

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY

FOUNDED BY JAMES LOEB 1911

EDITED BY

JEFFREY HENDERSON

AELIUS ARISTIDES

I

LCL 533

AELIUS ARISTIDES

ORATIONS 1-2

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY

MICHAEL TRAPP



HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS

CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

LONDON, ENGLAND

2017

Copyright © 2017 by the President and Fellows
of Harvard College
All rights reserved

First published 2017

LOEB CLASSICAL LIBRARY® is a registered trademark
of the President and Fellows of Harvard College

Library of Congress Control Number 2016957656
CIP data available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 978-0-674-99646-5

*Composed in ZephCreek and ZephText by
Technologies 'N Typography, Merrimac, Massachusetts.
Printed on acid-free paper and bound by
Maple Press, York, Pennsylvania*

CONTENTS

PREFACE	vii
GENERAL INTRODUCTION	ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xxxiii
REFERENCES	xxxv
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY	xxxvii
ORATIONS	
1. PANATHENAIC ORATION	1
2. A REPLY TO PLATO	325
INDEX	661

PREFACE

Aelius Aristides is not normally thought of as an outstandingly readable or sympathetic author, but he was nonetheless a very considerable craftsman indeed in his chosen medium and had serious things to say about important topics. Even if it is unrealistic to expect that this attempt to retranslate him into reasonably fluent English and lightly re-edit the Greek text will make it a positive pleasure for anybody to read him, I hope at least to make it less of a trial and to open the way to an easier appreciation of what he has to offer by way of insights into the Greek-speaking culture of the Roman Empire.

Thinking through text and translation of the two headline pieces in his collected works has been an absorbing experience, and I am enormously grateful to Zeph Stewart for commissioning this volume and its successors for the Loeb Classical Library and to Jeffrey Henderson for his subsequent advice and assistance. I have been much helped by the generous research leave policy maintained by the Faculty of Arts and Humanities at King's College London and by the invitation to contribute to a SAPERE volume on a selection of Aristides' *Hymns*, or-

PREFACE

ganized by Heinz-Günther Nesselrath, Rainhold Feldmaier, and Rainer Hirsch-Luipold, and I should like to record my appreciation and thanks for this too.

M. B. T.
King's College London
January 2017

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

The life and career of Publius Aelius Aristides Theodorus¹ can be reconstructed in more detail than many known from the second century AD and the reigns of the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus, through which he lived. This is in large part because his surviving works include, besides speeches and essays containing incidental biographical information, the extraordinary medico-hagiographical diary known as the *Sacred Tales* (*Hieroi Logoi*), which in its own selective way documents his experiences and achievements in the years AD 143 to 155 and 165 to 177.² But it is also because of the status he rapidly gained as a literary classic, which was responsible for the accumulation of

¹ Aristides' full Roman name appears on the honorific inscription *OGIS* 709 = *IGRR* I 1070; his adoption of the extra surname "Theodorus" is explained at *ST* 4.53–54 and 70.

² In modern scholarship, the most elaborate attempt to synthesize this biographical information is Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, supplemented by his "Studies on the Biography of Aelius Aristides," but this is overoptimistic about the degree of certainty that can be achieved and must be used with caution: see most recently Jones' "Chronological Appendix" in his "Elio Aristide e i primi anni di Antonino Pio."

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

the further quantities of biographical material that can be found in the subscriptions to four of his speeches in the manuscripts, in the scholarly *Prolegomena* with which editions of his works came to be prefaced, and in the biography included by Philostratus in his *Lives of the Sophists*.³

OUTLINE OF A LIFE

Aristides was born in AD 117 (perhaps on November 26) into a rich landowning family in Mysia in northwestern Asia Minor (to the east of the Troad and the northeast of Pergamum).⁴ Besides his estates in that region, his father, Eudaemon, also had strong ties to the city of Smyrna, which his son was to inherit and enhance. In 131/2 the emperor Hadrian visited the area and oversaw the reorganization of its civic structures. Aristides' birthplace became attached to the newly constituted *polis* of Hadriani, with its neighbors Hadriania and Hadrianotherai;⁵ it was

³ For the subscriptions to *Orr.* 22, 30, 37, and 40, see Keil's *apparatus criticus*, pp. 31, 211, 312, and 330; for the *Prolegomena*, Lenz, *The Aristides Prolegomena*; Philostratus' biographical note is VS 2.9, 581–85.

⁴ Aristides' birth date is established by reference to the personal horoscope he cites in *Sacred Tales* 4.58: see Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 1–3, with the corrections in his "Aelius Aristides' Birth Date Corrected to November 26, 117 A. D.," *AJP* 90 (1969): 75–77.

⁵ See Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 3–5, with nn. 3 and 6.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

perhaps also at this time that both Aristides and his father were granted Roman citizenship.

Aristides was naturally given the literary-rhetorical education standard for his social status, though thanks to the combination of parental resources with the natural aptitude that he presumably began to manifest at an early stage, the teachers from whom he received it were of more than average quality. His *grammatikos* was Alexander of Cotiaeum, who also taught the future emperors Lucius Verus and Marcus Aurelius;⁶ his tutors in oratory were said to have been Marcus Antonius Polemo in Smyrna, Ti. Claudius Aristocles in Pergamum, and Herodes Atticus (Ti. Claudius Atticus Herodes) in Athens.⁷ At this stage, he will have given every appearance of being set for a prominent career both in elite politics (perhaps at the imperial as well as the local level) and as a star oratorical performer.

The first documented events of Aristides' adult life come with the early 140s, when he undertook a journey south via Cos, Cnidus, and Rhodes to Egypt, recorded in his subsequent *Egyptian Discourse* (*Or.* 36). How many

⁶ Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 10–11. The surviving fragments of Alexander's work are edited and discussed in A. R. Dyck, "The Fragments of Alexander of Cotiaeum," *ICS* 16 (1991): 307–55; Aurelius acknowledges him and the lessons he has learned from him at *Meditations* 1.10.

⁷ Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 12–13. All three were among the oratorical superstars of their age, glowingly written up in Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists*: VS 1.25, 530–44 (Polemo); 2.1, 545–66 (Herodes); and 2.3, 567–68 (Aristocles).

speaking engagements he undertook during this excursion is unclear,⁸ but oratorical ambitions were very much to the fore in his next venture, a trip to Rome undertaken in 143 or 144. Though nowhere explicitly stated,⁹ a major motive behind the expedition must have been to establish a presence and a reputation on the grandest stage of all for a performer. In the event, his health, already fragile before departure from home, gave way spectacularly, and after months of assorted indispositions, he had no choice but to make his painful and ignominious way home to Smyrna.¹⁰

It was at this point that the course of his life took the turn that was to prove decisive both for his self-image and for much of his reputation in modern scholarship. Impelled by the first of what was to prove a lifelong series of dream visions from the healing god Asclepius, command-

⁸ Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 14–16, is as usual overoptimistic about the possibility of establishing a large number of appearances (tendentiously citing *Or.* 33.27–29, 24.56, 26.26 and 95, and 36.18 and 34 as evidence of performances); but it is nevertheless reasonable to suppose that Aristides must have been doing some writing and performing during this period.

⁹ Indeed, perhaps deliberately suppressed in the light of actual events.

¹⁰ *ST* 2.60–70, supplemented by 2.5–8 and 4.32–37 (plus perhaps 4.31). Scholarly opinion is divided on the question of whether *Or.* 26, *To Rome*, belongs to this or a subsequent visit to the capital: see Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 88–90 with n. 92, for the argument for a later dating; Jones, “*Elio Aristide e i primi anni di Antonino Pio*,” reasserts the older assumption that the documented visit to Rome is the natural place to locate this speech.

ing him to walk barefoot,¹¹ Aristides made himself into the god's protégé and devotee and took up residence in his sanctuary, the Asclepieum, at Pergamum. There followed a two-year stay, which he subsequently dubbed the *kathedra*,¹² a term that literally means “staying/sitting still” or “inactivity,” but may also hint at the stability and security he felt this period to have brought him.¹³ For the first year of this retreat, Aristides retired completely from oratorical activity,¹⁴ devoting himself instead to healing dreams and medical therapy. The god, however, besides ordering him to keep the record of his dreams on which the bulk of the *Sacred Tales* was later based¹⁵ also urged him back into oratory, with a series of highly complimentary nocturnal visions.¹⁶ At first, he studied and performed only within the shrine, to small audiences of fellow inmates,¹⁷ but eventually, apparently some time in 147, he was able to emerge again into the outside world, and though still not robustly healthy, to resume his public activities both as a

¹¹ *ST* 2.7.

¹² *ST* 2.70, 3.44; manuscript subscription to *Or.* 30.

¹³ Behr's suggestion (*Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 26) that he was also thinking wistfully of an official “chair” of rhetoric, tentatively accepted by Swain (*Hellenism and Empire*, 257), seems less likely. If there is a sophistic reference at all, might it be to the period of seated reflection the performer could take before launching into a declamation (e.g., Philostratus *VS* 1.25, 537; cf. Russell, *Greek Declamation*, 79–80)?

¹⁴ *ST* 4.14.

¹⁵ *ST* 2.2.

¹⁶ *ST* 4.14–29.

¹⁷ *ST* 4.16–18.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

member of the land-owning and gubernatorial elite and as an orator.¹⁸

For the remaining thirty or forty years of his life, though he remained prone to bouts of illness, and continued to feel himself deeply dependent on the protection and healing commands of Asclepius, Aristides seems to have enjoyed a notably successful career. Not many of his surviving works can be given a precise date with any confidence, but on any account, the bulk of them must belong to the years after 147, and the *Sacred Tales*, themselves apparently published in the 170s, claim a good number of triumphant performances at major venues, such as Pergamum, Smyrna, Ephesus, and Cyzicus.¹⁹ They also show him repeatedly embroiled in legal maneuvering aimed at escaping the imposition of costly and troublesome priest-hoods and administrative posts, which implies continuing wealth, prestige, and public profile.²⁰

The date of his death cannot be fixed with certainty. Philostratus records disagreement over whether he was sixty or closer to seventy when he died, which gives a date range from 177 to around 185.²¹ Charles Behr supposed

¹⁸ According to its subscription, *Or.* 30, the *Birthday Speech for Apellas*, was "read" during the *kathedra*, in 146 ("when he was twenty-nine"); it is an open question whether this means that Aristides performed the speech in person or simply sent it for someone else to read at the festivities.

¹⁹ *ST* 5.26-46.

²⁰ E.g., *ST* 4.71-94, 4.95-99, 4.100-104; see Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 63-68, 77-86, and Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 36-40.

²¹ Philostratus, *VS* 2.9, 585.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

that none of his surviving works could be placed later than 180 (*Or.* 53), but Graham Burton and Christopher Jones have proposed a date of 183/4 for *Or.* 21 (*Second Smyrnaean Oration*); "between 180 and 185" may then be the best that can be done in the current state of our knowledge.

THE PERSONA

Given the existence and the fascination of the *Sacred Tales*, it is understandable that most of the attention paid to Aristides over the last seventy years should have concentrated on his medical history, psychology, and religious experience.²² While these are valuable and absorbing objects of study in their own right, they also intertwine with his oratorical career, and indeed are central to the image of himself as a composer and speaker that, from the 140s onward, he worked to project to his public.

From the vantage point of a generation or so later, and above all in the light of the particular project he was pursuing in *The Lives of the Sophists*, Philostratus in his biographical note was happy to classify Aristides as a sophist, in the same broad style as a Scopelian, a Polemo, or a

²² E.g., most recently Petsalis-Diomidis, *Truly Beyond Wonders*, and Israelowich, *Society, Medicine and Religion*. Interest in Aristides as a medical curiosity goes all the way back to Galen: *Galen in Platonis Timaeum Commentarii fragmenta*, ed. Schröder, 99, and Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, 61-62.

Hadrian of Tyre. He grants him a certain measure of difference, in being proudly and self-consciously averse to extempore performance ("I do not vomit my speeches out, I craft them to perfection," *VS* 2.9.583), but this serves to define his sophistic profile more closely rather than to move him to the edges or out of the category. Aristides himself has a rather different story to tell, in which his perfectionism and distaste for extemporizing are symptoms of an approach and a set of attitudes that in fact profoundly differentiate him from mere sophists. In his own vision, expounded most directly in *Orr.* 2, 33, and 34, oratory is not simply a skilled, artistic activity, but an engrossing vocation dedicated to the most enlightened and noblest of ends, to which he himself has pledged his life with the single-minded fervor of a religious devotee.²³ Any composer and speaker who aims principally at pleasing and entertaining his audience, as opposed to leading them and saying what is in their best interests, is guilty of profaning the sacred mysteries of the calling (*Or.* 34).

The roots of this view of himself in his experiences during the *kathedra*, and in particular in his conviction that it was his patron divinity Asclepius who prompted and licensed his return to oratorical activity in spite of his illnesses, are clear enough. But rather than seeing its emergence primarily as the result of some psychological quirk, and making Aristides the victim of a confusion between his professional and his religious identity, we might also view it as an active maneuver on his part, and a rather successful piece of self-formation, on a par with Dio Chrysostom's use of the experience of exile to reshape his

²³ See especially *Orr.* 2.429–37, 33.19–21, and 34.42–44.

oratorical profile.²⁴ Being the high-minded and dedicated purist, wedded to indefatigable study of the classics and the defense of the highest values of civilized existence, and scorning the public's demands for mere entertainment, Aristides garnered (for his generation at least) a unique profile as performer and public figure, both of which compensated for and complemented his other identity as the chronic invalid miraculously sustained by the special interest of Asclepius. Seen in this light, Aristides' self-presentation as the proponent of a quasi-sacred oratory not only turned what could have been a story of disaster (with the abject failure of his first trip to Rome) into a story of divinely favored success; it also neatly outmaneuvered the oratorical competition in the ceaseless sophistic battle for prestige and competitive advantage.

How well the image matches up to Aristides' actual output is a further question. By no means all of his surviving public speeches offer high-minded advice on matters of pressing public concern, in the manner of *Or.* 24 (*To the Rhodians, on concord*); the collection also includes funeral speeches, a birthday speech (if genuine), panegyrics, prose hymns, and laments, as well as straightforward historical and mythological declamations (*meletai*) of a kind that were the standard fare in sophistic entertainments: the *Sicilian Orations* (5–8), the *Theban Orations* (9–10), the *Leuctrian Orations* (11–15), and the *Embassy to Achilles* (16). Aristides would presumably have claimed (not implausibly) that all these works are nevertheless

²⁴ Dio, *Or.* 13; cf. J. Moles, "The Career and Conversion of Dio Chrysostom," *JHS* 98 (1978): 79–100.

marked by a pervasive seriousness of tone and moral content, allied (particularly in the historical declamations) to a scrupulously detailed and respectful use of classical sources. This formulation would moreover probably also cover the further declamatory pieces known only by the titles cited in Philostratus' biography, which naturally all deal with moments from classical history.

SURVIVING WORKS AND THE CORPUS

The manuscripts of Aristides present his surviving works in what at first appears a bewildering variety of orders. As first recognized by Keil, the order followed by the eleventh-century codex Laurentianus 60.8 (T) makes the most coherent sense, and it is likely to have been devised for an early collected edition, from which the traditions represented by the other surviving manuscripts diverged by selection and relocation of the individual works.²⁵ This ordering begins with the *Panathenaic Oration* (1) and the three *Platonic Discourses* (2–4), thus giving pride of place to the works that are not only Aristides' largest but also the ones that most effectively highlight him as a champion of Hellenism and of oratory. Next come the twelve historical and mythological declamations mentioned above (5–16), followed by twenty orations and essays on contemporary themes. The first eleven of these (17–27) are "political," that is, either about cities or addressed to city audiences,

²⁵ So Behr, rightly (1973, xix; Lenz-Behr 1976, lxxiv–lxxxiv, xcvi). The process will have been the same as can be seen at work in the manuscript traditions of Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre.

and include the pieces for or about Smyrna (17–21), the Rhodian orations (24–25), and the *To Rome* (26).²⁶ The remaining nine (28–36) are personal, bearing on Aristides' social circle and his own practices and profile as an orator; they include his obituary address for his former teacher Alexander of Cotiaemum (32), his account of his travels in Egypt (36), and his strictures on proper oratorical behavior (33–34).²⁷ Then come the prose hymns and related items (37–46), followed by the six books of the *Sacred Tales*, of which the last (52) is only a very brief fragment. One final item, the fragmentary *Or.* 53 (*Panegyric on the Water at Pergamum*), may originally have stood after *Or.* 39 (*To the Well in the Asclepieium*).²⁸ The overall progression—from star pieces to declamations to civic material to personal material to (personal, idiosyncratic) hymns to the extremely personal *Sacred Tales* (which share themes and preoccupations with the *Hymns*)—though not the only one that might be devised and slightly strained in its plac-

²⁶ There are doubts about authenticity of the *Rhodian Oration* (*Or.* 30): see C. P. Jones, "The Rhodian Oration Ascribed to Aelius Aristides," *CQ* 40 (1990): 514–22, contesting the case against argued by Keil and Behr.

²⁷ *Or.* 35, *To the Emperor*, is something of an odd man out in this company, and again of disputed authenticity: the case against was made by B. Keil, "Eine Kaiserrede," *Nachr. der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen*, phil.-hist. Kl. (1905): 381–428, and is contested by C. P. Jones, "Aelius Aristides, ΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ," *JRS* 62 (1972): 135–52. The authenticity of *Or.* 30, the *Birthday Speech for Apellas*, was doubted by Keil, who athetizes it in his edition, but he has not been followed in this by the majority of subsequent scholars.

²⁸ Lenz-Behr, 1976, xvii, lxxv.

ing of one or two individual items, nevertheless makes coherent sense.

LOST WORKS²⁹

As already noted, Philostratus' biography of Aristides preserves the titles or themes of a number of historical declamations that do not now survive.³⁰ Aristides himself alludes to a further range of lost works, in both prose and verse, many though not all dating from the period of the *kathedra*. We hear of speeches *In Defense of Running* and *In Praise of Athena* and *Dionysus*,³¹ three speeches *To Asclepius*,³² various unspecified pieces performed at home from his sickbed,³³ and a declamation *Demosthenes Advises Action while Alexander is away in India*, delivered to a very small and select audience in the Asclepieum.³⁴ It is not clear how many of these were ever committed to writing. In verse, there is mention of a dedicatory couplet in elegiacs,³⁵ a poem about the marriage of Coronis

²⁹ For full discussion, see Robert, *Les Oeuvres perdues d'Aelius Aristide*.

³⁰ Philostratus, VS 2.9, 583–85: *The Mercenaries Ordered to Give back their Land, The Spartans Debate the Building of a Defensive Wall, Isocrates Tries to Wean the Athenians off the Sea, Upbraiding Callixenus for Not Allowing the Burial of the Ten, Aeschines on Not Receiving the Corn from Chersobleptes, Rejecting a Treaty after the Murder of their Children*.

³¹ ST 4.25.

³² ST 4.30.

³³ ST 1.64; assigned by Behr to the year AD 148.

³⁴ ST 4.14–18.

³⁵ ST 4.43–47.

and the birth of Asclepius,³⁶ a paean commanded by Apollo himself in Rome,³⁷ and a range of other lyric verses for Asclepius, Apollo, Pan, Hecate, and other divinities composed for performance by a boys' choir financed by their author.³⁸ Finally, there is the lost denunciation of pantomime, *Against the Dancers*, known from the reply to it made by Libanius in his *Or.* 64 some two centuries later.³⁹

REPUTATION AND TRANSMISSION

We cannot tell exactly how successful and popular Aristides' works were during his lifetime; his own reports of wildly enthusiastic audiences in the later books of the *Sacred Tales* cannot be the whole story, but may not be wholly misleading either. At all events, they rapidly established themselves as classics in the eyes of posterity.⁴⁰ According to Photius, Aristides was highly praised by Phrynichus in Book 11 of his Atticist style-manual *Sophistic Materials* (Σοφιστικὴ Παρασκευή), which may indeed date from his lifetime.⁴¹ This enthusiasm on the part of grammarians and rhetoricians continued in regular references to him as example and model in other later antique

³⁶ ST 1.73.

³⁷ ST 4.31, presumably in AD 143/4.

³⁸ ST 4.38–42; on Aristides' verse output, see Bowie 1989, 214–20.

³⁹ See Bowersock, "Aristides and the Pantomimes."

⁴⁰ See in general Jones, "The Survival of the Sophists," 120–24.

⁴¹ See Jones, "Aristides' First Admirer."

treatises and handbooks, including Menander Rhetor's,⁴² Philostratus' biography in the *Lives of the Sophists*, for all its selective angle of vision, testifies to the state of Aristides' reputation in the early third century. The seven books of Porphyry's *Against Aristides*, though clearly not the work of a fan, show that he was of active concern to philosophers too, especially Platonists, in the second half of the century,⁴³ in the fourth century, Libanius, in spite of taking issue with the attack on pantomime, was a keen admirer.⁴⁴ The general verdict of later classical antiquity was summed up in the fourth century, and passed on to Byzantine readers and critics, by the Sopater who composed the surviving *Prolegomena* to Aristides,⁴⁵ who singles him out as "a wise and wonderful man" and the best of the third of the historic three waves ("crops") of Greek oratory.⁴⁶ Photius, in the ninth century, devotes three whole codices of his *Library* (*Bibliotheca*) to excerpts from the works, praising their author not only for his style

⁴² Menander, *Treatise* I, 349.10–11, 349.24–25, and 350.9–10 Spengel; see also Hermogenes *Progymnasmata* 6 and Nicolaus *Progymnasmata* 6 and 8. Aristides is in fact the only postclassical orator to be cited in these rhetorical handbooks and treatises.

⁴³ See below, Introduction to *Or.* 2.

⁴⁴ See Cribiore, "Vying with Aristides."

⁴⁵ The *Prolegomena* are discussed in Lenz, *The Aristides Prolegomena*; for Sopater, see G. A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton, 1983), 104–9.

⁴⁶ The three crops are (1) Themistocles, Pericles, and their contemporaries; (2) Demostenes, Aeschines, Isocrates, and the rest of the Ten Orators; (3) Polemo, Herodes, Aristides, and their contemporaries.

but also for the skill and beauty with which he organizes his ideas.⁴⁷ In the fourteenth century, Theodore Metochites, resuming a theme that can be traced all the way back to Aristides himself, composed a formal comparison (*synkrisis*) between Aristides and Demosthenes.⁴⁸

HISTORY AND CONSTITUTION OF THE TEXT

Evidence for the transmission of the text of Aristides begins with four papyrus fragments from the fifth to seventh centuries AD, two of the *Panathenaicus* and one each of *Or.* 3 (*Defense of the Four*) and the *Sacred Tales*.⁴⁹ The earliest surviving medieval manuscript is codex A, written in around 917 by the scribe John the Calligrapher for the churchman and scholar Arethas,⁵⁰ when he was archbishop of Caesarea, and now divided into two, as Parisinus graecus 2951 and Laurentianus 60.3; this contains forty-two of the fifty-three orations and is the only manuscript to preserve the fragmentary *Or.* 53.⁵¹ The earliest nearly complete text, missing only the fragmentary *Orr.* 52 and

⁴⁷ Photius, *Bibl. codd.* 246–48, pp. 8–126 Henry (Budé).

⁴⁸ For Metochites' essay, see M. Gigante, ed., *Saggio critico su Demostene e Aristide* (Milano-Varese, 1969); cf., e.g., Aristides *Or.* 2.72, 186, 255, and 280, with *ST* 4.18–19 and 97.

⁴⁹ P. Bingen 24 (6th c., *Or.* 47); P. Oxy. 4949 (6th c., *Or.* 1); P. Mich. inv. 6651 (6th/7th c., *Or.* 1); P. Ant. 182 (7th c., *Or.* 3).

⁵⁰ For Arethas' polemical engagement with Aristides, see Quattrocelli, "Aelius Aristides' Reception at Byzantium."

⁵¹ Described at length in Lenz-Behr 1976, xxvi–vii.

53,⁵² is T (Laurentianus graecus 60.8), dating from the eleventh century. The remainder of the 234 manuscripts cataloged by Behr distribute themselves over the eleventh to sixteenth centuries.⁵³

On Behr's analysis,⁵⁴ what these witnesses collectively show is a divided tradition descending from the earliest reconstructable common ancestor (the archetype, O) by two routes, via the (now also lost) hyparchetypes ω and ϕ . In *Orr.* 1–4 (though the situation changes for other segments of the corpus), the ω -family is represented by just two surviving manuscripts, T = Laurentianus graecus 60.8 (11th c.) and (for its first 210 leaves, up to *Or.* 3.257) Q = Vaticanus graecus 1297 (12th c.); all the other surviving manuscripts descend by one route or another from ϕ . They are represented by V = Marcianus graecus Appendix 8.7 (11th c.), A = Parisinus graecus 2951 (10th c.), R = Vaticanus graecus 1298 (11th c.), E = Parisinus graecus 2950 (11th c.), M = Marcianus graecus 423 (12th/13th c.), U = Urbinas graecus 123 (14th c.), and by manuscripts of Photius' *Bibliotheca*, with their rich sets of excerpts from Aristides in *codd.* 246–48 (Ph). The papyrus fragments seem to represent a different line or lines of transmission but are so short that they are of no great use in correcting and controlling what the medieval manuscripts report. The editor's task is thus, where all the manuscripts

⁵² Lenz-Behr 1976, xvii–xviii; it is however clear from a cluster of lesser manuscripts, copied from the same exemplar as T in *Orr.* 47–52, that the exemplar did contain *Or.* 52.

⁵³ Lenz-Behr 1976, ix–lxvi.

⁵⁴ Summarized (for *Orr.* 1–4) at Behr 1973, xix, and Lenz-Behr 1976, lxxx.

agree and report the reading of the hypothesized archetype, to decide whether or not what they agree on is acceptable Greek for Aristides and the particular literary form he is working in at the time, and if it is not, to propose improvements or mark the passage as corrupt. Where the manuscripts disagree, the job is to decide, on the same grounds, which if any of them has reported the wording correctly, bearing in mind the possibility that a later manuscript may well either have preserved the truth alone among its surviving relatives or have succeeded in restoring the correct reading by informed guesswork (conjecture).

Editions

The history of the modern editing and translation of Aristides' work begins with the publication of just two orations, 1 and 36, printed as an appendix to Aldus Manutius' 1513 edition of Isocrates.⁵⁵ The first full edition, omitting only *Orr.* 16 and 53, was the Juntine, edited by Eufrosino Bonino and published by Filippo Giunta in Florence in 1517; this was based on two inferior manuscripts, Laurentianus Conventi soppressi 9 and Laurentianus 60.24 et 20, and followed the disturbed and faulty ordering of the individual orations that they jointly presented. The first and in many ways still the best translation of Aristides, into Latin, was made by Willem Canter and published in Basel in 1566. Canter based his work on existing printed editions, but he devised a new order for the individual items,

⁵⁵ For a more detailed account of earlier editions and translations, see Lenz-Behr 1976, xcvi–cxvi.

which was to be followed by all subsequent editions up to and including Dindorf's.⁵⁶ For his critical notes and emendations, he drew in the first instance on reports of now unidentifiable manuscripts supplied to him by Johannes Oporinus and Arnoldus Arlenius; for a second edition of his additional critical notes he also used two Venetian manuscripts, one from Augsburg and a "codex M. Sophiani" from Padua.⁵⁷ Subsequent editions, based on the combination of the Juntine text and Canter's translation, were produced by Paulus Stephanus (Paul Estienne, son of the great Henri) in Geneva in 1604 and by Samuel Jebb in Oxford in 1722 to 1730 (though Jebb did also consult a range of manuscripts from libraries in Oxford and Paris). Johann Jakob Reiske, who planned but never

⁵⁶ Using the Keil and Lenz-Behr numbering in Roman numerals and Dindorf's in Arabic, Canter's order was: XLIII (1), XXXVII (2), XLVI (3), XLI (4), XL (5), XLII (96), XXXVIII (7), XLV (8), XXXV (9), XXX-XXXII (10-12), I (13), XXVI (14), XVII (15), XXVII (16), XLIV (17), XXXIX (18), XXII (19), XVIII (20), XX-XXI (21-22), XLVII-LII (23-28), V-VIII (29-32), XI-XV (33-37), IX-X (38-39), XXIX (40), XIX (41), XXIII (42), XXV (43), XXIV (44), XVI (52), II-IV (45-47), XXXVI (48), XXVIII (49), XXXIV (50), XXXIII (51).

⁵⁷ *De ratione emendandi scriptores graecos Syntagma* (Antwerp, 1571; originally published in a supplementary volume to the 1566 translation), 4. The compliments paid to Canter by Reiske, Behr, Oliver, and others (Lenz-Behr 1976, cv; Oliver, *Civilizing Power*, 7) are richly deserved, and both Oliver and Behr should have learned more from him. Though he often paraphrases and abbreviates, his great strength is his grasp of the rhetorical shape and direction of Aristides' Greek.

completed an edition of his own, published in 1761 what is by a long way the acutest set of notes and comments on Aristides⁵⁸ and made a compilation of the scholia that was used by Dindorf for volume 3 of his edition. Dindorf's edition of 1829, based on Jebb, but incorporating material from Laurentianus 60.3 (A), 60.7 (D), and 60.8 (T), then summed up scholarly effort to date.

The much needed fresh start was made by Bruno Keil, whose edition of 1898 initiated modern study of the text. Keil recollated the Florentine manuscripts used by Dindorf, but also broadened the editorial base by adding nine others,⁵⁹ and at long last abandoned Canter's ordering of the individual items in favor of that preserved by Laurentianus 60.8 (T). Though he planned a complete edition, he finished only the second volume, containing *Orr.* 17-53. After an interval, his work was taken up by Friedrich Lenz, who published a fundamental study of the *Prolegomena* in 1959, but in his turn had prepared only the text of *Orr.* 1 and 5-16 for publication by the time of his death in 1969. Lenz's materials were inherited by Charles A. Behr, including both Lenz's and Keil's copies of Dindorf's edition with their annotations,⁶⁰ and Behr published the completed edition of *Orr.* 1-16, with his own text of *Orr.* 2-4 and an extensive introduction, in installments between

⁵⁸ *Animadversionum ad graecos auctores volumen tertium* (Leipzig, 1761), 185-572.

⁵⁹ Laur. gr. 59.15 (C), Paris. gr. 2950 (E), Vat. gr. 1298 (R), Vat. gr. 1297 (Q), Vat. Urb. gr. 122 (S), Vat. Urb. gr. 123 (U), Vat. gr. 75 (a), Rom. Angel. III C 11 (F), Bodl. canon. gr. 84 (B).

⁶⁰ Behr 1973, xx-xxi.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1976 and 1980. Before that, he had already produced his own text and translation of *Orr.* 1–2 (the predecessor of this edition) in 1973.

In between Keil and Lenz-Behr, James H. Oliver produced editions with translation and commentary of *Orr.* 26 (*The Ruling Power* = *TAPhA* 43 [1953]: 871–1003) and 1 (*The Civilizing Power* = *TAPhA* 58 [1968]: 1–223). In the first of these Oliver used Keil's text, with a few supplementary emendations, but in the second he constructed his own. Behr's complete translation of the works, based on Lenz-Behr and Keil, appeared in two volumes, in 1981 and 1986, and a Spanish translation with extensive introduction, by F. Gascó and others, came out in five volumes in Madrid between 1987 and 1999.

This Edition

For the text of this edition, I have based myself squarely on Lenz-Behr (i.e., Lenz's text of *Or.* 1 and Behr's of *Or.* 2), depending on their reports of the manuscripts and not attempting any independent investigation of my own. Where I have diverged from their texts (more in *Or.* 1 than in *Or.* 2), it has been by making a different choice between the readings they report or by making additional deletions and conjectures. My textual notes aim mainly to clarify what is going on when I am thus departing from Lenz's and Behr's texts but also to point out where some doubt exists about the reading adopted; for fuller details, the Lenz-Behr *apparatus* must always be consulted. For the translation, I have kept Canter, Oliver, and Behr (1973 and 1981) constantly to hand, and I hope intermittently at least to have combined the best of what each has to offer.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

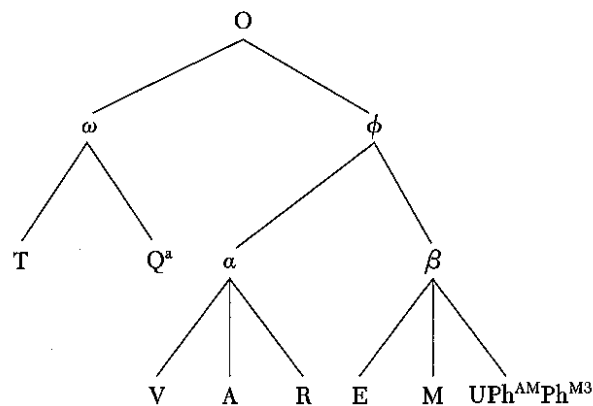
Sigla and Stemma

A	Parisinus graecus 2951
A ¹	principal hand
A ²	corrections by a later hand
A ^c	corrections by Arethas
A _a	Vaticanus graecus 75 (in <i>Or.</i> 1) = a
A _a ²	corrections by a later hand
a	Vaticanus graecus 75 (in <i>Orr.</i> 2–4) = A _a
a ¹	principal hand
a ²	later corrections and additions
B _a	Ambrosianus B 69 sup.
Barocc. 136	Bodleianus Baroccianus 136 (used by Jebb and Dindorf)
Coislin. 323	Parisinus Coislinianus 323 (used by Jebb and Dindorf)
cod. Soph.	"codex Sophiani," collated by Canter
E	Parisinus graecus 2950
E ²	corrections by later hands
K	Vaticanus graecus 74
L	Laurentianus 60.9
L ^{mrg}	addition in the margin
M	Marcianus graecus 423
M ^{rec.}	later corrections and additions
Monac. 432	Monacensis graecus 432 (used by Reiske and Dindorf)
O	consensus of all or most of AaEMQRTUV
Oxon. Coll. Nov. 259	Oxoniensis Collegii Novi 259 (used by Dindorf)
Ph ^A	Marcianus graecus 450 (text of Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>)

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Ph ^M	Marcianus graecus 451 (text of Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i>)
Ph ^{M3}	excerpts in margin of Marc. gr. 451 (Photius)
Q	Vaticanus graecus 1297
Q ¹	principal hand
Q ²	corrections by a later hand
R	Vaticanus graecus 1298
R ¹	principal hand
R ²	later corrections and additions
R ^{rec.}	corrections in a 15th-century hand
T	Laurentianus 60.8
T ¹	principal hand
T ²	corrections by a later hand
U	Vaticanus Urbinas graecus 123
V	Marcianus graecus Appendix 8.7
V ¹	principal hand
V ²	corrections and supplements in a later hand
Ald.	Aldine edition, 1513
Σ	scholia
cett.	remainder of the manuscripts
codd.	manuscripts

GENERAL INTRODUCTION



Simplified stemma for *Orr.* 1-4 (after Behr)

ABBREVIATIONS

AJP	<i>Americal Journal of Philology</i>
DK	<i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , ed. H. Diels and W. Kranz
Giannantoni	<i>Socratis et Socraticorum Reliquiae</i> , ed. G. Giannantoni
ICS	<i>Illinois Classical Studies</i>
IEG	<i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci</i> , ed. M. L. West
IGRR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
Kassel- Austin	<i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin
Kock	<i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. T. Kock
L-P	<i>Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta</i> , ed. E. Lobel and D. L. Page
OGIS	<i>Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
P. Ant.	<i>The Antinoopolis Papyri</i>
P. Bingen	<i>Papyri in honorem Johannis Bingen octogenarii</i> , ed. H. Melaerts
P. Mich.	<i>Michigan Papyri</i>
P. Oxy.	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>

ABBREVIATIONS

PMG	<i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> , ed. D. L. Page
ST	Aelius Aristides, <i>The Sacred Tales</i>
SVF	<i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> , ed. J. von Arnim
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i>

REFERENCES

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Behr | Behr 1973, and Lenz-Behr 1981–1986 |
| Canter | Canter 1556, or as cited in Reiske, <i>Animadversionum volumen quintum</i> (Leipzig, 1766), 588–624, and in Dindorf 1829 |
| Dindorf | Dindorf 1829 |
| Hermann | G. Hermann, <i>Opuscula</i> 7.104ff., as cited in editions of Pindar |
| Holleck | H. Holleck, <i>Coniectanea critica in Aelii Aristidis Panathenaicum</i> (Bratislava, 1874) |
| Jacobs | O. Jacobs, in edition of Philostratus <i>Imagines</i> (1825) |
| Jebb | Jebb 1722–1730 |
| Keil | B. Keil, marginalia to copy of Dindorf, reported by Lenz-Behr |
| Lenz | Lenz-Behr 1976–1980 |
| Oliver | Oliver 1968 |
| Phot. | Photius, <i>Bibliotheca</i> |
| Reiske | J. Reiske, <i>Animadversionum in graecos auctores volumen tertium</i> (Leipzig, 1761), 185–572, reprinted in Dindorf 1829 |
| Schroeder | O. Schroeder, in edition of Pindar (Leipzig, 1900) |
| Stephanus | Stephanus 1593 |

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

- Behr, Charles A., trans. *P. Aelius Aristides. The Complete Works*. 2 vols. Leiden, 1981–1986.
- Canter, Gulielmus, trans. *Aelii Aristidis . . . orationum tomi tres, nunc primum Latinè versi*. Basel, 1566. Omits *Orr*: 16 and 53. Reprinted with amendments by P. Stephanus and Jebb.
- Dindorf, William. *Aristides*. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1829. Includes scholia (vol. 3).
- Gascó, F., A. Ramírez de Verger, L. A. Fueyo Llera, and J. M. Copete Cortés, trans. *Elio Aristides, Discursos*. 5 vols. Madrid, 1987–1999.
- Jebb, Samuel. *Aelii Aristides . . . Opera Omnia*. 2 vols. Oxford, 1722, 1730. Omits *Or*: 53.
- Junta, Philippus. *Orationes Aristidis*. Florence, 1517. Omits *Orr*: 16 and 53.
- Keil, Bruno. *Aelii Aristidis Smyrnaei Quae Supersunt Omnia*. Vol. 2. Berlin, 1898. Contains *Orr*: 17–53.
- Lenz, Friedrich W., and Charles A. Behr. *P. Aelii Aristidis Opera Quae Exstant Omnia*. Vol. 1. Leiden, 1976–1980. Contains *Orr*: 1–16.
- Manutius, Aldus. *Isocratis Orationes*. Venice, 1513, 1534. Contains *Orr*: 1 and 36.
- Stephanus, Henricus. *Isocratis Orationes . . . et Aristidis quaedam*. Paris, 1593. Contains *Orr*: 1 and 36.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

Stephanus, Paulus. *Aeli Aristidis . . . Orationum tomi tres*. Geneva, 1604. Omits Orr: 16 and 53.

STUDIES

- Behr, C. A. *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*. Amsterdam, 1968.
- . "Studies on the Biography of Aelius Aristides." *ANRW* 2.34.2 (1994): 1140–1233.
- Boulanger, A. *Aelius Aristide et la sophistique dans la province d'Aste au II^e siècle de notre ère*. Paris, 1923.
- Bowersock, G. W. *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*. Oxford, 1969.
- . "Aristides and the Pantomimes." In Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 69–77.
- Bowie, E. L. "Greek Sophists and Greek Poetry in the Second Sophistic." *ANRW* 2.33.1 (1989): 209–58.
- Cortés Copete, J. M. *Elio Aristides Un sofista griego en el Imperio Romano*. Madrid, 1995.
- Cribiore, R. "Vying with Aristides in the Fourth Century: Libanius and His Friends." In Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 263–78.
- Downie, J. *At the Limits of Art: A Literary Study of Aelius Aristides' Hieroi Logoi*. Oxford, 2013.
- Festugière, A.-J. *Personal Religion among the Greeks*. Berkeley, 1954: ch. 6.
- Harris, W. V., and B. Holmes, ed. *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*. Leiden, 2008.
- Israelowich, I. *Society, Medicine and Religion in the Sacred Tales of Aelius Aristides*. Leiden, 2012.
- Jones, C. P. "Aristides' First Admirer." In Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 253–62.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

- . "The Survival of the Sophists." In *East and West: Papers in Ancient History Presented to Glen. W. Bowersock*, edited by T. Corey Brennan and H. I. Flower, 113–25. Cambridge, MA, 2008.
- . "Elio Aristide e i primi anni di Antonino Pio." In *Elio Aristide e la Legittimazione greca dell'Impero di Roma*, edited by P. Desideri and F. Fontanella, 39–67. Bologna, 2013.
- Lenz, F. W. *The Aristides Prolegomena*. Leiden, 1959.
- . *Aristidesstudien*. Berlin, 1964.
- Nicosia, S. *Elio Aristide nell'Asclepico di Pergamo e la retorica recuperata*. Palermo, 1979.
- Pernot, L. *La Rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*. Paris, 1993.
- Pernot, L., G. Abbamonte, and M. Lamagna, ed. *Aelius Aristide écrivain*. Turnhout, 2016.
- Petsalis-Diomidis, A. *Truly Beyond Wonders: Aelius Aristides and the Cult of Asclepius*. Oxford, 2010.
- Quattrocelli, L. "Aelius Aristides' Reception at Byzantium: The Case of Arethas." In Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 279–93.
- Reardon, B. P. *Courants littéraires grecs des II^e et III^e siècles après J.-C.* Paris, 1971: 120–54, 255–65.
- Robert, F. *Les Oeuvres perdues d'Aelius Aristide: fragments et témoignages*. Paris, 2012.
- Russell, D. A. *Greek Declamation*. Cambridge, 1983.
- Swain, S. *Hellenism and Empire. Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50–250*. Oxford, 1996: 43–100 and 254–97.
- Vix, J.-L. *L'enseignement de la rhétorique au II^e siècle ap. J.-C. à travers les discours 30–34 d'Aelius Aristide*. Turnhout, 2010.

ORATION 1
PANATHENAIC ORATION

INTRODUCTION

Until the twentieth century's rediscovery of the *Sacred Tales*, Aristides' *Panathenaic Oration* was by a long way his most widely read, admired, and influential work.¹ For later antiquity and the Byzantine period, it was a model of encomiastic oratory and oratorical flair more generally, and it played a substantial role in propagating what was until comparatively recent times the default view of the identity and historical importance of the city of Athens. For the modern reader who is prepared to find its rhetorical formality, creatively selective vision, and eulogistic fervor revealing rather than off-putting, it offers a fascinating window into the public culture and collective imagination of the educated elite of the Greek-speaking world of the mid-second century AD.

In form, the *Panathenaic Oration* is an encomium of the city of Athens, phrased as if delivered as part of the celebration of the four-yearly Great Panathenaea. This setting is most clearly evoked at the very end of the ora-

¹ Some details in Oliver, "Civilizing Power," 5–6. The principal testimony to the work's perceived importance is its position as the first item in one of the major ancient editions of Aristides' works, and the volume of commentary it attracted, as reflected in the *Prolegomena* and the medieval scholia.

tion, where Aristides compares his oratorical tribute to the city with the robe (*peplos*) woven for the goddess and carried to her temple and cult-image on the Acropolis in the Panathenaic procession (§404); but it comes into view also in §186, where he defends the great length of the speech, by pointing out that the festival itself spreads over a number of days, and in §230, where he explains his selectivity over subject matter as the result of his desire not to let it continue into the next Panathenaic cycle (*pentetêris*). Whether or not this speech, or anything like it, was ever delivered at an actual celebration of the festival is, however, uncertain. Oratorical performance as a part of the formal program for a major festival is no problem in principle; but in practice we have no direct evidence that it ever was part of the program at the Panathenaea, even after its reorganization under Hadrian in 118,² and no explicit confirmation from any other independent source that Aristides ever spoke at this festival. He may have spoken in Athens at festival time, but not as part of the formal program, or at Athens at some other time of year, or indeed somewhere else entirely, taking advantage of the status of the Athens of classic literature as the shared playground of the imagination for all cultivated Greeks, capable of evocation wherever and whenever they gathered for oratorical entertainment. At all events, anything that Aristides ever delivered before a live audience must have been substantially different from what we now read, if

²The inscriptional evidence for the Panathenaea in the second-century AD, collected by S. Follet, *Athènes au II^e et au III^e siècle* (Paris, 1976), 331–45, mentions athletics and competitions for tragic poets and heralds, but not oratory.

only in length; it is as a written text, intended for a readership across the Greek-speaking world, that this speech must in the first instance be analyzed.

The basic structure of the speech is simple, in line with encomiastic practice since the fourth century BC and the later stipulations of rhetorical theorists (many of whom included Aristides among their models and examples).³ A prologue (§§1–6) and a very brief peroration (§§402–4) frame three central sections that deal successively with the location and physical character of the city and its surrounding territory (§§7–24), its historical achievements and distinctions (§§25–330), and the superiority over all other cities that grants it a truly exemplary status (§§331–401). What gives Aristides' use of this straightforward structure its distinctiveness are the extreme length and detail of the account he gives of Athenian achievements in war (§§75–321) and his decision to treat the Attic dialect and Athenian literature (*logoi*) as world-conquering achievement on a par with, or even superior to, the force of Athenian arms (§§322–30).

The encomiast's brief is, of course, to present his chosen subject in the best possible light. In this ambitious development of the form, explicitly aiming at an unparal-

³Prescriptions for encomium are given in, for example, Theon, *Progymnasmata* 8 (2.109–12 Spengel); [Hermogenes], *Progymnasmata* 7 (14–18 Rabe); Aphthonius, *Progymnasmata* 8 (35–38 Spengel); and (specifically encomium of a city) Menander Rhetor, *Treatise* I (346.26–51.19 Spengel; citing Aristides at 349.10–11, 349.24–5, and 350.9–10). Pernot, *La Rhétorique de l'éloge*, is a comprehensive study of the forms, techniques, and ideology of encomiastic oratory.

leled comprehensiveness (§4–5), Aristides concludes by proposing Athens as not merely the greatest of all cities but more loftily still as “the image and ideal standard of humanity” (§401). He works up to this finishing point by presenting Athens as successively (1) the physical center of the Hellenic world, endowed with an ideal climate, unsurpassed natural and manmade beauties, and rich physical resources (§§7–24); (2) the place of origin of the human race, and the essentials of human culture and religion, uniquely favored by the gods (§§25–48); (3) a city with an unparalleled record of military and political achievement, built on an ideal blend of courage, high moral principle and benevolence (philanthropy) (§§49–321); (4) the originator not only of the greatest Greek literature but of the very language of culture and Hellenism (§§322–30); and (5) the most respected and successful city in Greek history, surpassed by no other in any of its areas of distinction (§§331–401).

The account Aristides gives of Athenian military and political achievement naturally gives most space to the city's record in the Persian Wars of 490 to 479 BC and the so called “Pentekontaetea” of 479 to 431 (§§89–227). The less obviously successful period of the Peloponnesian War of 431 to 404, and the fourth century up to the Macedonian conquest of 340 to 338, is dealt with by keeping this part of the story shorter (§§264–316), laying heavy emphasis on the city's extraordinary resilience and ability to keep ahead of the odds in difficult times, and passing rapidly from the briefest of references to her final political eclipse by Philip to the shining success story of Athenian literature and the Attic dialect. Well-known blots on the Athenian record, such as the brutal treatment of the peoples of

Melos and Scione, are defended by a confident but not entirely comfortable combination of an exhortation to look at the Athenian record overall, rather than at particular episodes, and an insistence on the brutal realities of imperialism that recalls Thucydides' scripts for the Mytilenean debate and the Melian dialogue (§§302–12).⁴

Ending the account of Athenian military and political prowess with the Macedonian conquest, and shifting the focus at this point to Athenian cultural dominance instead, also neatly avoids the need for any embarrassing comparison of Athens with Rome. The reality of Roman political supremacy in the present is acknowledged with a graceful compliment (“the best and greatest of them all,” §335) and a loyal prayer for its eternity (§332); but this is done fleetingly, and in the same breath as an insistence that Rome too acknowledges and honors Athens as its teacher and foster parent (§332) and that the status of Athens is now higher than it has ever been (§335). Earlier on in the speech, moreover, Aristides has allowed himself and his audience a series of covert digs at Roman pride and self image, suggesting by implication that Athens has the better of the comparison in some important respects (see notes on §§25, 26, and 30).⁵

The *Panathenaic Oration* is a text shot through with admiring reminiscences not just of the Athenian past but also of classic Athenian literature. This is of course stan-

⁴ Thuc. 3.36–49 and 5.84–114.

⁵ For discussion of Aristides' attitude to Rome and Roman power more generally, see Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 254–97; L. Pernot, “Aelius Aristides and Rome,” in Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 175–201.

dard for an Atticizing work of the second sophistic period,⁶ but has an extra resonance when Athens itself is the subject, and its language and literature main heads of praise. Specially important to Aristides' project was the corpus of Athenian Funeral Orations, represented for us now by the *Epitaphioi* attached to the names of Lysias, Hyperides, and Demosthenes, plus the nonstandard versions attributed to Aspasia by Plato in *Menexenus* 236d–49c and to Pericles by Thucydides in *Histories* 2.35–46, though perhaps known to Aristides himself in a richer set of examples.⁷ These provide him with the authoritative pretexts not only for an account of Athenian achievement that runs from early mythological times through to the Persian wars and beyond but also for his insistence on high-minded benevolence and desire to defend the right as the distinguishing motive of Athenian action.⁸ For the detail of his extended historical review, he inevitably draws, directly or indirectly, on the classic Athenian (or Athenocentric) histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, though surely supplemented by Ephorus and other subsequent universal historians, as well as on commentaries on classics texts and historical declamation.⁹ In evoking episodes

⁶ See, for instance, T. Whitmarsh, *The Second Sophistic* (Oxford 2005), 41–56; Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 43–64; T. Schmitz, *Bildung und Macht* (Munich, 1997), 67–96.

⁷ See N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens* (Cambridge, MA, 1986) for full discussion of fifth- and fourth-century funeral oration and its contents.

⁸ Cf. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens*, ch. 3 (esp. pp. 145–55).

⁹ The question of Aristides' knowledge of historical texts, conceived of as the issue of his "sources" for the information used in

from Athenian mythology, such as the trial of Orestes on the Areopagus, or the heroism of Erechtheus, he necessarily evokes also the works of tragedy and other mythological poetry in which they were commemorated.¹⁰ In the field of poetry, he is keen to cite admiring compliments from celebrated non-Athenian poets as well, in the form of Homer (§§377–81) and Pindar (§401).¹¹ Returning to prose, a relationship should probably also be seen with the only other work known to have borne the same title as Aristides', the *Panathenaicus* of Isocrates, with whom he shares both an insistence on Athenian excellence and a somewhat nervous concern that comparisons between Athens and her great rival Sparta should not be misunderstood (§§238–43, 284–89; Isoc. *Panath.* 200–232).

Characteristically, Aristides presents himself, in his role as Athens' encomiast, not as the disciple of these distinguished past writers about the city but as their rival. At both the beginning and the end of the speech (§§3–5, 401), he takes them collectively to task for failure to do full

this speech, has been extensively discussed. The best early study is Beecke, *Die historischen Angaben*. Day, *The Glory of Athens*, implausibly shifts the focus onto oral traditions. What tends to get lost sight of is that Aristides is demonstrating his familiarity with classic authors as well as great historic achievements.

¹⁰ For the question of mythological material, see S. Saïd, "Aristides' use of myths," in Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 51–68.

¹¹ For Aristides' use of Homer, see J. F. Kindstrand, *Homer in der Zweiten Sophistik* (Uppsala, 1973), 73–97 and 193–219; for his use of other forms of poetry, E. L. Bowie, "Aristides and Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry," in Harris and Holmes, *Aelius Aristides*, 9–30.

justice to the city, and he declares his intention of surpassing them by making good this defect. At the same time, and in a further series of comments distributed throughout the speech, he insists on a uniquely close connection between his own efforts as celebrant and the achievements of the city he is celebrating. As a star orator he is a true nursling of Athens in her central identity as the mother city of culture, and so ideally placed to honor her on her own terms (§§2, 6, 329); in addition, the courage and effort he displays in meeting the challenge of praising her as she deserves also matches the courage and effort shown by her people in achieving their great feats in the first place (§§3, 151–53). Thus, although the speech may end with what looks like a gesture of modesty, leaving the question of its success or failure with its audience to Athena (§404), it is clearly presented overall as a meeting of the mighty, of the first city of Hellenism with the reigning champion of Hellenic culture.

The date of composition cannot be fixed with certainty. J. H. Oliver argues intricately but implausibly for the year AD 167,¹² C. A. Behr more plausibly for 155.¹³ The latter date depends on connecting the oration with a visit to Athens apparently predicted in the dream recorded in *Sacred Tales* 6.1–3, which can be dated to the first half of that year. Oliver, for his part, on the basis of a dubious story in the Aristides *Prolegomena*,¹⁴ supposed that Aris-

¹² Oliver, "Civilizing Power," 32–34.

¹³ Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 86–88; cf. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*, 274.

¹⁴ Treatise B 10–11 Lenz, quoted by Oliver, "Civilizing power," 34n9.

tides was commissioned by Herodes Atticus to perform at the Panathenaea of 167 but produced an unperformably long composition that he had to content himself with circulating in written form only. Boulanger and Jones, perhaps most wisely, offer no firm date.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Beecke, E. *Die historischen Angaben in Aelius Aristides Panathenaios auf ihre Quellen untersucht*. PhD diss. Strassburg, 1905.
- Day, J. W. *The Glory of Athens: Popular Tradition as Reflected in the Panathenaicus of Aelius Aristides*. Chicago, 1980.
- Kelly, C. "Greek Piety in a Roman Context: Aelius Aristides' *Panathenaic Oration*." *Digressus* 11 (2011): 51–73.
- Oliver, J. H. "The Civilizing Power: A Study of the Panathenaic Discourse of Aelius Aristide against the Background of Literature and Cultural Conflict." *TAPhA* 98 (1968): 1–223.
- Oudot, E. "Athènes repeinte en cité grecque? Quelques remarques sur l'idéologie du *Panathénaique* d'Aelius Aristide." *Métis* n.s. 3 (2005): 319–35.
- . "Au commencement était Athènes. Le *Panathénaique* d'Aelius Aristide ou l'histoire abolie." *Ktêma* 31 (2006): 227–38.
- . "Aelius Aristides and Thucydides: Some Remarks about the *Panathenaic Oration*." In *Aelius Aristides between Greece, Rome, and the Gods*, edited by W. V. Harris and B. Holmes, 31–49. Leiden, 2008.
- . "Dresser un trophée sans verser le sang": Athènes

AELIUS ARISTIDES, ORATIONS

dans la rhétorique du II^e siècle - l'image d'un empire linguistique et ses enjeux." In *Langues dominantes, langues dominées: à la mémoire de Gérard Dallez*, edited by L. Vilard, 65–84. Mont-Saint-Aignan, 2008.

———. "Le *Panathénaique* d'Aelius Aristide (*or.* 1): les voies et les enjeux d'une nouvelle histoire d'Athènes." In *Aelius Aristide écrivain*, edited by L. Pernot, G. Abamonte, and M. Lamagna, 23–58. Turnhout, 2016.

ANALYSIS

- I. Prologue
- II. *Tractatio*
 - A. Geographical position and characteristics of Athens (*physis* and *thesis*) (7–24)
 - B. Distinction of Athens in its earliest history (25–74)
 1. Home to the first humans (true autochthony) (25–30)
 2. Discovery and diffusion of agriculture (31–38)
 3. Competition of the gods for patronage of Athens (39–48)
 4. Athenian benevolence: reception of suppliants, disposal of bandits, etc. (49–74)
 - C. Great deeds in war (75–321)
 1. Prologue (75–76)
 2. Body (77–316)
 - a) Mythological times—picking up from 49–74 (77–88)
 - b) Transition (89–92)
 - c) The Persian Wars and their prelude (92–184)

1. PANATHENAIC ORATION

- d) Transition (185–88)
 - e) From 479 to the eve of the Peloponnesian War, with a generalizing summary at 227 (189–227)
 - f) The Peloponnesian War (228–63)
 - g) Transition (264–65)
 - h) The fourth century before Philip (266–312)—with a reprise of the fifth century (Athens-Sparta *synkrisis*; 272–301) and defense of Athenian "atrocities" (302–12)
 - i) Philip, briefly (313–16)
3. Conclusion (317–21)
 - D. The Attic dialect (322–30)—another great achievement and mark of superiority
 - E. Comparison (*synkrisis*)—the superiority of Athens over other all states (331–401)
- III. Peroration (402–4)

1
ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΚΟΣ

[Prologue (1-6)]

Νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι παλαιός, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων τοῖς πλείστοις, τροφεῦσι χάριν ἐκτίνειν ἅπασαν, ὅση δυνατή. οὔστινας δ' ἂν τροφείας προτέρους ὑμῶν ἄγοι τις, ὃ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκῶν γε δὴ πως εἰς Ἑλληνας τελεῖν, οὐ βῆδιον εὐρεῖν, ὥς γέ μοι φαίνεται. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ καὶ τῆς νενομισμένης ταυτησι τροφῆς καὶ κοινῆς ὑμᾶς εὐθὺς ἂν εὔροι τις ἐπωνύμους καὶ ποριστὰς σκοπῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς· ὥστε ἕξεστιν εἰπεῖν ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἄλλους ἄλλοις εἶναι τροφείας, οὓς ἂν ἡ τύχη καὶ ὁ συμπίπτων χρόνος ἐκάστοις παρασκευάσῃ, κοινούς δὲ ἀπάντων τροφείας ὑμᾶς εἶναι καὶ μόνους καὶ πρό γε αὐτῶν ἔτι τῶν τροφῶν, ὥσπερ οὓς πατέρας πατέρων καλοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταί· δι' ἃ καὶ μόνα τὴν εὐνοίαν ἤρκει παρὰ πάντων ὑμῖν εἶναι

¹ A phrase used by Tyrtaeus in fr. 5.6 IEG (cf. Strabo 8.4.10); is it a deliberate piece of cleverness on Aristides' part to reapply a phrase about Spartans from a Spartan poet to the Athenians? But there are also Homeric instances, e.g., *Il.* 14.118.

1
PANATHENAIC ORATION

Prologue (1-6)

It is a time-honored custom among the Greeks—and I think among most foreign peoples too—to repay as completely as possible the debt of gratitude owed to those who have raised us. Athenians, I for one believe it would be hard to find any people who could be recognized as fulfilling this fostering role further back in time than you, at any rate in the eyes of anyone acknowledged as any kind of Hellene. In the first place, any investigation would establish straight away that it was you who were the original providers of that familiar form of nourishment which all share, and to have given your name to it. It can therefore be said that whereas in individual cases different people receive fostering care from different sources, as chance and the coincidences of time provide it, you alone are the common foster parents of all mankind, and indeed even before that of the foster parents themselves, so as to be like those whom the poets call fathers' fathers.¹ This service alone was enough to secure you the goodwill of all on

2 κατὰ φύσιν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οἱ βλέπων τὸ δίκαιον ἐποιού-
 μην καὶ περὶ ἧς εἶχον ἐν νῶ τροφῆς εἰπεῖν, τῆς ὡς
 ἀληθῶς καθαρᾶς καὶ διαφερόντως ἀνθρώπου, τῆς ἐν
 μαθήμασι καὶ λόγοις, τίς οὕτως ἔξω τούτων ἐστὶν
 ὥστ' ἀγνοεῖν παρ' ὑμῶν οὔσαν ἅπασι τὴν ἀρχήν;
 ὥστε εἰκὸς καὶ τὸν περὶ τούτων λόγον δεῦρο κομίζειν
 καὶ τιμᾶν τοῖς γιγνομένοις τὴν πόλιν, ὡς τὰς μὲν ἄλ-
 λας χάριτας δικαίας μὲν, οὐ μὴν τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἀντικρυς εἶναι συμβέβηκε, μόνην δὲ ταύτην γνησίαν
 τῆς εὐεργεσίας ἔξεστι προσειπεῖν [ἢ γὰρ ὑπὲρ λόγων
 λόγῳ γιγνομένη χάρις οὐ μόνον τὸ δίκαιον ἔχει μεθ'
 ἑαυτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου πρῶτον ἐπα-
 νυμίαν βεβαιού.]¹ μόνη γάρ ἐστιν ἀκριβῶς εὐλογος.

3 μηδεὶς δὲ ὑμῶν, ὃ νῦν τε παρόντες τοῖς λόγοις καὶ
 χρόνῳ συννεσόμενοι, μηδεμίαν προπέτειαν μηδὲ εὐ-
 ήθειαν καταγνῶ τοῦ παντὸς ἐγχειρήματος, εἰ μήτε
 προστησάμενοι σχῆμα φαυλότερον τοῦ λόγου μήτε ἂ
 πολλὰ καὶ ἐργώδη τῷ λόγῳ πρόσσεστι δείσαντες ὑπ-
 ἔστημεν ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τοσοῦτον ἀγῶνα. μάλιστα
 μὲν γάρ, εἰ καὶ τοῦτο ἄξιον αἰτίας, οὐδὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς
 θεοὺς ἡμῖν γε παρέεται τὸ μὴ οὐ τετολμησθαι. ἔπειτ'
 οὐδ' ἐμὲ τοῦτο λέληθεν ὡς ἐργώδης ὁ λόγος καὶ χα-

¹ *secl.* Trapp

² See §§322–30 below.

³ The sentence immediately following, bracketed in the Greek text opposite, looks like a reader's or commentator's addition,

purely natural grounds. But what I was actually looking to 2
 when I made my claim on your behalf, the kind of foster-
 ing care I meant to speak of, is that truly pure and dis-
 tinctively human kind that resides in learning and in elo-
 quence. Can there be anyone to whom these gifts are so
 alien that he does know that all of them originally derive
 from you? It is right and proper, therefore, to bring an
 account of them too here as part of my tribute, so as to
 honor your city as it deserves.² Other expressions of grati-
 tude, however well merited, still do not have the property
 of matching their grounds directly; it is this one alone that
 can be described as a legitimate return for your benefac-
 tion, for it alone constitutes a eulogy in the proper sense
 of the word.³

Let no one among you—you who are now present as I 3
 speak or who will encounter my words in the future—con-
 demn this whole undertaking for rashness or naivety, in
 that I have not sought the safety of a more lowly form of
 oration, or taken fright at the many difficulties that this
 speech involves, but have openly set myself to rise to the
 great challenge it involves. In the first place, even if this
 too may give grounds for criticism, I have not let faintness
 of heart deter me from offering praises to the gods either.⁴
 Secondly, I am as well aware as anyone how much labor is
 needed for a speech of this kind, how hard it is to carry it

knowledgeably but superfluously expanding Aristides' meaning:
 "For thanks rendered in eloquent speech for the gift of eloquence
 are not only right in themselves, but also confirm the initial deri-
 vation of their name from 'logos.'"

⁴ Apparently a reference to Aristides' prose hymns (*Orr.* 37–
 46), which date from (probably) AD 142 onward.

λεπὸς διενεγκεῖν καὶ τὰς ἐκδρομὰς ὅποσας ἔχει ἄς καὶ συνιδεῖν ἀπάσας καὶ διελέσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ πληρῶσαι διὰ τέλους ἀδύνατον μὴ οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ καὶ λαμπρᾷ τῇ τύχῃ πρὸς δὲ τούτους, ἐφ' ὅσοις ἔθνεσι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρηκόσι καὶ προκατειληφόσι τὰς ἀκοὰς ἐπερχόμεθα, μείζον ἔχοντες ἔργον ὃ τι φυλαξόμεθα ἢ ὅτῳ χρησόμεθα εὐρεῖν. ἄλλων γὰρ ἄλλα κεκοσμηκότων καὶ διεξεληλυθότων τὰ τισι² παρεμένα πᾶσι καὶ πεπλήρωται καὶ συμβαίνει διπλοῦν τὸν ἀγῶνα γίνεσθαι τῷ μετὰ πάντας ἐγχειροῦντι, καὶ χωρὶς πρὸς ἕκαστον καὶ κοινῇ πρὸς ἅπαντας.

4 Οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' αὐτό γε τοῦτό ἐστιν καὶ τὸ³ μόνον πεποιηκός μοι τὸν λόγον, ὅτι οὕτω πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις τῆς πόλεως ὑπερεχούσης, καὶ τόπον οὐδένα τοῖς βουλομένοις εὐφημεῖν ἀργὸν παρεικνίας, οὐδεὶς πω μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς ἅπαντα καθῆκεν εαυτὸν οὐδ' ἐθάρρησεν. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τοὺς ἄνω χρόνους ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἄδουσι καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς κοινὰ τῇ πόλει, καὶ ταῦτα ἀπὸ τοῦ παρείκουτος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν πολέμους πρὸς Ἑλλάδας καὶ βαρβάρους αὐτῆς ἀφηγοῦνται μεμερισμένως ἕτεροι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν καταλέγουσιν· οἱ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιταφίους λόγοις τῶν ἀποθανόντων ἐνίους προσειρήκασιν· εἰσὶν

² τὰ τισι Reiske τὰ πᾶσι *codd.*

³ καὶ τό Ο τὸ καὶ U

through to its conclusion, and how many opportunities for elaboration it presents; to see all of them and separate each of them out individually and work it up in full would be impossible without the greatest and most radiant good fortune. I am aware too what a host of predecessors have already spoken on this theme and claimed my audience's attention before me; following after them, it is a harder task for me to determine what I should avoid than what I should employ. Different speakers have elaborated on and expounded different aspects of the subject, with the result that what may have been passed over by some has in fact been filled in by all collectively. As a result, he who tackles the theme after everyone else has a double contest on his hands, individually with each of his predecessors and collectively with all of them.

Be that as it may, there is a fact that even on its own 4 justifies me in making my own speech. Although this city excels in so many and such important ways, and makes all possible grounds for praise available to those who wish to eulogize her, no one yet even to this day has been brave enough to commit himself to a complete account of her.⁵ Some have celebrated the distant past in their poetry, and the city's collective dealings with the gods, though only as far as they found it practicable; others have dealt piecemeal with the wars she has fought on particular occasions with Greeks and with foreign enemies; others have described her constitution; yet others have addressed selected cohorts of her dead in funeral orations. Among

⁵ Aristides' oration thus aims to be "Panathenaic" not only in the sense of being tailored for performance at the Panathenaea but also in the sense of telling the whole story of Athens' glories.

δὲ οἱ κὰν τούτοις οὐχ, ὡς νομίζεται, διὰ τῶν πράξεων
 ἦλθον, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν ἐτράποντο, δείσαντες, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν,
 ἐλάττους γενέσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων, οὐκ ἔξω μὲν που
 συγγνώμης λαβόντες φόβον, ἀλλ' οὖν οὕτω πολλοῦ
 5 τινος ἐδέησαν περὶ πάντων γε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῆ
 πόλει διεξελθεῖν. καὶ μὴν οἱ μὲν τὴν σοφίαν αὐτῆς
 ἐγκωμιάζουσιν, οἱ δὲ τὰς ἀποικίας καταλέγουσιν, ἕτε-
 ροὶ δὲ αὖ τὴν κοινότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν ὑμνοῦσι,
 καὶ ταῦτα οἱ μὲν τοῖς συγγράμμασί που τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἐγκαταμινύντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ στόματος οὕτωςι κατὰ τὸ
 συμβαῖνον τῆς μνήμης. ὡς δὲ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντες
 ἢ τῷ βουλήματι τῷ σφετέρῳ μεμετρήκασιν ἢ τῆ δυ-
 νάμει τὰ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ τῷ τῆς πόλεως μέτρῳ
 οὐδὲ τῷ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ ὥσπερ πελάγους ἀπέι-
 ρου καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς οὐχ ὀρίζοντος ἕκαστος ὅσου
 καθορᾶ, τοῦτο θαυμάζει· καὶ συμβέβηκεν ὥσπερ αἶ-
 νιγμα τῆ πόλει· ἢ γὰρ τοσοῦτον⁶ εὐφημιῶν καὶ δόξης
 περίεστι, ταύτη, κὰν ὡς ἐλάχιστον τούτων ὦν μέ-
 6 εστιν εἴπη τις, οὐ τοῦ παντὸς ἀμαρτήσεται.
 οὐ δὴ δίκαιον τὴν μόνην τοῦ τολμήματος αἰτίαν
 καὶ δι' ἣν εἰκότως ἐδέησε τοῦ νυνὶ λόγου, ταύτην ἐκεί-
 νης ἀξιῶσαι τῆς αἰτίας, ἢ τὸ τῆς μέμφεώς ἐστιν

⁴ τοσοῦτον QTUV τοσοῦτων AB₂KMRV

⁶ A sideways glance at the Funeral Oration scripted by Thucydides for Pericles in *Hist.* 2.35–46.

⁷ The riddle is thus, “When is an encomium not an enco-

this last group, there were some who did not review the achievements of the departed in the traditional way, but took a different path, in fear (I think) of failing to live up to their subject matter—an entirely forgivable fear for them to be subject to, indeed, but all the same a measure of how far they fell short of a systematic account of everything that pertains to the city.⁶ Again, some eulogize her intel- 5
 lectual distinction, others list her colonies, and yet others celebrate her generosity and benevolence; some of them do this in their chronicles, combining it with the rest of their material, others just on the spur of the moment, as things chance to come to mind. To put it simply, everyone has measured their accounts of the city by their own will-
 ingness or capacities, not by the city's own measure or by that of the facts; as if in the face of an infinite ocean in which the eyes can discern no boundary, each man admires only so much as he can see. In the process a kind of riddle has formed itself about the city: the very abundance of the praise and renown in which she excels means that even if someone mentions only the very least of her qual-
 ities, he will not entirely miss his target.⁷

It would be wholly unfair for anyone to maintain that 6
 the sole cause responsible for my bold initiative, the one which can reasonably be said to make the speech I am now giving necessary, deserves to be called responsible in

mium?”—answer: “When it is an encomium of Athens,” because any such encomium will partly hit the mark (be a real encomium) but also fail to do justice to its subject (and so not be a real encomium). For the style of the riddle, compare the example alluded to in *Pl. Resp.* 5.479d and explained by commentators on that passage.

ὄνομα. ἔπειτα εἰ μὲν μή, πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ὄντων, οὐ μὲν οὖν οὐτ' ἀπαριθμῆσαι ῥαδίον οὔτε μετρήσαι δυνατῶν τῶν εἰς τοσοῦτον τὴν πόλιν ἤρκότων, ἔν τι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ τῶν λόγων ἦν ἀγαθόν, οὐκ ἂν ἴσως ἤρμοτε παρακινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἔαν ὅπως ποτ' εἶχε τὰ τῆς δόξης αὐτῆ· νῦν δ' ὡσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἡγεμῶν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις, γηγένηται, οὕτως ὅτι καὶ τῶν λόγων πρώτη γνώριμόν ἐστιν ὥστε οὐτ' ἀλλοτρία τῆ πείρα χρώμεθα, οὐδ' ἐτέρωσε φέρουσαν ὁδὸν προειλόμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, οὔτε ἐλάττω τὰ τῆς πόλεως ποιούμεν, ἀλλ' ἔν τι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐκτίνομεν, εἰς ὅσον ἐγχωρεῖ.

[*The City of Athens (7-401)*]

[*The Location and Physical Character of the Country (7-24)*]

- 7 εἰρημένον δὲ ὑπὸ πολλῶν πολλακίς ὡς ἄρα οὐ ῥαδίον εὐρεῖν ὅθεν ἄρξεται τις, ἐμόν, οὐκ ἄλλου τοῦτον τὸν λόγον εἶναι νομίζω τῆ χρεῖα. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῷ πρεσβυτάτην εἶναι τῶν ἐν μνήμῃ τὴν πόλιν συμβαίνειν καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνήκειν εἰς τὸ πλεόν τοῦ φανεροῦ καὶ

⁸ Literally, "deserves the kind of imputation of responsibility that is synonymous with blame," a painfully labored play on the dual sense of *aitia* as both "cause" and "charge/imputation of blame."

the sense of blameworthy.⁸ Furthermore, were it not the case—given the existence of many great and noble qualities that have raised the city to its current eminence, even if it is neither easy to count them nor possible to measure them—were it not the case that this particular distinction in eloquence was one among her blessings, then perhaps it would have been appropriate not to take the risk, but instead to let her reputation rest as it was. But as things actually stand, just as Athens has become a leader in all other things to the Greeks, indeed to the rest of humanity as well, so too it is well known that she is first in eloquence. It is thus no foreign undertaking I am engaged in; the path I have chosen is not one that leads to some other destination, but precisely to the city and people of Athens; I am not diminishing the city's stock, but instead—so far as may be done—paying tribute to her with one of her own possessions.⁹

The City of Athens (7-401)

The Location and Physical Character of the Country (7-24)

The often-repeated truism, that it is not easy to fix on an appropriate starting point, I think finds its application in my case more truly than in anyone else's. It is not simply that the city of Athens is the oldest of any in recorded history, and that its origins go further back in time than

⁹ Without mentioning it explicitly, Aristides plays on the ancient version of the saying "coals to Newcastle"—"an owl to Athens," i.e., presenting a person or place with something they already have in abundance. See also §329 below.

προχείρου λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ πολλὰς ὥσπερ ἐν κύκλω τὰς ἀρχὰς ὁ λόγος προδείκνυσιν, ἅς οὔτε ὁμοῦ ποιήσασθαι δῆπου δυνατὸν οὔθ' ἦτις ἀρχὴ ταῖς ἄλλαις εἶναι νικήσει ῥάδιον κρῖναι· ἄλλα γὰρ ἄλλον ἕνεκα ἀρμόττειν ὡς γ' ἐκ τοῦ προφαινομένου πρῶτα
 8 λεχθῆναι δόξαν παρίστησιν. Ἦν δὲ ἀπασῶν ἐπικαιροτάτην ἀρχὴν ὑπολαμβάνω καὶ πρὸς ἣν ἤκιστ' ἂν ἀμαρτεῖν, ἅπαντα καθιστάμενος τὸν λόγον, ταύτην καὶ δὴ ποιήσομαι· εἰ δὲ ὀρθῶς ἢ μὴ, πάρεστι κοινωνεῖν τῆς γνώμης. οἶμαι δέ, ἂν ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας καὶ μετέχων τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔστιν οὗ φαίνωμαι τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος, οὐδ' ὑμῖν ἂν φέρειν αἰσχύνῃν.

ἡ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἡμῖν φύσις τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνδρῶν συμβαίνουσα φανήσεται καὶ οὔθ' ἡ γῆ πρέπουσα ἐτέρων εἶναι, οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἐγένετο, οὔτε οἱ ἄνδρες ἄλλης ἀντὶ ταύτης ἄξιοι, οὐκ οὐκ οὐδὲ ἠλλάξαντο, ἀλλ' ἔμειναν ἐφ' ἧς εἶχον· ἀμφὼ δὲ ταῦτα ὄψει καὶ μνήμη κρῖνεται. οἳ τε γὰρ οἰκήσαντες αἰεὶ τὴν χώραν ἐναργῆ καὶ θαυμαστὰ τῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιεικειᾶς σημεῖα ἐξήνεγκαν ἐν παντὶ τῷ παρασχόντι, τὰ μὲν ἦν οὐτωςί τις ἂν εἴποι φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τῇ τῶν τρόπων πραύτητι καὶ ταῖς ὁμιλίαις, οὐδέσῃν ἄλλοις ὁμοίως ἡμέροις εἶναι δοκεῖν λιπόντες, τὰ δ' ἐν ταῖς χρεῖαις καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐν προβόλου μοίρᾳ τοῖς Ἑλλησι
 9 τεταγμένοι. καὶ τὸ τῆς χώρας αὐτῷ σχῆμα τοιοῦτον ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης θεωροῦντι. πρόκειται γὰρ ἀντ' ἄλ-

can be clearly seen or readily grasped, but also that my speech offers me a host of alternative starting points on all sides, which it is of course impossible to implement all together, without it being easy to decide either which of them should win priority over all the rest; each of them on its own different grounds gives the impression that, as far as first appearances go, it could appropriately be put first. I hereby take as my starting point, then, the one that I suppose to be the most advantageous of all of them and that is least likely to send me astray right at the beginning of my whole speech. Whether I am correct in this supposition or not, my intention at least is one that you can share. And if at times I can be seen to be speaking as if in praise of my own city, and as if a sharer in its blessings, I do not suppose that this will bring you any shame either.

It will be quite clear, we shall see, that the physical character of the country agrees with the physical character of its people. The land is not suitable for any others, and so it never belonged to any others either; the people did not deserve any other land in place of this one, and so they never changed it, but remained with what they had. Both these points are confirmed by observation and by the historical record. Those who inhabited the country in successive ages produced stupendous and convincing tokens of their virtue at every opportunity, on the one hand displaying in the mildness of their character and in their dealings with others what one might call their humane benevolence, allowing no one else the chance of appearing comparably gentle, on the other hand positioning themselves as a first line of defense for the whole of Greece in times of need and danger. The physical shape of the country has the same characteristics, whether surveyed from the sea

10 του φυλακτηρίου τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν γιγνομένην τάξιν
 ἔχουσα πρώτη πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, προμήκης εἰς
 τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ μάλα ἐναργῆς συμβαλεῖν ὅτι τῆς
 Ἑλλάδος ἐστὶν ἔρυμα ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων πεποιημέ-
 νον καὶ μόνη ταύτη κατὰ φύσιν ἔστιν ἡγείσθαι τοῦ
 10 γένους. εἶτα καὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὡσπερὶ σύμβο-
 λον ἐκφέρειν προβαίνει γὰρ μέχρι πλείστου τὴν θά-
 λατταν ἡμεροῦσα καὶ ταῖς νήσοις ἐγκαταμίγνυται,
 θεαμάτων ἡδιστον, ἡπειρος ἐν νήσοις καὶ τούτων
 ἐνίων νοτιωτέρα, πρώτη μὲν τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ πελάγους
 ὡσπερὶ χεῖρα προτείνουσα εἰς ὑποδοχὴν, παντοδα-
 πούς δὲ ὄρμους καὶ λιμένας παρεχομένη κύκλω περὶ
 πᾶσαν ἑαυτήν, ἔτι δὲ ἀκτὰς ἄλλας κατ' ἄλλα μέρη
 τῆς τε θαλάττης καὶ ἑαυτῆς καὶ πορθμούς πρὸς τὰς
 ἐπικειμένας νήσους οὐ πλέον διαλείπουσας ἢ ὅσον αἱ
 νῆσοι πρὸς ἀλλήλας· ὥστε καὶ παραπλεῖν καὶ περι-
 πλεῖν καὶ πεζεύειν καὶ ἔτι πελαγίους εἶναι διὰ τῆς
 Ἀττικῆς ὡσπερ ἐν πομπῇ κατ' ἐξουσίαν τὸ πρὸς ἡδο-
 11 νὴν αἰρουμένους. αἱ δὲ ἐπίκεινται πανταχόθεν πεποι-
 κιλμέναί Κυκλάδες καὶ Σποράδες περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν,
 ὡσπερ τῆς θαλάττης ἐξεπίτηδες ἀνείσης ἀντὶ προ-
 αστείων τῇ πόλει, χοροῦ σχῆμα σφύζουσαι, καὶ τὰ
 ἐκείνων κάλλη καὶ κόσμους τῆς πόλεως κάλλη καὶ
 κόσμους εἶναι συμβέβηκε. δύνανται γὰρ ὅπερ τοῖς
 βασιλείοις τὰ προπύλαια, καὶ σελήνην ἀστέρες ἐγ-

¹⁰ Cf. §124 below.

¹¹ A leitmotif of Aristides' account of Athenian military achievements, in §§75–321 below.

or from the landward side. As she juts forward in place of
 any other defensive work for the land of Greece, in her
 rightful position closest to the rising sun and projecting
 end-on into the sea, it is obvious that she was created
 by the gods as the bulwark of Greece,¹⁰ and that it is to
 her alone that leadership of the nation naturally belongs.¹¹
 But you could also say that she is displaying her people's
 10 humane benevolence in symbolic form. With her great
 projecting length she calms the seas and makes the most
 delightful of sights as she interposes herself among the
 isles, a mainland among islands, yet better supplied with
 water even than some of them. She is the first so to speak
 to hold out her hand in welcome to travelers arriving from
 the sea, offering harbors and anchorages of every kind
 round her whole coast, or again different sorts of shore-
 line at different points in her own and the sea's extent,
 and channels across to the neighboring islands that are no
 broader than the spaces that separate the islands from
 each other. As a result, traveling through Attica it is pos-
 sible to sail along coasts and round capes, and proceed
 by foot, and again be on the high seas, like people in a
 procession free to choose whatever they prefer. Close
 11 at hand in all directions around Attica lie the spangled
 Cyclades and Sporades, arranged like a group of dancers,
 as if the sea had purposely produced them to stand for
 the city's suburbs; their beauties and adornments are the
 city's beauties and adornments too. They have the role that
 gatehouses have for palaces, and as a poet might say are
 as stars enclosing the moon,¹² deriving greater benefit—I

¹² Compare Sappho fr. 34 L-P, quoted by Eustathius on *Il.* 8.555 and alluded to by Julian in *Or.* 3.109c and *Ep.* 194.387a.

κλείουσι, ποιητῆς ἂν εἶποι τις, μείζον φέρουσαι κέρδος ἢ ὅσον παρέχουσιν, λέγω δὴ τοῦ προσοικεῖν. δι' ἃ δὴ καὶ μόνη τῇ πόλει κυρίως ἂν τις φαίη τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῶν συμβῆναι καὶ γνησίαν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους νόθους εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι, ὥσπερ ὑποβολιμαίους, οὐ πατρικαῖς ταῖς νήσοις ἐπιθεμένους, ἀλλ' ἀρπάσαντας τύχης ἀλογίᾳ, ὅπερ αὐτοὺς καὶ ταχέως πάλιν ἐξήλασε.

12 Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ ταύτην τὴν θέσιν τῆς χώρας ἐχούσης, τὸν μὲν αἰεὶ κατάπλουν τῶν ἐμπορῶν τε καὶ καθ' ἱστορίαν ἢ χρεῖαν εἰσαφικνουμένων, μεθ' ὅσης τῆς ῥαστώνης καὶ ψυχαγωγίας γίνεταί καὶ τρυφῆς οὐ ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν, πλὴν εἰς ὅσον αὐτοὺς τις ἐπιμαρτύρατο· οὕτω γὰρ παντάπασιν ἡ ψυχὴ προκαθαίρεται καὶ μετέωρος καὶ κούφη γίνεταί καὶ σφόδρα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τῆς θεᾶς ἐν παρασκευῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν ἱεροῖς προτελουμένη. ἐπίδηλον δὲ καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς πλέον τοῦ συνήθους τὸ φῶς ἐγγιγνόμενον, ἀφαιρούσης ἤδη τὴν πολλὴν ἀχλὺν ὡς ἀληθῶς [καί]⁵ καθ' Ὅμηρον εἰπεῖν τῆς Ἀθηναῖς ἔτι τῇ χώρᾳ προσαγόντων. ὥστε ἔοικεν ὀνείρατος εὐφροσύνη τὰ θεάματα καὶ χορείαν ἐξελίττει οὐ πλοῦν ἀνύτειν δόξαις ἂν, οἷα τὴν ναῦν αἰεὶ κύκλω περιῦσταται κάλλη παντοδαπὰ ἄγοντα μετ' εὐθυμίας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν.

13 τοῖς δ' ὀρωμένους συμβαίνει καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα, οἷς

⁵ καὶ secl. Trapp

mean from their proximity to Athens—than they can contribute. For this reason it is to this city alone that lordship over the islands can be said to have belonged in the proper sense of the word and to have been legitimately hers in the days of Greek power. It was without legitimacy that the others ventured onto the seas, like children foisted on parents not their own: they did not occupy the islands by ancestral right but seized them thanks to the random workings of chance, which rapidly drove them out again too.

This being the form and this the position that the country enjoys, it is not easy to describe the relief and the delight and the luxurious satisfaction with which merchants, and those traveling on business or to see the sights, make landfall here, except in so far as they might themselves be called to give evidence. So utterly is the spirit purified in anticipation and put into a state of exaltation and suspense, actively preparing itself for the vision of Athens, as if undergoing the preliminary initiation for a sacred rite. It is manifest to the eyes that a brighter than normal light plays over her, as Athena now quite literally in Homeric style "takes away the thick mist"¹³ from travelers even as they are still in the process of putting in to this land. The prospect that greets your gaze is thus like a joyous dream, and such are the beauties of all kinds that surround your ship in unbroken succession as they cheerfully escort you into Attica, that you would think that you were tripping out the last whirling steps of a dance, not completing a voyage.

The testimony of the eyes is supported by the evidence 13

¹³ *Il.* 5.127.

οὐκ ἔνεστιν ἀπιστεῖν πάντα γὰρ ἐξῆς ὁμοίως ἔχει. Δητῶ τε γάρ, εἰ καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀρμόσει περὶ τῶν θείων διηγεῖσθαι, λυσαμένη τὴν ζώνην ἐν Ζωστῆρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ λιποῦσα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ τόπῳ, βαδίζουσα αἰεὶ εἰς τὸ πρὸς ἔω τῆς Προνοίας Ἀθηναῖς ἡγουμένης, ἀπ' ἄκρας τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπιβάσα τῶν νήσων εἰς Δῆλον καταίρει καὶ τίκτει δὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τὴν τε Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν πατρῶον Ἀπόλλω τῇ πόλει, ἣ τ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας πρώτη διαβάσα δύναμις διὰ τῶν νήσων προσέσχεν εἰς Μαραθῶνα, καλῶς ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀχθείσα τοῦ τόπου πρὸς τὸ δοῦναι δίκην ὧν ἐπεβούλευσε τοῖς Ἑλλησι.

14 οὕτω δ' ἐν ἀρχῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὖσα ἡ χώρα ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πάσης οὐχ ἡττόν ἐστιν. ὅποι γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῆς κινήθεις, τὰ γνωριμώτατα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐκδέχεται γένη, καὶ ὥσπερ πόλις ἢ οἰκία χώρα προσοικεῖ, οὕτω καὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἅπασα ἡ Ἑλλὰς προσοικεῖ. διὸ δὴ καὶ μόνη τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρόσχημα καθαρῶς ἀνήρτηται καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀλλόφυλος· ὅσον γὰρ τῇ φύσει τοῦ τόπου κεχώρισται, τοσοῦτον καὶ τοῖς ἡθεσι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀφέστηκεν. οὔτε γὰρ ποταμοῦ μέσου κοινωνέει τις οὐτ' ἐστὶν αὐτῇ μεθόριον οὐδὲν τὸ αὐτὸ διαιροῦν καὶ μιγνύον τὴν γῆν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ πρὸς ἀσπίδος ἐπίσημον πάντα πρὸς μέσον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐκ παντὸς ἄκρου τείνει τὰ Ἑλληνικά, καὶ πανταχόθεν κύκλοι περιέχουσι τὴν χώραν

of tradition, which cannot be doubted because its consistency in all respects is so complete. Leto for instance (even if the proper place for the discussion of the divine will come a little later on)¹⁴ when she had unfastened her girdle (*zōne*) at Zoster in Attica and thus given the place its name, traveled ever eastward under the guidance of Athena the Provident; stepping off from the tip of Attica she set foot on the islands and put in at Delos. There she gave birth to gods, in the shape of Apollo, with his ancestral connection to the city, and Artemis. Or again, the first army to cross from Asia to attack the Greeks came via the islands and made landfall at Marathon, drawn on in fine style by the natural character of the place to punishment for its plots against the Greeks.

14 Although the land thus stands at the gateway to Greece, it is no less true that it stands at the center of the whole country. In whatever direction you move from it, you are met by the most celebrated of the Greek peoples; just as a city is surrounded by its own territory, so Attica is surrounded by the whole of Greece. This is why it alone wears the noble guise of the Greek nation in its pure form, and is as different in kind from barbarian races as it is possible to be. It is as far removed from them in the character of its inhabitants as it is in the physical character of its location. There is no intervening river that it shares with any foreign people, nor does it have any border territory that simultaneously divides and joins its land to theirs, but instead the whole of Greece tends toward this location as its center from every extremity, as if toward the device on a shield; Greeks enclose this country right round from every

¹⁴ See §§40–48 (but also 33–39) below.

Ἑλληνικοί, οἱ μὲν ἐκ θαλάττης, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς ἠπείρου
 περικείμενοι, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τῇ κοινῇ τοῦ γένους ἐστία.
 15 τοσοῦτον δὲ πέφευγε τὴν ἀλλοδαπῇ καὶ βάρβαρον
 ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρου προῦβάλλετο ἐτέ-
 ραν Ἑλλάδα ἄποικον ἑαυτῆς, ἣ νῦν ἤδη πλείστον
 βαρβάρων ἀφέστηκεν, ὥσπερ φύσει ταχθείσα ἡ πό-
 λις, ἀντίπαλος τούτῳ τῷ γένει καὶ πολεμία. ἐξ ὧν
 ἄδολον μὲν καὶ καθαρὸν καὶ ἀδιάφθορον τὸ ἦθος αἰεὶ
 τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς διαγέγονε παρεχομένη, εἰλικρινῆ δὲ καὶ
 καθαρὰν καὶ ἄλυπον καὶ παράδειγμα πάσης τῆς Ἑλ-
 ληνικῆς ὀμιλίας φωνὴν εἰσηνέγκατο.

16 ἣ δ' αὐτῇ θέσις τῆς τε χώρας ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ
 τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, μέση γὰρ ἐν μέσῃ κείται,
 τοσοῦτον πρὸς θάλατταν ἐπικλίνουσα, ὅσον τοὺς λι-
 μένας ἧς εἰσι φαίνεσθαι. τρίτη δὲ ἀκόλουθος τούτων
 ἀνέχει, περιφανῆς ἄνω διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως, ἣ πά-
 λαι μὲν πόλις, νῦν δὲ ἀκρόπολις, κορυφῇ παραπλη-
 σίως, οὐχ ὡς ὕστατον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ
 αὐτὴν πᾶν τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα τῆς πόλεως, ἄκρον καὶ
 μέσου ταυτοῦ συμπεπτωκότος < >⁶ τὸ διὰ πάντων
 ἤδη τοῦτο κάλλος καὶ ὁ τελευταῖος ὄρος τῆς περὶ γῆν
 εὐκαιρίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀσπίδος κύκλων εἰς ἀλ-
 λήλους ἐμβεβηκότων πέμπτος εἰς ὀμφαλὸν πληροῖ

⁶ *lac. stat.* Reiske

¹⁵ See §§322–30 below.

¹⁶ The lacuna posited here by Reiske is needed to provide

side, some surrounding it to seaward and some to land-
 ward, as is proper for the shared hearth of the race. As if 15
 appointed by nature to be a rival and an enemy to their
 race, the city is so far withdrawn from barbarian lands and
 their alien character that it even fortified the mainland
 opposite with another Greece, a colony which to this day
 keeps the greatest of distance between itself and the bar-
 barbarian. As a result of this, it has both continued to furnish
 those born of it with an honest, pure and constant charac-
 ter, and has also produced a dialect which is uncontami-
 nated, pure and pleasant, and a model for all communica-
 tion between Greeks.¹⁵

The position of Athens in her surrounding country and 16
 that of the surrounding country in Greece are the same.
 She lies at the center of a land that is itself at the center,
 inclining toward the sea only to such an extent as to make
 it clear who her harbors belong to. Third in this sequence,
 visible up above from all sides in the center of the city,
 rises like a mountain peak what once was the polis and is
 now the Acropolis, not so as to be the extremity of the city,
 but so as to <gather> the whole of the rest of the body of
 the city around it, with summit and center converging
 at the same point < >¹⁶ this whole comprehensive
 splendor, and the last defining boundary of the country's
 happy location. Just as with the overlaying of the circles
 of a shield one on another, it is the fifth and finest that

room for the word “gather” (or something similar), to govern “the
 whole of the rest of the body of the city” as its object, but also to
 provide a construction for the two following subjects: “this whole
 comprehensive splendor” and “the last defining boundary . . . lo-
 cation.”

διὰ πάντων ὁ κάλλιστος, εἴπερ ἢ μὲν Ἑλλάς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς πάσης γῆς, ἢ δ' Ἀττικὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῆς δὲ χώρας ἢ πόλις, τῆς δ' αὖ πόλεως ἢ ὁμώνυμος.

17 ἀλλ' ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἡμᾶς ὁ λόγος παρήνεγκεν τῆς αἰεὶ παραπιπτούσης ἀκολουθίας ἐχόμενος. ἐπιστρεπτόν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰ πρεσβεία φυλακτέον αὐτῇ, ἧς τὴν μὲν πρὸς γῆς τε καὶ θαλάττης φύσιν εἴπομεν δι' ὅσων εἰκὸς ἦν, μῆκός τε φεύγοντες καὶ τὸ παρελθεῖν ἂ μὴ χεῖρον εἰπεῖν.

18 ἀλλὰ μῆν τὸν γε ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀέρα καὶ τὴν τῶν ὠρῶν κρᾶσιν οὕτω σύμμετρον εἴληχεν ὥστε εἰ τῷ λόγῳ μετρίως εἰπεῖν ἦν, εὐκτόν ἄν ἦν. ἴσον γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀπέχει τῶν δυσχερῶν καὶ μετέχουσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκάστης, ἃ λυπηρὰ πρόσεστιν ἐκάστη πέφενγεν. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ ἕξεστιν οὐ μόνον τοῖς ὠραίοις νικῶσιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν καὶ τοσοῦτον τοῦ παντὸς ἔτους κατέχουσι χρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ἀποστάσει, καθάπερ ἐν στάθμῃ [ὥσπερ ὅταν τι βουλευθῶμεν ἰδεῖν ἀκριβῶς].⁷ ὅσον γὰρ ἄν τις ἀποστῆ τῆς πόλεως δεῦρο ἢ ἕκισε κινηθείς, ἢ τῇ θερμῇ

⁷ *secl.* Oliver

¹⁷ A shield in Homeric style (e.g., *Il.* 11.32–37); the five layers recall in particular the greatest of all epic shields, that of Achilles (*Il.* 18.478–82).

¹⁸ The first of series of remarks with which Aristides both reassures his audience that he has a firm grip on the standard sequence of topics for an encomium and draws attention to his own

completes the whole structure with the central boss¹⁷—if Greece is at the center of the whole world, and Attica at the center of Greece, and the city at the center of Attica, and finally its own namesake is at the center of the city.

Here however my argument has carried us off course 17 by following each successive stage in a train of thought as it came to mind.¹⁸ We must turn back to the country and seek to do justice to its advantages, now that we have given an appropriate account of its physical character in respect of land and sea, avoiding both excessive length and the omission of things that ought to be said.

This land, then, is blessed with such a perfect balance 18 in the air overhead and in the blending of its seasons that it would be a blessing in itself to be able to put it temperately into words. It is equally far removed from everything unpleasant; while having its share of the benefits offered by each of the powers of nature, it nevertheless has avoided such harmful effects as attach to each. Evidence for this can be found not only in its seasonal fruits, which continue triumphantly even beyond the season they are named for, and occupy so great a proportion of the entire year, but also in the effects of removal, just as with a set of scales:¹⁹ to whatever degree you distance yourself from the city by moving in one direction or another, you

superior resourcefulness in thinking of things to say (*εὐρεσις, inventio*).

¹⁹ The words bracketed in the Greek text (“as when we want to see something accurately”) look like a gloss on “as with a set of scales.” The image here seems to be that of a steelyard: movement of the counterweight in either direction from the point of balance causes the scale pan to rise or fall away from the level.

19 πλείον τῆς χρείας ἢ τῷ ψύχει προστυγχάνει, ὥστε ἐν
 τούτῳ μόνῳ νικᾶται, ἐν ᾧ τὸ νικᾶν λυπεῖ καὶ οὐ τὸ
 νικᾶσθαι λυσιτελέστερον. τοσαύτη δ' ἐστὶν ἡ περιου-
 σία τῆς εὐτυχίας ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν αἱ ταύ-
 τῆς ἀποικοὶ πόλεις αἱ τὴν νῦν Ἰωνίαν ἔχουσαι ἄριστα
 κεκράσθαι δοκοῦσιν, ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν οἰκοθεν
 <τοῦτο>⁸ μετεκληφύϊαι. ὥστε οὐ τὰ μὲν πρὸς ἄρκτον
 ἂν εἴποι τις εἶναι τῆς χώρας, τὰ δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν
 ὀνομάζων, οὐδ' αὖ τὰ λοιπὰ δύο ὡσαύτως, ἀλλ' ἄνευ
 τῆς προσθήκης ἕξεστιν ὀρίσασθαι τὰ μὲν ἔνθεν αὐτῆς
 ἄρκτον εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἔνθεν μεσημβρίαν ἤδη, ἀνατολάς
 τε καὶ δύσεις ὅσον τὸ ἄνω καὶ κάτω, αὐτὴν δ' εἶναι
 πάντων ὥσπερ εἰ μεθόριον, κοινόν τινα χώρον, οὐ
 πάντα τὰ τμήματα συγκεράννυται ὑπ' αὐτὴν ὡς εἶ-
 πειν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς
 ἀρχήν, ὡς ἀληθῶς γιγνομένην λήξιν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ
 τῶν ταύτης ἔργων τε καὶ θρεμμάτων τόπον οἰκείου. οὐ
 γὰρ ἔστιν ὅστις τῶν περὶ γῆν ἀέρων τοσοῦτον ἀφ-
 ἔστηκε γῆς τῇ φύσει οὐδ' αἰθέρι μᾶλλον εἴκασται.

20 γῆς μὲν δὴ καὶ θαλάττης καὶ ἀέρων εἰς τοῦτ' ἔθε-
 σαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν οἷς ταῦτα ἔπρεπε δημιουργοῖς. ἃ δὲ
 τούτοις τοιοῦτοις οὖσιν ἔπεται πολλὴ ῥαστώνη δει-
 κνύναι, πεδίον τε κάλλη καὶ χάριτας τῶν μὲν πρὸ τῆς

⁸ τοῦτο *add.* Reiske

19 encounter temperatures that are either unhelpfully hot or
 unhelpfully cold. Thus the only respect in which the city
 is worsted is one in which victory brings harm and being
 worsted does more good. So far superior is she in her good
 fortune that, from among all other nations, it is the cities
 that she has sent out as colonies, the ones that occupy
 Ionia, that are reputed to have the best climate, because
 they have inherited this along with the rest of their legacy
 from their mother city. As a result, you would not, in as-
 signing names to the parts of the country, say that one of
 them lies toward the north, and another toward the south,
 and similarly for the other two regions. You can do away
 with the qualification and just say flatly that this quarter of
 the country is north, and that one south, with landward
 and seaward sides corresponding to west and east, while
 the country herself acts as neutral territory to the entire
 world, a kind of shared region where all the segments of
 the world meet together,²⁰ beneath what one might call
 the very Acropolis of the heavens and the overlordship of
 Zeus, truly the inheritance of Athena and the proper home
 of her works and her nurslings. For there is no climate
 anywhere on earth that is less like the earth in its nature
 or more closely resembles the heavens.

20 Such are the blessings in soil, sea and climate bestowed
 on Athens by the creators whose proper function this is. It
 is the easiest of tasks to demonstrate what further advan-
 tages follow from a starting point of this nature, in the
 enchanting beauty of the countryside that extends from

²⁰ Athens is the place by reference to which all locations and
 directions are defined—like the Greenwich meridian, only more
 so. So much for *Roma caput mundi!*

- πόλεως εὐθὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως κεχυμένων καὶ ἐγκαταμυγνυμένων τῇ πόλει, τῶν δὲ ἐφ' ἐκάστη τῇ θαλάττῃ τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς ἐφορμούντων, τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς περιέχουσιν ὥσπερ ἄλλοις ὄριοις διειλημμένων ἐν
- 21 κόλπῳ θαλαττίῳ τινῶν σχήματι. καὶ μὴν τὴν γε τῶν ὄρων φαιδρότητα καὶ χάριν τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀγασθεῖ; οἷς γε τοσοῦτον κόσμου περίεστιν ὥστε καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτὰ δὴ κοσμεῖ· ὁ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἔχειν τὴν χώραν, ἔργον θεῶν οὖσαν, σπέρμα τῆς χάριτος τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοῦτο δείκνυσιν ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις, καὶ προξενεῖ διὰ τῆς φύσεως τὴν χάριν. ἔστι δὲ ἐπιτηδειοτάτη πρὸς κάλλη νεῶν καὶ ἀγαλμάτων, ὥστε δις ἡγεμῶν τούτων ἂν εἴη. καὶ γὰρ ἐνθένδε ταῦτα πάντα ἤρξατο τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν οἰκοθεν ἢ πόλις ἔσχηκεν εἰς αὐτά.
- 22 ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω τί χρήσωμαι, ἐπέρχεται γάρ μοι καὶ κατὰ μέρη τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα ἀποφαίνειν τῆς χώρας, οἷον εὐθὺς τὸ μήτε ὑπτιᾶν εἶναι διὰ πάσης μήτε ὄρειον παντελῶς, ἀλλ' ἔσχηματίσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκτέρου χρεῖαν ἐν μέρει καὶ πεποικίλθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἂν ὀρθῶς εἴποι τις εἶναι τελέας καὶ πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης
- 23 οἰονεῖ μίμημα σφζούσης; ἔτι δὲ ἢ τῆς θαλάττης τε καὶ γῆς διὰ τῶν λιμένων συζυγία καὶ συμφωνία, τῶν δ' αὖ πεδίων καὶ τῶν ὄρων ἢ σὺν ὄρα μίξις καὶ χάρις οὐ τῶν ὅπου τις ἂν εἴποι συμβεβηκότων οἶμαι. ἔξεστι

the very foot of the walls, or rather from the Acropolis itself, where it blends with the city, and anchors against the shoreline on either seacoast, while deep inland it is bounded by the mountains that enclose it like another frontier, so as to present the appearance of a series of bays. As for the mountains in their turn, who could fail to marvel at their gleaming beauty? So abundantly beautiful are they that they can themselves beautify the cities of men.²¹ For Athens not only manifests herself to a preeminent degree that seed of thankfulness toward the gods which it is proper for a land that is the work of the gods to have; she also promotes this thankfulness through her own natural resources. She is the most well suited of all cities to contain beautiful temples and statues, and is thus a leader in this respect twice over: both because it was here that all these things were first established as customary practice, and because she can provide the materials for them all from her own local resources.

But I am in a quandary. It strikes me that I should go on to demonstrate the fitness of this land point by point, for instance by asking how it could not be right to describe the fact that it is neither entirely flat nor entirely mountainous, but variegated and shaped so as to take advantage of the usefulness of each kind of terrain in turn, as the mark of a perfect land that reproduces a kind of image of the whole world. Or again, the marriage and harmony of land and sea brought about by her harbors, or the beautiful and graceful intermingling of plains and mountains, are not I think the kinds of thing to be found just anywhere

²¹ Thanks to the marble from the celebrated quarries on Mt. Pentelicon and Mt. Hymettus.

δὲ ὄραν καὶ τὰς φλέβας τὰς ἀργυρίτιδας ὥσπερ νο-
 τίδας διὰ πάσης τῆς ὀρείου διηκούσας, ὅπως ἄρα
 μηδὲν ἀργὸν εἶη τῆς Ἀττικῆς μηδ' εἶη ταῖς προσόδοις
 δυσχωρία μηδαμῆ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐτέρων εὐγεων ἢ τῆδε
 ἄσπορος νικῶν. ἔπρεπε δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο ἐλευθερίας
 ἐφόδιον καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας παρεσκευάσθαι τῇ πόλει.
 ἔτι τοίνυν ἀενάων ποταμῶν βρέματα ἄλυπα καὶ πηγὰς
 ἀφθόνοια καὶ καρπῶν ἀπάντων φοράν, ὧν ὁ πάντων
 ἡμερώτατος ἐνταῦθα τῶν πανταχοῦ κάλλιστος περι-
 24 φανῶς. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἔστιν ὥσπερ ἀπὸ τῶν τραγη-
 μάτων τὴν εὐωχίαν σεμνύνειν· τὸν δὲ οἰκειότατον καὶ
 μέγιστον τῆς χώρας καρπὸν τε καὶ κόσμον καὶ ὃς
 ἅπασαν ἔχει τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα συλλαβῶν αὐτῆς, ἥδη
 δέμι.

[Athens in the Earliest Days: Distinctions and
 Achievements (25-74)]
 [Birth of the First Humans (25-30)]

25 ἀρχὴ δέ μοι τοῦ λόγου κατελήλυθεν εἰς ἀρχὴν τινα
 ἑτέραν. ἀλλὰς μὲν γὰρ χώρας ἐλέφαντες καὶ λέοντες
 κοσμοῦσι, τὰς δὲ ἵπποι καὶ κύνες, τὰς δὲ ἃ τοὺς παῖ-
 δας ἀκούοντας ἐκπλήττει· τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν χώραν
 κοσμεῖ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς τὸ κάλλιστον, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν

²² At Laurium, rather than through the whole mountainous part of Attica; the most famous use made of this silver was to finance the Athenian navy under Themistocles in 482 BC (Hdt. 7.144).

you care to mention. We can contemplate, too, the veins of silver that run like rivulets through the whole of her mountainous region,²² so as to prevent any part of Attica from being unproductive, or there being bad ground for revenues anywhere in it, but to ensure instead that the uncultivated ground here is superior to the fertile regions of other lands. It was evidently right and proper to furnish the city with this means to liberality and magnanimity along with the rest. Also the blameless streams and abundant springs of her ever-flowing rivers, and the combined yield of all her crops, of which the most domesticated of all here is manifestly the finest anywhere.²³ But this is like 24 crying up a banquet on the strength of the side dishes. I shall now describe what is in fact this country's greatest and most characteristic product and distinction, the one which epitomizes all of her potential on its own.

Athens in the Earliest Days: Distinctions and
 Achievements (25-74)
 Birth of the First Humans (25-30)

The beginning of my speech has found its way to another 25 kind of beginning. Of other countries, some are graced with elephants and lions, some with horses and dogs, and some with storybook monsters that frighten the children; what graces your land is the finest of things on earth, compared to which winged ants in India are not worthy to

²³ The olive, as most famously singled out in Sophocles' "Colonus ode" (OC 695-706).

Ἰνδοῦς μύρμηκας ὑποπτέρους ἄξιον εἰπεῖν. πρώτη γὰρ ἤνεγκεν ἄνθρωπον καὶ πρώτη πατρίς ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ ὅπερ τοῖς πᾶσι ζώοις τοῖς ἐγγείοις ἐστὶν ἢ πᾶσα γῆ, τοῦτο ἤδε νενίκηκεν εἶναι τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει, μήτηρ καὶ τροφὸς κοινὴ καὶ τῆς φύσεως ἀφορμὴ, χώρὸς τις ἀνθρώπων ἴδιος ἐκ πάσης γῆς ἐξηρημένος, ὥσπερ οἱ τῶν τεμενῶν ὄροι. διὸ δὴ καὶ πάντα κρατίστους καὶ τῆς γυγνομένης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἦκοντας ἤνεγκεν, ἅτε οἰκείας αὐτῇ τῆς φορᾶς οὔσης, οὐκ ἐπεισάκτου. οὐ γὰρ πλάνην καταλύσαντες οὐδὲ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκότους πατρίδα ζητοῦντες διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης, οὐδὲ δυοῖν δυστυχίαν ἠγῆσαμέναι, κατέσχον τὴν χώραν, βιασάμενοι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν, εἷξαντες μὲν τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἐκβαλόντες δὲ τοὺς ἥττους, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὸ ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν ὕδωρ ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τῆς γῆς ἀνήλθεν τὸ γένος, αὐτὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ λαβὸν τὴν ἀρχήν.

26 καὶ ξένοι καὶ πολῖται μόνῃ τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ πρέπουσι διηρησθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι καθάπερ θεῶν καταλαβόντες οὕτω ταῦτα κρίνουσιν, οὐ τῷ μᾶλλον ἄλλων ἑαυτοῖς προσήκειν τῶν χωρίων τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφορίζοντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ φθῆναι κατασχόντες, καὶ ξένους ὀνομάζουσι τοὺς δευτέρους ἐλθόντας, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι πάντες ὁμοίως εἰσὶ ξένοι, μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτοὶ ξένοι πρῶτοι, καὶ τοσοῦτον τῶν δημοποιήτων, οὓς αὐτοὶ ποιοῦνται, δια-

²⁴ Hdt. 3.102.

²⁵ The implicit comparison here is with the Romans, who, ac-

be mentioned in the same breath.²⁴ She was the first to bring forth human beings, and is mankind's first homeland. What the whole earth is to all terrestrial animals, this she has won the distinction of being for the human race: the common mother and nurse of all and the origin of their physical being, the place chosen from the whole world, like the precinct of a holy shrine, to be human kind's own. This is why the men she bore were superior in every way and advanced furthest of all in the excellence that is distinctive of human beings, because this crop was her very own and not imported from outside. It was not at the end of a period of wandering, nor while so to speak searching for a homeland in the dark over every land and sea, nor under the impulse of the twin misfortunes of giving way before a superior people and expelling an inferior one, that they occupied this territory and imposed their name on it by force;²⁵ this race arose from the bosom of the land like springwater, taking its origins from itself.

By rights, it is only in this land that a differentiation 26 between native citizens and foreigners ought to be made. Other peoples draw this distinction as if claiming seats at the theater, ruling others out not because the places belong to them any the more, but because they got there first; they give the name of foreigners to the second comers, without realizing that all alike are foreigners, or rather that they themselves are the first foreigners, and differ from those whom they have made citizens by their own

cording to their own national mythology, established themselves in Italy by conquest, after the long wanderings that followed their Trojan ancestors' defeat by the Greeks.

φέρουσιν, ὅσον οὐ κριθέντες ἄξιοι τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ' εἰσβιασάμενοι προὔβαλλοντο τὴν πατρίδα, ὡσπερ ὀπλων ἀπορία τῷ φανέντι χρυσάμενοι μόνους δ' ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει καθαρὰν εὐγένειάν τε καὶ πολιτείαν αὐχῆσαι, καὶ δυοῖν ὄντων ὀνομάτων ἑκάτερον κυριὸν ἐστὶ τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸ ἕτερον. [εἰκότως. οἱ τε γὰρ ξένοι διὰ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας γνησίους ὄντας ἐνέχονται τῷ προσρήματι, οἱ τε πολῖται βεβαιουῦσι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τῷ καθαρῷ ξένων εἶναι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.]⁹ οὐκὼν ἐξούλης γε μόνους ὑμῖν, εἰ οἷόν τ' ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς λάχοι τῆς γῆς, οὐ μᾶλλον γε ἢ τῆς μητρός τι. καὶ τοίνυν μόνους τοῖς τῆδε γενομένοις δημοποιήτοις οὐκ ἔπεστι γέλως· ὄντες γὰρ ἅπαντες φύσει πολῖται τῆς χώρας νόμῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν τιμὴν ἀπενείματε· τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείστοι κινδυνεύουσι νόθοι νόθους εἰσποιεῖσθαι, χρόνῳ τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν διαφθείραντες, ὡσπερ ἐν συνοικίᾳ τῇ πάσῃ γῆ ἑλθόντες, ἐκ περιόδων καλοῦντες οἰκείαν οἱ τελευταῖοι τῶν ἄλλων οἰκησάμενοι. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τις ἂν εἰπεῖν παραιτησάμενος τὸν φθόνον ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι τὰς πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν ὡσπερ στρατόπεδα, οἷς κατέλαβον ἐμμέναντες, μόνους δὲ

enactment only to the extent that they themselves were not judged worthy of citizenship, but forced their way into it and then sheltered behind their new nationality, as if using whatever came to hand in default of a real weapon.²⁶ You alone can boast of good birth and citizenship in unadulterated form, and it is for you alone that each one of this pair of names has its proper value for your country through its contrast with the other.²⁷ Among you alone, if it is possible to put it thus, not one citizen could ever be subjected to a suit for illegal possession of his land, any more than someone could be accused of lacking title to his mother. Yet it is here alone, too, that those who gain citizenship by creation are not a laughingstock. It is because you are all citizens of this land by nature that you can confer the honor on others by legal enactment. The majority of other peoples are in danger of enrolling illegitimate citizens because they themselves are illegitimate, and have lost their original nature with the passage of time; they inhabit their whole country as if it were just one great rental property, with those who have come into residence more recently than the rest taking their turn to call it their own. One might I think say, while asking pardon for the invidious comparison, that whereas other peoples occupy their cities as if they were army camps, and stay within the bounds of what they have seized, it is only those born in

⁹ *secl.* Trapp

²⁶ Another covert dig at Rome and Roman notions of citizenship.

²⁷ The words that follow in the Greek text (bracketed opposite) look like another reader's or commentator's note, clumsily

repeating and expanding Aristides' words: "A reasonable thing to say: it is because of the other, true-born citizens that foreigners are liable to their name, while citizens for their part confirm their appellation by the fact that they were originally free from the contagion of foreigners."

τοῖς ταύτης ἐγγόνοις τῆς χώρας ἢ πόλις ἐστὶ κυρία, καὶ μόνη πόλεων ἢ κομιδῇ γε ἐν ὀλίγαις ἐστίαν ἀκίνητον πρυτανείου δικαίως νέμει.

[*The Origins and Diffusion of Agriculture (31–38)*]

- 31 πολλῶν δὲ ἐπιρρεόντων καὶ πάντων αὐτὸ ἕκαστον εἰπεῖν ἐπειγόντων αἰρούμαι τὸ τῇ φύσει δεύτερον καὶ τὸ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βεβαιοῦν ἐφεξῆς ἀποδοῦναι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἀνήκεν ἡ χώρα τοὺς ἀνδρας, ἐκόσμη καὶ κατεσκευάζε τὸν βίον αὐτοῖς, ἃ μητρὸς ἦν ἔργα ποιούσα, καὶ οὐ περιεΐδεν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίας τῆς τροφοῦ δεηθέντας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν κόλπων ἐδωρέιτο τὰ δεύτερα. καὶ γίνεται δὴ πανήγυρις ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱερὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ γῆς πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐνταυθοί, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν θεωρίᾳ
- 32 πάντα εἰς ἄμιλλαν κατέστη, ἔρρωτο μὲν ἡ γῆ πρὸς ἀπάσας γονάς, θεοὶ δὲ συμφέροντες παρέχον οἱ μὲν φυτὰ, οἱ δὲ σπέρματα, οἱ δὲ βοσκήματα, ὧν ἔμελλεν ἡ φορὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου σῶμα κοσμήσειν οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τὸ οἰκῆιον καὶ παρέξειν τὴν σκέπην κοινὴν τοῖς μὲν τὴν ἐπέτειον καὶ πρῶτην αἰεί, τοῖς δὲ εἰς ὄσον ἐξικνεῖτο τέχνας δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔφαινον τὰς μὲν πυρὶ
- 33 συγκεραννύντες, τὰς δὲ καὶ πυρὸς χωρίς. καίτοι ταῦτα οὐ μόνον τοῦ πλήθους ἔνεκα τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ

²⁸ Another dig at Rome, aimed this time at the temple and hearth of Vesta? Aristides' wording seems also to allude to the oracle supposedly given to the Spartans in 404 BC, commanding

this land who possess a city in the full sense, and that she alone, or in company with very few others, is fully entitled to the possession of an unmoved hearth in her magistrates' hall.²⁸

The Origins and Diffusion of Agriculture (31–38)

- Although many thoughts flood into my mind, all of them 31 pressing me to expound them in individual detail, I choose next to present you with what naturally claims second place and confirms what came before it. When the land had brought men forth, she did the work of a true mother in creating and embellishing a livelihood for them; she did not sit idly by as they begged for their nourishment as if it were something foreign to them, but gave them her second gift from the same bosom as the first. A truly sacred gathering, celebrated on behalf of the whole inhabited world, was held here, and just as at a festival, it was all one great competition. The earth gathered its strength to produce 32 all kinds of fruits, and the gods too all contributed, some providing plants, some seeds, and some flocks and herds, the yield from which was destined to adorn the human frame no less than the creatures' own and provide a covering for both alike, primary and year-round for the one group and as far as was required for the other.²⁹ In addition to this the gods created the crafts, both with and without the combination with fire. These events not only 33 constitute a source of pride and gratitude for the city be-

them not to destroy Athens (Ael. *VH* 4.6, with Ath. *Deipn.* 5.187d).

²⁹ Fleeces for sheep and woolen clothing for humans.

φύντων καὶ φανέντων φιλοτιμίαν ἔχει τῇ πόλει καὶ
 χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τεκμήρια παμμεγέθη τοῦ πρώτου λό-
 γου καὶ παντός ἐστὶν ἐναργέστερα, ὅτι πρῶτον ἄν-
 θρωπος ἐπὶ τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ἔστη. [καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἀσυμβαί-
 νει πλήθει τε ὑπερφέρειν καὶ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας
 ἀλλήλοις ἐξῆς εἶναι]¹⁰ πρῶτους μὲν γὰρ φύντας εἶδει
 πρῶτους καὶ δεηθῆναι, δεηθέντας δὲ πού καὶ τυχεῖν
 καὶ μὴν τοῦτό γε ἀμήχανον μὴ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντας, θεο-
 φιλεῖς δ' αὖ τιθέναι τοὺς πρῶτους ἀξιοθέντας φῦναι
 πῶς οὐκ εὐλογον; πάλιν γὰρ εἰς ταυτὸν ἐπανέρχεται.
 34 καὶ μὴν τοὺς γε θεοὺς ἀμφοτέρων χάριν εἰκὸς τῇ γῇ
 τὴν φορὰν πληρῶσαι, τοῦτο μὲν τῆς χρείας, ὅτι πρῶ-
 τους, ὥσπερ ἔφην, τοὺς ἐν ταύτῃ κατελάμβανεν,
 τοῦτο δὲ τῆς τιμῆς, ἣ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἀφείλετο. λαβόν-
 τες δὲ οὕτω τὰς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν δωρεὰς οὕτως εὖ τοὺς
 δόντας ἐμιμήσαντο ὥστε αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώ-
 πους ἀντὶ τῶν θεῶν κατέστησαν καὶ πείραν ταύτην
 πρώτην ἔδοσαν τοῦ κατ' ἀξίαν τυχεῖν, τὸ χρῆσασθαι
 τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ὡς προσήκεν. οὐ γὰρ ἠξίωσαν αὐτὸ
 δὴ τοῦτο γῆ κρύψαντες ἐξαρκεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπ-
 ἔσχον τοῦ φοβηθῆναι μὴ ἄρα τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξ ἴσου
 σφίσι ποιήσωσιν, ὥστ' οὐκ εἶναι κάλλιον ψήθησαν,
 ὅσῳ τῶν ἄλλων προέχουσιν, ἐνδείξασθαι ἢ εἰ πάντας
 35 εὖ ποιούντες ὀφθῆσονται. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ἡρακλῆς
 ὕστερον παράδειγμα τοῦ βίου τήνδε τὴν πόλιν ποιη-

¹⁰ *secl.* Trapp

cause of the great quantity of what was engendered and
 invented here, but also weighty evidence for my first argu-
 ment, demonstrating more clearly than anything that it
 was in this land that the human race was first established.³⁰
 For the first humans to come into existence must also have
 been the first to pray, and on praying must also have had
 their prayers answered. This would have been impossible,
 furthermore, had they not been dear to the gods, but how
 can it not be logical to assume that those judged worthy of
 coming into existence first were dear to the gods? Which
 brings us back once more to the same proposition. Again, 34
 it makes sense that the gods should have made the land
 rich in produce, both on grounds of need, because as I said
 it was the inhabitants of this country who first experienced
 need, and on grounds of the honor due to the virtuous.
 Having thus received the bounty of the gods, this people
 proceeded to imitate their benefactors so closely that they
 came themselves to occupy the status of gods in the eyes
 of the rest of mankind, and gave a first proof of their wor-
 thiness to receive in the proper use they made of their
 resources. They did not think it respectable to do their
 part by literally burying their riches in the ground, but
 were instead so far from being afraid of bringing everyone
 else up to their level that they thought there could be no
 better way of demonstrating the extent of their superiority
 than by being seen to be generous to everyone. I think it 35
 was because Heracles subsequently took this city as the

³⁰ The words bracketed in the Greek text opposite look like a reader's paraphrase, mistakenly incorporated into Aristides' text: "and it falls out that the same things both excel in quantity and are reciprocal proof of each other's truth."

σάμενος τὴν διάνοιαν ἐκείνην ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων λαβεῖν, ἢ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὸν καταστήσασα ἔχει, καὶ τὸ σημεῖον ἐναργὲς ἢ πρὸς Θησέα φιλία οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐκείνους πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰστισινοῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθ' ἑταιρίαν γενομένων παμπληθῆς ὑπερέχουσα. ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸ καὶ πρώτη πόλεων ἦδε ἐτίμησεν ἐκείνον ταῖς τῶν θεῶν τιμαῖς καὶ τοὺς παῖδας διετήρησεν μόνη.

ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος γὰρ ὡσπερ ῥεύμα φέρων ὑπήνεγκε
 36 βία· ἀναχωρεῖν οὐκ ἔθεν ἐξέβηεν καιρός. πέμπουσι δὲ
 θεία πομπῇ γῆν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἀφορμὰς τοῦ βίου, καθά-
 περ θεωρικοῦ τινος διάδοσιν, ἐπιστήσαντες τῶν Δή-
 μητρος, ὡς λέγεται, τροφίμων ἕνα, καὶ τὸ ἄρμα πτε-
 ρωτῶν εἶναι φήμη κατέσχευεν, ὅτι θάπτον ἐλπίδος ἦεν
 πανταχοῦ, καὶ πρόσαντες οὐδ' ἄβατον οὐδέν¹¹ ἦν
 37 αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ διὰ ψιλοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος, οὕτως ἐκομί-
 ζετο. δοκοῦσι δέ μοι κάκεινον τὸν λόγον ἔργῳ πρώτοι
 βεβαιῶσαι, καὶ καταδείξει τὰς χάριτας ταχείας εἶναι
 τὴν φύσιν· εὐ γὰρ ποιοῦντες ἔφθανον τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν
 τῶν εὐ παθεῖν δεομένων. μνημεῖον δὲ καὶ σύμβολον
 τῆς θείας ἐκείνης πομπῆς καὶ τῆς εἰς ἅπαντας εὐερ-
 γεσίας αἱ παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαρχαὶ δεῦρ' ἀφ-
 κινούμεναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος τῶν σπερμάτων ἐπὶ τῶν
 προτέρων χρόνων. ἔτι δὲ αἱ τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖαι, δι' ὧν

¹¹ οὐδέν MQTU om. AA₂B₂RV

³¹ The provision of public money (the theoric fund) to subsi-

model for his life that he formed the resolve on behalf of the whole of mankind that has now established him among the gods. Clear proof of this can be found in his friendship with Theseus, which utterly outstripped not only the comradely relations those two had with others, but all such relations of anybody with anybody. That is why this city was the first to pay him divine honors and the only one to protect his children.

But like a river my argument has carried me away downstream by main force, and it is time to return to the point where I digressed. In a divinely inspired mission the Athenians sent out the basic essentials of subsistence to every land as if distributing theater money from public funds.³¹ Tradition has it that they put one of Demeter's nurlings in charge of the process,³² and his chariot was reputed to be winged because it quartered the globe faster than hope itself, finding nothing impassable or too steep, but speeding on as if through the empty air. They were the first, I think, to confirm and demonstrate the truth of the well-known saying that generosity is naturally swift,³³ because they conferred their benefits even before those who needed to be benefited could conceive the desire for them. The firstfruit offerings of seeds which in former times used to come here from the Greeks were a memorial and an emblem of that divine mission and the benefit done to all. So too were the god's oracles, in which he named

dize citizens' attendance at festivals was a famous feature of Athenian democracy, supposed by some to have been instituted by Pericles (Plut. *Per.* 9.1). ³² Triptolemus.

³³ That is, generosity that is slow is not really generous: *Anth. Pal.* 10.30; Auson. *Ep.* 93-94 Green.

μητρόπολιν τῶν καρπῶν ὀνομάζει τὴν πόλιν, ἄμφω
μαρτυρῶν, καὶ πρώτην ἔχειν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παρ' αὐ-
38 τῆς γενέσθαι. τίθησι δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνας πρώτη πόλεω
ἀπασῶν καὶ τὸ ἄθλον ἐκ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καλῶς τὰ
δοθέντα πιστουμένη. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀληθῶς ἐκείνοι
θεῶν μὲν παῖδες, θεῶν δὲ καὶ τρόφιμοι, πρόγονοι δὲ
τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις; οἱ μετὰ τοιαύτην
τιμὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξασαν ἄλλα καλ-
λίω τοῖς ἕξ ἑαυτῶν εἰς φιλοτιμίαν κατέλιπον, τοιοῦτοι
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς δόντας θεοὺς γενόμενοι, οὕτω δ' αὖ καὶ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀμιλήσαντες ἀνθρώποις.

[Divine Patronage of Athens (39–48)]

39 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ λήξαν τελέως ἡμῶν διήνυσται,
τὰ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ διττὰ φέρει καὶ πλείω τμή-
ματα τοῖς μὲν εἰρημένους ἕκαστον ἐφεξῆς, ἐν μέρει δ'
εἰπεῖν, εἰ σώζοντα ἐν ἀλλήλοισι τὴν διαδοχὴν, οὕτω
δηλον.
40 κράτιστον δ' ἴσως περὶ τῶν θείων πρῶτον διεξελ-
θεῖν, εἴθ' οὕτως καὶ περὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς
διαλέγεσθαι, ἔτι δ' ὦν καθ' αὐτούς τε καὶ ἐν κοινω-
νίαις εἰργάσαντο οἱ καθ' ἑκάστους ἀεὶ τοὺς χρόνους.

³⁴ This oracular description by Apollo is unknown except from references in Aristides; the scholia explain that it derives from a time of plague in Greece but give no date and do not quote any more of it.

the city "mother city of crops,"³⁴ thereby bearing witness both that she was the first to have them and that it was from her that others derived them. She was also the first of all cities to establish athletic contests,³⁵ and to provide a prize for them out of her own benefactions, thus confirming in fine style her entitlement to what she had been given. How can it not be right to call this people the children and the nurslings of the gods, and the ancestors of the mode of life that is shared by the whole human race? Their reaction to being the recipients of such honor from the gods was to bequeath other still finer achievements for their descendants to compete with, both by showing the character they did toward their benefactors the gods, and also in turn in their dealings with the rest of humanity.

Divine Patronage of Athens (39–48)

That then concludes this topic, of which I have now given a complete and thorough account. From this point, my subject leads on like two or more branches of a road; each of them follows on from what has been said, but it is not yet clear whether proper sequence can be preserved between them when each is presented in turn.

Perhaps it is best to begin with an account of religious matters, then to proceed from there to talk about their other virtues, then about the great deeds wrought by the Athenians of each successive age, on their own or in part-

³⁵ The Eleusinian Games, in which the prizes were measures of grain grown at Eleusis (see Aristid. Or. 22.4 and the scholia on Pind. Ol. 9.150); Aristides may have his eye also on the olive oil that was one of the prizes at the Panathenaic Games.

μικρὸν δὲ ἀναλήψομαι. οὐ γὰρ μόνον οἷς εἶπον ἐτίμησαν οἱ θεοὶ τὴν γῆν ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλοις μεγάλους, μεγίστῳ δέ, ὃ καὶ μόνον εἰπεῖν ἴσως ἐξήρκεν· περὶ γὰρ μόνῃς ταύτης τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίῳ πόλεων ἦρισαν καὶ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡσπερ ἐπὶ

 41 μοναρχία σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν θεῶν. ταύτης δὲ τῆς τιμῆς οὐχ ἦττω τὴν δευτέραν ἐπεδείξαντο, ἐπιτρέψαντες δικασταῖς καὶ κριταῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς τότε τὴν χώραν ἔχουσι, νομίσαντες χάριεν καὶ κούφον ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρα ἐν τοῖς παιδικοῖς κριθῆναι. φανέντων δὲ τῶν συμβόλων ἑκατέρωθεν, τοῦ τε ῥοθίου καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ, νικᾷ μὲν Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ καταδείκνυσι τὸν θαλλὸν νικῆς εἶναι σύμβολον, Ποσειδῶν δὲ ὑπεχώρησεν μὲν,

 42 οὐ μὴν κατέλυσε τὸν ἔρωτα. τῆς δὲ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων σπουδῆς τε καὶ τιμῆς οὐκ ἐλάττω σημεῖα τὰ δεύτερα· ἡ μὲν γὰρ σοφία νικᾶν ἔδωκε τῇ πόλει, ὃ δὲ ταῖς ναυμαχίαις οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀνταγωνιστὰς νικᾶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχόντας, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἷς

 43 ὄλωσ ἀγῶνες καὶ νῆκαι ναυτικά γεγόνασιν. ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν περὶ τούτων ἐκδέχεται λόγος αὐτίκα. λαβούσα δὲ τὰς ψήφους ἡ θεὸς τὴν ἐπαννυμίαν τῇ πόλει δίδωσιν ὡς ἑαυτῆς οὔση καὶ κατεσκευάσατο ὡς κτῆμα ἑαυτῆς, διαρκῆ πρὸς εἰρήνην τε καὶ πόλεμον, πρῶτον μὲν λόγους τε καὶ νόμων τάξιν καταδείξασα καὶ πολιτείαν δυναστείας ἀπηλλαγμένην. ἀφ' ὧν μαθήματα πάντα

nership with others. I will therefore go back a little on my tracks. The gods did not honor your country only with what I have already mentioned, but with many other great gifts besides. The greatest of these it might perhaps have been enough to mention on its own. Alone among the cities of the earth this was the one that was fought over by more or less the first of the gods, who took possession of her Acropolis as if they wished to reign there. They then

 41 proceeded to confer a second honor no less weighty than the first, by trusting none other than the then inhabitants of the country to be their jurors and judges, thinking it a delightful experience to be judged before their favorites, and one easy to bear in either event.³⁶ When both parties had displayed their contributions, the surf and the green bough,³⁷ victory went to Athena, who inaugurated the bough as the emblem of victory, while Poseidon gave way to her without at the same time annulling his affection. Nor were the subsequent indications of devotion and

 42 respect that came from both of them any less substantial. Athena gave the city preeminence in wisdom, while Poseidon granted it to her in the battles she fought at sea to defeat not only her enemies, but also those taking the same side as her, and indeed all who have ever fought and been victorious at sea. But we will move on to talk about

 43 that shortly.³⁸ Having won the vote, the goddess named the city as hers and equipped it as her own property with all that it required for peace and war, with oratory, the rule of law, and a constitution immune from autocracy as the first of her foundations. From this basis all forms of learn-

³⁶ That is, win or lose.

³⁷ The olive from Athena; the sea, or a well of seawater, from Poseidon.

³⁸ §§123 ff. below.

εὐρέθη καὶ βίῳ παραδείγματα εἰσῆλθεν. αὐθις δὲ
 ὄπλων τε χρήσιν διδάξασα καὶ κοσμήσασα πρώτους
 ᾧ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνην σχήματι, ἔτι δ' ἵππων ἀμιλλητη-
 ρίων καὶ πολεμιστηρίων ἔφηνεν ὀχήματα. καὶ ζεύγνυ-
 σιν ἐν τῆδε τῇ γῆ πρώτος ἀνθρώπων ὁ τῆσδε τῆς
 θεοῦ πάρεδρος ἄρμα τέλειον σὺν τῇ θεῷ καὶ φαίνει
 44 πᾶσι τὴν τελείαν ἵππικὴν. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις χορεύει καὶ
 τελεταὶ καὶ πανηγύρεις ἐπεκράτησαν ἄλλαι δι' ἄλλων
 θεῶν ἐπιδημίας. ταῖς γὰρ τιμαῖς τῶν θεῶν ἠκολούθει
 τὰ δῶρα διδόντων καὶ λαμβανόντων ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν τὰ
 ἐπιβάλλοντα ἐκατέροις.
 45 οὐ μόνον δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θεοὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
 ἤρισαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἤρισαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐν τῆσδε
 τῇ πόλει τὰς κρίσεις ἐποιήσαντο, πανταχόθεν πάντας
 ἀνθρώπους ἐπιστρέφοντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντων
 ἀρχὰς καὶ δείγματα βουλόμενοι καταθέσθαι παρ'
 αὐτῇ, καθάπερ οἱ τοὺς παῖδας προδιδάσκοντες, ἕν'
 ὡσπερ πανταχοῦ τῶν ἄκρων προδιδαξάντων καλῶς
 ἔχει τοῖς ζηλοῦσιν, οὕτω κακείνοι τέλειοι τὴν γιγνο-
 μένην ἀρετὴν ἀποβαλεῖν, οἷς χρῆν ἐπόμενοι, καὶ μὴ
 μόνον τῶν πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν εἶη τὰ σπέρματα αὐτοῖς,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀπάσης διαίτης
 46 τε καὶ πολιτείας ἐκ θεῶν αὐτοῖς εἶη τὰ σπέρματα. καὶ
 λαγχάνει Ποσειδῶν Ἄρει τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ
 μικῆ ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ τόπος
 λαμβάνει τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε συμβάντος σύμβολον καὶ

ing were invented and patterns of life introduced. Then
 too she taught them the use of weapons and adorned them
 first of all men in the guise in which we now adorn her,
 and showed them how to ride the horse in competition
 and in war. It was in this land also that the goddess' right-
 hand man was with her assistance the first human being to
 yoke a full chariot and to demonstrate to all the art of
 horsemanship in its perfected form.³⁹ In addition to this,
 44 different forms of choral dance and ritual and festivals
 emerged thanks to the visits paid to the country by differ-
 ent deities. For the honors paid by the gods were followed
 by gifts reciprocally given and received as was appropriate
 to each side.

The gods did not only contend with each other to bene-
 fit this city; it was also in this city that they had their dis-
 45 putes with each other judged. In so doing they drew the
 attention of all men everywhere to the city, desiring to lay
 down in her universal principles and patterns, like people
 providing for children's education, so that, just as in gen-
 eral things go well for learners if their teachers are of the
 highest quality, so human beings too should emerge per-
 fected in the virtue appropriate to them from following
 the proper models, and should have by divine benefaction
 not only the seeds of wheat and barley, but also the seeds
 of justice and all the rest of a settled civic existence. Posei-
 46 don brought a case against Ares over his son and won it
 before all the gods, and the place took its name from this
 as both a token of what had happened and as one more

³⁹ Erichthonius, variously identified as the first horseman
 (Ael. *VH* 3.38) and the first to yoke a four-horse chariot (Verg. *G.*
 3.113-14; Plin. *HN* 7.202).

δικαιοσύνης ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι μαρτύριον καὶ πίστιν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἄρειον πάγον οὐδὲν εὐρεῖν, εἴ τις ὑπερβολὴν ζητοίη. ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ ὕδατα ὅσα μαντικὰ καὶ πνεύματα ἀντόθεν ἰσχύει,¹² οὕτως καὶ οὗτος ὁ χώρος ὥσπερ ἀνίεναι δοκεῖ τὴν τοῦ δικαίου γνώσιν ἐναργῆ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς ὡς
 47 δυνατὸν ἐγγυτάτω. καὶ τοσοῦτω τετίμηται παρὰ πάντων τῷ συγκεχωρηκότι, ὥσθ' οἱ μὲν ἠττώμενοι στέργουσι ὁμοίως τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν, ἀρχαὶ δὲ πᾶσαι καὶ συνέδρια τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ὁ δῆμος πάντες ἰδιῶται πρὸς τὰς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ δίκας εἰσὶν [εἴκοντες].¹³ καὶ μεταβολὴ τοῦ χωρίου τούτου μόνοῦ ἤδη σχεδὸν οὐχ ἦψατο, οἷα δὴ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγωνιστήριον τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνείται καὶ οἷς
 48 ἐξ ἐκείνου καθήκει καὶ πάντες παράδειγμα δικαιοσύνης νομίζοντες οὕτω τιμῶσι αἰδοῦ τῶν θεῶν. ἑτέρα δὲ γίγνεται κρίσις ὕστερον μικτῇ τοῖς ἀγωνισταῖς, θεία δὲ καὶ αὕτη τοῖς δικασταῖς, ἣν ἀγωνίζεται τῶν Πελοπιδῶν ἀνὴρ δυστυχῶν πρὸς τὰς νῦν προσοίκους τῷ τόπῳ θεᾶς σεμνάς,¹⁴ καταφυγῶν καὶ δοῦς ὥσπερ ἔφασιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἐνταῦθα εἶπερ πού τὴν δικαίαν φιλανθρωπίαν οὖσαν, καὶ τυχῶν τῆς θεοῦ τῶν μανιῶν ἀπαλλάττεται.

piece of evidence to confirm the existence of justice in the eyes of men.⁴⁰ Searchers after perfection will find nothing to excel the Areopagus: just as prophetic waters and exhalations draw their strength from the very spot where they rise, so this place seems to exhale a knowledge of justice which in its clarity is as close as can be to that enjoyed by the gods. So great is the consensus with which this court has been honored from all quarters that the defeated are as contented as the victors, and all magistracies and councils including most importantly the popular assembly are as laymen by the standards of the justice residing in this place. Change has to this day left it alone almost untouched, as far as the circumstances of human existence allow; it has remained as an arena for the gods and for those to whom it has subsequently been appropriate. Everyone deems it a paradigm of justice and honors it in this light in reverence of the gods. Later on, another trial took place that was also divine so far as regards its jurors, though contested between parties of disparate status, when an unfortunate man from the house of Pelops pleaded his case against the dread goddesses who now inhabit the place.⁴¹ He had fled for refuge to the city and made an appeal to her as to a higher tribunal, in the belief that here if anywhere justice blended with generosity could be found; the goddess acquitted him and he was freed from his madness.

¹² ἰσχύει AA₂B₂RV ἰσχει A₂² QR²U ἀνίσχει Canter ἰσχυροῦ Lenz

¹³ *secl.* Lenz

¹⁴ σεμνάς *susp.* Behr

⁴⁰ The Areopagus, where Poseidon prosecuted Ares for the murder of Halirrhothius.

⁴¹ Orestes, whose acquittal led to the establishment of a cult at Athens in honor of the Furies (*Semnai* = "dread ones"), who had been pursuing him. It is possible that the word "dread" in Aristides' text is a reader's or commentator's addition, to clarify the reference.

[The Beginnings of Athenian Philanthropy (49–74)]

49 περὶ μὲν δὴ γένους καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῆς ἐκ θεῶν τιμῆς
καὶ τῶν δωρεῶν, ἃς αὐτοὶ τε εὔροντο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἐνειμαν, εἴρηται, τῶν μὲν πραγμάτων ἴσως ἦττον, οὐχ
ἦττον δὲ ἢ τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν. νῦν δὲ παντοδαπῶν ἐπιόν-
των ἀκόλουθον ἴσως ἐστὶ λέγειν ὧν μέρος ἐγγεγρα-
πται τοῖς εἰρημένους, ὅση τῆ¹⁵ περιουσία τῆς φιλαν-
θρωπίας εἰς ἅπαντας ἐχρήσαντο καὶ ὅπως εἰς τὸ
50 κοινὸν ἐπολιτεύσαντο. ἀνεμι δὲ κάνταῦθα μικρόν.

ὥσπερ γὰρ τοῖς θεοῖς οὐκ ἀπέχρησε δι' ἐνός τινος
τρόπου τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐνδείξασθαι τῇ πόλει, οὕτως οὐδ'
ἐκεῖνοι τοῦ σίτου τὴν κοινωσίαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔκρι-
ναν ἐξαρκεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁδῶ προήεσαν αὐξοντες τὴν φιλο-
τιμίαν, ὥσπερ οἱ τὰ σπέρματα. μεγίστη δὲ καὶ κοινο-
τάτη τῶν ἐνεργειῶν ἢ τῶν πανταχόθεν δυστυχοῦντων
ὑποδοχὴ καὶ παραμυθία. οὐ γάρ ἐστι γένος οὐδὲν τῆς
Ἑλλάδος, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ὃ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπείρα-
τόν ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἄοικον ἐπὶ καιρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις
καὶ ἔθνη μετελήλυθεν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ καταπέφευγεν καὶ
κατ' ἀνδρα σχεδὸν οἱ γνωριμώτατοι, ὧν ἀπάντων μὲν
ἀμήχανον καὶ μνημονεῦσαι πρῶτον καὶ τῆς μνήμης
τοὺς λόγους συμμέτρους ἀποδοῦναι, μὴ ὅτι τῶν ἰδία
λέγω μεταστάντων κατὰ συμφοράς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν
κοινῆ, ἃ δ' ἐστὶ τῶν παλαιῶν ἐντιμώτατα καὶ ὥσπερ

¹⁵ ὅση τῆ AB_xL M^{rec}RUV ὅση τινὶ καὶ οἷα τῆ M^{trac}QTPH^{M3}

The Beginnings of Athenian Philanthropy (49–74)

I have now spoken about the origins and upbringing of the 49
Athenians, and about the honor they received from the
gods, and the gifts that they themselves discovered and
distributed to others, not perhaps as well as the subject
matter deserves, but certainly no worse than my predeces-
sors. Now although all kinds of continuation suggest them-
selves to me, it perhaps follows best to speak of something
that has in part been included in what I have already said,
namely the superabundant generosity with which they
have treated all comers and the care for the common good
that they have shown in their politics. Here once more I 50
must go back a little on my tracks.

Just as it was not enough for the gods to demonstrate
their goodwill toward the city in one single way, so too the
Athenians did not think it was enough to share grain with
the human race, but instead proceeded methodically to
augment their generosity just like the tenders of seeds.
The greatest and most widely shared of their benefac-
tions was the way in which they welcomed and consoled
the unfortunate from every quarter. There is no nation in
Greece, one might say, which has not had experience of
this city and has not dwelt here on occasion; cities and
peoples, and practically everyone of the greatest distinc-
tion individually, have left their homelands and found ref-
uge here. It would be impossible even to mention them
all in the first place—not even those who arrived in groups,
I mean, let alone those whom some crisis brought here as
individuals—or to find the words to do justice to their
memory; I shall confine myself to those of the early in-
stances that brought the Athenians the greatest honor and

ἀρχῇ τοῖς πολλοῖς διηγείσθαι.¹⁶ Ἡρακλέους ἀπελθόν-
 τος [ἐξ ἀνθρώπων]¹⁷ ἢ μὲν πόλις καὶ νεὼς καὶ βωμοὺς
 51 ἰδρύεται πρώτη, καθάπερ καὶ πρόσθεν τοῖς μυστη-
 ρίοις ἐτίμησε πρῶτον ξένων. καὶ διατελεῖ δὴ θεὸς ὦν
 καὶ δοκῶν ἐξ ἐκείνου. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυ-
 τάτους ἄρα τῶν θεῶν ἠῖρξε τιμᾶν, καὶ ταῦτα διαφερόν-
 τως καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντας, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 τοὺς ἐπήλυδας αὐτῆ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐνέκρινεν, ὥσπερ
 συμπολιτευομένη τοῖς θεοῖς. ἅμα γὰρ ἐκείνοι τε ἐδέ-
 χοντο καὶ ταύτην οὐκ ἐλελήθει, ἀλλ' ἐξηγεῖτο τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ ἀνεκήρυττεν, ὥστε ἀπέφηνεν
 τοὺς τε Θηβαίους ὀλίγον τῇ φύσει προσήκοντας
 αὐτῷ, κατὰ ταῦτά δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἷς τι μέτεστιν
 ὡς οἰκεῖοις ἐκείνου μνήμης. μόνη γὰρ εἶδεν τίνων ἦν
 ἄξιος.

52 αὐτῷ μὲν δὴ ταύτην ἀποδεδώκει τὴν χάριν, δι' ἣν
 καὶ ὅσων παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔτυχεν Ἡρακλῆς, ἀπάσας
 τῆς πόλεως χάριτας δικαίως ἂν τις λέγοι ταύτην γὰρ
 ἅπαντες μιμησάμενοι τὰ δίκαια συνωμολόγησαν. Εὐ-
 ρυσθέως δ' ἐλάσαντος μὲν ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τοὺς
 παῖδας αὐτοῦ, προσθέντος δὲ ἐτέραν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἔτι
 μείζω καὶ δευοτέρα, τὸ μηδὲ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων μη-
 δεμίαν δέχεσθαι προκηρῦξαι, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα ἀπειλή-
 σαντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες ἐσχετλίαζον, βοθηεῖν δὲ
 οὐκ εἶχον· ἢ πόλις δὲ ὑπεδέξατο μόνη τῶν πάντων,

¹⁶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, διηγείσθω Jebb

¹⁷ *secl.* Lenz *ex* Σ Q² T²

so to speak laid the foundation for the greater part of
 them. When Heracles had departed from the world of
 men, this city was the first to dedicate temples and altars
 to him, just as previously they had paid him the honor
 of being the first foreigner initiated into their mysteries.
 From that time onward he has continued to be and to be
 51 esteemed as a god. Evidently, then, Athens did not only
 take the lead in honoring the senior generation of gods,
 and that to a preeminent degree, surpassing those who
 followed her lead; she also on her own initiative enrolled
 the later arrivals as well, as if the gods' partner in the run-
 ning of their state. For as soon as they received Heracles
 into their number, she realized as much and declared and
 proclaimed it to the rest of mankind, thus proving that
 the people of Thebes had little natural connection with him,
 and likewise all others who claimed some share in his
 memory on the grounds of kinship. Athens alone knew his
 true worth.

52 On Heracles, then, Athens had bestowed a boon thanks
 to which, one might fairly say, all that he received from the
 rest of mankind was her work as well; for it was in imitation
 of her that all agreed on what was right. But when Eurys-
 theus expelled his children from the Peloponnese, adding
 a second still greater and more frightful cruelty in the
 form of his proclamation that no other city should receive
 them, and making the most extreme of threats, everyone
 else was indignant, but unable to help. This city alone of
 all was moved to hatred sooner than fear by his threats and
 took the refugees in, and as if paying its subscription to
 a benevolent fund, maintained on behalf of his children

μισήσασα μᾶλλον τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἢ φοβηθείσα, καὶ τὴν προστασίαν ἣν ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων Ἡρακλῆς ἔσχε, ταύτην αὐτῇ τοῖς ἐκείνου παισὶν ὥσπερ τιμὰ ἐράνου φορὰν διεσώσατο. εἰκότως· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τῶν πλείστων διὰ Θησέως συνεπείληπτο, καὶ πάσαι κοινῶν ἦγεν, ἀφ' οὗ ταυτὰ ἐώρα γιννώσκοντα ἑαυτῇ.

53 καὶ ἃ μὲν κατειργάσατο μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ τῶν λόγων καθήκει δηλῶσαι μερίδι τὴν δ' οὖν ἐπιτροπὴν οὕτω λαμπρὰν αὐτῶν ἐποίησατο ὥστ' αὐτοῖς τὴν συμφορὰν λυσιτελῆσαι. οὐ γὰρ τὴν ὀρφανίαν μόνον ἀδελφὸν κατέστησεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς γενομένη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς πατρόθεν εὐεργέτας τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὕτως ἐτίμησεν, τέτταρας μὲν δοῦσα νέμεσθαι πόλεις τῶν τότε οἰκουμένων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, πρῶτους δὲ θρέψασα δημοσίᾳ πατρὸς εὐεργέτου παιδας, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὕστερον τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτη-
54 σάντων τρέφειν ἐνόμισε. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ τροφεία ἀρέποντα ἐκομίσασα ἑαυτῇ· τῶν γὰρ ὑπηργμένων ἀξίους εὖρεν· ἢ δ' ἐκείνων ὁδὸς τὸ δεῦρο κοινὴ πάντων ὕστερον¹⁸ τῶν ἐκπιπτόντων ἐγένετο, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τοῖς πρότερον κἀκείνοι κατέφυγον. ἅπασι γὰρ ἢ πόλις ἑαυτὴν παρέσχεν τοῖς ἐν χρεΐᾳ κοινῆν

¹⁸ πρότερον Lenz *ex* Σ

⁴² This sentence may be another reader's comment wrongly incorporated into the text. It seems unaware of the previous mention of Theseus in §35 above; and it interrupts both the flow of

that patron's protection that Heracles had extended to the whole of humanity. This was entirely reasonable: the city had collaborated with him through Theseus in the greater part of his labors, and had long thought of him as a partner, from the moment when she saw that he shared her aims.⁴²

The deeds that Athens wrought with the children of Heracles and on their behalf can appropriately be presented in another part of this speech,⁴³ but she took on the role of their guardian with such distinction that their misfortune turned out to their advantage. Not only did she efface their status as orphans by becoming another father to them, but also honored them as benefactors of mankind on the strength of their father's deeds, giving them four of the cities then standing in the country to live in,⁴⁴ and making them the first to be maintained at public expense as the children of a benefactor, just like the children of the war dead whom she later made it her custom to support.⁴⁵ She reaped a proper reward for her fostering care, more-
54 over, as she found them to be worthy of the help that she had given them first. Their path here subsequently became the path shared by all exiles; or rather, it was in the footsteps of a large number of earlier exiles that they too fled here for protection. For right from the start the city offered itself as a shared refuge for anyone in need,

thought and the stylistic continuity between "maintained on behalf of his children . . ." and "The deeds that Athens wrought with [them]. . ."

⁴³ §§67–68, 78–79.

⁴⁴ The Tetrapolis in northeast Attica, consisting of the demes of Marathon, Tricorythus, Probalinthos, and Oenoe.

⁴⁵ Cf. §368 below.

εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ πάντες ἐπὶ δυοῖν ὀρμῆν ἔδοξαν οἱ Ἕλληνας ἀληθῆ νομίσαντες, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἕκαστοι τὴν ἀρχαίαν, κοινῆν δ' ἅπαντες ταύτην προσονομάζοντες πατρίδα, καὶ τὴν μὲν προτέραν δευτέραν, τὴν δὲ ὑστέραν προτέραν ἄγοντες τῇ δυνάμει. τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ βεβαιοτέραν ταύτην αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ λυσιτελεστέραν, ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ἀνάλωτον καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἱερὰν καὶ μετὰ τῆς πείρας ἔγνωσαν, ὀρθῶς βουλευόμενοι, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ περὶ Θήβας ἀτυχήσαντες καὶ πάσης τῆς Βοιωτίας συνεκπεσόντες, τοῦτο δὲ Θετταλῶν οἱ ταύτην τραπόμενοι καὶ Ταναγραίων οἱ μεταστάντες, Δωριέων Πελοποννήσου κρατησάντων, ὑπὸ τῶν εἰζάντων ἀναστάντες. οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν Ἰωνία πάντες. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' ἀμφοτέρων τῶν αἰγιαλῶν ἐποίησε, τοῦ θ' ἑσπερίου καὶ τοῦ ἑβόου. καὶ γὰρ καὶ τούτους κάκείνους ἐν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις ὑπεδέξατο. ἔστι δ' ἂ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐκκεχωρηκότα νῦν γένη τῶν Ἑλλήνων καταφεύγοντα εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνέλαβεν, ὥσπερ Δρύοπας καὶ Πελασγούς, ὧν ἔτι καὶ νῦν σημεῖα τῆς σωτηρίας λείπεται. αἱ γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἐπωνυμίαι σύμβολον οὔσαι τῆς οἰκίσεως αὐτῶν ἅμα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας εἰσὶν.

55

⁴⁶ The Seven against Thebes.

⁴⁷ The arrival of exiles from Tanagra (but under different circumstances) is mentioned by Herodotus in *Hist.* 5.57; the reference to Thessalian exiles is more mysterious.

⁴⁸ This sentence may be a reader's or commentator's note; Aristides only turns to the issue of the colonization of Asia Minor in §§62ff. below.

and all the Greeks quite rightly believed themselves to be made fast by two anchors: individually each nation called its ancestral home fatherland, but collectively they all gave the name to this one, ranking the former second and the latter first in effective power. For they realized before and after putting it to the test that this one offered them something securer and more beneficial, inasmuch as it was more impregnable than the others and more truly sacred, a correct conclusion endorsed on the one hand by those who came to grief at Thebes and were expelled from the whole of Boeotia,⁴⁶ and on the other by those of the Thes-salians who made their way in this direction, and by the Tanagrans who, when the Dorians conquered the Peloponnese, were displaced by those who gave way to them and had to change country.⁴⁷ Ionia was the product of all these peoples.⁴⁸ Athens behaved in the same way toward the peoples of both shores, west and east, making both the one and the other welcome in their times of need. There are also peoples now entirely vanished from among the Greeks whom she took in when they fled to her for refuge, like the Dryopians and the Pelasgians, signs of whose rescue remain to this day.⁴⁹ For the names deriving from them, which are a token of their residence, are at the same time a token of their rescue.⁵⁰

55

⁴⁹ The Pelasgians were supposed to have built the majority of the defensive wall of the Acropolis: Hdt. 6.137; Paus. 1.28.3; Dryopian exiles (but not in Athens) are mentioned by Strabo (8.6.13) and Pausanias (5.1.2).

⁵⁰ This sentence may be another reader's or commentator's expansion of Aristides' point.

56 οὕτω δ' ἐκ παλαιοῦ πᾶσιν ἑαυτὴν δοῦσα διετήρη-
 σεν ὥσπερ νόμον εἰς τέλος τὴν γνώμην, καὶ διεξῆλ-
 θεν διὰ πάντων τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν καιρῶν ἅπασι τὰς
 πύλας ὑπανόγουσα, τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολέμων, ἢ κατὰ
 στάσιμ, ἢ κατ' ἄλλην τινα φεύγουσι τύχην πόρρωθεν
 προκηρύττουσα θαρρεῖν, ὡς οὐδεὶς ἔσται τῶν Ἑλλή-
 νων ἄπολις, ἕως ἂν ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἢ πόλις, ἀλλ' ἢ
 57 πατρίδα μεταλλάξουσιν οἷς συμβαίνει. μιᾶς μὲν γε
 τῶν τριῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ μοιρῶν διαφθαρείσης
 τῆς Μεσσηνίων, μόνη διετήρησε τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτῶν
 δεξαμένη τε καὶ σκεψαμένη τόπους ἐν οἷς ἔμελλον
 ἰδρῦσεσθαι. καὶ νῦν εἰσὶ Μεσσηνιοὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν.
 αὐθις δὲ τοῦ περὶ Βοιωτίαν πάθους συμβάντος καὶ
 τῆς παρασχούσης ποθ' αὐτὴν ἐνευτυχήσαι τοῖς Ἑλ-
 λησι πόλεως ἀπροσδοκῆτως καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ἀναιρε-
 θείσης, οὐδένας εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν ἀπεμνημόνευσαν οὐδ'
 ἐπεκούφισαν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μέρος ἐξήκει τὸ
 Πλαταιέων γένος, ἢ δὲ πόλις μετὰ καλοῦ τοῦ σχήμα-
 τος τὴν δυστυχίαν ἐπηνώρθωσεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀθηναίους
 ἀντὶ Πλαταιέων ἀποφήνασα καὶ φυλάξασα τῷ τόπῳ
 τὸ μνημεῖον, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν τὴν κοινῇ τότε πάντων
 προστάσαν, τοὺς δὲ πταίσαντας τῶν ἐκεῖ φανερῶν
 58 ἀνώρθωσε.¹⁹ πάλιν τοίνυν Θηβαίων κακῶς ὑπὸ τῆς

¹⁹ ἀνώρθωσε TQA_a³ ἀνορθῶσαι AA_aB_aM¹⁰⁰UVR

⁵¹ Aristides may be referring either to the expulsion of the

Offering herself thus to all from early times she main- 56
 tained her resolve throughout as if it were a law, and con-
 tinued through every vicissitude of the Greek peoples to
 open her gates in welcome to all, proclaiming from afar to
 those exiled by war or civil strife or any other mischance
 that they should take heart, because no Greek would go
 without a city as long as the city of Athens existed, but
 would simply acquire a new homeland if this happened to
 him. When one of the three territories of the Peloponne- 57
 nese, Messenia, was destroyed, Athens alone protected
 the survivors, welcoming them and searching for places in
 which they could settle.⁵¹ Even now the Messenians owe
 their existence to the city. Or again, when disaster struck
 in Boeotia and the city that had once provided the scene
 of a great Greek triumph was unexpectedly and undeserv-
 edly destroyed, no people remembered her as her serv-
 ices merited or alleviated her distress; but while, as far
 as everyone else was concerned, the Plataean people had
 ceased to exist, the city of Athens in a fine show of nobility
 rescued them in the midst of their misfortunes, by bestow-
 ing on them Athenian citizenship in place of Plataean and
 by preserving the memory of the place, as it was only right
 for the city then acting as the common champion of all to
 do, and she restored the fortunes of those of her leading
 citizens who had been brought low.⁵² Again, when the 58

descendants of Neleus by the Dorians and the Heraclidae (Paus.
 4.3.3) or to the depredations of the first Messenian War (Diod.
 Sic. 15.66.3-4).

⁵² The destruction of Plataea by Peloponnesian forces in 427
 BC is described by Thucydides in *Hist.* 2.52-68, and subsequent
 Athenian relations with the survivors in 4.67 and 4.32.

φρουρᾶς τῆς Λακωνικῆς διακειμένων ἐδέξατο τὸν δῆμον καὶ διέτριβον οἱ φεύγοντες ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ἕως ἔμελλον διὰ τῆς πόλεως αὐθις
 59 κομίσθαι τὴν ἑαυτῶν. αὐθις αὖ Πλαταιέας δεῦτερον ἐξοικισθέντας καὶ Θεσπιάας ἅμα ἐκείνοις δέχεται πανοικησίᾳ. καὶ πάλιν Θηβαίους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἀτυχήμασιν καὶ πρὸ τούτων τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης κακῶς πράξαντας, δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεων ὅσον λοιπὸν, τοὺς ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Θάσου καὶ Βυζαντίου καὶ πανταχόθεν τίς ἂν ἐξαριθμῆσειεν; οἶμαι μὲν οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν νήσων μόνον εἶναι ῥᾶδιον.

60 μόνη γὰρ ὡς εἰπεῖν διαγέγονε πρὸς τὴν ἀπάντων τύχην ἀμυλλωμένη καὶ πειρωμένη πᾶσι περιτρέπειν τὰς συμφορὰς ἐπὶ θάτερα, καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐνήλλαξεν· οὐ γὰρ ἐκποδὸν εἶναι κατέδειξε φίλου κακῶς πράξαντος, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν διαφόρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀτυχήμασι φίλους πεποίηται. οὐδ' εὖ μὲν πράττουσι κέχρηται, κακῶς δ' ἀπαλλάξαντας ἠτίμακεν, τῇ τύχῃ μετροῦσα τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοῦ δυστυχεῖν καιροὺς τοῦ πράττειν εὖ πεποιήκει, τοῖς πολλοῖς τὰ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθὰ προσθεῖσα καὶ ποιησαμένη κοινωνούς, ὧν ὅτε κάλλιστα ἔπραττον

⁵³ In 382 to 379 BC: *Plut. Pel.* 5–12; *Xen. Hell.* 5.4.

⁵⁴ In 372 BC: *Xen. Hell.* 6.3.

⁵⁵ Episodes in the campaigns and conquests of Philip of Macedon (Thrace, 342 BC; Thasos, 340 BC; Byzantium, 340–339 BC) and of Alexander the Great (335 BC).

Thebans were being maltreated by the Spartan garrison, Athens gave her people refuge, and these exiles enjoyed the status of Athenians until such time as they could with the city's help be restored to their own country.⁵³ And in yet another case, when the Plataeans were driven from their homes a second time, and the people of Thespieae along with them, Athens gave both of them refuge with all their families and dependents.⁵⁴ Or again, the Thebans in their darkest hour, and before them the peoples of Thrace who had met with disaster, all that remained of thirty-two cities, and the inhabitants of Corinth and Thasos and Byzantium and peoples from all over—who could ever put a number to them?⁵⁵ It would be hard, I think, to count up even the island peoples on their own.

In the face of the ill luck of all, it was Athens alone, you might say, that kept up the struggle and the attempt to alter their misfortunes for the better, and in so doing turned the familiar saying on its head:⁵⁶ rather than showing how to keep out of the way when a friend is doing badly, she has in their hour of misfortune converted many even of those who were previously her enemies into her friends. Nor has she regulated her generosity according to their fortunes of the moment, keeping on friendly terms when they were doing well, but scorning them when their luck took a turn for the worse, but instead has transformed moments of misfortune into opportunities for doing good, making her own blessings available to the generality of mankind and allowing them to share in things they could

⁵⁶ A saying variously attributed to Sophocles (fr. 667 Nauck²), Euripides (fr. 799a *TrGF*), and Menander (*Sentent.* 34 Jaekel).

οὐδ' ἔλπις ἦν αὐτοῖς. καὶ γὰρ τοὶ πάντες ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς τῆς χρείας καιροῖς μίαν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν εἶδον τὴν
 61 δεῦρο φέρουσαν. καὶ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων οὐσα τῷ δέχεσθαι τοὺς πανταχόθεν μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προειληφέναι τῷ χρόνῳ τοῦ γένους ὡσπερὶ πατρὶς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐστία κοινή. καὶ τὴν ἐπιτηδειότητα τὴν πρὸς ἅπαντας οὐ μόνον οἷς αὐτὴ παρ' αὐτῆς ἀπέστειλεν ἐδήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῦδαφος παρέχειν τοῖς ἕξωθεν καταφεύγουσιν εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ προσίεσθαι πάντας ὡς μέρος αὐτῆς.

62 ἐν μὲν οὖν τοῦτο τοιοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον εἶδος εὐεργεσίας τοῖς προὔπηργμένοις ἀκόλουθον ἕτερον δ', ὃ καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐστὶν ἐφεξῆς καὶ μεγέθους χάριν οὐ λείπεται. προσλαβοῦσα γὰρ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐξηγητήν, ἑαυτῇ δὲ πατρῶον, τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Πύθειον, ἐξήγαγε πανταχῇ γῆς τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, τὴν αὐτὴν φυλακὴν ἅμα καὶ προσθήκη τῷ γένει ποιου-
 63 μένη. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ἐπικειμένην ἐκάθηρε θάλατταν, ἔοικα δὲ οὐ τὸ πρῶτον λέγειν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὡσπερ λήμνην ἀφείλε, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν προθύρων ὄχληροὺς ἀναστήσασα, λέγω τὸ ληστικὸν ἅπαν καὶ βαρβαρικόν, καὶ καταναγκάσασα ὡς πορρωτάτω τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παραλίας καὶ τῶν εἰσπλάν ἀποχωρήσαι. ἐξ ὧν ὁ τῶν νήσων κύκλος ὠκίσθη βεβαίως, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἡμερωτάτων τὸν Αἰγαίου ὑπήρξε πλεῖν σύνδυο καὶ σύντρεις πόλεις, ὡσπερ ἐν ἠπείρῳ,

not have hoped for even when their good fortune was at its peak. In any and every moment of need, the only road
 anyone ever saw was the one leading here. Although she
 61 is indeed the oldest of the states of Greece, it is in virtue of her welcome to people from all over, rather than because of her chronological priority, that she is so to speak the homeland and shared hearth of the race. She demonstrated her friendship to all not only in what she sent out from herself, but also in offering her ground to refugees from outside, and in admitting everyone as a part of herself.

There then is one example of Athenian beneficence, 62 consistent with their city's initial endowment in its quality and scale. But there is a second, which naturally belongs next and is no less substantial. In concert with the god who is the shared guide and interpreter to the Greeks in general, but is also her own ancestral deity, Pythian Apollo, Athens led the Greek nation out across the whole world, bringing expansion and protection to its people in one and the same adventure. First of all—though I think what I am
 63 speaking of here is not the first of her achievements—she swept the adjacent sea, and cleared the rheimakers from the eyes of Greece⁵⁷ by removing the troublemakers on her doorstep—I mean all the pirates and foreigners—and forcing them to depart as far as they could go from Greek coasts and approaches. Thanks to this, the circle of the islands could be securely colonized, and it became possible to sail the Aegean in the most civilized conditions imaginable, in some places passing clusters of two or three

⁵⁷ An echo of a celebrated remark by Pericles about Aegina: Arist. *Rh.* 1411a15; Plut. *Per.* 8.

64 νήσου μίᾳς ἀμείβοντας ἔστιν οὐδ' οὕτως εὖ κατεσκευά-
 ασε τὴν θάλατταν. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς ἐπικειμένας
 τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ νήσους ᾤκισε, τοὺς ἐσπερίους τό-
 πους οἰκειουμένη καὶ πανταχόθεν τοὺς βαρβάρους
 ὥσπερ προβόλους ἀνείργουσα· ὡς δ' αὐτῇ διχόθεν
 κατεσκευάαστο ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος φρουρὰ καὶ συνεκέλει-
 στο ὥσπερ λιμέσι κλειστοῖς, οὕτως ἤδη καὶ μέχρι
 τῆς ὑπερορίας ἦει διὰ τῆς θαλάττης, καὶ διεβίβαζεν
 εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν τὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἀποικίας,
 συνάπτουσα τὴν γῆν ὡς μίαν οἶσαν τῇ φύσει, καὶ τὰ
 πέραν τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ κεχωρισμένα, ἕως κατεσκευά-
 ασε τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀντίπρωρον, εἰ οἶόν τ' εἰπεῖν,
 Ἑλλάδι τῇ παλαιᾷ, μεγάλη μὲν αὔξουσα μοῖρα τὰ
 ὑπάρχοντα τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, μέγα δ' εἰς ἀσφάλεια
 προῖδούσα τὴν κοινὴν, ὡς ἔδειξεν ὁ μέλλον χρόνος,
 κάλλιστον δὲ κόσμον ἀμφοτέρῳ τῷ γένει περιθεῖσα
 οὐ μόνον τῷ πλήθει καὶ ἅμα καιρίῳ τῆς χώρας, ἀλλὰ
 65 αἰτία γίνεσθαι. ταύτης δὲ τοιαύτης ὥσπερ κρηπίδος ἢ
 ρίζης ὑποκειμένης ἐξεφούθησαν καὶ διὰ πάσης ἤδη
 γῆς αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀποικίαι. τοῖς γὰρ πεμφθεῖσι
 καὶ κρατήσασιν ἔρωσ ἐμπίπτει μιμήσασθαι τὴν μη-
 τρόπολιν. καὶ διαλαβόντες ᾤκίζον τὴν γῆν, ἐκτείνον-
 τες ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι μέτρον τὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἕως ἐξ-
 66 ἐπλήρωσαν ἅπαν τὸ δεχόμενον. καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις

cities on a single island, just as on the mainland. That is
 how well she organized the seas. In addition, she colon- 64
 ized the islands off the coast of the Peloponnese,⁵⁸ mak-
 ing the western regions her own and shutting out the bar-
 barians on all sides as if with a defensive screen. When
 by her efforts the defenses of Greece had been estab-
 lished on both sides and secured as one might put it with
 the locks of her harbors, then at last Athens ventured over-
 seas and into foreign territory, and sent her numerous
 and mighty colonies across to Asia, seeking to connect the
 earth together as if it were a single natural entity and as if
 the regions on the far side were not something separate
 from Greece, until she had made the Asian shores into a
 counterpart of old Greece, facing her—if one may put it
 so—prow to prow. By so doing Athens not only greatly
 enriched the resources available to the people of Greece,
 but also, as the passage of time would reveal, made impor-
 tant provision for their common security; and she clothed
 both races of Greeks in the noblest of finery, not only in
 the size and at the same time the happy location of their
 territory, but also in the demonstration she gave them of
 the nature and extent of the benefits of concord. With such 65
 a foundation or rootstock as this to build on Greek colo-
 nies now ventured forth across the entire earth, as those
 which had already been sent out and proved successful
 were inspired by a yearning to emulate their mother city.
 They divided up the earth between them and settled it,
 calmly extending the boundaries of the Greek world until
 they filled up all the space available to receive them. And 66
 now your children's children dwell at the two far edges of

⁵⁸ Cephallenia, Zacynthus, and Corcyra (according to the scholia and Arethas).

τοῖς πέρασι τῆς γῆς ὑμετέρων παίδων παῖδες οἰκοῦ-
σιν, οἱ μὲν ἄχρι Γαδείρων ἀπὸ Μασσαλίας παρήκου-
τες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ Ταναΐδι καὶ τῇ λίμνῃ μεμερισμένοι.
ὥστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν γέλως ἐπέρχεται ἀκούοντι τῶν νῦν
πόλεων τοῖς σφετέροις κόσμοις φιλοτιμουμένων καὶ
φρονουσῶν ὡς ἐπὶ λαμπροῖς, ὅταν εὕρισκω θεωρῶν
ὑπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως γῆν καὶ θάλατταν κεκοσμη-
μένην ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνων.

- 67 τοῦτο δὴ βούλομαι διὰ βραχείων ἐπανελθὼν ἐξετά-
σαι καὶ δεῖξαι τὴν συνέχειαν τῆς πολιτείας, ἣ κέχρη-
ται πρὸς τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἢ πόλις, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι
πρόσρημα βέλτιον ἐπενεγκεῖν οὐδ' νῦν ἐφθελγῆσθαι.
ὅτε μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἡρακλέους παισὶν ἔδει βοθησίας,
παρέσχεν μόνη καὶ μετέδωκεν ἀπάντων, παρελθούσα
τὴν χρεῖαν τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδει τὴν Πελο-
πόννησον Δωριέων γενέσθαι, συγκατήγαγε πάλιν αὐ-
68 τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. γενομένης δὲ τῆς Ἡρακλειδῶν
καθόδου καὶ νεωτέρων συμβάντων ἐν τῇ Πελοπον-
νήσῳ, πάλιν τὸ κινηθὲν ἐδέξατο. ἐν ᾧ τὰ μὲν τῶν
πρωτέρων ἰκετῶν ἀσφαλῶς εἶχεν, ἕτεροι δὲ αὐτὸ
69 ἐκέλευον σχῆμα μετελήφεσαν. δεξαμένη δὲ ἤδη πάν-
τας ἀνθρώπους καὶ μεταδοῦσα χώρας καὶ νόμων καὶ
πολιτείας ἐπενόησεν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑλλάδος χρῆσθαι τῷ
πλεονεκτῆματι καὶ τὰς παρ' αὐτῇ πόλεις πολλὰς συμ-
πεφευγίας ἀφορμὴν τῶν ἔξω πόλεων πολλῶν καὶ

the world, some of them reaching from Massalia as far as Gades, others dispersed along the Tanais and Lake Maeotis.⁵⁹ It makes me want to laugh, therefore, as I listen to the cities of today vying with each other over their adornments and giving themselves airs over supposed distinctions, when my own observations lead me to realize that what your city ordered and beautified, quite without the assistance of those many and much greater others, was the land and the sea.

I should like briefly to go back on my tracks and exam- 67
ine this point further, so as to demonstrate the continuity
of Athens' policy toward the Greek world, and to show that
there is no better term to apply to it than the one I have
just used. When the Children of Heracles needed help,
she alone provided it and shared everything with them,
exceeding their need with her generosity. But when it was
fated for the Peloponnese to become the property of the
Dorians, she restored them again in collaboration with the
god. Then, when the Heraclidae had returned and there 68
was a revolution in the Peloponnese, she once more re-
ceived the displaced faction. In this process the interests
of the previous set of suppliants were protected, while a
second group in its turn took on their status. When eventu- 69
ally she had welcomed all and sundry in, and given them
a share in her territory, laws and public life, she hit upon
the plan of putting her gains to use for the good of Greece,
by making the many cities that had converged on her as
refugees into the material for the many great cities she

⁵⁹ Marseilles and Cadiz at the western end of the Greek-speaking world, the River Don and the Sea of Azov at its (north-) western extremity.

70 *μεγάλων ποιήσασθαι. καίτοι πῶς ἂν φιλανθρωπότε-
ρον ἢ πόλις ἢ πῶς λαμπρότερον περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοὺς
δόντων ἐβουλεύσατο; ἢ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς²⁰ ἑαυτῆς χώ-
ρας καὶ πολιτείας μετέδωκεν, ἔπειθ' ἑτέραν ὅπως κτή-
σονται συμπαρασκευάσεν, ὁμοίως τῇ τε οἰκείᾳ καὶ τῇ
ἀλλοδαπῇ δέχεσθαι τοὺς δεομένους ἀξιούσα, καὶ τὰ
πρέποντα ἑκατέροις τοῖς καιροῖς ἐτήρησεν. ὅτε μὲν
γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἦσαν, τὸν φόβον περιεῖλεν αὐτῶν καὶ
τὰς ἀπορίας ἐπηνώρθωσεν ὡς δ' ἄμεινον ἢ κατὰ συμ-
φορὰν ἐπεπράγεσαν, οὕτως ἤδη διεκόσμη καὶ προέ-
πεμπεν, ἡγεμόνας τε ἐκάστοις ἐφιστᾶσα, ὡσπερ αὐτῇ
71 *συμπάντων ἡγεμῶν καὶ φύλαξ ἐγεγόνει κοινῇ καὶ
λεῶν οἰκοθεν παραζευγνύσα. ταῦτα δ' οὐ μόνον ταῖς
πράξεσιν εὖροι τις ἂν συνεχῆ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ βουλήματι.
ὡσπερ γὰρ τοὺς προτέρους δεξαμένη κατήγαγε, τοὺς
Ἡρακλείδας εἶπον, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς μετ' ἐκείνους δεξα-
μένη πρῶτον εἶτα ἐπεξήγαγεν, διπλὴν ἀνθ' ἀπλῆς τὴν
εὐεργεσίαν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τιθεμένη. καὶ προϊούσα
ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου πρὸς τὸ τελευταῖον αἰεὶ οὕτως, ὅπερ
εἶπον, πολιτεία προσέοικεν ἢ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων πρόνοια καὶ διὰ πολλῆς καὶ συνεχοῦς τῆς
72 *ἀκολουθίας σώζεται. καὶ μὴν τὸ μὲν τοὺς φεύγοντας
δέχεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μηδὲ τοῦτ' ἐκφεύγει κοινῆς εἶναι
δείγμα φιλανθρωπίας, ἀλλ' οὖν εἶποι γ' ἂν τις ὡς
ἐκείνους ἦν εὖ ποιούσης μόνους, ὅσοι ταύτης τῆς τύ-
χης ἐπειράθησαν. αἱ δὲ τῶν ἀποικιῶν κατασκευαῖ
κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κέρδος εἰσίν, οὐ μόνων τῶν
ἀπελθόντων. καὶ γὰρ πόλεις καὶ χώρας καὶ δυνάμεις***

would found abroad. How could Athens have planned 70
things more benevolently or more gloriously for those who
had entrusted themselves to her care? First she gave them
a stake in her own territory and public life, then she helped
equip them to acquire another, treating those in need as
equally worthy of a welcome in her own and in foreign
territory, and carefully fulfilling the requirements of both
sets of circumstances. When they were weak, she did away
with their fears and made good their wants; when their
fortunes had turned to something better than disastrous,
then she organized them and sent them out, appointing
leaders to command each contingent, just as she herself
had become the shared leader and protector of them all,
and adding supplementary numbers from her own native
population. All of this would be found to show consistency 71
not only of action but also of policy. Just as she welcomed
and then restored the earlier arrivals, the Heraclidae, so
too she first welcomed their successors and then led them
out overseas, in both cases conferring a double in place of
a single benefaction. Proceeding thus continuously from
first to last, the forethought exercised by Athens on behalf
of the Greek people looks, as I said, like a deliberate pol-
icy, preserved with great and unbroken consistency. As far 72
as the welcoming in of exiles is concerned, even if it cannot
avoid being a sign of benevolence to all, yet one might
indeed say that this was a benevolence that helped only
those who had experienced that kind of ill-fortune. But
the establishment of the colonies was a shared gain for
all Greeks, not just for the colonizers. They gained many

²⁰ ἢ πρῶτον μὲν τῆς MULQT ἢ πρῶτον μὲν, εἰ τῆς AA₂LV

πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας εἰς τὸ κοινὸν προσέλαβον, ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ὀλίγω μείζους ἐγένοντο.

- 73 οὕτως ἐγὼ φημι τῆς πόλεως οὐχ ἦπτον τὸ ἐκπέμψαι παρ' αὐτῆς ἢ τὸ εἰσφέρεισθαι τοὺς δεηθέντας πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι χάριν. καὶ γὰρ τοι συμβέβηκεν μόνοις τοῖς ταύτη καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐδοκιμεῖν. οἱ γὰρ αὐτοὶ πρῆσβύτατοι τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶ καὶ εἰς νέους Ἑλληνας τελοῦσι πολλαχῆ, καθάπερ τὸν Διόνυσον γράφουσιν. ἐπελθόντες δὲ οὐδαμόθεν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθεν φύντες τοὺς πανταχόθεν πόλεως δεηθέντας ἐδέξαντο. καὶ μὴν δεξάμενοι τοὺς ἀπανταχόθεν, πανταχοῖ καὶ πεπόμφασιν, σώζοντες κὰν τούτοις τὸ προσῆκον ἐξῆς. καὶ γὰρ τῶν πρῆσβυτάτων πλείστους εἶναι τοὺς ἀπογόνους εἰκὸς καὶ μᾶλλον ἢ τινῶν ἄλλων, καὶ τὸ δέχεσθαι τοὺς δεομένους
- 74 τῶν κρειττόνων ἐστὶ. καὶ μὴν τῷ γε τὸν σῆτον ἐν ἀρχῇ διανέμει πῶς οὐκ εἰς ταῦτόν ἤκει τὸ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀποικιῶν σμῆνη διαπέμψαι καὶ κατοικίσαι τὴν γῆν; ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐξουσίας ἤδη πᾶσιν οὔσης ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὰ τοῦ βίου τίθεσθαι ῥᾶον ἀφορμῶν ἕνεκα.

great cities, lands and powers for their common stock, and as a result grew not a little mightier.

It is for this reason that I say that the action of Athens in sending out expeditions from herself contributes to the debt of gratitude owed to her by Greece no less than her action in taking in those who stood in need of protection. Only the inhabitants of this city, indeed, have had the experience of being famous for two opposite reasons at once. One and the same people are both the oldest of all the Greeks, and repeatedly joint the ranks of the new Greeks, just as artists represent Dionysus.⁶⁰ Though they sprang from their own land and did not arrive as immigrants from elsewhere, yet they welcomed from all sides those in need of a city. Though they have welcomed arrivals in from all sides, they have also sent them out in all directions, manifesting a proper consistency in this respect too. For it stands to reason that the oldest should have a very large number of descendants and more than anyone else; and welcoming in those who need it is the mark of superior power. Furthermore, how could one fail to see the consistency between their original distribution of grain and their action in dispatching these swarms of colonies to populate the earth—especially as by then all had been enabled, as far as basic resources were concerned, to work the land and to make the circumstances of their lives more comfortable?

⁶⁰ That is, sometimes in youthful, sometimes in bearded, older form.

[*Great Deeds of the Athenians in War (75–321)*]
[*Prologue (75–76)*]

- 75 ἐκδέχεται δ' ἡ πάλαι τοῦ λόγου προσδοκωμένη μοῖρα, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν, αἱ μετὰ τῶν κινδύνων πράξεις, ἃς ἐγὼ δέδοικα μὴ τῷ λέγοντι κίνδυνον ἔχων εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πόλει τῶν ἔργων ὅτε ἐπραγματεύετο.²¹ οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον ἄψασθαι καὶ τούτων ἤδη δυοῖν ἔνεκα, ἐνὸς μὲν ὅτι τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθῶν καὶ οἷς κατεσκεύασεν τὸν βίον ἡμῖν ἀποχρώτως μνημονεύσαντας εἰκὸς ἦν δήπου καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐτέρων καιρῶν πράξεις μὴ παρελθεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ πλείους μὲν ἢ τὰς τῶν ἄλλων συμπάντων, μείζους δὲ ἀπασῶν οὖσας, ὧν παρειλήφαμεν ἕτερον δ', ὅτι συμπίπτει τῇ πάσῃ φιλανθρωπία τῆς πόλεως, ἣν ἄρτι διεξιόντες ἐπαυσάμεθα, ὃ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἐξετασμός, ὥσθ' ἡμῖν πάλιν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τελευτῆς ἐπανήκειν. σχεδὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τὰς ἀποικίας εὖροι τις ἂν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῶν λόγων διαπεφευγίας. οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ μεγάλων ἀγώνων οὐδὲ τοῦ πανταχοῦ κρατεῖν οὐδ' αὐταὶ δήπου συνέβησαν.

[*Early Wars (77–88)*]

- 77 ἐπάνεμι δ' ὅθεν ἐπαυσάμην. οὐ τοίνυν μόνον ταῖς ἄλλαις δωρεαῖς οὐδὲ τῇ τῶν καταφευγόντων δήπου

²¹ *an τῇ πόλει τῷ ἔργῳ [ὅτε ἐπραγματεύετο]?*

[*Great Deeds of the Athenians in War (75–321)*]
[*Prologue (75–76)*]

We now come to the section of my speech which, I imagine, many of you have long been expecting: the story of Athens' great deeds in times of danger. I rather fear that these may prove still more dangerous for the speaker to speak of than they were for the city when she was actually engaged in their performance.⁶¹ Nevertheless I must now tackle them too, for two reasons. The first is that having given a satisfactory account of the blessings of peace and the measures taken by Athens to civilize our existence, it is only right not to pass over her achievements in different circumstances, especially as they are more numerous than those of all other peoples put together and greater than any in history. The second reason is that a review of the city's deeds in war tallies with the record of her generosity that I have just now finished expounding, allowing me once more to find a beginning in an ending. In fact you could say that you will not find the colonies missing from this part of the speech either, since they assuredly did not come about without great struggles and a comprehensive victory.

[*Early Wars (77–88)*]

But I shall return to where I left off. It was not only in the rest of her record, in the gifts she gave, in the tending and

⁶¹ The wording, though not the overall sense of the Greek text, is uncertain at this point.

θεραπεία καὶ προστασία, οὐδ' οἷς, ὡς εἶπομεν, ἤ-
 ξησε τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν τῆς εἰς πάντας ἀρετῆς καὶ μεγα-
 λοιφυχίας ἐναργῆ δείγματα ἐξήνεγκεν ἢ πόλις ἡμῖν,
 ἀλλ' οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ἀγὼν ὅτου δεῆσαν ἄκνησεν, ἀλλ'
 78 ἀμείνων περὶ τοὺς δεηθέντας ἢ ἐκείνοι συνεβούλοντο
 ἐγένετο. ἀφ' ὧν δ' ἠρξάμεθ' ἀρτίως τὴν ὅλην φιλαν-
 θρωπίαν ἐξετάζειν, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν καὶ νῦν τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν
 ἀγώνων ἀρχέτω, τοὺς σὺν Εὐρυσθεῖ Πελοποννησίου
 μεθ' ὅσου τοῦ κρείττου ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἡρακλει-
 δῶν καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς μετέθηκεν. ὃν γὰρ οὐ πόλις,
 οὐκ ἀνὴρ, οὐ γένος οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑφ-
 ἱστατο, καὶ ᾧ τοσοῦτον περιῆν ὥστ' ἀπειλεῖν ἀπειλὰς
 κοινὰς τοῖς τε Ἡρακλέους παισὶ καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι, τοῖς
 μὲν, εἰ φανήσονται, ταῖς δέ, εἰ δέξονται, τοῦτον εἰς
 79 τοῦτ' ἤγαγεν ὥστ' αὐτὸν οἴκοι ταφῆς μὴ τυχεῖν, καὶ
 τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἧς παρ' ἀξίαν ἀπέλαυσεν Εὐρυσθεύς,
 τὴν τελευταίην ἢ πόλις εὔρεν κατ' ἀξίαν. καὶ τοῦτ' ἄρ'
 ἐκείνος ἐν καιρῷ μόνον ὕβρισεν τοῖς γὰρ ὑπάρχουσι
 θαρρήσας ἔδωκε δίκην. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὸ
 ἔργον ἐκρίθη, καὶ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἰκετευσάντων σωτηρίας
 ἀπασαν τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἠλευθέρωσεν, τοσοῦτῳ
 χεῖρον ἐκείνων διακεκμημένη ὄσῳ τοῖς μὲν μὴ καταφεύ-
 γειν ἀπορρηθέν, τοῖς δὲ μὴ δέχεσθαι, οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς
 πόλεως ἄδειαν εὔροντο, οἱ δ' οὐκ εἶχον ὅπως μὴ ποιή-
 σουσι τὸ κελυόμενον.

championing of those who fled to her for refuge, in that
 expansion of the Greek world of which I have spoken, that
 our city gave clear proof of her virtue and generosity to all;
 it also emerges from the fact that there is no battle that
 she shrank from when there was need of it, and that she
 consistently showed greater heroism in defense of those
 who needed it than they themselves advised. The same
 78 starting point as I took earlier for my review of Athenian
 benevolence overall may serve me also as I begin my ac-
 count of the benevolence they showed in their military
 exploits, namely the great victory they won in their de-
 fense of the Heraclidae against the attack of Eurystheus
 and his Peloponnesian forces, and their success in trans-
 forming this situation. He whom no city, no man, no nation
 among the Greeks could withstand, and who enjoyed such
 superiority that he could utter threats bearing equally on
 the children of Heracles and on the cities of Greece, warn-
 ing the former not to show themselves and the latter not
 to receive them, this man they brought so low that he
 himself could not even be buried in his own country, as
 their city put a well-deserved end to the power that he
 had once so undeservedly enjoyed. This then turns out to
 79 be the only instance in which Eurystheus' aggression was
 well-timed; he trusted in his own resources and was pun-
 ished. The deed was brought to its issue in Attica, but
 through her rescue of the suppliants Athens brought free-
 dom to the whole of the Peloponnese, which indeed was
 in a worse case than they were, since in the face of the
 injunction to the one party not to seek refuge anywhere
 and to the other not to receive them, the suppliants even
 so found safe haven thanks to Athens, while the people of
 the Peloponnese had no alternative but to do as they were
 ordered.

80 ἕτερον δὲ πρὸς τούτων ἐν μέσῃ τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ τῆς πό-
 λεως ἔργον γίνεται, καὶ μάλα μέντοι τῆς πόλεως, ὃ
 τῷ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι καὶ τῇ χρεία τῶν ἰκετῶν ὑπὲρ Ἀρ-
 γείων οἱ τότε ἔπραξαν, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ καὶ τῷ σχήματι
 τῆς εὐεργεσίας ὑπὲρ τῆς φύσεως ἀπάσης τῆς ἀνθρω-
 πείας κατεπράχθη. ὡς γὰρ ἤκουσαν τοὺς ὑπὸ τῇ
 Καδμείᾳ δυστυχήσαντας ἀτάφους ἐρρίφθαι, οὐ φο-
 βηθέντες τὴν ὕβριν τῶν ταῦτα τετολημηκότων οὐδ' οἷα
 βουλευόμενοι περὶ ὧν ἂν κρατήσωσιν ἐπίασιν, ἀλλὰ
 τὴν μὲν τοῦ νικήσειν ἐλπίδα τῷ συνειδότι τοῦ κρείττο-
 νος δόντες, τὴν δ' ὄργην ὥσπερ ἂν αὐτοὶ πεπονηθότες,
 οὕτω λαβόντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ νόμου πρέπουσαν
 τοῖς μὲν τὴν τιμὴν, τοῖς δὲ τὴν τιμωρίαν ἀπέδωσαν.

81 καὶ μὴν αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον τὸ πάντας τοὺς ἐν
 χρεία βοηθείας καταφεύγειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ὥσπερ ἐκ
 δυοῖν ποδοῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μηδεμίαν τῶν ἄλλων
 πόλεων ὄραν, μέγα καὶ φανερόν σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ
 στήλης ἄμεινον τοῦ προέχειν εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὐχ
 ὅσον λανθάνειν, καὶ μαρτύριόν γε δυοῖν τοῖν καλλι-
 στοῖν ἀνδρείας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας, εἰ δὲ βούλει, λέγω
 δικαιοσύνης ἀντὶ τῆς φιλανθρωπίας. ὥσπερ γὰρ κή-
 ρυκες ἅπαντες οὗτοι περὶ αὐτῆς γεγονάσιν καὶ τὴν
 ἀνάρρησιν ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων πεποιήνται, μήτε
 μέλει τισὶ τοῦ δικαίου μᾶλλον τῶν Ἀθηναίων μήτε
 ἀμείνους εἶναι κωλύειν ὅσα ἂν ἔξω τοῦ καλοῦ γίνην-
 ται, ἀλλ' εἶναι τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις τῆς Ἀθηναίων

Another, earlier exploit of the city's took place in the 80
 heart of Boeotia, and yet for all that was emphatically the
 city's doing; although spoken of as a deed done by the
 Athenians of that generation on behalf of the Argives, to
 meet the needs of a particular set of suppliants, it was in
 fact, in terms of the kind of benefit conferred, done on
 behalf of the whole human race.⁶² As soon as they heard
 that the vanquished in the battle beneath the walls of the
 Cadmea had been cast out unburied, with no fear at the
 aggression of the perpetrators of this outrage, or at what
 they had in mind to do to anyone they might defeat in their
 advance, but placing their hopes of victory in their con-
 sciousness of their own superiority and fired by as great an
 anger on behalf of the universal law as if they had them-
 selves been the victims, they honored the one party and
 punished the other as each deserved.

This very fact, that everyone in need of aid fled to this 81
 city literally as fast as their legs would carry them and
 looked to none of the other cities, immediately provides a
 manifest and weighty indication, better than any monu-
 ment, that far from languishing in obscurity Athens was
 preeminent from the very beginning; it is proof of two of
 the most noble of qualities, courage and benevolence, or
 by your leave, let me say "justice" rather than "benevo-
 lence." All these refugees are like heralds for the city,
 proclaiming by their very actions that nobody cared more
 for justice than the Athenians, or was better at putting a
 stop to anything that strayed outside the bounds of vir-
 tue, but that while the other cities in their need of Athens

⁶² The Athenian intervention on behalf of the relatives and
 surviving comrades of the Seven against Thebes.

δεομένας αὐτὰς ἐφ' αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν πληρούσας τῇ Ἑλλάδι, τὴν δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὥσπερ πόλιν ἐν χωρίοις ἀνέχουσαν ὁμοίαν τῇ κατασκευῇ καὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς, τῶν μὲν τὰ δίκαια τιμώντων ὀχυρωτέραν, τῶν δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐχόντων ἐπιεικεστέραν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν μὲν τὰ δίκαια τιμώντων ἀκριβεστέραν εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον, τῶν δὲ <τὰς δυνάμεις ἐχόντων>²² ἐπὶ τοῦ βιάζεσθαι δυνατωτέραν εἰς τέλος· ὥστ' ἄμφω τῷ γένει δι' ἀμφοῖν νικᾶν.

- 82 ταυτὶ μὲν οὖν κοινὰ δείγματα, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἀνδρείας τε καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ὑπαρχέω τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐξελεγμένα. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἄ γε ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας ἐπεδείξαντο πρὸς τοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἐπιόντας ἀνήκοος μὲν οὐδεὶς οἶμαι, λεκτέον δὲ καὶ τούτων μικρὰ προχειρισάμενους.
- 83 Ἀμαζόσι μὲν γὰρ, αἱ παρῆλθον τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν φύσιν, ἵππομαχίαν συνάψαντες πανωλεθρία διέφθειραν, οὐδενὸς ἀνταίρουτος τῶν μέχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀλλ' ἐξιώκεσαν ἤδη τὰς ἡπείρους, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σημείου τοῦ Θερμῶδοντος ὀρμώμεναι, τὴν μὲν Ἀσίαν μέχρι Λυκίας καὶ Καρίας καὶ Παμφυλίας παρατείνουσαι [ὥσπερ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ],²³ τὴν δ' Εὐρώπην ἄχρι τοῦ
- 84 στρατοπέδου τοῦ πρὸς τῇ πόλει.²⁴ ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἤδη πάντα ὥσπερ κάλω βράγεντος ἐχώρησεν ὀπίσω, καὶ διελέλυτο Ἀμαζόσιν ἢ τε ἀρχὴ καὶ ὁ δρόμος, καὶ ἡ πόλις κἀνταῦθα ἐβοήθησεν τῇ κοινῇ φύσει, καὶ νῦν εἰς ἄπιστον περιέστηκεν εἴ ποτε ἐγένοντο.

²² *add.* Holleck ²³ *secl.* Keil

²⁴ τῇ πόλει Reiske τὴν πόλιν *codd.*

were on their own a mere makeweight as far as Greece was concerned, Athens herself was truly like a city towering over the countryside, with the resources to match her policies; she was more securely fortified than the respecters of justice, yet also more decent than the wielders of power—or rather she was more scrupulous than the respecters of justice in the very assessment of what was just, yet also more effective in achieving her ends when force was needed than <the wielders of power>, so as to surpass both classes in both respects.

So much then for some choice examples from early times of what I have called combined proofs of courage and benevolence. But although there is no one, I think, who has not heard of the Athenians' achievements in defense of their own country in the face of the enemies who came against them at different points in their history, these too must be briefly and selectively described. First of all the Amazons, whose exploits outstripped the limitations of their nature; the Athenians engaged them in a cavalry battle and destroyed their entire army. No one up as far as Attica had stood up to them: starting from the River Thermodon as if from a fixed point in geometry, they had already produced a line of equal length through each continent, protracting their advance through Asia as far as Lycia, Caria and Pamphylia, and through Europe as far as the armed camp hard by the city. But then as if a cable had snapped everything fell back; the Amazons' power was broken and their incursion came to an end. Once again Athens had come to the aid of the order of Nature, to such effect that it now seems incredible that the Amazons ever existed.

- 85 οἶμαι δ' οὐδὲ Θρακῶν αὐτοῖς μέμψασθαι τῆς συμ-
 φορᾶς, οἱ δὲυρ' ἔτι πρόσθεν ἔλθόντες σὺν Εὐμόλῳ
 καὶ Ἑλλήνων τοῖς τάκεινον ἐλομένοις ἔγνωσαν παρα-
 πλήσια βουλευσάντες ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὴν θάλατταν ἐν-
 χεῖρουν περαιούσθαι πεζῇ.
- 86 ἄξιον τοίνυν κάκεῖνο προσθεῖναι, ὃ τοῖς πολλοῖς
 τῶν εἰωθότων λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τῷ δημοσίῳ παρ-
 εῖται, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἡ κοινὴ τῆς πόλεως προθυμία τε
 καὶ ῥώμη τοσαύτη περὶ πάντα ἃ δεῖ γεγένηται, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἰδίᾳ πεφήνασιν ἐνταῦθα βουλόμενοί τινες χρήσα-
 σθαι συμφοραῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ· καὶ μάλα εὐλόγως·
 ᾧ γὰρ ἐώρων τρόπον τὴν πατρίδα τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ὁμι-
 λούσαν, τοῦτον ᾗοντο δεῖν αὐτοῖ προσφέρεσθαι τῇ
 πατρίδι, ἠνίκα ὁ καιρὸς καλοῖη· ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῶν κοι-
 νῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων διπλὴν εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν ὅλην
 φιλοτιμίαν. ὃ δέ γε ἔτι τούτου μείζον ἐστίν, ὅτι καὶ
 87 τῶν ξένων τινὲς οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὴν διετέθησαν. λέγεται
 γὰρ Ἐρεχθεὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ πρὸς Εὐμόλῳ τούτῳ πο-
 λέμῳ τὴν θυγατέρα ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιδοῦναι τοῦ
 θεοῦ χρήσαντος, προσαγαγεῖν δ' αὐτὴν κοσμήσασα
 ἡ μήτηρ ὥσπερ εἰς θεωρίαν πέμπουσα· Δεὼς δὲ ὅμοια
 τούτῳ βουλεύσας, ἐκστῆναι τῶν θυγατέρων καὶ οὗτος

Nor I think can there be any complaints about their 85
 fate from the Thracians, who when they arrived here at a
 still earlier point in history with Eumolpus and those of
 the Greeks who had taken their side, realized that what
 they had planned on was as realistic as attempting to cross
 the sea on foot.⁶³

There is another point that deserves to be added, 86
 which is neglected by the majority of those who habitu-
 ally speak at the annual state Funeral.⁶⁴ Not only has
 the city collectively shown such enormous willingness and
 strength in all cases where it was required; there have also
 been individuals here willing to meet with personal disaster
 for the common good. They had every reason for this,
 since they believed it was their duty to behave themselves
 toward their country, when circumstances dictated, in ex-
 actly the same way as they saw their country behaving
 toward the rest of Greece. The city thus manifests a dou-
 ble urge to noble action, compounded from the communal
 and the individual alike. Still more significant, though, is
 the fact that some outsiders too have had the same attit-
 tude toward her. It is said that Erechtheus, in the war 87
 against Eumolpus of which I have already spoken, gave
 up his daughter for the good of the city on receipt of an
 oracle from the god, and that her mother dressed her up
 and brought her to him as if she were sending her to a
 festival. With a similar resolve Leos too, in a time of fam-

⁶³ Eumolpus, who had made common cause with the people of Eleusis, was defeated and killed by the Athenian king Erechtheus, in the circumstances Aristides goes on to describe; see, e.g., Lycurg, *Leocr.* 98–101 (quoting from the lost *Erechtheus* of Euripides).

⁶⁴ The ceremony, instituted at some time in the middle of the

fifth century BC, that is most famously described in Thuc. 2.34. Surviving *epitaphioi logoi* (funeral orations) from the fifth and fourth centuries do indeed concentrate on collective rather than individual heroism, but individual acts were commemorated in fifth-century tragedy.

88 ἐν τῷ λοιμῷ· Κόδρος δ' ἐν τῷ πρὸς Δωριέας πολέμῳ καὶ Πελοποννησίους αὐτὸς ἐθελοντῆς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας ἀποθανεῖν. ὥστε καὶ οἷς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει τῶν σφετέρων διηγῆσασθαι, καὶ τούτοις μηδὲν εἶναι πλέον εἰπεῖν τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἔργων ἄρχειν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τοσούτων καὶ ἔτι πλείονων τῶν παραδειγμάτων, καὶ μηδεμίαν λείπεσθαι μήτε κοινήν 88 ὑπερβολὴν μήτ' ἰδίαν. οὐ τοίνυν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲ καθ' ἐν ἡττάσθαι τῇ πόλει συμβέβηκεν, οὐδὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὅσον εἶπον κεκρατηκένας, τῶν δὲ παρ' αὐτῇ ταῦτα γρόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀπολειφθῆναι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις νενικηκυῖα φανήσεται, Κόδρω μὲν δοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν εἰς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ κοσμήσασα καὶ παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ τὸ γένος, τῶν δὲ κορῶν ἱερὰ ἰδρυσάμενη καὶ θείας μοίρας ἀντὶ θνητῆς ἀξιώσασα ταῖς τιμαῖς, Ἐρεχθέα δὲ τοῖς ἐν ἀκροπόλει θεοῖς παρέδρον ἀποδείξασα.

⁶⁵ Leos was the eponymous hero of the Athenian tribe Leontis; the names of his daughters are given as Praxitheia (or Phrasitheia), Theope, and Euboule (Ael. *VH* 12.28).

⁶⁶ One of the early kings of Athens (in some accounts the last), who tricked the invading Peloponnesians into killing him, to frustrate the oracle that foretold that they would win if they spared the life of their enemies' king (Lycurg. *Leocr.* 84–87). His father, Melanthus, was from Messenia, so he is one of the "outsiders" (*xenoi*) Aristides has just referred to.

ine, relinquished his daughters.⁶⁵ Codrus in the war with the Dorians and the Peloponnesians voluntarily sacrificed his own life for his country.⁶⁶ Thus even those who have similar stories to tell from their own traditions can produce nothing to surpass what happened among you;⁶⁷ in this form of heroism too your city leads the way with so many instances and more, and allows no one the possibility of excelling it on either a public or a private level. It did not, moreover, so fall out that Athens, while unsurpassed by even one of the other cities, and defeating her enemies as decisively as I have said, was yet found wanting in gratitude toward those of her own who had resolved on these actions on her behalf. On the contrary, it will be clearly seen that she has surpassed them too in the benefits she conferred on them. Codrus she rewarded by entrusting positions of authority to his children and honoring his family both at home and in foreign lands;⁶⁸ for the maiden daughters of Leos she founded shrines, and declared it proper to honor them as gods rather than as mortals;⁶⁹ to Erechtheus she granted a place beside the gods of the Acropolis.⁷⁰ 88

⁶⁷ Another sideways glance at Rome, with its stories of patriotic self-sacrifice in the early days (Marcus Curtius, Mucius Scaevola, etc.)?

⁶⁸ One son, Medon, either succeeded Codrus as king or governed Athens as its first archon; another, Neleus, led a colony to Miletus (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 3; Paus. 7.2.1–2).

⁶⁹ The Leocorium (Ael. *VH* 12.28).

⁷⁰ The Erechtheum (Paus. 1.26.6).

[Interlude (89–92)]

89 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἡμῖν εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀνήχθω τοῦ λόγου, δείγματα τῆς τε πρὸς τοὺς ἕξωθεν φιλανθρωπίας τῶν προγόνων καὶ τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εὐψυχίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπίγουσι, καὶ αὖ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τε καὶ πολλῶν ὡς ἀλλήλοις ὠμίλου. χρῆ δὲ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἴσως καθ' ὅσον ἐγγχωρεῖ μνησθῆναι, ἐπισκοποῦντας τά θ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων καταπραχθέντα καὶ ὅσα ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας ὑπέστησαν, ὅπως ἂν συμπίπτῃ τῷ λόγῳ < . . . >²⁵ τοῦ μὴ πολλὰ τὰς πράξεις τῷ χρόνῳ παρενεγκεῖν. ἕξεστι δ' ἀκούοντας ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων διαιρεῖν τὰ τε κοινὰ καὶ τὰ ἴδια.

90 εἰ μὲν οὖν περὶ ἄλλης τινὸς ἦν πόλεως ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν ἦν παρελθεῖν ἄς νῦν δεήσει πράξεις, ἀλλὰ μόνως ἂν ταύτας ἀπέχρησεν εἰπεῖν· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἷας ἂν τις ἐζήτησεν, καὶ πολλοὶ πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων, εἰ δύναντο, πρίαυτο αὐτοῖς εἶναι. νῦν δ' ἐξ ἴσου καθεστῶτος τοῦ θ' εὐρεῖν ἢ χρῆ παραλιπεῖν καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν τὰ νικήσαντα, καὶ οὐδενὸς μὲν οὐδ' ἐν ἀπλή διηγῆσει πάντα πῶ διεξεληθόντος, πλείστα δ'

²⁵ *lac. stat.* Lenz

⁷¹ There is general agreement among editors that the manuscript text of the speech is syntactically incoherent at this point but disagreement over how it is best healed. Lenz's proposal assumes some words have dropped out, in which Aristides made the transition from the sequence of what he mentions to the overall

Interlude (89–92)

So much then for the portion of my speech devoted to 89 instances of your forefathers' benevolence toward the outside world, of their stoutheartedness on their own behalf in testing times, and thirdly of the relations between their leading citizens and the mass of the people. I ought perhaps to mention the rest of their history as well, as far as there is scope for this, surveying both their deeds on other people's behalf and what they undertook for their own country's sake, just as they happen to occur to me as I speak < . . . >⁷¹ so as not to allow their deeds far to overrun the time available.⁷² Listeners can perfectly well make their own division between what was done for the common good and what was specific to Athens, on the basis of the deeds themselves.

If I were speaking about any other city, it would not be 90 possible to pass over the achievements that I will in fact have to pass over; it would have sufficed to mention them alone, as they are of the sort that anyone would have tried to find, and many would have given a high price to buy for their own if they could. But as things are, given that it is equally hard to decide what must be passed over and to give the successful material the treatment it deserves, and given that no one yet has offered a complete account even in plain narrative form, although everyone has had the

length of time taken (or about keeping some sort of coherent chronology, depending on what the final words of the sentence are taken to mean—see next note).

⁷² Or "so as to avoid excessively distorting the chronology of their deeds"?

ὑπὲρ μίας πόλεως ταύτης ἀπάντων εἰρηκότων, μάλλον δ' ὑπὲρ μόνης πλείω σχεδὸν ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπασῶν, οὐκ ἐνδέχεται διεξιέναι καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὰ πλείστα παραλιπεῖν, ἵνα τοῖς μεγίστοις 91
 χρησώμεθα. ἐπεὶ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἀσμένως καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέσον ἤνεγκεν ἢ ἑτέροις γ' ἂν ἤρκει καὶ μόνα; τριῶν γὰρ ἔθνῶν τῶν μεγίστων ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐπιθεμένων τῇ πόλει, τὸ μὲν αὐτῷ φυγῆς τιμῆσαν ἀπήλθε, τὸ Δωρικόν, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ χερσὶν ἠττώοντο, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας Εὐβοεῖς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τοσοῦτον περιῆν τῇ 92
 πόλει. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα λέγων πόρρω τοῦ καιροῦ γένωμαι, παρὲς ἅπαν τὸ μέσον καὶ προσχρησάμενος καὶ πρὸς αὐτό γε τοῦτο τῇ τῆς πόλεως μεγαλοψυχία καὶ δὴ πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ κύρια τοῦ λόγου τρέφομαι.

[*The Persian Wars and Their Prelude (92-184)*]

ὅτε γὰρ τοῖς Ἑλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις τὰ πράγματα ἐκρίνετο καὶ μικρὸν πρὸς πολὺ τῆς γῆς μέρος ἠγωνίζετο, ὃ δ' ἀγὼν ἦν ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἅμα καὶ ἀρετῆς, τότε ἐνίκησεν ἡ πόλις ἄμφω τὰ γένη κάλλιον εὐχῆς, ὡς τὸ μὲν προσθήκην μικρὰν αὐτῆς ἀποφανθήναι, τὸ δὲ πλεόν χειρὸν ἢ ὄσω πλεόν ἐδόκει. ἔξεστι 93
 μὲν οὖν καὶ θεῶν τινα αἰτιάσασθαι τοῦ παντὸς ἔργου

⁷³ The attack coordinated by the Spartan king Cleomenes in ca. 506 BC (Hdt. 5.74-78).

most to say about this one city—or rather, has had more to say about it on its own than practically all the others put together—in the light of all this, it is not possible to recount each individual episode in fine detail; I must inevitably pass over most of them, in order to deal with the most important. Yet who would not have been delighted 91
 to draw attention to these achievements too, which would have been enough for other peoples even on their own? For instance, there was the time when three of the greatest nations of Greece attacked Athens.⁷³ One of them, the Dorians, passed a sentence of banishment on themselves and went away, while the Boeotians, and on the same day the Euboeans in Euboea, were defeated by force 92
 of arms. Such was the magnitude of the city's victory. But to avoid the disproportionate effect that a long catalog of such cases would produce, I will pass over everything in between, taking advantage for this very purpose of the city's generosity of spirit, and will now turn to the real heart of my speech.

The Persian Wars and Their Prelude (92-184)

I turn to the time when the issue was being decided between Greeks and barbarians, and a small part of the world was locked in combat with most of the remainder, and Athens was battling simultaneously to survive and to excel in heroism. It was now that she won a more splendid victory than anything she could have hoped for over both nations, so as to make the one look like a small appendage to herself, and the other, the larger one, look as far inferior as it had at first seemed larger. It is certainly 93
 possible to credit the whole achievement to the desire of

βουλόμενοι ὥσπερ κρίσιν τινὰ ποιήσασθαι τῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦτον διαθεῖναι καθάπερ τοὺς εἰωθότας ἡμεῖς· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος ἢ τῆς πόλεως ἀρετῆ συνεβάλετο, καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως καὶ μετ' ἀξίου τοῦ λόγου τῆς μελλούσης τύχης. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ κινούσα τοὺς βαρβάρους, ἴν' αὐτὴν τε καὶ πᾶν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκφῆναι τε καὶ δείξειε τίς οὐσα τίνων προέστηκεν, οὕτως ἐφειλικύσατο αὐτούς, οὐκ ἄδικον τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχομένη οὐδ', ὥσπερ οἱ ὕστερον διαβάντες εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἔρωτι τοῦ πλείονος, ἀλλ' ἤδη τότε ἀμυνομένη καὶ δίκην ἀξιούσα λαβεῖν τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ [τῶν Ἴωνων]²⁶ δεδουλωμένων Ἑλλήνων, οὓς μόνη μὲν ἐδέξατο φθειρομένους κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, μόνη δὲ εἰς τὸ δέον κατέστησε. καὶ πρῶτοι δὴ τῶν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων ἀναβάντες εἰς Σάρδεις στρατιᾷ κοινῇ πορθήσαντες ὥχοντο· τέως δὲ ἐν Βαβυλώνας τάξει καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰνδοῖς Ἑλληνες Σάρδεις ἐθαύμαζον.

[*The Invasion of Darius (95–103)*]

95 λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην πρόφασιν Δαρείου ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἐξήταζεν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὰς δυνά-

²⁶ *secl.* Lenz

some god to make a kind of trial of his human subjects and to stage this contest just as we stage our everyday kinds. All the same, Athenian heroism contributed very substantially, as was entirely proper and in suitable proportion to her future destiny. She gathered the Greeks to her banner as if she had provoked the barbarians with the express purpose of bringing distinction to herself and to the whole of the Greek nation, and of showing who she was and what people she had the privilege of leading. For, unlike those who subsequently invaded Asia, she was not doing so on some unjustified pretext, nor out of lust for gain,⁷⁴ but in self-defense and the conviction that it was right to punish the barbarians for their enslavement of the Greeks of their continent, whom Athens alone had welcomed in as they wandered wretchedly across the whole of Greece and alone had restored to the status owing to them. They 94 first, as no Greeks up to that time, marched inland to Sardis with a joint expeditionary force, sacked it, and took their leave.⁷⁵ Previously the Greeks had regarded Sardis with the same awe as they did Babylon and the marvels of India.

The Invasion of Darius (95–103)

On being given this excuse, Darius could not remain at peace, but reviewed his empire and assembled his forces; 95

⁷⁴ This stricture is presumably meant to cover Alexander the Great and the Roman generals of the late republic, as well as the Greek mercenary expedition under Clearchus in 401 BC that aimed to put Cyrus on the throne of Persia.

⁷⁵ 498 BC, in the course of the Ionian revolt (Hdt. 5.97–102).

96 μεις συνεκρότει, καὶ πᾶν μικρὸν ἦν αὐτῷ. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρόσχημα τοῦτο ἦν ἀμύνασθαι Ἀθηναίους καὶ Ἐρετριέας· παρενθήκη γὰρ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας ἐποιήσατο, ἵνα δὴ πιστὸν ᾖ· δύο δ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ἦν τὰ κινουῦντα, ἐν μὲν φόβος ἤδη καὶ ὑποψία τῆς πόλεως μὴ ἄρα οὐδὲν ἀποχρῆν ἀξιώσῃ· ἕτερον δ' ἐπιθυμία καὶ πόθος αὐξήσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνδόξῳ προσθήκη τῇ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ²⁷ καὶ τῆς γῆς μὴ διηρημένως ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης. τοῦτο δ' οὐ παντάπασι ἀνέλπιστον ἦν αὐτῷ, διὰ πλήθος τῶν ἤδη δεδουλωμένων ἐθνῶν, ἃ καὶ ὀνομαστὶ γνωρίσαι φιλοτιμίαν εἶχεν καὶ ψιλῆ πορεία διελθεῖν ἐλπίδος κρεῖττον ἦν. πάντα γὰρ τότε Πέρσαις εἶπετο, ὡσπερ ἄλλως ζῆν οὐ δυνάμενα. ἔχων δ', ὡς εἶπον, μέσσην τιὰ τοῦ τε φόβου καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἦλθεν. αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀπέγνω μὴ διαβαίνειν, τὰ δ' ἔθνη πέμπειν ἐπενόει.

97 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἢ τῶν κηρύκων περίοδος ἢ γυγνομένη κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ὑπ' ἐκείνου τε καὶ τοῦ μετ' ἐκείνου βασιλέως περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ἤρχετο, καὶ πάντα πρὸς ταύτην διελέγοντο· ἐν τε ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ταῖς Ἑλληνικαῖς καὶ ὅσαι πυκναὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχοις ἦσαν οὐδὲν ἦν ὅτι μὴ Ἀθῆναι, ὡς ταῦτ' ὄν εἰπεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ οὐκ εἰπεῖν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ συμβαίον πάσας ἔχειν τὰς πόλεις, εἴ τις κατάσχοι
98 ταύτην. καὶ μὴν ὅσα γε αὐτῶν οὕτοις ἔδει χρῆσασθαι

²⁷ τῇ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ *secl.* Lenz

nothing else mattered to him. His declared aim was to punish the Athenians and the Eretrians—he put the Eretrians in as well for the sake of plausibility—but his real motives were two: on the one hand fear of Athens and the suspicion that she would turn out to think that nothing was enough for her, on the other a yearning desire to expand his empire with the glorious addition of Greece, and to rule not one part of a divided world but all of it.⁷⁶ This was not an entirely impossible hope on his part, because of the number of nations he had already enslaved: even to know them all by name was a challenge, and to travel through them on a simple journey was quite beyond hope. For the whole world at that time marched in Persia's train, as if unable to live in any other way. But because Darius was in the state of mind I have described, the path he took was a compromise between desire and fear, determining to send his hordes while giving up on the idea of making the crossing himself.

To begin with, it was with Athens that the heralds sent
97 round Greece by Darius, as also by the king who succeeded him, to demand the tribute of earth and water, started their tour, and it was with Athens that their entire exchange was conducted.⁷⁷ In his letters to the Greeks and in the mass of them that went thick and fast to his lieutenants, Athens was the sole subject, in the conviction that it was the same thing to say "Athens" as to say "Greece," and not only to say it, but that in actual fact if someone could take possession of Athens, then he would have all the cities of Greece. Conversely, when it came to the dealings
98

⁷⁶ Embroidered from Hdt. 6.44.

⁷⁷ Hdt. 6.48; cf. §§117 and 157 below.

καὶ προβουλευσαί περὶ τῶν ὄλων, ἅπαντα ἢ πόλις ἐξήταζεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς προτάξασα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἑαυτήν. καὶ διχόθεν ἦδη ἀπὸ Περσῶν καὶ Ἀθηναίων συνεκροτεῖτο ὁ πόλεμος, τοῦ μὲν ἀπειλοῦντος καὶ πειρωμένου, τῆς δ' ἀνθεστηκυίας καὶ νικώσης εὐθύς ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσι. καὶ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἐμαρτυρεῖτο ὅτι Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν ἐστὶν ὁ πόλεμος περὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τῶν μὲν λαβεῖν πειρωμένων, τῶν δὲ κωλύσαι. ἐν ἐκείνοις μέντοι τοῖς καιροῖς ἔργα λόγων ἠτήθη—λέγω δὲ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἔργα λόγων τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν—καὶ ψήφισμα τροπαίου κρεῖττον εἰς μνήμην ἐνίκησεν ἅμα λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ νικήσαν. εὐθύς γὰρ ἐν χεροῖν κύριον ἦν οὐ τῇ χειροτονίᾳ μόνον, ὡς νόμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἀγγέλους. τῷ δ' ἑρμηνεύσαντι τὰ γράμματα διαχειροτονίαν μὲν ἀπέδοσαν, ἴν', ἐπειδήπερ Ἑλλην ἦν, ἔχοι πλέον τὴν τῆς κρίσεως εἰκόνα, ἀπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ τοῦτον, ὡς οὐδ' ἄχρι φωνῆς διακονῆσαι προσήκον τοῖς βαρβάροις. καὶ τὸ ἰσχυρὸν περιήλθεν αὐτῷ· τὸν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως ἄποικον οὐκ ἠξίουν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐρμηνεῖα τῷ φύσει πολεμῖω γίνεσθαι. καὶ οὕτω δὴ ῥίπτουσιν

99

⁷⁸ This rather lame sentence, partly repeating the content of the previous one, may be a reader's marginal summary, wrongly incorporated into Aristides' text.

⁷⁹ Hdt. 7.133.

⁸⁰ Cf. Plut. *Them.* 6.2 (but describing an incident of 481, not 490 BC).

⁸¹ The deep pit into which condemned criminals were thrown

that there had to be with the Persians and the plans that needed to be made on behalf of the common good, it was Athens that thought them through, assuming the role of leader of the Greeks at the outset. War was now brewing in the two opposed camps, Persian and Athenian, with the one side issuing threats and testing its opponent's resolve, and the other standing firm and already winning victories with its replies. Both of them testified to the fact that it was between the Athenians and the Persians that the war over Greece was being fought, with the latter trying to capture it and the former trying to prevent them.⁷⁸ At this juncture it was certainly words that emerged victorious over deeds—that is to say, the words spoken among you excelled the deeds of others—as a decree mightier than any victory monument won its place in history by triumphing simultaneously in word and deed. It was validated immediately by practical action, not only in the passing of the vote in the traditional manner, but also in the execution of the enemy messengers.⁷⁹ The people of Athens allowed a formal vote to be taken in the case of the man who translated the letter, so that, because he was a Greek, the impression of a judgment being passed would be still stronger in his case, but they executed him too, on the grounds that it was scandalous to play servant to the barbarians even with voice alone.⁸⁰ What he thought would be his protection became his doom: they held that it was wrong that a man from one of Athens' colonies should act against the city and the Greeks as interpreter to their natural enemy. Therefore they threw him into the Chasm,⁸¹ so

99

in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, variously located by ancient sources in the demes of Keriadai and Melite.

100 εἰς τὸ βάραθρον, ὥστ' ἄλλους ἀναγγεῖλαι τῷ βασιλεῖ
τὰς ἀποκρίσεις καὶ παρὰ τῶν πεμφθέντων μὴ ἐκγενέ-
σθαι μαθεῖν. ὁ δὲ δὴ καὶ δὴ λαμπρῶς ἐκινεῖτο, καὶ
τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἐκέλευεν ἐτοιμάζειν αὐτόθεν
τὰς πέδας ὑπερβαλῶν ἢ καθ' ὅσους ᾤετο τοὺς Ἀθη-
ναίους εἶναι, ἵνα μηδεὶς ἀδετος αὐτῶν διαφύγοι, καὶ
τῆς ὀργῆς ἀπολαύων ἕως ἐξῆν, τοῦτο δὲ τοῖς πλῆθε-
σιν ἄλλα ἄλλοις ἐπέταττεν.

101 ἐκ δὲ τούτου κήρυκες μὲν οὐκέτι ἐφοίτων εἰς τὴν
Ἑλλάδα, αὐτάγγελον δὲ ἤδη κατέπεμπε τὸν στόλον,
προστήσας ἄρχοντας Περσῶν τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ δί-
δωσι πλῆθος στρατιᾶς, οὗ τὸ διαλλάττον παρ' ἐκά-
στους τοὺς ἀφηγουμένους τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ὥστ' εἶναι
τὸν μέγιστον ὄρον στόλου, βουλόμενος μηδεμίαν
πρόφασιν λιπεῖν μήτ' ἐκείνοις μήτ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τὸ μὴ
οὐ πράξαι περὶ ὧν ἐνετέλλετο. ταῦτα δ' ἦν τὴν μὲν
102 πόλιν καταποντίσαι, τὸ δὲ φῦλον κομίζειν ἅπαν ὡς
αὐτὸν ᾧ δὴ προειρήκει τῷ σχήματι. θυμοῦ μὲν δὴ καὶ
παρασκευῆς οὕτως εἶχε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, οἱ δ' ἐφέ-
ροντο ὑπερηχούντες μὲν τὸν Αἰγαῖον, ἀποστεροῦντες
δὲ τὴν ὄψιν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας, φυγῆς δ' ἐμπιμπλάν-
τες τὴν θάλατταν, ὥστ' οὐδεὶς ἦν ὅστις νῆσον τότε ἂν
οἰκεῖν ἠβούλετο. ἔτι δ' αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἐν πλῶ καὶ μι-
κρὸν πρὸ τῆς καταγωγῆς ἔδοξεν ἀπάρξασθαι τοῖς τοῦ
βασιλέως ἐπιτάγμασι καὶ ὥσπερ τι προοίμιον ἕσαι
τοῦ πολέμου. καὶ δόξαν οὕτως Ἑρετριάς ἐπιβάντες
ᾤχοντο φέροντες, σαγήνην τιὰ μμησάμενοι ναυτι-
κῆν. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑρετριέων γένος οὕτως ἀνήρπαστο

103

that others had to report their answers to the King and he
was unable to hear them from his own emissaries. Darius 100
for his part was furiously angry. He ordered his lieutenants
there and then to prepare their fetters, indulging his anger
while he could by specifying a larger number than was
necessary for what he believed the size of the Athenian
population to be, to make sure that no one should escape
him unfettered,⁸² and he issued a varied range of orders
to the different contingents of his army.

After this no more heralds came on missions to Greece, 101
for now he dispatched his expeditionary force to be its
own messenger. He put the highest nobility of Persia in
command and gave them an enormous army, the most
significant indication of whose size is the extent of the
disagreement between the various individual accounts of
it, because he did not want to leave either them or him-
self any excuse for not achieving the object of his orders.
These were to send the city to the bottom of the sea and
to bring its entire population to him in the guise he had
prescribed. Such was the level of the King's anger and of 102
his resources as his army advanced, drowning out the Ae-
gean with their clamor, dazzling the sight of all who met
them, and filling the seas with fugitives, to such effect that
there was no one who then wanted to live on an island.
While they were still at sea, shortly before their landfall,
they decided to make a preliminary sacrifice to the King's
orders and, so to speak, sing a prelude to the war. This
decision made, they landed on Eretria and made off with
the population, like some shipborne dragnet.⁸³ Thus were 103

⁸² Embroidered from Hdt. 6.94.⁸³ Cf. Pl. *Menex.* 240b, *Leg.* 3.698c-d.

ὡσπερὲν παρ' ἄλλον τινὸς²⁸ τῶν κρειττόνων ἀναρ-
 πασθέν,²⁹ οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἤεσαν, ὡς ἀνασπά-
 σοντες αὐτοὺς ἤδη τοὺς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα
 ἀναρπασόμενοι,³⁰ κακῶς εἰδότες οἶαν θήραν μετέρχον-
 ται καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέχονται τῷ λόγῳ ὡς ἄρα οὐ τὰ φεύ-
 γοντα διώκουσιν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ τῷ διώκειν συνήθη.

[Marathon (104-14)]

104 οὕτω δὲ τούτων κεχωρηκότων καὶ φερομένων αὐτῶν
 πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ὡσπερ ἄλλον τινὸς ἐκ τοῦ πελά-
 γους κακοῦ, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἕλληνες καὶ πάλαι
 προῦδόντες τὴν διάβασιν καὶ τότε ὀρώντες ἤδη 'καθ-
 ἦντο ἐκπεπληγμένοι, τὸ μέλλον ἀποσκοποῦντες, ὄνει-
 ροπολοῦντες ἕκαστοι τὰς Ἐρετριῶν συμφορὰς καὶ
 τοσοῦτον τῶν δεινῶν ἀπέχειν νομίζοντες ὅσον τὸν
 στρατὸν αὐτῶν. ἡ δὲ πόλις πομπὴν ἀγούσῃ προσ-
 εῴκει μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς ἀγῶνα κοσμουμένη. ἱερά τε γὰρ
 πάντα ἀνέωγε καὶ τὰ τῶν ἱερέων γένη συνήγειν καὶ
 105 συμμάχους τε καλοῦσα καὶ ἡγεμόνας ποιουμένη. ὡς
 δ' αὐτῇ τὸ θεῖον ἤσκητο, οὐδὲν ἦν ἀργὸν ἔτι, ἀλλ' οἱ

²⁸ an παρὰ τινοσ?

²⁹ ἀναρπασθέν *secl.* Behr

³⁰ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀναρπασόμενοι *fortasse secludenda*

⁸⁴ Hdt. 6.102. The words "and to cause the rest of Greece to

the Eretrian people carried off, as if by one of the gods, while the Persians proceeded to their second stage, meaning now to carry off the Athenians themselves and to cause the rest of Greece to be carried off too.⁸⁴ Little did they know what sort of quarry it was they were now going after, or that the standard formula did not apply to them, since they were pursuing not a fleeing adversary, but rather one that was more accustomed to being the pursuer.

Marathon (104-14)

With these events concluded in this fashion, and with the 104
 Persians bearing down on the mainland like some bane from the sea, all the other Greeks, who had long ago fore-
 seen their crossing and could now behold it taking place, sat terror-stricken, each people among them as they con-
 templated the future haunted by the thought of the catastrophe that had overtaken Eretria and believing that they
 themselves were only as far from ruin as the army was from them. But not Athens, which looked more like a city
 holding a festival procession than one equipping itself for war. She opened up all her shrines and assembled the
 ranks of her priests and sent delegations to the gods in the time-honored way, summoning them to be her allies and
 putting herself under their command. But once she had 105
 completed her devotions, then the whole city went into

be carried off too" do not sit completely comfortably here and may be a reader's addition. Aristides does indeed assume that the capture of Athens would have meant the capture of the whole of Greece as well, but his focus here and in the next sentence is on Athens herself.

106 μὲν φύλακες τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ γέροντες³¹ καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὑπελείποντο, ἡ δὲ νεότης ἐχώρει. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς ἐν τοῖς στεφανίταις δρόμους ἀπέκρυσαν, ὄσῳ περὶ καλλιόνων τῶν ἄθλων ἠγωνίζοντο, τοσοῦτῳ θαυμαστοτέρα τὴν προθυμίαν παρασχόμενοι ἔπειτα κρείττους ἦσαν τὰ τελευταῖα ἢ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν. καίτοι μεσοῦντας μὲν ἔτι τῆς πορείας προσέβαλεν ὥσπερ πνεῦμα ἀπὸ θαλάττης βοῆ συμμιγῆς ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐφορκίων τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τῶν μὲν χρείας ἔνεκα, τῶν δὲ καὶ ψυχαγωγίας βαρβαρικῆς κεκομισμένων. ὑπερβαλόντες δὲ οὐκ εἶχον ὃ τι ἴδωσιν, πλὴν τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τῶν ἀτόπων ἐκείνων φασμάτων. [χαλκὸς δὲ καὶ σίδηρος πόρρωθεν εἶργε μὴ προσιέναι.]³² τοσαύτῃ δ' ἦν ὑπερηφανία τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῶν ποιουμένων ὥστ' ἐξαρκεῖν ἐδόκει τοῖς βαρβάροις ὀφθῆναι μόνον. ᾤοντο γὰρ ὥσπερ ἐν ἄθλοις ἅπαντας εὐθὺς ἀπογνώσεσθαι καὶ δώσειν ἑαυτοὺς ἀκονίτι.

107 αὕτη πρώτη δημοτελῆς κρίσις ἐν τῷ μέσῳ κατὰ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐγένετο ἀρετῆς πρὸς πλοῦτον καὶ φρονήματος Ἑλληνικοῦ πρὸς βαρβάρων πλῆθος καὶ παρασκευῆν, οὐ λόγων εὐφήμια κριθείσα, ἀλλ' ἔργων ἀποδείξει καὶ τῷ καλοῦντι τοῦ καιροῦ. οὐ γὰρ εἰς φό-

³¹ οἱ γέροντες susp. Lenz

³² secl. Behr

⁸⁵ Embroidered from Hdt. 6.112 (the Athenians beginning their charge at the Persians at a mile's distance from their lines).

action: the guardians of the temples, the old men, were left to guard the city as well, while the young men started on their way. From the outset they put footraces run for garlands at the Games into the shade, displaying an eagerness all the more admirable because they were competing for far nobler prizes; but then in the final stages they proved even stronger than they had been in the first lap away from the gates.⁸⁵ This was in spite of the fact that when they were still only halfway along their course a confused clamor of horses and men and the other paraphernalia that followed in the opposing army's train, brought along partly for use and partly for barbaric entertainment, struck them like a wind from the sea, and that when they crossed the finishing line, they could see nothing but the enemy and the bizarre appearance he presented.⁸⁶ Such was the lofty disdain engendered in the barbarians by their resources and by what they were doing that they thought it was enough just to be seen: they imagined that, just as in an athletic competition, their opponents would all lose heart on the spot and give themselves up without a fight.

This was the first general and public trial in human history of courage against wealth and Hellenic spirit against barbarian numbers and physical resources, decided not by fine words but by a show of deeds and the call of the moment. The Athenians did not allow the sight that greeted them to turn into fear, but used it instead to whet their

⁸⁶ The next sentence in the Greek text, bracketed opposite, looks like two snatches of verse added in the margin by a reader: "Bronze and steel . . . held them at a distance and forbade them an approach."

βον τὴν θεάν ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλ' εἰς προθυμίαν κατεχρήσαντο, οὐδ' ἐξεπλάγησαν τῶν ὀρωμένων τὴν ἀήθειαν, ἀλλ' ἤσθησαν ὀρώντες ὅσων κρείττους γενήσονται, καὶ νομίσαντες ὥσπερ ἀφορμὴν εἰληφέναι παρὰ τῆς τύχης ὑπερβαλέσθαι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀνδραγαθία, καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι πλεον τῆς τοσαύτης στρατιάς, ἔχειν ὥσπερ χρήμασιν ἀφθόνωσ χρῆσασθαι, καὶ διανοηθέντες ὅτι νῦν ὥσπερ ἐστιάσονται λαμπρῶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξίως τῆς ἑαυτῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἵπποι καὶ βέλη καὶ νῆες καὶ ψέλια καὶ στρεπτοὶ καὶ κύνες καὶ πάντα χρήματα δῶρα τῆς τύχης ἐστὶ προκείμενα τοῖς κρείττοσι, καὶ πάντα ταῦτα ἡ νίκη παραδίδωσι.

108 ταῦτα καὶ στρατηγοὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς³³ εἰπόντες καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι διαλεχθέντες, ἐκ θεῶν ἀρξάμενοι καὶ τοῦ φίλου παιῶνος, ἐχώρου δρόμῳ, καθάπερ διὰ ψιλοῦ τοῦ πεδίου θέοντες, καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις οὐκ ἔδωκαν ἰδεῖν ὅ τι ἐστὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα, ἀλλ' ἅμα τε τάξεις ἐρρώγεσαν καὶ ἄνδρες ἐκτείνοντο καὶ ἵπποι συνελαμβάνοντο καὶ νῆες εἴλκοντο καὶ χρήματα ἤγετο, καὶ χορεία Πανὸς ἦν τὰ ποιούμενα. ἤδη δέ τις καὶ τελευτήσας εἰστήκει περιτοξευθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων, φοβῶν τοὺς λοιπούς, ὥσπερ ἀθάνατος ὢν.

109 ἀπολλύμενοι δὲ οἱ τὰ μεγάλα τολμήσαντες καὶ τρῶ-

³³ αὐτοὺς Trapp ἑαυτοὺς *codd.*

spirits; they were not stricken with panic at the unfamiliarity of what they beheld, but instead were delighted to see how large an army they were going to defeat, and at the thought that Fortune had granted them the chance of surpassing all men in heroism. The real advantage of so large an army, it struck them, was that they could splash out with it like a large fortune, and they reveled in the thought that the barbarians were now going to entertain them lavishly and in a manner worthy of their courage. Horses and weapons and ships and bracelets and necklaces and dogs and everything else were gifts of fortune, waiting ready for the stronger party to claim them; victory was the key to taking possession of them all.

When the generals had said this to them and when they had all individually reflected on it for themselves, they first 108 prayed to the gods and raised the traditional paean, then moved off at a run, speeding over the plain as if it were bare of obstacles. They gave the barbarians no chance to see what was happening, but all at once their ranks had been broken and men were being slain and horses taken and ships hauled ashore and possessions plundered in a great Panic dance.⁸⁷ One there was who stood firm even in death, shot through with arrows from all sides by the barbarians, and striking fear into the remainder as if immortal.⁸⁸ As they perished, these men who had set their 109

⁸⁷ A glance at the story that Pan supported the Greek side at Marathon: Hdt. 6.105, "Simonides" *Epig.* 5 Page.

⁸⁸ The Polemarch Callimachus, supposedly so thickly pierced by Persian shafts that his corpse could not collapse to the ground: [Plut.] *Parallel Stories* 1.305c; Polemo *Declam.* 2 (*Father of Callimachus*) 9-12 (Hdt. 6.114 simply records his death in battle).

παια φέροντες ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ πλείους αὐτοῖς ἐφάνησαν ἢ πρότερον. οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ἔλος οὔτε ἡ θάλαττα ἀρκούντως αὐτοὺς ἐδέχετο, οὐδ' ἦν εὐρυχωρία τοῖς κακοῖς οὐδὲ διέξοδος, ἀλλὰ τότε ὡς ἀληθῶς ὄχλος ὄντες ἠσθάνοντο καὶ μέγιστον ἐναντίωμα ἑαυτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς πλείοσιν ἤττους ἐγένοντο ἢ ὅσοις ἂν τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐθάρρησεν ἀντιστῆναι. ὥστε οἱ τοῦ αἵματος ῥύακες ἤρκουν ἐν νοτίῳ ταῖς ναυσὶν εἶναι.

110 τσοσαύτη δὲ ἡ λαμπρότης τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκεῖνων ἐγένετο καὶ τοσοῦτον τῆς νίκης τὸ ἀξίωμα, ὥστε καὶ τὸ χωρίον ὥσπερ τι σύμβολον ἀρετῆς κατέστησαν. οὐκ οἶσσι γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἀκούσας τὸ τοῦ Μαραθῶνος ὄνομα οὐκ ἀνίσταται τῇ ψυχῇ οὐδ' ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἀσπάζεται καὶ σέβεται σὺν χαρᾷ. καὶ συνέβη δὲ τῇ πόλει πρώτη μὲν κινδυνεῦσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἠπειρον Ἑλλήνων, μόνῃ δὲ ἀρκέσαι νικῆσαι, τῶν δὲ ἰδίων κινδύνων κοινὰ τὰ ἄθλα ἅπασιν καταστήσασθαι καὶ τροφὸν οἶσαν τῆς Ἑλλάδος τοῦναντίον τοῦ νενομισμένου ποιῆσαι. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους τὰ τροφεία κομίζεσθαι παρὰ τῶν ἐκτραφέντων ὁ νόμος λέγει, ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς ταῖς τροφαῖς καὶ οἷς ἔδωκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν μετὰ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐν τοῖς αὐτῆς κινδύνοις ἀπέδωκε τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ὥσπερ τοῦτο ὀφείλουσα τοῖς Ἕλλησι, ποιεῖν διὰ παντὸς αὐτοὺς εὐ καὶ τοῦτο ὁμολογηκῆναι τοῖς πρὸ τοῦ πᾶσιν. ὥστ' εἰκότως εἰπεῖν εἶναι τὴν μὲν πόλιν τὸν ἐλευθέριον Δία τιμᾶν ἐπὶ τοῖς

sights so high and brought victory monuments with them on their ships seemed more numerous to the Athenians than they had before. Neither the marsh nor the sea were capacious enough to take them in; unable to find any free space or escape route in their distress, they were seen now for the rabble they really were; they were their own worst obstacle, and their casualties exceeded the number that anyone would have had the courage to stand up against in the first place. The streams of their blood were enough to float their ships clear of dry land.

Such was the glory of these men and such the prestige of their victory that they made the place too into a kind of emblem of heroism. There is no one who, on hearing the name of Marathon, does not feel the spirit swell within him, does not welcome its employment as warmly as he does any and joyfully revere it.⁸⁹ Athens had the good fortune to be the first of the mainland Greek states to come into danger, and to be strong enough to win the victory unaided. In so doing, she gained a prize for all to share through her own individual risk, and in her role as fostering mother of Greece behaved in the reverse of the normal manner. Other fosterers, so the rule goes, are paid back for their care by those they have brought up; Athens added to her fostering care and the gifts she provided in the beginning by giving Greece at her own peril the further gift of salvation and then freedom, as if it was her duty to the Greeks never to cease doing them good, and as if she had promised this in all her previous actions. It is thus fair to say that it is right for Athens to honor Zeus the

⁸⁹ For a warning about the possible dangers of this effect in the civic life of his own day, see Plut. *Præc. ger. reip.* 17.814c.

- πραχθείσιν προσήκει, τοῖς δὲ ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ νομίζειν τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον ὡσπερ ἔλευ-
 111 θέριον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν εἶναι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι συγκληρωθῆ-
 ναι τῇ τύχῃ τῆς πόλεως ἢ μάχῃ καὶ μηδέων ἄλλων
 εἶναι κατὰ γένος ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐκείνη γὰρ, εἰ καὶ
 νεανικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ὡσπερ μητρόπολις καὶ ἀφορμὴ
 τῶν ὑστερον πάντων ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, οὐ μόνον
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀγῶνων ἀντὶ κρηπίδος ἢ παρα-
 δείγματος προτελεσθείσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων ἐπιτηδευ-
 μάτων καὶ βίου καὶ προαιρέσεως καί, τὸ σύμπαν εἰ-
 πεῖν, τοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σπέρματος. ἦν εἰ μὴ τότε ἢ
 112 πόλις οὕτω διήνεγκεν, ἅπαντ' ἂν ἔρρει καὶ σώματα
 καὶ πράξεις καὶ λόγοι καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῆς φύσεως. οἱ
 μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ θαυμάζουσιν ὅσας μυριάδας τῶν
 βαρβάρων ἐνίκων, ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν ἅπαντας ἀνθρώ-
 113 πους, οὐ μόνον πρὸς οὓς ἠγωνίσαντο, ἐκείνοι νενικη-
 κέναι, εἰ δεῖ παραιτησάμενον τὸν φθόνον εἰπεῖν, οὐ
 μόνον τῷ πᾶσι τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι καταστήσθαι,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μηδένας ἐγγὺς εἶναι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν.
 ὥστ' εἰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν ἐξ ἴσου γενέσθαι τῶν ἡττόνων
 ἐστίν, ἅπαντας νενικήκασιν.
- οἶμαι μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ μόνα ταῦτα ἐκλέξας ἐπε-
 113 παύμην, ἔχειν ἂν πέρας ἀρκοῦν τὸν λόγον καὶ μηδὲν
 ἂν προσδεῖν τῇ πόλει φιλοτιμίας μηδ' ἀρετῆς εἰς τὸ
 ὀμόφυλον. τὴν γὰρ πρώτην μὲν ἀνείσαν ἀνθρώπους,
 πρώτην δὲ βίου χρήσιν εὐροῦσαν, θρέψασαν δ' οὐ
 μόνον τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντας, δεξαμένην δὲ
 τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας πρώτην τε καὶ πλείστους, ἐκάστους

Liberator on the strength of what was achieved, and for
 the rest of the Greeks to honor Athens, and to look on the
 Athenian people as liberators of Greece. I believe that
 111 Marathon is an inseparable part of the fortunes of the
 city and belongs to no other people than the Athenians.
 Though it may sound overenthusiastic to say so, this battle
 played the role of mother city and point of departure for
 everything that the Greeks subsequently did, consecrated
 as a first foundation and model not only for their struggles
 in war, but for their customs and styles of life and policies
 in general, in a word, as the seed from which the Greeks
 grew. If Athens had not then brought it to the conclusion
 she did, everything—bodies, deeds, words, and the natu-
 112 ral blessings we share—would have gone for nothing. The
 generality of mankind may be amazed at how many tens
 of thousands of the barbarians they killed, but to me it
 seems, even if one has to apologize for the invidiousness
 of saying so, that they defeated the whole of the human
 race, not just their opponents in the war, not only by mak-
 ing themselves responsible for such blessings to all, but
 also by having no one to rival them in their achievements.
 If not being able to reach the same level is the mark of
 inferiority, then it follows that they have defeated every-
 one.

I think that, even if I had come to an end with just this
 113 selection of instances, my speech would have been satis-
 factorily complete, and the city would not have needed
 anything more to be said about its pursuit of honor or its
 virtuous behavior toward its fellow Greeks. When a city
 has been the first to produce human beings; has fostered
 not only her own offspring but all men; has been the first
 to give refuge to exiles and has done so to the greatest

τε καὶ σύμπαντας, πλείστους δὲ ἀθθις ἀποστείλασαν πανταχοῦ, πάλιν δ' ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἀγώσιν ἀμφοτέρων προστάσαν, τῶν τ' ἐν τῇ ὑπερορία καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος, πῶς οὐ διὰ παντὸς ἀν εἴποι τις ἀφίχθαι καὶ καθάπερ τοὺς δρομέας τὸ γυγνόμενον πεπληρωκέναι; ὥστε μηδεμίαν πρὸ ταύτης ἐγχωρεῖν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι κηρύττεσθαι. πρὶν γὰρ ἀρχεσθαι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐτέρους, τοσοῦτον ἡ πόλις προεληλύθει.

114 οὐ μὴν ἐὼσί γε ἀπελθεῖν αἱ πράξεις, ἀλλὰ καλοῦσι καὶ προσάγουσιν εἰς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ λόγου, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ μᾶλλον ὅσῳ ταῦτα ἀκριβέστερον ἐξήτασται. τοσαύτην γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τοῖς ἐφεξῆς ἐποιήσατο ἡ πόλις ὥσθ' ὑπερῆρεν αὐτὴν τοσοῦτον ὅσον περ πρὸ τοῦ τοὺς ἄλλους. καὶ πρὶν τὰ πρῶτα ἀξίως τινὰ θανάσαι, ἐπέθηκε τὰ δεύτερα, ὥσπερ αὐτὴ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀμιλλωμένη.

[*The Invasion of Xerxes (114-22)*]

115 γυνομένου γὰρ τοῦ Μαραθῶνι τολμήματος καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐλαθέντων ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὥσπερ κοινοροτοῦ, Δαρείου μὲν οὐκ εἶχεν ὃ τι χρήσεται, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐκ θεοῦ πληγεὶς ὑποπεπτάκει τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς διαβάσεως κατεμέμφετο, ὡς κακῶς προξενήσαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τελευτᾷ δὴ, πρὶν τι δεύτερον κακὸν αὐτὸν ἐξεργάσασθαι. ὃ δὲ πάντα βασιλέας παρενεγκὼν ταῖς ἐπινοίαις καὶ μη-

numbers, individually and collectively; has in turn dispatched the largest number of colonists to destinations the world over; has again in the battles she has fought to save our land been leader and champion of both the overseas colonies and old Greece—how could one deny that she has come through to her destination, and like a runner completed the prescribed course? No city, then, can be proclaimed victor to the assembled Greeks in precedence to this one, so far had she taken the lead before the others had even started on a similar course.

But her achievements simply do not allow me to take my leave. They summon me and lead me on to the next stages of the story, all the more as these have been more minutely analyzed. So far did the city excel in what followed that she surpassed herself by as much as she had previously surpassed the others. And before anyone could properly admire her first set of deeds, she added her second, as if in competition with herself.

The Invasion of Xerxes (114-22)

When the reckless adventure at Marathon was done and the barbarians had been driven out of Greece like a swirl of dust, Darius was at his wits' end. As if smitten by the heavens he caved in before the city, blaming those responsible for the invasion for having done him a bad turn in introducing him to the Athenians; and then he died, before he could do himself a second mischief. His son Xerxes, however, a man who outstripped all other monarchs

116 δὲν καταλιπὼν ἄτοπον νομίσει, Ξέρξης ὁ Δαρείου, καταγνοὺς μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς ὡς ἐνδεῶς ἐπιχειρήσαντος, ὑπεριδὼν δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς οὐδαμῶς φανησομένων, ἀγῶνα διπλοῦν ἀγωνίζεται, τὸν μὲν ὑπερβαλέσθαι, τὴν δὲ τιμωρήσασθαι μετὰ πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος. καὶ τοσοῦτον ὕβρισε τῇ περιβολῇ ὥστ' ἔγνω τὸν πρότερον στόλον ὡσπερὶ παιδιὰν ἀποφῆναι. δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς διοσημίας τότε Ξέρξης οὐ μόνον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἀμιλλήσασθαι καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ὄψιν τε καὶ ἀκοήν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέλπιστον ὡσπερ ἐνδείξασθαι βουλόμενος ὅτι αὐτοῦ βεβαίως ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ. ποίαν γὰρ κυμάτων ἐπιρροήν, ἢ τίνας σκηπτούς, ἢ τίνας σεισμούς, ἢ ποίαν νεφῶν ἢ χαλάζης ἐμβολήν, ἢ ποίους ἀήθεις ἀστέρας οὐκ ἐλαφροτέρους ἐκεῖνός γε ἀπέδειξε, ἢ ποίους φόβους ἐγγείους ἢ θαλαττίους οὐχὶ συνέστειλε τοῖς παρ' αὐτοῦ;

117 οὐ τὰς ἀπειλὰς πρῶτον οὐκ ἦν ἐστῶσι τοῖς ὡσὶν ἀκοῦσαι, ἀλλ' ἀπήγον εἰς ἔσχατα γῆς, καὶ προὔλεγον ἂ μηδενὸς ἦν εὐρεῖν πλὴν ἐκεῖνου μόνου. αἰτεῖν μὲν γὰρ ἔφασκεν οὐδὲν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων, ἀλλ' ἀπαρχὰς γῆς καὶ ὕδατος· πάντων δ' εἶναι τούτων κύριος. τῆς δ' ἀγνωμοσύνης τῆς Μαραθῶνι λύσιν μίαν εἶναι καὶ παραίτησιν, εἰ ταῦτα συγχωρήσαιεν καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων γένοιτο καὶ τὸν κοινὸν δεσπότην γνοίεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς καλῶς μετὰ τῶν

in his schemes and left no outlandish plan still to be conceived, condemning his father for a halfhearted effort and, scornfully convinced that Athens and the Greeks would come nowhere, set himself the double challenge of surpassing his father and punishing the Greeks with a much superior force. Such was his arrogant confidence in his superiority that he resolved to demonstrate that the previous expedition had been like a children's game. It seems to me that Xerxes on this occasion entered into competition not only with his father, but also with the power of the elements and with every sight and sound that men never imagine they will hear or see, as if wishing to prove that the earth unequivocally belonged to him. What assault of the waves, what thunderbolts, what earthquakes, what onset of clouds or hail, what shooting stars did he not make innocuous by comparison? What terrors of land or sea did he not reduce to insignificance with those emanating from himself? 116

His threats, to begin with, could not be listened to with equanimity, but transported their hearers away to the ends of the earth, and predicted what no one but he could have thought up. He insisted that he was not asking for anything that was not his, but merely firstfruit offerings of earth and water, all of which belonged to him. The only way they could attain absolution and pardon for their folly at Marathon would be to concede these offerings, join the rest of the human race, and acknowledge the one master of all.⁹⁰ If they did not, he and his ancestral gods would teach them 117

⁹⁰ Hdt. 7.32 (though Herodotus explicitly states, here and in 7.133, that Athens and Sparta were not visited by Xerxes' messengers).

προπατόρων θεῶν· οὕτω γὰρ θεοῖς τε καὶ Ξέρξῃ δο-
 κεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν Ξέρξου πραγμάτων· ἤξειν γὰρ ἄγων
 ἅπαντα, ναὺς μὲν ὅσας ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ θάλαττα οὐχ
 ὑποδέξεται, ἵππων δὲ καὶ πεζοῖς ἀποκρύψει τὴν Ἀττι-
 κήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἵππόκροτον καταστήσειν, ἱερά τε
 118 συμφλέξειν καὶ θήκας ἀναρρήξειν καὶ μετασκευάσειν
 ἅπαντα. ἔτι δὲ Ἀτλαντικοῦ πελάγους κληρουχίας ἀτί-
 μους ἠπείλει καὶ γῆς ποιήσιν ἕξω τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἣν
 ἀναγκάσειν ἠκρωτηριασμένους προχοῦν εἰς τὸ πέλα-
 γος, ὕδωρ μὲν ἀντλοῦντας, πέτρας δὲ ὀρύττοντας,
 τοσαυτ' ἔχοντας τοῦ σώματος ὅσα τοῖς ἔργοις ἀρκέ-
 σει.

119 καὶ οὐκ ἠπείλει μὲν οὕτως ἀήθη καὶ ὑπερόρια καὶ
 φόβου μείζω, ἐτελεύτησεν δ' ἐνταῦθα, ἀλλ' ἀπέκρυψε
 τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἀπειλάς, ἀνευ γε τοῦ τι δυνηθῆναι,
 λέγω δὴ χρήσασθαι τῇ πόλει. τίνα γὰρ μεσόγειαν ἢ
 ποίαν Ἀτλαντικὴν ῥαχίαν οὐκ ἔσεισεν; ἢ ποῖον κόλ-
 που ὦν ἴσασιν ἄνθρωποι, λέγω τῶν εἰσεχόντων ἀπὸ
 τῆς ἕξω θαλάττης, παρήκεν ἀσύμβολον; οὐ τὸν εἰς
 Φᾶσιν, οὐ τὸν ἄνω τὸν Περσικόν, οὐκ Ἐρυθρὰν θά-
 λατταν, οὐχ Ἑρκανίαν, οὐ πάντας συνήγαγεν; οὐ δι-
 ηρενήσατο πάντας τῆς γῆς τοὺς μυχοὺς ἀκριβέστε-
 ρον ἢ Δάτις τὴν Ἑρετρικὴν; οὐκ ἐσχατιαῖς γῆς καὶ
 θαλάττης τὸν στόλον ὠρίσατο, ὥσπερ σαγηνεύων
 τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ; ποῖον δὲ τότε φάσμα οὐκ
 ἐκινήθη; ἢ τί τῶν ὄντων οὐχ ὑπερώφθη, ἢ τί τῶν οὐκ

a salutary lesson. For this was what the gods and Xerxes had decided about Xerxes' business. He would come in full force, with more ships than Greek seas could contain; he would make Attica disappear beneath his cavalry and infantry and let Athens be trampled by their horses' hooves; he would burn their holy places, break open their graves, and turn everything upside down. He further 118 threatened them with wretched plots of ground by the Atlantic Ocean, and the task of creating land beyond the edges of the inhabited world; he would mutilate them and force them to heap earth into the sea, bailing water and digging out rocks with only as much left of their bodies as they needed for their work.

He did not simply utter such unheard of and extravagant 119 threats, beyond anyone's worst fears, and then stop, but threw his threats into the shade with his actions, even though without achieving any result, I mean without subduing the city to his will. What region of the interior or what Atlantic shore did he not shake down? What gulf known to man, I mean of those that run in from the outer sea, did he not lay under contribution? The gulf leading to the River Phasis, the Persian Gulf to the north, the Red Sea, the Hyrcanian Gulf, did he not unite them all? Did he not ransack all the furthest corners of the earth more thoroughly than Datis had Eretria? Did he not set the limits of his army at the outer edges of land and sea, as if passing a dragnet over his own empire?⁹¹ What monstrosity was not then stirred to life? What existing thing was not rejected with scorn? What nonexistent thing was not

⁹¹ Aristides' expressions of wonder are inspired by Hdt. 7.61-99.

120 ὄντων οὐκ ἐγένετο; οὐχ οἱ πορθμοὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ
 τῶν ποταμῶν διαφέρειν ἐδόκουν ὅσον οὐ παρέχειν πι-
 εῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν, οἱ δ' ἀναοὶ ποταμοὶ τῶν χειμάρρων
 οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον διετέθησαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς χει-
 μάρροις εἰς τὸνναντίον περιέστησαν; ὥσπερ γὰρ τὰ
 ἐκείνων ρεύματα ἐκ Διὸς αὖξεται, οὕτως ὑπὸ Ξέρξης
 121 πάντα ἐπέλιπεν. ἐδέχετο δ' αὐτὸν οὔτε γῆ οὔτε θά-
 λαττα ἰκανῶς, καὶ ταῦτα εἶκεν πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου
 χρείαν καὶ μετέβαλλεν εἰς ἄλληλα. γῆ τε γὰρ ἢ μὲν
 ἐγίγνετο, ἢ δ' ἀπώλλυτο, καὶ θάλαττα ὑπεχώρει καὶ
 πάλιν συνῆει τῷ βασιλεῖ. καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ τῆς νέας
 θαλάττης ὅσος τῆς ἐκείνου διαβάσεως χρόνος καὶ ὁ
 Ἄθως ἀντὶ στήλης τῷ ἔργῳ λείπεται. ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν
 πάντα κινουμένοις ἐφίκει καὶ μεθισταμένοις ὡς ἐκείνῳ
 122 δοκοίη. κάμηλοι δὲ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου κατέλαμπον,
 ὅσον μήκιστόν ἐστιν ἀνύσαι, τοσοῦτον ἐπέχουσαι. εἰ
 δ' ἐπιθυμήσειε σκιάς, δένδρον ἦν αὐτῷ χρυσοῦν ἢ
 σκιά. ὥστε νύκτωρ μὲν ἤστραπτεν ἀργύρῳ καὶ
 χρυσῷ, μεθ' ἡμέραν δὲ νύκτα ἐπήγευ ὄσαχού τοξεύ-
 σαι κεύσειε. πολλοῖς δ' ἦν ἀφανῆς ὧν ἦγεν οὐ γῆς
 εἶη τὰ νῦν. οὐδὲν δ' ἦν ἔθνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν πορείαν
 μείζον ἢ κρύπτεσθαι. φιλονεικήσας δὲ μαθεῖν ὁ πάντα
 ἄτοπος βασιλεὺς ὁπόσους ἄγει, χρῆν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτο
 ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι δυνατόν, ἠναγκάσθη μετρησαὶ τρό-
 πον δὴ τινα μᾶλλον ἢ ἀριθμῆσαι τὴν στρατιάν, καὶ

⁹² Embroidered from Hdt. 7.21.

⁹³ Referring to Xerxes' canal across the Mt. Athos penin-

brought into being? Was not the only difference he saw 120
 between straits and rivers that the former did not provide
 drinking water? Were not rivers that flow all year round
 put into exactly the same state as seasonal torrents, or
 rather into the opposite state? For just as their streams
 are swollen by the rains from Zeus, so everything ran dry
 because of Xerxes.⁹² Neither land nor sea could fully con- 121
 tain him; they yielded to his needs and changed into each
 other. Land was both brought into being and destroyed;
 the sea withdrew and then flowed together again for the
 King's sake.⁹³ As we now know, his new sea lasted only as
 long as it took him to make his crossing, and Mount Athos
 endures in place of a monument to mark his deed. Just
 about everything seemed to be moving and changing as
 seemed fit to him. Camels, gleaming with gold and silver, 122
 stretched over a distance equivalent to the longest of jour-
 neys. If ever he desired shade, he had it in the form of a
 golden tree.⁹⁴ Thus by night he shone with beams of sil-
 ver and gold, while by day he brought the night on early,
 whenever he ordered a volley of arrows.⁹⁵ Many of those
 whom he led had no idea where on earth he was at any
 moment. None of the nations along his route was so large
 that it could not be hidden from view by his army. In his
 self-important keenness to know how many men he led—
 this too had to be made possible for him—this utterly
 outlandish monarch was forced in a manner of speaking
 to measure his army rather than count it: he had a wall

sula (Hdt. 7.22–25) and bridge of boats across the Hellespont (7.33–36).

⁹⁴ Hdt. 7.31; Ael. VH 2.13.

⁹⁵ Hdt. 7.226.

κατασκευασάμενος τείχος μυριάνδρον πρὸς μέτρον ἡρίθμει.

[*Salamis and Thermopylae* (123–69)]

- 123 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω πάντα κινῶν ἦει, τοσαῦτα προσλαμβάνων ὁπόσοις ἐντύχοι, καὶ κατεπτήχει καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ πάντα γένη καὶ Εὐρωπαϊα καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας πάντα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν κίνησιν εἶκεν ὥσπερ τὰ
- 124 κοῦφα σὺν πολλῷ τῷ φόβῳ. ἡ πόλις δ' ἕτερα ἀνταπεδείκνυεν, οὐδ' ἦν Ξέρξην μᾶλλον θαυμάσαι τῆς ὑπερφηφάνιας ἢ τὴν πόλιν τοῦ μηδέν τῶν ἐκείνου θαυμάσαι ἢ θορύβου τοσοῦτου διὰ γῆς ἀπάσης καταρραγέντος καὶ τῶν ἡπείρων ἀμφοτέρων κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀντέσχευ, ὥσπερ ἔρυμα καὶ πρόβολος, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀρξαμένη καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ αὐτῆς ἐπιδεικνύου.
- 125 πρῶτον μὲν³⁴ τοῖς περὶ τὰς ἐπιστολάς ἀκροβολισμοῖς καὶ πείραις τοσοῦτον ὑπερέσχευ φρονήματι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχε τοῦ πτοηθῆναι πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἀτόπων ἐκείνων φόβων ἐπαγωγάς, ὥστ' οὐκ ἐδεήθη ψηφίσματος πρὸς ταῦτα ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐνὸς κοινού νενικηκότος τοῦ κατὰ Δαρείου, μηδένα ἀκούειν βαρβάρων, πρὶν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδοῦναι, ἀφανίζει τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτῇ σκευῇ καὶ ποικίλμασιν καὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμῶν τῆς ἀποκρίσεως ἐγένετο.
- 126 ἔπειτα πάντων ἀγγελλόντων τὰ δεινὰ δὴ ταῦτα, ὅτι

³⁴ μὲν ἐν Lenz

built that could enclose a thousand men and counted them by volume.⁹⁶

Salamis and Thermopylae (123–69)

Xerxes, then, continued to throw all into turmoil in his advance, appropriating everything that he encountered along the way, while nations and cities and all the races of Europe and Asia cowered before him, and in deep fear gave way before his onrush like chaff. Athens in contrast showed a different face, and proved as amazing for her refusal to be amazed by anything Xerxes did as he was for his arrogance. When this mighty tumult burst out across the whole world, and the fate of both continents was being decided in Greece, she too showed her mettle right from the outset, and stood firm like a bulwark and a barrier.⁹⁷

First of all, in the skirmishing and testing-out that went on over Xerxes' letters, she was so superior in spirit and so far from cowering in terror at the introduction of those outlandish threats that there was no need for any further resolution to meet the situation. As if the vote passed in the case of Darius forbidding anyone to entertain messages from barbarians had acquired once-for-all validity, before even granting the messengers an audience with the assembly, she made away with them, trappings, finery and all, thereby taking the lead in showing all right-thinking Greeks how to reply.⁹⁸ Next, when every report brought the fearsome news that the whole world was be-

⁹⁶ Hdt. 7.60.

⁹⁷ Cf. §9 above.

⁹⁸ See notes on §99 above.

πάντα χρήματα μίγνυται καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κερδανούσιν οἱ τελευταῖοι, πάντες δὲ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κύματος τοῦ πολέμου καλυφθήσονται, καὶ τοσαύτης κατεχούσης ἐκπλήξεως [τοῦ βαρβάρου]³⁵ ὥστ' εἰκάζειν θεῶν τινος εἶναι πορείαν μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλαύνουτος, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὑφέιτο οὐδὲ μετέγνων περὶ ᾧν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐδὲ ἐμέμψατο αὐτῇ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τε Ἕλληνας συνεκάλει πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν κοινόν, αἰσχυνομένη μοι δοκεῖν μόνῃ φανῆναι τῷ βαρβάρῳ, καθάπερ πρότερον Μαραθῶνι—οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴ γε ἐν ἄλλοις εἶχε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ πάντες εἶχον ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἳ γε ὁμοίως τε σωτηρίας δεόμενοι καὶ ἐλευθερίας, καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα ὑπῆρχεν ἀμφοῖν ἐγγύθεν ἢ προτέρα κρίσις—ἐσκόπει τε ὅ τι βουλευσαμένη πρῶτον ἀντεκπλήξει τὸν βάρβαρον. καὶ παρηλθέν γε αὐτὸν τοῖς θαύμασι. μετοκίζεται γὰρ ἕξαστασα, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἀπάντων, γῆς μὲν οὐδαμοῦ, πᾶσα γὰρ εἶχετο, ἢ δὲ εἰς τὴν θάλατταν ἀπεχώρησεν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄθω διωρυχῆς καὶ τοῦ πορθμοῦ τῆς γεφύρας οὔτε εἰς ἀκοὴν ἀηδέστερον οὔτε γνώμῃ φανλοτέρου τοῦτο τὸ τόλμημα ἀντεπεδείξατο ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης φανείσα καὶ Ξέρῃ καταλιπούσα τὸ ἴχνος μόνον προσιδεῖν, ὥστε ἐλθὼν οὐχ εὔρεν τὴν πόλιν οὐδὲ εἶχεν λαβεῖν ἔχων, ὡς ᾤετο. οὕτως εἰς ἀπορον καὶ ὑπερφυῆς αἰνίγμα συνηλάθη, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τῶν ποιητῶν φασὶ τινες τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς Ἑλένης τὸ εἶδωλον λαβεῖν, αὐτὴν δὲ οὐ δυνηθῆναι, οὕτω καὶ

127

128

ing turned upside down, and that though the furthestmost Greeks might enjoy some advantage, nevertheless everyone would be engulfed by the war as if by a wave, and when such extreme terror prevailed as to make people think that this was the invasion of some god driving into Greece with the rest of the human race in his army, Athens did not slacken off at all or repent of her plans or reproach herself for her answer, but rather called the Greeks together for the common struggle, embarrassed I believe to appear alone before the barbarians as she had previously at Marathon—she did not rest her hopes of preservation on others, it was everyone else who rested hopes of their own survival on her, those at least who wanted freedom as much as preservation, and the model for both lay to hand in the outcome of the previous contest—and she cast about for some plan by which she could begin by disconcerting the barbarians in return. In fact, she surpassed them in her ability to amaze. She got up and moved away, and what is the greatest feat of all, it was not to anywhere on land that she moved, because that was all under occupation, but away to the sea: in an answering display of bravery no less pleasurable to hear about and no less impressive to reflect on than the Athos canal and the bridge over the strait, she turned up at sea and left Xerxes only her traces to contemplate. Thus when he arrived he could not find the city, and for all that he thought he had it, he could not take it. He was cornered in an immense and insoluble riddle. Just as according to some poets Alexander seized Helen's phantom but could not take Helen her-

127

128

³⁵ *secl.* Keil

Ξέρξης τῆς πόλεως τοῦδαφος εἶχεν, αὐτὴν δὲ οὐχ εὔρεν, πλὴν γε δὴ καλῶς εὔρεν ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ καὶ Σαλαμῖνι καὶ τὴν θέαν οὐκ ἤνεγκεν ὥσπερ τινὸς ἐν μύθῳ Γοργόνος, ἀλλ' ἐκπλαγεῖς ἔδεισεν οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος, πάντα τὸν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἀήθης ἂν τούτου καὶ τῷ φοβεῖν συνεζηκῶς.

129 ὅπερ δὲ καὶ πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῶν λόγων τούτων προειρήκειν, ὅτι ἄμφω τὸ γένη τῆς πόλεως ἡττᾶτο λαμπρῶς, τό τε Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικόν, τὸ μὲν ἀπάντων ἀποτυχόν, τὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγγὺς γενόμενον, καὶ ἄλιον ὁ μικρῷ γε πρόσθεν ἔφη, ὅτι μᾶλλον αἰσχυνομένη συνήγε τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἢ δεομένη, νῦν τοῦτο ἄξιον εἰπεῖν καὶ πάρεστιν διὰ τῶν πραγμάτων καταμαθεῖν. φανεῖται γὰρ πανταχῇ σκοπομένῳ τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλλομένη ὥστε μὴ πρώτη τῶν Ἑλληνίδων μηδὲ μάλιστα αἰτία τῆς ἐλευθερίας μᾶλλον ἢ μόνη δικαίως ἂν ἀκοῦσαι πάντα κατειργασμένη. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνο πάντες ἂν συμφαίεν ὅτι τοῖς τοσοῦτον λειπομένοις καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ πάσῃ τῇ τοῦ πολέμου παρασκευῇ ἐν μόνον ἀντίρροπον κατελείπετο καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς Ἑλληνικόν, τὸ βουλευέσθαι καλῶς, ἢ χρῆναι ἀτίμως συμπατηθῆναι καθάπερ τὰ μικρὸν τῆς γῆς ὑπερέχοντα. μὴ γὰρ ὅτι εἰς ἀντιπάλων μέρος ἐξήρ-

self,⁹⁹ so Xerxes held the ground on which the city had stood but could not find the city herself—except that he did find her well and truly at Artemisium and Salamis, and found the sight of her, like some mythical Gorgon, unbearable. In his terror, he who up to that point had never experienced any such thing but instead had spent his time inspiring fear in others, now feared not only for everything else, but even for his very life.

The point I made before starting in on this subject, that Athens brilliantly outshone both Greeks and barbarians, with the latter failing completely and the former not even coming close, along with what I said only a little earlier, that it was embarrassing rather than need that impelled her to unite the Greeks, now demands reassertion, and can be seen from the facts to be true. Investigation will however show clearly that Athens was so far superior that she can rightly be called not the first of the Greek states nor the one principally responsible for their freedom, but the one solely responsible, since it was she who brought everything to a successful conclusion.¹⁰⁰ In the first place, everyone would agree that for a people lagging so far behind in ships, weapons, manpower, money and military resources in general, the only countervailing and truly Hellenic resource they had left to them was the ability to plan well, without which they would have been doomed to be trampled down and disgraced like so many little bumps in the ground—because, so far from their having the resources to count as evenly matched, you could have added

¹⁰⁰ Aristides here repeats, but also strengthens, the verdict of Hdt. 7.139.

⁹⁹ Stesichorus *Palmode* (fr. 192–93 PMG; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 243a, *Resp.* 586c; *Isoc. Hel.* 64); *Eur. Hel.*

- 130 *κουν, ἀλλ' ἐν προσθήκῃ τῷ βασιλεῖ γενομένων οὐκ*
ἂν ἦν τὸ ἐπίδηλον. τούτου δ' οὕτω κειμένον καὶ πάν-
των ἂν ταύτῃ [κατὰ ταῦτὸ] ψηφιοζομένων [ἢ θεμένων]³⁶
καὶ σοφῶν καὶ πολλῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀντειπεῖν ὡς οὐχ
ἦδ' ἔστιν ἡ παρασχομένη τὸν βουλευσάμενον καὶ
περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἃ σώσειν ἐμελλεν.
- 131 *ὁ δὲ τούτου τ' ἐξήρηται καὶ καθ' αὐτὸ διαρκῆ τὴν*
ἐπίδειξιν ἔχει πάλιν σκεψώμεθα. οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτω
σκαῖός ἐστιν οὐδὲ τὰναντία τοῖς φανεροῖς φρονῶν
ὅστις οὐ συμφήσει ὡς εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἦκεν τὸ τέλος τοῖς
Ἑλλησι τὰ πράγματα, οὐδὲ ὡς τοῦτο ἄριστον ἦν τῆς
γνώμης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰς Πύλας ἐξελθόντες καὶ τάξαν-
τες ἑαυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς παρόδους οἱ μὲν ὥσπερ νεφέλην
προσιούσαν οὐκ ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ' αἰσχροῶς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν
διέφθειραν, δραπετεύειν ἀναγκασθέντες καὶ σώζειν
ἑαυτοὺς χωρὶς ἕκαστοι μελλόντων ἔτι τῶν δεινῶν
οὕτως ἀνομοίως τὴν Μαραθῶνι μάχην ἐμιμήσαντο· οἱ
δὲ ὑπολειφθέντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ταυτὸν τοῖς Μαρα-
θῶνι διαπράξασθαι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς τ' ἔμειναν ὡς πεισό-
μενοι μᾶλλον ἢ δράσοντες καὶ καταχωσθέντες ἀπώ-
λοντο, ἐνὶ τούτῳ κοσμήσαντες τὴν Ἑλλάδα, τῷ καλῶς
ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐπίδειζάμενοι μόνον· οἱ δ'
ὥσπερ χειμάρρους ἐχώρουν διὰ πάντων ἤδη δεχο-
μένων. καίτοι τοῦτο δυοῖν ἐστι σημεῖον, τοῦ μήτ' ἐν
132 τῇ γῆ φανῆναί τινος τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίους τῇ πόλει
καὶ οἷς ἐκεῖνοι πρότερον κατέπραξαν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῦ

³⁶ κατὰ ταῦτο *secl.* Trapp ἢ θεμένων *secl.* Reiske

- their forces to the King's without it showing. Such being 130
the state of affairs, and in the face of the universal agree-
ment that could be secured on this point from experts and
the mass of humanity alike, it is incontestable that this was
the city that provided the man whose plans for both her
and the other Greeks were destined to save them.¹⁰¹
- Let us consider further the facts that follow from this 131
and by themselves provide sufficient proof of the proposi-
tion. There is nobody so stupid, or so contrary in the face
of the obvious truth, that he will not agree that in the end
for the Greeks it all came down to their ships, and that this
was the best part of their plans. Of those who marched
out to Thermopylae and took up position at the entrance-
way to Greece, some could not bear the approaching thun-
dercloud, but were forced to desert their posts and save
their own skins, every man for himself, before the worst
had even happened, thus disgracing themselves and ruin-
ing the plan. That is how poor an imitation of the battle at
Marathon they could muster! Those whom they left be-
hind could not achieve the same outcome as the warriors
of Marathon, but simply remained where they were in or-
der to endure rather than to do. They were overwhelmed
and perished, an ornament to Greece in their noble death
alone and unable to display any greater quality than this,
while the enemy poured like a winter torrent through
lands that now all lay open. This proves two things: that 132
there were no Greeks anywhere in the country who could
equal the Athenians and their earlier achievements, or
rather that even all together they could not equal them;

¹⁰¹ Themistocles: Hdt. 7.143ff.

μηδὲ σύμπαντας ὁμοίους καὶ τοῦ τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
μόνα τότε τοῖς Ἑλλησι λειφθῆναι.

133 οὕτω δ' αὖ τούτου σαφοῦς ὄντος καὶ διπλῆν γενέ-
σθαι τὴν γνώμην οὐδενὶ λείποντος τοσοῦτον διήνεγ-
κεν ἡ πόλις ἐν τούτοις ὥστε κἂν αἰσχυρθῆναι τινα
ὑπὲρ τῆς λουπῆς Ἑλλάδος. πρῶτον μὲν γε τῷ πλήθει
τῶν τριήρων οὕτω λαμπρῶς ὑπερήρην ὥστε, εἴ τις
χωρὶς ἀφέλοι τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν
πρὸς γε τὸν συλληχθέντα τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀριθμόν, ἐξεί-
ναι τὰς μὲν τῆς πόλεως ναῦς νομίσει τὰς ἀπάντων
εἶναι, τὰς δὲ κοινὰς ἀπάντων μιᾶς τινας τῶν ἐν τοῖς
Ἑλλησιν πόλεως. ὥστε εἴ τις θεῶν ἤρητο τοὺς Ἑλ-
ληνας τότε, εἰ μὴ δέοι πάσας ἀγωνίσασθαι μηδ'
ἐξείη, πότερον τὰς ἀπάντων τῶν ἄλλων παρούσας
δέξαιντο ἢ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς Ἀθηναίων μόνας, οὐχ αἴρε-
σιν εἶναι πάντες ἂν εἶπον, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίους ὑπὲρ σφῶν
ἀγωνίζεσθαι λείπεσθαι. κἂν εἰ πάλιν αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς
αὐτοὺς ἐπανήρητο, οὐκοῦν ὁμολογεῖτ' Ἀθηναίοις γε
θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἄρησις
οὐκ ἄν³⁷ ἦν δῆπουθεν. οὐ γὰρ μέρος εἰς τὸ κοινὸν
εἰσήνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ἡ παρὰ πάντων συντέλεια μέρος
τῶν ἰδίων τῆς πόλεως ἐγένετο.

ἀλλὰ μὴν τὴν γε εὐψυχίαν καὶ τόλμαν τοσαύτην
συνεισηνεγκαν ὥστε μικρὸν εἶναι τὸ ταῖς ναυσὶ τοσ-
οῦτον ὑπερέχειν. μόνοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων
ὑπέμειναν τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐκλιπεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὴν τῶν

³⁷ ἂν add. Lenz

and that all that then remained to the Greeks was action
at sea.

What is more, with this point so clear and allowing
no one to be in two minds about it, Athens so distin-
guished herself in the circumstances that one might well
feel ashamed of the rest of Greece. In the first place, she
had the distinction of being so far superior in the number
of her triremes that if one were to separate off the Athe-
nian contingent and its quality for comparison with the
whole combined muster of the fleet, it would be possible
to take the Athenians' ships for those of the whole alliance,
and the ships of the whole alliance for those of just one of
the Greek states. So if one of the gods had asked the
Greeks at that time whether, if it were neither permitted
nor possible for all the ships to fight, they would prefer to
have to hand those of the whole of the rest of the alliance
or just those of the Athenians, they would have replied
that there was no choice to be made, and that the only
possibility was for the Athenians to do the fighting for
them. And if the god had asked them a second time, "Do
you therefore admit that you have more confidence in the
Athenians to fight for you than you do in yourselves?" I am
sure there would have been no denial. They did not con-
tribute a proportion of the combined force, but rather the
combined contribution from everyone else was a fraction
of the individual contribution of Athens.

Yet the optimism and daring that the Athenians con-
tributed was such as to make their enormous superiority
in ships insignificant. They alone of all men brought them-
selves to abandon their own country so as not to have to

ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνάστατον γενομένην ἐπιδεῖν, μόνοι δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ πολεμίων τοῦτο παθόντες, ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐξωκίσθησαν ὑπὲρ νίκης, οὐ κατὰ συμφορὰν ὑφ' ἐτέρων, ἀλλ' ἂ τοῖς ἄλλοις πέρασ εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀτυχημάτων, ταῦτ' εἰς ἀρετὴν ἔτρεψαν καὶ παρέιλοντο Ξέρξην τὰς ἐλπίδας τὸ καθ' αὐτούς, ἐνδειξάμενοι τοῦθ', ὅτι κὰν μυριάκις κατάσχη τὴν χώραν, κὰν τὰς ἐστίας διερευνήσῃται, κὰν ἐκ βάθρων ἅπαντα ἀνασπάσῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀξίωμα καθαιρήσει οὐδὲ ἀφαιρήσεται σφᾶς τό γ' Ἀθηναίους εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀπέραντα πονεῖ καὶ τοῖς ἐν Ἄιδου καταδίκους προσόμοια. καίτοι τίς προθυμία λαμ-
 134 προτέρα, τίς εὐψυχία φανερωτέρα τίνων Ἑλλήνων ἢ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν ἀνθρώπων ἐξετάζοντι φανήσεται; οἱ τῆς γῆς ἐξέστησαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μήτ' ἐν γῆ μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ δουλεῦσαι, τὸ μὲν τηρεῖν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα δουλείας ἀρχὴν νομίσαντες εἶναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν ὄντων στερήσῃν ἀφορμὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἀγαθῶν ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔσφζον ἀφ' ὧν
 135 αὐτοὶ προεῖντο τὴν αὐτῶν. ἢ μὲν δὴ πρὸ τῶν κινδύνων τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους προθυμία τοσαύτη καὶ οὕτως ἄλογος ὡς εἰπεῖν, ἢ τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, οὕτως εὐλογος· ἢ δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ κίνδυνον οὕτω περιφανῆς ὥστε μόνους ἐξεστὶν εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν νικῆσαι· πρῶτοι γὰρ ἐποίησαν τὴν τροπήν.

see everyone else's depopulated. No enemy did this to them. It was they who banished themselves; and they did so in pursuit of victory, not because of some reverse inflicted on them by others.¹⁰² What others see as the ultimate among the misfortunes of war, they turned into a display of heroism. They stripped Xerxes of the hopes he had entertained over them by showing that, even if he should occupy their land ten thousand times, and pick over their hearths, and tear everything up from the foundations, he would not destroy the dignity of Athens or deprive them of their identity as Athenians;¹⁰³ the task at which he labored was endless, like those of the condemned sinners in Hades. Search as you may, what more illustrious spirit, what more glorious optimism, will you find anywhere in Greece, or anywhere in the world of men *tout court*? Here were men who left their homeland so as not to be slaves either on land or at sea, who decided that preserving what they had was a first step toward enslavement, who made the loss of their belongings the basis of their future prosperity, who saved those who held onto what they owned by dint of relinquishing their own land. Such was the measure of their courage in advance as they turned to face the danger—a courage one might call senseless were it not that the truer word for it is "reasoned"; but the courage they showed in the hazard of the battle itself was so magnificent that they alone can be said to have won the victory on their own, as it was they who first turned the enemy to flight.

¹⁰² Hdt. 8.41 (abandonment of Athens, and dispersal of inhabitants to Troezen, Aegina, and Salamis).

¹⁰³ Hdt. 8.51–55 (Xerxes' sack of the abandoned city).

136 βούλομαι δὲ ἐπαναχωρήσας ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸ τῆς
 ναυμαχίας προειπεῖν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες τὸ τῶν
 νεῶν πλήθος καὶ τὴν προθυμίαν τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰς
 πράξεις ἐγκωμιάζουσιν, ἐγὼ δέ, εἰ καὶ παράδοξον εἴ-
 πεῖν, ἔν τι φημὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς παραλιπεῖν, οὐδενὸς
 ἦττον τούτων ἄξιον ἰδεῖν καὶ θαυμάσαι, ὃ νῦν αὐτὸς
 εἰς μέσον θήσω, τάληθές οὐκ αἰσχυνθείς· ὡς ὅστις
 αἰσχύνη τοῦτο παρέρχεται καὶ δι' εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς
 τὴν πόλιν παραπλήσιον ποιεῖ ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ τὴν ναυ-
 μαχίαν παρέρχοιτο δι' εὐνοίαν τὴν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.
 ἀμφοτέρας γὰρ τὰς νίκας ἀνείλοντο σαφέστατα ἀν-
 θρώπων οἱ τότε δῆ, πάλαι τε τὰς Ἀθήνας οἰκοῦντες
 καὶ ἔτι κάλλιον κομισάμενοι τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐχθροὺς
 137 τοῖς ὅπλοις, τῇ δ' ἐπιεικείᾳ τοὺς φίλους ἐνίκησαν. τὸ
 γὰρ τοσαύτην μὲν προθυμίαν παρεχομένους ὑπὲρ τῆς
 ἀπάντων σωτηρίας, τοσαύτην δὲ εἰσφορὰν εἰσενεγκόν-
 τας τῇ κοινῇ χρεῖα, πάντα δὲ αὐτοὺς ὄντας, καὶ τῶν
 μὲν πραγμάτων εἰς τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὰς ναῦς, τῶν
 δ' ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀνακειμένων, τῶν δ'
 ἄλλων, ὥσπερ χειμῶνος ὄρα, καταπεφευγόντων πρὸς
 τὴν ἐκείνων δύναμιν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς τε καὶ
 τύχης ὀρμούντων, καὶ μηδ' ἂν αὐτῶν, ὅπερ εἶπον,
 ἐξάρνων γιγνομένων ὡς οὐχ οὕτως ταῦτ' ἔχει, τοσ-
 οῦτον πραότητος καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας προσθεῖναι ὥσθ'
 ἑτέροις ἠγείσθαι συγχωρησάσαι τὴν ἐπὶ σχήματος ἠγε-
 μοσίαν, καὶ μὴ φιλονικῆσαι, μηδὲ ἂ καὶ οἱ νωθρότα-
 τοι τὴν φύσιν εἶπον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἕτεροι, μηδενὶ
 μήτε φθέγξασθαι μήτε μελλῆσαι μήθ' ὄλωσ φωνῆν

I should like to go back a little before the sea battle for 136
 some further prefatory remarks. Everyone else eulogizes
 the size of the Athenians' navy and their courage and their
 great deeds, but I declare that, startling though it may
 sound, there is something no less deserving than these of
 acknowledgment and amazement that they have all omit-
 ted and that I will now set before you, since I am not
 embarrassed to tell the truth. To pass over it out of shame
 or out of goodwill toward the city is tantamount to pass-
 ing over the naval battle itself out of goodwill toward the
 city, since it was the Athenians of that age, the ones who
 had previously lived in Athens and recovered her still
 more gloriously, who most clearly of all won the double
 victory of defeating their enemies by the force of their
 arms and their friends by their graciousness. For although 137
 they displayed such intense zeal to preserve the whole of
 Greece, and contributed so much to shared resources, and
 were themselves all-important; although the outcome de-
 pended on the sea and the navy, and the fortunes of the
 navy in turn rested on their city; although everyone else,
 as if in storm season, had run to their power for refuge and
 anchored themselves to their courage and their fortune;
 and although not even they, as I have said, would have
 denied that this was so—yet they also showed such gener-
 osity of spirit and equanimity as to acquiesce in others
 assuming the titular leadership without themselves com-
 peting for it, or—as even the most naturally lazy would
 have done, or others would have done for them—saying
 or preparing to say anything to anybody on this score, or
 even giving the appearance of being people with a voice

ἔχουσιν ἐοικότας ὀφθῆναι τούτων ἔνεκα, πῶς οὐ πᾶσαν ἤδη σοφίαν παρ' ἐκείνοις οὖσαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀποφαίνει καὶ πάντων ἀνδρας ἀρίστους ἐκείνους καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐξετάζοντι; εἰ γὰρ τότε ἐκείνοι δυσχεράναντες τὴν τοιαύτην ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐκποδῶν ἔστησαν, ἢ πρὸς φιλονεκίαν ἐχώρησαν, τίς μηχανὴ σωτηρίας, ἢ ποῖον ὄναρ χρηστὸν κατελείπετο τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἢ τίς τῶν εἴτε πλεόνων εἴτε ἐλατόνων νεῶν ὑπήρξεν ἂν εἰς τὸ δέον τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἔτι;

138 φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν, ἵνα μικρὸν προσδιατρέψωμεν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ ἦθος αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶν ὃ λέγω σαφέστερον κατίδη τις, εἰ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοὶ τότε τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἤτησαν λέγοντες ὡς, ἂν μὲν κρατηθῶσι τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ, οὐκ ἔσονται κύριοι σφίσις αἰρείσθαι τοὺς ἡγεμόνας οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡγησομένων ὁ βάρβαρος αὐτοῖς εἶναι ποιήσει τὸν λόγον, ἀλλ' ἀκολουθεῖν αἰσχροῦς ἐκείνῳ δεήσει καὶ δούλους καὶ ἀναρπάστους γενέσθαι, ἴσως δὲ οὐδ' ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀφανισθέντας τρόπον ὄντινα ἐκείνῳ δόξειεν ἀπελθεῖν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ ὄπλοις καὶ νόμοις λέγοντες δ' ὅτι ταῦθ' ἡμεῖς προορώμενοι τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὰς τριήρεις πᾶσαν μετεσκευάσαμεν, καὶ εἴτε δεῖ τὰ μέγιστα τετολημηκέναι, ἐκλέλειπται τὰ κοινὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως ἡμῖν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, εἴτε παρασκευῆς ἔχειν, ὡς ἀβίωτον ὄν ἡττηθείσιν, ἡμεῖς τοῦτο διανε-

at all.¹⁰⁴ How can this fail to show conclusively that perfect wisdom was theirs and that they were the best of all men, whether considered nation by nation, or as individuals, or in any other way? Because if at that point they had taken offense at such ingratitude and stood aside, or made to contest the point, what means of salvation or what shadow of hope would the others have had left; which of the naval contingents, larger or smaller, would the Greeks still have had available to meet their need?

Let us dwell on the point a little longer, so as to cast a clearer light on the Athenians' character and on the whole thrust of my argument. Consider this, please.¹⁰⁵ What if at that point they had themselves demanded that the Greeks put them in command, pointing out that if they were defeated at sea, then it would not be open to them to choose their own leaders, and it would not be over the question of which among them was going to lead that the barbarian would force them to talk, but that instead they would have to become slaves and exiles and follow ignominiously in his train—or perhaps not follow, but be annihilated in whatever way he might decide and so disappear from the world of men, along with their shrines, their armies and their laws? "It was because we foresaw this that we transferred our whole city to our warships. If what is needed is to have dared the ultimate, we have for your sake abandoned all that our shared human nature holds dear; if what is needed is to be prepared to find life unlivable in defeat, this is already firmly in our minds. We are the only ones

lows owes something in contents and tone to the speech of the Athenian delegates at Sparta in Thuc. 1.73–78 (esp. 74).

¹⁰⁴ Hdt. 8.2–3.

¹⁰⁵ Aristides' presentation of the Athenian case in what fol-

νοήμεθα καὶ μόνοις ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι τὸ νικᾶν
 ὥστ' εἴτε τι νίκης δεῖσθε, τοσοῦτον ἡμῖν προκέκοπται,
 εἴτε καὶ τὴν συντέλειαν δεῖ σκοπεῖν, δύο τοῦ παντὸς
 139 μέρη μόνοι πληροῦμεν, οἱτοὶ δ' εἰκοστὸν τοῦ παρ'
 ἡμῶν· εἰ ταῦτα ἔλεγον καὶ κεφάλαια προσετίθεισαν,
 ὅτι εἰ μὲν δέχεσθε ἐπὶ τούτοις· εἰ δὲ μή, σκοπεῖτε μὴ
 οὐχ ἡμᾶς μειζόνων ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀποστερήσετε· εἰ
 δὲ δὴ καὶ προσέθηκαν—ἐὼ γὰρ τὸν ἡγούμενον, ὃς
 τοσοῦτον ἀπάντων ὑπερέιχεν ὥσθ' εἰς ἀντὶ πάντων
 ἦν, ὃς μόνος καὶ τόπους καὶ καιροὺς καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρ-
 βάρων ἀπόρρητα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ὥσπερ μάντις ἐξ-
 ηγεῖτο—ἀλλ' εἰ προσέθηκαν ἐκεῖνο μόνον τῇ προ-
 κλήσει, ὅτι, εἰ δ' ἄρα ἄλλως ἐγνώκατε ὑμεῖς, ἡμῖν δ'
 ἕτερος δώσει τὴν ὑμετέραν ἡγεμονίαν ἄσμενος καὶ
 προσθήσει χρήματα Μηδικὰ καὶ δωρεάς, πρὸς ταῦτα
 αἰρείσθε ὀπότερα βούλεσθε, ἂρ' ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ λόγους
 οὐχὶ συμβαίνοντας, ἢ ταῖς παρούσαις ἀνάγκαις οἴους
 140 ἐγχωρεῖ παριδεῖν, εἶπον ἂν, εἰ τούτοις ἐχρῶντο; μὴ
 γὰρ ὅτι λειπομένης μὲν τῆς θαλάττης μόνης, τοσ-
 αύτας δὲ ναῦς αὐτοὺς ἰδίᾳ παρεχομένους, τῶν δ' ἑλ-
 πίδων ὄντας τὸ κεφάλαιον, ἐφεστηκότας δὲ τῇ ῥοπῇ
 τῆς σωτηρίας, μόνους δὲ ἀγωνιστὰς ὄντας τοῦ πράγ-
 ματος ἀξιόχρεως, πάντων δὲ προβεβληκότας αὐτοὺς
 οὐχ ἡγεμόνων τάξιν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πατέρων, ἔχου-
 τας δ' ὡς εἰπεῖν παρ' αὐτῶν ὧν ἐποίουν τὴν ἡγεμο-

¹⁰⁶ Thuc. 1.74.

¹⁰⁷ Themistocles again, as characterized by Thuc. 1.138.

who *have* to win. If then it is victory that you want, we have
 taken the steps in that direction just described; if the level
 of our contribution should be taken into account, we make
 up two thirds of the whole force,¹⁰⁶ while these others
 provide a twentieth of what comes from us." If they had
 139 said this, and added in conclusion "If you accept our re-
 quest on this basis, well and good; if not, beware of depriv-
 ing yourselves of more than you are withholding from us";
 and if they had also added—here I pass over the com-
 mander, who was so superior to everyone else as to be
 equal in worth on his own to all of them, who alone could
 expound places and times and the secrets of the barbarians
 and the future like a seer¹⁰⁷—but if they had added just
 one further element to their appeal, and said "You may in
 the end have decided in the negative, but someone else
 will be glad to give us command over you and add in Per-
 sian money and gifts as well; it is in this light that we
 bid you choose which of the two courses you want," then
 would they, in advancing these considerations, have been
 saying anything that was not consistent with right, or of a
 kind that could be ignored in the pressing circumstances
 of the moment? Quite apart from the fact that the sea was
 140 all that remained, and that they on their own were the
 source of such a large naval contingent, and had the hopes
 of all concentrated in themselves, and were poised to tip
 the scales of salvation, and were the only contestants equal
 to the demands of the situation, and had put themselves
 forward to defend everyone else in the role not just of
 leaders but of fathers, and so to speak held the leader-
 ship from the very peoples they had created—even if the

141 *νίαν ἀλλ' εἰ κοινὰ μὲν πάντα ἦν, μηδεὶς δὲ ὑπερεῖχε
 μηδεὶός, πάντες δ' ἐξ ἴσου συνετέλουν, οἱ δὲ ναύαρχοι
 παραπλησίως εἶχον τὰς φύσεις ἀλλήλοις, ἔρανος δ' ἦν,
 ἔδει δ' ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σκεφαμένους τοὺς ἡγησομέ-
 νους καταστήσαι, πῶς οὐκ ἐκείνοι διὰ πάντων ἐξέλαμπον
 ὥσπερ ἀστέρες, ἢ πῶς οὐχ ὑπὲρ πάντας ἦσαν ταῖς ψήφοις,
 οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν ἐπιστήμην; καίτοι τοῦτο ἔσχατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τῶν
 δικαίων ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις· οὐ γὰρ δήπου κατὰ μίαν μὲν τῶν
 τριήρων αὐτοῖς οὕτως ἦρχον οἱ κυβερνήται τέχνη προκριθέντες,
 πασῶν δὲ λαβεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν οὐ τοῖς ταῦτα κρατίστοις
 ὠφέλιτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο μικρὸν ἐκείνοις τὸ δίκαιον· ἀλλ'
 ἐκείνῳ γε δὴ καὶ πρόδηλον καὶ μόνον ἀρκοῦν, τῶν συνειλεγμένων
 δέου τινας ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πολέμου, οὐ
 τοὺς πρὸς τὸν πρότερον στόλον τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων βαρβάρων
 μόνους κινδυνεύσαντας ὑπὲρ πάντων, τούτους ἡγεῖσθαι
 ἔδει, οἷς γὰρ τὰ παρόντα κοινὰ πρὸς τοὺς μετέχοντας
 ἦν, οὗτοι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐνίκων ἅπαντας. καὶ τοσοῦτω γε
 ἐλάττω τὴν χάριν ἐκομίζοντ' ἂν, ὅσῳ πάντας μὲν ἠλευθέρωσαν,
 τῶν παρόντων δὲ ἔμελλον ἡγήσεσθαι.*

142 *καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀντίπεν αὐτοῖς πρὸς ταῦτα,
 ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀμφοῖν χεροῖν ἀπέστησαν, πῶς οὐκ ἄξιον
 τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας ἀγασθῆναι; οἱ πανταχῆ παρεῖδον
 τὰ καθ' ἑαυτούς, καὶ τοσοῦτον μὲν τὸν πρό-*

cause had been a wholly shared one, with no one taking precedence over anyone else, and everyone contributing equally, and the naval commanders had been of comparable natural ability with each other, and it was a collaborative effort, and leaders had to be appointed after due consideration in the light of what was available, how could the Athenians not have outshone all the rest like stars? How could they not have received more votes than all the rest put together? This, moreover, not only on the basis of their technical skill. However much technical skill looks like the ultimate justification in such cases—when selection on the grounds of skill was the basis on which captains commanded their triremes individually, it is incontestable that overall command too was owed to those who were best in this respect—it was in fact only a small part of their case. The salient point, decisive even on its own, was this: given that someone from among the assembled forces had to take command in the struggle against the barbarian, was it not right for the leaders to be those who alone had risked their lives in the common cause against the invasion of those very same barbarians? They who shared their present circumstances with their allies also surpassed them all in their own individual qualities; their reward would if anything be less than they deserved in that, though they had freed the whole of Greece, they were going to take command only of those then present.

Then again, if no one had spoken out against them on these points, but if instead everyone had yielded the command to them without reserve, surely we would be obliged to admire their magnanimity in so utterly disregarding their own interests and in asking for no greater reward than this, even though they had undertaken such a burden

143 σθεν ἀράμενοι, πάλιν δὲ ἐν τῷ τότε ὑπὲρ τὴν φύσιν
 φιλοτιμούμενοι πλέον οὐδὲν ἐζήτησαν. εἰ δὲ μὴ προσ-
 ἔξειν ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἕλληνες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν
 ἐγκατέλιπον, τί ἦν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς βαρ-
 144 βάροις ἀπεστερημένης Ἑλλάδος τὸ θαυμάζεσθαι
 ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὄνομα νῦν λείπεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν τριῶν γε ἐν
 τι κατηνάγκαστο, ἢ πάντων εἰζάντων ἔχειν τὴν ἡγε-
 μονίαν, οὐ μείζον οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποι τις δεῖγμα τῆς
 ἐκείνων ἀρετῆς καὶ τοῦ προῖκα τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθε-
 ροῦν, ἢ μηδενὸς ταῦτα συγχωροῦντος ἅπαντας οὐχε-
 σθαι καταλειφθέντας, ἢ δίχα τὰς ψήφους ἐλθεῖν, ἐν
 ᾧ στασιάζειν καὶ πολεμεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦν, οὐκ
 ἔχοντας ὅπως χρῆ τοῖς βαρβάροις· ὃ τῇ μὲν τοῦ
 145 πράγματος φύσει συμβάν, τῇ δὲ ἐκείνων προνοίᾳ κω-
 λυθὲν φαίνεται. καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἐκίνει ταῦτα αὐτοὺς ἂ
 νῦν διεξήλθον, εἶτα κατέχον σιγῇ τοὺς λογισμούς,
 ἐσχάτης βάσανον καρτερίας παρείχον. εἰ δ' οὐδὲν
 ᾄοντο ἐλαττοῦσθαι, τίνας εἰς ταυτὸν ἄξιον ἐκείνοις
 θεῖναι, οἱ μόνους ἤδεσαν τοῖς βαρβάροις ὀργίζεσθαι;
 ἀλλ' οἶμαι πρὸς ἐν τούτῳ ἅπαντα συνετάξαντο, ὅπως
 καὶ τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἀπόντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκόν-
 τας, τοὺς δ' ἄκοντας ἐξαιρήσωνται, καὶ τούτο δίκαιον
 ἑώρων μόνον, ἐπεὶ πάντα γε εἰ καθαρῶς ἐξήταζον,
 οὐδεὶς ἂν Ἑλλήνων τότε ἦν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι. προσθήσω
 γὰρ εὐφημίας ἕνεκα τὴν Σαλαμῖνα.

¹⁰⁸ That is, so as to avoid saying that the Greeks as a whole had shamed themselves.

on the previous occasion and were now again in the present exerting themselves to a supernatural degree. But if 143
 the Greeks had not been minded to listen to them, and they had grown angry and left them to their fate, what would there have been to prevent the very name of Greece—which even among the barbarians had not failed to attract admiration—from being lost for ever? For a certainty, one of three things had to happen. Either the Athenians would have taken up the leadership with the consent of all, in the most powerful demonstration conceivable of their heroic virtue, and their refusal to name a price for setting the Greeks free; or alternatively no one would have consented to their leadership, with the result that they would all have been abandoned and perished; or, thirdly, the votes would have been split, for as long as it was open to them, in their inability to decide how they ought to face up to the barbarians, to take sides and fight among themselves—an outcome that seems to have followed from the nature of the situation, but to have been prevented by Athenian forethought. Or again, if it is true that the considerations I have just been reviewing irked the Athenians, but that even so they kept quiet and did not argue the case, then the self-control they displayed was quite phenomenal; whereas if they did not feel that they were being done down in any way, then does not their inability to feel anger at anyone but the barbarians rightly place them in a class of their own? No, all their dispositions were made with the sole aim in mind of saving both those who were there and those who were not, willing and unwilling alike; they saw that this was the only right course, since a review that shone a clear light on everything would only have meant that there were no Greeks then at Salamis at all—I add the words “at Salamis” so as not to cast too ugly a slur.¹⁰⁸ 144
 145

146 ἄν δὲ τοῦτο σφίσιν ἔκριναν ἐξαρκεῖν, καταστῆναι
 τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὰ πράγματα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μόνον
 τῆς ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς ἀπέστη-
 σαν, ἀπάσης ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας καὶ πλεονεξίας τὰ
 κοινῇ συμφέροντα προκρίναντες, καὶ νομίζοντες ταύ-
 την ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν κατεργάσα-
 σθαι, εἴαν ἡγήσωνται τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρὸς τὴν ἐλευ-
 147 θερίαν καὶ τὸ σωθῆναι. Λακεδαιμονίους δέ, ὡσπερ οἱ
 τοὺς παῖδας προδιδάσκοντες, ἐβουλήθησαν προθυμο-
 τέρους ποιῆσαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἡγαγον εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν
 παρακλήσεως ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπὸ σφῶν
 148 μιμῆσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἐποιοῦν καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν. οὐ
 μὴν ὡσπερ τῷ ῥήματι καὶ τῷ κέρα τῆς παρατάξεως,
 οὕτω κὰν ταῖς πράξεσι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐτέροις παρεί-
 σαν πόθεν; ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ὄνομα ἡγεμόνων, οἱ δ' ἔργα
 παρέιχοντο, καὶ τοσοῦτῳ κάλλιον αὐτοῖς τὸ σχῆμα
 καθίστατο ὅσω τῶν ἡγεμόνων αὐτῶν εἶχον τὴν ἡγε-
 μονίαν. ὅ τι γὰρ μὴ δόξειεν Ἀθηναίων ἐνί, πάντ' ἦν
 ἄκυρα, ὡσθ' ὁ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ναύαρχος τῶν ἐφ'
 ἐκάστων³⁸ ἀρχόντων ἦρχεν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀρ-
 149 χοντος ἀρχόντων. ἄπερ οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες συνιδόν-
 τες τὰ ἀριστεία τῶν ναυμαχῶν ἀπέδοσαν τῇ πόλει
 καὶ μαρτυρίαν παρόντων ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ ἑορακότων
 παρέσχοντο, τίνες ἦσαν οἱ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς
 ἡγησάμενοι, καὶ συνέβη τῇ πόλει διχόθεν τὰ πρωτεία
 ἀνελέσθαι. τὰς μὲν γὰρ πόλεις ὑπερείχον Ἀθήναι,

³⁸ ἐφ' ἐκάστων Canter ἀφ' ἐκάστων *codd.*

But as things actually were, the Athenians resolved to 146
 be content with saving the day for Greece. It was for this
 reason that they withdrew not only from the leadership
 but even from their own city, giving priority to the com-
 mon good over all considerations of individual security or
 gain, in the conviction that the greatest and truest feat of
 leadership they could achieve would be to lead the people
 of Greece to deliverance and freedom. As for the Spartans, 147
 they wanted to motivate them more strongly, like teachers
 giving instructions to their pupils, and so brought them to
 the fore to encourage them and to get them to imitate
 their own actions. They did the same thing with their de- 148
 crees as well. Although they ceded the leadership to others
 as far as formal titles and position in the battle line were
 concerned, they emphatically did not do so in their ac-
 tions. What could have induced them to? The Spartans
 may have been nominally in command, but the real lead-
 ers were the Athenians, and the fiction worked out all the
 more creditably to them in that they commanded the com-
 manders. Anything that just one Athenian disagreed with
 carried no weight, with the result that, though the Spartan
 admiral led the leaders of each individual contingent, the
 Athenian admiral led the leaders' leader.¹⁰⁹ The Greeks 149
 themselves were well aware of this, which is why they
 awarded the prize for bravery in the sea battle to Athens,
 so providing truly firsthand eyewitness testimony to the
 identity of their leaders and saviors. In fact, she won first
 prize twice over: Athens overshadowed the other cities, a

¹⁰⁹ As demonstrated by Themistocles' persuasion of Eurybia-
 des in *Hdt.* 8.58-63.

150 τοὺς δὲ ἀνδρας ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων εἰς. οὕτως ὁ μὲν ἦν
 τρόπου πραότητος ἐν τῷ συγχωρῆσαι παρέσχοντο, ὁ
 δὲ ἀθηθινῆς ἡγεμονίας ἦν παρὰ πάντων ἐκείνοις ἀνε-
 τέθη. καὶ μὴν καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ πολέμου τὴν
 πόλιν ἤδη καθαρῶς προεστήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πάν-
 τες γὰρ οἱ σύλλογοι καὶ αἱ σύνοδοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους
 καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τούτων ἐγίγνοντο, καὶ κατέστη
 κοινὸν βουλευτήριον ἢ πόλις τοῦ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον
 πολέμου.

151 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ περὶ τὰς ἀποδείξεις σπουδὴ καὶ λόγος
 λόγῳ παραδιδούς ἡμᾶς παρήνεγκε περαιτέρω. εἰμι δὲ
 ἐπ' αὐτὰς πάλιν τὰς πράξεις, ἐπειδὴ περὶ ὧν ἐβουλό-
 μην ἐν τῷ μέσῳ διέλαβον. μηδεὶς δὲ ἡμᾶς ἡγείσθω
 πέρα τοῦ δέοντος διατρίβειν μηδ' ἐπ' ἐξειργασμένοις
 ἀναλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ σκοπέισθω τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ τὴν
 ἐκάστου τοῦ λόγου πρόφασιν καὶ ποῖ φέροι. κἂν οὕτω
 σκοπῆ, πολλὰ μὲν εἶναι δόξει τὰ λεγόμενα, ἕκαστον
 δ' εἰσάπαξ εἰρήσθαι, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀνάγκῃ ἐφάμιλλα
 πάντα, ὥστε μηδὲν εἶναι παραλιπεῖν ἀτιμάσαντα, τῇ
 τάξει δ' ἐτέρως οὐκ ἐγχωροῦντα συμβῆναι, τὸ δὲ
 αἰεὶ παρενεγκὸν τῆς συνεχείας ὧν καὶ τῆς ἀκολουθίας
 εἴσεται, ἀναλαμβάνων τῷ νῶ ταῦτα παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ
 152 σκοπῶν εἰ πως ἐτέρως μᾶλλον ἤρροττεν. ἔτι δὲ εἰ μὲν
 περὶ μηδενὸς ἀξίων πραγμάτων ἢ περὶ ὧν ἐκ γει-
 τόνων ἐστὶν τὰ παραδείγματα τὴν ἐξέτασιν ταύτην
 καὶ σπουδὴν ἐποιοῦμεθα, εἰκότως ἂν τις ἡμᾶς ἔφη
 μικρολογεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν πάντες μὲν ποιηταὶ
 λέγοντες ἐλάττους γεγόνασι, πᾶσα δ' ἡ περὶ τοὺς λό-

single Athenian all other men. So it was that while they
 themselves displayed the characteristics of a mild nature
 in deferring to others, everyone else united in attributing
 to them the marks of true leadership. Moreover, for the
 150 rest of the war from this point on the Greeks placed them
 unambiguously in command: all conferences and gather-
 ings took place in Athens and at Athenian instigation, and
 the city took on the function of a shared headquarters for
 the war against the barbarians.

My keenness to prove my point, and the tendency of
 151 one argument to lead on to another, has carried me some
 way off course. I shall now return once more to their actual
 achievements, since I broke off in the middle of what
 I intended to talk about. Let no one suppose that I am
 dwelling on these matters longer than I should or taking
 up a subject that is already exhausted: he should instead
 reflect on the usefulness of what I am saying, and on the
 grounds and purpose of each individual argument. If he
 does so, it will be apparent that, although a great many
 things are indeed being said, each of them is being said
 just the once; not only do all of them have an equally
 compelling claim to inclusion, so that none can be treated
 as less valuable and left out, but also they could not be
 arranged in any other order, and any digressions there may
 be in fact serve the ends of continuity and sequence, as he
 will realize if only he goes back over all this to himself and
 asks if it would have been more coherent in any other
 order. Again, if my efforts in this survey were being di-
 152 rected toward some worthless subject matter that could
 be exemplified without ranging at all far afield, then you
 might reasonably say I was being pedantic. But in reality
 my subject is one that all the poets with their verses have

γους δύναμις ἤττηται, πάντες δ' ὥσπερ ὑπ' ἐκπλή-
 ξεως θαυμάζουσι μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀκριβείας ἕκαστα
 [περὶ τούτων]³⁹ ἑορακότες, ἀγωνιζόμεθα οὐδὲν ἐλάττω
 153 κατὰ τοὺς λόγους ἀγῶνα μικροῦ δεῖν ἢ κατὰ τὰς πρά-
 ξεις ἐκείνοι τότε. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀργὸν οὐδ' ἀνεξέταστον
 εἰκὸς παραλιπεῖν, ὡς ὁμοίως ἢ τ' ἐπὶ τοῖς μικροῖς
 σπουδὴ φέρει μέμψιν καὶ τὸ τοῖς τηλικούτοις μὴ τὴν
 ἀξίαν διὰ πάντων φυλάξαι. καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἕτερον τρό-
 πον ἂν τις εἶναι φαίη μικρολογουμένου. ἀλλ' ἐπᾶνεμι
 δῆ.

154 συμβάντος γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὰς Πύλας πάθους καὶ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος λαμπρῶς καὶ σφαλερῶς ἀνοιχθείσης οἱ
 μὲν ὥσπερ πύλας τείχους ρήξαντες εἰσεχέοντο, δυοῖν
 μερίδιοι οὐδετέρας στερόμενοι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐκόντες, οἱ
 δ' ἀνάγκη προσεχώρουν, περιρρέοντος τοῦ πολέμου
 καὶ πάντων ἐφεξῆς ὥσπερ πῦρ ἐπὶν ὑποφευγόντων,
 οἱ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν πολλοῖς ἤδη πολλακίς δείξαντες
 ὡς ὀρθῶς εἰσιν ἐπώνυμοι καὶ μάλα ἴλεω τῇ θεοῦ
 χρῶνται διανοία, καὶ συνειδότες ἕξωθεν οὔσαν τῇ
 πόλει τὴν φυλακὴν ψήφισμα ποιοῦνται τὴν μὲν πόλιν
 ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ πολιούχῃ θεῷ, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναικας
 εἰς Τροιζῆνα παρακαταθέσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ γυμνωθέντες
 τῶν περιττῶν προβαλέσθαι τὴν θάλατταν, πάντων
 ὅσα <ἂν>⁴⁰ τις εἴποι μέγιστα κατ' ἀνθρώπους ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ παρασχόμενοι σύμβολα εὐσεβείας, καρ-

³⁹ *sect. Lenz (Behr?)*

⁴⁰ *ἂν Lenz*

failed to live up to, that has defeated the powers of all the
 orators, that everyone admires with stunned amazement
 rather than from any close examination of the details, and
 the struggle I have thus undertaken in composing this
 speech is scarcely less demanding than the heroes of old
 153 had in performing their deeds. It is right, therefore, not to
 leave anything aside unexploited and unexamined, since
 taking pains over trivialities and failing consistently to pre-
 serve the dignity of such great achievements as these are
 both equally reprehensible. You might well say, after all,
 that the latter is as much of a pedantic habit as the former.
 But back to my subject.

When disaster struck at Thermopylae and Greece 154
 decisively and dangerously laid open, the Persians poured
 in as if they had broken down the gates of a fortress, rein-
 forced as they did so by not one but two other groups:
 those who went over to them willingly, and those who were
 forced to do so, as the war flowed round them, and every-
 one in turn fled as from an advancing fire. But the people
 of Athena, who had often already in many instances dem-
 onstrated how right it was for them to bear her name, and
 how propitiously the goddess' thoughts inclined toward
 them, and who realized that their city's protection lay out-
 side it, passed a resolution to leave the city to the care of
 the Goddess of its Citadel, to deposit their children and
 womenfolk in Troezen for safe keeping, and themselves,
 stripped of all unnecessary encumbrances, to take the sea
 as their shield.¹¹⁰ In so doing, they demonstrated in a
 single day all that would be acknowledged as the greatest

¹¹⁰ *Hdt. 8.41; cf. Plut. Them. 10.2.*

- 155 *τερίας, φρονήσεως, φιλανθρωπίας, μεγαλοψυχίας· εὐ-
σεβείας μὲν διὰ τὴν πίστιν ἣν ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς εἶχον,
καρτερίας δὲ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῆς τῶν οἰκει-
οτάτων συνηθείας ἀπέξενγμένοι φέρουσι τῷ θυμῷ,
φιλανθρωπίας δὲ ὅτι ταῦτα ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων σω-
156 τηρίας ὑπέμενον. καὶ μὴν καὶ μεγαλοψυχία γε τίς
ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνους ὅμοιος, οἱ τῶν ὄντων ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἐλευθερίας ἀπέστησαν; ἀλλὰ μὴν τό γε γνῶναι τὸ
μόνον μέλλον διασφίξειν ἅπαντα τὰ πράγματα, τὴν
σοφίαν λέγω, δι' ἣν καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ πάντων ἐν τοῖς λό-
γοις τιμωμένης τοῖς ἄρχουσιν εὐπειθείας τοὺς πόποτι
ἐνίκησαν τῷ δόγματι.*
- 157 *καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπεσκευασμένοι πρὸς τῇ Σα-
λαμῖνι κατεῖχον τοὺς Ἑλληνας, ὁ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω τῇ
χειρὶ παρῆν, ἄγων τοὺς μέχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς Ἑλληνας
ὁμοῦ καὶ βαρβάρους, καὶ πέμπει δὴ πάλιν εἰς τὴν
Σαλαμίνα, κελεύων ἅ πρὸ τοῦ, γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ λαβεῖν,
νομίζων, εἰ παρόντων καὶ ὀρωμένων τῶν δεινῶν γί-
γνουσι οἱ λόγοι, μᾶλλον τι καμφθήσεσθαι καὶ παρα-
158 δώσειν τὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ· ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ πλείστον ἐλπί-
δος ἐσφάλη. οὕτω γὰρ πόρρω δέους ἢ τοῦ μεταθέσθαι
περὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐγνωσμένων ἐγένοντο ὥστ' ἐπειδὴ
τις ἐτόλμησεν εἰπεῖν ὡς χρὴ συγχωρεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν
αὐτόν, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες τὴν γυναῖκα ἐπελθοῦσαι δι-
έφθειραν ἐκ χειρός. καὶ παράκλησις αὕτη πρώτη
πρὸς τὴν ναυμαχίαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἐγένετο κοινῇ τῶν*

¹¹¹ In Hd. 9.5 the man's name is Lycidas, but the episode

human qualities: piety, moral courage, intelligence, gen-
erosity and nobility. Piety, in the trust they had in the gods. 155
Moral courage, in the stoutheartedness with which they
separated themselves from children and womenfolk and
the company of their nearest and dearest. Generosity, in
undertaking this in order to rescue everyone else. Who on 156
earth could equal them in nobility, in abandoning their
worldly goods for the sake of freedom? Their ability to
recognize the only thing that was going to save the whole
situation, finally, is what I mean by their intelligence—the
intelligence thanks to which also, in that resolve to obey
their leaders gladly that is honored by all who tell their
story, they surpassed all peoples who have ever lived.

Thus unencumbered, they held the Greeks firm at Sa- 157
lamis. Xerxes, for his part, was there with both his divi-
sions, bringing with him the Greeks all the way up to At-
tica along with his barbarians. He sent another embassy
to Salamis, commanding the same tribute of earth and
water as before, in the belief that if the message were
delivered with the threat present and visible to their eyes,
they would prove somewhat more malleable and ready to
listen. In the event, he was completely and utterly disap- 158
pointed. So far were they from being afraid or thinking
better of their initial resolve that, when someone dared to
say that they ought to give in, they attacked him and killed
him on the spot, while the women did the same to his
wife.¹¹¹ This served the Greeks as a rallying call for the

belongs to Mardonius' second occupation of Athens in 479 BC,
not Xerxes' first advance in 480; Demosthenes in the *De corona*,
however (18.204), names the individual proposing capitulation as
Cyrillus and places the incident before Salamis.

159 τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν. οὐ μὴν κατήσχυναν
ταύτην τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφεξῆς, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάξια
τῶν Ἑλλήνων βουλευομένων τῆς ἐπ' Ἀρτεμισίῳ τόλ-
μης καὶ τῆς Ἀθηναίων παρουσίας καὶ νικῶντος ἤδη
τοῦ δρασμοῦ, διεκώλυσαν αὐτοὶ καὶ κατηγάγκασαν
ὡσπερ παῖδας ἄκοντας ὑποστήναι τῇ θεραπείᾳ πάντα
πραγματευσάμενοι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐνδεχομένους
μόλις φωνῆν πείθοντες, ἔπειτα, ὡς ἀπέραντον ἦν,
ἀπροσδοκῆτως περιθέντες τὰς ἀνάγκας καὶ συσκευά-
σαντες τὴν ναυμαχίαν, ὥστε πρὸς βίαν θαρρήσῃαι.

160 ἔπειτα γιγνομένης τῆς συνόδου καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων
περικαλυψάντων ταῖς ναυσὶν ἅπαντα τὸν ἔξω τόπον,
τότε ἤδη καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἐξειρ-
γόμενοι, παρ' ὅσον αἱ τριήρεις ἐπέειχον, καὶ ὡς ἀλη-
θῶς ὡσπερ <ἐν>⁴¹ θαλάττῃ καὶ κύμασι πανταχῆ ταύ-
τὸν ὀρῶντες ὅποι βλέψειαν, πολεμίους, οὐδὲν παρείσαν
ἐτέροις, ἀλλὰ πρῶτοι μὲν αὐτοὶ κατήρξαν τῆς ναυμα-
χίας, ὡσπερ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πάντων ἀποκνούντων, μόνοι
δὲ τὸ πᾶν ἐξειργάσαντο, ὅσα μὲν στρατηγοῦ προνοία
κακῶσαι τὸν βασιλέα ἔδει πρότερον παρασκευάσα-
ντες, ὥστε ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις φιλιῶν καὶ τῶν συνευξο-
μένων εὐπορήσῃαι—λέγω δὲ τὴν περὶ τοὺς Ἴωνας
πράξιμ—ἀ δὲ χειρῶν νόμῳ καὶ μετὰ κοινῆς τῆς εὐψυ-
χίας ἔδει πραχθῆναι, κάλλιστα δὲ τῶν ὑφ' ἡλίψ μάρ-

⁴¹ ἐν Reiske

¹¹² Hdt. 8.4–5.

¹¹³ That is, at Artemisium.

coming sea battle from men and women alike. What is 159
more they did not shame it by their subsequent actions.
First of all, when the Greeks were planning a course of
action unworthy of their bravery at Artemisium and the
presence of the Athenians, and flight had become the fa-
vored option, it was the Athenians who prevented them
and compelled them like reluctant children to stand still
for the doctor with every means they could contrive—first
trying to persuade them even though they would barely
consent to listen, and then, when this proved fruitless,
unexpectedly forcing their hands by taking steps to pro-
voke the engagement by sea, so that they had no choice
but to take courage.¹¹²

Then when the sides engaged, after the barbarians with 160
their ships had enveloped everything around them, at a
moment when it was only the space occupied by their
triremes that saved them from complete exclusion from
both land and sea, and as proverbially in a heavy sea
they quite literally saw the same thing all around them—
the enemy—whichever way they looked, even then they
handed none of the initiative to others. It was they them-
selves who led the way into battle, while everyone else
hung back, just as they had done in Euboea,¹¹³ and it was
they alone who brought the whole engagement to a suc-
cessful conclusion. All the damage to the Persian king that
needed a general's foresight to bring about they had pre-
pared in advance, so as to have plenty of friends and sym-
pathizers among the enemy (I refer to the measures di-
rected toward the Ionians).¹¹⁴ In what demanded physical
action and the courage of all for its accomplishment, the

¹¹⁴ Hdt. 8.19–22.

τυρι καὶ τολμήσαντες καὶ τελεσάμενοι, τάξαντες μὲν
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐναντία ἐκείνοις, οἵπερ ἦσαν κεφάλαιον τοῦ
 ναυτικοῦ τῶν πολεμίων, τρεφάμενοι δὲ πρώτοι καὶ
 διαφθείραντες ἄλλας ἀλλαχοῦ τῶν νεῶν ἐν παντοδα-
 ποῖς τῶν ἔργων εἶδεσι, παρασχόντες δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς
 διώκειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ναυμαχεῖν. ὥστ' ἐμοὶ μὲν παραπλη-
 σίως οἱ Ἕλληνες δοκοῦσι νικῆσαι τὴν ναυμαχίαν
 ἐκείνην ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ καὶ Μαραθῶνι παρόντες μετ-
 ἔσχον τῆς νίκης. ἐκεῖ τε γὰρ ἤρκεσεν ἡ πόλις αὐτῇ
 καὶ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τῶν γιγνομένων ἀπέλαυσαν οἱ λοι-
 ποί. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡμέρα μιᾷ τῆς μάχης ὑστέρησαν
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐκείνη δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αὐτῆς ὑστέρησαν
 161 τῆς τροπῆς οἱ συντελείς. καὶ τοσοῦτον διενήνοχεν
 ὥστ' εἰκότως ἂν τινα φῆσαι μὴ μόνον τῆς ἐλευθερίας
 μηδὲ τῶν ἀθλῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας χάριν ἂν τῇ
 πόλει τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔχειν δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς
 νίκης αὐτῆς. καὶ γὰρ ταύτην ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι κέρδος
 προσλαβόντες φαίνονται καὶ τῆς φιλοτιμίας κοινῇ
 μετασχόντες.
 162 ἐνταῦθα δὴ πᾶσα μὲν ἀκτὴ ναυαγίων ἐπέπληστο,
 πάντες δὲ οἱ πορθμοὶ συνεκέχυντο, ἔφερον δὲ ὁ πόρος
 πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον ἕξω τῷ βασιλεῖ δεινὰ θεάματα καὶ
 μάλα ἀπάδοντα τῆς ἐκείνου περινοίας καὶ τρυφῆς.
 163 ἀξιον δὲ καὶ τῆς ἐπιθήκης τῶν κακῶν τοῖς βαρβάροις
 μνησθῆναι. τὸ γὰρ δὴ πάρεργον τῶν ἔργων οὐκ ἀτι-
 164 μότερον προσεξείργασται. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; τρεῖς τό-
 πους οἱ βάρβαροι κατέλαβον τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, τὴν

splendor of their daring and their success surpassed
 anything that the sun has yet witnessed: they stationed
 themselves opposite the detachments that constituted the
 flower of the enemy navy; they were the first to turn them,
 and destroyed their ships here, there and everywhere in
 every kind of action; thanks to them, the others could
 pursue the enemy instead of having to meet him in battle.
 I therefore think that the Greeks won this battle in the
 same way that they would have shared the victory at Mar-
 athon if they had been there: at Marathon Athens sufficed
 on her own, and at Salamis too the others merely reaped
 the benefits of what happened; at the time of Marathon,
 the Spartans were too late for the battle by one day, while
 on the day of Salamis it was the turning of the enemy to
 flight that the participants were too late for. Such was
 Athenian preeminence that you could reasonably say that
 the Greeks would be right to thank the city not only for
 their freedom and the prizes that followed from the sea
 battle, but also for the victory itself, since it is obvious that
 they had it handed to them like a kind of windfall, and
 were allowed a joint share in the glory.

That day every beach was strewn with wreckage, every
 strait was in disarray, and before the king's very eyes the
 channel bore outward toward the mainland sights terri-
 ble to behold that jarred on his disdain and his decadent
 splendor. The additional woes heaped on the barbarians
 ought also to be mentioned, since this supplement to the
 main action was in fact an equally distinguished achieve-
 ment. What was this? The barbarians initially occupied
 three theaters of operations, the mainland, the sea, and

ἡπειρον, τὴν θάλατταν, τὴν πρὸ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος νῆ-
 σον, ὅπως ἀκριβέστερον ἢ δικτύῳ συγκλείονται οἱ
 Ἕλληνες. δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι μεγάλη συμφορὰ καὶ παρὰ
 τὸν νόμον τὸν Μηδικόν, εἴ τις τῶν ἀνταίρειν τῷ βα-
 165 σιλεί τολμησάντων διαφεύξεται. κατὰ οὖν τοὺς ἐκ-
 πίπτοντας ἐκ τῆς ναυμαχίας ἐτάχθη τὰ κύρια τῆς
 στρατιᾶς, ἄνδρες Περσῶν οἱ πρῶτοι, καὶ κατέσχον
 τὴν νῆσον ἐφεστηκότες ὡς ἐφ' ἐτοίμοις. ὡς δὲ τῶν
 πρῶτων ἀπέτυχον καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦν ἡ τύχη
 καὶ περιέστραπτο ἡ πείρα, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων εἰς ἐβελον-
 τῆς τὸν κίνδυνον ὑφίστατο καὶ λαβὼν τοὺς ὄντας
 αὐτῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι τοὺς πρεσβύτας ἀποβιβάσας εἰς
 τὴν νῆσον κτείνει πᾶν τοῦτο τὸ Περσικόν.

166 Ξέρξης δὲ καθῆστο μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡπείρου κεκοσμη-
 μένος, ὥσπερ ἄλλον τινὰ ἀγῶνα ποιῶν ἢ τις τῶν ἐξ
 οὐρανοῦ κριτῆς τῶν γιγνομένων, οἰόμενος τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
 τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀρκεσεῖν. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν ἄρα
 τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ ὅσον τοῖς μὲν ὀργισθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ
 τιμῆσαι τῶν στρατιωτῶν. ὡς δ' ἑώρα τὴν θάλατταν
 αἵματι καὶ ροθίῳ ζέουσαν καὶ πάντα νεκρῶν καὶ ναυ-
 αγίων μεστὰ καὶ κυριωτέρους ἑτέρους φοβεῖν καὶ τοὺς
 ἐκείνου καὶ αὐτόν, ἐκπλαγεῖς καὶ νομίσας θαυματο-
 ποιὸν εἶναι τὴν πόλιν παλινωδίαν ᾗδεν καὶ μεταστρέ-
 ψας ἦει τὴν αὐτὴν οὐ μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σχήματος, ἐν
 ᾗδῃ τοῦτ' ἀγώνισμα ποιούμενος τὴν σχεδίαν καταλα-
 βεῖν.

167 οὕτω διὰ πάντων ἡ πόλις πᾶν ἔσωσε τὸ Ἑλληνικόν
 καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐδείχθη μόνον φυλακτῆριον οὔσα τοῖς

the island over against Salamis,¹¹⁵ so as to hem the Greeks
 in more tightly than with a net. For it is regarded as a
 disaster and an offense against the law of the Medes if
 any of those who have dared to raise war against the King
 is to escape. The flower of the army, the Persians' best
 165 men, were therefore stationed to deal with anyone escap-
 ing from the battle, and they occupied the island as if
 presiding over a *fait accompli*. But when the opening en-
 counters went against the barbarians, and fortune sided
 with the Greeks, and their venture had foundered, one
 man of Athens volunteered for the dangerous mission:
 taking such Athenians as there were on Salamis, the senior
 contingent, he landed them on the island and killed this
 entire Persian detachment.¹¹⁶

Xerxes for his part sat on the mainland in his finery, as
 166 if conducting some other kind of contest, or like some
 celestial judge of the events that were unfolding, thinking
 that the fear he inspired would be enough for his forces.
 All he needed to do, apparently, was to vent his anger on
 some of his soldiers and decorate others.¹¹⁷ But when he
 saw that the sea was seething with blood and foam, and
 that all was a mass of corpses and wreckage, and that oth-
 ers had more power to frighten his forces and him, he
 concluded in his terror that the city could work miracles.
 Singing his palinode, he turned round and retreated the
 same way he had come, though not with the same pomp,
 his one object now being to secure his bridge of boats.

Thus Athens, comprehensively, saved the whole Greek
 167 race, and emerged on every count as sole bulwark not

¹¹⁵ Psyttalea: Hdt. 8.76.

¹¹⁶ Aristides: Hdt. 8.95.

¹¹⁷ Hdt. 8.90.

Ἐλλῆσι, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῷ λοιπῷ μέρει τῆς οἰκουμένης. τίσι δὲ λέγω τοῖς πᾶσιν; οἷς ἐνίκα πρότερον μόνη Μαραθῶνι, οἷς ὕστερον τοσοῦτον παρήλθεν τοὺς συστάντας, οἷς αὐτὴ κεφάλαιον τοῦ πολέμου τοῖς στόλοις ἀμφοτέροις ἦν, τοῖς ἐν Πύλαις ἀτυχοῦσιν ἄνευ τῆς πόλεως, τοῖς ἐπὶ Ἀρτεμισίῳ νικῶσιν διὰ τῆς πόλεως, ταῖς τοῦ θεοῦ μαντεῖαις, ὧν αἱ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς εἶναι τὴν δωρεάν, αἱ δὲ ἀπολέσθαι τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἔφραζον, εἰ συσταίεν Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τῶν βαρβάρων. ὥστε καὶ ἐξ ὧν οὐκ ἔπαθον οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον πείσεσθαι καὶ οἷς ἐποίησεν ἡ πόλις καὶ οἷς οὐκ ἐποίησεν μόνη φέρεται τὴν τοῦ παντὸς κρίσιν. ἔτι πρὸς τούτοις τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ συντελείᾳ, τῷ πλήθει τῶν τριήρων, τῷ κατάρξαι τῶν ναυμαχιῶν, τῷ τοὺς τόπους εὐρεῖν, τῷ τοὺς Ἑλληνας κατασχεῖν, τῷ πρώτῃν νικῆσαι καὶ τὴν μεγίστην τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μοῖραν, τῷ πλείστον διαφθεῖραι, τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἐλευσίνος φάσμασι, τοῖς ἐν Ψυτταλίᾳ περιπτοῖς, τῇ ἅτε παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων μαρτυρία καὶ τῇ⁴² παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἀριστεία ἔδοσαν τῇ πόλει καὶ ταῦτα ἠγγέσθαι ἐφ' ὧν ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνων βασιλεὺς φεύγων ἔχετο· ὥστε καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ φίλων καὶ πολεμίων τῇ πόλει δεδῶσθαι τὰς ψήφους. καὶ ταύτῃ αὐτὴ διχόθεν ταῦτα συμβαίνει, τὰ μὲν ἐξ ὧν κοινῇ προῦκρίθη καὶ κατέπραξεν, τὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν διὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.

⁴² *add.* Behr post Beecke

only for the Greeks but also, I believe, for the rest of the inhabited world. What do I mean by "on every count"? I mean because earlier on she was solely responsible for the victory at Marathon, because subsequently she so far excelled her allies, because in herself she was the mainstay of the war in both campaigns, because the defeat at Thermopylae happened in her absence, because the victory at Artemisium was won thanks to her presence, and because of the oracles of the god, some of which credited the gift to Athena, while others declared that the Greeks were doomed if the Athenians sided with the barbarians.¹¹⁸ It is therefore both because of what happened to the Greeks and because of what would have happened to them, both because of what Athens did and because of what she did not do, that she alone wins the verdict from all. But in addition to this there is also the general she contributed, the large number of her warships, her initiation of the naval conflict, her choosing of the ground, her restraining of the Greeks, her claiming of the first victory over the largest part of the enemy fleet, her infliction of the greatest damage, the apparitions from Eleusis,¹¹⁹ the additional action on Psytallea, and the testimony of allies and adversaries alike—since the former awarded her the prize for heroism and allowed that the leadership lay with whatever she commanded, and the latter's king ran away. Thus gods and men, friends and enemies alike cast their votes in her favor. And here too the reason for this outcome was twofold, depending partly on the collective achievements that secured her preeminence, and partly on what she achieved through her general.

¹¹⁸ Hdt. 7.141.¹¹⁹ Hdt. 8.65.

[The Conclusion of the Persian Wars (170-84)]

- 170 καὶ τὰ μὲν αὖ τοῦ βασιλέως οὕτως εἶχεν Μαρδόνιος
 δὲ ὑπελείπετο μὲν θανατῶν, συνειδῶς ἑαυτῷ μέρος τι
 τῆς στρατείας αἴτιος γεγονώς, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς μονῆς καὶ
 τύχης ἔγνω τι καὶ ἀπολαύσαι⁴³ τολμήσας, καὶ
 λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ κράτιστα τοῦ πεζοῦ
 171 προσεκάθητο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πρὸς ταῦτα ἐτέρων ἐδέη-
 σεν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι λοιπὸν καὶ
 τοῦτο προσεξεργάσατο ἢ πόλις καὶ διεξήλθεν μέχρι
 τῆς τελευτῆς, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς στεφάνους συνειρόντες.
 172 οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τῇ μετουσίᾳ τῆς μάχης σεμνύνου-
 νται, ὅσοι δὴ καὶ παρεγένοντο, καὶ ταῦτα οὐδένας
 αὐτῶν ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως οὔτε πλήθει στρατοπέδου
 οὔτε προθυμίᾳ γενόμενοι, ἢ δὲ ὑμετέρα πόλις πολλῶ
 πρότερον τῆς μάχης ἐνίκησεν αὐθις καὶ Μαρδόνιον
 καὶ βασιλέα ὡς ἀληθῶς ἰδίαν νίκην ἑαυτῆς καὶ μό-
 νοις τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσήκουσαν. ὡς γὰρ πρὸς
 αὐτὴν ἑώρα πᾶν τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ παρ' ἁμφοτέρων
 ἔγνωστο καλῶς οὐ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐστὶ τὰ κύρια, καὶ
 παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγω καὶ παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων,
 ἐνθύμιον βασιλεῖ καὶ Μαρδονίῳ γίνεταί, ὃ καὶ
 φρόνιμον καὶ εὔηθες ἕξεστι προσπεῖν. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τὸ
 πάντων κράτιστον περιφανῶς, εἰ προὔχωρησεν τοῦτο

⁴³ ἀπολαύσαι *add.* Trapp τολμήσας <πειράσθαι> Reiske

The Conclusion of the Persian Wars (170-84)

This then was how things stood with the King. Mardonius 170
 on the other hand was left behind. He was in a suicidal
 state of mind because conscious that he himself was in part
 responsible for the campaign, but nonetheless he resolved
 to be bold and actually to turn his having to stay behind
 and the ruin of his fortunes to some advantage. Taking
 from the King the best of the infantry, he instituted a
 siege. But even in the face of this further challenge the 171
 Greeks did not need anyone else to help them: the Athe-
 nians polished off this task like any other leftover and
 carried on to the finish, like athletes accumulating a string
 of victors' wreaths.

Everyone else prides themselves on having taken part 172
 in this battle (that is, those who were actually there), re-
 gardless of the fact that none of them came anywhere near
 Athens in the size of their contingent or in their zeal,¹²⁰
 but your city had in fact already long before the battle
 scored a victory over Mardonius and the King that was
 truly its own and belonged to the Athenians alone. For
 when the whole of the Greek world was looking to her, and
 both sides—Greeks and barbarians, I mean—had prop-
 erly grasped where the real authority lay, then the King
 and Mardonius conceived a plan that can be described
 as simultaneously intelligent and naïve: had it worked, it
 would manifestly have been the mightiest achievement of
 all, but in actual fact it could not have been more unreal-

¹²⁰ The battle of Plataea, in 479 BC, in which the Athenians
 were not in fact the largest contingent and did not supply the
 supreme commander.

- 173 δὲ ἦν παντὸς μᾶλλον ἀδύνατον. τί δὲ τοῦτο ἦν; ἐσκέψαντο μεταστήσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν πόλιν καὶ ψιλῶσαι τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν αὐτῆς, οὐ μόνον τὰ παρελθόντα συνειδότες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ὁρῶντες ὡς δι' ἐκείνων ἦγετο· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν ἐκ Δελφῶν λογίων, ὡς λέγεται, διαρρήδη μαρτυρούντων, εἰ γένοιτο Ἀθηναῖοι μετὰ τούτων, οἰχήσεσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησι τὰ πράγματα. ἐδόκει δὴ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τὸν φόβον ἄνουμένῳ καὶ τὸ κέρδος ἐνθυμουμένῳ πειρᾶσθαι τῆς πόλεως. καὶ πέμπει δὴ κήρυκας τὰναντία τοῖς πρόσθεν λέγοντας. ἀντὶ γὰρ ὧν ἤτει πρότερον γῆς καὶ ὕδατος, ταῦτα ἐδίδου τότε, οὐκ ἀπὸ ἴσου τοῦ μέτρου, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδου πάσαν, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἑλλάδα δωρεὰν προσετίθει. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐπὶν χρήματα ὑπὲρ πάνθ' ὅσ' ἐν Ἑλλησι, καὶ φίλους καὶ συμμάχους εἶναι βεβαίως. ἐξ ὧν ὅτι καὶ μόνους ἐδεδίει καὶ μόνους ἐθάρρει μᾶλλον ἢ πᾶσι οἷς εἶχεν, εἰ πείσειεν, ἐμαρτύρει. καὶ τὸ μὲν κεφάλαιον τῆς πρεσβείας τοιοῦτον ἦν.
- 175 ἐκπύρκευεν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς Μακεδονίας. οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ θαυμάσαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας, ἣ καὶ σύμπαντα ἃ κέκτῃται διδόντα ἄξια σφῶν εἶναι νομίσαι,⁴⁴ ὥστε ἔσωσεν τὸν πρεσβευτὴν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς προξενίας. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ οὕτως ἀδεᾶ

⁴⁴ vel δοθέντα pro διδόντα vel διδόναι pro εἶναι Reiske

izable. What was this plan? They aimed to strip Athens away from the Greek cause and bring her over to theirs, not just because of their awareness of past events, but also because they could see how present developments were being directed by Athens, and in addition because of the oracles from Delphi which, it is said, explicitly declared that the Greek cause would be lost if the Athenians sided with them. Stilling his fears with money and reflecting on what he himself stood to gain, the King decided to put Athens to the test, and acted on his decision by sending emissaries with the reverse of his earlier message. Instead of demanding earth and water, as he had done previously, he now offered them in disproportionately greater quantities, not only returning the Athenians their city and all their territory, but adding the rest of Greece as an extra gift as well. Besides this there was also more money than could be found in the whole of Greece, and the offer of a secure friendship and alliance. With all of this, the King testified to the fact that they were the only ones he was afraid of, and that he drew more confidence from them alone than from everything he had, if only he could persuade them. Such was the gist of the message brought by his embassy.¹²¹

The bearer of Xerxes' message was King Alexander of Macedonia. But the Athenians were so far from being astounded by his promises or even from thinking that he would be offering them their due if he offered them all that he had, that it was only the ambassador's status as Athenian *proxenos* that saved him.¹²² Even so, they did not

¹²¹ Hdt. 8.136-44.

¹²² The function of a *proxenos* was to represent a foreign people's interests in his own country.

καθάπαξ ἀπέστειλαν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πρὸ ἡλίου δύνοντος ἐκτὸς ὄρων εἶη, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ προειπόντες ἄλλο τι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις μᾶλλον προξενεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἄνευ θανάτου τοιαῦτα πρεσβεύοντα. καὶ ἅμα ἀγωγοὶ διὰ τῆς χώρας αὐτὸν ἤγον, ὅπως μήτε τις ἀψηται μήτε τῷ
 176 διαλέξεται. ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας καὶ τῶν τροπαίων οὐχ ἦτιον ἀξίαν ἠγοῦμαι θανατάσαι οὐδὲ ἐλάττω φιλοτιμίαν παρέχειν οὔτε τοῖς δοῦσιν οὔτε τῷ πείσαντι. εἰς μὲν γὰρ ἐκεῖνα ὄπλοις καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ ὀργάνοις ἔδει προσσχεῖσθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν καθαρῶς
 177 ἐχρήσαντο, γνώμη καὶ λόγῳ. τίνες οὖν ἀρετῆς ἀγωνισταὶ καλλίους, ἢ τίνες τῶν πώποτε διαρκέστερον τὴν ἐπίδειξιν αὐτῆς ἐποίησαντο; οὐ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ σιδήρῳ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἀήττητοι διεγέροντο καὶ πάντα ἀπέφευγον ὁμοίως ἀχρηστα τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐκρύπτετο ὑπὸ γῆς ἔτι, πενίαν μὲν ἀντὶ πλοῦτου τιμήσαντες, κινδύνους δ' ἀντ' ἀσφαλείας ἐλόμενοι, δικαιοσύνην δ' ἀντὶ τῆς βασιλείας τοσαύτης φιλανθρωπίας.

178 καὶ οὐ πρὸς μὲν τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ὑποσχέσεις οὕτως ἐχθρῶς καὶ παρατεταγμένως εἶχον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς, εἰ προσεῖη σχῆμα χρείας, ὑποπεπτωκότως ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ πλείον ἀκοῦσαι λόγον, ἀλλὰ ἐλθόντων Λακεδαιμονίων περιφόβων καὶ δεομένων ἐναντία τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως πρεσβείᾳ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ πρεσβύτας καὶ γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς θρέψειν ὑπισχνουμένων, ἕως

send him away with complete immunity, but instead with threats of what would happen if he were not over the border by sunset, and instructions to discharge his duties as Athenian *proxenos* otherwise in future, as he would surely pay for another message like that with his life. He was moreover escorted out of Attica so as to prevent any-
 176 one touching him or his talking to anybody. In my view, this answer deserves no less admiration than the battle of Salamis and its trophies, and brings no less credit both on those who gave it and on the one who prevailed on them to do so. To win the trophies, they needed the use of such additional aids as weapons, warships and engines of war; but for this other achievement, they relied solely on their own native resources of judgment and eloquence. Have
 177 there ever been nobler contestants in pursuit of heroic achievement? Has anyone in any age demonstrated their heroism more amply? Gold, silver, iron, and all else failed to subdue them, as all proved equally useless for the King's purposes, as if still lying hidden underground: these heroes valued poverty more highly than riches, chose danger in preference to safety, and justice sooner than the King's generosity, lavish though it was.

But although they responded to the barbarian's promises with such resolute hostility, this did not mean that in response to promises from the Greeks, should there be some appearance of practical benefit attaching to them, they accepted them without demur or with any disposition to listen for any longer than it took to utter them. When the Spartans turned to them in terror and pleaded with them in opposition to the King's embassy, promising that they would maintain their children, old people and womenfolk as long as the war lasted, they did not so much

179 ἂν ὁ πόλεμος ἦ, συνέγνωσαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπεδέξαντο, τῷ μὲν φόβῳ χρηστοὺς νομίζοντες, οἷς δ' ἐπηγγέλλοντο ἀπείρους ἐπι τῶν Ἀθηναίων. καὶ τὴν μεγαλοψυχίαν οὐχ ἦττον ἔδειξαν τῷ τὴν ὄργην κατασχεῖν ἢ τῷ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας διώσασθαι· εὖ γὰρ ποιεῖν, οὐκ εὖ πάσχειν πεφυκότες ἤδυσαν καὶ μισθὸν ὀφείλειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς εὖ ποιοῦσι τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ἀλλ' οὐχ αὐτοὺς δεῖν παρ' ἐτέρων μισθὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς λαμβάνειν οὐδ' ἐπι κέρδει φιλεῖν τοὺς δόντας αὐτούς, οὐδὲν γε μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ γονεάς ἐπι κέρδει φιλεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων σφίζειν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς τοὺς ὡς ὑπὲρ οἰκείων ταῖς γνώμαις διακειμένους.

180 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοσοῦτον καὶ τηλικούτον ἔργον εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου καιροῖς ἐξέλαμψεν μέσον τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας καὶ τῆς Πλαταιᾶσι μάχης. ἔδειξαν δ' αὖ καὶ τούτων, χωρὶς ὧν καὶ πρόσθεν διεξήγειν, καὶ βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐξ ἀπάντων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τιθέμενοι ὁ μὲν διὰ Μαρδονίου καλῶν ἐπι τούτοις, οἱ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν ταῦτα διὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δεόμενοι. τὸ γὰρ ἀνθέλκειν καὶ καλεῖν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐκατέρους ψῆφος ἦν φανερά καὶ πίστις ἐναργῆς παρ' ἀμφοῖν ὅτι καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων συνίσασιν κρείττους ὄντας οὐ μικρῶ τι. οὕτω δ' ἐλπίσαντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔτι μᾶλλον θαυμάσαντες ἀπήλθον. τῶν μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἠέσχοντο, τοὺς δὲ ἀπο

123 Hdt. 8.142, 144.

accept their offer as pardon them, in the belief that their generosity was inspired by fear and that their very promises revealed that they had yet to learn what the Athenians were like.¹²³ They displayed their nobility no less in containing their anger than in rejecting the Spartans' offer: they knew that it was in their own nature to confer benefits rather than to receive them, and to owe rewards to the benefactors of Greece rather than to be obliged to receive them from others for their heroism, just as they knew that they should not show a merely mercenary affection toward those who put themselves under their protection, any more than they should show a merely mercenary affection for their parents and children, but that they should defend them even if it cost money; such was the only proper course for them, given their resolve to treat the Spartans like their own kith and kin.

180 It was then with the luster of so great and so remarkable a deed as this that the register of heroism in these times of war was augmented between the battle of Salamis and the battle of Plataea. In this episode too, besides those I recounted earlier, both the King and the Greeks showed that it was to the Athenians before all others that they turned, the one through Mardonius inviting them on the terms described and the others through the Spartans begging them not to do it. The fact that they engaged in this tug-of-war, each calling on the Athenians to join their side, was a clear vote from both of them, unambiguous proof of their awareness of the large margin by which the Athenians were superior both to themselves and to their enemies. These were the hopes with which they began, but they went away again still fuller of admiration. The Athenians simply refused to tolerate the one approach, but

πολλοῦ τοῦ κρείττονος προσεδέξαντο. ὥστε καὶ τὸ εἰ-
κὸς προσγενέσθαι, τὸ καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν
τὴν ἀξίαν προσθέσθαι ψῆφον καὶ τρεῖς εἶναι τοὺς
μάρτυρας ἐξῆς, τοὺς πολεμίους, τοὺς συμμαχοῦς, αὐ-
τοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ἔργῳ διὰ πάντων ὁμοίους γεγενημένους.

182 συναγαγόντες δὲ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἤδη μᾶλλον αὐ-
τοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν δυναμένους Πλαταιῶσιν γίνονται.
καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀξίωμα τῶν στρατοπέδων ἢ τὴν παράταξιν
τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς ἐτάχθη διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἢ τὰ
πρὸ τῆς μάχης διηγεῖσθαι διατριβὴ τῆς σπουδῆς
ἔστιν οὐκ ἐφικνουμένη. μαρτυρία δ' αὖθις γίνεται τῇ
πόλει θαυμαστὴ παρ' ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης. Λα-
κεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηναίους ἐξέστησαν τῆς ἐπὶ
Πέρσας τάξεως, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη τινὶ καὶ φύσει συγκε-
κληρωμένοι Πέρσας Ἀθηναίων ἠττᾶσθαι. αὖθις δὲ
ἀνθυπήγε Μαρδόnius τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἀνθαιρού-
μενος, ἡγούμενος λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῷ Λακεδαιμονίους
καλῶς ἀποθνήσκοντας μᾶλλον ἢ⁴⁵ Ἀθηναίους καλῶς
νικῶντας. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραδειγ-
μάτων εὔρισκεν. ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ πύκται περὶ τῆς στά-
σεως πρῶτον ἡγωνίσαντο, οἱ δὲ ἐδέχοντο μὲν Πέρ-
σας, ἐδέχοντο δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους, ὑπήρχον δὲ εἰς
ἅπαντα νικῶντες, τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους ἀρετῇ, τοὺς δ'
Ἑλληνας ἀρετῇ τε καὶ πλήθει. καὶ τὴν τε μάχην κρι-
νουσιν διὰ πάντων ἐξελλθόντες καὶ τοὺς ἡγούμενους

⁴⁵ μᾶλλον ἢ Reiske ἢ μᾶλλον *codd.*

gave the others a favorable reception even though they
were themselves so substantially the superior party. So
matters reached a natural and expected outcome, with the
Athenians also rightly voting in their own favor, so that the
witnesses in their support numbered three in all—their
enemies, their allies and they themselves, in staying true
to themselves throughout in deed as well as word.

Assembling the Greeks, now all the more able to follow
their lead, they arrived at Plataea. To linger over an ac-
count of the quality of the armies, or of the way the barbar-
ian battle line was marshaled to meet their opponents
through Boeotia, or of the preludes to the battle, would be
unworthy of my enthusiasm to be moving on. In the battle
itself, both sides again supplied extraordinary testimony to
the worth of Athens. For their part, the Spartans yielded
the Athenians their position in the battle line opposite the
Persians, as if it had been settled by some natural necessity
that it was by the Athenians that the Persians should be
defeated.¹²⁴ Mardonius then responded by withdrawing in
his turn and preferring the Spartans, in the belief that
his cause was better served by Spartans who win glory in
death than by Athenians who win glory in victory;¹²⁵ that
was what he had learned by example from his encounters
with them. Thus they began like boxers, sparing for posi-
tion. In the event, the Athenians took on the barbarians,
took on the whole world, met every challenge, triumphed
over the barbarians in heroism and the Greeks in both
heroism and number. They settled the outcome of the
battle by traversing the entire army, out into the front line,

¹²⁴ Hdt. 9.26–28.

¹²⁵ Contradicting Hdt. 9.31.

τῆς ἵππου διαφθείραντες. καὶ δεῖσαν τειχομαχίας, ὅσον αἰσχυρθεῖη τις ἂν εἰπεῖν οἱ ἄλλοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦσαν; ἕως τῶν βαρβάρων οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὁμοίως καὶ πρόσθεν κατείχον τὴν Βοιωτίαν κείμενοι, οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἐκ ναυαγίας ἀοπλοὶ καὶ ἀσύντακτοὶ νύκτα ἡμέρας τιμωτέραν ἄγοντες, ἐκ πολλῶν ὀλίγοι καὶ πολλοὶ κατ' ὀλίγους ἐξεχώρησαν πολλὰ τῆς ὑπερηφάνου στρατίας καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεμνημένοι.

184 τούτων δ' οὕτω καταστάντων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι πάντες Ἑλληνες ἀσμένως ἀναπνεύκεσαν, οὐχ ὅσον ἂν καὶ προσεδόκησαν διαπεφευγότες χειμῶνα, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐστεφάνουν, ἐθαύμαζον, πᾶν ὃ τι εἴποιεν αὐτὴν μικρὸν ἠγοῦντο. οὕτω πολλοῦ τινος αὐτοῖς ἔδει ποιῆσαι ὃ τί γε δοκεῖν ἔχειν ἄξιον αὐτῆς· ἡ δὲ ἐνταῦθα δὴ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν περιουσίαν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπεδείξατο. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐπεξήλθον ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥστ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἔξω δεῖξαι τοῖς βαρβάρους τίνες ἦσαν οἱ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ταῦτα δράσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τίνας φεύγειν κρίναντες ἀγαπητὸν ἀπήλθον.

and disposing of the cavalry commanders;¹²⁶ and when siege operations were needed, it would be embarrassing even to have to say how much the others depended on them.¹²⁷ In the end, one part of the barbarian forces remained in occupation of Boeotian soil, only now in a different way because they lay dead there, while the remainder made their exit like shipwrecked sailors, disarmed and in disorder, valuing night more highly than day, at once the small remnant of a large army and a large number in small detachments, their thoughts full of their proud expedition and of the Athenians.

In this state of affairs, all the other Greeks were delighted to have recovered their breath and to have weathered a storm far greater than they would have expected to survive. They garlanded Athens, wondered at her, and thought that anything they could say of her was too little—so far were they from thinking they could *do* anything at all worthy of her.¹²⁸ But as for Athens herself, it was at this juncture especially that she displayed her superiority in virtue. So effectively did the Athenians press on in their successful course that they showed the barbarians even more clearly beyond the frontiers of Greece who it was that had done this to them within Greece as well, and who it was they had been so glad to get away from as they made their departure.

¹²⁶ Hdt. 9.22–24 (according to Herodotus in the preliminaries to the main battle at Plataea, not during it).

¹²⁷ Hdt. 9.114–18 (and perhaps also 9.70).

¹²⁸ Text and translation are uncertain at this point; my translation follows Reiske's explanation of the construction.

[Interlude (185–88)]

- 185 ὀρώ μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκτεινόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τοι-
ούτοις τοῖς προειρημένοις οὐ ῥάδιον ὄν πρὸς ἡδονὴν
οὔτε αὐτὸν ἔτι εἰπεῖν οὔτε τυχεῖν ἀκουόντων, ὥσπερ
μετ' ἀγωνιστὴν εὐδοκιμηκότα εἰσιόντα ἕτερον. οὐ μὴν
ψυχαγωγίας χάριν μᾶλλον ὑπέστην τοὺς λόγους ἢ
τοῦ δεῖξαι μετ' ἀληθείας τὴν τῆς πόλεως ἀξίαν. ὥστε
186 ἀδικήσω καθυφείς μᾶλλον ἢ διοχλήσω λέγων. ἔπειτα
ἐνθυμητέον καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ συμβόλου τῶν λόγων
ὅτι οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν Παναθηναίων αὐτῶν ἑορτὴν ἡμῶν
ἡμέρα μᾶ ἀνάγκη⁴⁶ μετρεῖν, ἀλλ', εἴ γε καὶ τοῦτο δεῖ
προσθεῖναι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἡμερῶν κόσμου χάριν
καὶ σεμνότητος ἀνείται. ὥστε οὐδὲ τὸ τῶν λόγων
187 πλῆθος ἄκαιρον ἐν τοιοῦτῳ τῶν ἔργων καιρῷ. σύν-
ισμεν δὲ δῆπου καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν γυμνικὸν καὶ ἔτι
μᾶλλον τὸν τῆς μουσικῆς οὐκ εἰς ἅπαξ ὀριζόμενον,
ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐκάστη τελευτῶντα ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ
πάλιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθιστάμενον, καὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς εἶδεσι
τῶν θεαμάτων ἐκπληρούμενον αὐθημερόν. ὥσθ' ὅσα
καὶ τὸν νῦν καιρὸν ἐκφεύγει τὸν ὅλον γε δῆπου τῆς
πανηγύρεως οὐ παρελήλυθεν. ἢ κομιδῇ γ' ἂν εἴη τῶν
ἀτόπων, εἰ οἱ μὲν νομοθέται τούτου χάριν ἐξέτειναν

⁴⁶ ἡμέρα μᾶ ἀνάγκη Reiske ἡμέρας μίας codd. ἀνάγκη A ἀνάγκη cett.

¹²⁹ The "greater Panathenaea," celebrated every four years over some nine days, involved major athletic and musical compe-

Interlude (185–88)

- I do indeed see that my speech is becoming a long one, 185
and that following on from such deeds as have already
been described, it is not easy either to give pleasure one-
self as speaker or to find an audience that will listen with
any; it is like coming on second after another competitor
who has just scored a resounding success. But I did not
undertake this oration merely to entertain, rather than
truthfully to display the worth of the city of Athens, in
which case the wrong I would do by suppressing anything
is greater than the irritation I will cause by voicing it. What 186
is more, the very label that identifies this speech for what
it is ought to prompt the thought that we are not com-
pelled to keep the Panathenaic festival itself within the
confines of a single day either, but that—if this point too
needs to be made—a larger number of days is permitted
in the interests of beauty and splendor.¹²⁹ A long speech
is therefore not untimely for a time so distinguished by
great deeds. We are also, surely, well aware that the ath- 187
letic competition, and even more so the musical and liter-
ary competition, does not have a hard and fast limit but so
to speak ends each day and starts over again from the
beginning, and is not completed on the same day even for
the individual categories of spectacle. Thus what escapes
the present occasion does not elude the festival entirely.
It would be quite extraordinary if legislators allowed gath-

titions as well as the Panathenaic procession and associated ritu-
als; the ordinary Panathenaea, celebrated in the intervening years
of the cycle, was shorter and less elaborate and had no games
attached to it.

τὰς συνόδους, καὶ νῆ Δία γε αὐτὸ τοῦνομα τῆς ἱερο-
 μηνίας παρέβησαν πλείω τὸν χρόνον προσθέντες,
 ὅπως ἐπὶ πλείστον ἀλλήλοις ὀμιλοῦμεν, ἡμεῖς δ' ἀντὶ
 188 τοῦ χρήσασθαι τούτῳ μεμφοίμεθα. ὥσπερ οὖν τοῖς
 τῶν ἄθλων γυμνασίοις οὐκ ἀχθόμεθα ἐντυγχάνοντες
 ἐφ' ἡμέρα, ἀλλ' ἐν κέρδους μέρει τῆς αἰεὶ παρουσίας
 θέας ἀπολαύομεν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν λόγων ἔχειν
 εἰκός, καὶ ταῦτά γε τῶν τῇ πανηγύρει συγκεκληρω-
 μένων πάντως οὐχ ἐώλοισ ἀεὶ τοῖς ὑπολειφθεῖσιν ἐν-
 τεύξεσθε οὐδ' ἀτιμότεροις ἐκείνων συνεῖναι.

[From the End of the Persian Wars to the Eve of
 the Peloponnesian War (189–227)]

189 ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ πλείω τῶν ἀναγκαίων παραιτούμενος
 αὐτῷ τούτῳ μηκύνω, πρὸς τοὺς ἐφεξῆς τῶν λόγων καὶ
 συνεχεῖς καὶ δὴ τρέφομαι. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐαν-
 τῆς ἐγένετο καὶ πάντα ἐξεκεχωρήκει, νῆες, ἵπποι, τὸ
 πεζόν, ὑπαρχοί, βασιλεῖς, πρῶτον μὲν πανηγύρεις
 καὶ πρόσοδοι τοῖς θεοῖς ἦσαν οἷας οὔτε πρότερον οὔθ'
 ὕστερον οὐδεὶς μέμνηται γεγονῆναι ἐν ἐλευθέρῳ τῇ
 Ἑλλάδι. οὐ γὰρ νόμος ἦν ὁ συνάγων οὐδὲ χρόνον
 τακτῆ περιόδου, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἦν καὶ κατὰ
 ἀνδρα καὶ πόλεις εὐθυμείσθαι καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν καὶ

erings to run on for this reason, and indeed contravened
 the very name "holy month" by adding a larger allocation
 of time,¹³⁰ so as to allow us the longest possible period of
 association, but we for our part were to criticize this rather
 than making use of it. So just as we are not upset to find 188
 prize contests in athletics continuing day after day, but
 count it a gain as we profit from the spectacle of the mo-
 ment, so it ought to be also with oratory, especially that
 kind of oratory that officially belongs to this festival. At all
 events, you will not find the remainder of the story a stale
 one as you encounter its successive stages, nor any less
 valuable to be acquainted with than what has already been
 told.

*From the End of the Persian Wars to the Eve of
 the Peloponnesian War (189–227)*

But so as not to overextend my speech by the very process 189
 of making more excuses than I need to, I shall turn forth-
 with to the next stage and the continuation of my account.
 When Greece was her own mistress again and ships, caval-
 ary, infantry, commanders and King had all departed
 from her soil, the very first reaction took the form of fes-
 tivals and processions in honor of the gods, of a kind than
 no one records having happened in a free Greece either
 before or since. These were no celebrations dictated by
 mere custom or any fixed cycle of dates: the impulse both
 in individuals and whole communities to celebrate and
 wear garlands and summon the gods as witnesses to the

¹³⁰ The so-called holy month (*hieromēnia*) was in fact a single
 day.

190 τοὺς θεοὺς μαρτύρεσθαι τῆς παρουσίας εὐδαιμονίας.
 καὶ τοῦτο μὲν βωμὸς ἐλευθερίου Διός, αὐτῷ τε τῷ θεῷ
 χαριστήριον καὶ τοῖς κατορθώσασιν μνημεῖον, ἐπ'
 αὐτοῦ τοῦ τόπου τῶν ἔργων ἐστάθη, κοινὴν ἔχον
 παράκλησιν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἰς τε ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὸ τῶν
 βαρβάρων καταφρονεῖν· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων ἱερὸν τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἐξεκοσμήθη σὺν καλοῖς
 καὶ πρέπουσι τοῖς ἐπιγράμμασιν, αἳ τε πόλεις οὐ τὸν
 ἐξ ἀρετῆς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς
 κόσμον προσέλαβον, καὶ ὁ τῶν βαρβάρων πλοῦτος
 191 εἰς τοὺς κρείττους ἐμερίσθη. καὶ μέντοι κἀν τούτοις
 αὐτὴ πάλιν ἡ πόλις τοσοῦτον ὅσον περ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς
 πράξεσιν διενεγκούσα φανήσεται. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ τὴν
 ἀκρόπολιν κατεκόσμησεν τοῖς τῶν ἔργων ὑπομνήμα-
 σιν καὶ τῷ τῆς φύσεως κάλλει τὸ παρὰ τοῦ πλοῦτου
 καὶ τῆς τέχνης ἐφάμιλλον προσέθηκεν, ὥστ' εἶναι
 πᾶσαν ἀντ' ἀναθήματος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀντ' ἀγάματος·
 τοῦτο δὲ τὰς ἄλλας τιμὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀνήψεν κρεῖττον
 ἀπάσης Ἑλληνικῆς δυνάμεως, τὰ μὲν οἴκοι, τὰ δ' ἐν
 τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ. αὐτὴ τε παρήλθε τοὺς ἀρχαίους ὄρους
 πανταχῇ κατ' ἀξίαν τῶν ἔργων καὶ τὴν τοῦ κύκλου
 προσθήκην ποιουμένη. ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν συνελόντι, μόνῃ
 μὲν δι' ἀρετὴν ἀοικητος ἐγένετο, μόνῃ δ' ἐξ ἀρετῆς
 ὤκισθη τε αὐθις καὶ τῶν πρόσθεν ἀοικήτων ἐπέλαβεν
 ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ τῇ δόξῃ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καλλίων
 τε καὶ μείζων γενομένη.

happiness of the hour arose out of the situation itself. An 190
 altar of Zeus the Liberator, to be both a thank offering to
 the god himself and a monument to the victors, was set up
 on the very site of their great deeds, exhorting all Greeks
 alike to concord and contempt for the barbarian.¹³¹ At the
 same time, the shared shrine of all Greece at Delphi was
 beautified with noble and becoming dedications, while the
 cities gained not only the adornment of heroism, but also
 the adornment that comes from material provision, as the
 barbarians' riches were shared out among their vanquish-
 ers.¹³² It will become clear that in this context too Athens 191
 once more excelled, quite as much as she did in the actual
 winning of the victory. On the one hand she adorned the
 Acropolis with memorials of her achievements and to its
 natural beauty added the rival beauty that money and art
 can confer, thus turning it in its entirety into one great
 dedication, or rather one great statue. On the other hand,
 in the other honors that she conferred on the gods, some
 at home and others abroad, she went beyond anything that
 the whole of the rest of Greece could do. She herself ex-
 panded beyond her old boundaries in every direction,
 which was only what her achievements deserved, and
 added to her circuit of defensive walls.¹³³ To put it all in a
 nutshell, she alone through her own heroism was depopu-
 lated, she alone thanks to her own heroism was refounded
 and took possession of previously uninhabited territory as
 well, growing greater and more beautiful simultaneously
 in achievement, in reputation and in physical adornment.

¹³¹ The foundation of the altar to Zeus Eleutherios at Plataea is described in detail in Plut. *Arist.* 19–21; see also Paus. 9.2.4.

¹³² Hdt. 8.121, 9.81.

¹³³ Thuc. 1.89–93.

192 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐνταῦθα μὲν ὥσπερ ἄκων ἐνέπεσον καὶ καθ' ὁδὸν τοῦ λόγου μᾶλλον ἢ προιδόμενος. οὐ γὰρ εἰς ταῦτα ὀρών ἠπειγόμενη, ἀλλ' ἐκέينو ἐπιδείξει βουλόμενος, ὅτι εἰ κάλλιστον ἀνθρώποις καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ λυσιτελέστατόν τε καὶ νικῶν ἡδονῇ θεῶν πρόσοδοι καὶ ὁμιλῖαι, καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς τοσοῦτον τότ' ἐπανθήσαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν μιᾷ δὴ πόλει ταύτῃ μάλιστα' ἂν τις προσθεῖη δικαίως, πρῶτον μὲν κατ' αὐτὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν τῶν θεῶν τιμὴν· τούς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ὡς αἰτίους δῆπου τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἅπαντες ἀμειβόμεθα, ἢ τε πόλις τό γ' εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἔλθῃν τότ' ἐπὶ πλείστον αἰτία τῶν ἀποβάντων φαίνεται· ἔπειτα τῷ καὶ τοῖς ἀναθήμασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς χαριστηρίοις τοσοῦτον ὑπερσχεῖν. τὰ γὰρ σύμβολα τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτῆς ταῦτα τοῦ κάλλους καὶ μεγέθους ἐστὶ τεκμήρια.

193 οὐ μὴν ἐξαρκεῖν τοῦτ' ἐνόμισεν, χάριν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔχειν τῶν γεγενημένων καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ζητεῖν οὐδ' ἐπὶ τοῖς τροπαίοις καθῆσθαι, ὥσπερ ἀπιστοῦσαν ἑαυτῇ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐπίβασιν τῶν μελλόντων τὰ ὑπάρχοντα κρίνασα αὐτῇ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἡμιλλήσατο, καλῶς καὶ τῷ καιρῷ προσήκοντα βουλευσαμένη. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς δευτέροις χρόνοις τὰ δεύτερα πράττειν ἡξίου· ταῦτα δ' ἦν ἀντεπεξελθεῖν τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιστρατεύσασιν καὶ τοὺς φόβους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων μεταστήσαι. ὁ καὶ μάλιστα' ἄξιον τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκείνοις ἀγασθῆναι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὴν σύστασιν. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντοιν ἑτέροιον πολέμου, τοῦ μὲν, ἂν ἀρχῇ τις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τοῦ δὲ, ἂν ἀμύνηται, τῷ

192 But I have stumbled upon this point inadvertently and in the course of my argument, rather than with prior intent. It was not this target that I had in mind as I hastened onward. Instead, what I wanted to demonstrate was this: that if humanity's finest activity, at once unsurpassedly beneficial and superlatively pleasant, is to process in honor of the gods and keep company with them, and if this activity enjoyed such a flowering among the Greeks at this particular point in time, then the credit fairly belongs above all to this one city, first of all in virtue of that very honor which she so truly paid to the gods—we all of us repay the gods as manifestly the authors of our blessings, and this city as far as concerns human beings was chiefly responsible for what then transpired—but then also because she was so far ahead of the rest in her actual dedications and thank offerings. For these tokens of her piety were at the same time proof of her beauty and size as well.

193 Athens however did not consider it enough to be thankful to the gods for what had happened and seek no further advantage, and instead rest on her laurels as if she lacked confidence in herself. Choosing rather to see what she already had as a kind of stepping-stone to future achievement, she entered into competition with herself, on plans that were both noble and well suited to the circumstances—well suited because what she decided was to use the next period of time to move on to the next stage in her actions, namely to mount a counteroffensive against the former aggressors and to transfer the weight of fear and danger onto their territory. What particularly deserves admiration in her actions at this point is the form and basis of the war she waged. There are two different sorts of war, that which one initiates from scratch, and that in

μὲν οὐχ ἔπεται τὸ δίκαιον, τοῦ δ' ἀφαιρεῖ τῆς φιλοτι-
 μίας ἢ τῆς ἀνάγκης προσθήκη διὰ τὸ φύσει γνώμην
 ἀνάγκης κεχωρίσθαι. ἀλλ' ἀμείνων μὲν ὁ ποίων οἶμαι
 τὰ δίκαια ἀναγκαίως τοῦ παραβαίνοντος ἐκόντος, οὐ
 μὴν αὐτοῦ γε τὸ πᾶν ὡς εἰπεῖν γίγνεται. καὶ δὴ καὶ
 τότε τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν εἰς τοὺς
 βαρβάρους ἦλθεν, τὸ δ' ὀφειλόμενον παρὰ τῶν Ἑλ-
 λήνων ἀπήντησεν. ὥστε νενικήκεσαν μὲν, τὸ δ' ἐκ
 195 περιουσίας οὐ προσῆν. ὁ δὲ τρίτον ἂν τις φαίη τοῦ
 πολέμου σχῆμα, τὸ τοῖς προτέροις ἐπιβουλεύσασιν
 ἀντεπελθεῖν αὐτούς, ἐλευθερίᾳ μὲν τῇ τῶν ἀρχόντων,
 δικαιοσύνη δὲ τῇ τῶν ἀμνησμένων χρωμένους, τοῦτ'
 οὖν ἡ πόλις ἐσκέφατο καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐπιδείξει τοῖς βαρβάροις, ὅτι οὐκ
 ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐστίν, ὅταν ἦκωσι, ποιεῖν ἀγαθοὺς τοὺς
 Ἕλληνας, οὐδ' ἀνάγκης τύχη ταῦτα πέπρακται σφί-
 σιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ προτέροις ἄρχειν μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν ἠγεί-
 σθαι νῦν δ' ὅτε ἡ ἀρχὴ περιέστηκεν εἰς δίκαιον τά-
 196 ξιν, εὖ καὶ καλῶς εἴσεσθε τίνας κεκινήκατε. οὕτως
 ἐγὼ φημι καὶ πρὸς δικαιοσύνης καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρείας
 ἐπίδειξιν ἀληθινῆς τὰ δεύτερα, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐπαχθὲς
 εἴπω, τῶν πρότερον οὐχ ἦττον ἐναργῆ πεπραχθαι τῇ
 197 πόλει. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀσφάλειαν
 εἶναι καὶ σωτηρίαν ὑπελάμβανεν οὐκ εἰ καθείρξασ'

which one acts in self-defense; of these the former is un-
 just, while in the case of the latter the element of compul-
 sion removes all nobility, given the essential difference
 between resolving to do something and being forced to do
 it. Yet, I believe, he who does the right thing because he
 is forced to is better than he who does wrong of his own
 free choice, even if to be sure he is not entirely what you
 might call master of the situation. In this particular in-
 stance, the shame attaching to the earlier campaign was
 the barbarians', while it was at the hands of the Greeks
 that their just deserts were visited on them; the Greeks
 had thus won a victory, but not one that placed them on
 the moral high ground. It was in fact with what you might
 call a third species of war, a retaliatory attack on those who
 had previously plotted against them, in which they could
 enjoy both the freedom of choice of those taking the initia-
 tive and the justification of those acting in self-defense,
 that Athens planned so as to demonstrate to the barbari-
 ans, on her own account and on that of the rest of Greece,
 that it did not rest with them and the timing of their inva-
 sion to bestow heroism on the Greeks, and that the Athe-
 nians themselves had achieved their success not thanks to
 the accident of being compelled to act, but because they
 had not thought it right to strike the first blow: "but now
 that the initiative has passed over to the side of right, you
 will discover well and truly who it is that you have pro-
 voked." This is what I mean when I assert that, as a dem-
 onstration of both justice and true courage, the city's next
 achievements were—not to be invidious in my choice of
 words—no less brilliantly distinguished than those that
 had gone before. What is more, Athens worked on the as-
 197 sumption that the safety and security of the Greeks would

αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐστίας τηροίη, οὐδ' εἰ μηδὲν μῆτ' αὐτῇ
 πρὸς αὐτῶν μῆτ' αὐτοὶ πράττειεν ὑπὲρ σφῶν αὐτῶν,
 ἀλλ' εἰ τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον ὤσωντο ἀπὸ
 τῆς Ἑλλάδος, οὕτως ἔετο ἀρίστην καὶ καθαρὰν
 ἡσυχίαν ἅπασιν ἔσεσθαι, ὀρθῶς λογιζομένη καὶ τὰ
 πράγματα ὡς πέφυκεν ὀρώσα. μόνοι γὰρ σχεδὸν οὗ-
 τοι καθαρῶς ἡσυχάζουσιν οὔτινες ἂν δείξωσι μὴ πάν-
 τως ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν δεόμενοι.

198 ὁ μὲν λογισμὸς οὗτος ὁ τῆς πόλεως, ἅπαντα ἔχων
 ὅσα ἂν τις εἴποι κάλλιστα ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει. δια-
 νοηθέντες δὲ οὕτω—τί χρῆ πρῶτον, ἢ τί τελευταῖον
 εἰπεῖν;—ἐνίκων μὲν τὴν ἐν Μυκάλῃ μάχην οὐκ ἐν
 ὀλίγῳ τῷ μέσῳ, διηρευνήσαντο δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὰς
 ἀκτὰς, εἴ πού τις ἔτι κρύπτοιο τῶν ἐπελθόντων, καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος ἤλασαν, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ση-
 199 στοῦ, τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Βυζαντίου. πάντα δὲ ὡς περ ἄγος
 καθαίροντες ἐπήλθον, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ τῶν κατ' ἐμ-
 πορίαν πλεόντων ἐπ' ἀγκυρῶν ὠρμίσαντο. τὴν δὲ
 Τριπολέμου διὰ τοῦ ἀέρος λεχθεῖσαν πορείαν, ἐν ᾗ
 παρήκεν ἐκείνος, ἐμίμησαντο. ὁ μὲν γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν εἰς
 τὸ κοινὸν ἅπαντας, οἱ δὲ παρ' ἧν ἔδει δίκην λαβεῖν
 200 κολάζοντες ἐπήεσαν, ἡγούμενοι καὶ τοῦτο τῷ κοινῷ
 γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων λυσιτελεῖν, τοὺς ὑβριστὰς καὶ
 200 μείζον τῆς φύσεως φρονούντας ταῖς πρεπούσαις ὑπ-
 ἄγειν ζημίαις. γνόντες δὲ οὕτως ἅμα μὲν περιέπλεον
 τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἅμα δὲ ἀνέπλεον διὰ τῶν δεχομένων πο-

134 Hdt. 9.90-106.

135 Thuc. 1.98.

not be achieved if she penned them in their own home
 territory and guarded them there, she not using them to
 do anything and they not doing anything for themselves,
 but that if they could drive the barbarians as far as possible
 away from Greece, then a perfect and unsullied peace
 would descend on all. This was a clear-sighted and entirely
 correct calculation, as in general the only people who can
 enjoy unsullied peace are those who demonstrate that they
 do not need to stay at peace come what may.

Such was the city's calculation, embracing everything 198
 that one would say is finest in human nature. Thus re-
 solved—what ought one to put first and what last?—they
 triumphed at the battle of Mycale by no small margin, and
 hunted through the shores of Europe in search of any of
 the invaders who might still be lurking there.¹³⁴ Some they
 drove from the Strymon,¹³⁵ some from Sestos,¹³⁶ some
 from Byzantium.¹³⁷ They visited every corner as if con- 199
 ducting a ritual purification, and dropped anchor as fre-
 quently as a merchantman on a trading voyage. They imi-
 tated Triptolemus' legendary journey through the air,¹³⁸ in
 a respect that he in fact neglected: whereas he in his visits
 brought general benefaction to all, they in theirs brought
 chastisement to those who had to be punished, since they
 believed that subjecting aggressors and those displaying a
 more than human arrogance to the appropriate punish-
 ment was likewise a service to the whole of the human
 race. The execution of this policy had them at one and the 200
 same time sailing along the coast of Asia and up any navi-

136 Hdt. 9.104-18.

137 Thuc. 1.94 (with the Spartans in command).

138 Cf. §36 above.

ταμῶν, ἅμα δ' ἠκούοντο, ἅμα δ' ἑωρῶντο, θαυμαστὴν δ' ἐπεδείξαντο καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐνόπλιόν τινα καὶ πολέμου⁴⁷ χορεία. οὕτω δὲ πυκνὸν καὶ σύντονον ἐξήλαντο ἐν τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥστε καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς μὲν πρώτοις τῶν ἔργων παρεγένοντο, ἔπειτ' ἀπήραν, ὥσπερ πτηνοῖς ἀκολουθεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα συνεκπλεύσαντες ἰλιγγιάσαντες ἀπήραν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔχοντες, οὓς βασιλεὺς πρότερον ἐπ' ἐκείνους καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἤκειν ἄγων, τούτοις ἐχρῶντο ἀποχρῶσιν. καὶ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως πράγματα. καὶ γὰρ ὄρμοι καὶ τείχη καὶ χαρακώματα καὶ πάντα ἐκείνους ἐδέχετο, καὶ ὄπλα καὶ νῆες ἐκείνων ἐγίνοντο.

202 παρείσαν δ' οὐδὲν ἀπείρατον τῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀρετῆς, ὁμοῦ μὲν Φοίνιξι καὶ Κίλιξι καὶ Κυπρίοις ναυμαχοῦντες ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πελάγει καὶ ναυτικά ἀθρόα λαμβάνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν Περσῶν ἀρχὴν διακινδυνεύοντες ἐν τῇ γῇ αὐτ' ἀριθμοῦ σωματῶν ἔθνῶν ἀριθμούς διαφθείροντες τε καὶ λαμβάνοντες. ἤδη δὲ καὶ δύο τρόπαια εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἦλθε καὶ ναυμαχία πεζομαχία παρισώθη. τοσοῦτον δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ περιεγένετο ὥστε ἐνδοξοτέραν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν
203 καὶ τοὺς τόπους ταῖς νίκαις ἐποίησαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Εὐρυμέδων οὐχ ἦκιστα διὰ τούτους ἄδεται. ἔδειξαν δ'

⁴⁷ καὶ πολέμου *fort. secludenda*

gable estuary, appearing to view as soon as heard of, and performing what was quite literally a marvelous kind of dance in armor and a dance of war.¹³⁹ So frequent and so vigorous were their forays as they went about their business that the Spartans, although there with them for their initial exploits, then parted company with them, as if unable to keep up with companions who had wings.¹⁴⁰ In just the same way those of the other Greeks who had sailed out with them in the first instance grew dizzy and went their separate way, but the Athenians did not miss them because they had the Asiatic Greeks, whom the Great King had previously led against them and Greece in his invasion, and could use them instead. The King's own resources gave them their starting point for action against him: anchorages and walls and palisades were all there ready for them to occupy, and weapons and ships fell into their hands.

Nothing was allowed to go without some taste of their heroism, as at one and the same time they fought sea battles against Phoenicians, Cilicians and Cypriots in the middle of the Egyptian Sea and captured whole fleets, and on land braved the whole of the Persian Empire as they killed and captured quantities not of individual soldiers but of nations. Two triumphs were actually celebrated on a single day, as naval battle was matched with battle on land.¹⁴¹ The only gain to the King was the extra fame that their victories conferred on his empire and the sites of the battles. Eurymedon certainly owes not the least of its

¹³⁹ The words "and a dance of war" may be a reader's explanatory addition to Aristides' text. ¹⁴⁰ Thuc. 1.94-96.

¹⁴¹ The battles at the River Eurymedon: Thuc. 1.100.

ὅτι οὐ λινοδέσμῳ σχεδιά τοὺς πορθμοὺς ζευγνύντα
 δεῖ διαβαίνειν οὐδὲ τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις τῶν ὄρων προσ-
 παλαίειν, ὥσπερ τι κάλλιον, ἀλλ' ἀνδρεία καὶ γνώμη
 προέχοντας κρατεῖν πανταχοῦ καλλίστοις ἀπάντων
 ἐφοδίοις οἶμαι καὶ καθαρῶς οἴκοθεν· μόνα γὰρ τῶν
 ἐχόντων διὰ τέλους ἐστίν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα κοινὰ πρόκειται
 πᾶσιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τύχης δῶρα, εἰ δὲ βούλει, ἀρετῆς.
 ὑπάρχει μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῖς χείροσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, σώζεται
 δὲ ἐπιεικῶς τοῖς κρείττοσιν.

204 οὕτω δ' ἅπασαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐξήλεγξαν καὶ διέσει-
 σαν, καὶ πρὸς τοσοῦτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ Περ-
 σικὸν τελοῦντες τοῦ καταφρονηθῆναι, ἢ πόλις δὲ τοῦ
 πάντας αὐτῇ θαρρεῖν, ὥστ' ἐκινήθησαν μὲν οἱ πρὸς
 Φάρω Δίβνες, συναπέστησαν δὲ Αἰγύπτιοι, βασιλεὺς
 δὲ καίτοι τᾶλλα κατὰ νοῦν περὶ αὐτοὺς πράξει δοκῶν
 ἀπόλλυσιν Αἰγύπτου μοῖραν οὐκ ὀλίγην τὸ ἔλος. πρό-
 τερον δ' ἤρῃκει πᾶσαν δις ἡδῆ.

205 ἦν δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν τριήρων οἶόν τι τῶν ἐξ
 οὐρανοῦ βελῶν. μόνοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων τῶν εἰς κοινὸν
 πολιτευσάμενων τὴν μὲν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἀλλοτρίαν
 ἐνόμισαν, τὴν δὲ ἀλλοτρίαν οὐχ αὐτῶν ἀλλοτρίαν,
 ἀλλὰ τῶν σὺν κακίᾳ νεμομένων. φυλάκων δ' ἐβίωσαν
 βίον, οὐδὲ τούτων ἰδρυμένων οὐδέ γε ἐνὸς τόπου τινὸς
 περιπόλων, ἀλλὰ τοῦ διὰ πάσης γῆς Ἑλληνικοῦ περι-
 206 πόλους ἐκείνους χρῆ καλεῖν. πολεμίους δὲ οὐ τοὺς
 ἀσθενεστάτους εἶλοντο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πλεῖστα ἀνασχέ-

142 Aesch. Pers. 69. 143 Thuc. 1.104, 109-11 (459-454 BC).

fame to them. They showed that what is needed is not crossing straits by yoking them "with flax-bound raft,"¹⁴² or wrestling with the highest of mountains, as if that was a finer achievement, but rather to win all one's battles through superior intelligence and courage, which are in my view the most admirable resources of all and immaculately homegrown, since these alone belong in perpetuity to their possessors. All other things are available to just about anybody indifferently, but in the gift of fortune, or if you wish, of virtue; inferior men too have them for a start, though it is properly the superior kind who keep hold of them.

In this way they showed up the whole Empire for what it was and shook it to its foundations. Such was the contempt into which the Persian race was brought, and such the confidence that everyone came to feel in Athens, that the Libyans of Pharos were roused to rebellion, the Egyptians joined them, and the King, although in other respects apparently satisfied with his success in dealing with them, still lost the Marsh, which is a considerable proportion of the country.¹⁴³ Before this point he had already captured the whole of the country twice.

The Athenians' triremes struck like bolts from the heavens. They alone of those whose policies looked to the shared interests of Greece viewed their own country as foreign territory, and foreign territory as foreign not to them, but to those whose occupancy of it was defective. They lived the life of sentries, and what is more, not the kind of sentries who stay still or patrol within just one area; sentries patrolling Greek territory across the whole earth is how they deserve to be described. It was not the weakest that they chose as their enemies, but those with the

σθαι δυνατωτάτους, δυοῖν ἐναγόντοι, ἐνὸς μὲν τοῦ
 μηδὲν τῶν ἐσχάτων, ὅσον εἰς γνώμην καὶ παρα-
 σκευὴν ἦκεν τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐλλελείφθαι τοῖς Ἑλ-
 λησι τὸ μὴ οὐ πεπονθότας εἶναι, ἀνθ' ὧν δεῖν ἀμύνε-
 σθαι καὶ μηδαμῶς μικρῶς, ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν
 λοιπὸν χρόνον ἀσφαλούς τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἕως ἔγνω βασι-
 λεὺς παραπλήσιον ποιῶν ἀνταίρων τῇ πόλει ὥσπερ
 207 ἂν εἰ πρὸς φλόγα πολλὴν ἐπιούσαν ὕλην ἐπηρμένους
 ἠγωνίζετο. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι οὐκ ἔπασχεν, ἀλλ' ἀνη-
 λίσκετο αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐπιτείχισμα
 τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας ἔχων ἦσθετο. καὶ προῆλθεν ὀδῶ
 τὸ τρίτον κάλλιον τοῦ πρώτου νομίσας, μᾶλλον δὲ
 ἀναγκαϊότερον. ἐπεθύμησε μὲν γὰρ τὸ⁴⁸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα προσλαβεῖν καὶ τῆς Εὐρώπης τὸ λοιπὸν,
 ἦσθετο δὲ⁴⁹ οὐ δυνατῶν ἐρῶν. δεύτερον ἦν αὐτῷ τὴν
 208 ὑπάρχουσαν ἀρχὴν διασώσασθαι, οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ἢ πόλις
 ἠμέσχετο. τὴν σωτηρίαν καὶ δὴ πλείονος ἀξίαν ἐποιή-
 σατο, καὶ ὑποχωρεῖ τῇ πόλει τοσοῦτον ἐκ γῆς καὶ
 θαλάττης, οὐχ ὅσον, φασί, πρύμναν κρούσασθαι οὐδ'
 ὡς ἐπὶ πόδα ἀναχωρῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἀφήκε πάντα μὲν τὸν
 κάτω τόπον, μυριάδας σταδίων τῆς Ἀσίας οὐκ ἔλατ-
 τον ἢ μεγάλης ἀρχῆς εἶναι τὸ σύμπαν ὥστε μὴ μό-
 νον τὰς νήσους καὶ τοὺς ἐν ταύταις παντοδαπούς
 Ἑλληνας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τὴν ἐκείνου
 χώραν κατοικοῦντας πλέον τῆς ἐκείνου δυναστείας

power to put up the most substantial resistance. Two con-
 siderations led them to this choice: first, the fact that the
 Greeks had not been allowed to escape any extreme of
 suffering that barbarian wit and resources could stretch
 to, for which revenge was to be taken, and on a grand scale;
 and secondly, the future security of Greece. At last the
 King realized that his action in resisting Athens was tanta-
 mount to fighting the advance of a great fire by heaping
 fuel on it. He was spared no indignity; his own resources
 were being used to consume him, and he came to realize
 that the very land he owned was a siege work threatening
 his survival. He took a great step in the right direction 207
 when he acknowledged that his third plan was better than
 his first, or rather that it was the one he really had to ac-
 cept. Initially, he had desired to add Greece and the rest
 of Europe to his empire, but he came to realize that he
 was lusting after the impossible. His second idea was to
 hold onto the land he already ruled, but Athens did not
 allow him that either. At this (remarkably) he decided that 208
 his own survival was more important, and gave way before
 the Athenians on land and sea, not merely as the saying
 goes backing water or taking a pace backward, but relin-
 quishing the entire seaboard, tens of thousands of stades
 of Asia adding up in all to the equivalent of a mighty
 empire.¹⁴⁴ The result was not only that the islands and all
 the different Greeks who inhabited them were liberated,
 but also that the inhabitants of his own lands were dis-
 tanced from his power and authority still more firmly than

⁴⁸ ἐπεθύμησε μὲν γὰρ τὸ U Ald. ἐπεθύμησε(ν) τὸ cett.

⁴⁹ ἦσθετο δὲ R²U ἦσθετο cett.

¹⁴⁴ With the so-called Peace of Callias, dating from the mid-
 dle of the century (perhaps the 460s, with a renewal in 449).

- καὶ ἀρχῆς ἀπέχειν ἢ πρότερον τοὺς τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ἑλλάδα. εἶχεν μὲν γε πρὸ τοῦ τὸν μέχρι Πηνειοῦ τόπον. 209
καίτοι τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἀφείλον, ὡς δὴ τι θαυμαστὸν λέγων· εἶχε γε πάντα τὸν μέχρι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἕως ἐνέτυχε τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ. τοσοῦτον παρελήλυθεν τὸν ὀμφαλὸν τῆς γῆς τε καὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τοὺς Δελφούς. ἐκ δὲ τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀγώνων καὶ ἀποστολῶν εἰς τοῦτο κατῆλθεν ὥσθ' ὠμολόγησεν δυοῖν μὲν ὄρουν εἶσω μηκέτι πλευσείσθαι, πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν Χελιδονέας, πρὸς δὲ ἄρκτον Κυανέας θέμενος, θαλάττης δ' ἀφέξειν ἴσον πανταχῇ σταδίου πεντακοσίου· ὥστ' εἶναι τὸν κύκλον τοῦτον ἀντ' ἄλλου τινος στεφάνου τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς χώρας τοῦ βασιλείως.
- 210 τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢ πόλις, τὸν τ' ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων, τοιαύτην δ' αὖ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων δείξασα ὅτι οὐ πλοῦτον διώκουσα οὐδ' ἠδονῇ κέρδους ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῦτο θηρωμένη, βεβαίαν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων. 211 καίτοι τί κάλλιον ἂν εἴποι τις εἰρήνης ἢ πολέμου κεφάλαιον ἢ πρὸς Ἑλληνας ἢ πρὸς βαρβάρους, ᾧ κατέκλεισεν τότε τὰς πράξεις ἢ πόλις;
- 212 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τὰ τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα διήλθεν σὺν πολλοῖς ὁμως ἐναντιώμασιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ

the old Greeks had been. Previously, his territory had extended as far as the River Peneus.¹⁴⁵ And yet, in the effort 209 to say something amazing, I have in fact cheated you of the really amazing thing. He was actually master of everything as far as Attica, until he encountered Attica's refugees at sea—so far had he advanced beyond Delphi, the navel stone of Greece and the world. But as a result of the exertions of the Athenians, and of the campaigns they mounted, he was reduced to agreeing no longer to sail between the limits marked by the Chelidones to the south and the Cyanes to the north, and to keep a uniform distance of five hundred stades away from the sea at every point.¹⁴⁶ The resulting circuit was like one more wreath of victory on the brows of the Greeks, and also allowed them to mount guard on the King from his own territory.

Such was the war that Athens waged against the barbarians, with its two phases on her territory and on theirs, 210 and such was the peace she then concluded. In both of them she showed that it was not in pursuit of wealth or out of any pleasure in profit that she took the field, but solely in quest of secure freedom for the people of Greece. And 211 yet what nobler way could one conceive of concluding peace or war with Greeks or barbarians than that with which Athens now set the seal on her achievements?

This great catalog of distinguished achievement was 212 compiled by the Athenians in spite of frequent opposition

¹⁴⁵ In Thessaly.

¹⁴⁶ The same terms (though with the distance specified as a day's ride from the sea) are reported in Dem. Or. 19.273 and Plut. Cim. 13.4. The Chelidonian Islands lay off the south coast of Lycia (Asia Minor), the Cynaeon Rocks at the northern mouth of the Bosphorus.

πάντων ὡσπερ ἀνθελκόντων, ἀφεστηκότων μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ Λακεδαιμονίων, Βοιωτῶν δ' ἐναντία πολεμούντων, Αἰγινήτων δ' ἐναντία ναυμαχούντων, οὓς εἶναι τὰ ναυτικά πρώτους ἐν ἐκώλυσεν, ἡ πόλις πολλὴ νικῶσα· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Κορινθίων διὰ Μεγαρέας παρωξυμένων καὶ πολεμούντων καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, Ἐπιδαυρίων δὲ καὶ Σικυωνίων σὺν Κορινθίοις ἐξεταζομένων, Ναξίων δὲ καὶ Θασίων καὶ Καρυστίων κακῶς περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας βουλευομένων, καλούντων δὲ Φωκέων, καλούντων δ' αὖ Λακεδαιμονίων, θαυμαστοῦ δὲ κύκλου πραγμάτων ὄντος κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ὥστ', εἰ καὶ μόνοις τούτοις ἐξήρκεσεν καὶ μόναις τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις εἶχομεν αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν ἐν τῷ τότε συμβάσας, Μηδικαὶ δὲ μηδαμοῦ προσήσαν λαμπρότητες, ἐξαρκεῖν ἂν τοῖς χρόνοις εἰς ἀφήγησιν.

213 ἥ καὶ διαφερόντως ἄξιον συνησθῆναι τῇ πόλει οὐ μόνον τῆς ῥώμης χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς μεγαλοψυχίας. τὸ γὰρ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς αὐτὴν καθεστηκότων τῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προνοίας μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἀφείσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῇ συμφερόντων βασιλεῖ πολεμεῖν διὰ γῆς ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάττης πόση τιμὴ χρὴ τῇ μεγαλοψυχίᾳ προσθῆναι, χωρὶς τοῦ τῶσαυτά⁵⁰ μερισθῆναι καὶ πάντων ὡς μό-

⁵⁰ χωρὶς τοῦ τῶσαυτά *codd.* χωρὶς τοῦ <τὸ πρὸς> τῶσαυτά Reiske

from the Greeks, with everyone so to speak pulling against them: the Spartans were at odds with them over policy, the Boeotians fought against them on land,¹⁴⁷ and the Aeginetans—prevented from being the preeminent naval power only by the great superiority of Athens—fought against them by sea.¹⁴⁸ Add to this the Corinthians infuriated over Megara and fighting against them on land and sea, the Epidaurians and the Sicyonians¹⁴⁹ lining up with the Corinthians, the Naxians, Thasians and Carystians plotting treacherously against the alliance,¹⁵⁰ the Phocians summoning her on the one side and the Spartans on the other,¹⁵¹ in short an extraordinary arc of troubles through the whole of Greece. Even if she had the strength only to deal with these, and it was only her achievements in relation to Greece at this time that we could cite, without any hint of the addition of her distinguished record against the Persians, even so there would be enough to take a good long time in the telling.

For this reason Athens more than any other city deserves to be congratulated not only for her strength but also for her generosity of spirit. Must it not on the one hand be put down to a deep generosity of spirit that they did not slacken their provident concern for Greek interests in the slightest, even when the Greeks themselves were at war and wrangling with them, but continued to fight the King on every land and sea in defense of their common good? But equally, their ability to divide their

213

¹⁴⁷ Thuc. 1.108. ¹⁴⁸ Thuc. 1.103, 105–6 (also detailing war with Aegina and Epidaurus). ¹⁴⁹ Thuc. 1.108.

¹⁵⁰ Thuc. 1.98 (Naxos, Carystus), 100 (Thasos).

¹⁵¹ Thuc. 1.107–8, 111.

ων ἐκάστων ἐφικέσθαι, τῆς μὲν γνώμης τὴν ἀνδρείαν, τῆς δὲ παρασκευῆς τὴν ὑπερβολὴν παρέχειν θαυμάσαι; τὰ τε γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ὡς πᾶσαν ἄγουσα ἀπὸ πάντων σχολὴν οὕτω διωκῆσατο, καὶ τοῖς ἐνοχλοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὑπῆρχεν χρήσασθαι τῷ καιρῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις οὕτως ἀπήτησεν ὥστε σύμπευτε καὶ συμπλείω ταῦτ' ἔχειν ἀπαριθμῆν ὡςπερ ἄλλ' ἅττα συλλήβδην ἀριθμούμενα.

214 ἐνίκων μὲν γε ναυμαχίᾳ Πελοποννησίους ἐπὶ Κεκρυφαλία, ἐνίκων δ' Αἰγινήτας πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ καὶ Πελοποννησίους αὖθις. Μεγαρέουσι δ' ἔστησαν τείχη μέχρι θαλάττης, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἅμα καὶ χώραν διεφύλαξαν. ἐνίκων δὲ Κορινθίους πρὸ Μεγαρέων, καὶ πρὶν δώδεκα ἐξήκειν ἡμέρας ἐνίκων αὖθις ἑτέραν, οὐ καλῶς τὸ τρόπαιον ὑφαρπάζοντας.

215 καὶ οὕτω ταῦτα μεγάλα· ἀλλ' εἰρήσεται γὰρ, κὰν ἐπέιγωμαι ἢ γὰρ προσθήκη δείξει τὸ πᾶν. ἀπήσαν μὲν γὰρ αἱ δυνάμεις τῇ πόλει, ἢ μὲν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χρείαν, νῆες πλείους ἢ τότε ἦσαν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησιν αἱ σύμπασαι σχεδόν, ἢ δ' Αἰγίνῃ προσεκάθητο· ὅπερ καὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον ἐπήρην ὀρμῆσαι πρὸς τὰ Μέγαρα. ῥοντο γὰρ εἶναι σχολὴν Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὸ ἔργον ἑαυτοῖς. εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα νικῶν, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν λύσειν πολιορκίαν, τὴν

attentions between so many objectives, yet to succeed with each individually as if it were the only task at hand, excites admiration both for their heroic resolve and for the superiority of their resources.¹⁵² Not only did she settle her business with the barbarians as if completely free from all other calls on her attention; at the same time it proved impossible for the Greeks who were giving her trouble to take advantage of the moment: she met them too in such a way as to be able to count up five or more encounters at the same time, like other things numbered in clusters. They defeated the Peloponnesians at sea at Cecryphalia, the Aeginetans off Aegina, and the Peloponnesians once more.¹⁵³ For the people of Megara, they built walls down to the sea, protecting their land and their freedom together. They defeated the Corinthians in defense of the Megarians, and before twelve days had elapsed, they defeated them for a second time when they made a dishonorable attempt to purloin the Athenian trophy.¹⁵⁴

Thus stated, the greatness of the achievement is not yet evident, but I shall articulate it even though I am pressed for time: the addition will explain all. Their city's forces were elsewhere, one detachment—amounting pretty well to more ships than there were then in the rest of Greece put together—at the service of the Egyptians, while the other was blockading Aegina. It was this that further emboldened their adversaries to move against Megara. They thought their actions would be free from Athenian interference, or alternatively that even if in the event they came off second best, they would at least put an end to another siege, that of Aegina, because there was nowhere else that

¹⁵² Text uncertain at this point; the translation given here assumes something like Reiske's suggested addition.

¹⁵³ Thuc. 1.105-6.

¹⁵⁴ Thuc. 1.103, 105-6.

- 216 Αἰγίνης· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοθεν γε λοιπὸν ἤξειν αὐτούς. οἱ δὲ τοσοῦτον κατεγέλασαν τοῦ σοφίσματος ὥστ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον οἱ πρὸς Αἰγίνῃ τότε ἐκινήθησαν τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ μηδὲν πεπυσμένων, ἀλλὰ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡλικίας οἱ πρεσβύτατοι καὶ νεώτατοι βοηθοῦσιν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα, καὶ δυοῖν μάχαιν ἐξῆς κρείττους τῆς τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ Πελοποννησίων ἀκμῆς ἐφάνησαν. ὥστ' ἐκείνους ἀκριβῶς ἤδη συγχωρῆσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἔτι, μηδ' ὡς οὐ δικαίως τά γε νῦν ταῦτα
- 217 προσανιμήκεσαν. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ θεῶν τινος εὐνοία καὶ σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν συσκευασθῆναι τοῦτο τὸ δεύτερον, ὥσπερ ἐν δράματι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἅπαξ ἐπλήγησαν, ἀπῆλθον, τάχ' ἂν τις ἦν αὐτοῖς ὕστερον ἀντιλαβή· τὸ δ' ὄνειδιζέσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων, ὄνειδιζομένους δὲ αὐθις ἐξελθεῖν, ἀνθιστάντας δὲ τρόπαιον μείζω τῶν πρότερον προσπαθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐποίησεν ἐπισφραγίζεσθαι τὴν νίκην, ὡς μὴ δοκεῖν τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τοῦ κρείττονος λόγῳ τὸ ἔργον κριθῆναι καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον. οὐκοῦν τοῦ τρίτου γε ἐπειράθησαν, καίτοι τοὺς ἀγωνιστὰς αὐτοὶ προσαναγκάζοντες ἐν Ἴσθμῳ.
- 218 ἄρ' οὖν ταῦτα καὶ μόνα τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἔχομεν λέγειν; πολλῶν μὲντὰν καὶ μεγάλων ἀποστεροίμεν αὐτούς, οἱ περιέπλευσαν μὲν τὴν Πελοπόννησον, οὐχ ὡς ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν περίπλους ναυτικούς, ἀλλ' ὥστε κρατεῖν μὲν τῶν ἐπικαίρων τῆς χώρας, νικᾶν δὲ τοὺς

- the Athenians could come from. It is a measure of the contemptuous ease with which the Athenians dealt with this ploy that, while her forces off Aegina were no more disturbed at this juncture than those in Egypt (who in fact knew nothing of what was happening), it was the remainder of her citizens of military age, the very oldest and the very youngest, who made up the rescue party to Megara and who in two successive battles proved victorious over the flower of the Corinthian and Peloponnesian forces. In the face of this the Corinthians and Peloponnesians gave way in no uncertain terms and had nothing more to say, not even that they did not deserve this extra bucket of woes that they had hauled up for themselves. I think it was the goodwill and favor of one of the gods for Athens that engineered this sequel, as if in a play. If the Corinthians had just gone away after their first reverse, then perhaps they might have had some basis for a subsequent comeback; but the fact that they were reproached by their own people, and marched out again to the accompaniment of those reproaches, and set up a rival trophy only themselves to suffer a second defeat more crushing than the first, caused a seal to be set on the victory, preventing any sense that the issue had been decided then or earlier by luck rather than by the logic of superiority. They made no third attempt, even though they themselves used to compel contestants at the Isthmian Games to do just that.
- 218 Are these then the only exploits of these heroes that I am in a position to describe? Were that to be so, I would indeed be robbing them of many great achievements. They circumnavigated the Peloponnese, not as a purely nautical maneuver, but in such a way as to seize control of the territory's strategic locations and to make light work of

219 ἀντιστάντας ἐν φαύλῳ, στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ στρατηγῷ· διέβησαν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον, παντὸς τοῦ προστυχόντος εἰκόντος. αὔθις δ' ἐπὶ Φωκίας Λακεδαιμονίων παρελθόντων ἐκέκλειστο μὲν ὁ Κρισαῖος κόλπος, ἀπήντων δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ὄρους. χωρὶς δ' ὑπὲρ Μεγάρων ἦσαν ἐν Γεραναίᾳ ὥστε μὴ ἔχειν Λακεδαιμονίους ὃ τι χρήσονται, ἀλλ' ἀπορεῖν ἐστῶτας ἐν Βοιωτοῖς ὅποι σωθήσονται οὕτω περιέπτυσεν αὐτοὺς ἢ πόλις.

220 τέλος δὲ συμβάλλουσιν ἐν Τανάγρα τῆς Βοιωτίας, καὶ γενομένων ἀμφοτέρων ἀνδρῶν τοῦ τολμήματος ἀξίων ἔδοξαν καθ' ἐν τούτῳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πλέον ἐσχηκέναι πῶς ἂν εἰποίμι εὐπρεπῶς; ὀκνῶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπώλοντο. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ὄρος οὗτος Ἀθηναίοις μὲν κλείσαι τὴν πάροδον, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ σωθῆναι οἴκαδε. καὶ κινδυνεύει μόνον τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον τὴν φυγὴν σύμβολον τῆς νίκης ἐσχηκέναι, ἐπεὶ τούτους γε καὶ παρὰ τὴν μάχην κρείττους καὶ [παρὰ]⁵¹ τοῖς ὄλοις⁵² ἄνευ πολλῶν τῶν καὶ πρότερον κρινάντων τὰ ἐφεξῆς εὐθὺς ἔδειξε. τρεῖς γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυρήσαντες παραχρῆμα Ἀθηναίων εἶναι τὴν νίκην, Ἀθηναῖοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Βοιωτοί. Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἠγάπησαν ἀναχωρήσαντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ προήλθον κατὰ πόδας τῆς μάχης, Βοιωτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἀντέσχον, ἀλλ' ἠττηθέντες ἐν Οἰνοφύτοις ὑπέκυψαν καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Φωκεῖς καὶ Λοκροὶ νίκη μῆ.

⁵¹ del. Reiske

⁵² τοῖς ὄλοις AB₂MQRTV τοῖς ἄλλοις EU

defeating anyone who resisted them, as general after general did.¹⁵⁵ They crossed over to the mainland opposite and all who encountered them gave way. Again, when the Spartans marched against Phocis, they had already sealed off the Gulf of Crisa and went to meet them on their own borders, besides also being in Gerania to support the Megarians. As a result, the Spartans did not know what to do, but sat where they were in Boeotia wondering helplessly which way they could escape to safety; that was how tightly the Athenians hemmed them in. At length the armies met at Tanagra in Boeotia.¹⁵⁶ Although both sides showed a heroism equal to the boldness of the venture, the Spartans had the better of it in the one respect that—how can I put a creditable face on this? I hesitate to say, “that they were not wiped out.” The Athenians’ objective was to block their passage, theirs to get safely home. One might hazard the suggestion that this was the only engagement in which escape counted as a marker of victory, since even without the many earlier decisive indications there had also been, the sequel immediately revealed who had really prevailed in the battle and overall. Three sets of witnesses on the spot testified to the fact that it was the Athenians who had won the victory—the Athenians themselves, the Spartans and the Boeotians. The Spartans were content simply to withdraw, the Athenians advanced hard on the heels of the battle, and the Boeotians could not stand up to them, but were defeated at Oenophyta along with the Phocians and Locrians in a single battle and bowed to their victorious yoke.¹⁵⁷

219

220

221

¹⁵⁵ Thuc. 1.108.

¹⁵⁶ Thuc. 1.107–8.

¹⁵⁷ Thuc. 1.108.

καὶ παρὰ μὲν τούτων ταύτην ἔλαβεν δίκην ἢ πόλιν
 ἀνθ' ἧν τῷ βαρβάρῳ συνέστησαν ἐν τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς
 222 Ἑλλάδος κινδύνοις. ἕτερον δ' ἔργον αὐτῆς ἄξιον εἶ-
 πείν καὶ σφόδρα μέντοι καὶ τοῦτο βοῶν καὶ δηλοῦν
 ἔτι πόρρωθεν ὄτων εἶη. γενομένου γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὴν
 Λακωνικὴν σεισμοῦ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν περι-
 οίκων περιστάντων καὶ πάντων ὡς ἀληθῶς ὥσπερ ἐν
 σεισμῷ ταραχθέντων τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πραγμά-
 των, οὐκ ἔφθησαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλέσαντες καὶ
 παρῆν ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις, τῇ μὲν ἀνδρεία θαρ-
 ρῶν, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἐκείνων ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας
 περιδεῆς· ὁ καὶ τοὺς παρόντας ἔλυσε φόβους τῇ Λα-
 κεδαιμονίᾳ καὶ δίκην λαβεῖν εἰσαύθις παρεσκεύασεν
 αὐτῶν.

223 οὕτως ἄρα οὐδαμοῦ τὰς πράξεις οὐδὲ τὰ τολμή-
 ματα τῆς πόλεως ἀσπάσασθαι μᾶλλον ἔστιν ἢ τὸ
 τῶν ἔργων ἦθος, ἀκριβέστερον τροπαίου σημαῖνον
 224 τοὺς εἰργασμένους. τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ Μιλησίων ἔκπλου
 καὶ τὰς ἐν Σάμῳ ναυμαχίας καὶ τὴν Εὐβοέων σωφρο-
 νισθεῖσαν ἀπόστασιν καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα < . . . >⁵³
 225 ἕξεστι δὲ καὶ παραλιπεῖν. τέλος δὲ κρατήσασα πάν-
 τας εἰρήνην ποιεῖται, ἧς ἄξιον μνησθῆναι. οὐ γὰρ τὸν
 αὐτὸν τρόπον ὄνπερ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐσπέισατο, ἀλλ' ἐνήλλαξεν. ἐκείνων
 μὲν γὰρ ἀφέιλε πᾶσαν τὴν κάτω χώραν καὶ τὴν ἐντὸς

⁵³ *lac. hic Trapp, post ἕξεστι Reiske (<μὲν λέγειν, ἀνάγκη δὲ νῦν γε>, delete δὲ καί)*

Such was the punishment that Athens inflicted on
 these cities for allying themselves with the barbarian in the
 hour of Greece's shared peril. But there is another Athe- 222
 nian exploit that deserves mention, this one too emphati-
 cally proclaiming and revealing still more visibly whose it
 was. When the Spartan earthquake struck and the Peri-
 oeci had surrounded the Spartans, and the whole situation
 in the Peloponnese really had been shaken up as if in an
 earthquake, the Spartans had no sooner called than the
 Athenian people were there under arms, confident in their
 courage, yet at the same time fearful for the Spartans'
 safety as if it had been their own.¹⁵⁸ This both dissolved
 the Spartans' immediate fears and paved the way for their
 subsequent punishment of the Perioeci.

In no case, then, may we cherish their exploits and 223
 their daring more than we do the moral character revealed
 in their actions, which distinguishes the authors of those
 actions more exactly than any victory monument ever can.
 Their naval expedition in defense of Miletus, the battles 224
 off Samos, the punishment of the Euboean revolt, and
 many other episodes <would further extend the list of
 their achievements>, but may also be legitimately passed
 over.¹⁵⁹ In the end, having defeated all her enemies, she 225
 made a peace that deserves to be commemorated too. She
 did not make terms with the Greeks in the same way as
 she had with the barbarians, but reversed the pattern.
 Whereas she took away from the barbarians their entire

¹⁵⁸ Thuc. 1.101-2.

¹⁵⁹ Thuc. 1.114-17; the translation of this sentence assumes a
 version of Reiske's supplement to the Greek text.

ὦν εἶπον θάλατταν, τοῖς δὲ Ἑλλησιν ὦν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου κατέστη κυρία, ταῦτ' ἀπέδωκε, Μέγαρα, Τροίηνα, Πηγάς, πᾶν τὸ Ἀχαιϊκόν. ᾗ καὶ δῆλον ὡς κρατοῦσα τὴν εἰρήνην συνέθετο· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὅ τι ἀνταπέλαβεν, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν ἐν τὸ αὐτὸ σύμβολον ἐξήνεγκεν, καὶ τοῦ περιεῖναι τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῆς ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, ἡγουμένη πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βαρβάρους δεῖν πολεμεῖν ἄχρι παντὸς τοῦ δυνατοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἀπλῶς μέχρι τοῦ κρείττονος.

- 226 οὕτω μὲν τὸν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀγῶνα, οὕτω δ' αὖ τὸν πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας διενεγκούσα, τοιαύτην μὲν τὴν πρὸς ἐκείνους, τοιαύτην δὲ καὶ τὴν πρὸς τούτους εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ καὶ χωρὶς κρείττων γενομένη. ἀλλὰ μὴν μόνῃ μὲν ἀπασῶν πόλεων ἰδίους κινδύνους κοινὴν ἅπαντι τῷ γένει τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐπορίσατο, μόνῃ δ' ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν εὐεργεσιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐκτήσατο καὶ μετέθηκε τὸν θεσμόν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ὧν κατεδουλώσατο τὰς πόλεις ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἐποίησεν ἐλευθέρως ὥστε συμβῆναι τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῖς μὲν Ἑλλησιν τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, τῇ δὲ πόλει τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς κέρδος ἐνεγκεῖν· μόνου γὰρ ἐκόντων ἦρξαν, καὶ μόνος οὗτος δῆμων ὥσπερ εἰς ἀρχῶν αἰρετὸς ἐξ ἀπάντων ἐνίκησεν, τοὺς μὲν βαρβάρους τοῖς ὅπλοις βιασάμενος, τοὺς δ' ὁμοφύλους οὐ πείσας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἄρχειν πεισθεῖς,

seaboard, and the sea between the limits I mentioned,¹⁶⁰ she gave back to the Greeks everything that she came into possession of in the course of the war, Megara, Troezen, Pegae, and the whole of Achaea.¹⁶¹ All of this shows that she made the peace from a position of strength: she took back nothing in return, but rather gave the world an emblem of two things—her victory in the war and her innate goodness—in one and the same gesture, believing it to be her duty to fight the barbarians to the limit of her capacities, but the Greeks only to the point of achieving superiority.

Having concluded her struggle against the barbarians thus, and thus in its turn the struggle against the Greeks, such was the peace she made with the former and such with the latter, proving herself superior to both together and each separately. She alone of all cities by risking her own safety brought shared benefit to the whole Greek race, she alone from her benefactions to all alike achieved leadership over them, and changed the rationale of the institution: she owed her command not to the enslavement of the cities but to their liberation, with the result that the same period of time brought the Greeks the benefit of freedom and Athens the benefit of leadership. They alone commanded willing followers, and this people alone among peoples triumphed as if chosen from all to be sole commander; they overpowered the barbarians by force of arms, but it was their fellow Greeks who persuaded them to take command, rather than having to be persuaded by them; their command was an emblem of their righteous-

¹⁶⁰ §208 above.

¹⁶¹ Thuc. 1.115 (but with no mention of Megara).

σύμβολον δικαιοσύνης ἔχων τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἀδικίας.
 εἰ δὲ δεῖ διελόντα εἰπεῖν, μόνη πόλεων τῶν μὲν βαρ-
 βάρων ἀκόντων, τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων δεηθέντων ἔσχε τὴν
 ἀρχήν.

[*The Peloponnesian War (228-63)*]

- 228 οὕτω δὲ τούτων προκεχωρηκότων μέχρι μὲν τινος ἦν
 ἡσυχία καὶ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης εὐδαιμονίας αἱ πόλεις
 ἀπήλαυον, τῆς δὲ κοινῆς τύχης ἀνθρώπων, ἣ πάντα
 κινεῖ, μετέσχον ἄρα καὶ οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἡ πόλις· οἱ
 μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὦν εὖ ἔπαθον χάριν ἔσχον διὰ τέλους,
 ἀλλ' ἐφθόνησαν τῶν ἔργων ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς, ἣ δ'
 ὑπὲρ ὧν ἅπαντα ὑπέστη, τούτοις συνέρραξεν, δυοῖν
 δείξασα ὡς ἄκουσα, τῷ τε κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτι κινουμένους
 κατασχεῖν καὶ δεῖσθαι λόγῳ κρίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν δια-
 φόρων καὶ τῷ πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθεῖσα, ὅτε ἐνίκησε,
 μηδὲν πλεόν ζητῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἀφεῖναι τοὺς ἐρίσαντας
 αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ μηδὲν ἀηδέστερον ἐξ-
 αγαγεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δεσμοτηρίου ἢ κρατήσασαν τὸ ἐξ
 229 ἀρχῆς ἐμβαλεῖν. τουτοισὶ δὲ ἤδη τί τις ἂν χρῆσαιο;
 αἰσχύνομαι μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ ναυμαχίας
 παραλιπῶν, ἃς οὔτε παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνίκων οὔτε ὀλίγω
 πλείονας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐφ' ἔρμαιον πλεύσαντας, καὶ νίκας
 ἑτέρας ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ ὡς Κέρκυραν ἐξείλοντο καὶ τὰ

¹⁶² Thuc. 5.18 (the Peace of Nicias of 422-421).

ness, not of their injustice. If a contrast is needed to ex-
 press the point, Athens alone of cities held command
 against the wishes of the barbarians, but in answer to the
 entreaties of the Greeks.

The Peloponnesian War (228-63)

- When these events had played themselves out in this way, 228
 there was peace for a while, and the cities of Greece
 reaped the benefits of their prosperity of the moment. But
 then for all that the common fortune of mankind that lets
 nothing stay as it is made both Greece and Athens feel its
 effects. The Greeks were not permanently grateful for the
 benefits they received, but became jealous of the excessive
 scale of Athenian achievement. Athens for her part came
 into conflict with those for whom she had undertaken all
 her labors, though showed in two ways that she did so
 against her will: when their discontent was still in its early
 stages, she attempted to restrain them and begged them
 to settle things by negotiation; when she had been forced
 to go to war, she did not seek to gain anything more once
 she had won, but instead set free those who had con-
 tended with her for hegemony, taking no less pleasure in
 releasing them from prison than she had in defeating them
 and putting them there in the first place.¹⁶² How best then 229
 to deal with the events of this period? I do indeed have a
 bad conscience about omitting so many things: the Battle
 of Naupactus, which they won by no small margin and
 against opponents far superior in number who thought
 that luck had brought them an easy victory; their other
 victories in Thrace; how they saved Corcyra; their exploits

κατ' Ἀμπρακίαν ἔργα μέγιστα τῶν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλληνικῶν, καὶ τὰτα ἀρετῇ πραχθέντα, οὐ χρεῖα, καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν δὴ τὴν Πύλον, ναυμαχίας τε ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ μάχας πεζῶς ὕστερον ἐν τῇ νήσῳ γενομένας, καὶ πρὶν ταῦτ' ἐξήκειν, ἑτέρους Λακεδαιμονίους ἐκ Κυθήρων ἀγομένους καὶ τρόπαια Κορινθίων καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἐφάμιλλα καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ θαυμάσαι.

230 ὁ δὲ καιρὸς οὐ φέρει, ἀλλὰ μείζονος εὐτυχίας εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ κατασχεῖν αὐτόν. ἔτι δ', ὥσπερ εἵπομεν, οὐ συγγραφῆς ἔργου ψιλῆς προειλόμεθα ἀφηγεῖσθαι τὰ πεπραγμένα τῇ πόλει, καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν πεντητηρίδα ἐκτείνοντο ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ τῶν μὲν κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους πράξεων τὰς γνωριμωτάτας εἰπεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπαρχόντων ἀγαθῶν τῇ πόλει καθ' ὅσον δυνατὸν μηδὲν παραλιπεῖν. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἂν διὰ πάντων ἕκαστα λέγωμεν, ἀλλ' ἂν μηδὲν εἶδος εὐφημίας παραλείπωμεν.

231 ὡς δὲ ἐδόκει τῷ δαίμονι μήπω ταῦτα ἀποχρῆν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν κλυσθήσῃαι τὰς πόλεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας ἐπελθεῖν πολεμίους, τοὺς δ' εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐκπλευσαι κατὰ συμφοράς, τίς Ἑλλήνων ἢ τίς βαρβάρων ἐστὶν ὅστις τὸ ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἐτέρους ἂν ἔχοι λέγειν; οἷς ἐπήει μὲν πλεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς Λεοντίνων ἐλευθερίας, ἐδόκει δὲ κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἑγεσταίων, διενεοῦντο δὲ διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ Καρχηδο-

in Ambracia that were the pinnacle of Greek achievement in that period (and what is more were done from heroic choice not necessity); what they did actually in Pylos, with sea battles fought from land and infantry engagements subsequently fought on the island; before that episode had run its course, other Spartans brought from Cythera; victories over the Corinthians,¹⁶³ and many other exploits competing to be mentioned and admired. But Time hurries impatiently on, and I think it requires a more than 230 human good fortune to hold him back. What is more, as I have already said, I did not undertake to give an account of the City's deeds as a simple exercise in historiography—in that case, my speech would last into the next Panathenaic cycle; my object was to recount the most noteworthy of the deeds she has performed in her wars, and as far as possible to omit none of the blessings she enjoys. This object will be realized not if I give a complete and comprehensive account, but if I leave out no category of commendation.

The heavens decreed that even so the Greeks had 231 not yet suffered enough: their cities were to be further pounded on land and sea, assailants were to invade them from foreign parts in war, while others were to sail away to foreign parts only to meet disaster. Who could anyone, Greek or barbarian, find to speak of in the same breath as the men of this city—they who had the idea of sailing to 232 defend the freedom of Leontini, who decided to put themselves at risk to defend Segesta, who planned to cross

¹⁶³ Naupactus, Thuc. 2.90–92; Thrace, 1.61–65, 2.70; Corcyra, 1.48–55; Ambracia, 3.105–14; Pylos, 4.3–23; Cythera, 4.53–54; Corinth, 4.42–45.

νίους ἀνθ' ὧν ἐκείνοι πρότερον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας
 τοὺς ἐν Σικελίᾳ, τριήρεις δὲ ἐπλήρουν καὶ ὀκάδας,
 ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐκπέμποντες. καὶ τὰς
 μὲν πεζομαχίας καὶ ἵππομαχίας ἦττον ἴσως ἄξιον ἐκ-
 πλαγῆναι διὰ τὴν αἰεὶ τοῦ νικᾶν συνήθειαν καὶ τὸ δε-
 δόσθαι τῇ πόλει καθάπερ γέρας τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων
 μοῖραν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις· τὸ δὲ μῆδ' ὡς ἀντέπεσεν τὰ
 πράγματα μῆδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποστῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀπόντων
 μὲν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀπόντων δ' ἱππέων, οἷς οὔτε πλήθος οὔτ'
 ἀρετὴν ἴσους εὔρειν ἦν, ἔτι δὲ νεῶν τοσούτων καὶ βε-
 λῶν καὶ σκευῶν καὶ τεχνῶν καὶ συμμαχῶν καὶ πάσης
 ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν τῆς κατασκευῆς μεθεστηκυίας, ὥσπερ
 ἄρτι τῆς πάσης Σικελίας οἰκίζομένης, κεκενωμένης
 μὲν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ταλάντων ὀλίγου δεῖν μυρίων,
 Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οὐκέτ'
 ἐκ Πελοποννήσου τὰς εἰσβολὰς ποιουμένων, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 μέσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἐκ Δεκελείας, μεθεστηκότων δὲ
 καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ πλήρωμα ἔθρους εἶναι
 δοκεῖν, ἀδείας δ' ὑπαρχούσης αὐτομολεῖν τοῖς βουλο-
 μένοις, τοσούτου δὲ ὄντος πολέμου περὶ τὴν πόλιν,
 τοσαύτην περιουσίαν καρτερίας ἅμα καὶ ῥώμης καὶ
 φιλοτιμίας ἐπιδείξασθαι ὥσθ' ἕτερον στόλον πέμψειν
 ἀντίρροπον τῷ προτέρῳ καὶ στρατηγούς ἐφαμίλλους
 καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀξιούν ἐκεῖ πολιορκεῖν μετὰ τῆς
 συμμαχίας, ποία ταῦτ' ἔνεστι ψυχῇ παραβαλεῖν ἀν-
 θρωπίνῃ καὶ τίνος οὐκ εὐτυχίας μᾶλλον θανατάσαι;

over and attack the Carthaginians in revenge for what they
 had done first to the Greeks of Sicily, and manned war-
 ships and transports as if sending them from the whole of
 Greece.¹⁶⁴ We should not perhaps feel so very astonished
 at the battles they fought with their infantry and cavalry,
 given that winning was such a consistent habit with them,
 and the fact that they had been granted the status of vic-
 tors in most cases like a kind of national privilege. What is
 truly amazing, however, is their readiness to fight on when
 things turned against them. With their hoplites away, and
 their cavalry away—whose like in numbers and in quality
 could not be found—with so many ships, weapons, tools,
 skills and allies away too, you might even say the totality
 of their resources gone abroad, as if all Sicily was only just
 now being colonized, with the Acropolis emptied of al-
 most 80,000 talents, with the Spartans, the Boeotians and
 the rest no longer launching their attacks from the Pelo-
 ponnese, but from Decelea in the middle of Attica, with
 their slaves too defected in sufficient numbers (it seemed)
 to populate a country,¹⁶⁵ and all who wished to desert free
 to do so without fear, with such a war raging around the
 city, they yet displayed such a superabundance of forti-
 tude, strength and pride as to send out a second expedition
 on the same scale as the first and generals to match the
 first set, and to think themselves capable of laying siege to
 the Spartans over there along with their allies! Can any
 merely human spirit compare with this? Does any success
 merit as much admiration?

¹⁶⁴ The great Sicilian Expedition of 415–413, described by
 Thuc. in Books 6 and 7 of his *History*; the details specified here
 derive from 6.6, 8, 11, 15 and 19–20. ¹⁶⁵ Thuc. 7.19, 27–28.

234 γενομένον δὲ τοῦ μεγάλου πάθους—οὐ γὰρ οὖν
 σωπήσομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἔτι μείζω μοι δοκεῖ δει-
 κινῦναι τὴν πόλιν—οὕτω γὰρ τοῖς ὑπολοίποις προση-
 νέχθη πράγμασιν ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πᾶσαν εἰλήφει τὴν
 Σικελίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστερημένη δυνάμειος ἐφκει, ἀλλ'
 ἄρτι προσκεκτημένη. καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν τρόπων εὐκο-
 λίαν καὶ σωφροσύνην καὶ τάξιν διαίτης, ἣν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 μηδὲν αἰσχροῦν συγχωρῆσαι προείλοντο, οὐδ' ἂν εἰς
 235 ἀξίως εἴποι. περιστάτων δὲ αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 ἀπάντων καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχόντων πολεμίων τότε
 πρῶτον λαβόντων ἐλπίδας καὶ παροξυνθέντων ὑπὸ
 τῆς τύχης, ἐπελθόντων δὲ τῶν ἐκ Σικελίας, μεταστά-
 σης δὲ τῆς συμμαχίας ὀλίγου δεῖν ἀπάσης, καὶ
 νήσων καὶ ἠπείρου καὶ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν πολεμίων
 καταστάντων καὶ πανταχόθεν κεκυκλωμένων, ἔτι δ'
 ἀγνωμοσύνης ἀπροσδοκῆτου συμβάσεως ὥστε καὶ
 βασιλέα κληθῆναι κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπ' ἐκεί-
 νου σωθέντων ταῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως πράξεις, προσ-
 γενομένου δὲ κακείνου μάλα ἀσμένως, καὶ συμπολε-
 μούντος καὶ σώμασι καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ τίνα
 γῆς ἢ θαλάττης τόπον οὐ παρέχοντος ἀφορμὴν τῷ
 πολέμῳ; ἣν μὲν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐκ ἂν ἤλπιεν, ἔξωθεν
 οὕτως σκοπῶν, ἀναρπασθήσεσθαι νῦν ἤδη τὴν πό-
 λιν οὕτω κοινῷ πολέμῳ βαρβάρων τε καὶ Ἑλλήνων
 συνεχομένην. οἱ δ' οὕτω μετέστησαν τὰ πράγματα
 ὥσπερ ἀπάντων τούτων ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' οὐ κατ'
 αὐτῶν γιγνομένων, ἢ στρατηγούντων σφίσι τῶν πο-
 λεμίων.

When the great disaster struck¹⁶⁶—I shall not pass this 234
 over in silence, since it seems to me that it too reveals still
 greater might in Athens, in that she faced up to what was
 still to come as if she had in fact captured the whole of
 Sicily: she did not seem like a city that had been stripped
 of its power, but like one that had just acquired more.
 There is not a speaker alive who could do justice to the
 calmness of manner, the self-restraint, and the disciplined
 behavior that they adopted so as not to be forced into any
 disgrace. The whole of Greece surrounded them: their 235
 long-standing enemies, spurred on by their good fortune,
 were now for the first time beginning to hope, and their
 Sicilian enemies were attacking them too; almost the
 whole of the alliance, on islands and mainland alike, had
 changed allegiance, so that practically all were now their
 foes, and surrounded them on all sides. On top of this, in
 a wholly unexpected act of ingratitude, the very peoples
 who had been saved from the King of Persia by Athens'
 deeds now summoned him to help them against her; he
 was only too glad to join them in their fight, to add his men,
 ships and gold to theirs, and to allow them the use of
 anywhere on land or sea that could serve as a base for of-
 fensive operations.¹⁶⁷ There was not a single neutral ob-
 server, looking in on this situation from the outside, who
 did not think that the time had come for Athens, beset so
 by the combined forces of Greeks and barbarians, to be
 sacked and destroyed. But the Athenians turned the situ-
 ation round, for all the world as if it was all happening to
 help them rather than to harm them, or their enemies
 were forming their strategy to suit them.

¹⁶⁶ The defeat of the Sicilian Expedition in 413 BC: Thuc.
 7.31–87 and 8.1–4.

¹⁶⁷ Thuc. 8.5–44.

236 τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον ὅτι καὶ τῆς πολιτείας κινηθείσης καὶ τινῶν ἀλλοτριωθέντων σφίσι τῶν οἴκοι, τόπον οὐδένα ἔχοντες οὐδ' ἔχρησται πλὴν Σάμου, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ Μηδικῷ κινδύνῳ τῆς Σαλαμίνας, ἀλλ' ἕτερον δὴ τινα καὶ οὕτοι τρόπον εἰς ταυτὸν ἐλθόντες τοῖς τότε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐκλιπόντες μέρει τῷ πλείστῳ, κατεστήσαντο μὲν τὰ οἴκοι, ἐκράτησαν δὲ τοὺς ἕξω, διέλαβον δὲ τροπαίους τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον, ἄλλους ἄλλοσε καταδιώκοντες, ὥσπερ μελέτας μᾶλλον ἐν σφίσι αὐτοῖς ἢ ναυμαχίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας αἰετιοῦμενοι. [εἴρηται τε καὶ ἐνεθυμήθη ὡς ἕτέρῳ προεῖρηται.]⁵⁴

237 τέλος δ' ἐπὶ Κυζίκῳ συμπεσόντες ὁμοῦ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας βαρβάροις καὶ Φαρναβάζῳ λαμβάνουσι τὰς ναῦς παρὰ τοσοῦτον οὐ πάσας παρ' ὅσας διέφθειραν. καὶ Φαρναβάζου κακῶς τὸ συμβᾶν ἰωμένον καὶ τὴν ἵππον ἐπεισάγοντος οἱ μὲν ἐκ ποδῶν ἵππομαχήσαντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πάντα ὁμοῦ χειροῦνται, ναυτικόν, ἱππικόν, τοξότας τοὺς ἀπὸ Σικελίας, τοὺς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, τὴν βασιλέως χορηγίαν, τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐλπίδας, καὶ κενὸς ἤδη τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὁ πόλεμος ἦν καὶ πάντα φρούδα ὥσπερ ἐκ ναυαγίας τινὸς ἀλη-

⁵⁴ *secl.* Behr

¹⁶⁸ The oligarchic coup of the Four Hundred in 411: 48–54, 63–70.

¹⁶⁹ Thuc. 8.72–109.

Most magnificently of all, when political revolution struck as well and some of those back home became estranged from them,¹⁶⁸ and they had nowhere to make their stand apart from Samos, like Salamis in the perils of the Persian War, yet they too in their own different way matched the achievement of that earlier time: abandoning the city in company with the majority of the population, they restored order at home, defeated their enemies abroad, and punctuated the Hellespont with the markers of their victories.¹⁶⁹ As they pursued their adversaries this way and that, it was as if they were conducting exercises among themselves rather than sea battles against real attackers.¹⁷⁰

Finally, they joined battle with the Spartans and the Greeks and the barbarians of Asia and Pharnabazus at Cyzicus, and it was only the number of ships that they sank that caused them to fall short of capturing the entire fleet.¹⁷¹ When Pharnabazus ineptly tried to rescue the situation by ordering in his cavalry as well,¹⁷² they fought them partly on foot and partly from shipboard. Everything alike succumbed to their onslaught—fleet, cavalry, Sicilian archers, Peloponnesians, the King's resources—and so too did the hopes of the Spartans. Their enemies had nothing left to fight with: everything had vanished as if literally

¹⁷⁰ The following sentence, bracketed in the Greek text opposite, looks like a reader's marginal note, wrongly incorporated into Aristides' text: "It has been said, and I realized that it had been said by (?) another."

¹⁷¹ Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.11–18 (410 BC).

¹⁷² According to Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.6, this was at the earlier encounter at Abydos, not Cyzicus.

θῶς.⁵⁵ ὥσθ' ἡ μὲν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβληθείσα ὑπὸ τῆς
στάσεως πόλις οὐδ' ὄνομα εἰρήνης ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν
χρόνων ἐνενόησεν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων
πλεονεκτημάτων ὀρμώμενοι πληγέντες κατέφυγον εὐ-
θὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην.

238 αἰεὶ μὲν οὖν ἔγωγ' ἐμεμφάμην τοῖς ἐπιτιμῶσι τῇ
τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων πόλει καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμε-
τέρας ἀξιοῦσιν ποιεῖν· ἐκείνοις μὲν γὰρ ἀπεχθάνον-
ται, ὑμᾶς δ' οὐ κοσμοῦσιν, ὡς οἴονται. ἀλλ' εἴ γέ τι
δεῖ καὶ παράδοξον εἰπεῖν, τοῦναντίον μοι δοκοῦσι
δρᾶν ἢ βούλονται μᾶλλον γὰρ ἐκείνους αἴρουσιν ἢ
τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζουσι καὶ πλείω χάριν ἂν παρ'
ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς οἶμαι τῆς βλασφημίας ἢ τῶν εὐφη-
μῶν εἶναι παρ' ὑμῶν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι δεύτεροι τῆς
πόλεως ἀκούουσι, τοῦτο ζημιοῦνται, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρὸς
τὴν πόλιν κρίνονται, τοῦτο κερδαίνουσιν· ὑμᾶς δ' οὐχ
ὅτι κρείττους ἀποφαίνουσι σεμνύνουσιν, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ
τῷ παρεξέταξεν εὐόκασιν οὐ γινώσκων ὥστ' οὐδὲν
ἀπεικὸς ὑμᾶς ἀηδέστερον ἢ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔχειν,
ὁπόταν ταῦτα ἀγωνίζωνται.

239 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει τοῦ λόγου
γεγένημαι, ἐν ᾧ τὰ προσάλληλά ἐστι ταῖς πόλεσιν,
ἀνάγκη καὶ τοῦτ' ἴσως ὑπομείναι, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν
τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ὅσῳ κρείττων ἢ πόλις ἀποφαίνωμεν,
240 ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις. φανήσονται γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
μὲν τριακοσίων ἀνδρῶν στερηθέντες οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες,

⁵⁵ <ὡς> ἀληθῶς Reiske

in a shipwreck. So it was that the Athenians, although so
hugely outnumbered by the alliance, did not find the word
"peace" even crossing their minds, while their opponents,
who started with such enormous advantages, sought the
protection of a peace treaty immediately they were de-
feated.

I have never been happy about people who criticize the
city of Sparta, in the belief that this is an appropriate way
for them to favor your city; in doing so they make enemies
of the Spartans while at the same time failing to do you
the honor they think they are doing you. At risk of saying
something paradoxical, I think they achieve the opposite
of what they intend, because the result is that they elevate
the Spartans rather than praising you, and I think that they
earn more gratitude from them for their abuse than they
do from you for their compliments. The Spartans do not
so much suffer from being said to come second behind
Athens, as gain from being compared to her; and as for
you, they do not honor you in declaring you superior, so
much as reveal their ignorance of you in the very act of
comparison. It is therefore perfectly reasonable for you to
be less pleased than the Spartans whenever such conten-
tions are advanced.

All the same, since we have now reached the part of
the speech in which comparisons between the two cities
arise, you may perhaps have to put up with this too, so as
to allow me to demonstrate the extent of your city's supe-
riority not just in war but in everything. It will be appar-
ent that the Spartans could not bear up after the loss of
three hundred men,¹⁷³ but immediately caved in, which

¹⁷³ The prisoners taken on Sphacteria (Thuc. 4.38).

ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἐγκλίναντες· ὃ μείζω φιλοτιμίαν ἔχει τῇ
 πόλει τοῦ νικῆσαι τῇ μάχῃ· ἐν ἐκείνῃ μὲν γὰρ τῶν
 ἀντιστάτων κρείττων ἐγένετο, ἐν οἷς δ' ἀπηγόρευσαν
 οἱ λοιποὶ σχεδὸν πάντων, ὥσπερ ἐν ἄθλοις, ὅταν πᾶς
 τις εἴκη. αὕτη δὲ τοσαύτη χρησαμένη συμφορᾷ μετὰ
 ταῦτ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ οὐ μόνον οὐ καταπτήξασα οὐδ' ἐπὶ
 τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσμένως καταφυγούσα, ἀλλ' οὕτω δια-
 θέισα τοὺς πολεμίους ὥστ' ἀσμένους ἂν ἐκείνους
 241 καὶ μὴν οἱ μὲν ὡς ἤκουσαν τὴν Κόνωνος ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ
 πολιορκίαν, οὐκ ἐξεπλάγησαν, ἀλλὰ πλεύσαντες ἐπ'
 Ἀργινούσαις ὅσαις οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰκάσειεν ναυσίν,
 ἐλάττωσιν δὲ ὅμως τῶν ἀντιπάλων, ἀντετάξαντο παντὶ
 τῷ ναυτικῷ τῶν πολεμίων, ὥσπερ ἄλλου μὲν τινος αἰεὶ
 παρέχοντος σφίσι τὰς τριήρεις, ἐν δὲ τῷ Καρὶ καὶ
 οὐκ ἐν τοῖς αὐτῶν σώμασιν τὰς πείρας ποιούμενοι.
 242 καὶ οὔτε πλήθους τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων ἐφρόντισαν
 οὔτε τῆς Καλλικρατίδου δόξης, οὔτε νήσων ἐχομένων
 οὔτε ἡλλοτριωμένης ὡς εἰπεῖν ἦδη τῆς τύχης, οὐ χει-
 μῶνος ἠττήθησαν, οὐχ ὅσον τοῦ πολέμου τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐνεθυμήθησαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξαρκοῦν εἰς τὴν θάλατ-
 ταν ἰδεῖν, τρέπονται μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, κρατοῦσι δὲ
 σύμπαντας Πελοποννησίους, τριήρεις δὲ τὰς μὲν αἰ-
 ροῦσιν, τὰς δὲ καταδύουσιν ὁμοῦ τῷ σκηπτῷ καὶ τοῖς
 πολεμίους μαχόμενοι. τοσοῦτον ἐποίησαν τῆς πολιορ-

174 Xen. *Hell.* 1.6.16–34 (406 BC). “Running one’s risks with a Carian” was a proverbial expression, supposedly derived from

gives your city more to be proud about than its victory in
 the battle: in the battle she overcame her immediate ad-
 versaries, whereas in the collapse of all the rest she over-
 came just about everyone, in the style of a walkover at the
 games. While when Athens subsequently experienced her
 great catastrophe in Sicily, far from cowering down and
 gratefully seeking the protection of a peace treaty, she
 actually treated her enemies in such a way that they would
 have been glad to find someone able to persuade the Athe-
 nians to make peace. Moreover, when they heard that
 Conon was besieged in Mytilene, they did not panic, but
 sailed to Arginusae with more ships than anyone would
 ever guess, though still fewer than their opponents', and
 faced up to their enemy's whole fleet, as if someone else
 was keeping them continually supplied with warships, and
 they were running their risks with a Carian rather than
 putting their own bodies on the line in their ventures.¹⁷⁴
 They were unconcerned by the number of their adversar-
 241 ies, or Callicratidas' reputation, or islands hemming them
 in, or the fact that fortune had now so to speak turned
 against them. They were not worsted by the storm, nor
 concerned about how much of the war still remained to
 be fought, but as if it was enough just to turn their gaze
 toward the sea they routed the Spartans and triumphed
 over the Peloponnesians *en masse*, capturing some war-
 ships and sinking others as they battled simultaneously
 with the lightning bolts and their enemies. That is how
 comprehensively they turned the tables on their besiegers.

the cheapness of Carian mercenaries, for letting someone else do the dangerous work: cf. Pl. *Lach.* 187b; Eur. *Cyc.* 654.

- 243 κίας τὸ διάφορον. τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον, ὅτι ἄνδρα
 ῥύονται ὅς μόνος ἤρκεσεν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ὕστε-
 ρον δυναστείαν καταλύσαι. οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἅπαντες
 καταναυμαχηθέντες εἰρήνης αἰθις ἐδέοντο· οὕτως οὐ
 μόνον τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι παρόντας εἴθιστο τότε νι-
 κᾶν ἢ πόλις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξέπληττεν καὶ
 διὰ πάντων ἐνίκα.
- 244 ἀλλὰ μὴν φανήσεται νίκας τε μεγίστας τῶν πώ-
 ποτε ἀνηρημένη καὶ συμφορὰς οὕτως ἐνεγκούσα ὡς
 μᾶλλον ἂν τινα τῆς πόλεως ἀγασθαι τὴν ἐν τοῖς δευ-
 νοῖς εὐψυχίαν ἢ τὰ ἔργα τῶν κεκρατηκότων· ὥστ'
 ἔμοιγε ἐπέρχεται καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ὅτι νικῶσα ταῖς
 εὐπραξίαις οὐχ ἦττον ἐν οἷς ἠτύχησεν διενήνοχεν,
- 245 εἴπερ μηδεὶς ὁμοίως ἐνήνοχε συμφορὰς. τοῦ μὲν οὖν
 οἷς κατώρθωσεν νικᾶν ἄνευ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς πεπραγ-
 μένων τοὺς ἀντιπολιτευσαμένους ἅλυστα ὑπάρχει
 διττὰ σημεῖα. ἃ τε γὰρ καθ' αὐτὴν ἔπραξε τῶν ἰδία
 τισὶ πραχθέντων ὑπεραίρει οὐχ ὅσον ἀγνοῆσαι, ἃ τ'
 ἐν ταυτῷ γενομένων ὁμοῦ πάντες ἐλάττους ἀντιθεῖναι.
- 246 καὶ μὴν ἔν γε τοῖς δυσκόλοις κρείττων γέγονε τῶν
 νενικηκότων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰκοντες, ἢ δ' ἀντέχουσα δέ-
- 247 δεικται τῇ τύχῃ. οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρας τὰς νίκας οὐ
 παρὰ μικρὸν φέρεται καὶ νικᾶ τὰς πόλεις ὁμοίως οἷς
 τε κατώρθωσεν καὶ ἐν οἷς ἀπέτυχεν.

The most significant part of their achievement, however, 243
 was that they rescued the one man subsequently able to
 destroy the power of the Spartans.¹⁷⁵ Their opponents, for
 their part, as if they had all been defeated in the naval en-
 gagement, immediately sued for peace, so well ingrained
 was the city's habit at this time of not only defeating those
 who faced them directly in battle, but also striking terror
 into the others as well, and thus winning a comprehensive
 victory.

It will moreover be clear that while winning the great- 244
 est victories of all time Athens also bore her reverses in
 such a way as to make one more disposed to admire her
 courage in adversity than the achievements of the victors.
 This puts it into my mind to say as well that though trium-
 phant in her successes, she distinguished herself no less in
 her misfortunes, since no one ever bore their disasters as
 well as she did. Two irrefutable pieces of evidence 245
 are available to show that in her successes she defeated all
 who were at odds with her in their aims, even when her
 direct actions against them are left out of account: in her
 own unaided achievements, she surpassed anything that
 any individual people had achieved to an unmistakable
 degree; in what she did in collaborative ventures, all the
 rest together come out inferior to her in the comparison.
 In times of difficulty, too, she emerged superior to her 246
 conquerors, since we have shown that whereas they gave
 in to bad luck, she stood out against it. Thus she wins on 247
 both counts by a large margin, defeating other cities in her
 successes and her failures alike.

¹⁷⁵ Conon, who put an end to Spartan sea power at Cnidus in
 394 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 4.3.10–12).

- 248 καὶ μὴν αὐτὴ μὲν ἐθνῶν ἅμα καὶ πόλεων κεκράτη-
 κεν, αὐτῆς δ' οὐδεὶς ὄστις οὐ μετὰ πολλῶν συμμά-
 χων. ἔτι δ' αὐτὴ μὲν πρὸς ἅπαντας ὁμοῦ πολεμεῖν
 ἠνάγκασται τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἢ κινούντας, τῶν δ' ἐναν-
 τίων οἱ πλείστοι πρὸς μέρος αὐτῆς ἀντήρκασι,
 ἀθρόας δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως ἢ τὶς ἢ οὐδεὶς ἐπειράθη.
 249 ὥσθ' ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις νενίκηκε μὲν πολλὰ δὴ
 πολλάκις, αὐτὴ δ' ἴσα καὶ ἀήττητός ἐστιν. τὸ δὲ πάν-
 των μέγιστον, ὅτι αὐτῆς μὲν οὐδεὶς ἐκράτησεν—οὐ-
 δεὶς γὰρ αὐτῆς τὴν γνώμην παρεστήσατο, ἀλλὰ
 στρατιᾶς γέγονεν πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀτυχήματα—
 αὐτῆ⁵⁶ δὲ τὰς γνώμας τῶν ἐναντίων ἅμα τοῖς ἔργοις
 δεδούλωται, Ξέρξῃ μὲν φεύγειν ἀπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων
 ποιήσασα ἐν εὐχῆς μέρει, Λακεδαιμονίους δὲ ἀνακλί-
 νασα οὐχ ἤττον τοὺς ἀκούοντας ἢ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μά-
 χαις παρόντας καὶ πταίσαντας αὐτῶν.
- 250 γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ὡς οὐκ ἴσον οὐδ' ὅμοιον τὸ τῶν
 πόλεων τούτων οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων οὔτε τοῖς
 τολμήμασι οὔθ' ὅπως οὐδεὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. Λακε-
 δαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἐν Λεύκτροις ἀτυχήσαντες οὐκ ἀν-
 ἤνεγκαν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνδρὸς τελευτῆ κάκείνους συν-
 ἔβη. εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ἀπηξίωσαν ποιήσασθαι πρὸς
 Θεβαίους, μόνη τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλει νομίζοντες
 εἶκειν εὐπρεπῆ συμφορὰν εἶναι, ἀναμιχθέντες δὲ τοῖς
 251 ἄλλοις Πελοποννησίοις οὐ μᾶλλον σώζειν ἐτέρους
 εἶχον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδέοντο σώζειν σφᾶς. καίτοι τὸ

⁵⁶ αὐτῆ Steph. αὐτῆ *codd.*

248 Then again, she has triumphed on her own over peo-
 ples and cities together, whereas no one has ever tri-
 umphed over her except with the help of a large alliance.
 While she was compelled to fight against all her attackers,
 or all her subversives together, the majority of her enemies
 took the field against only a part of her, and few or none
 of them knew what it was like to face her collected might.
 Thus the city of Athens has won mighty victories time
 after time, but is herself as good as unconquered. Above
 249 all, no one has ever truly prevailed over her, since no one
 has ever turned aside her resolve—such reverses as she
 suffered were purely military matters—while she herself
 in addition to her deeds against her enemies has also broken
 their will, making Xerxes see escape from his predica-
 ment as something to pray for and humbling the Spartans
 who only heard of the battle no less than those who were
 there and actually suffered the defeat.

250 Anyone can see that these cities are not like or equal
 to Athens in the magnitude of their achievements, or the
 daring of their undertakings, or in any of their character-
 istics whatsoever. When the Spartans met with their re-
 verse at Leuctra,¹⁷⁶ they did not bear up under it, but
 experienced something like the end of a man's life. They
 scorned to make peace with the Thebans, thinking that the
 only honorable defeat lay in yielding to Athens, while in
 combination with the rest of the Peloponnesians they were
 in no position to rescue the others rather than begging the
 others to rescue them. And yet Athens did them the su-
 251

¹⁷⁶ In 371 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.9–15).

μέγιστόν γε αὐτοῖς ἢ πόλις ἤρκεσεν, τὸ μὴ ὥσπερ
καταιγίδος ἢ στροβίλου τινὸς ἐμβολῆ καθάπαξ ἀν-
252 αρπασθῆναι. ἢ δὲ πόλις κλαπεῖσα τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τῇ
καθ' Ἑλλησποντον καὶ στερηθεῖσα τῶν νεῶν καὶ τῶν
τειχῶν καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐν αὐτῇ στάσει χρησαμένη,
καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν μέτριον ποιούντων, ἐκείνους
μὲν δι' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀφείλετο τῆς θαλάττης τὴν ἀρ-
χήν, αὐτῇ δ' ἐπέστη τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ὥσπερ ἄρτι
παριούσα ἀπὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν.

253 οὐ τοῖνυν μόνον τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἐλαττώματα κάλ-
λιον ἤνεγκεν ἢ τὰς εὐπραξίας ἕτεροι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς
οἴκοι δυσκολίας οὕτω διέθετο ὥσθ' ὄρον εἶναι σωφρο-
σύνης πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ μηδένα μηδ' ὕστερον
ἐξευρεῖν ἔχειν βέλτιον τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων γενομένων μη-
δέν. ἔδειξε δὲ τῇ τ' ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων μεταστάσει
τῆς πολιτείας, ἣν ἀσφορητὴ κατέλυσε, καὶ τῷ πρὸς
τοὺς τριάκοντα πολέμῳ μηδὲν τι πρὸς πλείους μετ'
254 ἐκείνους γενομένῳ. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἅμα σωφροσύνης τε καὶ
τόλμης οὐδένας ἀνθρώπων σαφέστερα δείγματ' ἐξ-
ήνεγκαν, οἳ γε ὀλίγω μὲν πλείους ὄντες ἢ πευτήκοντα
οἱ πρῶτοι ταῦτα βουλευσάντες ὁμοῦ πρὸς τε τὴν Λα-
κεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν γῆς καὶ θαλάττης οὔσαν καὶ πρὸς
τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύειν ὑπέστησαν, οἴομε-
νοι δεῖν ἢ ζῆν ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἢ μὴ προσορᾶν τὸν ἥλιον

177 The Battle of Aegospotami in 405.

preme service of preventing them being swept away once
for all as if by the onset of some hurricane or whirlwind.
As for Athens, even after she had been cheated in the 252
naval engagement on the Hellespont¹⁷⁷ and stripped of
her ships and her fortifications, and following that had
fallen prey to internal disorder, and the Spartans were
behaving with a total lack of restraint, she could still take
command of the seas away from them through the agency
of a single man, and reestablish her own command over
the Greek world as if fresh from her victory over the Per-
sians.

It was not only her reverses in war that Athens bore 253
more nobly than others did their successes; she also dealt
with her domestic troubles in such a way as to constitute
a model of restraint to mankind in general, and to make it
impossible for anyone then or later to devise a better solu-
tion than the one her citizens arrived at. She showed this
both in the lack of fuss with which she put an end to
the amended constitution introduced by the Four Hun-
dred,¹⁷⁸ and in not allowing the war against the Thirty to
be continued beyond the Thirty themselves.¹⁷⁹ No one on 254
earth has given clearer proof of self-control and daring
combined than those men who, numbering little more
than fifty, first planned these actions and dared to risk all
simultaneously against Spartan power on land and sea and
against their enemies within the city itself, in the convic-
tion that it was their duty either to live in freedom, or
should the sun come to witness any cowardice in them, no

178 Thuc. 8.97-98.

179 Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.38; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 38-40; Andoc. *Myst.*
81-87.

255 κακίας μάρτυρα ἑαυτοῖς γενόμενον. ἐπεὶ δ' ἠγωνί-
σαντο μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄστειος, ἀντετάξαντο δὲ
Λακεδαιμονίους, ἔσχον δὲ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, παράδειγμα δ'
ἀνθρώποις τῶν ἐν τοῖς δεινοῖς ἐλπίδων ἐγένοντο, ὁ
δῆμος ἤδη συνειλεγμένοι ἅμα τ' εἰς χεῖρας παρήσαν
καὶ σχεδὸν εἰς λόγους, ὥσπερ ὑπὲρ ἀλλήλων, οὐχ
ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πολεμήσοντες ἑκάτεροι ὥστε μὴ εἶναι
διελέσθαι πότερον τῶν ἐναντίων ἢν καταρᾶσθαι τὴν
στάσιν, ἢ τῶν εὐνῶν συνεῖξασθαι τῇ πόλει, τοῦτόν
γε λυθείσαν τὸν τρόπον. ἐνόσησε μὲν γὰρ τῇ τῶν
πάντων ἀνθρώπων φύσει, ἰάθη δὲ τῇ ἑαυτῆς ὥστε καὶ
τοῦτο ζῆλον αὐτῇ μᾶλλον ἐνήνοχεν ἢ συμφοράν.

256 βούλομαι δὲ τοσοῦτον ἔτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων
εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τῇ μὲν τόλμῃ παρήλθον οὐ μόνον Λακεδαι-
μονίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς Μαραθῶνι σχεδὸν τῶν προ-
γόνων. οἱ μὲν γάρ, εἰ καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἐναντίων ἦττους,
ἀλλ' οὖν ἐν πλήθει συντάγματος ὄντες ἐθάρρησαν, οἱ
δ' ὀλίγῳ πλείους ὄντες οἱ σύμπαντες ἢ πρὸς ὄσους
τοὺς τυράννους ἠγωνίζοντο Φυλὴν κατέλαβον. καὶ οἱ
μὲν εὐθενούσης τῆς πόλεως ξένους καὶ βαρβάρους, οἱ
δ' ἐτέρως πεπραγνίας Λακεδαιμονίους τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστειος αὐτῶν ἐκράτησαν.

257 κρατήσαντες δὲ εὐψυχία τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιεικεία τοὺς
οἰκείους ἐνίκησαν. χρησάμενοι δ' ἀμφοτέροις, καὶ τῇ
παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἀνδρεία καὶ τῷ μετὰ τὰς πράξεις

longer to look upon its light.¹⁸⁰ When they had battled 255
with the faction in the city, and manned the line against
the Spartans, and were in control of the Piraeus, and so
had established themselves as a model for mankind of
hope in adversity, then at last the population *en masse* ar-
rived to fight and almost simultaneously to parley, as if
each side had been waging war on the other's behalf rather
than its own. Such being the way in which it was settled,
it is impossible to decide whether civil strife was some-
thing for the enemies of Athens to curse her with, or for
her friends to join her in praying for: universal human
nature may have brought this sickness on her, but it was
her own nature that cured her, in such a way that this
episode too brought her admiration rather than disaster.

I should like also to say to these men's credit that in 256
their daring they surpassed not only the Spartans, but
also—almost—those of their forebears who fought at
Marathon. Although those forebears were far fewer in
number than their enemies, yet they enjoyed the con-
fidence that comes from being in the massed ranks of a
phalanx, whereas these men though hardly more in num-
ber all told than the tyrants against whom they were fight-
ing, still captured Phyle. Their forbears triumphed over
foreigners and barbarians when the city was strong,
whereas their triumph was over the Spartans, who were
the leaders of Greece, and over their own compatriots in
the city, and it happened when the city's fortunes had
changed. In their victory they surpassed their enemies in 257
courage and their compatriots in decency. Exercising both
bravery in the struggle and the ability to make the right

¹⁸⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.2ff. (giving the number as 70).

ἀ δεῖ βουλευσασθαι οὕτως ἀνεκτῆσαντο τὴν πόλιν,
 ὥστ' εἴ τις βούλοιτο μὴ πάντα διηγείσθαι, ἐνεῖναι
 κλέπαι τὴν συμβάσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου συμφορὰν·
 οὕτως ἀκολουθοῦσι ταῖς ἄνω πράξεσι τὰς ἐφεξῆς καὶ
 258 προείλοντο καὶ κατάρθρωσαν. καίτοι ἤς, ὅτε πάντων
 ἀπεστέρητο, τοσοῦτον ἠττώοντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πόση
 τιμὴ τῇ περιουσίᾳ χρῆ νομίζεω ταύτην ὑπεραίρειν;
 259 ὁ δ' οὐδενὸς ἦττον τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων πραχθέντων
 ἄξιον εἰπεῖν τε καὶ τιμῆσαι. Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ ἀ
 τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐδάνεισαν ἐπὶ τὸν δῆμον ἀπαιτούντων,
 ἐπειδὴ συνέβησαν, συνεξέτισεν ὁ δῆμος, ἕν ἔργω τὰς
 συνθήκας βεβαιώσῃται.
 260 καὶ μὴν Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν ὅπως ὁμίλουσι ἀλλήλοις
 οὐκ ἂν ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν· ἐκρυπτον γὰρ ἡ δὲ πόλις πρὸς
 τῷ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῆς οὕτω θέσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν μαρ-
 261 τύρων καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα κατέστη. τὸ γοῦν
 Ἀργείων πλῆθος νοσοῦν ὑστερον ἰάσατο καὶ ἔργω
 καὶ λόγῳ· πέμψασα γὰρ ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπομνήσασα
 262 τῶν ἑαυτῆς διήλλαξεν. φαίνονται τοῖσιν ὁμοίως τὰ τε
 οἰκεία καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πολιτευσάμενοι μόν-
 νοι τῶν ἄλλων. τοὺς τε γὰρ Ἑλλήνας οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν
 πολεμίων ᾤοντο δεῖν ρύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νοσοῦντας ἐν
 αὐτοῖς ἀπαλλάττειν, αὐτοὶ τε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω πο-
 λέμους καὶ πρὸς τὰς οἴκοι δυσκολίας παρεσκευασμέ-

181 Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 40.3; Isoc. *Or.* 7.69; Dem. *Or.* 20.12.

182 The episode referred to is the notorious *skytalismos* (club-
bing) at Argos: Diod. *Sic.* 15.57.3–58; Plut. *Præ. ger. reip.* 17.814b.

decisions once they had succeeded, they restored their
 city so effectively that, if anyone wanted not to tell the
 whole story, it would be possible to conceal the misfortune
 they suffered in the war. So perfect was the consistency
 between the great deeds of the past and those that they
 subsequently undertook and brought successfully to their
 conclusion. And yet, if the Spartans proved so inferior to
 a city even when she had lost everything, what margin of
 superiority ought we to conclude that city enjoys? 258

Foremost among their deeds deserving mention and
 praise is this. When a treaty was concluded, and the Spar-
 tans asked for the repayment of the loan they had made to
 the Thirty to help them against the Athenian people, the
 people paid it back, so as to cement the treaty by practical
 action.¹⁸¹ 259

What internal relations were like among the Spartans,
 I could not say, because they kept them secret. Athens,
 however, in addition to settling her own affairs so well in
 full view of many witnesses, also made herself an example
 to the rest of Greece. At all events, she subsequently
 brought healing in word and deed to the body politic of
 the Argives, when it succumbed to sickness, reconciling
 them by messages reminding them of her own experi-
 ences.¹⁸² It is clear that the Athenians, alone among all
 other peoples, ran their affairs so as to consult the shared
 interests of Greece as well as their own: they saw it as their
 duty not only to defend the Greeks from their enemies,
 but also to reconcile them among themselves when the
 sickness of faction descended, while they themselves were
 seen to be better prepared than anyone could have hoped
 for to meet both external enemies and troubles at home. 260
 261
 262

263 νοι κρείττον ἐλπίδος ἐωρῶντο. οὐ δὴ τὸ τοὺς ἄλλοθεν
 ἦκοντας καὶ πολλῶ νεωτέρους πρὸς αὐτόχθονας καὶ
 πρεσβυτέρους, οὐδὲ τὸ < >⁵⁷ τῆς πόλεως ἐτέροις
 καταδειξάσης, οὐδὲ τὸ μηδενὸς ἄλλου πλὴν τῶν εἰς
 τὸν πόλεμον προνοουμένων, τῆς πόλεως πλέον τοῖς
 ἄλλοις ἢ ταύτῃ νικώσης, οὐ ταῦτα μόνον δείκνυσι τὸ
 οὐκ ἴσον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου
 πράγμασι καὶ καιροῖς τοσοῦτον φαίνεσθαι κρατοῦ-
 σαν τὴν πόλιν, εἶ τε καὶ ὡς ἐτέρως χωροῦσιν, ὡς τὰ
 τ' εἰρημμένα δηλοῖ καὶ δι' ὧν προσθήσομεν ἕξεστι θε-
 ωρεῖν.

[Interlude (264-65)]

264 πάσχω δ' ἔγωγε πρὸς τὰς τῆς πόλεως πράξεις ὅπερ
 οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ὥρᾳ αἰεὶ γάρ μοι τὸ προφαινόμενον
 τῶν ἔργων κάλλιστον φαίνεται καὶ τίθεμαι τούτῳ
 265 κατὰ τὸν λόγον. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν θεῶν τις ἂν κρίνειεν
 καλῶς, ἐγὼ δέ, ὥσπερ ὑπεσχόμην, δίειμι τῶν λοιπῶν
 τὰ γνωριμώτατα, ἐξ ὧν ἅμα τήν τε γνώμην καὶ τὴν
 δύναμιν τῆς πόλεως ἕξεστι λογιζέσθαι.

⁵⁷ *lac. hic* Trapp, *post* πρεσβυτέρους Reiske *deleto* οὐδὲ τό, *post* οὐ δὴ τό Lenz, Oliver

The inequality between Athens and Sparta does not only 263
 emerge from the confrontation of arrivals from elsewhere
 and a much younger people with an older and autochtho-
 nous one, or from the fact that < > while the Athenians
 taught others how to achieve it,¹⁸³ nor from the fact that
 the Spartans planned exclusively for what they would need
 in war while Athens showed her preeminence more in
 other respects than in this one; it is revealed also in the
 manifest superiority of Athens in the business and vicis-
 situdes of war itself, whether things were going well or
 badly for her, as is made clear by what I have already said
 and can be seen from what I shall add subsequently.

Interlude (264-65)

I feel the same way in the face of the city's achievements 264
 as people do in the presence of youthful beauty: each new
 exploit as it comes into view strikes me as its finest, and I
 privilege it accordingly. One of the gods might be able to 265
 judge all this correctly; I for my part will do as I undertook
 to do and go through the most noteworthy elements of
 what remains, from which both the city's cast of mind and
 its power can be assessed.

¹⁸³ The Greek text seems damaged at this point, but opinions differ about how to repair it. My proposal assumes that Aristides here makes three contrasts between Athenians and Spartans and that what is missing is the Spartan side to the second of them (e.g., "the Spartans cultivated concord among themselves", while the Athenians taught others how to achieve it").

[From the Peloponnesian War to the Rise of
Macedon (266–316)]

- 266 ἓνα μὲν τοίνυν καὶ πρῶτον ἄτοπον πόλεμον καὶ
θανμαστὸν ἤρατο ὑπὲρ Θεβαίων. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὡς
ἀπειρηκότες ὑμῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι παιδιὰν τὰ λοιπὰ
κρίναντες ἤρχοντο τῆς δυναστείας ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτῶν
συμμάχων καὶ φρουρὰν ἐπὶ Θεβαίους ἔφαινον, ἀμ-
φότερα ἐξέπληξεν τοὺς Ἕλληνας. οὔτε γὰρ ἡ πόλις
ἐχθροῖς πικροτέροις οὔτ' αὖ Λακεδαιμόνιοι συμμά-
χοις προθυμότεροις ἅμα καὶ δυνατωτέροις ἐπ' αὐτὴν
ἐκείνην ἐκέχρητο, οὐ μόνον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου
καὶ μεσοῦντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πεπαυμένον.
- 267 ἀλλ' ὅμως ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἐφήσθη τοῖς γιγνομένοις, οὐδ'
αὖ τὴν ἀκαιρίαν κατεμέμψατο τῷ μῆτε ναὺς μῆτε τεί-
χος ἔχειν πω τότε, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐ Λακεδαιμόνιοι κι-
νοῦνται, ἐνταῦθα σφᾶς δέον εἶναι τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας,
παραβάλλοντες μέσσην τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνους
τὴν πόλιν παρ' αὐτὰ τὰ τῶν συμφορῶν ὑπομνήματα,
ἐξελλόντες εἰς Ἄλιάρτον ἐναντία Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ Παν-
σανίᾳ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐξείλοντο. καὶ τότε δὴ Λύσαν-
δρος ἀκριβῶς ἤσθητο ὅτι οὐχ, ὡς ᾔετο, ἐνευικήκει τὴν
τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀνειροπόλησεν τοῖς
παισὶ παραπλησίως. ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς ἀνειλήφει τὰς
συμφορὰς, ὁ δ' οὐ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διώκει, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔκειτο.
- 269 οὐ πολλῶ δ' ὕστερον καὶ Κορινθίους Ἑλληνικὴ καὶ
τῇ πόλει πρέπουσα μετῆλθε δίκη, καὶ καταφεύγουσι

From the Peloponnesian War to the Rise of
Macedon (266–316)

A first and singular instance, then, is the extraordinary and astonishing war she undertook on behalf of Thebes.¹⁸⁴ When the Spartans, deciding that because you had given up in exhaustion, the rest was going to be child's play, made their own allies the first victims of their tyrannical behavior and ordered out a levy against the Thebans, the people of Greece were doubly dumbfounded: Athens had no bitterer enemies than the Thebans, and the Spartans no keener or more powerful allies against her, not only at the beginning and in the middle of the war, but also at the end when it had stopped. But for all that, the people of Athens did not rejoice at this turn of events, nor again did they plead that the timing was bad because at that stage they did not yet have ships or fortifications. As if duty bound to be the ones to confront the Spartans wherever they were taking action, they threw their city squarely back into the hazards of war hard by the very memorials of their former catastrophe and, marching out to face Lysander and Pausanias at Haliartus, rescued Boeotia from them. Then indeed Lysander saw for sure that he had not, as he had thought, conquered the city of the Athenians, but had just as it were dreamed it, as children do. Athens had recovered immediately from her fall, while he, rather than running the Greek world, lay dead along with the rest.

Not long afterward the Corinthians also were overtaken by a truly Greek retribution, and one well suited to

¹⁸⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.3–35 (395 BC).

καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἦν ὅτιοῦν δρῶσαν κακὸν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν ποτε τὴν ἰκανὴν δίκην ἔχειν νομίσει παῖς τις ἂν εἴκασεν ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, οἱ δ' ἄπερ 270
περὶ Θηβαίων, ταῦτα καὶ περὶ τούτων γνόντες βοηθοῦσιν εἰς Κόρινθον, ὡς ἂν τις ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκείας. καὶ γενομένου τοῦ πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ συνεχοῦς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, μάχας τε πολλὰς προκινδυνεύσαντες καὶ τειχίσαντες αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ πάντων διαφυλάξαντες κάλλιστον ἐκείνο ἐπέθηκαν· ἔχοντες γὰρ τὸν Ἀκροκόρινθον καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς κατασχεῖν τὴν πόλιν, ἠνίκ' ἐβούλοντο, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο οὐδ' ἐβουλεύσαντο, ἔργῳ δείξαντες ὅτι τὸ τῶν προστατῶν πολεμῶσι, οὐχ αὐτοῖς ἰδία τι πράττοντες. καὶ τέλος εἰς 271
τοῦτ' ἀπορίας κατέστησαν Λακεδαιμονίους ὥστ' ἐπὶ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα πάλιν καταφεύγουσιν καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ποιοῦνται τὴν θρυλουμένην εἰρήνην, τοὺς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἕλληνας προέμενοι, περὶ ὧν οὐδὲν ἔγωγε κατηγορῶ. ἀλλ' εἴ τις ἔροιτο αὐτοὺς, πότερον ἐκόντες ταῦτα συνεχώρησαν ἢ βιασθέντες, εἰ μὲν ἐκόντες φήσουσιν, ἀνάγκη προδεδωκέναι φάσκειν, ὃ τίς ἂν πιστεύσειεν; εἰ δ' ἄκοντες καὶ δι' ἀνάγκην, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἠττησθαι δήπου πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τοῖς ὄλοις· οὐ γὰρ ἂν, εἴ γ' εἶχον ὃ τι χρήσονται τοῖς πράγμασι, εἴτ' ἐξεπίτηδες τοιαύτην αἰσχύνην ὑπέστησαν. ὥστε τῷ μόνῳ λειπομένῳ τῶν λόγων αὐτοὶ μαρτυ-

185 Xen. *Hell.* 4.4 (?).
of Antalcidas," of 387 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 5.125-34).

the character of Athens, as they too turned to the city for protection. Given the past record, anyone might have guessed that the Athenians would have thought that no harm they could do the Corinthians would punish them enough. The Athenians however followed the same policy as they had with the Thebans and went to their aid like people defending their own homeland.¹⁸⁵ A long and un- 270
interrupted war ensued in Corinth, in the course of which they fought many dangerous battles on the Corinthians' behalf. Finally, having built them fortifications and protected their city throughout, they added one last crowning achievement: although they held the Acrocorinth and could have taken control of the city whenever they wished, they neither took the opportunity nor even debated it, thus demonstrating in deeds not words that they were fighting in the capacity of protectors and not pursuing any private ends of their own. In the end, they reduced the 271
Spartans to such desperation that they had to go running back to the King of Persia and through him make the notorious peace in which they abandoned the Greeks living in Asia.¹⁸⁶ I make no accusations in this connection, but if someone were to ask them whether they agreed to these terms willingly or under compulsion, if they said willingly, that would necessarily be an admission of betrayal, and who would believe that? If on the other hand they say they acted against their will and under compulsion, that is obviously an admission that they are inferior to Athens in every way; if they had had any idea about how to deal with the situation, they would never deliberately have incurred such disgrace. There is thus only one answer open to them, and in giving it they themselves bear

ρούσι προέχειν τῷ πολέμῳ τότε τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταυτ' οὐχὶ μικρόν.

- 272 ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐμνήσθην, πάλιν ἐνταῦθα ἐπανελθεῖν βούλομαι βραχὺ τι. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων ἐξ ὧν κρίνονται πόλεις, πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης, καὶ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων τοῖς Ἑλλησι πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους γενομένων, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ πολέμου τοσοῦτον διήνεγκεν ἡ πόλις ὥσθ' ἂ μόνη κατειργάσατο, μέγιστα τῶν ἔργων ἐστίν· ἢ τοῖς ὕστερον εἴ τις τιθοῖτο, τοσοῦτον τῶν μετασχόντων ὑπερήρεν, ὅσον περ ἂν εἰ καθ' αὐτὴν ἠγωνίζετο. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων τοῖς τρισὶ καιροῖς μαρτυρεῖται τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα τοῦ πολέμου μόνη κατέπραξεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δευτέροις καὶ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα προκινδυνεύσασα τὰ ἀριστεία ἠνέγκατο· τὰ δ' αὖ τελευταῖα αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἴδια, αἱ περὶ Κύπρον καὶ Παμφυλίαν ναυμαχίαι καὶ πεζομαχίαι καὶ ὁ πολὺς δρόμος. ὥστε καὶ μόνη τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ πρώτη νενίκηκεν, καὶ σὺν ἄλλοις γενομένη οὐκ ἔλαττον τοὺς συμπαρόντας ἢ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐνίκη· καὶ παρέμεινε μόνη. ἀλλὰ μὴν τῆς γε εἰρήνης ὅσον τὸ διάφορον· ἡ μὲν γε τῆς πόλεως ἐπιτάττει τῷ βασιλεῖ κάκεῖνόν φησι δεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον ποιεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἔᾶ πλεῖν εἴσω Χελιδόνων καὶ Κυανέων, εἰ δ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἵππῳ μέγα φρονεῖς, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐλᾶς ἄχρι θαλάττης, ἀλλ' αὐ-
- 274

¹⁸⁷ Marathon.

¹⁸⁸ Salamis and Plataea.

¹⁸⁹ See the description of Athenian activities in §§198–206

witness that Athens was preeminent in war at this time, and by a large margin too.

- Now that I have mentioned the peace, I should like 272
once more to revert briefly to an earlier point. Peace and war are the two states of affairs by which cities are judged, and both of them prevailed between Greeks and barbarians. In the War, Athens was so far superior that the greatest achievements were those that she carried out on her own; or, if one were to place the emphasis on her later deeds, she surpassed her fellow participants by as much as if she had been pursuing the struggle on her own. Besides 273
this, all three phases of the conflict testify in her favor: the opening events of the war were her own unaided achievement;¹⁸⁷ in the second phase, she took the greatest share of the risks in the confrontation with the King of Persia too, and carried off the prize for valor;¹⁸⁸ and the final stages in their turn—the battles on land and sea off Cyprus and Pamphylia and the long reach of her operations¹⁸⁹—were again her individual achievement. When on her own, therefore, she was the very first to have defeated the barbarians; when acting in concert with others, she outstripped her companions quite as much as her adversaries; and she alone persevered to the end. And then, when we 274
turn to peace, how greatly she excelled here too!¹⁹⁰ The city's peace dictates terms to the King of Persia and tells him that he has to do as he is ordered; it forbids him to sail within the area bounded by the Chelidones and the Cyanes; "and even if," it says, "you are proud of your cavalry,

above, perhaps adding the expedition to Cyprus under Cimon's command in 450/49 BC (Thuc. 1.112).

¹⁹⁰ See §§208–9 above.

τῆς, φησί, τῆς ἵππου δρόμον ἡμέρας τῆς θαλάττης
 ἀποσχῆσεις, καὶ ἀκούσει περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως
 275 τῶν τε ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ σεαυτοῦ. ταῦτα
 μὲν ἢ τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνη λέγει, ἢ δ' ἑτέρα τοὺς τὴν
 Ἀσίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἑλληνας ἀκούειν τοῦ βασιλέως κά-
 κείνω⁵⁸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἂν βούληται περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς
 276 ἄλλοις τὰ δίκαια ὀρίζειν προστέθεικεν. ἄρ' ἴσον τὸ
 κεφάλαιον, ἢ μικρὸν τὸ διάφορον, ἀλλ' οὐ πᾶν τοῦ-
 ναντίον;
 277 πάλιν δὴ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑλληνας καὶ τὰς τῶν ἐν
 αὐτοῖς πολέμων καταλύσεις. ἢ μὲν τοίνυν πόλις οὐς
 εἶλεν Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲν κακὸν ποιήσασα ἀπέ-
 πεμψε μετ' εἰρήνης, ὥσπερ ἄρκοῦν ἀρετῇ νενικηκέναι.
 οἱ δ' ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ Λακεδαιμονίων—οὕτω γὰρ εὐ-
 πρεπὲς εἰπεῖν—οὐς ἔλαβον τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ κλαπέντας
 Ἀθηναίων ἀπέσφαξαν παραχρῆμα, καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν
 προστίθημι, καὶ ταῦτα ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ παραδείγμα-
 τος αὐτοῖς οἴκοθεν, οἷα περὶ τοὺς δυστυχήσαντας ἢ
 πόλις ἐστίν. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδ' οὕτως ἐμιμήσαντο τοσ-
 οῦτον ἀπέσχον τοῦ πρώτοί γ' ἂν αὐτοὶ δυνηθῆναι
 278 καταδείξαι. ἔτι δ' οἱ μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποχρῶν ἠγήσαντο,
 ἀλλ' ἄχρι τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἦλθον καθαιρέσεως, ἢ πό-
 λις δ' ἅπαντας Πελοποννησίους κατὰ τοὺς ἄνω χρό-
 νους νενικηκῦια, ὡς ἐκομίσατο τὴν Εὐβοίαν, οὐ προ-

⁵⁸ κακείνω Reiske κακείνον *codd.*

that will not make it any the more possible for you to ride
 as far as the sea; instead, you will keep a day's ride for that
 very cavalry away from the coast, and you will have no
 more business with the Greeks in your own country than
 you do with those in Greece." Those are the terms of the
 Athenian peace; that other peace, however, stipulates that
 275 the Greek inhabitants of Asia should obey the King, while
 vesting in him the right to do with them as he pleases, and
 to lay down the law for the others as well. Is the gist the
 276 same and the difference slight, or quite the opposite?

Again, consider their dealings with the Greeks and the
 277 ways in which the wars among them were brought to an
 end. Athens did no harm to the Spartans she had cap-
 tured and sent them back once peace had been made, as
 if content to have defeated them by her valor; those of the
 Spartans who were at the Hellespont however—this is the
 decent way of putting it—immediately slaughtered the
 Athenians they had taken prisoner by trickery in the sea
 battle (I will say no more than that),¹⁹¹ even though they
 had an example to hand in their own immediate experi-
 ence of how Athens was in the habit of behaving toward
 those down on their luck. But in spite of this they did not
 follow suit, which shows just how far they were from be-
 ing able to take the initiative in displaying this kind of
 278 behavior. Again, the Spartans thought that nothing was
 enough, and went as far as the demolition of the walls of
 Athens,¹⁹² whereas Athens, which had defeated all the
 Peloponnesians at an earlier stage, went no further once
 she had retaken Euboea, but even of her own free will

¹⁹¹ The Battle of Aegospotami in 405 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.27-32).
¹⁹² In 404 BC: Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23.

ἤλθεν περαιτέρω, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ τῷ πολέμῳ προειλήφει, καὶ ταυτ' ἀπέδωκεν ἐκούσα, Μέγαρα, Νίσαιαν, Τροϊζήνα, Ἀχαΐαν, Πηγάς. δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τὸ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ πᾶν ὅλως τὸ τοιοῦτον διπλῆς ἀρετῆς εἶναι τῇ πόλει σημεῖον, οὐχ, ὡς ἂν τις φήσῃ, μόνου οὕτωςι φιλανθρωπίας. ὅσοις μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι παρ' ἐλπίδας ἢ δύναμιν τὰ τοιαῦτα κατορθοῦνται, τῆς παρουσίας ἔχονται τύχης, ὥσπερ οἱ θηρῶν ἀδύνατοι τὸ ληφθὲν ἀπροσδοκῆτως οὐ μεθιάσιν, οὐδ' ἂν ἀποδόσθαι τις ἀξιώσῃ, τῆς ἀξίας τιμῆσαιντ' ἂν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀδυναμίαν προστιθέντες πλεονάζουσιν. ἢ δ' οἶμαι συνειδυῖα ἑαυτῇ κρείττων οὔσα τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδεπώποτ' ἐμικρολογήσατο, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς παρούσιν τὰ ἀπόντα ἐλπίζουσα· διὸ πάντα ῥῶον τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέδωκεν ἢ κείνοι τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἀπήτησαν.

καὶ μὴν ὅστις μὲν εἰς Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς πόλεως ἐκράτησεν οὐδ' ἂν εἰς εἰπεῖν ἔχοι, ὅπου γε μῆδ' ἀπὸ κοινουῦ μόνου Ἀθηναίων δ' ἀνὴρ εἰς τῆς θαλάττης Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀρχήν, μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἅμα τῷ βασιλεῖ στρατηγήσας καὶ τῇ πόλει, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς Ἑλλησιν. οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν γὰρ τὸν πιστεύσαντα ἀδικήσας ἐτείχισε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς Ἑλληνας ἤλευθέρωσεν, Λακεδαιμονίους κατὰ νῆσον καὶ πόλιν νικῶν. αὐτὴν τοῖνυν τὴν τῆς θαλάττης ἀρχήν ἢ μὲν πόλις ἐξ ὧν τοὺς βαρβάρους τοὺς φύσει πολεμίους ἐνίκησεν ἐκτήσατο, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἢ πόλις ἠτύχησεν.

gave back what she had captured earlier in the war, Megara, Nisaea, Troezen, Achaea, and Pegai.¹⁹³ In my opinion, the business of the prisoners of war, and all that kind of thing in general, testifies to two kinds of virtue in the city, not just, as anyone might allow, to her generosity. People who succeed in this kind of venture out of proportion to their expectation or abilities cling tightly to the good luck of the moment, in the same way that incompetent hunters are unwilling to let go of anything they unexpectedly catch, and if someone presses them to sell it, they would not price it at its true value, but inflate the price by factoring in their own incompetence. But Athens, as I see it, never calculated in such a mean-spirited way, and always assessed what she did not have on the same scale as what she did, because well aware of her own complete superiority. That is why she was still readier to give everything back to her enemies than they were to ask for what belonged to them.

What is more, it is impossible to name anyone as the only Spartan to conquer Athens, any more than a group of them can be named as the only ones to share the privilege either. Yet it was a single Athenian who stripped the Spartans of command of the seas, and alone among men served as general to the King of Persia and to Athens, or rather to the Greek nation—as witness the fact that without doing the least wrong to the man who had trusted him, he fortified Athens and liberated the Greeks, by defeating the Spartans city by city and island by island.¹⁹⁴ As for command of the seas itself, this was something that Athens won by virtue of defeating the barbarians who were her natural enemies, whereas the Spartans only obtained it as

193 See §225 above.

194 Conon.

- 282 κτησάμενοι τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἕκαστα διεῖλον ὥστε τὸν διοικήσαντα παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς Ἑλλησι δίκαιον κληθῆναι μόνον Ἑλλήνων ἀπὸ τούτου καὶ μηδὲν δεῖν περιττότερον σύμβολον εἰπεῖν τῆς ἐπωνυμίας, ἣν δι' ἐκείνου τότε ἡ πόλις ἐκτήσατο· οἱ δ' οὕτω τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτοὺς διέθηκαν ὥστε κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων ἀπελογήσαντο ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ καιροὺς τινὰς αἰτιῶν γενομένων παρ' ἐνίων τῇ πόλει, αἴτιον δ' οὐκ ὠμότης οὐδ' ἄ τις ἂν φαίη τῶν ῥαδίως εἰωθότων ἐπιτιμᾶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὴ ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὰς φύσεις ἄχρι τοῦ ἴσου, καὶ μὴν οἱ μὲν πλεον ἢ ἐβδομήκοντα ἔτη κατέσχον, οἱ δ' οὐδ' εἰς τρεῖς Ὀλυμπιάδας διεφύλαξαν τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐκ οὖν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄλλως γε ἂν εἴη, εἰ μὴ τὸ πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων προσαγόντων παρέλαβον.
- 283 ταυτ' ἐστὶν ἀγῶ τοῖς παρεξετάζειν βουλομένοις ἄχθομαι. ἴσως μὲν οὖν καγῶ τισι ποιεῖν ἄτοπον δοκῶ, μεμφόμενος μὲν, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τοὺς ὁμοίους λόγους προεληλυθώς, καὶ δι' αὐτὰ γε ταυτ' εἰρηκῶς αὐτοὺς δι' ἃ φημι δεῖν μὴ λέγειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐξ αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν τις κατίδοι ὡς οὔτε ἡ χάρις θαυμαστή, ἣν οἴονται τῇ πόλει κατατίθεσθαι, οὗτ' ἐξ-

¹⁹⁵ Aristides.

¹⁹⁶ Spartan hegemony lasted for just over ten years, from the fall of Athens in 404 BC to the battles of Cnidus and Coronea in 394: in terms of ancient chronology, from the fourth year of the 93rd Olympiad to the third year of the 96th, thus seeing the completion of three Olympiads (93–95, with 96 incomplete when

a result of Athens' eclipse. And once they had won this empire, the Athenians so organized it in every detail that the man in charge of its finances, alone among the Greeks, was called "just" by the Greeks themselves on this account, and no more elaborate emblem need be given of the name that Athens gained through him at that time.¹⁹⁵ The Spartans on the other hand treated those who entrusted themselves to her in such a way as to provide the best defense that anyone could against the accusations that on certain occasions some brought against Athens. The reason for this was not Spartan savagery, or any of the normal reproaches one might mention that people are quick to bring up, so much as the failure of the Spartan character to match the Athenian. Moreover, whereas the Athenians retained their control for more than seventy years, the Spartans did even not sustain theirs over the period of three Olympiads; nor indeed would even this have been true, if they had not inherited it in the first place just as the Olympics were approaching.¹⁹⁶

This is what annoys me about people wanting to compare the two. Some of you may perhaps think that I too am doing something odd, in finding fault with them and yet proceeding with the same sort of discussion myself, and producing it for precisely the reasons for which I say it should not be produced. But this very fact makes it absolutely clear that the favor that they believe themselves to be doing the city is not a tremendous one, and that this

Spartan hegemony ended). If the Spartans had captured Athens only a few months later, in the first year of the 94th Olympiad, they would have seen out only two Olympiads as masters of the Greek world.

ἐπίτηδες τὰ γε τοιαῦτα ἀγωνιστέον. ὥστ' εἴ τις ἀξίω
 καὶ ἡμῖν ἄρρητα ταῦτ' εἶναι, σχεδὸν τούτου χάριν
 286 εἴρηται. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἄνευ βλασφημίας οἱ λόγοι
 γεγόνασιν καὶ τῆς παραπεσούσης χρείας ἔνεκα. οὐ
 γὰρ ἦν ἄλλως ὁ προειλόμην ἀποδείξει, ὥστ' ἐξ ὧν
 ἔφευγον, ἐκ τούτων προήχθη ἐπιπεῖν. δοκοῦσι γάρ μοι
 Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὸ τοῦ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ Τεύκρου πρὸς τὸν
 Αἴαντα πεπουθέναι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνος
 τῶν ἄλλων προκινδυνεύων ὡς τὸν Αἴαντα ἀναχωρεῖ
 καὶ δι' ἐκείνου φαίνεται, ὡς δ' αὐτως καὶ κρύπτεται,
 καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προέχοντες καὶ
 προκινδυνεύοντες ἐν ταῖς χρεῖαις παῖδες τῇ πόλει
 287 παραβαλεῖν εἰσίν. τεκμήριον δὲ τῶν γούν ὑπαρχόν-
 των καὶ πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς μέγιστα ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ὧν
 κεκοινωνήκασι τῇ πόλει. καὶ τούτων ἃ μὲν διείλοντο
 ἀπέτυχον, ἃ δὲ σὺν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἔπραξαν,
 ἐνδοξότατα ἀνθρώπων κατάρθωσαν. οὕτω διὰ τῆς πό-
 λεως καὶ φαίνονται καὶ κρύπτονται πάλιν.
 288 οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' ἔγωγε οὕτω παρὰ γνώμην εἰς τούτους
 ἐξήχθη τούς λόγους, ὥστ' ἐβουλόμην ἂν καὶ τὰ τρό-
 πια ἃ μέλλω λέγειν ἀπ' ἄλλων ὑπάρχειν ἀνακέμενα
 τῇ πόλει καὶ μὴ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι προστιθέναι τοῖς
 289 πολλοῖς ὅτι ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων. νῦν δ' αὐτὰ τὰ
 πράγματα ταύτην ἄγει, ὥστ' οὐ τοῦ παρεξετάσαι
 χάριν εἰρήσεται, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὴ παντάπασι τὰς πρά-

197 Il. 8.266-72.

sort of case should not be argued of one's own free choice.
 So if someone were to conclude that I should not say such
 things either, that is more or less why I said them. Besides, 286
 I have spoken without insult, and in response to a need
 that arose along the way. There was no other way to show
 what I set out to show, and as a result I was induced to
 speak as I did by the very reasons that made me want to
 avoid it. It seems to me that what the Spartans experi-
 enced in respect of Athens is what Teucer experienced in
 respect of Ajax in Homer.¹⁹⁷ Homer's Teucer braves dan-
 ger out in front of the others, but retreats to Ajax, and is
 thus both made prominent and thrown into the shade by
 him; the Spartans too, who championed the Greeks and
 braved danger on their behalf in times of need, are yet 287
 children in comparison to Athens. Proof of this can be
 found in the fact that the greatest of the achievements
 that they have to their credit are the ones that they shared
 with Athens: what they took on separately, they failed in,
 whereas what they undertook in partnership with the
 Athenians provided them with the most glorious successes
 in history. That is what I mean by saying that they were
 both brought to prominence and thrown into the shade
 again thanks to Athens.

All the same, being diverted into this line of argument 288
 was so out of keeping with my overall intentions that I
 could wish that the trophies I am going to mention had
 been dedicated by Athens at other peoples' expense, and
 that I did not have to add in most cases that it was in fact
 at the Spartans'. But as it is, the facts themselves lead me 289
 down this road, and I will mention them not for the sake
 of drawing the comparison, but so as not to pass over these
 achievements entirely (though some I have omitted); and

ξεις παρελθεῖν καὶ γὰρ εἰσὶν ἄς παρεξέλιπον· δεῖ δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ τοῦ τυχόντος δρόμου.

- 290 ἐνίκησαν μὲν τοῖνυν ἐν Λεχαιῶ καὶ διέφθειραν μικροῦ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον, εἶλον δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ φρούρια καὶ τοὺς ἐγκαθεστῶτας Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξήλασαν καὶ τὰ τείχη κατέσκαψαν. ἦλθον δ' εἰς Ἄρκαδιαν καὶ μέχρι τῆς Λακωνικῆς, κατέκλεισαν δὲ τοὺς ἐν Φλιοῦντι, καὶ τῶν ἐπεξελθόντων τρόπαιον ἔστησαν καὶ Μαντινέων πάλιν καὶ Σικωνίων αἰθῆς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων. παρέπλευσαν δ' ἄχρι Βυζαντίου καὶ πάντα τὸν περὶ Θράκην τόπον δι' αὐτῶν ἐποιήσαντο, ἐνίκησαν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιλοίπους τῶν ἀρμοστῶν καὶ τὰς φρουρὰς ἐν Μηθύμνῃ καὶ πρὸς Ἀβύδῳ. τοσοῦτον δ' αὐτοῖς περιῆν ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Θρακῶν βασιλέας διήλλαξαν.
- 293 γενομένου δὲ τοῦ περὶ τὴν Καδμείαν ἀπροσδοκῆτου κακοῦ μόνοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰσχρᾶς εἰρήνης δίκαιον καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καλὰ καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς δίκαια ἐτήρησαν Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπεξελθόντες· ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τί χρῆ μείζον εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς πόλεως; τὴν τε γὰρ εἰρήνην ἔσχατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνεχάρησαν καὶ οὐ πρότερον πρὶν ἔγνωσαν ὅτι οὐ μόνον Λακεδαιμονίους ἄμα καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ Σεύθῃ καὶ

even this, I think, demands no ordinary kind of oratorical impetus.

The Athenians, then, were victorious at Lechaeum and destroyed practically the entire Spartan army.¹⁹⁸ They captured their forts at Corinth, drove out their Spartan occupants and demolished their walls.¹⁹⁹ They advanced into Arcadia and as far as Laconia.²⁰⁰ They blockaded the garrison in Phlius, and won a victory over the contingent that came out to attack them,²⁰¹ as also over the Mantineans,²⁰² and again the Sicyonians in the plain and their allies.²⁰³ They sailed along the coast as far as Byzantium, and brought the whole of the region toward Thrace under their control.²⁰⁴ They defeated the remaining Spartan Harmosts and the garrisons in Methymna and near Abydos.²⁰⁵ Their superiority was such that they could even reconcile the kings of Thrace among themselves.²⁰⁶

When the unexpected disaster struck at the Cadmea,²⁰⁷ they were the only ones among the Greeks to uphold both the terms of the disgraceful peace,²⁰⁸ and the true honor and justice of Greece, by marching against the Spartans—two achievements that render any further comment on the greatness of the city's deeds unnecessary. They had been the last of the Greeks to agree to this peace, and only did so when they realized that they would have to go to war not only with the combination of the Spartans with

¹⁹⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.13–17 (391 BC).

¹⁹⁹ Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.19 (391 BC).

²⁰¹ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.15 (390 BC).

²⁰³ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.10 (conflated with 7.1.22^p).

²⁰⁴ Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.25ff. (389 BC).

²⁰⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.16.

²⁰² Xen. *Hell.* 4.4.17.

²⁰⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.28–29 and 35–38 (389–388 BC).

²⁰⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.26 (389 BC).

²⁰⁷ Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.25–36

(Thebes, 382 BC); and see 5.4.1 for the censorious tone.

²⁰⁸ The “King’s Peace” (“Peace of Antalcidas”) of 387 BC, under the protection of which Sparta was reasserting its control of the Greek mainland; cf. §271 above.

294 Διονυσίῳ καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἀνάγκη πολεμεῖν, ἐπεὶ πρὸς τοῦτό γε ὑπῆρχον παρεσκευασμένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς συμμάχοις τοῖς σφετέροις αὐτῶν. οὕτω προϋδόθησαν καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ἀπάσαις ταῖς ψήφοις ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ τῶν γε πεισάντων κατέγνωσαν, ἡγούμενοι παρὰ τὴν αὐτῶν εἶναι φύσιν καὶ οὐ θεμιτὸν πρὸ τῶν τροπαίων ὄντινούν τῶν Ἑλλήνων βασιλέως ἀκροῆσθαι συγχωρήσαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ παρὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην παρήλθον εἰς Θήβας ὧν ἐγὼ φεύγω λέγειν τοῦνομα ἐπὶ τοιούτοις, οὐ μόνον πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μόνου τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνθήψαντο, ὥσπερ ἐρμαίου λαβόμενοι, καὶ οὐχ ἔν εἶδος εὐεργεσίας ἐπεδείξαντο, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν εἶδος εὐεργεσίας ἀπέλιπον, δεξάμενοι μὲν τὴν φυγὴν καὶ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῖς συνθέντες καὶ προδείξαντες ὥσπερ δρᾶμα παρ' αὐτοῖς, ἀτέλειαν δὲ καὶ πολιτείαν καὶ πάντων μετουσίαν δόντες, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἐκ Κορίνθου καὶ Θάσου καὶ Βυζαντίου μεταστᾶσι. ἐπειθ' ὡς καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἐδέησεν βοηθείας, ἐξελθόντες μικροῦ δεῖν ἅπαντες ὥσπερ πομπῆς ἀλλ' οὐ κινδύνων μεθέξειν μέλλοντες, τὴν προτέραν αὐτῶν ἕξοδον μιμησάμενοι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ καὶ ὑπερβαλόμενοι. τότε μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οὔσης αὐτοῖς συμμαχίας πρὸς Θηβαίους ἐξήλθον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις τούτοις καὶ τῶν στηλῶν τῶν περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ὑπὸ Θηβαίων καθηρημένων, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐχ

²⁰⁹ King Artaxerxes II of Persia, King Seuthes II of the Odrysians (in Thrace), Dionysius I of Syracuse.

the King of Persia, Seuthes, Dionysius, and the Peloponnesians—since they were prepared for that—but also with their own allies.²⁰⁹ Thus were they betrayed. Even under these circumstances, however, they did not submit unanimously, but condemned those who talked them into it, in the belief that it was contrary to their own nature and a crime before the monuments to victories won for any Greek at all to agree to obey the King of Persia. And when they whose name I shrink from mentioning in connection with such deeds broke this treaty too and marched up to Thebes, the Athenians were not only the first of the Greeks but in fact the only ones to take the situation in hand, which they did as if seizing on a windfall. Rather than performing just one kind of good service, there was no kind of good service that they neglected: they took the refugees in, devised a plan of action for them and coached them in it as if it had been one of their dramas, while also granting them tax immunity, citizenship, and full rights of participation, just as they had to *émigrés* from Corinth, Thasos and Byzantium. And then, when armed assistance too became necessary, practically the whole citizen body sallied forth as if to take part in a procession rather than a dangerous operation, in an action that recalled their earlier excursion, but even surpassed it in determination.²¹⁰ On the earlier occasion, they had mounted their expedition even though they had no alliance with the Thebans; this time, the Thebans themselves had torn down the stone slabs on which the alliance was recorded. But in spite of that, they did not take any account of the Thebans'

²¹⁰ Cf. Diod. Sic. 15.2.25–27; Din. Or. 1.38–39.

295 ὑπελογίσαντο τὴν ἄνοιαν αὐτῶν τῇ χρείᾳ, οὐδὲ μάλ-
 λον τοῖς δικάως κινδυνεύουσιν ὠργίσθησαν ἢ τοῖς
 ἀδίκως ἐπελθούσιν. οὕτω δὲ λαμπροῖς τοῖς λογισμοῖς
 χρησάμενοι πρόπευσαν τὴν τελευταίην ἐπέθηκαν. οὐ
 γὰρ παρὰ μικρὸν ἐνίκησαν οὐδ' ὡς φοβῆσαι μόνον
 Λακεδαιμονίους, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλόντες τὴν φρουρὰν καὶ
 τοὺς ἄρμους τὰς ὑποσπόνδους ἀνήγαγον εἰς τὴν ἐξ ἀρ-
 χῆς τάξιν τὴν πόλιν.

296 καὶ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς
 Θηβαίων, τὸν δ' ἐφεξῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἤρασαν τῆς
 σωτηρίας αὐτῶν. παροξυνθέντων γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίων
 πρὸς τὸ συμβᾶν καὶ μετὰ πάσης συμμαχίας ἐπελ-
 θόντων ἀντετάξαντο πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Θηβαίων,
 στρατηγούς τε φοβερωτέρους ἐκείνους ἀντεπιστήσαν-
 τες ἢ κείνοι τοὺς σὺν Ἀγησιλάῳ παρέιχοντο, καὶ διὰ
 πάντων σωτῆρες τῇ πόλει γενόμενοι.

297 περίσταται δέ με παντοδαπὰ ὥσπερ ἐν συγγραφῇ
 τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων, ἃ μὴ ὅτι πάντα διεξελεῖν εὐπο-
 ρον, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐνὸς στρατηγοῦ πάντα ἐξῆς. ὦν τί πα-
 ρεῖς τίνος μνησθῶ; πότερον τῆς ἐν Νάξῳ ναυμαχίας,
 ἔργου τοσούτου; ἢ τῶν περὶ Κέρκυραν ἀγωνισμάτων;
 ἢ τῶν ἐπὶ Θράκης ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκεῖ πραχθέντων Ἑλλά-
 298 δος; ἢ τῶν ἐν Ἀκαρνανίᾳ; ἢ τῶν πανταχοῦ; ἢ πάντα
 τᾶλλα ἀφείδεις ὃ μέγιστον ἔχω καὶ θαυμαστότατον καὶ
 μόνον ὡς ἀληθῶς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἄξιον πράξαι, τοῦτ'

²¹¹ Cf. Diod. Sic. 15.32–33 (esp. 32.5–6); the Athenian gen-
 eral was Chabrias. ²¹² Xen. Hell. 5.4.61 (376 BC).

295 folly as they responded to their need, and did not turn
 their anger on those risking danger in a just cause rather
 than on their unjust aggressors. This was noble reasoning,
 and the conclusion to which they then brought the issue
 was fully in keeping with it. Having won a resounding vic-
 tory, and one to frighten not only the Spartans, they ex-
 pelled the garrison and the Harmosts under the terms of
 a truce and restored the city to its original position.

296 This struggle the Athenians undertook in order to se-
 cure the Thebans' freedom; the next one was for their very
 survival. When the Spartans, enraged at what had hap-
 pened, attacked with their whole alliance, they marshaled
 themselves to meet them in front of the city of Thebes;
 and since the generals the Athenians stationed against the
 Spartans were more fearsome than the Spartans could
 produce in Agesilaus and his colleagues, they proved ut-
 terly successful in rescuing the city.²¹¹

297 All kinds of events from this same period press round
 me, as they do in a history book; it would be a hard task
 to give a sequential account of even an individual gen-
 eral's deeds, let alone go through them all. What should
 I mention and what should I omit? The naval encounter
 off Naxos²¹² (A great achievement!) The battles round
 Corcyra²¹³ The deeds done in the region toward Thrace
 in defense of Greek settlements there?²¹⁴ Or in Acarna-
 298 nia²¹⁵ Or everywhere? Or should I set everything else
 aside, and speak of what I think was the Athenians' great-
 est and most amazing feat, and the only one truly worthy

²¹³ Xen. Hell. 6.2.33–39 (373 BC).

²¹⁴ Cf. Diod. Sic. 15.36.1–4 (Chabrias again, 375 BC).

²¹⁵ Cf. Diod. Sic. 15.35.5–6 (Timotheus, 375 BC).

εἶπω, τὸ ἐπειδὴ Θεβαῖοι Λακεδαιμονίους ἐν Λεύκτροις
 κρατήσαντες ἐξελεῖν ἐπενόουν καὶ κατελέλειπτο τὰ
 πράγματα ἐν τούτῳ Λακεδαιμονίους ὥστε δεῖν ἢ θεῶν
 299 τινα χεῖρα ὑπερέχειν, ἢ τὴν πόλιν κληρονομήσαι τῶν
 ἐκείνοις ὄντων κινδύνων ἐθελούτας. καίτοι ἀφίκτο μὲν
 κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐθὺς κήρυξ παρὰ τῶν Θεβαίων, ὡς ἐπ'
 εὐαγγελίους ἐστεφανωμένους, ἦκε δ' ἡ Πελοπόννησος
 ἅπαντα διδοῦσα ἑαυτήν, κελεύουσα ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει τῆς
 Σπάρτης ἡγείσθαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ, Θεβαίοις ἠπέιλον
 300 προσθήσεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς παρὰ τοῦ κήρυκος
 οὕτως ἐδάκρυσαν ὥσπερ οἰκείαν τιὰ συμφορὰν
 ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἀπέπεμψαν ὥσπερ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων
 ἦκοντα, πλείστον δὴ δόξης ψευσθέντα· τὴν δὲ Λακε-
 δαιμονίων ἐρημίαν ἀντὶ τῆς Πελοποννησίων ἐκουσίου
 συμμαχίας καὶ τῆς φιλίας τῶν κεκρατηκότων εἶλοντο,
 οὐχ ὧν ἐπεπόνθησαν αὐτοὶ μνημονεύσαντες, ἀλλ' ἂ
 301 πείσονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι περιοφθέντες αὐτῶν εἶναι
 λῦσαι νομίσαντες. ὁ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα ἄξιον τῆς ἐκείνων
 φύσεως ἀγασθῆναι καὶ κρεῖττον ἢ κατ' ἄνθρωπον
 ἡγήσασθαι· ἐξὸν γὰρ ἑαυτοῖς ἀκολουθούντας ἔχειν
 Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλατταν, ἢ
 περιδεῖν ἐπὶ κεφαλῇν ὡσθέντας, συμμάχων, περι-
 οίκων, οἰκετῶν, ἀπάντων ἐπανεστηκότων, ἐπὶ τοῖς
 ἴσοις ἐδέξαντο, καὶ πορευομένης ὥσπερ φλογὸς τῆς
 Θεβαίων δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Πελοποννήσου μόνου καὶ Ἑλλήνων

of them? I mean when the Thebans had defeated the Spar-
 tans at Leuctra and intended to destroy them, and matters
 for the Spartans had reached such a point that what was
 needed was either for some god to hold his hand over
 them, or for Athens to volunteer to share the dangers that
 299 faced them. Right at the beginning a herald had come
 from Thebes, garlanded as if bringing good news; and the
 whole of the Peloponnese had come, offering itself to the
 Athens, and urging her to lead them in the destruction of
 Sparta, while threatening to join the Thebans if she re-
 fused. But the Athenians wept at the news brought them
 300 by the herald as bitterly as if they had learned of some
 disaster of their own and utterly confounded his expecta-
 tions by sending him away as if he had come from the
 barbarians.²¹⁶ They chose the Spartans in their isolation in
 preference to the alliance the Peloponnesians were offer-
 ing them of their own free will and to friendship with the
 victors, and rather than keeping fresh the memory of what
 they had suffered themselves, they thought it their duty to
 put a stop to what the Spartans would suffer if their cause
 was neglected. The respect in which above all it is right to
 301 admire their character, and what ought to be seen as su-
 perhuman, is this. Although it was open to them to have
 the Spartans follow their lead on land and sea, or simply
 to watch as they were cast headlong, as their allies and the
 Perioeci and their slaves and everyone rebelled against
 them, they nevertheless accepted them as allies on equal
 terms, and as Theban power advanced like a raging fire
 against the city of the Spartans and the remainder of the
 Peloponnese, they alone of Greeks and barbarians stood

²¹⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.19-20 (371 BC).

καὶ βαρβάρων προστάντες ἐκώλυσαν. ἐξ ὧν οὕτως ὑπὸ πάντων ἐωρῶντο ὥστε καταστήναι τὴν πόλιν συνἑδριον τῆς συμμαχίας ἀπάσης.

[Alleged Athenian "Atrocities" Defended (302–12)]

302 θαυμάζω τοῖνυν τῶν τὰ Μηλίων καὶ Σκιωναίων τολμῶντων προφέρειν τῇ πόλει ποῦ γῆς ἢ θαλάττης ὄντες ταῦτα κατηγοροῦσι, πότερον ταῦτα μόνα ἀκούσαντες τῶν πεπραγμένων τῇ [κατὰ ἧθος]⁵⁹ πόλει ἢ ταῖς ἐαυτῶν πατρίσιν οὐκ ἂν συμβουλευθέντες καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τᾶλλα ὑπάρχειν ὅσα τῇ πόλει; εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ συμβούλεσθαι φήσουσιν, ἀντεπιδειξάντων οἷς ἀγάλλονται· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἂν φύγοιεν τὴν αἵρεσιν, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς διδοίη θεῶν, παυσάσθωσαν μείζουσιν ἢ καθ' αὐτοὺς λόγοις ἐγχειροῦντες. ἔτι τοῖνυν πότερον τῆς 303 πόλεως ἢ τῶν συμβάντων κατηγοροῦσιν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ τῆς πόλεως, οὐδέν, ὡς ἔοικε, τῶν μεγίστων ἐπίστανται, ἀλλ' ἐκπέφενγεν αὐτοὺς ἀφ' ὧν ἡ πόλις γνωρίζεται· εἰ δὲ τὰ συμβάντα μέμφονται, οὐχ ὅμοια τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἷς προείλετο ἡ πόλις νομίζοντες οὕτω μέμφονται. ὥστ' ἐξ ὧν τὸ πρᾶγμα κακίζουσι τὴν πόλιν ἐγκωμιάζουσιν. τότε γὰρ κακία καὶ πόλεως καὶ ιδιώτου δείκνυται, ὅταν ἢ μόνα τῷ προσῆ τὰ

⁵⁹ *secl. Canter inter τῶν et πεπραγμένων transp. Reiske*

out and stopped it.²¹⁷ As a result they were looked on by all with such respect that their city became established as the headquarters of the whole alliance.

Alleged Athenian "Atrocities" Defended (302–12)

I am amazed at the effrontery of those who reproach Athens with what happened at Melos and Scione.²¹⁸ Where on earth are they on land or sea that they can bring such charges? Is it because these are the only doings of the city they have ever heard of? Or because they would not have been as willing as the Athenians for their own countries to have both these and all the city's other accomplishments on their record? If they say they are not willing, let them reveal what they are proud of instead; but if they would not run away from the choice, if some god were to offer it to them, then let them stop trying to deal in weightier arguments than they can control. Or again, is their accusation 303 against the city, or against what happened? If against the city, then it would seem that they understand none of its most important achievements, and that the sources of its fame escape them. If it is the events that they think are at fault, then apparently they do not bring their accusation in the belief that these deeds are of the same kind as the things that Athens chose to do as a matter of deliberate policy; in which case they are actually praising the city on the very same grounds as they censure the event. For villainy is only proven in a city or an individual when someone has only blameworthy actions on his record, or when

²¹⁷ *Xen. Hell. 7.1.1–14 (369 BC).*

²¹⁸ *Thuc. 5.32 (Scione, 421 BC); 5.84–116 (Melos, 416 BC).*

304 ὑπαίτια, ἢ πλείω τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἐλέγχῃ τις
 ἢ μείζω προσκείσθω γάρ. ὅταν δ' ἐξετάζων διὰ πάν-
 των ἑνὸς καὶ δυοῖν λαμβάνῃ, κέληθας ἐπαινῶν οἷς
 ἀφίης, ἄλλως τ' εἰ μὴδ' ἰδιώτου ποιεῖ τὴν κρίσιν,
 ἀλλὰ πόλεως καὶ ταύτης πρεσβυτάτης τῶν Ἑλληνί-
 δων καὶ ἢ πλείστα ὑπάρχει τὰ δέοντα συμβάντα.
 305 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀποκρίνασθαι, οὐκ ἔρω
 πῶς οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα δυνηθέντες προσηνέχθησαν τοῖς
 αὐτοῖς τούτοις πράγμασιν. οὔτε γὰρ λυπεῖν ἔγωγε
 οὐδένα τῶν Ἑλλήνων προήρημαι, ἀλλ' ἀνέται τῷ γέ-
 νει τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁ λόγος φιλοτιμία κοινή, οὐτ' ἂν
 ἑτέρους ἐπιδείξω δήπου μείζω καὶ δεινότερα εἰργα-
 σμένους, ἀπολογία τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλ'
 306 ὁμολογία μᾶλλον εἰς συγγνώμην καταφεύγουσα. οὐ-
 δὲν οὖν δέομαι τοιαύτης ἀπολογίας. ἀλλὰ μοι δοκοῦ-
 σιν ὅλως ἡγνοηκέναι τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων φύσιν καὶ
 ὥσπερ ἔξοικεῖν τῆς οἰκουμένης οἱ τοὺς τοιοῦτους
 παραφέροντες λόγους. πῶς γὰρ ἂν καὶ λογίζεσθαι
 φαίη τις αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ὄντων μετρίως, ἢ πῶς ὑπὲρ
 ἀρχῆς χρῆναι διαλέγεσθαι, εἰ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἡγνοή-
 κασι, τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς; ἅπανα γὰρ δήπουθεν ἀρχῆ
 τῶν κρειπτόνων ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν τὸν τῆς ἰσότητος
 νόμον· εἰ δὲ μή, πῶς ἴσον ἢ ποῦ δίκαιον ἢ φόρους
 ἐκλέγειν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἢ νόμους τιθέναι τοῖς
 οὐδὲν δεομένοις ἢ κρίνειν τὰ κείνων ἢ προστάττειν ἢ

someone can show the evil actions are more numerous or
 (be it added) more substantial than the good. Whenever 304
 in a complete examination you seize on one or two things,
 then you inadvertently praise your subject in the ones you
 pass over, especially if it is not an individual you are pass-
 ing judgment on, but a city, and moreover the oldest of all
 the cities of Greece and the one with the greatest number
 of right outcomes to its credit.

If a reply is needed to these accusations too, I shall 305
 not speak about how the states that subsequently became
 powerful dealt with these same matters. It is not my aim
 to cause pain to any of the Greeks—my speech is rather a
 benefaction dedicated to the Greek race for them all to
 share—nor, even if I did show that others have committed
 greater and more terrible atrocities, would this be a de-
 fense of the city so much as a confession seeking the safety
 of forgiveness. I therefore have no need of any such de-
 fense. No, I think that the people who bring forward this 306
 sort of argument are completely ignorant of the nature of
 the case and are living, as one might say, on a different
 planet. How could anyone say that they offer a measured
 assessment of the realities of the situation, or that they are
 entitled to discuss sovereignty, if they do not know what it
 is in the first place? All sovereignty of course belongs to
 the more powerful and directly contravenes the principle
 of equality.²¹⁹ Otherwise, how ever is it fair or just to col-
 lect taxes from foreign lands, or make laws for people who
 do not ask for them, or arbitrate over their disputes, or

²¹⁹ Aristides takes his cue from Thucydides' celebrated "Me-
 lian dialogue," *Hist.* 5.86–113. In what follows, he may have
 modern Rome in mind as much as classical Athens.

πολεμῆν ἢ κτᾶσθαι τὰ μὴ προσήκοντα; ὅλως γὰρ οὐδὲν τούτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου γίγνεται. ὥστ' εἴ τις ἀκριβολογεῖται περὶ τῶν δικαίων καὶ σοφιστῆς εἶναι μάλλον βούλεται ἢ τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων φύσει συγχωρεῖν, οὐκ ἂν φθάνοι διαγράφων πάσας ἀρχάς τε καὶ δυνάμεις ἀπλῶς ὡς ἅπαντά γε ταυτὰ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ θεσμῷ τοῦ κρείττονος. εἶθ' ὑπὸ σοφίας ἄνευσι μέχρι τῶν θεῶν ἐλέγχων καὶ λέγων ὡς οὐδὲ οὗτοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξ ἴσου προσομιλοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ἤρηνται κρείττους εἶναι; ἀλλ' οἴμαι ταυτ' ἔστι γωνίας ἀξίων ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸν ἥλιον οὐχ ἑορακότων, ὃς ἀφαιρεῖται τοὺς ἄλλους ἀστέρας τὸ φαίνεσθαι.

307 εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον τὸ ἀπάσῃ δυναστείᾳ καὶ πάσῃ περιουσίᾳ τὰ τοιαῦτα προσεῖναι, καὶ οὗτός ἐστιν ἀρχῆς θεσμός, μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους κρίνεσθαι, τότε νικῶν ἀπίτω τις, ὅταν δείξῃ τῶν ἄλλων εἴτε Ἑλληνικῶν δυνάμεων εἴτε καὶ βαρβαρικῶν βασιλειῶν ἠντιοῦν ἐλάττονι τῷ τῆς πλεονεξίας γιγνομένῳ χρησαμένην ἢ τὸν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔστι δῆμον εὔρειν. φανήσεται γὰρ ἂ μὲν διαφερόντως ἐβουλεύσατο, ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἦθει κεκρημένος τοῦ βελτίστου, ἂ δ' ἐγκαλοῦσιν τινες, οὐ τῇ κοινῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐξαμαρτῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀκολουθήσας ἀνάγκῃ καὶ δυνάμει μὲν ἄρχων καταστὰς τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, φιλοπρωπία δὲ τὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς δεδωκώς ἐκὼν μεθεῖς καὶ

give them orders, or wage war, or appropriate what does not belong to you? Quite in general, none of this happens as a matter of fairness. Therefore anyone who quibbles about justification and prefers clever argument to acceptance of the real nature of things ought simply to strike out all forms of sovereignty and rule straight away, because all of them are covered by the law of superior power. Is he 307 really in his wisdom going to carry his criticism on up to the gods, and complain that they do not deal with human beings from a position of equality either, but have chosen to be superior? But as I see it, this is the sort of nonsense talked by people who belong in cloistered seclusion, and have never seen the sun and how it prevents the other stars from being visible.

If such things necessarily attach to all forms of rule and all positions of superiority, and it is a law of sovereignty 308 not to be judged on equal terms with one's subordinates, then let our critic only walk away victorious when he can show that any one at all of the Greek powers, or of the barbarian kingdoms either, has ever been more restrained in following the norm of taking advantage than the sovereign people of Athens can be found to have been. It will clearly be seen that, in the cases where their decision making stood out from the rest, they were benefiting from the moral character of a single individual, the best among them, whereas the errors that some people reproach them with were committed not through the defects inherent in all human nature, but in keeping with the necessities of sovereign rule. Although it was their power that gave them their empire in the first place, it was their humanity that led them to surrender the prerogatives of empire in a voluntary act of renunciation, and thus almost to bring

σχεδὸν αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἴτιος γεγωνός. πλεί-
 στω γὰρ τῷ κοινῷ καὶ μετρίῳ πρὸς ἅπαντας χρησά-
 μενος καὶ τρόπον τινα τῆς πολιτείας μᾶλλον κοινω-
 νοὺς ποιησάμενος ἢ δυναστείας νόμῳ κατέχων ταῦτόν
 τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἔπαθε τῶν δεσποτῶν· οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν
 309 ἄλλην ἐπιείκειαν χάριτος παρ' ἐνίων ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' εἴ
 τι προσηνάγκασεν, ἐπιφανῶς ἔδοξεν βιάζεσθαι. καὶ
 μὴν εἰ μὲν ἔχοντας τὸ τῶν ὑπηκόων σχῆμα ταῦτ' εἰρ-
 γασμένος φαίνεται, δῶμεν τοῖς ἐθέλουσι βλασφη-
 μεῖν· εἰ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀποστάντας καὶ παρ' ἀξίαν ὑβρί-
 σαντας εἰς αὐτόν, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ πολεμίου
 ὄντας, ποτέροις ἀξιὸν ἐγκαλεῖν; οἴμαί γε τοῖς τὴν
 ἀνάγκην παρασχοῦσιν· ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνοί μοι δοκοῦσιν
 ὡσπερ ἐνέχυρον αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἔχοντες ἐπαρθῆναι καὶ
 τούτῳ μάλιστα πιστεύσαντες ἀμαρτεῖν, οὐ τῷ διὰ
 τέλους κρατήσῃ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τῷ μηδ' ἂν λη-
 φθῶσιν μηδὲν δεῦνδον πείσεσθαι, ὡς Ἀθηναῖους γε
 310 πεφυκότας σώζειν. δῆλον δέ· ἃ γὰρ περὶ Μυτιλη-
 ναίων μετέγνωσαν, τίς ἔχει νικῆσαι πόλις οἷς ἐξ ἀρ-
 χῆς ἐβουλευσατο; ἐκεῖνοι γὰρ ἃ μὲν τῇ προτεραίᾳ
 διέγνωσαν τῆς κρίσεως ἦν καὶ ὧν ἠδίκηντο, ἃ δὲ τῇ
 ὑστεραίᾳ μετέγνωσαν τῆς πόλεως ἦν μόνῃς [καὶ ἡ
 τριήρης τὴν τριήρη κατειλήφει].⁶⁰

⁶⁰ *secl.* Trapp

²²⁰ Thuc. 3.36–49.

²²¹ The immediately following words, bracketed in the Greek

the accusations upon themselves. Because they treated
 everybody with extreme affability and moderation, and in
 a certain sense offered them a share in the state rather
 than repressing them in the manner of political overlords,
 they suffered the same fate as good masters: no one felt
 grateful toward them for their fairness for the rest of the
 time, but if they applied any extra compulsion, it was felt
 309 as a flagrant act of violence. Again, if it is clear that those
 subjected to this treatment ranked as their obedient sub-
 jects, then let us allow anyone who wants to speak harshly
 of them; but if the victims were actually either people who
 had rebelled against them and committed unwarranted
 acts of aggression, or open enemies, which side deserves
 the blame? I would say it is the ones who made these ac-
 tions necessary, because it seems to me that the thought,
 not that they were going to defeat Athens in the end, but
 that even if they were defeated nothing terrible would
 happen to them, because it was in the Athenian nature to
 preserve rather than destroy, was so to speak the guaran-
 tee that buoyed them up and what above all gave them
 310 the confidence to do wrong. That was clearly true of the
 Athenians: what city ever did better in its initial delibera-
 tions than they did in their change of heart over Myt-
 ilene?²²⁰ Their decision of the day before resulted from an
 act of judgment and from the wrong they had suffered; the
 change of heart on the following day was a uniquely Athe-
 nian achievement.²²¹

text opposite (“and the one trireme had caught up with the
 other”), look like a reader’s comment wrongly incorporated into
 Aristides’ text; the detail, from Thucydides, is a vivid one, but
 beside the point that Aristides is making here.

311 θαναμάζω δὲ εἰ τῶν μὲν ἰδιωτῶν τὴν ἔργῳ πάντες ἀπολογίαν τιμῶσι, τῆς πόλεως δὲ οὐχ ὀρώσιν οἱ σεμνοὶ τὰ ἔργα δι' οἶων καὶ ὄσων ἀπολελόγηται περὶ τούτων. καὶ ἡλίου μὲν καὶ σελήνης οὐχ ὅσα βλάπτουσι κατηγοροῦμεν, ἀλλ' ὄσων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιοι γίνονται θαυμάζομεν, τὴν πόλιν δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐνίοις προσέκρουσεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἅπασιν ὠμίλησεν οὐδ' ἐκ τῆς ὄλης φύσεως κρινοῦμεν; οὐκ οἶομαί γε. ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ τῶν θεῶν κατηγοροίη τοὺς σκηπτοὺς καὶ τὰς βροντάς, κἄν εἴ τι σεισθῆ, τὰς ὄλας καὶ κοινὰς εὐεργεσίας αὐτῶν ἀμελήσας σκοπεῖν. ἢ τοίνυν πόλις Σκιωναίους μὲν ἀνέστησεν, τοὺς δ' Ἑλληνας ἅπαντας καὶ κοινῇ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστους ἔσωσεν, καὶ ταῦτα μυριάκις. ἠδέως δ' ἂν πυθοίμην τῶν ῥαδίως ἀξιούντων αὐτοὺς τὰ τηλικαῦτα κατηγορεῖν, τίνας τοιούτους αὐτὴν ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαί φασιν οἶους ἀναστάτους ἐκώλυσε γενέσθαι Θηβαίους, ἢ τίνων τείχη καθελεῖν οἶα Κορινθίους ἀνέστησεν, ἢ τίνας τοιούτους ἀνελεῖν οἶους διετήρησε Δακεδαίμονιους καὶ τὰς μετ' ἐκείνων πόλεις, ἄλλοις τε πολλοῖς παλαιοῖς καὶ καλοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τῇ περὶ Μαντίνειαν ἀρίστη τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τῶν μνημονομένων, ἵππομα-
312 χία.

I am astonished that, whereas in the case of private 311 individuals, everyone respects a defense based on past actions, these prigs can fail to see what a rich record of noble deeds gives Athens her defense in this case. Are we to admire the sun and the moon for all the blessings for which they are responsible, rather than denounce them for the damage they do, and yet judge Athens for her offenses against a few, rather than on her friendly dealings with all and her overall character? I do not think so. It would be like someone denouncing the gods for thunder and lightning and any earthquakes that might occur, while neglecting to take account of all their benefactions to humanity at large. Athens may have expelled the people 312 of Scione, but she also saved all the peoples of Greece, collectively and individually, and countless times too. I should like those who so readily allow themselves to bring this sort of accusation to tell me what peoples, of those the Athenians sent into exile, they claim can stand comparison with the Thebans whom they saved from being exiled; or whose walls they demolished that can match those they rebuilt for the Corinthians; or what peoples they annihilated that can stand comparison with the Spartans whom they preserved along with the cities allied to them in many other noble actions in olden times, and lastly in the cavalry action around Mantinea,²²² which was the finest in Greek history, and indeed I think in the history of the world.

²²² The last event described in Xen. *Hell.*, 7.5.1–27 (with the cavalry action at 15–17).

[From Dionysius to Philip of Macedon (313-16)]

313 ὁ δ' ὡσπερὶ κεφάλαιον τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἐστὶ καὶ
 ὁ πάσας τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς ἄνω καὶ τὰς τότε πράξεις
 ἐπεσφραγίσατο, Διονυσίου γὰρ τοῦ Σικελίας μὲν τυ-
 ράννου, πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεων ἐπάρ-
 χοντος εἰς νοῦν ἐμβαλλομένου ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ Ἑλλάδι,
 τῷ μήκει τῶν πολέμων κεκακωμένη καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς
 προσοίκους τοῖς Ἑλλησι βαρβάρους τεθεραπευκότος
 ἐκ πολλοῦ, τοῦτο δὲ τὸν Περσῶν βασιλέα καλοῦντος,
 καὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἤδη ζέοντος, ἔσχον τὴν πείραν
 Ἀθηναίων στρατηγοὶ δύο, ὁ μὲν τὰς ἀπὸ Σικελίας
 ναῦς προσπλευσάσας ἀπάσας λαβῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν,
 ὁ δὲ καταναυμαχήσας Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπὶ Λευκάδι
 καὶ τὴν θάλατταν δι' αὐτοῦ ποιησάμενος. μόνη γὰρ
 πόλεων οὐ τύραννον ἐπηγάγετο, οὐ πλοῦτον ἐθαύμα-
 σεν, οὐκ ἀσφάλειαν, οὐχ ἡδονὰς ἀντὶ τῶν δικαίων
 ἠλλάξατο, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἅπασιν πεφυκῦα ζῆν οὕτως
 ἑαυτὴν ἤγαγεν. καὶ γὰρ τοι πάντες, ὅσοι τῆς Ἑλ-
 λήνων ἀρχῆς ἐπεθύμησαν τῇ πόλει πολεμοῦντες διε-
 γέροντο. καὶ Φίλιππος τοὺς μὲν ὑπερεῖδεν τῶν ἄλλων
 314 Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς δ' ἐλπίσι καὶ δωρεαῖς αὐτῷ συμπράτ-
 τειν ἔπεισεν· πρὸς δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολεμῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 315 διετέλεσεν, ὡσπερ ὄρον τινα ἀναγκαῖον ἐκπληρῶν. ἡ
 δὲ ἕως μὲν ἐξήρκει, τοὺς μὲν ἐξῆρῆτο, τοῖς δ' ἐν πα-
 τρίδος μοίρᾳ κατέστη, πάντων δὲ ὡσπερ μήτηρ ὑπὲρ
 παίδων προῦκαμεν, μόνη δὲ τὸ σύμβολον τῆς Ἑλλά-
 δος διετήρησεν καὶ συνεσκίασεν τὰς κατεχούσας τότε

From Dionysius to Philip of Macedon (313-16)

But the crowning achievement of those times, and what 313
 set the seal on all the city's deeds then and in earlier days,
 was this. When Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse and lord
 of many of the cities of Italy, took it into his head to at-
 tack a Greece worn out by her long wars, and besides
 his long courting of the barbarians whose lands bordered
 on Greece was now also calling on the King of Persia,
 and matters had come to the boil, it was two Athenian
 generals who put a stop to his enterprise, one of them
 by capturing all the ships that sailed against them from
 Sicily together with their crews,²²³ the other by defeating
 the Spartans in a naval engagement at Leucas and tak-
 ing control of the seas.²²⁴ For Athens alone among cities
 never sought a tyrant as her ally, was never dazzled by
 riches, and never chose safety or pleasure in place of right,
 but always conducted herself as if designed by nature
 to live for the benefit of all. All who lusted after sover-
 eignty over the Greeks found themselves continually at
 war with Athens. So Philip, while scorning some of the 314
 Greeks, tried to persuade others of them to ally them-
 selves with him through promises and bribes; but with
 Athens he remained in a state of war right from the start,
 as if observing some ineluctable law. For as long as the 315
 city's strength lasted, she rescued some, made herself a
 substitute homeland to others, and toiled for all like a
 mother for her children, alone preserving the true hall-
 mark of Greece and thrusting the evils of the times into

²²³ Iphicrates: Xen. *Hell.* 6.2.33-6 (373/2 BC).²²⁴ Timotheus: cf. Diod. Sic. 15.36.5 (375 BC).

316 συμφοράς· ἐπεὶ δ' ἔκλιναν τὰ πράγματα, οὐδὲν ἦν ἐμποδῶν Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ' ἐδείχθη σαφῶς ὅτι καὶ αἱ νύκαι τῆς πόλεως τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰσὶ νύκαι καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐναντιώματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπάντων ἐστίν. οὐ γὰρ πρότερον τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀπέστησαν Φιλίππῳ πρὶν ἢ πόλις τὴν εἰρήνην παρεδέξατο.

[*Summary of Athenian Military Achievements*
(317–21)]

317 ἔχων δὲ πολλὰ καὶ τῶν ὕστερον εἰπεῖν καὶ μάχας ἀτόπους καὶ τολμήματα θαυμαστὰ καὶ καρτερίας ὑπερφυεῖς, οὐκέθ' ὄρω τὸν καιρὸν ἀρκούντα. τοσοῦτον δ' ἔτι προσθεῖς τοῖς περὶ τούτων λόγοις ἀπαλλάττομαι. τέτταρας ὡς διελέσθαι γένοι πολέμους ἢ πόλις πεποιήται, τοὺς μὲν αὐτῆς ἰδίους, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν μέρει δεηθέντων, κὰν τοῦτοις αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεηθείσιν ἐνεῖσιν ὑφ' ὧν ἠδίκητο καὶ οἷς ἐγκαλεῖν εἶχεν ἐκ τῶν πρόσθεν.

319 φημὶ τοίνυν ἐγὼ τουτὶ μόνον τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ πολέμου πάσας ὁμοῦ τὰς Ἑλληνικὰς πράξεις ἐλέγχειν ὑστέρας οὔσας. πλείους γὰρ εἰσιν οὓς ἢ πόλις ἀγνωμονήσαντας εἰς αὐτὴν ἔσωσεν ἢ ὅσοις μᾶλλον χάριν εἰς ποιήσασιν ἀπεμνημόνευσε, λέγω δὲ Θεβαίους ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Κορινθίους ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπὸ Θεβαίων, Εὐβοέας ἀπὸ Θεβαίων,

²²⁵ For Athenian protection of Thebes, Corinth, and Sparta,

the shade. When her fortunes declined, nothing stood in Philip's way, and there was unambiguous proof both that the victories of Athens were the victories of Greece, and that her reverses were those of all the Greeks; for the other Greeks did not stand aside and let Philip take control until Athens accepted his peace terms. 316

Summary of Athenian Military Achievements
(317–21)

Although there are many subsequent events I could speak of—strange battles, astonishing acts of daring, and superhuman feats of endurance—I see that there is no longer time. I shall add only this to what I have to say on this topic before concluding. Classified by type, there are four kinds of war that Athens has waged: her own; those on behalf of Greece as a whole; and those on behalf of individual peoples who appealed to her, among which latter group are also included peoples by whom she had been wronged and against whom she had grounds for reproach in their earlier behavior. I declare that this last kind of war on its own shows up all the achievements of Greece together as inferior. For the cases in which Athens was paying a debt of gratitude to peoples who had helped her were far outnumbered by those in which she rescued peoples who had acted badly toward her: I am thinking of the Thebans rescued from the Spartans, and the Corinthians from the Spartans, and the Spartans from the Thebans, and the Euboeans from the Thebans²²⁵—when Athens showed 317 318 319

cf. §§267, 269, and 298–301 above; for Euboea, cf. Diod. Sic. 16.7.2 and Aeschin. Or. 3.85 (357 BC).

ὅτε διττῆς ἀρετῆς δείγματα ἐξήνεγκεν, τοῖς μὲν τὰς πόλεις φυλάξασα καὶ τὴν χώραν ὑφ' ὧν ἀπεστέρητο τὴν αὐτῆς, τοὺς δ' ὡς ἐκράτησεν ὑποσπόνδους ἀφείσα, αὐτῆς Εὐβοέας ἀπὸ Φιλίππου, Βυζαντίους, Περυνθίους, Χερρονησίτας, Χαλκιδέας τὸ καθ' αὐτήν, ἑτέροισι μυρίους. ἀνθ' ὧν εἰ χρῆν ὥσπερ ἰδιώτου πόλεως εἰκόνα ποιήσασθαι, τῆς Ἀθηναίων προσήκει μόνῃς καὶ τιμᾶν ὥσπερ ἄγαλμα κοινὸν τῆς Ἑλλάδος. ὅπερ γὰρ τῇ πόλει τὸ πρυτανεῖον, τοῦθ' ἡ πόλις πᾶσι κοινῇ γέγονε τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐν ταῖς χρείαις, τῶν τροπαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραμμάτων καλλίους ἀεὶ παρασχομένη τὰς ὑποθέσεις.

320 ὁ τοίνυν ἔξω μὲν κινδύνων πέπρακται, οὐδενὸς δ' ἦντο ἐμφανίζει τί ποτ' ἦν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πρᾶγμα, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις ἡμᾶς διέφνεγεν, νῦν δ' ἴσως οὐ χείρον ἀποδοῦναι. γενομένων γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνθηκῶν πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους, ἐὰν κρατήσωσι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἀνελεῖν τοὺς μηδίσαντας, ἐπειδὴ παρήλθον οἱ κίνδυνοι, τῆς ἔχθρας ἐπελάθοντο καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ὠρμημένους ποιεῖν τὰ δεδογμένα διεκώλυσαν ὁρῶντες τῶν πόλεων τὸ πλήθος, αἷς ἐμελλεν ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐλάττω γενήσεσθαι. οὕτως οὐ μόνον τῷ κοινῷ γένει τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀμαρτοῦσι καὶ εἰς

321

²²⁶ Supported by Athens against Philip in the years 343 to 340 BC.

²²⁷ Or, perhaps, "furnishing occasions for victory monuments and their dedications that were ever more glorious than the monuments and inscriptions themselves."

evidence of two kinds of virtue, in both protecting the cities and territory of those by whom she had been deprived of her own, and letting those she had defeated go free under the terms of a truce—and the Euboeans again rescued, this time from Philip, and the people of Byzantium, and the people of Perinthus, and the people of the Chersonese, and the people of Chalcis (in so far as it lay in her power), and countless others.²²⁶ If one could dedicate a statue to a city as one can to an individual, it is the city of Athens alone that would deserve it in return for these benefactions, and it would be right to honor that statue as a dedication made by the whole of Greece in common. For what the *prytaneion* has been to Athens, that Athens has been to the whole of Greece in common in times of need, furnishing ever more glorious occasions for victory monuments and their dedications.²²⁷

Something the Athenians did when out of danger, but which shows none the less clearly how things stood with them, escaped me in what I was saying earlier, but it is perhaps no bad thing to report it now. Although they had made an agreement with the Spartans that, if they defeated the barbarians, they would put to death anyone who had medized,²²⁸ when the danger had passed, they forgot their hatred and restrained the Spartans who were keen to put the decision into effect, because they saw just how large a number of cities it was that Greece stood to shrink by.²²⁹ That is how consistently Athens acted not only in the shared interests of the Greek nation as a whole, but also

320

321

²²⁸ Hdt. 7.132.

²²⁹ Hdt. 9.106.

αὐτὴν καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλυσιτέλησεν αἰεὶ δὴ ποτε ἢ πόλις, καὶ ὅσα ἐνίκησεν ἀκριβῶς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐνίκησεν.

[*The Attic Dialect (322-30)*]

322 καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἱκανά. ὦν δ' οὐδεὶς τὸ μέχρι τοῦδε, ὅσα γ' ἡμεῖς σύνησμεν, ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς εὐφημίαις ἐμνήσθη, ταῦτ' οὐ πρὶν εἰπεῖν παύσομαι. καὶ γὰρ ὡσπερ οὐ θεμιτὸν μοι φαίνεται λόγοις τὰς πράξεις κοσμοῦντα τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους μέρους παρελθεῖν τὴν μνείαν. μόνοι γὰρ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο, ἀναίμακτον τρόπαιον ἐστήσατε, οὐκ ἀπὸ Βοιωτῶν οὐδ' ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων οὐδὲ Κορινθίων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοφύλων πάντων, λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὡς ἂν τις Ἕλληνας προσείποι πρὸς βαρβάρους ἀντιδιαιρούμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ γένους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ νίκην ἀνείλεσθε ἔντιμον καὶ μεγάλην κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐν Τανάγρα μάχην τὴν ἀμφισβητήσιμον οὐδὲ μὰ Δία κατὰ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι τὴν τοσοῦτον νικῶσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς τὴν πρέπουσαν ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ διηνεκῇ καὶ ἦν Διὸς παῖδα προσειπεῖν εὐσεβές. ἅπασαι γὰρ αἱ πόλεις καὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένη πρὸς ὑμᾶς
323 καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν δίαιταν καὶ φωνὴν ἀπέκλινεν. καὶ οὐ φρουραῖς ἐγκαθεστηκυῖαις ἢ δύναμις τῆς πόλεως

in the interests of those who offended against her and the Greeks, and how true it is that the victories she won were won on behalf of all.

The Attic Dialect (322-30)

That is enough on this subject; but I shall not make an end before speaking of something which, as far as I am aware, no one has so far mentioned in a public eulogy. For it strikes me as a kind of sacrilege for someone praising Athenian achievements in a speech to omit any mention of the topic of speech itself. You alone of all mankind really did raise the "bloodless trophy" of cliché, not over Boeotians or Spartans or Corinthians, but over all of your kind, using "your kind" not in the sense in which someone might use it to distinguish Greeks from barbarians, but meaning over the whole of the human race; the victory you won, and won for all time, was a great and honorable one, not on the level of the disputed engagement at Tanagra, nor yet of the spectacular success at Marathon, but was rather a truly human victory, a perpetual victory, and one that can with all piety be called the child of Zeus.²³⁰ For it is to you and your way of life and your dialect that all cities and all races of men have bowed.²³¹ It is not by garrisons stationed
323 in them that the power of Athens is sustained, but by the

²³⁰ Like Zeus' daughter, Athena Nike, goddess of victory.

²³¹ Aristides is referring to the triumph of Attic as the privileged dialect for literary and ceremonial expression since the third or second century BC, rather than the spread of the (Attic-based, but simplified) *koiné* (common dialect) for everyday purposes over the same period.

συνέχεται, ἀλλὰ πάντων ἐξεπίτηδες τὰ ὑμέτερα ἤρη-
 μένων καὶ εἰσποιούντων ἑαυτοὺς ὡς δυνατὸν τῇ πόλει,
 324 σπενευχομένων καὶ παισὶ καὶ ἑαυτοῖς τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν
 καλοῦ μεταλαβεῖν. καὶ οὔτε Ἑρακλέους στήλαι κω-
 λούσιν οὔτε Λιβύης κολωνοῖς ταῦτα ὀρίζεται οὐδ' αὖ
 Βοσπόρῳ ὀποτέρῳ βούλει, οὐδὲ στενοῖς Συρίας καὶ
 Κιλικίας, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν τύχη τιμὴ θεία ζήλος
 ἐπέρχεται τῆς ὑμετέρας σοφίας καὶ σπνηθείας, καὶ
 325 ταύτην μίαν φωνὴν κοινὴν ἅπαντες τοῦ γένους ἐνόμι-
 σαν, καὶ δι' ὑμῶν ὁμόφωνος μὲν πᾶσα γέγονεν ἡ
 οἰκουμένη, ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς ἡμιόχους καὶ τοὺς νο-
 μέας καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάττης ζῶντας καὶ πάντα ὅσα
 ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κατὰ χώρας τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν
 φωνῆς ἔχομένους καὶ πειρωμένους ἀνθάπτεσθαι,⁶¹
 326 καθάπερ τοὺς νεῖν ἀδυνάτους.
 ταύτην ἐγὼ φημι τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ὃ Λακεδαιμόνιοι
 καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν
 παρ' ὑμῖν πρώτων διαφερόντως εἰσέτι νῦν ἐφ' ἐκάστη
 ἡμέρα τελείσθαι τῇ πόλει τῆς νίκης· οἱ τὰς μὲν πα-
 τρίουσ φωνὰς ἐκκλειοῖπασιν καὶ καταισχυνθεῖεν ἂν
 καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς διαλεχθῆναι τὰ ἀρχαῖα παρόν-
 των μαρτύρων πάντες δὲ ἐπὶ τῆνδε ἐλληλύθασιν
 327 ὡσπερ ὄρον παιδείας νομίζοντες. ταύτην ἐγὼ τὴν με-

⁶¹ τῆς γῆς ἀνθάπτεσθαι A⁶B₂Q τῆς γῆς post καθάπερ
 UL^{ms}

fact that all have consciously chosen your ways and made
 themselves as far as possible your city's adopted sons, pray-
 ing that both they and their children may share in the good
 that you possess. The Pillars of Heracles are no barrier, 324
 nor is any limit set by the hills of Libya or the Bosphorus
 (whichever of them you please)²³² or the passes of Syria or
 Cilicia; a god-sent good fortune has ensured that a desire
 to imitate your learning and your customs has pervaded
 the whole earth, and all have come to think of yours as the
 one universal dialect of the race; through you the whole 325
 inhabited world has come to speak the same language, and
 one can see charioteers²³³ and herdsmen and those who
 make their living from the sea, and all nations, city by city
 and country by country, clinging to your mode of speech
 and trying to catch hold of it like people who cannot swim.

This is the testimony to the city's victory, you Spartans 326
 and all you Greeks, that I say even now comes to her pre-
 eminently every day from you yourselves and from the
 foremost among you; they have abandoned their ancestral
 dialects and would be ashamed to converse even among
 themselves in the old way in the presence of witnesses. All
 have come to this dialect, in the belief that it is, so to speak,
 the hallmark of true culture. This is what I call the great 327

²³² Either the Thracian Bosphorus at Byzantium or the Cim-
 merian Bosphorus joining the Black Sea to Lake Maeotis.

²³³ The Greek text here is certainly corrupt, in spite of J. H.
 Oliver's ingenious attempt to explain it by reference to the barbar-
 ian people called the Heniochi. What seems to be wanted is a
 word for a basic profession, to match "herdsmen" and "those who
 make their living from the sea," so perhaps "farmers" or "laborers
 on the land" (γεωργούς, ἀγρουργούς).

γάλην ἀρχὴν καλῶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων, οὐ τριήρεις διακο-
 σίας ἢ πλείους οὐδ' Ἴωνίαν οὐδ' Ἑλλάσποντον οὐδέ
 τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης, ἃ μυρίους μεταβέβληκεν ἀρχοντας.
 τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ διάφορον τῶνδε τῶν λόγων πρὸς
 ἅπαντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε ἦν καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον
 ἐξεφάνη τῷ χρόνῳ, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον ἐκλελοιπότες σχε-
 δὸν ἤδη τῶν ἄλλων οἶδε τοσοῦτον ἀνθοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 φήσειεν ἂν τις ἀπάσας τὰς τῶν ἄλλων φωνὰς καὶ μὴ
 ὅτι βαρβάρων, ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῖς τῶν
 ψελλιζομένων παίδων ῥήμασιν προσεοικέναι ὡς τῇ
 παρ' ὑμῶν παραβαλεῖν. μέχρι μὲν γὰρ δυοῖν καὶ
 τριῶν ῥημάτων κἂν ἀκούει τις κἂν τέρπειτο ὥσπερ ἐν
 παιδιᾷ, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν κόρος ἤδη καὶ πάντα ἐλέγχεται.
 μόνη δὲ ἦδε πάσαις μὲν πανηγύρεσι, πᾶσι δὲ συλλό-
 γοις καὶ βουλευτηρίοις σύμμετρος, ἔτι δὲ ἅπασι καὶ
 καιροῖς καὶ τόποις ἀρκεῖ καὶ δι' ἴσου πρέπει. δύο γὰρ
 τὰ πρῶτα σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν κέκτηται μόνη, σεμνότη-
 328 λέγω καὶ χάριν. ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦ γε διὰ πάντων ἀγῶνος
 καὶ τόνου καὶ δρόμου καὶ κράτους τίς ἂν οἴοις τ' εἶη
 πλησίον ἐλθεῖν ἐτέραν κομίζων γλώτταν καὶ οὐχ ὡς
 ἀληθῶς παῖς ἀνδρὸς ἠττηθεὶς ἄπεισιν, ἵν' εὐπρεπῶς
 εἶπω; καὶ γὰρ τοὶ πᾶσα μὲν ποιήσις ἢ παρ' ὑμῶν
 ἀρίστη καὶ τελεωτάτη καὶ ὅση σεμνότητος καὶ ὅση
 χαρίτων προέστηκεν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ τῆς Ὀμήρου μνη-
 σθῆναι, μετέχει καὶ ταύτης τῆς φιλοτιμίας ἢ πόλις,

empire of Athens, not the two hundred or more triremes
 nor Ionia nor the Hellespont nor the lands toward Thrace
 that have changed rulers countless times. So great was the
 superiority of this mode of speech over all others right
 from the start, and so much more evident did it become
 with time, that not only does this one now flourish so vig-
 orously, while all the others have practically withered
 away, but it could also be said that all other dialects, not
 only barbarian but also Greek, are like the semi-articulate
 lisplings of children when compared to yours. One might
 be able to listen to them for two or three words, and enjoy
 it as if playing a game, but with that one has already had
 one's fill and starts correcting everything they say. This
 is the only dialect that is suitable to every festival, ev-
 ery gathering and every council chamber, the only one
 that suffices at all times and in all places and is uniformly
 seemly. It is the only one to possess what you might say
 are about the two most important qualities, namely dig-
 nity and charm. But at the same time, who speaking an-
 other dialect could come close to its all-round vigor and
 intensity and flow and power, and would not, to put it
 328 politely, come off second best, only too truly a mere child
 up against a grown man? All your native poetry, whether
 it be the element of it that is unsurpassed in dignity or the
 element that is unsurpassed in charm, is the best and most
 perfect there is.²³⁴ And if Homer's poetry demands a men-
 tion as well, Athens can claim a share of this source of
 honor too, not only because his city was her colony, but

²³⁴ Dignity is the essential quality of epic and tragic poetry,
 charm of lyric and comedy (particularly the New Comedy of the
 fourth century BC).

οὐ μόνου διὰ τῆς ἀποίκου πόλεως, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ
 329 φωνὴ σαφῶς ἐνθένδε. ἅπαντες δὲ οἱ λόγοι διὰ πάντων
 τῶν εἰδῶν οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν ἄριστοι καὶ οὐς οἱ παρ' ὑμῶν
 ἐποίησαν, καὶ σχεδὸν οἱ διὰ πάντων ἐν Ἑλλησι νικῆσαντες ἅπαντες τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων δυνάμει νενικήκασι. εἰ δὲ δὴ τι καὶ τὸ καθ' ἡμᾶς—τοῦτο νῦν ἐστι θεῶν ἴλεων ὄντων—καὶ τοῦτ' εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀναφέρει, οὐκ οὖν ξενίαν γε ἔστιν τῶν λόγων καταγνῶναι. ὥσπερ γὰρ προειδυῖα ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡ φύσις περὶ τῆς πόλεως ὅσον τοῖς ἔργοις προέξει τῶν ἄλλων, κατεσκευάσατο αὐτῇ πρὸς ἀξίαν τοὺς λόγους, ἵνα αὐτὴ τε κοσμοῖτο ὑπὸ τῶν ἑαυτῆς ἀγαθῶν, κἄν τισι τῶν ἄλλων δέη, καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοι⁶² μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων χαρίζεσθαι.

330 πρότερον μὲν οὖν τοὺς καταφεύγοντας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων διεσφύζετε, νυνὶ δ' ἀτεχνῶς πάντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πάντα γένη τῇ καλλίστῃ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀνέχετε, ἡγεμόνες παιδείας καὶ σοφίας ἀπάσης γιγνόμενοι καὶ πάντας ἀπανταχοῦ καθαίροντες. τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων τελετῇ τοῖς εἰσαφικνουμένοις ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ μυσταγωγοὶ κέκλησθε, διὰ παντὸς δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τῶν εἰς τὸ μέσον εἰσφορῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι καθεστήκατε. ἀνθ' ὧν ἅπαντας ταῖς πρεπούσαις ἐπιφαιδαιῖς ἐφέλεκθε, οὐκ ἴνγχι ὑποκινούντες, ἀλλὰ τῷ καλλίστῳ τῶν φαρμάκων, τῷ λόγῳ, ὅπερ οἱ θεοὶ πάν-

⁶² ἔχοι MQ ἔχει AB₂RT ἔχη(ι) A_n²EMUV

also because his language also clearly derives from here.²³⁵ All the works of oratory in every genre produced by you, or 329 by those whom you have taught, are the best, and practically all who have triumphed in any field of Greek oratory have done so thanks to Athenian ability. If my own eloquence amounts to anything—as is now the case, thanks to the gods' favor—and this too is attributable to you, you can at all events not condemn my speech as an alien interloper. As if she knew from the beginning how far Athens would excel other states in her achievements, Nature furnished her with a matching stock of eloquence, so that she could herself be praised through her own blessings, and if any of the others required it, she could also bestow this favor on them along with the rest.

In days gone by you rescued those of the Greeks who 330 fled to you for refuge; now it is quite simply the entire human race and all nations that you sustain with the fairest of all benefactions, since as leaders in culture and all forms of learning you purify all men in all lands. To those coming to be initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries you are known as interpreters and guides in the sacred rituals; but to all men and for all time you have been interpreters and teachers of those sacred contributions that you have made to the good of all. So it is that you draw all to you with the right kind of spells, moving their affections not with the covert power of a magic wheel, but with that of the finest of all drugs, speech, which the gods gave to mankind alone

²³⁵ Homer was widely, though not uncontroversially, regarded as a native of Smyrna, and Smyrna was a colony of Athens; for the idea of his language as principally Attic, see [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 12–13.

των ἀντάξιον ἀνθρώπῳ μόνῳ τῶν ἄλλων ἐδωρήσαντο. ὥστε τὰς μὲν ἄλλας πόλεις, ἃς ἕκαστοι τιμῶσι, μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φαίεν ἂν οἶμαι πατρίδα, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀντέστραπται, καὶ πάντες οὐ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰποῖεν ἂν τιμᾶν μετὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν μετὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν, ὡς ταύτην οὔσαν τὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς οἰκείαν καὶ προτέραν, καὶ οὐδ' ἂν εἰς νεμεσήσαι. ὥσπερ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ πρὸ τῶν γονέων τιμᾶν νερόμισται, ὡς κοινούς ὄντας ἀπάντων γονέας τε καὶ εὐεργέτας, οὕτω τὴν κοινὴν πατρίδα τοῦ γένους πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας εὐσεβὲς τιμᾶν.

[*The Superiority of Athens Over All Other States*
(331-401)]

331 ἄξιον τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς εἰπεῖν ὅσον παρὰ πάντων ἐστὶ τε καὶ γέγονε τῆδε τῇ πόλει καὶ κατὰ πάντα αἰεὶ τοὺς χρόνους. οὐ γὰρ μόνον εὐθηνούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠξιοῦτο τῶν πρωτείων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς μεταβολαῖς οὐδεμία ἐστὶν ἥτις ἐξ ἴσου ταύτη γεγένηται. Φίλιππός τε γὰρ εὐτυχήσας τῇ περὶ Χαιρώνειας μάχῃ τὴν μὲν Θηβαίων πόλιν εὐθὺς φρουρᾷ κατέλαβεν, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ὑπέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐστὴ κατὰ χώραν αἰδοῖ τοῦ κρείττονος. καὶ σιωπῶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὡς αἰεὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔσχε θεραπευτικῶς. 332 ἦ τε νῦν ἀρχὴ γῆς τε καὶ θαλάττης, εἴη δὲ ἀθάνατος, οὐκ ἀναινεταὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας μὴ οὐκ ἐν διδασκάλων καὶ τροφέων μέρει κοσμεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῷσαύτη τῶν τιμῶν

as a gift to equal all the rest. Therefore, whereas in the case of all other cities the peoples that respect them would I think say that they do so second in line after their own, in the case of Athens the position is reversed: everyone would say not that they respect your city second after their own, but that they respect their own second after yours, since it is yours that truly belongs to them and came first, and no one would resent this. Just as it is customary to honor the gods even before one's own parents, as the common parents and benefactors of all, so it is an act of piety to honor the shared homeland of the human race before one's own.

The Superiority of Athens Over All Other States
(331-401)

It is right also to speak of the reverence that all pay to this 331 city, and have always paid in each successive age. Not only was she judged worthy of first place when Greece was strong; in changed times too there has been no city that has been her equal. When Philip had won the Battle of Chaeronea, he immediately occupied Thebes with a garrison; Athens on the other hand he could not bear even to set eyes on, but stayed where he was in reverence of his better. I say nothing of the attitude of devotion that Alexander always maintained toward her. The land and sea 332 empire of modern times²³⁶—may it never pass away—does not disdain to glorify Athens in her role as teacher and foster parent. So abundant, indeed, are the honors

²³⁶ The Roman Empire.

ἔστιν ἡ περιουσία ὥστε τοσοῦτον ἐτέρως ἢ πόλις
 πράττει τὰ νῦν ὅσον οὐ πραγματεύεται. τὰ δὲ τῆς
 ἄλλης εὐδαιμονίας μικροῦ δέιν παραπλήσια ἔστιν
 αὐτῇ τοῖς ἐπ' ἐκείνων τῶν χρόνων, ὅτ' εἶχε τῆς Ἑλλά-
 333 δος τὴν ἀρχήν, καὶ προσόδων ἕνεκα καὶ προεδρίας
 καὶ τοῦ παρὰ πάντων συγκεχωρηκότος. ὁ δὲ πάντων
 θεοφιλέστατον, ὅτε μὲν γὰρ ἦνθει τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων,
 διετέλει καὶ Ἑλληνας καὶ βαρβάρους νικῶσα, ὧν δὲ
 μόνων ἔδοξεν ἔλαττον ἔχειν ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον, τούτων
 τοσοῦτ' ἀπὸ κείνων ἀπῆλλαξε καὶ εὐτυχέστερον εἰς τέ-
 λος, ὥστε τῶν μὲν αἱ πόλεις ἀπολώλασιν, ὅσαι δὲ καὶ
 λοιπαί, τῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄγονται νόμῳ καὶ φόροις καὶ
 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναγκαίοις [ὑποκείμεναι]⁶³ ὑποτελείς· ἢ δ'
 οὐ τοσοῦτον ἠλαττώθη τότε οὐδ' εἰς τοσοῦτον τοῦ
 334 χρόνου, ἐξ ὅσου καὶ ὅσῳ μέχρι τούδε οὐ μόνον πρὸ
 ἐκείνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τετίμηται. δῆλον
 δὲ Πέλλῃ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἂν φιλοτιμοῖτο πατρίδι
 οὐδὲ Αἰγαῖς, Ἀθηναῖος δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔστιν Ἑλλήνων
 ὅστις οὐκ ἂν εὐξαιτο μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης
 πόλεως πολίτης γεγονέναι. οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ τῶν ιδιω-
 τῶν οὕτω πρεσβεύουσι τὰς Ἀθήνας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις
 αἱ μὲν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐνθένδε καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν οἰκισθεῖσαι
 ἦδιον ἂν ὡς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἴσιν εἴποιεν ἢ τὴν ἴσῃν ὑμῖν
 κτήσαιντο δύναμιν, αἱ δὲ κύκλῳ περιέρχονται ζητού-
 σαι τρόπον τινα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀνευρεθῆναι.

⁶³ ὑποκείμεναι *secl.* Trapp

that are showered on her that the city's fortunes now differ
 from what they were only in that she plays no part in cur-
 rent affairs. In all other respects—revenues, precedence
 and the deference of all—she flourishes to practically the
 same degree as she did in the days when she ruled over
 Greece. More than anything else, the gods' favor is seen
 333 in the fact that, when Greek power flourished, Athens
 enjoyed victory after victory over both Greeks and barbar-
 ians, while the only peoples who seemed to better her in
 subsequent times in fact came out far less gloriously and
 happily than she did in the end, since the cities of some of
 them have perished, and those that remain fall under the
 law of empire and are liable to taxation and all the other
 obligations imposed on them.²³⁷ Athens however has seen
 the depth and duration of her eclipse at that time far out-
 weighed by the quantity and duration of the honor that
 she has continued to receive to this day, surpassing not
 only those peoples, but all. This superiority is clear: no one
 334 would pride himself on having Pella or Aegae as his home
 town,²³⁸ but there is not a single Greek who would not pray
 to be an Athenian rather than a citizen of his actual city.
 It is not only in the thinking of private individuals that
 such precedence is given to Athens; the same goes for
 cities too. Those which truly derive from here and were
 colonized by you would be happier to say that they de-
 scend from you than that they were as powerful as you;
 others circle round seeking to attach themselves to you in
 some way or another.

²³⁷ By "the . . . peoples who seemed to better her," Aristides means the Macedonians under Philip, Alexander, and Antigonus.

²³⁸ Successive capitals of Macedon; Pella was the birthplace of Alexander.

335 ἀλλὰ μὴν πέντε μὲν ἔστι μνήμη βασιλειῶν, μὴ γένοιτο δὲ πλείονων. τούτων δ' ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσσυρίων τῆς πρεσβυτάτης αἱ πρῶται τῆς πόλεως εἰσιν πράξεις, καὶ ὅσα τῶν θείων, εἰς τούτου ἐμπίπτει τὸν χρόνον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς δευτέρας ἤρητο ἡ πόλις. τὴν δὲ τρίτην διὰ τέλους ἐνίκησεν. ἐν δὲ τῇ τετάρτῃ μόνῃ μὲν ἀντέσχεν, ἄριστα δὲ ἀπήλλαξεν τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς πάντα ἀρίστης καὶ μεγίστης τῆς νυνὶ καθεστηκυίας τὰ πρεσβεία παντὸς ἔχει τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ καὶ πέπραγεν οὕτως ὥστε μὴ ῥαδίως ἂν τινα αὐτῇ τάρχαϊα ἀντὶ τῶν παρόντων συνεύξασθαι.

336 γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ὅσον τῇ πόλει περίεστιν ἐκ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος, εἰ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῇ, πάντα μὲν οὐκ ἴσως δυνατὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ σαφῶς ἀδύνατον, ἀλλ' ὅσα γε ἐγχωρεῖ, μερίσας ἄλλο ἄλλη χώρα καὶ πόλει προσθεῖς εἶτα ἀγῶνα τῷ λόγῳ ποιήσειεν καθάπερ ποιητῶν ἢ χορῶν. οὐ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τὴν νικῶσαν εὐρεῖν ἂν ῥαδίως. οἶον εἰ φιλοτιμοῖτο ἡ μὲν ὡς πρώτη τεκοῦσα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος, ἡ δ' ὡς πρώτη δεῖξασα τοὺς καρπούς, ἡ δὲ ὡς πλείστοις μεταδοῦσα, ἡ δὲ τις ὡς νόμους καταδείξασα, ἡ δὲ πανηγύρεις, ἡ δ' ὡς ἐν καλλίστοις κείται γῆς ἅμα καὶ θαλάττης, ἡ δὲ τοῖς τῆς σοφίας ἀγαθοῖς ἀγάλλοιτο, ἡ δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις πράξεις καταλέγοι, ἄλλη δὲ ὅσους ὑπεδέξατο τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἡ δὲ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἀπέστειλεν, ἡ δ' ὅτι καὶ δοίη τις αὐτῇ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει, φήμ'

²³⁹ Assyrian, Median, Persian, Macedonian, Roman.

Five empires are known to history (and may that number never increase).²³⁹ The oldest of them was the Assyrian, and it is to its time that the first Athenian achievements date; anything relating to the gods falls into this period. It was under the second that the city's power started to grow. The third she conquered outright. In the fourth, she was the only one to offer resistance, and came off better than all the others. Under the best and greatest of them all, the empire that now holds sway, she has precedence over the whole of the Greek world, and her fortunes are such that one would not lightly pray for her to enjoy her former circumstances rather than her present ones.

The extent of the city's superiority over the whole of time might be brought home if one were to divide up her qualities—not all of them, since that is perhaps not possible, or rather clearly impossible, but at least as many as one can—and assign them separately to different cities and regions, and then hold an imaginary competition as one might for poets or choirs. I do not think it would be easy to establish a winner. What I mean is that if one city were to claim the prize because she first produced the human race, another because she first taught the growing of crops, another because she shared it with the largest number, another because she invented laws, another because she invented festivals, another because she enjoys the most beautiful location in relation to both land and sea, another preened herself on the blessings of wisdom, another listed her martial achievements, another how many Greeks she had given refuge too, another the colonies she had founded, another whichever else of the city's qualities one might assign to her, I think this would make it abso-

ἔγωγε μάλιστα' ἂν οὕτω γενέσθαι καταφανὲς ὁπόσοις
τισὶ τοῖς κρείττοσιν ἢ πόλις ὑμῖν τὰς ἄλλας παρ-
ελήλυθεν. ἃ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ νειμαμένη τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ταῦτα
μόνη συλλήβδην ἔχει.

- 337 καὶ τοίνυν ὡσπερ τοῖς ἄσασι τοσοῦτον περίεστιν,
οὕτω καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον αὖ πολλοῖς τοῖς εἰς ταυτὸν
338 φέρουσιν ἀγάλλεται. οἶον τῶν μὲν θεῶν εὐθέως δύο
μὲν τὰ πρῶτα καὶ μέγιστα, ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν θεῶν τιμὴ καὶ
ἢ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς σπουδὴ. τούτων δ' αὖ τῆς μὲν παρὰ
τῶν θεῶν τιμῆς πότερον τὰς ἐπιδημίας εἴπη τις, αἷς
τὸ κοινὸν ἐτίμησαν, ἢ τὰς τροφὰς αἷς ἔθρεψαν τοὺς
ἐν τέλει καθάπερ παῖδας ἑαυτῶν, ἢ τὰς δίκας αἷς
ἐποιήσαντο; καὶ τῶν γε δικῶν αὖ πότερον αἷς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐποιήσαντο, ἢ τὰς ἐν τῇ
πόλει πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ τῶν διαφόρων, ἢ τὰς
ἀναμιξῆ ἤρωσι καὶ θεοῖς ἐν θεοῖς δικασταῖς ἐντανθοῖ
339 γενομένας; καὶ μὴν τῶν γε δωρεῶν ὡσαύτως οὐ ῥά-
διον τὴν μεγίστην εὐρεῖν. ἀμιλλάσθω δὲ καὶ περὶ
τούτων ἄλλη πρὸς ἄλλην πόλις, ἢ μὲν τοὺς Δῆμητρος
καρποὺς κομίζουσα, ἢ δὲ τοὺς τοῦ Διονύσου, καὶ
τούτους οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀμπέλου, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων ἡμέρων. ἢ δὲ τρίτη λεγέτω τὴν τῆς Ἀθη-
340 νᾶς δωρεάν, καὶ ταύτην διπλήν. ἄρ' οὐ πολλοαῖς πό-
λεσι μεριζόμενα ἐξαρκεῖ τὰ ἐκ τῶν θεῶν ἐκάστη φι-
λοτιμείσθαι ὡς ἐχούση τὸ κάλλιστον;

lutely clear just how many advantages your city enjoys that makes it superior to the rest. What when shared out is enough for the whole of Greece, she possesses all together on her own.

- Furthermore, just as Athens is so far superior in all her 337
qualities combined, so also in each individual area she
can pride herself on many instances that tend in the same
direction. For instance, in the sphere of what relates to 338
the divine, two things come first and are most important,
honor shown by the gods, and zeal in worshipping them.
As examples of the first of these, honor shown by the gods,
should one mention the visits with which they honored the
whole community, or the tender care with which they nurtured
the rulers as if they had been their own children, or
the legal cases they initiated?²⁴⁰ And of the legal cases,
should it be those they brought against each other over
the city, or those that they brought in the city against
each other over their differences, or those that took place
here between gods and heroes together, with the gods as
judges? In the same way, it is not easy to establish which 339
was the greatest of their gifts either. Let one city compete
with another over this too, one advancing Demeter's
fruits, another Dionysus', not just from the vine, but
from other cultivated plants too, while a third speaks of
Athena's gift, also a twofold one.²⁴¹ Even when shared 340
out among many cities, are not the gods' gifts to Athens
enough for each of them to pride itself on having the fair-
est thing of all?

²⁴⁰ Cf. §§40-48 above.

²⁴¹ The olive (cf. §41 above), double either because producing both edible fruit and oil or because the oil could be used both as foodstuff and as ointment.

341 αὔθις τοίνυν τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς, τοῦτο μὲν οἱ νεώ,
 τοῦτο δὲ αἱ δι' ἔτους θυσίαι καὶ πρόσοδοι. ὦν τὰ μὲν
 παρ' ὑμῖν πρῶτοις γεγένηται, τὰ δ' εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἔτι
 καὶ νῦν γίγνεται· τὰς δ' ἀρρήτους τελετάς, ὧν τοῖς
 μετασχούσιν καὶ μετὰ τὴν τοῦ βίου τελευτὴν βελτίω
 τὰ πράγματα γίγνεσθαι δοκεῖ, τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐξαρκεῖν
 342 φαίη πᾶσιν ἐν ἀντιθειναι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ἢ γε πρὸς τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους ὁμιλία τίς' ἐκπέφενγεν τρόπον εὐεργε-
 σίας; πρῶτον μὲν γε ἢ τῶν καρπῶν μετάδοσις, ἔπειθ'
 ἢ τῶν τελετῶν ἑτέρα, τρίτον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους
 προστασία, τέταρτον ἢ διὰ τῆς σοφίας αἰεὶ πᾶσι γι-
 γνομένη καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους οἴκους καὶ εἰς τὰ κοινὰ
 343 τῶν πόλεων ἐπικουρία. τῆς τοίνυν σοφίας αὐτῆς πότε-
 ρον τοὺς νόμους εἴπωμεν, οἷς ἔτι νῦν οἱ πολλοὶ χρω-
 νται τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἢ τοὺς λόγους; καὶ τῶν λόγων
 πότερον τοὺς περὶ τὴν ῥητορείαν ἢ τοὺς διαλεκτικούς
 ἢ τὴν ποιήσιν ἢ τὴν ἄλλην συγγραφὴν; εἰ δὲ βούλει,
 τί τῆς ποιήσεως εἶδος; ὅ τι γὰρ πρῶτον ἢ τελευταῖον
 εἴποις κἀπὸ⁶⁴ τῆς πρώτης⁶⁵ ἐστὶ τῆ πόλει.
 344 σκόπει δὴ καὶ τὰ τῶν πολέμων, τοῦτο μὲν τοὺς
 ἰδίους ἀγῶνας, τοῦτο δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων, αὔθις
 αὖ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκείᾳ κατορθώματα, καὶ πάλιν γε τὰ ἐν
 345 τῇ ὑπερορίᾳ ὁμοίως Ἑλλάδι καὶ βαρβάρῳ. καὶ πότε-
 ρον τὴν ἀνδρείαν ἢ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐρείς τὴν ἐν
 αὐτοῖς τοῖς πολέμοις ἐνούσαν; ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ
 πηγῇ πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν μερίσσης πάλιν εἰς ἄλληλα συρρεῖ

Turning next to Athenian devotion to the gods, there 341
 are both the temples and the annual cycle of sacrifices and
 processions, some of which first took place among you,
 while others continue to this day with unsurpassed mag-
 nificence. And who would deny that the secret rites, whose
 initiates are supposed to enjoy better fortunes even after
 death, have a value that allows them to be set on their own
 against everything else?²⁴² And in her dealings with men, 342
 what sort of benefit has Athens not managed to bestow?
 First came the sharing of the gift of crops, then a second
 sharing, of the gift of religious ritual; thirdly, her protec-
 tion in times of war; fourth, the assistance constantly on
 offer to all through her wisdom, both to individual house-
 holds and to whole city communities. In connection with 343
 her wisdom, is it her laws I should be talking about, since
 to this day it is your laws that the majority of mankind
 obeys, or her literature? And of her literature, should it be
 her oratory, or her philosophy, or her poetry, or her other
 forms of writing? And what genre of poetry, if you please?
 Whatever you mention, first or last, is the city's own from
 the very start.

Look also at their deeds in war, both in their own con- 344
 flicts and in those they undertook on behalf of others, and
 again at their successes both in their own country and in
 foreign parts, Greek and barbarian alike. And is it the 345
 courage or the generosity manifested in those wars that
 you will speak of? For divide things as you may, they all
 flow into each other and mingle, as in a single spring: the

²⁴² The Eleusinian Mysteries (cf. §330 above).

⁶⁴ ἀπό *add.* Trapp

⁶⁵ τὰ πρωτεία Reiske

καὶ μίγνυνται, εἰς μὲν τὰς εὐεργεσίας οἱ τε πόλεμοι τῇ
 χρεία τῶν δεηθέντων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς σοφίας ἀγαθὰ,
 εἰς δ' αὖ τοὺς πολέμους τὰ τε οἰκεία καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τῶν
 346 δεηθέντων. πάλιν τοῖνυν τῶν ἢ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἢ ὑπὲρ
 τῶν ἄλλων πολέμων πότερον τὰς ναυμαχίας χρῆ λέ-
 γειν ἢ τὰς πεζομαχίας ἢ τὰς ἵππομαχίας ἢ τὰς τει-
 χομαχίας; πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα κρατίστη ἢ πόλις. εἰ δ'
 αὖ βούλει, τί τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ μέγιστον αὐτῆς ἢ τί
 347 τῶν κατ' ἥπειρον; τρεῖς δ' οὖν ὅροι ταύτῃ κείσθων, οἷς
 εἰ μὴ ἑαυτὴν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε ἄλλους ἀναμφισβητήτως
 ὑπερβέβληκεν, πεζομαχία μὲν ἢ Μαραθῶνι, ναυμα-
 χία δ' ἢ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι, ἵππομαχία δέ, ἀπορῶ μὲν ἦν-
 τινα κρίνω, ἔστω δὲ ἢ ἐν Μαντινείᾳ. τειχομαχίας μὲν
 348 γὰρ οὐδ' ἠμφισβήτησεν οὐδεὶς πώποτε. καὶ τοῖνυν
 πότερον τῷ πλήθει τῶν τροπαίων ἢ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν
 ἔργων θησόμεθα; ἢ πῶς τὴν ἀξίαν ἀποδώσομεν; οὕτω
 καὶ διὰ πάντων καὶ δι' ἐκάστου πολλαχῶς νικᾷ. καὶ
 γὰρ ἀγῶνας πλείστους καὶ μεγίστους καὶ ὑπὲρ καλ-
 λίστων ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τρόπαια πλείστα καὶ κάλλι-
 στα ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, καὶ λόγοι πλείστοι καὶ κάλ-
 λιστοι καὶ διὰ πάντων ὑπερέχοντες οἱ τῆσδε τῆς
 πόλεως· προσθήσω δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῆσδε καὶ στρατηγῶν
 σοφώτατοι καὶ ὀξύτατοι καὶ ἀσφαλέστατοι καὶ δικαι-
 ὄτατοι καὶ πλείους ἢ σύμπαντες οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων.
 349 ἵνα δ' εἶπω κεφάλαιον, τρισὶ τούτοις ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώ-
 πων βίος πληροῦται, τῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων εὐπορίᾳ, τοῖς

wars fought in the service of those who asked for their help
 and the blessings deriving from her wisdom join up with
 the topic of her benefactions; their actions on their own
 behalf and on behalf of their suppliants join up with the
 topic of her wars. Again, thinking of the wars they fought 346
 on their own behalf and for others, is it their naval actions
 that should be talked about, or their infantry actions, or
 their cavalry actions, or their sieges? Athens was supreme
 in all of these. Or if you please, what was the greatest of
 her land or her sea actions? At all events, let us acknowl- 347
 edge three defining events, in which she unambiguously
 surpassed all other states even if not herself: the infantry
 action at Marathon, the naval action at Salamis, and the
 cavalry action—I am not sure which one to settle on, but
 let us say Mantinea.²⁴³ As for siege warfare, no one has
 ever disputed her preeminence in this domain. Another 348
 question: are we to give more weight to the number of her
 victories or the magnitude of her deeds? How are we to
 do justice to her? She comes first in so many ways in each
 of her achievements and in the combination of them all:
 she has fought the greatest number of the greatest battles,
 and for the noblest purposes; her victories are more nu-
 merous and more noble than anyone else's; and her rec-
 ords of these events enjoy a comprehensive superiority as
 the richest and best of all. Let me also say that the most
 intelligent, keenest, most reliable and most upright gener-
 als are hers, and that she has produced more of them than
 any other Greek state.

In sum, human fulfillment depends on three things: an 349
 abundance of the necessities of life, the goods that go to

²⁴³ Cf. §§104–12, 123–69, 312 above.

τῆς παιδείας καλοῖς, τῇ τῶν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον κατασκευῇ. δυοῖν γὰρ ὄντων καιροῖν, εἰρήνης καὶ πολέμου, τὸ μὲν ἀμφοῖν κοινόν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀνέεται καιρῷ, τὸ δὲ ἀμύνεσθαι δυνατοὺς εἶναι ποιεῖ περὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων. τούτων τοίνυν ἔστω μὲν ὃ τί τις βούλεται μέγιστον· τριῶν δ' εἶναι πόλεων δεδóσθω πάντα,⁶⁶ ἑκάστη ἑκαστον. φημί τοίνυν ἐγώ, καθ' ἣν ἂν τις αὐτῶν κρίνη, τῆς πόλεως εἶναι τὸ νικᾶν. πάντα γὰρ αὕτη δείξασα καὶ πάντων ἐπὶ πλείστον προελθούσα φανήσεται. οὕτω πᾶσι τοῖς κριταῖς νικᾶ καὶ πρὸς γε ἔτι ταῖς χώραις ἀπάσαις. ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν τις ὀκνήσειεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι χρῆ καὶ πρώτην καὶ δεύτεραν καὶ τρίτην αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι κηρύττειν ὥσπερ ἐν ἄρμασιν, εἰ δὴ καὶ ἄρμα γε ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς Σικελίας.

351 εἶεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦτα. τὰ δ' αὖ τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς τίς οὐκ ἂν ἄξια τῆς ὄλης τύχης εἴποι καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὀνόματος; τοῦτο μὲν αὐτὸν τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, μέγιστον μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν, κάλλιστον δὲ τῶν πανταχοῦ. καὶ σιωπῶ τείχη καθήκοντά ποτε ἐπὶ θάλατταν, ἡμερησίας ὁδοῦ μήκος τὰ σύμπαντα, καὶ πρὸς τῇ θαλάττῃ

⁶⁶ πάντα AMQRTUV ταῦτα B₁E

²⁴⁴ Text and meaning not entirely certain. Aristides may have envisaged each of the three cities having all three attributes but privileging one of them over the other two (in which case a lacuna probably ought to be marked after ἑκαστον).

make up a civilized culture, and strong military resources. The first of these belongs equally to the two main states of things, peace and war; the second belongs entirely to peacetime; and the last gives its possessors the power to defend what they have. Now, assume that whichever of these one wants can be the most important; and let it be supposed that they all belong to three cities, each to each.²⁴⁴ I assert that, whichever of these cities you use as your standard of judgment, victory belongs to Athens, as it is she who will be seen to have discovered all these elements and to have made the greatest advances in all of them. Athens thus wins in the eyes of all judges, and what is more in all places. One would therefore not hesitate to declare that, as in a chariot race, Athens should be awarded first, second and third prize—if indeed it is true that the chariot too is originally an Athenian rather than a Sicilian invention.²⁴⁵

Well, so much then for that subject. Turning now to the size of Athens and her physical adornment more generally, who would disagree that they are worthy of her fortunes in general and the great name of her people? For a start, she encloses a greater area than any other city in Greece, and is more beautiful than any city anywhere. I will say nothing of the walls that used once to reach as far as the sea,²⁴⁶ half a day's journey in all in length, and the other

²⁴⁵ Cf. §43 above.

²⁴⁶ The Long Walls, built in 458 and 445, demolished in 404, and rebuilt in the 390s BC. For the defensive circuits of Athens and the Piraeus, joined by the Long Walls, which Aristides also refers to, see Thuc. I.89–93.

κύκλους ἐτέρους ἀντιστρόφους τῶν περὶ τὴν πόλιν.
 ἀλλὰ τοὺς δῆμους πάρεστι δῆπον θεωρεῖν, ὧν ἔνιοι
 λαμπρότερον τῶν ἀλλαχοῦ πόλεων εἰσι κατασκευ-
 ασμένοι, καὶ πάντα δὴ τὸν κόσμον, καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῆς
 φύσεως καὶ τὸν παρὰ τῆς τέχνης, ἐφάμιλλον κἂν τῇ
 352 πόλει κἂν τῇ χώρᾳ. τῶν μὲν αὐτοφυῶν ἀήρ τε οὗτος
 ἐξαιρετός τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ λιμένες τοσοῦτοι, ὧν εἰς
 ἕκαστος ἀντάξιος πολλῶν. ἔτι δ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀκρο-
 πόλεως ἡ θέσις καὶ τὸ ὥσπερ αὔρας εὐχαρι προσ-
 353 βάλλον πανταχοῦ. ὃ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἀξιον
 ἐπισημῆνασθαι, ταῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαις πόλεσιν, ὅπως
 ἂν ἔχωσι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, τῆς γε αὐτῶν χώρας ἐπιεικῶς
 ἠττάσθαι συμβέβηκεν, τοῦ δὲ τῆς πάσης Ἀττικῆς
 ἀέρος οὕτως ἔχοντος ἄριστος καὶ καθαρώτατός ἐστιν
 ὁ τῆς πόλεως ὑπερέχων. γνοίης δ' ἂν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ
 πόρρωθεν ὥσπερ ἀγγὴ τῷ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀέρι.
 354 καὶ τὰ μὲν παρὰ τῆς φύσεως τοιαῦτα, πολλὰ τῶν
 ὄντων ἀφελόντι τῶν δ' αὖ τῆς τέχνης τί χρῆ μέγι-
 στον θείναι ἢ τί πρῶτον εἰπεῖν; νεφέ τε γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
 οἱ αὐτοὶ μέγιστοι καὶ κάλλιστοι τῶν πανταχοῦ, καὶ
 ἀγάλματα ἄνευ τῶν οὐρανίων τῆς πρώτης τέχνης τὰ
 πρῶτα, καὶ παλαιὰ καὶ καινὰ. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις βι-

circuits down by the sea matching those round the city.
 The demes however are there to be seen, some of them
 more splendidly built and ornamented than whole cities
 elsewhere, as are all the beauties, natural and artificial,
 that vie with each other both in town and in the surround- 352
 ing countryside. In respect of natural blessings, the cli-
 mate here is out of the ordinary and the harbors of such a
 size that each one of them is equivalent to many. To this
 may be added the position of the Acropolis itself, and
 the charm like that of a gentle breeze that strikes you on
 all sides. And in just this connection, there is something 353
 else to be noted: whereas other cities, whatever their cli-
 matic conditions, suffer from being somewhat worse off
 than their surrounding countryside, in the case of Athens,
 though the air of the whole of Attica is as I have described,
 that over the city itself is the best and purest of all. You
 would know it is her from the kind of gleam from afar that
 comes from the air overhead.²⁴⁷

So much for the city's natural advantages, though I 354
 omit many of those she enjoys. Turning now to what art
 has given her, what ought I to rank as most important, or
 mention first? The temples here are at once the largest
 and the most beautiful anywhere, and the statues, old and
 new, are, excepting only those of heavenly manufacture,²⁴⁸
 the highest products of the highest art. In addition, there

²⁴⁷ This sentence, with its somewhat awkward repetition of the reference to air, may be a reader's addition (conditioned partly by recollection of things said in §§12 and 18 above).

²⁴⁸ Aristides means primarily the ancient olive-wood image of Athena on the Acropolis, thought to have fallen from the heavens (Paus. 1.26.7), which was sometimes identified with the Pal-

adium taken from the Trojans (cf. Paus. 1.28.8-9) and sometimes said to have been put in position by Erichthonius (Apollod. 3.14.6). The plural "statues" may simply be encomiast's generalization or may be meant to embrace other archaic images (*xoana*), such as that of Hermes in the shrine of Athena Polias (Paus. 1.27.1).

βλίων ταμεία οἷα οὐχ ἑτέρωθι γῆς φανερά⁶⁷ καὶ μάλα τῶν Ἀθηναίων κόσμος οἰκείος καὶ οἷα δὴ τῆς παρουσίας ἐξουσίας καὶ διαίτης, λουτρά τε σεμνότητι καὶ τρυφῇ νικῶντα καὶ δρόμοι καὶ γυμνάσια. ὥστ' εἴ τις τῆς πόλεως περιέλοι τοὺς Ἐριχθονίους, τοὺς Κέκροπας, τὰ μυθώδη, τὰ τῶν καρπῶν, τὰ τρόπαια τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ, τοὺς λόγους, τοὺς ἄνδρας, πάντα δι' ὧν τὸν αἰῶνα διεξελέλυθεν, σκοποῖτο δ' αὐτήν, ὥσπερ τὰς νῦν φρονούσας ἐφ' αὐταῖς, ἔξαρκεῖν αὐτήν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις νικᾶν.

355 καὶ μὴν τὰ μὲν ἔσχηκεν, τὰ δὲ ἔχει, καὶ οὔτε οἷς ὑπερέχεν ἀφήρηται τὴν μνήμην οὔτ' αὖ τῆς παρουσίας εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολέλειπται, εἴ τῳ καὶ τούτων φίλον μεμνήσθαι, ἀλλὰ μόνη δὴ πόλεω τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς νικᾶ, τὰ δὲ καινὰ τοῖς καινοῖς, εἰ δὲ βούλει, τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ τοῖς καινοῖς, τὰ δὲ καινὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, τοῖς ἑαυτῆς λέγω τὰ τῶν ἄλλων.

356 κατίδοι δ' ἂν τις κάκειθεν τὰς ὑπερβολὰς αὐτῆς· ὅσοι γὰρ καὶ μικροῦ τινος μέρους τῇ πόλει κεκοινωνήκασιν, ὡς ἄριστοι τῶν ἄλλων ἀγάλλονται. ἢ δ' οὐδεμιᾶς μὲν φιλοτιμίας ὑστερεῖ τῶν οἰστισινοῦν ὑπαρχουσῶν, τῶν δ' ἑαυτῆς οὐδένα κοινῶν ἔχει δια

⁶⁷ φανερά Jebb, Reiske φανερώς B, φανεράς cett.

²⁴⁹ For example, the libraries of the Ptolemaeum gymnasium, Pantaeus, and Hadrian. ²⁵⁰ For example, the "South West Baths," just beyond the southwest corner of the Agora.

are treasure-houses of books of a splendor unparalleled anywhere else on earth (a glory that is truly Athens' own),²⁴⁹ and as befits the affluent lifestyle of the present day, baths of unsurpassed magnificence and luxury,²⁵⁰ and racetracks and gymnasias.²⁵¹ So even if one were to strip Athens of her Erichthoniuses and Cecropses, her myths and her role in agriculture, her victories on land and sea, her literature and her men, everything to which she owes her career down the ages, and were to look at her in the same way as one does the cities of today that pride themselves on their own appearance, she is quite capable of coming first on the strength of her outward aspect.

Some of her glories belong to the past, others to the present, and the memory of her past eminence is not lost any more than she is left behind by the prosperity of the present, should anyone care to mention this too. She alone among cities surpasses one set of bygone achievements with another, and one set of modern achievements with another, and come to that bygone achievements with modern and modern with bygone (other people's with her own, that is).

Here is another way of understanding Athens' superiority. All who share even a small part of her distinction with her give themselves airs as if they were better than anyone else; she for her part, while not being bettered in any form of distinction enjoyed by any other city, does

²⁵¹ Racetracks: e.g., the stadium refurbished by Herodes Atticus for the Panathenaic Games of 143–144 AD. Gymnasias: e.g., the gymnasias of Ptolemy, Diogenes, and Hadrian, in addition to the historic, but no longer fully functioning, Academy, Lyceum, and Cynosarges.

357 τέλους· οἶον Ἀργεῖοι παλαιότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀξι-
 ούσω εἶναι, οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις· καὶ
 ὅλως οὐχ ὅμοια τὰ τῶν Ἀργείων παλαιὰ τοῖς τῶν
 358 Ἀθηναίων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς φήσαι δικαστῆς κοινός. Ἀρκά-
 δες αὐτόχθονες, μετὰ γε Ἀθηναίους, καὶ τοῖς δευ-
 τέροις αὖ νικῶνται, τῇ τῶν καρπῶν εὐρέσει καὶ δόσει,
 δῆλον δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα φερόντων Ἑλλήνων τὰς
 359 ἀπαρχάς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείσε. ἄριστοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ
 πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις·
 καὶ τὰ γε δεύτερα ἐκείνοις ἐν φιλοτιμίᾳ καθέστηκεν.
 360 ἔχει ταῖς Θήβαις χάριν καὶ τιμὴν ἡ τῶν θεῶν γένησις.
 τούτων τοῖνυν ὁ μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ τὴν δωρεὰν ἔφηνευ,
 τὸν δὲ πρῶτοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναῖοι θεὸν ἤγαγον,
 χωρὶς τῶν διὰ Θησέως πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωριῶν. ἀλλὰ
 καὶ ἡ⁶⁸ τελευταίας Θηβαίων βώμης ἅπαντες μέμνη-
 ται, ταύτης ἡ πόλις αἰτία, καὶ ὅτε ἔδει τὰναντία πράτ-
 361 τειν, οὐκ ἔδεισεν. ἐπαινεῖν ἂν τις ἔχοι Κορινθίους δι-
 καιοσύνης ἔνεκα. ἡ τοῖνυν πόλις οὐ βεβούληται μόνον
 τὰ δίκαια, ἀλλὰ καὶ βραβεύουσα τοῖς ἄλλοις διαγέ-
 362 γονεν. ἐνδοξότατοι πάντων οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀγῶ-
 νες· καὶ μὴν τούτων πρεσβύτατος ὁ τῶν Παναθη-
 ναίων, εἰ δὲ βούλει, ὁ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων. ἔπειτα καὶ
 363 γὰρ οὖν τῆς πόλεως τὴν παρὰ τῆς Ἀθηναῖς. Σαμο-

not fully share hers with anyone. The Argives for instance 357
 claim to be the oldest of the Greeks; so too do the Athe-
 nians; but the ancient history of Argos simply cannot be
 compared with that of Athens, nor would any impartial
 judge claim as much. The Arcadians sprang from the soil 358
 of their own land, but after the Athenians; and they are
 defeated in the second round too, by the Athenian discov-
 ery and bestowal of agriculture, as is evidenced by the fact
 that the Greeks take their firstfruits offerings to Athens
 not Arcadia. The Spartans excel in war, but so too does the 359
 city of Athens; and in the glory won, it is they who take
 second place. Thebes enjoys gratitude and honor as the 360
 birthplace of gods;²⁵² but it was in Attica that one of these
 gods first revealed his gifts to mankind, and it was the
 Athenians who were the first of the Greeks to regard the
 other as a god, to say nothing of the exploits they shared
 with him through Theseus. Moreover, the strength that
 Thebes ultimately enjoyed, that all remember, was Ath-
 ens' doing, and when the need arose to act against her, 361
 Athens was not afraid to do so. One might praise the Cor-
 inthians for their righteousness; but Athens, besides will-
 ing what is right herself, has always been an arbiter of right
 for others as well. The Games of Greece are the most fam- 362
 ous of all, and the oldest of the games are the Panathe-
 naic, or if you prefer, the Eleusinian. Moreover, it is the
 city's gift that holds all the rest together (because by "the
 city's gift" I mean the gift of Athena).²⁵³ The people of 363

⁶⁸ ἡς Lenz τῆς codd.

²⁵² Dionysus and Heracles. The people of Icaria in Attic are

supposed in myth to have been the first human beings to learn from Dionysus how to make wine: Eratosth. *Erigone* fr. 22-26 Powell; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.4; Paus. 1.2.5.

²⁵³ The olive (because of the use of olive oil by athletes).

θηράκες ἀγάλλονται τοῖς ἱεροῖς, καὶ ταῦτα πάντων ὀνομαστότατά ἐστι, πλὴν τῶν Ἐλευσινίων· ἀλλὰ καὶ Δῆλος ἀνείται τοῖς θεοῖς· ἡ δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὴν εἰς Δελφοὺς ὁδὸν ἔργον εἶναι τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὴν θεωρίαν τὴν Πυθιάδα Ἀθηναίων μόνον πάτριον τί ἂν εἴποις ἢ τῶν θεῶν ἅπαντα ταῦτ' εἶναι, βουλομένων πανταχῆ τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβεύειν καὶ πᾶσιν ὡσπερ χεῖρα τοῖς καλοῖς ἐπιβάλλειν τὴν πόλιν; ἔτι τοίνυν εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πόλεων μεγέθει νεῶν φιλοτιμοῦνται, αἱ δὲ κατασκευῆ λουτρῶν τῆς χρείας κρείττονι· καὶ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν παρὰ τῇ πόλει πρὸς ὑπερβολήν, καθάπερ πρῶν συνωκισμένη. καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον ἃ γὰρ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐν ἀγάλμασι δεῖξαι σπουδὴν ἔχει, τούτων ὑμεῖς τοὺς νεῶς καὶ τὰ θέατρα κέκτησθε. ἀγάλματα θανμάζεται, καὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἶναι κρατεῖ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει,⁶⁹ χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ τᾶλλα πανταχοῦ κάλλιστα προσήκειν τρόπον δὴ τινα τῇ πόλει. ἀπάντων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, τῶν ἀρίστων αὐτῆ πατρὶς καὶ σοφίας πάσης καὶ τέχνης ἡγεμών, ὥστ' οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀγαλματοποιοῖς αὐτοῖς περίεστιν.

365 ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐπτά γε ἀνδρῶν, ἵνα μηδὲ τοῦτο παρᾶ-
μεν, ἐνδόξων ἐπὶ σοφία γενομένων, εἰς ἀπὸ τῆς
πόλεως γέγονε, καὶ δυοῖν ἀρίστον νομοθέταιν ἄτερος

⁶⁹ <ἀκρο>πόλει Reiske

Samothrace pride themselves on their holy rites,²⁵⁴ which have the highest repute of all except the Eleusinian. But Delos too is dedicated to the gods, and it belongs to Athens. What else would you say about the fact that the road to Delphi is the city's work, and that the Pythiad, the sacred embassy, is a uniquely Athenian custom, other than that all this comes from the gods' desire to give Athens precedence in every way, and to give the city so to speak a hand in all good things? There are indeed some cities in Asia that pride themselves on the size of their temples, and others that pride themselves on being more elaborately provided with baths than necessary for practical purposes; all this too can be found in Athens, to a still more lavish degree, as if she was only founded the other day. Best of all, you have whole temples and theaters commemorating what other peoples are keen to show off in their statues. Statues are objects of admiration, and of these the first and best is the one you have on your Acropolis,²⁵⁵ quite apart from the fact that all the most beautiful statues anywhere in a certain sense belong to your city.²⁵⁶ This city, so it seems, is the homeland of all that is best and leader in all wisdom and art; it follows that she should be superior not only in her statues but also in her sculptors.

Here is another kind of distinction I should not fail to mention. Of the celebrated Seven Sages, one was a native of this city, and this same man was also one of the two

²⁵⁴ The mystery cult of the anonymous (or only secretly named) gods of Samothrace.

²⁵⁵ The statue of Athena Parthenos by Phidias.

²⁵⁶ Because carved from Attic marble; cf. §21 above.

- 366 αὐτὸς οὗτος. δύο τοίνυν ἀνδράσι τῶν πρόσθεν ἐκ θεῶν
 ψῆφον δεδόσθαι παρελήφαμεν, Λυκούργω τε τῷ Λα-
 κεδαιμονίῳ καὶ Σωκράτει τῷ παρ' ὑμῶν, ὥστε καὶ τῆς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις φιλοτιμίας
 μετέχων τὴν πόλιν καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι τῶν ὀνομαστῶν
 367 ὅτῳ μὴ τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὄνομα ἐπιφημίζεται. εἰ τοίνυν
 τις ἐρωτῶν ποιὸν τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλλησι δικαστηρίων
 ἐντιμότερον καὶ ἀγιώτατον, τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ πάντες
 368 ἂν φήσαιεν. ἔθεσι δὲ τίνες κοινοτάτοις καὶ δημοτικω-
 τάτοις ἐχρήσαντο; ἢ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις ὁμοίως
 Ἀθηναίοις τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν, εἰ τάληθῆ
 λέγειν ἐθέλοιεν. καὶ τὸ μὲν διὰ πάντων ἀποδεικνύει
 συχοῦ καὶ λόγου καὶ χρόνου, μόνου δ' ἀπάντων ἀν-
 θρώπων τρία ταῦτ' ἐνομίσατε τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 πόλεως τελευτησάντων αὐτῶν μὲν ἐπαίνους ἐπὶ ταῖς
 ταφαῖς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος λέγειν, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας δη-
 μοσίᾳ τρέφειν ἄχρι ἡβῆς, καὶ τηρικαῦτα ἀποπέμπειν
 ἐπὶ τοὺς πατρῷους οἴκους μετὰ τῶν πανοπλιῶν, τοὺς
 δ' ἀδυνατοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν δημοσίᾳ τρέφειν, ὥστε καὶ
 τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τιμῶντες ἐδείξατε ὡς
 ἐκάτερον προσῆκεν.
- 369 ψηφίσματα τοίνυν πόθεν ἢ λαμπρότερα ἢ φιλα-
 θρωπότερα; ὧν ἂ μὲν ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένους ἐστὶν παρα-
 λείπω, ἐν δ' ὡσπερὶ δείγματος χάριν ἔστω μοι κατὰ

²⁵⁷ Solon (the other great lawmaker being Lycurgus of Sparta). ²⁵⁸ Hdt. 1.65 and Pl. *Ap.* 21a (but both stories were widely repeated and alluded to subsequently).

greatest lawmakers.²⁵⁷ Tradition tells us that only two men 366
 among our ancestors received a vote of approval from the
 gods, Lycurgus the Spartan, and your fellow citizen Soc-
 rates.²⁵⁸ Athens thus has a stake in the honors attaching
 both to ordinary and to extraordinary human endeavor,
 and there is no category of distinction that does not have
 the name of Athens attached to it. If someone were to ask 367
 which is the most honored and revered of the courts of
 Greece, everyone would say the court of the Areopagus.
 Which people had the most public-spirited and generous 368
 ways? Athenians and everyone else alike cannot avoid re-
 sponding "the Athenians," if they wish to tell the truth. A
 complete demonstration of the point would take a long
 speech and a long time. Suffice it to say that you alone of
 all mankind introduced the following three practices: to
 deliver an annual eulogy over the graves of those who had
 died for their country;²⁵⁹ to bring up their children at
 public expense until manhood, and then dispatch them to
 their paternal homes with a full panoply of armor;²⁶⁰ and
 to support disabled citizens at public expense.²⁶¹ You have
 thus demonstrated that you honor both ability and dis-
 ability in the appropriate manner.

Again, what city has produced more glorious or more 369
 generous decrees? I will leave to one side those of them
 that have been covered in what I have already said; but

²⁵⁹ The Athenian Funeral Oration, as most famously described by Thuc. 2.34.

²⁶⁰ For example, Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 24.3; Thuc. 2.46; Aeschin. *Or.* 3.154.

²⁶¹ Cf. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 49.4; this is the pension claimed by the speaker of *Lys. Or.* 24 ("For the Invalid").

παντὸς τοῦ περὶ ταῦτα λόγου, τὸ κατ' Ἀρθμίου τοῦ Ζελείτου νικῆσαν. ὃν, ἐπεὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, πολέμιον τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἐψηφίσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ γένος καὶ ἀτίμους. καίτοι μόνου τούτου πάνθ' ὁμοῦ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπολείπεται.

- 370 πρεσβείας τοῖνυν πλείστας μὲν ἐδέξατο, πλείστας δ' ἐξέπεμψεν. καὶ τοῦτο εἰ μὲν ὅλως ὁμολογεῖται· εἰ δὲ μή, τῇ προσθήκῃ μείζον γίγνεται· πλείστας γὰρ ὑπὲρ
 371 τῶν δεομένων ἀπέστειλεν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἢ κοινῇ τοὺς Ἕλληνας μὴ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐκάστοτε πείθουσα ἢ τοὺς ἐν χρεῖα παραμυθουμένη διεπρεσβεύσατο, ἀναγκαῖον παραλιπεῖν διὰ πλήθος. δυοῖν δὲ κἀνταῦθα μνησθήσομαι. Ἀργείους μὲν γὰρ στασιάζοντας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔπαυσεν, Κρήτας δὲ πολεμοῦντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους διήλλαξεν. εὐσεβείας τοῖνυν ἅμα καὶ πραότητος καὶ φρονήματος τίς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοι δέγμα κάλλιον; Κορινθίων γὰρ ψηφισαμένων ποτὲ μὴ δέχεσθαι τῇ πανηγύρει τὴν ἐνθένδε θεωρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ πρεσβείας ἀπειπόντων τῇ πόλει μὴ πέμπειν, κοσμησαντες ὁμοῦ τοὺς τε θεωροὺς καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἀπέστειλαν. ὡς δ' ἦσαν Ἐλευσίνοι, Κορινθιοὶ μὲν ἦκον σπενδόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τὴν θεωρίαν πέμψαντες τοὺς ὀπλίτας ἐπανήγαγον.

²⁶² Cf. Dem. *Orr.* 9.42–43, 19.271; Aeschin. *Or.* 3.258; Din. *Or.* 2.24–25.

²⁶³ Cf. §261 above.

²⁶⁴ An unidentified episode (as also is that in §372).

allow me one of them to serve as an example to illustrate this whole subject for discussion, namely the decree passed against Arthmius of Zelea.²⁶² When he took gold to the Peloponnese in the service of the King of Persia, they declared him to be an enemy of the Athenian people, along with his family, and deprived them all of their rights and privileges. Yet even this one example is enough to throw all the decrees of other states together into the shade.

It was Athens that received the largest number of embassies, and Athens that sent the largest number out. This point may well be granted outright; but if it is not, there is an addition that lends it even more weight: Athens also dispatched the largest number of embassies at other peoples' request. I must leave to one side all the embassies that she sent either urging the Greeks in general time after time not to wage war on each other or comforting those in need, because there were so many of them; but I will mention two of them here—that with which she put an end to the civil war raging among the people of Argos,²⁶³ and that with which she reconciled the peoples of Crete when they were at war with each other.²⁶⁴ What nobler demonstration could anyone cite of piety, good sense, and imperturbability combined than the following? When the Corinthians once voted not to allow the delegation from here to participate in their festival, and even via an embassy forbade the city to send it, the Athenians kitted out their delegates and their hoplites together and sent them off. When they were at Eleusis, the Corinthians arrived with the offer of a truce, whereupon the Athenians sent their delegates on and took their hoplites back home again.

370

371

372

373 ἀλλὰ μὴν τῶν γε μυστηρίων τὰ μὲν ὡς ἀρχαῖα
 τετίμηται, τὰ δ' ὡς ἀναγκαῖα, τὰ δ' ὡς πλείστοις γνώ-
 ριμα. πάσαις τοίνυν ταῖς ψήφοις προφέρει τὰ Ἐλευ-
 σίνια. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐχ ἡμῶν ὁ λόγος·
 μόνοι δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ποιεῖτε
 πανήγυριν οὐδεμιᾶς πεντητηρίδος φαιλοτέραν καὶ δέ-
 χεσθε τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ πλείους ἢ ἕτεροι τῇ πάσῃ πόλει
 καὶ πάντες ἐρίζουσιν ἀεὶ τὴν παρούσαν ἑορτὴν νικᾶν
 374 πολυανθρωπίᾳ. ἀλλὰ μὴν Ἡρακλέα γε καὶ Διοσκού-
 ρους ἅπαντες δήπου θεοὺς εἶναι νομίζουσι. τούτοις δέ
 γε, ἕως ὠμίλου ἀνθρώποις, πρώτοις ξένων ἢ πόλις
 δείκνυσιν τὰ ἱερά. ὥστε οἷς νῦν ἱερά δρῶμεν, τούτους
 375 ἱεροποιήσασα αὕτη φαίνεται. καὶ μὴν ἀγωνίᾳ γε τοῦ
 πρώτου τέλους μία δὴ πόλις αὕτη πλείστους ἀπάντων
 ἔτι νῦν ἄγει.

ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν, ἅπαντα ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐστὶ μόνοις ἢ καὶ
 παρ' ὑμῶν, καὶ τριῶν ἐν γέ τι συμβέβηκεν τὰ μὲν
 γὰρ παρ' ὑμῶν ἤρξατο, τὰ δ' ὡς κάλλιστα παρ' ὑμῖν
 376 ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ ὡς πλείστα. εἰσὶ τοίνυν οἱ μηδὲν ἔχοντες
 φανερόν δείξαι μηδ' εἰπεῖν ἔργον ἑαυτῶν, μηδὲ ἐφ'
 ὅτῳ δικαίως ἂν φρονοῖεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς Τρωικοὺς καταφεύ-
 γουσιν χρόνους καὶ φιλοτιμίας ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, οὐδ'
 οὕτω λέγοντες οὐδὲν κοινὸν ἑαυτῶν, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς
 δόξης ἐξαρτώμενοι, οἷον Φθιώται καὶ Πύλιοι καὶ Ἴθα-
 κήσιοι, ὥσπερ τινὲς γεωπεῖναι, δι' ἐνὸς τῶν πλουσίων

²⁶⁵ Achilles, Nestor, and Odysseus.

Thinking of mystery cults, some have gained honor 373
 because of their antiquity, some because they are indis-
 pensible, and some because they are very widely known;
 but on every count it is the Eleusinian mysteries that come
 out on top. But it is not for me to speak of the others.
 You alone among the Greeks hold every year a festival
 that is the equal of any quinquennial celebration, and you
 play host in the Eleusinium to more visitors than others
 do in their whole city; and everybody always strives to
 ensure that the festival currently taking place should win 374
 the prize for the greatest number of participants. Every-
 one of course acknowledged Heracles and the Dioscuri as
 gods. But while they lived among men, they were the first
 non-Athenians to whom the city revealed its rites, which
 means that it is Athens that has the distinction of having
 sanctified those to whom we now sacrifice. What is more, 375
 this one city to this day celebrates more competitions of
 the first rank than any other Greek state.

If I may put it this way, all forms of distinction either
 rest with you alone, or derive from you, and one or other
 of three possibilities applies: some things began with you,
 some you possess in their most perfect form, and some you 376
 possess in the greatest quantity. There are indeed peoples
 who, lacking any kind of distinction to point to and having
 no deeds of their own to talk of, or anything of which they
 could justly be proud, take refuge in Trojan times as the
 basis of their claims to honor; in so doing, rather than be-
 ing any closer to speaking of any shared national achieve-
 ment, they are dependent, like the people of Phthiotis or
 Pylos or Ithaca, on the reputation of a single man,²⁶⁵ in
 the manner of propertyless individuals who enrol them-
 selves among the rich through the patronage of just one.

377 *ἐάντους ποιούμενοι. ἡ πόλις δὲ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν δεῖσθαι τοιαύτης καταφυγῆς οὐδὲ τούτου στέρεται τοῦ ἡδύσματος, ἀλλ' ὁ κοινὸς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ποιητῆς ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν νεῶν τε καὶ πόλεων τὸν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸν εἰς ἄκρον φησὶν ἐλθεῖν*

κοσμήσαι ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.

378 *καὶ τό γε πλείονος ἄξιον καὶ καθαρὸν τῆς εὐφημίας, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλους οὓς ἐπαινεῖ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἕξιν ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως ὡς ἀρίστους, ἀν οὕτω τύχη, τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἢ τῶν δεινῶν, οὕτως ἐπαινεῖ φησὶ γούν*

αὐτῶν ἢ δ' ἵππων, οἳ ἄμ' Ἀτρεΐδῃσιν ἔποντο,

καὶ ἐτέρωθι λέγει, τῶν τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰλίου λέγων, ὡς ἄρα ἦν κράτιστος τὴν τοξικὴν. καὶ Νέστωρ αὐτῷ λέγει πρὸς τινὰς τῶν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ λαμπρῶν

ἦδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ καὶ ἀρείουσιν ἠέπερ ὑμῖν ἀνδράσιν ὠμίλησα,

379 *καὶ ἐξῆς ἀπαριθμεῖ πολλοὺς τινὰς, ὡς αὐτὸν κάκεινους παραπλησίους ἀλλήλοις οὕτως καὶ οὐδένα ὑπερέχοντα ἐπιφανῶς αὐτῶν. τοῦ δὲ Μενεσθέως μνησθεὶς ὁ ποιητῆς οὐδεμιᾷ τοιαύτῃ προσθήκῃ κέχρηται, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα πάντα περικύψας εἰσάπαξ φησὶν*

τῷ δ' οὕτω τις ὁμοῖος ἐπιχθόνιος γένητ' ἀνὴρ.

Athens has no need of any such desperate recourse, but does not have to do without this extra seasoning either: the Poet of all Greece in the Catalog of Ships and Cities says that the leader of the Athenians excelled at

marshaling horses and shield-bearing men.²⁶⁶

But what makes his praise specially precious and unqualified, is this. The others whom he praises as best in their physical condition, or in some other way, from among, as it may be, the Achaeans or whoever, he praises as follows: he says,

among them and their steeds, they who followed the sons of Atreus;²⁶⁷

or in another passage, he says that someone was best at archery of those then at Troy;²⁶⁸ and he makes Nestor say, in respect of some of those who were distinguished in his day,

I have before now kept company with better men than you,²⁶⁹

after which he lists a large number in a way that implies that they too were similar to each other and than no one was clearly superior among them. In mentioning Menestheus, however, the poet employs no such qualification, but dispensing with all that says flatly

to whom no man on earth has ever yet been equal.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁶ *Il.* 2.554 (Menestheus).

²⁶⁷ *Il.* 2.762.

²⁶⁸ *Il.* 13.313-14 (Teucer).

²⁶⁹ *Il.* 1.260-61.

²⁷⁰ *Il.* 2.553.

- ἐν δέ γε τοῖς ἄνω μικρὸν τούτων διηγεῖται περὶ τοῦ
 Ἐρεχθέως, ὡς θρέψε μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ θεός, τέκε δ' ἡ γῆ.
 380 οὐκοῦν ἴσως οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους, οὓς ἐφ'
 ἐκάστων κρατίστους ὠρίσατο, μετὰ προσθήκης ἢ τῶν
 χρόνων ἢ τῶν γενῶν αὐτοὺς ἀναγορεύει· ὃν δὲ τῶν
 ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς γῆς φύντων ὡς ἄριστον ἐπαινεῖ, τοῦτον
 ὡς διὰ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ φύντων ἄριστον ἐπαινέ-
 381 σαι. δύο τοίνυν ἀρίστους τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον τιθεῖς
 τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, Σαλαμίνιον δῆπου λέγει τὸν ἕτερον τῶν
 ἐπωνύμων.
 382 ἐν τι δῆπου καὶ τοῦτο λέγεται σεμνὸν κατὰ τὴν
 Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν, ὅτι αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς συνέταξε
 τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοὺς νόμους· ὁ δέ γε αὐτὸς οὗτος θεὸς
 τὰς τε φυλὰς φαίνεται διελὼν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ γένη
 καὶ τὰς ἐκάστοις προσηκούσας θυσίας θύειν ἀναθείς,
 ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ βασιλέας καὶ ἄρχοντας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 πολιτείαν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν διορίσας αὐτοῖς, ὥστ' οὐχ
 ἦττον ἂν εἴη τῆς πόλεως ὁ θεὸς νομοθέτης ἢ ἐκείνων.
 383 βούλομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς πολιτείας αὐτῆς μνησθῆ-
 ναι διὰ βραχέων, ὡς ἂν οἴός τε ᾧ. καὶ γὰρ ἅπαντες
 μὲν αὐτὴν ἐγκωμιάζουσιν, οὐ μὴν διηρευνησατό γε
 ἅπαν τὸ ἐνὸν σχεδὸν οὐδεὶς· ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπλοῦν τε καὶ
 οὐχ ἀπλοῦν λέγω. τριῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν, ὡς ἀνωτάτω δι-
 ελέσθαι, τῶν πολιτειῶν, ἧ τις ἂν τίθηται, τίθεται τῇ

271 *Il.* 2.547–48.

272 Achilles, son of Peleus (Peliades), and Telamonian/Salamian Ajax, though no single passage in Homer compares them

In a slightly earlier passage to this, he tells the story of Erechtheus, how the goddess “nurtured” him, and the earth “gave birth to” him.²⁷¹ Perhaps then there is nothing unreasonable in his adding some qualification of time or nationality when he names those whom he defined as best in individual respects, but when it comes to the man whom he praises as best of those born *from* the earth, praising him as the best of everyone *on* earth. When he declares two heroes to have been the best warriors of the Achaeans, both of them identified by a surname, he of course says that one of them was named after Salamis.²⁷²

There is indeed one impressive thing said about the Spartan state, namely that it was the god Apollo who originally drew up their code of laws;²⁷³ but it is well known that it was this same god who established the division of tribes and clans in Athens and prescribed the appropriate sacrifices for each to make,²⁷⁴ just as indeed he organized their kings and archons and more or less the whole of the rest of their constitution. Apollo is thus no less the Athenians’ lawgiver than he is the Spartans’.

I should like to give a brief account of that constitution itself, as far as I am able. Everyone praises it, though without anyone having yet investigated all its contents thoroughly; I for my part declare it to be both simple and complex. On the most general classification possible, there are three kinds of constitution; a vote for any of them is a

wearing these surnames: cf. *Il.* 13.321–25, 2.557; *Od.* 11.467–70 and 449–51. ²⁷³ *Hdt.* 1.65; cf. *Plut. Lyc.* 6 and 29.

²⁷⁴ Apollo’s oracle at Delphi selected the names of the ten eponymous heroes of the Athenian tribes from a list supplied by the Athenians: *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 21.6; *Paus.* 10.10.1.

- 384 πόλει. βασιλείαις μὲν γε τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς φανέεται χρω-
 μένη, γενεὰς οὐκ ὀλίγας τινὰς οὐ μόνον τῶν Ἐρεχθει-
 δῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὕστερον ἀξίων ὀφθέντων. δημο-
 κρατία δ' αὖ καὶ παιδὶ γινώριμος, καὶ καθαρωτάτη δὴ
 385 καὶ μεγίστη τῶν πασῶν ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν γεγενημένη. καὶ
 μὴν εἰς τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴν βλέψαντα πάντα
 ἂν ἠγοῦμαι φῆσαι μὴ εἶναι καλλίω λαβεῖν ἀριστο-
 κρατίας εἰκόνα μηδ' ἦτις σῶζει μᾶλλον τοῦνομα.
 386 οὕτω πάντα τὰ τῶν πολιτειῶν παραδείγματα ἐνθένδε
 ὥρμηται καθάπερ γὰρ νομοθετοῦσα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 ἢ πόλις πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῶν τρόπους ἐκάστοις ἐκλέγε-
 σθαι τὸ πρόσφορον, οὕτω πάντα ἐξεῦρέν τε καὶ προῦ-
 θηκεν εἰς κοινόν, βοηθοῦσα τῇ φύσει πανταχῆ. ὅπερ
 καὶ κατὰ τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ πολλὰ ἕτερα ἐπιδείκνυμεν
 αὐτὴν βεβουλευμένην.
 387 ὁ δέ γε ἔτι μείζον καὶ τελεώτερον, οἳ τε γὰρ βασι-
 λεῖς αὐτοὶ φανοῦνται διαφερόντως τῶν ἄλλων τὴν
 κοινότητα ἀγαπήσαντες, καὶ μάλιστα δήπου πρὸς
 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξ ἴσου ταῖς γνώμαις καταστάντες, ὃ τε
 δῆμος, εἴ τινα εὔροι που τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερέχοντα,
 ἐθελοντῆς ἑαυτοῦ προϊστάμενος καὶ χρώμενος οἶον
 ἄρχοντι διηνεκεί, τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις
 φυλάττων, εἰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμείνους ὄντας αἰσθοίτο,
 388 ἐφαιμίλλους δὲ ἐν σφίσιω αὐτοῖς. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡ
 βουλὴ τὸν δῆμον ὅπως μείζω καταστήσῃ σκοποῦσ'
 ἀεί, τὸ δ' αὐτῆς οὐδεπώποτε ἰδίᾳ λογισαμένη, ἀλλὰ
 ταύτην καὶ καλὴν καὶ γινομένην πλεονεξίαν ἑαυτῆς
 κρίνουσα, τὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ μετ' εὐδοξίας

vote for Athens. She was clearly originally a monarchy 384
 over a good many generations, not only of the Erechthei-
 dae but also of those subsequently seen as worthy to rule.
 Even a child knows about democracy, and yours was the
 purest and greatest of all. As for aristocracy, I think that 385
 anyone looking at the Council of the Areopagus would say
 that one cannot have a finer example or one that more
 faithfully preserves the name. Thus all constitutional mod- 386
 els start from here. Athens discovered them all and made
 them all generally available, as if drafting laws for all man-
 kind, for each people to select what best suited their own
 character. In thus assisting nature in every possible way,
 she was following the same policy as I showed her to have
 adopted over crops and many other things.

But there is a still greater and more perfect feature of 387
 Athenian politics. It will be clear that the kings themselves
 nourished a warmer affection for community spirit than
 anyone else, and were very closely at one with the many
 in their sentiments, while at the same time the people, if
 they ever found anyone standing out from the many, vol-
 untarily made him their leader and had him as a kind of
 perpetual magistrate; they also followed the same princi-
 ple in the case of the few, if ever they saw that there was
 a group better than the others though close rivals among
 themselves. In the same way, it will be clear that the Coun- 388
 cil was always on the lookout for ways of making the peo-
 ple greater, and never swayed by calculation of its own
 private interests, thinking instead that its own best and
 most fitting gains lay in presiding over the many in such a

προΐστασθαι. ὥστ' εἰκότως οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν πολι-
 τείαν ἐκάστην, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τὴν κρᾶσιν τῶν πολι-
 τεῶν παρὰ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους εὐδοκιμεῖν εἶναι τῆ
 πόλει. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πᾶς οὐτοσὶ κόσμος οἶμαι συν-
 ἔστηκε μὲν ἐκ τεττάρων, ὡς ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, αὐτὸ δ'
 ἕκαστον αὐτῶν μετέχει τῆ φύσει καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν,
 τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν χωρὶς ἕκαστου
 εἶδος εἴληφεν, οὕτω καὶ τὰς πολιτείας, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλι-
 στα κεχωρισμένοι τυγχάνουσιν, μετέχειν ἀμωσγέπως
 ἀλλήλων εἰκὸς ἔστιν, εἴπερ βασιλείαν ὀρθὴν καὶ δι-
 καίαν ὄψεσθαι μέλλομεν ἢ τῶν ὀλίγων, ὡσαύτως δὲ
 389 πολλῶν,⁷⁰ ἀρχῆν. γνοίη δ' ἄν τις, εἰ τὰς μὲν βασι-
 λείας τὰς ἐν τῆ πόλει πρὸς τὰς ἐτέρωθί που βασι-
 λείας ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν χρόνων, ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἢ τῆς
 βαρβάρου γεγονυίας ὀρώη, τὴν δ' αὖ δημοκρατίαν
 τὴν Ἀθήνησιν πρὸς τὰς ἐτέρων δημοκρατίας, καὶ μὴν
 τό γε τῆς βουλῆς συνέδριον πρὸς τὰ ἐτέρωθί που
 κύρια καὶ ἡγούμενα. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστάντα
 ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας μόνης εἰπεῖν, φανήσονται τοῖς
 μὲν βουλήμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις πολλῷ προπετέ-
 στεροι καὶ ὕβριστότεροι πάντες οἱ τοῦ σχήματος τού-
 του μετασχόντες, τῷ δ' ἀξιώματι καὶ τῆ λαμπρότητι
 μηδ' ἐγγὺς τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως γεγενημένοι.
 390 καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνό γε ἡ πόλις πρώτη κατέδειξε, μὴ
 τίθεσθαι πλοῦτῳ μηδὲ θαυμάζειν. οὔτε γὰρ τοὺς
 ὑπερέχοντας ταῖς οὐσίαις οὐδεπώποτε ἐπήρην, ἀλλ'
 ὅσον μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, τοσοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἡξίου

⁷⁰ δὲ <καὶ τῶν> πολλῶν Reiske

way as to bring them both security and good repute. There
 is thus every reason to hold that Athens surpasses all other
 cities not only in each individual constitutional form, but
 also in its blending of the constitutions. Just as this cosmos
 of ours was created from the combination of four ele-
 ments, as the old theory goes, but each one of these in its
 turn has a share of all the others in its composition, receiv-
 ing its name as a separate form from what predominates
 in it,²⁷⁵ so it stands to reason that constitutions too, how-
 ever sharply distinct they may be, should in some way
 share elements with each other; if we are to see a proper
 monarchy, oligarchy, or equally democracy. To appreciate
 this, one need only compare the reigns of the kings of
 Athens with other contemporary monarchies elsewhere in
 the Greek and barbarian world, or again the Athenian
 democracy with other people's democracies, or indeed the
 Council as a body with the sovereign and ruling elements
 anywhere else. To speak only of democracy, if I must, and
 ignore the rest, it will be clear that all those peoples who
 also adopted this political form have been far more reck-
 less and aggressive in their intentions and desires, and
 nowhere near the citizens of Athens in reputation and
 distinction.

Athens was, moreover, the first to teach that wealth
 should not be favored or admired. She never granted a
 special status to the very rich, but rather thought that all
 she rightly owed them was to ensure that they did not suf-

²⁷⁵ The four-element theory began with Empedocles but was widely shared; the idea that "there is a share of everything in everything," and that the identities of different substances are established by predominance, belongs to Anaxagoras (fr. 6 and 11-12 DK).

παρ' αὐτῆς ὀφείλεσθαι, οὔτε τοῖς ἀρετῇ μὲν ὑπερφέ-
 ρουσι, χρήμασι δ' ἡττημένοις οὐδαμῶς πώποτε ἔλατ-
 τον ἔνειμεν, αἰσχροὺς οἶμαι νομίζουσα τῶν μὲν οἰκε-
 τῶν οὐ τοὺς εὐπορωτάτους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πιστοτάτους
 βελτίστους νομίζειν, τῶν δ' ἐλευθέρων φασκόντων
 εἶναι τὴν ἀξίαν ὀρίσθαι χρήμασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὁποῖός
 τις ἂν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἦ, τοιοῦτον καὶ νομίζεσθαι. καὶ
 γάρ τοι μόνῃ πόλει οὐ μετέθηκεν τὸν θεσμόν οὐδ'
 ἐποίησεν τὰ τῇ φύσει τρίτα τῷ νόμῳ πρῶτα, οὐδὲ
 ὡσπερ τῶν φασκόντων φιλοσοφεῖν ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐνίους
 λέγοντας μὲν οὕτω περὶ τούτων, ἔργῳ δὲ ὑποπίπτου-
 τας καὶ συγχωροῦντας αἰεὶ τούτοις οὓς ἂν αἰσθῶνται
 δυνατωτέρους, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἀρχὰς ἄγουσα καὶ πι-
 στεύουσα καὶ πασῶν ἀξιούσα τῶν τιμῶν ἐωρᾶτο οὐ
 τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν μεγίστων τιμημάτων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπιει-
 κεστάτους τὰς φύσεις· ὡς ὅστις εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον νι-
 κῆ, τοῦτον τοῖς πᾶσι νικῶντα. ἔδειξε δ' οὐχ ἡκιστα,
 391 ἠνίκα ἴσχυσε τὰ μέγιστα. ὄντων γὰρ κατὰ τοὺς
 αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν παρ' αὐτῇ τῶν μὲν
 πλουσίων ὑπὲρ τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν οἴκων, τῶν
 δ' ὡς οἶόν τε πενεστάτων, ἐπὶ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν
 Ἑλληνικῶν ἓνα τῶν ἀπὸ τούτων εἴλετο· καὶ γάρ τοι ὁ
 μὲν οἷς ἔταξεν εὐδοκίμησεν, ἡ πόλις δ' οἷς ἔκρινεν.

²⁷⁶ A general and widespread reproach against philosophers, not restricted to any particular sect or school; by their own principles they should be above considerations of money, power, and status, but in practice they are as enslaved to them as the next person.

fer any injustice on this account; and she did not ever show less respect to people of superior moral character but inferior financial resources, because I believe she thought that it was shameful when it comes to slaves to think that it is the most trustworthy not the richest that are best, but when it comes to those claiming to be free men to value them according to their wealth, rather than assessing everyone in his own true character as an individual. She alone among cities has not changed the rules, or placed first through artificial convention what in the natural order of things comes third; nor has she ever been seen behaving like some of the *soi-disant* philosophers, who though they voice the same sentiments on this subject, in actual practice can always be seen yielding submissively to whoever they perceive to carry more financial clout.²⁷⁶ No, the ones she has been seen appointing to positions of authority and putting her trust in and deeming worthy of all forms of honor are not the members of the highest property classes, but those with the best natural characters, on the principle that whoever excels where moral virtue is concerned, excels in everything. She demonstrated this not least when 391 she held the greatest power. Having at one and the same time among her distinguished citizens both those whose wealth outstripped that of the first families of Greece, and those who were as poor as could be, it was one of the latter that she chose to preside over the interests of Greece; he won a good name for his fixing of the tribute levels, and Athens for its good judgment.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ Aristides, as also in §§ 165 and 282 above.

392 πολλῶν δ' ὄντων ἅ τις ἂν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας εἰπεῖν
 ἔχοι, τὰ μὲν πολλὰ καὶ προκατείληπται καὶ ὁ καιρὸς
 ἀφαιρεῖται, καὶ οὐ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη λέγειν· ἐν δέ τι
 προσθεὶς καταλύσω καὶ τὸν περὶ τούτου λόγον. τὸ
 γὰρ εἶναι τό τε βέλτιστον καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐξουσίαν συμ-
 πεπτωκὸς ἐνταυθοῖ καὶ τὴν μὲν δίαίταν κοινοτάτην
 ἅπασι, τὰς δὲ τιμὰς τοῖς ἐπιεικεστάτοις ἀνείσθαι,
 πῶς οὐκ ἐλευθέρως πόλεως καὶ πολιτείας ὡς ἀληθῶς,
 ἐν ἧ ζῆν μὲν ἕξεσται ὡς ἂν τις βούληται, τιμᾶσθαι
 393 ἐξήτασμένοις; καὶ γάρ τοι κἂν τοῖς τῶν πολέμων
 ἀγῶσι κἂν ταῖς χρεῖαις τὸ εἰκὸς διεσώσαντο, οὐ
 γὰρ⁷¹ ἐξ ἡμισείας οὐδ' αὖ⁷² ἐλάττονος ἔτι μοίρας
 ἐσπούδαζον ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐξ
 ἴσου ταῖς προθυμίαις κατὰ δύναμιν ἡμιλλῶντο, ὡς
 ὑπὲρ κοινῆς τῆς πατρίδος καὶ κοινῶν τῶν ἄθλων ἀγω-
 νιζόμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἑτέροις μὲν τοῦ κινδυνεύειν, ἑτέροις
 δὲ τοῦ δεσπόζειν, ἂν κρατήσωσι, προκειμένου. ἐξ ᾧ
 ὁμόνοια μὲν καὶ πίστις ἀλλήλων ἦνθει κατὰ τὴν
 πόλιν, εἰ δέ που καὶ διασταίεν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀλλήλους
 ἐγνώριζον. ἀνδρείας δ' εἴ που δεῆσαι, λῆρος ἅπαντα
 τᾶλλα πρὸς ἐκείνους ἦν, <ὥστ' >⁷³ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδὲ πέν-
 ταθλοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ πάντα νικῶντες τοσοῦτον τοῖς
 πᾶσι κρατεῖν.

394 ἐν ποίοις δ' ἂν τις καιροῖς οὐχὶ βελτίων εἴη τῆς

⁷¹ οὐ γὰρ Canter οὐ τὰς *codd.*

⁷² αὖ Canter ἂν *codd.* ⁷³ *add. Lenz (Behr?)*

Although there are many things that one could say 392
 about the Athenian constitution, most of them have al-
 ready been said by others; there is not enough time for
 them now, and no absolute necessity to mention them. But
 I will add just one more point before concluding my dis-
 cussion of this topic too. Here in Athens what is best and
 what people do when given a free choice is one and the
 same thing, and while the Athenian way of life is genuinely
 common to all, honors are the preserve of the most virtu-
 ous. How can this not be the mark of a truly free city and
 constitution, in which one may live as one pleases, but
 honor and power belong not to those who want it, but to
 those who have been tried and tested? Both in the strug- 393
 gles of war and in times of need, the Athenians played fair
 throughout: they did not devote themselves to the busi-
 ness in hand with only half their energies, or some even
 smaller proportion, but all strove to the best of their abil-
 ity with equal enthusiasm, since it was for a homeland and
 for prizes shared by all that they were striving, with no
 prospect of one group putting themselves in danger only
 for another to rule if they were victorious. For this reason
 harmony and reciprocal trust blossomed in the city, and
 if ever differences arose, it was not difficult for them to
 reach a mutual understanding. If ever courage was called
 for, nothing could look good in comparison to them, to
 such an extent that I do not think that even pentathletes
 who win all their five events are as comprehensively supe-
 rior as they were.

In what circumstances would one not be the better for 394

πόλεως μεμνημένος; πότερα ἐπὶ στρατείας; καὶ πόθεν
 ἂν λάβοι καλλίω παραδείγματα; ἢ ποίοις ἂν λόγοις
 395 χρησάμενος βέλτιον ἂν παρακελεύσαιτο; ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς
 396 πανηγύρεσιν; ἀλλ' αὐτῇ τούτων ἡγεμών. ἀλλ' ἐν ταῖς
 ἐκκλησίαις καὶ τῇ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διοικήσει; καὶ
 τίς δήμων αὐτὸς ὀξύτερος καὶ πραότερος, ἢ τίνες δη-
 397 μαγωγοὶ μᾶλλον ἄξιοι θαυμάσαι; ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τῶν λό-
 γων ἀσκήσει καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς σοφίας; ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν
 ἐνταῦθα πάντες συνέρχονται, καὶ τὰ γένη τῶν φιλο-
 σόφων οὐ τέθνηκε τῇ τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ, χωρὶς
 τοῦ καὶ τοὺς ὅπου δὴ γῆς ἀναγκαίως ἔχειν ἅμα τῶν
 τε λόγων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεμνήσθαι, καὶ μηδέποτε
 398 ὀπτρῶ τοῖς λόγοις ἐμβλέποντας. καὶ γὰρ τοι πᾶσι
 μὲν ἀνθρώποις οὕτως αἰδέσιμον τοῦνομα καὶ τοῦδα-
 φος τῆς πόλεως ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ οὐτ'
 ἰδιώται οὐτε βασιλεῖς μικρὰ ἅττα ἐτίμησαν, ἀλλ'
 399 οὕτως ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάλλεσθαι ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν
 τιμῶν αἷς ἐπεδείκνυτο. φανερὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν
 τῶν θεῶν εὐνοια καὶ ψήφος, [καὶ]⁷⁴ διὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ μάν-
 τews καὶ ἐξηγητοῦ τοῦ πατρώου τῇ πόλει θύειν τε
 ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν προηροσίαν κελευόντων καὶ

⁷⁴ *secl.* Reiske

²⁷⁸ Aristides may or may not here be alluding to the endowment of Imperial Chairs in Platonic, Peripatetic, Stoic, and Epicurean philosophy by Marcus Aurelius in AD 176.

recalling Athens? On campaign? And where might one
 find nobler models for imitation? Or better words of ex- 395
 hortation to employ? In festivals? But Athens leads in this.
 In citizen assemblies and civic administration? And what 396
 people has ever combined greater sharpness with greater
 gentleness? What popular leaders are more deserving of
 admiration? Or in the practice of oratory and other forms 397
 of learning? But to this day everyone flocks here, and the
 good fortune that smiles on Athens has ensured that the
 schools of philosophy have not died out,²⁷⁸ quite apart
 from the fact that people the world over cannot think of
 literature without thinking of Athens at the same time, and
 could never banish the image of Athens from their souls,
 since they see it reflected in literature as if in a mirror. The 398
 name and the soil of Athens are revered by all mankind as
 nothing else, as one and the same thing,²⁷⁹ kings and com-
 moners alike have honored her not to some minor degree,
 but so as to make them feel elated on their own account
 at the extraordinary volume of honors they were confer-
 ring.²⁸⁰ The goodwill and approval of the gods themselves 399
 are clear too, from the way that, through none other than
 the prophet and exegete of all Greece, ancestral protector
 of the city,²⁸¹ they ordered that she should be the one to
 offer the sacrifice to inaugurate plowing on behalf of the

²⁷⁹ The words "as one and the same thing" may be a reader's comment on the phrase "the name and the soil of Athens" (or, mistakenly, on "as nothing else"). ²⁸⁰ Most recently Hadrian, but a long list before that, including, e.g., Ptolemy III of Egypt, the probable founder of the Ptolemaeum gymnasium (cf. §354 above). ²⁸¹ Pythian Apollo, worshipped at Athens as Apollo Patrôius ("ancestral").

μητρόπολιν τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῆν ἐπονομαζόντων, ἔτι δὲ
 στεφανηφορεῖν ἀξιούντων, ὡς διὰ βίου νικῶσαν. ἀε-
 τόν τε ἐν νεφέλαις αὐτῆν ὁ θεὸς καλεῖ πρὸς τᾶλλα
 400 πολίσματα. μόνη δ', ὡς ἔοικε, ταύτῃ πόλει δύο τὰ
 ναντία συμβέβηκεν. πλείστα τε γὰρ καὶ κάλλιστα
 ἀνθρώποις εἴρηται περὶ ταύτης καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἦτις
 ἐλαττόνων τετύχηκεν. πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τε-
 401 θαύμασται, ἄξιον δ' αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ἤκουσεν. πρότερον
 μὲν οὖν ἠγάμην ἀκούων τὸ τῆς σοφίας πρυτανεῖον
 καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐστίαν καὶ τὸ ἔρεισμα καὶ ὅσα
 τοιαῦτα εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἦδeto, νῦν δέ μοι δοκεῖ πάντα
 ταῦτα εἶσω πίπτειν. ἀλλ' εἴ τινα χρῆ πόλιν θεῶν
 ὑπαρχον ἢ συγγενῆ προσειπεῖν ἢ τῆς φύσεως τῆς
 ἀνθρωπείας εἰκόνα καὶ ὄρον, ἧδ' ἂν μοι δοκεῖ δικαίως
 κληθῆναι.

[Peroration (402-4)]

402 ἀνθ' ὧν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, οὔτε φθόνον εἰκὸς ἔχειν
 τῇ πόλει οὔθ' ὑποχωροῦντας αἰσχύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ συν-
 αΐξειν ἐκ τῶν ἐνόμων καὶ φιλοτιμείσθαι. τῶν γὰρ
 Ἀθηναίων νικῶντων παρ' ἡμῖν ἐστὶ τὸ νικᾶν. πάντας
 μὲν γὰρ ἀπάντων εἶναι ἀρίστους ἀδύνατον. ὥσπερ δέ,
 ὅταν στρατηγὸς προέχη, μετέχει τῆς δόξης ἢ πόλις,

²⁸² Cf. §38 above.

²⁸³ From an oracle alluded to in *Ar. Eq.* 1013 and *Av.* 987 and quoted in full by the scholion on the former.

Greeks, and called her the mother city of the harvest,²⁸²
 and in addition thought it right for her to wear the garland
 of a lifelong victor. That god also called her "an eagle in
 the clouds"²⁸³ in comparison with other towns. She is, it
 400 would seem, the only city to have had two conflicting ex-
 periences befall her: the tributes paid to her by men have
 been the most numerous and the most glorious of any, and
 yet at the same time no city has been more hard done by,
 because although she has been admired before all others,
 she has never been spoken of as she truly deserves. There
 401 was a time when it filled me with admiration to hear "the
 council chamber of learning"²⁸⁴ and "the hearth of Hel-
 las"²⁸⁵ and "the bulwark of Hellas"²⁸⁶ and other such lau-
 datory phrases being used of Athens, but now it seems to
 me that all of them fall short of the mark. But if any city
 ought to be styled the second-in-command or kin to the
 gods, or the image and ideal standard of humanity, then I
 think it is she that would deserve to be so called.

Peroration (402-4)

402 For which reasons, men of Hellas, the proper course is not
 to be jealous of the city, or ashamed at giving way to her,
 but to take pride in helping to build her up as far as cir-
 cumstances allow. A victory for the Athenians is a victory
 for you. It is impossible for everyone to be best of all;
 but just as, when a general distinguishes himself, his city

²⁸⁴ *Pl. Prt.* 337d.

²⁸⁵ Cf. §§14, 30, and 61 above; *Ael. VH* 4.6.

²⁸⁶ *Pind. fr.* 76 Sn-M.

- οὕτω τῆς ἡγουμένης πόλεως τὰ εἰκότα τιμωμένης
 403 ἅπασι μέτεστι τῆς φιλοτιμίας. οἶμαι δὲ οὐδ' αὐτοῖς
 Ἀθηναίους φέρειν αἰσχύνην, ἂν τις αὐτοῖς πρεσβεύῃ
 τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. χρὴ τοίνυν καὶ ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπο-
 λίν τινα ἢ κορυφὴν νομίσαντας τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν
 ὁμοφύλων τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ λόγῳ κοσμεῖν,
 [καὶ]⁷⁵ μετέχειν τῆς δόξης ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποστερεῖσθαι
 νομίζοντας.
- 404 εἵργασται καὶ ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος ἀντὶ τοῦ πέπλου κό-
 σμος Παναθηναίων τῇ θεωρίᾳ. δοῦναι δὲ χάριν τῆς
 αὐτῆς θεοῦ ἥσπερ καὶ ὁ λόγος καὶ ἡ πόλις.

⁷⁵ *secl.* Jebb, Resike

- shares his fame, so when the leading city achieves the
 honors it deserves, everyone shares its pride. I do not 403
 think the Athenians themselves are ashamed either if ever
 anyone ranks the Acropolis higher than them. So you too
 must see Athens as an Acropolis and a summit of Greece
 and her kindred peoples, and beautify her accordingly in
 word and deed, in the assurance that you are sharing the
 glory with her rather than being deprived of it.
- I have crafted this speech, which I now bring to its 404
 conclusion, as an ornament to the festival to rank with the
 Panathenaic robe;²⁸⁷ to make it pleasing to you, however,
 is in the gift of the same goddess as presides over both
 eloquence and the city of Athens.

²⁸⁷ The *peplos*, woven annually for Athens by a team of Athe-
 nian maidens and carried to the goddess in the Panathenaic pro-
 cession.

ORATION 2
A REPLY TO PLATO

INTRODUCTION

Or. 2 is the first of three items, all of them intended from the start as essays rather than orations for live performance, in which Aristides takes issue with the low evaluation of orators and oratory that Plato notoriously delivered in his dialogue the *Gorgias*. *Or.* 2 concentrates mainly on the nature and status of oratory itself; *Or.* 3, composed some years later, defends the great Athenian orator-politicians of the fifth century BC whom Plato singled out for special scorn; *Or.* 4, composed in between the other two, is a response to criticisms of *Or.* 2 made by an admirer of Plato called Capito.¹

In rhetorician's terms, this is a refutation (*antirrhêsis*),² aimed at demonstrating the falsehood of the opponent's position and the superior accuracy and value of the author's own. Plato in the *Gorgias* had argued that, contrary to the claims of its fifth-century practitioners and teachers, oratory had no entitlement to be called a science or skill (*technê*), since it was not based on knowledge of any de-

¹ Identified by Behr as the Pergamene priest Sextus Julius Capito: Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 59 with n. 60.

² Cf. Nicolaus of Damascus, *Progymnasmata* 6, distinguishing between *antirrhêsis* and the smaller-scale exercise of *anaskeuê*.

2. A REPLY TO PLATO

terminate subject matter and had no essential concern with either truth (as opposed to mere persuasion) or sound morality ("right," or "justice"); orators (including even the heroic figures of the fifth century) aimed only to gratify ("flatter") the sensual desires of their audiences as a means to the more important end of gratifying their own and were thus incapable of delivering real political or moral benefit. On every level, Plato argued, from the technical to the moral, oratory was to be contrasted with true philosophy, understood at this point in his career as identical with reasoned argument in dialogue. As a devotee and self-appointed champion of oratory (§§14–20), Aristides begins by aiming his answering fire at Plato's denial that oratory is a *technê*. He argues, first, that failure to qualify as a *technê* is no indication of lack of value; indeed, some of the most valuable of all things in human experience (prophecy, poetry) are not *technai*. Proof that oratory is not a *technê* therefore says nothing about its value (§§32–134). But, second, it is in fact wrong to say that oratory is not a *techê*: Plato's own assertion that it works by a process of "making conjectures" proves that it is (§§135–77). It is also false to the facts to say that oratory "flatters" its addressees (§§178–203). Having thus disposed of what he presents as the main elements in Plato's negative criticism of oratory, Aristides then proceeds to construct his own alternative, positive view, that oratory is an activity fundamental to human civilization and political existence, and that, besides being devotees of something close to a sacred vocation, true orators are paragons of leadership and moral excellence (§§200–445).

Central to Aristides' strategy, in both phases of his argument, is the repeated demonstration of inconsistencies,

both between the *Gorgias* and other dialogues, and within the *Gorgias* itself: Plato is at odds with himself, and his better side, far from condemning oratory, in fact concedes the truth of Aristides' position. Thus, the possibility that an activity can fail to be a *technê* and still be valuable is allowed by the *Phaedrus* and the *Laws* (§§50–60), and the real existence of a good oratory and virtuous orators by the *Seventh Epistle* (§§324–30), the *Politicus* (§438), the *Apology* (§439), the *Phaedrus* (§459), and even the *Gorgias* (§§344–61).³ But, equally important, Aristides is also keen to show that Plato's thinking in the *Gorgias* is out of line with manifest fact (e.g., §§114, 195, 218, 393–94, 400), and with other major authorities, from Homer and Hesiod (§§85–108), via Pindar (§§109–12, 226–30), to Plato's master, Socrates (§§299–300), and his fellow Socratics Xenophon (§301) and Aeschines (§§61–62).

On the surface, Aristides is careful to avoid giving the impression of claiming too complete or too personal a victory over Plato. He begins by pointing out that great figures from the past can be disagreed with without disrespect, particularly when they themselves were so insistent on the importance of the truth and not shy of attacking older authorities on their own account (§§11–12); and he ends with a comparison of the argument between the two of them to a convivial toast between equals (§465).⁴ He

³ These are only some of the central examples. Aristides also points out, among other things, that Plato's apparent indifference to the passive experience of being wronged in *Gorgias* is out of line with the (admirable) sensitivity he showed to wrongdoing toward his friend Dion (§§ 261–305).

⁴ See also §295 for a direct denial of malicious intent.

could also fairly point out that the central strategy of his argument commits him to endorsing more of Plato than he disagrees with. But along the way, Plato is nevertheless repeatedly subjected to robust reproof for his implausibility and inconsistency; and in a number of places (e.g., §§1–10, 446–56), it is hard to escape the impression of some malicious satisfaction on Aristides' part at his ability to teach a philosopher a thing or two about argument.⁵ As for philosophy, Aristides pointedly refrains from answering the Platonic attack on oratory with a corresponding exercise in demolition; when he points out that certain kinds of argument could be used as well against the one as against the other (§§26–31, 380–81), it is usually so as to suggest that they ought in fact to be used against neither. A job of marginalization is nevertheless being done: primarily in the way that the picture Aristides presents of the centrality of oratory to the development of human civilization, and the preservation of moral and political order, seems to leave no very useful role for philosophy to perform, but also in the teasing if fleeting suggestion (§450) that dialectic is itself merely a subdivision of oratory.

Opinions will naturally differ over the success and effectiveness of Aristides' arguments, both over Plato and over the value to be attached to oratory. As a response to the *Gorgias*, his essay undeniably misses most of the interest and the challenge of the dialogue's deliberately iconoclastic and revisionary approach; and the whole of the

⁵ This of course gains an extra piquancy from being done in a reply to a dialogue in which Plato was manifestly attempting to define philosophy as well as discredit oratory.

argument for the "scientific" status of oratory (§§135–77) turns on a willful misunderstanding of Plato's use of the verb *stochazesthai* in his characterization of it (*Grg.* 463a7, 464c6). And yet at the same time Aristides' insistence on oratory as a vehicle for reasoned debate, and reasoned debate as a crucial alternative to the rule of brute force (§§204–11, 394–400), does indicate a genuine blind spot in Plato's field of view. As far as the positive vision of oratory is concerned, it is easy to point out that much of what Aristides has to say about the power and influence of orators is more applicable to the fifth and fourth centuries BC than to his own day. Yet he himself does take some account of this point, asserting in §411 that oratory would remain an important socializing force even if all war and crime came to an end; and it is true that even under the Roman empire it continued to be an essential medium of practical political life at a local level as well as of celebration and entertainment.

Later ancient authors certainly took Aristides' arguments seriously, as witness above all the seven books of the *Against Aristides* composed by the Neoplatonist Porphyry.⁶ He himself, moreover, was continuing in some well-established traditions of debate when he wrote. The war of words and ideas, and competition for status, between philosophy and oratory, as artifacts and forms of education, which had begun in earnest with Plato's gen-

⁶ Attested by the *Suda* lexicon, and by references in Olympiodorus' commentary on the *Gorgias*, and apparently aimed against Aristides' Platonic treatises collectively, not only the *Reply To Plato*. See Behr, "Citations of Porphyry's *Against Aristides* preserved in Olympiodorus," *AJP* 89 (1968): 186–99.

eration, had never subsequently faded away and gave both philosophers and rhetoricians grounds for repeatedly returning to the *Gorgias* as a key text for analysis and debate. Cicero, discussing oratorical ideals in the middle of the first century BC, has one of his interlocutors, L. Licinius Crassus, recall studying the dialogue in Athens with the Academic philosopher Charmadas (ca. 164–95 BC).⁷ Quintilian in Book 2 of *The Education of an Orator* devotes a long paragraph to explaining how, correctly read, the *Gorgias* is not an attack on rhetoric in itself but only of its inadequate practice by certain individuals.⁸ Aulus Gellius in the *Attic Nights* mentions a commentary in several books on the dialogue by his Platonist tutor, Calvenus Taurus (perhaps ca. AD 100–165).⁹ In choosing the *Gorgias* as a target, and as a way of focusing a declaration of his own views of the value of oratory, Aristides was therefore doing nothing at all eccentric, even if the particular line of approach he adopted was individual to him.¹⁰

It is not possible to establish the date or circumstances of composition of the essay with complete confidence. The facts that in §§66 to 73 Aristides cites his own medical experience as evidence of the superiority of divine communication to mere science, and in §§430 to 436 speaks of a special kind of orator who practices his art in private rather than in a public arena, have naturally suggested a date during Aristides' *kathedra* in the Pergamum As-

⁷ Cic. *De or.* 1.11.47.

⁸ Quint. *Inst.* 2.15.24–32.

⁹ Gell. *NA* 7.14.5–9 (with another quotation and discussion of the *Gorgias* at 10.22).

¹⁰ For Aristides' (rather Isocratean) concept of oratory, see also *Or.* 3.677–81 and the whole of *Or.* 34, *Against the Profaners* (*sc.* of the mysteries of oratory).

clepieum (145–147 AD).¹¹ This may well be right—certainly the essay needs to be early enough to leave good time for the subsequent composition of *Orr.* 3 and 4—but caution is still in order: healing dreams remained a prominent part of Aristides’ experience after the *kathedra* as well, and in §§430 to 436 he may be referring to an earlier stage of his career rather than conditions at the time of writing.

Irrespective of dating considerations, Aristides’ veiled and direct self-references combine with his confident polemical tone to create a second powerful self-portrait to set alongside *Or.* 1 and to justify the judgment of the ancient editors who chose to place this essay second in his collected works. As he emerges from *Or.* 1 as a champion of Hellenism and an authoritative guide to one of its central monuments, so *Or.* 2 establishes him as champion and embodiment of an activity that is on any account central to society and educated culture in his day, and in his vision even central to human civilization and human nature *tout court*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Dittadi, A. “Difesa della retorica e ‘riscrittura’ di Platone nei Discorsi Platonici di Elio Aristide.” *Rhetorica* 26 (2008): 113–37.

———. “Η ῥητορικὴ τελεωτέρον: il confronto tra retorica e filosofia nei *Discorsi Platonici* di Elio Aristide (*or.* 2–4).” In *Aelius Aristide écrivain*, edited by L. Pernot,

¹¹ Behr, *Aelius Aristides and the Sacred Tales*, 55–56, and Behr 1973, 278; see also the General Introduction, above.

G. Abbamonte, and M. Lamagna, 59–81. Turnhout, 2016.

Flinterman, J.-J. “. . . largely fictions . . .”: Aelius Aristides on Plato’s Dialogues.” *Ancient Narrative* 1 (2000–2001): 32–54.

Karadimas, D. *Sextus Empiricus and Aelius Aristides: The Conflict between Philosophy and Rhetoric in the Second Century AD*. Lund, 1996.

Milazzo, A. *Un dialogo difficile: la retorica in conflitto nei Discorsi Platonici di Elio Aristide*. Hildesheim, 2002.

Pernot, L. “Platon contre Platon: le problème de la rhétorique dans les Discours platoniciens d’Aelius Aristide.” In *Contre Platon I: Le Platonisme dévoilé*, edited by M. Dixsaut, 315–38. Paris, 1993.

ANALYSIS

- I. Prologue (1–31)
 - A. General: old authorities can be challenged (1–12)
 - B. Specific: Plato’s views on oratory can and should be challenged, and I am an appropriate person to do so (13–20)
 - C. Identification of the target (*prothesis*): Plato’s attack on oratory in the *Gorgias* (21–31)
- II. *Tractatio* (32–461)
 - A. Rebuttal of Plato’s critical arguments (32–203)
 1. The value of oratory is not diminished even if it is agreed not to be a *technê* (32–134)
 2. But Plato is wrong to deny that oratory is a *technê* (135–77)

AELIUS ARISTIDES, ORATIONS

3. Plato is wrong to class oratory as a kind of flattery (178–203)
- B. Counterattack (204–445)
 1. Oratory is in fact a crucial element in human life, society, and politics (204–318)
 - a) Origins and purpose show central to politics and maintenance of justice (204–46)
 - b) No objection that some orators (politicians) sometimes make wrong decisions (247–60)
 - c) Protects against the suffering as well as the doing of wrong, which Plato (notwithstanding what he says in the *Gorgias*) approves of (261–305)
 - d) Summary of virtues of orators, contrasted with tyrants (306–18)
 2. Excursus: the great Athenian orator-politicians defended from Plato's unfair criticism (319–43)
 3. Good oratory and the good orator (344–445)
 - a) Plato in fact admits (inconsistently) that good oratory is possible and that there has been at least one good orator (344–61)

2. A REPLY TO PLATO

- b) The status and powers of good oratory and the good orator (362–437)
 - (1) Superiority over other *technai* (to which Plato wants to assimilate it)—(362–81)
 - (2) Possession of all the virtues (382)
 - (3) Inseparability of speech from ability to act (383–93)
 - (4) A foundation myth—Prometheus and Zeus (394–399)
 - (5) Superiority over other kinds of power and social position; ability to enhance any other *technê* (400–28)
 - (6) The good orator is the good man; a palinode is owed by Plato (429–37)
 - c) Plato in fact agrees with this position: a palinode can be found in his writings (438–45)
- C. A final objection disposed of: Plato's position cannot be rescued by use of a distinction between two types of oratory (446–61)
- III. Peroration (462–66)

ΠΡΟΣ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΑ
ΤΗΠΕΡ ΡΗΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

[*Introductory Remarks and Statement of Purpose;
Plato's Outrageous Attack on Oratory in the
Gorgias (1-31)*]

οἶμαι δέιν ὅστις μέλλει τὰ δέοντα ἐρεῖν, ἢ ψήφου κύριος ὀρθῶς ἔσεσθαι, μὴ τοῦτο σκοπεῖν μηδὲ βα- σκαίνειν εἴ τιμι τῶν πρότερον καὶ δόξαν ἔχόντων ἐτέ- ρως εἰρήσθαι περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' οὐ πανταχοῦ πλείστον εἰκός ἐστι λόγον εἶναι, τοῦτο κὰν τῷ παρόντι ζητεῖν, ὁποτέρωθι τ' ἀληθές, καὶ τοῦτο 2 συμβούλευσθαι νικᾶν. ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλη- σίαις μὴ τὸν πρῶτον εἰπόντα πιστεύεσθαι μηδ' ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις, ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας, ὅτι εἰ ταύτη ταῦτα κριθήσεται, τῶν φευγόντων οὐδεὶς ἀποφεύξεται· πάντες γὰρ ὕστεροι δήπου τοῦ διώκον- τος λέγουσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ περὶ τούτων κρίσει τοὺς τῷ χρόνῳ προλαβόντας κρατεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τοὺς ἀποδείξοντας περὶ ὧν ἀγωνίζονται, καὶ τραγωδοὺς μὲν καὶ κιθαριστὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς

A REPLY TO PLATO:
IN DEFENSE OF ORATORY

[*Introductory Remarks and Statement of Purpose;
Plato's Outrageous Attack on Oratory in the
Gorgias (1-31)*]

If a man is to say what he should or cast his vote as he ought, I believe it is essential that, rather than looking 2
jealously to see if any famous authority from the past hap- pens to have had a different opinion on the matter, he should instead apply to the case in hand the question that ought always to carry the most weight, and ask which side of the argument the truth lies on; this is the side that he too ought to wish to prevail. It would indeed be strange if in assemblies and courts of law a speaker is not believed just because he speaks first—everyone knows very well that, if this is how such matters were decided, no defen- dant would ever be acquitted, because of course the def- endant always speaks after the prosecutor—but when it comes to words themselves and exercising judgment over them, victory should go to those who get in first in order of speaking, and not to those who are actually going to prove their case. For tragic poets and lyre players and the

ἐπὶ τῆς μουσικῆς μὴ ταῦτον φέρεσθαι τῆς τε ἀξίας
 ὄνομα καὶ τῆς τάξεως, ἣ κληροῦν γε ἂν ἦρκει μόνον,
 ἀλλ' ὅστις ἂν κάλλιστ' ἀγωνίσηται, τοῦτον στεφα-
 νοῦν καὶ πρῶτον ἀναγορεύειν, κὰν ὕστατος εἰσελθῶν
 τύχη, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἀστειότερων ἀγωνισμάτων ἀξιοῦν-
 τας ἀγωνιστὰς ἢ κριτὰς εἶναι οὕτω σφόδρα τὸν χρό-
 νον σεμνύνειν ὥστε μὴ μόνον τοῖς ὄλοις χείρους τοὺς
 ὑστέρους ἡγείσθαι, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἂν τυχεῖν εὐρόντας
 3 βέλτιον τῶν εἰρημένων μηδέν. ὁρῶ δὲ ὅτι κὰν τοῖς
 γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι οὐχ ὅστις πρῶτος τὴν ἀπογραφὴν
 ἐποιήσατο, οὗτος ἀπέρχεται νικῶν, ἀλλ' ὅστις οὐ τὴν
 ἀπογραφὴν πεποίηται, τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς πείρας ἄριστα
 4 δείκνυσιν. καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἰσχύει διὰ τέλους ὥστε καὶ
 ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἄθλοις, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ
 τοῦ τάχους, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξενεγκοῦσιν ἀπο-
 δίδονται τὸ σύμβολον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν.
 5 καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀλογία πολλὴ τοὺς μὲν ἅ τῆς τοῦ
 σώματος τύχης ἔχεται μελετῶντας ἢ τιμῶντας οὕτω
 σφόδρα καὶ νῦν καὶ πρότερον τὸ τοῦ λόγου καλὸν καὶ
 δίκαιον τιμηκέαι, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων ἀνέχοντας
 καὶ χωρὶς τῆς ἐν τούτοις διατριβῆς οὐδ' ἂν ζῆν δε-
 ξαμένους οὕτως ἀργῶς, μᾶλλον δ' ἀδίκως ἔχειν, ὥσθ'
 ἐνὶ πιστῷ χρῆσθαι περὶ ἀπάντων, ἂν τις φθάσῃ γενό-
 μενος, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀντὶ τῆς ἀληθείας θαυμάζειν
 αἰρεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ νομίσαι δέον, οὐχ εὐρεῖν τὸ βέλ-
 τιον· καὶ τοὺς μὲν νόμους αὐτούς, ἂν συμφέρῃ, κινεῖν,
 τοὺς δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰεὶ μενόντων τῇ φύσει λόγους ἐπὶ

rest of the artistic fraternity it is the convention that the
 contestant crowned and proclaimed victor should be the
 one who proves to be the best, even if he happens to have
 come on last, rather than their being ranked in the order
 in which they compete (in which case it would have been
 enough just to draw lots). Is it not then strange for those
 who claim the role of competitors or judges in more so-
 phisticated kinds of contest to have such an intense re-
 spect for timing that they regard those who come later as
 wholly inferior, and think them incapable of ever hitting
 on anything better than what has already been said? I note
 3 that in gymnastic competitions too, the eventual winner is
 not the first person to enter his name, but the one who,
 when it comes to the point, shows up best in the event for
 which he has entered. So thoroughly does this principle
 4 apply that in the awarding of prizes too, even let me add
 those awarded precisely for speed, the trophies are pre-
 sented not to those who went into the lead at the start, but
 to those who overtook them.

Is it not hugely irrational that practitioners and admir-
 5 ers of activities that depend on accidents of physical con-
 dition should have shown and continue to show such in-
 tense respect as this for the beauty and justice of reason,
 while those who owe their distinction to their skill with
 words, and who would not want to go on living if deprived
 of this activity, should be so lazy, or rather so unfair, as to
 count priority in time as a unique and universal touch-
 stone, and should choose to admire mere names in place
 of the truth, as if what were needed was to follow tradition
 rather than to discover a better answer? Is it not irrational
 to be prepared to change the very laws of the land, if it
 seems beneficial to do so, but at the same time to refuse

τοῖς πρώτοις μὴ δέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὄρους ἢ στήλας τοὺς προκατεσχηκότας πρεσβεύειν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐ λύειν ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς νόμοις τοὺς προτέρους διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων δέον, ἀλλὰ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας καὶ ἑτέρους ἀξιούν αὐτοῖς· καὶ τοῖς μὲν ὄρκους τοῖς κοινοῖς προσ- παραγράφειν ἐξείναι ἀνελεῖν καὶ προσθεῖναι ὅ τι ἂν σκοποῦμένους ὑστερον συνδοκῆ, οὓς δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξουσίας αἰεὶ καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐξετάζειν δεῖ λόγους, τῷ παρελθόντι χρόνῳ μόνῳ προσθεῖναι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ ὑγιαίνειν χρῆναι φάσκοι μόνους τοὺς πρώτους γενομένους, καὶ μὴδ' ἐκείνο ὄρᾶν¹ ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη κρίσις καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος λογισμὸς αὐτοῖς πρώτοις οὓς τιμῶσιν οὐ λυσιτελεῖ.

6 εἰ γὰρ τῷ χρόνῳ δεῖ συγχωρεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀπὸ
 τούτου μετρεῖν, οὐκέτ' ἔχει τόπον ἢ νῦν παρὰ πάντων
 7 εἰς ἐκείνους αἰδῶς. Ἴασος γὰρ ἂν οὕτω γε νικῶν περὶ
 λόγους καὶ Κρίασος καὶ Κρότωπος καὶ Φορωνεὺς καὶ
 εἴ τις Ἀργεῖος ἐκ μύθου καὶ Δευκαλίων ἢ εἴ τις ἐκ τε
 ἄλλων <ἄλλος>² καὶ Δυκάων ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας καὶ Κέκροψ
 Ἀθήνηθεν ἀντὶ τῶν νῦν βεβοημένων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔθνεσι
 Φρύγες διὰ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ βέκου, οἶμαι, μαρτυρίαν
 καὶ παρήκα Καλλαίθυιαν ἀρίστην γυναικῶν ἅμα καὶ

¹ ὄρᾶν Marc. gr. 424, Laur. 60.9 corr. ὄρᾶ cett.

² add. Reiske

¹ Iasus, Criasus, Crotopus, and Phoroneus are all early mythical kings of Argos; Deucalion is the Greek Noah; Lycaon and Cecrops are likewise early mythical kings. ² Hd. 2.2.

to listen to any arguments subsequent to the very first about things that in their nature last for ever—to revere the first occupants of the space like boundary stones or marker posts, even though in this case, in contrast to that of the laws, the obligation is not to rescind the older accounts in the light of the competition, but simply to grant others too the same status as they already enjoy? Is it not irrational to append to public oaths the proviso that it is legitimate to add and subtract whatever is subsequently agreed on with due consideration, but to consign arguments, which one ought to be equally free to scrutinize at any place and time, to the past alone (as if asserting that only the first to be born ought to enjoy good health), and not even to realize that the first to suffer from this kind of reasoning and this kind of verdict are the very people who are generally revered?

For, if we have to defer to time and make time our mea- 6
 sure of worth, then the respect that all now pay to certain 7
 celebrated individuals loses its foundation. On this principle, the leading literary figures would be Iasus and Cri-
 asus and Crotopus and Phoroneus (or some other myth-
 ological Argive) and Deucalion, or someone else from
 another people, Lycaon from Arcadia or Cecrops from
 Athens, instead of those currently celebrated.¹ Among na-
 tions I suppose Phrygia would come first on the evidence
 of the "bekos" story.² (I pass over Callaethyia,³ best among

³ Another name for Pandora, according to the scholia; but does Aristides in fact mean to refer to Callithyia, the first priestess of Hera at Argos and supposed inventor of the chariot (cf. Plut. fr. 158 [Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 3.8.1]; scholia on Aratus, *Phaen.* 161)?

- 8 ἀνδρῶν γενομένην. εἰς οὗτω κρίνωμεν, ὡς οὐ Κόδρω
 γε μετέσται τῆς φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος παῖς οἷς
 εἶπον συμβάλλειν καὶ οὐκ ἀρχαῖος, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν
 9 οὗτω ζητήσομεν εἴ τις ἦν πρὶν σελήνην εἶναι. Ὀμήρου
 δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδου καὶ τῶν εἰς ἡμᾶς νενικηκότων, Πλά-
 τωνος, εἰ βούλει, καὶ Δημοσθένους καὶ τῶν ὀλίγων
 πρὸ τούτων, οὐδ' εἰς πολλοστὸν χρόνον ἐλπίς ὁμοίαν
 ἐγγενέσθαι δόξαν, συμπρωϊόντος ἴσου τοῦ πρὸ αὐτῶν
 10 ἐκείνους αἰεὶ. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' εὐδῆλον ἄπασιν ὅτι καὶ οὗτοι
 φύσει καὶ δυνάμει διενεγκόντες τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀ-
 ἐκρυψαν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ὕστερον παντάπασιν ἅπαντας
 ἀπείργειν εἰκός, οὐδ' ἀπιστεῖν εἴ τις καὶ τοῦ νυνὶ χρό-
 νου μετεσχηκῶς ἔχει συμβαλέσθαι γνώμην περὶ ὧν
 πρόκειται λόγος, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὧν τι-
 μῶμεν ὑπάρχειν εἰδόμενος τὸ προσίεσθαι καὶ προσ-
 εχειν ὁπόσον διαφέρει.
- 11 ἅπαντας μὲν οὖν ἴσως τοὺς παλαιοὺς αἰδέεσθαι μὲν
 δίκαιον, φρίττειν δὲ οὐκ ἄξιον, εἴπερ μὴ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς
 λόγοις ὀνομασθέντας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς λόγους αὐτοὺς
 δεῖ δοκεῖν τιμᾶν ὅτι δ' εἰ πρὸς ἄλλον τινα χρῆ
 γνώμης οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα, οὐκ ἄλλου
 δέομαι μάρτυρος, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἔξαρκεῖ οὐ μόνον οἷς
 ἀπανταχοῦ βοᾷ καὶ παρακελεύεται μηδὲν πρότερον
 ποιείσθαι τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀλίγων³ τῷ παρα-
 12 δείγματι. εἰ γὰρ ἐκείνος Ὀμήρῳ τῷ τοσοῦτον πρὸ

³ ὀλίγων Reiske ὀλίγῳ *codd.*

both women and men.) If this is how we are going to form
 our judgments, well, not even Codrus will have anything
 to boast about;⁴ he too will rank as a child and a mere
 newcomer compared to those I have mentioned, and in
 this way, little by little, we shall find ourselves asking who
 there was before the creation of the moon. There would
 9 be no hope of Homer and Hesiod, and those acknowl-
 edged as classics to this day, Plato for instance and Demos-
 thenes and their near predecessors, acquiring a similar
 reputation, over however great a span of years, since their
 rivals would always have the same advantage of priority
 over them in time. But if it is obvious to all that these
 authors thanks to their superior talent and power eclipsed
 10 their predecessors, then it is reasonable also not absolutely
 to exclude all of their successors, and not to be skeptical
 of the ability of a modern to contribute an opinion on
 the subject of debate, but to understand as we ought from
 the very ones we honor how important it is to allow such
 voices a hearing and to pay attention to them.

It is perhaps proper to feel respect for all the classics,
 11 but it is not right to be scared of them, if we are to avoid
 giving the impression of honoring the men who have won
 reputations from their arguments rather than the argu-
 ments themselves. That this is the right attitude to take
 toward Plato, of all people, no other witness is needed
 than Plato himself, not only in the passages throughout his
 works where he loudly encourages us to give nothing pri-
 ority over the truth,⁵ but also, one might almost say, in his
 personal example. For if, in spite of criticizing Homer, 12

⁴ Another early mythical king of Athens.

⁵ For example, *Phd.* 91c, *Resp.* 595b-c.

αὐτοῦ περὶ πολλῶν ἐπιτιμῶν οὐκ ἀπεστέρηται λόγου, ἀλλ' ἔχει πρὸς τοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ὃ τι εἶπη, κατ' αὐτόν, ὡς ἔοικε, Πλάτωνα καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνον ἐπαινοῦντας καὶ πάσης αἰτίας ἀφιέντας ἔστι, κὰν ἄλλος τις ἐκείνῳ δοκῆ τι λέγειν ὑπεναντίον, τολμᾶν ἀκρόασασθαι, μὴ που τοῦτ' ἔγκλημα ποιουμένους, ἀλλ' ἔαν τοῖς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λόγοις ἀπολειφθῆ.

- 13 ἂ τοῖνυν εἶρηκεν περὶ ῥητορικῆς φιλονεκότερον τοῦ δέοντος Γοργίου καὶ Σωκράτους ὑποθέμενος συνουσίαν Ἀθήνησι φέρε ἐπισκεψώμεθα καὶ δείξωμεν
14 ὅπως ἔχει. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινόν, εἰ ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὑποστὰς κατηγορεῖν ἐκ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἀπεστέρησεν τρόπον γέ τω' αὐτὴν τῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγων, ἀλλ' ἀπέδωκεν δυσὶν καὶ τρισὶν ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς γοῦν ἐν σχήματι διαλόγων, ἡμεῖς δὲ οἱ τὸ ὄλον βοηθεῖν ἔχοντες καὶ προηρημένοι μὴ τολμήσομεν, ὥσπερ τοσαῦτ' ἀντιλέγειν Πλάτωνι δέον, ὅποσα ἂν αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν βουληθείη. ἄλογον δέ μοι φαίνεται, εἰ Πλάτων μὲν οὐκ
15 ἠδέσθη ψέγων ῥητορικὴν, ἧς ἴσως τι καὶ αὐτῷ μετῆν, ἡμεῖς δ' αἰσχυνούμεθα ὑπὲρ ῥητορικῆς λέγοντες μὴ
16 τις δι' ἐκείνον ἀχθεσθείη. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων εἰ μὲν μηδὲν ἀντειπεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἐρήμην ἐαλωκέναι καθάπερ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ, καὶ ταῦτα λόγων τέχνην οὔσαν, ἄλλο τι τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη τοῦπίταγμα· εἰ δ' ἔσθ' ὄντινα δεῖ, σχεδὸν

⁶ Gorgias, Polus, and Callicles, all of whom defend oratory and its values against Socrates' attack in Plato's *Gorgias*.

⁷ As suggested by, e.g., the set speeches in *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, and *Menexenus*. For this view of Plato as a master and model

who lived so long before him, on many points, Plato has not been deprived of the right to speak, but is able to reply to those he has upset, then it would seem to be entirely in line with his example, and the example set by those who praise him and absolve him of all blame, that if someone else should appear to be contradicting him on some point, we should have the strength of character to listen to this other voice and find grounds to reproach it not in the simple fact that it contradicts him, but only if it should prove deficient in its treatment of the subject matter.

It is Plato's overaggressive remarks about oratory, woven into an account of a conversation between Gorgias and Socrates at Athens, that I propose to survey and analyze. It would after all be frightful if, when he for his part, though undertaking an open attack on oratory, did not altogether deprive her of a defense, but used the dialogue form to allow two or three to speak on the other side,⁶ I for my part, though entirely able and determined to defend her, will not have the courage to do so—as if the only permissible riposte to Plato was what he was in any case ready to say against himself. It seems to me irrational for Plato not to be ashamed of criticizing oratory, even though he himself may perhaps have been something of an orator,⁷ but for me to be embarrassed at the thought of someone becoming annoyed on his behalf as I defend it. Besides, it would indeed be a remarkable stipulation for all defense to be forbidden, and for oratory to be condemned as if in an uncontested case in court, when it is itself the art of words. If, then, there has to be someone to plead for

of eloquence, compare, e.g., Cic. *Orat.* 10 and *de Or.* 1.47; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.21.

- ἡμῖν ἂν πρέποι, ἵνα καὶ τὸ δίκαιον εὐθὺς ἐν αὐτῷ
 τούτῳ πρώτῳ δείξωμεν οὐ προσετήκαμεν ὡς ἔστιν οὐ
 λόγον σῶζον παρ' ἧς τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις συναγορεύειν
 ἔστιν, ταύτη τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς μὴ μεταδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ
 δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ τοιοῦτον εἶναι δοκεῖν αὐτὴν οἷον
 Πλάτων βεβούληται, ἢ τοιοῦτόν γ' εἶναι δοκεῖν ποιη-
 17 σαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τούτῳ ὁ πανταχοῦ, ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας
 ἢ σιωπῇ βεβαιοί, ἀλλ' ἅμα τῶν τε δικαίων οὐ τεύξε-
 ται καὶ τὸ σεμνὸν αὐτῆς ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἐξελήλεκται. δό-
 ξει γὰρ οὐχ οἷα τ' εἶναι σῶζειν τὰ δίκαια.
- 18 ἐγὼ δὲ μάλιστα μὲν καὶ πρώτον αἰδοῖ τῶν λόγων
 αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ νομίζειν χρῆναι καθάπερ γονεῦσι βοη-
 θεῖν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔχει τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς δυνάμεως, εἶτα
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕνεκ' ἀνθρώπων, ὅπως μὴ περὶ τῶν
 μεγίστων φαύλως <. . . .⁴ ὑπαχθεῖεν μηδ' ἀγνοή-
 σαιεν ὅσῳ λαμπρότερος καὶ μείζων ἀνὴρ, τοσοῦτῳ
 προχειρότερον πιστεύσαντες αὐτῷ, μηδὲ ἦν οὐ θέμις
 οὐδὲν φλαῦρον ἀκοῦσαι, ταύτην οἴομενοι κακίζειν αὐ-
 τοὺς τῶν καλλίστων ἀποστερήσαιεν ἐκόντες, ἐν ἴσῳ
 19 δικαίον χάριν καὶ τῆς χρείας. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἀξίωμα τοσ-
 ούτου τοῦ παρόντος ἀγῶνος. καλῶ δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ
 τολμήματι καὶ Ἑρμῆν λόγιον καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα μουση-

⁴ *lac. stat. Reiske* (<διανοεῖσθαι> vel <ἐνθυμείσθαι>)

⁵ *add. Behr*

oratory, it is appropriate enough for me to be that person, so as to demonstrate where right lies immediately and before anything else in the case of the very activity I champion. It flies in the face of reason that we should not grant the art that allows one to plead in others' defense a share in her own resources, but instead that one of two things should follow: either that she should be thought really to be as Plato has wanted to make her out, or that at any rate we should make her seem so. This is not a question of just a single effect, the normal one, of silence confirming the charges; at one and the same time oratory would not only be cheated of a just verdict, but also have her proud name demolished in her own case, as she would give the impression of not being able to defend the cause of right.

It is then in the interests of both justice and utility that I accept this brief. I do so first and foremost from a reverence for eloquence itself, and the belief that every man should use what ability he has in it to defend it as he would his parents, but then also for the sake of the rest of mankind: lest they be seduced into flawed beliefs about matters of the utmost importance, and fail to register that their readiness to believe someone increases in proportion to his greatness and distinction; and lest, while thinking that it is to oratory (which should remain untouched by all abuse) that they are doing the damage, they should intentionally—though one might equally well say unintentionally⁸—deprive themselves of the finest of possessions. That is how high the stakes are on this occasion. To aid me in this bold venture I call upon Hermes, god of eloquence,

⁸ A glance at the Socratic/Platonic paradox, "no one intentionally errs"?

- γέτην καὶ Μούσας ἀπάσας ἡγεμόνας γενέσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τὸ ἴδιον τῆς νῦν κλήσεως, ὅτι τούτων ἢ δωρεὰ ὑπὲρ ἧς ἅμα καὶ δι' ἧς ἀγωνιζόμεθα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι καὶ δύο συμπέπτωκεν. οὔτε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν φαυλότατον τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὔθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν φαυλοτάτων οἱ λόγοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου λόγων τῶν εἰς μνήμην ἡκόντων τούτους μάλιστα θαυμάζουσιν οἷς ἐνταῦθα καὶ περὶ τούτων κέχρηται. ὥστε πανταχῆ θείας δεῖν τῆς βοηθείας ὡς ἀληθῶς.
- 20 οἷς ὥσπερ οὖν οἱ τὰς τῶν παρανόμων γραφὰς εἰσιόντες ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὧν εἶρηκε τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιησόμεθα. ἔστι δὲ ταυτὶ
- 21 Δοκεῖ τοίνυν μοι, ὦ Γοργία, εἶναι ἐπιτήδευμα τεχνικὸν μὲν οὐ, ψυχῆς δὲ στοχαστικῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φύσει δεινῆς προσομιλεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καλῶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ [463b] τὸ κεφάλαιον κολακείαν. ταύτης μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐπιτηδεύσεως πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μόρια εἶναι, ἐν δὲ καὶ <ῆ>⁶ ὀψοποιικῆ, ἧ δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι τέχνη, ὡς δ' ὁ ἐμὸς λόγος, οὐκ ἔστι τέχνη, ἀλλ' ἐμπειρία καὶ τριβή.

⁶ *add.* Behr (*cf. infra* §28)

⁹ The *Phaedrus* and the *Menexenus*, as well as the *Gorgias*; the qualification "recorded" (lit., "which have come down to memory") may be meant as an acknowledgment that Plato had his unwritten as well as his written doctrines, or it may simply be a device for emphasis ("from everything of Plato's that we have").

Apollo Musagete and all the Muses to be my guides. I do so above all because of the particular circumstances of the present summons—they are the patron deities of the art for which and at the same time through which I strive—but then also because of two further factors. It is to one of the finest of the Greeks that my words are addressed, and in defense of one of the finest of subjects. Some people, indeed, reserve their particular admiration for those of Plato's recorded works that he devotes to this case and to these topics,⁹ so divine assistance is only too truly needed at every turn.

I will then take Plato's own words as my starting point, like someone initiating a prosecution for illegal proposal.¹⁰ He says:¹¹

It seems to me, then, Gorgias, not to be a scientific activity, but instead one that is characteristic of an intelligence that is good at guessing and courageous, and has a natural facility in dealing with people. My overall name for it [463b] is "flattery." I think that this activity has a number of branches, one of which is cookery, which may seem to be a science, but on my account of things is no science, but rather a kind of empirical knack acquired by

¹⁰ A reference to the formal Athenian legal procedure of *graphē paranomōn*: the prosecution of the proposer of a new law for contravening an existing piece of legislation in his proposal. Cf. §254 below.

¹¹ Pl. *Grg.* 463a–65c. Socrates is speaking, with contributions from Polus (his main interlocutor at this point in the dialogue) and Gorgias.

ταύτης μόριον καὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἐγὼ καλῶ καὶ τὴν γε κομμωτικὴν καὶ τὴν σοφιστικὴν, τέταρα ταῦτα μόρια ἐπὶ τέταρσι πράγμασιν. εἰ οὖν βούλεται Πῶλος πυνθάνεσθαι, πυνθανέσθω, οὐ γάρ πω πέπυσται ὁποῖόν [c] φημ' ἐγὼ τῆς κολακείας μόριον εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν λέληθα οὕτω ἀποκεκριμένον. ὁ δὲ ἐπανερωτᾷ εἰ οὐ καλὸν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἐγὼ δ' αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀποκρινοῦμαι πρότερον εἴτε αἰσχρὸν εἴτε καλὸν ἡγοῦμαι τὴν ῥητορικὴν πρὶν ἂν πρῶτον ἀποκρίνωμαι ὃ ἔστιν. οὐ γάρ δίκαιον, ὦ Πῶλε. ἀλλ' εἴπερ βούλει πυνθάνεσθαι, ἐρώτα ὁποῖον μόριον τῆς κολακείας φημὶ εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν.—ἐρωτῶ δὴ, καὶ ἀποκρίναί μοι ὁποῖον μόριον.—[d] ἄρ' οὖν ἂν μάθοις ἀποκριναμένον; ἔστι γὰρ ἡ ῥητορικὴ κατὰ τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον.—τί οὖν; καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρὸν λέγεις αὐτὴν εἶναι;—αἰσχρὸν ἔγωγε. τὰ γὰρ κακὰ αἰσχροῦ καλῶ, ἐπειδὴ δεῖ σοι ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἤδη εἰδότες ὁ λέγω.—μὰ τὸν Δία, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὐδὲ αὐτὸς συνίημι ὃ τι λέγεις.—εἰκότως γε, ὦ Γοργία. οὐδὲν [e] γάρ πω σαφὲς λέγω. Πῶλος δὲ ὅδε νέος ἔστι καὶ ὀξύς.—ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μὲν ἔα, ἐμοὶ δὲ εἰπὲ πῶς λέγεις πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶδωλον εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν.—ἀλλ' ἐγὼ πειράσομαι φράσαι ὃ γέ μοι φαίνεται εἶναι ἡ ῥητορικὴ· εἰ δὲ μὴ τυγχάνει ὄν τοῦτο, Πῶλος ὅδε ἐλέγξει. σώμά που καλεῖς τι

habituation; oratory is, according to me, another branch of this activity, along with cosmetics and sophistry—four branches in all dealing with four kinds of material. So if Polus wants to ask, let him ask me—he hasn't yet—[c] what sort of branch of flattery I say that oratory is; it escapes him that I haven't yet answered. He pushes on to ask whether I don't think it is something admirable; but I won't tell him in reply whether I think it is something admirable or something reprehensible until I have first replied to him about what it is. That is not the right way to do things, Polus. If you wish to hear what I have to say, ask me what sort of branch of flattery I say that oratory is.—Very well: answer and tell me what kind of branch it is.—[d] Are you capable of understanding my answer when I give it? Here it is: oratory on my account of things is a shadow image of a branch of politics.—Well, then, do you say that it is something admirable or something reprehensible?—I say it is something reprehensible, since I call bad things reprehensible—since I must answer you as if you already understood what I mean.—So help me, Socrates, I don't understand what you mean either.—That's perfectly reasonable, Gorgias, as [e] I haven't yet made my meaning plain. But Polus here is young and impatient.—Well, forget about him, and explain to me what you mean by saying that oratory is the shadow image of a part of politics.—Very well, I'll try to say what I think oratory is, and if it turns out that I get it wrong, Polus here will correct me. There's something you call "soul" and something you call "body,"

καὶ ψυχὴν; [464a]—πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—οὐκοῦν καὶ τούτων οἶετινὰ εἶναι ἑκατέρου εὐεξίαν;—ἔγωγε.—τί δέ; δοκοῦσαν μὲν εὐεξίαν, οἶσαν δ' οὐ; οἷον τοιῶνδε λέγω· πολλοὶ δοκοῦσιν εὖ ἔχειν τὰ σώματα, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως αἰσθοιτό τις ὡς οὐκ εὖ ἔχουσιν ἀλλ' ἢ ἰατρός τε καὶ τῶν γυμναστικῶν τις.—ἀληθῆ λέγεις.—τὸ τοιοῦτον λέγω καὶ ἐν σώματι εἶναι καὶ ἐν ψυχῇ, ὃ ποιεῖ μὲν δοκεῖν εὖ ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἔχει δὲ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον.—ἔστι [b] ταῦτα.—φέρει δὴ σοὶ ἐὰν δύνωμαι σαφέστερον ἐπιδείξω ὃ λέγω. δυοῖν ὄντων τῶν⁷ πραγμάτων δύο λέγω τέχνας. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῇ ψυχῇ πολιτικὴν καλῶ, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ σώματι μίαν μὲν οὕτως ὀνομάσαι οὐκ ἔχω σοὶ, μίᾳ δὲ οὐσης τῆς τοῦ σώματος θεραπείας δύο μόρια λέγω, τὴν μὲν γυμναστικὴν, τὴν δὲ ἰατρικὴν. τῆς δὲ πολιτικῆς ἀντίστροφον μὲν τῇ γυμναστικῇ τὴν νομοθετικὴν, ἀντίστροφον δὲ τῇ ἰατρικῇ τὴν δικαιοσύνην. [c] ἐπικουρωνοῦσι μὲν δὴ ἀλλήλαις ἅτε περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ οὔσαι ἑκατέρα τούτων, ἢ τε ἰατρικὴ τῇ γυμναστικῇ καὶ ἢ δικαιοσύνη τῇ νομοθετικῇ. ὅμως δὲ διαφέρουσιν τι ἀλλήλων. τεττάρων δὲ τούτων οὔσων καὶ αἰεὶ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον θεραπευουσῶν, τῶν μὲν τὸ σῶμα, τῶν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν, ἢ κολα-

⁷ Barocc. 136, Oxon. Coll. Nov. 259 *om. cett.* (δυοῖν ὄντων τοῖν πραγμάτων *codd. Plat.*)

isn't there? [464a]—Of course.—And you think that there's something that counts as a healthy condition, for each of them?—Yes.—Well, is there also something that seems to be a healthy condition, but in fact isn't? I mean for instance, lots of people seem to be in a physically healthy condition, and it isn't easy for anyone apart from a doctor or an expert in physical training to see that they are not.—You are right.—I maintain that this sort of factor operates in the case of both body and soul, making the body and the soul look as if they are in a healthy condition, when in fact they aren't for all that.—That [b] is so.—Then let me see if I can give you a clearer demonstration of what I mean. There are two objects to work on, so there are also two sciences. The one dealing with the soul I call "politics"; the one dealing with the body I can't name for you in the same way, but what I mean is that there is a single activity of caring for the body with two branches, one of which is gymnastics and the other medicine. The counterpart to gymnastics in politics is legislation, and the counterpart to medicine is the administration of justice. [c] The constituents of each of these pairs overlap with each other—medicine with gymnastics and the administration of justice with legislation—in that they have the same object to tend, but there is nevertheless also some difference between them. There are then these four sciences, consistently tending either the soul or the body with a view to what is best for it. Flattery, noticing this—

κεντική αισθομένη, οὐ γνοῦσα λέγω, ἀλλὰ στοχασαμένη, τέτραχα ἑαντὴν διανείμασα, ὑποδύσα ἕκαστον τῶν μορίων προσποιεῖται εἶναι [d] τοῦτο ὅπερ ὑπέδν, καὶ τοῦ μὲν βελτίστου οὐδὲν φροντίζει, τῷ δὲ ἡδίστῳ θηρεύει τὴν ἄνοιαν καὶ ἐξαπατᾷ, ὥστε δοκεῖν πλείστου ἀξίαν εἶναι. ὑπὸ μὲν οὖν τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἢ ὀψοποικὴν ὑποδέδκεν καὶ προσποιεῖται τὰ βέλτιστα σιτία τῷ σώματι εἰδέναι, ὥστ' εἰ δέοι ἐν παισὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι ὀψοποιόν τε καὶ ἰατρὸν ἢ ἐν ἀνδράσιν οὕτως ἀνοήτους ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες, πότερος ἐπάτει περὶ τῶν χρηστῶν σιτίων καὶ πονηρῶν, ὁ ἰατρὸς ἢ ὁ ὀψοποιός, λιμῷ [e] ἂν ἀποθανεῖν τὸν ἰατρὸν. κολακαίαν μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ καλῶ καὶ αἰσχρόν φημι εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον, [465a] ὦ Πῶλε, τοῦτο γὰρ πρὸς σὲ λέγω, ὅτι τοῦ ἡδέος στοχάζεται ἀνευ τοῦ βελτίστου. τέχνην δὲ αὐτὴν οὐ φημι εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἐμπειρίαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔχει λόγον οὐδένα ὧν⁸ προσφέρει, ὅποι' ἅττα τὴν φύσιν ἐστίν, ὥστε τὴν αἰτίαν ἑκάστου μὴ ἔχειν εἰπεῖν· ἐγὼ δὲ τέχνην οὐ καλῶ ὃ ἂν ἢ ἄλογον πρᾶγμα. τούτων δὲ περὶ εἰ ἀμφισβητεῖς, ἐθέλω ὑποσχεῖν λόγον. τῇ μὲν οὖν ἰατρικῇ, ὥσπερ λέγω, ἢ ὀψοποιικῇ κολακαία ὑπόκειται, τῇ δὲ γυμναστικῇ [b] κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἢ κομωτική, κακοῦργος καὶ ἀπατηλὴ καὶ ἀγεννῆς καὶ ἀνελεύθερος, σχήμασι καὶ χρώμασι καὶ

by a process of guesswork, I mean, rather than rational understanding—divides herself into four, and assuming the guise of each of the branches pretends really to be [d] what she has impersonated; caring nothing for what is best for soul or body, she hunts out stupid people with the lure of maximum pleasure, and deceives them into assigning her the highest value. Cookery impersonates medicine and pretends to know what foods are best for the body, to such effect that, if a doctor and a cook had to compete in an assembly of children, or of grown men with no more sense than children, over which of them understood good and bad foodstuffs, the doctor or the cook, then [e] the doctor would starve to death. So I call cookery flattery and I declare this kind of thing to be reprehensible—[465a] I'm talking to you now, Polus—because it aims at pleasure rather than at what is for the best. I assert that it is not a science, but a mere knack, because it has no rational understanding of the real nature of the measures it applies, and so cannot explain the reason for each of them; and I refuse to give the name science to anything that is irrational. If you dispute any of this, I am willing to offer a reasoned justification. Cookery, then, as I say, is the form of flattery that impersonates medicine; in the same way [b] beauty culture impersonates gymnastics, in a malicious, fraudulent, degenerate and crawling manner, creating an illusion by the use of artificial shapes and colors, and smoothing agents and costumes,

⁸ ὧν Canter ᾧ codd. ᾧ προσφέρει ἂ προσφέρει codd. Plat.

λειότητι καὶ ἐσθῆτι ἀπατώσα, ὥστε ποιεῖν ἀλλότριον κάλλος ἐφέλκομένη τοῦ οἰκείου διὰ τῆς γυμναστικῆς ἀμελεῖν. ἵνα οὖν μὴ μακρολογῶ, ἐθέλω σοι εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ οἱ γεωμέτραι, ἤδη γὰρ ἂν ἴσως ἀκολουθήσαις, ὅτι ὁ κομμωτικὴ πρὸς γυμναστικὴν, τοῦτο σοφιστικὴ πρὸς νομοθετικὴν, [c] καὶ ὅτι ὁ⁹ ὀψοποικὴ πρὸς ἰατρικὴν, τοῦτο ῥητορικὴ πρὸς δικαιοσύνην.

- 23 ἐνταῦθα ἀπόδειξις μὲν οὐδ' ἤτισοῦν ἔνεστιν οὐδ' ἔλεγχος ἀνάγκη προεληλυθώς, ὑπόκειται δ' ἀπλῶς ὥσπερ ἔξόν, οὐ πολὺς ἦν ἰδρῶς πρότερον, οὐδὲν διαφερόντως ἢ εἰ χάριν ἤτει τοὺς ἀκούοντας ταῦτα συγχωρήσαι. καίτοι εἰ τὰ ζητούμενα ὡς ὁμολογούμενα ὑποτίθεσθαι γέλωσ, πῶς εἰκὸς ἄ γε ζητεῖν γέλωσ, ταῦτ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑποτίθεσθαι; πῶς γὰρ οὐ γέλωσ εἰ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως ῥητορικὴ καὶ ὀψοποικὴ ζητεῖν; ὁ δ'
- 24 ὥσπερ ὁμολογούμενον εἴληφεν αὐτό. γνοίη δ' ἂν τις ἐκείνως, εἰ τὸ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ὄνομα ἐξελὼν τὸ τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτ' ἐκείνου μεταλάβοι καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πᾶσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρήσαιτο.
- 26 καὶ μηδεὶς μήτε ἀγροικίαν μήτε ψυχρότητα καταγνώ τοῦ λόγου. μάλιστα μὲν γὰρ οὐ δήπου δοιοῦν ἐπιστήμαιν ἢ δυνάμεοιν τοῖς μὲν τὴν ἑτέραν προῖσταμένοισ, οὐδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν βλασφημῶσιν εἰς τοὺς ἑτέρους, οὐδὲν ἀγροικον ὑπεῖναι φήσομεν, τοῖς δ' οὐδὲ τοῖς

⁹ Behr e Platone ὁ τῆ(ι) TQVA ὁ RE

and so inducing people, by veiling them in a beauty that does not belong to them, to neglect the cultivation of their own through gymnastics. In brief, then, what I want to tell you, in mathematical terms—you might by now be able to follow this—is that sophistry is to legislation what beauty care is to gymnastics, [c] and that rhetoric is to the administration of justice what cookery is to medicine.

There is not the slightest element of reasoned demon- 23
stration here, or of criticism proceeding via logically compelling arguments. Plato simply assumes, as if there were nothing to prevent it, a proposition that he ought first to have put strenuous efforts into defending, for all the world as if he were asking his hearers to grant it him as a favor. But if it is ludicrous to begin by positing the hypothesis 24
you want to investigate as if it were an agreed truth, how can it be any more reasonable to begin by positing something it is ludicrous to want to investigate? Because it is unquestionably ridiculous to investigate whether oratory and cookery share the same nature! Yet Plato simply assumes this as an agreed truth. To see how ridiculous this 25
is, you need only remove the word "oratory" and replace it with the word "philosophy," while keeping the whole of the rest of the statement unchanged.

Now, let no one condemn this line of argument of mine 26
as uncouth or frigid. Surely, in the first place, when there are two sciences or capacities, we will not absolve the proponents of one of them of all charges of uncouthness, no matter how roundly they abuse their counterparts, while at the same time refusing to allow the others to

27 αὐτοῖς ἀμύνεσθαι δώσομεν. ἔπειτ' οὐ τοῦ φορτικοῦ
 χάριν εἰρήσεται, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀποδείξεως, ἣν οὐδαμοῦ
 28 τούτοις εἶναι φαμέν. οὐκοῦν ὠδὶ γίγνεται, “δοκεῖ τοί-
 νυν μοι, ὦ Γοργία, εἶναι ἐπιτηδεύμα τεχνικὸν μὲν οὐ,
 ψυχῆς δὲ στοχαστικῆς καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ φύσει δεινῆς
 προσομιλεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. καλῶ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐγὼ τὸ
 κεφάλαιον κολακείαν. ταύτης μοι δοκεῖ τῆς ἐπιτηδεύ-
 σεως πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα μόρια εἶναι, ἐν δὲ καὶ ἡ
 ὀψοποιϊκῆ, ὃ δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι τέχνη, ὡς δ' ὁ ἐμὸς λό-
 γος, οὐκ ἔστι τέχνη, ἀλλ' ἐμπειρία καὶ τριβή· ταύτης
 μόριον καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν¹⁰ ἐγὼ καλῶ καὶ τὴν γε
 29 κομμωτικὴν καὶ τὴν σοφιστικὴν, τέτταρα ταῦτα μό-
 ρια ἐπὶ τέτταρσι πράγμασι.” καὶ διὰ πάντων δὴ τῶν
 εἰρημένων, εἴ τις οὕτως ἅπαντα τᾶλλα κατὰ χώραν
 ἐῶν τὴν ῥητορικὴν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μεταλαμβάν-
 νοι, συμβαίνει δήπου μηδὲν ἐμποδίζεσθαι τὰ γε ῥή-
 ματα. ἀλλ' οὔτε τοῦτο ὑγαίνοντος, οἶμαι, οὔτ' ἐκείνο
 30 ἀποδεικνύοντος. οὔτε γὰρ φιλοσοφίας τῶν ὀψοποιϊας
 ὄνειδῶν οὐδὲν ἄψεται δήπουθεν, ἕως ἂν ἄλλο τι τὴν
 φύσιν ᾗ, οὔθ' οἷς ὀψοποιϊκὴν κακίζει τις ἐξελέγχει
 ῥητορικὴν, ἕως ἂν μὴ δείξῃ τὴν ἀνάγκην, ὑφ' ἧς
 ταῦτα ὁμοίως ἔχει, πλὴν εἰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ ἰκανὸν ἡγή-
 σατο εἰς ἀνάγκην περιστήσαί τινα τοῦ πῶς ὀψοποι-
 31 ικῆ ῥητορικῆς κεχώρισται λέγειν. καίτοι τοῦτο ὀκνῶ
 μὲν εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἔχω δὲ μαθεῖν ὡς οὐχ ὑβρίζοντός
 ἐστίν.

¹⁰ φιλοσοφίαν E²a² φιλοσοφικὴν V ῥητορικὴν cett.

defend themselves in the same vein. But then also, sec- 27
 ondly, the point of arguing in this way will not be to trade
 insults, but to offer a reasoned demonstration, which is
 what I say is nowhere to be found in Plato's words. 28
 then is how the passage comes out: "It seems to me, then,
 Gorgias, not to be a scientific activity, but instead one that
 is characteristic of an intelligence that is good at guessing
 and courageous, and has a natural facility in dealing with
 people. My overall name for it is 'flattery.' I think that this
 activity has a number of branches, one of which is cookery,
 which may seem to be a science, but on my account of
 things is no science, but rather a kind of empirical knack
 acquired by habituation; philosophy is, according to me,
 another branch of this activity, along with cosmetics and
 sophistry—four branches in all dealing with four kinds of
 material." And so on through the whole of his discussion, 29
 if you leave everything else as it is and just change "ora-
 tory" into "philosophy," it all runs smoothly at the verbal
 level at least. But no sane person would do this, just as no
 one trying to prove his case by argument would do as Plato
 does. Obviously, no insult directed against cooking will 30
 touch philosophy, as long as it has a different nature, nor
 will anyone show up oratory with the vilification he heaps
 on cookery, as long as he fails to demonstrate a compelling
 reason for putting them in the same category—unless per-
 haps he thinks it is enough for this purpose to put someone
 to the necessity of saying how cookery and oratory differ
 from each other. Reluctant as I am to say it, I do not see 31
 how this approach can fail to rank as an insult.

[Oratory and Science (*Technê*) 1: Value Is Not
Dependent on Having the Status of a Science
(32-134)]

- 32 ὅμως δ' ἔγωγε ὑποστήσομαι τοῦτο τὸ ἄτοπον. καὶ γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐστὶ δεινότερον καὶ ἀτοπώτερον, εἰ μᾶλλον ὁ πειρώμενος ὡς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ῥητορικῆ διδάσκειν αἰσχύνεται ἢ ὁ τολμήσας πρῶτον ἐν αἰσχροῦ
- 33 μοίρα ψέγειν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν εἰ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ τέχνην εἶναι δοίημεν αὐτήν, ὅπερ ὡς ἔρμαιον στρέφει παρ' ὄλον τὸν λόγον, τί μᾶλλον αἰσχρὸν γ' εἶναι συγχωρησόμεθα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀναγκαίως ἅπαν τὸ μὴ τέχνη γιγνόμενον κακόν, ἢ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξιον, ἦν τι
- 34 προὔργου· νῦν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν συμφήσαι τὸ μὴ οὐ τὰ μέγιστα ἀνθρώποις καὶ κάλλιστ' ἐκ θεῶν ἅμα τε ἔξω τέχνης εἶναι καὶ τέχνης κρείττω, καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτω παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ δεξιούσι καὶ πολλοῖς κεκράτηκεν ὥσθ' ὅσα μὲν τῶν ἑπτὰ σοφῶν κληθέντων οὕτως ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν ὄντων εὐαριθμητῶν εἶπέ τις ἢ συνεβούλευσεν, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδ' ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ θαυμάζομεν ὡς πρῶτους, οὐδεὶς προστίθησι θεῶ, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὄνομα ἐκάστοις ἐπιφημίζεται· ἃ δ' ἂν αἰ Πυθοῖ προμάντευς φῶσιν, ἐπειδὴν ἐκστῶσιν ἑαυτῶν, ταῦθ' ὡς ὁ Πύθιος εἶπε καὶ Πλάτων καὶ ἅπαντες λέγουσι.
- 35 καὶ τίνα ἐπίστανται δῆπου τέχνην τότε, αἶ γε οὐχ οἰαί τέ εἰσι φυλάττειν οὐδὲ μεμνήσθαι; καίτοι μικρὰ μὲν ἢ πάντας εἰδυῖα λόγου ἀνθρωπίνους ἰατρικῆ καὶ

Oratory and Science (*Technê*) 1: Value Is Not De-
pendent on Having the Status of a Science
(32-134)

All the same, I will accept this strange challenge, as it is 32
still worse and still stranger for the person trying to ex-
plain that oratory is not something reprehensible to be
more embarrassed than the one who dared to attack it as
reprehensible in the first place. For a start, then, even if 33
we took the extreme step of conceding that oratory is not
a science—a point that Plato flourishes through the whole
of his argument like a kind of talisman—why would that
make us any readier to grant that it is something repre-
hensible? If it were necessarily the case that whatever
does not come about by science is bad or worthless, then
the point would be a useful one to him. But in actual fact 34
it is universally agreed that mankind's greatest and fair-
est blessings, which come from the gods, lie outside the
sphere of science and are superior to science. So dominant
and universal is this view, among the cultured and the
masses alike, that with the dicta and advice of the Seven
Sages—so called because they were so few in proportion
to the majority of humankind—or of the others we admire
as preeminent for their erudition, no one attributes them
to the divine, but instead labels each with the name of
the individual concerned; but when it comes to what the
priestesses at Delphi say in their ecstatic trances, Plato
and everyone else declares that these are the utterances
of the Pythian god.

What science are these women in command of on such 35
occasions? They cannot even retain or remember what
they themselves have said! Yet the power of medical sci-

κρείττων ὄψοποικῆς πρὸς τὰς ἐκ Δελφῶν, οἶμαι, δύ-
 νηται λύσεις, ὅσαι καὶ ἰδία καὶ κοινῇ καὶ νόσων καὶ
 παθημάτων ἀπάντων ἀνθρώποις ἐφάνθησαν, μικρὰ δ'
 ἢ κατ' αὐτὴν ἐστηκεῦα δικαιοσύνη, κρίσεως ἕνεκα
 36 πραγμάτων καὶ συμβουλῆς. τί δὲ ἐροῦσι σύμπαντες
 οἱ γυμνασταί; δυοῖν καὶ τριῶν λογίων οὐχ ἠτᾶσθαι
 σφῶν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπιστήμην, εἴπερ ἕν γε τοῦτ' ἐπί-
 37 στανται βραχὺ σωφρονεῖν; τί δὲ ἡ σεμνὴ σοι νομο-
 θετικὴ καὶ τὰ μεγάλα ἀνθρώποις εὐρίσκουσα; οἶμαι
 μὲν παραχωρήσεται, μᾶλλον δὲ πάλαι παρεχώρησεν
 38 ταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίποδος γυναιξί. βαδίζουσί γε εἰς Δελ-
 φούς καὶ πυνθάνονται περὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν. καὶ τότε
 τοὺς νόμους τίθενται πρὸς τὴν ἐλθοῦσαν παρὰ τῆς
 Πυθίας φωνὴν ἀπὸ Λυκούργου πρώτου, τὸν μετὰ πολ-
 39 λούς εἰ δεῖ πρώτον εἰπεῖν χάριν τοῦ λόγου. οὐκ οὖν
 φασὶ γ' ἐκέλευον οὐδὲν θεῖναι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄνευ τῆς
 παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ φωνῆς, ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐκ ἐπειδὴ Λυκούρ-
 γος ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄριστος ἔθηκεν, οὐ διὰ τοῦθ' ὁ
 θεὸς δόξαν εἴληφεν τεθεικέναι τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ὁ
 μὲν Λυκούργος ἄριστος ὢν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμαρτύρει
 τὰ τῆς οὐδὲν ἰδία γιγνωσκούσης Πυθίας νικᾶν, ἡ δὲ
 ἀπεκρίνατο ὡς ἐδόκει τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ τῷ παρὰ τὴν
 Πυθίαν μέρει τὴν δόξαν εἴληφε τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς νόμοις.

¹² That is, in the schema Plato presents in the *Grg.* (463a–65c, as in §22 above), in which justice in the care of the soul has the same place as medicine does in the care of the body.

ence, which knows all that human reasoning has to offer and outranks mere cookery, is I believe feeble in comparison to all the cures for diseases and disorders that have been revealed to mankind at Delphi to both individuals and communities; and feeble also is the “justice” that corresponds to it,¹² as far as judgments and advice in public affairs go. Will it not be unanimously agreed by teachers 36 of gymnastics that the whole of their art is bettered by a handful of oracles, provided their pupils understand just this one concise lesson, self-control?¹³ And what about 37 your much-vaunted science of legislation, which has invented such great things to benefit mankind? This too I think will defer, or rather has already a long history of deferring, to the women on the tripod. At any rate, people 38 go to Delphi and ask about political constitutions. And then they frame their laws in line with the word that comes to them from the Pythia, as they have done ever since Lycurgus began the practice¹⁴—if for the sake of argu- 39 ment we must name as first someone who was in fact preceded by many. They say that he made no law for the people of Sparta without listening to the god’s voice, and yet it was not because it was Lycurgus, best of the Greeks, who made the laws, that the god was believed to have been responsible for making them. Instead Lycurgus, best of the Greeks, testified that the priority belonged to the words of the Pythia, who knew nothing on her own account; the Pythia gave her responses as the god saw fit; and the god received the credit for the laws on the strength of

¹³ An allusion to the Delphic maxims “Nothing in excess” (*μηδὲν ἄγαν*) and “Know thyself” (*γνώθι σεαυτόν*).

¹⁴ *Hdt.* 1.65.

- 40 *καίτοι οὐτ' ἐπιστήμην τιν' ἔχουσιν περιπτοτέραν
παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους αὐταὶ αἱ γυναῖκες οὐτ'
εἴ τι καὶ γινώσκουσιν, ἀφ' ὧν πεπαιδευνταὶ καὶ προ-
ῖσασι λέγουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν κινήσωσιν ἐκάστοτε ὑπὸ
τοῦ κρείττονος, πέμπουσι πανταχοῖ γῆς, εἰς Ἴωνίαν,
εἰς Πόντον, εἰς Κυρήνην, ἐπ' ἔσχατα τῆς γῆς· οὐδ' εἴ
τις εἴσεισιν ὡς αὐτὰς ἢ πεύσεται προῖσασι πρὸ τῆς
ἑσπέρας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίποδος καθέδρας, ὡς ἔπος
41 εἰπεῖν. ἀλλ' ἀρτίως ἀγνοοῦσαι καὶ τὰ τῶν γειτόνων
ἐξαίφνης τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἴσασι καὶ δημηγο-
ροῦσιν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ πολιτεύονται τὰ κοινὰ τῆς
γῆς καὶ πάσαις ταῖς ἐπιστήμαις καὶ τέχναις ἡγεμό-
νες τοῦ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ λέγειν καθίστανται. καὶ οὐδὲ
Πλάτων αὐτὰς παρέρχεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὗτος ἀξιοῖ τὴν
Πυθίαν ἐρωτᾶν ὅποταν πολιτεύηται καὶ νομοθετῆ, καὶ
τότε φησὶ δεῖν ποιεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ ἡ Πυθία συναναίρη,
πρότερον δὲ οὐ θαρρεῖ.*
- 42 *εἶεν· αὕτη μὲν ἐκ Δελφῶν ἡ μαρτυρία τῷ λόγῳ καὶ
παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου· τὰς δ' ἐν Δωδώνῃ τί
φήσεις ἱερείας, αἱ τοσαῦτα ἴσασιν ὅσ' ἂν τῷ θεῷ*
- 43 *δοκῆ καὶ μέχρι τοσοῦτον μέχρι ἂν δοκῆ; καίτοι οὐτε
πρότερόν τινα τοιαύτην εἶχον ἐπιστήμην, πρὶν εἰσελ-
θεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συνουσίαν, οὐθ' ὕστερον οὐδὲν
ὧν εἶπον ἴσασιν, ἀλλὰ πάντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκεῖναι. ὥσθ'*

¹⁵ A reference to the oracle's role in advising the leaders of early Greek colonies overseas, e.g., Battus in the foundation of Cyrene (Hdt. 4.150).

his prompting of the Pythia. These women do not have 40
any special knowledge in comparison to the rest of man-
kind, and even if they do actually know something, it is
not from their education or their existing knowledge that
they speak; it is instead in obedience to the promptings of
divine power on any given occasion that they dispatch
people to every part of the world, to Ionia, to Pontus, to
Cyrene, and to the ends of the earth.¹⁵ One might say that
they do not even know before evening falls and they actu-
ally sit on the tripod whether anyone is going to come
in and ask a question. But although a moment before they 41
did not even know what was going on right next to them,
suddenly they know what is going on everywhere in the
world. When the god is with them, they make speeches,
and manage the whole world's business, and become di-
rectors of word and deed in all forms of knowledge and
craft. Not even Plato turns his back on them; he too sees
fit to consult the Pythia whenever he is doing politics or
framing laws, and asserts that actions should only be taken
"if the Pythia too agrees with it in her answer," and he lacks
the confidence until such time as she does.¹⁶

So much for the evidence in support of my argument 42
from Delphi and Pythian Apollo. What will you say about
the priestesses at Dodona, who know as much as the god
decides they should, and for as long as he decides they
should? Yet they did not have any such knowledge before 43
coming into communion with the god, nor subsequently
do they know anything of what they have said—everyone
knows it sooner than them. Thus enquirers, arriving in a

¹⁶ Pl. *Resp.* 7.540c; cf. 4.427b, *Laws* 5.738b-c, 6.759c-d, 8.828a, 9.856d.

- οἱ μὲν ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ πυθόμενοι παρ' αὐτῶν μεμα-
 θήκασιν, αἱ δὲ εἰποῦσαι τί χρῆ ποιεῖν οὐκ ἴσασι οὐδ'
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὅτι εἰρήκασιν. οὐκοῦν ἐκ Διὸς ἂν ταύτην
 44 τὴν μαρτυρίαν τιθεῖς οὐκ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοις. ταῦτὰ δὲ
 ταῦτα λέγω καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Κλάρῳ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν
 Ἄμμωνος καὶ πάντων ὅσοι περὶ χρηστήρια ὁμοίως
 ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες. καίτοι πότερον τούτους ἅπαντας
 καὶ ταύτας πάσας ἐρωτήσομεν τὸν λόγον, ᾧ χρώμε-
 νοι ταῦτα συμβουλευουσιν; καὶ πῶς σωφρονεῖν δόξο-
 μεν; ἢ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξια καὶ κολακείαν ταῦτ' εἶναι
 φήσομεν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐκ ἔχομεν τοὺς εἰπόντας ἀπαι-
 τῆσαι τὸν λόγον, πολλῶ μὲντὰν πλέον ἐλλείπομεν
 45 τοῦ σωφρονεῖν. οὐκοῦν παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν
 θεῶν μαρτυρία καὶ ψήφος ἐπήκται τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξιον
 εἶναι τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγον, ὅστις ἢ τὴν τέχνην ζητεῖ, ἢ
 46 φαυλίζει τὸ μὴ σὺν ταύτῃ πανταχοῦ. ὅσοι δ' αὖ καὶ
 καθάπαξ ὑποδύντες θεῶ καὶ τέχνης οὐδὲ μικρὸν μετα-
 σχόντες οὐ μόνον τοῖς ἐφ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑστε-
 ρον πολλὰ δὴ καὶ θαυμάσια προείπον, οἷον εἰ Βούλει,
 Βάκις, Σίβυλλα, ἕτεροι μετὰ τούτων, εἰ δὲ μὴ πολλοί,
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου· τὰ γὰρ μέγιστα ἐκ-
 πέφενγε τοὺς πολλοὺς· τίς οὕτω τεχνίτης τοῦ κακῶς
 λέγειν ἐστὶν ὅστις καὶ τούτους κακίσειεν ἄν;
 47 ὅταν δ' εἰς ποιητὰς ἴδω τοὺς κοινούς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
 τροφείας καὶ διδασκάλους, οἱ διαρρηδὴν ὁμολογοῦσι

¹⁷ The oracles of Apollo at Claros and Zeus Ammon at Siwa.

state of ignorance, learn the truth from them, while they themselves, once they have said what is to be done, are unaware even of the very fact that they have spoken. It would thus not be wide of the mark to take this as testimony from Zeus. The point is the same with the priests at Claros and in the temple of Ammon,¹⁷ and all the men and women everywhere who tend oracular shrines. Yet are we to ask all these men and women what the principle is that they apply in giving the advice they do? We would be thought mad if we did! Or are we to say all these utterances are worthless and a form of flattery, since we cannot ask those who uttered them to give us a reasoned account of them? We would be even more deeply insane if we did that! We have then at our disposal supporting evidence from practically all the gods, to the effect that the kind of argument that looks for science, and damns whatever does not have it without exception as inferior, is itself worthless. Or again, think of those who by simply submerging themselves in the divine, without any particle of science, have made numerous wonderful prophecies not only to their contemporaries but also to posterity, like for instance Bakis, the Sibyl and others along with them¹⁸—if there are not many of them, that too helps my argument, for the best things are above mere number. Who is such an expert in slander that he could speak ill even of such prophets as these?

And when I consider the poets, the shared providers and teachers of Greece, who frankly confess that they

¹⁸ Supposed authors of collections of oracles circulating under these names: see, e.g., Hdt. 8.77 and Paus. 10.12.6 (Bakis); Ar. Pax 1095 and 1116, and Paus. 10.12.1-5 (Sibyl).

περὶ αὐτῶν μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἐπίστασθαι, μηδὲ νεῶν ἀριθ-
 μόν, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ καὶ περὶ παντὸς τὰς Μούσας ἐνοχλοῦ-
 σιν δεόμενοι φράσαι σφίσιν, ὡς αὐτοὶ μὲν προφητῶν
 σχῆμα καὶ τάξιν ἔχοντες, ἐκείνας δὲ μάντις ἀληθεῖς
 οὔσας περὶ ἀπάντων, μᾶλλον μοι δοκεῖ προσήκειν
 τὸ μὴ σὺν τέχνῃ κοσμεῖν ἐνίοτε ἢ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ
 τοὺς ποιητὰς ἐπιστήμη φάσκειν ἀποχρώντως ποιεῖν,
 ὃ μηδ' αὐτοὶ δέχονται, ἢ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀξίαν τὴν τῶν
 48 Μουσῶν ἡγείσθαι δωρεάν. εἴτ' οὖν, ᾧ πρὸς Διός, ἐν
 μέτρῳ μὲν εἰπεῖν ἄνευ τέχνης οὐ δεινόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 θεῖον πολλάκις, οὐτωσὶ δ' εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα δεινόν
 ἐὰν μὴ σὺν τέχνῃ; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὀρώ τὴν ἀνάγκην.
 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, εἰ ὃ μὲν ποιητῆς ἄνευ τέχνης
 ποιῶν ὀρθῶς τὸν ῥήτορα μιμήσεται καὶ τὰ βέλτιστ'
 49 σὺν τέχνῃ; καὶ μὴν οἷ γε ποιηταὶ φιλόδοξον τὸν Ἑρ-
 μῆν οὐδενὸς ἤττον θεῶν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ διαφερόντως,
 κεκλήκασιν. οὐκοῦν εἰ δι' Ἀπόλλωνος μαντικὴ καὶ διὰ
 Μουσῶν ποιητικὴ χωρεῖ, καὶ τούτων ἄνευ ψυχρὰ τὰ
 τῆς τέχνης, τί κωλύει καὶ ῥητορικὴν τῆς Ἑρμοῦ τιθέ-
 ναι δωρεᾶς, ἣν γε τῷ ὄντι χρῆ θεῖαν καλεῖν καὶ τέ-
 χνης κρείττω;

50 μέχρι μέντοι τῶν νῦν τούτων ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων

¹⁹ Most famously, Hes. *Theog.* 22–34 (cf. 94–104) and Hom. *Il.* 2.484–93 (at the beginning of the catalog of ships).

²⁰ A standard Homeric epithet for Hermes is *erlounios*, understood as meaning “bountiful”; the gods are collectively “givers of good things” (*dotēres heaōn*). See also §423 below.

themselves know nothing at all, not even numbers of ships, but constantly pester the Muses with requests for information about everything, on the grounds that they themselves have the form and rank of spokesmen, but it is the Muses who are the true prophets on every topic,¹⁹ then it seems to me that organizing one's words unscientifically is sometimes more appropriate than either of the two alternatives—than the poets either asserting that they can compose adequately with the aid of knowledge, a claim that not even they accept, or concluding that the gift of the Muses is worthless. Is it then, I ask you, not a shocking thing, but actually often something divine, for someone to produce metrical utterances unscientifically, yet at the same time a shocking thing to make the most excellent of speeches in the medium of prose if one does not do so scientifically? I do not see that this has to be the case. It is surely bizarre if the poet, legitimately composing without the aid of science, will imitate the orator in delivering himself of the best of sentiments, but the orator himself will not deliver himself of the best of sentiments, unless he does so with the aid of science. The poets have certainly 49 called Hermes as great a giver of gifts as any god, and indeed a greater giver than any of them.²⁰ So if the ability to prophesy comes through Apollo, and the ability to compose poetry through the Muses, and the contribution of science is lifeless without these gifts, what is to prevent us from taking oratory too as one of the gifts of Hermes, and one that we truly ought to call divine and superior to science?

Up to this point it might be said that Plato is shown to 50

ἐξελέγχεσθαι Πλάτωνα φαίη τις ἂν βούλομαι δ' αὐ-
 τὸν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ λόγων ἐξελεγχόμενον φανή-
 ναι. τρόπον μὲν οὖν τινα καὶ τοῦτ' ἤδη γέγονεν. ἐν οἷς
 γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐδείκνυμεν καταφεύγοντα ἐπὶ τὴν Πυθίαν
 51 πολλαχοῦ τῶν Νόμων οὐ διέφυγεν τοῦτον τὸν ἔλε-
 γχον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς διὰ πάντων ἐξῆς ὧν
 εἴρηκα βούλομαι δεῖξαι ταῦτά φθεγγόμενον. φανήσε-
 ται γὰρ ἂ νῦν ἡμεῖς λέγομεν αὐτὸς πρόσθεν εἰρηκῶς,
 εἰ καὶ μὴ τούτοις τοῖς ῥήμασι μῆδ' εἰς τοσοῦτον τῆς
 ἀναγκαίας ἀποδείξεως, ἀλλ' οὖν τῷ γε ὄλῳ λόγῳ.
 52 ὑπομνήσω δ' αὐτὸν Φαιδρου τοῦ καλοῦ. ὁ γὰρ αὐτὸς
 ἐκεῖ ποιεῖ τὰ Λυσίου τιθεὶς μεταξὺ τῶν αὐτοῦ, τοῦτο
 κἀγὼ νῦν ποιήσω, αὐτὰ τὰ κείνου παρέξομαι καθάπερ
 νόμον. ποῦ δὴ μοι, φησὶν, ὁ παῖς; ποῦ δὴ μοι καὶ ὁ
 λόγος ὁ πρὸς τὸν παῖδα; οὔτοις μᾶλα πλησίον. φέρε
 δὴ τί λέγει;

Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ἀπλοῦν τὸ μανίαν κακὸν εἶναι,
 καλῶς ἂν ἐλέγετο· νῦν δὲ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγα-
 θῶν ἡμῖν γίγνεται διὰ μανίας, θεία μέντοι δόσει
 διδομένης. ἢ τε γὰρ ἐν Δελφοῖς προφήτις [244b]
 αἶ τ' ἐν Δωδώνῃ ἱερεῖαι μανείσαι μὲν πολλὰ δὴ
 καὶ καλὰ ἴδια τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἰρ-
 γάσαντο, σωφρονούσαι δὲ βραχεῖα ἢ οὐδέν. καὶ
 εἰ δὴ λέγομεν Σίβυλλάν τε καὶ ἄλλους ὅσοι
 δὴ μαντικῇ χρώμενοι ἐνθέω πολλὰ δὴ πολλοῖς
 προλέγοντες εἰς τὸ μέλλον ὠρθωσαν, μηκύνου-

be in the wrong by the arguments themselves; but I want
 it also to be clear that he is proved wrong by his own words
 as well. In a certain way this has in fact already happened,
 in that he has succumbed to this criticism in my demon-
 stration that he resorts to the Pythia all over the place in
 the *Laws*.²¹ Nevertheless, I wish to demonstrate exhaust- 51
 ively, point by point, that he says the same things as I have
 said. Because it will become clear that he is on record as
 having said what I am now saying in the overall tenor of
 his argument, at least, even if not in the same words or
 with the same thoroughness of logical argumentation. I 52
 shall remind him of the fair Phaedrus, and do now on my
 own account what he does in that dialogue by inserting the
 words of Lysias in among his own; I shall produce his own
 words as if citing a law. "Where please," he says, "is my
 boy?"²² And where please is the speech addressed to the
 boy as well? Here it is, right next to us. So how does it go?²³

If the claim that madness is something bad were a
 simple one, that would have been a good speech;
 but in fact our greatest blessings come to us through
 madness, which is moreover bestowed on us as a gift
 from the gods. The prophetess at Delphi [244b] and
 the priestesses at Dodona when in a state of mad-
 ness have done many fine things for Greece both
 individually and collectively, but little or nothing
 when sane. And if we were to mention the Sibyl and
 all the other inspired prophets whose many predic-
 tions to many recipients have set them on the right

²¹ §41 above. ²² Pl. *Phdr.* 243e.

²³ Pl. *Phdr.* 244a-45b.

μεν ἂν δῆλα παντὶ λέγοντες. τόδε μὴν ἄξιον ἐπιμαρτύρασθαι, ὅτι καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν οἱ τὰ ὀνόματα τεθειμένοι οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ἠγοῦντο οὐδ' ὄνειδος μανίαν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν [c] τῇ καλλίστῃ τέχνῃ, ἣ τὸ μέλλον κρίνεται, αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῦνομα ἐμπλέκοντες μανικὴν ἐκάλεσαν, ἀλλ' ὡς καλοῦ ὄντος ὅταν θεία μοῖρα γίγνηται, οὕτω νομίσαντες ἔθεντο. οἱ δὲ νῦν ἀπειροκάλως τὸ ταῦ ἐπεμβαλόντες μαντικὴν ἐκάλεσαν. ἐπεὶ τὴν γε τῶν ἐμφρόνων ζήτησιν τοῦ μέλλοντος διὰ τε ὀρνίθων ποιουμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων, ἅτε ἐκ διανοίας ποριζομένων ἀνθρωπίνῃ οἴησει, οἰονοιστικὴν ἐπωνόμασαν, ἣν [d] νῦν οἰωνοιστικὴν τὸ ω σεμνύνοντες οἱ νέοι καλοῦσιν. ὅσῳ δὴ οὖν τελεώτερον καὶ ἐντιμότερον μαντικὴ οἰωνοιστικῆς, τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ ὀνόματος τό τε ἔργον τοῦ ἔργου, τόσῳ κάλλιον μαρτυροῦσιν οἱ παλαιοὶ μανίαν σωφροσύνης τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώπων γινομένης. ἀλλὰ μὴν νόσων τε καὶ πόνων τῶν μεγίστων, ἃ δὴ παλαιῶν ἐκ μηνιμάτων ποθὲν ἔν τισι τῶν γενῶν, ἣ μανία ἐγγενομένη καὶ προφητεῦσα, οἷς ἔδει, ἀπαλλαγὴν εὔρετο, καταφυγούσα [e] πρὸς θεῶν εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας. ὅθεν καὶ καθαρμῶν τε καὶ τελε-

track for the future, we would simply be multiplying words over the entirely obvious. All the same, it is worth also establishing the point that the men of the distant past who first gave things their names did not think that madness was reprehensible or matter for reproach either. If they had thought that, [c] they would not have bound up this very word in their name for the finest of the sciences, the one by which the future is assessed, and called it "manic"; in actual fact, their choice of name reflects their belief that it is a fine thing when it comes by divine dispensation. In modern times, people have clumsily stuck in the extra "t," so as to make the name "mantic." The ancient name, moreover, for the investigation of the future by men in their right minds through birds and other signs, was "oionoistic," based on the idea that these signs were being deliberately supplied to human cogitation (*oiêsis*); [d] modern usage has added the weightier long "o" and calls it "oionistic." The greater value and greater perfection of mantic compared to oionistic, both in the names and in the things themselves, is therefore evidence from the men of old that divinely-inspired madness is to the same degree something more admirable than mere human sanity. Moreover, in the face of the worst diseases and sufferings, which have afflicted some families from one source or another as a result of divine anger incurred in the distant past, it is madness that, on being engendered among them and acting as an interpreter, found release for those who needed it by recourse [e] to prayers and rituals in honor of the gods. By

τῶν τυχοῦσα ἐξάντη ἐποίησε τὸν αὐτὴν ἔχοντα
 πρὸς τε τὸν παρόντα καὶ τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνου
 λύσω τῷ ὀρθῶς μανέντι τε καὶ κατασχομένῳ
 τῶν παρόντων κακῶν εὐρομένη. [245a] τρίτη δὲ
 ἀπὸ Μουσῶν κατοχὴ τε καὶ μανία λαβοῦσα
 ἀπαλὴν καὶ ἄβατον ψυχὴν ἐγείρουσα κἀναβακ-
 χεύουσα κατὰ τε ᾠδὰς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην
 ποίησιν μυρία τῶν παλαιῶν ἔργα κοσμοῦσα,
 τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους παιδεύει. ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ
 μανίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται,
 πεισθεὶς ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανὸς ποιητῆς ἐσό-
 μενος, ἀτελεῆς αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς
 τῶν μαινομένων ἢ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος ἠφανί-
 σθη. τοσαῦτα μὲν σοι καὶ ἔτι [b] πλείω ἔχω
 μανίας γιγνομένης ἀπὸ θεῶν λέγειν καλὰ ἔργα.

- 53 εἰ τοῖνυν, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί, μανία τίς ἐστὶν ἀμείνων
 σωφροσύνης καὶ παρὰ θεῶν ἀνθρώποις γιγνομένη,
 πῶς ἄξιον πᾶν γε τὸ μὴ τέχνη γιγνόμενον ψέγειν, ἢ
 54 πῶς ῥητορικὴν ἀπλῶς αἰσχροὺς ἠγείσθαι,¹¹ εἰ δὲ δὴ
 τὴν μὲν καλλίστην τῶν τεχνῶν προσείρηκε τῷ μανι-
 κῆν εἶναι, τὴν δ' ἀπλῶς οὐδ' εἶναι τέχνην, τὴν ποιη-
 τικὴν, ἀλλ' ἐπίπνοιαν ἐκ Μουσῶν, ὃς δ' ἂν ἄνευ μα-

¹¹ ἠγείσθαι καὶ μὴ συγχωρεῖν δυνάμιν γέ τι' εἶναι τέ-
 χνης κρείττονα Q²U *et sic fere* R¹ in mrg. A² in mrg.

²⁴ Some manuscripts expand this sentence to read “. . . and
 not to concede that there is such a thing as a power superior to

this means it hit upon rituals of purification that
 eased the lot of anyone in touch with it for both
 present and future, and found release from present
 ills for the one who was maddened and possessed in
 the proper manner. [245a] Thirdly, there is a form
 of possession and madness deriving from the Muses
 which, when it has taken hold of a tender, virgin
 soul, rouses it and sends it into an inspired frenzy of
 lyric and other poetic composition, glorifying count-
 less deeds of the men of old for the edification of
 posterity. If anyone arrives at the gates of poetry
 without the madness inspired by the Muses, in the
 conviction that technical skill alone will make him
 an acceptable poet, he and his poetry—the poetry
 of a man in his right mind—are barred from initi-
 ation and eclipsed by the poetry of the mad. All
 these—and [b] more still—are the fine products I
 can list for you as deriving from the madness that
 comes to us from the gods.

If then there is a kind of madness that is better than
 53 sanity and comes to mankind from the gods, how in heav-
 en's name is it right to find fault with anything and every-
 thing that does not come about by science, and how is it
 right to believe that rhetoric is unambiguously reprehens-
 54 ible?²⁴ If Plato has called one science fairest of them all
 in virtue of the fact that it is “manic,” and declared that
 another, poetry, simply is not a science but an inspiration
 from the Muses, and if it is true that “whoever arrives

science”; this looks like a reader's addition, filling out the line of
 thought with unnecessary fullness.

νίας Μουσῶν ἐπὶ ποιητικὰς θύρας ἀφίκηται, πεισθεῖς
 ὡς ἄρα ἐκ τέχνης ἱκανὸς ποιητῆς ἐσόμενος, ἀτελής
 αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ ποίησις ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μαινομένων ἢ τοῦ
 σωφρονοῦντος ἠφανίσθη, πῶς οὐκ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δείκνυ-
 ται τὸ μὴ τὴν τέχνην νικᾶν, ἀλλ' ἔστιν οὗ καὶ λαμ-
 πρότερον καὶ θεοφιλέστερον εἶναι τὸ μὴ δουλεῦον
 55 τέχνη; σαφῶς γὰρ οὕτωςι Πλάτων ἤδη διορίζεται τὸ
 μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν μεγίστων τέχνην ζητεῖν. ὥστ' εἰ μὲν
 βούλει, τὸ τοῦ Εὐριπίδου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ¹² νῆ Δία συμ-
 βαίνει, σοῦ τάδ', οὐκ ἐμοῦ κλύεις, ὦ τοσοῦτον ἐνθυ-
 μηθεῖς· εἰ δ' αὖ βούλει, τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ'
 56 ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πτεροῖς, ἃ θρυλεῖς ἐν ἐκείνοις
 τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλίσκη. καὶ μὴν εἰ μαντικὴν μὲν ἐξ
 Ἀπόλλωνος ἢ καὶ Διός, τελετὰς δὲ ἐξ ἄλλου του θεῶν
 τίθης, ποιητικὴν δ' ἐκ Μουσῶν, οὐδ' ὁ τῶν μὲν ἀδελ-
 φός, τοῦ δὲ παῖς Ἑρμῆς ἀπορήσει λόγων περὶ τῆς
 57 ἐαυτοῦ δωρεᾶς, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ τε καὶ τῷ πατρὶ προστιθεῖς
 τοὺς λόγους ἀληθῆ τε καὶ δίκαια ἐρέει. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ οἱ
 λογίους τούτους προσειπόντες τοὺς θεοὺς, καὶ πα-
 λαιοὶ καὶ νέοι, καὶ οὐδὲ περὶ ἐν γράμμα διενεχθέντες,
 πολλῶ σαφέστερον ἢ περὶ μανίας μαρτυροῦσιν ὅτι
 εἰς ἀξιόχρεως ἀνοίσομεν, ἂν τι μετῆ λόγων ἡμῶν, εἰ
 καὶ μηδεμιᾶ προσφύγοιμεν τέχνη.

¹² κατὰ σανατοῦ Reiske

²⁵ Eur. *Hipp.* 352; the translation here assumes something like Reiske's correction to the text.

at the gates of poetry without the madness inspired by
 the Muses, in the conviction that technical skill alone will
 make him an acceptable poet, he and his poetry—the po-
 etry of a man in his right mind—are barred from initiation
 and eclipsed by the poetry of the mad," then surely it is
 being shown on both counts that science does not take first
 place, and that what is not subservient to science can on
 occasion be more distinguished and dearer to the gods. In
 these words of his, Plato already clearly stipulates that
 science need not be looked for in the greatest things. So 55
 Euripides' line, if you like, certainly fits his case too—"it
 is from yourself, not me, that you hear this,"²⁵ you thinker
 of great thoughts; or if you prefer, Aeschylus' line—"it is
 not through others but through your own feathers"²⁶ that
 you come to grief in what you insist on in those passages.
 Moreover, if you posit that mantic derives from Apollo or 56
 from Zeus, initiation rituals from some other god, and
 poetry from the Muses, then Hermes, who is brother of
 the one and son of the other, will not be short of things to
 say about his own gift, and will be telling the honest truth
 when he assigns the credit for eloquence to himself and
 his father. I think that those who, in the distant past and 57
 more modern times alike, called these gods eloquent, dif-
 fering not even over a single letter, testify much more
 clearly than was the case with madness that, even without
 a science to take refuge in, I would still have worthy pa-
 trons to look to, if indeed I possess some share of elo-
 quence.

²⁶ Aesch. fr. 139 Nauck² = 139 TrGF (from the lost play *Myrmidons*); the reference is to the Aesopic fable of the eagle shot with an arrow fletched with its own feathers (273 Hausrath).

58 εἶεν. τίνα δὴ τὰ ἐφέξῃς ἦν; “ὥστε τοῦτό γε αὐτὸ
 μὴ φοβώμεθα, μηδὲ τις ἡμᾶς λόγος θορυβεῖτω δεδι-
 τόμενος, ὡς πρὸ τοῦ κεκινημένου τὸν σάφρονα δεῖ
 προαιρεῖσθαι φίλον.” ὄρα δὴ καὶ τάδε. ὥστε τοῦτό γε
 αὐτὸ μὴ φοβώμεθα, μηδὲ τις ἡμᾶς λόγος θορυβεῖτω
 δεδιτόμενος, ὡς οὐ τὸν φύσει καὶ θεῖα μοῖρα κατορ-
 θοῦντα δεῖ νικᾶν, ἀλλ’ ὅστις τεχνικὸς μικρῶς ἐστίν.
 “ἀλλὰ τὸδε” φησὶ “πρὸς ἐκείνῳ δείξας φερέσθω τὰ
 νικητήρια, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ’ ὠφελεία <ὁ>¹³ ἔρως τῷ ποθοῦντι
 καὶ τῷ ἐρωμένῳ ἐκ θεῶν ἐπιπέμπεται.” καὶ τὸδε τοῖνυν
 πρὸς ἐκείνῳ δείξας φερέσθω τὰ νικητήρια, ὡς οὐκ ἐπ’
 ὠφελεία τῇ πάσῃ καὶ μεγίστῃ λόγοι παρὰ θεῶν ἀν-
 θρώποις γίνονται. “ἡμῖν δὲ ἀποδεικτέον αὖ τοῦναν-
 τίον” φησὶν, “ὡς ἐπ’ εὐτυχία τῇ μεγίστῃ παρὰ θεῶν
 59 ἢ τοιαύτη μανία δίδονται.” τὸν δὲ Τήλεφον οὐκ οἶει τὰ
 αὐτὰ ταῦτα; εἰ δ’ ἄρα μηδὲν ἐκείνος προτιμᾷ, ἀλλ’
 ἡμῖν γε ἀποδεικτέον ὡς ἐπ’ εὐτυχία τῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ
 τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἢ τῶν λόγων δύναμις παρὰ θεῶν ἦκεν
 εἰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ νῦν ἐν καλοῦ μοῖρα τῇ πρώτῃ καὶ
 εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον καὶ δίδονται καὶ δοθήσονται.

60 καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἀξιόπιστος Πλάτων, οὗτος αὐτὸς
 ἐστὶν ὁ μὴ διδοὺς τῇ τέχνῃ τὰ πρεσβεῖα· εἰ δ’ οὐδὲ
 τοῦτό τις συγχωρεῖ, πῶς ῥητορικῇ διὰ τοὺς ἐκείνου

¹³ *add. edd. e codd. Plat.*

²⁷ An echo of a snatch from Euripides’ lost play *Telephus* (fr. 710 Nauck² = 710 TrGF), also half-quoted at Ar. *Ach.* 555–56; it

Very good. What were his next words? “Let us there- 58
 fore not be afraid of this, and let us not be panicked by
 any threatening argument into believing that we ought to
 choose the man who is in his right mind as a friend in
 preference to the one who is disturbed.” Well, try this
 formulation too: let us therefore not be afraid of this, and
 let us not be panicked by any threatening argument into
 believing that it is not the man who succeeds through
 natural talent and divine dispensation who ought to rank
 highest, but he who pedantically follows the rules. “But”
 he says, “let it only walk away with the prize when it has
 shown that love is not sent from the gods for the benefit
 of lover and beloved alike.” So, let this other argument
 only walk away with the prize when it has shown that elo-
 quence does not come to mankind from the gods to confer
 the highest and most complete of benefits. “We for our
 part must show the opposite,” he says, “that this kind of
 madness is granted by the gods as the greatest of strokes
 of good fortune.” Do you think that Telephus would not 59
 say the same?²⁷ But even if he does not see this as a priority,
 I at any rate must show that the power of eloquence
 came to men from the gods in the first place as the great-
 est of strokes of good fortune, is granted to us now in the
 front rank of blessings, and will continue to be so granted
 in the future.

If Plato deserves to be believed, then, on his very own 60
 authority, science does not enjoy priority; but if his cred-
 ibility is denied, how can his words do anything to make

is not clear exactly how the thought that “Telephus has as much
 right to that argument/claim as you do” came up in the original
 play.

λόγους αἰσχροῦ; ἐγὼ δ' ἀξιόπιστον μὲν τοῖς ὅλοις οὐδενὸς ἦντον Ἑλλήνων ἡγοῦμαι, ἡδέως δ' ἂν ἐροίμην τοὺς πρὸς ἐκείνου πότερ' αὐτῷ μᾶλλον πιστεύειν ἄξιον, ταῦτα ἢ κείνα. καὶ μὴν εἰ τὰ μάλιστα σεμνὸς ἐστίν, φαίνεται μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν, ὥστε ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν σεμνὸς ἐστίν. ὅταν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα λέγωμεν κάκεινω, ἐκείνος δὲ μήθ' αὐτῷ μήθ' ἡμῖν, οὐκ ἀντιλέγει μᾶλλον ἢ μαρτυρεῖ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὸ μὴ τᾶληθῆ λέγειν.

61 φέρε δὴ καὶ ἑτέραν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γυμνασίου, ἔφη Πλάτων, μαρτυρίαν ἀντ' εἰκόνας παράσχωμαι. οὐ γάρ που δυσχερανεῖ Πλάτων, ἐὰν Αἰσχίνης ἐπιψηφίσῃ Πλάτωνος εἰπόντος

ἐγὼ δ' εἰ μὲν τινι τέχνῃ ᾧμην δύνασθαι ὠφελῆσαι, πάνν ἂν πολλὴν ἔμαντοῦ μωρίαν κατεγίγνωσκον· νῦν δὲ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ ᾧμην μοι τοῦτο δεδόσθαι ἐπ' Ἀλκιβιάδην. καὶ οὐδέν γε τούτων ἄξιον θανάσσει.

62 ἀκούεις ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σοι σοφώτατον νομίζοντος, προσθήσῃ δ' ὅτι καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τοὺς λόγους ἀνατιθέντος, ᾧπερ καὶ σὺ τούτους. οὐ χρῆ, φησίν, θαυμάζειν, ὦ Πλάτων, εἴ τις καὶ τέχνην μὴ κτησάμενος οἷός τ' ἐστίν ὠφελεῖν ἀνθρώπους.

oratory reprehensible? I for my part think that Plato is, overall, an authority second to none among the Greeks, yet I should like to ask his followers whether it is his first or his second set of statements that are more deserving of belief. Besides, if he is in the highest degree respectable, his respectability counts in my favor, as his testimony obviously supports my case; because when I agree both with myself and with him, while he agrees neither with me nor with himself, he is not contradicting me so much as giving evidence to show precisely that he is not telling the truth.

Let me furnish you with another "from the same stable," as Plato might say,²⁸ though this is a piece of hard evidence rather than a metaphor. I do not suppose that Plato will take it amiss, if, when Plato has spoken, Aeschines confirms his sentiments:²⁹

If I thought I could do good through the medium of any sort of science, I would indeed be condemning myself as a complete fool; but in fact my belief was that it was by divine dispensation that I had been given the ability to do this for Alcibiades. There is nothing at all amazing in this.

This is the voice of a companion of yours, who shared your view about who was the wisest and, I also observe, put his words into the mouth of the same man as you credited with these remarks of yours. He says, Plato, that there is nothing amazing about a person not in possession of a science still being able to do people good:

²⁸ *Crg.* 493d. ²⁹ From the lost dialogue *Alcibiades* by the Socratic writer Aeschines of Sphettus, fr. 11a Dittmar = fr. 12 Giannantoni (VI A 53). The speaker is Socrates.

πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ τῶν καμνόντων ὑγιεῖς γίνονται οἱ μὲν ἀνθρωπίνῃ τέχνῃ, οἱ δὲ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ. ὅσοι μὲν οὖν ἀνθρωπίνῃ τέχνῃ, ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν θεραπευόμενοι, ὅσοι δὲ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ, ἐπιθυμία αὐτοὺς ἄγει ἐπὶ τὸ ὀνησον· καὶ τότε ἐπεθύμησαν ἐμέσσαι, ὅποτε αὐτοῖς ἔμελλε συννοῖσιν, καὶ τότε κνηγεῖσθαι, ὅποτε συννοῖσιν ἔμελλε πονῆσαι.

- 63 Ἡράκλεις, ὡς διαρρήδην καὶ περιφανῶς Αἰσχίνης ὁ τοῦ Πλάτωνος συμφωτητῆς μαρτυρεῖ Πλάτωνι ταυθ' ἃ μικρῶ πρόσθεν παρεσχόμεθα αὐτοῦ πολλῶ καὶ ἀνθρωπινώτερα καὶ πρὸς θεῶν εἶναι καλλίονα ὢν
- 64 ἔνεκα τοῦ παραδόξου συνεσκεύακεν. οὐκοῦν αὐτός τε μαρτυρῶν ἡμῖν ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἀνὴρ φαίνεται καὶ τὴν τοῦδε μαρτυρίαν ὥσπερ ἐπισφραγίζεται τοὺς
- 65 γὰρ πρὸς ἡμῶν αὐτοῦ λόγους κυροῖ. καὶ μὴν εἰ πολλοὶ τῶν καμνόντων ὑγιεῖς γίνονται χωρὶς ἰατρῶν καὶ τέχνης, καὶ ταυτ' οὐδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἄλλῳ τῆς τῶν ἰατρῶν τέχνης οὐσης ἢ τῷ ποιεῖν ὑγιεῖς, οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς οὐδ' ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης τέχνης χρῆ εἰπεῖν εἶτε θείας μοίρας κὰν τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ βελτίστου τυγχάνειν μηδεμιᾶ τέχνῃ χρωμένους, εἰ καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα τῆς τέχνης ἦν τὸ τοῦ βελτίστου τυγχάνειν περὶ αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους.
- 66 περὶ γε μὴν τούτου τοῦ μέρους οὐκέτι ἐκ λόγου πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἀγωνιοῦμαι ὡς ἄρα πολλοὶ διὰ θείας

³⁰ Aeschin. *Alc.* fr. 11b Dittmar = fr. 12 Giannantoni.

Because in the case of the sick too, many get well either thanks to human science or thanks to divine dispensation. Those who get well thanks to human science do so because they are treated by doctors, whereas in the case of those who get well by divine dispensation, it is desire that leads them to what is going to do them good: they feel the desire to vomit when this is going to be good for them, and to go hunting when exercise is going to be good for them.³⁰

Goodness, what explicit and lucid testimony! Plato's fellow pupil Aeschines bears witness on his behalf that the remarks of his that we presented just now are both much more humane and much fairer in the eyes of the gods than what he concocted in order to sound shocking. This man then both manifestly testifies in my favor, as if through the mouth of a herald, and as you might say sets a seal on Plato's evidence; because it is the part of Plato's argument that agrees with me that he validates. Moreover, if many of the sick get well without the aid of doctors and medical science, even though medical science exists for no other purpose than to make people well, then we should not say that there would be anything implausible, or outside the scope of human fortune (or divine dispensation) about achieving the best without the use of any science in the sphere of eloquence too, even if the whole point of the science of oratory is precisely to achieve the best in eloquence.

On this topic at least I will not rely any longer on literary evidence in my efforts to prove, against Plato, that

μοίρας ἐσώθησαν, οὐδέ μοι νεμεσήσει δῆπουθεν οὐτ' Αἰσχίνης ὁ Λυσανίου οὐτ' ἄλλος οὐδέεις, εἰ φαίην αὐτὸς ἔχειν μαρτυρησάιν μᾶλλον τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἢ τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου πρὸς δὴ ταῦτα προσδεῖσθαι μαρτυρίας.

67 ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὥσπερ οἱ θεομάντις οἱ τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπωνύμοις τετελεσμένοι παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν θεῶν ἔχω τὸ μάθημα, ὑφ' ὧν ἂ μηδεὶς ἰατρῶν μήτε οἶδεν ὅ τι χρῆ προσειπεῖν, οὐχ ὅπως ἰάσασθαι, μήτ' εἶδεν ἐν ἀνθρώπου φύσει συμβάντα, ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις παραμυθίαις τε καὶ συμβουλαῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ διαφεύγων ζῶ παρὰ πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων εἰκός. πολλοὶ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ ἄλλοι κοινωνοὶ τε καὶ μάρτυρές εἰσι τῶν λόγων, οὐ μόνον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ βαρβάρων, αἱ τ' ἐν Ἀσκληπιου τῶν ἀεὶ διατριβόντων ἀγέλαι καὶ

68 ὅσοι τῷ κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῷ συνεγένοντο. καίτοι τέχνης μὲν ἡμῶν οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν εἰς ταῦτα μέτεστιν οὐδενὶ δῆπουθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ καταφυγεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς θεοὺς σχεδὸν ἀρχὴ τὸ τῆς τέχνης ὑπεριδεῖν ἐστίν· ὁμως δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰπεῖν οὐθ' οἱ θεοὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡμῶν λογισμὸν ἀτιμάζουσιν οὔτε πολλοὶ μετέγνωσαν τῶν πρὸ τῆς τέχνης τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τύχην ἐλομένων.

70 ἀλλὰ καὶ ὀνειράσι χρώμεθα οὐ προειδότες, οἶμαι, τῆς ἐσπέρας ὅ τι μέλλομεν ἄψεσθαι, καὶ τί χρῆ ποιήσαν-

³¹ These individuals are literally "god-seers" (*theomantels*), and so named after the gods who inspire them.

³² The theme of the greater part of Aristides' *Sacred Tales*: see Introduction.

many have in fact been saved by divine intervention. I do not think that Aeschines son of Lysanias or anyone else will resent it if I assert that I can myself bear witness to the truth of what I say too well to need any additional support from his testimony in this matter. Truly, like inspired seers 67 initiated into the mysteries of the gods who gave their name to their sphere of operation,³¹ I possess my knowledge from the gods themselves. It is thanks to them that, with the aid of different kinds of divine encouragement and advice on different occasions, I have escaped from diseases which no doctor could even put a name to, let alone cure, or knew ever to have occurred in medical history, and am still alive in defiance of everything that the circumstances would have led you to expect.³² There are 68 many others who have had the same experience and can bear witness to what I say, not only Greeks but also foreigners, both the crowds of those resident at any time in the sanctuary of Asclepius, and all who attend on the god in Egypt.³³ For sure not a single one of us has had anything 69 to do with science in this connection; it is rather a scorn for science that prompts us to take refuge with the gods. And yet, to speak with their consent, the gods do not reject this kind of calculation on our part, and few of those who have chosen whatever fortune the gods may bestow in preference to human science have repented of their choice. We have dreams, without knowing in advance, the 70 evening before, what we are going to see, and we know

³³ Sarapis, like Asclepius a god much revered by Aristides, and the subject of what may be his earliest surviving prose hymn, Or. 45.

τας σωθῆναι γινώσκομεν, ἀγνοοῦντες μέχρι ἐκείνου τοῦ μέρους τῆς ὥρας, ἐν ᾧ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἦκεν τὰ γαθόν, καὶ πάλιν γὰρ ὡσπερ ἐπάδων ἐν μέλει ταῦτον ἐρῶ, τέχνης οὐδὲ ὀτιοῦν ἐπαίοντες οὐ μόνον περὶ τῶν ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συμφερόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐτέροις ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν πολλάκις, ἂν δοκῇ τῷ θεῷ, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς οὐδὲν κωλύει φρίττειν, ἐπειδὰν ἀκούωσι
 71 πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. [πότερ' οὖν τὰ ὄνειρατα ποιεῖ θεοῖς ἀνακείσθαι τὰνθρώπεια, ἢ τὸ θεοὺς ἀνθρώπων κήδεσθαι ποιεῖ καὶ δι' ὄνειράτων ἀνθρώπους σώζεσθαι;
 72 ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τοῦτο.]¹⁴ τί οὖν, ᾧ μεγίστη σὺ γλώττα τῶν Ἑλληνίδων, ἔφη Κρατίνος ποιῶν, ἔσθ' ὃ τι κωλύει καὶ ὕπαρ γινώσκειν τὰ βέλτιστα ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἐτέροις ἔχειν, εἴπερ γε καὶ τὰ ὄνειρατα ποιεῖ καὶ ἐτέροις ἔχειν συμβουλεύειν; ἢ σωθῆναι μὲν ἔστιν ἄνευ τέχνης καὶ ἕτερον σώσαι δι' ὧν τις οὐκ οἶδεν, συμβουλεύσαι δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνευ τέχνης οὐδέν, οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ τύχης οὔτ' ἀπὸ τῆς θείας οὔτε, τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, τῆς τῶν ἀκροαμένων;
 73 καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου κινήθεις [καί]¹⁵ τοῦ τοῖς θεοῖς ὡσπερ εἰ τετελεσμένου ἐπὶ πλείον ἴσως ἐξήγαγον· καὶ μοι συγγνώμη καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος ἔστω καὶ παρ' ἄλλου παντὸς τουτ' αὐτὸ παθόντι ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐνήν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν κατα-

¹⁴ *secl.* Trapp¹⁵ *secl.* Keil³⁴ §71, bracketed in the Greek text opposite, breaks the flow

what we must do to be saved, although ignorant of it up to the minute of the hour in which the blessing comes to us from the gods; and (I will say the same thing once more, as if singing a refrain) although having no scientific grasp at all we can often, if the god sees fit, speak not only about what is best for ourselves, but also about what is best for others, to such good effect that there is nothing to stop the doctors too feeling a thrill when they hear many of the cures.³⁴ What then is there, o greatest of Greek tongues, 72 to quote Cratinus' poetic phrase,³⁵ to prevent people seeing what is for the best without the aid of science in waking life as well, and being able to advise others, if it is indeed the case that dreams allow one to be able to advise others? Or is it possible to have one's life saved without the assistance of science and to save someone else's through measures of which one has no knowledge, but not possible to give any advice without the aid of science, whether from one's own good fortune, or from divine good fortune, or in Demosthenes' phrase from "the audience's good fortune"³⁶

Impelled by the theme itself, which is as it were a sacred one, I have perhaps extended these remarks further 73 than I should. May Plato himself and everyone else forgive me for experiencing exactly what I was talking about: I could not restrain myself, when my thoughts turned to

of the argument and looks like a reader's comment wrongly incorporated into Aristides' text: "Is it then dreams that cause the gods to be credited with a concern for mankind, or does divine concern for mankind cause men to be saved through dreams too? In my view, the latter."³⁵ Cratinus fr. 293 Kock = 324 Kassel-Austin. ³⁶ Dem. Or. 1.1.

74 σχεῖν αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ θεία μοῖρα καὶ σωτηρία παρέπε-
 σεν. διὸ καίπερ μαρτυρία χρώμενος ἠναγκάσθη αὐ-
 τὸς μαρτυρεῖν τῷ λόγῳ, ἐπάνειμι δ' αἰθῆς πρὸς τὰ
 λοιπὰ τῆς μαρτυρίας·

ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἔρωτα ὃν ἐτύγχανον ἐρῶν Ἀλκι-
 βιάδου οὐδὲν διάφορον τῶν Βακχῶν ἐπεπόν-
 θειν. καὶ γὰρ αἱ Βάκχαι ἐπειδὴν ἐνθεοὶ γένων-
 ται, ὅθεν οἱ ἄλλοι [ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων]¹⁶ οὐδὲ ὕδωρ
 δύναται ὑδρεύεσθαι, ἐκεῖναι μέλι καὶ γάλα
 ἀρύνονται. καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐγὼ οὐδὲν μάθημα ἐπιστά-
 μενος ὁ διδάξας ἀνθρώπον ὠφελήσαιμ' ἄν,
 ὅμως ἄμην ξυνῶν ἄν ἐκείνῳ διὰ τὸ ἐρᾶν βελτίω
 ποιῆσαι.

75 ἐνταῦθα τελευτᾷ τῶν διαλόγων οὐ δι' αἰνιγμάτων,
 οὐδὲ ὑπονοίας, οὐδὲ τρόπον τινα ταῦτα λέγων ἡμῖν,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες εἰς τὴν χρεῖαν πεποιηκώς. εἰ
 τοῖνυν ὄνειροι μὲν τὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ συμμορίας τῆς τῶν
 ἰατρῶν τέχνης ἀπαλλάττουσιν, Βάκχαι δὲ αἱ Διονύ-
 σου καὶ τὰ τῶν Νυμφῶν δῶρα μεταβάλλουσιν ἡνίκ'
 ἄν ἐνθεοὶ γένωνται, τί τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἢ τί τῶν ἕξω τῆς
 φύσεως καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἐνθέους παραδέχε-
 σθαι καὶ νομίζειν εἰς προστάτας ἔχειν ἀνενεγκεῖν
 76 τοὺς γέ που κρείττους; καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἔστ' εἰπεῖν
 ὡς ἄρ' ὁ μάρτυς οὐδενὸς ἄξιος, ἢ πόρρω τῶν πραγ-
 μάτων, ἢ καταφεύγομεν εἰς ὄνομα αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο.
 ἀλλ' εἴ γέ τις ὥσπερ παῖδας οὕτως καὶ ἐταίρους
 χρῆ λέγειν γνησίους, <γνήσιον>¹⁷ Αἰσχίνην Σωκρά-

74 divine dispensation and salvation. That is why, although
 citing the evidence of others, I was compelled to add my
 own too in support of the argument. But I now return to
 the remainder of Aeschines' testimony.

Thanks to the love I happened to feel for Alcibiades
 I had experienced exactly what happens to the Bac-
 chants. When the Bacchants are inspired by their
 god, they draw honey and milk from places from
 which others cannot even draw water. I too, al-
 though I possess no learning that I might teach to
 someone and so do him good, nevertheless believed
 that by keeping company with Alcibiades I could
 make him better through my love.³⁷

Here Aeschines brings his exchange to an end, not with
 riddles and hints, or only in a certain sense agreeing with
 me, but as if he had written expressly to answer to my
 needs. If then dreams set the companies of Asclepius free
 75 from medical science, and Dionysus' Bacchants can trans-
 form even the gifts of the Nymphs when they are inspired,
 what is reprehensible or unnatural about accepting the
 idea of men inspired in oratory too, and believing that they
 can point to the mighty gods as their patrons? What is
 76 more, it cannot be said that the witness is a worthless one,
 or only distantly acquainted with the facts, or that we are
 hiding behind a mere name. If one can talk of legitimate
 companions as one can of legitimate sons, then tradition
 tells us that Aeschines was a legitimate companion of Soc-

³⁷ Aeschin. *Alc.* fr. 11c Dittmar = fr. 12 Giannantoni (VI A 53).

¹⁶ *secl.* Jacobs

¹⁷ *add.* Reiske

- 77 τους παρειλήφαμεν. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἡ ψευδῆς ἐνίων δόξα τῶν αὐτοῦ Σωκράτους εἶναι τὰ γράμματα ταῦτα ὑπεληφότων οἷς εἰ μὴ τὸ ὄλον πιστεύειν ἄξιον, ὡσπερ ἐγὼ πρῶτος οὐκ ἂν φαίην, ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἐπὶ πάσης γε τῆς ἀλογίας ἢ πλάνῃ συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλ' οὕτω σφόδρα ταῦτ' οἰκεία τῷ Σωκράτους ἦθει καὶ προσήκοντα ἐκρίθη, ὥστε καὶ ταύτη τῇ δόξῃ γενέσθαι χώραν.
- 78 δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Σωκράτης αὐτὸς εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς λόγος αὐτοῦ γραφῇ σφύζεται, οὐχ ἦττον οὔτε Πλάτωνος τοῦ σεμνοῦ οὔτ' Αἰσχίνου τοῦ κομψοῦ μαρτυρεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔτι κάλλιον καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς εἰς τὸ μέσον. ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γε λέγειν αὐτὸν ὡς ἄρα οὐδὲν ἐπίστατο, καὶ πάντες τοῦτο φασιν οἱ συγγενόμενοι. ὁμολογεῖται δ' αὖ καὶ τοῦτο, σοφώτατον εἶναι Σωκράτη τὴν Πυθίαν εἰρηκέναι. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔχει; οὐ γὰρ τόν γε τοῦ παντὸς ἐσφαλμένον ὡς ἀνέλοι σοφώτατον ἀνδρῶν πιστεύσαι θεμιτὸν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ. τέχνην δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔφασκεν οὐκ ἄσκειν, ἀληθῆ λέγων. ᾧ γοῦν συνεγένετο Ἀναξαγόρα, οὐ τὰ κείνου τιμήσας φαίνεται. ἐν μὲν δὴ τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ Σωκράτης, οὐκ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι τὸ μὴ τέχνην κεκτηῖσθαι, εἶπερ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγων οὐκ ἠσχύνετο. ἕτερον δὲ ἀκόλουθον. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὅστις
- 79

³⁸ There was some argument over how many Socratic texts accurately reported the words and thought of Socrates. The Stoic Panaetius influentially declared that those of Plato, Xenophon, Aeschines, and Antisthens certainly did, those of Phaedo and

rates.³⁸ Even the mistaken belief that leads some to suppose that these are texts by Socrates himself bears witness to this. Even if such people are not wholly to be trusted, as I would be the first to say they are not, their mistake is nevertheless not a completely senseless one; this writing was judged to be so closely related and so appropriate to Socrates' character as to allow room for this belief.

In my view, even if no written discourse by Socrates survives, he himself testifies to the point no less than the solemn Plato and the elegant Aeschines do, but still more beautifully and in a truly open manner. It is agreed that he used to say that he knew nothing;³⁹ all his associates say this. It is also agreed that the Pythia called Socrates the wisest of men.⁴⁰ How then does this work? Piety forbids us to believe that the god replied that someone who failed to understand anything was the wisest of men. So it would seem that what Socrates was asserting, and asserting truthfully, was that he exercised no science—at any rate, he clearly attached no value to the teachings of Anaxagoras, with whom he studied.⁴¹ This then is one point that Socrates certainly testifies to, that there is nothing reprehensible in not being master of a science, since he was not ashamed to say as much about himself. But there is another that goes along with it. Everyone says of Socrates

Euclides perhaps did, and all the rest (Cebes, Simon, etc.) did not (Diog. Laert. 2.64).

³⁹ The standard view of Socrates (e.g., Diog. Laert. 2.32), based on a misreading of Pl. *Ap.* 21d and 23b.

⁴⁰ Pl. *Ap.* 20e–21a; Xen. *Ap.* 14; Diog. Laert. 2.37.

⁴¹ For Socrates' view of Anaxagoras, see Pl. *Ap.* 26d–e and *Phd.* 97b–99a; for the idea that he was Anaxagoras' pupil, based on the second of these two passages, Diog. Laert. 2.19 and 45.

οὐ λέγει περὶ Σωκράτους ὅτι φάσκοι τὸ δαιμόνιον
 80 αὐτῷ σημαίνειν. οὐκοῦν μηδὲν μὲν ἐπίστασθαι τῶν
 δεόντων ἀμήχανον ᾧ γε παρηκολούθει τὸ δαιμόνιον.
 ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν ἐπίσταίτο αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν, λέγαν δ' οὐκ
 ἐψεύδετο, εἴπερ γε μηδὲ ὁ θεὸς σοφώτατον αὐτὸν
 81 εἰρηκῶς. λοιπὸν οὖν τί ποτέ ἐστιν τὸ φάσκειν οὐκ
 εἰδέναι; οἴμαι γε τὸ μὴ τέχνη. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ μηδετέρως
 γ' ἂν σοφώτατος ἦν ἔτι, μήτε ψευδόμενος περὶ αὐτοῦ,
 εἴπερ ἔν τι τῶν αἰσχυρῶν τὸ ψεύδεσθαι, μήτ' ἀληθῆ
 λέγων, εἰ τὸ μὴ χρῆσθαι τέχνη τῶν ἀπλῶς αἰσχυρῶν
 ἦν, ἅμα Σωκράτης τε δι' ἀμφοτέρων μαρτυρεῖ τῷ
 λόγῳ, καὶ ὦν ἕξαρκος ἦν καὶ ὦν ὠμολόγει, καὶ διὰ
 τοῦ Σωκράτους ὁ θεὸς μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ ἀμφοῦν,
 χρήσας ἐκείνον σοφώτατον εἶναι, ὥστε διπλῆν οὖσαν
 τὴν τοῦ Σωκράτους μαρτυρίαν ἑτέρα κυρία τῇ παρ'
 82 αὐτοῦ βεβαιοῖ. μάθοι δ' ἂν τις καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 πράγματος συμβαίνοντα τῷ Σωκράτους λόγῳ καὶ
 βίῳ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς μαντείας. τὸν γὰρ ζῶντα ὑπὸ θεῶ καὶ
 τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων ἡμεληκότα πῶς οὐκ εὐ-
 λογον ἐκ προχείρου παρὰ θεῶ κριτῆ σοφώτατον ἀν-
 83 θρώπων ἀνηρήσθαι; ἡ μὲν οὖν παρὰ τοῦ Πλάτωνος
 ἡμῖν μαρτυρία τοσαύτη, δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τῶν ἑταίρων
 ἀμφοτέρων τελευτώσα εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς, ὃς
 ἐπισηφίζει Πλάτωνι ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἔφην Αἰσχίνην.

⁴² Pl. *Ap.* 31c and 40ab, *Phdr.* 242b, *Alc.* I 103a, etc.; *Diog. Laert.* 2.32. The *daimonion* was a major talking point for second-

that he asserted that his presiding spirit (*daimonion*) sent
 him signs.⁴² If so, then it is impossible that someone who
 was accompanied by a presiding spirit should have known
 nothing of what he ought to know. Yet he himself said that
 he knew nothing, and was not lying when he did so, pro-
 vided that the god who called him the wisest of men was
 not lying either. Which leaves the question of what on
 81 earth was meant by his saying that he did not know. I be-
 lieve he meant not knowing by virtue of a science. Now, if
 Socrates would no longer be the wisest of men either if he
 lied about himself (if we take it that lying is something
 reprehensible), or if he told the truth (if we took it that
 not exercising a science is something flatly reprehensi-
 ble)—then at one and the same time Socrates testifies
 in support of my argument in both what he denies and
 what he confesses to, and the god testifies to both points
 through Socrates, in proclaiming him to be the wisest of
 men; thus Socrates' double testimony is confirmed by the
 single authoritative testimony of the god. One could also
 82 gather from the facts themselves that the oracle's response
 matched Socrates' life and teaching. If a man lives under
 divine guidance and scorns mere human affairs, how can
 it fail to make sense for him to be unhesitatingly pro-
 claimed the wisest of men in the judgment of the god?
 This then is the sum total of the evidence from Plato in
 83 support of my argument, coming both through him and
 through his two companions and ending up with the god
 at Delphi, who confirms for him just those points I said
 shortly before that Aeschines too confirms.

century authors: *Plut. De gen. (Mor. 575aff.)*; *Apul. De deo Soc.*; *Max. Tyr. Orr.* 8-9.

84 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ ποιητῶν παρασχέσθαι μαρτυρίας, ἔστι
 μὲν ἔργον ἢ τὰς ἀπάντων ἢ τὰς τῶν προκριθέντων διὰ
 πάντων παρασχέσθαι, ὅμως δ' ὡς ἂν τις ἔχοι τῶν
 γνωριμωτάτων ἐκλέξας εἰπεῖν ῥαθυμία παραλιπεῖν.
 85 κοινῇ μὲν οὖν πάντες ποιηταὶ μαρτυροῦσιν τὴν ἔργῳ
 μαρτυρίαν, εἴπερ εἰσὶ ποιηταὶ τῷ κρατοῦντι λόγῳ τῆς
 τέχνης. ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτης δέομαι τὰ νῦν, ἔστι γὰρ ἐν
 86 τοῖς εἰρημένοις, ἀλλὰ τῆς κατὰ ῥῆμα. τοῦτο μὲν τοί-
 νυν ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ πᾶσι συνηθέστατος
 Πάνδαρον μὲν τὸν Ζελεΐτην ἐπαινῶν εἰς τὴν τοξικὴν
 "ὧ καὶ τόξον Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν" λέγει. τὸν δὲ
 τῶν Φαιάκων βασιλέα ποιήσας εἰς ὑπερβολὴν φιλάν-
 θρωπον καὶ θεοφιλή τῷ ῥήματι τούτῳ τετίμηκεν

Ἄλκίνοος δὲ τότε ἦρχε θεῶν ἅπο μῆδεα εἰδώς.

μή μου πύθη, φησίν, ποῖαν τέχνην ἐκέκτητο, ἢ τίς
 87 διδάσκαλος αὐτοῦ· θεῶν γὰρ ἅπο μῆδεα ἦδει. τὸν δ'
 αὖ Δημόδοκον ὡσαύτως τὸν κιθαρωδὸν ἐπαινῶν ὡς
 ἄκρον τὴν μουσικὴν οὕτως ποιεῖ

τὸν πέρι Μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε
 κακόν τε
 ὀφθαλμῶν μὲν ἄμερσε, δίδου δ' ἠδέϊαν ἀοιδίην·

καὶ πάλιν

Μοῦσ' ἄρ' ἀοιδὸν ἀνήκεν ἀειδέμεναι κλέα
 ἀνδρῶν.

If evidence must also be provided from poets, hard 84
 though it is to cite it from all of them, or even from the
 leading figures of the company as a whole, it would never-
 theless be lazy to decline to deliver the best selection
 one can from the most famous. All poets collectively tes- 85
 tify to my argument simply by doing what they do, if in-
 deed they are poets in virtue of a principle that is superior
 to science. It is however not this, which is included in what
 I have already said, but rather the evidence of their actual
 words that I want. Here then is what the most venerable 86
 of them, and the one who is best known to all, has to
 say. Pandarus of Zelea he praises for his archery with the
 words "to whom Apollo himself gave his bow."⁴³ The king
 of the Phaeacians, whom he represents as extremely gen-
 erous and pious, he praises with the line

At this time the king was Alcinous, whose wisdom
 came from the gods.⁴⁴

Do not ask me, he says, what kind of science he possessed,
 or who his teacher was: his wisdom came from the gods.
 Similarly, in praising the citharode Demodocus as a su- 87
 preme musician, he says:

the Muse loved him exceedingly, and gave him both
 good and ill:
 she took away his eyes, but gave him sweet song.⁴⁵

And again:

the Muse set the singer on to sing of the glorious
 deeds of men.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Il.* 2.827.

⁴⁴ *Od.* 6.12.

⁴⁵ *Od.* 8.63-64.

⁴⁶ *Od.* 8.73.

ὁ δέ γε Ἀλκίονους αὐτὸς συνιστὰς αὐτὸν καὶ καλῶν
εὐθὺς ἐν ἀρχῇ φησιν

τῷ γάρ ῥα θεὸς περί δῶκεν αἰοιδήν,
τέρπειν ὅππῃ θυμὸς ἐποτρύνῃσιν αἰεΐδεν.

ταυτί φησιν ὁ Ἀλκίονους αὐτός, ᾧ φιλοτιμίαν εἶχεν
δήπουθεν, εἴ τι καὶ διδασκάλους ἀνήλωσεν ὑπὲρ αὐ-
τοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντι λαμπρῶ καὶ μεγαλοψύχῳ καὶ δό-
ξης ἐραστῇ. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐγὼ σοι, φησίν, αὐτὸς λέγω
καὶ διορίζομαι, τούτου οὐκ ἐδίδαξάμην.

88 καὶ οὐχ ὁ μὲν Ἀλκίονους οὕτως ὁ τῶν Φαιάκων
βασιλεὺς, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σοφώτατος οὐχ ὁμοίως
περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀγασθεὶς τοῦ Δημο-
δόκου τῆς ἐπιδείξεως καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπίτηδες ζητῶν ὃ τι
εἴποι μέγιστον, ᾧ Δημόδοκε, φησίν,

ἔξοχα δὴ σε βροτῶν αἰνίζομ' ἀπάντων
ἢ σέ γε Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε Διὸς παῖς, ἢ σέ γ'
Ἀπόλλων

ὡς τοῦ πράγματος κρείττονος ἢ τέχνη λαβεῖν.

λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον αἰεΐδεις.

οὐδὲ τοῦτο πάρεργον, οὐδ' εἰκὴ προσθεῖς, οὐδ' ἐφόλ-
κιον ἄλλως ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄνω, ἀλλ' ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ

Alcinous indeed when introducing Demodocus and sum-
moning him right at the start says:

to him the god gave the gift of song in great mea-
sure,

to give delight whenever his spirit urges him to sing.⁴⁷

So says Alcinous himself. It would surely have been a point
of pride if he had spent any money on teachers for him,
given that he was an eminent and magnanimous man with
a keen desire for a good reputation; and yet, he says, I tell
you myself and declare that I did not have this man taught.

88 Nor is it the case that although Alcinous, king of the
Phaeacians, speaks thus, the wisest of the Greeks declines
to speak in the same terms on the same matter. No, in still
deeper admiration at Demodocus for his performance,
and as if deliberately looking for the greatest compliment
he can pay, he says "Demodocus,"

I praise you above all mortals:

it was either the Muse, daughter of Zeus, who taught
you, or it was Apollo,⁴⁸

implying his achievement to be too great to be encom-
passed by mere science;

too fittingly do you sing of the fate of the Achaeans.

This too is no mere aside, added at random, or pointlessly
dragged in on top of his previous words: he is demonstrat-

⁴⁷ *Od.* 8.44–45.

⁴⁸ *Od.* 8.487–89 (*Odysseus*).

† πρὸς ἓν †¹⁸ σημαίνόμενος ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ λαμπρῶς οὐκ ἐκ τέχνης ἀλλ' ἐπιπνοία θεῶν παραγίνεται κομψὸν μὲν γάρ τι, φαυλότερον δὲ ἢ τέχνη
89 πολλῶ. πάλιν δ' ὥσπερ ἐπισφραγιζόμενος τὴν μαρτυρίαν, προβαλὼν αὐτῷ τὸν τοῦ ἵππου κόσμον αἰεῖσαι, τοσοῦτον ὑπισχνέται,

αἶ κεν δὴ μοι ταῦτα (φησὶν) κατὰ μοῖραν
καταλέξῃς,
αὐτίκα καὶ πᾶσιν μυθήσομαι ἀνθρώποισιν
ὡς ἄρα τοι πρόφρων θεὸς ὤπασε θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν,

90 ὡς οὐκ ἔχων τί τούτου μείζον ὑπόσχοιτο αὐτῷ. οὕτω τοίνυν ὁ ποιητὴς πεπεικῶς αὐτὸν ἐποίει περὶ τούτων, ὥστε ὥσπερ δεδουκῶς μὴ τις αὐτὸν περὶ Δημοδόκου μόνου λέγειν ταῦτα δόξειεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν ἀοιδῶν ἐποίησεν ἀρχόμενον τὸν Ὀδυσσεά καὶ λέγουθ' οὕτω

πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐπιχθονίοισιν ἀοιδοὶ
τιμῆς ἔμμοροί εἰσι καὶ αἰδοῦς, οὐνεκ' ἄρα σφᾶς
οἴμας Μοῦσ' ἐδίδαξε· φίλησε δὲ φύλον ἀοιδῶν,

ὥσπερ δεδουκῶς Ὅμηρος ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ τις αὐτὸν φῆ παρ' ἑτέρου τι μεμαθηκέναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν Μουσῶν.

91 πῶς οὖν αἱ Μοῦσαι διδάσκουσιν; ἄρα γε ὥσπερ οἱ γραμματισταὶ διδασκαλεῖον ἀνοιξάμεναι; οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' οἴμαι ἐπὶ νοῦν ἄγουσιν καὶ τὴν εὕρεσιν κινου-

ing and signaling that this thing that has been done so fittingly and so brilliantly comes not from science but from divine inspiration; science is a clever enough thing, but far inferior. Again, as if setting a final seal on his evidence, when he proposes to him that he should sing of the fitting out of the Horse, he makes this weighty promise: 89

if you chronicle these things for me (he says) in due form,
straightway shall I tell all mankind too
that the god propitiously granted you the gift of wondrous song,⁴⁹

as if he could promise him nothing greater. With such firm conviction did the poet treat of these matters that, as if afraid that someone might suppose he was saying this about Demodocus alone, he represented Odysseus as starting with singers in general and saying that 90

in the eyes of all men who live upon the earth,
singers
are entitled to honor and respect, since to them the Muse taught songs; she loves the race of singers,⁵⁰

—as if Homer were afraid on his own account that someone might say that he had learned from another human being rather than from the Muses.

How then do the Muses teach? Do they do it like elementary teachers, and open a school? That cannot be true! Rather, I think they bring things to mind and stimulate 91

⁴⁹ *Od.* 8.496–98.

⁵⁰ *Od.* 8.479–81.

¹⁸ *susp.* Keil

σιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐμφαίνεται τοῖς ἔπεσι·
φησὶ γοῦν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν

ὡς φάθ'· ὁ δ' ὀρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο, φαῖνε δ'
ἀοιδὴν,

92 ταυτὸν διὰ πάντων ἐμφανίζων, ὅτι ληρεὶ τέχνη πρὸς
θεὸν κινούντα. τὸν τοῖνον Φημίον ἐν τῇ τῶν μνηστή-
ρων σφαγῇ πεποίηκεν τὸ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ παραιτούμενου
καὶ λέγοντα

αὐτοδίδακτος δ' εἰμί· θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἴμας
παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν, ἔοικα δέ τοι παραείδειν
ὥστε θεῶ· τῷ μὴ με λιλαίεο δειροτομήσαι,

τοῦτο μὲν ὡς ταυτὸν ὁ τε αὐτοδίδακτος καὶ ὁ τῶν θεῶν
μαθητῆς ἐγγύθεν οὕτως δηλῶν, τοῦτο δὲ ὡς οὐδὲν
ἄλλο εἰπόντος εἰς σωτηρίαν τοῦ Φημίον μείζον ἢ ὅτι
οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐστὶν μαθητῆς. εἰκότως· τὸν γὰρ
ὑπὸ τῶν ἡδικησθαι δοκούντων μέλλοντα σωθήσεσθαι
εἰς τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμὴν καταφεύγειν εἰκὸς ἦν.
δι' ἃ τούτοις αὐτὸν σφάζει τοῖς λόγοις.

93 ἔτι τοῖνον, ἀναλήψομαι γάρ, τὸν Τηλέμαχον ἀπο-
δημοῦντα πεποίηκε δήπου κατὰ πίστιν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐν
τοῖς πρώτοις, ὡς δὲ προσέσχεν τῇ Πύλῳ καὶ συντυγ-
χάνειν ἔδει τῷ Νέστορι ἀγωνιῶντα καὶ ἀπορούντα ὁ

51 *Od.* 8.499. 52 *Od.* 22.347-49.

53 This sentence, somewhat pedantically spelling out what is

their pupils' powers of invention, as is made clear in the
wording of the following lines as well, when Homer says
to round off the scene

so he spoke, and he inspired by the god began, and
produced his song.⁵¹

His point is the same throughout, that science is idle chit-
chat compared to the inspiration of a god. Or again, he 92
portrays Phemius in the slaughter of the Suitors pleading
for mercy and saying

I am self-taught; in my mind the god has planted
all kinds of song, and I am fit to sing by your side
as if you were a god; so be not eager to slit my
throat.⁵²

In so doing, he shows from the close juxtaposition that the
self-taught man and the pupil of the gods are one and the
same thing, and also that Phemius had no weightier argu-
ment with which to save himself than that he had no hu-
man teacher. Reasonably so, for if he was to stand a chance
if being spared by people who thought they had been
wronged, it was reasonable for him to seek refuge in the
honor paid to him by the gods; which is why Homer saves
him with these words.⁵³

Then again, to revert to an earlier point, in the first 93
books of the epic Homer describes Telemachus' journey
in search of news of his father, and how he put in at Pylos
and had to meet Nestor; he tells of his agony and uncer-

said more concisely in the previous one, may be a reader's
addition.

τι χρῆ λέγειν πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ συνειδέναι μὴ ὅπως τέχνην αὐτῷ τινα ἐπισταμένῳ περὶ λόγους, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐτό, ὃ φησι Πλάτων, ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντί πω μέχρι τούτου. κατακέκλεικε γοῦν αὐτὸ τοῦτ' εἰς ἔπος ἐξ ἀρχῆς εἰς τέλος

οὐδέ τί πω μύθοισι πεπεῖρημαι πυκνωῖσιν.

ὁ δ' αὐτὸν παραμυθεῖται καὶ λέγει, μηδεὶς σε τῶν σοφιστῶν ἐξαπατάτω, μηδ' ἀθυμῆσης ἐπὶ σαυτῷ· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τῆς τέχνης ἀπολέλειψαι καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας,

ἄλλα μὲν αὐτὸς ἐνὶ φρεσὶ σῆσι νοήσεις,
ἄλλα δὲ καὶ δαίμων ὑποθήσεται· οὐ γὰρ οὔτω
οὗ σε θεῶν ἀέκητι γενέσθαι τε τραφέμεν τε,

94 συνάπτων κἀνταῦθα τρόπον τινὰ καὶ συντιθεὶς ἐφεξῆς τό τε αὐτὸν συνεῖναι καὶ τὸ ὑπειπεῖν τὸν θεόν, καὶ πάλιν αὖ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τροφήν τῇ θείᾳ μοίρᾳ προστιθεὶς. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ Μέντωρ, οὐδ' Ἀλιθέροσης αὐτῷ λέγει, ἀλλὰ θεῶν ἢ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἥ τά τε τῆς φρονήσεως καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τέχνας ἀνάκειται. καὶ ὁ Τηλέμαχος πρῶτον τότε ῥητορεύων εὐπορος γίγνεται καὶ λόγους ἀποχρῶντας εὐρίσκει τῇ χρείᾳ—ἃ γὰρ ἐν μνηστῆρσιν ἐδημηγόρησεν ἐῷ λέγειν—[τῆς Ἀθηναῖς]¹⁹ καὶ τυγχάνει τοῦ σκοποῦ οὕτως ὥσθ' ὃ γε Νέ-

¹⁹ *secl.* Behr

tainty about what he should say, because of his awareness that, far from being master of any science of eloquent speech, he had at this point not even yet acquired that practical facility of which Plato speaks. This idea, from beginning to end, he encapsulates in the line

nor have I yet been tried at all in shrewd speaking.⁵⁴

Homer however encourages Telemachus and says, "Do not let any devious intellectual deceive you, and do not despair of yourself; because even if you are deficient in science and in practical experience,

some things you will think up for yourself in your wits,
some the god too will suggest to you; for I do not think
you were born or have grown up without the gods' approval."⁵⁵

here too in a fashion combining and linking together the phenomena of individual comprehension and divine suggestion, and then again attributing both nature and nurture to divine dispensation. And it is not Mentor or Halitherses that he makes say this, but the wisest of the gods, and the one who has the works of the intellect and all that relates to the sciences under her patronage.⁵⁶ So Telemachus, even though this is the first time he has made a formal speech, becomes articulate and finds words sufficient for his needs—I pass over the words he spoke among the suitors⁵⁷—and he hits the mark so effectively that Nestor

94

⁵⁴ *Od.* 3.23.

⁵⁵ *Od.* 3.26–28.

⁵⁶ *Athena.*

⁵⁷ *Od.* 1.367–419 (nb 384–85).

στωρ ἀκούσας, τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἥδιστον, ἐπαινεί τε καὶ φησιν

ἦτοι γὰρ μῦθοί γε εὐκότες, οὐδέ κε φαίης
ἄνδρα νεώτερον ὧδε εὐκότα μυθήσασθαι

καίτοι τῶν ἄκρων ῥητορικὴν καὶ λόγους εὐρεῖν καὶ κρῖναι ὁ Νέστωρ αὐτῷ πεποιήται καὶ ἐν Ἰλιάδι καὶ ἐν
95 Ὀδυσσειᾷ· ἀλλ' ὁμως ἐπαινεί καὶ λαμπρῶς. ὡς δ'
ἦκεν ἐκ τῆς Πύλου πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον ῥήτορα καὶ βα-
σιλέα τὸν Μενέλαον, ὁ μὲν Τηλέμαχος ὡς θεοῦ φησιν
ἀκούων τέρπεσθαι τοῦ Μενελάου, ὁ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰ
περὶ ἐκείνου φέρει τῷ Νέστορι δόξαν, καὶ φησιν ἅτε
καὶ αὐτὸς ἤδη πρεσβύτης ὢν

αἵματός εἰς ἀγαθοῦ φίλον τέκος οἷ ἀγορεύεις,

οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο λέγων ὅτι πέφυκας πρὸς λόγους,
διὰ τοῦτο λέγεις τὰ βέλτιστα, καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις τοι-
ούτοις εὐδοκιμείς· ὥστε εἰ καὶ μὴ τέχνην τιν' ἔχεις
περὶ τοὺς λόγους, ἔμοιγε, φησὶν, ἔξαρκεῖ.

96 οὕτω δι' ὅλου τοῦ δράματος ὥσπερ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ
διὰ πάντων τῶν ἀξιόχρεων Ὅμηρος μαρτυρεῖ μὴ τὴν
τέχνην εἶναι κυρίαν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς φύ-
σεως κράτος καὶ τὸ δοκοῦν τῷ θεῷ. αὐτὸς τοῖνυν ὁ τοῦ

⁵⁸ *Od.* 3.124–25.

⁵⁹ On the strength of such passages as *Il.* 1.247–84, 2.336–68, 7.123–60, Nestor was often held up by rhetorical theorists as a practitioner of the “middle” style, contrasting with the simple

on hearing him—this is the most enjoyable part—praises him and says

indeed your words are seemly ones; nor would one expect
a younger man to speak such seemly words.⁵⁸

All this although Homer depicts Nestor in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* as one of the great experts in the practice and criticism of rhetoric and oratory;⁵⁹ and yet he praises Telemachus, and does so in glowing terms. When he arrives from Pylos at the court of the other orator and king,⁶⁰ Menelaus, Telemachus says that he feels pleasure when he listens to Menelaus as if he were listening to a god,⁶¹ while Menelaus for his part expresses the same opinion of him as Nestor did, and says (since he too is by now an old man)

dear child born of noble blood, how well you speak,⁶²

meaning by this precisely that “you have a natural talent in oratory, and for this reason speak excellently, and are esteemed by others with the same ability; so even if you are not master of any science of eloquence, I for one am content.”

So through the whole of his story, as if on purpose and through the mouths of all his reputable characters, Homer testifies that it is not science that carries weight in oratory, but the power of natural talent and the will of god.

style of Menelaus (see next note) and the forceful style of Odysseus: see for instance [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 172; Quint. *Inst.* 12.10.64.

⁶⁰ For Menelaus as orator, see *Il.* 3.205–15.

⁶¹ *Od.* 4.160 (but Pisistratus, not Telemachus).

⁶² *Od.* 4.611.

Τηλεμάχου πατήρ, ὃν τῆς εἰς τοὺς λόγους παρασκευῆς ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐποίησεν ἦκοντα, παροξυνθείς τι πρὸς τὸν Φαίακα καὶ σωφρονίζων αὐτόν, πῶς λέγει καὶ παρρησιάζεται,

ἄλλος μὲν γάρ τ' εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ,
ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεισι στέφει,

ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐμφανίζων καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς ὀπόση τις καὶ ἡλικία, ὁμοῦ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα τῷ θεῷ προστιθείς ὡς ἐκείθεν ἦκοντα, ὥσπερ Πλάτωνι ἀποκρινάμενος, οὐκ Εὐρύαλω.

97 δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ Ἡσίοδος τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχασθαι γνώμης Ὀμήρῳ καὶ τοῖς ῥήμασι μόνοις διαλλάττει ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεισιν

κένος μὲν πανάριστος ὃς αὐτῷ πάντα νοήσῃ
ἔσθλος δ' αὖ κακείνος ὃς εἰπόντι πίθηται
ὃς δέ γε μήτ' αὐτὸς νοεῖ μήτ' ἄλλου ἀκούων
ἐν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὁ δ' αὐτ' ἀχρήμιος ἀνὴρ.

πρῶτον μὲν ἔθετο τὸν αὐτὸν εὐρόντα τὰ βέλτιστα, ἔσχατον δὲ ἀμαθίᾳ τὸν οὔτε συνιέντα οὔτε πειθόμενον, μέσον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων, ὥσπερ, ἐν ἀριθμῶν ὄροις, τὸν τῷ συνιέντι πεισθέντα, τοσοῦτω χεῖρω τοῦ νοή-

⁶³ *Od.* 8.169–70, spoken to the Phaeacian nobleman Euryalus.

⁶⁴ *Hes. Op.* 293–7, omitting 294; the lines are quoted with the same omission in *Arist. NE* 1095b and 293+295 were polemically

What for instance does Telemachus' father, the hero of the poem, whom he represents as having attained the highest eminence in oratorical ability, say when he is provoked into speaking his mind to one of the Phaeacians, and is putting him in his place?

one man is feeblar in body,
but god crowns his speech with comeliness,⁶³

—words through which he both makes clear the value of oratorical ability, and the magnitude and nature of its power, and at the same time assigns all these matters to the god as their source, as if responding not to Euryalus but to Plato.

Hesiod too seems to me to adhere to the same view as 97 Homer, and to differ only in his wording, in these lines:

that man is best of all who understands everything for himself;
good too in his turn is the one who heeds the man who has spoken well;
but he who neither understands for himself nor takes to heart
what he hears from another, that man is worthless.⁶⁴

He ranks first the man who can establish what is best by himself, and last, as a fool, the one who neither understands nor listens; in between the two, as in a numerical sequence, he places the one who has listened to someone who understands, who is as far inferior to the man who knows as he is superior to the one who neither thought

rewritten by the Stoic philosopher Zeno to assert the opposite proposition (*Diog. Laert.* 7.25–6 = *SVF* 1.56.22; cf. §105 below).

σαντος, ὅσῳ βελτίῳ τοῦ μήθ' εὐρόντος μήτε πεισθέν-
 98 τος. οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσας ἐστὶν ὁ εὖ
 εἰπών· εἰ δὲ βούλει ἐκείνως, ὁ μὲν εὖ εἰπών ἐστὶν ὁ
 νοήσας αὐτὸς ἅπαντα. δῆλον δὲ προθείς²⁰ γὰρ “ὅς
 αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ” μετέληφεν ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ ἐπὶ
 τοῦ εὖ εἰπόντος τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον λέγων, ἀντὶ τοῦ νοή-
 99 σαντος τὸν εὖ εἰπόντα θείς, ὡς αὐτὸν τοῦτον ὄντα τὸν
 βέλτιστον ῥήτορα. οὕτω δὲ τούτων κειμένων ὁ μὲν,
 οἶμαι, νοήσας παντὶ συμβαλεῖν ῥάδιος, ὅτι ὁ τῆ φύ-
 σει κρατῶν ἐστὶν, ὃν ἄριστον ὠρίσατο, ὃν καὶ εὖ εἰ-
 πόντα προσείπεν· ὁ δ' αὖ πεισθείς ἐν τῇ τοῦ μαθόντος
 γίγνεται μερίδι. ἀκούσας γὰρ τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγον-
 100 τος οὕτω χρῆται παρ' ἐκείνου λαβών. εὐρεῖν οὖν φη-
 σιν, ὦ Πλάτων, κρεῖττον ἢ μαθεῖν, καὶ τέχνη φύσεως
 δεύτερον, εἰκότως Ἡσίοδος καὶ φρονῶν οὕτω καὶ λέ-
 γων, καὶ τῆς δάφνης οὐκ ἀμνημονῶν, ἣν ἅμα τῷ λα-
 101 βεῖν ποιητῆς ἦν γεγωνῶς ἐκ ποιμένου. ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς
 τέχνας αὐτὰς καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα φύσει δήπου δι-
 ενεγκόντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ νικήσαντες ἀνεῦρον τὸ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς· οὐ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι τὰς φύσεις ἐποίησαν, ἀλλ'
 αἱ κράτισται φύσεις τὰς βελτίστας τῶν τεχνῶν εὐρον,
 ὥστε καὶ τῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ δυνάμει παρὰ τῇ φύσει τὰ
 πρεσβεία εἶναι.

²⁰ προθείς Canter, Keil προσθείς *codd.*

things up for himself nor took someone else's word for
 them. In which case, the one who has thought everything
 out for himself is the man who speaks well, or if you want
 to put it the other way around, the man who speaks well
 is the man who has thought everything out himself. This
 is quite clear. Because having first said “the man who un-
 derstands everything for himself,” he changes it in the
 second line to “the man who has spoken well,” still mean-
 ing the same person, putting “the man who has spoken
 well” in place of “the man who understands,” on the un-
 derstanding that this same man is also the best orator. On
 these terms, I think it is an utterly simple matter to iden-
 99 tify “the man who understands” with the man who is su-
 perior in natural talent, whom Hesiod declared to be the
 best, and whom he also called “the man who has spoken
 well.” The man who has listened, on the other hand, ranks
 as the pupil, because when he has listened to the man who
 can say what is for the best, he accepts it from him and
 applies it on this basis. Hesiod thus asserts, Plato, that
 100 thinking things up is superior to learning them, and that
 science takes second place to natural talent. He has good
 reason to think and say this, and has not forgotten the
 laurel branch, receipt of which converted him on the in-
 stant from shepherd into poet.⁶⁵ For it was surely naturally
 101 outstanding, superior individuals who invented sciences
 and human pursuits in the first place—since it was not the
 sciences that created natural talents, but rather the might-
 iest natural talents that invented the best of the sciences,
 so that priority both in order and in power rests with nat-
 ural talent.

⁶⁵ Hes. *Theog.* 30.

- 102 εἰ δὲ δὴ μηδ' ἀπλῶς ἀνθρώποις τὴν εὖρεσιν προσ-
 τίθεμεν τῶν τεχνῶν, ἀλλὰ θεοὺς ἡγήσασθαι φαμεν
 αὐτοῖς καὶ καταδείξαι, πῶς οὐκ εὐδῆλον ὅτι πολλῶ
 τινος εἶναι νικῶντος δεῖ προσθήκην τὴν τέχνην; καὶ
 μὴν εἰ τοῦτο δῆλον ἅπασιν καὶ πάντες ἂν συμφαίεν
 μὴ θεοὺς παρ' ἀνθρώπων λαβεῖν τὰς ἐπιστήμας, ἀλλ'
 ἀνθρώπους παρὰ θεῶν, καὶ διδασκάλων μὲν ἐκείνους,
 μαθητῶν δὲ ἡμᾶς ἔχειν τάξιν, τοσοῦτ' κρείττον, ὡς
 ἔοικεν, εὐρεῖν ἢ μαθεῖν, ὅσῳ κρείττων ἀνθρώπου θεός.
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐρήκασιν ἅπαντα, ἡμεῖς δ', οἶμαι, λαβόν-
 103 τες χρώμεθα. ὀρθῶς ἄρα καὶ δικαίως ὁ τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος
 πρόσουκος καὶ ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ θεῶν ἐπι-
 πνοίας ταῦτα λέγειν εἰληφότα τὸν μὲν τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα
 ὡς θεὸν καὶ θεῶν ἐγγὺς πρῶτον καὶ κράτιστον ἔθετο
 ὃς αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ, τὸν δ' ἀκούσαντα καὶ μαθόντα
 δεύτερον.
- 104 ποῦ γὰρ ἂν τις καὶ κράτιστον θείῃ τὸν μαθόντα
 καὶ πῶς; οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ βουλομένῳ, ἀλλὰ φύσει
 κεκάλυται, δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ νικᾶν πανταχοῦ φαμὲν
 105 τὴν φύσιν. εἰ γὰρ ἦν τὸ μαθεῖν ἄριστον καὶ πρῶτον,
 οὐδὲ ἂν αὐτὸ πρῶτον τὸ μαθεῖν ἦν. ἐχρήν γὰρ δήπου
 μαθεῖν παρ' ἐτέρου. ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἦν ὁ διδάσκων²¹
 πρῶτος, εἰ τὸ μαθεῖν κρείττον καὶ πρῶτον ἦν. παρὰ

²¹ an ὁ μαθών?

⁶⁶ Hesiod's home village, Ascra, lay on the eastern side of Mt. Helicon.

If however we do not assign the invention of the sci- 102
 ences unequivocally to human beings either, but say that
 the gods guided them and revealed things to them, how
 can it fail to be clear that science must be a mere adjunct
 to something far superior to it? Indeed, if this is clear to
 all and everyone would agree that it is not the gods who
 are given the sciences by men, but men who are given
 them by the gods, and that they have the position of teach-
 ers while we are the pupils, then it would appear that in-
 vention is as superior to learning as god is to man. The
 gods have invented everything, and we, I think, receive it
 from them for our use. Rightly then and with justice, and 103
 as was only reasonable for one who had himself gained the
 ability to say these things by divine inspiration, did the
 man who lived by Helicon⁶⁶ rank first and best, as a god
 and near to the gods, that man who thinks out all things
 himself, with the man who listens and learns in second
 place.

Wherever and however could anyone rank the man 104
 who learns as best? You could not do it even if you wanted
 to; it is forbidden by nature, and rightly so, seeing that we
 say that nature is everywhere superior.⁶⁷ Because if learn- 105
 ing were best and came first, learning would not in fact
 come first, since there would of course have to be someone
 else to learn from, so that the teacher would not be first,
 if it were learning that was best and came first.⁶⁸ You too,

⁶⁷ The words "and rightly so . . . is everywhere superior," which do not seem to fit the logic of Aristides' argument here very well, may be a reader's comment wrongly incorporated into the text.

⁶⁸ Aristides' point is clear, but its expression seems tangled; some adjustment may be needed to the text.

τοῦ γάρ, ὦ καὶ σὺ τὴν ποικίλην κοσμήσας, ἀκούσῃ,
 τίσι πεισθῆ, εἰ κρείττων ὁ μαθῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ τὸ πρῶτον
 106 εὐρόντος, καὶ μὴ ἀνάγκῃ δεύτερος, εἴπερ τι μέλλει
 μαθησεσθαι. πᾶς γὰρ ὁ μαθητῶν ὁμολόγηκεν δη-
 πουθεν εἶναι χείρων αὐτῷ γε τῷ δεῖσθαι μαθεῖν· ὡς εἴ
 γε μὴ πείσειεν αὐτὸν δεῖσθαι πρότερον, πῶς ἂν μάθοι,
 107 ἢ πῶς ἄλλω γ' ἂν εἰπόντι πεισθείη; οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον
 τὸν γε αὐτὸν ὁμολογηκότα εἶναι χείρω, τοῦτον ἀμείνω
 καλεῖν, καὶ ταῦτα δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐπαινούμενον, ὅτι
 ὁμολόγηκεν χείρων εἶναι. ἢ κατὰ μὲν τὰς δωρεὰς οὐ-
 δαμοῦ κρείττων ὁ λαβὼν τοῦ δόντος αὐτῷ τῷ λαβεῖν,
 ἀλλὰ τὸ δοῦναι τοῦ κρείττονος εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ τοῖς
 108 μαθήμασι κρείττων ὁ προσέχων τὸν νοῦν τοῦ νοή-
 σαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ παρασχόντος; καὶ μὴν ἐφ' οἷς ὁ
 λαβὼν ἄριστος πᾶς οὐ πρῶτος ὁ ταῦτ' ἔχων ἐξ ἀρ-
 χῆς, καὶ διὰ τὸν χρόνον γέ που καὶ παρὰ τὴν αἰτίαν;
 109 ἔτι τοῖνυν ἐνὸς ποιητοῦ τῶν ἀπὸ Βοιωτίας καὶ Ἑλι-
 κῶνος παρασχῆσομαι μαρτυρίαν, ᾧ καὶ Πλάτων αὐ-
 τὸς τὰ πλείστον, φασίν, ἀξία χρῆται. οὗτος δὲ, ὦ
 θεοί, καὶ μάλ' ἀποκαλύψας καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως καὶ
 Μούσης ὡς ἀληθῶς βοᾷ. Στεντόρειον εἰς τοὺς ἀνθρώ-
 πους ὥσπερ σιωπὴν κηρύξας

sir, who adorned the Painted Stoa,⁶⁹ tell me who he is to learn from, and what lessons he is to learn, if the learner is really superior to the man who invents things in the first place, and not necessarily second, if he is going to learn anything? Any learner surely automatically confesses to 106 being inferior by the very fact of needing to learn, since if he had not first convinced himself of his need, how could he learn, or take heed of someone else's words? It is thus 107 strange to call better the one who has confessed himself to be inferior, and is moreover commended for the very action of confessing himself inferior. Or is the truth that, whereas in the case of gifts, the receiver is not in any way superior to the giver because he receives, but rather giving is taken to be the action of the superior party, in the case of lessons the man who listens attentively is superior to the man who thinks things up for himself and makes them 108 available? Indeed, how can the grounds on which the receiver is held to be best fail to show that first place belongs to the man who possesses these things from the outset, both because of the obvious chronology and because of the direction of the causation?

I shall now present the testimony of one further poet 109 from among those who hail from Boeotia and Helicon, whom Plato himself cites in contexts that, as they say, he sets particular store by. This man, in the process revealing with utter clarity his own natural talent and poetic ability as well, cries out to mankind in a truly Stentorian voice,⁷⁰ like a herald calling for silence, that

⁶⁹ Zeno of Citium, the founder of Stoicism, who taught in the Stoa Poikile in Athens; Aristides thus takes issue with Zeno's polemical rewriting of the lines from Hesiod (cf. n. 64 above).

⁷⁰ Cf. *Il.* 5.785-86.

σοφὸς ὁ πολλὰ εἰδὼς φυῆ·
μαθόντες δὲ λάβροι
παγγλωσσία κόρακες ὡς ἄκραντα γαρύετον
Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιχα θεῖον.

110 κοράκων φησὶν εἶναι φωνὰς τὰς τῶν μαθόντων καὶ
παρ' ἄλλων εἰληφότων πρὸς ἀετὸν γιγνομένης τὸν
φύσει νικῶντα καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ ῥήτορα καὶ σοφόν. ἐτέρωθι
δ' αὖ βραχύτερον μὲν, γνωρίμως δ' οὐχ ἦττον δια-
μαρτύρεται

τὸ δὲ φυῆ κράτιστον ἅπαν.
πολλοὶ δὲ διδασκαίῃς
ἀνθρώπων ἀρεταῖς κλέος
ᾤρουσαν αἰρέσθαι,

σφόδρ' ἀκολούθως ἀμφότερα εἰπών. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὸ
μὲν κράτιστον ἐν τοῖς ὀλίγοις, τὰ δὲ φανλότερα ἐν
τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀντιτέθεικε τῷ κρατίστῳ τὸ [πολλῶ]²²
χείρον διὰ τοῦ τῶν πολλῶν ὀνόματος, ὡς ἐκείνο μὲν
παντάπασι τινῶν ὀλίγων ὄν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰς τοὺς πολ-
λοὺς ἀφικνούμενον. καὶ ἔτι πρὸ τούτων

ἀγαθοὶ

δὲ [φύσει]²³ καὶ σοφοὶ κατὰ δαίμονα ἄνδρες
ἐγένοντο,

ὅμοιον καὶ τοῦτο τῷ ἐτέρῳ ῥήματι καὶ ταῦτὸν λέγων.
οὗ μὲν γὰρ διδασκαίῃς εἶπεν ἀρεταῖς, προσέθηκεν ἀν-

wise is he who knows much by nature;
those who learn, impetuous,
chatter vainly at the tops of their voices like crows
competing with the sacred bird of Zeus.⁷¹

He says that the voices of those who have learned and
received their knowledge from others are the voices of
crows compared to the eagle, who is naturally superior and
has his eloquence and wisdom from god. In another pas- 110
sage he testifies more briefly, but no less clearly that

what comes by nature is best in every case.
But many have been eager
to win glory
through human virtues gained by teaching.⁷²

He is utterly consistent in what he says in both places.
Since what is best ranks as something rare, and inferior
things are many, he has used the word "many" to contrast
the best with the inferior, on the understanding that the
former belongs strictly to some few individuals, whereas
the latter pertains to the mass of mankind. Again, earlier
on he says

"Men become good and wise through god,"⁷³

meaning by this something similar to and indeed identi-
cal with the other quotation. Where he spoke of "virtues
gained by teaching" he added "human," and where he gave

⁷¹ Pindar: *Ol.* 2.94-96.

⁷² Pind. *Ol.* 9.107-10.

⁷³ Pind. *Ol.* 9.28-30.

²² *secl.* Reiske

²³ *secl.* Keil cum *codd.* Pind.

- 111 θρώπων, οὐδὲ τὴν φύσιν πρεσβεύει, κατὰ δαίμονα,
τούτους εἶναι τοὺς τῷ ὄντι ἀγαθοὺς καὶ σοφοὺς. εἰκό-
τως· εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τὰ ὑφ' ἑτέρου
εἰρημένα καὶ προκατειλημμένα κλέπτοντας καὶ διεξι-
όντας ὡς αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς οὕτω μαίνεται ὥστε βελτίους
ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν οἰκοθεν εὐπόρων καὶ γονίμων εἰς τοὺς
λόγους, ἀλλ' οὗτος κράτιστος παρ' ὅτῳ πλείστον
ἔστιν εἰρεῖν τὰ δέοντα, πῶς οὐ γελοῖον καὶ πάσης
ἀλογίας μεστὸν τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούσαντα
καὶ μαθόντα ὅ τι χρῆ λέγειν θείναι ποτ' ἔμπροσθεν
112 τοῦ φύσει κρείττονος; οὐκ ἔξω δ' ἴσταται τῆς ὄλης
μαρτυρίας οὐδὲ τόδε

ἐν ἔργμασι δὲ νικᾷ τύχα, οὐ σθένος,

τὸ μὲν σθένος πρὸς τῆς τύχης τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης, τὴν
δὲ τύχην πρὸς τῆς θείας μοίρας εἰ λάβοις.

- 113 καίτοι εἰ ποιηταὶ μὲν οὐ τέχνη ποιούντες, ὡς φησὶν
ὁ Πλάτων, ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ τυγχάνοντες²⁴ παιδεύουσι
τοὺς ἐπιγιγνομένους, οὐ μόνον τοὺς καθ' ἑαυτοῦς,
παιδεύοντες δὲ μαρτύρονται καὶ διορίζονται τοῦ μη-
δεὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι τὴν τέχνην πρὸς τὸ τῆς φύσεως
κράτος καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἐν
λόγοις διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν μαρτυρεῖ Πλάτων, προσθήσω
δ' ὅτι καὶ δι' ἀμφοτέρων οἱ θεοὶ, καὶ Πλάτωνος καὶ
τῶν ποιητῶν, ὅτι ῥητορικὴ καλὸν καὶ θεῖον, εἰ καὶ

²⁴ τυγχάνοντες *κάτοχοι* Monac. 432, Oxon. Coll. Nov. 259
τυγχάνοντες cett.

precedence to nature, he used the words "through god" to underline that it is these people who are truly good and wise. Reasonably so: for if in the field of oratory itself, no one is so mad as to think that those who steal what another has got to and said first and produce it as their own work, are better than those who can rely on their own resources to make them fluent and inventive in their speaking, and the best orator is the one who has the greatest ability to come up with what is needed, how can it fail to be ridiculous and full of utter stupidity to rank the man who from the outset listens to others and learns from them what he must do ahead of the man who is naturally superior? Nor is this poet's further remark, that

"In deeds it is fortune, not strength, that prevails"⁷⁴

out of line with the general tendency of his evidence, if you take "strength" to relate to human science and "fortune" to divine dispensation.

If, then, as Plato asserts, poets do not compose their works in virtue of any science, but have the good fortune to receive them from the gods, and this is how they educate posterity as well as their own contemporaries, and if in the course of this education they testify and affirm that science is worthless in comparison to the power of natural talent and the gifts of the gods, then in both word and deed Plato testifies through the poets—and, let me add, the gods testify through both Plato and the poets—that rhetoric is something noble and divine, even if it does not come

⁷⁴ Pind. fr. 38 Sn-M.

τέχνη μὲν ἀνθρώποις μὴ παραγίγνεται, φύσεως δ' ἐστὶν ἔργον ἀνδρείας καὶ βλεπούσης νικᾶν.

114 εἰ τοίνυν μήτε ποιητῶν μηδένα μηδὲν εἰρηκέναι τοιοῦτον μήτ' αὐτὸν Πλάτωνα μαρτυρεῖν ἡμῖν θείῃ τις μήτε δι' αὐτοῦ μήτε διὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, ὃ σαφῶς οὕτως φαίνεται ποιῶν, εἰς αὐτὸν γ' ἂν τις βλέψας τὸν τοῦ πράγματος λόγον οὐ χαλεπῶς ἴδοι συκοφαντίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔλεγχον οὐδὲ πίστιν ἐνούσαν τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ βλασφημίᾳ. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι κἂν τοῖς σώμασιν οὔτε τὸ κάλλος οὔτε τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε ἡ χάρις τέχνης ἔργον ἢ ποιήμα ἐστίν, οὐδ' ἀπὸ χειρῶν ἢ λόγου τινός, ὡς ἂν εἴποιμεν, ἀπαντᾷ; ἀλλ' ἐπαλεύσαι μὲν ταῦτα καὶ θεραπεύσαι τῆς τέχνης εἶναι δοκεῖ, συστήσασθαι δ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς οὐδεμία οὕτω τέχνη ἂν εἴη δεινή.

115 οὐκοῦν διακόνου καὶ θεραπαίνης τάξιν ἔχειν προσήκει τῇ τέχνῃ, τὴν φύσιν δ' ἐν σχήματι δεσποίνης τετάχθαι, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς σκευοφόρους πρὸ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τάττομεν ἂν. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄξιον. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον τοὺς μὲν γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι νομίζω, τὴν δὲ φύσιν τὴν τοσοῦτον προτέραν φαύλου λόγου νομίσαι παρὰ τὴν τέχνην, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὰ ὑποδήματα κρείττω τῶν ποδῶν, 116 τὴν δ' ἐσθήτα τοῦ σώματος κρίνοι τιμιωτέραν; καὶ ὡς ἔοικε τὰ μὲν χρήματα τῶν ποριζόντων αὐτὰ καὶ κτωμένων ἀτιμότερα ἡγοῦμεθα, ἢ δὲ τέχνη κρείττων τῆς εὐρούσης φύσεως καὶ ἧς ἔργον ἐστὶ νομισθήσεται. 117 ἄλογον μέντ' ἂν εἴη κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ παράδειγμα ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κτημάτων καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν βελτίω νομίζω χρη-

to men through science, but is instead the work of a bold natural talent that aims to excel.

If however it were to be supposed that no poet had 114 said any such thing, and that Plato had not given us his own testimony either, through the example of the poets or through his own, as it is clear from what I have said that he does do, even so it would not be hard to see, by looking at the rationale of the facts themselves, that the contents of his abuse add up to mere slander, not argued refutation or proof. Does not everybody know that with the human body neither beauty nor size nor attractiveness are the work or product of science, and do not derive, as we might put it, from any physical craft or theoretical principle? Enhancing these qualities and looking after them is reckoned to be the province of science, but there is no science clever enough to create them in the first place.

The proper thing is therefore for science to have the 115 position of a servant or handmaid, and for nature to be given the rank of mistress, unless we would also be prepared to station the baggage train out in front of the fighting soldiers. But that is not right. How can it fail to be ridiculous to uphold the custom of honoring our parents and standing up in the presence of our elders, and yet to regard nature, which is so much the more venerable, as trivial compared to science? This would be like someone deciding that shoes are worth more than the feet, and clothing than the body! It would seem that although we 116 regard material wealth as inferior to those who acquire and possess it, yet science will be deemed superior to the natural ability that invented it and whose product it is. Yet, 117 to pursue the analogy, it would be absurd in the case of wealth and possessions to regard the businessman who

μαπιστήν τὸν αὐτὸν πορίσαντα καὶ συλλέξαντα τοῦ κληρονομήσαντος ἕτερον, ἐν δὲ τοῖς λόγοις καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι μὴ τὸν φύσει προέχοντα πρεσβεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅστις παρ' ἄλλου φαίνεται μετεληφώς, καὶ μηδ' ἐκεῖν' ὄραν, ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἀρχῆς αἱ φύσεις τὰς τέχνας συνεστήσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς τὰς τέχνας οἱ τῇ φύσει νικήσαντες διενηνόχασιν.

118 Ἔνεκα μὲν γὰρ τῆς τέχνης πάντας ἔδει παραπλησίους εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα μαθόντας, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ χεῖρους τοὺς δευτέρους ἀεὶ τῶν προτέρων, ἕως εἰς τὸ λυθῆναι τὴν τέχνην ἀφίκετο· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἦν πάντα λαβεῖν ἀκριβῶς παρ' ἑτέρου λαμβάνοντα, ἀλλ' ἔδει διαφυγεῖν αἰετὶ ῥώμῃ δέ, οἶμαι, φύσεως καὶ περιουσία τὴν δόξαν οἱ κρατήσαντες εὐλόγησαν· καὶ οὐδεὶς τὸν Δαίδαλον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄνω θαυμάζει παρὰ τὸν Φειδίαν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ναυτίον ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ φαύλων τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εἰς μέζον καὶ τελεώτερον αἱ τέχναι κατέστησαν.

119 αὐταῖς τοίνυν, ὡς ἔοικε, ταῖς τέχναις οὐ λυσιτελοῦν φαίνεται τὴν τέχνην πρὸ τῆς φύσεως τιμηθῆσθαι. οὐκ οὐκον προελθεῖν γ' ἂν αὐταῖς ἦν, οὐδὲ τυχεῖν τοῦ νῦν σχήματος οὐδὲ σεμνύνεσθαι. ἀλλ' οἶμαι, οὐχ αἱ τέχναι τοὺς ἄνδρας ἦσαν μεγάλους, ἀλλ' οἱ τῇ δυνάμει πρωτεύσαντες ἐντίμους τὰς τέχνας ἐποίησαν, οὐ μείναντες ἐφ' ὧν παρέλαβον. εἰ δὲ τοῦθ' ἅπασιν εὐδην,

secures and amasses his fortune for himself as superior to the one who inherits it from another, but in the case of oratory and the business done by orators to give priority not to the man who is preeminent in natural ability, but to the one who is clearly indebted to another for what he has. It would be absurd, too, not to notice that, besides natural talent creating the sciences in the first place, those who excel in natural talent excel in the exercise of the sciences too.

As far as the element of science went, all who learned 118 the same lessons would necessarily have been on the same level as each other, and it would also necessarily have been the case, I believe, that each successive generation was inferior to its predecessor, until the point was reached at which the science disintegrated: no one who was taking his learning over from another could absorb it in every detail; inevitably something always would have escaped him. It was in fact, I believe, through the strength and superiority of their natural talent that the great masters have won their reputations. No one marvels at Daedalus or his predecessors in comparison with Phidias; on the contrary, the sciences developed from small and mean beginnings to something greater and more perfect.

It seems then to be clear that the sciences themselves 119 would not have been advantaged by the privileging of science over natural ability; they would not have been able to advance, or to achieve the fine appearance they now present, or give themselves any sort of airs. No, I am convinced, it is not the sciences that made men great, but rather men of outstanding ability who made the sciences objects of respect, by not resting content with what they had inherited. If this is clear to all—at any rate, now that 120

εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε εἰρημένον, οἱ μέγιστοι τῶν ἐν ταῖς τέχναις οὐχ ᾧ μετεσχῆκασι τῆς τέχνης μέγιστοι γεγόνασιν, ἀλλ' ᾧ τὴν τέχνην παρελήλυθασι. διὰ ταῦτα καὶ συμφοιτητῶν οἱ μὲν χείρους,²⁵ ἀλλὰ καὶ κρείττους, ὁ Φειδίας, ὁ Ζεύξις, ὁ Ἱπποκράτης, ὁ Δημοσθένης, ὅτινα βούλεται θαυμάζειν τις. οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ ὄροις τακτοῖς ἐνέμειναν, οὐδ' ἐν μικρῷ τὰ σφέτερον αὐτῶν ἤγαγον, οὐδ' ὠμολόγησαν ὑπὸ τῆς τέχνης ἄρχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐνιδόντες τῇ φύσει τὸ ἄρχειν οἱ μὲν²⁶ τῶν λόγων, οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων, παῖδας τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξαν, καὶ μάλ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν. ἐπειδήπερ καὶ λόγων καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπάντων καὶ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἡγεμών ἐστὶ φύσις, οὐ τέχνη, καὶ τὰ πράγματα οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἔχει, οὐχ ὡς ἡ τέχνη.

121 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ τέχνη τῆς φύσεώς ἐστιν, οὐχ [ὡς]²⁷ ἡ φύσις τῆς τέχνης ἔργον· νῆ Δί' ἔγωγ' ἂν εἴποιμι καὶ εὐρημα καὶ κτῆμα τὴν τέχνην εἶναι τῆς φύσεως. ἃ τις εἰ μὴ παραδέξεται, τοὺς πρώτους εὐρόντας αὐτὰς τὰς τέχνας τοῦ μηδεὸς ἀξίους εἶναι κρινεῖ. καὶ πρεσβεύων τὴν τέχνην ἀτιμάσει τοὺς πατέρας τῶν τεχνῶν. διὰ τί; ὅτι οὐ χαλκευτικὴ χαλκευτικὴν εὖρεν οὐδ' ἰατρικὴ ἰατρικὴν, οὐδὲ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν οὐδεμί εὖρε τέχνην τέχνην, ἀλλὰ πάσας τὰς τέχνας, ὅπερ εἶπον, ἡ φύσις εὖρεν. εἰ γὰρ αἱ τέχναι τὰς τέχνας ἔμελλον

²⁵ post χείρους lac. stat. Keil

²⁶ add. Behr ²⁷ secl. Keil

it has been spelled out, even if it was not before—then the greatest practitioners of the sciences became great not in virtue of their grip on science, but because of the way they transcended it. This is why, although some in any group of fellow pupils have been inferior, some too have been superior⁷⁵—Phidias, Zeuxis, Hippocrates, Demosthenes, or whoever else you wish to admire. Because they did not remain, so to speak, within prescribed boundaries, or limit the scope of their own activities, or confess themselves subservient to their science, but instead, seeing in their own natures a mastery whether of words or of deeds,⁷⁶ they made their predecessors look like children, in a manner that was both utterly inevitable and in accord with nature herself. For it is nature not science that leads both gods and men in all discourse and action, and things are as is dictated by their nature, not as is dictated by science.

Science is the product of nature, not nature of science; indeed, I should say that science is both the invention and the property of nature. To refuse to accept this is to judge those who first invented the sciences worthless, and in honoring science to dishonor the fathers of the sciences. Why so? Because it is not metalworking that invented metalworking, or medicine medicine, nor quite in general any science that invented any science, but as I have said, it is nature that invented all the sciences. For if the sciences were going to invent the sciences, it would not be

⁷⁵ The wording of the Greek, but not its overall meaning, is doubtful here.

⁷⁶ "Mastery" translates Behr's conjectured supplement at this point; a word meaning "ability" or "capacity" (e.g., δύναμιν) would be an equally plausible guess.

123 εὐρήσειν, οὐκ ἂν ἦν λαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν. οὐ γάρ πω
 τεχνῶν οὐσῶν οὐκ ἂν ἦν τέχνην εὐρεῖν τῇ γὰρ μὴ
 οὔση πῶς ἐνῆν εὐρεῖν; εἰ δ' αὖ τὸ φύσει γιγνόμενον
 φαυλότερον τῆς τέχνης, πάντες ἂν οἱ πρῶτοι τὰς τέ-
 χνας εὐρόντες ἦσαν φαυλότατοι πάντες γὰρ φύσει
 τὰς τέχνας εὐρον τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. οὐκοῦν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς
 εὐρόντας ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας ἢ φύ-
 σις νικᾷ.

124 καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ἐξετάζοι τί ποτ' ἐστὶν ᾧ στρατηγὸς
 στρατιώτου διαφέρει, καὶ ὅλως ἀρχῶν ιδιώτου, τοῦτ'
 ἂν εὔροι προφαινόμενον, ὅτι ἀρχοντος μὲν ἐστὶ
 προστάξαι, ἀρχομένου δ' ἀκούσαντα ποιῆσαι. οὐκοῦν
 προστάττει μὲν ὁ εὐρών, ὁ δ' ἀκούσας μανθάνει. εἰ
 γάρ τις μὴ εὔροι ὃ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν, πῶς ἂν ἄλλω προσ-
 τάξειεν ἢ χρὴ ποιεῖν; εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀκούσας ἄλλου
 προστάξειεν ἢ χρὴ ποιεῖν, πείσεται πρότερον ἢ προσ-
 τάξει. τοῦτο δ', ἕως ἂν ἀρχῶν ἦ, τῶν ἀδυνάτων. προσ-
 τάττει μὲν γὰρ ἦν τοῦ γε ἀρχοντος, οὐ πείθεσθαι,
 οὐδέν γε μᾶλλον ἢ καὶ διδασκάλου πείθεσθαι τοῖς
 125 μαθηταῖς ἐστὶν. φαίνεται τοίνυν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν
 λόγον ἢ μὲν φύσις ἀρχοντος χώραν ἔχουσα, ἢ δ' ἐκ
 τοῦ μαθεῖν τέχνη διακόνου καὶ πειθομένου τῷ κρείτ-
 του.

126 καὶ μὴν κάκεινό γε ἐν τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις ἦν, ὡς θεοὶ
 μὲν εὐρον καὶ κατέδειξαν ἕκαστα, ἄνθρωποι δὲ λαβόν-
 τες παρὰ θεῶν χρώμεθα, ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἐρμηνεύσι

possible to establish a starting point. If the sciences did
 not yet exist, it would not be possible to invent a science—
 how would it have been possible to invent anything with
 the aid of something nonexistent? Then again, if what
 comes about through nature is inferior to science, all those
 123 who first invented the sciences would be utterly worthless,
 because it was through nature that they all invented the
 sciences in the first place. Therefore nature wins out both
 in respect of the original inventers and in respect of the
 leading practitioners.

For sure, if someone were to examine what it is that
 124 makes the difference between a general and a soldier, or
 between an officeholder and a private individual in gen-
 eral, the fact he would find staring him in the face is that
 it is the role of the general to give orders, and of the soldier
 to listen and learn. So the inventor gives the orders, and
 the listener learns. For if someone could not think up what
 needed to be done, how would he be able give anyone
 else orders about it? If he were to give orders about what
 needed to be done on the basis of what he had heard from
 someone else, he would be following orders before he is-
 sued any; and that cannot be, as long as he is in command,
 since it was it was giving orders that we said was the com-
 125 mander's function, not following them, any more than it is
 the teacher's job to be instructed by his pupils. It is evident
 then from this argument too that nature has the role of
 commander, while science acquired by learning has the
 place of a servant and of one obeying his superior.

It was also said in the course of the preceding argu-
 126 ment that the gods invented each and every science and
 revealed it to mankind, while we humans put into oper-
 ation what we have received from them, instructed by

127 *χρησάμενοι. τίς ἂν οὖν λόγος μᾶλλον σώσειε τὸ γιγνώμενον ἢ τῷ πιστεῦσαι δικαιοτέρον ἢ ᾧ θεοὺς μὲν εὐρεῖν ἕκαστα τίθεμεν καὶ νῦν ἔτι σημαίνειν, πάλιν δ' ἀρχῆς ἴδιον φαιμέν εἶναι τὸ εὐρεῖν καὶ προστάξει, τὸ δ' ἀκούσαι καὶ μαθεῖν τοῦ χείρονος; οὔτε γὰρ δήπου θεῶν ἅπανθ' εὐρόντων αἰσχροὺν ἀρχοντος θεῖναι τὸ εὐρεῖν, εἴπερ ἀρχουσιν οἱ θεοὶ πάντων, οὔτ' ἀρχῆ τοῦ προστάξει προσήκοντος αἰσχροὺν εἰς θεοὺς ἀνευγεκείν τὴν εὐρεσιν, εἴπερ εὐρόντος μὲν ἔστι σημήναι, εὐρίσκει δὲ ὁ κρείττων αἰεί.*

128 *εἰεν. δεσπότης δ' οἰκέτου τῷ διαφέρει πρὸς θεῶν; οὐ δεσπότην μὲν προστάξει, δούλον δ' ὑπακούσαι πᾶς τις ἂν φήσειεν εἶναι; οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν οἶδεν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τί χρῆ ποιεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας μαθάνει. τί δὲ ὁ τῶν παρθένων ἐπαινέτης τε καὶ σύμβουλος λέγει ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ποιητής;*

Πολλαλέγων ὄνυμ' ἀνδρὶ, γυναικὶ δὲ Πασιχάρηα.

πολλά, φησίν, ὁ ἀνὴρ λεγέτω, γυνὴ δὲ οἷς ἂν ἀκούσῃ χαιρέτω. ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ εὐδηλον ὡς ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς εὐρηκῶς καὶ προειδῶς ἐρεῖ πολλά, ἢ δ' ἀρχεσθαι προσήκει, στέρξει τοῖς λεγομένοις; οὐ γὰρ δήπου τῆς γε γυναικὸς ἀκούσαι περιμένων, εἴτ' ἐρεῖ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτὸς τί δεῖ ποιεῖν οὐδ' ὡς ἐκέλευεν Ἡσιόδος, ἵνα

⁷⁷ Alcman fr. 107 PMG; Alcman was best known for his *Parthenia*, songs for girl's choruses.

different intermediaries in different spheres of activity. What line of argument, then, is more conducive to our theme, or more deserving of belief, than the one in which we posit that the gods invented everything and still to this day direct us to it, and also say that inventing and issuing orders is the job of a commander, and learning and obeying the job of a subordinate? There is assuredly nothing reprehensible in positing, when the gods have invented everything, that invention is the function of a commander, since the gods are in command of all, nor, when issuing orders is the proper function of command, in crediting invention to the gods, since issuing directions is the job of an inventor, and it is the superior party at any point who makes discoveries.

Very good. In what way then, pray, does a master differ from a slave? Would not everyone say that it is the job of a master to give orders, and of a slave to obey? The former, then, knows on his own account what is to be done, while the latter listens and learns. What does the Spartan poet, the eulogist and counselor of young girls, have to say?

The husband's name was Saymuch, the wife's was Pleasedwithall.⁷⁷

Let the husband, that is, say much, and the wife be pleased with whatever she hears. Is it not therefore obvious that the one who has invented things for himself and seen them in advance, the husband, will have much to say, while the one whose role it is to obey, the wife, will be happy with what is said? For I take it that he will not wait around to hear what his wife has to say, and only then himself tell her what she must do, nor will he be guided by her words in order, as Hesiod instructs, "to teach her congenial hab-

- ἤθεα κεδνά διδάξῃ, τοῖς ἐκείνης λόγοις ἀκολουθῶν.
 ἀλλ' εἴπερ διδάξει, προστάξει· εἰ δὲ προστάξει, τῆς
 130 ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἐγγύτατα ἄξει τὴν γυναῖκα, ὡς ἀμεί-
 νων χείρονα. ὅσῳ τοῖνυν θεὸς μὲν ἀνθρώπου, ἄρχων
 δ' ἰδιώτου, δεσπότης δ' οἰκέτου, γυναικὸς δ' ἀνῆρ
 κρείττων καὶ τελειώτερος, τοσοῦτ' κρείττον καὶ ἰκανώ-
 τερον φύσις ἢ τέχνη, ἢ κομιδῇ πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω
 γένοιτ' ἄν.
- 131 ἔτι τοῖνυν κὰν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων τις αὐτὸ λόγων
 ἴδοι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν τεχνῶν ὠμολο-
 γεῖτο εἶναι σπουδαίους, ἢ πᾶσαν πάντως τέχνην ἀγα-
 θόν, τάχ' ἂν τις ὥσπερ ἔλεγchon εἶναι ταῦτα ᾗθη. νῦν
 δὲ τίς οὐκ οἶδεν πολλοῖς ὄνειδος τὴν τέχνην οὔσαν;
 οἶον τοὺς σκυτοδέσπας καὶ σκυτοτόμους καὶ γραφεῖς
 καὶ νευρορράφους τίς ἂν εὐδαιμονίσειεν τῆς τέχνης;
- 132 καὶ μὴν οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἔφη ὁ Πλάτων, τὸ τοῦ
 Εὐριπίδου προσπαίζων, ἀλλ' ὑμέτερος, ὦ Πλάτων,
 καὶ τοῦ σοῦ νῆ Δί' ἐργαστηρίου, καὶ τὰς τέχνας
 ταύτας βαναύσους καὶ τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀδραποδάδεις
 133 εἶναι. οὐκοῦν ἄτοπον καὶ περιφανῆς συκοφαντία τοῖς
 μὲν ἂς εἶπον τέχνας εἰδόσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλας μυρίας
 μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦν μετεῖναι χρηστοῦ παρὰ τὴν τέχνην,
 εἰ δὲ τις μὴ τέχνη τι μετέρχεται, διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸν ψέ-

⁷⁸ Hes. *Op.* 699.

⁷⁹ Aristides continues to use the single word *technê*, which covers the same range of activities and capacities as the English words "science," "art," "skill," and "craft" all together.

its.⁷⁸ If he is going to teach her, he will give her orders; and if he is going to give his wife orders, he will bring her as close as he can to his own character, as superior leading inferior. Unless, then, the order of things is to be completely inverted, nature is mightier and more efficacious than science to the same degree that god is mightier and more perfect than man, leader than private individual, master than slave, and man than wife. 130

We can see this from the opposite argument as well. If it were conceded that all practitioners of crafts and sciences were worthy people,⁷⁹ or that every craft and science was thoroughly good, this might be thought of as a refutation of my position. But in actual fact, who is unaware that for many practitioners their craft is grounds for insult? For instance, who would say that tanners and leather cutters and fullers and shoe repairers are lucky to have the skills they do? Indeed, "the tale is not mine," as Plato said, playing on the line from Euripides,⁸⁰ but yours, Plato; it is you and so help me your whole factory, who say that these crafts are menial and their practitioners servile.⁸¹ It is then extraordinary and a blatant piece of slander to claim that the masters of the crafts I have mentioned, and thousands more, are not pursuing any worthwhile activity in the exercise of their science, but at the same time, if someone pursues his ends without exercising 131

⁸⁰ Pl. *Symp.* 177a, from Eur. *Melanippe the Wise* (fr. 484 Nauck² = 484 TrGF).

⁸¹ Aristides hits back at what he wants to present as the supercilious philosophical distinction between menial ("banausic") and liberal arts by describing Plato's school as a "workshop" or "factory" (*ergastêrion*). 132

γειν ὡς ἐνὸς τῶν βεβαίως καλῶν στερόμενον, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς ἅμα μὲν μηδένα ποιείσθαι τῆς τέχνης λόγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προφέρειν αὐτὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἅμα δὲ ὡς καθαρῶς ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο σεμνύνειν;
 134 ὃ τι ἂν μὴ τέχνη γίγνηται κακίζοντας. καὶ μὴν ἐλοῦγε δυοῖν θάτερον, εἴποι δικαίως ἂν ἡ ῥητορικὴ, ἣ καὶ τοὺς χειροτέχνους ὡς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς τιμᾶν, ἣ τοὺς γε ῥήτορας μὴ ψέγειν, εἰ μὴ τέχνην κέκτηνται περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν.

[Oratory and Science (*Technê*) 2: Oratory Does Have the Status of a Science (135-77)]

135 ἄρ' ἔχει τινα καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ τὸν ἐροῦνθ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς παρασχέσθαι, ἢ ταῦτα ἴσα ἀντ' ἴσων; οὐκ ἂν, οἶμαι,
 136 φήσειεν ὁ Ὀμηρικὸς Ἴδομενεύς. ἅ μὲν οὖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ τέχνην εἶναι δοίημεν αὐτήν, ἔχοι τις ἂν λέγειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς πολλὰ ἀφελόντι τῶν ἐπιόντων τοσαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτά ἐστιν. ἴσως δὲ τις οἰήσεται τούτων οὕτως ἀποδεδειγμένων τὸ φαυλότερον σπεύδειν ἡμᾶς λοιπόν, ἔαν ὅτι καὶ τέχνη διδάσκειν πειρώμεθα. ἐγὼ δὲ
 137 οὔτε τῶν εἰρημένων οὐδὲν μετατίθεμαι οὔτε Πλάτωνι συγχωρῶ τὸ μηδὲν μετεῖναι ῥητορικῆ τέχνης, ἀλλ' ὅσον αὐτῇ τέχνης, χρήσομαι γὰρ τοῖς Πλάτωνος αὐτοῦ ῥήμασι, τοῦτ' ἐπέξειμι. ὅπερ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω,

a science, to criticize him for this very reason as lacking one of the securely fine things of life. You people simultaneously grant no value to science, but go so far as to use it as a way of insulting the masses, and at the same time cry it up as an unsullied good and speak ill of anything that does not come about by its agency. "Choose one or the other:" rhetoric would have every right to say, "either respect craftsmen as gentlemen, or refrain from criticizing orators for not being in possession of a science that bears on their subject."
 134

Oratory and Science (Technê) 2: Oratory Does Have the Status of a Science (135-77)

Can oratory too produce someone who will speak on her behalf, or does this already constitute a proportionate response? Homer's Idomeneus would not say so, I think.⁸² All the same, such is the extent and nature of the defense of oratory that one might offer—omitting much that comes to mind—even if one were to grant that it is not a science. It may be thought that now that this part of the case has been proved, I am from here on urging a weaker proposition, in trying to show that it is in fact a science after all. But I neither retract anything that I have said, nor concede to Plato that oratory has no element of science; I shall instead examine—to use Plato's own words—"that part of it that is a science."⁸³ Here too, as in the
 135
 136
 137

⁸² *Il.* 13.445-54, where Idomeneus taunts the Trojan Deiphobus for being able to kill only one Greek in return for the three Trojans he has just dispatched.

⁸³ *Pl. Phdr.* 269d.

τοῦτο κἀνταῦθα ποιήσω, αὐτοῖς οἷς εἶρηκε Πλάτων ἀκολουθῶν ἐπιδείξω μετέχουσαν τέχνης.

- 138 καίτοι τί ἂν ἄλλο τις βούλοιο; φησὶ γὰρ δήπου διαβάλλων αὐτήν ὅτι στοχάζεται καὶ προάγει τοὺς
 139 λόγους οὕτως ὅπως ἂν στοχάζεται. καίτοι πῶς οὐχ ὑπεναντίον φάσκειν μὲν στοχάζεσθαι, λέγειν δ' ὡς οὐ χρῆται λόγῳ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο; πάντες γὰρ οἱ στοχαζόμενοι δήπου τῷ λόγῳ προσάγοντες αὐτοὺς οὕτως στοχάζονται. οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν μὴ λόγῳ χρώμενοι στοχάζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦ πράγματος λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ ποιῶν στοχάζεσθαι. οἷον οἱ τῶν πόρρωθεν ὀρωμένων στοχαζόμενοι καὶ τυγχάνοντες ἀναφέροντες οἶμαι πρὸς τὴν φύσιν οὕτως στοχάζονται, καὶ τούτῳ χρώμενοι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ ὡσπερὶ σκοπῷ τούτῳ στοχάζονται. ὡς οἱ γ' ἀποτυγχάνοντες ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ στοχάζονται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦναντίον τῷ στοχάζεσθαι ποιοῦσιν. τὸ γὰρ στοχάζεσθαι τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τυχεῖν τοῦ πράγματος. οὐκοῦν οὐχ ᾧ στοχάζεται ἀμαρτάνει τις, ἀλλ' ᾧ διήμαρτεν οὐκ ἐστοχάσατο. εἰκότως· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀμαρτάνει λόγῳ χρώμενος, ἀλλ' ἅμα ἐσφάλη καὶ τὸν λόγον οὐ διεσώσατο. ὁ γὰρ λόγος ταύτην ἔχει²⁸ τὴν δύναμιν, μὴ διαμαρτάνειν, καὶ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἀληθές ἐστιν ὥστε οἱ φρονιμώτατοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγου

²⁸ ἔχει Keil εἶχε *codd.*

⁸⁴ Pl. *Grg.* 463a, 464c-65a. Aristides' argument from here down to §177 rests on the fact that whereas Plato uses the verb

preceding part of my argument, I shall use what Plato himself has said to demonstrate that it does indeed have a share of science.

- What more could one wish for than what he actually 138 says? For in his attempt to slander oratory he says that it "takes aim" and mobilizes words on the strength of the aim 139 it has taken.⁸⁴ How can it fail to be contradictory to assert 139 that it takes aim, but also to say that for this very reason it does not work by rational means? Everyone who takes aim of course does so by bringing themselves under the guidance of reason: it is impossible to take aim except by the application of reason, this is precisely the principle at work that means that someone *is* taking aim. For example, people taking aim at things seen in the distance and hitting them, take aim, I think, by reference to the real nature of the things aimed at, and it is with this as their principle, and so to speak their target, that they take aim. So those who miss their target are not taking aim at all, but doing the exact opposite of taking aim, since to take aim is precisely to hit the thing aimed at. Thus it is not insofar as 140 he takes aim that someone misses his target; the point is rather that in so far as he missed the target, he did not take aim. And reasonably so: nobody misses the target by using reason, but rather misses and fails to observe the dictates of reason at the same time.⁸⁵ For reason has the property of not missing the target, and this is so true that it is the wisest of men and those who have the largest share of

stochazesthai to mean "conjecture (in the absence of real knowledge)," in ordinary Greek usage it can also mean "take aim at."

⁸⁵ This sentence may be an interpolated reader's comment.

πλείστον μετέχοντες ἄριστα στοχάζονται. ὥστε εἰ τὸ στοχάζεσθαι τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἐστίν, ἐπὶ πλείστον ἢ ῥητορικῆ σῶζει λόγον.

141 τούτο μὲν οὖν ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν εἶρηκε συγκρούμενον οὕτω φαίνεται. θαυμάζω δὲ ὅπως οὐτ' ἔγνω οὐτ' ἔστοχάσατο ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ τὰναντία συνθεῖναι καὶ χρήσασθαι σημείῳ τοῦ μὴ τέχνην εἶναι, ὃ τοῦ τέχνην μᾶλλον εἶναι σημείον ἐστίν, δι' ἑνὸς καὶ μόνου τούτου δώσει λαβήν, εἰ δοῖται τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἶναι τὸ στοχάζεσθαι. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἤρετο ὡδὶ λέγων κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκείνον, τοξικὴν δέ τινα, ὦ Πλάτων, οἴσθαι τέχνην, ὅσον εἰπεῖν, ἢ καλέεις; τὴν μὲν γὰρ πολιτικὴν ἐπιστήμην πᾶσαν διελήλυθας καὶ τὰ μόρια αὐτῆς εὗρηκας ἀκριβῶς.—ἔγωγε, εἶπεν ἄν, οἶδα καὶ καλῶ.—τίς οὖν ἐστίν αὕτη καὶ τί ἐπαγγέλλεται;—τοῦ σκοποῦ τυχεῖν ἐν τῇ τῶν βελῶν ἀφέσει.—καλῶς, οὐκοῦν ὀπότεν στοχάσῃται, τότε τυγχάνει.—πῶς γὰρ οὐ;—πότερον οὖν οὐκ ἔστι τέχνη διὰ τὸ στοχάζεσθαι, ἢ τούτου καὶ ἔστι τέχνη τοῦ στοχάζεσθαι;—ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι τούτου.

143 εἶεν. τί δ' ἢ κυβερνητικῆ; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τούτο ὅπερ ἢ τοξικὴ καὶ αὐτὴ πράττειν, κατὰ γούν τὸν λόγον ᾧ χρήται. στοχάζεται γάρ, οὐ μὴν ὡς βέλει τυχεῖν, οἶμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τῆς θαλάττης σῶσαι. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ δεῖ μαθεῖν ἐν παιδείᾳ τὸν κυβερνήτην οἶδεν καὶ ἀκήκοεν. σῶζει δὲ οὐ τούτοις τὸ σύμπαν εἰπεῖν τὴν

⁸⁶ Aristides' wording echoes Pl. *Grg.* 451b.

reason who take aim best. If therefore taking aim is characteristic of oratory, oratory observes the dictates of reason to the highest degree.

It is clear from what Plato himself has said that this line of attack falls in on itself in the way I have shown. But I am astounded how he neither knew nor could guess that, quite apart from combining contradictories and using as a sign of not being a science what is in fact a sign that it is, he would be giving his opponents something to grip on simply and solely by granting that taking aim is characteristic of oratory. Think pray what would happen if someone were to ask him, using his very own turn of phrase, "Plato, do you know a science of archery, at least so as to be able to speak of it, and use that name?"⁸⁶ You have certainly given an exhaustive account of political science and established with precision what its subdivisions are." "Yes I do know it," he would say, "and I do use that name." "So what is it, and what does it undertake to do?" "To hit the target in the firing of projectiles." "Good. Then when it takes aim, it hits the target?" "Of course." "Is it therefore not a science because of the fact that it takes aim, or is it the science of just this, taking aim?" "The latter, I believe."

Very well, then. What about navigation? In my view, this too does just what archery does, at least in respect of the rational principle it employs. It takes aim, not indeed so as to hit something with a missile, I allow, but so as to bring people safely through a sea voyage. The helmsman certainly knows and has listened to everything he must learn by way of formal education; however, it is not, at the heart of the matter, through this learning that he keeps his ship safe, but through his successful handling of the cir-

- 144 ναῦν, ἀλλ' οἷς εἶ τίθεται τὸ παρόν. τοῦτο δὲ ἀμήχα-
 νον αὐτῷ χωρὶς τοῦ στοχάζεσθαι. σκόπει γὰρ πρῶτον
 μὲν, εἰ βούλει, τοὺς εἰς Αἴγινα διακομίζοντας, ὅτι
 ὁρῶσι τὴν Αἴγινα πρὸς ὃ οὖν ὁρῶσι στοχάζονται.
 ἔπειτα τοὺς εἰς τὸν Πόντον, εἰ δὲ βούλει, τοὺς εἰς
 Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν οὐδὲ σοί ποτε ἀήθη Σικελίαν· τού-
 τους γὰρ καὶ παντάπασιν εὐρήσεις στοχαζομένους.
 πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτοῦ δεῖ τοῦ ποῦ ποθ' ὁ σκοπὸς
 στοχάσασθαι, καὶ ὃ τότ' ἦν παρὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν,
 τοῦτ' εἰκάσαι τῷ λογισμῷ· ἔπειτα φανέντος αὐθις
 145 στοχάζεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὁρώμενον. φέρε γὰρ τὸν Ὀδυσ-
 σέα παρὰ τῆς Καλυψοῦς ἀκηκοῦτα [πλεῖν]²⁹ ὅτι χρη-
 τηρεῖν τὴν ἄρκτον ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντα, οὐκουν
 τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα καὶ δι' ὧν εἰσιν ἢ ναὺς αὐτὸν ἤδη δεῖ
 συλλογίζεσθαι; πολλὰ γὰρ ἂν πελάγη περάσαις καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἂν εἰς τόπους καὶ λιμένας κατάραις ἐπ' ἀρι-
 στερὰ τὴν ἄρκτον ποιησάμενος, ὡς δ' αὖ καὶ ἐπὶ
 δεξιῶν· ὥστε <οὐκ ἂν ἔχους>³⁰ Φάρου τυχεῖν οὐδὲ Πορ-
 θμοῦ διὰ βιβλίου, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὰ ἐπὶ μέρους στοχά-
 ζεσθαι.
- 146 φέρε γὰρ, τί μαθόντες νῦν μὲν εἶσω τοὺς οἰακας
 ἄγουσι, πάλιν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἕξω τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας; οὐχὶ

²⁹ *secl.* Keil

³⁰ *add.* Behr *post* Reiske (<οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδέ>)

⁸⁷ The destinations specified here look both to *Grg.* 511d and to Plato's own travels to Sicily, most famously described in *Ep.* 7; cf. §§285–98 and 362–73 below.

cumstances confronting him. And he cannot do this with- 144
 out taking aim. Think first, if you wish, of the men who
 carry passengers to Aegina, and how they can actually see
 Aegina; they therefore take aim toward what they can see.
 Then think of those who carry passengers to Pontus, or
 Egypt, if you prefer, or to Sicily, with which you were at
 one time not unfamiliar.⁸⁷ You will find that they take aim
 in a truly comprehensive sense. First, they have to aim a
 guess at the very question of where their target is, and
 conjecture by calculation what in the other instance was
 visible to the eye; then, when it actually comes into view,
 they have to take aim again at what they can now see.
 Think of Odysseus once he had been told by Calypso that 145
 he must watch the Pole Star and “keep it on his left
 hand.”⁸⁸ Did he not then have to calculate the details and
 the regions through which his ship would travel? You
 would cross many seas and put in at many places and
 harbors in the course of keeping the Pole Star on your left,
 just as you would if you were keeping it on your right. It
 follows that <you could not> reach Pharos or the Bosphorus
 by following an instruction manual;⁸⁹ you must inevitably
 aim at the individual stages.

Tell me, what is it that induces seafarers in the course 146
 of a single day at one moment to ship their steering oars
 and at another to put them out? Is it not because they are

⁸⁸ *Od.* 5.276–77.

⁸⁹ The text is uncertain here. Besides the need for a supplement (“you could not”), the Greek translated “by following an instruction manual” (διὰ βιβλίου) may be corrupt; the logic of Aristides’ argument suggests he ought to be saying “you cannot reach a distant destination *on just a single calculation.*”

τοῦ ὀρωμένου στοχαζόμενοι, ἢ τοῦ μέλλοντος ὀφθῆ-
 σεσθαι; τοῦ δὲ χάριν παρὰ τῶν ἐντυχόντων ποῦ θα-
 λάττης εἰσὶν ἢ πρὸς τίνι γῆι πολλάκις πυνθάνονται;
 οὐχ οἷ γε ἀκριβεῖς, ἔρεις. τίς δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀκριβῆς ἢ
 147 διαρκῆς; οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ τεχνίτης οὐδεὶς τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ.
 εἰ δὲ τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, τί δεινόν, εἰ μηδὲ ρήτωρ τε-
 148 χνίτης διαρκῆς μηδεὶς; καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν τὸ κυβερνᾶν
 τέχνη, κἂν ἐπὶ τοῦ κεκλημένου κυβερνήτου μὴ σφῶζη-
 ται, τί κωλύει καὶ ῥητορικὴν τέχνην εἶναι, κἂν παρὰ
 τοῖς ῥήτορσιν εἶναι φάσκουσι μὴ σφῶζηται; εἰ δὲ ἤ
 καὶ περὶ τούτων διαλέγει τῶν κυβερνητῶν ὧν τις πυν-
 θάνεται παρ' ἑτέρου τι καὶ ζητεῖ, οὐ γὰρ περὶ γε τοῦ
 Ποσειδῶνος, οὐδὲ τῶν Νηρηίδων, οὐδὲ τῶν Δισκού-
 ρων, ὅμως δ' αὐτοῖς ἀποδίδως εἶναι κυβερνήταις, ὡς
 ἀνθρωπος ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τέχνην ἔχειν τὴν κυβερνη-
 τικὴν, τούτοις ἀπασίν ἐστι τὸ στοχαζέσθαι, οἷ γε καὶ
 πρὶν ἀπαίρειν εὐθύς κἀθηται στοχαζόμενοι περὶ τῶν
 πνευμάτων· οὐ γὰρ παρὰ τοῦ γε Διὸς ἤκουσαν ἐπὶ
 τῆς Ἰδῆς ἢ τοῦ Γαργάρου, ἀλλ' οἶμαι ἕξ ἀρχῆς εἰς
 τέλος στοχαζονται ἀνέμων λιμένων, εἰ φθῆσονται,
 πάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. ὥστε σοι τὸ τοῦ μορίου εἶδω-
 149 λον σκιᾶς ὄναρ εἰς ἔλεγχον κατὰ Πίνδαρον γίνεται.
 πρὸς Διός, ἢ δὲ τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ ἀντίστροφος ἰα-

⁹⁰ Divinities with special connections to the sea, who of course do not need to ask for directions; it was one of the functions of the Dioscuri to come to the assistance of sailors in storms.

aiming at what they can see, or at what they are going to see? Why is it that again and again they ask those they meet where they are on the sea, and what land they are close to? The perfect navigator, at any rate, does not do this, you will say. But what man is perfect and adequate to every challenge? In which case, on this principle, no 147 craftsman will be perfect and adequate to every challenge either. And if that is so, what is so terrible if no orator is a craftsman adequate to every challenge either? If navigat- 148 ing is a science, even if it breaks down in the case of an individual bearing the name of helmsman, what is to prevent oratory too being a science, even if it breaks down in the case of individuals claiming to be orators? If you are also talking about the class of helmsman that includes people who ask questions and seek out information from others—since you are not asking about Poseidon, at any rate, or the Nereids, or the Dioscuri⁹⁰—and even so grant, as one human being to others, that they are helmsmen and possess the science of navigation, all these indulge in the activity of taking aim, since before setting sail they sit there—to take the most obvious example—conjecturing about the winds. They get no word from Zeus on Ida or Gargarus,⁹¹ but from start to finish, in my view, they conjecture about winds, harbors, arrival times, and practically anything. So your “shadow image of a part” becomes, as Pindar puts it “the dream of a shadow”⁹² as a piece of criticism.

For goodness sake tell me, do not medicine, which you 149

⁹¹ In Homer, Gargarus is a peak of Mt. Ida in the Troad, where Zeus had a shrine and from where he watched the fighting around Troy: *Il.* 8.47–52.

⁹² Pind. *Pyth.* 8.99.

τρική σοι καὶ δεύτερον ἀγαθὸν τῷ σώματι, εἰ δὲ βού-
 λει, καὶ ἡ γυμναστική, πότερον οὐ στοχάζονται τῆς
 φύσεως τῶν σωμάτων; νῆ Δία, ἕαν τε εἴπῃς γε, ἕαν τε
 μή. ἡ πρόοιδεν ὁ γυμναστής εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅπως
 150 ἡμῶν ἕκαστος ἔχει σώματος, οὐ παρὰ τῆς πείρας
 μαθάνει; τί δ' ἐπειδὴν πρὸς τοῦτο γυμνάξῃ, πρὸς ὃ
 πειράται, πότερ' ὥσπερ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς,
 οὕτως ἐξεπίσταται τὸ μέλλον, καὶ διῶσχυρίζεται τὸν
 151 ἄνδρα τόνδε ἐκ τῶνδε πανταχῆ καὶ πάντως ἀπαθῆ
 καταστήσειν ἢ καθάπαξ ἢ ποσόν τι χρόνου; οὐκοῦν
 ἢ μὴ στοχαζόμενον μαινόμενον τὸν γυμναστήν λέ-
 γεις, ἢ σωφρονῶν αὐτὸς ὁμολογήσει στοχάζεσθαι
 τοῦ βελτίστου, τοιοῦτον δ' οὐδὲν ἔχειν προειπεῖν οὐδ'
 152 ἐπαγγείλασθαι. εἰεν. ὁ δὲ δὴ τῇ μὲν πείρα³¹ εἰς πίστιν
 ἰσχύσας καὶ τοῖς φαρμάκοις καὶ ταῖς διαίταις ἤδη
 χρώμενος [τούτοις]³² ἰατρός, ὅπως δ' ἕκαστος ἡμῶν
 153 ἔχει φύσεως ἢ συγκρίσεως ἀγνοῶν, ἄρ' οὐ στοχαζό-
 μενος προσάγει πάνθ' ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ περὶ τὸν κάμ-
 νοντα ἀναφέρων εἰς τὸ εἰκός; ἐγὼ μὲν οἶμαι. ἢ δύναιτ'
 ἂν τις αὐτῶν ἀποτόμως εἰπεῖν ὅτι τούτοις οὐτοσὶ χρώ-
 μενος ἕξω παντὸς ἔσται κινδύνου καὶ δυσχερὲς οὐδ'
 ὅτιοῦν πείσεται; οὐ μέντ' αὖν τοσοῦτον ἐλείποντο τοῦ
 τῆν Ἐπίδαυρον ἔχοντος θεοῦ, φαίης ἂν, καὶ μάλα
 ἐμοὶ γοῦν κατὰ νοῦν. ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ κοι-

³¹ τῇ μὲν πείρα Trapp τῆς μὲν πείρας *codd.*

³² *secl.* Keil

count as the counterpart to the administration of justice
 and the second ranking good for the body, and if you like
 gymnastics too, "take aim" by guesswork at the nature of
 the human body? They certainly do, whether you say so or
 not! Or does the gymnastic trainer see in advance imme-
 150 diately and from the outset what physical condition each
 of us is in, and not discover it by trial and error? And what
 about when he is exercising us in the light of the target he
 is trying to achieve? Does he know exactly what is going
 to happen, like Apollo at Delphi, and insist that he will
 free such and such a person completely and utterly from
 such and such symptoms, either once for all, or over a
 specified period of time? Either, then, you are saying that
 151 the trainer is mad, if he does not aim by guesswork, or he
 himself, if he is in his right mind, will agree that he aims
 by guesswork at what is best, but can neither predict nor
 promise any such thing for sure. So much for him. As for
 152 the doctor, who has enough solid practical experience to
 be trusted and can already work with medicines and di-
 etetics, but does not know what constitution or physical
 temperament each of us has, is he too not aiming by guess-
 work and by reference to probabilities as he applies all the
 measures that he brings into play in the case of his patient?
 I for one believe he does. Or could any of them say flatly
 153 that if the patient in front of him adopts these measures
 he will be out of all danger and that he will suffer no ill
 consequences at all? In that case, you would say that they
 were not so far behind the patron divinity of Epidaurus,⁹³
 and I would be firmly of the same opinion. What they ac-
 tually do, I think, is to make conjectures about individual
 cases on the basis of the shared characteristics of the ma-

⁹³ Asclepius.

νῶν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὰ ἴδια εἰκάζουσιν. εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ ἰδία
 τισὶ παρηκολούθησαν, πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πείραν στο-
 χάζονται, τὸ μέλλον ἐκάστῳ συνοίσειν ἐκλέγοντες.

154 καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Πλάτων, ταῖς σαῖς ἀδαμαντίναις
 ἀνάγκαις ἀποδείκνυται. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταῦτὰ πᾶσι
 λυσιτελεῖ τοῖς σώμασιν οὔτε νοσοῦσιν οὔτε ὑγυαί-
 νουσι λέγω, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ οὐ ταῦτὰ νοσοῦσί τε καὶ
 ὑγυαίνουσιν, οὕτω καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον οὔτε ἐν ταῖς νόσοις
 ἅπασιν ταῦτὰ οὐτ' ἐπὶ τῆς ὑγείας αὐτῶν πείρα τῶν
 ἰατρῶν. τὰς δ' ἀπάντων αὐτῶν διελέσθαι φύσεις ἀδύνα-
 τον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ταῖς ἰδέαις διαφέρειν ἀλλήλων ἐν
 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, οὕτως κἂν τῇ δι' ὅλου φύσει
 τοῦ σώματος ἄλλος ἄλλου κεχώρισται διὰ παντὸς τοῦ
 155 γένους. ἀλλὰ μὴν τόν γε συντυχόντα καὶ δεηθέντα
 κελεύει θεραπεύειν ἢ τέχνη, κἂν ἐκ περάτων ἦκη τις
 156 ἀρτίως. τί οὖν δεῖ λοιπὸν ἢ στοχάζεσθαι; εἰ γὰρ μήτ'
 εἴσεται πάντας καὶ θεραπεύσει τὸν προσελθόντα, καὶ
 τοσοῦτον εἴσεται δῆπου, μὴ πᾶσι δεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὃ
 λέγω λείπεται. ἢ σὺ τὰναντία δείξας μὴ σφυρήλατος
 σταθεῖς ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πομπείου τυχῶν
 Παναθηναίους τοῖς μεγάλοις περίθι.
 157 σκόπει δὴ καὶ περὶ τῆς γραφικῆς, ἣν εἰ καλεῖς
 τέχνην, οὐκέτ' ἐρήσομαι. καλεῖς γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς γε
 158 τούτοις τοῖς Γοργιεῖς λόγους. ἄρ' οὖν ἄλλο τι ταύτης

⁹⁴ Pl. *Grg.* 509a.

⁹⁵ An allusion to Pl. *Phdr.* 236b.

⁹⁶ Pl. *Grg.* 450c. In what follows, Aristides plays on the fact that the verb *eikazein*, which means something similar to one of the senses of *stochazesthai* (conjecture), is etymologically connected to the noun *eikōn*, "image" or "likeness."

jury. And if in fact they have attended some people indi-
 vidualy, then they use that practical experience to aim
 their guesswork, selecting what is going to do good to each
 patient.

All this, Plato, is demonstrable with—as you would put
 it—"adamantine necessity."⁹⁴ I say that the same things
 are not good for all bodies either in sickness or in health,
 and just as the same things are not good for the sick and
 the healthy, in the same way, or to an even more marked
 degree, you will not hear the doctors themselves recom-
 mending the same thing for everyone either in cases of
 disease or when people are healthy. It is impossible to
 classify the physical natures of all men individually. Just as
 it is characteristic of the whole of humanity to differ from
 each other in appearance, so too one man differs from
 another across the whole species in the overall physical
 character of their bodies. Yet the science of medicine com-
 mands its practitioner to treat anyone who turns up and
 requests it, even someone just arrived from the ends of the
 earth. What then is the doctor to do except conjecture by
 guesswork? If he is going to be in the position of not know-
 ing everybody and yet treating anyone who comes up to
 him, and of knowing no more than that not everybody
 needs the same treatment, the only available conclusion is
 as I say. If you can prove the contrary, then you will not
 only have a bronze statue put up to you at Olympia,⁹⁵ but
 also win the honor of a ceremonial procession and be carried
 about in triumph at the Great Panathenaea!

Think too of painting. I shall not bother to ask if you
 call it a science, since you do so in the very work we are
 discussing, the one named after Gorgias.⁹⁶ Is the heart of

- κεφάλαιόν ἐστι πλὴν στοχάζεσθαι τῶν αἰὲ παρόντων
 159 καὶ ὧν ἂν τὴν μίμησιν δέη ποιήσασθαι; καὶ μὴν εἰ
 μὴ τοῦτο, τί ἕτερον; αὕτη γοῦν ἐστὶν ἡ καὶ τὸ ῥῆμα
 πεποιηκυῖα τῷ πράγματι· αἱ γὰρ τῶν γραφῶν εἰκό-
 νες εἰκάζην ἐποίησαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων λέγεσθαι.
 εἰ δ' ἄρα πρότερον ἦν τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς τέχνης, ἔτι κάλ-
 λιον μαρτυρεῖται μόνου τοῦ εἰκάζην εἶναι τὴν τέχνην,
 160 εἴπερ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῆς εἰκὼν εἶναι κρατεῖ. οὐ μὴν οἶμαι
 λόγου χωρὶς εἰκάζει, ἀρχὴν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν εἰκάζην, εἰ
 μὴ εἶχε δι' ὄτου, ἀλλ' εἰκάζει πρὸς τὸν τῆς φύσεως
 161 λόγον. εἰ δέ σοι φίλον καὶ περὶ τούτου φιλονικεῖν, ἔχε
 τὰ ἄλλα ἡμετέραν χάριν, ἀλλ' ὡς οὐχ ἧ γε τῶν χρω-
 μάτων κρᾶσις στοχαζομένης ἐστὶ τῆς τέχνης, καὶ οὐ
 τέχνης μόνου, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσεως ἰκανῆς, ταυτὶ μόνου
 162 δείξας καταγέλα τῆς ῥητορικῆς. καὶ μὴν τό γε κάλ-
 λιστον τῆς τέχνης καὶ τελεώτατον καὶ ᾧ γραφικὴν ἢ
 πλαστικὴν εἶναι διαφέρει, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ χρώμα-
 τος δήπου μίξις. ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἄγει τὸ εἰκασθὲν τῆς ἀλη-
 θείας. οὐκοῦν ᾧ μεγίστῳ προέχει, τοῦτ' ἀφαιρέεις, ἐὰν
 μὴ λίπῃς τὸ εἰκάζην.
 163 καὶ τί δεῖ τὰς ἄλλας ἐξετάζειν τέχνας ὅσαι διὰ τοῦ
 στοχάζεσθαι χωροῦσιν; αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ μαντικὴ κινδυν-
 νεύει τοῦτ' εἶναι μόνου εἰκάσαι· καίτοι φαίη τις ἂν
 οὕτως σκοπῶν καὶ διαιρῶν ὅτι τούτῳ καὶ μόνῳ μάν-

this craft anything other than aiming by guesswork at what
 it has in front of it at any given time, and whatever it has
 to represent? Indeed, if it is not that, what else is it? It is
 159 at any rate this craft that gave a name to the activity at issue,
 because it is the likenesses (*eikones*) created by painters
 that are responsible for the phrase "hazard a likelihood"
 (*eikazein*) being used of other things as well. But if
 in fact the word was there before the craft, then that is still
 better evidence that the craft is exclusively one of "hazard-
 ing a likelihood," if it is right to say that its product is a
 160 likeness. It does not however, I believe, hazard a likeness
 without the aid of reason, because it would not have haz-
 arded a likeness in the first place if it had not had some
 means of doing so, but rather it forms its likenesses in the
 light of the rational principles inherent in nature. If you
 161 are disposed to put up a fight about this as well, you can
 have the rest of your case as far as I am concerned. Show
 only that the blending of colors is not the work of a science
 that aims by guesswork, and not just a science but a suit-
 ably talented nature as well, and then make fun of oratory!
 It is beyond doubt the blending of colors that is the most
 162 admirable and perfect part of the craft, and the thing that
 marks the difference between painting and sculpture, be-
 cause it brings the likeness that has been created close to
 the reality. You are therefore depriving the science of its
 principal distinction, if you do not allow it the process of
 hazarding likenesses.

What need is there to go systematically through all the
 163 other sciences that proceed by taking aim by guesswork?
 Even the science of divination is perhaps no more than
 hazarding likelihoods, though it is true that on closer ex-
 amination, and drawing the appropriate distinctions, one

τιν ἢ ἰδιώτην εἶναι διαφέρει, τῷ τὸ μὲν εἰκάζειν πάντων, τὸ δ' ἐπίστασθαι τοῦ μάντεως εἶναι ἐγὼ δέ φημι
 164 οὐδ' ὀτιοῦν. καὶ τούτου Πλάτωνα παρέξομαι μάρτυρα, καὶ μὴ φαίνεται μαρτυρῶν, ἔμοιγε πιστεύσει μηδεὶς. τὸ δὲ ἥδιστον τῆς μαρτυρίας, οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλοις τισὶ δράμασιν ἢ λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς ἀρτίως εἰς ἐτέρων ἀποδείξειν ἐχρῶμεθα ἔνεστι διαρρήδην, "ἐπεὶ τὴν γε τῶν ἐμφρόνων ζήτησιν τοῦ μέλλοντος διὰ τε ὀρνίθων ποιουμένων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σημείων, ἅτε ἐκ νοῦ καὶ διανοίας ποριζομένων ἀνθρωπίνῃ οἴήσει, οἰο-
 165 νουιστικὴν ἐπωνόμασαν, ἣν νῦν οἰωνιστικὴν τὸ ὠ σεμνύοντες οἱ νέοι καλοῦσιν." οὐκοῦν ὅτε τὴν οἰωνιστικὴν εἰκαζόντων εἶναι φῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐκ ἐκφεύγει μαντικὴ τὸ μὴ εἰκάζειν κατὰ τοῦτο, εἴπερ μέρος οἰωνιστικὴ μαντικῆς. καὶ μὴν ὅτι καὶ διὰ τῶν ἄλλων
 166 σημείων προστίθης αὐτός. τοῦτο δ' ὅταν προσθῆς, ἅπασαν δίδως τὴν μαντικὴν εἰκασίαν εἶναι, καὶ μάλα ὀρθῶς κατὰ γούν τὴν γνώμην τὴν ἐμήν. οὐ γὰρ ὁμοίως, οἶμαι, οἷ τε θεοὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἴσασι καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι φάσκουσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἂ μέλλουσι ποιεῖν ἐπίστανται, καὶ πρόκειται τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῖς ὡσπερ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς. διὰ τοῦτο "Ζεὺς ἐν θεοῖσι μάντις ἀψευδέστατος," καὶ ὅτι γε δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ποιητῆς μαρτυρεῖ. τὸ γὰρ δεύτερόν ἐστιν αὐτῷ

might say that the sole distinction between seer and layman is that, though anyone can hazard likelihoods, only the seer makes a science of it. In my view, the seer knows just this, how to hazard likelihoods, and nothing more. I shall produce Plato as witness to this, and if his testimony does not clearly support me, let no one believe a word I say. What is most pleasing about his evidence is that it comes in so many words not in any of his other dialogues or treatises, but in precisely the passage I was using just now to prove another point: "the ancient name, moreover, for the investigation of the future by men in their right minds through birds and other signs, was 'oionistic,' based on the idea that these signs were being deliberately and rationally supplied to human cogitation (*otēsis*); modern usage has added the weightier long 'o' and calls it 'oiōnistic.'"⁹⁷ Thus, when you say that "oiōnistic" is done by men who hazard likelihoods, it follows from this that divination too cannot avoid hazarding likelihoods, if "oiōnistic" is indeed a category of divination. Indeed, you yourself add that it does so "through other signs" too, and once you add that, you concede that divination as a whole is a matter of hazarding likelihoods, and in my view at least you are quite right to do so. Because in my view, the ways in which the gods know the future, and those human beings who claim this ability know it, are not the same. The gods know what they are going to do, and future events lie open to them as if they could see them. Thus "Zeus among the gods is the most unerring seer," and the same poet adds that it is for just this reason, since his second line is, "and he himself has the outcome in his

97 Pl. *Phdr.* 244c; cf. §52 above.

167 "καὶ τέλος αὐτὸς ἔχει." οἱ δ' ὥσπερ ἐν σκοτῶ τὰ πράγματα κρίνουσι, πρὸς τὸν ψόφον ἢ τι τῶν ἐφανέντων, διηλεκτὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἔχουσι προειπεῖν. τεκμήριον δέ· εἰ γὰρ μὴ φράσαις τὸ ἐρώτημα, οὐδὲν ἔχει σοὶ λέγειν περὶ ὧν εἶδεν σημεῖων. ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἔχειν εἰπεῖν οὐδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οἶδεν ὅτου χάριν ἤκεις, εἰ μὴ πύθοιο. οὐ γὰρ ἔγκειται τὰ πράγματα αὐτῷ προφαινόμενα, ἀλλὰ τὰς πίστεις τοῖς σημείοις προσάγων εἰκάζει πρὸς τὸν λόγον.

168 καὶ οὐ μόνον κατὰ τοῦτ' ἐλέγχεται στοχάσασθαι τοῦ μέλλοντος ὃν τὸ μαντεύεσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἤδη τις ἔμαρτύρησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκρίνηται τὸ ἐρωτηθέν, εἰκάζει τὰ κύκλω πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα. νίκη πολέμου, καὶ τίνος συμβάντος οὐκ οἶδεν, οὐδ' ἀπλῶς τῶν περὶ τὴν μάχην οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἰκάζει. πάλιν ἢ πολιτῶν ἢ τιῶν ἄλλων ἐπιβουλή, καὶ τὸν τρόπον οὐκ ἔχει φράσαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τὰ ἀνείρατα [οὔτος]³³ οὕτως 169 συμβάλλεται. τὴν δ' Αἰγυπτίων σοφίαν τίς οὐκ οἶδε τῶν ἐντετυχηκότων; ὡς ἂ γ' ἂν ἢ φοβήσῃ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἢ ὑπόσχηται, τὸν γε τρόπον καὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὸ μέτρον, οὐκ ἔχει διορίσασθαι ἀλλ' ἢ πλοῦτον ἢ πενίαν ἢ λύπην ἢ χαρὰν ἢ θάνατον ἢ πράξεις ἢ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγει, αὐτὰ δ' ἕκαστα οὐ συνείλη-

³³ *secl.* Resike οὔτος οὕτω TQER²a² οὕτως οὕτω VAR¹a¹

⁹⁸ Attributed by the scholia to Euripides (in an unidentified play: fr. 1110 TrGF) and by modern scholars hesitantly to Archilochus (fr. 298 IEG).

power."⁹⁸ Human beings on the other hand judge matters as if in the dark, going by the sound or such glimpses as they can get, and cannot predict a coherent sequence of events. This is evident from the fact that, if you do not voice your question out loud, the seer cannot tell you anything about the signs he has seen. Far from being able to tell you about the future, he does not even know so much as why you have come, unless he asks. Rather than the truth about things being vividly present to him in advance, he makes rational conjectures about what is likely to be the case by bringing your questions together with the signs.

Nor is this the only way in which it is established that divination is equivalent to aiming at the future by guesswork, as indeed a poet has already testified.⁹⁹ Even if the seer answers your question, his conjectures do not touch the heart of the matter. Victory in war, but he does not know what it is consequent on, or anything at all about the circumstances of the fighting; he just conjectures. Or again, a plot by the citizens, or someone else, but he cannot tell you what form it will take; his conjectures are like dreams. Anyone who has come across the Egyptian art¹⁰⁰ knows that, whatever warnings or promises it issues about the future, it is unable to give precise information about manner or place or magnitude, but speaks instead about wealth, or poverty, or grief, or joy, or death, or achievements, or suchlike. It does not give exact details along

⁹⁹ Eur. fr. 973 TrGF (unidentified play): "he who conjectures well is the best seer." This is a very widely used quotation.

¹⁰⁰ Astrology (cf., e.g., Diod. Sic. 1.81.4-6).

φεν, ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν φαινομένων,
 τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰ νόμιμα εἰκάζει τὰ ἐκάστων, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
 τὰ ὅμοια, ἔστι δ' ἅ καὶ πλείστον ἀλλήλων κεχω-
 170 ρισμένα. πανταχοῦ δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν παρακαλεῖ, ὅτι
 ταύτης καὶ μόνης καὶ μόνου εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ εἰκάζειν,
 ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν. οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἢ εἰκάζουσα
 τῇ ἀληθείᾳ φαίνεται διὰ πάντων.
 171 τί δὲ περὶ ῥητορικῆς εἰ στοχάζεται θαναμάζεις; φαί-
 νεται γὰρ ὁμοίως διακειμένη τῇ μαντικῇ, πλὴν ὅσον
 μαντικὴ μὲν ἀπήλλακται στοχασασμένη, ῥητορικὴ
 δὲ οὐ στοχάζεται μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 πράττει διὰ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν ἅπτ' ἂν εὕρισκῃ βέλτιστα.
 ὥστε καὶ τὸν τῆς μαντικῆς ἐπέχει λόγον καὶ τὸν τῆς
 στρατηγικῆς, ἣν μηδὲν τῇ πολιτικῇ προσήκειν Πλά-
 172 των οὐκ ἔρεῖ. πῶς οὖν ῥητορικὴ πολιτικῆς μορίου εἶ-
 δωλον, εἰ μὴ οὕτως; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὕτω γε οὐκ εἶδωλον.
 173 εἶεν. αὐτοὶ δὲ οἱ στρατηγοὶ τί πράττουσιν, ὧ θαναμά-
 σιε; οἶμαι μὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ στοχάζονται οἱ γέ που
 βέλτιστοι καὶ φρονιμώτατοι καὶ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων
 διανοίας καὶ φύσεως τῶν σφετέρων στρατιωτῶν, καὶ
 τόπων γε οἶμαι καὶ καιρῶν. ἄρ' οὖν τοῦ μηδενός εἰσιν
 174 ἄξιοι χρῆσθαι; οὐκ οἶμαί γε. ἀλλὰ μὴν εἰ διὰ τοσ-
 ούτων γε ὧν εἶπον τεχνῶν—τὰς γὰρ πλείους ἀφήμι—
 τὸ στοχάζεσθαι φαίνεται τῶν ἔργων ἡγούμενον καὶ
 διὰ τούτου πάντα χωροῦντα, πῶς ἄξιον τούτῳ τὴν
 ῥητορικὴν ψέγειν; ἢ πῶς ὁ μόνου κοινόν ἐστὶν τῶν

with each prediction, but guesses at the circumstances of
 each individual case, sometimes on the basis of the size of
 the bodies observed, sometimes on the basis of customs
 and practices, sometimes on the basis of similarities, and
 sometimes on the basis of the widest of dissimilarities.
 At every turn, it invokes the inventive power of the mind, 170
 because it is to this that the business of conjecturing like-
 lihoods seems uniquely to belong, although not in an
 absolute sense. It is thus clear that this art really does
 proceed throughout solely by means of conjecture.

Why are you so amazed that oratory takes aim by guess- 171
 work? It is obviously in the same position as divination,
 except in so far as, while the business of divination is over
 once it has aimed its guesses, oratory does not only take
 aim at its targets, but also sees to the carrying out of what-
 ever measures it decides to be best by means of its subor-
 dinates. It thus fulfills the role not only of divination, but
 also that of generalship, which Plato will not say has nothing
 to do with politics.¹⁰¹ How then is oratory “the shadow 172
 image of a part of politics,” if not in this manner? But if in
 this manner, it is certainly not a “shadow image”! Well, 173
 then, what is it that generals do, my fine friend? As I see
 it, the best and most reflective of them do nothing but aim
 guesses: at their enemies' intentions, and at the character
 of their own soldiers, and at terrain, and at timing. Are
 they then worthless for practical purposes? I do not think
 so! Indeed, if through the whole list of the sciences I have 174
 mentioned—I will pass over most of them—it is clearly
 aiming by conjecture that guides their practice, and every-
 thing proceeds through this, then how can it be fair to use
 it as a way of criticizing oratory? Or to use what is so to

¹⁰¹ Pl. *Plt.* 303e-4a.

- τεχνῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, εἰς ἔλεγχον τοῦτο φέρειν, ὡς οὐ μετέχει ῥητορικῆ τέχνης; οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ τοῖς συμβόλοις, [καὶ]³⁴ δι' ὧν ἔδει γνωρίσαι καὶ παραδέξασθαι, τούτοις διαφθεῖρειν αὐτὴν ἔστιν, ὅταν ταυτὰ τις
- 175 ἐγχειρῆ λέγειν. οὐκοῦν οὐχ ὅτι στοχάζεται, διὰ τοῦτο οὐ μέτεστι τέχνης αὐτῆ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ἐν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, δι' ἐν τοῦτο μέτεστι τὸ στοχάζεσθαι,
- 176 εἰ τοῦτ' ἀληθὲς εἶρηκε Πλάτων ὅτι δὴ στοχάζοιτο. τί δὲ τᾶλλα λέγοι τις ἄν, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν τὴν πολυτίμητον εἴτ' ἐπιστήμην εἶτε σοφίαν χρὴ προσεπεῖν, οὐκ αὐτόσ, ὧ πρὸς θεῶν, εἰκάζειν περὶ τῶν μεγίστων ὁμολογεῖς, ὅταν γέ που φῆς μὴ εἶναι διῶσχυρίσασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφίης τῷ θεῷ τὰκριβές, εὖ ποιῶν καὶ φιλοσοφῶν ὡς
- 177 ἀληθῶς; ἀλλ' ἐγώ, τοῦτ' εἶπέ μοι, πεισθῶ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸν Δία βελτίω τοῦ Σολέως σοφιστοῦ; ὦγαθέ, σκόπει μὴ πάντα τὰνθρώπεια ὅσον εἰκάσαι ἦ, ἢ δὲ ἐπιστήμη καθ' Ὁμηρον ἐν Διὸς οὐδεὶ μόνου.

[Oratory Is Not a Form of Flattery (178–203)]

- 178 ὅτι τοῖνυν ὅλως ἔστι σόφισμα τὸ φάσκειν τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλήθεσι ταῦτα συμβουλευεῖν τοὺς ῥήτορας καὶ τούτου μόνου στοχάζεσθαι, εἰ καὶ μὴ παῖς ἐλέγξειεν, ἀλλ' ὅστις γ' εὖ φρονεῖ. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ-

³⁴ *secl.* Reiske

175 speak the one common feature of all sciences as a damning proof that oratory has no element of science? To undertake to say this is nothing other than to try to destroy oratory through the very tokens of identity that ought to ensure her recognition and acceptance! The case is not that oratory has no element of science because she takes aim 175 by conjecture, but that it is thanks to this one property, aiming by conjecture, even if not through a single one of all the others, that she does have such an element, if indeed Plato was right to say that she takes aim by conjecture. Leaving aside anything else that one might say, do 176 you not yourself confess, for heaven's sake, that even your own treasured science or wisdom, whichever we are to call it, forms conjectures about the most important things, at any rate when you say that firm assertion is impossible and leave the precise truth to god, quite properly and in a truly philosophical manner?¹⁰² But tell me, am I to believe that 177 Zeus is no better than the sage of Soli?¹⁰³ My dear fellow, reflect whether the whole of human life may be no more than conjecturing, while true knowledge, as Homer says, resides "at Zeus' threshold" alone.¹⁰⁴

Oratory Is Not a Form of Flattery (178–203)

178 As to the assertion that orators advise what the masses already approve of, and aim their conjectures only at this, even if a child could not show it to be completely sophistical,¹⁰⁵ anyone with any sense certainly could. I think the

¹⁰² Pl. *Phd.* 114d, cf. *Ap.* 42a. ¹⁰³ Chrysippus, the "second founder" of Stoicism and a byword for philosophical acuity.

¹⁰⁴ *Il.* 24.527. ¹⁰⁵ Echoing Pl. *Grg.* 470c.

ναντίον πᾶν φαίνεται, μήτ' ἐν τῇ τῆς ῥητορικῆς φύσει
 πλείον εἶναι μηδὲν ἢ τὸ μὴ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλήθε-
 σιν εὐθὺς εἶαν γίγνεσθαι μήθ' οἱ ῥήτορες ἄλλο τι
 μᾶλλον σκοπεῖν ἢ τὰ βέλτιστα, μήτε τοὺς δῆμους
 αὐτοὺς τοῦτό γε ἐκφυγεῖν, ὡς οὐκ ἀμείνους σφῶν οἱ
 ῥήτορες λογίσασθαι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ πᾶσαν
 179 ὅλως τὴν τοῦ βίου σχέσιν καὶ τὴν τύχην. καὶ τοῦτ'
 ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν τιμῶν εἶναι δῆλον ὃν αὐτοῖς ἀπονέμου-
 σιν. εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἀληθὲς τοῦτο, ὃ Πλάτων αἰτιάται, καὶ
 μὴ τοὺς δῆμους ἦγον οἱ ῥήτορες, ἀλλ' οὗτοι τῶν δή-
 μων ἦσαν, πρῶτον μὲν τίς ἂν αὐτοῖς αἰδῶς καὶ τιμῆ
 παρὰ τῶν δῆμων ἦν; ποῦ δ' ἂν προεδρίας ἢ τῶν ὑπὲρ
 τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔτυχον; οὐδεὶς γὰρ τοὺς διακόνοὺς ὡς
 κρείττους αὐτοῦ θαυμάζει, οὐδὲ οὐδ' πρότερος περὶ τῶν
 πραγμάτων ἐντεθύμηται, τούτῳ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην
 προστίθησιν.
 180 ἔπειτα τίς ἢ κήρυξ ἢ πρεσβεία δεηθῆσεσθαι ποτ'
 ἔμελλεν ἀνδρὸς ῥήτορος, εἰ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πλήθεσι
 συμβουλευεῖν τῶν ῥητόρων εἶναι κατεδέδεικτο; τίς
 γὰρ ἂν ἢ πόλις πέμπουσα τὸν τοῦ μηδενὸς ἄξιον θε-
 ραπεύειν εἴλετο, ἢ πρεσβευτῆς ἤκων προσῆλθεν ἂν
 ποτε τούτῳ τοῦ πείσαι χάριν τὸν δῆμον, εἰ τοῦ βίου
 κεφάλαιον ὃν ἠπίστατο ἅπτ' ἂν ὁ δῆμος βούλοιο,
 ταῦτα συμβούλεσθαι, καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ἐκείνου φω-
 νήν, ὥσπερ τὴν τῶν διδασκάλων οἶμαι παῖδες; τοῦ-
 ναντίον μέντ' ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν χορῶν εἶχεν, εἰ μὴ οἱ
 181 πλείους ἔμελλον τὸν ῥήτορα ἀναμένειν, ἀλλ' ὁ ῥήτωρ
 182 ἐπέειχεν ἕως ἂν ὁ δῆμος ἐπισημήνῃ. τίς δ' ἂν ἰδίαν ἢ

true situation is the other way round entirely. It is the
 single most important thing about the essential nature of
 oratory that it does not immediately allow what the masses
 approve of to happen. Orators do not aim at anything
 other than what is best; nor are their citizen audiences
 themselves unaware that orators are better than they are
 at thinking about public business, and better in general in
 the whole tenor of their lives and their fortunes. This is
 179 evident from the very honors that they award to them. If
 Plato's charge were true, and orators were under the peo-
 ple's control rather than leading them, then first of all,
 what respect and honor would be theirs from the people?
 On what grounds would they have achieved precedence,
 or privileges over the majority? No one admires his ser-
 vants as superior to himself, or credits his own opinions to
 another, when it is in fact he who has formed his views
 about a matter first.

Then secondly, what herald or embassy was ever likely
 180 to ask for the help of an orator, if it had been demonstrated
 that it was typical of orators to advise what the masses
 already approved of? What city in sending an embassy
 would have chosen to lavish its care on a worthless indi-
 vidual? What ambassador on arrival would ever have ap-
 proached him to win over the people, if he had known that
 his main purpose in life was to advise whatever it was that
 the people already wanted, and to wait for its voice to in-
 struct him, like schoolchildren waiting for their teacher's?
 The situation would be the reverse of what happens with
 181 choruses, if rather than the masses waiting for the orator,
 the orator waited until the people gave the signal. What
 182

δημοσίαν δίκην φεύγων δι' ὅτου νικήσει τῶν ρητόρων
 ἐζήτησεν, εἰ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς δικασταῖς ταῦτ' ἔρειν
 ἐμελλεν ὁ ρήτωρ καὶ μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἕτερον; οὕτω μέντ' αὖ
 οἱ μάλιστα κινδυνεύοντες καὶ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων
 183 ἀγωνιζόμενοι πλείστον ρητόρων ἡμέλουν. εἰσὶ μὲν
 γὰρ οἱ μάλιστα δήπου κινδυνεύοντες οἷς χαλεπῶς
 ἔχει τὰ τῶν ἀκροωμένων καὶ οἱ ταῖς διαβολαῖς προ-
 κατειλημμένοι. εἰ δὲ ἂν δοκοῖη τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις, ταῦτ'
 ἔργον ἐπεποίητο λέγειν οἱ ῥήτορες καὶ ταῦτα ἐπηύ-
 ξον, Ἡράκλεις, ἦν αὐτῷ οἴκοθεν φέρειν τὸν ὄλεθρον,
 εἰ τις ἦγεν ῥήτορα πρὸς τοιοῦτον πρᾶγμα ὥσπερ ἂν
 εἰ τις αὐτῷ τὸν δῆμιον συνεισῆγεν.
 184 ἄρ' οὖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει καὶ οἱ μάλιστα ἀποθανέ-
 σθαι προσδοκῶντες καὶ οἷς πλείστος ἔπεισι φόβος
 μὴ τῶν ἴσων τεύξεσθαι, οὗτοι καὶ διαφερόντως ἀμε-
 λούσι τῶν ρητόρων; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. οὐχ οὕτω παρά-
 δοξα ἔρει Πλάτων. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θύρας ἔρχονται, δέονται,
 προκυλιδοῦνται, πάντων φάρμακον τὴν ῥητορικὴν
 εἶναι νομίζοντες, θανάτου, φυγῆς, αὐτῶν τῶν φόβων,
 185 δικαστῶν ὀργῆς, δήμου φιλονικίας, πάντων. διὰ τί;
 ὅτι οὐ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς καθημένοις ἴσασι λέγειν με-
 λετῶντας τοὺς ῥήτορας,—οὐ γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ αὐτὸ τοῦτ'
 ἐνῆν λέγειν μελετᾶν αὐτοῖς, εἰ τοῦτο ἐμελλον—ἀλλ'
 ἴσασι αὐτοὺς πόρρωθεν προσέχοντας τοῖς πράγμασι
 καὶ μελετῶντας λέγειν ὡς ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων τάξις
 ἀπαιτεῖ, καὶ τῆς τούτων φύσεως στοχαζομένους, οὐ
 τῆς τῶν ἀκροωμένων, εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀκροω-
 μένων, οὐχ ὥστε τὰς ἐκείνων ἐπιθυμίας θεραπεύειν.

defendant in a private or a public lawsuit would ever have
 sought out an orator to win his case for him, if the orator
 was going to say nothing at all apart from what the jurors
 already believed to be true? Under these circumstances,
 it would have been those particularly at risk of condemna-
 tion, and on trial for the highest stakes, who showed the
 greatest disregard for orators. Those who are particularly
 at risk are those to whom the audience is ill-disposed and
 183 who have already been condemned by the voice of slander.
 If orators had made it their task to repeat and enlarge
 on what their audience already believed, then by good-
 ness bringing in an orator in such a situation would have
 been to volunteer the means to one's own destruction, like
 someone bringing his own executioner along with him.

Is this then in fact the true state of affairs? Is it those
 184 who particularly expect to be condemned to death and are
 most afraid that they will not receive a fair hearing who
 also show a particular disregard for orators? No it is not.
 Plato will not assert anything so absurd. They beat on their
 doors, they entreat them, they grovel at their feet, in the
 belief that oratory is the cure for everything—death, exile,
 their fears of death and exile, the anger of the jurors,
 the people's assertiveness, everything. Why? Because they
 185 know that orators do not train in order to say what the
 audience sitting before them already believes—it would
 not even be possible to say that they were training, if that
 is what they were going to do—but that instead orators
 study the facts of the case at length, and practice so as to
 be able to speak as the order of those facts demands; they
 direct their conjectures at the true nature of the facts
 rather than at the character of their audience, and if they
 do also conjecture after the nature of their audience, it is

οὐδ' ὅσα βουλομένοις ἐστὶν ἀκούειν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα βέλτιον εἰπεῖν, ταῦτ' εἰπόντας πείσαι δυναθῆναι. ὥσπερ γε καὶ τοὺς ἰατροὺς στοχαζομένους ὀρώμεν τῆς φύσεως τῶν σωμάτων, οὐ μὴν ὥστε χαρίζεσθαι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ὥστε τὸ βέλτιστον μὴ εἰκῆ προσενεγκεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς μάλιστα ἂν ὁ κάμνον παραδέξαιτο.

186 ἄχρι τούτου φημι καὶ γὰρ τὸν ῥήτορα τῶν ἀκρομένων στοχάζεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτό γε εἰ λέγεις, συγχωρῶ, ἀλλ' οὐ δουλεύων οἶμαι τοῖς πλήθεσιν οὐδὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι παρατηρεῖ τὰς φύσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους, ὅπως τὰ βέλτιστα εἰς δέον εἴποι. “ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ ὁ τι χρὴ λέγειν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀπορῶ” φησὶν “ἀλλ' ὄντινα χρὴ τρόπον πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν.” εἶτα παρρησιάζεται, καὶ μάλα γε, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, λαμπρῶς:

πέπεισμαι γὰρ ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύνουδα τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ὑμᾶς ἐκπεφευγῆναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δεόντα ποιεῖν, οὐ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι.

187 εἰ τοῦτ' ἔστιν, ὦ Πλάτων, τὸ στοχάζεσθαι καὶ προσομιλεῖν τὰς φύσεις τηροῦντα, οὐκ ἐκφεύγομεν τὰς αἰτίας, πάντες ἐροῦσιν οἱ ῥήτορες. εἰ δ' ὑπέικειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς πλήθεσι φῆς καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ κελευόμενα, ἀλλ' οὐ κελεύειν, τὴν θεράπαιναν εἵληφας ἀντὶ τῆς δεσποίνης,

not so as to pander to their desires or to say what they want to hear, but so as to base their attempt to persuade on saying what it is better to say—just as we see doctors too directing their conjectures at the true nature of their patients' bodies, not indeed so as to pander to their desires in any simple sense, but so as to apply the best available treatment in such a way as to make the patient most disposed to accept it, rather than just at random.

To this extent I to assert that the orator directs his conjectures at his audience, and if this is what you are saying, I agree, but I do not agree that he keeps his eye on their natures because he is a slave to the masses or with a view to currying favor; he does it, in Demosthenes' words, so as to say what is best when the need arises. "It is not what needs to be said about the present situation that puzzles me," he says, "but how I ought to talk to you about it."¹⁰⁶ Then he speaks candidly and, in my view, quite brilliantly:

I am convinced on the basis of what I know from direct experience and from hearsay that the majority of your missed opportunities are down to your not wanting to do what you ought, rather than to a failure to understand.

If that is what is meant, Plato, by aiming conjectures, and keeping an eye on your audience's character as you address it, we are guilty as charged, all orators will say. But if you mean that they defer to the masses and do what they are ordered, rather than giving the orders, you have mistaken the servant for the mistress, and think you are

¹⁰⁶ Dem. Or. 3.3.

- 188 καὶ τοὺς δημοσίους ψέγων δοκεῖς τοὺς ῥήτορας. ἀλλ' οὐθ' οἱ δημοῖοι μέγα φρονούσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, ὅτι δουλεύουσι τοῖς τῆς πόλεως βουλήμασιν, καὶ τοῖς ῥήτορσιν τοῦ φρονεῖν αὐτὸ τοῦτο αἰτιὸν ἔστι τὸ μὴ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς δήμοις λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἃ δοκοῦσιν αὐτοὶ βέλτιστα εἶναι. εἰ δὲ ἦσαν διάκονοι τῆς τῶν ὄχλων ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς καθημένοις ἐδημηγόρουν, οὐδ' ἂν παρρησιάσασθαί ποτ' αὐτοῖς ἐξῆν,
- 189 οὐχ ὅπως ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἄλλους φρονεῖν. ἀλλ' οἶμαι συνίσασιν αὐτοῖς οὐ τὰς ἡδονὰς θεραπεύουσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας σωφρονίζουσιν, οὐδὲ ὀρώσιν εἰς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλὰ <τοῖς>³⁵ πολλοῖς ὀρώσιν εἰς τούτους, οὐδ' ἀρχομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ιδιωτῶν [ἑαυτοῖς],³⁶ ἀλλ' ἀρχουσιν αὐτοῖς τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διὰ τοῦτο εἰλήφασι παρ' αὐτῶν ἀντ' ἄλλου συμβόλου μαρτύριον τῆς ἐξουσίας, λέγω τὴν τῶν δημαγωγῶν, οὐκ ἐπειδήπερ ὑπὸ τῶν δήμων ἄγονται, ᾧ πάντ' ἄνω καὶ κάτω ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς δήμους ἄγουσιν· ὥσπερ γε δὴ καὶ τοὺς παιδαγωγούς, οἶμαι, καλοῦμεν, οὐκ ἐπειδήπερ ὑποπεπτῶκασι τοῖς παισίν, ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐτοῖς ἡγούνται. ὃ τι γὰρ ἂν φαίης ἀρμόττει τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀκοῦσαι τῷ ῥήτορι, ἀρχῶν, προστάτης, διδάσκαλος, πάντα ταῦτ' ἔστιν τοῦ ῥήτορος τὰ ὀνόματα. ὅπερ γὰρ εἰσι τοῖς παισίν οἱ διδάσκαλοι, τοῦτο τοῖς δήμοις εἰσὶν οἱ ῥήτορες· δεικνύουσιν ἃ χρὴ πράττειν καὶ παιδεύουσι ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν.
- 191 καὶ ἡ φύσις οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔταξεν. οὐ δουλεύει ταῖς τῶν χορευτῶν ἐπιθυμίαις ὁ κορυφαῖος, ἀλλ' εἴ τί που

criticizing the orators when in fact you are criticizing the public slaves. No, the public slaves are not proud of themselves because they serve the will of the city, whereas for orators it is a source of pride precisely that they say not what the people already think, but what they themselves think is best. If they were servants of the mob's desire and based their speeches on what the audience sitting before them already believed, they would never be able to speak their minds, let alone pride themselves as being better than the rest. Instead, I believe, they are well aware that they chasten the people's desires rather than pandering to their pleasures, that rather than looking to the masses, the masses look to them, and that rather than being subservient to private citizens, they themselves command the masses. It is for this reason that they have taken their name—"demagogues," I mean—from the people, rather than any other token, as an indication of their power: not because the demos lead them, you who turn everything on its head, but because they lead the demos—just as, of course, we give "pedagogues" their name not because they are subservient to children, but because they lead them. Any word of this kind you may choose to mention is an appropriate one for the orator to be called by: ruler, leader, teacher, these are all names for the orator. What teachers are to children, orators are to peoples: they show what has to be done, and they educate them with the opinions they express and the measures they propose.

This is indeed the natural order of things. A chorus leader is not subservient to the desires of the choristers,

³⁵ *add.* Reiske

³⁶ *om.* Phot. *secl.* Reiske

- καὶ χαρίζεται, τὸ μηδὲν ἀπᾶσαι συμπαρατηρῶν τῷ
χαρίζεσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑποβάλλουσιν γε αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν-
δόσιμα οἱ χορευταί, οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖνοι κελεύωσιν,
οὕτω προσάγει τὸ μέλος καὶ τὸν ῥυθμόν, οὐδὲ τί χρῆ
διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς παρ' ἐκείνων μαθάνει, οὐ μᾶλλον
γε ἢ παρὰ τῶν ναυτῶν ὁ κυβερνήτης μαθάνει τί χρῆ
πράττειν. ἀλλ' ἀκούουσι μὲν οἱ ναῦται ἅ προστάττει,
λέγει δὲ ὁ κυβερνήτης οὐκ εἶ τι καὶ δοκοῦν τοῖς ναύ-
ταις, ἀλλ' οὖν αὐτὸς ὢν κύριος ἐν τῇ νηὶ τῶν ναυτῶν.
192 πανταχοῦ πάντ' ἐστὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἡγεμόνας, καὶ τὰ τού-
των ἡγείται βουλήματα. ἔπεται δὲ τὰ μὲν ἐκουσίως,
τὰ δὲ ἀκουσίως τὰ τῶν πολλῶν. κορυφαῖος χοροῦ,
ναυτῶν κυβερνήτης, στρατιωτῶν στρατηγός, δήμου
193 ῥήτωρ ἡγείται. πάντες μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες φύσει κρείτ-
τους τῶν ὑφ' αὐτοῖς· εἰ δέ τις μετ' ἐξουσίας καὶ χαρί-
ζεται, πείθων, οὐκ ἀναγκάζων, καὶ πρὸς τῷ σώξειν
τὴν ἑαυτοῦ τάξιν στοχάζεται καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τῶν
ὑφ' αὐτῷ, οὗτος ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ τῷ ὄντι πολιτικός καὶ
ὄν Ὅμηρος ἔφη πατέρα ὡς ἡπιον εἶναι. οἶμαι δὲ τὸν
αὐτὸν καὶ ῥήτορα ἄριστον πεποίηκεν, ᾧ τοῦτο ἀνέθη-
κεν.
194 μὴ δὴ τοῦτο λέγε ὡς ὄνειδος κατὰ τῶν ῥητόρων εἰ
χαρίζονται, ἀλλ' εἰ μετὰ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ τῆς χάρι-
τος στοχάζονται, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτ' ἀπόδος τῇ ῥητορικῇ
τὴν πρέπουσαν εὐφημίαν, ἵνα τοῖς ὁμοίοις αὐτὴν
195 ἀμειβόμενος φανείης. εἰ δὲ λέγεις ὡς ἀπλῶς χαρίζον-
ται καὶ δουλεύουσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, τίς ἢ πίστις; ἐγὼ

and even if he does perhaps do something to gratify them, he is at pains to see that no dissonance is caused by this gratification. The choristers do not furnish him with the keynote, he does not conduct the melody and the rhythm in whatever way they may tell him, and he does not learn from them what he is to rehearse them in, any more than a ship's captain learns what he ought to do from his crew. The crew listen to the captain's orders, while the captain does not say whatever the crew may approve of, but speaks as himself having authority over the crew on board ship. In all cases everything depends on the leaders, and it is their wishes that lead the way, followed partly willingly and partly unwillingly by those of the masses: a chorus leader leads the chorus, a ship's captain leads the crew, a general leads the soldiers, and an orator leads the people. All rulers are superior to those beneath them; if someone in a position of power also gratifies his subordinates, using persuasion rather than force, and in addition to preserving his own position can also aim conjecturally at satisfying their desires, you see in him the true politician, and the one whom Homer said was like a gentle father (and I think he also in his poetry speaks of the man to whom he attributes this characteristic as an excellent orator).¹⁰⁷

Do not make it a reproach against orators that they gratify their audiences, but if, along with what is best, they aim also at gratification, then accord oratory the appropriate praise on these grounds too, so as to be clearly seen to be giving it its due. If you say that they simply gratify their audiences and are subservient to their desires, where is

¹⁰⁷ *Od.* 2.46-47: said of Odysseus, who is explicitly praised as an orator in *Il.* 3.203-24.

μὲν γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ἐτέραν παρέχομαι. εἰ γὰρ μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν δήμων ἐμελλον οὕτω γε θαυμασθήσεσθαι μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ιδιωτῶν μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν μήθ' ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων μήτ' αὐτοὶ μηδαμῶς ἄπερ νυνὶ σεμνύνεσθαι, συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, εἰ μήτ' εὐδοξήσῃ μῆτε χρηματιέσθαι μῆτε ἰσχύσει μῆτε ἐρεῖν, πῶς ἐγχαρεῖ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν κατ' αὐτῶν παραδέξασθαι, δι' ἧς ταῦτ' ἀπήντησεν ἄν;

196 ἔτι τοίνυν καὶ ὅλως ἀδύνατα ἐγκέκληκεν. ἴσως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἵπποκενταύροις χαρίσασθαι ῥάδιον, εἰ τις ἐδημηγόρει παρ' αὐτοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι κοινῇ λέγω πάντων, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ καθ' ἓνα οἶμαι, εἴπερ ἦσαν [οἱ]³⁷ διπλοὴ τὴν φύσιν· δῆμον δὲ βουλήματα γινῶναι καὶ θεραπεύσαι διὰ τέλους τίς μηχανῆ; καὶ ποῦ δυνατόν; οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν εἰς δῆμος, οὐδὲ μιᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, οἶμαι δ' οὐδ' ἔσται· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ βρέματα ἄλλος ἀλλαχόθεν φέρονται τοῖς πᾶσι μεμερισμένοι, ταῖς ἡλικίαις, τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι, ταῖς φύσεσι, τῇ τύχῃ, ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, ἄλλος ἄλλα γιννώσκων, εἰ γε γιννώσκων χρὴ καλεῖν τὸ μῆδ' ὀτιοῦν εἰδέναι περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας. καὶ νῆ Δ' οἱ μὲν νυνὶ πάρεσιν, οἱ δ' αὖθις ὥσπερ τὰ φύλλα δοκεῖ μὲν εἶναι ταῦτ' αὐτῶν δένδρων, ἔστιν 197 δ' οὐδέποτε ἂ πρὸ τοῦ. ποίαις οὖν ἐπιθυμίαις ὁ ῥήτωρ μέλλει δουλεύσειν, ἢ τὰ τίσις δοκοῦντα ἐρεῖν, ἢ τίνων στοχάσεσθαι, οἳ γ' οὕτως ἀτόπως ἔχουσιν, ὥστ' οὐδ' αὐτοὶ γινῶναι δύνανται τί βούλονται; ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτ' ἀπέχουσι τοῦ ταῦτ' ἀφρονεῖν ἀλλήλοις ὥστ' οὐδεὶς

the proof? I can prove the opposite from the facts themselves. If they were not, on that basis, going to win any admiration from civic communities or private individuals, fellow citizens or foreigners, nor to feel any of the pride in themselves that they now do, if in short they were going neither to have good reputations nor to make money nor to wield power nor even to speak, how is it possible to accept the kind of charge against them that would have brought this result about?

Moreover, the charges Plato has brought are actually 196 totally impossible. It might not have been easy for a public speaker to gratify the Centaurs either, even each one individually, let alone all of them together, if they were hybrid in nature; but what possible means is there to know a people's wishes and tend them perfectly? How on earth can it be done? No people is a single entity with unified desires, and I do not believe there will ever be such a thing either. Like streams of water its members rush along each in his own direction, differing in all possible respects—age, occupation, character, fortunes, desires—each with his own different awareness, if indeed you can call not knowing anything at all about the truth having an awareness. What is more, while one generation is here now, another follows after it, seeming like leaves to be the same and to belong to the same tree, but in reality never what 197 was there before. If they are in such an extraordinary state as not to be able to know their own minds, which desires is the orator to be subservient to? Whose views is he to give voice to? What is he to aim his conjectures at? So far are they from having the same views as each other, that

³⁷ *om.* U *secl.* Reiske

198 αὐτῶν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 ταῦτα φρονεῖ διὰ τέλους, ἀλλὰ πάντες ὡσπερ χειρα-
 γωγοῦ τοῦ ῥήτορος [χρῶμενοι]³⁸ αἰεὶ δέονται. εἰς τίνας
 οὖν εἰπέ μοι βλέψει; πάλιν γὰρ ταῦτὸν ἐρήσομαι. καὶ
 πῶς διακουήσεται ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις; ὅταν γὰρ δέη μὲν
 διακοπεῖν πολλοῖς, οὗτοι δ' ὥσι μὴ κατὰ ταῦτα γιγνώ-
 σκοντες, πᾶσι δὲ ἀμήχανον ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν ταῦτα χαρί-
 ζεσθαι, πῶς ὁ ῥήτωρ θεραπεύσει τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐ-
 τῶν; ἅμα γὰρ χαριεῖται τοῖς ἐτέροις καὶ τοὺς ἐτέρους
 ἀνιάσει. ὥστε οὐ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἢ πρὸς ἀηδίαν
 ἐρεῖ.

199 πῶς οὖν καλεῖς διακόνοὺς τούτους; οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ.
 ὅτι τοῖνυν αὐτὸς Πλάτων ὠμολόγηκε μὴ τὰ δοκοῦντα
 τοῖς πολλοῖς λέγειν τοὺς ῥήτορας ἕξεσθιν ἴσως εἰπεῖν
 τοῦτό γε ὡς κἂν παῖς προσέχων φωράσειεν, ἵνα μὴ
 ἐλέγξειεν λέγω. δίδωσι γὰρ δὴ που τοσοῦτον, πειθοῦς
 εἶναι δημιουργὸν τὴν ῥητορικὴν· εἰ δὲ πιστευτικῆς ἢ
 διδασκαλικῆς οὐ διαφέρομαι τὸ νῦν εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὖν τό
 200 γε πείθειν αὐτῷ προστίθησιν. ὅτε τοῖνυν τὸ πείθειν
 ἐστὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς, οὐ λέγουσι τὰ δοκοῦντα τοῖς πολ-
 λοῖς οἱ ῥήτορες. εἰ γὰρ τὰ δοκοῦντα λέγουσιν, οὐ
 πείθουσιν οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐφ' αὐτοῦ γινώσκων ἐτέρω
 201 περὶ τούτου πείθεται. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ κεχώρισται τό τ'
 ἐφ' αὐτοῦ βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ τὸ πεισθῆναι. ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ
 τοῦτ' ἄρα εἰπεῖν δεῖ, αὐτοῖς, οὐ τοῖς ῥήτορσι πείθον-
 ται οἱ τὰ δοκοῦντα αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. πείθει δὲ οὐδεὶς
 ὅστις μὴ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην εἰπῶν ἐνίκησεν. ὥστ'

³⁸ *secl.* Reiske, Keil

you might say not a single one of them holds the same view
 as himself about the same matter from start to finish; all
 of them at every moment need the orator to guide them.
 To whom then, pray, will he look, to repeat my previous
 question? How will he minister to their desires? If he is
 198 obliged to minister to many, and they do not all think the
 same way, and it is impossible to gratify them all equally
 from the same resources, how is the orator going to take
 care of their desires? At one and the same time he will be
 gratifying one group and offending another, and so will
 produce as much displeasure as pleasure by his words.

How then can you call these men servants? It is impos-
 199 sible. In fact, Plato himself concedes that orators do not
 give voice to what the majority already believe, as one
 might perhaps say even a child could detect if he paid at-
 tention (let me not say "could prove against him"). He
 certainly grants this much, that oratory is "the creator of
 conviction"; for the present I make no issue of whether
 this is "trusting" or "educated" conviction, but at all events
 he credits oratory with persuasion.¹⁰⁸ If, then, persuasion
 200 is a function of oratory, orators do not give voice to the
 views of the masses, because if they are giving voice to
 those views, they are not exercising persuasion: no one
 who forms his own views on a matter takes someone else's
 word about it. That is precisely the difference between
 reflecting for oneself and being persuaded. If this too has
 201 to be spelled out, people acting in accordance with their
 own views are being persuaded by themselves, not by ora-
 tors. And no one persuades who does not carry the day
 when he voices his views. In which case, if orators give

¹⁰⁸ Pl. *Grg.* 454e-55a.

αὐτὸ τοῦναντίον τῷ Πλάτωνος λόγῳ συμβαίνει, εἰ τὰ
 τοῖς πολλοῖς δοκοῦντα λέγουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες. ἃ γὰρ οἱ
 202 βουλόμενοι λέγουσι, ταῦτα πείθονται λέγειν. οὐκοῦν
 εἰ μὲν ἡ ῥητορικὴ πειθοῦς δημιουργὸς καὶ τὸ πείθειν
 τῶν ῥητόρων, οὐ κολακεύουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες· οὐ γὰρ
 διακονοῦσιν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ πείθουσιν· εἰ δ' οἱ
 ῥήτορες τὰ δοκοῦντα λέγουσιν τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐ δημι-
 203 ουργὸς ἡ ῥητορικὴ πειθοῦς· πειθομένους γὰρ τοῖς
 πολλοῖς, ἀλλ' οὐ πείθοντας παρέχεται. πρὸς ταῦτα
 ἐλοῦ ὀποτέρῳ τὸ ψεῦδος. Πλάτων γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐλέγχει
 Πλάτωνα, καὶ τὸ κάλλιστον, οὐ πόρρωθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ
 τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγοις ἀναμίξ.

[*The Centrality of Oratory to Politics and the
 Maintenance of a Just Society (204-46)*]

204 ὡς τοίνυν οὔτ' ἄλογον ἡ ῥητορικὴ οὔθ' οἶον, ὡς οὐ-
 τωσὶ φάναι, στοχαζέσθαι, οὐδ', εἰ μετέχει τέχνης,
 εὖρημα ποιείσθαι, οὐδὲ μεθ' ὧν ἀρτίως διεξήγειν τε-
 χνῶν εἶναι τῶν πολλῶν, < . . . >³⁹ ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστον
 λόγου μετέχον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἅπαν ἐν λόγοις, καὶ μέγι-
 στον καὶ πρῶτον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τελεώτατον
 καὶ πέρασ, εἰ οἶόν τ' εἰπέειν, εὐχῆς ἄξιον δεῖξαι.

³⁹ <ἀρκείτω ἡμῖν δεδείχθαι> Reiske <οὐ μόνον ἀποδει-
 κτέον> Behr

voice to the opinions of the masses, the exact opposite of
 what Plato says comes about, since they are being per-
 suaded to say what is said by those who wish to volunteer
 their views.¹⁰⁹ Thus, if oratory is the creator of conviction 202
 and persuading is a function of orators, orators do not
 exercise flattery, since they do not minister to the many
 but persuade them; but if orators give voice to the opin-
 ions of the many, oratory is not a creator of conviction,
 because it produces speakers who do not persuade the
 many but are persuaded by them. Decide on this basis on 203
 which side of the argument falsehood lies. Plato proves
 Plato wrong before our very eyes, and the beauty of it is
 that he does not do so in two widely separate works, but
 all together in the same words from the same dialogue.

*The Centrality of Oratory to Politics and the
 Maintenance of a Just Society (204-46)*

It has, then, been shown that oratory is neither an unrea- 204
 soning activity, nor such, so to speak, as to aim at things
 by conjecture, and that it should neither be accounted a
 great discovery simply because it has an element of sci-
 ence to it, nor rank among the mass of sciences I reviewed
 just now. What still demands to be shown is that it is in fact
 rational to the highest degree, or rather subsists entirely
 in reasoned discourse, and that it is the first and greatest
 and most perfect of human things and, if one may put it
 thus, the highest thing a man might pray for.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Alluding to the standard formula for inviting contributions
 to debate in the Athenian Assembly, "Who wishes to speak?" (τίς
 ἀγορεύειν βούλεται;).

¹¹⁰ The text is uncertain at this
 point, though the overall sense is not in doubt.

205 γροίη δ' ἂν τις εἰ σκέψαιτο τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς καὶ
 ὑπὲρ τίνων καὶ πηλίκων τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐρέθη καὶ τί
 206 πράττει καὶ ποιεῖ διὰ τέλους. οἶμαι τοίνυν ἅπαντας ἂν
 οἷς δυνατὸν συμφῆσαι τὸ μὴ κατὰ ταῦτά φῦναι τοὺς
 ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν μερίδου τὴν μὲν οἶαν βιάζε-
 σθαι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν εἶναι, ἣν τῶν κρειττόνων τις ἂν
 εἴποι, λέγω δ' οὐκ ἀρετῇ βελτιόνων, ἀλλ' ἰσχυροτέ-
 ρων, τὴν δ' οἶαν ἐλαττοῦσθαι καὶ παρὰ γνώμην συγ-
 χωρεῖν ἀπορία τοῦ κωλύειν, ἣν τῶν ἀσθενεστέρων
 207 οἶσαν γινώσκουμεν. τοῦτο οὖν εἶναι τὸ ποιήσαν εὐ-
 ρεῖν τι τοιοῦτον ἀνθρώπους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, ἢ θεοὺς γε
 ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὃ τὴν μὲν ἰσχὺν ἐπισχῆσει, τοῦ
 δὲ ἴσου καὶ δικαίου πᾶσιν ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον γενήσεται
 ταῦτόν τοῖς τε πολλοῖς συμφέρον καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὸ
 βιάζεσθαι πεφυκόσιν αὐτοῖς. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι ἔμελ-
 λον ἐκφεύξασθαι τῶν ἀδίκων καὶ κακῶν ἔργων τὰπί-
 χειρα, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀσθενεστάτων πρώτων ἀναιρεθέντων
 ἄλλων ὑπ' ἄλλων κατὰ μικρόν, οὕτως αἰεὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
 ὑπεξαιρουμένων ἔμενε τελευτώντας αὐτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυ-
 τοὺς ἐλθεῖν, ὥσπερ φασὶ τοὺς σπαρτοὺς, εἰ ἄρα καὶ
 ὁ μῦθος τοῦτο αἰνίττεται. ἐμοὶ μὲν γάρ, εἴ τι δεῖ καὶ
 παραβῆναι, θαυμαστῶς δοκεῖ τοῦτο βούλεσθαι δη-
 λοῦν. πεποιήκέ γε τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς τῆς γενέσεως ἐκ

¹¹¹ Aristides picks up the distinction introduced into the discussion in the *Grg.* by Callicles in 483b–84c, but he develops it in a pointedly different way.

The point may be grasped by examining the essential 205
 nature of oratory, the nature and significance of the pur-
 poses for which it was invented in the first place, and what
 it consistently brings about and does. I think that all who 206
 are in a position to do so would agree that human beings
 are not all naturally the same, but divide into two classes.
 One of these two classes characteristically uses force and
 takes the larger share; one might call it the superior class,
 meaning by that not better in moral character but physi-
 cally stronger. The other class characteristically gets the
 worst of things and has to give ground against its will for
 want of any means of preventing this; we think of this
 one as the weaker class.¹¹¹ It is this state of affairs that 207
 moved human beings to invent something for themselves,
 or the gods to invent it for them, that would restrain phys-
 ical force and be a kind of guarantee of equality and fair-
 ness to all, acting in the interests alike of the many and of
 those naturally inclined to the use of force. For the latter
 were not set to escape the consequences of their unjust
 and wicked actions either: first, little by little, the weak-
 est would be done away with, by one enemy or another;
 then, with the remainder being removed from the scene
 in the same way, there would in the end be nothing for
 them to do but turn on each other, as it is said the Spartoi
 did, if indeed this is the hidden meaning of the myth.¹¹²
 In my view, if a digression is permissible, this is absolutely
 its intended meaning; at least, it has them being born in

¹¹² The "Sown Men," who sprang from the dragon's teeth sown by Cadmus in the course of the foundation of Thebes. Aristides affects to find an allegorical meaning (*hyponoia*) "hinted at" by this story.

δράκοντος ὀδόντων, αὐτοὺς δ' ἀναβηναί φησι τοὺς
 ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους, Ἄρει δὲ ἀνθ' Ἑρμοῦ μελῆσαι τοῦ
 θέρου.

- 208 ὅπερ οὖν ἔφη, οὐδ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπερέχουσι ταῖς
 δυνάμεσιν εἰς τέλος λυσιτελήσειν ἔμελλεν ἢ δοκοῦσα
 κατ' ἀρχὰς εὐτυχία, ἀλλ' ὕφ' οὐ καὶ κρείττους ἦσαν,
 μᾶλλον δ' ὤοντο εἶναι, ὑπὸ τούτου κατελείπετο αὐτοῖς
 ἀπολωλέναι, ὥστ' ἔρρειν κομιδῇ τὰ πάντων ἀνθρώ-
 209 πων. ἔδει δὴ τι κοινὸν εὐρεθῆναι φάρμακον τῷ γένει
 ταῦτόν ἅπασιν συμφέρον, τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς, τοῖς ἥττοσι,
 τοῖς ἐπιεικέσιν ὡς τοὺς μὲν ἢ καλύσαι πρὸ τῶν ἀδι-
 κημάτων, ἢ παρ' αὐτὰ τιμωρήσασθαι, τοῖς δ' ἄδειαν
 τοῦ βίου παρασκευάσαι, τοῖς δὲ χάριν τὴν πρέπου-
 210 σαν, ὅσοι τὸ δίκαιον ἐτίμων ἐκόντες. εὐρέθη τοίνυν ἐκ
 τούτων ῥητορικὴ καὶ παρηλθεν φυλακτήριον δικαιο-
 σύνης καὶ σύνδεσμος τοῦ βίου τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅπως
 μὴ ταῖς χερσίν, μηδὲ τοῖς ὄπλοις, μηδὲ τῷ προλα-
 βεῖν, μηδὲ πλήθει καὶ μεγέθει, μηδ' ἄλλω τῶν ἀνίσων
 μηδεὶ κρίνοιτο τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος τὸ δίκαιον
 211 ἐφ' ἡσυχίας διαιροῖ. ἀρχὴ μὲν οὖν αὕτη καὶ φύσις
 ῥητορικῆς καὶ βούλημα τοῦτο σῶσαι πάντας ἀνθρώ-
 πους καὶ τὴν βίαν διὰ τῆς πειθοῦς ἀπώσασθαι. εὐρε-
 θέῖσα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοιούτων καὶ τηλικούτων μόνη βιωτὸν
 ἡμῖν πεποίηκε τὸν βίον, τοὺς τε ἰδίους οἴκους καὶ τὰ
 κοινὰ τῶν πόλεων εἰς ὁμόνοιαν τὸ καθ' αὐτὴν ἄγουσα
 καὶ τὸ διδάξαι καὶ μαθεῖν ἅπασιν ἀεὶ καθιστάσα κα-
 λόν, τὴν δὲ ἀλογίαν καὶ τοὺς θορύβους πανταχοῦ
 φεύγειν τε καὶ μισεῖν πρώτη διδάξασα.

the first place from dragon's teeth, and says that the men
 themselves sprang up fully armed, and that it was Ares
 instead of Hermes who took care of the harvesting.

- But as I was saying, what originally seemed like a piece
 208 of good fortune was not set to work out in the end to
 the benefit even of the more powerful class; the prospect
 that awaited them was that of being destroyed by the very
 thing that made them superior, or that they thought made
 them superior, with the result that the whole human race
 was heading for utter annihilation. Some shared remedy
 209 needed to be invented that would benefit all in the same
 way, the strong, the inferior, and the decent alike: to re-
 strain the strong before they committed their acts of in-
 justice, or to punish them accordingly; to allow the inferior
 to live without fear; and to supply a fitting reward to all
 those who honored justice of their own free will. It was to
 210 answer this need that oratory was invented, and came onto
 the scene as a means of safeguarding justice and of pre-
 venting the disintegration of human life, to ensure that
 it should not be by physical strength, weapons, anticipa-
 tion, weight of numbers, size, or any other unfair means
 that matters were decided, but that justice should be de-
 211 termined by the calm operation of reason. This then is
 the origin and nature of oratory, and this its purpose, to
 save the whole of humanity and to repel force through
 the application of persuasion. Devised for such a noble
 and weighty purpose, she alone has made our life livable,
 bringing concord to the best of her ability to private
 households and city communities, establishing education
 and learning as goods for all people at all times, and being
 the first to teach us everywhere to shun and detest unrea-
 son and tumult.

- 212 σκεψόμεθα δὴ καὶ τοὺς νόμους τί ποτ' ἔστι τὸ ποιήσαν, κἂν ἄλλην τις εὖρη νόμων ἀρχήν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἤνπερ καὶ ῥητορικῆς, λήρον τοῦτο εἶναι λέγων, νικάτω. ἀλλὰ μὴν τοῦτό γε πάντες ἂν εἴποιεν, ὡς οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν τῶν πάντων ἐδέησεν νόμων ἡμῶν, ἢ τὸ μηδὲν ὑπ' ἀλλήλων πάσχειν δυσχερές, μηδὲ τοὺς φαύλους καὶ θρασείας τῶν χρηστών κρατεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς χρηστοὺς τῶν φαύλων περιεῖναι μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου. ταυτὶ δὲ ἔστιν ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν νόμων κεφάλαια, 213 τιμωρία τῶν ἀδικούντων καὶ τιμὴ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν. εἰ γὰρ ἕκαστοι τῆς ἀξίας τυγχάνοιεν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἄμεινον σωθεῖν τὸ δίκαιον οὐδ' ὅπως ἂν ἀσφαλέστερον τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων σφύζοιτο. οὐκοῦν ταῦτα 214 ἐνόησαν ἐν τῇ τῆς ῥητορικῆς φύσει φαίνεται. οἷς μὲν γὰρ ἤρκει σιγῇ πλεονεκτεῖν, οὐκ ἔμελλον δήπου δεήσεισθαι λόγου, οὐθ' ὥστε εἰπόντες αὐτοὶ νικήσαι, ἐτέρωθι γὰρ ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, οὐθ' ὥστε ἐτέρων ἀκούειν, αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸ βούλημα ἀκούειν μηδενός. οἷς δ' οὐκ ἦν ἄλλως τῶν ἴσων τυχεῖν, τοῦ πείθοντος ἔδει λόγου τοῦτο δ' αὖ εὐθὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς δικαιοσύνης. ὁ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ἐπιτρέπων τὸ δοκοῦν ἑαυτῷ ἀξιοὶ κρατεῖν, ὁποῖόν ποτ' ἂν ἦ, ὁ δ' ἀφ' ὧν καὶ τοὺς ἕξω δεῖ πείσαι ταῦθ' ὁρῶν καὶ ταῦτ' ἀξίων μελετᾶν, οὐ φεύγει τὴν τοῦ ποῦα αἴτι' ἔστιν ἃ βούλεται βάσανον.
- 215 φαίνεται τοῖνυν ἡ ῥητορικὴ τῇ νομοθετικῇ τῆς αὐτῆς φύσεως μετεληφύια, εἴπερ τό γε ἀκριβὲς ἐπ'

- Let us also ask what it was that brought laws into existence, and if anyone can find some other origin for them, rather than the same as for oratory, and say that my argument is nonsense, let him carry the day. Yet everyone would say this at least, that we needed laws for no other single reason than to ensure that we should not suffer anything disagreeable at each other's hands, and that the wicked and the bold should not prevail over the good, but that with justice on their side the good should triumph over the evil. You have here what you might call the two chief functions of the law, to punish wrongdoers and to honor the good. There could be no better way either for justice to have been done, or for the survival of the community of human kind to be secured, than for both of these two classes of people to get their just deserts. And it is just these effects that are clearly inherent in the nature of oratory. Those who were content to take more than their fair share in silence were obviously not going to need speech, either so as to prevail when speaking themselves, since their strength derived from other sources, or so as to be instructed by others, since what they wanted was precisely to be subservient to no one. It was those who had no other means of securing their fair share who needed persuasive speech, and this straight away advanced the cause of justice. Because, whereas the man who trusts to himself and his own resources expects his own purposes to prevail, whatever they may be, the man who has an eye to what is needed in order to persuade others as well, and sees fit to exercise himself in this, cannot avoid having the nature of his own wishes put under scrutiny.
- It is evident then, if a precise examination of both is in order, that oratory shares the same essential nature as

ἀμφοτέρων δὲ θεωρεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ μέρος οὔσα τῆς
 ῥητορικῆς ἢ νομοθετικῆ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι δευτέρα. πῶς;
 πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἔδει τῶν νόμων λόγου
 τοῦ πείθοντος. εἰ γὰρ ἔστιν εὐδηλον ὅτι οἱ νόμοι μὲν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ πάντας τὸ προσήκον ἔχειν ἔμελλον τεθήσε-
 σθαι, τοῦτο δ' οἱ τῇ χειρὶ κρείττους οὐκ ἔμελλον συμ-
 βουλήσεσθαι, πῶς οὐκ ἀναγκαίως ἔδει λόγου τοῦ
 πείσοντος ἤδη; οὐ γὰρ βιάσασθαι γε ἐνῆν τοὺς πρὸς
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεφυκότας, οὐδ' ἦν αὐτῇ νόμων ἀρχή.
 216 ὑπὲρ γὰρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ μὴ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς νόμους ἔδει
 θέσθαι. οὐκ οὖν ἦν τιθέναί βιασάμενον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτ' ἦν
 πρῶτον παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. ἔδει δὴ πείσαι μάλιστα
 μὲν [καὶ]⁴⁰ τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας αὐτούς, καὶ βελτίους
 γε εὐθύς αὐτῷ τούτῳ ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ μή, τοὺς γε πολ-
 λούς καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτίθει τις. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῇ σφετέρᾳ
 φύσει χρώμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἔμελλον
 τοὺς ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ τῇ τῆς ῥητορικῆς καὶ σφετέρᾳ
 πρὸς ἐκείνους εὖ ποιήσειν ἔμελλον κακείνους, εἶπερ
 σωφρονεῖν ἔμελλον. εἰ δ' ἄρα ἐκείνοι μὴ ἐδέχοντο,
 λοιπὸν ἦν πείσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐτίθει τις
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τίθησιν. ἔδει δὴ λόγων
 καὶ πειθοῦς.

217 δι' ἐν μὲν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἀναγκαίως ἢ ῥητορικῇ νόμων
 πρότερον καὶ ἡγούμενον, δεύτερον δὲ τί χρὴ τοὺς
 νόμους αὐτούς, ὧ πρὸς θεῶν, εἶναι φῆσαι πλὴν λό-

⁴⁰ *secl. Resike*

legislation, or rather that legislation is a part of oratory and
 in all respects a subordinate one. How is this? First and
 foremost because persuasive speech was needed in con-
 nection with the laws themselves. If it is clear that the laws
 were going to be made in the interests of ensuring that
 everyone should have what he was entitled to, but that
 the physically stronger were not going to share the desire
 for this, then surely persuasive speech was already neces-
 sarily required. There was no possibility of imposing phys-
 ical compulsion on those naturally equipped for that very
 thing, nor was this the origin of law: it was precisely in
 order to ensure that physical compulsion should *not* be
 imposed that laws had to be made. It was therefore not
 possible to make laws on the basis of physical compulsion;
 this was indeed a prime contravention of the laws. What
 was needed ideally was to persuade those who opposed
 the venture, and to make them better by this very means,
 or at least, failing that, to persuade the majority in whose
 interests the laws were being made. The former, in exer-
 cising their own nature toward the majority were bound
 to do wrong to others, while the latter, in exercising the
 nature of oratory and their own nature toward the strong
 were bound to do good to them too, if as a result they were
 going to behave with moderation. But if in the event the
 strong did not prove receptive, it still remained to per-
 suade the majority, in whose interests the laws were being
 made, of this very point, that it was in their interests that
 they were being made. There was indeed a need for ora-
 tory and persuasion.

For this one reason alone, then, oratory necessarily
 takes precedence over legislation and leads the way for it.
 But secondly, what, I beg you to tell me, are we to say that

γους, τοσούτου τῶν ἄλλων ἐξηλλαγμένους ὅσον εἰσὶ
 γεγραμμένοι; εἰ μὲν ἐγώ τι μέμνημαι, καὶ Σωκράτει
 218 συνδοκεῖν Δίσχίνης μαρτυρεῖ. χωρὶς δὲ τῆς μαρτυ-
 ρίας καὶ τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰς αὐτό τις ἂν σκοπῶν ἴδοι.
 λέγουσι γὰρ πως καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν καὶ τίνων ἀπέχε-
 σθαι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ καθ' ἓνα καὶ
 κοινῇ, καὶ πολιτεύονται διηλεκτῶς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν.
 219 οὐκοῦν ταῦτα ἃ ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις τῶν ῥητόρων
 ἐστίν, ταῦθ' οἱ νόμοι λέγουσιν, πλὴν ὅσον οὐ διαλεί-
 πουσιν οἱ γε νόμοι λέγοντες, ἀλλὰ δι' αἰῶνος ῥητο-
 220 ρεύουσιν, ἅπ' οἷμαι γεγραμμένοι. ὅτε τοῖνυν ῥητορι-
 κῆς οἱ περὶ τούτων λόγοι, ῥητορικῆς μέρος οἱ νόμοι.
 καὶ γὰρ τὸ γεγράφθαι γινόμενον μέρος τοῖς λόγοις
 ἐστίν, εἴ γε οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ στόματος λέγονται, οἱ
 221 δὲ γράφονται. καὶ μὴν τά γε ψηφίσματα οἱ ῥήτορες
 δήπου συγγράφουσιν. οὐκοῦν ὅτε τὰ ψηφίσματα τῆς
 αὐτῆς φύσεώς ἐστι τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πολι-
 τειῶν, ἀμφότερά γ' ἐστὶ τῶν ῥητόρων, ὥσθ' οἱ γε νό-
 μοι μέρος τῆς ῥητορικῆς.
 222 φέρε δὴ σκεψάμεθα καὶ περὶ τῆς δικαστικῆς τοῦ
 χάριν αὐτῆς ἐδεήθημεν καὶ τί ποθ' ἡμῶν βούλεται. ἢ
 τοῦτο καὶ ῥᾶστον ἀπάντων ἰδεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις ἐπι-
 κουρεῖ; τοὺς γὰρ παραβαίνοντας ἃ προστάττουσιν
 ἐκεῖνοι, τούτους ἀναζητεῖ καὶ τιμωρεῖται καὶ οὐδ'
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ κἀνταῦθα ἀκολουθεῖ τοῖς νό-
 223 μοις. ὡς γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι κελεύουσιν, οὕτω κολάζει. εἰεν.
 τίνος οὖν δεῖ τῇ δικαστικῇ πρὸς ταῦτα; πόθεν εὐρήσει

laws themselves are if not words, differing only from the
 rest in that they are written down? If I remember right,
 Aeschines testifies that Socrates shares this view.¹¹³ But 218
 even apart from his evidence and Socrates, you can see as
 much by examining the facts of the matter. In one way or
 another the laws say what must be done and what re-
 frained from in peace and in war, and individually and
 collectively, and they are in constant action in the public
 lives of cities. What the laws say is therefore identical with 219
 what is in the public speeches made by orators, except in
 so far as the laws at least never leave off speaking, but orate
 eternally, because of course written down. Given there- 220
 fore that words about these topics belong to oratory, the
 laws are a part of oratory. Being in written state is an ac-
 knowledged category for words, at any rate if it is the case
 that some words are spoken out loud and others are writ-
 ten down. And it is certainly the case that, where decrees 221
 are concerned, orators compose them in writing. So given
 that decrees are of the same character as laws and belong
 to the same political systems, both of them are the terri-
 tory of orators, and it follows from this that laws are a part
 of oratory.

Let us also consider the legal system. Why did we need 222
 it in the first place, and what point does it have for us? Or
 is it the easiest thing in the world to see that we need it
 because it supports the laws? It seeks out and punishes
 those who transgress their prescriptions, and moreover
 does not do so with a simple absolutism, but in this too
 follows their guidance: as they ordain, so does it punish.
 Very good. What then does the legal system need for these 223

¹¹³ Aeschin. fr. 51 Dittmar = fr. 49 Giannantoni (VI A 93).

- 224 τὸ δίκαιον ἢ παρὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς; ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐλέγχει τὰ γιννόμενα, ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐλέγχοις ψηφίζεται. φαίνεται οὖν κἀνταῦθα ἡ ῥητορικὴ βουλομένη μὲν ταῦτα τῇ δικαστικῇ, τοσοῦτον δὲ νικῶσα ὅσον ἀμφότερας συνέχει μόνη βεβαίως. βουλομένη γὰρ ἡ δικαστικὴ καθάπερ ἐν μάχῃ τῇ νομοθετικῇ βοηθήσαι, ταυτὸν ἔπαθεν αὐτῇ τῇ νομοθετικῇ. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ ῥητορικῆς πρότερον ἐδέησεν, ὥστε ταύτῃ ἔχειν ἀροδοὺς τοὺς νόμους,⁴¹ ἢ τε δικαστικὴ σχῆμα ἐπικούρου λαβούσα τοῖς νόμοις αὐτῇ πρότερον προσεδεθῆ τῆς παρὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς βοηθείας. ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὴν δυναθῆναι βοηθήσαι· τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἦν ἄνευ ῥητορικῆς.
- 225 τοσοῦτῳ δὲ σεμνότερον καὶ τιμιώτερον [ἡ]⁴² ῥητορικὴ δικαστικῆς ὅσω μικροῦ δέω λέγειν δικαστῆς δημίον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλέγχει τὰ δικάσματα ὁ ῥήτωρ καὶ παραδίδωσι τῷ δικαστῇ, ὁ δ' ἀκούσας καὶ μαθὼν παραδίδωσιν αὐτῷ τοῖς ὑπηρεταῖς, καὶ μέσος ἔσθ' ὁ δικαστῆς διακόνου καὶ ῥήτορος. αὐθις δὲ ἐπειδὰν τέλος ἡ δίκη λάβῃ, τῇ μὲν δικαστικῇ πλέον οὐδ' ὅτιον περιέστιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἡ νομοθετικὴ θέισα τοὺς νόμους ἀπήλλακται, οὕτως ὁ δικαστῆς μετὰ τὴν κρίσιν, εἰσδεξαμένη δὲ ἡ ῥητορικὴ τοὺς ἤτοι δι' ἀγνοίαν ἢ δι' ἀγνωμοσύνην ἀγανακτοῦντας τοῖς δεδικασμένοις καὶ πρὸς θορύβους ἢ στάσεις τὰ πράγματα ἐξάγοντας κατέχει καὶ νουθετεῖ, πείθουσα στέργει τοῖς νόμοις

⁴¹ <ἐπὶ> τοὺς νόμους Behr

⁴² *om. edd., habent codd.*

purposes? From where will it find what is just, if not from oratory? Oratory establishes the facts by examination, and the legal system votes on the strength of that examination. It is evident here too that oratory has the same aim as the legal system, but is superior in so far as it alone is responsible for sustaining both activities securely. For in its desire to assist legislation, as if in a battle, the legal system undergoes the same experience as it did. Legislation needed oratory first, so as to provide the laws with a means of entry,¹¹⁴ and in the same way the legal system, though taking on the role of an ally to the laws, itself needed the extra help of oratory first. It had to have the ability to help, but this was impossible without oratory.

I might almost say that oratory surpasses the legal system in status and value by as much as a juror does a public executioner. The orator proves that wrongs have been done and hands over to the juror; the juror listens and learns, and hands on in turn to the state functionaries; and the juror is thus intermediate between the functionary and the orator. Or again, when justice has run its course, nothing at all remains for the legal system to do: just as legislation takes its leave once the laws have been made, so the juror takes his leave once the verdict has been arrived at. It is oratory that then takes on anyone who through ignorance or stupidity is disgruntled at the legal outcome and tries to move matters in the direction of disturbances and civil strife; it restrains and admonishes them, persuading them to be satisfied with the laws and the jurors' verdict. In so doing—note this, you who assert

¹¹⁴ With Behr's addition, "so as to provide a means of access to the laws."

καὶ τῇ ψήφῳ τῶν δικαστῶν, οὐ τὸν Πινδάρου νόμον
τιμῶσα, ὧ τὰναντία λέγων τῇ φύσει τῆς ῥητορικῆς,
οὐδὲ ταῦτ' ἐπάδουσα

νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς
θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων
ἄγει δικαίων τὸ βιαιότατον
ὑπερτάτῃ χειρὶ. τεκμαίρομαι
ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλέος, ἐπεὶ ἀπριάτας,

227 οὐ γὰρ φῆς ὅλον μεμνήσθαι, ἐχρῆν δὲ ἴσως οὐδὲ
τούτων, μὴ οὖν ἐπὶ ῥητορικῆν γε. ἀλλ' ἄχρι μὲν
τούτου καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ λέγει, νόμος ὁ πάντων βασι-
λεὺς θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων τὰ δὲ ἐξῆς οὐκέτι
ταῦτά—πόθεν; οὐδέποτε ἡμέρα καὶ νύξ ταῦτὰ συμφή-
σουσιν—ἀλλὰ πᾶν τὸναντίον ἄγει τὰ δίκαια πρε-
σβεύων καὶ τοὺς ἐν ὕβρει θρασεῖς νουθετῶν. εἰ γὰρ
ἀξιῶσει τὸ βιαιότατον νόμον εἶναι τὸν δικαιοῦντα καὶ
τὴν ὑπερτάτην χεῖρα κρατεῖν Ἡρακλέους, ᾧ μετὰ τῆς
χειρὸς τῶν δικαίων ἐμέλησεν, αὐτῇ τοῖς ἐαυτῆς λό-
γους ἀπολείται.

228 τίς γὰρ τόπος λοιπὸν ἢ χρεῖα ῥητορικῆς ἢ λόγων,
εἰ τὸ δίκαιον ἢ χεῖρ ὀρίει καὶ μηδὲν πλέον ἔσται τῷ
δυναμένῳ διδάξαι περὶ τοῦ πράγματος; ποῦ δὲ τὸ
πέιθειν, εἰ τὸ βιάζεσθαι κρατήσῃ; καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῆς,
229 ἧς ἔργον πέιθειν, δούσης βιάζεσθαι; δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ
Πίνδαρος, εἴ τι δεῖ περὶ τοῦ ἕσματος εἰπεῖν, οὐκ εἰ-

the direct opposite of the natural character of oratory—
it pays no regard to Pindar's strains and sings no such re-
frain as

Law, king of all,
mortal and immortal,
Leads with all-powerful hand,
Making justice of the greatest violence.
I judge by the deeds of Heracles,
Since unpurchased . . . ¹¹⁵

—you say that you do not remember all of it, and perhaps
you should not have remembered even this much, in con-
nection with oratory at any rate. As far as “Law, king of all, 227
mortal and immortal,” oratory is in agreement, but in what
follows it ceases to say the same—how could it? day and
night will never agree in saying the same—but in wholly
opposite fashion it leads by giving precedence to justice
and chastening rash aggressors. Because if it is going to
assert that it is law that makes justice of the greatest vio-
lence, and that the all-powerful hand of Heracles prevails,
when in fact Heracles used his hand to forward the cause
of justice, then it will perish by its own arguments.

What scope or what use for oratory remains, if justice 228
is defined by physical force, and the man who can offer
instruction in the facts of the matter will get nowhere?
What becomes of persuasion, if force is going to win the
day, and into the bargain permission to use force is going
to be granted by the very art whose function it is to per-
suade? It seems to me, if some commentary is needed on 229
Pindar's poem, that Pindar did not address these words to

¹¹⁵ Pind. fr. 169 Sn-M, as quoted by Callicles in Pl. *Grg.* 484b.

σηγούμενος οὐδὲ συμβουλευῶν σπουδῇ ταῦτα λέγειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰ σχετλιάζων. τεκμαίρομαι ἔργοισιν Ἡρακλῆος αὐτοῖς τοῦτοις, ὅτι καὶ ἐτέρωθι μεμνημένος περὶ αὐτῶν ἐν διθυράμβῳ τινί

σέ δ' ἐγὼ παρά μιν⁴³ (φησί) αἰνέω μὲν, Γηρῶνα,⁴⁴ τὸ δὲ μὴ Διὶ⁴⁵ φίλτερον σιγῶμι πάμπαν·

230 οὐ γὰρ εἰκός, φησί, ἀρπαζομένων τῶν ὄντων καθῆσθαι παρ' ἐστία καὶ κακὸν εἶναι. καίτοι τό γε πρὸς νόμον καὶ ταῦτα ἀνθρώπων ἅμα καὶ θεῶν βασιλεία μάχεσθαι οὐκ ἦν ἐπαινεῖν πρὸς Πινδάρου, οὐδὲ συμβουλευεῖν πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. αὐτὸς γοῦν τὸ τοιοῦτον κέκληκεν ὀλισθηρὸν οἶμον καὶ κελεύει φυλάττεσθαι.

231 ἀλλὰ τί, φησί, τούτων ἐμοὶ νῦν; εἴτε γὰρ δοκοῦντα Πινδάρῳ ταῦτ' ἦν εἴτε μὴ, ἀλλ' οὐ τῇ γε ῥητορικῇ δείξει τὸ τοιοῦτον δοκοῦν. οὐ δεῖ γὰρ ἀρπάζειν ἕκαστον κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ τοῦτο νόμον καλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνειν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα διαιροῦντα νόμον τιμᾶν, καὶ καλεῖν γε μόνον τὸ τοιοῦτον νόμον καὶ τοῦναντίον παρανομίαν. τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ δόγμα τῆς ῥητορικῆς καὶ τούτῳ σύνεστι τῷ νόμῳ καὶ περὶ τούτου πείθει τηροῦσα ὅπως μηδεὶς ὑπερβήσεται, τοὺς ὑπερβαίνοντας σωφρονίζουσα. μέγιστον δὲ

⁴³ παρά μιν Hermann ex Σ παρ' ἁμῖν codd.

⁴⁴ Γαρῶνα Schroeder ⁴⁵ Δί Hermann

mankind as a proposal or as serious advice, but rather in tones of indignation. I judge by these very same deeds of Heracles, because when Pindar mentions them elsewhere in a dithyramb, he says

I praise you compared to him,
Geryon, but I would not mention
at all what is not pleasing to Zeus;¹¹⁶

because, he says, it is not reasonable to sit by the hearth and play the coward when one's possessions are being stolen away. It was certainly not Pindar's role to praise fighting against law, especially when law is king of men and gods together, or to advise kicking against the pricks. At least, he himself calls such a course of action "a slippery path," and advises us to beware of it.¹¹⁷ 230

But what does this matter to me now, you may say. Whether Pindar thought that or not, he will not show that oratory believes any such thing. What is needed is not for every person to seize as much as he can and to call this the law, but for every person to receive what he is entitled to, and to respect the law that specifies what this is; it is this alone that one should call "law," and its opposite "illegality."¹¹⁸ This is what oratory believes; this is the law she consorts with; it is on this that she centers her persuasion, keeping watch to see that no one transgresses it, and punishing those who do. The weightiest proof of this lies in 232

¹¹⁶ Pind. fr. 81 Sn-M.

¹¹⁷ Pind. *Pyth.* 2.94-96.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Dem. Or. 24.152.

μαρτύριον· οὐδὲ μὲν γὰρ νόμος καὶ δίκαι, ἐνταῦθα καὶ
 ῥητορικὴ καὶ λόγοι, οὐδ' ὑπερτέρα χεὶρ ἀφαιρείται
 τὸ δίκαιον, οὐδὲν ἴδοις ἂν ἐκεῖ ῥητορικῇ διοικούμενον.
 233 ἀλλ' ἔστι μῖα ὡσπερὶ μοίρας καὶ φύσεως οἱ νόμοι,
 ἢ δίκη, οἱ λόγοι. τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν τούτων δυνάμεων,
 ὅπερ λέγων ἐξέβην, ἀπάσας τὰς χώρας ἢ ῥητορικῇ
 μόνῃ καταλαμβάνει. προτέρα γὰρ οὐσα τῆς νομοθε-
 τικῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνης χρεῖαν, προτέρα δ' αὖ καὶ τῆς
 δικαστικῆς, ὅτε ἀκείνη⁴⁶ ἔδει, λαβούσα μέσσην πρότε-
 ρον τὴν νομοθετικὴν, εἰτ' αὖ τὴν δικαστικὴν ὡσαύτως
 διχόθεν περιέχουσα, πρώτη καὶ μέση καὶ τελευταία
 γίγνεται, ὁμοῦ μὲν ἀμφοῖν αὐτὴν μέσσην, ὁμοῦ δ'
 ἄμφω μέσας αὐτῆς καθιστάσα, ὡς μάλιστα ἔμελλον
 ἅπασαι συμμένειν, ἀντὶ συνδέσμου τῇ ῥητορικῇ χρώ-
 μεναι.

234 πότερον οὖν πολιτικῆς μορίου εἰδῶλον ἢ ῥητορικῆ,
 ἢ τὰ τῆς πολιτικῆς ὡς σὺ φῆς μόρια ὑπὸ τῆς ῥητο-
 ρικῆς συνέχεται; ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς οὐ ῥητορι-
 κὴν ἐν τούτοις κακίζειν φαίνεται οὐδὲ πολιτικῆς μο-
 ρίου εἰδῶλον δεικνύναι, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡσπερ εἰδῶλον
 ῥητορικῆς ἀπειληφῶς ἐπὶ τούτῳ σπουδάζειν, αὐτῆς δ'
 οὐδ' ἄπτεσθαι, ὡσπερ οἱ Στησιχόρου Τρῶες οἱ τὸ τῆς
 Ἑλένης εἰδῶλον ἔχοντες ὡς αὐτήν. διαφέροι δ' ἂν
 τοσοῦτον, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὅμοιον τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὸ εἰδῶλον.

235 ἀλλὰ μὴν τῆς γε ἀρετῆς τέτταρα δῆπον φασιν
 εἶναι μόρια, φρόνησιν, σωφροσύνην, δικαιοσύνην,

⁴⁶ ἀκείνη Behr ἀκείνης *codd.*

the fact that where there is law and the administration of justice, there also are oratory and speeches, but where a mighty hand abolishes justice, there you could find nothing administered by oratory. Laws, justice and speeches all have, so to speak, the same lot and nature. As I was saying when I began this digression, oratory alone occupies the space of all these three faculties. Standing prior to legislation, when legislation sets to work, and prior too to the legal system, since the legal system needs her also, oratory first encloses legislation within herself, and then also in the same way embraces the legal system at both ends. Oratory is thus first, middle and last, simultaneously placing herself at the center of both the other two, and placing both the other two in the midst of herself, in the way best calculated to ensure that all of them, using oratory as the connecting bond, will hold together.

Is oratory then a shadow image of a part of politics, or are the parts of politics, as you call them, held together by oratory? The truth of the matter, it seems to me, is that it is not oratory that Plato is abusing in all this, and that he does not show that it is a shadow image of a part of politics; instead, it is as if he has separated off a shadow image of oratory and is devoting his efforts to this, while not even touching the thing itself, just like Stesichorus' Trojans, holding onto the shadow image of Helen as if it were the woman herself.¹¹⁹ The only difference would be that this shadow image does not even look like oratory.

Then again, Plato, I believe, says that there are four parts of virtue, wisdom, self-control, justice and cour-

¹¹⁹ Stesichorus *Palinode* (fr. 192–93 PMG; cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 243a, *Resp.* 586c; Isoc. *Hel.* 64); Eur. *Hel.*

- ἀνδρείαν. ῥητορικὴ τοῖνυν εὐρέθη μὲν [ἐν]⁴⁷ φρονήσει
καὶ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, σωφροσύνη δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων
καὶ ἀνδρεία τὰς πόλεις σώζει· σωφροσύνη μὲν, ἐπεὶ
τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ βίον πρὸ τῆς ἀταξίας αἰροῦνται, ἀν-
δρεία δ' ὅτι τοῖς ἐναντίοις οὐχ ὑπέικουσιν. ἂν γὰρ
εἴξωσιν, οὐ φυλάξουσιν τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ὥστε ἕως ἂν
236 φυλάττωσιν, οὐκ εἴκουσιν. οὐκοῦν οὐ τεττάρων ὄντων
μορίων τῆς κολακείας τοῦτό ἐστι ῥητορικὴ πρὸς δι-
καιοσύνην ὅπερ ὀψοποιικὴ πρὸς ἰατρικὴν, ἀλλὰ τε-
τάρων ὄντων μορίων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἅπαντα δι' αὐτῆς
πεποιήται, καὶ ὅπερ ἐν σώματι γυμναστικὴ καὶ ἰα-
τρικὴ, συναμφότερον λέγω, τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τοῖς
τῶν πόλεων πράγμασι ῥητορικὴ φαίνεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ
ἄδηλα εἰ καὶ γενήσεται προορᾶ, ἐπειδὴν δημηγορή-
τὰ δὲ ὅπως μὴ γενήσεται προορᾶ, ἐπειδὴν νομοθετῆ,
τὰ δὲ διατηρεῖ καθ' ὅσον δύναται τὰ δὲ πραχθέντα
ἐπαναρθοῖ, ἐπειδὴν τοὺς ἀδικούντας τοῖς δικασταῖς
παραδιδῶ.
237 τί οὖν εἰ Ἀρχέλαος τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην καὶ θεῖον
ἀποκτείνας κατέσχε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἢ τὸν ἑπταετῆ ἐκείνου
παῖδα εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἐμβαλὼν ἔφη πρὸς Κλεοπάτραν
διώκοντα τὸν χῆνα ἐμπεσεῖν, ἢ μανίᾳ τινὰ⁴⁸ παρ-

⁴⁷ *om.* U *secl.* Reiske

⁴⁸ *τινά* Reiske *τινὶ codd.*

age.¹²⁰ Oratory was invented by wisdom for the sake of justice; and it is the self-control and courage of its possessors that keeps cities safe—self-control because they choose an ordered style of life in preference to disorder, courage because they do not yield to their adversaries. If they yield, they will not be upholding the values of oratory; so as long as they uphold the values of oratory, they do not yield. The position is therefore not that, with flattery dividing into four subcategories, oratory is to the legal system what confectionary is to medicine, but that, with virtue dividing into four subcategories, everything is brought about through oratory, and that she manifestly represents in the soul and in politics what gymnastics and medicine, both together, are for the body. When she speaks in deliberative assemblies, she exercises forethought over future possibilities that are as yet uncertain; when she frames legislation, she exercises forethought aimed at preventing some things from happening, while securing others to the best of her ability; and when she hands criminals over to their judges, she rights past wrongs.

So if Archelaus seized power by killing his uncle and master, or threw his seven-year-old child into a well and told Cleopatra that he had fallen in chasing his goose,¹²¹ or came up with some mad witticism about the mill,¹²²

¹²⁰ For example, Pl. *Resp.* 4.427e.

¹²¹ The example is copied from Pl. *Grg.* 471b–d. Archelaus was king of Macedonia from 413 to 339 BC; Cleopatra was the murdered boy's mother.

¹²² An enigmatic detail; the scholia suggest that Archelaus was notorious for a remark about grinding his enemies as a mill grinds grain, but this may be ad hoc invention.

ελήρησεν ἐπὶ τῆς μύλης, τί ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πρὸς ῥητορικὴν, ᾧ πάντα λόγον καὶ μονοῦ τοὺς λίθους κεκωπηκῶς ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς; τί βούλεταί σοι τὰ μηδὲν προσήκοντα ἐπεισόδια; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγε ταῦτ' ἐπειθόν, φήσειεν ἂν ἡ ῥητορικὴ. οὐδ' εἴ τις ἐπέειθετο ἐμοί, σφάττων καὶ ἀποπνίγων οὔτε ταῦτα οὔτ' ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὅτιοῦν ἂν διεπράττετο, ἀλλὰ πείσας καὶ φανερώς ἀποδείξας ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶ προσηκόντων ἀντιποιεῖται.

238 ἐπὶ γοῦν τῶν βραχυτέρων, φησίν, τούτῳ χρώμαι καὶ τοὺς κλήρους οὐ τοῖς ἀρπάσασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀποδείξασιν δίδωμι. καὶ τὸν Ἀρχελαόν αὐτόν, φησίν, οὐχ ὅπως τούτων ἂν ποτε ἤξιωσα, ἀλλ' εὐθύς ἂν εἰσήγαγον οὐ δίκην ἂν ἔδωκε καλὴν καὶ πρὶν τὸν παῖδα ἴσως ἀποπνίξαι, ἔτι τῶν πρώτων φόνων ὄντων ἐν χερσίν, εἴ τινα εἶχεν ἡ ῥητορικὴ χώραν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἀπούσης ἐμοῦ ὁ μὲν ἠδίκηει, οἱ δ' ἠτύχησαν οἱ τε διαφθαρέντες καὶ οἱ τοιοῦτον ἄρχοντα δεξάμενοι. ὥστ' εἴ μηδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν, ἕκ γε τῶν Ἀρχελαίου κακῶν γνῶθι ὡς καλὸν ῥητορικὴ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ [τῆ]⁴⁹ πόλει καὶ ἔθνει παρεῖναι τῷ⁵⁰ μέλλοντι σωθῆσθαι καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἐναγέσι κακῶς δουλεύειν. ταυτὶ μάλλον ἂν, οἶμαι, πείθῃ λέγουσα ἡ ῥητορικὴ, οἰκεῖά τε καὶ δίκαια καὶ προσόντα ἑαυτῇ λέγουσα.

239 οὐ μὴν ἄλλ' εἰ Πλάτων οἶετα τούτοις ἐλέγχειν αὐτήν, ὦρα καὶ τὰ Γύγον τοῦ Λυδοῦ προσεγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ οἶμαι—ταῦτα μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἀποπώτερα—ὅτι τὸν

⁴⁹ *om. E, edd.*⁵⁰ *om. Jebb, Dindorf, secl. Behr*

what does that have to do with oratory—you who have mobilized every argument you possibly can, and almost literally the stones themselves? What are you driving at with these irrelevant extra scenes? "I was not the one who persuaded him to act like this," oratory can say. "Anyone who listened to me would not have achieved these or any other ends whatsoever by butchering people and strangling them, but instead by persuasion and a clearly argued demonstration that he was claiming only what belonged to him. Certainly in less weighty cases," oratory will say, "this is the policy I adhere to, awarding inheritances not to those who seize them, but to those who demonstrate their entitlement. As for Archelaus, not only would I not have endorsed his claim to these things, I would forthwith have haled him to where he would have been properly punished, perhaps even before he had strangled the child, while he was still busy with his first murders, if oratory had had any place in Macedonia. But as it actually was, it was in my absence that he committed his crimes, and that misfortune fell both on his victims and on the subjects who got him as their next ruler. If from nowhere else, then, learn from the crimes of Archelaus how fine a thing oratory is, and how necessary a thing for a city or a nation to have by it, if it is to be kept safe and not suffer the evil of enslavement to the accursed." This, I think, is a just plea, to which oratory is entitled in virtue of her nature, and this is how she would win the argument.

Well, if Plato thinks he can discredit oratory with these arguments, he really ought also to charge her with the still more outlandish crimes of Gyges the Lydian, in seizing

- 240 δεσπότην ἀποκτείννας ἔσχε τὴν ἀρχήν· ἡ δὲ συνήδει
καὶ συνέπραττεν ἢ τοῦ μὲν γυνή, τοῦ δὲ δέσποινα. τί
οὖν οὐ κακείνα λέγομεν, ὅτι Κῦρος τὸν Ἀράξην δια-
βάς Μασσαγέταις συνέβαλεν, Δαρείος δὲ τὸν Βό-
σπορον ζεύξας ἐπὶ Σκύθας διέβη, Ξέρξης δὲ τὸν Ἑλ-
λήσποντον ζεύξας ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Νίνος δὲ ὑπὸ
Μήδων ἐάλω, ὁ δὲ Σαρδανάπαλλος ἐκαύθη ζῶν ἀνα-
241 βάς ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν αὐτός; καὶ τί ταῦτ' ἐστὶν πρὸς
ἔπος; ἢ πότ' ἂν σταίη τις κατηγορῶν ῥητορικῆς, εἰ
πάνθ' ὅσα πάποτε ἢ ιδιώταις ἢ πόλεσι συνέβη κατὰ
242 συμφοράς, ταῦτα ῥητορικῇ λογίζουτο; καίτοι γε περὶ
Ἀρχελάου καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχοι τις ἂν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι Σωκράτην
οὗτος ἦν ὁ καλῶν ὡς αὐτόν, οὐ τῶν ῥητόρων οὐδένα·
ἀλλ' ἐὼ τοῦτο· ἀλλ' οἶμαι γέλως ἐστίν. ἕως γὰρ ἂν τις
μὴ δείξῃ τούτων αἰτίαν τὴν ῥητορικὴν οὔσαν, μηδὲ
τῇ ταύτης φύσει ταῦτα συμβαίνοντα, οὐ ῥητορικὴν
δίδωσιν ἀμαρτῆσαι, τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶν ἐλέγξει τὸ ζητού-
243 μενον. πρὸς δὲ κακείνο εὔηθες, εἰ αὐτῷ μὲν νομίζου
πάσαν ἄδειαν καὶ ἂ μὴ ταύτης ἐστὶν ἔργα ῥητορικῇ
προσάπτειν ἐξεῖναι, τὸν δ' ἀντικείμενον λόγον οὐχ
ὀρᾶ, οὐδ' οἰήσεται καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ ταύτης λέγοντα καὶ
σεμνύοντα πάνθ' ὅσα πάποτ' ἐπράχθη χρηστὰ κατ'
ἀνθρώπους ἐπὶ ῥητορικὴν ἄγειν δυνήσεσθαι.
244 ἡμεῖς τοίνυν ἀποδείκνυμεν οὐ χάριω εὐρέθη ῥητο-
ρικῇ, ἢ εἰ μὲν εἶη τοῦτο καλόν, καὶ τὴν ῥητορικὴν

123 Hdt. 1.8–12.

124 Hdt. 1.205–8; 4.83–89; 7.33–36 and 53–56; Diod. Sic. 2.27
(Ninus [Nineveh] and Sardanapallus).

power by killing his master with the full knowledge and assistance of the woman who was his master's wife and his own mistress.¹²³ And why should we not also add Cyrus 240 crossing the Araxes and attacking the Massagetae, Darius yoking the Bosphorus and crossing it to invade Scythia, Xerxes yoking the Hellespont and crossing it to invade Greece, Ninus captured by the Medes, and Sardanapallus mounting the pyre of his own free will and being burned 241 alive?¹²⁴ What do these have to do with the case either? Could an end to accusations against oratory ever be reached, if any and every disaster that has ever befallen 242 individuals or cities is reckoned to her account? In connection with Archelaus, one might also point out that it was Socrates whom he invited to come to his court, not any of the orators;¹²⁵ but I shall let that pass. But really all this is ridiculous. As long as no one can demonstrate that oratory is responsible for these deeds, and that they are consistent with her nature, then oratory is not shown to be at fault, although that is precisely what the argument needs to establish against her. It is moreover naïve for an 243 accuser to believe that he himself is completely free to ascribe to oratory even things that are not her work, while not seeing the corresponding argument on the other side and realizing that the defender and honorer of oratory will be able to credit her with all the good things that have ever been done in the world of men.

To recapitulate: I am expounding the reasons for which 244 oratory was invented, so that if they are good reasons, we

125 Arist. *Rh.* 2.23.8, 1398a24; probably also mentioned in the *Archelaus* of Antisthenes.

χρηστὸν ἠγγόμεθα, εἰ δ' αἰσχροὺν καὶ φευκτόν, τοῖς
 245 αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ λογισμοῖς καὶ περὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς
 χρώμεθα. φαίνεται τοίνυν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου
 συστάσα καὶ νομισθεῖσα, ὥσπερ ἀφ' ὧν, ὅπερ εἶπον,
 246 τούτο ἰσχυρεῖν ὄνομα οἱ νόμοι. ἔδει γὰρ τοῖς ταῖς χερ-
 σὶν ἐλαττουμένοις λόγου καὶ νόμου βοηθοῦ. οὐκοῦν
 ὅσ' ἂν τις ἐκλέξας ἀδικήματα εἰς τὸ μέσον φέρῃ,
 πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν προὔργου πράττειν εἰς τοὺς κατ' αὐτῆς
 ἐλέγχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λόγους κομιεῖ. ταῦτα
 γὰρ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ὥστε μισεῖν καὶ κωλύειν εὐρέθη.

[*Misbehavior by Orators Does Not Discredit
 Oratory (247-60)*]

247 νῆ Δί' ἀλλὰ συκοφαντοῦσίν τινας τῆς ῥητορικῆς προ-
 ἰστάμενοι. καὶ κατ' αὐτό γε τούτο σεμνὸν ἢ ῥητορικῆ.
 πῶς; ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἱατρικῆς, οἴμαι, τινὲς προϊστάμενων
 ἀπέκτειναν φαρμάκῳ τινὸς ἤδη καὶ τι' ἴσως ἄλλον
 τρόπον, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τούτου πονηρὸν ἢ ἱατρικῆ, ἢ τσο-
 οῦτον ἀπέχει τοῦ κτείνειν ἀνθρώπους ὥστ' ἐστὶ θανά-
 248 του φάρμακον ὡς εἰπεῖν τό γε ἐφ' ἑαντῆ. [οὐκοῦν
 ὅστις μάλιστα μισεῖ καὶ δυσχεραίνει τοὺς ἀποκτινύν-
 τας, οὗτος μάλιστα τοὺς σώζοντας ἀσπάζεται καὶ
 249 τιμᾷ.¹²⁶ οὐκοῦν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς εἰ μὲν πέφυκεν

⁵¹ *secl.* Behr

¹²⁶ Playing on the etymological connection between *nomos* (law, custom) and *nomizesthai* (be a matter of general practice), to further underline the affinity between laws and oratory.

may take oratory too to be something good, but if they are reprehensible and to be shunned, we may apply the same terminology and reasoning to oratory as well. It is clear that it came into existence and into general usage in the first place to protect what is right, as did the laws ("uses"), from which this term I have just used ("came into usage") got its meaning.¹²⁶ those who were inferior in physical strength needed argument and law to help them. Thus anyone who picks out a selection of crimes and brings them into the debate, besides doing nothing to advance the criticism of oratory, will in fact be attending to her defense, because she was invented to abominate and prevent these and similar actions.

*Misbehavior by Orators Does Not Discredit
 Oratory (247-60)*

But, it will be objected, there are leading representatives of oratory who deal in slander. Indeed, and on these very grounds oratory is something deserving of respect. How so? Because leading practitioners of medicine have of course before now killed people with drugs, or perhaps in some other way, but medicine itself, which in its own nature is so far from killing people as to be what one might call a remedy for death, is not on that account something bad.¹²⁷ In the case of oratory too, therefore, if she is natu- 249

¹²⁷ §248, bracketed in the Greek text opposite, breaks the flow of the argument and looks like a reader's comment wrongly incorporated into Aristides' text: "So whoever particularly hates and detests murderers also has a special love and regard for those who save lives."

ὥστε ὑβριστὰς καὶ κόλακας ποιεῖν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης αἰσχροὺν καὶ ἀγεννῆς καὶ ἀνελεύθερον καὶ οὐ πρέπον ἀνδρὶ καλῶ καὶ ἀγαθῷ· εἰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ λόγου σφίζω τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ὑπὲρ τούτου κατεδείχθη, ὅπερ κατὰ σῶμα ἰατρική, τούτ' ἐν ψυχῇ ῥητορική προϊόντος ἐξῆς τοῦ λόγου πέφηεν ἡμῖν οὔσα, ἐὼ γὰρ τὰ νῦν γυμναστικήν. [κῶσθ']⁵² ὅστις μάλιστα τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἢ κολακεύοντας δυσχεραίνει, τούτῳ μάλιστα προσήκει τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου νομοθεύσαν καὶ τούτων οὔσαν φάρμακον τιμᾶν.⁵³ ὡσπερ γὰρ ὅστις ἀποκτινύει ἰατρικὴν ὑπισχνούμενος οὐχ ἅμα ἰατρός τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀποκτίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ἰατρός, οὐδαμῶς συμπράξει ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄλλου πατάξαντος αὐτὸς ἰῶτο, ἅμα δὲ ἀποκτίνουσι τε καὶ τὴν τέχνην συνδιέφθαρκεν, οὕτω κἂν ταῦθα οὐχ ἅμα ῥήτορες τέ εἰσι καὶ συκοφαντοῦσι καὶ κολακεύουσιν, ἀλλ' ἕως μὲν ῥήτορες, οὐδέτερα τούτων, οὐδέ γ' ἄλλο τι αἰσχροὺν οὐδὲν ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ παρὰ πολὺ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐξελέγχουσιν, τοὺς δ' ἀγνοοῦντας διδάσκουσι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἅμα δ' ἔξω τούτων τε καὶ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἔσονται.

250 οὐκ οὐκ ὄνειδος ποιήσουσι τῇ ῥητορικῇ, ὅπῃ πλεμμελώσω. ἀμαρτήσουσι γὰρ τοσοῦτον αὐτῆς ὅσον περ τοῦ δικαίου, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ κυβερνητικὴ τοῦ σφίζεσθαι δήπου τοὺς ἐμπλέοντάς ἐστι τέχνη, καὶ μὴ ἔχει γ' ἄν τις τῶν ἐπὶ πρύμναν καθημένων ἀναγαγῶν

⁵² add. R¹⁰⁰ Reiske

⁵³ secl. Behr

rally constituted to make people aggressors and flatterers, then she is necessarily something shameful and base and ignoble and unbecoming to a gentleman. But if in fact she was invented to preserve mankind and justice through the use of reasoned speech, then the successive stages of our argument have clearly proved that (leaving gymnastics to one side for the moment) oratory is for the soul what medicine is for the body.¹²⁸ The man who professes medicine and kills is not simultaneously a doctor and a killer: for as long as he is a doctor he will under no circumstances commit any such action, but would himself heal wounds inflicted by another, whereas in the very moment of killing he has also sacrificed his claim to medical science. In just the same way in our case people are not simultaneously orators, slanderers and flatterers. For as long as they are orators, they are neither of these things, and no other discreditable characteristic even comes close to attaching to them either; instead they bring criminals to book and instruct the ignorant in affairs of state, and if they depart from these duties they will simultaneously be departing from oratory as well.

They will therefore not bring any reproach on oratory 250 on those occasions when they go wrong, because they will be straying as far from her as they are from what is right. Navigation too is a science, the science of preserving a ship's complement, and it would indeed be possible for

¹²⁸ The next sentence in the Greek, bracketed opposite, looks like another incorporated reader's comment: "So, if anyone particularly detests slanderers and flatterers, it is particularly incumbent on him to respect the art that is practiced in pursuit of the best of ends, and is a remedy for these ills."

εἰς τὸ πέλαγος καὶ καταδύσαι καὶ ἄλλο τι χρήσασθαι
 τοιοῦτον. ἀλλ' οὔτε τὴν κυβερνητικὴν δεῖ ψέγειν διὰ
 ταῦτα οὔτε λέγουσιν ἄνθρωποι ὅτι τῇ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων
 σωτηρία πάντων ἐναντιώτατόν ἐστι κυβερνήτης συν-
 εμβάς, οὔτε τοὺς καταποντιστάς εἰς ἓν, οἶμαι, τοῖς
 κυβερνήταις οὐδεὶς τίθησιν. ἀνάγκη μὲν γὰρ, οἶμαι,
 καὶ τὰ βλάψοντα τὴν ναῦν καὶ τὰ διατηρήσοντα εἰδέ-
 ναι τὸν γε κυβερνήτην, ὥσπερ οἶμαι καὶ τὸν ἰατρὸν
 ἀνάγκη καὶ τὰ σφαλερὰ τῷ σώματι γινώσκειν καὶ
 τὰ σωτήρια χρήσθαι δ' ἑκατέρωθι τοῖς χρηστοῖς ἢ
 251 τέχνη βούλεται, εἰκότως καὶ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν. καὶ τοσ-
 οῦτόν γ' ἀπέχει τοῦ περὶ ταῦτα κακουργῶν τις φυλάτ-
 τειν τοῦνομα τῆς τέχνης, ὥστε κἂν ἄκων ἑξαμάρτη,
 φησὶν ὁ Πλάτων, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ τῷ λόγῳ χρώμεθα,
 ἐπειδὴν φῶμεν ὅτι ὁ ἰατρὸς ἑξήμαρτεν ἢ ὁ κυβερ-
 νήτης. ἕως γὰρ ἂν ἡ τέχνη κρατῇ, ἀμάρτημα οὐκ
 ἔστιν, οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἀμαρτεῖν κατ' αὐτήν· τὸ γὰρ
 252 ἀμαρτεῖν οὐκ ἔστιν τέχνη. κομιδῇ ἄρα ἕαν τις ἐξ-
 ἐπίτηδες τὰναντία οἷς ἡ τέχνη βούλεται ποιῆ, τοῦτον
 ᾧ μετέχει τῆς τέχνης ἀδικεῖν φήσομεν, ἢ τῇ τέχνη
 ποιεῖν ὄνειδος, ἀλλ' οὐ τὴν τέχνην τούτῳ διπλοῦν ποι-
 253 εῖν τοῦνειδος. καὶ τί δεῖ παραδειγμάτων ἑτέρων ἀλλ'
 οὐ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμεῖς τε ἑμεμνήμεθα καὶ Πλάτωνα
 σύμφηφον ἐδεικνυμεν; οἱ νόμοι σωτηρίας δήπου τῶν
 πόλεων ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ τὰ δίκαια βεβαιοῦν ἅπασι

one of those who sit at the stern, on putting out to sea, to
 sink the ship or bring about some other such result. But
 the science of navigation is not to be faulted on that ac-
 count, nor is it said that a helmsman is the worst of all
 enemies to the safety of the crew when he joins them on
 board, nor indeed does anyone put pirates who throw their
 victims into the sea into the same category as helmsmen.
 For, surely, the helmsman as distinct from the pirate has
 to know both what will harm the ship and what will keep
 it safe, just as I take it the doctor also has to know what is
 dangerous for the body and what makes it healthy; in both
 cases, logically and in keeping with the name it bears, the
 science aims to use good means. So far is someone who
 does damage in these areas from retaining the name of the
 science that, even if a doctor or a helmsman goes wrong
 without meaning to, according to Plato,¹²⁹ we are not be-
 ing accurate when we say that he has made a mistake. As
 long as the science is in force, there is no error, because it
 is impossible to err in respect of it; error is not a science.
 The fact is, therefore, that if someone acts contrary to the
 intentions of his science on purpose, we will say that he is
 doing wrong in so far as he participates in the science, or
 that he is bringing the science into disrepute, but not that
 the science is bringing him into double disrepute. Do we
 252 really need any other instances beside the one I men-
 253 tioned a little earlier, and proved that Plato was in agree-
 ment over? Laws are of course made in order to keep
 states safe and to secure justice for all, and the science of

¹²⁹ Pl. *Resp.* 340d–e, though the stipulation about using words
 in their strict sense is introduced into the discussion by Socrates'
 adversary Thrasymachus, not by Socrates himself.

τίθενται, καὶ ἡ νομοθετικὴ καὶ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐκέεινον καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ κατὰ πάντας ἀνθρώπους χρηστὸν καὶ καλὸν καὶ σὺν δικαιοσύνῃ καταριθμῆσθαι τοῦτ' αὐτὸ δῆπου τὸ δικαίως οὐκ ἐκπεφευγός, Πλάτων δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πρότερον τίθησιν.

- 254 εἴαν οὖν τις ἡμᾶς ἔρηται λέγων ὡδί, πόσοι δὲ ἤδη νόμους ἤνεγκαν οὐδὲν ὑγιᾶς καὶ πάντ' ἔχοντας τὰ δεινότατα; πόσοι δ' ἐν γραφαῖς ἐάλωσαν παρανόμων; ἢ πόσοι τῶν κυρίων ὄντες νόμων ἐλύθησαν ὡς οὐκ ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι; τί οὖν; πρότερον τὴν νομοθετικὴν οὐ πάντῃ καλὸν φήσετε διὰ τοὺς τοιούτους νόμους, ἢ πάντας τοὺς πώποτε γραφέντας ἢ μέλλοντας γραφήσεσθαι νόμους εἶναι καλοὺς καὶ δικαίους,
- 255 ἐπειδὴ δεῖ πάντως καλὸν εἶναι τὴν νομοθετικὴν; ἀρ' ἄφυκτα ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν φήσομεν καὶ συγκαλυψόμεθα; ἢ τίνας ἐστὶν εὐπορῆσαι μετρίας ἀποκρίσεως καὶ ἢ τὴν νομοθετικὴν καὶ τοὺς τῷ ὄντι νόμους καλὸν τε καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι φήσει; τούτου γὰρ χάριν ἐλθεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὸ πρῶτον, τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα οὐ νόμους εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ τοῦ Δημοσθένους ἀνομίαν, καὶ ἃ κωλύουσιν οἱ νόμοι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν εὐρέθησαν ὅπως μὴ
- 256 γίγνιτο. προσθέτην δ' ἂν ἔγωγε ὅτι ὦ δεινῶς σὺ ἐρω-

¹³⁰ This follows from Plato's schematization in the *Gr.* (464b-c, quoted above in §22), in which normative legislation takes priority over restorative justice, just as normative gymnastics takes priority over restorative medicine; but Aristides may also have in mind the explicit and the implicit praise of law(s)

legislation, according to him and me and the whole of mankind, is something good and noble that cannot justly (I use the word advisedly) avoid being classified along with justice, although Plato indeed ranks it still higher.¹³⁰

Suppose then that someone were to question us in the following terms: "How many men so far have passed utterly monstrous laws with nothing sound about them? How many men have been prosecuted and convicted for illegal proposal?¹³¹ How many laws duly passed have then been repealed on the grounds that it was better not to have them? Well, then, are you going to admit on the strength of such laws as these that the science of legislation is not in all respects a good thing, or are you going to say that all laws that have ever been made or are ever going to be made are good and just, since the science of legislation must necessarily be a good thing in all respects?" Are we to say that his questions pose us an insoluble dilemma, and cover our heads in shame? Or can we see our way to a temperate reply, one which will declare both the science of legislation and laws that are really laws to be something good and just? For this is why they came into the world of men in the first place, whereas the kinds of thing he mentions are not laws so much as, in Demosthenes' word, "illegality"¹³²—what the laws forbid and what they were invented to prevent happening. I would also add on my

contained in the *Laws* (see, e.g., *Leg.* 715cd). He carefully ignores the alternative position developed in the *Statesman*, which places the living statesman above both written law and justice (*Plt.* 293-306, esp. 294a-95b).

¹³¹ Cf. §21 above.

¹³² *Dem. Or.* 24.152.

τῶν⁵⁴ οὐ φοβεῖ με τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐάλωσαν παρανόμων νόμους ἤδη τινὲς γράψαντες. ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο ἐμοὶ μαρτυρεῖ. τοὺς γὰρ παρανόμων ἀλόντας οὐκέτ' εἶναι νόμους τό γε ἀκριβές· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶεν νόμοι τε ἅμα καὶ παρὰ τοὺς νόμους. ὥστε παρανόμοις ἀκούειν οὐ νομίμοις προσήκει γράμμασιν αὐτοῖς.

257 ταῦτά μοι καὶ ὑπὲρ ῥητορικῆς ἔστω πρὸς Πλάτωνα, ἣν δ' ἂν τότε κοινὴν ἐποιησάμεθ' ἀπόκρισιν, αὕτη νῦν ἐμοὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν γιγνέσθω. οὐκ ἂν ὁμοῦ κόλακές τε καὶ ῥήτορες εἶεν, οὐδὲ ὁμοῦ συκοφάνται καὶ ῥήτορες, εἴπερ ὄντως ἡ ῥητορικὴ τοῦ δικαίου χάριν εἰσήλθεν καὶ σωτηρίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὥσπερ οἱ νόμοι.
258 ἀλλ' ἔως ἂν ἰατρικὴ σῶζῃ τοὺς κάμνοντας καὶ κυβερνητικὴ σῶζῃ⁵⁵ τοὺς πλέοντας καὶ νόμοι τοὺς χρωμένους, οἱ ῥητορικῆς λόγοι σφίξουσιν οὓς χρῆ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον φυλάττουσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὴν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ταύτην κληθεῖσαν φιλοσοφίαν, εἴ τις βούλοιο κακίζειν, πόλλ' ἂν ἔχοι παράγειν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις· οἷον εἰ Διαγόρου κατηγοροίη καὶ Ἀναξαγόρου καὶ τινὰς ἄλλους ἐκλέξας ὕστερον ἢ καὶ τὸ πρότερον γενομένοις ἀπό-

⁵⁴ ὃ δεινῶς σὺ ἐρωτῶν Trapp ὃ ὠδὶ σὺ ἐρωτῶν Dindorf ὃ ὠδε ἐλευινῶς σὺ ἐρωτῶν Reiske ὃ διπῶς σὺ ἐρωτῶν Keil ὠδὶ ὡς σε ἐρωτῶν ET¹Q¹ (ἐρωτῶ UR²) ὠδε ἴσως σε ἐρωτῶν TQ

⁵⁵ secl. Keil

¹³³ "Cunning" translates my tentative emendation opposite and may not be right (though some alteration to the transmitted text is clearly needed, and the feeling that both Reiske and Keil

own account, in response to this cunning questioner,¹³³ that I am not alarmed by the fact that people making laws have before now been convicted of illegal proposal. In fact this too is evidence in my favor, because laws that have been condemned as illegally proposed are no longer laws in the strict sense, as it is impossible for them to be laws and contraventions of the law at the same time. They ought therefore to be called illegal not legitimate pieces of writing.

Let this serve me in my reply to Plato in defense of oratory as well; and let whatever general reply I made just now be at my disposal for the specific case now before us. It would be impossible to be simultaneously a flatterer and an orator, or a slanderer and an orator, if oratory in actual fact came into being for the sake of justice and the preservation of mankind, just as law did. As long as medicine preserves the sick, and navigation those sailing the seas, and the laws those who live by them, oratory with its words preserves those it ought to preserve and defends what is right. After all, anyone who wanted to defame this thing that we call philosophy would have plenty of extraneous material to drag in as he made his case. For instance, he could accuse Diagoras and Anaxagoras,¹³⁴ or whatever other outlandish individuals he might choose from before

had that some characterization of the style of the questioner's questioning ["pathetically," "twofold"] would be in place seems correct).

¹³⁴ Both notorious for unorthodox views about the divine ("atheism"), and both reportedly tried for impiety in Athens in the later fifth century BC: Diod. Sic. 13.6.7 (Diagoras); Diog. Laert. 2.12-14 (Anaxagoras).

259 πους ἀνθρώπους· ὧν οἱ μὲν διέφθειραν δῆπον τινάς,
 οἱ δ' ἐβλασφήμησαν περὶ θεούς, οἱ δὲ λόγους ἄλλους
 τινας εἶπον, οὓς οὐκ ἄμεινον ἦν ὄλως, οἱ δὲ ἀυθαδείας
 πλέον ἢ φρονήσεως εἰσηγέγκαντο. ἀλλὰ μὴ οὕτω
 βέλτιον ἢ λέγειν, ὅτι οὐκ, εἴ τινες φιλοσοφίας προ-
 βλήματι χρώμενοι φαῦλοι καὶ μηδὲν βελτίους τῶν
 πολλῶν γεγόνασιν, ἢ νῆ Δία καὶ δεινότεροι κακουρ-
 γεῖν, οὐ διὰ ταῦτα ἀτιμαστέον φιλοσοφίαν, ἕως ἂν
 φιλοσοφία μὴ τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἦ, ἀλλ' αὐτοῖς
 τούτοις τεκμηρίοις χρηστέον κατ' ἐκείνων, ὅτι διη-
 μαρτήκασι φιλοσοφίας. οὐδὲ εἴ τινες, οἶμαι, κολα-
 κεύουσιν ἢ συκοφαντοῦσιν, χείρω τούτο ποιεῖ ῥητορι-
 κήν, ἀλλ' ἡμαρτηκότας αὐτοὺς ῥητορικῆς ταύτη γε
 260 ταῦτα δεῖ δοκεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐκείνους φιλοσοφίας, ἐπὶ
 τῷ τοῦ καλλίστου προσχήματι τὴν τοῦ κακουργεῖν
 ἄδειαν ἑαυτοῖς ἐκπορίζοντας. ἄτοπον δ' ἂν εἴη, εἴ τὰ
 μὲν τῶν σκυτοτόμων καὶ τῶν τεκτόνων ἔργα μὴ ἐξ ὧν
 ἂν διαμάρτωσι κρινοῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ἂν ὡς δυνατὸν
 μάλιστα τύχωσιν, ῥητορικὴν δ' οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐκ τῶν
 κάλλιστα αὐτὴν ἀποτελεσάντων κρινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 ἐκ τῶν αὐτὰ τὰναντία πραττόντων οἷς ἢ ῥητορικῆ
 βούλεται.

or after their times. Some of them, we know, spread cor-
 ruption, some blasphemed against the gods, some voiced
 arguments that would have been altogether better unspo-
 ken, some contributed more willfulness than wisdom.¹³⁵
 259 But may the best comment on this still not be that, even
 if certain individuals, under the pretense of being phi-
 losophers, have proved to be worthless and no better than
 the mass of mankind, or indeed still more accomplished
 in doing damage, we should not use this as grounds for
 dishonoring philosophy, so long as philosophy does not
 consist in performing such actions, but should instead use
 these very things as evidence that they have failed to be
 philosophers? No more does the fact that some people are
 flatterers or slanderers diminish oratory: we ought to take
 the view that in this they fail to be orators, just as the oth-
 ers failed to be philosophers, by using the cover of the
 noblest of pursuits to secure themselves the freedom to do
 wrong. It would be a strange thing if we are to judge the
 260 work of cobblers and carpenters on the basis not of their
 mistakes, but of the greatest successes they are capable of,
 while judging oratory not only not on the basis of her fin-
 est achievements, but actually from those who directly
 contravene her intentions!

¹³⁵ Stock accusations against philosophers in general, though
 the first of them, corruption (namely, of the young), particularly
 recalls the paradigmatic figure of Socrates.

[Oratory Is Superior to Philosophy in Preventing
the Doing as Well as the Suffering of Wrong
(261–305)]

- 261 ναί. ἀλλ' ἀδικεῖσθαι βέλτιον ἢ ἀδικεῖν. ἔστω ταῦτα.
ἄρ' οὖν ὡσπὲρ βέλτιον, οὕτω καὶ καθάπαξ αἰρετόν;
οὐ. φησὶ γοῦν οὐδέτερον βούλεσθαι, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τὸ
ἀδικεῖσθαι κακὸν ἡγνούμενος, ὀρθῶς, οἶμαι, καὶ γι-
262 γνώσκων καὶ λέγων. οὐκοῦν εἰ Πλάτων αὐτὸς ἡμῶν
ἀποκρίναίτο, πλείστου γένοιτ' ἂν ἄξιον τῷ λόγῳ. ὑπ-
άρχει δὲ καὶ τοῦτο. πῶς; ὡς αὐτῷ Σωκράτης ἀποκρι-
νόμενος πεποιήται. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸ οὕτωςι διακεί-
μενον. ἐρωτᾷ Πῶλος Σωκράτη, σὺ δ' ἄρα ἀδικεῖσθαι
βούλοιο ἂν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀδικεῖν; καὶ ὅς ἀμείβεται, βου-
λοίμην μὲν ἂν ἔγωγε οὐδέτερον, εἰ δὲ ἀναγκαῖον εἴη
ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ ἀδικεῖν, ἐλοίμην μᾶλλον ἀδικεῖσθαι.
263 οὐκοῦν ὁπότε μηδέτερόν φησι βούλεσθαι, δῆλον ὅτι
καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι κακὸν ἡγνούμενος οὐ φησὶ βούλε-
σθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῦ μὲν ἀδικεῖν ἄμεινον τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, οὐ
μὴν ἐκείνου γε τοῦ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὀρ-
264 θῶς, οἶμαι, καὶ γινώσκων καὶ λέγων. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν
ἢ ῥητορικῆ ἀδικεῖσθαι μὲν ἐκώλυεν, ἀδικεῖν δὲ προσ-
ηνάγκαζεν, οὐδ' οὕτω μὲν ἴσως ἂν καθάπαξ πονηρὸν
ἦν, πονηρὸν γε ὃν κωλύουσα τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, χεῖρον δὲ

¹³⁶ Pl. *Grg.* 469b–c.

¹³⁷ The text of §§261–63 is oddly repetitious: is this a result of interpolation, or of careless writing (or incomplete revision) by Aristides himself?

Oratory Is Superior to Philosophy in Preventing
the Doing as Well as the Suffering of Wrong
(261–305)

- Yes; but it is better to be wronged than to do wrong. Very 261
well—but, granted that it is better, is it therefore also
choiceworthy absolutely? No. He says that he does not
want either, evidently because he believes that being
wronged is also something bad, and in my view he is right
to think and say this. So if Plato himself were to give us an 262
answer, that would be of the greatest value to the argu-
ment. And in fact we have his answer as well. How so?
Because he has depicted Socrates answering. Here is how
it is set out.¹³⁶ Polus asks Socrates, “So would you prefer
to be wronged rather than to do wrong?” And he answers,
“I would prefer neither, but if I had either to be wronged
to do wrong, I should choose to be wronged.” Thus when 263
he says that he prefers neither, it is clear that he says that
he does not want to be wronged because he thinks that it
too is something bad, and that although being wronged is
better than doing wrong, it is not better than the alterna-
tive of neither doing wrong nor being wronged—and in
my view he is right to think and say this.¹³⁷ If therefore 264
oratory has prevented people from being wronged, but
compelled them to do wrong, even then (on the under-
standing that being wronged is better than doing wrong)
it would perhaps not have been unconditionally a bad
thing, because preventing the evil of being wronged;
though perhaps it would still have been inferior to a better

ἀν ἴσως βελτίονος, εἶπερ ἀδικεῖσθαι κρείττον ἢ ἀδικεῖν. εἰ δ' οὐτ' ἐκέينو ἐπαναγκάζει καὶ τοῦτο κωλύει, κατ' ἐκείνο μὲν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν πω, δῶμεν γὰρ ὡς ἐν τῷ παρόντι, κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ κυρίως ἀγαθὸν καὶ τοσοῦτῳ βέλτιον ἢ χεῖρον, ὅσῳ τοῦ βελτίονος μετείληφεν, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ χείρονος, εἶπερ βέλτιον τὸ μῆτε ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἢ δυοῖν ἐκείνου τὸ ἕτερον.

265 καὶ μὴν ὁ μὲν μὴ ἀδικεῖν ἐγνωκῶς οὐχ ἅμα αὐτός τε τοῦ κακουργεῖν ἀπέχεται καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι πέφυγεν. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο ἦν ἀδικεῖν τὸ κακῶς ὄν οὐ προσῆκεν ποιεῖν. ὥσθ' ἕως ἂν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἦ τὸ κακουργεῖν, ἀδικήσεται. ὁ δὲ τὴν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι φυλακὴν ἔχων ἅμα καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν πω κωλύει. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἅμα τε ἠδίκηται καὶ ἠδίκηκεν ἕτερος, οὕτως ὁ τὴν τοῦ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι δύναμιν ἔχων τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ μὴ εἶναι ἀδικεῖν ἔχει. ὥστε εἰ τὸ μὲν μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τῆς ῥητορικῆς τίθησιν, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖν τῆς φιλοσοφίας, τοσοῦτῳ χείρων φιλοσοφία ῥητορικῆς, ὅσῳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι τὸ ἀδικεῖν.

267 ὁπότε δ' αὖ πρὸ τούτου τίθησιν τὸ μῆτε ἀδικεῖν μῆτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, τούτῳ βελτίων αὖ γίνεται ῥητορικὴ φιλοσοφίας, ἐπειδὴ γε ὁμοῦ τῷ ἀδικεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἀναιρεῖ. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ νόμοι κωλύοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἅμα καὶ ἀδικεῖν δῆπου κωλύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν οὐκ ὄντων τῶν ἀδικουμένων τοὺς ἀδικούντας εἶναι, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐφ' ὃν τοῦτ' ἔρχεται. ὥσθ' ἡ ῥητορικὴ τὸ

alternative. But if it does not compel wrongdoing and also prevents people from being wronged, then in respect of the former feature it is so far neither good nor bad (let us grant that for the time being), but in respect of the latter it is good in the full sense of the word, and better rather than worse by a substantial margin, because connected with what is better rather than what is worse, if neither doing wrong nor being wronged is better than either one of those two separately.

He who resolves not to do wrong does not simultaneously refrain from doing harm himself and stay safe from being wronged, since doing wrong was defined precisely as doing harm to someone who did not deserve it. So as long as the doing of harm flourishes among men, he will be wronged. Whereas the man who has protection against being wronged also surely prevents wrongdoing at the same time. Because just as, when he has been wronged, someone else has done wrong at the same time, so the man who has the power not to be wronged also has the power to prevent the doing of wrong. If therefore he credits not being wronged to oratory, and not doing wrong to philosophy, then philosophy is inferior to oratory by the same measure as doing wrong is worse than being wronged.

Or again, when he ranks neither doing wrong nor being wronged before this, this too makes oratory better than philosophy, since along with being wronged it also does away with the doing of wrong. After all, the laws too, in preventing the suffering of wrong, surely also prevent the doing of wrong at the same time, because when there is no one who is having wrong done to them, then there cannot be wrongdoers either, since there is no one for wrong to be inflicted on. Thus oratory in preventing the suffering

- 268 ἀδικεῖσθαι κωλύουσα συγκωλύει καὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖν αὐτῷ
 τούτῳ ᾧπερ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ ὅλως βοηθείαις
 ἔνεκα τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ῥητορικὴν δείκνυμεν εὐθεύεισαν
 καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν καθαρῶς τάξιν ἔχουσιν τοῖς νόμοις, οὐ
 μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ ῥήτωρ οὐ τὸ μὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι φεύ-
 ξεται, τὸ δ' ἀδικεῖν βεβαιώσει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς
 τὸ ἀδικεῖν κωλύσει. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν σχή-
 σει πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ὅπως μῆδ' ἄλλος πέισεται κακῶς,
 εἴπερ ὦν τοὺς νόμους χάριν, τούτων καὶ τὴν ῥητορι-
 269 κὴν εὐρέσθαι νενίκηκεν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὃ γε ἐτέρους τὰ
 δίκαια πράττειν ἐπιαναγκάζων πολὺ πρῶτον αὐ-
 τὸς γε παρεσκευάσται. οὐ γὰρ ἐγχωρεῖ βοηθεῖν μὲν
 τῷ δικαίῳ, τοῦ δὲ καταλύειν τὸ δίκαιον αὐτὸν πρῶτον
 ὑπάρχειν.
- 270 . οὐκοῦν ὁ ῥήτωρ οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀδικήσει, ἀλλ'
 οὐδ' ἕτερον ἑάσει· οὐδ' αὖ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ ἀδικηθή-
 σεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἕτερος τό γε τούτου μέρος. εἰ δὲ μήτ'
 ἀδικήσει μήτ' ἕτερον ἑάσει, κατὰ πάντας τοὺς τρό-
 πους ἢ ῥητορικὴ καλὸν κάγαθόν καὶ καθ' ὃν αἰσχροὺν
 τὸ ἀδικεῖν καὶ καθ' ὃν κρείττον τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι ἢ ἀδι-
 κεῖν καὶ καθ' ὃν ὅλως βέλτιστον μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε
 ἀδικεῖσθαι, καὶ πέφηεν ὁ τῷ ὄντι ῥήτωρ ἀνδρὸς
 ἀπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀγαθοῦ τοσοῦτον κρείττων, ὅσῳ ὁ μὲν τὸ
 καθ' αὐτὸν μόνον παρέχεται, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
 ὅπως τοιοῦτοι γενήσονται παρασκευάζει. ὁ μὲν γὰρ
 271 κάγαθός, ὅς γε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ ταῦτ' ἄγει. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλ' εἰ τούτῳ Πλάτων ἰσχυρίζεται ὡς οὐ πολλήν τινα

of wrong also prevents the doing of wrong along with it, 268
 by the selfsame means as it prevents being wronged. If
 then I prove that oratory was invented wholly in order to
 assist the cause of right and that it has exactly the same
 role as law, then, so it seems, the orator will not only
 not avoid suffering wrong while reinforcing the doing of
 wrong, but will before all else prevent the doing of wrong.
 For he will not only look out for actions committed against
 himself, but also make sure that no one else suffers harm,
 provided that it has indeed been established that oratory
 too was invented for the same reason as law. Again, the 269
 man who compels others to act rightly is surely first and
 long since set up to do the same himself. It is not possible
 to come to the aid of what is right and to be oneself the
 first to subvert it.

The orator then will not only not commit wrong him- 270
 self, but will not allow anyone else to either; not only will
 he not have wrong done to him, but as far as he can ensure
 it, no one else will either. And if he will neither do wrong
 nor allow anyone else to, then on every way of looking at
 it oratory is a good and admirable thing—in that wrongdo-
 ing is reprehensible, in that being wronged is better than
 doing wrong, and in that it is absolutely best neither to do
 wrong nor to be wronged—and the true orator is proved
 to be superior to the good man *tout court* in so far as the
 good man sees only to his own affairs, whereas the orator
 takes steps to ensure that others become like this too. The
 good and admirable man is not a complete orator, but the
 orator is a good and admirable man, because he brings
 others too into this state. Yet if Plato insists that oratory 271

οὐδ' ἀξίαν σπουδῆς οὐδὲ λόγου χρείαν ἢ ῥητορικὴ παρέχεται, ὅτι οὐ τηλικούτων ἐστὶ τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι κακὸν ἢ λίκον τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τί κωλύει καὶ τοὺς νόμους αὐτὸν ἅπαντας τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις διαγράφειν; οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν ἢ τοῦτο βούλονται, μάλιστα μὲν μηδένα μηδὲ ὑφ' ἐνὸς πάσχειν κακῶς, εἰ δὲ μή, δίκην τοῖς παθοῦσι παρὰ τῶν πραξάντων ἢ τῶν αἰτίων γίνεσθαι. ὥστ' οὐ μόνη ἄπεισιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἐκκηρυχθεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἑταιρείας καταγνωσθείσης μετὰ τῶν ταῦτ' συμβουλομένων νόμων ἐξελαθήσεται· καὶ τότε ῥητορικὴν ἐκπέμφομεν καὶ προπηλακιοῦμεν, ὅταν καὶ τοὺς νόμους συνεκπέμψαι καλῶς ἡμῖν ἔχη. πότ' οὖν τοῦτ' ἂν γένοιτο; τίς ὁ καιρὸς αὐτοῦ; τῶν Πλάτωνος ἑταίρων ἀποκρινάσθω

272 *τις, ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔχομεν παραστήσασθαι.*

273 *καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐνταῦθα ἕξω μαρτυρίας ἡμῖν παντελῶς στήσεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐν τούτοις ἤπερ ἐν οἷς ἄρτι διέξεισιν φαίνεται μαρτυρῶν. οὐ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων νόμων οὐδὲ πολιτειῶν διαλέξομαι, οὐδ' οὖς ὁ δεῖνα ἔθηκεν, ἀλλ' εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἔροιτο, ὦ δαιμόνιε καὶ πάντα σὺ θαυμαστά εὐρίσκων, εἰ μηδὲν ἐστὶν πρᾶγμα τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, μηδ' ἢ τοῦτο κωλύουσα δύναμις μηδενὸς ἀξία λόγου, μηδ' ὅποσα ἐστὶν καὶ γίνεται μηδὲν χρηστόν, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἄτιμον καὶ ἀνελεύθερον ὥστ' εἶναι μόριον κολακείας καὶ σκιᾶς, τοῦ χάριν οἰκίζων ταύτην τὴν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ πόλιν καθίστηης αὐτῇ πολιτεία, ἀφ' ἧς μηδ' ὀτιοῦν πείσεται, καὶ τὸ μάχι-*

provides no great service that is worth noticing or expending any enthusiasm on, because being wronged is not so great an ill as doing wrong, what prevents him from striking out the whole of law as well on the selfsame grounds? The whole purpose of the laws is that, in the first instance, no one should suffer harm from even a single wrongdoer, or failing that, that the victims should see the perpetrators and responsible parties duly punished. In which case, it is not oratory on her own that will quit the cities of men on being banished by Plato; just as if a conspiratorial clique had been condemned, she will be driven out along with the laws that share her aims, and it will be at such time as we are happy to expel the laws along with her that we shall expel oratory too and blacken her name. So when would this be? What is the moment for it? Let one of Plato's companions answer this, since we cannot summon him in person.

272

Actually, even in this case he will not be entirely out of reach of our summons, but in fact testifies still more clearly over these matters than he does over the ones he was dealing with a moment ago. Because it is not other laws or constitutions, or the enactments of just any lawmaker, that I shall discuss, but instead, what if someone were to ask him, "My good sir, you whose every invention is a marvel, if being wronged is a matter of no importance, and the power that prevents it is negligible, and useful for nothing at all that is and comes to be, but instead so worthless and vile as to be a mere part of flattery and a shadow image, why is it that when founding this bookbound state of yours, you gave it a constitution to ensure that it experiences nothing of the kind, and ordered its military class to be made separate from the rest, granting them the highest

273

μον χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων ἰδρῦσθαι κελεύεις, τιμὴν τὴν
 πρώτην ἀποδοῦς, ἵνα μὴ τι πάθῃ, μηδὲ ὑπὸ ποίων
 ἀδικηθῆ πολέμιων; εἰ γὰρ ἐξήρκει μὴ ἀδικεῖν, τί δέ-
 δοικας, εἰ πρὸς τοῦτό γ' αὐτὴν παρεσκεύακας; εἰ δὲ
 δὴ καὶ χεῖρον τοῖς ἀδικούσιν ὅταν μὴ διδῶσι δίκην
 καὶ χρῆ δὴ κατὰ σέ καὶ αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατήγορον ὅταν
 ἀδικήσῃ γίνεσθαι καὶ παιδίων καὶ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ,
 τοὺς δ' ἐχθροὺς ἔαν, τί οὐ συνεύχει τοῖς πολέμοις
 ἐπελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ νῆ Δία τοὺς μὲν ἐν
 ἡλικία πάντας κατακόψαι καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τοῖς βω-
 μοῖς, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξανδραποδίσασθαι
 πέρα, εἰ βούλει, Γαδείρων, τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ συλήσαντας
 κατασκάψαι πάντα, μὴ λιπεῖν δὲ μηδὲ τοὺς τάφους
 ἀθώους τῆς ἑαυτῶν πλεονεξίας, ἵν' ἀδικήσαντες τὰ
 μέγιστα ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις δὴ κακοῖς ὦσιν μὴ δόντες
 δίκην, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχεις τοῦ ταῦτα συμπράττειν
 ὥστε κωλύεις, προσκόπτεις, βίον ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις εὐρη-
 κας, ἵνα μὴ τι τοιοῦτον γένοιτο· κἄν τις ἐγγένηται
 προδότης, τοῦτον οὐ στεφανοῦν κελεύεις οὐδὲ κηρύτ-
 τειν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις περὶ τούτων νομίζεις;
 274 καίτοι κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους τίνας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς
 προδότας ἔδει τιμᾶν, ὅτι τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ τὴν χώραν
 καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῖς πο-
 λεμίοις ἔσται παρασκευάζουσιν, ἵν' ἐκείνοι τὰ μέγι-
 στα ἀδικήσαντες τοῖς μεγίστοις ἐνέχωνται κακοῖς;

honors, so that nothing shall happen to it and it shall not
 be wronged by enemies of any kind?¹³⁸ If it were enough
 not to do wrong, what are you afraid of, provided you have
 equipped it for this? And if it is worse for those who do
 wrong when they are not punished, and indeed a man
 ought according to you to become his own accuser when
 he does wrong, and his own children's and father's accuser,
 but leave his enemies alone,¹³⁹ why do you not actively
 second your own enemies' aspiration to attack and capture
 your state, and massacre everyone of military age into the
 bargain, for good measure by the altars, and sell the
 women and children into slavery beyond the Pillars of
 Heracles, if you wish, and plunder the temples and raze
 them all to the ground, and not leave even the tombs of
 the dead unravaged by their greed, so that by committing
 the worst of wrongs and not being punished for it, they
 may fall prey to the worst misfortune? Why are you so
 far from joining them in this venture that you obstruct
 it and fight against it and have invented a life under
 arms to prevent any such thing from happening? And if
 there should be a traitor in your state, why do you not
 order that he should be crowned and have his name
 proclaimed by the heralds, but instead hold the same
 views about this as everybody else? And yet, by that line
 of reasoning, who ought we to honor more than traitors, 274
 on the grounds that they take steps to ensure that their
 families and land and shrines and worldly goods should fall
 into the enemies' hands, so that they, by committing the
 greatest wrongs should fall victim to the greatest misfor-

¹³⁸ Pl. *Resp.* 374a-e, 415a-d, 468b-69b.

¹³⁹ Pl. *Crat.* 480a-81b.

- 275 εἰπέ πρὸς Διὸς τεραστίου, τί χρῆ περὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς νομίμειν; εἶεν, ὦ γενναῖε, νόμους δὲ δὴ τοῦ χάριν ἡμῖν ἐτίθης χωρὶς αὐτῶν τοσοῦτους τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ τοῖς τ' εὖ βεβιωκόσι τιμὰς ὀρίζουσι καὶ τοὺς ὀτιοῦν ἀδικούντας ἅ δὲ πάσχειν λέγουσιν· καὶ ῥητορεύεις καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν σπουδῆ καὶ τιμῆς τὰ προοίμια, καὶ παραδείγματα διττὰ ὡσπερ οἱ πλάσται προτίθης, ὁ τῶν λόγων καταφρονῶν. εἰ γάρ, ὦ τᾶν, τὸ δίκην λαμβάνειν καὶ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀδικεῖν οὐχ ἔν τι τῶν σπουδαίων ἦν, τοῦ χάριν ταῦτα πραγματεύῃ καὶ σκοπεῖς ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀδικήσεται; οὐκοῦν ἢ ταῦτα πάντα τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος ὄντα ἡμαρτησθαι δεῖ τούτου ἐνὸς ὀρθῶς ἔχοντος αὐτῶ,⁵⁶ ἢ τὰδ' ἐκείνοις ἐξεληλεγκται.
- 277 καὶ μὴν ἐν μὲν οἷς ἡμεῖς λέγομεν καὶ⁵⁷ τοῖς ἄλλοις συνδοκοῦν ἐστὶν καὶ τῷ Πλάτῳ πρόσεστιν ἅ δ' οὗτος ἐνταῦθα εἴρηκεν, οὐ μόνον τοῖς τῶν πραγμάτων λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνος ἐξελέγχεται καὶ λόγοις καὶ βουλήμασιν. ἐκείνων μὲν οὖν ὀρθῶς ἔχειν συγχωρουμένων καὶ ἢ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρεῖ δόξα καὶ ψήφος ὀρθή· ταῦτα δ' εἰ δοίμεν κρατεῖν, ἄπειστον τὸ ὄψοῦν συνδοκεῖν τῶν ἄλλων. ἰσχυρότερον δὲ τὸ καὶ ἅπασιν καὶ Πλάτῳ τοῦ μηδεὶ καὶ 278 μηδὲ Πλάτῳ συνδοκεῖν, ὡς οὗτος ἀλλαχοῦ. οὐκοῦν οὐ τὴν παρὰ τούτου μαρτυρίαν διὰ τὴν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων φενξοῦμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῇ τῶν ἄλλων τὴν παρὰ

⁵⁶ αὐτῶ Reiske αὐτῶν codd.

⁵⁷ καὶ <τό> Keil an <τό> καὶ?

tune? Tell us, in the name of Zeus god of prodigies, what we ought to think about these individuals. Or again, my noble sir, why did you make us another separate set of laws in such quantities,¹⁴⁰ defining the honors to be paid to those who have lived good lives and stipulating the punishments due to each and every kind of criminal? Why do you orate over each of them with such enthusiasm, and attach such importance to their preambles, and set out pairs of patterns as sculptors do—you who despise oratory?¹⁴¹ If exacting punishment and preventing wrongdoing does not after all belong among serious matters, why do you concern yourself with these things and why do you devise means to ensure that no one should be wronged? Either all those numerous measures must be mistaken, if just this one point is right in your eyes, or it is shown to be in error by them.”

Moreover, what I say commands agreement from everyone else, and from Plato too; but what he says here is proved wrong not only by the voice of fact, but also by the words and wishes of Plato himself. If it is allowed that my case is correct, it is supported by the opinion and right judgment of everyone else as well; but if we were to grant the victory to his argument, then no agreement would be forthcoming from anyone else at all. To have everyone's agreement and Plato's too is a stronger position than having agreement from nobody, not even Plato, as he appears elsewhere. We shall not therefore reject his testimony because of everyone else's, but rather add his to theirs. I

¹⁴⁰ The *Laws*.

¹⁴¹ Pl. *Leg.* 4.721a–24b.

τούτου προσθήσομεν. ἤγοῦμαι μὲν τοίνυν κὰν τούτους
τὴν ἔργῳ μαρτυρίαν παρέχεσθαι. [τὸ γὰρ δὴ λόγους
πρὸς λόγους ἀγωνιζόμενον λόγους ἐτέροις σπουδαί-
οις μαρτυροῦντα ἀποφαίνειν τὸν ἀντίπαλον τὴν ἔργῳ
παρέχεσθαι μαρτυρίαν ἐστίν.]⁵⁸

- 279 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ προσωτέρω προελθεῖν βούλο-
μαι, ἵνα ἐπειδὴ τιμᾷ τὸ ἕνα ἐπισηφίζειν καὶ αὐτόν,
πρὸς ὃν ἂν οἱ λόγοι γίνωνται, καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ
280 σύμψηφον ὄντα αὐτόν μοι δείξω. φέρε δὴ προσέστω
κὰν τούτοις ἐρώτησις, οἷον εἴ τις ἤρετο αὐτόν, ἥνικα
εἰς Σικελίαν ἔπλει τὸ δεύτερον ἢ τρίτον, ἤτοι σύμ-
πλους ἢ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ κυβερνήτης, σὺ δὲ δὴ τοῦ χάριν
ἡμῖν ὦ Πλάτων εἰς Σικελίαν πλεῖς; ἢ εἰ μὴ τότε, ἀλλ'
εἴ τις οἴκαδε αὐτὸν ἐπανελθόντα ἤρετο τὰς τῆς ἀπο-
δημίας καὶ πλάνης αἰτίας καὶ τί δὴ μαθῶν⁵⁹ τὸ τρίτον
αὐθις περὶ τὴν Χάρυβδιν ἐπραγματεύσατο, περὶ ἣν
Ὀδυσσεὺς οὐ πλέον ἢ δις, τί ἂν ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ; εἰ
γὰρ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀληθὲς εἶναι δοίημεν, ἔφη Δημο-
σθένης, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη δοῦναι Πλάτωνί γε, ἐτέραν
αὐτῷ περὶ ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦμεν οὐ λείπει τοῦτο ἀπόκρι-
281 σιν. διὰ τί; ὅτι, οἶμαι, ἂν φῆσαι, μᾶλλον δ' εἶπεν,⁶⁰

⁵⁸ *secl. Behr* ⁵⁹ παθῶν V²A² μαθῶν *cett.*

⁶⁰ ἂν φῆσαι . . . εἶπεν Behr ἂν φῆσαι . . . εἶπεν ἂν UR²
φῆσαι . . . εἶπεν ἂν *cett.*

¹⁴² The sentence following this one in the Greek text (bracketed opposite) reads like another wrongly incorporated marginal note: "Because when one is fighting arguments with arguments,

believe that in so doing I am once more providing the evidence of hard fact.¹⁴²

Indeed, I wish to go still further and, since he so values
securing the approval of just the one person to whom the
discussion is addressed,¹⁴³ to prove that he agrees with me
in word and in deed. Let us once more stage an interroga-
tion over this, and imagine someone asking him, when he
was sailing to Sicily for the second or third time, either a
fellow passenger or even the helmsman himself, "Tell us,
Plato, why are you sailing to Sicily?"¹⁴⁴ Or if not at that
moment, then alternatively, if someone had asked him,
once he had returned home, for the reasons for his travels
and wanderings and what had persuaded him to tangle
for yet a third time with Charybdis, when Odysseus
did not do so more than twice,¹⁴⁵ what would his answer
have been? For even if we were to grant, in Demosthenes'
words,¹⁴⁶ that his best answer is the true one, as we must
grant to Plato of all people, this still does not leave him
with any other answer about the subject under dispute.
Why so? Because, I think, he would say, or rather did say,

showing that one's adversary testifies to the truth of serious arguments on the other side is to provide the evidence of hard fact."

¹⁴³ Pl. *Gr.* 472b.

¹⁴⁴ For the story of Plato's visits to Syracuse in Sicily, which rests on the probably spurious Platonic *Ep.* 7 and 8, see Plut. *Dion* 4-5 and 11-22; Diog. Laert. 3.18-23. Plato supposedly made three trips to Syracuse, one during the reign of the tyrant Dionysius I (405-367 BC) and two in that of his son Dionysius II (367-357 and 346-344); the second and third trips were connected with the plans of Dionysius' relative and adviser Dion to reform the Syracusan monarchy along Platonic lines.

¹⁴⁵ *Od.* 12.235-44 and 426-44; [Pl.] *Ep.* 7.345e.

¹⁴⁶ *Dem. Or.* 10.71.

Δίωνος χάριν ἀνδρὸς ἐταίρου καὶ ξένου πλεῦσαι, θέσθαι βουλόμενος τὰ πρὸς Διονύσιον αὐτῷ καὶ μὴ περιῦδειν. εἴτ' ὃ πλέων καλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἀποδημῶν, σὸ μὲν ξένου Συρακοσίου κοινού τῆς πατρίδος ἐχθροῦ τῆς σεαυτοῦ,—οὐ γὰρ προεδρία γ' ἦν Ἀθηναίοις ἐν Συρακούσαις, ἀλλ' ἂ μὴδ' εἰπεῖν ἔστ' ἀδακρυντί, ταῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν Δίωνος ἐταίρων καὶ πολιτῶν ὀλίγοις πρότερον χρόνοις ἐπεπόνθεσαν—ἀλλ' οὖν ἐπειδὴ γε ἅπαξ αὐτὸν ἐδέξω φίλον νομίσας, ἔπλευς ἐκείνου χάριν ἐν γῆρα πέλαγος τοσοῦτον, καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς ἄνδρα παρ' ᾧ πάλιν κινδυνεύειν ἔδει καὶ οὐ συμμαχίαν ὑπισχνουμένου συνῆδεις οὐ δεξαμένην τὴν σεαυτοῦ πατρίδα καὶ τὸ τυράννῳ συνείναι δοκεῖν οὐκ ἔφευγες, ὡς ἔχων παραμυθίαν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς διατριβῆς, ὃ Δίωνα μένειν οἴκοι καὶ τῆς οὐσίας κρατεῖν ἦν. τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ τις οἰκῶν καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις καὶ γονεῦσιν καὶ ἀδελφοῖς εἰ τὴν ὅπως μὴ ἀδικήσονται φυλακὴν ἔχει καὶ σφῆζοι καὶ τούτους καὶ ἑαυτόν, καὶ νῆ Δία γε, εἰ τοῦτ' αὐτὸ τυράννον ἔσσεσθαι μέλλοντα καὶ Διονυσίῳ προσόμοιον οἶός τ' εἶη κωλύσαι καὶ παρελέσθαι λόγῳ τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἄδειαν ἅπασι βεβαιῶσαι, ἔπειτ' οὐδὲν σπουδαῖον τοῦτ' εἶναι φήσομεν; οὐδ' ἐπαινεῖν ἐχρῆν τὴν τοιαύτην εἴτε τέχνην εἴτε μὴδὲ τέχνην εἰπεῖν δεῖ, ὅτι νῆ Δία ἐν μέγα τοῦτ' ἦν κακὸν

282

¹⁴⁷ In the defeat of the Sicilian Expedition in 413 BC and the subsequent confinement of the Athenian prisoners in the Syracusan stone quarries: Thuc. 7.72–87.

that it was for the sake of his friend and guest Dion that he sailed, because he wished to settle his relations with Dionysius and not stand idly by. A noble reason for sailing, and just cause to go abroad! But does this mean, Plato, that it was for the sake of a Syracusan stranger, the shared enemy of your own home country—the Athenians had no special privileges in Syracuse, but had instead only a short time before endured sufferings that cannot even be mentioned without tears at the hands of Dion's friends and fellow citizens¹⁴⁷—but at all events, when you had once played host to him and taken him as your friend, in spite of your years you sailed across such a huge expanse of sea, to confront a man in whose presence you would inevitably be once more in danger, and whose offer of an alliance you knew very well your own country had rejected? And you did not shrink from giving the impression of consorting with a tyrant, and console yourself with the reflection that the dignity of your calling required you to wait for Dion at home and manage your property? Think also of someone living in his own country and acting on behalf of his own fellow citizens and parents and siblings: if this man had the means of protecting them from suffering wrong, and were to keep both them and himself safe, and if moreover he was able precisely to block the path of a prospective tyrant of the same kind as Dionysius, and curtail his actions by the use of reasoned argument, and reinforce the security offered to all by the laws, would we really say that this was completely insignificant? Would there be no need to praise an ability of this kind (whether it should be called a science or not a science), simply on the grounds that the one great evil was doing wrong, and that being wronged

282

- 283 τὸ ἀδικεῖν, τὸ δὲ ἀδικεῖσθαι πρᾶγμα οὐδέν; ἄρα γε
καὶ μειζρόνως τις ἀμύνεται τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἕων ἀδικεῖν, καὶ
σκοπούμενος ἐξ ὅτου τρόπου μῆδ' ἄλλος δίκην παρ'
284 αὐτοῦ λήψεται; καὶ μὴν ἄχρι μὲν τούτων τῶν λόγων
αἰνίγματ' ἂν εἴποι τις ταῦτ' εἶναι, ἐπηγγέμενων δὲ τού-
των [καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος]⁶¹ καὶ ἐξεληλέγχθαι καὶ
λελυθῆναι γ', οὐ τὸν εἰωθότα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰνίγμασι δῆλα ἐξ ἀδήλων γεγονότα,
ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς δῆλα οὐ τὸ σαθρὸν ἦν αὐτῶν.
285 φέρε δὴ καὶ ταῦτα σκεψώμεθα. οἶμαι γὰρ ἡμῖν
ὡσπερ ἀπόντος ἐκμαρτυρίαν εἶναι. ἔστι δ' ἐκ τῆς μα-
κρᾶς ἐπιστολῆς.

ταύτη μὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ τε καὶ τόλμῃ ἀπήρα οἴκο-
θεν, οὐχ ἢ τινὲς ἐδόξαζον, ἀλλ' αἰσχυρόμενος
μὲν ἑμαυτὸν τὸ μέγιστον μὴ δόξαιμι ποτε
ἑμαντῶ παντάπασι λόγος μόνου ἀτεχνῶς εἶναι
τις, ἔργου δὲ οὐδεὶς ἂν ποτε ἐκὼν ἀνθάψα-
σθαι, κινδυνεύειν δὲ προδοῦναι πρῶτον μὲν τὴν
Δίωνος ξενίαν τε καὶ [328d] ἑταιρίαν ἐν κινδύ-
νοις ὄντως γεγονότος οὐ μικροῖς, εἴτ' οὖν πάθει
τι εἴτ' ἐκπεσὼν ὑπὸ Διονυσίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐχθρῶν ἔλθαι πρὸς ἡμᾶς φεύγων καὶ ἀνέροιτο
εἰπών, ὦ Πλάταν, ἤκω σοι φυγὰς οὐχ ὀπλιτῶν
δεόμενος οὐδὲ ἰππέων ἐνδεῆς γενόμενος ἀμύνε-

⁶¹ *secl.* Dindorf

was a matter of no importance? Does someone really de- 283
fend himself against his enemy more effectively by allow-
ing him to do wrong, and then looking out for ways of
ensuring that no one else punishes him either? One might 284
well say that up to this point in the argument it is all a great
riddle, but that when these extra considerations are ad-
duced it is solved,¹⁴⁸ not in the ordinary way in which other
riddles are solved, by having clarity brought out of obscu-
rity, but by having it made entirely clear where the reason-
ing breaks down.

Now let us consider another text, which I think pro- 285
vides us with something like the deposition of an absent
witness. It is from the long *Epistle*.¹⁴⁹

It was with this bold intention that I set out from
home. My motive was not what some supposed it
to be, but shame at the prospect of appearing first
and foremost in my own eyes as a creature of mere
words, reluctant ever to set myself to any action,
and moreover at the prospect of being a traitor
in the first instance to the hospitality and [328d]
friendship of Dion, when he was truly in great dan-
ger. What if something happened to him? What if
he were thrown out by Dionysius and his other en-
emies and came to me in his exile and questioned
me with the words, "Plato, I come to you as an exile.
It is not infantry I want, or cavalry that I need to

¹⁴⁸ In the manuscripts, the words "are adduced" are followed
by "and by Plato," which looks like a reader's insertion.

¹⁴⁹ [Pl.] *Ep.* 7.328c-29a. Ancient readers, Aristides included,
were untroubled by the doubts over the authenticity of the Pla-
tonic *Epistles* that are raised by modern scholars.

σθαι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς, ἀλλὰ λόγων καὶ πειθοῦς, ἣ
 σὲ μάλιστα ἠπιστάμην ἐγὼ δυνάμενον ἀνθρώ-
 πους νέους ἐπὶ τὰγαθὰ καὶ δίκαια προτρέποντα
 εἰς φιλίαν τε καὶ ἑταιρίαν ἀλλήλοις καθιστάναι
 ἐκάστοτε. ὦν ἐνδεία [e] κατὰ τὸ σὸν μέρος νῦν
 ἐγὼ καταλιπὼν Συρακούσας ἐνθάδε πάρεμι.
 καὶ τὸ μὲν <ἐμὸν>⁶² ἔλαττον ὄνειδος σοὶ φέρει.
 φιλοσοφία δέ, ἣν ἐγκωμιάζεις αἰεὶ καὶ ἀτίμως
 φῆς ὑπὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθρώπων φέρεσθαι, πῶς
 οὐ προδέδοται τὰ νῦν μετ' ἐμοῦ μέρος ὅσον ἐπὶ
 σοὶ γέγονεν; [329a] καὶ Μεγαροὶ μὲν εἰ κατοικ-
 οῦντες ἐτρυγάνομεν, ἦλθες ἂν δήπου μοι βοη-
 θὸς ἐφ' ἃ σε παρεκάλουν, ἣ πάντων ἂν φαν-
 λότατον ἡγοῦ σαυτὸν· νῦν δ' ἄρα τὸ μῆκος τῆς
 πορείας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος δὴ τοῦ πλοῦ καὶ τοῦ
 πόνου ἐπαιτιώμενος οἶε δόξαν κακίας ἀποφει-
 ξεῖσθαι ποτε; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεήσει. λεχθέντων
 δὲ τούτων τίς ἦν μοι ἂν πρὸς ταῦτα εὐσχήμων
 ἀπόκρισις; οὐκ ἔστι.

286 ταῦτα οὐχ ἕτερος περὶ αὐτοῦ γέγραφεν, οὐδὲ εἰκά-
 ζων τὴν ἐκείνου γνώμην, ἀλλ' ὁ κάλλιστα εἰδὼς αὐτὸς
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τούτων φησὶ χάριν ἔλθειν, τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ
 Δίωνος ἂν λεχθέντας τούτους λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰ-
 σχυνθεῖς. καὶ ἔγωγε πιστεύω. μαινοίμην γὰρ ἂν, εἰ
 287 μῆ, οὐκοῦν ἐν τούτοις ἐστίν, ἦκα σοι, ὦ Πλάταν, οὐχ
 ὀπλιτῶν δεόμενος οὐδ' ἰππέων ἔρημος γενόμενος,
 ἀλλὰ λόγων καὶ πειθοῦς· ταῦτα δ' ὦμην παντὸς μάλ-

defend myself against my enemies, but argument
 and persuasion, the means through which I under-
 stood you above all to be able to exhort young men
 to good and just lives, and so infallibly bring them
 into friendly comradeship with each other. It is for
 lack of this [e] from you that I have left Syracuse
 and am now here before you. My case in itself is not
 so shaming to you; but how can you deny that along
 with me you have also betrayed philosophy, which
 you are for ever praising and claiming to be treated
 disrespectfully by the rest of mankind, so far as your
 part in the matter goes? [329a] If I happened to be
 living in Megara, you would of course come to help
 me in answer to my call, or think yourself the lowest
 of the low. But as things are, do you think you will
 ever escape a reputation for cowardice by pleading
 the length of the journey and the magnitude of the
 voyage and the labors required? Far from it!" If he
 said this, what decent reply could I give him? None.

It was not someone else who wrote this about him, 286
 guessing at his intentions; this is the man who knows best,
 about himself, saying that this is why he went, from shame
 at those words that Dion would have spoken to him. And
 I believe him: I would be mad not to. In the course of this 287
 passage, then, he says "It is not in need of infantry or be-
 reft of cavalry that I come to you Plato, but argument and
 persuasion; and I thought that you more than anyone had

⁶² *add.* Behr *e* *codd.* Plat.

288 λον εἶναι παρὰ σοί. καλῶς γε, ὦ Πλάτων, αὐτός τε λέγων καὶ τὸν Δίωνα ταῦτ' εἰπὲν ἂν νομίζων πρὸς σέ. οὐκοῦν εἰ τὸ μὲν ἐκπεσεῖν ἢ παθεῖν τι Δίωνα δεινὸν περιφανῶς, τὸ δ' ὅπως μὴ ἐκπεσεῖται πράξαι καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, οὕτω δ' ἔχων λόγων καὶ πειθούς ἐδέϊτο, σὺ δὲ τῷ ταῦτ' ἔχειν ἔπλευς, ὡμολόγηκας ἅπαντα, καὶ δεῖν σπουδάξαι ὅπως τις ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν μὴ ἀδικήσεται, καὶ τὴν τῶν λόγων τοῦ πείθειν δύναμιν οὐ φαύλην εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς πείθοντας ὑπὲρ τούτων οὐ μόνον παρ' ἀνθρώποις ἐπαίνων ἀξίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς ἀμέμπτους, εἴπερ τοὺς ἑλλείποντας οὐδὲ ὀσίους. ἔτι δ' αὖ τὸ πλεόν τῷ παντὶ πεποίηκας, εἴ γε μὴ μόνον δῆμον μηδὲ δικαστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τυράννους ὑπὲρ τούτων μὴ δεῖ φεύγειν μεταπέθειν καὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπερορίους.

289 αὐτὴν τοίνυν ὅλως τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ χάριν ἢ πειθούς γέγραφεν; καὶ μὴν αὐτό γε δηλοῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς αὐτὸς πολλαχού. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ὦν χάριν ἦλθεν διεξιέναι καὶ προσομολογεῖν ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο διεξέρχεται ὅπως τὴν ἀληθῆ δόξαν περὶ αὐτοῦ
290 παραστήσειε πείθουτός ἐστιν. οὐκοῦν καὶ ἵνα πείσῃ γέγραφεν καὶ γράφων τοῦ πείσαι χάριν φησὶν ἀπελθεῖν, μὴ τι πάθει Δίῳ ἔρημος λόγων. πῶς οὖν αἰσχροὰ ποιούσιν οἱ ῥήτορες; ἢ καθ' ὁπότερον τούτων φαῦλον ἢ ῥητορικὴ; πότερον καθ' ὃ τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις πέφυκε βοηθεῖν, κἂν ἀδοξία τις καὶ κίνδυνος προσῆ;

this by you." Well done, Plato, for saying this yourself, and imagining that Dion would have spoken to you like that. So, if it was manifestly a terrible thing for Dion to be exiled 288 or to have something happen to him, and a noble and just action to take steps to ensure that he was not exiled, and in this condition he needed argument and persuasion, and you sailed because you had them, then you have confessed everything: that one ought to devote effort to ensuring as far as possible that someone does not have wrong done to him, and that the power of words to persuade is not something trivial, and that those who exercise persuasion to these ends not only deserve praise from men but are even blameless before the gods, given that to fall short in this is a failure in piety. You have indeed done comprehensively more than this, if it is not only the people and juries that one should not shrink from persuading to change their minds over these matters, but tyrants too, and foreign tyrants into the bargain.

Moreover, why did Plato write the letter itself in the 289 first place, if not to persuade? So much is clear from the facts themselves and from what he says at many points in the letter. Explaining why he went, and admitting besides that his reason for giving this explanation is in order to present a true view of himself, are the actions of one seeking to persuade. Thus he both writes in order to persuade, 290 and says in what he writes that he went abroad in order to persuade, so that nothing should happen to Dion because he was bereft of words. How then can what orators do 291 be reprehensible? In which of these two ways is oratory worthless? In that its nature is to assist those who have been wronged, even when this is attended by disgrace and danger? Or because persuasion by means of speech is

292 ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῦ γε λόγῳ πείθειν καταφρονητέον; ἀλλ'
 αὐτὸς ὡς λόγῳ πείσων, ἔργῳ φῆς κινδυνεύσαι. καὶ
 Μεγαροὶ μὲν εἰ κατοικοῦντες ἐτυγχάνομεν, ὁ Δίων σοι
 λέγει, ἡλθες δήπου ἂν μοι βοηθὸς ἐφ' ἃ σε παρ-
 εκάλουν, ἢ πάντων ἂν φαυλότατον ἡγοῦ σαυτὸν νῦν
 293 δ' ἄρα τὸ μῆκος τῆς πορείας καὶ τὸ μέγεθος δὴ τοῦ
 πλοῦ καὶ τοῦ πόνου ἐπαιτιώμενος οἶει δόξαν κακίας
 ἀποφενξείσθαι ποτε; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεήσει. τί οὖν; εἰ
 τις μεταστρέψας ὠδὶ φαίη πρὸς αὐτὸν σε, καὶ πλεῖν
 μὲν εἰς Σικελίαν καὶ πάσχειν ὅτιοῦν οἶει δεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ
 τινὰ πείσαι ὡς χρή τινα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οἴκοι μένειν-
 εἰ δέ τις μηδ' ὅσον Ἀθήνηθεν Μέγαράδε, ἀλλὰ μηδ'
 ἐλθεῖν ποι τὸ παράπαν δέον, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μένοντα τοὺς
 ἑαυτοῦ σῶσαι, τὴν ἐπὶ τούτῳ δύναμιν μεταχειρίζεται,
 οὐκ οἶει τοῦτον δόξαν κακίας ἀποπεφηνγῆναι πᾶσαν;
 294 πάλαι γε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ σοι, εἴπερ γέ τι τῶν προει-
 ρημένων ὄφελος. πῶς οὖν ὁμοῦ μὲν ὁ μὴ βοηθῶν τῷ
 λόγῳ δόξαν κακίας ἐξοίσεται, ὁμοῦ δ' ὁ βοηθῶν δό-
 ξαν κακίας οὐ φεύζεται; οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτο λέγεις ὅταν
 καλῆς κολακείαν τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἢ ταῦτα ἀνάκειται;
 τίς ἂν ἦν μοι, φησί, πρὸς ταῦτα εὐσχήμων ἀπόκρι-
 σις; πρὸς δ' ἃ νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐρωτῶμεν, τίς ὦ πρὸς θεῶν;
 295 μικρὸν δέ τι βούλομαι διαλαβεῖν, μή τις ὅλως
 οἰηθῆ με τοῖς λόγοις κατηγορεῖν Πλάτωνος, ἢ λέγειν
 κακῶς μετὰ ἀφορμῆς. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐτ' αὐτὸς [ἐπ']⁶³ ἔγ-
 κλημα δήπου τοῦτο ποιῶμαι εἰ ποι καὶ ὁπωσοῦν

⁶³ secl. Reiske om. U

something to be despised? Yet you yourself, in order to
 persuade in words, say that you endured danger in very
 deed. "If I happened to live in Megara," you make Dion 292
 say, "you would of course come to help me in answer to
 my call, or think yourself the lowest of the low. But as
 things are, do you think you will ever escape a reputation
 for cowardice by pleading the length of the journey and
 the magnitude of the voyage and the labors required? Far
 from it!" Well, then; what if someone changed these words 293
 around like this, and said to you yourself: "Do you think
 that a man should indeed sail to Sicily and endure what-
 ever comes, in order to persuade someone that one of his
 intimates should be allowed to remain in his homeland;
 but that if there is no need to go anywhere at all, not even
 the distance between Athens and Megara, but only to stay
 at home and protect one's own people, and someone has
 the ability to ensure this, do you think that he has not
 cleared himself of any reputation for cowardice? You your-
 self have long since acquitted him of this charge, if what 294
 has already been said has any force. How then can it be
 that the man who does not lend assistance in speech will
 come away with the reputation of a villain, while at the
 same time the man who does lend assistance will also fail
 to escape it? Is this not what you are saying when you give
 the name flattery to oratory, on which these things de-
 pend?" "What decent reply could I give in answer to this?"
 he asks. By heaven, what decent reply could he give to
 what we are now asking either?

I should like to pause briefly here, in case anyone 295
 should think I am simply attacking Plato in what I say, or
 finding an excuse to abuse him. I do not myself count it
 grounds for accusation if Plato thought it incumbent on

ὡήθη δὲν Πλάτων ἐλθεῖν ἡστυνοσοῦν ἔνεκα αἰτίας οὐθ' ὅστις ἄλλος προφέρει τι τοιοῦτον εἰ φρονεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, οὐθ' ὅλως ἔξω τῶν εἰς τὸν λόγον ἡκόντων οὐδὲν περιεργάζομαι, μὴ τοσοῦτου μηδὲν ἄξιον ἔστω νικητήριον, ἀλλ' ἂ αὐτὸς ἔπραξεν καὶ [ἀ]⁶⁴ τίνων ἔπραξεν χάριν αὐτὸς καθαρῶς εἴρηκεν, ταῦτα συμβαίνειν φημί τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς ῥητορικῆς λόγοις· καὶ τοσοῦτῳ δέω κακίζειν ἐκείνον τούτοις, ὥστ' εἰ δεῖ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις σεμνύνειν αὐτὸν ἡγοῦμαι, εἰ τούτων ἐκείνοις ὑπεναντίως ἐχόντων μὴ τὰ ἔργα μηδὲ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διαβάλλω, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν ἔργων ἂ μεθ' ἡμῶν καὶ ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀξιούμεν εἶναι τίθημι, ταῦθ' ἐτέρως ἔχοντα ἢ ὡς τις πιστεύσειεν ἀποφαίνω.

296 ὅτε τοῖνυν ἑώρα Δίωνα παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ πράττοντα ὅπως δίκην ὧν ἔπαθεν λήψεται, πότερόν ποτε εἶαν καὶ παρ' οὐδὲν ἄγειν ἐπιστέλλων αὐτῷ φαίνεται καὶ ὡς, εἰ μισεῖ τὸν Διονύσιον καὶ κακόνου εἶναι ὑπολαμβάνει, χρή περιορᾶν καὶ συγχωρεῖν ὅπως τὰ μέγιστ' ἀδικῶν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἢ κακοῖς, ἢ πολλὸν τὸνναντίον προτρέπων καὶ θεραπευτικὸν ἀξίων εἶναι ὅπως ὡς πλείστους τοὺς συμπράττοντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔχοι· καὶ τὸν μὲν Διονύσιον πάντως ἐχθρὸν τιθεῖς, τὸ δὲ ὅπως ἀμυνεῖται συμβουλευῶν σκοπεῖν καὶ τό γ' ἐφ' αὐτῷ συμπράττων, τὸ συμπλεῖν καὶ συστρατεύειν μόνον ἔξαρνούμενος· ὡς ἐπειδήπερ αὐτὸν

⁶⁴ *secl.* Dindorf

him to go anywhere in any way for any reason, nor do I think that anyone else who brings any such charge is being sensible, nor in general am I wasting superfluous effort on something irrelevant to the case in hand; may no victory ever be worth that much! What I am saying is that what he himself did, and the reasons he himself plainly gave for doing it, all agree with the argument in defense of oratory. So far am I from reproaching him on these grounds that, if this really needs saying, I think I am actually doing him an honor in just this respect, if when his words and his deeds are in contradiction with each other I have nothing insulting to say about his deeds and achievements, but instead demonstrate from his life and deeds, which I say are in agreement with me and the claims I am making, that things are otherwise than one might suppose in this matter.

So, when he sees Dion preparing and acting so as to have justice done for what had happened to him, does he manifestly instruct him to treat it as unimportant and let it drop, and tell him that, if he hates Dionysius and thinks of him as an enemy, he should turn a blind eye and leave him to it, so that by committing the worst of crimes he should be plunged into the deepest ill fortune? Or on the contrary, is Plato to be seen urging Dion on and deeming it salutary for him to have as many allies as possible against Dionysius, counting Dionysius absolutely as an enemy, while advising Dion to look for ways of taking his revenge and assisting him to the best of his ability, and declining only to sail and march with him on the grounds that it would not be honorable to attack Dionysius because

297 ἔχων ὁ Διονύσιος ἠδέσθη τότε καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε, οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχον ἔλθειν ἐπ' αὐτόν; καίτοι εἴ γε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ οὓς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν μισεῖ τις ἑατέον ἦν ἀδικούντας, καὶ ἡ ῥητορικὴ φαῦλον καὶ ἄχρηστον ἡ δίκην ποιούσα παρ' αὐτῶν εἶναι λαμβάνειν καὶ μὴ ἐῶσα προχωρεῖν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον, χρῆν δῆπουθεν αὐτὸν μάλιστα μὲν διακαλλύειν τὸν Δίωνα, ἐταῖρόν γε αὐτοῦ καὶ μαθητὴν ὄντα, καὶ ὑπομνησκείν ὧν ποτ' ἤκουσεν, εἴπερ ἤκουσεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, τότε ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων διδάσκειν ὅτι χρῆ φέρειν σιγῇ καὶ σκοπεῖν ὅπως μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς στερήσεται τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Διονυσίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦθ' ἕτερα πείσονται διὰ τέλους καὶ μὴ διαλείψει πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν Διονύσιος· καὶ ὅπως γε μὴ μόνον Σικελίας ἔσται τύραννος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Καρχηδό- νος καὶ Λιβύης, εἰ οἶόν τε, καὶ συμπάσης νῆ Δία τῆς γε Εὐρώπης, εἰ δὲ τις εἴη μηχανή, καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας συνεῦξασθαι καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν μηδὲν ἐνθυμείσθαι περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ τυράννου, ἀλλ' ὅπως μηδ' ἄλλος μηδεὶς ἐπιθήσεται μήτε ἐπ' ἀναιρέσει μήθ' ὥστ' ἐκβαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ τούναντίον φυλακὴν τοῦ σώματος Διονυσίῳ φροντίσαι, ὅπως ἀθάνατος ἢ ποιηρός, καὶ πάντας πάντ' ἀδικῶν ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς κακοῖς ἦ. μάλιστα μὲν ταῦτ' ἐχρήν προδιδάσκειν 298 τὸν Δίωνα καὶ νουθετεῖν, εἴπερ τούτοις τοῖς λόγοις ἐπίστευεν, εἰ δὲ μὴ, σκοπομένῳ γε περὶ τιμωρίας μὴ

Dionysius had respected him and had not killed him when he had him in his power?¹⁵⁰ Yet, if one's enemies and the objects of one's particular hatred should be left to get on with their wrongdoing, and oratory, which makes it possible for them to be punished and does not allow them to go to extremes, is something worthless and useless, then surely he ought ideally himself to have restrained Dion, who was his friend and pupil, and reminded him of the lectures he once heard (if indeed he did hear them). Or failing that, when Dion was already in action, he should have taught him that he must suffer in silence and ensure that not only he himself was deprived of his country and his possessions by Dionysius, but that many others too should have these and other such things done to them without respite, and that Dionysius should not cease wronging the whole of mankind; and that he should be tyrant not only of Sicily but also of Carthage and Libya, if possible, and indeed the whole of Europe, and that if some way could be found he should aspire to Asia too. And he should have taught Dion not only not to harbor thoughts about overthrowing the tyrant himself, but to make sure that no one else should attack him either, whether to kill him or to exile him, and on the contrary to take thought for Dionysius' physical protection, so that he should prove immortal in his villainy, and by comprehensive wrongdoing to everybody at all times fall victim to comprehensive misfortune. These are the lessons and the advice that he should above all have given Dion, if he really believed in this line of argument, or failing that, he should not so obviously have assisted a man planning for revenge. By 298

150 [Pl.] *Ep.* 7.350b-e.

συμπράττοντα φαίνεσθαι ὁ πολλοῦ δεῖ ποιήσας, ἔργῳ μάρτυς ἡμῖν περὶ ὧν ἀπιστοῦμεν γεγένηται τοῦ μὴ ληρεῖν.

299 βούλομαι τοῖνυν αὐτὸν καὶ πανοικησίᾳ τρόπου τινὰ μαρτυροῦντα ἐπιδείξει. ὁ γὰρ ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ παραταπτόμενος Σωκράτης καὶ πάλιν γ' ἐπὶ Δηλίῳ καὶ τῆς τροπῆς συμβάσεως ἀναχωρῶν, δῆλος ὧν παντὶ καὶ πάνυ πόρρωθεν ὅτι εἴ τις ἄφεται τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρός, μάλα ἔρρωμένως ἀμυνεῖται, πῶς οὐ σαφῶς οὐτοσί μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν μὴ δεῖν ἐπιτρέπειν; οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ δῆπουθεν. οὐ γὰρ ἂ καὶ τελευτᾶν ὠραῖον ἤδη νομίζων εἶναι καὶ χαλεπὸν τὰς πολλὰς διαβολὰς ἐξελεῖν ἐκ πολλοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ πολλῶν συνειλεγμένως ὕστερον εἶπεν [ἢ οὐ ἐν γήρᾳ],⁶⁵ οὐ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἰσχυρὰ τεκμήρια τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, ἀλλ' ἂ κωλύειν ἢ μὴ κύριος ὧν ἐφαίνετο ποιῶν. διὸ δὴ καὶ ἀσφαλῶς, φησὶν, ἀπήει καὶ οὗτος καὶ ὁ ἐταῖρος· σχεδὸν γάρ τι τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων οὐδὲ ἄπτονται ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προτροπάδην φεύγοντας μᾶλλον διώκουσιν. [τουτὶ γὰρ προσγέγονεν πλέον ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ, πάλιν σὺν τῷ Σωκράτει Πλάτωνος Πλάτωνα αὐτὸν συμμαρτυρῆσαι τῷ λόγῳ τῶν οὕτω διακειμένων οὐ πάνυ τι ἄπτονται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς προτροπάδην φεύγοντας μᾶλλον διώκουσι. δηλονότι καὶ ταῖς πολιτείαις τῶν μὲν οὕτω διακειμένων ὡς ἀμύνεσθαι οὐ πάνυ τι ἄπτονται οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα τηροῦντες, τοὺς δ' ὑπέικοντας διώκουσιν. ὥστ' εἰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀνδρείους ἐπαινεῖν εἰκὸς, καὶ τοὺς ἐνταῦθα τοιούτους.

being so far from doing this, he testifies through his actions that when I voice my doubts I am not talking nonsense.

I should now like to show that in a way Plato's testimony 299 comes from his whole household. Think of Socrates in the battle line at Potidaea, or again at Delium retreating after the defeat, "making it clear to everyone, even from far away, that if anyone laid a hand on this man he would defend himself with great vigor"¹⁵¹—how can this not be clear testimony that we should not let those who attempt to do us wrong have their own way? Surely no one will dispute this. For secure evidence of Socrates' views comes not from what he said later, when he thought the time had now come to end his life,¹⁵² and that it would be difficult to do away with the mass of slander that had accumulated over a long time from many sources,¹⁵³ but from what he manifestly did when he had the power to prevent things or not. "And this was why," to quote Plato, "he and his companion got safely away; because it is a general rule that in war the enemy do not touch people who are dis-

¹⁵¹ Pl. *Symp.* 220e–21c.

¹⁵² Xen. *Ap.* 1 and 5–6; Pl. *Ap.* 41d.

¹⁵³ Pl. *Ap.* 18b.

⁶⁵ *secl.* Dindorf

300 ὥστ' εἰ μηδὲ δι' ἕν ἄλλο, διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας ἢ ῥη-
τορικὴ καλόν.]⁶⁶ καὶ μὴν εἰ μὴ θαρροῦσι τοὺς τοιοῦ-
τους ἀδικεῖν, ἄμφω χρηστὰ συμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἄρτι
λόγοις ἀκόλουθα, μὴτ' αὐτὸν ἀδικεῖσθαι μὴθ' ἕτερον
ἀδικεῖν ἔαν.

301 ὁ τοίων καὶ μέχρι τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου πεδίου Κύρω
συνανιῶν Ξενοφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ στρατεύ-
οντι ἀδικήσαντα πρότερον, πῶς οὐ καὶ οὗτος οἴκοθεν
ὦν Πλάτῳι μάρτυς ἡμῖν ἔστιν εἰς τοὺς παρόντας
τουτουσὶ λόγους; οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γε ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἐν
μὲν τοῖς ὅπλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εἰκός ἐστιν
ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειροῦντας, εἰ δέ τις λόγῳ
ταυτὸν τοῦτο ποιῶν, φαυλίξειν, κἂν ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς
πέπονθεν ἐπεξίη· οὐδέ γ' ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον οὐκ ἔστιν εἰ-
πεῖν, ὡς τὸ μὲν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς
λόγοις βεβιωκόσι τῶν προσηκόντων ἔστιν, τὸ δὲ
αὐτοῖς τοῖς λόγοις ἀμύνεσθαι ἐν ἀλογίᾳ θετέον. οὐδ'
302 ἂν εἰς εἴποι ταῦτα. καὶ μὴν ὅσῳ κάλλιον φρόνησις
ἀνδρείας, τοσούτῳ ῥητορικὴ τῆς κατὰ πόλεμον εὐψυ-
χίας. εἰ γὰρ δεῖ συνελόντα εἰπεῖν, οὐδέν ἐστιν ἄλλο

⁶⁶ *secl.* Trapp (τουτὶ γάρ—ἐνταῦθα τοιούτους *secl.* Behr)

¹⁵⁴ Pl. *Symp.* 221b. The sentences immediately following in the Greek text (bracketed opposite) look like more wrongly incorporated marginal matter: "The extra advantage he gains here is this, that once more, along with the Platonic Socrates, Plato himself testifies to his argument. The enemy really do not touch those who are disposed like this, but instead prefer to pursue

posed like this, but instead prefer to pursue those who take to their heels and run."¹⁵⁴ Indeed, if they do not have the confidence to do wrong to such people, then in line with what we were saying just now, both good results are achieved together: not being wronged oneself, and not allowing another to do wrong either. 300

Or again take Xenophon, who went inland as far as the plains of Babylon with Cyrus,¹⁵⁵ who was marching against the brother who had wronged him first: how can he too, another of Plato's household, fail to count as our witness in the present discussion? It cannot be said that it makes sense to resist those trying to do wrong when under arms and acting on others' behalf, but to belittle someone who does exactly the same thing in words, even if he is taking revenge for wrongs done to him personally. Nor is it any more possible to say that while it is appropriate for those who have spent their lives among words to defend themselves with arms, it must count as irrational for them to defend themselves with words. No one at all would say this. Indeed, oratory is nobler than valor in war to the same extent that intelligence is nobler than courage. If the point must be made concisely, oratory is nothing other 302

those who take to their heels and run.' Certainly in politics too, those who look out for such things really do not touch those who are disposed to defend themselves, but pursue those who give ground to them; so if it makes sense to praise those who are brave in war, we should also praise their counterparts in this context. So if for no other reason, oratory is a fine thing because of slanderers."¹⁵⁵ In the expedition chronicled in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (lit., "journey inland"); for the motives for Cyrus' attempted coup, see *An.* 1.1.3–5.

303 ῥητορικὴ ἢ φρόνησις λόγων δύναμιν προσειληφύα,
ὡς μὴ μόνον αὐτὸς ἔρδειν⁶⁷ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἑτέρους πείθειν ἔχοι. ἡγοῦμαι μὲν τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτ'
ἔχειν πίστεις ἰκανὰς τῆς ἀληθείας, εἰ μὴ καὶ πλείους
ἄρα τῶν ἰκανῶν.

304 εἰμι δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤδη τὸν κολοφῶνα τῶν Πλάτωνος,
ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι, ῥημάτων. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἐξ ὧν ἐλέγ-
χεται βούλομαι φανῆναι μαρτυροῦντ' αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὡσπερ ἂν εἰ παραστὰς αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρει τῇ ἑαυτοῦ
φωνῇ [ἐκ τῶν νόμων]⁶⁸

τοῖς δὲ εὐδαιμόνως ζῶσιν ὑπάρχειν ἀνάγκη
πρῶτον τὸ μῆτε ἀδικεῖν ἄλλους μῆτε ὑφ' ἑτέρων
αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖσθαι. τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν οὐ πάνν
χαλεπόν, τοῦ δὲ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι κτήσασθαι δύ-
ναμιν παγγάλεπον· καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ τελῶς
ἔχειν ἄλλως ἢ τελῶς γενόμενον ἀγαθόν.

305 ἰοῦ ἰοῦ τῆς μαρτυρίας. τούτων ἐδεόμην. ταῦτα λέγει
Πλάτων, ὁ τοῦ ἐπιγράμματος μετέχων καὶ δι' ὃν τὸ
Ἄριστωνος γένος θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς. τελῶς ἄρα, ὦ
δαιμόνιε, ῥητορικὴ καλὸν καὶ οὐ πρὸς παντὸς οὔτε
λαβεῖν οὔτε κεκτηῖσθαι. φαίνει γὰρ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο γε
συνχωρῶν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τέτακται. οὐκοῦν

⁶⁷ ἔρδειν *codd.* <τις> εὐρεῖν Behr

⁶⁸ *om.* EU *edd.*, *habent cett.*

¹⁵⁶ Pl. *Leg.* 829a; the words "From the *Laws*," present in the majority of the manuscripts but bracketed in the Greek text op-

than intelligence complemented by the power of argu-
ment, so as to be able not only to discover for itself what
is best, but also to persuade others of it. I think that these
303 considerations are sufficient to prove the truth of the mat-
ter, if not in fact more than sufficient.

Now for what might be called the capstone of what
304 Plato has to say on the matter. I do not only want it to be
clear that he supports me from the points where he is
proved wrong; I want it to be as if he were standing here
in person and testifying with his own voice.¹⁵⁶

A happy life requires first and foremost neither
wronging others nor oneself being wronged by oth-
ers. Of these two, the former is not extremely diffi-
cult, but to acquire the power of not being wronged
is difficult in the extreme; there is no way to possess
it completely other than by being completely good.

Three cheers for this testimony! That is what I needed!
So says Plato, the one mentioned in the epigram, who
truly conferred divinity on the family of Ariston.¹⁵⁷ Ora-
305 tory therefore, dear sir, is a fine thing, and not for just
anybody to acquire and possess. Because you too clearly
agree on this point at least, that its appointed function is

posite, look like a marginal note that has been wrongly incorpo-
rated into Aristides' text.

¹⁵⁷ Alluding to the line of an elegy quoted by Socrates in Pl. *Resp.* 368a, "O sons of Ariston, divine offspring of a famous man." Aristides' point is that although the elegy was said to have been written in honor of his brothers, Glaucon and Adeimantus, it is Plato who really deserves the compliment.

ὅτ' ἀδικεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐπιγράγαζεν, ἀδικεῖσθαι δ' οὐκ ἔα, ὡς δ' ἐκ τοῦ λόγου συνέβαινε, οὐδέτερον τούτων ἔα, οὐτ' ἀδικεῖν οὐτ' ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἰ μὲν καὶ τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν ὅρος, φιλοσοφία τις οὐσα ἢ ῥητορικὴ φαίνεται. εἰ δ' ἐξαρκεῖ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ μὴ ἀδικεῖν, ἢ ῥητορικὴ τελεώτερον τὸ γὰρ χαλεπώτερον κτήσασθαι καὶ μείζον ἤδη προστίθησιν, ὅπως μηδ' αὐτὸς ὑπ' ἄλλων ἀδικήσεται.

[Orators Contrasted with Tyrants (306-18)]

306 πῶς οὖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα μὲν τελέως ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέγιστον τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἅμα δ' ἔσχατον τῶν κακῶν καὶ κολακεία; ἢ⁶⁹ πῶς ἐλάχιστον οἱ ῥήτορες δύνανται, εἴ γε οὐ καὶ παγγάλεπον κτήσασθαι δύναμιν, τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς περίεστιν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω συμβαλεῖν. εὐδαίμονες ἄρα, οὐκ ἄθλιοι, κατὰ τὸν Πλάτωνος λόγον οἱ ῥήτορες, εἴ γε ὁ μὲν τελέως ἀγαθὸς εὐδαίμων, τὸ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν κτήσασθαι μὴ τελέως ἀγαθὸν γενόμενον.

307 εἴτ' ἐλέγχειν μὲν βούλεται ῥητορικὴν, κατηγορεῖ δὲ τῶν τυράννων καὶ δυναστῶν, τὰ ἄμικτα μιγνύς, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ἴλεως δ' εἴη τῷ παραδείγματι, προσταχθὲν αὐτῷ τὸν ἐν τῇ Νεμέᾳ ἀνελεῖν λέοντα, εἴτ' ὄνω συμπλακεῖς καὶ πνίγων τὸν λέοντα ἄγχειν ᾤετο καὶ τοῦθ' ὅπερ προῦθετο πράττειν. τού-

⁶⁹ καὶ U ἢ cett.

preventing people from being wronged. Thus, because it did not compel the doing of wrong, and does not allow people to be wronged, but as has emerged from the argument, allows neither of these things, doing wrong or being wronged, if this is also the definition of philosophy, oratory is clearly a kind of philosophy. But if philosophy requires only abstention from doing wrong, then oratory is more perfect, because it adds what is more difficult to acquire and more important, namely ensuring that one is not wronged oneself by others either.

Orators Contrasted with Tyrants (306-18)

How then can the same thing be simultaneously perfectly good and the greatest of goods, and the worst of evils 306 and a form of flattery? Or how can orators have minimal power¹⁵⁸ if they have in abundance that which it is extremely difficult to acquire power in? I cannot make it out. Orators are evidently happy not wretched, according to Plato's argument, if the perfectly good person is happy and it is impossible to possess the science of oratory if one is not perfectly good.

Moreover, though it is oratory he wants to expose, he 307 actually combines the uncombinable by directing his accusations against tyrants and rulers,¹⁵⁹ as if Heracles—may he look kindly on the comparison—on being ordered to destroy the Nemean lion, were to wrestle with an ass and strangle that, thinking that he was doing what he had been told to and strangling the lion. The comparison is

¹⁵⁸ Pl. *Grg.* 466b.

¹⁵⁹ Pl. *Grg.* 525d-e, looking back to 470dff.

οὔτον δὲ λείπεται τὸ παράδειγμα ὅσον οὗτός γε οὐχ ἕτερον ἀνθ' ἑτέρου ποιεῖ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τῷ λόγῳ χρώμενος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις περιπίπτει. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ῥητορικὴ καὶ τυραννὶς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων κεχώρισται ὅσον τὸ πείθειν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι; ἀλλὰ μὴν ταῦτά γε οὐδεὶς ἐστὶν ὅστις ἂν τὴν ἐναντίαν φύσιν εἰπὼν ἔχειν αἰσχυρθείη. ὥστ' εἰ δεῦν τὸ βιάζεσθαι καὶ πλεονεκτεῖν, τό γε πείθειν καὶ τοῦ δικαίου προεστάναι καλὸν καὶ προσήκον. οὐκοῦν οὐχ οὕτω ῥητορικὴ κακὸν ὡς τυραννίς, ἀλλ' εἰ κακὸν ἢ τυραννίς, ἢ ῥητορικὴ χρηστὸν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν· ἢ μὲν γὰρ βιάζεσθαι πανταχοῦ ζητεῖ, ἢ δὲ τὸ πείθειν τετίμηκεν. ὥστ' ὅμοιον ποιεῖ τούτοις ἐκεῖνό γ' ἐλέγχει νομίζων ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις τὸν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ σκοτόν καταμεμφόμενος καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀτοπίας τῆς ἡμέρας ἡγοῦτο κατηγορεῖν. καὶ τοτὲ μὲν κολακείαν εἰνάει φησι τὴν ῥητορικὴν, πάλιν δ' εἰς ταυτὸν τοὺς δυνάστας καὶ τοὺς ῥήτορας τίθησιν, οὐ μόνον οὐδέτερον προσὸν τῇ δυνάμει ταύτῃ λέγων, πρὸς δὲ τῷ μὴ προσεῖναι καὶ παντελῶς ἀλλότριον αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα δύο συντιθεῖς ἐγκλήματα. πῶς γὰρ ὁμοῦ μὲν κολακεύουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες, ὁμοῦ δ' ἐν τοῖς δυνάσταις εἰσίν; οἱ μὲν γέ που⁷⁰ κόλακες οἱ μέγιστοι δῆπου καὶ τελεώτατοι αὐτῶν εἰσὶ τῶν τυράννων πάντῃ θεραπευταί.⁷¹ εἰσὶ δ', οἶμαι, καὶ τῶν τυχόντων τινές· ὥστ'

⁷⁰ οἱ μὲν γὰρ που α² οἱ μὲν γέ που *cett.* οἱ μὲν γὰρ Dindorf

⁷¹ εἰσὶ τῶν τυράννων πάντῃ θεραπευταί Monac. 432, Barocc. 136, A² in *mrg. om. cett.*

inexact inasmuch as Plato here does not just do one thing instead of another in his use of argument, but actually falls into the exact opposite. Because who does not know that oratory and tyranny are as far removed from each other as persuasion is from force? Certainly no one would hesitate to say that these things have opposite natures. So if using force and taking more than one's fair share is something terrible, persuasion and standing up for what is right must be noble and proper. Oratory is not therefore as evil a thing as tyranny; the truth is instead that if tyranny is something evil, then on the same grounds oratory is something good: the former seeks to use force in every situation, the latter privileges persuasion. So if anyone thinks he can discredit the latter by these means, he is doing the same as someone who thinks he is bringing accusations against the day when he finds fault with the darkness and other strange qualities of the night. At one moment Plato says that oratory is a kind of flattery, and at another he lumps orators together with rulers, not only thereby talking of two things neither of which is connected with this faculty, and in addition to not being connected are entirely foreign to it, but indeed putting together two accusations that are diametrically opposed to each other. For how can orators simultaneously practice flattery and count as rulers? Flatterers, even the greatest and most perfect of them, are in all respects servants of tyrants,¹⁶⁰ and indeed,

¹⁶⁰ The words "are in all respects servants of tyrants" seem on the evidence of the manuscripts to be an addition made by a reader or editor to fill a lacuna in the Greek text; the sense seems right, even if the exact wording cannot be guaranteed as Aristides'.

ὅπερ δούλος πρὸς δεσπότην, τοῦτο κόλαξ πρὸς τύραννον συμβαίνει· οἱ δ' αὖ τύραννοι τοσοῦτον ἀπέχουσι τοῦ κολακεύειν ὥστε βία πάντας ὠθοῦσιν καὶ οὐδὲ τῶν μετρίων οὐδενός ἐστι παρ' αὐτῶν τυχεῖν, μή τί γε δὴ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὸ προσήκον θεραπείας· [ὥσθ' ὁ τύραννος μικροῦ δεῖν καὶ τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος μέτρον παρελήλυθεν. κόλακος μὲν γὰρ οὐδέν ἐστι ταπεινότερον οὐδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον ἠρήσθαι δουλεύειν, τυράννου δὲ οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποις ἀγριώτερον οὐδ' ὅ τι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸ δεσπόζειν ἐθέλειν ἐστίν.]⁷² ὥστ' εἰ μὲν κολακεία ἢ ῥητορικὴ, τὰ τῶν τυράννων ἐγκλήματα οὐ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐστίν, εἰ δ' ὁμοῦ τῇ τυραννίδι, τὴν κολακείαν μεγάλους τοῖς ὀρίοις παρελήλυθεν, οὐκοῦν τά γε ἕτερα πάντως ἤδη ψευδῆ.

310 ἐμοὶ μὲν τοίνυν, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἔχομι χρηστὸν εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς, ἱκανὸν τοῦτο, εἰ δείκνυμι καὶ οὕτως μὴ τάληθῆ λέγοντα· τῷ δέ, εἰ καὶ θάτερα ὀρθῶς ἐγκέκληκεν, περὶ τῶν ἑτέρων λόγος οὐ λείπεται. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὡς οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἅμα ἀμφοτέρα ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ λόγων ἐλέγχεται συγκρουόντων, ὡς δ' οὐδέτερον ὀρθῶς ἡμεῖς ἀρτίως ἐπεδείξαμεν, ἰδίᾳ μὲν ὡς οὐ κολακεία
311 δείξαντες, πάλιν δ' ὡς οὐ κοινωνεῖ τῇ τυραννίδι. πῶς οὖν οὐ τρὶς ἠτᾶται, τῷ τε τοῦ συναμφοτέρου λόγῳ καὶ τῷ καθ' ἕτερον χωρὶς, ταυτὸν δὲ ἡμῖν ἐν ἅπασι σφύζεται; περὶ τε γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοῦ τοῖς αὐτὸς

⁷² *secl.* Behr

surely, some of them are servants of just anybody. Consequently flatterer is to tyrant as slave is to master. Tyrants on the other hand are so far removed from exercising flattery that they push everybody about by force and it is impossible to get even any kind of reasonable treatment from them, let alone a more solicitous attention than you deserve.¹⁶¹ Thus if oratory is a kind of flattery, accusations against tyrants have nothing to do with it, but if it belongs together with tyranny, it is miles ahead of flattery. Therefore one or the other claim must necessarily be false.

It is enough for me, even if I had nothing good to say about oratory, if I can show that in this respect too Plato is not telling the truth. He for his part, even if he is correct in one of the accusations he has made, is left with no argument in support of the other. That he is not right in making both accusations together is shown by the incompatibility of his own arguments; that he is not right in making either of them I have just proved, by showing separately that it is not a kind of flattery, and again that it has nothing in common with tyranny. Can it then be denied that he has been defeated thrice over, by the argument about both together, and the arguments about each of them separately, whereas I have successfully maintained one and the same position throughout? In the assertion of both claims

¹⁶¹ The words immediately following in the Greek text, bracketed opposite, look like a reader's clumsy expansion of Aristides' thought, wrongly incorporated into his text: "The tyrant therefore comes close to exceeding the measure of the master. There is nothing humbler than a flatterer, nor anything readier to play the slave, but you could not name anything fiercer than a tyrant, nor anything more inclined to want to play the master."

αὐτοῦ λόγοις περιωθεῖται καὶ πάλιν καθ' ἕτερον αὐτὸς αὖ μαρτυρεῖ, τῷ τε τὸ πείθειν φανῆναι τῶν χρησίμων ἔν τι παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ τῶν βιαζομένων καὶ ὑβριζόντων κατηγοροῦντα παρ' ὄλον τὸν λόγον φαίνεσθαι. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἡ ῥητορικὴ κεχώρισται δυναστείας ὅσον, εἰ καὶ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν δεῖ, Πλάτων Διονυσίου.

312 ἔστι τοίνυν μαθεῖν καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πράγματος καὶ τῶν συμπεπτωκότων ὅσον τὸ διάφορον τούτων ἑκατέρου, καὶ καθ' ὅσῃν τιὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην ἐστίν. φανήσεται γὰρ οὐθ' ὅπου ῥητορικὴ σφύζεται τύραννος ἐγγιγνόμενος, μέχρι ἂν σφύξῃται λόγῳ, οὐτ' αὖ ῥητορικὴ περιούσα ἔνθα τυραννίς κρατεῖ, ἀλλ' ὅ τε ῥήτωρ πάντα πράττων ὅπως μηδεὶς τύραννος ἐγγένηται τό τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν ὁμοῦ προορῶν, ὅπως μηδεὶς αὐτὸν τὸ λόγῳ πείθειν παρελόμενος αὐτὸς ἄγῃ κατ' ἀρχὴν τὰ πράγματα, οἳ τε τύραννοι σκοποῦντες καὶ φοβούμενοι τῶν πάντων οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἢ μή τις ἐγγένηται λέγειν καὶ πείθειν δυνατός, ὅστις συναγαγὼν τὰ πλήθη καὶ σύμβουλος καὶ μνηστής τοῦ προσήκοντος γενόμενος ὁμοῦ τῆς τε ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας

313 ἀκύρους καταστήσει. διόπερ τὴν ἔχθραν ἀλλήλοις ἀναγκαιῶς ἔχουσιν· ἡ γὰρ τῶν ἐτέρων σωτηρία καὶ δύναμις μὴ εἶναι τοὺς ἐτέρους ἐστὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. ὥστε πόσου ποτ' ἂν πρίαυτο οἱ ῥήτορες, εἰ οἶόν τ' εἰπεῖν, φανῆναί τινα ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃ σφίσις, ἢ Πλάτωνα λέγω, ἢ καὶ ὄντινόν ἐπίκουρον καὶ βοηθόν, τὰ τῶν τυράννων κακὰ εἰς μέσον οἴσοντα καὶ δείξοντα καὶ

together he is worsted by his own arguments, and in each of them individually he himself again provides the evidence, in that he is manifestly of the view that persuasion is something useful, and in that his condemnation of those who use force and violence is clear in everything he says. For oratory is as far removed from despotic power as, if I may make so bold, Plato is from Dionysius.

Hard fact and the reality of the matter make it plain 312 how great the difference is between these two things, and how inescapable. For it will be clear both that where oratory is securely established there can be no tyrant, so long as its position is secured by reasoned argument, and equally that where a tyrant holds sway oratory cannot survive. The orator does all he can to ensure that no tyrant emerges, looking out both for his own and for the public interest, lest someone should strip him of the possibility of persuading by argument and take power into his own hands; the tyrant keeps watch in fear of nothing so much as the emergence of someone with the power to speak and persuade, who by uniting the people and becoming their adviser and their guide to proper conduct might strip him 313 of both his position and his power. It is thus inevitable that they should be enemies; the survival and power of the one group lies in the complete nonexistence of the other. How much would orators give, if I may put it like this, for the appearance by their side as if in battle of a Plato, or of any ally and helper at all who will haul the misdeeds of tyrants into the open and reveal them, and not cease from con-

μηδὲ νύκτωρ ἀνήσοντα λέγουτ' αὐτοὺς κακῶς; [σχε-
δὸν γὰρ ἤδη τοὺς τῆς ῥητορικῆς αὐτῆς ἀναλώσει καὶ
314 τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ἢ βοήθεια ἀφίξεται.]⁷³ οἱ δ' αὖ τυραν-
νεῖν ἐπιθυμοῦντες πόσου ποτ' ἂν πρίαίντο ἀπιστηθῆ-
ναι τὸ τῶν ῥητόρων ἔθνος ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν καὶ κόλακας
καὶ μαγείρων οὐδὲν βελτίους ὑποληφθῆναι, τοὺς τῷ
λόγῳ πείθειν ἐπιχειροῦντας, ἵνα μὴ μάτην ἢ παροιμία
τὰς ἐρήμους τρυγᾶν ἀγορεύῃ; εἶθ' ἂ τοῖς ἀδικεῖν ἐπι-
χειροῦσι λυσitelεί, πῶς ταῦτα συγχωρητέον τοῖς τὰ
δίκαια τιμῶσιν;

315 πῶς οὖν τὰναντία λέγουσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ ῥήτορες;—
ἔστιν μὲν οὐκέτι τοῦτ' ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένους ὑπὸ Πλάτω-
νος, ὅμως δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ πανταχῆ διακαθᾶραι τὸν λό-
γον μηδὲ τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀνεξέταστον ἀφείσθω, καὶ ταῦτ'
ἰσχυρότερον⁷⁴ πάντων ὃν σχεδὸν ὡς ἐν ψεύδεσιν ὦν
ἐκεῖνος εἴρηκεν.—ὅτι, οἶμαι, καὶ ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀπαντῶ-
μεν ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, αὐτὸ τοῦτο <δ>⁷⁵ κἀγὼ νῦν πε-
ποίηκα· ἀλλ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ὃ γ' ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγος δια-
φθείρεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ φιλοσοφεῖν οὕτω λεγόμενοι οὐ
316 τοῖς αὐτοῖς λόγοις ἀπαντες δῆπου χρῶνται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῖς ἐναντιωτάτοις ἀλλήλοις. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κωλύει κατὰ
τοὺς τυγχάνοντας τῆς ἀληθείας φιλοσοφίαν εἶναι κα-
λόν, οὐ δῆπου διπλοῦν ἔστιν οὐδ' ἐναντίον αὐτὸ

demning them night and day?¹⁶² And how much for their 314
part would those who wish to be tyrants give for orators
as a class, those who attempt to persuade by means of
reasoned argument, to be mistrusted in their states and
looked on as flatterers and no better than caterers, so as
to give effect to the proverb that speaks of harvesting un-
guarded vines?¹⁶³ But how can it be right for those who
honor justice to acquiesce in what serves the interests of
would-be wrongdoers?

How then does it come about that orators contradict 315
each other? This is no longer part of what Plato said, but
all the same in the interests of clearing up the argument
completely we ought not to let this go without scrutiny
either, particularly as it is, for a falsehood, a stronger point
than pretty well any that he has made. The reason is, I
believe, that we take opposite sides in arguments, as in-
deed I myself have just now done. But this goes no way to-
ward invalidating the original point, since of course those
who go by the name of philosophers do not all adopt the
same arguments either, but even starkly opposing ones. 316
And yet, according to the enlightened, this does not in the
least prevent philosophy from being something fine, and
it is certainly not either duplicitous or self-contradictory.

¹⁶² The sentence following in the Greek text, bracketed op-
posite, reads like another wrongly incorporated marginal note:
"For the man who brings these things to light will pretty much be
expending and revealing the arguments of oratory herself, and in
a certain sense help will be reaching the orators from their own
home territory."

¹⁶³ Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 634 and *Eccl.* 885–86.

⁷³ *secl.* Trapp (σχεδὸν γάρ—δεικνύς *secl.* Behr)

⁷⁴ ἰσχυρότερον Trapp ἰσχυρότατον *codd.*

⁷⁵ *add.* Reiske

- 317 ἑαυτῷ. πῶς οὖν ἂν φαίη τις; ἢ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀμφο-
 τέρους φήσομεν τἀναντία λέγοντας; ἢ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν
 εἶναι καλὸν οὕτως ὡς ἔφη; ἴδοις δ' ἂν καὶ κυβερ-
 νήτας ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις ναυμαχοῦντας, ἀλλ' ὅμως
 318 τῆς κυβερνητικῆς ἐστὶ σῶζειν τὴν ναῦν. οὕτω τοῖνυν
 καὶ ὅταν οἱ ῥήτορες ἐναντία ἀλλήλοις, ὡς ἂν τις
 φαίη, λέγῳσιν, οὐ κωλύεται τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς κεφάλαιον
 τῆς ῥητορικῆς, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμβαίνειν τῷ λόγῳ χρῆ
 σκοπεῖν μεμνημένους ὧν ἔνεχ' εὐρέθη.

[*Excursus: The Great Athenian Orator-Politicians
 Defended (319-43)*]

- 319 ὁ μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ ῥητορικῆς λόγος οὗτος. ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ
 Μιλτιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους καθήψατο καὶ Κίμωνος
 καὶ Περικλέους, οὐ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον φάσκων προσ-
 τῆναι τῆς πόλεως, ἐστὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἴσως κατεπεύγου
 περὶ τούτων νῦν διαφέρεσθαι. οὗτοι μὲν γάρ, εἰ δίκαια
 Πλάτων αὐτῶν κατηγορήκε, δικάϊως ἂν φαῖλοι νομί-
 ζοιτο: ῥητορικῆ δ', εἰ καὶ πάντων μοχθηροτάτους
 320 τούτους θείημεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐλέγχεται. συγχωρούν-
 των μὲν οὖν ἡμῶν ὃ γε ὑπὲρ ῥητορικῆς οὐκ ἀπόλωλε
 λόγος. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐλέγχοιτο οὐ παντά-
 πασι εὐγνωμόνως τῷ λόγῳ κεχρημένους, πανταχῆ

¹⁶⁴ §§258-59 above.

¹⁶⁵ Manuscripts of Aristides preserve an ancient division of the speech into two, breaking at this point; it has no merit for an understanding of the speech's structure.

- What then should one say? When two people contradict 317
 each other, shall we say that both of them are philoso-
 phers? Or that philosophizing is good in the way I ex-
 plained earlier?¹⁶⁴ You can see helmsmen fighting on op-
 posite sides at sea, but the point of the helmsman's science
 is none the less to keep his ship safe. In just the same way, 318
 when orators might be said to be contradicting each other,
 the original point of oratory is in fact not compromised;
 we should rather remember why oratory was invented and
 look at the conclusion the argument arrives at.¹⁶⁵

*Excursus: The Great Athenian Orator-Politicians
 Defended (319-43)*

- That then is what I have to say in defense of oratory. But 319
 Plato also attacked Miltiades and Themistocles and Cimon
 and Pericles with the assertion that their leadership of the
 city was not for the best.¹⁶⁶ There is perhaps no urgent
 reason to disagree about these individuals now: if Plato's
 accusations against them were justified, they could justifi-
 ably be thought worthless, but even if we were to count
 them as the greatest criminals in the world, that does noth-
 ing at all to discredit oratory. If then we grant Plato's claim, 320
 the argument in defense of oratory does not collapse; but
 if actually he is convicted of making a not entirely well-
 intentioned use of argument in their case too, then the

¹⁶⁶ Pl. *Gr.* 503c-21a (cf. 503c). Aristides returns to the de-
 fense of these Athenian statesmen at much greater length in *Or.*
 3, *In Defense of the Four*.

δειχθήσεται φιλονικῶν. τοῦτ' ἔστιν προὔργου [τὸ] ⁷⁶
καὶ περὶ τούτων εἶπεν.

- 321 φέρε δὴ πρὸς Διός, εἴ πως ἀναστάντες ἢ λαβόντες
αἰσθησιν, ὥσπερ Πλάτωνι Δίῳ ὑπόκειται πρὸς Συ-
ρακοσίους λέγων, ταυτὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴποιεν, ἡμεῖς, ὦ
Πλάτων, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν χρηστὸν τὴν Ἀθηναίων πό-
λιν εἰργασάμεθα· οὐ γὰρ ἡμεν τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ
σοφίας ἐπιστήμονες, πάντα δ' οὐ πᾶσιν οἱ θεοὶ διδόν-
σιν· ἃ δ' εἰς ἡμᾶς ἦκεν, εὐνοία, προθυμία, πίστις,
ἀνδρεία, τὰ τοιαῦτα παρεσχόμεθα, ὥσθ' ὑπερβολὴν
ἐτέρῳ μὴ λιπεῖν, ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καιροῖς, ὦ Πλάτων,
ἐν οἷς ἦν ἐν μὲν τῷ κρατεῖν ἅμα δόξα καὶ σωτηρία
καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν εὐχῶν, ἡττηθέντας δὲ μὴδ' εἶναι τὸ
παράπαν. λαβόντων δὲ ἡμῶν τούτους τοὺς λογισμοὺς
καὶ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενῶς συναιρομένων ἐλευθέρα μὲν ἡ
σὴ καὶ ἡμετέρα πατρίς καὶ σῶα καὶ ἀθῶος τῆς τῶν
βαρβάρων ὕβρεως καὶ παρανομίας, ἐλευθέρα δὲ καὶ
πᾶσα ἡ Ἑλλάς, ἐξουσία δὲ καὶ σοὶ φιλοσοφεῖν καὶ
τοῖς σοῖς ἐταίροις ἐγένετο καὶ πλείν ἐλευθέρως ὅποι
ἐβούλεσθε καὶ ἔχειν ἡμῶν μνησθῆναι καὶ ἔπειτα—εὐ-
γνωμον δ' ἦν, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίω, ὡς εἰ τότε ἡμεῖς
322 ἀπειπόντες παρεδώκαμεν ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς βαρβά-
ροις ἀμαχητί, τίς ἂν ἡμῶν λόγος κατ' ἀνθρώπους
ἐγένετο; ἀλλ' οὔτε αὐτοὶ τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν ἐπάθομεν οὔτε
τοὺς ἄλλους ἠνεσχόμεθα, οὐδ' ἐκολακεύσαμεν οὐδε-
τέρους, οὔτε τὸν βασιλέα δι' οὐδέτερον τούτων, ἢ φό-

⁷⁶ secl. Kell

pervasiveness of his competitive impulse will be made plain. That is what is to be gained by talking about them as well.

So then, what if they could somehow come back to life and regain their senses, as Dion is represented by Plato talking to the Syracusans,¹⁶⁷ and say this to him: "Plato, we may not have done any other good to the city of Athens—we had no understanding of your Virtue and Wisdom, the gods do not give everything to everybody—but what we did have, goodwill, enthusiasm, fidelity, courage and the like, we displayed to an unsurpassable degree, and that, Plato, at a time when victory would bring with it glory and salvation and the answer to our prayers, and defeat complete annihilation. It was thanks to our acceptance of these calculations and the propitious assistance of the gods that your and our home city was made free and safe and inviolate to the lawless aggression of the barbarians, and the whole of Greece was made free too, and you and your companions were granted the liberty to philosophize and sail wherever you wanted, and be in a position to mention us subsequently too—though it would have shown gratitude to have done so in a complimentary way. If we then had given up and surrendered to the barbarians without a fight, what would the world know of you? But nothing of the kind happened to us, and we did not allow it to happen to the others either; we did not practice flattery on either party, neither on the King of Persia, either from fear or in

¹⁶⁷ [Pl.] *Ep.* 8.355a.

βον ἢ κέρδους ἐλπίδα, οὐτ' αὖ τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθη-
 ναίων. οὐ γὰρ ἦν, εἰ κολακεύειν ἐβουλόμεθα, αὐτοὺς
 σῶσαι, οὐδ' ὅπως τι πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούσονται παρ-
 εδίδου τόθ' ὁ καιρός, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ἀπείχομεν τοῦ
 κόλακες τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι ὥστ' οὐδὲ βουλομένοις
 ἡμῖν κολακεύειν ἐνῆν. ἀλλ' οὔτε προηρούμεθα οὐτ' ἦν
 δυνατὸν οὐθ' οὕτω τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐσώσαμεν χαριζόμε-
 νοι καὶ ψυχαγωγοῦντες, ὥσπερ ὦν σὺ μέμνησαι τῶν
 κιθαρῳδῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπεγείροντες, διδάσκοντες, αὐτοὶ
 παράδειγμα τοῖς ἄλλοις γιγνόμενοι τοῦ πῶς δεῖ καρ-
 τερεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς δεινοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἀκμαῖς τῶν κιν-
 δύνων, τὴν ἡμετέραν αὐτῶν, εἰ συγχωρεῖς εἰπεῖν, ἀρε-
 323 τὴν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. τί σὺν ἡμῖν προφέρεις κολακείαν
 καὶ διακομίαν, καὶ τοὺς ἰδίᾳ τροφεία μὴ ἐκτίνοντας
 φαύλους ἂν εἶναι συμφήσας αὐτὸς ἡμῖν οὐ καλὴν
 χάριν ἐκτίνεις τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας καὶ
 τροφῆς, ἦν σύ τε καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι δι' ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ
 τέθραφθε;
 324 εἰ ταῦτα λέγοιεν οἱ ἄνδρες, ποίους λαβυρίνθους
 σοφίας ἀνεκλίττων ἢ τί λέγων τῶν πάντων οἷός τε γέ-
 νοιτ' ἂν ἀντεπεῖν; πᾶσι τοίνυν προτέροις ἐστὶν λόγος
 πρὸς ταῦτα ἢ Πλάτωνι. διὰ τί; ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις
 ἂ πρὸς τοὺς Δίωνος γέγραφεν ἐταίρους καὶ ἐν οἷς ὁ
 Δίων αὐτῷ τετελετηκῶς ὑπόκειται λέγων ὡς ἔμπρους
 ἔνεστι ταυτὶ

δεξάμενοι δὲ τοὺς τοιοῦτους νόμους, ἐπειδὴ κατ-
 ἔχει κίνδυνος Σικελίαν, καὶ οὔτε κρατέτε ἰκανῶς

the hopes of gain, nor yet on the people of Athens. If we
 had wanted to practice flattery on them we could not have
 saved them, and in fact circumstances did not then allow
 for them to hear anything to please them. But actually we
 were so far from being flatterers of the crowd that we
 could not have practiced flattery even if we had wanted to.
 We did not choose that course, nor was it possible, nor did
 we save Greece by pandering to her and entertaining her,
 like the citharodes you mention;¹⁶⁸ we did so by stirring
 her to action, telling her what to do, and making ourselves
 an example to others of how to persevere when beset by
 terrors and at the very peak of peril, thus—if you will
 permit us to say so—demonstrating our own virtue. Why
 323 then do you charge us with flattery and servility, and al-
 though you would agree that in an individual case it is vile
 for someone not to pay his debt to those who raised him,
 not give us proper thanks for the shared salvation and
 nurture of the whole of Greece, which you and the others
 enjoyed as free men thanks to us?"

If our men said this, what labyrinths of wisdom could
 Plato unfold, or indeed what could he say at all, so as to
 be able to reply? Anyone at all has an answer to this sooner
 than Plato. Why? Because in the very words he wrote to
 the companions of Dion, in the part where he represents
 the dead Dion speaking as if still alive, we read:

Having adopted such laws as these, since Sicily is in
 the grip of danger, and you are neither sufficiently

168 Pl. *Grg.* 501e-2a.

οὐτ' αὖ διαφερόντως [355d] κρατείσθε, δίκαιον ἂν ἴσως καὶ συμφέρον γένοιτο ὑμῶν⁷⁷ πᾶσι μέσον τεμῆν τοῖς τε φεύγουσι τῆς ἀρχῆς τὴν χαλεπότητα ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς πάλιν ἐρώσι τυχεῖν· ὧν οἱ πρόγονοι τὸ μέγιστον ἔσωσαν ἀπὸ βαρβάρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ὥστ' ἐξείναι περὶ πολιτείας νῦν ποιείσθαι λόγους· ἔρρουσι δὲ τότε οὔτε λόγος οὔτ' ἐλπίς ἐλείπετ' ἂν οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς.

325 ἡμῶν δέ γε οὐχ οἱ πρόγονοι, φαίεν ἂν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις αὐτῶν ἔργοις καὶ βουλευμασι καὶ λόγοις ἀπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔσωσαμεν, οὐ τὸ ἐν Σικελίᾳ κατοικοῦν μέρος αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς σύμπαντας καὶ τοὺς τῆς ἀπάσης οἰκουμένης τὸ ἕτερον μέρος νομισθέντας, ἐξ οὗ τότε τοῖς βαρβάρους ἀντάραντες ἔωσαντο, ὥστ' ἐξείναί σοι περὶ πολιτείας νῦν ποιείσθαι λόγους, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἡμῶν, ἔρρουσι δὲ τότε οὔτε λόγος οὔτ' ἐλπίς ἐλείπετ' ἂν οὐδαμῆ οὐδαμῶς.

326 Νῦν οὖν, φησὶν ὁ Δίωιν,

τοῖς μὲν ἐλευθερία γιγνέσθω μετὰ βασιλικῆς ἀρχῆς, τοῖς δὲ ἀρχῇ [355e] ὑπεύθυνος βασιλική, δεσποζόντων νόμων τῶν τε ἄλλων πολιτῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων αὐτῶν, ἂν τι παράνομον πράττωσι. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ξύμπασιν ἀδόλω γνώμη καὶ

⁷⁷ ὑμῶν Ua² codd. Plat. ἡμῶν cett.

in control yourselves nor decisively [355d] under another's control, it might perhaps be both just and expedient for all of us to take the middle course, both for you who wish to escape the harshness of absolute rule and for those who desire to hold power again. It was your ancestors who performed the supreme feat of saving the Greeks from the barbarians, which is what allows us now to discuss forms of political organization; if they had failed then no scope for discussion and no hope at all would now remain.¹⁶⁹

It is not our ancestors, they would say, but we ourselves 325 with our own deeds and plans and words who saved the Greeks from the barbarians, not just the proportion of them who live in Sicily, but all of them, the Greeks who are thought of as constituting half the inhabited world. This was the starting point from which they then faced up to the barbarians and drove them back, so that you are now able to discuss forms of political organization, and indeed us, and if we had failed then no scope for discussion and no hope would now remain.

"As things are then," says Dion,

326

let the former be free under royal rule, and the latter exercise [355e] regal power subject to the law, and let the law be master not only of the citizens, but also of the kings themselves, if they transgress it in any way. On this set of terms, with sincere and

¹⁶⁹ [Pl.] *Ep.* 8.355c-d.

ὕγιε μετὰ θεῶν βασιλέα στήσασθε, πρῶτον μὲν τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν χαρίτων ἕνεκα διττῶν, τῆς τε παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ πατρός· ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ βαρβάρων ἠλευθέρωσεν ἐν τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τὴν πόλιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ἀπὸ τυράννων νῦν δις, [356a] ὧν αὐτοὶ μάρτυρες ὑμεῖς γεγόνατε. δεύτερον δὲ δὴ ποιείσθε βασιλέα τὸν τῷ μὲν ἐμῷ πατρὶ ταυτὸν κεκτημένον ὄνομα, υἱὸν δὲ Διονυσίου, χάριν τῆς τε δὴ νῦν βοηθείας καὶ ὀσίου τρόπου ὃς γενόμενος τυράννου πατρός ἐκὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθεροῖ, τιμὴν αὐτῷ καὶ γένει ἀδιδιον ἀντὶ τυραννίδος ἐφημέρου καὶ ἀδίκου κτώμενος. τρίτον δὲ προκαλείσθαι χρὴ βασιλέα γίγνεσθαι Συρακουσῶν, ἐκόντα ἐκούσης τῆς πόλεως, τὸν νῦν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων [b] ἄρχοντα στρατοπέδου, Διονύσιον τὸν Διονυσίου, εἰς ἐθέλη ἐκὼν εἰς βασιλέως σχῆμα ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, δεδιῶς μὲν τὰς τύχας, ἐλεῶν δὲ πατρίδα καὶ ἱερῶν ἀθεραπευσίαν καὶ τάφους, μὴ διὰ φιλονικίαν πάντως πάντα ἀπολέσει, βαρβάρους ἐπίχαρτος γενόμενος.

327 εἰ τοίνυν καὶ τοιαῦτα γέρα τοὺς τῶν ἠλευθερωκότων τὴν πόλιν ἐγγόνους λαμβάνειν εἰκός, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς γί-

¹⁷⁰ Hipparinus; both Dion and Dionysius I had sons of this name, after the Hipparinus who was Dion's father and Dionysius' father-in-law.

¹⁷¹ The Carthaginians, campaigned against by Dionysius I of

sound intent, and with the help of the gods, appoint a king. Let the first king be my son,¹⁷⁰ in recognition of the double debt that you owe to me and to my father: he freed your city from barbarians in times gone by,¹⁷¹ and I more recently have twice freed it from tyrants, [356a] as you yourselves have witnessed. As your second king appoint the man who bears the same name as my father and is son of Dionysius,¹⁷² in acknowledgment of the help he has recently given you and of his purity of character: although he is a tyrant's son, he is working of his own free will to liberate the city, and by so doing is winning for himself and his family immortal renown in place of the ephemeral and wrongful power of the tyrant. The man you must invite to be the third king of Syracuse, with both his agreement and that of the city, is the current commander [b] of your enemies' army, Dionysius son of Dionysius, in the hopes that he maybe ready to take the position of king instead, out of a combination of fear for what chance may have in store and pity for his country and its untended shrines and its tombs, lest his ambition should cause him to lose absolutely everything and allow the barbarians to revel in his downfall.¹⁷³

If then it is reasonable for the descendants of those who had liberated the city of Syracuse to receive such 327

Syracuse between 398 and 368; Dion here claims that Dionysius was assisted in this by his (Dion's) father, Hipparinus.

¹⁷² Hipparinus, son of Dionysius I and nephew of Dion.

¹⁷³ [Pl.] *Ep.* 8.355d-56b.

γνεσθαι δυνάστας καὶ βασιλέας ἀντὶ τῶν προτέρων
 ἐκείνων, ἧ̄ που τοὺς γε αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρωσαντας ἅπαν
 τὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γένος οὐχὶ δίκαιον πρὸς τῷ μηδενὸς
 πλείονος ἀξιοῦν μηδ' ἐλευθέρους τὸ κοινὸν εἶναι
 δοκεῖν. εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων ἄρχοντα
 στρατοπέδου δίκαιον βασιλέα ποιεῖσθαι, εἰάν ἐθελήσῃ
 πατρίδα καὶ ἱερῶν ἀθεραπευσίαν καὶ τάφους ἐλεῆσαι,
 καὶ ὅπως μὴ διὰ φιλονικίαν πάντως πάντα ἀπολέσῃ
 βαρβάρους ἐπίχαρτος γενόμενος, τοὺς γε οὐ μετὰ πο-
 λεμίων ταξαμένους, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐξ ἀπάσης γῆς
 πολεμίους ἀντιταξαμένους, ποῦ θήσομεν, οἱ πρὸς τῇ
 σφετέρᾳ πατρίδι καὶ ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ὄρθωσαν τὰς
 πατρίδας, καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ τάφους διετήρησαν, καὶ οὔτε
 αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς βαρβάρους ἐπίχαρτος ἐγένετο οὔθ' ἢ
 Ἑλλὰς δι' αὐτούς; ἀρὰ γε φαῦλα ἢ φαύλης χάριτος
 328 ταυτ' ἀξία τοῖς ἀνδράσιν; εἶθ' οὐς, εἰ δεῖ πείθεσθαι
 τοῖς Πλάτωνος λόγοις, τιμῶν ἀξιοῦν δεῖ καὶ πολὺ μει-
 ζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὰς συνθήκεις, τούτους τοῖς Πλάτωνος
 λόγοις πεισθέντες κόλακας καὶ διακόρους καὶ τοῦ μη-
 δενὸς ἀξίους προσερούμεν; οὐ μέντ' ἀν δίκαια ποιῶ-
 329 μεν. τὸ δὲ πάντων ἀποπώτατον, ὅτι χρῆται μὲν τούτοις
 ἐν ἐλέγχῳ τοῦ κολακείαν εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν, ὡς δὴ
 τούτους ὄντας ῥήτορας, πάλιν δ' αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφήσῃ
 τῆς κολακείας. οὐκ οὖν φησὶ γ' αὐτοὺς ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι
 330 ἐν οἷς περὶ ὧν ἔπαθον λέγει. κὰν τούτοις οὖν ἀνάγκη
 θάτερα ἐψεῦσθαι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἢ ῥητορικὴ κολακεία,
 πάντως κόλακας δεῖ τούτους εἶναι, ῥητοράς γε ὄντας,
 ὡς φησιν· εἰ δὲ οὐδὲν οὐτοὶ κολακεία προσήκουσι,

rewards as these, so as to become rulers and kings them-
 selves in place of their notorious predecessors, it is assur-
 edly not just that those who liberated the whole Greek
 race, in addition to not being thought worthy of any greater
 reward, should not be allowed even to be thought of as
 free men in the ordinary sense of the word. If it is fair to
 make the commander of your enemies' army king, pro-
 vided he is willing to take pity on his country and its un-
 tended shrines and its tombs, and so as to prevent ambi-
 tion causing him to lose absolutely everything and allowing
 the barbarians to revel in his downfall, where shall we
 place those who lined up not with the enemy, but against
 an enemy drawn from the whole world, who in addition to
 their own country saved many other peoples' countries as
 well, and protected their shrines and tombs, and allowed
 the barbarians to revel neither in their own downfall nor
 in that of Greece? Are these trivial deeds, or deserving of
 trivial thanks to these men? Are we really going to be 328
 persuaded by Plato's arguments to call flatterers and ser-
 vants and worthless the very people whom, if we listen to
 Plato's arguments, we ought to deem worthy of honors,
 and indeed much higher honors than is usual? That would
 be a huge injustice! The strangest thing of all is that Plato 329
 uses these men in his demonstration that oratory is a kind
 of flattery, as if they were orators, but on the other hand
 also himself absolves them of flattery. At any rate, he does
 not say that they employed flattery in his account of what
 they went through. Here too, therefore, one or the other 330
 line of argument must be false. Because if oratory is a kind
 of flattery, they must of course be flatterers, if as he says
 they are orators; but if they have nothing to do with flat-

ποῦ ῥητορικὴ κολακεία διὰ τούτους ἢ τί τούτων ἔδει τῶν παραδειγμάτων; ὦμην δὲ οὐδὲ τοῦτο τῶν δικαίων εἶναι, τὰς προαιρέσεις τὰς ἐκείνων ἐξετάζοντας τὰς συμφορὰς αἷς ἐχρήσαντο ὑπολογίζεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ εἰ μὴ κατὰ νοῦν ἀπήλλαξαν, φαῦλοι γεγόνασιν, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ τὰ βέλτιστα ἐβουλεύοντο τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἔστιν τῆς τύχης κατηγορεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ τὴν γνώμην ἐλέγχειν.

- 331 φέρε γὰρ σὺ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, ὦ Πλάτων, προῦ-
στης Ἀθηναίων ἢ τινος ἄλλου δήμου τῶν ἐν τοῖς Ἑλ-
λησιν ἢ τοῖς βαρβάροις; ἐκείνων φαίη τις ἂν ἠδέας,
οὐκ ἔχους ἂν⁷⁸ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ γὰρ προῦστης ὄλως. τί δὲ
ὁ σὸς διδάσκαλος καὶ ἐταῖρος Σωκράτης; οὐδ' οὗτος,
332 τί δὲ Σπεύσιππος ἢ Χαιρεφῶν; οὐκ ἂν φαίης. πότερον
οὖν ἔστι δῆμον καθάπαξ ἀποφῆναι χρηστὸν καὶ
ἀμεμπτον καὶ δίκαιον, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς
οἷόν τε διῶσχυρίζεσθαι; καὶ μὴν εἰ μὲν ἐγχωρεῖ, τί
παθὼν οὐκ ἀπέδειξας αὐτός, οὐδ' ἐπ' αὐτῶν τῶν
πραγμάτων ἐφάνης βελτίων πολίτης ἡμῶν; εἰ δ' ἀμή-
χανόν ἐστι, τί προφέρεις ἡμῖν εἴ τι καὶ προσεκρούσα-
μεν, φαῖεν ἂν αὐθις ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ τί τῶν ἀδυνάτων
αἰτεῖς εὐθύνας; τοσοῦτῳ γὰρ ἡμεῖς λυσιτελέστεροι
σοῦ τῷ δήμῳ γεγόναμεν ὅσῳ σὺ μὲν οὔτε χειρὸν οὔτε
βέλτιον οὐδὲν οὔτ' εἶπας οὔτ' ἔπραξας, ἀλλ' ἀπώκνη-
σας ἀπλῶς, ἡμεῖς δ' ὅσον ἤκεν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς οὐ καθυ-

⁷⁸ Barocc. 136 *om. cett.*

tery, how can they be used to show that oratory is a kind of flattery, and what good are they to him as examples? I also thought it was unfair to take account of the reverses they experienced in the assessment of their policy. It is not the failure of their careers to turn out as they intended but their own failure to make the best plans for the circumstances that would have made them bad men, since it is the latter that gives proof of deficient intellect, whereas the former is just an accusation against fortune.

"Tell me, Plato," any one of those men would be glad 331
to ask, "did you lead the Athenians, or any other Greek or
barbarian people, for the best? You would not be able to
say that you did, because you did not lead anyone, full
stop. What about your teacher and companion Socrates?
No more did he. What about Speusippus or Chaere-
phon?¹⁷⁴ You could not say so. Then is it possible to make 332
a people once and for all good and blameless and just, or
can this not even be asserted of a single individual? If it is
possible, why have you not done this yourself, and on the
strength of actual deeds shown yourself a better citizen
than us? But if it is impossible, why do you reproach us
with any failures we may have encountered," they would
continue, "and why do you demand that we account for
not doing the impossible? We have been more beneficial
to the people than you, in so far as you have not said or
done anything good or bad, but simply shirked the task,
whereas we, as far as it fell to our lot, did not give in, but

¹⁷⁴ Speusippus was Plato's nephew and successor as head of the Academy; Chaerephon ("the bat") was the devoted follower of Socrates who allegedly asked the Delphic Oracle whether anyone was wiser than he (Pl. *Ap.* 21a).

φείκαμεν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ χρημάτων εἰσφορὰν πλήρη
τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ τῶν λόγων παρεσχόμεθα
τῇ πατρίδι, καὶ οὔτε πλήθος τῶν τὰναντία ἐρούντων
ἠκνήσαμεν οὔτ' ἰσχὺν πλουσιῶν κατεδείσαμεν, οἷς
ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πράττοντα προσ-
κρούειν, οὔτε δικαστὰς οὔτε κινδύνους οὔτε τοὺς οἴκοι
οὔτε τοὺς ἕξω πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους οὔθ' ὅλως τὰ τῆς
τύχης καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄδηλα, ἃ φυγεῖν μὲν δήπου
ῥᾶον ἢ ὑποστῆναι παντί· τοῦτο δ' εἰ πάντες ἐν ταῖς
ἀνάγκαις λογίσαιντο, οἴχεται τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράγ-
ματα.

- 333 ταῦτ' ἂν, οἶμαι, φαλεῖν, μετρίως, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, λέγον-
τες. εἴεν. τί δ' εἰ βελτίστους μὲν μὴ ἀπέφηναν καθά-
παξ Ἀθηναίους, βελτίους δ' ἔστιν ἤ; τί δ' εἰ μείζω καὶ
περὶ τούτους καὶ περὶ ἄλλους ἐξήμαρτον ἂν, εἰ μὴ
334 τοῖς ὑπ' ἐκείνων λόγοις κατείχοντο; ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν
ιατρὸν φῆς λιμῶ ἂν ἀποθανεῖν, εἰ πρὸς τὸν ὀψοποιὸν
ἀγωνίζοιτο ἐν παισὶν ἢ τοιοῦτοις ἀνθρώποις, οἱ μὴ
δύνανται γνῶναι τάληθές· εἰ δὲ Μιλτιάδης καὶ Κίμων
καὶ Περικλῆς πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον ἄγοντες τὰ πράγ-
ματα ἔσθ' ἃ καὶ προσέπταισαν, τοῦτο θαυμάζεις;
335 ἐνθυμούμαι δ' ἔγωγε πῶς ἀνέχεσθαι χρὴ ὅτ' Ἀλ-
κιβιάδην μὲν καὶ Κριτίαν Σωκράτει συγγενομένους,
οἱ τοσαύτας καὶ τηλικαύτας αἰτίας ἐσχήκασιν καὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν, ὥστε Κριτίου
γε οὐδ' ἐπινοῆσαι ῥᾶδιον ἐξωλέστερον, ὅς ἐν τριά-

as if paying our taxes made a full contribution to our city not of money but of plans and eloquence. We did not quail at the number of people who were going to contradict us, nor fear the power of the wealthy, with whom the man acting in the public good will inevitably come into conflict, nor juries nor dangers—neither dangers at home, nor those to be encountered abroad in the face of the enemy—nor the uncertainties of fortune and the future in general, which anyone would of course find it easier to run away from than to endure; yet if everyone made that sort of calculation in times of pressure, their cities' fortunes would assuredly be ruined."

That is, I think, what they would say, and in my view 333 they would be speaking with restraint. Very good. What if they did not make the Athenians as good as they could be without qualification, but did make them better in some respects? What if the Athenians would have made still more serious mistakes toward these men and others, if they had not been restrained by their eloquence? Do you 334 then maintain, Plato, that the doctor would die of hunger if competing against the confectioner before an audience of children or childlike adults,¹⁷⁵ who lack the ability to discern the truth, and yet are amazed if Miltiades and Cimon and Pericles made the occasional blunder in the process of directing the affairs of Athens for the best?

For myself, I wonder how is tolerable that when it 335 comes to Socrates' associates Alcibiades and Critias, who have been so frequently and so bitterly accused both by the masses and the better sort that it is difficult to conceive a more abominable creature than Critias, at any rate, who

¹⁷⁵ Pl. *Grg.* 464d.

κοντα τοῖς πονηροτάτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος ἦν, τούτους μὲν οὐ φασι δεῖν ἐν τεκμηρίῳ ποιέσθαι ὅτι Σωκράτης τοὺς νέους διέφθειρεν, οὐδ' εἶναι τὰ κείνων ἀμαρτήματα οὐδ' ὅτι οὖν πρὸς Σωκράτη τὸν οὐδὲ αὐτὸν ἕξαρνον ὄντα τὸ μὴ οὐ διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς νέοις· εἰ δ' Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμος ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις οἷς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων διεχείρισεν ἔσθ' ἃ μὲν ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἐβουλεύσατο, ἔστιν δὲ ἃ καὶ ἐξήμαρτεν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας, ταῦτ' ἀξιοῦσιν αὐτοῖς τοῖς προστάταις λογιέσθαι.

336 καὶ Δεσβίου μὲν Τέρπανδρος οὐχ οἷός τε ἐγένετο πάντας ποιῆσαι μουσικούς, οὐδ' Ἀρίων, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐν Λέσβῳ μουσικὴν ἐποιήσατο· εἰ δὲ Θεμιστοκλῆς καὶ Περικλῆς μὴ καθάπαξ ἐπαίδευσαν Ἀθηναίους τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν, τοῦτ' ἐκείνους, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐλέγχει τοῦ μηδεὸς ἀξίους ὄντας· ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις καὶ θεῶν κατηγοροῖ τῶν αὐτοῖς λόγοις, ὅτι χρῆν αὐτῶν τὴν πρόνοιαν εἶναι τοιαύτην ὥστ' ἀδικίαν καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνην ἀνελεῖν παντάπασιν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ μηδὲν ἀμαρτάνειν μηδένας ἀνθρώπων μηδαμῆ, νῦν δὲ πῶς ἢ προνοεῖν αὐτοὺς χρῆ νομίζειν, ὅταν μὴ παύονται πλημμελούντες ὡν ἄρχουσιν, <ἢ>⁸⁰ μὴ δικαίως ὑπ' ἐνίων ἀμελεῖσθαι.

⁷⁹ Monac. 432 om. cett.

⁸⁰ add. R² Canter

¹⁷⁶ The so-called Thirty Tyrants, the oligarchic regime installed by the Spartans after the defeat of Athens in 404 BC.

was the leader of the thirty worst villains in Greece,¹⁷⁶ people say that they should not be used as evidence that Socrates corrupted the young, and that their crimes have nothing to do with Socrates, even though not even Socrates himself denied conversing with the young;¹⁷⁷ but that if the people of Athens, in the midst of the many great enterprises they undertook on their own behalf and on behalf of the Greeks, sometimes planned correctly and appropriately, but sometimes also erred toward their leaders, people think that this should be put down to the leaders themselves. Or again, Terpander could not turn all the people of Lesbos into musicians, nor could Arion, or any other musical practitioner on Lesbos;¹⁷⁸ but if Themistocles and Pericles failed to educate the people of Athens once for all in citizenly virtue, that apparently condemns them as worthless. It is as if one were to accuse the gods as well on the same grounds, urging that their providential care ought to be such as to make injustice and ingratitude disappear entirely from the world of men, and ensure that no one at all should offend in any way, and asking how, as things are, they can be thought to exercise providence when their subjects never cease making mistakes, and how it can not be justifiable for some people to disregard them.

336

¹⁷⁷ For the argument over Socrates' relationship to Alcibiades and Critias, see in particular Xen. *Mem.* 1.2.12–39; it seems also to have featured in the lost *Accusation of Socrates* by Polycrates.

¹⁷⁸ Arion of Methymna (late seventh century BC) and Terpander of Antissa (early–mid-seventh century) were both remembered as significant figures in the early development of Greek poetry and music; Terpander spent much of his career in Sparta, while Arion is particularly connected with the court of the tyrant Periander of Corinth.

337 οὐκ οὐκ οἱ γ' ἵπποι τοὺς μὲν οὐδεπώποθ' ἀψαμένους
 αὐτῶν γνωρίζουσι προσβλέποντες, τοὺς δ' ἐφεστῶτας
 μισοῦσι καὶ φεύγουσιν· ἀλλὰ τοῦτό γε καὶ τοῖς ὄνοις
 ἀπέδωκεν ἡ παροιμία, τὸν ξύοντα ἀντιξύνειν· ἄνθρω-
 338 ποι δ' ἄρα ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀγόμενοι θεοὺς οὐ νομίζουσιν, ἢ
 περὶ αὐτοῦ τι φαῦλον τοὺς θεοὺς λέγουσι καὶ πράτ-
 τουσιν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἠνίοχος παραλαβὼν λακτίζοντας
 τοὺς ἵππους πρᾶννει καὶ τιθασεύει καὶ τελευτῶν ἐπ'
 αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ κατὰ πολλὴν ῥαστώνην εἰσιν
 ὅποι βούλεται· οἱ θεοὶ δὲ οὐπῶ καὶ νῦν ἐξηγήκασιν
 ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀδικίαν ἐκ τοσοῦτου, καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ
 339 παντὸς αἰῶνος πολιτευόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι εἰς ἑαυτοὺς
 ἀμαρτάνοντας ὀρώντες ἔστιν οὗς αὐτῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν
 ὅτε ταῦτα οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ὑγιαίνων εἴποι σπουδῆ πλὴν ὡς
 ἡμεῖς νῦν εἰς ἔλεγχον λόγου, πῶς οὐ κομιδῆ Πλάτων
 συκοφαντεῖ; εἰ γὰρ ἂ μὴδ' οἱ θεοὶ πώποτε πεποιήκα-
 σιν, μὴδὲ παρ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀθηναίας τῆς πολιᾶδος εἶχεν
 ἀπαιτήσαι, ταῦτα παρὰ Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ Περικ-
 340 κλέους ἀπαιτεῖ, αὐτὸν ἐρωτῶ πῶς οὐ συκοφαντεῖ. ἀλλ'
 οἶμαι τὴν μὲν <τοῦ>⁸¹ δῆμον φύσιν οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν
 μεταποιῆσαι οὐδ' ἀφανίσαι· ἔστιν δ' αὐτῆ μὴδέποτε
 γενέσθαι πάντα χρηστὸν μὴδ' ἀναμάρτητον· ὅσα δ'
 ἢ κινδυνεύοντας ἔδει προνοήσασθαι, ἐν οἷς ἅμα καὶ
 τῶν πολλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἦν εὐεργέτας εἶναι, ἢ
 κατ' ἐξουσίαν πράττοντας ἀπάγειν ἀπὸ τῶν δυσχερε-

81 Ph^{AM} om. cett.

Horses (the indictment might continue) do not recog- 337
 nize at sight people who have never yet set hands on them,
 while hating and running away from their overseers—
 even asses are allowed as much by the proverb about
 scratching your scratcher in return¹⁷⁹—yet human beings
 even as they are being led by the gods do not acknowledge
 them, or they say and do something vile toward them. The 338
 charioteer's horses may kick when he takes possession of
 them,¹⁸⁰ but he calms them and tames them, and in the
 end he drives with them wherever he wants safely and
 with complete ease; yet the gods even now after all this
 time have not yet removed injustice from mankind, even
 though they have governed since the beginning of time,
 and in addition can see some of these humans offending
 against themselves. But given in fact that no one at all in 339
 his right mind would seriously talk like this, except as I am
 now doing to refute an argument, how can it be denied
 that Plato is a downright slanderer? If he is demanding
 from Themistocles and Pericles what not even the gods
 have ever done, and he could not demand from Athena
 Polias herself, I ask him directly how he can fail to be a
 slanderer. No, as I see it, they were not able to change or 340
 eliminate the basic nature of the people, which was such
 as never to allow it to become entirely good or infallible;
 but all the foresight that they exercised at the risk of their
 own safety, in cases where they could benefit both the
 masses and the better sort together, and all that they did,
 insofar as it lay in their power, to divert the faults of nature

179 Diogenian. *Prov.* 8.48, used again by Aristides in *Or.* 3.365
 and explained in the Suda (r 767 Adler) and the Aristides scholia.

180 Aristides here takes his example from *Crg.* 516a.

στάτων αἰεὶ καὶ εἰς ὡς⁸² ἐλάχιστον τρέπειν τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀμαρτήματα, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ παρὰ τούτοις ὄντα φανήσεται.

καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τῷ λόγῳ τῷ παρ' ἡμῶν καὶ ταῖς ἀποδείξεσιν Πλάτων αὐτὸς ἐπισφραγίζεται καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῖν κἀνταῦθα μάρτυς ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς δεξιότητος ἥσπερ κἀν τοῖς ἄνω κατὰ τὴν χρείαν αἰεὶ †καίτοι τὸ
341 λουπόν†,⁸³ εἰάν αὐτὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινῶν ἐπιδειχθῆ. πῶς οὖν ἂν τις περιφανέστερον ἢ λαμπρότερον τοὺς ἄνδρας ἐπήνεσεν ἢ ὡς οὗτος τὸν ἐπιτάφιον λόγον αὐτοῖς ποιήσας; ἐν ᾧ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξενεῖν φησι καὶ προμῆσθαι εἰς ᾧδὰς τε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ποίησιν θείναι, κοσμήσαντας ἀξίως τῶν πραξάντων †λέγω δῆ†⁸⁴ τὰ τούτων ἔργα. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν τὸ χαριέστατον, ὅτι καὶ πάντα τᾶλλα παρὲς καὶ παριδὼν ἐπ' αὐτὰ τὰ τούτων ἴδια καὶ τὴν τούτων πολιτείαν ἐλήλυθεν, ὡς μάλιστα ἐκ τούτων ἐμφανιῶν τὴν τῶν τετελευτηκότων ἀρετὴν, μέγιστον μὲν θεῖς ἀπάντων τῶν ἔργων τὸ Μαραθῶνι, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ Σαλαμῖνι, κεφάλαιον δ' ἐπιθεῖς ὡς τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐπέδειξαν ὅτι πᾶς πλοῦτος καὶ δύναμις ἀρετῇ ὑπέικει.

342 οὐκοῦν ὅτε τοὺς ταῦτα βουλευσαμένους καὶ πρά-

⁸² εἰς ὡς Reiske ὡς εἰς UR²a² ὡς cett.

⁸³ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν αἰεὶ <ῆν> καὶ <ἔσται> τὸ λουπόν Reiske καὶ τὸ λουπόν edd. καίτοι τὸ λουπόν codd.

⁸⁴ λέγων δῆ Canter fort. αὐτὰ δῆ

from their most troublesome manifestations and reduce them to the smallest possible compass, must inevitably be seen as redounding to their credit.

This conclusion, moreover, quite apart from my argument and the proofs I have adduced, is confirmed by Plato himself, who testifies to the truth of my claims here too with the same courtesy as always distinguished him before when need arose and will again in future, provided only that he can indeed be shown to be praising them himself.¹⁸¹ But can anyone ever have praised these men more splendidly or more glowingly than he did by composing his Funeral Oration for them,¹⁸² the speech in which he says that he is acting as a guide to others as well and "trying to entice them to make" precisely these men's deeds "the subject of lyric odes and other forms of poetry,"¹⁸³ and to glorify them in a manner worthy of their doers. What is most gratifying for my purposes is that he omits and ignores everything else and concentrates instead precisely on these men's individual achievements and their administration of the state, as the best way of illustrating the virtue of the deceased. He ranks Marathon as the greatest achievement of all, followed by Salamis, and makes it his concluding point that these men demonstrated to the barbarians that "all wealth" and power "yields to virtue."¹⁸⁴

When he praises those who planned and accomplished

¹⁸¹ The text is uncertain at this point; the translation given here assumes something like Reiske's suggestions (though they are not unproblematic either).

¹⁸² Pl. *Menex.* 236d-49c (put into the mouth of Aspasia).

¹⁸³ *Menex.* 239c.

¹⁸⁴ *Menex.* 240d.

ξαντας ἐπαινεῖ, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα καὶ τὸν Μιλτιάδην ἐπαινεῖ. οὗτοι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τούτων ἡγούμενοι. καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον ὦν τὰ ἔργα κοσμεῖ, τούτων τὴν πολιτείαν φαυλίζειν, καὶ ἃ τῆς τῶν πεισθέντων ἀρετῆς τίθεται δείγματα, ταῦτα μὴ τῆς τῶν πεισάντων πρώτου ὑπάρχειν ἡγείσθαι; καὶ γὰρ ὅσοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς αἰρεθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοὺς ἐπιταφίους τούτους διεξέρχονται ἔχουσιν ἴσως ἀποφυγὴν ὡς ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐκόσμησαν καὶ οὐκ ἂν τις πρᾶγμα ποιῶτο τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν ὅστις δ' ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν περὶ αὐτῶν, εὔδηλον ὡς οὐκ ἂν, εἰ μὴ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀξίους λόγου καὶ τὰ ἔργα ἡγοῖτο. οὐ γὰρ κολακεύων γε Ἀθηναίους ταῦτα εἰρηκέναι φησὶν, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς λέγῃ πιστεύσομεν ἡμεῖς. εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς λόγου χάριν καὶ δύναμιν δεικνὺς ἐνεχείρησεν, πῶς ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ ῥητορικὴν ψέγειν ἐν ἧ ταυτὸν ἦν; περὶ μὲν τοίνυν τούτων τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὕτω μεμαρτύρηκεν, ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὸ χεῖριστον ἦγον τοὺς πολίτας, οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας αὐτῶν διετέλουν ἀποπληροῦντες, ἀλλὰ τοιούτων ἔργων ἡγεμόνες αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο, ἃ καὶ Πλάτων οὐκ ἂν αἰσχυρθεῖη κοσμῶν, καὶ προστιθεῖς ἀρετὴν τοῖς εἰργασμένοις· οὐχ ὡς κατὰ Μίθαικον τὸν ὄψοποιὸν καὶ Θεαρίωνα τὸν ἀρτοποιὸν τὴν φύσιν γενομένων, ἀλλ' ὡς χαλεπὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ εἰπεῖν πρεπόντως περὶ αὐτῶν.

343

all this, he is praising Themistocles and Miltiades, for they were these men's leaders. How can it fail to be absurd for someone to belittle the political record of the very people whose deeds he is glorifying, and not to count first and foremost as evidence of the virtue of the persuaders what he uses as evidence of the virtue of those they have persuaded? Those who perform these funeral orations before the people because they have been chosen by the Council to do so perhaps have the excuse that they delivered their eulogies under compulsion, and one might therefore not take their words very seriously; but if anyone deliberately and of his own accord writes about these men, it is entirely clear that he would not have done so if he had not believed that they and their deeds deserved acknowledgment. Plato maintains that he was not flattering the Athenians when he said what he said, and we will not believe him even if he says he was. And if instead he set himself to this as a rhetorical exercise and so as to display his abilities, how can he fault oratory, which has just the same characteristic? Plato has then testified that these men did not lead their fellow citizens for the worst and did not constantly satisfy their desires, but were instead their leaders in achievements of such magnitude that even Plato would not be ashamed to glorify them, and to attribute virtue to their doers; their characters were not such as to put them on a level with Mithaecus the confectioner and the baker Thearion,¹⁸⁵ but such as to make it difficult for anyone else even to speak about them as they deserved.

343

¹⁸⁵ Pl. *Grg.* 518b; cf. §426 below.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator*
(344-445):

(i) *Plato's Admission* (344-61)]

344 εἰς δὲ τὸν καθάπαξ λόγον πῶς αὖ καὶ ποῦ μαρτυρεῖ οὐτοσί; ἐν αὐτῷ Γοργία τούτῳ ἐν τοῖς Σακράτους καὶ Καλλικλέους λόγοις. ἔλθων γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ λῶον τὸν λόγον καὶ φανερὰς τῆς κρίσεως γενομένης σχίζεται περὶ αὐτό, καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως ἐρωτᾷ, ὁ δὲ ἀποκρίνεται ἀναμιξ ὡδί.

πότερόν σοι δοκοῦσι πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον αἰεὶ λέγειν οἱ ῥήτορες, τούτου στοχαζόμενοι ὅπως οἱ πολῖται ὡς βέλτιστοι ἔσονται διὰ τοὺς αὐτῶν λόγους, ἢ καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τὸ χαρίζεσθαι [αὖ]⁸⁵ τοῖς πολίταις ὠρμημένοι καὶ ἔνεκα τοῦ ἰδίου τοῦ αὐτῶν ὀλιγωροῦντες τοῦ κοινού ὥσπερ παισὶ προσομιλοῦσι τοῖς δήμοις, χαρίζεσθαι αὐτοῖς πειρώμενοι μόνον· εἰ δέ γε βελτίους ἔσονται ἢ χείρους διὰ ταῦτα [503a] οὐδὲν φροντίζουσιν;—οὐχ ἀπλοῦν ἔτι τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷς. εἰσὶ μὲν γὰρ οἱ κηδόμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν λέγουσιν ἅ λέγουσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ οἶους σὺ λέγεις.—ἐξαρκεῖ. εἰ γὰρ καὶ τοῦτό ἐστι διπλοῦν, τὸ μὲν ἕτερόν που τούτων κολακεία ἂν εἴη καὶ αἰσχρὰ δημηγορία, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον καλόν.

⁸⁵ *secl.* Dindorf *cum codd.* Plat.

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator
(344-445):

(i) *Plato's Admission* (344-61)

But with a view once more to the central argument, how and where is it that this man gives his evidence? It is in the *Gorgias* itself, in the argument between Socrates and Callicles. When he has got all the way to the resolution of the discussion and the verdict is clear, he introduces a distinction into it, as one of his interlocutors asks his questions and the other interposes his answers in the following manner:

Do you think that orators always speak with a view to what is best, with the aim that their fellow citizens should be as good as they can be made through their words? Or do they too, because they have set out to gratify their fellow citizens, and because they scorn the common good in pursuit of their own private interest, deal with whole peoples as if with children, trying only to gratify them, and do they care nothing [503a] about whether this will make them better or worse?—What you are now asking doesn't have a simple answer. Some of them say what they say out of a true concern for their fellow citizens, others are as you describe.—That is all I need. Even if this is a twofold phenomenon, then presumably in one of its two aspects it would be a form of flattery and shameful demagoguery, though in the other it is something good.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁶ Pl. *Grg.* 502e-3a.

345 οὐκοῦν καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἐξαρκεῖ. εἰ γὰρ ἐστὶν διπλοῦν
καὶ μὴ αἰὲν μὲν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγουσιν οἱ ῥήτορες,
ἔστιν δ' ὅτε καὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἢ νῆ Δί' οἱ μὲν οὕτως,
346 οἱ δὲ ἐκείνως λέγουσιν, ὁ κολακείαν ὀριζόμενος τὴν
ῥητορικὴν εἶναι λόγος ἐν βραχεί λύεται. ἔτι τοίνυν
σαφέστερον ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τοῦ διαλόγου τὸ πᾶν ἀπο-
καλύψας ἐκπέφαγκεν· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' ἡμῶν γε ταῦτα παρ-
εμβέβληται

ἀλλὰ γὰρ, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν εἰσὶ καὶ
οἱ σφόδρα πονηροὶ [526a] γιγνόμενοι ἄνθρωποι
οὐδὲν μὴν κωλύει καὶ ἐν τούτοις ἀγαθοὺς ἄν-
δρας ἐγγίγνεσθαι, καὶ σφόδρα γε ἄξιον ἄγα-
σθαι τῶν γιγνομένων. χαλεπὸν γάρ, ὦ Καλ-
λίκλεις, καὶ πολλοῦ ἐπαίνου ἄξιον ἐν μεγάλῃ
ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν γενόμενον δικαίως διαβιῶ-
ναι· ὀλίγοι δὲ γίνονται οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἐπεὶ καὶ
ἐνθαδὶ καὶ ἄλλοθι γεγόνασιν, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ
ἔσονται καλοὶ ἀγαθοὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ
δικαίως [b] διαχειρίζειν <ᾰ>⁸⁶ ἂν τις ἐπιτρέπη.
εἰς δὲ καὶ πᾶν ἑλλόγιμος γέγονε καὶ εἰς τοὺς
ἄλλους Ἑλληνας Ἀριστείδης ὁ Λυσιμάχου· οἱ
δὲ πολλοί, ὦ ἄριστε, κακοὶ γίνονται τῶν δυνα-
στῶν.

347 ἐνταῦθα τοσοῦτον αὖ περαιτέρω προβέβηκεν, ὅσον
οὐ μόνον ὡς ἐγγωρεῖ γίγνεσθαι προσωμολόγηκεν,

⁸⁶ *add. Dindorf e codd. Plat.*

That is enough for me too, then. Because if this is a two- 345
fold phenomenon, and orators do not always express the
best sentiments, but sometimes do, or indeed some speak
in the one manner and others in the other, then the ar-
gument that defines oratory as a kind of flattery is rap- 346
idly undone. In fact, Plato has laid bare and illuminated
the whole matter still more clearly at the end of the dia-
logue (these are not thoughts that have been interpolated
by me):

The real villains among humanity, Callicles, [526a]
come from among this same group. There is how-
ever nothing to prevent good men emerging among
them too, and those who do emerge deserve real
admiration, because it is hard, Callicles, and there-
fore highly praiseworthy, to have so much opportu-
nity for wrongdoing but yet live out a virtuous life.
Such men are few. There have indeed been, both
here and elsewhere, and there will be in future,
individuals graced and distinguished with the gift of
[b] conducting whatever business is entrusted to
them with righteousness—one of them, Aristides
son of Lysimachus, even became famous through-
out the rest of Greece; but the majority of men in
power, my dear fellow, are bad.¹⁸⁷

This time he goes much further, to the point of not only 347
admitting the possibility, but actually naming an instance

¹⁸⁷ *Pl. Grg. 525e–26b.*

348 ἀλλὰ καὶ ἓνα γε αὐτὸς ὠνόμακεν, γεγόνασι δέ, φησί,
 καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλοθι. ἐγὼ τοίνυν ἀφαιρῶ
 τοῦτο τὸ καὶ ἕτεροι καὶ εἴ τις ἐτέρωθι· ὃν δὲ καὶ πάνυ
 ἐλλόγιμόν φησι γεγενῆσθαι καὶ οὐ μόνου εἰς τοὺς
 πολίτας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἑλληνας, τοῦτον
 τίθημι μόνου. ἔγκειται μὲν γὰρ που ταῦτα μεταξὺ τοῦ
 μύθου οὐκ ἀσκέπτως ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν οὐδὲ φαύλως οὐδὲ
 ὡς ἐξέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ὅπως συγκρυσθθεῖν τε ὡς δυνατὸν
 μάλιστα, καὶ εἴ τις εὐρῶν χρῆτο, μηδ' αὐτὸς δοκοῖ
 349 παρελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐνείη: οὕτω μέσσην τινα εὔρεν τάξω.⁸⁷
 καὶ ἅμα πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ λόγου τοῦ παντός, ἂ
 θεὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῖς ἐφεξῆς οὐκ ἐμελλεν ἕξειν οἶμαι χρῆ-
 350 σθαι. οὐ μὴν τούτου γε ἕνεκα <εἰκὸς>⁸⁸ καὶ ἡμᾶς
 παρήσειν, ἕως ἂν τοῦ γε αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
 ὄντος τοῦ λόγου, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι κὰν τοῖς αὐτοῖς
 351 τούτοις ἐνόητα φαίνηται. οὐκοῦν εἰ ὅτι μάλιστα ἕτε-
 ρος μὲν ἐν τοῖς πᾶσιν μήτ' Ἀθήνησιν μήτ' ἄλλοθι
 μηδαμοῦ ῥήτωρ ἐλλόγιμος, μηδ' ἕξω τῆς τοῦ κολα-
 κεύειν αἰτίας, γεγένηται δὲ εἰς [Ἀριστείδης]⁸⁹ Ἀθήνη-
 σιν, τί μᾶλλον τό γε πρᾶγμα κακιωτέον ὡς ἀναγκαίως
 φαῦλον; οὐ γὰρ εἰ ῥάδιον ἢ μὴ τῷ ὄντι γενέσθαι
 ῥήτορα προὔκειτο σκοπεῖν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γε καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰ
 βούλει, μαρτυροῦμεν, κὰν εἰ τὴν Στέντορος φωνὴν
 κτησαίμεθα, φθηγαίμεθ' ἂν ὡς οὐ ῥάδιον, κὰν ὁ

⁸⁷ Ph^{AM} *om. cett.*

⁸⁸ *add.* Reiske (*sed inter ἡμᾶς et παρήσειν*)

⁸⁹ *om.* Dindorf, *secl.* Behr

himself: "And," he says, "there have been others too, here
 and elsewhere." For now, I will discount that "others too" 348
 and anyone there may have been elsewhere, and concen-
 trate solely on the one he says "even became famous" not
 only to his fellow citizens but also to the rest of Greece. I
 do not think it is unintentional or insignificant or casual
 that this mention sits somewhere in the middle of the
 myth;¹⁸⁸ Plato put it there so as to conceal it as far as pos-
 sible, and so that, if someone did find it and make use of
 it, it would not be thought that he had ignored it, and it
 would be there. So a kind of middle position, and at the 349
 same time one toward the end of the whole work, was
 found for a point which, if he had placed it at the begin-
 ning, would have prevented him from saying what he goes
 on to say. But that is no good reason for us to pass over it, 350
 just as long as it obviously belongs to the same argument
 about the same topic, and I might add occurs in this same
 work. Thus, even if absolutely no other orator in the whole 351
 of humanity has ever become famous either at Athens or
 anywhere else, or escaped the charge of flattery, but there
 has been one at Athens, how is the case for abusing the
 activity as necessarily worthless made any the stronger?
 The brief was after all not to consider whether or not it
 is easy to become an orator in the true sense of the word—
 there is no need, since I myself, if you wish, will testify to
 that, and even if I had the voice of Stentor¹⁸⁹ I would cry
 out that it is not easy, as would the Nile with its seven

¹⁸⁸ The eschatological myth, about the punishment of the bad and the rewarding of the virtuous in the afterlife, told by Socrates at *Crg.* 523a–27a.

¹⁸⁹ *Il.* 5.785–86; *Arist. Pol.* 7.4.1326b7.

Νείλος, ὦ μακάριε, τοῖς ἐπτά στόμασιν εἰ λάβοι φωνήν, ὥσπερ ὁ Σκάμανδρος κατὰ Ὅμηρον, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατὸν ἢ μὴ καὶ φύσιν ἔστ' ἔχον συμβῆναι, τοῦτ' ἦν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου.

352 φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, εἰ πρὶν Ἀριστείδην γενέσθαι, τοὺς κατὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς λόγους τούτους ἐποιεῖτο, προθυμούμενος ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου δεικνύναι φαῦλόν τι καὶ φυγῆς ἄξιον, λέγων ὡς ἀδύνατον χρηστὸν ποτε ἄνδρα ἢ δίκαιον γενέσθαι λόγων τοιούτων προσαιψάμενον, οὐκ ἂν ἐψεύδετο; δηλοῖ τό γε Ἀριστείδην φανῆναι τοιοῦτον, εἴπερ μὴ ψευδῆ Πλάτων εἴρηκεν περὶ αὐτοῦ. οὐκοῦν⁹⁰ δεινὸν εἰ πρὶν μὲν Ἀριστείδην γενέσθαι προσδοκᾶν ἔδει γενήσεσθαι τινα καὶ μὴ νομίζειν καθάπαξ ἀδύνατον, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδὲς ἐμφανὲς παράδειγμα ὑπάρχει, μήθ' ὡς γενομένου τούτου μήθ' ὡς ἐγγωροῦν ὅλως ἐγκαλεῖν; καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνο ἴσον, μὴ γενομένου μὲν ὅλως χρηστοῦ μηδενὸς τοῦτ' ἂν ποιῆσθαι τεκμήριον κατὰ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ὡς ἄφικτον, ὁμολογουμένον δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κακῶς ἀγορευόντος αὐτὴν καὶ γεγενῆσθαι τινας ἀξίους λόγου καὶ ἔσεσθαι, τοῦτ' γὰρ ἔστιν ὑπερφυῆς τὸ καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων προλέγειν ὡς ἔσονται, εἴτ' οἴεσθαι μηδὲν εἶναι πλεόν. ἕτερον τοίνυν, ὅπερ ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς τελευταίας ταυτησι μαρτυρίας, ὅτι καὶ πολλῶ μειζόνων εἶναι τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἐπαίνων ἀξίους προσωμολόγηκεν αὐτός. χαλεπὸν γὰρ, φησίν, ὦ Καλλίκλεις,—οὐκοῦν καὶ

⁹⁰ οὐκοῦν Keil οὐκοῦν *codd.*

mouths, dear sir, if it could speak, like the Scamander in Homer¹⁹⁰—the point of the argument was to discover if it is possible or not, and whether it can occur in the nature of things.

Tell me, please, if he had written this attack on oratory before Aristides was born, and in his keenness to do all he could to show that it is something worthless and deserving to be avoided, had said that it was impossible for any man to be good or just who attempted this sort of speech, would he not have been telling untruths? This is proved by the fact that Aristides was clearly such a man, unless indeed Plato has lied about him. Is it not then outrageous if, before Aristides, people were entitled to expect that some such person would be born and not believe it to be flatly impossible, but now that his example is manifestly available, to make accusations as if he had never existed nor ever could have existed at all? It is also unfair that it would have been counted as irrefutable evidence against oratory if no good man at all had ever existed, but now that the very man who abuses oratory admits that worthwhile people have already existed and will exist—and this is a tremendous thing, predicting the occurrence of future instances too—people do not think anything has been gained. There is also a further point, deriving from this concluding piece of testimony: Plato himself has admitted that such men as these deserve far greater praise still. "Because," he says, "it is hard, Callicles,"—it is hard, Plato,

¹⁹⁰ *Il.* 21.213.

356 ὦ Πλάτων—ἐν μεγάλῃ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ ἀδικεῖν γέγονε
δικαίως διαβῖναι. εἰ τοίνυν ῥητορεύει μὲν ἔστιν
<ἀδικεῖν>⁹¹ δύνασθαι κατ' αὐτόν σε, δυνατὸν δ' ἔστι
καὶ δικαίως διαβῖναι ῥητορεύοντα, μείζον δὲ τεκμή-
ριον δικαιοσύνης τὸ δυνάμενον ἀδικεῖν ἡσυχάζειν ἢ
τὸ μὴ, πῶς οὐ πολὺ τῶν κολάκων ἀπέχουσι οἱ τοι-
οῦτοι, οἳ γε καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίως δικαίων τοσοῦτον
προέχουσι;

357 ἔοικεν οὖν τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου συμβαίνειν,

καί τι ἔπος προέηκεν ὅπερ τ' ἄρρητον ἄμεινον.

τὸν γὰρ Ἀριστείδην οὐ μόνον οὐ κακῶς εἰπεῖν δυνη-
θεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ διαφέροντα ἀναγκαίως θεῖς, καὶ Μιλ-
τιάδου καὶ Θεμιστοκλέους τοῦτο δὲ κατηγορήκεν αὐθις
ἔστι διεφθορῶς. ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τοῦτό γε ἤδη κατ-
ηγορεῖν, οὐ ψέγειν ῥητορικῆν, ὡς αἰτίαν τοῦ λέγειν ἢ
358 πράττειν κακῶς. ὥσπερ τοίνυν αὐτὸς τὰ μὴ ἀναγκαῖα
κατηγορήκεν ἐκείνων, τί κωλύει καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτὰ μὴ
ἀναγκαῖα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀντιθέσθαι; καίτοι διὰ γε τούτου
ἐξ ἡμισείας ἀναγκαῖα. φανήσεται γὰρ οὐχ ἁπλῶς
οὐδ' ὡς νῦν μόνον δείκνυμεν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους λό-
γους ἐληλυθὼς αὐτὸς αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐκείνους
ἠτίεται τοῦτον ἐπαινεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ἢ εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἐπαι-
νεῖ τοῦτον, δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐδ' ἐκείνους ἔχων αἰτιάσα-

⁹¹ *add.* Reiske

one can also say—"to have great opportunities for wrong-
doing but yet live out a virtuous life." If then, according to 356
you yourself, to practice oratory is to have the power to do
wrong, and it is possible also to live out a just life while
practicing oratory, and refraining from wrongdoing when
one has the power is greater proof of a righteous character
than refraining when one does not, how can it be denied
that such men as these, who so far surpass those who are
good only because they have to be, are also miles away
from being flatterers?

Homer's line

357

He has uttered a word that would have been better
unspoken¹⁹¹

seems appropriate here. In not only being unable to speak
ill of Aristides, but also being compelled to rank him as
exceptional, he has once again ruined his case against Mil-
tiades and Themistocles, since this would now appear to
be an exercise in accusing individuals, not in faulting oratory
as the cause of their speaking or acting badly. So, just as
358 he brought accusations against them that are not neces-
sary truths, what is to stop me in my turn responding
in their defense with statements that are not necessary
truths? Although, because of Aristides, they are in fact
in part necessarily true. It will become clear that he has
fallen into self-contradiction, not just in a simple sense,
only in the way I am now pointing to, but also in conse-
quence of the fact that in finding fault with them he loses
the ability to praise Aristides, or alternatively, if he is right
to praise him, he loses the ability to find fault with them

¹⁹¹ *Od.* 14.466.

359 σθαι. πῶς; ὅτι σύμβολον οἶμαι ποιεῖται τοῦ κακῶς Ἀθηναίων ἐκείνους προστήναι τὸ παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων κακῶς, ὡς οὐκ ἂν τοὺς γε βελτίους ὑπ' αὐτῶν γενομένους ἀμαρτάνοντας εἰς τούτους ὑφ' ὧν μηδ' εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀμαρτάνειν ἐπαιδεύθησαν. ταῦτα δ' οὕτω θεῖς καὶ ἡνιόχους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπεισαγαγῶν ἐνταυθοῖ τόν γε Ἀριστείδην οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν φλαδρον εἴρηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς ἐξαίρετον τῶν ἄλλων πε-
 360 ποίηται. καίτοι εἰ τὸ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων δείγμα τοῦ μὴ καλῶς Ἀθηναίων προστήναί ἐστιν, οὐδ' Ἀριστείδης προὔστη καλῶς· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος ἀθῶος δήπου διέφυγεν, ἀλλ' ἐξέπεσεν, προσθήσω δ' ὅτι οὗτός γε οὐδὲ ἐν δικαστηρίῳ δυστυχῆσας ὥσπερ Μιλτιάδης καὶ Περικλῆς οὐδ' ὑπὸ τούτων οἷς προσέκρουσεν ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλ' ἐξοστρακισθεῖς
 361 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ δήμου. οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν μηδὲν ἐστὶν τοῦτο σύμβολον κακίας, εἴ τις ῥήτωρ ἠτύχησεν πρὸς τούτους ὧν προὔστηκει, οὔτε Μιλτιάδης οὔτε Θεμιστοκλῆς, οὐδ' εἴ τις ἄλλος, ἅμα τ' ἔπταισαν καὶ δικαίως ἂν φαῦλοι νομίζοντο· εἰ δ' ἐκείνοι τούτοις ἐξελέγχονται, τί κωλύει μηδ' Ἀριστείδην ἐλλόγιμον μηδ' ἕξω τῆς ἐκείνων αἰτίας τιθέναι; ὥστ' οὐ μόνον τοῖς κατὰ ῥητορικῆς λόγους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἰδίᾳ κατὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, ὃ γε Ἀριστείδης ὑπεναντίως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθεὶς ἐκείνοις οὖς κακίζει βοηθῶν φαίνεται, ὥσπερ ἐπεισώδιον παρὰ δόξαν προχωροῦν.

for that very same reason. How so? Because, as I understand it, he uses their rough treatment at the hands of the Athenians as evidence that they led the Athenians badly, on the grounds that people made better by them would never have offended against the very ones by whom they had been trained not to offend against others either. Having established this, and appealed to the example of charioteers and the like as illustration,¹⁹² he proceeds not only to say nothing slighting about Aristides, but even to set him clearly apart from the others. And yet, if being badly treated by the Athenians is evidence of not leading them well, Aristides was not a good leader either: he did not emerge unscathed any more than they did, but was exiled, and I will add that this did not happen because he lost a court case like Miltiades and Pericles, or at the hands of those he had offended in the popular interest, but because he was ostracized by the people of Athens themselves. If then it is no indication of badness if an orator comes to grief at the hands of the people he led, neither Miltiades nor Themistocles nor anyone else could rightly be thought worthless simply because they stumbled; but if this does discredit them, what is to prevent Aristides too losing his reputation and his immunity from the blame that attaches to them? Clearly, therefore, Aristides, whom Plato honored in contradiction not only of his arguments against oratory, but also of his arguments against those men individually, comes to the rescue of the men whom he abuses, like an unexpected turn of events in a scene from a play.

¹⁹² Grg. 516e.

[The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(ii) Superiority Over the Other Arts and Sciences
(362–81)]

362 ἔπειτ' εἰσάγει⁹² τὸν κυβερνήτην, καὶ τίνος ἔνεκα, φη-
σίν, οὐ φρονεῖ μέγα οὐδὲ ἴσον τῷ ῥήτορι, σῶζων ἐκ
θανάτου καὶ οὗτος ἀνθρώπους καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρή-
ματα; ἐγὼ δὲ ὀρώ μὲν κάκεῖνο ὑπάρχον ἀντερωτῆσαι,
τίνος οὖν ἔνεκα οὐδὲ αὐτὸς τῷ κυβερνήτῃ παραχω-
ρεῖς; εἰ γὰρ φιλοσοφίας ἔνεκα ἀτίμως ὑπὸ τῶν πολ-
λῶν ἀγομένης πλεῦσαι φῆς εἰς Σικελίαν τῷ Δίῳ
βοηθός, οὐχ ἦττον ὁ κυβερνήτης ἐκείνον ἔσωζεν ὁ σέ
ἄγων, καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι διὰ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν πελα-
γῶν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτῳ σοῦ πλέον εἰπεῖν ἔχει, ὅσῳ καὶ
αὐτὸν τὸν μέλλοντα σῶζειν τὸν Δίωνα ἔσωζεν. ἀλλ'
363 ἐῷ ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ πῶς οὐκ ἄτοπον ὡς ἀληθῶς, εἰ αὐτὸς
μὲν ὁ κυβερνήτης μὴ ἀξιοῖ τὸ ἴσον φρονεῖν τῷ ῥήτορι
μηδ' ἀμφισβητεῖ, σὺ δὲ χρῆ τούτῳ παραδείγματι,
ὥσπερ ταπεινοτέρους τι ταύτῃ ποιήσων τοὺς ῥήτο-
364 ρας, εἰ πάντες εἴκουσιν αὐτοῖς. καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐχ ὑπ'
ἀνοίας ὁ κυβερνήτης ὑποχωρεῖ τῷ ῥήτορι οὐδὲ ἔχει
τις ἂν αὐτὸν νουθετῶν εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι παρ'
ἀξίαν εἴκοντα. ὦ οὗτος, ὄρα τί ποιεῖς· ὁ ῥήτωρ οἰχή-
σεται τὸν στέφανον λαβῶν οὐ μέγα ἀγώνισμα τῆς
ῥητορικῆς τοῦτο ἐπιδείξει. καὶ γὰρ οἶδεν καὶ οὐ δεῖται
τοῦ διδάξοντος, τοσοῦτόν γε νοῦ μετέχων, ὅτι αὐτὸς

⁹² εἰσάγει Reiske ἄγει *codd.* an ἐπεισάγει (cf. §359)?

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(ii) Superiority Over the Other Arts and Sciences
(362–81)

Then Plato brings in his helmsman,¹⁹³ and asks why he is 362
not as proud of himself as the orator, when he too saves
men from death along with their property. I for my part
see that there is also a question waiting to be asked in
return: then why do not you yourself, Plato, defer to the
helmsman? If you say that it was on behalf of philosophy,
when most people were treating it with scorn, that you
sailed to Sicily to help Dion, then an equally important
role in saving him was played by the helmsman who took
you there, over the broadest of seas as well, and can indeed
claim even more credit than you, in so far as he also saved
the man who was going to save Dion. But I will not insist
on this. On the other hand, it is surely truly extraordinary 363
for the helmsman himself not to think he deserves to be
as proud as the orator and not to dispute this, and yet for
you to use him as an example, as if by this means you are
going to make orators somehow more humble if everyone
defers to them. That it is not stupid for the helmsman 364
to defer to the orator, and that no one could reproach him by
saying that it was, as if he were giving in when he should
not in an athletic competition—you there, look what you
are doing: the orator will walk off with first prize—is more-
over no great challenge for oratory to demonstrate. The
helmsman knows without needing anyone to tell him, be-
cause he has that much sense at least, that though he may

¹⁹³ *Grg.* 511c ff.

τῶν μὲν ναυτῶν ἐστὶν ἄρχων, τῶν δὲ ἐμπλεόντων δι-
 365 ἀκονος καὶ ὑπηρέτης. καὶ τῶν γε καιρῶν τοσοῦτον
 αὐτῷ μέτεστιν, ὅσον τοῖς ἐγνωκόσιν πλεῖν σημήναι,
 καὶ νῆ Δία ὀρμούντας ἐπ' ἀκτῆς ἀναστήσαι προσ-
 άγοντος τοῦ πνεύματος· τὸ δὲ ὅποτε πλεῖν ἄμεινον καὶ
 ὅποτε οἴκοι μένευ καὶ ὅποι καὶ ὑπὲρ ὧν πλεῖν οὐδὲν
 οὔτε ἰδεῖν ὧν ἕτερον μᾶλλον δυνατὸς οὔτε συμβου-
 λεῦσαι κύριος.
 366 τὸ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος οὐ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ
 οἱ κυβερνήται τῶν ναυτῶν ἄρχουσιν, οὕτως αὖ τῶν
 κυβερνητῶν οἱ ῥήτορες ἄρχουσιν, ὅταν τὰ κράτιστα
 δεήσῃ νεῶν. καὶ τοσοῦτω γέ τι τῶν κυβερνητῶν οἱ
 ῥήτορες κυριώτεροι ἢ τῶν ναυτῶν ἐκείνοι, ὅσον οἱ μὲν
 πλεόντων εἰσὶ κύριοι τῶν ναυτῶν, οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
 367 πλεῖν ἢ μὴ τοὺς κυβερνήτας· μᾶλλον δὲ ἀμφοτέρων
 εἰσὶ κύριοι, καὶ τῶν κυβερνητῶν καὶ τῶν ἐμπλεόντων,
 οἱ ῥήτορες. διδάσκουσί γε καὶ πείθουσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
 πότε καὶ ποῖ πλευστέον· καὶ πάλιν ἡνίκα ἂν τούτου
 δέη κωλύουσιν. ὥστε οὐκ ἴσον μισθώσαντα ὑπηρετεῖν
 καὶ νικήσαντα ἀποστεῖλαι, οὐδὲ τὸ σεσωκέναι τὴν
 ναῦν, οὐδὲ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νηὶ σκοπεῖν οἴεται δεῖν ὁ κυ-
 βερνήτης, ἀλλὰ τὸ σχῆμα προσεξετάζειν τοῦ πράγ-
 ματος, ὥσπερ ὁ δῆμιος οὐκ ἀξιοὶ μείζον τοῦ δικαστοῦ
 φρονεῖν οὐδὲ ἴσον, ὅτι δὴ αὐτὸς ἀποκτιννύει, εἰ δὲ μὴ,
 ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτός, ἀλλ' οἶδεν αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπηρέτης ὧν,
 368 τούτο ἀνάγκη ποιῶν, τὸν δὲ μετ' ἐξουσίας κρίνοντα
 τὸ δίκαιον ἐξεπίτηδες. ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν κυβερνήτης ἐξ

command the crew he is the servant and subordinate of
 the passengers. His involvement in fixing timings is limited 365
 to giving the signal to people who have already decided to
 sail, and indeed rousing them when they are anchored by
 the shore and the wind gets up; but he is no more able
 than the next man to see when it is better to sail and when
 to stay at home, or where and on whose behalf to sail, and
 he has no authority to advise over these matters.

The orator's position by contrast is completely differ- 366
 ent. Just as helmsmen command their crews, so in their
 turn orators command helmsmen, when ships are most
 urgently needed. And orators have greater authority over
 helmsmen than helmsmen do over their crews, in that
 helmsmen have authority over their crews when they are
 at sea, but orators determine whether or not helmsmen
 will sail in the first place; or rather, orators have authority 367
 over both helmsmen and passengers. They are the ones
 who instruct and persuade them when and where they
 ought to sail in the first place, and again when necessary
 they hold them back. So performing a subordinate role for
 pay is not on a level with winning an argument and sending
 people on their way, nor even is the feat of having brought
 the ship safely through its voyage. The helmsman does not
 think that he is obliged to examine the people on his ship,
 rather than scrutinizing the character of the task in hand,
 just as the public executioner does not think he deserves
 to be prouder of himself than the juryman, or as proud,
 because he performs the execution himself, or if not at
 least has a share in performing it, but is aware that he him-
 self is an underling, doing this because he has to, whereas
 the other is acting deliberately and on his own authority
 when he determines a just verdict. Moreover, the helms- 368

ἡμισείας τὴν ἰσχὺν ἔχει. τὸ γὰρ σώζειν μόνον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ, ἀπέκτεινεν δὲ οὐδεὶς οὐδένα πω τῷ λόγῳ τῆς τέχνης, ἀλλ' ἐὰν τινες καὶ ναυαγίας συμβάσσης διαφθαρῶσιν, παραιτέται καὶ οὐ σεμνύνεται. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ οὐ σώζειν οἶδεν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποκτινύειν καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἄμεινον ὥστε τέλειον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὸ

369 κράτος τῷ ῥήτορι. καὶ ὁ μὲν γε κυβερνήτης οὐδὲ οὓς σώζει πρὸς ἀξίαν σώζει, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ παράδειγμα λέγει, οὐκ ἀπεικὸς ἠγέεται τοιοῦτους ἐνεῖναι τινὰς οἷς τεθνάναι κρείττον ἢ ζῆν· ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώζειν μερίδα σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ πληροῖ.

370 οὐκοῦν οὐχ ὅμοιον γίννεται τὸ παράδειγμα, ὅταν δυοῖν ὄντων ὁ μὲν ἀμφοῖν ἢ σὺν τῷ δικαίῳ κύριος, ὁ δὲ καὶ θάτερον ἐξ ἡμισείας ἔχη. διὰ ταῦτα ὁ κυβερνήτης δύο ὀβολοὺς πραξάμενος, ἐὰν ἐξ Αἰγίνης, ἐὰν δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, φῆς, ἢ τοῦ Πόντου, δύο δραχμάς, ἐὰν πάμπολυ, ἐκβάς παρὰ τὴν θάλατταν καὶ τὴν ναῦν περιπατεῖ ἐν μετρίῳ σχήματι. λογίζεται γάρ, φῆς, ὅτι ἀδηλόν ἐστὶν οὐστυνας ὠφέληκεν τῶν <συμπλεόντων>⁹³ καὶ οὐστυνας ἔβλαψεν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα οὐ νόμος ἐστὶ σεμνύεσθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην καίπερ σώζοντα

371 ἡμᾶς. ὁρᾶς τί λέγεις; οὐ νόμος ἐστὶ, φῆς. ἀλλὰ τὸν γε ῥήτορα νόμος, οὐκοῦν καὶ δίκαιον. ἀλλ' ὁ κυβερνήτης ἐκεῖνά τε οἶδεν καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους εἰ μὲν καὶ

⁹³ *add.* Behr e *codd.* Plat. τῶν καὶ TQVA¹R¹E τῶν <ἐμπλεόντων> καὶ UR² τῶν <ἐν τῇ νηϊ> καὶ aA²

man's power is a mere half of what it might be: he only has the ability to keep people safe, and no helmsman has ever yet been responsible for anyone's death in a way that can be put down to his professional expertise—if ever there is a shipwreck and people lose their lives, he apologizes rather than taking pride in it. But the orator knows not only how to keep people safe, but also how to put to death and send into exile those who are better treated thus. Therefore the orator's power is complete in both respects. Again, when the helmsman keeps people safe he does not do so on grounds of merit, but just as the comparison says, he thinks it likely that some of them are the kind of people to be better off dead than alive; but the orator fulfills his preservative role too in conformity with the dictates of justice.

369

It is then not an even comparison, when one of the two parties is master of both roles in conformity with the dictates of justice, while the other has only a half grasp on one of the two. This is why the helmsman charges two obols for the passage from Aegina, and at the very most two drachmas, as you say, for the passage from Egypt or Pontus, and once disembarked strolls by the seashore and his ship with a modest demeanor.¹⁹⁴ Because he reckons, as you say, that it is not clear which of his fellow voyagers he has benefited and which he has harmed, and for this reason it not customary for a helmsman to give himself airs even though he has kept us safe. Do you see what you are saying? "It is not customary," you say. But it is customary for the orator, and thus right for him too. The helmsman knows that perfectly well. Whether he also takes account

370

371

¹⁹⁴ *Grg.* 511d–12b.

- ταῦτα λογίζεται οὐκ ἂν ἔχοιμι εἰπεῖν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ κυβερνήτη καὶ παντὶ συνιδεῖν ὅτι κυβερνήτης μὲν ὅστις πλείστους ἀθρώους <οὐκ>⁹⁴ ἔσωσεν ὑπὲρ χιλίους, τὸ δὲ τοῦ ῥήτορος πλήρωμα ὃ σῶζει οὐ κατὰ ναῦν ἐστὶν Αἰγυπτίαν, οὐδὲ γε ὄλως μετρεῖται στόλῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λιμένες αὐτοὶ καὶ πόλεις, οὐ μυρίαῖνδρον μόνον ἀντὶ τῶν μυριοφόρων, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετρήσαι χαλεπαὶ τῇ τῆς ῥητορικῆς ὑποπίπτουσιν τύχη τε καὶ προστασίᾳ. καὶ ὁ μὲν γε κυβερνήτης κατάρας οὐκ ἔχει τί χρήσεται τῇ τέχνῃ, τοῦ δὲ ῥήτορος οὐδέν ἐστιν χωρίον ἐξαίρετον. καταχώσει, φησὶν, ἡμᾶς ὁ μηχανοποιὸς τοῖς λόγοις. ποίοις, ὦ Γοργεία κεφαλῆ; μέχρι μὲν γὰρ ἀπλῶς μηχανοποιὸς ἐστὶν, μὴ ὅτι κοσμεῖν ἔχει λόγῳ τὴν τέχνην, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰκ τῆς τέχνης παρέχειν ἕως ἂν μὴ νικήσωσιν οἱ ῥήτορες· εἰ δὲ μέλλει καταχώσει τοῖς λόγοις, τίς ἢ τούτων προεστηκυῖα δύναμις; οὐκοῦν ὅτε καὶ μηχανοποιῶ ῥητορικῇ χρήσιμον, εἴ γέ τι μέλλει περὶ τῆς τέχνης ἕξειν εἰπεῖν, πῶς οὐ πανταχῇ ῥητορικῇ χρήσιμον;
- 374 ἦττον μὲν οὖν ἴσως τούτων ἄτοπα, ἀκόλουθα δὲ ὁμῶς ποιεῖ καὶ παιδοτρίβας ἰατρῶν ἐντιμοτέρους ἄγων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ οὐ ταύτην λέγει⁹⁵ γυμναστικὴν, ἀλλ'

⁹⁴ *add. cod. Soph. et Canter*

⁹⁵ λέγει EUR² λέγεις *cett.*

of these further considerations I could not say, but it is open to a helmsman or anyone else to realize that even the helmsman who keeps the largest number of people safe does not do this for more than a thousand in all, whereas the total number preserved by the orator goes far beyond the capacity of an Egyptian ship, and is indeed not measured by numbers in an expedition at all; it is the very harbors and cities themselves, which contain not just tens of thousands of inhabitants rather than thousands of tons of cargo but numbers difficult even to count, that fall under the auspices and leadership of oratory. The helmsman once he has made landfall has no use for his expertise, but no ground is barred to the orator. "The engineer," he says, "will bury us under an avalanche of arguments."¹⁹⁵ What arguments, Gorgon-head?¹⁹⁶ As long as he is simply an engineer, far from being able to glorify his expertise in words, he is not even able to make the fruits of his expertise available unless orators win their arguments; but if he is indeed going to bury us in his eloquence, what is the ability that governs that eloquence? So, when oratory is useful even to the engineer, if he is going to have anything to say about his expertise, how can it be denied that oratory is universally useful?

Plato does something that is perhaps less strange than this, but all the same consistent with it, when he holds gymnastic trainers in higher regard than doctors.¹⁹⁷ If by this he does not mean gymnastics in the standard sense,

¹⁹⁵ *Grg.* 512b.

¹⁹⁶ A sarcastic pun, suggesting that Plato in the *Gorgias* deliberately (but unsuccessfully) set out to petrify his adversaries; its phrasing echoes *Symp.* 198c and *Phdr.* 234d.

¹⁹⁷ *Grg.* 520b, referring back to 464b–65a.

ἀπλῶς τὴν ὅπως οὖν τὸ σῶμα κινῶσαν, πάντες ἄν-
 375 θρωποι μετέχουσι γυμναστικῆς· πάντες γὰρ ὅπως οὖν
 κινῶνται. καίτοι θανμάσαιμ' ἂν εἰ πάντας ἀμείνους
 εἶναι συγχωρητέον τῶν ἰατρῶν καὶ τεχνικωτέρους
 χρῆσθαι σώματι. εἰ δὲ ἤσ οἱ παιδοτρίβαι προεστᾶσι
 περὶ ταύτης λέγει, πῶς γε ἐν ταύτῃ εἰς ταυτὸν ἄγειν
 ἰατρικῆ; πᾶσι γὰρ ὑπάρχει ἰδεῖν τοῦθ' ὅτι χωρὶς μὲν
 παιδοτριβῶν πολλὰ γένη τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἄγεται καὶ
 σφίζεται, ἰατρικὴν δ' εἶναι καὶ μὴ πᾶσι τὸ πᾶν ὡς
 εἰπεῖν διαφέρει. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ λόγος ἡμῖν λόγον ἐκ-
 δέξῃται, ἀγαπητὸν ὄν εἰ καὶ τοῖς ἐπικαίροις ἐξαρκέ-
 σαιμεν, ἐὼ τὸ νῦν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὲρ τούτου διαφορὰν.

376 καὶ ἡ τοῦ νεῦν ἐπιστήμη, φησὶν, ἐκ θανάτου σφίζει.
 ὥστε τί οὐ καὶ ταύτην σεμνύνομεν; ὅτι, ὦ βέλτιστε—
 οὐδὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ὑποστελούμεθα αἰσχύνῃ τὸ περὶ
 τῶν φανερῶν λέγειν—ὁ μὲν κάλλιστα νεῦν εἰδὼς αὐ-
 τὸς ἀρκοῦντως ἔχει σωθεῖς. ἕτερον δ' οὐδεὶς πώποτε
 ἐπιπέοντα ἔσωσεν αὐτῷ, ὅτι μὴ ὁ δελφὶς λέγεται τὸν
 Μιθθυμναῖον Ἄριονα. ὁ δὲ ῥήτωρ οὐχ αὐτὸν μόνον
 377 οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἕνα συσφίξειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ φίλους καὶ
 πόλιν καὶ συμμάχους δυνήσεσθαι μεμελέτηκεν. καὶ
 ὅστις μὲν ἄριστος κολυμβητῆς, τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων
 πλέθρων οὐκ ἐπινεῖ περαιτέρω, πλὴν εἰ Σκύλλαν εἶ-
 ποις· οὐδὲ ὅταν ἐκβῆ τῆς θαλάττης ἢ τῆς λίμνης ἢ

198 *Gr.* 511c.199 *Hdt.* 1.23–24.200 A diver from Scione, also known as Scyllias; *Hdt.* 8.8 re-
ports with some skepticism that he was said to have swum eighty

but simply an ability to move the body in any way at all,
 then the whole of the human race has gymnastic ability,
 because everyone moves in some way or another. And yet 375
 I would be amazed if it had to be conceded that everyone
 is better and more expert in dealing with the body than
 doctors. But if what he is talking about is the expertise
 represented by gymnastic trainers, how can this be put in
 the same category as medicine? Everyone can see that
 many races of men are guided and kept safe without the
 help of gymnastic trainers, but that it makes, as you might
 say, all the difference in the world to everybody whether
 there is medicine or not. But to avoid a long succession of
 arguments, since it is sufficient if I have adequately dealt
 with the crucial points, I will forego any dispute over this
 for the time being.

Knowledge of swimming, he says, saves people from 376
 death.¹⁹⁸ So why do we not treat this too as something
 special? Because, my dear fellow—since I shall not shrink
 in embarrassment from discussing the obvious either—
 the most expert swimmer may be well enough off himself
 when he has come safely through, but no one has ever
 saved anyone else by having him swim on his own back,
 except for the dolphin that is said to have saved Arion of
 Methymna.¹⁹⁹ The orator on the other hand is trained to
 be able to save not just himself, or just one other person
 along with him, but his friends and his city and its allies 377
 too. The best underwater swimmer cannot cover more
 than three or four hundred feet, unless you are talking
 about Scyllas;²⁰⁰ and when he gets out of the sea or the

stades (about ten miles) underwater when defecting from the
 Persian to the Greek side shortly before the Battle of Salamis.

τοῦ ποταμοῦ, χρήσιμον οὐδέν τὸ νεῖν αὐτῷ τῷ δὲ
 ῥήτορι καὶ λίμνας καὶ πελάγη καὶ ποταμοὺς ἐπελθεῖν
 δυνατὸν τῇ τέχνῃ· καὶ μένων οἴκοι καὶ πλέων καὶ
 378 καθεζόμενος καὶ βαδίζων <ὁ>⁹⁶ αὐτός ἐστιν. ἄρ' ἴσα
 πρὸς ἴσα ἀμειβόμεθα; καὶ οὕτω τὸ κυριώτατον εἴ-
 ρηκα, ἀλλὰ νῦν προσαποκρινούμαι, ὅτι, ὦ θανμάσιε,
 νεῖν μὲν καὶ σύες καὶ αἱ κύνες αἱ φανλόταται πάντων
 ἐπίστανται, καὶ πολὺ γε ἱκανώτερον ἀνθρώπου, καὶ
 τὰς γε ἐλάφους φασὶν ἐπινεῖν ἐπὶ πλείστον τῆς θα-
 λάττης ἐχομένας ἀλλήλων, πρώτην καὶ τελευταίαν ἀεὶ
 379 γιγνομένην τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκ διαδοχῆς. τὴν δὲ τοῦ λόγου
 φύσιν καὶ δυνάμιν οὐ λαγωοῖς καὶ πιθήκοις οὐδὲ ἐλά-
 φοις ἐνέθηκεν ὁ πάντα δημιουργήσας θεός, οἶμαι δὲ
 οὐδὲ τοῖς λέουσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων οὐδέσιν, οὔθ'
 ὅσα ἐν θαλάττῃ οὔθ' ὅσα κατ' ἥπειρον οὔθ' ὅσα ὑπερ-
 πέταται, ἀλλ' ἐν δυοῖν γένεσι μόνοις τοῦτο ἴδρυται,
 προτέρῳ μὲν καὶ τελειωτάτῳ τῷ πάντων ἀρίστῳ, δευ-
 τέρῳ δὲ τῷ πάντων τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρίστῳ δι' ἐν τούτῳ,
 ὃ ῥητορικὴ παραλαβούσα ἄγει καὶ κοσμεῖ, τὸν
 ἔχοντά τε καὶ τοὺς χρωμένους αὔξουσα τὸ προσήκον
 αὔξεσθαι κατὰ τὴν φύσιν ἀνθρώπων.
 380 καίτοι εἰ τοσαῦτα Πλάτων ἐπέδειξεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κο-
 λακεῖαν εἶναι ῥητορικὴν, ὅσα νῦν ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ παντὸς
 τοῦ ἐναντίου δείκνυμεν, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἄμεινον ἐπι-
 στώσατο τὸν λόγον. εἰ δὲ οἶεται παραδειγμάτων φαν-
 λότητι καταισχύνειν αὐτῆς τὴν ἀξίαν, ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐκ

⁹⁶ *add. edd. om. codd.*

lake or the river, his swimming is no use to him. But the
 orator in the exercise of his art can range over lakes and
 seas and rivers, and remains the same whether he is at
 home or sailing the seas or sitting or walking. Do we really
 378 come off equal in this exchange? And I have not yet pro-
 duced my most powerful argument, which I now add, that
 pigs and dogs, my dear fellow, the lowest of the low, know
 how to swim, indeed much more competently than human
 beings, and they say that deer cover immense stretches of
 sea by hanging on to each other, and taking turns so that
 the same one is now first and now last.²⁰¹ But the god who
 379 created everything did not give hares or monkeys or deer
 a nature capable of articulate speech, nor come to that
 lions or any other kind of animal, in the sea or on land or
 flying in the air above; this faculty resides in just two kinds
 of being, primarily and in its most perfect form in the best
 of all, and secondarily in the one that through this one
 attribute is best of all the rest.²⁰² Oratory takes on respon-
 sibility for this faculty, guiding and enhancing it, and de-
 veloping in its possessor and its users what can appropri-
 ately be developed within the limits of human nature.

If Plato had produced as many arguments to show that
 380 oratory is a kind of flattery as I am now producing to show
 the exact opposite, he would to some degree have proved
 his case more effectively. But if he thinks to discredit her
 value by the cheapness of his comparisons, I can no longer

²⁰¹ A piece of behavior also noted by Aelian (*NA* 5.56), Op-
 pian (*Cyn.* 2.217–32), and Maximus of Tyre (*Or.* 6.3); it seems to
 have been a standard example in discussions of animal intelli-
 gence.

²⁰² Gods and human beings.

ἔτι τὰπὶ τούτοις ῥητά· δύναίτο δ' ἂν τις τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου σφῶζων ἔπος πρὸς ἔπος τὸ ὁμοιον ἀνταποδιδὸν ὑπολαμβάνειν, τί δαί; οὐχὶ καὶ αἱ τιτθαὶ τοῖς παιδαρίοις ταῦτα λέγουσιν καὶ οἱ γραμματισταὶ καὶ οἱ παιδαγωγοί; ὑπερεπίπλασθαὶ σε οὐ χρὴ καὶ βαδίζειν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς [σὶ χρῆ]⁹⁷ κοσμίως καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις ὑπανίστασθαι καὶ τοὺς γονέας φιλεῖν καὶ μὴ θορυβεῖν μηδὲ κυβεῖν μηδ' ἴσχειν, εἰ βούλει, τὸ πόδ' ἐπαλλάξ· ἄλλ' ὅμως οὐ διὰ ταῦτα μέγα φρονούσιν αἱ τιτθαὶ οὐδὲ ἀξιοῦσι πρὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων εἶναι, ὥστε ἦν ἂν πλείστου θῆς ἀξία δυοῖν ἴσως ἢ τριῶν μῶν. οἱ δὲ παιδαγωγοὶ καὶ ὑποβαρβαρίζοντες ταῦτα νουθετοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ φέρουσιν ἐνίστε ἀντὶ παιδαγωγῶν θυρωροὶ γιγνόμενοι τοῖς αὐτῶν δεσπόταις, ὁπότεν καταλύσωσι τὴν τέχνην· καὶ οὐ μὰ Δία οὐκ εἰ τῶν ῥητόρων ἔλαττον ἔξουσιν δυσκολαίνουσιν, οὐδὲ γε ἐκείνο λέγουσι, τί δὴ ποτε αὐτοὶ μὲν ὀσημέραι βοῶντες καὶ κουνυλίζοντές γε ἐνίστε καὶ οὐχ ὅσον ἀφοσιώσασθαι νουθετοῦντες οὐκ ἀνεσπάκασιν τὰς ὀφρῦς, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν προεδρίαν ὠθίζονται, οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀνθρωπέων πραγμάτων ἐπίστασθαι δόξαν οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν εἰλήφασιν, οἱ δὲ φιλόσοφοι σεμνύνονται καὶ γαυριῶσιν καὶ πρωτεῖων ἀντιποιοῦνται καὶ μεγάλους αὐτοὺς ἄγουσι καὶ ταῦτ'⁹⁸ λέγοντες ἐν αὐτοῖς, καὶ οὔτε τοῖς ῥήτορσιν ὑπέικουσιν οὔτε τοῖς παιδαγωγοῖς ἴσον οἴονται δεῖν

⁹⁷ *secl.* Behr

⁹⁸ ταῦτὰ Keil ταῦτα *codd.*

find words of my own to express the consequences. One could though, in keeping with the line from Homer,²⁰³ pay him back in his own coin word for word and reply: What? Do not nurses and schoolmasters and child minders say to little children "you shouldn't overeat," and "walk tidily in the streets," and "stand up for your elders," and "love your parents," and "don't be noisy," and "don't play dice," and if you like, "don't cross your legs"?²⁰⁴ But nurses do not give themselves airs on this account or think that they ought to take precedence over philosophers, so that even the one you set the highest store by is worth only two or three minas. Most child minders even issue these instructions in bad Greek, and sometimes put up with becoming their masters' doorkeepers instead of child minders, when the time comes for them to leave the position. They certainly do not take it badly if they are going to come off worse than others, and they do not ask why on earth it is that they, who shout out day after day, and sometimes administer beatings and more than just perfunctory admonitions, have not adopted a high and mighty attitude, or pushed their way to seats in the front row, or even after all this time gained a reputation for understanding the most important of all human affairs, whereas philosophers give themselves airs and prance about and claim first place and think themselves very grand for saying just the same things among themselves, and neither yield to orators nor think that they should put themselves on a level with child mind-

²⁰³ *Il.* 20.250, "whatever you may say, you will hear the same in return."

²⁰⁴ Some of these markers of good behavior are already listed by Right Argument as part of a traditional good upbringing in *Ar. Nub.* 964, 983, 993-94.

381 φρονεῖν. ἀλλ' οὔτε ταῦτα ἔχει λόγον ὑγιᾶ κάκεῖνα
τούτοις ἔοικεν. ἔγραφον δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν τέχνην, εἰ μὴ
μειρακῶδες.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:*
(iii) *Oratory and the Virtues* (382)]

382 οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔν γε τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις ἐπειρώμην δει-
κνύειν ὅτι ῥητορικὴ διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς μο-
ρίων διήκει, φρονήσει μὲν εὐρεθεῖσα, εὐρεθεῖσα δὲ
ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, σωφροσύνη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρεία φυλατ-
τομένη. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ κατὰ τούτους τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς
ιδεῖν ἔστιν. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ δήπου ῥητορεύειν τὸ τὰ
δέοντα ἐξευρεῖν καὶ τάξαι καὶ τὰ πρέποντα ἀποδοῦναι
μετὰ κόσμον καὶ δυνάμεως. φαίνεται δὲ ἡ μὲν εὐρεσις
κατὰ τὴν φρόνησιν ἔχουσα, εἴπερ ἀμήχανον φρονή-
σεως ἀπολειπόμενον τῶν χρησίμων εὐρεῖν ὅτιοῦν, ἡ
δὲ σωφροσύνη κατὰ τὴν διαχείρισιν οὐσα καὶ τὴν
τῶν ἡγουμένων τε καὶ εἰκόντων⁹⁹ συμφωνίαν· ἀντὶ δὲ
αὐτῆς δικαιοσύνης τὸ πρέπον τίθει. τοῦτο δὲ ἔστιν

⁹⁹ εἰκόντων Canter εἰκότων *codd.*

²⁰⁵ Apparently, a rather strained piece of sarcasm: Aristides suggests he could have brought out the ridiculousness of regarding child-minders as skilled practitioners deserving of respect by writing a mock technical treatise *On the Art of Child-minding*.

²⁰⁶ §235 above.

ers. There is no sound sense in this line of argument, and 381
Plato's is just like it. I would even write them a technical
manual, were that not childish.²⁰⁵

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(iii) *Oratory and the Virtues* (382)

Well, earlier on in this discussion I tried to show that ora- 382
tory runs through all the constituent parts of virtue: it was
invented through the use of wisdom and in the interests
of justice, and is maintained by prudence and courage.²⁰⁶
This truth about it may also be appreciated from the fol-
lowing considerations. It is a truism that to deliver an ora-
tion is to discover and arrange the necessary material, and
to present it in the proper manner with ornamentation and
forcefulness.²⁰⁷ It is obvious that "discovery" coordinates
with wisdom, if indeed it is impossible to discover any-
thing useful at all if you are deficient in wisdom, and obvi-
ous that prudence coordinates with the handling of the
material and the harmony between what comes first and
what is subordinate to it. Then to correspond to justice
there is propriety, which means keeping to the kind of

²⁰⁷ Aristides is here alluding to the standard division of the tasks (responsibilities, *officia*) of the orator into *heuresis* (invention, discovery), *taxis* (arrangement), and *lexis* (articulation, style), and the emphasis placed in rhetorical theory on propriety, ornamentation, and the ability to impress; he is thinking as much of written as of spoken performance, so leaves the other two standard tasks of the orator—delivery (*actio*, *hypokrisis*) and memory—to one side.

ὅποια ἄττα καὶ ὅποσα ἐκάστω προσήκει τῷ πράγματι
σῶσαι. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἀνδρείας ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος οὐδὲν οὕτω
μετέχει ὡς ὁ λόγος βούλεται. τὸ γὰρ ταπεινὸν καὶ
ἀγεννὲς οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς ὁ λόγος ἐξορίζει καὶ ὑπερ-
φρονεῖ.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:*
(iv) *The Inseparability of Good Speech from*
Good Action (383–93)]

383 εἶεν. ἐχόντων δὴ τούτων οὕτως τίνος ὦν εἶπον λαβό-
μενον κακίξειν ἔνεστι τὴν ῥητορικὴν; ἢ τίς ἄμεινον
καὶ καθαρώτερον ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων ἀνθρώπῳ προσ-
φέροιτ' <ἄν>¹⁰⁰ ἢ ὅστις δύναται ὁποίους χρῆ καὶ ὁπό-
σους καὶ πρὸς ὁποίους καὶ οὐστυνας δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι
τούς λόγους, ἢ πῶς ἔξω τῆς τοιαύτης δυνάμεως
ἔνεστιν ἢ πολλοῖς ἢ ὀλίγοις ὀρθῶς διαλεχθῆναι; ἢ
πῶς ἀδελφῷ προσομιλεῖν, νεωτέρῳ ἢ πρεσβυτέρῳ
λέγω, ἢ πῶς γονεῦσιν, ἢ πῶς ἐταίροις, ἢ πῶς εἰδόσιν,
ἢ πῶς ἀγνοοῦσιν, ἢ πολεμίοις, ἢ συμμαχοῖς, ἢ τρυ-
φῶσιν, ἢ δεομένοις, ἢ μυρία ἂν τις ἕτερα ἐπιδιαίροι;
ὁ γὰρ τὸ πρέπον τῶν λόγων ἐξῆτακῶς πανταχοῦ καὶ
τὸν καιρὸν εἰδὼς καὶ δυνάμενος ταῦθ' ὥσπερ οἶδεν
καὶ περαίνειν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ μόνος πᾶσιν οἷς εἶπον
χρησθῆναι δυνάμενος, οὗτος ὁ νοητῶν ἀνύτειν, οὗτος
ὁ κατηγορῶν πιστεῦσθαι, οὗτος ὁ πανταχοῦ κρείτ-
των τοῦ κατὰ ταῦτα ἀπολειπομένου. καὶ μὴν ὃ γε εἰ-
δὼς τί δεῖ λέγειν οἶδεν τί δεῖ σιωπῆσαι καὶ πότε ἄμει-

384

diction and the length that is appropriate to any given
subject matter. As for courage, nothing is so keen to man-
ifest it openly as reasoned speech; for there is nothing that
banishes and despises the humble and the low like reason-
ed speech.

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(iv) *The Inseparability of Good Speech from*
Good Action (383–93)

Very good. This being the case, what is there in what I have 383
said that anyone could seize on in order to speak ill of
oratory? Who would be likely to deal with people better
or more honestly than the man with the ability to speak
the right words of the right kind and at the right length to
the right people? How can addressing either a large or a
small audience in the correct manner lie outside the scope
of this faculty? Or talking to a brother, younger or older,
or parents, or friends, or the knowledgeable or the igno-
rant, or enemies, or allies, or the decadent or the needy—
or the countless other categories one might distinguish?
The man who has examined what it is appropriate to say
in every situation, who knows the right time to speak, and
has the ability to match his knowledge with action, he is
the only one who is able to utilize all the resources I have
mentioned, to succeed in his admonitions, to be believed
in his accusations; he is the one who is in all ways superior 384
to the man who is deficient in these respects. Moreover,
the man who knows what needs to be said knows also what

¹⁰⁰ προσφέροιτ' <ἄν> Canter προσφέροιο U προφέροιο
codd.

νον εἰπεῖν καὶ πότε εἶσαι, ὥσπερ καὶ ὅστις οἶδεν πότε
 πλεῖν καιρός, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ καὶ πότε ὀρμεῖν· ὅστις δὲ
 λόγου καὶ σωπῆς καιρὸν ἐπίσταται, κατ' οὐδέτερον
 τούτων ἀμαρτήσεται, εἰ¹⁰¹ δὲ μήτε λέγων μήτε σω-
 πῶν, οὐδέποτε ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων κατὰ γούν τὴν τέχνην.
 385 οὐκ ἄρα τοῦ φιλοσόφου μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ ῥήτορος εἰδέ-
 ναι πότε χρὴ σωπᾶν. καὶ μὴν ὅστις γε ἂ προσήκει
 λέγειν οἶδεν οἶδεν ἂ πράττειν προσήκει. οὐδεὶς γάρ
 ἐστὶν ὅστις ἂ προσήκει πράττειν εἰπεῖν εἰδὼς ἂ
 προσήκει πράττειν ἀγνοεῖ, οὐδὲ ὅστις ἀγνοῶν ἂ
 προσήκει πράττειν εἰπεῖν ἔχει. καὶ μὴν ὃ γε εἰδὼς
 ἑτέρῳ τί πρακτέον οἶδε καὶ τί αὐτῷ δήπου, ὥσπερ γε
 386 ὁ αὐτὸς ἄρα ἐκ τοῦ λόγου φαίνεται λέγειν τε ἂ δεῖ καὶ
 πράττειν δυνάμενος καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς περὶ ἀμφοτέρων κατὰ
 τὸ εἶκος ἀμαρτῶν.
 387 ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ συνῆπτον τὰς δυνάμεις
 καὶ οὐ διέκρινον. ἀλλ' Ὅμηρος μὲν ἔφη τὸν Φοῖνικα
 ὑπὸ τοῦ Πηλέως πεμφθῆναι τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ

μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων,

¹⁰¹ ὁ U, Barocc. 136, Oxon. Coll. Nov. 259, Coislin. 323, *cod. Soph.* εἰ *cett.*

²⁰⁸ The philosophical sect particularly associated with principled silence was Pythagoreanism: see, e.g., Lucian *Demon*. 14.

²⁰⁹ *Il.* 9.443. Phoenix's words in this passage might mean either that he was told off to teach Achilles to be both a speaker or

needs to be kept quiet about, and when it is better to speak
 and when to let be, just as the man who knows when it is
 time to sail is not ignorant of when it is time to ride at
 anchor. Anyone who understands when it is time to speak
 and when to remain silent will not make mistakes in either
 direction, and if he makes no mistakes either in speak-
 ing or in remaining silent, then in all probability he will
 never make a mistake, at least as far as the practice of his
 expertise is concerned. It is therefore not the philoso- 385
 pher's province rather than the orator's to know when to
 remain silent.²⁰⁸ Again, the man who knows what it is
 appropriate to say also knows what it is appropriate to do,
 because there is no one who knows how to say what it is
 appropriate to do, but not what it is appropriate to do, and
 no one who while not knowing what it is appropriate to do
 can still say what it is appropriate to do. Moreover, the man
 who knows what someone else ought to do surely also
 knows what he ought to do himself, just as someone who
 knows how to slake someone else's thirst also knows how
 to slake his own. The argument thus clearly shows that it 386
 is the same person who has the ability to say and to do what
 is needed, and that in all probability it is the same person
 who goes wrong in both respects.

That is why the ancients connected these two faculties 387
 and did not treat them as separate. Homer says that Phoe-
 nix was sent by Peleus

to be both a speaker of words and a doer of deeds²⁰⁹

a doer or that he was told to be this himself; the former seems
 more natural in the context, but Aristides has obvious reasons for
 preferring the latter.

ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν εἰδότα ἅ τε δεῖ λέγειν καὶ ἅ πράττειν
ἄμεινον. καὶ πρό γε τούτου πρότερον αὐτὸς συνῆψεν
εἰπὼν

οὐπω εἰδόθ' ὁμοίου πολέμοιο,
οὐδ' ἀγορέων, ἵνα τ' ἄνδρες ἀριπρεπέες
τελέθουσιν,

τὸ μὲν πρακτικὸν ἐξ ἑνὸς εἶδους τοῦ κατὰ τὸν πόλε-
μον ἐμφανίζων, τὸ δ' αὖ λογικὸν ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς
ἀγοράς, μνησθεῖς δὲ ὅμως ἀμφοτέρων τὸ "ἵνα τ' ἄν-
δρες ἀριπρεπέες τελέθουσιν" ταῖς ἀγοραῖς προσέθη-
κεν, οὐ τῷ πολέμῳ, ὡς ἀμείνω τὸν ῥήτορα ὄντα ὅταν
λέγῃ περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, ἢ ὅταν αὐτὸς πράττῃ τὴν
πράξιν. εἰκότως· ὅσῳ γὰρ βέλτιον ἄρχει ἢ διακονεῖν,
τοσοῦτῳ λέγειν τὰ δέοντα βέλτιον ἢ πράττειν· ὁ μὲν
γὰρ οἶμαι πολλοῖς σύμβουλος γίνεταί, ὁ δὲ ἀνθ'
ἐνὸς ἄλλου τινὸς γίνεταί.

388 ὥσπερ οὖν τοὺς ἀρχιτέκτονας τῶν τεκτόνων ἀνάγκη
προέχειν, ὄντας ὅμως περὶ ταῦτα ἅ τῆς τῶν τεκτόνων
ἐστὶν ἐμπειρίας, οὕτω τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς καὶ τοῖς
λόγοις προέχοντας τῶν τούτοις ὑπηρετούντων βελ-
τίους ὁ ποιητῆς ἔθηκεν καὶ προσεῖπεν ἀριπρεπεῖς,
μάλα ὀρθῶς προσειπῶν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν πολλοῖς πρᾶτ-
των οὐκ ἐκδηλὸς γίνεταί· πολλοὶ γὰρ οἱ μετέχοντες·
ὁ δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον λέγων ἅπαντας ἐφέλκεται καὶ πάν-
τες εἰς αὐτὸν ὀρώσιν·

for Achilles, on the assumption that the same man knew
what needed to be said and what it was better to do. And
just before this he connected the two himself, with the
words

with no experience yet of war the leveler,
or of assemblies, where men gain distinction.²¹⁰

In these words he uses one form of activity, warlike activ-
ity, to highlight the sphere of practical action, and assem-
blies in their turn to highlight the spoken word, but al-
though he mentions both of them alike, it is to assemblies
and not to war that he attaches the clause "where men gain
distinction," on the grounds that the orator is a better man
when he speaks about what needs to be done than when
he performs the action. And reasonably so, since saying
what needs to be said is as superior to doing what needs
to be done as master is to servant. In the former capacity
he gives advice to many, but in the latter he is just a single
individual like anybody else.

Just as architects are necessarily superior to carpen-
ters, although concerned with the same things as fall 388
within the carpenter's expertise, so the poet ranked those
who excel in assemblies and in making speeches as better
than their subordinates and quite rightly called them "dis-
tinguished." The man who acts along with a large number
of others does not stand out, because many people have a
hand in the action; but the man who speaks in public draws
everyone's attention and everyone looks to him:

²¹⁰ II. 9.440-41.

389

ὁ δ' ἀσφαλῶς ἀγορεύει,
αἰδοῖ μελιχίῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγορευόμενοισιν.

εἰς γὰρ ἕτερα αὖ παραπλήσια σχεδὸν αὐτομάτως ἤκει φέρων ὁ λόγος· ἐν οἷς Ὅμηρος σαφῶς μαρτυρεῖ ὅτι οὐ κολακεύων ὁ ρήτωρ λέγει οὐδὲ ὑποπεπτωκώς, οὐδὲ τὸν δέινα ἢ τὸν δέινα θαυμάζων, οὐδὲ ἐπίκαιρον ἠδονῆν διώκων, ἄλλος ἄλλοθι γιγνόμενος, ὥσπερ οἱ ὀψοποιοὶ χάριν ἠδονῆς ἐτέρου, οὐδὲ σχηματιζόμενος ὡς δοῦλος τῶν αἰὲ δυναμένων, ἀλλ' ἀσφαλῶς ἀγορεύει, φησὶν. τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλῶς ἔστιν ἀπταιστος. ἀμύχανον δὲ ἀπταιστος λέγειν ὅστις μὴ ὑγιῶς λέγει. αἴτιον δὲ τούτου φησὶν ὅτι αἰδοῖ μελιχίῃ, οὐ τὸ ἀναδέεσταιον ἦθος τὸ τοῦ κόλακος λαμβάνων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ ἀναματτόμενος, ἀλλ' αἰδούμενος. τοῦ γὰρ τοιούτου καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀνάγκη κοσμίους εἶναι, κόσμον δὲ καὶ τάξιν ἔχοντα κρατεῖν.

390

Ἡσίοδος δ' αὖ φησιν καὶ τοὺς βασιλέας θεία μοίρα καὶ δόσει γίγνεσθαι λόγων μετόχους, λέγων ὅτι ἡ Καλλιόπη

καὶ βασιλευσιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ.
ὄντινα τιμήσουσι Διὸς κούραι μέγαλοιο,
γιγνομένων τ' ἐσίδωσι διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων,
τῷ μὲν ἐπὶ γλώσση γλυκερὴν χείουσιν αἰοιδῆν,
τοῦ δ' <ἔπε' >¹⁰² ἐκ στόματος ρεῖ μέλιχα· οἱ δὲ τε
λαοὶ

¹⁰² *add. Dindorf cum codd. Hes.*

and he speaks with assurance,
with gentle dignity, and stands out among the
assembled throng.²¹¹

389

With this, almost of its own accord, the argument has brought us on to another relevant declaration, in which Homer clearly testifies that the orator does not flatter or cringe when he speaks, or go in awe of this person or that, or pursue the pleasure of the moment, adopting different guises in different places, like caterers in pursuit of the pleasures of others, or comporting himself as the slave of those in power at any particular time, but as he says "speaks with assurance." "With assurance" means without stumbling. And it is impossible for someone to speak without stumbling if he does not also speak soundly. The reason Homer gives for this is that he speaks "with gentle dignity," not taking up and reproducing in his soul the shameless character of the flatterer, but being dignified. If a man has this character, his words too must necessarily be decorous, and what has decorum and order must prevail.

390

Hesiod in his turn maintains that kings too by divine gift and dispensation have ability with words, when he says that Calliope

391

also attends august kings.
Whomsoever the daughters of great Zeus favor,
and turn their eyes upon him at his birth,
upon his tongue they shed sweet song,
and from his mouth the words flow honeyed, and the
peoples

²¹¹ *Od. 8.171-72.*

πάντες ἐς αὐτὸν ὁρῶσι διακρίνοντα θέμιστας
 ἰθείησι δίκησιν· ὁ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύων
 αἰψά τε καὶ μέγα νεῖκος ἐπισταμένως
 κατέπαυσεν·

σχεδὸν οὐ μόνον κατὰ ταῦτά, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῦτ' ἀντι-
 κρυσ Ὅμηρῳ λέγων, μᾶλλον δὲ πολὺ κυριώτερον καὶ
 λαμπρότερον οὗτος τῇ ῥητορικῇ συναγορεύων, ὅπῃ
 οὐ μόνον πράττει τὰ δέοντα τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπερ λέγειν
 τὰ δέοντα τίθησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀρίστους τῶν βα-
 σιλέων ῥητορικῆς φησι μετουσίᾳ γίγνεσθαι τοιού-
 τους. καὶ προστίθησι

τοῦνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆες ἐχέφρονες, οὐνεκα λαοῖς
 βλαπτομένοις ἀγορήφι μετὰτροπα ἔργα τελευτοῦσι,
 ῥηιδίως μαλακοῦσι παραϊφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν·

δύ' ἐν τούτοις μαρτυρῶν, ὅτι τε ἡ ῥητορικὴ συνέδρος
 τῆς βασιλικῆς καὶ ὅτι περὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔστι τό τε τοῦ
 ἐχέφρονος πρόσρημα καὶ τὸ λέγειν καλῶς. ὁ γὰρ ἐν
 μὲν τοῖς ἄνω ποιήσας ὡς ἄρα ἡ Καλλιόπη τοῖς αἰδε-
 σιμωτάτοις τῶν βασιλέων ἔπεται καὶ ποιεῖ δύνασθαι
 λέγειν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ προσθεῖς "τοῦνεκα γὰρ βασιλῆες
 ἐχέφρονες," ὥστε διαιρεῖν τὰ τοῦ δήμου διάφορα,
 δεικνύει ἐν ἧ μοίρᾳ πρόσθεν ἔθηκε τοὺς λόγους, ἐν
 ταύτῃ τὴν σωφροσύνην, καὶ πάλιν αὖθις ὡς τοῦχ ὑπ'
 ἀνοίας† τοὺς ῥήτορας ὄντας καὶ ἐχέφρονας, ῥητορι-
 κῆς μὲν ἀρχὴν φρόνησιν καὶ σωφροσύνην τιθεῖς,
 ταύτας δ' αὖ συνάψας πρὸς ἀλλήλας, τὴν τε βασιλι-

all look to him as he decides what right practice is,
 with his straight judgments; his word is assured
 and expertly he makes a quick end of even a great
 dispute.²¹²

With this he is pretty clearly not only working along the
 same lines as Homer but even saying the exact same
 things; or rather, he is pleading the case for oratory with
 far greater authority and distinction, in that he not only
 proposes that the man who can say what is needed can also
 do what is needed, but also that it is through their exper-
 tise in oratory that the best of the kings become the best
 of the kings. And he adds:

This is why there are prudent kings: when the
 peoples
 are wronged in their dealings they make amends for
 them,
 easily talking them round with gentle words,²¹³

thereby testifying to two points, that oratory is the coadju-
 tor of kingship, and that the appellation "prudent" and the
 ability to speak well attach to the same person. For the
 man who in the previous passage of verse said that it is
 Calliope who attends the most august of the kings and
 gives them their ability in speaking, and then in this one
 adds "this is why there are prudent kings," so as to settle
 disputes among the people, makes it clear that he is put-
 ting self-control in the same category as previously he
 placed eloquence; and again, by positing wisdom and self-
 control as the origin of oratory, and connecting kingship
 and the expertise of the juror with each other, he shows

²¹² Theog. 80-87.

²¹³ Theog. 88-90.

392 κῆν καὶ δικαστικὴν, ὀρθῶς ἀγορευῶν Ἡσίοδος καὶ τὰς Μούσας ἀμειβόμενος δικαίως, παρ' ὧν καὶ τὸ δύνασθαι περὶ τούτων λέγειν παρειληφῶς ἦν. οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν ἐχέφρονες περὶ τούτων λέγουσι τὰ δέοντα, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς λέγειν εἰδότες εἰσὶν ἐχέφρονες, οὐ μόνον ἴν' αὐτοὶ τὰ δέοντα πράττωσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἑτέρους παρασκευάζωσιν. ἔστιν ἄρα ῥητορικῆς ἔργον καὶ φρονεῖν ὀρθῶς καὶ μὴ μόνον αὐτὸν ἀ δεῖ πράττοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἑτέρους πείθοντα ἀ δεῖ πράττειν παρέχεται, καὶ ὅλως εἶναι βασιλικόν. οὐκ ἀποστατεῖ δὲ οὐδὲ ἡ παροιμία τούτων ἢ λέγουσα οἶος ὁ τρόπος, τοιοῦτον εἶναι καὶ τὸν λόγον καὶ πάλιν τὸ ἕτερον 393 ὡσαύτως. οὕτω καὶ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν λόγοις, μᾶλλον δὲ οἷς αὐτὸς ὑποτίθησιν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων μαρτυρία καὶ τῇ παρὰ τῶν ἐντιμοτάτων ποιητῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν παροιμιῶν πίστει παρ' ἡμῖν τάληθές ἐστιν.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:*
(v) *A Foundation Myth* (394–99)]

394 εἰ δὲ δεῖ καὶ μῦθον λέγειν, δεδουκα μὲν ἐγὼ μὴ καὶ ταῖς γραιουσὶν ἡμᾶς ἐξούλης ὀφλεῖν ἐπισκώπτων φῆ

²¹⁴ The clearly defective Greek text has not yet been satisfactorily emended; what seems needed is another complimentary adjective for orators coupled with "prudent."

²¹⁵ Also identified as (Greek) proverbial by Sen. *Ep.* 114.1; cf. *Pl. Resp.* 400d.

²¹⁶ Fr. 652 Kock = 93 Kassel-Austin. The insistence that the myth is not just an idle tale, and the compari-

that orators are < . . . > and prudent.²¹⁴ In saying this Hesiod is quite correct, and makes a worthy return to the Muses, from whom indeed it was that he received the ability to speak about these matters. People who are prudent in these matters say what needs to be said; kings because they know how to speak are prudent, not only so as to do what needs to be done themselves, but so as to equip others to do it too. It is then the function of oratory to think straight and to make available, to do what needs to be done, not only oneself but others too, by persuading them of what needs to be done, and in general to be regal. The saying "as a man's character, so also his speech" (and the other way round likewise) is not irrelevant here either.²¹⁵ Truth then is on my side, in virtue of my arguments—or rather, in virtue of what reason itself supplies—and the evidence of the facts, and the evidence of the most respected poets, and the confirmation offered by prov- 394 erbs.

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(v) *A Foundation Myth* (394–99)

If a myth is needed too, I am rather afraid that some comic poet may say that I am laying myself open to prosecution 394 by the old wives for illegal occupation of their property.²¹⁶

son of the cases for and against oratory to the debate between Zethus (champion of the active life) and Amphion (the artist and contemplative) from Euripides' *Antiope*, again follow Plato in the *Gorgias*, 523a and 527a (the myth), and 484e–86a and 506b (the comparison, in which Zethus stands for Callicles, and Amphion for Socrates). Aristides' myth itself adapts not the myth of the *Gorgias* but that told by Plato's Protagoras in *Prt.* 320c–22d.

τις ἀνὴρ κωμικός. ἐρῶ δὲ οὐ μῦθον ἄλλως αὐτὸν εἰς αὐτὸν τελευτῶντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἢ παρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων προσέεται πίστις, ἕν' ὡς ἀληθῶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ῥῆσιν ἀνταποδῶ καὶ <πρὸς>¹⁰³ τὸν Ζῆθον ἀναμνησθῶμεν εἰπεῖν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην¹⁰⁴ εἰς ἀμφοτέρους ποιήσει τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους διελώμεθα.

395 νεωστὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονότων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων θόρυβος πολὺς ἦν κατὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ ταραχή. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτοὶ σφισιν εἶχον ὅ τι χρήσονται, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν οὐδὲν τὸ συναγον, ἀλλ' οἱ μείζους τοὺς ἐλάττους ἤγον, οὔτε τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις εἶχον ἀνταρκεῖν πᾶσι γὰρ πάντων ἀπελείποντο ἄλλοτε ἄλλων, τάχει μὲν τῶν πτηνῶν ἀπάντων—ὅπερ οὖν Ὅμηρος ἔφη τοὺς Πυγμαίους πάσχειν ὑπὸ τῶν γεράνων, πᾶσι τοῖς τότε ὑπὸ πάντων συνέβαινε τῶν ἀλκίμων ὀρνίθων—κατ' ἰσχὺν δ' αὖ πόρρω καὶ τῶν λεόντων καὶ τῶν κάπρων καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν ὥστ' ἀπώλλυντο σιγῇ. καὶ μὴν τῇ γε κατασκευῇ τοῦ σώματος
396 οὐ μόνον τῶν προβάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν κοχλιῶν ἀπελείποντο, οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ὑπάρχων ἀντάρκης. φθειρομένου δὲ οὕτω τοῦ γένους καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέοντος κατιδὼν ὁ Προμηθεὺς αἰεὶ πωσ ὦν φιλόανθρωπος ἀνέρ-

¹⁰³ *add.* Reiske

¹⁰⁴ *an* κατὰ τὸν Σωκράτη?

²¹⁷ The reference to Euripides being responsible for both speeches is odd, as it is a trivial truism that one playwright is re-

Nevertheless, what I am going to tell you will not be just an idle myth that begins and ends with itself; it too will be supported by the evidence of the facts, so that I really will give Amphion's speech in reply and remember to answer Zethus—even if it will not be one person who is responsible for both speeches, as with Euripides, but we divide them between those two.²¹⁷

When mankind and the other animals had only just
395 come into existence, there was uproar and confusion on earth. Human beings did not know what to do with themselves, because in the absence of anything to unite them the stronger harried the weaker, and they were unable to put up any resistance against other creatures, because utterly inferior to all of them, in different respects in different cases: in speed they were inferior to all creatures with wings—so what Homer said the cranes did to the Pygmies²¹⁸ was in this period done to the whole human race by birds of prey collectively—and again in strength they were far inferior to lions and boars and many other kinds of creature. As a result they perished unknown. Moreover
396 in the way their bodies were equipped they were worse off not only than sheep but even than snails, because none of them was self-sufficient. Seeing that the human race was being worn down like this and wasting away little by little, Prometheus, who was always something of a friend to them, went up to heaven as an ambassador on their behalf,

responsible for what all his characters say. Since in the *Gorgias* Socrates underlines at just this point (506b) that he is having to sustain both sides of the conversation (Callicles having decided not to cooperate), perhaps Aristides originally wrote "as with Socrates" rather than "as with Euripides."²¹⁸ *Il.* 3.2-6.

χεται πρεσβευτῆς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πεμφθείς, οὐδὲ γὰρ πρέσβεις πέμπειν ἦν ποῦ τότε εἶδέναι, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς τοῦ τε Προμηθέως ἀγασθεὶς δίκαια λέγοντος καὶ ἅμα καθ' ἑαυτὸν εἰληφῶς λογισμὸν τοῦ πράγματος, τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων Ἑρμῆν κελεύει ῥητορικὴν ἔχοντα ἐλ-
 397 θεῖν εἰς ἀνθρώπους. ὁ μὲν οὖν Προμηθεὺς καθ' ἕκα-
 στον ἅπασι τὰς τε αἰσθήσεις καὶ τᾶλλα μέλη τοῦ σώματος ἦν συμπεπλακῶς πρότερον, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν οὐχ οὕτως ἐκέλευσεν ὥσπερ θεωρικοῦ διάδοσιν δι-
 ελεῖν, ἵνα πάντες ῥητορικῆς ἐφεξῆς μετέχοιεν, ὥσπερ ὀφθαλμῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπιλεξάμενον τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ γενναιοτάτους καὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐρρωμενεστάτους, τοῦτοις ἐγχειρίσαι τὸ δῶρον, ἵνα ὁμοῦ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφῶζειν ἔχοιεν.
 398 ἀφικομένης δὲ ῥητορικῆς εἰς ἀνθρώπους οὕτως ἐκ θεῶν ἠδυνήθησαν μὲν ἄνθρωποι¹⁰⁵ τὴν μετὰ τῶν θη-
 ρίων δίαιταν χαλεπὴν ἐκφυγεῖν, ἐπαύσαντο δὲ ἐχθροὶ πάντες ὄντες ἀλλήλους ἐν κύκλῳ, κοινωνίας δ' εὗρον ἀρχήν. καταβάντες δὲ ἐκ τῶν ὄρων ἄλλοι καθ' ἄλλα μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπλησίασαν, τό γε πρῶτον ὑπ-
 αιθροὶ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἤδη λόγου νικῆσαντος πόλεις¹⁰⁶ τε κατεσκευάσαντο καὶ διεκρίθησαν οὐχ ὥσπερ πρό-
 τερον ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' εἷς τε συντάξεις κοινωνιῶν καὶ τοὺς πόλεων ἡγεμόνας νόμους ἔθεντο καὶ ἄρχοντας

not because they had sent him, since at this stage they could not yet know about sending ambassadors, but on his own initiative. Impressed by the justice of Prometheus' words, but also because he had thought the matter through for himself, Zeus ordered Hermes from among his own sons to go to mankind with the gift of oratory.²¹⁹ Prometheus had previously fashioned the senses and the other parts of the body for all of them individually, but Zeus told Hermes not to distribute oratory like this, as if it were a handout from the festival fund, so that everyone without exception should have some oratorical ability, as with eyes and hands and feet, but instead to pick out the best and the most noble and those with the strongest constitutions, and to entrust the gift to them, so that they could keep both themselves and other people safe. When oratory had thus arrived among men, they were enabled by the gift of the gods to escape their harsh life among the animals, ceased from the reciprocal hostility that made all enemies to all, and invented the beginnings of sociability. Descending from the hills they banded together in different parts of the inhabited world. They did so in the open air at first; then subsequently, when reasoned argument won through, they founded cities and distributed themselves not randomly as before but into organized communities, and made laws to guide their cities, and took on the practice of having magistrates and a settled constitu-

²¹⁹ The divine gift of oratory in Aristides' myth takes the place of the *aidōs* and *dikē* (sense of respect for others and sense of justice) sent by Zeus to human beings in the *Protagoras* myth.

¹⁰⁵ ἄνθρωποι Behr οἱ ἄνθρωποι EUR² ἄνθρωποι *cett.*

¹⁰⁶ πόλεις UR² πόλιν *cett.*

καὶ πολιτείαν ἐνόμισαν, καὶ θεοὺς χαριστήρια ἀνήγαγον, πρῶτας ἀπαρχὰς [αὐτοῖς]¹⁰⁷ ποιησάμενοι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων, αἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν χαίρειν μάλιστα τοὺς θεοὺς λόγος αἰρεῖ, ὅτι καὶ γνωρίσαι πρῶτον αὐτοῖς
 399 τοὺς θεοὺς ὑπῆρξεν ἐντεῦθεν. οὕτως ἄνθρωπος ἤρθη μέγας ἐξ ἀσθενοῦς καὶ σαθροῦ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχάς, καὶ πρόσθεν καταφρονούμενος ὡς οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα κύριός ἐστιν ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῖς ἐν τῇ γῆ, τοῦτο ὅτι βούλεται χρῆσθαι, πρόβλημα ποιησάμενος ἀντ' ἄλλου φυλακτηρίου τὸν λόγον.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:*
 (vi) *The Superiority of Oratory Over Other Kinds*
of Power and Position (400–428)]

400 καὶ ὁ μὲν μῦθος ἡμῖν ταύτην ἐχέτω τὴν τελευτήν, οἶμαι κεφαλὴν οὐδὲν ἄτιμον εἰληφώς. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἄλλως μῦθος ταῦτα οὐδ' ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ, καὶ ὁ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν ἐστὶν λόγος δῆλον ἐξ αὐτῶν.
 401 οὐκοῦν οὐ μόνον ἐξ ἀρχῆς ῥητορικῆς δύναμις διώρισε ταῦτα καὶ κατέστησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἐκ πλείστου τῶν πόλεων οἰκουμένας ἔτι καὶ νῦν ῥητορικὴ συνέχει τε καὶ κοσμεῖ, πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας αἰεὶ κόσμους ζητοῦσα τὸ πρόσφορον. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἔφην ἀρτίως, ἡ μὲν νομοθετικὴ θείσα τοὺς νόμους εὐθὺς ἀπήλλακται, καὶ ἡ

¹⁰⁷ *om.* EU *secl.* Dindorf

tion, and began to make thank offerings to the gods. The very first offerings they made were in the form of words, in which to this day the gods take the greatest pleasure, as stands to reason, since this was the means by which men were first able to recognize them. It was in this way that
 399 human kind rose to greatness from its weak and defective beginnings, and from having previously been despised as of no consequence has since this time become master of the earth, to make use of as it sees fit; and it is oratory that it has taken as its shield in preference to any other form of protection.

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
 (vi) *The Superiority of Oratory Over Other Kinds*
of Power and Position (400–428)

Let this be the end of my myth, since it has surely now
 400 been capped off in a fully worthy style.²²⁰ That it is no idle tale or dream, but a living reality, and speaks with the voice of the facts themselves, is evident from those very facts. Not only, then, did the power of oratory define and establish
 401 this order in the first place; oratory continues to this day to sustain and beautify even the most long-established cities, seeking out what is appropriate for their adornment in the present as each successive occasion arises. As I said a while ago,²²¹ legislation takes its leave as soon as it has

²²⁰ Literally, "has gained a head that isn't in any way shabby"—a glancing allusion to Plato's stipulation in *Phdr.* 264c that a well-formed piece of speech or writing, like a living creature, should have a head and feet as well as its main body.

²²¹ §226 above.

δικαστικὴ μετὰ τὴν ψήφον οὐδὲν πολυπραγμονεῖ, ἢ
 δὲ ὥσπερ τις ἄγρυπνος φρουρὸς οὐ καταλείπει τὴν φυ-
 λακίην, ἀλλ' ἐκείναις τε συνήν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἡγουμένη τε
 καὶ προδιδάσκουσα καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν αὐτὴς ἕκαστα
 ἐπέρχεται, εἰσηγουμένη, πρᾶσβεύουσα, αἰεὶ τὸ παρὸν
 συντιθεμένη· καὶ οὐδ' ἂν πάντα τὰ ἀδικήματα καὶ
 ἀμαρτήματα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέλθῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον
 ἔστιν ἄχρηστον, ὥσπερ νόμων οὐδὲ δικαστῶν οὐδὲν
 402 ἂν που δέοι τούτου συμβάντος, ἀλλὰ ἔως ἂν ἦ τὸ
 χρῆσθαι καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις,
 τὰ ἔργα τῇ ῥητορικῇ σφάζεται.

403 οὐ μόνον δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων τῇ τοῦ λόγου φύσει
 προέχοντες τοσοῦτον ἔσμεν πρότεροι, ἀλλ' [οὐδὲ τῶν
 ἄλλων ζώων]¹⁰⁸ οὐδὲ τῶν ὁμοφύλων τοσοῦτον δια-
 φέρει παρ' οὐδὲν τῶν ἰδίων ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἀνθρώπου
 404 παρὰ τὸν λόγον. οὐ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐν ἀνθρώποις αἱ γε
 ἄλλαι δυνάμεις τοσοῦτον παραλλάττουσιν ἢ διαρκού-
 σιν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ χρήμασι νικῶν ἕνα καὶ δύο ἴσως νικᾷ,
 τριῶν δὲ ὁμοῦ καὶ τεττάρων ἀναμιξάντων τὰς οὐσίας
 οὐκ ἂν εἴη πλουσιώτερος· εἰ δὲ καὶ τεττάρων, ἀλλ' οὐ
 δις τοσοῦτων· εἰ δέ τοι καὶ πολλαπλασίον, ἀλλ' οὐ
 πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει· εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ
 ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐ δὴ που καὶ τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων· εἰ δὲ
 κἀκείνων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀμφοῖν γε ὁμοῦ, πολὺ δὲ οἶμαι καὶ
 μᾶλλον οὐ τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν γε ὁμοῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα,
 παντάπασιν δὲ ἀμήχανον τῶν κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ἡπει-

¹⁰⁸ *secl.* Behr

made its laws, and the administration of justice does nothing further after the votes are cast; but oratory like an unsleeping sentry never abandons its watch. It was associated with those other activities in the beginning, leading the way for them and instructing them, and now on its own it tackles every task, introducing new proposals and serving on embassies, forever bringing order to the situation of the moment. Even if all crime and error were to disappear from the world of men, it would still retain its usefulness, even though in that eventuality there would be no further need of laws and juries; the functions of rhetoric remain in force as long as men need to have dealings with each other in their own societies, and with outsiders.

It is not merely that we enjoy this degree of superiority over other creatures because we surpass them by having the power of speech as part of our nature. It is also the case that no creature stands out from among the others of its kind in any way to the same extent that one human being differs from another in respect of his powers of speech. Nor indeed among humans are other forms of ability so outstanding or so enduring. Someone who is superlatively wealthy perhaps surpasses two or three others, but he would not be richer than three or four together if they combined their wealth; and even if he were richer than four, he would not be richer than twice as many as that; and even if he were richer than many times that number, he would not be richer than the entire population of his city; and if he were richer than everyone in his own state, he certainly would not be richer than its neighbors; and even if he were that, he would not be richer than both together, let alone richer than the inhabitants of the whole of Greece put together, and it would be entirely impossible for him to be richer than everyone on the continent.

405 ρον. ὁ δὲ δὴ λόγῳ νικῶν ὁμοίως καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ
πάντων ἀθροισθέντων ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν, καὶ ὅσον
κρατεῖ, μένει διηνεκὲς αὐτῷ καὶ οὐκ ἀπόλλυσιν. οὐ
γὰρ δὴ συννεγκεῖν γε ἔστιν ὡσπερ χρήματα, οὐδὲ
ἐράνῳ τὸ ἔλλειμμα ἀναπληρῶσαι.

406 καὶ ὁ μὲν γε κατ' ἰσχὺν προφέρων εἰ καὶ ἐνὸς εἴη
κρείττων, ὑπὸ δυοῖν γ' ἂν αὐτὸν κατείργεσθαι φησι
καὶ Ἀρχίλοχος καὶ ἡ παροιμία. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ ἀμφο-
τέρων ὑπερέχοι, ῥάδιον εὐρεῖν ὁπόσοι κρείττους περι-
φανῶς γένοιτο. "συμφορτῆ δ' ἀρετῆ πέλει ἀνδρῶν"
407 ἔφη Ὅμηρος, τὴν κατ' ἰσχὺν ὀνομάζων. ἀλλ' οὐχὶ
λόγους γ' ἂν ἀμείνους σύμπαντες παράσχουτο ἐνὸς
τοῦ καθ' ἕκαστον ὑπερέροντος, οὐδὲ συμφορτῆ
ἀρετῆ τοῦτο κρίνεται, ἀλλ' εἰς καὶ πολλοὶ τὸ ἴσον
δύνανται, τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῆς ἡττητῆς σφύζων ἕκαστος
ὡσπερ ἐν κάλλει. ἔως γὰρ ἂν μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ κρείτ-
τον παρέλθῃ, ἢ γε κοινωνία καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὐδενὸς
ἄξιον, οὐδ' ἂν τὴν Δαρείου στρατιάν ἀγῆς. ᾧ καὶ με-
γίστῳ δείκνυται ὅση τις ἢ τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ καλὸν
συγγένεια, καὶ ὅτι τοῦτ' ἐν ψυχῇ λόγοι, ὅπερ κάλλος
408 ἐν σώματι. καίτοι καὶ περὶ τούτου τοῦ μέρους ἔχει τις
ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι κάλλος μὲν χρόνος ἐξελέγχει ῥαδίως,
ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ τῆς ὥρας ὄνομα αὐτῷ συγκεκλήρωται
οἱ δὲ λόγοι τῷ χρόνῳ συμπροβαίνουσιν, καὶ τούς γε

But the man who excels in powers of speech outstrips his 405
rivals alike individually and combined; the measure of his
superiority endures without interruption and cannot be
destroyed. Oratorical ability cannot be gathered together
from different sources like money, nor can any shortfall be
made good by further contributions.

Equally, the man who excels in physical strength, even 406
if he were stronger than a single individual, could be re-
strained by two, as both Archilochus and the popular say-
ing maintain.²²² And even if he were to overcome both of
them, it would be easy to find a number that would obvi-
ously be too strong for him. "When men combine their
virtue is felt," says Homer,²²³ meaning the virtue that rests
on physical strength. But when it comes to a speech, ev- 407
eryone together could not supply a better one than the one
man who is individually superior. This is not a matter that
is decided by "combined virtue," but one in which one and
many are on the same footing, with each retaining the
element of inferiority that belongs to him, just as with
beauty. For as long as the superior man's superiority does
not desert him, banding together and weight of numbers
count for nothing, even if you have Darius' army behind
you. This is indeed the biggest single indication of how
closely eloquence and beauty are related, and that words
are to the soul what beauty is to the body. And yet even on 408
this point it can be said that whereas time easily under-
mines beauty—indeed the noun "season" is used as a syn-
onym for it²²⁴—eloquent speech advances in step with the

²²² Archilochus, fr. 259 IEG; the proverb seems to have been either "Not even Heracles can fight two" or "Heracles is nothing when faced with two": see, e.g., Zen. Prov. 5.49 and Diogenian. Prov. 3.44.

²²³ *Il.* 13.237.

²²⁴ The word *hōra* can mean both "season" and "youthful beauty."

βελτίστους αὐτῶν οὐδὲν οὕτως ὡς χρόνος δείκνυσιν, ὥσπερ τὸν δίκαιον ἄνδρα ἔφη Σοφοκλῆς μόνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ φαίνεσθαι τὸ τῆς προσθήκης ἀφαιρῶ, ὅτι οὐ μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ οἱ γε δὴ λόγοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραχρῆμα ἄπτεσθαι πεφύκασιν, καὶ μόνων τούτων τὴν ὥραν ἀθάνατον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν.

409 καὶ ὁ μὲν χρήματα κεκτημένος οὓς ἂν εὖ ποιεῖν οἴηται δεῖν, ἀφαιρῶν ὧν ἔχει ποιεῖ, ὥστ' ἐλάττω τὰ λοιπὰ καθίστησι τοῖς προειμένοις· εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ συνεχῶς ἐμμεῖναι τῇ τοιαύτῃ φιλονικίᾳ, ταχὺ δῆπου τοῦ ταῦτα ἐπικουρήσοντος αὐτῷ προσδεήσεται ἢ δὲ τῶν λόγων κτῆσις καὶ δύναμις παρὰ τὴν χρῆσιν οὐκ ἀναλίσκεται, ἀλλ' εἰ οἷόν τε εἰπεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα τούτῳ
410 αὐξεσθαι πέφυκεν. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον ὅτι χρήματα μὲν κάτωθεν λαμβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν μετάλλων καὶ λιθοτομῶν καὶ παρὰ σκυθρωπῶν τῶν ἔργων, λόγοι δὲ ἡμῖν παρὰ τῶν οὐδὲν ἀπολλύντων δι' ὧν ἡμᾶς εὖ ποιοῦσιν ἤκουσιν. τῆς οὖν θείας φύσεως εἰκότως μετέχουσι μόνοι.

411 καὶ μὴν νόσους μὲν εἰ τις ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀνέλοι τῷ λόγῳ, μηδὲν δεῖν ἰατρικῆς ἔστ' εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ μηδὲν δεῖν κυβερνήτου μὴ πλεόντι ῥητορικῇ δὲ οὐ μόνον εἰ καὶ πάντα τὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἀμαρτήματα, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πόλεμοι πάντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπέλθοιεν, οὐκ ἄπορα τὰ πράγματα, οὐδὲ πέπτωκεν αὐτῆς ἡ δύναμις ὥσπερ ῥίζης ὑφαιρεθείσης. ἔτι γὰρ μᾶλλον αἱ πανηγύρεις καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης χαρίεντα τοῦ παρ' αὐτῆς κόσμου προσδεῖται, καὶ νῆ Δία αἱ τε θεῶν τιμαὶ καὶ ἡρώων

passage of time and nothing so well as time reveals the best of it, just as Sophocles said that time alone reveals the just man.²²⁵ I forbear to add that it is in the nature of spoken words to take hold immediately, not just with time, and that their beauty alone has the property of being immortal.

The man with money benefits those whom he thinks 409 he ought to benefit by taking away from what he has, and so makes his remaining wealth smaller by what he gives away; and if he continues uninterruptedly with this ambitious outlay he will soon need someone else to help him with it. But the power of words and one's stock of them is not consumed with use; it is instead by this means above all, if I may put it thus, that they naturally increase. The 410 reason is that whereas we get money from below, from mines and quarries and by grim toil, words come to us from sources that lose nothing from the benefits they do us. It is thus plausible to say that they alone partake of the divine nature.

Again, if one were hypothetically to remove diseases 411 from the world of men, it can be said that there would be no need of medicine, just as you have no need of a helmsman if you are not going on a voyage; but oratory would still have tasks to perform, not only if all wrongdoing by individuals but also if all wars departed from the world of men, and its efficacy would not wither away as if its root had been cut from under it. Festivals and the delights of peace need the adornment that oratory can confer still more, as indeed do the cults of the gods and heroes, and

²²⁵ Soph. OT 614.

καὶ ὅσαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ὀφείλονται δικαίως
εὐφημίαι. πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα ἐπέρχεται καὶ κοσμεῖ καὶ
πᾶσιν αὐτῇ πρέπουσα ὁμοίως φαίνεται.

412 εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ κοινωνήσειέν τινι τῶν ἄλλων τεχνῶν
καὶ δυνάμεων, Ἡράκλεις, ὡς οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἔστιν ὡς ἐκ-
φαίνει τὸ παρ' αὐτῆς. οἶον ἰατρὸς εἰ προσλάβοι ῥη-
τορικὴν, τῆς ἰατρικῆς αὐτῆς μάλιστα οὕτω τὴν χάριν
εἴσεται. εἰ γὰρ προσέλθοι τὸ δύνασθαι πείθειν τοῖς
ἄλλοις τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην, τί
κωλύει προθεραπεῖν τὰ πολλὰ τῇ ῥητορικῇ, πρὶν
τῶν τῆς ἰατρικῆς ὀργάνων ἄψασθαι, τῷ σοφωτάτῳ
413 τῶν φαρμάκων, ἔφη τις, χρώμενος; μετὰ τοίνυν τῆς
στρατηγικῆς γενομένη πολλῶ μᾶλλον σῶζειν αὐτὰ
τὰ τῆς στρατηγικῆς πέφυκεν· ἃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος παν-
ταχοῦ σαφῶς δηλοῖ

ὡς εἰπὼν ἄτρυνε μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἐκάστου

καὶ

ὡς ἔφαθ', οἱ δ' ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐπ' Ἀργείοισιν
ἴρουσαν

καὶ

τοῖσι δ' ἄφαρ πόλεμος γλυκίων γένετ' ἢ ἐ νέεσθαι
ἐν νηυσὶ γλαφυρῆσι φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαίαν.

²²⁶ The iambic line "you persuaded me by argument (*logos*),
the wisest medication" is attributed both to Menander (*Sentent.*
437 Jaekel) and to an anonymous tragic poet (fr. 317 Nauck³).

the eulogies that are rightly owed to good men. Oratory
handles and adorns all these things, and herself is mani-
festly suited to all of them alike.

If oratory were ever to make common cause with an- 412
other science or faculty, heavens how impossible it is even
to say how its own contribution must shine out! For ex-
ample, if a doctor were to acquire skill as an orator as
well, this is how he will best appreciate the beneficence of
medicine itself. Because if the ability to persuade were
added to the other attributes that he already has in virtue
of his art, what is to prevent him from treating most symp-
toms in advance by the use of oratory, using what some-
one has called the cleverest of medications,²²⁶ before even
touching the instruments of medicine proper? In 413
combination with the art of generalship, oratory is naturally
equipped to make its operation much more secure, as in-
deed Homer clearly shows at every turn:

With these words he roused the fury and spirit in
each man;²²⁷

and

So he spoke, and they charged more fiercely at the
Argives,²²⁸

and

Straight away war became sweeter to them than a
return
in their hollow ships to their dear native land.²²⁹

²²⁷ *Il.* 5.470.

²²⁸ *Il.* 15.726.

²²⁹ *Il.* 2.453-54.

414 τοιαῦτ' αἰεὶ τοῖς λόγοις προστίθησιν. ἐκφανέστατα δὲ
αὐτὸ καὶ μόνου οὐχ ὑπὸ κήρυκος βεβαιοί, ποιήσας
τὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα τῶν μὲν

ἄσπίσι καὶ κορύθεσσι καὶ ἔγχεσι πεφρικυίας

τὰς τάξεις παρεχομένων Διάντων ἅπαντας λαβεῖν τὸν
θυμὸν εὐχόμενον

τοίος πᾶσιν θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι γένοιτο·

[ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν εὐχόμενον ἵνα τὴν Τροίαν ἔλῃ]¹⁰⁹ τοῦ
δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα συμβουλευσάντος τῷ στρατοπέδῳ
Νέστορος δέκα τοὺς πάντας συμβούλους μὴ χείρους
λαβεῖν.

τοιούτοι γάρ, ἔφη, δέκα μοι συμφράδμονες εἶεν
Ἀχαιῶν·

τῷ κε τάχ' ἠμύσειε πόλις Πριάμοιο ἄνακτος
χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῃσιν ἀλουσά τε περθομένη τε·

θεὸς τὴν ῥητορικὴν τῆς στρατηγικῆς τοσοῦτω κυριω-
τέραν, ὅσῳ δέκα ἄνδρες δέκα μυριάδων ἐλάττους
415 ἀριθμῷ. εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ πόρρωθεν εἰλήφει τὸν ἔλεγ-
χον, ἀλλ' εἰ τότε ὠρμημένους Ἀχαιοὺς ἀνίστασθαι
καὶ ὑφαιρούντας ἤδη τὰ ἔρματα τῶν νεῶν καὶ τὴν

¹⁰⁹ *secl. edd.*

He consistently attributes this sort of effect to speeches,
but most clearly confirms the point, practically having it 414
announced by a herald, when the two Ajaxes marshal their
ranks

Bristling with shields and helmets and spears,²³⁰

and he has Agamemnon praying that everyone should be
infused with their spirit,

May such be the spirit in the hearts of all;²³¹

and praying also to have a full ten advisers as good as
Nestor, who gave the army the best advice:

Would that I had (he says) ten such counselors among
the Achaeans!

Then would the city of lord Priam soon totter before
us,

captured and sacked by our hands!²³²

He ranks oratory as more effective than generalship, by
the same margin as ten men are fewer in number than a 415
hundred thousand. Reasonably so, as he did not have to
look far for his proof: if those two orators had not held the
Achaeans back when they were eager to be up and gone,²³³
and were already taking the props out from under the

²³⁰ *Il.* 7.62.

²³¹ *Il.* 4.289. The words immediately following this in the
Greek text, bracketed opposite, are an obvious reader's note: "He
depicted him praying in order to capture Troy."

²³² *Il.* 2.372-74.

²³³ Nestor and Odysseus: *Il.* 2.142-210.

θάλατταν ὑπερβοῶντας μὴ κατέσχον οἱ δύο οὗτοι
 ῥήτορες, τί πλέον τῶν τακτικῶν ἦν, τί δὲ ἀσπίδων καὶ
 δοράτων καὶ νεῶν πλήθους καὶ χρημάτων καὶ σκευῶν;
 ἀλλ' ὡς ἀληθῶς ὅπερ οἱ σκευοφόροι τοῖς ὀπλίταις
 εἰσί, τοῦτ' ἐφάνη τότε πᾶσα οὖσα παρασκευὴ πρὸς
 416 τὴν ἐπιστατοῦσαν ἅπασιν τούτοις ῥητορικῆν. κυβερ-
 νήτης δ' αὐτὸ προσλαβὼν μόριον ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως,
 εἰδὼς καὶ φοβεῖν ἠνίκα καιρὸς καὶ πάλιν θαρρεῖν
 παρασκευάζειν, πόσῳ προφέρει πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς κυ-
 βερνητικῆς πράγματα;

417 οὐκοῦν ἰδίᾳ τε πανταχοῦ θαυμαστὴ καὶ οἷς ἂν
 προσγένηται ῥοπήν τοσαύτην παρέχεται. φημί δ'
 ἔγωγε καὶ κάλλος τε καὶ ῥητορικὴν συνελθόντα τῇ
 ῥητορικῇ κριθήσεσθαι, καὶ οὐδένα τὸν τοιοῦτον ἠδέως
 ὄψεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἠδέως ἀκούσεσθαι λέγοντος. ἔοικε
 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο Ὅμηρος μαρτυρεῖν

οὐ τότε γ' ᾧδ' Ὀδυσῆος ἀγασσάμεθ' εἶδος
 ἰδόντες,

ὡς ἔφη, τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν νοημάτων καὶ τῶν ῥη-
 μάτων καὶ τῆς φωνῆς τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν, διοσημίᾳ
 418 παρεικάζων τὴν ῥητορείαν αὐτοῦ. μαρτυρεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν
 οἷς ἀρτίως ἐλέγομεν

ἄλλος μὲν γάρ τ' εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ,
 ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφὴν ἔπεισι στέφει

ships and drowning out the noise of the sea with their
 shouts, what good would his tactical ability have been to
 him, or the shields and spears, or his masses of ships and
 money and equipment? Truly, it was this episode that
 made it clear that the whole of the expedition was to the
 art of oratory that commands all these things what baggage
 handlers are to frontline troops. Or again, if a helmsman 416
 acquires a helping of oratorical ability as well, and knows
 both how to strike fear into his passengers at the appropri-
 ate moment and how to get them to take heart, just how
 superior will he be in the exercise of the art of navigation
 itself?

Thus oratory is in all cases a wonderful thing on its own, 417
 and imparts this kind of force to whatever it combines
 with. I for one maintain that when oratory and beauty are
 joined together, it is on the strength of oratory that the
 amalgam will be favorably judged, and that no one will
 enjoy looking at such a person more than they enjoy hear-
 ing him speak. Homer seems to bear witness to this too:

We did not then wonder so at Odysseus when we
 looked at his appearance,

as, he says, they did at the density of his thought and dic-
 tion, and the magnificence of his delivery, comparing his
 oratory to a portentous storm.²³⁴ He also testifies to this 418
 point in the passage I quoted earlier:

One man is feebler in body,
 but god crowns his speech with comeliness.²³⁵

²³⁴ *Il.* 3.221–24.

²³⁵ *Od.* 8.169–70, quoted above in §96.

- οὐκ ἀργῶς οὐδ' ἀπλῶς εἰπὼν τὸ στέφει, ἀλλ' ἐνδει-
 κνύμενος ὅτι οὐ μόνον τὰ ἐλαττώματα ἀναπληροῦ,
 ἀλλὰ καὶ προσέτι νικᾶν ποιεί, ἐπειδὴ γε καὶ ὁ στέφα-
 419 νος νίκης ἐστὶ σύμβολον. τὸν οὖν αἰσχρὸν καλῶς
 δυνάμενον λέγειν ὅτε τοῦ καλλίστου, λέγειν δὲ ἀδυ-
 νάτου, πρότερον τίθησι, τὸν ἅμα καλὸν καὶ ῥήτορα
 εἰκότως καὶ ἀκολούθως φησὶ μᾶλλον θαυμασθήηαι
 παρὰ τοὺς λόγους.
- 420 Πίνδαρος δὲ τοσαύτην ὑπερβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ὥστε
 ἐν Διὸς γάμῳ καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτοὺς φησιν ἐρομένον
 τοῦ Διὸς εἶ του δέοντο αἰτῆσαι ποιήσασθαί τινας
 αὐτῷ θεοὺς, οὔτινες τὰ μεγάλα ταῦτ' ἔργα καὶ πᾶσάν
 γε δὴ τὴν ἐκείνου κατασκευὴν κατακοσμήσουσιν λό-
 421 γοις καὶ μουσικῇ. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ ποιηταὶ μόνοι, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ πάντες ἄνθρωποι προσομολογοῦσι τὰ μὲν γὰρ
 ἄλλα ἢ ψυχαγωγίαν ἢ χρεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ πλείστον εἰπεῖν
 ἔχει, μόνον δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστα γὰρ ἄμφω πληροὶ καὶ
 μετὰ τῶν ὠφελειῶν τὴν χάριν θαυμαστὴν ἔχει, ὥστε
 καὶ ὅταν εἰς πολέμους ἀλλήλοις ἔλθωσιν ἄνθρωποι,
 τοὺς παρὰ τῶν αὐτοχείρων πρέσβεις ἀφικνουμένους
 δέχονται καὶ ἀποπέμπουσιν, ἐνθυμούμενοι [τὸ τῶν ῥη-
 τῶρων φύλον, ὑπεξαιρούμενοι]¹¹⁰ τὴν τοῦ λόγου φύ-
 σιν, [αἰδούμενοι]¹¹¹ ὅτι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ σωτηρία καὶ
 κοινῇ χρεῖα τοῦ γένους εἰσηλθεν.
- 422 καὶ ἡ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἕξις ἄχρηστος ἐπ' εἰρήνης,

¹¹⁰ *secl.* Behr¹¹¹ *secl.* Behr

Homer's use of the word "crowns" here is not accidental or innocent, but done in order to underline the fact that oratory not only makes good any deficiency, but in addition to that makes a man victorious, since the crown is an emblem of victory. Thus when he places the ugly man who is able to speak well ahead of the extremely good-looking man who has no oratorical ability, it follows logically from this that he is saying that the man who is both good looking and a good orator is more admired on account of his words.

Pindar for his part was extravagant enough to declare that the gods themselves at Zeus' wedding, when Zeus inquired if they needed anything, asked him to make himself some divinities to glorify this great event, and indeed the whole of his creation, with words and music.²³⁶ Not only poets, but the whole of mankind as well agree on this: other things as a general rule afford either entertainment or practical usefulness, but this alone fulfills both functions to the highest degree, and besides its usefulness gives extraordinary pleasure, to such effect that even when men are at war with each other, they welcome ambassadors from the murderers of their people when they arrive and send them on their way again, since they take to heart the essential nature of eloquence, and the fact that it was originally introduced for the preservation and shared use of humankind.²³⁷

The state of being under arms is useless in peacetime,

²³⁶ Pind. *Hymns*, fr. 31 Sn-M.²³⁷ The clauses bracketed in the Greek text opposite ("removing the race of orators from the reckoning" and "out of respect for [the essential nature of eloquence]") seem to be reader's notes or glosses.

ἡ δ' ἐν τοῖς λόγοις δύναμις ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις οὐκ ἄτι-
 μος, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολίταις χρήσιμος καὶ πολεμίοις αἰδέ-
 σιμος, καὶ τῶν ὄπλων πολλάκις ἐν τῷ τῶν ὄπλων
 423 καιρῷ περιγίγνεται. δοκοῦσι δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν
 οἱ ποιηταὶ τὸν τῆς σοφίας ταύτης ἡγεμόνα καὶ προ-
 τάτην τούτου χάριτι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν θεῶν μόνον καλεῖν
 ὀνόματι. κοινῇ μὲν γὰρ ἅπαντας δωτήρας ἑάων ὀνο-
 μάξουσιν, ἰδίᾳ δ' οὕτως μόνον τοῦτον καὶ ἀκάκητά γε
 καὶ ἐριούνιον, ὅτι κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ἢ παρ' αὐτοῦ δω-
 ρεῖα, ἀγαθὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἅπαντα πορίζει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις,
 ἐν πολέμοις, ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ἐν γῆ, ἐν θαλάττῃ, ἐν δυσκο-
 424 λείαις, ἐν εὐφροσύναις, πανταχοῦ. δοκεῖ δ' ἔμοιγε καὶ
 τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος, εἰ δεῖ Πλάτωνι πιστεῦναι,
 διαγγέλλον τε¹¹² τοῖς θεοῖς τὰ παρ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀν-
 θρώποις τὰ παρὰ θεῶν < . . . >.¹¹³ ὥστε καὶ σύν-
 δεσμον τὴν ῥητορικὴν τοῦ παντὸς ὀρθῶς ἂν καὶ
 <κατὰ>¹¹⁴ τοῦτο εἴποι τις.
 425 μέγιστον δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς
 δυνάμεως, ὅτι οὐδὲν ὁμοῦ τοῖς τε πολλοῖς οὕτω κοινόν
 ἔστι καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῇ τῶν πολλῶν ἕξιν καὶ φύσιν
 ἐκπέφενγεν· αἰεὶ δὲ ὄν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν ἀνθρώποις χαλε-
 πώτατα εὐρίσκειται τό γε παντελές. ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ
 λέοντες καὶ ὅσα ἐντιμότερα τῶν ζῴων σπανιώτερα

whereas the power of words is not valueless in war, but
 both useful to the orator's fellow citizens and respected by
 their enemies; it often proves superior to arms even when
 the time for arms is at hand. I believe that this is the reason
 why Hermes, who is the commander and patron of this
 kind of wisdom, is the only divinity to whom poets apply
 the shared epithet of all the gods. They call all gods col-
 lectively "givers of good things," but it is to him alone that
 they give this name individually.²³⁸ They call him "guile-
 less" and "bountiful," because nothing ill comes by his
 giving and each and every one of the gifts he bestows on
 mankind is good, in war and in peace, on land and on sea,
 in trouble and in joy, universally. I think that the race of
 spirits too, if we are to believe Plato, as it brings messages
 about the world of men to the gods and to men about the
 world of the gods, <practices a form of oratory>.²³⁹ So in
 this respect too, it would be right to call oratory the bond
 that holds the universe together.

It is also a hugely important point in favor of this ca-
 pacity that there is nothing that is at one and the same
 time so open to being shared by the majority of mankind
 and yet so far removed from the condition and character
 of the masses. Although it is always, so to speak, among
 men, it is enormously difficult to find in its perfect form.
 Just as lions and all the nobler animals are naturally rarer

²³⁸ For the gods as "givers of good things," see, e.g., *Od.* 8.325 and Hes. *Theog.* 46, and cf. §49 above.

²³⁹ The *daimones* (intermediary spirits) influentially described by Plato at *Symp.* 202e–3a. The text here is problematic and not yet satisfactorily emended; my translation follows the spirit of a repair made in several of the later manuscripts.

¹¹² διαγγέλλον τε Reiske διαγγέλλον τι TQE διαγγέλλονται UR²

¹¹³ <ταύτη κεχρησθαι φημί> Barocc. 136, Oxon. Coll. Nov. 259

¹¹⁴ add. aA² Canter

τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ τῇ φύσει, οὕτω καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπους
 οὐδέν οὕτω σπάνιον ὡς ὄν¹¹⁵ ἄξιον προσεπιεῖν ῥήτορα.
 426 εἷς δὲ ἀγαπητῶς καὶ δεύτερος ὥσπερ ὁ Ἴνδικὸς ὄρνις
 ἐν Αἰγυπτίους ἡλίου περιόδοις φύεται. οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ
 μορίους τισὶ τῆς τέχνης περιτυχόντες Ὀμήρου δέον-
 ται προσαγορεύοντος αὐτοῦς, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος "ἔσκειν
 ὑψηλὸς" φησὶν καὶ πάλιν "Ποσειδῶνος ὑποδμάς."
 [τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴ που, τὸ δὲ ἀκροτελεύτιον ἔπος ἐστίν.]¹¹⁶
 οὕτω πολλοὶ δέουσι κατὰ Μίθαικον καὶ Θεαρίωνα οἱ
 τῷ ὄντι ῥήτορες εἶναι τὴν φύσιν.
 427 καὶ ὅσα τοίνυν εἶδη λόγων ἕτερα, ἵνα μηδὲ τοῦτο
 παρέλθωμεν, ταυτὸν πέπονθα πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ῥητορι-
 κῆς λόγους ὃ τί περ τὰ πέμματα πρὸς τὰ τῷ ὄντι
 σιτία καὶ κρέα. ὥστε καὶ τῶν περὶ ἕκαστα οὗτοι μάλι-
 στα εὐδοκιμοῦσιν οὔτινες ἂν πλείστον ῥητορικῆς εἰσ-
 ενέγκωνται, καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν μάλιστα ὅς ἂν ἐγγύ-
 428 τατα ἦκη ῥητορικῆς. Ὀμηρος καὶ τῶν Ὀμήρου ταῦτα,
 Σοφοκλῆς καὶ τῶν Σοφοκλέους ταῦτα. Πλάτων δὲ
 αὐτὸς ἡμῖν τί φησιν; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀγνο-
 οῦμεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τοῦ χοροῦ τάττειν ἔτοι-
 μοι.

¹¹⁵ ὡς ὄν Reiske ὡς ὅσον *codd. praeter* UPh^{M3}, qui ὅσον

¹¹⁶ *secl.* Trapp

²⁴⁰ The phoenix: Hdt. 2.73. Aristides here claims for the true orator what Stoic philosophers claimed about the truly wise and virtuous man (the "sage"): Sen. *Ep.* 42.1; Alex. Aphrod. *De fato* 28, 199.14–22.

than the others, so in the world of men there is nothing so
 rare as the man who deserves to be called an orator. We 426
 should be content if one or two come into existence in a
 long cycle of years, like the Indian bird in Egypt.²⁴⁰ The
 majority master only fractions of the art, and so need a
 Homer to characterize them, with phrases of his like "he
 was his underling and charioteer" and again "an under-
 ling of Poseidon."²⁴¹ That is just how far true natural ora-
 tors are from being on the same level as Mithaecus and
 Thearion.²⁴²

All other forms of expression—so as not to omit this 427
 point either—bear the same relation to oratorical expres-
 sion as sweetmeats do to real bread and meat. Therefore
 among the practitioners of each kind it is those who import
 the largest element of oratory who have the highest repu-
 tations, and among them it is the one who comes closest
 to oratory who ranks highest: Homer and those passages 428
 from Homer, Sophocles and those passages from Sopho-
 cles. And what does Plato himself have to say to us?²⁴³ I
 certainly do not refuse to acknowledge him, and indeed
 am ready to place him in the most distinguished part of
 this company.

²⁴¹ *Il.* 6.19 and *Od.* 4.386. The manuscripts here add the com-
 ment "one of which is of course just the beginning of a line, and
 the other just the end," which looks like another reader's observa-
 tion wrongly interpolated into the text.

²⁴² Pl. *Grg.* 518b, as also in §343 above.

²⁴³ The text is perhaps faulty here; "what do we think of Plato
 himself" would suit the context better.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:*
(vii) *The True Orator* (429–37)]

429 τί δῆτα αὐτή γε καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἡ ῥητορικὴ καὶ ὁ ῥήτωρ;
ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἀποκνήσαιμ' ἂν¹¹⁷ φάναι τοῦτον ἄρι-
στον εἶναι περὶ λόγους ὅστις ἀνὴρ [ῥήτωρ]¹¹⁸ ἄριστος.
430 εἰ τοίνυν τις καὶ τοιοῦτος ἐγγένοιτο οἷος ῥητορικὴν
ἔχων εἰς μὲν δήμους ῥαδίως μὴ εἰσιέναι, μηδὲ περὶ
πολιτείας ἀμφισβητεῖν ὄρων ἐτέρως ἔχοντα τὰ πράγ-
ματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἐν ὑστάτοις ὧν δόξης ἔνεκα καὶ
τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπικαίρων φιλοτιμιῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφ'
ἑαυτοῦ τοῖς λόγοις χρῆτο, τὴν αὐτῶν φύσιν καὶ τὸ ἐν
αὐτοῖς καλὸν τετιμηκώς, καὶ θεὸν ἡγεμόνα καὶ προσ-
τάτην ἐπιγραψάμενος τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῶν λόγων,
οὐδὲ τοῦτω χαλεπὸν πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἀντειπεῖν, ἀλλ'
οὗτος ἂν καὶ πολὺ καλλίστων καὶ δικαιοτάτων εὖ-
431 πορήσειεν λόγων, ὅτι, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν
δύναμιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐτίμησα καὶ περὶ πλείστου πάντων
κερδῶν καὶ πραγμάτων ἐποιησάμην, οὐχ ἵνα τὸν δῆ-
μον κολακεύω οὐδ' ἵνα τῶν πολλῶν στοχάζωμαι οὐδὲ
ἀργυρίον χάριν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅστις πρὸς τοῦτο ὄρῃ καὶ
τῶν διδόντων ἐστί, μισθωτὸν καλῶ τοῦτον, οὐ ῥήτορα,

¹¹⁷ ἀποκνήσαιμ' ἂν *edd.* ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ *U* ἀποκνήσαιμ
ceff. ¹¹⁸ *secl.* Reiske, *om.* Coislin. 323

²⁴⁴ Aristides has his own case in mind in this characterization of the good orator. The words "argue over public policy because he sees that things are in a bad state (lit., 'otherwise')" are often

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(vii) *The True Orator* (429–37)

What then is oratory in and of itself, and the true orator? 429
I would not hesitate to say that the best with words is he 430
who is the best man. Suppose then there were to emerge
among us an individual who was of such a kind as not
readily to participate in the citizen assembly, or argue over
public policy because he sees that things are in a bad state,
even though he is by no means at the bottom of the heap
in terms of reputation and status and timely benefactions,
but instead practices the use of words by himself, holding
their essential character and the beauty that resides in
them in high honor, and enlisting the god as guide and
patron of his life and his works.²⁴⁴ Such a man as this would
not find it hard to respond to Plato either, and in fact
would have by far the noblest and best justified case of all
ready to hand. "My dear sir," he would say, "I have hon- 431
ored this ability from the outset, and valued it above all
business and profit, not in order to flatter the people, or
aim at the tastes of the majority, or to make money; anyone
who has this aim, and belongs to those who pay him, I call

understood to mean "argue about the constitution because he sees that political life is now differently organized" and taken as an allusion to the restrictions on Greek political freedom imposed by the Roman Empire; but the word *politeia* can mean "administration" or "the business of the polis" as well as "constitution," and Aristides' words need only refer to the possibility of a healing intervention in domestic politics, for example in times of civil unrest. Aristides' point is about the possibility of a great orator choosing not to involve himself in day-to-day practical oratory, not about the frustrations of living under Roman rule.

καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις φημὶ λελουπέναι τόπον ἀμφισβη-
 τείν εὐδαιμονίας, εἰ ταύτῃ σεμνύνεται,¹¹⁹ ἀλλ' ὑπ'
 αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων ἀχθεῖς καὶ νομίσας εἶναι πρέπον
 ἀνθρώπῳ κτῆμα λόγους καλοῦς, οὕτως ἐργάζομαι
 432 κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν ἑμαντοῦ. τί οὖν μοι προφέρεῖς κολα-
 κειάν, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω τοῦ κολακεύειν ὥστε οὐδ'
 ὅπως ἐμὲ ἕτεροι κολακεύουσιν σκοπῶ; οὐδὲ εἰ μὴ
 θαυμασθήσομαι παρὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς, οὐδὲν μοι δια-
 φέρει, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ὁ φίλιονος οὐχ ἡγείται ζημίαν, εἰ
 μηδεὶς αὐτῷ πίνοντι συνείσεται, καὶ ὁ παιδεραστῆς
 καὶ ὁ φιλογύνης οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἑτέρων μαρτυρίαν τὴν
 ἐπιθυμίαν μετέρχονται, ἀλλὰ στέργουσιν ἂν ἔχωσιν
 οἷς χαίρουσιν, οὕτω δὴ¹²⁰ καὶ ἐγὼ λόγοις συνῶν καὶ
 τούτοις ἀνθ' ἑτέρων χρώμενος τέρπομαι τὴν πρέπου-
 σαν ἴσως μᾶλλον ἐλευθέρῳ τέρψιν καὶ ἡδονῇ ὥστε
 433 μηδ' ἂν τῶν γειτόνων μοι συνειδῆ μηδεὶς, οὐ τίθεται
 βλάβος. σὺ μὴν καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν ἰατρικὴν ἐπι-
 στήμην ἰατρὸν καλεῖς, κἂν μὴ δημοσιεύῃ τὴν τέχνην,
 καὶ πολιτικόν γε τὸν ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἔχοντα,
 434 κἂν τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττων < . . . >¹²¹ τοιοῦτον εἶναι. διὰ
 ταῦτα οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ φῆσαι σοί γε μᾶλλον ἢ ἐμοὶ κολα-
 κειάν γε ἐπιτηδεύειν οὕτω διακείμενον πῶς ἔνεστιν
 εἰπεῖν, ἢ πῶς τῶν αἰσχροῶν τινος εἶναι προστάτην, ὃν
 εἰ μηδὲ δι' ἕτερον, δι' αὐτὰ γε ταῦτα ἂ τιμᾶ καὶ διώκει

a hireling not an orator, and I assert that he has left room
 for many others to compete with him for the right to be
 called happy, if that is what he is proud of. No, impelled
 by words themselves, and in the belief that fine words are
 a fitting possession for a man to have, I work to the best of
 432 my powers. Why then do you reproach me with flattery,
 when I am so far from being a flatterer that I do not even
 consider how to get other people to flatter me? It matters
 nothing to me if I am not going win the admiration of the
 mass of mankind; just as the oenophile thinks it no loss if
 there is no one with him when he drinks, and the lover of
 women or boys does not pursue his passion for others to
 watch, but is content just to have the object of his delight,
 so too, when I am with words and busy on them rather
 than on anything else, I experience a joy and pleasure that
 is perhaps rather more suitable for a free man, and so
 count it no loss if not even a single one of my neighbors
 knows what I am doing. You certainly call the man who
 433 possesses medical knowledge a doctor, even if he does not
 practice the skill in public, and the man who possesses
 political knowledge a politician, even if in looking after his
 own affairs < . . . > to be such.²⁴⁵ For these reasons you
 434 are no more able than I am to say how it is possible to as-
 sert that a man of this disposition is practicing flattery,
 or that he can be championing something reprehensible,
 when at least because of the very things he honors and

²⁴⁵ The overall meaning of this sentence is clear, but the syntax of the Greek is faulty, suggesting that a few words have dropped out of the text.

¹¹⁹ σεμνύνονται EUR² σεμνύεται cett.

¹²⁰ δὴ U δέ cett. om. Oxon. Coll. Nov. 259 secl. Dindorf

¹²¹ lac. stat. Reiske

πλείστον ἀνάγκη πάντων τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἀπηλλάχθαι.
 ἀγαπητὸν γάρ, εἰ πάντα ταῦτα¹²² παριδῶν τις καὶ
 πόρρω θέμενος καὶ ταύτην μίαν ἡδονὴν προστησάμε-
 νος, μηδεμιᾷ δὲ ἑτέρα δουλεύσας, εἶτα δύναιτο ταύτης
 σὺν θεῷ βοηθῶ κατατυχεῖν. ὃ γὰρ περὶ τῶν ναυτικῶν
 ἔφη Θουκυδίδης, περὶ ῥητορικῆς ὁδὲ φήσει καὶ λόγων
 πολὺ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν ἀρμόττειν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς ἂν
 435 τύχη ταῦτα ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μη-
 δὲν τούτοις πάρεργον ἄλλο τι γίνεσθαι. οὐ μόνου δὲ
 κολακείας αὐτὸν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ καθαρεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ
 μηδ' ὅτιοῦν ἔχειν κίβδηλον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ
 436 πόρρω κολάκων ἀπάντων εἶναι καὶ πασῶν αἰσχρῶν
 συνόδων τε καὶ ὁμιλιῶν. τί οὖν οὐ ποιεῖς, ὦ βέλτιστ',
 ἐρεῖ, παλινοδίαν, εἴ τί σοι μέλει τῆς ἀληθείας;
 437 οὐκοῦν καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς λόγους καὶ κατὰ
 τοὺς δευτέρους τούτους καὶ ὅποι στρέφοι τις ἂν καλὸν
 καὶ γενναῖον κτήμα καὶ ἔργον ἀνδρὸς ἢ ῥητορικὴ καὶ
 φιλοτιμίαν δικαίαν ἔχον καὶ τῷ κεκτημένῳ καὶ ὅσοι
 τούτῳ χρώνται, καὶ οὐ μόνον παρὰ ἀνθρώποις, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ παρὰ θεοῖς πλείστης ὥρας καὶ τιμῆς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τε
 τυχόν καὶ διὰ παντὸς δικαίως τυγχάνον.

¹²² τᾶλλα UR² cod. Soph.

pursues, if for no other reason, he must necessarily be as
 far removed as can be from all that is reprehensible. We
 should be happy if someone scorns those other pursuits
 and puts them far away from himself, with eyes for this
 one joy alone and serving no other, and then with god's
 help were to attain it." What Thucydides said about sea-
 manship,²⁴⁶ our man will say is much more appropriately
 applied to oratory and words, that it is impossible to prac-
 tice them casually and as a sideline, but that instead one
 should have nothing else as a sideline to them. Not only
 435 must he necessarily within himself be free of all taint of
 flattery and have nothing counterfeit in his soul; he must
 also necessarily be physically far removed from all flatter-
 ers and all kinds of reprehensible society and associations.
 "Why then do you not write a palinode, my dear fellow,"²⁴⁷
 436 he will say, "if you still care about the truth?"

Thus according to both the initial argument, and now
 437 this second one, and indeed wherever one might turn, ora-
 tory emerges as a fine and noble possession, and a man's
 work, of which both he who possesses it and those who
 associate with him can justly be proud. From the begin-
 ning it has obtained and continues for all time rightly to
 obtain the greatest regard and honor not only among men
 but also among the gods.

²⁴⁶ Thuc. 1.142.9.

²⁴⁷ The original palinode was that composed by the sixth-century lyric poet Stesichorus, taking back the insulting "lies" he had previously told about Helen (Stesichorus, fr. 192-93 PMG); Plato himself had famously alluded to it in the *Phaedrus* (243a), when making Socrates take back his first, derogatory speech about *erōs*.

[*The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:*
(viii) *Plato's Palinode* (438-45)]

438 λοιπὸν ἔν μοι δείξαι, ὅτι καὶ Πλάτων αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἔμοι περὶ ῥητορικῆς φθέγγεται. λέγει γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῷ Πολιτικῷ δήπου λόγῳ ταυτὶ

κατὰ ταῦτὸν τοίνυν ἔοικεν καὶ νῦν ἡμῖν τὰ μὲν ἕτερα καὶ ὅποσα ἀλλότρια καὶ τὰ μὴ φίλα πολιτικῆς ἐπιστήμης ἀποκεχωρισθαι, λείπεσθαι δὲ τὰ τίμια καὶ τὰ ξυγγενῆ. τούτων δέ ἐστιν δήπου στρατηγία καὶ δικαστικὴ καὶ ὅση βασιλικῆ κοινωνούσα ῥητορεία πείθουσα τὸ δίκαιον συγκυβερνᾶ τὰς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι πράξεις.

ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν ἡμῖν Ἡσίοδος λέγων ἐφαίνετο, ταῦτα ἄντικρυς καὶ σχεδὸν τὸ μέτρον λύσας ἐν τοῦτοις Πλάτων ὁμολογεῖ, κοινωνὸν τῆς βασιλικῆς τὴν
439 ῥητορικὴν ἀποφαίνων ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου. ἐν δὲ Σωκράτους ἀπολογία ταυτὶ πάλιν αὐ λέγει, "δικαστοῦ
440 μὲν γὰρ αὕτη ἀρετὴ, ῥήτορος δὲ τάληθῆ λέγειν." εἰπέ δὴ μοι πρὸς θεῶν, εἴτε Πλάτων εἴτε ἄλλος τις ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου βούλεται, ἔσθ' ὃ τι ἀλλοτριώτερόν ἐστι τῷ κόλακι ἢ τάληθῆ λέγειν; τί δαί; τῷ τάληθῆ λέγοντι ἄλλο τι τοῦ κόλακος ἐχθρότερον; καὶ μὴν αὐτό γε τοῦτό ἐστιν ἡ κολακεία, μὴ τάληθῆ λέγειν.

The True Nature of Oratory and the Good Orator:
(viii) *Plato's Palinode* (438-45)

It only remains for me to show that Plato himself says the same as I do about oratory. He certainly has this to say in his dialogue the *Politicus*: 438

Well, it seems that in the same way we have now separated off those things that are different from the expert knowledge of statesmanship and all that is alien and not friendly to it; what remains is what is valuable and akin to it. In this latter category, I think, come generalship and the expertise of the judge, and that portion of oratory that in partnership with kingly ability persuades people of what is just and so helps to steer the conduct of business in cities.²⁴⁸

In these words, allowing just for the change from verse to prose, Plato agrees directly with what Hesiod was manifestly telling us earlier,²⁴⁹ since he is saying that oratory cooperates with kingship in the cause of right. Or again, 439 in the *Apology of Socrates*, he says, "This is the virtue of a juror, just as it is the virtue of an orator to speak the truth."²⁵⁰ Tell me then, for heaven's sake, Plato or anyone 440 else who wishes to speak for him, is there anything more alien to the flatterer than speaking the truth? Or again, is there anything that is a worse enemy to speaking the truth than the flatterer? No there is not, since flattery is precisely not speaking the truth.

²⁴⁸ Pl. *Plt.* 303e-4a.

²⁴⁹ §391 above.

²⁵⁰ Pl. *Ap.* 18a.

441 οὐκοῦν ἢ παλινοδία καὶ δὴ φανερά. ἦν γὰρ ἐνταῦθα
εἶναι κολακείαν φησίν, ἐκεῖ μὴ κολακείαν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ
τοῦ τάληθῆ λέγειν προεστάναι σαφῶς οὕτως διορι-
442 ζεται. ταῦτ' ἄρα Πλάτωνι νῦν ἡμεῖς λέγομεν περὶ
ῥητορικῆς, δοκοῦντες ἐναντία. εἰάν τοίνυν ἔτι τούτων
ἐγγυτέρω προσαγάγω τὸν λόγον, ἢ που τρυφή τις ἂν
εἴη τῆς ἀποδείξεως καὶ οὔτε ἐννοίαν οὔτε ἐλπίδα ἐλέγ-
χων ἰσχυροτέρων οὐδ' ἂν εἰς ἔτι δήπου λάβοι. οὐ γὰρ
μόνον αὐτὸς Πλάτων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τούτοις τοῖς
λόγοις τῷ παραδόξῳ δὴ συγγράμματι διαρρήδη
ὁμολογεῖ τῇ ῥητορικῇ τὰ κάλλιστα εἶναι πράττειν,
καὶ μὴ τὴν αὐτὴν χάραν ἔχειν αὐτὴν τῶν αἰσχροῶν
μηδενί, προσθεὶς ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τὸ βραχὺ τοῦτο καὶ
εὐμνημόνευτον "καὶ τῇ ῥητορικῇ οὕτω χρηστέον ἐπὶ
443 τὸ δίκαιον ἀεί." εἰεν ὦ γενναῖος, ἔστιν ὅπου ἐγχωρεῖ
κολακεία χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ δίκαιον ἀεί; οὐκ ἔστιν οὐ-
δέποτε. καὶ μὴν ὑπὲρ καλοῦ χρώμενοι τῇ ῥητορικῇ,
444 καλὸν ἂν τι πράττομεν ὑπ' αὐτῆς. οὐκοῦν καλὸν ἢ
ῥητορικῇ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου γιγνομένη. καὶ μὴν κολα-
445 κεία γε σαφῶς αἰσχροῦ ἀεί. οὐκοῦν οὗτος ἐκεῖνος
Πλάτων ὁ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνός ἐστιν, ὁ φάσκων μὴ κολα-
κείαν εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν, μηδὲ τῆς αὐτῆς ἔχεσθαι
φύσεως. παραλείπω δὲ "νᾶμά τε κάλλιστον πάντων
ναμάτων" καὶ "τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ σωφρονοῦντος στόματος
ἰόντας λόγους" καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτ' ἄλλα ἄλλοθι ῥητορι-
κὴν εἴρηκεν ἐπικοσμῶν.

So there quite plainly we have Plato's palinode. The 441
thing that he there called flattery, he here clearly defines
with these words not as flattery, but as the champion of
truthful speech. I am therefore now saying the same as
Plato about oratory, although people may have thought I
was disagreeing. If I bring my argument to still closer 442
quarters than this, I would be truly spoiled for ways of
proving my case, and no one at all could envisage or hope
for yet stronger arguments against him. For when in con-
clusion he adds this brief and memorable verdict, "ora-
tory must always be employed thus in pursuit of right,"²⁵¹
Plato himself explicitly concedes, and what is more does
so with these very words of that extraordinary treatise of
his, that it belongs to oratory to perform the noblest tasks,
and that oratory has no common ground at all with any-
thing that is reprehensible. Well then, my noble sir, is 443
there any possibility of employing flattery constantly in
pursuit of right? There is none whatsoever. And if we were
to use oratory in the service of what is noble, we would
certainly achieve something noble by means of it. Oratory 444
therefore is something noble when combined with what
is right. And flattery for its part is clearly always some-
thing reprehensible. Here then is the great Plato, son of 445
Ariston, telling us that oratory is not a form of flattery, and
is not of the same nature. (I pass over his "fairest stream
of all streams"²⁵² and "words proceeding from the modest
mouth"²⁵³ and all the other complimentary expressions he
has applied to oratory elsewhere in his work.)

²⁵¹ Pl. *Grg.* 527c.

²⁵² Pl. *Ti.* 75e.

²⁵³ Pl. *Leg.* 711e.

[A Final Objection Disposed of: Distinguishing Two Types of Oratory Does Not Rescue Plato's Position (446-61)]

- 446 εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν περὶ Πλάτωνος ὑπολάβοι ὅτι οὐ ταύτην κακῶς εἴρηκε τὴν ῥητορικὴν ὑπὲρ ἧς νῦν ἡμεῖς τοὺς λόγους ποιούμεθα, ἀλλὰ δύο οὐσῶν τὴν ἑτέραν κακίζει, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον τὰ γε ἡμῖν εἰρημμένα φαύλως ἔχοντα ἐλέγχεται, ἀλλὰ [κατ']¹²³ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ἅπαντα ταῦτα ἠνύσθαι μαρτυρεῖ. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος τὴν φαύλην δικαίως ψέγει, τί κωλύει τὴν γε ἐναντίαν ἡμᾶς ἐπαινοῦντας ὀρθῶς
- 447 ποιεῖν; ἔπειτα οὐκ ἀναιρεῖ τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἐλέγχους ἢ παραίτησις αὕτη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἐναντία φαίνονται ἂν εἰρηκῶς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ, εἰ διττὴν εἶναι τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἀξίων, εἴθ' ὡς μίας καὶ ἀπλῆς τινος οὕτως τὴν κατηγορίαν πεποίηται. δηλον γὰρ ὅτι εἰ τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθές, τὴν μὲν φαυλίζειν, τὴν δὲ ἐπαινεῖν αὐτῷ προσήκε διελομένῳ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς περὶ ἔρωτος λόγοις φαίνεται πεποιηκῶς, καὶ πολὺ γε μειζόνων εὐφημιῶν τὸν χρηστὸν ἠξιώκως ἢ οἶον τὸν ἕτερον βλασφημιῶν.
- 448 θαυμάζω δ' ἔγωγε τί ἂν ποτ' ἐποίησεν, μόνην ταύτην εἰδὼς οὖσαν ῥητορικὴν περὶ ἧς ταῦτα διεξέρχεται, ὅποτε οὐσῶν, ὡς ἂν φαίη, δυοῖν καὶ τοσοῦτον διαφεροσῶν τοσαύτην φαίνεται σπουδὴν πεποιημέ-

¹²³ καὶ V¹A¹R¹ καὶ κατ' aR² κατ' cett. secl. Behr

A Final Objection Disposed of: Distinguishing Two Types of Oratory Does Not Rescue Plato's Position (446-61)

If someone should take up the argument over Plato and say that there are two kinds of oratory, and that his abuse was directed not against the kind that I am now discussing, but the other one, I respond as follows. In the first place, this does nothing to establish that what I have said is flawed, but in fact shows precisely that all my arguments were well and appropriately carried through: just as he was right to find fault with the flawed kind of oratory, what is to prevent me being correct in praising the other kind? Then, secondly, this plea in mitigation does not do away with my criticism; even on this understanding, Plato would obviously have contradicted himself, if, while claiming that there are two kinds of oratory, he then makes his accusations as if there were just the one single form. It is obvious that if this is true, then he ought to have distinguished the two kinds, and abused one while praising the other, just as he manifestly did in his discussion of erotic desire,²⁵⁴ and he should have judged the good kind worthy of greater praise than the other kind deserved blame.

I for my part wonder what on earth he would have done if he had known that the oratory that is the subject of this discussion of his is in fact the one and only kind, seeing that, on the basis of his assertion that there are two, and so different from each other, he devoted as much energy

²⁵⁴ In the *Phaedrus*, though Aristides may also be thinking of the distinction between vulgar and heavenly *erōs* put into the mouth of Pausanias in *Symp.* 180c-82a.

449 νος τοῦ καθάπαξ κακῶς εἰπεῖν, τί γὰρ μᾶλλον φαῦλον
 ἢ ῥητορικὴ ἢ χρηστόν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ διττόν; οὐκοῦν οὐκ
 εἰς τὰς ἴσας λαβὰς ἤκομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῶν ἴσων κατ'
 ἐκείνου γίγνεται. ἔπειτα τί κωλύει καμὲ τῶν αὐτῶν
 τούτων λόγων ἐχόμενον φάσκειν ὅτι καὶ ἡ διαλεκτικὴ
 διττὴ καὶ οὐχὶ μία ἐστὶν ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν οἷα παρα-
 κρούεσθαι καὶ ἐξαπατᾶν καὶ χρόνους τρίβειν καὶ εἰς
 ὑγιᾶς οὐδὲν πάντῃ τὴν γλώτταν ἄγουσα, ψυχρά τις
 καὶ ἀγεννῆς καὶ κακοῦργος καὶ ἀπατηλὴ καὶ ἀνε-
 λεύθερος, ἡ δὲ οἷα χαρίειντας παρέχεσθαι καὶ δεξιούς;
 450 καὶ δὴ καὶ φαίη τις ἂν, εἴτ' οὖν ὀρθῶς εἶτε μή, ὅτι καὶ
 μέρος εἶναι κινδυνεύει τῆς ῥητορικῆς ἢ διαλεκτικῆς,
 451 ὥσπερ τὰ ἐρωτήματα τοῦ λόγου παντός. ἀλλ' ἔστω
 ταῦτα χωρίς. ὁ δ' οὖν αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ πάσης
 φιλοσοφίας, καὶ περὶ γε τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς <μορίων>,¹²⁴
 εἴ τις βούλοιο διαιρούμενος πρῶτον μὲν σοφίας δύο
 προσαγορεύειν, τὴν μὲν ἣ τὰ βέλτιστα συνίεμεν, τὴν
 δ' ἑτέραν ἣ κακουργοῦσιν, ἔπειτα σωφροσύνην δι-
 πλῆν, τὴν μὲν σπουδῆς ἀξίαν καὶ πολιτικὴν, τὴν δὲ
 νοθρῶν τε καὶ ὑπτίων, ἔτι δ' αὖ δικαιοσύνην ὀρθὴν
 καὶ ἑτέραν ταπεινὴν, καὶ διπλῆν ἀνδρείαν, τὴν μὲν
 σὺν νῶ καὶ φρεσίν, τὴν δὲ ἀπόνοιαν καὶ μανίαν οὐ-
 452 σαν. ἀλλ' οἴμαι πάντα ταῦτα τῶν φυρόντων ἐστὶ τὰ
 ὀνόματα, καὶ διήρηται σοφία καὶ κακουργία, σωφρο-
 σύνη καὶ βλακεία, δικαιοσύνη τε καὶ εὐήθεια, ἀνδρεία
 καὶ θρασύτης, οὐδέτερον δέ γε οὔτε καλὸν [οὔτε χα-

¹²⁴ add. Behr <μερῶν> Dindorf

as he clearly did to outright abuse. If oratory is really
 a twofold phenomenon, why should it be seen more as
 something flawed than as something good? We are there- 449
 fore not taking an equal grip,²⁵⁵ and he is the one who is
 discredited by this inequality. And then, what is to prevent
 me too from pressing the same line of argument and as-
 serting that dialectic also is not simply one thing but two,
 one of which tends to mislead and deceive and waste time,
 and leads the tongue in every case to utterly unsound con-
 clusions, a sterile, ignoble, harmful, deceptive, low kind of
 thing, while the other is such as to make people charming
 and clever? One might even say, whether correctly or not, 450
 that dialectic may perhaps be a category of oratory, just as
 questions are a category of speech in general. But let us 451
 leave that for another time. At all events, the same analy-
 sis could be applied to philosophy as a whole, and indeed
 to the constituent parts of Virtue. If anyone were to care
 to make the distinction, he could talk, in the first place, of
 two kinds of wisdom, the one by which we understand
 what is for the best, and the one by which people do harm;
 and then of two kinds of self-control, one worth cultivating
 and useful to the community, the other characteristic of
 the sluggish and supine; or again, he could talk of an up-
 right and a cringing kind of justice, and two kinds of cour-
 age, the one instinct with intelligence and good sense, and
 the other a form of folly and madness. But in fact surely 452
 all this springs from confusion over terminology: wisdom
 and villainy, self-control and stupidity, justice and naivety,
 courage and rashness are all separate things, and it is nei-

²⁵⁵ A wrestling metaphor.

453 λέπον]¹²⁵ οὔτε προσήκον, οὔτε τὰς κακίας ὑποκορίζε-
 σθαι τῷ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀνόματι οὔτε τὰς ἀρετὰς φαυλί-
 ζειν τὰ τῆς κακίας ἐκάστη παρατιθέντα. οὕτω τοίνυν
 καὶ ῥητορικὴν κατὰ τοὺς ὀρθῶς μεταχειριζομένους
 καὶ τῷ ὄντι τυγχάνοντασ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ κατὰ τοὺς
 πρόσχημα ποιησαμένους τῆς ἐαυτῶν πλεονεξίας ἢ
 φαυλότητος ἐξετάζειν εἰκόσ, κατ' αὐτόν γε τὸν τοῦ
 πράγματος λόγον, εἰ καὶ μηδεὶς τετύχηκε, καὶ δια-
 ρεῖν συκοφαντίαν καὶ κολακείαν ἀπὸ τῆς ῥητορικῆς,
 ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ μαγγανείαν καὶ τερατείαν ἀπὸ πάσης
 φιλοσοφίας.
 454 οὐκοῦν κολακείας, οὐ ῥητορικῆς, Πλάτων ἐν τούτοις
 κατηγορήκε, καὶ συκοφαντίας, οὐ ῥητορικῆς. οὐτ' οὖν
 εἰ¹²⁶ τὴν τῷ ὄντι ῥητορικὴν κακῶς εἴρηκεν οὐτ' εἰ τὴν
 δοκοῦσαν, ἔστι τοῦτο πρὸς λόγον, ὡς ὀρθῶς ῥητορι-
 κῆν γε εἰρήκει καλῶς, εἴπερ ἔσθ' ἕτερον τὴν δοκοῦσαν
 εἶναι ῥητορικὴν κακῶς εἰπέυ. μὴ γὰρ εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον
 ῥητορικὴν, οὐκ αἰσχυρὸν εἶναι ῥητορικὴν χρῆν αὐτόν
 λέγειν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνὸ πού φησιω αὐτός, ὅτι εἰ μὲν θεῶν
 455 παῖδες, οὐ φιλοχρήματοι, εἰ δὲ φιλοχρήματοι, οὐ
 θεῶν παῖδες· ἀμφότερα δὲ οὐκ ἔδει λέγειν. οὐκοῦν
 456 οὐδὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀμφότερα εἶαν ὁ λόγος φαίνεται—ἐπεὶ
 καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Πλάτωνος ἡμεῖς νῦν ποι-
 οῦμεν. εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα οὕτω διανοεῖτο, ὥσπερ
 ἔγωγε οὐκ ἀντιλέγω, ἀλλ' ὑπεξήρηται τὴν καθαρὰν
 καὶ τῷ ὄντι ῥητορικὴν, ἄξιον μὴ παρακρουσθῆναι

¹²⁵ *secl.* R² Behr, om. Dindorf¹²⁶ V² om. *cett.*

453 ther admirable nor appropriate either to gloss over the
 vices by naming them after the virtues, or to cheapen
 the virtues by setting the equivalent vices beside each of
 them. It is only reasonable, then, to follow the logic inher-
 ent in the thing itself, and consider oratory in the same
 way, by reference to those who approach it correctly and
 really achieve it (even if no one in fact has), and not by
 reference to those who use it as cover for their own greed
 and degeneracy; we should separate slander and flattery
 from oratory, just as one separates trickery and portentous
 nonsense entirely from philosophy.

454 It is therefore flattery and slander that are Plato's tar-
 gets in this attack, not oratory. Whether it is the real form
 of oratory that he has spoken ill of, or only the apparent
 form, is thus beside the point, since he has at all events
 done the right thing in speaking well of the real form,
 provided that speaking ill of the apparent form is indeed
 another matter. He ought to have said that this kind of
 thing is not oratory, not that oratory is something repre-
 hensible, in line with the formulation he himself produces
 somewhere—if they are children of the gods, they are not
 fond of money, and if they are fond of money, they are not
 children of the gods, and one should not assert both to-
 455 gether.²⁵⁶ Reason does not seem to allow us to assert both
 456 propositions together in the case of oratory either—if I
 may now make just this point on Plato's own behalf. If this
 really was his line of thought, which I for one have no ob-
 jection to, and he makes an exception of oratory in its pure
 and real form, then it is right that the public should not be

²⁵⁶ Pl. *Resp.* 3.391d.

μηδὲ ἀγνοῆσαι τοῦτο αὐτὸ τοὺς πολλούς, μηδὲ ὡς ψήφῳ καθαρῶ προσέχοντας θάττον ἢ συμφέρει βουλεύσασθαι περὶ τῶν τηλικούτων.

457 περὶ τοίνυν αὐ τοῦτου¹²⁷ πάλιν [τοῦ μέρους]¹²⁸ αὐτὸς ὡδὶ μαρτυρεῖ

οὐκ οἶσθα ὅτι ἐπὶ παντὶ ἐπιτηδεύματι οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ φαῦλοι καὶ οὐδενὸς ἄξιοι, οἱ δὲ σπουδαῖοι ὀλίγοι καὶ παντὸς ἄξιοι; ἐπεὶ γυμναστικὴ οὐ καλὸν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ χρηματιστικὴ καὶ ῥητορικὴ καὶ στρατηγία;—ἐμοιγε πάντως δῆπου.—τί οὖν; ἐν ἐκάστῳ τούτων τοὺς πολλοὺς πρὸς ἕκαστον τὸ ἔργον οὐ καταγελάστους ὀρᾶς;—νῆ τὸν Δία καὶ μάλα ἀληθῆ λέγεις.—τί οὖν; τούτου ἕνεκα αὐτὸς τε φεύξει πάντα τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ τῷ υἱεῖ οὐκ ἐπιτρέψει;

458 οὐκοῦν χρή, ὦ Πλάτων, οὐδὲ τὴν ῥητορικὴν ἀπὸ τῶν φαύλως μεταχειριζομένων κρίνειν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὡς ἄριστα προϊσταμένων, ἢ γελοῖόν γε ἂν εἴη, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑπερφυῆς, εἰ δι' ὧν παραδειγμάτων οὐκ ἀξιοῖς φιλοσοφίαν φαῦλον ἠγείσθαι, ταῦτα οὐκ ἀρκέσει ῥητορικῆ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐν αὐτοῖς οὔση τοῖς παραδείγμασιν, ἃ μηδὲ κρίνειν πονηρὰ ὁμολογεῖς.

459 εἶεν. τίνες οἱ τυγχάνοντες αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ τῶν Πλάτωνος δείξομεν.

¹²⁷ αὐ τοῦτου Keil αὐτοῦ *codd.*

¹²⁸ *secl.* Keil

mised or be ignorant of this either, and that they should not, on the mistaken assumption that they are looking at a decisive verdict, come to hastier conclusions about such matters than is helpful.

On this point too Plato again has testimony of his own 457 to offer, as follows:

Don't you know that in every field of activity the majority are low-grade and worthless, while the good practitioners are few and invaluable? For instance, don't you think that gymnastics and commercial expertise and oratory and generalship are all fine things?—Yes of course, absolutely.—Well, don't you observe that in each of these the performance of the majority is derisory in the face of any given task?—What you say is very true, heaven knows!—Well, will you for this reason avoid all these activities yourself, and not allow your son to have anything to do with them either?²⁵⁷

So, Plato, we must judge oratory too not from its inferior 458 practitioners, but from those who represent it at the highest level of performance. It would be ridiculous, or rather monstrous, if the comparisons that you claim show that philosophy is not something trivial will not work for oratory too, all the more as oratory is itself one of the comparison cases, which you confess you do not judge to be bad.

Well then, who are the people who get oratory right? I 459 shall answer this too from Plato:

²⁵⁷ Pl. *Euthd.* 307a–b.

τὸ μὲν δύνασθαι, ὦ Φαῖδρε, ὥστε ἀγωνιστὴν τέλεον γενέσθαι εἰκός, ἴσως δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον, ἔχειν ὥσπερ τὰ ἄλλα· εἰ μὲν σοι ὑπάρχει φύσει ῥητορικῶ εἶναι, ἔσει ῥήτωρ ἐλλόγιμος, προσλαβὼν ἐπιστήμην καὶ μελέτην· ὅτου δ' ἂν ἐλλείπῃς τούτων, ταύτη ἀτελής ἔσει· ὅσον δὲ αὐτοῦ τέχνη

- 460 —ἀλλ' ἐὼ τό γε ἐφεξῆς· εἰ τοίνυν δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι ῥητορικὸν φύσιν καὶ τέχνην καὶ μελέτην ὁμοῦ κτήσασθαι, δῆλον ὅτι ὁ ἐκπεπτωκὸς τῆς τέχνης καὶ τῆς φύσεως τῆς βελτίστης ἀτελής ἐστὶ ταύτη.
- 461 πῶς οὖν τοῦτο δεῖ ῥητορικῆ προστιθέναι, εἴπερ ὁ μὲν μὴ πάντα παρασχόμενος παρὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν ἀτελής ἐστίν, τὰ δὲ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐκ τῶν κατορθούντων, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἀποτυχόντων κρίνεται; ὁ δὲ δὴ μὴ μόνον τέχνης, ἀλλὰ καὶ φύσεως καὶ μελέτης δεῖται, πῶς τοῦτο ἔνεστιν μηδεμίαν εἶναι τέχνην φάσκειν, ἢ πῶς <οὐ>¹²⁹ τὸν ἐλλείποντα ὅτου δὴ μέρους ἀτελή κατὰ τοῦτο δίκαιον λέγειν, τούτου ὅστις ἂν διὰ πάντων τύχη, κολακεῖαν ἐνὶ φῆσαι μετέρχασθαι;

Peroration (462–66)

- 462 πανταχῆ δὲ καὶ διὰ πάντων ἡμῶν ἐκπίπτουσιν αἱ ψήφοι. πρῶτος δὲ Πλάτων αὐτὸς ψηφίζεται καὶ μέσος, φασίν, καὶ τελευταῖος· καὶ κινδυνεύω δοκῶν ἀντιλέ-

¹²⁹ *add.* Reiske

It is likely, perhaps even necessarily true, Phaedrus, that being able to become a complete contender is like everything else: if you have natural oratorical ability, you will be a noted orator; once you have added knowledge and practice to that; whichever of these you lack will leave you imperfect in that regard. As for the element of science in it,²⁵⁸

- but I omit what follows. If then the man who is going to be an expert orator must possess natural ability and science and practice, it is clear that anyone who falls short of possessing the science or the best natural ability is imperfect in this regard. How then can this be blamed on oratory—at any rate, if the man who cannot display all the necessary attributes is imperfect in proportion to his deficiency, and the activity is judged by those who succeed in it, not those who fail? How is it possible to say that something that needs not only science but also natural ability and practice is not a science at all? How, in an activity where deficiency in any aspect makes it fair to say one is imperfect on that account, is it possible to say that the man who succeeds in it entirely is practicing a form of flattery?

Peroration (462–66)

- The vote comes out in my favor in every way and on all counts. Plato himself votes for me, as the saying goes, first, middle and last; and even if I give the impression of speak-

²⁵⁸ Pl., *Phdr.* 269d.

463 γειν Πλάτωνι παντὸς μᾶλλον συναγορεύειν. εἰ δὲ δεῖ
 τι καὶ παίζειν, δοκῶ μοι κατὰ τοὺς κωμωδιοποιοῦς
 ὡσπερ ἀποδιδράσκοντα αὐτὸν ἔλξειν εἰς τοὺς ῥήτο-
 464 ρας < . . . >¹³⁰ ὅτι μαθὼν καλλωπίζεται. εἰ δέ τινες
 καὶ ἄλλοι παραβοῶντες ῥητορικὴν ψέγουσι, μᾶλλον
 δὲ τουθορύζοντες ἐκ τοῦ ζόφου τοξεύοντες κατὰ Ἄλ-
 καῖον, ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀγαγεῖν ῥάδιον εἰς λόγον,
 οὐχ οἷς καλοῦνται φημι, πλὴν εἴ τις καὶ τοῦτο προσ-
 τίθῃσιν, ἀλλ' οἷς γε χρώμενοι τὰτα σοφίζονται, τοσ-
 οῦτόν μοι πρὸς τούτους ἀποκεκρίσθω, ὅτι ῥητορικῇ
 465 παρὰ πόδας διδῶσιν τὴν δίκην. πρὸς δὲ Πλάτωνα τὸν
 τῶν ῥητόρων πατέρα καὶ διδάσκαλον ἀναγκαῖον ἦν
 ὡσπερ φιλοτησίαν προλαβόντα ἀντιπληρώσασθαι.
 δέχοιτο δὲ γενναίως, ὅτι καὶ προῦπιεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν
 466 βαλόντα μὴ δεῖ¹³¹ ἐκφυγεῖν. παρὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμῖν
 συγγνώμη δικαίως ἂν εἴη, τοὺς λογίους θεοὺς εἰ
 Πλάτωνος τοῦ καλοῦ περὶ πλείονος ποιούμεθα. ἐξαι-
 ρεῖται δὲ ἡμᾶς αἰτίας καὶ ὁ πάντα ἄριστος Ἀσκλη-
 πίος, ψῆφον οὐκ ἄτιμον οὐδὲ αὐτὸς διδούς, < . . . >¹³²
 τὰ μὲν ἐν μέτροις, τὰ δὲ οὐτωςὲ πέλῃ.

130 *lac. stat.* Reiske 131 Reiske δέιν *codd.*

132 *lac. hic* Trapp, *post* οὐδὲ Keil

²⁵⁹ The text is clearly faulty here; the minimum needed to fill the gap identified by Reiske would be a phrase like "and ask him" or "and compel him to say."

²⁶⁰ Alc. fr. 437 L-P.

²⁶¹ That is, they are discredited by their own poor style. It is not entirely clear who Aristides means by these other, lower-grade

ing against him, I may well in fact be doing nothing so
 much as plead his cause. If a joke is in order, I think I 463
 am going to follow the lead of the comic poets and drag
 him back to the orators like a runaway slave < . . . > why
 he imagines he can give himself such airs.²⁵⁹ If there are 464
 others who shout their criticism of oratory from the side-
 lines, or rather mutter it, loosing their shafts from the
 dark, as Alcaeus says,²⁶⁰ people whose very vocabulary it
 is difficult to bring into my account—I do not mean their
 given names, unless someone adds them too, but rather
 the words they use when they are spinning these soph-
 istries—let my answer to them be that oratory punishes
 them on the spot.²⁶¹ But for Plato, the father and teacher 465
 of orators, having once so to speak received the cup of
 friendship from his hands, I could not but drink a toast
 in return. May he accept it with generosity, as the one
 who drank first: he who strikes a blow ought not to run
 away. From everyone else I am entitled to forgiveness for 466
 treating the gods of eloquence as more important than
 the beautiful Plato. Asclepius too, best in all, exempts me
 from blame, with his own far from valueless endorsement,
 < . . . > both in verse and like this in prose.²⁶²

critics of oratory; Epicurean writers, hostile to all forms of arti-
 ficiality and notoriously indifferent to stylistic polish in their own
 works, are one possibility, Cynicizing or Stoicizing moralists an-
 other. Aristides may or may not have in mind here the same
 philosophical (?) critics of oratory as are more extensively and
 vehemently castigated in *Or.* 3.663–91.

²⁶² The missing words, needed to heal the syntax and com-
 plete the sense, may have been something like "<encouraging me
 to continue my efforts>" or "<encouraging me in my composi-
 tions>."

INDEX

- Abydos, 1.292
 Acarmania, 1.297
 Achaea/Achaeans, 1.225, 278,
 378, 381; 2.88, 414, 415
 Achilles, 2.387
 Acrocorinth, 1.270
 Acropolis, 1.16, 19, 20, 40, 88,
 191, 233, 352, 364, 403
 Aegae, 1.334
 Aegean Sea, 1.63, 102
 Aegina/Aeginetans, 1.212, 214-
 16; 2.144, 370
 (Aegospotami), 1.252, 277
 Aeschines, son of Lysanias,
 2.61-66, 74-78, 83, 217
 Alcibiades
 fr. 12 Giannantoni: 2.61-
 62, 74
 fr. 49 Giannantoni: 2.217
 Aeschylus, 2.55
 Persians 69: 1.203
 fr. 139 (*Myrmidons*): 2.55
 Agamemnon, 2.414
 Agesilaus, 1.296
 Ajax, 1.286, (381)
 Ajaxes, 2.414
 Alcaeus, 2.464
 fr. 437: 2.464
 Alcibiades, 2.61, 74, 335
 Alcinous, 2.86-88
 (Alcman), 2.129
 fr. 107: 2.129
 Alexander (= Paris), 1.128
 Alexander I of Macedon, 1.175
 Alexander the Great, 1.331,
 (334, 398)
 Amazons, 1.83-84
 Ambracia, 1.229
 Ammon, 2.44
 Amphion, 2.394
 Anaxagoras, 2.78, 258
 Apollo, 1.13, 62, (67, 87, 167),
 382, (399); 2.19, (34, 39-
 41), 42, 49, 56, (78, 80-83),
 86, 88, 150
 Araxes, 2.240
 Arcadia/Arcadians, 1.291, 358,
 2.7
 Archelaus, 2.237, 238, 242
 Archilochus, 2.(166), 406
 fr. 259: 2.406
 Areopagus, 1.46, 367, 385
 Ares, 1.46; 2.207
 Arginusae, 1.241
 Argos/Argives, 1.80, 261, 357,
 371; 2.7, 413
 Arion, 2.336, 376
 (Aristides, Aelius), 1.329, 404;

INDEX

- 2.14-19, 66-73, 351, 429-37, 466
 Aristides, son of Lysimachus, (1.165, 282); 2.346, 352, 353, 357-61
 Ariston, 2.304, 445
 Artemis, 1.13
 Artemisium, 1.128, 159, 167
 Arthmius of Zelea, 1.369
 Asclepius, 2.(67), 68, (69, 70), 75, (153), 466
 Asia, 1.13, 64, 83, 93, 123, 200, 201, 208, 237, 271, 275, 364; 2.297
 Assyrian Empire, 1.335
 astrology, 2.169-70
 Athena, 1.12-13, 19, 41, 42, (43, 48), 154, 167, 339, 362, (379, 404); 2.(93), 339
 Athens/Athenians, 1 *passim*; 2.2, 7, 13, 281, 293, 321, 322, 331, 333-36, 342, 351, 359-60; Athenian autochthony, 1.8, 25-34, 73, 263, 358
 Athos, 1.121, 127, (203)
 Atlantic, 1.118-19
 Atreus, sons of, 1.378
 Attica, 1.10-14, 16, 23, 79, 83, 117, 157, 175, 209, 233, 353, 360
 Babylon, 1.94; 2.301
 Bacchants, 2.74-75
 Bakis, 2.46
 Boeotia/Boeotians, 1.54, 57, 80, 91, 182, 183, 212, 219, 220, 233, 267, 322; 2.109
 Bosphorus, 1.324; 2.145, 240
 Byzantium/Byzantines, 1.59, 198, 292, 294, 319
 Cadmea, 1.80, 293
 Callaethyia, 2.7
 Callicles, 2.344, 346, 355
 Callicratidas, 1.242
 Callopo, 2.391
 Calypso, 2.145
 Caria/Carians, 1.83, 241
 Carthage/Carthaginians, 1.232; 2.297
 Carystians, 1.212
 Cecrops, 1.354; 2.7
 Cecryphalea, 1.214
 centaur, 2.196
 Chaerephon, 2.331
 Chaeronea, 1.331
 Chalcidians, 1.319
 chariot, invention of, 1.350
 Charybdis, 2.280
 Chelidonean Islands, 1.209, 274
 Chersonesans, 1.319
 (Chrysippus) 2.177
 Cilicia/Cilicians, 1.202, 324
 Cimon, 2.319, 334
 Claros, 2.44
 Cleopatra, 2.237
 Codrus, 1.87-88; 2.8; sons (Medon and Neleus), 1.88
 Conon, 1.241-43, (252, 280)
 Corcyra, 1.229, 297
 Corinth/Corinthians, 1.59, 212, 214, 216-17, 229, 269, 270, 290, 294, 312, 319, 322, 361, 372
 Cratinus, 2.72 (fr. 324)

INDEX

- Cretans, 1.371
 Criarus, 2.7
 Crisa, Gulf of, 1.219
 Critias, 2.335
 Crotopus, 2.7
 Cyanes, 1.209, 274
 Cyclades, 1.11
 Cyprus/Cypriots, 1.202, 273
 Cyrene, 2.40
 (Cyrillus), 1.158
 Cyrus, 2.240
 Cyrus, the Younger, 2.301
 Cythera, 1.229
 Cyzicus, 1.237
 Daedalus, 2.118
daimones, 2.424
 Darius, 1.95-103, 114, 116, 125; 2.240, 407
 Datis, 1.119
 Decelea, 1.233
 Delium, 2.299
 Delos, 1.13, 363
 Delphi, 1.173, 190, 209, 363; 2.34-38, 42, 52, 83, 150
 Demeter, 1.36, 339
 Demodocus, 2.87-90
 Demosthenes, 2.9, 72, 120, 186, 255, 280
 Or. 1.1: 2.72
 Or. 3.3: 2.186
 Or. 10.71: 2.280
 Or. 24.152: 2.231, 255
 Deucalion, 2.7
 Diagoras, 2.258
 Dion, 2.281, 285-88, 290, 292, 296-98, 321, 324, 326, 362
 Dionysius I, 1.293, 313; 2.326
 Dionysius II, 2.281, 282, 285, 296, 297, 311, 326,
 Dionysus, 1.73, 339, (360); 2.75
 Dioscuri, 1.374; 2.148
 Dodona, 2.42, 52
 Dorians, 1.54, 67, 87, 91
 dreams, 1.12, 268; 2.70-72, 75, 400
 Dryopians, 1.55
 Egypt/Egyptians, 1.202, 204, 215, 216; 2.68, 144, 169, 370-71, 426
 Eleusinian Games, 1.362
 Eleusinian Mysteries, 1.330, (341, 342), 363, 373
 Eleusis, 1.168, 372
 empire, 1.305-12
 Epidaurians, 1.212; 2.153
 Erechtheids, 1.384
 Erechtheus, 1.87, 88, 379
 Eretria/Eretrians, 1.95, 102, 104, 119
 Erichthonius, 1.(43), 354
 (Erinyes), 1.48
 Euboea/Euboeans, 1.91, 160, 224, 278, 319
 Eumolpus, 1.85, 87
 Euripides, 2.55, 132, 394
Antiope, 2.394
Hippolytus
 352: 2.55
Melanippe the Wise
 fr. 484: 2.132
Telephus
 fr. 710: 2.55

INDEX

- fr. 973: 2.168
fr. 1110: 2.166
Europe, 1.83, 123, 198, 207,
2.297
Euryalus, 2.96
Eurymedon River, 1.203
Eurystheus, 1.52, 78, 79

Four Hundred, the, 1.(236-37),
253
funeral orations, 1.4, 86, 368;
2.342
(Furies), 1.48

Gades, 1.66; 2.273
Gargarus, 2.148
Gerania, 1.219
Geryon, 2.229
Gorgias, 2.13, 22, 28
Gorgon, 1.128
Gyges, 2.239
gymnastics, 2.22, 36, 149, 150,
151, 236, 249, 374, 375,
457

Hades, 1.133
Haliartus, 1.267, (294)
Halitherses, 2.93
Harmosts, 1.292, 295
Helen, 1.128; 2.234
Helicon, 2.103, 109
Hellespont, 1.236, 252, 277,
327; 2.240
Heracles, 1.35, 50-53, 67, 78,
324, (360), 374; 2.63, 226-
27, 229, 273, 307, 412
Heraclidae, 1.52, 53, 67, 68, 71,
78-79

Hermes, 2.19, 49, 56, 207, 396-
97, 423
Hesiod, 2.9, 97, 99-100, (103),
129, 391, 438
Theogony
80-90: 2.391
Works and Days
293-97: 2.97
699: 2.129
(Hipparinus, father of Dion),
2.326
(Hipparinus, son of Dion),
2.326
(Hipparinus, son of Dionysius
I), 2.326
Hippocrates, 2.120
Homer, 1.286, 328, 377-81; 2.9,
12, 86-97, 135, 177, 193,
351, 357, 380, 387, 389,
390, 391, 395, 406, 413-19,
426, 428
Iliad
1.260-61: 1.378
2.372-74: 2.414
2.453-54: 2.413
(2.494-770: 1.377)
2.547-48: 1.379
2.553: 1.379
2.554: 1.377
2.762: 1.378
2.827: 2.86
3.221-24: 2.417
4.289: 2.414
5.127: 1.12
5.470: 2.413
7.62: 2.414
(8.266-72: 1.286)
9.440-41: 2.387

INDEX

- 9.443: 2.387
(13.313-14: 1.378)
15.786: 2.413
Odyssey
3.23: 2.93
3.26-28: 2.93
3.124-25: 2.94
4.160: 2.95
4.611: 2.95
6.12: 2.86
8.44-45: 2.87
8.63-64: 2.87
8.73: 2.87
8.169-70: 2.96, 418
8.171-72: 2.389
8.479-81: 2.90
8.487-89: 2.88
8.496-98: 2.89
8.499: 2.91
14.466: 2.357
22.347-49: 2.92
Hyrcanian Gulf, 1.119

Iasus, 2.7
Ida, 2.148
Idomeneus, 2.135
India/Indians, 1.25, 94; 2.426
Ionia/Ionians, 1.19, 54, 160,
327; 2.40
Isthmian Games, 1.217
Italy, 1.313
Ithaca, 1.376

Laconia, 1.291
law, 1.382-86; 2.5, 21, 38-39,
212-33, 244, 253-56, 398,
400-401
Lechaemum, 1.290

Leontini, 1.232
Leos, 1.87
Lesbos, 2.336
Leto, 1.13
Leucas, 1.313
Leuctra, 1.250, 298
Libya/Libyans, 1.204, 324
Locrians, 1.221
Lycaon, 2.7
Lycia, 1.83
Lycurgus, 1.366; 2.37-39
Lydia, 2.239
Lysander, 1.267-68
Lysanias, 2.66
Lysias, 2.52
Lysimachus, 2.346

Macedonia, 1.175; 2.238;
(Macedonians), 1.333; (em-
pire), 1.335
Maeotis, lake, 1.66
Mantinea/Mantineans, 1.291,
312, 347
Marathon, 1.13, 110-11, 114,
117, 126, 131, 160, 167,
256, 322, 347; 2.341
Mardonius, 1.170, 172, 180,
182
Massagetae, 2.240
Massalia, 1.66
Medes, 1.139, 164, 212, 236,
252, (335); 2.240
medicine, 2.22, 35, 62-65, 66-
70, 75, 122, 149, 152-56,
185, 236, 247, 249, 250,
251, 258, 334, 374, 375,
411, 412, 433
medizing, 1.320-21

INDEX

Megara/Megarians, 1.212, 214–16, 219, 225, 278; 2.285, 292, 293
 Melos, 1.302
 (Menander, *Sentent.* 437), 2.412
 Menelaus, 2.95
 Menestheus, 1.379
 Mentor, 2.93
 Messenians, 1.57
 Methymna, 1.292; 2.376
 Miletus, 1.224
 Miltiades, 2.319, 334, 342, 357, 360, 361
 Mithaecus, 2.343, 426
 Muse/Muses, 2.19, 47, 49, 52, 54, 56, 87, 88, 90, 91, 391
 Mycale, 1.198
 Mysteries, 1.12, 50, 330, 341, 363, 373, 374
 Mytilene, 1.241, 310

 Naupactus, 1.229
 Naxos/Naxians, 1.212, 297
 Nemea, 2.307
 Nereids, 2.148
 Nestor, 1.378; 2.93–95, 414, (415)
 Nile, 2.351
 Ninus, 2.240
 Nisaea, 1.278
 Nymphs, 2.75

 Odysseus, 2.88–90, (96), 145, (193), 280, (415), 417
 Oenophyta, 1.221
 Olympia, 1.283; 2.156
 Olympiads, 1.283
 oracles and seers, 1.37, 46, 87, 167, 173, 399, 401; 2.34–46, 52, 56, 78–83, 163–71; source of medical cures, 2.35, 52, 62–65, 66–75
 oratory, 1.2, 3, 6, 43, 152, 322, 328–29, 330, 343, 394, 397; 2 *passim*; and human civilization, 2.394–400; ideal orator, 2.429–37; parts of, 2.382; and the virtues, 2.235–36, 382
 (Orestes), 1.48

 painting, 2.157–62
 Pamphylia, 1.83, 273
 Pan, 1.108
 Panathenaea, 1.186, 230, 362, 404; 2.156
 Pandarus, 2.86
 (Paris) = Alexander, 1.128
 Pausanias, king of Sparta, 1.267
 (Peace, Thirty Year), 1.225–28, 278
 (Peace of Callias), 1.208–10, 225–26, 274–76
 Pegae, 1.225, 278
 Pelasgians, 1.55
 Peleus, 2.387
 Pella, 1.334
 Pelops, 1.48
 Peloponnese/Peloponnesians, 1.52, 54, 57, 64, 67, 68, 78, 79, 87, 214, 216, 218, 222, 233, 237, 242, 250, 278, 293, 299, 300, 301, 369
 Peneus, 1.208
 Pericles, 2.319, 334, 336, 339, 360

INDEX

Perinthians, 1.319
 Perioeci, 1.222, 301
 Persia/Persians, 1.96, 98, 101, 103, 104, 119, 139, 154, 160, 165, 182, 202, 204, 212, 235, 236, 252, 271, 273, 274, 280, 293, 313, 369. *See also* Medes (Persian Empire), 1.335
 Persian Gulf, 1.119
 Phaeacians, 2.86, 88, 96
 Phaedrus, 2.52, 459
 Pharnabazus, 1.237
 Pharos, 1.204; 2.145
 Phasis, 1.119
 Phemius, 2.92
 Phidias, 2.118, 120
 Philip II, 1.314, 316, 319, 331
 philosophy, 2.25, 28–30, 176, 258–59, 261–305, 315–17, 362, 380, 385, 451–53, 458
 Phlius, 1.291
 Phocis/Phocians, 1.212, 219, 221
 Phoenicians, 1.202 (phoenix), 2.426
 Phoenix, tutor of Achilles, 2.387
 Phoroneus, 2.7
 Phrygians, 2.7
 Phthiotians, 1.376
 Phyle, 1.256
 Pillars of Heracles, 1.324
 Pindar, 2. (109), 148, 226, 229, 230, 231, 420
Ol. 2.94–96: 2.109
Ol. 9.28–29: 2.110
Ol. 9.107–10: 2.110
P. 2.94–96: 2.230

P. 8.99: 2.148
 (fr. 31: 2.420)
 fr. 38: 2.112
 fr. 76: 1.401
 fr. 81: 2.229
 fr. 169: 2.226
 Piraeus, 1.255
 Plataea, Plataeans, 1.57, 59, 180, 182
 Plato, 2 *passim*
Apology, (2.299)
 18a: 2.439
Epistle VII, 2.285–98
 328c–29a: 2.285
Epistle VIII
 (355a: 2.321)
 355cd: 2.324
 355d–56b: 2.326
Euthydemus
 307ab: 2.457
Gorgias, 2 *passim*
 (450c: 2.157)
 (451b: 2.142)
 (454e–55a: 2.199)
 463a–65c: 2.22, 138, 334
 (466b: 2.306)
 (469bc: 2.261–62)
 (470c: 2.178)
 (471bd: 2.237)
 (472b: 2.279)
 (480a–81b: 2.273)
 (483b–84c: 2.205)
 484b: 2.226
 493d: 2.61
 (501e–2a: 2.322)
 502e–3a: 2.344
 (503c–21a: 2.319)
 509a: 2.154

INDEX

- (511c: 2.362-71)
 (511c: 2.376)
 (511d: 2.144)
 512b: 2.372
 (516a: 2.338)
 (516e: 2.359)
 (518b: 2.343, 426)
 (523a-27a: 2.348)
 (525de: 2.307)
 525e-26b: 2.346
 527c: 2.442
Laws, 2.50, 275
 711e: 2.445
 839a: 2.304
Menexenus, 2.341-43
 239c: 2.341
 240d: 2.341
Phaedo
 (114d: 2.176)
Phaedrus, 2.52, 447
 (236b: 2.156)
 243e: 2.52
 244a-45b: 2.52, 58, 164
 (264c: 2.400)
 269d: 2.137, 459
Politicus
 303e-4a: 2.438
Protagoras, 1.401
 337d: 1.401
Republic, 2.273
 (368a: 2.304)
 (391d: 2.454)
 540c: 2.41
Symposium
 177a: 2.132
 221b: 2.299
Timaeus
 75e: 2.445
 Polus, 2.22, 262
- Pontus, 2.40, 144, 370
 Poseidon, 1.41, 42, 46; 2.148, 426
 Potidaea, 2.299
 Priam, 2.414
 Prometheus, 2.396-97
 proverbs, 1.37, 60, 81, 103, 208, 216, 241, 322; 2.314, 337, 392, 406
 Psyttalea, 1.168
 Pygmies, 2.395
 Pylans, 1.376
 Pylos, 1.229, 376; 2.93, 95
 Pythia/Pythian, 1.62; 2.34, 39, 41, 42, 50, 78
 Pythiad, 1.363
 Pytho, 2.34
 Red Sea, 1.119
 (Rome), 1.25-26, 30, 87, 332-35
 Salamis, 1.128, 145, 157, 160, 164, 165, 176, 180, 236, 347, 381; 2.341
 Samos, 1.224, 236
 Samothracians, 1.363
 (Sarapis), 2.68
 Sardanapallus, 2.240
 Sardis, 1.94
 Scamander, 2.351
 Scione, 1.302, 312
 Scylla, 2.377
 Scythia, 2.240
 Segesta, 1.232
 Sestus, 1.198
 Seuthes, 1.293
 Seven Sages, 1.365; 2.34
 Sibyl, 2.46, 52

INDEX

- Sicily/Sicilians, 1.232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 240, 313, 350; 2.144, 280, 293, 297, 324, 325, 362
 Sicyonians, 1.212, 291
 Socrates, 1.366; 2.13, 22, (61-62, 74), 76-82, 217-18, 242, 262, 299, 331, 335, 344, 439; *daimonion*, 2.80
 Soli, 2.177
 (Solon), 1.365
 Sophocles, 2.408, 428
 (OT 614: 2.408)
 (fr. 667: 1.60)
 Sparta/Spartans, 1.58, 147, 148, 160, 178-82, 200, 212, 218, 219-22, 229, 233, 237-43, 249-63, 266, 267, 271, 277-78, 280-93, 296-301, 312, 313, 319, 320, 322, 326, 359, 366, 382; 2.39, 129
 Spartoi (Sown-men), 2.207
 Speusippus, 2.331
 Sporades, 1.11
 Stentor, 2.(109), 351
 Stesichorus, 2.234; cf. 1.128, 166
 Stoa Poikile (Painted Porch), 2.105
 Strymon, 1.198
 Syracuse/Syracusans, 1.313; 2.281, 285, 321, 326
 Syria, 1.324
 Tanagra/Tanagrans, 1.54, 220, 322
 Tanais, 1.66
 Telemachus, 2.93-96
- Telephus, 2.59
 Terpander, 2.336
 Teucer, 1.286, (378)
 Thasos/Thasians, 1.59, 212, 294
 Thearion, 2.343, 426
 Thebes/Thebans, 1.51, 54, 58, 59, 250, 266, 269, 294, 296, 298, 299, 301, 312, 319, 331, 360
 Themistocles, (1.139, 140, 148, 149, 160, 168, 169); 2.319, 336, 339, 342, 357, 361
 theoric fund, 2.397
 Thermodon, 1.83
 Thermopylae, 1.131, 154, 167
 Theseus, 1.35, 52, 360
 Thespieae, 1.59
 Thessalians, 1.54
 Thirty Tyrants, the, 1.253, 259; 2.335
 Thracians, 1.59, 85, 229, 292, 297, 327
 Thucydides, 2.434
 (Timotheus), 1.313
Tr. adesp. 317 N², 2.412
 Triptolemus, 1.(36), 199
 Troezen, 1.154, 225, 278
 Troy/Trojans, 2.234, 414
- Virtue, parts of, 2.235-36, 382, (451-52)
- Xenophon, 2.301
 Xerxes, 1.115-28, 133, 157, 166, 175, (206-9), 249; 2.240
 Zelea, 1.369; 2.86
 (Zeno), 2.105

INDEX

Zethus, 2.394
Zeus, 1.19, 110, 120, 190, 322;
2.(42), 43, 48, 53, 55, 56,
88, 109, 121, 132, 148, 149,
166, 177, 196, 229, 247,
259, 273, 275, 282, 297,
321, 345, 352, 365, 380,
391, 396, 397, 411, 420,
457
Zeuxis, 2.120
Zoster, 1.13