦντες; its object is ἄλλος ἢ τέμενος understood.—(The Zürich edd. adopt the reading ὑδρείας of the Ven. MS. Ξ, making it the object of ποιῶσιν, and Madvig would insert a τε after εἰ in c 3.)—γυμνάσια κτλ.: since Ficinus all translators (as far as I know), in spite of the natural meaning of the particles in c 6, treat the *gymnasia* and the *baths* as two separate institutions—the former for the young men themselves, the latter for their elders. Ficinus, however, follows the literal sense of Plato's words, according to which the young men are to make the *gymnasia* (c 6) “not only for themselves, but for old men as well,” and they are to do this by adding (not only a *frigidarium*, which all *gymnasia* would have, but also) a *tepidarium*. This would render the institution a boon to the old and “to the sick and the toil-worn.” I would even insert a comma after γέρουσι to make this plain.

c 7. Vat. 1029 (Bekker's Υ) omits θερμά, and Naber would reject it—rightly, I think. The mention of the supply of fire-wood is enough by itself to show that *hot* baths are meant. The expression γεροντικὰ λουτρά is quoted by Pollux, *Onom.* ii. 13, p. 158.—With the use of the adj. Stallb. cps. that of ξενικά with θεραπεύματα at 718 a 7, and with ἀμαρτήματα at 730 a 4.

d 1. It is hard to piece together these disjointed jottings. ἐπ' ὀνήσει (“with a view to their amendment”) seems to go closely with δεχομένους εὐμενῶς, and τε . . . καί to connect καμνόντων νόσοις (σώματα) and τετρυμένα πόνοις σώματα.

d 3. δέξιν: Winckelmann has undoubtedly recovered the original word for us in changing the MS. δ' ἔξιν to δέξιν. Its construction is that of a “cognate” acc. with δεχομένους—as at Eur. *I.A.* 1182 δεξόμεθα δέξιν ἣν σε δέξασθαι χρεών. As to ἰατροῦ, perhaps it is best, with Stallb., to take it as “nota breviloquentia dictum pro ἣ δέξιν ἰατροῦ μὴ πάνυ σόφου.” Another possibility is to take ἰατροῦ μ. π. σ. to stand “pregnantly” for “than *treatment by* a poor physician.” Ficinus translates: “quae sane curatio longe melior est quam medici parum periti medela.” We should say: “a *visit* to the bath is much more efficacious than a visit to a poor physician.”



d 5. *μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδαμῇ ἀχαρίτου*: a pregnant use of the preposition; “and will provide the means of delightful recreation.”—The connexion of ideas between *παιδιά* and *σπουδή* seems to be this: “The *ἀγρονόμοι* have to provide recreation for themselves and others—but they have also work to do which is no play; they have to risk their lives in our defence.”

d 6. *περὶ ταῦτα* is quite general: “(the serious part) of *their business*.”—*τοὺς ἐξήκοντα*: the sixty young subordinates from each tribe.

d 8. *γειτόνων* refers, I think, to neighbouring *foreigners*, so that *ἄλλος ἄλλον* in the following line does not apply to them, but only to the *natives*—*τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν*; if this is so, *γειτόνων* is short for *ἦν τις γειτόνων ἀδικῆ*.

e 2. *αὐτοῦς*, “by themselves.”

e 3. *μετὰ τῶν δώδεκα*, “*cum duodenis*” (Schneider); cp. below 762 e 9. This must mean that each of the five *φρούραρχοι* of the tribe associated his twelve young subordinates with him to form the tribunal; its numbers would then be sixty-five. The following *τοὺς ἑπτακαίδεκα* is doubtless rightly rejected by Hug as a hasty comment of someone who simply added together twelve and five. There is nothing to make us think that only one lot of twelve was thus associated with the five *φρούραρχοι*. The *τῶν* with *δώδεκα* implies that the number had been mentioned before. This was only done at 760 b 7, and no subsequent mention has been made of *any particular twelve*.

e 5. *δικάζειν καὶ ἄρχειν*: the arrangement is remarkable, because it is not chiasmic.

e 6. *πλὴν . . . βασιλέων*, “except those quasi-regal judges whose judgement is final.” For *τέλος ἐπιτιθέναι* in this sense cf. below, 767 a 4, and 768 b 6 (*τέλος κρίνειν*), 957 b 4.

e 7. The acc. *τοὺς ἀγρονόμους* has nothing to govern it. He starts as if *ὄνειδιστέον* or *δεῖν ὄνειδίσειν* were to follow, and ends with *ὄνειδή φερέσθωσαν* as if a nom. had preceded.

762 a 1. *λαμβάνειν καὶ φέρειν*: a variety of *ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν*. At *Rep.* 574 a 3 *φέρειν* is used alone in this sense.—*τῶν* (partitive) is, I think, neut., and refers to the *ὑποζύγια* and *οἴκεται* mentioned at 760 e 9. Already there it was intimated that the “commandeering” was not to be quite arbitrary.

a 2. *ἐὰν . . . διδόντων*, “if they accept a present offered with corrupt motives.” Plato’s custom is to put *παρά* with the gen. of the person from whom a thing is received, but here it would be inconvenient to put in *παρά*, so he takes advantage of the fact

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offence"; ἀποφαίνειν is used as "to name" is used as a technical term in the House of Commons. The following words describe the process by which this is done. It is implied that the five might overlook an offence in one of the sixty, though, as we see below, the juniors were to show the seniors no mercy. (Ficinus translates ἀποφήνωσιν by *damnent.*)

c 5. "And post him in the Agora as a deserter."

c 6. τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μέρος, "quantum in se sit" (Fic.).

d 1. ἀτιμωρήτως qualifies κολαζέσθω, not κολάζειν.—If Plato meant both the αὐτῶν of the MSS. and αὐτός to stand—which is doubtful—his object was to emphasize the fact that in the case of the ἄρχοντες there was no one whose orders or permission could excuse absence; αὐτός would then be "on his own authority, *ultra.*"—Probably αὐτῶν is a mistake for αὐ.

d 2. There is a delicate μείωσις about ἐπιμελείσθαι, "attend to."

d 4. (μὴ) ἐπεξιῶν is subordinate to the preceding participles: "he who notices or hears of it *without indicting the offender.*"

d 5. περὶ κτλ.: a striking instance of an explanatory asyndeton. It tells us what "the severer (πλείονι) penalty" was.

d 6. ἡτιμάσθω MSS. Schanz is very likely right in substituting for this the more technical ἡτιμώσθω (cp. *Rep.* 553 b ὑπὸ συκοφάντων ἢ ἀποθανόντα ἢ ἐκπεσόντα ἢ ἀτιμωθέντα). The offender is to be *disqualified* from ever again holding office over any of the young ἀγρονόμοι.—τούτων: neuter; "the νομοφύλακες must pay strict attention to such lapses. If they can't prevent them, they must at least be sure that they are duly punished." Then follows a most valuable little προοίμιον on the philosophy of authority and government in general. The asyndeton makes it the more impressive. (Stobaeus's δέ, which Ast adopts, is a natural error.) "Believe me—I wish everybody would believe me—that there is not a man living who will ever make a good master without being a servant first; and no success as a ruler can bring a man so much honour and credit as *loyal service*, first of all to the laws,—for therein he serves the gods—and next, while he is young, to all elders and superiors."

e 5. ὡς ταύτην τοῖς θεοῖς οὔσαν δουλείαν: this construction is here felt to be an expansion of the simple δουλείαν used as the "acc. of the inner object" with δουλεύειν; ὡς with a noun and participle in the acc. can, however, by itself be used in the sense of "under the idea that."—So at *Phaedo* 109 d ὡς . . . τὰ ἄσπρα χωροῦντα, and *Rep.* 345 e ἀλλὰ μισθὸν αἰτοῦσιν ὡς οὐχὶ αὐτοῖσιν ὠφελίαν ἔσομένην ἐκ τοῦ ἄρχειν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις.—For the

dat. τοῖς θεοῖς, depending directly on the noun δουλείαν, cp. above on 760 e 4. For the statement itself cp. on 715 c 4 ff.

e 6. καὶ ἐντίμως βεβιωκόσι: as Wordsworth says, "we live by admiration." The veneration felt by the young "squire" for the distinguished veteran who commands him is half his training.—Burnet preserves the letters of the MS. ἔπειτα εἰ in writing ἔπειτ' αἰ; Stobaeus has ἔπειτα αἰ, and so Schanz. All edd. before Schanz print ἔπειτα alone.

e 7. Schanz would follow Ast in rejecting τοὺς νέους, but though unnecessary it comes in quite naturally as the (superfluous) correlative of τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις.

e 8. The MS. reading ἀπόρου, if right, means "poverty-stricken," "scanty," "penurious"; at 680 d 8 we had ἀπορία in the sense of dearth. But, though I do not think ἀπόρου impossible here, I believe O. Apelt (p. 11) is right in reading ἀπύρου for it. Plutarch (*Bellone an pace* etc. ch. vi. p. 349 A) uses ἀπυρασίτια of the meagre fare of soldiers on a campaign, as contrasted with the rich diet allowed to a chorus in training. This meaning exactly suits our present passage.—For γεγευμένον εἶναι as a substitute for γεγεῦσθαι cp. βλέπούσας εἶναι at 631 d 3, and βλέποντ' εἶναι at 963 a 3, for βλέπειν.—For τὸν τῶν ἀγρονόμων γεγόνότα cp. on 754 d 4.

e 9. οἱ δώδεκα: i.e. the five lots of twelve each—"duodeni" (Schneider); the same who are called τοὺς ἐξήκοντα at d 3 above. (Cp. on 761 e 3.)

e 10. βουλευέσθωσαν ὡς . . . οὐχ ἔξουσιν, "they must reckon on not having."

763 a 1. οἶόνπερ, like οἶον at *Charm.* 153 a 2, and οἶα at *Critias* 113 e 3, is *utpote*—"cum famuli sint" (Schneider).

a 2. ἐκ is lit. "from among"—"and they must not (seek aid) from the neighbouring farmers and villagers, and use *their* slaves, etc."

a 4. ὅσα εἰς τὰ δημόσια stands for ἐπὶ τοσαῦτα ὅσα εἰς τὰ δημόσια ἐστίν (ὑπηρετήματα).—τὰ δ' ἄλλα: other ὑπηρετήματα, that is, than those done for the sake of the public. To mark this I have changed the colon before τὰ to a comma. ἄλλα is governed by διακονοῦντές τ. κ. δ.

a 6. I have ventured to bracket ἐαυτοῖς. There is nothing in it which has not already been expressed by αὐτοὶ δι' αὐτῶν. For the collocation of act. and pass. cp. 697 d 6 μισοῦντες μισοῦνται. I have also marked the fact that διεξερευνώμενοι brings a change of subject matter by putting a dash instead of a comma before πρὸς.

b 2. οὐδενὸς ἕλαττον, “as important as any”; he is, doubtless, not thinking here of the educational value of the study—as he was in his pañegyric of mathematics at 747 b—but only of the value of the information itself.

b 5. ἀλλῆς, “attendant”; we must supply χάριν from b 3, with the genitives.

b 7 f. εἴτε τις . . . τοῦτο προσαγορεύων, “while calling them κρ. or ἀγ., or whatever he likes”; i.e. “under whatever name he prefers, let each man do his best to protect his country.” With τοῦτο προσαγορεύων (“calling them *by that name*”) Stallb. cps. *Symp.* 212 c τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόγον . . . ὅτι καὶ ὅπη χαίρεις ὀνομάζων, τοῦτο ὀνόμαζε. (Though ἐπιτηδευέτω governs τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, supplied from b 6, Ast is wrong in saying that τοῦτο refers to ἐπιτήδευμα.) As the Spartan κρυπτεία, mentioned above at 633 b 9, was a similar kind of service to that of the ἀγρονόμοι, it is natural to refer to it here. As the exhortation seems to be specially addressed to the rank and file of the ἀγρονόμοι, it is not likely that, as Orelli suggests, Timaeus’s (and Photius’s) ἵππαγρέτας ought to be substituted for κρυπτούς, for that word is said (by Tim.) to be the title of a (probably) high official.

c 3. τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . ἦν ἐπόμενον, “next in our election of magistrates came that of the Agoranomoi and Astynomoi.” αἰρέσεως depends on μετὰ τοῦτο; cp. *Symp.* 217 e 1 μέχρι δεῦρο τοῦ λόγου, and similar genitives with ἐνταῦθα. ἀγορανόμων πέρι and ἀστ. πέρι are periphrases for the simple gen. (cp. above on 685 c 2), so that τὸ ἀγορανόμων πέρι stands for τὸ τῶν ἀγορανόμων, and is the subj. to ἦν ἐπόμενον. (Possibly the τό was, by a slovenly conversational laxity of construction, allowed to do double duty: (1) to form the adverbial τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, and (2) to go, as above explained, with ἀγορανόμων πέρι.)—As to the reading, I believe Burnet’s is the right solution of the difficulty. All other MSS. but A, and all the printed edd. have ἀστυνόμων ἦν ἡμῖν ἐπόμενον, but in A ἦν is in an erasure which is too big for it. In the margin stands τρειν (“cum vitii nota,” Schanz). Burnet naturally supposes that τρειν originally stood in A where now ἦν stands, and further conjectures that it was a clumsy scribe’s version of an indistinctly written πέρι ἦν.—The ἦν refers to 760 b 1.

c 5. Bekker substituted γε for the MS. τε, which is certainly wrong; Ast would simply reject it. We may conjecture that the insertion of γε after ἀγρονόμοις improved the rhythm of the sentence; it is hard to see how it improved its meaning.—It is

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hands has decided between the candidates, and you have found the six who have most votes." I think *διαχειρ.* is gen. abs. with the subj. left out, and that *καί* is *explanatory*—i.e. introduces a more detailed account of the same process described by *διαχειρ.* The subj. to *ἀφικομένων* is the antecedent to *οἷς*. Where the Greek says when those who have most votes (*χειροτονία*i has to be supplied with *πλεῖσται*) "come to six," we should say "when you come to the six, etc." In both cases the *coming* is metaphorical. (It would spoil the sentence to put in *κρίσιν*, with Heindorf, or—rather better—*ἐξέτασιν* with Winckelmann, after *εἷς*.)

e 2. *οἷς τούτων ἐπιμελές*: probably, as Ritter says, the *πρῦτανεις*. R. cps. 758 d 2 ff. and 755 e 4.

e 3. Here again, in *αὐτοῖς* L alone among our MSS. preserves the right reading; A and O have *αὐτοῦς*.

e 6 ff. *δέκα . . . ἀποφῆναι*: Aldus's insertion of *ἐκ* before *τῶν ἄλλων*, adopted by all editors, leaves the main difficulty of this passage untouched. After the preceding words no description of the process of the election of the Agoranomoi is needed; if given, it should repeat the substance of d 7 ff. *διαχειροτονηθέντων . . . ἐπιμελές*. But our text, in reading *χειροτονηθέντας*, introduces an unheard-of novelty. It makes the elected ten, *themselves* select by lot five from among their number, and proclaim their appointment. Ficinus has: "quippe de decem qui ceteros suffragio superarint quinque sorte designentur, et comprobati magistratus declarentur." This suggests a reading *δέκα τῶν ἄλλων προχειροτονηθέντων* (or *προκριθέντων*). The view that *ἄλλων* is governed by a word denoting *preference* is supported by the reading of L and O (which is also that of A<sup>2</sup>) *ἢ τῶν ἄλλων*. This variant I take to be due to a marginal *ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι*, intended to explain *τῶν ἄλλων*. I think the best course here is to bracket *δέκα . . . ἀποφῆναι*; the next best merely to read *δέκα τῶν ἄλλων προχειροτονηθέντων*, in either case rejecting Aldus's *ἐκ*.

e 8. *χειροτονεῖτω δὲ πᾶς πάντα*: these words are difficult. If we apply them to the election of the Agoranomoi they introduce a further contradiction of *γίγν. τὴν αἵρεσιν καθάπερ ἢ τῶν ἀστυνόμων*. Besides, what can be the result of an election where "every voter votes for every candidate"? The only way out of this difficulty is to suppose that every member of the voting assembly was bound, under penalty, to lift up his hand *either for*

or against each of the *προβαλλόμενοι*. But we have no other reason to assume that there was any such process as *voting against* a candidate. I therefore think the words mean that every member of the voting assembly is to vote *at the election of every official*; i.e. whether it be for *Agronomoi*, or *Astynomoi*, or *Agoranomoi*. It will be observed that the risk of having to pay the large fine of fifty drachmas need not be run by any member of the two lower classes, for he may absent himself from the assembly with impunity (764 a 3 ff.). (Ficinus translates *πάντα* by *quemlibet*. Jowett takes *πάντα* to be “*all the ten*.” Ritter mentions—to reject it—the possibility that the following *ὁ μὴ θέλων* means “the (elected candidate) who refuses to serve.”)

764 a 3. *εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν κοινὸν σύλλογον*: this seems to be a general direction applying to deliberative as well as voting assemblies; and this gives some support to the assumption just made that the *χειρ. πᾶς πάντα* was of *general* application, and did not refer to one election alone.

a 7. *τι* may perhaps have arisen from dittography of the following *π*, and Schanz rejects it. If genuine, it is an adverbial acc. of inner object—“unless the magistrates issue some sort of order.”

b 1. *τοὺς δὲ δὴ ἀγορανόμους*, “to go back to the *Agoranomoi*.” *δὲ δὴ* recognizes that there has been a digression.

b 7. *αὐτοῦς*, “by themselves,” as at c 3 below.

c 6. *ἐκατέρων* depends, I think, not on *ἄρχοντας* (“of each of the two subjects”), but on *διττοῦς* (“two sets of each kind of official”); there would thus be four kinds altogether.

c 7. *αὐτῶν*, if correct, must mean “in the subjects”; i.e. music and gymnastic. *αὐτῆς*, which is the reading of L and which Ed. Lov. and Steph. print, seems to mean “(of education) proper,” as distinguished from the public contests which tested it. It would be interesting to know where *αὐτῶν* came from; its only warrant to us is Cod. Voss., a late hand in A, and a somewhat earlier one in O. I believe L again is right. For this use of *αὐτῆς* cf. b 7 and c 3. [F.H.D. prefers *αὐτῶν* as the more *difficult* reading.]—The fact that *παιδείας . . . ἀγωνιστικῆς* was omitted both in O and in A is *prima facie* evidence that one of the two MSS. was copied from the other. But (1) they may both have been copied from the same original, or (2) from MSS. which shared the omission, or (3) the omission, of which the cause is patent, might have been made independently by the scribes of both.—With the second *παιδείας*, as with *ἀγωνίας* in d 3, we ought, I think, to supply *ἄρχοντας* from the preceding sentence.



**c 8 ff.** *γυμνασίων καὶ διδασκαλείων ἐπιμελητάς*: these words count as a titular designation, and *κόσμου . . . κορῶν* are loosely tacked on to part of it, i.e. to *ἐπιμελητάς*: “by superintendents of *education* the Law means overseers of gymnasia and schools, to look after both their outward seemliness and the instruction given in them, and the regulation of these matters, and to regulate the attendance and residence of boys and girls.” (Stallb. would make *γυμν.* and *διδασκ.* depend on the genitives which depend on *ἐπιμελητάς*.)—Stephanus’s correction of the MS. *διδασκαλιῶν* to *διδασκαλείων* (cp. 804 c 3) is supported by the reading *διδασκαλίων* in Vat. 1029.

**d 1.** *κόσμου* is used, I think, of the dignity and beauty of the buildings and other surroundings of the places of education. It will be remembered that at *Rep.* 401 b ff. Plato attaches great importance to the beauty of the surroundings in which a child learns. (F.H.D. prefers *arrangement*, Jowett “order.”)

**d 2.** *οἰκήσεων*: not, I think, as Jowett, “lodging,” i.e. home accommodation; this would hardly fall within the sphere of the Education Authority. Its connexion with *φοιτήσεων* suggests that it means that the education official should assign pupils to the several schools *according to residence*—should see, in other words, that each child went to the school nearest its home, and that there was a school within easy reach of every home. Hermann’s *ἀσκήσεων* which Schanz adopts, denotes a part of the subject which has been already mentioned—i.e. the *παίδευσις* itself—and does not come well in connexion with “the going to and from school.”

**d 3.** *ἀγωνίας*: both A and O first wrote *ἀγῶνας* here. Such a mistake could hardly be made independently. It seems to have been corrected early in both MSS., and probably existed in the MS. or MSS. from which they were copied.—This branch of the *μουσικῆς καὶ γυμναστικῆς ἄρχοντες* might incidentally serve as “examiners” of the schools and superintendents of their public displays, but their main duty was with adults. The word *ἀγωνία* is here used generally of all public contests, though at d 5 (if the reading is correct) it is used, as at *Meno* 94 b, of *gymnastic* contests only. On the other hand *ἀθληταῖς* in d 4 is rather unusually applied to competitors in “musical” *ἀγῶνες* as well as to those in gymnastic contests.

**d 5.** Stallbaum suggested that we ought to read *ἀγῶνας* for *ἀγωνίαν* here. The suggestion gets some little support from the mistaken *ἀγῶνας* at d 3, but still leaves the sharp contrast between

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—τάξις is “system,” “systematic arrangement,” what we should call *the rules of the Musician’s art*, not merely (as Wagner and Jowett) the ordering and arrangement of the performance by the ἄρχοντες. (Reading γιγνομένην), we may translate: “as displayed in dancing and the whole round of artistic manifestation.”

—τοὺς ἄρχοντας: the plural is quite general, “the authority.” It is necessary to use the plural as long as the number is not definitely ascertained, even though it may turn out to be only one.

e 6. The mistake of ἱκανῶς for ἱκανὸς must have been an early one; A L and O all three have it; only A corrected it. Schanz believes that A had ἱκανὸς to begin with, though he admits some disturbance in the MS. at the syllable -ὸς. (Possibly the text once was ἱκανῶς δὲ ἔχει.)

765 a 2. ἦ: at 721 b 1 ἐπειδὴν ἐτῶν ἦ τις τριάκοντα shows that τριάκοντα γεγονὸς ἐτῶν would be good Greek. There is therefore no necessity with Ast (and Schanz) to reject the ἦ here. —εἰσαγωγεύς: this title denotes the official as the man to whom all intending competitors must apply; who would certify their right to compete, and assign them their order (cp. διαθετῆρα below), as well as decide the result (τὴν διάκρισιν διδόναι).

a 4. It would have seemed simpler to us if he had said εἰσαγωγεύς τε εἶναι καὶ . . . ἀποδιδόναι; as it is we must take τε καὶ as coupling εἰσαγ. and ἀποδιδούς, and take εἶναι with them both.—διαθετῆρα: this title cannot be supposed to imply any placing of the members of the chorus in a proper position—that duty would fall to the Choragus.

a 5. ὅσοι μὲν φιλοφρόνως ἐσχήκασι περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, “quicumque haec studia adamarunt” (Schneider); i.e. “devote themselves to the subject.” Ficinus has “qui huic rei vacant.” Is it possible that he read σχολάζουσι, and that our φιλοφρόνως ἐσχήκασι was originally a marginal interpretation of it? At b 1 these musical devotees are called οἱ ἔμπειροι.

a 8. καὶ τὴν προβολὴν δὴ τὸν αἰρούμενον ἐκ τῶν ἐμπείρων ποιητέον, “in proposing a name too, the elector must take one from the class of musicians.”

b 1. ἐν τε . . . ἄπειρος ὁ λαχών: I think the dictionaries are wrong in assigning to κατηγορήματα here the meaning *objection*, and to ἀπηγόρημα the meaning “*defence*.” κατηγορεῖν is used by Plato in the sense of *assert, declare*, while the force of ἀπ- is constantly that of *rejection*. The author’s decided fondness for chiasmus too is an argument on the same side. τῶν μὲν are the challengers, τῶν δέ the defenders. Ficinus has: “una haec approbatio repro-

batioque habeatur" (though he alters the order of the subsequent clause because the chiasmus does not suit the Latin idiom).

**b 4.** The sole result aimed at by the δοκιμασία is to get the best musician of the ten selected candidates. I would therefore, retaining Stephanus's comma, which Burnet has reinserted *after* δοκιμασθείς, reject (Ast's) comma *before* it. In λάχῃ δοκιμασθείς the participle is as significant as λάχῃ, and the words mean "succeeds in passing the examination and (so) gets the appointment." Otherwise ὃς ἂν λάχῃ is a lame repetition of the information conveyed by ὁ λαχών in b 3. (Heindorf thinks τῶν has fallen out before δέκα; on the other hand Hermann, at c 6 below, would remove the τῶν which the text has there. If either change be thought necessary, I should prefer Hermann's.—F.H.D. thinks δοκιμασθείς a gloss.)

**b 5.** κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ . . . ὁ λαχὼν τὴν κρίσιν: two controversies divide interpreters of this passage. (1) In the first place it is disputed whether (a) ἀρχέτω governs μονωδιῶν τε καὶ συναυλιῶν—as it does the corresponding τῶν χορῶν in the preceding sentence; or whether (b) μον. and συναυλιῶν depend on the preceding κρίσιν—in other words whether τῶν ἀφικομένων εἰς κρίσιν refers (a) to the candidates who are "examined" for the office of ἀρχων or ἀθλοθέτης μονωδιῶν, or (b) to the competitors in musical ἀγῶνες. Ficinus, Ast, and Stallbaum take the former view; Wagner, Schneider, and Ritter the latter. The previous τῶν χορῶν ἀρχέτω, the importance attached in the case of the corresponding election to the δοκιμασία, the κρίσιν in d 1, the tense of ἀφικομένων and the number of μον. and συναυλιῶν are all arguments in favour of (a). The main reasons against (a) are that the final words εἰς . . . ὁ λαχὼν τὴν κρίσιν are tautological and somewhat otiose; also the position of τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκείνον is peculiar, and the meaning of λαχὼν strained. Whichever view be taken, no great harm is done to the general tenor of the passage.—But (2) those who in the second controversy hold, with Stallbaum, Susemihl and Jowett, that εἰς τοὺς κρίτας ἀποδιδούς . . . τὴν κρίσιν means that the ἀθλοθέτης μονωδιῶν is not to decide between competitors, but to refer the decision to another body, stultify the whole description of these elections. The one most important function of all these Presidents is undoubtedly to judge at the contests (see e.g. 765 a 3). The term ἀθλοθέτης itself proves it. Wagner gets out of the difficulty by rejecting εἰς τοὺς . . . ὁ λαχὼν τὴν κρίσιν, and Schanz follows him. Ficinus, Ast, Schneider, Wagner, and Ritter refer the words, as undoubtedly they ought to be referred, to the δοκιμασία to be

passed by each of the ten selected candidates, and as such, though somewhat tautological, they are, considering the importance attached to the *δοκιμασία*, not out of place.—We may infer that οἱ κριταί were the special body of musical experts chosen (by the *νομοφύλακες*—see above a 7) to conduct the *δοκιμασία*. We may translate: “that man among the candidates for examination who is appointed (*λαχών*) by proceedings just like these, for that year, shall be president of solo-performances and concerted pieces; and each man” (of the ten) “drawn by lot must” (as described in connexion with the previous election) “submit to the decision of the jury (of musicians).”—(Ast, followed by Stallb., may be right in thinking ὁ λαχών in c 1 an explanatory comment. If so, it is a correct comment. It is almost “(each of the ten) *when his turn comes*.”)

**b 7.** *συναυλία*: probably a piece of music in the performance of which the flute alternated with the lyre. See Athenaeus 617 f. and 618 a, and the commentators on Hor. *Odes* iv. 1. 22, and *Epod.* 9. 5. (Some think that the two instruments sounded together.)

**c 3.** ἐκ τῶν τρίτων τε καὶ ἔτι τῶν δευτέρων τιμημάτων: the *musical* and *literary* critics might apparently belong to any property class, even the highest. (Nowadays these would mostly come from the two middle classes, while the best judges of horseflesh or athletics would belong either to the richest class, or to the poorest.)

**c 5.** It is hard to see how the καί arose, which A, L and O have after *τρισὶν*. No printed edition has it, I think. A<sup>2</sup>'s substitution of *τρισι* for *τρισὶν καὶ* seems to suggest that καὶ arose from a misreading of *ν*.

**c 6.** *λαχεῖν* is here used, as at b 4 and b 6, in the sense of “to be definitely appointed.”

**c 8.** τῶν δοκιμαζόντων: i.e. a jury of experts—corresponding to the *κριτάς* of c 1. The word *ψῆφος* suggests that there might be differences of opinion among the jury, and that a majority carried the day.

**d 1.** ἀρχῆς λῆξιν καὶ κρίσιν: a hendiadys; almost “appointment to an office by examination.” The two processes are closely connected, as in the words *λάχη δοκιμασθείς* at b 4. The καθ' ἡντιναοῦν seems to make the application general to all the kinds of official whose election has been mentioned since 764 d 5. These final words are meant to emphasize the importance of the *δοκιμασία*.

**d 4.** περὶ τὰ προειρημένα = τῶν προειρημένων, i.e. *μουσικῆς καὶ γυμναστικῆς* (764 c 5).

**d 7.** For the ἦ cp. above on a 2.—The age limit is established

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suffered from many misapprehensions. To begin with, Ald. altered the MS. *προστάττειν ἐπιμελητήν* into *προστάτην καὶ ἐπιμελητήν*, a mistake which even Ritter has perpetuated; Hermann, to simplify the construction, rejected the important *αἰρεθῆναι*, taking *τὸν μέλλοντα αὐ. ἐπιμελήοεσθαι* to be the *νομοθέτης*; Stallb. and Schanz follow him; Schneider and Wagner translate *ἄρξασθαι αἰρεθῆναι* by “*auctorem fieri ut eligatur*,” “*veranlassen dass . . . gewählt werde*,” also understanding, as do Stallb. and Apelt, *τὸν μέλλοντα κτλ.* to be the *νομοθέτης* instead of *the director of Education*; these latter interpreters also make an awkward break in the sense after *ἦ*, and separate *τοῦτον*, the manifest antecedent of *ὃς ἂν*, from its relative; further, Ritter unaccountably makes *τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει* depend on *πρῶτον* instead of on *ἄριστος*. But it is Ritter who has shown us the right way out of the difficulty; and that is to take *χρεών* as an “*accusativus absolutus*,” as at Thuc. iii. 40. 4: “*but inasmuch as the right choice of the man who is to have charge of them (παίδων) is bound to come first and foremost, (he must) do his utmost to appoint and make their Director that man who out of all in the state is in every respect the best man.*”—Both *αὐτῶν* in a 7 and *αὐτοῖς* in b 1 refer to the children.—With *τῶν ἐν . . . ἦ* cp. below 878 a 2 *γένος ὅτπερ ἂν ἦ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει εὐδοκιμώτατον πρὸς ἀρετήν.*—With *προστάττειν* we must supply *δεῖ* from a 5. (Jowett slurs over the difficulty by putting for *ἄρξασθαι χρεών . . . αἰρεθῆναι*, “*he should begin by taking care that he is elected who etc.*”; otherwise he follows Schneider and Wagner.—I do not think that anything is gained by Apelt’s ingenious substitution of *εὐξασθαι* for *ἄρξασθαι*, though it makes that part of the sentence easier from his point of view.

**b 2.** *πλὴν βουλῆς κ. π.*: the inclusion of the 360 *βουλευταί* would have made the electing body unwieldy.—*τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν*: a place peculiarly suitable for deciding a matter connected with *μουσική*.

**b 3.** It is interesting to note that though all other interpreters and editors before Bekker took *τῶν νομοφυλάκων* to be governed by *κρύβδην*, the Louvain editor (Rutger Ressen), while keeping the comma after *νομοφυλάκων*, shows, by putting a comma also before it, that he sees the right way to take the words.—*φέροντων ψῆφον . . . ὄντιν* <sup>the</sup> *ἂν ἔκ. ἦγ.*: if *ψῆφον* had been omitted, the antecedent to be supplied in thought with *ὄντινα* would have been *τοῦτον* (cp. above on 753 d 1); as it is we must supply *τούτω*.

**b 5.** The addition of *γενομένων* to *τῶν* (neut.) *περὶ παιδείαν* is strange, and Hug would reject it; but it would be stranger if

any commentator or scribe put it in when it was not there to begin with. The reason for its insertion was probably rhythmical. Plato would hardly end a sentence with five consecutive long syllables.

**b 7.** πλὴν νομοφυλάκων: we are left to conjecture the reason for this exclusion. Could such great and wise men be suspected of jealousy? [F.H.D. says "yes"—"by others than the electing body."]

**c 2.** πρὶν . . . ἡμερῶν: in other words, "while there is more than a month of his time left to run."

**c 5.** From Steph. onwards all edd. have μέλον, which was the reading of A and O. This was thoughtlessly corrected in A and O to μέλλον, probably the mistaken reading of some other MS.

**c 6.** οἱ προσήκοντες: i.e. of the ὀρφανοί, not of the ἐπίτροπος.—καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντες: i.e. only those who lived within reach of the home circle.

**c 7.** μέχρι ἀνεψιῶν παίδων: this definition of relations who are to count legally occurs below at 877 d 1 and 878 d 7; at Dem. C. Macart. p. 1067 we have μέχρι ἀνεψιάδων [παίδων]. The same grade of relationship is expressed at 925 a 6 by μέχρι πάππου παίδων (ὑιδῶν): the grandchildren of the children of one's grandfather are one's own first cousins one remove.—The only connexion between these two injunctions is that both are cases of *substitution*. A final revision would hardly have left them as they stand.

**d 3 ff.** Before describing the appointment of this next kind of officials, i.e. the *judges*, Plato introduces a short preface in which the two main points are: (1) the judges must be men of superior intellect, and (2) the machinery for giving legal decisions must be such as will favour (a) clear presentment of cases, and (b) due deliberation.

**d 4.** For κατὰ τρόπον see above on 635 d 7.—ἄφωνος: below at 876 b he talks of δικαστήρια φαῦλα καὶ ἄφωνα, which give their decisions by ballot. A true judge, Plato implies, ought to be able to throw light on the principles of justice which underlie the statutes, and not content himself with a safe legal yes or no, like a mere arbitrator.

**d 5.** μὴ πλείω τῶν ἀντιδίκων ἐν ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι: the preliminary procedure for legitimizing the position of the two parties to the trial was naturally mostly formal.

**d 7.** οὔτε πολλοὺς ὄντας: there are two reasons for this: (1) a large bench of judges could not all give reasoned judgements;



it must be a question of voting yes or no; and (2) the number of superior intellects is necessarily small. The tribunal must be both small and good.

e 1. παρ' ἑκατέρων goes closely with τὸ ἀμφισβητούμενον; "what the contention of each side is.":

e 2. καὶ τὸ βραδὺ τό τε πολλάκις ἀνακρίνειν: in effect explanatory of what is meant by ὁ χρόνος; "tempus autem et mora, frequensque inquisitio ad aperiendam controversiam conferunt" (Fic.).

767 a 7. οὐκ ἄρχων . . . γίγνεται, "while not a ruling official has yet a very high authority." The καί emphasizes.

a 9. κρίνων . . . ἀποτελῆ, "finally decides." Cp. on 720 e 1.

b 1. ἂν εἶεν πρέποντες stands for πρέποιεν ἂν in the sense of "would be the right ones," i.e. "ought to be appointed."

b 2. τίνων and ἕκαστον are both neuter, and so too τῶν λοιπῶν b 4. — κυριώτατον: with this word obscurity begins. At first sight the words seem to be reintroducing us to the three tribunals mentioned at 766 e 3 ff.: (1) that of neighbours and friends; (2) the first court of appeal; and (3) the final court of appeal. But, if κυριώτατον means, as Ficinus thinks, "augustissimum" (Schneider's "summa dignitate praeditum"), the epithet can hardly apply to a court composed of arbitrators informally appointed by the litigants themselves. (Below, at 915 c 6 the "neighbours" court, and the αἵρετοὶ δίκασται are spoken of as two distinct courts.) Ritter thinks κυριώτατον means "most competent" ("befugtest"). Even so, it would seem to exclude the notion of an appeal from it. Susemihl thought it a mistake for τὸ πρῶτον—and it may perhaps be worth considering whether πρῶτον at c 2 and κυριώτατον here may not, by some accident, have changed places. Some difficulties, but not all, would disappear if this transposition were made. I think Plato means that *if both sides agree* to the court, the decision is to be final.—As we proceed, we find, instead of the two appeal courts, two courts for the trial of different kinds of suits: (1) b 5, those suits in which one private citizen has a grievance against another: (2) b 7, those in which the alleged offence is one committed against the state.—Still more puzzling is the question, what relation does the next court mentioned—that introduced at c 2—bear to any or all of those just described? The words τὸ τρίτον ἀμφισβητοῦσιν seem to mark it as the third court (of appeal) mentioned above at a 2 f., and the words ἰδιώταις πρὸς ἀλλήλους exclude the supposition that it is the court which is cognisant of offences against the state—that mentioned at b 7. If, however,

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d 3. αὐτῷ: a possessive dat., used as a variety for αὐτοῦ.

d 5. αὐτοῖς is probably the right reading, though the Cod. Voss. αὐτοῦ points to a quite possible variant αὐτούς (ΑΥΤΟΤΕΑΝ being read ΑΥΤΟΤΕΑΝ).

d 7. τοῖς τὰλλα δικαστήρια φυγοῦσι: possibly φεύγειν was a technical term used of those who "had recourse to" a higher court; the notion being that the highest court was a place of refuge. Cp. Eur. Hipp. 1076 εἰς τοὺς ἀφώνους μάρτυρας φεύγεις;

e 2. τοὺς ἐλομένους αὐτούς: as Ritter points out, this would not be true of all *individuals*, only of the different magisterial bodies, each as a class. By that time many of the individuals who served in the previous year would have been replaced.

e 3. ἐὰν δέ τις κτλ.: this enactment may well apply, as Ritter thinks (p. 168), to *all* courts.

e 5. ὑπεχέτω, "let him be under an obligation."

e 6. τὸ ἥμισυ: so the MSS.; Ritter, comparing 846 b 3—τῶν διπλασίων ὑπόδικος ἔστω τῷ βλαφθέντι—thinks this a mistake for τὸ διπλάσιον; although it is only a minimum penalty, it may be all the injured man will get; for acc. to e 8 f. anything beyond this is to be paid to the state and τῷ τὴν δίκην δικασαμένῳ, and he might be an informer. Wherever ἥμισυ comes from it is clearly a mistake. [F.H.D. suggests that the mistake arises from a misreading of a *numerical* expression.]

e 8. All editors but Wagner have adopted the Ald. τούτῳ for the MS. τούτων; πρὸς τούτων would involve a feeble tautology—"the judges are to decide what penalty they are to suffer at *their*" (i.e. "the judges'") "hand."

e 9. περὶ δὲ τῶν δημοσίων ἐγκλημάτων: here we go back to the court first referred to at b 7, for the trial of offences against the state. In this the public is to take an important part. Whereas, in the tribal courts for trying suits between private citizens, the public is only represented by a section of itself, elected by lot, in state trials the jury, as we should call it, is to be the whole δῆμος—the Public Assembly of all the citizens.

768 a 1–5. Burnet has made the connexion of ideas clearer by marking off οἱ γὰρ . . . διακρίσεων as a parenthesis. This parenthesis gives the reason for the arrangement outlined in the main sentence, which is as follows: "(It is necessary) in the first place to admit the public to a share in the trial (of state offences) . . . , but, while the inception, and the final decision of such a suit must lie with the whole body of citizens, still the investigation must be conducted by such three of the highest order of

magistrates as the defendant and plaintiff shall agree on." To the μέν in a 1 corresponds the ἀλλ' in a 4, which is "resumed" by the δέ in a 5; ἀρχήν τε . . . ἀποδιδομένην is a *concessive* clause.

a 3. ἐν δίκη, "justly" ("and they would justly resent being excluded from all share in such decisions").

a 5. ἐν is technically used of the *court before which* a case is tried.—Apparently then the Public Assembly had to give leave to prosecute, and to acquit or condemn (and assess the penalty), on a report from a competent legal tribunal who had investigated the case. It is to be noticed that this leaves no room for the influence of *rhetoric* on the susceptible public.

a 8. L, and several other MSS., for αὐτοί—which is clearly right—read αὐτοῖς; this reading occurs as a marginal variant in O, and was printed in the four first edd. Ficinus would seem to have read αὐτήν, as he translates "consilium ipsam electionem utriusque cognoscat et iudicet." (Possibly a scribe in whose ears αὐτοί and αὐτή sounded alike, wrote the latter by mistake; this then became αὐτήν in one MS. and αὐτῆς in another, this last changing back to αὐτοῖς by the converse of the original error. There is no trace of a reading αὐτώ.)—ἐπικρίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν αἴρεσιν ἑκατέρου: αὐτῶν probably depends on ἑκατέρου—"the choice of each of them," not "the choice of them (i.e. judges) made by each." Most likely each litigant chose one judge; the difficulty would be to agree on the third. If each persisted in his own choice for the third judge, the βουλή would have to select one of the two. It would therefore be manifestly unwise for either of the litigants to choose a decided partisan.—By βουλή we ought perhaps to understand the πρυτάνεις, who were a standing committee of the βουλή.—The ἐπι- in ἐπικρίνειν seems to mark the action of a superior authority.

b 2. ὁ γὰρ ἀκοινώνητος . . . εἶναι, "no man can feel himself a true citizen, who does not share the right of pronouncing judgement on his fellows." This little piece of political wisdom helps to form a true conception of the state, and citizenship. It may rank with another enlightening little sentence at 740 a 2–4, which reminds us that the land which belongs to a citizen also belongs to the state.

b 4. The καί marks the φυλετικὰ δικαστήρια as a fresh tribunal, and yet at b 7 below they seem to belong to the class of courts of first appeal mentioned above at 767 a 2 (ἄλλο δικαστήριον). Stallbaum is inclined to regard them as alternatives

to the court of neighbours and friends; but in that case there would be only *one* appeal court, and it is clearly laid down at 767 a 3 that there are to be two. See also 915 c 5 f. which distinctly speaks of the neighbours' courts as distinct from and inferior to the *φυλετικαὶ δίκαι*. The truth seems to be that in this *περιγραφὴ* (c 5) Plato did not attempt to give us a complete plan of courts as they might be arranged in detail, but only to enumerate certain leading principles of such an arrangement; e.g. (1) that there must be separate courts for state and private trials; (2) that there must be a second and a final court of appeal; (3) that this final court must be carefully constituted.

**b 5.** *ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα*: these words mark the contrast between the elaborate constitution of the final appeal court and the haphazard choice, for the tribal courts, of the first citizens at hand, as occasion demanded. Probably it was not contemplated that the whole tribe should be assembled for their election.—It seems to be hinted by the coupling together of the three points of (1) election by lot, (2) election as occasion demanded—i.e. when there was a cause to try—and (3) the inaccessibility to motives of personal sympathy, that somehow (3) was more likely to be found in conjunction with (1) and (2).—Perhaps these tribal courts were conceived as *country* courts, and the second Appeal Court in the city would sit more regularly, and be of a more elaborate constitution.—Both *κλήρω* and *ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα* logically qualify some such word as “be appointed”; this idea is *implied* in *δικάζειν*.

**b 7.** *ὃ φάμεν . . . παρεσκευάσθαι*, “which we assert to have been endowed with as complete an impartiality as the wit of man could devise.”

**b 8.** No editors put a comma after *παρεσκευάσθαι*; i.e. they all take *τοῖς μὴ δυναμένοις* with it, and not with *κρίνειν*. I prefer, though not very confidently, to take the dat. with *κρίνειν*, and would therefore insert a comma before *τοῖς*.—Ficinus for *φάμεν παρεσκευάσθαι* has “esse debere diximus,” as if he had read *παρασκευαστέον*.—*τοῖς* is *masc.*; Fic. takes it to be neut. (“ad eas lites dirimendas”).

**c 1.** The *φυλετικὰ δικαστήρια* are mentioned below at 915 c 5.

**c 2.** At 915 c 5 *ἀπαλλάττεσθαι*, when used in exactly the same connexion as here, is expanded by the addition of *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* and *τῶν ἐγκλημάτων*; Ast is therefore probably right (*Lex. s.v.*) in giving to the word in these two passages, not its ordinary sense of “get rid of,” “finish with,” but the meaning

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use of *πολιτική* as an adj. is more in accordance with Platonic usage than its use as a subst., and when Plato does use it as a subst., it is generally—as e.g. at 650 b 9—in the sense of the *science or art of government* (Wagner tries, in vain, I think, to fit that sense in here); (3) the dependence of *τῶν διοικήσεων* on the neut. *ένός τε καὶ πάντων*, or on *τὸ ὄλον τε καὶ ἀκρι(βές)*, though not impossible, is awkward.

d 5. For this use of *διέξοδος* in the sense of *enumeration, account*, cp. above 718 b 2. A sketch of the whole, he says, must precede the details of the parts, because in the explanation of these details a reference to other departments is often necessary. Cp. below 812 a 8.

d 7. Here he goes on to say that we have now reached the right (*ἱκανή*) point in our sketch where the subject of the appointment of magistrates may end for the present, and the account of laws proper begin. Ficinus and Schneider take *γενομένης* as a gen. abs. with *τῆς διεξόδου* understood—the latter translating it by “quoniam progressa est.” Wagner takes *γεν.* with *αἰρέσεως*—“bis zur erfolgenden Wahl der Obrigkeiten.” The former is clearly the right view. “You see (*νῦν μὲν*), at this point, now that the general outline has been completed as far as the election of magistrates, this would be a fit conclusion for the preliminary part of our subject.”

e 2. *καί* connects *ἱκανή*—which is supposed to be carried on to *ἀρχή*—with *ἀν. καὶ ὄκν. οὐ ἔτι δεομένη*; the failure to see this led the first three printed edd. to substitute *ἔστι* for the MS. *ἔτι*. Though Bas. 2 corrected this error, it reappeared in Steph.

e 7. *φιλίως*: what specially pleases the Athenian's hearers is that he has enabled them to see the subject as a whole in its two main divisions of (1) Political Machinery, and (2) Legal Enactment.

769 a 1. Above at 685 a 7 the Ath. says *περὶ νόμων παίζοντας παιδιὰν πρεσβυτικὴν σώφρονα*, and at 712 b 1 *πειρώμεθα . . . , καθάπερ παῖδες πρεσβῦται, πλάττειν τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς νόμους*. There is the same contradiction of terms in Parmenides's *πραγματειώδη παιδιὰν παίζειν* (*Parm.* 137 b) as in the *ἔμφρων παιδιὰ . . . διαπεπαισμένη* here: *παιδιά* involves the notion of a *pastime*, and of *make-believe*; but there is a *method* and a *meaning* in this *παιδιά*, as is shown by the words *πραγματειώδης* and *ἔμφρων*.

a 3. This contrast is still further brought out by Cleinias's answer. The connexion between the two remarks is better seen when we notice that the first begins with *καλῶς* and the second with *καλήν*. “A fine game,” the Ath. says: “A fine piece of

work," Cleinias answers. Notice also the contrast between *πρεσβυτῶν* and *ἀνδρῶν*.—*δηλοῦν* is "set forth," "display." The "work" is the actual constitution of Cleinias's new state.

**a 7 ff.** *οἷσθ' ὅτι κτλ.*, "just as the artist's brush, you know, seems never to get to the end of its work upon the several figures in his picture, but looks as if it were going on everlastingly heightening colour or 'relieving' it, or whatever the initiated call the process,—never reaching the point at which it admits of no further increase of beauty or vividness." (*τὰ γεγραμμένα* comes in better earlier in the English sentence.) Ast wished to eject *καθάπερ*, but it is better to suppose a conversational inconsequence—"just as the artist's brush, you know," standing for "you know how the artist's brush"; the *καθάπερ* enables us to put in the "how," and marks the *simile*.

**a 8.** *ζῶων*: though *ζῶον* is used for "picture" below at c 1 and 5, I think Ast and Stallb. are wrong in translating *ζῶων* by "pictures" here; it is "figures."

**a 9.** *ἀποχραίνειν*: at Arist. *De color.* 796 a 24, where, however, there is a variant *ἀποχρώζεται*, this verb is taken to mean "to change the colour of." If, however, it means here to *change*, or to *tone down*, or simply to *remove* colour, as some have thought, the expression is too straightforward to be *technical*; and that is what the subsequent words proclaim it to have been. At *Rep.* 586 c 1 spurious pleasures are said to look like real pleasures because they are "thrown into relief" (*ἀποχραινομένως*) by adjacent pains. The sense of "throw up," "relieve" (by adjacent contrast) also exactly suits our present passage. Therefore I think Ast and Stallb. right (but see Adam, on the *Republic* passage) in taking the use in the two Platonic passages to be the same. (A.M.A. holds that *ἀποχραίνειν* describes *removal of colour*, the *relief* being obtained by contrast, which normally consists of removal or darkening of adjacent colour. The explanation of *ἀποχραίνειν* in *Tim. Lex.*—*τὸ τὰ χρωσθέντα ἐνοποιεῖν*—does not help us much, unless it be thought that "combination" of colours is akin to the bringing out the force of one colour by the juxtaposition of a contrasted one.)—*τοῦ χρ. ἢ ἀποχρ.* and *κοσμοῦσα* both depend, in different ways, upon *παύσασθαι*.

**b 1.** For *οἱ ζωγράφων παῖδες* cp. above on 720 b 5.—*ἂν παύσασθαι* is just like *ἂν διακρίνειν* at 767 d 2.

**b 2.** *ὥστε*: the words *οὐκ ἂν ποτε . . . παύσασθαι* contain the idea "will never reach a particular final point," and on this idea depends "such as to admit of no further improvement."



**b 5.** ἐπεὶ, “alioqui,” Ast; cp. on 669 b 6. A clear case of ἐπεὶ “*although*.” All interpreters but Ast and Jowett seem to have taken ἀκούων as governing ταῦτα, as if Cl. said “listening to your words teaches me,” and translate ἐπεὶ by *since*, or *for*, as if it introduced a reason why it was *only* by such listening that he could learn. This is far-fetched. What Cl. says is: “I know pretty well from hearsay what you mean, though I am no expert in the painter’s craft.”—The καὶ αὐτός is best translated by emphasizing the first *I*.

**b 6 ff.** “That doesn’t matter; we can easily use the above-mentioned fact about it as an illustration.”

**b 7.** ὡς is epexegetic of τὸ τοιόνδε—“nempe, scilicet” (Ast).—“Let us put it to the following use—such as to ask . . .”

**c 1.** ζῶον: a survival of the Gk. use of ζῶον—“living creature”—for “*picture*” may perhaps be seen in the Art term “still life.”

**c 1–8.** From Ast downwards, all edd. have adopted Van Heusde’s correction of the MS. τέως to τε ὡς; but there remain two violent breaks in the construction—quite (*pace* O. Apelt p. 4) beyond the range, I think, of Platonic *anacolutha*. The second is the jump from τοῦ ἐπανορθοῦν τε in c 4 to οἴός τε ἔσται in c 6. This is entirely obviated by supposing, with Herm., that Plato wrote not τοῦ but ὅς before ἐπανορθοῦν. Schanz alone ventures to follow Herm. in his text. The τε and the καί link the two clauses together in a way which is impossible if the text stands as the MSS. have it.—The earlier break is in c 1–3 καὶ τοῦτ’ . . . χρόνου, and should be remedied, I think, by inserting <ἵεναι> after αὐτῷ— for which some early copies seem to have had δὴ. If this δὴ was a true variant, and not a corrector’s guess, it points to some confusion in the text at this point; and it does not seem impossible that ἵεναι—which exactly represents Ficinus’s *progrediatur*—should have been accidentally omitted. Without some such addition I think it is impossible to arrive at any of the renderings which have been given for the passage. The τό before φαυλότερον in O<sup>2</sup> I take to be a guess, made to bring it into line with τὸ βέλτιον, by a corrector who did not see that the τό does not go with βέλτιον but with ἴσχειν (intr.). Whether we insert the τό or not, we cannot construe the sentence satisfactorily if we take ἴσχειν as transitive; nor has ἴσχειν, however we take it, any satisfactory predicate in the received reading. Ficinus’s rendering is: “quod non ad peius sed ad melius futuro tempore progrediatur.” (A.M.A. suggests taking τοῦτ’ to be the subject to ἴσχειν in the sense of γίγνεσθαι—cp. βελτίων γίγνηται at e.1.)

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**e 5 ff.** Burnet is clearly right in taking ἔργῳ καὶ λόγοις with διδάξειεν ἄν rather than with μηχανὴν ἔχοι, though he has only Ficinus among previous interpreters on his side.—τίνα τρόπον διδ. ἄν is a dependent interrogative explaining what τοῦτο is; the διδάξειεν ἄν after τίνα τρόπον is just like the γίγνοιτ' ἄν after ὅπως at 770 d 1. As A, acc. to Schanz, has τινὰ the scribe evidently took διδ. to be the apodosis to εἰ ἔχοι.—εἴτε μείζονα εἴτε ἐλάττω: some make this agree with ἕτερον (Fic.), some with ἔννοιαν (Schneider, Wagner); Jowett takes it with τρόπον. The alternatives already mentioned admit of six different translations of the passage; and there is further the doubt which has been felt whether πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἐλθεῖν means (1) “until he has finished his explanation,” or (2) “until he succeeds in his object,” or (3) Stallb. thinks it may mean “while life lasts.” (2) is right, I think.—As to the reading in e 5, Ald. was no doubt right in correcting the MS. τοῦτον to τοῦτο. Possibly the scribes understood τοῦτον to be τὸν νομοθέτην, but more likely the final ν was accidental. (I think Fic. read τινὰ, and either read or put in a καί after νόμους; but his translation is not literal enough to indicate his reading clearly.) We may translate: “Well, supposing a man discovers a way to teach another, however imperfectly, by precept or example, the right method of conserving or improving laws, he will persevere, won't he, in his explanation of his method, until he succeeds?”

**770 a 6.** ἐν δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου: the reading at Arist. *Poet.* 1457 b24, which attributes this phrase to Empedocles, rests on inferior MS. authority; but it looks like a sensible correction of Aristotle's text, and may even have had the support of some independent tradition unknown to us.

**a 8.** καὶ τούτους, “them too” (as well as ourselves).—αὐτούς, “at the same time,” goes with the following words. (Schneider's “hos quoque ipsos” is pointless.)

**b 1.** Cl. “Certainly; if we can.”

**b 5.** ἡμεῖς πάμπολλα παραλείψομεν, “we lawgivers shall leave innumerable deficiencies in each of the subjects about which we legislate”; i.e. “in every division of our legislation.”—For the omission of περί with ὧν cp. above 659 a 7 ἐκ ταύτου στόματος οὐπερ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐπεκαλέσατο, 714 d 2 πρὸς ἄλλο τι . . . ἢ τὸ σύμφερον.

**b 6 ff.** οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' . . . περιηγηθέν, “at the same time we shall do our best to provide what I may call a sketch of the important details, and the general outline. This sketch it will be for you to turn into the finished picture.”

**c 2.** *αὐτά*, “what it is”—the guiding principle, i.e., indicated by the words *ὅποι βλέποντες*. It is the same as *ταῦτα εἰς ἄπερ κτλ.* at c 5.—The following passage is a reminiscence of 630 e 2 and 631 d, which is again recalled below at 963 a 3.

**c 7–e 6.** “Our unanimous decision amounted briefly to this: in whatsoever way our citizen’s nature, be it of man or woman, young or old, was likely to achieve a full measure of the excellence of soul of which it is capable, as the result of some occupation, some habit, some kind of possession or desire, or opinion, or of some mental discipline, towards this same object every nerve shall be strained as long as life lasts; nobody in any station must show a preference for any kind of thing that thwarts these means (of achieving perfection); he must sacrifice even the state, if it appears necessary that it should be overturned, sooner than see it bow to a servile yoke at the bidding of its meaner citizens, or else he must give up the state and become an exile. Any such fate must be suffered by men sooner than they should accept a régime productive of their deterioration.”

**d 1.** *ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός* is predicate, the subject being *φύσις* in d 4.—For *γίγνοιτ’ ἄν* cp. on 769 e 6.

**d 3.** For *ποιᾶς κτήσεως* Apelt (1901 Prag) would read *ποτ’ ἀσκήσεως*; after *ἐπιτηδεύματος*, however, *ἀσκήσεως* is *de trop*. [F.H.D. “probably right; see 896 d.”]—The (*ἐκ*) *μαθημάτων ποτέ τινων* is a foreshadowing of the *ἀκριβεστέρα παιδεία* of 965 b 1.

**d 5.** This *ὅπως* is the indirect form of *ὡς*, and introduces the gist of the above-mentioned *συγχώρησις*.

**d 6.** Stephanus’s restoration of *τεταμένη* for the MS. *τεταγμένη* is confirmed by Ficinus’s “*omni studio tendat.*”

**d 7.** *τούτοις* is not (as Ficinus) “this object,” but these *ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἦθη κτλ.*

**e 1.** *μηδ’ ὅτισοῦν*: i.e. whether he be an official or a private citizen. (Stallb. prefers *μηδ’ ὅτιοῦν*, which occurs in a MS. of no authority.)—*τελευτῶν*: so MSS. Here we approach the central knot in this bundle of entanglement. I see no way of untying it. It has been cut in different ways. From Stallb. I would adopt the change of the MS. *ὑπομείνασα* to *ὑπομείνασαν*, and I would put a comma after *γίγνεσθαι*, and read *τελευτᾶν* for *τελευτῶν*, taking it with *πόλεως* in the sense of “part with the state,” “sacrifice the state” (on the analogy of *βίου, λόγου τελευτᾶν*). It seems to me that we want two alternatives of which *ἢ λείπειν* is the second, the infinitives being governed by an imaginary “but must choose” implied, by contrast, in *μηδὲν προτιμῶν*. If we

have no such infinitive in the place of *τελευτῶν* we are driven (with Fic.) to take *ἐθέλειν κτλ.* as the alternative to *λείπειν*—i.e. (do something) “sooner than either sit down under the rule of mean men, or go into exile”; and it is not clear what the “something” is: Ficinus takes it to be “die for his country.” But even if he could get this out of *τελευτῶν δὲ καὶ πόλεως*, and could fit in *ἐὰν . . . γίγνεσθαι*, the words *πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα* in e 4 imply that more sacrifices (than that of life alone) have been mentioned. His translation is: “Pro patria praeterea, si necesse sit, mori paratus sit antequam velit aut eversam videre civitatem iugoque servitutis subiectam a peioribus gubernari, aut fuga ipsam deserere.”—Of the alternatives as I read them, the latter (exile) would only be adopted when the “right minded” were too few to make a fight; the former danger (extinction of the state) would result when neither side was strong enough to gain the upper hand, and they destroyed each other. (Ast would read *καὶ πόλεως ἀνάστατος*, *ἐὰν ἀν. φ., γίγν.,* and *ὑπομείνας*; his two alternatives then are (1) banishment, (2) flight.—Stallb. keeps *ἀνάστατον*, makes *πόλεως* depend on it, reads *ὑπομείνασαν*, and, like many editors, puts only a comma after *πόλιν*. Wagner would read *τὸ πόλεως* for *πόλεως*; he supplies, I imagine, *ἐὰν ἀνάγκη φαίνεται* with *λείπειν*. With these two interpreters *ὡς* in e 4 is not *for*, but *that*. Schanz reads *ὑπομείνας* with Ast, and rejects *ἢ* with Madvig.)

e 7. *ὑμεῖς*, like the *ἡμεῖς* at b 5, is emphatic: that was “*we lawgivers*”; this is “*you νομοφύλακες.*”—*ἡμῶν* goes with *τοὺς νόμους*.—The *ταῦτα ἐκάτερα* (and the *ταῦτα* in the following line) are not, as Ast and Stallb., (1) private, and (2) public, virtue, but (1) the encouragement of such pursuits etc. as are helpful to virtue (d 2), and (2) the discouragement of *ὅποσα ἐμπόδια τούτοις* (d 7).—I accept unhesitatingly O. Apelt’s (p. 11) restitution of *ἐπάνιτε* for the MS. *ἐπαινείτε*; “pass in review” exactly describes the action proper to the *νομοφύλακες*. Above at 708 e 1, O and all the inferior MSS. had *ἐπαινῶν* where A alone had preserved *ἐπανιών*. Cp. also 693 c 6, *Theaet.* 186 b 8.

771 a 1. Ficinus puts in *eas inquam vituperate* after *νόμους*; acting on this hint, or on one from Cornarius, Steph. silently inserts *ψέγετε μὲν* into the Gk. text at that point.

a 3. *τῶν ἀγαθῶν λεγομένων*: the worst of it is that some of these *ἐμπόδια*—e.g. great wealth—are regarded as legitimate objects of ambition.

a 5. *ἀρχὴ δὲ . . . ἡργμένη*, “we must next begin our laws somewhat as follows, keeping religion in view from the first.”

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special class." Cp. also *Laws* 848 a 7. (Grou conjectured ἀπομηθείσαιν, and Ast accepted it. Ficinus takes ἐπὶ θάτερα with ἀπονεμηθείσαιν, "si . . . ad alteram partem . . . accesserint.")

c 7. τῇ παρούσῃ φήμῃ καὶ λόγῳ: hendiadys, "the principle just enunciated."

d 1. ταύτην: Schneider, who translates "et distributionem hanc faciamus," apparently takes ταύτην to stand for τὴν διανομὴν ταύτην; all other interpreters take it to mean τὴν πόλιν or τὴν γῆν. Ast reads αὐτήν for it. Ficinus leaves it out in his translation.

d 3. ἐπ' αὐτοῖς: i.e. at the altars (Schn. "ad eos"; apparently he takes αὐτοῖς to refer to the patron deities).

d 4. δώδεκα μὲν . . . διαμερισμῶ: apparently each tribe had one rural, and one urban festival every month; the former for the tribe as a whole, the latter for that tribe's division of the city proper (cp. above 745 e 2).

d 5. θεῶν . . . θεούς: in the previous exposition of the advantages of these religious σύνοδοι or σύλλογοι at 738 d 6, the advantages were likewise represented as being of two kinds: (1) religious, and (2) social. The second class there corresponds almost exactly to the second class here. The first there was expressed in the difficult words ὅπως ἂν . . . εἰς τὰς χρείας ἐκάστας εὐμάρειαν παρασκευάζωσι. The words which here represent the first class I take to mean "to secure the favour of heaven and all the heavenly influences," taking τῶν περὶ θεούς as well as θεῶν to depend on χάριτος. At 796 c 3 we shall find a similar difficulty in dealing with the elusive word χάρις—τὴν τῆς θεοῦ χάριν τιμῶντας. Here it has generally been interpreted to mean either *gratitude*, or *worship* (and by some τῶν περὶ θεούς is made to depend directly upon ἔνεκα): "primum quidem diis habendae gratiae et rerum divinarum causa" (Schneider)—"haec deorum primo divinatorumque colendorum gratia ita fiant" (Ficinus). (A.M.A. agrees with this.)

d 7. ὡς φαίμεν ἂν marks the inclusion of the last named object as an opinion for which the speaker is personally responsible. The necessity of mutual acquaintance to the members of a community was enlarged on at 738 e 1 ff.

e 1. πρὸς, "in view of."

e 2. τὴν ἄγνοιαν . . . ἐκδίδωσι: ὧν, ἃ, and οἷς are generalizing neuters; τούτων (depending on ἄγνοιαν) has to be supplied in thought as their antecedent.—τις is almost equal to a plural—"people."—We may translate: "to put an end to ignorance of brides' families and brides themselves, as well as of families into

which daughters marry." For the neut. plur. cp. *πρέποντα* at 772 d 7, and *Soph. Ant.* 659 *εἰ γὰρ τά γ' ἐγγενῆ φύσει ἄκοσμα θρέψω, κάρτα τοὺς ἔξω γένους*, and *Soph. Phil.* 448 f. There is no need, with Ast, to write *ἦν* for *ἄ*.

e 5. *σπουδῆς . . . παιδιὰς . . . χορεύοντας*: Plato is never tired of finding "earnest" in pleasurable sport; cp. 672 e 5 *ὅλη μὲν που χορεία ὅλη παιδεία ἦν ἡμῖν*, and 656 c 2 *τὴν περὶ τὰς Μούσας παιδείαν τε καὶ παιδιάν*, and the place assigned to *pleasure*, and *festivals* in the theory of education as expounded at 653 c ff.

772 a 2. *μετὰ . . . προφάσεις*: this is not to be done at all times, and as a matter of course; a reason must be assigned, and a particular age fixed on. Some old story might associate such relaxation of ordinary rules with a particular age, and so give it a quasi-religious sanction. The *τινὸς* is possibly an indication that *ἡλικία* is not used in the ordinary sense of *time of life*, but in that of *occasion, season*; cp., however, *Symp.* 206 c *ἐπειδὴν ἔν τινι ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται*.

a 3. *μέχρι περ αἰδοῦς σώφρονος ἐκάστων*, "under the restraint of a clean-minded shame on the part of all." A *σώφρων αἰδώς* would admit of greater relaxation than an *αἰδώς* of the wrong sort. Cp. *Plut. Lyc.* ch. xiv. *ἡ δὲ γύμνωσις τῶν παρθένων οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἶχεν, αἰδοῦς μὲν παρούσης ἀκρασίας δ' ἀπούσης*.—*ἐκάστων* suggests that there might be some who would not be fit for such a function.—For the connexion of *αἰδώς* and *σωφροσύνη* cp. *Phaedr.* 253 d *τιμῆς ἐραστῆς μετὰ σωφροσύνης τε καὶ αἰδοῦς*, and *Charm.* 160 e f.

a 5. *τοὺς τῶν χορῶν ἄρχοντας καὶ νομοθέτας*: these would be the *ἀγωνιστικῆς ἀθλοθέται* οἱ περὶ *χορωδίαν* mentioned above at 764 e 2; *νομοθέτας* seems used here in the limited sense of *ἀθλοθέτας*.

a 6. *ὅσον ἄν*, "wherever," lit. "to whatever extent."—The Aldine *τάττοντας* looks simpler at first, but *τάττοντες* goes rather better with the neut. sing. *ὅσον*. (If *τάττοντας* be read it would seem better to put the comma after *νομοθέτας* instead of after *νομοφυλάκων*.) Schneider and Burnet are the only editors retaining the MS. text. (Schneider, and others, take *νομοθέτας* to be predicative, i.e. coupled by *καί* with *ἐπιμελητάς* and *κοσμητάς*.)—Ald. also changed the MS. *ὅσον* to *ὅσων*, but only the next three printed edd. followed him in this.—Is it possible that *νομοθέτας* is a mistake for *ἀθλοθέτας*?

a 7. Ast would make *ὅσα σμικρὰ καὶ πολλά* the direct obj.



of ἐκλείπειν, but it is best to take ὅσα κτλ. closely with τοιαῦτα πάντα, and supply “aliquid” (Schn.) with ἐκλείπειν.

b 2. κατ’ ἐνιαυτόν, “quotannis,” strengthened and amplified by the αἰεί; “in each succeeding year.”

b 4. ἕως ἂν ὄρος κτλ., “until the regulations for such proceedings shall seem to have been sufficiently defined.”

b 5. The MS. χορὸς for χρόνος was very likely due to the ὄρος in the preceding line.

b 6. As no MS. has a possible reading, we shall do well to follow Schanz and Burnet in adopting what is by far the best of the conjectures in place of the δεκάτηρις of A and O, i.e. Schneider’s δεκαετηρίς. This, like the vulgate δεκαέτηρος, might be an adj., in which case the genitives θυσιῶν and χορειῶν would depend on ἐμπειρίας, but it is best to take it as a noun on which the two genitives depend directly: “a ten years’ cycle of festal sacrifice and dance would be a reasonable and adequate period to assign” (lit. ταχθείς is “if assigned”) “for each and all of the details.” (Ast, holding that πάντα καὶ ἕκαστα, and the lawgiver’s enactments, both during and after the χρόνος ταχθείς, refer, not to ἱερά alone, but to all legislation, would reject the words θυσιῶν τε καὶ χορειῶν; but, as Ritter says (p. 171), the mention at d 2 of θεῶν μαντείας favours the general view that the whole passage refers to ἱερά alone.

c 1. κοινῇ: i.e. in consultation with the lawgiver.

c 2. εἰσφέρειν here means “report.”—τῆς αὐτῶν ἀρχῆς, “within the sphere of their office.”

c 3. ἕκαστον: i.e. ἕκ. τὸ παραλειπόμενον.

c 4. τοῦ καλῶς ἐξεργάσθαι depends on and explains τέλος.

c 6. αὐτοῖς: i.e. the various officials.

c 7. “καταλαμβάνειν proprie dicitur quicquid inopinatum et repentino quasi impetu nos deprehendit, et in universum quod improvisum nobis accidit,” Ast.—πάσας . . . ἐπελθόντας: ἐπελθεῖν is used, I think,—as at 850 c 2 ἐπελθὼν καὶ πείσας τὴν πόλιν—rather in the sense of consult, lay a matter before, than in that of visit; and so it governs ἀρχάς and δῆμον as well as μαντείας. The χορῶν ἄρχοντες and the νομοφύλακες are to consult first the whole body of state officials, next the public assembly, and thirdly all the oracles. A single objection from any of these quarters is to be fatal to a project of change.

d 4. For κρατεῖν abs. in the sense of “to have the best of it” cp. *Phaedr.* 272 b ὁ μὴ πειθόμενος κρατεῖ, and below 839 a 4 and 5; *Tim.* 54 a.

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accumulate in a narrow area, and a similar excess of poverty will be found at the other end of the scale.

**a 7.** In the same way endowments of mind and character must be tempered by the admixture of opposites, if the state is to be manned in a salutary fashion. (Plato would doubtless, in modern times, have counselled alliances between families of opposite political views.)

**b 5.** *μνηστεύω γάμον* sounds like a poetical expression; possibly it is a reminiscence of Eur. *I.A.* 847 *μνηστεύω γάμους οὐκ ὄντας ὡς εἶξασιν*.

**b 6.** *φέρεται δέ πως κτλ.*: again it is the *family* with which the alliance is to be made, rather than the positive qualities of the particular bride or bridegroom, which are supposed to determine the choice. It does not seem to have occurred to Plato that personal inclination, if more play were allowed to it, might act in the same way as the counsels of *οἱ ἔμφρονες*.

**c 1.** *τρόπων ἦθεσιν*: cp. 968 d 2 *τρόπων ἦθεσιν καὶ ἔθεσιν*.

**c 2.** *ἡμῖν* is emphatic, "to us, the founders of this state," as opposed to *ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι*.—*καὶ μάλιστα*: cp. *καὶ μάλα* at 772 c 6.

**c 3.** *διὰ λόγου*, "expressly" (not "per rationem" as Fic.).—*νόμῳ* is an instrumental dat. (not "add to the law" as Jowett).

**c 7.** *γελοῖα* qualifies the infinitives *προστάττειν* and *ἀναγκάζειν*. So at Xen. *Mem.* iv. 2. 32 *καὶ τὸ ὑγιαίνειν καὶ τὸ νοσεῖν . . . ἀγαθὰ ἂν εἶη*.

**c 8.** *ἂν ἐγείραι* (Ast) is better than *ἂν ἀνεγείραι* (Bekker) for the MS. *\*\*ἀνεγείραι*. Both A and O have a blank space between *θυμὸν* and *ἐγείραι*, which may well have been filled with *ἂν*, due to dittography of the first syllable of the already misread *ἀνεγείραι*. *ἐγείρειν* is far commoner in Plato than *ἀνεγείρειν*, more particularly in the figurative sense—cp. *Rep.* 440 c 5 *οὐκ ἐθέλει πρὸς τοῦτον αὐτοῦ ἐγείρεσθαι ὁ θυμός*;—The rare optative form in *-αι* (cp. above 719 e 3) was not so unusual in Homer as in Attic prose, and was perhaps adopted here from a vague reminiscence of Homer's *Τρωσὶν θυμὸν ἐγείραι*, though the latter, like the Homeric *μένος ἐγείρειν* (with dat.), is used, not in the sense of *incense*, but in that of "put heart into."—The early printed edd. insert *καὶ* before *θυμὸν ἀνεγείραι*.

**d 1.** *δίκην κρατῆρος κεκραμένην*, "mixed after the fashion of a drinkers' bowl."—*οὔ κτλ.*, "in which the wine, when poured in, is hot to madness, but when chastened by another and a sober divinity, thanks to good company, yields, a wholesome

and innocuous beverage.”—*μαινόμενος* is not merely an epithet of *οἶνος*; it is part of the predicate.—At *An seni*, etc. 792 b Plutarch paraphrases *κολαζόμενος* by *σωφρονίζεσθαι κολαζόμενον*. Plutarch’s comment at *De aud. poet.* 15 e illustrates *ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέτριον*; it is *ἀφαιρεῖ γὰρ ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ οἴνου τὸ βλάπτον, οὐ συναιροῦσα τὸ χρήσιμον*. [F.H.D. cps. also *Phil.* 61 c 6.] To Athenaeus this passage is simply a “familiar quotation”; he applies it, in a manner quite inconsistent with its context, merely to enforce the precept *οὐ χρὴ μεθύειν*. [Longinus] *Περὶ ὕψους* says that in the judgement of many Plato’s own style here needs the chastening of a “spirit of soberness”: *νήφοντα γάρ, φασί, θεὸν τὸ ὕδωρ λέγειν, κόλασιν δὲ τὴν κρᾶσιν, ποιητοῦ τινος τῷ ὄντι οὐχὶ νήφοντός ἐστι*.

d 5. *ἐὰν μὲν νόμῳ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀναγκαῖον*: not “the law must leave such matters” (Jowett), nor even, as Schneider and Wagner, “we must omit such matters *in our law*”; the following *δέ* clause shows that we ought to supply *πειρᾶσθαι* from it, and translate “(the wise man) must give up trying to attain such objects *by law*.”

d 6. *ἐπάδοντα πείθειν*: so at 664 b 4 *ἐπάδειν* is used of the persuasive power of *μουσική*; similarly at 671 a 1 *ἐπωδὸν γίγνεσθαι νέοις πρὸς ἀρετήν*. Stallb. cps. 837 e 6 *ἐπάδων πείθειν*, and 944 b 3 *τοιαῦτα παραμυθούμενος ἐπάδειν*, and *Rep.* 608 a 3 *ἐπάδοντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον . . . καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπωδήν*.

d 7. *τὴν τῶν παίδων ὁμαλότητα αὐτῶν αὐτοῖς*: above at b 7 he said the *state* would be ill-balanced if some citizens were excessively rich while others were excessively poor; here he points to the fear that the natures of the offspring would be *one-sided* if the temperaments of the parents both inclined towards the same extreme. There he was thinking of the external circumstances of the citizens; here of the natures and temperaments of the children. It is not easy to determine whether *ὁμ. αὐτ. αὐτ.* means that the object which each single father (*ἕκαστον*) must have in view is (1) the approximation of all citizens to a common type, (2) the resemblance of the man’s own children to each other—so Wagner—or (3) the “equability”—so Schneider and Jowett—of each child’s own temperament. The emphatic *αὐτῶν* inclines me to the third interpretation. Schanz says A has *αὐτοῖς*.

e 1. Steph. was the first editor to print *ἀπλήστου* for the *vox nihili ἀπλείστου* of the MSS., though A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> made the correction.—The insatiability of those who desire the wrong sort

of "equality" is, by a rhetorical figure, transferred to the equality itself.

e 4. *βιαζόμενον*—which is a variety in expression for *βία*—is antithetic to *δι' ὀνείδους*; like *ἐπάδοντα* in d 6 it agrees with the subject of *πειρᾶσθαι*, on which *ἀποτρέπειν* depends. (Schanz reads *βιάζεσθαι*; Stallb. says *βιαζόμενον* "stands per anacoluthon" for the inf.; while Ast compares it to idiomatic participles after verbs of saying and perceiving where we should expect an inf.)

e 6. *ἔμπροσθε*: at 721 b 6 ff. Here we have a further glimpse into Plato's deepest thoughts on human destiny. There we read that *γένεσις*, the power of reproduction, gives the human race a hold on immortality; here he says that *γένεσις* provides for the continuous service of *τὸ πάντων ἄριστον* (728 d 1), the supreme object of worship, and implies that only those who serve the Highest get into touch with *τῆς ἀειγενοῦς φύσεως*—real, indestructible existence. Thus we are led on to that wonderful passage at 903 c, where we are told that every *γένεσις* fashions an instrument for helping to secure the felicity of the universe, and that the great mistake to which each insignificant mortal is liable is to fancy that the universe is made for him, and not he for it.—With *τῆς ἀειγενοῦς φύσεως ἀντέχεσθαι* cp. above 721 c β *ἀθανασίας μετεκληφέναι*, and Aristot. *De an.* 415 a 29 *ἵνα τοῦ ἀεὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ μετέχωσιν, ἧ δύνανται*.

e 7. Steph. first corrected the MS. *καταλείποντι* to the acc., though he left the dat. in his text.

774 a 1. With *ὑπηρέτας ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι* cp. 776 b 3 *καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων, θεραπεύοντας αἰεὶ θεοὺς κατὰ νόμους*.

a 2. *ὡς χρὴ γαμείν*: these words are difficult. Ficinus, misled either by his text or by his eye, seems to have joined them to the *περὶ γάμων* in 773 e 5; for there his translation is: "ad nuptias igitur, ut decet, celebrandas"; here it is merely "de nuptiis ineundis." Wagner takes *ὡς* to be *how*—going back, i.e., to the subject of the sort of marriage which is advisable—a subject discussed above at 773 a ff.—he would even read *οὖς* for *ὡς*. But the following threat of penalties upon obstinate bachelors is in favour of Schneider's and Jowett's view that *ὡς* is *that*, and that the words mean "that marriage is a duty," and depend rather upon *προοιμιαζόμενος* than on *εἴποι*. I would suggest that it may have been a marginal heading which strayed into the text. Its place in Ficinus's translation gives some slight support to this view.

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The negatives are difficult ; for they do not negative the participles so much as *γηράσκειν*. We may translate : “But I would return to the subject, and insist that there is no great probability that, on account of dearth of money, whether in the case of the bridegroom, or in that of the bride’s father, the poor should fail to reach old age.” The reason follows : “in our state there *is* no abject poverty.” The early printed edd. turned τὸ into τῶ, and so all subsequent edd. except Schanz and Burnet. Another alteration of this passage suggested in the margin of O and the Florentine MSS. was the substitution of *διδάσκειν* for *γηράσκειν*. Ficinus read *γηράσκειν*. Ast and Stallb. welcome this change, and take *διδάσκειν* as an inf. with an imperative force : “we must teach the poor that it is as broad as it is long if a dowry is neither given nor received, all being equally poor,” “propterea quod isto modo omnibus sit pecuniarum pecunia” Stallb. The following γάρ clause does not in the least support a statement of this nature. Schneider and Schanz give the passage up and suppose a lacuna after ἐκδιδόντι. Apelt proposes to read *γεραίρειν* for *γηράσκειν*, retaining the unauthorized τῶ, and expressing doubt about the previous part of the sentence. His idea is that Plato is here urging us to pay respect to parents.

c 6. ὑπάρχοντά ἐστι stands for ὑπάρχει, as at 903 c 4 ἡ ὑπάρχουσα stands for ὑπάρχη.—The gen. after πᾶσι is unusual ; Schanz emends it to τοῖς.—It would be better to put a colon after πόλει ; what follows is a distinct reason for dispensing with dowries.

c 7. ὕβρις : Stallb. ad loc., and Bekker in the Excursus to the twelfth chapter of *Charicles* have collected many passages from ancient writers illustrative of the airs and tyranny of the *uxor dotata* (ἄλοχος πολύδωρος). Even Justinian iii. 3 adopts Plato’s arguments, speaking of dowries as “*frena*.” The original reading in A and O was ὕβρεις ; the correction made by A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> to ὕβρις has been universally adopted. Steph.’s ἡττων for ἡττον has no MS. authority. The adverb fits both clauses better than the adj. ; especially as δουλεία has two adjs. already. Ficinus’s *minor* is not conclusive for ἡττων, though somewhat in its favour.

d 2. ἐν τῶν καλῶν δρώη τοῦτ’ ἄν, “will so have one good deed to his credit.”—ἡ : we should have expected an explanatory καί instead of the first ἡ. This ἡ is not *or*, but *either*, or *whether*. The early printed edd., not seeing this, coolly put in ἀλλ’ before it ; they also, *de suo*, changed the δέ before μνᾶς to μέν. Contrary to his usual custom, Plato here begins the enumeration

of the four classes at the bottom. The sentence leaves several points unexpressed, and to be supplied from the context; if all were there it would run: <ὁ μὲν> πλέον . . . ὁ δὲ <πλέον ἢ> μνᾶς <ἄξια> κτλ.

**d 4.** ὁ τὸ μέγιστον τίμημα κεκτημένος: these words might well be marked off as a parenthesis. Their addition renders the corresponding additions in the previous clauses unnecessary. [F.H.D. suggests that the words are a commentator's "gloss."]

**d 5.** ὀφειλέτω μὲν τῷ δημοσίῳ: so L and O; it is doubtless the right reading. The scribes of these MSS., however, knew of a variant τῷ διῖ for τῷ δημοσίῳ, which variant is the text reading of A, which has the correct reading in a late hand in the margin. A further knows of a variant ὀφλήσει for ὀφειλέτω.—The author leaves us in some doubt as to the nature of the penalty. It is clear that the temple stewards concerned are to confiscate the surplus money or goods given with the bride; but it is not stated whether one or both of the guilty parties—and if one which—is to pay the equivalent fine to the public exchequer. We may conclude that in case of a marriage between members of different property-classes the rate of the higher class would fix the amount.

**e 2.** παρ' αὐτῶν ἐκάστους, "each out of his own private store." This payment by the defaulting stewards would apparently go to the temple treasuries.—Stallb. cps. Plut. *Solon* ch. xx. τῶν δ' ἄλλων γάμων ἀφείλε τὰς φερνάς, ἱμάτια τρία, καὶ σκεύη μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια κελεύσας, ἕτερον δὲ μηδέν, ἐπιφέρεισθαι τὴν γαμουμένην. There probably the φερνή was not the dowry in general, but only the trousseau.

**e 4.** ἐγγύην: Herm. *De vest.* p. 9 (note 25) notices that the two points in which Plato's law differs from that given at Dem. *Contra Steph.* p. 1134 are (1) that Plato characteristically admits relatives on the female side, and (2) mentions the *grandfather* as coming before the *brother*.—Steph. would write πρῶτην for πρῶτον. The case is like that of ἡττον at c 7; he has not here, however, any support from Ficinus, who has *primum* for πρῶτον, *deinde* for δευτέραν, *tertia* for τρίτην.

**e 7.** L and O do not share A's mistake of συμβαίνει for συμβαίνη.

**e 8.** κυρίου: the adj. can be applied, in a slightly different sense of course, to the people who are capable of making a "valid" betrothal. On the validity of the betrothal depended the legitimacy of the children of the marriage.

**e 9.** For προτέλεια cp. schol. on Aristoph. *Thesm.* 973 "Ἡρα τελεία



καὶ Ζεὺς τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων· τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος. διὸ καὶ προτέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ θυσία ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων γιγνομένη. See also Ruhnken, *Tim.* s.v.—For the MS. ἡ τις I think we ought to read ἡ τίς. ὅσα and τίς would then both introduce interrogative sentences dependent in grammar on ἐρωτῶντα. Stallb. wished to read ἡ εἰ τις.

**775 a 2 f.** πειθόμενον ἐκείνοις ἡγεῖσθαι πάντα ἑαυτῷ μετρίως γίγνεσθαι, “and be quite satisfied to do as they tell him.”—τοὺς ἐξηγητάς: these officials have already been mentioned at 759 c d.

**a 4.** For the “absolute” περί clause Stallb. cps. *Phaedr.* 250 c 8 περὶ δὲ κάλλους κτλ.

**a 5.** Ficinus unaccountably has *ex latere paterno* for what in our MS. text is ἐκατέρων; so Serranus *ex parte patris*.

**a 7.** εἰς χρήματα: cp. above on 774 b 4.—As at 774 d 4, the graduated arrangement of property-classes forms a framework which renders full expression of the points connected with each stage unnecessary; τῷ μεγίστῳ is loose for “the man of the highest class.”

**a 8.** ἐφεξῆς οὕτω, καθάπερ, “just in series according as . . .”

**b 3.** ὡς ἀπειρόκαλόν τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαίδευτον τῶν περὶ τὰς νυμφικὰς Μούσας νόμων: for the two ideas cp. *Rep.* 403 c 1 ψόγον ἀπειροκαλίας καὶ ἀμουσίας ὑφέξοντα.—For περί c. gen. as a variant for a simple possessive genitive cp. above on 685 c 2. For the genitive after ἀπαίδευτος cp. *Rep.* 619 d 3 πόνων ἀγυμνάστους.—I think Jowett is right, as against all other interpreters, in giving νόμων its technical *musical* sense. *Laws* are not things you are *educated* in; *music* is. It may be said that “the laws of the hymeneal Muses” is itself a figurative expression for “a cultivated, liberal state of mind and feeling”; but the Muses are not readily compared to legislators; and the sense of *strains* or *melodies*, or *harmonies* fits the phrase better: “as a vulgar soul that is not attuned to the melodies of the Muse of marriage.”

**b 4.** The subject of excessive drinking comes in naturally on the mention of the wedding feast.

**b 6.** οὐδ’ ἀσφαλές, “besides, it is dangerous.”—οὐτ’ οὖν δῆ (coming after οὐτε ἄλλοθί σου) is “above all” (it is out of place, and dangerous).—The MSS. of Athenaeus, who quotes this passage at x. 39, have οὐδ’ ἄλλοθι, and οὐδ’ ἀσφαλές; the Plato MSS. have οὐτε in both places. Dindorf corrected the first οὐδέ in Athenaeus, and Bekker the second οὐτε in Plato.

**c 2.** I am convinced that we ought to put a full stop after

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book. At 753 e 8 we were told that the proverb ἀρχὴ ἡμῶν παντός did not honour ἀρχή as highly as it deserved, and again at 765 e 3 the significance and importance of ἡ πρώτη βλάστη—“the seeds and weak beginnings” *Hen. IV. Part 2, iii. 1. 85*—was eloquently described.—Ast suggests that καί may be a misreading of the tachygraphical sign for ὡς. This would give us an easier sentence, but we are not driven to this assumption—still less to Schanz’s athetesis of καὶ θεός: the emphasizing καί and the abrupt identification of ἀρχή with the divine power seem not out of place in such a striking sentence. Probably Schanz, like Stallb., took the θεός to be the deity mentioned at c 4—μετὰ θεοῦ. ἀρχὴ σώζει πάντα was very likely a proverbial saying. (Apelt holds καὶ θεός to be a mistake for κατ’ ἔθος, and translates κατ’ ἔθος ἰδρυμένη, “der sich durch Gewohnheit fest eingewurzelt hat.” But does not this make the following *if* clause superfluous? ἀρχή cannot gain a firm footing unless it is duly honoured.)

**e 3.** ἰδρυμένη: ἰδρῦσθαι is the regular word for the establishment of a divinity.

**e 5.** ταῖν οἰκίαιν: the δύο οἰκήσεις belonging to each κλήρος mentioned at 745 e 4.

**776 a 1.** νεοττῶν: there is here none of the disapproval which was implied in the use of this metaphor at *Rep.* 548 a, where he speaks of wedded homes as ἀτεχνῶς νεοττιὰς ἰδίας.

**a 2.** χωρισθέντα is the most significant verb in this passage. The motive for this separation from the paternal home is explained by the following γάρ clause, and its necessity is again urged at a 7 ff. νομίσαντα is subordinate to χωρισθέντα; the τε, inserted after the latter word in Ald. and the next three printed texts, obscures the true significance of χωρισθέντα. (Ritter p. 405 suggests that perhaps νομίσαντα εἶναι stands for νομίζειν.)

**a 5.** κατακορῆς δὲ . . . πλησμονῆς, “while a companionship which is too close, and which misses the desire begotten by long absence, makes (the same natures) fall apart from sheer satiety (of companionship).”

**b 1.** Plato does not seem to have used ἐπισκοπεῖν elsewhere in the sense of *visit*.

**b 3.** καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων: Boeckh p. 140, among other instances in which Lucr. “colorem duxit a Platoniceis,” compares this passage with *De rerum nat.* ii. 78:

Inque brevi spatio mutantur saecla animantum  
Et quasi cursores vitae lampada tradunt.

For the λαμπαδηφορία, or λαμπάς, as it was also called; cp. Hdt. viii. 98, *Rep.* 328 with Adam's note.

**b 4.** With θεραπεύοντας ἀεὶ θεοῦς cp. above 774 a 1 ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρέτας ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι.

**b 6.** All subsequent editors have rightly adopted Ast's correction of the MS. κέκτητο to κεκτηῆτο.—τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλὰ . . . λεγόμενα, "Of the majority (of such belongings) it is as easy to give an account as to get possession of them; but slaves are a difficulty every way" (i.e. it is difficult to get possession of them, and difficult to give directions about them). "And the reason is, that we say things about slaves which are partly right and partly wrong; for we contradict experience of their serviceableness as well as follow its teaching in the form which our very language takes about them"; in other words, "our very language about slaves is inconsistent, and our experience shows a similar diversity and contradiction." This enigmatical sentence naturally brings from the downright Megillus a request for further explanation. "Do we?" he says; "what do you mean?" At c 6 ff. the Ath. admits the obscurity of his remark, and then explains that he meant that about any known system of slave-holding you will find a bewildering diversity of opinion; more particularly that, though we all know cases where slaves have been more to their masters than even brothers or sons, we sometimes talk of them as if they were good-for-nothing:—e.g. you find Homer saying that by divine ordinance slavery is essentially degrading to the slave. (Susemihl takes χρεῖαι to be "our needs," and tries to get from the words the meaning "sometimes we speak of slaves as if they were the reverse of useful to us, and sometimes as if they were useful"; but, as Ritter says, even if the words could be made to mean this—which they cannot—that would be no *reason* (αἴτιον) for the *difficulty* of the subject. Ritter himself construes ἐναντία . . . καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα "for according to the way we treat them, slaves show characteristics that are the opposite of each other, and in accordance with the way in which we treat them, we also mould our judgement about slaves." This general conclusion harmonizes well with the following remarks of the Ath. about the treatment of slaves, but ignores entirely the manifest opposition between ἐναντία ταῖς χρεῖαις and κατὰ τὰς χρεῖας.)

**c 3.** The τὰ which was left out in A is supplied by an early hand in the margin, and is present in O, though τὰ λεγόμενα is in an erasure; it seems as if in the original of both there was some indistinctness about the τὰ.

c 7. πάντων τ. 'Ε. : the gen. goes with the superlative πλείστην, and is like that of the idiomatic ἀνθρώπων—"in the world"—with a superlative. It is equivalent to "throughout the whole of Greece"; cp. *Prot.* 342 a 7 φιλοσοφία γάρ ἐστὶν παλαιότατη τε καὶ πλείστη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐν Κρήτῃ τε καὶ Λακεδαίμονι, and *Laches* 197 d 4.

c 9. ἡ Ἡρακλεωτῶν δουλεία τῆς τῶν Μαρνανδυνῶν καταδουλώσεως, "the slavery-system of Heraclea under which the Mariandyni are held in serfdom." This is (nearly) Stallbaum's interpretation, and is right, I think, as against Ruhnken's view—adopted by Liddell & Scott—that δουλεία is "abstract for concrete"—as in the next case cited—and stands for *body of slaves*. R. is however right, as against Stallb., in taking καταδουλώσεως to be a genitive of *definition* (cp. on 723 d 6), rather than a genitive of *origin*.—For the relation of the Mariandyni to the people of Heraclea Pontica, Ast and Stallb. refer, among other authors, to Strabo xii. 3. 41, p. 817. Athenaeus vi. 263 e f. and 264 a f. gives authorities for regarding the servitude of the Mariandyni and Penestae as the result of voluntary compacts.

d 4. ὁ δὲ . . . τόδε ἐστίν : an abrupt explanatory asyndeton.—παριῶν τῷ λόγῳ, "in the course of my argument"—lit. "as I passed along it in my argument."

d 5. ἴσμεν . . . ἀρίστους : in other words, we all admit the possibility of slaves being capable and well-disposed. The γάρ in d 7 is "why!" or "you know," rather than "for."

d 8. It would be interesting to know whether O has any trace of the senseless dislocation of letters by which A arrived at γενομένοις εσώ κασιν. (A new collation of the now recovered O would be of great value.)

e 4. With τούναντίον we must supply either λέγεται, or ἴσμεν λεγόμενον.

e 5. τῷ γένει is sufficiently defined by the δούλης in the preceding line. Ast wanted to insert τούτῳ, and Stallb. τῶν δούλων before γένει.

e 6. καὶ ἀπεφήνατο, "explicitly declares"; the καί emphasizes the verb.

777 a 1. For the variety of reading see scholia and notes on *Od.* xvii. 322 f. τε νόου . . . ἀνδρῶν sounds more like Homer than τ' ἀρετῆς . . . ἀνέρος, and gets some confirmation from the ἀνθρώπων . . . νόον ἔγνω in a 3.—The first hands in A and O thoughtlessly wrote ἀπαμείβεται; L and A<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>2</sup> have ἀπαμείρεται.

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περὶ τὰ κτλ. — the *περί* being naturally left out in view of the *περί* in the following line; it is easily supplied from the preceding *περὶ τὰς*, and *περί γε τὰς*. If the *τά* be rejected, the construction must be *καὶ ὅσα συμβαίνει περιδίνων . . . ἔργα καὶ παθήματα*.—For *περιδίνων* (so a late hand in A and O for *περιδείνων*) the scholiast in A, and Hesych. s.v., give the interpretation *πειρατῶν*.

**c 5 f.** Athenaeus and Stobaeus have *παντοδαπῶν*, clearly an error.—The MS. *κλοπῶν*, which Naber would reject, Burnet well emends to *κλωπῶν*. In A the *ο* is in an erasure. We may translate: “History has repeatedly shown (how many troubles result from this source) in the case of the frequent revolts wont to be made by the Messenians, and in that of the states which own many dependents of the same race; and again in the case of the multifarious robberies and adventures of the so-called ‘Rovers’ of the Italian shore.” It is implied that these Italian pirates had once been held in subjection as slaves. The people in that part of the world have always taken naturally to brigandage.—Stobaeus has doubtless preserved the correct reading in *ἄν* *πάντα*, where all other texts have *ἅπαντα*. Cp. Adam on *Rep.* 437 b: “I have noted the—certain or probable—omission of *ἄν* in all or the best MSS. in *Phaedo* 62 c, 109 e, *Euthyd.* 291 e (?), *Rep.* 457 d, 516 e, 558 d, where the omission is lipographical; also in *Phaedo* 72 b, *Euthyd.* 281 c, *Crat.* 389 e, 409 a, *Alc. I.* 132 b, 133 e, *Soph.* 266 a, *Phil.* 47 b, *Hipp. Mai.* 295 a.”—This sentence is a curious—perhaps we may say careless—repetition of the *εἰς ἃ καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα βλέψαντας κτλ.* at 776 d 2.

**c 7.** *δύο δὴ λείπεσθον μόνω μηχανά*, “all I can find to recommend by way of policy is these two things.”

**c 8.** *τοὺς μέλλοντας ῥᾶον δουλεύσειν*, “if they are to bear the yoke easily.”—The Grammarians quoted in Stallb.’s note tell us (1) that *πατριώτης* was used in the sense of *συμπατριώτης*, just as *πολίτης* is used for *συμπολίτης*, and (2) that *πολίτης* would be used for a free Greek, *πατριώτης* for a slave or a barbarian.

**d 2.** *μὴ μόνον . . . προτιμῶντας*, “paying them attention, not merely on *their* account, but still more on their own.” *προτιμᾶν*, as at 770 d 7, is not used in the sense of *prefer*, but is merely a stronger *τιμᾶν*. With *αὐτῶν* we must supply *ἔνεκα* from the former part of the sentence.

**d 3.** *ἡ δὲ τροφή τῶν τοιούτων*, “the proper way to treat men in that position is . . .”

**d 4.** εἰ δυνατόν marks the statement as something of a paradox ; ἀδικία is, of course, never *allowable*. The following γάρ clause sets the precept in its right light. The justice which shows itself when there is *no compulsion*, must be *genuine*, and is therefore admirable.

**d 7.** ὁ περὶ τὰ τῶν δούλων ἦθη καὶ πράξεις stands for ὁ περὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν δούλων ἦ. κ. π. Schneider is, so far as I know, the only interpreter who takes these words in the right way ; all others content themselves with the reproduction of Ficinus's senseless "circa mores actionesque servorum." ἦθη καὶ πράξεις is fairly rendered by the English *behaviour*—"the man who shows himself free from all taint of wickedness and oppression in his behaviour towards his slaves."

**e 1.** σπείρειν εἰς ἀρετῆς ἔκφυσιν (ἱκανώτατος) must be a poetical quotation ; "ad producendas virtutis fruges aptissimus" Fic. Cp. *Cymbeline* iv. ii. 180, "valour | that wildly grows in them, but yields a crop | as if it had been sow'd." The poetical ἀμίαντος was doubtless part of the same passage. It reads like a bit of Pindar.

**e 2.** εἰπεῖν ὀρθῶς ἅμα λέγοντα, "to say, and with truth." "Rhetoribus tritum est dicere εἰπεῖν λέγων, ἔφη που λέγων" Lobeck on Soph. *Aj.* 757.

**e 3.** καί is "or," and πᾶσαν "any kind of."—Here, as in the injunction at 729 b, αἰσχύνεσθαι τοὺς νέους, we come very near to chivalrous and even Christian sentiment.

**e 4.** πρὸς ἀσθ. ἐαν. does not go with δυναστεύοντι—that would be tautological—but with εἰπεῖν—"to declare in the case of any superior with reference to his inferior." Cp. the note on πρὸς at 778 a 2.

**e 5.** The δ' ἀεί of A and O is a peculiarly senseless reproduction of a scribe's error, due to the dittography of the Δ of δεῖ. If it had not been for the quotations in Ath. and Stob. we should no doubt have acquiesced in the vulgate ἀεί.—καὶ μὴ κτλ., "instead of debauching them by mere admonitions such as we should use to our equals."—Aristotle at *Pol.* i. 1260 b 5 directly contradicts Plato on this and the following point.

**778 a 1.** πᾶσαν, "pure and simple."

**a 2.** ἃ δῆ, "whereby"; a curious adverbial neuter plural—something like τὸ δέ used for "whereas." Nearly the same ἃ δῆ occurs at *Phaedr.* 244 d 6 (possibly in a poetic quotation), at Soph. *Aj.* 1043 (Lobeck's note), Dem. *Epist.* 1490, and stands for ἅτε δῆ or οἶα δῆ.—πρὸς δούλους is the greatest difficulty ; it seems



to be used “pregnantly,” in the sense of “in their treatment of slaves.” Cp. on 777 e 4; the sense is helped by the previous *πρός* in *προσπαίζοντας*.

a 3. The active *θρύπτοντες* is manifestly used in the sense of the previous *θρύπτεσθαι ποιεῖν*, and we must supply *αὐτούς*, or, better, *τὸν βίον*, from the context, as its object. *ἄρχεσθαι* and *ἄρχειν* are somewhat irregularly epexegetic of *χαλεπώτερον*. (Schneider takes *ἄ* to be directly governed by *θρύπτοντες*—“*cujusmodi deliciis multi admodum stulte in servos utentes.*”) | We may translate: “whereby, in their treatment of slaves, many people, most unwisely, in bringing over-refinement into their life, make it harder both for the slaves as slaves, and for themselves as masters.”

a 7. *ὅτε τις . . . κατεσκευασμένος . . . εἴη . . . χρή*: an unusual construction—the *indefinite ὅτε εἴη* for the simple temporal *ὅτε ἐστί* or *ὅταν ᾗ*. It is as if we should say *as often as*, in the place of *as soon as ever*; the *ἕως εἴη* at *Theaet.* 155 a 4, where the apodosis is *φήσομεν ἂν γενέσθαι*, is somewhat analogous, but less extraordinary. I think it possible that Plato wrote *χρήν*—a “philosophic” imperfect; if so, the opt. would be more regular.

b 2 f. *τὴν . . . πόλιν ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι*: for the acc. of the agent with a neut. verbal adj. cp. 643 a 6 and 688 e 5.

b 3. *περί τε ἱερὰ καὶ τείχη*: I think interpreters are wrong in treating these words as if they were *περὶ τὰ τε ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ τείχη*; i.e. *τε* is not *both*, but *and*. *περὶ ἱ. καὶ τ.* are a variety of expression for *τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ τείχων*, and as such are coupled by *τε* with *τούτων*. What Plato says is that the virgin city’s task is to go into all details of city architecture, “and (more particularly) the details of the structure of the temples and the city walls.” That is to say, he does not *here* limit the question to the consideration of temples and walls alone. It is only at *νῦν δὲ μόνον* in c 1 that he lets us know that the subject of city architecture is not to be treated at length.

b 4. *ᾗν*: a variety of the “philosophic” imperfect; “really, properly, came before . . .” He goes on to explain that, though *in reality* the houses would have to be built before the family life was begun, *in a disquisition* on the subject we may arrange matters in the reverse order, if we like.

b 5. The subject to *γίγνεται* is *πόλις* (understood).—*λόγῳ* is a repetition of the *λόγῳ* at a 10.—*καὶ μαλ’ ἐγχωρεῖ*, “it is perfectly legitimate”—the strengthened *μάλα*.

b 7. *ἔὰν θεὸς ἐθέλη*: as at 632 e 7 this is added, by way of “make-believe,” about a topic which will *not* be found in the

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words in which he tells us.”—The author and poem are unknown.—Here again Aristotle disputes Plato’s judgement: at *Pol.* 1330 b 32 he says *περὶ δὲ τειχῶν, οἱ μὴ φάσκοντες δεῖν ἔχειν τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιοιμένας πόλεις λίαν ἀρχαίως ὑπολαμβάνουσιν.*—The *μὲν καί* marks the first of the two reasons given as subordinate in importance to the second, which is introduced by *δ’* . . . *ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις.*

e 1. *γήινα*: not necessarily of *earth*—or even of brick. He uses this word rather than *λίθινα* because of the previous *ἐν τῇ γῇ κατακείμενα*. The substance of the “earth” in Greece is rock, and the walls *dug out of the earth* would be walls of stone. Ast quotes the orator Lycurgus (*Adv. Leocr.* 153) *ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν αὐτῶν ἀνδρείαν ἀσφαλεστέραν φυλακὴν εἶναι νομίζοντες τῶν λιθίνων περιβόλων.* Plut. *Lyc.* ch. xix. represents the legislator Lycurgus as saying, “*οὐκ ἂν εἴη ἀτείχιστος πόλις ἄτις ἀνδράσι καὶ οὐ πλίνθοις ἔστεφάνωται.*” Here *πλίνθοι* means blocks of stone.—*τὸ ἡμέτερον* is a periphrasis for *ἡμεῖς*.

e 2. *τὸ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν μὲν ἐκπέμπειν εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς νέους*: the reference is to the tasks proposed at 760 e 6 ff. for the *ἀγρονόμοι*; the *μὲν* corresponds to the *δέ* at e 6, where the construction goes on as if we had *εἰ μὲν ἐκπέμπομεν* here.

e 5. *ὡς δὴ . . . οὐκ ἔασοντας ἐπιβαίνειν*, “with the manifest intention of keeping them out of the country.”

e 6. Steph. would substitute *εἰ* for *δέ*, and Wagner supports *εἰ* by the argument that it is not the mission of the *ἀγρονόμοι*, but the building of the walls that is said to be “ridiculous.” But what Plato says is ridiculous is the *inconsistency* between the two actions, and that is exactly expressed by the *μὲν* and *δέ*.

e 7. Ast is certainly right in taking *πρὸς* to be an adverb. (Stallb. would have us couple *πρὸς μαλθακὴν ἕξιν ποιεῖν* in the sense of “conduce to effeminacy.”)

e 8. *προκαλούμενον κτλ.*, “a city-wall incites men to run inside it instead of facing the foe, and instead of seeking safety by ensuring that some of them are vigilant night and day, to fancy that the real way to be safe is to shut oneself up and go fast asleep inside walls—as if men were meant for inactivity! Such men don’t know that real ease and rest is what comes *after toil*:—what is more, I can tell them that ease and rest of the disgraceful kind, which is nothing but laziness, inevitably produces toil and trouble in its turn.”

. 779 a 4. The close coupling of *καθεύδοντας* with *φραχθέντας* by *τε καί* is a humorous touch, as if not *to be wide awake*

(φρουρεῖν νύκτωρ) but *to go fast asleep* were the right way to protect oneself.

**a 6.** With τὴν ῥαστώνην ὡς ὄντως ἐστὶν ἐκ τῶν πόνων, where the ὄντως marks the expression as proverbial, we may compare 2 *Henry IV.* v. iv. 28, “Well, of sufferance comes ease.”

**a 7.** οἶμαι is a gentle expletive; Wagner’s “nach meiner Meinung” makes too much of it, and too little of the strength of the opinion here expressed.—καί is *explanatory*. (The early printed texts altered ῥαθυμίας to ῥαθυμίαι, an erroneous assimilation like that of δικαστήρια to δικαστηρίων at 778 c 7.)

**a 8.** πάλιν: whereas the natural order is from toil and trouble to rest, an unnatural propensity to rest *first* will work *the reverse way*, and lead from rest to toil and trouble.—Jowett’s “a renewal of trouble” introduces a wrong notion.—τι, “for any reason.”

**b 2.** βάλλεσθαι: used (in the middle) like the Lat. *iacere* (*fundamenta, muros*).

**b 3.** ὁμαλότητί τε καὶ ὁμοιότησιν: instrumental datives describing the way in which security was to be gained. The houses were to be built on the same plan, and of the same size, so that they would fit together and present an impregnable front to the outer world. (Ficinus took the two datives with the previous clause—as if these characteristics made the city “one continuous wall.”)—εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς: this arrangement of the houses was apparently not to be confined to those on the edge of the city. The ὁδοί would cut the town up into blocks enclosed in continuous walls.

**b 6.** διάφορος: *superior*, that is, in safety, to an arrangement which would expose each house to be attacked on all sides.

**b 7.** MSS. ἕως ἂν μὲν ἤ; Schneider corrected μὲν ἤ to μένη, but, as Ritter says, ἕως ἂν μένη is unintelligible. Burnet has doubtless restored the correct reading by the suggestion that the first letter of the MS. εως is due to dittography of the ε of δέ.—I think it is possible that we ought to remove the comma after δέ and make τούτων depend on τὰ οἰκοδομηθέντα.

**c 1 f.** καί, “even to the extent of.” ζημιούοντας is subordinate to προσαναγκάζοντας, indicating the means of compulsion.

**c 4.** τῶν τῆς πόλεως . . . ἐπιλήψεται, “encroach on public property” (Jowett). It is possible that the words mean “interfere with the plan of the city.”

**c 7.** οἰκεῖν, as Ast and Stallb. say, is *administrare*. (Ritter follows Susemihl in taking ὅσα . . . πρέπον ἂν οἰκεῖν εἶη to mean “which sites it would be proper to occupy with buildings”—lit.

“inhabit.” His objection that the province of the *ἀστυνόμοι* did not extend outside the city-walls would apply still more to his own interpretation. Such matters, however, as e.g. the introduction of water-courses, and the places where the country roads were to enter the city, were naturally the concern of the city authorities.) [F.H.D. and A.M.A. suggest that ὅσα may be ὅσα ὕδατα.]—*συνιδόντες ταῖς χρείαις: ταῦτα πάντα* is not directly governed by *συνιδόντες*, but by *ἐπινομοθετούντων*; the dat. *χρείαις* is governed by the *συν-* in *συνιδόντες*, “considering them in the light of experience”—“usu docti” Fic.—“usu cognita” Schn.—There is some analogy in construction with 965 b 10 *πρὸς ἐκεῖνο συντάξασθαι πάντα συνορῶντα*; there *πάντα* is directly governed by *συντάξασθαι*.

d 2. *δι’ ἀπορίαν*: there are many such points which the statutory law is incapable of foreseeing.—ὄτε, “now that.”

d 4. *περιμένει*, “are ready for.”

d 8. *ἔστωσαν γεγονότες*: so at 736 b 7 *ἔστω συμβεβηκυῖα*, where there was the same invitation to *imagine* that a certain stage had been reached; cp. too 712 a 4.

d 9. *δίαίτα*: rather *vitae spatium* (Schn.) than *vivendi regula* (Fic.); ἦν in the next line is *temporal*, like *τὴν ἡμέραν* at 780 a 4.

e 2. *διαφερούση ἐσομένη*: this, and ὧν διαφέρων at 963 b 5, may, as Stallb. says, be added to Porson’s list in his note on *Hec.* 358 beginning “Rara participii substantivi cum alio participio conjunctio.”—Schneider, Zurr., Herm., Wagner, and Schanz all follow Bekker in printing a mark of interrogation after *ἐσομένη*. The early edd. up to Steph. put a full stop after it. Ficinus, however, had already seen that *τίνα τρόπον χρὴ ζῆν* depends on *εἰπεῖν*. Ast (in his text), Stallb., and Burnet rightly follow Ficinus, and Burnet makes the construction rather more clear by marking off *τὸ δὴ . . . ἐχόμενον* (which Fic. neglects altogether) as a parenthesis. This parenthesis means: “the natural sequel to our previous injunctions”—the injunctions, i.e., given above and interrupted at 776 b 5, on the subject of choice of a wife, and the marriage ceremony. The above-mentioned majority of interpreters take *τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων* to be the immediately preceding words. But why should Plato call the problem that faces him one that *springs from* the previous one, when it *is* the previous one—the question, i.e., how the married pair are to spend the first year of married life?

e 4. *τοιούτων*: i.e. *δυσκόλων* or *δυσχερῶν*, which is the equivalent of the ironical *οὐ πάντων εὐκολώτατον*.

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mean *aliter* do not take it with ἐν συσσιτίοις, only with τὴν δίαιταν ποιεῖσθαι. Besides doing violence to διαφερόντως, this enlargement of the reference to life in general is quite out of place; the following context shows that the συσσίτια alone are in question here.—τοῦτο in b 2 is *the institution of the συσσίτια*.)

b 2. τοῦ . . . χρόνου: by brachylogy for ἢ ἐν τῷ . . . χρόνῳ.

b 3. θαυμαστὸν ὄν: i.e. to the rest of Greece.—(Ast would reject ὄν as due to dittography of the last syllable of θαυμαστὸν, supplying ἦν as the verb; but the anacoluthon in the δέ in b 7 is natural in a conversational style.)—κατ' ἀρχὰς πρῶτον: a pleonasm of the same nature as κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα.—παρ' ὑμῖν: i.e. in the countries of both his hearers.

b 4. νομοθετεῖν: used figuratively, like our “dictate”; when the verb is repeated below at c 6 it is used in its natural sense. The first institutor was not a real lawgiver, but a *special need*—at e 2 he calls it a *providential* one—the implication being that no human lawgiver could have ventured to enforce such a custom.

b 5 f. ὑμῖν, from b 4, has to be supplied in thought with νομοθετήσαντος, and with this ὑμῖν ἐχομένοις agrees; the words ἐν ὀλιγαθρωπίαις and ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἀπορίας describe two attendant circumstances which conspired to compel the adoption of συσσίτια: (1) the population was small, and (2) it was threatened by a great danger. (A.M.A. cps. the “National” or “Communal Kitchens” started during the war.)

c 1. Schanz suggests that possibly we ought to read φέρειν for διαφέρειν.

c 2. ἐπιτήδευμα: as at 638 c 2, “practice.”

c 4—d 1. “What I wanted to explain was, that, though this institution was once viewed with amazement, and was one which no lawgiver would have dared to impose on people, to-day there would be no such difficulty in the way of the lawgiver who wanted to enact it. But that which is the logical consequence of this institution, a thing which, like the former (τε), is by nature adapted to succeed if tried, and which, because it is tried nowhere, as good as makes the lawgiver, as the saying is, card his wool into the fire and lose his labour in countless other such ways—this is one which it is neither easy to propose, nor for the proposer to put in practice.”

c 7. The τε after πεφυκός and that after νῦν seem right enough, and there is no need to change the second into δὲ with Hermann (followed by Stallb., Bdh., Wagn., and Schanz); but I think that Badham is certainly right in removing the comma

after the second *γινόμενον* and the *τε* after *ὀλίγου*. It is not the institution in question that makes the legislator's work fruitless, but *the fact that the institution is nowhere adopted*. The *τε* after *νῦν* connects the first *γινόμενον* with *ποιοῦν*, to which the second *γινόμενον* is subordinate.—There are two spheres where “law and order” (d 5) ought to be introduced; its absence in the second vitiates its action in the first. This is explained in what follows.—Another conjecture I would unhesitatingly accept in this passage is Ast's change of *ποιοῦντα* to *πονοῦντα*. He cps. *Rep.* 486 ε *ἀνόνητα δὴ πονῶν*.—*ἀνήνυτα* is an adverb.

c 8. “The phrase *τὸ τῶν παιζόντων* in Plato seems always to mean “as they say in the proverb” or “proverbial saying.” Adam on *Rep.* 422 e.

d 3. *ἀποκνεῖν*: this word reminds us of Socrates's expressions of reluctance to deal with the regulation of the position of women at the beginning of Bk. V. of the *Republic*.

d 4. *ἀκούοιτ' ἂν . . . μάτην*, “I will explain, for fear that this very subject may involve us in much useless discussion.” (Fic., Ast (*Lex.*), and Schneider take *διατριβή* to be simply *delay*: “ne frustra in hoc ipso diu vos teneam,” Schneider.)

d 6. *τῶν δὲ ἀτάκτων . . . ἄλλα ἕτερα*, “while most of what is unregulated or ill-regulated weakens the effect of something else that is well regulated.”

d 8. *ἄλλα ἕτερα*, “others besides”; a tautological expression—something like our “safe and sound”—sufficiently familiar to be used where the sense of rhythm demands weight of phrase. Cp. Eur. *Or.* 345 *οἶκον ἄλλον ἕτερον ἢ τὸν ἀπὸ θεογόνων γάμων*, *Suppl.* 573 *πολλοὺς ἔτλην δὴ χατέρους ἄλλους πόνους*, Dem. *De Rhod. lib.* p. 198 *Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ἄλλας ἕτερας πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας*, Plato, *Crat.* 438 d 4 *οὐ γάρ που ἐπὶ ὀνόματά γε ἕτερα ἄλλα τούτων*, and *Laws* 875 d 7, 894 e 5, and 933 e 6 (acc. to the MS. reading).—*οὗ δὴ καὶ νῦν ἐφέστηκεν περὶ τὸ λεγόμενον*, “it is just as an instance of this that the subject under discussion now presents itself to us.” A partial analogy to this is presented by Arist. *Metaph.* ii. 999 a 24 *ἀπορία . . . περὶ ἧς ὁ λόγος ἐφέστηκε νῦν*; cp. also Arist. *Pol.* 1287 a 1. *τὸ λεγόμενον* then would be the position of women, and the whole sentence would mean, “the position of women is a case in point.” (It must be admitted that this explanation is somewhat strained. If we could be bold enough to adopt Badham's rather violent change (p. 20) of *περὶ* to *πεῖρα*, all difficulty of interpretation would vanish: “and we have in this very thing a case in point, as the saying is.”—It would also



be perhaps too bold to imagine the existence of such a phrase as *περὶ τούτου ἐφέστηκεν* in the sense of “that is the matter in hand”—*ἐφέστηκεν* being impersonal.—Ast, Schn., and Wagner take *ἐφέστηκεν*—here, and perhaps in the Aristotelian passage as well—to mean “*is at a standstill*”; but, though *ἐπιστῆναι* can certainly mean “to halt,” “to come to a stop,” it is doubtful whether the perf. was used in the sense of “to stand still”; besides, it is not clear that there *is* any *halt* in the discussion.—*τὸ λεγόμενον*, acc. to these interpreters, is *oratio nostra*. [F.H.D. agrees with Ast and Schneider.]

e 1. ὅπερ εἶπον : i.e. at 780 b 3.—*θαυμιαστῶς* is not *admirably* (Fic., Jowett and others), but “to the world’s astonishment,” “extraordinarily.”

781 a 1. ἀνομοθέτητον μεθεῖται : the expression suggests that a charge of undue licence might be brought against the Spartan and Cretan women ; and this seems to have been the case if we may trust Euripides (*Androm.* 595 ff.). Stallb. cps. Hoëckh, *De Creta ins.* iii. 124.—*εἰς τὸ φῶς ἦκται* : a poetical expression, used as at *Prot.* 320 d, *Theaet.* 157 d, *Tim.* 91 d, *Laws* 869 c, *Rep.* 461 c in the sense of “has come into being,” “has been created”—*φῶς* being “*life*” as at *Soph. Phil.* 415 ὡς <sup>μηκέτ</sup> ὄντα κείνον ἐν φάει νόει ; whereas below, at c 6, as above at 722 e, and at *Parm.* 128 e, *Phaedr.* 261 e, *φῶς* is used for “*publicity*.” Here, however, as in some of the other instances where *φῶς* means *life*, the secondary sense of *exposure to men’s gaze* is suggested as well.

a 2. ἀλλ’ ὅ : the MSS. and the early printed texts read ἄλλο, and some of them not only accepted the asyndeton, and slurred over the ἄλλως, but treated ἀνθρώπων as if it were ἀνδρῶν. Steph. was the first to see the true reading, though he printed ἄλλο in his text : τούτο in a 4 is the antecedent to this ὅ.—καὶ ἄλλως here = “to begin with” ; we may transl. : “No ; just that part of our human race which was, to begin with, clandestine and stealthy, as the result of its weakness—I mean the female sex—has most unwisely been suffered by the lawgiver to be free from law, because to bring it under law was hard.”

a 3. The comparatives stand for strengthened positives ; for the μᾶλλον thus used see on 729 e 7.—For ἐπικλοπώτερον thus applied cp. Hes. *Op.* 67 and 78 (ἐν δ’ ἐτίθει στήθεσσι) ψεύδεά θ’ αἰμυλίου τε λόγους καὶ ἐπικλοπον ἦθος—of the first woman.

a 5. εἴξαντος τοῦ νομοθέτου : cp. Arist. *Pol.* ii. 1270 a 6 τὰς δὲ γυναικὰς φασὶ μὲν ἄγειν ἐπιχειρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον ὑπὸ τοὺς νόμους, ὡς δ’ ἀντέκρουον, ἀποστῆναι πάλιν.—διὰ δὲ τούτου

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intervened to lead men to the kindred reform now advocated; instead of that there is a likelihood that its proposer would be thought mad—at all events (γ') in states which have no *syssitia* for men.

**c 1 f.** *συσσίτια . . . δεδογμένα κατὰ πόλιν εἶναι*, “that *syssitia* are a recognized civic institution.”—*ὑπάρχει* is impersonal.

**c 2.** *πόθεν*, as at *Gorg.* 471 d and *Symp.* 172 c, means “how is it possible that . . . ?”—*ἔργω*, “in real life, as we know it in Greece,” as contrasted with the *theoretical considerations* in which the political and social systems of the Laws are founded—referred to at d 3 f. in the words *λόγου γ' ἕνεκα*.

**c 3.** *γυναῖκας προσβιάζεσθαι τὴν σ. κ. π. ἀνάλωσιν φανεράν θεωρεῖσθαι*: an awkward sentence: “to force upon women their consumption of food and drink's being publicly viewed.” The *acc. c. inf.* clause is a sort of secondary object to *προσβιάζεσθαι*, like *ταῦτα* in *οὐ δεῖ ταῦτα προσβιάζεσθαι* at *Crat.* 410 a 7. (Stallb. translates *γυναῖκας προσβιάζεσθαι . . . ἀνάλωσιν* by “*mulieres cogere ad . . . consumptionem*,” supplying *ὥστε* before *φανεράν θεωρεῖσθαι*. Ast is said to have suggested—I cannot find where—that *ποιουμένας* has fallen out before *θεωρεῖσθαι*. Badham would change *γυναῖκας* to *γυναικῶν*.)

**c 5.** *χαλεπώτερον*: adv., “more reluctantly.”

**c 6.** *δεδυκός*: cp. *Rep.* 579 b *καταδεδυκῶς δὲ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ζῆ*. O by a common mistake has *δεδοικός*, and this is the reading of the early printed texts, up to Ast, and of Ficinus, who translates *timide*. H. Steph. from a comparison of *Rep.* 579 b conjectured *καταδεδυκός*.—*ἀγόμενον*: *conative*; “when the attempt is made to drag her.”—Ast would reject the δ' after this word; H. Richards would change it to δῆ.

**c 7.** *πάσαν*, like *πάσης* at d 2, *all kinds of*.—*πολὺ κρατήσει*, “will be far too strong for.”

**d 1.** *τοῦτ'*: i.e. *τὸ γένος*, “this sex.”—*ὅπερ* which is Bekker's correction of the MS. *οἶπερ*, certainly makes better sense than either the vulgate *ἧπερ* or Stallb.'s *οὐπερ*; it would refer to b 8. At the same time, the vulgate *ἧπερ*, which Schn., Zürr., and Herm. retain, is possible, and accounts better for the MS. *οἶπερ*. Stallb.'s *οὐπερ* would mean “(in the other places) to which I referred”; but he had not definitely referred to any particular states which had no *syssitia*.—*οὐδὲ . . . τὸν λόγον . . . τὸν ὀρθὸν ῥηθέντα*, “not even the mention of the correct view.”

**d 3.** *εἰ δὲ δοκεῖ κτλ.*: a practical application of the principle enunciated above at 739. If the circumstances of the case render

the theoretically best impracticable, the philosopher is even willing to sacrifice theoretical completeness, and leave the subject alone. "If you wish our discussion of politics as a whole to attain its end, as far as theory goes, I am quite willing to give reasons for thinking my view good and fitting, provided you like to listen to them; if you don't, I will drop the subject."—Fähse and Ast would, very plausibly, read ἀτελή for ἀτυχή. Ast thinks that Ficinus read ἀτελή because he translates the word by *manca*. This does not follow; e.g. at *Crat.* 420 c 7 he translates ἀτυχία by "*defectus quidam consequendi impos.*" (ἀτυχής means *unsuccessful* as well as *unfortunate*. The Ath. means "if you have it at heart to make our talk a success."—λόγου γ' ἕνεκα is contrasted with the ἔργω at c 2. (Stallb., Wagner, and Jowett take εἰ δοκεῖ . . . τὸν λόγον γενέσθαι to be "if it is your opinion that the discussion has been etc.")

d 9. ἄνωθεν ποθεν ἐπιχειρεῖν, "to be starting from a long way back." ἐπιχειρεῖν is used absolutely, in the sense of *proceed, take a particular line* in an argument or investigation.

e 2. With πάντῃ πάντως, which occurs below at 801 a 1, cp. μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς above at 778 a 1.

e 5. With Bk. III. begins the investigation of the true nature and correct form of the πολιτεία, and so he refers to what comes at the beginning of that book as τὰ πρῶτα λεχθέντα. We are not bound to suppose that when these words were written the treatise actually began at Bk. III.

e 6. χρόνος and χρέη are both such common words that they are likely to have been signified occasionally by their first two letters. This would account for the fact that A has χρόνον where L and O (though in an erasure) and the margin of A have the correct χρέη. Schanz thinks the mistake due to a misreading of an original χρεών.

782 a 2. As τὸ παράπαν qualified εἴληχεν and ἔξει, so πάντως qualifies both ἦν and ἔσται.—ἢ μῆκός τι . . . ἂν εἶη, "or else a space of time since its beginning—since it came into being—must have lasted an immeasurable age." A very awkwardly constructed sentence; it is doubtful if it is Greek. It looks like the "conflation" of two modes of expressing the same thing; fortunately there is no doubt what it means—i.e. that if the time of the world's existence is not infinite, at all events it is unthinkably long. [F.H.D. would asterisk μῆκός τι τῆς ἀρχῆς as spurious or hopelessly corrupt.]

a 5. ἐπιτηδεύματα means *practices, courses, measures adapted to*

*influence character or habits*; τάξεως and ἀταξίας are qualifying, adjectival genitives. We may perhaps render: “*régimes* of all kinds, some strict, some lax.” ἐπιτηδεύματα ἀταξίας is almost an oxymoron; it seems to mean nothing more than “the principle of *laissez-faire*.”

**a 6.** καὶ βρώσεως was rejected by Ast, and βρ. was emended to ἀβρότητος by Orelli, and to ἡμερώσεως by Hermann. Wagner would change βρωμάτων to δωμάτων. Schanz follows Ast. Though it is difficult I prefer the MS. reading. I would put a comma after βρώσεως and supply παντοῖα ἐπιτηδεύματα with it, taking the words to mean “*various fashions of feeding oneself*.” The counterpart to this is *a variety of taste in articles of food*, and that is the variety next mentioned. I even think that the introduction of the second variety—by a ἄμα—would be too abrupt without the preceding καὶ βρώσεως. We shall see presently why he brings in the bodily appetites. (Cp. on d 7 below.)

**b 1.** αὐτῶν is “*of their previous selves*,” i.e. “*of their natures*.”

**b 5.** The τινὰ indicates that the Ath. does not insist on the historical truth of the myth of Triptolemus; someone, at all events, at some time introduced corn as a new food.

**b 6.** Many edd. have adopted Ald.’s unnecessary change of μὴ to μηδὲ.—The article with χρόνῳ after ᾧ is peculiar; I think we ought to read πω for the MS. τῷ.—As at 780 b 6 and e 1 (see Burnet’s notes), the margin, by μον, shows what the original scribe’s mistake for μῶν had been.

**c 1.** The argument is that the survival of human sacrifices proves the existence of cannibalism in the past. Further, the Orphic vegetarianism and the Orphic sacrificial offerings, on the other hand, are indications of very opposite feelings as to methods of feeding, and tastes in food, thus establishing the appositeness of the παντοῖα, and παντοδαπά at a 6 and 7.

**c 3.** For ὅτε cp. Porson’s note on οἴσθ’ ὅτε at Eur. *Hec.* 110.—Schanz’s ἐτόλμων μὲν is clearly a better correction than Stallb.’s ἐτόλμων for the MS. ἐτολμῶμεν. The δέ after πέλανοι corresponds to the μέν after ἐτόλμων; there is an erasure over the ο. of ἐτολμῶμεν in A.—The order is, as usual, chiasmic; food, sacrifices: sacrifices, food.

**c 5.** ἀγνά is, so to speak, in quotation-marks; as if he had said “*in Orphic language, pure*.” Cp. Horace, *A.P.* 392 *victu foedo deterruit Orpheus*; *foedo* being used, in the technical Orphic sense, for all animal food; not, as Orelli, “*the food of beasts*,” nor, as others “*cannibalism*.”

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instincts may be κακῶς ἀγόμενοι—in which case they become νοσήματα.—οἴστρου τε καὶ ἀνηκουστίας: a hendiadys again, “frenzied rebellion.”

e 5. ἀποπληροῦντα: this construction supposes that a τινα is the subject to πράττειν.

e 6. λύπης: this is the way desire works—by *pain* which craves alleviation. δεῖν might no doubt be dispensed with, but it is more like an author’s than a scribe’s pleonasm. I am much attracted by Apelt’s suggestion (p. 12) that ἀεὶ δεῖν—coming as it does after a final s—is a scribe’s error for σπεύδειν. σπεύδων, he notices, is just so used at *Timaeus* 86 c 1, in a passage very like this.—σφᾶς is the pleasures and desires which are thus half personified—an unusual use of the pronoun.

783 a 3. ὕβρει πλείστη καόμενος, “a reckless, wanton *flame* of passion.”

a 4–b 1. ἃ δὴ . . . ἐπιρροήν: (1) I think the object to be supplied in thought with τρέποντα—which, and not the πρέποντα of L, I assume to be the right reading—is not the νοσήματα, but the people who are liable to them—i.e. the possessors of the appetites—the αὐτοῖς of 782 d 11, who were to be rightly guided. (2) Ritter glances at the possibility that, though the restraints are said to be *three*, the Ath. is really thinking of only *two*—i.e. *the terrors of the law* (cp. d 6 ἀπειλήσοντές τισιν νόμοις), and the sort of *persuasion* used in the προοίμια which accompany the laws; but he is right, I think, in rejecting this idea, and regarding νόμος here as *force of habit*. (3) I think it probable that σβεννύντων is a scribe’s error, and that the Aldine and Vulgate σβεννύναι is the correct reading. The scribe probably did not intend it (as Stallb. and Herm.) for a gen. abs., but for an imperative, forgetting the previous construction. (As to the possibility of such a gen. abs. cp. on 755 d 6 above.) (Steph. *may* be right in reading τρέποντας, though the change of number is common in Plato in such cases, and the sing. is attested by the variant πρέποντα.) “In dealing with these three dangerous impulses, we must guide men’s eyes, beyond what is called delight, towards their true advantage, and must try, on the one hand, to restrain the dangerous tendencies by the three most potent influences of *fear*, *habit*, and *philosophy*; and on the other, by calling in the aid of Music and Gymnastics, to quench their fire and allay the fury of their onset.”—The μέντοι in a 7 corresponds to the μέν in a 5, thus adding, it seems to me, to the confirmation of the reading σβεννύναι.—Ritter is right in saying that ἀγωνίοισι is almost predicative; no

special presiding gods; are meant, but the gods generally, in their capacity of patrons of gymnastic contests.

In the last few pages of this book we seem to have detached suggestions of lines of argument, which a final revision would have rearranged and worked up into a consecutive exposition. The chief points in it are : (1) The danger of leaving human nature to itself ; (2) the great possibilities in the way of *moulding* human nature ; (3) the mistake of confounding acquired habits and prejudices with laws of nature. The passage from *παίδων δὲ δῆ* in b 2 to *καλῶς* in d 4 occurs in L, but was originally absent from A and O. It begins in much the same way as Bk. VII. begins ; this fact, and the detachment of the passage, are further indications that this part of the treatise has not received its final ordering.

**b 2.** *θῶμεν* is used of the *arrangement of topics* in their imaginary legislation.

**b 5.** We are bound, I think, to accept the reading *ἡνίκα ἀφικόμεθα*, though, as the text stands, it appears inexplicable. I would suggest that the corruption lies in the MSS. *εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν*. This phrase is common, especially with *προϊέναι*—e.g. above, 755 b 4 *προϊόντων τῶν νόμων εἰς τοῦ ἔμπροσθεν*—and the neighbourhood of *προϊόντων* here may have influenced the scribe ; but the phrase will not fit either *περαίνονται ἂν* or *ἡνίκα ἀφικόμεθα*. I would substitute *ὡς* for *εἰς*, and take *ὡς* as the correlative of the *οὕτω* in b 3 : “while the discussion advances on the same lines as it did when we came on the subject of the *syssitia* before, possibly our full tale of regulations will be made up.” The way the subject was reached above was through the question (779 d 5) “what has the legislator to say to men and women after they are married?”—I would, with Burnet, accept Ritter’s arrangement of *τὰς τοιαύτας . . . κατοψόμεθα* as a parenthesis. (One Florentine MS. and most of the early texts read *ἵνα καὶ ἀφικόμενοι εἰς* for *ἡνίκα ἀφικόμεθα*, and this reading is retained by Stallb. and Herm. Schneider reads *ὅτε* for *ὃ τε*, *ἀφικόμεθα* for *ἀφικόμεθα*, and (like Zürr.) retains the spurious *εἰς* before *τὰς*. Schanz abandons the passage as hopeless.)

**b 8.** The second great difficulty in this passage is the interpretation of *τά τε ἐπίπροσθεν . . . ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησόμεθα*. *ἐπίπροσθεν ποιεῖσθαι* occurs above at 648 d in the sense of *obtendere*. The *τε* seems to point back to the *τε* in *ὃ τε νόμος* at b 4. If so, *αὐτῶν* may stand for *νόμων*, but more likely for *τῶν συσσιτίων*, and *τὰ ἐπίπροσθεν αὐτῶν* are “the necessary steps leading up to them,” which are to be made into *screens*, or *defences*, set up in



front of them. “And the preliminaries to the syssitia, which are (equally) unregulated at present, we will reduce to order, and place before them as a screen or shelter.” The upshot of the passage then is this: “at the present stage of our inquiry we must be content to reserve the details of the regulation of private life, but I want you to remember what I said about the three cardinal impulses of human nature, for that is important.”

c 2. *νυνδὴ*: i.e. at b 5 ff.

d 2. All recent editors except Schneider accept Steph.'s insertion of *ἦν* before *τὰ νῦν*. (Schneider prefers to read *ἄ* for *τὰ*.)

d 4. We are here brought back to the point from which we digressed in 779 e.

d 5. *αὐτούς*: i.e. *τοὺς νυμφίους*, implied in *τὰ νυμφικά*.

d 9. *ἀποδεικνῦσθαι*, like *ἀποφαίνεσθαι* at 780 a 1, is used for *to produce*.

e 1. *πάντες . . . πράξεως*, “all who take part in any kind of common work.” *κοινωνοί* is the important word. As *union* increases efficiency beyond the proportion of mere numbers, so failure on the part of one of the united workers does more harm than if he were merely spoiling work of his own.

e 3. *μὴ ἔχοντες νοῦν*: ignorance, as well as carelessness, may cause failure. This furnishes one reason for the supervision practised by the committee of wise women—as to whom cp. *Theaet.* 149 d 6.

784 a 1. *ὡς εἰλόμεθα*: here, as in the *ἡνίκα ἀφικόμεθα* at 783 b 5, many interpreters unaccountably translate the aor. ind. as if it were a subj. with *ἄν*. It is possible that the past tense stands for “whom you are to assume that we have chosen,” but more likely Ritter is right in seeing here an additional sign of the lack of revision. When writing these words the author thought he had spoken of these female officials before. On revision he would have discovered his error.

a 2. *τοῖς ἄρχουσιν*: who the magistrates are who are to determine the composition of this body of female officials we are left to guess; possibly a committee of the *νομοφύλακες*. (Stallb., after quoting Hermann's (*De vest.* ii. p. 7) extraordinary statement that the *custodes* of the married pairs were some men and some women, apparently, in his next note, takes *προστάττειν ἄρχουσι* to mean “add to the number of (male) officials.” But, as Ritter says, *προστάττειν* never has this meaning in Plato.

a 3. *ὅποταν*: i.e. at what intervals fresh elections were to take place.

a 4. *μέχρι τρίτου μέρους ὥρας*: the proceedings at this daily

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equivalent to the legal term ἐμμένειν τῇ διαίτῃ (e.g. Aristoph. *Wasps*, 524); the disputants i.e. are to acquiesce in the court, and act upon its decision. (It will be seen that Burnet's text would admit of the interpretation adopted by Winckelmann, who would read ἂ οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψωσιν οἷδε τάξωσι τούτοις ἐμμένειν, "to abide by the decision of those to whom these (ten νομοφύλακες) intrust it." But, as B. says, the original disputants are a much more appropriate subject to ἐπιτρέψωσιν than the ten νομοφύλακες; besides, it complicates the proceeding unduly, if we are to suppose a second delegation.—H. Richards would cut the knot by reading οἷς ἂν ἐπιτάξωσιν οἷδε τούτοις ἐμμένειν—the assumption being that [καὶ] . . . τάξωσι was a marginal variant.)

c 7. ἀναγράφειν corresponds to our "post," as used of defaulters.

d 2. For ἐν of the tribunal cp. above 754 e 8.—Steph. first recognized that τῶνδε goes with ἄτιμος, though in his, as in the earlier texts, it is written τῶν δὲ, and begins the next sentence.—Ficinus misinterpreted the next sentence in a curious manner, translating it "Nec nuptiis procreandisque liberis ulterius det operam: ac si id tentaverit" etc.

d 6. ἐξόδων . . . καὶ τιμῶν: the "distinction" probably consisted in being attended by a train of servants. Stallb. notes that Theophr. *Char.* 25 represents the mean man as unwilling to buy a proper maid to attend his wife εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους, and that Dem. *Adv. Olymp.* 1182 describes a ἑταίρα as ἐξόδους λαμπρὰς ἐξιοῦσαν.—A has (acc. to Schanz) γενέσε\*\*ων, the third ε being in an erasure. Burnet says this is corrected from an original γενέσια τῶν (which J. G. Schneider conjectured); L and O have γενέσεων with γενεθλίων in the margin. From a comparison of *Alc. I.* 121 c 7—ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βασιλέως γενέθλια πᾶσα θύει καὶ ἐορτάζει ἢ Ἀσία—where one MS. has γενέσια, B concludes, no doubt rightly, that γενέσια here is a mistake for γενέθλια. (Stallb. mentions this as a possible emendation, but rejects it.) It is not clear whether there was any difference between the ἐπιτελειώσεις and the γενέθλια. Both appear to have been celebrated on the tenth day after the child's birth. Cp. Aristoph. *Av.* 494 and 922. The former word, as Ast and Stallb. say, has a religious significance.

785 a 1. The subject to σιγῇ κείσθω is the regulations just recommended.

a 2. πραττέσθω, "they should be put in force."

a 5. Burnet retains the original ἀρχή of A, L and O, but differs from all other editors in putting a full stop after it. (Schanz adopts the early correction to ἀρχήν, and inserts ὡς before ζωῆς.)

ζωῆς ἀρχή would thus stand as a literal quotation of the formal words used in the register.—Burnet also retains the MS. παραγεγράφθω, which many edd. have followed Orelli in changing to the inf.

**a 6.** The acc. τὸν ἀριθμόν remains a difficulty. It seems to be an acc. of inner object: “let there be added a writing giving the number.” Perhaps we ought to accept Orelli’s emendation.

**b 2.** γάμου δὲ ὄρον: see above on 721 b 1.—The addition of τὸν μακρότατον χρ. ἀφ. is an indication that some variety in the enactment is conceivable.

END OF VOL. I

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